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THE

# NINE BOOKS

OF THE

# HISTORY OF HERODOTUS,

TRANSLATED

FROM THE TEXT OF THOMAS GAISFORD, D.D.

DEAN OF CHRIST CHURCH, AND REGIUS PROFESSOR OF GREEK.

WITH

*NOTES, ILLUSTRATIVE AND CRITICAL,*

AND

A GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX,

DEFINING THE SITUATION OF EVERY PLACE MENTIONED BY HERODOTUS.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY,

AND AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.


BY PETER EDMUND LAURENT,

TRANSLATOR OF THE ODES OF PINDAR INTO ENGLISH PROSE,

AUTHOR OF "AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY,"

&c. &c.



SECOND EDITION:

WITH NUMEROUS AND IMPORTANT CORRECTIONS,

ADDITIONAL NOTES, &c.

AND

A Map of the World of Herodotus.

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# BOOK V.

# TERPSICHORE.

## SUMMARY OF BOOK V.

*After the failure of the Scythian campaign, Megabazus, who had been left by Darius in Europe, first subjects the Perinthians,* 1; *afterwards the Thracians,* 2, *whose country is described,* 3—10. *He transfers the Pæonians, out of Europe, into Asia,* 12—16; *after which he receives the submission of the Macedonians,* 17—21. *In this place the family of the kings of Macedonia is commemorated,* 22. *Darius, having appointed Artaphernes satrap of Sardis, returns to Susa, taking with him Histiæus, whom he has recalled from Myrcinus (a town which he had given him,* 11), *lest he should plan any measures against him,* 23—25. *Megabazus is succeeded by Otanes, who subjects Byzantium and some other cities, Lemnos, Imbros, and some other islands,* 26, 27. *At that time, the chief men of Naxos, being expelled their country by the commons, go over to Aristagoras (who had been left by Histiæus as vice-governor of Miletus), and beseech his assistance,* 30. *Aristagoras persuades Artaphernes to seize the opportunity of subjecting to the king, Naxos, and the rest of the Cyclades islands the king approves the project; in consequence of which, Aristagoras, accompanied by Megabates, departs for Naxos: but a quarrel rises between the two commanders; whereupon Megabates betrays the intentions of the Persians to the Naxians, who therefore make the due preparations for an obstinate resistance; in which they succeed so well, that the enemies are compelled to return into Asia, without gaining their ends,* 31—34. *Aristagoras, however, prompted by fear of receiving punishment from the Persians, and by the advice of Histiæus, excites the Ionians to rebellion,* 35—37; *and proceeds to Sparta and Athens, in order to solicit assistance,* 38: *in this place the states of the cities of Sparta,* 39—48, *and of Athens, from the death of Pisistratus,* 55—96, *are described. Aristagoras, not succeeding in his request with the Spartans, goes to Athens, and easily persuades the people to vote the Ionians a supply of twenty sail, to which the Eretrians add five triremes,* 97, 98. *Strengthened by this assistance, the Ionians take Sardis, all but the citadel; but, retreating at the approach of a Persian army, are routed in battle, near Ephesus,* 99—102. *The Athenians return into Greece: the Ionians, however, continue their revolt, and add to themselves the arms of Caria and Cyprus,* 103—104. *The Persian leaders, after reducing Cyprus, Caria, and the towns of the Hellespont, direct their arms against Ionia and Æolis,* 105—124. *Aristagoras flees to Myrcinus; in a sally from which he is slain by the Thracians.*

THE

# FIFTH BOOK OF HERODOTUS.

## TERPSICHORE.

THE Persians[1] who had been left by Darius in Europe, 1
under the command of Megabazus, reduced, the first among the Hellespontines, the Perinthians[2], who refused to be subjects of Darius. Previously to this, the Perinthians had likewise been roughly treated by the Pæonians. For the Pæonians dwelling on[3] the Strymon had been admonished by an oracle to take arms against the Perinthians; and, should the Perinthians, when encamped opposite to them, call out to them and challenge them by name, to fall on; but, should the Perinthians not raise the shout, they were not to make the attack: this the Pæonians did. The Perinthians having seated their camp in the suburb opposite to their enemies, three different single combats took place between them on the spot, according to challenge: a man was engaged against a man, a horse against a horse, and a dog against a dog. When the Perinthians, having gained the victory in two instances, began, full of joy, to chant the Pæon, the Pæonians conjectured that that very thing was what the oracle meant[4]; and said, no doubt, among them-

[1] Herodotus continues the history of Darius, which he had interrupted, iv. 144, to speak of Libya. *Larcher.*

[2] Perinthus, otherwise called Heraclea, was on the shores of the Propontis. The reader, therefore, will perhaps be somewhat surprised to find the inhabitants reckoned among the Hellespontines; but it must be remembered, that the name of Hellespont was frequently extended to the shores of the Propontis, even as far as Byzantium and Chalcedon. *Larcher.*

[3] This is the signification of ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος: so οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου, i. e. the Peloponnesians, viii. 70, 79. See Matt. 573. 2d paragraph.

[4] The Pæon, or Pæan, was a Hymn, of which there were two kinds. The first was sung previously to battle, in honour of Mars; the second after victory, in honour of Apollo. This Hymn began with the words *Io Pæan.* The allusion of Pæon, the name of the Hymn, to that of the Pæonians, is striking; and, wishing to preserve it, I have translated, "They sang the Pæon." *Larcher.*

selves, "Surely now the oracle is fulfilled to us· now it becomes us to fall to work[5]." Thus the Pæonians fell upon the Perinthians, as they were chanting the Pæon, and gained a
2 complete victory, leaving but few survivors. This, in former times, had been achieved by the Pæonians; but, at the present period, although the Perinthians behaved with valour in the defence of their liberties[6], the Persians, under Megabazus, overcame them by superior numbers. When Perinthus had been reduced, Megabazus marched his forces across Thrace, subjecting to the king every tribe and city of those dwelling in that land, for the commands left him by Darius were these, namely, to subdue Thrace.

3 The Thracian people are, next at least to the Indians, the most numerous in the world and were they under the controul of one prince, or could they agree among themselves, they would, in my opinion, be invincible, and by far the most powerful of all nations, but, inasmuch as this is impracticable with them, and impossible ever to take place, they are accordingly, on this account, feeble. They bear various names, according to their respective regions: all of them follow, in every respect, nearly the same institutions; if we except the Getæ, and the Trausi, and those that inhabit
1 above the Crestonæans. Of these latter, what customs are observed by the Getæ, who hold themselves to be immortal, I have already described[7]. The Trausi, in all other matters, have the same practices with the rest of the Thracians[8], but observe the following usages with respect to their new-born and their dead The relations, seating themselves around the new-born infant, bewail him, and deplore[9] the measure of calamity he must fill[10], now that he is born, enumerating all human woes the dead they place under ground, amid merriment and joy, and then describe from how many evils he has been released, and how he is in complete
5 bliss[11]. Those above the Crestonæans have these customs: Each individual has several wives. accordingly, when any man among them departs life, a great dispute arises among

[5] νῦν ἡμῖτερ ν τὸ ἐργον, "faisons actuellement notre devoir." *Larcher* See Matt 264, 3

[6] Literally, "The Perinthians having been (i.e shewn themselves) valiant men in defence (περὶ, see Matt. 589, 5 ) of their liberty," &c.
See iv 93, 94, 95, 96

[7] Construction Τραυσοὶ ἐπιτελέουσι τὰ ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ ταὐτὰ (in the same manner see Matt 386 1 ) τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Θρηξίν

[8] ὁλοφύρονται. See Matt. 408.

[9] I have endeavoured to express the force of the original: πολλὰ κακὰ ἀναπιμπλάναι for πάσχειν, φέρειν, ἀνατλῆναι, as if it were μέτρον κακῶν ἀνάπλεων φέρειν. *Schweig Lex. Herod.*

[10] A construction equivalent to ἐπιλέγοντες ὅτι, τοσαυτῶν κακῶν ἐξαπαλλαχθεὶς, ἔστι ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ See Matt. 480 *obs* 3

the women, and violent contentions among their friends, on this question—which of them was most beloved by the man? The one that happens to be fixed upon, and to be so honoured, extolled alike by men and women, is slaughtered on the grave by her own nearest kinsmen, and, when killed, is buried with her husband: the others, meanwhile, regard *this*[12] as a great calamity; for, among them, it is deemed the greatest of disgraces. Lastly, the following institution holds with the rest 6
of the Thracians: they sell their children for exportation[13]: they do not put any restraint on their unmarried daughters, but allow them to cohabit with what men they choose: on the other hand, they keep a strict watch on their wives, and purchase them from their parents, at high prices[14]. To have the skin marked with punctures[15] is deemed noble, and ignoble not to be so. To be idle[16] is deemed most honourable, but to labour the land most disgraceful. To live by war and rapine[17] is most manly. The above are the most striking of their institutions. The only deities they worship are the fol- 7
lowing: Mars, Bacchus, and Diana. the kings, however, not the rest of the citizens, honour principally Mercury, among all the gods; and by him only they swear[18]. they assert, likewise, that they themselves are descended from that god. With the opulent among them, the following is their mode 8
of burial. for three days they expose the corse, and, slaughtering all kinds of victims, bewail the deceased, and then feast. after this, they complete[19] the funeral ceremony, by burning the body, or else placing it under ground; and, having raised a burrow, celebrate various games, in which the greatest prizes are proposed for the single combat[20]. Such is the mode of sepulture among the Thracians.

North of this region, no one can state for certain what 9
men occupy the country; but beyond the Ister the land already begins to be evidently[21] desert and unexplored. I have been able to hear of no men dwelling beyond the Ister,

[12] That is to say, to be refused to share their husband's grave.

[13] ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ. See Matt. 585, β

[14] See Matt. 342, *b*.

[15] The custom of *tattooing* among savages will occur readily to the reader's mind.

[16] ἀεργὸς, opposed to γῆς ἐργάτης, signifies one who does not attend to agricultural labour. *Valck.*

[17] See Matt. 573, second paragraph.

[18] ὀμνύουσι μοῦνον τοῦτον. Matt. 419.

[19] Θάπτω in Greek, and *sepelio* in Latin, whence *sepultura*, are generic terms, and are used to express every mode of performing the last offices to the dead It generally is equivalent to *comburo*, when speaking of the Greeks or Romans; but περὶ is often added, to define the sense, as Herodotus has here added κατακαύσαντες. *Larcher.*

[20] κατὰ λόγον μουνομαχίης. I have taken λόγος in the same sense as in III. 99. Larcher translates κατὰ λόγον, "à cause de l'estime qu'ils en font, *on account of the esteem it is held in.*"

[21] φαίνεται ἐοῦσα See Matt. 549, 5

excepting those known by the name of Sigynnæ, who use the Medic costume. I am informed that the horses of those people are shaggy all over the body, the length of the hair being about five fingers: they are, however, small, and snubby, and unable to bear a man, but, when harnessed to chariots, are very fleet: for this reason[22] the natives use chariots. It is said that the boundaries of these people stretch almost as far as the Eneti[23], near the Adriatic[24]: they pretend to be a colony of the Medes. How these can have been a colony of the Medes, I cannot myself comprehend: in the long lapse of time, however, there is nothing that may not take place[25]. The Ligyes, who dwell beyond Marseilles, call the merchants Sigynnæ; while the Cyprians give that name
10 to spears[26]. According to the account of the Thracians, bees occupy the regions beyond the Ister; and, by reason of those insects, there is no possibility of proceeding through the farther regions. to me, however, those who give this account appear to state an improbability; for those creatures are, we know, impatient of cold. the countries under the constellation of the Bear appear to me to be uninhabited by reason only of the cold. The above, therefore, is what is reported concerning this country; the maritime parts of which Megabazus, accordingly, subjected to the Persians.

11 As soon as Darius had crossed the Hellespont, and reached Sardis, he called to mind the service he had received from Histiæus the Milesian, and the counsel given him by Coes of Mitylene. Having summoned these persons to Sardis, he gave them their choice *of a recompence:* accordingly, Histiæus, as he was already tyrant over Miletus, asked not for any tyranny[27], but requested Myrcinus in Edonia, intending there to found a city: such therefore was the choice that he made; whereas Coes, as he was not a tyrant, but a private citizen, requested the tyranny of Mytilene. The requests of both being granted, they went their ways, towards
12 the objects of their choice. It afterwards happened, that Darius, having beheld something of the following kind,

[22] πρὸς ταῦτα "accordingly." See Matt. 591, β

[23] These are the same as the *Veneti* of the Latins, prefixing the Æolic digamma, as in οἶκος, *Foῖκος, vicus;* οἶνος, *Foῖνος, vinum. Larcher.*

[24] ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίῃ. Speaking of position, ἐν frequently signifies *near.* See Schweig. Lex. Herod. voc. ἐν, 2. Matt. 577.

[25] γίνεται δὲ ἂν πᾶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ. See Matt. 514, 2

[26] This remark is regarded by Larcher as an interpolation of some grammarian, which indeed seems, at first sight, to be the case: all the manuscripts, however, have the sentence. The Ligurians or Genoese were certainly sometimes called Ligyes; but it seems that Herodotus is here speaking of another people, bearing the same name.

[27] τυραννὶς is the government of the τύραννος.

conceived a desire of commanding Megabazus to seize the Pæonians, and transport them from Europe over into Asia. Pigres and Mantyes were[28] natives of Pæonia, who, after Darius had crossed over into Asia, being desirous of obtaining the tyranny over the Pæonians, came themselves to Sardis, bringing with them their sister, a tall and well-shaped woman. These individuals, having watched the opportunity when Darius was seated[29] in the suburb of the Lydians, acted in the following manner. Having attired their sister in the best way they could, they sent her to fetch water, carrying a vase on her head, leading on her arm a horse, and spinning some flax: as the woman passed by, she attracted the attention of Darius[30]; for her actions were neither Persian nor Lydian, nor indeed according to the fashion of any of the Asiatic nations[31]. Being struck with the sight[32], he sends some of his guards, with orders to observe what use the woman would make of the horse: they accordingly followed after her. When the woman was come to the river, she watered the horse; and having so done, and likewise filled the vase with water, she passed back the same way, carrying the water on her head, leading the horse by a halter twisted on her arm, and at the same time turning the spindle. Darius, marvelling both at what he heard from those who 13
had watched the woman and at what he himself had beheld, commanded *his attendants* to bring her into his presence. when she was brought, her brothers, who somewhere, at no great distance, had watched the event, presented themselves likewise. Darius having asked from whence she came, the young men said they were Pæonians, and that she was their sister. The king resumed, asking, "what men the Pæonians "were[33], and in what part of the world they dwelt, and for "what purpose they had come to Sardis." The others declared, "they had come to deliver themselves up to him; "that Pæonia was a country situate on the river Strymon; "that the Strymon was no great distance from the Helles-"pont; and that they were a colony of Teucrians from Troy." Thus they gave the true particulars[34]: and Darius inquired, "whether all the women in that country were likewise so

[28] ἦν for ἦσαν, respecting which, see Matt. 302, 2.

[29] φυλάξαντες Δαρεῖον πρόσαντ. i. e. φυλάξαντες τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ Δαρεῖος πρ.

[30] ἐπιμελὴς is a substantive, signifying *quod animum advertit.* Schweig. Lex. Herod.

[31] πρὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης οὐδαμῶν. See Matt. 372. *obs.* 1.

[32] See the foregoing note, 29.

[33] It is to this passage that Matthiæ alludes, 507, 2. The difference between the indicative and conjunctive is, in fact, strikingly displayed in these questions of Darius.

[34] αὐτὰ ἕκαστα, i. e. αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. See Herod. ed. Gaisf. p. 592. not. i.

"industrious. they readily made answer, that "such like-
"wise was the case" in fact, it was for that very purpose
they had so acted.

14 Darius, on the spot, writes a letter to Megabazus, whom he had left commander in Thrace, enjoining him to remove the Pæonians from their country, and to bring into his presence the men, and their children, and wives. Immediately a courier started for the Hellespont with the message: he crossed the strait, and gave the letter to Megabazus. The latter, having read the contents, and taken guides from
15 Thrace, opened a campaign against Pæonia. The Pæonians, understanding the Persians were on their march against them, collected their forces, and marched out to meet them, taking the direction of the sea; for they thought that would be the quarter by which the Persians would make their inroad the Pæonians were accordingly prepared to oppose the invading troops of Megabazus. The Persians, on the other hand, understanding that the Pæonians had collected together, and were watching the entrance towards the sea, marched, with the assistance of their guides, by the upper road[35], and, unknown to the Pæonians, fell upon their towns, which were without inhabitants, and, finding them undefended, took them with ease. Meanwhile, the Pæonians, informed the cities were taken, forthwith disbanded, and returned each to his own home, and delivered themselves up, of their own accord, to the Persians. Thus, therefore, the Siropæones and Pæoplæ, and those dwelling as far as the lake Prasias, tribes of the Pæonians, were torn from their
16 country, and taken into Asia. But those around mount Pangæus, as well as the Pæonians near the Doberes, the Agrianes and Odomanti, with those that inhabit the lake[36] of Prasias itself, could not, in any manner, be overcome by Megabazus, though he made trial of capturing those even that dwelt on the lake, in habitations of the following nature. floors, laid on lofty poles, stand in the middle of the lake, with a narrow entrance, by one bridge, from the continent all the inhabitants used formerly to sink, at their common expense, the piles that serve to support the floors: subsequently they have adopted the following regulation in sinking them: for every woman a man marries, he is to sink three piles, which they procure from a mountain called Orbelus: now, every man takes several wives here they inhabit, in

[35] τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν. See Matt. 270, *a*.

[36] αὐτὴν τὴν λίμνην. This accusative is governed by οἰκημένοι understood, and not by περί, like the preceding accusatives

the following manner: each has, on the floors, a hut, in which he lives, and a trap-door fitting in the floor, leading down to the water. their infant children they fasten around the foot with a rope[37], lest they should fall into the water: to their horses and draught cattle they give, for fodder, fish; of which there is such an abundance, that, when one turns back his trap-door, and lets down by a cord an empty basket into the lake, after waiting no long time, he hauls it up full of fish. There are two kinds of these fish, which they call papraces and tilones. Those of the Pæonians who had been reduced were, therefore, taken into Asia.

When Megabazus had subdued the Pæonians, he sent into 17
Macedonia seven men of Persia as ambassadors, who were, next to himself, the most illustrious in the camp. These were despatched to Amyntas, in order to demand earth and water, in the name of king Darius. From the lake of Prasias there is a very short cut into Macedonia; for first, contiguous to that lake, is the mine from which, in later times, a daily revenue of one talent of silver came to Alexander[38]. passing this mine, and crossing a mountain called Dysorum, the traveller is in Macedonia. On the arrival therefore of 18
these Persians despatched to Amyntas, they came into his presence, and demanded, in the name of king Darius, earth and water. these Amyntas promised to give[39], and invited them to his table[40]; and, having prepared a magnificent feast, he received the Persians in a benevolent manner. When they had finished the meal, and were challenging one another to drink, the Persians said: "Macedonian host, with "us Persians it is the custom, when we spread forth a great "feast, to introduce our concubines and lawful wives, seated "by our sides; we beg you, therefore, having received us "with such benevolence, sumptuously feasted us, and pro- "mised earth and water to king Darius, to follow also our "custom." To which Amyntas made answer: "Persians, "we ourselves have not that custom, on the contrary, we "are wont to separate the men from the women. yet, since "you, who are our masters, desire that likewise, that likewise "shall be granted you." Having so said, Amyntas sent for the women; who having, when summoned, come, sat down in

[37] That is to say, a rope made from the σπάρτος or yellow Spanish broom, (Spartium junceum, Linn) a plant still used in the south of Europe, for the same purpose

[38] Alexander, the son of Amyntas, mentioned v.19 VII.173 VIII.139 and in other parts of this history *Larcher.*

[39] The verb δοῦναι or δίδοναι may be frequently rendered by *to offer—to promise—to wish—to give.* Schweig. Lex. Herod. from *Larcher.*

[40] ἐπὶ ξεῖνα καλεῖν, or, which is the more usual expression, ἐπὶ ξυνίῃ καλ' ἕν. In the first form supply δεῖπνα, in the second τραπέζῃ.

order, opposite to the Persians. The Persians then, beholding the fair-formed women, addressed Amyntas, saying, "that "what had been done was by no means right; as it would "have been better the women should not have come at all, "than coming, and, forbearing to place themselves by their "sides, take their seats opposite, a torment to their eyes[41]." Amyntas was therefore necessitated to bid the women sit down by the side of the men: the ladies having obeyed, immediately the Persians, being full of wine[42], began to treat indecently their persons, and some even attempted to kiss
19 them. Amyntas accordingly, being witness to this conduct, was greatly offended: he did not, however, stir[43]; being beyond measure fearful of the Persians. But Alexander, Amyntas's son, was present, and likewise witness of this conduct he, like a young man, and one inexperienced of misfortunes, could no longer, by any means, restrain himself; so that, full of indignation, he said to Amyntas: "Father, "yield to age; depart, and seek repose, nor abide any "further potation: I myself will remain here, and furnish "the guests with every thing necessary." To this, Amyntas, inferring that Alexander was about to execute some design[44], said. "My son, I see your language borders on that of a "man burning with rage, and you wish, after sending me "away, to put some scheme in execution. I beseech you, "therefore, to make no attempt on these men, lest you pro- "cure our destruction; but curb yourself, when you behold "what is going on. In respect[45] to my departure, I will
20 "follow your advice." When Amyntas, after making this request, was gone, Alexander said to the Persians: "Guests, "these women are completely at your service[46]; and, whe- "ther you wish to amuse yourselves with all, or with any "of them, in this respect do you yourselves make known "your desires. but now, as the hour of your repose is almost "arrived, and I observe that you have sufficiently drunk[47], "permit these women, if you please, to go and bathe, and "await their return, when they have bathed." Having so spoken, and the Persians approving the proposal, Alexander

[41] This metaphor or metonymy has been the object of many criticisms. Longinus blames the expression.

[42] Literally, "over drunk."

[43] *ἀτρέμας*, "quietly, without stirring" *ἀτρέμας*, or *ἀτρέμα ἴχειν*, "to be quiet—not to stir." See Matt. 604.

[44] *ὅτι νεώτερα πρήγματα πρήξειν μέλλοι.* Literally, "that he wished to do something new" This expression is generally taken in a bad sense; and that probably, because, supposing the present state of things to be good, any innovation must be an evil. *Larcher.*

[45] *ἀμφί.* See Matt. 583.

[46] *εὐπετείη* signifies *facilitas.* — harum mulierum facilis admodum vobis usus. *Schweig. Lex. Herod.*

[47] *καλῶς ἔχοντας μέθης*, "being pretty drunk." See Matt. 315, 1.

sent the women, as they went out, to the female apartments; while he himself, dressing up in female attire some smooth-chinned men, equal in number to the ladies, and, furnishing them with poniards, introduced them in *the hall*. At the same time that he brought those men in, he addressed the Persians in the following words: "Persians, we think[48] that "we have feasted you sumptuously; for, not only whatever "we have ourselves, but also whatever it was possible[49] for "us to procure, all have been furnished you. And even this "likewise, which is the greatest of all, our own mothers and "daughters, we also generously add to our gifts; to the end "that you may see that you receive at our hands those "honours, in full, that you deserve, and, likewise, that you "may report to the king who sent you, that a man of Hellas, "prince of the Macedonians, received you hospitably to his "board and bed." Having so said, Alexander seated one of the Macedonians by the side of each Persian, as if they had been women[50]; and, as soon as the Persians attempted to touch their persons, they put them to death. And by this 21
death these Persians perished; and not only themselves, but their suite also; for they were followed by chariots and servants, and all kinds of provisions[51]; the whole of which accordingly disappeared, together with every one of the ambassadors. No long time after, a strict search was made by the Persians, respecting these men; when Alexander put a stop to their researches[52] by artifice, giving a large sum of money, and his own sister, whose name was Gygæa, to Bubares[53], a Persian, appointed to the command of those who were sent to make inquiries respecting the murdered men. In this manner, therefore, the inquiry into the fate of those Persians was suppressed, and their death buried in silence. I myself know that these princes[54], sprung from Perdiccas, 22
were Hellenes, as they themselves represent; and shall fully demonstrate, in the subsequent parts of my history[55], that they are Hellenes: to which may be added, that the persons

[48] *εἴπατε*, from *ἰοικέναι, videmini*, "you appear to have been received with a sumptuous feast."

[49] *οἷά τι ἦν*. See Matt. 479. *obs.* 2.

[50] *ὡς γυναῖκα τῷ λογῷ*. Herodotus frequently uses the words *τῷ λογῷ*, to signify what appears at first sight: he might have used in the same sense, *ὡς γυναῖκα δή*. *Valck.*

[51] *πᾶσα πολλὴ* (multa genera) *παρασκευή*, (of objects prepared for the journey, baggage.)

[52] *κατέλαβέ σφεας*, "continuit illos *inquirentes*." Suidas interprets *ἐπέλαβε* by *ἔπεισε τῆς ἐρεύνης Laroher.* So *καταλαβεῖν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν*. i. 46.

[53] He was son to Megabazus: see vii. 21. His marriage with Alexander's daughter is again mentioned, viii. 136.

[54] That is to say, Amyntas and Alexander.

[55] See the genealogy of Perdiccas, and in what manner he obtained the throne of Macedon, viii. 137, 138.

who superintend[56] the Hellenic lists in Olympia acknowledged the fact to be so; for Alexander, wishing to contend in the games, and having gone down for that express purpose[57], his Hellenic competitors wished to exclude[58] him, alleging that the list was not for barbarian combatants, but for the Hellenes. In consequence, Alexander, having proved that he was an Argian, was adjudged to be a Hellene, and, entering the lists, as a candidate for the prize of the stadium, his ballot was drawn in the first pair[59].

23 Megabazus, taking the Pæonians, went down to the Hellespont; from whence, crossing the strait, he proceeded to Sardis. And, as[60] Histiæus of Miletus was already walling round the place that, at his own request, he had received from Darius, as a gift, in recompence for his preservation of the temporary bridge—it was a spot near the river Strymon, the name of which was Myrcinus—Megabazus, understanding what Histiæus was about, no sooner arrived at Sardis, with the Pæonians, than he addresses Darius as follows: "What "have you done, my liege, in permitting a Hellene, a sharp

[56] These were called the Hellanodicæ Their number varied at different times They were a long time ten, sometimes more and sometimes less, according to the number of the tribes of the Eleans; but finally they reverted to ten, in the 108th Olympiad, and remained so to the time of Pausanias, who flourished A. C 174 These judges did not decide on all combats, but only on those for which they were especially appointed. An appeal lay from their decisions, and they might even be impeached before the senate of Olympia, who sometimes superseded their decisions Those who were elected Hellanodicæ underwent a course of instructions in the duties of their office, which lasted ten months, during which they resided in a palace appropriated to that purpose, and called Ἑλλανοδικαίων. *Larcher*

[57] καταβάντος ἐφ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο. I take ἐπὶ here to be used in the sense of the end for which one is going, so εἶναι ἐπὶ ὕδωρ, "in order to draw water." Schweighæuser likewise translates "ob id ipsum." Larcher says that the literal translation is, "et étant descendu en ce lieu-la même"—*and having gone down to that very place.* I think, however, that he is mistaken; see Matt Gr. Gram 586, c Larcher likewise observes, that καταβαίνω signifies *to go into the list*

[58] The imperfect and second aorist indicate a desire or endeavour. *Larch.*

[59] Literally, "he fell out with the first *combatant.*" The combatants were paired at the Olympic games in the following manner There was an urn consecrated to the gods, into which were placed small ballots, about the size of a bean, two marked α, two β, two γ, and so on, according to the number of the candidates The champions then advanced one after another, offered up their prayers to Jupiter, and drew forth one of the ballots. They were forbidden to look at the letter they had drawn; and, for the purpose of hindering them from so doing, a herald stood by, armed with a cudgel. When they had all drawn, the Alytarch, or some one of the Hellanodicæ, took the ballot of each of the champions standing in a circle, looked at it, and paired those who had drawn the same letter. If the number of the Athlets was uneven, the one who had the odd letter contended with the conqueror; which was no slight advantage, as he was fresh, whereas his opponent was already fatigued. *Bellanger*, from *Lucian. Hermotim.*

[60] ἅτε with the genit. abs. See Matt 568, 2 and Viger, p 26, note by Zeunius

"and subtle man, to possess a city in Thrace, in a place "where ship timber is found in abundance, and wood for "oars[61] in great quantity, and mines of silver? Around that "spot dwell, moreover, numbers of Hellenes and barbarians, "who, when they have obtained a chief, will do whatsoever "he may command, whether by day or by night I beseech "you, therefore, check what this individual is about, in order "that you may not be oppressed by domestic war. Put a stop "to his proceedings; sending for him by some gentle mes- "sage; and, when you have him in your power, do[62] so that "he may never return to the Hellenes." Megabazus, by 24
this discourse, easily persuaded Darius, who was convinced[63] his general foresaw correctly what would happen; and, some time after, Darius despatched a messenger to Myrcinus, who spoke as follows: "Histiæus, king Darius says as fol- "lows: I have considered, and find no one better affected "than you towards me and my interest: this I know, having "experienced it, not only from your words, but likewise "from your works. Now therefore—for I am planning[64] the "execution of some great achievements—come to me with "all despatch, to the end that I may confide the same unto "you." Histiæus, giving credit to these words, and at the same time regarding it as a great honour to become the king's counsellor, proceeded to Sardis on his arrival, Darius spoke to him thus. "Histiæus, I have sent for you for the "following reason. As soon as I had returned from Scythia, "and you were no longer before my eyes, there was nothing "I longed for so much[65] as to behold you, and that you "should converse with me; convinced as I am that, of all "possessions, a true friend, one that possesses intelligence "and affection, is the most precious: both which, I know, "and can bear witness, you have towards my affairs[66]. You "have done well in[67] coming; and therefore I make you now "this offer. Take no longer any account of Miletus, or the "new-founded city in Thrace; but follow me to Susa; have "the same that I have; and be the sharer of my board and "my counsels." Darius having so spoken, and appointed 25
Artaphernes, his own paternal brother, to be viceroy of Sardis,

[61] κωπεῖς, τὰ εἰς κώπας εὔθετα ξύλα. *Hesych.* quoted by *Valck.*

[62] ποιέειν. The infinitive for the imperative. See Matthiæ's Gr. Gram. 553, 2.

[63] I have endeavoured to give the meaning of ὡς

[64] See Matt. 613, VII.

[65] Literally, "I never missed any thing in so short a time as," &c

[66] This phrase is equivalent to τά τοι ἐγὼ σύνοιδα καὶ ἴχω μαρτυρέειν, "which (namely, τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν) I know and can bear witness thou possessest." ἴχω with the infinitive signifies *possum.* Schweig. Lex Herod.

[67] See Matt 654.

marched on to Susa, taking Histiæus with him. He likewise nominated Otanes commander over the garrisons along the shore, whose father, Sisames, one of the royal judges, king Cambyses put to death, and then stripped of the whole of his skin[68], for having pronounced an unjust sentence for a sum of money. Having caused the skin to be torn off, he cut thongs out of it, and stretched them across the stool on which the judge was wont to sit when he pronounced sentence. Cambyses, having so done, appointed as judge, in the room of Sisames, whom he had killed and flayed, the son of Sisames; enjoining him to remember on what stool he was seated, when
26 he gave judgment. The above-mentioned Otanes, therefore —the same who had been placed on this seat—having now succeeded to Megabazus in the command of the army, reduced the Byzantines and Chalcedonians: he likewise took Antandros, belonging to the territory of Troas: he took also Lamponium[69]. and, having obtained some ships from the Lesbians, he reduced Lemnos and Imbros, both of which were
27 still in those days inhabited by Pelasgi. (The Lemnians, in the contest, behaved with valour, and, though they resisted, were at last overcome. over those of their number that survived, the Persians placed, as governor, Lycaretus, brother to the Mæandrius who had ruled over Samos. This Lycaretus died during his government at Lemnos.) The following was his motive for enslaving and reducing all the above[70]: some he accused of desertion in the campaign against the Scythians, others he accused of harassing Darius's army, in their retreat back from Scythia. Such were the achievements Otanes performed, during his command over the forces.

28 But the repose from calamities lasted a short time only subsequently; and misfortunes once more began to visit the Ionians, *proceeding* from Naxos and Miletus; for, on the one hand, Naxos surpassed in opulence the rest of the islands, and, on the other, Miletus had, at that period, reached the summit of its prosperity[71], and was the ornament[72] of Ionia;

[68] Understand δορὰν after ἀνθρωπηΐην. *Schweig. Lex. Herod.*

[69] Chalcedon, Lamponium, and Antandros, were in Asia, and consequently formed no part of Otanes's government; as he was the successor to Megabazus, whose command did not extend beyond Europe. It may be supposed, however, that Otanes had the command of the Asiatic coasts, before he succeeded Megabazus in his government. *Larcher.*

[70] I have endeavoured to make as good sense as I could of this very difficult passage. My translation is from Larcher's note: "La cause pour laquelle Otanes subjugua tous ces peuples, et les réduisit en esclavage, fut celle-ci." *Translat.*

[71] See Matt. 460.

[72] The Greeks use, in the same sense, σχῆμα; but the term is less frequent than πρόσχημα. As, Ἀσιάτιδος γῆς σχῆμα, Θηβαΐα πόλις. Eurip. And.l. quoted by *Larcher.*

although, prior to these events, it had been, for[73] two generations of men, most terribly disordered by insurrections, till such time as the Parians settled their mutual differences[74]: for these latter the Milesians had chosen for their arbitrators, out of all the Hellenes. The Parians took the following mode 29
of arranging their differences: on the arrival of their chief men at Miletus, seeing[75] that the inhabitants were in a deplorable situation, they declared that they would make a tour through their territory. In so doing, and going over all the lands of Miletus, whenever they observed, in the upper[76] country, any farm well cultivated, they wrote down the name of the proprietor of the estate. Having visited the whole territory, and found but few such, they no sooner descended to the city, than, assembling the people, they appointed to rule over the state those whose lands they had found well cultivated; for it was their opinion, they said, that they would look as carefully after public affairs as they had after their own private concerns. The rest of the Milesians, who before were at variance, they commanded to pay obedience to those individuals. Thus, therefore, the Parians established peace among the Milesians. It was in the following manner that 30
misfortune at this time began to visit Ionia from those cities. Certain men of the opulent had been exiled from Naxos by the people[77]: in their flight, they proceeded to Miletus: Aristagoras, son of Molpagoras, was at that time governor[78] of Miletus. he was son-in-law and cousin to Histiæus, son of Lysagoras, whom Darius retained at Susa: for Histiæus was tyrant of Miletus; and was at Susa at the time when the Naxians, who had previously been his hosts, came *to Miletus*. On the arrival of the Naxians at Miletus, they besought Aristagoras to furnish them, if he could, with some forces[79], so that they might return to their country. Aristagoras, considering that if by his means they could make good their return to their country, he should obtain the sovereignty over Naxos, addressed them in the following speech; alleging, as his motive, their connexion of hospitality with Histiæus:

[73] ἐπί. See Matt. 586, last parag. but one.

[74] μέχρι οὗ μιν Π. κατήρτισαν, "settled it." μιν relates to Μίλητος.

[75] γὰρ, denoting the cause before the effect. See Matt. 613, vii.

[76] ἀνιστηκυίη. This word is otherwise rendered, "depopulated, wasted." The authorities for this last interpretation are H. Steph. in Thes. Larcher, and Schneid. in Gr. Germ. Lex.

[77] See Matt. 592, at the beginning

[78] That is to say, that Histiæus had appointed him his locum-tenens during his absence. ἐπίτροπος is he to whom one confides the care, superintendence, or government, of any thing.

[79] εἴ πως have nearly the same signification as εἰ δύναιτο: so that the whole phrase might otherwise be explained ἰδίοντο τοῦ Ἀ. παραισχεῖν αὐτοῖσι δύναμίν τινα εἰ δύναιτο, or εἰ βούλοιτο. *Schweig. Lex. Herod.*

"I myself am not sufficiently powerful to furnish you with "such forces as might insure your return, despite of the "Naxians, who now possess the city for I understand the "Naxians have a body of eight thousand shields [80], and a great "number of long vessels. Nevertheless, I will do my utmost "to serve you: and I am thinking of this plan to do so. "Artaphernes is my friend. he is the son of Hystaspes, and "brother to king Darius, and has the command of all the "forces on the sea-side of Asia [81]; being provided with a "numerous army and large fleet. He will, I think, perform "what we wish." The Naxians, having heard this, commissioned Aristagoras to do so, in the best manner he could, and requested him to take upon himself the rewards and expenses of the army, which [82] they intended to repay; being in great hopes that, when they made their appearance at Naxos, the inhabitants would do whatsoever they should command, as well as the rest of the islanders; for none of those islands of the Cyclades was, as yet, subject to Darius.

31 When Aristagoras arrived at Sardis, he told Artaphernes that Naxos was an island of no great extent; but nevertheless beautiful and valuable, and in the vicinity of Ionia. that it likewise contained great riches, and many slaves. "Send, "therefore," said he, "an expedition against that country, to "reinstate some exiles from it. If you consent to this, there "are ready, on the one hand, considerable funds in my pos- "session, more than enough to cover the expenses of the "campaign; for it is just that we should pay, since we our- "selves undertake the war. On the other hand, you will "add to the king's dominion, not only Naxos itself, but "likewise the islands dependent on it; namely, Paros, Andros, "and others, which are called the Cyclades. Making the "attack from thence, you will easily lay hands on Eubœa, a "large and flourishing island, not less in size than Cyprus, "and extremely easy to take. One hundred ships will be "enough to reduce all these places." Artaphernes made answer to him, in these words: "You propose things advan- "tageous to the royal house all that you advise is well "advised, except in regard to the number of the vessels "instead of one hundred ships, two hundred shall be ready

[80] ἀσπὶς signifies not only a shield, but likewise "a body of warriors, heavy-armed, and provided with shields." A similar metonymy exists in English, where we say, so many bayonets; meaning, so many men The ἀσπὶς is, properly, the shield of the heavy-armed troops; that of the light-armed is the πέλτη.

[81] Herodotus adds the words ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, to distinguish the government of Artaphernes from that of Otanes, who was governor of the sea-coasts in Europe. c. 25.

[82] ἐς with the participle denoting an intention See Matt. 568

"at the beginning of spring: but it behoves that the king "himself should likewise give his assent in these matters." Aristagoras accordingly, filled with joy when he heard the 32
answer, departed back to Miletus. Artaphernes, having sent to Susa, and communicated what had been proposed by Aristagoras, Darius himself gave his approval: he accordingly prepared two hundred vessels, and a very numerous body, consisting of Persians and the rest of their allies; over which he appointed Megabates general, a Persian of the family of the Achæmenidæ, and cousin both of himself and of Darius; and whose daughter, if the report be true[83], was affianced to the Lacedæmonian Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, at a period subsequent to these events; he being ambitious to become tyrant over Hellas. Artaphernes, having appointed Megabates commander-in-chief, despatched the army to Aristagoras.

Megabates having taken on board, at Miletus, Aristagoras, 33
together with the Ionian troops and the Naxians, steered as if for the Hellespont; but when he reached Chios, he moored his vessels in Caucasa, with the intention of crossing over[84] from thence to Naxos by a north wind and, as it was fated that the Naxians should not be cut off by that armament, an event of the following nature came to pass As Megabates was going his rounds, to examine the sentinels on board the various ships, there happened to be no one on guard aboard a Myndian vessel the commander-in-chief, highly displeased at this, ordered his body-guards to look for the master of the vessel, whose name was Scylax, and thrust him through one of the fore port-holes and bind him[85] there, for

[83] It appears from this, that when Herodotus wrote this account, he had no knowledge of the letter by which Pausanias demanded Xerxes' daughter in marriage. That letter may be seen in Thucydides, 1.128. *Larcher*

[84] διαβάλλω is generally said of crossing the sea: it is, however, sometimes used when speaking of crossing over land *Larcher*

[85] Θαλαμίης. Understand ὀπῆς, the hole through which the Θαλαμίτης thrust his oar. The reader is no doubt aware, that the ships of the ancients, if indeed they merit that name, were impelled by oars The rowers were divided into three classes; the Θρανῖται, the μεσόται or ζυγῖται, and the Θαλαμῖται. Schneider quotes Aristotle (De Part. Anim. 4, 10), as comparing the κάτη μεσόταις with the middle finger. hence it may be inferred, that the μεσόται were those that rowed in the middle of the vessel; where, as the room was greater, the purchase must likewise have been longer, and consequently the oars themselves the longest. the Θαλαμῖται pulled the bow-oars, and the Θρανῖται those at the stern these latter, we are told by Thucydides, received more pay than the others this probably was the case, because the stroke-oars required more skill, in the management, than the others. According to many antiquaries, the vessels were impelled by three rows of oars, one above the other; the lower rowers being termed Θρανῖται, the middle ones ζυγῖται, and the upper ones the Θαλαμῖται: but I hope I shall be able to prove, in my notes on the bridges across the Hellespont, that such was not the case, with the ships of war at least.

his neglect[86]; leaving his head on the outside, and his body inside. Scylax being thus bound, some individual reported to Aristagoras how Megabates had bound and disgraced his Myndian friend. Aristagoras, upon this information, went to solicit his pardon from the Persian; but not being able to obtain what he requested, he went himself and released the master. Megabates, understanding what had taken place, was highly indignant, and inflamed with anger against Aristagoras; who observed, "What have you to do "with these matters[87]? Did not Artaphernes send you to "obey me, and to go wheresoever I might command? Why "do you, then, meddle with what concerns you not?" Thus spoke Aristagoras: but the Persian, exasperated at this language, sent, as soon as night fell, some persons to Naxos, on board a bark, to make known to the Naxians all the dangers
34 that now threatened them. Now, the Naxians had not the slightest expectancy that this armament was to attack them: when, however, they were apprised of *its destination*, they forthwith brought within the town every thing out of the country, made all due preparations as if about to be besieged, and provided the city with victual and drink[88]. Thus the islanders prepared themselves, now that they knew the war was to fall upon them; and the enemies, having conducted their ships from Chios across to Naxos, had to encounter people duly fortified, and besieged them for four months. But when all the money the Persians themselves had brought with them was expended, together with large sums furnished by Aristagoras, and the siege being still far from being brought to an end[89], they erected in that place some fortresses for the fugitives from Naxos, and retired to the continent, unsuccessful.

35 Aristagoras was not able to fulfil his promise to Artaphernes; and at the same time was harassed for the stipend due to the army, payment of which was demanded. he was likewise terrified by reason of the failure of the army, and his having offended Megabates, and imagined that the

[86] κατὰ τοῦτο signifies "ob eam causam." The meaning of διαλόνταϛ is, that they should, as it were, divide his body; leaving one half within, and the other outside the ship. *Schweig. Not.* and *Lex. Herod.*

[87] If Valckenaer's reading is adopted (πρῆγμα for πρηγμάσι), the sense will be, "What hast thou to do with these people?"

[88] Equivalent to ἄξαντο ἐϛ τὸ τεῖχοϛ, "they brought victual and drink within the wall." The verb ἰσάξαντο comes from ἰσάγειν, and not from σάττειν. See Matt. 425. where the punctuation and reading are not the same as in the edition of Dr. Gaisford.

[89] A similar construction occurs in iv. 43.

sovereignty of Miletus would be taken from him[90]: having so many reasons for fear, he began to think of rebelling; particularly as at this same time there happened to come from Histiæus, who was at Sardis, a person whose head was marked with punctures, advising Aristagoras to secede from the king. For Histiæus, being desirous of making known to Aristagoras his wish that he should revolt, and as, from the roads being guarded[91], he could not in any other manner signify his desire with safety, he shaved the head of the most faithful of his slaves, marked it with punctures, and then waited till the hair grew again; but as soon as the hair was grown, he despatched him to Miletus, giving him no other order, than, when he should arrive at Miletus, to bid Aristagoras shave his hair, and examine his head[92]. The punctures, as I have before observed, signified a secession. This was done by Histiæus, because he regarded as a great hardship his detention at Susa: in case any rebellion should take place, he had, therefore, great hopes of being sent down to the sea-shore; whereas, unless Miletus made some attempt, he was already convinced he should never see that place again. Histiæus, 36
in pursuance of this project, accordingly despatched the messenger: and all these circumstances coinciding just at this same time to Aristagoras, he therefore held council with his partisans, having first made known his own opinion, and what had happened on the part of Histiæus· they all, accordingly, joined in the same opinion, advising him to rebel; except Hecatæus the historian; who, in the first place, opposed undertaking a war against the king of the Persians, enumerating all the nations that Darius ruled over, and his forces; but finding he could not bring them over to his opinion, he, in the second place, advised "that they should "act so as to have the command of the sea, by means of their "fleet. Now," he continued[93], "he could not see—for he well "knew the strength of the Milesians was not great—how this "could be brought about, in any other way, except the riches "which Crœsus, the Lydian sovereign, had dedicated were "taken from the temple at Branchidæ. in which case, he had "great expectation that they might gain the sovereignty over "the sea; and, by adopting that plan, they themselves would

[90] ἀπαιρήσεσθαι, the fut. mid. in a passive sense, as is frequent in this dialect. so, in c 34, we have seen πολιορκησόμενοι, instead of πολιορκηθησόμενοι *Schweig.*

[91] See Matt. 568.

[92] Polyænus asserts, that the words pricked on the scull were, Ἱστιαῖος Ἀρισταγόρᾳ Ἰωνίαν ἀπόστησον: "Histiæus to Aristagoras. Make Ionia to rebel." *Larcher*, from *Valcken.*

[93] ἴφη λίγων is, according to Matt. 558, an extraordinary pleonasm; but Dr. Blomfield, p.1 of the same work, is of a different opinion. See Schweig. Lex. Herod. voc. λίγειν, 2.

"have money for their own use, and the enemy might not have "an opportunity of pillaging *the treasures.*" Those riches, as it has been shewn by me in the first book of this history[94], were great. This proposal did not prevail: they resolved, nevertheless, that they should throw off their allegiance; and that one of their number should sail to Myus, to the camp which had been there since the return from Naxos, and en-
37 deavour to seize the captains aboard the ships. Iatragoras having been sent on this errand; and having seized, by artifice, the Mylassean tyrant[95] Oleatus son of Ibanoles, the Termerean tyrant Histiæus son of Tymnes, and Coes the son of Erxandrus, to whom Darius had given Mytilene, and Aristagoras of Cyma, the son of Heraclides, and several others, Aristagoras openly detached himself, devising every thing to the injury of Darius. And, in the first place, pretending to lay aside the sovereign power, he gave a republican[96] constitution to Miletus, in order that the Milesians might, of their own accord, join him in the rebellion: afterwards, he did the same throughout the rest of Ionia, driving away the tyrants; while those whom he had taken out of the vessels that had formed a part of the armament against Naxos he delivered up to the cities, with the intention of conciliating their friendship; delivering up each individual to the citizens of the
38 place over which he had governed. The Mytilenæans, accordingly, had no sooner got possession of Coes, than they led him forth, and stoned him to death; but the Cymæans sent away their[97] tyrant, as did likewise most[98] of the others: so that, in all the cities, the power of the tyrants was abolished. Aristagoras having deposed the tyrants, and commanded a strategus[99] to be appointed in each of the cities, went himself, in the second place, as an ambassador to Lacedæmon; for he stood in need of procuring some powerful alliance[100].
39 Anaxandrides, the son of Leon, no longer survived on the

[94] See i. 50, 51, 92. Had Aristagoras followed the prudent counsel of Hecatæus, he might have levied a greater number of troops, and deprived Xerxes of an opportunity of spoiling the temple, and using the treasures against the Greeks *Larcher.*

[95] Such, I think, is the signification of these adjectives. We have seen, in several instances, that, when speaking of the sovereigns of different countries, Herodotus contents himself with giving them their national distinction alone: — ὁ Αἰγύπτιος is "the king of Egypt;" ὁ Ἀραβίος, "the king of Arabia"

[96] The ἰσονομίη is the opposite of the τυραννὶς; as is clearly proved by Mæandrius's speech, iii. 142. *Wessel.*

[97] σφίσι σφέτερον αὐτῶν See Matt. 466. 1 2d paragraph.

[98] See Matt 268.

[99] στρατηγὸς has three different significations: 1. a general; 2. the minister at war in Athens; 3. in other republics, the first magistrate. *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.*

[100] Construction: ἴδιε γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίης τινὸς μεγάλης (ὥστε) ἐξευρεθῆναί οἱ. *Schweig. Not.* Literally, "for he was in want of some alliance to be found for him." Consult likewise Matt. 613

throne of Sparta: he had departed this life; and Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides, held the sovereignty; having obtained it, not by his valour, but by his birth. For Anaxandrides had taken for wife a daughter of his own sister; and, although the woman was beloved by him, no children were produced. This being the case, the ephori called him before them, and addressed him: "Although you, perhaps, may "not look forward to your own interest, still must not we "permit that the race of Eurysthenes should become extinct. "Put away[101], therefore, the wife you now have, seeing that "she brings you no offspring; and espouse another. By so "doing, you will gratify the Spartans." Anaxandrides made answer, saying, "that he would do neither of those things; "and that they gave him improper advice, counselling him "to put away the wife he had, though she had been faithful "to him, and to take another. neither would he obey them." Upon this[102], the ephori and senators[103], having held council, 40
made this proposal to Anaxandrides: "As we see you are "attached to the wife you now have, act as follows; nor op- "pose what we suggest, lest the Spartans adopt some other "*more severe* resolutions in respect of you. We no longer "require of you the dismissal[104] of your wife: continue to "shew her, in all respects, the same kindness as now; but "take, in addition to her, another wife, that may bear children." The ephori having said nearly the above words, Anaxandrides assented; and afterwards, having two wives, inhabited two homes, acting in a manner quite contrary to the Spartan usages. Accordingly, after the lapse of no long time, the last- 41
married[105] wife brought forth the Cleomenes I have mentioned. At the same time this woman was producing[106] a royal heir to the Spartans, the first wife, who had previously been barren, by some means or other providentially[107] conceived. Although

[101] ἴξεο. Aor. sec. imperat. mid. from ἱκάνω. *Schweig. Lex. Herod.*

[102] πρὸς ταῦτα. See Matt. 591, β.

[103] γέροντες signifies not only the old men, but likewise the senators. *Schneid Gr. Germ. Lex.*

[104] See Matt. 332.

[105] In the same manner as the man who marries is said to ἰσάγεσθαι γυναῖκα, "to lead the woman to his house;" so the woman is said to ἴεσθαι, or "to come to the house."

[106] I have followed Schweighæuser's version, which accords with the punctuation in Dr. Gaisford's edition.—Larcher's translation is very different: "she presented him to the Spartans as the presumptive heir to the throne." The reader will choose for himself between the two interpretations. ἵμερος βασιλεὺς signifies "the heir apparent."

[107] συντυχίῃ ταύτῃ χρησαμένην. Portus explains συντυχίη by *felix fortunæ successus*. In that case we should translate, "by good fortune she conceived;" but I do not think this term is ever taken in that sense. In both the examples that Portus produces, it means a fortuitous event. It must likewise be observed, that the pronoun demonstrative relates almost invariably to what follows. *Larcher.*—Schweighæuser takes the above expression to be equivalent to κατὰ δαίμονα, "forte fortuna, Deo rem dirigente."

shew as really pregnant, the relations of the second wife, hearing of the circumstance, collected a mob, and spread a report that she boasted vainly, in the intention of producing a suppositious child: the people were indignant at this; and, by reason of their disbelief, when her time came, the ephori seated themselves around the woman, and witnessed her delivery. Having given birth to Dorieus, she soon after bore Leonidas, and again, soon after, Cleombrotus; though some assert that Leonidas and Cleombrotus were twins: but Cleomenes' mother, the additional wife, who was daughter to Prinetades son of Damarmenus, never bore a second time afterwards.

42 Cleomenes, as the report goes, was of unsound mind, and almost[108] a maniac; whereas Dorieus was the first of the young men of his age, and flattered himself that by his valour he should gain[109] possession of the kingly power: so that, full of this expectation, when Anaxandrides died, and the Lacedæmonians, following the law, nominated the eldest, Cleomenes, king; Dorieus, indignant, and disdaining to acknowledge him as king, requested a supply of men from the Spartans, and took them to found a colony; without consulting the oracle at Delphi as to what quarter of the world he should go to establish himself in, or performing any of the usual ceremonies[110]: but not being able to bear with *the disappointment*, he steered his vessels away for Libya, taking some inhabitants of Thera as pilots. Arrived at Cinyps, he there established himself, in a most beautiful part of Libya, by the side of a river. Having, however, been driven from thence, in the third year, by the Macæ, Libyans, and Carthaginians,
43 he returned to the Peloponnesus. There Antichares, a native of Eleon, advised him, from the oracles given to Laius[111], to

[108] *ἀκρομανής*. Coray asserts that *ἄκρος*, prefixed to an adjective, has the same power nearly as *sub* and *semi* in Latin. This explanation is justified, in the present instance, by the following circumstances. 1. Cleomenes, in his interview with Aristagoras, conducts himself by no means as a maniac: c. 49—51. 2. In VI. 75. Herodotus himself informs us, that *ὑπέλαβε αὐτὸν μανίη νοῦσος*, whereas he was before only *ὑπομαργότερος*. Larcher translates, "he was even a maniac;" in which, however, he is not followed by Schneider, as Schweighæuser states. Schneider's explanation of *ἀκρομανὴς* is "nahe an Raserey," "approaching to madness."

[109] *ἐπίστασθαι* takes the verb in the participle. See Matt. 547, 2.

[110] Among other customs observed at the departure of colonists, they were wont to take fire from the Prytaneum of the mother town; and if ever that fire happened to be extinguished in the colony, it became necessary to go back to the mother city to rekindle it. *Larcher.*

[111] *ἐκ τῶν Λαΐου χρησμῶν* signifies "the *oracles pronounced* TO *Laius*," not "the *oracles pronounced* BY *Laïus*." The genitive in Greek, as in Latin, is often used to express the object of an action expressed in another noun: thus, to use Larcher's example from Eurip. Orest. 617. *ἐπίεμαι' ἀγγέλουσα σ' Ἀγαμέμνονος* means "the dreams that Agamemnon sent her," not "the dreams of Agamemnon." We have already seen a similar example of the genitive objective, in III. 136. See Matt. 313.

found Heraclea, in Sicily: for he said, that the whole of the territory of Eryx belonged to the Heraclidæ, since Hercules himself had taken possession thereof. When Dorieus heard this, he went to Delphi, there to consult the oracle, "whether "he should make himself master of the country he was pre- "paring to depart for:" the Pythia answered, that he would. Dorieus therefore, taking with him the same fleet and crews he had conducted to Libya, sailed along the coast of Italy. At that same time, according to the account of the Syba- 44
rits, they themselves[112], together with Telys their king, were about to take arms against Croton; so that the Crotonians, being stricken with fear, besought Dorieus to lend them his assistance, and obtained their request: Dorieus accordingly accompanied them in an expedition against Sybaris; which place they captured in concert. The above, therefore, according to the Sybarits, was performed by Dorieus and his companions. But the Crotonians affirm, that no foreigner whatever took any share with them in the war against the Sybarits, except only Callias of Elis, a seer of the race of the Iamidæ[113]; and he came to do so in the following manner: he had deserted from Telys, the tyrant of Sybaris, and passed over to them, because the victims presaged nothing favourable when he offered sacrifice against Croton[114]. Such is the account of the Crotonians. The following proofs 45
of these assertions are given by the two parties. On the one hand, the Sybarits shew, in the first place, a precinct, and temple, standing near the Crastis[115], which is at times dry: this, they say, Dorieus, after sharing with the Crotonians in the capture of the city, erected to Minerva, and surnamed the Crastion: in the second place, they produce the death of Dorieus as the most cogent argument, because he was cut off for acting contrary to what the oracle pronounced to him; for had he done what he was sent to do, and not disobeyed, he would have possessed himself of the Erycinian territory, having taken it, and kept it; nor would he himself, together with his army, have perished. On the other hand,

[112] See Matt. 538, 2. Compare also IV. 5. at the beginning.

[113] See Pind. Ol. VI. and the two Scholiasts, for an account of Iamus and his prophetic posterity.

[114] Θύεσθαι ἐπί τινι signifies to offer sacrifice, in order to know from the victims what will be the result of an undertaking against some person.

[115] ξηρὸν Κράστιν. There is no doubt that ξηροπόταμος is equivalent to χειμάρρους, a stream that flows only in the winter or rainy season, a ravine; such, for instance, as the famed Ilissus is at the present day. These streams are called *torrents* in French, and *torrens* in Latin; two words which have not the slightest connexion with the English *torrent*, which, as we all know, signifies a large and impetuous flow of water.

the Crotonians shew, in the territory of Croton, many
that were set apart and given[116] to Callias of Elis, and whic
down to my day, the posterity of Callias still held in their possession; but there is nothing given, either to Dorieus, or to the offspring of Dorieus. Now, there can be no doubt, that if Dorieus had been admitted to a share in the Sybaritic war, they would have given to him far more than to Callias. Such, then, are the proofs that each of these parties brings forward; and the reader is at liberty to adopt the account of either,
46 to which he may give credit. Together with Dorieus sailed others, likewise, of the Spartans, to accompany him in the colonization—Thessalus, Paræbates, Celeas, and Euryleon; who, on their arrival in Sicily, with the whole fleet, met with death, being defeated in battle by the Phœnicians and Egestæi: at least, Euryleon was, of all the settlers, the only one who survived the rout. This Spartan collected the relics of the army, and took possession of Minoas, a colony of the Selinusii: he likewise contributed his assistance to the Selinusii, in ridding them of the despot Peithagoras; and subsequently usurped himself the tyranny of Selinus, where he ruled only for some short time; the citizens rising up and slaying him, though he sought refuge at the altar of Jove
47 Forensis. Among those who followed Dorieus, and fell with him, was Philip the son of Butacides, an inhabitant of Croton; who having promised marriage to a daughter of Telys the king of Sybaris, fled from Croton, but, disappointed in his marriage, sailed[117] to Cyrene. Proceeding from this last place, he accompanied Dorieus on board of his private trireme, and a company of men, at his own expense. He had been victor in the Olympic games, and was the handsomest of the Greeks in his day; and, in consequence of his beauty, obtained at the hands of the Egestæi such honours as none other ever did; for they erected an heroum on his tomb,
48 where they propitiate him with sacrifice. Dorieus accordingly met with his death in the above-described manner. Could he have brooked to be subject to Cleomenes, and had he remained at Sparta, he might have become king of the Lacedæmonians; for Cleomenes did not hold the power any length of time, but died without leaving any posterity, excepting a daughter, whose name was Gorgo[118].

[116] ἐξαίρετα. These were, in my opinion, certain lands, chosen and set apart, which were given to any one as a recompence for his services. Homer calls this portion of land, given as a reward to heroes, τέμενος. The term ἐνέμοντο, one line lower down, and which of necessity must allude to the cultivation of land, decides the sense. *Larcher.*—I think Larcher's observation on νέμεσθαι should be received with caution.

[117] οἴχετο πλέων. See Matt. 559, *c.*

[118] See VII. 239.

Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletus, arrived accordingly in 49
Sparta, at the time that Cleomenes was on the throne. He came to this conference, as the Lacedæmonians state, with a brass plate[119], on which was engraved the outline of the whole earth, together with the entire sea, and all the rivers. Aristagoras, coming into the presence, addressed the following speech to the king of Lacedæmon: "Be not surprised, 'Cleomenes, at the eagerness with which I have come 'hither[120]; for circumstances are such as I am going to de-'scribe.—That the sons of Ionia should be slaves, in place of 'free men, is a great disgrace, and subject of sorrow, not 'only to ourselves, but more especially, among the Hellenes, "to you; inasmuch as you stand at the head of Hellas. Now, "therefore, I beseech you, in the name of the gods of Hel-"las,[121], deliver from thraldom the Ionians, men of your own "blood. This you may easily compass[122]; for those barbari-"ans are not men of valour, while you, in matters belonging "to war, have attained the highest rank for bravery. Their "mode of fighting is this: *their arms are* bows and a short "javelin; they come into battle covered with kilts[123] [not "with shields], and wearing on their heads turbans [not hel-"mets]; so that they are easy to overcome. Besides, those "who occupy that continent possess advantages, such as are "not possessed by all other nations together: gold, to begin 'with[124], and likewise silver, and brass, and varied gar-'ments, and beasts of burthen, and slaves; which, if you 'really wish[125], you may have. The various nations occupy 'the country succeeding one another, as I now will shew. 'Next to these, the Ionians, lie these, the Lydians[126], who 'dwell on a rich soil, and abound in silver." As he said these words, he pointed to the map of the world, which he had brought, engraved on the plate. "Contiguous to the Ly-"dians dwell these, the Phrygians," continued Aristagoras, "to the eastward: of all men, that I know of, they are the "richest in cattle and fruits. Next to the Phrygians lie the "Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians; on the boundaries

[119] The journey of Aristagoras to Lacedæmon took place, according to Larcher, 504 years before Christ: maps are therefore of an earlier date than is generally imagined. It is even probable that it is a map that is alluded to in Joshua xviii. 4—9.

[120] Literally, "Wonder not at my eagerness, with respect to the coming hither." Such is the sense of the genitive τῆς ἀπίξιος. See Matt. 320.

[121] See Matt. 590, β

[122] Construction: εἰά τι ἐστὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν χωρέειν εὐπετέως. Concerning the form εἴος τ' εἰμι, "I am able," see Matt. 479. *obs.* 2.

[123] Concerning the *anaxyrides*, see Book iii. c. 87. note 147.

[124] ἀρξαμένοισι See Matt. 557.

[125] θυμῷ βουλόμενοι, "si animo volente fueritis;" i. e. "si serio volueritis." *Schweig. Lex. Herod.*

[126] Construction: Ἰώνων μὲν τῶνδε εἴδε Λυδοὶ (ἔχονται), εἰσίοντες, κ. τ λ.

"of these latter are the Cilicians, stretching down to this "sea, in which lies this island, called Cyprus: these people "pay to the king a yearly tribute of five hundred talents. "Contiguous to the Cilicians are these, the Armenians, who "likewise abound in cattle. Next to the Armenians are the "Matienians, who occupy this part. Finally, contiguous to "them is this country, Cissia, in which, lying on this river, "the Choaspes, is the city of Susa, marked here: in this "place the great King makes his residence; and here are the "treasures of his riches. If you take this town, then may "you boldly vie with Jove in wealth. And yet must you, for "the sake of a paltry strip of land, and that not so very ad- "vantageous, and for the sake of some narrow boundaries, "join battle with the Messenians, who are equal to you in "arms; and with the Arcadians, and with the Argians, "men who possess nought like[127] gold or silver, the desire "of which would induce any one to face death in battle. "When an opportunity is afforded[128] of easily conquering "the whole of Asia, can you wish for any thing more?" Such were the words of Aristagoras: and Cleomenes made answer, in the following: "Stranger of Miletus, I defer re-
50 "plying to thee, until the third day." Thus far they proceeded, at that first interview: and when the appointed day for returning the answer was come, and they were arrived at the rendezvous, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras, how many days' journey it was from the sea of the Ionians[129] to the residence of the King. Aristagoras, though he had hitherto shewn great cunning, and had skilfully deceived Cleomenes, committed, in this instance, an error; for he ought not to have stated the fact, at least, if he wished to attract the Spartans into Asia. He, however, told the truth; saying, that the road up to Susa was a three months' journey. Whereupon, Cleomenes, cutting short the rest of the description which Aristagoras was proceeding to give of the road, exclaimed: "My Mile- "sian friend, depart from Sparta ere the set of sun; for you "hold no reasonable[130] language to the Lacedæmonians, in "desiring to take them a three months' journey from the "sea." Cleomenes, accordingly, having so spoken, went
51 home. Aristagoras, taking the olive-branch[131], went to the

[127] ἰχόμενον τινὸς signifies "what is of the same kind as so and so."

[128] παρέχει, impers. part. See Matt. 564.

[129] There can hardly be any necessity of cautioning the reader against confounding this sea with the Ionian Sea.

[130] This is the translation of Schneider (in Lex. Gr.), who approves of the reading ὑβριστία.

[131] ἱκετηρίην, understand ῥάβδον or ἐλαίας κλάδον, *the olive-branch*, which the ἱκέτης, or suppliant, was wont to carry.

dwelling of Cleomenes; and entering within, as a suppliant, besought Cleomenes to listen to him, and requested the king first to send away his child; for by the side of Cleomenes stood his daughter, whose name was Gorgo, and was the only child he had, being about the age of eight or nine years Cleomenes bade him speak out what he had to say, and not to refrain on the child's account. Aristagoras accordingly there began his offers at ten talents, if he would accomplish what he requested. Cleomenes refusing, Aristagoras went on, adding to the sum, till at last he promised fifty talents; when the child exclaimed, "Father, the stranger will corrupt you, "unless you remove quickly." Cleomenes, pleased with the child's advice, went accordingly into another apartment; and Aristagoras took his final departure from Sparta; nor had he an opportunity of giving any further particulars respecting the road up to the King's residence.

The following, however, is a description of that road[132]. 52 All along there are royal stages[133], and very beautiful inns: the whole road lies through a country well peopled, and is secure. In the part traversing Lydia and Phrygia there are twenty stages; and the distance is ninety-four parasangs and a half. On the boundaries of Phrygia is the river Halys, whereon are placed gates[134], through which the wayfarer must of necessity pass, and so cross the river: a strong guard watches on the stream. Crossing[135] over into Cappadocia, and traversing that region to the boundaries of the Cilicians, are found eight and twenty stages, and the distance is one hundred and four parasangs: on the boundaries of the Cilicians you pass through two gates[136], and go by two stations of guards. Passing through these, and making way through Cilicia, there are three stages, and the distance amounts to fifteen parasangs and a half. The boundary of Cilicia and Armenia is a river called the Euphrates, which must be crossed in boats. In Armenia there are fifteen stages for resting-places, and the distance is fifty-six parasangs and a half: there is also a military station in

[132] Literally, "The particulars concerning that road are these." (τὰ) ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ἴχνι ὧδε, i. e. ἴσα τάδε. See Matt. 604, second paragraph.

[133] In the Persian kingdom, the σταθμοὶ were the places at which the king lodged, on his journeys: hence some authors describe the country by *stathmi*; in which case the word signifies a measure considerably longer than the parasang. The καταλύσεις were, probably, the same as the *khans* and *caravanseries* of the present day.

[134] A gate on a bridge, surmounted with a tower, was not unfrequent in ancient fortification, and is still seen on one of the bridges near Rome. I suppose that the gates here mentioned by Herodotus were of that kind.

[135] διαβάντι—πορευομένῳ—διιξιλάσαντι—ποιευμένῳ Concerning these datives, see Matt. 390.

[136] Gates used, probably, to close some gorge or narrow pass.

them[137]. Through this latter country flow four rivers, which must be traversed in boats, and which you must of necessity ferry across: the first is the Tigris: after which a second and third stream, bearing one and the same name, although not the same river, nor flowing from the same place; for the first-mentioned of these *latter*[138] flows from Armenia, and the other from Matiene: the fourth river bears the name of the Gyndes, the same which Cyrus once distributed into three hundred and sixty channels. Entering from Armenia into the country of Matiene, there are four stages; and from thence, proceeding into Cissia, there are eleven stages, and forty-two parasangs and a half, to the river Choaspes, which likewise must be crossed in boats, and on which is built the city of Susa. All these stages amount to one hundred and eleven[139]: such, accordingly, is the number of the stages for the accommodation of travellers, which you meet with as you
53 go up from Sardis to Susa. Now, if the royal road has been correctly measured in parasangs, and if, as is the case, the parasang is equal to thirty stades, the number of stades from Sardis to the king's palace, called Memnonia, is thirteen thousand five hundred; the parasangs being four hundred and fifty: and, by one who would advance one hundred and fifty stades each day, the days passed on the road[140] would be
54 just ninety:—so that the statement given by the Milesian, Aristagoras, was correct, when he said to Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, that it was three months' journey up to the king's residence. Should any one require a still more accurate statement than the above, I would likewise make the following observation:—it is necessary to add to the above computation the distance from Ephesus to Sardis. I make, therefore, the whole number of stades from the Grecian sea to Susa (for that is the citadel, called the Memnonian) to be fourteen thousand and forty; for there are five hundred and forty stades from Ephesus to Sardis: and thus the three months' journey is increased by three days.

[137] The meaning is, probably, that there was a garrison in each stathmus. *Larcher.*

[138] Herodotus is speaking of four rivers: the first is called the Tigris. He does not mention the name of the second and third, but informs us that they had one and the same name; by which he does not mean that they likewise were called the Tigris. The first of these two rivers had its source in Armenia, and the other in Matiania, like the Gyndes; concerning which, see Book i. 189. The two rivers, of which Herodotus does not state the name, were, according to Larcher and other skilful geographers, the Zabas Major, and the Zabas Minor. See Geographical Index to Herodotus, voc. ZABATUS.

[139] The stathmi, reckoned up from the details of Herodotus, are 81, not 111: the parasangs do not either amount to 450, but only to 313. The mistake, it appears, is in some of the parts, and not in the total.

[140] Supply ἐς ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν after ἀναισιμοῦνται. *Schweig. Lex Herod.*

Aristagoras, being driven out of Sparta, proceeded to 55
Athens; which had become rid of her tyrants, in the following manner.

After Aristogiton and Harmodius, who were, by extraction, of Gephyræan race, had slain Hipparchus son of Pisistratus, brother to the tyrant Hippias, and who in his sleep beheld a vision manifestly pointing out his fate[141], the Athenians were for the four following years governed with even greater severity than before. The above-mentioned vision, which 56
Hipparchus had in his sleep, was this: On the vigil of the Panathenæa, Hipparchus fancied that a tall and well-formed man, standing by his side, uttered these enigmatic words: "With bearing soul, thou lion, patient, bear woes unbear-"able: none of the unjust shall evade paying the payment *of* "*his crimes*[142]." These circumstances, as soon as it was day, he openly communicated to the interpreters of dreams; and, after making the due sacrifices to avert it[143], headed the procession, in which he lost his life.

The Gephyræans, of whose race were the murderers of 57
Hipparchus, were, according to what they themselves state, originally from Eretria; but I find, by my own researches, they must have been Phœnicians, belonging to those of that nation who accompanied Cadmus into the country now called Bœotia, and inhabited the Tanagric tract, in that quarter, which fell to them by lot. from thence the Cadmeans had previously been driven out by the Argians. These Gephyræans, afterwards expelled by the Bœotians, retired to Athens. and the Athenians conditionally received them to be their fellow-citizens, enacting that they should be excluded from certain privileges of no consequence. These 58
Phœnicians who had accompanied Cadmus, and of which number were the Gephyræans, having come to dwell in this

[141] ὄνειρος ἐναργὴς, "a clear dream," or, as Herodotus expresses himself, "a very clear vision:" that is to say, that Hipparchus saw clearly, in a dream, what was about to befal him. *Larcher.* —This word, when taken actively, governs the dative. *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.*

[142] Translated by Grotius:

Fortiter hæc leo fer, quamvis fera, quando ferendum est,
Injustos homines sero, cito, pœna sequitur

preserving the alliteration of the original. *Grotius*, quoted by *Larcher.*

[143] ἀπισπάμενος τὴν ὄψιν. The verb ἀπίστασθαι is generally taken in the sense of "to cast away," "to lay aside;" hence the above words have been translated *spreta visione.* Wesseling, who is followed by Schweighæuser and Schneider, is of opinion, that the term is here used in the sense of averting the dream, which, it was thought, might be done by offering sacrifice to the gods, called ἀποτρόπαιοι, *averruncatores*, or merely by telling the dream to the sun; as we gather from the Scholiast on Sophocles, Elect. 424.—ἀπιστεῖν, ἀπίστασθαι, signify *despondere animum.* I should therefore translate, "Although discouraged by this vision," &c. *Larcher*

land, introduced among the Hellenes much useful knowledge, and the characters of writing in particular; which, in my opinion[144], they had not before. At first, the Gephyræans introduced the same characters which all the Phœnicians make use of[145]; subsequently, in the progress of time, together with their language, they altered the strokes[146] of the letters. In those days, the Ionian Hellenes inhabited many parts in the neighbourhood; and these, being taught the letters by the Phœnicians, altered somewhat the shape, and made use of them: in so doing, they commonly called them Phœnician; and, indeed, justice dictated, since those people had introduced them into Hellas, that they should be called Phœnician[147]. Besides, from olden time, the Ionians give to the books made of papyrus the name of parchments; because, formerly, for want of papyrus[148], they used prepared skins[149] of goats and sheep; and even to my time many of
59 the barbarians write on such kinds of prepared skins. I have myself likewise seen some Cadmean characters, in the temple of Ismenian Apollo, at Thebes of Bœotia, carved on some tripods: most of them are similar to the Ionian characters. One of those tripods bears the following inscription: "Amphitryon dedicated me, on his return from the "Teleboans." These letters may be probably of the age in which flourished Laius the son of Labdacus, and the grand-
60 son of Polydorus, Cadmus's son. Another tripod has this inscription[150], in hexameter verse: "Scæus, conqueror of the pugilists, dedicated me, fair ornament, to thee[151], far-hurling "Apollo." This Scæus was, in all probability, the son of Hippocoon. If we take for granted that he was the person who dedicated the tripod, and not some other having

[144] *ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν.* See Matt. 543. This passage of Herodotus is generally produced to shew that the Greeks had no letters—that is to say, no mode of painting the voice to the eye—previously to the arrival of Cadmus. Larcher endeavours to overthrow the argument; founding himself, principally, on the absence of the article before *γράμματα*, which indicates, he says, that it must be taken partitively, "some letters," not "letters in general."

[145] Construction: *πρῶτα μὲν (ἐσήγαγον τὰ γράμματα), τοῖσι καὶ ἅπαντες Φοίνικες χρέωνται.* The Sancroft Manuscript reads, *πρῶτα μὲν τούτοισιν ἐχρέωντο κατάπερ καὶ ἅπαντες χρέωνται Φοίνικες*, "They used them at first in the same manner as all the Phœnicians do."

[146] This is the signification that Schneider applies to *ῥυθμὸς*, in his Greek and German Lexicon, "Zug, Zuge."

[147] Construction: *ἐφάτισαν (ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα Φοινικήια) ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἔφερε, ἐσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Φοινικήια κεκλῆσθαι.*

[148] *βύβλος*, the papyrus, and its inner coat of bark, or liber, used to write upon.

[149] *διφθέρα*, said to be derived from *δίφω* (or *δίψω*, *I soften—dress—carry*, as in Herod. iv. 64), is the Greek for those prepared skins which we call parchment.

[150] *λίγει.* See B. ii. c. 141. note 234.

[151] *τεῖν*, for *σοὶ*, as in Homer, Od. xi. 559. See Matt. 145. *obs.* 3.

the same name as Hippocoon's son, it is of the age of Œdipus the son of Laius. A third tripod has this inscription, in hexameter verse also: "Laodamas, sole ruler, has dedi- 61
"cated to thee, sure-hitting Apollo, this tripod, fair orna-
"ment." Now it was under the reign of this Laodamas son of Eteocles, that the Cadmeans were driven from their territories by the Argians, and retired to the Encheleans[152]; but the Gephyræans, being then left, were subsequently driven out by the Bœotians[153], and compelled to retire to Athens; where they have their own distinct temples, none of which are participated in[154] by the rest of the Athenians, all being distinct from the other temples, and more particularly the temple and mysteries of Ceres Achaia[155].

Having thus described the vision of Hipparchus, as well as 62
the origin from which sprung the Gephyræans, of whom his murderers were, it is proper that I resume the history I was proceeding to narrate; namely, how the Athenians were delivered from their tyrants[156]. Hippias having succeeded to the tyranny, and governing the Athenians with bitter severity on account of Hipparchus's death, the Alcmæonides, originally Athenians, who had forsaken their country to escape from the Pisistratidæ, far from succeeding in their endeavours to force a return with the rest of the Athenian fugitives and liberate Athens, had been sorely worsted. They had fortified Lipsydrion above Pæonia[157]; and, from that time continually planning the destruction of the Pisi-

[152] The Encheleæ are the same as the Illyrians of Pausanias, or at least they were a part of the Illyrians. See Geographical Index to Herodotus.

[153] ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν. This does not signify "ab Bœotis recedunt Athenas," but "præ Bœotos—propter Bœotos—metu Bœotorum, et propter illorum vexationes." *Schweig. Lex Herod.* I have translated "were compelled to retire" according to the rule given in Matt. 592, at the beginning. ἀποθανεῖν ὑπό τινος, "to be killed by so and so;" where the neuter is taken in a passive sense, as ἀναχωρέειν, in this passage of Herodotus.

[154] μέτα, not μετὰ, for μέτεστι. Concerning the construction of this impersonal, see Matt. 359.

[155] This name had been given to the goddess, on account of the grief, ἄχος, she felt at the rape of Proserpine: so says, at least, the author of the Etymologicum: εἴρηται παρὰ τὸ ἄχος τῆς κόρης. She was likewise called Gephyræan, because she was peculiarly honoured by the Gephyræans. *Larcher.* The French translator is of opinion that bridges, γέφυραι, took their name from these people, who were settled near a bridge over the Cephissus, which separates Attica from the territory of Eleusis. The derivation of γέφυρα, according to the Schol. Pind. Nem. vi. 64. is γῆ ἐφ' ὑγρῷ: and, indeed, the oldest acceptation of the word, in Homer, is "a dam."

[156] See Matt. 331, *b*.

[157] The reader, when he calls to mind that Pæonia was in Macedonia, and consequently at a very great distance from Attica, will not fail to be surprised that the Alcmæonidæ should have gone so far. Hence it has been proposed to read Πάρνηθος, Mount Parnes. Larcher, however, shews that there was a place in Attica called Pæonia. As it would be impossible to discuss these geographical questions, in a satisfactory manner, without increasing the bulk of this work beyond all due proportion, I am compelled to refer the reader to my Geographical Index to Herodotus.

stratidæ, they engaged with the Amphictyons to build, for a certain sum, the temple now seen at Delphi, but at that period not yet extant. As that family abounded in wealth[158], and had been from the earliest period men of rank, they not only built the temple in a more beautiful manner than the specification stated, but likewise, although it was agreed they should build the whole temple of porine[159] stone, they ac-
63 tually built the front of Parian marble. Accordingly, as the Athenians state, while these persons were abiding at Delphi, they bribed the Pythia, whenever any persons from Sparta should come to consult the god, whether on their own private account or that of the people[160], to propose to them to deliver Athens. The Lacedæmonians, seeing that the same admonition was uniformly pronounced to them, sent Anchimilius the son of Aster, a man of rank among the citizens, with an army, to eject the Pisistratidæ, although most intimately connected with them by hospitality; for the Spartans regarded the dictates of the deity as more entitled to honour[161] than those of men. This army they sent by sea, on ship-board. Anchimilius, accordingly, touching at Phalerus, disembarked his troops; but the Pisistratidæ, having a previous inkling of these matters, sent for assistance out of Thessaly; for an alliance had been framed between them and that nation. The Thessalians sent, at their request, by public decree, a thousand horse, together with their own king, Cineas, a native of Conium[162]. When the Pisistratidæ had these auxiliaries, they resolved on the following plan. Having cleared[163] the plain of the Phalereans, and made that quarter passable for

[158] *εὖ ἥκειν* signifies "to flourish," "to be prosperous:" *εὖ ἥκοντες χρημάτων* (*ἵνεκα*), "being prosperous with respect to wealth." See Matt. 315

[159] This was a sort of marble, in colour and grain similar to the Parian, but lighter: it is not known in the present day. *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.* I have therefore been obliged to preserve the Greek word, in my English translation.

[160] *εἴ τι ἰδίῃ στόλῳ εἴ τι δημοσίῃ* belong to *ἴλθοιεν*: "whenever any Spartans should come to consult the oracle, whether they undertook the journey for their own affairs, or being sent by the state—*sive privatim suscepto itinere, sive publice nomine.*" Schweig. Lex Herod. Schneid Gr. Germ. Lex.

[161] *περισβύτερα*. The phrase *περισβύτερόν τι ἔχειν*, like the Latin *antiquius aliquid habere*, "to hold any thing in higher estimation;" an idiom from which the philologist may derive a wholesome moral lesson.

[162] *Κωνιαῖος* may come either from *Conиæ* or *Conion*; as, from *Athenæ*, *Ἀθηναῖος*; but no such place is mentioned elsewhere, as existing in Thessaly. There was, however, a Conium in Phrygia; and, as the text of Herodotus does not expressly state that this king was a Thessalian, I am of opinion that this part of Phrygia must be the place he alludes to. *Larcher.*—To this explanation Schweighæuser assents. Borheck regards it as too far-fetched; and thinks that either the word *Κωνιαῖον* is corrupt, or that the town is one of those places mentioned in Herodotus alone.

[163] I have followed Larcher's translation. He observes, in a note, that the verb *κείρειν* must be understood in the sense of *cutting down* the trees and hedges. The same word is used to express that idea in vii. 131. In other instances, it signifies, *to ravage.*

cavalry, they despatched their horse against the camp of the Spartans; which, falling on, destroyed many of the Lacedæmonians, and among others Anchimolius. the survivors they drove into their ships. Such, therefore, was the result of the first expedition from Lacedæmon[164]; and the tomb[165] of Anchimilius is seen at Alopeces, in Attica, not far from Hercules' temple in Cynosarges. Subsequently, the Lacedæ- 64
monians, having fitted out a larger armament, sent it against Athens, appointing commander-in-chief of the army king Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides: this expedition they sent by land, and not by sea as before. The horse of the Thessalians first joined battle with these troops as they entered Attica, and, after no long struggle, were turned to flight: above[166] forty of their number fell, and the survivors immediately departed straight for Thessaly. Cleomenes coming to the town, accompanied by such of the Athenians as were desirous of being free, besieged the tyrants, who were shut up within the Pelasgic wall[167]. Nevertheless, the 65
Lacedæmonians would not by any possibility have been able to expel the Pisistratidæ; for they were not themselves acquainted with the manner of laying a siege, and the Pisistratidæ were well provided with meat and drink; so that the Spartans, no doubt, after continuing the siege for a few days, would have departed home. In the mean time, however, an event occurred, ruinous to the Pisistratidæ, but, on the other hand, advantageous to the besiegers the children of the Pisistratidæ were made prisoners, as they were secretly removing from the country: and in consequence of this misfortune, all their plans were disconcerted; and they assented, under condition[168] of the children being restored, to such terms as the Athenians chose to prescribe, namely, that they should retire out of Attica within five days. They withdrew then to Sigeum on the Scamander, after having ruled over the Athenians for six and thirty years. These Pisistratidæ were by extraction Pylians and Neleidæ, being sprung from the same ancestors as Codrus and Melanthus[169],

[164] Literally, "Thus the first armament despatched from Lacedæmon departed" We have seen a similar idiom in i. 16. "He departed from that city not as he wished;" that is to say, he met with a defeat.

[165] καὶ Ἀγχιμολίου εἰσὶ ταφαί If the translation of ταφαί by a singular cannot be admitted, these words must be taken to signify "the tombs of Anchimilius and his followers." See *Schweig. Not*

[166] See Matt. 582, *b*.

[167] The wall that girded in the citadel of Athens had been built by the Pelasgi, according to Hecatæus, quoted by Herodotus, in vii 137. Hence it was called the Pelasgic wall.

[168] ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖσι τέκνοισι See Matthiæ, Gr. Gramm. sect 585, *β*.

[169] See Matt 271, 2.

who formerly, although strangers, had been the sovereigns of Athens. in commemoration of which, Hippocrates gave the name to his son, calling him Pisistratus, after Nestor's son Pisistratus. Thus were the Athenians delivered from their tyrants what this people performed, or suffered worthy of mention, after they had obtained their freedom, previously to the revolt of Ionia from Darius, and up to the arrival of Aristagoras the Milesian, at Athens, to beseech their assistance, I shall first mention.

66 Athens, though it had formerly been powerful, being now released from the tyrants, became still more so. There were two men in the place, of great influence, Clisthenes, belonging to the Alcmæonidæ, the same who has the reputation of having bribed the Pythia, and Isagoras the son of Tisander, a man of a high family, though I can give no account of its origin, except that his kinsmen sacrifice to Carian Jove [170]. These two men disputed for power; and Clisthenes, being worsted, sought to gain the favour of the people; in which having succeeded, he divided the Athenians, who consisted of four tribes, into ten, doing away with their names, taken from the sons of Ion, namely, Geleon, Ægicores, Argades, and Oples, and inventing titles from other heroes, all natives, excepting Ajax, who, though a foreigner, he associated
67 with them as their neighbour and ally [171]. In this, Clisthenes of Athens followed, in my opinion [172], the example of his own maternal grandsire, Clisthenes the tyrant of Sicyon. For this Clisthenes, being at war with the Argians, put a stop, on the one hand, to the contests of the rhapsodists [173] at Sicyon, in the verses of Homer [174], because hardly any

[170] Those who sacrificed to Jupiter Carian acknowledged themselves of Carian origin · as the Carians had, together with the Lydians and Mysians, a distinct temple (see i. 171), the Carians were held in great contempt This hint of Herodotus therefore conveys the inference that Isagoras was of a Carian, and consequently low, origin *Larcher*

[171] Ajax son of Telamon had been king of Salamis, an island near Attica. He gave his name to the tribe Æantis *Larcher.*

[172] See Matt. 543. 2d parag.

[173] ῥαψῳδοὺς. A word of equivocal meaning. It signifies one who gathers together, collects into one poem, the songs that are scattered about a country · thus Macpherson was, according to his own account, a ῥαψῳδὸς to Ossian : in this sense the word is derived from ῥάπτω and ᾠδή. The same word signifies, likewise, one who publicly chanted the verses of Homer and other poets : contests often took place among those reciters, who attended the festivals and other assemblies, to exercise their art, with a bough of laurel in their hands · so the minstrels of old, and the reciters of the present day, in Italy, carry a staff. Hesiod says, that the Muses had given him a laurel staff : σκῆπτρον δάφνης ἴζον δρέψασθαι. In this latter sense the word is derived from ῥάβδος and ᾠδή.

[174] I have given this translation, because, as Dr. Gaisford has not followed the proposal of Schweighæuser, to insert a comma after ἀγωνίζεσθαι, the words τῶν Ὁ ἐπέων εἵνεκα must

thing[175] but the Argians and Argos are sung in those poems: on the other hand, as there then was, and still is, in the very forum of the Sicyonians, a chapel[176] of Adrastus son of Talaus, he conceived a wish of casting him out of the place, as being an Argian. Proceeding therefore to Delphi, he asked whether he should cast Adrastus out of the land: upon this the Pythia made answer, saying, "That Adrastus was king of "the Sicyonians, but he himself deserved to be stoned to "death[177]." As the god would not grant him that permission, he considered, on his return, about the means by which Adrastus might himself withdraw. When he thought he had found out one, he sent to Thebes of Bœotia; saying, that he wished to bring Melanippus the son of Astacus to Sicyon. The Thebans gave[178] him permission; and Clisthenes, having brought Melanippus, appointed him, within the prytaneum itself, a precinct, which he placed in the strongest quarter there. Clisthenes (for it is necessary to explain that particular) brought Melanippus to Sicyon, because he was the greatest enemy of Adrastus[179], and had slain his brother Mecistes, and his son-in-law Tydeus. After Clisthenes had dedicated the precinct, he deprived Adrastus of his sacrifices and festivals, and gave them to Melanippus. The Sicyonians were accustomed to honour Adrastus in the highest degree; for that country had belonged to Polybus, to whom Adrastus was grandson by his daughter. Polybus, dying without male issue, bequeathed the sovereignty to Adrastus: accordingly, the Sicyonians honoured Adrastus in various ways, and more particularly celebrated his adventures by tragic choruses; honouring, *in that manner*, not Bacchus, but Adrastus[180]. Clisthenes, however, restored the

naturally be referred to that verb. If the punctuation proposed by Schweighæuser is admitted, the translation will be, "He forbade the rhapsodists at Sicyon to contend (*i. e.* to recite in public) on account of the verses of Homer;" that is to say, on account of the dislike he had for those verses, because, &c. See *Schweig. Not.*

[175] τὰ πολλὰ πάντα, "frequentissime et maximopere." *Schweig. Lex. Herod.* The same adverbial expression occurs in II. 35; where I ought to have written, "Are hardly, in any respect, similar to the rest of nations in customs and laws."

[176] ἡρῷον. This was the name given to the chapels consecrated to heroes. In all probability, the ashes of Adrastus were deposited in it. *Larcher.*

[177] λυστῆρ. If taken actively, it signifies *one who stones:* if otherwise, *one who deserves to be stoned.* Some, however, are of opinion that it is always taken actively; that is to say, is equivalent to the Latin *lapidator*, which came to be used as a term of abuse, like *percussor* in Cic. pro domo 5. Larcher proposes to read λυστήρα, *robber, thief.*

[178] See p. 9, note 39, of this volume.

[179] See Matt. 480. *obs.* 1.

[180] It can hardly be necessary to inform the reader, that choruses were first instituted in honour of Bacchus.

choruses to Bacchus, and gave the rest of the ceremonies to Melanippus. such were the things done by Clisthenes against
68 Adrastus. He likewise changed the names of the tribes of the Dorians, in order that they should not be the same with the Sicyonians as with the Argians. And here he greatly derided the Sicyonians; for deriving the new names from those of the swine and ass, he superadded only the terminations; excepting in the case of his own tribe, to which he gave a name derived from his being sovereign: these last were accordingly called Archelai; but the others bore the appellations, some of Hyâtæ, others of Oneâtæ, and others of Chœreâtæ[181]. These names of the tribes were used by the Sicyonians, not only under the reign of Clisthenes, but, moreover, for sixty years after his death. At last, however, deliberating among themselves, they altered them to Hylleæ, Pamphyli, and Dymanatæ: to the fourth tribe they gave a name derived from[182] Ægialeus the son of Adrastus, distinguishing them by the appellation of Ægialeæ.

69 Such, therefore, had been the conduct of the Sicyonian Clisthenes and accordingly the Clisthenes of Athens, who was maternal grandson to the tyrant of Sicyon, and named after him, himself feeling also contempt of the Ionians, did, in my opinion, imitate the example of his namesake Clisthenes, in order that the tribes at Athens might be distinct from those of the Ionians[183]. For when he had drawn the whole of the Athenian people, who previously were opposed to him[184], on his own side, he changed the names of the tribes, and increased their number he made ten phylarchs[185], in place of four; and divided among the ten tribes all the cantons[186]. He was, when he had brought over the people,

[181] Archelai, the tribe *belonging to the sovereign*; Hyâtæ, *the sowish*, Oneâtæ, *the assish*, Chœreâtæ, *the swinish*.

[182] Concerning ἐπὶ, with the verbs "to name" and "to be named," see Matt. 584, *a*.

[183] See Matt. 386. This note applies also to the phrase ἵνα δὲ μὴ αἱ αὐταὶ &c in c 68

[184] If we take the reading πρότερον ἀπωσμένον πάντων, τότε, the translation will be, "which previously had been deprived of all their privileges."

[185] φύλαρχος, the chief or leader of the φυλὴ or tribe, principally in war, and commanding over the infantry, as the ἵππαρχος over the horse. *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.*

[186] Construction. καὶ κατένειμε τοὺς δήμους ἐς τὰς δέκα φυλάς. Attica was at first divided into four tribes. Under Cecrops, they were called Cecropis, Autochthon, Actæa, Paralia: they changed their names under Cranaus, and were called Cranais, Atthis, Mesogæa, Diacris. under Erichthonius they were named Dias, Athenais, Posidonias, Hephæstias: under Erechtheus they were called, after the sons of Ion, Teleeontæ, Hopleteæ, Ægicoræ, Ergadeis: finally, according to the answers from Apollo, the descendants of Alcmæon established ten tribes—Erectheis, Cecropis, Ægeis, Pandionis, Acamantis, Antiochis, Leontis, Œneis, Hippothoontis, and Æantis About 307 B.C. two other

considerably superior to his opponents. Isagoras, being 70
therefore in his turn worsted, planned the following scheme against Clisthenes. He called in Cleomenes, the Lacedæmonian king, who had been connected with him in hospitality from the time of the siege of the Pisistratidæ: indeed, report accused[187] Cleomenes of having intercourse with the wife of Isagoras. In the first place, therefore, Cleomenes despatched a herald to Athens, and banished Clisthenes out of the country, and several others of the Athenians, alleging they were "sullied"[188]. This he sent to do after the instructions of 71
Isagoras; as the Alcmæonidæ and their partisans were charged with a murder; although neither Clisthenes himself nor his friends had participated in it. Some of the Athenians are called "sullied" for the following reason. Cylon was an inhabitant of Athens, and conqueror in the Olympic lists: this individual aspired[189] to the tyranny; and, having associated to himself a band of his contemporaries, made an attempt to seize the acropolis not being able to get possession of it, he seated himself down a suppliant before the image. The Prytanes[190] of the Naucrari, who at

tribes were added, called Antigonis and Demetrias, in honour of Antigonus and his son Demetrius. About 187 B C. one of those last tribes changed its name for Attalis; and, some time after, the other took the name of Ptolemais. *Larcher.*

[187] *αἰτίην ἔχειν*, equivalent to *ἐν αἰτίῃ εἶναί τινος*, signifies "to be accused of any thing, and thence to become a subject of discourse." *αἰτίη ἔχει αὐτὸν*, and *αὐτὸς ἔχει αἰτίην*, are perfectly synonymous; as is proved by the confusion of the two constructions in this and the following chapter.

[188] This passage is alluded to by Matt. 266, last line. See also Thucydides, i. 126, 127.

[189] *ἐκόμησε*, from *κομᾶν*, "to let the hair grow" At Athens the young people (*ἔφηβοι*) wore long hair until their eighteenth year, when they were inscribed among the *δημόται*; from which period they wore their hair somewhat shorter: hence *κομᾶν* came to be predicated of proud and gallant youths: it was also used as a sign of the rich man's pride; because, according to some, the *ἱππεῖς* only were allowed to wear long hair; and we all know that the keeping of horses was, among the Greeks, the greatest sign of wealth hence, *κομᾶν ἐπί τινι*, "to be proud;" and, somewhat differently in this passage of Herodotus, "to strive for (aim at) the tyranny." *Schneid. Lex Herod.*

[190] To understand the meaning of this, it will be necessary to have some idea of the government of Athens. There were in that city several kinds of magistrates; the Archons, the senate of the Areopagus, and that of the Five Hundred: these observations will be confined to the latter, and the period when the tribes were ten Fifty men were elected by lot, annually, out of each tribe; making a number of 500 The tenth part of this body, consisting therefore of fifty men from one and the same *φυλή*, undertook, in turn, the active business of the government for thirty-five or thirty-six days: these persons, during the time they held this office, were called *πρυτάνις*, and had the precedence in popular assemblies; for which reason, they were likewise known by the name of *πρεσίδρυοι*: they all ate together daily in the *θόλος*. So much for the Prytanes. With regard to the *Naucrari*: in the old constitution of Athens, framed by Solon, the people were divided into four *φυλαί*: each *φυλή* consisted of three *τριττύες* and twelve *ναυκραρίαι*,

that period governed Athens, commanded those persons to remove from the sanctuary, under a promise[191] they should not be punished with death: the Alcmæonidæ are accused of having slain them nevertheless. These events took place previous to the age of Pisistratus.

72 When Cleomenes sent to cast out Clisthenes and the "sullied," Clisthenes alone departed, in obedience to the command. Nevertheless, Cleomenes subsequently came to Athens, without any great body of men; and, on his arrival, exiled seven hundred families of the Athenians[192], whom Isagoras pointed out. Having performed that action, he in the next place endeavoured to abolish the senate, and placed the magistracy in the hands of three hundred of the partisans of Isagoras. The senate[193], opposing the resolution, and refusing to obey, Cleomenes, together with Isagoras and his partisans, seized the acropolis. The rest of the Athenians siding with the senate, they besieged them during two days: on the third, such of the besieged as were Lacedæmonians capitulated, and departed out of the country. Thus was accomplished the omen[194] given to Cleomenes. for as he was

each of which had its *ναύκραρος*. The Naucrari were therefore forty-eight in all. When Clisthenes increased the number of the tribes, he likewise introduced the names *δῆμοι* and *δήμαρχοι*, in lieu of the *ναυκραρίαι* and *ναύκραροι*: the duties of the Naucrarus, and subsequently of the Demarchus, were to attend to the contributions made by each canton to the state.—Having premised these observations, we shall now be able to explain the meaning of Herodotus's *πρυτάνις τῶν ναυκράρων*. Before Theseus had united into one body all the senates of Attica, each Naucraria was governed, according to all appearances, in the same manner as that of Athens; therefore the Prytanes of the Naucrari was only the portion whose turn it was to preside in each of those little senates.

The above is one of the explanations given of these words: another is given, which the reader is at liberty to adopt. According to this latter, it is agreed that *πρύτανις* had the signification above explained at Athens; but then it is alleged, that in other states it signified the chief magistrate; in which sense Herodotus, it is pretended, here uses the word, although speaking of Athens. By Naucrari it is likewise pretended that Herodotus meant the possessors of houses; *i. e.* the Athenians in general: therefore, the words of the historian signify nothing more than the *chief magistrates of the town*. As a proof (by no means irrefragable, in my opinion) of this, Thucyd. i. 126, is produced; where these same individuals are called the Nine Archons.

As in most difficult passages, the reader must be left to form his own judgment.

[191] *ὑπεγγύους* relates to *τούτους*. Literally, "The Prytanes of the Naucrariæ, who at that time governed Athens, ordered them to arise and quit *the sanctuary*, subject *to all punishments*, excepting death."

[192] This distinction is not useless, as at first might be imagined. There were at Athens many resident strangers, who enjoyed all the privileges of citizens; except that they could not fill any situation of authority in the state, from which their posterity was excluded for ever: they were called *μέτοικοι*. *Larcher.*

[193] See note 103, p. 21, of this book.

[194] *φήμη* and *κληδὼν* are synonymous, and signify "any sound, word, or voice, as a forewarning." The ancients attended carefully to the words of the persons they happened

ascending to the acropolis, with the intention of taking possession of it, he went to the sanctuary of the goddess, in order to consult[195] the deity; when the priestess, rising from her seat, ere he passed the gates, said, "Stranger from "Lacedæmon, draw back, nor enter within the temple; for "it is not lawful to Dorians to come hither." Cleomenes replied, "Woman, but I am not a Dorian; I am an Achæan" Accordingly, without paying any attention to the omen, he possessed himself of the citadel, and afterwards was compelled to retire again with the Lacedæmonians. With regard to the others of the besieged, the Athenians cast them in bonds, for execution[196] and, among the number, even Timestheus of Delphi, of whom I could mention mighty deeds, both of hand and mind. These, therefore, died in chains. After these events, the Athenians sent back for Clisthenes 73
and the seven hundred families that had been driven out by Cleomenes they then despatched ambassadors to Sardis, in the design of forming an alliance with the Persians; as they understood that the Lacedæmonians and Cleomenes intended to levy war against them. When the ambassadors had reached Sardis, and stated their commission, Artaphernes the son of Hystaspes, viceroy of Sardis, inquired of what nation those men were who asked to to become allies of the Persians, and in what part of the world they resided. Having obtained that information from the ambassadors, he returned the following brief reply That if the Athenians, on their part, would promise earth and water to Darius, he, on his part, would enter in alliance with them. if they would not accede to that condition, he commanded them to take their departure. The ambassadors, having consulted among themselves, declared they would make the gift; for they were anxious the alliance should be cemented. These ambassadors accordingly, on their return to their country, were highly blamed.

Cleomenes, conceiving that he had been insulted in words 74
and deeds by the Athenians, collected an army from the whole Peloponnesus, without stating for what expedition he was levying troops. it was his wish to be revenged on the Athenian people he was likewise desirous of establishing Isagoras as tyrant; for this man had accompanied him in

to meet with, in order to deduce from them a good or bad omen of the future. *Larcher.*

[195] ὡς πρόσ. See Matt. 568, 1.

[196] Construction: κατίδησαν τὴν (δίσιν) ἐπὶ θανάτῳ For the signification of ἐπὶ, consult Matt 585, β. As the ellipsis of ὁδὸς after the article is pretty frequent in Greek, the construction has been filled up in another manner: κατίδησαν (ἀπόξοντες) τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ (ὁδὸν) See Matt 281, 2

his retreat from the acropolis. Cleomenes accordingly entered, with a numerous army, the territory of Eleusis; while the Bœotians, according to a jointly-concerted plan, seized Œnoe and Hysiæ, the extreme cantons of Attica. and the Chalcideans, making their attack on the other side, ravaged the lands of Attica. The Athenians, although in such a dilemma, resolved to bear the Bœotians and Chalcideans in mind at some future opportunity; and marched out in battle
75 array[197] to face the Peloponnesians, who were at Eleusis. Just as the armies were on the point of closing in battle, the Corinthians first, considering that they were not acting justly, seceded, and drew back: afterwards, Demaratus the son of Ariston did the same. he was also one of the kings of the Spartans. he had brought his army from Lacedæmon, and had not before been at variance with Cleomenes. In consequence of this division, a law was instituted at Sparta, that both kings should no longer accompany together the army, when it went on any foreign expedition (for, until then, both were wont to follow in the train); and that, as one of the kings was to take no share in the wars[198], one of the Tyndaridæ likewise should be left at home[199]; for, previous to that law, both of the Tyndaridæ used to follow the kings as their auxiliaries[200]. At this time, therefore, the rest of the allied troops at Eleusis, seeing that the kings of Lacedæmon were at variance, and the Corinthians had quit-
76 ted the ranks, took likewise their departure[201]. This was the fourth time that the Dorians had come[202] into Attica; twice entering it with war, and twice for the good of the Athenian people. The first was the expedition under the reign of Codrus at Athens, when the Dorians also established Megara. the second and third, when they came from Sparta for the purpose of driving out the Pisistratidæ: the fourth, when Cleomenes, at the head of the Peloponnesians, invaded

[197] ὅπλα τίθεσθαι has three significations, which must be determined by the context: 1. To march in arms, and prepare for battle: 2. To halt. 3 To lay down one's arms.

[198] Construction: παραλυομένου (τῆς στρατηΐης) τοῦ ἑτέρου, "vacante altero a militia." *Schweig. Lex. Herod.* Schneider, however, takes παραλύεσθαι in an intransitive sense, "*to remain inactive*—unthätig bleiben." *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.*

[199] Castor and Pollux. These heroes were represented by two parallel bits of wood, joined together transversely by two others. In case of war they were separated, one stick being left at Sparta, and the other taken with the army. The above image was called τὰ δόκανα *Larcher.*

[200] ἐπικλήτοι, i. e. συμμάχοι.

[201] οἴχοντο ἀπαλλασσόμενοι See Matt. 559, *c.*

[202] See Matt. 555. *obs.* 1. The Dorians are the Dorians of the Peloponnesus. Herodotus does not call them Peloponnesians, because that term would have comprehended the Arcadians, who were autochthones, and took no share in that expedition. *Larcher.*

Eleusis. This was the fourth[203] time that the Dorians had invaded Athens.

This expedition having thus terminated ingloriously, the 77
Athenians, then desirous of being revenged[204], directed their arms first against the Chalcidians; but the Bœotians came to the assistance of the latter, on the Euripus. The Athenians, espying these auxiliaries, determined[205] upon attacking the Bœotians, before they attacked the Chalcidians. They accordingly engaged with the Bœotians, and completely routed them, killing a vast number, and taking seven hundred prisoners. On that very same day they crossed over into Eubœa, and engaged likewise the Chalcidians: they gained the victory over these also, and divided the lands of the Hippobotæ, by lot, among four thousand of their own people, whom they left there. The Hippobotæ is the name given to the opulent[206] among the Chalcidians. Such of them as they took prisoners, they bound in fetters and kept under guard, together with those of the Bœotians that had been made prisoners: after some time, however, they gave them their liberty, exacting a ransom of two mines. The fetters, in which those prisoners had been bound, they hung up on the acropolis; and to my day they still remained, hanging from the walls that had been scorched when fire was set to them by the Medes, and opposite to the temple, on the west. The Athenians dedicated, likewise, the tithe of the ransoms; out of which they caused to be made a brazen four-horse chariot, that stands on the left hand, as you first enter the propylæa, in the acropolis: on the monument is the following inscription:—"Having in the deeds of war over-
" come the Bœotian and Chalcidian nations, the sons of the
" Athenians quenched their pride in a gloomy iron dungeon.

[203] It was rather the fifth. The first expedition was that made under Codrus; the details of which are given by Pausanias, i. 39. The second, commanded by Anchimolius, and described in this book, c. 63. The third, commanded by Cleomenes, when the Pisistratidæ were compelled to withdraw from Attica, c. 64 seq. The fourth, when Cleomenes was besieged in the acropolis, c. 72. The fifth, when the division between the two kings of Sparta took place at Eleusis. However, as the forces that Cleomenes had in the fourth invasion were but trifling, Herodotus does not take it into account. *Schweig. Not.*

[204] Supply some accusative after τίννυσθαι; for instance, τοὺς Δωριέας.

