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HERODOTUS

BOOKS V, VI

ABBOTT

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HENRY FROWDE

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HERODOTUS

BOOKS V AND VI

TERPSICHORE AND ERATO

EDITED

WITH NOTES AND APPENDICES

BY

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WITH MAPS

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P R E F A C E



THE text of this edition is mainly that of Stein in his edition of 1884, and wherever I have deviated from this I have quoted Stein's reading at the foot. The most important conjectures and readings, or at least those which seemed to be most important for my purpose, have been added in the critical apparatus, but I have not attempted to give anything like a *conspectus lectionum*. That will be found in the editions of Stein and Holder.

In regard to the dialect I have felt unable to do anything at all satisfactory, but readers who are interested in this side of the text will find it very carefully treated in Prof. Strachan's excellent edition of Book vi.

My notes are chiefly intended for historical students—for whom also the excursuses have been written. To make the book as useful as possible in this respect I have not hesitated to quote at length accounts given by other authors of the events narrated by Herodotus. I have, of course, made constant use of the editions by Krüger and Stein, which are indispensable helps in the study of Herodotus.

I hope, in the course of time, to be able to complete the whole of Herodotus on a similar plan.

EVELYN ABBOTT.

OXFORD:
October, 1892.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- V. 1. 5. *Add to the note* Cf. vii. 113 ὑπεροκίοντας δὲ τὸ Πάργαιον πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου Παίονας Δόβηράς τε καὶ Παιόπλας παρεξιών κ. τ. λ.
- V. 9. 14. Cf. Plato, *Laws*, 676 B AΘ. Φέρε, ἀφ' οὗ πόλεις τε εἰσὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι πολιτευόμενοι, δοκεῖς ἂν ποτε κατανοῆσαι χρόνου πλῆθος ὅσον γέγονεν; ΚΛ. Οὐκουν ῥάδιόν γε οὐδαμῶς.
- V. 49. 20. *Add to the note* Cf. *infra*. 88. 1.
- V. 92 (β). 8. *Add to the note* Cf. iv. 71. 25 ἀργύρω δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρέωνται.
- V. 99. 5, *note*. For '(?end of the seventh century)' read '(?end of the eighth century.)'
- V. 108, 113. The names Onesilus and Philocyprus occur in the inscription of Idalium; the first in the name of a physician, the second of a public magistrate: cf. Collitz, *Sammlung*, p. 29.
- P. 159. This advantage of tyranny was however perceived by Plato. Cf. *Laws*, 710.
- P. 161. Archidamus and his two sons Agis and Agesilaus held the throne of Sparta from 469 B.C. to 361 B.C.
- VI. 9. 22, *note*. After 'outrages' add 'in insulting terms' (κατ' ἐπῆρειαν Thuc. i. 26).

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ANALYSIS



BOOKS V, VI.

THE IONIAN REVOLT AND THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.



V.

THE PERSIANS IN EUROPE: CC. 1-27.

- cc. 1, 2. Megabazus subdues the Perinthians and Thracians.
 - cc. 3-8. The Thracians, their customs and deities.
 - cc. 9, 10. Countries beyond the Danube.
- cc. 11-13. Darius at Sardis; rewards of Coes and Histiaeus; the Paeonians and their sister.
- cc. 14-16. Megabazus transports a number of Paeonians to Asia; customs of the dwellers on Lake Prasias.
- cc. 17-22. The Persians in Macedonia; slaughter of the envoys; Amyntas and his son Alexander.
- cc. 23-25. On the advice of Megabazus, Darius recalls Histiaeus from Thrace, and after appointing Artaphernes satrap of Sardis, and Otanes general in the room of Megabazus, returns to Susa.
- cc. 26, 27. Conquests of Otanes in the Bosphorus and Troad; Lemnos and Imbros become subject to Persia.

THE IONIAN REVOLT DOWN TO THE VISIT OF ARISTAGORAS TO SPARTA: CC. 28-38.

- cc. 28, 29. Account of Naxos and Miletus; prosperity of the cities. (Story of the Parians at Miletus.)
- cc. 30, 31. Naxian exiles ask the help of Aristagoras of Miletus, who

- applies to Artaphernes; a Persian expedition against Naxos arranged.
- cc. 32-34. Two hundred Persian ships sent against Naxos under the command of Megabates and Aristagoras; owing to a quarrel between the commanders, the Naxians are warned, and the expedition fails.
- cc. 35-37. Aristagoras resolves to revolt from Persia, and is urged to take the step by Histiaeus. (Story of the message sent by Histiaeus from Susa.) Hecataeus attempts to dissuade him but in vain; seizure of the Persian captains at Myus; Aristagoras lays down his power in Miletus, and deposes the tyrants throughout Ionia.
- c. 38. Aristagoras visits Sparta to solicit help.

ARISTAGORAS AT SPARTA : CC. 39-54.

- cc. 39-48. State of Sparta at the time.
- cc. 39-41. Anaxandridas and his wives; birth of Cleomenes, of Doriens, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus.
- cc. 42-48. Account of Doriens, who refused to remain in Sparta when Cleomenes became king; his colony on the Cinyps in Libya; his voyage to Sicily, and supposed participation in the war between Sybaris and Croton; his death in Sicily. (End of Euryleon the companion of Doriens, who became tyrant of Selinus; and of Philippus of Croton.)
- cc. 49-54. Aristagoras and Cleomenes.
- c. 49. Aristagoras urges Cleomenes to aid the Ionians, and shows him a map; description of the nations between Ionia and Susa.
- cc. 50, 51. Cleomenes refuses, on hearing that Susa is three months' distance from the sea. Aristagoras attempts to bribe him, but fails and leaves Sparta. (Story of Gorgo.)
- cc. 52-54. Account of the road from Sardis to Susa; and from Ephesus to Sardis.

ARISTAGORAS AT ATHENS: CC. 55-97.

- c. 55. Aristagoras leaves Sparta for Athens.
- cc. 55-96. History of Athens.
- i. cc. 55-61. Assassination of Hipparchus; vision of Hipparchus; his death; origin of the Gephyreans, to whom Harmodius and Aristogiton belonged; Phoenicians in Boeotia; the Greek alphabet derived from them; ancient inscriptions at Thebes.
- ii. cc. 62-65. Expulsion of the Peisistratidae. Tyranny of Hippias, and unsuccessful attempt of the Alcmaeonidae to expel him. The Alcmaeonidae win over Delphi by their liberality in rebuilding the temple, and bribe the oracle to urge the Spartans to join in the liberation of Athens; first unsuccessful expedition under Anchimolius; second under Cleomenes; the Peisistratidae compelled to leave the country; they retire to Sigeum; their origin.
- iii. cc. 66-73. Factions at Athens; Cleisthenes and Isagoras.
- cc. 66-68. Cleisthenes, the Alcmaeonid, finding Isagoras too strong for him, wins over the people. His popular reforms. (Account of Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, and the changes which he introduced, changes which Cleisthenes of Athens, his grandson, imitated.)

- cc. 69-73. Isagoras summons Cleomenes of Sparta to his assistance; the 'Accursed'; Cleisthenes retires from Athens, and Cleomenes visits the city with a small force; 700 families exiled; an attempt to reform the senate fails, and Cleomenes is compelled to withdraw; return of Cleisthenes; the Athenians seek the aid of Persia.
- iv. cc. 74-87. Attacks on Athens.
- a. cc. 74-76. Cleomenes invades Attica, and reaches Eleusis, but the allies refuse to follow him; Demaratus also, the second king, withdraws. Cleomenes is compelled to retire. Four invasions of Attica by Dorians.
- b. cc. 77, 78. The Boeotians and Chalcidians who had attacked Athens in concert with the Spartans (c. 74), are defeated; 700 Boeotians are taken prisoners; 4000 Athenians are settled at Chalcis; fetters of the prisoners at Athens, and a chariot commemorating the victory. Excellence of democratic institutions.
- c. cc. 79-81. The Boeotians summon the Aeginetans to their aid in obedience to an oracle; the Aeginetans first send the Aeacidæ, then attack Athens without proclamation of war. (cc. 82-88. Origin of the ill-feeling between Athens and Aegina. The Epidaurians allowed to make statues of Athenian olive-wood on certain conditions; the Aeginetans, previously dependent on Epidaurus, steal the statues and refuse to observe the conditions. Disastrous attempts of the Athenians to recover the statues; Athenian account; Aeginetan account; Argive account. Cruelty of the Athenian women to the sole survivor; changes in the dress of Athenians, Aeginetans, and Argives. Origin of Greek dress.)
- c. 89. The Athenians, after consulting the oracle, are about to retaliate on the Aeginetans, when they are prevented by the Lacedæmonians.
- v. cc. 90-96. Attempt of the Spartans to restore Hippias.
- The Lacedæmonians, finding that the priestess of Delphi had been bribed to advise the expulsion of the Peisistratidæ, send for Hippias from Sigeum, and summoning their allies, suggest his restoration; speech of Socles the Corinthian, who dwells on the iniquities of Cypselus and Periander, the tyrants of Corinth. The allies follow the Corinthians; Hippias returns to Sigeum (account of the war between Athens and Mytilene for the possession of Sigeum), and excites Artaphernes of Sardis against Athens; second embassy of the Athenians to Artaphernes, who insists that they must take Hippias back.
- c. 97. Aristagoras at Athens. Owing to the state of feeling in the city Aristagoras induces the Athenians to send twenty ships to the help of Ionia; these ships the source of evil to Greeks and barbarians.

THE IONIAN REVOLT TO THE DEATH OF ARISTAGORAS: CC. 98-126.

- c. 98. Aristagoras, on his return to Miletus, induces the Pæonians, whom Megabazus had brought into Asia, to return to Europe.
- cc. 99-102. Burning of Sardis, and defeat of the Greeks. The Athenian ships, joined by five Eretrian vessels, sail to Miletus; they proceed to Ephesus; and thence to Sardis; which is burnt. The Greeks then retire; but are overtaken, and defeated at Ephesus; the Athenians return home.
- cc. 103, 104. The revolt spreads through Caria, and to the island of Cyprus; Onesilus of Amathus.

- cc. 105-107. Darius informed of the revolt ; his indignation ; his interview with Histiaeus ; Histiaeus returns to the coast.
- cc. 108-116. Suppression of the revolt in Cyprus. Battles by land and sea ; the Ionians are victorious at sea, but the Cyprians are defeated on land owing to treachery. (Story of Artybius and his horse, and of the head of Onesilus.)
- e. 117. Suppression of the revolt in the Hellespont, by Daurises.
- cc. 118-121. The Persians in Caria. The Carians are twice defeated with severe loss, but on the third attempt they entrap and defeat the Persians, slaying their generals.
- cc. 122, 123. Suppression of the revolt in the Troad and Aeolis.
- cc. 124-126. Flight and death of Aristagoras. On hearing of the capture of the cities, Aristagoras summoned his partisans, and proposed to retire to Sardinia or to Myrcinus in Thraee. Hecataeus advises him to fortify Leros, but he decides for Myrcinus, where he is slain by the Thracians.

VI.

FINAL SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLT ; CC. 1-42.

- cc. 1-5. Histiaeus returns to the coast ; and being suspected by Artaphemes, leaves Sardis for Chios, whence he attempts to raise a revolt at Sardis ; he attempts in vain to enter Miletus, and retires with eight Lesbian ships to Byzantium.
- cc. 6-17. Battle of Lade. The Persians collect their forces round Miletus ; approach of the Phoenician fleet, with the Cyprian and Egyptian ; the Ionians assemble to meet them. Overtures of the tyrants, which are rejected ; attempt of Dionysius of Phocaea to train the Greeks ; treason of the Samians ; battle of Lade and defeat of the Ionians ; disaster of the Chians ; Dionysius sails to the west.
- cc. 18-21. Fall of Miletus, as predicted by an oracle ; the Milesians conveyed to Ampe ; their city taken by the Persians ; sympathy with Miletus at Athens. (Story of Phrynichus.)
- cc. 22-25. Samos and Caria. (Those Samians who had refused to be traitors sail for Calè Actè in Sicily, and establish themselves at Zancle, on the way ; Seythes of Zancle, and Hippocrates of Gela.) Aeaces restored to Samos as tyrant. Caria submits.
- cc. 26-30. End of Histiaeus. Hearing of the fall of Miletus, Histiaeus sails for Chios, which he captures. (Warnings given to the Chians of the calamities which were about to overtake them.) From Chios Histiaeus sails to Thasos, but hearing of the approach of the Phoenicians, he returns to Lesbos, and lands in Atarneus, to obtain supplies.

- Here he is defeated by Harpagus, carried to Sardis, and executed. Honours paid to him by Darius.
- cc. 31-32. Final suppression of the revolt in the islands and in Ionia; Chios, Lesbos, Tenedos captured; this was the third enslavement of Ionia.
- c. 33. Suppression of the revolt in the Hellespont. Fire and sword carried to Byzantium, Chalcedon, and the cities of the Propontis, except Cyzicus. The Phoenicians in the Chersonese.
- cc. 34-40. The Chersonese; colonization by Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, at the request of the Dolonians; fortunes of Miltiades; his capture by the Lampsacenes, and liberation at the request of Croesus. He is succeeded by Stesagoras, the elder son of Cimon, who is slain by a Lampsacene, and succeeded by his brother Miltiades. Miltiades establishes himself as tyrant, keeps 500 guards and marries Hegesipyle. (Invasion of the Chersonese by the Scythians.)
- cc. 41, 42. Hearing of the approach of the Phoenicians, Miltiades leaves the Chersonese for Athens; his son Metiochus is captured and sent to Darius, who, notwithstanding the advice given by Miltiades to the Ionians to break the bridge on the Danube, established him on an estate in Persia.
- Hostilities are now at an end, but Artaphernes makes a fresh assessment of Ionia, and enforces submission.

INVASIONS OF GREECE BY PERSIA.

- i. cc. 43-45. Invasion of Mardonius.
- Mardonius, the son-in-law of Darius, is appointed general-in-chief, all the rest being superseded; he assembles a host in Cilicia, and passing by Ionia, where he establishes democracies in the cities, crosses the Hellespont and advances by land and sea towards Greece. He subjugates Thasos, but his fleet is destroyed off Athos; and after completing the subjugation of Macedonia, after some reverses on land, he returns to Asia.
- cc. 46, 47. Thasos. The Thasians being suspected in spite of their submission are compelled to pull down their walls by Darius, and take their fleet to Abdera. Wealth of the Thasians and mines in the island.
- cc. 48, 49. Darius sends envoys to demand earth and water from the Greek cities. Many give it, among the rest the Aeginetans, of whose conduct the Athenians complain at Sparta.
- cc. 50, 51. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, visits Aegina, but he is compelled to retire owing to the schemes of the second king Demaratus. His remark to Crius of Aegina.
- cc. 52-60. The Lacedaemonian kings. Descent of the two kings; origin of

the double monarchy; the twin sons of Aristodemus; kings of the Dorians in part Egyptian.

Privileges of the Lacedaemonian kings in war and peace. Honours paid to them at their burial; similarity of Lacedaemonian and oriental customs. cc. 61-72. Cleomenes and Demaratus. Birth of Demaratus; his father Ariston, and his wife; suspicion of the legitimacy of Demaratus, who is attacked by a younger member of the same line. The matter is referred to the Pythia, who is bribed to decide against Demaratus. Demaratus is deposed, and after an interview with his mother leaves Sparta for Persia, where Darius receives him hospitably. Leotychidas succeeds to the throne of Sparta, but at a later time he suffered the due penalty of his misdeeds, being convicted of bribery and expelled from Sparta.

c. 73. Cleomenes visits Aegina a second time, with Leotychidas. He takes hostages, whom he deposits with Athens.

cc. 74-84. End of Cleomenes. His fraud being discovered, he leaves Sparta for Thessaly. Thence he returns to Arcadia, and begins to form a confederation against Sparta, upon which he is recalled to Sparta. His madness and death. Various causes of his madness are suggested, among others his sacrilege at the grove of Argus.

Invasion of Argolis by Cleomenes; his difficulty at the Erasinus; ships are furnished by Aegina, and Sicyon; deception and defeat of the Argives; Cleomenes at the grove of Argus, and at the Heraeum. He fails to take Argos, is put on his trial but acquitted. Desperate condition of Argos.

Another suggested cause of the madness was the drinking of unmixed wine, a habit contracted from the Scythians who visited Sparta.

cc. 85, 86. Leotychidas at Aegina. The Spartans, on hearing of the fraud of Cleomenes and Leotychidas, are willing to surrender Leotychidas to the Aeginetans, but the Aeginetans eventually decline to receive him. Upon this, Leotychidas and the Aeginetans visit Athens to demand the surrender of the hostages. The Athenians refuse to give them up. Story of Glaucus of Sparta.

cc. 87-93. War between Athens and Aegina. The Aeginetans retaliate by seizing an Athenian mission ship at Sunium. The Athenians now arrange with Nicodromus for the betrayal of Aegina, but the arrangement fails because the Athenians, having to borrow ships from the Corinthians, do not appear at the appointed time. Popular rising in Aegina, which is suppressed with impious cruelty by the oligarchs. Defeat of the Aeginetans by the Athenians. Argive volunteers arrive at Aegina, and a second battle is fought, in which the Athenians are defeated with a loss of four vessels.

ii. cc. 94-120. Invasion of Datis and Artaphernes.

cc. 94-99. Mardonius is removed from the command, and a fresh army collected under Datis and Artaphernes. It sails across the sea to Naxos, which is devastated and enslaved. Delos is treated with honour.

(Earthquake at Delos, significant of the disasters which overtook Greece in the reigns of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes.) The Persians, levying forces as they go, land at Carystus; which is compelled to submit.

cc. 100, 101. The Persians at Eretria. Athenian help sent but recalled. After six days Eretria is traitorously surrendered.

cc. 102-105. The Persians at Marathon. Hippias leads the Persians from Euboea to Marathon, as the best field for cavalry. The Athenians march out to meet him. Miltiades, the son of Cimon, is chosen general.

Account of Cimon; his victories at Olympia, with his mares; he is assassinated by the order of the Peisistratidae. Miltiades, his son, after escaping to Athens (c. 41) had been brought to trial for his tyranny, but escaped.

cc. 105, 106. The Athenians send to Sparta for help; story of Pheidippides. The Spartans cannot march out till after the full moon.

c. 107. Dream of Hippias, which bodes ill for the success of the Persians.

cc. 108-111. The Athenians are joined by the Plataeans. (Origin of the friendship between Plataea and Athens; conflicts between Athens and Thebes, and readjustment of the borders.) Division of opinion among the Athenian generals. Miltiades wins over Callimachus, the polemarch, and it is decided to give battle. Order of the line.

cc. 112-117. Battle of Marathon; rapid advance of the Athenians; the Greek centre is broken, but the wings are victorious. Rout of the Persians, who embark and sail to Phalerum, where they find the Athenians encamped near the city. The signal shield. Numbers of the slain; legend of Epizelus.

cc. 118-120. Datis and Artaphernes return to Asia; Datis and the image of Apollo. The Eretrians placed at Ardericca. The Lacedaemonians, 2000 strong, arrive at Athens after the full moon.

cc. 121-124. The Alcmaeonidae. Did they display the signal shield? Their conduct belies the accusation; they hated tyrants even more than Callias (story of Callias) and were greatly esteemed by the people at Athens.

cc. 125-131. Rise of the family. Alcmaeon and Croesus; Alcmaeon in the treasury at Sardis; Megacles and Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon.

The wooing of Agariste.

cc. 132-136. End of Miltiades. Miltiades makes a secret attack on Paros; he is unsuccessful, and returns to Athens disabled; (story of the visit to the temple of Demeter); he is put on his trial for deceiving the people, and fined fifty talents; he dies of his wound, but the fine is paid by his son Cimon.

cc. 137-140. Miltiades had acquired Lemnos for Athens. The Pelasgi being driven out of Attica to Lemnos, carried off some Athenian women from Brauron. These women and their children they subsequently put to death. In consequence, their land, wives and flocks became barren, and they were advised to offer compensation to Athens. The Athenians demanded their country, which the Pelasgians consented to surrender when the Athenians could sail to it in a day. This feat Miltiades accomplished by sailing from the Chersonese, which was occupied by Athenians, to Lemnos. In this manner Lemnos became Athenian.

THE MANUSCRIPTS ¹.

- Class I. { A. FLORENTINUS (Medicæus), Laurentian Library (70. 3',
Florence, tenth century.
B. ROMANUS (Passioneus'), Anglican Library (C. I. 6),
Rome, eleventh century.
C. FLORENTINUS, Laurentian Library (207), Florence, eleventh
century.
P. PARISINUS, National Library (1633), thirteenth century.
- Class II. { R. ROMANUS, Vatican Library (123), fourteenth century.
r. URBINAS, Vatican Library (88), fourteenth century.
s. SANCROFTIANUS, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, four-
teenth century.
v. VINDOBONENSIS, Vienna (72), fourteenth century.

¹ The MSS. of Herodotus practically fall into two classes; the first of which is represented by A B C, the second by R (r in Book V, which is not found in R) s v. P occupies a position between the two. The MSS. of the first class are older and better than those of the second, but those of the second frequently supply a better reading.

ADDITIONAL CORRECTIONS.



- Page xvi, line 13. *For* VINDOBONENSIS, *read* VINDOBONENSIS,
- „ 129, note 2. *Add*, and so also Tamos (viii. 87), who is described as ἄναρχος Ἰωνίας in viii. 31.
- „ 165, note. *For* Eleventh *read* Fourth *and for* Teiresias *read* Proteus
- „ 221, note to VI. 57. 11. Omit the reference to Thuc. v. 43.
- „ 289, note to VI. 136. 12. *For* were treated as *read* were in some cases treated as
- „ 303. line 5 from foot, *for* Crete *read* Rhodes

[Abbott's Herodotus.]

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΗΣ

Ε.

THRACE. B.C. 515(?); Ol. 66. 2.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν Περσέων καταλειφθέντες 1
 ὑπὸ Δαρείου, τῶν ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἦρχε, πρώτους μὲν ^{THRACE :}
 Περινθίους Ἑλλησποντίων οὐ βουλομένους ὑπηκόους εἶ- ^{Megabazus}
 ναι Δαρείου κατεστρέψαντο, περιεφθέντας πρότερον καὶ ^{at}
 5 ὑπὸ Παιόνων τρηχέως. οἱ γὰρ ὦν ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ^{Perinthus.}
 Παίονες, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Περιν-
 θίους, καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐπικαλέσωνταί σφεας

1. 1. οἱ δέ, κ.τ.λ. The story is resumed from iv. 143, 144. On his return from Scythia (515 B.C.?), Darius left Megabazus in Europe, with an army of 80,000 men, under orders to reduce the sea-board of Thrace. This Megabazus is to be distinguished from the son of Megabates (vii. 97); whether he is the same as Megabyzus, is uncertain.

3. Περινθίους. Perinthus was a Samian colony in the Propontis, founded in 599-598 B.C. The word 'Hellespontian' is often used by Herodotus in a wide sense to include all the Greeks from the Pontus to the Aegean; cf. *infra*. 103. 7; vi. 26, 33, etc. In the so-called 'Tribute lists' (e.g. 443 B.C., Hicks, *Hist. Inscr.* p. 41) Perinthus, and even Byzantium and Chalcedon, were placed in the Hellespontian district. Cf. also Strabo, vii. *frag.* 58.

5. οἱ γὰρ ὦν... Παίονες. There were Paeonians on the upper Strymon: Agrianes, Laeaeans, and Graecans (Thuc. ii. 96); and also on the lower river: Paeoplae, Sirio-paeones, and Doberes (*infra*. 13-15, Thuc. ii. 98. The article on the Paeonians in Pauly's *Realencycl.* is excellent). The date of this attack is unknown, but it is obvious that the *paean* would not be sung in Perinthus before the town was occupied by Greeks.

6. τοῦ θεοῦ. Perhaps the god Dyalus (Dionysus) is meant, who is mentioned as a Paeonian deity in the lexicon of Hesychius. The Paeonians on the lower Strymon would also be in the neighbourhood of the oracle of the Thracian Dionysus (see *infra*, c. 7).

7. ἐπικαλέσωνται... ἐπιβώσωνται, 'summon,' 'call on them'; not

THRACE. B.C. 515(?) ; Ol. 66. 2.

οἱ Περίνθιοι ὀνομαστὶ βώσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβώσωνται, μὴ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἐποίεον οἱ Παίονες ταῦτα. ἀντικατιζομένων δὲ τῶν Περινηθίων ἐν τῷ¹⁰ προαστείῳ, ἐνθαῦτα μουννομαχίῃ τριφασίῃ ἐκ προκλήσιός σφι ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἵππον ἵππῳ συνέβαλον καὶ κύνα κυνί. νικόντων δὲ τὰ δύο τῶν Περινηθίων, ὡς ἐπαιώνιζον κεχαρηκότες, συνεβάλοντο οἱ Παίονες τὸ χρηστήριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ εἶπάν κου¹⁵ παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι “ νῦν ἂν εἴη ὁ χρησμὸς ἐπιτελεόμενος ἡμῖν, νῦν ἡμέτερον ἔργον^α”. οὕτω τοῖσι Περινηθίοισι παιωνίσασι ἐπιχειρέουσι οἱ Παίονες, καὶ πολλόν
2 τε ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἔλιπόν σφεων ὀλίγους. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Παιόνων πρότερον γενόμενα ᾧδε ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ ἀν-

^α τὸ ἔργον Pr (sv).

‘challenge.’ The mention of the name (Paeonians) is all-important: cf. Thuc. iii. 52 ἡρώτων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τοσοῦτον μόνον.

13. συνέβαλον, ‘matched’; transitive, a sense which does not appear to be allowed in Attic. συνεβάλοντο: middle, of the purely mental act; ‘put two and two together,’ as we say, and so, ‘infer.’

17. νῦν ἡμέτερον ἔργον. So Stein reads with ABC, but perhaps wrongly. The common idiom of ἔργον with the possessive pronoun in the sense of ‘my, your duty or business’ is not found elsewhere in Herodotus, though we have an approach to it in i. 17. 12 ὥστε ἐπέδρησ μη εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατίῃ. On the other hand the reading of Pr (sv) ἡμέτερον τὸ ἔργον, is good Greek, and the more difficult reading. Cf. Thuc. ii. 81 ἐνόμισαν αὐτοβοεῖ ἂν τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον

γενέσθαι. Herod. vi. 120 ult.; viii. 102. 8; ix. 102. 10.

2. 1. ἀπὸ Παιόνων... ἐγένετο. Cf. ii. 54. 9. Cobet would alter ἀπὸ into ὑπό, on the ground that ἐκ and πρὸς can be used for the agent, but ἀπὸ is always a mistake for ὑπό. Against this it may be urged, (1) that the sense with ἀπὸ is not the same as the sense with ὑπό (*infr.* 98. 6); and (2) that the use is too widely spread to be due merely to error. In Thuc. iii. 36, we have ἀπὸ with λέγεσθαι (cf. Classen, ad loc.), in *ib.* vi. 28 with μνηύεται, in Arist. *Pol.* i. 5. 3 = 1254a 27 we find τὸ ἀποτελούμενον ἀπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων, where Newman says: ‘ἀπὸ is probably used in preference to ὑπό, because its signification is more comprehensive — the source rather than the agency,’ etc., and quotes Eucken to the effect that in the genuine works of Aristotle ἀπὸ is never

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δρῶν ἀγαθῶν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας γινομένων τῶν Περικθίων οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἐπεκράτησαν 5 πλήθει. ὡς δὲ ἐχειρώθη ἡ Πέριινθος, ἤλαυνε Μεγάβαζος τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης, πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων ἡμερούμενος βασιλεί. ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ ἐνετέταλτο ἐκ Δαρείου, Θρηίκην καταστρέφεισθαι.

Θρηίκων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστόν ἐστι μετὰ γε Ἴνδοὺς 3 πάντων ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἄρχοιτο ἢ φρονέοι κατὰ τούτῳ, ἄμαχόν τ' ἂν εἶη καὶ πολλῶ κρᾶτιστον πάντων ἐθνέων κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμήν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦ- 5 το ἄπορόν σφι καὶ ἀμήχανον μὴ κοτε ἐγγένηται^a, εἰσὶ δὴ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀσθενέες. οὐνόματα δ' ἔχουσι πολλὰ κατὰ χώρας ἕκαστοι, νόμοισι δὲ οὔτοι παραπλησίοισι πάντες χρέωνται κατὰ πάντα, πλὴν Γετέων καὶ Τραν-

The Thracians. Their customs, etc.

^b ἐν γένηται ABC, Bähr.

found in the sense of ὑπό with the passive.

7. ταύτη, i.e. in the direction which he took, which was by the sea-coast. The northern part of Thrace had been subjugated by Darius on his march to the Danube; iv. 93.

ταῦτα γάρ . . . Θρηίκην καταστρέφεισθαι. For τοῦτο referring to what comes after, cf. *ihfr.* 39. 8; 33. 12; Plato, *Apology*, 19 E.

3. In the opinion of Herodotus, the Danube flowed for a considerable part of its course from N. to S., corresponding to the Nile. Hence, in his view, Thrace has a large extension to the north. For the Indians, cf. iii. 94 Ἴνδων δὲ πλεῖστος πολλῶ πλείστον ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνθρώπων, and the description in iii. 98 ff. Thucy-

dides, whether consciously differing from Herodotus or not, gives (ii. 97) the first place to the Scythians, both in Europe and Asia.

4. ἀλλὰ γάρ, κ.τ.λ. 'But this is impracticable and impossible that it should ever take place.' ἀμήχανον μὴ κοτε ἐγγένηται = οὐδεμῆ μηχανῆ μὴ ἐγγένηται. Bähr follows Matthiae in reading ἐν γένηται (after ABC); but the compound is right, in the sense 'come to pass,' 'get on foot.'

6. κατὰ τοῦτο, 'on this account.' κατὰ χώρας, distributive: the meaning is that the Thracians have many names, because the inhabitants of each tract of territory have a different name. Herodotus mentions nineteen Thracian tribes; Strabo puts the number at twenty-two. See Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* sub voce.

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4 σῶν καὶ τῶν κατύπερθε Κρηστωναίων οἰκούντων. τοῦ-
 τῶν δὲ τὰ μὲν Γέται οἱ ἀθανατίζοντες ποιεῦσι, εἶρη-
 ταί μοι. Τραυσοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ ταῦτὰ
 τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Θρήξι ἐπιτελέουσι^a, κατὰ δὲ τὸν γινόμε-
 νόν σφι καὶ ἀπογινόμενον ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. τὸν μὲν γε-
 νόμενον περιζόμενοι οἱ προσήκοντες ὀλοφύρονται, ὅσα μιν
 δεῖ ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἀναπλήσαι κακά, ἀνηγεόμενοι^b τὰ
 ἀνθρωπήια πάντα πάθεα· τὸν δ' ἀπογενόμενον παί-
 ζοντές τε καὶ ἠδόμενοι γῆ κρύπτουσι, ἐπιλέγοντες ὅσων
 5 κακῶν ἐξαπαλλαχθεῖς ἐστὶ ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ. οἱ δὲ
 κατύπερθε Κρηστωναίων ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. ἔχει γυναῖκας
 ἕκαστος πολλὰς· ἐπεὰν ὧν τις αὐτῶν ἀποθάνῃ, κρί-
 σις γίνεται μεγάλη τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ φίλων σπουδαί

^a ἐπιτηδεύουσι Cobet ; ? Stein.^b ἀνηγεόμενοι Bekker.

4. 2. The Getae, who dwelt between the Haemus and the Danube, maintained that they did not die, but went away to dwell with a spirit Zalmoxis, in a kind of Valhalla, an opinion which greatly astonished Herodotus ; cf. iv. 94, 95. On the word ἀθανατίζειν see Purves, *Scl. from Plato*, p. 231. Cf. Strabo, p. 298, who notes that the Getae were at once polygamous and superstitious, connecting the two qualities: ἅπαντες γὰρ τῆς δεσידαιμονίας ἀρχηγούς οἴονται τὰς γυναῖκας (*ib.* 297).

The Trausi perhaps dwelt on the eastern slope of Rhodope ; according to Hesychius they were a Scythian tribe, and Stephanus Byz. identifies them with the Agathyrsi. The custom mentioned is noted by Euripides, *frag.* 452 N.

4. ἐπιτελέουσι. Cobet would read ἐπιτηδεύουσι, the usual word for

practising a custom ; ἐπιτελεῖν is properly to perform a religious rite, iii. 8. 10, or to complete a work.

5. ἀπογινόμενον. Cf. Thuc. ii. 34 τὰ μὲν ὅσα τῶν ἀπογενομένων. There is no reason to reject the present tense in favour of the aorist, which has less authority.

7. ἀνηγεόμενοι, 'enumerating,' not merely stating or relating, Pind. *Nem.* 10. 19 ; *Isth.* 5. 56 ἀν. ἀρετάς.

5. The Crestoneans dwelt on the sources of the Echeidorus, between the Axius and the Strymon : cf. vii. 124, where Xerxes passed through their country on his way from Therma to the Echeidorus, which in fact rose in Crestonea, cf. *ib.* 127. Their northern neighbours may have been the Maedi, or the Sinti, see Thuc. ii. 98 ; Leake, *Northern Greece*, iii. 448.

4. φίλων, friends of the various wives.

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5 ἰσχυραὶ περὶ τοῦδε, ἥτις αὐτέων ἐφιλέετο μάλιστα ὑπὸ
 τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἢ δ' ἂν κριθῆ καὶ τιμηθῆ, ἐγκωμιασθεῖ-
 σα ὑπὸ τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν σφάζεται ἐς τὸν τά-
 φον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκηιοτάτου ἑωυτῆς, σφαχθεῖσα δὲ συν-
 θάπτεται τῷ ἀνδρί. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι συμφορὴν μεγάλην
 10 ποιεῦνται· ὄνειδος γάρ σφι τοῦτο μέγιστον γίνεται.

Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Θρηκίων ἐστὶ ὅδε νόμος. πω- 6
 λεῦσι τὰ τέκνα ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῆ· τὰς δὲ^a παρθένους οὐ φυ-
 λάσσουσι, ἀλλ' ἑῶσι τοῖσι αὐταὶ βούλονται ἀνδράσι
 μίσγεσθαι· τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσουσι, καὶ^b
 5 ὠνέονται [τὰς γυναῖκας]^c παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων
 μεγάλων. καὶ^b τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενὲς κέκριται, τὸ δὲ
 ἄστικτον ἀγεννές. ἀργὸν εἶναι κάλλιστον, γῆς δὲ ἐργά-

The rest of
 the Thra-
 cians:
 marriage.
 burial, etc.

^a δὲ om. Gompertz, Van Herwerden. ^b καὶ om. r, Gomp., Van H.
 Cf. Cob., *Monem.* xii. 135. ^c τὰς γυναῖκας secl. St.

6. κριθῆ καὶ τιμηθῆ, 'is selected and receives the distinction,' καὶ τι. are added to define κριθῆ, quasi ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἀξία. Cf. viii. 22. 19.

9. συμφορὴν μεγάλην ποιεῦνται, 'take it much to heart,' cf. *infra*. 35. 19. This custom of the Thracians is mentioned by Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v. 27, and for a similar custom among the Indians see Diodorus, xix. 33, 34.—Observe that all the three customs here mentioned have reference to a belief in a continued existence after death; and this an individual personal existence, not a mere metempsychosis. There is some reason to suppose that it was from a combination of the worship of the Thracian Dionysus with that of Demeter that the belief in immortality—such as it was—passed into the Eleusinian mysteries. Cf.

the Scythian customs mentioned in iv. 71, 72.

6. 3. αὐταὶ βούλονται. They are not allotted to any one, but choose for themselves. Cf. i. 93, of the Lydian women. Bähr quotes evidence to show that some similar customs prevail at the present day in these districts.

6. εὐγενές, a mark of good birth ἀγεννές, a mark of low birth. τὸ δὲ ἄστικτον (εἶναι) = τὸ μὴ ἐστίχθαι. ἄστικτον masc. sc. τινά. We learn from Clearchus, *frag.* 8 (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ii. p. 306), that the Thracian women were tattooed as well as the men. [Stein, supplying ἐστί, takes ἄστικτον with τὸ as = an abstract noun, or in a collective sense (like τὸ μάχιμον, etc.) 'what is not tattooed.']

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την ἀτιμότητα· τὸ ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληιστύος κάλ-
 7 λιστον. οὗτοι μὲν σφεων οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι νόμοι εἰσὶ,
 θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μούρους τούσδε, Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον
 καὶ Ἄρτεμιν. οἱ δὲ βασιλέες αὐτῶν, πάρεξ τῶν ἄλλων
 πολιητέων, σέβονται Ἑρμῆν μάλιστα θεῶν καὶ ὀμνύ-
 ουσι μούρον τούτον, καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἑρμέως
 8 ἑωντούς. ταφαὶ δὲ τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν εἰσὶ αἶδε.
 τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας προτιθεῖσι τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ παντοῖα
 σφάξαντες ἱρήια εὐωχέονται, προκλαύσαντες πρῶτον·
 ἔπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακαύσαντες ἢ ἄλλως γῆ κρύψαν-
 τες, χῶμα δὲ χέαντες ἀγῶνα τιθεῖσι παντοῖον, ἐν τῷ 5

7. Thracia is the land of Ares; cf. *Il.* 13. 301. Diomed the Thracian king was the son of Ares; the Thracian Amazons his daughters. Sophocles, *Ant.* 968, speaks of Ares in Thrace, and in the same ode mentions the Thracian Dionysus. There was an oracle of Dionysus among the Satrae (Bessi, cf. Herod. vii. 111. 6); and compare the story of Lycurgus, the Thracian king, which is as old as the *Iliad* (vi. 130). Artemis was worshipped by the Edonians as Cottyto, or Cotys, with ecstatic and sensual rites, and indeed Cotys seems to have been the female counterpart of Dionysus, see Strabo, p. 470. The Thracian Artemis was also called Bendis, under which name she was worshipped at the Peiraeus in the time of Pericles. Bendis was a moon-goddess.

3. πάρεξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιητέων, 'separately from the mass of the people.' The use of the word πολιητέων is curious; but cf. πεπολισμένη, *infr.* 13. 10; πολιῆται, 16. 9; i. 120. 29. Of the Thracian Hermes nothing

certain seems to be known; but Mercurius (Hermes) is the name given by the Romans to the principal deity of the Celts and Germans. In these cases he is identified with Wodan; Grimm, *Teuton. Myth.* p. 149.

8. 3. The custom of the funeral feast is known to Homer; *Il.* xxiii. 29; and xxiv. end; *Od.* iii. 309, etc. For similar customs see iv. 73; i. 216. Two kinds must be distinguished, (1) those in which the dead join—or even form a part of the meal; (2) those which are merely commemorative.

4. θάπτουσι, 'perform sepulchral rites.'

ἄλλως, 'merely,' i. e. without burning: cf. iii. 139. 15 ἐγὼ ταύτην παλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος, δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως.

5. χῶμα χέαντες, κ. τ. λ. Compare with this the funeral of Patroclus in the *Iliad*, in which we have the feast, the burning of the dead, the gathering of the ashes, the cairn, and the games. The purchase of wives is another custom common to

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τὰ μέγιστα ἄεθλα τίθεται κατὰ λόγον μονομαχίης. ταφαὶ μὲν δὴ Θρηίκων εἰσὶ αἶδε^a.

Τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέω τῆς χώρας ἔτι ταύτης οὐδεὶς θ
 ἔχει φράσαι τὸ ἀτρεκές, οἰτίνες εἰσι ἄνθρωποι οἰκέον-
 τες [αὐτήν]^b, ἀλλὰ [τὰ πέρην ἤδη τοῦ Ἰστρου]^c ἔρημος
 χώρα φαίνεται ἐοῦσα καὶ ἄπειρος. μούνοὺς δὲ δύνα-
 5 μαι πυθέσθαι οἰκέοντας πέρην τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀνθρώπους
 τοῖσι οὖνομα εἶναι Σιγύννας, ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεωμένους
 Μηδικῇ. τοὺς δὲ ἵππους αὐτῶν εἶναι λασίους ἅπαν τὸ
 σῶμα ἐπὶ πέντε δακτύλους τὸ βάθος τῶν τριχῶν,
 σμικροὺς δὲ καὶ σιμοὺς καὶ ἀδυνάτους ἄνδρας φέρειν,
 10 ζευγνυμένους δὲ ὑπ' ἄρματα εἶναι ὄξυτάτους· ἄρματῆλα-
 τέειν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. κατήκειν δὲ τού-

^a αὔται A B C.^b αὐτήν secl. St., Van H.^c τὰ . . . Ἰστρου secl. St., τὰ et ἤδη om. A B C.

Homer and the Thracians. χέαντες = χάσαντες, Homericè.

ἐν τῷ . . . μονομαχίης, 'in which the greatest prizes are given for single combat, as is reasonable.' For κατὰ λόγον in this sense, cf. viii. 111. 10 κατὰ λόγον ἄρα ἦσαν αἱ Ἀθῆναι μεγάλαι. Or, taking κατὰ λόγον in the sense of 'in proportion to,'—'in which the greatest prizes are given for single combat, in proportion' (to its difficulty), i.e. the prizes vary in amount, according to the contest, the greatest being given for single combat. For this sense of κατὰ λόγον, cf. i. 134. 13 τοὺς ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι. For the μονομαχίη of the Thracians, see Xen. *Anab.* vi. 1. 5, 6.

θ. 3. αὐτήν. The language is not grammatical, but Herodotus may have written so. The sense is clear. Cf. ἀπ' αὐτῆς in iv. 38.

4. ἄπειρος, i.e. the northern limit is unknown. Cf. iv. 45 ἢ δὲ Εὐρώπη πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερῇ ἐστὶ γινωσκόμενη, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα οὔτε τὰ πρὸς βορέην εἰ περὶ ῥυτός ἐστι. In iv. 16 we are told that nothing is known of the country north of Scythia: cf. iii. 115, 116; and *infra*. 10. 2.

6. τοῖσι . . . εἶναι, a common form of attraction in Herod.

Σιγύννας. Strabo, p. 520, speaks of a nation of Siginni dwelling in the Caucasus, who, like these Sigynnae, have little shaggy horses, which cannot bear a rider, and are yoked in fours. The name has been connected with Zigeuner, gypsy. What we learn from the text is this: (1) that the tribe came from the East, which is in no way improbable; (2) that they were known as pedlars as far west as the Eneti.—The dress of the Medians was distinct: it was

The land beyond the Danube: the Sigynnae.

THRACE. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

των τοὺς οὖρους ἀγχοῦ Ἐνετῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίῃ. εἶ-
 ναι δὲ Μήδων σφέας ἀποίκους λέγουσι. ὅκως δὲ οὔτοι
 Μήδων ἀποικοὶ γεγόνασι, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἐπιφράσα-
 σθαι, γένοιτο δ' ἂν πᾶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ. σιγύνας¹⁵
 δ' ὧν καλέουσι Λίγυες οἱ ἄνω ὑπὲρ Μασσαλῆς οἰκέοντες
 10 τοὺς καπήλους, Κύπριοι δὲ τὰ δόρατα. ὡς δὲ Θρηῆκες
 λέγουσι, μέλισσαι κατέχουσι τὰ πέρην τοῦ Ἰστρου, καὶ
 ὑπὸ τουτέων οὐκ εἶναι διελθεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω. ἐμοὶ
 μὲν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες δοκέουσι λέγειν οὐκ οἰκότα· τὰ
 γὰρ ζῶα ταῦτα φαίνεται εἶναι δύσριγα· ἀλλὰ μοι τὰ 5
 ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον ἀοίκητα δοκέει εἶναι διὰ τὰ ψύχρα.
 ταῦτα μὲν νυν τῆς χώρας ταύτης πέρι λέγεται· τὰ πα-
 ραθαλάσσια δ' ὧν αὐτῆς Μεγάβαζος Περσέων κατήκοα
 ἐποίηε.

11 Δαρέϊος δὲ ὡς διαβάς τάχιστα τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἀπί-

borrowed by the Persians; see vii. 61, 62; i. 135. 2 etc.

12. Ἐνετῶν. In Homer the Eneti are Paphlagonians (*Il.* ii. 852); but Herod. i. 196. 3 calls them an Illyrian tribe. The Celtic Veneti of Cæsar's time were different.

15. γένοιτο δ' ἂν, κ.τ.λ. Herodotus looks back on an illimitable past; cf. ii. 11. 18, where he speaks of 20,000 years as a comparatively short period in the world's history.

16. ἄνω, 'inland,' i.e. in the mountains. Κύπριοι, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Arist. *Geol.* 21 τὸ σίγνον Κυπρίους μὲν κύριον, ἡμῶν δὲ γλωττα.

10. 3. ὑπὸ τουτέων, 'owing to these.' Cf. iv. 7. 16 οὐκ οἶά τε εἶναι προσωτέρω διεξιέναι ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων. Herodotus regards the ends of the earth as impassable; cf. iv. 31 init., 40. 8, 45 init.; iii. 115. 13. The story in the text may

have had its origin in the number of mosquitos and gnats which infest Wallachia and Moldavia but bees are also numerous in those regions: see Bähr's note.

5. δύσριγα, 'very chilly,' i.e. impatient of cold. See Arist. *Hist. An.* viii. 25 (of mules).

τὰ ὑπὸ τῆν, κ.τ.λ., 'the country stretching beneath,' etc. Herodotus uses the article (sing. and plur.) with words and clauses, sometimes adverbially, sometimes as a substantive. Cf. *supr.* 9. 3 τὰ πέρην adverbial; 10. 1 τὰ πέρην substantival.

11. 1. ὡς διαβάς τάχιστα. See *infra.* 29. 9. Coes (iv. 97. 8) advised Darius not to destroy the bridge over the Danube, after he had passed over it; and Histæus (iv. 137. 5) prevented those left in charge from destroying it at the request of the Scythians.

SARDIS. B.C. 515(?) ; Ol. 66. 2.

κετο ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐμνήσθη τῆς ἐξ Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ Μι-
 λησίου εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῆς παραινέσιος τοῦ Μυτιληναίου
 Κώεω, μεταπεμψάμενος δέ σφεας ἐς Σάρδεις ἐδίδου αὐ-
 5 τοῖσι αἴρεσιν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστιαῖος, ἅτε τυραννεύων τῆς
 Μιλήτου, τυραννίδος μὲν οὐδεμιῆς προσεχρήριζε, αἰτέει
 δὲ Μύρκινον τὴν Ἡδωνῶν, βουλόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν
 κτίσαι. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ταύτην αἰρέεται, ὁ δὲ Κώης, οἷά
 τε οὐ τύραννος δημότης τε ἐών, αἰτέει Μυτιλήνης τυ-
 ραννεῦσαι. τελεωθέντων δὲ ἀμφοτέροισι, οὔτοι μὲν κατὰ τὰ^a 12
 εἶλοντο ἐτράποντο, Δαρεῖον δὲ συνήνεικε πρήγμα τοιόνδε
 ἰδόμενον ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἐντεῖλασθαι Μεγαβάξω Παίονας
 ἐλόντα ἀνασπάστους ποιῆσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκ τῆς Εὐ-
 5 ρώπης^b. ἦν Πίγρης καὶ Μαντύης^c ἄνδρες Παίονες, οἱ
 ἐπέειτε Δαρεῖος διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες
 Παίωνων τυραννεῦειν ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις, ἅμα ἀγό-
 μνοι ἀδελφεὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐειδέα. φυλάξαντες δὲ

SARDIS :
Darius,
Histiaeus
and Coes.The
Paeonians
at Sardis.

^a κατὰ ἄ Krüger, Van H., τά om. A B C ; κατὰ τὰ Pr (sv). ^b ἐκ τῆς
 εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν ἀσίην Pr (sv). ^c μαστύης P., μαστίης sv.

7. Μύρκινον τὴν Ἡδωνῶν: sc.
 χώραν. For the district see the
 Map. The selection certainly does
 credit to the sagacity of Histiaeus.

9. δημότης. Coes is described in
 iv. 97. 8 as 'general of the My-
 tilenaeans.' The city at this time
 was in the hands of a moderate
 government, as arranged by Pittacus,
 but since the days of Cambyses
 Lesbos had been in some way subject
 to Persia.

12. 1. κατὰ τὰ εἶλοντο ἐτράποντο,
 'repaired to the objects of their
 choice.' The words refer to the
 departure of Histiaeus and Coes to
 Myrcinus and Mytilene.

3. ἐπιθυμῆσαι, 'conceived a wish.'

4. ἀνασπάστους ποιῆσαι. Such
 violent transportations were charac-
 teristic of Persian despotism, and
 caused it to be dreaded; cf. vi.
 3. 6.

5. ἦν . . . οἷ. Cobet would remove
 these words on the ground that ἦν is
 merely a repetition of the syllable
 -ην from Ἀσίην, which in the variant
 order ἐκ τῆς Εὐρ. ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην
 comes last in the sentence. But ἦν
 is found in all the MSS.; the order
 from which it arose (on this hypo-
 thesis) in a section only. ἦν begins
 a sentence, *ii/r.* 71. 1, and 104. 3.
 For the singular see ix. 57. 10 ἵνα μὴ
 ἀπολείπη . . . ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ ὁ
 λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι.

SARDIS. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

Δαρείον προκατιζόμενον ἐς τὸ προάστειον τὸ τῶν Λυ-
δῶν ἐποίησαν τοιούδε, σκευάσαντες τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ὡς 10
εἶχον ἄριστα, ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔπεμπον ἄγγος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ
ἔχουσαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος ἵππον ἐπέλκουσαν καὶ
κλώθουσαν^a λίνον. ὡς δὲ παρεξήιε ἡ γυνή, ἐπιμελὲς τῷ
Δαρείῳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ Περσικὰ ἦν οὔτε Λύδια τὰ
ποιούμενα ἐκ τῆς γυναικός, οὔτε πρὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας 15
οὔδαμῶν. ἐπιμελὲς δὲ ὡς οἱ ἐγένετο, τῶν δορυφόρων
τινας πέμπει κελεύων φυλάξαι ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ ἵππῳ
ἢ γυνῇ. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὅπισθε εἶποντο· ἡ δὲ ἐπέιτε ἀπί-
κετο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ἦρσε τὸν ἵππον, ἄρσασα δὲ καὶ
τὸ ἄγγος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐμπλησαμένη τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν πα- 20
ρεξήιε, φέρουσα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἐπέλκουσα
ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος τὸν ἵππον καὶ στρέφουσα τὸν ἄτρα-
13 κτον. θωμάζων δὲ ὁ Δαρείος τά τε ἤκουσε ἐκ τῶν
κατασκόπων καὶ τὰ αὐτὸς ὦρα, ἄγειν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσε
ἐωυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν. ὡς δὲ ἄχθη, παρήσαν καὶ οἱ ἀδελ-
φροὶ αὐτῆς οὐ κη πρόσω σκοπιὴν ἔχοντες τούτων. εἰρω-
τῶντος δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου ὀποδαπῆ εἶη, ἔφασαν οἱ νεηνί- 5
σκοι εἶναι Παίονες καὶ ἐκείνην εἶναι σφέων ἀδελφεήν.
ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο, τίνες δὲ οἱ Παίονες ἀνθρωποὶ εἰσι καὶ
κοῦ γῆς οἰκημένοι, καὶ τί κείνοι ἐθέλοντες ἔλθοιεν ἐς

^a κλώσαν ABC.

9. προκατιζόμενον, i.e. in order to hear and decide causes. Cf. i. 14. 14, where we are told that Midas dedicated at Delphi the royal throne ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε: so, too, i. 97. 4 of Deiocees. The 'suburb' of Sardis no doubt extended into the plain, through which flowed the Hyllus, and Pactolus, and other rivers (i. 80).

15. πρὸς τῶν, κ.τ.λ., 'like any of the Asiatics.' πρὸς means

'characteristic of,' 'coming from.' A similar story to that in the text is told by Nicolaus Damascenus (*Frag.* 71. M.) of a Thracian woman, who came to Sardis from Mysia in the time of king Alyattes: τοῦ οὖν βασιλέως πρὸς τῷ τῆς πόλεως τείχει καθεζομένου, διήρχετο ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Θρακός, ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς βαστάζοντα στάμνον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν χειρῶν ἡλακάτην καὶ ἄτρακτον, ὅπισθεν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ζώνην ἵππος τις

ΡΑΕΟΝΙΑ. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66, 2.

Σάρδεις. οἱ δὲ οἱ ἔφραζον ὡς ἔλθοιεν μὲν ἐκείνῳ δά-
 10 σοντες σφέας αὐτούς, εἶη δὲ ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυ-
 μόνι ποταμῷ πεπολισμένη, ὃ δὲ Στρυμῶν· οὐ πρόσω
 τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, εἶησαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης
 ἄποικοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἕκαστα ἔλεγον, ὃ δὲ εἰρώτα
 εἶ καὶ πᾶσαι αὐτόθι αἱ γυναῖκες εἶησαν οὕτω ἐργάτιδες.
 15 οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἔφασαν προθύμως οὕτω ἔχειν· αὐτοῦ
 γὰρ ὧν τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ ἐποίετο. ἐνθαῦτα Δαρείους 14
 γράφει γράμματα Μεγαβάζῳ^α, τὸν ἔλιπε ἐν τῇ Θρηίκῃ
 στρατηγόν, ἐντελλόμενος ἔξαναστῆσαι ἐξ ἠθέων Παίονας
 καὶ παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ αὐτούς καὶ τὰ^β τέκνα τε
 5 καὶ τὰς^β γυναῖκας αὐτῶν. αὐτίκα δὲ ἵππευς ἔθεε φέρων
 τὴν ἀγγελίην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον, περαιωθεὶς δὲ δι-
 δοῖ τὸ βιβλίον^γ τῷ Μεγαβάζῳ. ὃ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος καὶ
 λαβὼν ἠγεμόνας ἐκ τῆς Θρηίκης ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν
 Παιονίην. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Παίονες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ 15
 σφέας ἰέναι, ἀλισθέντες ἐξεστρατεύσαντο πρὸς θαλάσ-
 σης, δοκέοντες ταύτῃ ἐπιχειρήσειν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐμβάλ-

ΡΑΕΟΝΙΑ :
 Transporta-
 tion of the
 Paeonians
 into Asia.

^α πρὸς μεγάβαζον A B C. ^β τὰ . . . τὰς om. Pr (sv), Gaisford, Bekk.

^γ βιβλίον Libb., corr. St.

προσεδέδετο. Alyattes sent envoys to the king of Thrace (Cotys), begging that a number of these industrious Thracians might be transferred to his country.

13. 10. εἶη δὲ ἡ Παιονίη, κ.τ.λ. For the Paeonians, see note on c. 1. The word πεπολισμένη is elsewhere used by Herodotus of a single city, e.g. *ihfr.* 52. 34 ἐπ' ᾧ (ποταμῷ) Σοῦσα πόλις πεπόλισται, Xen. *Anab.* vi. 6. 4 πολίξει τὸ χωρίον. Here it is used of a country containing πόλεις.

12. εἶησαν δὲ Τευκρῶν, κ.τ.λ. In vii. 20. 11 ff. Herod. speaks of a

great immigration of the Teucrians and Mysians from Asia into Europe, before the Trojan war. This immigration not only brought Asiatic nations into Europe, but drove European nations into Asia, as e.g. the Bithynians (vii. 75), who formerly dwelt on the Strymon, and perhaps the Phrygians.

15. αὐτοῦ γάρ, κ.τ.λ., 'for this was the very point which they had in view in arranging the whole matter.'

15. 2. Two routes led from Thrace (i. e. from the country of the Sapaci

ΠΑΕΟΝΙΑ. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

λοντας^a. οἱ μὲν δὴ Παῖονες ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι τὸν Μεγαβά-
 ζου στρατὸν ἐπιόντα ἐρύκειν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι 5
 συναλίσθαι τοὺς Παίονας καὶ τὴν πρὸς θαλάσσης ἐσ-
 βολὴν φυλάσσοντας, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν
 τράπονται, λαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Παίονας ἐσπίπτουσι ἐς
 τὰς πόλιας αὐτῶν ἐούσας ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους. οἷα δὲ κει-
 νῆσι ἐπιπεσόντες εὐπετέως κατέσχον. οἱ δὲ Παῖονες ὡς 10
 ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς πόλιας, αὐτίκα διασκεδασθέντες
 κατ' ἑωυτοὺς ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο καὶ παρεδίδοσαν σφέας
 αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Πέρσησι. οὕτω δὴ Παιόνων Σιριοπαῖονές^b
 τε καὶ Παιόπλαι καὶ οἱ μέχρι τῆς Πρασιιάδος λίμνης
 16 ἐξ ἡθέων ἐξαναστάντες ἤγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. οἱ δὲ περι-
 τε Πάγγαιον ὄρος [καὶ Δόβηρας καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ
 Ὀδομάντους]^c καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λίμνην τὴν Πρασιιάδα οὐκ
 ἐχειρώθησαν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου. ἐπειρήθη δὲ καὶ

^a ἐσβαλόντας Pr (sv). ^b Σιριοπαῖονες Holstein, cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. Σίρις:
 σιριοπαῖονες, sive -αῖονες Libb. ^c καὶ . . . Ὀδομάντους secl. St.

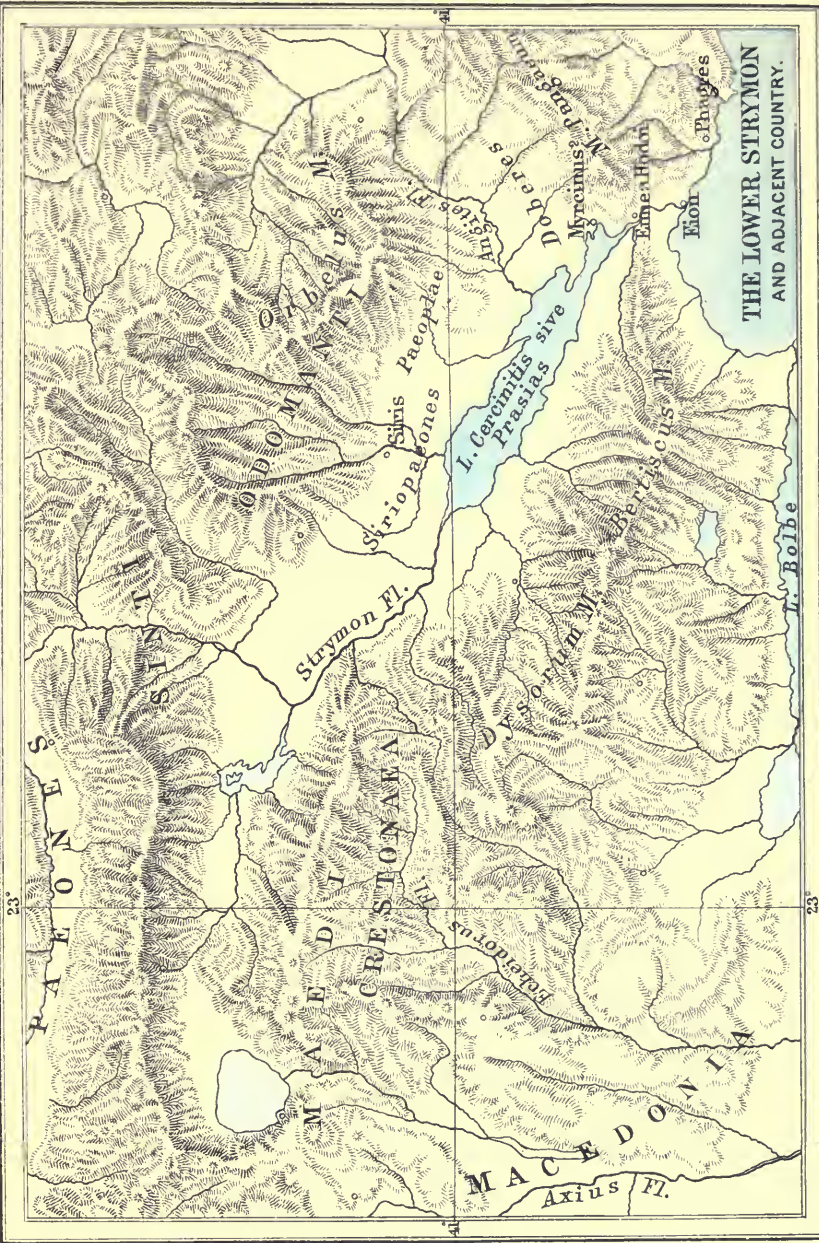
and the mouth of the Nestus) to the Strymon: (1) the route through the 'Pierius Sinus,' south of Mount Pangaeum, which was taken by part of Xerxes' army; (2) the route to the north of Pangaeum, down the valley of the Angites. This was the route taken by Megabazus. See Leake, *Northern Greece*, iii, 183.

6. συναλίσθαι . . . φυλάσσοντας. The same variation occurs, viii. 40. 10 f.

13. Σιριοπαῖονες, κ.τ.λ. 'It was very natural that Megabazus should have subdued the Siroiopeones, who possessed the most fertile and exposed part of the Strymonic plain, while the Odomanti, who were secure in a higher situation, and still more the Agrians, who dwelt at the sources of the Strymon, were able to

resist him as well as the Doberes and the other Paeonians of Mt. Pangaeum, and the amphibious inhabitants of Lake Prasias,' Leake, *N. G.* iii. p. 210, who identifies Lake Prasias with Lake Cercinitis. Siris lay on an eastern affluent of the Strymon, not far above the lake, in a large and fruitful plain. The name survives in the modern Serres. Leake, *l. c.* p. 200.

16. 2. καὶ Δόβηρας, κ.τ.λ. The reading is doubtful; why should the Paeonians be described as dwelling near the Doberes and Agrians who were themselves Paeonians? The general sense is probably right. The Odomanti were Thracians, dwelling between the Nestus and Strymon, on the mountains.



PAEONIA. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

5 τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατοικημένους ἐξαιρέειν ὧδε^a. ἴκρια
 ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐξευγμένα ἐν μέσῃ ἔστηκε τῇ λί-
 μνῃ, ἔσοδον ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου στεῖνῃν ἔχοντα μιῇ γε-
 φύρῃ. τοὺς δὲ σταυροὺς τοὺς ὑπεστεῶτας τοῖσι ἰκρίοισι
 τὸ μὲν κου ἀρχαῖον ἔστησαν κοινῇ πάντες οἱ πολιῆται,
 10 μετὰ δὲ νόμῳ χρεώμενοι ἰσῆσι τοιῶδε. κομίζοντες ἐξ
 ὄρεος τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Ὀρβηλος, κατὰ γυναῖκα ἐκάστην
 ὁ γαμέων τρεῖς σταυροὺς ὑπίστησι· ἄγεται δὲ ἕκαστος
 συχνὰς^b γυναῖκας. οἰκέουσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον, κρατέων
 ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τῶν ἰκρίων καλύβης τε ἐν τῇ διαιτᾶται καὶ
 15 θύρης καταπακτῆς^c διὰ τῶν ἰκρίων κάτω φερούσης ἐς
 τὴν λίμνην. τὰ δὲ νήπια παιδία δέουσι τοῦ ποδὸς σπάρ-
 τῳ, μὴ κατακυλισθῆ δειμαίνοντες. τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι καὶ
 τοῖσι ὑπόζυγίοισι παρέχουσι χόρτον ἰχθύς· τῶν δὲ πλη-
 θὸς ἐστι τοσοῦτο ὥστε, ὅταν τὴν θύρην τὴν καταπα-
 20 κτὴν ἀνακλίνῃ, κατιεῖ^d σχοίνῳ σφυρίδα κεινὴν ἐς τὴν λί-

The
Paeonians
on Lake
Prasias.

^a κατοικημένους δὲ ὧδε St. ^b πολλάς Pr (sv). ^c καταρακτῆς Reiske, καταπηκτῆς Wesseling, κατεπακτῆς St. ^d κατιεῖ Schaefer, κατίει Libb., sed vid. Schwgh. ad i. 180.

5. κατοικημένους ὧδε are to be taken together.

9. πολιῆται. See the note on c. 7.

11. Orbelus is the mountain on the left bank of the Strymon. Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 1. 5, remarks that Alexander in marching from Amphipolis to the Nestus had Philippi and Mount Orbelus on his left.

15. καταπακτῆς is a doubtful word. If from πῆγγυμι we should expect καταπηκτῆς. κατεπακτῆς (Stein) would be correct from κατεπάγω, and as ἐπάγειν θύραν is used of closing an ordinary door, so κατεπάγειν might be used of a door closing downwards.

17. τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι, κ. τ. λ.

Wesseling quotes Athenaeus, 345 E οἶδα καὶ τοὺς περὶ Μόσνον τῆς Θράκης βοῦς, εἰ ἰχθύς ἐσθίουσι, παραβαλλομένους αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς φάτνας. For the fishery see Leake, *l. c.* p. 185: 'The fishery is said to produce annually about 40,000 brace of large eels, besides the smaller and other fish.' On the subject of lake dwellings, see Tylor, *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1868, and *Fortnightly Review*, Nov. 1866; and Keller, 'Lake Dwellings,' etc. Without further information it is impossible to say whether we have here a 'survival' of a very primitive form of civilization, or an adaptation to peculiar circumstances.

MACEDONIA. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

μνην, καὶ οὐ πολλόν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχῶν ἀνασπᾶ πλή-
 ρεα ἰχθύων. τῶν δὲ ἰχθύων ἐστὶ γένεα δύο, τοὺς κα-
 λέουσι πάπρακας τε καὶ τίλωνας.

MACEDO-
 NIA; The
 Persian
 envoys at
 the court of
 Amyntas.

- 17 Παιόνων μὲν δὴ οἱ χειρωθέντες ἤγοντο ἐς τὴν
 Ἀσίην. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ὡς ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς Παίονας,
 πέμπει ἀγγέλους ἐς Μακεδονίην ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ Πέρσας,
 οἳ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνους ἦσαν δοκιμώτατοι ἐν τῷ στρατο-
 πέδῳ· ἐπέμποντο δὲ οὗτοι παρὰ Ἀμύντην αἰτήσοντες 5
 γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ βασιλεί. ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πρα-
 σιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίην·
 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔχεται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον ἐξ οὗ^a
 ὕστερον τούτων τάλαντον ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης
 ἐκάστης ἐφόιτα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέταλλον Δύσωρον καλεό- 10
 18 μενον ὄρος ὑπερβάντα^b εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίῃ. οἳ ὦν Πέρ-

^a ἐκ τοῦ Struve, sed vid. Stein, *Einleit.* p. Ivii.

^b ὑπερβάντι Bernhardy, Abicht.

17. From the words ὡς ἐχειρώ-
 σατο it would appear that the
 envoys were sent to Macedonia after
 the conquest of the Paenians; yet
infra c. 23, Megabazus returns with
 the Paenians to Asia. His im-
 mediate departure was probably the
 reason why it was left to Bubares
 to investigate the fate of the envoys.

7. σύντομος, sc. ὁδός. So πολύ-
 φημος is used for a meeting, *infra*.
 79. 4, whereas in Homer we have
 ἀγορὰ πολύφημος.

Μακεδονίην, κ.τ.λ. 'If we
 suppose Herodotus to have referred
 not so much to the Macedonia of
 the reign of Amyntas, when Mega-
 bazus invaded Paenonia'—at which
 time Macedonia was confined be-
 tween the Axios and Haliacmon—
 'as to the extent of the kingdom in
 the time of his grandson Perdicas,

which was that of the historian him-
 self, when Mygdonia, Bisaltia, An-
 themus, and Crestonia had been
 added to the kingdom; it then
 becomes credible that Alexander I
 wrought some mines in the Bisaltian
 mountain, which is separated from
 Mt. Pangaeum by the pass of
 Amphipolis, and that the further
 continuation of that mountain to-
 wards the modern Sokhó may have
 been the ancient Dysorum.' Leake,
l. c. 212. For the coins of Alex-
 ander see Head, *Hist. Num.* 193.

11. ὑπερβάντα εἶναι. There is no
 grammatical construction; a word
 must be supplied to account for the
 accus. and infin. Abicht reads
 ὑπερβάντι, comparing i. 104. 4
 τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι εἶναι ἐν
 τῇ Μηδικῇ. See also Thuc. ii. 96
 τοὺς ὑπερβάντι Αἴμον Γέτας.

MACEDONIA. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

σαι οἱ πεμφθέντες οὔτοι παρὰ τὸν Ἀμύντην ὡς ἀπί-
 κοντο, αἵτεον ἐλθόντες ἐς ὄψιν τὴν Ἀμύντεω Δαρείω
 βασιλεί γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὁ δὲ ταῦτά τε ἐδίδου καὶ
 5 σφεας ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέει, παρασκευασάμενος δὲ δεῖπνον
 μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἐδέκετο τοὺς Πέρσας φιλοφρόνως. ὡς δὲ
 ἀπὸ δεῖπνου ἐγένοντο, διαπίνοντες εἶπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τάδε·
 “ξείνε Μακεδῶν, ἡμῖν νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖσι Πέρσησι, ἐπεὰν
 δεῖπνον προτιθώμεθα μέγα, τότε καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ
 10 τὰς κουριδίας γυναῖκας ἐσάγεσθαι παρέδρους. σύ νυν,
 ἐπεὶ περ προθύμως μὲν ἐδέξασο μεγάλως δὲ ξεινίζεις, δι-
 δοῖς δὲ βασιλεί [Δαρείω]^a γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ἔπειο νόμφ
 τῷ ἡμετέρῳ”. εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀμύντης “ὦ Πέρσαι,
 νόμος μὲν ἡμῖν γε ἐστὶ οὐκ οὔτος, ἀλλὰ κεχωρῖσθαι
 15 ἄνδρας γυναικῶν· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἔοντες δεσπότηαι προσ-
 χηρίζετε τούτων, παρέσται ὑμῖν καὶ ταῦτα”. εἶπας
 τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀμύντης μετεπέμπετο τὰς γυναῖκας· αἱ δ’
 ἐπεῖτε καλεόμεναι ἦλθον, ἐπεξῆς ἀντία ἴζοντο τοῖσι
 Πέρσησι. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἰδόμενοι γυναῖκας εὐμόρ-
 20 φους ἔλεγον πρὸς Ἀμύντην φάμενοι τὸ ποιηθὲν τοῦτο
 οὐδὲν εἶναι σοφόν· κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι ἀρχῆθεν μὴ ἐλ-
 θεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἢ ἐλθούσας καὶ μὴ παριζομένας ἀν-

Their
insolent
demands.

* Δαρείω secl. St., Van H.

18. 6. Cf. ix. 16. 3 ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ
 δεῖπνου ἦσαν, διαπίνοντων, κ.τ.λ. The
 meal was at an end, but the drink-
 ing went on; διαπίνοντες implies
 heavy drinking, to which Macedo-
 nians and Persians were addicted.
 Cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 1 ὡς δὲ
 ἦλθε τὸ πρῶτον πρὸς Κύρον ἢ Ἀσπα-
 σία, ἔτυχε μὲν ἀπὸ δεῖπνου ὦν καὶ πίνειν
 ἔμελλε κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τὸν Περσικόν·
 μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι τροφῆς οἱ
 Πέρσαι τῷ τε οἴνῳ εὖ μάλα ἀποσχολά-

ζουσιν, ὡς πρὸς ἀντίπαλον τὸν πότον
 ἀποδύομενοι: *infra*. l. 24.

10. τὰς κουριδίας γυναῖκας. This
 is denied by Plutarch, *Coniug. Disf.*
 i. 1; *Coniug. Praecept.* 16. Greek
 feeling drew a very broad line be-
 tween the married and unmarried
 woman on such occasions; cf.
 Isaeus, iii. 14 (16) οὐδὲ αἱ γαμεταὶ
 γυναῖκες ἔρχονται μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα, οὐδὲ συνδειπνεῖν ἀξιούσι
 μετὰ τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν.

MACEDONIA. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

τίας ἴζεσθαι ἀλγηδόνας σφίσι ὀφθαλμῶν. ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης ἐκέλευε παρίζειν· πειθομενέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτίκα οἱ Πέρσαι μαστῶν τε ἄπτοντο οἶα ²⁵ πλεόνως οἰνωμένοι, καὶ κού τις καὶ φιλέειν ἐπειράτο.

19 Ἀμύντης μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὀρέων ἀτρέμας εἶχε, καίπερ δυσφορέων, οἶα ὑπερδειμαίνων τοὺς Πέρσας· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντεω παρεῶν τε καὶ ὀρέων ταῦτα, ἅτε νέος τε ἔων καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθής, οὐδαμῶς ἔτι κατέχειν οἶός τε ἦν, ὥστε δὲ βαρέως φέρων εἶπε πρὸς Ἀμύντην ⁵ τάδε· “ὦ πάτερ, σὺ μὲν εἶκε τῇ ἡλικίῃ ἀπιῶν τε ἀναπαύεο, μηδὲ λιπάρεε τῇ πόσι· ἐγὼ δὲ προσμένων αὐτοῦ τῆδε πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα παρέξω τοῖσι ξείνοισι.” πρὸς ταῦτα συνιείς Ἀμύντης ὅτι νεώτερα πρήγματα πρήξιν^a μέλλοι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, λέγει “ὦ παῖ, σχεδὸν γάρ ¹⁰ σευ ἀνακαιομένου συνίημι τοὺς λόγους, ὅτι ἐθέλεις ἐμὲ ἐκπέμψας ποιέειν τι νεώτερον· ἐγὼ ὦν σευ χρήζω μηδὲν νεοχμῶσαι κατ’ ἀνδρας τούτους, ἵνα μὴ ἐξεργάσῃ ἡμέας, ἀλλὰ ἀνέχευ ὀρέων τὰ ποιούμενα· ἀμφὶ δὲ ἀπό-
20 δω τῇ ἐμῇ πείσομαί τοι.” ὡς δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης χρήσας τούτων οἰχώκεε, λέγει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας “γυναικῶν τουτέων, ὦ ξεῖνοι, ἔστι ὑμῖν πολλή εὐπετεΐη, καὶ εἰ πάσῃσι βούλεσθε μίσγεσθαι καὶ ὀκόσῃσι ὦν αὐτέων. τούτου μὲν πέρι αὐτοὶ ἀποσημανέετε· νῦν δέ, ⁵ σχεδὸν γὰρ ἤδη τῆς κοίτης ὥρη προσέρχεται ὑμῖν καὶ

^a πρήσσειν A B C, St.

25. οἶα πλεόνως οἰνωμένοι. Cf. i. 133. 12 οἶνα κάρτα προσκέαται (Πέρσαι)—μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ εἰώθασιν βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιότατα τῶν πρηγμάτων. Plato, *Latws*, 637 D.

19. 6. εἶκε τῇ ἡλικίῃ, ‘indulge your years’; ἡλικίῃ is used both of age or youth (vii. 18. 8).

7. λιπάρεε τῇ πόσι, ‘remain at the drinking.’ So Stein, who regards the dative as local, but? ‘persevere with the drinking.’

9. νεώτερα, ‘violent.’

20. 1. χρήσας τούτων, ‘having made this request.’ The genitive as *inj.* 30. 25.

Alexander
the son of
Amyntas.

MACEDONIA. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

καλῶς ἔχοντας ὑμέας ὀρῶ μέθης, γυναῖκας ταύτας, εἰ
 ὑμῖν φίλον ἐστί, ἄπετε λούσασθαι, λουσαμένας δὲ ὀπί-
 σω προσδέκεσθε." εἶπας ταῦτα, συνέπαινοι γὰρ ἦσαν
 10 οἱ Πέρσαι, γυναῖκας μὲν ἐξελθούσας ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν
 γυναικίην, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἴσους τῆσι γυναιξὶ
 ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρας λειογενείους τῆ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσθῆτι
 σκευάσας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια δοὺς παρήγε^a ἔσω, παράγων δὲ
 τούτους ἔλεγε τοῖσι Πέρσησι τάδε. "ὦ Πέρσαι, οἴκατε
 15 πανδαισίῃ τελῆ ἰστιῆσθαι· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσα εἶχο-
 μεν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἶά τε ἦν ἐξευρόντας παρέχειν, πάντα
 ὑμῖν πάρεστι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τόδε τὸ πάντων μέγιστον,
 τὰς τε ἑωυτῶν μητέρας καὶ τὰς ἀδελφεὰς ἐπιδαφιλευό-
 μεθα ὑμῖν, ὡς παντελέως μάθητε τιμώμενοι πρὸς
 20 ἡμέων τῶν περ ἐστὲ ἀξιοί, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλεί τῶ
 πέμψαντι ἀπαγγείλητε ὡς ἀνῆρ Ἕλλην Μακεδόνων ὑπαρ-
 χος εὖ ὑμέας ἐδέξατο καὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ κίτῃ." ταῦτα
 εἶπας Ἀλέξανδρος παρίζει Πέρση ἀνδρὶ ἄνδρα Μακε-
 δόνα ὡς γυναῖκα τῶ λόγῳ· οἱ δέ, ἐπίετε σφέων οἱ
 Πέρσαι ψαύειν ἐπειρῶντο, διεργάζοντο αὐτούς. καὶ 21
 οὔτοι μὲν τούτῳ τῶ μόρῳ διεφθάρησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ
 ἡ θεραπηίη αὐτῶν· εἶπετο γὰρ δὴ σφι καὶ ὀχήματα
 καὶ θεράποντες καὶ ἡ πᾶσα πολλὴ παρασκευή· πάντα

21
 Assassination of the
 envoys.

^a ἦγε A B C, St.

16. καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἶά τε. πρὸς is adverbial, τά=ταῦτα ἅ, and οἶά τε is plural for the more usual singular (infra. 49. 14 εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἶά τε χωρεῖν ἐστί).

18. ἑωυτῶν, of the first person.

20. τῶν=τούτοις ἂν.

21. ἄνῆρ Ἕλλην. Cf. infra. c.

22. In ix. 45. 7 Alexander is represented as saying αὐτὸς τε γὰρ Ἕλλην γένος εἰμὶ τάρχαϊον, κ.τ.λ.

He was always exceedingly anxious to stand well with the Greeks. Μακεδόνων ὑπαρχος, i. e. ruler of the Macedonians under Persia. ὑπαρχος is used both of the great satraps of the Persian system (cp. infra c. 25), and of less important governors, e. g. Mascames at Dorisus vii. 105. 4. Cf. ix. 116. 1 ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξω ὑπαρχος Ἀρταύκτης. 21. 4. ἡ πᾶσα πολλὴ παρα-

MACEDONIA. B.C. 515; Ol. 66, 2.

δὴ ταῦτα ἅμα πᾶσι ἐκείνοισι ἠφάνιστο. μετὰ δὲ χρό-
 νῳ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ζήτησις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων
 μεγάλη ἐκ τῶν Περσέων ἐγένετο, καὶ σφεας Ἀλέξαν-
 δρος κατέλαβε σοφίη, χρήματά τε δούς πολλά καὶ τὴν
 ἔωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὴν τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γυγαίη· δούς δὲ ταῦ-
 τα κατέλαβε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Βουβάρη ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τῶν 10
 22 διζημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους τῶ^a στρατηγῶ. ὁ μὲν νυν
 τῶν Περσέων τούτων θάνατος οὕτω καταλαμφθεὶς ἐσι-
 γήθη. Ἕλληνας δὲ εἶναι τούτους τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδικκεω
 γεγονότας, κατὰ περ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, αὐτὸς τε οὕτω
 τυγχάνω ἐπιστάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λό- 5
 γοισι ἀποδέξω ὡς εἰσὶ Ἕλληνες, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν ἐν
 Ὀλυμπίῃ διέποντες ἀγῶνα Ἕλληνοδίκαι^b οὕτω ἔγνωσαν

^a τῶ στρατηγῶ Valckenaer: τῶν στρατηγῶν Libb.

^b Ἑλλήνων γ(sv), Bähr, Van H. post Wess. et Valck.

σκευή. Cf. vii. 83. 10 χωρὶς δὲ χρυσόν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἀφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον, ἄρμαμάξας τε ἅμα ἤγοντο, ἐν δὲ παλλακὰς καὶ θεραπεῖην πολλήν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένην; ix. 80. 5 ff.

7. καί, 'and yet,' 'and nevertheless.' σφεας, i.e. the men sent to make enquiries.

8. κατέλαβε, 'stopped,' 'checked'; cf. ix. 2. 2 οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον. σοφίη, 'by subtlety': *inf.* c. 23 ἀνδρὶ τε Ἕλληνι δεινῶ τε καὶ σοφῶ.

10. Βουβάρη. Cf. viii. 136. 5. In vii. 21. 6 Bubares, the son of Megabazus, is one of the overseers of the work at the canal of Athos; and, no doubt, the person here mentioned is the same man. At the time of this search Alexander had perhaps succeeded his father on the throne of Macedon.

22. 2. For the Macedonian account of the origin of the Macedonian kings, see viii. 137 ff. Another legend derived them from Caranos, the younger brother or son of Pheidon of Argos. See Abel, *Makedonien*, p. 91 ff., who thinks that the Argos of the legend was not the Peloponnesian Argos, but Argos Oresticum in 'upper' Macedonia. Yet he allows a close connection between the Dorians and Macedonians (Macednians, Herod. i. 56; viii. 43); Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, ii. 272.

7. Ἕλληνοδίκαι. The judges at the Olympian games; ἔδικαζον δὲ τοῖς τε ἀθληταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγωνισταῖς καὶ προεκάθητο ἐν τῶ ἀγῶνι ἐν πορφύρισιν (Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 248; see also Hermann, *Gottesdienst. Alt.* p. 327). The number varied with the number of the Elean tribes: Paus. v. 9. 4.

SARDIS. B.C. 515(?); Ol. 66. 2.

εἶναι. Ἀλεξάνδρου^a γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἐλομένου καὶ καταβάν-
τος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ ἀντιθευσόμενοι Ἑλλήνων ἐξείρ-
10 γόν μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστέων εἶναι τὸν ἀ-
γῶνα ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε
ὡς εἶη Ἀργεῖος, ἐκρίθη τε εἶναι Ἕλληνα καὶ ἀγωνιζό-
μενος στάδιον συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ.

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω κη ἐγένετο. Μεγάβαζος δὲ 23
ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας ἀπύκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐν-
θεῦτεν διαπεραιωθεὶς ἀπύκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ἅτε δὲ
τειχέοντος ἤδη Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Μιλησίου τὴν παρὰ Δαρεί-
5 ου αἰτήσας ἔτυχε μισθὸν [δωρεὴν^b] φυλακῆς τῆς σχεδῆς,
έόντος δὲ τοῦ χώρου τούτου παρὰ Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν
τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Μύρκινος, μαθὼν ὁ Μεγάβαζος τὸ
ποιεῦμενον ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, ὡς ἦλθε τάχιστα ἐς τὰς
Σάρδις ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε Δαρείῳ τάδε. “ὦ
10 βασιλεῦ, κοῖόν τι χρῆμα ἐποίησας, ἀνδρὶ Ἕλληني δει-

SARDIS.
Darius
recalls
Histiaeus
from
Thrace;

^a βουλομένου γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀεθλεύειν A B C, Cob., *Mn.* xii. 136.

^b δωρεὴν vel del. vel transp. Dobree, secl. St.: μισθὸν del. Schäf.

8. ἐλομένου, 'electing,' 'deciding': in this sense the word is generally found with ἀντί or μάλλον ἤ. 'Id est *quum mallet*, et sententia postulat, *quum vellet*; revoca igitur scripturam librorum veterum A B.' Cobet. But it is unlikely that anyone should alter βουλομένου into ἐλομένου. καταβάντος may mean 'coming from Macedonia to Olympia,' or 'entering the lists.'

13. συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ, 'ran a dead heat'; 'came out equal with the first.' Cf. viii. 123. 8 οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντες. The word, which is used of votes or opinions, is here applied to the candidate, to whom the decision relates. This is better

than the other rendering, 'was placed by lot in the first pair'; for it is not certain that the competitors ran in pairs, or were allotted in pairs. Pausanias, vi. 13. 2, informs us that they ran in fours, and the words στάδιον ἀγωνιζόμενος naturally refer to the actual contest. For the imperfect cf. *infra*. 72. 22 ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέπιπτε.

23. 5. δωρεὴν. The word is out of its place; we should expect δωρεὴν μισθὸν (the gen. φυλακῆς depends on μισθὸν). There is also the difficulty that δωρεὴν which is generally adverbial 'as a gift,' is here used = the thing given. Cf. *infra*. 124 *ult.* Yet τὴν requires δωρεὴν.

SARDIS. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

νῶ τε καὶ σοφῶ δούς ἐγκτίσασθαι^a πόλιν ἐν Θρηίκῃ, ἵνα ἴδῃ τε ναυπηγήσιμος ἐστὶ ἄφθονος καὶ πολλοὶ κωπέες καὶ μέταλλα ἀργύρεα, ὁμίλος τε πολλὸς μὲν Ἑλληνὴν περιουκίει πολλὸς δὲ βάρβαρος, οἱ προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ποιήσουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἂν κείνος ἐξηγήεται καὶ¹⁵ ἡμέρης καὶ νυκτός. σύ νυν τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα παῦσον ταῦτα ποιεῖντα, ἵνα μὴ οἰκῆῳ πολέμῳ συνέχῃ. τρόπῳ δὲ ἡπίῳ μεταπεμψάμενος παῦσον· ἐπεὰν δὲ αὐτὸν περιλάβῃς, ποιέειν ὅκως μηκέτι κείνος ἐς Ἑλληνας ἀπί-
 24 ξεται.” ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μεγάβαζος εὐπετέως ἔπειθε Δαρεῖον ὡς εὖ προορῶν τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ὁ Δαρεῖος ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἰστιαῖε, βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος τάδε λέγει. ἐγὼ φροντίζων εὐρίσκω ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι εἶναι οὐ-⁵ δένα σεῦ ἄνδρα εὐνόστερον· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ λόγοισι ἀλλ’ ἔργοισι οἶδα μαθῶν. νῦν ὦν, ἐπινοέω γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλα κατεργάσασθαι^b, ἀπικνέο μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοι αὐτὰ ὑπερθέωμαι.” τούτοισι τοῖσι ἔπεισι πιστεύσας ὁ Ἰστιαῖος, καὶ ἅμα μέγα ποιούμενος βασιλέος σύμβουλος¹⁰ γενέσθαι, ἀπικέτο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἔλεγε Δαρεῖος τάδε. “Ἰστιαῖε, ἐγὼ σε μετεπεμψάμην τῶνδε εἵνεκεν. ἐπίετε τάχιστα ἐνόστησα ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν καὶ σύ μοι ἐγένεο ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδέν κω ἄλλο χρῆμα οὐ-
 τω ἐν βραχεί ἐπεξήτησα ὡς σὲ ἰδεῖν τε καὶ ἐς λόγους¹⁵ μοι^c ἀπικέσθαι, ἐγνωκὼς ὅτι κτημάτων πάντων ἐστὶ τι-

^a ἐγκτήσασθαι r, Cob., vid. Wess.^b κατεργάσασθαι Cob. ^c σοί Cob.

11. ἐγκτίσασθαι πόλιν, ‘to found a city in.’ The word does not occur elsewhere except in Plut. *Alex. Fort.* i. 5 ὑπὲρ ἐβδομήκοντα πόλεις βαρβάρους ἔθνεσιν ἐγκτίσας. But there seems no reason why Herodotus should not have used it. ἐγκτή-

σασθαι—which Wesseling suggested—does not suit the context so well, and *infra.* 24. 20 we have νεόκτιστον, *supra*, 11. 7 πόλιν κτίσαι.

24. 15. ἐν βραχεί, ‘brevi,’ ‘pro-
 tinus,’ Schweigh. ‘so schnell,’ Stein. Before ἐς λόγους σε must be supplied.

SARDIS. B.C. 515(?); Ol. 66. 2.

μιώτατον ἀνὴρ φίλος συνετός τε καὶ εὖνοος, τά τοι ἐγὼ καὶ ἀμφοτέρα συνειδὼς ἔχω μαρτυρέειν ἐς πρήγματα τὰ ἐμά. νῦν ὦν, εὖ γὰρ ἐποίησας ἀπικόμενος, τάδε 20 τοι ἐγὼ προτείνομαι. Μίλητον μὲν ἕα καὶ τὴν νεόκτιστον ἐν Θρηίκῃ πόλιν, σὺ δέ μοι ἐπόμενος ἐς Σούσα ἔχε τά περ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ἐμός τε σύσσιτος ἐὼν καὶ σύμβουλος.” ταῦτα Δαρείος εἶπας, καὶ καταστήσας 25 Ἄρταφρένεα ἀδελφεὸν ἑαυτοῦ ὁμοπάτριον ὑπαρχον εἶναι Σαρδίων, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σούσα ἅμα ἀγόμενος Ἰστιαῖον, Ὅτάνεα δὲ ἀποδέξας στρατηγὸν εἶναι τῶν παραθαλασ- 5 σίων ἀνδρῶν· τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Σισάμνην βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης γενόμενον τῶν βασιλῆων δικαστέων, ὅτι ἐπὶ χρήμασι δίκην ἄδικον ἐδίκασε, σφάξας ἀπέδειρε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπέην^a, σπαδίξας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ δέρμα ἱμάντας

25

appoints Otanes general; Artaphernes satrap; and carries Histiaeus to Susa.

^a ἀνθρωπέην Dindorf: ἀνθρωπήην Libb.

17. τά τοι, κ.τ.λ., ‘qualities both of which I can testify from experience (συνειδὼς) that I have found in you (μαρτυρέειν τοι) with reference to my affairs.’

19. εὖ γὰρ . . . ἀπικόμενος, ‘it was kind of you to come to me.’

21. ἐπόμενος, ‘attending me’; cf. ἅμα ἀγόμενος *inf.* 25. 3; 75. 9.

22. σύσσιτος = ὁμοπάριτος iii. 132. 3; ὁμόσιτος vii. 119. 14. To be admitted to the king’s table was one of the greatest honours which a Persian could receive: cf. iii. *l.c.*

25. 2. ὁμοπάτριον, i.e. by the father’s side only. For the relative position of the satraps and generals, see Appendix I.

5. Σισάμνην. Distinguish from Sisamnes, the son of Hydarnes, vii. 66. 3.

6. τῶν βασιλῆων δικαστέων. Herod. iii. 31. 10 f. οἱ δὲ βασιλῆοι

δικασταὶ κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσῶν, ἐς οὗ ἀποθάνωσι ἢ σφι παρουργῆθι τι ἄδικον, μέχρι τούτου. οὗτοι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι δίκας δικάζουσι καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται, καὶ πάντα ἐς τούτους ἀνακείμεται. Cf. Esther i. 14; Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 6. 1 τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν Περσῶν οὗ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἐξηγησιν ἔχουσι παρ’ αὐτοῖς. In iii. 14. 18 they decide on the punishment of the Egyptians for destroying the Mytilenaeen vessel; *ib.* 31 they are consulted by Cambyses about marriage with a sister. For another case of punishment, see Sandoces, vii. 194. 6.

8. σπαδίξας. ἐκδείρας Schol., who also says that σπάδιξ is the bark of the root of the πρίνος or maple. If this is right there is some tautology in the text. Stein translates, ‘having tanned’ or ‘cured’ (from the meaning ‘bark’).

THE HELLESPOINT. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔταμε καὶ ἐνέτεινε τὸν θρόνον ἐς τὸν Ἴζων ἐ-
δίκαζε· ἐντανύσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέδεξε δικαστὴν 10
εἶναι ἀντὶ τοῦ Σισάμεω, τὸν ἀποκτείνας ἀπέδειρε,
τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Σισάμεω, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ μεμνήσθαι ἐν

26 τῷ κατίζων θρόνῳ δικάζει. οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ὀτάνης ὁ
ἐγκατιζόμενος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον, τότε διάδοχος γε-
νόμενος Μεγαβάζῳ τῆς στρατηγίης, Βυζαντίους τε εἶλε
καὶ Καλχηδονίους, εἶλε δὲ Ἄντανδρον τὴν ἐν τῇ Τρω-
άδι γῆ, εἶλε δὲ Λαμπώνιον, λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ Λεσβίων 5
νέας εἶλε Λήμνόν τε καὶ Ἰμβρον, ἀμφοτέρας ἔτι τότε
27 ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκομένης. οἱ μὲν δὴ Λήμνιοι καὶ
ἐμαχέσαντο εὐ καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκακώθησαν.
τοῖσι δὲ περιεοῦσι αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι ὑπαρχον ἐπιστᾶσι
Λυκάρητον τὸν Μαιανδρίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σάμου
ἀδελφεόν. οὗτος ὁ Λυκάρητος ἄρχων ἐν Λήμνῳ τελευ-
τᾷ.† αἰτίη δὲ τούτου ἦδε. πάντας ἠνδραποδίζετο καὶ
κατεστρέφετο, τοὺς μὲν λιποστρατίης ἐπὶ Σκύθας αἰ-

9. ἐνέτεινε, κ.τ.λ., 'made (lit. stretched) out of them the seat,' etc. Leather straps were used to support the seats of chairs, beds, etc.; cf. ix. 118. 2.

26. 3. Ariston, the tyrant of Byzantium was with Darius in Scythia. Though Darius crossed into Europe over the Bosphorus (iv. 85. 13), he returned over the Hellespont (iv. 143. 1) probably owing to the defection and hostility of the cities.

5. παρὰ Λεσβίων. Their fleet was in the king's service. The years 514-497 B.C. may represent the time during which Lemnos and Imbros were under Persian rule. They were Athenian for a year or two after 496 B.C., but from 493 to 479

again fell under Persian rule. The presence of 'Pelasgians,' i.e. of a non-Greek people, is proved by an inscription recently discovered in Lemnos; cf. *infra*. vi. 137 ff.

27. 2. ἀνὰ χρόνον = τῷ χρόνῳ, Krüger. This chapter is obviously faulty; the second half of it refers to the action of Otanes, not of Lycaretus. Stein considers that the words τοὺς μὲν λιποστρατίης . . . ἀποκομιζόμενον were intended to follow at the end of c. 26, but (1) the author added as a subsequent note the words, οἱ μὲν δὴ . . . τελευτᾷ; and when these got into their present place in the text (2) the words αἰτίην . . . κατεστρέφετο were inserted to improve the construction. Other editors suppose that some

Otanes in
the Helles-
pont.

NAXOS AND MILETUS. B.C. 501; Ol. 69. 4.

τιώμενος, τοὺς δὲ σίνασθαι^a τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν τὸν ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ὀπίσω ἀποκομιζόμενον.

Οὗτος μὲν νυν τοσαῦτα ἐξεργάσατο στρατηγήσας. 28
 μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄνεσις^b κακῶν ἦν· καὶ ἤρ-
 χετο τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλήτου Ἴωσι γίνε-
 σθαι κακά. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ Νάξος εὐδαιμονίῃ τῶν
 5 νήσων προέφερε, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡ
 Μίλητος αὐτῇ τε ἑωυτῆς μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀκμάσασα
 καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίης ἦν πρόσχημα, κατύπερθε δὲ
 τούτων ἐπὶ δύο γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν νοσήσασα ἐς τὰ μάλ-
 ιστα στάσι, μέχρι οὗ μιν Πάριοι κατήρτισαν· τού-
 10 τους γὰρ καταρτιστήρας ἐκ πάντων Ἑλλήνων εἶλοντο οἱ
 Μιλήσιοι. κατήλλαξαν δέ σφεας ὧδε Πάριοι. ὡς ἀπί- 29
 κοντο αὐτῶν ἄνδρες οἱ ἀριστοὶ ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ὧρων
 γὰρ δὴ σφεας δεινῶς οἰκοφθορημένους, ἔφασαν αὐτῶν
 βούλεσθαι διεξελθεῖν τὴν χώραν. ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα
 5 καὶ διεξιόντες πᾶσαν τὴν Μιλησίην, ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοιεν
 ἐν^c ἀνεστηκυίῃ τῇ χώρῃ ἀγρὸν εὖ ἐξεργασμένον, ἀπεγρά-
 φοντο τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ δεσπότεω τοῦ ἀγροῦ. διεξελάσαντες
^a σίνασθαι St.: σίνεσθαι Libb. ^b ἄνεσις De la Barre: ἄνεος C, ἄνεως cett.

^c ἐν add. Reiske.

words have been lost after *τελευτᾶ*.
 For Lycaretus, see iii. 143.

28. 2. *ἄνεσις* is a correction for the unintelligible *ἄνεως* of the MSS. How long a time is covered by the 'respite' is unknown. See Appendix, 13, 'On the chronology of the Ionic Revolt.'

7. *πρόσχημα*, 'glory,' 'pride,' as in Soph. *El.* 682, where the Pythian games are the *πρόσχημα* of Hellas. *κατύπερθε*, 'previously,' of time. The first half of the sixth century B. C. is meant. The ferocious cruelties of the rival factions are described

in Athenaeus, p. 524. It may have been in this period that the Milesian resolved to place half his property with Glaucus of Sparta (vi. 86a); and no doubt the tyranny of Thrasylbulus was connected with these *στάσεις*.

29. 6. *ἐν ἀνεστηκυίῃ τῇ χώρῃ*, 'in the general desolation of the country.' Others translate, 'in the upland part of the country,' where the land would be less fertile; so Schweigh. and Krüger. But how is this consistent with *πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν*, which implies that they went through the whole territory of the city?

NAXOS AND MILETUS. B.C. 501; Ol. 69. 4.

δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν καὶ σπανίους εὐρόντες τούτους^a,
ὡς τάχιστα κατέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἀλίην ποιησάμενοι
ἀπέδεξαν τούτους μὲν τὴν πόλιν νέμειν τῶν εὐρον τοὺς¹⁰
ἀγροὺς εὐ ἐξεργασμένους· δοκέειν γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ τῶν
δημοσίων οὕτω δὴ σφεας ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὥσπερ τῶν
σφετέρων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Μιλησίους τοὺς πρὶν στα-
σιάζοντας τούτων ἔταξαν πείθεσθαι.

30

Πάριοι μὲν νυν Μιλησίους οὕτω κατήρτισαν. τότε δὲ
ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολιῶν ᾧδε ἤρχετο κακὰ γίνεσθαι τῇ
'Ιωνίῃ. ἐκ Νάξου ἔφυγον ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ
δήμου, φυγόντες δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μίλητον. τῆς δὲ Μι-
λήτου ἐτύγχανε ἐπίτροπος ἔων Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μολπαγό-⁵
ρεω, γαμβρός τε ἔων καὶ ἀνεψιὸς Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Λυσσαγό-
ρεω, τὸν ὁ Δαρείος ἐν Σούσοισι κατείχε· ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος
τύραννος ἦν Μιλήτου καὶ ἐτύγχανε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔων
ἐν Σούσοισι, ὅτε οἱ Νάξιοι ἦλθον ξεῖνοι πρὶν ἔόντες τῷ
'Ιστιαίῳ. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οἱ Νάξιοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον¹⁰
ἐδέοντο τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω, εἴ πως αὐτοῖσι παράσχοι
δύναμιν τινα^b καὶ κατέλθοιεν ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν. ὁ δὲ ἐπι-

Revolution
at NAXOS:
expulsion
of the
oligarchs,

who apply
to Arista-
goras of
Miletus
for help.

^a τοιούτους? St.

^b ἴνα Valck.: ἴνα [καί] Cob.

9. κατέβησαν does not imply descent, but merely approach to the city; cf. καταφυγείν, κατέλθειν. ὡς τάχιστα. Schweigh. maintains that these words, when used together, mean 'as rapidly as possible' in Herodotus, who always places a word between them, when used in the sense 'as soon as possible'; cf. *supr.* II. 1. So also Van Herwerden, *Mnem.* xiii 'hic igitur requiritur, ὡς κατέβησαν τάχιστα.'

ἀλίην. The word, which is common in Herodotus, is otherwise quoted from inscriptions only.

10. νέμειν, 'manage,' cf. *infr.* 71. 6.

14. τούτων... πείθεσθαι. The genitive is used as if with ὑπακούειν or some word implying inferiority, obedience to; cf. *infr.* 33. 19.

30. 3. τῶν παχέων, 'the substantial.' The word is used of the Chalcidian Hippobotai (*infr.* 77. 13); of the Aeginetan oligarchs (vi. 91. 2); and of the oligarchs of Megara in Sicily (vii. 156. 11). For the state of affairs in Naxos at this time see *History of Greece*, ii. 46.

9. πρὶν = πρότερον.

NAXOS AND MILETUS. B.C. 501; OI. 69, 4.

λεξάμενος ὡς, ἦν δι' αὐτοῦ κατέλθωσι ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἄρξει τῆς Νάξου, σκῆψιν δὲ ποιούμενος τὴν ξεινίην
 15 τὴν Ἰστιαίου, τόνδε σφι λόγον προσέφερε. “ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑμῖν οὐ φερέγγυός εἰμι δύναμιν παρασχεῖν τοσαύτην ὥστε κατάγειν ἀεκόντων τῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐχόντων Ναξίων πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὀκτακισχιλίην ἀσπίδα Ναξίοισι εἶναι καὶ πλοῖα μακρὰ πολλὰ· μηχανήσομαι δὲ πᾶσαν
 20 σπουδὴν ποιούμενος. ἐπινόεω δὲ τῆδε. Ἄρταφρένης μοι τυγχάνει ἔων φίλος· ὁ δὲ Ἄρταφρένης ὑμῖν Ἰστασπεος μὲν ἐστι παῖς, Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφεός, τῶν δ' ἐπιθαλασσίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἄρχι πάντων, ἔχων στρατιὴν τε πολλὴν καὶ πολλὰς νέας. τοῦτον ὦν δοκέω
 25 τὸν ἄνδρα ποιήσειν τῶν ἂν χρηρίζωμεν.” ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Νάξιοι προσέθεσαν τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ πρήσσειν τῇ δύναϊτο ἄριστα, καὶ ὑπίσχεσθαι δῶρα ἐκέλευον καὶ δαπάνην τῇ στρατιῇ ὡς αὐτοὶ διαλύσοντες, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχοντες, ὅταν ἐπιφανέωσι ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πάντα
 30 ποιήσειν τοὺς Ναξίους τὰ ἂν αὐτοὶ κελεύωσι, ὡς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας. τῶν γὰρ νήσων τουτέων τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐδεμία κω ἦν ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς τὰς Σάρδις λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἄρταφρένα ὡς Νάξος εἶη νῆσος μεγάθει μὲν οὐ μεγάλη, ἄλλως δὲ καλὴ τε καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀγχοῦ Ἰωνίης, χρή-

31

Aristagoras applies to Artaphernes

18. ὀκτακισχιλίην ἀσπίδα, ‘8000 hoplites.’ The number is as large as that of the Spartans in the time of Leonidas (vii. 234), and nearly as large as that of the Athenians at the battle of Marathon. Beloch, *Bevölkerung*, p. 181 thinks it impossible unless Naxos had command of the forces of the Cyclades.

26. προσέθεσαν, ‘urged,’ ‘bade.’

Hence there is a slight tautology in ἐκέλευον.

31. τῶν γὰρ νήσων, κ.τ.λ. Naxos was not acquired by the Persians till 490 B.C.

31. 3. μεγάθει...οὐ μεγάλη. Naxos is the largest of the Cyclades: nineteen miles by fifteen; but it is small in comparison with Euboea or Cyprus. It was celebrated for its wine, and at the present time the

NAXOS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

and
receives
promises
of help.

ματα δὲ ἔνι πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδα. “σὺ ὦν ἐπὶ ταύ- 5
την τὴν χῶρην στρατηλάτεις, κατάγων ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς
φυγάδας ἐξ αὐτῆς. καὶ τοι ταῦτα ποιήσαντι τοῦτο μὲν
ἐστὶ ἔτοιμα παρ’ ἐμοὶ χρήματα μεγάλα παρέξ τῶν ἀναι-
σιμωμάτων τῇ στρατιῇ (ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ δίκαιον ἡμέας
τοὺς ἄγοντας παρέχειν ἐστὶ), τοῦτο δὲ νήσους βασιλείῳ 10
προσκτήσεται αὐτὴν τε Νάξον καὶ τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἠρτημέ-
νας, Πάρον καὶ Ἄνδρον καὶ ἄλλας τὰς Κυκλάδας καλουμέ-
νας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμώμενος εὐπετέως ἐπιθήσεται Εὐβοίῃ,
νήσῳ μεγάλῃ τε καὶ εὐδαίμονι, οὐκ ἐλάσσονι Κύπρου
καὶ κάρτα εὐπετεῖ αἰρεθῆναι. ἀποχρῶσι δὲ ἑκατὸν νέες 15
ταύτας πάσας χειρώσασθαι.” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο αὐτὸν
τοῖσιδε. “σὺ ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλέως ἐξηγητῆς^α γίνεαι πρη-
γματῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ταῦτα εὖ παραινέεις πάντα, πλὴν
τῶν νεῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ· ἀντὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν νεῶν δικηκοσίαι
τοι ἔτοιμοι ἔσονται ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι. δεῖ δὲ τοῦτοισι καὶ 20
32 αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαινον γίνεσθαι.” ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἄρι-
σταγόρης ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, περιχαρῆς ἐὼν ἀπήιε ἐς
Μίλητον. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης, ὡς οἱ πέμψαντι ἐς Σοῦσα
καὶ ὑπερθέντι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἄρισταγόρεω λεγόμενα συνέ-
παινος καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἐγένετο, παρεσκευάσατο μὲν 5
δικηκοσίας τριήρας, πολλὸν δὲ κάρτα ὄμιλον Περσέων

Persian
expedition
against
Naxos:
500 B.C.

^α ἐσηγητής Madv., Van H.

island is said to produce ‘corn, oil, wine, and fruit of the finest description.’ Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* Head, *Hist. Num.* 416 speaks of the ‘massive archaic silver money’ of Naxos.

9. τῇ στρατιῇ with τῶν ἀναισιμωμάτων, ‘what is expended on the army’ (eis τὴν στρατιάν Attic).

11. τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἠρτημένας. Nothing has been recorded of this supremacy of Naxos over the

neighbouring islands, but it is reasonable to attribute it to Lygdamis, who would have the support of Peisistratus on the one hand, and Polyerates on the other.

17. ἐξηγητής is properly an ‘ex-pounder,’ as in iii. 31. 13; here it means a ‘proposer.’ Hence ἐσηγητής has been suggested. οἶκον τὸν βασιλέως, ‘the king’s house,’ i. e. family: *sovi.* 9. 15; *vii.* 19. 11 and elsewhere.

NAKOS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, στρατηγὸν δὲ τούτων ἀπέδεξε Μεγαβάτην ἄνδρα Πέρσῃ τῶν Ἀχαιμενιδέων, ἔωτοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείου ἀνεψιόν, τοῦ Πausanίης ὁ
 10 Κλεομβρότου Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰ δὴ ἀληθῆς γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος, ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ τούτων ἡρμόσατο θυγατέρα, ἔρω-
 τα σχὼν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύραννος γενέσθαι. ἀποδέξας δὲ Μεγαβάτην στρατηγὸν Ἀρταφρένης ἀπέστειλε τὸν στρα-
 τὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀρισταγόρεα. παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μεγα- 33
 βάτης ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τὸν τε Ἀρισταγόρεα καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατιῆν καὶ τοὺς Ναξίους ἔπλεε πρόφασιν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Χίῳ, ἔσχε τὰς νέας
 5 ἐς Καύκασα, ὡς ἐνθεῦτεν βορρῆ ἀνέμῳ ἐς τὴν Νάξον διαβάλοι. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔδεε τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ Ναξίους ἀπολέσθαι πρῆγμα τοιόνδε συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι. περι-
 ἰόντος Μεγαβάτεω τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν φυλακάς, ἐπὶ νεὸς Μυνδίας ἔτυχε οὐδεὶς φυλάσσων· ὁ δὲ δεινόν τι
 10 ποιησάμενος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐξευρόντας τὸν ἄρχοντα ταύτης τῆς νεός, τῷ ὄνομα ἦν Σκύλαξ, τοῦτον δῆσαι διὰ θαλαμῆς διελόντας^a τῆς νεὸς κατὰ τοῦτο,

^a διέλλοντας St. in ann.: διελῶντας Wess.

32. 8. τῶν Ἀχαιμενιδέων, i. e. of the royal family to which both Hystaspes and Cyrus belonged, i. 125: see Stemma in Appendix 2.

10. εἰ δὴ ἀληθῆς γε, κ.τ.λ. Herodotus evidently did not believe that Pausanias was as bad as he was painted by other historians; cf. viii. 3 πρόφασιν τὴν Πausανίῳ ὕβριν προϊσχύμενοι ἀπειλόνοτο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιους. The account here given differs from that in Thucydides, who says that Pausanias wished to marry the daughter of Xerxes (he quotes his letter to the King), and that Megabates was removed from his satrapy at Dascy-

leum, in order that Artabazus and Pausanias might lay their plans: Thuc. i. 128. For discrepancies between Herod. and Thuc. see vi. App. 1.

33. 3. πρόφασιν, adverbial.

5. Καύκασα. The exact position is unknown, but no doubt the harbour lay on the south side of Chios.

6. οὐ γὰρ ἔδεε, 'it was not fated.' So i. 8 χρὴν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς, ii. 161. 7 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι and often.

9. δεινόν τι ποιησάμενος. The τι intensifies the force of δεινόν, as is often the case.

12. θαλαμῆς. The port-hole of the lowest rank of oars; join with

ΝΑΧΟΣ. B.C. 500; OL. 70. 1.

ἔξω μὲν κεφαλὴν ποιεῖντας ἔσω δὲ τὸ σῶμα. δεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Σκύλακος, ἔξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ὅτι τὸν ξεινὸν οἱ τὸν Μύνδιον Μεγαβάτης δήσας λυμαίνονται.¹⁵ οἱ δ' ἔλθων παραιτέτο τὸν Πέρσην, τυγχάνων δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐδέετο, αὐτὸς ἔλθων ἔλυσε. πυθόμενος δὲ κάρτα δεινὸν ἐποίησατο ὁ Μεγαβάτης καὶ ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “σοὶ δὲ καὶ τούτοισι^a τοῖσι πρήγμασι τί ἐστι; οὐ σὲ ἀπέστειλε Ἀρταφρένης ἐμέο²⁰ πείθεσθαι καὶ πλέειν τῇ ἂν ἐγὼ κελεύω; τί πολλὰ πρήσσεις;” ταῦτα εἶπε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης. ὁ δὲ θυμωθεὶς τούτοισι, ὡς νῦξ ἐγένετο, ἔπεμπε ἐς Νάξον πλοῖω ἄνδρας φράσοντας τοῖσι Ναξίοισι πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρή-
 34 γματα. οἱ γὰρ ὧν Νάξιοι οὐδὲν πάντως προσεδέκοντο ἐπὶ σφέας τὸν στόλον τοῦτον ὀρμήσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα μὲν ἐσηνείκαντο τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, παρεσκευάσαντο δὲ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτά, καὶ^b τὸ τεῖχος ἐσάξαντο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν⁵ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφι πολέμου· οἱ δ' ἐπέιτε διέβαλον ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφέροντο καὶ ἐπολιόρκειον

^a καὶ τούτοισι πρήγμα τί Valck.^b κατὰ τάχος Dietsch-Kallenberg, quos vid. ad loc.: ἐφράξαντο Höger.

τῆς νεός. διελόντας . . . κατὰ τοῦτο ‘dividing him in this way.’ The body was not of course divided, but as half was within, and half without the ship, it might be so spoken of. Wesseling suggested *διελώντας*. Stein proposes *διέλκοντας*, Herwerden prefers *διέντας*, thinking the aorist necessary, and removing *ποιεῖντας*, which is very improbable.

21. τί πολλὰ πρήσσεις; ‘why do you meddle?’

34. 1. οὐδὲν πάντως, ‘not in the

least,’ cf. οὐ πάνν.

5. ἐσάξαντο (1) from *σάττεσθαι*, ‘strengthened’; (2) from *ἐσάγειν* (aor. mid.), cf. i. 190. 9 *προεσάξαντο σιτία*, and viii. 20. 3: in this case *καί* must be omitted before *τεῖχος*. ‘Non facile reperietur, qui praeter Herodotum adhibuerit *ἄσασθαι*, *ἐσάσασθαι*, *προεσάσασθαι*’ Valck. Dietsch will not allow *σάττεσθαι* in the sense ‘repair,’ or the middle aorist of *ἄγειν*. He refers *ἐσάξαντο* (from *σάττεσθαι*) to the food, in the sense, ‘lay up stores of.’

Quarrel of the commanders.

The Naxians are warned; and the expedition fails.

MILETUS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

μῆνας τέσσερας. ὡς δὲ τὰ τε ἔχοντες ἦλθον χρήματα
 10 οἱ Πέρσαι, ταῦτα κατεδεδαπάνητό σφι, καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ
 Ἄρισταγόρῃ προσαναίσιμωτο πολλά, τοῦ πλεύνος τε
 ἐδέετο ἢ πολιορκίῃ, ἐνθαῦτα τείχεα τοῖσι φυγάσι τῶν
 Ναξίων οἰκοδομήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν ἠπειρον,
 κακῶς πρήσσοντες. Ἄρισταγόρης δὲ οὐκ εἶχε τὴν ὑπό-
 35 σχεσιν τῷ Ἄρταφρένει ἐκτελέσαι· ἅμα δὲ ἐπίεξέ μιν
 ἢ δαπάνῃ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπαιτεομένη, ἀρρώδέε τε τοῦ
 στρατοῦ πρήξαντος κακῶς καὶ Μεγαβάτῃ διαβεβλη-
 5 μένος, ἐδόκέε τε τὴν βασιλιήν τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπαιρηθῆ-
 σεσθαι. ἀρρωδέων δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα ἐβουλευέτο ἀπό-
 στασιν· συνέπιπτε γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐστιγμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν
 ἀπίχθαι ἐκ Σούσων παρὰ Ἰστιαίου, σημαίνοντα ἀπί-
 στασθαι Ἄρισταγόρην ἀπὸ βασιλέος. ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος
 10 βουλόμενος τῷ Ἄρισταγόρῃ σημῆναι ἀποστῆναι ἄλλως
 μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἀσφαλῶς σημῆναι ὥστε φυλασσομε-
 νέων τῶν ὀδῶν, ὁ δὲ τῶν δούλων τὸν πιστότατον ἀπο-
 ξυρήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔστιξε καὶ ἀνέμεινε ἀναφῦναι τὰς
 τρίχας, ὡς δὲ ἀνέφυσαν τάχιστα, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Μίλη-
 15 τον ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπί-
 κηται ἐς Μίλητον, κελεύειν Ἄρισταγόρην ξυρήσαντά
 μιν τὰς τρίχας κατιδέσθαι ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν· τὰ δὲ
 στίγματα ἐσήμαινε, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἶρηται,
 ἀπόστασιν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐποίηε συμφορὴν

35

MILETUS:
 Aristago-
 ras resolves
 to raise
 Ionia.
 Message of
 Histiacus.

12. τείχεα, 'fortresses,' from which they could attack the enemy—such as that on Istone, occupied by the nobles in the great Corcyrean sedition.

35. 7. συνέπιπτε, 'it happened'; here with the additional notion of happening at the same time with something else (see 36. 2). τὸν ἐστιγμένον. Herodotus speaks as if the story of the slave were already

known to his readers. σημαίνοντα = κελεύοντα, hence the construction.

11. φυλασσομενέων τῶν ὀδῶν. Cf. *infra*. 52. 8.

12. ὁ δὲ τῶν δούλων κ.τ.λ. The story is repeated by Aulus Gellius, xvii. 9. 18 ff., who adds that the slave had long suffered from a disease of the eyes, which the shaving was supposed to cure.

MILETUS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

ποιεύμενος μεγάλην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατοχὴν τὴν ἐν²⁰
Σούσοισι· ἀποστάσιος ὧν γινομένης πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλ-
πίδας μετῆσθαι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, μὴ δὲ νεώτερόν τι
ποιούσης τῆς Μιλήτου οὐδαμὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἤξειν ἔτι ἐλο-
γίζετο.