[205] The fact was, the Athenians could not do otherwise; for if the Bœotians were drawn up on the western shore of the Euripus, they must necessarily have cut their way through them, before they might pass over into Eubœa to attack the Chalcidians.

[206] Larcher makes an observation on the expense of keeping horses in Eubœa and Attica, where fodder was not easily come at. The keeping of horses in those countries is, at the present day, regarded as a mark of wealth. κληροῦχος signifies one who takes possession, as a colonist, of a portion of land conquered from the enemy, that has been allotted to him. *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.*

" of these mares, one tithe they have dedicated to Pallas."
78 The Athenians accordingly increased in power. It is evident, not from one instance only, but from very many, what an excellent government an equality of rights is[207]: although[208] the Athenians, when they were subject to the tyrants, were superior to none of the nations dwelling around them in matters of war, yet, when they were delivered from their tyrants, they became the first, by far. This therefore proves, that, when oppressed, they willingly shewed themselves cowards, because they were labouring for a master; whereas, when they were free, each individual felt ardent in labouring for his own interest[209]. Such therefore was the state of affairs at Athens.

79 After these events, the Thebans, desirous of being revenged of the Athenians, sent to the oracle. The Pythia answered, "That they would not obtain vengeance by themselves;" and advised them to refer the matter to the noisy mob[210], and beseech their nearest[211] friends." Those, who, were sent to consult the divinity, having returned and called an assembly of the people, reported the oracle. When the Thebans understood from them that they were to beseech their nearest friends, they said " Are not the Tanagræi, the " Coronæi, and the Thespies, those that dwell the nearest to " us? But do not they, at any rate, uniformly share our " battles with us, and contribute with ardour to the war? " What needs can there be of beseeching them? Surely it " must rather be that this is not the sense of the oracle."
80 While they were thus arguing, a certain individual at last, understanding what was going on, said, "Methinks I see " what the oracle wishes to give us to understand. Thebe " and Ægina are said to be the daughters of Asopus: since " they are sisters, methinks the god proclaims to us, that we " should beseech the Æginetæ to become our avengers." As no opinion was started that appeared preferable to this, the Thebans forthwith sent to beseech the Æginetæ, calling

[207] Herodotus does not mean equality in rank, riches, and honours, but in rights, in the distribution of justice, the dispensation of honours and rewards. *Larcher.* The derivation of *ἰσηγορίη* is from *ἰσηγορέω*, and that from *ἀγορεύω*: it therefore signifies "an equal right and freedom to speak," the foundation of rational liberty.

[208] *εἰ καὶ, quamquam*, iem ita esse, ut dicitur, significat. *Herm Not Vig.* 307. p. 642.

[209] The reader will surely pause, to pay a tribute of admiration to these sentiments of the honest republican.

[210] Supply *ἀγορὴν* after *πολύφημον*. Hesych. quoted by Larcher, *πολύφημον . . . ἐκκλησία ἐν ᾗ πολλαὶ φῆμαι καὶ κληδόνες εἰσίν.*

[211] *τῶν ἀγχιστα.* See Matt. 270. The ambiguity of the oracle lies in this word; which may signify either the *nearest neighbours*, or the *nearest relations.*

upon them, in the name of the oracle, to come to their assistance, as being their nearest connexions. The Æginetæ, in answer to their request, promised to send the Æacidæ[212] to their assistance. But the Thebans, strengthened by the 81
assistance of the Æacidæ, having made essay of the fortune of war, and being grievously handled by the Athenians, sent once more to the Æginetæ, restored the Æacidæ to them, and asked for a body of men. The islanders, elated with their great wealth, and calling to mind their ancient enmity[213] against the Athenians, now, at the request of the Thebans, began war against them, without any manifesto[214]; for while the Athenians were pressing the Bœotians, they sailed across to Attica, aboard some long vessels, and pillaged Phalerus, together with several places on the sea-shore; and, by so doing, did considerable mischief to the Athenians.

The old grudge[215], on the part of the Æginetæ against the 82
Athenians, proceeded from this origin. The soil of the Epidaurians produced no crops: they therefore consulted the oracle at Delphi respecting that calamity; when the Pythia bade them erect statues of Damia and Auxesia[216], and told them, that, by so doing, it would fare better with them. The Epidaurians accordingly inquired whether they should make the statues of brass, or of stone; but the Pythia would not consent to either of those materials, and bade them make them of the wood of the cultivated olive[217]. The Epidaurians, in consequence, asked the Athenians to give them an olive-tree to cut down, as they regarded the trees of that country as the most sacred: it is even asserted, that

[212] It appears that Herodotus is speaking of the statues of the Æacidæ, which were sent to accompany those whom one wished to favour. This is corroborated by the following paragraph; where we are informed, that the Thebans gave them back. *Larcher.*

[213] This is an instance of the neutral sense in which Herodotus frequently uses the verb ἴσχειν, "the enmity directed against the Athenians."

[214] ἀκήρυκτον, "not proclaimed by a herald." Schneider, however, explains πόλιμος ἀκήρυκτος by "a war in which no flag of truce, κῆρυξ, is received—an implacable war."

[215] ἡ ἔχθρη ἡ προσφειλομένη, "the enmity due, as a debt, on the part of the Æginetæ to the Athenians"

[216] That is to say, Ceres and Proserpine. See Valckenaer's note.

[217] There is a great deal of difference between the cultivated olive, from which oil is obtained, and the wild olive, with which the Olympian victors were crowned: not only is the form of the latter different from that of the former, but the fruit even is by no means similar: ἔλαιος is the general name for the cultivated tree, and κότινος for the wild; but as the latter is sometimes called likewise ἄγριος ἔλαιος, so is the former sometimes distinguished by the epithet ἥμερος. This, I think, is a sufficient reason to account for Herodotus's using the terms ἐλαίας ἡμέρης, and to shew that there is no necessity of altering the reading to ἐμέας.

at that time there were olives in no other place[218] but at Athens. The Athenians agreed to give it, on the following conditions[219], namely, that every year they should bring victims to Minerva Polias[220], and to Erectheus. The Epidaurians, having assented to these terms, obtained what they wanted, and, making some statues out of the olive-trees, set them up: their land then bore fruit to them; and they
83 fulfilled their engagements to the Athenians. Up to that period still, and previously, the Æginetæ acknowledged the sovereignty of the Epidaurians in various respects; and they used to go over to Epidaurus, to prosecute and defend the actions they had among themselves[221]: but, subsequently, having built them ships, and confiding in their strength[222], they detached themselves from their allegiance to the Epidaurians: they acted now as their enemies, and, being powerful on the sea, injured them in various ways, and, among other things, took from the Epidaurians the above-mentioned images of Damia and Auxesia, which they carried off, and set up in the centre of their own territory; the name of which is Œa, about twenty stades distance from the city. When they had set them up on that spot, they propitiated them with sacrifice and choruses of women, who vented abuse against one another[223], and appointed to either of the goddesses ten men as presidents of the chorus[224]. These choruses did not direct their abuse[225] against any man, but against the women of the country. Similar ceremonies were observed among the Epidaurians, who have
84 also some sacred rites, which are kept secret. After these images had been stolen, the Epidaurians would not fulfil their engagements with the Athenians; whereupon the Athenians sent to expostulate with them. but the latter

[218] ἄλλοθι γῆς οὐδαμοῦ, "anywhere else in the world." See Matt. 357.

[219] ἐπὶ expressing *condition*. See Matt. 585, β.

[220] The distinctive name of the Minerva, placed on the acropolis, as the protectress of the city.

[221] "Pœnas (satisfactionem) invicem debant et accipiebant."

[222] I have followed Schweighæuser, "virium fiducia ferocientes." I think, however, that the word ἀγνωμοσύνη always conveys more or less the idea of ignorance, acting under the forms of pride, obstinacy, rashness, and, in this case, ingratitude.)—See Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex. and Port. Lex. Ion.

[223] There is no excess of which men have not been guilty, when left to themselves and to their reprobate senses. Could it be believed that people would ever have thought of honouring the divinity by abusing one another? The Hebrews, who had received, at the hands of God himself, that worship with which he wished to be honoured, were perhaps the only people who refrained from similar excesses. *Larcher*.

[224] The Choregi presided over the choruses, and settled the expenses of the actors, dancers, and musicians, at public festivals. *Larcher*.

[225] κακῶς ἠγόρευον ἄνδρα See Matt. 410.

shewed that, in fact[226], they were not guilty of any injustice; for that, as long as they had the images in their territory, they had acquitted themselves of what they had agreed to; and that, now they were deprived of them, it was not right they should still continue to pay the tribute; and bade them make the demand from the Æginetæ, who were in possession of the statues. Accordingly, the Athenians sent to Ægina, and claimed back the statues; but the Æginetæ replied, that they had nothing to do with the Athenians[227]. The 85
Athenians therefore state, that after this claim had been made, some[228] persons, sent by the commonwealth, departed aboard one trireme, and, on their arrival at Ægina, endeavoured to wrest those statues (as they were made of their wood) from the foundations, in order that they might carry them off that, not being able to obtain possession of them in this manner, they threw a rope round them, and pulled at the statues; and as they were hauling, thunder supervened, accompanied with an earthquake. The crew of the trireme, who were hauling, were, in consequence of these circumstances, disordered in their intellects to such a degree, that they fell on one another as if they had been foes, till at last, out of the whole number, one only was left, who returned alone to Phalerus. The Athenians therefore say 86
that matters happened as above. But the Æginetæ state, that the Athenians did not come with only one vessel. for supposing even that they had had no ships themselves, still might they easily have repulsed one vessel, or even a few more than one. on the contrary, they say the Athenians came upon their country with a numerous fleet; and that the Æginetæ themselves submitted to the Athenians, and did not hazard a sea-fight. This circumstance, however, they cannot explain satisfactorily, namely, whether they yielded because they knew they would have the worst of a sea-fight, or with the intention[229] of doing what they afterwards did. *They add,* that, accordingly, the Athenians, seeing no one prepared to give them battle, disembarked from their vessels, and proceeded towards the statues; that not being able to wrench them from their places, they, in consequence, threw ropes around them, and began to pull; till the statues, being thus pulled, assumed both one and the same attitude (in which their account does not to me appear probable, but

[226] λόγῳ τ ϙ ἀληθίι λόγῳ. See Schweig. Lex. Herod voc. λόγος, II. 3, 1

[227] See Matt. 385, 10

[228] τούτους, οἱ ἄπωθ. See Matt. 467, c.

[229] This project was that of calling the Argives to their assistance, mentioned a little lower down. *Larcher.*

may so to another[230]); for they fell on their knees, and from that time have continued to preserve the same posture[231]. This therefore was what they declare the Athenians to have done: whereas the Æginetæ, by their own account, having an inkling that the Athenians were about to lead an expedition against them, besought the Argians to be in readiness to assist them; that, consequently, at the same time the Athenians made the descent upon Ægina[232], the Argians arrived to their assistance, and, having crossed over from Epidaurus to the island, unknown[233] to the Athenians, fell upon them unexpectedly, and cut off the retreat to their vessels; at the same time the thunder and earthquake
87 occurred to increase their terror[234]. The above account is given by the Argians, as well as by the Æginetæ. It is likewise allowed by the Athenians even, as far as regards the circumstance of only one of their number escaping back to Attica; except, that the Argians assert that it was in consequence of their destroying the Attic army that the one only survived; whereas the Athenians assert, it was in consequence of the divine vengeance[235]; and that even that one did not escape death, but was destroyed in the following manner;—for, coming to Athens, he gave tidings of the calamity; when the wives of the men sent on the expedition against Ægina, hearing what had happened, and indignant that he alone should be saved out of the whole number, crowded around the man, and, pricking him with the hooks[236] of their garments, each asked him where her husband was. In this manner they relate the man died; and that this action of the women appeared to the Athenians still more deplorable than the calamity itself; and, as they could not punish them in any other manner, they made them change their dress for the Ionian; for previously to this, the Athenian women used the Dorian costume, which is extremely similar to the Corinthian. they changed it therefore for the linen vest, to the end that they might not have need of any hooks[237]: that dress, however, is not, in

[230] Literally, *The Æginetæ state* &c. "saying things not credible to me, but so perhaps to another."

[231] διατελέειν οὕτω ἔχοντα. See Matt. 604; 552, 1.

[232] Understand νῆσον with Αἰγιναίην *Wessel.*

[233] λαθεῖν διαβάντας. Matt. 552, 2.

[234] γενέσθαι αὐτοῖσι, "illis extitisse."

[235] Supply after δεινοῦ διαφθείραντος τοὺς ἄνδρας.

[236] The Dorian dress of the females consisted of a garment without sleeves; the fore part of which was fastened to the hinder by a hook on each shoulder. If we may judge from the ancient statues, those hooks were not unlike the fastenings used in the sleeves of our shirts, commonly called *studs.*

[237] The Ionian dress was with sleeves; therefore the hooks mentioned in the preceding note were not necessary

fact[238], originally Ionian, but Carian; since all the ancient female costumes of the Hellenes were precisely the same as that we call now the Dorian. *It is said*, that, in consequence of 88
this, a custom was instituted both among the Argians and the Æginetæ, which holds to the present day, that the hooks should be made one half larger than the customary size at that time, and that the women should principally dedicate hooks in the temple of those deities; likewise, that nothing whatever from Attica should be brought into the sacred precinct, not even a piece of earthenware, but that it should be enacted for the future, that they should drink in those places out of cups[239] made in the country. Hence both the women of Argos and those of Ægina, from that date[240], in conformity with their hatred to the Athenians, have worn, down even to my time, hooks larger than before.

The origin of the hostility existing in the Athenians 89
against the Æginetæ was such as has been described. The Thebans having, accordingly, at this period called them to their assistance, the Æginetæ, remembering what had taken place in respect of the statues, went eagerly to the help of the Bœotians. They therefore laid waste the shores of Attica· but as the Athenians were preparing to march against them, they received an oracle from Delphi, "That "they must wait for thirty years, from the date of the in- "sult committed on them by the Æginetæ; and in the thirty- "first year, after rearing a temple to Ajax, commence a "war against them, when they would succeed to their wish: "whereas, if they immediately took the field, they would "themselves in the mean while suffer much, though at the "same time they would perform much: at last, however, "they would subdue Ægina." When the Athenians heard this oracle reported to them, they reared to Ajax that temple that now stands on the market-place; but they could not brook to listen to the necessity of delaying thirty years[241], having suffered such insults at the hands of the Æginetæ. As they were preparing for vengeance, an obstacle, arising 90

[238] ἀληθείῃ λόγῳ χρεωμένοισι, "if we speak the truth."

[239] The χύτρος was a vase, generally used to hold boiled grain, which was offered before the image of some god. Boiled grain is, at the present day, offered at the altar in the Greek churches, particularly those situate in the wilds of Arcadia.

[240] ἐκ τε τόσου καὶ ἔρις τῶν Ἀθηναίων, "ab illo inde tempore ex contentione cum Atheniensibus, ad" &c. *Schweig. Vers. Lat.* "Ex tanta cum Atheniensibus contentione"—"carrying their hatred towards the Athenians so far, that—" *Larcher*, from *Steph. Thes. Gr.*

[241] Construction: οὐκ ἀνίσχοντο ἀκούσαντες (did not brook to hear) ἕως χρεὼν εἴη (αὐτοὺς), πεπ. πρὸς Αἰγ ἀνάρσια, ἐτισχεῖν, &c.

from the Lacedæmonians, came in their way. For the Lacedæmonians, having understood the proceedings of the Alcmæonidæ with the Pythia, and those of the Pythia with themselves and the Pisistratidæ, felt a double sorrow; first, because they had driven out of their homes men who were connected with them by hospitality; and secondly, because, though they had acted in that manner, no gratitude appeared to be felt towards them by the Athenians. Add to these reasons likewise, that the oracles urged them on, declaring that many and dire calamities would befal them from the Athenians; oracles with which they were previously unacquainted, but which they had just then learned; Cleomenes having brought them to Sparta. These oracles Cleomenes had obtained out of the acropolis of the Athenians. they had formerly been in the possession of the Pisistratidæ, who, when they withdrew, had left them in the temple; and being thus left behind, Cleomenes had seized
91 them. At this period, when the Lacedæmonians had obtained the oracles, and saw the Athenians were increasing in power, and not inclined to pay obedience to them, taking into consideration, that if the Attic nation remained free, it would become of equal weight with their own; whereas, if it was oppressed by tyranny, it would be feeble, and ready to obey; considering, I say, both of these things, they sent for Hippias son of Pisistratus, from Sigeum on the Hellespont; to which place the Pisistratidæ had fled. When Hippias, according to the invitation, had come to them, they sent also for ambassadors from the rest of their confederates, to whom the Spartans spoke as follows:—"Friends and "allies, we acknowledge that we have ourselves acted[242] "unjustly: for, induced by lying[243] oracles, we have driven "from their country, men strictly bound to us by hospitality, "and who had undertaken to keep Athens subject to our- "selves, and we have delivered the state into the hands of "an ungrateful people—a people, who, when freed by our "means they began to lift up their heads, have insulted and "driven away ourselves and our king, and, gathering self- "conceit, increase in strength[244], as full well their neigh-

[242] See Matt. 547, 2.

[243] *κίβδηλος* occurs in i. 75, where it evidently signifies *ambiguous*, not *false;* as the oracle was, in one sense, fulfilled. In this passage, however, it must, according to the context, be taken in the sense of *false*. This word is generally used of base gold, and, indeed, of any adulterated wares. Larcher quotes the Scholiast on Aristophanes, v. 158, of the Birds; who states that the Athenians marked the base coins with the letter *χ*, calling them *χίβδηλα νομίσματα*, but the custom afterwards prevailed of changing *χίβδηλα* into *κίβδηλα*, for the softness of the pronunciation.

[244] *δόξαν φύσας αἰξάνεται.* Three inter-

" bours, the Bœotians and Chalcidians, have learnt, and as
" others likewise will soon learn, if they fail to take good
" counsel[245]. As in what we have done we have erred, let us
" now endeavour, in administering the remedy, with your
" assistance, to punish them. Indeed, for that purpose we
" have sent for Hippias, who is before you[246]; and have called
" you yourselves from your cities, to the end, that, by com-
" mon consent, and with a confederate army, we may take
" him back to Athens, and restore to him that of which we
" also have deprived him."

So spoke the Spartans. The majority of the confederates 92
did not approve of this discourse; but they all held their peace,
excepting Sosicles of Corinth, who spoke as follows:—" Surely 1
" the firmament will sink beneath the earth, and the earth
" take its place aloft, above the sky; mankind will have their
" dwelling in the sea, and the fishes where heretofore man-
" kind; now that you Lacedæmonians, abolishing democra-
" cies, prepare to restore tyrannies in the cities; than which
" nothing is there more unjust among men, nothing more
" cruel. For if, of a truth, it appears to you advantageous
" that the cities should be ruled by tyrants, begin by ap-
" pointing one over yourselves; and then seek to place them
" over others. But now, inexperienced as you are of ty-
" rants, and watching with the greatest fear and anxiety lest
" that form of government should arise in Sparta, you
" hold it of little importance that your allies should be
" subject to tyranny[247]. Were you experienced yourselves
" of tyrants, as we are, you would be able to form a better
" opinion[248] on the subject than you now have. For, for- 2
merly, the constitution of the Corinthians was this it was
an oligarchy, and those oligarchs[249], called the Bacchiadæ,

pretations are given of δόξαν—*fame, renown*, and *self-opiniatedness*. The last I have adopted, after Schneider, who renders δόξαν φύσας, " einen Dunkel-Stolz bekommen " αὐξάνεται is likewise taken by some in the sense of " daily increasing in self-conceit," by others, " of increasing in power."

[245] ἁμαρτὼν, " qui recta non inierint consilia." *Schweig. Vers Lat.* " If they offend never so little that nation." *Larcher.* Matthiæ gives a very different translation from either of the above. " Intelliget se peccasse." See Matt 548

[246] τόνδε τε τὸν Ἱππίην, " this man, Hippias."

[247] Construction. παραχρᾶσθε (τοῦτο γενέσθαι) ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους. " You think it of no importance that such a form of government should fall to the confederates." Schneider translates, " You act quite otherwise with respect to the confederates " See Schneid Gr. Germ. Lex. voc. παραχρέω. Schweighæuser translates, " Indigne cum sociis agitis "—*Schweig. Vers Lat.*

[248] Construction: εἴχετε ἄν συμβάλλεσθαι (the verb ἔχειν being, I think, taken here in the sense of *posse*, although there is no negative) γνώμας ἀμείνονας περὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ περ νῦν. The words συμβ. γνώμην signify " to think." Soph. Œd. Col. 1151

[249] καὶ οὗτοι (οἱ ὀλίγαρχοι), Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι, ἔνεμον τὴν πολίν Schweig. Not.

" swayed the city : they gave and took *in marriage* only from
" their own family. Amphion, who was one of those men,
" had a daughter halt, whose name was Labda[250]. none of
" the Bacchiadæ would marry her; so Aetion the son of
" Echeras took her to wife : he was of the canton of Petra,
" but by extraction a Lapith, and descended from Cæneus.
" As he had no children, either by this woman or by any
" other[251], he went to Delphi, to consult respecting a progeny.
" Immediately as he entered, the Pythia addressed him in
" these words : ' Aetion, none honours thee, worthy of much
" ' honour though thou art. Labda is big, and will a crag
" ' bring forth; and *the crag* shall fall on the despots, and
" ' chasten Corinth.' This oracle, pronounced to Aetion, was
" perchance reported to the Bacchiadæ, to whom one pre-
" viously pronouuced respecting Corinth was unintelligible,
" alluding to the same thing as that given to Aetion, and
" saying thus : ' An eagle in the rocks[252] is big; and she
" ' shall bring forth a lion strong, devourer of flesh, who
" ' shall relax the joints of many. On this brood well, Co-
" ' rinthians, you who dwell around fair Pirene and in frown-
3 " ' ing Corinth.' This oracle, which, as I have said, had been
" previously given to the Bacchiadæ, was inexplicable to
" them; but now, when they learnt that which had been
" pronounced to Aetion, they instantly comprehended the
" former one likewise, as it was consonant with that given
" to Aetion. But, although they understood it, they re-
" mained quiet[253], having the intention of putting to death
" the progeny that was about to be born to Aetion. As
" soon, therefore, as the woman was delivered, they sent ten
" of their own number to the place where Aetion dwelt, in
" order to put the infant to death. On their arrival at Petra,
" having entered the vestibule of Aetion, they asked for the
" baby; and Labda, knowing nothing of the purpose for
" which they had come, and fancying that it was out of an
" affectionate feeling towards the father that they asked for
" the child, brought him forth, and laid him in the arms of

[250] Λάβδα was the original name of the letter since called Lambda. Larcher shews, by several examples, that it was not unfrequent among the Grecians to give individuals, as nicknames, the names of the letters of the alphabet.

[251] This sentence is equivalent to ἐκ δέ οἱ οὐδὲ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς, οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης, παῖδες ἐγίνοντο. Concerning the suppression of the first οὐδὲ in *neither —nor*, see Matt 602.

[252] ἐν πέτρῃσι alludes to the hamlet of Petra, where Aetion resided The ambiguity cannot be transferred to a translation. *Larcher.*

[253] Construction. εἶχον (σφέας αὐτοὺς, see c. 93.) ἐν ἡσυχίῃ. See Viger, p 196. note 57. See, however, Matt. 577. according to which, ἔχειν ἐν ἡσυχίῃ is equivalent to ἔχειν ἡσύχως, which is equivalent to εἶναι ἡσύχιος. See Matt. 604

" one of them. I should have observed, that, on the road,
" they had resolved that the first of them should take the
" child, and dash it to the ground. While Labda was bringing
" forward and presenting the child, it providentially smiled
" on the man who had taken it. when he perceived this, a
" certain feeling of pity withheld him from slaying the babe,
" and, moved with compassion, he delivered him over to the
" second, who did the same to the third. thus the infant was
" handed over from one to the other of the ten, none being
" willing to murder it. Returning therefore the child to its
" mother, and going out, they stood at the door-way, and
" began to rail at one another, each accusing his neighbour,
" but chiefly the first receiver of the child, because he had
" not acted according to their resolution. At last, after some
" time, they resolved again to enter, and all take some share
" in the murder. But the Fates had determined that cala- 4
" mity should spring up in Corinth through Aetion's progeny,
" for Labda, who was standing near the same door, likewise
" overheard all; and, fearing that they might repent and,
" once more taking her babe, put it to death, carried it away,
" and hid it in a place which appeared to her the most diffi-
" cult to find, namely, in a bin[254]; convinced, that, if they re-
" turned and came to search, they would pry into every
" corner: thus, in fact, did take place. When, having gone
" in and made a search, they could not find the child, they
resolved to go back, and to say to those who had sent
them, that they had done all that they had commanded.
' They accordingly returned, and made that report. Subse- 5
quently, Aetion's son grew up; and, in consequence of his
escaping this danger, the name of Cypselus was given to
him, from the bin. Cypselus having reached to man's
' estate, and consulted the oracle, an ambiguous answer was
given to him at Delphi; in obedience to which he laid hands
" on Corinth, and held it under his power. The oracle was
" this: ' Happy this man, who *now* descends into my mansion,
" ' Cypselus, Aetion's son, king of famed Corinth; himself,
" ' and his sons; yet not the sons of his sons.' Such accord-
" ingly was the oracle; and Cypselus, having obtained the
" tyranny, shewed himself such as I am now going to de-
" scribe. many of the Corinthians did he exile; many did he
" deprive of their property; and very many more still of
" life. Cypselus, having ruled thirty years, ended life in 6

[254] κυψέλη signifies likewise a *bee-hive*: it means, in this place, a chest, as is proved by the chest dedicated at Olympia, in Juno's temple, by the Cypselidæ; and of which Pausanias gives a prolix description.

" prosperity[255]: his son Periander became his successor in " the tyranny. Periander accordingly, at first, shewed him- " self of a milder disposition than his father; but after he " had communicated, by means of ambassadors, with Thra- " sybulus, tyrant of Miletus, he became far more bloody " and murderous even than Cypselus. for sending a herald " to Thrasybulus, he inquired what was the surest policy he " could adopt[256] in order to govern most securely. Thrasy- " bulus took the person who came to him from Periander " out of the capital, and coming to some arable land which " was sown, passed with him through the corn, examining " and cross-examining the herald on his coming from Co- " rinth, and meanwhile cut off any of the ears that he hap- " pened to see rising above the others; and, when he had cut them off, cast them aside, till at last he had in this manner destroyed the finest and tallest of the corn · having passed through the field, he sent back the herald without giving him any answer. When the herald returned to Corinth, Periander was anxious to know the advice of Thrasybulus; but the messenger declared, that Thrasybulus had made him no answer, and said, that he was astonished at the sort of man Periander had sent him to, since he was mad, and wasted his own property, describing at the same time what he had seen done by Thrasybulus. Periander, understanding the meaning of the action, and concluding that Thrasybulus counselled him to put to death the most eminent of the citizens, forthwith exercised all sorts of cruelties toward the inhabitants: for all that Cypselus had left undone, in the way of slaughter and exile, Periander completed[257]. One day even he stripped all the Corinthian women of their garments, on account of his own wife Melissa. For having sent messengers to the Thesprotians on the Acheron, to the oracle of the dead, there to consult concerning some deposit made by a stranger, Melissa, having made her appearance, declared 'she would neither shew nor tell in what place the deposit 'lay, for that she was chilly, and was naked; since the 'use of the garments that had been buried with her was ''none, inasmuch as they had not been burnt, that, as a

[255] διαπλέξαντος τὸν βίον εὖ, i. e. "having successfully wore the web of life"

[256] Literally, "by establishing what surest form of government he should rule best"

[257] σφέα is equivalent to αὐτά. The verb ἀπολείπειν, in the sense of "leaving off," takes the action in the participle. e. g. ἀπολείπω ποιῶν, "I cease—I leave off doing." I make this observation, because I see that this passage has been translated, ridiculously enough, "And completed whatever Cypselus, by killing some and banishing others, had left."

" 'proof to Periander that what she said was true, he had
" 'placed the loaves in a cold oven.' When this was re-
" ported to Periander, (as the token was convincing to him,
" since he had communicated with Melissa after her decease,)
" he accordingly, immediately after the return of the em-
" bassy, caused a proclamation to be made, that all the
" wives of the Corinthians should assemble at the temple of
" Juno. the women accordingly went, as to a festival, clad
" in their best apparel, and Periander, having stationed for
" the purpose his guards, stripped them all alike, both free
" women and servants, and, having collected the dresses in
" an excavation, he invoked Melissa[258], and consumed them.
" Having so done, and sent a second time, the ghost of
" Melissa discovered to him in what spot she had placed the
" pawn of the stranger. Such is tyranny[259], Lacedæmonians!
" and of such deeds! hence wonder seized us Corinthians,
" even when first we heard that you had sent for Hippias
" but now indeed we wonder still more, to hear you hold
" such discourse. We beseech you, in the name of the gods of
" Hellas, establish not tyrannies in the cities! yet, if you will[260]
" not cease, but, in spite of what is just, attempt to restore
" Hippias, know that the Corinthians at least will not give
" you their approbation."

So spoke Sosicles, the deputy from Corinth. Hippias re- 93
plied to him, invoking the same gods as the other had, " That,
" of a surety[261], Corinth most of all would regret the Pisi-
" stratidæ, when the numbered days should come for them to
" be oppressed by the Athenians." Hippias answered in those
words, as being of all men the one best acquainted with the
oracles. The rest of the confederates, until now, had kept
themselves quiet, but when they had heard Sosicles speak
so freely, every one of them, breaking silence, adopted the
sentiment of Sosicles, and earnestly besought the Lacedæ-
monians to make no innovations in an Hellenic state so
that this scheme was dropped. Hippias being sent back out 94
of Lacedæmon, Amyntas the Macedonian prince offered[262]
him Anthemus; the Thessalians likewise offered him Iolcus.
Hippias, however, accepted of neither, but returned back to
Sigeum, a place which Pisistratus had wrested from the

[258] Respecting Melissa and Periander, see Book III. c. 50.

[259] ὑμῖν, pleonastic, or abundant see Herman on Viger, note 120 see likewise Matt. 392, *f.* A similar pleonasm exists in English. " There is liberty *for you*, my friends!"

[260] οὐκ ἂν, equivalent to εἰ οὖν οὐ

[261] ἦ μὴν *Re vera;* Ionic for ἦ μήν. see Book III c 134 note 210 See also Viger, p 356, note 78, by Zeunius.

See page 9, note 39, in this volume

Mytilenæans by force of arms; and, when he had it in his power, appointed as tyrant over it his own bastard son, Hegesistratus, born of an Argian woman. This prince did not however retain possession of what he had received from Pisistratus without a struggle; for the Athenians and the Mytilenæans carried on war against each other for a long time; the latter making sallies from the city of Achilleium, and the former from Sigeum: the Mytilenæans claimed back the territory; but the Athenians[263] would not accede, arguing, that the Æolians had no greater claim to the land of Ilium than[264] themselves, or any others of the Hellenes who had
95 joined Menelaus in revenging the rape of Helen. During the time they were at war, various kinds of events took place in the different engagements; among others, Alcæus the poet, in an action where the Athenians gained the day, saved his person by flight; but the Athenians got possession of his arms, which they hung up in the temple of Minerva, at Sigeum. This adventure Alcæus put in an ode, and sent it to Mytilene, in which he describes his misfortune to Melanippus, a friend of his. Periander the son of Cypselus reconciled the Mytilenæans and Athenians; for both parties had referred to him as an umpire: he set them at peace by the following decision, namely, that each party should keep possession of the country they then had. Thus, therefore,
96 Sigeum became subject to the Athenians. Hippias, on his arrival from Lacedæmon into Asia, strained every nerve, misrepresenting the Athenians to Artaphernes, and leaving nothing undone to bring Athens subject to himself and Darius. Such accordingly were the actions of Hippias; and the Athenians being informed of this, despatched ambassadors to Sardis, warning the Persians not to hearken to the emigrant Athenians; but Artaphernes bade them, if they wished to remain safe, to receive back Hippias. as the Athenians therefore would not consent to the conditions reported to them, they resolved openly to declare themselves enemies of the Persians.

97 At the very time that the Athenians were making the above resolutions, and were filled with indignation against the Persians, the Milesian Aristagoras, having been driven out of Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian king, came to Athens. for that city surpassed the rest in power. Aristagoras, presenting himself before the people, made the same speech that he had done at Sparta, concerning the good

[263] οἱ μὲν .. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, instead of οἱ μὲν ... οἱ δὲ. See Matt. 288, *e*

[264] οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ... ἢ οὐ See Matt. 455, *d*.

things of Asia, and a Persian war; as, that they used neither buckler[265] nor spear, and were easy to subdue: all these things accordingly he mentioned, and added also this—that the Milesians were a colony of the Athenians, and that it was to be expected that they, being great of power, would rescue them: he promised also every thing[266], making earnest entreaties; till at last he prevailed on them: in fact, it appears that it is more easy to persuade a multitude than one man, since[267] he was not able to deceive Cleomenes alone, the king of Sparta, but did so with the thirty thousand Athenians. The Athenians, being persuaded, voted accordingly, that they should fit out twenty ships, to go to the assistance of the Ionians; appointing, as commander over them, Melanthius, one of the citizens, in every respect illustrious. Those ships became a source of calamities, both to the Hellenes and the barbarians. Aristagoras sailed away before the 98
departure of the fleet, and, arriving at Miletus, devised a project from which no advantage could accrue to the Ionians; nor indeed did he execute it for that purpose, but in order to chagrine king Darius. He sent a Phrygian to the Pæonians, who had been taken prisoners and transplanted by Megabazus from the river Strymon: they now inhabited, by themselves, a certain spot and canton of Phrygia. When this man was come to the Pæonians, he addressed them in these words. "Men of Pæonia, Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, has "sent me to point out to you a mode of rescuing yourselves, "if you will hearken to it. All Ionia has risen up against "the King, and an opportunity is furnished you of returning "in safety to your own land[268]: to secure your escape down "to the sea will be your care; and then the rest will be our "business." When the Pæonians heard these tidings, they were filled with joy[269]; and, taking their children and their wives, they hastened away down to the sea-side: some of them, however, remained in Phrygia, through fear. When the Pæonians were come to the sea-shore, they crossed over from thence into Chios just as they landed in Chios, a large body of Persian cavalry followed on their heels, in pursuit; but as they had failed to overtake them, the Persians sent over to Chios to the Pæonians, requiring them to come back.

[265] The ἀσπὶς being the peculiar defensive arms of the heavy troops, Larcher translates this passage, "That they had no heavy-armed troops."

[266] Construction. καὶ οὐδὲν (ἐστὶν) ὅτι οὐκ ὑπίσχνετο. See Matt. 305: see likewise, in the same work, 483. οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος perhaps signifies, "being much in need," anxious to obtain his request.

[267] εἰ, *quandoquidem*, *quia*. See Viger, p. 403 note 17.

[268] See Matt 466, 1

[269] Constr. κάρτα ἀσπαστὸν (πρῆγμα) ἐποιήσαντο, "they considered it a very joyful, agreeable event."

The Pæonians spurned the proposal: wherefore the inhabitants of Chios transferred them to Lesbos, and the Lesbians conveyed them to Doriscus; from which place, returning on foot, they reached Pæonia.

99 Aristagoras, when the Athenians were arrived with a fleet of twenty sail[270], bringing in their company five triremes of Eretrians—who shared the war, not out of favour to[271] the Athenians, but to the Milesians themselves, wishing to pay their debts; for, previously, the Milesians had borne a share in the war of the Eretrians against the people of Chalcis, at the time when the Samians assisted the Chalcidians against the Eretrians and Milesians;—Aristagoras, I say, when these had arrived, and the other confederates were assembled, undertook an expedition against Sardis: he himself did not join the expedition, but remained at Miletus, and appointed others to the command of the Milesians, namely, his own brother Charopinus, and Hermophantes,
100 out of the rest of the citizens. When the Ionians with this fleet reached Ephesus, they left the vessels at Coressus, in the territory of that city, and, taking Ephesians for guides, went up the country with a numerous force they marched along the Caystrus; then, quitting its banks, crossed over Mount Tmolus, and arrived at Sardis, which they captured; no one coming out to meet them. They possessed themselves of the whole of the town, with the exception of the citadel, which Artaphernes himself saved, with a strong garrison. They were frustrated in their attempt to plunder the captured
101 town by the following occurrence[272]. The houses of Sardis were, for the most part, built with reeds; and even such of them as were of brick had roofs of thatch. Some soldier having accordingly set fire to one of these, the flames, immediately spreading from house to house, consumed the whole town. When the city was burning, the Lydians and such of the Persians as were in the place, hemmed in on every side—the flames having taken possession of the extreme parts[273], and the inhabitants having no escape open out of the city[274]—rushed together on the market-place and the banks

[270] Without σὺν. See Matt. 400, *e*. So, lower down, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ στόλῳ τούτῳ.

[271] χάριν. See Viger, p 8. note 15 and Herman's note 10

[272] Construction: τόδε ἴσχυε "withheld" σφέας ἁλόντας τὴν πόλιν τὸ μὴ λεηλατῆσαι αὐτήν, "from ransacking it." See Matt. 542. *obs.* 3. After the verb ἴσχειν, in the sense of "to prohibit," the Greeks add frequently the negation μὴ to the infinitive; hence, in this instance, τὸ μὴ λεηλατῆσαι, not τὸ λεηλατ. See Matt. 533. *obs.* 3, 3.

[273] ὥστε, with the genitive absolute. See Matt. 568.

[274] I read ἔχοντες. If the genitive participle is preserved, I do not see how it can be referred to the Lydians and Persians *Larcher*.

of the Pactolus (*a stream* which, bringing down gold-dust from Tmolus, flows through the middle of their market, and afterwards discharges itself in the river Hermus, which latter falls into the sea;)—the Lydians and Persians having, I said, collected in the market-place, and on the bank of the Pactolus, were forced to defend themselves. The Ionians, seeing some of the enemies resisting, and others pouring on in vast crowds, withdrew, abashed, to the mountain called Tmolus; from whence they departed, towards evening, for their ships. Thus was Sardis burnt, together with the temple of the native deity Cybebes the Persians, in subsequent times, alleging this as a pretence, burnt down, in retaliation, the sacred buildings of Hellas. But when the Persians who had settlements within the Halys heard what was going on, they collected and marched to the assistance of the Lydians they found the Ionians were no longer at Sardis, but, following on their heels, overtook them at Ephesus. The Ionians drew up in line to receive them, and, engaging, were sorely worsted the Persians slew many of them, and, among others of renown, Eualcides the leader of the Eritreans, a person who had won the prize at the crown games, and had been much praised by Simonides of Ceos. Such as escaped from the battle were scattered among the cities. 102

In the above manner, therefore, they fought at this period. the Athenians afterwards, wholly forsaking the Ionians, refused to lend them any assistance, although Aristagoras often entreated by messengers. The Ionians, on their part, reft of the help of the Athenians, still prepared for war against the King, for their conduct towards Darius left them nothing better to expect[275]. Sailing into the Hellespont, they reduced to their power Byzantium and all the rest of the cities in that quarter. then, sailing back out of the Hellespont, they added to their confederacy the greater part of Caria; for even Caunus[276], which previously refused to join them in the war, went over to their side when they had burnt Sardis. The Cyprians likewise joined them of their own free will, all excepting those of Amathus; for these islanders had also seceded from the Medes on this account. Onesilus was younger brother to Gorgus, king of Salamis[277], and son to Chersis, grandson of Siromus, great-grandson of Euelthon. This individual had frequently before urged his brother Gorgus to secede from the King, and at 103 104

[275] Literally, "for (see Matt. 613) such was the necessity imposed on them, (ὑπαρχεῖ equivalent to ἀνάγκη, see Viger, p. 244) in consequence of what had been committed (κατὰ στοιημένα) against Darius."

[276] See Matt. 426. *obs.* 3

[277] A town in Cyprus.

this period, understanding the Ionians had revolted, he most urgently pressed him, but could not prevail on him: Onesilus therefore watched the opportunity when Gorgus went out of the city of Salamis[278], and barred him out of the gates, with the connivance of his followers. Gorgus accordingly, being deprived of his capital, fled over to the Medes; while Onesilus took the command of Salamis, and exhorted all the Cyprians to join him in the rebellion: he prevailed over all, except the people of Amathus, who would not hearken to his advice. he therefore seated himself before that place, and laid siege to it.

105 Onesilus accordingly besieged Amathus. Meanwhile, no sooner was king Darius informed that Sardis had been taken and burnt by the Ionians and Athenians, and that the author of the rebellion, who[279] had planned these things, was Aristagoras of Miletus, than, it is related, taking no account of the Ionians, as he well knew they at least would not remain unpunished for the revolt, first inquired who the Athenians were. When he had obtained that information, he called for his bow, and, fixing a shaft, hurled it aloft towards the sky. as the arrow clove the air[280], he exclaimed, "Jove, grant that I may wreak my vengeance on the Athenians!" It is added, that when he had so spoken, he commanded one of his attendants, whenever dinner was spread before him, to

106 exclaim three times, "My lord, remember the Athenians." Having given this order, Darius called before him Histiæus of Miletus, whom he had already had a long time with him, and said. "I understand, Histiæus, that your lieutenant, to whom you have entrusted Miletus, has attempted innovations against me. He has brought over troops from the other continent against me, and together with them, Ionians (who certainly shall pay me forfeit of what they have done), and prevailing on them to follow the strangers, he has taken Sardis from me. Tell me now, do you consider this proper behaviour?[281] Could such a thing ever have taken place without your participation? Have a care, lest you yourself hereafter be to blame in the business[282]!" To which Histiæus

[278] Equivalent to *φυλάξας τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ Γόργος ἐξελ.* See in this volume, p. 7, note 29.

[279] *ὅστις, ἵτα ut:* see Matt. 543 — *συνυφαίνειν* signifies, literally, "to weave together;" in its secondary sense, "to plot."

[280] Literally, "and heaving it into the air, he said," &c. *ἐκγενέσθαι* for *ἐκγενέσθω:* see Matt 545. Gronovius understands *εὔχομαι* before *ἐκγενέσθαι*. Heiman, however, explains the form of speech, without recurring to the ellipsis, and therefore in a manner more consistent with the real philosophy of language. See Herman on Viger, note 157.

[281] *ἔχειν καλῶς*, i. e. *εἶναι καλόν*. See Matt. 604.

[282] Three interpretations are given

made answer: "Sire, what language do you hold, that I "should have devised any thing from whence any grief, "whether great or small, should occur to you? With what "view should I act in that manner? What am I in need "of? I, who have[283] all just the same as yourself, and am "deemed worthy to share all your counsels. If, indeed, my "lieutenant has done any thing of the kind, as you say, be "assured that he has done it on his own account. In the "first place, I do not myself give credit to the report that "the Milesians and my lieutenant have made any attempt "against your interest. But if they have indeed done any "thing of the kind, and what you have heard is the truth, "see, my lord, what you have done, in withdrawing me "from the sea-side. It seems that the Ionians, when I was "out of their sight, have achieved what they formerly longed "to do; but had I been in Ionia[284], not one city would have "stirred. Therefore permit me, as soon as possible, to go "into Ionia, in order to restore for you all things to their "former state, and to deliver into your hands that lieutenant-"governor of Miletus who has projected all these schemes. "When I shall have done all this to your mind, I swear by "the royal gods[285] not to cast off the mantle with which I "shall go down into Ionia ere I have made Sardinia[286], the "most extensive of islands, your tributary." Histiæus ac- 107
cordingly, by this language, deceived the King. Darius was persuaded, and dismissed him with orders, that, after he had completed what he had promised to him, he should come back to him at Susa.

At the time that the tidings of the calamity that had 108
befallen Sardis were conveying up to the King, and that Darius, having acted as we have seen with the bow, had conferred with Histiæus, and Histiæus, dismissed[288] by that prince, was proceeding to the sea-side;—during all that time, I say, the following events came to pass. Onesilus of

of this sentence: 1. Larcher. "Prenez garde de vous rendre coupable une autre fois," "Have a care not to commit hereafter another fault." 2. Schweighæuser, in his Latin version. "Mind that you are not yourself hereafter found to be the author of this crime." 3. "Have a care that you do not hereafter implicate yourself in the crime;" that is to say, either by excusing your lieutenant, or failing to do all in your power to crush the faction. *Schweigh. Lex. Herod.*

[283] τῷ, the article for the pronoun relative, πάρεα for πάρεστι.

[284] The participle with ἄν. See Matt 597, *b*.

[285] See Matt. 419, 3. μὴ μὲν, in forms of swearing Ionic, for μὴ μήν.

[286] See Matt 474.

[287] Sardinia appears to have been, among the Grecian geographers, something like the New Holland of the present day—a tract of land known to be an island, but unexplored.

[288] See p. 67, note 1, of this volume.

Salamis, having laid siege to Amathus, news was brought to him that Artybius of Persia, at the head of a large armament on ship-board, was to be expected to invade Cyprus. Onesilus, understanding this, sent heralds round to all the places in Ionia, calling on the inhabitants to succour him. The Ionians, without passing any long time in deliberating, came with a large fleet; and at the same time they arrived in Cyprus, the Persians likewise, crossing over from Cilicia on ship-board, marched on foot to Salamis; while the Phœnicians with their vessels sailed round the cape called[289] the
109 Cleides [keys] of Cyprus. This having taken place, the tyrants of Cyprus, calling together the leaders of the Ionians, thus addressed them. "Men of Ionia, we of Cyprus give you your "choice, which you like to engage, whether of the Persians or "the Phœnicians. If, then, you elect to try your strength with "the Persians arrayed on land, now is the time for you[290]; "disembark from your ships; draw up on land; while we "embark on your vessels, in order to oppose the Phœnicians "but if you choose rather to try the fate of battle with the "Phœnicians, it behoves you to behave yourselves, which-"soever indeed of the two services you may select, so that, "as far as in you lies, both Ionia and Cyprus may be free." To this the Ionians returned answer: "The confederate "states of Ionia have sent us to guard the sea; and not for "the purpose of giving up our ships to the Cyprians, and "ourselves engaging the Persians on land. In the post "therefore to which we have been appointed, there will we "endeavour to make ourselves serviceable; and you it be-"hoves, remembering what you have suffered, enthralled by "the Medes, to shew yourselves gallant men." Such were
110 the words in which the Ionians made their answer. Soon after, when the Persians had reached the plain of Salamis, the kings of Cyprus formed their line, placing various battalions to stand the charge from different points of the enemy's line; but they selected the best troops of the Salaminians and Solians to oppose the Persians. Onesilus, by his own desire, took up a position opposite Artybius, the
111 commander-in-chief of the Persians. Artybius rode a horse which had been trained to rear up against any heavy-armed soldier: Onesilus understanding this, and having a shield-bearer, of Carian origin, much distinguished by his skill in matters of war, and likewise full of courage, he spoke to him thus: "I hear that the horse of Artybius is trained to rear

[289] *αἱ καλεῦνται.* See Matt. 440, 7. The name of Cleides was generally given to two or four small islands on the eastern shore of Cyprus *Larcher.*

[290] *ὥρη ἂν εἴη.* See Matt. 514, 2d paragraph

" up, and that he attacks with hoofs and teeth those he is " directed against. Consider quickly, and tell me, whether " you choose to watch and strike the steed, or Artybius " himself." To which his attendant replied: " Sire, I am " ready to do both, or either of the two, and indeed whatso- " ever you may command. I will however tell you what ap- " pears to me most conducive to your interest. I say, then, " that it behoves a king and commander to engage a king " and commander; for if you send down a commander, you " will reap great honour, and again, if he kills you, which " heaven grant may not come to pass! even death at the " hands of a worthy opponent loses half its horror[291]. It " behoves us, your servants, to engage with his servants, and " with the horse and fear not the tricks of that animal; for " I warrant you he shall never more rear up against any " human being[292]." Thus he spoke, and forthwith the forces 11
joined battle, both by land and sea. The Ionians accordingly shewed that day great valour, and routed the Phœnicians among the Ionians, the Samians particularly distinguished themselves. On land, the two armies, meeting, charged successively[293], and the following events befel their two commanders. When Artybius, seated on his horse, charged on Onesilus, the latter, according to the arrangement with his shield-bearer, hit Artybius himself, as he was rushing forward, and the horse having placed his feet on Onesilus's buckler, the Carian then, striking him with a scythe, cut off his feet, so that Artybius, the chief of the Persians, fell, together with his horse, on the spot. While the rest of the 1
line was engaged, Stesenor, tyrant of Curium, deserted with no inconsiderable body of troops these people are said to be a colony from Argos. They having deserted, forthwith the chariots[294] of war of the Salaminians did the same: in consequence of this, the Persians became superior to the Cyprians; and the army being put to flight, very many fell, and, among others, Onesilus son of Chersis, the same that had originated the rebellion of the Cyprians, and the king of the Solians, Aristocyprus son of Philocyprus, the same Philocyprus whom Solon the Athenian, after his visit to

[291] Literally, "Even to be killed by a worthy *foe* is but half the calamity." ὑπὸ ἀξιόχρεω ἀποθανεῖν. See Matt. 592, at the beginning.

[292] The Cyprians had probably no cavalry. Such a horse as Artybius's would be rather formidable to footmen unaccustomed to such animals; as we may conclude from the celerity with which horses, trained in a similar manner, dissipate the great crowds in London and other large cities of Europe.

[293] Literally, "they fought charging."

[294] Those chariots resembled those described by Homer in the Iliad: they carried two men, one of whom held the reins, while the other fought. *Larcher*

Cyprus, praised, in his verses, most of all the tyrants. The
114 Amathusians, therefore, having cut off Onesilus's head, because he had laid siege to them, conveyed it to their town, where they hung it over the city gate. The head being suspended, and having already become hollow, a swarm of bees lodged themselves within, and filled it with honey-comb. When this happened, the Amathusians[295] consulted the oracle respecting the head; when the following answer was given to them: "To take down the head, and bury it, and to sacri-" fice every year to Onesilus, as to a hero; and that, by so " doing, matters would go better with them." The people of Amathus accordingly did so, and continue to do so down
115 to my time. The Ionians who had fought the sea-fight near Cyprus, as soon as they learnt that the affairs of Onesilus were ruined, and that the cities of the Cyprians were besieged, all excepting Salamis, which the inhabitants had restored to the former king Gorgus; immediately, I say, that the Ionians learnt these events, they sailed back to their own country. Among the cities in Cyprus, the Soli[296] withstood the siege for the longest time: the Persians took it in the fifth month, after undermining the wall all round.

116 Thus the Cyprians, after enjoying freedom for one year, were again enslaved. Meanwhile Daurises, who had married a daughter of Darius, and Hymeas, and Otanes, and other Persian officers, whose wives were also daughters of Darius, pursued the Ionians that had attacked Sardis, and, having conquered them in battle, and driven them to their vessels, divided the cities among themselves, and proceeded to sack
117 them. Daurises, following the direction of the cities on the Hellespont, took Dardanus. he likewise took Abydos, and Percote, and Lampsacus, and Pæsus each of these was captured in one day. As he was on his march from Pæsus against Parius, news was brought him that the Carians, in concordance with the Ionians, had detached themselves from the Persians. Wheeling back, therefore, from the Helles-
118 pont, he led his troops against Caria. By some means or other, this was reported to the Carians before Daurises arrived. understanding what they had to expect, they collected at a place called the White Pillars, situate on the river Marsyas, which, flowing out of the territory of Idrias, discharges itself into the Mæander. The Carians having there assembled, various opinions were produced; the best of which, in my opinion at least, was that of Pixodarus the son of Mausolus, a citizen of Cindys, who had married

[295] γὰρ. See Matt. 950

[296] Σόλοι in the masculine plural, and πολιορκευμένη and τὴν in the feminine singular; because the idea of πόλις is contained in Σόλοι. See Matt. 434, 1, *a*.

the daughter of Syennesis, king of the Cilicians. The opinion of this individual was, that the Carians ought to cross the Mæander, and, with the river on their rear, engage battle; in order that, unable to fly in the rear, and forced to remain on the field, they should be inspired with more bravery even than was their nature. This opinion, however, did not prevail: on the contrary, *that which prevailed was*, that the Mæander had better be on the rear of the Persians than on their own; to the end, no doubt, that if the Persians should be put to flight, and be worsted in the action, they should have no retreat open, but fall into the stream. Some time 119
after, the Persians arrived, and crossed the Mæander. there the Carians, on the bank of the river Marsyas, engaged the Persians, and fought a bloody and obstinate[297] battle they were at last defeated by superior numbers. Of the Persians, as many as two thousand fell, and of the Carians as many as ten thousand such as fled from the field were pursued to Labranda, to the large temple and sacred plane-grove of Jupiter Stratius of the nations that we know, the Carians are the only people that perform ceremonies to Jupiter Stratius. Shut up in this place, they held council on the means of saving themselves, whether it would be more prudent to give themselves up to the Persians, or to abandon Asia for ever. As they were deliberating on this, the Mile- 120
sians came up to their assistance, together with their confederates; and then the Carians dismissed the subjects of their previous deliberation, and prepared once more to recommence war they engaged the Persians as soon as they came up, and, after fighting, were more sorely defeated than before, and though many of all the confederates fell, the Milesians suffered the severest blow. But the Carians soon 121
found a cure for this wound, and once more shewed themselves in the field: understanding that the Persians were about to attack their towns, they placed an ambush on the road to Pedasus, into which the Persians fell by night. they were slain, both men and leaders—Daurises, and Amorges, and Sisimaces. with them perished, likewise, Myrsus the son of Gyges. The leader of this ambush was Heraclides son of Ibanolis, a citizen of Mylassæ. In the above manner, therefore, this party of the Persians met with their destruction.

Hymeas, who was likewise one[298] of those in pursuit of the 122
Ionians who had attacked Sardis, marching in the direction of the Propontis, took Cius of Mysia having taken that

[297] καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον πολλὸν, "and for a long time." See Matt. 586, *c* third paragraph

[298] See chap 116

place, he heard that Daurises had quitted the Hellespont, and was marching against the Carians: he quitted, therefore, the Propontis, and led his troops towards the Hellespont; and subdued all the Æolians, who occupy the territory of Ilium: he reduced likewise the Gergithæ, remnants of the ancient Teucrians. Hymeas himself, after subduing the above nations, died of disease in the Troad. Thus, there-
123 fore, died that general. Artaphernes the governor of Sardis, and Otanes the third commander, were appointed to carry war into Ionia and the neighbouring part of Æolia. In Ionia, accordingly, they took Clazomenæ, and in Æolia, Cyme.

124 While the cities were besieging, Aristagoras, who had stirred up all Ionia, and excited these violent commotions, being, as he proved[299], not strong of mind, began to think about running away, now that he beheld these consequences: add to which, it now appeared to him evidently impossible to overcome king Darius. Having therefore, with this view, convened his partisans, he put the subject on the carpet; saying, "that it would be prudent for them to have some "sure place of refuge at hand, in case they should be driven "out from Miletus. whether, therefore, should he lead them "to found a colony from that place to Sardinia, or to Myr-"cinus in Edonia, which Histiæus, having received as a gift
125 "from Darius, had begun to fortify[300]." The opinion of Hecatæus the historian, son of Hegesandrus, was, accordingly, not to send an expedition to either of those places; but that Aristagoras should build a fort in the island of Leros, and there abide quietly, in case he should be expelled from Miletus, and, subsequently making his attack from thence, recover possession of the town: such was the coun-
126 sel Hecatæus gave. The proposal which best accorded with Aristagoras's own inclinations was, to depart to Myrcinus. he accordingly made over the government of Miletus to Pythagoras, a citizen of distinction; while he himself, enlisting whoever chose, made sail for Thrace, and possessed himself of the spot for which he had departed but, sallying from thence, he was cut off by a body of Thracians; not only Aristagoras himself, but all his troops as well, at the siege of a town where he had rejected a capitulation offered by the Thracians.

[299] ὡς δὲ δόξει may be taken in an impersonal sense, "*ut adparet*," *it appears*. With regard to the hyperbaton at the commencement of the chapter, examples of which are so very frequent in Herodotus, see p 70, note 22, of this volume.

[300] This is the meaning of the imperfect. We have seen, higher up, c 32, that Histiæus had been obliged to leave the walls unfinished.

# BOOK VI.

# ERATO.

## SUMMARY OF BOOK VI

*THE Ionian fleet is beaten off Lade, Miletus is taken, and Ionia once more reduced,* 6—25. *Histiæus (who, having been sent by Darius to Sardis, had fled over to the island of Chios,* 1—5) *crosses over to the main land for forage; when he is routed, taken, and put to death, by Artaphernes,* 26—30. *The Persians subject the European side of the Hellespont. In this place is inserted a digression concerning the Thracian Chersonesus, and the dominion of the first Miltiades son of Cypselus, and that of the second Miltiades son of Cimon,* 35—40. *The latter (in fear, on account of the counsel he had given to break asunder the bridge over the Danube,* IV. 137) *flees to Athens,* 41. *Good order is restored in Ionia,* 42. *Mardonius, with vast forces, marches against Greece, to wreak vengeance on the Athenians and Eretrians; but the fleet is wrecked off Mount Athos, and the land-army is worsted by the Thracians; in consequence of which he returns into Asia,* 43—45. *Darius then sends ambassadors into Greece, to demand earth and water,* 48. *All the islanders accede to the demand; and, among others, the Æginetæ, whom the Athenians and Lacedæmonians prepare to punish: but Cleomenes, one of the kings of Sparta, having gone over to the island for that purpose, is compelled, by the arts of the other king, Demaratus, to return without success,* 48—51. *Then follows a digression concerning the Spartan kings,* 52—60. *But Cleomenes, irritated against Demaratus, proves to the Spartans that he is not their lawful king, since not born of Ariston: Demaratus, in consequence, is obliged to abdicate; and, being insulted by his successor, Leotychides, flees over into Asia, to the King,* 61—70. *Cleomenes, however, passes over once more into Ægina, seizes the chief inhabitants of the island, and delivers them into the keeping of the Athenians: but the fraud with which he had circumvented Demaratus being detected, he escapes from Sparta, is afterwards received back again in the state, falls mad, and lays violent hands on himself,* 73, 74. *The causes assigned for his madness are enumerated,* 76—78. *The Æginetæ, after claiming to no purpose their citizens from the Athenians, levy war against Attica,* 93. *Meanwhile Datis and Artaphernes, appointed to the Persian command in place of Mardonius, cross over into Greece, and, after subjecting the islands, take Eretria by treachery: they pass over into Attica; but being routed at Marathon, by the Athenians under the command of Miltiades, retire back into Asia,* 94—116. *Herodotus, in exculpating the Alcmæonidæ from the charge of a treacherous compact with the Persians, engages himself in a digression respecting the fortunes of that family,* 121—131. *After the battle of Marathon, Miltiades attacks Paros; but being compelled, in consequence of a bodily accident, to raise the siege, is indicted at Athens: the victory of Marathon and the conquest of Lemnos save him from capital punishment, but not from a fine,* 132—136. *Then follows a digression concerning Lemnos and its inhabitants, the Pelasgi,* 137, *to the end.*

THE

# SIXTH BOOK OF HERODOTUS.

## ERATO.

ARISTAGORAS, therefore, after stirring up Ionia to rebellion, died in the manner I have described. Histiæus, the tyrant of Miletus, despatched[1] by Darius, was gone to Sardis[2]: on his arrival from Susa, Artaphernes, the governor of Sardis, asked him with what view he supposed the Ionians to have detached themselves. Histiæus declared he did not know; but expressed his astonishment at what had taken place, as though, forsooth[3], he knew nothing of the present business: but Artaphernes, seeing he was dissimulating, said to him, knowing the real truth in respect of the defection: "Histiæus, "with you these matters stand thus[4]: you made this shoe, "and Aristagoras has put it on[5]." This Artaphernes said in allusion to the rebellion: and Histiæus, being in fear, as of one that knew *the rights of the business*, towards fall of night fled to the sea-side, breaking his promise to king Darius; for though[6] he had engaged to reduce the extensive island of Sardinia, he secretly assumed the command of the Ionians in the war against Darius[7]. Crossing over to Chios, he was cast in bonds by the islanders, being suspected by them of an intention of adopting some new measures against them, in the name of Darius: however, when the

[1] *μιμιστιμένος* for *μισθιμένος*, from *μισθίημι*, as in v. 108. and vii. 229. a very anomalous form. See Matt. 170, end of the first paragraph. See likewise, in the same work, 209, 3.

[2] *παρὴν ἐς Σάρδις*. See Matt. Gr. Gramm. p. 885. or sect. 578, 3.

[3] *δῆθεν*. Viger, p. 399, note 10, *, Z.

[4] Construction: (*τὸ πρᾶγμα*) *ἔχει σοι οὕτω κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ πρήγματα*. Respecting this use of *ἔχειν* with the adverb, see Viger, p. 195, note 55, 56. and Matt. 604.

[5] A proverbial expression, of which the meaning is too evident to require explanation.

[6] *ἐς* for *ὅτι*. See Matt. 480. *obs.* 1.

[7] On the two genitives, *τῶν Ἰώνων*, and *τοῦ πολίμου*, see Matt. 314. *obs.* 1.

Chians discovered the real truth, that he was hostile to the
3 King, they set him at liberty. Histiæus, being questioned at this place by the Ionians, wherefore he had so earnestly charged Aristagoras to detach himself from the King, and had wrought so much mischief to the Ionians, took care not to disclose to them the real cause; but told them, that "king "Darius had resolved to tear the Phœnicians from their "country, and plant them in Ionia, and to establish the Io-"nians in Phœnicia; and for that reason he had given that "charge." Although the King had never made any resolution whatever of the kind, he *thereby*[8] terrified the Ionians.
4 Soon after, Histiæus, carrying on his correspondence through the means of a messenger, Hermippus, a native of Atarneus, sent letters to some of the Persians at Sardis, who[9] had previously conversed with him on the subject of a rebellion. Hermippus, however, did not deliver the letters to the persons he was sent to, but put[10] them in the hands of Artaphernes; who, understanding the whole business, bade Hermippus take the letters he had received from Histiæus, and give them to the persons he was to have carried them to, and to deliver to himself the answers that would be sent in return by the Persians to Histiæus. Those individuals being by this means discovered, Artaphernes then put several of the Persians to death; and, in consequence, terror spread
5 round about Sardis. Histiæus disappointed in his hopes, the Chians, at his own request, took him over to Miletus; but the citizens, delighted at being delivered even from Aristagoras, were not at all eager to receive another tyrant within their territory, now that they had tasted of freedom; and the consequence was, that Histiæus, attempting[11] by force to make his entrance into Miletus in the night-time, was wounded in the thigh by one of the Milesians. Thus, an outcast from his country, he went back to Chios. Not having succeeded in prevailing on the Chians to furnish him with vessels, he crossed from that island over to Mytilene, and persuaded the Lesbians to give him some ships. They manned eight triremes, and sailed with him to Byzantium; and there, cruising about[12], they intercepted all the vessels sailing out from the Euxine, except such crews as declared they were ready to pay obedience to Histiæus.
6 Such, therefore, were the proceedings of Histiæus and the

[8] *οὕτω*, or some such word, must be supplied before *οὐδέν τι*, to make sense.

[9] "As having previously," &c.

[10] *φέρων ἐπιχείρισι*. See Matt. 577.

and Blomfield's remark, p. xlviii. of the same work. So, lower down, *διδοῦναι φέροντα*.

[11] *γάρ*. See Matt. 613, vii.

[12] Literally, "posting themselves."

Mytilenians: meanwhile, a mighty armament, both by sea and land, was expected against Miletus itself; for the commanders of the Persians, having combined and formed one body, were on the march towards Miletus, regarding the other cities of smaller importance[13]. In the navy, the Phœnicians shewed the greatest ardour: the Cyprians, lately reduced, accompanied them on this expedition, as did likewise the Cilicians and the Egyptians. These forces were therefore advancing in arms against Miletus and the rest of Ionia: the Ionians, understanding this, despatched their respective deputies to the Panionium[14]. those persons arriving at that place, held council: they resolved not to levy any land-troops to oppose the Persians, but that the Milesians themselves should defend their walls: on the other hand, it was resolved to fit out the fleet, without excepting one single vessel, and, when the vessels were manned, to assemble as speedily as possible at Lade, there to engage battle on the sea, in defence of the city of Miletus. Lade is a small island lying off Miletus. Soon after this, the Ionians came with their fleet manned, and together with them the Æolians that dwell in Lesbos. They formed their line in the following manner: The wing to the east was formed by the Milesians themselves, who furnished eighty ships: adjoining to these were the Prienians with twelve ships, and the Myusians with three: next to the Myusians, the Teians drew up with seventeen sail; contiguous to whom lay the Chians with one hundred vessels: near to these[15] were arrayed the Erythræans and the Phocæans, the former furnishing eight ships, and the latter three: contiguous to the Phocæans lay the Lesbians, with seventy sail: last in the line, forming the western wing, were drawn up the Samians, with sixty sail. Of all these, the sum total was three hundred and fifty three triremes: such was the Ionian fleet. The number of ships on the side of the barbarians amounted to six hundred: but when this fleet had nearly reached the Milesian coast, and the whole land-army was come, the Persian leaders, there apprised of the strength of the Ionian fleet, feared lest they should not be able to overcome it, and so should not have the power to take Miletus either, if they were not masters

[13] περὶ ἰλάττονος. See Matt. 589.

[14] The place where the Ionians assembled to celebrate the Panionia. It was likewise used as a place of assembly for the representatives of all the Ionian nations, when it was necessary to take any common measure of defence. See i. 148.

[15] πρὸς τούτοισι signifies frequently, besides these things, *præterea*; but as the author is here speaking of the order of battle in the Ionian fleet, I think this preposition must be taken here in the sense I have given it, and which is not less usual than the other. *Larcher.*

by sea, and therefore should run the risk of receiving punishment at the hands of Darius. Taking these things into consideration, they convened the Ionian tyrants, who, deposed from their governments by Aristagoras the Milesian, had fled over to the Medes, and at this time shared the expedition against Miletus: having, I say, convened such of those individuals as were present, they addressed them in the following words:—"Men of Ionia[16], now let each of you "shew his desire to serve[17] the royal house: let every one of you endeavour to detach his own countrymen from the "rest of the confederacy; make known to them, and promise "this, namely, that they shall suffer no harm for their re-"bellion; that neither their sacred nor their other buildings[18] "shall be burnt; that they shall not either be more severely "treated than they were before: but if they will not do so, "and must at all events try the fate of battle[19], tell them and "threaten them with this, which surely shall befal them; "that, when defeated, they shall be enslaved; that[20] we will "make eunuchs of their boys, and, tearing their virgins from "them, transport them to Bactra; and then deliver up their
10 "land to others." Such was the discourse of the commanders: in consequence of which, each tyrant sent by night to the citizens of his country, to report the warning. but the Ionians, to whom these messages were brought, remained unshaken, and spurned the treachery; in fact, each nation fancied that the Persians made the proposal to them alone. This accordingly took place immediately on the arrival of the Persians at Miletus.

11 After the Ionians had assembled at Lade, councils were held: various persons took share in the debates; and, among others[21], Dionysius, the Phocæan commander; whose speech was as follows:—"Our affairs stand on the razor's edge[22], men "of Ionia, whether we shall be freemen or slaves, and that "too as runaway slaves[23]: if, therefore, you are now willing

[16] Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες. See Matt. 430, 7.

[17] τλὶς, equivalent to πᾶς τις, or εἷς ἕκαστος. See Matt. 487, 2. ποιήσας φανήτω: see Matt. 831.

[18] ἴδιος, when opposed to ἱερὸς, signifies "not sacred; profane:" when opposed to δημόσιος, it signifies "private." See Valckenaer's note.

[19] διὰ μάχης ἴεχεσθαι is equivalent to μάχεσθαι: so in Thucydides, διὰ μάχης τοῖς πολεμίοις ἴεχεσθαι.

[20] ὡς here borrows its accent from σφέων; it must not therefore be confounded with ὡς, *sic*, *ita*, *similiter*. See Matt.

[21] ἦν δὲ δὴ. See Matt. 594, 1.

[22] That is to say, "our affairs are at a crisis; no middle measures can be adopted. either we must be slaves or freemen." The reader may see a similar idiom in Hom. Il. x. 174. and Theocr. xxii. 6. With respect to the conjunction γὰρ, see Matt. Schweig. Not. in Herod. i. 24, 15. Indeed this very passage of Herodotus is adduced by Longinus as an example of the beauty of the hyperbaton. Long. de Sub. sect. xxii.

[23] καὶ τούτοισι ὡς δρηπέτῃσι. See Matt. 471, 7.

" to undergo toil, hardship will be your share for the present;
" but when you have overthrown the enemy, you will be
" enabled to enjoy freedom; whereas, if you abandon your-
" selves to luxury and disorder, I despair of your ever
" escaping paying the King forfeit for your rebellion: but
" listen to me, and give yourselves up to my guidance; and I
" warrant you, if the gods deal with impartiality, either that
" the foe will not engage us, or, if he does engage, will re-
" ceive a great discomfiture[24]." When the Ionians had 12
heard this discourse, they placed themselves under the superintendence of Dionysius; who, taking out every day the vessels in two files, after he had exercised the rowers in making the ships cut through one another's line, and commanded the crews to stand under arms, kept the fleet at anchor for the rest of the day[25]: thus he occupied the Ionians in toil during the whole of the day[26]. Accordingly, they obeyed for the space of seven days, and performed what was ordered; but on the eighth, the Ionians, impatient[27] of such fatigue, and harassed by hardships and the sun, said to one another these words.—" What deity have we offended, to be
" obliged to fill this measure of woe[28]? we, who, like fools

[24] ἐλασσώσεσθαι for ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι, the future middle being put for the future passive, as is frequently the case: see Matt. 496, 8.

[25] It was the custom with the Grecians to keep their vessels near the coast, or even on the strand, and the crews remained on shore. When the sentinels perceived the fleet of the enemy, they gave notice, and forthwith the vessels were launched, and all went on board: the line of the Ionian fleet, described by Herodotus in c. 8, alludes therefore to the relative situation of the vessels when drawn up on shore. Dionysius saw that for sailors to be always on land was not exactly the way to improve them in naval tactics: he therefore wished to put them under a regular course of discipline: for this purpose, first, instead of letting the men lounge all day on land, he took out the fleet in files (ἐπὶ νέρας), probably making two parallel lines of the whole fleet: secondly, when the fleet was at some distance from the land, he could, by a slight manœuvre, bring the ships in both lines to be opposed prow to prow: he then exercised the rowers in the διέκπλους, which consisted in driving the ships of one line between those of the opposite line, and then backing the oars to return, and so on. (This manœuvre seems to have been used in naval engagements, with the view of disabling the ships of the enemy by breaking his oars, and must have necessitated considerable skill on the part both of those that attacked and those that defended.) Thirdly, when this exercise was finished, instead of letting the crews go ashore and haul in their ships, he commanded all to stand under arms, and, casting anchor at some distance from land, there kept them till night, when probably they were permitted to pull to the shore. This service must have been very hard for persons unaccustomed to any such exercise; and one is rather astonished that the turbulent Ionians should even have borne with it so long as they did.

[26] δι' ἡμέρας, "throughout the whole day." See Matt. 580, 2, *a*.

[27] ἀπαθίης may be likewise translated, "inexperienced of, unaccustomed to."

[28] See, in this volume, p. 4, (B. v. c. 4.) note 10.

" and persons who had strayed out of their senses, have placed " ourselves under a vain-glorious Phocæan, that has fur- " nished but three ships, and who, taking us under his sway, " harasses us with intolerable hardships. Already several " of us have, in consequence, fallen ill; and the same, it is " probable, will be the fate of many more. In comparison " with these woes, it were better for us to suffer any thing " else, even to abide the threatened slavery, be it what it " may, than to be opprest by the present. Courage, then[29]! " let us no longer shew obedience to him." Thus they spoke: and forthwith none afterwards would obey; but, like a land-army, pitching their tents on the island, remained in the shade, and would neither embark on board the ships, nor go
13 through the exercise. The Samian commanders, understanding what had taken place with the Ionians, began to think of accepting the proposals from Æaces the son of Syloson, which he had previously sent to them at the command of the Persians, beseeching them to forsake the Ionian confederacy[30]: they saw at the same time that extreme disorder existed among the Ionians; and it was likewise evident to them, that it was impossible to overthrow the King's power: they were likewise well convinced that, even granting they might overcome Darius with his present fleet[31], still would another fleet, five times as numerous, be brought against them some time after. Seizing accordingly their opportunity, no sooner did they behold the Ionians refuse to behave properly[32], than they held it to be to their advantage to save their sacred and other possessions. The Æaces, from whom the Samians accepted terms, was son to Syloson, and grandson to Æaces: this person had been tyrant of Samos, but was deprived of his power by Aristagoras of Miletus, like the rest of the tyrants of Ionia.

[29] *φέρεται*. See Viger, p. 248. Zeunius asserts that this imperative is never used in the plural: he is wrong, as this passage shews.

[30] Construction: *οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων μαθόντες ταῦτα τὰ γινόμενα ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ παρ' Αἰάκεος τοῦ Συλοσῶντος ἰδέκοντο κείνους τοὺς λόγους, ὁρέωντες ἅμα μὲν, &c.* In order to greater perspicuity, and lest the reader might have forgotten what these *λόγοι* were, the author inserts after *κείνους* a parenthetical observation: *τοὺς πρότερον ἔπεμπε λόγους ὁ Αἰάκης, κελεύοντων τῶν Περσέων, διόμενός σφεα ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἰώνων συμμαχίην.* As is frequent after such parentheses, the subject of the main proposition is repeated with *οὗν*: see Matt. 611. Hence *οἱ Σάμιοι οὗν*.

[31] Construction: *εἰ καὶ ὑπερβαλέοιτο τὸν Δαρεῖον (κατὰ) τὸ παρεὸν ναυτικόν.* See Dr. Gaisford's note, ii. p. 680, *h*. —A. Matthiæ construes in another manner: he regards *ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὸ παρεὸν ναυτικὸν* as a form of speech similar to those mentioned in his Gr. Gramm. 417, last paragraph: two constructions being united, *ὑπερβ. τὸ ναυτικὸν*, and *ὑπερβ. Δαρεῖον*. See Matthiæ's reprint of Gaisford's Herodotus.

[32] Or otherwise, " being unwilling to serve themselves." See Schweig. Lex. Herod.

When, therefore, the Phœnicians steered their vessels on 14
to the attack, the Ionians, on their part, likewise brought up their fleet in a line; but, from the time that the two fleets drew near and engaged, I can give no certain information as to which of the Ionians behaved in that sea-engagement as men of valour, and which as cowards; for they mutually blame one another. The Samians are represented as having at that moment, according to agreement with Æaces, hoisted sail, and steered out of the line for Samos; all, with the exception of seven ships, the captains of which remained, and shared the battle, refusing to obey the commanders: for that action the commonwealth of the Samians honoured them, as men of valour, with an inscription on a column, giving the names of themselves and their ancestors; and that column stands in the forum. The Lesbians likewise, seeing their neighbours flee, did the same as the Samians: in like manner, most of the Ionians did the same. Of those 15
that remained to fight the battle, the Chians were handled the most roughly; though they displayed many brilliant deeds, and did not of their own will desert their post: for, as has been previously mentioned, they furnished one hundred ships, and in each of them forty chosen citizens as fighting men[33]. Although they saw most of the confederates betraying the cause, they disdained to imitate the traitors, but, abiding with a few confederates, they cut through the enemy's line[34], and fought until, after taking several vessels from their adversaries, they had lost the best part of their own: the Chians, accordingly, then retired, with the remnant of their fleet, to their homes[35]. Such of the Chians 16
whose vessels were disabled by the battle took refuge in Mycale, and there running their ships aground, abandoned them, and began their return on foot by the continent[36]. But when the returning Chians had entered the territory of Ephesia, and reached by night a place where the Thesmophoria were celebrating by the women, the people seeing an armed force enter their country, and not having heard of what had happened to the Chians[37], but fully convinced that they were thieves, and came to carry off their women, rushed all to the attack in a body, and slaughtered the

[33] The ὑπηρέτης had not, it appears, any thing to do with the management of the vessel: his only business was to fight. In this he was distinguished from the ἐρέτης, whose duty it was to row.

[34] See note 25, p. 71.

[35] εἰς τὴν (γῆν) Ἰωνικήν. Matt. 281, 2.

[36] Their intention was, to proceed on foot to the port nearest to Chios, from whence they would pass over to the island in a short time. *Larcher.*

[37] Construction: ὡς εἶχε (τὰ πρήγματα) περὶ τῶν Χίων: "how matters were, with respect to the Chians."

17 strangers. Such was their fate. Dionysius of Phocæa, when he understood the affairs of the Ionians were ruined, having taken three ships from the enemy, steered not for Phocæa, well knowing that that place would be enslaved with the rest of Ionia, but forthwith[38] sailed straight to Phœnicia; and after sinking[39] some merchantmen, and obtaining a great booty, steered for Sicily; from whence he sallied forth on piratical cruises against the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, but not against any of the Hellenes.

18 Meanwhile, the Persians, after they had conquered the Ionians in the sea-fight, besieged Miletus by sea and by land, undermining the walls, and bringing all kinds of machines against the town; and took it by storm[40], in the sixth year from the defection of Aristagoras. They reduced the city to slavery; so that[41] the event agreed with the oracle

19 pronounced against Miletus. For when the Argians consulted the shrine at Delphi respecting the salvation of their own town, a double oracle was pronounced: the first part related to the Argians themselves; but the *Pythia* pronounced in addition one touching the Milesians[42]. the part regarding the Argians I will mention when I come to that part of my history[43]: the words which she pronounced touching the Milesians, who were not present, were these[44].—"And "then too, Miletus, thou deviser of evil works, thou wilt be- "come a meal and rich gift to many; and thy wives shall "wash the feet of many of the long-haired; and others shall

[38] ὡς εἶχε, "as he was, *i. e.* immediately, directly." See Schweig. Lex. Herod. and Viger, p. 195.

[39] καταδύνειν ναῦν, as a term of naval tactics, signifies, not actually to sink the ship of the enemy; but so to perforate her hull, that she is no longer sea-worthy, and lies exposed to attacks which she cannot return. See Thucyd. i. 50. Herodotus, however, not speaking here of any naval engagement, probably uses the word in its general acceptation, *of to sink*.

[40] κατ' ἄκρης. It not unfrequently happened in ancient warfare, that towns were taken and occupied by the enemy, all excepting the citadel; which, like the acropolis of Athens, standing on some precipitous eminence, bade defiance to the besiegers. Since the adoption of gunpowder, such a course is impracticable; as the besieged would be able to destroy the town lying at their feet. The most complete possession, therefore, which an enemy could take of a town, was to capture its citadel; hence κατ' ἄκρης came to signify *completely*, and to be synonymous with ὁλοτελῶς. According to some, κατ' ἄκρης is equivalent to κατὰ κράτος. I have used the words *by storm*, because they virtually imply that the citadel was taken; since that was the only portion of the town where the operation of storming could take place. See Schweig. Not. Dam. Lex. p. 1141.

[41] ὥστε συμπεσεῖν. See Matt. 543.

[42] Construction: τὸ μὲν (χρηστήριον ἡ Πυθίη) ἔχρησε φέρειν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργείους, τὴν δὲ παρενθήκην (ἔχρησε φερεύσην) ἐς Μιλησίους: "The oracle itself the Pythia pronounced bearing on the Argians; the appendix she pronounced bearing on the Milesians."

[43] See c. 77, of this book.

[44] ἔχει ὧδε, i. e. ἦν ταῦτα.

" tend our fane in Didymi[45]." Such, accordingly, were the events that befell Miletus; now that most of the male inhabitants had been massacred by the Persians, who wore long hair, and their women and children were held in the rank of slaves; and the sacred precinct at Didymi, together with the cell and the shrine[46], after being plundered, were set on fire. Of the riches in that temple I have repeatedly made mention in other parts of my history[47]. The Milesians who had 20
been taken prisoners were afterwards conveyed to Susa; and king Darius, without inflicting upon them any further punishment, established them on the sea called the Erythrean, in the city of Ampe, near which the Tigris, flowing by, discharges itself into the sea. With respect to the Milesian territory, the Persians themselves kept the parts near the city and the plain, but gave the mountainous parts to the Carian Pedases to occupy. The Sybarites, who now in- 21
habited Laos and Scidrus, after having been deprived of their own country, did not return the like to the Milesians when they suffered these calamities at the hands of the Persians; for when Sybaris was taken by the Crotonians, all the Milesians, of every age[48], shaved their heads, and evinced the marks of deep mourning; in fact, of all the towns we are acquainted with, Miletus and Sybaris were the most strictly united the one to the other. Not so the Athenians; for they made it manifest that they were beyond measure afflicted at the capture of Miletus, and this in various instances; but more particularly, when Phrynichus made a tragedy on the subject of the Taking of Miletus, and represented it[49], the whole theatre burst into tears, and fined him one thousand drachms, for having called to their recollection their domestic woes. they likewise decreed that no one thenceforward should ever act that piece.

Miletus therefore was reft of its Milesian population. 22
Meanwhile the Samians, who possessed property[50], were by

[45] Διδύμοις, equivalent to ἐν Διδύμοις. See Matt. 404, 8, *b*. See likewise p. 465, or sect. 326, concerning the construction of *μίλτῳ*.

[46] I have explained, in the first volume of this work (II. c. 64. note 109), the difference between the *ἱρὸν*, *ναὸς*, and *τέμενος*: to which I ought to have added, that in those sacred precincts which contained an oracular shrine, the part of the *ναὸς* assigned for the returning of oracular admonitions was called the *χρηστήριον*. Didymi was a place in the teritory of Miletus: its temple, sacred to Apollo, was likewise called the temple of the Branchidæ.

[47] See I. 92. II. 159. V. 36.

[48] *ἡβηδὸν* signifies, generally, all capable of bearing arms: it is likewise, in some instances, synonymous with *ἀθρόον*, as in the passage now before us.

[49] See Matt. respecting this dative absolute, 562, 2

[50] Σαμίων δὲ τοῖσί τι ἴχουσι: "those Samians who had property, *i. e.* who were rich;" not "those who had some property, *i. e.* were not very poor." *Larcher*.

no means pleased at what had been done by their commanders in favour of the Medes; and holding council immediately after the naval engagement, they resolved, that, before the tyrant Æaces should return to their country, they would sail away, and establish a colony, without abiding to be enslaved, not only by the Medes, but also by the Æaces. For the Zanclæi belonging[51] to Sicily had just at this time sent ambassadors into Ionia, inviting the Ionians to Cale Acte, where they wished an Ionian city might be founded[52]. This spot, called the Cale Acte (or fair shore), belongs to the Sicilians, and is in that part of Sicily lying towards Tyrrhenia. At the invitation of these persons, the Samians, accordingly, were the only Ionians that undertook the voyage, and, together with them, such of the Milesians as had made their
23 escape. In the mean time, an event of the following nature came to pass. At the time that the Samians, bound for Sicily, touched on the territory of the Epizephyrian Locrians, the Zanclæi themselves, together with their king, whose name was Scythas, were besieging a city of the Sicilians, which they wished to seize. Anaxilaus, the tyrant of Rhegium, being then at variance with the Zanclæi, and having learned the above circumstance, visited the Samians, and persuaded them that they ought not to trouble themselves[53] about Cale Acte, whither they were bound, but take possession of Zancle, which was without defenders. The Samians followed the advice, and took possession of Zancle: as soon as the inhabitants heard their city was taken, they came forward to recover it, and called for the aid of Hippocrates, the tyrant of Gela; for that prince was their ally. Hippocrates arrived with his forces, as if to assist the Zanclæi, but cast in chains their king Scythas, and his brother Pythogenes, who were sent away to the town of Inycum: after entering into treaty with the Samians, which both parties ratified by oath, he delivered up to them the rest of the Zanclæi. The compensation agreed upon by the Samians to be given him was, that he should have for his share one half of the moveables and slaves within the city; and that, in respect to what was in the country, Hippocrates should have all. Hippocrates accordingly kept the greater portion of the Zanclæi in chains, as slaves: he delivered three hundred of the most distinguished

[51] See p. 3, note 3, of this volume.

[52] *κτίσαι*, active for the passive, unless we construe *βουλόμενοι* (*αὐτοὺς*, i.e. *τοὺς Ἴωνας*) *κτίσαι αὐτοῖς πόλιν Ἰώνων*. See Matt. 805.

[53] *χαιρέτω*, *χαίρειν λέγειν*, *χαίρειν κελεύειν*, and *χαίρειν ἐᾶν* or *ἐᾶν χαίρειν*, are elegant modes of expressing "to dismiss, to abandon," &c. See Viger, p. 254, and note 71; as likewise Herman's remark, 206.

citizens to the Samians, to be put to death; but that, however, the Samians did not execute. Scythas, the despot 24
of Zancle, made his escape from Inycum to Himera; from whence he passed[54] into Asia, and went up to the court of the King: Darius considered him to be the most upright of all the Hellenes who had come up from Hellas to visit his court; for, having received leave from the King, he went to Sicily, and returned back from thence to the King, till at last, after a life of great happiness, he died of old age[55] in Persia. Thus a few Samians, removing far from the Medes, obtained without any toil the very beautiful city of Zancle. Subsequent to the sea-fight which took place off Miletus, 25
the Phœnicians, at the bidding of the Persians, conveyed Æaces the son of Syloson back to Samos, as being an individual deserving of much at their hands, and who had achieved mighty deeds: and, by reason of the desertion of their vessels which were in[56] the engagement, the Samians were the only people, of all that had risen up against Darius, of whom neither the city nor the sacred edifices were fired. Miletus being taken, the Persians immediately got possession of Caria, and reduced the towns; some by force, while others yielded of their own accord[57].

While Histiæus was cruising near Byzantium, and inter- 26
cepting the Ionian ships of burthen that sailed down from the Euxine, the events that had taken place with regard to Miletus were communicated to him: accordingly, he entrusted the matters regarding the Hellespont to Bisaltas son of Apollophanes, a native of Abydos, while he himself, with the Lesbians, sailed for Chios. At Cœla, a place so called in Chios, he attacked the garrison of the island, who had refused to admit him: he accordingly killed a considerable number of them; and sallying out from Polichne[58], a place in the island, subdued the rest of the Chians, with the assistance of the Lesbians, the more easily, as they had been dreadfully shattered by the sea-fight. When great 27
evils are about to visit either a city or a people, the divinity

[54] See Matt. 578.

[55] Construction: ἐς ὃ (Matt. 578, 4th parag.) ἐὼν μέγα ὄλβιος (concerning this use of the neuter singular of μέγας for μάλα or μεγάλως, see Viger, p. 89, note 56.) ἐντελεύτησε γήραϊ.

[56] τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ would be translated, "by reason of the desertion of their fleet at the engagement." I have been obliged to follow the reading, τῶν νεῶν τῶν.

[57] Construction: τὰς μὲν τῶν πολίων προσηγάγοντο ἰθελοντὴν ὑποχυψάσας, τὰς δὲ (προσηγάγοντο) ἀνάγκῃ.

[58] πολίχνη signifies "a little town;" but in this passage it is generally taken to be the name of some town of Chios. There were several places so called in the Troade, in Crete, &c.; hence the genitive τῆς Χίων, "Polychne, *viz.* that of the Chians:" so in v. 50, ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνων, "from the sea, *viz.* that of the Ionians."

is wont[59] to give some warning; and so were great tokens shewn to the Chians previous to these calamities: on the one hand, having sent to Delphi a company of one hundred youths, two only of the number returned back to them; for the plague, attacking the other ninety-eight, carried them off: on the other hand, a short time previous to the sea-fight, and at this same period, a roof fell in, in the city, upon some lads who were learning their letters, so that, out of one hundred and twenty boys, one only escaped: such were the signs which the divinity foreshewed to them: afterwards, the sea-fight following threw the city prostrate[60]; and subsequently to the sea-fight, Histiæus, at the head of his Lesbians, supervened, and, the Chians being already miserably
28 afflicted, were easily made a conquest of. From thence Histiæus directed his arms against Thasus, at the head of a great number of Ionians and Æolians; but when he was seated down before Thasus, tidings were brought him that the Phœnicians were sailing out of Miletus to attack the rest of Ionia: informed of these circumstances, he raised the siege of Thasus[61], and departed to Lesbos, himself together with all his forces. But his army being pressed with famine, he crossed over from Lesbos, with the intention of reaping down and carrying off the corn of Atarneus, and that on the plain of Caicus, the crops of which[62] belonged to the Mysians. But Harpagus, a Persian, at the head of a considerable army, happened to be in that quarter; who, engaging with Histiæus when he disembarked, took his person prisoner, and cut off the greater part of his army.

29 Histiæus was taken prisoner in the following manner. The Hellenes having engaged with the Persians at Malena, belonging to the territory of Atarneus, the victory remained a long time undecided[63]; but at last the cavalry, coming up, charged on the Hellenic forces: so that this advantage was the work of the cavalry; and the Hellenes being turned to flight, Histiæus, who had hopes that he should not be put to death by the King for his present fault, felt such an affection

[59] *φιλέει προσημαίνειν.* The verb *προσημ.* may be taken impersonally; if not, understand *ὁ θεὸς*, with Matt. 521, 2d paragraph. *φιλεῖν*, like *amare*, with the infinitive following, signifies, "to be wont."

[60] *ἐς γόνυ βάλλειν, κλίνειν, ῥίπτειν.* Literally, "to throw on the knee," a metaphor taken from the contests of the athletæ. See Æsch. Pers. 925.

[61] Literally, "he left Thasus untaken."

[62] The reader will observe that the relative *τὸν* applies to *σῖτον*, and not to *πεδίον*.

[63] *οἱ μὲν* (i. e. *οἱ Ἕλληνες*) *συνίσασαν* (*Πέρσῃσι*) *ἐπὶ χρόνον πολλόν.* I have followed Schweighæuser's version; the literal translation being, "the Grecians fought with the Persians for a considerable time," &c.

for life, that, overtaken in his flight by a Persian soldier, by whom he was secured, he was on the point of being stabbed, but addressed the soldier in Persian, and discovered himself, saying, that he was Histiæus the Milesian. If, accordingly, 30
when taken, he had been conveyed to king Darius, he would not, in my opinion, have suffered any harm, and the King would have forgiven him his fault; but now, for that very reason, and to the end that he might not escape *punishment*, and once more be great with the King, Artaphernes the viceroy of Sardis, and Harpagus, who had received him when he was brought to Sardis, impaled his body in that place, and, salting the head, sent it to king Darius at Susa. Darius having heard of these matters, and blamed those who had so acted, because they had not brought Histiæus alive into his presence, gave orders that his attendants should wash and ornament the head, and honourably inter it, as of a man who had been a great benefactor both to himself and to the Persians. Such was the fate of Histiæus.

The naval armament of the Persians, after passing the 31
winter in the neighbourhood of Miletus, and set sail again in the second year, took with ease the islands lying off the continent, Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos. When the fleet took any island, the barbarians in every instance netted, *as it were*, all the inhabitants[64]: this they do in the following manner: each man takes another by the hand, and so they form a cordon, stretching[65] from the sea on the north to that on the south, and then march over the whole island, hunting up the inhabitants. They took also the Ionian cities on the continent with equal ease[66], excepting that they did not net the inhabitants; for that was not practicable. Then the chieftains of the Persians did not belie the threats which they had pronounced against the Ionians, when they were arrayed against them, for when they had got pos- 32
session of the cities, they chose the most handsome boys, and castrated them[67]; they likewise selected the most beautiful virgins, and sent them before the King. not only did they this, but they likewise set fire to the cities, together with the sacred edifices. Thus, for the third time, the Ionians

[64] *ὡς ἰκάστην αἱρίουσι οἱ βάρβαροι*, &c. Concerning the meaning of *ὡς ἕκαστος*, see Viger, p. 456, and Herman's note, 361. The construction in this sentence is equivalent to *οἱ βάρβαροι αἱρίουσι τὰς νήσους, ὡς ἰκάστην αἱρίουν, ἰσαγήνιον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*. See Schweig. Lex. Herod.

[65] The Greek says only, "they stretch." I have been obliged to add a few words, to render the meaning more obvious.

[66] *κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ*, i. e. *ὡσαύτως*, as at the beginning of this chapter.

[67] *καὶ ἐποίεον αὐτοὶ εὐνοῦχους* (Matt. 414, *b*.) *ἐνέρχιας εὐνούχους*, "ex viris eunuchos facientes." *Schweig. Vers. Lat.*

were reduced to slavery; the first time by the Lydians, and
33 twice consecutively by the Persians[68]. The fleet, having taken its departure from Ionia, subdued all on the Hellespont on the left hand[69] as you sail into the strait; for the places on the right had been already reduced by the Persians from the continent[70]. The following are the places on the Hellespont, in Europe; the Chersonesus, in which there are numerous towns, and Perinthus, and the forts towards Thrace, and Selybira, and Byzantium[71]. The Byzantines, accordingly, and the Chalcedonians on the opposite side, did not await the arrival of the Phœnician fleet, but, forsaking their country, proceeded[72] in the interior to the Euxine Pontus, where they founded the city of Mesambria. The Phœnicians, after burning down all the places above mentioned, turned their arms against Proconnesus and Artace; and, after ravaging with fire those towns, sailed back again to the Chersonesus, with the intention of taking possession of the cities which they had not destroyed in their former cruise. They did not however attempt to sail against Cyzicus; for the inhabitants of that place, even previously to the Phœnician expedition, had been subjected by the King, having capitulated with Œbares the son of Megabazus, and viceroy at Dascyleium: with the exception of Cardia, the Phœnicians took possession of all the rest of the places in the Chersonesus.

34 Over those places, Miltiades the son of Cimon, and grandson of Stesagoras, was up to that time tyrant; Miltiades the son of Cypselus having obtained that government in the following manner. The Dolonci, a tribe of the Thracians, were in possession of that Chersonesus[73]; these Dolonci, accordingly, being harassed in war by the Apsinthians, despatched to Delphi their kings, to consult the oracle concerning the war. The Pythia gave them for answer, "to "take with them, to lead a colony into the country, that per- "son, whoever he might be, who should first invite them to "his table[74], as they went out of the sacred precinct." The Dolonci, travelling by the sacred way[75], crossed the lands

[68] The first invasion, see i. 28; the second, i. 159; the third, vi. 21, 22.

[69] The country on the left of the Hellespont was in Europe; that on the right in Asia. ἰσπλέοντι: see Matt. 390.

[70] See v. 118 seq.

[71] See p. 3, note 2, of this volume.

[72] See Matt. 559, *c.*

[73] Chersonesus is the Greek for *peninsula*; and as the Thracian Chersonesus was not the only one known in ancient geography, Herodotus defines it here by the pronoun ταύτην.

[74] Concerning the phrase, ἐπὶ ξένια καλεῖν, see p. 9, note 40, of this vol.

[75] There was a very celebrated sacred way leading from Athens to Eleusis: it cannot be the same to which Herodotus alludes in this pas-

of the Phocians and Bœotians, and, as no one invited them, turned out of the road towards Athens. In Athens, at that 35
period, Pisistratus was in possession of the sovereign power nevertheless, Miltiades the son of Cypselus had some authority. he belonged to a family which kept four horses for the games[76], and was descended originally from Æacus and Ægina, but in later times of an Athenian family; Philæus the son of Ajax having been the first Athenian of that house This Miltiades, being seated in the portico of his own residence, and seeing the Dolonci pass by, wearing garments not of the country, and bearing javelins, called to them; and when they drew near to him, he offered them lodging and board the strangers accepted, and, having been received hospitably by him, made known the whole of the oracle to him and having so done, they implored him to obey the deity Their words prevailed on Miltiades, as soon as he heard them; for he was offended at the power of Pisistratus, and wished to get out of his way[77] wherefore he forthwith undertook the journey to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle, whether he should do that which the Dolonci had entreated him of. The Pythia having given the same command to 36
him likewise, Miltiades, Cypselus's son, who previously to these events had won the Olympic prize in the four-horse chariot-race, accordingly taking with him all the Athenians who were inclined to bear a share of the expedition, set sail together with the Dolonci, and took possession of the country, and those who had brought him there appointed him tyrant The first thing that Miltiades did, was to cut off the neck of the Chersonesus, by a wall running from the city of Cardia to Pactya, in order that the Apsinthians might not be able[78] to ravage the lands of his subjects by making inroads on the country. The breadth of the isthmus, in stades, is six and thirty; and, reckoning from the same isthmus, the Chersonesus is, in interior length, four hundred and twenty stades. Miltiades having thus erected a wall across the 37
neck of the Chersonesus, and by that means repelled the Apsinthians, carried his arms first against the Lampsacenians,

sage, but was probably that of the Delphic procession from Athens to the oracular shrine *Wessel.* and *Larcher.* If such was the case, I do not see why the compound ἐκτρέπονται should have been used, a little lower down

[76] My translation follows Larcher and Schneider. the original may mean nothing more than that they kept teams for the chariot-race See Schweig. Lex Herod.

[77] ἐμποδὼν, "in the way;" ἐκποδὼν, "out of the way"

[78] ἵνα μὴ ἔχοίεν. δηλέεσθαι. The verb ἴσχειν in the sense of *posse.*—Modern improvements in military fortification shew the absurdity of relying on a wall for defence The wall built by the Romans in North Britain, and that gigantic rampart erected by the Chinese, were, however, of some effect to curb the inroads of barbarians.

his neighbours[79]; but the people of Lampsacus, having laid an ambush, took him prisoner. Miltiades, however, was known and esteemed by Crœsus, the king of Lydia[80]: Crœsus, having heard of what had taken place, sent and commanded the people of Lampsacus to set Miltiades at liberty; and if not, he threatened to cut them off like a fir-tree. The Lampsacenians were bewildered in their explanations[81] of the meaning of the words in which Crœsus threatened that he would cut them off like a fir-tree: one of the elders, making out at last, with some difficulty, the true meaning, gave this explanation: That, of all the trees, the fir is the only one which, when cut down, sends up no shoots, but completely dies away. The inhabitants of Lampsacus, being therefore in dread of Crœsus, liberated Miltiades, and sent him his ways. This prince accordingly escaped through the means of Crœsus; and died some time after, without leaving any posterity, bequeathing the sovereignty and his treasures to Stesagoras, the son of his maternal brother Cimon. And since his death, the people on the Chersonesus offer sacrifice to him, as is the custom to a founder, and celebrate gymnic and equestrian games, in which it is unlawful for any citizen of Lampsacus to contend. But while war was still raging against the Lampsacenians, Stesagoras himself had the misfortune to die[82] likewise without issue, being struck on the head, in the prytaneum, with an axe, by a man who pretended to be[83] a deserter, but in reality was an enemy, and indeed a violent[84] one as well.

38

39 Stesagoras having likewise departed life in the above manner, the Pisistratidæ sent, with a trireme[85], to the Chersonesus, Miltiades son of Cimon, and brother of the deceased Stesagoras, to assume the management of affairs. The Pisistratidæ had shewn, even at Athens, favour to Miltiades, as if, forsooth, they had not been accomplices of the death of his father Cimon: in what manner this happened[86] I shall shew in another part of this history. On his arrival in the

[79] *τῶν λοιπῶν*, of the rest besides the Apsinthians. Larcher translates these words, "at last." See our former volume, Book III. c. 65. note 98.

[80] According to Schneider, "war dem Kaiser bekannt und von ihm geschatzt." Schweighæuser explains the phrase, "in Crœsi notitiam venerat Miltiades—notus, familiaris fuerat Crœso." *Schweig. Lex. Herod.* Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ. See the first volume of this work, Book III. c. 12. note 16.

[81] Literally, "The Lampsacenians wandering in their discourses," *i.e.* being uncertain, not able to come to any decision. *Larcher.*

[82] Literally, "it befel Stesagoras to die," &c.

[83] *τῷ λόγῳ.* The meaning of this form is explained at p. 11, note 50, of this volume.

[84] See Matt. 457, 1.

[85] See Matt. 400, *e.*

[86] See c. 103, of this Book.

Chersonesus, Miltiades kept in-doors, pretending to do honour to the memory of his brother Stesagoras: the people of the Chersonesus hearing of this[87], the men of authority assembled from all parts out of the various cities, and going in public procession to the palace, with the design of condoling with Miltiades, were by him thrown into fetters. Miltiades, accordingly, had possession of the Chersonesus, keeping five-hundred mercenaries: he married Hegesipyle, the daughter of Olorus, king of the Thracians. This Miltiades, son of 40
Cimon, came over therefore to the Chersonesus within my memory: on his arrival there, events more grievous than those we are now speaking of befel him[88]· in the third year previous to these events he was obliged to flee before the Scythians: for the Scythian nomades, having been irritated by king Darius, collected their forces, and marched down as far as the Chersonesus: Miltiades, without abiding the invasion of those people, withdrew from the Chersonesus, till such time as the Scythians themselves retired, and the Dolonci brought him back. The above happened therefore in the third year previous to what befel him at this period. At this time, accordingly, hearing that the Phœnicians were 41
at Tenedos, he loaded five triremes with the riches he had ready at hand, and sailed away, bound to Athens. And when he had hove out of the harbour of Cardia, he proceeded to sail down the gulf Melas[89], and was navigating along the

[87] The nominative absolute. See Matt. 562, 1.

[88] Previous to the digression respecting the government of the Chersonesus, (commencing with c 34, and ending with c. 39,) our author was speaking of the attack made by the Phœnicians on that part of the European side of the Hellespont: this the reader is requested to keep in mind. 1. οὗτος δὴ ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης, νεωστὶ, &c, in which δὴ is equivalent to δὴ or οὖν, "This Miltiades, therefore, son to Cimon, came in modern times to," &c.; or otherwise νεωστὶ may be taken to signify, that he was the last of the founder's family that had gone thither till the time of Herodotus. 2. τῶν κατιχόντων πρηγμάτων χαλεπώτερα, in which τὰ κατίχοντα πρήγματα, "res præsentes," are the things which occupied him at the period which the history is narrating; that is to say, the invasion of the Phœnicians. 3. τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων must signify, not three years after, but three years before; as is proved by the last line of this chapter, where the construction is filled up, τρίτῳ ἔτει πρότερον τῶν, &c. Larcher's interpretation of this chapter is very different from the above: "Miltiades son of Cimon was but lately arrived, where there happened to him events still more grievous than those which then occupied him, (i. e. the affairs which ought necessarily to have busied him, at the commencement of his tyranny.) In fact, three years after these events he fled away before the Scythians, &c.

[89] This gulf is marked in D'Anville's map by the name of the Sinus Melanis; a mistake which has been copied with all due respect by Butler, Smith, and most other atlas-makers of the present day. I suggested to the publisher of some small maps in Oxford the propriety of correcting D'Anville's mistake, in his reprint of the map; and I am happy to see that the suggestion has been attended to.

Chersonesus, when the Phœnicians fell upon his ships: Miltiades himself, accordingly, made his escape to Imbros with four of the triremes; but the Phœnicians, following up, laid hold of the fifth. The commander of this vessel was Metiochus, the eldest of the sons of Miltiades, not born of the daughter of Olorus, the king of Thrace, but of some other woman. The Phœnicians captured this person, together with his ship; and hearing from him that he was son to Miltiades, conveyed him up to the King; imagining they should much ingratiate themselves, because Miltiades had broached his opinion among the Ionians, advising them to follow the advice of the Scythians, who had besought them to unmoor the bridge, and sail back to their own country[90]. But when the Phœnicians had brought up Metiochus the son of Miltiades, Darius did him no injury, but, on the contrary, shewed him many favours; for he presented him with a house and estate, and a Persian wife, by whom several children were born to him, who were reckoned as Persians[91]. As for Miltiades himself, he proceeded from Imbros to Athens.

42 In this year, no further hostilities than have been mentioned were recurred to by the Persians[92] against the Ionians on the contrary, in that year the following measures were taken, exceedingly beneficial to the Ionians. Artaphernes, the viceroy of Sardis, summoned deputies to come to him from the different towns, and compelled the Ionians to make an agreement among themselves, that they would refer their mutual disputes to the sentence of justice, and not take them in their own hands[93]. To this he compelled them to accede; and after surveying their lands in parasangs—the name which the Persians give to a measure of thirty stades—having, I say, measured them by that standard, he imposed tributes on each of the nations; which have continued to be the same[94], from that period uniformly down to
43 my days, as they had been imposed by Artaphernes. They were established pretty nearly to the same amount as they were previously[95]. At the opening of spring, the rest of the

[90] See IV 133, 136.

[91] That is to say, they enjoyed all the privileges of Persians.

[92] *ἐς πόλεμον φέρον*, "pertaining to war;" *i.e.* hostile.

[93] Literally, "that they would await the sentence of justice, and not carry arms against one another." The meaning of which I take to be that which I have given in my translation. Concerning *φέρειν τε καὶ ἄγειν*, see Viger, p. 174

[94] *κατὰ χώρην ἔχειν*, or *μένειν*, or *ἀτρεμεῖν*, *suo loco manere constanter et immotum*. See Viger, p. 126.