36
Advice of
Hecataeus.

Ἴστιαῖος μὲν νυν ταῦτα διανοούμενος ἀπέπεμπε τὸν
ἄγγελον, Ἀρισταγόρῃ δὲ συνέπιπτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου
πάντα ταῦτα συνελθόντα. ἐβουλεύετο ὧν μετὰ τῶν
στασιωτέων, ἐκφήνας τὴν τε ἑωυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τὰ
παρὰ τοῦ Ἴστιαίου ἀπιγμένα. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες⁵
γνώμην κατὰ τὸντὸ ἐξεφέροντο, κελύοντες ἀπίστα-
σθαι· Ἐκαταῖος δ' ὁ λογοποιὸς πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ἔα πό-
λεμον βασιλεί τῶν Περσέων ἀναιρέεσθαι, καταλέγων τά
τε ἔθνεα πάντα τῶν ἤρχε Δαρείος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐ-
τοῦ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, δεύτερα συνεβούλευε ποι-
εῖν ὅκως ναυκρατέες^a τῆς θαλάσσης ἔσονται. ἄλλως
μὲν νυν οὐδαμῶς ἔφη λέγων ἐνορᾶν ἐσόμενον τοῦτο
(ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Μιλησίων ἐοῦσαν
ἀσθενέα), εἰ δὲ τὰ χρήματα κατααιρεθῆι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ

^a τῆς θαλάσσης om. Krüger.: ναυκράτορες sine τῆς θ. Cob.

36. 2. συνέπιπτε . . . συνελθόντα,
'all these things happened to come
together at the same time.'

7. Ἐκαταῖος. Hecataeus of Mile-
tus is the only prose author mentioned
by name in Herodotus, who also
notices his journey to Thebes (ii.
143); his advice to Aristagoras after
the failure of the revolt (*infra*. 125,
126); and his account of the Pelasgi
at Athens (vi. 137). For an account
of him, see Smith's *Dict. Biog.*

Λογοποιός = λογογράφος, a word
which Herodotus does not use.

8. καταλέγων, κ.τ.λ. as we might
expect from the greatest historian of

his time.

11. ναυκρατέες τῆς θαλάσσης.
The phrase is remarkable; (1)
ναυκρατέες is only found here; (2)
τῆς θαλάσσης seems otiose. We
should expect either ναυκράτορες (vi.
9. 7) without τῆς θαλάσσης (Cobet,
Van H.) or θαλασσοκράτορες (*infra*.
83. 7). Yet we may compare such
redundant compounds as ἀσκειος
ἀσπίδων, ἄπαις γόνου, etc.

12. ἐνορᾶν ἐσόμενον, 'saw that this
would be.' i. 123. 4 ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ οὐκ
ἐνώρα τιμαρῆν ἐσομένην. i. 170. 9
οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσ-
ομένην.

MILETUS, B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

15 ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχίδησι, τὰ Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀνέθηκε, πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας ἐπικρατήσῃ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ οὕτω αὐτοὺς τε ἕξειν τοῖσι^a χρήμασι χρᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ συλήσειν αὐτά. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἦν ταῦτα μεγάλα, ὡς δεδήλωταί μοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων.

20 αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐνίκα ἢ γνώμη, ἐδόκεε δὲ ὅμως ἀπίστασθαι, ἕνα τε αὐτῶν πλώσαντα ἐς Μυοῦντα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Νάξου ἀπελθόν, ἐν ἐνθαῦτα, συλλαμβάνειν πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιπλέοντας στρατηγούς. ἀποπεμφθέντος δὲ Ἰητραγόρεω κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ συλλαβόντος δόλῳ Ὀλίατον Ἰβανώλιος^b Μυλασσεά καὶ Ἰστιαῖον Τύμνεω Τερμερέα καὶ Κῶν Ἐρξάνδρου, τῷ Δαρεῖος Μυτιλήνην ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ Ἀρι-

^a τοῖσι add. St.^b Ἰβανώλλιος A B C, St.

Arrest of the Persian generals.

37

15. The temple of Apollo at Branchidae lay in the territory of Miletus, at a short distance from the coast, with which it was connected by a 'Sacred Way,' 'bordered on either side with statues on chairs, of a single block of stone, with the feet close together, and the hands on the knees, an exact imitation of the avenues of the temples in Egypt.' Leake, *Asia Minor*, p. 239. For the offerings of Croesus, see i. 46. 13; 92. 8; and for the connection with Egypt, see ii. 159. 9; 178. *ult.* The temple was destroyed by the Persians.

19. ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων, i. e. in his Lydian history, i. 92. Herodotus often refers to parts of his book as *λόγος* or *λόγοι*, but this is the only passage in which he speaks of a definite order. We do not find ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ, ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν λόγων κ.τ.λ., though we have ἐν τοῖσι ὑπισθε λόγοισι (*supr.* 22. 5). Of course this division has nothing to

do with the nine books of our modern arrangement.

21. Myus lay on the Maeander, near the mouth of the river. The generals were, for the most part, the tyrants of the various cities; by arresting them Aristagoras and his party deprived the cities of those who led them in the interest of Persia.

37. 2. Ibanolis: see *infra*. 121. 8. The name is Carian, like Aridolis, vii. 195, and the well-known Mausolus. Mylasa was the most important of the cities of Caria; the seat of the two great temples of the race, Zeus-Osogo, and Zeus of Labranda, a village close to Mylasa; see Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* Herod. i. 171. 26; *infra*. 119. 8.

3. Tymnes is also a Carian name. In the tribute lists of the next century we find a number of Carians united under the command of a certain Tymnes: Κάρες ὧν Τύμνης ἄρχει C. I. A. i. 240.

MILETUS. B.C. 500; OL. 70. 1.

Suppression of the tyrants in Ionia.

σταγόρην Ἡρακλείδew Κυμαίων καὶ ἄλλους συχνούς, 5
 οὕτω δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπεστήκεε,
 πᾶν ἐπὶ Δαρείw μηχανέομενος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν λόγw
 μετεῖς τὴν τυραννίδα ἰσονομίην ἐποίει τῇ Μιλήτw, ὡς
 ἂν ἐκόντες αὐτῷ οἱ Μιλήσιοι συναπισταίατο, μετὰ δὲ
 καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἴωνίῃ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ἐποίει, τοὺς μὲν 10
 ἐξελαύνων τῶν τυράννων, τοὺς δ' ἔλαβε τυράννους ἀπὸ
 τῶν νεῶν τῶν συμπλευσασέων ἐπὶ Νάξον, τούτους δὲ
 φίλα βουλόμενος ποιέεσθαι τῆσι πόλισι ἐξεδίδου, ἄλλον
 38 ἐς ἄλλην πόλιν παραδιδούς, ὅθεν εἶη ἕκαστος. Κῶν
 μὲν νυν Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπέιτε τάχιστα παρέλαβον, ἐξα-
 γαγόντες κατέλευσαν, Κυμαῖοι δὲ τὸν σφέτερον αὐτῶν
 ἀπῆκαν· ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι^a οἱ πλεῦνες ἀπίεσαν. τυράν- 5
 νων μὲν νυν κατάπαυσις ἐγένετο ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας. Ἀρι-
 σταγόρης δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ὡς τοὺς τυράννους κατέπαυσε,
 στρατηγούς ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν πολίων κελεύσας ἐκάστους
 καταστήσαι, δεύτερα αὐτὸς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τριήρεϊ ἀπό-
 στολος ἐγένετο· ἔδεε γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίης τινός οἱ μεγάλῃς
 ἐξευρεθῆναι.

Aristagoras visits Sparta.

^a οἱ ἄλλοι s.: ἄλλοι St.

8. ἰσονομίην is a word which is consistent with an oligarchical or a democratical form of government: (1) ὀλιγαρχία ἰσονομος: Thuc. iii. 62 (cf. ἰσοκρατίη v. 92 a 4); (2) πλήθος δὲ ἄρχον πρῶτα μὲν οὖνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει ἰσονομίην Herod. iii. 80. 26 (cf. ἰσηγορίη v. 78. 2). Aristagoras would hardly establish a democracy,—that was done later by Mardonius—but he put the power into the hands of those who ruled the cities before Persia set up tyrants in them. Compare the action of Maeandrius at Samos, as described in iii. 142. 15.

38. 1. Κῶν. Coes was recently

established as tyrant; and was moreover of humble origin (δημότης *supra*, 11 *ult.* Cf. ii. 172 δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἔόντα, καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος). His treatment would have been different, had he belonged to the higher classes.

7. στρατηγούς, 'generals' in the sense in which the word was used at Athens in the time of Pericles; i.e. not merely leaders of the army, but executive officers, acting under authority, holding yearly office, and responsible for their conduct.

8. ἀπόστολος. Cf. i. 21. 6 ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν.

9. ἔδεε γάρ, κ.τ.λ. Two constructions seem to be confused: (1) ἔδεε οἱ

SPARTA. Circa B.C. 560; Ol. 55. 1.

Τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης Ἀναξανδρίδης μὲν ὁ Λέοντος οὐκ- 39
 ἐτι περιεὼν ἐβασίλευε ἀλλὰ ἐτετελευτήκει, Κλεομένης
 δὲ ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew εἶχε τὴν βασιληίην, οὐ κατ' ἀν-
 δραγαθίην σχῶν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος. Ἀναξανδρίδῃ γὰρ
 5 ἔχοντι γυναῖκα ἀδελφεῆς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ εὐούσης
 ταύτης οἱ καταθυμῆς, παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο. τούτου
 δὲ τοιούτου ἔοντος οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι
 αὐτὸν “εἴ τοι σὺ σεωυτοῦ μὴ προορᾶς, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν τοῦτ'
 ἐστὶ οὐ περιοπτέον, γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθένεος γενέσθαι ἐξί-
 10 τηλον. σύ νυν τὴν μὲν ἔχεις γυναῖκα, ἐπίτε τοι οὐ
 τίκτει, ἔξεο^a, ἀλλῆν δὲ γῆμον· καὶ ποιέων ταῦτα Σπαρ-
 τήτησι ἀδήσεις.” ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο φὰς τούτων οὐδέτερα
 ποιήσειν, ἐκείνους τε οὐ καλῶς συμβουλεύειν παραινέον-
 τας, τὴν ἔχει γυναῖκα εὐούσαν ἀναμάρτητον ἑωυτῶ,
 15 ταύτην ἀπέντα ἀλλῆν ἐσαγαγέσθαι· οὐδέ σφι πείσεσθαι.

The wives
of Anaxan-
dridas.^a ἔξεο Schäf. : ἐκσέο Libb. : ἔξες Eltz.

συμμαχίης, and (2) ἔδεε συμμαχίην
 ἐξευρεθῆναι.

39. 1. οὐκέτι περιεὼν ἐβασίλευε.
 The negative has to do duty twice,
 with participle and with verb, un-
 less we prefer to say that περιεὼν
 ἐβασίλευε make up one notion: 'sur-
 vived on the throne.' The date of
 the accession of Cleomenes cannot
 be fixed precisely, but it must have
 been about 520 B.C.; see Appendix 3.
 The history of Anaxandridas is partly
 given in i. 67 f.—a passage with
 which the reader is supposed to be
 acquainted; cp. the reference to Book
 i. in c. 36. 18.

6. καταθυμῆ = θυμαρῆς of Homer.
 This exercise of supervision by the
 ephors over the king is evidence of
 the growing authority of that office,
 which may have received fresh

powers in the time of Chilon (about
 570 B.C.?), who would be con-
 temporary with Leon, the father of
 Anaxandridas. With this marriage
 of a niece, cf. the marriage of an
 aunt in vi. 71. Leonidas married
 the daughter of his half-brother
 Cleomenes.

9. Εὐρυσθένεος. Eurysthenes was
 the elder of the sons of Aristo-
 demus, cf. vi. 52. 39.

11. ἔξεο. So Schäfer for the
 ἐκσέο of the MSS. The word is
 not elsewhere found in the sense
 required, but *infra*. 40. 6 we have
 ἐξέσιος. Just below, l. 14, ἀπέντα
 is used for the same thing. For
 the variation of the voice and
 preposition, see ἐκπέμπειν i.
 59. 11, and ἀποπεμψάμενος vi.
 63. 2.

SPARTA. After B.C. 560; Ol. 55. 1.

- 40 πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ γέροντες βουλευσάμενοι προσέφερον Ἀναξανδρίδῃ τάδε. “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι περιεχόμενόν σε ὀρῶμεν τῆς ἔχεις γυναικός, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ποίειε, καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε τούτοισι, ἵνα μὴ τι ἄλλοῖον περὶ σεῦ Σπαρτιῆται βουλεύσωνται. γυναικὸς μὲν τῆς ἔχεις οὐ προσδεόμεθά σευ τῆς ἐξέσιος· σὺ δὲ ταύτῃ τε πάντα ὅσα νυν παρέχεις πάρεχε καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐσάγαγε γυναῖκα τεκνοποιόν.” ταῦτά κη λεγόντων συνεχώρησε ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης, μετὰ δὲ γυναικας ἔχων δύο δι-
- 41 ξὰς ἰστίας οἴκειε, ποίειων οὐδαμῶς Σπαρτιητικά. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἢ ἐσύτερον^a ἐπελθοῦσα γυνὴ τίκτει τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα τοῦτον. καὶ αὕτη τε ἔπεδρον βασιλέα Σπαρτιήτησι ἀπέβαινε, καὶ ἡ προτέρη γυνὴ τὸν πρότερον χρόνον ἄτοκος εἶουσα τότε κως ἐκύησε, 5 συντυχήν ταύτῃ χρησαμένη. ἔχουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀληθεί

Birth of
CLEOME-
NES; of
Dorieus,
Leonidas
and Cleom-
brotus.

^a ὕστερον ἐπεσελθοῦσα St.

40. 1. οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ γέροντες. These formed a supreme court; at any rate we read (Paus. iii. 5. 3) that Pausanias, the king, on his return to Sparta from Athens in 403 B. C. was brought to trial by his enemies: βασιλεῖ δὲ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων δικαστήριον ἐκάθισον οἱ τε ὀνομαζόμενοι γέροντες ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὄντες ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχή, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐτέρας.

4. ἄλλοῖον = νεώτερον, νεοχμὸν.

8. ταῦτά κη. κη modifies ταῦτα, and conveys the impression that the conversation is imaginary; cf. i. 97 *ult.* where Herodotus puts words into the mouth of the friends of Deioceus. Bigamy was unknown in Hellas, though bigamous arrangements were by no means uncommon

at Sparta (see Plut. *Lycurg.* 15 with the object of securing a sound and healthy progeny. Polybius even asserts that polyandry existed among the Spartans, xii. 6. ὁ πάτριον ἦν καὶ συνῆθες τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἔχειν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τέτταρας, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ πλείους ἀδελφοὺς ὄντας. He also adds, καὶ γεννήσαντας παῖδας ἱκανοὺς ἐκδόσθαι γυναῖκά τινα τῶν φίλων, καλὸν καὶ συνῆθες. [Cf. De Coulanges, *Nouvelles Recherches*, p. 72.]

41. 2. ἐσύτερον. The use is unique, the word being elsewhere used for what has still to happen; see critical note.

3. ἔπεδρον βασιλέα, i. c. ‘heir apparent’; one who would take the place of the reigning king.

6. συντυχήν, κ.τ.λ., ‘such was her ill fortune’;—to have a child

SPARTA. Circa B.C. 515; Ol. 66, 1.

λόγῳ οἱ τῆς ἐπελθούσης γυναικὸς οἰκῆιοι πυθόμενοι ὄχλεον, φάμενοι αὐτὴν κομπέειν ἄλλως βουλομένην ὑποβαλέσθαι. δεινὰ δὲ ποιούντων αὐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου
 10 συντάμνοντος, ὑπ' ἀπιστίας οἱ ἔφοροι τίκτουσαν τὴν γυναικᾶ περιζόμενοι ἐφύλαξαν. ἡ δὲ ὡς ἔτεκε Δωριέα, ἰθὺς ἴσχει Λεωνίδην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἰθὺς ἴσχει Κλεόμβροτον· οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύμους λέγουσι Κλεόμβροτον καὶ Λεωνίδην γενέσθαι. ἡ δὲ Κλεομένηα τεκοῦσα
 15 καὶ [τὸ]^a δεύτερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνή, εὐδοῦσα θυγάτηρ Πρινητάδεω τοῦ Δημαρμένου, οὐκέτι ἔτικτε τὸ δεύτερον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης, ὡς λέγεται, ἦν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀκρομανῆς τε, ὁ δὲ Δωριεὺς ἦν τῶν ἡλικῶν πάντων πρῶτος, εὖ τε ἐπίστατο κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην αὐτὸς σχήσων τὴν βασιλιήν. ὥστε ὦν οὕτω φρονέων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ
 5 τε Ἀναξανδρίδης ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρεώμενοι τῷ νόμῳ ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κλεομένηα, ὁ Δωριεὺς δεινὸν τε ποιούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύεσθαι, αἰτήσας λεῶν Σπαρτιήτας ἦγε ἐς ἀποικίην, οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρη-

42

Cleomenes becomes King; DORIEUS leads a colony to the Cinyps

^a τὸ secl. St.

after the second wife; cf. συμφορῆ *infr.* 82. 3. ἔχουσαν, sc. ἐν γαστρὶ.

10. συντάμνοντος, 'coming on.' Time is spoken of as a person hastening on his way (συντάμνειν, sc. τὴν ὁδόν, as in vii. 123. 2).

15. [τὸ] δεύτερον. It seems necessary to omit the article, for τὸ δ. = 'a second time'; Aesch. *Ag.* 1082 ἀπαλέσας γὰρ οὐ μύλις τὸ δεύτερον, but δεύτερον is = 'afterwards,' cf. i. 185. ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασιλεία.

16. Demarmenus was apparently a son of the famous Chilon; see vi. 65. 7.

42. 1. οὐ φρενήρης ἀκρομανῆς τε. Cf. ix. 55. 12 μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα. The analogy of some compounds of ἀκρο- would lead us to translate ἀκρομανῆς, 'very mad'; but from vi. 75. 5 we see that it is = ὑπομαργότερος, and it was only in his last year that Cleomenes broke out into furious insanity. ἀκρο-, then, is = 'on the surface,' 'slightly.'

9. τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ, according to the invariable custom of colonists; see *Hist. Greece*, i. p. 361. Stein quotes Cicero, *Divin.* i. 3 quam vero Graecia coloniam misit

SICILY. Circa B.C. 510; Ol. 67. 3.

στηρίφ χρησαμενος ἐς ἤντινα γῆν κτίσων ἴη, οὔτε ποιή- 10
 σας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων· οἶα δὲ βαρέως φέρων,
 ἀπίει ἐς τὴν Λιβύην^a τὰ πλοιᾶ· κατηγέοντο δὲ οἱ ἄν-
 δρες Θηραῖοι. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Λιβύην οἰκισε χῶρον
 κάλλιστον τῶν Λιβύων παρὰ Κίνυπα ποταμόν^b. ἐξελασθεῖς
 δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν τρίτῳ ἔτει ὑπὸ Μακέων τε^c Λιβύων καὶ 15

43 Καρχηδονίων ἀπίκετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ οἱ
 Ἀντιχάρης ἀνὴρ Ἐλεώνιος συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Λαῖτου
 χρησμῶν Ἡρακλείην^d τὴν ἐν Σικελίῃ κτίσειν, φὰς τὴν Ἐρυ-

Failing on
 the Cinyps,

^a Λιβύην St.: τὴν Κίνυπα γ: Κίνυπα cett.

^b Κίνυπα ποταμόν St.: ποταμόν Libb.: ποταμὸν Κίνυπα Krüg.: τοῦτον τὸν π. Van H.

^c τε Niebuhr: τε καὶ Libb. ^d Ἡράκλειαν A B C: 'fort. Ἡρακλίην γῆν' St.

in Aeoliam, Ioniam, Asiam, Siciliam, Italiam sine Pythio aut Dodonaeco, aut Hammonis oraculo?

12. Λιβύην is Stein's emendation for Κίνυπα. It is awkward to have the precise situation of the colony followed by the general description ἐς Λιβύην in the next line. Hence this emendation is better than Van Herwerden's, see critical note. Through their colony of Cyrene, founded about 630 B. C., the Theraeans would be well acquainted with the African coast. Thera also was claimed as a colony by Sparta; see iv. 147 ff. The river Cinyps flowed from a wooded hill called the hill of the Graces, through the country of the Macae to the sea. The land round it was the most fertile in Libya. The river was about midway between Cyrene and Carthage, and it is interesting to find the Carthaginians supporting the natives against the colonists.

15. As the Macae were themselves Libyans, we must either insert

ἄλλων after καὶ (MSS.) or omit καὶ.

43. 2. Eleon was a small town in Boeotia, a land famous for oracles and prophets. Among these last Bacis held a prominent place, see viii. 20. 77 etc. Hence Valckenaer suggested Βάκιδος here, while Dobree would read Δάσου (cf. vii. 6. 16). The supposed oracles of Laius are those collected by or given to L. As a Boeotian Antichares may have been acquainted with them.

3. There is much doubt what is meant by 'Heraclea in Sicily,' for there was no city of that name in the country of Eryx, Heraclea Minoa lying on the south coast of the island. Yet the article implies an existing city, which Dorieus is to make a Greek colony. Stein suggests the insertion of γῆν before τὴν. On the story see Freeman's *Sicily*, ii. 85 ff., and for Heraclea in Sicily, *ib.* 209 ff.; 504 ff. (Heracles, in this context, is no doubt the Tyrian Melkart.) Eryx was the city and

SICILY. Circa B.C. 510; Ol. 67. 3.

Dorians
sails to
Sicily,

44

stopping
on the way
at Croton.

κος χώρην πᾶσαν εἶναι Ἡρακλειδέων αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέος κτη-
 5 σαμένου. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐς Δελφοὺς οἴχεται χρησό-
 μενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἰρέει ἐπ' ἣν στέλλεται χώ-
 ρην ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ οἱ χρᾶ αἰρήσειν. παραλαβὼν δὲ
 Δωριεὺς τὸν στόλον τὸν καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἤγε, ἐκομίζετο
 παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίην. τὸν χρόνον δὲ τοῦτον, ὡς λέγουσι
 44 Συβαρίται, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Τῆλυν τὸν ἐωυτῶν
 βασιλέα ἐπὶ Κρότωνα μέλλειν στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ
 Κροτωνιήτας περιδέας γενομένους δεηθῆναι Δωριέος
 5 σφίσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τυχεῖν δεηθέντας· συστρατεύεσθαι
 τε δὴ ἐπὶ Σύβαριν Δωριέα καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν.
 ταῦτα μὲν νυν Συβαρίται λέγουσι ποιῆσαι Δωριέα τε
 καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, Κροτωνιῆται δὲ οὐδένα σφίσι
 10 φασὶ ξεῖνον προσεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πο-
 λέμου, εἰ μὴ Καλλίην τῶν Ἰαμιδέων μάντιν Ἥλειον

stronghold of the Elymi in the north-west of Sicily.

4. Ἡρακλέος κτησαμένου. On the same ground the Dorians attempted to justify their occupation of the Peloponnesus. Even at a much later date the Athenians gave out that the land round Amphipolis, which they wished to possess, had been the dowry of Phyllis, the wife of Demophon, son of Theseus (Schol. Aeschin. *De falsa Leg.* § 31).

9. παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίην, i. c. Italy in the narrower sense = the southern part of the peninsula from Tarentum onwards; see *Hist. of Greece*, ii. p. 473. παρά = 'along the coast of.'

44. 1. τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, i. e. about 510 B. C. if we may venture to fix the date by the fall of Sybaris.

2. Telys is called βασιλεύς here and τύραννος below. Busolt would

explain the difference by the fact that we have two different accounts compared; the Sybarite and the Crotoniate, the same man being βασιλεύς in the one and τύραννος in the other (*Gesch. Gr.* ii. 238, note; see Freeman, *Sicily*, ii. 434, 435). But cf. *infra*. 113 ὁ Σολίων βασιλεύς . . . τὸν Σύλων δ' Ἀθηναῖος αἶνεσε τυράνναν μάλιστα, 46. 10, 11, where τυράννις varies with μοναρχεῖν, and *supra*. 35. 5. In the account given by Diodorus Telys is a demagogue who, having obtained supreme influence in Sybaris, persuades the Sybarites to banish 500 of the leading citizens and confiscate their property (xii. 9).

7. Συβαρίται λέγουσι, cf. l. 2. Herodotus may have heard the story from the Sybarites who were settled in Thurii.

10. The Iamids were the foremost race or clan of prophets in Elis.

SICILY. Circa B.C. 510; Ol. 67. 3.

μῦνον, καὶ τοῦτον τρόπον τοιῶδε. παρὰ Τήλυος τοῦ
 Συβαριτέων τυράννου ἀποδράντα ἀπικέσθαι παρὰ σφέας,
 ἐπίτε οἱ τὰ ἱρὰ οὐ προεχώρει χρηστὰ θυομένῳ ἐπὶ
 45 Κρότωνα. ταῦτα ^α δὲ οὔτοι λέγουσι. μαρτύρια δὲ
 τούτων ἑκάτεροι ἀποδεικνύουσι τάδε, Συβαρίται μὲν τέ-
 μενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἔοντα παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κρᾶθιν ^β, τὸν
 ἰδρῦσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωριέα λέγουσι Ἀθη-
 ναίη ἐπωνύμῳ Κραθίη ^β. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῦ Δωριέος τὸν 5
 θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεῦνται, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ
 μεμαντευμένα ποίεον διεφθάρη· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέ-
 πρηξε μηδέν, ἐπ' ὃ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίηε, εἶλε ἂν τὴν Ἐρυ-
 κίνην χώραν καὶ ἐλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτός τε καὶ
 ἡ στρατιὴ διεφθάρη. οἱ δ' αὖ Κροτωνιῆται ἀποδεικνύ- 10
 σι Καλλίη μὲν τῷ Ἡλείῳ ἐξαίρετα ἐν γῆ τῇ Κροτω-
 νιήτιδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐνέμοντο οἱ
 Καλλίεω ἀπόγονοι, Δωριεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Δωριέος ἀπο-
 γόνοισι οὐδέν. καίτοι εἰ συνεπελάβετό γε τοῦ Συβαρι-
 τικοῦ πολέμου Δωριεύς, δοθῆναι ἂν οἱ πολλαπλήσια ἦ 15
 Καλλίη. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι αὐτῶν μαρτύρια ἀπο-

^α δὲ Wess.: δὲ οὐχ Α Β Γ: δὲ οὐκ C P: δ' αὖ Bekk.: τοῦτο μὲν οὕτω Gomp.

^β Κρᾶθιν et Κραθίη Wess.: κράστιν et κραστίη Libb.

They officiated as seers at the altar of Zeus at Olympia; cf. ix. 33. 5. The story of Iamus is told by Pindar, *Ol.* vi.

13. ἐπὶ Κρότωνα. The dative is more common, as in 37. 7 πᾶν ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ μηχανώμενος, ix. 10. 13 θυομένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, etc.

45. 3. τὸν ξηρὸν Κρᾶθιν, the dry bed of the Crathis. The city of Sybaris lay between the Crathis, a river of considerable size, and the Sybaris. When they destroyed the city, the Crotoniates turned the

waters of the Crathis upon the site, so as to destroy every vestige, and by this means it was diverted from its old bed; Strabo, p. 263. For Sybaris see Lenormant, *La grande Grèce*, i. p. 223 ff.; 290 ff.

13. τοῖσι Δωριέος ἀπογόνοισι. Taken literally, the words would imply that Dorieus left some descendants behind him, but this is doubtful: for though we hear of a Euryanax, son of Dorieus (ix. 10), we do not know that this is our Dorieus; *infra*. c. 48.

SICILY. Circa B.C. 510 Ol. 67. 3.

φαίνονται, καὶ πάρεστι, ὁκοτέροισί τις πείθεται αὐτῶν, τούτοισι προσχωρέειν. συνέπλεον δὲ Δωριεὶ καὶ ἄλλοι 46 συγκτίσται Σπαρτιητέων, Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Παραιβάτης καὶ Κελέης καὶ Εὐρυλέων· οἱ ἐπέειτε ἀπίκοντο παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον μάχῃ ἔσσωθέντες ὑπὸ 5 τε Φοινίκων καὶ Ἐγεσταίων· μῦθος δὲ Εὐρυλέων τῶν συγκτιστέων περιεγένετο τούτου τοῦ πάθεος. συλλαβὼν δὲ οὗτος τῆς στρατιῆς τοὺς περιγενομένους ἔσχε Μινῶν τὴν Σελινουσίαν ἀποικίην, καὶ συνελευθέρου Σελινουσίους τοῦ μουνάρχου Πειθαγόρου. μετὰ δὲ ὡς 10 τούτον κατεῖλε, αὐτὸς τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε Σελινουῦντος καὶ ἐμουνάρχησε χρόνον ἐπ' ὀλίγον· οἱ γάρ μιν Σελινουσίοι ἐπαναστάντες ἀπέκτειναν καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Διὸς ἀγοραίου βωμόν.

Dorieus slain in Sicily: Euryleon at Selinus.

Συνέσπετο δὲ Δωριεὶ καὶ συναπέθανε Φίλιππος ὁ 47 Βουτακίδεω Κροτωνιήτης ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἄρμოსάμενος Τήλυος τοῦ Συβαρίτεω θυγατέρα ἔφυγε ἐκ Κρότωνος, ψευσθεὶς δὲ τοῦ γάμου οἶχετο πλέων ἐς Κυρήνην, ἐκ 5 ταύτης δὲ ὀρμεόμενος συνέσπετο οἰκίῃ τε τριήρεϊ καὶ

Philippus of Croton.

46. 5. Φοινίκων καὶ Ἐγεσταίων. The Phoenicians of Motye joined with the Elymians of Segesta in resisting the new settlement, and in fact, these two barbarian nations were always ready to join against the Greeks.

8. Minoa lay on the south coast between Selinus and Agrigentum. Originally a Phoenician settlement, it was colonized subsequently by the Greeks; perhaps it now received the name Heraclæa. See Freeman, *Sicily*, ii. 96. Euryleon was no doubt invited by the enemies of the tyrant Peithagoras, of whom, however, nothing is known. The

Selinuntians were colonists of the Megarians.

47. 1. That Philippus should be banished from Croton for his suit to the daughter of Telys is a proof of the animosity of the Crotoniates to the tyrant or demagogue; and that he sailed to Cyrene, and returned in time to join Dorieus, proves that the animosity existed for some time before the final outburst.

5. οἰκίῃ τε τριήρεϊ, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Cleinias at Artemisium, ὃς δαπάνην οἰκίην παρεχόμενος ἔστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε δικησίοισι καὶ οἰκίῃ νῆϊ viii. 17. 6.

SPARTA. B.C. 500; OL. 70. 1.

οικήῃ ἀνδρῶν δαπάνῃ, ἐὼν τε Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ κάλλιστος Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατ' ἐωυτόν. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐωυτοῦ κάλλος ἠνείκατο παρὰ Ἑγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἠρώιον ἰδρυσάμενοι θυσίῃσι αὐτὸν ἰλάσκονται.

10

48 Δωριεὺς μὲν νυν τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἐτελεύτησε· εἰ δὲ ἠνέσχετο βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος καὶ κατέμενε ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἐβασίλευσε ἂν Λακεδαιμόνος· οὐ γάρ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἤρξε ὁ Κλεομένης, ἀλλ' ἀπέθανε ἄπαις, θυγατέρα μούνην λιπῶν, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γοργῶ.

5

49 Ἀπικνέεται δὲ ὧν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην Κλεομένεος ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν· τῷ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἦιε, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ἔχων χάλκεον πίνακα ἐν τῷ γῆς ἀπάσης περιόδος ἐνετέμμητο καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες. ἀπικνεόμενος δὲ ἐς λόγους ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε.

^a ἐβασίλευσε Kriig. : ἐβασίλευε Libb.

ARISTAGORAS AT SPARTA. His interview with Cleomenes.

7. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐωυτοῦ κάλλος. For hero-worship see Appendix 12. This admiration of beauty is seen in the treatment of the corpse of Masistius, ix. 25. 8, which was carried in a cart along the Greek lines at Plataea, that all might see it.

48. 4. Cleomenes must have reigned till 491 B. C., if not later (see Appendix 3); his reign therefore lasted about thirty years. But he was succeeded by his brother Leonidas, who was younger than Dorieus. Had Dorieus left any descendants, they would have been heirs to the throne, unless we suppose that he lost his right to the succession by settling in a foreign country, which Heracleids were forbidden to do on pain of death (Plut. *Agis*, 11).

Yet Dorieus has the permission of the Spartans for his colony, c. 42. 8.

49. 4. The oldest map known to the Greeks was that made by Anaximander of Miletus. On the subject see Strabo, p. 7, who quotes Eratosthenes, the great geographer of Alexandria, to the effect that the first geographers of note, after Homer, were two, Anaximander and Hecataeus: τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον γεωγραφικὸν πίνακα, τὸν δὲ Ἐκαταίων καταλιπεῖν γράμμα, πιστούμενον ἐκείνου εἶναι ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ γραφῆς. Whether Hecataeus constructed a map is therefore not quite certain; Agathemerus, however, stated that he greatly improved the map of Anaximander, ὥστε θαυμασθῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα (Agath. i. 1 quoted by Stein).

SPARTA. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

“Κλεόμενες, σπουδὴν μὲν τὴν ἐμὴν μὴ θωμάσης τῆς ἐνθαῦτα ἀπίξιος· τὰ γὰρ κατήκοντα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα. Ἴώνων παῖδας δούλους εἶναι ἀντ’ ἐλευθέρων ὄνειδος καὶ 10 ἄλλος μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν, ὅσῳ προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. νῦν ὦν πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων ῥύσασθε Ἴωνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης ἀνδρας ὀμαίμονας. εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἶά τε χωρέειν ἐστὶ· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄλκιμοὶ εἰσι, ὑμεῖς τε τὰ 15 ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκετε ἀρετῆς πέρι. ἢ τε μάχῃ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τοιήδε, τόξα καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχέα· ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἔχοντες ἔρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ κυρβασίας ἐπὶ τῆσι κεφαλῆσι· οὕτω εὐπετέες χειρωθῆναι εἰσί. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοῖσι τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκείνην νε- 20 μομένοισι ὅσα οὐδὲ τοῖσι^a συνάπασι ἄλλοισι, ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ ἀρξαμένοισι, ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆς ποικίλη καὶ

^a οὐδὲ συνάπασι τοῖσι Kriig.

8. τὰ κατήκοντα, ‘what has come upon me,’ i.e. my circumstances; cf. καταλαμβάνειν, κατέχειν in vi. 40. 2, 10.

11. προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. The Spartans had been acknowledged heads of Greece since the time of Croesus; cf. i. 56, 69; i. 152. 14, where Lacrines is sent to Sardis to convey to Cyrus Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, ὡς αὐτῶν οὐ περιφομένων.

13. χωρέειν, ‘succeed’; *infra*. 89. 13 καὶ σφι χωρήσειν τὰ βούλονται.

16. μάχῃ, ‘mode of fighting.’ For the armour of the Persians see vii. 61. Aristagoras does not mention that the best armed wore coats of mail (cf. ix. 22. 12; viii. 113. 10, where Mardonius selects Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους). Bowman and

javelin-men (ἀκοντισταί) were found in the Grecian armies; the Athenians, for instance, had a force of 1800 archers in 431 B.C., and see ix. 22. 3: yet their strength lay in the heavy armed; and the contrast between the two nations is the contrast between the spear and the bow; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 239, 240 ΔΓ. πότερα γὰρ τοξουλκὸς αἰχμὴ διὰ χερῶν αὐτοῖς πρέπει; XOP. οὐδαμῶς ἔγχη σταδαῖα καὶ φεράσπιδες σάγαι.

17. ἀναξυρίδας. For the Greek view of these garments see Eur. *Cycl.* 182 τοὺς θυλάκους τοὺς ποικίλους περὶ τοῖν σκελοῖν.

κυρβασίας. Cf. vii. 64. 5 κυρβασίας ἐς δὲ ἀπηγμένας. In vii. 61. 2 we have τιάρας καλεωμένους πῖλους ἀπαγέας (soft). The Greeks wore helmets.

20. ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ ἀρξαμένοισι, ‘be-

SPARTA. B. C. 500; OI. 70. 1.

ὑποζύγια τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα· τὰ θυμῶ βουλόμενοι αὐ-
 τοὶ ἂν ἔχοιτε^α. κατοίκηνται δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι ὡς ἐγὼ
 φράσω, Ἰώνων μὲν τῶνδε οἶδε Λυδοί, οἰκέοντές τε χώ-
 ρην ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολυαργυρώτατοι ἐόντες.” δεικνὺς δὲ²⁵
 ἔλεγε ταῦτα ἐς τῆς γῆς τὴν περίοδον, τὴν ἐφέρετο ἐν
 τῷ πίνακι ἐντεταμημένην. “Λυδῶν δέ” ἔφη λέγων ὁ
 Ἀρισταγόρης “οἶδε ἔχονται Φρύγες οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ,
 πολυπροβατώτατοί τε ἐόντες πάντων τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα καὶ
 πολυκαρπώτατοι. Φρυγῶν δὲ ἔχονται Καππαδόκαι, τοὺς³⁰
 ἡμεῖς Συρίους καλέομεν. τούτοισι δὲ πρόσουροι Κίλικες,
 κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τήνδε, ἐν τῇ ἦδε Κύπρος νῆ-
 σος κέεται· οἱ πεντακόσια τάλαντα βασιλεί τὸν ἐπέτειον
 φόρον ἐπιτελεῦσι. Κιλικῶν δὲ τῶνδε ἔχονται Ἀρμένιοι
 οἶδε, καὶ οὗτοι ἐόντες πολυπρόβατοι, Ἀρμενίων δὲ Μα-³⁵
 τινηοὶ χώραν τήνδε ἔχοντες. ἔχεται δὲ τούτων γῆ ἦδε
 Κισσίη, ἐν τῇ δὴ παρὰ ποταμὸν τόνδε Χοάσπην κεί-
 μενά ἐστι τὰ Σοῦσα ταῦτα, ἔνθα βασιλεύς τε μέγας
 δίαιταν ποιέεται, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐν-
 θαῦτα εἰσὶ· ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν θαρσέοντες⁴⁰
 ἦδη τῷ Διὶ πλοῦτου πέρι ἐρίζετε. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν χώρας

Aristagoras
describes
Asia from
a map.

^α σχοίητε? St. : σχοίτε Van H.

ginning with gold.’ The dative is to be taken with ἐστί in the same sense as in Soph. O. T. 616 καλῶς ἔλεξεν εὐλαβουμένῳ πεσεῖν.

22. θυμῶ βουλόμενοι, ‘if only you set your hearts upon them.’

25. πολυαργυρώτατοι, with reference no doubt to the wealth of Pactolus, though this river, strictly speaking, brought down gold. The riches of the Lydian kings were of course proverbial, and the Spartans had themselves received gold from Croesus, i. 69. 18.

29. πολυπροβατώτατοι. For the riches of Phrygia in sheep cf. Strabo, 578. In II. iii. 184 the land is called ἀμπελόεσσα.

38. τὰ Σοῦσα ταῦτα, lit. ‘the Susa of which we speak.’ Susa as the king’s residence was the place of chief interest. Aristagoras does not point to it on the map, as he has done hitherto, or we should have τάδε.

41. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν χώρας . . . Ἀργείους. The translation of this sentence is uncertain: (1) μάχας ἀναβάλλεσθαι may be = ‘pugnans sus-

SPARTA. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

ἄρα οὐ πολλῆς οὐδὲ οὕτω χρηστῆς καὶ οὖρων σμικρῶν
 χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας μάχας ἀναβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τε Μεσση-
 νίους ἔοντας ἰσοπαλέας καὶ Ἀρκάδας τε καὶ Ἀργείους,
 45 τοῖσι οὕτε χρυσοῦ ἐχόμενον ἐστι οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀργύρου,
 τῶν πέρι καὶ τινα ἐνάγει προθυμῆ μαχόμενον ἀποθνή-
 σκειν· παρέχον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίης πάσης ἄρχειν εὐπετέως,
 ἄλλο τι αἰρήσεσθε;” Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε,
 Κλεομένης δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀνα-
 βάλλομαί τοι ἐς τρίτην ἡμέρην ὑποκρινέεσθαι^α.” τότε 50
 μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤλασαν· ἐπίετε δὲ ἡ κυρὴ ἡμέρη ἐγέ-
 νετο τῆς ὑποκρίσιος^α καὶ ἦλθον ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, εἵ-
 ρετο ὁ Κλεομένης τὸν Ἀρισταγόρην ὀκοσέων ἡμερέων
 5 ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνων ὁδὸς εἴη παρὰ βασιλεία. ὁ δὲ
 Ἀρισταγόρης τᾶλλα ἔων σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκείνον
 εὖ ἐν τούτῳ ἐσφάλῃ· χρεὸν γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐόν,
 βουλούμενον γε Σπαρτιήτας ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λέ-
 γει δ’ ὧν τριῶν μηνῶν φὰς εἶναι τὴν ἄνοδον. ὁ δὲ
 10 ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον τὸν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὤρ-
 μητο λέγειν περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἶπε “ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε,
 ἀπαλλάσσεο ἐκ Σπάρτης πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου· οὐδένα γὰρ

50

Second
 interview.
 The dis-
 tance to
 Susa.
 Cleomenes
 refuses aid.

^a ὑποκρινέεσθαι, ὑποκρίσιος Bekk.: ἀπο- Libb.

cipere, nisi ἀναβέσθαι legendum.’ So Schwgh. and Liddell and Scott, who suggest ‘risk a battle,’ and Krüger, who thinks that ἀναβ. may here = ἀναρεῖσθαι; (2) the meaning may be ‘put off,’ ‘defer’; cf. just below, ἀναβάλλομαι ὑποκρινέεσθαι. The interrogative must then be translated: ‘Ought you *not* to defer?’

42. οὕτω χρηστῆς, ‘very good,’ so good that you should fight about it. Wars with the Messenians had ceased for a century, and the nation

could not now be said to be equal to the Spartans; but the struggle had been one of the most memorable in Spartan history (first war, 743-724 B. C.; second war, 645 -? B. C.).

49. ἀναβάλλομαι ὑποκρινέεσθαι. In vi. 86. β. 12 we have ἀναβάλλομαι κινῶσειν, which supports the future: in ix. 8. 2 ἀναβάλλομαι ὑποκρίνασθαι, where Cobet reads ὑποκρινέεσθαι; cf. vi. 2. 5 note, and *infr.* 106. 31.

50. 6. διαβάλλων, ‘deceiving.’

SPARTA. B.C. 500; OL. 70. 1.

Third
interview :
Gorgo.

λόγον εὐπέα λέγεις Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐθέλων σφέας
 51 ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν μηνῶν ὁδὸν ἀγαγεῖν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ
 Κλεομένης ταῦτα εἶπας ἤιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγό-
 ρης λαβὼν ἰκετηρίην ἤιε ἐς τοῦ Κλεομένεος, ἐσελθὼν δὲ
 ἔσω ἅτε ἰκετεύων ἐπακοῦσαι ἐκέλευε τὸν Κλεομένα
 ἀποπέμψαντα τὸ παιδίον· προσεστήκει γὰρ δὴ τῷ Κλεο- 5
 μένῃ ἡ θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Γοργώ· τοῦτο δέ οἱ
 καὶ μῦνον τέκνον ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν ἐτέων ὀκτῶ ἢ ἐννέα
 ἡλικίην. Κλεομένης δὲ λέγειν μιν ἐκέλευε τὰ βούλεται
 μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου εἴνεκα. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀρι-
 σταγόρῃς ἄρχετο ἐκ δέκα ταλάντων ὑπισχνόμενος, ἦν 10
 οἱ ἐπιτελέση τῶν ἐδέετο. ἀνανεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομέ-
 νεος προέβαινε τοῖσι χρήμασι ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀρισταγό-
 ρης, ἐς οὗ πεντήκοντά τε τάλαντα ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ τὸ
 παιδίον ἠδδάξατο “πάτερ, διαφθερέει σε ὁ ξείνος, ἦν
 μὴ ἀποστὰς ἴης.” ὁ τε δὴ Κλεομένης ἤσθεις τοῦ παι- 15
 δίου τῇ παραινέσει ἤιε ἐς ἕτερον οἶκημα, καὶ ὁ Ἀριστα-
 γόρῃς ἀπαλλάσσετο τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, οὐδέ
 οἱ ἐξεγένετο ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι σημῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς
 παρὰ βασιλεία.

52 Ἔχει γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ὠδε. σταθμοί τε

13. εὐπέα, ‘pleasant to the ear,’
 ‘acceptable.’ It is remarkable that
 Cleomenes dismisses Aristagoras
 without any reference to the ephors
 whatever; yet in the parallel case
 of Macandrius he calls in the power
 of the ephors, iii. 148. 14. Does
 this imply that in the interim he
 had acquired greater authority?

51. 3. ἰκετηρίην, ‘a suppliant’s
 branch,’ i.e. a branch of olive
 wreathed with wool; cf. vii. 141. 5,
 where, after the first unfavourable
 answer at Delphi, the Athenian

envoys were advised by Timon to
 take a ἰκετηρίην and approach the
 god as ἵκεται, and also the opening
 scene of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and
 the *Iliad*. The prayers of a sup-
 pliant must at least be heard, if not
 answered, and his person was safe.

6. Gorgo subsequently became
 the wife of Leonidas; see vii. 239. 22.

18. ἐπὶ πλέον, ‘any further,’ i.e.
 in any greater detail.

52. 1. This royal road from
 East to West, was but one of a
 number which united the various

SPARTA. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

πανταχῆ εἰσι βασιλήιοι καὶ καταλύσιες κάλλιστα, διὰ οἰκεομένης τε ἡ ὁδοῦ ἅπασα καὶ ἀσφαλῆος. διὰ μὲν γε Λυδίας καὶ Φρυγίας σταθμοὶ τείνοντες εἴκοσὶ εἰσι, πα-
 5 ρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἑνεήκοντα καὶ ἡμισυ. ἐκ-
 δέκεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ὁ Ἄλυς ποταμὸς, ἐπ' ᾧ πύ-
 λαι τε ἔπεισι, τὰς διεξελάσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ οὕτω
 διεκπερᾶν τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ φυλακτήριον μέγα ἐπ' αὐ-
 τῷ. διαβάντι δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίην καὶ ταύτῃ πο-
 10 ρεομένῳ μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Κιλικίων σταθμοὶ δυῶν
 δέοντές εἰσι τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ
 ἑκατόν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι τούτων οὖροισι διξᾶς τε πύλας διεξ-
 ελᾶς καὶ διξᾶ φυλακτήρια παραμείψαι· ταῦτα δὲ
 διεξελάσαντι καὶ διὰ τῆς Κιλικίης ὁδὸν ποιευμένῳ τρεῖς

Description of the
 ROAD
 FROM
 SARDIS TO
 SUSA.

provinces of the Persian empire with the capital (Susa). **σταθμοὶ** are 'stations,' or guardhouses; **καταλύσιες** (*καταγωγαί*) are caravanserais, but the two were combined (ll. 18, 34).

2. **διὰ οἰκεομένης**. The road did not follow the shortest route, but took a course which had previously been traced by commerce. Another road, considerably shorter, from Susa to Ephesus, is described by Strabo (p. 663, from Artemidorus). The stages in the road as given by Herodotus are:

1. Sardis to the Halys	94½ P.'s.
2. The Halys to Cilicia	104
3. Cilicia to Euphrates	15½
4. Armenia	56½
5. Matiene	137
6. Cissia	42½
	450

The direct distance from Sardis to the Halys at a point near Ancyra is

89 Parasangs, which corresponds fairly to the 94½ given by Herodotus; for Cappadocia 104 P. are given, for Cilicia 15½, making the whole distance from the Halys to the Euphrates 119½ P., but the direct distance to the usual place of crossing the Euphrates at Melitene is not 100 P. The difference must be explained by some extension of the route to the north, an extension due to the (prehistoric) importance of the city of Pteria (i. 76). Kiepert considers that it ran northwards to Comana, in the valley of the Iris, where it united with the road from Sinope and Pteria; thence it passed the range of Antitaurus to Melitene.—The Cilicia of Herodotus extends much further to the north than the Cilicia of later times; it reached the upper course of the Halys, and thence to the Euphrates; see i. 72. In later times (Strabo, 527) the Euphrates divided Cappadocia and Armenia.

SPARTA. B.C. 500; Ol. 70, 1.

εἰσι σταθμοί, παρασάγγαι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἥμισυ.¹⁵
 οὖρος δὲ Κιλικίης καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίης ἐστὶ ποταμὸς νη-
 σιπέρητος, τῷ οὐνομα Εὐφρήτης. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίῃ
 σταθμοὶ μὲν εἰσι καταγωγέων πεντεκαίδεκα, παρασάγ-
 γαι δὲ ἕξ καὶ πενήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ, καὶ φυλακτῆριον
 ἐν αὐτοῖσι. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης [τῆς^a Ἀρμενίης] ἐσβάλλοντι²⁰
 ἐς τὴν Ματιηνὴν γῆν σταθμοὶ εἰσι τέσσερες † καὶ^b τριή-
 κοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκα-
 τόν. † ποταμοὶ δὲ νησιπέρητοι τέσσερες διὰ ταύτης
 ῥέουσι, τοὺς πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διαπορθμεῦσαι ἐστί, πρῶτος
 μὲν Τίγρης, μετὰ δὲ δευτέρός τε καὶ τρίτος αὐτὸς^c ²⁵
 ὀνομαζόμενος, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἑὼν ποταμὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ

^a ἐκ δὲ . . . τέσσερες quae legebantur infra l. 30 post τριηκοσίας huc revocavit St., qui et τῆς Ἀρμενίης seclusit.

^b καὶ τριήκοντα . . . καὶ ἑκατόν supplevit primus De la Barre. ^c Pro αὐτὸς conj. Ζάβατος J. C. Weissenborn alii que: ὀνομαζόμενος Ζάβατος H. Bobrik.

17. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίῃ, κ.τ.λ. This part of the road lay north of the Masian range between the Euphrates and the point where the two arms of the Tigris unite. The distance is fairly correct at 56½ P.

20. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐσβάλλοντι . . . τέσσερες. By transferring this sentence, which stands in the MSS. after τριηκοσίας (l. 30), and adding the words καὶ τριήκοντα . . . ἑκατόν to τέσσερες, Stein has removed the greatest difficulty in the description of the road—the enormous extension given to Armenia compared with the distance assigned to this part of the route (see Bunbury, *Geogr.* i. 253, and Sayce, *Herod.* xxvii.). That some part of the distance is omitted in the traditional text is clear from the fact that Herodotus gives the totals as 111 stathmi and 450 P.; whereas the items only amount to

81 stathmi and 313 P. The direct distance from the southern border of Armenia to Susa is 165 P.; which agrees well enough with the 179½ P. of Herodotus, when we remember that two mountain ranges had to be crossed: (1) the range on the Upper Tigris; (2) the chain between the Diala and the Choaspes.

21. ἐς τὴν Ματιηνὴν γῆν. Herodotus here gives the name Matiene to the stretch of country between Armenia and Cissia. The usual name for it, or the largest part of it, was Assyria. Xenophon calls it Media, *Anab.* ii. 4. 27, etc. Other Matiēni are found on the right bank of the Halys, i. 72; others again on the sources of the Araxes, i. 202. 15. On the road, see Kiepert, ap. Stein, and Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 27 ff.

SPARTA. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

ρέων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρότερος^a αὐτῶν καταλεχθεῖς ἐξ Ἀρ-
 μενίων ῥέει, ὁ δ' ὕστερος^b ἐκ Ματινηῶν· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος
 τῶν ποταμῶν οὖνομα ἔχει Γύνδης^c, τὸν Κῦρος διέλαβέ
 30 κοτε ἐς διώρυχας ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας. ἐκ δὲ ταύ-
 τῆς ἐς τὴν Κισσίην χώραν μεταβαίνουντι ἔνδεκα σταθμοί,
 παρασάγγαι δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἡμισύ ἐστι
 ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χοάσπην, ἔοντα καὶ τοῦτον νηυσιπέρητον·
 ἐπ' ᾧ Σοῦσα πόλις πεπόλισται. οὗτοι οἱ πάντες σταθμοί
 35 εἰσι ἔνδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν. καταγωγαὶ μὲν νυν σταθμῶν
 τοσαῦται εἰσὶ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σοῦσα ἀναβαίνουντι. εἰ δὲ 53
 ὀρθῶς μεμέτρηται ἢ ὁδὸς ἢ βασιλιή τοῖσι παρασάγγ-
 γησι καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια, ὥσ-
 περ οὗτός γε δύναται ταῦτα, ἐκ Σαρδίων στάδιά ἐστι
 5 ἐς τὰ βασιλῆια τὰ Μεμνόνια καλεόμενα πεντακόσια καὶ
 τρισχίλια καὶ μύρια, παρασαγγέων ἔοντων πεντήκοντα
 καὶ τετρακοσίων. πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατόν στάδια ἐπ'

Distance
 from Sardis
 to Susa

^a πρότερον St.^b ὕστερον Libb. corr. St.^c Γύνδην Krüg.

53. 5. τὰ Μεμνόνια. Memnon, the son of Eos, the ally of Priam, who was slain by Achilles, is mentioned twice in the *Odysssey*, iv. 188; xi. 522. His story was made the theme of an epic by Arctinus, and was also represented on the earliest works of art: the chest of Cypselus, and the throne of Apollo at Amyclae. In later historians he appears as a real hero, who brought the forces of the East to aid Priam (Diod. ii. 22). He was thought to have built Susa, which was no doubt in existence before the Persians acquired the territory from the Elamites. So Strabo, p. 728 and Pausanias iv. 31. 5, x. 31. 7, who gives an account of Memnon's

march westwards. Herodotus seems to have known nothing of the Memnonium in Egyptian Thebes, or of the vocal statue of Memnon. See Pauly, *Realencycl.* sub voc.

7. πεντήκοντα, κ.τ.λ. In iv. 101. 9 two hundred stades (25 miles) are allowed for a day's journey, and *infra* next chapter, only three days are allowed for the 540 stades from Ephesus to Sardis. Hultsch, *Metrol.* p. 527, 2nd ed., remarks, in reference to this road, that Herodotus must have calculated the distance on a shorter stadium than that of 600 Attic feet = $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Roman mile; but this is not Kiepert's view, and indeed it rests on no other ground than the difference between

ATHENS. B.C. 514; Ol. 66. 3.

- ἡμέρη ἐκάστη διεξιούσι ἀναισιμούνται ἡμέραι ἀπαρτὶ
 54 ἐεννήκοντα. οὕτω τῷ Μιλησίῳ Ἀρισταγόρῃ εἶπαντι
 πρὸς Κλεομένεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον εἶναι τριῶν μηνῶν
 τὴν ἀνοδὸν τὴν παρὰ βασιλέα ὀρθῶς εἶρητο. εἰ δέ τις
 τὸ ἀτρεκέστερον τούτων ἔτι δίζηται, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο
 σημαίνω· τὴν γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδις ὁδὸν δεῖ προσ- 5
 λογίσασθαι ταύτη. καὶ δὴ λέγω σταδίους εἶναι τοὺς
 πάντας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μέχρι Σούσων
 (τοῦτο γὰρ Μεμνόνειον ἄστν καλέεται) τεσσεράκοντα καὶ
 τετρακισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους· οἱ γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρ- 10
 δις εἰσὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιοι, καὶ οὐ-
 τω τρισὶ ἡμέρησι μῆκύνεται ἢ τρίμηνος ὁδός.
 55 Ἀπελαυνόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης
 ἦε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας γενομένης τυράννων ᾧδε ἐλευθήρας.

Distance
from
Ephesus
to Sardis.Arista-
goras visits
Athens.

the *direct* distance from Sardis to Susa and the distance given by Herodotus, a difference which obviously depends on the route taken by the road.

54. 5. ἐξ Ἐφέσου. Ephesus was the great starting-point for the interior of Asia. Thus, *infra* 100, the expedition leaves Miletus for Ephesus, when preparing to attack Sardis; cf. Strabo, p. 663 *κοινὴ τις ὁδὸς τέτριπται ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς ὁδοιποροῦσι ἐξ Ἐφέσου*.—The action of Cleomenes in rejecting the appeal of Aristagoras is condemned by Duncker (*Gesch. Alt.* vii. 39 f.), who considers that if strongly supported the Asiatic Greeks could have shaken themselves free from the Persians, in which case the Ionian fleet would have been in the service of Greece. The way over the Aegean would then

have been rendered difficult, if not impossible, and the Persians would have been compelled to renounce their recent conquests in Europe. But, on the other hand, it is not clear that the Ionian revolt was in any sense a national movement (cf. vi. 3), and Herodotus condemns it, as Hecataeus had done before him. Nor could the Spartans cross the Aegean in any force without more ships than they possessed, while, if they crossed in the ships of their allies, they would be dependent on them. And again, the absence of a large body of Spartans at a great distance might have led to grave complications at home.

55. 1. The story of the rise of Peisistratus is told by Herodotus in i. 59-64. Cf. Arist. *Athen. Pol.* c. 13.

ATHENS. B.C. 514; Ol. 66. 3.

ἐπεὶ Ἰππαρχὸν τὸν Πεισιστράτου, Ἰππίεω δὲ τοῦ τυ-
 ράννου ἀδελφεόν, ἰδόντα ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου [τῷ^a ἑαυτοῦ πά-
 5 θεῖ] ἐναργεστάτην κτείνουσι Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Ἀρμόδιος,
 γένος ἔοντες τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραῖοι, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτυ-
 ραννεύοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπ' ἕτερα τέσσερα οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἀλλὰ
 καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ. ἡ μὲν νυν ὄψις τοῦ Ἰππάρ-
 χου ἐνυπνίου ἦν ἡδε. ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Πανα-
 θηναίων ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππαρχὸς ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν
 καὶ εὐεϊδέα αἰνίσσεσθαι τάδε τὰ ἔπεα.

ATHENS,
how freed
from
tyrants.

5 τλῆθι λέων ἄτλητα παθὼν τετληότι θυμῷ·
 οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτίσει.

56

Dream of
Hipparchus.^a τῷ—πάθει del. Jacobs, Gomp., St., Ab., alii.

3. Ἰππίεω τοῦ τυράννου. Cf Thuc. i. 20 Ἀθηναίων τὸ πλῆθος Ἰππαρχὸν οἴονται ὕφ' Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος τύραννον ὄντα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι Ἰππίας μὲν πρεσβύτατος ὢν ἤρχε τῶν Πεισιστράτου υἱῶν, Ἰππαρχὸς δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλὸς ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ. The mistake was probably due to the famous scolion in which Harmodius and Aristogeiton were spoken of as tyrannicides; ὅτε τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην, ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποίησάτην (as a matter of fact they did neither!).

τὴν τυραννίδα. The 'tyranny of Hippias' was remembered; cf. Aristoph. *Wasps* 502; *Lysistr.* 618; *ibid.* 1151 ff.; *ibid.* c. 62. 5.

56. 2. τῶν Παναθηναίων. The great Panathenaea were celebrated every fourth year, during four days (25-28 Hecatombaeon). The great day of the festival was the fourth, on which the scarlet robe (peplus) of Athena was brought in procession (πομπή) to the Acropolis; see Dict. Ant.

4. τῷ . . . πάθει. These words are generally taken with ἐναργεστάτην, but the construction is very doubtful. Stein and others would omit them. ἐναργής is 'clear,' 'unmistakeable'; cf. Plato, *Crito* 44 B.

4. αἰνίσσεσθαι τάδε τὰ ἔπεα, 'spoke these riddling words.' Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1158 μῶν ἠνιξάμην; As Stein remarks, the words are not less obscure after the fulfilment of the prediction than they were before it. It is difficult to see how they can be made to refer to Hipparchus; they may however refer to the Athenian people (λέων, λέως), who are bidden to expect that vengeance will overtake the oppressor, or more especially to Harmodius—if he could

8. μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ. Thuc. vi. 59 τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις χαλεπωτέρα μετὰ τοῦτο ἡ τυραννὶς κατέστη. Arist. *Athen. Pol.* 19 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνέβαινε πολλῷ τραχυτέραν εἶναι

ATHENS. B.C. 514; Ol. 66. 3.

The Gephyraeans.

ταῦτα δέ, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, φανερός ἦν ὑπερτιθέμενος ὄνειροπόλοισι· μετὰ δὲ ἀπειπάμενος τὴν ὄψιν
 57 ἔπεμπε τὴν πομπήν, ἐν τῇ δὴ τελευτᾶ. οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ φονέες οἱ Ἰππάρχου, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐξ Ἐρετριῆς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀναπνυθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, ἦσαν Φοίνικες τῶν σὺν Κάδμφ ἀπικομένων [Φοινίκων]^a ἐς γῆν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίνην⁵ καλεομένην, οἴκειον δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπολαχόντες τὴν Ταναγρικὴν μοῖραν. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ Καδμείων πρότερον ἐξαναστάντων ὑπ' Ἀργείων, οἱ Γεφυραῖοι οὔτοι

^a secl. St., Van H.

be in any way said to be 'a lion.' Hipparchus would be conscious of his ἀδικία towards Harmodius.

8. ἀπειπάμενος, 'dismissing from his thoughts.'

9. ἔπεμπε, κ.τ.λ. Thucydides, in vi. 57, speaks of Hippias as more particularly engaged with the procession (Ἰππίας μὲν ἕξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμειῷ καλουμένῳ μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων διεκύσσει ὡς ἕκαστα ἐχρῆν τῆς πομπῆς προῖέναι), Hipparchus being in the city at the Leoeorion, but in *ib.* i. 20 we are informed that Hipparchus also was arranging the procession (τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπὴν διακοσμοῦντι.) The account of Aristotle, *Athen. Pol.* c. 18. 3, speaks of Hippias as being in the Acropolis, ἐτύγχανεν γὰρ οὗτος μὲν δεχόμενος, ὁ δ' Ἰππάρχος ἀποστέλλων τὴν πομπήν.

57. 4. Φοίνικες. Whether the Gephyraeans were Phoenicians or not, there is no reason why Phoenicians should not have settled at Thebes in Boeotia, and the evidence, such as it is, is in favour of such a

settlement. In any case Boeotia was inhabited by various tribes before the immigration of the Boeotians from Arne in Thessaly; Thuc. i. 12 Βοιωτοὶ τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ᾤκισαν; *ib.* iii. 61 συμμίκτους ἀνθρώπους ἐξελάσαντες (when founding Plataea).

7. τὴν Ταναγρικὴν μοῖραν, i. e. the extreme south of the country, on the Asopus. The Tanagraeans were called Gephyraeans (Strabo, p. 404), but probably this word means no more than 'bridge-makers,' pontifices, and such might be found at Eretria as well as Tanagra. See, however, Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, 293 f., who thinks that the account of Herodotus rests on the connection of Phoenix (the tutor of Achilles) with Eleon, a town in the district of Tanagra. When Phoenix was read as 'Phoenician' and connected with Cadmus, the Tanagraeans became Phoenicians!

8. ὑπ' Ἀργείων, cf. *infra*. c. 61. δεύτερα, 'afterwards,' cf. *supra*. 41. 5.

ATHENS. B.C. 514; Ol. 66. 3.

δεύτερα ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες ἐτράποντο ἐπ' Ἀθη-
 10 νῶν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφεας ἐπὶ ῥητοῖσι ἐδέξαντο σφέων
 αὐτῶν εἶναι πολίητας, πολλῶν^α τεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιαπηγήτων
 ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ 58
 ἀπικόμενοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οἰ-
 κήσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς
 "Ἑλληνας καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα οὐκ ἔοντα πρὶν" Ἑλλησι,
 5 ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖσι καὶ ἅπαντες χρέωνται
 Φοίνικες· μετὰ δὲ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ἅμα τῇ φω-
 νῇ μετέβαλον καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων. περιοί-

^α οὐ πολλῶν Madv., Van H.: ὀλίγων Cob.

The invasion of the Epigoni was almost contemporaneous with the Trojan war (in the traditional chronology); the immigration of the Boeotians took place sixty years after it: Thuc. i. 12.

10. ἐπὶ ῥητοῖσι, 'on certain specified terms'; cf. Thuc. i. 13 ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι.

11. πολλῶν . . . ἀξιαπηγήτων, 'a good many privileges, but not worth mentioning.' The expression is awkward, but a parallel is found in Pausanias, an imitator of Herodotus, παθόντες εὖ πολλά τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξια ἀπηγήσεως (i. 9. 3). Stein suggests that in this exclusion may be found the reason why the sister of Harmodius was not allowed to take part in the Panathenaic procession, Thuc. v. 56. No doubt the privileges from which the Gephyraeans were excluded were of a religious or ceremonial nature.

58. 3. ταύτην τὴν χώραν, sc. Boecotia.

διδασκάλια, 'lessons' = μαθήματα, but this sense seems to be unique.

4. γράμματα. That the Greeks received their alphabet from the Phoenicians admits of no doubt; the form, the order, and the names of the letters prove this. But they altered the alphabet which they received, especially in regard to the vowels and sibilants, developing the first and cutting down the others. They also added letters, such as ν, φ, χ, ψ, ω; and used Greek names or epithets for them, sigma, e-psilon, o-mcga, etc. See on the subject, Franz, *Element. Epigr.* 111, and Roberts, *Epigraphy* p. 4. That they received them from the Phoenicians in *Boecotia*, as Herodotus asserts, cannot be proved; the oldest inscriptions are those of Thera and Crete (Dorian islands) and the Ionian inscriptions found in Egypt.

7. τὸν ῥυθμὸν, 'the form,' or 'sweep.' Schweigh. quotes Alexis, the comedian (*Frag.* 59, Koch), who speaks of a drinking cup as ἀστειοτάτῃ τὴν ὕψω, οὔτε τρυβλίῳ οὔτε φιάλῃ, μετείχε δ' ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ῥυθμοῖν. In this sense the word is also used by Democritus, a con-

The Phoenicians brought letters into Greece.

ATHENS. B.C. 514; Ol. 66. 3.

κεον δέ σφεας τὰ πολλὰ [τῶν^a χάρων] τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἑλλήνων Ἴωνες, οἱ παραλαβόντες διδαχὴν παρὰ τῶν Φοινίκων τὰ γράμματα, μεταρρυθμίσαντές σφεων ὀλίγα ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενοι δὲ ἐφάτισαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἔφερε, ἐσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Φοινικῆια κεκληῆσθαι. καὶ τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι βύβλων ἐχρέωντο διφθέρησι αἰγέησί τε καὶ οἰέησι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας 15
59 διφθέρας γράφουσι. εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμήια γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου ἐν Θήβησι τῆσι Βοιωτῶν, ἐπὶ τρίποσὶ τισι^b ἐγκεκολαμμένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὅμοια ἔοντα τοῖσι Ἴωνικοῖσι. ὁ μὲν δὴ εἷς τῶν τριπόδων ἐπίγραμμα ἔχει 5

Inscriptions at Thebes.

^a τῶν χάρων del. Krügg., secl. St.: χωρίων Wess.^b τρισί Dobree, Van H.

temporary of Herodotus: διαφέρειν γάρ φασι τὸ ὄν ῥυσμῶ καὶ διαβιγῆ καὶ τροπῆ μόνον. τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν ῥυσμὸς σχῆμά ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ διαβιγῆ τάξις, ἡ δὲ τροπῆ θέσις, Aristotle, *Met.* i. 4. 985 b 4. Herodotus does not refer to the *direction* of the writing. So below μεταρρυθμίσαντες = 'changing the shape.'—Herodotus is of opinion that the Ionians used letters before the Dorians (see, however, *supr.* l. 4) and accounts for the fact by pointing out that the Ionians lay nearest the Phoenician immigrants in Boeotia. He would consider the inhabitants of Attica Ionians, and perhaps those of Euboea.

11. ἐφάτισαν... κεκληῆσθαι, 'gave them the name,' lit. 'pronounced that they have the name.'

13. The word Φοινικῆια is used as a substantive for 'letters,' e. g., in the Teian inscriptions quoted by Roberts, *l. c.* p. 170, φοινικῆια ἐκκόπτειν is = 'to erase letters.' τὰς βύβλους, 'sheets of byblus,' i. e. sheets of the papyrus. Herodotus believes that the Greeks used skins for writing upon before the introduction of papyrus from Egypt, for which cf. ii. 92. 19 f., 100, Xen. *Anab.* vii. 5. 14, and the article *Papyrus* in Pauly's *Realencycl.*

59. 4. τοῖσι Ἴωνικοῖσι. For the Ionic letters in general, see Roberts, *Epigraphy*, p. 386. We may perhaps take the letters of the inscription of Halicarnassus, 453 B. C., given by Roberts, *l. c.*, p. 175, as a specimen of the Ionic letters best known to Herodotus.

ATHENS. B.C. 514; OI. 66. 3.

Ἀμφιτρύων μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἔων^a ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων.
ταῦτα ἡλικίην εἶη ἂν κατὰ Λάιον τὸν Λαβδάκου τοῦ
Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου. ἕτερος δὲ τρίπους ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ 60
τόνῳ λέγει

Σκαῖος πυγμαχέων με ἐκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι
νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τεῖν^b περικαλλῆς ἄγαλμα.

5 Σκαῖος δ' ἂν εἶη ὁ Ἴπποκόωντος, εἰ δὲ οὗτος γε ἐστὶ
ὁ ἀναθεὶς καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τῶντ' οὖνομα ἔχων τῷ Ἴπ-
ποκόωντος, ἡλικίην κατὰ Οἰδίπουν τὸν Λαῖου. τρίτος 61
δὲ τρίπους λέγει καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ^c

Λαοδάμας τρίποδ' αὐτὸς^d ἐυσκόπῳ Ἀπόλλωνι
μουναρχέων ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλῆς ἄγαλμα.

5 ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Λαοδάμαντος τοῦ Ἐτεοκλέος μου-

^a ἔων: λαβάν Bekk., λέω Valla, νέων Bentley, ἐλών Meineke, θεῶ St., alia alii.

^b τεῖν = τῆδε Van H. (et mox 61. 4), Bergk, *Rh. Mus.* 1883, p. 539.

^c ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ? St., Van H.

^d αὐτός Schwgh.: αὐτόν Libb.: an αὐτόθ' ? St.

6. ἔων ἀπό. The reading, and therefore the interpretation, is doubtful; ἔων can hardly be right. Stein suggests ἀνέθηκε θεῶ, in which case ἀπό is 'out of'; other suggestions are ἰών, νέων, ἐλών. The Teleboae were a tribe living in Acarnania, which invaded Mycenae in the reign of Electryon, Alcmena's father and uncle of Amphitryon. Before Alcmena would marry Amphitryon, who had to fly to Thebes owing to the involuntary murder of Electryon, she demanded that he should take vengeance on the Teleboae.

60. 2. τόνῳ, 'rhythm.' So in i. 174. 22 ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ of an iambic.

4. τεῖν, Doric for σοι.

5. Hippocoon was the half brother of Tyndareus; his race, therefore,

belonged to the Peloponnesus, not to Thebes.

7. κατὰ Οἰδίπουν. The chronology is, of course, fixed by genealogies. Amphitryon and Laius are contemporaries, and therefore their sons Heracles and Oedipus are contemporaries. The same holds good with regard to Tyndareus and Hippocoon, and of their sons, who are also contemporary with the Thebans. Thus Heracles and the Dioscuri are contemporaries, and so too are Scaeus and Oedipus. Nevertheless the Theban genealogy is a little in advance of the others, for Heracles is to be put before the Trojan war, while Helen, the sister of the Dioscuri, is contemporary with it. See Append. 4.

ATHENS. B.C. 514; OI. 66. 3.

ναρχέοντος ἔξανιστέαται Καδμείοι ὑπ' Ἀργείων καὶ τράπονται ἐς τοὺς Ἐγχελείας. οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι ὑπολειφθέντες ὕστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀναχωροῦσι ἐς Ἀθήνας· καὶ σφι ἰρά ἐστι ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἰδρυμένα, τῶν οὐδὲν μέτα τοῖσι λοιποῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ἄλλα τε κεχωρισμένα τῶν ἄλλων ἰρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιίης Δήμητρος ἰρόν τε καὶ ὄργια.

62 Ἡ μὲν δὴ ὄψις τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐνυπνίου καὶ οἱ Γεφυραῖοι ὄθεν ἐγεγόνεσαν, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Ἰππάρχου φονέες, ἀπήγηταί μοι· δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἦμα λέξων λόγον, ὡς τυράννων ἐλευθέρωθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἰππίεω τυραννεύοντος καὶ ἐμπικραινομένου Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὸν Ἰππάρχου θάνατον, Ἀλκμεωνίδαι γένος ἑόντες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ φεύγοντες Πει-

The
ALCMAEONIDAE
attempt to
depose
Hippias.

61. 6. At the close of his life, owing to domestic troubles, Cadmus with his wife Harmonia left Thebes and wandered into Illyria, where he became the ruler of the tribe of Encheleis, Strabo, p. 326 ἐν τοῖς Ἐγχελείοις οἱ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας ἀπόγονοι ἦρχον, καὶ τὰ μυθεύόμενα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ δείκνυται. οὔτοι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὑπὸ ἰθαγενῶν ἦρχοντο. When the Cadmeians were driven from Thebes, they also went northwards to Illyria, expelling on their way the Dorians from Hestiaeotis, i. 56; Paus. ix. 5. 13; Apollod. iii. 7. 3.

8. ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν, with ἀναχωροῦσι.

11. Ἀχαιίης Δήμητρος. Cf. Aristophanes *Ach.* 709 οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀχαιᾶν βράδιω ἠνέσχετο. The epithet was popularly derived from the woe, ἄχος, which Demeter suffered by the loss of her daughter, but the scholiast on the passage gives another

explanation. The worship of the goddess under this title was known in Boeotia, Plutarch, *De Isid.* 69; the existence of it at Thespiæ is proved by an inscription, and the passage quoted from Aristophanes shows that it was domiciled in Athens; see Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 296. ὄργια implies secret worship. Cf. Aristoph. *Ranae* 384 Δήμητερ, ἀγνῶν ὄργιων ἀνασσα, συμπαραστάτει. Plutarch, *l. c.*, compares the worship of Demeter Achaea and Demeter Thesmophoros, Ἀθήνησι νηστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν Θεσμοφορίοις χαμαὶ καθήμεναι. Καὶ Βοιωτοὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀχαιᾶς μέγαρα κινούσιν, ἐπαχθῆ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐκείνην ὀνομάζοντες, ὡς διὰ τὴν τῆς κόρης κάθοδον ἐν ἄχει τῆς Δήμητρος οὔσης.

62. 7. Ἀλκμεωνίδαι γένος ἑόντες Ἀθηναῖοι. In the opinion of Herodotus the Alcmaeonidae were a

ATHENS. B.C. 514-510; Ol. 66. 3, 67.

σιστρατίδας, ἐπεῖτε σφι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἀθηναίων
φυγάσι πειρωμένοισι κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐ προεχώρει [κά-
10 τοδος]^a, ἀλλὰ προσέπταιον μεγάλως πειρώμενοι κατιέναι
τε καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, Λειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ
Παιονίης^b τειχίσαντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ἀλκμαωνίδαι πᾶν
ἐπὶ τοῖσι Πεισιστρατίδῃσι μηχανώμενοι παρ' Ἀμφικτυό-

Leipsy-
drium.^a κάτοδος del. Krüg.: ἡ κάτοδος Schäf.^b Πάρνηθος Wess. post Kusterum.

family of native Athenian origin, i. e. neither Ionian (see *infra*. c. 69), nor Pylian, like the Peisistratidae, and Medontidae. Later writers, however, represent them as derived from Pylus. See Appendix 5.

7. **φεύγοντες Πεισιστρατίδας.** See vi. 123 f.; i. 59 ff., 64 καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευε Ἀθηναίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ' Ἀλκμαωνιδέων ἐφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίης. If we allow ten years for the third despotism of Peisistratus (see Arist. *Athen. Pol.* p. 39 with Kenyon's note), the Alcmaeonids had now been in exile about twenty-five years.

11. **Λειψύδριον.** The precise position of the stronghold is not known, but it lay on the slopes of Parnes, not far from Decelia. See Smith's *Dict. Geogr. Attica*, 26. Aristotle *Athen. Pol.* c. 19 has Λ. τὸ ὑπὲρ Πάρνηθος—which Kuster and Wesseling read in the text. The festival of the Alcmaeonids was commemorated by a popular scion or drinking song:

Αἰαί, Λειψύδριον προδωσέταιρον,
οἶους ἄνδρας ἀπώλεσας, μάχεσθαι
ἀγαθοῦς τε καὶ εὐπατρίδας,
οἱ τότ' ἔδειξαν οἶων
πατέρων ἔσαν.

See Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 665 and Schol., Aristotle, *l. c.*

13. **παρ' Ἀμφικτυόνων.** The Amphictyonic council was charged with the care of the temple at Delphi. When the temple was burnt in 548 B.C. the rebuilding of it was made a national matter, subscriptions being collected from all parts of Greece, and even from Amasis of Egypt; ii. 180 Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι νῦν ἔοντα νηὸν τριηκοσίων ταλάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι· ὁ γὰρ πρότερον ἐὼν αὐτόθι αὐτομάτως κατεκρή· τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὲ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρασχέειν. Πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἔδωτιναζον. Amasis gave them 1000 talents of alum; the Greeks in Egypt twenty minae. There seems to have been great delay in the rebuilding of the temple. The Alcmaeonids were exiled from Athens in 537 B.C. but if Herodotus is right in putting the contract after the attempt at Leipsydrium, the rebuilding began after 514 B.C. unless the Alcmaeonidae merely finished what others had begun. Aristotle, *l. c.*, puts the events in the same order. Cf. Philochorus, in Schol. Pind. *Pylh.* vii. 9, who asserts that the Alcmaeonidae did not complete the

ATHENS, B.C. 510; Ol. 67. 3.

Their influence at Delphi.

νων τὸν νηὸν μισθοῦνται τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τὸν νῦν ἔοντα τότε δὲ οὐκω, τοῦτον ἔξοικοδομησαι. οἶα δὲ χρη- 15 μάτων εὖ ἦγοντες καὶ ἔοντες ἄνδρες δόκιμοι ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι, τὸν τε^a νηὸν ἐξεργάσαντο τοῦ παραδείγματος κάλλιον τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ συγκειμένου^b σφι πωρίνου λίθου ποιέειν τὸν νηὸν, Παρίου τὰ ἔμπροσθε αὐτοῦ ἐξεποίη- 63 σαν. ὡς ὦν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι^c λέγουσι, οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν Δελφοῖσι κατήμενοι ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθίην χρήμασι, ὅκως ἔλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων ἄνδρες εἴτε ἰδίῳ στόλῳ εἴτε δημοσίῳ χρησόμενοι, προφέρειν σφι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλευθεροῦν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὡς σφι αἰεὶ τῶντὸ πρόφαν- 5 τον ἐγένετο, πέμπουσι Ἀγχιμόλιον τὸν Ἀστέρος, ἔοντα τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρα δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἐξελῶντα Πει-

^a τε om. Krüg.

^b συγκείμενον Krüg., Cob.

^c Ἀθηναῖοι: Λακεδαιμόνιοι conj. Schwgh.

The Spartans support them; Anchimolius sent to Athens.

temple till they had been restored to Athens.

16. δόκιμοι ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι. Cf. vi. 125 f. ἔτι as in ἔτι πρότερον, ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι.

17. τὸν τε νηόν. Krüger omits τε which certainly is not wanted, for it leads us to suspect that the Alcmaeonidae did more than rebuild the temple in this handsome manner. Stein, who retains τε, would replace τὰ τε ἄλλα with καὶ δὴ, and contrast the use of finer material with the adoption of a more handsome plan than that given out.

παράδειγμα refers to some sketch or model given out with the contract.

18. συγκειμένου, 'when it had been agreed upon,' in the terms of the contract. Krüger and Cobet read συγκείμενον as in the common εἰρημένον.

πωρίνου λίθου = 'tufa-stone.'

19. Παρίου, sc. λίθου. The temple at Olympia was built of tufa, which is a kind of limestone lighter and less close in grain than marble.

ἐξεποίησαν, 'finished,' 'completed.' The reputation of the Alcmaeonidae for this act was widely spread; Pind. *Pyth.* vii. 7 πάσαισι γὰρ πολίεσι λόγος ὀμιλεῖ Ἐρεχθέος ἀστῶν, Ἀπολλων, οὐ τεόν γε δόμον Πυθῶνι δία θατηὸν ἔτευξαν.

63. 1. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. So in vi. 137 we have an Athenian account of the expulsion of the Pelasgi from Athens; and in viii. 94 of the behaviour of the Corinthians at Salamis. The remarkable feature in this passage is that the 'Athenian account' imputes a discreditable action to the great Athenian family. Hence Schweighäuser proposed οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

4. χρησόμενοι, sc. τῷ θεῷ.

ATHENS. B.C. 510; Ol. 67. 3.

σιστρατίδας ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁμῶς καὶ ξείνους^α σφι ἔοντας
τὰ μάλιστα· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρᾶβύτερα ἐποιεῦντο ἢ
10 τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν· πέμπουσι δὲ τούτους κατὰ θάλασσαν
πλοίοισι. ὁ μὲν δὴ προσσχὼν ἐς Φάληρον τὴν στρατιὴν
ἀπέβησε, οἱ δὲ Πεισιστρατίδαι προπυθανόμενοι ταῦτα
ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἐπικουρίην· ἐπεποιήτο γὰρ
σφι συμμαχίη πρὸς αὐτούς. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ σφι δεομέ-
15 νοισι ἀπέπεμψαν κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρεώμενοι χιλίην τε ἴπ-

^α ξείνους Schäf.

8. ξείνους. If the reading is sound, the adjective is here used for the substantive; but cf. *infra*. 91. 14 ξείνους ἔοντας ἡμῖν τὰ μάλιστα. Schäfer was probably right in reading ξείνους.

9. τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ, κ.τ.λ. Cf. ix. 7. 3 περὶ πλείστου δ' ἦγον (οἱ Λ.) τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν. It was sometimes thought that these religious scruples were more politic than real, but here and in the delay in sending troops to Marathon (vi. 106. 11) they seem genuine. Plutarch, *De mal. Herod.* 23 denies that the priestess was bribed to give these oracles (καλλίστῳ μὲν ἔργῳ καὶ δικαιοτάτῳ προσάπτων ἀσεβήματος διαβολήν, κ.τ.λ.), but the subsequent action of Cleomenes depends on this hypothesis. In Aristotle's *Athen. Pol.* c. 19, the bribery is not specifically mentioned, though the Alcmaeonidae are said to have won the oracle by their liberality: ἢ δὲ Πυθία προέφερον (see text l. 4) αἰεὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρηστηριαζομένοις ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, κ.τ.λ. He adds that the Spartans were influenced by the friendship existing between the Peisistratids and Argos: cf. *infra*. 94.

7; and i. 61. 21.

11. Φάληρον. Phalerum was at this time the port of Athens.

14. Θεσσαλοί. The alliance was no doubt made in the lifetime of Peisistratus, who called one of his sons Thessalus. In his exile he visited the north of Greece, and acquired property in Thrace: καὶ πρῶτον μὲν συνώκισε περὶ τὸν Θέρμιον κόλπον χωρίον, ὃ καλεῖται Ῥαίκελος, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παρήλθεν εἰς τοὺς περὶ Πάγγαιον τόπους, κ.τ.λ., Arist. *Athen. Pol.* c. 15.

15. κοινῇ γνώμῃ . . . τὸν βασιλέα. The Thessalians, i. e. the leading families, such as the Aleuadae and Scopadae, acted in common on this occasion, and apparently sent a general-in-chief to command the army. The title 'King of the Thessalians' is given by Thucydides, i. 111, to Orestes, the son of Echekratidas of Pharsalus, and in Herodotus (vii. 6. 8) the Aleuadae are so called. But in ix. 1 the title is modified to 'leaders of Thessaly,' and in Thucydides ii. 22 we read that the Thessalian allies of the Athenians came from various cities in Thessaly: Larisa, Pharsalus,

ATHENS. B.C. 510; OI. 67. 3.

πον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σφέτερον Κινέην ἄνδρα Κο-
 νιαῖον^a· τοὺς ἐπέιτε ἕσχον συμμάχους οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι,
 ἐμηχανῶντο^b τοιάδε. κείραντες τῶν Φαληρέων τὸ πεδίον
 καὶ ἱππάσιμον ποιήσαντες τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ἐπήκαν τῷ
 στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἵππον· ἐμπεσοῦσα δὲ διέφθειρε ἄλλους²⁰
 τε πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἀγχι-
 μόλιον· τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς νέας κα-
 τεῖρξαν^c. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος στόλος ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος οὗ-
 τω ἀπήλλαξε, καὶ Ἀγχιμολίου εἰσὶ ταφαὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς
 Ἀλωπεκῆσι, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργει.²⁵

64 μετὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέζω στόλον στείλαντες ἀπέ-
 πεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπο-
 δέξαντες βασιλέα Κλεομένεα τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδεω, οὐκέτι
 κατὰ θάλασσαν στείλαντες ἀλλὰ κατ' ἠπειρον· τοῖσι
 ἐσβαλοῦσι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χῶρην ἢ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἵπ-
 5 πος πρώτη προσέμιξε καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν ἐτράπετο, καὶ
 σφῶν ἔπεσον ὑπὲρ τεσσεράκοντα ἄνδρας· οἱ δὲ περιγε-
 νόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὡς εἶχον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίης.

Second
 invasion
 under
 Cleomenes.

^a Κυνιαῖον ? St. : Γονναῖον, Wachsmuth, Ab.^b ἐμηχανέοντο Lhardy: ἐμηχανάετο Libb. vid. Gaisf. ad loc. ^c κατήρασαν Wess.

Cranon, Pyrasus (?), Gyrtion, Pherae: ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ μὲν Λαρίσης Πολυμήδης καὶ Ἀριστόνους, ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἐκάτερος, ἐκ δὲ Φαρσάλου Μένων ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πόλεις ἄρχοντες. In Thuc. iv. 78 we are told that the Thessalians were governed by a *δυναστεία*, i.e. a rule of families, rather than *ισονομία*. The conclusion seems to be that there was no constitutional king of Thessaly, though a *ταγός* or *βασιλεύς* might be elected when required to lead the army. In the various cities the great families ruled in the extreme form of oligarchy

known as *δυναστεία*. *χιλίην τε ἵππον*. So Aristotle *l. c.* 19 *Κινέαν ἔχοντα χιλίους ἵππεῖς*.

16. *Κονιαῖον* is wrong; there was no Thessalian town Conium, and Cineas was certainly a Thessalian.

24. *ταφαί*, 'grave.' The Cynosarges was a temple of Heracles and a gymnasium outside the eastern wall of Athens, between Mt. Lycabettus and the Ilissus. The gymnasium is famous in connection with Themistocles, who as a *νόθος* or half-breed, could exercise there only: see Smith's *Dict. Geogr.* i. 313 b; *History of Greece*, ii. 106.

ATHENS. B.C. 510; OL. 67. 3.

Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἅμα Ἀθηναίων
 10 τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐπολιόρκεε τοὺς
 τυράννους ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεϊ. καὶ οὐ- 65
 δέν τι πάντως ἂν ἐξεῖλον τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας οἱ Λα-
 κεδαιμόνιοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην ἐπενόεον ποιήσασθαι, οἷ
 τε Πεισιστρατίδαι σίτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι εὖ παρεσκευάδα-
 5 το· πολιορκήσαντές τε ἂν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀπαλλάσσοντο
 ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. νῦν δὲ συντυχίῃ τοῖσι μὲν κακὴ ἐπε-
 γένητο, τοῖσι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ αὕτη σύμμαχος· ὑπεκτιθέμενοι
 γὰρ ἔξω τῆς χώρας οἱ παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἤλω-

Expulsion
 of the Pei-
 sistratidae
 from
 Athens.

64. 9. ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ . . .
 ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεϊ. Cf. *Athen. Pol.* c. 19 Κλεομένην ἐξέπεμψαν (the Spartans) τὸν βασιλέα στόλον ἔχοντα μείζω κατὰ γῆν, ὃς ἐπεὶ τοὺς τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἵππεὺς ἐνίκησεν κωλύοντας αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρῆναι, κατακλείσας τὸν Ἰππίαν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Πελασγικὸν τεῖχος, κ.τ.λ. We also hear of τὸ Πελασγικόν, *Thuc.* ii. 17 τὸ Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατον ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν. Cf. *infra.* vi. 137. 6 ff., where we have (1) a piece of land under Hymettus cultivated by the Pelasgians; (2) a wall built by them round the acropolis. The precise meaning of the terms is very obscure, but there seems no reason to doubt that the Pelasgic fortress was some part of the acropolis, for in Aristotle, *I. c.*, Hippias is shut up into the Pelasgic fortress but surrenders the acropolis. The 'Pelasgic ground' which is mentioned by Thucydides is certainly to be distinguished from the fortress, which was destroyed in the Persian invasion and never rebuilt, and from the ground under Hymettus, which lay outside the

walls. Curtius in his recent work on the *History of the city of Athens*, pp. 47, 61, explains the 'fortress' as a wall running round the base of the acropolis (see Herod. vi. 137. 7) and the ground as the space between the wall and the rock. It is worth observing that neither Herodotus nor Aristotle speak of any walls of the city; the acropolis only is fortified, or at any rate garrisoned.

65. 3. οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην, κ.τ.λ. They had no intention of blockading the fortress, and after a few days' siege they would have retired, &c. Cf. *Arist. Athen. Pol.* c. 19 προσκαθημένον δ' αὐτοῦ συνέπεσεν ὑπεξιόντας ἀλῶναι τοὺς τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν υἱεῖς· ὧν ληφθέντων ὁμολογίαν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν παιδῶν σωτηρίᾳ ποιησάμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐωντῶν ἐν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἐκκομισάμενοι παρέδωκαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ Ἀρπακτίδου ἀρχontos. For the children, cf. *Thuc.* vi. 55, where we are told that Hippias alone had any legitimate children; he had five by his wife Myrrhinè (*Βυρσίνης τῆς Ἰππίου*, *Aristoph. Knights*, 449).

ATHENS. B.C. 510; Ol. 67. 3.

σαν. τοῦτο δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο, πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ πρήγματα
 συνετεάρακτο, παρέστησαν δὲ ἐπὶ μισθῶ τοῖσι τέκνοι- 10
 σι, ἐπ' οἷσι ἐβούλοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε ἐν πέντε
 ἡμέρησι ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. μετὰ δὲ ἐξεχώρη-
 σαν ἐς Σίγειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ, ἄρξαντες μὲν
 Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἕτα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα, ἔοντες δὲ καὶ
 οὔτοι ἀνέκαθεν Πύλιοί τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν 15
 γεγονότες καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλανθον, οἱ
 πρότερον ἐπήλυδες ἔοντες ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίων βασι-
 λείες. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ τὰντὸ^α οὔνομα ἀπεμνημόνευ-
 σε Ἴπποκράτης τῷ παιδὶ θέσθαι τὸν Πεισιστράτον,
 ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέστορος Πεισιστράτου ποιούμενος τὴν ἔπων- 20
 μίην.

^α τὰντό: τό maluit St.

13. Σίγειον. Cf. *infra*. c. 94; Thuc. vi. 59 ἐχώρει ὑπόσπονδος ἐς τε Σίγειον καὶ παρ' Ἀλαντίδην ἐς Λάμψακον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὡς βασιλέα Δαρεῖον. Hippias was subsequently brought to Sparta, *infra*. 91. 8, but he returned to Sigeum (94. 4). We hear of him afterwards at Marathon, vi. 102 f.

14 ff. ἐπ' ἕτα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα. Arist. *Pol.* v. 12 = 1315 b. 31 gives one year less: δις γὰρ ἔφυγε Πεισιστράτος τυρανῶν ὥστ' ἐν ἕτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη τούτων ἐτυράνευσεν ἕκτωκαίδεκα δὲ οἱ παῖδες, ὥστε τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. Herodotus reckons the tyranny of Hippias at four years (c. 55. 77), whereas it really extended over three years and something more (Thuc. vi. 59). Aristotle again (*Athen. Pol.* c. 17) puts the tyranny of Peisistratus at nineteen years, and that of his sons at 'nearly seventeen' (c. 19); but such slight discrepancies are of little

importance. In Thucydides, *l. c.*, we are told that the battle of Marathon took place in the twentieth year after the expulsion of Hippias. Assuming that Hipparchus was murdered at the Panathenaea of August, 514 B.C., three years and a half bring us to the beginning of 510 B.C. for the expulsion of Hippias, which agrees fairly with the statement of Thucydides. ἔοντες δὲ καὶ οὔτοι, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Pausanias ii. 18. 9 οἱ δὲ Νηλεῖδαι, πλὴν Πεισιστράτου, τοῦτον γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα παρ' οὔστινας ἀπεχώρησεν, ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοιτο οἱ λοιποί.

19. Ἴπποκράτης. Cf. i. 59. 4. 'Owing to this fact, Hippocrates gave his son the same name in remembrance, viz. Peisistratus, so calling him after the son of Nestor.' ἀπεμνημόνευσε θέσθαι, 'gave in remembrance' is said by Krüger to be 'unusual': lit. the words mean 'called to mind so as to give.'

The Peisis-
tratis a
Pylia
family.

ATHENS. B.C. 510 ff.; Ol. 67. 3.

Οὕτω μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τυράννων ἀπαλλάχθησαν· ὅσα δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἔρξαν ἢ ἔπαθον ἀξιώχρεα ἀπηγήσιοι, πρὶν ἢ Ἴωνίην τε ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀριστα-
 25 γόρεα τὸν Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας χρῆσιαι σφέων βοηθέειν, ταῦτα πρῶτα φράσω.

Ἀθῆναι, εἶουσαι καὶ πρὶν μεγάλαι, τότε ἀπαλλαχθεῖ- 66
 σαι τυράννων ἐγίνοντο μέζονες· ἐν δὲ αὐτῆσι δύο ἄν-
 δρες ἐδυνάστευον, Κλεισθένης τε ἀνὴρ Ἀλκμεωνίδης,
 ὃς περ δὴ λόγον ἔχει τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπεῖσαι, καὶ Ἴσα-
 5 γόρης Τισάνδρου οἰκίης μὲν ἐὼν δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενέες αὐ-
 τοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ. οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐστασίασαν περὶ δυ-

CLEIS-
 THENES
 and
 ISAGORAS
 at Athens..

66. 1. καὶ πρὶν. In the time of Peisistratus and his sons, Athens was connected with Thrace, Thessaly and Macedonia (*infr.* 94); the tyrants were on good terms with Sparta and Argos; and with Lygdamis, the tyrant of Naxos, who formed a link between them and Polycrates of Samos (i. 64. 8). The magnificence of Athens as a city also dates from their time.

3. ἐδυνάστευον. The same word is used of Miltiades, the son of Cypselus (vi. 35. 3). Cf. vi. 66. 7; ix. 2 *ult.* Thucydides, speaking of Thebes in 480 B.C., says—through the mouth of a Theban—ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἢ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν οὔτε κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνουμον πολιτεύουσα οὔτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· ὕπερ δὲ ἐστὶ νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ τυράννου, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὴν πόλιν, κ.τ.λ. (iii. 62).

5. Τισάνδρου. This Tisander is of course quite distinct from the

Tisander of vi. 128. 12, who traced his descent from Ajax. The *gens* of Isagoras worshipped the Carian Zeus, which was an indication of Carian origin. (For the Carians in Greece, see *Hist. Greece*, i. 32.) Plutarch, *De mal. Her.* c. 23, is very severe on this suggestion, which he compares with the attempt to trace Harmodius and Aristogeiton to a Phoenician origin: εὐρυθμός γε καὶ πολιτικός ὁ μυκτῆρ τοῦ συγγραφέως, εἰς Κᾶρας, ὥσπερ εἰς κόρακας, ἀποδιπομπουμένου τὸν Ἰσαγόραν. Ἀριστογείτονα μέντοι οὐκέτι κύκλα, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς, διὰ πυλῶν εἰς Φοινίκην ἐξελαύνει.

7. ἐστασίασαν. The removal of the tyrants allowed the old factious spirit to reappear, but in a different form. At the head of the anti-Peisistratid movement stood Cleisthenes and the Alcmaeonidae (cf. Aristotle *Athen. Pol.* c. 20, who also mentions a certain Kedon as attacking the tyrants before the Alcmaeonids).

SICYON. Circa B.C. 590; Ol. 47. 3.

νάμιος, ἐσσοῦμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται. μετὰ δὲ τετραφύλους ἔοντας Ἀθηναίους δεκαφύλους ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἰωνος παίδων Γελέοντος καὶ Αἰγικόροος καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὀπλητος ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐξευρῶν δὲ ἐτέρων ἡρώων ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιχωρίων, πάρεξ Αἶαντος· τοῦτον δέ, ἅτε ἀστυγείτονα καὶ σύμμαχον, ξεῖνον ἔοντα, προσέθετο.

67 Ταῦτα δέ, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐμμέετο ὁ Κλεισθένης οὗτος τὸν ἑωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα Κλεισθένεα τὸν Σικυῶνος τύραννον. Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας

CLEISTHENES OF SICYON;

The party of Isagoras was the old oligarchical party, once led by Lycurgus (i. 59), but with an inclination towards tyranny, which the old party did not possess (Arist. *l. c.* describes him as a 'friend of the tyrants,' and he was prepared to be tyrant himself, *ibid.* 74). Isagoras trusted to his oligarchical supporters; Cleisthenes, whatever his original aims, whether oligarchical or tyrannical, now made the people his 'club' (Cf. 71. 3, and *Athen. Pol.* i. c. ἡττημένος δὲ ταῖς ἑταιρείαις ὁ Κλεισθένης προσηγάγετο τὸν δῆμον). Isagoras, who was elected archon in 508 B.C., retorted by calling in Cleomenes, but the popular feeling was too strong for him.

9. τετραφύλους, κ.τ.λ. For the four tribes, see Appendix 6.

12. ἐξευρῶν δέ, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Arist. *Athen. Pol.* c. 21 ταῖς δὲ φυλαῖς ἐποίησεν ἐπωνυμίας ἐκ τῶν προκρινθέντων ἑκατὸν οὓς ἀνείλεν ἡ Πυθία δέκα. The ten were Erechtheus, Aegeus, Pandion, Leos, Acamas, Oeneus, Cecrops, Hippothoon, Ajax, Antiochus: see Demosth. *Επίταφ.* 27-31 for an

account of these heroes.

67. 2. τὸν μητροπάτορα. Cf. vi. 135. 5. τὸν Σικυῶνος τύραννον. Cleisthenes was the last of the Orthagoridae, of whom Aristotle says, *Pol.* v. 12=1315 b. 12 πλείστον χρόνον ἐγένετο ἡ περὶ Σικυῶνα τυραννίς, ἢ τῶν Ὀρθαγόρου παίδων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀρθαγόρου· ἔτη δ' αὕτη διέμεινεν ἑκατὸν. The reason of this long continuance was to be found in the mildness of the tyranny, the regard shown to the laws, and the military genius of Cleisthenes, who also paid great court to the people. The date of Cleisthenes is somewhat uncertain, but his reign of thirty-one years probably came at the beginning of the sixth century.

3. Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας. We unfortunately know nothing of this war; we can only conjecture that Argos in some way endeavoured to assert her ancient supremacy, and that Cleisthenes was strong enough to resist. In legend Sicyon was made a vassal kingdom of the Pelopid kings of Argos, and it was also conquered by the Dorian in-

SICYON. Circa B.C. 590; Ol. 47. 3.

τοῦτο μὲν ῥαψφοῦς ἔπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι
 5 τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ Ἄργος
 τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέονται· τοῦτο δέ, ἡρώιον γὰρ ἦν
 καὶ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορῇ τῶν Σικυωνίων Ἀδρήστον
 τοῦ Ταλαοῦ, τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης ἐόντα
 Ἀργεῖον ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Δελφοῦς
 10 ἐχρηστηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλοι τὸν Ἀδρηστον· ἡ δὲ Πυ-
 θίη οἱ χρᾶ φᾶσα Ἀδρηστον μὲν εἶναι Σικυωνίων βα-
 σιλέα, ἐκείνον δὲ λευστήρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτό γε
 οὐ παρεδίδου, ἀπελθὼν ὀπίσω ἐφρόντιζε μηχανὴν τῇ
 αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀδρηστος ἀπαλλάξεται. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐξευρῆσθαι
 15 ἔδόκεε, πέμψας ἐς Θήβας τὰς Βοιωτίας ἔφη θέλει

his attempt
to expel
Adrastus.

vaders of the Peloponnesus. See *Hist. Greece*, i. 102.

5. τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα. Argos would take a more prominent place in the Theban epics (*Thebais* and *Erigoni*) than in the Trojan, but it is doubtful whether they are meant here, for Herod. iv. 32. 6 declares against the Homeric origin of the *Erigoni*. The constant mention of the Greeks as Argives in Homer, and the position of Agamemnon, who was said to have reduced Sicyon to dependence on Argos, are reasons enough why Cleisthenes should dislike 'Homer.'

7. Adrastus began the connection between Argos and Sicyon. When expelled from Argos by Amphiaras, he went to Sicyon, where he married the daughter of Polybus (his grandfather), and inherited his kingdom. At a later time he returned to Argos; cf. Paus. ii. 6. 6; Schol. Pind. *Nem.* ix. 30.

12. λευστήρα is explained by

Hesychius as a 'man who slays by stoning,' and in Suidas as 'one worthy of stoning.' The active sense agrees better with the form of the word.—With this change of one hero for another we may compare the substitution of Brasidas for Hagnon at Amphipolis, Thuc. v. 11 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ Ἀμφιπολίται, περιέρξαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μνημεῖον, ὡς ἡρώϊ τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ τιμὰς δεδώκασιν ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐτησίους θυσίας, καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῇ προσέθεσαν, καταβαλόντες τὰ Ἀγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἀφανίσαντες εἴ τι μνημόσυνόν ποῦ ἐμελλεν αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκίσσεως περιέσεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. As the Prytaneum was the town hall, the *temenos* (l. 17) in this case can mean little more than the space immediately round the shrine. Schweigh. would construe 'altar.' Cf. *inf.* 89. 17 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀπέδειξαν τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς ἴδρυται.

SICYON. Circa B.C. 590; Ol. 47. 3.

ἐπαγαγέσθαι Μελάνιππον τὸν Ἀστακοῦ. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔδοσαν. ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν Μελάνιππον τέμενός οἱ ἀπέδεξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανηίῳ καὶ μιν ἴδρυσε ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ. ἐπηγάγετο δὲ τὸν Μελάνιππον ὁ Κλεισθένης (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δεῖ ἀπη-²⁰ γήσασθαι) ὡς ἔχθιστον ἐόντα Ἀδρήστῳ, ὃς τὸν τε ἀδελφεόν οἱ Μηκιστέα ἀπεκτόνεε καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Τυδέα. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ τὸ τέμενος ἀπέδεξε, θυσίας τε καὶ ὀρτὰς Ἀδρήστου ἀπελόμενος ἔδωκε τῷ Μελανίπῳ. οἱ δὲ Σικυώνιοι ἐώθεσαν μεγαλωστὶ κάρτα τιμᾶν τὸν²⁵ Ἀδρηστον· ἢ γὰρ χώρα ἦν αὕτη Πολύβου, ὁ δὲ Ἀδρηστος ἦν Πολύβου θυγατριδέος, ἅπαις δὲ Πόλυβος τελευτῶν διδοῖ Ἀδρήστῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. τά τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρηστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πά-³⁰θρα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμῶντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδρηστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυ-
68 σίην Μελανίπῳ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἀδρηστον οἱ ἐπεποίητο, φυλὰς δὲ τὰς Δωριέων, ἵνα δὴ μὴ αἰ αὐτὰ

29. τὰ πάθρα αὐτοῦ, i.e. in the expulsion from Argos by Amphiaras, and in the two expeditions against Thebes.

30. τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι, κ.τ.λ. This is the first recorded instance of a tragic as opposed to a dithyrambic chorus, but even here we find that Dionysus has already been set aside for the national hero.

32. ἀπέδωκε, 'gave them back.' The tyrants seem to have been peculiarly inclined to favour the worship of Dionysus. It is in the reign of Peisistratus that we first hear of dramatic representations at Athens, and Arion was a favourite at

the court of Periander. On the severance of the chorus from Dionysus, cf. Zenob. *Proverbia*. 40 ἐπειδὴ τῶν χορῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθισμένων διθύραμβον ᾄδειν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον οἱ ποιηταὶ ὕστερον Αἴαντας καὶ Κενταύρους γράφειν ἐπεχείρουν, ὅθεν οἱ θεώμενοι σκώπτοντες ἔλεγον· οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον, κ.τ.λ.

68. 2. This action of Cleisthenes was due to the fact that he belonged to the non-Dorian population of Sicyon, i.e. to the Aegialeis who originally possessed the southern shore of the Corinthian gulf; cf. vii. 94. 1 Ἴωνες δὲ ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκειον τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαίην καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δαναόν τε καὶ

SICYON. Circa B.C. 590; Ol. 47. 3.

ἔωσι τοῖσι Σικωνίοισι καὶ τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι, μετέβαλε ἐς
 ἄλλα οὐνόματα. ἔνθα καὶ πλείστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σι-
 5 κωνίων· ἐπὶ γὰρ ὕος τε καὶ ὄνου^a τὰς ἐπωνυμίας με-
 τατιθεὶς αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέθηκε, πλὴν τῆς ἑωυτοῦ
 φυλῆς· ταύτη δὲ τὸ οὔνομα ἀπὸ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς
 ἔθετο. οὔτοι μὲν δὴ Ἀρχέλαοι ἐκαλέοντο, ἕτεροι δὲ Ἰά-
 ται, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὀνεᾶται, ἕτεροι δὲ Χοιρεᾶται. τούτοις
 10 τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν φυλέων ἐχρέωντο οἱ Σικωνῖοι καὶ
 ἐπὶ Κλεισθένεος ἀρχοντος καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεῶτος ἔτι ἐπ’
 ἕτερα ἐξήκοντα· μετέπειτα μέντοι λόγον σφίσι δόντες
 μετέβαλον ἐς τοὺς Ἰλλέας καὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Δυμα-
 νάτας, τετάρτους δὲ αὐτοῖσι προσέθεντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδρή-

His con-
 temptuous
 treatment
 of the
 Dorian
 tribes.

^a ὄνου καὶ χοίρου H. Sauppe.

Ξοῦθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον,
 ὡς Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πε-
 λασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰωνος τοῦ
 Ξοῦθου Ἴωνες.

5. καὶ ὄνου. Sauppe is perhaps
 right in inserting καὶ χοίρου after ὄνου.

6. αὐτὰ = μόνα. Only the termina-
 tion was changed; the words rema-
 ined unmistakable.

11. καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεῶτος, κ.τ.λ.
 Of the history of Sicyon in the two
 generations after Cleisthenes we know
 nothing, but it is clear that during
 this period the city cannot have been
 in any close connection with Sparta.
 The expression λόγον σφίσι δόντες
 implies some kind of reconciliation
 with the Dorians, perhaps from a
 desire to join the Spartan con-
 federacy, of which the Sicyonians
 became members before the time at
 which Cleomenes invaded Attica,
 i. e. in 508, or 507 B. C. Cf. *infra*.
 74. 4 ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου.

13. Δυμανάτας, elsewhere Dy-

manes. The nature and origin of
 the Dorian tribes are discussed at
 length by Lachmann, *Die Spartan-
 ische Staatsverfassung*, 183 f. He
 is of opinion that the Hylleis were
 the real Dorians; the Dymanes
 were the same as the Macednians
 (Herod. i. 56. 15; viii. 43. 7),
 while the Pamphyli first came
 into existence in the Peloponnesus.
 In support of this last view he
 points out that there were only four
 towns in Doris, and in the Tetra-
 polis (Attica), whereas in Asia there
 were six. An account of this work
 will be found in Thirlwall's *Hist.
 Greece*, vol. iv. app. 1 (Cab. Ed.).

14. τετάρτους δέ, κ.τ.λ. 'And as
 a fourth they added to them the
 Aegialeis, to which they gave this
 name in honour, etc.' The language
 would lead us to believe that this
 fourth tribe had not been called
 Aegialeis previously—though it had
 certainly been in existence (l. 8).

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στου παιδὸς Αἰγιαλέος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιούμενοι κεκλή- 15
σθαι Αἰγιαλέας.

69 Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ὁ Σικυώνιος Κλεισθένης ἐπεποιή-
κεε· ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀθηναῖος Κλεισθένης ἐὼν τοῦ Σικυωνίου
τούτου θυγατριδέος καὶ τὸ οὔνομα ἐπὶ τούτου ἔχων,
δοκέειν ἐμοὶ καὶ οὗτος ὑπεριδῶν Ἰωνας, ἵνα μὴ σφίσι
αἱ αὐταὶ ἔωσι φυλαὶ καὶ Ἰωσι, τὸν ὁμώνυμον Κλει- 5
σθένεα ἐμιμήσατο. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον
πρότερον ἀπωσμένον τότε^a πάντων πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ μοί-
ραν προσεθήκατο, τὰς φυλάς μετωνόμασε καὶ ἐποίησε
πλεῦνας ἐξ ἔλασσόνων· δέκα τε δὴ φυλάρχους ἀντὶ τεσ-

^a πάντα s. Krüg., Gaisf.: πάντων, τότε Schäf.: an πάντων μεταδιδούς? St.

69. 2. Ἀθηναῖος . . . ὑπεριδῶν
Ἰωνας. For the ethnology of Attica,
cf. viii. 44. 10 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν
Πελασγῶν ἔχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα
καλεομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί, ὀνομα-
ζόμενοι Κραναοί, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος
βασιλέος ἐπεκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, ἐκ-
δεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθέος τὴν ἀρχὴν
Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἰωνος δὲ
τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχῳ γενομένου
Ἀθηναῖοις ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου
Ἰωνες. According to this the Pelas-
gians, Ionians, and Athenians are
the same; but in another passage
Herodotus distinguishes the Pelas-
gians from the Athenians; cf. i. 57.
8 f. with vi. 137. And he also dis-
tinguishes the Ionians, who came into
Attica from Peloponnesus, from the
Athenians who had always dwelt
in the same country (cf. i. 143 ff.
with vii. 161. 20). Some distinction
of this kind is meant here. (Cf. i. 143.
9 οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι Ἰωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι ἐφυγον τὸ οὔνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι
Ἰωνες κεκλήσθαι, κ.τ.λ. The same
contempt is expressed in Thuc. vi.

77, vii. 5 by Dorians.)

7. πρότερον ἀπωσμένον τότε πάν-
των. The words can hardly be con-
strued as they stand. Either τότε
and πάντων must change places
(Schäfer), or τότε must be omitted.
'Previously shut out from all pri-
vileges,' seems to be the meaning.
Krüger reads πρότερον ἀπωσμένον
τότε πάντα, 'which had previously re-
jected him,' the rest going with προσ-
εθήκατο. Stein suggests that ἀπωσ.
= 'rejected,' 'disregarded' (pass.)
and that μεταδιδούς has been lost after
πάντων. But he gives the rendering
which I have adopted, as an alter-
native. Schwgh., Lex. s.v. ἀπαθέω,
is in similar hesitation. μοῖραν,
'party,' = στάσις.

8. τὰς φυλάς, κ.τ.λ. For the con-
stitution of Cleisthenes, see App. 7.

9. φύλαρχοι. The phylarchs were
the subordinate commanders of horse
at Athens: cf. *Athen. Pol.* c. 61
χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ φυλάρχους, ἕνα
τῆς φυλῆς, τὸν ἡγησόμενον (τῶν
ἰππέων) ὥσπερ οἱ ταξίαρχοι τῶν

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10 σέρων ἐποίησε, δέκα^a δὲ καὶ τοὺς δῆμους κατένειμε^b ἔς
 τὰς φυλάς· ἦν τε τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος πολλῶ κατύ-
 περθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων. ἐν τῷ μέρει δὲ ἐσσούμενος 70
 ὁ Ἰσαγόρης ἀντιτεχνᾶται τάδε. ἐπικαλέεται Κλεομένηα Isagoras
 τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον γενόμενον ἐωυτῷ ξεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς calls in
 Πεισιστρατιδῶν πολιορκίης· τὸν δὲ Κλεομένηα εἶχε αἰτίη Cleomenes;
 5 φοιτᾶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω τὴν γυναῖκα. τὰ μὲν δὴ Cleisthenes
 πρῶτα πέμπων ὁ Κλεομένης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας κήρυκα is expelled.
 ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθένεα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους πολλοὺς
 Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς ἐναγέας ἐπιλέγων· ταῦτα δὲ πέμπων
 ἔλεγε ἐκ διδαχῆς τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμεω-
 10 νίδαι καὶ οἱ συστασιῶται αὐτῶν εἶχον αἰτίην τοῦ φό-
 νου τούτου, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μετεῖχε οὐδ' οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ.
 οἱ δ' ἐναγέες Ἀθηναίων ὧδε ὠνομάσθησαν. ἦν Κύλων 71

^a δέκα δέ del. Krüg., Madv.: καὶ δὴ Bake, Cob.^b κατένειμε: St. κατένεμε.

ὄπλιτῶν. Herodotus here uses the word for the officers whose proper name was ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν φυλῶν. It must be remembered that Herodotus was not an Athenian, and that a word which was used in a special sense at Athens might be more widely used elsewhere.

10. δέκα δὲ καί. Krüger and Madvig would expunge the words δέκα δέ. Cobet (and Bake before him) suggested καὶ δὴ for δέκα δέ. If the text is kept, we must suppose that there were 100 demes. As to the grammar, either δέκα is = κατὰ δέκα, 'by tens,' or ἐς τὰς φυλάς is = ἐς ἐκάστην τῶν φυλέων. For this last see Thuc. i. 18 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τινες που διασταῖεν, πρὸς τούτους (= ἐκατέρους τούτων) ἤδη ἐχώρουν. In the *Athen. Pol.* the number of demes is not mentioned

(c. 21 πρῶτον μὲν συνένειμε (?) πάντας εἰς δέκα φυλάς ἀντὶ τῶν τεττάρων). In the 3rd cent. B.C. there were 174 demes. See Smith's *Dict. Geogr. Attica*.

70. 5. φοιτᾶν, κ.τ.λ. Plut. *De mal. Her.* 23 Ἰσαγόραν δὲ τῆς γαμετῆς ὑφίσταται Κλεομένη φοιτᾶντι παρ' αὐτήν. This however is more than Herodotus says.

8. ἐπιλέγων, (1) adding in his description, or (2) 'choosing,' for the more usual middle, as in iii. 81. 14 τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὁμίλην. The first is probably right. Krüger quotes i. 214. 18 λυμαινομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε.

10, 11. τοῦ φόνου τούτου, i.e. the bloodshed which brought about the curse. αὐτός, sc. Isagoras.

71. 1. ἦν Κύλων, κ.τ.λ. See Appendix 8. The Olympian victory of Cylon, in the stadium, is placed

ATHENS. B. C. 509-508; Ol. 67. 4, 68. 1.

Story of
CYLON
and the
'Accursed.'

τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης. οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε, προσποιησάμενος δὲ ἑταιρηίην τῶν ἡλικιωτέων καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη, οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατῆσαι ἰκέτης ἕξτεο πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα. τούτους 5 ἀνιστᾶσι μὲν οἱ πρυτάνιες τῶν ναυκράρων, οἱ περ ἔνεμον τότε τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου φο-

by Africanus in 640 B. C. = Ol. 35. The date of his attempt on the city is uncertain; it probably came before the laws of Draco. [So at least we should conclude from the opening words of the *Constitution of Athens*, which refer to the ἄγος, if they did not confound earlier and later events: καταγνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἄγους νεκροὶ μὲν ἐκ τῶν τάφων ἐξεβλήθησαν, τὸ δὲ γένος αὐτῶν ἔφυγεν ἀειφυγίαν. Ἐπιμενίδης δὲ ὁ Κρήσι ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκάθηρε τὴν πόλιν. According to Plutarch it was at the suggestion of Solon that the ἐναγείς submitted to judgment; and Epimenides is said to have visited Athens in 596 B. C. Hence the words quoted refer to events long subsequent to Draco, though followed in the treatise by an account of Draco's legislation. But it is clear that some years intervened between the ἄγος and the punishment of the guilty, for in the interim some had died.] As we know from Thuc. that the attempt took place in an Olympic year, we may perhaps take 632 B. C. as the date.

2. ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε, 'set his cap at a tyranny' may give the sense. For the word cf. Aristoph. *Wasps* 1317 ἐπὶ τῷ κομᾶς καὶ κομφῶσι εἶναι προσποιεῖ;

3. ἑταιρηίην. See c. 66. 7 note.

5. πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα. The statue of Athena Polias in the Erechtheum; cf. *infra*. 72. 16. τούτους, κ.τ.λ. cf. Thuc. i. 121, Plutarch, *Sol.* 12, quoted in Appendix 8.

6. οἱ πρυτάνιες τῶν ναυκράρων. This is contradicted by Thucydides, who represents the nine archons as the persons engaged, and adds: τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ἔπρασσον (i. 126). But as we are also told that the people flocked πανδημίᾳ from the country to the siege, the prytanes of the naucraries (which were local divisions) may have been in charge as well as the archons. [As there was only one ναύκραρος to a ναυκραρία it is probable that ναυκράρων in the text is a mistake for ναυκραριῶν, unless we suppose that the prytanes here mentioned were a select few of the forty-eight naucrari. There were twelve naucraries in each tribe (of the four tribes), and the office was mainly concerned with finance: τεταγμένη πρὸς τε τὰς εἰσφορὰς καὶ τὰς δαπάνας τὰς γινομένας διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς Σόλωνος . . . γέγραπται τοῖς ναυκράροις εἰσπράττειν καὶ ἀναλίσκεν ἐκ τοῦ ναυκραρικοῦ ἀργυρίου: Arist. *Athen. Pol.* c. 8. Others connect the office with the fleet: ναύκραροι: οἱ τὰς αὐτῶν παρασκευάζοντες καὶ τριηραρχοῦντες καὶ τῷ

ATHENS. B. C. 508; OI. 68. 1.

νεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς αἰτίη ἔχει Ἀλκμεωνίδας. ταῦτα πρὸ
 τῆς Πεισιστράτου ἡλικίης ἐγένετο. Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς 72
 πέμπων ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθένεα καὶ τοὺς ἐναγέας, Κλει-
 σθένης μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπεξέσχε· μετὰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν πα-
 ρῆν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Κλεομένης οὐ σὺν μεγάλῃ χειρὶ,
 5 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἀγηλατέει ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια Ἀθηναίων,
 τὰ οἱ ὑπέθετο ὁ Ἰσαγόρης. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας δεύτερα
 τὴν βουλὴν καταλύειν ἐπειράτο, τριηκοσίοισι δὲ τοῖσι
 Ἰσαγόρῳ στασιώτησι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐνεχείριξε. ἀντιστα-
 θείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ βουλομένης πείθεσθαι, ὃ τε
 10 Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασιῶται αὐτοῦ
 καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ
 τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιόρκεον αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο· τῇ
 δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅσοι ἦσαν
 αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐπετελέετο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ
 15 φήμη· ὡς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐ-

Cleomenes
 at Athens;
 he is com-
 pelled to
 retire.

πολεμάρχῳ ὑποτεταγμένοι: Bekker, *Anecd.* 283. 20.]

72. 3. ὑπεξέσχε, 'retired.' Cleisthenes thought that his own retirement would satisfy the demands of Cleomenes, trusting to fortune and the antityrannical feeling for his return (*ὑπεξεθόντος Κλεισθένου*, Aristot.).

5. ἀγηλατέει, 'drives out as though polluted.' Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 100 *ἀνδρηλατοῦντες ἢ φόνῳ φόνον πάλιν λύνοντας*. The word is preserved in the account given in the *Athen. Pol.*; see Appendix 7. ἐπίστια, 'homes,' families (*οἰκίας*). It is not likely that 700 families were concerned in the murder of the Cylonians, so that the object of the expulsion was plain.

7. τὴν βουλὴν. Cf. Arist. *Athen. Pol.* c. 20 *τὴν μὲν βουλὴν ἐπειράτο καταλύειν, Ἰσαγόραν δὲ καὶ τρια-*

κοσίου τῶν φίλων μετ' αὐτοῦ κυρίου καθιστάναι τῆς πόλεως. τῆς δὲ βουλῆς ἀντιστάσης, κ.τ.λ. It was the old council of 400, for the new council of 500 had not yet been elected, that is, if Aristotle's account is chronologically exact. Notice that Cleomenes here attempts to establish an oligarchy with Isagoras at the head; later, he wishes to make Isagoras tyrant; c. 74. 6. The number 300 has probably no special significance, yet we observe that 300 was the number of the council convened to judge the 'Accursed' (Plut. *Sol.* 12).

13. ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, i. e. the Lacedaemonians made a truce to save themselves, regardless of their allies. For a similar case, cf. Thuc. iii. 109. Isagoras, however, contrived to escape.

ATHENS. B. C. 508; Ol. 68. 1.

τὴν κατασχῆσειν, ἦε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ ὡς προσερέων· ἡ δὲ ἱερεὶς ἐξαναστᾶσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, πρὶν ἢ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμείψαι, εἶπε “ὦ ξεῖνε Λακεδαιμόνιε, πάλιν χώρεε μηδὲ ἔσιθι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν Δωριεῦσι παριέναι ἐνθαῦτα.” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ γύναι, ἀλλ’ οὐ Δωριεὺς εἰμι ἀλλ’ Ἀχαιός.” ὁ μὲν δὴ τῇ κληθρόνι οὐδὲν χρεώμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέπιπτε μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθηναῖοι κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ Τιμησίθεον τὸν Δελφόν^a, τοῦ ἔργα χειρῶν τε καὶ λήματος²⁵ 73 ἔχοιμ’ ἂν μέγιστα καταλέξαι. οὗτοι μὲν νυν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Κλεισθένεα καὶ τὰ ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια τὰ διωχθέντα ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος μεταπεμφάμενοι πέμπουσι ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις, συμμαχίην βουλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Πέρσας· ἡπιστάετο 5

Return of Cleisthenes: embassy to Sardis.

^a Δελφόν Palmer: ἀδελφεόν, Libb.

16. τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ. Recent excavations show that there was a ‘Hecatompedon’ on the Acropolis before the Persian invasion. This seems to be meant here and viii. 53. In *supr.* 71. 5; *infr.* 77. 20; 82. 14; Herod. refers to the Erechtheum (cf. viii. 55. 3 f.). ὡς προσερέων. So Cleomenes sacrificed at the shrine of Hera in Argolis, vi. 82. 9, meeting with opposition there, as here.

17. ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου. Her seat would be just within the door.

19. πάλιν χώρεε. This was the φήμη (omen) which was fulfilled by the repulse of Cleomenes; cf. *supr.* i. 14.

21. Ἀχαιός. He claimed to be a descendant of Heracles, who counted as an Achaean of Argos.

24. τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, i.e. ‘im-

prisoned them for execution,’ *sub. δέσιν*; cf. i. 109. 2 κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Τιμησίθεον. Pausanias, vi. 8. 6, tells us that there was a statue of Timesitheus the Delphian at Olympia, the work of Ageladas (of Argos, teacher of Pheidias). He was victor in the pancratium twice at Olympia, and three times at the Pythia.

73. 4. This embassy to Persia is the first attempt to bring the power of the Great King into Greece, a policy of which the final result was the Peace of Antalcidas, in 387 B. C. The Athenians may have counted on the fact that Sparta had sent a message to Cyrus asserting the independence of the Greeks in Asia, which would tend to create an ill-feeling between Sparta and Persia.

ATHENS. B.C. 508; Ol. 68. 1.

γὰρ σφίσι^a [πρὸς] Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Κλεομένεα ἔκπε-
πολεμῶσθαι. ἀπικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐς τὰς Σάρ-
διδις καὶ λεγόντων τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, Ἀρταφρένης ὁ
'Υστάσπεος Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος ἐπειρώτα τίνες ἔοντες ἄν-
10 θρωποὶ καὶ κοῦ^b γῆς οἰκημένοι δεοῖατο Περσέων σύμ-
μαχοὶ γενέσθαι, πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀπεκο-
ρύφου σφι τάδε· εἰ μὲν διδοῦσι βασιλείᾳ Δαρείῳ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ συμμαχίην σφι συνετίθε-
το, εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοῦσι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε.
15 οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι διδόναι
ἔφασαν, βουλόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίην ποιήσασθαι. οὗτοι 74
μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν αἰτίας μεγάλας εἶχον·
Κλεομένης δὲ ἐπιστάμενος περιυβρίσθαι ἔπεισι καὶ ἔρ-
γοισι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων συνέλεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου
5 στρατόν, οὐ φράζων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει, τίσασθαί τε ἐθέ-
λων τὸν δῆμον τὸν^c Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμε-
νος τύραννον καταστῆσαι· συνεξῆλθε γάρ οἱ οὗτος ἐκ
τῆς ἀκροπόλιος. Κλεομένης τε δὴ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐσέ-

^a σφι Libb. : πρὸς del. Schweigh.^b κοῦ St. : ποῖ Libb.^c τὸν Ἀθηναίων St. : τὸν Ἀθηναίων A B : τῶν Ἀθηναίων cett.

Cleomenes
organises
a new
attack on
Athens.

6. [πρὸς]. Pape, Lex., takes ἔκπε-πολεμῶσθαι as impersonal, in which case πρὸς may be retained. Schweigh. would remove it, taking Λ. τε καὶ Κλ. as the subject of the infinitive.

11. ἀπεκορύφου, 'answered in brief,' 'put the matter in a nutshell.'

15. ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι, 'at their own risk': cf. *infr.* 106. 18 ἐπ' ἑαυτοῦ βαλλόμενον. The phrase is common in Herodotus. It must be carefully distinguished from βάλλεσθαι ἐς θυμόν, ἐν φρεσίν = 'to ponder over.'

74. 3. ἐπιστάμενος, 'feeling,' 'thinking,' a meaning common in

Herodotus. Cleomenes had been allowed to retreat uninjured, but the Athenians had utterly disregarded his wishes by recalling Cleisthenes, and proceeding with the reforms.—This is the first occasion on which we find the Spartan king at the head of all Peloponnesus; and we may observe that he acts as a military despot, not even acquainting the army with his wishes. The Spartans were pledged to follow the king, vi. 56. 4; Cleomenes assumes and expects that the allies will do so also.

5. ἐς τό = ἐς ὅ τι.

ATHENS. B. C. 507; Ol. 68. 2.

βαλε ἐς Ἐλευσίνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος Οἰνόην αἰρέουσι καὶ Ἰσιὰς δῆμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Χαλκιδέες τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἐσίνοντο ἐπιόντες χώρους τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, καίπερ ἀμφιβολίῃ ἐχόμενοι, Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέων ἐσύσπερον ἔμελλον μνήμην ποιήσεσθαι, Πελοποννησίοισι δὲ 10
 75 εἴουσι ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα. μελλόντων δὲ συνάψειν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην, Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρῶτοι σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον ὡς οὐ ποίεοιεν δίκαια^a μετεβάλλοντό τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, μετὰ δὲ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἐὼν καὶ οὗτος βασιλεὺς Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ συνεξαγαγόν τε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος καὶ οὐκ ἐὼν διάφορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ Κλεομένει. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς διχοστασίας ἐτέθη νόμος

^a δίκαια St. : τὰ δίκαια Libb.

The Corinthians abandon it: dissension between the Spartan Kings.

9. ἐς Ἐλευσίνα. The allies must have been aware that the expedition was directed against Athens, but the object of it—the setting up of a tyrant—was concealed from them. οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος. This is the first instance of common action on the part of the Spartans and the Boeotians. The cause of the agreement is given in vi. 108, viz. the alliance of Athens and Plataea, which was due to the advice of Cleomenes and the Lacedaemonians: οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐννοίην οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων ὡς βουλόμενοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόνους συνεστρώσας Βοιωτοῖσι.

10. Oenoe commanded the road from Plataea and Thebes to Athens on the Athenian side of the ridge of Cithaeron. It was attacked, unsuccessfully, by Archidamus in his first invasion of Attica (Thuc. ii. 18).

Hysiae was also on the high road from Athens to Thebes, but on the northern slope of Cithaeron. Though mentioned here as in the limits of Attica it probably belonged to Plataea; it never became, like Oenoe, an Attic deme. Cf. ix. 15. 14; vi. 108. 32.

11. ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα, i. e. at the eastern extremity of the northern boundary of Attica, near Oropus.

13. ἀμφιβολίῃ ἐχόμενοι, i. e. distracted between the attacks on their northern boundary and at Eleusis.

75. 2. συνάψειν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην. The more usual constructions are *συν. μάχην*, or *συν.* without any accusative whatever.

8. ἐτέθη νόμος, κ.τ.λ. So, in the next century, we are told (Xen. *Hell.* v. 3. 10) that the Phliasians considered themselves safe from the attack of Agesilaus when Agesipolis

ATHENS. B.C. 507; Ol. 68. 2.

ἐν Σπάρτῃ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἔπεισθαι ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βα-
 10 σιλέας ἐξιούσης στρατιῆς· τέως γὰρ ἀμφότεροι εἶπον-
 το παραλυομένου δὲ τούτων τοῦ ἑτέρου καταλείπε-
 σθαι καὶ τῶν Τυνδαριδέων τὸν ἕτερον· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ
 δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφότεροι ἐπὶ κλητοῖ σφι ἔοντες εἶποντο.
 τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἐλευσίνι ὄρωντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμ- 76
 μάχων τοὺς τε βασιλέας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ὁμο-
 λογέοντας καὶ Κορινθίους ἐκλιπόντας τὴν τάξιν, ὄχον-
 το καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλασσόμενοι, τέταρτον δὴ τοῦτο ἐπὶ
 5 τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπικόμενοι Δωριεες, δις τε ἐπὶ πολέμῳ
 ἐσβαλόντες καὶ δις ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Ἀθη-
 ναίων, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρα κατοίκησαν (οὗτος
 ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ Κόδρου βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηναίων ὀρθῶς^a
 ἂν καλέοιτο), δευτέρον δὲ καὶ τρίτον ὅτε ἐπὶ Πεισι-

Dorian
invasions of
Attica.^a ὀρθῶς πρῶτος Naber, Ab.: γενόμενος πρῶτος Cob.

was absent from Sparta: οὐδ' ἂν γενέσθαι ὥστε ἅμα ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξω Σπάρτης εἶναι. But, *infra*. vi. 50. 9, Cleomenes is compelled to retire from Aegina because the second king is not with him (cf. vi. 65. 4; 73. 5), and in 418 B.C. Pleistoanax and Agis are both absent from Sparta (Thuc. v. 75) though Pleistoanax returns immediately on hearing the news of the victory at Mantinea.

9. ἔπεισθαι, i.e. 'go out with'; the kings always went at the head of the army: cf. vi. 56.

11. παραλυομένου, i.e. 'released from command.'

12. τῶν Τυνδαριδέων, i.e. the Dioscuri. Hitherto it may have been the custom to take the images of these heroes out with the army: cf. the Aeacidae, *infra*. c. 80, and at the battle of Salamis (viii. 64, 83, 84).

See also Rob. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. 38, who quotes 1 *Sam.* iv. 7 ff.; 2 *Sam.* v. 21. Either the custom was now discontinued, the heroes being merely invoked, or new images of the heroes were made, for the ordinary images did not admit of separation; Plutarch, *De frat. am.* 1 τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἀφιδρύματα οἱ Σπαρτιάται δόκανα καλοῦσι· ἔστι δὲ δύο ξύλα παράλληλα ἐνσὶ πλαγίους ἐπεξευγμένα, κ.τ.λ.

13. ἐπὶ κλητοῖ, 'as auxiliary deities,' σωτήρες ἐσθλοὶ κάγαθοὶ παραστάται, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν τούτων: Aelian, *V. H.* i. 30 (Kriiger). Cf. Pausanias' story of the Dioscuri in the Messenian war; iv. 16. 5, 9; 27. 3.

76: 7. οὗτος ὁ στόλος, κ.τ.λ. 'This expedition might properly be called (the expedition which took place) when Codrus was king of the Athe-

ATHENS. B.C. 507; Ol. 68. 2.

στρατιδῶν ἐξέλασιν ὄρμηθέντες ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπίκοντο, ¹⁰
 τέταρτον δὲ τότε ὅτε ἐς Ἐλευσίνα Κλεομένης ἄγων Πε-
 λοποννησίους ἐσέβαλε· οὕτω τέταρτον τότε Δωριεῖς ἐσέ-
 βαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας.

77 Διαλυθέντος ὦν τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἀκλεῶς, ἐνθαυ-
 τα Ἀθηναῖοι τίνυσθαι βουλόμενοι πρῶτα στρατηγὴν ποι-
 εῦνται ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι βοη-
 θεοῦσι ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐριπον. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἰδοῦσι τοὺς^a Βοιω-
 τοὺς ἔδοξε πρότερον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι ἢ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι ⁵
 ἐπιχειρέειν. συμβάλλουσι τε δὴ τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι οἱ Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι καὶ πολλῶ ἐκράτησαν, κάρτα δὲ πολλοὺς φονεύ-
 σαντες ἑπτακοσίους αὐτῶν ἐξώγησαν. τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς
 ταύτης ἡμέρης οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν
 συμβάλλουσι καὶ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι, νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ ¹⁰
 τούτους τετρακισχιλίους κληρούχους ἐπὶ τῶν ἵπποβο-

^a τοὺς βοηθούς r (sv), Gaisf., Krüg., Van. H.

nians.' Cobet proposed to insert *γενόμενος πρῶτος* after Ἀθηναίων, which would give a different sense. Krüger translates: 'might properly be put in the reign of,' but the precise meaning seems to be, 'might properly be called the Codrus-expedition' (Stein). Cf. Van Herwerden, *Μνημοσύνη* xiii. 22. In the oldest period Megara was Ionian, and a part of Attica; in the days of Codrus the Dorians invaded it, and though Codrus by his heroic death saved Attica, Megara was lost: see Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* Megara. The passage in the text appears to have been written before 446 B. C., when Pleistoanax invaded Attica.

13. ἐς Ἀθήνας = ἐς Ἀττικὴν. A certain number of Athenians seem to have been with Cleomenes at

Eleusis: Schol. ad Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 273: τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κλεομένουσ' Ἐλευσίνα κατασχόντων Ἀθηναίων τὰς οἰκίας κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἐδήμευσαν, αὐτῶν δὲ θάνατον ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ ἀναγράφαντες ἐς στήλην χαλκὴν ἔστησαν ἐν πόλει παρὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον νέων.

77. 11. κληρούχους, i.e. Athenians who received grants of land out of the conquered territory. There is reason to suppose that Salamis had already been so occupied by the Athenians. The κληρουχία was quite distinct from the ἀποικία, and approached much nearer to the Roman system of colonisation. It was greatly developed at a later time by Pericles, see *Hist. Greece*, ii. 386 f., and naturally found favour with the lower classes at Athens.

The Athenians at Chalcis, and in Boeotia.

ATHENS, B. C. 507 f. ; Ol. 68. 2 f.

τέων τῇ χώρῃ λείπουσι· οἱ δὲ ἵπποβόται ἐκαλέοντο οἱ
παχέες τῶν Χαλκιδέων. ὅσους δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐζώγρη-
σαν, ἅμα τοῖσι Βοιωτῶν ἐζωγρημένοισι εἶχον ἐν φυλα-
15 κῆ [ἐς πέδας]^a δῆσαντες· χρόνῳ δὲ ἔλυσάν σφεας δι-
μνεως ἀποτιμησάμενοι. τὰς δὲ πέδας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῆσι
ἐδεδέατο, ἀνεκρέμασαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αἶ περ ἔτι καὶ
ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν περιεοῦσαι, κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τειχέων περι-
πεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου, ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ
20 μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένου. καὶ τῶν λύ-
τρων τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον
χάλκεον· τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτον ἐσιόντι
ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολι· ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ
οἱ τάδε.

^a ἐς πέδας secl. St. : ἐν πέδαις A² (sv), Schäf.

Arist. *Nub.* 204 MA. γῆν ἀναμετρεῖ-
σθαι. ΣΤΡ. πότερα τὴν κληρουχικὴν ;

12. οἱ ἵπποβόται. See *Hist. Greece*, ii. 20, Strabo, p. 447, speaking of the colonies of Chalcis says: ἐστάλησαν αἱ ἀποικίαι αὐται, καθάπερ εἶρκεν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἡνίκα ἡ τῶν Ἴπποβοτῶν καλουμένη ἐπεκράτει πολιτεία· πρόστησαν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων ἄνδρες ἀριστοκρατικῶς ἄρχοντες. A horse was an expensive luxury in Greece, which only rich men could afford ; cf. *τεθριπποτρόφος οἰκία* (vi. 35) etc. Aristotle *Pol.* iv. 3 = 1298 b 39 quotes the Chalcidians and Eretrians as instances of oligarchies which maintained their power by their cavalry.

15. Δίμνεως, cf. vi. 79. 5. Prof. Goodwin, *American Phil. Trans.* 1883, puts the value of the Euboic talent of silver at £200, and of the Aeginetan at £276, assuming that silver is worth 52 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. an ounce (a talent weighed 57 $\frac{3}{4}$ pounds avoird-

pois). At this rate the Euboic mina is £3 13s. 4d. and the Aeginetan £4 12s. 0d., so that the ransom would be £7 6s. 8d. on one calculation, and £9 4s. 0d. on the other. If we consider a drachma a day as good pay in Greece as 3s. 4d. now we must multiply these sums by five to get a tolerable modern equivalent.

18. τειχέων. The north wall of the acropolis is meant, at the point opposite the westernmost chamber of the Erechtheum.

19. Μήδου. Cf. *infra*. c. 104.

21. τέθριππον χάλκεον. Cf. Paus. i. 28. 2, in whose time the chariot was still to be seen *in situ*.

23. ἐς τὰ προπύλαια. These may or may not be the Propylaea of Mnesicles, which were finished in 432 B. C. ;—if they were, the passage would be much later than c. 76. 7, see note ; but in any case, the offering can hardly have been set up before the Persian invasion, or it

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου,
δεσμῶ ἐν ἀχλύοντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβησαν ὕβριν
τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν.

25

- 78 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν ἠὔξηντο· δηλοῖ δὲ οὐ κατ' ἐν
μοῦνον ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ ἢ ἰσηγορίῃ ὡς ἔστι χρῆμα σπου-
δαῖον, εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τυραννεύομενοι μὲν οὐδαμῶν
τῶν σφεας περιοικέοντων ἦσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους,
ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μακρῶ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο.⁵
δηλοῖ ὧν ταῦτα ὅτι κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐθελοκάκεον ὡς
δεσπότη ἐργαζόμενοι, ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ αὐτὸς ἕκα-
στος ἑωτῶ προεθυμέετο κατεργάζεσθαι.

- 79 Οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔπρασσον. Θηβαῖοι δὲ μετὰ
ταῦτα ἐς θεὸν ἔπεμπον, βουλόμενοι τίσασθαι Ἀθη-
ναίους. ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ ἀπὸ σφέων μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη

Demo-
cracy.The
Thebans
attack the
Athenians.

would have perished in the general conflagration. Fragments of an inscription have been discovered, which seem to form a part of this epigram; see *C. I. A.* i. 334. From the form of the letters Kirchhoff concludes that the inscription belongs to the time of Pericles;—after the conquest of Euboea in 446 B. C. If this is right, Herodotus has either confounded the earlier and later conquest of Euboea, or both were commemorated in one inscription. [We are not told that Pericles took any captives in 446; and our epigram is said to be the work of Simonides who died in 469 B. C. Others, however, ascribe it to Agron. Cf. *Aristid.* ii. 312, Dind. with the schol.]

28. τῶν. We should expect ἀπὸ τῶν. Cf. *supr.* 59. 6.

78. 2. ἰσηγορίῃ, 'equal freedom,' equal right to speak, 'especially of

speaking and voting in matters of state': Pape, who quotes Xen. *Ath. Resp.* i. 12 διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τοῖς δούλοις πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἐποιήσαμεν καὶ τοῖς μετοίκους πρὸς τοὺς ἀστούς. 'Universe ἰσηγορία significare videtur jus libere loquendi apud aliquem.' Bake, in Dind.'s Xen. p. XLIX. (Oxford ed.).

6. ἐθελοκάκεον, 'would not do their best' (cf. viii. 22. 14), a common word in Herodotus. Cf. *Hom. Od.* 17. 322 ἤμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίννται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς ἀνέρος εἶπ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἔλθῃσιν. Xerxes is represented as maintaining the opposite view, vii. 103. 20 ὑπὸ γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἡμέτερον γενοῖατ' ἂν, δειμαίνοντες τοῦτον, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἑωτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες, καὶ τοῖον ἀναγκαζόμενοι μάστιγι ἐς πλεῦνας ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες.

79. 2. ἐς θεόν, i. e. Apollo at

ATHENS, B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τίσιν, ἐς πολύφημον δὲ ἐξενείκοντας ἐκέ-
 5 λευε τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι. ἀπελθόντων ὦν τῶν θεο-
 πρόπων ἐξέφερον τὸ χρηστήριον ἀλίην ποιησάμενοι ὡς
 ἐπυρθάνοντο δὲ λεγόντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι,
 εἶπαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀκούσαντες τούτων “οὐκῶν ἄγχιστα
 ἡμέων οἰκέουσι Ταναγραῖοί τε καὶ Κορωναῖοι καὶ Θε-
 10 σπιέες; καὶ οὗτοί γε ἅμα ἡμῖν αἰεὶ μαχόμενοι προθύ-
 μως συνδιαφέρουσι τὸν πόλεμον· τί δεῖ τούτων γε
 δέεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ἦ τὸ χρηστήριον.”
 τοιαῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενων εἶπε δὴ κοτε μαθῶν τις “ἐγὼ 80
 μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ θέλει λέγειν ἡμῖν τὸ μαντήιον.
 Ἄσωποῦ λέγονται γενέσθαι θυγατέρες Θήβη τε καὶ Αἴ-
 γινα· τουτέων ἀδελφεῶν ἐουσέων, δοκέω ἡμῖν Αἰγινη-

80
Advice of
Delphi.

Delphi. The article is omitted as with πόλις, βασιλεύς (= King of Persia).

4. πολύφημον. The word is no doubt taken from the actual response: in Hom. *Od.* 2. 150 we have ἀγορὴν πολύφημον = the meeting place for discussion. Cf. iv. 163. 12 τὴν ἀμφέρρυτον (also in an oracle).

6. ἐξέφερον, i.e. the authorities at Thebes. Tanagra lay east, Thespieae west of Thebes—between her and the sea: Coronea was to the north—beyond Haliartus, which is here passed over. It is interesting to find that Thespieae is spoken of as a warm friend of Thebes. Their amicable relations came to an end with the Persian invasion.

8. ἄγχιστα . . . οἰκέουσι. The Thebans confuse local proximity with nearness of kin.

12. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ, κ.τ.λ. ‘But more probably this is not the meaning of the oracle.’ This is the first

example of a construction very common in Plato, used also by Aristotle, and found once in Demosthenes, in which μὴ with the subjunctive expresses a suspicion that something *may be* or *may prove to be* true, and μὴ οὐ with the subjunctive a suspicion that something *may not be* true.’ W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of Greek Moods*, p. 92.

80. 1. ἐπιλεγόμενων, sc. τῶν Θηβαίων.

2. θέλει; cf. iv. 131. 9 γνῶναι τὸ θέλει τὰ δῶρα λέγειν; *infra*. vi. 37. 10.

3. Ἄσωποῦ, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Pindar, *Isthm.* vii. 16 f. There was a Boeotian Asopus and a Peloponnesian Asopus (near Sicyon), and perhaps one in Aegina, Pind. *Lēm.* 3. 4. In legend Asopus of Phlius was the father of numerous daughters. Diod. iv. 72 enumerates twelve, among them Aegina, Thebe, Tanagra; cf. Paus. ii. 5. 2, 12. 5.

4. ἡμῖν with γενέσθαι.

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f

τέων δέεσθαι τὸν θεὸν χρῆσαι τιμωρητῆρων γενέσθαι.” καὶ οὐ γάρ τις γνώμη ταύτης ἀμείνων ἐδόκεε φαίνεσθαι, αὐτίκα πέμψαντες ἐδέοντο Αἰγινητέων ἐπικαλεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν σφι βοηθείην, ὡς ἔοντων ἀγχιστέων.^a οἱ δέ σφι αἰτέουσι ἐπικουρίην τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμπέμπειν ἔφασαν. πειρησαμένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακιδέων καὶ τρηχέως περιεφθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτίς οἱ Θηβαῖοι πέμψαντες τοὺς μὲν Αἰακίδας σφι ἀπέδιδουσαν, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐδέοντο. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εὐδαιμονίῃ τε μεγάλῃ ἐπαερθέντες καὶ ἔχθρης παλαιῆς ἀναμνησθέντες ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους, τότε Θηβαίων δεηθέντων πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον. ἐπικειμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν Βοιωτοῖσι, ἐπιπλώσαντες μακρῆσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατὰ μὲν ἔσυραν Φάληρον κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίης 10 πολλοὺς δήμους, ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλως Ἀθηναίους ἐσίνοντο.^b

The
Aeginetans
aid the
Thebans.

81

^a ἀγχιστέων P r (sv): ἀγχιστων A B C, St.

^b ἐσικνέοντο AB: ἐσίνοντο A m. see.: ἐσινέοντο eett. ‘Humani quid passus est Stein, quum crederet ἐσικνέοντο sanum esse et significare *rungeban!*,’ Cob.

9. τοὺς Αἰακίδας, i. e. the figures of the Aeaecidae; see *supr.* e. 75. 11. Under the name are meant Aeaecus and his descendants Telaemon and Teucer.

81. 4. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν. Stein remarks οἱ δέ would be more in harmony with the usage of Herodotus, but acquiesces in the use of the article, quoting *infra*. 13. 15 ἀνδρα μὲν οὐδένα τὰς δὲ ἐπιχωρίας γυναικας. Krüger denies that τῶν is the article, and explains: ‘asked them for men’—a double genitive. For the prosperity of Aegina, see *infra*. 83. In ix. 80. 12 Herodotus seems to derive the great wealth

of the Aeginetans from the harvest which they reaped by cheating the Helots at Plataea; but he may be speaking there of the wealth of the great families of the city, who appear in Pindar. The commercial greatness of the island reaches back to a far earlier time, as is clear from the antiquity of the Aeginetan coins, measures, etc. The θαλασσοκρατία of the Aeginetans is placed in the ten years ending 482 B. C. by Eusebius.

6. ἐχούσης ἐς, cf. vi. 2. 19.

7. πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον, against the usage of more civilised Greece; see Hermann, *Staatsalt.* 10. 3.

12. Stein reads ἐσικνέοντο in the

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

Ἡ δὲ ἔχθρη ἢ προοφειλομένη ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν 82
 Αἰγινητέων ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιῆσδε. Ἐπιδαυρίοισι ἢ Ancient
 γῆ καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀνεδίδου. περὶ ταύτης ὦν τῆς συμ- quarrel
 φορῆς οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ ἐχρέωντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἢ δὲ Πυ- between
 5 θίῃ σφέας ἐκέλευε Δαμίης τε καὶ Αὐξησίης ἀγάλματα Athens and
 ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ σφι ἰδρυσαμένοιισι ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. Aegina.
 ἐπειρώτεον ὦν οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ κότερα χαλκοῦ ποιέωνται Damia and
 τὰ ἀγάλματα ἢ λίθου ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ οὐδέτερα τούτων Auxesia.
 ἔα, ἀλλὰ ξύλου ἡμέρης ἐλαίης. ἐδέοντο ὦν οἱ Ἐπιδαυ-
 10 ριοὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐλαίην σφίσι δοῦναι ταμέσθαι, ἱρωτάτας
 δὴ κείνας νομίζοντες εἶναι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐλαΐαι

sense of 'pungebant,' 'afflicted,' quoting Aesch. *Sufl.* 556 εἰσκονομένου βέλει βουκόλον. But far better are the readings *ξινέοντο*, *ξίνοντο* adopted by Krüger and Cobet.—We may observe that Herodotus persistently depreciates the Aeginetans. It is Lampon the Aeginetan who proposes to Pausanias to crucify the body of Mardonius, a still greater outrage on the laws of Greek warfare than that recorded in this chapter (ix. 78). The Aeginetans cheat the Helots by buying gold from them as brass (ix. 80). They refuse to pay the fine imposed upon them by Argos for supplying ships to Cleomenes—*ἦσάν τε αὐθαδέστεροι*: vi. 92. 13 (cf. *ihfr.* 83. 5 *ἀγνωμοσύνη χρησάμενοι*). Their expulsion from the island by the Athenians is but the penalty of their cruelty and sacrilege when suppressing the popular outbreak, vi. 91. 5.

82. 2. Cf. i. 167, and iv. 151, in which cases also Delphi was consulted.

5. Damia is obviously the goddess of cultivation; cf. *ἤμος*, 'cultivated land'; Auxesia is the goddess of increase. Paus. ii. 30. 4 gives a summary of the account of Herodotus, adding: *εἰδὸν τε τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἔθυσά σφισι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἐλευσίνοι θύειν νομίζουσιν*. At Troezen, where the goddesses were also worshipped, a different account was given of them: Paus. ii. 32. 2 *ἐς δὲ τὴν Δαμίαν καὶ Αὐξησίαν—καὶ γὰρ Τροιζηνίους μέτεστιν αὐτῶν—οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ὃν Ἐπιδαυριοὶ καὶ Αἰγινῆται λόγον, ἀλλ' ἀφικέσθαι παρθένους ἐκ Κρήτης*. They were stoned to death and for this reason the festival in their honour was called *λιθοβόλια*. At Athens the names of the Charites were Auxô and Hegemone; the names of the Horae, Καρπὸ and Θαλλό, Paus. ix. 35. 2.

9. *ἡμέρης ἐλαίης*, sc. *ποιέεσθαι ἐκέλευε*.

10. *ἱρωτάτας*. The so-called *μορία* at Athens were considered sacred, and were strictly protected

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

ἦσαν ἄλλοθι γῆς οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ χρόνον κείνον ἢ ἐν Ἀθήνησι. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε δώσειν ἔφασαν ἐπ' ᾧ ἀπάξουσι ἕτεος ἐκάστου τῆ Ἀθηναίῃ τε τῆ πολιάδι ἰρὰ καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθεῖ. καταινέσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοισι οἱ Ἐπι-¹⁵ δαύριοι τῶν τε ἐδέοντο ἔτυχον, καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐκ τῶν ἐλαίων τουτέων ποιησάμενοι ἰδρύσαντο· καὶ ἦ τε γῆ σφι ἔφερε καρπὸν, καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπετέλεον τὰ συνέθεντο.

83 τοῦτον δ' ἔτι τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὸν^a πρὸ τούτου Αἰγινῆται Ἐπιδαυρίων ἤκουον τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δίκας διαβαίνοντες ἐς Ἐπίδουρον ἐδίδοσαν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων οἱ Αἰγινῆται. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούδε νέας τε πηξάμενοι καὶ

Epidaurus
and
Aegina^a τὸν om. St. qui et ὡς ante καὶ interponere volebat.

by law; see especially Lysias, *περὶ σηκοῦ*. In the legend the olive was the gift of Athena to Attica; hence the view that only in Attica were olives to be found. The *Bretas* of Athena in the Erechtheum was of olive wood, and indeed the most ancient statues of deities were generally of wood of some kind. See Paus. viii. 17. 2 τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὅποσα καὶ ἡμεῖς καταμαθεῖν ἐδινήθημεν, τοσάδε ἦν ἀφ' ὧν τὰ ξύανα ἐποιούντο, ἔβενος, κυπάρισσος, αἱ κέδροι, τὰ δρύνα, ἡ μύλαξ, ὁ λωτός. The statue of Cyllelian Hermes was of *θύος*.

13. ἐπ' ᾧ ἀπάξουσι. So in their arrangements with Erythrae and Brea, the Athenians require that contributions shall be made to the Panathenaea at Athens; see *C. I. A.* i. 9, 31.

14. Athena and Erechtheus were worshipped from very early times in one temple on the acropolis; cf. *II.* ii. 547, where Athena enters 'the

firm-built house of Erechtheus.' According to one legend Erechtheus was the son of Athena and Hephaestus; according to another he was the god Poseidon. See viii. 44, 55.

83. 2. δίκας διαβαίνοντες, κ.τ.λ. Here again we have a precedent for the subsequent conduct of Athens towards her allies. But in this case the custom was due to the fact that the Aeginetans—after the Dorian conquest of the island—were Dorians from Epidaurus: viii. 46. Paus. ii. 29. 5 χρόνον δὲ ὕστερον μοῖρα Ἀργείων τῶν Ἐπίδουρον ὁμοῦ Δημόφοντη κατασχόντων διαβάσα ἐς Αἰγίαν καὶ Αἰγινήταις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γενόμενοι σύνοικοι τὰ Δωριέων ἔθη καὶ φώνην κατεστήσαντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ.

4. νέας τε πηξάμενοι. The time cannot be fixed with any certainty, but νέας = ν. μακράς (*supr.* 81. 9, *inf.* c. 85 *τριήρει*), and if this is to be pressed, the date is subsequent to the introduction of the trireme = *cir.* 700 B.C.

ATHENS. B. C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

5 ἀγνωμοσύνη χρησάμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιδαυ-
 ρίων. ἄτε δὲ ἔοντες διάφοροι ἐδηλέοντο αὐτούς, ὥστε
 θαλασσοκράτορες ἔοντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα
 ταῦτα τῆς τε Δαμίης καὶ τῆς Αὐξησίης ὑπαιρέονται
 αὐτῶν, καὶ σφρα ἐκόμισάν τε καὶ ἰδρύσαντο τῆς σφε-
 10 τέρης χώρας ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῇ Οἴῃ μὲν ἐστὶ οὖνομα,
 στάδια δὲ μάλιστά κη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ὡς εἴκοσι ἀπέχει.
 ἰδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρῷ θυσίησί τε σφέα καὶ
 χοροῖσι γυναικίῳσι κερτομίῳσι ἰλάσκοντο, χορηγῶν ἀπο-
 δεικνυμένων ἑκατέρῃ τῶν δαιμόνων δέκα ἀνδρῶν· κακῶς
 15 δὲ ἡγόρευον οἱ χοροὶ ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, τὰς δὲ ἐπιχωρίας
 γυναικάς. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισι αἱ αὐταὶ
 ἱρουργαίαι εἰςὶ δέ σφι καὶ ἄρρητοι ἱρουργαίαι. κλεφθέν- 84
 των δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ τοῖσι Ἀθη-
 ναίοισι τὰ συνέθεντο οὐκ^a ἐπετέλεον. πέμψαντες δὲ οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐμήνιον τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισι. οἱ δὲ ἀπέφαινον
 5 λόγῳ ὡς οὐκ ἀδικέοιεν· ὅσον μὲν γὰρ χρόνον εἶχον τὰ
 ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ἐπιτελέειν τὰ συνέθεντο, ἐπεὶ

^a οὐκέτ' ἐτέλεον Schwgh. : οὐκέτι ἐπετέλεον F. Palm.

10. Bursian, *Geogr. Griech.* ii. 84, ventures to identify Oea with Palaeachora, about half way between the city and the ruins of the great temple of Athena, but this is merely a guess.

13. χοροῖσι γυναικίῳσι κερτομίῳσι, lit. 'abusive choruses of women.' Cf. the Egyptian feast at Bubastis, ii. 60 αἱ δὲ τωθάξουσι βοῶσαι τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ γυναικάς. In *Pol.* vii. 17 = 1336 b 17 Aristotle speaks of certain deities οἷς καὶ τὸν τωθασμὸν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος—these were especially Demeter and Dionysus. *Wasps* 1362

ἔν' αὐτὸν τωθάσω νεανικῶς, οἷος ποθ' οὗτος ἐμὲ πρὸ τῶν μυστηρίων.

ἀποδεικνυμένων, i. e. by the state.

15. ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, i. e. it was a female festival, like the Thesmophoria at Athens, but the choruses were organised and provided for through the state, as in the Dionysia at Athens.

17. σφεῖ, i. e. the Aeginetans. The abusive side of the performance was only the external side; there were mysteries connected with the worship. Compare the account of the Thesmophoria in ii. 171.

ATHENS. B. C. 507 f. ; Ol. 68. 2 f.

δὲ ἔστερηῆσθαι αὐτῶν, οὐ δίκαιον^a εἶναι ἀποφέρειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὰ Αἰγινήτας πρήσσεσθαι ἐκέλευον. πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Αἴγιναν πέμψαντες ἀπαίτεον τὰ ἀγάλματα· οἱ δὲ Αἰγινήται ἔφασαν σφίσι¹⁰
 85 τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι εἶναι οὐδὲν πρῆγμα. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ἀποσταλῆναι τριήρεϊ μῆ τῶν ἀστῶν τούτους οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Αἴγιναν τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα ὡς σφετέρων ξύλων ἔοντα ἐπειρῶντο^b ἐκ τῶν βάθρων⁵ ἔξανασπᾶν, ἵνα σφέα ἀνακομίσωνται· οὐ δυναμένους δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτῶν κρατῆσαι, περιβαλόντας σχοινία ἔλκειν τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ σφι ἔλκουσι βροντήν τε καὶ ἅμα τῇ βροντῇ σεισμὸν ἐπιγενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ τριηρίτας τοὺς ἔλκοντας ὑπὸ τούτων ἀλλοφρονῆσαι,¹⁰ παθόντας δὲ τοῦτο κτείνειν ἀλλήλους ἅτε πολεμίου.

The Athenians and the Aeginetans.

^a δίκαιοι Bekk., Van H.^b πειρᾶν A B C.

84. 8. πρήσσεσθαι, sc. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.

10. σφίσι . . . πρῆγμα, 'They and the Athenians had nothing to do with one another.' Cf. Eur. *Med.* 451 ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα. Dem. *De Cor.* 283 διομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα.

85. 3. ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, 'publico nomine,' Schwgh. : cf. viii. 135. 8 τῶν ἀστῶν αἰρέτους ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, and vi. 92. 14 ἀπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου. In order to mark the contrast of the Athenian and Aeginetan accounts, two points are brought forward : (1) that but one ship was sent ; (2) that the Athenians had no intention of making an armed attack on the Aeginetans.

9. τοὺς τριηρίτας. The same word, which is rare, is used of the envoys sent by Athens to Segesta in 415 B. C. : Thuc. vi. 47 *ἰδία ξενίσαις ποιούμενοι τῶν τριηριτῶν*. In this case it can hardly mean the rowers, and perhaps Herodotus wishes us to distinguish between the crew of the vessel and the commissioners.

10. ἀλλοφρονῆσαι, 'lost their wits,' and so failed to recognize their friends. [*ἀλλογνώσαι*, which in Hippocrates means 'to go mad,' is used by Herodotus, i. 85. 12, in the sense 'failing to recognize.' In *II.* 23. 698 *ἀλλοφρονέοντα* is = 'stunned,' as here, but in *Ol.* 10. 374 it means 'with thoughts elsewhere,' and so in Herod. vii. 205 *ult.*]

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

ἐς ὃ ἐκ πάντων ἕνα λειφθέντα ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτὸν
 ἐς Φάληρον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω γεέσθαι λέγουσι, 86
 Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὐ μῆ νηὶ ἀπικέσθαι Ἀθηναίους· μίαν The
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγῃ πλεῦνας μῆς, καὶ εἰ σφίσι μὴ ἔτυχον Aeginetan
 εἶσαι νέες, ἀπαμύνεσθαι ἂν εὐπετέως· ἀλλὰ πολλῆσι account.
 5 νηυσὶ ἐπιπλέειν σφίσι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αὐτοὶ δὲ σφι εἶξαι
 καὶ οὐ ναυμαχῆσαι. οὐκ ἔχουσι δὲ τοῦτο διασημῆναι
 ἀτρεκέως, οὔτε εἰ ἦσσαντες συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τῇ
 ναυμαχίῃ κατὰ τοῦτο εἶξαν, οὔτε εἰ βουλόμενοι ποιῆ-
 σαι οἷόν τι καὶ ἐποίησαν. Ἀθηναίους μὲν νυν, ἐπείτε
 10 σφι οὐδεὶς ἐς μάχην κατίστατο, ἀποβάνας ἀπὸ τῶν
 νεῶν τράπεσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα, οὐ δυναμένους δὲ
 ἀνασπάσαι ἐκ τῶν βάθρων αὐτὰ οὕτω δὴ περιβαλομέ-
 νους σχοινία ἔλκειν, ἐς ὃ ἐλκόμενα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἀμ-
 φότερα τῶντὸ ποιῆσαι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες,
 15 ἄλλῃ δὲ τεῶ· ἐς γούνατα γὰρ σφι αὐτὰ πεσεῖν, καὶ

12. ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτόν, 'was conveyed back alone,' sc. by the rowers in the vessel—instead of conveying back the images, ἵνα σφέα ἀνακομίσωνται (*supr.*).

86. 2. μίαν, 'For even if they (the Aeginetans) had had no ships of war, they could easily have beaten off one ship, and more than one, if only a few more.'

6. οὐ ναυμαχῆσαι. This fact was agreed upon. The Aeginetans had to meet the question: Why, if the Athenians' attack was hostile, was there no sea fight? They reply that either they had not sufficient ships to meet the enemy, or they wished to entrap them on shore.

8. κατὰ τοῦτο, 'for this reason,' as *supr.*, c. 3.

14. ἐμοὶ μὲν, κ.τ.λ. For instances

of similar incredulity see iv. 5, where Herodotus will not believe that Targiteus was the son of Zeus and the daughter of the Borysthenes; iv. 42, that the sun was seen on the right hand by those who circumnavigated Africa; iv. 25, that there are goat-footed men; iii. 116, or one-eyed men: see also iv. 36; viii. 120; i. 182. Herodotus is slow to believe anything which confounds the human and divine natures; or anything which seems to contradict the laws of nature, whether physical or biological.

15. σφι, 'before them.' The statues were no doubt represented as kneeling, and this was the story told to account for their unusual position.

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου χρόνον διατελέειν οὕτω ἔχοντα. Ἀθη-
 ναίους μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιέειν· σφέας δὲ Αἰγινῆται λέ-
 γουσι πυθομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς μέλλοιεν ἐπὶ σφέας
 στρατεύεσθαι, ἐτοίμους Ἀργείους ποιέεσθαι. τοὺς τε δὴ
 Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι ἐς τὴν Αἰγιναιήν, καὶ ἦκειν ²⁰
 βοηθόντας σφίσι τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ λαθεῖν τε ἐξ Ἐπι-
 δαύρου διαβάντας ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ οὐ προακηκόουσι
 τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπιπεσεῖν ὑποταγομένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν
 νεῶν, ἅμα τε ἐν τούτῳ τὴν βροντὴν τε γενέσθαι καὶ
 87 τὸν σεισμὸν αὐτοῖσι. λέγεται μὲν νυν ὑπ' Ἀργείων τε
 καὶ Αἰγινητέων τάδε, ὁμολογέεται δὲ καὶ ὑπ' Ἀθη-
 ναίων ἓνα μῦνον τὸν ἀποσωθέντα αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀτ-
 τικὴν γενέσθαι· πλὴν Ἀργεῖοι μὲν λέγουσι αὐτῶν τὸ
 Ἀττικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἓνα τοῦτον ⁵
 περιγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου· περιγενέσθαι
 μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἓνα, ἀλλ' ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ
 τοιῷδε. κομισθεὶς γὰρ^a ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήγγελλε τὸ
 πάθος· πυθομένας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπ' Αἰγίαν
 στρατευσάμενων ἀνδρῶν, δεινὸν τι ποιησαμένας κείνων ¹⁰
 μῦνον ἐξ ἀπάντων σωθῆναι, περίξ τὸν ἀνθρωπον τοῦ-
 τον λαβούσας καὶ κεντεύσας τῆσι περόνησι τῶν ἱματίων
 εἰρωτᾶν ἐκάστην αὐτέων ὅκου εἶη ὁ ἑωυτῆς ἀνήρ. καὶ
 τοῦτον μὲν οὕτω διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἔτι τοῦ

^a γὰρ B² Pr: ἄρα ABC, St.

19. ἐτοίμους Ἀργείους ποιέεσθαι, lit. 'got Argives in readiness,' i. e. sought the aid of the Argives. So, at a later stage in the long conflict of Aegina and Athens, Argives come to the aid of Aegina, vi. 92. On the other hand, Argos and Epidaurus were never on very friendly terms; see Thue. v. 53.

23. τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, i. e. their

communications with the ships.

87. 3. ἓνα μῦνον is the predicate to γενέσθαι.

6. περιγενέσθαι, sc. λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι.

11. περίξ, 'in their midst'; adv., cf. *infra*. II 5. 9. περίξ is more commonly a preposition in Herodotus. For a similar act of ferocity on the part of the Athenian women, cf. ix. 5.

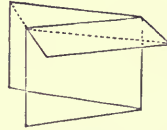
ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2f.

15 πάθεος δεινότερόν τι δόξαι εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον. ἄλλω μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν ὅτεφ ζημιώσῃσι τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλον αὐτέων ἐς τὴν Ἰάδα· ἐφόρεον γὰρ δὴ πρὸ τοῦ αἰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκες ἐσθῆτα Δωρίδα, τῇ Κορινθίῃ παραπλησιωτάτην με-
 20 τέβαλον ὧν ἐς τὸν λίνεον κιθῶνα, ἵνα δὴ περόνησι μὴ χρέωνται. ἔστι δὲ ἀληθεί λόγῳ χρεωμένοισι οὐκ ἴασις αὐτῆ ἢ ἐσθῆς τὸ παλαιὸν ἀλλὰ Κάειρα, ἐπεὶ ἦ γε Ἑλληνικὴ ἐσθῆς πᾶσα ἢ ἀρχαίη τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ αὐτῆ ἦν

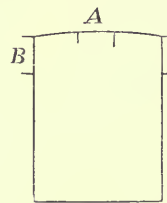
88
 Greek
 Dress.

16. ἄλλω may either be taken with ὅτεφ, or being = ἄλλο it is attracted into the case of the relative.

17. τὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Thucydides, i. 6, who says of the Athenians: οὐ πολλὰς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινούς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν εὐδαιμόνων. Comparing Thucydides and Herodotus we conclude that the Athenians first wore the woollen Dorian dress: then the Carian or Ionian linen dress, from which they returned to the Dorian. In Homer the epithet ἐλκεσίπεπλοι is given to the Trojan women, and in *Il.* 13. 685 the Ionians are called Ἰάονες ἐλκεχίτωνες: cf. Homer, *Hymn Apoll.*, in Thuc. iii. 104. We must distinguish two types of Greek female dress (1) The Dorian or old Hellenic, a square woollen cloth, of which the upper edge was folded down—it being longer than the body was high. It was folded round the body and pinned over the shoulder, so that one side was closed, the other open or closed partially with pins; at a later time the open side was partially,



or wholly, sewn up. This is the πέπλος, and is sometimes called ἰμάτιον, being in fact the only garment worn by Dorian women. It is a developed form of it which appears in the frieze of the Parthenon, and the Caryatids of the Erechtheon. (2) The Ionian or Carian linen *Chiton*. This was originally a long oblong garment, with holes for the neck and arms (A, B, C),



and neither pin nor brooch was required. The word χιτῶν is said to be Phoenician; and it is possible that this linen garment was brought by Carians and Phoenicians to the Attic coast. Cf. Studniczka, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der altgriechischen Tracht*, Wien, 1886 (p. 6 ff., 13 ff., 29 f.).

19. τῇ Κορινθίῃ. Nothing is known of the special type of Corinthian dress, which these words suggest.

ATHENS. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4 f.

τὴν νῦν Δωρίδα καλέομεν. τοῖσι δὲ Ἀργείοισι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰγινήτησι καὶ^α πρὸς ταῦτα [ἔτι τόδε ποιῆσαι]^β νόμον εἶναι 5 παρὰ σφίσι ἐκατέροισι, τὰς περόνας ἡμιολίας ποιέεσθαι τοῦ τότε κατεστῆωτος μέτρου, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῶν θεῶν τουτέων περόνας μάλιστα ἀνατιθέναι τὰς γυναῖκας, Ἀττικὸν δὲ μήτε τι ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν μήτε κέραμον, ἀλλ' ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐπιχωριέων νόμον τὸ λοιπὸν 10 αὐτόθι εἶναι πίνειν.

The Aeginctans at war with Athens.

89 Ἀργείων μὲν νῦν καὶ Αἰγινήτων αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκ^ο τόσου κατ' ἔριν τὴν Ἀθηναίων περόνας ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐφόρεον μέζοντας ἢ πρὸ τοῦ, τῆς δὲ ἔχθρης τῆς πρὸς Αἰγινήτας ἐξ^δ Ἀθηναίων γενομένης ἀρχῇ κατὰ τὰ εἰρη- 5 ται ἐγένετο. τότε δὴ Θηβαίων ἐπικαλεομένων, προθύμως τῶν περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα γενομένων ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι οἱ Αἰγινήται ἐβοήθηον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι. Αἰγινήται τε δὴ

^α καί: δόξαι? St.

^β ἔτι . . . ποιῆσαι scil. St. Cf. Krüger qui τόδε ποιῆσαι et παρὰ σφίσι deletbat.

^ο ἐκ Krüg.: ἐκ τε Libb.

^δ Ἀθηναίοισι Pr (sv).

88. 4. τοῖσι δὲ Ἀργείοισι . . . καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ. There is no construction for ποιῆσαι as the text now stands, or for the dative. Krüger proposed to omit τόδε ποιῆσαι and παρὰ σφίσι, constructing the acc. and infinitive (νόμον εἶναι) with λέγεται, c. 87. Or there may be a lacuna after Αἰγινήτησι. The general sense is, of course, quite clear.

7. ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν. The Argives may have used the temple at Aegina. Stein suggests the temple at Troezen (*supra*, 82). But what had the Argives to do with Troezen?

9. προσφέρειν, sc. τὰς γυναῖκας.

10. κέραμον. The Attic pottery

was known all over the Grecian world for its excellence at a very early time. The exclusion from Aegina may point, as Stein suggests, to a rivalry between the Aeginetan and Attic manufactures, but of course exclusive rules of this kind were common enough. The Halicarnassians were excluded from the Dorian Hexapolis (i. 144¹); the Lampsacencs from the games in the Chersonesus (vi. 38¹); the Eleans from the Isthmian Games (Paus. v. 2. 2. f.; vi. 3. 9; vi. 16. 2).

11. αὐτόθι, i. e. in the temple.

89. 1. ἐκ τόσου. 'From that time.'

ATHENS. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4 f.

ἔδηϊον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια, καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ὀρμημένοισι ἐπ' Αἰγινήτας στρατεύεσθαι ἦλθε μαν-
 10 τήιον ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἐπισχόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγινήτεων ἀδι-
 κίου τριήκοντα ἔτεα, τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ τριηκοστῷ Αἰακῷ τέ-
 μενος ἀποδέξαντας ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πολέ-
 μου καὶ σφι χωρήσειν τὰ βούλονται· ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα
 ἐπιστρατεύωνται, πολλὰ μὲν σφεας ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ
 15 χρόνου πείσεσθαι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ποιήσειν, τέλος μέντοι
 καταστρέψεσθαι. ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ μὲν Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀπέδεξαν τοῦτο τὸ
 νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς ἴδρυται, τριήκοντα δὲ ἔτεα οὐκ
 ἀνέσχοντο ἀκούσαντες ὅκως χρεὸν εἶη ἐπισχεῖν πεπον-
 θότας ὑπ' Αἰγινήτεων ἀνάρσια. ἐς τιμωρίην δὲ πα-
 ρασκευαζομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων πρῆγμα
 ἐγειρόμενον ἐμπόδιον ἐγένετο. πυθόμενοι γὰρ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων ἐς τὴν Πυθίην με-
 5 μηχανημένα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Πυθίης ἐπὶ σφέας τε καὶ
 τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο διπλῆν, ὅτι τε
 ἀνδρας ξείνους σφίσι ἐόντας ἐξεληλάκεσαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκεί-
 νων, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ποιήσασι χάρις οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο

90

The Lacedaemonians summon an assembly of their allies with the view of restoring Hippias.

10. ἐπισχόντας ἀπὸ . . . τριήκοντα ἔτεα κ.τ.λ. The Athenians were to remain inactive for thirty years: i. e. for a whole generation. ἀδικίου, 'outrage,' is only found elsewhere in the legal language of Athens, in which a δίκη ἀδικίου was a form of process. For ἀπό = 'after' cf. *supr.* 83. 4 ἀπὸ τοῦδε.

11. Αἰακῷ, the hero of Aegina, who was by this process to be won over to the side of Athens. So the Spartans acquired the bones of Orestes before they were victorious over the

Tegeatae.

14. πολλὰ μὲν, κ.τ.λ. As a fact the war did linger on from this date 507-506 B. C. to 481 B. C., when the quarrel was made up on the approaching invasion of the Persians. It was renewed in 459, and after a long siege Aegina submitted—456? In 431 the Aeginetans were expelled by the Athenians; see vi. 91. 6.

90. 2. πρῆγμα, 'hindrance,' 'trouble.'

4. τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων, κ.τ.λ. See *supr.*, c. 63.

SPARTA. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4.

πρὸς Ἀθηναίων. ἔτι^α τε πρὸς τούτοισι ἐνήγον σφεας οἱ
 χρησμοὶ λέγοντες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ἔσσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι¹⁰
 ἐξ Ἀθηναίων, τῶν πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν ἀδαέες, τότε δὲ
 Κλεομένεος κομίσαντος ἐς Σπάρτην ἐξέμαθον. ἐκτήσατο
 δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλιος τοὺς χρη-
 σμοὺς, τοὺς ἔκτηντο μὲν πρότερον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι,
 ἐξελαυνόμενοι δὲ ἔλιπον ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, καταλειφθέντας δὲ¹⁵
 91 ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνέλαβε. τότε δὲ ὡς ἀνέλαβον οἱ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι τοὺς χρησμοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὄρων
 ἀξιομένους καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐτοίμους ἔοντας πείθεσθαι
 σφίσι, νόφ λαβόντες ὡς ἐλεύθερον μὲν ἐν τὸ γένος τὸ
 Ἀττικὸν ἰσόρροπον ἂν^β τῷ ἑωυτῶν γίνοιτο, κατεχόμενον⁵
 δὲ ὑπὸ τυραννίδος ἀσθενὲς καὶ πειθαρχέεσθαι ἔτοιμον·
 μαθόντες δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα μετεπέμποντο Ἰππίην τὸν

^α ἔτι δὲ? Kriig.^β ἂν pos: ἰσόρροπον add. St.: ante γίνοιτο γ.

9. ἐνήγον, 'stimulated,' 'incited.'
 οἱ χρησμοί. Cf. *supr.* 43, where the
 oracles of Laius are quoted to the
 Spartan Dorians. In the same manner
 the Spartans have an oracle which
 speaks of the Medes and Athenians
 as likely to conquer Peloponnesus
 (viii. 141). For the use which the
 Peisistratids made of oracles, see vii.
 6, and *infra.* 93, where Hippias is
 said to have known the oracles more
 accurately than any one else. Oracles
 were a well-known means of in-
 fluencing the people in the Pelopon-
 nesian war: see esp. Aristoph.
Knights 1000 ff.

11. τῶν, i. e. χρησμῶν.

15. ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, see *supr.* 72. 16.

16. ἀνέλαβε, lit. 'recovered,' as
 if lost, or misplaced, because they
 referred to Sparta.

91. The Lacedaemonians had

no doubt hoped to establish an oli-
 garchy in Athens, and by this means
 to bring the city within the Pelo-
 ponnesian league. When the oli-
 garchy was impossible, they were
 willing to restore the tyranny, which,
 if maintained in power by them,
 would have been to some degree
 subservient. Along with this went
 the feeling—so strong among the
 Greeks—that a people when not self-
 governed were incapable of energy.
 Stein, on *supr.* 78 (quod vid.) quotes
 a striking passage from Hippocrates,
 περὶ ἀερ. 23 αἱ γὰρ ψυχὰι δεδούλων-
 ται καὶ οὐ βούλονται παρακινδυνεύειν
 ἐκίντες εἰκῆ ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίης δυνάμιος·
 ὅσοι δὲ αὐτόνομοι, ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῶν γὰρ
 τοὺς κινδύνους αἰρῶνται καὶ οὐκ ἄλ-
 λων, προθυμεύνται ἐκίντες καὶ ἐς τὸ
 δεῖνδν ἔρχονται· τὰ γὰρ ἀριστεῖα τῆς
 νίκης αὐτοὶ φέρονται.

SPARTA. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4.

Πεισιστράτου ἀπὸ Σιγείου τοῦ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ [ἐς δὲ
καταφεύγουσι οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι]^a. ἐπεῖτε δέ σφι Ἴππίης
10 καλέομενος ἦκε, μεταπεμφάμενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμ-
μάχων ἀγγέλους ἔλεγόν σφι Σπαρτιῆται τάδε. “ ἄνδρες
σύμμαχοι, συγγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρ-
θῶς· ἐπαερθέντες γὰρ κιβδήλοισι μανθίοισι ἄνδρας
ξείνους ἔοντας ἡμῖν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀναδεκομένους ὑπο-
15 χειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τούτους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος
ἐξηλάσαμεν, καὶ ἔπειτα ποιήσαντες ταῦτα δῆμῳ ἀχαρί-
στην παρεδώκαμεν τὴν πόλιν, ὃς ἐπεῖτε δι’ ἡμέας ἐλευ-
θερωθεὶς ἀνέκλυψε, ἡμέας μὲν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἡμέων
περυβρίσας ἐξέβαλε, δόξαν δὲ φύσας αὐξάνεται, ὥστε^b
20 ἐκμεμαθήκασι μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περίοικοι αὐτῶν Βοιω-
τοὶ καὶ Χαλκιδίεες, τάχα δέ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκμαθήσεται
ἀμαρτῶν. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐκεῖνα ποιήσαντες ἡμάρτομεν, νῦν
πειρησόμεθά σφεας^c ἅμα ὑμῖν ἀπικόμενοι τίσασθαι. αὐ-
τοῦ γὰρ τούτου εἵνεκεν τόνδε τε Ἴππῖν μετεπεμφάμεθα
25 καὶ ὑμέας ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν, ἵνα κοινῶ τε λόγῳ καὶ

^a ἐς δὲ . . . Πεισιστρατίδαι del. Wess.^b ὥσπερ? St.: ὡς γε Ab.^c σφεα Eltz: σφεας Libb.: ἀκεόμενοι sine τίσασθαι B² Γ (sv), Eltz.

14. ἀναδεκομένους, κ.τ.λ. We do not know of any such arrangement between the Peisistratidae and the Spartans. No doubt Isagoras and Cleomenes were quite at one in the matter.

19. περυβρίσας. Cf. *supr.* 74. 3. δόξαν φύσας, ‘having got a spirit,’ i. e. a high opinion of themselves: almost like the slang expression, ‘fancying themselves.’

20. With ἐκμεμαθήκασι supply ἀμαρτόντες. This is, it is true, against the facts, for the Boeotians and Chalcidians had not made such

a mistake as the Spartans, yet, as Krüger says, they had failed to see how dangerous Athens had become by the expulsion of her tyrants. Stein, however, would supply δόξαν φύσαντα αὐξάνεσθαι with ἐκμεμαθήκασι.

23. σφεας, κ.τ.λ. It is doubtful whether we should not read with B, *m. sec.*, ἀκεόμενοι for ἀπικόμενοι, omitting τίσασθαι. σφεας should then be changed into σφεα (‘these evils’) Eltz. So Krüger and Cobet.

24. τόνδε. Hippias being present in the assembly.

SPARTA. B.C. 505 f. ; Ol. 68. 4.

κοινῷ στόλῳ ἐσαγαγόντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδώ-
μεν τὰ καὶ ἀπειλόμεθα.”

- 92 Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐνεδέκετο τοὺς λόγους. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἡσυχίην ἤγον, (α) Κορίνθιος δὲ Σωκλῆς^α ἔλεξε τάδε. “ ἦ δὴ ὁ τε οὐρανὸς ἔσται ἐνερθε τῆς γῆς καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι νομὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ ἔξουσι καὶ ἰχθύες τὸν πρότερον ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἰσοκρατίας καταλύοντες τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις καταγειν⁵ παρασκευάζεσθε, τοῦ οὔτε ἀδικώτερόν ἐστι οὐδὲν κατ’ ἀνθρώπους οὔτε μαιφονώτερον. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε δοκέει ὑμῖν εἶναι χρηστὸν ὥστε τυραννεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις, αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τύραννον καταστησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσι

^α σωσικλῆς P r (sv) et infra.

92. a. i. Cf. Archilochus *Frag.* 51. P., who is speaking of an eclipse: Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ καὶ πιστὰ πάντα κάπλεπτα γίγνεται Ἀνδράσιν μηδεὶς ἔθ’ ὑμῶν εἰσορῶν θαυμαζέτω, Μηδ’ ὅταν δελφῖσι θῆρες ἀνταμείψανται νομὸν Ἐνάλιον καὶ σφιν θαλάσσης ἰχθύντα κύματα Φίλτερ’ ἠπίερον γένηται, τοῖσιν ἦδιον δ’ ὄρος. Also Eur. *El.* 720.

3. νομόν, ‘habitation.’

4. ἰσοκρατίας. The Corinthians, being themselves an oligarchy, would not use the word *δημοκρατίας*. And indeed few of the cities in the Peloponnesian confederacy would wish for anything beyond an *ισόνομος* ὀλιγαρχία. *ἰσοκρατία* implies equality of any kind, even of men and women; sec iv. 26. *ult.* The Spartans had the credit of being bitterly opposed to tyrants, not only in their own state—where the attempt to establish the royal prerogative was crushed at a very early time, cf. Arist. *Pol.* v.

12=1316 a 34 μεταβάλλει τυραννὶς εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν ὥσπερ ἡ Χαριλάου ἐν Λακεδαίμονι—but in the other cities also. Plut. *De mal. Herod.* 21 καίτοι πόλιν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις οὔτε φιλότιμον οὕτως, οὔτε μισοτύραννον ἴσμεν, ὡς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν γενομένην. As instances of tyrants expelled by them, he gives the Cypselids of Corinth and Ambracia, Lygdamis of Naxos, the Peisistratids of Athens, Aeschines of Sicyon, Symmachus of Thasos, Aulis of Phocis, Aristogenes of Miletus, and the two Thessalian princes whom Leotyichidas suppressed—Aristomedes and Angelus—but we have no details except in the case of the Peisistratids.

6. τοῦ οὔτε, κ.τ.λ. ‘Than which thing.’ See the famous description of tyranny in iii. So.

9. παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι, second person, cf. *sihr.* c. 20, 18 ἐωυτῶν (first person).

SPARTA. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 63. 4.

10 αὐτοῖσι οὕτω καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δίζησθε κατιστάναι· νῦν
 δὲ αὐτοὶ τυράννων ἄπειροι ἐόντες, καὶ φυλάσσοντες
 τοῦτο δεινότατα ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μὴ γενέσθαι, παραχρᾶ-
 σθε ἐς τοὺς συμμαχοὺς. εἰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμπειροι ἔατε κατὰ
 περ ἡμεῖς, εἴχετε ἂν περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώμας ἀμείνονας συμ-
 βαλέσθαι ἢ περ νῦν. Κορινθίοισι γὰρ ἦν πόλιος κατά- (β)
 στας τοιήδε. ἦν ὀλιγαρχίη, καὶ οὗτοι Βακχιάδαι κα-
 λεόμενοι ἔνεμον τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἤγοντο ἐξ
 ἀλλήλων. Ἀμφίονι δὲ ἐόντι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γίνε-
 5 ται θυγάτηρ χωλή· οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Λάβδα. ταύτην
 Βακχιάδων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἤθελε γῆμαι, ἴσχει Ἡετίων ὁ
 Ἐχεκράτεος, δῆμου μὲν ἐὼν ἐκ Πέτρης, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέ-

Story of
 Cypselus,
 tyrant of
 Corinth.

12. παραχρᾶσθε, 'you regard it as a light matter,' sc. that the cities should be governed by tyrants. Cf. Schwgh. Lex. s. v. ἐς, 'in regard to.'

14. συμβαλέσθαι, 'contribute.' Cf. viii. 61 πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι (cf. i. I. 13).

β. 2. ἦν ὀλιγαρχίη. For the early history of Corinth, see *Hist. of Greece*, i. 100, 344. At the Dorian conquest Aletes the Heraclid became king of the city, and the monarchy continued till the time of Telestes, 745 B. C. But owing to the eminence of Bacchis, the fifth king, the royal family were no longer called Heraclidae, but Bacchiadae. When the monarchy came to an end, a yearly Prytanis was chosen from the Bacchiadae, who, with a council of eighty members, governed the city. This oligarchy lasted ninety years, till 655 B. C. Strabo says of this family καὶ οἱ Βακχιάδαι τυραννήσαντες, πλούσιοι

καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ γένος λαμπροῦ, διακόσια ἔτη σχεδόν τι κατέσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον ἀδεῶς ἐκαρπώσαντο· τοῦτους δὲ Κίψελος καταλύσας αὐτοὺς ἐτυράννευσε, κ.τ.λ., p. 378.

3. ἐδίδοσαν for ἐξεδίδοσαν; cf. ii. 47, of the swine-herds in Egypt, οὐδέ σφι ἐκίδοσθαι θυγάτερα οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει οὐδ' ἀγεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν; Thuc. viii. 21, of the democrats at Samos, οὔτε ἐκδοῦναι οὐδ' ἀγαγέσθαι παρ' ἐκείνων οὐδ' ἐς ἐκείνους οὐδενί ἐστι τοῦ δήμου ἐξῆν.

7. Petra is perhaps to be placed to the south of Corinth, on the slopes of the Argive mountains; so Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* i. 685 a. δῆμου ἐκ Πέτρης. The formula is the same as that used in describing an Athenian, e.g. ix. 73 Σωφάνης ἐὼν δήμου Δεκελέθην, but we must not conclude that there was any arrangement of demes at Corinth like that at Athens. Petra was merely the place where Eetion (or Aetion in the Doric form; cf. *αιετός* below) lived.

SPARTA. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4.

καθεν Λαπίθης τε καὶ Καινείδης. ἐκ δέ οἱ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο. ἐστάλη ὦν ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ γόνου. ἐσιόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἰθέως ἡ Πυθίη 10
προσαγορεύει τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεισι.

Ἡετίων, οὔτις σε τίει πολύτιτον ἔοντα.

Λάβδα κύει, τέξει δ' ὀλοοίτροχον· ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται
ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι, δικαίῳσει δὲ Κόρινθον.

ταῦτα χρησθέντα τῷ Ἡετίωνι ἐξαγγέλλεται ὡς τοῖσι 15
Βακχιάδησι, τοῖσι τὸ μὲν πρότερον γενόμενον χρηστή-
ριον ἐς Κόρινθον ἦν ἄσημον, φέρου τε ἐς τὰντὸ καὶ τὸ
τοῦ Ἡετίωνος καὶ λέγον ὧδε.

αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρησι κύει, τέξει δὲ λέοντα
καρτερὸν ὠμηστήν· πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα λύσει. 20
ταυτά νυν εὖ φράζεσθε, Κορίνθιοι, οἱ περὶ καλήν
Πειρήνην οἰκεῖτε καὶ ὄφρυόντα Κόρινθον.

8. Λαπίθης καὶ Καινείδης. 'A Lapith and (among the Lapithae) a son of Caeneus.' Caeneus, the most famous of the Lapithae, was slain at the marriage of Peirithous, in Thesaly. How Ecton derived his race from him is not stated. According to Pausanias, the ancestor of the Cypselids was Melas, the son of Antasus, who, in spite of the warning of an oracle, was brought from his home at Gonoessa, near Sieyon, to Corinth by Alctes; see Duncker, *Hist. Graece* ii. 345 f.; Paus. ii. 4. 4; v. 18. 7, 8.

ἐκ δέ οἱ ταύτης, κ.τ.λ. 'He had no children by this or any other woman.' Cf. i. 215. 11 *σιδήρω δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρω χρίωνται οὐδέν*, ii. 52. 3 *ἐπωνυμίην δ' οὐδ' ὄνομα ἐποιεύντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν*. In these cases the negative is repeated; and a closer parallel

is furnished by Aristoph. *Birds* 694 *γῆ δ' οὐδ' ἀήρ οὐδ' οὐρανὸς ἦν*.

12. Ἡετίων . . . τίει, a play on words, as in *αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρησι* below.

13. ὀλοοίτροχον. Cf. viii. 52. 10 *προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν*.

14. δικαίῳσει. *δύο δηλοῖ τό τε κολάζειν, καὶ τὸ δίκαιον νομίζειν οὕτως Ἡρόδοτος*: Suidas, s. v. *δικαιοῦν*.

17. ἄσημον, 'conveyed no meaning,' like a piece of money without any stamp on it. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1209 *βοῆς ἄσημα*.

22. For Peirene, see Smith's *Dict. Geog.* i. 680. Corinth is called by Pindar the city of Peirene (*Ol.* xiii. 86). See also Baedeker's *Griechenland*, p. 241. ὄφρυόντα is a common epithet of Corinth derived from the situation of the city, which lay

SPARTA. B.C. 505; OI. 68. 4.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι πρότερον γενόμενον ἦν (γ)
 ἀτέκμαρτον· τότε δὲ τὸ Ἡετίωνι γενόμενον ὡς ἐπύθον-
 το, αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ πρότερον συνῆκαν ἐὼν συνωδὸν τῷ
 Ἡετίωνος. συνέντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίῃ, ἐθέ-
 5 λοντες τὸν μέλλοντα Ἡετίωνι γίνεσθαι γόνον διαφθεῖραι.
 ὡς δ' ἔτεκε ἡ γυνὴ τάχιστα, πέμπουσι σφέων αὐτῶν δέκα
 ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐν τῷ κατοίκητο ὁ Ἡετίων, ἀποκτενέου-
 τας τὸ παιδίον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὔτοι ἐς τὴν Πέτρην καὶ His escape
 παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν Ἡετίωνος αἴτεον τὸ παι- when a
 10 δίον· ἡ δὲ Λάβδα εἰδυῖά τε οὐδὲν τῶν εἵνεκα ἐκείνοι child.
 ἀπικοίατο, καὶ δοκέουσά σφεας φιλοφροσύνης τοῦ πα-
 τρὸς εἵνεκα αἰτέειν, φέρουσα ἐνεχείρισε αὐτῶν ἐνί. τοῖσι
 δὲ ἄρα ἐβεβούλευτο κατ' ὁδὸν τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν λα-
 βόντα τὸ παιδίον προσουδίσαι. ἐπεὶ ὦν ἔδωκε φέρουσα
 15 ἡ Λάβδα, τὸν λαβόντα τῶν ἀνδρῶν θείῃ τύχῃ προσ-
 εγέλασε τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸν φρασθέντα τοῦτο οἰκτός
 τις ἴσχει ἀποκτεῖναι, κατοικτεῖρας δὲ παραδιδοῖ τῷ δευ-
 τέρῳ, ὁ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ. οὔτω δὲ διεξήλθε διὰ πάντων
 τῶν δέκα παραδιδόμενον, οὐδενὸς βουλομένου διεργά-
 20 σασθαι. ἀποδόντες ὦν ὀπίσω τῇ τεκούσῃ τὸ παιδίον
 καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἔξω, ἐστεῶτες ἐπὶ τῶν θυρέων ἀλλήλων
 ἄπτοντο κατατιώμενοι καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πρώτου λα-
 βόντος, ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησε κατὰ τὰ δεδογμένα, ἐς ὃ δὴ
 σφι χρόνου ἐγγινομένου^a ἔδοξε αὐτῖς παρελθόντας πάν-

^a ἐγγενομένου St.

at the foot of the towering Acro-
 corinthus, on an elevated plateau.

γ. 14. προσουδίσαι, 'to dash to
 the ground.'

17. ἴσχει ἀποκτεῖναι, 'restrains
 from killing.'

18. διεξήλθε, sc. τὸ παιδίον. Νί-

colaus of Damascus, a contemporary
 of Augustus, has an account of
 Cypselus, which differs in some
 degree from that of Herodotus:
Frag. 58-60; see Appendix 9.

24. χρόνου ἐγγινομένου, 'after an
 interval.'

SPARTA. B. C. 505; Ol. 64. 4.

- (δ) τας τοῦ φόνου μετίσχειν. ἔδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἡετιώνος γόνου Κορίνθῳ κακὰ ἀναβλαστειν. ἡ Λάβδα γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα ἤκουε ἐστεῶσα πρὸς αὐτῆσι τῆσι θύρῃσι· δεισασα δὲ μή σφι μεταδόξη καὶ τὸ δεύτερον λαβόντες τὸ παιδίον ἀποκτείνωσι, φέρουσα κατακρύπτει ἐς τὸ ἀφρα-⁵στότατόν οἱ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἐς κυψέλην, ἐπισταμένη ὡς εἰ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐς ζήτησιν ἀπικνεοῖατο πάντα ἐρευνήσῃν μέλλοιεν· τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγίνετο. ἐλθοῦσι^α δὲ καὶ διζημένοισι αὐτοῖσι ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο, ἐδόκεε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποπέμψαντας ὡς πάντα ποιή-¹⁰σειαν τὰ ἐκείνοι ἐνετείλαντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα. Ἡετιῶνι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ παῖς ηὐξάνετο, καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντι τοῦτον τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τῆς κυψέλης ἐπωνυμίην Κύψελος οὖνομα ἐτέθη. ἀνδρωθέντι δὲ καὶ μαντευομένῳ Κυψέλω ἐγένετο ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστή-⁵ριον ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τῷ πίσυνος γενόμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ ἔσχε Κόρινθον. ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς ὅδε ἦν.

^α ἐσελθοῦσι Pr (sv), Cob.δ. 1. ἔδει. Cf. *supr.* c. 33.

5. ἐς τὸ ἀφραστότατον, i. e. ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἀφρ. 'into a place which, as she thought, they would never guess.'

ε. 3. ἀπὸ τῆς κυψέλης. The name Cypselus is found elsewhere—e.g. Cypselus, father of Miltiades, the coloniser of the Chersonese, vi. 35. 3: Cypsela, the name of a town in Areadia, Thue. 5. 33. The legend may very well have arisen out of the name, but however this may be, the Cypselids commemorated the incident by dedicating a large chest, supposed to be this chest at Olympia, which was one of the most famous works of art

in antiquity, and is described in full by Pausanias, v. 17-19. See *History of Greece*, vol. i. 386.

5. ἀμφιδέξιον, "'ambiguous," a word unknown to Attic prose; how far the oracle was ambiguous is not clear,' Krüger. 'Ambidexter, ambiguous,' Schwgh. Stein does not accept this. 'The oracle is clear and definite so far as concerned Cypselus and his son, and finds its fulfilment.' He considers that ἀμφιδέξιος should be taken in the sense 'doubly δεξιός,' and as δεξιός is used of happy omens, the ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον is a doubly favourable oracle.

SPARTA. B. C. 505; Ol. 68. 4.

ὄλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ δὲ ἔμὸν δόμον ἔσκαταβαίνει,
Κύψελος Ἡετίδης, βασιλεὺς κλειτοῖο Κορίνθου,
10 αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες, παίδων γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες.

Cypselus
becomes
tyrant,
655-625
B. C.

τὸ μὲν δὴ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἦν, τυραννέουσας δὲ ὁ Κύψελος τοιοῦτος δὴ τις ἦν ἀνὴρ· πολλοὺς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων ἀπεστέρησε, πολλῶ^a δέ τι πλείστους τῆς ψυχῆς. ἄρξαντος δὲ τούτου ἐπὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα καὶ διαπλέξαντος τὸν βίον εὖ, (ζ)
διάδοχος οἱ τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ παῖς Περίανδρος γίνεται. Periander the son of Cypselus.
625-585
B. C.

^a δέ τι Krüger: δ' ἔτι Pr (sv): δέ A B: πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους vel πλείνας Bekk., Van. H.

9. Ἡετίδης. Homer is sometimes compelled to use *Δευκαλίδης* for the 'son of Deucalion'; the termination *-ωνίδης* could not be brought into hexameter verse.

βασιλεὺς. So the oracle politely puts it, and Cypselus was at any rate a descendant of the old royal family.

10. παίδων γε μὲν, κ.τ.λ. The sons of which he died before him: see *History of Greece*, i. 389. Psammetichus, the son of his brother Gorgus, succeeded him, but only held the throne three years and some months; Arist. *Pol.* v. 12 = 1315 b 23.

11. τυραννέουσας. For the mode in which he acquired the tyranny, see Appendix 9 and cf. Arist. *Pol.* v. 10 = 1310 b 29 where Cypselus is classed with Peisistratus and Dionysius as having acquired his power ἐκ δημαγωγίας. Aristotle in another passage, v. 12 = 1315 b 27, speaks of him as δημαγωγός, and continuing throughout his reign without a body-guard.

14. πολλῶ δέ τι πλείστους. So Krüger suggested, and Stein supports the reading by iii. 116 πολλῶ τι πλείστους: iv. 33 πολλῶ δέ τι πλείστα. The MSS. read πολλῶ δ' ἔτι (or πολλῶ δέ) and Bekker and Cobet would retain this and substitute πλείνας for πλείστους. With πολλῶ τι cf. παντάπασί τι and Purves, *Sel. from Plato*, p. 384.

ζ. 2. τριήκοντα. The tyranny of the Cypselids lasted in all seventy-three years and six months. So Aristotle states in general terms, but his items do not agree: Κίψελος μὲν γὰρ ἐτυράννευσεν ἔτη τριάκοντα, Περίανδρος δὲ τετταράκοντα καὶ τέταρα (?), Ψαμμήτιχος δ' ὁ Γορδίου (Γόργου) τρία ἔτη, *Pol.* l. c.

διαπλέξαντος. Alcman, *Frag.* 13. P. ὕδ' ὄλβιος, ὅστις εὐφρων ἀμέραν διαπλέκει ἄκλαστος.

4. ἠπιώτερος, κ.τ.λ. That Periander was rendered more morose in the later years of his life by his misfortunes and disappointments is probable enough, but we need not

SPARTA. B. C. 505; OI. 68. 4.

πατρός, ἐπέιτε δὲ ὠμίλησε δι' ἀγγέλων Θρασυβούλῳ 5
 τῷ Μιλήτου τυράνῳ, πολλῶ ἔτι ἐγένετο Κυψέλου μαι-
 φονώτερος. πέμψας γὰρ παρὰ Θρασύβουλον κήρυκα
 ἐπυνθάνετο ὄντινα ἂν τρόπον ἀσφαλέστατον καταστησά-
 μενος τῶν πρηγμάτων κάλλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπέυει. 10
 Θρασύβουλος δὲ τὸν ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοῦ Περιάνδρου
 ἐξῆγε ἔξω τοῦ ἀστεος, ἐσβὰς δὲ ἐς ἄρουραν ἐσπαρμέ-
 νην ἅμα τε διεξήγε τὸ λήιον ἐπειρωτέων τε καὶ ἀναπο-
 δίζων τὸν κήρυκα κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἀπιξιν, καὶ
 ἐκόλουε αἰεὶ ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοι τῶν ἀσταχύων ὑπερέ-
 χοντα, κολουῶν δὲ ἔρριπτε, ἐς ὃ τοῦ λήιου τὸ κάλλι- 15
 στὸν τε καὶ βαθύτατον διέφθειρε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· διεξ-
 ελθὼν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὑποθέμενος ἔπος οὐδὲν ἀπο-
 πέμπει τὸν κήρυκα. νοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐς
 τὴν Κόρινθον ἦν πρόθυμος πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ὑποθήκην
 ὁ Περιάνδρος· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ ἔφη Θρασύβουλον ὑποθέ- 20
 σθαι, θωμάζειν τε αὐτοῦ παρ' οἷόν μιν ἄνδρα ἀπο-

Periander
 and
 Thrasy-
 bulus.

ascribe the change to the influence of Thrasybulus.

5. Θρασυβούλῳ. See i. 20 ff. In Arist. *Pol.* iii. 13 = 1284 b 26 the story is reversed: τοὺς ψέγοντας τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὴν Περιάνδρου Θρασυβούλῳ συμβουλίαν οὐχ ἀπλῶς οἰητέον ὀρθῶς ἐπιτιμᾶν. φασὶ γὰρ τὸν Περιάνδρον εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν πεμφθέντα κήρυκα περὶ τῆς συμβουλίας, ἀφαιρούμενα δὲ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν σταχύων ἑμαλύναι τὴν ἄρουραν ὕθην ἀγνοοῦντος μὲν τοῦ κήρυκος τοῦ γινομένου τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀπαγγέλαντος δὲ τὸ συμπεσόν, συννοῆσαι τὸν Θρασύβουλον ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας ἄνδρας ἀναεῖν. Cf. *ib.* v. 10 = 1311 a. 20. Aristotle goes on to observe that oligarchies and democracies have done the same. In Livy i. 54,

the story is told of Tarquinius Superbus and his son Sextus.

12. ἀναποδίζων, lit. 'checking him in his progress.' 'Going back to the subject with.' 'Repctere jubens praeconem causam cur ad se Corintho advenisset.' Schwgh. So Aeschin. *In Ctes.* § 192 πολλάκις ἀνεπόδιζον τὸν γραμματέα καὶ ἐκέλευον πάλιν ἀναγιγνώσκειν τοὺς λόμους. κατὰ is 'with reference to.'

16. βαθύτατον. It is a little doubtful whether βαθύτατον means 'tallest,' which suits the context, and may be supported by τὸ βάθος τῶν τριχῶν, *supr.* c. 9, or 'richest,' 'most abundant': cf. Homer, *Oid.* ix. 134 μάλα βαθὺ λήιον, and the expression πλούτου βάθος.

21, 22. αὐτοῦ = Periander: μιν =

SPARTA B. C. 505 f. ; Ol. 68. 4.

πέμψει, ὡς παραπλήγᾳ τε καὶ τῶν ἑωυτοῦ σινάμωνρον, ἀπηγεόμενος τὰ περ πρὸς Θρασυβούλου ὀπώπее. Πε- (η) ριάνδρος δὲ συνιείς τὸ ποιηθὲν καὶ νόῳ ἴσχωρ ὡς οἱ ὑπετίθετο Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ὑπειρόχους τῶν ἀστῶν φονεύειν, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐξέφαινε ἐς τοὺς 5 πολίτας. ὅσα γὰρ Κύψελος ἀπέλιπε κτείνων τε καὶ διώκων, Περίανδρός σφρα ἀπετέλεσε, μῆ δὲ ἡμέρη ἀπέδυσσε πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας διὰ τὴν ἑω- τοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν. πέμψαντι γάρ οἱ ἐς Θεσπρω- τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμὸν ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὸ νεκρομαν- 10 τήιον παρακαταθήκης πέρι ξεινικῆς οὔτε σημανείην ἔφη ἢ Μέλισσα ἐπιφανείσα οὔτε κατερέειν ἐν τῷ κέεται χώ- ρῳ ἢ παρακαταθήκη· ρίγουν τε γὰρ καὶ εἶναι γυμνή· τῶν γάρ οἱ συγκατέθαψε ἱματίων^a ὄφελος εἶναι οὐδὲν οὐ κατακαυθέντων· μαρτύριον δέ οἱ εἶναι ὡς ἀληθέα

Periander and Melissa.

^a εἰμάτων Pr (sv), Cob., Van H.

the cnvoy. σινάμωνρον, 'waster.' Cf. i. 152. 15 τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, viii. 35. 4. In Attic the words have a different meaning: Aristoph. *Clouds*, 1070 γυνὴ σιναμωρουμένη, with the Schol.

η. 1. τὰ πρὸς Θρασυβούλου ὀπώπее, 'what he had seen (done) by Thrasybulus.'

8. Μέλισσαν. Cf. iii. 50. According to Diog. Laert. i. 7. 1, her real name was Lyside, and the name Melissa was given to her by Periander. It was not uncommon: see Pape, *Lex. of Proper names*.

9. ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμόν. Strabo, p. 324 ἔπειτα ἄκρα Χειμέριον καὶ Γλυκὸς λιμὴν, εἰς ὃν ἐμβάλλει ὁ Ἀχέρον ποταμός, βέων ἐκ τῆς Ἀχερουσίας λίμνης. Leake, *Northern Greece*, i. 241 describes the valley

of the Acheron as 'one of the darkest and deepest of the glens of Greece.' Paus. i. 17. 5 πρὸς δὲ τῇ Κιχύρῳ λίμνῃ τέ ἐστιν Ἀχερουσία καλουμένη καὶ ποταμὸς Ἀχέρων, βεὶ δὲ καὶ Κωκυτὸς ὕδωρ ἀτερπέστατον. Ὁμηρὸς τέ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα ἑωρακὸς ἐς τε τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν ἀποτολμῆσαι τῶν ἐν ἄδου καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Θεσπρωτίδι θέσθαι. Cf. *History of Greece*, i. 10.

νεκρομαντήιον. For oracles of the dead, see Schömann, *All.* ii. 1. 340. We hear of one at Heraclea on the Pontus, which was visited by Pausanias on his expulsion from Byzantium, Plutarch, *Cim.* 6.

14. οὐ κατακαυθέντων. Cf. *Il.* xxii. 510 f. of Hector, εὐλαὶ ἔδονται γυμνὸν ἄταρ τοι εἶματ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι κέονται λεπτά τε καὶ χαρίεντα τε-

SPARTA. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4.

ταῦτα λέγει, ὅτι ἐπὶ ψυχρὸν τὸν ἵπνον Περειάνδρος τοὺς¹⁵
 ἄρτους ἐπέβαλε. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ
 Περειάνδρῳ, (πιστὸν γάρ οἱ ἦν τὸ συμβόλαιον, ὃς νε-
 κρῶ ἐούση Μελίσση ἐμίγη), ἰθέως δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἀγγε-
 λίην κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο ἐς τὸ Ἑραῖον ἐξιέναι πάσας²⁰
 τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας. αἱ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἐς ὄρτην ἦσαν
 κόσμῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ χρεώμεναι, ὁ δ' ὑποστήσας τοὺς
 δορυφόρους ἀπέδυσέ σφεας πάσας ὁμοίως, τὰς τε ἔλευ-
 θέρας καὶ τὰς ἀμφιπόλους, συμφορήσας δὲ ἐς ὄρυγμα
 Μελίσση ἐπευχόμενος κατέκαιε. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ποιήσαντι
 καὶ τὸ δεύτερον πέμψαντι ἔφρασε τὸ εἶδωλον τὸ Με-²⁵
 λίσσης ἐς τὸν κατέθηκε χῶρον τοῦ ξείνου τὴν παρακα-
 ταθήκην. τοιοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ ἡ τυραννίς, ᾧ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι, καὶ τοιούτων ἔργων. ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς Κοριν-
 θίους τότε^a αὐτίκα θῶμα μέγα εἶχε ὅτε ὑμέας εἶδομεν
 μεταπεμπομένους Ἰππίην, νῦν τε δὴ καὶ μεζόνως θω-³⁰
 μάζομεν λέγοντας ταῦτα, ἐπιμαρτυρόμεθά τε ἐπικαλέο-
 μενοι ὑμῖν θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνίους μὴ κατιστάναι τυ-

The Corin-
 thians
 will not
 restore a
 tyrant.

^a τὸ τε Bekk.

τυγμένα χερσὶ γυναϊκῶν· ἀλλ' ἦ τοι
 τάδε πάντα καταφλέξω πυρὶ κηλέφ,
 οὐδὲν σοί γ' ὄφελος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐγκεί-
 σσαι αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Τρώων καὶ
 Τρωιάδων κλέος εἶναι. In Homer
 the clothes even though burned are
 of no use to Hector, because he is
 not folded in them. See Van Her-
 werden, *Alueos*. xiii. p. 136.

17. πιστόν, κ.τ.λ. According to
 another story the mother of Peri-
 ander hanged herself owing to her
 incestuous passion for her son. Plut.
Sep. Sap. Coniuv. 2.

19. ἐς τὸ Ἑραῖον ἐξιέναι. Cf.
 Xen. *Hell.* iv. 5. 5; Smith, *Dict.*

Geogr. i. 685 b. The Heraeum lay
 at some distance from the city on
 the headland opposite Sicyon, and
 commanding the entrance to the
 bay of Lechaem. [But can this be
 meant, and not rather the temple
 mentioned by Pausanias, ii. 4. 7, on
 the slope of Acro-Corinthus, at the
 west end of the city?]

23. ἐς ὄρυγμα. As offerings to
 the dead, see the scene in Hom. *Od.*
 xi. 25 βόθρον ὄρυξ' ὕσσον τε πυγού-
 σιον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, ἀμφ' αὐτῷ δὲ
 χοὴν χερόμην πᾶσιν νεκύεσσιν. Cf.
 Schömann, *l. c.* ii. 247.

32. θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνίους. Cf.

ATHENS. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4

ραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις. οὐκὼν παύσεσθε ἀλλὰ πειρήσεσθε παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον κατὰγοντες Ἰππίην^a ἵστε ὑμῖν 35 Κορινθίους γε οὐ συναινέοντας.”

Σωκλῆς μὲν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου πρεσβεύων ἔλεξε τάδε, 93
 Ἰππίης δὲ αὐτὸν ἀμείβετο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσας θεοὺς
 ἐκείνω, ἧ μὲν Κορινθίους μάλιστα πάντων ἐπιποθήσειν
 Πεισιστρατίδας, ὅταν σφι ἦκωσι ἡμέραι αἱ κύριαι ἀνιᾶ-
 5 σθαι ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων. Ἰππίης μὲν τούτοισι ἀμείψατο
 οἶα τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἀτρεκέστατα ἀνδρῶν ἐξεπιστάμενος·
 οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τέως μὲν εἶχον ἐν ἡσυ-
 χίῃ σφέας αὐτούς, ἐπείτε δὲ Σωκλέος ἤκουσαν εἶπαν-
 10 τοῦ Κορινθίου τὴν γνώμην, Λακεδαιμονίοισι τε ἐπεμαρ-
 τυρέοντο μὴ ποιέειν μηδὲν νεώτερον περὶ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα^b.

^a Ἰππίην; Krüg.^b Ἑλληνίδα Pr (sv), Cob.

supr. 49, ix. 7. 12, and viii. 144. 15, Aristoph. *Knights*, 1253 Ἑλλάνιε Ζεῦ, σὸν τὸ νικητήριον, when Cleon is defeated by the sausage-seller. Some of the worst iniquities of Pericles are not mentioned, cf. iii. 48. The speaker confines himself to those actions by which the inhabitants of Corinth suffered.

33. οὐκὼν . . Ἰππίην ἵστε, κ.τ.λ. Cf. iv. 118. 10 οὐκὼν ποιήσετε ταῦτα ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι ἢ ἐκλείψομεν τὴν χώραν, κ.τ.λ. : i. 11, 59. What we should place in a hypothetical clause, ‘if you will not,’ etc., is here placed in an independent clause. Krüger softens the asyndeton by reading the clause as a question; but see Gaisford’s note on i. 11. 17 Voculam οὐκὼν ita usurpat Herodotus in sententia bimembri, ut alterum membrum sine conjunctione

subjiciat, ad quod proprie spectat ἔν, quum negatio ad prius referenda sit.

93. 4. ἀνιᾶσθαι. At this time the Corinthians were on excellent terms with the Athenians (see vi. 89 φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα), and we find them attempting to put an end to the quarrel between Boeotia and Athens (vi. 108). Afterwards the feeling changed: Themistocles and Adeimantus are bitter enemies in 480; at a later time the reception of the Megarians by the Athenians led to a most violent hatred (Thuc. i. 103). After the conclusion of the thirty years’ peace Corinth supported Athens in her treatment of Samos, but this may have been due to hatred of the Samians rather than friendship to Athens. Then followed the affairs of Epidamnus and Potidaea, which added fuel to the fire.

ATHENS. B. C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4

94 Οὕτω μὲν ταῦτα ἐπαύσθη. Ἰππὴν δὲ ἐνθευτεν ἀπε-
 λαυνομένῳ ἐδίδου μὲν Ἀμύντης ὁ Μακεδόνων^α βασιλεὺς
 Ἀνθεμοῦντα, ἐδίδουσαν δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ Ἴωλκόν. ὁ δὲ τούτων
 μὲν οὐδέτερα αἰρέετο, ἀνεχώρει δὲ ὀπίσω ἐς Σίγειον, τὸ
 εἶλε Πεισίστρατος αἰχμῆ παρὰ Μυτιληναίων, κρατήσας⁵
 δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέστησε τύραννον εἶναι παῖδα [τὸν]^β ἑωυτοῦ
 νόθον Ἠγησίστρατον, γεγονότα ἐξ Ἀργείης γυναικός.

^α ὁ Μακεδάν γ (sv), Cob.^β τὸν secl. St.

94. 2. Ἀμύντης. See *supr.* 18 f. Anthemus lay near Mygdonia, which Amyntas had taken from the Edonians. Leake, *N. Greece*, iii. 450 'As Thucydides shows the territory of Anthemus to have bordered upon Bisaltia, Crestonia, and Mygdonia, there seems no situation in which it can be placed but to the south-east of Crestonia.' Thuc. ii. 99. 100. We have no other evidence of a connection between the Peisistratidae and the Macedonians, but we know that Peisistratus had possessions on the Theraic gulf, which may have induced Amyntas to make the offer (*supr.* 63. 14).

3. Θεσσαλοί. See *supr.* 63. 14. Iolcus was in the extreme south of Thessaly, and suitable for a maritime power.

4. Σίγειον, τὸ εἶλε Πεισίστρατος, κ.τ.λ. For the chronological difficulties in which Herodotus involves himself, see Appendix II, 'On the chronology of the sixth century.' It is difficult to understand how Peisistratus can have taken the lead in a war which was brought to an end before the death of Periander in 585 B. C., for Peisistratus died in 527, fifty-eight years after Periander.

There is of course no doubt that the Athenians and the Mytilenaeans were at war at the beginning of the sixth century, but Peisistratus had probably as little to do with this war as with the war about Salamis before the archonship of Solon. The Athenian commander on this occasion was Phrynon, who was slain in single combat by Pittacus; see Strabo, p. 599 f. τούτο δὲ (sc. τὸ Σίγειον) κατέσχον μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, Φρύνωνα τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκην πέμψαντες, Λεσβίων ἐπιδικαζομένων σχεδόν τι τῆς συμπάσης Τρωάδος . . . Πιττακὸς δ' ὁ Μυτιληναῖος, εἰς τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν λεγομένων, πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Φρύνωνα στρατηγὸν διεπολέμει τέως, διατιθεὶς καὶ πάσχων κακῶς—(Alcaeus now lost his shield)—ὕστερον δ' ἐκ μονομαχίας, προκαλεσαμένου τοῦ Φρύνωτος, ἀλιεντικὴν ἀναλαβὼν σκευὴν συνέδραμε (quasi retiarius), καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀμφιβλήστρω περίεβαλε, τῇ τριάτῃ δὲ καὶ τῷ ξιφιδίῳ ἔπειρε καὶ ἀνείλε. The war went on till Periander was chosen by both sides to arbitrate.

7. νόθον, because the son of an Argive mother, Timonassa. The word does not exclude marriage between the parents (though it may

Hippias
retires to
Sigeum :
the con-
quest of
Sigeum.

ATHENS. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4.

ὅς οὐκ ἀμαχητὶ εἶχε τὰ παρέλαβε παρὰ Πεισιστράτου ἐπολέμεον γὰρ ἔκ τε Ἀχιλλείου πόλιος ὀρμώμενοι καὶ Σιγείου ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν Μυτιληναῖοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ μὲν ἀπαιτέοντες τὴν χώραν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὔτε συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποδεικνύντες τε λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Αἰολεῦσι μετεὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρας ἢ οὐ καὶ

mean this), but it implies that the mother was not an Athenian. Yet it is difficult to understand why *nóthos* in this sense should be applied to a son of Peisistratus, if born in wedlock, for it is never used of Cleisthenes or of any of the descendants of Megacles and Agariste of Sicyon (vi. 130); or of Cimon the son of Miltiades and the Thracian Hegesipyle. The account in Arist. *Athen. Pol.* c. 17 is confused: ἦσαν δὲ παῖδες δύο μὲν ἐκ τῆς γαμετῆς, Ἰππίας καὶ Ἰππαρχος, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείας, Ἰοφῶν καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος, ᾧ παρανόμιον ἦν Θέτταλος. ἔγημεν γὰρ Πεισίστρατος ἐξ Ἀργούς ἀνδρὸς Ἀργείου θυγάτερα, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Γοργίλος, Τιμώνασσαν, ἣν πρότερον ἔσχεν γυναῖκα Ἀρχίνος, κ.τ.λ. ὕθεν καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀργείους ἐνέστη φιλία. There seems on the one hand a contrast between the *γαμετή* and the Argive woman; yet *ἔγημεν* is the word used of the union with the Argive, and without a marriage the connection would hardly have led to an alliance with Argos.

9. ἔκ τε Ἀχιλλείου, κ.τ.λ. The Achilleum was the fortress of the Mytilenaeans, Sigeum the Athenian base of operations. Strabo, *l. c.*, says Ἀρχαίανακτα γοῦν φασὶ τὸν Μυτιληναῖον ἐκ τῶν ἐκείθεν λίθων (the stones of Ilium) τὸ Σίγειον

τειχίσαι . . . Τίμαιον δὲ ψεύσασθαι φησιν ὁ Δημήτριος (of Scepsis) ἱστοροῦντα ἐκ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἐξ Ἰλίου Περιάνδρον ἐπιτειχίσαι τὸ Ἀχιλλεῖον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, βοηθοῦντα τοῖς περὶ Πιττακὸν ἐπιτειχισθῆναι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Μυτιληναίων τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῷ Σιγείῳ. οὐ μὴν ἐκ λίθων τοιούτων οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Περιάνδρου . . . Ἀχιλλεῖον δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ Ἀχιλλέως μῆμα, κατοικία μικρά.

11. ἀπαιτέοντες. The region was occupied with Lesbian colonies, but nevertheless the Athenians claimed the Troad. Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 397. After the revolt of Lesbos in 427 B. C. the Athenians took away the cities in the Troad from the island, Thuc. iii. 50 παρέλαβον δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλιστα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅσων Μυτιληναῖοι ἐκράτουν, καὶ ὑπήκουον ὕστερον Ἀθηναίων. Cf. *ib.* iv. 52; Herod. i. 151.

12. οὔτε συγγινωσκόμενοι . . . τε, 'not acknowledging their claim, but.' Λόγῳ by arguments, deduced from the Homeric poems, such as were employed to prove that Salamis belonged to Athens.

13. μᾶλλον . . . ἢ οὐ: cf. iv. 118 ἡκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας vii. 16. γ; Thuc. ii. 62. 3; iii. 36 κτείνειν τοὺς πάντας μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους,

ATHENS. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4.

- σφίσι καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι, ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο^a
- 95 Μενέλεω τὰς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὰς. πολεμούντων δέ σφεων παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἐν τῆσι μάχησι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητῆς συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ νικούντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, τὰ δὲ οἱ ὄπλα ἴσχυοσι Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σφεα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ 5 Ἀθήναιον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ. ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλει ποιήσας ἐπιτιθεῖ ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ ἑωυτοῦ πάθος Μελανίπῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐταίρῳ. Μυτιληναίους δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους κατήλλαξε Περιάνδρος ὁ Κυψέλου τούτῳ γὰρ διαιτητῇ ἐπετράποντο· κατήλλαξε δὲ ὧδε, 10
- 96 νέμεσθαι ἑκατέρους τὴν ἔχουσι. Σίγειον μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι. Ἴππίης δὲ ἐπέιτε ἀπίκετο ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, πᾶν χρῆμα ἐκίνεε, διαβάλλων τοὺς τε Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα καὶ ποιέων ἅπαντα ὅκως αἱ Ἀθηναίαι γενοίαιτο ὑπ' ἑω- 5 τῷ τε καὶ Δαρείῳ· Ἴππίης τε δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσε, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα πέμπουσι ἐς Σάρδις ἀγγέλους, οὐκ ἔωντες τοὺς Πέρσας πείθεσθαι Ἀθηναίων

^a συνεπρήξαντο? Krüg., Cob., Van H.

a remarkable instance owing to the absence of any preceding οὐ. The negative appears to be merely redundant.

95. 4. φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, 'escaped by flight,' Aristoph. *Achar.* 177 δὲ γὰρ με φεύγοντ' ἐκφυγεῖν Ἀχαρνέας.

7. ἐπιτιθεῖ, 'sends,' cf. iii. 42. *ult.* γράψας δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε. Cf. Strabo, p. 600, λέγει δὲ (Alcaeus) πρὸς τινὰ κήρυκα, κελεύσας ἀγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἐν οἴκῳ Ἀλκαῖος σὸς Ἄρει ἐντεα δ' οὐχὶ τὰν ἀλέκτοριν ἐς Γλαυκαποῦ ἱερὸν ἀνεκρέμασαν Ἀττικοί.

96. 1. Σίγειον, κ.τ.λ. This was

true of the first conquest; but there must have been a second conquest later in the sixth century (about 530 B.C.), when Peisistratus established his son there, perhaps after the conquest of the Lesbians by Polycrates, iii. 39.

4. διαβάλλων . . . πρὸς, 'setting Artaphernes against'; 'maligning them to.'

8. οὐκ ἔωντες, 'wishing to prevent.' Hippias was quite willing to subjugate Athens to Persia if he could recover his place as tyrant: cf. *supr.* 91. 14.

ATHENS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

τοῖσι φυγάσι. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ἐκέλευέ σφεας, εἰ βου-
 10 λοίατο σόοι εἶναι, καταδέκεσθαι ὀπίσω Ἴππῖην. οὐκων
 δὴ ἐνεδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους ἀποφερομένους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.
 οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοισι δέ σφι ἐδέδοκτο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖσι
 Πέρσησι πολεμίους εἶναι.

Νομίζουσι δὴ ταῦτα καὶ διαβεβλημένοισι ἐς τοὺς 97
 Πέρσας, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ καιρῷ ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἀριστα-
 γόρης ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου ἐξελασθεὶς ἐκ
 τῆς Σπάρτης ἀπῆκετο ἐς Ἀθήνας· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν
 5 λοιπέων ἐδυνάστευε μέγιστον. ἐπελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον
 ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ταῦτα^a ἔλεγε τὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ περὶ
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Περσι-
 κοῦ, ὡς οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι εὐπετέες τε
 χειρωθῆναι εἴησαν. ταῦτά τε δὴ ἔλεγε καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι
 10 τάδε, ὡς οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶ ἄποικοι, καὶ
 οἰκός σφεας εἴη ρύεσθαι δυναμένους μέγα· καὶ οὐδὲν
 ὅ τι οὐκ ὑπίσχετο οἶα κάρτα δεόμενος, ἐς ὃ ἀνέπεισέ
 σφεας. πολλοὺς γὰρ οἴκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν
 ἢ ἕνα, εἰ Κλεομένεα μὲν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον μόνον
 15 οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας Ἀθη-

ARISTA-
 GORAS AT
 ATHENS
 (cf. c. 55):
 he obtains
 twenty
 ships.

^a ταῦτα Schwgh.: ταῦτα Libb.

97. We naturally gather from the context that the embassy had been sent not long before the arrival of Aristagoras, i. e. not long before 500 B.C. Artaphernes had been satrap of Sardis since 515 B.C.

5. ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον, 'before the public assembly.' Compare the scene at the beginning of the *Acharnians*, where the King's Eye is introduced to the assembly.

7. τοῦ πολέμου. Cf. *supr.* 49. 15 ἡ μάχη, and note.

8. οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομί-

ζουσι, i. e. have neither the heavy shield nor the long spear of the Greeks; only γέρρα and ἀκόντια. νομίζειν is used in the sense of νομίζειν θεούς, etc. The shield and spear were given to each citizen, at Athens, by the state, and were consequently of uniform size and length.

10. καὶ οἰκός . . . μέγα. σφεας refers to the Milesians, δυναμένους to the Athenians.

15. τρεῖς μυριάδας. Cf. viii. 65. 7. Aristoph. *Ecc.* 1132 πολιτῶν

ATHENS. B. C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

ναίων ἐποίησε τοῦτο. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δὴ ἀναπεισθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο εἴκοσι νέας ἀποστεῖλαι βοηθοὺς Ἴωσι, στρατηγὸν ἀποδέξαντες αὐτῶν εἶναι Μελάνθιον ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν ἔοντα τὰ πάντα δόκιμον· αὐται δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν^a ἐγένοντο Ἑλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροισι.

20

98 Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ προπλώσας καὶ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ἐξευρῶν βούλευμα ἀπ' οὗ Ἴωσι μὲν οὐδεμία ἔμελλε ὠφελίῃ ἔσσεσθαι, οὐδ' ὧν οὐδὲ τούτου εἴνεκα ἐποίηε, ἀλλ' ὅκως βασιλέα Δαρείον λυπήσειε, ἔπεμψε ἐς τὴν Φρυγίην ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοὺς Παίονας τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος⁵ ποταμοῦ αἰχμαλώτους γενομένους ὑπὸ Μεγαβάξου, οἰκέοντας δὲ τῆς Φρυγίης χῶρόν τε καὶ κώμην ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε τάδε. “ ἄνδρες Παίονες, ἔπεμψέ με Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος σωτηρίην ὑποθησόμενον ὑμῖν, ἣν περ βούλησθε πεί-¹⁰θεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ Ἰωνίη πᾶσα ἀπέστηκε ἀπὸ βασιλέος,

^a ἀρχαὶ κακῶν Fr (sv): ἀρχέκακοι Cob., Van H.

πλείον ἢ τρισμυρίων ἄντων τὸ πλῆθος. The force which went out to Marathon was not more than 10,000 at the utmost—if so many. But the assembly included the Thetes who did not serve as heavy-armed. The poorer citizens were no doubt by far the larger mass of the population. Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* c. 24 speaks of more than 20,000 as subsisting on state pay in one form or another, and Aristoph. *Wasps*, 708, proposes this number for billeting on the subject cities—though, *l. c.*, he puts the whole population at somewhat more than 30,000. The heavy-armed of the ordinary military age at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war were 13,000; the old and young

with the metoeci made up 16,000 more, giving a total of 29,000 *with the metoeci*—not to mention the horse.

19. ἀρχὴ κακῶν. Plut. *De mal. Her.* 24 ἀρχεκάκους τολμήσας προσεπειν, ὅτι τοσαύτας πόλεις καὶ τηλικαύτας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλευθεροῦν ἐπεχείρησαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων. But this was not the view of the Ionians: cf. vi. 3. And though we cannot say that the Persians would not have invaded Greece without this provocation, they were glad to have the excuse. For the expression cf. Thuc. ii. 12 ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἑλλησι μεγάλην κακῶν ἀρξεί.

98. 6. ὑπὸ Μεγαβάξου, *supr.* c. 15.

The Paeonians (c. 15) return to Europe.

MILETUS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

καὶ ὑμῖν παρέχει σώζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέρεην αὐτῶν,
 μέχρι μὲν θαλάσσης αὐτοῖσι ὑμῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου
 ἡμῖν ἤδη μελήσει." ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Παῖονες
 15 κάρτα τε ἀσπαστὸν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες παῖδας
 καὶ γυναικάς ἀπεδίδρυσκον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ τινες
 αὐτῶν καὶ κατέμειναν ἀρρωδήσαντες αὐτοῦ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ
 οἱ Παῖονες ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐς Χίον
 διέβησαν. ἐόντων δὲ ἤδη ἐν Χίῳ, κατὰ πόδας ἐληλύθει
 20 Περσέων ἵππος πολλὴ διώκουσα τοὺς Παῖονας. ὡς
 δὲ οὐ κατέλαβον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἐς τὴν Χίον τοῖσι Παῖοσι
 ὅπως ἂν ὀπίσω ἀπέλθοιεν. οἱ δὲ Παῖονες τοὺς λόγους
 οὐκ ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ Χίου μὲν Χιῶι σφεας ἐς Λέσβον
 ἤγαγον, Λέσβιοι δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον ἐκόμισαν, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ
 25 περὶ κομιζόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Παιονίην.

Ἄρισταγόρης δέ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπίκοντο
 εἴκοσι νηυσί, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι Ἐρετριέων πέντε τριήρας,
 οἱ οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν ἐστρατεύοντο ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐ-
 τῶν Μιλησίων, ὀφειλόμενά σφι ἀποδιδόντες· οἱ γὰρ
 5 δὴ Μιλήσιοι πρότερον τοῖσι Ἐρετριεῦσι τὸν πρὸς Χαλ-

99

The Eretrians send five ships to aid Miletus.

12. παρέχει intrans. If a colon is placed at αὐτῶν the text contains a rather awkward asyndeton. Better to place a comma with Krüger and Bekker, and make αὐτοῖσι ὑμῖν the dative after παρέχει.

21. ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἐς τὴν Χίον. The Persians having no ships at hand could not do more than send orders to Chios. In what follows we have ὅπως and optative instead of the usual infinitive (i. 77. 12; iv. 200. 3), and ἂν added to the optative, as in a modified final sentence.

24. Δορίσκον. It is difficult to

understand why Doriscus should be chosen. It was not near the Strymon, which was the home of the Paeonians, and it was moreover the place which Darius had selected to occupy with Persian troops.

99. 3. τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν. As a rule the article is not used with χάρις (in the adverbial sense), except with the possessive pronouns, e.g. τὴν σὴν χάριν.

5. τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδίας πόλεμον. For an account of this war see Duncker, *G. Hist.* ii. 165. 200; Thuc. i. 15 μάλιστα δὲ ἐς τὸν πάλαι ποτὲ

SARDIS. B.C. 499; Ol. 70. 3.