[95] The text adds, *καὶ σφι ταῦτα μὲν εἰρηναῖα ἦν*. These words, according to Schweighæuser, are nothing more than a repetition of the commencement of the chapter; *οὐδὲν ἐς πόλεμον ἐγίνετο Ἴωσι*: their meaning therefore will be, "and those were the pacific events that befel them." Larcher's interpretation is very different: "Ces

commanders having been dismissed by the King, Mardonius the son of Gobryas came down to the sea-side, bringing with him a vast land-army and a numerous body of naval forces[96]. he was young in years, and had but lately been married to king Darius's daughter Artazostra. When Mardonius, at the head of this armament, arrived in Cilicia, he himself, going on shipboard, proceeded on with the rest of the fleet, while other generals marched the land-troops towards the Hellespont. Mardonius, having coasted along Asia[97], reached Ionia: and I am here going to mention something very astonishing to those Hellenes who will not credit that Otanes offered as his advice to the seven Persians, that it was behoveful the Persians should have a democratic constitution[98]; for Mardonius, having deposed all the Ionian tyrants, appointed democracies in the various cities· after so doing, he hastened on towards the Hellespont. As there was a vast number[99] of ships collected, as well as a numerous body of land-forces, they crossed over the strait on shipboard, and began their march over Europe, in the direction of Eretria and Athens. Those places were accordingly the 44
nominal object[100] of the expedition; but the design of the Persians being to reduce as many[101] of the Hellenic towns as they could, they accordingly, on the one hand, subdued the Thasians by means of the fleet, although that people had not even raised up their hands against them; on the other hand, by means of the land-army they enslaved the Macedonians; that is to say, such as had remained free till then[102]; for all nations on this side[103] of Macedonia were already subjected to them. Then crossing over from Thasus, the fleet stood under land as far as Acanthus. proceeding from Acanthus, they endeavoured to double Mount Athos; but as they were sailing round, a violent gale, such as they could not stand against, came upon them from the north, and, driving very many of the vessels on the shores of Athos, shattered them in a most dreadful manner, indeed, it is reported that the

réglemens tendoient à pacifier les troubles: *those regulations contributed towards appeasing the troubles.*"

[96] That is to say, troops destined to embark aboard the ships; for every body knows that Mardonius could not have brought a fleet with him from Persia to Cilicia. See Wesseling. See likewise Matt. 606, 2.

[97] By Asia, Herodotus here means the lower part of that quarter of the globe which comprehends Caria and Lycia. *Wessel.—Larcher.*

[98] See iii. 80.

[99] χρῆμα πολλὸν νεῶν, equivalent to πολλαὶ νέες. See Matt. 430. Viger, p. 123; and Zeunius, note 24.

[100] See p. 11, note 50, of this vol

[101] See Matt. 461.

[102] πρὸς τοῖσι ὑπαρχουσι, "in addition to (Matt. 590, *b.*) those who were *already subjected.*"

[103] This expression must be taken in allusion to the Persians, (unless we read ἐντὸς,) who already were in possession of Thrace.

vessels wrecked amounted to about[104] three hundred, and the men lost to above twenty thousand: for as the sea, off Athos, abounds in monsters, some were carried away and destroyed by those animals; others were dashed against the rocks; many of them did not know how to swim, and so
45 perished; others died of cold. Such was the miserable fate of the naval equipment. Meanwhile, Mardonius and the land-troops carrying on the war in Macedonia, the Brygi-Thracians fell upon them by night, killed many of their number, and wounded Mardonius himself: yet not even these people escaped servitude from the Persians; for Mardonius did not withdraw from that quarter till he had reduced them. However, when he had subjected these latter, he marched his army back, having suffered a discomfiture both in his land-troops from the Brygi, and in his navy near Athos. This expedition, having fought with such disgraceful success, retreated into Asia.

46 In the second year after these events[105], Darius first sent a messenger to the Thasians, who were falsely accused by their neighbours of meditating a rebellion: he commanded them to throw down their wall, and take their ships to Abdera for the Thasians, in consequence of their having been besieged by Histiæus the tyrant of Miletus, and having a great revenue, turned their wealth to account in building long vessels, and throwing up a stronger wall around their city. Their income proceeded from the continent[106], and from their mines; at least, from the gold-mines at[107] Scapte Hyle proceeded, in all, eighty talents: from those in Thasus itself proceeded a revenue somewhat less than the above, but so great still, that the Thasians, who were exempt from taxes on the produce of their lands, obtained every year from the continent and their mines a total of two hundred talents; and when the revenue was at the highest, three hundred.

47 I myself have likewise seen those mines; and the most wonderful of them, by far, were those which the Phœnicians discovered, who, together with Thasus, colonized that island, which now receives its name from[108] this Thasus the Phœnician. These Phœnician mines are in Thasus, between a place called Ænyra and Cœnyra, and opposite to Samothrace: it is a large mountain, thrown about in the search *after ores.* Such therefore is that mine. The Thasians, in

[104] See Matt. 581.
[105] See Matt. 334.
[106] The Thasians had some mines and excellent lands on the Thracian coast. Thucyd. i. 100.
[107] See Matt. 270. and 596, *a.*
[108] ἐπί, not ἀπό. See Matt. 584

obedience to the orders of the King, pulled down their wall, and took all their ships to Abdera.

Subsequently to this, Darius began to make trial of what 48
were the intentions of the Hellenes, whether to carry on war against himself, or to deliver themselves up. He therefore sent heralds round Hellas, appointing different individuals to go to different places, and commanding them to demand earth and water for the King. These, therefore, he sent into Hellas. Other heralds he likewise sent round to the cities on the sea-shore tributary to himself, with orders to build long ships and transports, fit to carry horses. Those people 49
accordingly made the due preparations: and to the heralds who went into Hellas, several of the continental nations gave what the Persian King demanded; and all the islanders whom they visited, and made the demand to, did the same. Not only did the other islanders, accordingly, give earth and water to Darius, but even[109] the Æginetæ also: when they had acted in that manner, the Athenians forthwith threatened them with war, imagining that the Æginetæ had acceded to the demand out of spite[110] towards them, in order to carry war against them, in company with the Persian; and eagerly laying hold on the opportunity, and proceeding to Sparta, they accused the Æginetæ of what they had done[111] to betray Hellas. In consequence of this impeachment, Cleomenes 50
the son of Anaxandrides, who was king of Sparta, crossed over to Ægina, in the intention of seizing those of the Æginetæ who were most to blame. But when he attempted to seize them, several of the Æginetæ opposed him; and among others[112], Crius the son of Polycritus in particular, who declared "he should take away with impunity[113] none of the Æginetæ; for that he was doing this without the authority of the commonwealth of Sparta, but was bribed 'by the money of the Athenians; for otherwise he would 'have come to make the seizure accompanied by the other 'king." These words he spoke by command of Demaratus. Cleomenes therefore, compelled to withdraw from Ægina, inquired of Crius what was his name. he told him the truth: when Cleomenes said to him, "Now, without delay, tip thine "horns with brass, O Crius[114]! for thou wilt have great woes

[109] *καὶ δὴ καὶ*. Viger, p. 398, note.

[110] *ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας*, "aiming against them."

[111] *κατηγορεῖν τι τινός*. See Matt. 347. *obs.* 2.

[112] *ἐν δὲ δὴ*. See Matt. 594, 1.

[113] *χαίροντα*. See Herman's satisfactory explanation of *χαίρειν*, Adnot. in Vig. 207.

[114] Crius signifies *a ram*. This pun, like most others, bids defiance to translation. Ὦ Κριὶ signifies *O Ram*. I have followed Schaefer's accentuation, Κρῖ.

51 "to bear." But[115] in Sparta, at that time, Demaratus the son of Ariston, who had remained at home, was calumniating Cleomenes: this person was likewise king of the Spartans, but belonging to a family inferior *to the other:* not that it was in any other respect inferior; for both princes sprang from one and the same origin; but the branch of Eurysthenes was in some measure more honoured by reason of seniority.

52 For the Lacedæmonians, contrary to what all the poets affirm, state that Aristodemus the son of Aristomachus, the grandson of Cleodæus, the great-grandson of Hyllus, being king, brought them himself to the country which they now possess, and not the sons of Aristodemus. That[116], no long time after, Aristodemus's wife, whose name was Argeia, brought forth. they say, that this woman was daughter to Autesion the son of Tisamenus, grandson of Thersander, great-grandson of Polynices: this woman, accordingly, brought forth twins, and Aristodemus, having looked upon the children, died of disease. That the Lacedæmonians of those days resolved, according to custom, to make the eldest of the children their king. that they knew not, however, which they ought to take, as the infants were alike, and of equal size: being unable to determine, they, either then or previously[117], asked the mother; who *they represent* to have said, "that neither did she know them apart," though, well

[115] Herodotus interrupts his narrative, to speak of the antiquity of the kings of Lacedæmon He resumes it at c. 61. *Larcher.*

[116] All the infinitives in this chapter depend upon λέγουσι at the beginning.

[117] ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου. I have followed Schweighæuser, whose explanation, although not one of those which immediately extorts the assent of common sense, is the best I have yet met with. The preceding words, says he, are sufficient to induce us to infer that some respectable men were sent to inspect the infants, and see which was the elder. after inspecting the children, and finding that the similarity of frame, and equality of strength, hindered them from making any distinction between the babes, they, either after the examination, or perhaps before, made inquiries of the mother: indeed, one's own good sense would, I should suppose, point out that as the most obvious and ready mode of ascertaining the question: if that failed, then it would have been necessary to see which of the infants was the strongest; from the determination of which, the eldest might, in all probability, have been fixed upon; as the most vigorous and stout of twins is generally the one which first issues from the womb of the mother. Larcher, who follows Wesseling, translates, "Ne pouvant pas plus qu'auparavant distinguer l'aîné du cadet: *Not being able any more than before to distinguish between the elder and the younger*" In this passage, as in vii. 189, both these scholars suppose an ellipsis of μᾶλλον, concerning which the student may refer to Viger, p. 330, v and p. 324, note *, of the same work. Valckenaer understands the words in the same sense as Schweighæuser, but does not see how they can stand in their present situation: they would apply better, says he, higher up: ἐπιδόντα δὲ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὰ τέκνα, (ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου,) νοῦσῳ τελευτᾶν.

knowing [118], she said so in the intention that, if possible[119], both might be kings. That the Lacedæmonians were in consequence puzzled; and therefore sent to Delphi, to inquire what they must do. That the Pythia bade them "take both the children for kings, and honour more the elder." Such, they say, was the answer the Pythia returned to them; and the Lacedæmonians being none the less embarrassed to discover the elder of them, an inhabitant of Messene, whose name was Panites, made a suggestion to them. They declare, that this Panites suggested the following to the Lacedæmonians: To keep an eye on the mother, and watch which of the infants she would wash and feed the first: and if she was found[120] always to act alike in that respect, they would then be in possession of all they were searching after, and wished to find out[121]; but if the mother herself varied, acting differently at different times[122], it would be evident that even she herself knew nothing more than they of the business, and therefore they must turn upon some other path. Then, accordingly, the Spartans, following the suggestion of the Messenian, observing that the mother of Aristodemus's children, not knowing for what purpose she was watched, took up uniformly the first, giving it the precedence of watching and feeding, took the infant so honoured by its mother as being the elder, and brought him up in the public palace, and gave him the name of Eurysthenes, and to the younger that of Procles. *They go on to state,* that, when grown up, these princes, brothers though they were, were at variance with one another during the whole period of their lives, and that those sprung from them have continued to be the same [123]. The above is related by the Lacedæmonians only 53
among the Hellenes · the following details I write, on which

[118] *εἰδυῖαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγειν ταῦτα.* The words *τὸ κάρτα,* occurring here and in i. 191, are by some taken to be equivalent to *τὸ ἀληθὲς, τὸ ἀτρεκές.* Schweighæuser takes *καὶ τὸ κάρτα,* in both passages, as signifying, *quam maxime, optime, pulcherrime;* the article being used pleonastically, as in *τὸ αὐτίκα* for instance, instead of *αὐτίκα*: concerning which phraseology, see Matt. 282. and Viger, p. 18, first column of the note. From this double signification attributed to *τὸ κάρτα* arises a double construction: 1. *εἰδυῖαν μὲν καὶ λέγειν τὸ κάρτα (κατὰ) ταῦτα (φάναι, οὐδὲ αὐτὴν διαγινώσκειν)* "although able likewise to state the truth respecting these matters, she said," &c 2. *εἰδυῖαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα (αὐτὴν) λέγειν ταῦτα,* "though knowing perfectly well, she said these things," &c.

[119] *εἴ πως,* equivalent to *εἰ δύναιτο* See p. 15, note 79, of this volume.

[120] See Matt. *548, 5.

[121] That is to say, if she always washed and suckled one and the same child first, they might conclude he was the eldest; which was all they wanted to find out.

[122] "Doing in turns."

[123] *γινομένους* in the participle. See Matt. 552, 1. *ὡσαύτως,* adverb instead of adjective. See Matt. 604.

the Hellenes[124] *in general* agree; namely, that those kings of the Dorians, up to Perseus the son of Danae, without reckoning the god[125], are correctly enumerated by the Hellenes, and proved to have been Hellenes; for even from that early date they were ranked among them. I have said, "up to Perseus," and have not taken matters higher; for this reason, because there is no mortal sire named for Perseus, as Amphitryon of Hercules: I have therefore with propriety, and for good reason, said, "up to Perseus[126]." But if we reckon[127] their progenitors upwards, from Danae the daughter of Acrisius, the chiefs of the Dorians are evidently[128] of Egyptian origin. The above, therefore, is the genealogy, according to the statement of the Hellenes. As the tradition, however, of the Persians goes, Perseus himself, who was an Assyrian, and not Perseus's forefathers, became Hellenes; but the ancestors of Acrisius, who had no kinship with Perseus[129], were, at any rate, as the Hellenes state, Egyptians.

55 But enough of this subject[130]. As to the reason why, being Egyptians, and by what exploits, they assumed the sovereignty of the Dorians, I omit; since[131] those matters have been treated of by others. But I shall make mention of those things which others have not touched upon.

56 The Spartans, therefore, have given the following prerogatives to their kings: Two sacerdotal offices; that of Jove Lacedæmonian, and of Jupiter Cœlestis. The privilege of carrying[132] war against whatever country they may choose: this privilege none of the Spartans must infringe, as otherwise[133] he falls under a curse[134]. When in the field, the kings

[124] Literally, "related in the same manner by the Grecians." Larcher appears to have read, *κατὰ τὰ λιγόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων*, "according to the statement made by the Grecians."

[125] Jupiter, of whom Perseus was said to be the son. *Larcher.*

[126] Construction: *ἡδὴ ὧν μέχρι τοῦ Περσέος ἐρεῦσι εἰρηταί μοι χρεωμένῳ ἐρεῦ λόγῳ.*

[127] See Matt. 390, *b*.

[128] See Matt. *548, 5.

[129] Literally, "having nothing common with Perseus, in respect of affinity." I take, with Schweighæuser, *ὁμολόγειν* in the sense of "commune aliquid habere." I am at a loss to guess how Larcher must have construed this passage: his translation is, "They agree, likewise, there was no kind of affinity between Perseus and the ancestors of Acrisius."

[130] "Let these things be said concerning them."

[131] See Matt. p. 950, vii.

[132] Very many of the infinitives in this and the following chapters are governed by the first sentence in this chapter.

[133] *εἰ δὲ μὴ.* See Viger, p. 408. and note 32, in the same page. To account for the negative *μὴ*, it is proposed by Zeunius to fill up some ellipsis; for instance, *εἰ δὲ μὴ εὐλάβειαν ἴχωσι.*

[134] We have already, more than once, had to speak of the *enagees*; which term appears to have been applied to such as were publicly cursed. This ceremony takes place sometimes in Modern Greece. At no great distance from Athens there is a large heap of stones: it was formed on the following occasion: A reprobate Greek

march first in the advance, and last in the retreat; and one hundred chosen men serve them as a guard in war. In their expeditions, they use as many victims as they list; and of all the sacrificed animals, they receive the skins and chines. So much for the privileges they enjoy in war-time. The 57
following other privileges they have in time of peace: If any one make a sacrifice in the name of the commonwealth, the kings take the precedence of seats at the feast: they are served the first, each receiving a portion of all, double of that of the other guests[135]: they perform the libations the first: the skins of the sacrificed animals belong to them: moreover, at every new moon, and on the seventh day of every month[136], a perfect victim is given to each, at the public charge, to be offered in the temple of Apollo, together with a medimnus of flour, and a Laconian quart of wine: at all the lists, the first seats belong to them: it is with them to appoint such of the citizens as they choose, proxeni[137]; and each has the privilege of naming two Pythii.—the Pythii are persons sent to consult the deity at Delphi, who, as well as the kings, live at the public charge. When the kings do not come to the meal, two chœnixes of flour, and a cotyle of wine, are sent to the houses of each; and when they are present, a double commons of every thing is given to them: in the same manner they are honoured whenever invited to the table of private individuals. It is their privilege to keep the oracles that are pronounced; but the Pythii[138] must likewise be informed of them. The kings alone decide on the following subjects only: In respect to a virgin heiress, they decide who is to marry her[139], unless her father has

had betrayed his countrymen to the Turks: the inhabitants in consequence raised the pile, each throwing a stone, and pronouncing the word *anathema* against their renegade citizen. This account I received from Monsieur Fauvelle, the French consul at Athens, a man equally entitled to respect by his private virtues and his talents.

[135] Construction: *καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων (τοὺς νίμοντας τὰ κρεὰ) ἄρχεσθαι*, &c. "And that those who serve the flesh shall begin by them, giving to each of them (*i.e.* the kings) twice as much of every thing as to the others."

[136] Literally, "And the seventh *days* of the current (*ἱσταμένου, ineuntis, incepti*) month."

[137] The *ξένος* was one who received a friend, &c. on his journey, or *vice versa*. The *πρόξενος* was charged by the state to receive the ambassadors or deputies from princes or towns. The Grecian states had also, in the towns to which they sent deputies frequently, some authorised persons with whom the deputies lodged; these were likewise called proxeni: the proxenus not only lodged the ambassadors, but he was likewise charged by the republic to present them to the assembly of the people, and to procure them an audience. *Larcher.*

[138] Those who were sent to consult the oracle at Delphi were called *Θεωρόδοκοι*: at Lacedæmon they were called the *Πύθιοι*. *Larcher.*

[139] Literally, "to whom it belongs to have her."

affianced her: in respect likewise to the public highways: and whenever any one wishes to adopt a child, that must be done in presence of the kings: they likewise sit in council with the senators, who are twenty-eight: if they do not go there, those of the senators most nearly connected with them exercise the royal prerogative, giving two proxies, and a
58 vote in their own name. The above are the privileges granted to the kings by the commonwealth of the Spartans, during their life: at their death, the following honours are shewn them: some horsemen convey information of what has happened throughout the whole of Laconia; while, in the city, some females, going round, strike on a caldron. When, accordingly, this takes place, it is necessary that, out of every house, two free persons, a man and a woman, should wear the garb of[140] mourning: unless they do so, heavy fines are enforced. The custom observed with regard to the death of kings is the same with the Lacedæmonians as with the barbarians[141] of Asia; (and indeed most of the barbarians have the same usages in respect to the death of their kings;) for when a king of the Lacedæmonians dies, it becomes necessary that, from the whole of Lacedæmonia, besides the Spartans, a certain number[142] of the inhabitants should attend the funeral. When, accordingly, several thousands of those persons and of Helots have collected in one and the same place, promiscuously with the women, they strike violently their foreheads, and utter loud lamentations, uniformly declaring the last to have been the best of the kings gone by[143]. Should the king die in the field, they prepare his image, and bring it out on an elegant couch. After they have performed the sepulture, there is no public meeting among them for ten days, nor does the magistracy sit[144],
59 but they mourn during those days. The Lacedæmonians have likewise the following other point of resemblance with the Persians When, at the decease of a king, another one is appointed, the successor forgives such of the Spartans as owe any debts to the king or to the state. And likewise

[140] The term καταμιαίνεσθαι seems to imply, that they were to cover themselves with dirt.

[141] ὧυτὸς καὶ τοῖσι βαρ. See Matt. 386, 1.

[142] Construction: ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, δεῖ ἀναγκαστοὺς τῶν περιοίκων ἐκ πάσης Λακεδαίμονος, χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων, ἥκειν ἀριθμῷ ἐς τὸ κῆδος: in which, ἀριθμῷ must be taken absolutely, "in a certain or defined number." See Schweig. Lex. Herod. and Valck. Not.

[143] Literally, "declaring always the last of the kings deceased," &c. Respecting the demonstrative pronoun, in this and the following sentence, see Matt. p. 674, 675.

[144] ἀρχαιρεσίη means, generally, the election of magistrates, made yearly by the people assembled. Schneider applies the same signification in this passage, "Nor is any election of magistrates held."

among the Persians, the newly-made king forgives all the cities the tribute they owed previous to his accession. In 60
the following respect the Lacedæmonians are likewise similar to the Egyptians[145]. The heralds, flute-players, and cooks, inherit the professions of their fathers: the flute-player is the son of a flute-player, the cook of a cook, and the herald of a herald; nor do other persons, by reason of the clearness of their voice, apply to the last profession, and so[146] exclude the heralds' sons; but all exercise their father's business. So it is with those matters.

At this time[147] therefore, when Cleomenes was at Ægina, 61
providing for the common good of Hellas, as well as his own[148], Demaratus calumniated him, not so much out of affection towards the Æginetæ, as of envy and hatred. On his return from Ægina, Cleomenes conceived the project of deposing Demaratus from the sovereignty, founding[149] his action against him on the following circumstance:—Ariston was king of Sparta: although he had married two wives, no offspring was born to him: convinced that he himself was not the cause of this, he took a third wife, whom he married after the following manner. He had a friend, a Spartan, one to whom he was more attached than to any other of the citizens. this man had a wife, by far the most beautiful of all the women in Sparta; but she also[150], from being the most ugly, had become the most beautiful. Monstrous as the child was, the nurse, seeing it was the daughter of wealthy parents, who regarded the deformity of their infant as a misfortune, adopted the following expedient she carried her every day to the temple of Helen, which stands in the place called Therapna[151], above the Phœbeian precinct. Every time that the nurse brought the child, she placed her before the image, and implored the goddess to deliver the

[145] See 1. c. 166.

[146] Construction: *οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἄλλοι (τῇ τέκνῃ ταύτῃ) σφέας* (i. e. *κήρυκος παῖδας*) *παρακληΐουσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια (τὰς τέχνας) ἐπιτελέουσι.*

[147] The history, interrupted at c. 52, is here resumed.

[148] Something of this meaning is perhaps implied by the compound verb. Schweighæuser and Schneider explain merely "applying his efforts to procure," &c.

[149] *ἐπίβασιν.* Larcher quotes Julius Pollux, ii. 4. § 200, to prove that *ἐπίβασις* means, an action brought against a person who pretends to be of a family he does not belong to. his translation, following that of L. Valla, is, "Bringing an action against him on the subject I am going to mention." Schweighæuser, in his Latin version, understands *ἐπίβασις* in the sense of *aditus*: "Making to himself a way to come upon him (*i. e.* to attack) by the following opportunity." this is likewise the interpretation of Schneider. Lastly, in the Lex. Herod. it is proposed to interpret the same word, "the foundation or ground on which any one proceeds to do so and so."

[150] *καὶ ταῦτα.* See Matt. 471, 7

[151] See Matt 556, 3.

child from her deformity. One day, as the nurse was going out of the temple, a woman[152], it is said, appeared before her: this woman asked her what she was carrying in her arms she made answer, that she was carrying an infant: the woman bade her shew it her; but the nurse refused, as she was forbidden by the parents to shew the child to any one[153]. But the woman earnestly besought her to let her see it: the nurse, seeing the woman made much of beholding the infant, accordingly shewed it. The woman, touching the head of the infant, said, "she should exceed in beauty[154] all the women of Sparta." From that day, it is said, the child's features changed. And finally, when she was arrived at marriageable estate, Agetus, the son of Alceides, married
62 her. this was Ariston's friend I have mentioned. But Ariston became so enflamed with love for this lady, that he devised the following scheme: He engaged himself to give his friend, whose wife she was, any one thing, of all that he possessed, which he might select; and persuaded his friend to offer the like to him. The other, having no apprehension on his wife's account, as he saw that Ariston was already married, assented to this proposal; and both parties bound each other to[155] the agreement by oath. Ariston then gave to Agetus some article—I know not what—in his possession, and which his friend chose. Ariston then claimed, that the like should be done by his friend, and attempted to take away his wife; but Agetus declared, that, with the reserve of that one possession, he had assented to all the rest: bound however by his oath, and circumvented by deceit, he per-
63 mitted Ariston to take her away. Thus therefore did Ariston take to himself a third wife, after putting away the second. But this woman, before her time[156], and without completing her ten months, brought him the Demaratus before[157] mentioned; and some one of his attendants informed him, as he was sitting on the bench with the ephori, that a son was born to him; whereupon Ariston, having reckoned the months on his fingers, said, with an oath, "It surely[158] cannot be mine!" This exclamation the ephori heard;

[152] *γυναῖκα*. The nominative might have been used with equal propriety: see Matt. 586, 4th paragraph. Observe, that the verb *λίγεται* governs almost all the infinitives, to the bottom of this chapter.

[153] *μηδενὶ*. See Matt. 533. *obs.* 3.

[154] *καλλιστεύειν* from *κάλλιστος*, and therefore is construed with the genitive. See Matt. 370.

[155] Construction: *ἐπήλασαν* (*ἀλλήλοις*) *ὅρκους ἐπὶ τούτοισι*.

[156] *ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ ἐλάσσονι*, "in too short a time." Respecting this use of the comparative, see Matt. 457, 2.

[157] Such is, I think, the power of the particle *δὴ*.

[158] See Matt. 514, 2d 2. See likewise Viger, p. 383, note 80, where this passage is quoted and explained.

but they did not, at the time, take any notice. The boy grew up; and Ariston repented of what he had said[159], for he was completely convinced that Demaratus was his son. He gave him the name of Demaratus[160], on the following account: Previous to this event, the Spartans had publicly offered up prayers that a son might be born to Ariston, since he was the most worthy man of all the kings that had reigned at Sparta. In the progress of time, Ariston died, and De- 64
maratus obtained the sovereignty. But it was fated, it appears, that these events, when known, should cause the deposition of Demaratus, because[161] he had incurred the hatred[162] of Cleomenes; in the first place, by leading off his army from Eleusis[163]; and particularly at the present period, when Cleomenes had gone across to the Æginetæ, who were inclined to Medism. Eager therefore to be avenged of him, 65
Cleomenes makes an agreement with *Leotychides*, the son of Menares, and grandson of Agis, of the same family as Demaratus, that if he should get Leotychides appointed king, in lieu of Demaratus, he would follow him against the Æginetæ. Now, Leotychides had become inimical to Demaratus, principally on the following occasion· Leotychides had been affianced to Percalus, the daughter of Chilon, and grand-daughter of Demarmenus. Demaratus, however, contrived to disappoint Leotychides of his bride, and forestalled him, by carrying[164] off Percalus, and making her his own wife. In this manner originated the enmity of Leotychides to Demaratus. And, at the time now alluded to, and in accordance with the solicitation of Cleomenes[165], Leotychides made oath against Demaratus, "that he was "not lawfully king of the Lacedæmonians, not being the "son of Ariston." After making this affidavit, he prosecuted him, quoting the speech which Ariston had uttered when the servant communicated to him that a son was born to him, and he, casting up the months, pronounced an oath, exclaiming, "that the child was none of his." Grounding himself

[159] See Matt. 326. *obs.* 2.

[160] Demaratus is a word composed of δῆμος, *people*, and ἀράομαι, *I pray*; and signifies, *populi precibus et votis expetitus*. The name is nearly equivalent to the French *Dieudonné*. —*Larcher*.

[161] διὰ τὰ, in the Ionic idiom, is equivalent to διότι. *Schweig*.

[162] διαβλῆσθαί τινι signifies, "to have become hateful to any one;" and in that sense I ought to have translated the word at v. 35. See Schweig. Lex. Herod.

[163] See v. chap. 75.

[164] Concerning the structure of φθάσαν with the participle, see Matt. 553 and Viger, p. 251; together with note 201 of Herman, who quotes this passage of Herodotus.

[165] ἐπ τῆς Κλεομένεος προθυμίης may likewise mean, "out of a desire of serving Cleomenes:" in which case, Κλεομένεος must be considered as the genitive objective; concerning which see Matt. 313.

therefore on that observation, Leotychides declared that Demaratus was not begotten of Ariston, neither was he lawfully sovereign of Sparta; adducing as witnesses those ephori who were at the time on the bench with, and heard this sentence
66 of, Ariston. In the end, quarrels arising on the subject, the Spartans resolved to make inquiries at Delphi, "whether Demaratus was son to Ariston." Reference[166] having been made to the Pythia, through the efforts of Cleomenes that prince now attached to his side Cobon the son of Aristophantus, a man of great influence at Delphi. Cobon prevailed upon Perialla, the chief prophetess, to give the answer which Cleomenes wished to be pronounced: so that, when the messengers sent to consult the oracle made the inquiry, the Pythia adjudged Demaratus not to be the son of Ariston. In subsequent times, however, these circumstances became known: Cobon fled from Delphi; and Perialla, the chief prophetess, was deposed from her office.

67 Thus, accordingly, did matters happen with respect to the deposition of Demaratus from the royal power. He afterwards fled from Sparta over to the Medes, in consequence of an insult of the following nature. After his deposition from the sovereignty, he was elected a magistrate, and entered upon the office. The gymnopædiæ[167], some time after, were celebrated; and Demaratus being a spectator, Leotychides, who was now himself king in the place of the other, sent his servant, and asked him, in a jeering and insulting manner[168], "what sort of thing it was to hold the magistracy, after "having held the kingly power." Demaratus, offended at the question, replied, "that he himself had already made trial "of both, whereas Leotychides had not. the question, how-"ever, would cause to the Lacedæmonians either infinite "woes or infinite blessings." Having so spoken, he covered his face, and went from the theatre to his own house. Forthwith making due preparations, he sacrificed an ox to
68 Jupiter, and, after performing the sacrifice, called his mother. The mother having come, Demaratus placed in her hands part of the entrails[169], and supplicated her, speaking in these words. "Mother, calling to witness both the rest of the

[166] *ἀναίστου*. See Matt. 253. See likewise 215, and 447.

[167] A yearly festival at Sparta, in honour of Apollo, and in commemoration of the battle at Thyrea: at this festival the boys danced naked, and practised other exercises. I conjecture, from Athenæus, that it lasted ten days. *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.*

[168] *ἐπὶ γέλωτί τι καὶ λάσθῃ*: "for the purpose of mocking and insulting him." See Matt. 585, *β*. 2d paragraph.

[169] In taking oaths, the hand used to be placed on the victim: that was called *ἁμύνας κατὰ*, or *ἐπὶ τῶν σφαγίων, ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον, ἐπὶ τῶν τομίων*. *Larcher.*

" gods[170] and this our Jove Hercæan[171], I beseech you, tell me " the truth, who in reality is my father. For Leotychides, in " our quarrel, said you approached Ariston when pregnant " by your first husband: others, following the more silly " rumour, declare that you conversed with one of our hinds, " a groom[172], and that I am his son. I implore you, there- " fore, in the name of the gods, tell me the truth: and indeed, " even if you have done any thing of what is reported, you " are not the only woman that has so acted, but have followed " the example of many: besides, there is a report rife in " Sparta, that Ariston was incapable of having any post- " erity[173]; for otherwise, *they say*, his former wives would " have brought forth." Such, accordingly, were the words he spoke. She made answer in these terms: "My son, 69 " since you beseech me thus earnestly to tell the truth, the " whole truth shall be told you. When Ariston had brought " me to his house, on the third night from the first a form " similar to Ariston came to me: having lain with me, he " placed on my brow the crowns which he himself bore. " The form then departed; and afterwards Ariston came. " When he saw me with the crowns on my head, he asked " who had given them to me: I told him, it was himself; " but he gave me no credit. I therefore took my oath that " it was so, and said, that he did not act handsomely to " deny it, as he had but just before come and conversed with " me. Ariston, seeing that I swore to what had happened, " took the event to be supernatural. In the first place, the " crowns were found to be from the Heroum[174], situate near " the court gates;" that of Astrabacus, as he is called;—" on " the other hand, the seers pronounced it was that hero him- " self. Thus then, my son, you are in possession of all you " wish to know: for either you must be born of that hero, " and Astrabacus is your father, or else Ariston; for in that " night I conceived you. In respect of the circumstance " which your enemies produce as the greatest evidence " against you[175], saying that Ariston himself, when your " birth was communicated to him, denied, in the hearing of " many persons, that you were his son, as my full time, that " is to say, my ten months, were not completed; he threw

[170] See Matt. 350. Schweighæuser, however, regards the genitives as governed by παιδοτρόμενος, and not by ἱκετεύω.

[171] This epithet of Jupiter is equivalent to ἰφίστιος; both being applied to that god, as the protector of the house.

[172] Literally, "the feeder of the asses."

[173] Et multus sermo in urbe Sparta est, negantium Aristoni fuisse semen procreando aptum.

[174] See p. 35, note 176, of this vol.

[175] "Where thy foes attack thee most violently."

" out that observation through ignorance of such matters.
" For women bring forth nine-months' children, and seven-
" months' children[176]; nor do all complete ten months: now
" I brought you forth, my son, a seven-months' child. And
" Ariston himself, no long time after, was convinced that
" he had let fall that expression through thoughtlessness.
" Hearken not to any other rumours respecting your birth;
" for you have the whole truth. And from grooms may their
" wives conceive children to Leotychides himself, and such
" as say those things!" The above were the words of his
70 mother. Demaratus, having obtained the information he wished for, took what was necessary for his journey; and proceeded to Elis, pretending[177] that he was going to Delphi, to consult the oracle. But the Lacedæmonians, suspecting that he had taken to flight, pursued him. By some means or other, Demaratus got the start of them[178], and crossed over from Elis to Zacynthus: the Lacedæmonians, following in pursuit, laid hands upon him, and took away his attendants. The Zacynthians refused to give him up; and Demaratus passed over into Asia, where he presented himself before King Darius, who received him generously, and gave him land and cities. Thus Demaratus came into Asia, after suffering such adventures as I have described. He was ennobled among the Lacedæmonians, in various respects, by his deeds and counsels; and, among other exploits, he procured them an Olympic victory, which he won in the chariot-race; being the only one, of all the Spartan kings, that ever achieved such a thing[179].

71 Leotychides son of Menares, on the deposition of Demaratus, succeeded to the kingdom. A son was born to him, Zeuxidemus, whom many of the Spartans called Cyniscus: this prince never ruled over Sparta; he died before Leotychides, leaving a son, Archidemus. Leotychides, deprived of Zeuxidemus, married a second wife, Eurydame, sister to Menius, and daughter of Diactorides: by this woman no male offspring was born to him, but a daughter, Lampito, whom Archidemus, the son of Zeuxidemus, married with the
72 consent of Leotychides himself. Neither did Leotychides pass the days of his old age in Sparta; but paid the following forfeit, as it were, to Demaratus. He had undertaken

[176] Supply παιδία after ἐννέμηνα καὶ ἑπτάμηνα.

[177] τῷ λόγῳ φάς. See p. 11, note 50, of this volume.

[178] ἴφθη διαβάς. Matt. 553, 3.

[179] Construction: ἄλλα τι (i.e. κατ' ἄλλα τι) συχνὰ (ἐν) Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀπελαμπρυνθεὶς ἔργοισί τι καὶ γνώμῃσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ (τοῖς ἄλλοις, see Matt. 594.) Ὀλυμπιάδα (νίκην) περὶ περσίβαλε, ἀναλόμενος (αὐτὴν) τεθρίππῳ. Schweig.

the command of the Lacedæmonians in Thessaly; and when he had the opportunity[180] of subjecting every thing, took a great quantity of silver as a bribe. Being caught in the very fact[181], and seated, even in the camp, on a sleeve full of silver, he was exiled from Sparta, having been brought before a court of justice: his house was rased; and he fled to Tegea, where he died. These events, however, happened at a later period.

But at this time[182], Cleomenes having succeeded in his plans 73
against Demaratus, forthwith took with him Leotychides: he proceeded against the Æginetæ, having a deep grudge against them, for the insult they had inflicted upon him. The Æginetæ accordingly, seeing that both kings were coming upon them, no longer thought fit to oppose them: the Lacedæmonians selected ten men from among the islanders, the most distinguished by wealth and birth[183]; among whom were Crius the son of Polycritus, and Casambus the son of Aristocrates, two persons who had very great power; and, taking them over to Attica, placed them as a pledge in the hands of the Athenians, the greatest enemies of the Æginetæ. But 74
Cleomenes, having been discovered subsequently to have used foul means against Demaratus, was seized with fear of the Spartans, and secretly withdrew into Thessaly. From thence, coming into Arcadia, he made various attempts, exciting the Arcadians to rise up against Sparta; and not only bound them by different oaths, that[184] they would follow him wherever he should lead, but was even desirous of taking the chief men of the Arcadians to the town of Nonacris, there to make them swear by the water of the Styx; for in that town is said, by the Arcadians, to be the water of the Styx. The stream is of the following nature: the water, appearing in no great quantity, drops from a rock into a vale: a fence of masonry surrounds the vale. Nonacris, in which is this source, is a city of Arcadia, near Pheneum. The Lacedæmonians, understanding that Cleomenes was 75
acting in this manner, recalled him to Sparta, to resume his former dignity[185]. The prince, having returned, was immediately seized with madness, though he was not previously

[180] πρηγμάτων. See Matt. 564.

[181] ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἁλούς. See Viger, p. 62.

[182] Herodotus resumes once more the narrative, which he had interrupted at chap. 50.

[183] ἄλλου, τι ἤρχουν—καὶ δὴ καὶ See Viger, p. 398, note.

[184] ἦ μὲν, for ἦ μήν, used by the Ionian writers in forms of swearing.

[185] Construction: κατῆγον αὐτὸν ἐς Σπάρτην ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι καὶ πρότερον ἦρχε. See Matt. 386, and 585, β. "recalled him to Sparta, on the same conditions as he had previously ruled; *i. e.* reinstated him."

quite of sound mind; for whenever he met any one of the Spartans, he would thrust the sceptre in his face. In consequence of his behaving in this manner, and being mad, his relations bound him in wooden bands. Thus confined, when he perceived only one of his guards was by, he asked for a knife[186]: the guard having at first refused to give it, he threatened him with what he would do to him; till, at last, the guard, terrified (for he was one of the Helots) at his menaces, gave him the knife. Cleomenes, taking the steel, lacerated his person from the legs upwards: slashing his flesh lengthwise, he proceeded from his legs to his thighs; from the thighs to the hips and loins; and at last reached the belly, which he scored; and in that manner died. This took place, according to what most of the Hellenes state, because he had persuaded the Pythia to pronounce the oracle concerning Demaratus[187]: according to what the Athenians alone state, it was because, in his invasion of Eleusis, he had cut down the grove of the goddesses[188]; but the Argians affirm, that it was because, after tearing away some of the citizens, who had fled from battle, from a holy precinct of theirs, sacred to Argos, he had massacred them; and holding even the grove itself in contempt, had set fire to it.

76 For Cleomenes having consulted the oracle at Delphi, it had been pronounced to him that he should take Argos. When, at the head of the Spartans, he reached the river Erasinus, which is said to flow from the lake Stymphalia; for *it is asserted*, that this lake[189], after falling into a dark chasm, re-appears in the territory of Argos, from which place the water is called, by the Argians, Erasinus—Cleomenes having come, I say[190], to the banks of this river, offered sacrifice to it; but as the victims afforded[191] no good omen to his passage, he said that he admired[192] Erasinus for not betraying

[186] The μάχαιρα was a curved weapon, a sword or cutlass; the ξίφος, a straight sword. The former word signifies, likewise, a *knife*, a *razor*; διπλῆ μάχαιρα, a pair of scissors.

[187] Intemperance appears to have been the true cause of Cleomenes' phrensy: see c. 84.

[188] Ceres and Proserpine. τέμενος is, properly, a piece of land consecrated to some god. Sometimes the term is taken, in a more extensive meaning, for a temple; and sometimes it signifies a sacred grove, as in c. 79. The word κείρω, *tondeo*, has induced me to give it this last sense. *Larcher*

[189] τὴν λίμνην, accusative before the infinitive, governed by λέγεται. See Matthiæ, Gr. Gramm. p. 810.

[190] See Matt. 611.

[191] καλλιερέω (the Latin, *lito*, *perlito*) is said of a victim which, according to the marks found in sacrificed animals, is pleasing to the gods, or shews that one has their consent to begin an undertaking. This verb is construed with the infinitive. *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.* γὰρ. Matt. 613, vii.

[192] ἄγασθαι, in an ironical sense. See Matt. 373, *obs.*

his citizens: still, the Argians should not escape so easily[193]. He then retired, and marched his troops to Thyrea: after sacrificing a bull to the sea, he conveyed them[194] on shipboard to the territory of Tiryns and Nauplia. Understanding this, the Argians marched down toward the sea, to assist the invaded country. When they were near Tiryns, in the place which bears the name of Sepeia, they encamped opposite the Lacedæmonians, leaving no great space between the two lines. So situated, accordingly, the Argians did not dread a pitch battle, but were fearful lest they might be taken by surprise; for it was to this that their oracle alluded[195], which the Pythia pronounced in common to them and to the Milesians[196]: it ran thus: "But when the female "conquering shall have repelled the male, and glory gained "among the Argians, then shall she make many of the Ar- "gian women to rend their faces: so some day shall one of "the men to be, say, a dire triple-coiled serpent hath been "destroyed, by the javelin quelled." All these concurring circumstances, accordingly, spread terror among the people of Argos; and they resolved, in consequence, to regulate their army by the herald of the enemy[197], and according to that determination acted in this manner: whenever the Spartan herald sounded some signal to the Lacedæmonians, the Argians likewise did the same. Cleomenes, observing 78
that the Argians did whatever the herald of the Spartans gave the signal for, commanded his troops, when the herald should give the signal for taking their repast, then to seize their arms, and charge the enemy. These commands were obeyed by the Lacedæmonians; for they fell upon the Argians when they were taking their repast, according to the signal: they killed many of them; but a still greater number having fled to the grove of Argus, the Spartans stationed themselves around the place, and kept watch. Then 79
Cleomenes acted in the following manner: he had *in his army* some deserters, from whom he obtained what informa-

[193] χαίρειν, *non habere quod doleas, i. e. a damno immunem esse.* Herman. Adnot. Vig. 207.

[194] The vessels he took by force from the Æginetæ and Sicyonians: see c. 92.

[195] ἔχειν πρὸς vel ἐς, *respicere, spectare, pertinere ad.* Vig. p. 197.

[196] See v. 19. The first part of this oracle is explained as alluding to the conduct of Telesilla, who armed the women of Argos, and with their aid repelled Cleomenes and the Lacedæmonians, who had expected to find Argos without defenders, as narrated by Pausanias. The second part of the oracle Larcher leaves to be explained by those who may think themselves inspired by the god of Delphi, whose obscure answers had gained him the name of Λοξίας *Larcher.*

[197] Literally, "to make use of the enemies' herald."

tion he wanted, and then sent a herald to call the Argians, who were shut up in the precinct, summoning them by name. The herald called them out, saying that he had their ransom: two minas is the sum appointed to be paid[198], among the Peloponnesians, for a prisoner. Cleomenes, therefore, calling them out individually[199], massacred about fifty of the Argians: this took place, it seems, unknown[200] to the rest, who were within the precinct; for as the grove was thick, they who were within could not observe those on the outside, or what they were doing; at least until, at last, one of them, climbing up a tree, saw what was going on; when, accordingly, those that were called would no longer go out.

80 Then Cleomenes commanded all the Helots to heap up wood around the grove. these having so done, he set fire to the grove; and when it was already in flames, he asked one of the deserters to what god the grove was sacred. The other made answer, that it was Argus. When Cleomenes heard this, he fetched a deep sigh, and said, "Prophetic Apollo! "surely thou hast greatly deceived me, in saying that I "should take Argos[201]: methinks the oracle is fulfilled to me."

81 After this, Cleomenes permitted the greater part of his troops to return to Sparta, while he himself, taking a thousand of the most valiant, went to the Heræum, there to offer sacrifice. Wishing himself to sacrifice on the altar, the priest endeavoured to hinder him, saying, that it was not lawful for a stranger to offer sacrifice in that place: but Cleomenes commanded the Helots to tear the priest from the altar, and scourge him, while he himself sacrificed. Having so done,

82 he went his ways to Sparta. On his return, his enemies impeached him before[202] the ephori, declaring that he had received a bribe not to take Argos, when he had an opportunity[203] of capturing it with facility. He told them, whether truly or falsely I cannot say for certain—be that as it may, he did tell them—" that when he had taken the temple of Ar-
" gus, he imagined that the oracle of the god was fulfilled to
" him; that in consequence therefore of that, he did not think
" fit to make any attempt on the city, at least before he should

[198] ἐκτίνειν. See Matt. 535, 5.

[199] ἐξ ἐκάστου. Viger, p. 456, and Herman's note, 361.

[200] ταῦτα ἐλελήθεε γινόμενα τοὺς λοιποὺς. The verb λανθάνω constructed with the participle. See Matt. 552, 2.

[201] The hero Argus is called, in Greek, Ἄργος, the same as the town: the ambiguity deceived Cleomenes.

[202] We have previously seen, c. 72, ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ὑπάγειν: so here, ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐφόρους ὑπάγειν, instead of εἰς δικαστήριον, εἰς ἐφόρους. This form has not escaped the industry of A. Matthiæ, see 593, last paragraph.

[203] See Matt. 564.

have consulted the victims, and ascertained whether the 'deity would deliver it up to him, or whether he would stand 'in his way: that the omens being favourable at the Heræum, a flash of fire burst forth from the bosom of the statue; and that he thereby understood the truth, namely, 'that he should not capture Argos: for if the flame had burst 'from the head, he should have wholly[204] taken the city; but as it burst from the bosom, he must have done all that 'the god wished to take place." In this account he appeared to the Spartans to speak credibly and plausibly, and nonsuited his prosecutors by a large majority[205]. Argos was so 83
widowed[206] of inhabitants, that the slaves were at the head of affairs, holding the offices of magistrates, and governing, till such time as the sons of the slain were grown up, and, recovering the city of Argos, cast out the slaves. The banished slaves possessed themselves by battle of Tiryns. For some time, accordingly, concord existed between the two parties; but subsequently there came to the slaves a seer, Cleander, a native of Phigalea, in Arcadia[207]. This person persuaded the slaves to set upon their lords: from which circumstance war raged between them a considerable time, till at last the Argians with difficulty gained the upper hand.

The Argians therefore state, that it was for the above rea- 84
son that Cleomenes became a maniac, and miserably perished. But the Spartans themselves declare, that it was not by the operation of any deity that Cleomenes became mad; but that by conversing with the Scythians he became a hard drinker[208], and by that means lost his senses. For the Scythian nomades, ever since Darius had invaded their territory, had persisted in the desire of taking vengeance on him; and sent to Sparta to make an alliance, and to arrange that the Scythians themselves should attempt to make an inroad into the territory of the Medes, near the river Phasis, and to persuade the Spartans, starting from Ephesus, to proceed upwards in Asia, and then for both parties to march towards a place of rendezvous. They go on to state, that Cleomenes,

[204] *αἰρέειν κατ' ἄκρης*. Respecting this form of speech, see p. 74, note 40, of this volume.

[205] Literally, "and escaped his prosecutors by a great distance."

[206] See Matt. 330.

[207] *Φιγαλιὴς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίης*. See p. 3, note 3, of this volume.

[208] *ἀκρατοπότης* (from *ἄκρατος*, *πότης*) means one who drinks wine unmixed As it was the general custom with the ancients to drink their wine mixed with water, this expression was nearly equivalent to what we call, a hard drinker. A similar expression is frequent in French, "Cet homme-là ne trempe pas son vin—That man does not dilute his wine with water;" *i. e.* drinks hard.

when the Scythians came for that purpose, became too intimate[209] with them; and, frequenting their company more than was fitting, he learnt of them to drink hard: from which cause the Spartans are of opinion that he became mad; and from that time, according to their own statement, when they wish to drink deep[210], they say *to the servant*, "Pour out like a Scythian." Such is the manner in which the Spartans narrate the circumstances relating to Cleomenes. For my part, it is my opinion that this was the forfeit which Cleomenes paid to Demaratus.

85 When the Æginetæ were informed of the decease of Cleomenes, they despatched ambassadors to Sparta, to impeach Leotychides on the subject of the hostages detained at Athens. The Lacedæmonians, having assembled a court of judicature, determined that the Æginetæ had been indignantly handled by Leotychides; and decreed that he should be given up and taken to Ægina, in retaliation for the men detained at Athens. But the Æginetæ being about to take away Leotychides, Theasides son of Laoprepes, a man of rank at Sparta, said to them, "What are you going to do, men of Ægina, to "take away the king of the Spartans, that has been given up "by the citizens? If now, yielding to passion, the Spartans "have so decreed, look to it, lest[211], if you do this, they "bring hereafter any fatal calamity on your own country." Having heard this observation, the Æginetæ refrained from the abduction; but made the following stipulation, that Leotychides should accompany them to Athens, and restore
86 their citizens to them. But when Leotychides, on his arrival, claimed back the hostages, the Athenians, being unwilling to give them up, had recourse to subterfuge; saying, that two kings had deposited them, and they did not think it right to give them back to the one without the other. The Athenians having refused to make restoration, Leotychides addressed to them the following speech: "Athenians, do "what you yourselves choose; for by returning the hostages "you will do what is just; and by not returning them, you "will do the contrary[212]. I will, however, relate to you what "happened at Sparta once, respecting a deposit. We Spar- "tans relate, that, in the third generation before my time, "there lived in Lacedæmon one Glaucus, son of Epicydes.

[209] On this signification of the comparative, see Matt 457, 2.

[210] ζωρότερον πίνειν, supply οἶνον or πῶμα, to drink wine mingled with but little water; hence, To drink deep, To take long draughts. *Schneid. Gr. Germ Lex.*

[211] ἵνα, i. e. ἵνα μὴ. See Viger. p. 345, and Zeunius's note*.

[212] See Matt. 344. *obs.* 2.

" This man, we say, not only held[213] the first rank in all other " respects, but was also famed[214] for justice, beyond all who " at that time inhabited Lacedæmon. The following events " befel him in due season[215]. A native of Miletus came to " Sparta, and wished to have a conference with him, making " the following statement. I am, *said he*, a Milesian, and have " come, Glaucus, with the desire of profiting by your justice; " for as the fame of your justice is great, not only through- " out the rest of Asia, but likewise about Ionia, I have con- " sidered within myself that Ionia is ever and anon in dan- " ger, whereas the Peloponnesus is securely placed; and by " that reason one can never expect the same individuals to " hold property for any length of time: having therefore " considered and argued these things, I have resolved to " change one half of my possessions into silver, and deposit " it with you, well knowing that, entrusted to your keeping, " my property will be safe: do you therefore take my riches; " take likewise and preserve these tokens; and whosoever shall " come with the like, and claim back the deposit, restore[216] it " to him. Such, accordingly, was the discourse that the " stranger from Miletus held; and Glaucus received the de- " posit on the above-mentioned condition. After the lapse of " a long time, the sons of the person who had deposited the " money came to Sparta; and, coming to a conference with " Glaucus, shewed the tokens, and claimed back the treasure: " but Glaucus put them off, making at the same time this " elusive answer: " I remember not the circumstance, nor " can I bring to my mind any thing such as you speak of[217]: " should I call it to my recollection, I am willing to do all " that is just; and if I did indeed receive the deposit, will " honestly return it: if, however, I never received any thing " at all, I shall follow, with respect to you, the laws of " Greece[218]. I shall therefore defer settling this business " with you till the fourth month from this." The Milesians

[213] Equivalent to ἥκειν ἐς τὰ πρῶτα (κατὰ) τά τι ἄλλα, καὶ δὴ καὶ, &c. See Schweig. Lex. Herod.

[214] Viger, p. 175. " Tu recte vivis, si curas esse quod AUDIS." *Horat.*

[215] ἐκτετμένῳ χρόνῳ, *suo tempore.* Schweig. Lex. Herod. *Dans un temps déterminé* Larcher. *Nach einer gewissen zeit.* Schneid. All these authorities, to which add Wesseling, are therefore opposed to the usual translation, " insequente tempore," *in process of time.*

[216] See Matt. 544, 1st parag., and the learned Bishop Blomfield's observation, p. xlviii.

[217] Construction: οὔτι οἶδὲν εἰδέναι τούτων περιφέρει μι, " nor does any knowledge of these matters return, revolve, in my mind or memory." Æ. Portus explains περιφέρειν by *pertinere*: " Nec ad me pertinet quidquam horum scire." *Æ. Port. Lex. Ion.*

[218] I suppose, by prosecuting them for their pretended attempt at extortion.

" accordingly went their ways sorrowfully, considering them-
" selves to have been fleeced of their money. Glaucus pro-
" ceeded to Delphi, there to consult the oracle; and when he
" asked the oracle whether he might possess himself of the
" money by a false oath[219], the Pythia addressed him in these
" words: 'Glaucus son of Epicydes! thus to prevail by per-
" 'jury, and possess thyself of the wealth, will be forthwith
" 'accompanied with lucre. Swear! for death awaits e'en
" 'the honest man: still has Perjury a son unnamed, without
" 'feet, without hands; with rapid strides he approaches, till
" 'ravaging he destroys the whole race, the whole house.
" 'But the honest man's progeny blooms for ever.' When
" Glaucus heard this, he besought the god to have mercy on
" him for what he had said; but the Pythia declared, that to
" tempt the god, and to act, were the same. Glaucus, ac-
" cordingly, having sent for the Milesian strangers, restored
" the money to them. Now, Athenians, I will state with
" what object this speech has been pronounced before you.
" Of Glaucus there is not, at the present day, one descendant,
" nor any house supposed to have been his: he has been com-
" pletely rooted up out of Sparta. So that it is good, in as
" far as regards a deposit, not so much as to think of any
" thing but returning it when re-demanded." Leotychides,
having so spoken, and seeing the Athenians would not even
then attend to him, went his ways.

87 The Æginetæ, before they had suffered the punishment of their first hostilities and insults against the Athenians, acted in the following manner, to gratify the Thebans. Irritated against the Athenians, and fancying that they had been unjustly treated, they made preparations to be avenged of them; and, placing themselves in ambush, took from the Athenians the theoris[220], a five-oared vessel, filled with the chief citizens, as it was lying off Sunium, and, seizing the crew, cast them
88 in bonds. The Athenians, after suffering this treatment at the hands of the Æginetæ, no longer deferred to take all sorts of measures against them. There was in Ægina a man of rank, his name Nicodromus, son of Cnœthus: this indivi-

[219] ὅρκος means an *oath*, whether true or false: the context shews that perjury is here meant.

[220] The Θεωρὶς was the ship used to convey the Θεωροὶ, or public deputies, sent to offer sacrifice, or to consult the oracle, at any place, in the name of the state: the ambassadors sent on civil affairs were called πρέσβεις. The *theoris*, alluded to here by Herodotus, was that sent annually by the Athenians to Delos, to offer sacrifice to Apollo, in conformity to a vow made by Theseus, at his departure from Crete. Construction: καὶ (ἦν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι πεντήρης ἱκὰς Σουνίῳ, Matt. 613, vii.) λοχήσαντες αὐτὴν (Matthiæ, sect. 611, or p. 946.) τὴν Θεωρίδα νῆα εἷλον.

[221] μὴ οὐ. See Matt. 601, *a*.

dual had a grudge against his countrymen, on account of his previous exile from the island; and, understanding at this time that the Athenians were resolved to punish the Æginetæ, planned with the Athenians the betraying of the island, pointing out the day on which he would make the attempt, when it would behove them to come to his assistance. After this, Nicodromus, in conformity to the agreement he had made with the Athenians, seized what is called the old town. But the Athenians did not come at the proper time; for they 89
had not vessels sufficient to engage the Æginetæ; and while[222] they were accordingly petitioning the Corinthians to lend them some ships, the enterprise failed. The Corinthians, who were at that period most friendly inclined towards the Athenians, gave them twenty ships, at their request; that is to say, they gave them in exchange for five drachmæ each[223], as it was not permitted by the law to give them as a gift: the Athenians, accordingly, taking the above vessels, together with their own, and manning seventy sail in all, steered for Ægina, where they arrived later, by one day, than had been agreed upon. Nicodromus, seeing that the Athenians 90
did not come to their time, embarked on ship-board, and made his escape out of Ægina: several others of the islanders accompanied him, to whom the Athenians gave Sunium to inhabit. sallying from thence, these people proceeded to commit devastations[224] on the Æginetæ on the island: these devastations happened subsequently: but, *at the time we are* 91
*speaking of*, the opulent Æginetæ quelled the populace, who, together with Nicodromus, had risen up against them; and afterwards led out to execution such as they could lay hands on. But on this occasion they committed a sacrilege, which they were never able to find the means of expiating, but were driven out of the island ere[225] the goddess became propitious to them: for having taken prisoners seven hundred of the populace, they led them forth for execution: one of the number, escaping from his bonds, fled to the portal of Ceres Thesmophorus, and grasping the knockers[226], held fast; and the other party, seeing they were not able to wrench him away, cut off his hands, and so took him away, while the hands remained hanging to the knockers. Such, accordingly, 92
were the proceedings of the Æginetæ among themselves. But on the arrival of the Athenians with their seventy

[222] ἐν ᾧ, sc. χρόνῳ. See Matt. 577.

[223] If Herodotus had meant that the whole fleet was given for five drachmæ, he would not have used the adjective πενταδράχμους, but the genitive πέντε δραχμῶν: see Matt. 342, *b*.

[224] Viger, p. 174.

[225] φθάναι with the participle, and πρότερον by pleonasm. See Matt. 553. See likewise Viger, p. 251, and note 46.

[226] The ἐπίσασστρον was the ring used to pull the door to

sail[227], they gave them battle on the sea: vanquished in this engagement, they called for assistance on the same persons to whom they had previously applied; that is to say, on the Argians. But the latter would no longer afford them any assistance; being offended that the ships of the Æginetæ, which Cleomenes had taken by force, should have touched on the territory of Argolis, and their crews joined the Lacedæmonians in their disembarkation. In that same inroad, troops landed likewise from the Sicyonian vessels. In consequence, a fine was imposed by the Argians on those two nations—a thousand talents; namely, five hundred on each. The Sicyonians, accordingly, allowing that they had acted contrary to justice, made a compact with the Argians, to pay one hundred talents, and be forgiven: the Æginetæ, however, would not grant they were in the wrong; and obstinately[228] refused to pay. On this account, therefore, when the Æginetæ made their request, not one of the Argians was any longer sent to their assistance in the name of the commonwealth, although about a thousand volunteers joined them: these were headed by a general[229], named Eurybates, an individual who had exercised the pentathlon. The greater part of these volunteers never returned, but were slain[230] by the Athenians in Ægina; and their leader Eurybates, after killing three men hand to hand[231], was himself slain by the
93 fourth, Sophanes son of Deceles[232]. The Æginetæ then engaging with the Athenian fleet, when not in line, beat them, and took four of their vessels, together with the crews[233].

94 War accordingly raged between the Athenians and the Æginetæ, while the king of Persia pursued his design; being uniformly reminded by his servant to remember the Athenians: the Pisistratidæ at the same time urged him, and misrepresented the Athenians. Darius resolved to make use of this additional pretext, in order to justify his conquest of such Hellenic nations as had refused to give him earth and water. Having, accordingly, dismissed Mardonius from the command of the troops, who had ill succeeded in the naval expedition, and appointing other generals, namely, Datis, a Mede by birth, and his own nephew, Artaphernes

[227] See Matt. 400.

[228] See Matt. "were too obstinate, pertinacious."

[229] *στρατηγὸς ἀνήρ* See Matt. 430, 7.

[230] *ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων*, and lower down, *ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου . . . ἀπεθνήσκει.* See Matt. 592, beginning of the paragraph.

[231] *μονομαχίην ἰσασχίων*, "exercising the duel." Larcher therefore translates, "Comme il s'étoit exercé au duel—As he had trained himself to single combat."

[232] See IX. 74.

[233] *αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι.* See Matt. 400, *f.*

son of Artaphernes, he sent them against Eretria and Athens; enjoining them, when he dismissed them, to enthral those places, and to bring the bondsmen into his presence. These 95
newly-appointed generals departed from court; proceeded to the Aleian plain in Cilicia, bringing with them a numerous and well-equipped land-army; and there encamped: the whole of the naval armament, according to the subsidy imposed on each nation, came up, and joined them. The vessels for the conveyance of the horses likewise assembled there, which Darius had, the year before, commanded his tributaries to get ready. Shipping therefore the horses aboard these latter, and embarking the land-troops on board the vessels, they set sail with six hundred triremes for Ionia. From this place they avoided the course along the continent of Asia, straight to the Hellespont[234] and Thrace; but, taking their departure from Samos, shaped their course through the Icarian sea, and among the islands; in my opinion, principally because they dreaded the circumnavigation of Athos, as in the preceding year, when, attempting to proceed in that quarter, they had suffered a great discomfiture. Add to this, that Naxos, which had not before been captured, necessitated them *to follow their present course.* When, after 96
passing out of the Icarian sea, they were arrived at Naxos (for the Persians intended first to direct their arms against that island, being mindful of what had formerly taken place), the Naxians abode not their approach, but fled to the mountains: the Persians taking prisoners such of them as they could catch, fired both the sacred buildings and the city: having so done, they held on their course to the rest of the islands.

At the time the Persians were acting in the above manner, 97
the inhabitants of Delos followed the example of the other islanders, and, forsaking their country, fled to Tenos. But Datis, who was the head of the fleet, forbade the ships to anchor there; but commanded them to proceed over to Rhenea, opposite: being informed where the Delians were, he sent a herald, and addressed them thus. "Holy men! wherefore do 'ye fly, bearing harsh judgment of me, such as I deserve 'not? For this is not only my sentiment, but moreover the 'order of the King: I am not to ravage that land where the 'two gods[235] were born; neither the land itself, nor its in-'habitants. Return, therefore, now to your homes[236], and 'inhabit the island." The above proclamation he caused to

[234] ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἑλλισπόντου. See Matt. [235] *i. e.* Diana and Apollo.
[236] See Matt 466, 1

be made by a herald to the Delians; after which, he burnt on the altar a pile of three hundred talents of frankincense.
98 Datis, having performed this ceremony, steered with his troops first against Eretria, taking with him both the Ionians and Æolians. After he had quitted Delos, the island was shaken by an earthquake; this being the first and last time, down to my days, as the Delians represent. The divinity, no doubt, displayed to mankind this prodigy as an omen of forthcoming calamities; for, under the reigns of Darius son of Hystaspes, of Xerxes son of Darius, and of Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, during those three successive generations, more calamities befel Greece than in the twenty generations previous to Darius; some proceeding, on the one hand, from the Persians; others again from the chief men[237] of the country disputing for power: so that it was not without reason that Delos now trembled, having been until then immoveable. In an oracle respecting the island, it was thus written. "I will shake even Delos, immoveable though she be." In our language, the above proper names have the following meaning: Darius, "he who presses;" Xerxes, "a warrior;" Artaxerxes, "a great warrior." And the Helenes therefore might so call those kings, in their tongue, with accuracy.
99 When the barbarians had weighed, and departed from Delos, they touched at the islands, and there levied troops; taking the sons of the islanders as hostages. After sailing round to the islands, they touched at Carystus[238]; and as the Carystians would not give any hostages, and refused to bear arms against the neighbouring cities, meaning Eretria and Athens, they forthwith laid siege to the place, and plundered their land, till at last the Carystians also were obliged to surrender.
100 Meanwhile the Eretrians, understanding the Persian forces were sailing against them, entreated the Athenians to come to their assistance. The Athenians did not refuse aid; but gave them as auxiliaries the four thousand persons to whom the land of the Chalcidian knights had been allotted[239]. But there was no wholesome counsel among the Eretrians. they had sent for the Athenians, although they were divided in opinions; for one party advised forsaking the city, and going to the mountainous parts[240] of Eubœa; while the others, hoping to reap gain to themselves at the hands of the Persians, were preparing to betray their country. But

[237] Herodotus means the Peloponnesian war, of which he had seen the beginning. *Larcher.*

[238] A town of Eubœa.

[239] See c. 77, p. 41, n. 206, of vol. ii.

[240] These ἄκρα are taken by Larcher and Valckenaer as alluding to the Cœla of Eubœa.

Æschines son of Nothon, a man of rank[241] among the Eretrians, knowing the machinations of both parties, discovered to the Athenians who had arrived[242] the whole state of affairs; and also besought them to withdraw to their own country, lest they likewise should perish with the Eretrians: the Athenians followed the advice of Æschines, and, passing over to Oropus, saved themselves. In the mean time, the 101
Persians, continuing their course, touched with their fleet at Tamyna, Chœrea, and Ægilia[243], belonging to the territory of Eretria; and having taken possession of those places, forthwith landed their horses, and made ready to fall upon the enemy. But the Eretrians had no thought of sallying forth, and giving battle: their only care, now that the proposal to forsake the city had been overruled, was, if they could[244], to defend the walls. A violent attack on the ramparts ensuing, many on both sides fell, during six days; and on the seventh, Euphorbus the son of Alcimachus, and Philarchus the son of Cyneas, men of rank among the citizens, betrayed the town to the Persians; who, entering the place, not only spoiled and set fire to the sacred edifices, in retaliation of the temples burnt down at Sardis, but likewise took away the men as slaves, according to the orders of Darius[245].

Having reduced Eretria, the Persians awaited a few 102
days. they then proceeded to Attica, closely pressing the Athenians, and fancying that they should succeed with them as they had done with the Eretrians. As Marathon was the spot of Attica best adapted for cavalry, and the nearest to Eretria, Hippias the son of Pisistratus conducted them to that plain. The Athenians, informed of this, proceeded also 103
to Marathon, to repel their foes. they were headed by ten generals; the tenth of whom was Miltiades, to whose father, Cimon son of Stesagoras, the lot had fallen to be driven from Athens by Pisistratus the son of Hippocrates: when exiled, he had the good fortune to win the Olympic prize in the four-horse chariot-race; the same honour having previously been obtained by his maternal brother, Miltiades[246]. In the next following Olympiad, having obtained the same victory with the same steeds, he gave Pisi-

[241] See Matt. 438.
[242] See Matt. 504, 2.
[243] See Matt. 354, 6, *a*.
[244] *εἴ κως*, i. e *εἰ δύναιτο*. See p. 15, note 79, of this volume.
[245] See chap. 94.
[246] I take the construction to be, *καὶ (κατέλαβέ) μιν, ταύτην μὲν τὴν νίκην ἀνελόμενον, ἐξενείκασθαι τῶντὸ* (i. e. *τὸ αὐτὸ*) *τῷ ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδελφεῷ Μιλτιάδῃ*, see Matt. 386, 1. "And *it befel* him, winning this victory, to gain the same honour with his," &c. Larcher translates, "Although that victory belonged to him, he had transferred it to his maternal brother, Miltiades."

stratus the privilege of being proclaimed conqueror; and after giving up the victory to him, returned home, according to agreement: having gained once more the Olympic prize with the same horses, he was murdered[247] by the hands of the sons of Pisistratus; Pisistratus himself being no longer in existence. They compassed his death near the prytaneum, by means of placing some men to waylay[248] him by night. Cimon was buried in the front of the town, on the farthest side of the road called Dia Coiles: opposite were buried the horses who had won the three Olympic crowns. Other horses, it is true, have achieved the same thing; namely, those of Euagoras the Lacedæmonian; but, excepting those, none others. Stesagoras, the elder of the sons of Cimon[249], was accordingly at that time[250] educating near his uncle Miltiades, in the Chersonesus; while the younger, bearing the name of Miltiades, from Miltiades the founder of the Cher-
104 sonesus, was with Cimon himself at Athens[251]. This Miltiades accordingly, at the period we are describing, having come[252] from the Chersonesus, became one of the commanders of the Athenians, after escaping a two-fold death. for, in the first place[253], the Phœnicians, pursuing him as far as Imbros, were extremely desirous of seizing his person, and conveying him up to the King; in the second place, having escaped from his pursuers, and reached his own country, when he fancied himself in safety, his enemies there seized him, and, bringing him before the tribunal[254], prosecuted him for tyranny in the Chersonesus. But, having escaped these latter as well, he was at last appointed leader of the Athenians, having been elected by the people.

105 And first, while the generals were still in town, they despatched a herald to Sparta, one Pheidippes, an Athenian, and by profession a hemerodrome[255]: according to what Pheidippes himself asserted and reported to the Athenians, Pan met him near Mount Parthenion, above Tegea, and, calling to him by name, bade him ask the Athenians "where-"fore they shewed no respect to him, though he was well "inclined towards them, and had often been already of

[247] ἀποθανεῖν is to be taken passively. See Matt. 592, β. and p. 720.

[248] ὑποίσαντες. See Matt. 206, 3. 234, ἴω.

[249] See Matt. 392, 3. *obs.*

[250] That is to say, at the time of Cimon's murder.

[251] We have seen, at c. 39, how Miltiades succeeded his brother Stesagoras.

[252] See Matt. 727.

[253] ἅμα μὲν . . . ἅμα δὲ. See Viger, p. 300, note 54.

[254] ὑπὸ δικαστήριον. See Matt. 593, c. ἰδίωξαν τυραννίδος, see Matt. 346. See likewise 276.

[255] In other respects, *i. e.* by profession, a courier, and exercising that trade.

" service to them, and would be so hereafter[256]." Accordingly, the Athenians, seeing their affairs began to prosper, and believing this report to be true, erected beneath the acropolis a temple to Pan, and from that time[257] have propitiated him with yearly sacrifices and the torch-race[258]. Pheidippes, at this time, when, according to his own account 106
at least, Pan appeared to him, being sent by the generals, arrived at Sparta on the second[259] day from his departure from the city of Athens. on his arrival before the magistrates, he said, " Lacedæmonians, the Athenians implore you " to bear them help, and not to suffer the oldest city among " the Greeks to fall into bondage under barbarians. For " even now Eretria is enthralled, and Hellas is reft of one " renowned city[260]." Pheidippes therefore reported according to his orders. the Spartans resolved[261] to assist the Athenians; but it was out of their power to do so immediately[262], as they did not wish to violate the law: it was the ninth of the current month; and they declared they could not march out on the ninth, nor when the moon's circle was not full. The Spartans therefore waited for the full moon.

Hippias the son of Pisistratus was meanwhile leading the 107
way for the barbarians to Marathon: he had, the previous night, beheld the following vision in his sleep. He fancied he was lying with his own mother. He inferred therefore, from this dream, that, returning back to Athens and recovering the power, he should die at home, an old man: such was the conjecture he formed from his dream. At the present time, acting as general, he first made the prisoners from Eretria disembark on the island of the Styreans, called Ægilia; and then sent the vessels, as they arrived at Marathon, to safe moorings, and drew up the barbarians as they came on land: while thus busied, he happened to cough and sneeze more violently than he was wont. as he was rather in years[263], most of his teeth were loose; so that in the violence of his cough he cast out one of them. The tooth having fallen on the sand, he made every effort to find it; but as he could not see it, he fetched a sigh, and said to the by-standers,

[256] τὰ ἔπι, " hereafter;" so τὰ νῦν, " now." See Matt. 282.

[257] Literally, " from that report."

[258] A man, with a lighted torch in his hand, ran from the altar of the god, in whose honour this race was celebrated, up to a certain mark: if the torch of the first went out, he gave way to the second, who, if a similar accident befel himself, gave way to the third. Finally, if all the torches went out, the prize was adjudged to no one. *Larcher.*

[259] See Matt. 144. Bp. Blomfield's note, p. xl.

[260] Literally, " is become weaker by one renowned city." See Matt. 405.

[261] " It pleased them to," &c.

[262] See the foregoing note 256.

[263] See Matt. 457, 1.

" This land is not ours; nor shall we be able to subject it: " my tooth holds whatever portion of it belonged to me." Hippias accordingly conjectured his dream to be fulfilled, from this circumstance.

108 The Athenians drew up in the precinct of Hercules, and the Platæans arrived to join them with all their forces. For the Platæans had given themselves up to the Athenians; and the latter had already undergone many toils on their account. They made this surrender on the following occasion. Harassed by the Thebans, the Platæans at first wished to give themselves to Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides, and to the Lacedæmonians who happened to be on the spot: the latter, however, would not accept the offer, and addressed them thus: " We live at too great a distance[264]; and such an assistance " as we could afford you would be of little avail[265]; as you " might oftentimes be reduced to slavery ere any of us should " hear of it. We counsel you to deliver yourselves to the " Athenians; a nation situate near yourselves, and not unable " to defend you." This advice was given by the Lacedæmonians, not so much out of kindness to the Platæans, as with the design that the Athenians, being brought at variance with the Bœotians, might be subject to many labours. Such therefore was the counsel of the Lacedæmonians to the Platæans; and the latter did not neglect to avail themselves of it: at the time the Athenians were performing the ceremonies in honour of the twelve gods, they sat down as suppliants at the altar, and delivered themselves up. The Thebans, hearing of this, carried arms against the Platæans; and the Athenians marched to their assistance. The two parties being about to close in battle, the Corinthians, who happened to be present, interfered, and, being nominated umpires by each party, negociated an agreement, defining the land on the following terms; that the Thebans should leave undisturbed such of the Bœotians as were not willing to be ranked among the Bœotians[266]: the Corinthians, accordingly, after making this decision, went their ways. The Bœotians, however, fell upon the Athenians, as they were returning: they were worsted in the battle: and the Athenians then passing over the limits which the Corinthians had set[267] to the Platæans, fixed the Asopus and Hysiæ to be the boundary between the Thebans and Platæans. The Platæans, accordingly, had given themselves up to the Athe-

[264] See Matt. 457, 2.

[265] Literally, " and such an assistance would be cold to you."

[266] See Matt. 352, 2.

[267] ἵδρυσαν εἶναι. See Matt. 414, *b*.

nians in the manner I have described; and were come at this time to bear them assistance at Marathon.

Opinions were equally divided[268] among the Athenian ge- 109
nerals; some advising not to engage, "as they were too few[269] to close with the army of the Medes;" others, and Miltiades among them, advising to give battle. Opinions were thus equally divided; and the worse proposal was about to prevail, when Miltiades addressed himself to the polemarch. The person elected by ballot to be polemarch of the Athenians gives his vote the eleventh[270]; for the Athenians instituted, at an early period, that the polemarchs should have the same vote as the generals. At this time, Callimachus of Aphidnæ was polemarch: Miltiades therefore went to him, and spoke as follows: "On you, Callimachus, it now depends, "whether to enslave Athens, or, liberating your country, to "leave a memorial unto every age, such as not even Har- "modius and Aristogiton have left: for never, from the time "that the Athenians have existed, have they been in greater "danger. Supposing they should sink before the Mede, what "they will have to undergo, when abandoned to Hippias is "decreed! whereas, if this country get the upper hand, no "doubt but it will be the first of the Hellenic states. How, "then, this may be brought to pass, and in what manner the "decision of these matters in some manner depends on your- "self, I will now explain to you. Of us ten generals, the "opinions are equally divided; one party advising to engage "battle; the other not to engage. Supposing, therefore, "we do not give battle, I conjecture that some great division "arising will so shake the minds of some Athenians, as to "incline them towards the Medes; whereas, if we give battle, "and the gods deal even-handedly, ere any unmanly thought enter the minds of some of the Athenians, we shall, in all probability, gain the victory. All these things, therefore, belong 'now to you; and on you they depend: for if you accede to 'my proposal, your country will be free, and the first state of 'Hellas: but should you take up the advice of those that 'oppose giving battle, the contrary of the advantages I have 'enumerated will fall to your share." Miltiades, by this lan- 110
guage, drew over Callimachus to his side; and the polemarch's vote being added, it was determined to engage the foe. After which, the generals, whose opinion it had been to fight, when the command for the day fell to their turn, each gave

[268] ἰγίνοντο δίχα. See Matt. 604. See likewise 308.

[269] The positive for the comparative. See Matt. 448, *b*.

[270] The hyperbaton of the original has obliged me to depart from the general construction of the Greek.

it up to Miltiades: the latter accepted the transfer; but would not however fight, at least till the command *lawfully* fell to his turn.

111 When Miltiades' turn was come, the Athenians drew up in the following order, previous to engaging. Callimachus had the command of the right wing; as a law held in those days with the Athenians, that the polemarch should have the right wing. reckoning from the polemarch, the tribes succeeded in the line according to their numbers, the one adjoining to the other: lastly, the Platæans were posted to form the left wing. Indeed, since that battle, when the Athenians perform the sacred ceremonies and panegyriæ, which take place every five years, the Athenian herald begins his prayers by imploring "that all blessings may visit the Platæans, as well as the Athenians." At the period when the Athenians were drawn up near [271] Marathon, it happened, that their line being extended to equal that of the Medes, the centre had but few ranks in depth; and in that part the line was weakest; whereas

112 either wing was deeper and stronger. Their order of battle being thus formed, and the victims favourable, no sooner was the signal given[272] than the Athenians charged the barbarians in double-quick time[273]; the space between the two armies being not less than eight stades[274]. The Persians, seeing their opponents advancing to the charge, made ready to receive them: they accused the Athenians of being mad, and rushing to total destruction[275], when they saw their numbers were small, and they were running to the charge, though they had neither horse nor bowmen: such therefore were the ideas of the barbarians. But the Athenians, having come up in close order to the enemy, fought in a memorable manner. Indeed, they are the first of all the Hellenes, that we know of, who charged the enemy at a running pace; and the first that withstood the sight of the Medic garb, and troops so clad: till then the very name of the Medes[276] was a terror to the Hellenes.

113 The battle at Marathon lasted a long time: in the centre of the battle, where the Persians themselves and Sacæ were arrayed, the barbarians conquered; and, breaking the line of the Athenians in that part, pursued them in-land: but in both wings the Athenians and Platæans conquered, and suffered the routed portion of the barbarian line[277] to flee unmolested;

[271] See Matt. 577.
[272] Literally, "when the Athenians were sent on."
[273] See Matt. 404.
[274] See Matt. 304.
[275] ὁλεθρίην is an adjective, which must be construed with μανίην.
[276] See Matt. 307, *b*.
[277] See Matt. 442, 3.

while, forming the wings into one column, they marched against that part of the enemy which had broken their own centre; and those likewise the Athenians defeated. They followed up, cutting down the runaway Persians, till, coming to the shore, they called out for fire, and attacked the ships[278].

In this engagement[279] the polemarch Callimachus fell, 114
after fighting valiantly: among the generals, Stesilaus son of Thrasylaus was slain[280]. Cynægeirus the son of Euphorion, having laid hold of the stern[281] of a ship, had his hand chopped off with an adze, and went down, as did also many distinguished Athenians. In this manner the Athenians 115
possessed themselves of seven of the vessels: the barbarians backing oars[282] with the rest, and, taking the slaves made at Eretria from the island[283] where they had left them, proceeded to double Sunium, with the intention of getting the start of the Athenians in arriving at the city. The report went at Athens, that the enemy[284] formed that project by the contrivance of the Alcmæonidæ; and that these latter, according to agreement, held up a shield[285] to the Persians, when already aboard their fleet. The Medes, accordingly, sailed 116
round Sunium; and meanwhile the Athenians marched with

[278] Some movements of the two armies appear to have been omitted by the historian: for the Athenian centre retreating in-land, when the two wings formed into one body to go to their assistance, the Persian centre must have been placed between two columns of the enemy; the Athenian centre being in their van, and the two wings in their rear, between them and the sea. It is difficult to conceive, therefore, how the Persians could have retreated towards the shore, without cutting through the Platæans and the troops commanded by the polemarch. The plans that have been given, at different times, of the battle of Marathon, are of no use to solve the question.

[279] τοῦτο μὲν.. τοῦτο δὲ ... τοῦτο δὲ. Viger, p. 11, note 20.

[280] ἀπὸ δ' ἴθασι: so ἀπὸ μὲν ἴθασι, II. 39. Concerning the tmesis, see Matt. 594, 2.

[281] The ἄφλαστον was a part of the stern, composed of planks arranged upon their height, and bent. Flags and other ornaments, serving as distinctive marks, were hung upon this part of the ship, which appears to have served as a shelter-box for the helmsman Those who are curious in such matters may consult Eustathius's definition, quoted at full length by Damm. sub voc.

[282] I have followed Larcher's translation, "sans revirer de bord," because I see no reason to suppose that the vessels were drawn up with their sterns to the shore. The action of Cynægeirus proves, I think, nothing more than that the ships drew so little water, that the Athenians, when they attacked them, waded out as far as the sterns, so as to surround them. The depth of water along the shore of the plain of Marathon is not six feet, for the distance of a stone's throw from the land; a fact which the author of this translation ascertained by personal examination, some years since.

[283] Island of Ægilia. See ch. 107.

[284] Construction: αἰτίη ἴσχει αὐτοὺς (i. e. τοὺς βαρβάρους) ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐκπεπρῆχθαι (in an active sense) ταῦτα ἐκ μηχανῆς Ἄλκ. Concerning the synonymous forms, αἰτίη ἴσχει αὐτὸν, and αὐτὸς ἴσχει αἰτίην, see p. 37, note 187, of this volume.

[285] A signal that it was time for them to make the best of their way to attack the city.

all speed[286] to the relief of the city; and had the start of the barbarians in arriving there: and as they had come from the precinct of Hercules at Marathon, they posted themselves in another precinct of Hercules at Cynosarges. The barbarians, having *for a while* laid-to with their fleet off Phalerum—for that was in those times the harbour of the
117 Athenians—stood away for Asia. In this battle near Marathon about six thousand four hundred of the barbarians perished; and of the Athenians, one hundred and ninety-two: such were the numbers that fell on both sides. On the field, a prodigy took place: it was this: an Athenian, Epizelus[287] son of Cuphagoreus, while fighting in the medley, and behaving with valour, was reft of sight, having received no wound in any part of the body, whether from at hand or afar; and from that time he passed the rest of his life in blindness. I have heard that he was wont to give the following account[288] respecting this accident; that he fancied a gigantic heavy-armed soldier stood before him, whose beard shaded the whole of his buckler; that the phantom passed by him, and put to death the man standing at his side. Such was the account, I have been informed, that Epizelus used to give.

118 Datis, on his return together with the armament to Asia, having arrived at Myconus, beheld a vision in his sleep: what that vision was is not related; but as soon as day dawned, he caused a search to be made in the ships; and having found, aboard a Phœnician vessel, a gilt image of Apollo, he made inquiries from whence it had been taken: informed from what temple it came, he set sail with his own ship for Delos: and, as at that time the Delians were come back to their island, he deposited the image in the temple, and enjoined the islanders to convey it to Delium of the Thebans, a place standing on the sea-side, opposite Chalcis. Datis, accordingly, after giving the above commission, put to sea: the Delians, however, did not take back the statue; till, after a lapse of twenty years, the Thebans themselves, in
119 obedience to an oracle, took it to Delium. Datis and Artaphernes, when the fleet reached the shore of Asia, took up to Susa those of the Eretrians whom they had enslaved. Previously to the Eretrians being made prisoners, king Darius

[286] *ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον.* See Matt. 315, 1. *ἴφθησάν τι ἀπικόμενοι πρὸ ἢ τοὺς βαρβάρους,* &c. See Matt. 553.

[287] See Matt. 499.

[288] If Herodotus had meant that he heard the account from Epizelus's own lips, the verb *λέγειν* would have been in the participle. See Matt. 550. *obs.* 3.

cherished an implacable anger against them, as they had been the first to commence deeds of injustice; but when he saw them brought into his presence, and fallen under his power, he inflicted no further punishment upon them, but established them in the territory of Cissia, at a stathmus[289] of his own, the name of which is Ardericca[290], distant two hundred and ten stades from Susa, and forty from the well which furnishes three different sorts of substances: for they draw up from it, bitumen, salt, and oil, in the following manner. It is drawn up by means of a swipe[291]; to the end of which half a wine-skin is fastened, in place of a bucket: shaking this kind of bucket under the surface, a man draws up the substances, and then pours them into a reservoir; out of which being poured into another, it separates into the three forms: the bitumen and salt crystallize forthwith, and they collect into jugs the oil, which the Persians call rhadinace: it is black, and emits a strong smell. In this place king Darius established the Eretrians, who, down to my time, have remained in possession of that spot, preserving their ancient language. Such therefore were the events that happened to the Eretrians. After the full moon, two thousand of the Lacedæmo- 120
nians arrived at Athens; being so eager to engage the foe, that they reached Attica on the third day of their departure from Sparta. Having come too late for the battle, they still felt a desire of seeing the Medes; wherefore, proceeding to Marathon, they viewed *the field of battle*. Afterwards, having given praise to the Athenians and their achievement, they withdrew back again.

It is a subject of astonishment to me—indeed I do not cre- 121
dit the report—that the Alcmæonidæ should ever by agreement have held up a buckler to the Persians, from a wish that the Athenians should fall under the barbarians and Hippias; for it is evident, that family was more inimical, or at least equally so, to the tyrants, than Callias son of Phænippus and father of Hipponicus. Now Callias was the only one, of all the Athenians, who, at the time Pisistratus was driven out of Athens, durst purchase his property, when put

[289] See p. 27, note 133, of this volume.

[290] This is not the same place with the Ardericca mentioned in the first book. See the Geographical Index to Herodotus.

[291] See the first volume of this translation, Book III. c. 130. note 207. and Book II. c. 136. note 231. The swipe is a very simple machine, used for drawing water out of a well, consisting of a long pole or lever, fixed crosswise on the top of a post (like the beam of a balance) near the well: the bucket is fastened at one end of the lever, and the force is applied at the other. It has been correctly figured in the Lithographic Illustrations of Herodotus, prepared, I understand, by the Rev. T. V. Short, of Christ Church.

up to sale by the public crier[292], and devised all other most
122 hostile measures against him. This Callias is deserving of frequent mention by all[293]: in the first place, with respect to what has been mentioned above, as being a man ardent in his endeavours to free his native land: next, for what he performed at Olympia, where, having conquered in the horse-race, and come in second at the chariot-race, after previously winning the first prize in the Pythian games, he made himself conspicuous among all the Hellenes by his magnificent expenditure. lastly, and thirdly, with regard to his conduct towards his daughters, three in number: for when the girls were marriageable, he not only gave them a most magnificent portion, but likewise attended to their desires so much, that he gave each in marriage to him, of all the Athenians,
123 whom she herself chose to select. The Alcmæonidæ were equally, certainly not less, hostile to tyrants than himself: it is therefore a subject of wonder to me—nor do I believe the slander—that they indeed should have shewn up the buckler, who at all times avoided the tyrants, and by whose contrivance the Pisistratidæ gave up the tyranny. And thus, in my judgment, those persons were the liberators of Athens, far more than Harmodius and Aristogeiton; for the latter, by putting Hipparchus to death, exasperated the survivors of the Pisistratidæ, without any the more putting a period to the tyranny of the rest. Whereas the Alcmæonidæ evidently were the liberators; at least if it was they, in fact, who persuaded the Pythia to warn the Lacedæmonians to deliver
124 Athens; as it previously has been shewn by me[294]. But haply, *it may be said,* these persons, in consequence of having some grudge against the Athenian people, betrayed their country. There were not, however, any other individuals more respected, among the Athenians at least, than themselves, nor who were more honoured; so that neither will reason allow that the shield should have been held up by them from such a motive. Still the buckler was shewn; and that circumstance it is impossible to gainsay, for such was the fact: as to who it was that held it up, I have no further account to give, than the above.

125 The Alcmæonidæ were, even at an early period[295], men of distinction at Athens; but they became extremely illustrious through Alcmæon and Megacles. For, in the first place, Alcmæon the son of Megacles was a zealous coadjutor to

[292] I take δημοσίου to be an adjective; otherwise the translation will be, "by the commonwealth."

[293] Construction: πάντα τινὰ ἴχειν μνήμην Καλ τούτου ἐστὶ ἄξιον

[294] See v. 63, 66.

[295] See Matt. 282.

the Lydians who came from Crœsus at Sardis, to consult the oracle of Delphi, and did all he could to serve them: Crœsus, hearing from the Lydians who had been to the oracle, that he had done him services, sent for him to come to Sardis; and, on his arrival there, made him a present of as much gold as he might be able to bear away on his person. The gift being so expressed, Alcmæon adopted the following contrivance[296]. He put on a large robe, leaving in it a very long waist, and drew on the widest boots he could find; and so entered the treasury, to which he was conducted: there meeting with a heap of gold-dust, he first stuffed himself around the legs with as much gold as the boots would hold; and then filling his waist with the same, and sprinkling the hair of his head with the powder, and taking some more in his mouth, sallied out of the treasury, dragging along with difficulty his boots, and resembling any thing rather than a man: his mouth was stuffed up, and he was in every part swollen out. Crœsus, beholding him, burst into laughter; and gave him not only all those riches, but likewise presented him with no less a quantity in addition. Thus the family became extremely opulent; so that this Alcmæon, having applied to the training of chariot-horses, won the Olympic prize. In the second generation after, Clisthenes the tyrant 126
of Sicyon raised the family, so as to be far more renowned in Hellas than it had been before. For Clisthenes the son of Aristonymus, grandson of Myron, and great-grandson of Andreas, had a daughter, whose name was Agarista. He wished to determine who was the most accomplished of all the Hellenes, and to give that person his daughter for wife. At the time therefore the Olympic games were celebrating, in which Clisthenes had won the chariot-prize, he caused notice to be given by a herald, "that whosoever of the Greeks "considered himself worthy to be the son of Clisthenes "should, on the sixtieth day, if not before, come to Sicyon; as, "reckoning from the sixtieth day, Clisthenes had fixed the "marriage to take place at the year's end." In consequence, such of the Greeks as were proud either of their own persons or of their country came as suitors; and Clisthenes had prepared a list and palæstra to try them in[297]. From 127
Italy, accordingly, came Smindyrides son of Hippocrates, a native of Sybaris, who, of all men,[298] reached to the highest degree of luxury: (Sybaris at that time was greatly

[296] Schweighæuser gives the following translation, in his notes: *Ad donum illud* (sc. *accipiendum*) *tale inventum adtulit.* Schweig. Not.

[297] ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ, "for that purpose," alluding, I think, to the words higher up, Ἑλλήνων πάντων ἐξευρὼν τὸν ἄριστον.

[298] εἰς ἀνήρ. See Matt. 461, c

flourishing:) from the same quarter came Damasus of Siris, son of Amyris, called the Wise[299]. From the Ionian gulf came Amphinestus son of Epistrophus, an inhabitant of Epidamnum[300]. There likewise came an Ætolian, Males, the brother of that Titormus who surpassed all the Greeks in bodily strength, and who, fleeing mankind, had retired to the verge of the Ætolian territory. Out of the Peloponnesus came Leocedes, son of Pheidon tyrant of Argos; the same Pheidon who established measures among the Peloponnesians, and who was the most insolent of all the Hellenes; since, driving the agonothetes of the Eleans from their office, he himself sat as judge at the contests in Olympia[301]; Amiantus the son of Lycurgus, an Arcadian, from Trapezus; and Laphanes, an Azenian, from the town of Pæos, son of Euphorion, who, as the account goes in Arcadia, received in his house the Dioscuri, and from that time exercised the rites of hospitality towards all men; and from Elis, Onomastus the son of Agæus. The above therefore came from the Peloponnesus. From Athens came Megacles, the son of Alcmæon, the same who had visited the court of Crœsus; and another of the same town, Hippocleides son of Tisander, who surpassed the Athenians in beauty and wealth. From Eretria, which was at that time flourishing, came Lysanias; and he was the only one from Eubœa. From Thessaly came Diactorides, of the family of the Scopadæ, a Cranonian. From
128 the Molossi came Alcon. So many were the suitors. The above persons having come on the day appointed, Clisthenes in the first place informed himself of the country and family of each, and then, detaining them twelve months, made trial of their courage, temper, accomplishments, and morals; conversing with them each separately, and when assembled together, and taking the younger ones to the gymnasium: but he principally tried them when at the table; for, during the whole time he detained them, he acted as I have said, and at the same time entertained them most sumptuously. Of all the suitors, those that had come from Athens pleased him the most; and of the latter, Hippocleides was the greater favourite, both by reason of his valour, and because he was
129 distantly[302] related to the family of Cypselus in Corinth. When the day fixed on for the celebration of the wedding[303] was

[299] The text adds, "these came from Italy."

[300] The Greek adds, "he came from the Ionian gulf;" *i. e.* Adriatic sea.

[301] "*He was* accordingly the son of him."

[302] See p. 120, note 295, of this vol.

[303] κατάκλισις τοῦ γάμου is, properly, the act of placing the husband on the nuptial

come, and for Clisthenes to declare whom he elected of all the suitors, the prince sacrificed one hundred oxen, and feasted not only the suitors themselves, but likewise all the Sicyonians. When they had finished the repast, the suitors contended in music and conversation[304]; but as the potation advanced, Hippocleides, who attracted the attention of all present[305], ordered the flute-player to strike up a dance[306]: the flute-player obeying, he himself began to dance. He danced, no doubt, so as to please himself; but Clisthenes, who was one of the spectators, viewed the whole exhibition with an indignant eye. Hippocleides, having rested awhile, ordered an attendant to bring forward a table: when it was brought in, he in the first place danced some Laconian figures on it, and then some Attic figures; in the third place, standing on his head upon the table, he gesticulated with his legs. Clisthenes, when Hippocleides danced the two first times, felt disgusted at the idea of such a person's being his son-in-law, by reason of his immodest dancing[307]; still he withheld himself, not wishing to burst out against him: but when he beheld him gesticulating with his legs in the air, no longer able to restrain himself, he said, "Son of Tisander, of a truth you have danced away your wedding!" Hippocleides, in reply, said, "No matter to Hippocleides." And from hence the proverb took its rise[308]. Clisthenes, having commanded silence, spoke thus to the company: "Gentlemen, suitors of my daughter, "I give praise to you all; and all of you, were it possible, I "would gratify, not selecting one of you only, and so slighting the rest: but as it is not possible, since I have but one "daughter to provide for, to act according to the wishes of "you all, to such of you as shall depart unsuccessful from "these nuptials I will present one talent of silver to each, as "a compliment for his vouchsafing to seek an alliance with 130

nuptial bed, by the side of the bride; or that of taking a place on the sofa by her side at table. *Larcher*. The Greek expression, like the corresponding German one, *Beylager*, has not, it appears, the restricted sense of the English word, *Bedding*. Coray proposes to read *κατακρίσιος*.

[304] Or, taking *ἀμφὶ* in the sense of about or concerning, "Engaged in a dispute about music and the general topics of conversation." This is Larcher's interpretation, followed by Beloe.

[305] *κατίχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους*. I have followed Larcher's translation: 'qui attiroit l'attention, &c. *i. e.* occupying, *κατίχων*, the whole company with his own person." Coray: "qui dominoit sur toute la compagnie." Schweighæuser: "inhibens maxime cæteros" Schneider: "ubertreffend, &c. *far excelling the others*."

[306] The emmelia, the name of a dance and tune. It appears, from this passage of Herodotus, that it was an indecorous sort of dance: there was, however, an emmelia which was quite the contrary. See Larcher's note.

[307] An instance of the grammatical figure, *ἵν διὰ δυοῖν*.

[308] Lucian quotes the proverb, several different times.

" my family[309], and a remuneration for his absence from home:
" to Megacles son of Alcmæon I betroth my daughter
" Agarista, according to the Athenian laws." Megacles having declared that he accepted the offer, Clisthenes celebrated
131 the wedding. Thus did matters take place in respect of the decision among the suitors; and thus the Alcmæonidæ became renowned throughout Greece. From this marriage was born Clisthenes; the one who established the tribes[310] and a democratic constitution among the Athenians: he took his name from the tyrant of Sicyon, his grandfather by the mother's side: he and Hippocrates were the sons born to Megacles. Hippocrates begat another Megacles, and another Agarista, who took her name from Agarista, Clisthenes' daughter: she having married Xanthippus the son of Ariphron, and being with child, beheld a vision in her sleep, in which she fancied she was delivered of a lion; and after a few days she brought Xanthippus a son, Pericles.
132 After the defeat *of the Persians* at Marathon, Miltiades, although previously held in much esteem among the Athenians, increased still more in influence. He asked of the Athenians a fleet of seventy sail, together with troops and money, without discovering to them what country he intended invading; but declaring that he would enrich them if they would follow him, as he would lead them to such a land as they should easily be able to bring from it gold in abundance. So saying, he requested a fleet; and the Athenians, flattered
133 by those hopes, gave him what he asked. Miltiades, taking the troops, stood away for Paros, alleging, as a pretext, that the Parians had first commenced hostilities by accompanying the Persian army to Marathon with a trireme. Such was his pretended motive; but, in fact, he had a grudge against the Parians, on account of Lysagoras son of Tisias, a native of Paros, who had accused him to Hydarnes the Persian. Miltiades, having arrived with his troops at the place he was bound to, besieged the Parians, who were driven within their walls: then sending a herald into the place, he demanded one hundred talents; declaring, that unless they gave him that sum, he would not withdraw his army till he had stormed their town. The Parians did not even take it into consideration whether they should give any money[311] to Mil-

[309] Construction: εἵνεκα τῆς ἀξιώσιος γῆμαι ἐξ ἐμεῦ, i. e. ἐξ ἐμοῦ οἴκου, " to take a wife from my family."

[310] That is to say, increased the tribes to ten, and altered their names. See Book v. 69.

[311] See Matt. 531. οὐδὲν for οὔ. Matthiæ, in his reprint of Dr. Gaisford's edition, denies that τι ἀργυρίου is a Greek expression: he therefore reads ἀργύριον.

tiades; but did their endeavours to defend the city; and, among other devices which they used, wherever the wall was pregnable, it was raised during the night to double its former height[312]. Up to this point of the history, all the 134
Hellenes give the same account; but the Parians themselves state matters to have passed in the following manner. Miltiades being embarrassed, a captive woman, whose name was Timo, a native of Paros, came and conversed with him: she was an attendant in the temple of the infernal goddesses[313]. This woman, they say, having come into the presence of Miltiades, advised him, if he held it of much importance to take Paros, to act as she would suggest. She then made some suggestion; and Miltiades, going to the knoll situate before the town, leaped over the fence inclosing the temple of Ceres Thesmophorus, not being able to open the doors. Having leaped over, he went forward to the sacred building, with the intention of doing something or other in the inside, whether to move some of the things which it is not lawful to move, or to do something else, whatever it might be[314]. He was already at the doors, when suddenly, a thrill of horror coming upon him, he returned back by the same way he had come, and, leaping over the fence, dislocated his thigh; others say he hurt his knee. Miltiades, accordingly, being in this 135
sick state, sailed back, without bringing wealth to the Athenians, or reducing Paros, but having besieged the town six and twenty days, and ravaged the island. The Parians, understanding that Timo, the servant of the infernal deities, had acted as a guide to Miltiades, and wishing to be avenged on her for so doing, sent deputies to Delphi, as soon as they were relieved from the blockade. They sent them to inquire whether they should put to death the servant of the deities, for pointing out to the enemy the way of capturing her country, and discovering to Miltiades mysteries interdicted to the male sex. But the Pythia would not give her consent; saying, "that Timo was not to blame for that; but, as it was "fated Miltiades should end miserably, she had served him "as a guide to his misfortunes." Miltiades, being returned 136
from Paros, was in the mouths of all the Athenians, and particularly of Xanthippus the son of Ariphron, who accused

[312] Construction: τῇ μάλιστα (Matt. 290, b. 486, 2) ἐπάσσοισι ἔσησι (for ἦν) τοῦ τείχεος (μέρεος) ἐπείμαχον, τοῦτο (τὸ μέρεος τοῦ τείχεος) ἐξήρεστο, &c

[313] That is to say, Ceres and Proserpine. Schneider however takes χθόνιος, in this passage of Herodotus, to be equivalent to ἐγχώριος, "belonging to the country." *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Doct.*

[314] ὅτι δὴ, and ὅτι δή ποτε, equivalent to ὅ τι ἂν εἰη. See Matt. 483

him capitally[315] before the people, and prosecuted him for practising deceit upon the Athenians. Miltiades, though himself present, made no reply: in fact, he could not, as his thigh had begun to mortify; but, while he was stretched on his bed, his friends took up his defence for him, making repeated mention of the battle fought at Marathon, and the capture of Lemnos; that after taking Lemnos, and wreaking vengeance on the Pelasgi, he had given up the island to the Athenians. The people favoured the accused, as far as regarded his acquittal from capital punishment; but at the same time fined him fifty talents, for the harm he had brought upon the state: and Miltiades soon after died; the thigh being cariated, and full of gangrene. His son Cimon paid the fifty talents.

137 Miltiades the son of Cimon had possessed himself of Lemnos in the following manner. The Pelasgi, after they had been banished from Attica; whether justly or unjustly[316]—for on that question I have nothing to say further than is related by others: Hecatæus son of Hegesander states, in his histories, that it was "unjustly; for that when the Athe-"nians saw the lands at the foot of Hymettus, which they "had given the Pelasgi to inhabit[317], as a remuneration for "the wall they had formerly erected around the acropolis; "that when the Athenians," he says, "saw those lands, which "theretofore had been bad and nothing worth, were well "cultivated, jealousy, and a desire of possessing that tract, "seized them: and so, without alleging any other pretext, "they drove the Pelasgi away." But the Athenians themselves state, that "they acted according to justice in banish-"ing them: for that the Pelasgi, when established at the "foot of Hymettus, used to sally from thence, and commit "the following wicked deeds. As the daughters and sons of "the Athenians uniformly went to the Nine Heads, to fetch[318] "water, (as, at that period, neither they nor any others of "the Hellenes had any domestics,) whenever the young "women went thither, the Pelasgi would, with contempt and "insolence, offer violence to their persons. Nor were they "even contented with acting in that manner; but at last "were discovered in the very fact[319] of plotting an attack. "Still," as the Athenians go on to state, "they shewed them-

[315] *Θανάτου.* See Matt. 347. *obs.* 3. *ἀκάτης εἴνησιν*, 347. *obs.* 1. *ὑπὲ τὸν δῆμον*, 593, *c.* second paragraph.

[316] A parenthesis now follows down to the beginning of c. 138, concerning which the reader must not fail to consult Matt. 611.

[317] See Matt. 535.

[318] See Matt. 586, *c.*

[319] See p. 99, note 181, of this vol.

" selves better men than the Pelasgi; in so far that, when they " had an opportunity of cutting them off, since they had " caught them conspiring against them, they would not do " so[320], but warned them to withdraw from the land: the Pe- " lasgi, accordingly, retiring in that manner, took possession " of various places, and, among others, of Lemnos." The former account is that of Hecatæus; the latter that of the Athenians. These Pelasgi, who at the period I am now al- 138
luding to inhabited Lemnos, and were desirous of being avenged on the Athenians, being well acquainted with the festivals of the Athenians, stationed some penteconters[321] in ambush for the Athenian women, while celebrating the festival of Diana at Brauron; and from thence, carrying off a good number, stood out to sea therewith; and conveying them to Lemnos, had them as concubines. These women, having become pregnant, trained their sons in the Attic tongue and Athenian manners: the boys therefore would not mix with those born of the Pelasgian women, and, whenever one of them was struck by any of the latter, they would all rush to his help, and defend one another: moreover, the sons of the Athenian women sought to be masters over the other boys, and, in fact, had by far the upper hand. The Pelasgi, observing these circumstances, considered within themselves; and when they came to deliberate on the subject, fear possessed them of what those lads might do when grown to man's estate, seeing that they were resolved to assist each other against the sons of their lawful wives, and even now attempted to be masters over them. They therefore determined to massacre the sons of the Attic women. They accordingly did so; and included the mothers of the children in the slaughter. In consequence of this deed, and that committed by the women *of the island* previously to the above, when they murdered their husbands, together with Thoas, it has been a custom throughout Greece to call all barbarous actions, Lemnian. When the Pelasgi had mur- 139
dered their children and women, neither would the land produce any fruit to them, nor did their wives and flocks multiply as before. Pressed by famine, and the absence of posterity, they sent to Delphi, to request some deliverance from

[320] See Matt. 479. *obs.* 2.

[321] Ships of burden with fifty oars. Brauron was at no great distance from the shore of the Euripus. The Athenians, who were called Ἀθηναῖοι, did not give their women the name of Ἀθηναῖαι, because Homer calls Minerva Ἀθηναίη. Such was their superstition. They designated their women either by a periphrasis, as in this instance, τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας, or by the term ἄστραι, "female citizens," because Athens was called ἄστυ, or "the city," for distinction. *Larcher.*

their present evils. The Pythia bade them "make such retribution as the Athenians themselves might impose:" accordingly, the Pelasgi proceeded to Athens. The Athenians spread a couch[322] in the prytaneum, as sumptuously as they could, and, placing before it a table stored with all sorts of good things, bade the Pelasgi give up the land to them in that state. But the Pelasgi, in answer, said. "When, by a "north wind, a ship shall in one day come from your coun- "try to ours, then will we deliver the island up." This they said, thinking that such an event could not possibly come to pass; for Attica lies considerably to the south of Lemnos.
140 So much for the events that happened at that period. Very many years subsequently, when the Hellespontine Chersonesus was under the power of the Athenians, Miltiades son of Cimon, at the time the Etesian gales set in, with a ship stretched across from Elæus of the Chersonesus to Lemnos, and summoned the Pelasgi to retire from the island; calling to their mind the oracle[323], which they fancied could never be fulfilled. The people of Hephæstia, accordingly, obeyed the command; but the Mirinæi, denying that the Chersonesus was Attica, suffered themselves to be besieged, till at last they also yielded. Thus therefore did the Athenians and Miltiades possess themselves of Lemnos.