κιδέας πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν, ὅτε περ καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι ἀντία Ἐρετριῶν καὶ Μιλησίων Σάμιοι ἐβοήθειον· οὗτοι ὧν ἐπέιτε σφι ἀπίκοντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι παρήσαν, ἐποιέετο στρατηγὴν ὁ Ἄρισταγόρης ἐς Σάρδις. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο ἀλλ' ἔμενε ἐν Μιλήτῳ,¹⁰ στρατηγὸς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέδεξε Μιλησίων εἶναι, τὸν ἑωυτοῦ τε ἀδελφεὸν Χαροπῖνον καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν ἄλλον^a

100 Ἐρμόφαντον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ Ἴωνες ἐς Ἐφεσον πλοῖα μὲν κατέλιπον ἐν Κορησῶ τῆς Ἐφεσίης, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνέβαινον χειρὶ πολλῇ, ποιεύμενοι Ἐφεσίους ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ. πορευόμενοι δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν Καῦστριον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπέιτε ὑπερβάντες τὸν Τμῶλον ἀπὶ-
5 κοντο, αἰρέουσι Σάρδις οὐδενός σφι ἀντιθέντος, αἰ-

^a ἀστῶν ἄλλον A B C: ἄλλων ἀστῶν, cett.

γενόμενον πόλεμον Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ἐρετριῶν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐκατέρων διέστη. Strabo, p. 448 τὸ μὲν οὖν πλεόν ἁμολόγουν ἀλλήλαις αἱ πόλεις αὗται, περὶ δὲ Ληλάντου διενεχθεῖσαι οὐδ' οὕτω τελέως ἐπαύσαντο, ὥστε τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ αὐθάδειαν δρᾶν ἕκαστα, ἀλλὰ συνέθεντο, ἐφ' οἷς συστήσονται τὸν ἀγῶνα. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ Ἄμαρυνθίῳ στήλῃ τις, φράζουσα μὴ χρῆσθαι τηλεβόλοις. The Chalcidians were in the end victorious. That Samos and Miletus took opposite sides, was probably due to trade jealousies. About this time (? end of the seventh century) the Chalcidic cities of Euboea would form a channel through which the Greeks of the East could trade with the West.

100. 2. ἐν Κορησῶ. Coresus was a hill about five miles from Ephesus

on the south bank of the Cayster and near the mouth. Down to the time of Croesus the Ephesians seem to have chiefly lived in the neighbourhood of this mountain. The town at the foot was regarded at a later time as part of Ephesus. As Ephesus did not share in the revolt, we may suppose that the object of the expedition was concealed with as much care as possible from the Ephesian authorities. For this reason also the invaders did not march by the great road which connected Ephesus and Sardis, but along the river and the slopes of the mountains.

6. Σάρδις. Cf. i. 80. The city lay at the north foot of Mt. Tmolus, near the Hermus. The acropolis was a jutting spur of the mountain which rose above the town, inaccessible on every side but the south.

SARDIS. B.C. 499; Ol. 70. 2.

ρεουσι δὲ χωρὶς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τὰλλα πάντα· τὴν δὲ
 ἀκρόπολιν ἐρρύετο αὐτὸς Ἀρταφρένης ἔχων δύναμιν
 ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγην. τὸ δὲ μὴ λεηλατῆσαι ἐλόντας
 σφέας τὴν πόλιν ἔσχε τόδε. ἦσαν ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι οἰκίαι
 αἱ μὲν πλεῦνες καλάμιναι, ὅσαι δ' αὐτέων καὶ πλίνθι-
 ναι ἦσαν, καλάμου εἶχον τὰς ὀροφάς. τουτέων δὴ μίαν
 5 τῶν τις στρατιωτέων ὡς ἐνέπρησε, αὐτίκα ἀπ' οἰκίης
 ἐς οἰκίην ἰὸν τὸ πῦρ ἐπενέμετο τὸ ἄστν πάν. καιομένου
 δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος οἱ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ ὅσοι Περσέων ἐνήσαν
 ἐν τῇ πόλι, ἀπολαμφθέντες πάντοθεν ὥστε τὰ πε-
 ριέσχατα νεμομένου τοῦ πυρός, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες^a ἐξήλυ-
 10 σιν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, συνέρρεον ἐς τε τὴν ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐπὶ
 τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμόν, ὅς σφι ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ κατα-
 φορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμῶλου διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορῆς ῥέει καὶ
 ἔπειτα ἐς τὸν Ἐρμον ποταμὸν ἐκδιδοῖ, ὃ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν·
 ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Πακτωλὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀθροι-
 15 ζόμενοι οἱ τε Λυδοὶ καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἠναγκάζοντο ἀμύ-
 νεσθαι· οἱ δὲ Ἰῶνες ὀρέοντες τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνομένους τῶν
 πολεμίων τοὺς δὲ σὺν πλήθει πολλῶ προσφερομένους,
 ἐξανεχώρησαν δείσαντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸν Τμῶλον^b καλεό-
 μενον, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐπὶ τὰς νέας.

101

BURNING
OF SARDIS:
499 B.C.^a ἔχοντες Wess.: ἔχοντος, Libb.^b τὸ Τμῶλον Aldus, Krügg., Kallenberg.

101. 2. πόλιν . . . ἄστν. There is no distinction here between these words; both are intended to exclude the acropolis.

8. ἐν τῇ πόλι. Stein construes 'the acropolis,' but were there any Lydians in the acropolis? It means, I think, the whole city—acropolis and all; hence τὰ περιέσχατα, but ἄστν just below is the lower city. Those who were in the lower city

were driven to the open space of the market-place, and the banks of the Pactolus; and here they were finally joined in their resistance by the Persians from the acropolis.

17. τοὺς δὲ σὺν πλήθει, κ.τ.λ. See the next chapter. For a similar anticipation of a fact subsequently related, see *supr.* 37 τὸν ἐστιγμένον.

ASIATIC COAST. B.C. 499; Ol. 70. 2.

102 Καὶ Σάρδιες μὲν ἐνεπρήσθησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῆσι καὶ ἱρὸν ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβήβης· τὸ σκηπτόμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι ὕστερον ἀντενεπίμπρασαν τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησι ἱρά. τότε δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ ἐντὸς Ἄλλιος ποταμοῦ νομοὺς ἔχοντες, προπυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, συνηλίζοντο καὶ ἐβοήθειον τοῖσι 5 Λυδοῖσι. καὶ κως ἐν μὲν Σάρδισι οὐκέτι ἔοντας τοὺς Ἴωνας εὐρίσκουσι, ἐπόμενοι δὲ κατὰ στίβον αἰρέουσι αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. καὶ ἀντετάχθησαν μὲν οἱ Ἴωνες, συμβαλόντες δὲ πολλὸν ἐσώθησαν. καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι φονεύουσι ἄλλους τε ὀνομαστούς, ἐν δὲ δὴ 10 καὶ Εὐαλκίδην στρατηγέοντα Ἐρετριέων, στεφανηφόρους

Defeat of
the Ionians
at Ephesus.

102. 2. Κυβήβης. More commonly Cybele in later authors. She was the great native goddess of the Phrygians and Lydians, whom the Greeks, as usual, identified with more than one of their own deities; sometimes with Rhea, as the mother of the gods; sometimes with Aphrodite; sometimes with Demeter; or again with Artemis as the lady of the wild woods; Strabo, p. 469 οἱ δὲ Βερέκυντες, Φρυγῶν τι φύλον, καὶ ἀπλῶς οἱ Φρύγες καὶ τῶν Τρώων οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἴζην κατοικοῦντες Ἐραν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ὀργιάζουσι ταύτη, μητέρα καλοῦντες θεῶν καὶ Ἀγδιστιν καὶ Φρυγίαν θεὸν μεγάλην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τόπων Ἰδαίαν καὶ Δινδυμήνην καὶ Σιτυλήνην καὶ Πεσσινοντίδα καὶ Κυβέλην. Her worship was known at Athens in the time of Pindar and Sophocles: Pind. *Dith. Frag.* σοὶ μὲν κατάρχειν, μᾶτερ μεγάλη, παρὰ ῥόμβοι κυβάλων, ἐν δὲ κεχλάδειν κρόταλ', αἰθομένα τε δῆς ὑπὸ ζανθαῖσι πεύκαις. Soph. *Phil.* 391 ὄρστέρα παμβῶτι γὰ, μᾶτερ αὐτοῦ Διός, ἅ τὸν μέγαν Πακτωλὸν εὐχρυσον νέμεις.

τὸ σκηπτόμενοι, κ.τ.λ. The temple of Branchidae was burnt vi. 19; the temples in Naxos vi. 96; and those at Eretria, ἀποτινύμενοι τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, vi. 101; also the temple at Abae, viii. 33; and at Athens, viii. 53. Cf. viii. 8. 13 πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐλθόντες ἐνέπρησαν τὰ τε ἄλσεια καὶ τὰ ἱρά. Yet the Persians respected Delos (vi. 97), and had evidently considerable feeling about Delphi, ix. 42. 13.

4. νομοὺς ἔχοντες means apparently no more than 'stationed in.' Artaphernes was a satrap; but the other generals mentioned in the suppression of the revolt, Daurises, Hymaces and Otanes, were not. See Appendix I.

11. στεφανηφόρους ἀγῶνας. The words no doubt refer to victories in the great games, Olympia, Pythia, etc., in which the prize was a crown, and nothing more: cf. viii. 26. 7. Herodotus is always careful to record distinctions of this kind: cf. *supr.* 47. Simonides of Ceos composed Epinicians no less than Pindar.

ASIATIC COAST. B.C. 499; Ol. 70. 2.

τε ἀγῶνας ἀναραιρηκότα καὶ ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδεω τοῦ Κηίου
πολλὰ αἰνεθέντα· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέφυγον τὴν μάχην,
ἔσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας.

Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἠγωνίσαντο. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι **103**
μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀπολιπόντες τοὺς Ἴωνας, ἐπικαλομένου^a Spread of
σφέας πολλὰ δι' ἀγγέλων Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐκ ἔφασαν the revolt.
τιμωρήσειν^b σφι. Ἴωνες δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίης Byzantium,
5 στερηθέντες, οὕτω γάρ σφι^c ὑπῆρχε πεπονημένα ἐς Δα- Caria.
ρεῖον, οὐδὲν δὴ ἦσσαν τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον ἔσκευά-
ζοντο. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον Βυζάντιόν τε
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλιας πάσας τὰς ταύτη ὑπ' ἑωυτοῖσι
ἐποίησαντο, ἐκπλώσαντές τε ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον Κα-
10 ρίης τὴν πολλὴν προσεκτήσαντο σφίσι σύμμαχον εἶναι·
καὶ γὰρ τὴν Καῦνον πρότερον οὐ βουλομένην συμμα-
χέειν, ὡς ἐνέπρησαν τὰς Σάρδις, τότε σφι καὶ αὕτη

^a ἐπικαλομένου, J. Gronovius: ἐπικαλομένους Libb.^b ἔτι τιμωρήσειν St.^c σφίσι Libb. corr. St.

103. 7. Βυζάντιον. Byzantium was of course a Dorian colony—in no way connected with Ionia. But it had recently shown that it would be willing to be rid of Persian rule; c. 26. At what time Byzantium first fell into the power of Persia is not clear; it must have been before the expedition of Darius to Scythia, for Ariston of Byzantium is one of the tyrants who accompanied him to the Danube (515 B.C.) iv. 138. Hellespont is here used in the same wider sense as *σιβρ.* c. 1.

8. ὑπ' ἑωυτοῖσι, i. e. they did not leave them free choice, but compelled them to revolt.

9. ἐκπλώσαντες ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον. In this curious construction ἐκπλ. ἔξω seem to be regarded

as one word = ἐκλιπεῖν πλέοντες. So Krüger: see *inf.* 104. 9 ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστυ, vii. 58 ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον πλέων.

11. τὴν Καῦνον. The accusative is no doubt due to a change in construction. We expect *προσεκτήσαντο*, but as Caunus came in willingly, the sentence ends differently, and the grammar is in disorder. The Caunians were not Greeks at all: cf. i. 172 οἱ δὲ Καῦνιοὶ αὐτόχθονες δοκέειν ἐμοὶ εἶσι, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. In language they resembled the Carians, but their customs were neither like the Carians, nor any others. They fought bravely for their freedom when attacked by Harpagus, i. 176. 14.

CYPRUS. B.C. 498; OI. 70. 3.

Cyprus
joins the
revolt,
498 B. C.

104 προσεγένετο. Κύπριοι δὲ ἐβελονταί σφι πάντες προσε-
γένοντο πλὴν Ἀμαθουσίων ἀπέστησαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι
ὄδε ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἦν Ὀνήσιλος Γόργου μὲν τοῦ Σα-
λαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸς νεώτερος, Χέρσιος δὲ τοῦ
Σιρώμου τοῦ Εὐέλθοντος παῖς. οὗτος ὠνήρ πολλακίς 5
μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸν Γόργον παρηγορέετο ἀπίστασθαι
ἀπὸ βασιλέος, τότε δέ, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπύθετο
ἀπεστάναι, πάγχυ ἐπικείμενος ἐνήγε· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε
τὸν Γόργον, ἐνθαυτά μιν φυλάξας ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστν
τὸ Σαλαμινίων ὁ Ὀνήσιλος ἅμα τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ στασιώ- 10
τησι ἀπεκλήσισε τῶν πυλέων. Γόργος μὲν δὴ στερηθεὶς
τῆς πόλιος ἔφευγε ἐς Μήδους, Ὀνήσιλος δὲ ἦρχε Σα-
λαμῖνος καὶ ἀνέπειθε πάντας Κυπρίους συναπίστασθαι.
τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους ἀνέπεισε, Ἀμαθουσίους δὲ οὐ βουλο-
μένους οἱ πείθεσθαι ἐπολιόρκεε προσκατήμενος. 15

104. Cyprus had come into the Persian Empire along with the subjugation of Phoenicia and Egypt, of which Amasis had made it a dependency, iii. 91: see *infra*. 110. Amathus lay on the south coast of the island. Of the Kings of Salamis Herodotus gives us the following names:—

1. Euelthon.
2. Siromus.
3. Chersis.

Gorgus. Onesilus. Philaon (viii. 11).

As Euelthon is mentioned in iv. 162, in connection with Arcesilaus III of Cyrene, whose date is *circa* 530 B. C., we should expect his grandson at the most, certainly not his great-grandson, to be on the throne

in 498 B. C. We also find Siromus (Hiram) as the name of a king of Tyre 551–532 B. C., and the conjecture has been made that this king of Tyre, or some relation of the same name, is for some reason included in the list of the kings of Salamis. The chronology of the kings of Soli presents exactly the opposite difficulty: see *infra*. 113. 13.

9. ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστν. Cf. c. 103.
12. ἔφευγε ἐς Μήδους. Herodotus uses the title ‘Medes’ to express the Persian Empire; cf. vii. 136, where Xerxes is addressed as ‘King of the Medes.’ The Persians had borrowed the dress and armature of the Medes, i. 135; vii. 62; vi. 112.

13. ἀνέπειθε, ‘urged’; ἀνέπεισε, ‘persuaded.’

SUSA. B.C. 497; Ol. 70. 4.

. Ὀνήσιλος μὲν νυν ἐπολιόρκει Ἀμαθοῦντα. βασιλεί 105
 δὲ Δαρείῳ ὡς ἐξαγγέλθη Σάρδις ἀλούσας ἐμπρησθῆναι Darius in-
 ὑπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἴωνων, τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι formed of
 τῆς συλλογῆς ὥστε ταῦτα συνυφανθῆναι τὸν Μιλή- the revolt.
 5 σιον Ἀρισταγόρην, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτόν, ὡς ἐπύ-
 θετο ταῦτα, Ἴωνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εἶ-
 δότα ὡς οὗτοί γε οὐ καταπρόϊζονται ἀποστάντες, εἰρέ-
 σθαι οἵτινες εἶεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αἰ-
 τῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα ὀιστὸν ἄνω
 10 πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπέειναι, καὶ μιν ἐς τὸν ἡέρα βάλλοντα
 εἰπεῖν “ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι,”
 εἵπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι ἐνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων δει-
 πνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ ἐς τρίς ἐκάστοτε εἰπεῖν “δέσπο-
 τα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων.” προστάξας δὲ ταῦτα 106
 εἶπε, καλέσας ἐς ὄψιν Ἰστιαῖον τὸν Μιλήσιον, [τὸν δὲ His con-
 Δαρείῳ κατεῖχε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν^a,] “πυνθάνομαι versation
 Ἰστιαῖε ἐπίτροπον τὸν σόν, τῷ σὺ Μίλητον ἐπέτρεψας, with
 5 νεώτερα ἐς ἐμὲ πεποικέναι πρήγματα· ἄνδρας γὰρ μοι Histiaeus
 ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρης ἡπίρου ἐπαγαγών, καὶ Ἴωνας σὺν αὐ- who is sent
 τοῖσι τοὺς δώσοντας ἐμοὶ δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν, τούτους to the coast.
 ἀναγνώσας ἅμα ἐκείνοισι ἔπεσθαι, Σαρδίων με ἀπεστέ-

^a τὸν—πολλόν secl. St.

105. 4. τῆς συλλογῆς, ‘the coalition,’ i. e. the combination of Athenians and Ionians. ὥστε is used more widely in Herodotus than in Attic: cf. *supr.* 92 a. 7 τοῦτο ὥστε: vi. 5. 11 πείθειν ὥστε.

8. μετὰ δέ, κ.τ.λ. The action was intended, no doubt, to attract the attention of the deity, who was lord of the sky. Cf. i. 131 τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία

καλέοντες, of the Persians.

11. ἐκγενέσθαι. The infinitive expresses a wish; supply *δός* or the like. ‘May I succeed in.’

13. ἐς τρίς, ‘non semel, sed non plus quam ter,’ Schwgh.

14. μέμνεο, ‘pro μέμνησο, quasi a praet. μέμνημαι novum verbum μέμνομαι fuisse formatum.’ Schwgh.

106. 3. χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν, i. e. *circa*. 515-497.

SUSA. B.C. 497; Ol. 70. 4.

ρησε^a. νῦν ὦν κῶς τοι ταῦτα φαίνεται ἔχειν καλῶς; κῶς δὲ ἄνευ τῶν σῶν βουλευμάτων τοιοῦτόν τι ἐπρήχθη; 10 ὄρα μὴ ἐξ ὑστέρης σεωυτὸν ἐν αἰτίῃ σχῆς.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἴστιαῖος “ βασιλεῦ, κοῖον ἐφθέγγασο ἔπος, ἐμὲ βουλευσαι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ σοί τι ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρὸν ἔμελλε λυπηρὸν ἀνασχῆσειν; τί δ’ ἂν ἐπιδιζήμενος ποιέοιμι ταῦτα, τεῦ δὲ ἐνδεῆς ἐών; τῷ πάρα μὲν πάντα 15 ὅσα περ σοί, πάντων δὲ πρὸς σέο βουλευμάτων ἐπακούειν ἀξιεῦμαι. ἀλλ’ εἴ περ τι τοιοῦτον οἶον σὺ εἴρηκας πρήσσει ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος, ἴσθι αὐτὸν ἐπ’ ἑωυτοῦ βαλλόμενον πεποικῆναι. ἀρχὴν δὲ ἔγωγε οὐδὲ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, ὅκως τι Μιλήσιοι καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος 20 νεώτερον πρήσσουσι περὶ πρῆγματα τὰ σά. εἰ δ’ ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο ποιέουσι καὶ σὺ τὸ ἐὸν ἀκήκοας ὧ βασιλεῦ, μάθε οἶον πρῆγμα ἐργάσασο ἐμὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνάσπαστον ποιήσας. Ἰωνες γὰρ οὔκασι ἐμεῦ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σφι γενομένου ποιῆσαι τῶν πάλαι ἴμερον εἶχον· ἐμέο δ’ 25 ἂν ἐόντος ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὐδεμία πόλις ὑπεκίνησε. νῦν ὦν ὡς τάχος ἄπες με πορευθῆναι ἐς Ἰωνίην, ἵνα τοι κείνά τε πάντα καταρτίσω ἐς τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Μιλήτου ἐπίτροπον τοῦτον τὸν ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον ἐγχειρίθηνον παραδῶ. ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ νόον τὸν σὸν ποιήσας, θεοὺς 30

^a ἀπεστέρηκε r (sv), Cob., Van H., Kall.

11. ἐξ ὑστέρης. Cf. ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, ἐξ ἴσου, ἐκ τῆς ἰθείης, ἐκ νέης, *ibid.* 116. 2.

ἐν αἰτίῃ σχῆς, ‘have to blame yourself,’ i. e. get yourself into trouble, if it should be proved the revolt was due to him.

14. ἀνασχῆσειν, ‘issue, arise from.’

16. πρὸς σέο, with ἀξιεῦμαι.

18. ἐπ’ ἑωυτοῦ βαλλόμενον. Cf.

supr. 73. 15.

20. ὅκως = ὅτι : iii. 116. 5 πείθομαι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ὅκως μονόφθαλμοι ἄνδρες φύονται.

23. ἀνάσπαστον, *supr.* 12, vi. 32 of removing persons from their home.

26. ἂν . . . ὑπεκίνησε, ‘would have stirred, in the least.’ Arist. *Frogs*, 644 σκόπει νῦν ἢν μ’ ὑποκνήσαντ’ ἴδης (flinching’).

CYPRUS, B.C. 498-497; Ol. 70. 3, 4.

ἐπόμνυμι τοὺς βασιλῆιους μὴ μὲν πρότερον ἐκδύσασθαι¹¹
τὸν ἔχων κιθῶνα καταβήσομαι ἐς Ἴωνίην, πρὶν ἂν τοι
Σαρδῶ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην δασμοφόρον ποιήσω." Ἰστι- 107
αῖος μὲν λέγων ταῦτα διέβαλλε, Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπέιθετο
καὶ μιν ἀπίει, ἐντειλάμενος, ἐπεὰν τὰ ὑπέσχετό οἱ ἐπι-
τελέα ποιήσῃ, παραγίνεσθαι οἱ ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη τε περὶ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ 108
βασιλέα ἀνήιε καὶ Δαρεῖος τὰ περὶ τὸ τόξον ποιήσας
Ἰστιαῖφ ἐς λόγους ἦλθε καὶ Ἰστιαῖος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ
Δαρείου ἐκομίζετο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ
5 χρόνῳ ἐγίνετο τάδε. πολιορκέοντι τῷ Σαλαμινίῳ Ὀνη-
σίλῳ Ἀμαθουσίους ἐξαγγέλλεται νηυσὶ στρατιὴν πολλὴν
ἄγοντα Περσικὴν Ἀρτύβιον ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν προσδόκιμον
ἐς τὴν Κύπρον εἶναι· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιδος
κῆρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὴν Ἴωνίην ἐπικαλούμενός σφεας,
10 Ἴωνες δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν βουλευσάμενοι ἤκον πολλῷ
στόλῳ. Ἴωνές τε δὴ παρήσαν ἐς τὴν Κύπρον καὶ οἱ

^a ἐκδύσεσθαι Krüg., Cob., alii.

31. ἐκδύσασθαι. Cobet would read ἐκδύσεσθαι with Naber and Krüger, (1) because the aorist is indefensible; (2) because ἐκδύσασθαι is barbarous, δύναι being the classical form. Cf. vi. 2. 5 note. But see Goodwin, Syntax § 136 for the aorist. The middle form of ἀποδ. occurs in Plato and Lysias. Schwgh. suggests that κιθῶν here is = θῶρηξ, comparing vii. 61 κιθῶνες χειριδωτοὶ λεπίδος σιδηρέης, ὕψιν ἰχθυοειδέος.

33. νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην. Cf. i. 170. 8 where Sardinia is described as νήσων ἀπασῶν μεγίστην. The seven largest islands were Sardinia, Sicily, Cyprus, Crete, Euboea, Corsica, Lesbos (Strabo, p. 654); some

authorities placed Sicily first, others Sardinia; as a fact Sardinia is slightly the larger: see Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* sub voce. The island was regarded as the most desirable object of colonising energy; cf. i. 1. c.; *infra*. 124. 8. Herodotus seems to have heard nothing of the bad climate, which was well known to later writers.

108. 1. ἐν ᾧ, i. e. between 499 B. C. and 497 B. C. Histiaeus cannot have reached the coast before the departure of Aristagoras from Miletus, which occurred shortly before his death in 497 B. C.

11. καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, κ.τ.λ. The Phoenicians conveyed the soldiers

CYPRUS. B.C. 498-497; Ol. 70. 3, 4.

Πέρσαι νηυσὶ διαβάντες ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίης ἤσαν ἐπὶ τὴν
 Σαλαμίνα περὶ τῆσι δὲ νηυσὶ οἱ Φοίνικες περιέπλεον
 109 τὴν ἄκρην αἱ καλεῦνται Κληίδες τῆς Κύπρου. τούτου
 δὲ τοιοῦτου γινομένου, ἔλεξαν οἱ τύραννοι τῆς Κύπρου
 συγκαλέσαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς στρατηγούς, “ ἄνδρες
 Ἰῶνες, αἴρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Κύπριοι ὀκοτέ-
 ροισι βούλεσθε προσφέρεσθαι, ἢ Πέρσησι ἢ Φοίνιξι. 5
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ βούλεσθε ταχθέντες Περσέων διαπει-
 ρᾶσθαι, ὥρη ἂν εἴη ὑμῖν ἐκβάντας ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τάσ-
 σεσθαι περὶ, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὰς νέας ἐσβαίνειν τὰς ὑμε-
 τέρας Φοίνιξι ἀνταγωνιευμένους· εἰ δὲ Φοινίκων μάλ-
 λον βούλεσθε διαπειρᾶσθαι, ποιέειν χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας, 10
 ὀκότερα ἂν δὴ τούτων ἔλθῃ, ὅπως τὸ κατ’ ὑμέας
 ἔσται ἢ τε Ἰωνίη καὶ ἢ Κύπρος ἐλευθέρη.” εἶπαν
 Ἰῶνες πρὸς ταῦτα “ ἡμέας δὲ ἀπέπεμψε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν
 Ἰώνων φυλάξοντας τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἵνα Κυπρίοι-
 15 σι τὰς νέας παραδόντες αὐτοὶ περὶ Πέρσησι προσφε-
 ρώμεθα. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἐπ’ οὗ ἐτάχθημεν, ταύτη πει-
 ρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί· ὑμέας δὲ χρεόν ἐστι ἀναμνη-

from Cilicia to Cyprus, and then prepared for action at sea. The army was apparently landed on the north coast of the island; the ships then sailed round the N.E. promontory, Cape St. Andrea, to join it off Salamis, to which the Persians marched across the island. The ‘Keys’ appear to have been strictly the name of two small islands off the promontory; so Strabo, p. 682. Pliny calls the promontory Dinaretum; Ptolemy ‘the ox-tail.’ See Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* Cleides.

109. 2. οἱ τύραννοι τῆς Κύπρου, *inf.* 110. 3 οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κυπρίων. The princes of Cyprus differed from

the thorough-going Greek ‘tyrant’ in the fact that they were hereditary monarchs; but Herodotus is not precise in these matters: in vii. 157 Gelo is a τύραννος, in *ib.* 161 he is addressed as βασιλεὺς Συρηκοσίων. So Telys at Sybaris, *supr.* 44. 2. note.

7. ὥρη = καιρός, viii. 144. 29 πρὶν ὧν παρεῖναι ἐκείνους ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡμέας καιρός ἐστι προβοηθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην.

13. τὸ κοινόν is no doubt the representative body of the Ionians assembled at the Panionion; cf.

108. 10 Ἰῶνες βουλευσάμενοι.

16. ἐπ’ οὗ, sc. ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν.

CYPRUS. B. C. 498-497; Ol. 70. 3, 4.

σθέντας οἶα ἐπάσχετε δουλεύοντες πρὸς τῶν Μήδων,
 γίνεσθαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς." Ἴωνες μὲν τούτοισι ἀμείβαντο·
 μετὰ δὲ ἠκόντων ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Σαλαμινίων τῶν
 Περσέων, διέτασσον οἱ βασιλέες τῶν Κυπρίων, τοὺς
 μὲν ἄλλους Κυπρίους κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας
 5 ἀντιτάσσοντες, Σαλαμινίων δὲ καὶ Σολίων ἀπολέξαν-
 τες τὸ ἄριστον ἀντέτασσον Πέρσησι Ἄρτυβίῳ δὲ τῷ
 στρατηγῷ τῶν Περσέων ἐθειλοντῆς ἀντετάσσετο Ὀνήσι-
 λος. ἤλαυνε δὲ ἵππον ὃ Ἄρτύβιος δεδιδαγμένον πρὸς
 111 ὀπλίτην ἴστασθαι ὀρθόν. πυθόμενος ὦν ταῦτα ὃ Ὀνή-
 σιλος, ἦν γάρ οἱ ὑπασπιστῆς γένος μὲν Κὰρ τὰ δὲ
 πολέμια κάρτα δόκιμος καὶ ἄλλως λήματος πλέος, εἶπε
 5 πρὸς τοῦτον "πυνθάνομαι τὸν Ἄρτυβίου ἵππον ἰστάμε-
 νον ὀρθόν καὶ ποσὶ καὶ στόματι κατεργάζεσθαι πρὸς
 τὸν ἂν προσενειχθῆ. σὺ ὦν βουλευσάμενος εἶπε αὐτίκα

Artybius
and his
horse.

110. The most important cities in Cyprus were Salamis, Citium, Amathus, Curium, Marium, Soli, Lapethus, Ceryneia, and Paphos. Of these Salamis and Soli were supposed to be closely connected with Athens; Salamis being founded by Teucer, the half-brother of Ajax, whose descendants were kings of the city (the Teueridae), and Soli being founded by Phalerus and Acamas (Strabo, 683), and refounded under the auspices of Solon (cf. Plut. *Sol.* 26). Curium was a colony of Argos; *infra.* 113. Amathus was the last home of the aborigines, and more firmly attached than any other city to Persia. See Scylax, 103, Steph. B. Ἀμαθοῦς, Theopomp. *frag.* 111. The plain of the Salaminians is the large plain which occupies

the centre of the island from east to west, traversed by the river Pedaieus.

111. For the bravery of the Carians, see *infra.* 118 f.

5. *πυνθάνομαι.* This conversation of Artybius and his shield-bearer is an extreme instance of the habit of throwing the narrative into the dramatic form, which is so common with Herodotus. We may compare with it the conversation of Darius and Oebares, iii. 85. Other conversations in this book which are probably due to the dramatic genius of Herodotus are that of Cleomenes and Aristagoras; of the Ionians and the Cyprians; of Darius and Histiaeus; and the scene at the court of Amyntas of Macedonia.

6. *πρὸς τόν=τοῦτον πρὸς τόν.*

CYPRUS. B.C. 498-497; Ol. 70. 3, 4.

ὁκότερον βούλει φυλάξας πληῆξαι, εἴτε τὸν ἵππον εἴτε αὐτὸν Ἀρτύβιον.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ ὀπάων αὐτοῦ “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἔτοιμος μὲν ἐγὼ εἶμι ποιέειν καὶ ἀμφότερα¹⁰ καὶ τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντως τὸ ἂν σὺ ἐπιτάσσης. ὡς μέντοι ἔμοιγε δοκείει εἶναι τοῖσι σοῖσι πρήγμασι προσφερέστερον,^a φράσω. βασιλέα μὲν καὶ στρατηγὸν χρεὸν εἶναι φημὶ βασιλεί τε καὶ στρατηγῶ προσφέρεσθαι. ἦν τε γὰρ κατέλης ἄνδρα στρατηγόν, μέγα τοι¹⁵ γίνεται, καὶ δεύτερα, ἦν σὲ ἐκείνος, τὸ μὴ γένοιτο, ὑπὸ ἀξιοχρέου καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἡμίσεια συμφορῆ· ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἑτέροισί τε ὑπηρέτησι προσφέρεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἵππον· τοῦ σὺ τὰς μηχανὰς μηδὲν φοβηθῆς· ἐγὼ γάρ τοι ὑποδέκομαι μὴ μιν ἀνδρὸς ἔτι γε μηδεὶν στή-²⁰σεσθαι ἐναντίον.” ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ μεταυτίκα συνεμισγε τὰ στρατόπεδα περὶ καὶ νηυσί. νηυσὶ μὲν νυν Ἰωνες ἄκροι γενόμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ὑπερεβάλλοντο τοὺς Φοίνικας, καὶ τούτων Σάμιοι ἠρίστευσαν· περὶ δέ, ὡς συνῆλθε^b τὰ στρατόπεδα, συμπεσόντα^c ἐμάχοντο. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀμφοτέρους τάδε ἐγένετο. ὡς προσεφέρετο πρὸς τὸν Ὀνήσιλον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου κατήμενος, ὁ Ὀνήσιλος κατὰ τὰ συνθήκατο τῶ ὑπασπιστῇ παίει προσφερόμενον αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀρτύβιον· ἐπιβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀνησί-¹⁰

Battle of SALAMIS : treachery and defeat of the Cyprians.

112

^a προφερέστερον s, Schäf.^b συνῆλθον Γ (sv) Krüg., Van H.^c συμπεσόντες St.

13. προσφερέστερον. Stein retains this reading, translating ‘more serviceable to.’ But might not the word mean, ‘more suitable to,’ ‘in accordance with’?

16. ὑπὸ ἀξιοχρέου, κ.τ.λ. Stein quotes Virg. *Aen.* x. 829 Hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem, Aeneae magni dextra eadis.

112. 2. νηυσὶ μὲν goes with ὑπερεβάλλοντο.

5. συνῆλθε . . . ἐμάχοντο. The variation may mark the difference between the mass of the armies, and the men fighting separately; but cf. 113. 8.

8. κατὰ τά = κατὰ ταῦτα τά.

CYPRUS. B.C. 498-497; Ol. 70. 3, 4.

λου ἀσπίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κὰρ δρεπάνῳ πλήξας ἀπα-
 ράσσει τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας. Ἀρτύβιος μὲν δὴ ὁ 113
 στρατηγὸς τῶν Περσέων ὁμοῦ τῷ ἵπῳ πίπτει αὐτοῦ
 ταύτη· μαχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, Στησήνωρ τύ-
 ραννος ἐὼν Κουρίου προδιδοῖ ἔχων δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν
 5 περὶ ἑωτῶν οὐ σμικρὴν· οἱ δὲ Κουριέες οὗτοι λέγονται
 εἶναι Ἀργείων ἀποικοὶ προδόντων δὲ τῶν Κουριέων
 αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ Σαλαμινίων πολεμιστήρια ἄρματα τῶντὸ
 τοῖσι Κουριεῦσι ἐποίηε^α. γινομένων δὲ τούτων κατυ-
 πέρτεροι ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι τῶν Κυπρίων. τετραμμένον
 10 δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἄλλοι τε ἔπεσον πολλοὶ καὶ δὴ καὶ
 Ὀνήσιλος τε ὁ Χέρσιος, ὅς περ τὴν Κυπρίων ἀπόστασιν
 ἔπρηξε, καὶ ὁ Σολίων βασιλεὺς Ἀριστόκυπρος ὁ Φι-
 λοκύπρου, Φιλοκύπρου δὲ τούτου τὸν Σόλων ὁ Ἀθη-

^α ἐποίηον Pr (sv).

11. δρεπάνῳ. The scythe formed part of the armour of the Carians; vii. 93. 5.

113. 5. οἱ δὲ Κουριέες, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Strabo, 683. Stephanus Byz. on the other hand speaks of the city as named after Cureus the son of Cinyras, which would point to a Phoenician or Oriental origin. At the time of the decline of Tyre, and perhaps owing to the Philhellenic policy of Amasis of Egypt, the Greeks had far greater power in Cyprus than afterwards—and some cities of Phoenician origin may have then fallen into Greek hands.

7. πολεμιστήρια ἄρματα. War-chariots are used in Homer, but this is the only trace of them in historical times in Greece. We hear of sixty chariots in a *procession* at Eretria (Strabo, p. 448), but were

these war-chariots? Themistocles receives as a present the finest chariot (ἄχος) at Sparta (Herod. viii. 124. 11), where war-chariots were never in use. Xenophon in the *Cyropaedeia* has much to say about war-chariots, and in the oracle, Xerxes comes *Συριγγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων* (vii. 140. 10). In Xen. *Anab.* i. 7. 10 scythe-chariots are mentioned.

13. τὸν Σόλων, κ.τ.λ. The story is told in Plut. *Sol.* 26. On his return from Egypt, where he had visited Amasis, Solon arrived at Cyprus and was hospitably entertained by Philocyprus, ὅς εἶχεν οὐ μεγάλην πόλιν ᾠκισμένην ὑπὸ Δημοφῶντος (? Acamas, see 110) τοῦ Θεσέως περὶ τὸν Κλάριον ποταμὸν ἐν χωρίοις ὄχυροῖς μὲν ἄλλως δὲ δυσχερέσι καὶ φαύλοισ κειμένῃ. On

CYPRUS. B.C. 498-497: Ol. 70. 3, 4.

- ναῖος ἀπικόμενος ἐς Κύπρον ἐν ἔπεσι αἶνεσε τυράννων
 114 μάλιστα. Ὀνησίλου μὲν νυν Ἀμαθούσιοι, ὅτι σφέας
 ἐπολιόρκησε, ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκόμισαν ἐς
 Ἀμαθοῦντα καὶ μιν ἀνεκρέμασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλέων.
 κρεμαμένης δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἤδη εἰούσης κοίλης,
 ἐσμὸς μελισσέων ἐσδὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κηρίων μιν ἐνέπλησε.⁵
 τούτου δὲ γενομένου τοιούτου, ἐχρέωντο γὰρ περὶ αὐ-
 τῆς οἱ Ἀμαθούσιοι, ἐμαντεύθη σφί τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν
 κατελόντας θάψαι, Ὀνησίλω δὲ θύειν ὡς ἦρωι ἀνὰ
 πᾶν ἔτος, καὶ σφί ποιεῦσι ταῦτα ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι.
 115 Ἀμαθούσιοι μὲν νυν ἐποίεον ταῦτα καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ·
 Ἴωνες δὲ οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ ναυμαχήσαντες ἐπέιτε ἔμαθον
 τὰ πρήγματα τὰ Ὀνησίλου διεφθαρμένα καὶ τὰς πόλεις
 τῶν Κυπρίων πολιορκευμένας τὰς ἄλλας πλὴν Σαλαμί-

Onesilus
 worshipped
 as a hero.

Solon's advice he removed the city to a more commodious site in the plain, and set it out on a larger scale. Solon commemorated his visit in some elegiac lines. But if this occurred in 590-580 B.C., is it likely that the son of Philocyprus would be on the throne in 497 B.C.? This, like many facts in Herodotus, points to a later date for Solon's visit to Egypt, etc. See Appendix 11.

114. We may perhaps compare with this chapter the story of the hero Cleomedes of Astypalaea which is told by Paus. vi. 9. 5 ff. Cleomedes killed his opponent Iccus in the boxing match (72nd Olymp. = 492 B.C.), for which he was deprived of his prize. In his rage he went mad, and returning to Astypalaea, he pulled down a pillar which supported the roof in a room where were a number of boys (about sixty).

He then took refuge in a chest in the temple of Athena, and the Astypalaeans, being unable to open the chest, broke it, but found no trace of Cleomedes dead or alive. On consulting the oracle at Delphi, they received the answer: ὕστατος ἠρώων Κλεομήδης Ἀστυपालαιεύς, ὃν θυσίαις τιμᾶθ', ἅτε μηκέτι θνητὸν εἶντα. In this case, as in that of Onesilus, a man is worshipped as a hero, though he has done great harm to those who worship him. For the worship of heroes, see Appendix 12.

8. θύειν ὡς ἦρωι: ἐναγίζειν would be more strictly correct. Cf. ii. 44. 22 καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπανυμῖν θύουσι, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ὡς ἦρωι ἐναγίζουσι. The offering to the hero was burnt; that to the god was eaten: see Paus. ii. 10. 1.

HELLESFONT. B.C. 498; OL. 70. 3.

5 νος, ταύτην δὲ Γόργω τῷ προτέρῳ βασιλεί τοὺς Σα-
λαμινίους παραδόντας, αὐτίκα μαθόντες οἱ Ἰῶνες ταῦ-
τα ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. τῶν δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ πολιῶν
ἀντέσχε χρόνον ἐπὶ πλείστον πολιορκευμένη Σόλοι, τὴν
πέριξ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος πέμπτω μὲν εἶλον οἱ
10 Πέρσαι.

Κύπριοι μὲν δὴ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλεύθεροι γενόμενοι αὐτῖς 116
ἐκ νέης κατεδεδούλωντο. Δαυρίσης δὲ ἔχων Δαρείου
θυγατέρα καὶ Ὑμαίης τε καὶ Ὀτάνης ἄλλοι Πέρσαι
στρατηγοί, ἔχοντες καὶ οὗτοι Δαρείου θυγατέρας, ἐπι-
5 διώξαντες τοὺς ἐς Σάρδις στρατευσαμένους Ἰώνων καὶ
ἐσαράξαντες σφεας ἐς τὰς νέας, τῇ μάχῃ ὡς ἐπεκρά-
τησαν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἐπόρθεον.
Δαυρίσης μὲν τραπόμενος πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ 117
πόλεις εἶλε μὲν Δάρδανον, εἶλε δὲ Ἄβυδὸν τε καὶ Περ-
κώτην καὶ Λάμφακον καὶ Παισόν. ταύτας μὲν^α ἐπ'
ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη^β αἶρεε, ἀπὸ δὲ Παισοῦ ἐλαύνοντί οἱ
5 ἐπὶ Πάριον πόλιν ἦλθε ἀγγελίη τοὺς Κάρας τῶντὸ
Ἰωσι φρονήσαντας ἀπεστάναι ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἀποστρέψας

Suppres-
sion of the
revolt
in the
Hellespont.

^α μὲν μίαν? St. ^β ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστην Nitzsch, Madv.: ἡμέρης ἐκάστης Pr (sv).

115. 9. *πέριξ ὑπορύσσοντες*. For *πέριξ*, see *supr.* c. 87. 11; and for the situation of Soli, which made the mine more feasible, the note on c. 113. 13.

116. 2. *Δαυρίσης*. Cf. *supr.* c. 102.

7. *ἐπιδιελόμενοι*, 'having divided among themselves.' The arrangement by which Daurises went to the Hellespont and to Caria, where he joined Amorges and Sisamaces (*infra*. 121), Hymaees to the Propontis, and Otanes to Ionia and Aeolis, appears

to have been merely temporary. We cannot conclude from it that Daurises and Otanes were satraps in the ordinary sense of the word. In fact Oebares and Artaphernes were the satraps at this time: *supr.* 25; vi. 33. 18. See Appendix 1.

117. 3. *ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη*, 'on each day': *supr.* c. 53. 8. The words imply that he not only took each town on one day, but that the days were successive, 'one a day': so in ii. 168. 10, iv. 112. 4.

CARIA. B.C. 498; Ol. 70. 3.

The Persians in Caria: at first victorious, they are finally defeated.

118 ὧν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἤλανε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν
 Καρίην. καὶ κως ταῦτα τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐξαγγέλθη πρό-
 τερον ἢ τὸν Δαυρίσην ἀπικέσθαι· πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κᾶ-
 ρες συνελέγοντο ἐπὶ Λευκάς τε στήλας καλεόμενας καὶ
 ποταμὸν Μαρσύην, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰδριάδος χώρας ἐς
 τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδοί. συλληχθέντων δὲ τῶν Καρῶν 5
 ἐνθαῦτα ἐγίνοντο βουλαὶ ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἀρίστη γε
 δοκέουσα εἶναι ἐμοὶ Πιξωδάρου τοῦ Μουσώλου ἀνδρὸς
 Κινδύεος, ὃς τοῦ Κιλικῶν βασιλέος Συεννέσιος εἶχε
 θυγατέρα· τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε διαβάντας
 τὸν Μαίανδρον τοὺς Κᾶρας καὶ κατὰ νότου ἔχοντας 10
 τὸν ποταμὸν οὕτω συμβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ^a ἔχοντες ὀπίσω
 φεύγειν οἱ Κᾶρες αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι γι-
 νοίατο ἔτι ἀμείνονες τῆς φύσιος. αὕτη μὲν νυν οὐκ

^a μήτε? St.

118. 4. This Carian Marsyas must be distinguished from the Phrygian river of the same name, vii. 26, which had its sources in the marketplace of Celaenae. Both rivers flow into the Maeander, the Carian nearly opposite to Tralles; the Phrygian a little below Celaenae. See Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* The modern name of this river is Tshina. The 'White Pillars' appears to have been the meeting place of the Carian 'community.' Strabo, p. 660 ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως (Stratonicea) τὸ τοῦ χρυσαορέως Διὸς κοινὸν ἀπάντων Καρῶν, εἰς ὃ συνίασι θύσοντές τε καὶ βουλευσόμενοι περὶ τῶν πάντων. (The town of Stratonicea was founded by the Macedonians on the site of Idrias.)

6. ἀρίστη γε: 'γε belongs to δοκέουσα ἐμοὶ = ἔμοιγε δοκέουσα'; Stein.

7. The Mausôlus here mentioned was no doubt an ancestor of the king of Halicarnassus, 377-353 B.C., whose memory has been rendered famous by the tomb which his widow erected. This Mausôlus had a brother Pixôdarus; Strabo, 656. The termination -ulus is Carian; cf. Ibanolis, *supr.* 37.

8. Syennesis was the title of the kings of Cilicia: in i. 74 we hear of a Syennesis who was reigning in the early part of the sixth century B.C. The Syennesis here mentioned is probably the same who in vii. 98 is enumerated among the commanders of the fleet: Syennesis, the son of Oromedon. A third Syennesis was contemporary with Cyrus the younger: Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 21, etc.; *Hell.* iii. 1. 1.

CARIA. B. C. 498; Ol. 70. 3.

ἐνίκα ἢ γνώμη, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι Πέρσησι κατὰ νότου γίνε-
 15 σθαι τὸν Μαίανδρον μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσι, δηλαδὴ^a ἢν φυγῆ
 τῶν Περσέων γένηται καὶ ἐσσωθέωσι τῇ συμβολῇ, ὡς
 οὐκ ἀπονοστήσουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσπίπτοντες. μετὰ 119
 δὲ παρεόντων καὶ διαβάντων τὸν Μαίανδρον τῶν Περ-
 σέων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ Μαρσύῃ ποταμῷ συνέβαλόν τε
 τοῖσι Πέρσησι οἱ Κᾶρες καὶ μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο ἰσχυρὴν
 5 καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον πολλόν, τέλος δὲ ἐσώθησαν διὰ πλῆ-
 θος. Περσέων μὲν δὴ ἔπεσον ἄνδρες ἐς δισχιλίους,
 Καρῶν δὲ ἐς μυρίους. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οἱ διαφυγόντες αὐ-
 τῶν κατειλήθησαν ἐς Λάβραუნδα^b ἐς Διὸς στρατίου
 ἰρόν, μέγα τε καὶ ἄγιον ἄλλος πλατανίστων· μῦνοι δὲ
 10 τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Κᾶρες εἰσὶ οἱ Διὶ στρατίῳ θυσίας
 ἀνάγουσι. κατειληθέντες δὲ ὧν οὔτοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύ-
 οντο περὶ σωτηρίας, ὀκότερα ἢ παραδόντες σφέας αὐ-
 τοὺς Πέρσησι ἢ ἐκλιπόντες τὸ παράπαν τὴν Ἀσίην
 ἄμεινον πρήξουσι. βουλευομένοισι δὲ σφι ταῦτα πα- 120
 ραγίνονται βοηθέοντες Μιλήσιοί τε καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμ-

^a λογιζόμενοι (vel simile aliquid) δηλαδὴ St.

^b λάβραუნδα A B: λάβρανδα C: λάβρυνδα Pr (sv).

119. 3. ἐπὶ τῷ Μαρσύῃ ποταμῷ.
 The Carians marched down the
 river from Idrias, but not so far as
 the Maeander. The battle probably
 took place on the left bank of the
 river below Alabanda. After their
 defeat, they retired into the district
 of Mylasa. Labraunda was a village
 about sixty stades from Mylasa, and
 connected with it by a sacra via,
 along which processions went from
 the town to the temple: see Strabo,
 p. 659. (In Carian *λάβρυν* meant
 'axe,' and Zeus Labraundeus is Zeus
 of the battle-axe?) Strabo dis-

tinguishes three temples of Zeus:
 one at Mylasa, of Osogo; a second
 of Zeus Labrandenus, or Zeus Strati-
 tius, at Labraunda. These two tem-
 ples were confined to Carians. The
 third temple, also at Mylasa, was that
 of Carian Zeus, common to all the
 Carians, Mysians and Lydians: cf.
supr. 37. 2, i. 171. 27. Distinct from
 these temples in the district of My-
 lasa was the temple of Zeus Chry-
 saoreus (c. 118. 4 note) though this
 may have been the same deity as
 Zeus Stratius and Labrandenus.

120. 2. Μιλήσιοι. No attempt

CARIA. B. C. 498; Ol. 70. 3.

μαχοι· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κᾶρες ἐβου-
 λεύοντο μετῆκαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτίς πολεμέειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀρ-
 τέοντο. καὶ ἐπιούσι τε τοῖσι Πέρσησι συμβάλλουσι, καὶ 5
 μαχεσάμενοι ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἢ πρότερον ἐσσώθησαν· πεσόν-
 των δὲ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν μάλιστα Μιλήσιοι ἐπλήγη-
 121 σαν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τρώμα ἀνέλαβόν τε καὶ ἀνε-
 μαχέσαντο οἱ Κᾶρες· πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς στρατεύεσθαι
 ὀρμέεται οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων, ἐλόχησαν
 τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ^a ὁδόν, ἐς τὴν ἐμπεσόντες οἱ Πέρσαι
 νυκτὸς διεφθάρησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐ- 5
 τῶν, Δαυρίσης καὶ Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισαμάκης· σὺν
 δέ σφι ἀπέθανε καὶ Μύρσος ὁ Γύγῳ. τοῦ δὲ λόχου

^a ἐν Πηδάσῳ H Stephanus: ἐν πιδάσῳ A B: ἐμπιδασῳ C: ἐπὶ δασῳ P:
 ἐπὶ λάσοισιν r: ἐπὶ Μυλασοῖσι Wess.

had as yet been made by the Persians on Miletus, which was apparently left till the more outlying districts had been subdued. The Persians in this case followed up their victory and pursued the Carians to Mylasa, between which and Alabanda this second battle must have taken place.

6. πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν. 'In the nom. ἔπεσον οἱ πάντες πολλοί,' Krüger, which is surely better than Stein's suggestion that τῶν πάντων is partitive.

121. 1. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τρώμα ἀνέλαβον. (1) We may take μετὰ δὲ adverbially, and translate the rest 'they made good this disaster': cf. viii. 109. 9 ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέραν κακότητα, or (2) connect τοῦτο τὸ τρώμα with μετὰ and translate ἀνέλαβον 'recovered themselves.' The words μετὰ τὸ τρώμα τοῦτο are so connected

in iv. 160. 15. The rhythm of the sentence is in favour of (2), but there is no other example of ἀναλαμβάνειν intransitive in Herod. Krüger refers to Stallbaum on Plato *Rep.* 467 B, where ἀναλαβεῖν is taken intransitively.

4. τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν. Unfortunately the site of Pedasum or Pedasa is uncertain. Strabo, p. 611 says ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῶν Ἀλικαρνασέων τὰ Πήδασα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομασθέντα ἦν πόλις καὶ ἡ νῦν χώρα Πηδασὸς λέγεται: and again Πήδασον δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ νῦν Στρατονικίῳν πολίχνιον ἔστιν. On the other hand, part of the territory of the Milesians is given to the Carians of Pedasum (vi. 20), which implies that it was not far from that city. Perhaps Pedasa and Pedasum were distinct places.

7. Μύρσος ὁ Γύγῳ. The names remind us of the monarchs of Lydia:

PROPONTIS. B.C. 498-497; Ol. 70. 3, 4.

τούτου ἡγεμῶν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης Ἰβανώλλιος ἀνὴρ Μυλασσεύς.

Οὗτοι μὲν νυν τῶν Περσέων οὕτω διεφθάρησαν 122
 Ὑμαίης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν τῶν ἐπιδιωξάντων τοὺς ἐς Suppres-
 Σάρδεις στρατευσαμένους Ἰώνων, τραπόμενος ἐς τὴν sion of the
 Προποντίδα εἶλε Κίον τὴν Μυσίην.^a ταύτην δὲ ἐξελών, rcolvt
 5 ὡς ἐπύθετο τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκλειοπένας Δαυρίσην in the
 καὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίης, καταλιπὼν τὴν Προπον- Propontis;
 τίδα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἦγε τὸν στρατόν, καὶ εἶλε &c.
 μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα νέμονται, εἶλε
 δὲ Γέργιθας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν
 10 αὐτὸς τε Ὑμαίης αἰρέων ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα νούσῳ τελευτᾶ
 ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι. οὗτος μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε, Ἄρτα- 123
 φρένης δὲ ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος καὶ Ὀτάνης ὁ τρίτος
 στρατηγὸς ἐτάχθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν προσεχέα
 Αἰολίδα στρατεύεσθαι. Ἰωνίης μὲν νυν Κλαζομενὰς
 5 αἰρέουσι, Αἰολέων δὲ Κύμην.

Ἄλισκομενέων δὲ τῶν πολιῶν, ἦν γὰρ ὡς διέδεξε 124

^a Nonne τῆς Μυσίης? Kall.

Candaules, 'whom the Greeks call Myrsilus,' i. 7, and Gyges. It is possible he was a Carian of Pedasum who took the Persian side, and that it was owing to his assistance that the inhabitants of Pedasum were rewarded with part of the Milesian land.

122. 4. For Cios, see Strabo, p. 564. It was the place where Hylas disappeared from the Argonauts, and the city was founded by Cios on his return from Colchis: καὶ νῦν δ' ἔτι ἐορτὴ τις ἄγεται παρὰ τοῖς Προσιεῦσιν (the later name of Cios) καὶ ὑρεβασία θιασεύοντων καὶ καλούντων Ἰτλαν, ὡς ἂν κατὰ ζήτησιν τὴν

ἐκείνου πεποιημένων τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ὕλας ἔξοδον. Strabo fixes the boundaries of Mysia at the river Aesepus (west) and the Lake Ascania (east).

8. Αἰολέας, κ.τ.λ. Cf. i. 151, where the cities on Ida are treated as a separate section of the Aeolians; and *supr.* c. 94. 11. For the Gergithes, see vii. 43. 13. Strabo, 589: ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμψακηνῇ τόπος εὐάμπελος Γεργίθιον ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλις Γεργίθα, ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Κυμαίᾳ Γεργίθων ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἐκ πόλις πληθυντικῶς καὶ θηλυκῶς λεγομένη αἱ Γεργίθες . . . καὶ νῦν ἔτι δείκνυται τύπος ἐν τῇ Κυμαίᾳ Γεργίθιον πρὸς Λαρίσσην.

124. 1. ὡς διέδεξε. Cf. i. 73. 18

MILETUS. B.C. 497 f.; Ol. 70. 4.

Aristagoras in alarm retires to Myrcinus, where he is slain.

- Ἄρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήσιος ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, ὃς^a ταραξας τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε ὀρέων ταῦτα· πρὸς δέ οἱ καὶ ἀδύνατα ἐφάνη βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ὑπερβαλέσθαι· πρὸς ταῦτα⁵ δὴ ὦν συγκαλέσας τοὺς συστασιώτας ἐβουλεύετο, λέγων ὡς ἄμεινον σφίσι εἶη κρησφύγετόν τι ὑπάρχον εἶναι, ἣν ἄρα ἐξωθέωνται ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου, εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἐς Σαρδῶ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τούτου ἄγοι^b ἐς ἀποικίην, εἴτε ἐς Μύρκινον τὴν Ἡδωνῶν, τὴν Ἰστιαῖος ἐτείχεε παρὰ Δαρείου¹⁰
- 125 δωρεὴν λαβῶν. ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα ὁ Ἄρισταγόρης. Ἐκαταίου μὲν νυν τοῦ Ἠγησάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς λογοποιού, τουτέων μὲν ἐς οὐδετέραν στέλλειν ἔφερε ἡ γνώμη, ἐν Λέρῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τείχος οἰκοδομησάμενον ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἣν ἐκπέσῃ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ ταύτης⁵
- 126 ὀρμώμενον κατελεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐκαταῖος συνεβούλευε, αὐτῷ δὲ Ἄρισταγόρῃ πλείστη^c ἡ γνώμη ἦν ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ἀπάγειν. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μίλητον ἐπιτράπει Πυθαγόρῃ ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμῳ,

^a ὃς suspect. hab. Krüger, Van H. ^b ἄγῃ Dobr., cf. vi. 35. 17. ^c πλείστη ἡ St.

ἦν γάρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος. διέδεξε is probably impersonal: 'as was clear.' Schwgh. quotes ii. 134. 16 ὡς διέδεξε τῆδε οὐκ ἦιστα, iii. 82. 16.

2. Krüger would omit ὃς to avoid the anacoluthon, but in any case the sentence is not well constructed. The statement is that Aristagoras contemplated flight; and for this two reasons are given: (1) his cowardice: (2) his feeling that the power of Darius was too much for him.

3. ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα, 'having stirred up great confusion.'

8. εἴτε with ἐβουλεύετο.

9. Μύρκινον. Cf. *supr.* c. 11.

125. 1. Ἐκαταίου. See *supr.* c. 36.

3. ἔφερε ἡ γνώμη, as in 118. 9. στέλλειν is intransitive.

6. Teos lay to the south-west of Miletus, of which city it was a colony and a dependency. In the tribute lists it is treated as a part of Miletus.

126. 2. αὐτῷ πλείστη ἡ γνώμη ἦν. An exact parallel does not seem to occur in Herodotus, who, however, has ταύτῃ πλείστος γνώμῃν εἰμί i. 120. 19; and ταύτῃ καὶ μάλλον τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι vii. 220. 5.

THRACE. B.C. 497; Ol. 70. 4.

5 αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον ἔπλεε ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν ἐπ' ἣν ἐστάλη· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὀρμώμενος ἀπόλλυται ὑπὸ Θρηίκων αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, πόλιν περικατήμενος καὶ βουλομένων τῶν Θρηίκων ὑποσπόνδων ἐξιέναι.

7. ἀπόλλυται. The Thracians offered to come out on terms, and on receiving permission, they came out and fell upon Aristagoras and his army, who were not prepared for an attack. No details are known. The Thracians were the Edonians: the town may have been Ennea Hodoi. The date is fixed by

Thucydides iv. 102, who puts sixty years between this attempt of Aristagoras and the colonisation by Hagnon. The colony at Amphipolis is placed in 437 B.C. (Diod.), so that the death of Aristagoras would fall in 497 B.C. See Clinton, *Fast. Hell.*, sub anno 437.

APPENDIX



EXCURSUS I.

V. 25.

SATRAPS AND GENERALS.

(1) IN the enumeration of the satrapies of the Persian empire, given in iii. 90, Herodotus assigns the territory in Asia west of the Halys with the Cappadocians to three satrapies, of which

The first includes the Ionians, Magnesians in Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyae, and Pamphylians ;

The second includes the Mysians, the Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians ;

The third includes the Hellespontines in Asia, the Phrygians, Thracians in Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, Syrians (i. e. Cappadocians, who are beyond, i. e. eastward, of the Halys) ;

and in iii. 127 these three satrapies are spoken of as the Ionic, Lydian, and Phrygian respectively. But though these three satrapies were thus clearly distinguished in description, it is difficult to recognise the distinction in the events of history.

(a) The residences of the second and third were Sardis, and Dascyleum, on the shore of the Propontis ; but the residence of the first is unknown. (b) In iii. 120 we are told that Oroetes was satrap of Sardis, in *ib.* 122 he is at Magnesia (in the Ionian satrapy), and in 126 he slays Mitrobates, the satrap of Dascyleum, after which, in c. 127, he appears in possession of the three satrapies. But we never hear that he removed any one from the Ionian satrapy, and indeed he seems to have had control

of the Ionian satrapy from the first, or why should Mitrobates reproach him with the independence of Samos—an Ionian island (iii. 126)? (c) In the Peloponnesian war we hear of two principal satraps only: Pharnabazus of Dascyleum and Tissaphernes of Sardis, 'whom Darius the son of Artaxerxes had appointed to be general of the forces on the coast of Asia.' Thuc. viii. 5.

(2) On the other hand in v. 102 Herodotus informs us that the generals who had districts (*νομοί*) within (i. e. west of) the Halys, united their forces and marched to the relief of Sardis. These generals are three in number, Otanes, Hymaees, and Daurises. In this case we seem once more to be carried back to a triple division of the territory west of the Halys. But it is improbable that these generals—whatever is meant by the three *νομοί*—were satraps. In the first place Artaphernes, who is *ὑπαρχος Σαρδίων*, is being besieged in Sardis at the time when the three generals march to his assistance, and Otanes, one of the three generals, had been nominated captain of the forces on the sea-board at the time when Artaphernes was made satrap of Sardis (v. 25). In the second place the three generals after pursuing the Greeks to Ephesus and defeating them there, divide the revolted cities among them. Daurises takes the Hellespont, which he leaves subsequently for Caria, where he is slain; Hymaees takes the Propontis, and on hearing that Daurises had gone to Caria, moves to the Hellespont, and dies in the Troad (v. 122). Otanes joins Artaphernes in attacking the cities of Ionia and Aeolis (v. 123). This 'division' would not have taken place if Daurises and Hymaees had had definite districts already assigned to them as satraps; on the contrary, when making the division, they were evidently about to move into districts different from those already allotted to them. Hence Daurises cannot be the satrap of Phrygia as is sometimes supposed¹. It is not so clear that Otanes is not satrap of Ionia, but it may be said (1) that he is never entitled *ὑπαρχος*, which is the usual term for satrap; (2) that he has a special title as 'general

¹ In vi. 33 Oebares, the son of Megabazus, is satrap at Dascyleum, and makes terms with the Cyzicenes in that capacity.

of the forces on the seacoast¹, (3) that Artaphernes settles the tribute of the Ionians.

Krumbholtz, *De Asiae Minoris Satrapis Persicis* (p. 23), is of opinion that Otanes was satrap of Phrygia. For this there is little to be said, for why did he not go to suppress the mutiny in what, on this hypothesis, was his own satrapy? After the conquest of Cyme and Clazomenae in concert with Artaphernes, he disappears from view.

So far therefore as our evidence goes, we cannot point to any clear proof of the existence of an Ionian or Aeolian satrap, independent of the satrap of Sardis. This satrapy seems to have formed a part of the more important Lydian satrapy, though it was, for financial purposes, regarded as distinct².

(3) The relations of the generals and the satraps cannot be made clear. In v. 25 Artaphernes is satrap of Sardis, and Otanes is general τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν; yet in *ib.* 30 Artaphernes is said to rule over all the men on the coast in Asia, ἔχων στρατιήν τε πολλήν καὶ πολλὰς νέας. In the attack upon Naxos we never hear of Otanes; Aristagoras applies to Artaphernes, who communicates with Darius, and appoints Megabates to the command of the expedition. Yet no sooner has the revolt broken out than Otanes appears once more. We also hear of Harpagus as a Persian general in Atarneus, who acts in concert with Artaphernes, but to what degree, if any, he is subordinate to him, we cannot tell. Lastly, when Mardonius appears upon the scene, all the other generals are removed, and even Artaphernes is reduced to the second place. At any rate we find Mardonius making changes at his pleasure in the cities of Ionia, as Artaphernes had done before him.

The general result to which we come is that there were prac-

¹ This title does not however exclude a satrapy, for Tissaphernes of Sardis is both satrap and general, as was Cyrus after him.

² In Herod. vii. 194 we hear of Sandoces the ὑπαρχος Κύμης, and Stein sees in this a trace of the third satrapy. But at the time of the Ionian revolt Aristagoras is tyrant of Cyme, and at the time of the Scythian expedition, though he is not called 'tyrant,' he is in command of the ships of Cyme. Sandoces may have been no more than a temporary governor. In Thuc. viii. 16 Otages is said to be ὑπαρχος Τισσαφέρνους.

tically two satrapies in Asia, west of the Halys, and that the cities of the coast from Cyme southwards were controlled from Sardis. But at times the satrap was allowed an extraordinary degree of power, as seems to have been the case with Artaphernes (Herod. v. 30) and Tissaphernes (Thuc. viii. 5); at others an independent officer was sent down to supersede him, with plenipotentiary powers; such officers were Mardonius and Cyrus. As a rule the satrap was a civil rather than a military officer; and the forces necessary for the control of the empire were placed under generals who were independent of him. Perhaps the districts of the satraps and those of the generals were designedly intended to cross one another, or the generals were moved from place to place. See on the subject Krumbholtz, l. c., where all the evidence bearing on it is collected.

EXCURSUS III.

V. 39.

NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGN OF CLEOMENES.

FROM Herod. i. 67 we learn that Anaxandridas, the father of Cleomenes, was on the throne of Sparta in the time of Croesus, i. e. circ. 450 B. C.; and as we may conclude from the story of his childless wife that his children were born to him late in life, we may fix *à priori* 420 B. C. as a probable date for the accession of Cleomenes, who would be quite young at the time.

If we accept the date given by Thucydides iii. 68 for the beginning of the alliance of Plataea and Athens, i. e. 92 years before the destruction of the city in 427 B. C., we can at once fix 519 B. C. as falling within the reign of Cleomenes. But this date, as is well known, is contested on the ground that we can give no reason why Cleomenes should have been in Boeotia in 519 B. C.; and we know from Herodotus that he was in Boeotia when the Plataeans applied to him (vi. 108). And what is more important still—for we do not know all the movements of Cleomenes—the Spartan king had no reason in 519 B. C., when the Peisistratids were still on the throne of Athens, to embitter the Thebans against the Athenians, unless indeed we suppose that this was a move to counteract the friendship between the Argives and the Peisistratids. But from other evidence it is pretty clear that Cleomenes was on the throne as early as 519 B. C. It is to him that Macandrius applies for help after his expulsion from Samos (iii. 148). Now Macandrius was expelled soon after the death of Polycrates, which occurred in

522 B. C., and by 515 B. C.—i. e. at the date of the Scythian expedition—Syloson, who was restored to Samos by Darius, after the expulsion of Maeandrius, had been succeeded on the Samian throne by his son Aeaces. There is therefore no reason why Cleomenes should not have succeeded Anaxandridas in 520 or even a little earlier.

Among the earlier events of his reign we must place the attempts of his half-brother Dorieus to found colonies in Africa and Sicily. If the voyage of Dorieus to Sicily coincided with the destruction of Sybaris, we have a date for it: 510 B. C. Before this he had been in Libya, where he remained two years (v. 42). This brings us to 512 B. C. at the latest for the first colony. But from the fact that Dorieus took out these colonies in vexation that his brother Cleomenes had been allowed to succeed (v. 39, 42), we should suppose that the first attempt, at any rate, was made soon after the accession of Cleomenes, and as 512 B. C. is too late for this, we may suppose that some time elapsed between the voyage to Libya and the voyage to Sicily. The first may be placed three or four years earlier than 512 B. C.

The invasion of Attica in order to expel the Peisistratidae took place in 510 B. C.; the restoration of Isagoras to power in 508 B. C., which is the date of the archonship of Isagoras; the attempt to establish Isagoras as tyrant was in 507 or 506; and the meeting of the allies to discuss the restoration of Hippias may be placed three or four years later—allowing time for Cleomenes to discover the fraud which had been practised at the Delphian temple by the Alcmaeonidae. In 500 B. C. Aristagoras arrived at Sparta.

After the visit of Aristagoras we hear no more of Cleomenes till the arrival of the envoys of Darius in Greece, which falls in 491 B. C. The events recorded in connection with this are as follows:—

1. Cleomenes visits Aegina alone and is repelled by Crius.
2. Cleomenes brings about the deposition of Demaratus and the accession of Leotyichidas—bribing the Pythia for this object.

3. Cleomenes proceeds with Leotychidas to Aegina, receives hostages, and places them with the Athenians.
4. The fraud of Cleomenes being discovered, he retires to Thessaly.
5. Cleomenes returns to Arcadia, and begins to combine the Arcadians against Sparta. He is recalled to the throne.
6. Madness and death of Cleomenes.

The period occupied by these events can only be guessed at. It seems pretty clear that Cleomenes was not at Sparta in 490, or we should have heard of him; but whether he was dead or absent from the city is uncertain. The date therefore of the death of Cleomenes cannot be precisely fixed: it is not before 490 B. C. nor long after.

On these calculations the reign of Cleomenes lasted thirty years, 520-490 B. C., at the least. Yet Herodotus says *οὐ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἤρξε ὁ Κλεομένης* (v. 48). But these words are used in reference to the succession of Dorieus, who, if he had patiently bided his time, would have succeeded Cleomenes. And this is true; for Leonidas, the younger brother of Dorieus, was king of Sparta for some years after Cleomenes—488?-480 B. C.: and after the death of Leonidas his younger brother was regent for a time. Moreover Cleomenes came to an untimely end, and he did not live out the natural term of life.

It remains to discuss the most important military event of the reign of Cleomenes, his invasion of Argos. Pausanias (iii. 4. 1) puts this immediately after his accession, i. e. soon after 520 B. C. But in Herod. vii. 148, the Argives in 481 B. C. excuse their action in regard to the defence of Hellas, by affirming that they have *recently* suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Spartans. This is inconsistent with a defeat thirty-nine years before. Again Herodotus connects the defeat of the Argives with the fall of Miletus (which occurred in 494 B. C.) saying that in an oracle which was given to Miletus there was also a prediction concerning Argos (Herod. vi. 19, 77) and from this we should gather that the defeat of Argos and the fall of Miletus were more or less coincident. On this ground we might follow Grote in fixing 495 B. C. as the date of the

expedition to Argos¹. We must remember that the defeat of the Argives was so overwhelming that the 'slaves' became masters of everything (vi. 83). Before an end could be put to this state of affairs, a new generation had to grow up; and even after this the Argives and the 'slaves,' who established themselves at Tiryns, were engaged in a long war, in which the Argives were at length, but not without difficulty, successful.

For these reasons we may fairly assume that Argos was in a state of weakness and humiliation for a number of years after her great defeat. And if this occurred in 495 B. C. she might plead it as a cause for inaction in 481 B. C.

But on the other hand we find that a band of a thousand Argives came to the help of the Aeginetans against Athens at some time after 491 B. C. but not long after (Herod. vi. 92), and it is difficult to see how this is consistent with an overwhelming defeat in 495 B. C. and with the consequences which Herodotus attributes to that defeat. The date of the Argive expedition must therefore remain uncertain; it was not after 494 B. C. and probably not before 510 B. C.²

The visit of the Scythians to Sparta in the reign of Cleomenes, if it occurred at all, is perhaps to be placed in connection with the advance of the Scythians, which caused Miltiades to retire from the Chersonesus, about 496 B. C.

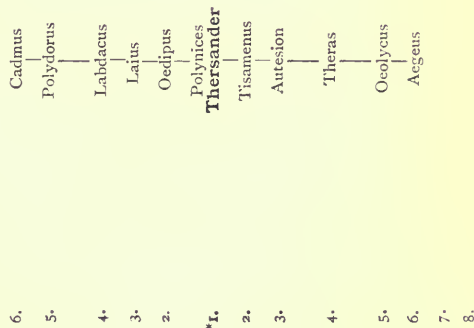
¹ *Hist. Greece*, iii. 275.

² Clinton, *Fast. Hell.*, ii. p. 19 puts the *floruit* of Telesilla, who is said to have defended Argos against Sparta, in 510 B. C.

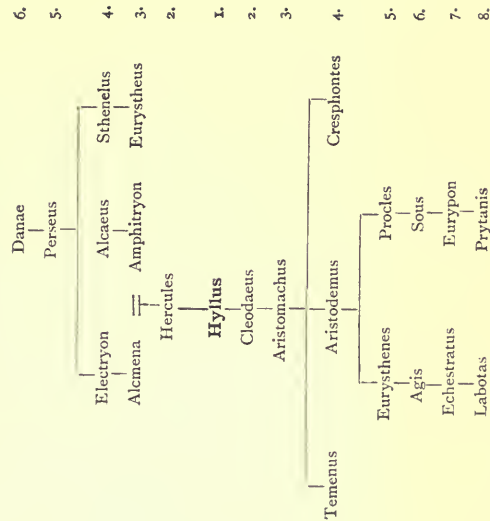
EXCURSUS IV.

THEBAN AND SPARTAN GENEALOGIES. V. 59.

THEBAN KINGS.



ARGIVE AND SPARTAN KINGS.



* Date of Trojan war.

EXCURSUS V.

V. 62.

THE ALCMAEONIDAE.

IN Pausanias the Alcmaeonidae are derived together with the Paeonidae and Medontidae from Neleus, the King of Pylus, in the following manner: ἐκβάλλουσιν οὖν (οἱ Ἑρακλείδαι) ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας τοὺς Νέστορος ἀπογόνους Ἀλκμέωνα Σίλλου τοῦ Θρασυμήδους καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν Πεισιστράτου καὶ τοὺς Παίονος τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου παῖδας, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Μέλανθον τὸν Ἀνδροπόμπου τοῦ Βώρου τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Περικλυμένου. οἱ δὲ Νηλεῖδαι πλὴν Πεισιστράτου, (τοῦτον γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα παρ' οὔστινας ἀπεχώρησεν) ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο οἱ λοιποί, καὶ τὸ Παιονιδῶν γένος καὶ Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν ἀπὸ τούτων ὠνομάσθησαν (Paus. ii. 18. 8). So much of the legend as refers to Melanthus is as old as Hellanicus (see *Frag.* 10 M), but what views Hellanicus may have held about the origin of the Alcmaeonids is unknown.

On the other hand Herodotus, while allowing a Pylian origin to the Peisistratidae and to Melanthus and Codrus, speaks of the Alcmaeonidae with emphasis as Athenians. As Athenians they are distinct from the Ionians, and therefore, we should presume, from other immigrants (Herod. v. 62, 69). And in Suidas—whatever his notice may be worth—we find: Ἀλκμεωνίδα· λαμπροί τινες Ἀθήνησιν, ἀπὸ Ἀλκμέωνος τοῦ κατὰ Θησεία. It has also been observed that Alcmaeon is a name quite unknown to Messenian legend¹. It is obvious that we have here two

¹ Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 227. Toepffer thinks that the Messenian origin of the Athenian royal race is a fiction intended to support the Athenian claim to the Ionian colonies in Asia, which were largely the work of Messenians. His remarks, if not convincing, are interesting.

different accounts of the origin of the family, and all that can be said is that the Alcmaeonidae, in their desire to stand on an equal footing with the royal race at Athens, and with the race which had ruled as tyrants, might very well put forward a claim to the same origin.

Another question which has been asked about the Alcmaeonidae is this: Were they or were they not Eupatrids? The question has arisen out of a passage in Isocrates, in which the son of the great Alcibiades is made to say: *ὁ γὰρ πατήρ πρὸς μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἦν Εὐπατριδῶν, ὧν τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ῥάδιον γνῶναι, πρὸς γυναικῶν δ' Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν οἱ τοῦ μὲν πλοῦτου μέγιστον μνημῖον κατέλιπον (ἵππων γὰρ ζεύγει πρῶτος Ἀλκμαίων τῶν πολιτῶν Ὀλυμπίαισιν ἐνίκησε) τὴν δ' εὐνοίαν ἣν εἶχον εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τοῖς τυραννικοῖς ἐπεδείξαντο. συγγενεῖς γὰρ ὄντες Πεισιστράτου καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῆναι μάλιστα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐκ ἠξίωσαν μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐκείνου τυραννίδος ἀλλ' εἴλοντο φυγεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς πολίτας ἰδεῖν δουλεύοντας (περὶ τοῦ ζεύγους, § 27).* By some interpreters this passage has been taken to mean that the Alcmaeonidae were not Eupatrids, the two races being here opposed to one another; by others, again, the Alcmaeonidae are thought to be contrasted with the Eupatrids, not as a different race, but as the most eminent among them. This, which is the view of Vischer, is probably right, for that the Alcmaeonidae were Eupatrids is clear from the fact that Megacles was archon at the time of Cylon, when the archons were chosen only from the ranks of the Eupatrids¹. It is also possible that the word Eupatridae is used in a double sense: 1. to denote men of noble birth, in which sense the Alcmaeonidae were certainly Eupatrids; 2. to denote a special family, in which sense the Eupatridae and the Alcmaeonidae may have been distinct².

3. Whether the Megacles and Alcmaeon who meet us in the list of the life archons at Athens were Alcmaeonidae or not cannot be decided. Of course, if we could trust the tradition that

¹ W. Vischer, *Ueber der Stellung d. Gesch. d. Alkmaioniden*, Kl. Schrift. i. pp. 385, 389, etc.

² See Toepffer, *l. c.* 175 ff.

the royal office at Athens was restricted to the Medontidae, this question could not be raised; the names, if names of the Alcmaeonidae, must have been brought into the Medontid race by marriage or otherwise. But the account given in the *Athenian Constitution* of the early history of Athens is so far removed from the traditional account, that we feel ourselves in doubt on the whole matter. Setting this aside, we first hear of the family on the occasion of the affair of Cylon, when Megacles was archon. His conduct on this occasion brought upon his family the stain of sacrilege. In his ruthless determination to crush the attempt at tyranny, he slaughtered men who were under the protection of the altars; and from this time the Alcmaeonidae were known as the 'accursed.'

The sacrilege of which Megacles was guilty was the cause of much disquiet in the city, and, after an interval of strife and disturbance, the Alcmaeonidae were persuaded to submit themselves to the judgment of a council of three hundred notables. The sentence was severe. The living members of the family were banished, the bones of the dead were taken up and removed across the borders of the country. The date of this punishment is uncertain, but the revenge taken on the dead may imply that it fell on the generation after Megacles, and if Plutarch is right in connecting it with Solon, it cannot be placed long before 600 B. C. The severity of it points to a strong feeling among the notables against the Alcmaeonidae, of which traces appear in the later history of Athens.

4. Next we hear of Alcmaeon as the commander of the Athenian forces in the First Sacred War¹, which came to an end in 586 B. C. As the war lasted ten years, we are driven to the conclusion that the banishment of the Alcmaeonidae cannot have lasted long: Alcmaeon must have been general of the Athenian forces by 590 B. C., and he cannot have been general while an exile. This election of Alcmaeon to command the forces of Athens in the sacred war may have been the beginning of that connection with Delphi which was to be of such importance to the family.

¹ Plut. *Sol.* c. 11 on the authority of the *Δελφῶν ὑπομνήματα*.

5. In the party struggles which divided Athens about the year 560 B. C. Megacles, the son of Alcmaeon, is the leader of the Parali, or Shore. He had already been enriched by his marriage with Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, and, according to Herodotus, Alcmaeon had already received from Croesus the handsome present which enabled him perhaps to be the first Athenian who won with a chariot at Olympia (see Isocr. *l. c.*), and to send his son to Sicyon as a fit match for the great heiress of Greece. (For the chronological difficulties see Exc. on the Chronology of the Sixth Century.) In putting themselves at the head of the Shore, which was the moderate party, the Alcmaeonidae were probably decided by the events of the previous generation. They were naturally hostile to the old aristocracy, after the sentence which had been passed upon them, while the more democratic party was patronised by Peisistratus. And there is nothing to show that at this time the Alcmaeonidae were inclined to support a democracy. When they came back to Athens, they came as the opponents of tyranny—the same part which they played in the days of Cylon—and it was not till Cleisthenes found his position untenable that he ‘made the people his club,’ to meet the associations upon which Isagoras relied to oppose him.

6. The result of the final establishment of Peisistratus on the throne was the renewed exile of the Alcmaeonidae—not as ‘accursed,’ but as personal opponents of the tyrant family, between whom and Megacles, owing to the conduct of Peisistratus towards his daughter, there was an irreparable breach. What we know of the Alcmaeonidae during their exile is related by Herodotus. Setting the chronological difficulties aside, we have first the attempt to establish a footing in Attica at Leipsydrium, which was apparently the old home of the Alcmaeonidae; and on the failure of this, the negotiations at Delphi which ended in the expulsion of the Peisistratidae from Athens by the Spartans. It is perhaps worth notice that the Alcmaeonidae seem to have made no attempt to return during the life of Peisistratus himself.

7. When Cleisthenes returned to Athens, the demos were with-

out a leader, but the old oligarchical party were as far as ever from wishing to see the Alcmaeonidae at their head. Cleisthenes however quickly made it clear that he did not intend to allow those who had treated his family so severely to have the undisputed control of affairs. If he did not wish to be a tyrant, he wished to be at least the head of the foremost family in the city. The oligarchs fell back on Sparta—promising no doubt that Athens should be a subservient member of the Spartan league—which was precisely what Cleomenes wished. The old cry of the ‘accursed’ was again raised, and Cleisthenes found it well to retire. The subsequent conduct of Cleomenes and Isagoras showed that Athens under their rule would be a strict oligarchy. The people took alarm; the new régime came to an end as quickly as it began; and Cleisthenes was once more recalled. His course was now clear: if he wished to retain his place in Athens, if Athens was to be independent of Sparta, he must become the champion of the demos. Hence the constitution of Cleisthenes was the beginning of the thorough-going democracy at Athens, though, as compared with the later development, it appeared an oligarchy.

8. With Cleisthenes the Alcmaeonidae disappear from view as leaders in Athens, at least in the male line. But the eminence and also the policy of the family were perpetuated through the females. Xanthippus, the husband of Agariste (the niece of Cleisthenes) was the leader of the demos at the time of the battle of Marathon; the son of Agariste was Pericles. From Cleisthenes in a direct line was descended Deinomache, the mother of Alcibiades. In both these men we may discern the characteristics of the race to which they belonged. Pericles was not less remarkable for his aristocratic bearing than for his democratic sympathies; like Cleisthenes he saw that ‘aristocracy’ was at an end, and threw in his lot with the demos. Alcibiades was willing to lead the demos or the oligarchs, but a leader he must be, and this was in brief the history of his race¹.

¹ See J. H. Wright, *The date of Cylon*, Boston, U.S.A., p. 28 ff., p. 52 ff.

EXCURSUS VI.

V. 66.

THE FOUR TRIBES.

1. THAT the four tribes, which were in existence at Athens before the time of Cleisthenes were Ionic—not Attic—is the universal tradition of antiquity. In addition to the passage in Herodotus, v. 66—which is the earliest mention of them—we have Eurip. *Ion*, 1575 ff.

οἱ τοῦδε γὰρ
παῖδες γενόμενοι τέσσαρες ῥίζης μιᾶς,
ἐπώνυμοι γῆς κἀπιφυλίου χθονὸς
λαῶν ἔσσονται, σκόπελον οἱ ναίουσ' ἐμόν.
Τελέων μὲν ἔσται πρῶτος· εἶτα δεύτερον
Ὅπλητες Ἀργαδῆς τ', ἐμῆς τ' ἀπ' αἰγίδος
* ἐν φύλον ἔξουσ' Αἰγικορῆς.

The same statement is repeated in the Lexicographers, etc.: Pollux, viii. 109; Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Αἰγικόρεως.

We also learn that the tribes were in existence at Cyzicus and Teos—Ionian cities: Boeckh, *C. I. G.* ii. pp. 670, 919 ff.

2. No ancient author attempts to connect the four tribes with any quadruple division of the country, though Plato, *Crit.* p. 110 C, when speaking of the castes in ancient Athens, asserts that the warrior caste dwelt apart: ᾧκει δὲ δὴ τότε ἐν τηδε τῇ χώρᾳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔθνη τῶν πολιτῶν περὶ τὰς δημιουργίας ὄντα καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τροφήν, τὸ δὲ μάχιμον ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν θείων κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀφορισθὲν ᾧκει χωρὶς. But this is a mere fanciful picture. In the accounts of the factions of the sixth century, which are

distinguished by local interests, we never find a hint that any of the three factions was connected with a tribe, which if the tribes had been settled in divisions of the country locally distinct would have been inevitable.

3. There is some little doubt about the precise form of the names. Aegicoreis and Hopletes are pretty certain, but Euripides has Teleon where Herodotus has Geleon, and another variant is Gedeon. So for Argadeis we find Ergadeis, see Plut. *Sol.* 23, quoted below, Steph. Byz. *l. c.* The best attested forms appear to be Geleon and Argadeis.

4. The meaning and significance of the names have given rise to much controversy. The ancients themselves saw in them the names of occupations or lives. Thus Plutarch, *Sol.* 23 *καὶ τὰς φυλάς εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἴωνος υἱῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν γενῶν εἰς ἃ διηρέθησαν οἱ βίοι τὸ πρῶτον ὠνομάσθαι· τὸ μὲν μάχιμον, Ὀπλίτας, τὸ δ' ἐργατικὸν Ἐργάδεις, δυεῖν δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Γελέοντας μὲν τοὺς γεωργούς, Αἰγικορεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ νομαῖς καὶ προβατείαις διατρέβοντας.* Strabo, though he does not identify the names in the same precise manner as Plutarch, tells us that Ion first divided the people into four tribes and then into four lives: *πρῶτον μὲν εἰς φυλάς διεῖλε τὸ πλῆθος, εἶτα εἰς τέτταρας βίους· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ γεωργούς ἀπέδειξε, τοὺς δὲ δημιουργούς, τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιούς, τετάρτους δὲ τοὺς φύλακας.* In this enumeration we observe that the *ἱεροποιοί* are introduced, who are not found in Plutarch's enumeration; and on the other hand the shepherds, whom Plutarch identifies with the Aegicoreis, are omitted.

5. At some remote period when the Ionians were still in the tribal condition, the names may have indicated occupations, though it is also possible that the very forms of the words which seem to indicate occupations are due to confused etymology. A word which is unintelligible is naturally brought into resemblance to a more familiar word, and it may then be interpreted by the word to which it has been assimilated. Moreover the very meaning of the names is by no means certain. Aegicoreis is, of all the four, that which seems to bear the plainest significance. But Strabo, as we have seen, has no 'life' to correspond to this meaning of the word; and the root

aîγ seems to be connected with other meanings than goat in Aegae, Aegaeon—words connected with Poseidon or the sea, and carrying us in quite another direction. Of Geleon no satisfactory explanation has ever been given; Herodotus and Euripides put the name first in the enumeration; but Plutarch interprets it as ‘husbandmen.’ Hopletes may be warriors, yet some interpret it as ‘makers of implements,’ handicraftsmen, *δημιουργοί*. Argadeis may be either labourers in the field or artizans. In this uncertainty it cannot be said that the interpretation of the words as signifying ‘castes’ is well made out.

6. That the tribes—whatever their original significance—never signified castes or occupations in Attica may be assumed as certain. In the constitution of Solon 100 members were chosen from each tribe into the Council; each tribe, therefore, was equal with the rest. But this could not have been the case if all those who bore arms were in one tribe. Nor is there any evidence to show that the priests ever formed a class apart, but, on the contrary, all the evidence which we have goes to show that such a priesthood was quite alien to Greek feeling. The names as we know them are merely names of four divisions of the Athenian people, regarded as Ionians, in which apparently all the citizens were collected¹.

¹ See Hermann, *Staatsalt.* § 94; Bähr’s Excursus to Herod. v. 66; Grote, *Hist. Greece*, ii. 263 ff. (1862); Schömann, *Antiquities of Greece*, E. T. 317 ff.; Thirlwall, *Hist. Greece*, ii. App. 1.

EXCURSUS VII.

V. 69.

THE CONSTITUTION OF CLEISTHENES.

HERODOTUS is the only writer of the fifth century, B.C., who mentions the way in which Cleisthenes rose to power, or the reforms which he introduced into the Athenian constitution; and till recently we had nothing better from the fourth century than the rhetoric of Isocrates on the one hand, and on the other, fragmentary and obscure statements in the *Politics* of Aristotle, or quoted from that author's *Athenian Constitution*, from Cleidemus, and Androtion, statements which were the more confusing because Aristotle and Cleidemus are sometimes at variance.

But the discovery of the *Constitution of Athens* has put us in a far better position. We have now a second account of the rise of Cleisthenes to power, which, while agreeing—at times verbally—with the account of Herodotus, yet gives us a more connected and complete account of the reforms of Cleisthenes than we have hitherto been able to put together. If we compare this account with that of Herodotus, we shall find that in one crucial point, the number of the demes as arranged by Cleisthenes, Aristotle is silent, but that he adds many details which Herodotus has omitted. His account is as follows:—

XX. καταλυθείσης δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ἴσαγόρας ὁ Τεισάνδρου φίλος ὦν τῶν τυράννων καὶ Κλεισθένης τοῦ γένους ὦν τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν. ἡττώμενος¹ δὲ ταῖς ἐταιρείαις ὁ Κλεισθένης προσ-

¹ Words printed in heavy type are common to Herodotus and Aristotle.

ηγάγετο τὸν δῆμον, ἀποδιδούς τῷ πλήθει τὴν πολιτείαν. ὁ δὲ Ἴσα- 2
γόρας ἐπιλειπόμενος τῇ δυνάμει πάλιν ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸν Κλεομένην 3
βυτα ἑαυτῷ ξέρον συνέπεισεν ἐλαύνειν τὸ ἄγος, διὰ τὸ τοὺς Ἀλκμεωνίδας
δοκεῖν εἶναι τῶν ἐναγῶν. ὑπεξελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεισθέους (ἀφικόμενος
ὁ Κλεομένης) μετ' ὀλίγων ἠγηλάτει τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπτακοσίας οἰκίας·
ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος τὴν μὲν βουλήν ἐπειράτο καταλύειν, Ἰσαγόραν
δὲ καὶ τριακοσίους τῶν φίλων μετ' αὐτοῦ κυρίους καθιστάται τῆς πόλεως. 4
τῆς δὲ βουλῆς ἀντιστάσης καὶ συναθροισθέντος τοῦ πλήθους οἱ μὲν
περὶ τὸν Κλεομένην καὶ Ἰσαγόραν κατέφυγον εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὁ δὲ
δῆμος δύο μὲν ἡμέρας προσκαθεζόμενος ἐπολιόρκει, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ Κλεο- 5
μένην μὲν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀφείσαν ὑποσπόνδους, Κλεισθέην
δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας μετεπέμψαντο. κατασχόντος δὲ τοῦ
δήμου τὰ πράγματα Κλεισθένης ἡγεμῶν ἦν καὶ τοῦ δήμου προστάτης.
αἰτιώτατοι γὰρ σχεδὸν ἐγένοντο τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῶν τυράννων οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι
καὶ στασιάζοντες τὰ πολλὰ διετέλεσαν. ἔτι δὲ πρότερον τῶν Ἀλκμεωνι-
δῶν Κήδων ἐπέθετο τοῖς τυράννοις, διὸ καὶ ἦδον καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς
σκολιοῖς·

ἔγχει καὶ Κήδωνι, διάκονε, μηδ' ἐπιλήθου,
εἰ χρὴ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οἰνοχοεῖν.

XXI. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἐπίστευον† ὁ δῆμος† τῷ Κλεισθέει.
τότε δὲ τοῦ πλήθους προεσθηκῶς ἔτει τετάρτῳ μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράννων
κατάλυσιν ἐπὶ Ἰσαγόρου ἄρχοντος πρῶτον μὲν οὖν† (συν)ένειμε πάν- 2
τας εἰς δέκα φυλὰς ἀντὶ τῶν τεττάρων, ἀναμείξαι βουλομένους, ὅπως
μετάσχωσι πλείους τῆς πολιτείας· ὅθεν ἐλέχθη καὶ τὸ μὴ φυλοκρυνεῖν
πρὸς τοὺς ἐξετάζειν τὰ γένη βουλομένους. ἔπειτα τὴν βουλήν πεντα- 3
κοσίους ἀντὶ τετρακοσίων κατέστησεν, πεντήκοντα ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς·
τότε δ' ἦσαν ἑκατόν. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εἰς δώδεκα φυλὰς συνέταξεν,
ὅπως αὐτῷ μὴ συμβαίη μερίζειν κατὰ τὰς προυπαρχούσας τριπτύς·
ἦσαν γὰρ ἐκ δ' φυλῶν δώδεκα τριπτύες, ὥστ' οὐ συνέπιπτεν (ἀν)
ἀναμίγεσθαι τὸ πλήθος. διένειμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν κατὰ δῆμους 4
τριάκοντα μέρη, δέκα μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ, δέκα δὲ τῆς παραλίας, δέκα
δὲ τῆς μεσογείου, καὶ ταύτας ἐπονομάσας τριπτύς ἐκλήρωσεν τρεῖς εἰς
τὴν φυλὴν ἐκάστην, ὅπως ἐκάστη μετέχη πάντων τῶν τόπων. καὶ
δημότας ἐποίησεν ἀλλήλων τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν δήμων, ἵνα
μὴ πατρόθεν προσαγορεύοντες ἐξελέγχωσιν τοὺς νεοπολίτας, ἀλλὰ τῶν
δήμων ἀναγορεύωσιν· ὅθεν καὶ καλοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι σφῆς αὐτοὺς τῶν
δήμων. κατέστησε δὲ καὶ δημάρχους τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας ἐπιμελείαν τοῖς

5 πρότερον ναυκράροις· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς δῆμους ἀντὶ τῶν ναυκραριῶν ἐποίησεν. προσηγόρευσε δὲ τῶν δῆμων τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κτισάντων· οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες ὑπῆρχον ἔτι τοῖς τόποις. τὰ δὲ γένη καὶ τὰς φρατρίας καὶ τὰς ἱερωσύνας εἴασεν ἔχειν ἐκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ταῖς δὲ φυλαῖς ἐποίησεν ἐπώνυμους ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ἑκατὸν ἀρχηγετῶν οὓς ἀνείλεν ἢ Πυθία δέκα.

XXII. τούτων δὲ γενομένων δημοτικωτέρα πολὺ τῆς Σόλωνος ἐγένετο ἡ πολιτεία. καὶ γὰρ συνέβη τοὺς μὲν Σόλωνος νόμους ἀφανίσαι τὴν τυραννίδα διὰ τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι, καινοὺς δ' ἄλλους θείναι τὸν Κλεισθένη στοχαζόμενον τοῦ πλήθους, ἐν οἷς ἐτέθη καὶ ὁ περὶ τοῦ ὄστρακισμοῦ νόμος.
Arist. *Athen. Pol.* cc. xx–xxii.

NOTES.—XX. 1. The chronology is much clearer in the account of Aristotle than in that of Herodotus. The reforms of Cleisthenes did not come in till his triumph over Isagoras was assured, though he won the people by promises, and from c. xxi. 1 we see that matters came to a crisis in 508–7 B.C.—three years after the expulsion of the tyrants.

XX. 3. τὴν βουλήν. The senate of 400.

XX. § 5. Κήδων. This is a fact hitherto unknown. Observe that nothing is said of the embassy to Persia mentioned by Herodotus.

XXI. § 1. ἄρχοντας. There may be a lacuna here, as Kaibel and Wilamowitz suggest. If there is no lacuna οὖν is not required. Nothing is here said of the composition of the tribes of Cleisthenes, of which we are told (Arist. *Pol.* iii. 2. 3 = 1275 b 36) πολλοὺς ἐφυλέτευσσε ξένους καὶ δούλους μετοίκους; yet see *infra*. § 4 τοὺς νεοπολίτας.

§ 3. τότε, i.e. down to Cleisthenes' time. The old Solonian senate consisted of 400, one hundred from each of the four tribes.

§ 4. Of this division Herodotus says nothing. It was however known to us from Psellus *περὶ δικῶν*, quoted by Hermann, *Staatsalt.* 111. 5 Κλεισθένης γὰρ τις εἰς τριάκοντα μοίρας τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἅπασαν διανείμας, ἐπεὶδὴ τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς ἐπιθαλαττίδιον ἦν, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ

μέσου καθήστο τῆς χώρας, τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἄστυ συνέστρωτο, δέκα μὲν μοίρας τῇ παραλίῳ συντέτευχε, δέκα δὲ κατέστησεν ἐπὶ τὴν μεσόγειον, δέκα δὲ ἀστυνόμους ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ τριτημόριον τριπτῦς ὠνόμαστο.

§ 5. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς δήμους, κ.τ.λ. Cleidemus differed from this, Photius, *Lex. ναυκραρία*: 'Ὁ Κλείδημος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φησὶν ὅτι Κλεισθένης δέκα φύλας ποιήσαντος ἀντὶ τῶν τεσσάρων συνέβη καὶ εἰς πεντήκοντα μέρη διαταγῆναι· αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐκύλουν ναυκραρίας.

§ 6. τὰ δὲ γένη, κ.τ.λ. From this passage we are at length able to see that in *Pol.* vi. 4. 18, 19=1319 b. 19 f. we must take part of the statement only as referring to Athens and Cleisthenes; the passage runs: ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατασκευάσματα χρήσιμα πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν τοιαύτην οἷς Κλεισθένης τε Ἀθήνησιν ἐχρήσατο βουλούμενος ἀξῆσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, καὶ περὶ Κυρήνην οἱ τὸν δῆμον καθιστάντες. φυλαὶ τε γὰρ ἕτεροι ποιηταὶ πλείους καὶ φρατρίαί, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ κοινά, καὶ πάντα σοφιστέον ὅπως ἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀναμιχθῶσι πάντες ἀλλήλοις, αἱ δὲ συνήθειαι διαζευχθῶσιν αἱ πρότερον.

Aristotle says nothing of the Apodectae who, according to Androtion, were established by Cleisthenes in the place of (ἀντὶ) the Colacretae (*Harpocraton*, *s. v.* ἀποδέκται). [The statement of Androtion is only partially true, for whether Cleisthenes established the Apodectae or not, he did not abolish the Colacretae.]

Aristotle mentions the fact that the names of the ten tribes were partly chosen by the oracle at Delphi, a fact which is recorded by Pausanias, x. 10. 1, and Pollux, viii. 10.

Aristotle and Herodotus regard the constitution of Cleisthenes as a great step in the direction of democracy. But at a later time, in the days of extreme democracy and afterwards, this was not the case. The constitution of Cleisthenes was then regarded as very limited. Cf. *Ath. Pol.* xxix. § 3 ὡς οὐ δημοτικὴν ἀλλὰ παραπλησίαν οὖσαν τὴν Κλεισθένης πολιτείαν τῇ Σόλωνος. Plutarch *Cim.* 15 even speaks of the 'aristocracy' of Cleisthenes, and this is practically the view taken by Isocrates.

The constitution was an attempt to put an end to στάσις.

With this view politics were separated as much as possible from family life and influence. The old 'phratries' and γένη were disregarded; everything was managed through the demes, which were purely local units. And, in order to prevent local influence from becoming prominent, the demes were arranged in ten tribes, in a manner which separated deme from deme, at least to a large extent¹. Both tribes and demes were kept together by the worship of heroes, and they were under the control of special officers. Lastly, the expedient of ostracism was adopted as a safeguard against anyone who seemed to be acquiring a power which threatened the balance of the state, or to be aiming at a position inconsistent with the constitution. And the institution was perhaps of some value so long as there was a danger of a man thrusting himself on the state by the assistance of a foreign city, as Hippias and Isagoras had endeavoured to do, though we must allow that it was quite useless to prevent a citizen from obtaining almost absolute power with the help of the people. It was owing to ostracism that Themistocles and Pericles rose to a position of almost regal authority.

¹ Whether the demes of Attica were distributed by Cleisthenes among the tribes in the manner described by Aristotle is more than we can say, for we have no record of a time when the demes were only 100 in number. Of the nineteen demes known to have belonged to the Hippothoontid tribe we find four in the Diacria, four in the plains of Eleusis and Athens, and four in the city and the Paralia, while the position of seven remains unknown.

EXCURSUS VIII.

THE AFFAIR OF CYLON.

V. 71.

Ι. Κύλων ἦν Ὀλυμπιονίκης, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν πάλαι εὐγενῆς τε καὶ δυνατός· ἐγεγαμῆκει δὲ θυγατέρα Θεαγένους, Μεγαρέως ἀνδρὸς ὃς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐτυράννει Μεγάρων. χρωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Κύλωνι ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνέειλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς τῇ μεγίστῃ ἑορτῇ καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν. ὁ δὲ παρά τε τοῦ Θεαγένους δύναμιν λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀναπαίσεις, ἐπειδὴ ἐπήλθεν Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νομίσας ἑορτὴν τε τοῦ Διὸς μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τι προσήκειν Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότι. εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἢ ἄλλοθί που ἡ μεγίστη ἑορτὴ εἴρητο, οὔτε ἐκείνος ἔτι κατενόησε τό τε μαντεῖον οὐκ ἐδήλου· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖος Διάσια, ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, ἕξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἣ πανδημεῖ θύουσι πολλοί, οὐχ ἱερεῖα ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια· δοκῶν δὲ ὀρθῶς γινώσκειν ἐπεχείρησε τῷ ἔργῳ. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθησάν τε πανδημεῖ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρυχόμενοι τῇ προσεδρεία ἀπήλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορι διαθεῖναι, ἣ ἂν ἄριστα διαγιγνώσκουσιν· τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ἔπρασσον. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κύλωνος πολιορκούμενοι φλαύρως εἶχον σίτου τε καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορία. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύλων καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδράσκουσιν. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, ὡς ἐπιέζοντο καὶ τινας καὶ ἀπέθνησκον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἰκέται τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ἀναστῆσαντες δὲ αὐτούς οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν, ὡς ἐώρων ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσιν, ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπέκτειναν· καθεζομένους δέ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ διεχρήσαντο. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου

ἐναγείς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐκείνοί τε ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνων. ἤλασαν μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐναγείς τούτους, ἤλασε δὲ καὶ Κλεομένης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὕστερον μετὰ Ἀθηναίων στασιαζόντων, τοὺς τε ζῶντας ἐλαύνοντες, καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων τὰ ὄστα ἀνελόττες ἐξέβαλον· κατῆλθον μῆντοι ὕστερον, καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἔτι ἐν τῇ πόλει.

Thucydides, i. 126.

2. Τὸ δὲ Κυλώνειον ἄγος ἤδη μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ διετάραττε τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ οὗ τοὺς συνωμότας τοῦ Κύλωνος ἰκετεύοντας τὴν θεὸν Μεγακλῆς ὁ ἄρχων ἐπὶ δίκη κατελθεῖν ἔπεισεν· ἐξάψαντας δὲ τοῦ ἔδους κρόκη κλωστήν, καὶ ταύτης ἐχομένους, ὡς ἐγένοντο περὶ τὰς σεμνὰς θεὰς καταβαίνοντες, αἰτομάτως τῆς κρόκης ῥαγείσης, ὥρμησε συλλαμβάνειν ὁ Μεγακλῆς καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες, ὡς τῆς θεοῦ τὴν ἰκεσίαν ἀπολεγομένης· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔξω κατέλευσαν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς προσφυγόντες ἀπεσφάγησαν· μόνοι δ' ἀφείθησαν οἱ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν ἰκετεύσαντες. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ κληθέντες ἐναγείς ἐμισοῦντο· καὶ τῶν Κυλωνείων οἱ περιγενομένοι πάλιν ἦσαν ἰσχυροί, καὶ στασιάζοντες αἰεὶ διετέλουν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεγακλέους. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τῆς στάσεως ἀκμὴν λαβούσης μάλιστα, καὶ τοῦ δήμου διασπάντος, ἤδη δόξαν ἔχων ὁ Σόλων παρῆλθεν εἰς μέσον ἅμα τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ δεόμενος καὶ διδάσκων ἔπεισε τοὺς ἐναγείς λεγομένους δίκην ὑποσχέειν καὶ κριθῆναι, τριακοσίων ἀριστίνδην δικαζόντων. Μύρωνος δὲ τοῦ Φλυεύς κατηγοροῦντος, ἐάλωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μετέστησαν οἱ ζῶντες· τῶν δ' ἀποθανόντων τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνορύξαντες, ἐξέριψαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄρους.

Plut. Sol. c. xii.

See J. H. Wright, *Op. cit.* (*supr.* p. 141).

EXCURSUS IX.

THE TYRANTS OF CORINTH.

V. 92.

Extracts from the Seventh Book of Nicolaus of Damascus¹.

I. OF CYPSELUS.

Λόγιον ἦν τοῖς Βακχιάδαις ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἀετίωνος καταλυθεῖσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεθῆναι. Γενόμενον οὖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν σπαργάνοις ἔτι ὄντα ὑποπέψαντες τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τινὰς ἐκέλευον κτεῖναι. Τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθόντων ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ μελλόντων ἀναιρεῖν, ὀρέγον τὰς χεῖρας τὸ παιδάριον προσεμειδιά τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· τοὺς δὲ οἶκτος εἰσηλθε, καὶ ἔγνωσαν μηκέτι ἀναιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ φράσαντες τῷ πατρὶ τὰς ἀληθείας ἐκποδῶν ἀπιέναι. Δόξαν δὲ οἱ μὲν εἶπαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀετίων εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν αὐτὸ ὑπεκτίθεται καὶ ἔτρεφεν, ὡς ἂν ἰκέτην τοῦ θεοῦ. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θαρσῆσας εἰς Κλεωνὰς ἤγαγε, μειράκιον ἔτι ὄντα καὶ πολλῶν διαφέροντα τὴν ἰδέαν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν. Ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον ὁ Κύψελος βουλόμενος κατελθεῖν εἰς Κόρινθον, ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐν Δελφοῖς. Συμφέρουσαν δὲ δεξάμενος φήμην οὐδὲν μελλήσας ἤκεν ἐς Κόρινθον, καὶ ταχὺ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀγαστὸς ἦν, ἀνδρείος τε καὶ σῶφρων καὶ δημωφελὴς δοκῶν εἶναι παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους Βακχιάδας ὑβριστὰς τε ὄντας καὶ βιαίους. Πολεμαρχήσας δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐστέρχηθη, τῶν πρόποτε ταύτην ἀρξάντων τὴν ἀρχὴν μακρῷ ἄριστος γενόμενος· τᾶλλα τε γὰρ ὀρθῶς ἔπραξε καὶ τότε· νόμος καθεστῆκει Κορινθίοις τοὺς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἀλισκομένους ἀπάγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον, καὶ καθεῖργνυσθαι τῶν ἐπιτιμίων ἕνεκα, ὧν καὶ αὐτῷ μέρος τι ἦν. Ὁ δὲ οὔτε καθεῖρξέ τινα πολίτην, οὔτε ἔδησεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέλυε δεχόμενος ἐγγυητάς, τῶν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγένετο, πᾶσι δὲ ἠφίει τὸ αὐτοῦ μέρος· ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα ἐν τῷ πλήθει ἐστέργετο. Ὅρων δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐχθροδῶς πρὸς

¹ Fragg. 58-60 of Müller's edition.

Βακχιάδας διακειμένους προστάτην δ' οὐκ ἔχοντας, φῆ χρησάμενοι καταλύσειαν αὐτούς, ἐπέδωκεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐδημαγωγῆι τὸ πλῆθος, τὸν τε χρησμὸν λέγων, ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πέπρωται καταλυθῆναι αὐτούς, ἀνθ' ὅτου καὶ πάλαι γενόμενον αὐτὸν ὀρμήσειαν ἀνελεῖν, καὶ νῦν ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἀλλ' οὐ δεδυνῆσθαι παρατρέψαι τὰ μοιρίδια. Οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως προσίεντο τοὺς λόγους, τοῖς μὲν δυσμενεῖς ὄντες, τῷ δὲ εὖνοι, καὶ τὸ βέβαιον τοῦ κατορθώσειν τὸ ἔργον ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνδρείας ἔχοντες. Τέλος δὲ συστήσας ἑταιρικὸν κτείνει βασιλεύοντα Πατροκλείδην, παράνομον ὄντα καὶ ἐπαχθῆ. Ταχὺ δὲ ἀντ' ἐκείνου ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν βασιλέα κατέστησεν. Ὁ δὲ τοὺς τε φυγάδας κατάγει, καὶ τοὺς ἀτίμους ὑπὸ τῶν Βακχιαδῶν γενομένους ἐπιτίμους πάλιν ἐποίησε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐχρήτο εἰς ὃ τι βούλοιτο αὐτοῖς· εἷς τε ἀποικίαν ἐξῆγγε τοὺς μὴ φίλους, ὅπως ἂν ῥᾶον ἄρχοι τῶν λοιπῶν· ἔπεμψε δὲ εἷς τε Λευκάδα καὶ Ἄνακτόριον, οἰκιστὰς αὐτῶν Πυλάδην καὶ Ἐχιάδην τάξας, παῖδας αὐτοῦ νόθους· τοὺς δὲ Βακχιάδας φυγαδεύσας ἐδήμεισε τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν. Οἱ δὲ εἰς Κέρκυραν ἀπεχώρησαν. Κύψελος δὲ Κορίνθου πρῶως ἦρχεν, οὔτε δορυφόρους ἔχων, οὔτ' ἀποθύμιος ὢν Κορινθίους. Βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔτη λ' ¹ ἐτελεύτησε τέσσαρας υἱοὺς καταλιπών, ὧν γνήσιος μὲν ἦν Περίανδρος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νόθοι.

2. OF PERIANDER.

Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου υἱός, τοῦ βασιλέως Κορινθίων, τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς κατὰ πρεσβεῖον παραλαμβάνει, καὶ ὑπὸ ὠμότητος καὶ βίας ἐξέτρεψεν αὐτὴν εἰς τυραννίδα, καὶ δορυφόρους εἶχε τριακοσίων. Ἐκώλυε τε τοὺς πολίτας δούλους κτᾶσθαι, καὶ σχολὴν ἄγειν, αἰεὶ τινα αὐτοῖς ἔργα ἐξευρίσκων. Εἰ δὲ τις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καθέζοιτο ἐζημίου, δεδιὼς μή τι βουλεύοιτο κατ' αὐτοῦ. Λέγεται καὶ ἄλλο αὐτὸν ἔργον ἄνομον ἐργάσασθαι, νεκρᾷ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ μιγέντα ὑπ' ἔρωτος. Ἔστρατεύετο δὲ συνεχῶς καὶ ἦν πολεμικός· τριήρεις τε ναπηγησάμενος ἀμφοτέραις ἐχρήτο ταῖς θαλάσσαις. Φασὶ δὲ τινας αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐπτά σοφῶν γεγονέναι· τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἦν.

3. OF THE SUCCESSOR OF PERIANDER.

Περίανδρῳ τῷ τυράνῳ Κορινθίων γηραιῷ ἤδη ὄντι πάντες οἱ υἱεῖς ἐτελεύτησαν, ὧν Εὐαγόρας μὲν ἀποικίαν εἰς Ποτίδιαναν ἐξαγαγών, Λυ-

¹ τριάκοντα.

κόφρων δὲ τυραννίδα κατασκευαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς περιοίοις, Γόργος δὲ ἄρμα ἡμιοχῶν καὶ πεσῶν ἐπὶ τράχηλον, Νικόλαος δέ, ὅσπερ ἐδόκει μετριώτατος εἶναι, ὑπὸ Κερκυραίων δολοφονηθεὶς τρώπῳ τοιῶδε. Περίανδρος βουλόμενος, τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ, μένειν τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λογιζόμενος ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲν ἐπιθοῖντο Κορίνθιοι, Νικόλαον δὲ βασιλεύοντα ἀνάσχειν διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν, ἔγνω ἀποχωρήσας αὐτὸς εἰς Κέρκυραν Νικολάῳ παραδοῦναι τὴν Κόρινθον. Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ [ταῦτα] Κερκυραίων τινὲς τὴν Περιάνδρου γνώμην, καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν μητρόπολιν θέλοντες, τὸν τε Περιάνδρον εἰ ἀφίκοιτο ὀρρωδοῦντες, συστάντες κτείνουσι τὸν Νικόλαον διατιώμενον παρὰ σφίσι. Ὁ δὲ Περιάνδρος ἀθροίσας στρατεύματα, ἐνέβαλον εἰς Κέρκυραν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔλῶν ν'¹ τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ τούτων υἱίας πλείστους ὄντας ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀλυάττην τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα ἐπ' ἔκτομη. Οἱ δὲ προσσχόντες Σάμῳ ἰκέται τῆς Ἥρας ἐγένοντο καὶ αὐτοὺς Σάμιοι αἰσθόμενοι τὸ σύμπαν ἐρρύσαντο. Περιάνδρος δὲ Ψαμμητίχῳ Κέρκυραν παραδούς, ὅστις ἦν Γόργου μὲν υἱός, ἀδελφιδοῦς δὲ ἑαυτῷ, ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Κόρινθον.

Ἐκδέκτορα τῆς βασιλείας κατέλιπε Περιάνδρος Κύψελον τὸν Γόργου παῖδα, τοῦ σφετέρου ἀδελφοῦ, ὃς ἐκ Κερκύρας ἀφικόμενος ἐτυράννευσε Κορίνθου ἄχρι αὐτὸν συστάντες τινὲς τῶν Κορινθίων ἔκτειναν, βραχὺν χρόνον κατασχόντα τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἠλευθέρωσαν. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος τὰς τε οἰκίας τῶν τυράννων κατέσκαψε, καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἐδήμυσεν, ἀταφόν τε ἐξώρισε τὸν Κύψελον, καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς τάφους ἀνορύξας, τὰ ὅστ' ἔξερριψεν· αὐτὸς δὲ παραχρήμα κατεστήσατο πολιτείαν τοιάνδε· μίαν μὲν ὀκτάδα προβούλων ἐποίησεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν βουλὴν κατέλεξεν ἀνδρῶν θ'.²

[Cf. Aristotle, *Pol.* v. 9. 22, where Psammetichus the son of Gordias is said to have been the last Cypselid tyrant.]

¹ πεντήκοντα.

² ἐννέα sc. ὑκτάδας.

EXCURSUS X.

ON THE TYRANTS.

V. 92.

TYRANTS and tyranny have met with severe treatment at the hands of Greek historians and philosophers. The word, which originally meant no more than 'monarch,' and is so used by the Greek tragedians, has never shaken off the associations of injustice and cruelty which have gathered round it in Greek literature. In Herodotus tyranny is the negation of government; it is the supremacy of one man who owns no law civil or moral, and uses the fortunes and lives, the industry and honour of his subjects to gratify the caprice of the moment. This general description is illustrated by the story of Polycrates, who put to death one of his brothers, and turned the other out of Samos; who robbed on every hand, saying that he gratified a friend more by restoring what he had taken, than if he never took it at all¹; of Cypselus, who slaughtered and despoiled the Corinthians²; and above all of Periander, whose cruelty extended to women³. Thucydides passes by the tyrants of Sicily, who were the wonder of the Grecian world, in a single sentence, with the contemptuous remark, that though they were the greatest of the tyrants, they achieved no remarkable deeds, and their wars, which were the most important events of their lives, were quite unimportant. Xenophon⁴ and Plato⁵ dwell on the misery of the tyrant as a man without domestic happiness or political

¹ Herod. iii. 80.

² Id. v. 92 ε.

³ Ibid. η.

⁴ Xenophon, *Hiero*.

⁵ Plato, *Republic*, ix. 577 f.

security ; a master in the midst of slaves, whose slave he must in time become ; a lonely friendless being, whose only trust is in a strong arm, and ever watchful eye ; while Aristotle¹ draws a picture more effective perhaps than any, by putting before us the plain and simple facts of the rise and fall of tyrannies in Greece. Modern writers who have treated of the subject, are for the most part content to take up the tale, and without asking whether the picture is true or not, delight in darkening the shadows of it.

Yet however bad the case of the tyrant may be, we must not allow it to go by default. There is something to be said on the other side. (1) If we consider the sources from which our knowledge of the tyrants is derived, we may reasonably doubt whether the accounts of them are strictly true, and still more whether we have the whole truth before us. And again (2) if we consider the acts of the tyrants as they are written large on Greek history in imperishable letters, we cannot agree that their power was contemptible or used entirely for selfish purposes ; and thirdly (3) if we consider that monarchy, in any shape, was almost unintelligible to the Greeks, we shall understand why tyranny was, in their eyes, without any redeeming features.