[322] The reader must recollect that the ancients reclined on couches, or sofas, at table.

[323] See Matt. 325. A speech of the kind related in the last chapter, though delivered by common persons, was frequently considered prophetic.

# BOOK VII.

# POLYMNIA.

## SUMMARY OF BOOK VII.

*DARIUS prepares for another expedition against Greece. Egypt meanwhile rebels; and the King dies, having previously appointed Xerxes his successor,* 1—4. *Xerxes, having ascended the throne, commences by subduing Egypt,* 7: *then, prompted by the advice of Mardonius, the Aleuadæ, and the Pisistratidæ,* 5, 6, *although dissuaded by Artabanus,* 10—19, *he prepares to invade Greece. Having made the due preparations,* 20—25, *Xerxes and his army enter upon their march, and cross the Hellespont by a bridge of boats,* 56. *The various tribes in the army are enumerated,* 61—99. *The march of Xerxes, and the nature of the countries he crosses, are described,* 108. *Several of the Grecian nations submit to his power: the partisans of freedom resolve to punish them, at the termination of the war,* 131. *On the arrival of the tidings, that Xerxes is on his march against Greece, the greatest firmness and courage is shewn by the Athenians,* 139: *according to the advice of an oracle,* 140—143, *they resolve to forsake their city, and to embark aboard the ships which Themistocles, with admirable foresight, had persuaded them some time before to build,* 144. *The Argives refuse to join the Greek confederacy,* 148—152. *Ambassadors are sent by the Greeks to Gelo, tyrant of Syracuse (whose origin and history are narrated,* 153—156), *in order to beseech his assistance. Gelo refusing to send any succours, unless the whole, or at least one half, of the command be given to him, the ambassadors withdraw, after a fruitless negociation,* 162: *nevertheless, Gelo sends a person into Greece, to watch the events of the war,* 163, *seq. The Sicilians give another reason for the refusal of assistance; to wit, the threatened invasion of their country by the Carthaginians, who, a little time after, did in effect make an inroad on Sicily, but were conquered by Gelo, and Theron of Agrigentum, about the same day that the Greeks defeated the Persians at Salamis,* 165—167. *Neither can any assistance be obtained, whether from the Corcyræans or Cretans,* 168—171. *The Greeks make choice of the pass of Thermopylæ, and the roadstead of Artemisium, to receive the invaders,* 175, *seq. The fleet of the barbarians is shattered by a dreadful storm off the coast of Magnesia, and the Greeks have some little success,* 177—195. *Xerxes marches, through Thessaly, to Thermopylæ: the situation of the countries is described,* 196—200. *A chosen handful of the Greeks* (202, *seq.*) *under Leonidas* (204, *seq.*) *keeps the enemy at bay for several days, until a path leading round the mountain is treacherously shewn to the Persians: the Greeks, thus surrounded, perish to a man on the field,* 210, *to the end.*

THE

# SEVENTH BOOK OF HERODOTUS.

## POLYMNIA.

ᴀғᴛᴇʀ the tidings of the battle fought near Marathon had 1
reached King Darius, son of Hystaspes, although previously
much exasperated[1] against the Athenians for their attack
on Sardis, he considered himself now far more grievously
insulted, and was the more eager to prosecute the war against
Hellas. Forthwith he sent ambassadors to the various cities
individually[2]; and proclaimed his orders to equip an army,
fixing the contingency of each nation much higher than what
had been before furnished, and to prepare ships, horses, corn,
and transports. These orders being proclaimed around,
Asia was thrown into agitation during[3] three years, while
the bravest men were being enlisted and equipped for a
campaign against Hellas. But, in the fourth year that the
Egyptians had been reduced by Cambyses, they seceded from
the Persians: Darius then became still more anxious to direct
his arms against both. As he was preparing for his expe- 2
ditions against Egypt and Athens, a violent feud arose be-
tween his sons, respecting the sovereign power. According
to the law of the Persians, the King must appoint a suc-
cessor before he enters upon war. Now, previous to the
accession of Darius, he had three sons born to him of his for-
mer wife, who was a daughter of Gobryas; and, subsequent
to his reign, four more, by Atossa, Cyrus's daughter. Artaba-
zanes, accordingly, was the first-born of the first family;
Xerxes, that of the second: these two, born of different
mothers, were rivals. Artabazanes contended that[4] he was
the oldest of all the children, and that[4] it was admitted by

[1] χαράσσειν, "to sharpen, to bring to a point:" hence, metaphorically, "to embitter, to exasperate." *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex*

[2] κατὰ πόλις. See Matt. 581.

[3] ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα. See Matt. 586.

[4] In the Greek, "because."

the laws of all nations that the eldest should succeed: Xerxes, on the other hand, arguing that he was the son of Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, and that it was Cyrus who had procured freedom to the Persians. Darius had not yet made known his decision, when about the same time[5] arrived at Susa, Demaratus son of Ariston, who had been reft of the kingly power at Sparta, and had in consequence imposed upon himself a voluntary exile from Lacedæmon. This individual, understanding what was the dispute between the sons of Darius, went, as report says[6], to Xerxes, and counselled him to add to the reasons he had already given, that 'he himself had been born to Darius when already king, and 'in possession of the empire of the Persians, whereas Arta-'bazanes was born to him when yet a private individual. it 'was not therefore either decorous or just, that any other 'person should receive the honour in preference[7] to himself. 'for at Sparta also (this Demaratus likewise suggested) the 'law stood thus: if children had been born previous to 'their father's accession, but another younger was born 'during his reign, the succession to the throne belonged to 'the one subsequently born." Xerxes having made use of Demaratus's suggestion, Darius allowed what he said to be just, and appointed him to the empire. It is nevertheless my opinion, that even had it not been of this suggestion Xerxes would have reigned; for Atossa had a complete ascendancy over Darius. Darius, having appointed Xerxes to succeed him on the Persian throne, was about to open the campaign: but soon after, and in the year following the revolt of Egypt, it came to pass that Darius himself, in the midst of his preparations, died; having reigned not more than[8] six and thirty years: it was not therefore granted to this prince to complete his design of taking vengeance either on the Egyptians or Athenians. On the decease of the King, the crown descended to his son Xerxes.

Xerxes, accordingly, was not, at first, at all inclined to direct his arms against Hellas, but caused levies of troops to be made, to march against Egypt. But Mardonius son of Gobryas, and the cousin of Xerxes, as he was born of Darius's sister, being at court, and having the greatest influence of

[5] κατὰ τὠυτὸ τούτοισι, "about the same *period* as these events were taking place" κατὰ τὠυτὸ is equivalent to κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον See Matt. 386.

[6] ὡς ἡ φάτις μιν ἴσχει, "as report goes of him." I have explained a similar form of speech at p 37, note 187, of this volume.

[7] See Matt. 585.

[8] There is in the Greek, τὰ πάντα, which Matthiæ translates "in all;" 268 I think Schweighæuser's explanation is much better; which the reader may see under the word πᾶς, 3, in the Lex. Herod.

any of the Persians with him, was constantly holding to him discourses of this kind; saying[9]. "My lord and master[10], it "is not right that the Athenians, having already wrought "much mischief to the Persians, should escape[11] giving satis- "faction for what they have done. Do you now[12] complete "what you have on your hands; but, after quelling the inso- "lence of Egypt, lead your troops against Athens, to the end "that a good name among men may be your share, and that "hereafter all[13] may beware of carrying arms against your "land." This discourse he held for the purpose of stimulating the King to revenge; but then he would insert in it the following observation, that "Europe was a most fair country, "and bore all kinds of fruit-trees, excellent in quality, and "deserving to be possessed by the King alone, of all mortals." Mardonius held this language, as one anxious for new adventures, and desirous of being himself viceroy of Hellas: in time he effected his purpose, and prevailed upon Xerxes to[14] do so; for other circumstances co-operative to his views contributed towards persuading Xerxes[15]. On one hand, ambassadors coming from Thessaly, and despatched by the Aleuadæ, called upon the King to attack Hellas, promising all assistance[16]: these Aleuadæ were kings of Thessaly. On the other hand, the Pisistratidæ who had gone up to Susa not only used[17] the same arguments as the Aleuadæ, but obtained likewise still more influence[18] over the King, by having in their company Onomacritus, a native of Athens, a divine, and a retailer of the oracles of Musæus. This individual and the Pisistratidæ had conciliated their differences before they proceeded up to the capital: for Onomacritus had been banished from Athens by Hipparchus the son of Pisistratus; having been detected by Lasus the son of Hermione in the very fact[19] of foisting among the oracles of Musæus the

[9] ἴχεσθαι τινὸς signifies "aliquid magno studio persequi, non remittere a re" Viger, p. 201, second column of the note. Schweighæuser's translation is, "talem exorsus est sermonem:" for ἴχεσθαι τινὸς signifies also, "to begin upon any thing." See Viger, as quoted above.

[10] I have wished to convey the force of the Greek δεσπότης, which means, "a master and owner of slaves."

[11] μὴ οὐ δοῦναι. See Matt. 601, *a*.

[12] τὸ νῦν. See Matt. 262.

[13] τις. See Matt. 487, 2.

[14] See Matt. 531. *obs.* 2.

[15] Construction: καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα συνίλαβέ οἱ, σύμμαχα (αὐτῷ) γινόμενα ἐς τὸ πείθεσθαι Ξέρξεα. The phrase συλλαμβάνειν τινί τινος signifies, "to lend a hand to any one in any thing." *Schweig. Lex. Herod. Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.*

[16] Or more literally, "shewing all eagerness *in the cause*."

[17] See above, note 9.

[18] See Matt. 394, *b*. I have adopted Schneider's translation: "naherten sich ihm mehr, und gewonnen ihn." Perhaps the meaning is nothing more than "urged, pressed him." See Schweig. Not. et Lex. Herod.

[19] ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ. Viger, p 6, IX. ὡς αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνου, &c. See Matt. 529, 2.

following prophecy, "that the islands lying off Lemnos would disappear beneath the sea." For this reason Hipparchus banished him, though previously his most intimate friend. But at the period we are speaking of, he accompanied the Pisistratidæ in their visit to the capital: whenever[20] he went into the presence of the King, he, as the Pisistratidæ, speaking of him in terms of respect and honour, recited some of the oracles[21] to Xerxes: if there was found in them any one predicting damage to the barbarians, he said nothing of it; but reciting those which foretold the most prosperous events, he said, that the Hellespont was to be yoked with a bridge under some man of Persia; thus pointing out what road was to be taken[22]. Accordingly, Onomacritus, by rehearsing oracles, and both the Pisistratidæ and Aluadæ by
7 expounding their counsels, persuaded Xerxes. When Xerxes had been prevailed upon to carry his arms against Hellas, he then, in the second year after the decease of Darius, first led his army against the rebels; and accordingly, having reduced them, and abridged the liberties of all Egypt far more than they were under Darius, he turned the country over to Achæmenes, his own brother, and son to Darius. Some time after, Inaros the son of Psammitichus, a native of Libya, slew this Achæmenes, who was placed at the head of affairs in Egypt[23].

8 After the reduction of Egypt, Xerxes, being desirous of taking in hand the expedition against Athens, caused an assembly of the highest among the Persians to be called, in order to ascertain their opinions, and himself to say to all of
1 them what he chose. When they were gathered together, Xerxes thus addressed them: "Men of Persia![24] it will not "be myself that introduce among you this practice: I shall "but follow that which I have received from my forefathers: "for, as I hear from men older than myself, never yet was "the time that we have remained in sloth, since we took to "ourselves the empire from the Medes, when Cyrus over-"threw Astyages: but so does the deity guide us; and fol-"lowing him, great is the prosperity that befals us. The "deeds that Cyrus, and Cambyses, and my father Darius "have therefore achieved, and the nations they have added "to their realm, no one need remind you of; those you are

[20] See Matt. 521.

[21] See Matt. 356.

[22] Larcher translates these last words, "en parlant du passage de son armée en Grèce—*speaking of the passage of his army into Greece.*"

[23] See iii. chap. 12.

[24] This speech of Xerxes has been put into Attic Greek by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The translation is in the Appendix to Schweig. Lex. Herod.

" well acquainted with. For my part, from the time that I
" ascended the throne, I have had this at heart, not to be, in
" such glory, behind those born before me, nor add less power
" to the Persian dominion. I have thought, and have dis-
" covered, how, while procuring additional renown to our-
" selves, we may possess ourselves of a land not less exten-
" sive than our present, nor less advantageous, yea, more
" fruitful; and, at the same time, obtain vengeance and
" satisfaction. I have therefore now convoked you, in order
" that I may communicate to you what I meditate doing.
" I propose to throw a bridge over the Hellespont, and march 2
" my army over Europe against Hellas; thus to be avenged
" of the Athenians for all they have done to the Persians
" and to my father. You have seen, erewhile, Darius likewise
" levying war against those people: but he is dead; it fell
" not to his share to be avenged: I, however, both on his
" account and that of the Persians, will not stop till such time
" as I seize and fire Athens, the city of those men who began
" insulting deeds against me and my father: first, coming to
" Sardis with Aristagoras of Miletus, our slave, they on their
" arrival set fire both to the sacred groves and buildings:
" again, what mischiefs they wrought to us on our entrance
" into their land, when Datis and Artaphernes led the troops,
" you all must know. Such then are the motives for which I am 1
" resolved to carry war against them: and when I reflect, I
" discern the following advantages, if we reduce them and
" their neighbours, who hold the land of the Phrygian Pe-
" lops[25]. We shall give to the realm of Persia, Jove's sky for
" bounds; for then the sun will look down upon no land bor-
" dering ours; and with your assistance I will make but one
" empire of all, marching across the whole of Europe. For I
" understand, that when we shall have reduced those that I have
" mentioned, there will remain no city of men, no nation of
" mortals, that will be able to meet us in battle: and thus, on
" those guilty towards us, and on the guiltless too, the yoke
" of thraldom shall be placed. By acting as I am about to
" tell you, you will gratify me: when I shall have appointed
" the time for you to come, it will behove each and all of
" you to hasten eagerly to the muster. He who shall come
" with the army fairest equipped, to him I will give the
" gifts that are deemed the most honourable in our coun-

[25] The Peloponnesus. Xerxes uses this expression in order to give his hearers to understand, that Pelops being a Phrygian, and consequently a slave of the Persians, (see chap. 11.) the country where he afterwards governed belonged of right to him, who was the master of the conqueror. *Larcher.*

" try[26]: thus therefore let things be done. But, in order that " I may not appear to you self-willed, I subject the matter to " debate, and request him that chooses among you to make " known his opinion." So saying, Xerxes finished his address.

After him Mardonius spoke: " My lord and master, not " only are you the greatest of the Persians hitherto born, " but even of those to be; for you have touched on[27] various " subjects with admirable acumen and truth: and what is " more, will not brook that the Ionians[28] dwelling in Europe " should mock us[29], worthless as they are; for it were " indeed intolerable that we should have subjected, and " should hold in thraldom, the Sacæ and the Indians, the " Ethiopians and the Assyrians, and other nations many and " great[30]—not that they had dealt unjustly by the Persians, " but because we wished to enlarge our dominion; and yet " should not wreak vengeance on the Hellenes, when they " have commenced deeds of injustice. And what have we " to fear? What congregation of multitudes? What power " of wealth? We know their mode of battle: we know their " power, that it is weak: we have already reduced their " sons, those that dwell within our land, and are called " Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians. I myself have marched " against these same men, and already made trial of them, " in obedience to the commands of your sire and my brother, " Darius: and though I led my army as far as Macedonia, " and was within a short distance of reaching Athens itself[31], " no one came forward to meet me in the field. And yet, " as I am informed, these very men are wont to undertake " wars most improvidently, guided by obstinacy and folly: " for when they have proclaimed war against each other, " they search for the fairest and smoothest plain, and there, " going down, fight; so that the conquerors do not come off " without great loss: of the conquered I say nothing at all[32]; " for they are completely annihilated. As they all speak the " same language, it would become them to make use of he- " ralds and ambassadors, and so arrange their differences; " indeed by any mode rather than by battle: still, must " they at all events war the one against the other, it would

[26] ἐν ἡμιστίχιον. The ellipsis is not easy to supply: see Schweig. Not. The meaning, however, is very evident, both here and in 1. 35; being equivalent to ἐν ἡμιστίχιῳ εἴπῃ, or παρ' ἡμῖν.

[27] λίγων ἐπινίσσεσθαι, " to touch upon in speaking." *Schw. Lex. Herod.*

[28] That is to say, the Hellenes.

[29] ἡμῖν. See Matt. 394. *obs.* 2; and 376 *obs.* 2.

[30] πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα. See Matt. 444, 4.

[31] See Matt. 531.

[32] Concerning ἀρχὴν and τὴν ἀρχὴν, as adverbs, see Herman on Viger, note 67.

" behove both parties to choose some spot where each would
" be most difficult to conquer, and there try the fortune of
' arms. Although the Hellenes adopt this savage mode of
" warfare, yet, when I led my troops into Macedonia, they
" never proceeded so far[34] as to offer battle. Will then any 3
" one, Sire, dare to oppose you in battle, who lead forth
" the multitudes of Asia, and all her ships? I myself think
" that the Hellenes will not reach to such a pitch of audacity.
" But even should I be mistaken in my opinion, and they,
" elated by folly, should come to battle with us, they will
" surely learn that we are the first of men in matters of war.
" Therefore, let nothing remain untried; for nothing accom-
" plishes itself, and all things are wont to be obtained by
" men through exertions." Mardonius, having in this man-
ner given a polish[35] to the arguments of Xerxes, ceased to
speak.

The rest of the Persians were silent, and durst not bring 10
forward an opinion opposite to that proposed: but Artaba-
nus son of Hystaspes, uncle to Xerxes, and by that reason
having more confidence, spoke as follows " Sire, when 1
" opposite opinions are not produced, it is impossible to
" elect the best, and it then becomes necessary to abide by
" that proposed; not so when different views are brought
" forward. So it is with unalloyed gold; we cannot dis-
" tinguish it by itself; but when we have rubbed[36] it on the
" touch-stone, by the side of other gold, we discover which
" is the better. It was I that[37] advised your father and my
" brother, Darius, not to carry arms against the Scythians,
" men who have no cities in any part of their territory. but
" he, cherishing the hope of subduing those pastors, heeded
" not my counsel. he proceeded on the expedition, and re-
" turned after losing many valiant[38] men of his army. But
" you, my liege, are about to carry war against men far

[34] ἐς τοῦτου λόγον. The meaning of this phrase has been explained in the First Volume of this work, Book III. note 164.

[35] Or, according to Schneider, "rendered more clear, illustrated;" an explanation which agrees equally well with the direct meaning of the word, "to polish, to make bright." *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.*

[36] Construction: τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον ἐπειὰν παρατρίψωμεν (ἐπὶ τὴν βάσανον) ἄλλῳ χρυσῷ: in which, παρατρίβειν is to be taken in the sense of "to rub by the side of:" so Hesiod (quoted by Schneider), ἐς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατριβόμενός τι μολίβδῳ χρυσὸς ἀτρεφθες ἐὼν καλὸς ἄπασιν ἴσῃ, "brought to the touch-stone, and rubbed by the side of lead, pure gold will shew its worth to all." This passage, I think, completely establishes the accuracy of Schweighæuser's interpretation; which has been followed by Schneider. "Gold neben Gold auf dem Probierstiene gestrichen vergleicht und erforscht man."

[37] See iv. 83.

[38] πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς. See Matt. 444, 4.

" more brave than the Scythians; men who are reported to
" be most valiant both by sea and by land. It is right I should
" inform you of the danger that we [39] are to apprehend *in so*
2 " *doing*. You say that you will join the shores of the Helles-
" pont, and march your army over Europe into Hellas. It
" may then come to pass, that we shall be conquered either
" by land or by sea, or even by both; for these men are said
" to be valiant. indeed, that may be inferred, since the Athe-
" nians alone destroyed so mighty an army, which, led by
" Datis and Artaphernes, invaded the Attic land. But grant
" that they succeeded not in both [40]; still, should they man
" their ships, and, beating us at sea, stand for the Helles-
" pont, and there break the bridge, that were surely, Sire, a
3 " danger to be dreaded. I do not myself hazard this conjec-
" ture on my own prudence. but how near were we suffering
" that calamity, when your father, after joining the shores of
" the Thracian Bosphorus, and laying a bridge across the
" Ister, passed over into Scythia [41]! Then the Scythians
" used every entreaty to induce the Ionians to unmoor the
" bridge, to whom the guard of the pass over the Ister was
" entrusted: and, at that time, had Histiæus of Miletus but
" followed the advice of the other tyrants, instead of oppos-
" ing it, the affairs of the Persians would have been ruined;
" and surely it is a dreadful thing even to hear that the exist-
" ence of the King and state shall depend but on one man!
4 " Forbear, therefore, to expose yourself to such danger,
" when there is no necessity: rather lend an ear to me. For
" the present, dismiss this assembly: contemplate within
" yourself: adopt what resolution you think the most expe-
" dient; and then propose it to us: for I know that to take
" good counsel is a gain. For if ought then happens con-
" trary to one's hopes, still was the counsel good, but pru-
" dence is defeated by fortune: whereas, he who takes bad
" counsel, should fortune favour him, will have found but a
5 " windfall: still has he taken evil counsel. See how the divi-
" nity smites with his thunder the tallest animals, nor suffers
" them to cherish pride [42], whereas the small ones excite not

[39] τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι (for ἡμῖν) ἵστασι δεινόν. "Quid vero nobis timendum insit (*in tuo consilio*). *Schweig. Lex. Herod.* αὐτὸς, 3. See Matt. 489, II. note.

[40] Equivalent to εἰ οὖν οὐκ ἀμφοτέρῃ (i. e. κατ' ἀμφότερα) σφι ἐχώρησε, or χωρήσει: see Schweig. Not.

[41] A. Matthiæ suppresses the note of admiration, and gives the following construction: οὐδεμιῇ σοφίῃ εἰκηῖῃ αὐτὸς συμβάλλομαι ταῦτα, ἀλλ' (ἐξ ἐκείνου or ἐκείνῳ) οἷόν ποτε . . . . πάθος, a construction of which he gives some instances in his Greek Gramm. 474, *b*. See Matthiæ's reprint of Gaisford's Herod. II. p. 294.

[42] Larcher, adopting the more usual acceptation of φαντάζεσθαι, translates, "les fait disparoître, *makes them disappear*." The usual meaning given to the verb in this passage agrees better with the context.

" his jealousy! See how he always hurls his bolts against
" the loftiest buildings and loftiest[43] trees? In truth, the
" divinity loves to abash[44] that which rises too high. And
" thus, too, is a mighty army *at times* therefore destroyed by
" a small body; when the divinity, jealous of them[45], casts
" either terror or blindness[46] in their ranks, whereby they
" perish[47] in a manner unworthy of themselves: for the divi-
" nity allows none other than himself to harbour lofty
" thoughts. Again, to hasten any matter begets errors, from 6
" which is wont to come great disgrace; whereas in delay
" lie advantages, which, although not immediately apparent,
" still may be discovered in time. Such then, my lord, is the
" advice I propose to you. And you, son of Gobryas, Mar- 7
" donius, forbear to hold false language concerning the Hel-
" lenes, who deserve not to be treated with words of con-
" tempt[48]. For by slandering the Hellenes, you urge the King
" himself to head the troops: and to that end, methinks, all
" your efforts tend. Heaven send it may not so come to
" pass! For slander is the direst of ills: in the case of slan-
" der, there are two that injure, and but one that is injured:
" for the slanderer commits a crime, by accusing him that is
" not present; and so likewise does he who believes the ca-
" lumny ere he has taken due information: while the ab-
" sent person, when the accusation is made, thus receives an
" injury at the hands of both; being slandered by the one,
" and by the other judged to be bad. But if, at all events, it 8
" needs must be that war should be waged against these
" men, go to; let the King himself abide in the realm of Per-
" sia; let us both stake our children; and do you head the
" expedition, selecting what men you like, and taking such
" a body as you choose: then, if affairs succeed to the King
" as[49] you say, let my sons be put to death, and me also with
" them; but if the event turns as I foretell, let your own suffer
" the same, and yourself with them, if indeed you ever return.

[43] Ἴνδεια τὰ τοιαῦτα, " trees of that sort," *arbores ejusmodi*; that is to say, the loftiest, since he has just spoken of the loftiest buildings. *Larcher.*

[44] In the Greek, " to cut off."

[45] See the First Volume of this translation, Book III. note 63.

[46] Larcher takes βροντὴ, in this passage, to be synonymous with ἐμβροντησία, the direct signification of which is, " the stunning produced by a clap of thunder;" and is thence taken metaphorically for " stupidity, blindness of the intellect, (aveuglement.)" Schweighæuser approves, I think, the interpretation: see his Lex. Herod. βροντὴ.

[47] The verb ἐφθάρησαν, in the *aorist* (like some others higher up in this speech), expresses what is *wont to happen*; that is to say, what *has often happened*, and likewise *will happen again*: as is frequent with the Greeks, in general sentences and in proverbs. *Schweig. Not.*

[48] " Male audite." Viger, p. 175.

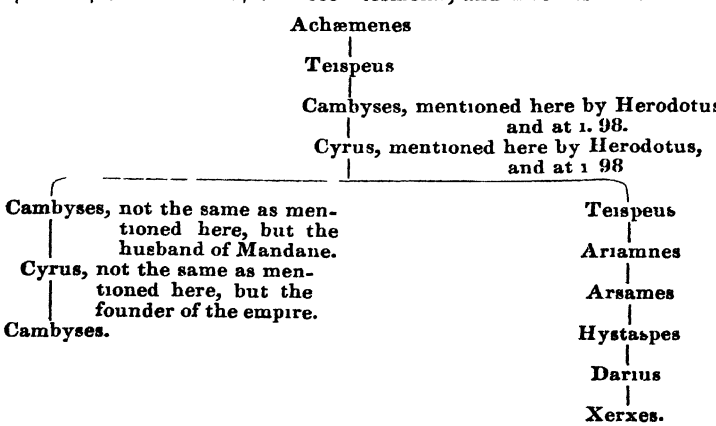
[49] See Matt. 486, 2, *c.*

" If you determine not to accept the condition, but still wish,
" at all events, to lead an army against Hellas, I forebode
" that some of the men left in this country will hear that
" Mardonius has wrought great evils to the Persians, and,
" either on the lands of the Athenians or those of the Lace-
" dæmonians, if not indeed nearer home, on his way, has been
" devoured by hounds and birds, after learning[50] against what
11 " men you now persuade the King to wage war." So spake
Artabanus; and Xerxes, inflamed with anger, made reply in
these words: "Artabanus, you are my father's brother; that
" shall save you from receiving[51] the reward fitting your
" vain words. But still will I inflict this disgrace on you,
" vile and cowardly man that you are: you shall not join me
" in the expedition against Hellas, but shall here abide with
" the women; and without your help I will bring to an end
" what I have promised: for I were not the descendant of
" Darius, and Hystaspes, and Arsames, and Ariamnes, and
" Teispeus, and Cyrus, and Cambyses[52], and Teispeus, and
" Achæmenes, did I not hurl vengeance on the Athenians!
" knowing full well, that if we remain quiet, so will not they,
" but that they surely will bring war into our own territory,
" if one may judge from what has been already done by

[50] Larcher refers γνόντα to τινα, "some one of those that will have remained here, knowing the valour of the people against whom thou persuadest the King to carry war, will hear," &c. Schweighæuser refers the participle to Μαρδόνιον: see his Vers. Lat.

[51] ῥύσεται μηδένα . . . λαβεῖν. See Matt. 533. *obs.* 3, 3.

[52] The Cyrus mentioned by Xerxes was not the same with the founder of the Persian empire; neither is Cambyses the same with the leader of the Egyptian expedition, lib. III. Larcher gives the following genealogical table, from Paulmier de Grentesmenil, and Thomas Gale.



" these people, who fired Sardis, and marched their forces
" into Asia. Hence it is no longer possible[53] for either party
" to retrace his steps; but the list lies before us, in which we
" must either win or lose[54]: either all these lands must pass
" under the dominion of the Hellenes, or all theirs under
" that of the Persians; for there remains no middle path in
" this enmity[55]. It is therefore honourable, that, having been
" the first aggrieved, we should take vengeance on them,
" were it only that I might know that dreadful danger to
' which I shall be exposed in leading my troops against
" those men,—the very same that Pelops the Phrygian, who
" was but a slave of my forefathers, so completely subdued,
" that, even to this day, they and their country are called
" after the name of the conqueror."

Such were the speeches made so far afterwards, when 12
the day closed, the advice of Artabanus began to trouble Xerxes; and having meditated during the night[56], he found it was not absolutely necessary he should direct his arms against Hellas: having thus formed a new resolution, he fell asleep, but during the night, it seems, he beheld the following vision, as it is related by the Persians. Xerxes fancied he saw a tall and well-formed man standing over him, and saying: " You have then, king of Persia, formed another re-
" solution, not to lead your host against the Hellenes, although
" you have forewarned the Persians to levy troops. by re-
" tracting your determination, neither do you act well, nor
" is there any one[57] that will approve your conduct. No:
" proceed on that path as you had determined to do during
" the day." Having so spoken, the man appeared to Xerxes
to fly away. But when day broke, the prince took no ac- 13
count of this dream: on the contrary, assembling the same Persians whom he had before convened, he addressed them in these words: " Men of Persia! bear with me if I retract
" my determination; for I have not yet attained to that de-
" gree of prudence to which I aspire[58], neither are those
" persons at any time absent from me who excite me to this
" undertaking. When therefore I heard the counsel of Arta-
" banus, my youth forthwith influenced me against him in
" such a manner, that I threw out expressions more indecorous

[53] δυνατῶς ἴσχει, i. e. δυνατόν ἐστι. See Matt 604. 2d paragraph.

[54] Construction: ἀλλὰ ἀγὼν προκέ-ισται (the necessity awaits us) ποιέειν ἢ παθέειν, ἵνα ἢ τάδε, &c.

[55] That is to say, ' Peace can never be made: either they or we must be slaves.' Concerning μίσος governing the genitive, see Matt. 331. *obs.* 8th paragraph.

[56] Construction: νυκτὶ (Matt. 405, *a.*) βουλὴν διδοὺς (ἑωυτῷ)

[57] πάρα for πάρεστι. Matt. 594, 2

[58] Construction: οὔκω ἀνήκω ἐς τὰ πρῶτα φρενῶν ἐμεωυτοῦ

" than were meet against so old a man. Now, however, con-
" vinced of my fault, I shall adopt his opinion: since, there-
" fore, I have altered my resolve with respect to carrying
" war against Hellas, do you remain undisturbed." The
Persians, when they heard this speech, being filled with joy,
14 fell down before the prince, and did homage. But, when
night fell, the same vision stood over Xerxes while asleep,
and said to him: " Son of Darius! you have then openly
" abandoned among the Persians the expedition, holding my
" words of no account, as though you had not heard them
" from any one. Now bear this well in mind: unless you
" undertake forthwith the expedition, the following shall in
" consequence befal you: as you have become great and
" potent in little time, with equal swiftness shall you again
15 " become miserable." Xerxes, struck with terror at the
vision, lept out of bed, and sent a messenger to call Arta-
banus. When the latter was come, Xerxes spoke to him in
these words: " Artabanus, at the first I acted imprudently,
" giving you insulting language for your useful advice:
" however, after no long time I repented, and was convinced
" that what you suggested ought to be done by me. I may
" not however do so, though such is my wish: for since I
" have changed, and have altered my opinion, a vision re-
" peatedly presents itself to my view, wholly disapproving
" of my so doing; and even but now, after threatening me,
" has departed. If then it is the divinity who sends me this
" vision, and it is so much his pleasure that an expedition
" should be sent against Hellas, the same will likewise flit
" before you, giving the same commands as to me. I con-
" ceive that this will come to pass, if you take and put on all
" my apparel, and afterwards sit down on my throne, and
16 " then lie down to sleep in my bed." So spoke Xerxes. and
Artabanus, who would not yield to the first command[59],
thinking himself not worthy to sit on the throne, at last,
being necessitated so to do, acted according to the order,
1 after speaking thus: " My liege, I am of opinion that it is
" the same whether to think properly, or to hearken willingly
" to such as give useful advice: although you possess both
" those qualities, the conversation of the wicked leads you
" astray[60]: thus, it is said, the blasts of wind descending on

[59] Construction: *οὐ πρώτῳ (γενομένῳ) οἱ* (i. e. *Ἀρταβάνῳ*) *πειθόμενος. Schweig. Not.*

[60] Or perhaps, " both which qualities attaching to thee the conversation of the bad, make of uncertain avail;" *τὰ καὶ ἀμφότερα* being governed by *σφάλλουσι*, and *περιήκοντα*, in the sense of " belonging to," governing *σε*. I take *περιήκοντα* to be the accusative masculine singular, agreeing with *σε* in the signification of " possessing," *ὁμιλίαι ἀνθρώπων κακῶν σφάλλουσί σε περιήκοντα ταῦτα ἀμφότερα.*

" on the sea, which of all things is the most useful to man-
" kind, hinder it from following its nature[61]. My grief at
" hearing your reproachful language to me was not so
" great as that which I felt in seeing, that when two opinions
" were laid before the Persians, one tending to increase our
" presumption, the other to humble it, urging how perni-
" cious it was to teach the mind of man always to hanker for
" more than he possesses, you should elect the worse both
" for yourself and the Persians. Now, then, that you have 2
" turned to the better counsel, and dismissed the expedition
" against Greece, you say that a vision, sent by some god, ap-
" pears before you, forbidding you to forego the expedition.
" But these things, my child, are not of divine origin: the
" dreams that wander among men are such as I will explain
" to you, being many years older than yourself. Dreams of
" those things concerning which a man thinks during the
" day are those which principally flit about him in sleep.
" now, during the last previous days we have been extremely
" busied about this expedition[62]. If, however, the dream is
" not such as I judge, but participates in aught with the di-
" vinity, you have said all that is needful in few words[63]; for
" let it appear and give its behests to me, as well as to
" you. It ought not, however, to appear to me—if, at least,
" it intends to appear at all—any the more for having your
" apparel rather than[64] my own; or while sleeping in
" your bed, not my own: for this thing, whatever it may be,
" that visits you in your sleep, is not so far gone in folly, that,
" when it sees me, it will fancy it is you, judging by the
" raiment. Again, if it holds me in no account, it will not
" vouchsafe to appear to me, whether I wear my clothes or
" your own. We must now determine whether it will come
" to me; and, accordingly, if it repeats its visits, I myself
" will declare that it is of divine impulse. Nevertheless, if

[61] Artabanus's illustration is not good. Without the winds, we could only navigate by oars. *Larcher.* The ancients, however, were such poor sailors, that, no doubt, sailing as they did from headland to headland, they must have thought the sea would be more useful were it always calm. It is modern genius and modern industry that have shewn us, that the very winds, which were wont to terrify navigators, are the instruments of a divine and merciful Providence to bring distant nations acquainted, and, let us hope, to spread the blessings of Christianity, and consequently the advantages of civilization, over the whole habitable world.

[62] Construction: *αὐταὶ αἱ ὄψιες τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐώθασι γίγνεσθαι (ἐς ἀνθρώπους) (κατὰ) τά τις φροντίζει ἡμέρης. ἡμεῖς δὲ εἴχομεν μετὰ χεῖρας* (have handled) *καὶ τὸ κάρτα* (quam maxime) *ταύτην τὴν στρατηλασίην (κατὰ) τὰς ἡμέρας πρὸ τοῦ.*

[63] Tu rem omnem brevibus verbis complexus es. *Schweig. Lex. Herod. voc. συλλαμβάνειν.*

[64] *ἢ οὐ καὶ.* See Matt. 455, *d.*

" you are resolved that it should be so, and it is not possible
" to turn you from your design, but I must of necessity lie
" down and sleep in your bed, well, that I will do, and let it
" appear to me; but, until then, I will abide by my present
17 " opinion." Having so said, Artabanus, who hoped to prove to Xerxes that what he said about this vision was of no account, did what he was commanded: he therefore put on the garments of Xerxes, and seated himself on the royal throne; and when he afterwards addressed himself to rest, the same vision[65] came to him, while he was asleep, as had visited Xerxes: leaning over Artabanus, it said these words: " You
" are he, then, who dissuades Xerxes from carrying arms
" against Hellas, as though you were his guardian! but
" neither hereafter, nor even now at this moment, shall you
" remain unpunished for diverting what is fated to be. What
" Xerxes is to suffer, if he disobeys, has been shewn to him
18 " himself." Artabanus, accordingly, fancied that the vision thus threatened him, and then proceeded to burn out his eyes with hot irons: he[66] uttered a loud shriek, and lept out of bed: then, sitting down by the side of Xerxes, he narrated to the prince what he had seen in his sleep, and then spoke as follows: " I, O King, as a man who have already beheld
" numerous and mighty powers overthrown by smaller,
" would not fain permit you in all things to give way to youth.
" Knowing what an evil thing it is to covet much; recollect-
" ing likewise what was the unfortunate[67] result of Cyrus's
" expedition against the Massagetæ, calling likewise to
" mind that of Cambyses against the Ethiopians; and hav-
" ing myself, with Darius, fought the campaign against the
" Scythians aware of all these things, I held the opinion,
" that, if you did not stir, you would be held most happy
" among mortals. But, since there is some divine impulse,
" and, it seems, some god-sent calamity overhangs the Hel-
" lenes, I myself even retract, and adopt your opinion.
" Therefore make known to the Persians the vision that
" has been sent by the divinity, and command them to
" follow the former orders given by you for the equip-
" ment of troops; and act so, that, since the god enjoins the
" deed, nothing may be wanting on your part." Having

[65] Larcher translates ὄνειρον, in this and the foregoing chapter, by " fantôme;" and observes, that this dream is a real being, who speaks and acts, like that which Jupiter sends to Agamemnon at the beginning of the Second Book of the Iliad. It is probable that Mardonius had appointed somebody to play the part of the phantom.

[66] καὶ ὅς, i. e. καὶ οὗτος See Matt. 484, *c.*

[67] See the First Volume of this work, Book III. note 43.

so spoken, as soon as it was day, both alarmed at the vision, Xerxes communicated these events to the Persians, and Artabanus, who previously was the only person who publicly dissuaded the King, now as openly pressed him[68] to undertake the expedition.

19 Subsequently to the above, Xerxes, thus excited to undertake the expedition, was visited by a third vision in his sleep, which, when the magi heard, they interpreted to allude to the whole world, and that all mankind would become his vassals. The vision was this. Xerxes fancied he was crowned with a wreath of olive, and that the branches springing from the olive covered the whole earth, after which, the crown, deposited on his head, vanished. The magi having interpreted the dream in the above manner, each of the Persians who had been convened withdrew forthwith to his government, and applied all his efforts to execute the commands, every one being desirous of obtaining the proposed reward and Xerxes made levies of troops with such diligence, that he

20 searched every corner of the continent. For, reckoning from the reduction of Egypt, during four whole years he was busied in equipping an army, and preparing the necessary ammunition for the troops, and, in the course of the fifth year[69], the king opened the campaign with a mighty host of men. Of all the warlike expeditions we have heard of, this was by far the most vast, so much so, that the expedition of Darius against the Scythians appears to be nothing in comparison with this; nor does that of the Scythians, when those people, in their pursuit of the Cimmerians, fell upon the Medic territory, and held almost the whole of the upper part of Asia subjected to their arms, of which Darius, in later times, endeavoured to be avenged; neither, according to what is related, was that of the Atreidæ against Ilium to be compared therewith; or that of the Mysians and Teucrians, which took place previous to the Trojan times, when, crossing over by the Bosphorus into Europe, they subjected all the Thracians, and proceeded *westward* down to the Ionian sea, and marched southward as far as the river Peneus. All the above expe-

21

[68] See Matt. 548.

[69] ἔτεϊ ἀνερμένῳ, *volvente* sive *procedente anno quinto.* ἄνειν is used in the same sense in i. 189. and viii. 71. The general translation, followed by Schneider, is, *anno exeunte.* This expedition of Xerxes was foretold eighty years before, by the prophet Daniel. "Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia." Daniel xi. 2. quoted by Larcher.

ditions, and others, if any there have been[70] besides them, are not to be compared with this one. For what nation did not Xerxes lead out of Asia into Greece? What stream drunk by his troops did not fail them, except that of large rivers? In fact, some furnished ships; others were arrayed on foot; on some it was imposed to furnish horse, on others to furnish transports for the conveyance of the horses and warriors; some contributed long ships for the bridges, others both provisions and vessels.

22 In the first place, as the former fleet that had endeavoured to double Athos had suffered great damage, about three years previously, vast preparations had been going on with regard to that mountain. Triremes were moored at Elæus in the Chersonesus: proceeding from that station, detachments of the army, consisting of men of all nations, and relieving each other in turns, began to excavate, under the lash[71]: the people dwelling in the vicinity of Athos likewise shared in the labour. Bubares the son of Megabazus, and Artachæes the son of Artæus, two Persians, superintended the work. For Athos is a large and celebrated mountain, stretching into the sea, and inhabited by men: at the place where the mountain terminates towards the continent, it takes the form of a peninsula, and constitutes a neck of land, about twelve stades over. This spot consists of level ground, interspersed with some knolls of no great height, and stretches from the sea of the Acanthians to the sea of Torona opposite. On the isthmus, in which Athos terminates, stands Sana, a Grecian city[72]. the places withinside of Sana, and situate on mount Athos, which at this period the Persians were proceeding to sunder from the main land, are the following: Dium, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyssus, Cleonæ; these are the in-
23 habited places on mount Athos. The excavation was made in this manner. The barbarians divided the land among themselves, according to their various tribes, forming lines with extended cords, passing near the city of Sana. When the trench had reached to a certain depth, some of the workmen standing at the bottom continued delving, while others handed up the mould, as it was dug out, to workmen standing on ladders; these received it, and passed it on to others, and so on, till they came to those at the top; the latter carried off the mould, and cast it away. Thus, with all except the Phœnicians, the sides of the excavation falling in, gave them double labour; for as the trench at top and bottom was made

[70] *οὐδ' εἰ ἕτεραι*, i. e. *οὐδ' ἕτεραι, εἰ ἕτεραι ἦσαν. A. Matthiæ.* See Herm. Soph. Aj. 179.

[71] See Matt. 592, *β*.

[72] *πόλις Ἑλλὰς*. See Matt. 249, 4.

of the same dimensions, this accident could not fail to happen to them; but the Phœnicians, who shew their ingenuity in all other works, displayed it more particularly in this; for they excavated that portion of the ground which had fallen by lot to their share, making the opening of the trench at top double the breadth of what the canal was wanted to be: as the work proceeded downward, they drew the two sides nearer and nearer; so that when they reached the proper depth, their portion of the work was equal in width to that of the others. There is in that quarter a meadow, on which they established a market; and large cargoes of meal[73] were brought thither from Asia. Revolving the circumstances, it strikes me[74], that 24
Xerxes must have commanded this excavation to be made out of a feeling of pride, being desirous of displaying his power, and leaving a memorial behind him. For though there was a possibility[75], without subjecting themselves to any labour, to haul the ships athwart the isthmus, he gave orders that a channel should be dug for the sea, of such breadth as to allow two triremes to pass abreast, with oars out. The same persons to whom the excavation had been committed were commanded likewise to join the two banks of the Strymon by a bridge. The above works therefore he 25
had effected in the manner I have described: meanwhile, he ordered a quantity of bast cables[76] to be got ready, and others of white flax, for the bridges over the Hellespont, the furnishing of which he committed to the Phœnicians and Egyptians. He likewise gave orders for provisions to be collected for the army, in order that neither the troops nor the beasts of burden might suffer from famine on their march against Hellas. Having taken due information respecting the situations, he commanded various nations[77] to convey cargoes on merchant-ships and transports to various quarters, and deposit them where the site was most commodious. The greatest quantity was therefore freighted over to the White Strand *(Leuce Acte)*, a place so called in Thrace; some were

[73] ἀγορή τι καὶ πρητήριον. This is another example of the figure, ἐν διὰ δυοῖν, of which we have already seen several instances in Herodotus. σῖτος —πολλὸς—ἀλησμένος, "much ground corn," i. e. "much meal." Matt. 444, 3. The vestiges of the trench here mentioned remain so clear, to the present day, that it would be the height of folly to doubt its existence. *Translat.* Mitford's Hist. of Greece, viii. sect. i.

[74] See Matt. 543. 3d paragraph.

[75] See Matt. 564. The transportation of so many boats would have been, no doubt, a work of some labour, but not to be compared with the excavation of a canal. *Larcher.*

[76] The outer bark of the same plant, whose inner bark was used to write upon. Larcher takes τὰς γεφύρας to relate to the bridges over the Strymon.

[77] ἄλλον ἄλλῃ ἀγινέοντας Larcher makes ἄλλον to refer to σῖτος ἀλησμένος at the end of c. 23. I think he is mis-

appointed to convey their cargoes to Tyrodiza of the Perinthians, others to Doriscus, some to Eion on the Strymon, others to Macedonia.

26 During the time they were employed on the task imposed on them, the whole land-army having collected, was marching with Xerxes towards Sardis, having started from Critalla in Cappadocia; for that was the place where it was appointed that all the troops that were to join Xerxes should muster. As to which of the viceroys brought the army best equipped, and received the promised gifts from the King, I can say nothing; in fact, I know not even whether they came at all to an adjudication on the subject. The army, after crossing the river Halys, entered Phrygia, and, proceeding over that country, came to Celænæ, where the fountains of the river Mæander gush forth, and those of a stream not inferior even to the Mæander, called the Catarractes, which, springing up in the very forum of the Celænians, discharges its waters in the Mæander. In that part of the city is hung up a bag made from the skin[78] of Marsyas, who is reported by the Phrygians[79] to have been flayed, and his hide hung up
27 by Apollo. In this place Pythius the son of Alys, a native of Lydia, was in waiting, and feasted sumptuously the whole army of the King, together with Xerxes himself. he likewise offered money, which he wished to contribute towards the war. When Pythius offered the money, Xerxes inquired of the Persians around his person, who Pythius was, and what might be the extent of his means, since he made such an offer. They replied: "Sire, this is the person who pre-
"sented your father Darius with the golden plane-tree and
"vine, and is, in point of wealth, the first of men that we know
28 "of in these times, next to yourself." Xerxes, astonished at the latter part of this reply, afterwards interrogated Pythius personally respecting the amount of the treasures he possessed. Pythius answered: "Sire, I do not wish to conceal
"from you[80], nor pretend to be ignorant of my property;
"but knowing what is the true amount, I will state it to you
"exactly. Indeed, as soon as I understood you were coming
"down to the Hellenic sea, being anxious to give you money
"for the war, I made inquiry, and found by calculation that

taken, and that this is an instance of ἄλλος taken in a plural sense, as it generally is in the formula ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος, concerning which see Matt. 301, *b*; and σιτία must be supplied after ἀγινέοντας.

[78] Pellis in utrem formata. *Schweig.* It would seem, however, from iii. 9. (ἀσκοὺς καμήλων) that ἀσκὸς is used to signify the *skin*, without reference to its shape.

[79] See p. 132, note 6, of this volume.

[80] οὔ σε ἀποκρύψω . . . τὴν, &c. See Matt. 412, 8.

" I possess two thousand talents of silver, and four millions " of Daric staters[81] in gold, all but seven thousand: these ' riches I present to you, as I shall have a sufficiency for my " subsistence from my slaves and lands." Such was the 29
answer of the Lydian: and Xerxes, pleased with his language, said: " My Lydian friend, since I have quitted the Persian " land[82], I have hitherto met with no man that would enter- " tain my army, or who, standing in my presence, would " by his own free offer to me contribute money towards the " war, saving yourself. But you have received nobly my " army, and offer great sums. in recompence, I give you the " following reward. I elect you as my friend, and present " you seven thousand staters, to make up to you, from my " own treasures[83], the four millions, so that the four millions " may no longer want seven thousand, but the round sum " be completed by me. Continue to possess what you have, " and be careful to remain ever the same[84]· if you act so, " you will not have to repent either at present or in time to " come."

Having so said, and fulfilled his promise, Xerxes continued 30
his route onwards. After passing by a city of Phrygia, called Anaua, and a lake out of which salt is produced, he came to Colossæ, a large city of Phrygia, where the river Lycus disappears, falling into a chasm of the earth, but afterwards, re-appearing at a distance of about five stades[85], discharges its waters also[86] into the Mæander. From Colossæ, the army, advancing towards the boundaries of Phrygia and Lydia, came to the city of Cydrara, where a pillar, planted in the ground, and erected by Crœsus, marks by an inscription the boundaries. Entering out of Phrygia into Lydia, the road 31
divides into two; one, on the left, leading to Caria; the other, on the right, to Sardis on this latter the traveller must needs cross over the river Mæander, and pass by the town of Callatebus, where confectioners make honey of tamarisk and barley. Xerxes, taking this latter road, met with a plane-tree, which he presented with gold ornaments, by reason of its beauty, and entrusted the care of it to one chosen from the Immortals[87]: on the second day he arrived at the Lydian

[81] Four millions of Daric staters must have amounted, according to Arbuthnot's Tables, to 6,356,614*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

[82] See Matt. 377. *obs.* 1.

[83] παρ' ἐμεωυτοῦ. See Matt. 588. Compare likewise p. 161, note 5, of the First Volume of this work.

[84] See the First Volume of this work, Book iii. note 27.

[85] διὰ σταδίων πέντε, "five stades off." See Matt. Gr. Gramm. 580, *d.*

[86] He has already mentioned that the Catarractes falls into the Mæander, c 26.

[87] I have followed the usual interpretation. Herodotus mentions the body of Immortals further on, c. 83.

32 capital. On his arrival at Sardis, Xerxes, in the first place, despatched heralds into Hellas, to demand earth and water, and to forewarn *the people* to prepare dinners for the King. Excepting Athens[88] and Lacedæmon, he sent to make the demand of earth everywhere else. His reason for sending the second time for earth and water[89] was, because such as before had refused to give them, when Darius sent, would no doubt, he conceived, give them now, out of fear. Wishing, therefore, to ascertain this, he sent his heralds. After which, he made preparations for marching to Abydos.

33 Meanwhile, the appointed persons had laid a bridge over the Hellespont, from Asia to Europe. There is, in the Hellespontine Chersonesus, between the towns of Sestos and Madytus, a rugged head-land jutting into the sea, opposite Abydos; where, no long time subsequent to these events, under Xanthippus the son of Ariphon, captain of the Athenians, they seized Artayctus, a Persian, and viceroy of Sestos, and nailed him up alive to a board[90]. That individual had taken women even within the sacred precinct of Protesilaus at Elæus, and

34 there committed atrocious deeds[91]. Stretching over therefore from Abydos towards this head-land, the persons on whom the task was imposed built *two* bridges; the Phœnicians making one[92] of white flax, and the Egyptians the other of bast rope. the distance from Abydos to the opposite coast is seven stades. But when the shores of the strait were thus

I certainly think, that if such had been our author's meaning, he would have written μελιδωνῷ τῶν ἀθανάτων ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας. The Greeks call a standing army, soldiers which are never to be disbanded, στρατιῶται ἀθάνατοι perhaps ἀθάνατος is taken in the same sense in this passage: "he appointed to the care of it a chosen man, whose constant employ it was to be," *i. e.* who was never to be dismissed from his office

[88] The reason of this exception is stated at c. 133.

[89] See Matt. 586, *c.*

[90] The σανὶς was a wooden frame, to which criminals were bound by the executioner, or nailed, as on a cross: this is proved by the passage of Herodotus on which this note is written, and by Aristoph. Thesmoph. 930, 940, 1003. The σανὶς was likewise a white-washed board, on which, at Athens, the different impeachments brought before the tribunal were written: λεύκωμα ἐν ᾧ αἱ δίκαι Ἀθήνησι ἐγράφοντο πρὸς τοὺς κακούργους, Hesych. σανίδα τὸ λεύκωμα, ὅπου αἱ δίκαι λέγονται . . . σανὶς . . . ἐν ᾗ τὰς δίκας ἐνεχάραττον, Phot. The σανὶς was also the name of the board placed over the criminal's head when he underwent crucifixion, bearing his name, and perhaps also the crime for which he underwent capital punishment: σανὶς . . . ἐπιτίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ. Hesych.

[91] What these deeds of sacrilege were, is shewn in ix. 115.

[92] Understand γίφυραν after τὴν μὲν . . . τὴν δ' ἑτέρην, that word being implied in ἐγεφύρουν. *Schweig. Not.* I understand this to mean, that the Phœnicians lashed the ships with white flax, and the Egyptians with papyrus-rope, to form their respective bridges: it is certain that the historian does not mention the ships; but is it possible for any one, after a moment's consideration, to suppose that they would have attempted to lay the bridge-ways on cables stretched

joined, a violent storm arising broke up and swept away all the works. When Xerxes heard what had happened, he was 35
grievously offended, and commanded three hundred lashes with the scourge to be given to the Hellespont, and a pair of gyves to be let down into the waves; nay, I have even heard that he sent likewise persons[93] to brand the Hellespont with hot irons. The fact is certain, that he commanded the persons, while flogging the waters, to pronounce the following barbarous and impious speech: "Thou bitter wave! "this punishment thy lord and master inflicts upon thee, "because thou hast injured him, although thou hadst re- "ceived no injury from him. Of a truth, king Xerxes will "cross thee, and that whether thou choose or not. It is "indeed with justice that none among men offer sacrifice "unto thee, crafty and briny stream[94] that thou art." He accordingly commanded the sea to be chastised in the above manner, and those who had superintended the laying of the bridges athwart the Hellespont to be beheaded. The per- 36
sons to whom the above ungracious office belonged, obeyed the orders; while other architects laid bridges, proceeding in the following manner. They joined together penteconters and triremes, (three hundred and sixty[95] to support the

from one shore to another, without any intermediate support? The reader must recollect that the distance from Sestos to Abydos is, at the least, a good mile.

[93] The στιγεὺς was, it would appear, the person whose business it was to *brand*. The operation was, I suppose, performed with hot irons: there is, however, no authority in the text for the supposition.

[94] The traveller, when he has reached high enough up the Dardanelles to lose sight of the Archipelago, and not yet within view of the sea of Marmora, does in fact find it difficult to persuade himself that he is not on a river: hence it is that the term ποταμὸς has been so often given to the strait. Most travellers have borne testimony to the fact; and I had ample means to ascertain the veracity of their statements, during two or three weeks' stay in that part of the world, while a north-wester, or Etesian gale, hindered our vessel from continuing her course to Constantinople.

[95] Both penteconters and triremes were, it seems, used in the construction of each of the bridges; a proof, I think, that both craft were nearly of the same height from the water-mark, and consequently, that the triremes were not so called from having three benches of oars, the one above the other, but because three men worked at each oar. Be that as it may, it appears to me, as far as I can guess the meaning of the author, that one of the bridges consisted of penteconters and triremes, so arranged as to have a trireme on the side of each penteconter; whereas in the other, each trireme stood between two penteconters. The first bridge consisted therefore of 240 triremes and 120 penteconters, while the other contained 105 triremes and 210 penteconters. Taking this for granted, and supposing, which there is some reason to assume, that the bridges were of equal length, we easily deduce that 90 penteconters must have been equal to 135 triremes; that is to say, that the penteconter, supposing it to be of the same length as the trireme, was one half broader; which, supposing the passage one mile across, will give about four yards breadth to

bridge towards the Euxine, and three hundred and fourteen to support the other,) obliquely in respect of the Pontus[96], but along-stream in respect of the Hellespont, to the end that the current[97] might keep up the tension of the hawsers. Having lashed them together, they let down long anchors; some on one side towards the Euxine, on account of the winds that blew from the inner sea [Propontis]; others on the opposite side towards the west and Ægean, on account of the south and south-east gales[98]. They left an opening or passage, for the space of one penteconter, in three different places[99], in order that he who chose might proceed into the Pontus with light barks, and from the Pontus outwards. Having done this, they hauled the hawsers[100] taught from off land by

the trireme, and six to the penteconter. Now, this will perhaps be allowed, when we consider that the penteconter was a ship of burden, and therefore no doubt filled rather for stowage than for despatch or for battle.

[96] Schweighæuser's conjecture, πόρου instead of Πόντου, certainly renders the meaning somewhat clearer. If we read Πόντου, we must take it to signify the southern shore of the Euxine, which forms nearly a right angle with the bearing of the stream of the Hellespont. See *Schweig. Not.*

[97] Supply ὁ ῥόος, to govern ἀναχωχύη. Of this verb Schweighæuser gives the meaning, "ut intentionem retineret (*vel* sustineret) rudentium; *id est*, impediret quo minus laxaretur rudentium intentio." There is no doubt that the ὅπλα here mentioned were the cordages by which the vessels were lashed together: if we suppose the vessels to have been placed with their stems up stream, which I take to be all that is intended by κατὰ ῥόον, and their hulls secured by anchors in such a position as to form an oblique angle with the bearing of the stream, or, what comes to the same, an obtuse angle with the perpendicular to that bearing; that is to say, that the vessels were not placed down the line of the stream, but, as it were, in a sloping direction athwart it; if, I say, we allow that such can be the meaning of ἐπιπαρσίας, it will be easily concluded, by one of the first principles of mechanics, that the effect of the stream would be to drive the ships right athwart the current, and therefore to increase the tension of the lashings.

[98] Anchors must likewise have been carried out from the sterns of the upper bridge, and from the stems of the lower: or, what appears more probable, the sterns of the lower bridge were lashed to the stems of the upper.

[99] That is to say, they omitted placing a penteconter in three different places, in order that a passage might be had for the lighter craft. The lashing-ropes were, no doubt, continued over the void space from trireme to trireme. Concerning the power of καὶ before τριχοῦ, see Schweig. Not.

[100] As far as I understand the commentators, these hawsers or cables are supposed to have been fastened on one continent, and then, extending over the bridges, to have been stretched by means of windlasses or capstans from the other continent. I see no reason for the supposition in the text; the six ὅπλα to each bridge, here mentioned, were do doubt the same that the author has alluded to higher up; that is to say, the cordages serving to lash the ships broadside to broadside. Those cordages were probably carried over from gunwale to gunwale in each vessel, in order to support the bridgeways. Allowing this to be the meaning of Herodotus, the capstan must have been serviceable to keep all together tight and firm; otherwise the extension of the cables would have been of little use, since it was the vessels themselves, after all, that must have supported the bridgeways.

means of wooden capstans. This time they did not use the two sorts of hawsers separately, but assigning to either bridge two of white flax and four of papyrus, the bulk and quality of both was the same; but those of flax were, in proportion, more close; the latter weighed a talent per cubit. When they had thus bridged over the passage, they sawed trunks of trees to an equal length with the breadth of the bridge, and laid them regularly over the extended hawsers: having thus made their floor, they again bound them together: having so done, they threw brush-wood over the floor, and, making the surface level, cast mould over the whole; then, having trodden down the mould, they placed on both sides a fence, to serve as a parapet, in order that the sumpter-beasts and the horses might not be startled when they saw the sea under them[101].

When all relating to the bridges and the works at Athos 37
were prepared, and news was brought that the breakwaters off the mouths of the trench erected on account of the tides, and the trench itself, were completely finished, the winter

[101] Bridges of boats and pontoons are of frequent occurrence in different countries, particularly in Russia and France. Every one has heard of the floating-bridges over the Seine at Rouen and the Neva at St Petersburg: but those constructions are very trifling, compared with that of Xerxes over the Hellespont. Were a modern engineer to undertake the same task as the Phœnicians and Egyptians did, there is no doubt that he would make both bridges in the shape of a circular arch, the one with its centre towards the Euxine, and the other towards the Ægean; by which means the lower bridge would be able to resist the waves produced by storms from the south, while the upper would resist the force of the current from the north. It is upon this principle that the flying-bridge is made; a description of which the reader may find in all the Encyclopædias. It is very certain that this mode will account very well for the length of the anchors; and if we suppose the radius of one bridge to have been shorter than that of the other, it will likewise account for the difference (42) in the number of the ships in the two bridges; unless we suppose one to have been formed entirely of penteconters, and the other entirely of triremes. It must, at all events, be recollected, that Herodotus's description is not that of a mathematician, but of one who appears to have repeated from hearsay what he did not himself rightly understand: with regard to the translators and commentators, they are certainly all even more ignorant of such matters than the historian himself; as one may easily infer, from their absurdly supposing, without any authority whatever, that there were six cables or hawsers fastened on one continent, and hauled taught from the other by means of windlasses: a proper tension would have been exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to obtain, and, if obtained, would have been of no use whatever. Larcher's explanation of the bridges is very different from that given here: he supposes one to have consisted of vessels placed with their broadsides to the stream, while in the other they stood with their stems toward it. In this, I think, he is followed by Mr. Mitford, in his History of Greece The description certainly presents very great difficulties; and the indulgence of the reader will, it is hoped, be extended to the author of these pages, if he has fallen into any errors on so obscure a subject.

Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum

being now at an end, the army that had been equipped, commenced, at the opening of spring, their march from Sardis to Abydos. Just as they were departing, the sun quitted his seat in the heavens, and disappeared, although the sky was not obscured by clouds, but particularly serene; and night took the place of day. When Xerxes beheld this, he was seized with anxiety, and asked of the magi what the prodigy might portend. they made answer, "that the divi-
"nity was foreshewing to the Hellenes the extinction of their
"cities;" adding, "the sun is the portender of futurity to the
"Hellenes, and the moon to your majesty." Xerxes hear-
38 ing this, and filled with joy, began his march. At the time he was filing off his troops, Pythius the Lydian, scared at the prodigy in the heavens, and emboldened by the gifts he had received, presented himself before Xerxes, and spake thus: "My lord and master! I entreat you to grant me a
"boon, which I would fain receive at your hands; one in
"which it is easy for you to gratify me, and of great im-
"portance to myself." Xerxes, imagining that he would make any request rather than what he asked for in fact, said he would gratify him, and bade him make known what he wanted. Pythius, when he heard these words, spake boldly thus. "My lord and master! I have five sons; and
"it has fallen to the lot of them all[102] to accompany you in
"the expedition against Hellas; but I beseech you, Sire, in
"pity to me who have reached these years, dispense one of
"my sons from the service—the eldest—that he may be the
"guardian of my person and my riches: take the other four
"with you; and when you have achieved what you meditate,
39 "may you return home!" Xerxes was highly incensed, and replied in these words: "Base man! while I myself march
"against Hellas, and take with me my sons, and brothers,
"and kinsmen, and friends, have you dared to make men-
"tion of your son; you, who are my slave, and whom it
"behoved to follow in my train with your whole house-
"hold[103], and even with your wife? Now, mark this well!
"the mind of men resides in their ears, which when it hears
"good things fills the body with pleasure, but when it hears
"the contrary swells with anger. When therefore you be-
"haved well, and gave promise of the like, you could not
"boast of having outdone the King in generosity; but

[102] See the First Volume, Book ii. note 243.

[103] Larcher very properly observes, that παυοικίῃ must be taken as an adverb, in the same manner as σιγῇ is very frequently, and παντρεπτιῇ in i. 74. He might likewise have referred to δρόμῳ in vi. 112. See, however, Matt. 404. and Schweig. Lex. Herod. voc. παυοικίη.

" now that you have turned into the path of impudence, you " shall not receive your deserts, but less[104]: your hospitality " saves yourself and four of your sons; but you shall be " punished by the death of that one whom you cherish the " most." When he had made this answer, he forthwith gave orders, to those whose office it was to perform such duties, to look for the eldest of the sons of Pythius, and cleave him down the middle; and when they had so done, to deposit the halves, one on the right-hand side of the road, and the other on the left-hand, and that the army should immediately march through.

His orders being obeyed, the army marched between the 40
parts of the body. First came the baggage and sumpter-beasts; after these, a body of various nations indiscriminately, not separated[105]. they constituted above one-half of the army then a considerable space intervened[106], as these did not mingle with the immediate troops of the King. In the van of these latter marched one thousand horsemen, chosen from the whole Persian nation; afterwards marched one thousand lancers, likewise chosen from the whole nation, holding their lances reversed towards the earth: next to these came ten of the sacred horses, called Nisæan, most beautifully caparisoned. These horses are called Nisæan from a large plain in the Medic territory, the name of which is Nisæum, and which produces large horses. In the rear of these ten horses was placed the sacred car of Jove, drawn by eight white horses · in the rear of the horses followed on foot a charioteer holding the reins, for no mortal must ascend on that seat: behind this came Xerxes, on a

[104] Understand, with ἀξί,ν and ἐλάσσω, the word τιμὴν, or some other equivalent substantive. *Larcher.*

[105] Herodotus does not mean that these troops observed no order; but, that the soldiers who composed them were not divided according to their countries. Our historian makes this observation, because, in the Greek armies, every little people formed a distinct body, while each of those bodies was subdivided into other smaller squadrons, according to the number of the tribes it consisted of. *Larcher.* We have seen the line of the Athenians formed by the succession of the tribes at the battle of Marathon.

[106] I have followed Larcher's and Schweighæuser's version: I think it, nevertheless, neither exact nor literal. the van of the army was a στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων, marching ἀναμὶξ; the rear likewise was ὅμιλος . . ἀναμὶξ. Herodotus consequently regarded the van and the rear as one body; rather more than in the middle of which, what might be called the King's own forces had their station: τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεες ἔσαν signifies, therefore, " when more than one half of that confused multitude forming the van and rear was passed," &c., and not that the van itself was more than one half of the whole army. This explanation, however, renders it difficult to account for the seven days, passed by the army in filing over the Dardanelles.

car drawn by Nisæan horses[107]: at his side walked a charioteer, whose name was Patiramphes, the son of Otanes,
41 and a native of Persia. In this manner, therefore, Xerxes marched out of Sardis; and whenever fancy prompted him, he would pass from the chariot to a close carriage. Behind him marched one thousand lancers, the most valiant and noble of the Persians, carrying their lances erect; then came another body of horse, consisting of a thousand men chosen from among the Persians: in the rear of the cavalry were ten thousand men chosen likewise from the Persians. this body consisted of infantry; and one thousand of their number had golden grenades at the bottom of their javelins, instead of ferules[108]; they inclosed the rest[109]: these nine thousand men, inclosed by the above, had silver grenades. Those who held their lances reversed to the ground had likewise golden grenades; and those following close to Xerxes had also golden balls. In the rear of the ten thousand were stationed ten thousand Persian horse behind the horse an interval of two stades was left; and then followed
42 up the rest of the throng, promiscuously[110]. The troops directed their march out of Lydia towards the river Caicus; and entered Mysia, after they had quitted the Caicus, through Atarneus, to the city of Carina, leaving mount Cane on the left from thence they proceeded across the plain of Thebe, passing by the city of Atramyttium, and Antandros, a Pelasgic town; then, taking Ida on the left hand, they proceeded into the land of Ilium: but before the army reached so far, a storm of thunder and lightning fell upon them, as they were bivouacking under Ida for the night, and cut off
43 a considerable number of the troops at that place. On the arrival of the army at the banks of the Scamander (the first river, on their road from Sardis, whose stream failed[111], not being sufficient to slake the troops and beasts); when, I say[112], Xerxes arrived on the banks of that river, he ascended Priam's Pergamum[113], having a desire to see the place.

[107] ἅρμα ἵππων Νισαίων: "a chariot drawn by Nisæan horses." See Matt. 314. *obs.* 2.

[108] The σαυρωτὴρ was a sort of iron ferule, whereby to stick the lance into the ground: it was used, in case of need, instead of the point. *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.*

[109] That is to say, the fore and rear ranks, as well as the flank men, were distinguished by golden grenades.

[110] Larcher's remark (p. 149, note 3) applies here likewise. It must however be observed, that if the ancient armies of the East resembled those of the present day, the van and rear were really a confused and disorderly throng.

[111] ἐπίλιψις (κατὰ) τὸ ῥεῖθρον. See Schweig. Not.

[112] See Matt. 611.

[113] Pergamum was the name of the citadel of Troy. Herodotus adds *Priam's*, to distinguish it from Pergamum of Mysia, and Pergamum of the Pieræ. *Larcher.*

Having looked, and made inquiries on every particular, he sacrificed one thousand oxen to Minerva Ilias: the magi likewise poured libations to the heroes. When they had so done, a panic struck the camp in the course of the night; but at the dawn of day they quitted the place, and proceeded on their march, skirting on the left the cities of Rhœtium, Ophryneium, and Dardanus (which latter is on the bounds of Abydos), and leaving the Gergithæ Teucrians on the right.

When they reached Abydos, Xerxes wished to have a 44
view of all the forces: there had been prepared beforehand, expressly for his use, on an eminence in that place, a throne[114] of white marble: the people of Abydos had erected it, according to previous orders. Seated on this throne, and looking down along the shore, Xerxes beheld both the land-army and the fleet. as he was viewing the prospect, he conceived a wish to see a match take place among the vessels[115]: this having taken place, in which the Phœnician Sidonians were victors, the King was filled with pleasure at the sight of the contest and of the army. When he saw the whole 45
Hellespont concealed beneath the ships, and all the coast and the plains of Abydos full of men, Xerxes held himself happy; but soon after he burst into tears. This being observed by 46
his paternal uncle Artabanus—the same who had previously given with frankness his opinion, in dissuading the prince from carrying arms against Hellas—he, I say, understanding that Xerxes was shedding tears, addressed him thus: "Sire, how very different are your present actions, and "what you did erewhile! for then you declared yourself "happy, and now you weep." The King answered: "Yes; "for when I consider how short is human life, pity enters "my heart[116]; since of these, many as they are, not one "shall survive to the hundredth year." Artabanus resumed, saying: "Other woes, yet more deserving than this of com-"miseration, do we suffer during life[117], for in life, thus brief, "not one man, whether of these or of all others, was ever "born to such felicity, that it has not come into his mind[118]— "I do not say once, but oftentimes—to wish rather to die

[114] προεδρίδην. They had placed on the knoll, or hill, seats for the gentlemen of Xerxes' suite, and another more elevated, of white marble, for the King himself. This is the real signification of προεδρίδην. *Larcher.*

[115] In c. 96, Herodotus observes that the Phœnicians were the best sailors in the fleet: I think, therefore, that it was a sailing-match which Xerxes wished to see, and not a sea-fight, as it is generally understood.

[116] εἰσέχεσθαί τινι or τινα. See Matt. 394, *c.*

[117] παρὰ τὸν ζόην, "throughout life." See Matt. 588, *c*, *β*.

[118] παρίστασθαι, "in mentem venire." Viger, p. 217.

" than to live. Indeed, the calamities that fall upon us,
" and the maladies that shake our frames, make life, short
" though[119] it is, to appear long: thus, life is miserable;
" death therefore becomes the most desirable refuge for
" man; and the Deity, after giving us to taste of sweet ex-
47 " istence, is found to be jealous of his gift[120]. Xerxes re-
plied, saying. " Artabanus, let us dismiss the subject of
" human life, which is, in truth, such as you describe; and
" let us not call to mind misery, when we have joyous things
" at hand. But tell me; supposing the nightly vision had
" not appeared so clearly to yourself, would you still persist
" in your first opinion, dissuading me from carrying war
" against Hellas; or would you retract? Come, tell me with
" sincerity." The other made answer, saying: " My King,
" heaven send the vision which appeared to us in sleep may
" have such issue as we both wish! Still am I, even now,
" still full of alarm, and almost beside myself, when I consider
" several different circumstances, and more especially when
" I see two things, of the greatest power of all, most hostilely
48 " opposed to thee." To this Xerxes made reply in these
words. " Strange man! what are those two things which
" you say are so hostile to me? Tell me; do you reproach
" my land-army with scantiness of number; and do you
" imagine the Hellenic host will be so much more numerous
" than ours[121]? Or think you our fleet will fall short of
" theirs? Or do you fear both these? For if, in this respect,
" you think our forces insufficient, one[122] may quickly make
49 " levies of more troops." Artabanus answered, saying. " Sire,
no one indeed, in his right senses, would find fault with this
army, or with the numbers of the fleet. And indeed, were
you to muster still greater numbers, the two things which
I mean would become even more hostile: those two things
are the land and the sea. For, in the first place, no where
on the sea is there, I conjecture, any safe harbour, which,
in the case a storm should arise, will be spacious enough
to hold this your fleet, and shelter the vessels; and yet
would it behove you to have, not one only such haven, but
*others* along the whole continent which you are about to
coast. Now, as you have not harbours sufficiently exten-
sive[123], remember that accidents rule men, not men acci-

[119] *καί*, "although." See Matt. 566.

[120] *ἐν αὐτῷ* (sc *αἰῶνι*) "in it," *i. e.* "while we are enjoying life."

[121] *πολλαπλήσιον τοῦ ἡμιτέρου.* See Matt. 384.

[122] See Matt. 487, 2.

[123] *ὑποδέξοι λίμενες*, i. e. *λίμενες δυνάμενοι δέξασθαι τὸ ναυτικόν Valck.* Schneider gives the same interpretation, in his Gr. Germ. Lex.

" dents. Thus having mentioned to you one of the two " things, I proceed to the second. The land is opposed to " you in this respect; that, granting nothing else should op- " pose you, it will become the more hostile as you advance " further, insensibly allured onwards[124]; for with men there " is no satiety of success. Therefore, supposing[125] nothing " else should oppose you, I say the land itself, becoming " more extensive as you will spend more time in the expe- " dition, will beget famine. He were the wisest man, who, " in taking counsel, should tremble, considering that innu- " merable things may befal him, but in action should be " bold." Xerxes answered in these words. " Artabanus, you 50 " discourse, no doubt, all these matters with good sense; " but I would not have you fear every thing, nor ponder all " with equal care; for if in every proposal you were to weigh " all with equal circumspection, never would you achieve " aught[126]: it is better, bold in all matters, to suffer half " the evils, rather than, fearing every thing beforehand, " never to suffer any[127]: for if, while you oppose every mea- " sure that is brought forward, you do not advance some " other, the success of which is certain, you must leave the " issue undetermined, as well as he who advanced the con- " trary opinion; this therefore comes to the same[128]: again, " I by no means think that any mortal has sufficient[129] know- " ledge to propose a measure of indubitable issue: and " hence, to the bold, gain, for the most part, is wont to

[124] *κλίπτων*, with the verb following, signifies, "secretly, insensibly." *τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος προβαίνῃς*, "ever the farther thou sufferest thyself to be induced to go—*immer weiter dich verleiten last zu gehen.*" Schneid Gr. Germ. Lex.

[125] See Matt 568, 2.

[126] *οὐδαμῇ οὐδέν*. Matt. 601.

[127] The drift of Xerxes' argument I take to be this In every question there may be proposed several measures of doubtful issue (*σφαλερά*), and one only of indubitable success, which is here expressed by the words *τὸ βέβαιον*. Now, he who opposes every proposal, without bringing forward one, the success of which is indubitable, does no more than leave the matter where he found it: but, on the other hand, man is not endowed with such foresight as to be quite certain of the issue of any measure he may propose: fortune therefore must, more or less, decide in all human undertakings; and we see, by experience, that she favours the bold and active: hence it is better for us to act with boldness and vigour, by which we run an equal chance of failure and success, than, by pondering and trembling, to avoid all possibility of achieving glorious deeds.

[128] See Viger, p. 74, note.

[129] Schweighæuser reads *ὅκως χρὴ*, "in such manner as were behoveful;" in French, "comme il le faudrait:" all the manuscripts, however, have *πῶς χρὴ*, which Dr. Gaisford has very properly restored I have, notwithstanding, chosen Schweighæuser's reading, because I think greater latitude of conjecture may be claimed by the translator than by the editor of a classic. Augustus Matthiæ likewise preserves the general reading of the manuscripts, which he punctuates thus: *εἰδέναι δὲ ἄνθρωπον λόντα πῶς χρὴ τὸ βέβαιον, δοκέω μὲν οὐδαμῶς*. Herod. Ed. Matt. ii. pp. 120, 295.

" accrue; whereas, to those that ponder and delay every thing
" it is not wont to fall[130]. You see the empire of the Per-
" sians, to what a degree[131] of power has it advanced? if,
" however, the kings who ruled before me had entertained
" such thoughts as you[132], or, supposing they had not enter-
" tained the same opinions, had had such counsellors as your-
" self, never would you have seen the empire rise to this
" pitch: no, it was by rushing into dangers[133] that they so
" advanced their power; for great realms are wont to be
' overthrown by running great hazards. Hence, emulating
' our forefathers, we commence our march in the fairest
' season of the year; and, after subduing the whole of Europe
' we shall return, without any where suffering from fa-
mine, or experiencing any other calamity. for, on the one
" hand, we carry abundant provisions with us on our march;
" and, on the other, whatever the land or nation we reach to,
" we shall become masters of their crops; as we carry war,
" not against vagrant tribes of pastors, but against men
51 " who cultivate the soil." Artabanus then said: " Sire, since
" you do not allow us to dread aught, hearken to an advice
" I am going to give you; for when the matters to be dis-
" cussed are many, it becomes necessary[134] to extend one's
" discourse. Cyrus the son of Cambyses subjected all
" Ionia, with the exception of the Athenians, to the payment
" of tribute to the Persians: I therefore advise you by no
" means to lead these men against their fathers; for surely
" we shall be able without their help to get the upper hand
" of the enemy. Again, if the Ionians march with us, they
" must act either with the greatest injustice, by enthralling
" their mother state; or with the greatest justice, by assist-
" ing it to assert its freedom. Supposing, then, that they
" should act with the greatest injustice, they bring but little
" gain to us; whereas, should they act in justice, they may
" injure greatly your army. Revolve therefore in your
" mind the ancient saying, that it is well said, 'not the end
52 " of every thing appears at the commencement.' " To this
Xerxes made answer: " Artabanus, of all the opinions you
" have brought forward, you are most mistaken in this last—
" I mean[135], in fearing the Ionians may desert us: we have full

[130] i. e. *οὐ μάλα ἰθίλει* (*γίνεσθαι τὰ πρήγματα*,) in which *ἰθίλειν*, like *φιλεῖν* in the preceding line, is taken in the same sense as *εἰωθέναι*, *solere*, *consuesse*.

[131] See Matt. 353, 4.

[132] See Matt. 607, *obs.*

[133] *ἀναῤῥιπτέειν κινδύνους*, i. e. *κύβους κινδύνων ἀναῤῥιπτέειν*. Schweig. Lex. Herod.

[134] *ἀναγκαίως γὰρ ἔχει* for *ἀνάγκαιον γάρ ἐστι*. See Matt. 604.

[135] *ἔγ.* See Matt. 480. *obs.* 1.

" experience of their fidelity [136], and yourself can bear witness " of them, as well as the rest who accompanied Darius in his " expedition against the Scythians, that on them the whole " Persian armament depended, whether it should be de- " stroyed or saved; but they shewed justice and fidelity, " and committed no deed of ingratitude. Add to this, " that we cannot suppose that persons who have left " their children, their wives, and their property, in our " country, will make any attempts against us. Cease, there- " fore, to have any such fear. be of good heart, and watch " over my house and power; for to you alone, of all men, do " I entrust my sceptre."

Having so spoken, and dismissed Artabanus to Susa, 53
Xerxes, in the next place, summoned before him the most noble of the Persians. When they were assembled, he addressed this speech to them "Persians! I have called you " together for the purpose of exhorting you to behave as " brave men, and not to sully the deeds wrought heretofore " by the Persians, which were mighty, and deserving of " much fame, but let us, each and all together, feel eager " in the cause; for it is a good, common to all, we are en- " deavouring to obtain. For this reason I warn you to " strain every nerve in this war. I understand, we are " marching against men of valour, such, that if we master " them, no other host of men will ever oppose us. Now let " us offer up prayers to the gods, protectors of the Persian " land, and then cross over." That day they made ready 5
for crossing the Hellespont; on the following, they waited for the sun, which they were anxious to see rise; burning meanwhile all sorts of perfumes on the bridges, and strewing the road with myrtle-branches. As the sun arose, Xerxes made a libation into the sea, from a golden vase, and, turning towards the sun, offered up prayers, " that no event " might befal him, such as to make him desist from subduing " Europe, until he should have reached to its extremities." After offering up prayers, he cast the vase into the Hellespont, together with a golden crater [137] and a Persic sword, which they call acinace. I cannot say for certain, whether he dropped those things into the sea in order to honour the sun, or that it repented him of having scourged the Hellespont, and therefore made those gifts to the sea as an amends for so doing. When these ceremonies had been performed 55

[136] Larcher observes, that is is rather surprising Xerxes should not have recollected their revolt in the reign of Darius.

[137] See the First Volume of this work, Book III. note 207.

by the King, the infantry and all the cavalry began to cross over by that bridge which lay towards the Euxine; while the sumpter-beasts and attendants passed over on the other, towards the Ægean. First in the van marched the ten thousand Persians[138], all crowned; next to these, the body composed of various nations indiscriminately: these two divisions completed their passage on that day: on the following, the horsemen crossed over in the van, together with those who carried their lances reversed; these likewise wore crowns. in the rear of these came the sacred horses and the sacred car; and then Xerxes himself, and his body-guard, and the thousand horsemen: in the rear of the latter marched the rest of the army; and at the same time the vessels were steered to the opposite shore. I have likewise heard that the
56 King passed over the last of all. When Xerxes had crossed over into Europe, he beheld his whole forces passing under the lash: the army filed off in seven days and seven nights, without the intermission of any time. Xerxes having already crossed over into Europe, a certain Hellespontine, it is said, exclaimed, on the spot, "Jove! wherefore, as-
"suming the semblance of a Persian, and taking the name
"of Xerxes instead of Jove, dost thou wish to overthrow
"Hellas, at the head of all mankind? Surely it were in thy
"power to do that without their help!"
57 When all had crossed over, and were proceeding on their march, a mighty prodigy appeared to them, of which Xerxes took no account, although it was of easy interpretation; for a mare foaled a hare. The meaning of this, therefore, might easily have been interpreted thus: "that Xerxes would lead
"his army into Hellas with pomp and magnificence, but
"that he would return running for his life[139]." Another token was given to him during his stay at Sardis; for a mule dropped a colt which had the sexual organs double, those of the male as of the female; the male organ was the highest.
58 Taking no account of either of these prodigies, he proceeded forwards, accompanied by the land-forces; while the fleet, sailing out of the Hellespont, stood along the land, holding a course opposite[140] to that of the land-army; for the fleet steered westward, bound for Cape Sarpedon, where, on their arrival, they were, according to orders, to await; but the

[138] See chap. 41.

[139] περὶ ἑωυτοῦ. See Matt. 589, 5. Portus explains it to be an elliptical form for περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων κίνδυνον, "running danger with regard to his own person." *Port. Lex Ion.*

[140] The fleet, in order to get out of the Hellespont, must necessarily have turned its back to the land-army, which ascended towards the commencement of the Isthmus and the town of Cardia.

troops on shore marched eastward, towards the rising sun[141], across the Chersonesus, having on their right the sepulchre of Hella the daughter of Athamas, and on their left the town of Cardia. They passed through a city, the name of which is Agora; wheeled round the gulf of Melas; and having crossed the river Melas, from which the bay derives its name (the stream of which was not now sufficient for the army[142], but failed), proceeded towards the west, passing by Anus, an Æolian city, and the lake Stentoris, and at last reached Doriscus. Doriscus is a strand and extensive plain 59
in Thrace, through which flows a large river—the Hebrus. In this quarter a royal castle had been built, which, consequently, is called Doriscus; and a Persian garrison was stationed there by Darius, from the time of his expedition against the Scythians. This spot, accordingly, appeared to Xerxes convenient for arraying and numbering his forces, which he accordingly did. The naval captains, therefore, having brought to Doriscus all their vessels, according to Xerxes' command, neared the shore adjoining on this shore stand Sane, a town inhabited by Samothracians, and Zona: at its extremity is Serrheium, a celebrated cape: this territory belonged anciently to the Cicones. Having steered their ships to this shore, they hauled them on dry land[143], and refitted; and in the mean time, Xerxes was at Doriscus, estimating the number of his troops. I cannot 60
state for certain what was the number of the troops which each nation furnished, for that is not mentioned by any man, but the amount of the whole combined land-forces was found to be one million and seven hundred thousand. They were estimated in the following manner. they collected in one spot ten thousand men, and, making them[144] take as close order as it was possible[145], traced a circle on the outside, encompassing that body: having so done, and marched away the ten thousand men, they erected a fence of masonry[146] on the circle, reaching in height to a man's navel. having completed this, they marched other troops into the precinct thus erected, and so on, till they had in this manner ascer-

[141] In summer; not in winter. The east, west, north, and south, were the only points of the compass for which terms had been invented in the time of Herodotus: the eastern points were therefore defined, when necessary, by a reference to the rising sun, in summer and in winter.

[142] οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τῇ στρατιῇ (κατὰ) τὸ ῥέεθρον

[143] See p. 71, note 25, of this Volume.

[144] ταύτην refers to μυριάδα

[145] ὡς μάλιστα ἴσχον. See Matt. 461, fifth paragraph.

[146] According to the author of the glossary to Herodotus, αἱμασιὴ is a wall of stones, without any cement or mortar.

tained the number of the whole: having numbered them, they drew them up into separate nations.

61 The nations that shared in this expedition were these. The Persians, equipped in the following manner: on their heads they wore flat[147] coverings, which they call tiaras; on their bodies, different coloured tunics with sleeves [and cuirasses[148]] of iron plates arranged like the scales of a fish; on their legs they wore loose trowsers; instead of bucklers they carried shields of wicker-work, under which hung their quivers, they had short lances, and large bows with bamboo[149] arrows; besides which they carried poniards suspended from the girdle on the right thigh. At their head was their commander, Otanes, the father of Amestris, Xerxes' wife. These people were formerly called Cephenes by the Hellenes; by themselves and their neighbours, however, Artæi; but after Perseus, the son of Danae and Jove, had come to Cepheus the son of Belus, and married his daughter Andromeda, a son was born to him, to whom he gave the name of Perse, and left him in the country, as Cepheus was without male progeny[150]. From this Perse they took their cognomen.

62 The Medes were of the expedition, equipped in the same manner; for the above costume is Medic, and not Persian[151]: the Medes were headed by their commander, Tigranes, one of the family of Achæmenes. They were originally called, by all, Arii; but when Medea of Colchis arrived from Athens among these Arii, they likewise changed their name: such is the account the Medes themselves give respecting their nation. The Cissians, who were of the expedition, were accoutred in other respects like the Persians, but, instead of turbans, wore mitres[152]. Over these latter, Anaphes the son

[147] The King's tiara, or turban, was raised to a point; those of the other Persians were flat, shadowing the forehead, such as the common turban of the Turks. The reader is no doubt aware, that in Turkey the covering of the head assumes a multitude of forms, according to the profession and rank of the wearers.

[148] The words *καὶ θώρηκας* appear to be wanting; see Valckenaer's note: to which it may be added, that Herodotus expressly states, i. 135, that the Persians wore the Medic tunic and the Egyptian thorax. Construction: (*καὶ θώρηκας*) [*ἐκ*] *λεπίδος σιδηρίης* (of iron scales) *ἰχθυοειδέος* (similar to those of fish) (*κατὰ*) *ὄψιν*.

[149] A little lower down, Herodotus speaks of *τόξα καλάμινα*, which Beloe certainly would not have translated *bows of reeds*, if he had recollected that the reed possesses no elasticity, and that in translating an author, as well as in the other undertakings of this life, common sense is the first thing to be consulted. I have rendered *καλάμινος bamboo*, because that sort of cane is abundantly spread about all the countries which furnished troops for this expedition, and because that signification is the only one which, in several instances, will apply in the description of armour.

[150] See Matt. 317, 2.

[151] See i. 135.

[152] According to Schneider, the Persian head-dress was a flat felt hat (*πίλος*), and that of the Cissians a sort of cap fastened under the chin. *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex. voc. μίτρα.*

of Otanes was ruler. The Hyrcanians were armed after the Persian fashion: at their head was their general, Megapanus, the same who, subsequent to these events, was governor of Babylon. The Assyrians of the army wore on their heads 63
helmets of brass, plaited[153] in a foreign fashion, not easy to describe; they had likewise shields, and lances and poniards nearly similar to the Egyptian; besides which they carried wooden clubs armed with iron knobs, and wore flaxen cuirasses[154]: these people were called Syri by the Hellenes, and Assyrians by the barbarians. Mingled with them were the Chaldæans; and their leader was Otaspes the son of Artachæus. The Bactrians joined the expedition, armed about 64
the head very nearly like the Medes, and carrying bamboo bows, made in their country, and short javelins. The Sacæ, a Scythian race, wore on their heads cyrbasiæ, rising straight and stiff, up to a point[155]; they likewise had loose trowsers, and carried bows of the country, and poniards; besides which, they were armed with battle-axes, called sagares[156]. These people being Scythians Amyrgii, they are called Sacæ; for the Persians give the name of Sacæ to all Scythians. Hystaspes the son of Darius, by Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, was commander over the Bactrians and Sacæ. The Indians[157] were clad in cotton garments[158], 65
they had bamboo bows, and arrows of the same material, the points of which were of iron thus, accordingly, were the Indians accoutred; and they were headed in this expedition by Pharnazathres the son of Artabates. The Arii were 66

[153] The author of this translation recollects seeing in the Russian army, which invaded France in the year 1814, some horse-troops, whose heads and breasts were covered with a sort of brass net-work, hanging loose on the shoulders. This armour was light, and fully adequate, it was said, to resist the stroke of any cutting weapon: the effect of a gun-shot, however, was dreadful to the wearer, as the ball did not fail to carry with it some portion of the wire into the flesh.

[154] These breastplates of flax could resist the stroke of the sword: "hi casses (nempe e lino) vel ferri aciem vincunt." Plin. Hist. Nat. xix. 1 To give it this property, the flax was soaked in hard wine mixed with a certain quantity of salt: eighteen or twenty coats of this flax were then stuck and pressed together, as is done in making felt. No weapon could pierce a cuirass so made. Such was that of Conrad, described by Nicetas Achominates. These cuirasses being lighter, and equally efficacious for defence, took, in many countries, the places of iron coats-of-mail. "Mutavit genus loricarum, et pro sertis atque æneis lineas dedit. Quo facto expeditiores milites reddidit." Corn. Nep. Iphicrat. i. 4. *Larcher.*

[155] The cyrbasia is, no doubt, the same sort of head-dress as that worn by the guards of the emperor of Russia.

[156] ἀξίνας σαγάρις εἶχον. Larcher says that the sagaris cut on one side only; but in the very passage which he quotes, it is characterized by the epithet ἀμφιθηγῆς, "two-edged." I have elsewhere made the observation, that the Scythian sagaris was the francisk of our ancestors.

[157] Supply ἐστρατεύοντο.

[158] The gossypium, or cotton-plant, was called ξύλον. See Matt. 375, 2. 2d paragraph.

provided with Medic bows, but in other respects were accoutred like the Bactrians[159]. Sisamnes the son of Hydarnes was commander over the Arii. The Parthians, and Chorasmians, and Sogdians, and Gandarians, and Dadicæ, joined the army, having the same accoutrements as the Bactrians. The commanders of these tribes were as follow: of the Parthians and Chorasmians, Artabazus the son of Pharnaces; of the Sogdians, Azanes the son of Artæus; of the Gan-
67 darians and Dadicæ, Artyphius the son of Artabanus. The Caspians marched, clad in fur coats[160], and carrying bamboo bows of the country, and cimiters: in this manner were the Caspians accoutred, having at their head Ariomardus the brother of Artyphius. The Sarangæ were distinguished[161] by having dyed garments; they had buskins reaching up to the knee, and Medic bows and lances. The commander of the Sarangæ was Pherendates the son of Megabazus. The Pactyes were likewise clothed in skin-frocks, and carried bows of the country, and poniards: at the head of these latter
68 was Artyntes the son of Ithamatres. The Utii, and Myci, and Paricanians, were equipped after the same fashion as the Pactyes. their leaders were Arsamenes the son of Darius, who commanded the Utii and Myci, and Siromitres the son
69 of Œobazus, who commanded the Paricanians. The Arabians wore flowing cloaks[162], kept up by means of a girdle; they carried on their right sides long bows bending backwards[163]. The Ethiopians, wrapped in panther and lion skins[164], carried long bows made out of branches of the date-tree, and not less than four cubits in length; on these bows they laid small arrows of bamboo, to the top of which, instead of iron, was fixed a stone[165], sharpened to a point,

[159] See chap. 64

[160] *σίσυρα* or *σίσυρνα* signifies a goat's skin with the hair on; a thick cloak or coat made of that material. *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex*

[161] *ἐνίπρεπτον ἔχοντες*, equivalent to *ἴδμασι βεβαμμένοις ἦσαν ἐμπρεπῶς*. A similar sentence occurs in chap 83. *Schweig. Not.* See likewise Matt. 554.

[162] The zeira was a sort of upper covering worn by the Thracians, and reaching down to the feet. See Xen. Anab. vii. 4.

[163] *παλίντονα*. This word is generally explained by, "that might be braced on both sides." I do not think such could be the meaning of Herodotus. I have no doubt that he alludes to a sort of bow frequently met with, even at this day, in India; many specimens of which I saw, some years ago, in the possession of a young friend in the East-India service. The bows I am speaking of, when not in use, appear of a semicircular shape, and as if braced for shooting; but when the warrior prepares to use this weapon, he bends the bow round in an opposite direction, by which means it assumes quite another form, and obtains an incredible elasticity. I have lately seen one of the same kind for sale in a shop at Oxford.

[164] See Matt. 421.

[165] This stone is the *smiris* of Dioscorides. *σμίρις λίθος ἐστὶν, ᾗ τὰς ψήφους οἱ δακτυλιογλύφοι σμήχουσι.* This is our emery, a sort of metallic stone, used by armourers, cutlers, locksmiths,

of the same kind as that used to engrave seals; besides these, they carried pikes, at the end of which was fixed an antelope's horn, brought to a point, after the fashion of a lance's head; they had likewise knotty clubs. When they went into battle, they smeared one half of their bodies with whiting, and the other with red lead. The Arabians and Ethiopians residing above Egypt were commanded by Arsames, a son of Darius by Cyrus's daughter Artystone; she was the favourite of Darius, who caused her image to be made of beaten gold[166]. The Ethiopians from the East (for there were two kinds of 70
Ethiopians in the army) were drawn up with the Indians; they resembled the other Ethiopians in appearance, but differed in their language and their hair; for the Ethiopians of the East are straight-haired, whereas those of Libya have hair the most curly of all men[167]: for the most part, these people were accoutred after the fashion of the Indians, but they wore on their heads the skins of horses' foreheads, stripped off together with the ears and mane; the mane answered the purpose of a crest, while the ears of the horses were fastened in an erect position; in lieu of bucklers they made themselves a sort of armour from the skins of cranes. The Libyans marched, clad in skin garments, and armed 71
with pikes scorched by fire[168]: at their head stood Massages the son of Oarizus. The Paphlagonians joined in the expe- 72
dition, wearing on their heads plaited[169] helmets, and carrying small shields and javelins of no great size; besides which they had darts and poniards; on their feet they wore boots, after the fashion of their country, reaching up to the middleg. The Ligyans, the Matianians, the Mariandynians, and the Syri[170], formed part of the armament, having the same accoutrements as the Paphlagonians: these Syri are called by the Persians, Cappadocians. Over the Paphlagonians and Matianians, Dotus the son of Megasidrus was, accordingly,

glaziers, lapidaries, &c., some of whom use it in polishing iron-works, others in cutting and polishing marble, glass, and precious-stones. *Larcher.* I construe γλύφουσι with some general nominative, and not with Λιβίσσες, because the Ethiopians cannot have been the only people who used emery in the engraving of their seals.

[166] Pausan. iii. 17, observes, that the oldest copper or brass statues were not made of one piece, run into a mould, but of several different sheets of copper, worked together with the hammer. This is the meaning of σφυρήλατος, from σφῦρα, a "hammer," and ἐλαύνω. Cast statues were first made at Samos.

[167] See Matt. 459, 2. *obs.*

[168] For the purpose of hardening them. The same practice is still resorted to by various uncivilized tribes; and is followed in this country for the purpose of hardening the piers of wooden bridges, wooden posts sunk deep in the ground, &c.

[169] According to Xenophon, Anab. v. 4. the Paphlagonian helmet was of leather. Probably, of thongs platted together.

[170] The Leuco-Syrians.

commander over the Maryandinians, and Ligyans, and Syri, Gobryas the son of Darius, by Artystone, commanded.
73 The Phrygians had very nearly the same accoutrements as the Paphlagonians, the difference being but trifling. The Phrygians, as the Macedonians relate, were called Briges, as long as they remained in Europe, and dwelt with the Macedonians; but having passed over into Asia, they not only changed their country, but likewise their name, taking that of Phrygians. The Armenians, being a colony of the Phrygians, were equipped in the same manner. The commander of both these tribes was Artochmes, whose wife was
74 a daughter of Darius. The Lydians had arms very nearly resembling the Hellenic These people were anciently called Meiones, but changed their name, and took their cognomen from Lydus the son of Atys. The Mysians wore on their heads the helmets of their country; they had small shields, and used pikes scorched by fire: these are a colony of the Lydians, from the mountain Olympus, and are called Olympieni. Both the Lydians and Mysians were headed by Artaphernes, a son of that Artaphernes who, together with
75 Datis[171], invaded Marathon. The Thracians joined the forces, wearing fox-skins[172] on their heads, and on their bodies tunics, over which they threw robes of various colours; on their feet and legs they wore buskins of fawn-skin, besides which, they had light shields[173], javelins, and small daggers. These people, after they had crossed over into Asia, took the name of Bithynians, but previously, as they themselves state, were called Strymonians, as they dwelt on the Strymon. They affirm that they were expelled from their country by the Teucri and Mysians. Bassaces the son of Artabanus
76 commanded the Thracians of Asia. . . . . .[174] had small bucklers of untanned ox-hides; and each carried two pikes, such as are used in hunting the wolf[175]: they wore on their

[171] See vi. 94, 111, &c.

[172] Supply δορὰς after ἀλωπεκίας.

[173] The pelta, or shield, used by the light troops among the Grecians, was borrowed from the Thracians.

[174] This cannot relate to the Thracians of Asia, since Herodotus has just spoken of their origin, of their chief, and of their arms: nor can it refer to the Thracians of Europe, who are mentioned in chap. 185 of this Book. I am therefore of the opinion of Corn. Pauw, that there is a hiatus here, and that we have not the name of the nation alluded to or that of the commander. Wesseling conjectured that they were the Chalybeans; first, because that nation had an oracle of Mars; secondly, because they were in the vicinity of the nations just mentioned in the text, as we may see in Herodotus, i. 28. *Larcher.*

[175] I have followed Schweighæuser's interpretation. Schneider, whose excellent Greek and German Lexicon entitles his opinions to respect, is decidedly on the side of those who read Λυκιουργίας, "after the Lycian fashion"

heads brass helmets; over these helmets they had ox's ears and horns of brass, and likewise crests; they wore red list twisted round their legs. There is among this people an oracle of Mars. The Cabeles-Mæonians, likewise called, 77
Lasonii, had the same dress as the Cilicians, which I will describe when I come to the division of the Cilicians[176]. The Milyæ had short pikes, and their garments were fastened with studs; many of them carried Lycian bows; on their heads they wore helmets made of tanned skins. The commander over all these was Badres the son of Hystanes. The Moschi wore on their heads wooden helmets, and carried 78
small shields, and lances furnished at the top with long points. The Tibareni, the Macrones, and the Mosynœci joined the expedition, equipped after the same manner as the Moschi. These tribes were drawn up by the following commanders. the Moschi and Tibareni, by Ariomardus the son of Darius, by Parmys daughter of Smerdis, Cyrus's son; the Macrones and Mosynœci by Artayctes[177] the son of Cherasmis, who was nominated to the government of Sestus on the Hellespont. The Mares wore on their heads, helmets 79
plaited after the fashion of the country; they carried small shields of leather, and javelins. The Colchians wore wooden helmets on their heads, and carried small bucklers of raw hide, and short spears; besides which, they were armed with cutlasses. Over the Mares and Colchians, Pharandapes the son of Teaspis commanded. The Alarodii and Saspeires marched, armed like the Colchians. these two tribes were commanded by Masistius the son of Siromitres. The insular 80
nations from the Erythrean sea, who followed the army, and came from the islands to which the King sends the persons called 'the banished,' had garments and arms nearly similar to the Medic. The commander of these islanders was Mardonius the son of Bagæus, who, in the year following, fell, at the head of the army, in the battle near Mycale[178].

Such were the nations who marched on the continent, and 81
composed the infantry. this portion of the army was commanded by the leaders above mentioned, whose duty it was to draw up the troops in line, and ascertain their numbers. they had likewise the privilege of appointing the chief officers of a thousand men, and of ten thousand; the commanders of ten thousand nominated those of one hundred and of ten. There were likewise other subaltern officers over the various squadrons and nations; but those

[176] See, further on, chap. 91.
[177] See ix 118, 119.
[178] See ix 101.

82 I have mentioned were the chief in command. Over these chiefs and the whole infantry were placed, as generals, Mardonius the son of Gobryas, Tritantæchmes the son of Artabanus (he who advanced as his opinion [179], that it was not expedient to carry war against Hellas), Smerdomenes the son of Otanes (these two were brothers' sons to Darius, and cousins to Xerxes), Masistes son of Darius by Atossa, Gergis son of Arizus, and Megabyzus son of Zopyrus.
83 These were generals over the whole forces, with the exception of the ten thousand. the general of these ten thousand chosen Persians was Hydarnes the son of Hydarnes. Those Persians were called 'immortal,' on the following account. Whenever any of the complement failed, by the stroke of death or malady, another man was selected; so that they were never either more or less than ten thousand. The Persians, of all [180], displayed the most magnificence in apparel, and at the same time were the best troops; their equipment was such as has been mentioned, except, that they were distinguished by the profusion and richness of their gold ornaments [181]. They took with them close carriages, containing their concubines, and a large train of attendants magnificently equipped: camels, and other beasts of burden, carried their provisions separate from that of the rest of the soldiers.
84 All these nations have cavalry: they did not, however, all furnish horse, but only the following. The Persians, equipped in the same manner as their infantry, except that some of their number wore on their heads ornaments flat-
85 tened [182] by the hammer, of brass and iron. There is a pastoral tribe of men called the Sagartians, a Persian nation, and using the same language; they have, however, a costume fashioned between that of the Persians and of the Pactyes: these people furnished eight thousand horse; but they use no arms, whether of brass or of iron, with the exception of daggers, but carry cords made of twisted thongs, to which they trust when they go to war. The following is the mode of fighting with these people: when they are in conflict with the foe, they throw out their cords, which have running-nooses at the end: whatsoever the noose may fall upon, whether horse or man, the Sagartian

[179] See chap. 10. of this Book.

[180] Zeigten, hatten den meisten Schmuck. *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.* παρέχεσθαι ἄρχοντα, of which we have seen more than one instance in this list of the troops, signifies, "to shew for commander," *i. e.* to have at their head, in the first rank.

[181] Equivalent to χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ ἀφθονῷ ἦσαν ἱμαρσιωτῖς or διαφερωτῖς. See p. 166, note 161.

[182] One of the significations of ἐξελαύνειν is, to work a plate of metal thin by the hammer or mallet.

draws towards him, and whatever is entangled in the bonds is put to death [183]. Such is their mode of fighting; and they were arrayed with the Persians. The Medic horse had the 86
same accoutrements as their troops in the foot service; and the Cissians as well. The Indian cavalry were equipped in the same manner as those on foot; but they rode both on horseback and in chariots: horses and wild-asses [184] were yoked to those cars. The Bactrians were accoutred like those on foot; and so were the Caspians. The Libyans, *that had horses,* had also the same accoutrement as those on foot; but all these troops drove chariots. The Caspiri and Paricanii were equipped like those on foot. The Arabians had the same apparel as the infantry; but they all rode camels, which in fleetness are not inferior to horses. Those 87
were the only nations that furnished cavalry: the number of the horse amounted to eighty thousand, without reckoning the camels and chariots. The rest of the cavalry, accordingly, was arrayed in squadrons. but the Arabians were stationed in the rear; for as horses cannot endure [185] the camel, they were placed the last, in order that the horses might not be terrified. The commanders-in-chief of the horse 88
were Armamithres and Tithæus, sons of Datis. their third colleague in the command of the cavalry, Pharnuches, had been left at Sardis, ill; for, as the troops were marching out of that town, he had a dreadful accident. he was on horseback, and a dog ran under the legs of the horse, which, not seeing it coming, was startled, and, rearing up, threw his rider. In consequence of this fall he vomited blood, and the disease turned to a consumption. The servants immediately executed the orders [186] of Pharnuches with respect to the horse, and, taking the animal to the place where he had

[183] Precisely the same method is used in South America to catch the horses and other cattle, which rove in vast herds over the extensive plains of that quarter of the world.