1. In most cases, at any rate in Greece proper, the tyrants were men belonging to the higher or privileged class in the city, who rose to power by enlisting on their side the unprivileged demos and breaking down the oligarchical government. This was certainly the case at Athens, Corinth, and Naxos, and even where it was not the case as with the Orthagoridae of Sicyon, the power of the tyrant was nevertheless felt most by the higher classes ; they were his rivals, his enemies, who felt his position to be an outrage on the equality of their order. To the populace it was either a matter of indifference whether they were ruled by one man or many ; or an advantage to have a ruler who defended them from their old oppressors. The situation was also more hopeful when there were two forces which could be matched one against the other ; or when power was monopolised

¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, Bk. v.

by one man, whose life could at least be taken by a successful conspiracy. A solid oligarchy was what the people had most to fear.

It was among the oligarchies that the stories of the tyrants arose—at any rate the Corinthian stories, which are the worst of all—and they naturally bore the mark of their origin. The Corinthians who had suffered at the hands of Cypselus or Periander, when living in exile at Sparta or Corcyra, were not likely to treat the memory of their opponent with justice. When we turn from Corinth to Sicyon we find little or nothing said to the discredit of the tyrants, though the hand of Cleisthenes fell heavily enough on his Dorian subjects. At Athens the oligarchs delighted to blacken the memory of Peisistratus and his sons, but the common people took a different view of the matter. To them the rule of Peisistratus was an age of gold¹. Nevertheless the verdict of the oligarchs outweighed that of the demos, partly because the oligarchs had a greater command of literature, and partly because, at a later time, the people themselves were in constant fear of losing their liberties, or the tyrants became more oppressive.

For there were tyrants who ruled, not because they were sure of the support of the people, but by sheer strength. Such were the tyrants of Syracuse from the beginning. Gelo thought the 'people' an 'unpleasant companion,' and would not admit them into the city. He held his own by the wealth which enabled him to support a power of 10,000 mercenaries and by the wisdom of his rule. Yet the Sicilian tyrants, or at any rate the best of them, were those who were in the highest repute throughout Greece; their praises were sung by poets, the 'people' who might have given us a very different impression of them being without a mouthpiece.

The conclusion is that whether tyrants are blamed or whether they are praised we must be cautious in believing what we read about them.

2. That the tyrants were chiefly concerned in maintaining

¹ *Athen. Pol.* c. 16.

their own power, is no doubt true ; this was their first thought ; and selfish enough it was, for their power represented nothing but personal dominion. They had no legal place in the constitution of their cities ; they were not the representatives of a party. But many of them exercised this selfish domination in a manner which promoted the public good. Polycrates, for instance, kept his island independent of Persia ; Thrasylbulus prevented the Lydians from acquiring Miletus. The victory of Gelo at Himera was almost as important an event in the history of civilisation as the victory of Salamis, for, if the Carthaginians had conquered Sicily, the history of Rome would probably have taken a different course. The victory of Cyme secured the trade of the Greeks in the Tyrrhenian sea. In Greece proper there was probably a nearer approach to unity in the days of the tyrants—though doubtless a superficial unity—than at any later time. The tyrants ‘renewed’ the national games, thus bringing the Greeks together, and causing them to be acquainted with each other—a matter most essential to unity, as Plato saw¹ ; they promoted agriculture, favoured the sports and pastimes of the people, such as the Dionysia, and preserved peace. In the reign of Peisistratus the influence of Athens extended from Macedonia to Sparta and Argos, while Thebes and Naxos, and perhaps Samos also, were friendly powers. With extraordinary insight he established settlements near the Strymon and at Sigeum—the two points which, a century later, were found to be most vital to Athenian interests. And if there was no war in his day which would compare with the Peloponnesian war, the Greeks were not the worse off on that account.

3. The centuries which have elapsed since Aristotle have taught us many facts about monarchy which the Greeks could not know, and though it is perhaps not untrue to say that there was more political life in a single generation of a Greek city than in five or six centuries of mediæval monarchy, yet there have been despotisms which have given a new vigour

¹ Plato, *Laws*, v. 738E: οὐ μείζον οὐδὲν πόλει ἀγαθὸν ἢ γνωρίμους αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.

to a nation. Government by one man is after all a form of government, and at times a necessary form. An oligarchy may become corrupt, or a democracy may become unmanageable, and under these circumstances a despotism may be a wholesome corrective. Or a few years of despotic rule may bring to the birth a change of which centuries have been in labour. It was so with Alexander, who turned the tide of civilisation eastward; it was so with Napoleon; and in a less degree with Caesar. But these were phenomena out of the range of Greek speculation. The Greeks had little idea of progress. They could not understand that a nation, in order to be progressive, must break with the past in one way or another, and that the breach is often made most rapidly and effectually by a despotism.

We may further notice, as not without an effect on the Greek views of tyranny, (1) that the Greek character was marked by an intense personal ambition, and an intense personal jealousy. Any eminent man was a possible tyrant, and everyone suspected him of the wish to become one. (2) The Greek tyrannies were also on such a small scale, that private and public life were confounded. In this respect they resemble the Italian despotisms, and the results were similar. But in tyranny on a large scale we can separate the private life of the despot from his public actions. The domestic iniquity of Napoleon may gratify a taste for scandal, but we can leave it out of sight in estimating his place in the history of the world.

EXCURSUS XI.

NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

V. 94.

1. THE traditional date of Solon's archonship is 594 B.C., and the traditional story relates that he left Athens for ten years after his legislation in order to avoid the necessity of altering his laws, owing to the complaints of his citizens. This date—within a year or two—and this story are confirmed by the newly discovered treatise of Aristotle, in which we are told that Solon did leave Athens for the reasons mentioned (cc. 11, 13); and that the first tyranny of Peisistratus, which fell in the archonship of Comeas (560 B.C.), was established thirty-one years after the legislation of Solon, which therefore fell in 591 B.C. (c. 14)¹. The difference between 594 and 591 may be due to an oversight, or to the fact that Solon's legislation occupied more than one year, which is by no means improbable.

On this calculation the ten years of Solon's absence from Athens would fall in 591–581 B.C. But Herodotus tells us that in the years of absence after his legislation Solon visited Croesus the King of Lydia (i. 29 Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἔτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῆ λύσαι τῶν ἔθετο). The usual date given for the fall of Sardis is 546 B.C., and as Croesus reigned fourteen years, his accession falls in 560 B.C., twenty years after the period in which Solon was absent from Athens.

¹ See Kenyon, *ad loc.*; in Kaibel's edition the numeral is corrected.

Again, Solon is said to have obtained his law of *ἀργία*—i. e. his law compelling every citizen to show how he obtained his living—from Amasis of Egypt (ii. 177 Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίοισι ἔθετο). But Amasis after a reign of forty-four years died shortly before the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, in 525 B. C. The accession of Amasis therefore cannot be put earlier than 570 B. C., which is nearly ten years after the limit allowed for Solon's travels. And, moreover, the legislation of Solon was completed not later than 591 B. C., i. e. twenty years before the accession of Amasis.

Once more, Solon is said to have visited Philocyprus, the prince of Soli, and to have aided him with his counsel in refounding his city. If this visit is to be placed in the years of travel after the legislation, it falls of course within 591–581 B. C. But we find Aristocyprus, the son of this Philocyprus, on the throne of Soli at the revolt of Cyprus from Persia in 497 B. C. This requires about ninety years for the two reigns, and we do not know how long Philocyprus had been on the throne at the time of Solon's visit, or how old Aristocyprus was when he fell in battle against the Persians. The period is not impossible: a prince might succeed at the age of twenty and reign sixty years; his son might be thirty at the date of his death and reign for forty years after him. In such a case we should have a century for the two reigns, but such a case is not very probable.

In each of these three instances we have reason to believe that Herodotus is not following the traditional date of Solon. To justify his synchronisms the date of the travels must be brought some twenty years nearer to the middle of the century.

2. Remembering that Herodotus is our oldest authority for the events of the sixth century, we might feel inclined to reconstruct our chronology upon his statements, but when we follow the subject further we find that this is impossible.

(a) In speaking of the rise of Peisistratus Herodotus tells us that he owed his influence with the people in a large measure to the renown which he had won in connection with the conquest of Nisaea (i. 59). As Herodotus gives no date for the conquest,

we need not suppose that he is referring to the war between Athens and Megara which preceded the legislation of Solon—and there is the less reason for this because Aristotle, who gives the same account of the rise of Peisistratus, points out the difficulties which attend the story that Peisistratus was already a general at the beginning of the sixth century (*Ath. Pol.* c. 17, see Kenyon's note on p. 37). On the other hand, we might maintain that in this case, as in the others, the Solonian legislation has to be brought down twenty years, and it then becomes quite possible that Peisistratus, who died an old man in 527 B.C., took part in a war with Megara before Solon's archonship, even though he may not have been general, as Herodotus says.

(*b*) But when we turn to another event in the life of Peisistratus we find Herodotus in complete confusion. In v. 94 Peisistratus is said to have taken part in a war between Athens and Mytilene for the possession of Sigeum, which he captured and placed under the command of Hegesistratus, his son by an Argive woman. Hegesistratus was subsequently involved in conflicts with the Mytilenaeans—conflicts in which Alcaeus the Lesbian poet lost his shield—and the war was finally brought to an end by the intervention of Periander. As Periander died in 585 B.C., and Hegesistratus was not born till after 560 B.C.—for not till his tyranny did Peisistratus enter into relations with Argos—it is obvious that Herodotus has here made a great mistake. A war in the first twenty years of the century is confounded with a war in the second half of it. Two generations are thrown together: the generation in which Peisistratus was a young man, and that in which his son was a young man. With such a blunder before us we begin to doubt whether we can construct chronology on the statements of Herodotus.

(*c*) A similar blunder is found in the story of Alcmaeon the father of Megacles. We are told in vi. 125 that the Alcmaeonidae reached a greater position than ever owing to the successes of Alcmaeon and his son Megacles. Megacles married Agariste the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, but, in the 'generation before' this, Alcmaeon had been enriched by Croesus for befriending the Lydians who came to consult

the oracle of Delphi at the bidding of the Lydian monarch. This order of events is very puzzling. As we have seen, Croesus did not ascend the throne till 560 B.C.; but Megacles the son of Alcmaeon, who married Agariste, has a daughter old enough to become the wife of Peisistratus, at the time of his second tyranny circ. 550 B.C.! His marriage then cannot have been later than 565, if so late. It is therefore very difficult to see how the enrichment of Alcmaeon can have preceded the marriage of his son by a generation, while it is impossible to bring down the date of the marriage owing to the relations between Megacles' daughter and Peisistratus.

(*d*) Again, in iii. 48, we are told that the Samians put an insult on the Corinthians about the time of the theft of a certain bowl by the Samians. This bowl was sent by the Lacedaemonians to Croesus, shortly before the fall of Sardis in 546 B.C., but the 'insult' spoken of must have occurred in the reign of Periander, i.e. before 585 B.C. The confusion is made worse by the fact that the Samians, just before they stole the bowl of the Lacedaemonians, stole a corslet which Amasis was sending to the Lacedaemonians. As we know, Amasis did not ascend the throne of Egypt till 570—fifteen years after the death of Periander.

From these examples it seems clear that Herodotus was not in possession of any accurate chronology for the sixth century; and it would therefore be a mistake to attempt to reconstruct the traditional chronology on the basis of his statements. On the other hand we have the authority of Thucydides (vi. 59) for asserting that the Peisistratidae were expelled from Athens in the 20th year before the battle of Marathon, i.e. in the year 510 B.C., and the authority of Aristotle for asserting that the tyranny continued forty-nine years. This brings us to the year 560–559 for the first tyranny of Peisistratus. The legislation of Solon is placed more than thirty-one years before this date (*Ath. Pol.* c. 14), which brings us to 591 B.C. for Solon's archonship. It is true that the various accounts of the tyranny involve us in some difficulties, but this chronology seems to be correct within a year or two.

EXCURSUS XII.

THE WORSHIP OF HEROES.

V. 104.

1. NOTHING satisfactory can be said about the derivation of the word *ἦρως*. The ancients connected it with Eros (Plato, *Crat.* 398 D), or with *ἔρα* (earth), or with Hera as goddess of the earth. Modern etymologists naturally point to the similarity to the German word *Herr* (Hermann, *Gott. Alt.* § 16. 7).

In Homer the word seems to be used in a general sense to denote the freeman as opposed to the slave. Thus we have the expressions *ἦρως Δαναοί*, *ἦρως Ἀχαιοί*, of the whole Grecian host; the *ἀγορά* is the meeting-place of the 'heroes' (*Il.* xix. 34; *Od.* vii. 44). The word is applied specially—but why, we cannot say—to Demodocus the minstrel (*Od.* viii. 443), and Muius the herald (*Od.* xviii. 423). There is no proof that the word has any connection in sense with *διογενής* or *ἡμίθεος*, though it is not, of course, inconsistent with those epithets. Nor is there any trace of the use of the word in the feminine.

2. When we turn to Hesiod, we find that the use of the word has been greatly modified. In the *Works and Days* 156 ff. the heroes form a definite age in the declining series, by which mankind have passed from the golden age to the age of iron. They are the fourth in order, though not in merit; they are those who fought at Troy for Helen, and at Thebes for the flocks of Oedipus, a just and warlike race, superior to the men of bronze who preceded them. If we may take Hesiod's words strictly, the heroes fall into two classes: some were subject to death; but

others were carried away to the limits of the earth, apart from men and gods, to the Islands of the Blest, where, thrice in the year, the earth brings forth her increase for their use¹.

Though immortal the heroes of Hesiod are not said to be objects of worship, or to exercise any influence on the living. In this respect they are sharply distinguished from the men of the golden age, whose spirits after death become *δαίμονες*, 'guardians of men,' 'watchers over good and evil,' 'givers of wealth.' Nor are the heroes in any way connected with the under world; the men who are *μάκαρες ὑποχθόνιοι θνητοί*, and receive their due honour, are the men of the silver age.

In the poetry of Pindar the 'heroes' are brought into relation with the life after death, and retribution for evil:

*οἷσι δὲ Φερσεφόνα ποιῶν παλαιοῦ πένθεος
δέξεται, ἐς τὸν ὕπερθευ ἄλιον κείνων ἐνάτω ἔτει
ἀντιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν,
ἐκ τᾶν βασιλῆες ἀγαυοὶ καὶ σθένει κραιπνοὶ σοφία τε μέγιστοι
ἄνδρες αἴξονται' ἐς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἥρωες ἀγνοὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων
καλεῦνται.*

In this conception heroes inherit the souls which have undergone purification; they form a class apart, distinguished by some bodily or mental excellences for which they are honoured in life and after death. Thus we approach the later conception of the word, but Pindar gives us no hint that the hero exercised an influence on the fortunes of the living after his own death.

3. It is in Herodotus that the worship of heroes is first clearly brought before us. In his time the custom is firmly established, and common throughout Greece; he draws attention to the fact that the Egyptians have no heroes (ii. 50); and distinguishes carefully between the hero and the god in the worship of Heracles (ii. 44). Among those whose worship as heroes is mentioned in his pages we may distinguish:

(a) The mythical heroes. Such are Adrastus, the hero of

¹ Such an existence is of course known to the poet of the Eleventh Odyssey, in which Teiresias promises Menelaus that he will be conveyed without death to the Elysian plain 'because he is the husband of Helen and son-in-law of the gods'; but there is no mention of 'heroes' in this connection.

Sicyon (v. 67); Astrabacus, the hero at Sparta (vi. 69); Autonus and Phylacus, the heroes of Delphi (viii. 39); Cyrnus, the hero worshipped at Elea (i. 167); the heroes of Troy (vii. 43).

(δ) The men who have received heroic honours. Such are Miltiades, the hero of the Chersonese (vi. 38); Onesilus, the hero of Amathus (v. 114); Philippus of Croton (v. 47); Artachæes of Acanthus (vii. 117); Timesius of Abdera (i. 168). Of these some have received divine honours as the founders of cities, as Miltiades and Timesius, though the latter was expelled from the city which he founded. Others were worshipped owing to some striking bodily characteristic: Philippus for his beauty; Artachæes for his magnificent stature; Onesilus because bees swarmed in his skull. They were worshipped by those who were their enemies in life, and generally at the command of an oracle.

4. In what light Herodotus regarded the worship of heroes it is difficult to determine. The worship involves the conception of a continued personal existence after death—a conception which the historian seems to treat with contempt. Certainly he would deny that any hero, who had been born a man upon earth, ever became a god, thus drawing a sharp line of distinction between the human and superhuman, the mortal and immortal. On the other hand no Greek was ever more sensitive to eminent personal qualities, or more careful to record them.

5. The worship of heroes was a worship of the dead—of underground powers. The words appropriate to it—*ἐναγίζειν*, *ἐναγίσματα*—are distinct from those appropriated to the worship of the gods, though the distinction is not always strictly preserved (Herod. ii. 44 τῶ Ὀλυμπίῳ θύουσι ὡς ἀθανάτῳ, τῶ δ' ἐτέρῳ ὡς ἥρωι ἐναγίζουσι, yet in v. 47 we have ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρώϊον ἰδρυσάμενοι θυσίῃσι αὐτὸν ἰλάσκονται: cf. v. 114). Offerings to heroes, if more than drink-offerings (*χοαί*), were burnt, not eaten; there was no feast connected with the sacrifice (cf. Paus. ii. 10. 1 τοὺς μηρούς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καύσαντες τὰ μὲν ἐσθίουσιν ὡς ἀπὸ ἱερείου, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἥρωι τῶν κρέων ἐναγίζουσι). Such sacrifices were also

offered after midday, when the powers of darkness might be supposed to be in the ascendant over the powers of light (Hermann, *Gott. Alt.* § 16. 2).

6. Other evidence from the age of Herodotus, which points to the importance attached to the worship of the dead, and the influence which the dead exercised on the fortunes of the living, will be found in the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylus, and the *Electra* of Sophocles, in which offerings are brought to the tomb of Agamemnon, and his aid is invoked by both contending parties. In the sphere of practical politics we find the Spartans bringing the bones of Orestes to Sparta about the middle of the sixth century; and the Athenians bringing the bones of Theseus to Athens, soon after the beginning of the fifth century, both so far as we can tell with a view of strengthening the position which they were anxious to take up—the Spartans as leaders of the Peloponnesian confederacy, the Athenians as leaders of the Delian League¹.

¹ On the subject, see Hermann, *Gott. Alt.* § 16; Pauly, *Real-Encycl.* *sub voce*. The establishment of the heroes of the tribes by Cleisthenes shows how strongly felt was the necessity of combining an institution with a name, even when there could be little in common between the two.

EXCURSUS XIII.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE IONIAN REVOLT.

501-490 B.C.; Ol. 69. 4-72. 3.

I. CHRONOLOGICAL ABSTRACT.

B.C.

501. THE Naxian oligarchs apply to Aristagoras, who enters into negotiations with Artaphernes.
500. Spring. The Persian fleet at Naxos. Four months' siege. Aristagoras discusses the question of revolt. Arrest of the Persian generals at Myus, &c. Aristagoras at Sparta and Athens.
499. March upon Sardis: battle of Ephesus: return of the Athenians. The revolt spreads through Asia Minor.
498. Revolt of Cyprus: measures for crushing the revolt in Aeolis, Ionia, and Caria.
497. The revolt of Cyprus at an end. Death of Aristagoras. Histiaeus comes down from Susa to the coast.
496. Battle of Lade and siege of Miletus. Aeaces in Samos.
495. Siege of Miletus.
494. Fall of Miletus. Subjugation of Caria.
493. Death of Histiaeus. Subjugation of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos. The Phoenician fleet in the Northern Aegean and the Hellespont. Miltiades returns to Athens. Artaphernes arranges the tribute in the cities of Ionia.
492. Mardonius made general. His disaster off Athos.
491. Preparations for a new invasion. Earth and water demanded from the Greeks by the heralds of Darius. Difficulties at Aegina. Subjugation of Thasos.
490. Battle of Marathon.

2. Those who wish to consult recent works on the chronology of the Ionian revolt, will find tables slightly differing from this in Stein, Herod. v. 33; Duncker, *Gesch. Alt.* vii. p. 30, n. 2; Kaegi, *Kritische Geschichte des Spartanischen Staates*, Leipzig, 1873. Busolt, *G. G.* ii. 26, n. 2, agrees with Stein. Curtius, vol. i. 615 ff., differs from other writers in minor details, but especially in putting the battle of Lade in 494 B.C.

Our sole authority is Herodotus, who is sometimes clear, and sometimes almost hopelessly obscure. He mentions a sequence of years once or twice, and then disregards chronology altogether; see vi. 31, 46, 95.

Assuming that the battle of Marathon was fought in 490 B.C., we have to work back from this to the beginning of the revolt. In vi. 95, we are told that preparations were made for the invasion in the year preceding the battle, i.e. in 491 B.C., and that the expedition sailed across the Aegean to avoid the disaster which had befallen Mardonius in the year before the preparations began, i.e. in 492 B.C. (if this is the meaning of τῆ προτέρῳ ἔτει in vi. 95, end). We are also told that Darius had received the reports of his messengers before ordering the campaign of 490 B.C., i.e. they returned to him in 491 B.C.; vi. 94. They were sent in the same year that Thasos was reduced; and in the same year orders were given for the preparations against Greece (vi. 48), i.e. in 491 B.C. This was the year after Mardonius' disaster, which therefore took place in 492 B.C. Mardonius set out in the spring (vi. 43), but did not reach Athos till late. In the year before Mardonius' campaign, Artaphernes had arranged the tribute, &c., in Ionia (vi. 42), an arrangement partly undone by Mardonius. This, then, was in 493 B.C. In the same year the Phoenician fleet carried fire and sword to the islands and Northern Aegean (vi. 31 ff.), and as this year is described as the year after the fall of Miletus (vi. 31), we may assume that Miletus fell in 494 B.C. Herodotus tells us that Miletus fell in the sixth year of the revolt, so that the date of the revolt is 499 B.C. Whether Herodotus dates from the attack on Sardis, or from the arrest of the Persian generals,

is not clear. I have assumed the former, as being the first act which roused the resistance of the Persians.

We may assume that Aristagoras was killed at Myrcinus in 497 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 102; sixty years before the founding of Amphipolis in 437 B.C.). This event is mentioned by Herodotus in the last chapter of the fifth book. Between it and the end of 494 B.C. we get the following incidents:—

Histiaeus comes to Sardis, whence he retires to Chios, and attempts to get up a conspiracy at Sardis. Failing in this, he attempts to enter Miletus, but is repulsed; he goes back to Chios, thence to Mytilene, and finally establishes himself at Byzantium with some Lesbians, and blockades the strait, vi. 1-5.

Then follows the account of the battle of Lade, vi. 6-16; and in c. 18, the account of the capture of Miletus, which is taken in the sixth year of the revolt. In c. 26 Histiaeus returns to Chios, and with the aid of the Lesbians, visits his wrath on the Chians (he has heard what has happened about Miletus), and from Chios he goes (c. 28) with other Aeolians and his Lesbians to Thasos. From this place, hearing of the advance of the Phoenicians, he retires to Lesbos; thence to Atarneus, where he is taken captive (493 B.C.).

We seem to have here the events of three years, 496, 495, and 494 B.C., but Herodotus creates confusion by speaking in the same breath of the battle of Lade and the capture of Miletus. In vi. 25 we are told that Aeaces was taken to Samos after the 'sea-fight about Miletus'; and in the same chapter that Caria was subdued after the 'capture of Miletus.' He tells us, indeed, that Miletus held out after the battle, but he does not say how long the siege lasted. His language in vi. 18 would lead us to suppose that it did not last long (hence Curtius puts the battle of Lade in 494 B.C.). But in vi. 6 we are told that the fleets gathered at Miletus about the time when Histiaeus went to Byzantium, i.e. not long after his return to the coast, which, again, is soon after the death of Aristagoras in 497 B.C.; and that the Cyprian fleet joined the Persians after its defeat at Cyprus (vi. 6). Now the Cyprians enjoyed freedom for a year. The latest date at which we can put their revolt is 498 B.C.,

for it followed very soon after the battle of Ephesus in 499 B.C. (v. 104; we may allow some months for the plans and efforts of Onesilus); hence they were crushed in 497 B.C. The battle of Lade, then, would seem to have been fought in 496 B.C., and the siege of Miletus lasted through the whole of 495 into 494 B.C. The Phoenician fleet did not leave the Southern Aegean till the spring of 493 B.C.

Miletus, then, fell in 494 B.C.; the revolt, i.e. the burning of Sardis, took place in 499 B.C. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Athenians sent their ships in the spring, not in the late autumn, and as there was an interval between his leaving Athens and the despatch of the ships (v. 98), Aristagoras was at Athens in the year before the burning of Sardis, i.e. in 500 B.C., in the same year as the failure at Naxos. Finally, we know that the Persian fleet was sent to Naxos in the spring after Aristagoras made his application to Artaphernes, v. 31. Hence 501 B.C. is the date of the application of the oligarchs to Aristagoras.

These dates are not improbable, but it is obvious that from the year 494 B.C. upwards, with the possible exception of the death of Aristagoras, we have nothing fixed but the interval between the fall of Miletus and the outbreak of the revolt—and even here it is not quite certain from which point the outbreak is dated.

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΗΣ

Z.

IONIA. B. C. 497 (?); Ol. 70. 4.

Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν νυν Ἴωνίην ἀποστήσας οὕτω τε- 1
λευτᾶ. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος μεμετιμένος Sardis :
ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρῆν ἐς Σάρδις. ἀπιγμένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ Histiaeus
τῶν Σούσων εἶρετο Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίον ὑπαρχος and Arta-
5 κατὰ κοῖόν τι δοκεῖ Ἴωνας ἀπεστάναι. ὁ δὲ οὔτε εἰδέ- phernes.
ναι ἔφη ἐθώμαξέ τε τὸ γεγονὸς ὡς οὐδὲν δῆθεν τῶν
παρέοντων πρηγμάτων ἐπιστάμενος. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης
ὀρέων αὐτὸν τεχνάζοντα εἶπε, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀτρεκείην τῆς
ἀποστάσιος, “οὕτω τοι Ἰστιαῖε ἔχει κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ
10 πρήγματα· τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σύ, ὑπε-
δήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης.” Ἀρταφρένης μὲν ταῦτα ἐς 2
τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντα εἶπε. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ δείσας ὡς συν-
ιέντα Ἀρταφρένεα ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ἐπελθοῦσαν νύκτα
ἀπέδρη ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, βασιλέα Δαρείον ἐξηπατηκῶς·

1. 2. Ἰστιαῖος. Cf. v. 108.

4. Ἀρταφρένης, κ.τ.λ. Cf. v. 25.

5. κατὰ κοῖόν τι. Cf. v. 3. 6 κατὰ τοῦτο, *inf.* 3. 2 κατ' ὅ τι, 44 *ult.*

9. τοι = σοι.

10. With the simile cf. v. 105. 4 τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι τῆς συλλογῆς ὥστε ταῦτα συνφανθῆναι τὸν Μιλήσιον Ἀρισταγόρην.

2. 1. ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντα. ἔχειν ἐς, φέρειν ἐς, are Herodotean phrases for 'touching on,' 'bearing on,' 'relating to' (*inf.* c. 42. 2).

3. ὑπὸ τὴν, κ.τ.λ. 'in the night next following.' Herodotus often uses ὑπό in this context; cf. ix. 51. 19 ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην.

4. Δαρείον . . . 7. Δαρείον. For the repetition of the proper name, see *inf.* 23. 16 and note.

ΙΟΝΙΑ. B.C. 497 (?); Ol. 75. 4.

Histiaeus
at Chios.

ὅς Σαρδῶ νήσον^a τὴν μεγίστην ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργά-
σασθαι^b ὑπέδυνε τῶν Ἰώνων τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοῦ πρὸς
Δαρείου πολέμου. διαβὰς δὲ ἐς Χίον ἐδέθη ὑπὸ Χίων.
καταγνωσθεὶς πρὸς αὐτῶν νεώτερα πρήσσειν πρήγματα
ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Δαρείου. μαθόντες μέντοι οἱ Χῖοι τὸν
πάντα λόγον, ὡς πολέμιος εἶη βασιλεί, ἔλυσαν αὐτόν.¹⁰
3 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ εἰρωτώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰώνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος
κατ' ὃ τι προθύμως οὕτω ἐπέστειλε τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ
ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος καὶ κακὸν τοσοῦτον εἶη Ἰω-
νας ἐξεργασμένους, τὴν μὲν γενομένην αὐτοῖσι αἰτίην οὐ

^a νήσων PR; cf. v. 106 *ult.*

^b κατεργάσασθαι P. Krüger.

5. Σαρδῶ, κ.τ.λ. Cf. v. 106 *ult.*,
note.

ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργάσασθαι.
Krüger reads κατεργάσασθαι. The
same question arises in i. 24. 16,
where Stein has ὑπεδέκετο ἑωυτὸν
κατεργάσασθαι, Krüger, κατεργάσε-
σθαι. In these cases the change of a
letter makes the difference between
the aorist and future. In cases where
the tenses are more distinct, the
evidence is strongly in favour of the
future, iv. 134 ὑποδεξαμένων Ἰώνων
ποίησιν ταῦτα, viii. 102. 5 ὑποδέκεται
ποίησιν, ix. 12. 5 ὑποδεξάμενοι
σχῆσειν. The temptation to read
the future in every case is therefore
very strong. Nevertheless it is prob-
ably right to allow both aorist and
future, for the same variation occurs
with verbs of similar meaning, e.g.
ἐν νόφ ἔχειν is found with the
present, aorist and future infinitive.
See Goodwin, *Syntax*, §§ 100, 136.
See notes on ἀναβάλλομαι v. 49 *ult.* :
ἐκδύσασθαι v. 106. 31.

6. τῶν Ἰώνων τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοῦ
πρὸς. For the double genitive cf.

inf. 67. 1 Δημαράτου τὴν κατάπαυσιν
τῆς βασιληίης, etc.

9. ἐκ, 'at the instigation of,' viii.
80 ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμενα ὑπὸ
Μήδων.

τὸν πάντα λόγον, 'the whole
truth.'

3. 3. κακὸν τοσοῦτον, κ.τ.λ.
Herodotus regards the revolt as a
great evil, cf. v. 97. 19 αὐταὶ δὲ αἰ
νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο Ἕλλησί τε
καὶ βαρβάροισι. And as a fact the
Ionians were never again so prosper-
perous. Under the Athenian empire
Chios and Lesbos, which sent 180
ships to Lade, seem to have had but
50 ships or a few more between
them; and the intellectual eminence
of the Ionian cities disappears en-
tirely.

4. τὴν γενομένην αἰτίην = τὴν
ἐοῦσαν αἰτίην cf. *inf.* 50. 12, v. 106.
22.

αὐτοῖσι, with ἐξέφαινε. For the
order of words cf. *inf.* 50. 7 ἄνευ
γὰρ μιν Σπαρτιητέων τοῦ κοινού. οὐ
μάλα = 'not at all.' So οὐ πάνν.
The qualifying adverb often follows,

IONIA. B.C. 497 (?); Ol. 70. 4.

5 μάλα ἐξέφαινε, ὁ δὲ ἔλεγέ σφι ὡς βασιλεὺς Δαρείος ἐβουλεύσατο Φοίνικας μὲν ἐξαναστήσας ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ κατοικίσαι, Ἰωνας δὲ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ, καὶ τούτων εἵνεκα ἐπιστείλει. οὐδέν τι πάντως ταῦτα βασιλέος βουλευσαμένου ἐδειμάτου τοὺς Ἰωνας.^a

Μετὰ δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος δι' ἀγγέλου ποιούμενος Ἐρμί- 4
που ἀνδρὸς Ἀταρνεῖτεω τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι εὐοῦσι Περ- He
σέων ἔπεμπε βυβλία, ὡς προλελεσχηνευμένων αὐτῷ ἀπο- attempts
στάσιος πέρι. ὁ δὲ Ἐρμιππος πρὸς τοὺς μὲν ἀπε- a revolt at
5 πέμφθη οὐ διδοῖ, φέρων δὲ ἐνεχείρισε τὰ βυβλία Ἀρ- Sardis.
ταφρένει. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἅπαν τὸ γινόμενον ἐκέλευε τὸν
Ἐρμιππον τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου δοῦναι φέροντα

^a ante οὐδέν supplet Reiske ὁ μὲν δὴ: ἐδειμάτου τοὺς Ἰωνας del. Dobr.:
δειματῶν Kriig.

οὐδέν τι πάντως *infra*. l. 8, χρήσιμα
κάρτα 42. 3, πολλὸν κάρτα 43. 4,
ξείνιους τὰ μάλιστα v. 63.

5. ὁ δὲ ἔλεγε, κ.τ.λ. Cf. i. 185,
iv. 204, v. 14 and *infra*. c. 20.
By occupying Ionia with Phoenicians,
Darius would secure for himself absolute
command of the Anatolian coast; and on the
other hand, the Ionians, if placed in Phoenicia,
would be beyond the reach of their
countrymen.

8. ἐπιστείλει, sc. ὁ Ἰστιαῖος. The optative
follows somewhat loosely on ἔλεγε ὡς and is
used as in oratio obliqua. οὐδέν τι πάντως,
cf. v. 65. 1; 92. 9, 14 and note, 'in no way
whatever.' The asyndeton here is certainly
harsh, and a number of emendations have
been proposed (see crit. note), but similar
harshness is found, *infra*. 21. 7, 52. 16.

4. 1. δι' ἀγγέλου ποιούμενος Ἐρμίππου.
The unusual phrase is

supported by viii. 134 διὰ χρηστηρίων
ποιούμενος.

2. Atarneus was a tract of land on the
continent opposite Lesbos. It was given to
the Chians by Cyrus, as a reward for
surrendering Pactyes, Herod. i. 160. Histiæus
was captured there; *infra*. 28 f.

3. ὡς προλελεσχηνευμένων. The word
is masculine, not neuter; and ὡς does not
imply doubt, as in ὡς δῆθεν i. 6, but gives
the reason for the messages being sent. For
the construction, in which a dative is followed
by a genitive, both cases referring to the
same subject, cf. i. 3. 8 τοὺς δὲ προισχομένων
ταῦτα προφέρειν σφι Μηδείης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν,
where προισχ. and σφι refer to the same
persons. λεσχηνεύεσθαι is a word found in
Ionic writers of the fifth and sixth centuries
(Heraclitus, Democritus, Hippocrates) and in
later authors (Appian).

MILETUS. B.C. 499; Ol. 71. 1.

τοῖσί περ ἔφερε, τὰ δὲ ἀμοιβαῖα τὰ παρὰ τῶν Περσέων ἀντιπεμπόμενα Ἰστιαίῳ ἑωυτῷ δοῦναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν ἀπέκτεινε ἐνθαῦτα πολλοὺς Περσέων 10 ὁ Ἄρταφρένης.

5 Περὶ Σάρδεις μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο ταραχή. Ἰστιαῖον δὲ ταύτης ἀποσφαλέντα τῆς ἐλπίδος Χίῳι κατῆγον ἐς Μίλητον, αὐτοῦ Ἰστιαίου δεηθέντος. οἱ δὲ Μιλησιοί, ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλαχθέντες καὶ Ἀρισταγόρῳ, οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι ἐς τὴν χῶρην, 5 οἷα ἐλευθερίας γευσάμενοι. καὶ δὴ νυκτὸς γὰρ εὐσης βίη ἐπειράτο κατιῶν ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, τιτρώσκειται τὸν μηρὸν ὑπὸ τευ τῶν Μιλησίων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἀπωστός^a τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται, ἀπικνέεται ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Χίον· ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Χίους 10 ὥστε ἑωυτῷ δοῦναι νέας, διέβη ἐς Μυτιλήνην καὶ ἔπειθε Λεσβίους δοῦναί οἱ νέας. οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες ὀκτῶ τρήρεας ἔπλεον ἅμα Ἰστιαίῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐνθαῦτα

^a ἐκ τῆς Pr.

9. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν. Neuter rather than masculine, 'Als auf diese Weise die Sache offenkundig geworden war.' Bähr.

5. 2. κατῆγον, imperfect of the attempt, which failed, *infr.* 10. κατα is idiomatic in the sense of 'returning home,' cf. κατιῶν *infr.* 1. 7, 22. 5, 41. 3, 17, but Herodotus sometimes uses ἀπο- ('back'), ἀπονοστεῖν 27. 5, ἀπελθόντων v. 79. 5, ἄπιτε *infr.* 97. 11.

7. ἐπειράτο κατιῶν. The common construction in Herodotus, cf. *infr.* 9. 16; 84. 9.

9. ἀπωστός, a word used by Sophocles, Aj. 1020 ἀπωστός γῆς.

10. ἔπειθε, just below ἔπεισε, the

difference of tenses, marking the difference between failure and success. For πείθειν ὥστε see v. 105.

4. We have no means of ascertaining the relations which prevailed between the Asiatic cities at this time, but from the context we should conclude that the Lesbians were jealous of the Chians and Milesians. Moreover they were Aeolians, while the Chians were Ionians. So in the battle of Lade, the Lesbians are treacherous; the Chians are patriotic. Yet we are astonished to find that the Lesbians gain nothing by their conduct. Was their complicity with Histiaeus remembered against them?

Failing to enter Miletus, he seizes Byzantium.

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δὲ ἰζόμενοι τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκπλεούσας τῶν νεῶν
 15 ἐλάμβανον, πλὴν ἢ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ἰστιαίῳ ἔφασαν ἔτοι-
 μοι εἶναι πείθεσθαι.

Ἰστιαῖος μὲν νυν καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐποίουν ταῦτα. 6
 ἐπὶ δὲ Μίλητον αὐτὴν ναυτικὸς^a πολλὸς καὶ περὶ ἦν
 στρατὸς προσδόκιμος· συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ
 τῶν Περσέων καὶ ἐν ποιήσαντες στρατόπεδον ἤλαυον
 5 ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τὰλλα πολίσματα περὶ ἐλάσσονος ποιη-
 σάμενοι. τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Φοίνικες μὲν ἦσαν προθυμό-
 τατοι, συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι νεωστὶ κατεστραμ-
 μένοι καὶ Κίλικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν 7
 Μίλητον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην ἐστρατεύοντο.^b Ἴωνες
 δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἔπεμπον προβούλους σφέων
 αὐτῶν ἐς Πανιώνιον. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τούτοισι ἐς τοῦτον
 5 τὸν χῶρον καὶ βουλευομένοισι ἔδοξε περὶ μὲν στρατὸν
 μὴ^c συλλέγειν ἀντίξοον Πέρσησι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τείχεα ρύ-

The Per-
sian fleet
assembles
at Miletus.

^a ναυτικός τε St.^b ἐστράτεον A B C; cf. *inf.* 108. 21.^c μηδένα P R, St.

15. ὅσοι αὐτῶν, i. e. the owners of the ships, or the nations from which they came. The blow was aimed at the Milesians, who traded greatly with the Pontus; see *inf.* 26. 3.

6. 3. οἱ στρατηγοί. Artaphernes, Otanes, and perhaps Hargagus; cf. v. 123; *inf.* 28.

7. 3. προβούλους. 'Commissioners.' In the same manner in the autumn of 481 B. C. the patriotic Greeks sent πρόβουλοι to the Isthmus of Corinth to discuss the best means of defence, vii. 172. 5 ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἦσαν ἀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν. Quite distinct are the Probouli

sometimes chosen to administer the affairs of a city; cf. Thuc. viii. 1 ἀρχὴν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐλέσθαι, οἵτινες περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἀν καιρὸς ἢ προβουλεύουσι.

4. ἐς Πανιώνιον. The Panionium lay on the northern slope of Mycale, three stades from the sea, on the way from the Samian Strait to Ephesus, Strabo, p. 639. It was in the keeping of the Prienians, who made the arrangements necessary for the meetings, and for the festival which was celebrated there to Poseidon. Cf. Smith, *Dict. Geog.* sub voc.

6. ἀλλὰ . . . Μιλησίους. These words are a kind of parenthesis, after which the previous subject is

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- εσθαι αὐτοὺς Μιλησίους, τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν πληροῦν ὑπολιπομένους μηδεμίαν τῶν νεῶν, πληρώσαντας δὲ συλλέγεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Λάδην προναυμαχῆσοντας τῆς Μιλήτου. ἡ δὲ Λάδη ἐστὶ νῆσος σμικρὴ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλι τῇ ¹⁰
- 8 Μιλησίων κειμένη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πεπληρωμένῃσι τῆσι νηυσὶ παρήσαν οἱ Ἴωνες, σὺν δὲ σφί καὶ Αἰολέων ὅσοι ^α Λέσβον νέμονται. ἐτάσσοντο δὲ ᾧδε. τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ εἶχον κέρας αὐτοὶ Μιλήσιοι, νέας παρεχόμενοι ὀγδώκοντα· εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πριηνέες δωδέκα νηυσὶ καὶ ⁵ Μυήσιοι τρισὶ νηυσί, Μυησίων δὲ Τήιοι εἶχοντο ἑπτακαίδεκα νηυσί, Τηίων δὲ εἶχοντο Χίιοι ἑκατὸν νηυσί· πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι Ἐρυθραῖοί τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Φωκαεῖς, Ἐρυθραῖοι μὲν ὀκτὼ νέας παρεχόμενοι, Φωκαεῖς δὲ τρεῖς· Φωκαέων δὲ εἶχοντο Λέσβιοι νηυσὶ ἑβδομή- ¹⁰ κοντα· τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέ- ρην κέρας Σάμιοι ἐξήκοντα νηυσί. πάντων δὲ τούτων ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ
- 9 τριηκόσiai τριήρεις. αὐταὶ μὲν Ἰώνων ἦσαν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἦσαν ἑξακόσiai. ὡς δὲ

^α ὅσοι τὴν Λέσβον St.: ὅσοι τὴν αἰολίδα γῆν A B C: οἱ λέσβον R, Krüg., alii.

resumed. But instead of the dative (βουλευομένοισι) we have the accusative (ὑπολιπομένους), because what is said is part of the resolution and goes with the infinitive πληροῦν.

10. The island of Lade is now joined to the mainland by the alluvial deposits of the Maeander. In 412 B. C. it formed the station of the Athenian fleet, at the time when Miletus revolted. In 334 B. C. it was occupied by Alexander (Arrian, *An.* i. 18. 4); in the time of Strabo

it had become a nest of pirates (p. 635).

8. 2. ὅσοι Λέσβον νέμονται. The Aeolian cities on the mainland had been crushed, see v. 123. So also Clazomenae, *ibid.*; Ephesus, Colophon and Lebedus, of the Ionic cities, took no part whatever in the revolt.

12. πάντων τούτων, the masc. refers to the crews which manned the vessels; cf. αὐτῶν *supr.* 5. 15. There is no need to read πασέων τούτων.

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καὶ αὐταὶ ἀπίκατο πρὸς τὴν Μιλησίην καὶ ὁ πεζός
 σφι ἅπας παρήν, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Περσέων στρατηγοὶ πυ-
 5 θόμενοι τὸ πλήθος τῶν Ἰάδων νεῶν καταρρώδησαν μὴ
 οὐ δυνατοὶ γένωνται ὑπερβαλέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω οὔτε τὴν
 Μίλητον οἰοί τε ἔωσι ἐξελεῖν μὴ οὐκ ἔόντες ναυκράτο-
 ρες, πρὸς τε Δαρείου κινδυνεύσωσι κακόν τι λαβεῖν.
 ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενοι, συλλέξαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς τυ-
 10 ράνους, οἱ ὑπ' Ἀρισταγόρῳ μὲν τοῦ Μιλησίου κατα-
 λυθέντες τῶν ἀρχέων ἔφευγον ἐς Μήδους, ἐτύγχανον
 δὲ τότε συστρατεύομενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τούτων τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν τοὺς παρεόντας συγκαλέσαντες ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε·
 “ ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, νῦν τις ὑμέων εὖ ποιήσας φανήτω τὸν
 15 βασιλέος οἶκον· τοὺς γὰρ ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος ὑμέων πο-
 λιήτας πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ συμμαχικοῦ.
 προῖσχύομενοι δὲ ἐπαγγείλασθε τάδε, ὡς πείσονται τε
 ἄχαρι οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, οὐδέ σφι οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ
 οὔτε τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπήρησεται, οὐδὲ βιαίτερον ἔξουσι οὐδὲν

Persian
overtures
refused by
the Greeks.

θ. 7. οὔτε οἰοί τε ἔωσι μὴ οὐκ ἔόντες. Cf. vi. 106 *ult.* οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρεις ἔόντος τοῦ κύκλου, ii. 110. 11 οὐκ ἄν δίκαιον εἶναι ἰσθάναι μὴ οὐ ὑπερβαλλόμενον. The preceding negative is necessary; at least we find no instance in which it does not occur. Otherwise μὴ οὐ seems = μή. Goodwin, *Syntax*, § 818, says ‘μὴ οὐ is occasionally used with participles in negative sentences in place of the simple μή to express a negative condition.’ Besides Herod. and Soph. (*O. T.* 12, 220; *O. C.* 359), Plato, *Lys.* 212 D, Demosth. 58. 13, Philem. *Fr.* 213 are the passages quoted.

10. καταλυθέντες τῶν ἀρχέων, cf. v. 37 f. and *infra*. 43. 2.

11. ἔφευγον, not merely ‘went over to,’ but ‘remained in exile with.’ Hence the imperfect, cf. v. 104. 12 ἔφευγε ἐς Μήδους. ἐς Μήδους. On the use of the word cf. v. *l. c.* note. In iii. 136. 10 Phoenician ships, with Persians on board, are nevertheless Μηδικαί.

17. προῖσχύομενοι, sc. τὴν ἀπόστασιν. The proposal to abandon the alliance was to be accompanied with promises, etc.

19. οὐδὲ βιαίτερον, κ.τ.λ. This does not mean that they had been previously oppressed; translate, ‘they should not be oppressed, any more than they had been previously’; i. e. ‘should be treated as before.’

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ἢ πρότερον εἶχον. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ^a ποιήσουσι, οἱ δὲ²⁰
 πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται, τὰδε ἤδη σφι λέγετε ἐπηρέα-
 ζοντες, τὰ περ σφέας κατέξει, ὡς ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ
 ἔξανδραποδιεῦνται, καὶ ὡς σφῶν τοὺς παῖδας ἐκτομίας
 ποιήσομεν, τὰς δὲ παρθένους ἀνασπάστους ἐς Βάκτρα,
 10 καὶ ὡς τὴν χώραν ἄλλοισι παραδώσομεν.” οἱ μὲν δὴ
 ἔλεγον τὰδε,^b τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων οἱ τύραννοι διέπεμπον
 νυκτὸς ἕκαστος ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ ἔξαγγελλόμενος. οἱ δὲ
 Ἰῶνες, ἐς τοὺς καὶ ἀπίκοντο αὐταὶ αἱ ἀγγελίαι, ἀγνω-
 μοσύνη τε διεχρέωντο καὶ οὐ προσίεντο τὴν προδοσίην,⁵
 ἑωυτοῖσι δὲ ἕκαστοι ἐδόκεον μύνοισι ταῦτα τοὺς Πέρ-
 σας ἔξαγγέλλεσθαι.

11 Ταῦτα μὲν ἰν ἰθέως ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν Μίλητον
 τῶν Περσῶν ἐγίνετο· μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων συλληχθέν-
 των ἐς τὴν Λάδην ἐγίνοντο ἀγοραί, καὶ δὴ κού σφι
 καὶ ἄλλοι ἠγορόωντο, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁ Φωκαεὺς στρα-

Dionysius
of Phocaea.^a μή P R.^b ταῦτα P R.

20. εἰ . . . οὐ. See Goodwin, *Syn-
tax*, § 384 f., esp. § 387. When the
negation is more important than the
condition there is a tendency to sub-
stitute οὐ for μή. Cf. vii. 10. θ. 11,
vii. 16. 15, *infra*. 133. 10.

22. τὰ περ, κ.τ.λ., ‘which will
assuredly overtake them.’ ἐπηρέα-
ζοντες is here thought to have the
unusual sense of ‘threatening’; but
may it not mean ‘stating the out-
rages’?

24. ἀνασπάστους, sc. ποιήσομεν,
infra. 32. Bactria is mentioned as
being a remote province.

10. 2. τὰδε refers to what goes be-
fore, ‘as often in Herodotus,’ Stein.

3. ἔξαγγελλόμενος. Naber sug-
gests ἐπαγγελλόμενος = ‘making a re-

quest’; cf. vii. 1. 6 ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων
ἀγγέλους. The word ἐπαγγ. points
to the person to whom the message
is sent; ἔξαγγ. to the source from
which it comes, *infra*. l. 7, 26. 3.

4. ἀγνωμοσύνη τε διεχρέωντο,
‘persisted in their resolution.’ The
same words are used of the Aegine-
tans in their conduct towards Epi-
daurus, v. 83. 5. Here they can hardly
be intended to convey much blame,
for the opposite course implied
treachery (*προδοσίην*). Yet, as we
have said, Herodotus had no sym-
pathy with the Ionian revolt.

11. 1. ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, i. e. into
the territory of Miletus: so Athens is
put for Attica, v. 76 *ult.* Cf. vii. 1. 4.

4. ἠγορόωντο. The epic form, if

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5 τηγὸς Διονύσιος λέγων τάδε. “ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς
 ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πρήγματα, ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἢ εἶναι ἐλευ-
 θέροισι ἢ δούλοισι, καὶ τούτοισι ὡς δρηπέτησι· νῦν
 ὦν ὑμεῖς ἦν μὲν βούλησθε ταλαιπωρίας ἐνδέκεσθαι,
 τὸ παραχρήμα μὲν πόνος ὑμῖν ἔσται, οἰοί τε δὲ ἔσεσθε
 10 ὑπερβαλόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι· εἰ δὲ
 μαλακίῃ τε καὶ ἀταξίῃ διαχρήσησθε^a, οὐδεμίαν ὑμέων
 ἔχω ἐλπίδα μὴ οὐ δώσειν ὑμέας δίκην βασιλείῃ τῆς ἀπο-
 στάσιος. ἀλλ’ ἐμοί τε πείθεσθε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑμέας αὐτοὺς
 ἐπιτρέψατε· καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγώ, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων,
 15 ὑποδέκομαι ἢ οὐ συμμίξειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ συμμί-
 σγοντας πολλὸν ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι^b.” ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ 12
 Ἴωνες ἐπιτρέπουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Διονυσίῳ. ὁ δὲ
 ἀνάγων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας τὰς νέας, ὅκως τοῖσι ἐρέ-

^a διαχρήσεσθε P R, Krüg., alii.^b ἐλασσώσεσθαι P R, Krüg., alii.

correct, may be used with special reference to the Ionians: but cf. iv. 191. 4 κομώωσι.

5. ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἀκμῆς. The expression is as old as Homer, *Il.* x. 173 ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς. Cf. Theognis, 557 P κίνδυνός τοι ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς. Herodotus seems to be unique in substituting ἔχεται for ἴσταται, for which cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1140 βιαίως ἔχεται ἐπὶ νόσου.

10. εἰ δὲ . . . διαχρήσησθε. For the expression cf. *supr.* 10. 5. The use of εἰ with the subjunctive in future conditions is of course Homeric; and instances are found in the Attic drama: e. g. Soph. *O. C.* 1443 εἰ σου στερηθῶ. In Thuc. vi. 21 we have εἰ ξυστώσιν αἱ πόλεις, where ἦν is found in inferior MSS. only. There is therefore no need to deny the construction to Herodotus.

Yet in almost every instance the MSS. vary, A B C supporting the subjunctive, while in P R s εἰ is changed to ἦν, or the future is substituted for the subjunctive. Cf. Kallenberg, *Comm. Crit.* p. 6.

14. θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων. The same phrase occurs *infra.* 109. 26. Compare the striking remark in viii. 13. 9 ἐποιέετο τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅκως ἂν ἐξισωθείη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικόν. In these passages Herodotus conceives of a divine power which is supreme over the deities of the various nations.

12. 3. ἐπὶ κέρας. For the accusative cf. iv. 67. 4, vi. 111. 15 ἐπὶ τάξιαις ὀλίγαις, and the note there. The Attic rule requires the genitive, ἐπὶ κέρασ. The ships sailed out in single file, but they appear to have been arranged

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τησι χρήσαιτο διέκπλοον ποιεύμενος^a τῆσι νηυσὶ δι' ἀλληλέων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὀπλίσειε, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέ- 5
ρης τὰς νέας ἔχεςκε ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων, παρείχε τε τοῖσι Ἰωσι πόνον δι' ἡμέρης. μέχρι μὲν νυν ἡμερέων ἐπτά ἐπίθοντό τε καὶ ἐποίευν τὸ κελευόμενον· τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃσι οἱ Ἰωνες, οἷα ἀπαθείες ἐόντες πόνων τοιούτων τετρυμένοι τε τάλαιπωρήσι τε καὶ ἡλίῳ, ἔλεξαν πρὸς 10
ἔωυτοὺς τάδε. “τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀναπίμπλαμεν; οἷτινες παραφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου ἀνδρὶ Φωκαεὶ ἀλαζόνι, παρεχομένῳ νέας τρεῖς, ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἔχομεν. ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἡμέας λυμαίνεται λύμησι ἀνηκέστοισι, καὶ δὴ 15
πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμέων ἐς νούσους πεπτῶκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπίδοξοι τῶντὸ τοῦτο πείσεσθαί εἰσι, πρό τε τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν γε κρέσσον καὶ ὅ τι ὦν ἄλλο παθεῖν ἐστι, καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δουληίην ὑπομείναι ἥτις ἔσται,

^a ποιευμένοις Krüg.

in two rows, which subsequently fronted each other, and went through their exercises. ὅκως, ‘whenever.’

4. διέκπλοον. This manœuvre consisted in breaking the enemy’s line by charging at full speed where an opening offered between two ships. The charge, if successful, not only damaged the oarage of the enemy’s vessels, but enabled the charging ships to take the line in the rear. [Classen describes the matter differently—‘breaking the enemy’s line by a wedge,’ and then ‘wrapping up’ the two separated portions (cf. Nelson’s attack at Trafalgar), Thuc. i. 49.]

5. ὀπλίσειε, ‘caused them to be

on deck in full armour.’ The weight of the armour would be very oppressive in the heat.

7. μέχρι μὲν νυν, κ.τ.λ. It is not quite certain from the context that the days were consecutive; if they had been, one would rather expect τῇ δὲ ὀγδόῃ for τῇ ἐπὶ ταύτῃσι.

11. τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες; The meaning is clear, ‘quo numine lacso?’ but the expression is an extraordinary refinement on παραβαίνειν ὕρκον. ἀναπίμπλαμεν, cf. v. 4. 7.

12. ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου. In iii. 155. 13 we find ἐκπλώσαντες τῶν φρενῶν, cf. *supr.* 5. 9. var. l. *infr.* 97. 7.

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20 μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ παρεούσῃ συνέχεσθαι. φέρετε, τοῦ λοιποῦ
 μὴ πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ." ταῦτα ἔλεξαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
 αὐτίκα πείθεσθαι οὐδεὶς ἤθελε, ἀλλ' οἷα στρατιῆ^α σκη-
 νὰς τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκητροφέοντο καὶ ἐσ-
 βαίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐς τὰς νέας οὐδ' ἀναπειράσθαι.
 μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ^β γινόμενα ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ στρα- 13
 τηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων ἐνθαῦτα δὴ παρ' Αἰάκεος τοῦ Συλο-
 σῶντος κείνους τοὺς πρότερον ἔπεμπε λόγους ὁ Αἰά-
 κης κελευόντων τῶν Περσέων, δεόμενός σφεων ἐκλιπεῖν
 5 τὴν Ἰώνων συμμαχίην· οἱ Σάμιοι ὧν ὀρώντες ἐοῦσαν
 ἅμα μὲν^γ ἀταξίην πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων ἐδέκοντο τοὺς
 λόγους, ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα^δ τὰ
 βασιλέος πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι, εὖ δὲ^ε ἐπιστάμε-
 νι ὡς εἰ καὶ τὸ παρεὸν ναυτικὸν ὑπερβαλοῖατο [τὸν
 10 Δαρεῖον]^φ, ἄλλο σφι παρέσται πενταπλήσιον· προφάσιος

Treachery
of the
Samians.^α ἀστρατήης Dobr.^β τὰ om. R, Krüg., Cob., Van H.^γ ἅμα μὲν ἐοῦσαν P R.^δ ἀδύνατον P R.^ε δέ secl. St. male.^φ τὸν Δαρεῖον deletat Wess.: τοῦ Δαρείου Reiske.

20. συνέχεσθαι. Plato, *Gorg.* 512
 Α ἀνιάτοις νοσήμασι συνεχόμενος.

21. πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ. πείθεσθαι
 takes the genitive on the analogy of
 ὑπακούειν, cf. v. 29. 14, 33. 19, i. 126.

20. Such constructions are not un-
 common in Herodotus: e.g. πατέεσ-
 θαι takes the genitive on the analogy
 of γεύεσθαι, ii. 47. 11; iv. 186. 6;
 see *infra*. 14. 10.

22. στρατιή, 'an army.'

13. The connection is οἱ στρατηγοὶ
 τῶν Σαμίων . . . (οἱ Σάμιοι ὧν) ἐδέ-
 κοντο—ἅμα μὲν—ὀρώντες—ἅμα δὲ
 κατεφαίνετό—εὖ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι. The
 motives of the Samians are still
 further stated in the sentence προ-
 φάσιος . . . ἴδια. Herodotus seems
 anxious to excuse the Samians, yet
 he makes no attempt to conceal the

fact that the treachery began with
 them. A similar anacoluthon, or
 resumption of the nominative, will
 be found in v. 76.

5. ὀρώντες, κ.τ.λ. How far the
 Samians themselves were guilty of
 the ἀταξίη, which is pleaded on
 their behalf, we cannot say.

7. ἀδύνατα, plur. for sing., as
 nearly always in this word, in
 Herod.

10. πενταπλήσιον. This is, of
 course, an exaggeration; the Persian
 fleet now numbered 600 vessels, and
 the fleet with which Xerxes invaded
 Hellas, even with the Greek con-
 tingents, amounted to 1,407 ships
 only. προφάσιος, i.e. making the
 want of order and training of the
 Ionians their pretext.

MILETUS. B. C. 496; Ol. 71. 1.

ὧν ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἐπέιτε τάχιστα εἶδον τοὺς Ἴωνας οὐ βουλομένους^a εἶναι χρηστούς, ἐν κέρδει ἐποιεῦντο περιποιησαί τε ἰρὰ τὰ σφέτερα καὶ τὰ ἴδια. ὁ δὲ Αἰάκης, παρ' ὅτεν τοὺς λόγους ἐδέκοντο οἱ Σάμιοι, παῖς μὲν ἦν Συλοσῶντος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, τύραννος δὲ ἐὼν Σάμου ὑπὸ¹⁵ τοῦ Μιλησίου Ἀρισταγόρῳ ἀπεστέρητο τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ
 14 περ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς Ἰωνίης τύραννοι. τότε ὧν ἐπεὶ ἐπέπλεον οἱ Φοίνικες, οἱ Ἴωνες ἀντανήγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐπὶ κέρας. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀγχοῦ ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως συγγράψαι οἵτινες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐγίνοντο ἄνδρες κακοὶ ἢ ἀγαθοὶ ἐν⁵ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ· ἀλλήλους γὰρ κατατιῶνται· λέγονται δὲ Σάμιοι ἐνθαῦτα, κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς τὸν Αἰάκεα, ἀειράμενοι τὰ ἰστία ἀποπλῶσαι ἐκ τῆς τάξιος ἐς τὴν Σάμον, πλὴν ἔνδεκα νεῶν· τουτέων δὲ οἱ τριήραρχοι παρέμενον καὶ ἐναυμάχεον ἀνηκουστή-¹⁰σαντες τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι· καὶ σφι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σα-

^a ἀρνευμένους R sv, Krüg., Van H., alii.

15. Syloson was the brother of Polyerates, the famous tyrant of Samos; he was expelled by Polycrates, and when in exile at Memphis he secured the favour of Darius, then in the body-guard of Cambyses, by a gift of a scarlet cloak (iii. 39. 139 f.). When Darius came to the throne, Syloson reminded him of this gift, and Darius in return restored him to Samos (iii. 144 ff.). This was at the time of the revolt of Babylon, i. e. quite at the beginning of the reign of Darius. Before the Scythian expedition, Syloson had been succeeded by his son Aeaces (iv. 138). Aeaces must therefore

have been seventeen or eighteen years on the throne when he was expelled with the rest of the Ionian tyrants by Aristagoras, v. 37.

14. 3. ἐπὶ κέρας. Though the ships set out in line, they must, before coming into action, have faced the enemy, and it is when they had thus changed front that the places of the various contingents on the right and left could be described. *Syr.* 12. 3.

10. ἀνηκουστήσαντες τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι. The dative is due to analogy, ἀνηκουστῆν being = ἀπειθέειν; cf. *syr.* 12. 21.

11. τὸ κοινόν. The community;

MILETUS. B. C. 496; Ol. 71. 1.

μίῳν ἔδωκε διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφῆ-
 ναι πατρόθεν ὡς ἀνδράσι ἀγαθοῖσι γενομένοισι, καὶ
 ἔστι αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ. ἰδόμενοι δὲ καὶ Λέ-
 15 σβιοὶ τοὺς προσεχέας φεύγοντας τῶντ' ἐποίουν τοῖσι
 Σαμίοισι· ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῦνες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐποίουν τὰ
 αὐτὰ ταῦτα. τῶν δὲ παραμεινάντων ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ 15
 περιέφθησαν τρηχύτατα Χῖοι ὡς ἀποδεικνύμενοί τε ἔρ-
 γα λαμπρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἔθελοκακέοντες. παρείχοντο μὲν
 γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, νέας ἑκατόν, καὶ ἐπ'
 5 ἑκάστης αὐτέων ἀνδρας τεσσαράκοντα τῶν ἀστῶν λο-
 γάδας ἐπιβατεύοντας· ὀρέοντες δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν
 συμμαχῶν προδιδόντας οὐκ ἐδικαίουν γίνεσθαι τοῖσι
 κακοῖσι αὐτῶν ὅμοιοι, ἀλλὰ μετ' ὀλίγων συμμαχῶν
 μεμουνωμένοι διεκπλέοντες ἐναυμάχεον, ἐς δὲ τῶν πο-
 10 λεμίῳν ἐλόντες νέας συχνὰς ἀπέβαλον τῶν σφετερέων
 τὰς πλεῦνας. Χῖοι μὲν δὴ τῇσι λοιπῇσι τῶν νεῶν ἀπο- 16

cf. *ihfr.* 50. 7 Σπαρτιητέων τοῦ κοινοῦ v. 109. 13 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων. We cannot precisely fix the time at which this was done, but from *ihfr.* 22. 2 we learn that it was the oligarchical party at Samos which refused to join in the treachery, so that the pillar in their honour would be set up when the island was once more in the hands of the oligarchy, i. e. after 479 B. C.

13. πατρόθεν. The name of the father was only added when especial significance was given to a person. Thus, in Dittenberger, *Syll.* no. 3, we have a list of names of men belonging to the Erechtheid tribe who fell in various actions in the year 459 B. C., all without any addition. On the other hand, cf. *ibid.* no. 335 στρατηγὸς οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραῖα ἐπὶ

Ἡρακλείτου ἄρχοντος στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Εὐπόλεμος Ζώϊλος Παιανεύς, Ζήνων Μενίσκου Ἐρχιεύς, Ἄρισταγύρας Τροίλου Πειραιεύς, Ἐρμεί ἡγεμονίῳ ἀνέθηκαν. Stein quotes *Il.* x. 68 πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον. So, too, Thuc. vii. 69. 2 Nicias τῶν τριηράρχων ἕνα ἕκαστον ἀνεκάλει, πατρόθεν τε ἐπονομάζων καὶ αὐτοὺς ὀνομαστὶ καὶ φυλήν, cf. Herod. iii. 1. 22.

15. 5. τεσσαράκοντα. This was more than usual. On the Persian ships in 480 B. C., there were thirty epibatae; on the Athenian ships at Salamis, eighteen, of whom four were archers; cf. vii. 184. 11, Plut. *Them.* 14. Later, the average number was ten; see Arnold, Thuc. iii. 95.

7. προδιδόντας. 'playing the traitor'; cf. v. 113. 4.

MILETUS. B.C. 496; OL. 71. 1.

Disasters
of the
Chians.

φεύγουσι ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν· ὅσοισι δὲ τῶν Χίων ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν αἱ νέες ὑπὸ τραμάτων, οὗτοι δὲ ὡς ἐδιώκοντο καταφυγγάνουσι πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην. νέας^a μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐποκείλαντες κατέλιπον, οἱ δὲ περὶ ἑκομίζοντο 5 διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσίην κομιζόμενοι οἱ Χῖοι, νυκτός τε γὰρ^b ἀπίκατο ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐόντων τῆσι γυναιξὶ αὐτόθι θεσμοφορίων, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι, οὔτε προακηκούτες ὡς εἶχε περὶ τῶν Χίων ἰδόντες τε στρατὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐσβεβληκότα, πάγχυ 10 σφέας καταδόξαντες εἶναι κλῶπας καὶ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰς γυναικάς, ἐξεβοήθειον πανδημεὶ καὶ ἔκτεινον τοὺς Χίους.

Dionysius
in the
West.

17 Οὗτοι μὲν τοίνυν τοιαύτησι περιέπιπτον τύχησι Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Φωκαεὺς ἐπέειτε ἔμαθε τῶν Ἰώνων τὰ πρήγματα διεφθαρμένα, νέας ἔλων τρεῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέπλεε ἐς μὲν Φώκαιαν οὐκέτι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὡς ἀνδραποδιεῖται σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ· ὁ δὲ ἰθέως ὡς εἶχε ἔπλεε 5 ἐς Φοινίκην, γαύλους δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν πολλὰ ἔπλεε ἐς Σικελίην, ὀρμώμενος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ληιστῆς κατεστήκεε Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐδενός, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν.

18 Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπέειτε τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἰω-

^a τὰς νέας? Van H.^b γὰρ add. St.

18. 2. ἀδύνατοι, 'disabled.'

4 αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ. The combination is frequent in Herodotus; e. g. i. 214. 12; iii. 77. 12; *infr.* 30. 7.

8. θεσμοφορίων, i. e. the festival of Demeter Thesmophorus, at which women only were present.

11. καταδόξαντες, 'forming the opinion.' κατα- is merely intensive. See Kallenberg, *Comm. Crit.* p. 22, *infr.* 97. 7.17. 4. ἀνδραποδιεῖται, middle future for passive, as *infr.* 9. 23.

5. ἰθέως ὡς εἶχε; cf. v. 64. 8 where we have ὡς εἶχον εὐθύς.

6. γαύλους. Phoenician merchantmen were to the Greeks, what Spanish vessels were to Hawkins or Drake.

18. For the chronology, see Bk. v. Appendix 13 'On the chronology of the Ionic revolt.' The battle of Lade would seem to have taken place in the year after the subjugation of Cyprus, yet the fall of Miletus must be placed in 494 B.C. It is

MILETUS. B. C. 494; Ol. 71. 3.

νας, τὴν Μίλητον πολιορκέοντες ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, καὶ ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ τείχεα καὶ παντοίας μηχανὰς προσφέροντες, αἰρέουσι κατ' ἄκρης ἕκτω ἔτει^a ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσιος τῆς Ἀρισταγόρῳ καὶ ἠνδραποδίσαντο τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε συμπεσεῖν τὸ πάθος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τῷ ἐς Μίλητον γενομένῳ. χρεωμένοισι γὰρ Ἀργείοισι ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλιος τῆς σφετέρης ἐχρήσθη ἐπίκοινον χρηστήριον, τὸ μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργείους φέρον, τὴν δὲ παρενθήκην ἔχρησε ἐς Μιλησίους. τὸ μὲν ἐν ἑνὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἔχον, ἐπεὰν κατὰ τοῦτο γένομαι τοῦ λόγου, τότε μνησθήσομαι· τὰ δὲ τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι οὐ παρεῶσι ἔχρησε, ἔχει ὧδε.

Fall of
Miletus.
494 B. C.

καὶ τότε δὴ, Μίλητε κακῶν ἐπιμῆχανε ἔργων,
πολλοῖσιν^b δεῖπνόν τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα γενήσῃ,
σαὶ δ' ἄλοχοι πολλοῖσι πόδας νίψουσι κομήταις,
νηοῦ δ' ἡμετέρου Διδύμοις ἄλλοισι μελήσει.
τότε δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Μιλησίους κατελάμβανε, ὁκότε

^a τετάρτῳ ἔτει H. Weissenborn.^b οἰωνοῖς Van H.

therefore difficult to escape the conclusion that Miletus was besieged for nearly two years.

3. ὑπορύσσοντες. Cf. v. 115. 9; iv. 200 where the mines at Barca are detected and met by counter-mines. Another method of attacking a city was by *πρόσχωσις*, i. 168.

4. κατ' ἄκρης, 'utterly.' A Homeric expression.

6. συμπεσεῖν, 'agree with,' i. e. confirm; cf. *συνάδειν*, *συνφύδις*.

19. 1. This was on the occasion of the attack of Cleomencus; see *inyfr.* 76 f. Why the oracle should combine a prediction to Miletus with a prediction to Argos, especially as the Milesians were not present, it is

difficult to understand. Cf. however iv. 150. 8 *χρεωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Γρίνῳ τῷ βασιλεί τῶν Θηραίων περὶ ἄλλων χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ κτίξειν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλιν.*

4. ἔχρησε, sc. ὁ θεός.

5. κατὰ τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ. I. e. in c. 77.

8. Here, as in the case of Cnidus i. 174, we see the Delphian oracle on the side of the oppressor. The oracle at Didyma was of the same mind; cf. i. 158.

11. Διδύμοις, for the dative cf. Soph. *Elect.* 573 *νῦν δ' ἀγροῖσι τυγχάνει*. Herod. just below, 15, has ἐν Δ., and Cobet would read *ἡμετέρου* 'ν here.

12. ὁκότε. Krüger suggests *ὅτε γε*.

MILETUS. B. C. 494; Ol. 71. 3.

ἄνδρες μὲν οἱ πλεῦνες ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἐόντων κομητέων, γυναικες δὲ καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο, ἱρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι καὶ^α ὁ νηὸς τε καὶ¹⁵ τὸ χρηστήριον συληθέντα ἐνεπίμπρατο. τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ χρημάτων πολλάκις μνήμην ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην. ἐνεθῦτεν οἱ ζωγρηθέντες τῶν Μιλησίων ἤγοντο ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ σφεας Δαρείος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας κατοίκησε ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ καλειομένη θαλάσση, ἐν Ἀμπη πόλι, παρ' ἣν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παραρρέων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξίει. τῆς δὲ Μιλησίων χώρας ἀν-⁵ τοὶ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδίον, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ἔδωσαν Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι.

21 Παθοῦσι δὲ ταῦτα Μιλησίοισι πρὸς Περσέων οὐκ

^α καὶ om. P R.

15. ἱρὸν is the whole temple of which νηὸς and χρηστήριον are separate parts. Stein quotes Strabo, p. 634, where the temple is described; speaking of the later temple he says ἄλλοι δὲ σηκοὶ τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συνέχουσι.

17. πολλάκις, twice, i. 92. 8; v. 36. 15.

20. 2. Cf. *infra*. 119. 7.

3. By the Red Sea the Persian Gulf is meant; cf. iv. 39 where the 'Red Sea' is distinguished from the Arabian Gulf (which we call the Red Sea). Strabo, p. 765, makes the following distinctions: ταύτης (τῆς Ἀραβίας) τὸ μὲν προσάρκτιον πλευρὸν ἢ λεχθεῖσά ἐστιν ἕρημος, τὸ δ' ἔφον ὁ Περσικὸς κόλπος, τὸ δὲ ἐσπέριον ὁ Ἀράβιος, τὸ δὲ νότιον ἢ μεγάλη θάλαττα ἢ ἔξω τῶν κόλπων ἀμφοῖν, ἣν ἅπασαν Ἐρυθρὰν καλοῦσιν. Various reasons are given for the name, Strabo, p. 779. Some thought it

was so called from the reflection of the sun, or of the mountains reddened by the heat; Ctesias thought the water was reddened by a spring. The Persians had other legends. In Smith's *Dict. Geog.* sub voc. Rubrum Mare, we are told that 'the thick wall-like masses of coral which form the shores or fringing reefs of the cleft by which the waters of the Indian Ocean advance through the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, with their red and purple hues, were no doubt the original source of the name.'

6. τὸ πεδίον, the plain of the Maeander.

7. Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι. It is strange that the Carians should be thus treated after their strenuous resistance; but cf. *infra*. 25. For Pedasa or Padasum cf. i. 175 ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκόντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ μεσόγαιαν. Abicht distinguishes between Πηδασα here and

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ἀπέδοσαν τὴν ὁμοίην Συβαρίται, οἱ Λαῶν τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἶκεον τῆς πόλιος ἀπεστερημένοι· Συβάριος γὰρ ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Κροτωνητέων Μιλήσιοι πάντες ἡβηδὸν ἀπεκείραντο τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πένθος μέγα προσεθήκαντο· πόλιες γὰρ αὐταὶ μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀλλήλοισι^a ἐξείνωθησαν. οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἀλώσει τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῆ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν καὶ δι-

^a ἀλλήλοισι A pr. B¹ P pr. R.

Sympathy with Miletus; Phrynichus.

Πήδασον in v. 121; but cf. Smith's *Dict. Geog.*

21. 2. τὴν ὁμοίην, i. e. 'equal return.' Λαῶν τε καὶ Σκίδρον. These were colonies of the Sybarites. Laos—the name was given to the river, city and bay—is described by Strabo, p. 253, as the last city in Lucania, 400 stadia from Velia. Of Scidrus the position is unknown. Coins of Laos occur which bear a certain resemblance to those of Sybaris.

3. Συβάριος γὰρ, κ.τ.λ., i. e. in 510 B. C. Sec v. 44ff.; *Greek Hist.* ii. 484.

4. ἡβηδόν, i. e. all the citizens of full age. Cf. i. 172 ἐνδύντες τὰ ὄπλα ἅπαντες Κανίους ἡβηδόν. Strachan well quotes Heraclit. *Fr.* 57 ἄξιον Ἐφεσίοισι ἡβηδὸν ἀποθανεῖν πᾶσι καὶ τοῖσι ἀνήβοισι τὴν πόλιν καταλιπεῖν, so also Diod. 3. 54 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡβηδὸν ἀποσφάζει. Strictly the word means 'after the manner of the youth.'

5. πένθος προσεθήκαντο. Cf. vii. 229. 17 μῆνιν προσθέσθαι. Krüger reads *προεθήκαντο* translating 'veranstalteten öffentlich,' but for this there seems no reason.

6. πόλιες γὰρ αὐταί. Similar friendships are noted between Cnidus

and Tarentum, iii. 138; Eretria and Miletus, v. 99; Samos and Chalcis, *ibid.*; Samos, Thera and Cyrene, iv. 152. We may suppose that the Milesians traded with Sybaris *via* Eretria. Sybaris took the wool of Miletus, and in return supplied the Asiatic city with the products of the distant west. See Lenormant, *Grande Grèce*, i. c. 5.

7. οὐδὲν ὁμοίως, 'very different was the conduct of the Athenians.' For the asyndeton, see *supr.* 3. 8. Krüger would read οὐδ' ἀνομοίως.

8. δῆλον ἐποίησαν = δῆλοι ἦσαν. Krüger quotes Thuc. iii. 64. 1 δῆλον ἐποίησατε οὐ μηδίσαντες.

9. τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῆ. This appears to be an unique instance of the use of τῇ ἄλλῃ in any but a local sense. For πολλαχῆ, 'on many occasions,' see i. 42. 5.

10. Φρυνίχῳ. For the dative, cf. 47. 8 τῷ βασιλεῖ κελεύσαντι τὸ τεῖχος κατεῖλον. This is the first instance, so far as we know, of a historical drama in Greece. Subsequently (476 B. C.) Phrynichus dramatized the overthrow of Xerxes in his *Phoenissae*, as Aeschylus did four years later in his *Persae*.

SICILY. B. C. 494; Ol. 71. 3.

δάξαντι ἐς δάκρυνά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον, καὶ ἐξημίωσάν μιν ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκῆια κακὰ χιλίησι δραχμῆσι, καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ^a δράματι.

- 22 Μίλητος μὲν νυν Μιλησίων ἡγήμωτο· Σαμίων δὲ τοῖσιν τι ἔχουσι^b τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιηθὲν οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσκε, ἐδόκεε δὲ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισι, πρὶν ἢ σφιν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀπικέσθαι τὸν τύραννον Αἰάκεια, ἐς ἅποικίην ἐκπλέειν μηδὲ μένοντας Μήδοισί τε καὶ Αἰάκεϊ δουλεύειν. Ζαγκλαῖοι γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον πέμποντες ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀγγέλους ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐς Καλὴν ἀκτὴν, βουλόμενοι αὐτόθι πόλιν κτίσαι Ἰώνων. ἡ δὲ Καλὴ αὕτη ἀκτὴ¹⁰

^a τῷ susp. Dobr.^b τοῖσιν παχέεισ Valck. : τι om. Schwgh.

11. ἐξημίωσαν, sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Miletus was, of course, a colony of Athens, so that her misfortunes were οἰκῆια to the Athenians.

12. χιλίησι δραχμῆσι, about £35.

13. ἐπέταξαν. This prohibition implies that it was already the custom for the plays of famous poets to be brought on the stage by others than the author, when no new play of sufficient excellence was forthcoming—a custom which we hear of in the fourth century in reference to the three great tragedians, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. This difficulty, if it is one, is avoided if with Dobree we omit τῷ ('use this,' i.e. the capture of Miletus, 'as a subject for a drama').

22. 1. ἡγήμωτο. Yet in 479 B.C. Miletus is again in the possession of the Ionians; cf. ix. 99. In the parallel case of Samos, iii. 149, the exiles were brought back, but we are not told

that this was the case at Miletus.

2. τοῖσιν τι ἔχουσι. Stein seems to distinguish οἱ τι ἔχοντες from οἱ ἔχοντες as individual persons of means from the class of the rich, and this view is supported by Van Herwerden: 'fieri potest ut scriptor eam voculam de industria addiderit, quo significaret non solum divites, sed omnino eos quibus aliquid esset pretiosi, novas sedes petivisse'; *Memos.* xiii. 29.

5. ἀπικέσθαι, 'return'; cf. *supr.* 5. 2.

7. οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης. ἀπὸ is due to the usual Greek attraction; cf. *infra.* 46. 10 τῶν ἐκ Σκαπτησύλης μετάλλων.

8. τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον. So *infra.* 27. 7; 51. 1, v. 106. 3.

9. Καλὴ ἀκτὴ was a district on the north shore of Sicily, a part of the island which was not occupied by Greek colonies. See Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, i. 143.

10. Ἰώνων. The inhabitants of

The loyal Samians invited to colonise Kale Acte in Sicily,

SICILY. B.C. 494; Ol. 71. 3.

καλεομένη ἔστι μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνίην τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης. τούτων ὧν ἐπικαλεομένων οἱ Σάμιοι μῦνοι Ἰώνων ἐστάλησαν, σὺν δέ σφι Μιλησίων οἱ ἐκπεφευγότες· ἐν ᾧ τοιόνδε δὴ τι συνήνεκε γενέσθαι. Σάμιοι γὰρ κομιζόμενοι ἐς Σικελίην ἐγίνοντο 23 ἐν Λοκροῖσι τοῖσι Ἐπιζεφυρίοισι, καὶ Ζαγκλαῖοι αὐτοῖ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σκύθης, περικατέατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελῶν ἐξελεῖν βουλόμενοι. 5 μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἀναξίλεως, τότε^a ἐὼν διάφορος τοῖσι Ζαγκλαῖοισι, συμμίξας τοῖσι Σαμίοισι ἀναπέθει ὡς χρεὸν εἶη Καλὴν μὲν ἀκτὴν, ἐπ' ἦν ἔπλεον, ἔαν χαίρειν, τὴν δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν ἐοῦσαν ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν. πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ σχόν- 10 των τὴν Ζάγκλην, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ζαγκλαῖοι, ὡς ἐπύθοντο ἔχομένην τὴν πόλιν ἐωυτῶν, ἐβοήθειον αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο Ἴπποκράτεα τὸν Γέλης τύραννον· ἦν γὰρ δὴ

but seize Zancle on their way.

^a ὥστε R: ὡστε P, Schäf.

Zancle were themselves originally of Chalcidic and Ionian origin. But the arrival of the Dorians from Messenia introduced a strong Dorian element into the colony. The Ionians may have wished to strengthen their position by establishing their kinsmen in the neighbourhood.

12. (1) The construction is ἔστι μὲν Σικελῶν, τῆς δὲ Σικελίης, τῆς Σικελίης being in 'apposition' to Σικελῶν, and both depending on Καλὴ ἀκτὴ. So Wesseling and Schaefer; *inf.* 27. 8, 47. 5. (2) The genitive τῆς Σικελίης may be taken closely with the preceding words; cf. i. 84. 17 ἔστι δὲ (τὸ χωρίον) πρὸς τοῦ Τρωάλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος, and perhaps Soph. *Ajax*, 659 γαίης ὑρέξας ἐνθα μή τις ὕφεται. The first is right.

13. μῦνοι Ἰώνων. The expression is qualified by what follows, and apparently it should be qualified still more; cf. Thuc. vi. 5 ἐπὶ Σαμίων καὶ ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἐκπίπτουσιν (οἱ Ζαγκλαῖοι) οἱ Μήδους φεύγοντες προσέβαλον Σικελίᾳ.

14. ἐν ᾧ, 'in which transaction.'

23. 3. ὁ βασιλεὺς. Below, l. 15, he is called μούναρχος, and so 24. 1; cf. v. 44. 2 note. The son of this Scythes, Cadmus, seems to have recovered his father's throne for a time; cf. vii. 163.

5. For Anaxilaus see *Greek Hist.* ii. 498. At a later time he acquired Zancle for himself.

12. Hippocrates was tyrant of Gela 498-491 B. C; cf. vii. 154 f.

SICILY. B. C. 494; OI. 71. 3.

σφι οὗτος σύμμαχος. ἐπεῖτε δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὁ Ἴπποκράτης σὺν τῇ στρατιῇ ἦκε βοηθέων, Σκύθην μὲν τὸν μούναρχον τῶν Ζαγκλαίων ὡς ἀποβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν¹⁵ ὁ Ἴπποκράτης πεδήσας καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Πυθογένεα ἐς Ἴνυκα^a πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Ζαγκλαίους κοινολογησάμενος τοῖσι Σαμίοισι καὶ ὄρκους δοὺς καὶ δεξάμενος προέδωκε. μισθὸς δέ οἱ ἦν εἰρημέ-
 νος ὅδε ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, πάντων τῶν ἐπίπλων καὶ ἀν-²⁰
 δραπόδων τὰ ἡμίσεια μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλι, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα Ἴπποκράτεα λαγχάνειν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν Ζαγκλαίων αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ εἶχε δῆσας, τοὺς δὲ κορυφαίους αὐτῶν τριηκοσίους ἔδωκε τοῖσι Σαμίοισι κατασφάξαι· οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σάμιοι ἐποίη-²⁵
 24 σαν ταῦτα. Σκύθης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ζαγκλαίων μούναρχος ἐκ τῆς Ἴνυκος ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐς Ἰμέρην, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης παρῆν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ ἀνέβη παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον. καὶ μιν ἐνόμισε Δαρεῖος πάντων ἀνδρῶν δικαιοτάτων εἶναι, ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρ' ἐαυτὸν ἀνέβησαν·⁵

Scythes.

^a Ἴνυκα St. : Ἴνυκον Libb.

15. ὡς ἀποβαλόντα. Hippocrates regarded Scythes as a vassal king who held Zancle for him, or under his authority; cf. vii. 154 where Callipolis, Naxos, Zancle, and Leontini are all said to have been enslaved by him.

16. ὁ Ἴπποκράτης is redundant to a degree remarkable even in Herodotus; but cf. v. 1, 9, 62, 7, 12, 83, 1, 4, *supr.* 13, 5, 6. It is easy to omit these repeated words, but not so easy to account for their presence.

πεδήσας. Krüger and Naber (*Mnemos.* iii. 488; xiii. 72) object to this word, and suggest ἐν πέδησι

δήσας which is no doubt good Herodotean Greek; but Sophocles *Ajax*, 676 has λυεῖ πεδήσας.

17. ἐς Ἴνυκα πόλιν. The town lay on the river Hypsas in the S.W. of the island. Plato calls it χωρίον πάνυ μικρόν, but nevertheless Hippias acquired twenty minae there (*Hipp. maj.* 282 E); cf. Aelian *V. H.* viii. 17; Smith, *Dict. Geog.* s.v.; Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, i. 496.

24. 4. In like manner Cadmus, the son of Scythes, was remarkable for his honesty, vii. 164. Contrast the conduct of Democedes, iii. 135 f.

SAMOS. B. C. 494; OL. 71. 3.

καὶ γὰρ παραιτησάμενος βασιλέα ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκετο
καὶ αὐτίς ἐκ τῆς Σικελίης ὀπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα, ἐς δ'
γήραι μέγα ὄλβιος ἐὼν ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Πέρσησι. Σάμιοι
δὲ ἀπαλλαχθέντες Μήδων ἀπονητὶ πόλιν καλλίστην
10 Ζάγκλην περιεβεβλέατο.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίην τὴν ὑπὲρ Μιλήτου γενομέ- 25
νην Φοίνικες κελυσάντων Περσέων κατήγον^a ἐς Σάμον
Αἰάκεια τὸν Συλοσῶντος, ὡς πολλοῦ τε ἄξιον γενόμενον
σφίσι καὶ μεγάλα κατεργασάμενον· καὶ Σαμίοισι μού-
5 νοισι τῶν ἀποστάντων ἀπὸ Δαρείου διὰ τὴν ἔκλειψιν
τῶν νεῶν ἐν^b τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ
ἱρὰ ἐνεπρήσθη. Μιλήτου δὲ ἀλούσης αὐτίκα Καρίην
ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι, τὰς μὲν ἐθελοντὴν τῶν πολίων ὑποκυ-
ψάσας, τὰς δὲ ἀνάγκῃ προσηγάγοντο.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐγίνετο. Ἴστιαίῳ δὲ τῷ Μιλη- 26
σίῳ ἐόντι περὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ συλλαμβάνοντι τὰς Ἰώνων
ὀλκάδας ἐκπλεούσας ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐξαγγέλλεται τὰ
περὶ τὴν Μίλητον γένομενα. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλήσπον-
5 τον ἔχοντα πρήγματα ἐπιτράπει Βισάλτῃ Ἀπολλοφάνεος
παιδὶ Ἀβυδηνῶ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων Λεσβίους ἐς Χίον
ἔπλεε, καὶ Χίων φρουρῇ οὐ προσιεμένη μιν συνέβαλε

Aeaces
restored
to Samos.
Caria.

Hecataeus
leaves
Byzantium
and attacks
Chios.

^a κατήγαγον Cob., Van II.

^b ἐν St.: τῶν ἐν Libb.: τὴν ἐν Reiske.

8. γήραι, with ἐτελεύτησε, 'of old age,' not *νόσφι*.

10. περιεβεβλέατο, 'acquired.' For the pluperf. cf. *infra*. 110. 3.

25. 3. ὡς πολλοῦ, κ.τ.λ., i.e. by inducing the Samians to revolt in the battle of Lade.

4. μούνοισι. Cf. *supr.* 5. 10, note.

7. Καρίην. The Carians had previously made a stubborn resistance; see v. 121.

9. τὰς δὲ . . . προσηγάγοντο. For this return to the finite verb, cf. 13.

5 f. ὀρώντες . . . ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνετο . . . εἶ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι.

26. 3. Cf. *supr.* c. 5.

4. τὰ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχοντα.

Cf. *supr.* 19. 5, 2. 1 note, *infra*. 42. 2.

Hellespont is here used in the same wide sense as in v. 1. 3; see the note there.

IONIA. B.C. 494; Ol. 71. 3.

ἐν Κοίλοισι καλεομένοισι τῆς Χίης χώρας. τούτων τε δὴ ἐφόνευσε συχνοὺς, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Χίων, οἷα δὴ κεκακωμένων ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης, ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἔχων τοὺς 10 Λεσβίους ἐπεκράτησε, ἐκ Πολίχνης τῆς Χίων ὀρμώ-
 27 μενος. φιλέει δέ κως προσημαίνειν, εὐτ' ἂν μέλλη με-
 γάλα κακὰ ἢ πόλι ἢ ἔθνεϊ ἔσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ Χίοισι
 Misfor- πρὸ τούτων σημήια μεγάλα ἐγένετο. τοῦτο μὲν σφι
 tunes of πέμψασι ἐς Δελφούς χορὸν νεηνίεων ἑκατὸν δύο μῦνοι
 the Chians. τούτων ἀπενόστησαν, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτώ τε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα 5
 αὐτῶν λοιμὸς ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεκε· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ
 πόλι τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον, ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς ναυμα-
 χίης, παισὶ γράμματα διδασκομένοισι ἐνέπεσε ἢ στέγη,
 ὥστε ἀπ' ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι παίδων εἰς μῦνος ἀπέφυγε.
 ταῦτα μὲν σφι σημήια ὁ θεὸς προέδεξε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 10
 ἡ ναυμαχίη ὑπολαβοῦσα ἐς γόνυ τὴν πόλιν ἔβαλε, ἐπὶ

8. The position of the 'Hollows' is not known, but doubtless the place was somewhere on the western coast of the island. Cf. viii. 14.

10. ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης. The battle of Lade.

11. Polichne—diminutive of πόλις—is a name which frequently occurs; no definite site can be fixed.

27. 1. φιλέει δέ κως προσημαίνειν. It is easy to supply ὁ θεός as the nominative to φιλέει, and this would agree with the sentiments which Herodotus elsewhere expresses; e.g. *infr.* l. 10. On the other hand words like δηλοῖ, δείξει are sometimes used in an impersonal and intransitive sense as e.g. in Aristoph. *Frogs*, 1261 δείξει δὴ τάχα, Herod. ix. 68. 1 δηλοῖ τέ μοι ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, and this may be the construction

here. Cf. v. 124. 1.

6. ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεκε, 'seized and carried off,' like a wind or storm, of which the word ὑπολαβεῖν is frequently used by Herodotus. Cf. *infr.* l. 11, and c. 75. 4.

7. τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον, *supr.* 22. 8.

11. ἐς γόνυ ἔβαλε. Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 929 Ἀσία δὲ χθὼν αἰνῶς ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται. What was the object of this attack on Chios is not clear, unless it was mere personal revenge on the part of Histiaeus for the refusal of the Chians to give him ships; *supr.* 5. 10. Was Histiaeus now intending to play the part of an ally of Darius, and to secure his restoration to favour? In itself such a conjecture is not impossible, but it can hardly be reconciled with the events related in the next chapter.

ΙΟΝΙΑ. B. C. 493(?) ; Ol. 71. 4.

δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεγένετο Ἰστιαῖος Λεσβίους ἄγων
κεκακωμένων δὲ τῶν Χίων, καταστροφὴν εὐπετέως αὐ-
τῶν ἐποιήσατο.

Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ Θάσον 28
ἄγων Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων συχνοῦς. περικατημένῳ Histiaceus
δέ οἱ Θάσον ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνα- at Thasos ;
πλέουσι ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην.
5 πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα Θάσον μὲν ἀπόρθητον λείπει,
αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Λέσβον ἠπείγετο ἄγων πᾶσαν τὴν
στρατιήν. ἐκ Λέσβου δὲ λιμαινούσης^a οἱ τῆς στρα-
τιῆς πέρην διαβαίνει, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ὡς ἀμήσων
τὸν σῆτον τὸν τε ἐνθεῦτεν καὶ τὸν ἐκ Καΐκου πε-
10 δίου τὸν τῶν Μυσῶν. ἐν δὲ τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρί-
οισι ἐτύγχανε ἔων Ἀρπαγος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης στρατηγὸς
στρατιῆς οὐκ ὀλίγης· ὅς οἱ ἀποβάντι συμβαλὼν αὐτόν
τε Ἰστιαῖον ζωγρήν ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν
πλέω διέφθειρε. ἐζωγρήθη δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ᾧδε. ὡς ἐμά- 29
χοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐν τῇ Μαλήνῃ τῆς
Ἀταρνείτιδος χώρας, οἱ μὲν συνέστασαν χρόνον ἐπὶ
πολλόν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος ὕστερον ὀρμηθεῖσα ἐπιπίπτει τοῖσι
5 Ἕλλησι. τό τε δὴ ἔργον τῆς ἵππου τοῦτο ἐγένετο, καὶ
τετραμμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐλπίζων οὐκ
ἀπολέεσθαι ὑπὸ βασιλέος διὰ τὴν παρεούσαν ἀμαρτάδα
φιλοψυχίην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἀναιρέεται ὡς φεύγων τε κα-

^a λιμαινούσης Reiske : δειμαινούσης Libb.

28. 8. ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος. Cf. *supr.* 4. 2. The district belonged to the Chians. The plain of the Caicus is described by Strabo, p. 624, as almost the best part of Mysia.

29. 3. συνέστασαν, 'were engaged in conflict'; cf. i. 208 γνῶμαι αὐται

συνέστασαν, and so vii. 170. 8 λιμῶ συνεστεώτας.

5. τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, 'this achievement'; cf. ix. 102. 10 ὅπως ἐωυτῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, v. 1. 16. Gaisford and Krüger read τότε with some MSS.

8. φιλοψυχίην . . . ἀναιρέεται.

IONIA. B. C. 493 (?); OL. 71. 4.

τελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω καὶ ὡς καταιρεόμενος
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔμελλε συγκεντηθήσεσθαι, Περσίδα γλῶσσαν 10
 μετεῖς^a καταμηνύει ἑωυτὸν ὡς εἶη Ἴστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος.
 30 εἰ μὲν νυν, ὡς ἐξωγρήθη, ἄχθη^b ἀγόμενος παρὰ βα-
 σιλέα Δαρείον, ὁ δὲ οὔτ' ἂν ἔπαθε κακὸν οὐδὲν δο-
 κέειν ἐμοί, ἀπήκε τ' ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίην· νῦν δὲ μιν
 αὐτῶν τε τούτων εἵνεκα καὶ ἵνα μὴ διαφυγὼν αὐτίς
 μέγας παρὰ βασιλείῃ γένηται, Ἄρταφρένης τε ὁ Σαρδίων 5
 ὕπαρχος καὶ ὁ λαβὼν Ἄρπαγος, ὡς ἀπῖκετο ἀγόμενος
 ἐς Σάρδις, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀνεσταύ-
 ρωσαν, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ταριχεύσαντες ἀνήνεικαν παρὰ
 βασιλέα Δαρείον ἐς Σούσα. Δαρείος δὲ πυθόμενος ταῦ-
 τα καὶ ἐπαιτησάμενος τοὺς ταῦτα ποιήσαντας ὅτι μιν 10
 οὐ ζῶοντα ἀνήγαγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, τὴν κεφαλὴν
 τὴν Ἴστιαίου λούσαντάς τε καὶ περιστείλαντας εὐ ἐνε-
 τεύλατο θάψαι ὡς ἀνδρὸς μεγάλως ἑωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρ-
 σησι εὐεργέτεω.

^a μετεῖς R (sv).

‘Suscipere cupiditatem vitae, amore
 vitae capi,’ Schwgh. So we have
 ἀναιρέεσθαι γνώμην, etc.

9. καταλαμβάνετο . . . καταιρεό-
 μενος, ‘overtaken,’ ‘being seized or
 pulled down,’ ὡς δὲ οὐ κατέλαβον v.
 98. 21.

30. 3. ἀπήκε, sc. ὁ Δαρείος, cf. i.
 33 ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὐ πως
 οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο (Solon), οὔτε λόγου
 μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται
 (Croesus).

4. αὐτῶν τε τούτων εἵνεκα, i. e. to
 prevent his reaching Susa.

7. τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα αὐτοῦ
 ταύτῃ. Both Stein and Abicht retain
 this reading; for αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ, cp. *supr.*
 16. 4. Stein supports by numerous
 examples both the position of αὐτοῦ

^b ἀνήχθη Bredow : ἤλθε Krüg.

before σῶμα and the repetition.

10. It was a principle of the Per-
 sian Kings, according to Herodotus,
 to weigh the good and evil which
 an officer had done to the kingdom,
 and to decide by the balance; i. 137
 λογισάμενος ἢν εὐρίσκη πλέω τε καὶ
 μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἔοντα τῶν ὑπουρ-
 γημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται.

12. περιστείλαντας εὐ. Cf. Soph.
Anl. 903 τὸ σὸν δέμας περιστέλλουσα.

13. ἑωυτῷ with εὐεργέτεω. The
 same construction is found in Euri-
 pides (*Herc. Fur.* 1252). Cf. *supr.*
 v. 31. 8. For εὐεργέτης cf. viii. 85
 Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνε-
 γράφη . . . οἱ δὲ εὐεργέται βασιλέος
 ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται Περσιστί.

AEGEAN. B.C. 493 (?); Ol. 71. 4.

Τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἴστιαῖον οὕτω ἔσχε. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς 31
στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, τῷ δευ-
τέρῳ ἔτει ὡς ἀνέπλωσε, αἰρέει εὐπετέως τὰς νήσους τὰς
πρὸς τῇ ἡπείρῳ κειμένας, Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένε-
5 δον. ὅκως δὲ λάβοι τινὰ τῶν νήσων, ὡς ἐκάστην αἰ-
ρέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσαγήνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. σαγη-
νεύουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς ἀψάμενος
τῆς χειρὸς ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς βορηῆς ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην
διήκουσι, καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ πάσης τῆς νήσου διέρχονται
10 ἐκθηρεύοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. αἴρεον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ
ἡπείρῳ πόλιας τὰς Ἰάδας κατὰ ταυτά, πλὴν οὐκ
ἔσαγήνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οὐ γὰρ οἶά τ' ἦν. ἐνθαῦ- 32
τα Περσέων οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο τὰς ἀπειλάς
τὰς ἐπηπειλῆσαν τοῖσι Ἰωσι στρατοπεδευόμενοισι ἐναν-
τία^a σφίσι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐπεκράτησαν τῶν πολίων, παῖδάς

The
Persian
fleet in the
Aegean,

^a ἔστρατοπεδευμένοισι ἀντία Van H.

31. 2. τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει, i. e. 493 B.C. The year of Herodotus is somewhat vague: apparently it begins with the spring. Cf. viii. 130. 4, 131, and ix. 117. 2 with ix. 121. 3 and Thuc. i. 89.

3. ἀνέπλωσε, 'set out.'

5. λάβοι, sc. ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός.

ὡς ἐκάστην αἰρέοντες, 'taking them one by one': i. e. employing the whole force on each. Cf. i. 114. 10 ὡς ἐκάστῳ ἔργον προστάσων.

6. ἔσαγήνευον, 'netted.' The account is of course an exaggeration; it would be quite impossible to 'net' the mountainous islands in the manner described. Cf. iii. 149. (In this instance the object was to render Samos ἔρημος ἀνδρῶν—but we are not told that Chios, Lesbos, or Tenedos were denuded of their in-

habitants). Plato, *Menex.* 240 B, says of the Eretrians, when conquered by the Persians, διηρευνήσατο δὲ αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀποφύγοι, τοιοῦτον τρόπον. ἐπὶ τὰ ὕρια ἔλθόντες τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ, ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν διαστάντες, συνάψαντες τὰς χεῖρας διήλθον ἅσασαν τὴν χώραν, ἵν' ἔχουεν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἀποπεφυγὼς εἶη.

11. κατὰ ταυτά, 'in the same way.' Cf. *infra*. 42 *ult.*

32. 2. οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο, i. e. 'made good.' Cf. *supra*. 9. 20 ff.

3. ἐναντία. Elsewhere Herodotus uses the adjective ἐναντίος in a metaphorical sense, but as he has ἐξ ἐναντίας of locality in viii. 7. 8 there is no reason to correct the text.

HELLESPONT. B.C. 493; Ol. 71. 4.

τε τοὺς εὐειδεστάτους ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐξέταμνον καὶ ἐποίουν 5
ἀντὶ εἶναι ἐνόρχιας εὐνούχους, καὶ παρθένους τὰς καλ-
λιστευούσας ἀνασπάστους παρὰ βασιλέα· ταυτὰ τε δὴ
ἐποίουν καὶ τὰς πόλιας ἐνεπίμπρασαν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι^a
ἱροῖσι· οὕτω τε τὸ τρίτον Ἴωνες κατεδουλώθησαν, πρῶτον
μὲν ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, δις δὲ ἐπέξῃς τότε ὑπὸ Περσέων. 10

33 Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰωνίης ἀπαλλασσόμενος ὁ ναυτικὸς στρα-
τὸς τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ ἐσπλέοντι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου αἴρεε
πάντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι^b Πέρσησι ὑποχεί-
ρια ἦν γεγονότα κατ' ἡπειρον. εἰςὶ δὲ αἱ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ
αἶδε τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, Χερσονήσός τε, ἐν τῇ πόλιες συχναὶ 5
ἔνεισι, καὶ Πέρινθος καὶ τὰ τείχρα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηίκης καὶ

^a τοῖσι om. Bekk.^b τοῖσι om. A B C.

5. ἐξέταμνον. Passages such as these enable us to realize what oriental despotism meant; cf. the story of Hermotimus of Pedasa in viii. 104 ff., and the Corcyraean boys, iii. 48. In iii. 92 we are told that Babylon and Assyria supplied annually 500 παῖδες ἑκτομίαι to the court of Darius.

6. ἀντὶ εἶναι. For the omission of the article cf. i. 210. 8; vii. 170. 14.

8. αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι. The omission of the article would be more regular; and it is omitted in Herodotus, e. g. iii. 126 *ult.* But in iii. 45 *ult.* we have αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι νεωσόκοισι (αὐτοῖσι νεωσῆκοισιν *cl.*); *ib.* 100. 5 αὐτῇ τῇ κάλυκι (τῇ om. R); in vii. 39. 6 αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικί (τῇ om. P R); *inf.* 93. 3. The article is undoubtedly found in Attic in this idiom.

10. ἐπέξῃς, i. e. without any other conquest coming between. The first conquest was by Cyrus. In a

similar manner Herodotus enumerates the Dorian invasions of Attica v. 76, and in ix. 104 *ult.* we have: οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

33. 2. ἐσπλέοντι. So Thuc. i. 24 Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον, Herod. iii. 90. 9.

3. αὐτοῖσι. The Persians are opposed to the Phoenicians in the fleet. Cf. v. 117, 122 and *supr.* 6. 'Had been rendered subject by the Persians themselves (by their own action).' The periphrasis ἦν γεγονώς occurs below, 37. 6 etc.

4. αἱ . . . αἶδε, πόλιες or χῶραι must be supplied, and on this the genitive τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου depends. 'These are the lands (cities) of the Hellespont in Europe.'

5. πόλιες συχναί. Herodotus mentions Cardia, Pactya, Sestos, Madytus, Elaeus.

6. Perinthus; cf. v. 1. τὰ

and in the
Helles-
pont.

HELLESPONT. B.C. 493; OL. 71. 4.

Σηλυμβρίη τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. Βυζάντιοι μὲν νυν καὶ οἱ
 πέρηθε Καλχηδόνιοι οὐδ' ὑπέμειναν ἐπιπλέοντας τοὺς
 Φοίνικας, ἀλλ' οἷχοντο ἀπολιπόντες τὴν σφετέρην ἔσω
 10 ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα πόλιν Μεσαμβρίην
 οἴκησαν. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες κατακαύσαντες ταύτας τὰς χώ-
 ρας τὰς καταλεχθείσας^a τράπονται ἐπὶ τε Προκόννησον
 καὶ Ἀρτάκην, πυρὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτας νεύμαντες ἔπλεον αὐ-
 τισ ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον ἐξαιρήσαντες τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῶν
 15 πολίων, ὅσας πρότερον προσσχόντες οὐ κατέσυραν. ἐπὶ
 δὲ Κύζικον οὐδὲ ἔπλωσαν ἀρχήν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ Κυζικηνοὶ
 ἔτι^b πρότερον τοῦ Φοινίκων ἐσπλόου τούτου ἐγεγόνεσαν ὑπὸ
 βασιλείᾳ, Οἰβάρει τῷ Μεγαβάζου ὁμολογήσαντες τῷ ἐν
 Δασκυλείῳ ὑπάρχῳ. τῆς δὲ Χερσονήσου, πλὴν Καρδίας
 πόλιος, τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐχειρώσαντο οἱ Φοίνικες. ἐτυ- 34

^a καταλειφθείσας A B C.^b ἔτι? Dobr.

τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηκίης, i.e. the fortified positions held by the Greeks in Thrace. These were Leuce Acte, Teiristasis, Heraclea (Perinthus), Ganus, Neon Teichos, Daminon Teichos, and Selymbria, which Herodotus mentions separately.

7. Selymbria (town of Selys, βρία meaning town, cf. Mesambria, Brea; Strabo, p. 319) was a colony of the Megarians, more ancient even than Chalcedon.

10. Mesambria was also a colony of the Megarians.

11. οἴκησαν, not οἴκισαν, for the city had been founded previously.

14. τὰς ἐπιλοίπους. The more inland or the stronger cities, Agora, Sestos, may be meant.

17. ἔτι πρότερον, 'even before.'
 Cf. v. 62. 16 ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι.

18. Οἰβάρει. This Oebares was

apparently the brother of the Bubares mentioned in v. 21 *ult.* Dascyleum, near the shore of the Propontis, was the capital of the Phrygian satrapy, in which were included the Greeks on the right hand of the Hellespont, iii. 90; cf. Thuc. i. 129. The cities thus subdued were kept in subjugation by a number of fortresses held by Persian governors. Such were Eion, at the mouth of the Strymon; Doriscus, at the mouth of the Hebrus, Sestos, Cardia. Cf. vii. 106 κατέστασαν γὰρ ἔτι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς ἐλάσιος ὑπαρχοὶ ἐν τῇ Θρηκίᾳ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πανταχῇ, iii. 96 προΐντος μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων προσήμι ἄλλος φόρος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μεχρὶ Θεσσαλίας οἰκημένων, ix. 116 ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξου ὑπαρχος Ἀρταύκτης, vii. 78.

ATHENS. B.C. 560; Ol. 55. 1.

ράννευε δὲ αὐτέων μέχρι τότε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος
 τοῦ Στησαγόρευ, κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην πρότε-
 ρον Μιλτιάδεω τοῦ Κυψέλου τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. εἶχον Δό-
 λογκοὶ Θρήκες τὴν Χερσόνησον ταύτην. οὗτοι ὦν οἱ 5
 Δόλογοι πιεσθέντες πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Ἀψινθίων ἐς Δελφοὺς
 ἔπεμψαν τοὺς βασιλέας περὶ τοῦ πολέμου χρησομένους.
 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἀνείλε οἰκιστὴν ἐπάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν χώ-
 ρην τοῦτου ὃς ἂν σφεας ἀπιόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρώτος
 ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέσῃ. ἴοντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογοι τὴν ἰρὴν ὁδὸν 10
 διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἦισαν· καὶ σφεας ὡς οὐ-
 35 δεῖς ἐκάλεε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων. ἐν δὲ τῆσι
 Ἀθήνησι τηνικαῦτα εἶχε μὲν τὸ πᾶν κράτος Πεισι-
 στρατος, ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευέ γε^a καὶ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου

^a γε Reiske: τε A B C: om. R (sv).

34. 4. **Κυψέλου.** This name points to some connection with Cypselus of Corinth. We know from Herod. *infr.* 128 *ult.* that Hippocleides the son of Tisander, one of the suitors of Agariste, was connected with the Cypselids, and in the life of Thucydides by Marcellinus we have the following genealogy quoted from Pherecydes, in which Miltiades and Hippocleides are connected: Φιλαίας ὁ Αἰάντος οἰκεῖ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, ἐκ τούτου δὲ γίγνεται Δάϊκλος, τοῦ δὲ Ἐπίλυκος, τοῦ δὲ Ἀκέστωρ, τοῦ δὲ Ἀγήνωρ, τοῦ δὲ Ὀλιος, τοῦ δὲ Λύκης, τοῦ δὲ Ἀγαμήστωρ, τοῦ δὲ Τίσανδρος, ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος ἐν Ἀθήναις τὸν δὲ Μιλτιάδης, τοῦ δὲ Ἰπποκλείδης, ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος Παναθηναῖα ἐτέθη τὸν δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὃς ἔκτισε Χερρόνησον.

Δόλογοι. Nothing is known of this tribe except in connection with this incident. We hear again of the Apsinthians in ix. 119.

7. τοὺς βασιλέας. The kings of the various cities: cf. *infr.* 39. 11 *συνελέχθησαν ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πολιῶν οἱ δυναστεύοντες.*

8. The advice of the oracle amounted to a recommendation that the various princes of the Chersonese should submit to a central authority.

10. ἴοντες takes up ἀπιόντας, 'as they went on their way.' The envoys seem to have come back into Boeotia along the sacred way which led from Delphi to Thebes, but subsequently they diverged from it and reached Athens by another route (ἐκτράπονται).

35. 2. **τηνικαῦτα.** As the incident happened during the reign of Croesus, and apparently before he was involved in difficulties in the East, we must place it in the first tyranny of Peisistratus, i.e. not long after 560 B.C.

The Cher-
sonese:
how
colonised
by the
Athenians.

ATHENS. B.C. 560; Ol. 55. 1.

ἔδων οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου, τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰα-
 5 κοῦ τε καὶ Αἰγίνης γεγωνός, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα, Ἀθηναῖος,
 Φιλαίου τοῦ Αἴαντος παιδὸς γενομένου πρώτου τῆς οἰ-
 κίης ταύτης Ἀθηναίου. οὗτος ὁ Μιλτιάδης κατήμενος
 ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, ὀρέων τοὺς Δο-
 λόγους παριόντας ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχαωρίην καὶ
 10 αἰχμὰς προσεβόσατο καὶ σφι προσελθοῦσι ἐπηγγεῖλατο
 καταγωγὴν καὶ ξείνια. οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ ξεινισθέντες
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐξέβαινον πᾶν τὸ μαντήιον, ἐκφήναντες δὲ
 ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ μιν πείθεσθαι. Μιλτιάδεα δὲ
 ἀκούσαντα παραυτίκα ἔπεισε ὁ λόγος οἷα ἀχθόμενον τε
 15 τῇ Πεισιστράτου ἀρχῇ καὶ βουλόμενον ἐκποδὼν εἶναι.
 αὐτίκα δὲ ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφούς, ἐπειρησόμενος τὸ χρη-
 στήριον εἰ ποιοίη^a τὰ περ αὐτοῦ οἱ Δόλογοι προσεδέον-
 το. κελουούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς Πυθίης, οὕτω δὴ Μιλτιάδης 36

^a ποιῆ Dobr. : ποιέη Hermann.

4. ἔδων οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου. Cf. *infra*. 36, 103, 125. 26.

5. Αἰγίνης, i.e. the nymph. τὰ νεώτερα is opposed to τὰ ἀνέκαθεν, as in ix. 26. 7 τὸ νέον is opposed to τὸ παλαιόν.

6. Cf. Plutarch, *Sol.* 10. When Megara and Athens were disputing for the possession of Salamis Σάλωνά φασιν (Ἀθηναῖοι) ἀποδείξει τοῖς δικασταῖς ὅτι Φιλαῖος καὶ Εὐρυσάκης Αἴαντος υἱοὶ Ἀθήνησι πολιτείας μεταλαβόντες κατώκησαν ὃ μὲν ἐν Βραυρωνί τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὃ δὲ ἐν Μελίτῃ, καὶ δῆμον ἐπώνυμον Φιλαίου τῶν Φιλαϊδῶν ἔχουσιν.

8. The deme of Laciadae, in which lay the property of Miltiades the son of Cimon, was close to Athens, N.W. of the city, on the way to Eleusis (Paus. i. 37. 2; Plut.

Cim. 4), but we do not know that the elder Miltiades lived in this deme. The word ἐκτρέπονται implies that the envoys left the Sacred Way leading from Delphi to Athens (by Thebes and Eleusis), and reached Athens by another route.

13. μιν is not required; but cf. i. 141. 14 αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος δι' ἀργέλων ἀπίστασθαι σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου.

17. εἰ ποιοίη. The optative with εἰ, in indirect deliberative questions after a historical tense, is found in v. 67. 10 ἐχρηστηριάξτετο εἰ ἐκβάλαι, v. 124. 9 εἴτε ἄγοι, viii. 67 *ult.* εἰ ποίειτο. In all these cases, Dobree introduced the subjunctive, but the change is unnecessary; see Goodwin, *Syntax*, § 677; Cavallin, *De modis*, etc., p. 39.

CHERSONESE. After B. C. 560; Ol. 55. 1.

Miltiades I
in the Cher-
sonese;

ὁ Κυψέλου, Ὀλύμπια ἀναραιοῦς πρότερον τούτων
τεθρίππῳ, τότε παραλαβὼν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὸν βου-
λόμενον μετέχειν τοῦ στόλου ἔπλεε ἅμα τοῖσι Δολόγκοι-
σι καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν· καὶ μιν οἱ ἐπαγαγόμενοι τύ-
ραννον κατεστήσαντο. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπετείχισε τὸν
ἰσθμὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος ἐς Πακτύην,
ἵνα μὴ ἔχοιεν σφέας οἱ Ἀψίνθιοι δηλέεσθαι ἐσβάλλον-
τες ἐς τὴν χώραν. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι σταδίοι ἕξ τε καὶ τριή-
κοντα τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τούτου ἡ Χερ-
σονήσος ἔσω πᾶσα ἐστὶ σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ τετρακοσίων
37 τὸ μῆκος. ἀποτειχίσας ὦν τὸν ἀύχένα τῆς Χερσονήσου
ὁ Μιλτιάδης καὶ τοὺς Ἀψινθίους τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ
ὠσάμενος, τῶν λοιπῶν πρῶτοισι ἐπολέμησε Λαμ-
ψακηνοῖσι· καὶ μιν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ λοχήσαντες αἰ-
ρέουσι ζωγρίῃ. ἦν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυ-
δῶ ἐν γνώμῃ γεγωνῶς· πυθόμενος ὦν ὁ Κροῖσος

his rela-
tions with
the Lamp-
sacenes and
Croesus;

36. 2. Ὀλύμπια ἀναραιοῦς. Elsewhere in Herod. Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀν. *infra*. 70. 15, 103. 6.

3. πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον. That Miltiades was sent out by Peisistratus with a view to securing the Chersonesus for Athens, is more than we can affirm. But no doubt the tyrant would gladly see an opponent out of the city, and was willing that any disaffected persons should go with him. At a later time the importance of the Chersonese was recognised, and Miltiades the son of Cimon was conveyed thither by the Peisistratidae who were themselves in possession of Sigeum.

7. ἐκ Καρδίας . . . ἐς Πακτύην, i. e. from sea to sea. Cf. Plut. *Per.* 19 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀύχένα διαζώσας ἐρύμασι καὶ προβλήμασιν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θά-

λατταν ἀπετείχισε τὰς καταδρομὰς τῶν Θερκῶν (*circ.* 453 B. C.). In 398 B. C. the wall was again restored by Dercyllidas, Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 8.

37. 3. The inhabitants of Lamp-sacus, on the other side of the Hellespont, would not view with any pleasure the rise of a considerable power in the Chersonese. The competition between the cities in this part of the Aegean was keen; cf. i. 165, where the Chians refuse to sell the Oenoussae to the Phocaeans, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἰ μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀποκλησθῆ.

5. ἦν δὲ . . . ἐν γνώμῃ γεγωνῶς, 'had been observed by,' 'noted by.' Apart from any personal relations which may have existed between the two, Croesus would feel that the presence

CHERSONESE. B.C. 518(?) ; Ol. 65. 3.

ταῦτα, πέμπων προηγόρευε τοῖσι Λαμψακηνοῖσι με-
 τιέναι Μιλτιάδεα· εἰ δὲ μή, σφέας πίτυος τρόπον
 ἀπέλλεε ἐκτρίψειν. πλανωμένων δὲ τῶν Λαμψακη-
 10 νῶν ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι τὸ θέλει^a τὸ ἔπος εἶναι^b τὸ σφι
 ἀπέλλησε ὁ Κροῖσος, πίτυος τρόπον ἐκτρίψειν, μόγις
 κοτὲ μαθὼν τῶν τις πρεσβυτέρων εἶπε τὸ ἔόν, ὅτι πί-
 τυς μούνη πάντων δενδρέων ἐκκοπέῖσα βλαστὸν οὐδένα
 μετίει ἀλλὰ πανάλεθρος ἐξαπόλλυται. δείσαντες ὧν οἱ
 15 Λαμψακηνοὶ Κροῖσον, λύσαντες μετήκαν Μιλτιάδεα.
 οὗτος μὲν δὴ διὰ Κροῖσον ἐκφεύγει, μετὰ δὲ τελευτᾷ **38**
 ἄπαις, τὴν ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδοὺς Στῆσα-
 γόρη τῷ Κίμωνος ἀδελφεοῦ παιδὶ ὁμομητρίου. καὶ
 οἱ τελευτήσαντι Χερσονησίται θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῆ,
 5 καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπιστάσι, ἐν τῷ
 Λαμψακηνῶν οὐδενὶ ἐγγίνεται ἀγωνίζεσθαι. πολέμου δὲ
 ἔοντος πρὸς Λαμψακηνοὺς καὶ Στῆσαγόρεα κατέλαβε
 ἀποθανεῖν ἄπαιδα, πληγέντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκεϊ ἐν
 τῷ πρυτανίῳ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτομόλου μὲν τῷ λόγῳ
 πολεμίου δὲ καὶ ὑποθερμότερου τῷ ἔργῳ. τελευτήσαν- **39**

^a τί θέλει H. Stephanus, sed vid. vii. 37. II.

^b εἶπαι Ab.

of a Greek in the Chersonese would at least prevent the Thracian tribes from approaching the Troad.

10. ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, 'in their discussion.'

12. ὅτι πίτυς μούνη, κ.τ.λ. The old name of Lampscacus is said to have been Pityussa, Charon. Lamp. Frag. 6 M.

38. I. τελευτᾷ. The date is unknown.

3. ὁμομητρίου. Cypselus and Cimon must have married the same woman.

4. οἰκιστῆ. Compare what Thucydides says of the grave of Brasidas

at Amphipolis, v. 11 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ Ἀμφιπολίται περιέρξαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μνημεῖον ὡς ἥρωί τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ τιμᾶς δεδώκασιν ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐτησίους θυσίας, καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῆ προσέθεσαν.

9. ὑποθερμότερου, 'inclined to be vehement, though his vehemence was concealed.' This seems to be the sense of the compound, for ὑπο- can hardly have the usual diminishing sense here. The man was not slightly but excessively vehement. Even in *inf.* 75. 5 it is doubtful whether ὑπόμαργος does not mean 'mad beneath the surface.' This is the

he is succeeded by Stesagoras

CHERSONESE. B.C. 496 (?); Ol. 71. 1.

who is succeeded by Miltiades II.

τος δὲ καὶ Στῆσαγόρῳ τρόπῳ τοιῶδες, ἐνθαῦτα Μιλτιάδεα τὸν Κίμωνος, Στῆσαγόρῳ δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφόν, καταλαμψόμενον τὰ πρήγματα ἐπὶ Χερσονήσου ἀποστέλλουσι τριήρεϊ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, οἱ μιν 5 καὶ ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐποίουν εὖ ὡς οὐ συνειδότες δῆθεν τοῦ πατρὸς [Κίμωνος]^a αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ σημανέω ὡς ἐγένετο. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον εἶχε κατ' οἴκους, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Στῆσαγόρεα δηλαδὴ ἐπιτιμέων^b. οἱ δὲ Χερσονησίται 10 πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα συνελέχθησαν ἀπὸ πασέων τῶν πολίων οἱ δυναστεύοντες πάντοθεν, κοινῶ δὲ στόλῳ ἀπικόμενοι ὡς συλλυπηθησόμενοι ἐδέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἴσχει τὴν Χερσόνησον, πεντακοσίους βόσκων ἐπικούρους, καὶ γαμέει Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρηϊκῶν 15 βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Ἑγησιπύλην.

^a Κίμωνος secl. St.

^b ἐπι πενθέων Valck. : πενθέων Cob.

common meaning of ὑπο- with words signifying material things, c. g. ὑπόπετρος, ὑπότροχος, &c.

Krüger, following Wesseling, translates, 'etwas zu hitzig,' the ὑπο- modifying the force of the comparative. In other explanations both the comparative and the ὑπο- are regarded as modifying the sense of θερμός (Abicht, Strachan) but this does not seem to be consistent with the facts. [τῷ ἔργῳ marks the antithesis to τῷ λόγῳ.]

39. 5. οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι. Peisistratus was therefore dead (527 B.C.) The Peisistratidae sent out Miltiades in a trireme in order to pay him peculiar honour (but cf. also *supr.* 36. 2). So Hipparchus is said to have sent a penteconter to bring Anacreon to Athens; Plato, *Hipparch.* 228 C.

7. ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ. Cf. *infra.* 103.

For the expression, *supr.* 19. 5.

10. ἐπιτιμέων. In the context this can only mean 'paying additional honours to,' whereas ἐπιτιμᾶν means to 'reprove,' 'reproach.' Cobet, following Valckenaer, reads πενθέων. But as we find ἐπιτιμᾶν in the sense of 'raising the price,' Diphil. *Emph.* 1. 27 (32 K) οἶνον ἐπιτετίμηκας πολὺ, Demosth. 34 § 39 ὁ σίτος ἐπετιμήθη, may we not take τιμή in a different sense (of honour, not price), and translate the word, 'raising the honours of,' 'specially honouring?'

13. συλλυπηθησόμενοι τῷ πάθει. Cf. ix. 94. 6 συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθει. For the form, cf. *supr.* 11. 16; Plato, *Rep.* 462 E, has συλλυπήσεται.

15. βόσκων for τρέφαν. The word is perhaps contemptuous; cf. i. 44. 8 φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάβανε βόσκων.

CHERSONESE. B. C. 493; OL. 71. 4.

Οὗτος δὲ^a ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης νεωστὶ μὲν ἔληλύ- 40
 θεε ἔς τὴν Χερσονήσον, κατελάμβανε δέ μιν ἔλθόντα Miltiades is
 ἄλλα τῶν καταλαβόντων^b πρηγμάτων χαλεπότερα. τρίτῳ driven from
 μὲν γὰρ ἔτει^c πρὸ^c τούτων Σκύθας ἐκφεύγει· Σκύθαι γὰρ the Cher-
 5 οἱ νομάδες ἐρεθισθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέως Δαρείου συνε- sonese
 στράφησαν καὶ ἤλασαν μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτης. by the
 τούτους ἐπιόντας οὐκ ὑπομείνας ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἔφευγε Scythians,
 Χερσονήσον^d, ἔς ὃ οἱ τε Σκύθαι ἀπαλλάχθησαν καὶ
 ἐκείνον Δόλογχοι κατήγαγον ὀπίσω. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ

^a δὴ Krüg.^c πρὸ add. St.^b κατεχόντων P R (sv), Krüg. alii.^d ἀπὸ χερσονήσου A B.

40. 3. τῶν καταλαβόντων πρηγ-
 μάτων. These words are by some
 supposed to mean the troubles which
 beset Miltiades on his first arrival in
 the Chersonese (see Strachan, who,
 however, reads τῶν κατεχόντων
 πρηγμάτων). Against this it may be
 argued that we have no account of
 such 'troubles,' for the imprisonment
 of the princes in the cities can hardly
 be considered as such. Moreover
 the words τρίτῳ ἔτει at the end of
 the chapter make such a rendering
 difficult, for in that case we should
 have to suppose that the Scythians
 kept Miltiades out of the Chersonese
 from the third year after his arrival
 (515-2 = 513 B. C.) till the third year
 before the Phoenicians sailed north
 (493 + 2 = 495 B. C.), i. e. for sixteen
 years or more. (2) Another render-
 ing connects the words with the
 approach of the Phoenicians in 493
 B. C. In this case πρὸ is required
 before τούτων in l. 4 [though
 Cobet denies this, and also Abicht,
 maintaining that τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων

can mean 'in the third year before
 this']. ἔλθόντα refers, not to the first
 arrival of Miltiades, but to his return
 from absence (caused by his action
 at the Danube), about two years
 before the approach of the Phoeni-
 cians. That he could remain in the
 Chersonese after his conduct at the
 Danube (iv. 137), conduct which
 Histiaeus and others would make
 known to Darius (*infr.* 41. 14),
 seems incredible. But Herodotus
 takes no note of this, beyond men-
 tioning the fact that Miltiades had
 recently come to the Chersonese in
 495 B. C. This rendering, it is true,
 represents the Scythians as waiting
 for their revenge nearly twenty years
 (from 515 B. C. to 495 B. C.), but this
 objection may be answered to some
 extent by the fact that the Ionic
 revolt would perhaps appear to the
 Scythians to be a suitable time for
 revenging themselves; and moreover
 Miltiades had only recently returned
 to the Chersonese.

5. οἱ νομάδες. Cf. *infr.* 84. 5.

CHERSONESE. B.C. 493; Ol. 71. 4.

τρίτῳ ἔτει^a πρότερον ἐγεγόνει τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων^a.¹⁰
 41 τότε δὲ πυνθανόμενος εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ,
 and again
 by the
 Phoeni-
 cians,
 πληρώσας τριήρεας πέντε χρημάτων τῶν παρεόντων
 ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. καὶ ὥσπερ ὠρμήθη ἐκ Καρ-
 δίης πόλιος, ἔπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου· παραμεί-
 βετό τε τὴν Χερσόνησον καὶ οἱ Φοινικῆς οἱ περιπίπτου-⁵
 σι τῆσι νηυσί. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ Μιλτιάδης σὺν τῆσι τέσ-
 σερσι τῶν νεῶν καταφεύγει ἐς Ἴμβρον, τὴν δὲ οἱ
 πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατεῖλον διώκοντες οἱ Φοίνικες. τῆς
 δὲ νεὸς ταύτης ἔτυχε τῶν Μιλτιάδεω παίδων ὁ πρεσβύ-
 τατος ἄρχων Μητίοχος, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρή-¹⁰
 κος ἐὼν θυγατρὸς ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄλλης· καὶ τοῦτον ἅμα τῇ νηὶ
 εἶλον οἱ Φοίνικες, καὶ μιν πυθόμενοι ὡς εἶη Μιλτιά-
 δεω παῖς ἀνήγαγον παρὰ βασιλέα, δοκέοντες χάριτα
 μεγάλην καταθήσεσθαι, ὅτι δὴ Μιλτιάδης γνώμην
 ἀπεδέξατο ἐν τοῖσι Ἴωσι πείθεσθαι κελεύων τοῖσι Σκύ-¹⁵
 θησι, ὅτε οἱ Σκύθαι προσεδέοντο λύσαντας τὴν σχε-
 δὴν ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἑωτῶν. Δαρεῖος δέ, ὡς οἱ
 Φοίνικες Μητίοχον τὸν Μιλτιάδεω ἀνήγαγον, ἐποίησε

^a δὴ τρίτῳ ἔτει et τῶν . . . κατεχόντων del. Dobr.

10. τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων, i. e. the approach of the Phoenicians.

41. 3. ὥσπερ for ὡς. Καρδίης. Cardia was the only city which the Phoenicians did not destroy, *supr.* 34. 1.

6. τῆσι νηυσί, 'with their ships,' not 'on his ships.' Cf. 43. 19 διαβάντες τῆσι νηυσί.

14. γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο. Cf. iv. 137.

18. ἐποίησε κακὸν οὐδέν. Similar gracious treatment was shown in the case of Demaratus, the exiled king of Sparta (vii. 104), whose descendants

held estates in Persia at the beginning of the fourth century (*infr.* 70. 11), and Gongylus of Eretria, cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. 6. Compare also the fortunes of Scythes, *supr.* 24; Gillus, iii. 138; Democedes, iii. 129 ff.; Dicaeus, viii. 65. When Themistocles appeared at the Persian court, the king is said to have prayed that Arcimanius, the spirit of evil, would always put it into the minds of the enemies of Persia to send their best men to the Persians (Plut. *Them.* 28).

ΙΟΝΙΑ. B.C. 493; Ol. 71. 4.

κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν Μητίοχον, ἀγαθὰ δὲ συχνά· καὶ γὰρ
20 οἶκον καὶ κτῆσιν ἔδωκε καὶ Περσίδα γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς
οἱ τέκνα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐς Πέρσας κεκοσμέαται. Μιλτιάδης
δὲ ἐξ Ἴμβρου ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

and returns
to Athens.

Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ 42
πλέον ἐγένετο τούτων ἐς νεῖκος φέρον Ἴωσι, ἀλλὰ τά-
δε μὲν χρήσιμα κάρτα τοῖσι Ἴωσι ἐγένετο τούτου τοῦ
ἔτους. Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος μεταπεμψάμε-
5 νος ἀγγέλους ἐκ τῶν πολίων συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοῖσι
τοὺς Ἴωνας ἠνάγκασε ποιέεσθαι, ἵνα δοσίδικοι εἶεν καὶ
μὴ ἀλλήλους φεροῖεν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν. ταυτὰ τε ἠνάγκασε
ποιεῖν, καὶ τὰς χώρας μετρήσας σφέων κατὰ παρα-
σάγγας, τοὺς καλέουσι οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τριήκοντα στάδια,
10 κατὰ δὴ τούτους μετρήσας φόρους ἔταξε ἐκάστοισι, οἱ

ΙΟΝΙΑ,
settlement
of by Arta-
phernes.

22. Ἴμβρου. At what time Imbros was taken by Miltiades is not clear. Cf. *infra*. 140.

42. 2. ἐς νεῖκος φέρον. Cf. *supra*. 2. 1.

3. χρήσιμα κάρτα. For this position of κάρτα, see *supra*. 3. 4.

τούτου τοῦ ἔτους, i. e. 493 B. C.

4. μεταπεμψάμενος ἀγγέλους. According to Diodorus, x. 25. 4, Hecataeus of Miletus was one of the envoys. Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος πρεσβευτῆς ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἴωνων ἠρώτησε δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀπιστεῖ αὐτοῖς δ' Ἀρταφρένης. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, μήποτε ὑπὲρ ὧν καταπολεμηθέντες κακῶς ἔπαθον μνησικακήσωσιν, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφησεν, εἰ τὸ πεπονθέναι κακῶς τὴν ἀπιστίαν περιποιεῖ, τὸ παθεῖν ἄρα εὖ ποιήσει τὰς πόλεις Πέρσαις εὐνοούσας. ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ τὸ βῆθην δ' Ἀρταφρένης ἀπέδωκε τοὺς νόμους ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τακτοὺς φόρους κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπέταξεν.

10. The arrangement of Artaphernes may have provided an example to Aristides when fixing the φόρος of the Delian League.

οἱ κατὰ χώραν, κ.τ.λ. These words imply that in the time of Herodotus the Asiatic cities were still liable to taxation by Persia. Whether the taxes were collected is another matter. Cf. Thuc. viii. 5. 5 ὑπὸ βασιλέως γὰρ νεωστὶ ἐτύγχανε πεπραγμένους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς φόρους, οὓς δι' Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων οὐ δυνάμενος πρᾶσσεσθαι ἐπαφείλησε (of Tissaphernes). The amount of the tribute paid by each satrapy was fixed by Darius (iii. 90), but Artaphernes assigned to each city the proportion which it should pay. Probably the tyrants in the various cities quarrelled much about this. It is difficult to see how the permanence of this arrangement can be

IONIA. B. C. 492; Ol. 72. 1.

κατὰ χώρην διατελέουσι ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου αἰεὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὡς ἐτάχθησαν ἐξ Ἀρταφρένεος ἐτάχθησαν δὲ σχεδὸν κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ^a καὶ πρότερον εἶχον.

Mardonius appointed general to invade Greece.

- 43 καὶ σφι ταῦτα μὲν εἰρηναῖα ἦν· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι, τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων^b στρατηγῶν ἐκ βασιλέος, Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύεω κατέβαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, στρατὸν πολλὸν μὲν κάρτα πεζὸν ἅμα ἀγόμενος πολλὸν δὲ ναυτικόν, ἡλικίην τε νέος ἔων καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκῶς⁵ βασιλέος Δαρείου θυγατέρα Ἀρτοζώστην· ἄγων δὲ τὸν στρατὸν τούτου ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπέιτε ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Κιλικίῃ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ νεὸς ἐκομίζετο ἅμα τῆσι ἄλλησι νηυσί, στρατιὴν δὲ τὴν πεζὴν ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνες ἦγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον. ὡς δὲ παραπλέων τὴν¹⁰ Ἀσίην ἀπύκετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἐνθαῦτα μέγιστον θῶμα ἐρέω τοῖσι μὴ ἀποδοκομένοισι Ἑλλήνων Περσέων τοῖσι ἑπτὰ Ὀτάνεα γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ὡς χρεὸν εἶη δημοκρατέεσθαι Πέρσας· τοὺς γὰρ τυ-

^a τὰ om. St.

^b παραλελυμένων Van Herw. *Mnemos.* xiii. 32.

reconciled with the existence of the so-called Cimonian peace.

13. κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ = κατὰ ταῦτα κατὰ τὰ, Krüger, who quotes ii. 30. 13 (κατὰ ταῦτα . . . ὡς).

43. 1. ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι, 492 B. C.

2. καταλελυμένων. The usual word is *παράλυσιν*. Van Herwerden, quoting v. 75. 11, vi. 94. 8, vii. 38. 13, remarks 'καταλύειν dicitur τὸν δῆμον, τὴν βουλὴν, τὴν βασιλείαν, τοὺς νόμους, et de regibus et tyrannis, καταλύειν τινα τῆς ἀρχῆς, τῆς βασιλείας, τῆς τυραννίδος.' There is nothing in Herodotus quite similar to the text.

4. ἅμα ἀγόμενος. The words, which

in strictness imply the presence of the leader, are used somewhat loosely of the commander in chief, by land and sea.

7. ἐν τῇ Κιλικίῃ, i.e. in the Aleian plain; cf. *ihfr.* 95. 3. This was the great gathering place of the Persian forces for operations in the western part of their dominions. The Aleian plain, in the stricter sense, lay between the rivers Pyramus and Sarus.

13. Cf. iii. 80.

14. τοὺς γὰρ τυράννους. We are therefore to suppose that in the interval between 496 and 493 B. C. the tyrants had been restored to their cities. The deposition here men-

THRACE. B. C. 492; Ol. 72. 1.

15 *ράννουσ τῶν Ἰώνων καταπαύσασ πάντας ὁ Μαρδόνιος*
δημοκρατίας κατίστα ἐς τὰς πόλιασ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσασ
ἠπειέγετο ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὡσ δὲ συνελέχθη μὲν
χρῆμα πολλὸν νεῶν, συνελέχθη δὲ καὶ πεζὸσ στρατὸσ
πολλὸσ, διαβάντεσ τῆσι νηυσὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπο-
 20 *ρεύοντο διὰ τῆσ Εὐρώπησ, ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέ-*
τριαν καὶ Ἀθήνασ. αὐταὶ μὲν ὦν σφι πρόσχημα ἦσαν **44**
τοῦ στόλου· ἀτὰρ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντεσ ὅσασ ἂν πλείστασ
δύνωνται καταστρέφεισθαι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολιῶν, τοῦτο
μὲν δὴ τῆσι νηυσὶ Θασίουσ οὐδὲ χεῖρασ ἀνταιραμένουσ
 5 *κατεστρέψαντο, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ πεζῷ Μακεδόνασ πρὸσ*
τοῖσι ὑάρχοσσι δούλουσ προσεκτήσαντο· τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸσ
Μακεδόνων ἔθνεα πάντα σφι ἦν ἤδη ὑποχείρια γεγο-

He sub-
jugates
Thasos and
Mace-
donia.

tioned was certainly not lasting. Strattis, who was tyrant of Chios at the time of the Scythian expedition, was tyrant in 480 B. C. (viii. 132), and the system of tyrannies was fully approved by Xerxes, who appointed Theomestor to be tyrant of Samos for his services at Salamis. Mardonius seems to have aimed at bringing the Persian power into direct communication with the *δημος* in the various Greek cities. Curtius remarks that 'he wished to show himself as a friend and supporter of popular freedom; he belonged to a party which one may call the Philhellenic.' *Gesch. Gr.* I⁶, p. 630. But this view, even if it were supported by evidence, anticipates the growth of democratic feeling in Greece. Mardonius was probably determined by the conduct of the Samians, whose tyrant had proved useless, whose oligarchs had opposed the Persians to the last, whose demos

had saved themselves and their island by desertion at Lade.

44. 6. *ἐντός*, i. e. from the Persian point of view; hence = east of. In i. 6. 2 *τὰ ἐντὸσ Ἄλυοσ ποταμοῦ* are the nations west of the Halys, i. e. 'within' from the Greek point of view. The precise boundaries of Macedonia can hardly be fixed. In its widest extent the Macedonia of Herodotus extends from Mount Dysorum in the neighbourhood of Lake Prasias (v. 17) to Tempe (vii. 173). But this, at any rate so far as regards the north-eastern limit, is probably the later Macedonia. Yet from viii. 127 we learn that Bottiaea had been conquered by the time of Xerxes' invasion. The original Macedonia lay between the Axios and Haliacmon. The country was divided into an upper Macedonia (the original abode of the monarchs, viii. 137; vii. 128) and a lower (vii. 173). Cf. v. 17. 7.

THRACE. B.C. 492; Ol. 72. 1.

His disaster off Mount Athos;

νότα. ἐκ μὲν δὴ Θάσου διαβαλόντες πέρην ὑπὸ τὴν ἠπειρον ἐκομίζοντο μέχρι Ἀκάνθου, ἐκ δὲ Ἀκάνθου ὀρμώμενοι τὸν Ἄθων περιέβαλλον. ἐπιπεσὼν δὲ σφι 10 περιπλέουσι βορέης ἄνεμος μέγας τε καὶ ἄπορος κάρτα τρηχέως περιέσπε, πλήθει πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐκβάλλων πρὸς τὸν Ἄθων. λέγεται γὰρ τριηκοσίας μὲν τῶν νεῶν τὰς διαφθαρείσας εἶναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ δύο μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων. ὥστε γὰρ θηριωδεστάτης εὐούσης τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διεφθείροντο ἀρπαζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμενοι· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστέατο 15 καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ῥίγει. ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς οὕτω ἔπρησσε, Μαρδονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ περὶ στρατοπεδευομένῳ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ νυκτὸς Βρύγοι Θρήικες ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ σφῶν πολλοὺς φονεύουσι οἱ Βρύγοι, Μαρδόνιον δὲ αὐτὸν τραματίζουσι. οὐ μὲντοι 5

45 and with the Brygi.

8. διαβαλόντες, sc. τὰς νέας.

11. βορέης ἄνεμος. Cf. vii. 188. 9 where the same wind is called πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπληρώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντιὴν καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. Leake, *Northern Greece*, iii. 145, writes: 'Such is the fear entertained by the Greek boatmen of the strength and uncertain direction of the currents around Mount Athos, and of the gales and high seas to which the vicinity of the mountain is subject during half the year, that I could not, as long as I was on the peninsula, and though offering a high price, prevail upon any boat to carry me from the eastern side to the western.' On Oct. 26 Leake was 'detained by a violent gale of wind from the north.'

ἄπορος is lit. 'unmanageable,' from which no πόρος can be found; cf. ix. 49. 8 προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι (of the mounted archers of the Persians). Compare the use of the neuter, e. g. Aeschylus, *P. V.* 904 ἄπορα πόριμος.

45. 3. Βρύγοι. In vii. 73 we read: οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπήιοι εὐντες σύνιοκοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι. Whether the Briges and Brygi were the same is not quite certain, but both seem to have been Thracians dwelling near the Macedonians, so that the identification is probable. Strabo has no doubt; he identifies Briges, Bryges, Brygi, and Phrygians, p. 295, 330. 25. 550.

THASOS. B. C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

οὐδὲ^a αὐτοὶ δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ
 πρότερον ἀπανέστη ἐκ τῶν χωρέων τουτέων Μαρδόνιος
 πρὶν ἢ σφεας ὑποχειρίου ἐποιήσατο. τούτους μέντοι
 καταστρεψάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὴν ὀπίσω, ἅτε τῷ
 10 πεζῷ τε προσπταίσας πρὸς τοὺς Βρύγους καὶ τῷ ναυ-
 τικῷ μεγάλως περὶ Ἄθων. οὗτος μὲν νυν ὁ στόλος
 αἰσχροῦς ἀγωνισάμενος ἀπαλλάχθη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τούτων ὁ Δαρείος πρῶτα μὲν 46
 Θασίους, διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων ὡς ἀπό-
 στασιν μηχανώατο, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκέλευε σφεας τὸ
 τεῖχος περιαιρέειν καὶ τὰς νέας ἐς Ἀβδηρα κομίζειν. οἱ
 5 γὰρ δὴ Θάσιοι, οἷα ὑπὸ Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου
 πολιορκηθέντες καὶ προσόδων ἐουσέων μεγαλέων, ἐχρέων-
 το τοῖσι χρήμασι νέας τε ναυπηγεύμενοι μακρὰς καὶ
 τεῖχος ἰσχυρότερον περιβαλλόμενοι. ἡ δὲ πρόσδοδος σφι
 ἐγένετο ἕκ τε τῆς ἠπείρου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετάλλων. ἐκ
 10 μὲν γε τῶν ἐκ Σκαπτησύλης τῶν χρυσεῶν μετάλλων
 τὸ ἐπίπαν ὀγδώκοντα τάλαντα προσήιε, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν
 αὐτῇ Θάσῳ ἐλάσσω μὲν τούτων, συχνὰ δὲ οὕτω ὥστε
 τὸ ἐπίπαν Θασίοισι ἐοῦσι καρπῶν ἀτελέσι προσήιε ἀπὸ

* οὐ μὲν οὐδέ R (sv), Krüg.

12. ἀπαλλάχθη. Elsewhere Herodotus uses the active in this context, e. g. i. 16. 7 ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἤθελε ἀπῆλλαξε. Schwgh. suggests that the use of the passive here is due to the fact that the army had escaped great dangers (in which sense the passive is used). Cf. ii. 120. 17 τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι, Soph. Ant. 400 δίκαιός εἰμι τῶνδ' ἀπῆλλάχθαι κακῶν.

46. 1. δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων. The next year, i. e. 491 B. C.

2. ἀστυγειτόνων. Their neigh-

bours on the main land are meant. They were doubtless jealous of the encroachments of the Thasians.

5. ὑπὸ Ἰστιαίου. Cf. *strab.* c. 28.

9. ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου. The Thasians had a number of settlements on the mainland, Stryme, Galepsus, Oesyme, Datum, Scapte Hyle. In some of these there were mines; on others the Thasians received tolls or profits of trade (Thuc. i. 100).

13. καρπῶν ἀτελέσι. They paid no tax on the value of their property, and even the products were

THASOS. B. C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

τε τῆς ἠπείρου καὶ τῶν μετάλλων ἕτερος ἐκάστου διηκό-
σια τάλαντα, ὅτε δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον προσῆλθε, τριηκόσια. 15

47 εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα, καὶ μακρῶ ἦν
Mines in
Thasos.
αὐτῶν θωμασιώτατα τὰ οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνεῦρον οἱ μετὰ
Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον ταύτην, ἣτις νῦν ἀπὸ^a τοῦ
Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸ σῦνομα ἔσχε. τὰ δὲ
μέταλλα τὰ Φοινικικὰ ταῦτα ἐστὶ τῆς Θάσου μεταξὺ 5
Aινύρων τε χώρου καλεομένου καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντίον
δὲ Σαμοθρηίκης, ὄρος μέγα ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ζη-
τήσι. τοῦτο μὲν νῦν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον. οἱ δὲ Θάσιοι τῷ βα-
σιλείῳ κελεύσαντι καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ σφέτερον κατεῖλον καὶ
τὰς νέας τὰς πάσας ἐκόμισαν ἐς¹⁰ Ἀβδηρα.

48 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπεπειράτο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ὄ τι ἐν νόφ ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμέειν ἐαυτῷ ἢ παραδι-
δοῦναι σφέας αὐτούς. διέπεμπε ὦν κήρυκας ἄλλους ἄλλη
τάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύων αἰτέειν βασιλείῳ γῆν
τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμπε, 5
ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὰς ἐνωτοῦ δασμοφό-
ρους πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μα-
49 κρὰς καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ποιέεσθαι. οὗτοί τε δὴ πα-

^a ἐπὶ P R (sv), Kriig., Cob., Kall. *Comm. Crit.* p. 11.

free. *καρπῶν ἀτελεῖς* is equivalent to *οὐ τέλη καρπῶν τελοῦντες*, i. e. paying no part of the fruits of their land as tithes or taxes, the genitive with *ἀτελής* being commonly used of the tax which is not imposed, as e. g. i. 192. 21 *κῶμα τῶν ἄλλων ἐούσαι ἀτελεές*.

47. 3. ἣτις. The use of ὅστις for ὅς in Herodotus is established (see Stein on iv. 8. 4); *supr.* 13. 14 we have *Αλάκης παρ' ὅτεν*, and *infra*. 123 4 *τούτους οἵτινες ἔφευγον*. νῦν ἔσχε can only mean 'obtained and still has,' or 'got the name which it now

has.' Cf. vii. 74. 3 ἐπὶ δὲ *Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος ἔσχον τὴν ἑπωνυμίην*. [Cobct would read ἐπὶ here; Abicht has ἐπί with the note, 'statt des gewöhnlichen ἀπό,' referring to v. 65. 20; see Kallenberg, *Comm. Crit.* p. 11, who remarks: 'uticumque libri inter ἐπὶ et ἀπό variant, ἐπί scribere malim.'] For the Phocnicians at Thasos, see ii. 44. 14. Earlier names of the island were Odonis and Aeria.

8. τῷ βασιλεί. Cf. *supr.* 21. 10 for the dative. The walls were rebuilt before the expedition of the Athenians to Thasos in 465 B.C.

Darius sends envoys into Greece, and prepares for invasion.

AEGINA. B.C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

ρεσκευάζοντο ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖσι ἤκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν ἠπειρωτέων ἔδοσαν τὰ προΐσχετο αἰ-
 τέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησιῶται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο
 5 αἰτήσοντες. οἷ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιῶται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ
 ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινήται. ποιήσασι δὲ σφι
 ταῦτα ἰθέως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεκέατο, δοκέοντές τε ἐπὶ σφί-
 σι ἐπέχοντας^a τοὺς Αἰγινήτας δεδωκέναι ὡς ἅμα τῷ Πέρ-
 σῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύωνται, καὶ ἄσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπε-
 10 λάβοντο, φοιτέοντές τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγορεῖον τῶν
 Αἰγινήτων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
 πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν κατηγορίην Κλεομένης ὁ Ἀναξαν-
 δρίδew βασιλεὺς ἐὼν^b Σπαρτιητέων διέβη ἐς Αἴγινα,
 βουλόμενος συλλαβεῖν Αἰγινήτων τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους. ὡς
 δὲ ἐπειράτο συλλαμβάνων, ἄλλοι τε δὴ ἐγίνοντο αὐτῷ
 5 ἀντίξοι τῶν Αἰγινήτων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Κριδὸς ὁ Πο-
 λυκρίτου μάλιστα, ὃς οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸν οὐδένα ἄξειν χαί-
 ροντα Αἰγινήτων· ἄνευ γάρ μιν Σπαρτιητέων τοῦ
 κοινοῦ ποιείειν ταῦτα, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀναγνωσθέντα χρή-
 μασι· ἅμα γὰρ ἄν μιν τῷ ἑτέρῳ βασιλείῃ ἐλθόντα συλ-

The envoys
at Aegina.

50

Cleomenes
of Sparta
visits
Aegina,
but is
thwarted
by Dema-
ratus.^a ἔχοντας Ps (-es R): ἔχοντα Krüger.: ἐκόντας Van H. ^b βασιλείων A B C.

49. 3. ἔδοσαν τὰ προΐσχετο αἰ-
τέων, i.e. 'agreed to the request
which he preferred.' Cf. *supr.* 9. 16,
for προΐσχεσθαι.

7. Ἀθηναῖοι. We are not told
here what befel the envoys sent to
Athens and Sparta, but cf. vii. 133.
ἐπὶ σφίσι ἐπέχοντας, 'aiming at
them.' The Aeginetans and Athe-
nians were on the worst of terms
owing to the unprovoked attack
which the Aeginetans had made on
Attica in support of the Thebans.
See v. 81-89.

10. ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. Not only

was Sparta recognised as the head of
Greece, but Aegina was a member of
the Peloponnesian confederacy, and
she had recently provided Sparta
with ships to convey soldiers for the
invasion of Argolis, in spite of the
ancient connection of the city with
Argos.

50. 9. ἅμα γὰρ ἄν μιν, κ.τ.λ.
Yet the rule has already been passed
that one king only should be absent
from Sparta at a time. Cf. v. 75. 8
ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς διχοστασίας ἐτέθη
νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ, μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἕπεσθαι
ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλείας ἐξιούσης

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λαμβάνειν. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου.¹⁰ Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπελανόμενος ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης εἶρετο τὸν Κριὸν ὅ τι οἱ εἶη τὸ οὔνομα· ὁ δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐὸν ἔφρασε. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη “ἦ δὴ νῦν καταχαλκοῦ ᾧ κριεὶ τὰ κέρα, ὡς συνοισόμενος μεγάλῳ κακῶ.”

- 51 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑπομένων Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος διέβαλλε τὸν Κλεομένεα, ἐὼν βασιλεὺς καὶ οὗτος Σπαρτιητέων, οἰκίης δὲ τῆς ὑποδεεστέρης, κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὑποδεεστέρης (ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγόνασι), κατὰ πρεσβυγενεῖην δέ κως τετί-
52 μηται μᾶλλον ἢ Εὐρυσθένεος. Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ ὁμο-
λογοῦντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ λέγουσι αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὸν

στρατιῆς. It may, of course, be said that, on the present occasion, there was no ‘expedition,’ or that the Aeginetans were ignorant of the rule, or that Demaratus falsely suggested the objection.

12. ὁ δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐὸν ἔφρασε. Cf. v. 50. 7 χρὲν γὰρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐὸν, and *supr.* 3. 4, 37. 12.

14. συνοισόμενος, ‘about to come into conflict with.’ As the word is not used elsewhere in Herodotus in this sense, Schwgh. suggests, ‘qui in eo est ut ingens in malum incidat.’ The ordinary word is προσφύρεσθαι. Crius was among the Aeginetans subsequently carried off as hostages to Athens (*inj.* 73); his son fought at Salamis (viii. 92). In a fragment of Simonides (*Frag.* 13. 55 P) we read: ἐπίφαθ’ ὁ Κριὸς οὐκ ἀεικέως ἔλθων ἐς εὐδένδρον ἀγλαὸν Διὸς τέμενος.

51. 2. διέβαλλε, ‘maligned,’ ‘got up a feeling against’; see *inj.* 61. 3.

5. τοῦ αὐτοῦ, i.e. Aristodemus. κως implies that the precedence in birth was not so much a matter of ascertained fact as of opinion. The origin of the dual monarchy at Sparta is unknown. We may conjecture: (1) That the story of the twins is true; (2) that the Spartans chose to have two supreme magistrates as the Romans chose to have two consuls; (3) that two states coalesced into one, each monarch retaining his position. This last conjecture is supported to some degree by the fact that each of the royal families had separate burying grounds in separate parts of the city of Sparta. Another difficulty connected with the subject is the fact that though the two sons of Aristodemus were Eurysthenes and Procles, the royal houses were commonly called Agidae and Eurypontidae.

52. 1. ὁμολογοῦντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ. In the ordinary legend Aristodemus died before his arrival in Pelopon-

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'Αριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ἵλλου βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγεῖν σφέας ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν ἐκτέαται, 5 ἄλλ' οὐ τοὺς Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολλὸν Ἀριστοδήμῳ τεκεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα, τῇ οὖνομα εἶναι Ἀργεῖην· θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀντεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνέικεος· ταύτην δὴ τεκεῖν δίδυμα, ἐπιδόντα δὲ τὸν Ἀρι- 10 στόδημον τὰ τέκνα νούσῳ τελευτᾶν. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοὺς τότε ἔοντας^a βουλευσαί κατα νόμον βασιλέα τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι. οὐκ ἔστι σφέας ἔχειν ὁκότερον ἔλονται ὥστε καὶ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἔον- 15 τῶν· οὐ δυναμένους δὲ γινῶναι, ἧ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐπειρωτᾶν τὴν τεκοῦσαν. τὴν δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὴν φάναι δια- γινώσκειν. εἰδυῖαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγειν ταῦτα, βουλομένην δὲ εἶ κως^b ἀμφοτέροι γενοῖατο βασιλέες. τοὺς ὧν δὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπορέειν, ἀπορέοντας δὲ

THE
KINGS OF
SPARTA:
origin of
the dual
monarchy.

The twin
sons of
Aristo-
demus.

^a ἄρχοντας Krüg.: ἐν τελείῳ ἔοντας St.

^b οὐ βουλομένην δέ Cob., vid. Krüg.

nesus (cf. Plato, *Laws*, 683). What poets Herodotus had in his mind is uncertain; the only epic known to deal with this subject is the *Aegimius*. Local tradition was often at variance with poetry.

9. τεκεῖν δίδυμα. For the neuter cf. i. 112. 11 τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεός.

ἐπιδόντα, 'seeing in his life-time.' Pape quotes Xen. *Vect.* 6. 1 ἵνα ἔτ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπίδωμεν τὴν πόλιν εὐδαιμονούσαν, *Anab.* vii. 1. 30.

11. τοὺς τότε ἔοντας. The words, though grammatical, can hardly be genuine, unless we suppose that Herodotus made a slip.

13. ὁκότερον ἔλονται. The deliberative subj. is usually retained in

orat. obliqua (*inf.* ll. 19, 23). See *supr.* 35. 17. ὁμοίων like in appearance, ἴσων like in size. The words are generally combined in the reverse order to imply equality in measure and quality.

16. καὶ τὸ κάρτα, with εἰδυῖαν, 'very well indeed.'

17. The order is ταῦτα λέγειν (repeating φάναι) εἰδυῖαν μὲν (sc. ὁπότερος εἶη ὁ πρότερος), βουλομένην δὲ εἶ κως. Krüger, considering the text untenable, suggests ἀρνευμένην, or something similar, 'denying, in order to try whether,' or λέγειν δ' οὐ τι βουλομένην, εἰ. Cobet also proposes οὐ βουλομένην δέ. In ix. 14. 4 we have ἐβουλεύετο

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πέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους ὃ τι χρήσονται τῷ πρήγματι. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην κελεύειν σφέας ἀμφότερα τὰ 20 παιδία ἡγήσασθαι^a βασιλέας, τιμᾶν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν γεραίτερον^b. τὴν μὲν δὴ Πυθίην ταῦτά σφι ἀνελεῖν, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀπορέουσι οὐδὲν ἦσσον ὅκως ἐξεύρωσι αὐτῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ὑποθέσθαι ἄνδρα Μεσσήνιον τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Πανίτην· ὑποθέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον²⁵ τὸν Πανίτην τάδε τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, φυλάξαι τὴν γειναμένην ὁκότερον τῶν παιδίων πρότερον λούει καὶ σιτίζει· καὶ ἦν μὲν κατὰ ταῦτά φαίνεται αἰεὶ ποιεῖσα, τοὺς δὲ πᾶν ἔξειν ὅσον τι καὶ δίζηται καὶ θέλουσι ἐξευρεῖν, ἦν δὲ πλανᾶται καὶ ἐκείνη ἐναλλάξ ποιεῖσα,³⁰ δῆλά σφι ἔσεσθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνη πλέον οὐδὲν οἶδε, ἐπ' ἄλλην τε τραπέσθαι σφέας ὁδόν. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Μεσσηνίου ὑποθήκας φυλάξαντας τὴν μητέρα τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων λαβεῖν κατὰ ταῦτά τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον καὶ σίτοισι καὶ λου-³⁵τροῖσι, οὐκ εἰδίῳ τῶν εἵνεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο. λαβόντας δὲ τὸ παιδίον τὸ τιμώμενον πρὸς τῆς γειναμένης ὡς ἐὸν πρότερον τρέφειν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ· καὶ οἱ οὐνομα

^a στήσασθαι Cob.^b πρεσβύτερον A B C.

ἐθέλων εἴ πως τούτους πρώτους ἔλοι, where however ἐβουλεύετο helps the construction.

21. τὸν γεραίτερον. The word is really ambiguous, meaning 'the more worthy of honour,' but it is equivalent to 'elder.'

24. ἄνδρα Μεσσήνιον. So in ix. 9 Chileus of Tegea gives advice to the Spartans. Such incidents are remarkable in a community so much given to secrecy, and so jealous of strangers as the Spartans.

29. πᾶν ἔξειν ὅσον τι. Cf. *infr.*

69. 18 ἔχειν πᾶν ὅσον τι καὶ βούλει πθεῖσθαι.

32. τραπέσθαι. ὑποθέσθαι suggests κελεύειν, and thus the infinitive is here to be translated, 'They must take another way.'

35. τὸν πρότερον, sc. γενέη.

38. ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ seems to refer to some public place in which the child was brought up. Stein renders 'under special protection, and at the cost of the state,' referring to *infr.* 92. 14, where ἀπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου may have that sense; cf. *infr.* 57. 8, where

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τεθῆναι Εὐρυσθένεα, τῷ δὲ Πρωκλέα. τούτους ἀνδρωθέν-
40 τας αὐτούς τε ἀδελφεοὺς ἔοντας λέγουσι διαφόρους εἶναι
τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζόης ἀλλήλοισι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ
τούτων γενομένους ὡσαύτως διατελείειν.

Ταῦτα μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι μῦθοι Ἑλλή- 53
νων· τάδε δὲ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων ἐγὼ γρά-
φω, τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας μέχρι μὲν δὴ Περ-
σέος τοῦ Δανάης, τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπέοντος, καταλεγόμενους
5 ὀρθῶς ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ὡς εἰσὶ Ἑλλη-
νες· ἥδη γὰρ τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλληνας οὗτοι ἐτέλεον. ἔλεξα

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Kings at
Argos.

we have ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου = 'from the community,' or 'at the public cost.' But in vii. 144. 3 ἐν τῷ κοινῷ means in the public chamber, or treasury. The story, as here told, explains the fact that one of the lines of kings received honours above the other, *supr.* c. 51, as well as the existence of the dual monarchy (ἀμφότερα τὰ παιδία ἡγήσασθαι βασιλέας).

40. διαφόρους εἶναι. So the sons of Oedipus quarrelled; so too Atræus and Thyestes.

53. 1. λέγουσι, i. e. in their local story. Cf. what is said of Penelope in Arist. *Poet.* 1461 b 4. (25. 16) τοῦτο δὲ πέπονθε τὰ περὶ Ἰκάριον. οἴονται γὰρ αὐτὸν Λάκωνα εἶναι. ἄτοπον οὖν τὸ μὴ ἐντυχεῖν τὸν Τηλέμαχον αὐτῷ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντα. τὸ δ' ἴσως ἔχει ὡσπερ οἱ Κεφαλήνές φασιν. παρ' αὐτῶν γὰρ γῆμαι λέγουσι τὸν Ὀδυσσεά καὶ εἶναι Ἰκάρδιον ἄλλ' οὐκ Ἰκάριον. In Arcadian story Penelope is the mother of Pan (cf. Herod. ii. 145. 16) by Hermes, or the Suitors.

4. τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπέοντος. Herodotus will not believe that any man is the

son of a god, or that a god has taken the form of man; cf. iv. 5. 4 τοῦ δὲ Ταργιτάου τούτου τοὺς τοκέας λέγουσι εἶναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ' ὦν, Δία τε καὶ Βορυσθέneos τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. See esp. ii. 43-45, 142-146. The conviction seems to rest on the assertion of the Egyptian priests that within 341 generations no god had appeared in human shape. In the case of Heracles it compels Herodotus to assume two distinct persons, a hero, the son of Amphitryon, and a god, the son of Zeus.

καταλεγόμενους ὀρθῶς, 'are correctly enrolled by the Greeks,' i. e. the list is correctly made out from father to son.

6. ἥδη γὰρ τηνικαῦτα, κ.τ.λ. The same phrase is used of the Pelasgians at Athens in ii. 51. 7. In these instances it implies the ranging of foreigners among Greeks, with the consequent change of language, a change which Herodotus does not explain. *Inf.* 108. 26, the phrase is used of the political combination of the cities of Boeotia.

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δὲ μέχρι Περσέος τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι
 ἔλαβον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔπεστι ἐπωνυμίη Περσεί οὐδεμία πατρὸς
 θνητοῦ, ὡσπερ Ἑρακλεί Ἀμφιτρύων. ἤδη ὦν ὀρθῶ
 λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ μέχρι Περσέος ὀρθῶς εἴρηται μοι· ἀπὸ 10
 δὲ Δανάης τῆς Ἀκρισίου καταλέγουσι τοὺς ἄνω αἰεὶ
 πατέρας αὐτῶν φαινοῖατο ἂν ἔοντες οἱ τῶν Δωριέων

54 ἠγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενεές. ταῦτα μὲν νυν κατὰ τὰ
 Perseus. "Ἕλληνας λέγουσι γεγεννηλόγηται· ὡς δὲ ὁ παρὰ Περσέων
 λόγος λέγεται, αὐτὸς ὁ Περσεὺς ἔων Ἀσσύριος ἐγένετο
 "Ἕλληνα, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἱ Περσέος πρόγονοι τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρι-
 σίου γε πατέρας ὁμολογέοντας κατ' οἰκηιότητα Περσεί 5
 οὐδέν, τούτους δὲ εἶναι, κατὰ περ' Ἕλληνας λέγουσι, Αἰγυ-
 πτίους.

55 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν νυν περὶ τούτων εἰρήσθω. ὅ τι δὲ

7. οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι ἔλαβον, 'I did not go further back in the series'; with ἔλαβον supply τοὺς προγόνους. Herodotus cannot trace Perseus to a human father, and therefore the line stops with him. Who the father of Perseus was, Herodotus does not undertake to say. In Homer the line is carried back to Acrisius only; *Il.* xiv. 320.

9. ἤδη ὦν . . . μοι, i. e. 'it is now clear that I had good reason for saying "correctly as far as Perseus!"'

13. Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενεές, 'true-born Egyptians,' i. e. descendants of Danaus on the mother's side and Aegyptus on the father's, according to the common story. The list up to Perseus is: Hyllus, Heracles, Amphitryon, Alcaeus, Perseus; and above Perseus: Danae, Acrisius, Abas, Lynceus. On the connection of Greece and Egypt in early times see Appendix 2.

54. 2. ὁ παρὰ Περσέων λόγος. So the Persians have a special account of Io, i. 1. Another form of the story is quoted in vii. 61, 150, according to which Perseus visited Cepheus, the son of Belus, the king of the Cephenees (Persians), and married his daughter Andromeda, by whom he had a son Perseus, the eponym and ancestor of the Persians; see also ii. 91.

4. τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρισίου γε πατέρας, i. e. λέγουσι οἱ Πέρσαι.

55. 1, 2. ὅ τι, 'why,' qua de causa; ὅ τι ἀποδεξάμενοι 'for what services.' Herodotus is not quite consistent; he has said that the kings of Argos became or were Greeks in the time of Perseus, yet he now speaks of the Heracleids as Egyptians at the time when they became kings of the Dorians, though it was not till the adoption of Hyllus by Aegimius (long after the time that they had become

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έόντες Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ὁ τι ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωριέων βασιληίας, ἄλλοισι γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν εἶρηται, ἔασομεν αὐτά· τὰ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ κατελάβοντο, τούτων μνήμην ποιήσομαι. γέρεά τε δὴ τάδε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι **58**
 Σπαρτιῆται δεδώκασι, ἱρωσύνας δύο, Διὸς τε Λακε-
 δαίμονος καὶ Διὸς οὐραίου, καὶ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν
 ἐπ' ἣν ἂν βούλωνται χώραν, τούτου δὲ μηδένα εἶναι
 5 Σπαρτιητέων διακωλυτήν, εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἀγεί
 ἐνέχεσθαι. στρατευομένων δὲ πρώτους ἰέναι τοὺς βασι-
 λέας, ὑστάτους δὲ ἀπιέναι. ἑκατὸν δὲ ἄνδρας λογάδας

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Greeks) that the Argive stock were connected with the Dorians.

4. κατελάβοντο. The word is suspected owing to the middle and to the aorist. Cobet would read κατέλαβον. Whether Herodotus is referring to other historians or to poets is uncertain. Stein suggests Hecataeus, Charon of Lampsacus, and Pherecydes.

58. 2. Διὸς Λακεδαίμονος. The eponymous hero of a country is often regarded as a Zeus. In the legend, Lacedaemon was the son of Zeus and husband of Sparta. He was supposed to have founded a temple to the Graces, Phaenna and Cleta, on the banks of the Tiasas, between Sparta and Amyclae, and to have given them those names. His shrine was at Alesiae, between Therapne and Taygetus. The Ourania are mentioned in *C. I. G.* n. 1241, 58, 76; 1420. 21, 24.

3. ἐκφέρειν, i. e. δεδώκασι. So Cleomenes takes out the expedition against Athens: οὐ φράζων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει v. 74. 5. And in the Peloponnesian war, Agis does not inform the allies of the object of the expedi-

tion which he is leading, though he may have been acting in consort with the ephors. It would seem, however, that the consent of both kings was required. See v. 75, and *supr.* 50. 9. At a later period the community declared war (φρουρᾶν ἐφηναν), the kings merely acting as generals. For the power of the kings in the field, see ix. 80; Thuc. vi. 65. f., 71, 73. Yet we find remarkable instances of insubordination at Plataea (Amompharetus, ix. 55. 6) and Mantinea (Thuc. v. 72).

5. ἐν τῷ ἀγεί. τῷ is added because a special curse is meant, which was recorded in the law. Cf. Aeschin. 3. 175 ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις ἐνέχεσθαι.

6. στρατευομένων, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Xen. *Rep. Lac.* xiii. 6 οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ πρόσθεν πορεύεται πλὴν Σκιρίται καὶ οἱ προερευνώμενοι ἱππεῖς.

7. ἑκατόν. The usual number seems to have been 300, if, at least, Herodotus means the so-called Hippias. Cf. Thuc. v. 72 ἤπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄγισ ἦν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ τρακόσιοι ἱππῆς καλούμενοι. The Spartans instituted a body of cavalry

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ἐπὶ στρατιῆς φυλάσσειν αὐτούς· προβάτοισι δὲ χρᾶσθαι ἐν τῆσι ἐξοδίῃσι ὀκόσοισι ἂν ὦν ἐθέλωσι, τῶν δὲ θυομένων πάντων τὰ δέρματά τε καὶ τὰ νῶτα λαμβάνειν¹⁰

57 σφέας. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐμπολέμια, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ εἰρηναῖα κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδοται. ἦν θυσίη τις δημοτελής^a ποιέηται, πρώτους ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἕξειν τοὺς βασιλέας, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρώτον^b ἄρχεσθαι διπλήσια νέμοντας ἑκατέρω τὰ πάντα ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δαιτυμόνεσι⁵ καὶ σπονδαρχίας εἶναι τούτων καὶ τῶν τυθέντων τὰ δέρματα. νεομηνίας δὲ πάσας^c καὶ ἐβδόμας ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς δίδοσθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἰρήιον τέλεον

^a θυσίην et δημοτελή A B C, Gaisf., sed vid. Kall.

Comm. Crit. p. 13.

^b πρώτων malebat Reisk. ^c ἀνὰ πάσας B² P (sv), Krüg., Ab., Vau H.

and in
peace, at
festivals,
etc.

for the first time in the Peloponnesian war.

8. **στρατιῆς** = *στρατηῆς*. **προβάτοις**. Sacrifices were required for the *διαβατήρια*, for no Spartan would venture to cross the boundary, if the omens were against him; Thuc. v. 54; *inf.* 76. 7.

9. τῶν **θυομένων**, i. e. of the victims slain in these sacrifices for military purposes. The perquisites remind us of Homer, *Od.* iv. 65.

57. 2. **θυσίη δημοτελής**. All public sacrifices were offered by the kings; Xen. *Res. Lac.* xv. 2 θύειν μὲν βασιλέα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ δημόσια ἅπαντα.

3. ἕξειν is intransitive.

4. ἄρχεσθαι, sc. τοὺς νέμοντας, the attendants. For similar honours cf. Thuc. i. 25 οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν.

διπλήσια, οὐχ ἵνα διπλάσια καταφάγοιεν, ἀλλὰ ἵνα καὶ ἀπὸ τούδε τιμῆσαι ἔχοιεν εἴ τινα βούλοιντο,

Xen. *l. c.* *Inf.* vii. 103, Xerxes makes an allusion to this Spartan custom, saying to Demaratus, σέ γε τὸν κείνων βασιλέα πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέροους.

6. **σπονδαρχίας**. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xii. 310 f. Γλαῦκε, τίη δὴ νῶϊ τετιμήμεσθα μάλιστα Ἔδρη τε κρέασίν ἠδὲ πλείοις δεπέασσιν Ἐν Λυκίῃ;

7. **νεομηνίας**. Herodotus sometimes omits the prepositions ἀνά or κατὰ with the accusative (cf. vii. 50. 22 ὥρην τοῦ ἔτους καλλίστην πορευόμεθα, *ib.* 203. 6 προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, and *supr.* 22. 8) or even uses the case to express a point of time (viii. 15. 6). See Stein on vii. 50. 22, Kallenberg, *Comm. Crit.* p. 13, Böttcher, *Der Gebrauch der Casus*, p. 20. But with πᾶς, ἀνά is generally used (vii. 203. 6 is an exception), and the meaning here seems to require it. Krüger, Abicht, and others may therefore

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ἐκατέρῳ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μέδιμνον ἀλφίτων καὶ οἴνου
 10 τετάρτην Λακωνικήν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι πᾶσι προε-
 δρίας ἐξαιρέτους. καὶ προξείνους ἀποδεικνύειν τούτοισι
 προσκείσθαι τοὺς ἂν ἐθέλωσι τῶν ἀστῶν, καὶ Πυθίουσ
 αἰρέεσθαι δύο ἐκάτερον. οἱ δὲ Πύθιοι εἰσὶ θεοπρόποι ἐς
 Δελφούς, σιτεόμενοι μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημόσια.
 15 μὴ ἔλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀποπέμ-
 πεσθαί σφι ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἀλφίτων τε δύο χοίνικας ἑκα-

be right in choosing the alternative reading.

9. μέδιμνον. The Lacedaemonian medimnus was half as much again as the Attic, and the Attic medimnus was equal to one and a half English bushels. Hence two and a quarter bushels English = the Lacedaemonian medimnus. Each Spartan contributed this amount monthly to his *sysstition*. He also contributed eight choes of wine, and perhaps this is the amount here meant by the Laconian 'quart.'

11. προξείνους. These were not proxeni in the usual sense, i. e. citizens of a foreign city, who undertook to watch over the interests of the community of which they were the proxeni, as e. g. Callias was the proxenus of Sparta at Athens; but officers of the Spartan state, who entertained or attended to foreign envoys when in Sparta. See Herm. *Staatsalt.* § 24. 9. That there were proxeni in the usual sense at Sparta is clear from Thuc. v. 43, Plato, *Laws*, 642, but such προξενίαι were hereditary.

13. The connection of Sparta with Delphi was more than ordinarily close, and Sparta was moreover influenced by oracles and responses

to an unusual degree; in Herodotus we find the Spartans persuaded by Delphi to expel the tyrants; and they are influenced (1) by the oracles which warn them that Athens, when freed from tyrants, will be a troublesome neighbour (v. 90. 10); (2) which warn them that unless a Spartan king falls, Lacedaemon will be ravaged by the Medes (vii. 220); (3) which foretell that the Medes and Athenians will join in the invasion of Peloponnesus (viii. 141).

14. σιτεόμενοι, κ.τ.λ. Xen. *Rep. Lac.* xv. 5 ἔδωκε δ' αὖ (Lycurgus) καὶ συσκήνους δύο ἐκατέρῳ προσελέσθαι, οἳ δὴ καὶ Πύθιοι καλοῦνται. There seems to be no reason to refer the words, as Stein does, to the public sacrifices.

15. ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, i. e. the public meal. Cf. Xen. *l. c.* xv. 4 ὅπως δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἕξω σκηνοῖεν, σκηρὴν αὐτοῖς δημοσίαν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διμοίρια γε ἐπὶ τῷ δεῖπνῳ ἐτίμησεν.

16. δύο χοίνικας, κ.τ.λ. The prisoners at Sphacteria were allowed two Attic choenices of meal and two cotylae of wine, their servants receiving half this amount. The prisoners at Syracuse received for eight months a cotyle of water, and two cotylae of food. The Attic cotyle was

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τέρψ και οίνου κοτύλην, παρεούσι δὲ διπλήσια πάντα δίδοσθαι· τὸντὸ δὲ τοῦτο και πρὸς ἰδιωτέων κληθέντας ἐπὶ δαίπνον τιμᾶσθαι. τὰς δὲ μανθίας τὰς γινόμενας τούτους φυλάσσειν, συνειδέειν δὲ και τοὺς Πυ-²⁰θίους. δικάζειν δὲ μόνους τοὺς βασιλέας τοσάδε μούνα, πατρούχου τε παρθένου πέρι, ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν, ἣν μή περ ὁ πατήρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυήσῃ, και ὀδῶν δημοσιέων πέρι. και ἦν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέεσθαι ἐθέλλῃ, βασιλέων ἐναντίον ποιέεσθαι. και παρίζειν βουλευούσι²⁵ τοῖσι γέρουσι, εὐοῖσι δυῶν δέουσι τριήκοντα· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσι, τοὺς μάλιστα σφι τῶν γερόντων προσήκοντας

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as judges.

little more than half a pint; the Lacedaemonian would probably be half as much again, i. e. three quarters of a pint. Hultsch puts the cotyle at 0.2736 litre; and the chocnix at 1.094 litre.

18. τὸντὸ τοῦτο with τιμᾶσθαι.

19. μανθίας, κ.τ.λ. So Cleomenes brought away the oracles of Laius from Athens, v. 90.

21. μόνους, i. e. without the assistance of the ephors or γέροντες

22. πατρούχου, i. e. ἔχουσα τὰ πατρώια—a representative of a family; see Append. 8. If no arrangement had been made by the father, a woman in this position would legally become the wife of her next of kin, who would by this marriage pass into her family, and so continue it. But as the degree of kinship might be open to doubt, more than one client would appear, and between these it would be necessary to decide. Similar cases at Athens were in the charge of the first archon. In the case of a poor woman who was the representative of a family, it might be necessary to *compel* the next of kin to

marry her; cf. the law of Charondas quoted in Diod. xii. 14. The Doric term for such an heiress was ἐπιπάμων or παμῶχος, whence Cobet would read here παμούχου. ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν, 'ad quem pertineat illam habere,' Schwgh.; the phrase occurs without ἐς in ii. 36. 4, ix. 26.

23. ἐγγυήσῃ. Cf. *infra*. 130 Μεγάκλει ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν ἐμήν: the disposition would, in this case, be made by will.

ὀδῶν. Law suits might arise about these in so far as they formed boundaries of estates, and moreover they must not be obstructed or injured.

24. θετόν, 'adopted.' Adoptions were much more common in Greece than with us; see on the subject, Demosthenes, in *Leocharem*. Adoption before the king would at least secure publicity for the act.

25. παρίζειν. The word implies that the kings were not originally members *ex officio* of the council. See Plut. *Lyc.* 6; Paus. iii. 5. 2.

27. τοὺς μάλιστα, κ.τ.λ. There were of course Heraclids at Sparta

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ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἑωυτῶν.

Ταῦτα μὲν ζῶσι τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ 58

beside the kings; see Plut. *Lysand.* 24; and there were junior families in the royal houses, as we see from the story of Leotychidas and Demaratus.

28. δύο ψήφους. To this passage Thucydides may perhaps be referring in i. 20, when he asserts that the Greeks have a mistaken notion that the Spartan kings have two votes each, whereas they have but one; but if so he misunderstood it. The words in the text do not state this. They are however somewhat ambiguous; for it is not clear whether one relative gives two votes for both kings, one for each, or whether two relatives vote separately, each giving one vote for one of the kings. The second view would be certainly adopted were it not for the addition *τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἑωυτῶν*. The meaning is that there were two votes given for the two absent kings, and thus the vote of the relative, if he voted for both kings, would be a third vote, but it was really only a second vote, for the same person could not be nearest relative to both kings, the two houses being only related by a fictitious descent, and neither intermarrying into the other. This fact was probably overlooked by Herodotus when he wrote the text.—If we compare this account of the Spartan kings with the description of the royal power of Agamemnon, as given in the *Iliad*, we find much that is parallel—but also some

differences. (1) Nothing is said in Homer about oracles, etc., though Chalcas is attached to the army as a seer; (2) the civil jurisdiction of the king is more developed at Sparta; (3) the relations of the king and the council are better regulated. At Sparta also the community was far more powerful than we find it in the case of Agamemnon, and in this respect the monarchy at Ithaca presents a closer parallel; yet at Sparta the monarchy is more strictly hereditary than at Ithaca, so far as we can form an opinion. Of the domains of the Spartan kings Herodotus says nothing; but see Xen. *Rep. Lac.* xv. 3 καὶ γῆν δὲ ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν περιόκων πολέων ἀπέδειξεν ἐξάριτον τοσαύτην ὥστε μήτε δεῖσθαι τῶν μετρίων μήτε πλούτων ὑπερφέρειν.

58. I. δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ. Though the monarchy is hereditary the kings hold their privileges from the people, or the community. In Homer, Agamemnon and Menelaus use language which implies that they have large domains, which are absolutely their property, e.g. Agamemnon offers seven cities, 'the last in sandy Pylos,' to Achilles, and Menelaus could establish Odysseus near him, *μίαν πόλιν ἐξαλαπάγας αἰ περιναεταόουσι*—but we find nothing of this in history, except in Thessaly and Macedonia (the Aleuadae offer Iolcus to Hippias on his expulsion; Amyntas offers Anthemus).

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of the
Spartan
Kings.

κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτητέων, ἀποθανοῦσι δὲ τάδε. ἰππέες περιαγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονός κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικὴν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναῖκες περιουῶσαι λέβητα κροτέουσι. ἔπεα δ' ὧν τοῦτο γίνηται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη ἕξ οἰκίης ἑκάστης 5 ἑλευθέρους δύο καταμαίνεισθαι, ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα μὴ ποιήσασι δὲ τοῦτο ζημίαι μεγάλαι ἐπικέαται. νόμος δὲ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς θανάτους ἔστι ὧντὸς καὶ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· τῶν γὰρ ὧν βαρβάρων οἱ πλεῦνες τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ 10 χρέωνται κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους τῶν βασιλέων. ἔπεα γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ πάσης δεῖ Λακεδαίμονος, χωρὶς Σπαρτητέων, ἀριθμῷ τῶν περιοίκων ἀναγκαστοὺς ἔς τὸ κῆδος ἰέναί. τούτων ὧν καὶ τῶν εἰλωτέων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτητέων ἔπεα δ' συλ- 15 λεχθῶσι ἔς τούτῳ πολλαὶ χιλιάδες σύμμιγα τῆσι γυ-

4. λέβητα. There is no other instance of λέβης in this sense, i. e. as a possible bell. In the *Iliad* it is a vessel for cooking; in the *Odyssey* for washing.

6. καταμαίνεισθαι, 'to mourn,' i. e. rend the garments, tear the hair and throw dust on the head and clothing, cf. *Il.* xviii. 23, of Achilles on hearing of the death of Patroclus, Ἄμφοτέρῃσι δὲ χερσὶν ἑλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλίεσσαν Χεύατο κακ κεφαλῆς, χαρίεν δ' ἤσχυνε πρόσωπον· Νεκταρέφω δὲ χιτῶνι μέλαιν' ἀμφίζεσε τέφρη, κ.τ.λ.

12. ἐκ πάσης, κ.τ.λ. Pausanias iv. 14. 4 mentions among the duties imposed on the Messenians this: προεῖρητο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἤκειν μελαίνῃ·

καὶ τοῖς παραβάσιν ἐπέκειτο ποινή.

13. ἀριθμῷ, 'by number,' i. e. in a fixed number. These lamentations were apparently uttered in the case of the kings only, who were regarded as 'heroes' (*Xen. Rep. Lac.* xv. *ult.*); for private persons a much simpler funeral was required. Cf. *Plut. Inst. Lac.* x. 18 περιεῖλε (sc. ὁ Λυκούργος) δὲ καὶ τοὺς μασμοὺς, συνθᾶπτει δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαίας θέντας, τὸ σῶμα περιπέλλειν κατ' ἴσον ἅπαντας· ἀνείλε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν μνημείων, πλὴν τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ πεσόντων, καὶ τὰ πένθη καὶ τοὺς ὄδυρμούς. For wailings at Oriental funerals cf. ix. 24. 4. Lycurgus also ordained that the dead should be buried within the city, not as in other cities in the suburbs.

SPARTA.

ναιξί, κόπτονται τε τὰ μέτωπα προθύμως καὶ οἰμωγῇ διαχρέωνται ἀπλέτῳ, φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων, τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστον. ὃς
 20 δ' ἂν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ δὲ εἶδωλον σκευάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένη ἐκφέρουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ θάψωσι, ἀγορῇ δέκα ἡμερέων οὐκ ἴσταται^a σφι οὐδ' ἀρχαιρεσίῃ συνίξει^b, ἀλλὰ πενθέουσι ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας.

Συμφέρονται δὲ ἄλλο οὔτοι τόδε τοῖσι Πέρσησι. ἐπεὰν 59
 ἀποθανόντος τοῦ βασιλέος ἄλλος ἐνίστηται βασιλεὺς, Spartan
 οὔτος ὁ ἐσιὼν ἐλευθεροὶ ὅστις τι Σπαρτιητέων τῷ βα- customs
 σιλίῃ ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὄφειλε· ἐν δ' αὖ Πέρσησι ὁ κα- compared
 5 τιστάμενος βασιλεὺς τὸν προοφειλόμενον φόρον μετῆι with Per-
 τῆσι πόλισι πάσῃσι. συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Λίγυ- sian and
 60 πτίοισι Λακεδαιμόνιοι. οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν καὶ αὐληταὶ Egyptian.

^a οὐ καίσταται Krüg.^b οὐδ' ἀρχαὶ οὐδὲ γερουσίῃ συνίξει Van H.

21. ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένη. Cf. Thuc. ii. 34. The body was brought home if possible. So of Agesipolis who died in Thrace ἐν μέλιτι τεθεὶς καὶ κομισθεὶς οἰκαδὲ ἐτυχὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς, Xen. *Hell.* v. 3. 19; and of Agesilaus, Plut. *Ages.* 40 οἱ παρόντες Σπαρτιάται κήρον ἐπιτήξαντες τῷ νεκρῷ, μέλιτος οὐ παρόντος, ἀπήγον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. In Plut. *Aprophth. Lac. Ages.* 79, we are told that Agesilaus forbade any image of himself to be made: ἐνετείλατο τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, μήτε πλαστὰν μήτε μμηλὰν τοῦ σώματος εἰκόνα ποιήσασθαι. Εἰ γάρ τι καλὸν ἔργον πεποίηκα, τοῦτό μου μνημεῖον ἔσται· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδ' οἱ πάντες ἀνδριάντες, βαναύσων οὐδενὸς ἀξίων ἔργα ὄντες.

22. For private persons mourning was allowed for eleven days, when

it came to an end with a festival to Ceres, Plut. *Lyc.* 27.

59. 5. τὸν προοφειλόμενον φόρον, 'owing from time past'; cf. v. 82. 1.

60. 2. οἱ κήρυκες. Such were the Talthybiadae, see vii. 134. αὐληταὶ would be specially important because the Spartan army marched into battle to the sound of the flute; cf. Thuc. v. 70. The cooks again were, to a certain degree, public officers, being required for the *φιδίτια* and for the public festivals. Athenaeus speaks of statues set up by the cooks in the Hyacinthian way, 173 f. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Σκήψιος . . . ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ φησὶν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς καλουμένης ὑακινθίδος ἰδρῦσθαι ἥρωας Μάτωνα καὶ Κεράνα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φιδίτιοις ποιούντων τε τὰς μάζας καὶ κεραυνῶν τὸν οἶνον διακόνων.

SPARTA. Circa B.C. 535; Ol. 61. 2.

καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατρώϊας τέχνας, καὶ αὐλη-
τῆς τε αὐλητέω γίνεται καὶ μάγειρος μαγείρου καὶ κῆρυξ
κῆρυκος· οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφέας 5
παρακληίουσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελεύουσι.

- 61 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γίνεται. τότε δὲ τὸν Κλεομέ-
νεα ἔοντα ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ κοινὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀγαθὰ
προεργαζόμενον^a ὁ Δημάρητος διέβαλε, οὐκ Αἰγινητέον
οὕτω κηδόμενος ὡς φθόνῳ καὶ ἄγῃ^b χρεώμενος. Κλεο-
μένης δὲ νοστήσας ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἐβούλευε τὸν Δημάρη- 5
τον παῦσαι τῆς βασιληίης, διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε ἐπίβα-
σιν ἐς αὐτὸν ποιούμενος. Ἀρίστωνι βασιλεύοντι ἐν
Σπάρτῃ καὶ γήμαντι γυναικας δύο παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο.
καὶ οὐ γὰρ συνεγινώσκετο αὐτὸς τούτων εἶναι αἴτιος,
γαμέει τρίτην γυναικα· ὧδε δὲ γαμέει. ἦν οἱ φίλος τῶν 10
Σπαρτιητέων ἀνὴρ, τῷ προσεκέετο τῶν ἀστῶν μάλιστα
ὁ Ἀρίστων. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα γυνὴ καλ-
λίστη μακρῷ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν-

Ariston and
his wife.

^a προεργαζόμενον Eltz: προσεργαζόμενον Libb.

^b ἄγῃ P corr.: ἄγει R: ἄτηι A B.

Such cooks apparently accompanied the king in campaigns; see ix. 82.

5. ἐπιτιθέμενοι, sc. τῇ τέχνῃ; cf. i. 1. ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῆσι ἐπιτίθεσθαι.

61. 3. προεργαζόμενον. The pro- is not temporal, but = 'for,' 'in behalf of.' Cf. ii. 158. 26 τῷ βαρβάρῳ προεργάζεσθαι. So in πρόμαχος προναυμαχεῖν, etc. διέβαλε, πρὸς Αἰγινήτας, Stein; cf. 50. 7.

6. ἐπίβασιν, 'attack.' But Schwgh. suggests 'footing.' Cf. Plato, *Rep.* vi. 511 B, where the word is joined with ὄρμαι in a sense which favours Schwgh., τὰς ὑποθέσεις ποιούμενος οὐκ ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι ὑποθέσεις, οἶον

ἐπιβάσεις τε καὶ ὄρμας, *infr.* 65. 18.

7. Ariston was a contemporary of Anaxandrides, c. 550 B.C.

9. συνεγινώσκετο, 'acknowledged'; so in v. 86. 7, and elsewhere; but this use is peculiar to Herodotus (Krüger).

11. προσεκέετο, 'was attached,' as we say.

13. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, 'and not only so, but.' Stein compares the Platonic *Eryxias*, p. 400 A ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι σιδηρῷ σταθμῷ νομίζουσι καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τῷ ἀχρείῳ τοῦ σιδήρου. The use is different *infr.* 137. 20.

SPARTA. Circa B.C. 535; OI. 61. 2.

τοι καλλίστη ἐξ αἰσχίστης γενομένη. ἐοῦσαν γάρ μιν τὸ
 15 εἶδος φλαύρην ἢ τροφὸς αὐτῆς, οἷα ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλ-
 βίων θυγατέρα καὶ δυσειδέα ἐοῦσαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρῶ-
 σα τοὺς γονέας συμφορὴν τὸ εἶδος αὐτῆς ποιουμένους,
 ταῦτα ἕκαστα μαθοῦσα ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε· ἐφόρει αὐ-
 τὴν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ἱρόν. τὸ δ'
 20 ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ καλεομένη ὑπερθε τοῦ Φοιβηίου
 ἱροῦ. ὅκως δὲ ἐνείκειε ἡ τροφός, πρὸς τε τῷγαλμα
 ἴστα καὶ ἐλίσσετο τὴν θεὸν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δυσμορφίης
 τὸ παιδίον. καὶ δὴ κοτε ἀπιούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῇ τρο-
 φῶ γυναιῖκα λέγεται ἐπιφανῆναι, ἐπιφανεῖσαν δὲ ἐπει-
 25 ρέσθαι μιν ὅ τι φέρει ἐν τῇ ἀγκάλῃ, καὶ τὴν φράσαι
 ὡς παιδίον φορέει, τὴν δὲ κελευσαί οἱ δέξαι^α, τὴν δὲ
 οὐ φάναι· ἀπειρησθαι γάρ οἱ ἐκ τῶν γειναμένων μηδενὶ
 ἐπιδεικνύναι· τὴν δὲ πάντως ἐωυτῇ κελεύειν ἐπιδέξαι^α.
 ὀρῶσαν δὲ τὴν γυναιῖκα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιουμένην ἰδέσθαι,
 30 οὕτω δὴ τὴν τροφὸν δέξαι^α τὸ παιδίον· τὴν δὲ κατα-
 ψῶσαν τοῦ παιδίου τὴν κεφαλὴν εἶπαι ὡς καλλιστεύσει
 πασέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ ταύτης
 τῆς ἡμέρης μεταπεσεῖν τὸ εἶδος. γαμέει δὲ δὴ μιν ἐς
 γάμου ὄρην ἀπικομένην Ἄγητος ὁ Ἀλκείδεω, οὗτος δὴ

^α δέξαι . . . ἐπιδέξαι Schäf. : δεῖξαι . . . ἐπιδείξαι Libb.

14. ἐοῦσαν γάρ μιν. Stein regards the accusative as resumed in αὐτὴν, l. 18; Krüger would join it with μαθοῦσα, or would substitute οἰκτιζούσα for ἐοῦσαν. Van H. would replace καὶ δυσειδέα by ἐλεούσα.

19. Helen and Menelaus were buried, such was the legend, in a grave at Therapne, S.E. of Sparta. Over the sepulchre a temple was raised in which they were worshipped. The shrine of Phoebé lay

in the plain below, Therapne being on an elevated platform. Paus. iii.

14. 9 τὸ δὲ Φοιβαιόν ἐστιν ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως, Θεράπνης οὐ πολλὸ ἀφεστηκός. *ib.* 19. 9 Μενελάου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ ναός, καὶ Μενέλαον καὶ Ἑλένην ἐνταῦθα ταφῆναι λέγουσιν.

25. καὶ τὴν, the nurse; τὴν δέ, the goddess; τὴν δέ, the nurse; τὴν δέ (28), the goddess.

31. καλλιστεύσει. Sparta being the land of fair women, since Homer's day.

SPARTA. Circa B.C. 535; Ol. 61. 2.

- 62 ὁ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος φίλος. τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστωνα ἔκνιζε ἄρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ὁ ἔρωσ· μηχανᾶται δὴ τοιαύδε. αὐτὸς τε τῷ ἑταίρῳ, τοῦ ἦν ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη, ὑποδέκεται δωτίνην δώσειν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ πάντων ἔν, τὸ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκείνος ἔληται, καὶ τὸν ἑταῖρον ἑωυτῷ ἐκέλευε ὡσαύτως 5 τὴν ὁμοίην διδόναι. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικί, ὀρέων ἐοῦσαν καὶ Ἀρίστωνι γυναικα, καταινείει ταῦτα· ἐπὶ τούτοισι δὲ ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀρίστων ἔδωκε τοῦτο, ὃ τι δὴ ἦν, τὸ εἴλετο τῶν κειμηλίων τῶν Ἀρίστωνος ὁ Ἄγρητος, καὶ αὐτὸς 10 τὴν ὁμοίην ζητέων φέρεσθαι παρ' ἐκείνου ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοῦ ἑταίρου τὴν γυναικα ἐπειρᾶτο ἀπάγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ πλὴν τούτου μούνου τὰ ἄλλα ἔφη καταινέσαι· ἀναγκαζόμενος μέντοι τῷ τε ὄρκῳ καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης τῇ παραγωγῇ ἀπίει
- 63 ἀπάγεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὴν τρίτην ἐσηγάγετο γυναικα ὁ Ἀρίστων, τὴν δευτέραν ἀποπεμψάμενος. ἐν δὲ οἱ χρόνῳ ἐλάσσοι καὶ οὐ πληρώσασα τοὺς δέκα μῆνας ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη τίκτει τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Δημάρητον. καὶ τίς οἱ τῶν οἰκετέων ἐν θώκῳ κατημένῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων 5

Birth of Demaratus;

62. 1. ἔκνιζε, lit. 'irritated,' 'would not let him rest.' Wesseling quotes Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 60 ἑτέροις ἑτέρων ἔρωσ ὑπέκνισε φρένας. Cf. vii. 10 ε. 3.

6. τὴν ὁμοίην, sc. ἁμοιβήν, 'the equivalent,' *inf.* 1. 11; *supr.* 21. Herodotus often uses feminine adjectives without a subs. In this instance the adj. may be connected with δωτίνην, which, however, is better taken adverbially, as i. 69 *ult.*

8. ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν, sc. ἀλλήλοισι. Cf. i. 146. 15 σφίσι αὐτῆσι ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν.

14. τῆς ἀπάτης τῇ παραγωγῇ. Cf. Thuc. i. 34 ἀπάτη παράγεσθαι.

63. 2. ἀποπεμψάμενος. See note on v. 39. 11 ἐν δὲ οἱ. Herodotus places the enclitic pronouns after such connecting particles as γάρ, δέ, etc. In v. 46. 11 we have οἱ γάρ μιν, *ib.* 92 β. 8 ἐκ δὲ οἱ ταύτης. So καὶ μιν, οἱ μιν, τό σφι, etc., and after τις, μέν, etc., *inf.* 63. 4.

5. ἐν θώκῳ = ἐν βουλῇ. Cf. *Od.* v. 3 οἱ δὲ θεοὶ θῶκόνδε καθίζανον. The story implies a considerable separation of home and public life at Sparta; and in this respect we may contrast with it the story of Cleomenes and Gorgo in v. 51, but cf. *inf.* 69. 5.

SPARTA. B.C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

ἐξαγγέλλει ὡς οἱ παῖς γέγονε. ὁ δὲ ἐπιστάμενός τε τὸν
 χρόνον τῷ ἡγάγετο τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐπὶ δακτύλων
 συμβαλλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας, εἶπε ἀπομόσας “οὐκ ἂν
 ἔμῶς εἶη.” τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι, πρῆγμα μὲν-
 10 τοι οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο τὸ παραυτίκα. ὁ δὲ παῖς ἠῤῥετο,
 καὶ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι τὸ εἰρημένον μετέμελε· παῖδα γὰρ τὸν
 Δημάρητον ἐς τὰ μάλιστά οἱ ἐνόμισε εἶναι. Δημάρητον
 δὲ αὐτῷ οὖνομα ἔθετο διὰ τόδε, πρότερον τούτων
 πανδημὶ Σπαρτιῆται Ἀρίστωνι, ὡς ἀνδρὶ εὐδοκιμέοντι
 15 διὰ πάντων δὴ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενο-
 μένων, ἀρῆν ἐποιήσαντο παῖδα γενέσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν 64
 οἱ τὸ οὖνομα Δημάρητος ἐτέθη· χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος
 Ἀρίστων μὲν ἀπέθανε, Δημάρητος δὲ ἔσχε τὴν βασι-
 λήην. ἔδεε δέ, ὡς εἰκε, ἀνάπυστα γενόμενα ταῦτα
 5 καταπαῦσαι Δημάρητον τῆς βασιληΐης διὰ τὰ . . ^aΚλεομέ-
 νεῖ διεβλήθη μεγάλως πρότερόν τε ὁ Δημάρητος ἀπα-
 γαγῶν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐπ’
 Αἰγινητέων τοὺς μηδίσαντας διαβάντος Κλεομένεος.

his quarrel
with
Cleomenes.

^a δι’ ἅ Struve, Bekk. : St. lacunam indicavit, quam sic explebat : διὰ τοιῶνδε
 αἰτίην. ‘Nonne sufficit διὰ τάδε· Κλεομένει?’ Van H.

8. ἀπομόσας. Cf. *infra*. 65. 17.
 The ἀπο- implies swearing that a
 thing is *not*.

9. πρῆγμα οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο,
 ‘took no heed,’ ‘paid no regard.’

11. μετέμελε. In Attic we should
 have had μετέμελε impersonal, with
 a genitive.

14. ὡς ἀνδρὶ, κ.τ.λ. Yet Hero-
 dotus says not a word of his exploits,
 nor have we any information else-
 where which enables us to supply the
 deficiency.

16. ἀρῆν = εὐχὴν. Cf. the name
 Arete in the *Odyssey*.

64. 5. διὰ τὰ. If we begin a fresh
 clause with διὰ τὰ in the sense of ‘on
 which account,’ the meaning is not
 good, for the attack on Cleomenes
 by Demaratus was not due to any
 doubts about his own legitimacy.
 It is also doubtful whether διὰ τὰ can
 bear the meaning given (though
 Schwgh. takes the words in this
 sense, for which δι’ ἅ are required).
 The sense is given in Stein’s διὰ
 τοιῶνδε αἰτίην or Van Herwerden’s
 διὰ τάδε. Cf. *infra*. 65. 6.

6. πρότερον. See v. 75.

SPARTA. B. C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

65 ὀρηθεὶς ᾧν ἀποτίνυσθαι ὁ Κλεομένης συντίθεται Λευ-
 τυχίδῃ τῷ Μενάρειο τοῦ Ἁγίου, ἐόντι οἰκίῃς τῆς αὐ-
 τῆς Δημαρήτω, ἐπ' ᾧ τε, ἦν αὐτὸν καταστήσει βασι-
 λέα ἀντὶ Δημαρήτου, ἔψεται οἱ ἐπ' Αἰγινήτας. ὁ δὲ
 Λευτυχίδης ἦν ἐχθρὸς τῷ Δημαρήτῳ μάλιστα γεγονῶς 5
 διὰ πρῆγμα τοιούδε. ἄρμωσαμένου Λευτυχίδεω Πέρκα-
 λον τὴν Χίλωνος τοῦ Δημαρμένου θυγατέρα, ὁ Δη-
 μάρητος ἐπιβουλεύσας ἀποστερέει Λευτυχίδα τοῦ γά-
 μου, φθάσας αὐτὸς τὴν Πέρκαλον ἀρπάσας καὶ σχῶν
 γυναῖκα. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Λευτυχίδῃ ἡ ἐχθρὴ ἡ ἐς 10
 τὸν Δημάρητον ἐγεγόνεε, τότε δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κλεομένειος
 προθυμίας ὁ Λευτυχίδης κατόμνυται Δημαρήτῳ^a, φὰς
 αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύειν Σπαρτιητέων οὐκ ἐόντα
 παῖδα Ἀρίστωνος. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κατωμοσίην ἐδίωκε ἀνα-
 σῶζων ἐκείνο τὸ ἔπος, τὸ εἶπε Ἀρίστων τότε ὅτε οἱ 15
 ἐξήγγειλε ὁ οἰκέτης παῖδα γεγονέναι, ὁ δὲ συμβαλόμε-
 νος τοὺς μῆνας ἀπάμωσε φὰς οὐκ ἑωυτοῦ μιν εἶναι.

^a Δημαράτου P R s, Krüg.

65. 2. From Theopompus we have two lines in the Eurypontid family; cf. viii. 131.

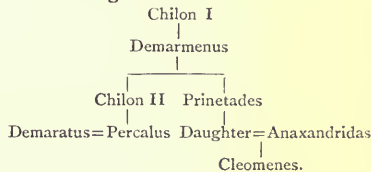
Theopompus	Theopompus
Archidamus	Anaxandridas
Zeuxidamus	Archidamus
Anaxidamus	Anaxilas
Archidamus	Leotychidas
Agasicles	Hippoclidus
Ariston	Agesilaus (Agis)
Demaratus.	Menares
	Leotychidas.

That it should have been necessary to go back so many generations to find a collateral branch is very remarkable.

6. ἄρμωσαμένου. Cf. iii. 137. 19 κελεύων εἰπεῖν Δαρεῖφ ὅτι ἄρμωσαι τὴν

Μίλωνος θυγατέρα Δημοκίδης γυναῖκα.

7. We may perhaps construct the following stemma:—



12. κατόμνυται, 'swears a declaration against.' The dative is used as with *κατυβρίξειν, καταγελάω*, cf. Kall. *Comm. Crit.* 21.

13. οὐκ ἰκνεομένως, 'without right'; cf. *supr.* 57. 22 ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν αὐτήν, and *infr.* 86 a. 11 ἐν χρόνῳ ἰκνεομένηφ.

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τούτου δὴ ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ῥήματος ὁ Δευτυχίδης ἀπέ-
 φαίνει τὸν Δημάρητον οὔτε ἐξ Ἀρίστωνος γεγονότα οὔτε
 20 ἰκνευμένως βασιλεύοντα Σπάρτης, τοὺς ἐφόρους μάρτυ-
 ρας παρεχόμενος κείνους οἱ τότε ἐτύγχανον πάρεδροί τε
 ἔοντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα Ἀρίστωνος. τέλος δὲ ἔόν- 66
 των περὶ αὐτῶν νεικέων, ἔδοξε Σπαρτιήτησι ἐπειρέσθαι
 τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι εἰ Ἀρίστωνος εἴη παῖς ὁ
 Δημάρητος. ἀνοίστου δὲ γενομένου ἐκ προνοίης τῆς
 5 Κλεομένεος ἐς τὴν Πυθίην, ἐνθαῦτα προσποιέεται Κλεο-
 μένης Κόβωνα τὸν Ἀριστοφάντου, ἄνδρα ἐν Δελφοῖσι
 δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον, ὁ δὲ Κόβων Περίαλλαν τὴν
 πρόμαντιν ἀναπέθει τὰ Κλεομένης ἐβούλετο λέγεσθαι
 λέγειν. οὕτω δὴ ἡ Πυθίη ἐπειρωτώντων τῶν θεοπρό-
 10 πων ἔκρινε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι Δημάρητον παῖδα.

Demaratus
is deposed.

18. ἐπιβατεύων, lit. 'footing upon.' Homer has ἐπιβαίνειν εὐκλείης, etc.; Soph. *O. C.* 189 εὐσεβίας ἐπιβαίνων with allusion to the original sense of ἐπιβαίνειν. In iii. 63. 16, ix. 95. 4 the word is used of taking up a false ground for action, and perhaps so here; cf. 61. 6.

66. 2. νεικέων, i. e. trials at law, or before a court.

4. ἐκ προνοίης = 'by the (previous) arrangement of.'

7. Περίαλλαν τὴν πρόμαντιν. The prophetess at Delphi was of course the woman who sat on the sacred tripod in the innermost recess or cave of the temple, and gave her utterances under the influence of the mephitic vapour, which was assisted by eating laurel leaves, and drinking from the sacred spring. In Eur. *Ion*, 1323, she is spoken of as πασῶν Δελφίδων ἐξάιρετος, and Plutarch, *Pyth. orac.* 22, mentions one who

was nobly born but brought up ἐν οἰκίᾳ γεωργῶν πενήτων. The προφήτης (Herod. viii. 36) announced the oracle to the enquirer. There were also five ὄσιοι (Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 9 πέντε δ' εἰσὶν ὄσιοι διὰ βίου καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν δρῶσιν οὗτοι καὶ συνιερούργοισι ἅτε γεγενῆσθαι δοκοῦντες ἀπὸ Δευκαλίωνος) and two priests. Cobon may have been one of the ἀριστεῖς of whom we hear at Delphi; cf. Hermann, *Gott. Alt.* § 40.

10. μὴ. οὐκ would have been more correct, but μὴ is found not only after λέγω, when a command or wish is conveyed, e. g. Thuc. ii. 5 τὰ τε ἔξω ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικεῖν, but also after νομίζω, when an opinion is expressed, Thuc. vi. 102 νομίσαντες μὴ ἂν ἔτι ἱκανοὶ γενέσθαι κωλύσαι τὸν τειχισμὸν. On the other hand, in expressing a fact strongly οὐ takes the place of μὴ as in Soph. *Ant.* 378

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ὕστερῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ ἀνάπυστα ἐγένετο ταῦτα, καὶ Κόβων τε ἔφυγε ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ Περίαλλα ἡ πρόμαντις ἐπαύσθη τῆς τιμῆς.

Demaratus
and his
mother.

- 67 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Δημαρήτου τὴν κατάπαυσιν τῆς βασιληίης οὕτω ἐγένετο, ἔφυγε δὲ Δημάρητος ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐς Μήδους ἐκ τοιοῦδε ὀνειδέος. μετὰ τῆς βασιληίης τὴν κατάπαυσιν ὁ Δημάρητος ἦρχε αἰρεθεὶς ἀρχήν. ἦσαν μὲν δὴ γυμνοπαιδίαι, θεωμένου δὲ τοῦ Δημαρή-⁵του, ὁ Λευτυχίδης γεγωνὸς ἤδη αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνου, πέμψας τὸν θεράποντα ἐπὶ γέλῳτι τε καὶ λάσθῃ εἰρώτα τὸν Δημάρητον ὀκοῖόν τι εἶη τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν. ὁ δὲ ἀλγήσας τῷ ἐπειρωτήματι εἶπε φὰς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ἤδη πεπειρηῆσθαι, κεί-¹⁰νον δὲ οὐ, τὴν μέντοι ἐπειρώτησιν ταύτην ἄρξειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἢ μυρίας κακότητος ἢ μυρίας εὐδαιμονίης. ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ κατακαλυψάμενος ἦιε ἐκ τοῦ θεήτρου ἐς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία, αὐτίκα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος
- 68 ἔθυε τῷ Διὶ βοῦν, θύσας δὲ τὴν μητέρα ἐκάλεσε. ἀπικομένη δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθεὶς ἐς τὰς χεῖράς οἱ τῶν σπλάγχχνων κατικέτευε, λέγων τοιάδε. “ὦ μήτερ, θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καταπτόμενος ἰκετεύω καὶ τοῦ ἔρκειου

ἀντιλέγω τήνδ' οὐκ εἶναι παῖδ' Ἀντιγόνην.

67. 5. The Gymnopaediae was one of the three great festivals of Sparta, the other two being the Carneia and Hyacinthia. It is said by Eusebius to have been founded in Ol. 27. 3 = 630 B. C. It took place in the hottest part of the year, Plato *Legg.* i. 633 D ἔτι δὲ κὰν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις δεινὰ καρτερήσεις παρ' ἡμῖν γίνονται, τῇ τοῦ πνίγους βύμην διαμαχομένων, and was one of the few occasions when strangers were

freely admitted to Sparta (Plut. *Ages.* 29). For an account of the festival, see Athen. xiv. 630 f.

8. λάσθη, 'mockery,' 'insult.' ἄρχειν, 'to be a magistrate.'

12. μυρίας εὐδαιμονίης. The words are added for the sake of the contrast; cf. vii. 8 γ. *ult.*

13. κατακαλυψάμενος, 'obvoluto capite,' a sign of dejection and distress in Greece as at Rome. Cf. *Od.* x. 53 καλυψάμενος δ' ἐνὶ νηὶ Κεῖμην.

15. τῷ Δί. Cf. 68. 4.

68. 4. καταπτόμενος, 'appealing

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5 Διὸς τοῦδε, φράσαι μοι τὴν ἀληθείην, τίς μεν ἐστὶ
πατὴρ ὀρθῶ λόγῳ. Λευτυχίδης μὲν γὰρ ἔφη ἐν τοῖσι
νείκεσι λέγων κεύουσάν σε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς οὐ-
τω ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Ἀρίστων· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ματαιότε-
ρον λόγον λέγοντες φασί σε ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οἰκετέων
10 τὸν ὀνοφορβόν, καὶ ἐμὲ ἐκείνου εἶναι παῖδα. ἐγὼ σε ὦν
μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν τῶληθές· οὔτε γάρ, εἴ περ
πεποίηκας τι τῶν λεγομένων, μούνη δὴ πεποίηκας, με-
τὰ πολλέων δέ· ὅ τε λόγος πολλὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ ὡς Ἀρί-
στωνι σπέρμα παιδοποιὸν οὐκ ἐνῆν· τεκεῖν γὰρ ἂν οἱ
καὶ τὰς προτέρας γυναῖκας.” ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε, 69
ἢ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ παῖ, ἐπέιτε με λιτῆσι με-
τέρχαι εἰπεῖν τὴν ἀληθείην, πᾶν ἐς σὲ κατειρήσεται
τῶληθές. ὡς με ἠγάγετο Ἀρίστων ἐς ἑωυτοῦ, νυκτὶ τρί-
5 τη ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἦλθέ μοι φάσμα εἰδόμενον Ἀρί-
στωνι, συνεννηθὲν δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς εἶχε ἐμοὶ

to'; cf. viii. 65. 35 ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Δημα-
ράτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτώ-
μενος. In this case the word may
have its original sense of 'touching,'
'laying hold of,' for τοῦδε implies
that there was a statue of Zeus
Herkeios at hand. Zeus Herkeios
was at once the god of the ἔρκος or
enclosure, and of the family as a
group of relations; cf. Soph. *Ant.*
487.

10. σε μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν, 'en-
treat you by the gods.' Cf. the use
of ἱκνούμαι, Soph. *Aj.* 588, *O. C.* 275.
πρός is usual with the genitive in these
constructions, but we also find the
genitive only; cf. *Od.* ii. 68 λίσσομαι
Ζητὸς Ὀλυμπίου, and *ib.* xi. 66 σὲ
τῶν ὀπιθεν γονάζομαι.

12. μούνη δὴ, κ.τ.λ. The views
taken of the Spartan women differ

widely in Greek writers; Aris-
totle formed a very poor opinion
of them, *Pol.* ii. 9. 6 = 1269 *b.* 22;
on the other hand, Plutarch, *Lyc.*
15, represents the Spartans as deny-
ing the existence of adultery among
them; cf. *Id.* *Αρορητή. Lac. Lyc.*
20 τοσαύτη ἦν σωφροσύνη τῶν γυναι-
κῶν, ὡς ἄπιστον εἶναι τὸ τῆς μοιχείας
παρ' αὐταῖς. See also Isocrates,
Panath. 259, which is however a
highly rhetorical passage (*De Cou-*
langes, *Nouvelles Recherches*, p. 72;
Newman on *Arist. Pol.* i. c.).

69. 3. ἐς σέ, 'for you to hear,'
implying more openness and publi-
city than σοί. Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 93
ἐς πάντας αὔδα, *So. ἐς τὸ φανερόν*
λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι, etc., *infr.* 129. 7.

5. This story also implies that the
king was much absent from home,

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περιετίθεε. καὶ τὸ μὲν οἰχώκεε, ἦκε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἄριστων. ὡς δέ με εἶδε ἔχουσαν στεφάνους, εἰρώτα τίς εἶη μοι ὁ δούς· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφάμην ἐκεῖνον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο. ἐγὼ δὲ κατωμνύμην φαμένη αὐτὸν οὐ κα- 10
 λῶς ποιέειν ἀπαρνεόμενον· ὀλίγω γάρ τι πρότερον ἐλ-
 θόντα καὶ συνευνηθέντα δοῦναί μοι τοὺς στεφάνους. ὀρέων δέ με κατομνυμένην ὁ Ἄριστων ἔμαθε ὡς θεῖον εἶη τὸ πρήγμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ στέφανοι ἐφάνησαν ἔοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἡρώου τοῦ παρὰ τῆσι θύρῃσι τῆσι αὐ- 15
 λείησι ἰδρυμένοι, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀστραβάκου· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ μάντιες τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἦρωα ἀναίρεον εἶναι. οὕ-
 τω ᾧ παῖ ἔχεις πᾶν, ὅσον τι καὶ βούλει πυθέσθαι· ἢ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἡρώος τούτου γέγονας, καὶ τοι πατήρ ἐστι Ἀστράβακος ὁ ἦρος, ἢ Ἄριστων· ἐν γάρ σε τῆ 20
 νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἀναιρέομαι. τῆ δέ σευ μάλιστα κατάπτον-
 ται οἱ ἐχθροί, λέγοντες ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἄριστων, ὅτε αὐ-
 τῷ σὺ ἠγγέλθης γεγενημένος, πολλῶν ἀκουόντων οὐ φήσειέ σε ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι (τὸν χρόνον γάρ, τοὺς δέκα μῆνας, οὐδέκω ἐξήκειν), ἀιδρεῖη τῶν τοιούτων κείνος 25

and the separation of men and women was no doubt more marked at Sparta than elsewhere in Greece; cf. 63. 5.

13. ἔμαθε, 'perceived,' as often. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 294 *κἀγὼ μαθοῦσ' ἔληξα.*

15. παρὰ τῆσι θύρῃσι αὐλείησι, i. e. the door of the court, opening into the street. See Blunner, *Die Griech. Privatalt.* 148. n. 4, who quotes Theophrastus, *Charact.* 18 ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρώτη θύρα τῆς οἰκίας. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 18 *ἐκτὸς αὐλείων θυρῶν*, and especially *Od.* xxi. 240, 389 f. In Lysias, *De caede Eratosthenis*, § 17, the αὐλειος θύρα is distinguished from the μέταυλος.

16. Astrabacus. Cf. Paus. iii. 16.

9 μαρτύρια δέ μοι καὶ τάδε τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ὀρθίαν τὸ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων εἶναι ξάανον· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀστράβακος καὶ Ἀλώπεκος οἱ Ἴρβου τοῦ Ἀμφισθένους τοῦ Ἀμφικλέους τοῦ Ἀγίδος τὸ ἀγάλμα εἰρόντες αὐτίκα παρεφρόνησαν, κ.τ.λ. The shrine lay near the temple of Lycurgus, Paus. *l. c.* § 6. The word Astrabacus was thought to be connected with ἀστράβη, a pack-saddle; hence the suggestion in c. 68. 7.

20. ἐν γάρ σε, κ.τ.λ. This contains an answer to the suggestion in 68. 7.

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τοῦτο ἀπέρριψε τὸ ἔπος· τίκτουσι γὰρ γυναῖκες καὶ ἐν-
 νεάμηνα καὶ ἐπτάμηνα, καὶ οὐ πᾶσαι δέκα μῆνας ἐκτε-
 λέσασαι· ἐγὼ δὲ σὲ ὦ παῖ ἐπτάμηνον ἔτεκον. ἔγνω δὲ
 καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν χρόνον ὡς ἀνοίη^α
 30 τὸ ἔπος ἐκβάλοι τοῦτο. λόγους δὲ ἄλλους περὶ γενέσιος
 τῆς σεωυτοῦ μὴ δέκεο· τὰ γὰρ ἀληθέστατα πάντα ἀκή-
 κοας. ἐκ δὲ ὀνοφορβῶν αὐτῷ τε Λευτυχίδῃ καὶ τοῖσι
 ταῦτα λέγουσι τίκτοιεν αἱ γυναῖκες παῖδας.” ἡ μὲν δὴ 70
 ταῦτα ἔλεγε, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενός τε τὰ ἐβούλετο καὶ ἐπό-
 δια λαβὼν ἐπορεύετο ἐς Ἴηλιν, τῷ λόγῳ φὰς ὡς ἐς
 Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πορεύεται. Λακε-
 5 δαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑποτοπηθέντες Δημάρητον δρησῶν ἐπιχει-
 ρεῖν ἐδίωκον. καὶ κως ἔφθῃ ἐς Ζάκυνθον διαβὰς ὁ
 Δημάρητος ἐκ τῆς Ἰηλίδος· ἐπιδιαβάντες δὲ οἱ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τε ἄπτοντο καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐ-
 τοῦ ἀπαιρέονται. μετὰ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐξεδίδοσαν αὐτὸν οἱ
 10 Ζακύνθιοι, ἐνθεῦτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην παρὰ βα-
 σιλέα Δαρεῖον. ὁ δὲ ὑπεδέξατό τε αὐτὸν μεγαλωστί καὶ
 γῆν τε καὶ πόλιαν ἔδωκε. οὕτω ἀπύκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην
 Δημάρητος καὶ τοιαύτη χρησάμενος τύχη, ἄλλα τε Λα-
 κεδαιμονίοισι συχνὰ ἔργοισί τε καὶ γνώμησι ἀπολαμπρυν-

^α ἀγνοίη Valck.

28. Rationem quare octavum mensem premat Herodotus, prodit Creuzerus, p. 240: ‘Nimirum Herodotus ejusque aequalis Hippocrates applicuerant se ad vulgarem sententiam, quae partum octavo mense aut edi posse negaret, aut certe vitalem fore.’ Gaisford.

70. 11. We hear of Demaratus at the Persian court in vii. 4; he also sent an intimation of the invasion to Sparta, vii. *ult.*, and accompanied

Xerxes on his march. The cities given to him were Pergamum, Teuthrania and Halisarna, which remained in the possession of his descendants in the fourth century; Xen. *Anab.* ii. 1. 3; vii. 8. 17; *Hell.* iii. 1. 6.

13. Λακεδαιμονίοισι. Here again (cf. *supr.* 63. 14) Herodotus is alluding to something which is quite unknown to us, so far as ἔργα are concerned; and the specimens which Plutarch (*Apophth. Lac. Demarati*)

He leaves Sparta and escapes to Persia.

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θείς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα σφι ἀνελόμενος τεθρίπ-
 15 πῳ προσέβαλε, μῦθος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων
 βασιλέων ἐκ Σπάρτη ποιήσας.

- 71 Λευτυχίδης δὲ ὁ Μενάρεος Δημαρήτου καταπαυ-
 σθέντος διεδέξατο τὴν βασιληίην, καὶ οἱ γίνεται παῖς
 Ζευξίδημος, τὸν δὴ Κυνίσκον μετεξέτεροι Σπαρτιητέων
 ἐκάλεον. οὗτος ὁ Ζευξίδημος οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε Σπάρτης·
 πρὸ Λευτυχίδεω γὰρ τελευτᾶ, λιπὼν παῖδα Ἀρχίδημον.
 5 Λευτυχίδης δὲ στερηθεὶς Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει δευτέρην
 γυναικα Εὐρυδάμην τὴν ἐοῦσαν Μενίου ἀδελφεὴν Διακτο-
 ρίδεω δὲ θυγατέρα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἔρσεν μὲν γίνεται οὐδέν,
 θυγάτηρ δὲ Λαμπιτώ, τὴν Ἀρχίδημος ὁ Ζευξιδήμου
 72 γαμέει δόντος αὐτῷ Λευτυχίδεω. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ Λευτυχίδης
 κατεγῆρα ἐν Σπάρτη, ἀλλὰ τίσιν τοιήνδε τινὰ Δημαρήτω

Leotychi-
 das and his
 children;

gives of the γυνῶμαι of Demaratus incline us to think meanly of Spartan wit or Spartan judgment. The dative is = 'in the opinion of,' as though with παρά or ἐν.

16. προσέβαλε. The word perhaps implies that he recorded the victory in the name of the state, not in his own name, but it is sometimes used in the simple sense of 'conferred on'; cf. i. 136 *ult.* ἄσπην πατρὶ προσβάλλῃ, and it may be so used here.

71. 3. The grand-daughter of Zeuxidamus was called Cynisca; cf. Paus. iii. 8. 1 ἐγένετο δὲ Ἀρχιδάμω καὶ θυγάτηρ ὄνομα μὲν Κυνίσκα, φιλοτιμώτατα δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔσχε τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν, καὶ πρώτη τε ἵπποτρόφῃσε γυναικῶν καὶ νίκην ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν πρώτη, κ.τ.λ. Plutarch, *Ages.* 20, says that this was done at the suggestion of her brother Agesilaus, in order that the Spartans

might believe that such victories were a mere matter of expense, not of ἀρετή. Another Spartan of the name is mentioned by Xen. *Anab.* vii. 1. 13.

10. δόντος αὐτῷ Λευτυχίδεω. By this arrangement Leotychidas prevented any rivalry between the families of the daughter and the grandson.

72. 2. τίσιν τοιήνδε. Herodotus has much to say about τίσιν, in which he includes not only vengeance for offences against any deity, or for breaches of settled compact, but for those against the just treatment of man by man. Cf. i. 13 (Candaules); i. 86, viii. 105 (where we are told of Hermotimus τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσιν ἤδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν), iii. 126, 128 end (of Oroetes and Polycrates), *infra.* 84, vii. 134 f. etc.

SPARTA. B.C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

ἐξέτισε. ἐστρατήγησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐς Θεσσαλίην, παρὸν δέ οἱ πάντα ὑποχείρια ποιήσασθαι ἐδωροδόκησε 5 ἀργύριον πολλόν. ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ δὲ ἀλοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ἐπικατήμενος χειρίδι πλήρῃ^a ἀργυρίου, ἔφυγε ἐκ Σπάρτης ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ὑπαχθείς, καὶ τὰ οἰκία οἱ κατεσκάφη· ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν ταύτῃ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο χρόνῳ ὕστερον· τότε δὲ ὡς τῷ Κλεομένει 73 ὠδώθη^b τὸ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον πρῆγμα, αὐτίκα παραλαβὼν Λευτυχίδαα ἦε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγινήτας, δεινὸν τινὰ σφι ἔγκοτον διὰ τὸν προπηλακισμὸν ἔχων. οὕτω δὴ οὔτε οἱ 5 Αἰγινήται, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων ἠκόντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, ἐδικαίουν ἔτι ἀντιβαίνειν, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἄνδρας δέκα Αἰγινήτεων τοὺς πλείστου ἀξίους καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει ἦγον, καὶ ἄλλους καὶ δὴ καὶ Κριόν τε τὸν Πολυκρίτου καὶ Κάσαμβον τὸν Ἀριστοκράτεος, οἱ περ εἶχον μέγιστον 10 κράτος· ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφεας ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν παραθήκην κατατίθενται^c ἐς τοὺς ἐχθίστους Αἰγινήτησι Ἀθηναίους.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κλεομένεα ἐπαίστον γενόμενον κακο- 74

^a χειρίδι πλήρῃ Wess. : χειρὶ διπλῇ Libb. (cf. Van H.) : ὠρῶθη s, Krüg.

^b ὠδώθη A B R : εὐδώθη P
^c παρατίθενται A B C.

3. ἐς Θεσσαλίην. The date of this expedition is uncertain, but it probably took place in 476 B.C. See *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 265.

4. ἐδωροδόκησε. There appears to be little reason to doubt the corruption of the Spartans. Kings and ephors are equally implicated, *infra*. 82; viii. 5; Plut. *Them.* 19; *Per.* 22; Thuc. v. 16. Arist. *Pol.* ii. 9. 26 = 1271 a. 3 (φαίνονται δὲ καὶ καταδαροδοκούμενοι οἱ κεκοινωνήκότες τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης) for the Gerontes, and for the ephors *ib.* 1270 b. 9 ff.

6. χειρίδι πλήρῃ. The *χειρίς* would be more of a bag or sleeve than our glove is.

8. ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην. In like manner Tegea was the refuge of Hegesistratus when escaping from Sparta, though Herodotus observes that Tegea and Sparta were not on good terms at the time, ix. 37. 24; and at a later date Pausanias the king retired to Tegea.

73. 2. ὠδώθη. Cf. iv. 139. 12 τὰ ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν χρηστῶς ἰδοῦται.

4. ἔγκοτον = κόντον, *infra*. 133. 5.

5. ἀμφοτέρων. Cf. *supr.* 50. 9.

his expedition to Thessaly and exile from Sparta.

73 Cleomenes and Leuty-chidas at Aegina.

SPARTA, Circa B. C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

Cleomenes
in Arcadia.

τεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάρητον δειμα ἔλαβε Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ ὑπεξέσχε ἐς Θεσσαλίην. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρκαδίην νεώτερα ἔπρησσε πρήγματα, συνιστὰς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ἄλλους τε ὄρκους προσάγων 5 σφι ἢ μὲν ἔψεσθαι σφεας αὐτῷ τῇ ἂν ἐξηγήηται, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμος ἦν τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς προεστειώτας ἀγινέων ἐξορκούν^a τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι λέγεται εἶναι ὑπὸ τῶν^b Ἀρκάδων τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔστι τοιόνδε τι· ὕδωρ ὀλίγον φαινόμενον ἐκ 10 πέτρης στάζει ἐς ἄγκος, τὸ δὲ ἄγκος αἵμασιῆς τις περιθέει κύκλος. ἢ δὲ Νώνακρις, ἐν τῇ ἢ πηγῇ αὕτη τυγχάνει 75 εἴουσα, πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας πρὸς Φενεῶ. μαθόντες δὲ Κλεομένεα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, κατήγον αὐτὸν δείσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι ἐς Σπάρτην τοῖσι καὶ

^a ἐξορκούν A² Valck. : ἐξόρκου AB : ἐξορκῶν cett.^b ὑπὸ τῶν Wess. : τῶν AB : ὑπ' PR.

74. 3. Cf. vii. 213. 7, where Ephialtes takes refuge in Thessaly.

7. πρόθυμος ἦν. . . ἐξορκούν. So Valck. for ἐξορκῶν, 'was eager to swear them'; the words do not imply that he actually did so. Cf. Plato, *Euthyphr.* 14 B οὐ πρόθυμός με εἶ διδάξαι. The accusative (ὕδωρ) is remarkable. Krüger explains it on the analogy of ὀμνύναι θεόν, and even closer is *Il.* xiv. 271 νῦν μοι ὕμοσσον ἄατον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ.

8. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι, i. e. 'in the district of this city.' No doubt the custom of swearing by the Styx was one of the national customs of Arcadia. In Homer and Hesiod the water is used as the most solemn pledge, *Il.* xv. 37, Hes. *Theog.* 785. Two reasons may perhaps be given for the legendary powers of the stream, which is moreover the only

waterfall of importance in Greece:

(1) The water being icy cold is dangerous to drink, and for this reason it may have been used as a sort of ordeal; (2) though the water is gathered in a basin, this basin cannot be seen except on a near view; from a distance the fall disappears behind rocks, and thus might be said to penetrate the earth to the under world. The waterfall is situated in Mt. Chelmos, and the stream is an affluent of the Crathis; see *Hist. of Greece*, i. 11, and what is quoted there.

13. πρὸς Φενεῶ, Pheneus being the nearest town of importance. The river Pheneus flows through Katabothra into the Ladon and Alpheus, but the Crathis flows through Achaea to the Corinthian Gulf.

75. 3. δείσαντες. A combined

SPARTA. B.C. 488(?) ; Ol. 73. 1.

πρότερον ἦρχε. κατελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε
 5 μανίη^a νοῦσος, ἔοντα καὶ πρότερον ὑπομαργότερον· ὄκως
 γὰρ τεφ' ἐντύχοι Σπαρτιητέων, ἐνέχραυε ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον
 τὸ σκῆπτρον. ποιέοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα καὶ παραφρονή-
 σαντα ἔδησαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλῳ· ὁ δὲ δεθεὶς τὸν
 φύλακον μουνωθέντα ἰδὼν τῶν ἄλλων αἰτέει μάχαιραν·
 10 οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ φυλάκου διδόναι ἀπέειλε
 τά μιν αὐτις^b ποιήσει^c, ἐς δὲ δείσας τὰς ἀπειλὰς ὁ φύλακος
 (ἦν γὰρ τῶν τις εἰλωτέων) διδοῖ οἱ μάχαιραν. Κλεομένης
 δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν σίδηρον ἄρχετο ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἑωυτὸν
 λωβώμενος· ἐπιτάμων γὰρ κατὰ μῆκος τὰς σάρκας προέ-
 15 βαινε ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐς τοὺς μηρούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν
 ἔς τε τὰ ἰσχία καὶ τὰς λαπάρας, ἐς δὲ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα
 ἀπῆκετο, καὶ ταύτην καταχορδεύων ἀπέθανε τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ,
 ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι τὴν Πυθίην ἀνέ-
 γνωσε τὰ περὶ Δημάρητον λέγειν [γενόμενα]^d ὡς δὲ Ἀθη-

his mad-
ness and
death.^a μανίης B² P R s : μανιάς Cob.^b λυθείς A².^c ποιήσει Schwgh. : ποιήσιεν Libb.^d γενόμενα ante λέγειν P R : om. Gompertz : λεγόμενα Reiske.

Arcadia would have been a serious danger to Sparta. The foundation of Megalopolis in the fourth century B.C. realized to some extent the project of Cleomenes, and even in the fifth century we hear of a war between Sparta and all Arcadia, except Mantinea (ix. 7).

5. ὑπομαργότερον. The word is only used by Herodotus, and always in the comparative. He applies it to Cleomenes (here), to Cambyses (iii. 29), and the brother of Maeandrius (iii. 145). For ὑπό in composition, see *supr.* 38. 12 note, and with the comparative, which expresses 'inclined to madness,' cf. *θηλυδρίας καὶ μαλακώτερος* (vii. 153

υλλ.), ὑπαφρονέστεροι (iv. 95. 7), ὑποψαμμοτέρην (ii. 12. 13), αὐθαδέστεροι (*infra.* 92. 13).

8. ἐν ξύλῳ, 'in the stocks.' Cf. ix. 37. 11.

11. αὐτις = εἰσαῦθις. Cf. vii. 10 δ. 3.

12. τῶν τις εἰλωτέων. Cf. *infra.* 80. 3.

17. καταχορδεύων. 'cutting into strips' = ἐπιτάμων κατὰ μῆκος.

19. γενόμενα. The position of this word varies in the MSS., some placing it after λέγειν, some before. It is much better away altogether. The meaning required is, 'to say what she said about Demaratus,' but if γενόμενα is retained we must

ARGOS. B.C. 495 (?); Ol. 71. 2.

ναῖοι μῶνοι λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ἐλευσίνα ἐσβαλὼν ἔκειρε 20
 τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν, ὡς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ὅτι ἐξ ἰροῦ αὐτῶν
 τοῦ Ἄργου Ἀργείων τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης
 καταγινέων κατέκοπτε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλλος ἐν ἀλογίῃ ἔχων
 76 ἐνέπρησε. Κλεομένει γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐχρήσθη
 Ἄργος αἰρήσειν. ἐπεῖτε δὲ Σπαρτιήτας ἄγων ἀπῖκετο ἐπὶ
 ποταμὸν Ἐρασίνον, ὃς λέγεται ῥέειν ἐκ τῆς Στυμφαλίδος
 λίμνης· τὴν γὰρ δὴ λίμνην ταύτην ἐσχάσμα ἀφανὲς ἐκδιδοῦ-
 σαν ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἤδη 5
 τοῦτο ὑπ' Ἀργείων Ἐρασίνον καλέεσθαι· ἀπικόμενος δ' ὦν
 ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐσφαγιάζετο αὐτῷ.
 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐκαλλιέρεε οὐδαμῶς διαβαίνειν μιν, ἄγασθαι
 μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἐρασίνου οὐ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολιήτας,
 Ἀργείους μέντοι οὐδ' ὡς χαιρήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔξανα- 10
 χωρήσας τὴν στρατιὴν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέην, σφαγιασάμενος
 δὲ τῇ θαλάσῃ ταῦρον πλοίοισι σφεας ἤγαγε ἔς τε τὴν

Cleomenes:
 his invasion
 of Argos.

translate, 'to advise what was done about Demaratus.'