[184] The ὄναγος signifies, literally, "a wild ass." Larcher translates the word by *zebra,* an interpretation which I had at first adopted; but upon more careful inquiry, I am inclined to believe that the animal here mentioned was much larger than the zebra, having its skin divided into black and white strokes, although less-beautifully variegated than that of the zebra. A specimen of the animal I am alluding to was shewn, some time back, at Oxford, in one of the travelling menageries, where it was distinguished by the name of the onager. The onager was more docile and robust, and, consequently, better adapted for draught, than the zebra.

[185] Herodotus mentions the same thing, i. 80. Camels, however, are frequently seen, even in the northern states of Europe, promenading the streets, without startling the horses. Either the horse has changed his nature, or our respectable author *dormitat.*

[186] ὡς ἐκέλευε. See Matt. 409, *b.*

thrown his master, cut off his legs at the knees. Thus Pharnuches was deprived of his command.

89 The number of the triremes was twelve hundred and seven: the following nations furnished them. The Phœnicians, with the Syrians of Palestine, contributed three hundred. those people were thus equipped: on their heads they wore helmets, made pretty nearly after the Hellenic fashion; they had flax breastplates[187] on their bodies, and carried shields without iron rims[188], and javelins. These Phœnicians, as they themselves state, dwelt, in olden time, on the Erythræan sea; but, having proceeded upwards from thence, now inhabit the sea-side of Syria: that part of Syria, as well as the whole tract as far as Egypt, is called Palestine. The Egyptians furnished two hundred sail. these people wore plaited helmets on their heads, and carried convex bucklers with large rims, ship-spears, and large adzes. The greater part wore breastplates[189], and carried large
90 cutlasses. The Cyprians contributed one hundred and fifty sail: they were thus accoutred. their kings had their heads wrapped in turbans[190]; the rest wore tunics; and in other respects had the same costume as the Hellenes. The following are the nations of which the Cyprians are composed. some of them *are sprung* from Salamis and Athens, others from Arcadia, others from Ethiopia, as the Cyprians them-
91 selves represent. The Cilicians contributed one hundred sail: these people had their national helmets on their heads, and carried, instead of bucklers, light shields made of untanned ox-hide; they wore woollen tunics[191], and each individual was[192] armed with two javelins, and a sword made nearly like the Egyptian cutlasses: this nation was, in early times, called Hyparchæi, but took their present name from[193] Cilix, the son of Agenor, a native of Phœnicia. The Pamphylians furnished thirty sail; they were accoutred in Hellenic armour. These Pamphylians are *descendants* of the

[187] See p. 165, note 154.

[188] The ἴτυς was a sort of iron hoop surrounding the shield, and keeping it compact; the boss in the middle (the *umbo* of the Latins) was called the ὀμφαλός. Beloe translates, in this passage, "shields without bosses."

[189] I am surprised that Herodotus does not describe this part of the Egyptian dress, particularly as he states, i. 135, that the Persians had adopted it.

[190] The text is at variance with common sense. Pauw corrects κιτάρεις. The *citaris* was a sort of Persian turban. Larcher, thinking it not unlikely that the Cyprians might have borrowed their head-gear from the Persians, adopts the correction.

[191] The χιτὼν, *tunica*, or under-vest of the Greeks, was loose, and, being made of wool, was cleaned by the fuller: they wore no shirts; and hence their frequent use of the bath.

[192] See Matt. 301, *a*.

[193] See Matt. 584.

persons cast out of Troy at the same time with Amphilochus and Calchas. The Lycians contributed fifty sail; they wore 92
breastplates and greaves; they carried bows of dog-wood, and reed-arrows without wings, and javelins; over all they wore goats' skins, hanging round their shoulders; and on their heads, felt hats, crowned with wreaths of feathers; they had likewise poniards and scythes. The Lycians, sprung from Crete, were once called Termilæ, but have derived their present name from Lycus the son of Pandion, a native of Athens. The Dorians of Asia furnished thirty ships 93
these people are sprung from Peloponnesus, and have the Hellenic armour. The Carians contributed seventy sail; they were in other respects equipped like the Hellenes, but carried likewise scythes[194] and poniards. What these were formerly called has been mentioned in the First Book of the History[195]. The Ionians furnished one hundred vessels; they 94
were accoutred like the Hellenes. The Ionians, so long as they inhabited the country of Peloponnesus, now called Achaia, and previous to the arrival of Danaus and Xuthus in the peninsula, were, as the Hellenes relate, called Pelasgi-Ægialees[196]; but they have taken their present name from Ion the son of Xuthus. The islanders furnished seventeen 95
sail; they were armed like the Hellenes. This race is likewise Pelasgic, and took in later times the name of Ionian, by the same reason as the Ionians of the twelve towns derived from Athens. The Æolians furnished sixty sail; they were equipped in the same fashion as the Hellenes, and were of old called Pelasgi, according to the account of the Hellenes. The Hellespontines, with the exception of those of Abydos; (for it was enjoined by the King to the inhabitants of that town, to abide at home, and do the duty of guards over the bridges,) the rest, I say, of those who joined the expedition from the Hellespont, furnished one hundred sail, and were equipped like the Hellenes.—they are all colonies of Ionians and Dorians.

On board of all the vessels there were Persians, Medes, 96
and Sacæ, serving as fighting-men. The Phœnicians furnished the best-sailing ships of the fleet, and the Sidonians the best among the Phœnicians. Over all these individual nations, as well as over those of their number that belonged to the land-army, different native commanders were appointed, whose names I do not mention, as I am not necessa-

[194] These weapons would be very serviceable in boarding an enemy's ship.

[195] See i. 171.

[196] That is to say, "of the sea-shore"

rily compelled to do so for the purpose of history [197]; for not of every nation were the leaders deserving of commemoration; and in each nation, as many as the townships were, so many were the leaders. They did not, however, follow the expedition as commanders, but on a par with the other tributaries [198] in the army; and, moreover, the generals who had all the power, and such commanders of the various nations [199] as were Persians, have been enumerated by me.

97 The following were commanders over the naval armament: Ariabignes the son of Darius, Prexaspes the son of Aspathines, Megabazus the son of Megabates, and Achæmenes the son of Darius. Ariabignes the son of Darius by Gobryas's daughter was commander of the Ionian and Carian squadron; Achæmenes, brother to Xerxes on both sides, was commander of the Egyptians; the other two commanded the rest of the fleet. It was ascertained [200] that the triconters and penteconters, cercuri [201], and long vessels for the transport of horse, were collected, to the number of three

98 hundred. Of those who joined the fleet, the following were (I mean next to the admirals) the most illustrious: Tetramnestus the son of Anysas, a native of Sidon; Mapen the son of Siromus, a Tyrian; Merbalus the son of Agbalus, of Aradis; Syennesis the son of Oromedon, a Cilician; and Cyberniscus the son of Sices, a Lycian; together with the two Cyprians, Gorgus the son of Chersis, and Timonax the son of Timagoras; and of the Carians, Histiæus the son of Tymnes, Pigres the son of Seldomus, and Damasithymus the

99 son of Candaules. Of the rest of the commanders of the line, I forbear to make mention, as there is no necessity,

[197] *τῶν ἐγὼ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίη ἐξέργομαι ἐς ἱστορίης λόγον, οὐ παραμέμνημαι.* I take *ἐς* in the sense of "with respect to:" see Matt. 578, third paragraph. Herodotus generally takes *ἱστορίη* in the sense of research or inquiry: Larcher therefore translates the passage before us, "Mais n'étant point obligé à faire la recherche de leurs noms, &c. *But not being obliged to inquire into their names.*" If such had been the meaning of the historian, he would have written, *οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίη ἐξέργομαι* (or rather *ἐξέρχθην*) *ἱστορίῃσιν σφῶν τὰ οὐνόματα*, whereas the construction of the text is evidently *οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίη ἐξέργομαι* (*παραμεμνῆσθαι αὐτῶν*) *ἐς* (i. e. *κατὰ*) *λόγον ἱστορίης.*

[198] *δοῦλος* signifies, not only a slave, but the subject of a *δεσπότης*. The meaning is obvious: those generals whose power was acknowledged by the court were all Persians; each nation, tribe, and township had its own native chiefs, whose rank, however, was not acknowledged by the court.

[199] That is to say, in the land-service.

[200] *συνελθόντα ἐφάνη.* See Matt. 548, 5. second paragraph.

[201] *τριακοντήρης*, a vessel of burthen, of thirty oars. *πεντηκοντήρης*, a vessel of burthen, of fifty oars. *κέρκουρος*, a sort of light craft, peculiar to the Cyprians.

excepting[202] Artemisia, a lady, whose participation in the war against Hellas I regard as a most astonishing occurrence: this woman, after the death of her husband, had taken into her own hands the supreme power, although she had a son grown up, and joined in the war from a motive[203] of spirit and valour, when there was no necessity imposed on her. her name was Artemisia; she was a daughter of Lygdamis; by extraction, on her father's side, she was of Halicarnassus; and on her mother's, a Cretan. She headed the Halicarnasseans, the Coans, the Nisyrians, and the Calydnians, furnishing five sail, and displayed the best ships of the whole combined fleet, next at least to the Sidonians: of all the confederates, she gave the best counsel to the King. The origin of the tribes, which, as I have said, she commanded, was (I wish to make known) Dorian, the Halicarnassians being from Trœzen, and the others from Epidaurus. So much for the naval armament.

When the troops had been numbered, and were drawn up, 100
Xerxes conceived a wish to go along the ranks, and review them in person. This he did; and, proceeding in a chariot before each separate tribe, made various inquiries, which the secretaries wrote down, until he had gone from one extremity to the other, both of the horse and foot. When this review was over, and the ships had been launched[204], Xerxes changed his chariot for a Sidonian vessel, where he seated himself under a golden awning, and sailed along the stems of the ships, making inquiries respecting each, in the same manner as he had done with the land-forces, and causing[205] *the answers* to be set down in writing. The captains had their ships about four hundred fathoms from the strand, and there lay to, keeping the prows in one line, turned to the land, and stationing the fighting-men in full accoutrement, as if for battle, while the King, then sailing on the mid-space between the stems of the ships and the shore, reviewed the fleet.

Having thus sailed along the fleet, and landed from the 101
vessel, he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who followed in his suite this expedition against Hellas. Having called this individual into his presence, he put the following

[202] Construction: Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ (παραμιμνημαι), γυναικὸς, τῆς στρατευσαμένης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μάλιστα ποιεῦμαι θῶμα. The expression, ποιεῦμαι θῶμα, is equivalent to θαυμάζω: hence the genitive in regimine. See Matt. 373, *obs.*

[203] See Matt. 592.

[204] We have seen, higher up, c. 59, that the vessels had been hauled on dry land: here they are set afloat again. The first operation was called ἀνελκύσαι τὰς νῆας, the second καθελκύσαι. *Larcher.*

[205] See Matt. 492, *c.*

question to that prince: "Demaratus, it is now my pleasure "to ask of you some questions, which I wish *to be answered.* "You are of Hellenic birth, and, as I understand, not only "from yourself, but from the rest of your countrymen who "have come into my presence, you belong to a city both the "largest and the strongest[206]. Now, therefore, tell me this— "whether the Hellenes will dare[207] to raise their hands "against me. For I conceive, not only were all the Hel- "lenes, but even the rest of the nations dwelling towards "the west, collected[208] in one body, they would not be strong "enough to abide my onset, unless they were united in one "body. I wish, however, to learn from your own lips also "what your opinion may be on these matters." Such was the question put by the King: and Demaratus said in reply, "Sire, whether shall I follow—truth, or your gratification, "in my answer?" The King bade him speak the truth, promising that he would not be less favourable in his sight
102 than he was before. When Demaratus had received that promise, he spake as follows: "Sire, since you insist I should "speak the truth, and answer in such a manner that I "may not hereafter be convicted by you of having spoken "falsely, *I will obey*[209]. poverty, from the earliest period, "has constantly been the foster-sister[210] of Hellas; but vir- "tue is an acquired friend, the daughter of[211] wisdom and "firm laws: with her help, Hellas, wards off both poverty "and thraldom. I undoubtedly give praise to all the Hel- "lenes who dwell around those Doric lands; but will make[212] "these observations, not in reference to all, but to the Lace- "dæmonians only. in the first place, *I dare affirm,* they will "in no case[213] hearken to your proposal, bringing slavery

[206] Matt. 463.

[207] ὑπομενέουσι (literally, *persevere*) ἀντασιρόμενοι. See Matt. 549, 7.

[208] εἰ with the optative, as the premises are hypothetical; and εἰσι indicative in the conclusion. See Matt. 524, 3.

[209] Construction: ἐπειδὴ πάντως με κελεύεις ἀληθηΐῃ διαχρήσασθαι, ταῦτα λέγοντα (equivalent to καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν) τὰ (for ἃ) μὴ ψευδόμενός τις ἀλώσεται ὕστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ, (ἐγὼ λέξω τάδε). In which I take τις to stand for the personal pronoun ἐγὼ. Matt. 487, 3. Valckenaer construes differently: ἐπειδὴ με ταῦτα λέγοντα κελεύεις ἀληθηΐῃ χρήσασθαι, (λέξω) τὰ (λέξας) μὴ ψευδόμενός τις ὕστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ ἁλώσεται. "Since thou biddest me, in my answer on this subject, to follow truth, I will say those things which no one saying will hereafter be convicted of falsehood by thee." This construction, however, does not agree with the punctuation of Schweighæuser and Dr. Gaisford, who place the comma before ταῦτα λέγοντα.

[210] Matt. 397, *a.*

[211] I have endeavoured to transfer into English the opposition in the text between σύντροφος and ἔπακτος: the literal translation is, "poverty is a fellow-nursling (*i.e.* is inherent to) of Greece; but virtue is acquired; having been accomplished by," &c.

[212] Matt. 559, *c.*

[213] οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως, κατὰ, "by no means, in no case" See Matt. 482. *obs.* 2.

" on Hellas · secondly, that they will meet you in battle;
" and that, even were all the rest of the Hellenes to side
" with you. In regard to[214] their numbers, ask not how many
" are the men ready to act in this manner; for were they
" to muster for battle a thousand, or more, or even less, still
" they would enter the field against you." Xerxes, hearing 103
this, laughed, and said: " Demaratus, what a strange obser-
" vation have you made, that one thousand men would fight
" with such an army as this! Come; you say, don't you,
" that you were once king over these men? I put it to you,
" will you now engage against ten men? Yet, if all your
" population[215] is such as you yourself represent, according
" to your usage, you, their king[216], ought to be able to with-
" stand at least the double. If, then, each citizen is a match
" for ten men of my army, I expect, at least, you should be
" a match for twenty: thus your observation would be well
" founded: but if, similar to yourself, and of the same size
" as you and those of the Hellenes who are wont to come
" into my presence, you Hellenes boast of such power, look
" to it[217], is not the speech you have uttered an idle[218] vaunt?
" For, let us confine ourselves only to the utmost verge of
" probability[219]: how could a thousand, or even ten thou-
" sand, or even fifty thousand men—supposing them at least
" all free alike, and not ruled by one—how could they, I say,
" withstand such a vast army as this? Indeed, supposing them
" to be five thousand, we are more than a thousand to every
" one[220]. No doubt, were they, after our custom, governed
" by one sovereign, they might, out of fear of him, acquire
" a courage superior to their nature; and, although inferior
" in number, they might, compelled by the lash, march
" against superior forces; but, abandoned to their own free-
" will, they will do neither. For my part, I conceive that,
" even were they equal in numbers, the Hellenes could hardly
" stand against the Persians alone; for the valour that you
" speak of exists among us, though not often met with[221]:

[214] See Matt. 320, 3.

[215] τὸ πολιτικὸν, "the citizens (πολῖται) collectively considered as a body." Matt. 267, *a*.

[216] Concerning the power of the article in apposition, see Matt. 274.

[217] "Vide ne *fuerit* ostentatio, i. e. vereor." Matt. 518, last paragraph.

[218] μάτην, the adverb instead of the adjective. Matt. 604.

[219] φέρε ἴδω πάντα τῷ οἰκότι, "Age, videamus probabili quaque ratione *quid effici possit*." *Schweig. Lex. Herod. voc.* εἶκος.

[220] The preposition περὶ is used in rather an extraordinary sense, instead of πρὸς or παρὰ. Matt. 454. Perhaps the sense is, "we are more than a thousand to encompass every one." See Schweig. Not.

[221] In the Greek, "It is however not frequent, but rare."

" there are some Persians, belonging to my body-guard[222], " who would not refuse to engage with three Hellenes at a " time: but, as you have not made trial of those men, you
1 " must be joking." To this Demaratus made answer: " Sire, " from the first I knew, that by following truth I should say " something that would offend you; but, as you compel me " to speak nothing but the truth, I have mentioned *facts* as " pertaining to the Spartans; although you must be fully con- " vinced how dearly I now[223] love the people, who, after de- " priving me of my paternal honour and office, have made " me a fugitive, without a country; while your father re- " ceived me, and gave me a fortune and a house: indeed it " is not likely that any prudent man should reject that bene- volence of which he has experienced the effects, but rather " that he should greatly cherish it. I do not pretend to be ' able to engage with ten men, or even with two; in truth, ' I would not willingly fighth and to hand with one: still, were " there a necessity, or did some great danger provoke me, " I would, without hesitation, fight with one of those men who " say that they are each a match for three Hellenes[224]. So " likewise the Lacedæmonians, fighting hand to hand, are " inferior to no men; but when collected, they are the most " valiant of all. for though they are free, they are not wholly " independent: they have a master over them, whom they " fear much more even than your subjects do you. hence " they perform whatever the law may command; and it " commands ever the same thing; forbidding them to fly " from battle before any multitude of men, but abide[225] in " their ranks, and conquer or die. If, in saying this, I appear " to you to joke, I will henceforward on other matters [re- " garding the Spartans] hold my peace. I have spoken now " through compulsion. Nevertheless, I pray that events, my " lord, may come to pass as you wish."
05 Such was the reply of Demaratus. Xerxes burst into laughter, and, without evincing any anger, dismissed him kindly. Subsequent to this conversation, the King appointed Mascames, son of Megadostes, governor of Doris-

[222] *αἰχμοφόρους* and *δορυφόρους* signify, literally, "a lance- or spear-bearer, *i. e.* a soldier armed with a lance." As the body-guard of the king of Persia and other sovereigns were armed with lances, the two words are often used in the sense of body-guard. *Schneid. Gr. Germ Lex.*

[223] The sentence is ironical. *τὰ νῦν τάδε*, "just now" see Matt. 471, 9. *ἱστοργώς*, perfect middle, in a transitive sense. Matt. 494.

[224] *οἱ ἕκαστος*. Matt. 301, *obs.*

[225] Supply *χιλιόων* before *μίνοντας*: the reason of which is stated in Matt. 534.

cus[226], after previously deposing the person who had been placed there by Darius; and marched his army away, through Thrace, against Hellas. Mascames, whom he left at this 106
place, conducted himself in such a manner, that he was the only person to whom Xerxes was wont to send gifts; having surpassed in valour all the governors whom either he himself, or his father Darius, had appointed. He sent him presents every year; and so did Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, to the descendants of Mascames. Indeed, previous to the present expedition, governors had been appointed in every part of Thrace and the Hellespont; all of whom, accordingly, excepting the governor of Doriscus, were, subsequent to this invasion, driven by the Hellenes out of Thrace and the Hellespont[227]: but none could drive out Mascames, the governor of Doriscus[228], notwithstanding many made the attempt. Among those who were ejected by the Hellenes, king Xerxes 107
conceived that not one had shewn himself a man of courage, with the exception of Boges alone, who was governor of Eion[229]. That general he never ceased to praise; and honoured highly his surviving sons, who were in Persia[230]. In fact, Boges was deserving of great commendation; for when besieged by the Athenians, headed by Cimon the son of Miltiades, although he had an opportunity of quitting the fort by capitulation, and returning into Asia, he refused to do so, lest he should be thought by the King to have saved his life through cowardice: he held out to the last, and when there were no longer any provisions in the place, he collected a large pile of wood, and putting to death his children, his wife, his concubines, and his domestics, cast them into the fire. He then scattered over the ramparts into the Strymon all the gold and silver in the town; and having done this, he threw himself into the flames. In consequence of this action of Boges, he is with justice commended, even to the present times, by the Persians.

Xerxes advanced from Doriscus against Hellas; and uni- 108
formly compelled such nations as he fell in with to join the

[226] ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ, "in this Doriscus:" the demonstrative pronoun refers the reader to c. 59, where the digression respecting the number of the troops, their accoutrements, &c. commences. See Schweig. Not.

[227] ἐκ Θρηϊκης seems to be governed by ἐξηρίθησαν. The words, οἵ τε ἐκ Θρηϊκης καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, may however mean, "both those of Thrace and those of the Hellespont." See Matt. 270, *a*.

[228] τὸν ἐν Δορίσκῳ, "the Doriscian *governor*." Matt. 270.

[229] τὸν ἐξ Ἠιόνος. See the two preceding notes.

[230] He adds "in Persia," because Boges killed those of his children who were shut up with him in the place. *Larcher*.

army: for, as I have before observed[231], the whole country, as far as Thessaly, had been enslaved, and was tributary to the King; having been subdued by Megabazus, and subsequently by Mardonius. On the march from Doriscus, he first passed the Samothracian forts, the last of which, towards the west, is a city called Mesambria: adjoining it is Stryme, a city of the Thrasians: midway between those two places flows the river Lissus, which at this period was insufficient to furnish water to Xerxes' army, and failed. This quarter was anciently called Gallaica, but now bears the name of Briantica. This territory, however, in strict right, be-
09 longs also to the Ciconians[232]. After crossing the bed of the river Lissus, which had been thus dried up[233], he passed by the following Hellenic towns: Maronea, Dicæa, Abdera. He passed, accordingly, near the above places, and likewise along the following celebrated contiguous lakes: the Ismaris, lying between Maronea and Stryme; the Bistonis, near Dicæa; into which, two rivers discharge their waters—the Traures and Compsatus. Near Abdera, Xerxes did not pass by any celebrated lake; but crossed the river Nestus, which falls into the sea. Continuing his march beyond those countries, he passed by other continental places; near one of which is a lake almost thirty stades in circuit, well stored with fish, and excessively brackish: this lake the sumpter-beasts alone dried up, when watered there. The name of the above town is Pistyrus. These maritime and Hellenic cities, accordingly,
110 were passed by on the left. The nations of Thrace, through whose territory he took his road, are these: the Pæti, Cicones, Bistones, Sapæi, Dersæi, Edoni, Satræ. Of these, such as inhabited the sea-side followed the King on shipboard: those I have just enumerated, dwelling inland, were all
111 compelled to join his land-forces, excepting the Satræ. The Satræ were never subjected to any one man, as far as we know of; but have been, down to my time, the only tribe of the Thracians that remained free. in truth, these people live on lofty snow-clad mountains, abounding in all kinds of trees: they are likewise valiant in matters of war. This is the nation that possesses the oracle of Bacchus. the shrine is situated on the top of the highest range of their mountains. The Bessi act as interpreters of the oracles of the temple, among the Satræ[234]; and the person who pronounces them

[231] See v. 12, 15. vi. 43, 44, 45.

[232] Cf. chap. 59, 110.

[233] Ῥείθρον ῥεύματος διαφέρει. ῥείθρον μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ τόπος δι' οὗ φέρεται τὸ ῥεῦμα· ῥεῦμα δὲ, αὐτὸ τὸ ὕδωρ. Ammon. de Different. Voc.

[234] οἱ προφητεύοντες. The interpreters of the will of the gods; those who write down, announce, and promulgate the oracles which the

is a woman, as at Delphi; and the responses are not at all more ambiguous[235]. Xerxes, having crossed the above-mentioned country, marched afterwards by the castles of the Pieres; one of which bears the name of Phagres, and the other that of Pergamus; taking his road along those two places; and leaving on the right-hand Mount Pangæus, which is lofty and extensive, containing gold and silver mines; some of which the Pieres and Odomanti work, although the greater part are possessed by the Satræ. Having made his way through the nations inhabiting higher up, to the north of the Pangæus—namely, the Pæonians, Doberes, and Pæoplæ—he pursued his march westward, till he reached the banks of the Strymon, and the city of Eion, over which Boges, of whom I have just made mention, being still alive, was governor. The land about Mount Pangæus is called Phyllis: it stretches westward, to the bank of the river Angites, which falls into the Strymon: southward it stretches to the Strymon itself, in whose honour the Magi performed service, sacrificing white horses[236]. Having performed those, and many other magic ceremonies besides, to the river, they proceeded, by the Nine-Ways in Edonia, over the bridges they found thrown across the Strymon. Informed that the place was called the Nine-Ways, they there buried alive that number of the sons and virgin-daughters of the natives. It is a Persian usage to bury alive: for I understand that Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, in her old age, buried fourteen sons of illustrious Persians on her own behalf[237], in order to shew her gratitude to the deity said to be under ground.

112 113 114

When the army advanced from the Strymon, they found, in the west, a shore, where they passed by Argilus, an Hellenic town[238], situate in that quarter: this territory, as well as that higher up, is called Bisaltia. From thence, having on their left-hand the bay near[239] the temple of Neptune, they marched over a plain called Syleum; and passing by Stagirum, an Hellenic town, reached Acanthus; taking with

115

priestess has pronounced. *Larcher.* *οἱ προφητεύοντες* is equivalent to *οἱ προφῆται*: the construction, however, is not very clear, whether it should be *οἱ προφῆται* (*ὄντες τοῦ Διοῦ*, or *τῶν χρησμῶν*) *ἐν τῷ τῶν Σατρέων ἱερῷ*, or *οἱ τῶν Σατρέων προφῆται ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἱερῷ*. See Schweigh. Not.

[235] *ποικιλώτερον* must be construed as an adverb after *χρέουσα*

[236] Schweighæuser, in his Lex. Herod. suppresses the comma after *ἐκαλλιρέοντο*, and gives the following construction: *ἐκαλλιρέοντο οἱ μάγοι σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοὺς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν*, "sacrificing white horses, so that their blood might flow into the river." Larcher, on the other hand, asserts, on the authority of Strabo, that in these ceremonies the greatest care was taken that the blood should not contaminate the water.

[237] *ὑπὲρ ἐωυτῆς*. See Matt. 582.

[238] Matt. 429, 4.

[239] Matt. 584.

them each of the above nations, and of those residing around Mount Pangæus, together with the others I have before enumerated[240]: such as dwelt near the sea, they made to serve aboard the fleet: those settled higher up, were made to follow on foot. This line of country, by which Xerxes marched his forces, the Thracians never disturb nor sow, but
116 venerate greatly, down to my time. When the army was come to Acanthus, the Persian King commanded the inhabitants to prepare a feast for him[241], and presented them with a Medic dress: he gave them praise, seeing that they were ardent for the war, and hearing the details of the excava-
117 tion[242]. While Xerxes was at Acanthus, it happened that the superintendant of the canal, Artachæes, died of disease: he was much respected by the King, and was of the race of the Achæmediæ: in stature, he was the tallest of the Persians; for he was, all but four fingers' breadth, five royal cubits high: he was likewise stronger in voice than any other man: so that[243] Xerxes, much afflicted by his loss, caused him to be carried to the grave and buried with great pomp; and the whole army raised a burrow on his grave. To this Artachæes, the Acanthians, in obedience to an oracle, perform ceremonies, as to a hero, invoking his name. King Xerxes, accordingly, was much affected at
118 the death of Artachæes. Those of the Hellenic nations who received the army, and furnished entertainments for Xerxes, were driven to extreme distress[244]; so much so, that they were obliged to forsake their homes[245]. for Antipater the son of Orges, a most respectable citizen[246], having been selected for the purpose by the Thasians, when, in the name of[247] their continental towns, they received and feasted Xerxes and his army, proved that four hundred talents of silver had been expended in the banquet. And nearly to the same amount was the account given in by the presidents in the other places; for the entertainment, which, it must be remembered[248], was ordered long beforehand, and prepared

[240] See chap. 108, 110, &c.

[241] I have followed Schweighæuser's interpretation: "edixit (*vel* indixit) eis, se hospitio illorum esse usurum." *Schw. Lex. Herod.* Valckenaer's explanation is very different: "atque in amicorum jussit hospitumque numerum referri." Larcher follows Valckenaer.

[242] καὶ τὸ ἔρυγμα ἀκούων, equivalent, it seems, to καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐρύγματος ἀκούων, "and hearing the particulars of the excavation." There seems, however, to be something omitted in the text; for instance, ἐὺστεπὴς εἶναι.

[243] ὥστε Ξέρξεα . . . δάψαι. Matt. 543.

[244] See Matt. 442, 3.

[245] That is to say, that their misery compelled them to go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. *Larcher.*

[246] Construction: ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ἐμεῖα τῷ μάλιστα (δοκίμῳ). See Matt. 289.

[247] ὑπὲρ, "on the behalf of." Matt. 582.

[248] I have endeavoured to express the οἷα of the text, which serves to account for the magnificence of the feasts.

with much care[249], was of the following nature. In the first place, as soon as they heard the orders proclaimed by the heralds, the citizens divided among themselves the corn that was in the towns, and all were busy for several months in making wheat and barley flour[250]. in the second place, they fattened cattle, looking out for the best that could be purchased[251], and fed land and water fowl in houses and ponds, for the feasting of the army. in the third place, they prepared gold and silver cups and vessels to hold the wine and water[252], together with all the other articles which are placed on the table: the above preparations were accordingly made for the King himself and those who sat at his table: no other preparations were made for the rest of the troops, beyond the contingency of provisions on each country. Wherever the army came, there was a tent ready pitched, in which Xerxes himself took up his abode, while the rest of the army remained in the open air. When the hour of supper was at hand, those who received the King were full of business; but the guests, after eating their fill, passed the night in the place, and wrenched up the tent the following morning, and took away all that could be moved. thus they departed, leaving nothing behind them, but carrying away all. On 120
this occasion, a witty observation was made by Megacreon, a citizen of Abdera, who advised his fellow-citizens, "that "all the population, men and women, should go to the tem- "ples, sit down as suppliants of the gods, and beseech that, "for the future, the divinities would continue to avert one "half of the calamities that threatened the country. in re- "spect to the past, they were greatly indebted to them, that "king Xerxes was not in the custom of taking food twice "every day; for had commands been given to the people of "Abdera to prepare a dinner in a similar manner to the "supper, they must either not have awaited the arrival of "Xerxes, or, if they had awaited him, have been ground "down to the utmost misery of mankind." The different

[249] περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενον, "magnâ curâ adparata." *Schweig. Vers. Lat.* Another translation might be given, more suitable, I think, to the context: "and held *by them* (*the different nations*) to be of great importance."

[250] The flour of the Greeks was made by hand-mills, consisting of a truncated cone of hard stone, with a sort of moveable cap of the same material: the grain was placed between the two stones, and the upper one was driven round by means of two levers. One of these mills, of very high antiquity, is still to be seen at Leucadia (now Santa Maura). others of the same kind have likewise been found in the Neapolitan excavations at the foot of Vesuvius.

[251] Construction: ἐξευρίσκοντες τὰ κάλλιστα (ἀντὶ) τιμῆς, "for money."

[252] Craters. See the First Volume of this Work, Book III. note 207

nations, accordingly, though much oppressed, executed nevertheless the order imposed on them.

121 At Acanthus, Xerxes dismissed from his presence the fleet on their voyage, with orders to the admirals to lay their ships to at Therma; (*I mean the* Therma situate on the Thermæan gulf, and from which that bay takes its name;) for he was informed that it was the shortest way by that town. From Doriscus, as far as Acanthus, the troops had performed their march in the following order. Xerxes divided all the land-forces into three bodies[253]; and gave orders to one of them to take, together with the fleet, the road along the sea-shore. over this division, accordingly, Mardonius and Masistes were commanders: another of the three divisions proceeded on their march inland, commanded by Tritantæchmes and Gergis; while the third body, with which was Xerxes himself, marched midway, between the two others, and had for leaders Smerdomenes and Megaby-

122 zus. The fleet, accordingly, when dismissed by Xerxes, navigated through the canal at Athos, leading to the bay[254] on which stand the towns of Assa, Piloros, Singus, and Sarta; and having taken troops from those towns likewise, stood on[255] for the Thermæan gulf: doubled Ampelus, the Toronæan foreland, and passed by the following Hellenic cities, from which they took vessels and men: Torona, Galepsus, Sermyla, Mecyberna, Olynthus; all which country is called

123 Sithonia. Xerxes' fleet now stretched across from Cape Ampelus to the Cape Canastæum, which point projects out the farthest of all Pallene. in this quarter they took vessels and hands from Potidæa, Aphytis, Neapolis, Ægа, Therambus, Sciona, Menda, and Sana[256]: for those are the cities belonging to the modern Pallene, anciently called Phlegra. Having coasted by this country also, they steered for the appointed place, taking reinforcements likewise from the towns near Pallene, and bordering on the Thermæan Bay; of which the names are these: Lipaxus, Combeira, Lisæ, Gigonos, Campsa, Smila, Ænea: the territory of those towns is called, even to this day, Crossœa. From Ænea, with which I finished my enumeration of the towns, the course of the fleet was in the direction of the Thermæan gulf and the Mygdonian territory. At last, they reached the appointed place, Therma; and came to Sindus, a city, and Chalestra, on the banks of the river Axius, which skirts

[253] See Matt. 413. *obs.* 4, sixth paragraph. The author follows the reading, ἐς τρεῖς μοίρας.

[254] The Singitic gulf.

[255] ἴστλει ἀπίμενος. Matt. 559, *b*.

[256] This Sana is very different from that mentioned before, c. 22.

the Mygdonian territory; and that of Bottiæis, of which latter country a narrow tract, near the sea, is occupied by the towns of Ichnæ and Pella.

The naval troops, accordingly, waiting for the King, 124
encamped[257] in this quarter, about the river Axius and the town of Therma, and the other places between the city and the river. Meanwhile, Xerxes and the land-forces marched from Acanthus, cutting across the land[258], with the intention of proceeding to Therma. He proceeded across the territory of Pæonia and Crestone, on the banks of the river Echeidorus; which, taking its rise in the country of the Crestonians, flows through the territory of the Mygdonians, and discharges its waters[259] near the swamp on the banks of the river Axius. As he was advancing in this direction, the lions fell upon 125
his camels, which were used for carrying the provisions: coming down at night, and forsaking their lairs, these wild-beasts touched nothing else, whether cattle or man, but attacked the camels only. I am at a loss to conjecture what could be the cause that induced the lions, at this time refraining from the other animals, to fall upon the camels, a beast which they had never before seen nor made trial of. There are however, in those quarters, abundance of lions, 126
and wild bulls, the horns of which are of exceeding length, and are imported into Hellas. the boundaries of the lions are the Nestus, a river which flows through Abdera, and the Achelous, which flows through Acarnania: for nowhere eastward of the Nestus does one see, in the fore part of Europe[260], a lion, nor in the rest of the continent west of the Achelous: they breed only in the tract between those streams. When Xerxes was arrived at Therma, he there 127
commanded his army to halt; and the troops, encamping, occupied the following space along the sea: beginning from the town of Therma and Mygdonia, the camp extended as far as the rivers Lydias and Heliacmon, which, mingling their streams in one channel, serve as a boundary to Bottiæis and Macedonia. In these countries, accordingly, the bar-

[257] That is to say, no doubt, they hauled their ships on dry land, and encamped themselves on shore. See p. 71, note 25, of this Volume.

[258] *τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ*: this is denominated by Schweighæuser, "mira constructio:" it is equivalent to *τάμνων τὴν μεσόγαιαν ὁδόν*. See Matt. 442, 2. The expression *τίμνειν*, or *τίμνεσθαι ὁδὸν*, signifies, "to enter upon a road." *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.*

[259] Supply *ὕδωρ* or *ῥεῦμα* after *ἐξιεῖσι*. Larcher translates, "et se jette dans l'Axius, près du marais qui est près de ce fleuve." "*and falls into the Axius, near the marsh which is near that river.*"

[260] *τῆς ἠμπροσθεν Εὐρώπης*. Matt. 270, *a*. Herodotus means that part of Europe which is nearest to Asia. *Schweig. Lex. Herod.*

barians encamped. Of the above-mentioned rivers, the Echeidorus, which comes down from the country of the Crestonians, was the only one that was not sufficient for the troops, but was drunk dry[261].

128 Xerxes beheld from Therma the Thessalian mountains, Olympus and Ossa, which are of enormous size. Informed that there was a narrow gorge between them, by which the Peneus runs, and hearing that in that quarter was the road leading into Thessaly, he felt a desire to go on board a ship, and see the mouth of the river; as it was his intention to march his troops across the lands of the Macedonians who dwell in the upper parts, to the country of the Perrhæbi, along the city of Gonnus; for he understood that in that direction the road was safest. As he wished, he did; and going aboard a Sidonian vessel, in which he was always wont to embark when he performed any excursion of this kind, he made signal to all the rest of the fleet to get under weigh, and left the land-forces where they were encamped. When Xerxes arrived, and beheld the mouth of the Peneus, he was struck with great wonder; and, calling into his presence the road-guides, he inquired whether it would be possible to divert the course of the river, and make it fall into

129 the sea at some other place[262]. It is related, that Thessaly was anciently a lake, being enclosed on all parts by very lofty mountains; for the side lying towards the east was shut in by Mount Pelion and by Ossa, which join one another at the foot; while Olympus enclosed it to the north, Pindus to the west, and Othrys to the south; and the space lying in the midst of the above-mentioned mountains constitutes the bason of Thessaly. Now many different rivers roll their waters into this valley; the most remarkable of which are the following five: the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamisus: all the above-named rivers, accordingly, collecting into the plain from the mountains which encircle Thessaly, discharge their waters into the sea by one gorge, and that a narrow one, after wedding their waters into one bed. Immediately from the place where

[261] Supply *κατὰ ῥεῦμα*.

[262] The drift of Xerxes' question is explained at c. 130. The student will observe, that *ἐστὶ, εἶναι, ἦν*, &c. with the dative or accusative of the participle and the infinitive, signify, "it is possible, *or*, there is an opportunity, for me, for you, for him," &c., like *est* for *licet*: the construction, therefore, will be, *εἰ ἐστὶ* (whether it is possible for one) *παρατρέψαντα τὸν ποταμὸν* (by diverting the stream) *ἐξαγαγεῖν* (*τὸ ῥεῦμα*) *ἐτέρῃ* (*ὁδῷ*) *ἐς θάλασσαν*. A similar phraseology occurs at the bottom of ch. 17, in the Fifth Book: *ἔστι . . . τὸ ὄρος ὑπερβάντα εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίῃ*, "by passing over the mountains, one may—it is possible for one to—find oneself in Macedonia." *Translat.*

these rivers mingle their streams, the names of all merge into that of the Peneus[263]. It is related, however, that in former days, this gorge and issue not existing, the above streams, and, in addition to them, the lake Bœbeis, did not yet bear the names which they now do, but nevertheless flowed as at present; and the accumulation of their waters made the whole of Thessaly a sea. Accordingly, the Thessalians themselves say that Neptune made the gorge through which the Peneus flows: their account is probably true; for whoever assents to the belief that this deity is the cause of the commotions of the earth, and that the places which are rent asunder by earthquakes are the works of Neptune, must allow, when he sees this country, that god to be the author; for the separation of the mountains[264], it appears evident to me, is the effect of an earthquake. The guides, when asked 130
by Xerxes whether there was any other issue by which the Peneus might discharge his waters into the sea, being well acquainted with the country, replied: "Sire, there is no other "outlet for this river, into the sea, besides this alone; for "the whole of Thessaly is crowned on every side with moun- "tains." Having received this answer, Xerxes, it is said, observed: "The Thessalians are wise men: they have long ago "altered their minds[265], and taken proper precautions in all "things, and particularly in respect of their country, which "it is easy to conquer and subdue for it would only be ne- "cessary to send the river on their lands, by forcing back "the stream from this gorge with a mound, and repelling it "into the channels by which it flows; so as all Thessaly, ex- "cepting the mountains, should be deluged." This observation he made in allusion to the sons of Aleuas, because they were Thessalians, and the first to deliver themselves up to the King; Xerxes fancying they had proffered their friendship on the part of the whole nation. Having thus spoken, and gratified his curiosity, the King sailed back to Therma.

He then passed several days in the neighbourhood of 131
Pieria; during which, one-third of the army was busied in cutting down the trees on the Macedonian range, in order that the whole of the forces might pass over in that direction to the country of the Perrhæbi. Meanwhile, the heralds who had

[263] Literally, "the Peneus gaining the victory as to the name, makes the others to be without any appellation" Concerning εἶναι with ποιέει, see Matt. 414, 1, *b*.

[264] Olympus and Ossa, between which the Peneus flows. *Larcher*.

[265] When Darius sent to make the demand of earth and water to the people of Greece, the Thessalians refused; but afterwards the Aleuadæ delivered themselves to the King, and, as he thought, by the wish of the people. See VI. 48. VII. 6. and the end of this chapter. *Schweig. Lex. Herod voc.* γνωσιμαχέειν.

been despatched into Hellas, to make the demand of earth[266], returned; some empty-handed, others bringing earth and
132 water. Of those who gave them were the following nations: the Thessalians, the Dolopes, the Enienes, the Perrhæbi, the Locri, the Magnetes, the Malies, the Achæi of Phthiotis, the Thebans, and the rest of the Bœotians, excepting the Thespians and Platæans. In opposition to these, the Hellenes who undertook war against the barbarian entered into a league[267]: the oath ran thus[268]: "Such Hellenes "as have given themselves up to the Persian, without com- "pulsion, shall, when affairs are settled, be made to pay the
133 "tithe of their property[269] to the god at Delphi." Such was the oath sworn among the Hellenes. To Athens and Sparta the Persian sent no heralds to demand earth, on the following account. Previously, when Darius sent to them for that purpose, the Athenians cast the persons who made the demand into the barathron[270]. the Lacedæmonians threw those who came to them into a well, and bade them take from those places earth and water, and convey them to the King. This was the reason why Xerxes did not send to make the demand. I cannot say whether the Athenians, in consequence of this behaviour towards the heralds, suffered any calamity besides their country and city being ravaged; but this last event I do not conceive to have hap-
134 pened in consequence of that crime. The wrath of Talthybius, Agamemnon's herald, fell, however, on the Lacedæmonians; for there is at Sparta a shrine of Talthybius; there are likewise some descendants of that individual, called the Talthybiadæ, to whom all the embassies sent from Sparta

[266] Matt. 586, *c.* See chap. 32 of this Book.

[267] ὅρκια, συνθισίας τίμνειν, "*fœdus ferire*, to enter into a league;" because a victim was slaughtered in performing such contracts. See Viger, p. 493.

[268] ἴσχε ὧδε, "was this." Matt. 604.

[269] δεκατεύειν admits of two or three interpretations: "to take or demand a tithe, as a tax;" "to set apart the tenth of the booty in honour of a deity;" and, like the Latin *decimare milites*, "to choose by lot one out of ten soldiers, who is to suffer death for some crime, the guilt of which contaminates the whole regiment." Some take the word in the last sense of this passage.

[270] This was a deep hole at Athens, into which some criminals were dashed headlong, as at Rome from the Tarpeian rock. Mr. Mitford, in his History of Greece, c. vii. s. v. note, observes: "Originally, that word (βάραθρον) is said to have been the name of a deep pit in Attica, which in early times was used as a place for capital punishment, by throwing criminals headlong upon sharp stakes fixed at the bottom. That cruel mode of execution was, we are told, (Schol. in Plut. Aristoph. v 431.) afterwards disused, by the advice of an oracle, and the pit was filled; the name nevertheless remaining as the common term for a dungeon." I must confess that I do not see how this meaning can apply to the word in the passage of Herodotus now before us.

are confided by privilege[271]. After the above deed, when the Spartans offered sacrifice, the victims gave no good tokens[272]; and this was the case with them for a considerable time. The Lacedæmonians being grieved, and regarding the event as a great calamity, assemblies of the people were frequently called together, and made a proclamation of the following import, "Whether any of the Lacedæmonians were willing to undergo death for the advantage[273] of Sparta." accordingly, Sperthias the son of Aneristus, and Bulis the son of Nicolaus, both Spartans, born of good families, and of the first rank in point of wealth, offered, of their own free will, to give satisfaction to Xerxes for the heralds of Darius who had been slain at Sparta. So the Spartans sent them to the Medes, in order to undergo death. Not only is the ex- 135
ample of the bravery of these men deserving of admiration, but likewise the following words, which they spoke when in this situation[274]. On their road to Susa, they came before Hydarnes. Hydarnes was by birth a Persian, and governor of the maritime nations in Asia: he invited them to his table, and feasted them during the repast, he questioned them, saying: "Men of Lacedæmon, wherefore do ye refuse to be "friendly with the King? When you behold me and my "fortune, you must see how well the King knows how to "honour men of worth. No doubt, therefore, were you "likewise to give yourselves to the King (for you are deemed "by him to be men of worth), each of you would become a "ruler in the Hellenic countries, at the King's presentation." To which they retorted thus: "Hydarnes, the counsel you "give us is not impartial; for you counsel what you have "experienced yourself, but are ignorant of the other state: "you know how to be a slave, but have not yet made essay "of freedom, whether it be sweet or not; for had you made "trial of it, you would not advise us to fight for it with the "spear only, but even with the battle-axe." Such was the answer they gave to Hydarnes. Afterwards, when having 136
reached up to Susa, and come into the royal presence, as the guards ordered them, and were using force to make them prostrate themselves and worship the King, they declared they would never do any such thing, even should they be dashed down head-foremost by them; as it was not their custom to worship a man; neither had they come for

[271] γίγας, i. e. ὡς γίγας. Matt. 309.

[272] Construction: τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι (τὰ σφάγια) καλλιερῆσαι δυομένοισι οὐκ ἐδύνατο. *Schneid Gr. Germ. Lex.*

[273] See Matt. 575.

[274] περὶ τούτοισι, "en ces circonstances." *Larcher.* The words may, however, be interpreted *præterea.* See Valckenaer's note to vii. 197.

that purpose. When they had resisted that ceremony[275], and afterwards were addressing *the King* in the following words, and others similar[276]: "King of the Medes, the Lace-"dæmonians have sent us instead of the heralds put to death "at Sparta, in order to make satisfaction for their death—" while they were, I say, thus speaking, Xerxes, with much magnanimity, said, "that he would not act like the Lacedæ-"monians; for that, by killing the heralds, they had violated "the law of nations; but he would not do what he blamed "in them, nor, by putting to death, in retaliation, the two "persons before him, relieve the Lacedæmonians from their
7 "guilt." Thus the wrath of Talthybius, in consequence of these Lacedæmonians acting in the above manner, ceased forthwith, although Sperthias and Bulis returned to Sparta: a long time afterwards, as the Lacedæmonians state, it was again roused, in the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians. This appears to me a most unaccountable[277] event: for that the wrath of Talthybius should have pursued the ambassadors, nor stayed till it had been quenched, justice may allow; but the Lacedæmonians declare that it fell on the sons of those men who went up to the King to appease that anger; that is to say, on Nicolaus the son of Bulis, and Aneristus the son of Sperthias, the same who took the Tirynthian fishermen, cruising in a merchant-ship fully manned: it is therefore clear to me, that there was something beyond human explanation in the effects of the wrath of Talthybius[278]. For those two individuals, being sent as ambassadors by the Lacedæmonians into Asia, were betrayed by Sitalces the son of Tereus, king of the Thracians, and by Nymphodorus the son of Pytheas, an inhabitant of Abdera, and were seized near Bisanthes on the Hellespont; from whence they were taken to Attica, and put to death by the Athenians, together with Aristeas the son of Adimantus, a

[275] Matt. 407, last paragraph. Larcher construes, ὡς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τούτῳ (τῷ λόγῳ,) "having defended themselves in this manner."

[276] λέγουσι is the participle, dative plural; the construction being, διὰ τεῦτά σφι λέγουσι τάδε καὶ λόγου τοιοῦδε ἐχόμενα, (after which comes the address, as if between parentheses,) λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ταῦτα (a repetition of the words immediately preceding the parentheses, Matt. 611 ἔφη Ξέρξης ὑπὸ, &c. See Schweig. Not.

[277] Construction: τοῦτό μοι (i e the awakening of Talthybius's anger after so many years) ἐν τοῖσι (γενομένοις) θειότατον γένεσθαι. See Matt. 289, where the ellipsis is supplied in another manner: θειότατον must be construed as an adverb; that is to say, as equivalent to θειοτάτως.

[278] I have been obliged to be somewhat diffuse, in order to make sense of this difficult passage, and to convey the proper meaning of θεῖον, which, according to Schneider, signifies whatever surpasses the powers, or thought, or explanation, of human nature.

native of Corinth[279]. These events, however, occurred several years subsequent to the King's expedition.

But I return to my former subject[280]. The march of the 138
King's army was directed, nominally, against Athens[281]; but it was advancing against the whole of Hellas. The Hellenes were aware of this, long beforehand; but not all were affected alike[282]: some of them, having given earth and water to the Persian, were confident they should suffer no harm at the barbarian's hands; while others, who had refused, were in great terror, as the ships in Hellas were not numerous enough to receive in battle the invader; nor would a great number of the Hellenes[283] have any hand in the war, but were violently inclined to Medism. In this place, I am com- 139
pelled by necessity to mention an opinion, unpalatable to most men, but which nevertheless I will not keep back; for there the truth lies: such, at all events, is my conviction. If the Athenians, dreading the approaching danger, had forsaken their country, or, on the other hand, abiding at home, had given themselves to Xerxes, none would have attempted to meet the King on the sea: now, if Xerxes had met with no opposition by sea, the following fate must have certainly befallen the continent. Although several lines of walls[284] might have been erected by the Peloponnesians across the Isthmus, the Lacedæmonians would have been betrayed by their confederates (not of the free will of the latter, but of necessity, as they would have been taken, town after town, by the fleet of the barbarians), and thus would have been left alone: now, had they been left to themselves, though they might have achieved noble deeds, they must have fallen valiantly. either they would have suffered in the manner I have said, or, before that time, seeing all the rest of the Hellenes siding with the Medes, they would have made terms with Xerxes; and therefore, in either case, Hellas would have been subjected to the Persians; for I am unable to discover what would have been the use[285] of the walls erected over the Isthmus, when the King was master of the sea. Now, then, he who should say that the Athenians were the saviours of Hellas, would not miss the truth;

[279] See Thucydides, II. 29, 67.

[280] Xerxes' campaign against Hellas.

[281] Literally, "had the reputation that it was advancing against Athens."

[282] *οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιεῦντο*, "did not hold of equal consequence."

[283] That is to say, many of the Greeks, who did not openly hold with the barbarian, stood neutral; *οἱ δὲ ἑλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμηδίζον*. See VIII. 73.

[284] *τειχέων λιθίνης*, "tunics, *or perhaps* breast-plates of walls." The metonymy is obvious. See Schweig. Lex. Herod.

[285] See Matt. 295.

for to whichever party they had joined themselves, that must have preponderated. Having elected that Hellas should remain free, they alone, therefore, were the persons who roused all the rest of the Hellenes that held not with the Medes, and, next to the gods [286], were those who repelled the King. Neither did alarming oracles, from Delphi, and scattering fear among them, induce them to desert their country; but abiding in their land, they durst await the invader,

140 For the Athenians were anxious to send deputies to Delphi, and consult the oracle: and when those persons, after performing the usual ceremonies about the temple, entered the sacred recess, and seated themselves, the Pythia, whose name was Aristonica, pronounced these words: "Unfor- "tunates! wherefore seat yourselves? Fly [287] to the verge "of earth; forsake your houses, and the lofty crags of your "wheel-shaped city. For neither does the head abide firm, "nor does the body, nor the lowest feet, nor therefore the "hands, nor aught of the middle, remain—all is ruined. For "fire and griding Mars, driving the Syriac car, overturns "her; and he destroys many other towering cities; not "yours alone; and to the devouring fire delivers many "temples of the immortals, which, e'en now, stand dripping "with sweat, shaken with fear: down from the topmost roof "trickles black blood, token of woe unavoidable. Begone, "then, from the shrine, and pour the balm of courage into
141 "the wounds of calamity [288]." When the Athenian deputies heard this, they were seized with deep grief; but Timon the son of Androbulus, a most respectable man of Delphi [289], seeing them dejected at the calamity foretold, advised them to take an olive-branch, and then go a second time, and consult the oracle in the character of supplicants. The Athenians followed the advice, and said: "O sovereign lord, pro- "nounce to us something more favourable respecting our "country, out of regard to these branches [290] which we have "brought with us; or of a truth we will not withdraw from

[286] I cannot dismiss this chapter without expressing my admiration of the sentiments it contains: indeed, what but the interference of an all-wise and all-powerful Providence could have enabled the valour of the West, great as it was, to repel the countless hordes of the East.

[287] φεῦγε (ἐς) ἴσχατα, &c. The Pythia changes from the plural to the singular.

[288] ἐπιχεῖσθαι is equivalent to ἐπισχεδάσω, "I pour or shed on." I have developed what Schweighæuser conjectures to be the metaphor implied. See Schweig. Not. Mitford translates, in the general acceptation of the words, "diffuse the mind in evils."

[289] ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα (δοκίμῳ). Matt. 289.

[290] See p. 26, note 131, of this Vol.

" the sanctuary, but will here abide, e'en till we die." When they spoke thus, the prophetess pronounced to them the following second oracle. " Pallas may not relent Olympian " Jove, entreating him with many a prayer and prudent rea- " son. To you once more I speak this speech, firm[291] as " adamant. When all is taken that Cecrops' hill within itself " contains, and the fastnesses of sacred Cithæron; wide-ken- " ning Jove gives unto the goddess Triton-born a wooden " wall alone to abide inexpugnable; this shall save you and " your children. Await[292] not, quiet, the throng of horse " and foot that invades you from the land, but turn your back, " and withdraw: the time shall be, when you too will stand " against *the foe*. Godly Salamis! and thou shalt see the sons " of women fall, whether Ceres[293] be scattered, or be col- " lected." This answer, as it appeared to them milder than 142
the former one, as indeed it was, they wrote down, and went their ways to Athens. When the deputies, at their return, had reported it to the people, the opinions of those who endeavoured to find out the meaning of the oracle were many and various; and the following were the more apposite. Some of the elders declared that they conceived the god foretold to them, the citadel would be saved, for in ancient times the citadel of Athens was defended by a hedge these, accordingly, thinking of that fence conjectured it to be the wooden wall. On the other hand, some declared that the god meant the ships; and advised to fit them out, dismissing all other things. The two last lines, however, spoken by the Pythia, perplexed those who said the ships were the wooden wall. " Godly Salamis! and thou shalt " see the sons of women fall, whether Ceres be scattered, " or be collected." by which words the minds of those who affirmed the ships must be the wooden wall were disturbed; for the divines took those words in this sense; namely, that should they prepare for a sea-fight, it was fated they should be beaten off Salamis. But there was a certain individual 143
among the Athenians, lately arrived at the first honours,

[291] ἀδάμαντι πιλάσσας. The latter word must be taken in an active sense, agreeing with the person that speaks: " adamanti adpropinquare faciens hoc verbum;" that is to say, " making it firm and immoveable as adamant." *Schweig. Not.*

[292] See Matt. 544.

[293] " Shalt see the sons of women fall." I have endeavoured to convey, as well as I could, the ambiguity of the oracle, which might in the Greek signify, either " thou wilt destroy the sons of thy own women," or " of other women." The meaning of the last line is obvious: in summer and spring, Ceres (*i.e.* corn) is scattered abroad; that is to say, sown: in autumn and winter, it is harvested and housed, or, rather, collected.

whose name was Themistocles, although he was called the son of Neocles. This person denied that the divines had correctly guessed the whole; saying, that "if the verse that "had been pronounced alluded indeed[294] to the Athenians, "he did not think that such gentle terms would have been "used; but that it would have been 'Hapless Salamis,' in- "stead of 'Godly Salamis'; if, at least, her inhabitants were "to perish around her: but that, taking the words in their "real meaning[295], the oracle was pronounced by the god "against the enemies, and not against the Athenians." He therefore advised them to prepare to give battle from their ships; as that was the wooden wall. Themistocles having declared his opinion in favour of the above explanation, the Athenians considered his interpretation preferable[296] to that of the divines, who advised not to prepare for a naval engagement, and[297] do nothing more than refrain from lifting up their hands against the invaders; but, forsaking Attica, to
144 settle in some other land. Previous to this, another counsel of Themistocles had seasonably prevailed. When the Athenians, having in the public treasury a large sum of money, accruing to them from the mines at Laureium[298], were on the point of sharing it among themselves, man by man[299], to the amount of ten drachmæ each, Themistocles prevailed on the Athenians to forbear this distribution, and build with that money[300] two hundred ships for the war, meaning that against the Æginetæ: the kindling of that war, in fact, saved Hellas at this period, as it compelled the Athenians to become a naval people: the ships were not used[301] for the purpose for which they had been built: they were, however, very serviceable to Hellas. The above vessels the Athenians had, accordingly, ready built; and it now became necessary to construct others. they likewise resolved, in a council held subsequent to the answer of the oracle, that the whole population, together with such of the Hellenes as might choose, should meet the barbarian invaders with their ships, in obedience to the god. Such, accordingly, were the oracles given to the Athenians.

[294] εἶχε ἰὸν, i. e. εἶχε ἰόντως. Matt. 604.

[295] Matt. 562, 2.

[296] αἱρεστώτερα—μᾶλλον ἤ. See Matt. 458.

[297] See Matt. 534, *obs.* Compare likewise p. 178, note 224, of this Volume.

[298] τῶν μισάλλων τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου. See Matt. 596, *a*. Compare also p. 86, note 107, of this Volume.

[299] ἀνδηχόν, equivalent to ἡνδόν, *virstim*, "Mann fur Mann." *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.* That is to say, that every male of man's estate was to have received ten drachmæ, probably about 7*s.* 6*d.* ἔκαστος with the verb in the plural: see Matt. 301, *a*.

[300] Matt. 342.

[301] Matt. 490.

Those of the Hellenes of Europe[302] who were better affected, having assembled in one place, consulted, and pledged themselves mutually. It was there resolved, upon deliberation, that, before any thing else, the animosities and wars that were existing among themselves should be settled by peace; for there were wars in hand[303] between various of the nations; but the most violent was that between the Athenians and the Æginetæ. Afterwards, as they understood that Xerxes was at Sardis with his army, they determined to send spies into Asia, to reconnoitre his forces; to despatch ambassadors to Argos, to frame a league against the Persians; to send others into Sicily, to Gelo the son of Dinomenes, into Corcyra, and likewise Crete, to demand assistance for Hellas; intending, if possible, to make one body of the whole Hellenic people[304], and for all to agree to, and act on, one and the same plan; as the calamities threatened all alike. The power of Gelon was said to be great, much superior[305] to any of the Hellenic states. When, after conciliating their differences, they had formed these resolutions, they, in the first place, send three men as spies into Asia: those individuals having come to Sardis, and reconnoitred the King's forces, were discovered; and, having been examined[306] and convicted by the generals of the land-service, were being led out to execution, as the sentence of death had been pronounced upon them, when Xerxes, being informed of the circumstance, and blaming the conduct of his generals, sent some of his body-guards, with orders, if they should find the spies alive, to bring them in his presence. They found them still alive, and brought them into the royal presence. the King, having informed himself what the intention was they had[307] come with, bade his guards conduct them about, and shew them all the infantry and cavalry; and when they had seen as much as they desired, to send them harmless to whatever country they

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[302] *οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἕλληνες* are the Hellenes of Hellas, properly so called, in distinction from the Hellenes of Asia, Thrace, and other countries. Had the sense been "those of the Hellenes better affected towards Hellas," &c., the article *τῶν* would have been omitted before *τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεόντων*. See Valck. and Schweig. Not.

[303] Schweighæuser regards *ἐγκεχειμένοι* as a syncope for *ἐγκεχειρημένοι*, from *ἐγχειρέειν*, "to take in hand." *Schweig. Lex. Herod.*

[304] The Greek phrase is equivalent to *φρονήσαντες ἓν γενέσθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν εἰ δυνατὸν εἰή*. Compare p. 15, note 79, and p. 89, note 119, of this Volume. *τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν*, Matt 267, *a*.

[305] *οὐδαμῶν . . οὐ πολλὸν μέζω*. See Herman's 29th note on Viger, p. 570, of the Clarendon edition. The idiom is cognate to *οὐδείς ἔστις οὐ*: concerning which, see Matt. 305, and 601, *b*.

[306] *βασανισθέντες*. This word is rendered, in the different translations, "put to the torture," from L. Valla, who interprets it, "torti." See Schweig. Not

[307] *ἐφ' οἷσι*. See Matt. 585, *β*. 2d paragraph.

147 might choose. This order he gave, alleging the following motive: that "if the spies were put to death, the Hellenes "would not be informed beforehand of the amount of his "forces, that they were greater than fame represented them: "on the other hand, they would not inflict any great harm on "the enemies by putting to death three men; whereas, when "those spies returned into Hellas, it was his opinion," he said, "that the Hellenes, hearing what his forces were, would "of their own accord tender their liberties before the cam-"paign was opened, and so it would not be necessary *for* "*the Persians* to take the trouble of marching against them." This opinion of the King's was similar to that which he expressed on another occasion: when staying at Abydos, Xerxes saw some corn-vessels standing down the Hellespont from the Euxine, bound for Ægina and the Peloponnesus. accordingly, when the persons seated about him understood they were enemy's ships, they were desirous of capturing them, and fixed their eyes on the King, watching when he would give the signal. But Xerxes inquired of his attendants where the ships were bound for: they replied, "Lord and master, for your enemies, with a cargo of corn:" when the King, interrupting them, said, "And we too, like "them, are bound for the same place, provided with corn "and other things What harm, then, do they, in carrying "provisions for us?" The spies, accordingly, having thus seen, were dismissed, and returned into Hellas.

148 Those Hellenes, meanwhile, who had taken the oath of confederacy against the Persian, after despatching the spies, next sent ambassadors to Argos. The Argians state, that, as far as they themselves were concerned, matters happened thus: As they, from the beginning, knew the intention of the barbarian against Hellas, and foresaw that the Hellenes would attempt to make them join the league against the Persian, they sent some deputies to Delphi, in order to inquire of the god, "What would be their best line of conduct to fol-"low; as, not long since, six thousand of their number had "been slain by the Lacedæmonians under Cleomenes the son "of Anaxandrides[308]." They accordingly sent for the above purpose; and the Pythia gave the following answer to the inquirers: "*People*, hated of thy neighbours, beloved of the "immortal gods, couch thy lance[309]; on watch sit; and thy

[308] See vi. 78, 79, 80, 83.

[309] According to the learned Greek, Dr. Coray, προβόλαιος is a poetic licence for προβόλεος, Ionic for πρόβολος, like ἀδιλφιὸς for ἀδιλφὸς. The expression, ἴσον τὸν πρόβολον ἴχειν, signifies nothing more than to put oneself on guard. The position was this: the lance was supported against the inner part of the shoulder (ἴσον), the right leg forward, so as to present a profile to the enemy. *Coray.*

" head guard, for the head shall save the frame." Such, according to their account, was the answer returned by the Pythia at the beginning; and it was subsequently that the ambassadors came to Argos, and, entering before the senate, made known their commission. In answer to what was said, the Argians replied, that " the Argians were ready to do so, " provided they could previously conclude a thirty-years' " truce with the Lacedæmonians, and were presented with " the command of one-half of all the combined forces: in " fact, by right, the whole command ought to be theirs[310]; " but, nevertheless, they would be content with the com- " mand over half" Such was the answer which, they state, 149
the senate made, although the oracle forbade them to enter into any league with the Hellenes, but, in spite of their fear of the oracle, they were anxious that the thirty-years' truce should be made, in order that during those years their infant sons might grow up; and, in consequence, they might not have to fear[311] that, should any discomfiture, in addition to their previous calamity, fall on them in their contest with the Persian, they should thereafter become subject to the Lacedæmonians. Those of the ambassadors who came on the part of Sparta made this reply[312], as the Argians relate, to what had been said by the senate " That with regard to the " truce, they must refer that matter to the commons, but in " respect of the command, they were commissioned to make " this reply, and say, that they had two kings, whereas the " Argians had one, that it was not possible to deprive either " of the Spartan kings of his command, but there was nothing

[310] It was on account of the pre-eminence of the Argives, in the days of Agamemnon, over all the other nations of Greece, that they claimed the right of commanding the combined forces *Schweig. Not.*

[311] ἐπιλίγεσθαι is very frequently used by Herodotus in the sense of *φροντίζειν, μεριμνᾶν*, or even *φοβεῖσθαι*, vii. 47, 49, 52, 236. This verb ought to have been in the subjunctive, depending on ἵνα, like *ἀνδρεωθέωσι*; instead of which Herodotus uses the infinitive, understanding ἕνεκα, that is to say, ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ ἐπιλίγεσθαι, which is perfectly equivalent to ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλίγωνται. This being the case, I paraphrase the whole passage thus. (*λίγουσι τοὺς Ἀργείους σπουδὴν ἔχειν σπονδὰς γενέσθαι (σφι) τριηκονταέτιδας—καί περ φοβεομένοισι τὸ χρηστήριον—ἵνα δή σφι οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρεωθέωσι ἐν τούτοισι τοῖς ἔτεσι (τοῖς τριήκοντα,) καὶ ἵνα, σπονδέων ἐουσέων (πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους,), μὴ ἐπιλίγωνται, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι ὑπήκοοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἢν ἄρα σφέας καταλάβῃ ἀλλὸ πταῖσμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην πρὸς τῷ γιγονότι (ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων) κακῷ.* Coray.

[312] *ἀμείψασθαι.* This infinitive, like several others in this chapter, is governed by *Ἀργεῖοι δὲ λέγουσι.* With regard to the infinitive, *ἐπιλίγεσθαι*, mentioned in the foregoing note, I have followed Coray's construction, because it gives a somewhat neater sense. I do not see, however, any grammatical reason why it should not be regarded as depending upon *λέγουσι* particularly, according to the present reading, *μὴ δὲ* instead of *μηδὲ*: in which case, the translation would be, " they say they were fearful, that if a truce was not made," &c.

" to hinder the Argian king from having the same vote as " their two[313]." The Argians say they could not accordingly endure the grasping spirit of the Spartans; but chose rather to be ruled by the barbarians, than to yield in aught to the Lacedæmonians; and warned the ambassadors to withdraw before sunset from their territory, or otherwise they would
150 pursue them as enemies. The above is the account which the Argians themselves give of these matters. But there is another report current in Hellas, that Xerxes, before he prepared to take arms against Hellas, sent a herald to Argos; who, on his arrival, is related to have said: " Men of Argos, ' king Xerxes speaks thus to you: 'We know that Perses, ' from whom we are descended, was the son of Perseus, and ' grandson of Danaë, born of Andromeda the daughter of ' Cepheus; thus therefore we are your descendants[314]; and, ' consequently, neither would it become us to carry arms ' against our progenitors, nor would it become you, by ' giving aid to others, to shew yourselves opposed to us: on " the contrary, it is your place to stand aloof, remaining " quiet; for if matters succeed to my mind, I will hold none " greater than yourselves.' " It is said, that when the Argians heard this, they deemed the counsel of importance, and forthwith determined on neither promising nor asking in return[315] any thing: and after the Hellenes had endeavoured to get them to join the confederacy, they, consequently, as I have before related, made in return that demand (well knowing that the Lacedæmonians would not give up any part of the power), to the end that under that pretence they might re-
151 main neuter. There are some among the Hellenes who say that the following circumstance corroborates the above account: it occurred many years subsequent to these events. They affirm, that Callias the son of Hipponicus, and those who accompanied him in his journey up to the capital, happened to be at Susa Memnonia, as ambassadors on the part of the Athenians respecting some other business; and that at the same time the Argians themselves likewise happened to have sent ambassadors to Susa, to inquire of Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes, " whether the alliance which they had

[313] Had the Spartans acceded to the request of the Argians; that is to say, had they given them one half the command, they must have deprived one of their kings of his privilege of a vote in military affairs: they offered, however, to give one-third to the Argian king; that is to say, to allow him a vote as well as both their own kings. This reply must appear very extraordinary to those who recollect that Herodotus, v. 75, has expressly said, that only one of the Spartan kings could command in the army.

[314] See chap. 61, of this Book.

[315] οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μισθοῦσθαι, equivalent to οὐδὲν ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι καὶ οὐδὲν μισθοῦσθαι. *Schweig. Not.*

" formed with Xerxes still subsisted, or whether they were " considered by him as foes?" King Artaxerxes declared, " that it remained inviolate; and he deemed no city more " friendly to him than Argos." I cannot, however, say for 152
certain, whether Xerxes did send a herald to Argos with such a message, or whether the Argian ambassadors, when they went up to Susa, did inquire of Artaxerxes about the alliance; nor do I give any other opinion on those matters besides what the Argians themselves state. This I do know; that if all men were to bring forward their own failings, with the intention of exchanging them for their neighbours', they would, after looking into the failings of others, each joyfully carry back what they had brought forward. So that the conduct of the Argians was not so very disgraceful[316]. But it is my duty to relate all that is reported, although I am not, at all events, obliged to give credit to every thing: this observation I would have to be applied throughout this History. For it is even reported, that the fact was, the Argians invited the Persian to attack Hellas, when they had ill success in the war against the Lacedæmonians; desirous that any lot might befal them, rather than the misery which then surrounded them. But enough concerning the Argians.

Into Sicily other ambassadors were sent by the confede- 153
rates, to confer with Gelon; and among others, Syagrus, deputed on the part of the Lacedæmonians. The progenitor of this Gelon, an inhabitant of Gela, was a native of the island of Telus, which lies off Triopium: at the time Gela was founded by the Lindians from Rhodes, with Antiphemus, he joined the expedition. In the course of time, the descendants of this individual became high-priests to the infernal gods[317], and continued to hold that office; which Telines, one of those descendants, obtained in the following manner. Some of the inhabitants of Gela, worsted in a sedition, fled to Mactorium, a city situate above Gela: Telines, accordingly, brought those fugitives back to Gela, without the assistance of any body of men, but with the sacred things only of those goddesses: as to whence he took them, or how he came to be in possession of them, I am not able to say. Trusting therefore in those sacred things, he brought the fugitives

[316] "Il y a, sans doute, des actions encore plus honteuses que celles des Argiens"—"there are, no doubt, actions even more disgraceful than those of the Argives." *Larcher.* I think, says Valckenaer, that the Historian purposely veils his meaning; which perhaps is, that several of the Grecian nations had frequently committed actions more deserving of reprobation than that of the Argians. *Valck. Not.*

[317] See p. 125, note 313, of this Volume.

back, under condition[318] that his posterity should be the high-priests of the deities. Not only am I astonished to hear that Telines achieved such an action[319], but still more so, because[320] I conceived such deeds could not be wrought by every man, but were the result of a strong and valiant mind; whereas, on the contrary, this person is reported by the inhabitants of Sicily to have been an effeminate and most
154 delicate[321] man. Cleander the son of Pantares, who held the tyranny of Gela for seven years, was slain by[322] Sabyllus, a citizen of the place; and the sovereign power was assumed by Hippocrates, who was brother to Cleander. While Hippocrates held the tyranny, Gelon, who was a descendant of the high-priest Telines, was one of the usurper's body-guards, together with several more; among others was Ænesidamus the son of Pataicus. After a little time, Gelon was, for his valour, appointed[323] commander-in-chief of the cavalry; for Hippocrates laid siege to the Callipolitæ, the Naxians, the Zanclæi, and Leontini, besides Syracusans and many of the barbarians; and in each of these expeditions, Gelon conducted himself in a most gallant manner. Of the places I have just mentioned, not one escaped servitude at the hands of Hippocrates, with the exception of Syracuse. The Syracusans were saved by the Corinthians and Corcyræans, after their defeat on the bank of the river Elorus: those two nations saved them, conciliating a peace on the condition[324] that the Syracusans should surrender Camarina to Hippocrates, for, in ancient times, Camarina had belonged to the
155 Syracusans. But, after a reign of the same number of years as his brother Cleander[325], Hippocrates met with his death[326] before the town of Hybla, as he was prosecuting a war against the Sicilians. On this occasion, Gelon pretended[327] to take the defence of Euclides and Cleander the sons of

[318] ἐπ' ὅ τι, i. e. ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ὥστι. See Matt. 479, *a*

[319] The construction, I think, is this: Θῶμά μοι ἂν καὶ τεῦτο γένεσι πρὸς τὰ (for πρὸς ταῦτα καθ' ἃ) συνθάνομαι, &c. "this also is to me a matter of wonder, in respect to the manner in which I understand," &c. This is the interpretation of Schneider, who translates πρὸς ταῦτα, "in Beziehung darauf."

[320] γὰρ, by hyperbaton Matt. 613, VII. πρὸς τοῦ ἅπαντος ἀνδρός. Matt. 372, *d obs.* 1.

[321] Matt 457, 2. Larcher very properly observes, that although this man was so effeminate, he might still have been perfectly acquainted with the power of superstition on the greater part of mankind.

[322] Matt 592, at the beginning.

[323] εἶναι abundant after ἀποδιχθῆ See Matt. 414, 1, *c.*

[324] ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ . . ἐπ' ωτι. Matt. 479, *a.*

[325] See Matt. 386, 2. *obs.* That is to say, seven years: see chap. 154.

[326] καταλαβὲ Ἱπποκράτια ἀποθανεῖν See Book II. note 243. in the First Volume of this Work

[327] τῷ λόγῳ. See p. 11, note 50, of this Volume.

Hippocrates, when the citizens refused any longer to acknowledge their power; but having conquered in battle the inhabitants of Gela, he himself took possession of the sovereign power, and deposed the sons of Hippocrates. After this lucky stroke, Gelon brought back from Casmena to Syracuse the citizens called *Gamori*[328], who had been driven out by the people who joined the slaves, called *Cyllyrii*, of the fugitives. he obtained possession of Syracuse likewise; the people of that town surrendering the place and their persons to Gelon, at his first approach. When Gelon had ob- 156
tained possession of Syracuse, he cared less to govern[329] over Gela, but confided the management of it to Hiero, his brother, while he himself strengthened the power of Syracuse, which was every thing to him[330]. That state grew up rapidly[331], and flourished, for, on the one hand, he brought all the inhabitants of Camarina to Syracuse, and made them citizens, destroying at the same time the town of Camarina, on the other hand, he did with above one-half of the inhabitants of Gela the same[332] as he had done with those of Camarina. He brought likewise to Syracuse the opulent men of Megara in Sicily, who had levied war against him, but, after standing a siege, came to terms. these, who expected to be cut off for what they had done, he appointed citizens of Syracuse but the common people of Megara, who took no part in the war, and anticipated no ill-treatment, were brought also to Syracuse, where they were sold for exportation[333] out of Sicily. He acted in the same manner[334] by the Eubœans in Sicily, separating them likewise into two classes. He treated in this manner both the above nations, because he held the people to be a most disagreeable neighbour. In this manner Gelon became a great tyrant.

At this period, when the ambassadors of the Greeks were 157
arrived at Syracuse, going into the presence of Gelon, they spoke thus. "The Lacedæmonians, and Athenians, and their "confederates, have sent us to invite you to join the league

[328] γαμόρος, or γεωμόρος, οι, lastly, γημόρος, one who, in the division of lands, receives a lot; a colonist; a landholder: hence the term came to be applied to the wealthy, the noble, and the men of rank, the *optimates* of the state Herod. Diod. Sic. and Plut.

[329] Construction · ὁ δὲ (i. e Γέλων) λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο Γέλης ἐπικρατέων instead of ἐπικρατέειν) The participle is put instead of the infinitive, as is usual after many verbs in the Greek. *Schweigh. Not.*

[330] Matt. 438.

[331] ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον, by tmesis. See Matt. 594, 2.

[332] τὠυτὸ τοῖς Καμαριναίοισι Matt. 386, 1.

[333] See Matt 585, β

[334] ποιεῖν with double accusative, Matt. 409, 1, *b*.

" against the barbarian: for no doubt you are aware he is " marching against Hellas; and that the Persian, after throw- " ing bridges across the Hellespont, and leading forth of " Asia all the Eastern host, is about to march his forces " against Hellas, pretending that he leads his troops against " Athens, but having it in his mind to make all Hellas subject " to himself. You have attained to a lofty pitch of power[336]; " and to you, as ruler over Sicily, belongs[337] no inconsidera- " ble portion of Hellas: lend, therefore, your aid to those " who are endeavouring to rescue Hellas, and join your " efforts towards asserting her freedom; for if all Hellas " unite[338], a mighty body will be mustered, and we shall " be able to face the invaders; whereas, if some of us betray " the cause, while others will not assist, and the sound part " of Hellas be but small, then is it to be feared that all Hellas " would succumb. For fancy not, that if the Persian, con- " quering in battle, overthrows us, he will not likewise pro- " ceed to you also. But take your measures beforehand; for " by assisting us, you will benefit yourself: an advantageous " result is wont to crown a work prudently concerted." Such
158 was their speech. Gelon rebuked them severely, by the following reply. " Men of Greece! you have dared with arro- " gant language[339] to invite me to join you in the contest " with the barbarian; although you yourselves, when erewhile " I besought you to join with me against a barbarian army, " at the time I was engaged in war[340] with the Carthaginians; " when I urged you to avenge the death of Dorieus son of " Anaxandrides[341] on the Egestæans; when I offered to join " in liberating the staples, from whence great advantages " and profits accrued to you; neither would you come to my " assistance, nor take vengeance for the death of Dorieus; " and had it depended but on you, all these parts had been " under the barbarian's dominion. But, as matters have " gone well with me, and prospered, now that war is directed " and is advancing against yourselves, you at last call Gelon " to your recollection. Though I have received ungracious " treatment at your hands, I will not follow your example,

[336] σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός τι ἥκεις μεγάλης, a most extraordinary construction. The sense is evidently σὺ δὲ δύναμιν ἴσχεις μεγάλην. One might, however, have expected that Herodotus would have used the idiom thus: σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός τι ἰῦ ἥκεις καὶ, &c. Matt. 315. See Valck. Not., and Schw. Not.

[337] μέτα, not μετὰ: Matt. 594.

[338] The nominative absolute. See Matt. 562, 1.

[339] πλεονέκτης λόγος is an arrogant discourse from one who thinks that every thing is due to him, and that he owes nothing to others, as may be seen by this answer of Gelon. *Larcher.*

[340] νεῖκος in the sense of πόλεμος. See p. 84, note 92, of this Volume.

[341] See v. 45, 46. and vii. 205.

" but am willing to give you succour, and furnish two hun-
" dred triremes, twenty-thousand heavy-armed troops, two
" thousand horse, two thousand bowmen, two thousand
" slingers, and two thousand light-horse: I likewise undertake
" to provide corn for the combined army of the Greeks, so
" long as the war may last. But these services I promise
" on the following condition[342]—that I myself be the leader
" and commander-in-chief of the Hellenes against the bar-
" barian. On no other terms will I either go myself or send
" others." Syagrus would not brook this proposal; but spake 159
as follows: " Of a truth, Pelops' son Agamemnon would
" howl with grief[343], were he to learn that the command had
" been wrested from the Spartans by a Gelon and by Syra-
" cusans. Mention, then, no more such a proposal, as that
" we should surrender the command to you; but if you
" choose to assist Hellas, know[344] that you will be under the
" controul of the Lacedæmonians: if, however, you will not
" condescend to be commanded, you need not send[345] us any
" succours." In reply to this, Gelon, seeing the indignant 160
language[346] of Syagrus, finally proposed to them the follow-
ing terms: " My Spartan host! injurious terms directed
" against a man[347] are wont to rouse his anger; but, although
" you have used words of arrogance in your speech, you
" have not impelled me to outstep decency in reply. Since
" you are so ambitious of the command, it is natural that I
" should be so, even more than you, being the leader of a far
" greater army and fleet. Still, since my proposal is so dis-
" pleasing to you, I will remit somewhat of my first demand.
" If you hold the command of the land-forces, I will take that
" of the fleet; or if it is your pleasure to command on the sea,
" I will head the land-army. Either you must be content[348]
" with these terms, or withdraw destitute of such assistance
" *as I can afford you.*" Gelon accordingly made the above 161
demand as the price of his assistance[349]. But the Athe-

[342] ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε . . . ἐφ' ᾧ See p. 200, note 324, of this Volume.

[343] ἦ κε μέγα οἰμώξεις γέρων ἐπ' Πηλεΐδαο Iliad VII. 125.

[344] ἴσθι ἀρξόμενος. See Matt. 547, 2.

[345] The infinitive for the imperative. See Matt. 544.

[346] ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους, "sermonem aversantem, cum indignatione respuentem propositam conditionem." *Schweig. Not.*

[347] I do not see why Larcher translates ἀνθρώπῳ "homme de cœur, *man of spirit*;" and still less why Beloe should translate it "an exalted character."

[348] ἀρίσκεσθαί τινι signifies, "to be pleased with any thing — *delectari aliqua re*" ἀρκεῖσθαί τινι, "to be content with any thing — *contentum aliqua re.*" I have translated from the second reading, as the sense is more manageable in English. Matt. 403.

[349] I have endeavoured to give the meaning of προστίνεσθαι. προστίνειν, in the active, signifies, "to offer," "to propose;" in the middle, "to certain privileges or rewards, in return for

nian ambassador, anticipating that of the Lacedæmonians, answered him in these words. "King of Syracuse! Hellas "has not deputed us to you in order to ask for a leader, but "for troops; and you refuse to send troops unless you have "the command you asked; and are ambitious[350] of heading the "forces. So long, therefore, as you asked to be at the head "of all the Hellenic forces, we Athenians were content to "hold our peace, knowing that the Lacedæmonian would be "well prepared to give you an answer in the name of us "both; but now that, conceding the whole, you ask to com- "mand the naval-forces, learn this[351]: were the Lacedæmo- "nian to yield to you that honour, we would not; for it "belongs to us, at least if the Lacedæmonians do not desire "it. were they, indeed, desirous thereof, we would not oppose "them, but to none other will we surrender the command of "the fleet. For thus it were in vain that we had collected "the most numerous sea-forces of the Hellenes, if we should "yield the command to the Syracusans[352]; we, I say, who are "Athenians; who are likewise the oldest nation; who are the "only Hellenes who have never changed their country; we, "from whom the poet Homer has said, 'the most expert man "in arraying and training soldiers came to Ilium.'[353] So
162 "that it is not immodesty on our part to speak thus." Gelon made answer in these words "My Athenian host! it seems "you have commanders, but are not likely to have any sol- "diers to command. Since, without remitting any thing, "you must have all, make the best of your way back to "inform Hellas[354] that the spring of the year is reft from "her." The meaning of the above speech, and what he wished to intimate, was this,—for[355] it is well known that he meant that the spring was the fairest season of the year, and his troops the best of the Hellenic troops,—he compared therefore Hellas, deprived of his alliance, to a year, from which the spring had been taken.

163 Accordingly, the Hellenic ambassadors, having had the above negotiations with Gelon, sailed homeward. But Gelon, meanwhile, being in fear for the Hellenes lest they

services rendered to another."—*Schweig. Lex. Herod.*

[350] ὡς δὲ στρατηγήσειε γλίχεαι, "thou wishest that thou shouldst," &c. See Matt. 531. *obs.* 2

[351] "The matter stands thus with thee." Construction: οὕτω (τὸ πρῆγμα) ἔχει τοι.

[352] εἰνέμεν . . εἰ . . . συγχωρήσωμεν. Matt. 524, 5 συγχωρήσωμεν τῆς ἡγεμονίης. Matt. 331, *obs.*

[353] Mnetheus. Hom. Il. II. 554.

[354] Equivalent to οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε ἄλλο τι ποιοῦντες, ἢ ἀπαλλασσόμενοι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπίσω. Matt. 553, *c.*

[355] Construction: (reading εἶναι instead of ἐστὶ:) δῆλα γὰρ ὡς (ἐθέλει λέγειν) ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ εἶναι τὸ ἔαρ δοκιμώτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς (δοκιμώτατον εἶναι) τὴν ἑωυτοῦ στρατιήν *Schweig. Not.*

should not be able to overcome the barbarian, but deeming it an indignant and intolerable thing that he who was tyrant of Sicily should go over to Peloponnesus and be under the controul of the Lacedæmonians, spurned that mode of acting, and followed another line of conduct. For as soon as he was informed of the Persian's having crossed the Hellespont, he sent, with three penteconters, Cadmus the son of Scythes, an inhabitant of Cos, to Delphi, carrying great treasures and words of peace. he was there to watch carefully the battle, and see how it would turn out; and if the barbarian conquered, to give him the treasure, together with earth and water, in the name of the places Gelon governed over, but if the Hellenes beat, he was to bring back the treasure. This Cadmus, previous to these 164
events, having inherited from his father the tyranny of Cos, firmly established, had, of his own free will[356], and without any danger threatening him, but out of a motive of equity, placed the power in the hands of the inhabitants at large, and departed for Sicily. There, with the Samians, he held and inhabited the city of Zancla, which had changed its name for Messena. It was accordingly Cadmus, who had come in the above manner to Sicily, that Gelon sent on this mission, by reason of other proofs which he himself had of his integrity. This individual, in addition to the other acts of honesty which he had performed, left on this occasion the most remarkable[357] memorial of his rectitude; for having in his possession vast riches, which Gelon had entrusted to him, though he had an opportunity to appropriate[358] them to his own use, he would do no such thing, but, when the Hellenes had gained the day in the sea-fight[359], and Xerxes had retired, marching back his army, Cadmus likewise returned to Sicily, taking[360] back with him all the treasure.

The following account, however, is given likewise by the 165
inhabitants of Sicily: that although Gelon would have been under the controul of the Lacedæmonians, he would nevertheless have given help to the Hellenes, had it not been that Terillus the son of Crinippus, and tyrant of Himera, having been driven out of that town by Theron the son of Ænesidemus, monarch of Agrigentum, brought over, about the same time, an army of three hundred thousand men, composed of Phœnicians, Libyans, Iberi, Lygyi, Helisyci, Sar-

[356] ἰκών τι εἶναι, in which εἶναι is redundant. Matt. 546.

[357] Literally, "not the least" See Matt. 463.

[358] κατέχειν signifies, "to keep for another;" κατασχίσθαι, "to keep for oneself."

[359] The battle of Salamis.

[360] ἀπάγων. Matt. 594, 2.

dinians, and Corsicans[361], together with their commander, Amilcar son of Anno, who was king of the Carthaginians[362]. Terillus had prevailed on Amilcar to undertake this expedition by the ties[363] of hospitality, and, above all, by the zeal of Anaxilaus the son of Cretines, who was tyrant of Rhegium, and who, by giving his own children as pledges to Amilcar, persuaded him to invade Sicily, in order to avenge his father-in-law; for Anaxilaus was married to a daughter of Terillus, the name of whom was Cydippe. The Sicilians, accordingly, declare, that Gelon, being thus unable to assist the Hellenes, sent the money to Delphi. In addition to this, they state likewise, that the victory of Gelon and Theron over the Carthaginian king Amilcar happened on the same day in Sicily as that of the Hellenes over the Persian off Salamis. With regard to Amilcar, who was by his father a

[361] See the Geographical Index at the end of this Volume.

[362] This title was frequently given to the generals of the Carthaginians, and to their suffetes. Corn. Nep Hannib. VII. 4. Polyxen. Stratagem. I. 27. *Larcher.*

[363] As there is nothing in the manners of modern times which at all resembles the ancient customs respecting *hospitality*, it may be pleasing to many readers to find the most remarkable particulars of them collected in this place. The barbarous disposition to consider all strangers as enemies, gave way to the very first efforts towards civilization; and, as early as the time of Homer, provision was made for the reception of travellers into those families with which they were connected by the ties of hospitality. This connection was esteemed sacred; and was under the particular sanction of the hospitable Jupiter, *Zeus Xenius*. The same word, *Xenos*, which had originally denoted a barbarian and an enemy (Herod. IX. 11.), then became the term to express either an host or his guest. When persons were united by the ties of hospitality, each was *Xenos* to the other; though, when they were together, he who received the other was properly distinguished as the *Xenodocus* (Ξενοδόκος). In the Alcestis of Euripides, l. 546, and in Plato, we find mention of a *Xenon* (Ξενὼν), or an apartment appropriated to the reception of such visiters. The bond of hospitality might subsist, 1. between private individuals; 2. between private persons and states, 3. between different states. Private hospitality was called *Xenia*; public, *Proxenia*. Persons who, like Glaucus and Diomede, ratified their hospitality in war, were called *Doryxeni* (Δορύξενοι). See Hom. Il. VI. 215, &c. This connection was in all cases hereditary, and was confirmed by gifts mutually interchanged, which at first were called symbols; (Eurip. Medea, 613.) afterwards, when reduced to a kind of tickets instead of presents, ἀστραγάλοι, or tesseræ. Plaut Pœn. Act. V. Sc. 2. Every thing gave way to this connection: Admetus could not bear the thought of turning away his *Xenos*, Hercules, even when his wife was just dead; and is highly praised for it. Eurip. Alcest. Hospitality might, however, be renounced by a solemn form of abjuration, and yet, after that, might be renewed by a descendant. Thus, between the city of Sparta and the family of Alcibiades a public hospitality had subsisted: his grandfather had solemnly renounced it; but he, by acts of kindness, revived it. See Thucyd. V. 43. VI. 89. This circumstance of renunciation has not been noticed, so far as I have seen, by any modern writers. See Feithius, Antiq. Homericæ, III. 13. Potter, IV. 21. Some of the ancient tesseræ have been dug up at Rome and elsewhere. See Thomasinus, De Tesseris Hospitalitatis.

Carthaginian, and by his mother a Syracusan, and had obtained by his valour the kingly power among the Carthaginians, I understand, that when the battle was fought, and he had been routed, he disappeared, and never after was found, dead or alive, any where in the world; for Gelon caused careful search to be made in all parts. The following account, 167
however, is given by the Carthaginians themselves, and with some probability[364]; that the barbarians fought with the Sicilian Hellenes, beginning from dawn of day to evening[365]; for so long, it is related, the engagement lasted: meanwhile, Amilcar, abiding in the camp, was offering sacrifices, observing the tokens of success, and burning whole bodies on a huge pyre: when he beheld the rout of his army, just as he was making libations on the victims, he cast himself into the fire; and thus, accordingly, being consumed, disappeared. Whether Amilcar disappeared in this latter manner, as the Phœnicians assert, or vanished in some other manner, as the Syracusans relate, the Carthaginians not only sacrifice to him, but have likewise erected monuments to him in all their colonial towns: the largest is erected in the city of Carthage itself. So much for what took place in Sicily.

The Corcyræans answered the ambassadors in one man- 168
ner, and acted in another; for the same deputies who went to Sicily invited them to join the league, using the same language with them as they had done with Gelon. The Corcyræans promised, without hesitation, to send troops, and assist in repelling the foe; observing, "that they must not stand "by, and see Hellas perish[366], for if she should succumb, "nothing more would remain for them, than to become slaves "on the very first day. it was therefore their place to aid "and assist to their utmost." Thus they answered honourably, to all appearance; but when it was time for them to send the assistance, they manned sixty sail, with a very different intention; and having put to sea, though not without difficulty, they stood for the Peloponnesus, and lay-to with their fleet about Pylos, and Tænarum of the Lacedæmonian territory, where they likewise proposed to watch the war, how it would turn out. They had no expectation that the

[364] *οἰκότι χρεωμένων* probably means, "that whereas the Syracusans explained the disappearance of Amilcar by some miraculous operation, the Carthaginians adopt a mode of explanation not opposed to the laws of nature."

[365] *δείλη ὀψία*, equivalent to *ἡ περὶ δύσιν ἡλίου*.

[366] *οὗ σφι περιοπτέη ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπολλυμένη*, i. e. *οὐ περιοπτέον ἐστὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα*. See Matt. 447, 3, *b*. Literally, "the destruction of Hellas was not an occurrence of no importance to them."

Hellenes would get the day; but imagined that the Persian, after gaining a decided superiority, would become master of Hellas. They accordingly acted in this manner for the purpose, in order they might be able to say this to the Persian: "Sire, when the Hellenes called us to join them in this war, "we, who have considerable forces, and are able to furnish "the greatest fleet, next at least to the Athenians, would not "oppose you, or do any thing displeasing to you." By speaking in that manner, they hoped to obtain better terms than the rest, which indeed would, in my opinion, have been the case. On the other hand, the excuse they were to make to the Hellenes was prepared, and, accordingly, they had recourse to it. For when they reproached them, that they had given them no assistance, they said, "They had fitted out sixty "triremes; but, by reason of the Etesian winds, were not able "to double Malea: that such was the cause of their not com-"ing to Salamis; and they had not absented themselves from "the sea-fight by any motive of cowardice." Thus the Corcyræans eluded[367] the charge made against them by the Hellenes.

169 The Cretans acted in the following manner, after the Hellenes commissioned for the purpose had invited them to join the confederacy. They sent, in the name of the nation, deputies to Delphi; and asked of the god, whether it would go better with them if they lent assistance to Hellas. The Pythia returned for answer "Fools! you complain of the "many tears that Minos sent you, in his wrath, at the help "you gave Menelaus[368]. for they would not assist you in "avenging his death at Camicus; whereas you assisted them "in revenging a woman stolen from Sparta by some barba-"rian[369]." When the Cretans heard this answer reported, they withheld any succours. For it is related, that Minos, having gone in search of Dædalus into Sicania, now called Sicily, met with his death by violent hands. that, in the course of time, the Cretans, by the impulse of some god, pro-

[367] See Schweig. Lex. Herod. voc. διακρούεσθαι. I submit to the authority of a person so experienced in the Greek language; but I cannot help observing, that I should have translated this passage, "thus they evaded the request of the Hellenes by their delays:" they could with difficulty, Herodotus tells us, bring themselves to launch their ships; and when they had done so, they went and laid to, off the western shore of the peninsula. Demosthenes, 911, uses διακρούεσθαι precisely in this sense: ὡς, δ' ἡσθόμην αὐτὸν διακρουόμενόν με.

[368] Μενέλεω τιμωρημάτων, "the assistance given to Menelaus." See Matt. 313. See likewise p. 22, note 111, of this Vol. I have construed ὑμῖν as governed by ἐπεμψε. Matthiæ regards it as depending on the substantive τιμωρημάτων, "on account of the assistance you afforded to Menelaus," because the Greeks said τιμωρεῖν τινι. Matt. 396.

[369] The rape of Helen by Alexander, otherwise called Paris, i. 3

ceeded, all excepting the Polichnitæ and the Præsii, with a 170
numerous fleet to Sicania, and there besieged for five years
the city of Camicus, which in my days the Agrigentines in-
habited: that in the end, not being able either to capture
the place or to continue the blockade, as they had to contend
with famine, they raised the siege, and departed. that on
their voyage they were off the shore of Iapygia, when a vio-
lent storm bursting on them drove them to land, and as
their vessels were wrecked, and, consequently, there did not
appear to be any mode for them to return to Crete, they
founded in that quarter the city of Hyria, where they re-
mained, commuting their name from Cretans to that of Iapy-
ges Messapii, and changing from islanders to a continental
people that from the city of Hyria they colonized the
other places, in attacking which, a long time subsequently,
the Tarentines suffered a great defeat, so much so, that this
was the greatest slaughter among the Hellenes that we know
of, both of Tarentines and Rhegians the latter having, by
the compulsion of Micythus the son of Chœrus, marched to
the assistance of the Tarentines, fell on this occasion to the
amount of three thousand the loss of the Tarentines them-
selves was beyond calculation[370]. The Micythus, whom I
have mentioned, was a servant of Anaxilaus, and had been
left to govern Rhegium. he was the same person who, being
afterwards expelled from Rhegium, and settling at Tegea in
Arcadia, dedicated many of the statues at Olympia But 171
these occurrences with the Rhegians and Tarentines have
made me digress from my narrative Crete then being, as
the Præsii represent, deserted of inhabitants, various people,
but principally Hellenes, came[371] and settled there; and in
the third generation after the death of Minos the Trojan
war took place, in which the Cretans showed themselves not
the least valiant of the auxiliaries of Menelaus. As a punish-
ment for so doing, on their return from Troy, famine and
pestilence spread upon themselves and their flocks; till at
last, Crete having been a second time depopulated, the pre-
sent, together with such as had been left, were the third peo-
ple who had inhabited the island. Accordingly, the Pythia,
calling these events to their recollection, withheld them, in
spite of their own wishes, from assisting the Hellenes.

[370] Larcher translates "mais on n'a point su quelle avoit été la perte des Tarentins—*but it is not known what was the amount of the loss of the Tarentines.*" Schweighæuser does not disapprove the above interpretation see the Lex Herod voc ἐπεῖναι, 3.

[371] The parenthesis, ὡς λέγουσι Πρασιῆσι, determines the construction of the independent proposition. hence the infinitives, ἐδοικίζεσθαι, γενέσθαι, &c. in this Chapter See Matt. 538, 2

172 The Thessalians were at the first driven by necessity to side with the Mede, as they gave clear proof that the intrigues of the Aleuadæ[372] were not approved by them; for as soon as they understood the Persian was about to cross over into Europe, they sent ambassadors to the isthmus, where the delegates of Hellas were assembled, having been elected from such of the towns of European[373] Hellas as were inclined to the better cause. The ambassadors of the Thessalians coming to them, spoke thus: "Hellenes, it behoves to "guard the pass of Olympus, to the end that not only Thes-"saly, but the whole of Hellas, may be sheltered from war. "We are therefore ready to take our share of the defence; "but it is necessary that you likewise should send a nu-"merous body; since, if you do not send assistance, know "that we shall capitulate with the Persian: for surely it "were not just that we, lying so far above the rest of Hellas, "should perish alone, for your sake. If you refuse to give "us succour, you can impose no obligation on us[374]; for force "can never master impossibility, and we will endeavour our-
173 "selves to provide for our security." Such was the speech of the Thessalians: in consequence of which, the Hellenes resolved to send land-forces by sea to guard the pass. When the troops were mustered, they sailed through the Euripus; and having reached Alos of Achaia[375], disembarked, and proceeded over land to Thessaly, leaving their vessels at the place of landing. They marched to Tempe, the defile which leads from Macedonia, along the river Peneus, down into Thessaly: this pass lies between Mount Olympus and Ossa. In that place, about ten thousand heavy-armed soldiers, collected from the Hellenes, pitched their camp: to this body was added the cavalry of the Thessalians. The commander of the Lacedæmonians was Euænetes the son of Carenus, elected from the polemarchs[376], although he was not of the royal blood: Themistocles the son of Neocles was commander of the Athenians. They remained here but a few days; for some messengers arriving from Alexander son of

[372] See chap. 6, and 130, of this Book.

[373] If Schweighæuser's explanation of περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, at the beginning of c. 145, is admitted, the same signification must evidently apply in this case. See p. 195, note 302, of this Volume.

[374] That is to say, "You cannot compel us to withstand alone the Persian army." *Schweig. Not.*

[375] He means Achaia of Phthiotis, which is very different from Achaia of the Peloponnesus. See the Geographical Dictionary at the end of this Volume.

[376] A military rank in Sparta: the leader of a *mora*, or body of four hundred men.

Amyntas, a Macedonian man[377], counselled them to withdraw, and not abide at the defile to be trodden under foot by the invading army, describing at the same time the amount of the land-force and the fleet. When the messengers had communicated the above counsel, as the Hellenes conceived the advice to be good, and there was no doubt[378] that Alexander meant well towards them, they followed the suggestion. In my opinion[379], however, it was fear that prevailed over them, when they were informed that there was another pass leading into Thessaly, from Upper Macedonia, across the Perrhæbi, to the town of Gonnus[380]; by which, in fact, the army of Xerxes did make its entrance into Thessaly. The Hellenes, therefore, going down to their ships, returned to the isthmus. This expedition into Thessaly was under- 174
taken at the time the King was on the eve of crossing over from Asia into Europe, and when he was already at Abydos. And thus the Thessalians, being deprived of allies, without any further hesitation went over to the Medes; and behaved with such zeal and spirit, that they proved of important service to the King in the prosecution of his plans.

After the Hellenes had arrived at the isthmus, *the delegates* 175
held council, in consequence of what had been said by Alexander, respecting the manner and quarter in which they should carry the war. The opinion that prevailed was, that they should station a guard on the pass at Thermopylæ, which defile was known[381] to be narrower than that leading into Thessaly, and at the same time was nearer to their own country. As for the path by which the Hellenes were inter-

[377] This Alexander was king of Macedonia; see v 20, and viii. 137. Herodotus, "in the simple language of his age, calls him Man; the king of Macedonia, by inheritance from a long race of ancestors, claiming their descent from Hercules." *Mitford.*

[378] See Matt. *548, 5, second paragraph; and likewise viii. 140.

[379] δοκέειν δέ μοι. Matt. 543.

[380] Our geographical information concerning this country, though much improved of late years, is still very deficient. The acute and indefatigable D'Anville seems to have been able to procure none of any value. His map, to which, in the want of another guide of any comparable reputation, I trusted for the former editions, is grossly incorrect. Some better information has been obtained through recent travellers, from which Barthelemi has profited But since his work came out, the modern geography of the countries round the Ægean has been very superiorly given in a map compiled by De La Rochette, and published by Faden With its assistance, I have ventured to give the explanation in the text of a passage of Herodotus, in itself so far from clear, that translators and commentators, would they own the difficulty, might be excused their misconception of it. Mitford, Hist. of Greece, ii. 133, 134, 8vo. edition, 1822.

[381] στεινοτέρη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ἐοῦσα, "appeared to be," would be very different from what the author means. See Matthiæ, *548, 5, second paragraph.

cepted[382] at Thermopylæ, they knew nothing of its existence before they were informed of it by the Trachinians, on their arrival at the place. They resolved therefore to defend that pass, and hinder the barbarian from making good his entrance into Hellas, while the fleet should proceed to the Artemisium, in the territory of Histiæotis[383]; for those stations are near each other; so that the fleet and army could have a knowledge of their mutual proceedings: moreover, the nature
176 of the two places is such as I am going to describe[384]. The road of Artemisium[385] lies where the main sea of Thrace[386] contracts to a narrow frith situate between the island of Sciathus and the continent of Magnesia. immediately after the frith succeeds the coast of Eubœa, called the Artemisium, on which stands a temple of Artemis[387]. On the other hand, the entrance into Hellas by Trachinia is, in its narrowest part, fifty feet wide it is not, however, exactly at the entrance[388] that is found the narrowest part of the whole tract, but above and below the Thermopylæ, as it is only wide enough for one carriage to pass abreast at Alpeni, which lies below; and again by the river Peneus, near the city of Anthela, which lies above, it is likewise only wide enough to admit one carriage. On the western side of the Thermopylæ rises an abrupt, lofty, and impassable mountain, shooting into the range of Œta, while the side of the pass towards the east is skirted by the sea and some marshes. In this pass are seen some hot-baths, called by the natives Chytri, above which stands an altar of Hercules. a wall had likewise been erected across the defile, which was formerly provided with a gate. this wall was built by the Phocians from a motive of fear, after the Thessalians had migrated from Thesprotia, and established themselves in the land of Æolis, which they now

[382] ἥλωσαν οἱ ἁλόντες. See Matt. 556, 4.

[383] This must be the Histiæotis of Eubœa, mentioned VIII. 23, 24., not the Histiæotis of Thessaly. See the Geographical Index, at the end of this Volume.

[384] οὕτως ἔχουσι. See Matt. 604.

[385] It appears, by this passage, that a part of the sea itself, as well as the coast, was called Artemisium. I have therefore supplied the word *road;* in which I follow the example of Mr. Mitford, in his History of Greece

[386] I construe εὐρέος with πελάγεος; the preposition ἐς being repeated, according to that principle of the language mentioned by Matt. 594, 1, second paragraph

[387] The Greek for Diana.

[388] κατὰ τοῦτο, "ibi." The pass extended into the territory of Thessaly on the one side, and into that of Greece on the other: on the Thessalian and Grecian sides, it was much narrower than in the middle part, called the Thermopylæ, and which was the real entrance into Greece. I have added a few words for the sake of clearness, the most important requisite in topographical descriptions. To imitate the brief and simple style in which Herodotus describes this death-field of Leonidas, is a task far above my powers. *Translat.*

occupy. Expecting therefore that the Thessalians would attempt[389] to subdue them, the Phocians took the above precaution; and likewise flooded the defile at the same time, by diverting into it the hot-springs, so that the ground might be swampy and impassable; adopting every expedient to prevent the Thessalians from making an inroad into their country. The original wall[390] was accordingly erected at an early period; and the greater part of it had now crumbled down, through age; but the Hellenes determined upon building it up again, and there stop the progress of the barbarian towards Hellas. Close to the pass is a village, Alpeni its name, from which the Hellenes reckoned upon obtaining provisions. The above stations therefore appeared to the 177
Hellenes adapted to their designs; for, weighing all matters, and considering that in that quarter the barbarians would not be able to avail themselves either of their numbers or their cavalry, they determined that they should receive the invader at the Thermopylæ, as he was entering into Hellas When the tidings came that the Persian was at Pieria, they broke up their council at the isthmus, and some marched towards Thermopylæ, while others proceeded by sea to Artemisium.