20. μῶνοι. So the Athenians have a special account, unknown to the rest of the Greeks, about the conduct of Adeimantus in the battle of Salamis (viii. 94).

ἐς Ἐλευσίνα. Cf. v. 74.

21. τῶν θεῶν, i. e. Demeter and Persephone. Cf. ix. 65 *ult.* τὸ ἰρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀνακτόριον.

23. καταγινέων. Schweigh. and Krüger understand the preposition to imply 'bringing home,' because Cleomenes gave out that he was accepting a ransom for the captives (*infr.* 79. 4). Stein suggests a local meaning, the grove of Argos being on a hill.

76. 3. The lake of Stymphalus lies at the foot of Mount Cyllene, and

the water passes away under Mount Apelaaron, reappearing at the foot of Mount Chaon, in the river Erasinus. Cf. Baedeker, *Griechenland*, p. 301.

6. The river Erasinus was at this time regarded as the southern boundary of Argolis, and for this reason, when Cleomenes reached it, he sacrificed the *διαβατήρια* in the usual manner; cf. Thuc. v. 54.

8. οὐ ἐκαλλιέρεε, impersonal, 'the sacrifices were (not) favourable'; cf. ix. 38. 5 ὡς οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὥστε μάχεσθαι. For the middle voice of this word see *infr.* 82. 9.

11. Thyrea was within the limits of Spartan territory (cf. i. 82), and near the shore (Thuc. iv. 57).

12. ταῦρον. So in the *Odyssey*

ARGOS. B.C. 495 (?); Ol. 71. 2.

Τιρυνθίην χώραν καὶ Ναυπλίην. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐβοήθειον 77
 πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· ὡς δὲ ἀγγχοῦ μὲν
 ἐγίνοντο τῆς Τίρυνθος, χώρῳ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κέεται
 Ἡσίπεια^a οὖνομα, ματαίχμιον οὐ μέγα ἀπολιπόντες ἴζοντο
 5 ἀντίοι^b τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι
 τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχην οὐκ ἐφοβέοντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ
 δόλω αἰρεθέωσι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ σφι ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα εἶχε
 τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐπίκοινα ἔχρησε ἢ Πυθίη τούτοισί τε
 καὶ Μιλησίοισι, λέγον ᾧδε·

10 ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενα νικήσασα
 ἐξελάσῃ καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρῃται,
 πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφέας τότε θήσει.
 ὧς ποτέ τις ἐρέει καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἀνθρώπων·

^a ἠσίπεια A B¹: ἡ σίπεια C P: σήπεια R (sv).

^b ἀντίον A B¹ C.

we find the Pylians sacrificing ταύρους παμμέλανας ἐνοσίχθονι κνανοχαίτη (iii. 6). The boats were supplied by Sicyon and Aegina, in spite of the friendship existing between Argos and Aegina, and the sovereignty which Argos claimed over both cities (*inf.* c. 92).

77. 4. Ἡσίπεια. So Stein, but the reading is uncertain; other MSS. have Σίπεια or Σήπεια. Nothing is known of the place, and Arist. *Pol.* v. 3 = 1303 a. 6, speaks of the battle as ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ (*inf.* 83. 1).

8. ἐπίκοινα, adverbial.

9. Μιλησίοισι. Cf. *supr.* c. 19. On the chronology, see Bk. v. Appendix 3 (p. 134).

10. The meaning of the oracle is obscure. The Argives seem to have regarded the victory of the female over the male as indicating a victory won by craft and subtlety over

courage and strength (though this leaves ἐξελάσῃ unexplained). Later authors interpreted the lines by a victory won by Telesilla, the Argive poetess, over Cleomenes who, after burning the grove of Argus, went on to attack the city; Paus. ii. 20. 9 ff. Τελέσιλλα δὲ οἰκέτας μὲν καὶ ὄσοι διὰ νεότητα ἢ γῆρας ὄπλα ἀδύνατοι φέρειν ἦσαν, τούτους μὲν πάντας ἀνεβίβασεν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, αὐτὴ δὲ ὄποσα ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ὑπελείπετο καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὄπλα ἀθροίσασα τὰς ἀκμαζούσας ἡλικίας τῶν γυναικῶν ὤπλιζεν, ὄπλισσασα δὲ ἔτασσε κατὰ τοῦτο ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους προσιόντας ἠπίστατο, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Plut. *De Mul. Virt.* Ἀργεῖαι. [Van Herwerden suggests that ἡ θήλεια refers to Hera, cf. *inf.* c. 82.]

12. ἀμφιδρυφέας. Cf. *II.* ii. 700.

ARGOS. B.C. 495 (?); Ol. 71. 2.

ἄλικος ὄφης ἀέλικτος^a ἀπόλετο δουρὶ δαμασθεῖς.'

ταῦτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι φόβον παρέιχε. 15

καὶ δὴ σφι πρὸς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τῷ κήρυκι τῶν πολεμίων

χρᾶσθαι, δόξαν δέ σφι ἐποίουν τοιόνδε· ὅκως ὁ Σπαρτιήτης

κῆρυξ προσημαῖοι τι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐποίουν καὶ οἱ

78 Ἀργεῖοι τῶντὸ τοῦτο. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ποιεῦντας

τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ὀκοῖόν τι ὁ σφέτερος κῆρυξ σημήνεια, παραγ-

γέλλει σφι, ὅταν σημήνη ὁ κῆρυξ ποιέεσθαι ἄριστον, τότε

ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὄπλα χωρέειν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους. ταῦτα καὶ

ἐγένετο ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ἄριστον γὰρ 5

ποιευμένοισι τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπέκτατο,

καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσαν αὐτῶν, πολλῶ δέ τι^b πλεῦνας ἐς

τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἄργου καταφυγόντας περιζόμενοι ἐφύλασσαν.

79 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐποίηε τοιόνδε. ἔχων αὐτομόλους

ἄνδρας καὶ πυνθανόμενος τούτων, ἐξεκάλεε πέμπων κήρυκα

^a ἀέλικτος A B¹ C : τριέλικτος R.

^b δέ τι R (sv) : δ' ἐτι P : δέ A B C.

14. ὄφης. The serpent was the symbol of Argos. Soph. *Ant.* 125.

ἀέλικτος, 'without coils.' The various reading *τριέλικτος* is 'thrice enfolded,' i. e. with three coils.

15. *συνελθόντα*. Cf. v. 36. 3.

16. τῷ κήρυκι . . . χρᾶσθαι, i. e. to obey the orders given by him as though he were their own κῆρυξ.

78. 1. Cf. Polyænus, i. 14 Κλεομένης, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς, Ἀργεῖοις ἐπολέμει καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευεν ἦν τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἀκριβῆς φυλακῆ τῶν δραμένων τοῖς πολεμίοις· καὶ πάντα ὅσα Κλεομένης βούλοιο, ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐσήμαινε τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ἴσα δρᾶν ἐσπούδαζον. ὀπλιζομένων ἀνωπλίζοντο, ἐπεξιώντων ἀντεπεξήσαν, ἀναπαυομένων ἀνανεπαύοντο. Κλεομένης λάθρα παράγ-

γελμα ἔδωκεν, ὅταν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι κηρύξη, ὑπλίσασθαι· ὁ μὲν ἐκήρυξεν, οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι πρὸς ἄριστον ἐτράποντο. Κλεομένης ὀπλισμένους ἐπαγαγὼν εὐμαρῶς ἀόπλους καὶ γυμνοὺς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ἀπέκτεινε. Plutarch, *Arophiēh. Lac. Cleom.* 2, supplies what is apparently a different account of the same battle: ἀνοχὰς δὲ ἐφθήμερους πρὸς Ἀργεῖους ποιησάμενος, φυλάξας αὐτοὺς τῇ τρίτῃ νυκτὶ κοιωμένους, διὰ τὸ πεποθῆναι ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐπέθετο· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβεν.

7. πολλῶ δέ τι. Cf. v. 92 ε. 14. *σιμρ.* 69. 11 ὀλίγω τι.

79. 2. *πυνθανόμενος τούτων*, 'learning from these,' the names of those who were in the grove of Argos.

Battle of
Hesipeia.

ARGOS. B. C. 495(?) ; Ol. 71. 2.

ὀνομαστὶ λέγων τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἰρῶ ἀπεργμένους,
 ἐξεκάλεε δὲ φὰς αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὰ ἄποινα. ἄποινα δὲ ἐστὶ
 5 Πελοποννησίοισι δύο μνέαι τεταγμένοι κατ' ἄνδρα αἰχμά-
 λωτον ἐκτίειν. κατὰ πεντήκοντα δὴ ὦν τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς
 ἕκαστον^a ἐκκαλεύμενος ὁ Κλεομένης ἔκτεινε. ταῦτα δὲ κως
 γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ τεμένει· ἅτε
 γὰρ πυκνοῦ ἑόντος τοῦ ἄλσεος, οὐκ ὄρων οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς
 10 ἐκτὸς ὃ τι ἔπρησσον, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβάς ἐπὶ
 δένδρος κατεΐδε τὸ ποιούμενον. οὐκὼν δὴ ἔτι καλεόμενοι
 ἐξήσαν. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκέλευε πάντα τινὰ τῶν 80
 εἰλωτέων περινεῖν ὕλη τὸ ἄλσος, τῶν δὲ πειθομένων
 ἐνέπρησε τὸ ἄλσος. καιομένου δὲ ἤδη ἐπέειρετο τῶν τινα
 αὐτομόλων τίνος εἶη θεῶν τὸ ἄλσος· ὁ δὲ ἔφη Ἀργου εἶναι.
 5 ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε, ἀναστενάξας μέγα εἶπε “ὦ Ἀπολλων χρη-
 στήριε, ἧ μεγάλως με ἠπάτηκας φάμενος” Ἀργος αἰρήσειν·
 συμβάλλομαι δ' ἐξήκειν μοι τὸ χρηστήριον.” μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 81
 ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν μὲν πλέω στρατιὴν ἀπήκε ἀπιέναι ἐς
 Σπάρτην, χιλίους δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τοὺς ἀριστέας ἦι ἐς τὸ
 Ἡραϊον θύσων. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ

Cleomenes
at the
Heraeum.^a ἕκαστον Van H. : ἐκάστου R (sv) ; ἐκάστους cett. St.

5. δύο μνέαι. Cf. v. 77. 15.

6. κατὰ πεντήκοντα = ‘about fifty.’ Stein reads ὡς ἐκάστους, but no doubt ὡς ἕκαστον is right; each man came out singly.

10. ὃ τι ἔπρησσον, i. e. what became of them.

11. δένδρος. This appears to be an unique instance of this form in an early writer. δένδρον is the Ionic form, and the only form known in Homer. δένδρον is used in Attic, except in dat. plural, where δένδρεσι is more common than δένδροις.

80. 2. Observe the careless repe-

tition of τὸ ἄλσος, in ll. 2, 3, 4. The second might be omitted without loss to the sense.

3. τῶν τινα αὐτομόλων. For this order of words, cf. *supr.* 75. 12; 37. 12. It is the normal order in Herodotus, though we also find ὑπὸ τευ τῶν Μιλησίων, *supr.* 5. 7.7. συμβάλλομαι. Cf. v. 1. 14. With ἐξήκειν, cf. Soph. *O. T.* 1182 *ιοῦ, ἰοῦ, τὰ πάντ' ἂν ἐξήκοι σαφῆ, ἰηψr.* 82. 6 *ἐξεληλυθέναι*.

81. 3. τοὺς ἀριστέας = τοὺς ἀρίστοις.

4. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτόν. The acc.,

ARGOS. B. C. 495 (?); OL. 71. 2.

ὁ ἱεὺς ἀπηγόρευε, φὰς οὐκ ὄσιον εἶναι ξείνω αὐτόθι θύειν. 5
 ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης τὸν ἱεῖα ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἴλωτας ἀπὸ τοῦ
 βωμοῦ ἀπάγοντας μαστιγῶσαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔθυσε· ποιήσας
 82 δὲ ταῦτα ἀπήιε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. νοστήσαντα δὲ μιν ὑπή-
 γον οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐφόρους, φάμενοί μιν δωροδοκή-
 σαντα οὐκ ἐλεῖν τὸ Ἄργος, παρεὼν εὐπετέως μιν ἐλεῖν. ὁ
 δὲ σφι ἔλεξε, οὔτε εἰ ψευδόμενος οὔτε εἰ ἀληθέα λέγων,
 ἔχω σαφηνέως εἶπαι, ἔλεξε δ' ὧν φάμενος, ἐπίετε δὴ τὸ 5
 τοῦ Ἄργου ἱρὸν εἶλε, δοκέειν οἱ ἐξεληλυθῆναι τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ
 χρησμόν· πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα οὐ δικαιοῦν πειρᾶν τῆς πόλιος,
 πρὶν γε δὴ^α ἱροῖσι χρήσῃται καὶ μάθη εἶτε οἱ ὁ θεὸς
 παρατιδοῖ εἶτε οἱ ἐμποδῶν ἔστηκε· καλλιευμένῳ δὲ ἐν
 τῷ Ἡραίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς 10
 ἐκλάμψαι, μαθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς οὔτω τὴν ἀτρεκεῖην, ὅτι οὐκ
 αἰρέει τὸ Ἄργος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀγάλ-

^α πρὶν ἢ Krüg.

which seems to be unique, is no doubt due to the analogy of *κελεύειν*. The Heraeum lay north-east of Argos, between that city and Mycenae, on a spur of Mount Euboea. The temple here mentioned was burnt down in 423 B.C. It appears to have belonged originally to Mycenae, and was connected with that city by a sacred road. See Baedeker, *Griechenland*, p. 284.

5. ὁ ἱεὺς. The temple was in charge of a priestess, but doubtless there were subordinate servants about, one of whom was seized by the helots.

82. 1. ὑπήγον . . . ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐφόρους. Cf. *supr.* 72. 7, where we have ὑπὸ δικαστήριον.

3. μιν = τὸ Ἄργος.

8. πρὶν γε δὴ, κ.τ.λ. πρὶν does

not take *ἄν* or *κε* with the subjunctive in Homer or Hesiod; the construction with *ἄν* occurs first in Theognis, 963, and then becomes the regular form after negatives; cf. Goodwin, *Syntax*, 639 ff. But in Herodotus *ἄν* is sometimes omitted with *πρὶν*, cf. iv. 157. 11, and with *πρὶν ἢ* this is the rule. [In i. 32. 25, 82. 36; iii. 109. 6 the MSS. vary between *πρὶν* and *πρὶν ἄν*, R (sv) inclining to the Attic use.] Cf. Kallenberg, *Crit. Comm.* p. 7; Krüger, *Griech. Sprachl.* 54. 17. 9.

9. καλλιευμένῳ. The middle voice of this verb is used in the sense 'to sacrifice for good omens'; for the active, see *supr.* 76. 8.

12. αἰρέει. Cf. v. 43. 6; iii. 155. 17. Stein takes *αἰρέει* to be future indicative, supporting his view by the ana-

SPARTA. B.C. 496 (?); OI. 71. 1.

ματος ἐξέλαμψε, αἰρέειν ἂν κατ' ἄκρης τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ τῶν
στηθέων δὲ λάμπαντος πᾶν οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ὅσον ὁ θεὸς
15 ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων πιστά τε καὶ οἰκότα
ἐδόκεε Σπαρτιήτησι λέγειν, καὶ διέφυγε πολλὸν τοὺς
διώκοντας.

"Αργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχηρώθη οὕτω ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐ- 83
τῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντες τε καὶ διέποντες,
ἐς ὃ ἐπήβησαν^a οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες. ἔπειτά σφεας
οὔτοι^b ἀνακτώμενοι ὀπίσω ἐς ἑωυτοὺς τὸ "Αργος ἐξέβαλον·
5 ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχη ἔσχον Τίρυνθα. τέως μὲν
δὴ σφι ἦν ἄρθμια ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους
ἦλθε ἀνὴρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἐὼν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπ'
'Αρκαδίας· οὔτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι
δεσπότησι. ἐκ τούτου δὴ πόλεμός σφι ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνον
10 συχρόν, ἐς ὃ δὴ μόγις οἱ 'Αργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν.

^a ἐπήβησαν v: ἐπέβησαν cett.^b οὕτω ABC: αὐτοί R (sv).

logy of ἤρεθην, αἴρεσις, but αἰρήσω
is the only form known to classical
Greek. Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 125 χρόνω
αἰρεῖ, for the present.

13. αἰρέειν ἂν = ἤρεον ἂν, which is
put shortly for 'I should have per-
ceived that I was destined to take.'

14. ὁ θεός, both here and above
(1. 8) is merely 'the divinity'; the
deity meant is Hera. As the flame
appeared in the middle of the statue,
Cleomenes was to be content with
half a victory; had it appeared at
the head, it would have portended a
complete conquest of Argos (κατ'
ἄκρης).

83. 1. ἐχηρώθη. The number of
slain is given by Herodotus at 6000,
vii. 148. 11; by others at 7777. See
Busolt, *G. G.* ii. 50 n.

οἱ δοῦλοι. Not slaves in the

stricter sense, but serfs, or possibly
perioeci. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* v. 3 = 1303
a. 3 ἐν 'Αργεῖ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἀπο-
λομένων ὑπὸ Κλεομένους τοῦ Λάκωνος
ἰναγάσθησαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν περι-
οίκων τίνας. Plutarch attacks Hero-
dotus for this statement: *De Mul.*
Virt. 'Αργεῖαι: ἐπανορθούμενοι δὲ
τὴν ὀλιγανδρίαν οὐχ ὡς 'Ηρόδοτος
ἱστορεῖ τοῖς δούλοις ἀλλὰ τῶν περιό-
ικων ποιησάμενοι πολίτας τοὺς ἀρίστους
συναέκισαν τὰς γυναῖκας. But Hero-
dotus says nothing of any connubium.

5. Who were the inhabitants of
Tiryns at this time we cannot say,
and as the date of the capture is
quite uncertain, we do not know
whether it was the δοῦλοι, or the
original inhabitants, who sent a
contingent to Plataea in 479 B.C.

10. The final capture of Tiryns by

83
Distressed
condition
of Argos.

SPARTA, B.C. 488 (?); Ol. 73. I.

84 Spartan account of the madness of Cleomencs.

The Scythians at Sparta.

Ἄργεῖοι μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα Κλεομένεά φασι μανέντα ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σπαρτιῆται φασι ἐκ δαιμονίου μὲν οὐδενὸς μανῆναι Κλεομένεα, Σκύθησι δὲ ὀμιλήσαντά μιν ἀκρητοπότην γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆναι. Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπεῖτε σφι Δαρεῖον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν 5 χώρην, μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονέναι μιν τίσασθαι, πέμψαντας δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην συμμαχίην τε ποίεσθαι καὶ συντίθεσθαι ὡς χρεὼν εἶη αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν πειρᾶν^a ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσβάλλειν, σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας κελεύειν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὀρμεομένους ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ἔπειτα 10 ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπαντᾶν. Κλεομένεα δὲ λέγουσι ἠκόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὀμιλέειν σφι μεζόνως, ὀμιλέοντα δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἰκνεομένου μαθεῖν τὴν ἀκρητοποσίην παρ' αὐτῶν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανῆναί μιν νομίζουσι Σπαρτιῆται. ἔκ τε τούτου, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπεὰν ζωρότερον βούλωνται 15

^a περᾶν Krüger. delete ἐσβάλλειν.

Argos seems to have taken place about the time when Argos destroyed Mycenae, which is put by Diodorus in 468 B.C. See *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 277. We learn from Herodotus that some of the Tirythians retired to Halicis, vii. 137. 12.

84. 4. ἀκρητοπότην. The Greeks of course drank their wine diluted with water, unmixed wine being only used for libations. In Athenaeus, 36 B, we find some lines from a poet, ἐὰν δ' ἴσον ἴσφ' προσφέρῃ μανίαν ποιεῖ· ἐὰν δ' ἄκρατον, παράλυσιν τῶν σωμάτων. Cf. Arist. *Prob.* 3. 5; Athen. 427 B, *infra*. l. 16.

5. τοὺς νομάδας. The whole nation is meant, as in iv. 11, not the particular section described in iv. 19; cf. *supra*. 40. 5.

6. μεμονέναι, 'set their hearts on.' The present tenses in the next line indicate *proposals* on the part of the Scythians.

9. πειρᾶν. Elsewhere Herodotus uses the middle in this sense; hence Krüger would read περᾶν, omitting ἐσβάλλειν. But πειρᾶν with the infinitive is found elsewhere, see v. 85. 5; *Soph. O. T.* 399; *O. C.* 1276, quoted by K. The idea of the Scythians invading Media by way of the Phasis seems to refer to the possibility of passing along the eastern end of the Black Sea; cf. iv. 12. 9.

13. τοῦ ἰκνεομένου, 'than what was fitting'; cf. *ικνευμένως, supra*. 65. 13.

15. ζωρότερον, a Homeric word; *Il.* ix. 203 ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε, a passage which gave offence to critics,

SPARTA. B. C. 488 (?); Ol. 73. 1.

πιεῖν, 'ἐπισκύθισον' λέγουσι. οὕτω δὴ Σπαρτιῆται τὰ
περὶ Κλεομένεα λέγουσι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκέει τίσιν ταύτην ὁ
Κλεομένης Δημαρήτω ἐκτίσαι.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ὡς ἐπύθοντο Αἰγινῆται, 85
ἔπεμπον ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους καταβωσομένους Λευτυχί-
δεω περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι ὁμήρων ἐχομένων. Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες ἔγνωσαν περιωβρίσθαι
5 Αἰγινῆτας ὑπὸ Λευτυχίδεω, καὶ μιν κατέκριναν ἔκδοτον
ἄγεσθαι ἐς Αἴγιναν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐχομένων ἀν-
δρῶν· μελλόντων δὲ ἄγειν τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν Λευτυχίδα,
εἶπέ σφι Θεασίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεος, ἐὼν ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος
ἀνὴρ, "τί βουλευέσθε ποιέειν, ἄνδρες Αἰγινῆται; τὸν βασι-
10 λέα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἔκδοτον γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιη-
τέων ἄγειν; εἰ νῦν ὀργῇ χρεώμενοι ἔγνωσαν οὕτω Σπαρτιῆ-
ται, ὅκως ἐξ ὑστέρης μὴ τι ὑμῖν, ἣν ταῦτα πρήσσητε, πανώ-
λεθρον κακὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐμβάλωσι^a." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες
οἱ Αἰγινῆντι ἔσχοατο τῆς ἀγωγῆς, ὁμολογίῃ δὲ ἐχρήσαντο
15 τοιῆδε, ἐπισπόμενον Λευτυχίδα ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀποδοῦναι
Αἰγινῆτησι τοὺς ἄνδρας. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος Λευτυχίδης 86

The
Aeginetans
at Sparta.

^a ἐσβάλωσι P R (v); vid. Kallenberg, *Comm. Crit.* ad loc.: ἐσβαλεῦσι Krüg.

as we see from Arist. *Poetics*, 25. 9 = 1461 a. 15 οὐ τὸ ἄκρατον ὡς οἰνόφυλον, ἀλλὰ θάττον.

16. ἐπισκύθισον, 'pour in Scythian style.' In a similar manner ἀποσκυθίζειν was used of shaving the head. See the story in Clearchus, *Frag.* 8 M. Cf. Plato, *Laws*, 637 D λέγω δὲ οὐκ οἶνον περὶ πόσεως τὸ παράπαν ἢ μῆ, μέθης δὲ αὐτῆς πέρι, πότερον, ὡσπερ Σκύθαι χρῶνται καὶ Πέρσαι, χρηστέον, καὶ ἔτι Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἴβηρες καὶ Θρᾶκες, πολεμικὰ σύμπαντα ὄντα ταῦτα γένη, ἣ καθάπερ ὑμεῖς· ὑμεῖς μὲν

γάρ, ὅπερ λέγεις, τὸ παράπαν ἀπέχεσθε, Σκύθαι δὲ καὶ Θρᾶκες ἀκράτῳ παντάσῃ χρώμενοι, γυναικῆς τε καὶ αὐτοῖ, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἱματίων καταχεόμενοι καλὸν καὶ εὐδαιμον ἐπιτηδεύμα ἐπιτηδεύειν νενομῆκασιν.

85. 4. δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες. Cf. *supr.* 72. 7.

12. ὅκως . . . μὴ . . . ἐμβάλωσι. This is the only instance in Herodotus of the independent use of ὅπως μὴ with the subjunctive to express a 'desire to avert something.' See Goodwin, *Syntax*, 278, 280; cf. v. 79. 12 and note.

ATHENS. B.C. 488 (?); Ol. 73. 1.

Leotychidas accompanies them to Athens.

ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαίτεε τὴν παραθήκην, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι προφάσις εἶλκον οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδοῦναι, φάντες δύο σφέας ἔοντας βασιλέας παραθέσθαι καὶ οὐ δικαιοῦν τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἄνευ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀποδιδόναι· οὐ φαμένων δὲ ἀπο-
 (α) δώσειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔλεξέ σφι Λευτυχίδης τάδε. “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιέετε μὲν ὁκότερα βούλεσθε αὐτοί· καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδόντες ποιέετε ὅσια, καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες τὰ ἐναντία τούτων· ὁκοῖον μέντοι τι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης, βούλομαι ὑμῖν εἶπαι. λέγομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Σπαρτιῆται γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι κατὰ τρίτην γενεὴν τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο Γλαῦκον Ἐπικύδεος παῖδα, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα φαμὲν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι πάντων ὅσοι τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἴκεον. συνειχθῆναι δέ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἰκνευμένῳ τάδε λέγομεν. ἄνδρα Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σπάρτην βούλεσθαί οἱ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους, προῖσχόμενον τοιάδε. ‘εἰμὶ μὲν Μιλήσιος, ἦκω δὲ τῆς σῆς Γλαῦκε βουλόμενος δικαιοσύνης ἀπολαῦσαι. ὡς

Story of Glaucus and the Milesian.

88. 3. προφάσις εἶλκον. The phrase is found again, Aristoph. *Lysist.* 726. The meaning here is apparently ‘to linger out excuses,’ though Pape suggests ‘to drag in by the hair of the head,’ which suits Aristoph. Cf. ἔλκειν ἄνω κάτω τοῖς λόγοις Plato, *Theaet.* 195 C; *Crat.* 386 E.

5. Cf. *supr.* 50. 9.

a. 7. τρίτην γενεήν, i. e. about 550 B. C., a time of great disquiet at Miletus owing to internal dissension, and the advance of the Persians; cf. v. 28, 29.

8. περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, ‘attain to the first rank.’ The construction may be the same in vii. 16 τὰ σὲ καὶ

ἀμφοτέρα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὀμιλίας σφάλλουσι.

11. ἐν χρόνῳ ἰκνευμένῳ, ‘at the proper time.’ See *supr.* 84. 13. With the story here related may be compared that given in Conon, *Narr.* 38, in which a man of Miletus, whose country is in danger, owing to Harpagus, the son of Cyrus (!), goes to Tauromenium to lodge his money with a banker there.

14. τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης. Cf. Thuc. iii. 57 προσέψασθέ τε ὅτι νῦν μὲν παράδειγμα τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνδραγαθίας νομίξασθε (of the Spartans). On the other hand, compare the contemptuous remark of Cyrus, i. 153. 5 οὐκ εἶδισά κω ἄνδρας

ATHENS. B. C. 488(?) ; Ol. 73. 1.

15 γὰρ δὴ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ περὶ
 Ἰωνίῃν τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἦν λόγος πολλός, ἐμεωτῶ
 λόγους ἐδίδουν καὶ ὅτι ἐπικίνδυνός ἐστι αἰεὶ κοτε ἢ Ἰωνίῃ
 ἢ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἀσφαλέως ἰδρυμένη, καὶ διότι χρήματα
 οὐδαμὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐστι ὄραν ἔχοντας. ταῦτά τε ὦν
 20 ἐπιλεγόμενῳ καὶ βουλευομένῳ ἔδοξέ μοι τὰ ἡμίσεια πάσης
 τῆς οὐσίας ἐξαργυρώσαντα θέσθαι παρὰ σέ^α, εὖ ἐξεπιστα-
 μένῳ ὥς μοι κείμενα ἔσται παρὰ σοὶ σόα. σὺ δὴ μοι καὶ
 τὰ χρήματα δέξαι καὶ τάδε τὰ σύμβολα σῶζε λαβών· ὅς
 δ' ἂν ἔχων ταῦτα ἀπαιτέῃ, τούτῳ ἀποδοῦναι.' ὁ μὲν δὴ (β)
 ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἦκων ξεῖνος τοσαῦτα ἔλεξε, Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐδέ-
 ξατο τὴν παρακαταθήκην^β ἐπὶ τῷ εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ. χρόνου
 δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἦλθον ἐς Σπάρτην τούτου τοῦ παρα-
 5 θεμένου τὰ χρήματα οἱ παῖδες, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς λόγους τῷ
 Γλαύκῳ καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ σύμβολα ἀπαίτεον τὰ χρή-
 ματα. ὁ δὲ διωθέετο ἀντυποκρινόμενος τοιάδε. 'οὔτε
 μέμνημαι τὸ πρῆγμα οὔτε με^γ περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι
 τούτων τῶν ὑμεῖς λέγετε, βούλομαί τε^δ ἀναμνησθεῖς ποιέειν

^α σέ R (sv), Stob. Flor. xxvii. 14 : σοι cett.^γ οὐδέ με Bekk.^β παραθήκην R et *infra*. δ. 7.^δ δέ? Krüg.

τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χῶρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ
 πόλει ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμε-
 νοι ἀλλήλους ὑμνύντες ἐξαπατῶσι.
 It is not easy to see how the praise
 of the Milesian or the scorn of Cyrus
 would refer to men to whom all
 trade was forbidden.

21. ἐξαργυρώσαντα. The Attic
 form is ἐξαργυρίσαι; cf. Thuc. viii.
 81, with Arnold's note.

24. ἀποδοῦναι. Inf. for imperat.
 These infinitives are generally found
 (in Herodotus) before, or after, or in
 some connection with an imperative;
 cf. v. 23. 19; iii. 134. 23; 155.
 27.

β. 6. τὰ σύμβολα. 'The creden-
 tials,' 'proofs of the agreement.'
 Some visible test of the agreement is
 meant, such as would be afforded by
 two halves of a broken ring or coin.
 See Pape's Lex., who compares the
 use of the word in Plato's *Sympos*.
 191 D, for the two parts of the com-
 posite human creature.

8. περιφέρει. The only parallel
 to this use of the word seems to be
 Plato, *Lach.* 180 E περιφέρει δέ τις με
 καὶ μνήμη ἄρτι τῶνδε λεγόντων. περι-
 φέρειν is active, 'brings me round';
 not redit mihi in memoriam, but
 refert me in memoriam.

ATHENS. B. C. 488 (?); Ol. 73. 1.

πάν τὸ δίκαιον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἔλαβον, ὀρθῶς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ ἰο
 εἴ γε ἀρχὴν μὴ ἔλαβον, νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων χρήσομαι
 ἐς ὑμέας. ταῦτα ὦν ὑμῖν ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον
 (γ) μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦδε· οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφορὴν ποιησά-
 μνοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὡς ἀπεστερημένοι τῶν χρημάτων,
 Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστη-
 ρίῳ. ἐπειρωτέοντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὄρκῳ τὰ
 χρήματα λήσσηται^α, ἢ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπει· 5
 Γλαῦκ' Ἐπικυδεΐδη, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτω
 ὄρκῳ νικῆσαι καὶ χρήματα λήσασθαι.
 ὄμνυ, ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε καὶ εὖορκον μένει ἄνδρα.
 ἀλλ' ὄρκου πάϊς ἐστίν, ἀνώνυμος, οὐδ' ἐπι χεῖρες
 οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰς ὃ κε πᾶσαν ἰο
 συμμάρψας ὀλέση γενεὴν καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα.
 ἄνδρὸς δ' εὖορκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.
 ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαῦκος συγγνώμην τὸν θεὸν παραιτέετο
 αὐτῷ ἴσχειν τῶν ῥηθέντων. ἢ δὲ Πυθίη ἔφη τὸ πει-

^α λήσσηται A B R : λήσεται cett.

11. νόμοισι, κ.τ.λ. The words do not contain a threat, but imply an intention to make a public and legal disavowal of the bargain; cf. *infra*. γ. 4. 'Laws of the Greeks' are laws observed in Ionia and Sparta equally.

12. κυρώσειν. Cf. v. 49. 49.

γ. 5. λήξασθαι, 'to appropriate.' So Hesiod, *Op. et D.* 322 ἀπὸ γλώσσης λήξασθαι, and Herod. iii. 47. 9, etc. μετέρχεται; cf. *infra*. l. 10; *supr.* 69. 2.

9. ὄρκου πάϊς. 'The child of oath' is, of course, a personification of the punishment which awaits perjury; cf. ὕβρις μάτηρ κόρον Pind. *Ol.* 13. 10; τίκτει κόρος ὕβριν *Theog.* 153; Herod. viii. 77. 8. In Hesiod "Ορκος

is the avenger of perjury; *Theog.* 231 "Ορκον θ' ὅς δὴ πλείστον ἐπιχθονίου ἀνθρώπου Πημαίνει, ὅτε κέν τις ἐκὰν ἐπίορκον ὁμύσση. Even in Homer there are deities which punish perjury in the under world; *Il.* iii. 278 καὶ οἱ ὑπένερθε καμόντας Ἀνθρώπου τίνυσσον, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὁμύσση. For perjury among the gods, cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 783.

12. The line is taken from Hesiod, *Op. et D.* 285. In the original the comparative (ἀμείνων) is contrasted with ἀμανροτέρη (of the issue of the perjured), but here it is out of place; cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 762 ἀνδρῶν δ' εὐθυδικῶν καλλίπαις πότμος αἰεί.

14. It was a maxim of the Athe-

ATHENS. B. C. 487 (?); Ol. 73. 2.

ρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἴσον δύνασθαι. Γλαῦκος (δ)
 μὲν δὴ μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς Μιλησίους ξείνους ἀποδιδού-
 σφι τὰ χρήματα· τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα ὁ λόγος ὄδε ᾧ Ἀθηναῖοι
 ὠρμήθη λέγεσθαι ἐς ὑμέας, εἰρήσεται. Γλαύκου νῦν οὔτε
 5 τι ἀπόγονόν ἐστι οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἰστίη οὐδεμία νομιζομένη
 εἶναι Γλαύκου, ἐκτέτριπταί τε πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης.
 οὔτω ἀγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοέεσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης ἄλλο
 γε ἢ ἀπαιτεόντων ἀποδιδόναι.”

Λευτυχίδης μὲν εἶπας ταῦτα, ὥς οἱ οὐδὲ οὔτω 87
 ἐσήκουον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσετο· οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται, War
 πρὶν τῶν πρότερον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκας, τῶν ἐς between
 Ἀθηναίους ὕβρισαν Θηβαίοισι χαριζόμενοι, ἐποίησαν Athens
 5 τοιόνδε. μεμφόμενοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ ἀξιούντες and
 ἀδικέεσθαι, ὡς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρε Aegina.
 σκευάζοντο. καὶ ἦν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι πεντετηρὶς^a
 ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, λοχήσαντες [ᾧν]^b τὴν θεωρίδα νέα εἶλον πλήρεα
 ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Ἀθηναίων, λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας
 ἔδησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ παθόντες ταῦτα πρὸς Αἰγινητέων 88
 οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι ἐπ'

^a πεντετηρὶς B² R (sv), Schömann: πεντήρης cett.^b ᾧν secl. St.

nian law τὸν βουλεύσαντα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
 ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ τὸν τῇ χειρὶ ἐργασά-
 μενον Andoc. *De Myst.* § 94.

δ. 4. ὠρμήθη λέγεσθαι. Cf. iv. 16.
 1 τῆς πέρι ὄδε ὁ λόγος ὠρμηται λέγε-
 σθαι: v. 50. 10 τὸν ἐπιλοιπον λόγον
 τὸν ὠρμητο λέγειν. ὠρμάσθαι is a
 favourite word with Herodotus to
 express an 'intention,' e. g. iv. 143. 6
 ὠρμημένου Δαρείου ροῖαὶ τρώγειν.

5. τι is not to be taken with ἀπό-
 γονον but with the negative which
 it intensifies, 'at all.' Cf. v. 92
 ε. 14.

8. ἀπαιτεόντων, sc. τῶν κυρίων,

'those to whom it belongs.'

87. 1. The dative is used with
 ἔσακούειν, as it would be with πεί-
 θεσθαι. So with ἑπακούειν in iv. 141. 5.

5. ἀξιούντες = νομίζοντες.

7. πεντετηρὶς, sc. ὅρη.

8. τὴν θεωρίδα νέα is the ship
 which conveyed the θεωροί from
 Athens to Sunium.

88. 2. ἀνεβάλλοντο . . . μηχανή-
 σασθαι. Cf. *supr.* 2. 5; v. 49 *ult.*

τὸ πᾶν. Herodotus has both
 τὸ πᾶν and πᾶν μηχανᾶσθαι. In
 Attic the article is generally omitted
 in similar phrases.

ATHENS. B.C. 487(?) ; C1. 73. 2.

Nicodromus leads a conspiracy of the people at Aegina.

Αἰγινήτησι. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κνοίθου καλεόμενος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, οὗτος μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖσι Αἰγινήτησι προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, μαθὼν 5 δὲ τότε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀναρτημένους ἔρδειν Αἰγινήτας κακῶς, συντίθεται Ἀθηναίοισι προδοσίην Αἰγίνης, φράσας ἐν τῇ τε ἡμέρῃ ἐπιχειρήσει καὶ ἐκείνους ἐς τὴν ἡκειν
89 δεήσει βοηθόντας. μετὰ ταῦτα καταλαμβάνει μὲν κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο Ἀθηναίοισι ὁ Νικόδρομος τὴν παλαιὴν καλεομένην πόλιν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐ παραγίνονται ἐς δέον· οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον εἶδουσι νέες σφι ἀξιόμαχοι τῆσι Αἰγινήτων συμβαλεῖν· ἐν ᾧ ὦν Κορινθίων ἐδέοντο χρῆσαι σφίσιν^a νέας, 5 ἐν τούτῳ διεφθάρη τὰ πρήγματα. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἦσαν γὰρ σφι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Ἀθηναίοισι διδοῦσι δεομένοισι εἴκοσι νέας, διδοῦσι δὲ πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι· δωρεὴν^b γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ ἐξ- ἦν δοῦναι. ταύτας τε δὴ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὰς 10 σφετέρας, πληρώσαντες ἐβδομήκοντα νέας τὰς ἀπάσας,

^a σφίσι St. : σφι Libb.^b δωτήν R (sv), Krüg.

3. Κνοίθου καλεόμενος, 'known as the son of Cnoethus'; cf. vii. 143 παῖς δὲ Νεοκλῆος ἐκαλέετο (of Themistocles); Thuc. viii. 6 Ἐνδῖος γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐκαλεῖτο.

4. ἀνὴρ δόκιμος. Probably he was an oligarch who had some quarrel with his order.

7. φράσας, κ.τ.λ., i.e. φράσας τὴν τε ἡμέρην ἐν τῇ, καὶ (τὴν ἡμέρην) ἐς τὴν. He fixed the day on which he would himself rise, and also that by which the Athenians must appear.

89. 2. τὴν παλαιήν, κ.τ.λ. Some part of the city of Aegina may be meant, or some other town, such as Oea, for which see v. 83. 10. Nicodro-

mus may well have arranged to seize some point in the interior at the same time that the Athenians attacked the Aeginetans by sea.

4. οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Thuc. i. 41 νεῶν γὰρ μακρῶν σπανίσαντές ποτε πρὸς τὸν Αἰγινήτων ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικὰ πόλεμον παρὰ Κορινθίων εἴκοσι ναῦς ἐλάβετε.

9. ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, 'by their law'; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 62 Ἰλλίδος στάθμας ἐν νόμοις.

11. The history of the Athenian fleet down to this period is unknown. We are told in the handbooks that each of the forty-eight naucrariae furnished a ship, but this appears to

ATHENS. B.C. 487(?) ; Ol. 73. 2.

ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγιναν καὶ ὑστέρησαν ἡμέρη μιῇ τῆς
 συγκεκμημένης. Νικόδρομος δέ, ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν 90
 καιρὸν οὐ παρεγίνοντο, ἐς πλοῖον ἐσβὰς ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐκ^a
 τῆς Αἰγίνης· σὺν δέ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων
 εἶποντο, τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι Σούνιον οἰκῆσαι^b ἔδοσαν. ἐνθεύτεν
 5 δὲ οὗτοι ὀρμεόμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ
 Αἰγινήτας. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὕστερον ἐγίνετο. Αἰγινητέων 91
 δὲ οἱ παχέες ἐπαναστάντος τοῦ δήμου σφι ἅμα Νικοδρόμῳ
 ἐπεκράτησαν, καὶ ἔπειτὰ σφεας χειρωσάμενοι ἐξῆγον ἀπο-
 λέοντες. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφι ἐγένετο, τὸ ἐκθύσα-
 5 σθαι οὐκ οἰοί τε ἐγένοντο ἐπιμηχανώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἔφθησαν

91
Sacrilege
of the
Aegine-
tans.^a ἐκ om. P R (sv).^b οἰκίσαι A B C : ἐνοικῆσαι Nab., Cob.

rest on the evidence of grammarians only, and may be due to a false etymology (*ναὺς ναυκραρία*). Cf. Herm. *Staatsalt.* § 98. 3. In Arist. *Athen. Pol.* c. 8 there is nothing to connect the naucreries with the ships. The statement that Cleisthenes raised the number of naucreries to fifty comes from Clidemus, the contemporary of Aristotle (Herm. *l.c.* 111. 9), but here also there is no mention of ships. The idea that after Cleisthenes the Athenian navy nominally consisted of fifty ships seems to rest on the correspondence of the fifty ships mentioned here with the fifty naucreries ascribed to Cleisthenes. *Infr.* c. 132. 3 seventy ships are mentioned, and apparently these are not the *whole* Athenian fleet (490 B.C.).

91. 1. ὕστερον, after 490 B.C.

2. οἱ παχέες. See the note on v. 30. 3.

4. ἐκθύσασθαι, κ.τ.λ., 'expiate.' Cf. Eurip. *Frags.* 155 τίνα δεῖ μακάρων ἐκθυσσάμενους εὐρεῖν μόχθων

ἀναπαύλαν; This sense appears to be confined to the middle voice, the active *ἐκθύειν* being merely 'to sacrifice completely'; see Jebb on Soph. *El.* 572, and L. S. sub v. Cf. Thuc. ii. 27 ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ (431 B.C.) ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, on the ground that they had been the cause of the war. Herodotus explains the matter in a manner more consonant to his own modes of thought, cf. *infr.* 135. 12, of Miltiades. Even Aristotle seems to look on the destruction of Sybaris by Croton as the expiation of an act of impiety. Herodotus can hardly have known of the extirpation of the Aeginetans by the Athenians in 424 B.C. or he would have mentioned it. [Lysias, vi. 1, has a story of a man who died of hunger in the midst of plenty in consequence of an act of impiety towards Demeter.]

ATHENS. B.C. 487 (?); Ol. 73. 2.

ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἢ σφι ἴλεον γενέσθαι τὴν θεόν. ἐπτακοσίους γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου ζωγρήσαντες ἐξῆγον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, εἰς δέ τις τούτων ἐκφυγὼν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Δήμητρος δεσμοφόρου, ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἶχετο· οἱ δὲ ἐπίετε 10 μιν ἀποσπάσαι οὐκ οἶοί τε ἀπέλκοντες ἐγίνοντο, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἦγον οὕτω, αἱ χεῖρες δὲ ἐκεῖναι 92 ἐμπεφυκυῖαι ἦσαν τοῖσι ἐπισπαστροῖσι. ταῦτα μὲν νυν σφέας αὐτοὺς οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἐργάσαντο, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἤκουσι ἐναυμάχησαν νηυσὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοὺς καὶ πρότερον, Ἀργείους. καὶ δὴ σφι οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθέουσι, 5 μεμφόμενοι ὅτι Αἰγιναῖαι νέες ἀνάγκη λαμφθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος ἔσχον τε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώραν καὶ συναπέβησαν Λακεδαιμονίοισι· συναπέβησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σικωνιέων νεῶν ἄνδρες τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἐσβολῇ· καὶ σφι ὑπ' Ἀργείων ἐπεβλήθη ζημίη χίλια τάλαντα ἐκτίσαι, πεντακόσια 10 ἐκατέρους. Σικωνιοὶ μὲν νυν συγγνόντες ἀδικῆσαι ὠμολόγησαν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκτίσαντες ἀξήμιοι εἶναι, Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὔτε συνεγινώσκοντο ἦσάν τε αὐθαδέστεροι. διὰ δὲ ὧν σφι^a ταῦτα δεομένοισι ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδεὶς Ἀργείων ἔτι ἐβόηθεε, ἐθελονταὶ δὲ ἐς χιλίους· ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς 15

Argos and Aegina.

^a ὧν σφι om. P R (sv), vid. *supr.* 63. 2.

92. 4. τοὺς καὶ πρότερον, see v. 86. 19. For the chronological difficulties involved in this account, see v. App. 3 'On the chronology of the reign of Cleomenes' (p. 135).

10. By what right did Argos inflict this fine? Did she still claim to be head of the 'lot of Temenus'? See *Hist. of Greece*, i. 226. Later in the fifth century she claimed the right of fining the Epidaurians,

but did so as custodian of the temple of Apollo. For Sicyon and Argos, see v. 67 f.; the city must have greatly changed since the days of Cleisthenes, before she consented to follow the lead of Dorians and pay a fine to Argos.

13. αὐθαδέστεροι, 'inclined to be impudent.' Cf. *supr.* 75. 5 for the comparative; and v. 81. 12 for the Aeginetan character.

ASIA. B.C. 490; Ol. 22. 3.

στρατηγὸς [ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὖνομα]^a Εὐρυβάτης, ἀνὴρ πεντάεθλον^b
ἐπασκήσας. τούτων οἱ πλεῖνες οὐκ ἀπενόστησαν ὀπίσω,
ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγίνῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ
στρατηγὸς Εὐρυβάτης μονομαχίην ἐπασκῶν τρεῖς μὲν
20 ἄνδρας τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ κτείνει, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου
Σωφάνεος τοῦ Δεκελείου ἀποθνήσκει. Αἰγινῆται δὲ ἐούσι 93
ἀτάκτοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι συμβαλόντες τῆσι νηυσὶ ἐνί-
κησαν, καὶ σφεων νέας τέσσερας αὐτοῖσι τοῖς ἀνδράσι εἶλον.

Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνῆπτο πρὸς Αἰγινή- 94
τας· ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἔωυτοῦ ἐποίηε, ὥστε ἀναμνή-
σκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμνήσθαι μιν τῶν
Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσκατημένων καὶ
5 διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὴ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρείους
ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς
Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Μαρδόνιον
μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλῦει τῆς
στρατηγίης, ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγούς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστειλε
10 ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας, Δατίην τε ἔοντα Μῆδον

^a ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὖνομα om. P R (sv).^b ἀνὴρ πεντάεθλον St.: πεντάεθλον Libb.

16. πεντάεθλον ἐπασκήσας, cf. ix. 105. 3 παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας. 'Having practised the pentathlon,' is = 'having conquered in the pentathlon.' In ix. 75. 4 Eurybates is called πεντάεθλος ἀνὴρ. Just below μονομαχίην ἐπασκῶν is 'practising single combat,' i.e. engaging his enemy in it; cp. σοφίαν, ἀρετὴν ἐπασκῶν.

21. For Sophanes, see ix. 74, 75.

93. 3. νέας τέσσερας, κ.τ.λ. Here the account of the war ends, but from vii. 145. 8 we know that hostilities went on till 481 B.C.

94. 2. τὸ ἔωυτοῦ ἐποίηε, 'went

on with his work.' ὥστε = ἄτε.

ἀναμνήσκοντός . . . μεμνήσθαι μιν, 'reminding him to bear in mind.' Cf. v. 105.

4. See v. 96; vii. 6.

5. βουλόμενος. The grammar returns to the nominative, because ὁ Πέρσης and ὁ Δαρείους are the same person.

7. τοὺς μὴ δόντας. Cf. *supr.* 48 f. As the words refer to a past act, they cannot denote an indefinite class, and therefore οὐ would be more correct than μή. See *supr.* 66. 10.

10. Μῆδον. Other instances of Medes in the service of the Persians

Mardonius
deposed :
arrange-
ments for
a fresh
invasion of
Greece.

ASIA. B. C. 490; OI. 72. 3.

γένος καὶ Ἄρταφρένεα τὸν Ἄρταφρένεος παῖδα, ἀδελφιδέον^a
 ἔωυτοῦ· ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε ἕξανδραποδίσαντας
 Ἄθηνas καὶ Ἐρέτριαν ἀνάγειν ἔωυτῶ ἐς ὄψιν τὰ
 95 ἀνδράποδα. ὡς δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἀποδεχθέντες
 πορευόμενοι παρὰ βασιλέος ἀπίκοντο τῆς Κιλικίης ἐς
 τὸ Ἄλῆιον πεδίον, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι περὶ στρατὸν πολλόν
 τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, ἐνθαῦτα στρατοπεδευόμενοισι
 ἐπῆλθε μὲν ὁ ναυτικὸς πᾶς στρατὸς ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς 5
 ἐκάστοισι, παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ ἰππαγωγὸὶ νέες,
 τὰς τῶ προτέρῳ ἔτει προεῖπε τοῖσι ἔωυτοῦ δασμοφόροισι
 Δαρειὸς ἐτοιμάζειν. ἐσβαλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἵππους ἐς
 ταύτας καὶ τὸν περὶ στρατὸν ἐσβιβάσαντες ἐς τὰς
 νέας, ἔπλεον ἑξακοσίησι τριήρεσι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. ἐνθεῦτεν 10
 δὲ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἠπειρον εἶχον τὰς νέας ἰθὺ τοῦ τε
 Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἀλλ' ἐκ Σάμου ὀρμώμενοι
 παρά τε Ἰκάριον^b καὶ διὰ νήσων τὸν πλόον ἐποιεῦντο,
 ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, δείσαντες μάλιστα τὸν περίπλοον
 τοῦ Ἄθω, ὅτι τῶ προτέρῳ ἔτει^c ποιούμενοι ταύτῃ τὴν 15

Datis and
 Artar-
 phernes at
 Naxos,

^a ἀδελφιδέον δέ? St.

^b τό vel τε τό St.: Ἰκαρον vel Ἰκαρίην Gebhardt.

^c τῶ τρίτῳ πρότερον Dobree.

are Harpagus and Tabalus who were employed by Cyrus against the Greeks and Lydians.

95. 2. See *supr.* 43. 7. The army did not of course march by the great road described in v. 52, but by one which led from the Euphrates, through the 'Cilician Gates' to Tarsus. It was by this route that the younger Cyrus marched into Mesopotamia.

5. ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς, *supr.* 48.

7. τῶ προτέρῳ ἔτει, i.e. in 491 B. C.

11. εἶχον, 'directed'; Homeric.

13. παρά τε Ἰκάριον, which is

found in the MSS., can only mean 'past the Icarian Sea,' which is not what the context requires (96. 2), and the omission of the article is remarkable. Hence Ἰκαρον is perhaps right.

15. τῶ προτέρῳ ἔτει can hardly be right, though Clinton ingeniously defends the text, by supposing that Herodotus is speaking of Attic years. If Mardonius was wrecked off Athos in the autumn of 492, an expedition leaving Asia before July 490 would be in the year after his disaster, if we reckon the years from July to

DELOS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

κομιδὴν μεγάλως προσέπταισαν· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ Νάξος σφέας ἠνάγκαζε πρότερον οὐκ ἀλοῦσα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ 96 Ἴκαρίου πελάγεος προσφερόμενοι προσέμιξαν τῇ Νάξῳ, ἐπὶ ταύτην γὰρ δὴ πρώτην ἐπεῖχον στρατεύεσθαι οἱ Πέρσαι, μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον^a . . . οἱ Νάξιοι πρὸς τὰ 5 ὄρεα οἴχοντο φεύγοντες οὐδὲ ὑπέμειναν. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι τοὺς κατέλαβον αὐτῶν, ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀνήγοντο.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐποίουν, οἱ Δῆλιοι ἐκλιπόντες 97 καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Δῆλον οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐς Τῆνον. τῆς and at Delos. δὲ στρατιῆς καταπλεύσης ὁ Δᾶτις προπλώσας οὐκ ἔα τὰς νέας πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον^b προσορμίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέρην 5 ἐν τῇ Ῥηναίῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος ἵνα ἦσαν οἱ Δῆλιοι, πέμπων κήρυκα ἠγόρευέ σφι τάδε. “ἄνδρες ἱροί, τί φεύγοντες οἴχεσθε, οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα καταγνόντες κατ’ ἐμεῦ; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε φρονέω καὶ μοι ἐκ

^a lacunam indicavit St.: *πρότερον* R (sv).^b *δῆλον* B² P R (s): *νήσον* cett.

June. But there is nothing to show that Herodotus is speaking of Attic years; his years as a rule seem to run from spring to spring, *supr.* 31. 2.

96. 3. ἐπεῖχον, ‘intended.’

4. τῶν πρότερον, i.e. the successful resistance to the Persian fleet under Aristagoras, v. 34. Plut. *De malig. Her.* 36, informs us that Darius was repulsed from the island, after he had laid waste some part of it, but Naxos was certainly subject to Persia from the time of the battle of Marathon.

97. 5. Rhenaea is an island about half a mile distant from Delos. It is much larger than Delos, to which however Polycrates made it an

appendage. The sacred associations of Delos did not extend to it (Thuc. iii. 104).

7. οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα . . . ἐμεῦ, ‘forming an unjust,’ lit. unsuitable, ‘opinion against me.’ The repetition of κατὰ is remarkable, for elsewhere we find the genitive only; see Kallenberg, *Comm. Crit.* p. 21, where the whole subject of prepositions in composition is treated. Cf. ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου *supr.* 12. 12, and note; ἀπωστός 5. 9, and v. 1.

8. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε φρονέω, lit. ‘my own understanding extends so far’; ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο is common with λέγω iv. 199. 12; and in v. 50. 2 we have ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἤλασαν.

DELOS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

βασιλέος ὧδε ἐπέσταλται, ἐν τῇ χώρῃ οἱ δύο θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, ταύτην μηδὲν σίνεσθαι, μήτε αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν 10 μήτε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς. νῦν ὦν καὶ ἄπιτε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νῆσον νέμεσθε." ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τοῖσι Δηλίοισι, μετὰ δὲ λιβανωτοῦ τριηκόσια τάλαντα κατανήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐθυμίησε.

98 Δᾶτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἔπλεε ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν πρῶτα, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐνθεῦτεν ἐξαναχθέντα Δῆλος ἐκινήθη, ὡς ἔλεγον Δῆλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κου τέρας ἀνθρώποισι 5 τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν ἔφαινε ὁ θεός. ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος καὶ Ξέρξεω τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξεω τοῦ Ξέρξεω, τριῶν τουτέων ἐπεξῆς γενεῶν, ἐγένετο πλέω κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι ἄλλας γενεὰς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν 10

Earth-
quake at
Delos.

9. οἱ δύο θεοί, Apollo and Artemis.

11. ἄπιτε, 'go back'; cf. *supr.* 5. 2.

14. ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ. The altar of Apollo in Delos.

98. 2. καὶ Ἴωνας, κ.τ.λ. The same remark is made ii. 1. 5; iii. 1. 3. It may be added here to mark the fact that the Greeks of Asia and the islands were now compelled to fight against their kinsmen in the peninsula.

4. καὶ πρῶτα, κ.τ.λ. See Appendix 1. Thuc. ii. 8, speaking of the year 431 B.C., remarks; ἔτι δὲ Δῆλος ἐκινήθη ὑλίγον πρὸ τούτων πρότερον οὐπω σεισθεῖσα ἀπ' οὗ Ἑλληνες μέμνηται. Each author would seem to be denying the occurrence of the earthquake mentioned by the other. We cannot explain the con-

tradition, but we may conjecture that the Asiatic and European Greeks had different traditions, each supported by some supposed evidence from Delos.

5. τέρας, κ.τ.λ. *Supr.* 27. 1, and note.

7. Darius reigned from 521 to 485 B.C.; Xerxes was slain in 465; Artaxerxes died in 424. Here, as *supr.* 91. 6, Herodotus seems ignorant of events subsequent to 426 B.C.

9. ἐπὶ εἴκοσι, κ.τ.λ. Twenty generations=667 years. This would cover the interval between the accession of Darius and the Trojan war, or at any rate the Dorian migration; for Herodotus seems to place the Trojan war about 1260 B.C., and the migration took place eighty years later.

CARYSTUS. B. C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

Περσέων αὐτῇ γενόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων
περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμεόντων. οὕτω οὐδὲν ἦν ἀεικὲς
κινήθηναι Δῆλον τὸ πρὶν εἶουσαν ἀκίνητον. [καὶ ἐν
χρησμῶ ἦν γεγραμμένον περὶ αὐτῆς ᾧδε.

15 κινήσω καὶ Δῆλον ἀκίνητόν περ εἶουσαν.]^a

δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ταῦτα τὰ οὐνόματα,
Δαρειὸς ἐρξείης, Ξέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἄρτοξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος.
τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας ᾧδε ἂν ὀρθῶς κατὰ
γλῶσσαν τὴν σφετέρην Ἑλληνες καλέοιεν.^b

Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπήειραν ἐκ τῆς Δήλου^c, προσ- 99
ἴσχον πρὸς τὰς νήσους, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ στρατιήν τε παρε-
λάμβανον καὶ ὀμήρους τῶν νησιωτέων παῖδας ἐλάμβανον.
ὡς δὲ περιπλέοντες τὰς νήσους προσέσχον καὶ ἐς
5 Κάρυστον, οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι οἱ Καρύστιοι οὔτε ὀμήρους
ἐδίδουσαν οὔτε ἔφασαν ἐπὶ πόλιας ἀστυγείτονας στρα-

The Per-
sians at
Carystus,

^a καὶ ἐν . . . εἶουσαν om. A B C, I. Gronovius.

^b δύναται . . . καλέοιεν del. Wess.

^c δήλου P R (sv) : νήσου cett.

12. ἀεικὲς, 'strange,' 'extraordi-
nary,' = οὐκ εἰκόσ.

13. καὶ ἐν . . . εἶουσαν. These lines
are found in one class of MSS. only,
and the expression ἐν χρησμῶ ἦν
γεγραμμένον is not Herodotean; we
should expect καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς ἐχρή-
σθη χρηστήριον, λέγον ᾧδε, or ἦν δὲ
λόγιόν τι περὶ αὐτῆς, λέγον ᾧδε. Delos
was at one time a wandering island,
till Leto visited it; see Pindar, *Frag.*
65.

16. δύναται . . . καλέοιεν. These
words are but slightly connected
with the context, and look more like
a note, whether added by Herodotus
or another, than a part of the text;
see on v. 27. 2. Δαρειὸς is the Greek
form of *Dārayavush* from *dar* 'to
hold,' 'possess,' to which ἐρξείης or

ἐρξείης, from *εργειν*, corresponds very
imperfectly. Ξέρξης is probably =
Kshayârsâ, 'mighty man;' Ἄρτο-
ξέρξης is *Artakshatrâ* ('exalted
king'), so that ἀρήιος and μέγας
ἀρήιος (? μέγα ἀρήιος, as Bekker sug-
gested) correspond fairly to the last
two names; see *inf.* p. 330.

99. 2. τὰς νήσους, i. e. the Cyclades,
etc., and Euboea, in which lay
Carystus. The Carystians were Dry-
opians, and were known for their
spirit and bravery. Yet they learned
a lesson now which they remembered
in 480 B. C., when they joined the
invaders. See *Hist. of Greece*, ii. pp.
81, 202.

6. οὔτε ἔφασαν . . . στρατεύεσθαι.
Dobree preferred *στρατεύσεσθαι*, but
the change is not necessary, for οὐκ

ERETRIA, B. C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

and at
Eretria,

100

τεύεσθαι^a, λέγοντες Ἐρέτριάν τε καὶ Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα
τούτους ἐπολιόρκεόν τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σφῶν ἔκειρον, ἐς
ὃ καὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι παρέστησαν ἐς τῶν Περσέων τὴν
γνώμην. Ἐρετριέες δὲ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν
Περσικὴν ἐπὶ σφέας ἐπιπλέουσιν Ἀθηναίων ἐδεήθησαν
σφίσι βοηθοὺς γενέσθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπέπαντο
τὴν ἐπικουρίην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους τοὺς^b κλη-
ρουχέοντας τῶν ἵπποβοτέων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώραν, τού-
τους σφι διδοῦσι τιμωροὺς. τῶν δὲ Ἐρετριέων ἦν ἄρα
οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς βούλευμα, οἷ μετεπέμποντο μὲν Ἀθηναίους,
ἐφρόνεον δὲ διφασίας ἰδέας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐβου-
λεύοντο ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίης, ἄλλοι
δὲ αὐτῶν ἴδια κέρδεα προσδεκόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ Πέρσεω¹⁰
οἴσεσθαι προδοσίην ἐσκευάζοντο. μαθὼν δὲ τούτων
ἐκάτερα ὡς εἶχε Αἰσχίνης ὁ Νόθωνος, ἐὼν τῶν Ἐρε-
τριέων τὰ πρῶτα, φράζει τοῖσι ἤκουσι Ἀθηναίων πάντα
τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, προσεδέετό τε ἀπαλλάσσε-

^a στρατεύεσθαι Dobrec.^b τοὺς add. Krüg.

ἔφασαν is 'refused'; cf. v. 79. 4;
80 *ult.*; and also *infr.* 132. 5.

8. ἐς δ . . . γνώμην. Cf. *infr.* 140.
10 ἐς δ καὶ οὗτοι παρέστησαν, and
often.

100. 4. τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους. Cf.
v. 77. 11.

6. ἦν ἄρα = 'was, as the event
proved'; the idiomatic sense of ἄρα
with the imperfect. Cf. Soph. *Trach.*
1169 f.

ἦ μοι

ἔφασκε μόχθων τῶν ἐφεστῶτων ἐμοὶ
λύσιν τελεῖσθαι, κιδόκουν πράξειν
καλῶς.

τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν θανεῖν
ἐμέ.

7. ὑγιὲς, 'sound,' 'honest,' *sanum*.

8. ἐφρόνεον . . . ἰδέας. 'They
were divided in their intentions.'

ἰδέα is 'form' or 'kind,' lit.
'shape.' 'Their thoughts took two
shapes.' Cf. *infr.* 119. 11 φρέαρ τὸ
παρέχεται τριφασίας ἰδέας.

9. ἐκλιπεῖν . . . ἐς, 'to leave their
city for,' 'to retire to.' The 'whole of
the southern end of Euboea is filled
by a mass of mountains,' the highest
point being Mount Ocha (4748
feet) on the summit of which are the
ruins of an ancient temple; see Smith,
Dict. Geog. Euboea.

13. τὰ πρῶτα, cf. ix. 78. 2 Λάμπων
ὁ Πυθῶω Αἰγινητέων ἐὼν τὰ πρῶτα,
and Lucretius, i. 86 ductores
Danaum delecti, prima virorum.

ERETRIA. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

15 σθαί σφεας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην, ἵνα μὴ προσαπόλωνται.
οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα Αἰσχίνῃ συμβουλευσάντι πείθονται.
καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διαβάντες ἐς Ὀρωπὸν ἕσωζον σφέας 101
αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλείοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς
Ἐρετρικῆς χώρας κατὰ Τέμενος καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλεια,
κατασχόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία αὐτίκα ἵππους τε ἐξ-
5 ἐβάλλοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς προσοισόμενοι τοῖσι
ἐχθροῖσι, οἱ δὲ Ἐρετρίες ἐπέξελεθεῖν μὲν καὶ μαχέσα-
σθαι οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλήν, εἴ κως δὲ διαφυλάξαιεν
τὰ τείχεα, τούτου σφι πέρι ἔμελε, ἐπέειτε ἑνίκα μὴ
ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. προσβολῆς δὲ γινομένης καρτερῆς
10 πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἔπιπτον ἐπὶ ἕξ ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν
ἀμφοτέρων· τῇ δὲ ἐβδόμῃ Εὐφορβός τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχου
καὶ Φίλαγρος ὁ Κυνέου ἄνδρες τῶν ἀστῶν δόκιμοι
προδιδούσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι. οἱ δὲ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν
τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἀποτινύμενοι

which is
betrayed
to them.

15. ἐς τὴν σφετέρην. It is not quite clear from the narrative, whether the Athenians were residing on the Chalcidian territory, but as nothing is said of sending them out to Eretria, we may assume that this was the case.

101. 2. κατέσχον, 'put in at,' but *infra*. 4 κατασχόντες is 'having got possession of.'

3. κατὰ Τέμενος, κ.τ.λ. These were, no doubt, places in the Eretrian territory, but nothing more is known of them. For Τέμενος Wessling proposed Ταμίνας, which Strabo mentions as a city in the Eretrian country (p. 448). See also Harpocration, sub voce; Aesch. 2. 169, 3. 86; Demosth. 21. 162, 39. 16. But Herodotus elsewhere mentions places which are not otherwise known, e. g.

Ccos and Cynosura in connection with Salamis.

4. αὐτίκα ἵππους, κ.τ.λ. See *infra*. 102. 5.

7. οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλήν = οὐκ ἐβουλευόντο. ποιέεσθαι can be used with almost any abstract noun as a periphrasis for a verb, e. g. λύπην ποιέεσθαι = λυπέεσθαι, στρατιὴν ποιέεσθαι = στρατεύεσθαι, etc.

8. ἑνίκα. The imperfect is remarkable, but cf. viii. 9. 2 ἑνίκα πορεύεσθαι.

14. ἀποτινύμενοι, cf. *supr.* 96. 2, and especially vii. 8 β. 11, viii. 143. 11. The view that the Persian war was a religious war is discussed at length by Wecklein, *Die Tradition der Perserkrieger*, 1876, p. 263 ff. In the present passage the historian seems to draw a distinction between the com-

ATHENS. B. C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώ- 15
πους ἠνδραποδίσαντο κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολάς.

- 102 Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλί-
γας ἡμέρας ἔπλεον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κατέργοντές^a τε
πολλὸν καὶ δοκέοντες ταῦτὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν
τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριέας ἐποίησαν. καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαρα-
θῶν ἐπιτηδεότατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι καὶ 5
ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἐρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγγέτο Ἴππῆς
103 ὁ Πεισιστράτου. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐπίθοντο ταῦτα,
ἐβόηθον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἦγον δὲ σφεας
στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης, τοῦ τὸν
πατέρα Κίμωνα τὸν Στῆσαγόρω κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ

ATHENS.
Miltiades
is chosen
one of the
generals.

^a κατεργάζοντες B² R (sv) : κατοργέοντες Dietsch : κατεπέγοντές τε
τὸν πλόον? St.: κατηλογέοντες Van H.

mands of Darius and the unauthorized
act of the invaders; cf. *supr.* 94. 12.

102. 2. κατέργοντές τε πολλόν.
See critical note. If the text is kept,
we must translate 'in great haste,'
taking the word intransitively, for it
is impossible to follow Schweigh. in
supplying τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, and render-
ing 'in angustias cogentes.' The
word κατέργειν occurs v. 63. 23,
where also it gives rise to difficulties.

4. Μαραθῶν. The word is here
used for the district, not merely the
hamlet or deme of Marathon. Attica
as a whole was dangerous ground for
horses. Cf. ix. 13. 12 οὐκ ἵππασίμη ἦν
ἡ χώρα ἢ Ἀττικῆ, and v. 63, where the
land round Phalerum is prepared for
the Thessalian horse. Nearly fifty
years before the present expedition,
Hippias had accompanied his father
Peisistratus on a similar voyage from
Eretria, and on that occasion the land-
ing had been in every way successful;

see *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 83.

5. ἐνιππεῦσαι. As we have seen,
the Persian horse were landed in
Euboea, and we must presume that
they were landed in Attica; yet we
never hear of them in the battle;
see Appendix 3.

103. 3. στρατηγοὶ δέκα. Arist.
Athen. Pol. c. 4, speaks of στρατηγῶν
under the constitution of Draco, but
he does not fix the number. In c. 22
he tells us that in the twelfth year
before the battle of Marathon = 501
B. C. τοὺς στρατηγούς ἤρουντο κατὰ
φυλάς, ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἕνα, τῆς δὲ
ἀπάσης, στρατιᾶς ἡγεμῶν ἦν ὁ πολέ-
μαρχος. ὁ δέκατος, i. e. tenth in the
order of the tribes. In this year,
therefore, the Oeneid tribe, to which
Miltiades belonged, was tenth; cf.
infra III. 6.

4. κατέλαβε, impersonal, as *infra*.
l. 12.

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- 5' Ἀθηνέων Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἴπποκράτεος. καὶ αὐτῷ
 φεύγοντι Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελέσθαι τεθρίπῳ συνέβη, καὶ
 ταύτην μὲν τὴν νίκην ἀνελόμενόν^a μιν τούτῳ ἐξενείκα-
 σθαι τῷ ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδελφεῷ Μιλτιάδῃ. μετὰ δὲ τῇ
 ὑστέρῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι τῆσι αὐτῆσι ἵπποισι νικῶν παραδιδοί
 10 Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν νίκην παρῆς τού-
 τῳ κατῆλθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ ὑπόσπονδος. καὶ μιν ἀνε-
 λόμενον τῆσι αὐτῆσι ἵπποισι ἄλλην Ὀλυμπιάδα κατέ-
 λαβε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων, οὐκέτι
 περιέοντος αὐτοῦ Πεισιστράτου· κτείνουσι δὲ οὗτοί μιν
 15 κατὰ τὸ πρυτανήιον νυκτὸς ὑπέισαντες ἄνδρας. τέθαιπται
 δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος πέρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης
 καλεομένης ὁδοῦ· καταντίον δ' αὐτοῦ αἱ ἵπποι τεθάφεται
 αὐταὶ αἱ τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνελόμεναι. ἐποίησαν δὲ
 καὶ ἄλλαι ἵπποι ἤδη τούτῳ τοῦτο Εὐαγόρεω Λάκωνος,
 20 πλέω δὲ τουτέων οὐδαμαί. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῆσβύτερος

(Story of
Cimon.)^a ἀνελόμενον P (sv) : ἀνελόμενος R : ἀνελομένῳ A B C.

6. Ὀλυμπιάδα, for Ὀλύμπια (36. 2); νίκην can be supplied; cf. *supr.* 70. 15, *infra* 125 *ill.*

7. τούτῳ ἐξενείκασθαι, 'to win the same honours with.' Each of the half-brothers was *τεθριπποτρόφος*, cf. *supr.* 36.

10. ἀνακηρυχθῆναι, 'to be proclaimed as victor'; *supr.* 70. 16.

11. ὑπόσπονδος. Though allowed to return, he was regarded as an enemy; cf. Thuc. vi. 59 *ἐχώρει ὑπόσπονδος ἐς Σίγειον* (of Hippias). The past was not forgotten.

13. οὐκέτι περιέοντος, κ.τ.λ., i. e. after 527 B. C.

15. κατὰ τὸ πρυτανήιον. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte Ath.* p. 244, considers that the prytaneum was in the south of the city at this time; the new

prytaneum, which lay on the north of the acropolis, not being built till Macedonian times. *υπέισαντες ἄνδρας*, i. e. 'by hired assassins.' Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 387 *ὑφείς μάγον τοῖονδε μηχανορράφον*, Herod. v. 92 η. 21 *ὑποστήσας τοὺς δορυφόρους*.

16. πρὸ, 'just outside'; cf. ix. 52. 9; viii. 37. 4. 'The Hollow' was probably the depression between the Nymph's Hill and the hill of the Pnyx. On the one side of the road was the grave of Cimon, on the other side the horses were buried. The tombs were close to the Melitian gate of the city. Marcellinus, *viz. Thuc.* 17 *πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς Μελιτίσι πύλαις καλουμέναις ἐστὶν ἐν Κοίλῃ τὰ καλούμενα Κιμώνια μνήματα*.

ATHENS. B. C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

- τῶν παίδων τῷ Κίμωνι Στησαγόρης ἦν τηνικαῦτα παρὰ τῷ πάτρῳ Μιλτιάδῃ τρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ Χερσονήσῳ, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος παρ' αὐτῷ Κίμωνι ἐν Ἀθήνησι, οὖνομα ἔχων ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς Χερσονήσου Μιλτιάδεω
- 104 Μιλτιάδης. οὗτος δὴ ὦν τότε ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἤκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ ἐκπεφευγὼς διπλόον θάνατον ἐστρατήγειε Ἀθηναίων. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώξαντες μέχρι Ἰμβρου περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῦντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα· ἅμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα 5 τε τούτους καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ δοκέοντά τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίῃ ἤδη, τὸ ἐνθεῦτέν μιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑποδεξάμενοι ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἰρεθεὶς 10 ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.
- 105 Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἔοντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστει οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην^a Ἀθη-

^a φιλιππίδην R (sv), veterum testimonia, Wess.

21. τῷ Κίμωνι. The dative is possessive, a use which is generally confined to the pronouns; cf. *supr.*

41. 7 τὴν δὲ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατεῖλον.

25. Μιλτιάδης. For the nom. see Γύνδης v. 52. 29.

104. 2. Cf. *supr.* c. 41.

7. ὑποδεξάμενοι, 'taking him up,' = παραδεξάμενοι, but with the additional idea of secrecy.

8. ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος. The rule of Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, had been founded with the consent of Peisistratus, and Miltiades, the son of Cimon, had acted in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner on succeeding

his brother Stesagoras in the Chersonese. He was also sent out by the Peisistratidae. Hence the enemies of the tyrants at Athens might hope to excite the people against Miltiades, notwithstanding the fact that his family had left Athens owing to their hatred of Peisistratus, and that his father had been put to death by the Peisistratidae. Cf. App. 7. 2.

105. 2. Φειδιππίδην. This is the form of the name in the best MSS., but elsewhere we find Φιλιππίδην, a form which in this passage is supported by the second class of the MSS. of Herodotus; see critical note. With his performance we may compare

ATHENS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

ναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα, ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμην τε καὶ τοῦτο
 μελετῶντα· τῷ δὴ, ὡς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ
 5 Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε, περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος τὸ
 ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πᾶν περιπίπτει. βῶσαντα δὲ τὸ οὖνομα
 τοῦ Φειδιππίδew τὸν Πᾶνα Ἀθηναίοισι κελεύσαι ἀπαγ-
 γεῖλαι, δι' ὃ τι ἑωυτοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμελείην ποιεῖνται ἔον-
 τος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ πολλαχῆ γενομένου σφι ἤδη^a
 10 χρῆσιμον, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἔσομένου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν
 Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφι^b εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων,
 πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῆ ἀκροπόλι
 Πανὸς ἱρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίησι
 ἐπετείοισι καὶ λαμπάδι ἰλάσκονται. τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς 106
 ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ
 ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραίος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθη-
 ναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς
 5 ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε “ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμέων δέον-
 ται σφίσι βοηθῆσαι καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην
 ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι δουλοσύνην περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν

Pheidippi-
des sent to
Sparta.^a σφι ἤδη St.: σφίσι ἤδη ABC: ἤδη σφίσι PR (sv).^b σφι St.: σφίσι Libb.

that recorded of Euchidas, in Plut. *Aristid.* 20, who ran from Plataea to Delphi and back in a day.

5. περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος. There was a temple of Pan on the mountain (Paus. viii. 54. 6).

7. ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὃ τι, 'carry home the question, why.' Paus. i. 28. 4 φάναί τε ὡς εὐνοῦς Ἀθηναίοισι εἶη καὶ ὅτι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἤξει συμμαχίῃσιν.

12. ὑπὸ τῆ ἀκροπόλι. For a view of the grotto of Pan see Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, Bl. ix. 2. It lies on the north-west side of the Acropolis.

14. λαμπάδι, 'torch-race.'

106. 3. δευτεραίος. The distance is given by Isocrates, *Panathen.* 24, at 1200 stades = 150 miles; this is perhaps a little longer than the route taken by Pheidippides, which, however, can hardly have been less than 120-130 miles.

4. ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, i.e. the ephors; cf. ix. 7. 8 ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους.

6. ἀρχαιοτάτην. Cf. vii. 161. 19 ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι, μόνου δὲ ἔόντες οὐ μετανάστα Ἑλλήνων.

7. δουλοσύνην περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς,

ATHENS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἐρέτρια τε ἠνδραπόδισται καὶ πόλι λογίμω ἢ Ἑλλάς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρα.” ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε, τοῖσι δὲ ἕαδε μὲν ¹⁰ βοηθέειν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δέ σφι ἦν τὸ παραντικά ποίειν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον· ἦν γὰρ ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἔοντος τοῦ κύκλου.

107 Οὗτοι μὲν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον. τοῖσι δὲ βαρ-
 βάροισι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μα-
 ραθῶνα, τῆς παροικομένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ
 ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ
 συνευνηθῆναι. συνεβάλετο ὦν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου κατελθὼν ⁵
 ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευτή-
 σειν ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γηραιός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συν-
 εβάλετο ταῦτα, τότε δὲ κατηγεόμενος τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀν-
 δράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἐρετρίας ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν
 Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγλείην, τοῦτο δὲ καταγο- ¹⁰

The
 Persians
 land at
 Marathon.
 (Story of
 Hippias.)

‘brought into slavery by.’ This is the passive of περιβάλλειν with the dative, as in the common phrase περιβάλλειν συμφοραῖς.

13. ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, κ.τ.λ., ‘the ninth day in the rise of the month,’ the month being divided into three parts, the rise, the full (μεσοῦντος), the fall (φθίνοντος). Herodotus can hardly mean that the Spartans expected the full moon to fall on the ninth of the month, for that would imply a calendar in great disorder; his meaning apparently is that the Spartans could not go out on the ninth or on any day between the ninth and the full moon. It is commonly supposed that the month Carneius is meant, of which nine days (7-15) were occupied by

the Carneia, during which no Dorian could go out on a military expedition; but this is not stated by Herodotus, nor did Plutarch so understand his words. Cf. Plut. *De malig. Her.* 26 οὐ γὰρ μόνου ἄλλας μυρίας ἐξόδους καὶ μάχας πεποίηται μηνὸς ἱσταμένου, μὴ περιμείναντες τὴν πανσέληνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης τῆς μάχης ἕκτη Βοηδρομιῶνος ἱσταμένου γενομένης ὀλίγον ἀπελείφθησαν. Whether Plutarch is right in contradicting Herodotus about the date of the battle is doubtful; see Appendix 3 B.

14. μὴ οὐ. See *supr.* c. 9.

107. 3. τῆς παροικομένης νυκτός, i. e. in the night before landing at Marathon.

10. Styra lay on the S.W. of

ATHENS. B.C. 490; OI. 72. 3.

μένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὄρμιζε οὗτος, ἐκβάν-
 τας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα
 διέποντι ἐπήλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὡς ἐώ-
 θεε. οἶα δὲ οἱ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐόντι τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλεῦ-
 15 νες ἐσειόντο. τούτων ὧν ἓνα τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβάλλει
 ὑπὸ βίης βήξας· ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ
 ἐποιέετο πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἐξευρεῖν. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετό
 οἱ ὁ ὀδὼν, ἀναστενάξας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας
 “ἡ γῆ ἤδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστί, οὐδέ μιν δυνησόμεθα
 20 ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι· ὀκόσον δέ τι μοι μέρος μετῆν,
 ὁ ὀδὼν μετέχει.”

Ἰππίης μὲν δὴ ταύτη τὴν ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυ-
 θέναι. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοιισι ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος
 ἐπήλθον βοθηέοντες Πλαταιέες πανθημί· καὶ γὰρ καὶ
 ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλα-
 5 ταιέες, καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς

108

Plataea
and Athens.

Euboea, and, like Carystus, it was a
 Dryopian town.

11. οὗτος. Cf. v. 3. 7.

16. ὑπὸ βίης, with ἐκβάλλει.

108. 2. ἐν τεμένει, κ.τ.λ., i. e. at
 Marathon, but the precise position of
 the precincts seems to be unknown.
 It is, however, pretty certain that
 Marathon was the modern Vrana.
 The Greeks may have been en-
 camped in Avlona (see map), or in
 the valley of Vrana, or in both.
 The last is more probable, for they
 would wish to command the chief
 road to Athens, and yet they must
 protect themselves from attack
 through Avlona.

3. πανθημί. They were 1000
 strong according to Ephorus.

4. ἐδεδώκεσαν. According to
 Thuc. iii. 68, this took place ninety-

two years before the destruction of
 the city in 427 B.C., which brings
 us to 519 B.C. Grote doubted this
 date because no reason is known
 why the Spartan army should be in
 Boeotia in 519 B.C., whereas we
 know that it was in Attica under
 the command of Cleomenes in 508
 B.C., and moreover the incident in
 this text agrees better with the
 state of affairs after the expulsion of
 Hippias than during his reign. In
 this he has been generally followed,
 and the date brought down by ten
 years; yet it is dangerous to alter a
 distinct statement of such an author
 as Thucydides without better know-
 ledge of the circumstances.

5. πόνους . . . συχνοὺς, κ.τ.λ.
 Of these nothing is known.

ATHENS. B.C. 490; OL. 72. 3.

Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους εἰς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν. Κο-
 ρίνθιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Ἀθηναίοισι
 δὲ ἀπιούσι ἐπεθήκαντο Βοιωτοί, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσώθη-
 σαν τῇ μάχῃ. ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ Κο-
 30 ρίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὔρους, τούτους ὑπερ-
 βάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαντο οὔρον Θηβαίοισι
 πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιᾶς. ἔδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ
 Πλαταιέες σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημέ-
 νῳ, ἦγον δὲ τότε εἰς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες.

Τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ 109
 γνῶμαι, τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἑόντων συμβαλεῖν (ὀλίγους γὰρ
 εἶναι στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων [συμβάλλειν])^a, τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλ-
 τιάδεω κελευόντων. ὡς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐνίκα
 5 ἡ χείρων τῶν γνωμέων, ἐνθαῦτα, ἦν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος
 ψηφιδοφόρος ὁ τῷ κυάμφ λαχῶν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρ-
 χεῖν (τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέ-
 μαρχον ἐποιεῦντο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι), ἦν δὲ τότε πολέ-
 μαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος· πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθὼν
 10 Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε. “ ἐν σοὶ νῦν Καλλίμαχε ἐστὶ ἡ
 καταδουλώσαι Ἀθήνας ἢ ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα μνημό-

MARA-
 THON.
 The Athen-
 nians
 divided in
 opinion.

Miltiades
 and Calli-
 machus.

^a συμβάλλειν secl. St.

32. Ὑσιᾶς. See v. 74. 10 note. From this passage we gather that the territory of Hysiae was now extended to the Asopus; cf. also ix. 15, 25.

109. 6. ὁ τῷ κυάμφ λαχῶν, κ.τ.λ. In the *Athen. Pol.* we are told (c. 22. 5) εὐθὺς δὲ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Τελεσίῳ ἀρχοντος (487 B.C.) ἐκνάμευσαν τοὺς ἐννεα ἀρχοντας κατὰ φυλᾶς ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν πεντακοσίων τότε μετὰ τὴν τυραννίδα πρῶτον· οἱ δὲ πρότεροι πάντες ἦσαν αἰρετοί. The passage presents some

difficulty, on which see Kenyon's note, but it states clearly that the archons were elected (αἰρετοί) at the time of the battle of Marathon. Aristotle then and Herodotus are at variance. [In the time of Solon the archons were κληρωτοὶ ἐκ προκριτῶν, but the practice seems to have been changed in the time of the tyranny.] 7. τὸ παλαιόν. Afterwards of course the Polemarch had nothing to do with the management of the army.

MARATHON. B. C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

συνα^a λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον οἶα^b οὐδὲ
 Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων [λείπουσι]^c. νῦν γὰρ δὴ
 ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς κίνδυνον ἤκουσι μέγιστον,
 καὶ ἦν μὲν γε ὑποκύψωσι τοῖσι Μήδοισι, δέδοκται τὰ 15
 πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἰππῖῃ, ἣν δὲ περιγένηται αὕτη
 ἡ πόλις, οἷη τε ἐστὶ πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων
 γενέσθαι. κῶς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἶά τε ἐστὶ γενέσθαι, καὶ
 κῶς ἐς σέ τοι τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ
 κύρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσω. ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν 20
 ἐόντων δέκα δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν κελευ-
 όντων τῶν δὲ οὐ συμβάλλειν. ἦν μὲν νυν μὴ συμ-
 βάλωμεν, ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγάλην διασεισεῖν ἐμπε-
 σοῦσαν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα ὥστε μηδίσαι· ἦν δὲ
 συμβάλωμεν πρὶν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέ- 25
 ροισι ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων οἰοί τε εἰμὲν
 περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σέ νῦν
 τείνει καὶ ἐκ σέο ἤρτηται. ἦν γὰρ σὺ γνώμη τῇ ἐμῇ
 προσθῆ, ἔστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθήρη καὶ πόλις πρώτη
 τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἦν δὲ τῶν^d ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμ- 30
 βολὴν ἔλη, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ
 110 ἐναντία.” ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾶται τὸν
 Καλλιμάχον· προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου τῆς

^a μνημόσνον P R (sv).^b οἶα H. Stephanus: οἶον Libb.^c λείπουσι secl. St.^d τὴν τῶν Reiske: τῶν Libb.: τὴν δὲ τῶν, et infr. ἦν ἔλη Valck.

12. ἐς τὸν . . . βίον, i. e. ‘so long as mankind exists.’ Cf. v. 9. 15, Soph. *Phil.* 306 ἐν τῷ μακρῷ . . . ἀνθρώπων χρόνῳ.

13. Like Callimachus, Harmodius and Aristogeiton were members of the deme of Aphidna, which lay in the neighbourhood of Declea.

23. διασεισεῖν, ‘will shatter,’

‘break into two parties.’

26. ἐγγενέσθαι, ‘arise,’ ‘get on foot among’; cf. v. 3. 5.

29. προσθῆ. Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1332 οἷς ἂν σὺ προσθῆ, τοῖσδ’ ἔφασκ’ εἶναι κράτος.

31. ἔλη, sc. τὴν γνώμην, but see critical note.

MARATHON. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

γνώμης ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ Miltiades
 τῶν ἢ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν
 5 ἐγένετο πρυτανήϊ τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδῃ παρεδίδουσαν·
 ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὔτι κω συμβολῆν ἐποιέετο, πρὶν γε δὴ
 αὐτοῦ πρυτανήϊ ἐγένετο. ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκείνον περιῆλθε, 111
 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμβαλέον-
 τες. τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλι-
 μαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε οὔτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν
 5 πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν· ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου
 ἐξεδέκοντο ὡς ἀριθμέοντο αἱ φυλαὶ ἐχόμεναι ἀλληλέων,
 τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας
 Πλαταιέες. ἀπὸ ταύτης [γάρ]^a σφι τῆς μάχης, Ἀθηναίων
 θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριαις τὰς ἐν τῆσι πεν-

^a γάρ secl. St.

110. 3. ἐκεκύρωτο. The pluperfect means 'it was finally determined.' Cf. *inf.* 130 *ult.*; so ἐδέδοκτο v. 96. 12, περιβεβέλιατο *supr.* 24 *ult.*

5. It is not clear what was done by the generals who voted against the attack. From the context we should gather that they, as well as the others, gave up their turn of command to Miltiades. As Miltiades is called the tenth general (*supr.* 103. 3) he apparently waited till the tenth day to attack, and as the discussion began after the generals reached Marathon, the Greek army was apparently idle there for ten days at least (App. 3. 11 a).

111. 5. πολέμαρχον. Cf. *Athen. Pol.* 3. 2 δευτέρα δ' ἐπικατέστη [πολε-] μαρχία διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τινὰς τῶν βασιλέων τὰ πολέμα μαλακούς, [πρωτον] δὲ τὸν Ἴωνα μετεπέμφαντο

χρείαις καταλαβούσης. In ancient times the king commanded the right wing.

6. ὡς ἀριθμέοντο. There were two arrangements of the tribes at Athens; (1) the fixed arrangement, in which they stood in the following order: Erechtheid, Aegeid, Pandionid, Leontid, Acamantid, Oeneid, Cecropid, Hippothontid, Aeantid, Antiochid; (2) the order in which they were allotted for the year. As we are told (Plut. *Quaest. Con.* i. 10. 3, *Aristid.* 5) that the Aeantid occupied the right, while the Leontid and Antiochid stood together in the centre; and as the tribe of Miltiades, which was the Oeneid, was the tenth in order, the first arrangement cannot be meant here (see *inf.* p. 313).

9. The Great Panathenaea are probably meant, though we have

MARATHON. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

τετηρίσι γινομένης, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος 10
 ἄμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλα-
 ταιεῦσι. τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ
 Μαραθῶνι ἐγένετο τοῖονδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξιού-
 μενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον
 ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τάξις ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτη ἦν ἀσθενέστατον 15
 τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθει.

112

The
 BATTLE OF
 MARA-
 THON.

ὡς δὲ σφι διετέτακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγένετο καλά, ἐν-
 θαῦτα ὡς ἀπείθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δρόμῳ ἴεντο ἐς τοὺς
 βαρβάρους. ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταί-
 χμιον αὐτῶν ἢ ὀκτώ. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέοντες δρόμῳ
 ἐπιόντας παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι, μανίην τε τοῖσι 5
 Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὀρέοντες αὐ-

already had a five-yearly festival mentioned as taking place at Sunium (*supr.* 87. 7).

11. τὰ ἀγαθὰ. The article is idiomatic in this context; it defines either the blessings which the gods will bestow, or those which the suppliant desires.

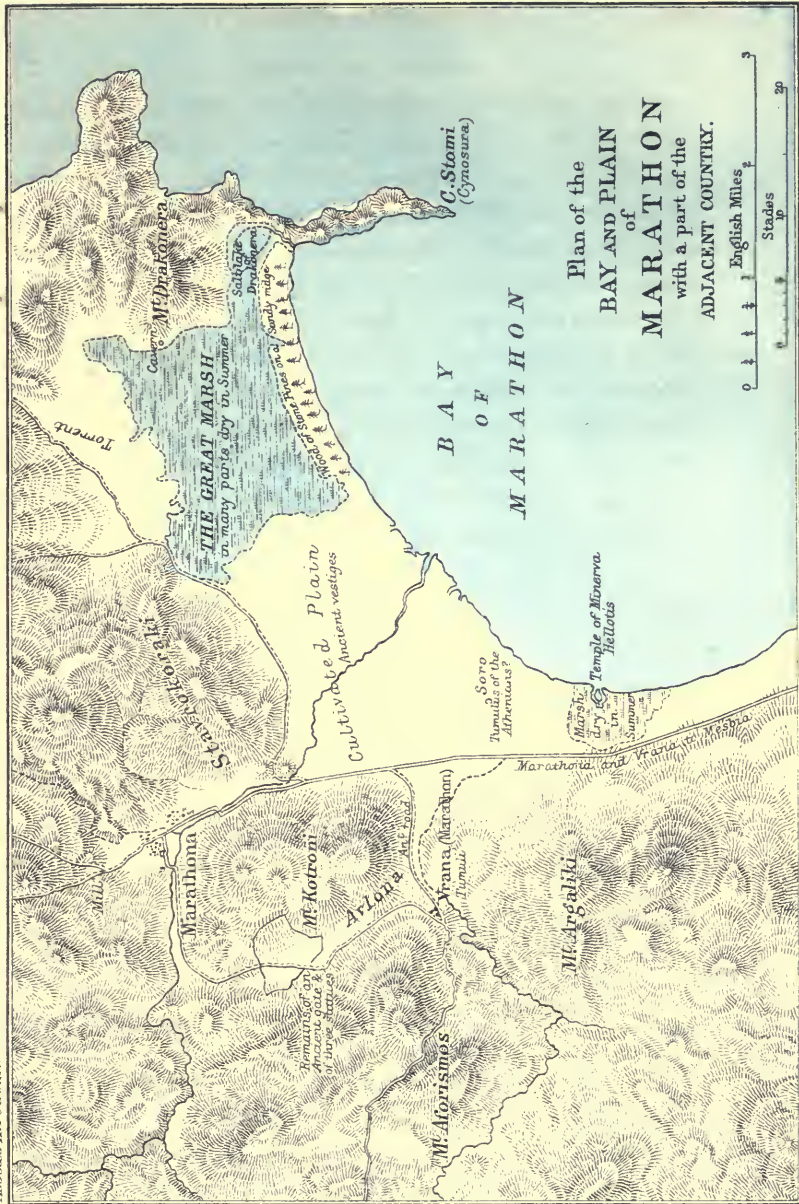
12. τασσομένων, κ.τ.λ. Herodotus seems to regard as the result of an accident, what was really due to the arrangement of the commanders, who, fearing to be out-flanked, drew out as wide a line as possible, and made the wings stronger than the centre. Such a disposition of the forces could only have been accidental if the numbers in the tribes in the centre had been less than those in the tribes in the wings. It is also possible that as they marched down the valley of Vrana, the wings held to the slopes of the hills, while the centre extended so as to cover the ground between them. But even

this would have been done under orders.

13. τὸ στρατόπεδον. There is no verb, the nominative being divided into τὸ μὲν μέσον and τὸ δὲ κέρας.

15. ἐπὶ τάξις ὀλίγας. The genitive is the rule in Attic, yet we find the accusative in Thucydides (iv. 93) and Xenophon (*Anab.* iv. 8. 11). Cf. *supr.* 12. 3.

112. 2. ἀπείθησαν, 'were let go.' δρόμῳ ἴεντο. Much is made of this statement, some tacticians declaring that it is an absolute impossibility for an army to run a mile and then deliver an effective attack. See especially Delbrück, *Die Perserkriege*, 1887. But (1) we do not know exactly what is meant by δρόμῳ; (2) Greek soldiers though wearing heavy armour were lightly clad; (3) they were more accustomed to gymnastic exercises than modern soldiers.



After Leake's *Demæ* of Attica.

Scarbro's Geogr. Escriba.



MARATHON. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

τοὺς ὀλίγους^a καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους, οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφι οὔτε τοξευμάτων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατείκαζον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπέιτε ἀθρόοι 10 προσέμιξαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας^b ταύτην ἡσθημένους· τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι καὶ τὸ οὔνομα τὸ Μήδων φόβος ἀκούσαι. μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαρα- 113 θῶνι χρόνος ἐγένετο πολλός. καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσαι τε αὐτοὶ καὶ Σάκαι ἐτετάχατο. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ 5 βάρβαροι καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ δὲ κέρασ ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Πλαταιέες· νικῶντες δὲ τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων, τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρα ἀμφότερα^c ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. φεύ-

^a ἑόντας ὀλίγους R (sv), Cob.^b ἀνδρας τοὺς Krüg.^c om. P R (s).

8. τοξευμάτων = τοξοτῶν. By 479 B. C. this defect was remedied; see ix. 22. Plutarch also informs us that archers were on board the Athenian ships at Salamis; cf. *supr.* 15. 5.

12. ἐσθῆτα, κ.τ.λ. The Persians had borrowed the Median dress; cf. *supr.* v. 104. 12 and Plut. *De Alex. M. Fortuna*, i. 8 οὐ τὴν ἐσθῆτα προσήκατο τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Περσικὴν πολλῶ τῆς Μηδικῆς εὐτελεστέραν οὖσαν. There is of course some exaggeration in the statement of Herodotus, for the Asiatic Greeks, and even the Greek colonists in Thrace, must have been familiar

with the Persians and their dress. But this was the first appearance of the dreaded enemy on the shores of Greece. The impression made by the invaders is seen in many passages of Greek literature, e.g. Xenophanes, *Frag.* 9 P πηλίκος ἦσθ' ὅθ' ὁ Μῆδος ἀφίκετο; Theognis, 764, 775.

113. 4. Σάκαι. The Sacae were neighbours of the Bactrians, but of Scythian race; cf. vii. 64, where also their armour is described.

8. συναγαγόντες, κ.τ.λ. The precise movement is not clear. Herodotus appears to mean that the two wings faced about and took the Persians in flank.

ATHENS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

- γουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι εἶποντο κόπτοντες, ἐς δ' ἐς τὴν 10
θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἴτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο
114 τῶν νεῶν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέ-
μαρχος Καλλίμαχος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγα-
θός, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλειος ὁ Θρα-
σύλειος· τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέγειρος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἐνθαῦτα
ἐπιλαμβάνόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων νεός, τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς 5
πελέκεϊ πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίων πολλοὶ τε
115 καὶ ὀνομαστοί. ἑπτὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν
τρόπῳ τοιῶδε^a Ἀθηναῖοι· τῆσι δὲ λοιπῆσι οἱ βάρβα-
ροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐν
τῇ ἔλιπον τὰ ἐξ Ἐρετρίας ἀνδράποδα, περιέπλεον Σού-
νιον, βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπικόμενοι ἐς 5
τὸ ἄστυ. αἰτίην^b δὲ ἔσχε ἐν^c Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμεωνι-
δέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τούτους γὰρ
συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα ἐοῦσι ἤδη
116 ἐν τῆσι νηυσί. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλεον Σούνιον· Ἀθη-
ναῖοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθειον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ,
καὶ ἔφθησάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβάρους

A shield
displayed.The
Athenians
return to
Athens.^a τοιούτῳ ABC.^b αἰτίη B² R (sv).^c ἐν om. P R (sv).

10. The incidents of the battle were depicted in detail in the Stoa Poecile at Athens; see Append. 3. 12 b.

114. 4. Cynegirus was the brother of Aeschylus, the tragedian, who, according to tradition, himself fought in the battle of Marathon and caused the fact to be recorded on his tomb as the great distinction of his life. Another brother, Ameinias, distinguished himself at Salamis.

115. 3. ἐξανακρουσάμενοι = 'pushing off from shore to the open sea.'

6. αἰτίην ἔσχε, impersonal, 'the charge was made.'

116. 3. καὶ ἔφθησαν, κ.τ.λ. The distance from Marathon to Athens by road is about twenty-two miles; the distance by sea round Cape Sunium is from sixty to seventy miles. The voyage, according to the calculation given in iv. 86, would occupy a whole day and the march by land not much less. Later writers (Plutarch) assert that the Greeks reached home on the evening of the day of the battle, just in time to anticipate the arrival of the fleet.

DELOS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

ἤκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἐξ Ἑρακλείου
 5 τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἑρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάρ-
 γει. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῆσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φα-
 λήρου, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὲρ
 τούτου ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς
 τὴν Ἀσίην.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν 117
 βαρβάρων κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας,
 Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐνεήκοντα καὶ δύο. ἔπεσον μὲν
 ἀμφοτέρων τοσοῦτοι. συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτόθι θῶμα γε-
 5 νέσθαι τοιόνδε, Ἀθηναῖον ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κου-
 φαγόρεω ἐν τῇ συστάσει μαχόμενόν τε καὶ ἄνδρα γινό-
 μενον ἀγαθὸν τῶν ὀμμάτων στερηθῆναι οὔτε πληγέντα
 οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε βληθέντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς
 ζῆσης διατελέειν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔοντα τυφλόν.
 10 λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ πάθεος ἤκουσα τοιόνδε τινα
 λόγον, ἄνδρα οἱ δοκέειν ὀπλίτην ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν, τοῦ
 τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν· τὸ δὲ φάσμα
 τοῦτο ἑωυτὸν μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ παρα-
 στάτην ἀποκτείνει. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην
 15 λέγειν.

Δᾶτις δὲ πορευόμενος ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην 118
 ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἐν Μυκόνῳ, εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ. καὶ
 ἦτις μὲν ἦν ἡ ὄψις, οὐ λέγεται· ὁ δὲ, ὡς ἡμέρη τά-
 χιστα ἐπέλαμψε, ζήτησιν ἐποιέετο τῶν νεῶν, εὐρῶν δὲ

Story of Epizelus.

Datis: his dream at Myconus.

Herodotus does not state this precisely, if he means it. The army might have reached Athens in the night, the fleet appearing off the coast in the morning.

the grave of the Athenians who fell in the battle; see *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xii. 390.

7. πληγέντα . . . βληθέντα, 'injured by stroke or cast.'

117. 3. Recent excavations have at last proved that the so-called Soros, in the Plain of Marathon, is

118. 2. Myconus lay a little to the N.E. of Paros.

CISSIA. B.C. 490; OI. 72. 3.

ἐν νηὶ Φοινίσσῃ ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχρυσωμένον ἐπυν-
 θάνετο ὀκόθεν σεσυλημένον εἶη, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐξ οὗ^a
 ἦν ἱροῦ, ἔπλεε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ νηὶ ἐς Δῆλον· καὶ ἀπίκατο
 γὰρ τηνικαῦτα οἱ Δῆλιοι ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν νῆσον, κατατί-
 θεταί τε ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐντέλλεται τοῖσι
 Δηλίοισι ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς Δῆλιον τὸ Θηβαίων·¹⁰
 τὸ δ' ἔστι ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Χαλκίδος καταντίον. Δᾶτις
 μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἀπέπλεε, τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα
 τοῦτον Δῆλιοι οὐκ ἀπήγαγον, ἀλλὰ μιν δι' ἑτέων
 εἴκοσι Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ
 119 Δῆλιον. τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀνδραποδισμένους Δᾶ-
 τίς τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης, ὡς προσέσχον πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην
 πλείοντες, ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ Δαρεῖος,
 πρὶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἐρετριέας, ἐνεῖχε
 σφι δεινὸν χόλον, οἷα ἀρξάντων ἀδικίης προτέρων τῶν⁵
 Ἐρετριέων· ἐπεῖτε δὲ εἶδέ σφεας ἀπαχθέντας παρ' ἑω-
 τὸν καὶ ἑωυτῷ ὑποχειρίους ἔοντας, ἐποίησε κακὸν ἄλλο
 οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σφεας τῆς Κισσίης χώρας κατοίκησε ἐν
 σταθμῷ ἑωυτοῦ τῷ οὐνομᾶ ἔστι Ἀρδέρικκα, ἀπὸ μὲν
 Σούσων δέκα καὶ διηκοσίου σταδίου ἀπέχοντι, τεσσε-¹⁰
 ράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ παρέχεται τριφασίας
 ιδέας· καὶ γὰρ ἄσφαλτον καὶ ἄλας καὶ ἔλαιον ἀρύσσον-

The
 captive
 Eretrians.

^a ἐκ τοῦ Struve, Van H.

10. For the temple of Delium see Thucydides, iv. 76.

13. δι' ἑτέων εἴκοσι, 'twenty years afterwards.'

119. 6. ἀπαχθέντας. Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1029 τί μ' ἀπάγεσθε;

8. τῆς Κισσίης χώρας. Cf. v. 52. 31; 49. 37.

9. σταθμῷ = 'station,' in the sense in which we use the word in speak-

ing of a colony; 'settlement.' Ἀρδέρικκα. We must distinguish this place from the Ardericca on the Euphrates which is mentioned in i. 185. 13.

12. ιδέας. Cf. *supr.* 100. 8. ἀρύσσονται. The word is doubtful; see critical note. Stein would support it by such forms as ἀφύσσω, πινύσσω, etc.

ATHENS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

ται^a ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. ἀντλέεται μὲν κηλωνήῳ, ἀντὶ δὲ γαυλοῦ ἤμισυ ἀσκού οἱ προσδέδεται· ὑποτύψας
 15 δὲ τούτῳ ἀντλέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐγχείει ἐς δεξαμενήν· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς ἄλλο^b διαχεόμενον τράπεται τριφασίας ὁδούς. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄσφαλτος καὶ οἱ ἄλλες πηγννται παραντικά· τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι τοῦτο ραδινάκην· ἔστι δὲ μέλαν καὶ ὀσμὴν παρεχόμενον βαρέαν. ἐνθαῦτα τοὺς
 20 Ἐρετριέας κατοίκισε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, οἷ καὶ μέχρι ἐμέο εἶχον τὴν χώραν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἐρετριέας ἔσχε οὕτω.

Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἦκον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχίλιοι 120
 μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλα-
 βεῖν, οὕτω ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ
 Ἀττικῇ. ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς ἰμείροντο
 5 ὅμως θεήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μα-
 ραθῶνα ἐθεήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ
 τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.

Θῶμα δέ μοι καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, Ἀλ- 121
 κμεωνίδας ἄν κοτε ἀναδέξαι Πέρσησι ἐκ συνθήματος

^a ἀφύσσονται L. Dind.: ἀρύνονται Matthiae: ὀρύσσονται Cob.

^b ἄλλοσε ἄλλο Dobr.: ἄλλο ἐς ἄλλο Van H.

14. ὑποτύψας. Cf. ii. 136. 23
 κοντῶ ὑποτύπτοντες ἐς λίμνην, iii.
 130. 18 ὑποτύψασα ἐκάστη φιάλη.

15. ἀντλέει. 'The collective singular is especially common in descriptions of customs, officers, sacrifices, arts; so i. 195. 4, 197. 2 f., 216. 7, ii. 38. 3, 47. 19, 65. 19, 70. 3, etc.' Stein.

16. The second receiver had three outlets by which the different elements in the oil were separated.

120. 2. καταλαβεῖν, lit. 'to over-

take,' i. e. to arrive before the battle was fought.

4. ὕστεροι. According to Plato, *Menex.* 240, *Laus* 698, they arrived on the day after the battle, in which case the battle must have taken place on the second or third day after the full moon; see *supr.* c. 106.

121. 1. Ἀλκμεωνίδας. Cf. *supr.* 115. The same story is alluded to by Pindar, *Pyth.* vii. 18 (489 B.C.).

2. ἄν ἀναδέξαι = ὡς ἀναδέξειαν ἄν. Cf. *infra.* 124. 5.

The Spartans arrive too late.

ATHENS. B. C. 490; OI. 72. 3.

The Alc-
maeonidae
and the
signal
shield.

ἀσπίδα, βουλομένους ὑπὸ βαρβάροισί τε εἶναι Ἀθηναί-
ους καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰππῆ· οἵτινες μᾶλλον ἢ ὁμοίως Καλλίη
τῷ Φαινίππου, Ἰππονίκου δὲ πατρί, φαίνονται μισοτύ-
5 ραννοι ἔοντες. Καλλίης τε γὰρ μῦθος Ἀθηναίων ἀπάν-
των ἐτόλμα, ὅπως Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθη-
νέων, τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ κηρυσσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημο-
σίου ὠνέεσθαι, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἔχθιστα ἐς αὐτὸν πάντα

- 122 ἐμηχανᾶτο· [Καλλίω δὲ τούτου ἄξιον πολλαχοῦ μνήμην
(Callias.) ἐστὶ πάντα τινὰ ἔχειν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὰ προλελεγμένα,
ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄκρος ἐλευθερῶν τὴν πατρίδα· τοῦτο δὲ τὰ ἐν
᾽Ολυμπίῃ ἐποίησε· ἵππῳ νικήσας, τεθρίππῳ δὲ δεύτερος
γενόμενος, Πύθια δὲ πρότερον ἀνελόμενος, ἐφανερῶθη 5
ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας πάντας δαπάνησι μεγίστησι. τοῦτο δὲ
κατὰ τὰς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρας εὔσας τρεῖς οἶός τις ἀνὴρ
ἐγένετο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγίνοντο γάμου ὥραϊαι, ἔδωκέ σφι
δωρεὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην ἐκείνησί τε ἔχαρισατο· ἐκ γὰρ
πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐκάστη ἐθέλοι ἄνδρα ἐωυτῆ 10
123 ἐκλέξασθαι, ἔδωκε τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ.]^a καὶ οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι

^a Καλλίω . . . ἀνδρὶ om. A B C.

8. ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου, i. e. by the public slave (auctioneer).

122. The genuineness of this chapter has been called in question and not without reason. As a whole it is unlike the style of Herodotus, and it contains expressions which he does not use elsewhere.

1. πολλαχοῦ = 'on many occasions,' but the word is unnecessary, with πάντα τινά following, and Herodotus uses the form πολλαχῆ.

2. τὰ προλελεγμένα, κ.τ.λ. The grammatical construction of these words is vague, and προλελεγ. means 'said before the event,' not 'already

said'; which is the sense here required.

3. ἐλευθερῶν. This is more than Herodotus has said.

5. Πύθια, κ.τ.λ. These words are added in a loose illogical way, as though they were a part of what Callias had done at Olympia! ἐφανερῶθη can only mean φανερός ἐγένετο, but λαμπρός and not φανερός is the word required.

9. δωρεὴν is either used metaphorically or in the sense of 'dowry'; in either case incorrectly, and not less incorrect is the use of the pronoun ἐκείνησι.

ATHENS. B. C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

ὁμοίως ἢ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν τούτου ἦσαν μισοτύραννοι. θῶμα
 ὦν μοι καὶ οὐ προσίεμαι τὴν διαβολὴν τούτους γε ἀνα-
 δέξαι ἀσπίδα, οἵτινες ἔφευγόν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς
 5 τυράννους, ἐκ μηχανῆς τε τῆς τούτων ἐξέλιπον Πεισι-
 στρατίδαι τὴν τυραννίδα. καὶ οὕτω τὰς Ἀθήνας οὗτοι
 ἦσαν οἱ ἐλευθερώσαντες πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ περ' Ἀρμόδιός
 τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξη-
 γρίωσαν τοὺς ὑπολοίπους Πεισιστρατιδέων Ἰππαρχον
 10 ἀποκτείναντες, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἔπαυσαν [τοὺς λοιπούς]^a
 τυραννεύοντας· Ἀλκμεωνίδαι δὲ ἐμφανέως ἠλευθέρωσαν,
 εἰ δὴ οὗτοί γε ἀληθῶς ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπέισαντες
 προσημαίνειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας
 ὡς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμε- 124
 φόμενοι Ἀθηναίων τῶ δῆμῳ προεδίδουσαν τὴν πατρίδα.
 οὐ μὲν ὦν ἦσάν σφεων ἄλλοι δοκιμώτεροι ἔν γε Ἀθη-
 ναίοισι ἄνδρες, οὐδ' οἱ μᾶλλον ἔτετιμέατο. οὕτω οὐδὲ
 5 λόγος αἰρέει ἀναδεχθῆναι ἕκ γε ἂν^b τούτων ἀσπίδα ἐπι-
 τοιούτῳ λόγῳ. ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσπίς, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ
 ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν· ἐγένετο γάρ· ὃς μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέ-
 ξας, οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρω εἰπεῖν τούτων.

^a τοὺς λοιπούς del. Wess. : τοῦ λοιποῦ Reiske.^b ἂν om. A B.

123. 4. ἔφευγον. See v. 62. 7. The Alcmaeonidae were in banishment during the whole time from the third tyranny of Peisistratus till the expulsion of his sons.

7. Cf. v. 55. 5.

13. προσημαίνειν. Cf. v. 63. 4.

124. 2. According to Aelian, *V.H.* xiii. 24, Cleisthenes was ostracised, and to Aristotle, *Athen. Pol.* 22, Megacles, the son of Hippocrates, was ostracised in 487 B. C. These instances indicate an alienation of

the Athenian people from the Alcmaeonidae, but on the other hand Xanthippus, who was connected with the family by his marriage with Agariste, was the leader of the popular party at Athens in 489 B. C., and as such secured the condemnation of Miltiades. Yet he also was ostracised in 483 B. C.

4. οὐδὲ λόγος αἰρέει. 'It is not even reasonable.'

7. ὅς = ὅστις, as often, cf. v. 74. 5, vi. 37. 10.

SARDIS.

125 *Οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῆσι Ἀθήνησι, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος καὶ αὐ-*
τις Μεγακλέος ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροί. τοῦτο μὲν
γὰρ Ἀλκμέων ὁ Μεγακλέος τοῖσι ἐκ Σαρδίων Λυδοῖσι
παρὰ Κροίσου ἀπικνεομένοισι ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν 5
Δελφοῖσι συμπρήκτωρ τε ἐγένετο καὶ συνελάμβανε προ-
θύμως, καὶ μιν Κροῖσος πυθόμενος τῶν Λυδῶν τῶν
ἐς τὰ χρηστήρια φοιτεόντων ἑωυτὸν εὖ ποιίειν μετα-
πέμπεται ἐς Σάρδις, ἀπικόμενον δὲ δωρέεται χρυσῶ
τὸν ἂν δύνηται τῷ ἑωυτοῦ σώματι ἐξενείκασθαι ἐσά- 10
παξ. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμέων πρὸς τὴν δωρεὴν εὐοῦσαν τοιαύ-
την τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας προσέφερε. ἐνόδς κιθῶνα μέ-
γαν καὶ κόλπον βαθὺν καταλιπόμενος τοῦ κιθῶνος, κο-
θόρνους τε^a τοὺς εὔρισκε εὔρυτάτους ἔοντας ὑποδησάμενος,
ἦι ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τὸν οἱ κατηγέοντο. ἐσπεσῶν 15
δὲ ἐς σωρὸν ψήγματος πρῶτον μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς
κνήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅσον ἐχώρειν οἱ κόθορνοι, μετὰ δὲ
τὸν κόλπον πάντα πλησάμενος [τοῦ χρυσοῦ]^b καὶ ἐς τὰς
τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπάσας τοῦ ψήγματος, καὶ ἄλλο
λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα, ἐξήιε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔλκων μὲν 20
μόγισ τοὺς^c κοθόρνους, παντὶ δέ τεφ οἰκῶς μᾶλλον ἢ

^a τε reddidit St.^b τοῦ χρυσοῦ secl. St.^c μόγισ τοῦς P R (sv) : μεγίστους eett.

125. 2. λαμπροί, κ.τ.λ. Cf. v. 62.
 15. Megacles, the father of Alemaeon, was archon at the time of the suppression of the Cylonian conspiracy; see v. 71. 7.

5. ἐν Δελφοῖσι. The Alemaeonidae may have retired to Delphi when banished from Athens in 537 B. C., but by this time Croesus had long ceased to be king of Lydia, and moreover Megacles, the son of Alemaeon, was now leader of the

family and Alemaeon was probably dead. If we suppose that Herodotus is referring to an earlier period, when Alemaeon was leader of the Athenians in the 'Saered War,' we shall have to substitute Alyattes for Croesus. Cf. Bk. v. Appendix 11 (p. 162).

10. τῷ ἑωυτοῦ σώματι, a dative of instrument.

12. προσέφερε, 'applied,' 'brought to bear on.'

SICYON.