Thus the Hellenes, in two divisions, hastened to meet the 178
foe: but at the same time the Delphians, fearing both for themselves and the whole of Hellas, consulted the god; and the answer pronounced to them was, "that they should offer "their devotions to the winds, for the winds would be power-"ful allies to Hellas." The Delphians having received this oracle, forthwith reported to those of the Hellenes who were for liberty, the answer that had been pronounced to them; and by so doing entitled themselves to the everlasting gratitude of those nations, as they likewise were filled with terror of the barbarian. In the next place, the Delphians reared an altar to the Winds, at Thya (where is situate the precinct of Thya the daughter of Cephissus, from whom that quarter takes its name), and propitiated them with sacrifices. In obedience to the oracle, the Delphians continue even now to offer sacrifice to the Winds.

[389] ἅτε with the participle in genitive absolute, "under the supposition that," &c. See Matt. 561, 2.

[390] In the Plan of this pass subjoined to Anacharsis, the Phocian wall is represented as situate in the narrowest part of the road, just where we are told it afforded only sufficient space to admit one carriage; say, about nine feet broad. If the author of the plan is correct, the Phocians could have had very little idea of the principles of fortification, or otherwise they would have thrown up their rampart in the widest part of the pass, by which they would have been enabled to make three stands: 1. at Anthela; 2. at the wall; 3. at Alpeni. See the note on chap. 200.

179 The naval armament of Xerxes, departing from the city of Therma, detached[391] ten of the best-sailing vessels straight for Sciathus, where three Hellenic ships, belonging to Trœzen, Ægina, and Attica, respectively, were on the look-out; but when they espied the vessels of the barbarians, they hastily
180 took to flight. The barbarians gave chace; and forthwith captured the Trœzenian ship, which was commanded by Prexinus; and then taking the handsomest of her warriors to the forecastle of the ship, sacrificed him, deeming it a good omen that the first Hellen they had taken was likewise very handsome[392]. the name of this individual thus sacrificed was Leo; and perhaps he in some measure suffered for his
181 name[393]. The vessel belonging to Ægina, a trireme commanded by Asonides, gave them some trouble; as she had on board, among her warriors, Pytheas the son of Ischenous, the most valiant man of the day, and who, after the ship was taken, persevered in fighting till he was actually cut to pieces. As he was not yet dead when he fell, but still breathed, the Persians, who were serving as fighting-men aboard the vessels, being very desirous of preserving his life by reason of his valour, dressed his wounds with myrrh, and bound them up in bandages of cotton cloth[394]; and, when they were returned to their own camp, shewed him with admiration to all the army, and attended to him carefully, but treated as slaves
182 the others whom they had taken aboard the same ship. Thus, accordingly, two of the vessels were taken; but the third, a trireme commanded by Phormus, an Athenian, in her flight, ran aground at the mouth of the Peneus; and the barbarians got possession of the hull, but not of the crew; for as soon as they had run the ship ashore, the Athenians jumped out, and, proceeding over Thessaly, retired into Attica. When the Athenians encamped on the shores of Artemisium were in-

[391] Literally, "the naval armament crossed with ten of the best-sailing vessels straight to Sciathus."

[392] Constr. *ποιεύμενοι διαδέξιον* (equivalent to *ποιεύμενοι εὐτυχὲς*) *τὸν πρῶτον τῶν Ἑλλήνων* (*ὄν*) *εἶλον* (*εἶναι*) *καὶ κάλλιστον*.

[393] "Forsan autem et ex nomine (*Λίοντες, Leonis*) fructum quendam perceperit." *Valck.*

[394] The words *σινδόνος βυσσίνης στιλαμῶσι* occur in ii. 86, where I have translated, "with cotton bandages;" because I understand the mummies found at the present day are generally wrapped in a sort of calico stuff. I therefore found myself obliged to give the same meaning to the same words in this passage, although I certainly do not think that any surgeon would dress wounds with cotton bandages. I see, however, by Larcher's notes, that the Egyptians use, at the present day, cotton lint for dressing their wounds and sores.

Since I have printed the above, I have done what I ought to have done before. I have inquired from medical persons, and find that cotton lint and cotton bandages are used in this country as frequently as linen; the effect, in a surgical point of view, of the two substances being the same.

formed of this event by fire-signals from[395] Sciathus, they retreated terrified from Artemisium to Chalcis, intending to guard the Euripus, and leaving scouts upon the eminences of Eubœa. Three of the ten barbarian ships neared the 183
rock situate between Sciathus and Magnesia, called the Ant; and the barbarians there set up a column[396] which they had brought with them: after which, every thing before them being clear, the fleet quitted the moorings at Therma, and stood to sea, suffering eleven days to intervene between their departure and the King's march from Therma. Pammon of Scyros pointed out to them the rock I have just mentioned, and which stands pretty nearly in the middle of the strait[397]. The barbarians, keeping to sea the whole day, arrived at Sepias, belonging to the Magnesian territory, and off the shore lying between the city of Casthanæa and Cape Sepias.

As far as this spot, therefore, and as far as the Thermo- 184
pylæ, the forces had not yet suffered any losses; and till then the numbers were still, as I infer from calculation, of the following amount. Those of the ships which had come from Asia being one thousand two hundred and seven, if we reckon two hundred men to each ship, we shall find that the original[398] *sea*-forces collected from the various nations were two hundred and forty-one thousand four hundred. But, besides the native soldiers of each nation, thirty men, Persians, Medes, and Sacæ, served as fighting-men on board every ship[399] these additional troops amounted to thirty-six thousand two hundred and ten men to this latter and to the former number I add the crews of the penteconters: supposing eighty men, more or less, aboard of each, as those

[395] These signals were made by means of torches. the arrival of friends was signified by holding them up when lighted, and keeping them in a steady position; when, on the contrary, they were shaken about, the signal was, that the enemy was at hand. *Larcher*, from Suidas.

[396] These ten ships were probably sent out to reconnoitre the coast, before the departure of the whole fleet. The Ant (Myrmax) was no doubt a dangerous rock, which, not rising high enough from the surface of the water, they marked with a column, which served instead of a buoy: it is, I suppose, this to which Herodotus alludes, when he says, "the fleet set sail as soon as all before them was made clear." See Larcher's note.

[397] πόρῳ. I conceive that he alludes to the strait separating Sciathus from the continent. Larcher translates, "qui se trouvoit sur le passage—*which was on their course.*"

[398] He evidently means the complement furnished by the different Asiatic nations, without comprising the Persians, the Medes, and the Sacæ. He uses the expression "ancient," to distinguish them from the troops levied in Europe from the countries which the King crossed in his march towards the Thermopylæ. *Larcher.*

[399] Therefore the crew of each galley consisted of two hundred and thirty men; thirty of whom were fighting men, selected from the Persians, Medes, and Sacæ; the other two hundred were not all employed at the oar; as the historian expressly

vessels were collected (as I have before said) to the number of three thousand, it follows that they must have carried two hundred and forty thousand men. Such, therefore, were the naval-forces equipped from Asia; making a total of five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. The amount of the infantry was seventeen hundred thousand; that of the cavalry, eighty thousand to which I add the Arabs that rode camels, and the Libyans that drove chariots; the amount of which I make twenty thousand men. The numbers in the sea-service and land-service being added together, give two millions six hundred and forty-one thousand six hundred and ten. Such was the number of the troops which, as I have observed, were brought from Asia, without reckoning the servants that followed them, the provision-ships, and
185 the men aboard them. But again, to this total which we have summed up must be added the troops brought out of Europe, concerning which I am obliged to speak from guess. the Hellenes of Thrace, then, and of the islands lying off the coast, furnished one hundred and twenty sail; the crews out of those ships give twenty-five thousand men. in the land-service, troops were furnished by the Thracians, Pæonians, Eordi, Bottiæi, the Chalcidician tribes, the Brygi, the Pieres, the Macedonians, the Perrhæbi, the Enianes, the Dolopes, the Magnetes, the Achæi, and such as occupy the sea-side of Thrace: of all those nations I take the number to be three hundred thousand. these numbers therefore being added to

states, that some of the natives were ἐπιβάται, a term which (if there is one in the naval tactics of the ancients that can be rendered in modern languages) certainly answers to our *marines*. If we take, then, the native marines to have been in any proportion to the Persian marines, there evidently cannot remain more than one hundred men to pull at the oars. Now, if we consider any of the systems by which it has been proposed to explain the ancient galley as having ascending benches of rowers, (whether the specious explanation of General Melville, according to which the oar-holes were placed above one another chequerwise, or that by which they are supposed to have been placed above one another in an oblique direction, down the ship's side; or, lastly, that most absurd plan in which some imagine they were placed one above the other in a vertical line), if, I say, we consider any of those systems, we shall deduce from this passage a fatal objection on the score of manual force alone, without taking into account the more fatal objection which might be produced by the naval architect. That there were ships, or rather galleys, constructed on the ascending plan among the ancients, I see no reason to doubt; but common sense will not grant that they were used for action. they were probably kept, like those in the Toph Hana of Constantinople, only for show and parade And certainly the more a man accustomed to the sea meditates on the subject, the more he is convinced that Vossius's opinion is by far the best; I mean, that the trireme took its name from having three men to each oar; one at the extremity to give the stroke; and between the extremity and the oar-hole two more; one with his face to the stern, pulling; the other with his face to the stem, pushing.

those which I have described as coming out of Asia, give, for the grand total of fighting-men, two millions six hundred and forty-one thousand six hundred and ten. As the amount of 186
the men-of-arms[400] was so great, I take for granted that the servants who followed after them, the men aboard the provision ships, as well as the other vessels which accompanied the army, could not have been less, but rather more; but I will assume them to have been neither more nor less, but equal to the fighting-men. supposing them therefore to be equal to the men-of-arms, they must have just doubled the total I have given above. Therefore we conclude, that Xerxes the son of Darius brought as far as Sepias and the Thermopylæ, five millions two hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty men[401]. Such, therefore, 187
was the amount of the whole combined forces of Xerxes. as to the number of the female cooks, of the concubines, of the eunuchs, no one can say any thing certain, neither can any one state the number of the horses and other cattle used for

[400] τοῦ μαχίμου. These words do not signify that all the numbers above mentioned were exactly men that used their weapons, but that such was the amount of the men to be brought into action on sea and land: it therefore comprises the rowers, who certainly must have kept their posts at the oar, even in the hottest engagement It is in this manner that we speak of the crew of a Turkish ship, without distinguishing between the Greeks, who work the vessel, and the Turks, who lounge on deck all day, smoking and drinking coffee, and never rise from their sluggish state till an enemy's sail heaves in sight.

[401] This immense multitude, equal to the population of a whole country, exceeds the powers of belief with many, but surely any one, who attentively considers the honesty with which Herodotus mentions the manner in which he arrived at his conclusion, can see no reason to doubt the authenticity of this part of the Muses: nothing but Divine Providence, as this most upright man tells us, could have saved Greece; that same Providence, which we have seen stretch forth its mighty arm to rescue the North from the multitudes, the valour, and the skill, of the French.

*List of Xerxes' combined forces*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Twelve hundred and seven ships, crews, two hundred men per vessel | | 241,400 | |
| Fighting-men aboard the ships; thirty men per vessel | | 36,210 | |
| Three thousand ships; crews eighty men each | | 240,000 | |
| Total of the sea-forces | | | 517,610 |
| Land-forces: Infantry | | 1,700,000 | |
| Land-forces: Cavalry | | 80,000 | |
| Land-forces: War-chariots and camel-riders | | 20,000 | |
| Total of the land-forces | | | 1,800,000 |
| Sea-forces from Thrace and adjoining provinces | | | 24,000 |
| Land-forces pressed into service on the march in Europe | | | 300,000 |
| Total of all the troops | | | 2,641,610 |
| Servants, crews of the provision-ships, &c. | | | 2,641,610 |
| Grand Total | | | 5,283,220 |

conveying the baggage; or that of the Indian hounds which followed in the train, by reason of their multitude. So that to me it is no matter of astonishment that there were some rivers whose streams failed[402]; but rather, it is a wonder to me how the provisions held out; for by calculation I find, that if each man received one chœnix of meal per day, and no more, one hundred and ten thousand medimni must have been consumed every day, with an addition of three hundred and forty more[403]; by which I do not take into account that consumed by the women, the eunuchs, the sumpter-beasts, and the hounds. Although the troops amounted to so many tens of thousands, not one of them, by his beauty and stature, was more entitled to possess such power than Xerxes himself.

188 The fleet, as I have said[404], having hove anchor, got under weigh, and steered to that part of the coast of Magnesia which lies between the town of Casthanæa and Cape Sepias the ships in the van accordingly pushed to land, while the others rode at anchor, farther out than the first; for, as the roadstead was not very extensive, they moored the fleet chequerwise, on eight successive lines, towards the main sea[405]; and so they remained that night. But about the break of day, after a calm and still weather, the sea began to swell, and a dreadful storm assaulted them, accompanied with a violent gale from the eastward, which the people dwelling about those parts term an Hellespontia. Some among them who observed the gale rise, and whose ships were in such a

[402] προδοῦναι τὰ ῥήθεα: supply, from what goes before, τοσαύτας μυριάδας: literally, "betrayed so many myriads, *i.e.* failed to supply so many men:" the metaphor is, I believe, repugnant to English. The construction, by which ἔστιν οἳ stands by itself in an adjective sense for ἔνιοι, is explained. Matt. Gr. Gramm. 482, third paragraph.

[403] That is to say, in all, 110,340 medimni: the medimnus contained 48 chœnixes. Taking the number of men, as mentioned by Herodotus, we have 5,283,220 chœnixes for the daily consumption of the army: dividing the last number by 48, we obtain 110,067. There is, therefore, some mistake in the calculation; the origin of which, Schweighæuser attempts to explain; see his note: but it must be observed, that, as the Greek numeration was very different from the Hindoo system which we now follow, the operations of arithmetic were not performed in the same manner as among the Europeans of the present day; a circumstance which seems to have escaped the editor.

[404] I have endeavoured to express the particle δὴ.

[405] The word προέχεσσαι is regarded by Schweighæuser as equivalent to κλιμακηδὸν, *i.e.* stepwise, like a flight of steps. According to this interpretation which I have adopted, the vessels were moored on the following plan, along the bend of the coast,

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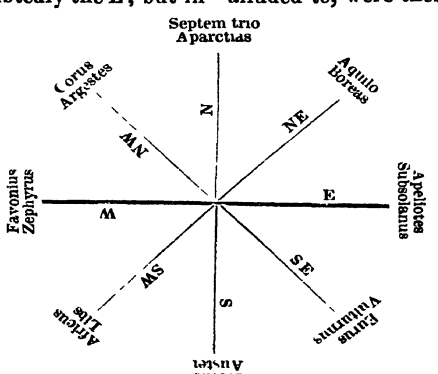
making the lines eight in number, and the longest touching the land.

berth[406] as would allow of their so doing, anticipated the storm, by hauling their ships on land: these escaped, and saved their ships. But the vessels that lay out to sea were assailed by the storm: some were driven to Ipni at the foot of Pelion; others were cast away on the strand; some likewise were wrecked on Cape Sepias itself; others were thrown up by the town of Melibœa, and some by Casthanæa; indeed, the hurricane was irresistible[407]. It is stated, that the Athe- 189
nians, in deference to an oracle, invoked Boreas; for they had received another response, in these terms: "They should invoke their step-father to their assistance." Boreas, according to the account of the Hellenes, took a wife from Attica—Oreithyia, the daughter of Erechtheus. In consequence therefore of this connexion, the Athenians, as the report goes, inferred that Boreas was their father-in-law: they stationed their fleet at Chalcis of Eubœa, and, either at the time, or before they observed the storm gathering, offered sacrifice to Boreas and Oreithyia, invoking them to come to their assistance, and destroy the ships of the barbarians, as before off Athos. Whether therefore it was in consequence of this that the north-east wind[408] assailed the barbarian

[406] καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ἔρμου, "and whose station, mooring, or berth, was such." See Matt. 315, 1.

[407] Matt. 430.

[408] I have before observed, that the ancients did not know that precision which is now used in stating the points of the compass: the wind which so shattered the Persian fleet coming, as its provincial name imports, from the Hellespont, must have blown from the NNE; yet he calls it the *Apeliotes*, which was undoubtedly the E, but in the passage now before us, he calls it the *Boreas*, which there is every reason to suppose was the NE. It is therefore evident, that if the eight divisions of the compass were known at the time of Herodotus, they were not clearly distinguished in the mind of every writer: and in order to save the credit of my author, I have translated, in a former page, ἀπηλιώτης, 'from the eastward." The eight divisions of the compass which I have alluded to, were these:




In

fleet as it was riding at anchor, I am not able to say: the Athenians however declare, that Boreas had come to their assistance before, and that at this period he it was who effected the above things: on their return, they erected a
190 temple to Boreas, near the river Ilissus. In this disaster, according to the account of such as state the least numbers, no fewer than four hundred ships were lost, and men beyond calculation, besides a vast quantity of treasure; so much so, that the wreck of these ships became a source of great profit to Aminocles the son of Cretinas, a native of Magnesia, whose estate[409] lay about Sepias; for he picked up afterwards a great number of golden vases, and many of silver, thrown up on the strand he found likewise the boxes of valuables that had belonged to the Persians, and possessed himself of an unspeakable quantity of other things of gold. but, though he became in this manner vastly rich, he was not in other respects happy; for he had had the misfortune to kill in-
91 voluntarily his son, which embittered even his life[410]. The number of the provision-ships and of the other craft that perished is beyond the power of calculating. so that the captains of the fleet, fearing the Thessalians might set upon them in their shattered condition, raised around themselves a lofty rampart, made from the wrecks; for the storm continued three days. At last, the magi, by making sacrifice to the wind, and charming it with magic chaunts, besides sacrificing to Thetis and the Nereids, calmed the storm on the fourth day; or otherwise, perhaps, the wind, after spending its fury[411], sank of its own accord. They offered sacrifice to Thetis, hearing from the Ionians the report that she had been carried off from this spot by Peleus, and that the whole cape of Sepias was sacred to her and the other Nereids.
92 Accordingly, the hurricane ceased on the fourth day. On the second day from that on which the storm began, the scouts, running down from the forelands of Eubœa, advised

In the present day, as all the world knows, the compass is divided into thirty-two points. The authority for the Greek names of the Winds is the octagonal building at Athens, called, by travellers, the Temple of the Eight Winds: on each face is engraved the name of the point it looks to; but some Turkish houses are built up against two of the sides; so that the inscriptions cannot now be all seen.

[409] γηοχίω signifies "to possess land" I make the remark, because the word γηοχίοντι has, I see, been translated, "breaking up some ground."

[410] Construction: ἦν γάρ τις ἄχαρις συμφορὴ παιδοφόνος (an equivocal word, signifying either "caused by having killed his son," or "causing the death of his son,") λυπεῦσα καὶ τοῦτον, "him as well as the rest of men."

[411] I have attempted to express the force of ἐκόπασε, "sank to rest from fatigue." See Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex

the Hellenes of what had happened with respect to the wreck of the fleet: when they received the tidings, the Hellenes addressed prayers to Neptune the Saviour, and poured forth libations to him; after which they hastened with all speed to Artemisium, expecting that there would be but few ships to oppose them: having accordingly arrived there for the second time, they stationed their fleet about Artemisium; and from that time, even down to the present, they are wont to give the epithet of Saviour to Neptune.

193 But when the wind had ceased, and the waves were stilled, the barbarians launched their ships, and stood along the landboard: after doubling the foreland of Magnesia, they steered directly up the gulf that shoots into the land of the Pagasæ There is in that gulf of Magnesia a spot where it is related Jason and his companions forsook Hercules, who was sent from the Argo for a supply of water, at the time when they were on their voyage to Æa of Colchis for the fleece the crew were to water at this place, and then heave out to sea; in consequence of which occurrence, the name of Aphetæ[412] was given to this spot here it was, therefore, that the *sailors* of Xerxes took up their moorings. 194 Fifteen sail of the barbarian fleet, the last in the rear, happened to be driven a good distance from land; and descrying the ships of the Hellenes at Artemisium, imagined them to be their own, and, steering to them, fell among their enemies. The commander of this squadron was Sandoces, the governor of Cyma[413] in Æolia, the son of Thamasius previous to these events, Sandoces, who was one of the royal judges, was detected in the commission of a crime; that of passing an unjust sentence for money: Darius in consequence ordered him to be stretched on a cross. he was accordingly tied up, but Darius, considering the case, found that the good services done by him to the royal house were greater than his crimes[414]: having therefore come to this conclusion, and being convinced that he had acted more precipitately than wisely[415], the King had him liberated: thus he saved his life, escaping the death decreed by Darius but at this period, bearing down upon the Hellenic fleet, he was not to escape[416] a second time; for the Hellenes, when they saw the enemy standing towards them and perceived their mistake, hove out, and easily

[412] That is to say, "the place of departure."

[413] See p. 3, note 3, of this Volume.

[414] This mode of rendering justice was customary with the Persians. See 1. 137.

[415] ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώτερα. See Matt. 456

[416] διαφυγὼν ἔσεσθαι for διαφεύξειν. See Schweig Not.

195 captured them. On board of one of these ships was taken Aridolis, the tyrant of Alabandi in Caria; in another was taken the Paphian commander, Penthylus the son of Demonous, who brought twelve sail from Paphos, but lost eleven of them in the storm off Sepias, and now, proceeding to Artemisium with the only one that had escaped, was captured. The Hellenes, after inquiring of them such particulars as they were desirous of hearing concerning[417] Xerxes' forces, sent them away in bonds to the Isthmus of the Corinthians.

196 Accordingly, the fleet of the barbarians arrived at Aphetæ, with the exception of the fifteen sail which, as I have said, Sandoces commanded. Meanwhile, Xerxes and the land-forces, having marched through Thessaly and Achaia, entered the third day previous within the bounds of the Malians. Xerxes, while in Thessaly, caused a match to be run between his own horses and the Thessalian cavalry, in order to ascertain the qualities of the latter, understanding that their cavalry was the best in Hellas. in this contest, accordingly, the Hellenic horses were greatly inferior. Of the rivers in Thessaly, the Onochonus was the only one whose stream was not sufficient for the forces; whereas the rivers of Achaia, even the largest of them, which is the Epi-

197 danus, scarcely held out. Xerxes having arrived at Alos, the road-guides, desirous of detailing all *the particulars of the country*, told him of the tradition[418] among the natives concerning the temple of Jove Laphystius; that Athamas the son of Æolus, conspiring with Ino, planned the death of Phryxus; that afterwards, in obedience to an oracle, the Achæans imposed the following forfeit on the posterity of Athamas, they decreed that the eldest of that race shall be ever kept out of the prytaneum; and they keep watch themselves; (the Achæans call the prytaneum, Leitus;) if he enters, he is never to go out again until he is to be sacrificed: in addition to this, *they related*, that many of those persons who were to be thus sacrificed, fled, through fear, to another country; but if, in the course of time, coming back, they are caught entering the prytaneum, they are sacrificed, led forth all covered

[417] ἀπὸ in the sense of περὶ, as in IV. 53: ταυτὰ μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν.

[418] This digression is enveloped in darkness. We see, by the latter part, that the punishment inflicted on Athamas's descendants is likewise extended to those of Phryxus, whom Athamas had wished to murder; and that because Cytissorus the son of Phryxus came to deliver the enemy of his father, as the Achæans were about to sacrifice him. Nothing can be more inconsistent: in fact, there is little or no connexion throughout the narrative. Histoire d'Hérodote, par A. F. Miot, 1822, vol. II p. 652

with fillets, and followed in grand procession. The same treatment is suffered by the descendants of Cytissorus the son of Phryxus; because, when the Achæans, in obedience to an oracle, were performing the lustration of their country by the sacrifice of Athamas the son of Æolus, this Cytissorus, arriving from Æa of Colchis, rescued the victim; and by so doing, drew upon his own posterity the anger of the gods. Xerxes, having heard these accounts, when he was near the grove, not only refrained from entering himself, but issued orders to the same effect to all his army: he likewise evinced the same veneration for the house of Athamas's descendants as for the grove.

This took place in Thessaly and Achaia. Quitting those 198
countries, he proceeded into Malis, to a gulf[419] of the sea, where an ebb and flow takes place every day. Near that gulf is a level tract, in one part broad, in another exceedingly narrow: around the tract rise lofty and impassable mountains called the Trachinian rocks, which inclose the whole territory of Malis. The first place, accordingly, on the bay, as you come[420] from Achaia, is Anticyra; near which the river Sperchius, flowing from the country of the Enianes, falls into the sea: about twenty stades from this stream is another, the name of which is Dyras, and which, as the report says, gushed forth, for the first time, to assist Hercules, when he was burning twenty stades farther from the Dyras is another river, which is called the Melas. At a distance of 199
five stades from this river Melas is the town of Trachis; and in that place, where Trachis is built, is the widest range in the whole of this tract from the mountain to the sea; for the breadth of the plain extends there to twenty-two thousand fathoms. In the range which shuts in the Trachinian territory, there is a cleft to the south of Trachis: out of the cleft the river Asopus flows, along the root of the mountain. South of the Asopus is another river, the Phœnix, of no great 200
importance, which, flowing from those mountains, discharges its waters into the Asopus. Near the river Phœnix the tract is the narrowest; for there the road is made passable[421] for one carriage, by means only of a causeway built for that purpose. from the river Phœnix it is fifteen stades' distance to

[419] The Sinus Maliacus.

[420] See Matt 390, *b*.

[421] ἁμαξιτὸς γὰρ μίη μούνη δίδμηται. I have followed the explanation of Wesseling; which, I see, has likewise been followed by Mr. Mitford, in his History of Greece, vol. II. p. 174. It is upon this passage that the makers of plans, commentators, &c. put the Phocian wall at the narrowest part of the strait; although a very little consideration would have shewn them the absurdity of placing the rampart in such a situation. The reader, perhaps, will permit me to make a few remarks. ἁμαξιτὸς, and its equivalent

Thermopylæ: between the river Phœnix and the Thermopylæ is a village, the name of which is Anthela: near that spot the Asopus flows by, and discharges its stream into the sea, and the space extending round it is broad; and here stands the precinct of Ceres Amphictyonis, and there likewise are the seats for the Amphictyons and the temple of Am-
201 phictyon himself. King Xerxes accordingly pitched his camp in the Trachinian territory of Malis; while the Hellenes stationed themselves in the pass. That place is called, by most of the Hellenes, Thermopylæ; but by the natives, Pylæ[422]. Thus both parties encamped in those places: one was in possession of all to the north of Trachis, the other of the parts extending to the southward, belonging to this continent.

202 The following were the Hellenes that awaited the Persian in this position. From Sparta, three hundred heavy-armed men; from Tegea and Mantinea, one thousand men—five hundred from each; from Orchomenus of Arcadia, one hundred and twenty; and from the rest of Arcadia, one thousand, (such was the amount of the Arcadians,) from Corinth, four hundred; from Phlius, two hundred; from Mycenæ, eighty, (all the above came from Peloponnesus;) from Bœotia, seven
203 hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans. In addition to those I have just mentioned, the Opuntian Locrians had obeyed the call, mustering all their forces, together with a thousand of the Phocians. For the Hellenes themselves[423]

ἁμαξήλατος, (ὁδὸς being understood) signify a *carriage-way*: the verb δίειμι signifies *to build*, but is likewise used to signify *to lay down*, to *construct* a road, as in II. 124, where we find τῆς ὁδοῦ . . . τὴν ἔδειμαν, in the account of the pyramid. It is therefore fair to presume that the words ἰοῦσα ἁμαξιτὸς μούνη, used twice in ch. 176, signify merely that the pass *was only the carriage-way*, that is to say, *consisted only of the carriage-way*, without any ground either to the left or to the right; but it does not follow from thence that the way would only admit one carriage. I think nothing more can be inferred from the words than that the pass was only of the general breadth of carriage-roads; say, sixteen feet. In the sentence which forms the subject of this Note, the only meaning that it appears justifiable to deduce from the words is, that in the boggy land, probably formed at the junction of the Phœnix and Asopus, there was only one causeway of masonry thrown over, of the breadth generally used in carriage-roads; say again, sixteen feet. With respect to the Phocian wall, Mr. Mitford very properly places it "across the middle of the narrow, where was a width of about fifty feet nearly level." Hist. of Greece, II. p 136.

[422] "The Gate;—a word," says Mr Mitford, "of precisely the same import in the common speech of many parts of England." Hence the pass probably derived its more general appellation, Thermopylæ (the Hot-Gate), from the vicinity of the Chytri, or hot-baths.

[423] That is to say, the Greeks who were at Thermopylæ, in the neighbourhood of which lay the territories of Phocis and of the Opuntian Locrians.

had invoked them to assist, saying, by the intermedium of messengers, that "they themselves were come as a van-"guard, and that the rest of the allies were expected every "day: the sea was in safe keeping, being guarded by the "Athenians, and the Æginetæ, and those stationed in the "sea-service: they had therefore nothing to fear; for it was "not a god that was marching against Hellas, but a man: "there never was, nor would there ever be, a mortal with "whose prosperity evil was not mingled from his birth[424]; "but that the greatest calamity visited the greatest mor-"tals[425]; therefore, even the invader, since he was but a "mortal, must fall from his glory[426]." The Locrians, hearing this, proceeded to the assistance of the Hellenes near Trachis. Over these troops there were various leaders[427], 204
according to the countries of each; but the one mostly admired, and the commander-in-chief of the whole combined host, was the Lacedæmonian, Leonidas, sprung from the following ancestors—Anaxandrides his father, Leon his grandfather, Eurycratides[428], Anaxander, Eurycrates, Polydorus, Alcamenes, Telecles, Archelaus, Agesilaus, Doryssus, Leobotes, Echestratus, Agis, Eurysthenes, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, Hercules. He had obtained the royal dignity at Sparta by an unexpected circumstance. He 205
had two elder brothers, Cleomenes and Dorieus; he was far from thinking about the royal office; but Cleomenes having died without male issue, and Dorieus being no longer in existence, having likewise died in Sicily[429], the throne of consequence descended to Leonidas, not only because he was older than Cleombrotus (who was the youngest son of Anaxandrides), but as he had also married the daughter of Cleomenes. He[430] now proceeded to Thermopylæ, choosing his three hundred men, according to law[431], and such as had

[424] Construction: εἶναι θνητὸν οὐδένα, τῷ οὐ κακὸν συνεμίχθη (τοῖσι ἀγαθοῖσι) *Schweigh. Lex. Herod.* ὡς συμμίσγειν.

[425] See Matt. 462, 2d paragraph

[426] Mr. Mitford translates, much better I think, "would be disappointed of his hope." Larcher translates likewise, "devoit être frustré de ses espérances."

[427] See Matt. 288, *f. obs* 3.

[428] See Matt 273

[429] See v. 45, 46; vii 158.

[430] ὃς refers to Ἀναξάνδρης in the foregoing chapter, all between being a parenthesis. See Matt 477, *a.*

[431] κατιστιῶτας: a word, the meaning of which is very far from being clear. The different interpretations proposed are these 1. Taking κατιστιῶτας as equivalent to ἐν ἡλικίᾳ κατιστιῶτας, "of the proper age, capable of bearing arms;" making the article τοὺς to refer to τριηκοσίους, the three hundred mentioned c 202. *Schweig Vers. Lat.* 2. That of Larcher. "le corps fixe et permanent; *the regular and standing corps.*" 3. That of Schulz: "constitutos illos (*nempe* lege constitutos) trecentos viros, *sive* legitimum numerum trecentorum virorum." For remarks on these different explanations, the reader is referred to the very learned note of Larcher, and to the acute comment of Schweighæuser, on this passage.

families. Before his arrival at the muster, he united to his troops the Thebans[432], to the number which I have stated: their leader was Leontiades the son of Eurymachus. The motive for which Leonidas was so anxious to obtain the reinforcement of the Thebans, particularly from among all the Hellenic nations, was this, that they were strongly accused[433] of inclining to the Mede: he invited them therefore to the war, from a wish to see whether they would send any forces with him, or whether they would openly reject the league of the Hellenes; and the Thebans, although they were
206 otherwise inclined, granted the supply. The Spartans sent Leonidas and these troops first, to the end that the other allies, seeing them, might march out, and not, like the rest, turn over to the Medes, if they heard that the Spartans were delaying; after which, as the Carnea[434] were now an obstacle to them, they intended to celebrate their festival, and then, leaving a garrison at Sparta, make all speed to join the war with their whole forces. The rest of the confederates likewise determined upon acting in the same manner, for at the same time as these events[435] the period of the Olympic games occurred: not thinking therefore that the contest would be decided so quickly at Thermopylæ, they sent on a van-guard. Such was the plan on which they proposed to act.

207 The Hellenes at Thermopylæ, when the Persian was come near the pass, being seized with terror, began to consult about a retreat: the rest of the Peloponnesians were therefore of opinion that they should proceed to the Peloponnesus, and keep watch on the isthmus; but seeing the Phocians and Locrians highly indignant at that proposal, Leonidas voted that they should stand to their post, and send messengers to the cities, inviting them to give assistance, as they were now
208 too few[436] to repel the host of the Medes. While the Hellenes were debating these matters, Xerxes sent a scout, on horseback, to reconnoitre how many they were, and what they were doing. for he had heard, when he was still in Thessaly, that a small band had mustered here; and had ascertained respecting their leaders, that they were Lacedæmonians, at the head of whom was Leonidas, a descendant of

[432] *καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς* (for *οὕς*) *εἶπον λογισάμενος ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν.* See Matt. 354, at the beginning.

[433] *σφίων κατηγόρητο μηδίζειν.* The verb *κατηγόρητο* seems to be taken impersonally: according to Valla, it is Attically placed for *κατηγόρει*, and governed by *Διωνίδης*. Lector sententiam sequatur, quam veritati favere judicarit. *Æ. Port. Lex. Ion. voc. κατηγόρητο*

[434] A festival celebrated in honour of Apollo *Κάρνειος*, by the Dorians of the Peloponnesus, and particularly in Lacedæmonia.

[435] *κατὰ τώυτὸ* (i. e. *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον*) *τοῦτοισι.* See Matt 386, 1

[436] *ὀλίγων*, "*too* few." Matt. 448, *b.*

Hercules. The horseman rode forward, up to the camp, and reconnoitred, but did not see the whole of the army; for it was impossible to discern those stationed within the wall, which the Hellenes, having repaired, were now guarding: he reconnoitred however those on the outside, whose arms were pitched in front of the wall: at that time the Lacedæmonians happened to be stationed on the outside; and some of these he saw busied in gymnastic exercises, others combing their hair. when he beheld this, he was struck with astonishment, but ascertained their numbers; and having examined every thing accurately, rode back at his leisure, for no one pursued him; all treated him with contempt. Returning, he made to Xerxes a report of all he had seen. When Xerxes 209
heard his account, he could not conceive, what however was the truth, that they were making ready to sell their lives as dearly as they could[437]. But they appearing to the King to behave in a laughable manner, he summoned therefore before him Demaratus the son of Ariston, who was in the camp. on the arrival of Demaratus, Xerxes put to him various questions concerning this behaviour of the enemy, wishing to find out what the Lacedæmonians intended to do. Demaratus spoke: "Thou hast heard already, when we were be-
" ginning our march against Hellas, what I had to say con-
" cerning these men. But you laughed at me, when you
" heard me say what I foresaw would be the issue of these
" matters. There is in me, Sire, a violent struggle to follow
" truth, in opposition to your wishes; but listen to me once
" more. Those men have come to fight with us for the pass,
' and for that purpose they are making ready; for such is
the custom that holds with them, when they are about to
" hazard their lives, they dress their heads know, too, that
' if you subdue those now before us, and those remaining[438]
' at Sparta, there is no other nation of men that will abide,
' Sire, to raise their hands against you; for now you have
' to deal with the noblest kingdom and city, and with the
' most valiant men of Hellas." These words seemed to Xerxes little deserving of credit, and he, in the second place, asked "in what manner, being so few, they could contend with his army." Demaratus said, "Sire, treat me as a liar, if events do not ensue in the manner I describe to you."

By so speaking, he failed to convince Xerxes. The King 210
therefore suffered four days to intervene, constantly expecting that the Hellenes would retreat; but on the fifth, as they

[437] "To be killed, and to kill to their utmost."

[438] τὸ ὑπομένον for τοὺς ὑπομένοντας. Matt. 269.

had not quitted the post, but were, it appeared to him, remaining from a motive of insolence and obstinacy, he despatched against them, in his wrath, the Medes and the Cissians, commanding them to seize the enemies, and bring them alive into his presence. The Medes, having advanced, charged against the Hellenes, and fell in great numbers; others succeeded, and, although severely worsted, did not give up their ground, but made it evident to every one, and most of all[439] to the King himself, that they were many men and few
211 soldiers: this engagement lasted the whole day. When the Medes had been so roughly handled, they withdrew; and the Persians (those whom the King called "Immortals," and over whom Hydarnes commanded), succeeding them, marched to the attack, as if they, at all events, would easily settle the business. But even they, when engaged with the Hellenes, made no greater impression than the Medic troops: they had the same success; because they had to fight in a narrow space, so that they could not avail themselves of their numbers, and likewise used javelins shorter than those of the Hellenes. On the other hand, the Lacedæmonians fought memorably, giving, in several instances, proof that they were skilful warriors fighting against men that had not been trained; more particularly when they would turn their backs on the enemy, as if forsooth they were going to run away in a body; at which time the barbarians, seeing them retreat, would follow up with shouts and noise, and the Hellenes, when on the point of being overtaken, would turn upon their heels, and face the barbarians: by so doing, they brought down innumerable multitudes of the Persians, some few likewise of the Spartans fell at those times. The Persians, in spite of their efforts, not being able to gain upon the pass, although they made their attacks in squadrons and
212 in every possible manner, retreated. It is said, that during these onsets of the battle, the King, who was a spectator, leaped thrice from his throne, being in fear for his army. Thus was the ground disputed that day. On the following day the barbarians fought with no better success for, as the Hellenes were few in number, the barbarians, who expected they were covered with wounds, and would not be able again to raise their hands against them, charged once more; but the Hellenes were divided in squadrons, according to their nations, and all fought in turn, except the Phocians: these were stationed on the mountain, to guard the path. And as the Persians found nothing different from what they had seen the day before, they retreated.

[439] οὐκ ἥκιστα, for μάλιστα. Matt. 463

The King being embarrassed as to what plan he should 213
adopt in the present circumstance, Ephialtes[440] the son of Eurydemus, a native of Malis, presented himself before him, expecting he should receive something considerable at his hands, and pointed out the path leading through the mountains to Thermopylæ, and so brought about the destruction of the Hellenes stationed there. Subsequently, from fear of the Lacedæmonians, he fled into Thessaly: having thus fled, he was outlawed, and a price was set on his head[441] by the Pylagori, when the Amphictyons[442] were assembled at the Pylæan sessions[443]. Some time after, having returned to Anticyra, he was killed by Athenades, a native of Trachis. Athenades slew Ephialtes for another reason, which I shall mention in the course of my history[444]: he was, however, rewarded none the less by the Lacedæmonians. Thus, therefore, did Ephialtes meet with his death, subsequently to these events. There is another account given, namely, that Onetas 214
the son of Phanagoras, a native of Carystus, and Corydallus of Anticyra, were the persons who gave the information to the King, and acted as guides round the mountain to the Persians. but, to me at least, the report is by no means deserving of credit, which, on the one hand, may be inferred from this, namely, that the Pylagori of the Hellenes did not set a price on the heads of Onetas and Corydallus, but upon that of Ephialtes the Trachinian[445]; and there is no doubt they were perfectly acquainted with the truth on the other hand, we know that Ephialtes fled on that account. Onetas might indeed have known of the path, if he had often visited the country, though he was not a native of Malis; but as it was Ephialtes that guided the enemy round the mountain by that path, him do I record as the traitor. Xerxes, approving of 215
what Ephialtes promised to perform, and filled with joy, forthwith sent Hydarnes, and the troops under the command of that general[446]; and they started from the camp about the

[440] Ἐπιάλτης, an Ion for Ἐφιάλτης.

[441] ἐπικηρύσσειν τινὶ χρήματα, to set a price on a person, making it known by a herald—to outlaw. *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.*

[442] Concerning the Amphictyons, some of whom were called Pylagori, the reader will do well to consult Potter's Grecian Antiquities. I much regret that the limits of my work will not allow me to present my reader with a translation of Larcher's learned Essay, contained in the Fourth Volume, p. 270, seq. of his translation.

[443] Πυλαίην, understand σύνοδον. The name of the Assembly of the Amphictyons, at the Pylæ or Thermopylæ.

[444] He does not mention it in any other place, that I know of. This, therefore, is one of the promises which Herodotus has forgotten to fulfil, or else all his works have not come down to us. *Wessel. Larcher.*

[445] Herodotus here calls the traitor a Trachinian; although he had previously called him a Malian, Μηλιεὺς: but both terms are equivalent, as Trachinia was a part of Malis. *Larcher.*

[446] The ten thousand "Immortals." See 83, 211.

lighting of lamps. The people of Malis had discovered this path; and, when they had found it out, had conducted the Thessalians upon the Phocians, at the time when the latter, having fortified the entrance *of Thermopylæ* with a wall, conceived themselves under shelter from invasion; accordingly, it appears that from that time the Malians made a very
216 improper use of this path[447]. It is thus situated. it commences at the Asopus, where that river flows from the cleft of the mountain; the name of the mountain and the path is one and the same, Anopæa; this Anopæa extends along the ridge of the mountain, and terminates towards the city of Alpenus, which is the first town of the Locrians on the side of the Malians, near the rock called Melampygus, and the haunts of the Cercopes; and there the path is narrowest.
217 By this path, so situate, the Persians, after crossing the Asopus, marched the whole night, having on their right the mountains of the Œtæans, on their left those of the Trachinians: the dawn appeared, and they were on the summit of the mountain. In this part of the mountain, as has been before shewn by me[448], one thousand heavy-armed soldiers of the Phocians were posted as a guard, to defend their own territory, and to watch the path; for the pass below was guarded by those that have been mentioned[449], while the Phocians had of their own accord accepted the post of guarding the path-
218 way over the mountain. The Phocians discovered the enemy in the following manner, but not before they had made the ascent; (for the Persians were not seen ascending[450], the whole mountain being covered with oaks.) it was a calm, and a great rustling taking place, as one may suppose, among the leaves scattered under foot, the Phocians leapt up, and put on their arms, when immediately the barbarians made their appearance· when these latter saw men clad in arms, they were astonished; as, though they did not expect any one to appear and oppose them, they had now fallen in with an army. Then Hydarnes, fearing lest the Phocians might be Lacedæmonians, inquired of Ephialtes of what nation the troops were. informed of the truth, he drew up the Persians as for battle; and the Phocians, having been hit by many and frequent arrows, and convinced that the enemy had come to attack them alone, fled up to the pinnacle of the

[447] I have followed Schweighæuser's interpretation; which, although perhaps not quite satisfactory, is certainly better than that usually given: "it was proved that it had been of no use to the Malians"—"il etoit prouvé que ce sentier n'avoit été d'aucune utilité aux Méliens" *Larcher*. See Schw Not.

[448] See chap. 22.

[449] See chap. 202.

[450] *ἀναβαίνοντες ἰλάνθανον*. See Matt. 552, 2.

mountain, and prepared for death. Such, therefore, was their resolution: the Persians, however, following Ephialtes and Hydarnes, took no account of the Phocians, but rapidly descended the mountain.

Megistias the divine, inspecting the victims, announced 219
first to the Hellenes at Thermopylæ the death that awaited them on the morrow: deserters came afterwards, giving an account of the circuit the Persians were taking; these brought their information when it was already night: thirdly, the scouts, at break of day, running down from the heights, *confirmed the tidings*. Then the Hellenes held council; and their opinions were divided, some urging they should not quit their post, while others supported a contrary opinion: having broken up the council[451], some took their departure, and, disbanding, proceeded each towards his own home, while others of the number prepared to abide with Leonidas in that place. According to another relation, Leonidas sent 220
these troops away himself, having it at heart that they should not perish, but thinking that neither he himself nor the Spartans who were present could honourably desert the post which they had originally come to defend. I myself am inclined to be of the opinion, that Leonidas, when he saw his allies were disheartened, and would not willingly join him in facing the danger, commanded them to depart: he thought, however, it would not be honourable[452] in himself to depart; whereas, if he stayed at his post, he should obtain great renown, and the prosperity of Sparta would not be quenched; for the Pythia pronounced to the Spartans, when they consulted the oracle about this war, immediately at the beginning of its breaking out, that "either Lacedæmon would be overturned by the barbarians, or their king would perish." This answer she pronounced, couched in hexameter verse; the words of which were these: "To you, O dwellers of
'spacious Sparta's soil, either shall your vast, famed city be
'overturned by men, from Perseus sprung[453]; or, if not so,
"the land of Lacedæmon shall weep a king, deceased, from
"Hercules sprung. For, nor the strength of bulls, nor that
of lions, shall withstand his shock: he hath the strength of
Jove; nor shall he, I say, be repressed, ere he have gained
"one of these." It is my opinion, therefore, that Leonidas, reflecting on the above answer, and wishing to secure the glory only to the Spartans, dismissed the allies, rather than

[451] Or, perhaps, "differing, dissenting."

[452] Equivalent to *αἰσχρῷ δὲ ἀπιέναι μᾶλλον εἶναι*. Matt. 604.

[453] That is to say, the Persians. See chap. 150. and vi. 54. Περσείδησι is a patronymic, from Περσεύς.

that the seceders, differing from him in opinion, should have
221 taken their departure in such an unsoldierlike manner. On this question, the following likewise is a most cogent argument in my favour: it is well known that Leonidas not only dismissed the others, but even the divine who followed[454] his army, Megistias the Acarnanian, (said to be originally descended from Melampus, and the same who had predicted, from the victims, what was about to succeed to them,) in order that he might not perish with them. But the divine, although dismissed, did not himself[455] quit the army, but sent away a son that he had in this expedition, his only child. Accordingly, the allies that were dismissed obeyed Leonidas,
222 and went their ways[456]. The Thespians and Thebans were the only confederates that stayed by the Lacedæmonians: of these, the Thebans remained against their will and choice; for Leonidas retained them, considering them in the light of hostages; whereas the Thespians remained of their own perfectly free will, as they declared they would not depart, and forsake Leonidas and those with him, but, abiding, share their death. The leader of these latter was Demophilus the son of Diadromas.

223 Xerxes, having libations at sun-rise, waited some time, and began his attack about the middle of the forenoon[457], as he had been desired to do by Ephialtes; because the descent from the top is more direct, and the distance much shorter, than the circuit and ascent[458]. Accordingly, the barbarians under Xerxes marched forwards; and the Hellenes under Leonidas, going to death, advanced much farther in the wider part of the gorge than they had done at first; for *till now*[459] the wall had served them as a defence, and on the previous days they had taken up their position in the narrower parts[460],

[454] See Matt. 467, 2, *a*.

[455] Matt. 494, 1.

[456] See Matt. 559, *c*. 2d paragraph.

[457] Literally, "at the time when the market or square is generally filled or frequented." The division of the day (with the Greeks) began at sun-rise, and finished at sun-set. The forenoon was divided into six hours, and the afternoon likewise into six hours. The hours in summer were, therefore, longer than those of winter; and although, in winter and summer, the square did not begin to be filled till the third hour of the day, yet, taking into consideration the difference between the hours of summer and those of winter, they must have met together earlier in summer than in winter; at eight o'clock, for instance, according to our mode of reckoning time, in summer, and at ten in winter. *Larcher.*

[458] In fact, had the descent been as long as the ascent, it would not have been time to lead on the troops till the evening.

[459] *τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα*, &c. belongs to the preceding days. The meaning had been clearer, if the words were, *τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας, οἱ δὲ ὑπεξιόντες*, &c. *Wessel.*

[460] That is to say, beyond the wall towards Thessaly, where the pass is, *μίη μουνὴ ἁμάξιτος*.

and there fought. On this day, accordingly, engaging beyond the narrows, a vast multitude of the barbarians fell; for the officers of the squadrons, standing in the rear with scourges in their hands, flogged every one of their men, compelling them to keep on the advance: thus many of them fell into the sea, and perished; many more still were trodden alive under foot by their fellow-soldiers; and no account was had of the dying. For the Lacedæmonians, desperate and reckless of life, and knowing death awaited them at the hands of those who had made the circuit of the mountain, exhibited the greatest possible valour against the barbarians. Already 224
now were the lances of most of them shivered, and they were proceeding to cut down the Persians with the sword: at this part of the battle fell Leonidas, fighting with undaunted bravery; and with him fell other illustrious Spartans, whose names I have inquired and learnt as of worthy men; I have even inquired and learnt those of all the three hundred. On the side of the Persians, others many and illustrious fell at the same place; but more particularly[461], two sons of Darius, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, born to Darius of Phratagune the daughter of Artanes. This Artanes was brother to king Darius, son to Hystaspes, and grandson to Arsames. when he gave his daughter to Darius, he added his whole fortune to the gift, as she was his only child. Ac- 225
cordingly, two brothers of Xerxes fell at this spot, fighting over the body of Leonidas; and a furious struggle ensued, hand to hand[462], between Persians and Lacedæmonians; till at last the Hellenes bore away valiantly the corpse from under the slain, and four times did they repulse the foe. This close fighting lasted till the time that the party guided by Ephialtes arrived. when the Hellenes heard that these latter were come, the battle took forthwith another turn: they retreated back to the narrow of the way, and, passing to the other side of the wall, took[463] up a position on the hillock, all in one close body, excepting the Thebans. This hillock is at the entrance, in the place where now stands the stone-lion to the memory of Leonidas. The Lacedæmonians, whose swords were still left, used them in their defence; the rest defended themselves with their hands and mouths: the barbarians buried them under their arrows; some, after bursting the wall, attacking them in the front; others surrounding and attacking them on every side.

Although the Lacedæmonians and Thespians all behaved 226

[461] ἐν δὲ δὴ. Matt. 594, 1.

[462] I have thought it necessary to give the full meaning of ὠθισμός.

[463] Matt. 557, *obs.*

in this manner, yet it is related, that the man who shewed himself most conspicuous by his valour was Dieneces the Spartan, whom they represent to have made the following observation previous to their closing with the Medes: understanding from some Trachinian, that when the barbarians let fly their arrows they would hide the sun with the multitude of their shafts, such were the multitudes of the enemies; Dieneces, not alarmed at this report, observed, in contempt of the numbers of the Medes, that "their Trachinian friend "announced to them a very advantageous circumstance; "since, if the Medes hid the sun, they should have to fight "them in the shade, not in the sun-shine." Such, and other remarks of the same kind, they represent Dieneces to have
227 left as memorials. Next to him, two Lacedæmonian brothers are said to have excelled in prowess, Alpheus and Maron, sons of Orsiphantus. Of the Thespians, one whose name was Dithyrambus, son of Armatides, gained the great-
228 est glory. In honour of the slain, who were buried on the spot where they fell, and of those who died previous to the departure of the confederates dismissed by Leonidas, inscriptions to the following effect were carved. "Erst, here did "four thousand from Peloponnesus fight against three hun-"dred tens of thousands." The above inscription is engraved in honour of all that fell: in honour of the Spartans in particular, the following inscription is seen: "Stranger, go tell "the Lacedæmonians, that here we lie, obedient to their "behests." Such is the epitaph to the Lacedæmonians. Over the divine, the following is placed: "This is the monu-"ment of the valiant Megistias, whom erst the Medes, pass-"ing Sperchius' stream, slew; a prophet he, who, though he "scanned full well death forth advancing, disdained to quit "Sparta's chiefs." These inscriptions, and the pillars erected to the honour of the fallen, were placed here by the Amphictyons: the monument to the divine was set up by Simonides the son of Leoprepis, as a tribute of friendship.
229 It is likewise related, that two of these three hundred, Eurytus and Aristodemus, when an opportunity was presented to both, if they had followed the same counsel, either to return safe alike to Sparta, as they had been separated from the camp by Leonidas, and lay at Alpeni suffering most severely from a disorder in the eyes; or, if they had chosen to stay, to die with the others; those two persons having, I say, an opportunity to do either of the above, could not agree; but, differing in opinion, Eurytus, when he heard of the Persians having made the circuit, called for his arms, and, having put them on, commanded his Helot to conduct him to the

field of battle: his conductor, as soon as he had led him to the place, took to flight; and the Spartan, rushing into the medley, fell. But Aristodemus, it is related, being faint-hearted, remained.—Now, if Aristodemus had been the only one sick, and so had returned to Sparta, or even had they both returned together, it is my opinion that the Spartans would not have directed their anger against them: but, in the present instance, one of them having died, and the other, though he had the same reason, having refused to die, it was absolutely necessary for them to evince great anger against Aristodemus. Some persons, accordingly, represent Aristo- 230
demus to have sought his safety at Sparta in the manner and from the motive I have mentioned: others affirm, that having been sent as a messenger from the camp, though it was in his power to be present at the engagement, he would not, but, tarrying on the road, saved his life; while his fellow-messenger, arriving in time for the battle, died. At his re- 231
turn to Lacedæmon, Aristodemus met with scoffs and insults; insults such, that not one of the Spartans would give him fire, or converse with him; and was scoffed, being called Aristodemus the trembler. but in the battle of Platæa he wiped away all the disgrace he had brought upon himself[464]. It is said, also, that another messenger, despatched from the 232
camp into Thessaly, survived out of the three hundred, whose name was Pantites; and that on his return to Sparta, being held in dishonour, he hanged himself. The Thebans, over 233
whom Leontiades commanded, siding until now with the Hellenes, had fought, compelled by necessity, against the King's army; but when they beheld the forces of the Persians getting the upper hand, at the time when the Hellenes commanded by Leonidas were hurrying up the hill, they separated from them, stretched out their arms, and drew near to the barbarians, saying, what was the truest of all speeches, that "they too were on the side of the Medes, and "had been among the first to give earth and water to the "King; that they had come to Thermopylæ constrained by "necessity, and were guiltless of the blow that had been in-"flicted on the King." So that, by so speaking, they saved their lives; for they had the Thessalians for witnesses of the truth of what they said: but they were not, however, so lucky, at least in all respects; for the barbarians, seizing them when they came up, put some of them to death as they approached, and, by the orders of Xerxes, marked most of them with the royal brand[465], beginning with the captain,

[464] See IX 71. [465] Matt. 413. *obs* 5. 2d paragraph.

Leontiades, whose son, Eurymachus, some time after, the Platæans slew, he being at the head of four hundred Thebans, and in possession of the citadel of Platæa.

234 In the manner therefore above described the Hellenes had fought near Thermopylæ. And Xerxes, calling Demaratus, questioned him, making the following preface. "Demaratus, "thou art an honest man; and I bear witness to the truth of "thy words; for, whatever thou hast said, all has so suc- "ceeded. Now, tell me how many are the Lacedæmonians "that remain, and how many of them are like these in mat- "ters of war, or whether they are all so." Demaratus replied: "Sire, the numbers of all the Lacedæmonians are great, "and their cities many; but what thou wishest to learn, thou "shalt know. There is in Lacedæmon, a city, Sparta, of about "eight thousand men; all of whom are like those who have "fought in this spot. the rest of the Lacedæmonians how- "ever, though valiant, are not equal to these." At which Xerxes said: "In what manner, Demaratus, shall we be able "to master these people with the least toil? Come, explain, "for, since thou wast their king, thou must know what are
235 "their views." Demaratus made answer: "Sire, since thou "askest my advice so earnestly, it is right that I should tell "thee what would be the best plan; namely, that thou shouldst "despatch three hundred sail of thy fleet to the Laconian "coast; off which lies an island, whose name is Cythera, and "of which Chilon, the wisest man that has been among us, "used to say, 'It would be a greater gain to the Spartans "that it should be sunk into the sea, than remain above "water;' for he always dreaded something, such as I pro- "pose to thee, coming from it. not that he foresaw the arrival "of thy fleet, but he feared alike all naval equipments. Let "the fleet, sallying from that island, terrify the Lacedæmo- "nians: so long as they have war close to their home, thou "needest not fear that, when the rest of Hellas is attacked by "the land-forces, they should march to its assistance. When "the rest of Hellas shall have been enthralled, the Laconian "territory, left to itself, will be too weak. But if thou do not "act in this manner, the following is what thou must expect: "there is a narrow isthmus belonging to Peloponnesus; and "in that place take thy account, that a struggle, greater than "that which has taken place, will await thee from all the "Peloponnesians, bound by oath against thee: whereas, by "acting in the other manner, both that isthmus, and the
236 "cities, will bend to thy power without a struggle." After him spoke Achæmenes, the commander of the naval-forces, and brother to Xerxes: he was present at the conversation,

and feared that Xerxes might be prevailed upon to adopt that plan: "Sire, I see thee hearkening to the words of a man "who envies thy success, or even seeks to betray thy cause "for such are the customs the Hellenes love to follow; they "envy success, and detest superior power. If, in the present "state of affairs, when four hundred ships have been wrecked, "thou sendest away three hundred to circumnavigate Pelo- "ponnesus, our adversaries will be a match for us; whereas, "by remaining undivided, our sea-forces become invincible "by them, nor will they be at all a match for thee: more- "over, the sea-forces will be of assistance to the land-army, "and the land-army to the sea-forces, if they advance in the "same direction, while, if thou divide them, neither wilt "thou be of service to them, or they to thee. Manage well "thy own concerns; and be resolved not to inquire into those "of thy adversaries, where they will carry the war, what they "will do, or how many they are in number: for surely they "are able to think for themselves, and we in like manner for "ourselves. And should the Lacedæmonians march into the "field against the Persians, they will not even heal this one "wound which they have now received." Xerxes replied in 237
these words. "Achæmenes, I think thou speakest well, and "so will I act. But what Demaratus says, he imagines most "advantageous to me, although he is defeated by thee in "counsel for I will not allow that he does not wish well to "my interests; having proofs, both from what he said before, "and from the fact that a citizen envies a citizen who is suc- "cessful and in silence hates him; nor when a citizen asks "for counsel will a fellow-citizen suggest what appears to "him best, unless he have advanced to a high pitch of vir- "tue[466]. Such persons, however, are few. But a friend "delights in the success of his friend, and, when consulted, "will give the best advice. I therefore command all men "henceforward to refrain from calumnies against Demara- "tus, who is my friend" Xerxes, having so spoken, passed 238
through the dead; and hearing concerning Leonidas, that he was king and captain of the Lacedæmonians, he commanded them to cut off his head, and expose it on a pole. It is clear to me, from other proofs, but more particularly from this, that king Xerxes was more enraged against Leonidas when alive, than against any other man; for, otherwise, never would he have thus violated custom in respect to his body; since, of all the nations I know, the Persians are accustomed to shew the greatest honour to men valiant in war.

[466] προόσω ἀρετῆς ἀνήκειν Matt 313

Accordingly, the persons to whom those orders were given put them in execution.

239 I now resume the narrative which I had before interrupted. The Lacedæmonians were the first who learnt that the King was preparing an expedition against Hellas; and, accordingly, they sent to the oracle at Delphi, where the answer, which I have mentioned a little higher up[467], was pronounced to them: they obtained their information in a remarkable way; for Demaratus the son of Ariston, having fled to the Medes, was not (as I suppose, and probability corroborates my supposition) a well-wisher to the Lacedæmonians: it is nevertheless a question, whether what he did was from a motive of benevolence or of exultation. When Xerxes had determined upon leading his forces against Hellas, Demaratus, who was at Susa, and understood what was going on, wished to communicate it to the Lacedæmonians: as he had no other mode of succeeding, since there was a danger in being discovered, he devised the following expedient he took a folding tablet[468], scraped off the wax, and wrote down what was the intention of Xerxes on the wood of the tablet. Having so done, he poured melted wax again over what had been written, to the end that, carrying a blank tablet, the sentinels might not annoy him. When the tablet came to Lacedæmon, the Lacedæmonians were unable to guess the meaning; until at last, as I understand, the daughter of Cleomenes, Leonidas's wife, Gorgo, made a suggestion to them. Having considered the matter, she bade them melt the wax, when they would see what was written on the wood. following her advice, they discovered the writing, and, after reading it, sent it to the rest of the Hellenes.

[467] See chap. 220

[468] δελτίον δίπτυχον. This contrivance of the ancients, which has been discarded by the adoption of slates, was for the purpose of writing down their memorandums It consisted of two triangular pieces of wood, over which melted wax was poured; and the letters were scratched upon the wax, when cool, by means of an iron pin, called the style, στύλος When closed, the tablets had the form of the Greek Δ, when open, that of a parallelogram ◰.

# BOOK VIII.

# URANIA.

## SUMMARY OF BOOK VIII.

*The Greeks of Artemisium engage the barbarians three times, with doubtful success; but hearing of the discomfiture at Thermopylæ, retire to the inner parts of Greece,* 1—23 *Xerxes, having passed through Phocis (where a part of his army makes a vain attempt on the temple of Delphi,* 35—39*), enters Bœotia, which is in his interests,* 34. *The Greek fleet, after quitting Artemisium, makes for Salamis: the Athenians abandon the city,* 41. *Enumeration of the nations of Greece which sent ships to Salamis. their origin is briefly described,* 43—48. *The barbarians break into Attica, put all to fire and sword, capture the deserted city; and storm the citadel, garrisoned by a few obstinate Athenians,* 50—55. *The majority of the Greek admirals, terrified by the news, are desirous of proceeding to the Isthmus of Corinth, but are restrained by the arguments and threats of Themistocles,* 56—63. *In the meantime, the barbarian fleet touches at Phalerus: it is then resolved in council, notwithstanding the contrary advice of Artemisia,* 68, *to attack the Greek fleet stationed at Salamis; while the land-army is to march towards the isthmus, which is carefully fortified by the Peloponnesians, who are enumerated,* 72. *Themistocles, fearing lest the Greek fleet should proceed to the defence of the isthmus, advises Xerxes that the Greeks are meditating a retreat, and persuades him to envelope them with his fleet,* 76. *Aristides, having brought news that the manœuvre had been performed by the Persians, the Greeks make ready for battle. An engagement ensues, and the Persians are conquered,* 84—96. *Xerxes (approving the advice of Mardonius,* 100*) orders the fleet to stand for the Hellespont,* 107: *the Greeks, desirous of pursuing the fugitive ships, are retained by Eurybiades, seconded even by Themistocles,* 108, *seq Xerxes himself leaves three hundred thousand men with Mardonius, and, accompanied by the rest of his army, retreats by land towards the Hellespont: after losing the major portion of his followers by hunger and disease, and finding the bridges swept asunder by a tempest, he crosses over to Abydos on ship-board,* 120. *The offerings of the Greeks to the gods are commemorated, the division of the spoil, and the honours paid to Themistocles at Sparta,* 121—125. *Artabazus, who had escorted the king with a body of Mardonius's army, falls upon the Olynthians at his return, but is grievously discomfited in his attack on the Potidæatæ,* 126—129 *In the meanwhile, the Persian fleet assemble at Samos, to keep watch over the Ionians; and the Greeks, invited by the Ionians to deliver them from slavery, proceed, under Leotychides, as far as Delos; but dare not advance any farther, through fear of the Persians,* 132. *During winter, Mardonius consults the oracles of the Greeks; and sends Alexander of Macedonia with proposals of peace to Athens,* 136 *(in which place the origin and genealogy of the Macedonian kings are interposed,* 137—139*), the Athenians, however, spurn the conditions of Mardonius, and exhort the Spartans to come speedily to their assistance,* 140—144.

THE

# EIGHTH BOOK OF HERODOTUS.

## URANIA.

THE Hellenic nations constituting the naval service were 1
these: the Athenians, who furnished one hundred and twenty-seven sail; the Platæans, from a spirit of valour and zeal, though unacquainted with nautical affairs, joined the Athenians in manning the vessels; the Corinthians furnished forty sail; the Megarians, twenty; the Chalcidians likewise manned[1] twenty, the Athenians supplying them with the vessels; the Æginetæ furnished eighteen sail; the Sicyonians twelve; the Lacedæmonians, ten; the Epidaurians, eight; the Eretrians, seven; the Trœzenians, five; the Styrians, two; the Ceians, two ships and two penteconters: the Opuntian Locrians also lent their assistance, amounting to seven penteconters. Such therefore were the nations that engaged 2
in the war at Artemisium: I have mentioned how far each contributed towards the formation of the fleet[2]. The total of the vessels collected at Artemisium was, without taking in account the penteconters, two hundred and seventy-one[3].

[1] πληρόω signifies "to man a ship," in nautical language, whether with rowers or with fighting-men, *epibatæ*. See Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex. voc. πληρόω, and Schweig. Not.

[2] ὡς (κατὰ) τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἕκαστοι παρείχοντο (νέας). The conjecture of Schaefer gives a neater sense: ὅσον τι πλῆθος, "how many ships each furnished." See Schweig. Not.

[3] The whole combined fleet at Artemisium was therefore thus composed:

| | Triremes | |
|---|---|---|
| Athenians, with Platæans mixed among their crews, | 127 | |
| Corinthians | 40 | |
| Megarians | 20 | |
| Chalcidians, the vessels Athenian | 20 | |
| Æginetæ | 18 | |
| Sicyonians | 12 | |
| Lacedæmonians | 10 | |
| Epidaurians | 8 | |
| Eretrians | 7 | |
| Trœzenians | 5 | Penteconters. |
| Styrians | 2 | |
| Ceians | 2 | 2 |
| Opuntian Locrians | 0 | 7 |
| | 271 | 9 |

The Spartan admiral[4], Eurybiades son of Eurycleides, was invested with the chief command; for the confederates had refused, "if the Lacedæmonian did not command, to follow "Athenian leaders, but threatened[5] to break up the fleet
3 "about to be formed." At the beginning, and even before ambassadors were sent to Sicily to frame an alliance, the observation had been made, that it would be proper to entrust the naval command to the Athenians; but the confederates being opposed to the proposal, the Athenians gave up the point, holding it of high importance that the preservation of Hellas was the most important object, and knowing, that if they quarrelled about the command, Hellas would perish. In this they thought wisely; for civil dissension is as much worse than unanimous war, as war is worse than peace. Convinced of this, they accordingly did not insist, but gave up the point for such time as they were mainly in need of the assistance of the allies: this they made evident; for after the Persian had been repelled, and when they were already contending to possess themselves of his[6] country, they took away the command from the Lacedæmonians, alleging, as a pretext, the arrogance of Pausanias: this, however, occurred in later times.

4 And at this period, the Hellenes who had come[7] to Artemisium, seeing great numbers of ships drawn up at Aphetæ, and all parts full of troops, were seized with fear, as the affairs of the barbarians had succeeded otherwise than they had expected; and began, *like those at Thermopylæ*, to deliberate upon a retreat from Artemisium to the inner parts of Hellas[8]. The Eubœans, knowing they were debating this subject, besought Eurybiades to abide for a short time, until they might place their children and families[9] in some place of security out of the island; but as they could not prevail, they went from him to Themistocles, the captain of the Athenian squadron, and persuaded him to accept a bribe of thirty talents, with the understanding[10] that the fleet should remain
5 off Eubœa, and give battle on that sea. Themistocles con-

[4] Concerning this use of παρίχεσθαι, see p 170, note 180, of this Volume.

[5] See Matt. 534. Compare p. 178, note 225, of this Volume.

[6] Supply γῆς after τῆς ἰκείνου.

[7] The Greek has the particle καὶ, the power of which is to connect this ensuing narrative with VII. 207. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες . . . καταῤῥωδέοντες, ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. *Schweig. Not.*

[8] That is to say, down the Euripus into the Saronic Gulf, now called the Gulf of Egina.

[9] οἰκίτης signifies, generally, *a slave*; but οἰκῖται is likewise sometimes used for *wives and children*: of this there can be no doubt, for Herodotus, to vary his expression, in chap. 106 of this book, designates as τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα those whom he had just termed οἰκίτας.

[10] See Matt. 479.

trived in the following manner to retain the Hellenes. Of the above sum, he gave a share of[11] five talents to Eurybiades, presenting them as if forsooth from his own purse[12]. Having brought over Eurybiades; and Adimantus son of Ocytus, the Corinthian captain, being the only one of the rest that expressed any alarm[13], and declared he would take his departure from Artemisium, and not remain; Themistocles spoke thus to him, under oath: "You shall not abandon us; for I "will give you greater gifts than the King of the Medes "would send you, if you should forsake the confederates." Such was the language he held to him, and at the same time he sent three talents of silver on board Adimantus's ship. Accordingly, these officers, struck with the presents, were brought over, and so favour was shewn to the Eubœans. Themistocles likewise was a gainer, as he kept, unknown[14] to every body, the rest of the sum; and they who shared in the money conceived that those sums came from the Athenians, and were given under that condition[15].

Thus, accordingly, they remained at Eubœa; and there 6
gave battle, which passed in the manner I am going to describe. The barbarians having been informed, some time before, that a few Hellenic vessels were stationed about Artemisium, and seeing them when they themselves had reached Alphetæ[16], were eager to attack, and, if possible[17], to capture the ships. they did not think fit, however, to stand directly against them, for the following reason; lest the Hellenes, seeing them make towards them, should have recourse to flight, and the darkness of night cover their retreat, by which means they would no doubt escape: not even the fire-bearer[18], according to their speeches, was, however, to save his life by flight. In consequence of this, they therefore 7

[11] μεταδιδόναι τινί τι, instead of the more usual form, μεταδιδόναι τινί τινος. Matt. 360, 3, *obs.*

[12] παρ' ἑωυτοῦ Matt. 588.

[13] ἀσπαίρειν signifies "to palpitate," "to tremble." In this passage, Schneider takes it metaphorically for "to resist," "to oppose" (sich sperren, widersetzen). I think the metaphor is very far-fetched, and have therefore followed the explanation given in Schweigh. Lex. Herod., where the learned editor corrects his Latin version, *obnisteretur*. See likewise Port. Lex. Ion. voc. ἀσπαίρειν.

[14] ἰλάνθανε ἔχων. Matt. 552, 2.

[15] Namely, that they should face battle at Artemisium. Matt. 585, β.

[16] The δείλη, supply ὥρα, is divided into two parts: 1. δείλη πρωΐα, equivalent to ἡ μετ' ἄριστον ὥρα, "the afternoon, after mid-day:" 2. δείλη ὀψία, equivalent to ἡ περὶ δύσιν ἡλίου, "the evening." *Schneid Gr. Germ. Lex.*

[17] εἴ κως ἔλοιεν, in which εἴ κως is equivalent to εἴ κως δυνατὸν εἴη. See p. 15, note 79, of this Volume.

[18] The πυρφόρος, in the Lacedæmonian armies, was the bearer of the eternal sacrificial fire. Xen. Laced. 13, 2. Herodotus here uses the expression in a proverbial sense, for "that not one should escape; they should be cut off to a man" This explanation is, I think, much better than that of the Scholiast on Eurip.

adopted the following plan: detaching two hundred sail from the fleet, they sent them by the outside of Sciathus, so that they might not be seen by the enemies, with orders to sail round Eubœa, along Caphareum, and, doubling Geræstus, to stand up the Euripus; in order they might surround them, one squadron arriving by that quarter and blocking up their retreat, while the rest of the fleet attacked them in front. Having formed this plan, they despatched the appointed vessels; while they themselves gave up the thoughts of attacking the Hellenes on that day, or before a signal agreed upon should be observed from the detachment ordered to sail round Eubœa on their arrival: accordingly, they sent the two hundred ships round, while they made the enu-
8 meration of the rest of the ships at Aphetæ. At the time that they were making the enumeration of the vessels, Scyllias of Scione (for he was in the camp), the best diver of the men of that day [19], who, in the storm that had happened about Pelion, had saved much treasure for the Persians, and had appropriated likewise a good portion to himself; this Scyllias, I say, had been meditating long before to desert over to the Hellenes, but had not till then a possibility of so doing. How he at last made now his escape to the Hellenes, I cannot undertake to say for certain; and I should be surprised if what is reported were true: it is said, that diving into the sea from off Aphetæ, he never rose again till he arrived at Artemisium, having traversed in the sea that distance, which is pretty nearly eighty stades. Other things are related concerning this man, which bear the colour of falsehoods; some of them, however, are true: on this subject, nevertheless, I may be allowed to give my opinion, which is, that he arrived at Artemisium aboard some ship: on his arrival, he forthwith informed the captains of the particulars [20] of the shipwreck, and likewise *gave them intelligence* of the vessels which had
9 been sent to circumnavigate Eubœa. The Hellenes, apprised of this, held counsel among themselves; and of many plans proposed, that which prevailed was, to abide where they were, and keep at their moorings all that day, and, taking their departure, after midnight proceed to meet those ships

Phœnis., who explains the proverb, by saying, That the pyrophoros was the person who gave the signal for battle: he advanced between the two armies, and gave the signal, by throwing down a lighted torch: and even when a whole army was cut off, this officer was saved, as being consecrated to the god. The Scholiast, no doubt, had a very extraordinary idea of a battle between two armies, or otherwise he never could have given such an absurd explanation.

[19] See Matt. 270, *a*.

[20] ὡς γίνωνται. The particle ὡς indicates the particulars, the details, of the shipwreck. *Larcher. Schweig.*

which were making round the island. Having taken this resolution, and as none of the enemy's ships were *yet* proceeding against them, they selected the evening of the day[21], and made for the barbarians, intending to try their mode of fighting, and skill in cutting[22] through the line. The naval 10
captains, and other troops of Xerxes, seeing the Hellenes making towards them with so few ships, reproached them with perfect madness, and got under weigh themselves likewise, expecting to make an easy capture: their expectations seemed the more probable, as they saw that the ships of the Hellenes were at all events few, while their own were far superior in number, and better sailers: taking these things into consideration, they proceeded to inclose the Hellenes in the middle of a circle. Such of the Ionians, accordingly, as were well affected to the Hellenes and shared in the war against their will, regarded it as a very great calamity, when they saw them inclosed; and felt convinced that not one of them would escape, so feeble did the forces of the Hellenes appear to them. On the other hand, those who were pleased at what had happened[23], contended each, who, by first capturing an Athenian ship, should receive a reward at the hands of the King; for with them, in both services, the Athenians were held in the highest repute. But when the signal 11
was given to the Hellenes, they first turned the stems of their ships against the barbarians, bringing the poops together towards the centre. on the second signal being given, they addressed themselves to action, though inclosed in a narrow space, and bore down on the prows of the enemy[24]. In this engagement they took thirty sail of the barbarians, and Philaon the brother of Gorgus, king of Salamis [in Cyprus], and son of Chersis, an esteemed officer

[21] See p. 243, note 16, of this Volume. Larcher affirms that the Greek signifies, "sur les trois heures après midi," —"*about three o'clock in the afternoon.*" But Mr. Mitford, in his History of Greece (Vol. II. p. 161, of the 8vo. edition), gives a common-sense reason for the combined fleet of the Greeks choosing the evening to engage the enemy, which is worth ten thousand of the trifling disquisitions of grammarians, commentators, and translators.

[22] Concerning the nautical manœuvre of the διέκπλους, see p. 71, note 25, of this Volume. The ships, immediately previous to the diecplus, appear to have stood thus, in two lines.

† † † † † † † † † † †
† † † † † † † † † † †

At the moment of the diecplus, they stood thus:

†,†,†,†,†,†,†,†,†,†,†,†,†
† † † † † † † † † † † † †

both parties then backed oars, and resumed their former position.

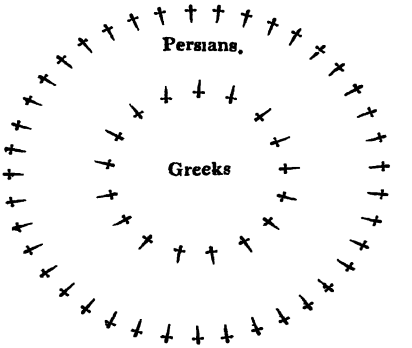
[23] ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, equivalent to ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἡδόμενοι ἦσαν τῷ γινομένῳ. Concerning this syntax, which is sometimes met with in Latin, see Larcher's note, and more particularly Matt. 391, *e*.

[24] The Greek fleet, it seems, was

in the fleet. The first of the Hellenes who took an enemy's ship was an Athenian, Lycomedes the son of Æschreas, and he received the prize of valour: the fall of night separated the parties, while they were contending with dubious success in this sea-fight. Accordingly, the Hellenes stood back for Artemisium; while the barbarians made for Aphetæ, having fought with far different success than they expected. In this engagement, Antidorus the Lemnian, alone of the Hellenes under the king, passed over to the Hellenic side; and on account of that action, the Athenians presented him with an estate in Salamis.

12 It was now the middle of summer; and when night had fallen, a vast quantity of rain poured down during the whole of the night, accompanied with terrific thunder from about Pelion: the dead bodies and the wrecks were drifted to Aphetæ, whirling about the stems of the vessels, and impeding the blades of the oars. The soldiers in this place, hearing the noise, were stricken with terror, expecting that they must certainly perish, into such calamities had they fallen: for before they had even recovered themselves after the storm and wreck that had occurred about Pelion,

at first in one line; when surrounded by the enemies, they formed themselves likewise into a circle; so that immediately previous to action, the two fleets exhibited two concentric circles, the Persians with their prows to the centre, the Greeks with their sterns to the centre:




According to the punctuation preserved by Dr. Gaisford, something must be supplied before κατὰ στόμα: in doing which, I have followed Larcher's translation: "ils les atta querent de front." If we adopt the punctuation proposed in Schweighæuser's note, there will be no necessity of supplying any thing: καὶ κατὰ στόμα ἰνδαῦτα τρισήκοντα νῆας αἱρέουσι, "and there captured by the stems thirty sail."

a serious sea-fight had ensued; and after the engagement, violent rain, furious torrents rushing to the sea, and awful thunder. Such was the night which they passed. But this 13
same night was far more afflictive still on that portion which had been appointed to sail round Eubœa; inasmuch[25] as it assailed them when they were in the main sea, and a most miserable[26] end befel them; for the storm and rain overtook them on their voyage, when they were near the Cœla of Eubœa; they were driven by the winds they knew not whither, and dashed upon the rocks: all this was effected by the divinity, so that the Persian host might be brought equal with the Hellenic, nor be so much superior; this detachment accordingly perished about the Cœla of Eubœa. The barbarians at Aphetæ, when to their joy day dawned, 14
kept their ships still, and were content, after suffering misery, to enjoy quiet for the present: meanwhile, fifty-three Attic ships came to reinforce the Hellenes: the arrival of these ships, and intelligence coming at the same time that those of the barbarians who were standing round Eubœa had all perished in the storm that had happened over-night, gave additional spirits to the men. Choosing therefore the same hour, they made for the Cilician ships; and, after destroying them, when night came, sailed back again to Artemisium.

On the third day, the captains regarding it as disgraceful 15
that such a small number of ships should insult[27] them, and fearing the anger of Xerxes, no longer awaited for the Hellenes to begin battle; but, cheering one another, hove anchor about the middle of the day. It so happened, that these engagements by sea took place on the same days as the land-fight at Thermopylæ: the whole struggle with those on the sea was for the Euripus, as with those under Leonidas to defend the pass. Accordingly, the Hellenes were exhorting one

[25] τοσούτῳ ὄσῳ. Matt. 480. *obs.* 2.

[26] We have before met with instances of this negative adjective, applied to things most completely miserable: the English word "disagreeable" would be by no means a scholar's interpretation of the epithet; and it seems fair to presume that Longinus blames the expression, because the idea attached to the word had been changed before his time, instances of which changes are exceedingly frequent in all languages: so in English, every one knows that "knave" formerly signified nothing more than a servant-lad; and perhaps, some years hence, our modern word "unwell" may be misunderstood by future critics. Larcher therefore, very properly, I think, translates, "périrent-ils misérablement;" for which he is very roughly handled by Monsieur A. F. Miot (Hérodote, III. p. 108.), who, ridiculously enough, sees in the expression "quelque chose d'ironique." M. Miot is, indeed, too fond of attacking Larcher: he should recollect, that the labours of such a patient and industrious scholar, to say nothing more, are entitled to some respect.

[27] See Matt. 384.

another not to permit the barbarians to enter Hellas; while the enemy were exhorting one another to destroy[28] the Hellenic forces, and make themselves masters of the channel.
16 While the forces of Xerxes were advancing in line, the Hellenes remained quiet off Artemisium; but when the barbarians began to form their fleet in the shape of a crescent, in order to envelope them, the Hellenes bore down upon the enemy, and closed with him. In this naval engagement, both parties were pretty nearly equal to one another; for the fleet of Xerxes, by reason of its magnitude and number, impeded itself, the ships not being able to keep their position in the line, and falling foul of one another[29]: still, however, the fleet resisted, and gave not way, for they deemed it a disgraceful thing to be turned to flight by a few ships; accordingly, several ships and men belonging to the Hellenes were destroyed, but on the side of the barbarians a much greater number still of ships and men perished. After con-
17 tending in the above manner, both parties withdrew. In this sea-fight, the Egyptians surpassed in valour the rest of Xerxes' troops; they achieved many valiant deeds, and, among others, took five Hellenic ships together with their crews. On the part of the Hellenes, the Athenians this day evinced the greatest valour; and among the Athenians, Cleinus the son of Alcibiades, who served with a crew of two hundred men, and his own ship equipped at his own expence.
18 The two parties having separated, hastened gladly each to his moorings. The Hellenes, when they came out of battle, kept in truth possession of their dead and wrecks; but having been all severely handled, and most particularly[30] the Athenians, one half of whose vessels were shattered, they accordingly began to think[31] about a flight into the inner parts of
19 Hellas. Themistocles, conceiving, that if he managed to detach from the barbarian cause the Ionian and Carian tribes, the Hellenes would be able to get the upper hand of the remaining forces, convened the captains in the quarter where the Eubœans were at this time driving their flocks down towards the sea: he said to them, that he thought he had an expedient, by which he expected to detach from the King the

[28] *παρεκελεύοντο, ὅκως.* See Matt. 531. *obs.* 1.

[29] This accident, the reader will readily conceive, must have induced very serious consequences, when occurring to vessels impelled by oars; for, in ancient sea-fights, the sails of the trireme appear never to have been made of any avail.

[30] *οὐκ ἥκιστα* for *μάλιστα.* Matt. Gr. Gramm. 463.

[31] The reading of some of the manuscripts, *ἐβουλεύοντο*, if adopted, gives the following sense: "they determined upon a retreat." *Larcher.*

best of his confederates: so much, and no more, did he discover to them at this time, but told them, that in the present circumstances the following was what they had to do; each should slaughter as many of the Eubœan cattle as he wished[32], as it was better that their own men should have them than the enemy's. He recommended them each individually to give notice to their men to kindle fire. In respect of the time for retreat, he himself would look to that, so that they might arrive in Hellas harmless. These things the captains were pleased to do; and forthwith, after kindling fires, fell upon the cattle: for the Eubœans[33], neglecting the oracle 20
of Bacis, as if insignificant, had neither exported any effects from the island, nor taken any thing into their strong places, as if war was not approaching; and so had brought their affairs into a dangerous plight. For the oracle of Bacis concerning them was this: "Beware of him that speaks a "barbarian tongue: when he shall cast a byblus yoke across "the sea, from Eubœa drive the bleating goats." As they had paid no attention to these words, either then in their present miseries, or in those that threatened them, they were near falling into the greatest calamities[34]. The Hellenic 21
forces accordingly acted as I have described: meanwhile arrived a scout from Trachis; for there was a scout stationed off Artemisium, Polyas a native of Anticyra, with a well-trimmed boat all ready, whose orders were, if the sea-forces should receive any check[35], to make it known to the army posted at Thermopylæ; so, in like manner, Abronychus the son of Lysicles, an Athenian, was stationed near Leonidas, ready, with a thirty-oared barge, to report to those off Artemisium any thing new that might happen with the land-troops. Accordingly, this Abronychus, on his arrival, communicated to them what had taken place with regard to Leonidas and his army. When they learnt those events,

[32] The flocks were probably brought by the Eubœans to supply the fleet, and Themistocles advised taking away as many as they could. The fires were to be kindled, probably, as a blind to the enemy; who, no doubt, from the heights about Aphetæ, could see the fires of the Greek sailors at Artemisium, a distance of about ten miles.

[33] Schweighæuser very properly observes, that the whole of this chapter would stand much better immediately following the fourth of this Book. *Schweig.*

[34] πρὸς τὰ μίγιστα, equivalent, I think, to ἐς τὰ μίγιστα. *Schweig. Not.*

[35] I have followed Schneider's interpretation of παλήσιος, equivalent, he says, to ἐκπίπτοι, "wenn er sollte unterliegen — besiegt werden;" — "*if it should be overcome — conquered.*" Schn. Gr. Germ. Lex. voc. παλαίω. The meaning of this word, however, does not seem to be yet very clearly settled. The expression, ἤν τι καταλαμβάνῃ πιέσιον τὸν πιέζον, may be taken either in a good or in a bad sense: the latter is more frequent. See Schweig. Not. See likewise p. 10, note 44, of this Volume.

they would no longer interpose any delay to their departure, but stood away each in the same order in which they happened to be arrayed; the Corinthians in the van, and the Athenians in the rear.

22 Themistocles having selected the best sailing ships of the Athenians, proceeded round to the springs of drinkable water, and cut on the rocks inscriptions, which the Ionians, touching on the following day at Artemisium, read. The inscriptions imported this: "Men of Ionia, ye deal not in "justice, warring against your fathers, and enthralling "Hellas; rather, therefore, come over to us: but, if that be "impossible for you to do, then stand neutral[36], and beseech "the Carians to do the same with you: still, is neither of "these things possible to be done, and you are beneath the "yoke of necessity[37] too strong to secede, we entreat you, at "the least, in reality, when we come to action, to act with "weakness premeditated, mindful that you are sprung from "us, and that, in the beginning, the king's enmity was brought "upon us in your cause." This Themistocles wrote with a view, in my opinion, to two things; that the inscription remaining unknown to the King, might induce the Ionians to desert, and come over to their side; or, if it was reported to Xerxes, and made an object of accusation in his eyes, it might make him distrustful of the Ionians, and get them excluded

23 from the sea-fights. Themistocles accordingly cut those inscriptions; and immediately afterwards an inhabitant of Histiæa proceeded in a boat over to the barbarians, with the intelligence of the flight of the Hellenes from Artemisium: the barbarian, through distrust, placed the man that brought the tidings under guard, and despatched some fleet barks to reconnoitre: these having reported the facts as they were, the whole combined fleet, as soon as the sun scattered his rays *above the horizon*, made for Artemisium: having laid-to in that place till mid-day, they next stood for Histiæa. On their arrival, they took possession of the city of the Histiæans, and made incursions on all the villages situate on the seaside, in the Ellopian territory, belonging to the province of Histiæotis.

24 While the fleet was abiding at this station, Xerxes, after making the preparations in regard of the dead, sent a herald to the fleet. He had previously made the following preparations. Of the slain of his own army, and they were twenty

[36] ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καθῆσθαι or ἴζεσθαι, an idiomatic form of speech, signifying, "to forbear meddling with any thing," literally, "to sit down apart from others," and hence, "to be neutral, to stand neuter." The dative ἡμῖν I take to be pleonastic: see Matt. 392.

[37] μείζονος ἢ ὥστε. Matt. 448. *obs.* *b.*

thousand, he left about one thousand, and, digging trenches, buried all the rest, throwing over leaves, and heaping up the mould, in order the bodies might not be seen by the sailors. When the herald had crossed over to Histiæa, he called an assembly of all the forces encamped, and spoke thus: "Fel-
" low-soldiers, king Xerxes grants leave to him of you that
" chooses, to quit his station, and go and see how he fights
" against these insane men, who fancied they should over-
" throw the might of the King." After the herald had made 25
this proclamation, ships became exceedingly scarce[38], so many were desirous of seeing. When they had crossed over, they walked among the dead bodies, and looked; and every one thought[39] that the slain were all Lacedæmonians and Thespians, although they saw before them, not only Lacedæmonians, but likewise Helots: nor did Xerxes succeed in concealing[40] from the people who came over, what he had done with regard to his own dead; for, in fact, the thing was of itself ridiculous; of one party a thousand dead were seen stretched on the field, while four thousand on the other part lay all together, heaped up on one and the same spot. This day they assigned to viewing the sight; on the following, the seamen sailed back in their ships to Histiæa; and Xerxes, with his *land*-forces[41], prepared to march. Some 26
few emigrants had come to them from Arcadia, men who were in want of subsistence[42], and desirous to be employed: taking these men into the presence of the King, the Persians inquired respecting the Hellenes, what they were doing: one, more particularly than the others, put these questions to them. The Arcadians answered, that the Hellenes were celebrating the Olympic festival, and seeing athletic matches and horse-races. The inquirer then asked, what might be

[38] Literally, "nothing was more scarce than ships."

[39] ἐπίστασθαι is often taken in this sense. Although the Helots wore a different dress from that of the Lacedæmonians, Xerxes' troops could not distinguish between them, and took all the dead for Spartans or Thespians. *Larcher.*

[40] λανθάνει πρήξας. Matt. 552, 2.

[41] οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα, "Xerxes with his followers." Matt. 271.

[42] "The practice of seeking hire in foreign military service appears to have obtained among that mountain-people before it became usual with the other European Greeks." Mitford, Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 166. 8vo. edition. These emigrants, it appears by the commentators, were from the town of Carya, originally belonging to the Arcadian territory, and, subsequently to the Persian war, incorporated with Laconia. The reduction of this city gave rise to the invention of a sort of column, called Caryatides, representing women bearing the roof on their heads. Among the noble ruins on the acropolis of Athens is seen a small temple supported by this sort of columns; and it is difficult to say, whether they gratify more the eye by their sculptural beauty, than they offend it by their architectural incongruity.

the prize proposed, for which they contended: they replied, that of the olive[43] wreath. Then Tritantæchmes the son of Artabanus, by making a most liberal observation, incurred the reproach of cowardice from the King; for, understanding that the prize was a garland, and not money, he could not hold his peace, but said, in presence of all: "Heavens, "Mardonius! what a people have you brought us to fight "against, who contend with one another, not for money, but "for virtue!"

27 In the mean while, immediately after the disaster had taken place at Thermopylæ, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocians, against whom they had always harboured a grudge, and more particularly since the last defeat of the Thessalians by the Phocians. For the Thessalians and their confederates, having with all their forces made an inroad on Phocis not many years previous to this expedition of the King, had been worsted by the Phocians, and sharply handled. The Phocians were blocked up in Parnassus, having with them Tellias of Elis, a soothsayer, who devised the following stratagem against the Thessalians. He chalked over the persons and armour of six hundred of the bravest Phocians, and made a sally upon the Thessalians at[44] night, previously cautioning his men to kill whomsoever they should see that was not whited: accordingly, the out-sentries of the Thessalians, beholding these persons, were stricken with terror, imagining it was some prodigy or other: from the sentries the fear spread over the army itself, to such a degree, that the Phocians got possession of four thousand dead bodies and shields: one-half of the shields they dedicated at Abæ, the other half at Delphi: the large statues standing around the tripod in front of the temple[45] at Delphi are a tithe of the money procured from this battle, and other similar

28 statues are dedicated at Abæ. Such, accordingly, was the manner in which the Phocians treated the infantry of the Thessalians, who were besieging them: they likewise injured irremediably the cavalry of the same nation, when they made an irruption on their country: for this purpose, they dug a large trench in the defile situate near Hyampolis, placed

[43] This was the wild-olive, the κότινος, or *oleaster*; a tree very different from the cultivated olive, the fruit of which produces the olive-oil. See p. 43, note 217, of this Volume.

[44] Schneider makes ἐπιθήκατο to govern the accusative ἀρίστους, for which he is rebuked by Schweighæuser, in Lex. Herod. "liess durch die besten Soldaten die Thessaler des Nachts angreifen — *ordered the best soldiers to attack the Thessalians at night.*" Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex. voc. ἐπιτίθημι.

[45] The temple properly so called, and within the sacred precinct or ἱρόν. *Larcher.*

within it empty jars[46], threw the mould over them, and, making all level with the rest of the ground, awaited the Thessalian invaders. The latter, as if sure of catching the Phocians, rushed forward, and fell among the jars, where the horses broke their legs. The Thessalians, harbouring therefore a 29
grudge against them for these two defeats, sent a herald, and made the following declaration to them: "Phocians, at length "learn better, and know that you are not equal to us: here- "tofore, while we held with the Hellenes, so long as it pleased "us, we were ever superior to you: now we have such power "with the barbarian, that it depends upon us to bereave "you of your country, and, what is more, to reduce you to "slavery. however, though all is in our power, we are not "mindful of former insults: let fifty talents of silver be "given to us in remuneration for them, and we promise you "to avert the calamities that overhang your country."

Such was the message the Thessalians sent to them; for 30
the Phocians were the only people in that quarter who did not side with the Mede, and that for no other reason, as I infer by conjecture, than their hatred of the Thessalians: if the Thessalians had the part of the Hellenes, the Phocians would, in my opinion, have joined the Medes. To this proposal on the part of the Thessalians, the Phocians made answer: They would not give any money; and it was as much in their power as in that of the Thessalians to pass over to the Medes, supposing, at least, they should chose to do so; but they would not become wilful betrayers[47] of
Hellas. When this speech was reported, the Thessalians, 31
consequently irritated against the Phocians, led the way for the barbarian. Accordingly, from Trachinia they entered into Doris; for a narrow strip[48] of the territory of Doris extends in that quarter; it is about thirty stades broad, and lies between the territory of Malis and that of Phocis. This tract[49] was, of old, called Dryopis; and that land is the

[46] Herodotus generally uses the word ἀμφορεὺς to express a certain measure of capacity; but here, and in the oracle, iv. 163, he seems to use it for an earthen jar, what he calls elsewhere κέραμος, iii. 6, 96. Those jars were probably, among other uses, applied to that of keeping the better kinds of wine, which were poured in to a certain distance from the brim, the vacant space being filled with oil This mode of keeping wine is still practised in the countries between Florence and Rome, and was evidently that followed in the cellars of Pompei.

[47] ἰκόντες εἶναι, for ἰκόντες. Matt. Gr. Gramm. 546.

[48] I have explained the direct meaning of ποδιὴν, in the First Volume of this work, Book II. note 199. In this passage, the word is used in a metaphorical sense, the strip of land being supposed to bear some resemblance to the *foot* of a wine-skin. I do not know of any cognate expression in English.

[49] There is in the Greek, ἥτις, which would seem to relate to τῆς

mother country of the Dorians of Peloponnesus. The barbarians, in this invasion, did not ravage that portion of Doris, as the inhabitants were on the side of the Medes, and the
32 Thessalians did not think proper to do so. When they entered out of Doris into Phocis, they did not meet with the Phocians themselves; for some of them had ascended to the tops of Parnassus: now the summit near the city of Neon, and which stands by itself[50], is well adapted to contain a great multitude: the name of this top is Tithorea; and, accordingly, thither they had transported their effects, and had ascended themselves. But the greatest part of them had transferred themselves, and their effects, into the country of the Ozolæ Locrians, at the town of Amphissa, situate above the plain of Crisa. The barbarians overran the whole country, for the Thessalians led them in that direction; and whatever parts they took possession of, they burnt and destroyed every thing, casting fire both in the cities and the sacred places.
33 Proceeding in this quarter along the bank of the river Cephissus, they ravaged all, and burnt down[51] the cities of Drymus, Charada, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon[52], Pedieæ, Triteæ, Elateia, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abæ, where was the rich temple of Apollo, adorned with many treasuries[53] and offerings: and in those days there was an oracle, as there is at present; this temple they sacked and

Φωκίδος χώρης; but as Phocis never bore the name of Dryopis, we must evidently refer the pronoun to Δωρίδος. The Dorians did, in fact, originally inhabit Dryopis, from whence a portion migrated to Peloponnesus. See chap. 43 of this Book. *Larcher.*

[50] κειμένη ἐπ' ἰωυτῆς. These words have given rise to some very ingenious comments by Wesseling, Valckenaer, and Schweighæuser. It appears that Pausanias says the city of Neon was on the top of the mountain itself; and hence it is proposed to read, πόλιν κειμένην ἐπ' ἰωυτῆς, or αὐτῆς, "a city governed by its own laws," or "a city standing on it (*i. e.* on the top)." But Herodotus tells us in the next chapter, that Neon was burnt down by the Persians, while the Phocians escaped by being on the summit of the mountain; a proof that Neon was not on the top of the mountain: and, as Schweighæuser very properly observes, if Herodotus had written κειμένη, the scribes would have been much more likely to have put in κειμένην, than, *vice versâ*, if he had written κειμένην, to vitiate the reading by inserting κειμένη, which is found in all the manuscripts. Notwithstanding all this, there was, unquestionably, a town or fort of Neon, on the Tithorean top, in later times; and it does not appear improbable, that, subsequent to the irruption of the Persians, the city was rebuilt on a more advantageous site.

[51] κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν . . . . κατὰ δέ. See Matt. 594, 2.

[52] Larcher, having adopted Wesseling's conjecture, mentioned in the preceding note (πόλιν κειμένην ἐπ' αὐτῆς), is obliged to explain away this declaration, by imagining two places called Neon, or by reading Κλεωνάς. See his note.

[53] These θησαυροὶ were, no doubt, the places, or ware-rooms, in which the gifts consecrated to the god were deposited. It is in allusion to these places in the temple of Delphi, that Pindar, by a very bold figure, says, (Pyth. vi. 8.) θησαυρὸς ὕμνων τετείχισται.

fired: they likewise captured some of the Phocians, pursuing them to the mountains; and caused the death of several women, by the multitude of men that gratified their lust. Having passed beyond Parapotamii, the barbarians arrived 34
at Panopeæ: from this place their army was divided into two separate bodies: the most numerous and powerful portion of the troops, proceeding together with Xerxes towards Athens, entered Bœotia on the territory of Orchomenus. The whole population of Bœotia was on the side of the Medes: some Macedonian soldiers sent by Alexander[54], and distributed about the towns, were the means of their preservation: they succeeded according to their intention, which was, to make it evident to Xerxes, by that fact, that the Bœotians were inclined to the cause of the Medes. Accordingly, this division of the barbarians directed their march in that quarter.

The other division of the army marched, with the assist- 35
ance of guides[55], to the temple of Delphi. they skirted Parnassus: on the right, and in every part of Phocis where these troops passed, they likewise ravaged every thing; for they set fire to the town of the Panopeans, to that of the Daulians, and that of the Æolidæ. After their disjunction from the rest of the army, they marched in this direction with the following design, that after sacking the temple at Delphi, they might present its treasures to king Xerxes; for Xerxes knew of every thing that was of any value in the temple, better, I am told, than what he had left at home, many people constantly conversing with him on the subject; and he was more particularly acquainted with the offerings made by Crœsus the son of Alyattes. The Delphians, informed of this, were 36
thrown into the greatest consternation: stricken with great terror, they consulted the oracle respecting the sacred treasures, whether they should bury them under ground, or transport them to some other land. the deity forbade them to be moved, saying, that "he himself was sufficient to preserve his own property." The Delphians, having heard this answer, now thought of themselves: accordingly, they sent their children and wives across into Achaia[56]; while most of the men climbed to the tops of Parnassus, and carried their effects into the Corycian cavern: some of them withdrew to the Locrian town of Amphissa. Thus all the Delphians forsook the town, with the exception of sixty men,

[54] See v. 19. vii. 173.

[55] ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες, "sumtis viarum ducibus." *Schweig.*

[56] That is to say, "across the Corinthian gulf to Achaia."

37 and the prophet[57]. When the barbarians had drawn near, and could discern the temple in the distance, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw lying in front of the sacred building the holy armour, which had been brought out from the inner recess of the fane, and which it was not lawful for any man to touch; he accordingly went and communicated the prodigy to the Delphians who were in the city. But when the barbarians, precipitating their march, approached near the temple of Minerva Pronæa[58], prodigies, yet greater than that which had taken place, succeeded them: for it is indeed a matter of wonder, that military armour should spontaneously appear lying on the outside of the temple; but, more particularly, the second prodigies which succeeded are, of all portentous events, the most deserving of wonder[59]. For when the barbarians had advanced near the temple of Minerva Pronæa, then did thunders from the heavens fall among them; and two crags, torn from Parnassus, tumbled headlong upon them with loud noise, crushing many of their number; while from the temple of Pronæa issued sounds
38 and shouts of war. All these prodigies, happening at one and the same time, scattered terror among the barbarians; and the Delphians, seeing them fly, descended and slaughtered multitudes Such as survived, fled straight into Bœotia. Those of the barbarians who returned, declared, I am told, that, in addition to the above, they likewise saw other superhuman things; for that two heavy-armed *knights*, larger than is the nature of men[60], pressed upon their heels, slaying
39 and pursuing. These two knights the Delphians represent to be heroes of the country, Phylacus and Autonous, whose precincts are in the neighbourhood of the temple; that of Phylacus, close to the road below the temple of Pronæa; that of Autonous, near Castalia, under the pinnacle Hyampeus. The crags that fell from Parnassus remained untouched down to my time, lying in the precinct of Minerva Pronæa; where they stopped, after rolling through the bar-

[57] As the Pythoness pronounced her oracles with a confused and unintelligible voice, a sacred interpreter was had recourse to, who wrote down the answers, and gave them to those who consulted the god. This interpreter was called the προφήτης the word came afterwards to be synonymous with μάντις. Larcher uses the word *prophète*; and Mitford *prophet*, in his Hist. of Greece (vol. ii. p 169, 8vo. edition). I have therefore adopted the same word, in my version. Herodotus uses οἱ προφητεύοντες, for οἱ προφῆται, VII. 111. See p. 180, note 234, of this Volume.

[58] This was an out-building in front of the great temple.

[59] ἄξια θωμάσαι. See Matt. 532. *obs.* 2.

[60] ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας. Concerning this mode of speech, see Matt. 567, fifth paragraph; and Viger, p. 612, Herman's note 228.

barians[61]. Such, therefore, was the departure of those men from the temple.

The Hellenic fleet shaped its course from Artemisium to 40
Salamis, at the request of the Athenians. It was for this reason that the Athenians requested them to make for Salamis, namely, that they might withdraw their children and wives from Attica, and were anxious that they might deliberate upon what ought to be done: for, having been disappointed in their expectation, they necessarily held council on the present state of affairs. The case was this: they had expected to see the Peloponnesians, with their whole forces, in Bœotia, there awaiting to receive the barbarian; but found no such thing had been done[62], and understood that they were fortifying with a wall the isthmus leading into Peloponnesus, regarding it as of most importance that that part of Hellas should be put in safety, and that, keeping guard there, they neglected all the rest. Having received information of this, they accordingly, as I have said, entreated the naval-forces to shape their course to Salamis. The rest, therefore, touch- 41
ed at Salamis, while the Athenians proceeded to their own country: after their arrival, they issued a proclamation, for "each of the Athenians to place his children and family[63] in safety, where he could" Then, most people sent them off to Trœzen, some to Ægina, others to Salamis. All hastened to place their families and effects in places of safety, out of the country, not only from a desire of shewing their obedience to the oracle, but more particularly from the following reason. The Athenians relate, that a huge snake abides in the temple, as a guard over the acropolis: not only do they say so, but even, as if it really was there, are in the practice of setting out its monthly food[64]: this monthly food consists of a honey-cake[65]. Those sweetmeats, which had been always before consumed, now remained untouched. When the priestess made the circumstance known, the Athenians with greater quickness and earnestness forsook the city[66], since even the goddess had abandoned the citadel. As soon as every thing had been removed out of the town, they made for the combined fleet. Now they had brought their ships 42

[61] See Mitford, Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. 169, 170, of the 8vo. edition Literally, "to which they rushed, rolling through the barbarians."

[62] This they ascertained, no doubt, in their voyage down the Eubœan channel.

[63] See p. 243, note 12, of this Vol.

[64] ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες. Matt. 552, 1. ἐπιμήνια here signifies "*monthly food* — die Monathliche Kost." *Schneid. Gr. Germ Lex.*

[65] Supply μάζα after μελιτόεσσα.

[66] Valckenaer gives the construction, καὶ μᾶλλόν τι προθυμότερον, &c. Examples of μᾶλλον, with the comparative, are frequent in Herodotus. See Matt. 458.

from Artemisium to Salamis, the rest of the Hellenic fleet, informed of the event, joined them from Trœzen; for they had been commanded before to muster at Pogon, the port of the Trœzenians. Accordingly, many more ships were now collected than had fought off Artemisium, and contributed by more cities. Eurybiades, the son of Eurycleides at Sparta, the same who had the command at Artemisium, was high-admiral over the sea-forces, although he was not of royal blood. The Athenians supplied by far the most and the best sailing ships.