ἀνθρώπων· τοῦ τό τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγ-
 κωτο. ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον γέλως ἐσηλθε, καὶ οἱ
 πάντα τε ἐκεῖνα διδοῖ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερα δωρέεται
 25 οὐκ ἐλάσσω^a ἐκείνων. οὕτω μὲν ἐπλούτησε ἡ οἰκίη αὐτῆ
 μεγάλης, καὶ ὁ Ἀλκμέων οὗτος οὕτω τεθριπποτροφήσας
 Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναιρέεται. μετὰ δὲ γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστε- 126
 ρον Κλεισθένης αὐτὴν ὁ Σικυῶνιος τύραννος ἐξήειρε, ὥστε
 πολλῶ ὀνομαστοτέρην γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἢ πρό-
 τερον ἦν. Κλεισθέней γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστωνύμου τοῦ Μύρω-
 5 νος τοῦ Ἀνδρέω γίνεται θυγάτηρ τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀγα-
 ρίστη. ταύτην ἠθέλησε, Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων ἐξευρὼν τὸν
 ἄριστον, τούτῳ γυναῖκα προσθεῖναι. Ὀλυμπίων ὧν ἐόν-
 των καὶ νικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τεθρίππῳ ὁ Κλεισθένης κή-
 ρυγμα ἐποίησατο, ὅστις Ἑλλήνων ἐωτὸν ἀξιῶ Κλει-
 10 σθένεος γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι, ἦκειν ἐς ἐξηκοστὴν ἡμέρην
 ἢ καὶ πρότερον ἐς Σικυῶνα ὡς κυρώσοντος Κλεισθένεος
 τὸν γάμον ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς ἀρξαμένου
 ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι σφίσι τε αὐτοῖσι ἦσαν

The
wedding of
Agariste.

^a ἕτερα et ἐλάσσω ABC: ἐτέροισί μιν et ἐλάσσοσι cett.

26. τεθριπποτροφήσας, κ.τ.λ. According to Isocrates, *περὶ ζεύγ.* 25, Alcmaeon was the first of the Athenians to win a victory with four horses at Olympia; cf. Pindar, *Pylh.* vii. 14.

126. 1. γενεῇ δευτέρῃ. Here again the chronology is wrong, for Megacles cannot have married Agariste much (if any) later than 570 B. C., ten years before the accession of Croesus, who is supposed to have enriched Alcmaeon.

5. τοῦ Ἀνδρέω. This seems to be the same person as the Orthagoras

of Aristotle and other authorities; cf. Appendix 5.

7. προσθεῖναι, 'to assign to,' so *τιμὴν προστιθέναι τινί*. This story of the wedding of Agariste is in many points unhistorical, but there is of course no reason to doubt that the tyranny at Sicyon ended with Cleisthenes, whose daughter if unable to inherit his throne could inherit his wealth. There may have been some poetical version in existence of the marriage of the great heiress. The date may be 572 B. C.

SICYON.

καὶ πάτρῃ ἐξωγκωμένοι, ἐφοίτεον μνηστῆρες· τοῖσι Κλει-
σθένης καὶ δρόμον καὶ παλαιστρην ποιησάμενος ἐπ' αὐ-¹⁵

127 τῶ τούτῳ εἶχε. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλῆς ἦλθε Σμυνδουρίδης
ὁ Ἴπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης, ὃς ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ χλιδῆς
The suitors of Agariste. εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀπίκετο (ἢ δὲ Σύβαρις ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρό-
νον μάλιστα), καὶ Σιρίτης Δάμασος Ἀμύριος τοῦ σο-
φοῦ λεγομένου παῖς. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰταλῆς ἦλθον, ἐκ 5
δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἴονίου Ἀμφίμνηστος Ἐπιστρόφου
Ἐπιδάμνιος· οὗτος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἴονίου κόλπου. Αἰτωλὸς
δὲ ἦλθε Τιτόρμου τοῦ ὑπερφύντος τε Ἑλλήνας ἰσχύι
καὶ φυγόντος ἀνθρώπου ἐς τὰς ἔσχατιὰς τῆς Αἰτωλί-
δος χώρας, τούτου τοῦ Τιτόρμου ἀδελφεὸς Μάλης. ἀπὸ ¹⁰
δὲ Πελοποννήσου Φεΐδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου παῖς ^a

^a παῖς om. R (sv), Van H.

14. πάτρῃ, 'country'; cf. *infra*.
128. 3.

15. ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ. 'For this
very purpose,' i. e. the entertainment
of his guests.

127. On this chapter see Zühlke,
De Agaristes nuptiis, Zusterburgi,
1880.

1. Ἰταλῆς. Italy is the south-
western part of the peninsula, south
of a line drawn from Tarentum to
the west; cf. iii. 136 where Ta-
rentum is said to be in Italy, and
i. 167. 15 where Elea is in Oenotria.
For Smindyrides see Athenaeus, who
tells us, p. 273, that he had not seen
the sun rise or set for twenty years,
and p. 541, that 1000 cooks attended
him to Sicyon. In Diodorus, viii.
19, he is said to have surpassed in
splendour, not only all his rivals, but
even Cleisthenes himself.

3. εἰς ἀνὴρ. These words merely
intensify the superlative; cf. Aesch.

Pers. 327 εἰς ἀνὴρ πλείστον πόνον
παρασχών.

4. Σιρίτης. For Siris see *Hist.*
of Greece, ii. 501.

6. Thucydides, i. 24, also places
Epidamnus in the Ionian Gulf, by
which he, like Herodotus, seems to
mean the Adriatic; cf. Smith, *Dict.*
Geog. Ionium Mare. Epidamnus was
founded by the Coreyraeans in 627 B.C.

8. Τιτόρμου. In Aelian, *V. H.*
12. 22, Titormus is associated with
Milo, the athlete of Croton, whom
he is said to have surpassed in
strength. As Milo lived about 520
B. C., Titormus and his brother Males
must have belonged to a generation
later than that of the daughter of
Cleisthenes.

11. For Pheidon see Appendix 6.
A Lacedes is mentioned by Pausa-
nias, ii. 19. 2, among the kings of
Argos, as the twelfth in descent from
Temenus (i. e. circa 703 B. C.).

SICYON.

Δεωκήδης, Φεΐδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελο-
 ποννησίοισι καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἀπάν-
 των, ὃς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἑλείων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς
 15 τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τούτου τε δὴ παῖς καὶ
 Ἀμιάντος Λυκούργου Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ Ἀζήν
 ἐκ Παιίου πόλιος Λαφάνης Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ δεξαμένου
 τε, ὡς λόγος ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ λέγεται, τοὺς Διοσκούρους
 οἰκίοισι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ξεινοδοκέοντος πάντας ἀνθρώ-
 20 πους, καὶ Ἑλεῖος Ὀνόμαστος Ἀγαίου. οὔτοι μὲν δὴ
 ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦλθον, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηνέων ἀπί-
 κοντο Μεγακλῆς τε ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος τούτου τοῦ παρὰ
 Κροῖσον ἀπικομένου, καὶ ἄλλος Ἴπποκλείδης Τισάνδρου,
 πλούτῳ καὶ εἶδει προφέρων Ἀθηναίων. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρε-
 25 τρίας ἀνθέυσης τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λυσανίης· οὗτος δὲ
 ἀπ' Εὐβοίης μόνος. ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἦλθε τῶν Σκο-
 παδέων Διακτορίδης Κρανώνιος, ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἄλ-
 κων. τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἐγένοντο οἱ μνηστῆρες. ἀπικομένων 128
 δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέρην, ὁ Κλεισθένης
 πρῶτα μὲν τὰς πάτρας τε αὐτῶν ἀνεπύθετο καὶ γένος
 ἐκάστου, μετὰ δὲ κατέχων ἐνιαυτὸν διεπειράτο αὐτῶν
 5 τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίης καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ παιδείσιός τε
 καὶ τρόπου, καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ἰὼν ἐς συνουσίην καὶ συν-
 ἅπασι· καὶ ἐς γυμνάσιά τε ἐξαγινέων ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν
 νεώτεροι, καὶ τό γε μέγιστον, ἐν τῇ συνεστοῖ^a διεπει-

^a συνεστοῖ R : συνεστή A B C, St. : συνιστή Bredow.

16. Trapezus was in S.W. Arcadia; Paeus in the N.W.

23. Hippocleides derived his descent from Ajax on the one hand, and Caeneus, the Lapith, on the other. Thus he was remotely connected with the Cypselidae of Corinth, and perhaps the connection

had been renewed at a later time, for he would seem to be the brother of the Cypselus mentioned, *supr.* 34. 4. See Append. 4.

128. 5. τῆς ὀργῆς, 'their temper.'

8. ἐν τῇ συνεστοῖ. This word is formed like ἡ εὐεστώ i. 85. 3. Stein suggests τῇ συνιστίησι ἐπειράτο.

They are entertained for a year by Cleisthenes.

ΣΙΧΥΟΣ.

ρᾶτο· ὅσον γὰρ κατεῖχε χρόνον αὐτούς, τοῦτον πάντα ἐποίεε καὶ ἅμα ἐξείνιζε μεγαλοπρεπέως. καὶ δὴ κου¹⁰ μάλιστα τῶν μνηστήρων ἠρέσκοντο οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον Ἴπποκλείδης ὁ Τισάνδρου καὶ κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην ἐκρίνετο καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀνέ-
 129 καθεν τοῖσι ἐν Κορίνθῳ Κυψελίδησι ἦν προσήκων. ὡς δὲ ἡ κυρὴ ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμερέων τῆς τε κατακλίσιος τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ Κλεισθένεος τὸν κρίνοι ἐκ πάντων, θύσας βούς ἑκατὸν ὁ Κλεισθένης εὐώχεε αὐτούς τε τοὺς μνηστῆρας καὶ Σικυωνίους πάντας.⁵ ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγίνοντο, οἱ μνηστῆρες ἔριν εἶχον ἀμφί τε μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. προϊούσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης ἐκέλευσέ οἱ τὸν αὐλητὴν αὐλῆσαι ἐμμελεῖν, πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ αὐλητέω ὠρχήσατο. καὶ κως ἐωτῶ¹⁰ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὠρχέετο, ὁ Κλεισθένης δὲ ὀρέων ὄλον τὸ πρῆγμα ὑπώπτει. μετὰ δὲ ἐπισχὼν ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης χρόνον ἐκέλευσέ τινα τράπεζαν ἐσενεῖκαι, ἐσελθούσης δὲ τῆς τραπέζης πρῶτα μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὠρχήσατο Λακωνικὰ σχημάτια, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλα Ἀττικά, τὸ τρίτον δὲ¹⁵

The final decision.

Hippocleides; his dances.

9. πάντα, sc. ταῦτα.

11. ἠρέσκοντο. The pronoun οἱ, which the sense requires, is no doubt omitted for the sake of euphony.

13. ἐκρίνετο, 'was selected'; cf. v. 5. 6.

129. 2. τῆς τε . . . γάμου. These words are explained by commentators as 'the marriage festival'; cf. i. 126 τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα, ix. 16.

6. ἀπὸ δείπνου. Cf. v. 18. 7.

7. ἐς τὸ μέσον, i. e. stories and anecdotes told for the amusement of all. Cf. *inf.* 130. 2, where ἐς μέσονmeans 'for all to hear,' and *supr.* 69. 3, vii. 8 δ. 7.8. κατέχων, 'holding' as with a charm; cf. *Odyssey*, xiii. 2 κηληθμῶ δ' ἔσχοντο. Others, however, translate 'surpassing.'

9. ἐμμελεῖν. The Emmeleia was strictly a tragic dance, but here the word means no more than a dance-tune.

15. σχημάτια. Cf. Aristoph. *Pax*, 322 μηδαμῶς πρὸς τῶν θεῶν Πράγμα κάλλιστον διαφθείρητε διὰ τὰ σχήματα. ἄλλα, in the idiomatic sense ('others that were Attic').

ΣΙΓΝΟΝ.

τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρείσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῖσι σκέλεσι
 ἐχειρονόμησε. Κλεισθένης δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ
 δεύτερα ὄρχεομένου, ἀποστυγέων γαμβρὸν ἄν^α οἱ ἔτι γε-
 νέσθαι Ἴπποκλείδεια διὰ τὴν τε ὄρχησιν καὶ τὴν ἀναι-
 20 δεῖν, κατεῖχε ἐωυτόν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγῆναι ἐς αὐ-
 τόν· ὡς δὲ εἶδε τοῖσι σκέλεσι χειρονομήσαντα, οὐκέτι κα-
 τέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε “ὦ παῖ Τισάνδρου, ἀπωρχήσαό
 γε μὲν τὸν γάμον.” ὁ δὲ Ἴπποκλείδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε
 “οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδῃ.” ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνο- 130
 μάζεται^β, Κλεισθένης δὲ σιγὴν ποιησάμενος ἔλεξε ἐς
 μέσον τάδε. “ἄνδρες παιδὸς τῆς ἐμῆς μνηστῆρες, ἐγὼ
 καὶ πάντας ὑμέας ἐπαινέω καὶ πᾶσι ὑμῖν, εἰ οἶόν τε
 5 εἴη, χαριζοίμην ἄν, μήτ’ ἓνα ὑμέων ἐξαίρετον ἀποκρίνων
 μήτε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ οἶά τε
 ἐστὶ μῆς πέρι παρθένου βουλευόντα πᾶσι κατὰ νόον
 ποίειν, τοῖσι μὲν ὑμέων ἀπελανομένοισι τοῦδε τοῦ γά-
 μου τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκάστῳ δωρεὴν δίδωμι τῆς ἀξιώ-
 10 σιος εἵνεκα τῆς ἐξ ἐμεῦ γῆμαι καὶ τῆς ἐξ οἴκου ἀποδη-
 μίης, τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος Μεγακλείῃ ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν
 ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων.” φαμένου δὲ
 ἐγγυᾶσθαι Μεγακλέος ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Κλεισθένεϊ.

“Hippo-
cleides
doesn't
care.”

Megacles
of Athens is
chosen.

Ἀμφὶ μὲν κρίσιος^γ τῶν μνηστῆρων τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο, 131
 καὶ οὕτω Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἐβῶσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

^α ἄν om. A B C, Cob.

^β νομίζεται? St. ^γ κρίσι B² P R (sv), Van H.

18. ἀποστυγέων, κ.τ.λ., ‘regarding with horror the thought that he would be the husband of his daughter.’

12. ἀπωρχήσαο, κ.τ.λ., i. e. you dance well, but nevertheless (γε μὲν) your dancing has lost you your marriage.

130. 1. ὀνομάζεται, ‘is proverbial.’

9. τῆς ἀξιώσιος. Cf. *supr.* 126. 9.

10. ἐξ ἐμεῦ, i. e. ‘into my family.’

12. νόμοισι, κ.τ.λ. These words imply that marriage with an alien was at that time permitted by Athenian law.

131. 2. ἐβῶσθησαν, ‘became famous’; cf. viii. 124.

ATHENS. B.C. 489(?); Ol. 72. 4.

The
descend-
ants of
Megacles.

τούτων δὲ συνοικησάντων γίνεται Κλεισθένης τε ὁ τὰς φυλὰς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατὴν Ἀθηναίοισι καταστήσας, ἔχων τὸ οὖνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ Σικυωνίου.⁵ οὗτός τε δὴ γίνεται Μεγακλεΐ καὶ Ἴπποκράτης, ἐκ δὲ Ἴπποκράτεος Μεγακλέης τε ἄλλος καὶ Ἀγαρίστη ἄλλη ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεισθένεος Ἀγαρίστης ἔχουσα τὸ οὖνομα· ἢ συνοικήσασά τε Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Ἀρίφρονος καὶ ἔγκυος ἐοῦσα εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ἐδόκεε δὲ λέοντα τεκεῖν,¹⁰ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τίκτει Περικλέα Ξανθίππῳ.

132

Miltiades :
his expedi-
tion to
Paros.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρῶμα γενόμενον Μιλτιάδης, καὶ πρότερον εὐδοκιμῶν παρὰ Ἀθηναίοισι, τότε μᾶλλον αὖξετο. αἰτήσας δὲ νέας ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ στρατιὴν τε καὶ χρήματα Ἀθηναίους, οὐ φράσας σφί ἐπ' ἣν ἐπιστρατεύεται^a χώραν, ἀλλὰ φὰς αὐτοὺς καταπλου-⁵ τιεῖν ἣν οἱ ἔπωνται· ἐπὶ γὰρ χώραν τοιαύτην δὴ τινα ἄξιον ὅθεν χρυσὸν εὐπετέως ἄφθονον οἴσονται· λέγων τοιαῦτα αἶτεε τὰς νέας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τούτοισι ἐπαερ-

133

θέντες παρέδωσαν^b. παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης τὴν στρατιὴν ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Πάρον, πρόφασιν ἔχων ὡς οἱ Πά-

^a ἐπιστρατεύεται R (sv), St., Van H.

^b ἔδωσαν Cob.

132. 1. τὸ τρῶμα, 'the disaster,' i. e. of the Persians.

3. νέας ἐβδομήκοντα. Cf. *supr.* 89. 11.

5. ἐπιστρατεύεται. Present tense of the intention. Compare the use of the infinitive in *supr.* 99. 6.

7. Paros appears to have been a very wealthy island, and at one time it was certainly exceedingly populous. The fact that the Parians were chosen to settle the affairs of Miletus (*supr.* v. 29) is sufficient proof of the prosperity and good government of the

island. Nevertheless it became in some ways subject to Naxos (v. 31). It was more accessible than Naxos, for the island consists of a single mountain, surrounded by a maritime plain; and in this fact may lie the explanation of both its prosperity and its subjugation. See Bent, *Cyclades*, p. 372.

133. For other accounts of this expedition see Ephorus, *Frag.* 107 M, and Nepos, *Milt.* 7, quoted in Appendix 7.

ATHENS. B.C. 489(?); Ol. 72. 4.

ριοι ὑπῆρξαν πρότεροι^a στρατευόμενοι τριήρεσι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα λόγων
 5 ἦν, ἀτὰρ τινα καὶ ἔγκοτον εἶχε τοῖσι Παρίοισι διὰ Λυσαγόρεα τὸν Τισίεω, ἐόντα γένος Πάριον, διαβαλόντα μιν πρὸς Ὑδάρνεα τὸν Πέρσῃν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπ' ἦν^b ἔπλεε ὁ Μιλτιάδης τῇ στρατιῇ ἐπολιόρκει Παρίους κατελιημένους^c ἐντὸς τείχεος, καὶ ἐσπέμπων κήρυκα αἵττε
 10 ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, φάσ, ἦν μιν οὐ^d δῶσι, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσειν τὴν στρατιὴν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλη σφέας. οἱ δὲ Πάριοι ὅκως μὲν τι δώσουσι Μιλτιάδῃ ἀργύριον οὐδὲ^e διενοεῦντο, οἱ δὲ ὅκως διαφυλάξουσι τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο ἐμηχανῶντο, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενοι καὶ τῇ μάλιστα ἔσκε
 15 ἐκάστοτε ἐπίμαχον τοῦ τείχεος, τοῦτο ἅμα νυκτὶ ἐξῆείρετο^f διπλήσιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου. ἐς μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτοὶ Πάριοι γενέσθαι ὧδε λέγουσι. Μιλτιάδῃ ἀπορέοντι ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους αἰχμάλωτον γυναῖκα, εὐσαν μὲν Πασιρίην γένος, οὖνομα δὲ οἱ εἶναι Τιμοῦν, εἶναι δὲ ὑπο-

134

Failure of the attempt, and disaster of Miltiades.

^a πρότεροι ἀδικίης? St.^b ἐς τὴν P R (sv).^c κατελιημένους P: κατελιημένους cett.^d μιν οὐ A B C: μή οἱ P R (sv).^e ἀργυρίου οὐδέν P R (sv).^f ἐξῆείρετο Dobr.: ἐξήρητο P R (sv): ἐξήρητο cett.

3. ὑπῆρξαν. Cf. vii. 8 ὑπῆρξαν ἀδिका ποιούντες, ix. 78. There is no need to insert ἀδικίης after ὑπῆρξαν.

5. ἔγκοτον. ἔγκοτον is often a substantive in Herodotus, *supr.* 73. 4.

7. Ὑδάρνεα. This Hydarnes is no doubt the same person who is mentioned in vii. 135 as general of the forces on the sea coast, and probably the same man as the leader of the Immortals in the great invasion. He may have succeeded Otanes as general after the capture of Clazo-

menae and Cyme (cf. v. 123), and as such have been brought into connection with Miltiades. ἐπ' ἦν ἔπλεε, i. e. ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐπ' ἦν.

10. ἦν μιν οὐ δῶσι, cf. *supr.* 9. 20, and Kallenberg, *Comm. Crit.* p. 6.

14, 15. καὶ τῇ μάλιστα, κ.τ.λ., 'and above all, wherever there was on each occasion (i. e. after each attack) a breach or weak place in the wall.' ἐπίμαχον is used like σύντομος in v. 17. 7, cf. i. 84. 16. τοῦ τείχεος, the genitive depends on τῇ.

ATHENS. B.C. 489; Ol. 72. 4.

His visit
to the
temple of
Demeter.

135

Timo.

ζάκορον τῶν χθονίων θεῶν· ταύτην ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς ὄψιν
Μιλτιάδεω συμβουλευσαι, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιέεται
Πάρον ἐλεῖν, τὰ ἂν αὐτῇ ὑποθῆται, ταῦτα ποιέειν.
μετὰ δὲ τὴν μὲν ὑποθέσθαι, τὸν δὲ διερχόμενον^a ἐπὶ
τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἔοντα ἕρκος θεσμο-¹⁰
φόρου Δῆμητρος ὑπερθορεῖν, οὐ δυνάμενον τὰς θύρας
ἀνοῖξαι, ὑπερθορόντα δὲ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὃ τι
δὴ ποιήσοντα ἐντός, εἴτε κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων
εἴτε ὃ τι δὴ κότε πρήξοντα· πρὸς τῆσι θύρησί τε γενέ-
σθαι καὶ πρόκατε φρίκης αὐτὸν ὑπελθούσης ὀπίσω τὴν¹⁵
αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἴεσθαι, καταθρόσκοντα δὲ τὴν αἵμασιῆν
τὸν μηρὸν σπασθῆναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ γόνυ προσπταῖ-
σαι λέγουσι. Μιλτιάδης μὲν νυν φλαύρως ἔχων ἀπέ-
πλεε ὀπίσω, οὔτε χρήματα Ἀθηναίοισι ἄγων οὔτε Πά-
ρον προσκτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἐξ καὶ
εἴκοσι ἡμέρας καὶ δηιώσας τὴν νῆσον. Πάριοι δὲ πυ-
θόμενοι ὡς ἡ ὑποζάκορος τῶν θεῶν Τιμῷ Μιλτιάδῃ⁵
κατηγήσατο, βουλόμενοί μιν ἀντὶ τούτων τιμωρήσασθαι,
θεοπρόπους πέμπουσι ἐς Δελφούς, ὡς σφεας ἡσυχίῃ
τῆς πολιορκίης ἔσχε· ἔπεμπον δὲ ἐπειρησομένους εἰ
καταχρήσωνται^b τὴν ὑποζάκορον τῶν θεῶν ὡς ἐξηγησα-
μένην τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι τῆς πατρίδος ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐς¹⁰

^a ἀπικόμενον P R (sv) : fort. διέρποντα St.^b καταχρήσωνται B R (sv) ; καταχρήσονται cett.

134. 9. διερχόμενον. The word is doubtful, for Herodotus does not use the present participle of ἔρχομαι. Krüger reads ἀπικόμενον, and so Van H., after P R (sv).

15. πρόκατε, 'forthwith'; cf. i. 111. 26; viii. 65. 9; 135. 10. The word is formed from πρό (cf. αὐτικά), and τε is added to the word thus formed.

16. καταθρόσκοντα τὴν αἵμασιῆν. The construction is remarkable; perhaps it follows the analogy of ὑπερθορεῖν or of καταβαίνειν. For compounds with κατά in Herodotus see Kallenberg, *l. c.* p. 22; *synr.* 5. 2, 16. 11, 97. 7.

135. 8. εἰ καταχρήσωνται, cf. *synr.* 11. 10.

ATHENS. B.C. 489; OI. 72. 4.

ἔρσena γόνον ἄρρητα ἱρὰ ἐκφήνασαν Μιλτιάδῃ. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα, φάσα οὐ Τιμοῦν εἶναι τὴν αἰτίην τούτων, ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτᾶν μὴ εὖ, φανῆναί οἱ τῶν κακῶν κατηγεμόνα. Παρίοισι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ Πάρου Μιλτιάδεα ἀπονοστήσαντα ἔσχον^a ἐν στόμασι οἷ τε ἄλλοι καὶ μάλιστα Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος, ὃς θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ
 5 τὸν δῆμον Μιλτιάδεα ἐδίωκε τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτης εἵνεκεν. Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν παρεὼν οὐκ ἀπελογέετο· ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὥστε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ· προκειμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίνῃ ὑπεραπελογέοντο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης πολλὰ ἐπιμεμνημένοι
 10 καὶ τὴν Δήμνου αἴρεσιν, ὡς ἐλὼν Δῆμνόν τε^b καὶ τισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρέδωκε Ἀθηναίοισι. προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου, ζημιώσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίην πεντήκοντα ταλάντοισι, Μιλτιάδης μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα σφακελίσαντός τε τοῦ
 15 μηροῦ καὶ σαπέντος τελευτᾷ, τὰ δὲ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἐξέτισε ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Κίμων.

^a εἶχον? Krüg.^b τε Δῆμνον maluit St.

13. δεῖν γὰρ . . . εὖ. Miltiades, according to Pausanias, had persuaded the Athenians to throw the envoys sent by Darius to Athens into the Barathron, and for this reason the wrath of Talthybius descended upon him. Cf. Paus. iii. 12. 7.

φανῆναι, 'appeared,' 'was divinely sent.'

136. 4. θανάτου, i. e. on a charge involving the penalty of death.

ὑπαγαγὼν. Cf. *supr.* 72. 7, 82.

10. τὴν αἴρεσιν. For the acc. cf. viii. 66. 16. The preceding gen.

(μάχης) is due to the insertion of πολλά, cf. ii. 3 τὰ δ' ἂν ἐπιμνησθῆω αὐτῶν.

12. The guilt of a criminal and the amount of the penalty were treated as separate questions in Athenian law, and decided by separate votes. Miltiades was found guilty of deceiving the people, but the penalty of death proposed by Xanthippus was reduced to a fine of fifty talents (£10,000), which was perhaps proposed by the friends of Miltiades.

κατά = 'in respect of.'

ATHENS.

137
The
Pelasgians
at Athens.

Δῆμνον δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ᾧδε ἔσχε. Πελασγοὶ ἐπέιτε ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν, εἴτε ᾧν δὴ δικαίως εἴτε ἀδίκως· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὅτι Ἐκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Ἡγησάνδρου ἔφησε ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι λέγων ἀδίκως· ἐπέιτε γὰρ ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώραν, τὴν σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμησσὸν εὐοῦσαν ἔδοσαν Πελασγοῖσι^a οἰκῆσαι μισθὸν τοῦ τεύχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κοτε ἐλληλαμένον, ταύτην ὡς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εὖ, τὴν πρότερον εἶναι κακὴν τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίην, λαβεῖν φθόνον¹⁰ τε καὶ ἴμερον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτω ἐξελαύνειν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην πρόφασιν προῖσχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, δικαίως ἐξελάσαι. κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησσῷ, ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμωμένους ἀδικεῖν τάδε. φοιτᾶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφετέρας¹⁵ θυγατέρας [τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας]^b ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφίσι κω οὐδὲ

^a Πελασγοῖσι add. St.

^b τε . . . παῖδας del. Schäf.

137. 4. Ἐκαταῖος. Cf. v. 36. 7.

5. ἔφησε . . . λέγων ἀδίκως. Cf. *supr.* 53. 10. Hecataeus used the word *ἀδίκως* in his work.

6. ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμησσόν, *infra*. l. 14 ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησσῷ, cf. v. 12. 11, 21. 1, etc.

7. Πελασγοῖσι. The name is omitted in the MSS., but it is required by the sense. These Pelasgi came from Boeotia according to the legend (Strabo, p. 401), and must be distinguished from the Pelasgi, who, according to Herodotus, were the original population of Attica. Cf. v. 69. 2 and note.

8. τοῦ τεύχεος. Cf. v. 64 *ult.* note.

10. εἶναι. The mood of the relative clause is attracted into the infinitive, as often. Cf. v. 9. 5; *supr.* 52. 6. So *ἰδεῖν* just above.

16. Ἐννεάκρουνον. Cf. Thucydides, ii. 15 καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τύραννων οὕτω σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνω καλουμένην, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόη ὀνομασμένην, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐγγυὺς οὕση τὰ πλείστου ἅγια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι. From the present passage it is clear that the Enneacrunus lay between the city and Hymettus.

17. τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, κ.τ.λ. As the Pelasgians were driven into

ATHENS.

τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλησι οἰκέτας· ὅπως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὐται,
 τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίας βιᾶσθαί
 20 σφεας. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφι οὐκ ἀποχρᾶν ποιείειν, ἀλλὰ
 τέλος καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπιχείρησιν^a φανῆναι ἐπ' αὐτο-
 φάρω. ἑαυτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσοῦτω ἐκείνων ἄνδρας ἀμεί-
 νονας, ὅσφ παρεὼν ἑαυτοῖσι^b ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγοὺς,
 ἐπεὶ σφεας ἔλαβον ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ
 25 σφι προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξίεναι. τοὺς δὲ οὕτω δὴ ἐκ-
 χωρήσαντας ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον.
 ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ Ἑκαταῖος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι λέ-
 γουσι. οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι Λῆμνον τότε νεμόμενοι 138
 καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι, εὖ τε
 ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων ὀρτάς, πεντηκοντέρους κτη-
 σάμενοι ἐλόχησαν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρῶνι ἀγούσας ὀρτῆν
 5 τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναικας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀρπάσαντες
 τουτέων πολλὰς οἶχοντο ἀποπλέοντες, καὶ σφεας ἐς

They are
 driven out
 to Lemnos.

^a ἐπιχείρησιν B², Reiske: ἐπιχειρήσειν cett.

^b αὐτοῖσι Libb., corr. St.

Attica by the emigration of the Boeotians into Boeotia, we may fix the date at two generations after the Trojan war. What ground Herodotus had for saying that the Greeks at this time had no slaves is unknown. In the Homeric poems we find the Greeks in possession of slaves both by purchase and conquest. On the other hand, in parts of Greece where primitive conditions prevailed, as in Phocis, we are told that there were no slaves; and similar conditions were perhaps thought to have prevailed throughout the whole of Greece in very early times.

21. ἐπιχείρησιν with ἐπιβουλεύοντας, but see critical note.

φανῆναι, 'were detected.'

26. ἄλλα τε . . . καὶ . . . Λῆμνον. We hear of Pelasgi in Samothrace (ii. 51), in Lemnos and Imbros (v. 26), in Placia and Scylace (i. 57). For Lemnos, cf. Pauli, *Eine Vorgriechische Inschrift. auf Lemnos*, an inscription which is by some regarded as Tyrrhenian (Etruscan).

138. 4. Βραυρῶνι. Brauron lay on or near the eastern coast of Attica, between Steiria and Halae Araphenides. Orestes and Iphigenia are supposed to have landed there, and to have brought with them the statue of Artemis from Taurus. See Smith, *Dict. Geog.* Attica, p. 330.

LEMNOS.

Ἀήμνον ἀγαγόντες παλλακὰς εἶχον. ὡς δὲ τέκνων αὐται
 αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπεπλήσθησαν, γλῶσσάν τε τὴν Ἀττικὴν
 καὶ τρόπους τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἐδίδασκον τοὺς παῖδας. οἱ
 δὲ οὔτε συμμίσγεσθαι τοῖσι ἐκ τῶν Πελασγίδων γυναι-
 κῶν παισὶ ἤθελον, εἴ τε τύπτοιό τις αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκεί-
 νων τινός, ἐβοήθειόν τε πάντες καὶ ἐτιμώρεον ἀλλή-
 λουσι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν τε τῶν παίδων οἱ παῖδες ἐδι-
 καίεν καὶ πολλῶ ἐπεκράτεον. μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ
 Πελασγοὶ ἐωυτοῖσι λόγους ἐδίδοσαν· καὶ σφι βουλευομέ-
 νοισι δεινόν τι ἐσέδυνε, εἰ δὴ διαγιγνώσκοιεν σφίσι τε
 βοηθέειν οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τῶν κουριδιέων γυναικῶν τοὺς
 παῖδας καὶ τούτων αὐτίκα ἄρχειν πειρώατο, τί δὴ ἀν-
 δρωθέντες δῆθεν ποιήσουσι. ἐνθαῦτα ἔδοξέ σφι κτεί-
 νειν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀττικέων γυναικῶν. ποι-
 εῦσι δὴ ταῦτα, προσαπολλύουσι δὲ σφῶν καὶ τὰς
 μητέρας. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τοῦ προτέρου
 τούτων, τὸ ἐργάσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἅμα Θόαντι ἄν-
 δρας σφετέρους ἀποκτεῖναι, νενόμισται ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλ-
 λάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα Λήμνια καλέεσθαι. ἀπο-
 κτεῖναι δὲ τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι τοὺς σφετέρους παῖδάς τε

Their
 cruelty and
 its punish-
 ment.

13. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν. Compare what is said of the boyhood of Cyrus, i. 114. This story (like many others) was invented to justify the Athenians in their appropriation of territory.

16. δεινόν τι = δέος. σφι. So ἐσελθεῖν is used with the dative in iii. 15. 42. εἰ δὴ, κ.τ.λ. 'If these boys resolved to assist each other against the children of the wedded wives, and attempted forthwith to be masters of them.' The optative is of course due to oratio obliqua.

23. Θόαντι. According to the legend, the Lemnian women put to death all the men in the island, Hypsipyle alone saving her father Thoas; see Apollod. i. 9. 17. Herodotus would seem to follow another version, in which Thoas was slain with the rest. Cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 631

κακῶν δὲ πρεσβεύεται τὸ Λήμνιον
 λόγῳ· γοῶται δὲ δήποθεν κατά-
 πτυστον· ἤμασεν δέ τις
 τὸ δεινὸν αὐτὸν Λημνίοισι πῆμασιν.

ATHENS.

καὶ γυναῖκας οὔτε γῆ καρπὸν ἔφερε οὔτε γυναῖκές τε
καὶ ποιῖναι ὁμοίως ἔτικτον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ. πιεζόμενοι
5 δὲ λιμῶ καὶ ἀπαιδίῃ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον λύσιν τινὰ
αἰτησόμενοι τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας
ἐκέλευε Ἀθηναίοισι δίκας διδόναι ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτοὶ
Ἀθηναῖοι δικάσωσι.^a ἦλθόν τε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ
Πελασγοὶ καὶ δίκας ἐπαγγέλλοντο βουλόμενοι διδόναι
10 παντὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρυτανήῳ
κλίνῃν στρώσαντες ὡς εἶχον κάλλιστα καὶ τράπεζαν
ἐπιπλήν ἀγαθῶν πάντων παραθέντες, ἐκέλευον
τοὺς Πελασγοὺς τὴν χώραν σφίσι παραδιδόναι οὔτω
ἔχουσαν. οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπαν “ ἐπεὰν
15 βορρῆ ἀνέμῳ αὐτημερὸν ἐξανύσῃ νηὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρης
ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν, τότε παραδώσομεν,” ἐπιστάμενοι τοῦτο
εἶναι ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ πρὸς νότον
κέεται πολλὸν τῆς Δήμου. τότε μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔτεσι 140
δὲ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων, ὡς ἡ Χερσονήσος ἢ
ἐπ’ Ἐλλησπόντῳ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίοισι, Μιλτιάδης ὁ
Κίμωνος ἐτησιῶν ἀνέμων κατεστηκότων νηὶ κατανύσας
5 ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος τοῦ ἐν Χερσονήσῳ ἐς Δήμον προηγό-
ρευε ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς νήσου τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι, ἀναμυνη-
σκων σφέας τὸ χρηστήριον, τὸ οὐδαμὰ ἤλπισαν σφίσι

Lemnos
acquired
by the
Athenians.

^a δικαίῳσι Cob.

139. 3. See *supr.* v. 82. 2.

11. ὡς εἶχον, ‘as they were able.’
Cf. *supr.* 116. 2 ὡς ποδῶν τάχιστα
εἶχον.

14. ὑπολαβόντες, ‘retorting’;
stronger than ὑποκρινάμενοι.

16. ἐπιστάμενοι. Cf. v. 74. 3.

140. The date of the incident
would probably be, according to
Greek reckoning, some 500 years

before the Ionian revolt. At what
time Lemnos was conquered by
Miltiades is doubtful; apparently
we should fix the capture in the
early years of the Ionian revolt; but
cf. *supr.* 41 and v. 26. 27.

4. ἐτησιῶν, κ.τ.λ., ‘during the
prevalence of the Etesian winds,’
which blow from the N. E. through-
out July, August and September.

LEMNOS. B.C. 496 (?); Ol. 71. 1.

οὐκ ἔπειτα οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐπιτελέεσθαι. Ἐφαιστιέες μὲν νυν ἐπέ-
 θοντο, Μυριναῖοι δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τὴν Χερ-
 σόνησον Ἀττικὴν ἐπολιορκέοντο, ἐς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι παρέ-
 στησαν. οὕτω δὲ τὴν Λῆμνον ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ
 Μιλτιάδης.

8. Ἐφαιστιέες. There were two north, and Myrina in the west of
 cities in Lemnos, Hephaestia in the island.

A P P E N D I X



EXCURSUS I.

VI. 57.

HERODOTUS AND THUCYDIDES.

AMONG the legends of Greek authors, there has come down to us one which directly connects Thucydides with Herodotus. We are told that Olorus, the father of Thucydides, carried his son while yet a child to Olympia to hear Herodotus repeat a portion of his history, and so deep was the impression made by the recital, that the boy burst into tears. In such an incident, there is nothing highly improbable, for it was the manner of those times for an author to recite his works in public, and Herodotus may have paid a visit to Greece, while Thucydides was yet in his boyhood. But though not improbable, the story is too dramatic to be accepted without better evidence than we can produce in its favour, and if we wish to answer the interesting question, whether the work of Herodotus was known to Thucydides, our answer can only be obtained from a comparison of the writings of the two historians.

In the introduction to his work, Thucydides more than once expresses himself in a manner which would lead us to suppose that he had carefully studied the written literature of his country. Not only does he quote Homer and criticise what he quotes, but he points out in general terms the untrustworthy nature of the evidence to be derived from poets. He calls attention also to the carelessness and inaccuracy of the current accounts of past Athenian history. He intimates that the writers who had hitherto

obtained reputation as historians, had written not so much with a desire to instruct as to astonish and amuse their audience ; above all, in one remarkable passage, he speaks of the writers who preceded him as bestowing attention either on the Persian Wars or the period antecedent to them ; Hellenicus alone having sketched the growth of the Athenian empire after the battle of Salamis. A passage as definite as this would certainly lead us to believe that Thucydides had not omitted to study the work of one whom he could hardly fail to recognize as the greatest of the historians of the Persian Invasion. It is true that he does not mention Herodotus by name, but this is a matter of no moment, for whether borrowing from them or criticising their statements, the prose writers of the fifth century B. C. rarely mention their predecessors by name.

On general grounds, therefore, it is probable enough that Thucydides was acquainted with the work of Herodotus, and the probability becomes stronger still, when we turn to evidence of a more minute character. In a number of instances we find that the statements of Herodotus are either directly or implicitly contravened by the statements of Thucydides : such instances are the following.

(1) In vi. 57 Herodotus informs us that when the kings of Sparta were absent from the Gerousia, their votes were given for them by the next of kin. His language is not very clear, and though we are not absolutely compelled to believe that each kinsman gave two votes for the absent king, he speaks of each kinsman as giving his own vote as a third. See note *ad loc.* On the other hand Thucydides, i. 20, mentions, as one of the misconceptions current in his time on contemporary history, the prevailing idea that the Spartan kings had two votes each, whereas as a fact, they had but one.

(2) In ix. 53 Herodotus speaks of Amompharetus as being in charge of the lochus of the Pitansians in the Spartan army at Plataea, but Thucydides *l. c.* denies emphatically the existence of such a lochus. [Pitana, of course, was one of the villages which composed the township of Sparta, and if as we know the inhabitants of Sciris always formed a separate company in the

Spartan army, there is no reason why the inhabitants of Pitana should not have been formed into a separate troop, at any rate on the occasion of the battle of Plataea, even if there were no standing division of the Spartan army known as the Pitanensian lochus.]

(3) In v. 3 Herodotus speaks of the Thracians as the greatest nation in the world next to the Indians; on the other hand, Thucydides, ii. 97, gives the first place to the Scythians both in Europe and Asia, placing the Thracians far behind them, but expressing no opinion as to the relation of the Scythians and the Indians.

(4) In vi. 98 Herodotus informs us that after the departure of Datis from Delos (490 B.C.) the island was shaken by an earthquake, which was the first and only earthquake that had occurred there down to his time. On the other hand Thucydides, ii. 8, tells us that a little before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war in 431 B.C. an earthquake occurred in Delos, the first that had been known in the island within the memory of the Greeks.

(5) In v. 32 Herodotus states as a current report, of the truth of which he has however some doubt, that Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus proposed to marry the daughter of Megabates the Persian, who was satrap of Phrygia at the time, with a view to making himself tyrant of Greece: on the other hand Thucydides i. 128 quotes verbatim the letter from Pausanias to Xerxes, in which, while offering to bring Greece into subjection to Persia, he proposes himself as a suitor to the daughter of the Great King,—and it may be added that this contradiction in the facts is but a small part of the wide difference between the views which the two historians take of the character of Pausanias.

(6) The statements which Thucydides makes about the tyrants of Sicily seem intended to correct the exaggerated ideas which historians had formed of their power and achievements. For while Herodotus places the 'Tyrants of Syracuse' at the head of all the potentates of Greece, and describes in glowing terms the resources of Gelo, and the victory which he won at Himera in the cause of Hellas and freedom, Thucydides

though allowing that the tyrants of Sicily attained a higher degree of power than any others, speaks of them as men occupied with personal interests only, who achieved nothing of importance, unless perhaps in some war with their neighbours.

(7) When Herodotus and Thucydides are narrating the same events, the two accounts do not entirely agree. From Herod. ix. 114 we learn that the Peloponnesians under Leotychidas accompanied the Athenian fleet as far as Lectum, in the Troad; from Thuc. i. 89 we should infer that they went away immediately after the battle of Mycale. Herodotus again speaks of the formal reception of the *islanders* into the alliance after Mycale, but Thucydides calls the *Ionians* and *Hellespontians* 'allies' of the Athenians. Once more, Herodotus, ix. 13, asserts that Mardonius burnt Athens and levelled with the ground any wall, house, or temple, that was left standing (by Xerxes); but Thucydides, i. 89, tells us that a few houses, in which the principal Persians lived, were allowed to remain, and there were also some fragments of the city wall.

These instances do not of course supply us with anything which amounts to a proof that Thucydides had read the work of Herodotus, but of some of them it may be said that they touch on matters which Thucydides was not compelled to mention; and therefore the fact that he does mention these matters implies that they had for some reason a peculiar interest for him. The theory that he was correcting the mistakes of his great predecessor provides at least an explanation of this peculiar interest.

EXCURSUS II.

VI. 53, 54, 55.

ON THE CONNECTION OF GREECE AND EGYPT IN EARLY TIMES.

WHEN Herodotus tells us that the ancient kings of Argos down to Acrisius were true-born Egyptians, he is no doubt thinking of their legendary descent from Danaus and Aegyptus. This legend, though nothing is said of it in Homer, appears to be as old as Hesiod. Like that of Cadmus in Boeotia, it is obviously mythical in many details; but recent discoveries in the literature and antiquities of Egypt, taken in connection with the results of excavation in Greece, make it clear that in much that is false there is still an element of truth, and that Greece and Egypt were closely connected in very early times.

The most certain indications of this connection are found at Mycenae and at Gurob in Egypt. In his recent essay, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xii. p. 199 ff., Mr. Petrie has done good service by comparing the objects discovered in the Mycenaean tombs with similar objects discovered in Egypt, and known to belong to a certain period of Egyptian history. His view is that the civilisation of Mycenae is an independent development of the knowledge derived from Egypt.

He ends thus:—‘Was the Mycenaean culture an isolated culture? Or was it part of a wide-spread intercourse? Certainly to Egypt a great deal must be attributed, if not indeed all the elements of importance. The main feature of decoration is the spiral pattern, often elaborately evolved. And the very elaborations that we find are exact copies of Egyptian decorations. For instances see the painting on the ceilings of tombs

at Thebes (copied by Prisse, republished in Perrot's *Egypt*, fig. 541). Here is the crossing twist (No. 3), the interlinking spiral (No. 5), and the flamboyant spiral (7 and 8), giving the peculiar curves found at Tiryns (*Tiryns*, Pls. vi and xii). On the Egyptian ceilings are also the rosettes and the keyfret which are so frequent in Greece; and the palmetto is almost identical with a wooden panel bearing a derived lotus pattern of about 1300 B.C., which I found at Gurob. The work of the inlaid daggers has long been recognised as inspired from Egypt; but we must note that it is native work, and not merely an imported article. The attitudes of the figures and of the lions, and the form of the cat, are such as no Egyptian would ever have executed¹. To make such things in Greece implies a far higher culture, and a more intimate intercourse with Egypt, than merely to import them. The same remark applies to the glazed pottery. Much of it might have been made in Egypt, but the style of some is not Egyptian; and especially a tall vase with spiral patterns in slanting bands is clearly a product of the same class as the Mycenaean architectural ornament. Here then the Mycenaean were capable of elaborate technical work, and imitated rather than imported from Egypt. Another analogy with Egyptian work is seen in the grandly embroidered square sails painted on the frescoes at Mycenae (*Ephemeris*, 1877, Pl. xii). The horizontal bands of embroidery, the square form and suspension from the mast, are all like Egyptian sails of the Ramesside age; but yet these sails are not from Egypt, as the decoration is distinctly Mycenaean, and without any Egyptian influence.'

To a certain degree evidence like this is to be relied upon, but we must not allow it to carry us too far. It is beyond reasonable doubt that wares ornamented in the Egyptian manner are found in Greece. It is equally clear that wares resembling those found at Mycenae are found in Egypt, and to this extent

¹ This assertion is perhaps too strong. In the tomb of Aa Hotep (belonging to the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty = 1700-1600 B. C.) a dagger has been found which closely resembles the decorated poniards of Mycenae.

a close connection is proved to have existed between Greece and Egypt in early times. But this is all that is clear. We are, as yet, quite ignorant of the ethnology of these early Mycenaeans; we may call them Danai or Achaeans, but these names really mean nothing. The Danai do not exist outside the epic poems; and among the historical Achaeans (in Achaea Phthiotis and in northern Peloponnesus) no relics have been found of the so-called Achaean civilisation. The princes of Mycenae may have dwelt in Mycenae without being Greeks; they may have been some oriental invaders holding the same position towards the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus, which the Romans held in Britain, and like them leaving traces of their sojourn though they were entirely driven out of the country. The assertion of Herodotus that the early kings of Argos were Egyptians cannot of course be proved to be true, but the evidence in support of it is growing. And these kings may have been displaced by another alien (Aegean) race from Asia Minor, the Pelopids of legend¹.

More precarious is the evidence derived from Egyptian monuments, for this rests entirely on the identification of names which occur in Egyptian inscriptions with the names of certain nations in the West; and even among professed Egyptologists there seems to be considerable doubt as to the reading and interpretation and identification of these names.

(a) Among the tribes which bring tribute to Tuthmosis III

¹ We must allow that the pottery of Mycenae is not Egyptian.—To speak of the Mycenaeans as a pure Greek race seems to me rash, and when Dr. Leaf quotes Herodotus in support of the assertion that the Ionians were Pelasgians Hellenized by the *Achaeans* (*Companion to the Iliad*, p. 6), it is well to remember that Herodotus never mentions the Achaeans in this connection.

On the traces of Mycenaean (Aegean) civilisation in Egypt see Petrie's account of his excavations at Gurob (summarized in *Ten Years of Digging in Egypt*, p. 128 ff.); also Steindorff, *Archaeol. Anz.* 1892, p. 13 ff. At Mycenae the name of Amenophis has been found on a porcelain vase, and a scarabaeus with the name of his wife, Queen Ti. See Winter, *Archaeol. Anz.* 1891, p. 38, and for the difference between Egyptian and Mycenaean art, Perrot in *Bulletin de Correspondance* 1891, p. 496 ff. (These references I owe to the kindness of Mr. A. Lang and Professor Gardner.)

are the Tanai, which have often been identified with the Homeric Danai. This identification is assumed to be correct by Dr. Birch, but on the other hand Wiedemann is by no means inclined to accept it; and as we find the Tanai bringing as offerings to Tuthmosis a silver jug of Cyprian fabric, with vases of ironstone and four silver hands, there is much to be said for Wiedemann's doubt¹.

(*b*) In another inscription of Tuthmosis III we have mentioned among the nations conquered or supposed to be conquered by Tuthmosis 'those who belonged to the isles in the midst of the Great Sea' and the 'isles of the Tena.' Dr. Birch gives as various readings of the word Tena, Uten Danai, or Dauni; Wiedemann has Tenau; Meyer, however, has Utentin; the last-named authority definitely abandons the reading 'islands of the Tenau,' and the identification of the Tenau and Danai².

(*c*) Under Merenpthah, the successor of Ramses II, there was a great invasion of Egypt by a number of tribes, partly from Libya, partly from other regions. The names of the tribes recorded are these:—Lebu, Kehak, Mashuash, Akauasha, Tulsha or Turisha, Leku, Sharten or Shardana, and Shekelsha. Of these names E. de Rougé identified the Akauasha (Akaiwasha) with Achaeans; the Shardana with Sardinians; the Turisha with Etruscans (Tyrrhenians); the Shekelsha with Siculi; the Leku with Lycians. And this identification has been adopted by later writers, such as Birch and Petrie, and in part by Meyer³.

On the other hand, Wiedemann strongly contests the identification proposed by de Rougé. He points out that the Lebu are undoubtedly the Libyans, and that the Mashuasha are the Maxyes of Herodotus. The Shardana, so far from being Sardinians, must have lived near Egypt, as is

¹ See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 46; Wiedemann, *Aegypt. Gesch.* p. 353. The date of Tuthmosis is 1480–1430 B.C.

² *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 27; Wiedemann, *l. c.* 372; Meyer, *Gesch. Aegypt.* pp. 245, 230 n. 2.

³ Wiedemann, *l. c.* p. 474; *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 42; Meyer, *l. c.* p. 304 (the date of the expedition is about 1230 B.C.); Petrie, *l. c.*

shown by the fact that Ramses II took 1900 of them captive, which Wiedemann considers to be a number impossible of a mere band of invaders coming over the sea. Moreover, the name Shardana appears elsewhere in connection with Mashuasha, which would seem to imply a local contiguity. Nor will Wiedemann allow the Akauasha to be Achaeans; the Egyptians, he says, were precise in transcribing names, and as they have a χ , they would not put κ in the place of χ ; nor would the Greek ς be rendered by sh. We may also add that the tribes joining in the expedition would not be spoken of in the singular but in the plural, so that ς would not appear in the Greek form of the name. Nor again can we suppose that the whole of the western Mediterranean was so highly organised that Lycians and Sardinians, Siculi and Etruscans, would join in an invasion of Egypt. Lastly, we are told that 'in armour, clothing, and mode of fighting, as well as in the various names of the leaders which have been preserved, these nations correspond completely to the Libyan opponents of the Egyptians, the so-called Tehenu and Tamehu¹.'

(d) Another great invasion took place under Ramses III; an invasion which was finally defeated in a battle by sea. Among the nations concerned in this are mentioned 'the Danauna from their islands' (Meyer), or 'Tanaiu' (Wiedemann²). Here again the reading slightly differs, and we can hardly venture to identify this island population with the Danai of Argos, though it is only just to add that in Greek legend Danaus, or his daughters, founded the temple of Athena Lindia in Crete³.

At present, therefore, we are not in a position to maintain that the Greeks took part in these great invasions of Egypt, or that any names occur in Egyptian inscriptions which can with certainty be ascribed to the inhabitants of the Peloponnese⁴.

¹ Wiedemann, *l. c.* p. 476.

² Wiedemann, *l. c.* p. 499; Meyer, *l. c.* p. 312.

³ Diod. v. 58; Herod. ii. 182.

⁴ Mr. Petrie takes a different view in his essay quoted above, but see Steindorff, *l. c.*

EXCURSUS III.

VI. 109.

A. ON THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.

ESSAYS innumerable have been written on the battle of Marathon, partly with an endeavour to clear up the difficulties in the story of Herodotus, and partly in the hope of giving a more detailed account of the battle, with the help of later authorities. But the result has been very small. On the one hand, the difficulties cannot be removed, without altering or rejecting the text of Herodotus, who is our oldest authority; on the other hand, conjectures of what may have happened are not history; nor can we really help ourselves by piecing together a description of the battle from the contradictory accounts of writers who were separated from each other by a century or many centuries.

In place, therefore, of attempting another essay, I prefer to collect the passages of ancient authors, other than Herodotus, which bear upon the subject, omitting, of course, those passages which are merely rhetorical and contain no definite statement of fact¹.

¹ On the battle, see Finlay, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, iii. 373; Leake, *Demi of Attica*, ii. 203 ff.; Thirlwall, *Hist. Greece*, ii. App. 3; and the essays in Rawlinson, and Strachan's editions of Herod. Book vi. Readers of German may add: Curtius, *Gesch. Griech.* ii. 21 f.: 812, and the references there given (6th edition); Duncker, vii. 120 f., and the same author's *Behandlungen*; Delbrück, *Die Perserkriege und die Burgunderkriege*, p. 53; Holm, *G. G.* ii. 29. The chief difficulties are these: (1) the absence of the Persian horsemen from the battle (vi. 113, where nothing is said of their presence, though

1. Ὑστερον δὲ ἠνίκα βασιλεὺς ἐπεστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, γνόντες τῶν συμφορῶν τῶν ἐπιουσῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔγνωσαν τοὺς τε φεύγοντας καταδέξασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιῆσαι καὶ κοινὴν τὴν τε σωτηρίαν καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ποιήσασθαι. πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ δόντες ἀλλήλοις πίστει καὶ ὄρκους μεγάλους, ἤξιον σφῶς αὐτοὺς προτάξαντες πρὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων ἀπαντῆσαι τοῖς βαρβάροις Μαραθῶνάδε, νομίσαντες τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν ἰκανὴν εἶναι τῷ πλήθει τῷ ἐκείνων ἀντιτάξασθαι· μαχεσάμενοί τε ἐνίκων, καὶ τὴν τε Ἑλλάδα ἠλευθέρωσαν, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἔσωσαν.

Andocides, *De Mysterioriis*, § 107.

2. Ἔστειλε πεντήκοντα μυριάδας στρατιάν (ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς).

Lysias, ii. 21.

3. Lycurgus, § 109, quotes the epigram:—

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶν
 χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν.

4. Ἐπεδείξαντο δὲ τὰς αἰτῶν ἀρετὰς πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθείσῳ. ἀποβάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ μὲν οὐ περιέμειναν τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀλλὰ τὸν κοινὸν πόλεμον ἴδιον κίνδυνον ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταφρονήσαντας ἀπήντων τὴν οἰκίαν δύναμιν ἔχοντες, ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις ψυχαῖς μέλλοντες κινδυνεύειν, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφθησαν πνθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν πόλεμον, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελήσαντες ἦκον ἡμῖν ἀμνούντες, τοσαύτην ποιησάμενοι σπουδὴν ὅσην περ ἂν τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας πορθουμένης. σημεῖον δὲ τοῦ τάχους καὶ τῆς ἀμίλλης· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέρους προγόνους φασὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας πνθῆσθαι τε τὴν ἀπόβασιν τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ βοηθήσαντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς χώρας καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντας τρόπαιον στήσαι τῶν πολεμίων, τοὺς δ' ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις καὶ τοσαύταις νυξὶ δια-

Marathon was chosen as being suited for cavalry); (2) the long delay of the Persians extending apparently from the 6th to the 17th of the month (vi. 120 with note, Duncker, *G. A.* vii. 134 note); (3) the rapid embarkation of the Persians, and the signal shield (Herod. vi. 115, cf. Plutarch, *De Malig. Herod.* c. 27); (4) the possibility of giving an effective charge after a mile of march at the double (vi. 112 note). It seems pretty clear that Vrana, and not Marathona, was the ancient Marathon, but the precise position of the armies cannot be determined.

κόσια καὶ χίλια στάδια διελθεῖν στρατοπέδῳ πορευομένων. οὕτω σφόδρ' ἠπεύχθησαν οἱ μὲν μετασχεῖν τῶν κινδύνων, οἱ δὲ φθῆναι συμβαλότες πρὶν ἔλθειν τοὺς βοθηήσοντας.

Isocrates, *Panegy.* §§ 86, 87.

5. Προσέλθετε δὴ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν στοὰν τὴν ποικίλην· ἀπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ ὑπομήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται. τί οὖν ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃ ἐγὼ λέγω; ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ γέγραπται. τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ στρατηγός; οὕτωςι μὲν ἐρωτηθέντες ἅπαντες ἀποκρίνασθε ἂν ὅτι Μιλτιάδης, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται. πῶς; οὐκ ἤτησε τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην; ἤτησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ πρώτῳ γραφῆναι, παρακαλοῦντι τοὺς στρατιώτας.

Aeschines, *In Ctesiph.* § 186.

6. Σχεδὸν γὰρ δέκα ἔτεσι πρὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας ἀφίκετο Δᾶτις Περσικὸν στόλον ἄγων πέμψαντος Δαρείου διαρρήδην ἐπὶ τε Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἐρετριέας, ἐξανδραποδισάμενον ἀγαγεῖν, θάνατον αὐτῷ προειπῶν μὴ πράξαντι ταῦτα. καὶ ὁ Δᾶτις τοὺς μὲν Ἐρετριέας ἔν τινι βραχεῖ χρόνῳ παντάπασι κατὰ κράτος τε εἶλε μυριάσι συχναῖς, καὶ τινα λόγον εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἀφῆκε φοβερόν, ὡς οὐδεὶς Ἐρετριέων αὐτὸν ἀποσπεφευγὼς εἴη· συνάψαντες γὰρ ἄρα τὰς χεῖρας σαγηνεύσαιεν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἐρετρικὴν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ Δάτιδος. ὁ δὲ λόγος, εἴτε ἀληθής εἴτε καὶ ὄπη ἀφίκετο, τοὺς τε ἄλλους Ἕλληνας καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐξέπληττε, καὶ πρεσβευομένοις αὐτοῖς πανταχόσε βοθεῖν οὐδεὶς ἤθελε πλὴν γε Λακεδαιμονίων· οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσήμην ὄντος τότε πολέμου καὶ εἰ δὴ τι διεκώλυεν ἄλλο αὐτούς, οὐ γὰρ ἴσμεν λεγόμενον, ὕστεροι δ' οὖν ἀφίκοιτο τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης γενομένης μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ.

Plato, *Laws*, 698 C–E.

7. Αἰτιασάμενος δὲ Δαρείος ἡμᾶς τε καὶ Ἐρετριέας, Σάρδεσιν ἐπιβουλεύσαι προφασιζόμενος, πέμψας μυριάδας μὲν πενήκοντα ἔν τε πλοίοις καὶ ναυσί, ναῦς δὲ τριακοσίας, Δᾶτιν δὲ ἄρχοντα, εἶπεν ἤκειν ἄγοντα Ἐρετριέας καὶ Ἀθηναίους, εἰ βούλοιο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν· ὁ δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Ἐρέτριαν ἐπ' ἄνδρας οἱ τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς εὐδοκιμητάτοις ἦσαν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι, τούτους ἐχειρώσατο μὲν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, διηρευνήσατο δὲ αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀποφύγοι, τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ· ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια ἐλθόντες τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς οἱ στρα-

τιῶται αὐτοῦ, ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν διαστάντες, συνάψαντες τὰς χεῖρας διήλθον ἅπασαν τὴν χώραν, ἵν' ἔχοιεν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς σφᾶς ἀποσπεφυνῶς εἶη. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ διανοία κατηγάγοντο ἐξ Ἐρετριᾶς εἰς Μαραθῶνα, ὡς ἔτοιμόν σφισιν ἦν καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ ζεύξαντας Ἐρετριεῦσιν ἄγειν. τούτων δὲ τῶν μὲν πραχθέντων, τῶν δ' ἐπιχειρουμένων οὗτ' Ἐρετριεῦσιν ἐβοήθησεν Ἑλλήνων οὐδεὶς οὔτε Ἀθηναίους πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων· οὔτοι δὲ τῇ ὑστεραία τῆς μάχης ἀφίκοντο· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ἀγαπῶντες τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι σωτηρίαν, ἡσυχίαν ἤγον.

Plato, *Menexenus*, 240 A-C.

8. Darius autem, cum ex Europa in Asiam redisset, hortantibus amicis, ut Graeciam redigeret in suam potestatem, classem quingentarum navium comparavit eique Datim praefecit et Artaphernem hisque ducenta peditum, decem milia equitum dedit, causam interserens, se hostem esse Atheniensibus, quod eorum auxilio Iones Sardis expugnassent suaque praesidia interfecissent. Illi praefecti regii classe ad Euboeam appulsa celeriter Eretriam ceperunt omnesque eius gentis cives abreptos in Asiam ad regem miserunt. Inde ad Atticam accesserunt ac suas copias in campum Marathonam deduxerunt. Is est ab oppido circiter milia passuum decem. Hoc tumultu Athenienses tam propinquo tamque magno permoti auxilium nusquam nisi a Lacedaemoniis petiverunt Phiddippumque, cursorem eius generis, qui hemerodromoe vocantur, Lacedaemonem miserunt, ut nuntiaret, quam celeri opus esset auxilio. Domi autem creant decem praetores, qui exercitui praeesent, in eis Miltiadem. Inter quos magna fuit contentio, utrum moenibus defenderent an obviam irent hostibus acieque decernerent. Unus Miltiades maxime nitebatur, ut primo quoque tempore castra fierent: id si factum esset, et civibus animum accessurum, cum viderent de eorum virtute non desperari, et hostes eadem re fore tardiores, si animadverterent auderi adversus se tam exiguis copiis dimicari. Hoc in tempore nulla civitas Atheniensibus auxilio fuit praeter Plataeenses. Ea mille misit militum. Itaque horum adventu decem milia armatorum completa sunt; quae manus mirabili flagrabat pugnandi cupiditate. Quo factum est, ut plus quam collegae Miltiades valeret. Eius ergo auctoritate impulsus Athenienses copias ex urbe edux-

erunt locoque idoneo castra fecerunt. Dein postero die sub montis radicibus acie regione instructa non apertissima proelium commiserunt (namque arbores multis locis erant raras), hoc consilio, ut et montium altitudine tegerentur et arborum tractu equitatus hostium impediretur, ne multitudine clauderentur. Datis, etsi non aequum locum videbat suis, tamen fretus numero copiarum suarum conflare cupiebat eoque magis, quod, priusquam Lacedaemonii subsidio venirent, dimicare utile arbitrabatur. Itaque in aciem peditum centum, equitum decem milia produxit proeliumque commisit. In quo tanto plus virtute valuerunt Athenienses, ut decemplicem numerum hostium profligarint adeoque perterruerint, ut Persae non castra, sed naves petierint. Qua pugna nihil adhuc exstitit nobilius. Nulla enim umquam tam exigua manus tantas opes prostravit.

Cuius victoriae non alienum videtur quale praemium Miltiadi sit tributum docere, quo facilius intellegi possit eandem omnium civitatum esse naturam. Ut enim populi Romani honores quondam fuerunt rari et tenues ob eamque causam gloriosi, nunc autem effusi atque obsoleti, sic olim apud Athenienses fuisse reperimus. Namque huic Miltiadi, quia Athenas totamque Graeciam liberarat, talis honos tributus est, in porticu, quae Poecile vocatur, cum pugna depingeretur Marathonia, ut in decem praetorum numero prima eius imago poneretur isque hortaretur milites proeliumque committeret.

Cornelius Nepos (Ephorus), *Miltiades*, cc. 4-6.

9. Hippias regno pulsus in exilium agitur, qui profectus in Persas ducem se Dareo inferenti Atheniensibus bellum, sicut supra significatum est, adversus patriam suam offert. Igitur Athenienses audito Darei adventu auxilium a Lacedaemoniis, socia tum civitate, petiverunt, quos ubi viderunt quadridui teneri religione, non expectato, instructis decem milibus civium et Plataeensibus auxiliaribus mille adversus sescenta milia hostium in campis Marathoniis in proelium egrediuntur. Miltiades et dux belli erat et auctor non expectandi auxilii: quem tanta fiducia ceperat, ut plus praesidii in celeritate quam in sociis duceret. Magna igitur in pugnam euntibus animorum alacritas

fuit, adeo ut, cum mille passus inter duas acies essent, citato cursu ante iactum sagittarum ad hostem venerint. Nec audaciae eius eventus defuit: pugnatum est enim tanta virtute, ut hinc viros, inde pecudes putares. Victi Persae in naves confugerunt, ex quibus multae suppressae, multae captae sunt. In eo proelio tanta virtus singulorum fuit, ut cuius laus prima esset, difficile iudicium videretur. Inter ceteros tamen Themistoclis adulescentis gloria emicuit, in quo iam indoles futurae imperatoriae dignitatis apparuit. Cynegiri quoque militis Atheniensis gloria magnis scriptorum laudibus celebrata est, qui post proelii innumeras caedes cum fugientes hostes ad naves egisset, onustam navem dextra manu tenuit nec prius dimisit quam manum amitteret: tum quoque amputata dextera navem sinistra comprehendit, quam et ipsam cum amisisset, ad postremum morsu navem detinuit. Tantam in eo virtutem fuisse, ut non tot caedibus fatigatus, non duabus manibus amissis victus, truncus ad postremum et velut rabida fera dentibus dimicaverit. Ducenta milia Persae seu proelio sive naufragio amisere. Cecidit et Hippias, tyrannus Atheniensis, auctor et concitor eius belli, dis patriae ultoribus poenas repentibus. Justinus, ii. 9. 7-21.

10. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην, οὐχ ἅμα πάντες ὑμνοῦσι γεγενημένην, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα, φησὶν (ὁ Θεόπομπος), ἡ Ἀθηναίων πόλις ἀλαζονεύεται καὶ παρακρούεται τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Theopompus, *Frag.* (M.) 107.

11 a. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Δάτις ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθείς, λόγῳ μὲν, ἐπιθεῖναι δίκην Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτι Σάρδεις ἐνέπρησαν, ἔργῳ δὲ, καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰς Μαραθῶνα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ κατέσχε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, τῶν δέκα καθεστῶτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγῶν, μέγιστον μὲν εἶχεν ἀξίωμα Μιλτιάδης, δόξῃ δὲ καὶ δυνάμει δεύτερος ἦν Ἀριστείδης· καὶ τότε περὶ τῆς μάχης γνώμη τῇ Μιλτιάδου προσθέμενος, οὐ μικρὰν ἐποίησε ῥοπήν· καὶ παρ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστου στρατηγοῦ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντος, ὡς περιῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ ἀρχή, παρέδωκε Μιλτιάδῃ, διδάσκων τοὺς συνάρχοντας, ὅτι τὸ πείθεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς εὐφρονούσιν οὐκ αἰσχρὸν, ἀλλὰ σεμνὸν ἔστι καὶ σωτήριον. οὕτω δὲ πραΰνας τὴν φλο-

νεικίαν, καὶ προτρεψάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀγαπᾶν μῆ γνώμη τῇ κρατίστη χρω-
 μένους, ἔρρωσε τὸν Μιλτιάδην, τῷ ἀπεριστάῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἰσχυρὸν
 γενόμενον. χαίρειν γὰρ ἔων ἕκαστος ἤδη τὸ παρ' ἡμέραν ἄρχειν, ἐκείνῳ
 προσείχεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ, μάλιστα τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ μέσου πονή-
 σαντος, καὶ πλείστον ἐνταῦθα χρόνον τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντερεισάντων κατὰ
 Λεοντίδα καὶ Ἀντιοχίδα φυλῆν, ἠγωνίσαντο λαμπρῶς τεταγμένοι παρ'
 ἀλλήλους ὁ τε Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λεοντίδος ἦν
 ὁ δ' Ἀντιοχίδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τρεψάμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὰς
 ναῦς, καὶ πλείοντας οὐκ ἐπὶ νήσων ἑώρων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς
 θαλάσσης εἴσω πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποβιαζομένους, φοβηθέντες, μὴ τὴν
 πόλιν ἔρημον λάβωσι τῶν ἀμυνομένων, ταῖς μὲν ἐννέα φυλαῖς ἠπειγόnton
 πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ κατήνυσαν αὐθημερόν· ἐν δὲ Μαραθῶνι μετὰ τῆς ἑαυ-
 τοῦ φυλῆς Ἀριστείδης ἀπολειφθεῖς φύλαξ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ τῶν
 λαφύρων, οὐκ ἐψεύσατο τὴν δόξαν· ἀλλὰ, χύδην μὲν ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσοῦ
 παρόντος, ἐσθήτος δὲ παντοδαπῆς καὶ χρημάτων ἄλλων ἀμυθῆτων ἐν ταῖς
 σκιναῖς καὶ τοῖς ἠλωκόσι σκάφεσιν ὑπαρχόντων, οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμησε
 θιγεῖν, οὗτ' ἄλλον εἴασε, πλὴν εἴ τινες ἐκείνον λαθόντες ὠφελήθησαν·
 ὧν ἦν καὶ Καλλίας ὁ δαδοῦχος.

Plutarch, *Aristid.* 5.

II δ. Τοῦτο δ' αὖ πάλιν Πέρσαι μὴνὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη μὲν ἐν Μαρα-
 θῶνι, τρίτη δ' ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἄμα καὶ περὶ Μυκάλην ἠττήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων, πέμπτη δὲ φθίνοντος ἐν Ἀρβήλοις.

Plutarch, *Camill.* 19.

II ε. Πάντες οὖν ὁμαλῶς ἐρρῦσαν πρὸς τὸ τὴν φύλιν ἐγκωμιάζειν,
 εἴ τι καλὸν πρὸς δόξαν αὐτῇ ὑπῆρχεν ἀναλεγόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ
 Μαραθῶν εἰς μέσον εἶλκετο, δῆμος ὧν ἐκείνης τῆς φυλῆς (sc. τῆς
 Αἰαντίδος)· καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀρμόδιον Αἰαντίδος ἀπέφαινον, Ἀφιδναίους γε
 δὴ τῶν δήμων γεγονότας. Γλαυκίας δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας
 Αἰαντίδαις τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι παραταξέως ἀποδοθῆναι, ταῖς Αἰσχύλου εἰς
 τὴν μεθορίαν ἐλεγείαις πιστούμενος, ἠγωνισμένου τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην
 ἐπιφανῶς· ἔτι δὲ καὶ Καλλίμαχον ἀπεδεικνυε τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐξ ἐκείνης
 ὄντα τῆς φυλῆς, ὅς αὐτόν τε παρέσχεον ἄριστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τῆς μάχης μετὰ
 γε Μιλτιάδην αἰτιώτατος κατέστη, σύμψηφος ἐκείνῳ γενόμενος. ἐγὼ δὲ
 τῷ Γλαυκίᾳ προσετίθην, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, καθ' ὃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
 ἐξήγαγε, τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης γραφεῖη.

Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* i. 10. 3.

11 d. Καὶ μὴν τὴν πανσέληνον ἤδη σαφῶς ἐξέληλεγκται Λακεδαιμονίων καταψευδόμενος, ἦν φησι περιμένοντας αὐτοὺς εἰς Μαραθῶνα μὴ βοηθήσαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἄλλας μυρίας ἐξόδους καὶ μάχας πεποιήνται μνητὸς ἰσταμένου, μὴ περιμείναντες τὴν πανσέληνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης τῆς μάχης, ἔκτι Βοηδρομιῶνος ἰσταμένου γενομένης, ὀλίγον ἀπελείφθησαν, ὥστε καὶ θεάσασθαι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπελθόντας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον. ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦτα περὶ τῆς πανσελήνου γέγραφε· “ἀδύνατα δέ σφι τὸ παρανίκα ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λυεῖν τὸν νόμον· ἦν γὰρ ἰσταμένου τοῦ μνητὸς ἐνάτη· ἐνάτη δ' οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν, οὐ πλήρεις ἐόντος τοῦ κύκλου. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον.” σὺ δὲ μεταφέρεις τὴν πανσέληνον εἰς ἀρχὴν μνητὸς, οὖσαν διχομηρίας, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ πάντα πράγματα συνταράσσεις· κοὶ ταῦτα τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπαγγελόμενος γράφειν. ἐσπουδακῶς δὲ περὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας διαφερόντως, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς Ἄγρας πομπὴν ἱστορήκας, ἦν πέμπουσιν ἔτι νῦν τῇ Ἑκάτῃ χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης ἐορτάζοντες. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γε βοηθεῖ τῷ Ἡρόδοτῳ πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν διοβολήν, ἦν ἔχει κολακεύσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀργύριον πολὺ λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν. εἰ γὰρ ἀνέγνω ταῦτ' Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἂν εἴσαν οὐδὲ περιεῖδον, ἐνάτη τὸν Φιλίππιδην παρακαλοῦντα Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἐκ τῆς μάχης γεγενημένου, καὶ ταῦτα, δευτεραίον εἰς Σπάρτην ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν, ἀφιγμένον· εἰ μὴ μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι τοὺς πολεμίους Ἀθηναῖοι μετεπέμποντο τοὺς συμμάχους. ὅτι μέντοι δέκα τάλαντα δωρεὰν ἔλαβεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Ἀνύτου τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος οὐ τῶν παρημελημένων ἐν ἱστορίᾳ, Δίλλος, εἶρηκεν. ἀπαγγείλας δὲ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι, καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν τῷ ἀριθμῷ καθεῖλε τὸ ἔργον. εὐξαμένους γάρ, φασί, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ θύσειν χιμάρους ὅσους ἂν τῶν βαρβάρων καταβάλωσιν, εἶτα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀναριθμοῦσιν πλήθους τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναφανέντος, παραιτεῖσθαι ψηφίσματι τὴν θεόν, ὅπως καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποθύωσι πεντακοσίας τῶν χιμάρων.

Plutarch, *De Malig.* Herod. c. 26.

11 e. Ἀνατέτραπται δὲ τῆς νίκης τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ τὸ τέλος εἰς οὐδὲν ἦκει περιβόητον κατορθώματος, οὐδ' ἀγών τις ἔοικεν οὐδ' ἔργον γεγενηναί τοσοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πρόσκρουσμα βραχὺ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀποβάσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ διασύροντες καὶ βασκοῖντες λέγουσιν, εἰ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οὐ φεύγουσι κόψαντες τὰ πείσματα τῶν νέων, τῷ φέροντι προσωτάτῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀνέμφῳ παραδόντες αὐτούς.

Plutarch, *l. c.* c. 27. 3.

11 f. Ἐκτη ἰσταμένου Βοηδρομιῶνος ἐσέτι νῦν τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι νίκην ἡ πόλις ἐορτάζει. Plutarch, *De Gloria Ath.* 7.

12 α. Δημός ἐστι Μαραθῶν, ἴσον τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέχων καὶ Καρύστου τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ. ταύτῃ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἔσχον οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τινες, ὡς ἀνήγοντο, ἀπώλεσαν τῶν νεῶν. τάφος δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ στήλαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκάστων ἔχουσαι· καὶ ἕτερος Πλαταιεῦσι Βοιωτῶν καὶ δούλοις· ἐμαχέσαντο γὰρ καὶ δούλοι τότε πρῶτον. καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶν ἰδίᾳ μῆμα Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος, συμβάσης ὕστερόν οἱ τῆς τελευτῆς Πάρου τε ἀμαρτόντι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς κρίσιν Ἀθηναίους καταστάτη. ἐνταῦθα ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα καὶ ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων ἔστιν αἰσθῆσθαι· καταστήναι δὲ ἐς ἐναργῆ θέαν ἐπίτηδες μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὄψα συνήνεγκεν, ἀνηκόη δὲ ὄντι καὶ ἄλλως συμβᾶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν δαιμόνων ὄργῃ. σέβονται δὲ οἱ Μαραθῶνιοι τούτους τε οἱ παρὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπέθανον, ἥρωας ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ Μαραθῶνα, ἀφ' οὗ τῷ δήμῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἐστὶ, καὶ Ἡρακλέα, φάμενοι πρῶτοις Ἑλλήνων σφίσιον Ἡρακλέα θεὸν νομισθῆναι. συνέβη δέ, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἄνδρα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ παρεῖναι τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν σκευὴν ἀγροίκου· οὗτος τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς καταφονεύσας ἀρότρῳ μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἀφανής· ἐρομένοις δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἄλλο μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχρησεν οὐδέν, τιμῶν δὲ Ἐχέτλαιον ἐκέλευσεν ἥρωα. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον λίθου λευκοῦ. τοὺς δὲ Μήδους Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν θάψαι λέγουσιν, ὡς πάντως ὄσιον ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν γῆ κρύψαι, τάφον δὲ οὐδένα εὑρεῖν ἠδυνάμην· οὔτε γὰρ χῶμα οὔτε ἄλλο σημεῖον ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἐς ὄρυγμα δὲ φέροντες σφᾶς ὡς τύχοιεν ἐσέβαλον. Pausanias, i. 32. 3-5.

12 β. Τελευταῖοι δὲ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσὶν οἱ μαχεσάμενοι Μαραθῶνι Βοιωτῶν δὲ οἱ Πλάταιαν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσον ἦν Ἀττικὸν ἴσασιν ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἐστὶν ἴσα παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ ἔργον· τὸ δὲ ἔσω μάχης φεύγοντές εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὠθούντες ἀλλήλους. ἔσχαται δὲ τῆς γραφῆς νῆές τε αἱ Φοίνισσαι, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῖς ἐσπίπτουτας ἐς ταύτας φονεύοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μαραθῶν γεγραμμένος ἐστὶν ἥρωας, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πεδῖον ὠνόμασται, καὶ Θησεὺς ἀνιόντι ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος, Ἀθηναῖα τε καὶ Ἡρακλῆς. Μαραθῶνίους γάρ, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλῆς ἐνομίσθη θεὸς πρῶτοις. τῶν μαχομένων δὲ δῆλοι μάλιστα εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Καλλιμαχός τε, ὃς Ἀθηναῖος πολεμαρχεῖν

ἦρτο, καὶ Μιλτιάδης τῶν στρατηγούντων, ἦρως τε Ἐχέτλος καλούμενος,
οὐ καὶ ὕστερον ποιήσομαι μνήμην. Pausanias, i. 15. 3.

13. χωρὶς ἵππείς. Δάτιδος ἐμβαλόντος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τοὺς Ἰωνάς
φασιν ἀναχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἀνελθόντας ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα σημαίνειν τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις ὡς εἶεν χωρὶς οἱ ἵππείς, καὶ Μιλτιάδην συνιέντα τὴν ἀποχώρησιν
αὐτῶν συμβαλεῖν οὕτως καὶ νικῆσαι. Suidas.

B. DATE OF THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.

That the battle of Marathon occurred ten years before Salamis is stated by Plato, *Laws*, 698. The Parian marble puts it in the archonship of Phaenippus, 227 (226) years before the date of the marble, i.e. $226 + 264 = 490$, and this is the date given in the *Athen. Pol.* c. 22. Jerome, on the other hand, puts it in 492 B.C. = Ann. Abrah. 1525 = Ol. 72. 1; see Schöne, *Euseb.* ii. p. 103. The day of the battle is fixed at Boedromion 6 by Plutarch (*Camill.* 19; *De Glor. Ath.* 7. Cf. *De mal. Herod.* 26). Unless the calendar was in great disorder, we cannot reconcile this date with the account given by Herodotus. He tells us that the Spartans set out after the full moon (i.e. on the 16th of the month, which was probably Metageitnion); and reached Athens on the third day, i.e. on the 18th. But this was the day after the battle (Plato's *Menex.* 240). The battle, then, was fought on the 17th day of the moon, and if this was Metageitnion, the day will correspond to Sept. 12, the new moon falling, in this year, on August 26. On the other hand the author of the 'Malignity of Herodotus' treats the story of the full moon as unworthy of credit; cf. vi. 107. 13 note, *supr.* 11 d.

The argument of Boeckh that the battle must have been fought in the first 'prytany' of the year, because the Aeantid tribe was still in office at the time, and the Aeantid came first in this year, rests on the assumption that the Aeantid tribe was on the right wing at the battle *because* it was the first in the order for the year; whereas the only reason that we have for

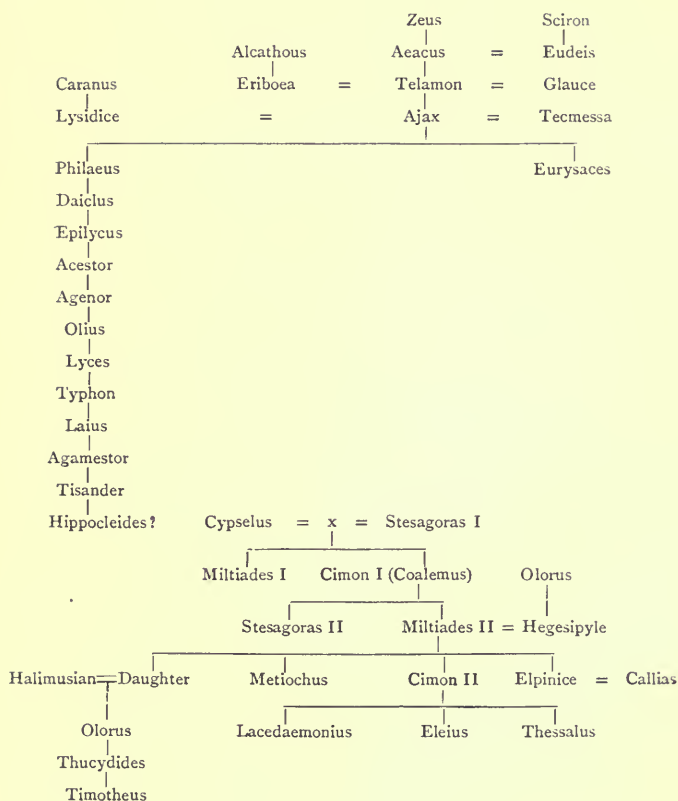
saying that the Aeantis was first in this year is the fact that it was on the right wing in the battle. And as Callimachus belonged to the Aeantid tribe, and custom demanded that he, as Polemarch, should be on the right wing, his tribe may have been stationed there, whatever its position in the order for the year. Nor need we assert that the month in question was the Spartan month Carneius, for the Spartans may have had festivals on other months, which prevented them from going out to battle between the ninth and the full moon. The day of the battle—and even the month—must, therefore, be left uncertain. [It is a curious coincidence that in the year 410 B.C. the Aeantid tribe came first in order, and the Leontid and Antiochid tribes came together (sixth and seventh). See the table given in Boeckh, *Staatsh.* ii. 25.]¹

¹ On this subject the reader will find a long discussion in Lügebil, *Zur Geschichte der Staatsverfassung von Athen*, p. 625 ff. Plutarch (*supr.* 11 c) implies that the Aeantid was on the right because the battle took place while it was the *πρυτανεύουσα φυλή*, but it does not follow that it came *first* in order for the year, if indeed Plutarch's surmise is worth anything.

EXCURSUS IV.

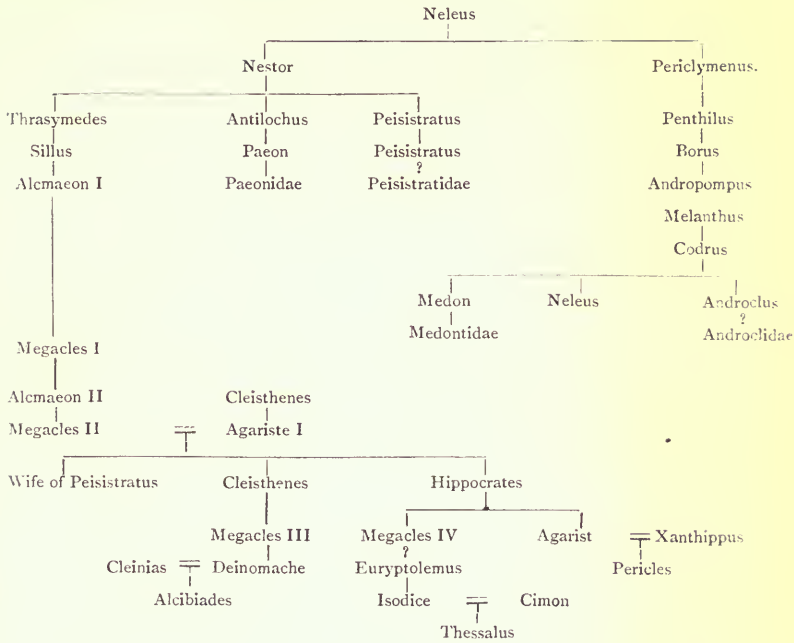
GENEALOGIES.

I. THE PHILAIDAE.



See Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 320.

2. THE ALCMAEONIDAE.



EXCURSUS V.

VI. 126.

THE ORTHAGORIDAE OF SICYON.

1. Πλείστον γὰρ χρόνον ἐγένετο ἡ περὶ Σικυῶνα τυραννίς, ἡ τῶν Ὀρθαγόρου παίδων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀρθαγόρου· ἔτη δ' αὕτη διέμεινεν ἑκατόν. τούτου δὲ αἴτιον ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐχρῶντο μετρίως καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς νόμοις ἐδούλευον, καὶ διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸς γενέσθαι Κλεισθένης οὐκ ἦν εὐκαταφρόνητος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἐδημαγῶγον. λέγεται γοῦν Κλεισθένης τὸν ἀποκρίναντα τῆς νίκης αὐτὸν ὡς ἐστεφάνωσεν· ἔνιοι δ' εἰκόνα φασὶν εἶναι τοῦ κρίναντος οὕτως τὸν ἀνδρίατα τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καθήμενον.

Arist. *Pol.* 1315 b 12 f.

2. Ὅτι Μύρων ὁ Σικυωνίων βασιλεύς, ἀπὸ Ὀρθαγόρου κατάγων τὸ γένος, ἦν περὶ τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀκόλαστος· οὐ λάθρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φανερώς βιασάμενος ἤσχυεν· τελευτῶν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἰσοδήμου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ γυναῖκα ἐμοίχευεν. ὁ δὲ ἠσθημένος, πρότερον μὲν ἡσύχαζεν, ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐκ Λιβύης τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἀδελφῷ ἔφρασεν ἀδημονῶν. ἦν δ', ὡς φασιν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπλοῦς τὸ ἦθος καὶ ἄκακος, ὁ δὲ Κλεισθένης δόλιος. καὶ ποτε πυνθανομένου τί χρῆ ποιεῖν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἶπεν οὐδ' ἂν μίαν ἡμέραν ἀνασχέσθαι τοιαῦτα παθῶν, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτοχειρίας αὐτὸν τὸν δρᾶσαντα τιμωρήσασθαι. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα καὶ παρῴξυνε τὸν Ἰσοδήμον ἐπὶ τὸν Μύρωνα, ἐπιβουλεύων τῇ τυραννίδι, τοῦ μὲν ἀποθανόντος, τοῦ δὲ θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς οὐκ ἂν ἔτι δυναμένου διὰ τὸ αἶμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. ὅπερ ἐδήλωσεν. ὡς γὰρ ὁ Ἰσοδήμος ἔκτεινε τὸν Μύρωνα ζ' ἔτη τυραννεύσαντα, εὐρῶν ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κλεισθένη ἔφρασε μέγα στενάξας, ἐκείνος συνάχθεσθαι ἀμφοτέροις ἔφη, τῷ μὲν θανόντι, ὅτι ὑπὸ τὰδελφοῦ πάθοι ταῦτα, ἐκείνῳ δ' αὖ, ὅτι τὸν ἀδελφὸν κτείνας, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι δύναιτο τοῖς θεοῖς θύειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἕτερον τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ὁ δ' ἵνα μὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκπέσοι, πεισθεῖς

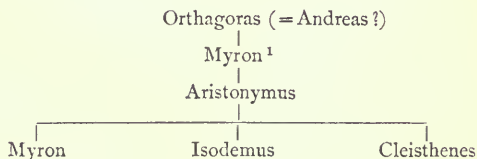
ἀληθῆ λέγειν αὐτόν, ἐνιαυτὸν διαλιπὼν προσεϊλετο κοινωνόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐτέχναζεν κατειργάσατο διὰ τὴν εὐθήβειαν ἐκείνου, καὶ ἀμφότεροι Σικυῶνος ἦρχον. πολὺ μέντοι μᾶλλον Κλεισθένει προσεῖχον οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἅτε φοβερῶ ὄντι καὶ δραστηρίῳ, καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου φίλοι τοῦτ' προσεχώρουν. τελευτῶν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν Ἰσοδήμον ἀπεστέρησε τοιόνδε τι τεχνάσας. ἦν τις Χαιρέδημος, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν Ἰσοδήμου φίλος. οὗτος ὄρων τὸν Κλεισθένη ἐργασιμώτερον, προσιῶν περὶ φιλίας διελέγετο. πολλὰ δὲ ὑπισχνουμένου, Κλεισθένης ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν εἰς πίστιν ὧν ἔφη παρελθόντα Ἰσοδήμῳ παραινεῖν ἀπειναυτίσαι διὰ τὸν φόνον, ὅπερ ἔθος ἦν ποιεῖν, ὡς καὶ θύειν αὐτῷ (καὶ) τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξέσται κεκαθαρμένῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου παισὶν ἄρχειν' εἰ δὲ μή, ἔνοχον ὄντα χαλεπῶς μὲν αὐτὸν ἐμμενεῖν τῇ τυραννίδι, χαλεπῶς δὲ ἐγγούσι λείψειν. ταῦτα λέγοντα ὁ Χαιρέδημος ἐδέξατο, καὶ τῷ Ἰσοδήμῳ συνεβούλευε μεταστῆναι ἐπ' ἐνιαυτόν. ὁ δὲ οἶα ἀνὴρ ἄκακος, πεισθεὶς ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ λέγειν αὐτόν, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς Κόρινθον, παραδοὺς Κλεισθένει τὴν τυραννίδα. ὁ δὲ παραχρήμα ἐξεληθόντος διέβαλλεν ὡς μετὰ τῶν Κυψελιδῶν οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ὅπως ἂν μόνος ἄρχοι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στρατεύμα ὀπίστας ἐξείργε κατιόντα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτυράννει, βιαϊότατος ὧν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὠμότατος, καὶ βοηθείας πολλοῖς ἐκπέμπων, ὡς ἂν ἔχοι συμμάχους. κατασχὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἓν καὶ λ' ἔτη ἐτελεύτησεν.

Nicolaus Damascenus, *Frag.* 61 M.

3. Σικυωνίοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία, ἑκατὸν ἔτη μαστιγονομήσεσθαι αὐτούς. ἐπερωτησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τίς ὁ ταῦτα ποιήσων, πάλιν ἀπεκρίθη, ᾧ ἂν καταπλεύσαντες πρώτῳ γεγεννημένον υἱὸν ἀκούσωσιν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τοῖς θεωροῖς ἠκολουθηκῶς τῆς θυσίας ἔνεκα μάγειρος, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Ἀνδρέας. μισθοῦ τοῖς ἄρχουσι μαστιγοφορῶν ὑπηρετεῖ.

Diodorus, viii. 24.

4. The following seems to be the genealogical table of the Orthagoridae:—



¹ Victor in the chariot race, Ol. 33, 648 B.C. Paus. vi. 19. 2.

EXCURSUS VI.

VI. 127.

PHEIDON OF ARGOS.

1. THE following are the principal dates given in ancient authorities for Pheidon of Argos.

(a) The Parian marble, epoch 30, puts Pheidon 631 years before the date of the table, i. e. $631 + 264 = 895$ B. C. In the marble Pheidon is said to be the seventh descendant of Temenus (inclusive). In Theopompus also, *Frag.* 30 M., he is said to be the sixth from Temenus.

(b) Jerome puts Pheidon in anno Abr. 1220, i. e. 20 years before Olympiad 1 = 796 B. C.

(c) Eusebius, *Chron. Arm. Vers.* (Schöne, i. 277), puts Caranus, the brother of Pheidon, before the first Olympiad, but the total amount of the reigns of the Macedonian kings from Caranus to Philip II amount to 398 years, and this brings us to 757 for Caranus ($398 + 359 = 757$). Syncellus again, p. 373. 13, places Caranus, whom he calls the brother of Pheidon, 17 years before Olymp. 1, i. e. in 793 B. C., a date which agrees with Jerome, but he also speaks of him as the seventh from Temenus and eleventh from Heracles, in which he agrees with the Parian marble.

(d) Ephorus in Strabo, p. 358 (*Frag.* 15 M.) speaks of Pheidon as the tenth from Temenus: this, if we assume that 1090¹ B. C. is Ephorus's date for Temenus, would give us

¹ Ephorus seems to have placed the return of the Heracleids, with which his work began, 750 years before the siege of Perinthus in 341 B. C., with which it ended. See Diod. xvi. 26, Müller, *Hist. Gr. Frag.* I. lix.

(1090-333) 757 B.C., a date which agrees with that resulting from the total reigns of the Macedonian kings.

(e) Pausanias vi. 22. 2 states precisely that Pheidon celebrated the eighth Olympiad with the Pisatans, having expelled the Eleans: this would bring us to 748 B.C. That Pheidon did so celebrate an Olympiad is stated by Herodotus, vi. 127, and the eighth Olympiad is mentioned by Pausanias as one of the three which the Eleans removed from the list, as wrongly celebrated (the other two being Ol. 34 and 104).

(f) Herodotus, *l.c.*, informs us that the son of Pheidon was a suitor for the hand of Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes the king of Sicyon, whose wedding cannot be placed much earlier than 570 B.C.

(g) Numismatists (see Head, *Hist. Num.* Introd. § 8, and p. 331 f.) inform us that the oldest Aeginetan coins cannot go back beyond 700 B.C.; if therefore Pheidon was the first to coin them, we cannot put his date earlier than 700 B.C.

2. Of these dates the last two appear to rest on very slight foundation. The story which Herodotus tells of the wedding of Agariste cannot be accepted as true in all its details. To take a single instance. It is chronologically impossible that Alcmaeon could have been enriched by Croesus in the manner so graphically described by Herodotus, before 560 B.C.—the date of the accession of Croesus—and yet the marriage of Agariste cannot have taken place after 570 B.C. (see *supr.* p. 162). But if in order to save the chronology we assume that Croesus is here wrongly put in the place of Alyattes, we have at the same time surrendered the right to insist on the verbal accuracy of the assertion that the Leocedes who came to Sicyon, circ. 570 B.C., was the son of the great Pheidon. Here, as in the case of Croesus, the most prominent name may have been put in the place of the true name.

The numismatic evidence is vague and uncertain. It does not appear that we have any coins of Aegina, which can with certainty be carried back to Pheidon, so that we are not in a position to speak with accuracy about the oldest coins of Aegina. And though it is probably true that the coins of

Lydia preceded those of Aegina (with which, however, they do not stand in any connection, the standards of the two systems being different, and the material of the coins different), there is nothing to prove that the coinage of Lydia began with Gyges, as Head assumes (*Hist. Num.* p. xxxiii).

Of the remaining dates those of the chronologists, Ephorus and Pausanias, are not really inconsistent. They all point to the half century between 795 and 745, and as the date of Pausanias is the only one with which a definite fact is connected, a fact registered by the removal of the Olympiad from the list, it merits the first place, unless it can be shown to be on other grounds impossible¹. To what combination the higher date given in the Parian marble and required by the legend which places Pheidon sixth or seventh in descent from Temenus is due, is uncertain (see Müller, *Herod.* p. 578, Didot). The marble speaks of Pheidon as the eleventh from Heracles, and, as we have seen, Syncellus makes him seventh from Temenus and eleventh from Heracles, but gives him a date which is inconsistent with this order. Can there then have been some confusion by which tenth or eleventh from Temenus has been changed into eleventh from Heracles (Weissenborn, *Hellen*, p. 7)?

Nevertheless the date given by Pausanias has been often rejected since Weissenborn endeavoured to show (*Hellen*, p. 1 ff.) that a later date was more consistent with the facts which are recorded of the reign of Pheidon. Weissenborn relies on the following passage, (1) Ephorus in Strabo, p. 358:—Φειδῶνα δὲ τὸν Ἀργεῖον, δέκατον μὲν ὄντα ἀπὸ Τημένου, δυνάμει δ' ὑπερβεβλημένον τοὺς κατ' αὐτόν, ἀφ' ἧς τὴν τε λῆξιν ὀλην ἀνέλαβε τὴν Τημένου διεσπασμένην εἰς πλείω μέρη, καὶ μέτρα ἐξέεῦρε τὰ Φειδῶνια καλούμενα καὶ σταθμοὺς καὶ νόμισμα κεχαραγμένον τό τε ἄλλο καὶ τὸ ἀργυροῦν, πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ ταῖς ἰφ' Ἡρακλέους αἰρεθείσαις πόλεσι, καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀξιῶν τιθέναι αὐτόν, οὓς ἐκείνος ἔθηκε· τούτων δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν· καὶ δὴ βιασάμενον ἐπελθόντα θείναι αὐτόν, οὔτε τῶν Ἡλείων ἐχόντων ὄπλα,

¹ It is also supported by the story which connects Pheidon with Melissus and Archias of Corinth; Schol. *Apol. Rhod.* iv. 1212; Plut. *Amat. Narr.* 2; see *Hist. Greece*, i. 228.

ὥστε κωλύειν, διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, τῶν τε ἄλλων κρατουμένων τῇ δυναστείᾳ· οὐ μὴν τοὺς γε Ἑλλείους ἀναγράψαι τὴν θέσιν αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπλα κτήσασθαι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρξαμένους ἐπικουρεῖν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς· συμπράττειν δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, εἴτε φθονήσαντας τῇ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην εὐτυχίᾳ, εἴτε καὶ συνεργοὺς ἕξιν νομίσαντας πρὸς τὸ καταλύσαι τὸν Φεῖδωνα, ἀφηρημένον αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν Πελοποννησίων [ἦν ἐκεῖ]νοι προεκέκτηντο· καὶ δὴ καὶ συγκαταλύσαι τὸν Φεῖδωνα· τοὺς δὲ συγκατασκευάσαι τοῖς Ἑλλείοις τὴν τε Πισάτιν καὶ τὴν Τριφυλίαν. With this he compares (2) Strabo, p. 355:—Ἐγγυτέρω δὲ πίστεως, ὅτι μέχρι τῆς ἕκτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης, ἐν ἧ Ἐλίουβος ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἑλλείως, τὴν προστασίαν εἶχον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος Ἑλλεῖοι * * * * * μετὰ [δὲ] τὴν ἕκτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα οἱ Πισάται τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπολαβόντες αὐτοὶ συνετέλουν, τὸν ἀγῶνα ὀρῶντες εὐδοκιμοῦντα· χρόνοις δ' ὕστερον μεταπεσοῦσης πάλιν τῆς Πισατίας εἰς τοὺς Ἑλλείους, μετέπεσεν εἰς αὐτοὺς πάλιν καὶ ἡ ἀγωνοθεσία. συνέπραξαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τὴν ἐσχάτην κατάλυσιν τῶν Μεσσηνίων συμμαχήσασιν αὐτοῖς τὰναντία τῶν Νέστορος ἀπογόνων καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, συμπολεμησάντων τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις· καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτόν γε συνέπραξαν, ὥστε τὴν χώραν ἄσασαν τὴν μέχρι Μεσσηνίας Ἑλλείαν ῥηθῆναι καὶ διαμεῖναι μέχρι νῦν, Πισατῶν δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Κανκῶνων μηδ' ὄνομα λειφθῆναι.

From these passages he draws the conclusion that the Pisatans never attempted to acquire the management of the Olympian games in the first 26 Olympiads, so that Pausanias is in error in speaking of the 8th as an 'Anolympiad,' and that the help which the Spartans rendered to the Eleans in subjugating the Pisatans belongs to a period not far removed from the end of the Second Messenian War. This last he confirms by an extract from Pausanias (vi. 22. 2):—Οἰκιστὴν μὲν δὴ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει Πίσον τὸν Περιήρους φασὶ τοῦ Αἰόλου· Πισαῖοι δὲ ἐφειλικύσαντο αὐθαίρετον συμφορὰν ἀπεχθανόμενοι τε Ἑλλείοις καὶ σπουδῆν ποιούμενοι τιθέναι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀντὶ Ἑλλείων, οἷγε Ὀλυμπιάδι μὲν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἐπηγάγοντο Φεῖδωνα τυράννων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάσι μάλιστα ὑβρίσαντα, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθεσαν ὁμοῦ τῷ Φεῖδωνι. τετάρτῃ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ τριακοστῇ στρατὸν οἱ Πισαῖοι καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Πανταλέων ὁ Ὀμφαλίωνος παρὰ τῶν προσχώρων ἀθροίσαντες ἐποίησαν ἀντὶ Ἑλλείων τὰ Ὀλύμπια. ταύτας τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς

τὴν τετάρτην τε καὶ ἑκατοστήν, τεθεῖσαν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων, Ἀνολυμπιάδας οἱ Ἠλείοι καλοῦντες οὐ σφᾶς ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων γράφουσιν. ὀγδόῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι Δαμοφῶν ὁ Πανταλέοντος ὑπόνοιαν μὲν τινα παρέσχεν Ἠλείοις νεώτερα ἐς αὐτοὺς βουλευεῖν ἐσβαλόντας δὲ ἐς τὴν Πισαίαν σὺν ὄπλοις ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε ἀπράκτους ἔπεισε δεήσεσί τε καὶ ὄρκους. Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος μετὰ Δαμοφῶντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν βασιλεύσαντος Πισαῖοι πόλεμον ἐκούσιον ἐπανεῖλοτο Ἠλείοις. συναπέστησαν δὲ σφισιν ἀπὸ Ἠλείων Μακίστιοι καὶ Σκιλλούντιοι, οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων περιοίκων Δυσπόντιοι. τούτοις καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς Πισαίους οἰκεία ἦν καὶ οἰκιστὴν Δυσποντιά γενέσθαι σφίσιν Οἰνομάου παῖδα ἐμνημόνεον. Πισαίους μὲν δὴ καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ πολέμου Πισαίοις μετέσχον ἐπέλαθεν ἀναστάτους ὑπὸ Ἠλείων γενέσθαι.

4. Once more, we learn from Africanus that the 28th Olympiad was the first celebrated by the Pisatans, the Eleans being engaged in a war with Dyme at the time, and that when the Pisatans had thrown off the yoke of the Eleans, they celebrated the 30th and following 22 Olympiads. This is a contradiction of Ephorus (Strabo) and Pausanias, and Clinton would remove the contradiction, in part at any rate, by supposing that for 22 Olympiads the Pisatans and Eleans managed the festival in common, though in Olympiad 34 the Eleans were allowed to have no part in it.

On these grounds Weissenborn proposed to alter the 8th Olympiad of Pausanias into the 28th, i. e. 748 B. C. into 668 B. C., which according to the dates given by Pausanias would fall immediately after the end of the Second Messenian War. It would also coincide within a year with the great victory of the Argives over the Spartans at Hysiae (669 B. C.), a victory which Weissenborn ascribes to Pheidon, though Pausanias states that Democratidas was king of Argos at the end of the Second Messenian War. After the end of the Messenian War (such is Weissenborn's view), Elis and Sparta were able to combine their forces against the Pisatans and Pheidon, and put an end to his ambitious projects¹.

¹ For the chronology of the Messenian Wars see Müller, *Frag. Chron.* p. 137, Ap. Herod. Didot.

On the other hand, we have to remember (1) that the date 668 B. C. for Pheidon is not supported by any ancient testimony whatever; it does not agree with Pausanias nor with the statement that Pheidon was tenth in descent from Temenus, nor with the chronologists; it does not help in regard to Agariste, for the son of a man who was reigning at Argos in 668 B. C. could not be a suitor for the young princess in 570 B. C. (2) The situation of affairs in 668 B. C. in the Peloponnese depends on the date ascribed to the Second Messenian War, which was apparently a generation later than the date which Pausanias ascribed to it (see *Hist. Greece*, i. 272). (3) The events with which legend connects Pheidon and Corinth belong to the eighth and not to the seventh century, for they must fall before the colonization of Syracuse (see *Hist. Greece*, i. 228). (4) The account of Africanus is inconsistent with that of Pausanias, and the picture which Pausanias gives does not support the equality of the two nations which we should assume to exist between them if they managed the festival in common. (5) The 28th Olympiad is not registered as an Anolympiad. These objections to Weissenborn's theory seem to me more than sufficient to justify us in retaining the traditional date for Pheidon.

5. With regard to the weights and measures and coinage we may observe that the story which connects Pheidon with these, like many others in antiquity, becomes more precise as it goes on. Herodotus says nothing of coinage, vi. 127 Φείδωνος τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίοισι. Aristotle also speaks of measures only, *Frag.* 480 R Εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ φείδων τε ἀγγείον ἐλαιηρόν ἀπὸ τῶν Φειδωνίων μέτρων ὠνομασμένον, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν Ἀργείων πολιτείᾳ Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει. But Ephorus in Strabo, p. 376, says definitely: Καὶ μέτρα ἐξέϋρε τὰ Φειδώνια καλούμενα καὶ σταθμούς καὶ νόμισμα κεχαραγμένον τό τε ἄλλο καὶ τὸ ἀργυροῦν. And so the Parian marble: Νόμισμα ἀργυροῦν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἐποίησεν¹. From this we see that the oldest authorities do not ascribe the striking of coins to Pheidon. Is it then possible that coins struck on his

¹ Cf. Etym. Magn. ὀβελίσκος: πρῶτος δὲ πάντων Φείδων Ἀργείος νόμισμα ἔκοψεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καὶ διαδιδούς τὸ νόμισμα καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὀβελίσκους ἀνέθηκε τῇ ἐν Ἀργεῖ Ἡρα.

standard were ascribed to him without sufficient cause? We may also observe that no good reason has ever been given why *Pheidon* should have struck coins at Aegina rather than Argos; we know that Aegina was once subject to Epidaurus, and that Argos once claimed rights of sovereignty over her but Epidaurus was generally on ill terms with Argos, and Aegina refused to recognise the claim (v. 82 f.; vi. 92. 10). Of any closer connection between the island and the city there is no proof.

EXCURSUS VII.

VI. 132.

THE EXPEDITION TO PAROS.

1. Ὁ δὲ Μιλτιάδης τῶν μὲν ἄλλων νήσων τινὰς ἀποβάσεις ποιησάμενος ἐπόρθησε· Πάρον δέ, εὐδαιμονεστάτην καὶ μεγίστην οὖσαν τότε τῶν Κυκλάδων, καθεζόμενος ἐπολιόρκει πολὺν χρόνον τῆς θαλάττης ἔργων, καὶ κατὰ γῆν μηχανήματα ἄγων ἤδη τῶν τειχῶν πιπτόντων, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ παραδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν διωμολογημένων, ὕλης τινὸς ἐξ αὐτομάτου περὶ τὴν Μύκονον ἐξαφθείσης, οἱ μὲν Πάριοι τὸν Δᾶτιν αὐτοῖς πυρσεύειν ἰπολαβόντες, ἐψεύσαντο τὰς ὁμολογίας, καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτι τῷ Μιλτιάδι παρέδοσαν. ὅθεν φασὶν ἡμᾶς ἔτι καὶ νῦν χρῆσθαι τῇ παροιμίᾳ, τοὺς ψευδομένους τὰς ὁμολογίας ἀναπαριάζειν φάσκοντας (Steph. Byz. Πάρος).

Ephorus, *Fragm.* 107 M.

2. Post hoc proelium classem LXX navium Athenienses eidem Miltiadi dederunt, ut insulas, quae barbaros adiuverant, bello persequeretur. Quo imperio plerasque ad officium redire cōegit, nonnullas vi expugnavit. Ex his Parum insulam opibus elatam cum oratione reconciliare non posset, copias e navibus eduxit, urbem operibus clausit omnique commeatu privavit; dein vineis ac testudinibus constitutis proprius muros accessit. Cum iam in eo esset, ut oppido potiretur, procul in continenti lucus, qui ex insula conspiciebatur, nescio quo casu nocturno tempore incensus est. Cuius flamma ut ab oppidanis et oppugnatoribus est visa, utrisque venit in opinionem signum a classariis regis datum. Quo factum est, ut et Parii a deditione deterrerentur, et Miltiades, timens, ne classis regia adventaret, incensis operibus, quae statuerat, cum totidem navibus, atque erat profectus, Athenas magna cum offensione civium suorum

redirect. Accusatus ergo est proditiōnis, quod, cum Parum expugnare posset, a rege corruptus infectis rebus discessisset. Eo tempore aeger erat vulneribus, quae in oppugnando oppido acceperat. Itaque, quoniam ipse pro se dicere non posset, verba fecit frater eius Stesagoras. Causa cognita capitis absolutus pecunia multatus est, eaque lis quinquaginta talentis aestimata est, quantus in classem sumptus factus erat. Hanc pecuniam quod solvere in praesentia non poterat, in vincla publica coniectus est ibique diem obiit supremum.

Hic etsi crimine Pario est accusatus, tamen alia causa fuit damnationis. Namque Athenienses propter Pisistrati tyrannidem, quae paucis annis ante fuerat, omnium civium suorum potentiam extimescebant. Miltiades, multum in imperiis magnisque versatus, non videbatur posse esse privatus, praesertim cum consuetudine ad imperii cupiditatem trahi videretur¹. Nam in Chersoneso omnes illos, quos habitarat, annos perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem tyrannusque fuerat appellatus, sed iustus. Non erat enim vi consecutus, sed suorum voluntate, eamque potestatem bonitate retinebat. Omnes autem et dicuntur et habentur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quae libertate usa est. Sed in Miltiade erat cum summa humanitas tum mira communitas, ut nemo tam humilis esset, cui non ad eum aditus pateret, magna auctoritas apud omnes civitatis, nobile nomen, laus rei militaris maxima. Haec populus respiciens maluit illum innoxium plecti quam se diutius esse in timore. Cornelius Nepos, *Miltiades*, cc. 7, 8.

Other versions may be found in the Scholia to Aristides, and in Libanius, but they may be passed over as the work of rhetoricians.

¹ Cf. Herod. vi. 104.

EXCURSUS VIII.

VI. 57.

The *πατροῦχος παρθένος*.

THE following passage from a recently published work of the late Fustel de Coulanges puts the position of the *πατροῦχος παρθένος* so clearly and precisely that I venture to quote it¹.

On voit, en effet, dans le peu qui nous est resté du droit de Sparte, que la fille unique y était, aussi bien qu'à Athènes, l'objet d'une législation particulière. Cette fille était dite *ἐπίκληρος* ou *ἐπιπάματος*², ce qui signifiait, non pas qu'elle fût héritière, mais qu'elle était à côté de l'héritage et qu'elle s'ajoutait à lui. Elle n'héritait pas de son père, au moins directement, car Aristote dit en termes très nets que, si un père était mort sans faire de testament et ne laissant qu'une fille, c'était un autre qu'elle qui était l'héritier, et que cet héritier, à titre de maître et tuteur de la fille, lui choisissait un mari³. Deux siècles avant Aristote, c'étaient les rois de Sparte qui désignaient un époux à la fille épicière, si le père n'avait pas de son vivant fait ce choix⁴. On remarquera que cette attribution des rois de Sparte était la même qui appartenait à l'archonte d'Athènes. Nous ne devons pas croire d'ailleurs que le choix d'un mari pour la fille unique fût arbitraire; les textes ne nous disent pas formellement quelles règles la loi avait fixées; du moins Aristote nous apprend que le père lui-même n'avait pas la faculté de donner sa fille épicière à

¹ *Nouvelles Recherches sur quelques Problèmes d'histoire*, 1891, pp. 97, 98.

² Hesychius, au mot *ἐπιπαμάτιδα*. On disait dans le même sens *πατροῦχος* (Pollux, *Onomasticon*, iii. 33).

³ Aristote, *Politique*, ii. 6. 11 : Ἄν ἀποθάνῃ μὴ διαθέμενος, ὃν ἂν καταλίπη κληρονόμον, οὗτος ᾧ ἂν θέλη δίδωσι τὴν ἐπίκληρον.

⁴ Hérodote, vi. 57.

qui il voulait ¹. A plus forte raison les rois ne pouvaient-ils agir ici d'après leur seul caprice, aussi Hérodote les présente-t-il comme des juges, qui se contentent de prononcer à qui l'épiclère doit appartenir d'après la loi ².

Tout cela s'explique si l'on songe aux vieilles règles de la famille grecque. L'héritage, de même que le culte et l'autorité domestique, passait toujours aux mâles ; si les fils faisaient défaut et qu'il n'y eût qu'une fille, l'antique principe voulait que celle-ci n'héritât pas, mais l'usage admettait qu'elle passât avec l'héritage au plus proche parent, c'est-à-dire qu'elle l'épousât. C'est ainsi que nous trouvons dans Hérodote l'exemple d'une fille épiclère qui épouse son oncle ³. Si le père mariait ou fiançait sa fille de son vivant, apparemment il ne pouvait le faire qu'en la donnant au plus proche parent, ou bien encore en la donnant à un fils adoptif ; mais l'adoption elle-même ne pouvait se faire qu'en présence des rois, ce qui implique qu'elle était soumise à des règles ⁴. S'il mourait sans avoir pris ces dispositions, le plus proche parent se présentait pour prendre à la fois l'héritage et la fille, et s'il y avait contestation entre plusieurs parents, c'étaient les rois qui prononçaient. Ainsi, les principes étaient les mêmes qu'à Athènes. Il est possible qu'il y eût quelques différences dans l'application, mais l'absence de textes ne nous permet pas de les apercevoir.

¹ Aristote rappelle cette ancienne règle qui avait disparu de son temps, quand il dit : ' Mais, *de nos jours*, il peut donner sa fille à qui il veut ' (Aristote, *Politique*, ii. 6. 11).

² Hérodote, vi. 57 : Δικάζειν τοὺς βασιλέας πατρούχου παρθένου περί, ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν, ἣν μὴ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυήσῃ.

³ Hérodote, vii. 205. Plutarque, *Agis*, II, cite une fille épiclère qui est épousée par un parent. Cf. Hérodote, vi. 71.

⁴ Ibidem, vi. 57.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON VI. 68. 16.

By the kindness of Professor Tylor I have received the following communication from Professor Darmesteter, in reference to the names Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes:—

‘ 1°. Darius est en perse *Dárayavau* c. a. d. *Dárayava(h)u* ce qui signifie “ qui tient les biens ” (par suite, sans doute, “ qui les possède et qui les donne ” : quelque chose comme le *δοτῆρ ἑάων*; *vau* est identique à la base d’ *ἑάων*). *Dáraya* s’emploie aussi au sens d’arrêter : de là, la traduction grecque *ἔκτωρ*.

‘ 2°. Xerxès est *Khshayárshá* c. a. d. *Khshaya-arshá*, “ le mâle des princes ” (“ le plus fort ” :—*arsha* = *ἄρσην*—a fourni un nombre de noms propres perses; *Arsháma*, *Ἀρσάμης*, et le nom du fondateur de la dynastie parthe *Arsakes*). *Khshayársha* transcrit en hébreu a donné *Akhashyarash*, d’où par confusion de *y* avec *v* la forme *Akhashverosh*.

‘ 3°. Artaxerxes est *Artakhshathra* “ qui a royauté parfaite,” “ le bon roi.” *Arta*, le zend *asha*, est l’expression la plus haute du bien.

‘ *Artakhshathra* *Ἀραξέρξης* est devenu plus tard *Ardashír*.’

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