43 The nations who served aboard this fleet were the following. From Peloponnesus—the Lacedæmonians, who furnished sixteen sail; the Corinthians, who furnished the same equipment as that off Artemisium. The Sicyonians supplied fifteen ships; the Epidaurians, ten; the Trœzenians, five; the Hermionians, three. all of the above, excepting the Hermionians, are a Doric and Macedonian race, having migrated from Erineum, and Pindus, and lastly from Dryopis; whereas the Hermionians are Dryopians, who were driven out of the land, now called Doris, by Hercules, and by the Malians. These, accordingly, were the nations from Peloponnesus

44 that served in the fleet. The following were from the continent without *the peninsula:* the Athenians, who furnished one hundred and eighty ships, a greater number[67] than any of the others did; and manned by themselves alone[68], because at Salamis the Platæans did not join their forces to the Athenians, by the following reason. When the Hellenes, after taking their departure from Artemisium, were arrived off Chalcis, the Platæans, disembarking on the opposite strand of Bœotia, proceeded on, to place their families in security: accordingly, while they were attending to the safety of their families, they missed the day of action. The Athenians, at the period[69] that the Pelasgi held the country now called Hellas, were Pelasgi, and named Cranai: under king Cecrops they were surnamed Cecropidæ: but when Erechtheus succeeded to the empire, their name was changed to Athenians; and Ion the son of Xuthus, having become leader of the

5 Athenian army, they were called from him Ionians. The Megarians furnished the same equipment which they had

[67] *πρὸς πάντας.* Matt. 591, *γ.*

[68] *μοῦνοι* relates to *ἐστρατεύοντο*, understood from the beginning of the chapter, and not to *παρεῖχόμενοι* *Schweig. Not.* Schweighæuser is surprised that the Athenians should have been able to furnish so many ships, when, as Herodotus tells us, one half of their vessels had been disabled off Artemisium, and it does not appear they had had any time to refit: they must have had about nine days to perform the voyage from Artemisium, and to mend their vessels, previous to the battle of Salamis.

[69] *ἐπὶ* Il. *ἰχόντων*, &c. Matt. 565, 1.

done at Artemisium; and the Ampraciots reinforced the fleet with seven sail, the Leucadians with three: these are a Doric race from Corinth. Among the islanders, the Æginetæ 46
furnished thirty: they had other ships manned, but those they assigned to guard their own island, and came into action at Salamis with the thirty best sailing vessels. The Æginetæ are Dorians from Epidaurus: the name of their island was formerly Œnone. After the Æginetæ were the Chalcidians, furnishing the same[70] twenty ships they had sent to Artemisium, and the Eretrians with their seven sail: these are Ionians. Next to them, the Ceians, furnishing the same vessels as before: they are an Ionic race from Athens. The Naxians supplied four ships: although, like the rest of the islanders, they had been sent by their fellow-citizens to join the Medes, spurning the order, they came over to the Hellenes, at the persuasion of Democritus, an illustrious citizen, at this time captain of a trireme. The Naxians are Ionians, sprung from Athens. The Styrians furnished the same ships as at Artemisium: the Cythnians sent one, and a penteconter: both these last are Dryopes. The Seriphians, Siphnians, and Melians, joined the forces; for those were the only islanders that had not given earth and water to the King. The above 47
nations who served in the fleet were all resident withinside of the Thesprotians, and of the river Acheron; for the Thesprotians are the bounding nation of the Ampraciots and the Leucadians, which two last were those who joined the fleet from the greatest distance. Of the nations resident beyond these, the Crotoniatæ were the only ones that came to the succour of Hellas, now that she was in danger, with one vessel, commanded by a man who had thrice been Pythian victor, Phayllus. The Crotoniatæ are, by extraction, Achæans. All the rest accordingly joined the fleet, bringing triremes; 48
but the Melians, Siphnians, and Seriphians, brought penteconters: the Melians, by extraction from Lacedæmon, furnished two; the Siphnians and Seriphians, being Ionians from Athens, furnished one each. The total number of ships, without reckoning the penteconters, was three hundred and seventy and eight[71].

When the captains from the aforesaid towns were mus- 49
tered at Salamis, they held council. Eurybiades proposed, that he who chose should make known his opinion as to what

[70] Concerning the force of the article, see Matt. Gr. Gramm. sect. 265.

[71] By summing up the different component parts of the fleet, we find 366 to be the amount, which is twelve short of what Herodotus puts it at. I see no explanation sufficiently satis-

place[72], of the countries they were still in possession of, he imagined it would be most expedient to select, in order to give battle on the sea; for Attica was already as lost, and he required their counsels with regard to the rest. Most of the proposals of those who spoke coincided in advising, that they should make for the isthmus, and give battle before the Peloponnesus; alleging the following reason: "that should "they be defeated in the sea-fight, when stationed off Salamis, "they would be blockaded in the island, where no assistance "could be expected; whereas, if they were defeated off the "isthmus, they could escape to their respective countries."

50 While the captains from Peloponnesus were debating these matters, an Athenian man came with the tidings, that the barbarian was arrived[73] in Attica, and was ravaging the whole country with fire. For the army under Xerxes, having marched across Bœotia, and after setting fire to the city of the Thespians—the Thespians themselves had forsaken the place, and gone to Peloponnesus—and doing the same to that of the Platæans, had reached Athens, and were ravaging all in that place. They fired Thespea and Platæa; because they understood, from the Bœotians, that the inhabitants were not

51 on the side of the Medes. In three months from the passage

factory to account for the difference between the historian's assertion, and the produce of the arithmetical computation:

| | | Ships | Penteconters |
|---|---|---|---|
| Peloponnesus | Lacedæmonians | 16 | |
| | Corinthians | 40 | |
| | Sicyonians | 15 | |
| | Epidaurians | 10 | |
| | Trœzenians | 5 | |
| | Hermionians | 3 | |
| | Athenians | 180 | |
| | Megarians | 20 | |
| | Ampraciots | 7 | |
| | Leucadians | 3 | |
| | Æginetæ | 30 | |
| | Chalcidians | 20 | |
| | Eretrians | 7 | |
| | Ceians | 2 | 2 |
| | Naxians | 4 | |
| | Styrians | 2 | |
| | Cythnians | 1 | 1 |
| | Crotoniatæ | 1 | |
| | Melians | | 2 |
| | Siphnians | | 1 |
| | Seriphians | | 1 |
| | | 366 | |

The probable number of men, giving to each trireme 150 rowers, and 18 fighting-men, is 59,488. See Mitford, Hist. of Greece, ii. 185. 8vo. edition.

[72] ἴκου τῶν χωρίων. Matt. 357.

[73] See Matt. 504, 2.

over the Hellespont, whence the barbarians commenced their march, after passing one month in that quarter, comprising the time[74] in which they crossed over into Europe, they arrived in Attica; Calliades being archon of the Athenians. They took the forsaken city; and found some few Athenians in the temple, such as, the treasurers of the temple, and some poor people, who, having fortified the acropolis with planks and posts, held the invaders at bay: it was not from want of means only that these people had not departed to Salamis; they imagined, moreover, that they alone had unravelled the oracle which the Pythia had pronounced to them, "that the wooden wall would not be taken:" they understood, that this *wooden rampart*, according to the oracle, was the refuge[75], and not the ships. The Persians, sitting down on the hill 52
opposite the acropolis, which the Athenians denominate the Areopagus[76], besieged them after the following manner: they twisted tow around their arrows, set fire to it, and so shot at the fence: then the besieged Athenians continued still to resist, although driven to the last extremity of misery, even the fence having betrayed them[77]. neither would they listen to the proposals made to them by the Pisistratidæ concerning a capitulation, but, continuing their defence, they not only adopted other expedients against their opponents, but, when the barbarians approached the gates, hurled down large crags; so that they cast Xerxes for a considerable time in perplexity, not being able to capture them. At last, after 53
all these difficulties, an entrance was descried by the barbarians;—for it was necessary, according to the oracle[78], that the whole of Attica in the continent should fall under the Persians. In the front part accordingly of the acropolis, but behind the gate[79] and ascent, in a quarter where no one was on guard, nor could any body have expected that ever human being would climb up by such a passage, some of the

[74] Seven days and seven nights. See Book VII.

[75] The citadel was no longer surrounded with a wooden, fence; or, at least, but a small portion could have remained of it. The Pelasgi had built the wall, called, after their name, the Pelasgic wall, VI. 137. But these blind devotees were content that it should have once existed. *Larcher.*

[76] See Potter's Grecian Antiquities, B. i. c. 19. It was on this eminence, likewise, that the Venetians planted the battery of mortars which did such irreparable mischief to the Parthenon.

[77] It had caught fire.

[78] See VII. 141.

[79] The acropolis is on all sides perpendicularly precipitous, excepting at the entrance, which is narrow and steep: on the right-hand side, after you have passed the propylæa, is seen a little door, kept generally locked by the Turkish garrison: this door leads to a break-neck path down the precipice, probably the same by which the Persians obtained possession of the citadel.

besiegers ascended near the temple of Aglaurus daughter of Cecrops, precipitous as the place was. When the Athenians saw that they had climbed up into the acropolis, some of them cast themselves head foremost from the wall, and perished; others sought refuge in the recess of the temple: meanwhile, the Persians who had ascended went first to the gates, and, having opened them, put to death the supplicants. When these had all been massacred by their hands, the soldiers, after sacking the temple, set fire to the whole of the acropolis.

54 Xerxes being completely in possession of Athens, sent a horse messenger to Susa, to announce to Artabanus the success they had gained. On the next day from the despatching of the courier, he called together the fugitive Athenians who were in his train, and commanded them to ascend into the acropolis, and there offer sacrifice after their own fashion;—whether that he gave these orders in consequence of having beheld some vision in a dream, or that some religious scruple visited him after having set fire to the temple. The
55 Athenian fugitives performed what was commanded. I will now explain for what reason I have recorded this occurrence:—There is in this acropolis a shrine of Erechtheus, said to be earth-born, in which is an olive and a sea[80]; which, there is a tradition, Neptune and Minerva produced, when they were contending for the country, as proofs at the hands of the Athenians[81]: now it happened to this olive to be burnt by the barbarians, together with the rest of the temple; but on the next day following the fire, when the Athenians, commanded by the King to offer sacrifice, ascended to the temple, they beheld a shoot about a cubit long, which had sprung from the trunk. Such, accordingly, was the account the fugitives gave.

56 The Hellenes at Salamis, when intelligence was brought them how matters were with regard to the acropolis of Athens, were thrown into such disturbance, that some of the captains would not even stop for the subject in debate to be brought to a decision, but jumped aboard their ships, and hoisted sail, as if about to depart. By such of them as

[80] This means nothing more than a well of salt-water. Beloe quotes a passage of the Scriptures, where the word 'sea' is used by our interpreters of the Bible for a large cistern: "And the pillars of brass that were in the house of the Lord, and the bases, and the *brasen sea* that was in the house of the Lord, did the Chaldees break in pieces, and carried the brass of them to Babylon." 2 Kings xxv. 13.

[81] Construction: τὰ (for ἃ) λόγοι (ἰστι) Περσ. τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην, ἱρήσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης, θέσθαι μαρτύρια (brought as testimonies, arguments, proofs) παρὰ Ἀθηναίων. See Schweig. Lex. Herod.

remained at the council, it was decided they should give battle off the isthmus; and as soon as night fell, they broke up the sitting, and went aboard their vessels. At this time, when 57
Themistocles arrived on board, Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, inquired of him what had been decreed at the council: understanding from him that it was determined to get the fleet under weigh for the isthmus, and give battle for the Peloponnesus[82], he said, "Then, if the fleet weighs, and departs "from Salamis, you will no longer have to fight for any "country, for all will turn their steps towards their repec- "tive countries; and neither will Eurybiades, or any other "human being, be able to restrain them from dispersing[83] "the forces; and Hellas will perish from want of good coun- "sel: go then, and, if there be any possibility, endeavour to "rescind the decree, if by any means thou canst persuade "Eurybiades to retract, and abide here." The suggestion 58
was very acceptable to Themistocles, and, without returning any answer to these observations, he went to Eurybiades' ship: on his arrival, he said he had something to communicate of public interest: the other bade him come aboard, and say what he wished. Whereupon Themistocles, seating himself by the side of Eurybiades, repeated to him all the observations that he had heard from Mnesiphilus, making them his own, and adding several more; till at last he prevailed upon him, by his entreaties, to come out of his vessel, and collect the captains in council. Accordingly, when they 59
were assembled, and previous to Eurybiades laying before them the subject on which he had convened the captains, Themistocles was assiduous and earnest in his addresses to them, like one extremely anxious to carry his point. As he was speaking, the Corinthian captain, Adimantus son of Ocytus, said, "Themistocles, in the lists, those who start before the signal are punished with stripes." Themistocles, excusing himself, retorted, "Those, however, who tarry behind, are not crowned." Thus mildly did he, at this time[84] 60
reply to the Corinthian; but turning to Eurybiades, he did

[82] Had they fought in their present station, they would have fought not only for the Peloponnesus, but likewise for Ægina, Salamis, and Megara, as we may see by the speech of Themistocles: the decision they came to was, to abandon those three places to the enemy, and fight for the Peloponnesus. I take, therefore, περὶ in the sense of ὑπὲρ, or as separated from ναυμαχέειν by tmesis. Larcher translates, "devant le Péloponnèse," and Schweighæuser, "ante Peloponnesum;" but I think the battle of Salamis was fully as much *before* the Peloponnesus, as if it had taken place higher up the Saronic gulf.

[83] εὖ μή. See Matt. Gr. Gramm. 601.

[84] Before the conference breaks up, Themistocles ceases to be so ceremonious with this Adimantus, who, as

not again use any of the arguments which he had before mentioned, namely, that if they hove anchor, and departed from Salamis, the confederates would disperse; for the captains being present, it would not have been decorous in him to accuse them: he followed another line of argument, speak-
1 ing in the following words:—"On you it now depends to save "Hellas, if you will hearken to me, and abide here to give "the battle, and not listen to those who contend you should "remove the fleet to the isthmus. Hear, and balance the "opposite opinions. Engaging battle off the isthmus, you "will have to fight in an open sea; which were little expe-"dient in us[85], who have ships more ponderous and less "numerous *than the foe:* on the other hand, supposing that "we succeed well in other respects, you lose Salamis, and "Megara, and Ægina; for along with the sea-forces *of the* "*Persian*, his land-forces will follow; and thus you yourself "will bring the enemy against Peloponnesus, and endanger
2 "all Hellas. But if you do what I propose, these are the "advantages you will find in so acting: in the first place, "engaging on a narrow frith, with a few ships against "many, if the result of the contest be consonant to proba-"bility, we must be decidedly superior; for it is our interest[86] "to give battle on a narrow pass; theirs, to fight on a roomy sea. Again, by so doing, Salamis is preserved, where our children and our wives are deposited; nay, in this counsel, likewise, lies the advantage which you have mostly at heart; you fight for the Peloponnesus not less than if you were off the isthmus[87]; nor will you, if you consider well, bring them against the Pelopennesus. Moreover, if that happen which I hope, and we conquer with our fleet, then neither will the barbarians have approached your isthmus, nor will they advance beyond Attica, but will retreat[88] without order: we shall gain likewise, by having Megara preserved,
' and Ægina, and Salamis, where even we have an oracle,
" saying we shall be superior to the enemies. With men "that take counsels from reason, success is wont for the "most part to ensue accordingly: with those who do not "take counsels from reason, not even is the divinity wont to

Portus pleasantly observes, did not make his behaviour correspond with his name, which signifies, "the dauntless." *Æ. Port. Lex. Ion.* voc. ἀσπαίρειν.

[85] Construction: ἐς ὃ (ναυμαχίειν) ἥκιστα ἡμῖν συμφορὸν ἐστὶ, which is equivalent to ἐς ὃ (ἶναι ὥστε ναυμαχίειν) ἥκιστα, &c "to go thither to give battle, were least expedient for us." See Schweig. Not. where the power of the preposition ἐς is very neatly explained.

[86] πρός τινος εἶναι, "to be an advantage to any one." Matt. 590.

[87] ὁμοίως καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. Matt. 607, *obs.*

[88] See Matt. 504, 3.

"second human designs." Themistocles having so spoken, 61
Adimanthus the Corinthian again spoke injuriously to him, bidding him, who had no country, be silent; and exhorting Eurybiades not to go to the vote, to gratify one who had no city[89]: for that when Themistocles could shew a country, then would he permit him to join the debates, *and not before*: these reproaches he made to him, because Athens had been captured, and was in the power of the Persian. Then, at last[90], Themistocles made many severe observations on[91] the Corinthians and their captain; and made it clear to them, by his words, that the Athenians had both city and country, more powerful than they, so long as they had two hundred ships equipped; as none of the Hellenic nations could repel their attacks. After pointing out these things, he continued his 62
discourse, addressing Eurybiades, and speaking with greater earnestness —"If you abide here, and, abiding, behave as a "man of courage;———[92]: if not, you will destroy Hellas; "for the fate of the war turns wholly on our fleet. Hearken "then to me. But if you act not so, we will forthwith take "our families, and proceed by sea to Siris in Italy, which "has been ours for this long time, and which the oracles say "is fated to be founded by us; and you, when reft of such "allies[93], may call my words to mind." When Themistocles 63
had so spoken, Eurybiades, taught better, changed his opinion: this, in my mind, he did mostly from a dread lest the Athenians should forsake the fleet, if he made them get under weigh for the isthmus; for should the Athenians forsake them, the rest would no longer be a match for the enemy: he therefore adopted the proposition, that they should abide where they were, and give battle.

Thus the Hellenes about Salamis, after combating in 64
words, prepared themselves to give battle in the place where they were, as soon as Eurybiades had adopted the proposal. Day broke; and at the same time as the sun rose, an earthquake took place both on land and sea: they, accordingly, determined to offer prayers to the gods, and to invoke the Æacidæ, as allies. And according to their determination, so they acted; for, after offering their prayers

[89] ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρί. See Matt. 387.

[90] Themistocles had restrained his anger as long as he could, from bursting against Adimantus; see the beginning of chap. 60: at last, unable any longer to bridle his wrath, he abuses the Corinthians and their captain. The particle δὴ connects, therefore, the commencement of this chapter with that of the foregoing.

[91] See Matt. 410. *obs* b.

[92] Valckenaer, to fill the hiatus, proposes σώσεις, or ἐρεθώσεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα, or else καλῶς or εὖ ἂν ἴσχοι. Valck. Not.

[93] See Matt 330, *obs.*

to all the gods, they forthwith, from Salamis, invoked the assistance of Ajax and Telamon; and despatched a ship to Ægina, to fetch[94] Æacus and the other Æacidæ.
65 Dicæus son of Theocydes, an Athenian fugitive, respected among the Medes at this period, declared, that after the territory of Attica, which was deserted by the Athenians, had been ravaged by the land-forces of Xerxes, he happened at this time to be with Demaratus the Lacedæmonian, in the Thriasian Plain; where he beheld a cloud of dust arising from Eleusis, as if from a collection of about thirty thousand people: they were wondering from what body of men that dust could proceed, when, of a sudden, they heard a sound, and to him it appeared to be the mystic Iacchus[95]. Demaratus was not initiated in the mysteries of Eleusis, and asked Dicæus what that voice was. Dicæus said: "Demaratus, it cannot be otherwise than[96] that some great calamity "is about to visit the King's forces; for no doubt, as Attica "is deserted, the voice must be preternatural, proceeding "from Eleusis to the assistance of the Athenians and confederates. And if it direct itself toward Peloponnesus, the "danger will threaten the King himself, and his troops, on "the continent; but if it turn towards the fleet, at Salamis, "the King will be in danger of losing his naval armament. "For this festival, the Athenians celebrate every year to "Ceres and Proserpine, the mother and daughter; and whoever chooses, whether of the Athenians or of the other Hellenic nations, may be initiated: and the sound which you "hear, is that which they utter in the festival." Dicæus declared, that Demaratus thereupon said to him: "Be silent, "and tell this to no one else; for, of a truth, if this speech "were reported to the King, you would lose your head; and "neither should I nor any other human being be able to save "you: I beseech you, therefore, be silent[97], and the gods will "take heed to the army." Such, accordingly, was the advice

[94] ἐκ. Matt 586, *c*. This means, evidently, the sacred images of Æacus and the Æacidæ.

[95] On the 20th of the month Boëdromion (30th of September), which was the sixth day of the mysteries of Ceres, they carried from the Ceramicus to Eleusis a figure of Iacchus, or Bacchus, crowned with myrtle, and holding in his hand a link. During the procession, they sang, in honour of the god, a hymn, called "the Mystic Iacchus," the burthen of which was "Iacche!" It was the dust from this procession that Dicæus thought he saw, and the hymn which he fancied he heard. *Larcher.*

[96] οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλως οὐ, &c. "unquestionably." See Matt. 482. *obs.* 2.

[97] ἴσυχος. The Athenians and Ionians, who were originally from Athens, affect to use the adjective in these cases. Eurip. Med. 553. ἀλλ' ἴσυχος ησυχος: and in Orest. 1275, ed. Brunck. ἄφοβος ἴσθι. The other Greeks use more generally the adverb; ἡσύχως. *Larcher.* Matt. 604.

Demaratus gave him. The dust and the voice changed to a cloud, which, rising aloft, bore away for Salamis, over the Hellenic fleet; and in this manner they learnt that the sea-forces of Xerxes were to be cut off. Such is the narrative Dicæus was wont to relate, appealing to Demaratus and others as witnesses[98].

When the men belonging to Xerxes' navy, after viewing 66
the loss of the Lacedæmonians, had crossed over from Trachis to Histiæa, they remained there three days: they then stood down the Euripus, and in three days more were at Phalerus. In my opinion, the forces of the Persians were not less numerous when they invaded Athens, whether we consider those that came by land, or those that came on shipboard, than they were when they arrived at Sepias and at Thermopylæ: for against those that were destroyed by the storm, and in the engagements at Thermopylæ, and the sea-fights of Artemisium, I set off the following nations, who at that time had not joined the train of the King's forces; namely, the Malians[99], the Dorians, the Locrians, the Bœotians, who followed with all their forces, excepting the Thespians and Platæans; and likewise the inhabitants of Carystus, Andros, and Teos, and all the rest of the islanders, excepting those of the five towns[100] whose names I have mentioned above; for the farther the Persian penetrated into the interior of Hellas, the greater the number of nations that joined in his train. When, therefore, they were all arrived at Athens, 67
with the exception of the Parians (for the Parians were staying at Cythnus, to watch the war, how it would turn out); all the rest, I say, having arrived at Phalerus, king Xerxes himself went down to the ships, being desirous of mingling with the captains, and informing himself of their opinions. After the King had arrived, and taken his seat on the throne, the tyrants and admirals of the various nations, being sent for, attended, and took their seats according to the rank which the King had given to them individually: first, the Sidonian king; next the Tyrian; and then the others. When they were seated in due form, Xerxes, sending Mardonius round, in order to sound them, inquired of each individual, whether battle should be given on the sea. When Mardonius, going 68

[98] See p. 96, note 169, of this Vol.

[99] The people of Malis, not those of the island of Melos.

[100] As all the islands of the Ægean Sea had a town of the same name as the island, the words πόλις and νῆσος became synonymous, when speaking of them. In iii. 139, Samos is called a fine town, the first of all the towns, *i. e.* islands. The five islands that Herodotus alludes to, are, Naxos, Melos, Siphnos, Seriphos, and Cythnos: see c. 46 of this Book. *Larcher.*

round, put the question, beginning with the Sidonian, all accordingly gave their opinion to the same effect, advising
1 to engage battle: but Artemisia spoke these words:—"Mar-
" donius, tell the King from me[101], that I say this: Having
" shewn the greatest valour in the sea-fights off Eubœa, and
" achieved the most honourable deeds, it is, my lord and
" master, my right to declare what is my opinion, and to
" propose what I think best for your interest; and this I say:
" Distrust your ships, nor hazard a sea-fight; for these peo-
" ple are as much superior to your people by sea, as are men
" to women. And wherefore must you needs court danger
" in naval engagements? Have you not possession of
" Athens, for which you undertook the campaign? Have
" you not the whole of Hellas? No one stands in your
" path; and those who hitherto have opposed you, have suc-
2 " ceeded as they deserved. I will now explain what turn the
" affairs of your adversaries will, in my opinion, take. If
" you do not hurry to engage battle, but keep your fleet to
" land, whether you remain here or advance to Peloponne-
" nesus, easily, my lord, will the projects for which you came
" be brought to succeed: for the Hellenes will not be able
" long to hold out against you; you will disperse them, and
" each will fly to his respective city; since, as I understand,
" they have no provisions in yonder island; nor, if you
" march your land-forces into Peloponnesus, is it probable
" that those among them, who come from thence, will abide
3 " here quiet; nor will they care any longer to give battle
" for the Athenians: whereas, if you hasten forthwith to
" engage on sea, I fear lest the sea-forces being worsted
" may likewise bring harm to your land-forces. Besides,
" revolve this, sire, in your mind, that the slaves of good
" men are wont to be bad, whereas those of the bad are wont
" to be good: you, who are the best of men, have bad slaves,
" who are reckoned among your forces, such as the Egyp-
" tians, and Cyprians, and Cilicians, and Pamphylians, whose
69 " use is none." When she spoke thus to Mardonius, such as were favourably inclined to Artemisia were grieved at her speech, thinking she would suffer some harm at the King's hands, because she dissuaded him from giving battle; while those who disliked and envied her, as being honoured above all the allies, were delighted in their hearts, thinking she would be ruined. But when the sentiments were reported to Xerxes, he was extremely pleased with that of Artemisia; and though before even he had regarded her as an illustrious

[101] μοι. See Matt. 392.

female, he now gave her still more praise. Nevertheless, he gave orders to follow the majority in this matter, thinking they had behaved badly off Eubœa because he himself was not present; and he now prepared to be himself a spectator of the combat [102].

When the signal was given for departure, they got the 70
fleet under weigh for Salamis; and formed their line, taking their stations without disturbance: but there was not then day enough left for them to engage battle, for night fell; they therefore made their preparations for the morrow. Meanwhile, fear and terror pervaded the Hellenes, and principally those from Peloponnesus: they feared, because, being stationed at Salamis, they were about to give battle for the land of the Athenians; and if conquered, they would be shut up [103] in the island, and there, leaving their own country undefended, they would be besieged. The land-forces of the 71
barbarians that same night commenced their march against the Peloponnesus; although every possible expedient had been resorted to, with a view to hinder the barbarians from making their entrance from the main land. For as soon as the Peloponnesians understood that the troops under Leonidas, at Thermopylæ, had fallen, hastening together from the various cities, they posted themselves on the isthmus: their commander-in-chief was Cleombrotus, the son of Anaxandrides, and brother of Leonidas. Having taken their station on the isthmus, and blocked up with mounds the pass of Sciron [104], they next, according to a decision in council, built a wall across the isthmus; and, as they were many tens of thousands in number, and every man shared the labour, the work advanced; for stones, and bricks, and trunks, and hampers full of sand, were brought to the building; and they ceased not a moment their labours for defence, whether by night or by day. The nations who went to defend the 72
isthmus with their whole forces were these of the Hellenes: the Lacedæmonians, and Arcadians all, the Eleans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Trœzenians, and Hermionians: the above were the nations, who, terrified at the dangerous situation of Hellas, proceeded to her defence. With the rest of the Peloponnesians it was a matter of no consequence: the Olympian and Carnean festivals were, however, now passed. Seven nations dwell in Peloponnesus; 73

[102] See Matt. 499.

[103] μᾶλλον . . . πολιορκήσονται. Matt. 507.

[104] This pass led from Megaris to the isthmus by the mountain of Sciron, famous as the haunt of the robber whose name it bore, and whose destruction constituted one of the exploits of Theseus. *Larcher.*

of which two, being aborigines, are situate in the same territory now, which they inhabited of old[105]; they are, the Arcadians, and Cynurii. One nation, namely, the Achæan, has not indeed migrated from the Peloponnesus, but has quitted its own original territory, and now dwells in that of another. The four other nations of the seven are foreign; Dorians, Ætolians, Dryopes, and Lemnians. Of the Dorians, there are many noble cities; of the Ætolians, Elis is the only town; of the Dryopes, are the cities of Hermione and Asine, near Cardamyla[106], in the Laconic territory: to the Lemnians belong all the Paroreetæ. The Cynurii, though aborigines, are thought by some[107] to be Ionians: in time they have become Dorians, under the government of the Argians, as well as the Orneatæ and their neighbours. Accordingly, all the rest of the cities belonging to those seven nations, saving those which I have enumerated, stood neutral[108]; or, if it be permitted to speak freely, though they stood neutral, they were inclined to the Mede.

74 The people[109] at the isthmus pursued, accordingly, the labours I have mentioned with vigour, considering themselves already as having to contend for their all, and not imagining that any brilliant success would be gained by their fleet. Meanwhile, those at Salamis were equally in terror, when they heard of these things[110]; fearing not so much for themselves, as for the Peloponnesus. For some time, therefore, each individual, standing by his neighbour, began to converse in secret, wondering at the folly of Eurybiades[111]: at last, their complaints burst forth openly; and, accordingly, a council was held, and much was said on the same subject; one party contending, that it was expedient they should depart for the Peloponnesus, and hazard battle for that part of Hellas; and not, abiding where they were, contend for a country already captured by arms: on the other hand, the Athenians, Æginetæ, and Megarians, advised they should abide in their present station, and engage.

[105] *κατὰ χώρην ἵδρυται νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἴκιον*, equivalent to *κατὰ χώρην (ἦν) νῦν τε οἰκέουσι καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἴκεον*. In fact, there appears little doubt, but that either *ἦν*, or the Ionic *τὴν*, has slipped out of the text.

[106] He adds, in the Laconian territory, to distinguish it from Cardamyla in Argolis. *Larcher.*

[107] I can make nothing of the text as it stands: I have therefore adopted here Valckenaer's conjecture, *δοκέουσι μὲν Ἰνίοις*, instead of *μοῦνοι*: and lower down, instead of *ἰόντες ὅς τε*. See Valck. Not and Larcher.

[108] See p. 250, note 36, of this Vol.

[109] *Οἱ μὲν δὴ . . . οἱ δὲ*. See Matt. 288. *obs.* 3.

[110] In the Greek, *ταῦτα*, "those things." This, I think, must be referred to the march of the barbarians, who were preparing to enter Peloponnesus, chap. 73. *Larcher.*

[111] *Θώϋμα ποιεύμενοι . . . ἀβουλίην*, for *Θαυμάζοντες*. Matt. 413. *obs.* 5.

Now Themistocles, when his proposal was about to be over- 75
ruled by the Peloponnesians, withdrew unobserved from the sitting, and, going out, sent over to the fleet of the Medes a man aboard a barge, commissioning him what he was to say. The name of this person was Sicinnus: he was a domestic, and tutor to the children of Themistocles: subsequently to these events, Themistocles procured him the citizenship of Thespia, at the time when the Thespians received new citizens, and gave him a comfortable fortune. This individual, on his arrival with the barge, spoke these words to the captains of the barbarians:—"The captain of the Athenians has sent me, unknown to the rest of the Hellenes, (for he holds with the King[112], and is desirous rather that your power should have the upper hand than that of the Hellenes,) to tell you, that the Hellenes, out of fear, are debating about a retreat; and now an opportunity is afforded you to achieve the finest work in the world, unless you suffer them to escape[113]; for, neither do they agree among themselves, nor will they oppose you; and you will see them fighting against one another, those that hold with you, and those who do not." Having given this advice, he immediately retired. The Per- 76
sians, giving credit to this message, first landed a considerable body of troops on the little island of Psyttalea, which lies between Salamis and the main land: in the next place, as soon as the night was half gone-by, they got under weigh for Salamis, intending to encompass the west wing *of the Hellenes*[114]: the squadron stationed about Ceos and Cynosura likewise got under weigh, and occupied the whole pass, as far as Munychia, with their ships. It was for this reason that they put their vessels under weigh, namely, that the

[112] φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος. Matt. 284.

[113] περιιδεῖν, with the participle. Matt. *549, 7.

[114] I have followed Schweighæuser, who construes thus: ἀνῆγον μὲν (τὰς νῆας) πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα κυκλούμενοι τὸ ἀπ' ἑσπέρης κέρας: otherwise ἀνῆγον is made to govern τὸ ἀπ' ἑσπέρης κέρας, the sense being supposed to be, "the Persians got their west wing under weigh," &c.

The plan of the battle, according to Herodotus, is certainly not the clearest that one might wish. I cannot however but think, that the charge of obscurity brought against him proceeds, in a considerable degree, from the accusers having consulted the translations rather, than the text itself. Having spent some months of my life near this glorious field, and been enabled to observe how far the descriptions of the battle agree with the situations of the places, I shall perhaps be allowed to make a few observations. As you stand on the shore of Eleusis, you see before you a bay, about ten miles broad, and perhaps as many deep: at the mouth of the bay lies the island of Salamis, by which this portion of the sea is so completely land-locked, that it affords a most excellent riding for the ships that visit these countries to take in cargoes of oil and the vellania acorns: towards the WSW is a strait, about half a mile across, leading into the Saronic gulf: on the SSE,

Hellenes might have no possibility of escape, but, being shut up in Salamis, might pay the forfeit of the conflicts off Artemisium. They landed troops on the islet called Psyttalea, for this reason; that, when the battle should be engaged, as the men and wrecks would mostly be drifted thither (for the island lay in the frith where the battle was to take place), the soldiers might save those of one party, and destroy those of the other. All this they performed in silence, in order their adversaries might not be aware of what they were doing. The barbarians accordingly passed all the night, without repose, busy in these preparations.

77 I cannot reproach oracles with falsehood, or feel any inclination to destroy those which speak clearly, when I consider such as follows:—"But, when, after sacking with mad "hope glistening Athens, they shall hide with ships the "sacred shore of Dian girt with the golden sword, and sea-"bound Cynosura, then shall divine Vengeance quench

the bay communicates with the same gulf, by a frith from two to three miles over: just without this frith is a small island, on which the current from the bay bears generally pretty hard: this was probably the Psyttalea, mentioned by Herodotus: within this little island, and just without the frith, the Greek fleet appears to have been arrayed for battle. So much for the position of one of the parties.

With respect to the position of the barbarian fleet, it must be granted, that, unless most wonderful changes have taken place in the exterior of the country, the barbarians could not have found moorings for all their vessels in the road of Phalerus: it is therefore fair to presume, that the Persian fleet extended some considerable distance, both above and below Phalerus: the part above would be naturally called, by one fancying himself at the frith of Salamis, "the western wing;" those below, which would be the southern wing, according to the points of the compass, he would likewise designate as the ships or wing towards Ceos and Cynosura; Ceos, an island at the mouth of the Saronic gulf; and Cynosura, a foreland in the same quarter.

Supposing the two fleets to have been situated as I have endeavoured to shew, and that the barbarians, anticipating a certain victory, proceeded to station their vessels for action, they would most probably have adopted the following plan, having a most numerous fleet at their command: the portion at and above Phalerum, "the western wing," would have got under weigh, and proceeded round Salamis, a voyage of about thirty miles, stationing, as they advanced, squadrons at the best riding-places off the shore, and more particularly at the upper strait: having so done, they would have brought up the remaining portion of the fleet stationed below Phalerum, and completely blocked up the rather wide space from Munychia to Salamis.

I should therefore translate this passage of Herodotus in the following manner: "When it was midnight, the Persians got their west wing under weigh, and proceeded to station themselves circularly round Salamis; while those towards (*not necessarily* about) Ceos and Cynosura likewise got under weigh, and took possession of the whole frith, *from Salamis* down to Munychia." I do not see but the text will admit of this interpretation: if so, it does away with the necessity of supposing (as is done in the plans of this battle copied from Barthélémi) Cynosura to be a foreland of Salamis, and Ceos a promontory of Attica, above Munychia; for which hypotheses there is no authority, that I know of.

"Presumption, son of Insolence, fiercely rushing to the "onset, resolved to overturn[115] all things. For iron with "iron shall clash, and Mars shall redden the main with "blood: then wide-thundering son of Cronus, and godly "Victory, will bring the day of freedom to Hellas." When I consider, I say, these events, and reflect that Bacis has spoken so distinctly, I dare not myself say any thing in contradiction of oracles[116], nor do I approve it in others.

78 Altercations were still going on among the captains at Salamis; as they were not yet aware that the barbarians had encompassed them with their fleet, but thought the enemies were in the same place where they had seen them stationed during the day. While the captains were disputing, Ari- 79 stides the son of Lysimachus crossed over from Ægina: he was an Athenian, and had been banished by ostracism: from what I have heard of his manners, I judge him to have been the most upright and just man at Athens. This person, standing at the entrance of the council, caused Themistocles to be called out, who, far from being his friend, was his most bitter enemy; nevertheless, under the magnitude of the present dangers, forgetting their enmity, he caused him to be called out, wishing to communicate with him; for he had previously heard the Peloponnesians were anxious to get the ships under weigh for the isthmus. When Themistocles came out to him, Aristides spoke thus: "It is our duty, not "only on other occasions, but particularly on this, to con- "tend which of us two should do the greatest services to our

[115] ἀνὰ πάντα τίθεσθαι by tmesis for ἀνατίθεσθαι πάντα, equivalent to ἄνω κάτω τίθεσθαι, "to turn every thing upside down for one's own purposes." See Schweig. Not.

[116] The conjectured reading, mentioned at the bottom of Schweighæuser's page, squares much better with grammar: καὶ οὕτω ἐναργίως λίγοντι Βάκιδι δι' ἀντιλογίης χρησμῶν περὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐλθεῖν τολμέω, &c.; in which the expression ἐλθεῖν δι' ἀντιλογίης will be nearly equivalent to ἀντιλέγειν, like διὰ μάχης ἐλθεῖν to μάχεσθαι. According to the usual reading, λίγοντι Βάκιδι must, I suppose, be taken as a dative absolute. This passage proves Herodotus to have shared in what the strong-minded philosophers of the present day term the superstitious credulity of his age. It must be remembered, however, that our honest author had no other mode of approaching truth, than by the practical knowledge which he had been enabled to obtain in a life of attentive observation: that observation, applied to times in which, no doubt, the interposition of Divine Providence was too well marked to escape the attention of an honest and sensible man, naturally must have given, to a mind not stayed by divine revelation, some tincture of what we call superstition. An attentive reader of Herodotus must nevertheless see, by very many passages of the Muses, that there was constantly a struggle in the writer's mind, between the dictates of his reason and those of the false religion of his days: and one cannot but admire the virtue of the man, who, rather than lend his authority to the obliteration of all religion among his countrymen, has willingly exposed himself to the carpings of philosophers, from the days of Plutarch to the present.

" country. I tell you, it is the same, whether you say much
" or little to the Peloponnesians, about departing from hence;
" for I, an eye-witness, tell you, that now, even if they would,
" neither the Corinthians, nor Eurybiades himself, will be
" able to retreat, for we are completely surrounded by the
" enemies: go in, therefore, and make this known to them."
80 Themistocles replied in these words: " You both give useful
" advice, and bring good tidings; since, what I longed to
" happen, you have been an eye-witness of: for know, that
" what has been done by the Medes, is through me: it was
" necessary, as the Hellenes would not of their own accord
" engage battle, to compel them to it, against their will. As
" you come with good tidings, report them yourself to the
" assembly; for, if I tell them, I shall not be able to per-
" suade, but shall be thought to speak fictitiously, as they will
" imagine the barbarians have done no such thing. Go
" in, therefore, and announce how matters stand: should
" they believe you, when you announce it to them, so much the
" better; and should they not give credit to the report, still
" is it the same for us; as they can no longer disperse, if, as
81 " you say, we are encompassed." Accordingly, Aristides
went in, and stated, that he was come from Ægina, and had
with difficulty been able to get through the enemy's moor-
ings, unseen, as the whole Hellenic fleet was surrounded by
the ships of Xerxes: he therefore advised them to get ready,
to repel the foe. Having so said, Aristides withdrew; and
forthwith the altercations began afresh; for the majority of
82 the captains gave no credit to the report[117]. While they
were still in doubt, arrived a trireme, manned by Tenian
deserters, commanded by Panætius son of Sosimenes, a na-
tive of the island: this vessel brought an account of the whole
truth; and for this service, the Hellenes inscribed the name
of the "Tenians" on the tripod at Delphi, among those of
the nations who had shared in overthrowing the barbarian.
Accordingly, with this vessel, which deserted over to them
when they were at Salamis, and the Lemnian ship which had
before come over to them when they were off Artemisium,
the total naval armament[118] of the Hellenes was made up to
three hundred and eighty sail; for originally it wanted two
of that number.

The Hellenes, giving credit to the report brought by the Tenians, made ready for the contest. As soon as day dawned, and they had collected the fighting-men[119], Themistocles

[117] ἠπίθουτο τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα. Matt. 413.
[118] τὰ. Matt. 265.
[119] See Matt. 562, note.

made an harangue, the most encouraging of all the captains: his speech consisted of a contrast between what is valiant, and what is dastardly; exhorting them, accordingly, to elect that which was valiant, in whatever depended on human nature and situation; and, bringing his harangue to a close, commanded them to go aboard their ships. They were accordingly embarking, when the trireme arrived from Ægina, which had quitted the fleet to fetch the Æacidæ: then the Hellenes got all their ships under weigh. Immediately that 84
they were under weigh, the barbarians bore down; and, accordingly, the rest of the Hellenes began to back their oars, and make for land: but Aminias, an Athenian of the Pallenian canton, stood ahead, and attacked one of the enemy's line: his ship being entangled, and the crew unable to clear her, the rest, proceeding to the assistance of Aminias, engaged battle. Such was the manner in which the Athenians represent the action to have commenced; but the Æginetæ say, the battle was opened by the vessel which had been detached to fetch the Æacidæ from Ægina. There is likewise another account given, that the phantom of a woman made her appearance, and cheered them on, first reproaching them thus, in a voice so loud as to be heard by the whole Hellenic fleet: "Dastards! how long will ye continue to back your oars?" The Phœnicians were drawn up against 85
the Athenians, for these held the western wing towards Eleusis: in front of the Lacedæmonians were stationed the Ionians; these held the eastern wing, towards the Piræeus; some few of these latter, according to the advice of Themistocles[120], did shew a voluntary want of vigour; but not so the majority. I could here enumerate the names of several captains of triremes who captured Hellenic vessels; but I shall mention none, except Theomestor the son of Androdamas, and Phylacus son of Histiæus, both Samians: I make mention of these only, for this reason, that for this achievement Theomestor became tyrant of Samos, by the appointment of the Persians; and that Phylacus was written down among the King's benefactors, and presented with a large estate. The persons who perform any service for the King are called "orosangæ," in the Persian tongue. The main portion of 86
the enemy's fleet at Salamis was run down; some disabled by the Athenians, others by the Æginetæ; for as the Hellenes fought with order, each in line, whereas the barbarians, never having formed properly in line, or doing any thing with coolness, that which did eventually succeed could but

[120] See Matt. 581, *b*.

befall them: they behaved, however, on this day at least, with far more bravery than they[121] had done off Eubœa; every individual doing his utmost, out of fear of Xerxes; for each[122] thought he was seen by the King.

87 With regard to the rest of the combatants, I cannot undertake to say, for certain, in what manner the various nations, either of the barbarians or of the Hellenes, fought. As to Artemisia, she performed an action by which she increased in favour with the King: for at the moment when the forces of the King were thrown into complete confusion, Artemisia's ship was pursued by an Attic vessel; and she, not being able to make her escape (as crowds of friendly vessels were ahead of her, while her own was just in the van of the enemy), she determined upon doing that which eventually succeeded to her; for being closely pursued by the Attic ship, she bore down upon a vessel belonging to the King's fleet, manned by Calyndians, and having on board Damasithymus, king of the Calyndians. Now, I cannot undertake to say whether there had been a grudge between the two, from the time that they were lying in the Hellespont, or whether she did this designedly, or whether the ship of the Calyndians happened only by chance to be right ahead of hers; but she bore down on the vessel, sunk her, and, by good luck, procured herself a double advantage; for the commander of the Attic trireme, seeing her attack a vessel manned by barbarians, imagined, either that Artemisia's ship belonged to the Hellenic fleet, or that she had deserted from the barbarians, and was lending assistance to his own

88 party: he, accordingly, turned out of the wake of her vessel, and steered against others. By so acting, Artemisia, on the one hand, escaped perishing; while, on the other, it likewise so happened, that although she had committed a wicked action, she received, in consequence of it, great glory at the hands of Xerxes. For it is related, that the King, viewing the battle[123], observed her ship making the attack: and, accordingly, some one of the by-standers said to him: "My lord and master, do you see how gallantly Artemisia fights, and has sunk one of the enemies' sail?" and that the King then asked, whether that was really the work of Artemisia; when the others declared, they knew perfectly the flag[124] of her ship. It was likewise generally believed

[121] ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν. Matt. 452.

[122] Matt. 301, *obs.*

[123] He was seated at the foot of Mount Ægaleos, a hill of Attica commanding a view of the scene of action. See chap. 90.

[124] ἐπίσημον. This appears to have been a sort of flag at the stern of the vessel: those who translate it, "the figure at the prow," have not thought

that the vessel destroyed was one of the enemy's; for, besides the other lucky events which I have mentioned as concurring to Artemisia, this likewise must be added, that not one soul was saved from the Calyndian ship, to become her accuser. And it is related, that Xerxes said, in reply to the information which was given to him, "My men have behaved as women; my women as men." Such was the remark they say Xerxes made.

In this action fell[125] the admiral Ariabignes, son of Darius, 89
and brother to Xerxes: others, many and renowned, of the Persians, of the Medes, and of the other combatant nations, fell. Of the Hellenes, but few died; for as they knew how to swim, those whose ships were destroyed, and who did not perish by the hands[126] of the enemies, swam away for Salamis; whereas many of the barbarians, not knowing how to swim, perished in the sea. When the front line of the Persian fleet was turned to flight, the greatest part of the others perished: for the men stationed in the rear, endeavouring to drive their ships ahead, in order to give proof of their valour to the King, fell foul of the ships of their own fleet, as they were retreating. Amidst this confusion, the following event oc- 90
curred. Some of the Phœnicians, whose ships had been destroyed[127], presented themselves before the King; and accused the Ionians, that by their treachery the vessels had been lost. It however so happened, that the captains of the Ionians were not put to death, and that the Phœnician accusers received their reward, as I shall state. Before they had finished speaking, a Samothracian ship bore down on one of the Attic squadron. the Attic ship was foundered; and one from Ægina coming up, sunk that of the Samothracians: accordingly, the Samothracians, skilful in the use of the javelin, hurled their weapons, and, driving the fighting-men from off the vessel that had run them down, climbed on board, and took possession of her. This event saved the Ionians; for when Xerxes saw them achieve that valiant deed, he turned round to the Phœnicians, and being filled with excessive grief, and ready to blame all parties, he commanded their heads to be struck off, in order that, having themselves behaved as cowards, they might no *longer* bring accusations against braver men. (For Xerxes, seated at the foot of the mountain situate opposite Salamis, which is called

the naval tactics of the ancients worthy of their attention: the ornaments at the prow were called the ἀκροστόλιον.

[125] ἀπὸ μὲν ἴθασι. Matt. 594, 2.

[126] ἐν χειρῶν νομῇ, like Thucydides' expression, ἐν χερσὶν ἀποκτίνυσιν, "to fall in the hand—to hand medley."

[127] διεφθαρέατο, i.e. διεφθάρησαν. See Matt. 496, 8.

Ægaleos, whenever he saw any one of his own troops performing a gallant action in the battle, inquired who had performed it, and the secretaries wrote down the captain's family and city.) It must likewise be observed, that Ariaramnes, a Persian, who was present, and friendly to the Ionians, contributed to this punishment of the Phœnicians.

91 The barbarians, being now turned to flight, and making away for Phalerus, the Æginetæ, stationed as a reserve on the frith, performed actions worthy of record; for during the rout, the Athenians ran down such of the enemy's ships as stood their ground or took to flight, while the Æginetæ fell upon those that were making away from the battle; so that whatever ships escaped the Athenians, fell, in their 92 retreat, among the Æginetæ. Meanwhile, Themistocles' ship, in pursuit of an enemy, and that of Polycritus the son of Crius, a native of Ægina, bearing down upon a Sidonian galley, happened to meet broadside to broadside: the Sidonian galley was the same that had captured the vessel from Ægina, stationed as an advanced guard off Sciathus[128], and on board of which was Pytheas the son of Ischenous, whom the Persians preserved, though covered with wounds, out of admiration for his valour: the Sidonian ship was accordingly captured, having on board the above Pytheas, with the Persians; so that, in this manner, Pytheas escaped, and returned to Ægina. When Polycritus beheld the Attic vessel, he knew her, seeing the admiral's flag; whereupon, shouting to Themistocles, he jeered him, casting in his teeth the reproach of Medism, which had been thrown upon the Æginetæ[129]. Thus did Polycritus, as he was bearing down upon the ship, jeer Themistocles. Those barbarians whose vessels survived, fled, and arrived at Phalerus, under the protection of the land-forces.

93 In this sea-fight, the Æginetæ were, of the Hellenic nations, those that reaped the greatest glory; and next to them, the Athenians: of individuals, Polycritus of Ægina; and the Athenians, Eumenes, of the Anagyrasian canton, and Aminias[130], of the Pallenian canton. This latter was he who pursued Artemisia; and, indeed, had he known Artemisia was aboard that ship, he would not have given up the chase,

[128] See vii. 181.

[129] ὀνειδίζων (αὐτῷ) ἐς τὸν Αἰγινητέων μηδισμὸν, "exprobravit ei id quod ille de Æginetarum Medismo dixerat." Wesseling asserts, that this was in allusion to the treatment of Polycritus's father Crius, recorded in vi. 49. I have referred to the passage alluded to, where Crius is stated to be the son, and not the father, of Polycritus. Larcher, Beloe, and all the translators, have copied Wesseling's note, apparently without taking the trouble to make the reference.

[130] He was brother to the tragic writer, Æschylus.

till he had captured her, or had been himself captured; for orders had been given to that effect to the captains, previous to action; and, moreover, a reward of ten thousand drachmæ was promised to him who should take her alive; for the Athenians were truly indignant that a woman should bear arms against Athens. But, as I have before said, Artemisia escaped; and all the others, whose ships had survived, were now lying in Phalerus. The Athenians relate of Adimantus, 94
the Corinthian captain, that immediately from the beginning, when the two fleets joined battle, dismayed, and beyond measure terrified, he hoisted sail and ran away; and that the Corinthians, seeing the captain's vessel flying, in like manner departed; that, accordingly, when, in their flight, they were now off the temple of Minerva Sciras in Salamis, a cutter fell in with them, sent by some divine impulse; that it did not appear any one had sent it; and that it made towards the Corinthians, who knew nothing of what was going on in the fleet. That the event was divine, they infer from this; that when those of the cutter had neared the ships, they said these words[131]: "Adimantus, you steer away your ships, and, "betraying the Hellenes, take to flight; and they meanwhile "are gaining a victory, as completely as they ever prayed to "gain, over the foes." after so saying, as Adimantus gave them no credit, they again said, that "they were content to "be detained as hostages, and put to death, if the Hellenes "were not found to be victorious." It is related, that accordingly Adimantus and the others tacked ship, and arrived at the fleet after the action. Such is the report concerning the Corinthians, that goes among the Athenians: the Corinthians themselves, however, do not coincide with them, but pretend, that they themselves were among the most gallant in the action, and the rest of Hellas bears testimony to them. Aristides the son of Lysimachus, an Athenian, of whom I 95
have made mention a little before this, as being a most upright man, performed the following action in this rout at Salamis: he took with him a good number of the heavy-armed troops, who had been stationed along the shore of Salamis, and were of Athenian race, and landed, at their head, in the island of Psyttalea, and slaughtered all the Persians in that little island[132].

When the sea-fight was brought to an end, the Hellenes, 96
after hauling ashore at Salamis such of the wrecks as were still in that quarter, held themselves ready for another action,

[131] See Matt. 596, *c*.
[132] Construction: *ἀπίβησι ἄγων* (*τοὺς ἄνδρας*), *οἳ κατιφόνισαν*, &c.

expecting that the King would avail himself of the ships that survived; but a west wind impelling several of the wrecks, drove them on that shore of Attica which is called Colias; so as to fulfil[133], not only all the oracles pronounced by Bacis and Musæus respecting this sea-fight, but likewise the words respecting the wrecks being drifted on this shore, which, many years previous to these events, were spoken in an oracle by Lysistratus of Athens, a soothsayer, and the meaning of which had remained hidden to all the Hellenes. "With oars shall the Coliad women broil[134]." which was to take place after the retreat of the King.

97 Xerxes, when he saw the defeat, fearing lest some one of the Ionians might suggest to the Hellenes, or the Hellenes themselves take it into their heads, to make for the Hellespont, and break the bridge—so that, being shut up in Europe, he would be in danger of perishing—began to think about a retreat. But, wishing to keep his intentions concealed both from the Hellenes and from his own people, he attempted to throw a mound across to Salamis; and lashed together some Phœnician merchantmen, to answer the purposes both of a bridge and rampart. At the same time, he made warlike preparations, as if about again to engage battle on sea. All the others, who saw him acting in this manner, were fully convinced that he was seriously preparing to abide, and continue the war: but none of his intentions remained concealed to Mardonius, as he was perfectly acquainted with the King's way of thinking. At the same time Xerxes was so acting, he sent to Persia, to announce the late calamity that had

98 befallen him. Nothing among mortals[135] advances more rapidly to its destination than these couriers· this mode of conveyance has been invented by the Persians, and is this: they say, that to whatever number of journeys the whole road extends, so many are the horses and men scattered along it, one horse and man being stationed at every day's journey: neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor night, hinders these from performing their appointed stage with the greatest possible

[133] ὥστε ἀποκλῆσαι τὸν χρησμὸν relates to τῶν ναυηγίων πολλά.

[134] I have translated as if there was φρύξουσι, from φρύγω: the translation of the reading φρίξουσι is, "will shiver." If we suppose that the ancient Greeks confounded the υ and ι into one sound, *ee*, like their modern descendants, the cause of the ambiguity of this prophecy will be self evident.

[135] Θνητὸν ἐόν. In opposition to the gods, whose rapidity equals that of thought. Valckenaer is highly displeased at this reading, and asks, whether the contrivance of sending letters by pigeons was not more rapid than this: he therefore proposes to read ἀνθρωπήιον ἐόν. There is no doubt but that the conveyance of intelligence by those sagacious birds is of high antiquity, but it may be doubted whether it was known in the time of Herodotus. See Schweig. Not.

celerity: accordingly, the first delivers the message to the second; the second to the third; and thus the message proceeds, delivered from hand to hand, along the whole line; as, with the Hellenes, in the torch-race[136], which they celebrate in honour of Vulcan. This horse-conveyance the Persians call angareion. The first tidings, accordingly, 99
that reached Susa, stating Xerxes was in possession of Athens, so delighted the Persians left behind, that they strewed all the ways with myrtle, and burnt perfumes, and applied themselves to sacrifices and merriment. But the second tidings that came, threw them in such consternation, that they all rent their garments, and uttered shrieks and incessant lamentations, laying the blame to Mardonius. Nor did the Persians act in this manner so much out of grief for the ships, as out of fear for Xerxes himself. And this lasted with them the whole intervening time, till Xerxes himself, by his arrival, put a period *to their anxiety.*

Mardonius observing that Xerxes was much afflicted at 100
the loss of the naval battle, and suspecting that he meditated a retreat from Athens, and having considered within himself, that he should have to make satisfaction for having persuaded the King to direct his arms against Hellas; and that it would be better for him to run the chance, either of subduing Hellas, or of ending valiantly a life which had been elated with such lofty hopes; (in truth, the idea of subduing Hellas had the more influence over him,) having, I say, considered all these things, he addressed the following discourse to the King: "My lord and master, grieve not, nor 'harbour deep sorrow, in consequence of what has taken 'place; for it is not a battle of wooden boards that shall "wholly decide on our lot, but one of men and horse. Not 'one of these men, who you think have already conquered 'all, will descend from the ships, and attempt to face you, 'nor one from this continent; those that have opposed us 'have suffered their punishment. If, then, you think fit, "forthwith let us attempt the Peloponnesus; or if, again,

[136] Larcher refers to his note on vi. 105. I have translated the note he alludes to, in p. 109, note 1, of this Volume: I cannot, however, see how that explanation can at all illustrate this passage. Schneider (Gr. Germ. Lex.) gives the following explanation; λαμπαδηδρομία, the torch-race, race with burning torches, where he was conqueror who kept his torch longest lighted, ad Herennium, 4, 46, "quemadmodum in palæstra qui tædas ardentes accipit, celerior est in cursu quam ille qui tradit — quod defatigatus cursor integro facem tradit." The conveyance which Herodotus describes is precisely the *estafette* of the continental armies. Cyrus appears, from Xenophon, to have established a sort of regular post in his empire.

" you think fit to delay, we may even do so. But be not " cast down; for there is no means left the Hellenes to " escape[137] giving satisfaction for what they have done both " now and heretofore, and from becoming thy slaves. Such, " therefore, is what you should by all means do. But still, " if you have resolved to retreat yourself, and march away " your troops, I have another counsel, besides these, to give " you. Suffer not, sire, the Persians to be a mark for ridi- " cule to the Hellenes; for none of your projects have been " thwarted through your Persians[138], nor can you say where " we have behaved as men of no valour: though the Phœni- " cians, and Egyptians, and Cyprians, and Cilicians, have " shewn themselves cowards, this defeat cannot be imputed " to the Persians. Since, therefore, the Persiáns deserve no " blame at your hands, hearken to me: if you have deter- " mined not to remain, return back to your home, taking " with you the greater portion of the army[139]; and it shall " be my business to deliver Hellas enslaved into your power, " after I shall have chosen three hundred thousand men from
101 " your army." When Xerxes heard this discourse, as if re- lieved from his miseries, he was rejoiced and delighted: he said to Mardonius, that he would debate the matter in coun- cil, and give him an answer as to which of these two plans he would adopt. When he had debated the question with his Persian counsellors, he determined likewise to summon Artemisia to the council, because she was evidently the only person who the time before had seen what was expedient to be done. When Artemisia was come, Xerxes made all the rest, both counsellors and body-guards, stand aside, and spoke thus: " Mardonius advises me to abide here, and " attempt the Peloponnesus; declaring, that the Persians and " land-forces are not at all to blame for the defeat I have en- " countered, and that of this they would fain give me proof[140].

[137] *οὐ γάρ ἐστιν Ἕλλησιν ἴκδυσις*, equivalent to *ἀμηχανόν ἐστιν Ἕλλησι*, or *ἔστιν οὐδεμία μηχανή*. Compare the last chapter of Book II. *καὶ ἔτι τι οὐδεμίη μηχανὴ μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλίναι*, &c. *Valck.*

[138] According to this interpretation, *ἐν Πέρσῃσι* is regarded as equivalent to *διὰ Περσέων*, like *ἐν τῷ ἀγγέλῳ*, Thucyd. VII. 8. Another translation may be given: " thy affairs have received no detriment, as far as regards thy own subjects, the Persians:" this sense, perhaps, squares better with the sentence lower down, *οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο πρόσηκει τὸ πάθος*, which would then be translated, " that disaster extends not to the Persians." This interpretation is followed by Goldhagen, in his German translation of Herodotus. See Valck. Schweig. Not. — Schweighæuser, however, does not observe that this interpretation destroys all connection with *οὐδὲ ἐμεῦ ἔκου ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοί*.

[139] *τῆς στρατιῆς . . . τὸ πολλόν*. See Matt. Gr. Gramm. 442, 3.

[140] *βουλομένοισί σφι γένοιτ' ἂν ἀπόδειξις*. Concerning this and similar constructions, see Matt. 391, *e*.

" Accordingly, he exhorts me to do this; or otherwise, he " himself is willing to select three hundred thousand men " from my army, and to deliver Hellas enthralled into my " power, while he advises me myself to withdraw with the " rest of the forces into my own territories. I beg you, " therefore—for you gave good counsel respecting the sea- " fight that has taken place, dissuading from giving battle— " now to advise me, by following which of these two plans " I shall best consult my interest." Thus he craved her advice. The princess replied: " Sire, in answer to your re- 102
" quest of my advice, it is difficult for me to say[141] which is " the best. However, in the present circumstances, methinks " it is, that you should yourself return back, and leave Mar- " donius here with such troops as he chooses, if he wishes, " and undertakes to do what he says. For, on the one hand, " if he subdues what he declares he will, and he succeeds " as expecting he says, it will be, my lord, your own deed, " for it will be your vassals that will achieve it: on the " other hand, if things fall out contrary to the expectation of " Mardonius, it will be no great matter of sorrow, provided " you are safe, and the interests of your house flourish[142]; " for if you are safe, and your house, the Hellenes will have " many and frequent struggles to hazard for their liberties. " And Mardonius is but of little consequence, supposing even " he should suffer any reverse; nor, if the Hellenes conquer, " will they conquer aught, in destroying your slave: whereas " you will withdraw after firing Athens, the purpose for " which you had undertaken the expedition." Xerxes was 103
accordingly pleased with the advice, as Artemisia happened to say just what he was revolving in his own mind; for, in my opinion, not even, had all men and all women joined to advise him to stay, would he have stayed, so terrified was he. Having therefore given praise to Artemisia, he dismissed her, *with orders* to convey his sons to Ephesus; for some of his bastard children had followed with him.

Together with the children, he sent, as guardian, Hermo- 104
timus, by birth a Pedasean, and holding a rank, among the eunuchs, second to none in the King's estimation. [The Pedaseans[143] dwell above Halicarnassus: it is related, that the

[141] τυχεῖν εἴπασαν, nearly, but not quite equivalent to εἶπαι. See Matt. 553, 4.

[142] I do not see what can be made of the reading καὶ ἐκείνων. I follow, therefore, Wesseling's conjecture, σὺ κειμένων.

[143] This is nearly a repetition of chap. 175, of the First Book. Valckenaer and Wesseling are of opinion, that the whole chapter is an interpolation; the arguments of those two scholars tending to shew, that the style is different from that of Hero-

following takes place among that people: when, within a certain time, any misfortune is to fall upon themselves and the different neighbouring nations dwelling around them, the priestess of Minerva's temple in that country has a long beard; a prodigy which, accordingly, has already happened
105 with them twice. Hermotimus, therefore, was of that nation of Pedaseans.] He, of all the men that we know, inflicted the most cruel vengeance for an injury he had received: for having been taken by the enemy, and sold, he was purchased by Panionius, a native of Chios, who made his living by a most infamous trade; for, whenever he could procure boys of fair form, he would geld them, and, exporting, sell them for high prices at Sardis or Ephesus: for with the barbarians, eunuchs are esteemed more valuable than other servants, by reason of their trustiness in all matters[144]: accordingly, Panionius had castrated many others; since he derived his livelihood from the traffic, but more particularly this Hermotimus. Hermotimus, however, was not unfortunate in every respect, since he went, with various other gifts, to the King, from Sardis; and, in the progress of time, became, of all the eunuchs, the most esteemed by Xerxes.
106 At the time when the King was preparing to march the Persian army against Hellas, and staying at Sardis, Hermotimus went down, upon some business or other, into a quarter of Mysia called Atarneus, which the Chians occupy: there he met with Panionius having recognised him, he addressed much friendly language to him; in the first place, enumerating how many blessings he enjoyed through his means; and, secondly, promising how many benefits he would confer upon him, if he would bring all his household, and take his residence in Sardis: so that Panionius, accepting joyfully the proposal, conveyed thither his wife and children. Accordingly, when Hermotimus had him and his whole household in his power, he spoke to him thus: "Thou, who of all mankind earnest thy living by the most "iniquitous deeds, what harm had I myself, or any of mine, "done thee or any of thine, that thou shouldest have made "me, instead of a man, to be[145] nothing? Thou didst "imagine the gods saw not what thou wast doing — the "gods, who, following the law of justice, have delivered

dotus: and those of Schweighæuser, in refutation of that opinion, are ingenious, and deserve consideration, even were it only to see how difficult it is to determine the peculiarities of style in an ancient author.

[144] πίστιος εἵνεκα τῆς πάσης. I give the adjective the same meaning as in II. 91. See Vol. I. Book II. c. 91. note 141.

[145] See Matt. 414, 1, *b*.

" thee, guilty of iniquitous deeds as thou art, into my hands;
" so that thou canst not complain of the satisfaction I shall
" take from thee." Having thus reproached him, and caused the children of the man to be brought before him, Panionius was compelled to mutilate his own sons, who were four in number: yielding to necessity, he did so: and when he had performed the operation, the sons were compelled to do the same on their father. Thus the vengeance of Hermotimus[146] fell upon Panionius.

Xerxes having entrusted his sons to Artemisia, to convey 107
them to Ephesus, called Mardonius, and commanded him to select what troops he chose from the army, and endeavour to perform actions equal to his promises. Such were the events of that day; and at night, by the King's command, the captains got the ships under weigh, to return from Phalerus, as fast as they could[147], to the Hellespont, to guard the bridges, for the King to cross over[148]. When the barbarians, in their course, were come near Zoster, where some small promontories jut into the sea, they fancied they were ships, and fled to a good distance; but after a while, seeing they were not vessels, but promontories, they collected together, and stood on their voyage. When day came, the Hellenes, seeing the 108
land-forces remaining in their stations, imagined the vessels also to be about Phalerus: they thought, likewise, that the enemy would give another battle on sea, and therefore made preparations to repel him. But when they understood that the ships had departed, they then forthwith determined upon giving chase. However, they could not descry Xerxes' fleet, although they followed as far as Andros: arriving therefore at that island, they held council. Themistocles accordingly gave his opinion, " that they should steer
" between the islands; and, following up the fleet, shape their
" course direct for the Hellespont, and break asunder the
" bridges." But Eurybiades proposed a motion directly contrary to this, saying, that, " were they to break the bridges,
" they would, in so doing, work the greatest mischief to
" Hellas: for if the Persian were shut up, and obliged to
" abide in Europe, he would do all his endeavours not to re-
" main quiet; since, if he were to remain quiet, none of his
" projects would advance, neither would any retreat be open
" to him, and his troops must perish by famine: whereas,
" if he stirred himself, and applied to action, every thing in

[146] ἢ τι τίσις καὶ ὁ Ἑρμότιμος, an example of the figure ἓν διὰ δυοῖν: see Vol. I. Book III. note 2.

[147] ὡς τάχιος εἶχε ἕκαστος. Matt. 315, 1.

[148] Construction: διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας βασιλέι (ὥστε αὐτὸν) πορευθῆναι. *Schweig. Not.*

" Europe would probably fall under his dominion, both cities " and nations, whether captured by force, or previously ad- " mitted to terms; and the yearly crops of Hellas would be " constantly sufficient for the support of the enemies. But, " on the contrary, he thought the Persian, having been de- " feated in the sea-fight, would not abide in Europe: there- " fore, it was proper to permit him to retreat, till, in his flight, " he had reached his land; and then he advised them to dis- " pute with him his own country[149]." With this proposal the captains of the other Peloponnesian nations sided.

109 When Themistocles perceived he could not prevail on them, that is to say, on the majority, to make for the Hellespont, he changed his counsel, and thus addressed the Athenians; (for they were exceedingly annoyed at the escape of the enemy, and, after debating the[150] subject privately among themselves, were eager to make for the Hellespont alone, if the others would not:) " I myself, ere this, have been witness " to instances of the kind, and have heard of many more, " when men driven to necessity, after being conquered, have " rallied, and fetched up their previous loss: let us not, there- " fore, pursue the fugitives, now that, contrary to the expec- " tations of ourselves[151] and of Hellas, we have repelled such " a cloud of men, and thus saved ourselves: for it is not we " that have wrought these deeds, but the gods and heroes, " who were jealous that one man should hold the sway both " of Europe and of Asia; and he, wicked and impious, one " who held in like account both sacred and private things, " who consumed and threw down the images of the gods; " who even scourged the sea, and let down shackles into the " waves. Since, therefore, we are now in a prosperous situa- " tion, let us abide in Hellas, and there attend[152] to ourselves " and to our families: let each[153], now that he has wholly " repelled the barbarian, repair his house, and apply[154] to " cropping his ground; and at the opening of spring let us " stand for the Hellespont and Ionia." This he said with the

[149] See p. 242. note 6. of this Vol.

[150] ἐπὶ σφίων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, " etiam inter seipsos consultantes." *Æ. Port. Lex. Ion.* voc. βάλλεσθαι. Compare likewise v. 73. οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ σφίων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι. Schneider, however, explains this form, of frequent occurrence in Herodotus; as signifying, " for one's self alone — on one's own impulse — on one's own account — fur sich allein — fur seinen Kopf — aus eignem Antriebe — im Vertrauen auf sich selbst." This interpretation certainly accounts better for the καὶ in this passage. *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.* βάλλω.

[151] " We have found a windfall :" εὕρημα, a windfall, an unexpected piece of good luck. See VII. 10.

[152] καταμείναντες . . . . ἐπιμεληθῆναι, for καταμείναντες ἐπιμεληθῶμεν. See Matt. 487, 2.

[153] καί τις for καὶ ἕκαστος. See Matt. 487, 2.

[154] ἀναπῶς ἐχίτω. Matt. 326. ἀναπῶς ἔχειν τινος is equivalent to ἐπιμελεῖσθαί τινος.

intention of securing to himself a place in the favour of the Persian[155]; to the end, that should any disgrace visit him at the hands of the Athenians, he might have an asylum; which eventually was the case. By so speaking, Themistocles de- 110
ceived the Athenians, who, accordingly, followed his advice; for, though formerly he had been regarded as a wise man, now, as he was proved to be truly wise and prudent, they were fully prepared to adopt whatever counsel he might give. When the Athenians were persuaded, forthwith Themistocles sent aboard a barge some men whom he could trust, even though subjected to the torture, to conceal the message with which he charged them for the King: of this number, Sicinnus, his domestic, was again one[156]. When they were arrived at Attica, the crew remained aboard the barge; while Sicinnus, going up to Xerxes, said thus. "Themi- "stocles the son of Neocles, the admiral of the Athenians, "the most valiant and wise man of the confederates, has "sent me to say to you, that Themistocles the Athenian, "desirous of serving your cause, has withheld the Hellenes, "who wished to pursue the fleet, and break asunder the "bridges on the Hellespont. Now, therefore, retire at your "perfect leisure." After giving this notice, the party steered back again.

When the Hellenes had come to the resolution to pursue 111
no farther the ships of the barbarians, and not to make for the Hellespont or to cut down the passage, they blockaded Andros, with the intention of capturing the place. For the Andrians were the first of the islanders that were applied to for money by Themistocles, and they refused; but when Themistocles addressed them this speech, that "the Athe- "nians had come, having with them two mighty gods, "Persuasion and Necessity, and so money must needs be "given them;" they replied, saying, that "therefore with "good reason was Athens powerful and opulent, and favoured "by profitable gods[157]; the Andrians, however, possessed but "little land, and were sunk in the lowest misery[158], as two "unprofitable gods never forsook the island, but ever loved "to dwell there, Poverty and Impossibility; that therefore "the Andrians, being in possession of those gods, would "give no money; for not even the ability of the Athe- "nians would ever be stronger than their inability." The

[155] I have followed Schweighæuser, who regards ἀποθήκην as a metonymy for ἀπόθετον, and observes, that καλόν γε θησαύρισμα, κείμενη χάρις.

[156] He had before sent him to the Persian captains: see chap. 75.

[157] καὶ Σιῶν χρηστῶν ἥκοιεν ἐῦ. See Matt. 315.

[158] Supply γειωσινίης, or πενίης, after ἐς τὰ μίγιστα. *Schweig. Lex. Herod.*

Andrians accordingly, having made the above reply, and refused to give the money, were besieged. Meanwhile, Themistocles, who never ceased to hanker for increase of wealth, sent threatening messages to the other islands, and by the same messengers made demands of money, using the same language as he used with the Andrians; saying, that "if "they did not accede to his demand, he would bring the "forces of the Hellenes upon them, and would besiege and "expel them their land." By using this language, he collected great sums from the Carystians and Parians; who understanding, with regard to Andros, that it was blockaded, because it had sided with the Medes, and that Themistocles was in the highest esteem of all the captains, sent money, through fear. Whether any others of the islanders gave likewise, in consequence, I cannot undertake to say; but I imagine that others, and not those only whom I have mentioned, must have given. Nevertheless, their calamities were not for that reason differed; I mean those of the Carystians[159]; for the Parians, having, by means of their money, secured the indulgence of Themistocles, escaped invasion. Accordingly, sallying from Andros, Themistocles, unknown to the rest of the captains, obtained money from the islanders.

113 Xerxes and his army, having suffered some days to elapse after the sea-fight, marched back into Bœotia, by the same road they had come: for even Mardonius thought it necessary to escort the King, and saw that the season of the year was not opportune for carrying on war; but that it would be better for him to winter in Thessaly, and afterwards, at the opening of spring, make an attempt on the Peloponnesus. When they were arrived in Thessaly, Mardonius there selected, first, all the Persians called "Immortals;" with the exception of their leader, Hydarnes, for he declared he would not quit the King. next, he selected, from among the rest of the Persians, the cuirassiers, and the thousand horse, together with Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians, both horse and foot; of these nations, he took the whole forces. from the rest of the combatant tribes he selected a few here and there[160], choosing such as had a good stature, and all[161] by whom he knew some gallant action had been performed. Of this last class, most that he selected were Persians, and

[159] *καί τοι* Καρ. γε (*κατ'*) *οὐδὲν, τούτου εἵνεκα, ἐγίνετο τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ*, "but for that reason, delay of calamity, in no respect, happened to the Carystians at least." The fate of the Carystians is mentioned in chap. 121.

[160] *κατ' ὀλίγους*. See Matt. 581, 11th paragraph.

[161] *εἴ τίσι*, an Ionism for *εἴ τισι*. The examples of *εἴ τις* for *ὅστις* are frequent.

such as wore necklaces and bracelets[162]; and next to them, Medes. These latter were not less in number than the Persians, but were inferior in strength. So that the total, together with the cavalry, was thirty tens of thousands. During the time that Mardonius was selecting his troops, 114
and Xerxes was in the neighbourhood of Thessaly, an oracle came from Delphi to the Lacedæmonians; bidding them demand satisfaction of Xerxes for the death of Leonidas; and whatever should be given by him, to accept. The Spartans sent, with all despatch, a herald; who, having overtaken the whole army while still in Thessaly, went into the presence of Xerxes, and spoke thus: "King of the Medes, the "Lacedæmonians, and the Heraclidæ of Sparta, demand of "thee the forfeit of blood, because thou hast slain their king, "who was fighting to preserve Hellas." Xerxes laughed, and for some considerable time delayed answering: but as Mardonius happened to be standing by, he pointed at him, and said, "Well then, he, Mardonius, will give them such satisfaction as becomes them." Accordingly, the herald, having accepted the speech[163], departed.

Xerxes now, having left Mardonius in Thessaly, pro- 115
ceeded himself rapidly to the Hellespont; and in five and forty days arrived at the place of crossing, without bringing back, as one may say[164], any part of his army. Wherever the troops passed, and whatever the nation, they carried off and devoured the crops: if they could not find any crops, they eat up the grass growing on the ground, the bark which they stripped from the trees, and the leaves, which they tore alike off of the cultivated and wild plants; and they left nothing: this they did through hunger. The plague and flux likewise, falling on the men, destroyed many by the way. such of them as fell sick, Xerxes left behind him, wherever he happened to be on his march, giving his commands to the cities to tend and support them. some he left in Thessaly, others in Siris of Pæonia, and in Macedonia. In this last country he had left the sacred car of Jove, as he was marching against Hellas; but did not recover it, as he retreated. for the Pæonians having given it to the Thracians, declared, when Xerxes demanded it back, that the mares[165] had been stolen, as they were grazing, by the upper Thracians, dwelling round the sources of the Strymon. Here, also, a Thra- 116
cian, king of the Bisaltæ and of the Crestonian territory,

[162] The recompence of military valour, no doubt.

[163] He accepted it as an omen or token. See Wessel. Not.

[164] See Matt. 543.

[165] Supply τὰς ἵππους after μισσώσας

committed a most unnatural action: he had declared, that he would not of his own accord become the slave of Xerxes, but went up the country to Mount Rhodope, and likewise forbade his sons to take any part in[166] the expedition against Hellas. But the young men, despising his commands, or otherwise that they felt a desire of seeing the war, had joined the forces under the Persian; and when they had returned safe, all six that they were, their father plucked out their eyes for their disobedience: and such was the reward they received.

17 When the Persians, having performed the march from Thrace, were arrived at the frith, they hastened to cross the Hellespont over to Abydos on ship-board; for they found the bridges no longer stretched across the strait, they having been swept asunder by a storm. During their halt in that quarter they had a greater supply of provision than on the way; accordingly, filling themselves without any moderation, and changing their water, many of the surviving troops died
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is a cogent proof: it is well known[172] that Xerxes, on his road back, did visit Abdera; and not only entered into a contract of hospitality with the people, but presented them with a golden cimeter and a gold-embroidered turban[173]. And, as the Abderitæ themselves state—in which, however, they relate what is by no means credible, to myself I mean—here he loosened his girdle for the first time during his flight from Athens, as being then in safety. Now, Abdera stands rather in the direction towards the Hellespont, than in that towards the Strymon and Eion[174], where, as I have said, they represent him to have embarked aboard the ship.

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isthmus, and there consecrated, which remained down to my time; a second, to be consecrated on the Sunian foreland; and the third, to Ajax, on the spot, at Salamis. After this, they divided the booty; and sent off the firstlings to Delphi; out of which was made a statue, holding in its hand the beak of a ship, and twelve cubits high: this statue stands in the same place where is seen the golden Alexander of Mace-
122 donia. After the Hellenes had sent the firstlings to Delphi, they consulted the deity in common, whether he had received sufficient and pleasing firstlings[175]. the god replied, that he had so from the rest of the Hellenes, but not from the Æginetæ; and therefore claimed from them the prize of valour, which they had won[176] at the battle of Salamis. The Æginetæ hearing this, dedicated three golden stars, fixed on
123 a brazen mast in the corner, very near Crœsus's bowl. After the sharing of the booty, the Hellenes made for the isthmus, in order to adjudicate the prize of valour to him of the Hellenes who had behaved most gallantly throughout this war[177]. On their arrival, the captains divided among themselves the ballots, over Neptune's altar, in order to give their votes for the two individuals whom they thought the first and the second of the whole forces Thereupon, each of them gave his vote for himself, each thinking that he himself had been the most valiant· with respect to the second prize, the majority agreed in awarding it to Themistocles. Accordingly, the captains had each but one vote, while Themistocles had
124 by far the majority for the second prize. Although the captains would not, out of envy[178], make the award, but departed each to his own country without adjudging the prize, yet was Themistocles proclaimed, and celebrated all over Hellas, as the wisest man by far of the Hellenes. And since, although he had really won the prize, he received no honours from

[175] Equivalent to *εἰ ἦν πλήρεια καὶ ἀρίστη τὰ ἀκροθίνια* (*ἄ*) *λελάβηκε*. See Matt. 265, second paragraph.

[176] According to Plutarch, the "aristeia" were solemnly awarded to the Æginetæ, and to Aminias the brother of Æschylus: from Herodotus we can only deduce, that the islanders and the poet's brother were named by the public voice as deserving of those honours in the battle of Salamis, *ἤκουσαν ἄριστα*, ch. 93. The Greeks, as we see by the following chapter, could not, through mutual jealousy and vanity, come to any award of the "aristeia:" therefore the prize of valour, which the Pythoness claims, as the god's perquisite, from the Æginetæ, must be in allusion only to the reputation they obtained in the battle: unless, indeed, we suppose that the "aristeia," which were to have been awarded on the isthmus, were for general good behaviour during the whole war just terminated by the flight of Xerxes.

[177] *ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον*. See Matt. 579.

[178] The fact was, they could not make the award; as each captain gave his vote for the first prize to himself, that could not be adjudged. The first prize remaining undecided, the second could not certainly be awarded.

those who had fought at Salamis, he accordingly forthwith proceeded to Lacedæmon, where he expected to obtain honours. And the Lacedæmonians received him handsomely, and honoured him greatly. They gave, therefore, the prize of valour to Eurybiades, a wreath of olive; that of wisdom and skill to Themistocles, a wreath of olive likewise[179]. They likewise presented him with the most beautiful chariot in Sparta; and after much applauding him, three hundred select Spartans, those called the knights, escorted him, at his departure[180], as far as the Tegean boundaries. Themistocles is the only man, that we know of, whom the Spartans ever accompanied out of the town. On his arrival at Athens, 125
Timodemus of Aphidnæ, who was one of the enemies of Themistocles, but otherwise not a man of any note, raging with envy, began to rail at Themistocles, reproaching him with his journey to Lacedæmon, that he had obtained his honours at the hands of the Lacedæmonians through respect to Athens, and not to his own personal merit. Themistocles, seeing that Timodemus did not cease to hold such language, said, "It is so in truth: were I a Belbinite[181], I should not "have been thus honoured by the Spartans; nor you, fellow, "though you are an Athenian."

Meanwhile, Artabazus the son of Pharnaces, a man for- 126
merly held in esteem among the Persians, but much more so still, subsequently to the events at Platæa, had, at the head of sixty thousand of the forces that Mardonius selected, escorted the King as far as the strait; and when the King was landed in Asia, he himself, marching back, arrived near Pallena: and as Mardonius was in winter quarters about Thessaly and Macedonia, and was not in any hurry for him to join the main body, he thought it would be disgraceful, that, happening to be in the country of the Potidæatæ, who had rebelled, he neglected the opportunity of enthralling them[182]. For the Potidæatæ, as soon as the King had retreated through their territory, and the fleet of the Persians had fled from Salamis, openly detached themselves from the

[179] ἀριστήϊα μὲν (ἀριστῆς πολεμικῆς, or ἀνδραγαθίης) ἔδοσαν Εὐρυβιάδῃ, ἐλαίης στέφανον, σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος (ἀριστήϊα ἔδοσαν) Θεμιστοκλέϊ, ἐλαίης στέφανον καὶ σούτῳ. *Schweig. Lex. Herod.*

[180] It is generally allowed that these ἱππέες, despite of their name, served on foot. See Larcher's note.

[181] An inhabitant of Belbina, a small island situate, it appears, somewhere at the mouth of the Saronic gulf. This speech of Themistocles shews that the inhabitants of that island were treated with the same contempt as those of Jersey and Guernsey are at the present day, on the southern coasts of England; and perhaps with as little justice.

[182] οὐκ ἰδικαίου . . . μὴ οὐκ ἐχανδρωσε. Matt. 601. "He thought it would be an indignant thing, if he did not," &c.

barbarian; as did the others, resident on the peninsula of
127 Pallena. Artabazus therefore now besieged Potidæa. And having some suspicion that the Olynthii were about to revolt from the King, he besieged their town as well. The town was, at that period, possessed by the Bottiæi, who had been driven from the bay of Therma, by the Macedonians. When Artabazus had besieged and captured them, he took them to a marsh, and massacred them[183]: he then gave the city to the Chalcides, and appointed, as governor, Critobulus of Torona; and thus the people of Chalcidice came into posses-
128 sion of Olynthus. After Artabazus had captured Olynthus, he attended with all earnestness to the siege of Potidæa; and while he was zealously pushing on his operations, Timoxenus, the captain of the Scionæans, treated with him for the surrender of the place. In what manner the correspondence originally began, I cannot undertake to say, for that is not related; but, in the end, the following event came to pass. Whenever Timoxenus wished to send to Artabazus, or Artabazus to Timoxenus, they wrote on papyrus, and, twisting it round the lower part of[184] an arrow, and then fixing the wings over the papyrus, shot the arrow into some place agreed upon. But Timoxenus was discovered in his plots to betray the town of Potidæa; for Artabazus, wishing to shoot an arrow into the appointed spot, missed the mark, and hit one of the inhabitants of Potidæa in the shoulder. The people, as is wont in war, crowded round the wounded man: having pulled out the arrow, they saw the papyrus, and immediately took it to the captains; for the whole confederate body of the Pallenians was there present. The captains read over the letter; and, although they had discovered the author of the treachery, resolved not to impeach Timoxenus of treachery, out of respect to the city of Scione, lest the Scionæans should ever after be considered to be traitors. Such was the manner accordingly in which Timoxenus's treachery
129 was discovered. After three months had been expended in the siege by Artabazus, there happened a violent ebb of the sea, which lasted for a considerable time; and the barbarians, seeing the bay fordable, proceeded to cross over to Pallena[185]; but when they had proceeded two-fifths of

[183] This marsh was to the south of Olynthus, adjoining the Toronæan gulf, at its bottom.

[184] *αἱ γλυφίδες* are the four longitudinal incisions at the bottom of the arrow, in which the wings were inserted. *Schweig. Lex. Herod.*

[185] Potidæa was situated exactly on the isthmus which joins the peninsula of Pallena to the main land: so long, therefore, as Potidæa remained uncaptured, the barbarians, who had no ships, could not march into the peninsula, in order to chastise the rest of

the distance, and three yet remained, which they must have gone over in order to be in the peninsula of Pallena, a violent swell of the sea came on, such as, according to the account of the natives, is by no means of frequent occurrence; accordingly, those of the barbarians who did not know how to swim, perished; and those that did know, the Potidæatæ slaughtered, pursuing them with their ships. The Potidæatæ affirm, that the cause of the ebb and flood, and of the Persian's disaster, was this; that those very Persians who perished in the sea had profaned, by impious deeds, the shrine and image of Neptune in the suburb; and in giving this reason, to me at least, they appear to speak rightly. Artabazus led the survivors to join Mardonius in Thessaly. Such was the unfortunate success of those[186] who had escorted the King.

The surviving portion of Xerxes' naval armament, after 130
arriving in Asia in its flight from Salamis, and ferrying the King and army over from the Chersonesus to Abydos, went into winter quarters at Cyma: but when spring opened, the ships hastened to collect at Samos, where some of them had even wintered. Most of the fighting-men were Persians and Medes; and their admirals joined them, Mardontes the son of Bagæus, and Artayntes the son of Artachæus; in joint power with whom was Ithamitres the nephew of Artayntes himself, and by him associated in the command. As they had been sorely handled, they did not advance any further to the westward; neither did any one compel them so to do; but, abiding at Samos, they kept watch over Ionia, lest it should rebel, having, with the Ionian vessels, three hundred sail. They did not either expect the Hellenes would come to Ionia, but thought they would be content to guard their own territory; inferring this, because they had not pursued them from Salamis, but had willingly retired. Accordingly, in respect to the contest by sea, the barbarians were broken-hearted; but on land, they imagined Mardonius would have a decided superiority: staying therefore at Samos, they consulted what harm they could do to the enemy, and at the same time were on the tiptoe to hear how the affairs of Mardonius would succeed. On the other hand, the arrival of 131
spring, and Mardonius still in Thessaly, awakened the Hellenes. The land-forces, however, were not yet mustered;

the inhabitants of that quarter, who had all revolted from the King. With this intention, and probably likewise to take Potidæa itself in the rear, a detachment attempted to ford over, when an opportunity was offered them by the ebb of the sea.

[186] *οὕτω ἤνεγκαν*, without the addition of *κακῶς*. See Book iii. note 43. in the First Volume of this Work.

but the fleet, amounting to one hundred and ten sail, proceeded to Ægina. The leader and admiral was Leotychides, lineally descended from Menares, Agesilaus, Hippocratides, Leotychides, Anaxilaus, Archidamus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicander, Charillus, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanis, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllas, Hercules. He was of the second[187] family of the kings; and all those ancestors, saving the two mentioned first after Leotychides, had been kings of Sparta. Over the Athenians, Xanthippus, the son of Ariphon, commanded.

132 When all the ships were assembled at Ægina, ambassadors came from the Ionians to the fleet of the Hellenes: they had a short time before gone to Sparta, and besought the Lacedæmonians to deliver Ionia; and of their number, was Herodotus the son of Basilides. These, being originally seven in number, had conspired together the death of Strattis, the tyrant of Chios; but their plot being discovered, one of the party reported their intention; in consequence, the other six fled from Chios, and went to Sparta, and, more particularly at the time I am speaking of, to Ægina, in order to beseech the Hellenes to steer for Ionia. But it was with difficulty they could get them as far on the voyage as Delos; for every thing beyond was an object of fear to the Hellenes, who were unacquainted with those countries, and fancied that all parts were full of troops: nay, they were convinced, in their own imagination, that Samos was as far off as the columns of Hercules[188]. Thus it came to pass, that at the same time the barbarians, through fear, durst not proceed further than Samos to the west, the Hellenes, despite of the entreaties of the Chian fugitives, durst not advance further to the east than Delos: in this manner, terror served as a guard over the parts between the two.

133 The Hellenes accordingly made for Delos; and in the mean time, Mardonius was still in winter-quarters about Thessaly. When he prepared to march from thence, he despatched to the various oracles a native of Europos[189], whose name was Mys, commissioning him to go and consult, in all parts, whatever oracles he might find it possible to address. As to what

[187] See pp. 88, 89. Larcher states, that the above genealogy is wrong, in the order of ascendants: he likewise reads ἐσχὰ lower down, instead of δυῶν, because Theopompus was the latest king of that line. See Larcher's Essai de Chronologie, p. 513.

[188] This remark of the historian applies, no doubt, only to the majority of the Greeks, and not to all. The ignorance, however, which he mentions here, as generally existing in the nation, will account for many of his geographical disquisitions, which to us appear sometimes rather needless.

[189] See the Geographical Index at the end of this Volume.

information he was desirous to obtain from the oracles, when he gave those orders, I cannot undertake to say, for that is not related; but I imagine it must have been on his own present affairs, and not on those of others, that he sent. It 134
is well known, that this Mys, arrived at Lebadia, and, having prevailed on one of the natives by means of a reward, descended into the Trophonian cave; likewise, that he went to the oracle at Abæ, of the Phocians; and, more particularly, that he visited Thebes, where, as soon as he had arrived, he first consulted Ismenian Apollo; and there, as at Olympia, it is the custom to deduce the answer from the victims[190]: next, after prevailing with money on some person who was not a Theban, but a foreigner, he passed the night in the temple of Amphiaraus: *I say a foreigner*, for to none of the Thebans is it lawful to consult[191] the oracle there, on this account: Amphiaraus, by an oracle, commanded them to determine which of these two things they would elect, to the exclusion of the other; whether to avail themselves of him as a prophet, or as a confederate: the Thebans elected that he should be their confederate[192], and for that reason it is permitted to none of the Thebans to pass the night in that place. The 135
following, which to me is a very great wonder, is said by the Thebans to have occurred; that the Eurôpian Mys, making the circuit of all the oracles, came accordingly to the precinct of Apollo Ptous: (this sacred place is called Ptoum; it belongs to the Thebans, and lies above the Lake Copais, towards the mountain, close to the city of Acræphia:) that when this man, called Mys [*i.e.* Mouse], went to the temple, three persons, chosen by the commonwealth, accompanied him, for the purpose of writing down what the god might pronounce. But that forthwith the head prophet pronounced in a barbarian tongue; and that the Thebans, who had followed him, were seized with astonishment, at hearing a barbarian tongue instead of Hellenic; nor did they know what expedient to have recourse to, in the present circumstances; but that the Eurôpian Mys took from them the tablet they had brought,

[190] ἱρὰ must be taken here in the sense of victims, as in iv. 60. The answer was deduced at Olympia, not by consulting the entrails of the victim, but by observing how it burnt: hence, it has been proposed to read ἱκτύοισι in this passage of Herodotus. That such was the meaning of the historian, there seems to be little doubt; but it is not so clear, however, that the reading is bad. See Schweig. Not.

[191] I have followed Larcher and Schweighæuser: the verb μαντεύεσθαι, however, may, I think, be taken here, as in ix. 36. in the sense of performing the duties of μάντις. This sense connects the narrative better than that which I have adopted.

[192] οἱ δὲ σύμμαχόν μιν εἵλοντο εἶναι. See Matt. 414, *c.*

and wrote down the words pronounced by the prophet, declaring that he made use of the Carian language. Having written down the answer, Mys departed[193], they say, for Thessaly.

136 Mardonius having accordingly read the answers pronounced by the oracles, next sent, as an ambassador to Athens, Alexander the son of Amyntas, a Macedonian man. He selected him for two reasons; first, because the Persians were allied to him; for Bubares, a man of Persia, had married Gygæa, Alexander's sister, and Amyntas's daughter, from whom was born Amyntas the Asiatic, who took his name from his maternal grandsire; to this latter, Alabanda, a large city of Phrygia, was presented by the King, the revenues of which he received. secondly, Mardonius sent Alexander because he understood he was connected, by hospitality and service, with the Athenians. In this manner, Mardonius fancied he should certainly bring over to his side the Athenians, understanding that they were a nation both numerous and valiant; and he knew that it was they principally who had caused the disasters that befell the Persians by sea. If they were associated to him, he expected that he should easily become master of the sea, which certainly would have been the case; and on land, he fancied he should be far superior; and in this manner, he concluded that his power would get the upper hand of the Hellenes. Haply, also, the oracles advised him to it, counselling him to make Athens an ally; and accordingly, it might be in obedience to them that he sent.

137 The seventh[194] progenitor of this Alexander was Perdiccas, who acquired the government of the Macedonians in this manner. Three brothers, of the ancestors of Temenus, fled from Argos to the Illyrians, Gauanes, Aëropus, and Perdiccas. passing over from the Illyrians into Upper Macedonia, they arrived at the town of Lebæa; where they engaged for wages in the king's service; one tending the horses, another the kine, and the youngest of the three, Perdiccas, keeping the lesser cattle. In olden times, not only the people, but even the men who held the sovereign power[195], were scant of money; so that the king's wife herself used to cook their food for them. Now, whenever the bread of the young hireling, Perdiccas, was set to bake, it would swell to double

[193] *εἰχέσθαι ἀπιόντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.* See Matt. 578; and 559, *c.*

[194] The sixth, according to our mode of reckoning: compare ch. 139. See a remarkable instance of the Greek mode of reckoning up ancestors, Book iii. c. 55. note 83. in the First Volume of this Work.

[195] *αἱ τυραννίδες*, metonym. for *οἱ τύραννοι.* Schweig. Lex. Herod.

its first size[196]: as this was uniformly the case, she spoke of it to her husband: when he had heard, it presently entered his mind, that it was a miracle, and pointed to something of importance: calling, therefore, the hirelings into his presence, he warned them to withdraw from his land: they however declared, that they were entitled[197] to receive their wages, and then they would go their ways: thereupon, the king, hearing them speak about wages, and seeing the sun dart his rays down the chimney[198] into the house, said, like one distracted in mind by heaven, "This do I give you, fitting wages for you;" pointing to the sun-shine. Accordingly, Gauanes and Aeropus, the two elders, were struck with astonishment when they heard this: but the youngest, who happened to have a knife, said, "We accept, O king, thy boon;" and, so saying, traced with his knife the outline of the sun-shine on the floor of the house: having so done, and thrice received the sun's rays in his bosom, he himself took his departure, and was followed by his two brothers. Accordingly, these three brothers went their ways: mean- 138
while, some one of the king's assessors pointed out to him what the youth had done, and that the youngest of them had with some design accepted the proffer: the king hearing this, and filled with wrath, despatched after them some horsemen, to put them to death. Now, in that country there is a river to which the descendants of those three men from Argos offer up sacrifice: this river, as soon as the sons of Temenus had got over, swelled to such a height, that the horsemen were not able to cross it. Arriving in another quarter of Macedonia, they settled near the gardens said to be those of Midas the son of Gordius; in which spring up wild roses, each with sixty flower-leaves[199], and in perfume surpassing the other sorts. It was likewise in these gardens

[196] διπλήσιος . . . ἰωυτοῦ. Matt. 334. and, more particularly, 452.

[197] δίκαιοι εἶναι ὑπολαβόντες. See Matt. 535. See likewise, in the same Work, sect 296.

[198] This passage proves, that the καπνοδόκη was not the same thing that we call a chimney. The house probably was built like those still seen in the mountainous and wild parts of Arcadia: the houses I allude to, consist of one room, with a roof in the shape of a truncated cone, perforated at the top: the fire is kindled immediately below the hole, and the inmates squat in a circle round the embers: through this opening the sun, no doubt, would sometimes dart his rays on the floor.

[199] That is to say, double roses. Those beautiful ornaments of our gardens seem to have been almost unknown to the ancients. The only rose frequent with them was nearly the same that grows in our hedges, having five flower-petals; and indeed the double varieties are even now very scarce in the eastern countries. I have no doubt that Larcher has translated φύλλα very properly by *pétales*, but I did not think it right to use a botanical term in the text. Some of our garden roses have three hundred petals.

that Silenus was taken, by the account of the Macedonians. Above the gardens is a mountain, Bermius its name, impassable, by reason of the inclemency of the air. Sallying from hence, when they had secured possession of that ter-
139 ritory, they subdued the rest of Macedonia likewise. From this Perdiccas, accordingly, Alexander was sprung in this line. Alexander was son of Amyntas; Amyntas of Alcetas; Alcetas's father was Aeropus; whose father was Philip; Philip had for father, Argæus; and this last had for father, Perdiccas, who obtained the sovereign power: such, therefore, was the race from which sprung Alexander the son of Amyntas.

140 When[200], despatched by Mardonius, Alexander arrived at
1 Athens, he spoke thus: "Men of Athens, Mardonius says "these words: A message has come unto me from the "King, saying thus: I FORGIVE THE ATHENIANS ALL THE INJU- "RIES I HAVE RECEIVED AT THEIR HANDS; THEREFORE, MARDONIUS, "DO THIS: IN THE FIRST PLACE, GIVE BACK TO THEM THEIR LAND; "IN THE NEXT PLACE, LET THEM, IN ADDITION THERETO, TAKE WHAT- "EVER OTHER LAND THEY MAY THEMSELVES CHOOSE, AND ABIDE "UNDER THEIR OWN LAWS: FINALLY, SHOULD THEY CONSENT TO HOLD "WITH ME, BUILD UP AGAIN ALL THEIR TEMPLES, THAT I HAVE "FIRED. These orders having arrived, I needs must[201] obey, "unless you yourselves become an obstacle[202]. And this I "say to you from myself. wherefore now madly continue "to levy war against the King? neither can you conquer "him, nor will you be able to resist his power for ever: "surely you have seen the multitude of Xerxes' host, and "their deeds; you must have heard of the forces even now "with me; so that granting you surpass and conquer us "(of which, however, you cannot cherish the least hope, "if you be wise), still will other forces yet more numerous "by far succeed. Resolve not, therefore, placing yourselves "on a level with the King, to be deprived of country, and "ever to run the danger of life[203]. Rather make peace; for "never can a fairer opportunity be afforded you of making "an honourable peace, now that the King himself urges you "thereto: be free, and make with us a covenant void of

[200] This noble portion of ancient eloquence has been inserted by Mr. Mitford in his History of Greece, vol. II. p. 208—212, of the 8vo. edition. It would have been very easy for me to avail myself of Mr. Mitford's translation; but that, I thought, would not have been consonant to the laws of literary honour. I therefore content myself with referring my reader as above, although I am conscious my own labours cannot gain, in his estimation, by the comparison.

[201] *ἀναγκαίως ἴχει.* See Matt. 604.

[202] *τὸ ὑμίστερον*, for *ὑμεῖς*. See Matt. 285, 2d paragraph.

[203] *Θάνατον περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν.* See a similar expression, VII. 57; and p. 162, note 139, of this Volume.

" fraud and of deceit. These words Mardonius charged 2
" me, Athenians, to say to you. On my own part, I will say
" nothing of the kindness I feel towards you; for it is not
" now the first time you have proof of that; but I likewise
" join my entreaties that you may hearken to Mardonius;
" for I clearly see you will not be capable of continuing for
" ever war with Xerxes: indeed, had I seen that power exist-
" ing in you, never would I have come with such a proposal:
" again, the King's might is more than man's, and his arm[204]
" exceeding long. Therefore, unless forthwith you make
" peace, now that the Persians are willing to vouchsafe terms
" so advantageous, I tremble for your lot; you, who, of all the
" confederates, are situated in the very rub of danger, who
" will ever be the only nation destroyed; since you hold a
" land of all others exposed to the fury of both parties.
" Once more I beseech you to hearken to Mardonius; for
" it is a high honour to you, that he, the GREAT KING, forgiv-
" ing the offences of you alone among the Hellenes, is willing
" to be your friend." Thus spoke Alexander. But the La- 141
cedæmonians, understanding that Alexander had arrived at Athens, with the intention of persuading the Athenians to an alliance with the barbarian, and calling to mind the oracles, that it was fated they themselves, together with the rest of the Dorians, should be driven out of the Peloponnesus by the Medes and Athenians, were exceedingly alarmed lest the citizens of Athens should make alliance with the Persian: they therefore resolved immediately to send ambassadors; and it so happened, that the introduction of Alexander before the senate, and that of the ambassadors, took place at the same time. For the Athenians had delayed and put off the audience, well knowing that the Lacedæmonians would hear of the arrival of an ambassador from the part of the King to treat of an alliance, and that, as soon as they understood what had happened, they would with all speed send ambassadors likewise. The Athenians therefore contrived things purposely, in order to make known their opinion to the Lacedæmonians. When Alexander had ceased speaking, the ambassadors from 142
Sparta rose and spoke: "The Lacedæmonians have sent us,
" to entreat you to adopt no new measure in respect of
" Hellas[205], nor to admit terms from the barbarian; for that

[204] See an example of this sense of χείρ, in the First Volume of this Work, Book II. c. 121, 5. note 203.

[205] That is to say, " nothing to the prejudice of Greece." Concerning the form παίειν τι νεώτερον, see p. 10, note 44, of this Volume.

" were neither just nor honourable even on the part of any
" of the Hellenes, but least of all on yours; and this for
" many reasons; for you it is that have kindled this war,
" without our consent; and the struggle was at first for your
" country[206], whereas now it extends to the whole of Hellas.
" That, besides all this, the Athenians[207] should be the cause
" of thraldom to the Hellenes were indeed not to be borne;
" you, who always, and from of old, have been known to
" assert the freedom of many nations. We give pity to your
" calamities, that already for two years you have been de-
" prived of your crops, and that already you have remained
" houseless so long a time: in compensation whereof, the
" Lacedæmonians, and the confederates, promise you to sup-
" port your wives, and such portions of your families as are
" not of avail for war[208], and that during all the time this
" contest may last. Let not Alexander the Macedonian
" prevail upon you, by setting off[209], as he does, the proposal
" of Mardonius. for that he should act thus, is natural. a
" tyrant that he is, he espouses a tyrant's cause: but in you
" it were not natural; you, who know that in the barbarian
143 " there is neither faith nor truth." The Athenians made the
following reply to Alexander: " We ourselves are aware, at
" all events, of this, that the power of the Medes is far above
" ours; hence it was not needful to vaunt[210] that to us: but
" nevertheless, striving in freedom's cause, we will withstand
" in what manner we can: forbear to persuade us to frame
" alliance with the barbarian, for we will never assent. Now
" carry back to Mardonius, that the Athenians say, So long
" as the sun shall hold the same course by which he now

[206] I follow Schweighæuser's reading, ἀρχὴν for κατ' ἀρχὴν, as is frequent in Herodotus. I therefore construe, καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγίνετο (κατ')ἀρχὴν περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης (γῆς). Mr. Gaisford preserves the old reading, ἀρχῆς; according to which, the translation will be, " the contest was for your power," &c.; but such an expression in the mouths of Spartans, whose thirst of universal power is well known, seems rather extraordinary.

[207] I follow Reiskius's conjecture, ἄνευ τούτων ἁπάντων, &c. Those who obstinately adhere to the reading, ἄλλως τε τούτων ἁπάντων, ought, in all fairness, to give some translation that might square with the rules of grammar.

[208] Concerning the meaning of οἰκέται, see p. 242, note 9, of this Volume. τὰ ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα for οἱ ἄχρηστοι οἰκέται: so in i. 120. τὰ τῶν ὑπερεάτων ἐχόμενα for τὰ ὑπερατα. See likewise Matt. 442, 4.

[209] See p. 137, note 35, of this Vol. I have followed Schneider's interpretation; which I think is more accordant to the context, than "smoothing over."

[210] ὑπερβάλλω signifies *effero, amplifico oratione.* Larcher quotes the following from Dio Chrysost. καὶ μὴν ὅτι φύσει τὸ πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτόν ἐστι, οὐχ ὁ λόγος αὐτὸ ὑπερβάλλει δύνασθε: " see you not things are so in their nature, and that my speech does not exaggerate them?" *Larcher.*

" advances, never will we join in alliance with Xerxes; but " we will face and withstand him, putting our trust in the " gods that fight for us; and in our heroes, whose dwellings " and images he, holding them at nought, has consumed by " fire. For yourself, henceforth, appear not before the Athe- " nians, the bearer of such proposals[211]; nor, fondly thinking " to do us service, urge us to wicked deeds: for we would " not you should suffer ungrateful treatment from the Athe- " nians; you, to whom our nation is bound by the ties of hospi- " tality and of friendship." Such was the answer they made to Alexander. To the ambassadors from Sparta they replied in these words: " That the Lacedæmonians should dread lest " we should make alliance with the barbarian, was, in truth, " accordant to the nature of man: still was it disgraceful, " that, knowing, as you do, the mind of the Athenians, you " should have harboured such a fear: for no where in the " world is there so much gold, nor is there land so pre- " eminent in beauty and in value, that we should be tempted " to receive, and, holding with the Medes, deliver Hellas to " bondage. Many and great are the motives that forbid[212] " us so to do, even if we would: first, and most important, " the images of the gods, and their dwellings, burnt and swept " down: these we needs must avenge to our utmost, rather " than make terms with him that has wrought such deeds " Again, the Hellenic race, our kin in blood and speech, our " common dedications to the gods, our sacrifices, our cognate " manners; that the Athenians should become betrayers of " these, were wicked indeed! Know this therefore, if before " you knew it not, so long as one of the Athenians shall " remain alive, never will we receive terms at the hands of " Xerxes. Although we admire your attentive forethought " for our comforts, that, without houses, without means as we " now are, you look forward and are willing to support our " families, you have fulfilled the dictates of benevolence: " we however will abide as we are, nor trouble you. Now, " matters standing as they do[213], send with all speed your " troops; for, as we presume, the barbarian will not tarry " any long time to march his army into our territories; but,

[211] M. Miot translates, " Pour vous, après nous avoir porté de telles propositions, ne reparaissez point dans Athènes." Surely M Miot could not have read chap. 44. of the following Book. I am too well aware of the imperfections of my own work, to yield to the desire of exhibiting the defects of others; but M. Miot is so fond of attacking his *deceased* predecessor, Larcher, and that in such a strain of impertinent vanity, that he is deserving of no mercy.

[212] See Matt. 533. obs. 3, 1.

[213] See Matt 568, 5. οὕτω ἐχόντων (τῶν πραγμάτων).

" when he shall hear our answer, that we will do nothing of " what he beseeches us to, forthwith he will fall upon us. " Ere therefore he reach the Attic land, it behoves us to give " him the meeting in Bœotia." The Athenians having made the above reply, the ambassadors departed for Sparta.

# BOOK IX.

# CALLIOPE.

## SUMMARY OF BOOK IX.

*MARDONIUS, at the opening of spring, marches into Attica, and takes Athens once more, although deserted,* 1—3. *He renews in vain his solicitations to the Athenians, to make peace with the King,* 4, *seq.*; *but as the Spartans, after long delay, send at last assistance,* 10, 11, *and all the forces of Peloponnesus are pouring towards the isthmus, he returns into Bœotia, and pitches his camp in the Theban territory,* 15. *Soon after, the Greeks come up, and pitch their camp at Erythræ,* 19: *afterwards, having engaged with success the barbarian horse, they shift their station to the Platæan territory,* 25. *Some days are passed, during which the two armies remain in view, the victims boding success to neither party, in the case of an engagement: at last, Mardonius, in spite of the victims, prepares to give battle,* 26—42: *his design is communicated to the Greeks, by Alexander of Macedonia,* 44. *The Greeks, deprived of water and victuals, resolve to shift their station at night, but are attacked by the barbarians: a bloody battle ensues, in which Mardonius is slain, and the Persians are driven back to their camp: Artabazus alone escapes, with forty thousand men, into Phocis,* 69. *The camp of the barbarians is stormed, and a dreadful slaughter ensues,* 70, *seq. The movers of the Theban defection to the Medes are delivered up to Pausanias, the leader of the Spartans, and put to death,* 88. *In the mean time, the naval-forces of the Greeks, according to the invitation of the Samians, take their departure from Delos,* 90—92. *A digression concerning Evenius of Apollonia, the father of Deiphonus, the divine of the Greeks,* 93, *seq. The Persians, informed of the approach of the Greek fleet, haul up their ships on the strand of Mycale, and fortify them with a wall. The Greeks, pursuing them, debark, and overcome the Persians in a sharp engagement: they capture the camp, and set fire to the ships Ionia once more secedes from the Persians,* 96—107. *The Peloponnesians return into Greece: the Athenians also, after capturing Sestos, return into Greece,* 114, *to the end.*

THE

# NINTH BOOK OF HERODOTUS.

## CALLIOPE.

MARDONIUS, as soon as Alexander, on his return, made known 1
the answer from the Athenians, advanced out of Thessaly,
and marched his troops rapidly against Athens. Where-
soever he passed, he pressed the natives into his service[1].
The leaders of Thessaly repented[2] them not of what had
previously been done, and urged the Persian onwards still
more earnestly than heretofore: Thorax of Larissa[3] not
only had joined the escort of Xerxes in his flight, but at this
period, likewise, openly let Mardonius loose on Hellas. When 2
the army, on its march, was arrived among the Bœotians,
the Thebans sought to retain[4] Mardonius; and admonished
him, saying, that there was no place better fitted for an
encampment than that country: they endeavoured likewise
to dissuade him from marching forwards, and to prevail[5]
upon him to take up that station, and contrive so as he
might reduce the whole of Hellas without a battle "For it
"would be difficult[6] for all mankind to subdue by force the
"Hellenes, if, as they had done before[7], they held together[8].

[1] The Greek says only "he took those of the places where he passed;" but this must be understood only of the men capable of bearing arms. *Larcher.*

[2] See Matt. 326. *obs.* 2.

[3] See IX. 57. and VII. 6.

[4] Larcher directs the reader's attention to the force of the imperfect κατελάμβανον, "they endeavoured," "attempted to," &c.

[5] See Matt. 534.

[6] χαλεπά. Matt. 443, 1.

[7] οἵπερ καὶ πάρος ταὐτὰ ἐγίνωσκον, "who, as they all knew, had held together before." The form ταὐτὰ γινώσκειν is equivalent to ὁμοφρονεῖν. Schweig. Lex. Herod.

[8] There are two modes of construing this passage: 1. The verb περιγίνεσθαι is supposed to be taken in the sense of νικᾶν. Plutarch uses the word in that sense; and the same acceptation is frequently given to περιεῖναι as in Apollon. 3, 408. ἄθλον χερσὶν περίεμεν. I have selected this interpretation, as the most manageable in English. 2. περιγίνεσθαι is taken in its usual sense, of "to survive," "to escape"; and the translation in that case is, "If the

" Whereas," they continued, " if you choose to act accord-
" ing to what we advise, you will obtain, without labour, *a*
" *knowledge of* all their projects. Send money to the most
" powerful men in the cities, and by so doing you will distract
" Hellas; and then you may easily subdue those who hold
3 " not with you, by the assistance of the adverse party." Such
were the counsels they gave: but Mardonius heeded them
not; on the contrary, a strong desire possessed him of taking
Athens a second time; induced partly by a foolish presump-
tion; partly by the hope of making known to the King, who
was at Sardis, that he was in possession of Athens, by means
of fire-signals[9] over the islands. However, when he came
this time into Attica, he did not meet with the Athenians,
but was informed that the majority of the citizens were at
Salamis, and aboard the ships: so he captured the deserted
city: the storming of the city, under the King, took place
ten months previous to this second invasion by Mardonius[10].
4 When Mardonius was at Athens, he sent over to Sala-
mis, Murychides, an inhabitant of the Hellespont, carrying
the same proposals which Alexander the Macedonian had
brought to the Athenians. He sent a second time to offer
those terms; because, although he was previously aware[11] of
the unfriendly feelings of the Athenians towards himself, he
hoped that, seeing the whole Attic land a prey to arms, and
already subjected to his power, they would remit their mad
obstinacy. Such were the motives that induced him to send
5 Murychides to Salamis. The messenger, arriving before the
council, stated what he had to say on the part of Mar-
donius: thereupon Lycides, one of the senators, moved, that
" he thought it would be well to receive the proposal which
" Murychides had brought them, and report it to the com-

Greeks, as they had done before, held together, it would be difficult, even for all mankind together, to escape with life, were they to attack them by force." If this translation is adopted, "Ελληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας must be taken as an accusative absolute; concerning which, see Matt. 562, 3.

[9] This sort of telegraphic communication was performed thus: men were placed at certain distances: the first who saw any thing gave notice of it, by holding up a number of lighted torches, according to a plan previously arranged. The second then lifted up as many as he had seen; and so on. *Larcher.* It can hardly be necessary to refer the reader to Æschyl. Agam. 287, 323.

[10] Literally, "the taking by the King was the tenth month to the second expedition by Mardonius." Every body knows, that ὑστεραῖος is for ὕστερος; but every body, perhaps, does not know, that ὕστερος is the correlative of πρότερος, expressed or understood. πρότερος is said of the first two; and its correlative ὕστερος signifies the second of two: πρῶτος μὲν ἐπὶ πολλῶν· πρότερος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο· καὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ ἀκολουθός ἐστιν ὁ ὕστατος· τῷ δὲ προτέρῳ ὕστερος Ammon. de Differ. voc. Gr. *Larcher.*

[11] προέχων, equivalent to πρότερον ἔχων. *Wessel.*

"mons." This accordingly was the opinion Lycides laid before the assembly; whether that he had received money from Mardonius, or that such was, in fact, his way of thinking. But the Athenians forthwith, highly indignant, (both those belonging to the council, and those outside, when they heard of it,) surrounded Lycides, and stoned him to death: they however sent back Murychides, the Hellespontine, harmless. In consequence of the tumult in Salamis, concerning Lycides, the Athenian women[12] got an inkling of what had taken place: one woman therefore cheering and pressing the other, they proceeded, of their own accord, to the house of Lycides, and stoned to death[13] both his wife and his children. The Athenians had crossed over to Sala- 6
mis for the following reason. So long as they were in expectation of an army coming from Peloponnesus to reinforce them, they remained in Attica; but as the Peloponnesians continued to act with over-much tardiness and indolence[14], although the enemy was reported to be already in Bœotia on the advance, they accordingly, at last, transported all their effects out of the country, and passed over into Salamis. They likewise despatched ambassadors to Lacedæmon, partly to rebuke the Lacedæmonians, because they had permitted the barbarian to make an inroad on Attica, and had not marched with them to oppose him in Bœotia; partly, also, to put them in mind of what the Persian had promised to give the Athenians, if they would go over to him; and to forewarn them, that, unless they came to the assistance of the Athenians, they themselves would find some expedient for relief. But at this period the Lacedæmonians were 7
busy in celebrating a festival: it was the Hyacinthia with them; and they held it of indispensable importance to attend to the service of the god: in the mean time, they were busied in raising their wall at the isthmus, and already it was provided with breast-works.

When the ambassadors from Athens arrived at Lacedæmon, bringing with them deputies from Megara and Platæa, they went before the ephori, and spoke these words: "The 1
Athenians have sent us, saying, that the King of the Medes not only gives us back our land, but is desirous of having us for his allies, on a fair and equal footing, without craft or deceit: he is likewise willing to give us, besides our own land, whatever other we may ourselves elect. We, how-

[12] αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Concerning this circumlocution, see p. 127, note 321, of this Volume.

[13] κατὰ μὲν ἴλισαν . . . κατὰ δέ. See Matt. 594, 2.

[14] See Matt. 457, 2.

" ever, revering Jove Hellenius, and holding it indignant to
" betray Hellas, have not assented, but refused; maltreated
" and betrayed though we were by the Hellenes; and con-
" vinced though we were, that it would be more gainful to
" treat, than to war with the Persian: nor, indeed, would we
" fain[15] treat with him. Thus sincerely and honestly do we,
" as far as depends on us, contribute to the common cause of
2 " the Hellenes: whereas you, who erewhile were seized
" with such dread lest we might hearken to the Persian, now
" that you have clearly learnt our mind, that we will never
" betray Hellas, and that the wall you have drawn across the
" isthmus is near its completion, you no longer hold any ac-
" count of the Athenians. Although you had agreed with
" us, to give the meeting in Bœotia to the Persian[16], you have
" betrayed us, and looked on while the barbarian was making
" his inroad into Attica. For what has taken place, the
" Athenians therefore rebuke you; for you have not acted
" as you ought. but now they exhort you to send us troops
" with all despatch, so that we may receive the barbarian in
" Attica: for since we have missed him in Bœotia, the fittest
" place, at least in our land, to give him battle[17] is the Thri-
8 " asian plain." When the ephori, therefore, had heard this message, they put off answering till the morrow: on the morrow, till the next day. and this they did even for ten days, putting the ambassadors off from day to day. In the meanwhile, they continued to raise the wall on the isthmus, all the Peloponnesians working at it with great earnestness: and now their labour was near an end. I can give no reason wherefore, on the arrival of Alexander the Macedonian at Athens, the Lacedæmonians had been so eager that the Athenians should not join the Mede, while at the present period they took no account of them; unless, at least, it be, that the isthmus was now crossed with a wall, and they fancied they had no longer any need of the Athenians; whereas, when Alexander arrived in Attica, the wall was not yet complete, although they were working at it, in great alarm at the Persians.

9 At last, however, an answer, and troops from Sparta, were sent by the following means[18]. The eve of the last convocation that was to be held on the subject, Chilaus, a native of

[15] ἰκόντες εἶναι. See Matt. 546.

[16] Gail translates the words τὸν Πέρσην ἀντιώσεσθαι, " to oblige the Persian to give us battle;" because this verb, with an accusative, is an anomalous structure See Schweig. Not.

[17] ἐπιτηδειώτατόν ἐστι ἐμμαχέσασθαι. See Matt. 532.

[18] Construction: (κατὰ) τέλος δὲ, τρόπος τοιόσδε ἐγένετο τῆς τε ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων.

Tegea, of all the strangers at Lacedæmon he who had the greatest influence, was informed by the ephori of the whole discourse, which, as I have mentioned above, the Athenians had spoken. Chilaus, having heard all, said in consequence to them: "Ephori, matters stand thus: if the Athenians are "not united with us, but inleagued with the barbarian, "although a strong wall has been thrown across the isthmus, "wide gates are still open for the Persian into Peloponnesus. "Attend therefore to their request, before the Athenians "come to some other resolution, which may bring harm on "Hellas." Such was the counsel he gave to them; and the 10
ephori, having taken the observation into consideration, immediately, without communicating any thing to the ambassadors that had come from the towns, and while it was yet night, sent away five thousand Spartans, assigning seven Helots to each, and entrusting the command of the expedition to Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus. The command did in reality belong to Plistarchus the son of Leonidas; but he was yet a child, and Pausanias was his guardian and cousin; as Cleombrotus[19], father to Pausanias, and son to Anaxandrides, was no longer in existence; for he had departed life a short time after he had brought back from the isthmus the troops who had built the wall. Cleombrotus had marched the army back from the isthmus by the following reason; as he was sacrificing against the Persian, the sun was darkened in the sky[20]. Pausanias associated to himself Eurynactes the son of Dorieus[21], a member of the same

[19] Had Cleombrotus been alive, he would have been, by right, the guardian of his brother's son, Plistarchus; for Cleombrotus was brother to Leonidas, who fell at Thermopylæ: see VIII. 71.

[20] Supposing the eclipse here mentioned to have taken place some time about the battle of Salamis, it would appear that the following was the motive of Cleombrotus's conduct. He was busied with his men at the wall of the isthmus regarding the eclipse as a fatal omen to the Persians, and seeing that they had lost the battle of Salamis, he led his troops home: and, accordingly, the wall remained unfinished until the second expedition, that of Mardonius. See Schweig. Not. Larcher says, that the eclipse took place on the 2d of October, 479 A.C., which was posterior to the battle of Platæa; and that Herodotus here places it, by mistake, before.

Every body seems to take it for granted that Herodotus alludes in this passage to an eclipse of the sun; but I see no reason why the expressions should be taken as applicable only to that kind of obscuration: when Herodotus is speaking of such a phænomenon, he uses much stronger terms; and we all know, that if an eclipse of the sun had happened about the time of the battle of Salamis, or that of Platæa, or any other of the glorious contests between the Greeks and barbarians, our Historian was not of a character to dismiss it in two or three words. I have given a literal translation; and those who choose to hunt for an eclipse, to answer their purpose and the Historian's, are very welcome.

[21] Dorieus, son of the first wife of Anaxandrides, king of Lacedæmon. See v. 42, seq. and VII. 205.

house. Accordingly, the forces under Pausanias took their
11 departure from Sparta. When it was day, the ambassadors, knowing nothing about the march of the troops, presented themselves before the ephori, having it, at last, in their determination to go back, each to his own country. Coming into their presence, they said these words: "You, Lacedæ-
" monians, abiding here at home, celebrate the Hyacinthia,
" and give yourselves to festivity, while you betray the con-
" federates. The Athenians, maltreated as they are by you,
" and reft of allies, will make such terms with the Persians
" as they shall be able. When we have made peace, we shall
" join our arms to the barbarians, wherever they may lead
" the way; for there is no doubt but we shall become allies
" to the King: and then you will learn what will be the result
" to you of that measure." When the ambassadors had thus spoken, the ephori said, under oath, that "they thought those who were gone to fight the strangers must be at Oresteum;" for the Spartans call the barbarians strangers[22]. The ambassadors, as they knew not what had taken place, questioned them as to their meaning, and so were made acquainted with the whole of the facts: consequently, struck with astonishment, they proceeded as fast as possible to overtake the forces; and together with them, six thousand heavy-armed men, chosen among the Lacedæmonians resident round Sparta[23], did the same. These accordingly hastened
12 towards the isthmus. The Argians, immediately that they understood Pausanias and his troops had started from Sparta, sent a herald into Attica, picking out the best of their couriers; for they had previously pledged themselves to Mardonius, to hinder the Spartan from going forth[24] of his territory. When the herald was arrived at Athens, he said these words: "Mardonius, the Argians have sent me to tell you,
" that the Lacedæmonian youth are gone forth, and that the
" Argians are not able to hinder them from advancing: take
" therefore good counsel, in consequence." Accordingly, the herald, having so spoken, went back.
13 When Mardonius heard this, he was no longer by any means eager to remain in Attica: for, previously to his

[22] The original meaning of ξένος was, "a stranger," "a foreigner:" hence the Lacedæmonians of Herodotus call the Persians ξείνους; Plutarch. Aristid. 10. The ancient Romans gave likewise the name of *hostis* to a stranger. See Cic. Off. *Schneid. Gr. Germ. Lex.*

[23] οἱ περίοικοι· οἱ περιοικοῦντες Σπάρτην τὴν μητρόπολιν. Scholiast quoted by Valckenaer. Xenoph. Hellen. iii. calls them τοὺς ἐκ περιοικίδων πολίων. The term, therefore, was probably applied to all the *free* inhabitants of Laconia, excepting the citizens of Sparta. See Valck. Not. and vi. 58.

[24] σχήσειν τὸν Σπ. Matt. 533 *obs* 3, 1.

receiving this information, he had halted there, being desirous of knowing what the Athenians would do: neither had he pillaged or ravaged the Attic land, being, during the whole time, in hopes that they would come to terms. But as he could not prevail upon them, and had informed himself of the whole truth, he withdrew, before Pausanias and his troops reached the isthmus; having first set fire to Athens, and having, wherever there was perchance any thing standing, in the walls, the houses, and temples, levelled and thrown all down. He retreated from the following motives; because the Attic territory was not practicable for cavalry; and because, should he be defeated in action, there was no retreat, except by defiles, where but a handful of men could stop the march of his army. He determined therefore upon changing his station again for Thebes; and to give battle before a friendly town, and in a country practicable for horse. Accordingly, Mardonius retreated from the country: and 14
as he was already on the way, a message came to him at full speed[25], informing him that another body of a thousand Lacedæmonians was arrived at Megara. Having received this information, he considered whether it would not be possible for him first to intercept that body—a project which he would have been glad to execute[26]: wheeling therefore to the right-about, he marched his army against Megara; and the cavalry in the van-guard scoured the territory of Megaris: and this accordingly was the farthest place in Europe, towards the set of sun, that this Persian army reached to[27].

[25] I have made the best sense I can out of *πρόδρομος*. Surely the reading proposed by Schweighæuser ought to be adopted: *ἦλθε ἀγγελίη, πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἥκειν*, "tidings came, that another body, being the van of the rest, was arrived," &c.

[26] I have endeavoured to give the meaning of the parenthetical *Θήλων*. The whole phrase, says Schweighæuser, is equivalent to *Θήλων τούτους πρῶτον ἑλεῖν, ἐβουλεύετο εἴ πως τούτους πρῶτον ἕλοι*. Concerning the signification of *εἴ πως*, see p. 15, note 79, of this Volume. In the Lex. Herod. Schweighæuser suppresses, I think, the comma after *Θήλων*, and interprets the phrase as equivalent to *ἐβουλεύετο, Θήλων ἑλεῖν τούτους πρῶτον εἰ δύναιτο*, "he deliberated, being desirous first to intercept them, if it were possible." *Schweig. Lex. Herod. voc. ἑθέλειν.*

[27] How is this to be reconciled with the fact; for the Persians were at Delphi and in Phocis, which is much more to the west? Probably, says Rennell, Herodotus was speaking only of their progress from Attica. *Beloe.* To this, Herodotus, by his text, answers, that he has expressly used the words *αὕτη στρατιὴ*, "this army," *i. e.* the three hundred thousand commanded by Mardonius, lest any reader should imagine he had forgotten that a division of Xerxes' army did overrun Phocis. Mr. Beloe has omitted the pronoun *αὕτη* in his translation, and by that means led his friend into an error. Larcher very properly translates, "*cette* armée ne pénétra pas plus avant en Europe du côté de l'Occident;" but this translation was, I suppose, too homely for his modern rival, M. Miot, who copies Beloe's mistake: "où *les* armes des Perses pénétrèrent."

15 But, soon afterwards, tidings came to Mardonius, that the Hellenes were mustered on the isthmus: in consequence of which, he marched back again, through Decelea: for the Bœotarchi[28] had sent for the borderers of the Asopians, who led his way to Sphendale, and from thence to Tanagra. Having halted for the night at Tanagra, and wheeled round the following day towards Scolus, he arrived in the land of the Thebans. In this quarter he cut down the trees in the[29] lands of the Thebans, although they held with the Medes; not out of any spite against the Bœotians, but because he was compelled by great necessity; for he was desirous of erecting a rampart for his army, in order that, should he not succeed in action as he wished, he might have a refuge at hand. His camp, beginning at Erythræ, extended along Hysiæ, and stretched to the Platæan territory, lying along the river Asopus[30]: not, however, that he erected the wall to all this extent, but he made each side about ten stades long.

While the barbarians were busy in this operation[31], Attaginus the son of Phrynon, a Theban, after making vast preparations, invited to his table Mardonius himself, with fifty of the most illustrious of the Persians: the company invited
16 came, and the entertainment was given at Thebes. What I am now going to subjoin, I had from Thersander, an Orchomenian, and one of the most illustrious in Orchomenus. Thersander said, that he also was invited by Attaginus to this entertainment; and that fifty of the inhabitants of Thebes were likewise invited; and that Attaginus did not place the

[28] The chief magistrates of the Thebans.

[29] I take κλῆρον in the same sense as in VII. 131. The fortified camp of Mardonius was made of wood, see chap. 70 of this Book: and no doubt, in order to raise a wooden wall one mile square, hardly could the sacred groves of the Theban territory be spared; and Herodotus gives a very good excuse for the committing of such sacrilege, if indeed it did take place, by telling us that Mardonius was ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος. I make the remark because I see this passage has been translated, "he ravaged their territories for provisions." In one of the plans of the battle of Platæa, this wooden fortification is most absurdly placed in such a manner as completely to obstruct the evolutions of the barbarians; one of the walls being represented running close along the river. The author of the Tabulæ Herodoteæ has, very properly, placed the ramparts about a couple of miles from the Asopus.

[30] Platæa, Hysiæ, and Erythræ are on the right-hand side of the Asopus, going down; whereas Mardonius's camp was on the left hand. Herodotus, wishing to give an idea of the extent of Mardonius's camp, and not finding on the left of the Asopus any places that might fix the attention of his readers, has determined it by a reference to the places opposite. Therefore the position of the Persian camp was this: "It began on the Theban side of the Asopus, opposite to Erythræ; extended up the bank of the river, about three miles and a half, to the territory of Platæa; stretching in front of Hysiæ, situate on the opposite side of the river.

[31] Building the wall.

guests of the two nations[32] separately, but assigned a Persian and Theban to each sofa;—that when they had done eating, and were pledging one another[33], the Persian who shared his sofa, using the Hellenic language, asked him whence he came; and he answered, he was from Orchomenus: that the Persian then said, "Since you have shared with me in board "and libation, I am willing to leave you a memorial of my "sentiments; in order that, knowing beforehand what is to "happen, you may take counsel for your affairs. Do you "see these Persians regaling, and the troops that we have "left encamped on the river side? In the lapse of a short "time you will behold, of all these, but some few surviving." At the same time the Persian made this observation, he shed many tears. Thersander went on to relate, that he himself, astonished at the speech, said to him, "Surely it would "behove to say this to Mardonius, and those of the Persians "who are next to him in authority." That the Persian to this said: "Friend, what is fated by God to happen, is impos-"sible for man to divert; for no one will hearken to those "who give faithful counsels. Many of us Persians, who "know this, follow on, shackled by necessity. The most "cruel grief of all incident to men is this, to know much, "and to have no power." The above I had from Thersander the Orchomenian; and this likewise in addition, that he himself forthwith mentioned it to various persons previous to the battle being fought at Platæa.

While Mardonius was encamped *for the first time* in 17
Bœotia, all the rest of the Hellenes in that quarter, who held with the Mede, had contributed troops, and joined in the attack upon Athens the Phocians were the only people who did not join in that invasion; for although these latter were on the side of the Mede, it was very much against their own free will, and entirely from necessity[34]. Not many days, however, after Mardonius's arrival at Thebes for the second time[35], one thousand of their heavy-armed troops came up;

[32] Schweighæuser takes κλῖναι in a transitive sense, for "adsignare sedem in lectulo." κλιθῆναι, or κλινθῆναι, would, in his opinion, have been the term used, if the meaning had been, "that they did not recline separately." *Schweig. Not.* et *Lex. Herod.*

[33] This is the meaning generally given to διαπίνειν: whether it is correct or not, is another question: good reasons may be given for interpreting it, "to push the *cup* about;" for when the Greeks drank their wine (which it appears it was their practice to do after eating, as in this country), all the guests used one cup, as we may infer from many passages; but no doubt the reader will be content with the authority of Mitford, Vol. x. 119

[34] The only translation I can see of the text, as it stands, is, "for they likewise sided with the Mede very much against their inclination, and only from necessity." The phrase becomes comparatively easy, if σφέδεα is dropped.

[35] See p. 308, note 10, of the present Volume.

at the head of which body was Harmocydes, one of the most illustrious citizens. When these likewise were come to Thebes, Mardonius sent some horsemen, and commanded them to take up a position by themselves[36] on the plain. After they had acted accordingly, the whole of the cavalry immediately came up. Presently, a report gained throughout the Hellenic forces on the side of the Mede, that the cavalry was going to slaughter them with their javelins: the same report likewise spread through the Phocians themselves. Accordingly, their leader, Harmocydes, cheered his men, speaking as follows: "Phocians, it is evident that these "men are about to deliver us to certain death, we having "been, as I presume, calumniated by some of the Thessa- "lians: now, therefore, it behoves every man among you to "behave gallantly: it is better that we should lose our lives "fighting and repelling, than that we should present our- "selves to perish by a disgraceful death: let every one[37] of "them therefore learn, that they are but barbarians, who
18 "have plotted the death of Hellenic men." With this speech he accordingly animated his men: meanwhile, the horsemen, after encircling the Phocians, charged as if going to exterminate them, and brandished their javelins as if about to hurl them: some among them, here and there, did even hurl. But the Phocians stood their ground, taking close order on every side, and squeezing as close together as possible: seeing which, the horsemen turned to the right-about, and rode back. I cannot say for certain, whether, by the orders of Mardonius, the cavalry came up with the intention of massacring the Phocians, at the request of the Thessalians, and, when they beheld them facing round to oppose them, rode back, fearing lest they themselves might receive some wounds; or whether Mardonius wished to make essay of them, if they had any valour to their share[38]. However, when the cavalry returned, Mardonius sent a herald, and thus addressed them: "Phocians, be of good heart; for you "have shewn yourselves[39] to be men of valour, contrary to "what I had understood. Now, therefore, use your earnest "efforts in the war; for you will not, in so doing, exceed "either me or the King in services." Such were the events in regard of the Phocians.

19 When the Lacedæmonians reached the isthmus, they there pitched their camp: some, among the rest of the Peloponnesians who were affected to the better cause, hearing this, and others having seen the Spartans march out, thought it

[36] ἐπὶ ἑωυτῶν. Matt. 584.
[37] τις. Matt. 487, 2.
[38] Construction: εἰ μετέχουσι ἀλκῆς (κατά) τι. Schweig. Not.
[39] φάνητε ἐόντες ἀγαθοί. Matt. sect. *548, 5, second paragraph.

would be disgraceful not to bear a part in the Lacedæmonian expedition. Accordingly, the victims having been favourable[40], they all departed from the isthmus, and proceeded to Eleusis: and having performed sacrifice there likewise, and seeing the omens were favourable[41], they proceeded on their march; and with them marched the Athenians, who had crossed over from Salamis, and joined the army at Eleusis. Accordingly, when they were come to Erythræ of Bœotia, and learnt that the barbarians were encamped on the bank of the Asopus, they first held council on the matter, and then formed opposite them, at the base of Cithæron[42]. Mardonius, 20
seeing the Hellenes did not come down into the plain, sent against them all his cavalry; over which was commander, Masistius, a man of great repute among the Persians (the same whom the Hellenes call Macistius). he rode a Nisæan courser, with a golden bit, and in other respects beautifully caparisoned. Here then, when the horse troops had rode up to the Hellenes, they charged them by squadrons; and, in so doing, caused great mischief, and called them women. By 21
chance, the Megarians happened to be drawn up in that quarter of the whole country which was most open to attacks, and where[43] the approach was easiest for cavalry. The horse accordingly charging, and the Megarians being harassed, sent a herald to the captains of the Hellenes. The herald came to them, and said thus: "The Megarians say, "confederate soldiers, we are not alone able to receive the "Persian horse, abiding in the same station where we were "placed at first. Yet hitherto we have resisted with firm-"ness and courage, although much harassed; and now, "unless you send some others to relieve our line, know, that "we will quit the post." Pausanias accordingly inquired of the Hellenes, who among them might be willing to proceed to that spot, and relieve the Megarian line. As none of the rest would, a party of the Athenians accepted the task:

[40] The expression, *καλλιερεῖσιν τὰ ἱερὰ*, is equivalent to *καλὰ γίνεσθαι τὰ ἱερά*. The substantive, *τὰ ἱερὰ*, may be omitted by ellipsis, as at vii. 134. The expression may even be used in the passive voice, as lower down in this chapter.

[41] *ὡς σφι ἐκαλλιερέετο*, equivalent to *ὡς καλά σφι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγίνετο*.

[42] This was the first station; marked A, in the Tabulæ Herodoteæ. I shall take the liberty of referring my reader more than once to the above plan, which is the only one I have seen that corresponds with the actual face of the country. It is easy enough to take up any ancient account of a battle, and invent from the text a specious diagram, which shall content nine readers out of ten: it is, however, far more difficult to take the plan of the field as it really is, and explain thereby the account itself: this has been successfully performed in the plan of the battle of Platæa, published in a little pamphlet, under the unassuming title of "Tabulæ Herodoteæ, ex auctoribus variis desumptæ. Oxonii, impensis J. Parker, 1824."

[43] See Matt. 468.

they were the three hundred chosen men commanded by
22 Olympiodorus the son of Lampon. These were the troops that went to the relief, and took up a station in the van of all the rest of the Hellenes present at Erythræ: they took with them likewise the bowmen. After fighting for some time, the following was the final event of the battle. As the cavalry was charging by squadrons, Masistius's horse, keeping in the van[44] of the others, was hit in the ribs by an arrow: smarting with pain, he reared up erect, and threw Masistius. As the general fell to the ground, the Athenians instantly rushed upon him: they accordingly seized his horse, and killed the rider himself, in spite of his resistance; not having been at first able to succeed, for he was armed in the following fashion. He wore, underneath, a cuirass of golden scales; and above the cuirass he had a purple tunic. The soldiers directing their blows on the cuirass, made no impression; till at last some one, seeing the contrivance, pierced him in the eye: and so he fell, and died. By chance, it so happened, that this accident remained unknown to the rest of the cavalry. they had not seen him fall from his horse, neither had they seen him perish; for just at that time they were wheeling round, to take up their ground for a fresh charge[45], and consequently were not aware of what had taken place; but as soon as they halted, they presently missed the general, as there was no one to form their line: understanding now what had happened, they spirited one another on, and all put their horses at full speed, intending at least to bear off the
23 dead body. The Athenians, seeing the cavalry come up no longer in squadrons, but all in one body, called for the assistance of the rest of the army; and at the time the whole of the infantry was marching to their relief, a sharp contest took place over the body. So long, therefore, as the three hundred remained alone, they were grievously worsted, and obliged to give up the corse; but when the reinforcements came up[46], the horse could no longer stand their ground, neither did they succeed in bearing off the body, but, in addition to their general, left on the field others likewise of their men. Having, consequently, pulled up at a distance of about two stades, they held council as to what was expedient to be done; and determined, as they were without a commander,
24 to retreat to Mardonius. On the return of the cavalry to the camp, the whole army, and Mardonius most of all, exhibited the marks of grief, shaving their own hair and beards,

[44] προέχων, equivalent to προεπολαύνων, a sense which is much more agreeable to the context than the Latin "præ alius eminens." See Wessel. Not.

[45] I have added a few words to the text, in order to render the meaning clearer in English.

[46] πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησαν. Matt. 301.

and the manes of the horses and sumpter-beasts, and uttering such cries of mourning, that the echo resounded throughout Bœotia: for the man most esteemed by the Persians and the King, next at least to Mardonius, had perished. The barbarians therefore honoured the deceased Masistius, according to their fashion.

The Hellenes, however, now that they had supported the 25
shock of the horse, and not only kept their ground, but repulsed them, were inspired with much greater confidence. and first placing the dead body in a chariot, drew it along the ranks, (the corse was deserving to be seen, by reason of its size and beauty:) and this they did[47] for the following reason, that *otherwise* the soldiers would have quitted their ranks, to go and look at Masistius. After this, they determined upon going down to Platæa; for the Platæan territory was known to be better adapted for an encampment than that of Erythræ, not only in other respects, but likewise because it was more abundant in water. They decided, that to this quarter, and near the water-head of Gargaphia, a place situate in that territory, it was expedient to remove, and, forming in line of battle, to pitch their camp. Taking up their arms, they marched along the root[48] of Cithæron, by Hysiæ, into the Platæan land; where, on their arrival, they formed, nation by nation, near the head of Gargaphia and the precinct of the hero Androcates, taking up different stations, on hillocks of no great height, and on the level plain. Here, at the moment the line was forming, a violent alterca- 26
tion ensued between the Tegeans and the Athenians; as each party thought it was their right to head[49] one of the wings, setting-forth their modern and ancient feats. On the one hand, the Tegeans spoke thus. "We have ever heretofore been "deemed worthy of this station, by all the confederates, in "whatever common expeditions have yet been undertaken

[47] τῶνδε, id est, μεγάθεος εἵνεκα καὶ κάλλεος, ταῦτα ἐποίεον, nempe τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξις ἐκόμιζον. Valck. τῶν δὲ, says Schweighæuser, is equivalent to τούτων δὲ; so τοῦ δὲ for τούτου δὲ, VIII. 85. The cause why they did so, is contained in the words ἐκλείποντες τὰς τάξις, and might, if the author had chosen to be more explicit, have been expressed by ὅτι ἐκλείποντες: but the omission of the conjunction seems to give a greater elegance and vividness to the sentence. *Schweig.* I have followed Schweighæuser, because I think common sense tells us, that if the men were to have quitted their ranks, it would have been useless to have dragged the body along the ranks.

[48] They did not follow the easiest road, that of the valley of the Asopus, no doubt from fear of the barbarian cavalry; but they proceeded along the rugged slope of Cithæron, about four miles, and then, wheeling to the right, descended towards the Gargaphian head, between which and the Asopus they formed. This station is marked B, in the Tabulæ Herodoteæ.

[49] The Lacedæmonians commanded, by right, which of the wings they chose. The verb ἴσχειν, which Herodotus here uses, is explained lower down, by ἡγεμονεύειν.

" by the Peloponnesians, whether of old or in modern days, " from the time when, after the death of Eurystheus, the " Heraclidæ attempted to return into Peloponnesus. it was " then that we gained that honour, by the following achieve- " ment. Hastening to the isthmus, in defence of our country, " together with the Achæans and Ionians resident in those " days in Peloponnesus, we had taken our position opposite " the invaders: then, accordingly, tradition says, that Hyllus " made proclamation, that it was not behoveful to expose " each army to the danger of an engagement with the other, " but that some person out of the Peloponnesian camp, he " whom they might choose as the most valiant of their num- " ber, should face him in single battle, upon certain condi- " tions. The Peloponnesians determined that it should be so " done; and they mutually made oath[50] to the following ef- " fect; that should Hyllus conquer the Peloponnesian leader, " the Heraclidæ should return into their paternal possessions; " but that should he be conquered, the Heraclidæ, on the con- " trary, should withdraw, march back their forces, nor for " one hundred years seek to make a descent on Peloponne- " sus. Accordingly, Echemus the son of Æropus, grandson " of Phegeus, who was at that time both our general and our " king, voluntarily stood forward, and was elected by all the " confederates: he fought the duel, and slew Hyllus. In con- " sequence of this exploit, we then obtained among the Pelo- " ponnesians various and great distinctions, which we con- " tinue to possess; and, among other privileges, that of head- " ing always one of the wings, when an expedition is under- " taken in common. You therefore, O Lacedæmonians, we do " not oppose; and, leaving you the election of which wing you " choose to command, give way; but we declare it belongs " to us[51] to lead the other, as in times heretofore. Nay, even " without taking into account the exploit we have mentioned, " we are better entitled than the Athenians to hold this sta- " tion: for many and gallant have been the fields we have " fought against you[52], men of Sparta; many those against " others: thus, therefore, it is just[53] that we should have one

[50] ἴσαμεν ὅρκια. Viger, p. 493: see likewise p. 188, note 267, of this Vol.

[51] Larcher suspects that we should read ἐς ἡμέας ἐκνίσθαι; but Herodotus has used ἐκνίσθαι without the preposition in ii. 36: νόμος ἅμα κηδεῖ κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μάλιστα ἐκνίσαι, not ἐς τούς.

[52] Larcher translates, " *pour* vous et *pour* d'autres peuples — *for* you and other nations:" perhaps he is right; for πρὸς with the accusative frequently signifies, " on account of:" see Matt 591, β. The last editor and corrector of Littlebury's translation of Herodotus supposes that Larcher must have read περὶ instead of πρὸς: the learned gentleman may rely upon it, that Larcher knew enough of Greek to be perfectly aware that περὶ governs the genitive.

[53] δίκαιον. The positive for the comparative. See Matt. 457, *obs.* 1.

" wing, rather than the Athenians, for by them no deeds
" have been wrought, like as by us, whether in modern days
" or olden times." Such was the speech of the Tegeans. On
the other hand, the Athenians made answer to this, in these
words: " We well know that this muster is made for the pur- 27
" pose of giving battle to the barbarian, and not for mutual
" bickerings. But since the Tegean has preferred[54] that we
" should speak of the ancient and the modern deeds of valour
" wrought by both parties in the whole range of time, it is
" necessary[55] that we should explain before you; whence,
" having ever behaved gallantly, it comes to be our paternal
" right to hold the first rank, rather than the Arcadians. *In the*
" *first place*, with respect to the Heraclidæ, whose leader these
" people affirm they slew on the isthmus, when formerly
" driven away by all the Hellenes unto whom they came,
" flying from bondage at the hands of the Mycenæans, we
" alone received them, and quelled the arrogance of Eu-
" rystheus, with them conquering in battle those who then
" held the Peloponnesus in the second place, we affirm, that
" when the Argians with Polynices carried arms against
" Thebes, were cut off, and lay unburied, we marched against
" the Cadmeans, bore off the dead, and entombed them in
" Eleusis of our land again, there is likewise our gallant
" deed against the Amazons, what time, coming from the
" river Thermodon, they had poured into the Attic land: and
" in the Trojan war, we were behind none. But it is of no
" avail[56] to call these things to mind, for they who were
" once valiant, the same may now be cowards, and they who
" were then cowards, may now be valiant. Enough then of
" ancient deeds. If no other achievement had been displayed
" by us, many and gallant though they have been, as much
" as with any other of the Hellenes, still, after the field we
" fought at Marathon, we are deserving of this honour, and

[54] This is the interpretation given by Schweighæuser, Lex. Herod voc προστιθέναι, 4. I think it preferable to that given in his notes: " Since the Tegean has proposed that we should mention," &c. Either explanation, however, is more agreeable to common sense than that usually given: " Since the Tegean has set out by mentioning the &c wrought by both parties;" for that orator never mentions once, in his speech, the brilliant deeds of the Athenians

[55] ἀναγκαίως ἡμῖν ἔχει, equivalent to ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν ἐστί. Matt. Gr Gram. sect. 604.

[56] ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει. The verb προέχειν certainly comprehends an idea of comparison; but we know that, in Greek, the comparative is often used, where in other languages we should have the positive, but never, apparently, without some objects of comparison being implied. of this we have two instances, immediately below, in the text. It seems, therefore, not absolutely contrary, to translate the above form, " It is of no avail—it avails nought;" or, as Schneider turns it, " Denn es hilft—nutzt nichts." See Schweig. Not.

" of others over and above; we, who then alone of the Hel-
" lenes fought single-handed with the Persian, and, under-
" taking that mighty deed, survived and conquered six and
" forty nations. Are we not, we say, entitled to hold this
" station, in consequence of that deed alone? But never-
" theless, since it is not becoming, in these circumstances, to
" quarrel about rank, we are ready, Lacedæmonians, to obey
" you, wheresoever and against whomsoever you may deter-
" mine it most expedient to post us; for wherever we may
" be arrayed, we will endeavour to behave valiantly. com-
" mand us therefore, as men ready to obey." Such was the answer the Athenians made. and the whole line of the Spartans exclaimed with one voice, that the Athenians were more deserving to head[57] the wing than the Arcadians so the Athenians, accordingly, had that post, and defeated the Tegeans.

28 After which, the Hellenes who had mustered at the first, and those who had come up to join, were formed in line, in the following manner. Ten thousand of the Lacedæmonians headed the right wing: of this number, five thousand, who were Spartans, were supported by thirty-five thousand light-armed[58] Helots, seven of which were assigned to each man: next to themselves, the Spartans gave the post to the Tegeans, by reason both of honour and valour; of these latter there were one thousand five hundred heavy-armed. next to these stood five thousand of the Corinthians; they had obtained from Pausanias, that next to them should be stationed the three hundred Potidæatæ from Pallena, who had joined the forces contiguous to these latter were six hundred Arcadians of Orchomenus; next to whom came three thousand Sicyonians. adjoining to the latter were eight hundred of the Epidaurians. next to these were arrayed one thousand Trœzenians: close to the Trœzenians stood two hundred Lepreatæ; after whom followed, in the line, four hundred of

[57] See p. 320, note 49, of this Vol.

[58] The ὁπλίτης was a heavy-armed foot soldier: he derived his appellation from the ὅπλον, a heavy shield much used in several defensive evolutions, and the management of which required considerable strength of arm: besides his shield, the nobler parts of his body were defended by a breast-plate or cuirass, buckled round his waist. His offensive weapons were the lance and the sword; but, in close conflict, the teeth, hands, and feet, were used, stones were hurled, and every possible mode of offence was resorted to. The ψιλοὶ, on the other hand, were the light-armed men, such as archers, slingers, and so on: their light shield, unprovided with the ponderous rim or ἴτυς, which encompassed that of the heavy-armed, was derived from the Thracians, and called the πέλτη. These light-armed men must have been of considerable use, to annoy the enemy in flank, during the charge of the heavy-armed men; and, when the enemy's line was broken, to complete his rout, and prevent his rallying.

the Mycenæans and Tirynthians, adjoining whom were one thousand Phliasii: next to these stood three hundred Hermionians[59] following the Hermionians were arrayed six

[59] For the relative position of the two armies, I again refer my reader to the plan of the battle of Platæa, in the Tabulæ Herodoteæ. I shall content myself with bringing under one view the two lines of battle.

SECOND POSITION BEFORE THE BATTLE OF PLATÆA.

| Greek Confederates | | | | | Barbarians and Confederates | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Complement* | | *Men* | *Nations and Stations.* | | *Nations and Stations* | *Men.* |
| *Left wing, beginning at Gargaphia.* | 40,000 | 5,000 *h.* *t.* / 35,000 *l.* *t.* | Spartans. | | | |
| | 10,000 | 5,000 *h.* *t.* / 5,000 *l.* *t.* | Lacedæmonians. | | Persians | |
| | 3,000 | 1,500 *h.* *t.* / 1,500 *l.* *t.* | Tegeans. | | | |
| | 10,000 | 5,000 *h.* *t.* / 5,000 *l.* *t.* | Arc Orchomenians | | | *Right wing.* |
| | 600 | 300 *h.* *t.* / 300 *l.* *t.* | Potidæatæ | | | |
| | 1,200 | 600 *h.* *t.* / 600 *l.* *t.* | Corinthians | | Medes | |
| | 6,000 | 3,000 *h.* *t.* / 3,000 *l.* *t.* | Sicyonians. | | | |
| | 1,600 | 800 *h.* *t.* / 800 *l.* *t.* | Epidaurians | | | |
| | 2,000 | 1,000 *h.* *t.* / 1,000 *l.* *t.* | Trœzenians | | | |
| | 400 | 200 *h.* *t.* / 200 *l.* *t.* | Lepreatæ. | | Bactrians | 300,000 |
| | 800 | 400 *h.* *t.* / 400 *l.* *t.* | Mycenæans & Tirynthians. | | | |
| | 2,000 | 1,000 *h.* *t.* / 1,000 *l.* *t.* | Phliasii | | | |
| | 600 | 300 *h.* *t.* / 300 *l.* *t.* | Hermionians. | | | |
| | 1,200 | 600 *h.* *t.* / 600 *l.* *t.* | Eretrians & Styreans | | India | |
| | 800 | 400 *h.* *t.* / 400 *l.* *t.* | Chalcidians. | | | |
| *Right wing, extending to the Asopus* | 1,000 | 500 *h.* *t.* / 500 *l.* *t.* | Ampraciots. | | | |
| | 1,600 | 800 *h.* *t.* / 800 *l.* *t.* | Leucadians & Anactorii. | | Sacæ | |
| | 400 | 200 *h.* *t.* / 200 *l.* *t.* | Cephallenians | | | |
| | 1,000 | 500 *h.* *t.* / 500 *l.* *t.* | Æginetæ | | | *Left wing.* |
| | 6,000 | 3,000 *h.* *t.* / 3,000 *l.* *t.* | Megarians | | | |
| | 1,200 | 600 *h.* *t.* / 600 *l.* *t.* | Platæans. | | Greeks | 50,000 |
| | 16,000 | 8,000 *h.* *t.* / 8,000 *l.* *t.* | Athenians. | | | |
| | 107,400 | | | | | 350,000 |

To make up the 110,000 men mentioned by Herodotus, as constituting the Greek forces, the total given above must be increased by 1800 Thespians, and 800 light-armed troops not accounted for.

hundred Eretrians and Styreans; next to whom came four hundred Chalcidians; after whom stood five hundred Ampraciots: next in the line were stationed eight hundred, partly Leucadians and partly Anactorii. adjoining these latter were two hundred Palians, from Cephallenia; next to whom drew up five hundred of the Æginetæ; alongside of whom were stationed three thousand Megarians: succeeding these stood six hundred Platæans. At the end of the line, and, at the same time, in the first rank, the Athenians were drawn up, occupying the left wing they were eight thousand; and
29 Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, was at their head. All these, saving the seven assigned to each of the Spartans, were heavy-armed, their total number being thirty-eight thousand and seven hundred. Such was the number of all the heavy-armed troops mustered to engage the barbarian. The following was the amount of the light-armed men. In the Spartan line, thirty-five thousand men, being seven to each Spartan, and of these, every one was accoutred as for action. The light-armed men belonging to the rest of the Lacedæmonians and Hellenes, being about one for every man, were thirty-four thousand five hundred[60]; so that the total number of all the light-armed fighting-men was sixty-
30 nine thousand five hundred. And that of the whole Hellenic forces that mustered at Platæa, both heavy- and light-armed fighting-men, was one hundred and ten thousand, all but one thousand eight hundred men; but by the junction of the Thespians, the one hundred and ten thousand were made up, for of the Thespians, such as survived joined likewise the camp, to the number of one thousand and eight hundred, but these had not heavy shields[61]. Accordingly, these troops were encamped in line on the bank of the Asopus.

31 The barbarians, with Mardonius, having ceased their mournings for Masistius, proceeded likewise, when they understood the Hellenes were at Platæa, to the Asopus, which flows in that quarter. On their arrival, they were thus arrayed by Mardonius against the Hellenes. In front of the Lacedæmonians he posted the Persians, and as the Per-

[60] All the heavy-armed troops amounted to 38,700, from which must be subtracted 5000 Spartans: there remains, therefore, 33,700 men; but as these latter were supported by 34,500 light-armed troops, there must have necessarily been some, among the heavy-armed men, who were supported by more than one light-armed man a-piece. ὡς signifies, sometimes, *nearly, about.* I doubt whether it has that meaning here: I am rather inclined to think there must be an error somewhere of figures, and that the complement of one of the confederate nations should be increased. *Larcher.*

[61] See p. 322, note 58, of this Volume.

sians were far superior in numbers, they were drawn up several ranks deep, and stretched out likewise in front of the Tegeans. He formed this part of the line in the following manner: selecting all his strongest men[62], he stationed them in front of the Lacedæmonians: the weaker portion he posted opposite the Tegeans; and this he did according to the advice and counsel of the Thebans. Contiguous to the Persians he drew up the Medes: these latter were opposed to the Corinthians, Potidæatæ, Orchomenians, and Sicyonians. Adjoining the Medes he arrayed the Bactrians: these faced the Epidaurians, Trœzenians, Lepreatæ, Tirynthians, Mycenæans, and Phliasii. Next to the Bactrians he stationed the Indians; and these were drawn up against the Hermionians, Eretrians, Styreans, and Chalcinians. Following the Indians he posted the Sacæ, who were in face of the Ampraciots, Anactorii, Leucadians, Palees, and Æginetæ. Adjoining the Sacæ, and in face of the Athenians, Platæans, and Megarians, he drew up the Bœotians, Locrians, Malians, Thessalians, and the thousand Phocians: for not all the Phocians held with the Mede; on the contrary, some among them contributed to the cause of the Hellenes, having collected about Parnassus; and sallying from thence, they harassed the forces[63] of Mardonius, and the Hellenes who were on his side. The Persian general stationed likewise the Macedonians, and the nations resident about Thessaly, in face of the Athenians. These nations which I have mentioned were the most numerous of those brought into line by Mardonius; they were likewise the most celebrated, and of the greatest importance, but mingled with them were men of various other nations, of the Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Pæonians, and the rest, and among others, some Ethiopians, and the sword-bearers of the Egyptians, who are called the Hermotybies and Calasiries[64], and are the only fighting classes among the Egyptians. These latter, Mardonius, while he was yet at Phalerus, took from aboard the ships, where they served in the quality of marines; for the Egyptians were not arrayed in the land-forces which came with Xerxes to Athens. The number of the barbarians accordingly was, as I have shewn before, three hundred thousand[65]. of the Hellenes that served under Mardonius, no one knows the number, for the fact is, they were not reckoned up; but, to make a guess, I suppose 32

[62] It has been proposed to read αὐτῶν. I have taken the pronoun as relating to Mardonius himself.

[63] See p 84, note 93, of this Vol.

[64] See II. 164.

[65] See VIII. 100, 101, 113.

fifty thousand mustered together. The troops thus arrayed were foot: the horse were posted in other stations.

33 When, therefore, they were all arrayed by nations and squadrons, both parties, on the second day, offered sacrifice. Tisamenus the son of Antiochus was he who performed sacrifice on the Hellenic side; for that was the divine who attended this army. Although an Elean, and of the family of Clytius, a branch of the Iamidæ, the Lacedæmonians had adopted him as a citizen. For Tisamenus having consulted the oracle at Delphi respecting his posterity, the Pythia replied, that he should win five very great combats. Tisamenus accordingly, missing the sense of the oracle, addressed himself to gymnastic exercises, thinking he was to win gymnastic combats. Having trained himself for the pentathlon, he would have won an Olympic prize, had he not failed in the wrestling match[66], in which he contended with Hieronymus of Andros. But the Lacedæmonians, discovering that the oracle given to Tisamenus referred not to gymnastic combats, but to those of war, attempted to prevail upon him, by rewards, to become the leader[67] of their wars with the kings of the Heraclidæ race. Tisamenus, seeing that the Spartans were very anxious to bring him over to their interests, raised his price, and declared to them, that, "if they admitted him to a share of "all their rights, and made him a citizen, he would do so, "but not on any other condition." At first, the Spartans, when they heard the demand, deemed it disgraceful, and entirely dismissed all idea[68] of availing themselves of his

[66] παρὰ ἓν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικᾶν ὀλυμπιάδα The preposition παρὰ is used to signify exception; ἓν πάλαισμα, because it was necessary to conquer in five exercises (the ἅλμα, δίσκος, δρόμος, πάλη, πυγμὴ), in order to be proclaimed conqueror as pentathlet; ἔδραμε νικᾶν, equivalent to ἔδραμε κίνδυνον νικᾶν; and it must be observed, that δραμεῖν κίνδυνον, with the infinitive, is equal to κινδυνεύειν, "to be near doing;" ὀλυμπιάδα, a metonymy for τοὺς ὀλυμπικοὺς ἀγῶνας See Port Lex Ion Another construction may be given, παρὰ ἓν ἔδραμε νικᾶν πάλαισμα (κατὰ) ὀλυμπιάδα, alluding to the three falls that must be given to the adversary by the conqueror in the πάλη "He was within one fall of getting the wrestling prize in the Olympic games" *Port. Lex Ion* The power of παρὰ, as expressing exception, is seen in παρ' ὀλίγον, *prope modum, excepto minuto momento.* Schweig.

[67] The ancient Greeks always used a divine, or seer, to conduct and guide them in all their enterprises, even in those of a warlike nature. Homer says, speaking of Calchas, νήεσσι ἡγήσατο Ἴλιον ἴσω, "he had served as leader to the ships that went to Ilium." Iliad, i. 71. *Larcher.* The French have the word *conducteur*, which does away with the possibility of confounding the seer's office with that of the general or leader I do not know of any such term in English, nor, perhaps, is it of any great consequence, as the Greek term itself is equivocal.

[68] μετέῖσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης. See Matt. 367. "In the passage of Herodotus ix. 33. we should perhaps read μετέῖσαν τὰς χρησμοσύνας, 'laid aside their entreaties.' This is certainly

services. But at last, when the great terror of this Persian host was hung over them, they sent for him, and assented. Tisamenus, however, seeing that they had changed, accordingly declared, that he would no longer be content with those privileges[69] alone, but that now his own brother Hagias must likewise be made a Spartan, on the same conditions as he himself should be. By so saying, he followed, in his 34
demands, the example of Melampus, to compare[70] the rights of sovereign with those of citizen: for Melampus, when at the time the women of Argos were out of their senses, and the Argians wished to prevail[71] upon him by rewards to come from Pylus and put a stop to the disorder of their women, demanded, as the price of his services, one half of the kingdom: the Argians brooked not the conditions; but as, on their return, many more of the women went mad, they accordingly assented to the demand made by Melampus, and proceeded to present him with what he required, but he, seeing they had altered their minds, now increased in his desires, saying, "unless they presented[72] one-third share of "the royal power to his brother Bias, he would not perform "what they wished" and the Argians, being driven to a strait, assented even to that. In like manner, the Spartans, 35
being much in want of Tisamenus, gave up to him on every point, and after they had so indulged him, Tisamenus the Elian, now become a Spartan, accordingly assisted them, as a divine, in winning five most important battles. Thus these, alone of all men, were admitted to citizenship by the Spartans; and the five battles were these. One, and the first, this at Platæa; next, that fought near Tegea, against the Tegeans and Arcadians; afterwards, that in the Dipæan territory, against all the Arcadians, with the exception of the Mantineans; then that of the Messenians near Ithome[73]; and the last, that fought against the Athenians and Argians near Tanagra, which last made up the five combats. Accord- 36

the sense of χρησμοσύνη" Bishop of London, in Matt. Gr. Gram. p. xlv.—Schneider, although he does not alter the reading, is nearly of the same opinion as the Bishop of London with respect to the meaning of χρησμοσύνη. he however says, it may likewise be interpreted *desire*, "Verlangen." Schweighæuser defends his interpretation by a reference to the beginning of chap 35, Σπαρτιῆται, ἰδίοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ.

[69] ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοισι μούνοισι. See Matt. sect. 403.

[70] ὡς εἰκάσαι. See Matt. 543

[71] See p. 307, note 4, of this Volume.

[72] μεταδῶσι, with the accusative Matt. 360, 3, *obs.* According to this demand, Melampus and his brother received, together, one-half and one-third of a half of the royal power; which, according to the rules of arithmetic, make four-sixths, or two-thirds, of the whole. See Schweig Not.

[73] I have translated πρὸς Ἰθώμῃ, instead of πρὸς Ἰσθμῷ.

ingly, at the present time, this Tisamenus, brought by the Spartans, officiated as divine to the Hellenes at Platæa: the sacrifices, therefore, boded success to the Hellenes, while they stood on the defensive; not so, if they crossed the Asopus, and began battle.

37 Meanwhile, the sacrifices were not favourable to Mardonius, who was eager to engage battle; but boded success to him likewise, if he stood on the defensive: for the Persian likewise availed himself of the Hellenic rites, having with him the divine Hegesistratus, a native of Elis, and the most renowned of the Telliadæ. Previous to these events, the Spartans had seized this man, and bound him for death[75], having suffered much atrocious treatment from him. But he, being thrown into such calamity, that not only he was in danger of life[76], but was to suffer many dreadful torments before his death, performed an action beyond the power of description. As he was confined by an iron-bound gyve of wood[77], he by some means possessed himself of an iron instrument that had been brought into *the prison*, and presently devised the most courageous action of any man that we know of: for after considering whether he should be able to pull out the rest of his foot, he cut off the broad part, at the joints of his toes[78]: having so done, as he was guarded by sentinels, he made a hole through the wall, and escaped to Tegea, tra-

[75] See p. 39, note 196, of this Volume.

[76] See p. 162, note 139, of this Vol

[77] ξυλῳ σιδηροδίτῳ This appears to have been a sort of foot-cuff, if I may use the expression, pressing the foot round the instep, so that it was impossible to extricate it.

[78] The Greek says, the *tarsus*; concerning which, Larcher quotes the following, from Jul. Polluc. Onomast. II. 4. οὗ (ποδὸς) τὸ ἔμπροσθεν μετὰ τοὺς δακτύλους, ταρσός: "the fore part of the foot, after the toes, is called the *tarsus*." The latter term is still used by anatomists, but in a very different signification from that just explained. I have consulted Mr. Cleobury, of Oxford, a professional gentleman equally distinguished by his skill and humanity; he writes me thus: "The terms used by anatomists to express these parts, that is to say, to the instep, are the *phalanges*, or joints of the toes, and the bones comprising the *metatarsus*. It would be utterly impossible for a man to walk, who had had his foot amputated at the *tarsus* or ancle, and highly improbable that he should be able to walk after undergoing the loss of the *metatarsus*." The fact is therefore, it seems, that what Herodotus called the *tarsus* would now-a-days, by anatomists, be called the *metatarsus*: and the extraordinary circumstance of the seer's walking after such an operation might reasonably excite the astonishment of the Historian. Schweighæuser seems to doubt the truth of this anecdote; regarding it as surprising, that the prisoner, having an instrument by which he could perforate the wall, did not use it to break the gyve with which he was fastened: but the Historian informs us, that the gyve was *iron-bound;* it was therefore impossible to break it with an iron instrument. The wonderful use which human ingenuity, stimulated by the desire of liberty, may make of a common nail, is strikingly displayed in La Tude's account of his escape from the Bastille

velling at nights, and of days hiding himself in the coppices, and there tarrying: so that, although the Lacedæmonians searched after him with all their population, he was on the third night at Tegea; while the Lacedæmonians were struck with great astonishment at his courage, seeing one half of his foot on the ground, and not being able to find him. Thus at that time escaping from the Lacedæmonians, he took refuge in Tegea, which at this period was not on terms with the Lacedæmonians. When he was healed, and had made himself a wooden foot, he became an open enemy to the Lacedæmonians. However, the hatred he harboured against the Lacedæmonians did not succeed with him, at least in the end; for he was taken by them at Zacynthus, where he acted as divine, and was slain. The death of Hegesistratus occurred subsequently to the events at Platæa; and at the time we are speaking of, having been engaged by Mardonius for no inconsiderable reward, he sacrificed with earnestness, both from his hatred of the Lacedæmonians[79], and from a motive of lucre.

As the victims directed[80] neither the Persians themselves, 38
nor the Hellenes on their side, to engage battle; (for these latter had likewise, on their own account[81], a divine, Hippomachus, a native of Leucas;) and as the Hellenes were pouring in from different quarters, and their army increasing in number, Timagenides the son of Herpys, an inhabitant of Thebes, advised Mardonius to station a piquet at the defiles of Cithæron; alleging, that the Hellenes were constantly pouring in every day, and that he would intercept a good number. Eight days were already gone by since they had 39
been stationed in front of the enemy, when Timagenides gave this advice to Mardonius: he, seeing the council that it was good, sent, as night fell, the horse to the defiles of Cithæron, which lead into the territory of the Platæans; and which the Bœotians call The Three Heads, and the Athenians, The Heads of Oak. The horse-troops sent thither arrived not in vain; for they intercepted a train of five hundred sumpter-beasts, which was just issuing on the plain, bringing provision to the army, from Peloponnesus, together with the men that accompanied the beasts. Having taken this booty, the Persians killed without mercy, sparing neither beast nor man: and when they had their fill of slaughter, they surrounded what remained of them, and drove them to the camp, into the presence of Mardonius. After this action they passed 40
two more days, neither side being willing to engage battle;

[79] See p. 22, note 111, of this Vol.
[80] See p. 317, note 40, of this Vol.
[81] ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν. See Matt. 584.

for the barbarians marched from their line down to the Asopus, to tempt the Hellenes; but neither party crossed over: meanwhile, however, the cavalry of Mardonius continued to press and harass the Hellenes; for the Thebans, being very ardent in the cause of the Medes, prosecuted the war with eagerness, and ever and anon advanced almost as far as to engage battle; and then were relieved by the Persians and Medes, who displayed considerable valour[82].

41 Accordingly, for those ten days, nothing more than I have mentioned took place. but when the eleventh day was come, from the time that the two armies had been drawn up[83] in face of each other near Platæa, and accordingly the Hellenes were much increased in numbers, while Mardonius was greatly annoyed at the delay, Mardonius the son of Gobryas, and Artabazus the son of Pharnaces, who was one of the few Persians esteemed by Xerxes, had a conference. Consulting on the affairs, the following were their opinions: this of Artabazus, that "it was[84] expedient to march away, as quickly as "possible, the whole army, and proceed to the wall of the "Thebans, where abundance of provision had been collected "for the men, and fodder for the sumpter-beasts; and there, "sitting down quietly, bring the war to a close, by acting in "this manner as they had much coined gold, and much "uncoined, together with abundance of silver and plate, not "to spare any of those treasures, but scatter them among "the Hellenes, and chiefly among the principal men of the "Hellenic towns; by which they would quickly surrender "their liberties, without running the hazard of an engage-"ment." Thus the opinion of Artabazus was the same as that of the Thebans[85], for he likewise saw further into futurity than the other; whereas Mardonius's opinion was more violent, obstinate, and disdainful of any thing like yielding; for "it was his opinion, that, as their army was far stronger "than that of the Hellenes, they ought therefore as speedily "as possible to engage, nor allow the enemy to muster yet "more numerous than he had done; that it would be better "to dismiss all heed of Hegesistratus's victims, nor think of "obliging[86] the victims to be favourable whether they would

[82] *μάλα ἴσχυν* (Ion for *ἴσαν*) *οἳ ἀπιδείκνυντο ἀρηστάς*: in which, *μάλα* appears equivalent to *μάλιστα*, "were those principally who exhibited courage."

[83] *ἀντικατημένοισι*. See Matt. 390, *c*.

[84] *ὡς εἴη* Matt. 529, 2.

[85] He alludes to what is mentioned as the opinion, or advice, of the Thebans in chap. 2. of this Book.

[86] *μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι* I have followed the interpretation of Schweighæuser: "cogere velle victimas ut vel invitæ litent:" according to which, *σφάγια* is supplied after the verb Larcher, and Schweighæuser (in his Latin version), supply *νόμους* after the verb, "nor violate the laws of the Per-

" or no, but, following the institutions of the Persians, engage
" battle. Mardonius being of this opinion, no one contra- 42
dicted him, so that his proposal prevailed; for he held the command of the army from the King, whereas Artabazus did not. Having consequently summoned the commanders of the squadrons, and the captains of the Hellenes in his service, he inquired whether they knew of any oracle regarding the Persians, that they should perish in Hellas. The persons summoned remaining silent; some, because they did not know of any; and the rest, who did know, because they held it not consistent with their safety to speak; Mardonius himself said "Since, then, either you know of none, or dare
" not to speak, I, who do know, will therefore tell you: there
" is an oracle, saying, that it is fated the Persians shall come
" into Hellas, sack the temple of Delphi, and, after the sacking,
" perish all. we therefore, knowing of that oracle, neither
" march against that temple, nor intend to sack it; and shall
" not perish through that guilt hence, such of you as are
" well inclined to the Persian, rejoice that we are about to
" subdue[87] the Hellenes." Having so spoken to them, he finally gave orders to prepare and place every thing in good order, as the engagement was to take place at the break of the forthcoming day. In respect of this oracle, which Mar- 43
donius said referred to the Persians, I know that it was framed against the Illyrians and the army of the Encheleans, and not against the Persians. I know however the following, pronounced by Bacis, in allusion to this battle. "On Thermodon
" and Asopus of the grassy banks, lo! the muster of the Hel-
" lenes and barbarians sounding shout of war; there, what
" time the fatal day shall come, throngs of the bow-bearing
" Medes shall fall, despite of fate, despite of Lachesis:" this prophecy, I say[88], and others pretty nearly similar, pronounced by Musæus, I know of, as alluding to the Persians: the river Thermodon flows between Tanagra and Glisas.

After this inquiry respecting the oracles, and the exhor- 44
tation made by Mardonius, night fell, and they set the watch. But when the night was wearing over, and tranquillity seemed to pervade the camps, and the men were mostly buried in sleep, Alexander the son of Amyntas, who was both the leader and king of the Macedonians, rode on horseback up

sians." One of the English translators, professing to follow Valla, "nec eis (i e auspiciis) vim inferre," gives the following piece of nonsense: "Not to heed the sacrifices of Hegesistratus, nor vet to violate the auspices."

[87] See Matt. 568, 3. Compare likewise p. 307, note 8, of this Volume.

[88] The oracle is parenthetically placed. See Matt 611.

to the sentries of the Athenians, and requested to have a conference with the captains. The majority of the sentries kept their posts, while some ran for the captains: on their arrival, they said that "a man was come on horseback from the camp "of the Medes, who, mentioning the captains by name, de- "clared[89] he wished to have a conference with them, but
45 "would discover nothing more." As soon as the captains heard this, they forthwith followed them to the out-posts; and, on their arrival, Alexander thus addressed them: "Men "of Athens, I deposit these words among you as a pledge, "earnestly beseeching you to reveal them to none other "than Pausanias, lest you should even ruin me: for I would "never have said them, had I not greatly at heart the in- 'terest of all Hellas; for I myself, of ancient origin, am a 'Grecian, and would fain not see Hellas enthralled, in place 'of being free. I tell you then, that the victims will not 'bode according to the desire of Mardonius and his army; "otherwise you would have fought long since. But now he has resolved to dismiss all heed of the victims, and engage at the dawn of day; for he is terrified, as I presume, lest you should muster stronger. Accordingly, make ready; and if it should so happen that Mardonius defers, and will not give battle, continue to remain where you are; for they have provisions but for a few days left. Should this war "end according to your mind, it will behove you to remember me, and to think of the deliverance of one, who, for the advantage of the Hellenes, has zealously undertaken such a hazardous step; being desirous of letting you know the "intentions of Mardonius, in order the barbarians may not "perchance fall on you, without your expecting them. I am "Alexander the Macedonian." Alexander, having so spoken, rode back to the camp and to his own post.

46 The captains of the Athenians proceeding to the right wing, reported to Pausanias what they had just heard from Alexander: the Spartan, on this information, terrified at the Persians, said this: "Since, then, the engagement begins at "dawn, it is right that you the Athenians should draw up "against the Persians, and we against the Bœotians and such "of the Hellenes as are arrayed against us, for the following "reason: you are acquainted with the Medes, and their mode "of battle, having fought them at Marathon; whereas we "know nothing, and are inexperienced of those men. For "not one of the Spartans[90] has made essay of the Medes;

[89] Matt. 507, 3.

[90] Larcher very properly observes, that the Spartans who had fought at Thermopylæ were all killed: "but," says Beloe, in his first edition, "there was a man in the army of Pausanias

" but we are experienced of the Bœotians and Thessalians. " therefore it behoves you to take up your arms, and come " to this wing, while we remove to the left." To which the Athenians made answer thus. " Long since, from the begin- " ning, when we saw the Persians arrayed in face of you, it " entered our minds likewise to mention the very thing which " you have anticipated us by proposing[91], but we were fear- " ful lest the proposal might not be agreeable to you. but " since therefore you yourselves mention it, the proposition " meets our approval[92], and we are ready to act accordingly." This proposition being agreeable to both, day dawned, and 47
they exchanged stations. The Bœotians, understanding what was doing, made it known to Mardonius; who, as soon as he received the information, immediately began himself likewise to alter his line, bringing up the Persians to face the Lacedæmonians. When Pausanias saw the same movement taking place, understanding that his design was discovered, he marched the Spartans back to the right wing: in like manner, Mardonius also marched *the Persians* back towards the left.

When they were posted in their original stations, Mardo- 48
nius sent a herald to the Spartans, and spoke thus. " Lace- " dæmonians, you then are said to be such gallant soldiers by " the men of this country, who are amazed that you never " fly battle, nor forsake your post, but, abiding, either kill " your adversaries, or are yourselves killed. Of all this, " therefore, nothing is true; for before we engage with you, " or come to blows[93], we see you fly, and, forsaking your " post, give the brunt of the battle to the Athenians, while " you yourselves draw up against our vassals. Such, of a " surety, are not the actions of gallant soldiers: no, we have " been much deceived respecting you; for whereas we ex- " pected, in conformity to your renown, that you would send " a herald, and challenge us, and wish to fight with the Per-

who had escaped the great destruction of his countrymen, and consequently could have informed his fellow-soldiers in what manner the Persians fought" Beloe alludes to Aristodemus, c. 70 Larcher combats the objection in a very gentlemanly and satisfactory manner; but Beloe, unwilling to yield the point, allows, in his second edition, that Aristodemus was not at the battle of Thermopylæ, but states, "he was present at several previous skirmishes:" he should certainly have given his authority for such an assertion. The dispute, however, is of little importance: this passage of history affords too useful a lesson in human-nature for the reader's mind to be obstructed by petty cavils: he may learn from hence, that "ignorance and courage are incompatible."

[91] *φθάντες προφέρεται.* Matt. 553, *c. obs.*

[92] Matt. 391, *e.*

[93] *ἐς χεῖρῶν νόμον ἀπικέσθαι*, equivalent to *συμμίξαι.* See p 277, note 126, of this Volume

" sians only; but, though we are prepared to do so, we find " you make no such proposal, but shrink with fear. Now, " therefore, since you have not begun the challenge, we do: " wherefore, then, should not you on the part of the Hellenes, " since you are held to be the bravest, and we on the part of " the barbarians, like and like in number, fight? And if the " others think fit to fight, let them therefore fight afterwards: " and if they do not think fit, but that it is sufficient we should " do so, let us decide the battle, and whichever of us may
49 " conquer, let him conquer in the name of the whole army." The herald, having thus spoken, tarried awhile; and no one making him any answer, he returned, and, on his arrival back, reported to Mardonius what had been the result: the commander, filled with joy, and elated with an imaginary[94] victory, sent his cavalry against the Hellenes. When the horse came up they harassed the whole Hellenic army, hurling their javelins, and shooting their arrows; for the horsemen were armed with bows, and could not be brought to close quarters. They likewise disturbed and filled-in the Gargaphian fountains, from whence the whole of the Hellenic troops procured water. The Lacedæmonians, indeed, were the only troops stationed towards the spring, which was farther removed from the rest of the Hellenic tribes, according to the positions they each occupied in the line, and to whom the Asopus was nearer; but being repulsed from the Asopus, they accordingly were all in the practice of going to the fountain; as it was impossible for them to get water from the river, by reason of the cavalry and the flights of arrows.

50 In this conjuncture, as the troops were deprived of water and harassed by the cavalry, the captains of the Hellenes, proceeding to the post of Pausanias on the right wing, assembled to deliberate on these and other matters: for besides their situation, they had many other subjects of anxiety; indeed, they had no longer any provisions, and their servants, who had been despatched to Peloponnesus for a supply, were
51 shut out by the horse, and unable to reach the camp. The captains, having held council, came to this determination, that if the Persians should pass over that day without giving battle, they should proceed to the island; which lies before the town of Platæa, and is ten stades distant from the Asopus and the fountain of Gargaphia, near which they were at this time encamped. That tract may be regarded as an island[95] in the continent; for the river flows down into the

[94] Literally, a *cold* victory: see p. 114, note 265.

[95] νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἠπείρῳ This seems to express, that the tract was rather what might be called an island, than a real piece of land completely

plain in two branches from the upper part of Cithæron, holding its streams about three stades from each other, and afterwards the two streams mingle into one: its name is the Oeroë; and the natives say, that the Oeroe is the daughter of the Asopus. To this place, accordingly, they resolved to remove, in order they might have plenty of water for their use, and that the cavalry might not harass them, as when they were stationed directly opposite. They likewise resolved to decamp at the time the second watch[96] of the night is set, so that the Persians might not see them removing from their station, or the cavalry harass them in their rear. It was settled among them, also, that on the same night they should detach one half of the troops to Cithæron, to meet the convoy that was gone for provisions, but was shut out in the defiles of that mountain: this was to be done on their arrival at the above-mentioned spot, skirted on both sides by Oeroe the daughter of Asopus. Having formed the above resolu- 52
tion, they remained the whole of that day exposed to excessive toil, the enemy's horse closely pressing them after day was

surrounded with water: see Matt. 514, first paragraph The author of the plan of the battle of Platæa, to which I have before referred the reader, quotes Polybius, iii 49, where the word νῆσος is applied to a similarly-situated tract. We all know that one of the significations of νῆσος was a peninsula; as, indeed, in the ancient name of the Morea, the Peloponnesus, or νῆσος of Pelops. These observations will perhaps be sufficient to shew, that there is no absolute necessity of regarding the tract of land here mentioned as an island, particularly if no island can be found on the spot, or in its vicinity, now-a-days. Taking for granted that the philologist allows the above supposition, it must now be observed, that Herodotus clearly mentions the tract of land as near Platæa, and ten stades from the Asopus, that is to say, no doubt, measuring from that part of the Asopus where the Greek confederates were stationed. Now, from actual survey, it appears, that, going from the Asopus towards Platæa, the traveller crosses two streams, descending from Cithæron, and forming a tongue of land, from their sources to their junction, about three miles long, and in its widest part half a mile over: the first of these rivers to the eastward may be supposed to be the Molœis, mentioned in chap. 57; the second may be regarded as the Oeroe, which, after receiving the waters of the Molœis, bends towards the west, and flows down to the gulf of Lepanto, whereas the Asopus flows into the gulf of Negropont. Such is the explanation to be given, if we confine our observations to the actual face of the country: but, on the other hand, if we rely only on the text itself of Herodotus, the map in the Atlas of the Anacharsis will, perhaps, be deemed satisfactory: that map is formed after the conjectures of Larcher, which are these; that the Asopus and Oeroe are one and the same stream; that the Asopus, at its head, near the foot of Cithæron, bore the name of Oeroe; that a little above Platæa it divided into two branches, which again united a little below, that is to say, to the eastward of the town; that ten stades below this junction, the stream assumed the name of Asopus, which it preserved to the end of its course in the sea of Eubœa. Thus the island of Oeroe was ten stades from the Asopus, that is to say, ten stades from the place where the river assumed its more important name.

[96] About four hours after sun-set. The Greeks divided the night into three watches. *Larcher.*

gone by, and the cavalry had ceased its operations, it then being night and the hour at which they had agreed to remove, the majority of the squadrons took up arms and baggage, and marched away, but without intending to proceed to the spot decided upon; for as soon as they had begun to move, they gladly fled from the cavalry, towards the city of the Platæans, and went to the Heræum; which stands before the town of Platæa, and is twenty stades distant from the Gargaphian spring: on their arrival there, they pitched
53 their arms[97] opposite the sacred precinct. These accordingly encamped about the Heræum; and Pausanias, seeing that they had departed from the station, gave the command to the Lacedæmonians also to take up their arms, and proceed in the same direction as the rest; imagining that they were gone to the place that had been agreed upon. All the rest of the commanders of the line were ready to obey Pausanias; but Amompharetus the son of Poliades, captain of the company of the Pitanetæ[98], refused "to fly before the strangers, or willingly to bring disgrace on Sparta;" and expressed his astonishment at what was going on, for he had not been present at the former conference. Pausanias and Euryanax deemed it disgraceful in this individual to disobey their orders, but that it would be still more so in themselves to forsake the company of the Pitanetæ, particularly such being the ideas of the captain; fearing lest, if they abandoned him in order to do what they had agreed upon with the rest of the Hellenes, Amompharetus himself, and those with him, should perish. considering these things, they kept the Lacedæmonian camp unmoved, and endeavoured to persuade Amompharetus that it was not right in him to act as he did.

54 They were accordingly urging Amompharetus, the only one of the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans that wished to remain: and meanwhile, the Athenians were acting in the following manner. They remained without moving in the station where they had formed, knowing well the character of the Lacedæmonians, that they often said one thing and

[97] Concerning the form ὅπλα τίθεσθαι, see p. 40, note 197, of this Volume. The meaning here is explained by the author himself, ἱστρατοπεδεύοντο.

[98] All the real Spartans were divided into twelve μόραι, each probably of four hundred men, and commanded by a polemarch: each μόρα was subdivided into four λόχαι, of perhaps one hundred men each. Amompharetus had the command, therefore, of one of the forty-eight λόχοι. Thucydides, i. 20, positively asserts, that there was no such lochos among the Spartans bearing the name which Herodotus gives to that commanded by Amompharetus. and that this individual was a Spartan, is evident from chap. 71 of this Book. It appears, however, from the commentators, to be a moot point, whether Herodotus has made a mistake or not

intended another. But when the troops began to decamp, they sent one of their horsemen, to see whether the Spartans were addressing themselves to march, or whether they might not have wholly forsaken the idea of moving; and at the same time to ask of Pausanias what was to be done. When 55
the herald arrived at the Lacedæmonians, he beheld them arrayed in their original station, and their chiefs engaged in bickering; for, in spite of their persuasions, Euryanax and Pausanias could not prevail on Amompharetus not to run the hazard of leaving his band alone of the Lacedæmonians behind: at last, they had fallen to mutual abuse; when the herald of the Athenians arriving, stood before them: just at that time, Amompharetus, using injurious terms, lifts up with both hands a stone, and, casting it at the feet of Pausanias, "With that ballot[99] (he said) he voted not to fly before the strangers[100]": calling the barbarians, strangers. Pausanias called him a fool, a madman; and turning to the herald of the Athenians, who had made the inquiries with which he was charged, bade him relate to them how matters stood, and that he entreated them to draw nearer to the Lacedæmonians, and act, in respect to the departure, as they themselves should. The herald accordingly went back to the 56
Athenians; and the dawn having overtaken the Lacedæmonians altercating with one another, Pausanias, who had remained all the time, conceiving that when the other Lacedæmonians were departed Amompharetus would not stay behind (which, in fact, proved to be the case), gave the signal, and marched all the rest by the hills; while the Tegeans followed in the rear. But the Athenians, in battle array, marched in a different direction from the Lacedæmonians: for they, out of fear of the cavalry, marched along the slopes and root of Cithæron; while the Athenians followed the road lower down, marching along the plain. Amompharetus at 57
first, imagining Pausanias would never dare to abandon them, endeavoured to make his troops remain where they were, and not quit their post; but when those with Pausanias were at a good distance, then, beginning to suspect they might in right earnest[101] abandon him, he commanded his company to take up arms, and marched them, at a soldier's

[99] The ballots used in voting were little pebbles: to this the action of Amompharetus alludes.

[100] See p. 312, note 23, of this Vol.

[101] *ἰθείῃ τίχῃ*. Ego sic verto: "ratus se palam ab illis deseri." Utrum recte, penes eruditos sit judicium. *Viger*, p. 114, note. Wesseling interprets this passage by "the knowledge he had of the military art." I doubt much the accuracy of this interpretation. There was no necessity that Amompharetus should be very skilled in military tactics to perceive that he was abandoned. *Larcher*.

pace[102], towards the main body: which having removed about ten stades[103], waited for Amompharetus's company, halting near the river Molœis, and on a spot called Argiopius, where there is likewise a temple of Ceres Eleusinian. They waited with the following view, that if Amompharetus and his company did not forsake the post where they were stationed, but remained as they were, they might go back to their assistance. But hardly had Amompharetus and his men joined them, when the whole horse of the barbarians pressed upon their rear: for the cavalry had come up with the intention of continuing what they had been in the habit of doing[104]; but seeing the place empty where the Hellenes had been drawn up on the former days, they pushed forward with their horses; and having overtaken the Lacedæmonians, pressed them closely.

58 Meanwhile Mardonius, understanding that the Hellenes had departed under favour of the night, and seeing the field deserted, called Thorax of Larissa, and his brothers Eurypylus and Tharsydeius[105]; to whom he said. "Sons of Aleuas, "what will you say, now that you see yonder place deserted? "You, who are their neighbours, say that the Lacedæmonians "never fly from battle, and are the first in matters of war— "those men, whom you have seen erewhile change their sta- "tion, and who, as we now all see, have in the last night "run away. At the very time it behoved them to contend "in battle with men truly valiant, they have proved, that, as "they are worthless[106], they have obtained distinction only "among worthless Hellenes. I had many excuses, for you, "at least, who are inexperienced of the Persians, when I "heard you extol those by whom you knew something had "been done; but I was still more astonished at Artabazus, "both that he should fear the Lacedæmonians, and that,

[102] βάδην signifies "step by step"; that is to say, keeping the step like soldiers: this word has been translated "slowly," which is inaccurate; for in Xenoph. Anab. 4, 6, 25, occurs the phrase βάδην ταχὺ ἰφίστασθαι

[103] The island of Oeroe was only ten stades from the camp of the Greeks, as we have seen higher up, chap 50. But in taking the road by the heights, in order to avoid the Persian cavalry, Pausanias must have lengthened his way considerably. *Larcher.* This remark of Larcher was made, no doubt, in order to increase the probability of his conjecture respecting the Oeroé; but if we adopt the explanation given at the beginning of note 95, p. 334, we shall find in this passage an additional argument against the tract of ground mentioned by the historian, chap. 51, being washed on both sides by one and the same river.

[104] That is to say, to annoy the Greeks when they were drawing water, and to gall them by flights of arrows.

[105] See chap. i. of this Book, and VII. 6.

[106] οὐδένες, "men of no consideration." See Matt. 437. *obs* 1. 2d paragraph.

" fearing them, he should make such a dastardly proposal,
" as that it behoved us to shift our station, and go and suffer
' ourselves to be besieged in the citadel of Thebes: the King
' shall hear of this from me, hereafter. But of this we shall
' speak elsewhere: we must not now permit the enemies to
' execute their intentions: they must be followed up, until
' they be overtaken, and give us satisfaction for all they
' have done to the Persians." Having so said, he led the Per- 59
sians on in double quick time; making them cross the Asopus, and follow on the track of the Hellenes, as if in truth they were running away: he directed his pursuit against the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans only; for he could not, by reason of the hills, see the Athenians, who were winding along the plain. The rest of the commanders of the barbarian divisions, seeing the Persians rushing on in pursuit of the Hellenes[107], forthwith lifted up all their banners, and followed, each as fast as his legs could carry him[108], without keeping any order or line. Thus with clamorous confusion they hastened on, as if they expected to swallow up the Hellenes.

Meanwhile Pausanias, closely pressed by the cavalry, sent 60
a horseman[109] to the Athenians, and said this: " Athenian
" soldiers, now that the mighty contest lies before us, whether
" Hellas shall be free or enthralled, we are betrayed—I mean
" us Lacedæmonians and you Athenians—by the confederates,
" who during the last night have run away. Now, therefore,
" what we have to do is determined: it is, to resist as gallantly
" as we can, and stand by one another. Therefore, if at first
" the cavalry had fallen on you, it would have been the duty
" of us, and of the Tegeans likewise, who with us have not be-
" trayed Hellas, to hasten to your succour, but now, as the
" whole body has advanced against us, it is just[110] that you
" should come to the defence of the division which is mostly
" pressed. If, however, you yourselves are so situated that it
" is impossible for you to give us any assistance[111], do us the
" favour to send the bowmen we acknowledge, that in this war

[107] Matt. 535, *b*.

[108] Matt 315, 1.

[109] It appears, from the account of Herodotus, that the Greek confederates had no horse; for had they had any, the historian would hardly have failed to make mention of it. These horsemen, therefore, mentioned here and there, were, in all probability, nothing but messengers, mounted for greater conveniency and despatch.

[110] The uneducated, in all countries, are the most likely class to preserve the genuine idiom of a language. In England, an idiom precisely similar to that of the Greek is still preserved in that class: " You have a right to do so and so;" meaning, " It is your duty to do so and so."

[111] See the First Volume of this Work, Book II. note 243.

" you shew by far the greatest zeal[112], and therefore doubt
61 " not but you will attend to this request." As soon as the Athenians heard this, they hastened to their assistance, and to defend them to their best. But when they were already proceeding for that purpose, the Hellenes who held with the King, and had been arrayed against them, began the attack, so that they could no longer afford any assistance, being harassed by the division which pressed[113] upon them. Thus the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans, being unassisted, (the former, with the light-armed men, were fifty thousand[114], and the Tegeans three; for these latter would never separate from the Lacedæmonians,) offered sacrifice, intending to engage Mardonius and the forces with him. As the victims shewed nothing favourable, many of them in the mean time fell, and many more were wounded; for the Persians, fencing themselves behind their wicker shields[115], let fly such showers of arrows, that, the Spartans being much harassed, and the victims still remaining unfavourable, Pausanias cast a look on the Heræum of the Platæans, and invoked the goddess, beseeching her not to deceive their hopes.

62 While he was yet making this invocation, the Tegeans, first marching forwards, advanced to the barbarians. Immediately after Pausanias's prayer, the victims became favourable to the Lacedæmonians. this having at length taken place, they advanced likewise against the Persians; and the Persians against them, after casting aside their bows. The engagement began near the wicker-shields; and when these were swept down, a still sharper contest took place by the precinct of Ceres, and for a considerable time, till at last they came to engage hand to hand; for the barbarians laying hold on the javelins, had shivered them. In spirit and in strength

[112] Matt. 547, 2. second paragraph.

[113] τὸ προσκείμενον, for οἱ προσκείμενοι, or τὸ προσκείμενον μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ So in VII. 209, we have seen τὸ ὑπομένον for τοὺς ὑπομένοντας, where I referred the reader to Matt. 269, second paragraph.

[114] See the table of the forces at the second position:

| | |
|---|---|
| Spartans - - - | 5,000 |
| Light-armed Helots - | 35,000 |
| Heavy-armed Lacedæmonians - - - | 5,000 |
| Light-armed Lacedæmonians - - - | 5,000 |
| | 50,000 |

[115] These *gerra* of the Persians do not appear to have been of any use in close fighting, but to have served nearly the purpose of what we now call *gabions*, that is to say, baskets about four feet over, and five or six high, which, being filled with earth, are placed upon batteries, &c. Our gabions are filled with earth, which serves to deaden the balls; but those of the Persians needed no such addition to stop the progress of an arrow or javelin. Bellanger, though he probably never heard of such a thing as a gabion, has given such a good description of this mode of defence, that I shall present my readers with his observations.

the Persians were not inferior, but they were light-armed: they were likewise inexperienced, and not comparable to their adversaries in skill. They dashed forward one at a time, or ten at a time, and, collecting in parties more or less numerous, fell upon the Spartans, and perished. In the 63
quarter where Mardonius was, fighting on a white horse, and having around his person one thousand men, chosen from the most valiant of the Persians, they pressed most strongly on their adversaries. So long, accordingly, as Mardonius survived, they resisted, and, fighting, sent down many of the Lacedæmonians; but when Mardonius went down, and the division stationed around him, although the most valiant, had fallen, the rest took to flight, and yielded to the Lacedæmonians. for their dress[116] was a great disadvantage to them, and, although without bucklers, and light-armed[117], they had to contend with heavy-armed troops. Here, 64
according to the oracle[118], the price of Leonidas's blood was paid to the Spartans by Mardonius, and the noblest victory, of all that we know of, was won by Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, and grandson of Anaxandrides. (the names of his ancestors I have mentioned above, when speaking of Leonidas[119], as they were the same.) Mardonius fell by the hands of Aimnestus, a man of renown in Sparta, who, some time subsequent to the Medic war, at the head of three hundred men, engaged with the united forces of the Messenians at Stenyclerus, and fell himself, together with the three hun-

"*φράξαντες τὰ γέρρα*. I understand by this expression, that they made themselves a rampart of their bucklers, taken from their arms and piled before them. This military manœuvre is not much known; but Herodotus himself induces us to take his expression in this sense. 1. He adds, that the combat took place near this sort of rampart, *περὶ τὰ γέρρα*, chap. 61; and that those gerra were swept down by the Greeks, *ὡς ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε*. 2. He determines the sense of the expression, in speaking of the battle of Mycale, chap. 98: *συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἔρκος εἶναι σφι*, "They placed their gerra side by side, to serve as a rampart": again, chap. 101, he says, "The Persians defended themselves as long as the gerra remained standing," &c.

[116] Larcher adds the words, "leur habit *long et embarrassant*:" *στολὴ* is the word Herodotus uses for the general accoutrements of a soldier: it seems, therefore, that the word *ἐσθὴς* must have been chosen, in this passage, to convey some such idea as that developed by the French translator.

[117] The *γυμνὸς*, or *γυμνήτης*, was opposed, by the lightness of his arms, to the *ὁπλίτης*. The use of the word here defines the meaning of *ἄνωπλοι*, higher up; which, therefore, cannot signify "unarmed." When the Persians had thrown away their gerra, or gabions, and their bows, their defensive arms were only their cuirasses of iron plates, like the scales of a fish; their offensive weapons were short lances and poniards: thus situated, they were no match for the Greek hoplite, with his ponderous shield, long javelin, and cutlass.

[118] He alludes, no doubt, to the speech of Xerxes to the Spartan herald, VIII. 114. See p. 128, note 323, of this Volume.

[119] Refer to VII. 204.

65 dred. The Persians, being turned to flight at Platæa by the Lacedæmonians, fled in complete disorder towards their own camp, and to the wooden wall[120] which they had erected in the territory of Thebes. It is to me a wonder, that, as they fought by the grove of Ceres, not one of the Persians should have been known either to have entered or died there, whereas the greater number fell on profane land round the sacred precinct. I suppose—if indeed it is allowable to suppose any thing respecting divine matters—that the goddess would not receive them, because they had fired her holy fane[121] at Eleusis. Such was the issue of this battle.

66 Artabazus the son of Pharnaces had, at the beginning, been displeased at Mardonius being left by the King; and afterwards, in spite of his many arguments to dissuade him from giving battle, had not succeeded. Displeased at the operations of Mardonius, he took the following measures: he had no inconsiderable command, having with him as many as forty thousand men; accordingly, when the engagement took place, he, well knowing what would be the issue of the battle, drew up his men, and advanced, previously giving his commands, that they should all follow whither he should lead, and at the same pace they should see him take[122]. Having first given those orders, he led on his men, as if forsooth[123] to join the battle; but advancing on his road, he saw the Persians flying; accordingly, he no longer led on his men in the same order, but retreated as fast as possible, flying neither to the wooden fort, nor to that of Thebes, but towards Phocis,

67 anxious to reach the Hellespont as speedily as possible. Although the rest of the Hellenes on the King's side behaved with voluntary cowardice, the Bœotians fought with the Athenians for a considerable time: for such of the Thebans as held with the Medes[124] acted with no small energy, fighting, and shewing nothing of cowardice, so much so, that, out of their number, three hundred of the first and most valiant fell there by the hands of the Athenians; but when they likewise were turned to flight, they fled to Thebes, but not in the same disorder as did the Persians and the throng of other combatants, who had neither fought, nor achieved any

68 thing. It is evident[125] to my mind, that all the affairs of the barbarians depended on the Persians; for[126] at this time,

[120] See chap. 15, of this Book.

[121] *τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἀνακτόριον.* See Valck. Not. and Schweig. Var. Lect.

[122] See Matt 315, 1.

[123] See p. 67, note 3, of this Vol.

[124] There were some of the Thebans who did not hold with the Mede: see chap. 86, of this Book.

[125] *δηλοῖ*, impersonally, as perhaps in II. 117. See, however, Book II. note 188, of the First Volume of this work.

[126] *εἰ*, "quandoquidem, quoniam." *Schweig. Lex. Herod.* voc. *εἰ*, 4.

even before they had engaged with the foes, they took to flight, because they saw the Persians do so. Thus, then, all fled, with the exception of the Bœotian cavalry and the rest of the horse. This corps was likewise of great service to the fugitives, keeping always close to the enemy, and covering the flying army from the pursuit of the Hellenes. The 69
conquerors accordingly followed up, pursuing and slaughtering the soldiers of Xerxes; and during this confusion, tidings came to the rest of the Hellenes, who were arrayed about the Heræum[127], and had kept aloof from the action, that the battle had been fought, and Pausanias's party had conquered. Hearing this, the Corinthians[128], without observing any order, took the road leading straight down to the precinct of Ceres, across the root of the mountain and the hills; the Megareans and Phliasii along the plain, which was the most level of the two roads. But when the Megareans and Phliasii were drawing near the enemy, the horse of the Thebans, commanded by Asopodorus the son of Timander, seeing them come on without any order, pushed their horses towards them, and, charging, sent down six hundred of their number; and pursuing the rest, drove them headlong into the defile of Cithæron. Thus those six hundred perished ingloriously.

The Persians and the rest of the multitude, having fled to 70
the wooden wall, ascended on the towers, before[129] the arrival of the Lacedæmonians; and having so done, prepared to defend the wall to their best[130]. The Lacedæmonians having come up, a sharp fight ensued before the rampart; and in fact, until the Athenians arrived, the barbarians kept the Lacedæmonians at bay, and had by far the best, as the assailants knew nothing of the attack of fortified places; but when the Athenians joined them, a furious attack took place, which lasted for a long time. At last, after a valiant and well-supported attack, the Athenians scaled the wall, and made a breach, by which the Hellenes poured in. The Tegeans were the first that entered the fortified inclosure; and they it was[131] who plundered the tent of Mardonius; and among other things which they got out of it, was the manger for the

[127] See chap. 51.

[128] *οἱ ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους*, equivalent to *οἱ Κορίνθιοι*; so *οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀτάνην* for *Ὀτάνης*, III. 76. See Schweig. Not. and Book III. note 117, of the First Volume of this Work.

[129] *ἔφθησαν . . . ἀναβάντες, πρὶν ἤ*. See Matt. 553.

[130] *ἐφράξαντο*. Valla translates, "præstruunt murum"; and in like manner, Larcher, without attending to the words *ἀναβάντες δὲ*, "se hâtèrent de fortifier la muraille—*hastened to fortify the wall.*" I take the words *φράξασθαι τὸ τεῖχος* as signifying "to protect, to defend, the wall"; as if the defenders were a *φραγμὸς*, by which the wall should be defended. *Schweig. Lex. Herod.* voc. *φράσσειν*.

[131] See Matt. 269, *obs.*

horses, all of brass, and deserving to be seen. This manger of Mardonius the Tegeans dedicated in the temple of Minerva Alea: the other things which they obtained they conveyed to the same place as the rest of the Hellenes[132]. But now the wall was fallen, the barbarians no longer kept in a body, neither did any one recal his valour. They were stupified with terror; as might have been expected, when so many tens of thousands of men were hemmed in a narrow space; and such an easy opportunity was afforded the Hellenes of slaughtering, that out of the whole, which, excepting the forty thousand[133] with which Artabazus had fled, amounted to three hundred thousand, not even three thousand survived: the total loss of the Lacedæmonians from Sparta[134], in the engagement, was ninety-one; that of the Tegeans, sixteen; that of the Athenians, fifty-two.

71 Among the barbarians, the Persian infantry, and the cavalry of the Sacæ, distinguished themselves most. as an individual, Mardonius is said to have shewn the greatest valour. Among the Hellenes, the Lacedæmonians exceeded in prowess, although the Athenians and Tegeans displayed great valour. This I can deduce only from this fact—for all those three nations overthrew the enemies arrayed against them—that the Lacedæmonians engaged with the more valiant part of the enemy's forces, and conquered them. The most valiant, by far, in my opinion, was Aristodemus; the same who, having been the only one saved from the three hundred at Thermopylæ[135], had been held in disgrace and contempt: next to him were particularly distinguished by their valour, Posidonius, and Philocyon, and Amompharetus the Spartan. But nevertheless, when it was canvassed who[136] of their number had shewn himself most valiant, the Spartans who were present at the action affirmed, that Aristodemus, in consequence of his guilt, evidently wished to die, and therefore, like a man beside himself, quitted the ranks and achieved great actions; whereas Posidonius, without any wish to die, had behaved with valour; and so far, he was the better man: this, however, they may perhaps say through envy[137]. All those whom I have mentioned, of the men that fell in this field, received honours; saving Aristodemus, who, having resolved to die in consequence of the guilt I have
72 mentioned, was not honoured. The above, then, were those who obtained the greatest renown at Platæa. For Calli-

[132] ἐς τὠυτὸ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι Matt. 386, 1.

[133] Supply μυριάδων (from μυριάδες before) after τεσσάρων. *Larcher.*

[134] Matt 268.

[135] See VII. 229, 230, 231.

[136] ὃς for τίς. Matt. p. 485.

[137] Matt. 514.

crates, who had joined the army, and was the handsomest of the Hellenes of that day[138], not only of the Lacedæmonians themselves, but even of all the Hellenes, did not fall in the action: at the time Pausanias was sacrificing, he was wounded in the ribs by an arrow, as he was seated in the line: the others then engaged, while he, being taken off, regretted his death, and observed to Arimestus the Platæan, that he did not grieve at dying for Hellas, but because he had not been able to use his arm, and it had not been granted him to achieve some deed worthy of himself, anxious as he was to do so. Among the Athenians, it is related that Sophanes 73
the son of Eutychides, belonging to the canton of Decelea, reaped great glory: the Deceleans, as the Athenians themselves state, had of old performed an action which has profited them ever since. In early times, the Tyndaridæ, at the head of a numerous army, invaded Attica in search of Helen, and, not being able to discover where Helen had been carried to, drove away the people. they relate, that at that time the Deceleans, or, as others represent, Decelus himself, offended at the insolence of Theseus[139], and fearing for the whole territory of the Athenians, discovered the whole business to them, and took them to Aphidnæ, which Titacus, a native of the country, delivered up to the Tyndaridæ. In consequence of this action, immunity and precedence continued uniformly, down to the present day, to be assigned to the people of Decelea at Sparta, so that in the war that occurred many years subsequent to these events between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, when the Lacedæmonians ravaged the rest of Attica, they refrained from Decelea. Of Sophanes, 74
who was of the above canton, and who at this period surpassed the Athenians in valour, two accounts are given: one, that he carried an iron anchor, fastened from the girdle of his cuirass by a brass chain; which anchor, whenever he approached near the enemy, he cast before him, in order the enemies, in charging[140] upon him, might not push him aside; and when the flight of the adversaries took place, he took up the anchor and pursued. Such is the first report: the other, contradictory to that just mentioned, states, that he bore, as a device, an anchor on his shield, which was constantly whirling round and never at rest, and not an iron

[138] *κάλλιστος* must be taken in its direct sense, "handsome"; for Plutarch calls him *ἰδίᾳ κάλλιστον Ἑλλήνων*. *Larcher.*

[139] This rape of Helen by Theseus, previous to that by Paris, has furnished Racine with a very pretty plot for one of his best tragedies, the Iphigenia in Aulis.

[140] *ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως* is, according to Schweighæuser, equivalent to *ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως καὶ ἐπίπτειν εἰς τὸν πολέμιον*. *Schweig. Lex. Herod.*

75 anchor fastened from his cuirass. Another brilliant action performed by Sophanes is related: when the Athenians were besieging Ægina, he challenged and slew Eurybates of Argos, a man who exercised the pentathlon. Some time subsequent to these events, this Sophanes, being with Teagrus the son of Glaucon at the head of the Athenian army, met with his death from the Edonians, at Datus, as he was fighting for the gold mines.

76 The barbarians having been thus swept down at Platæa by the Hellenes, a female came over to them: when she understood the Persians had perished, and the Hellenes were conquerors, being the concubine of Pharandates the son of Teaspis, a Persian, adorned with much gold both herself and her attendants, and, with the most beautiful dress of all present, stepped out of her carriage, and proceeded towards the Lacedæmonians, who were still busy in the slaughter. Seeing Pausanias directing all, and acquainted with his name and country, as she had often heard them mentioned, she knew it must be he; and embracing his knees, she spoke these words: "King of Sparta[141], save me, your supplicant, from "slavery; for you have already thus far obliged me, by ex- "terminating these men, who had no respect either for gods "or heroes. I am, by birth, of Cos, and daughter of Hege- "torides the son of Antagoras. The Persian carried me off, "at Cos, with violence, and has kept me." Pausanias replied in these words: "Madam, be of good heart, not only "as my suppliant, but more particularly if what you say is "true, and you are the daughter of Hegetorides of Cos, who "is my dearest friend of all dwelling in those parts." Having so said, he placed her for the time in the hands of the ephori who were present, and subsequently sent her to Ægina, the

77 place where she herself wished to go. Presently after the departure of this lady, came the Mantineans, too late for action; and, when apprised that they had come after the engagement, were much grieved, and owned they were deserving of being punished[142]: hearing that the Medes under Artabazus had taken flight, they pursued them as far as Thessaly, although the Lacedæmonians wished to dissuade them from undertaking the pursuit. The Mantineans, on their return home, banished the leaders of the army from the land. After the Mantineans, came up the Elians; and, after expressing the same sorrow as the Mantineans, returned; and, on their arrival home, banished likewise their

[141] Pausanias was not king; he was only guardian to the king his nephew. See chap. 10, of this Book.

[142] ἄξιοι . . ζημιῶσαι. Matt. 532. obs. 2.

leaders. Such were the events regarding the Mantineans and Elians.

In the camp of the Æginetæ at Platæa was Lampon the son 78
of Pytheas, one of the first[143] men of Ægina: he approached Pausanias with a most abominable proposal: coming before him, he spoke thus, with great earnestness: "Son of Cleom-
" brotus, you have wrought a deed truly superhuman, both
" in magnitude and in glory; and the divinity has granted
" you, in rescuing Hellas, to obtain renown, the highest of all
' the Hellenes we know. Complete likewise what remains
' to be done, so that yet greater fame may be your share,
' and every barbarian hereafter beware of undertaking[144]
wicked actions against the Hellenes. For when Leonidas
' fell at Thermopylæ, Mardonius and Xerxes severed his
' head, and stuck it on a gibbet: return the like for those
' deeds, and you will have praise, not only at the hands of
' the Spartans, but likewise of all the others of the Hellenes:
' for in exposing[145] Mardonius, you will avenge your uncle
Leonidas." Such were the words Lampon said, expecting 79
to gratify the Spartan. But the prince replied in these words: "My host of Ægina, I admire your good-will and
" prudence[146]: you have however strayed from the right road.
" For after so highly extolling me, and my country, and my
" work, you have debased me to the lowest, by advising me
" to insult a dead body, and saying, that if I do so I shall
" increase my fame. Such actions become better the bar-
" barians than the Hellenes; and for those deeds do we hate
" them. In this respect, therefore, I will endeavour to gra-
" tify neither the Æginetæ, nor any others whom such things
" may please: it is enough for me that I please the Spartans,
" acting and speaking honestly. You bid me avenge Leo-
" nidas. I say, he has been fully avenged: both he and the
" others that fell at Thermopylæ are avenged by the death
" of these countless multitudes. Hereafter, however, come
" not before me with such a proposal, nor advise such things;
" and be thankful[147] that thou hast not met with punishment."
Lampon, having received this reply, went his ways.

[143] Αἰγινητέων τὰ πρῶτα. Matt. 438. We have seen a similar expression in vi. 100: see p. 111, note 241, of this Vol. Larcher quotes "prima virorum," Lucret. i. 87; and "summa ducum Atrides," Ovid. Amor. i. Eleg. ix. 37.

[144] ὑπάρχειν . . . κοιόν. Matt. *549, 8, second paragraph. τις, 487, 2. φυλλάσσηται μὴ ὑπάρχειν, 533, 5.

[145] This passage proves that ἀνασκολοπίζειν and ἀνασταυροῦν are synonymous; and that both are used by Herodotus to signify some mode of exposing the malefactor's body, and not of execution, as I have proved likewise in the First Volume of this Work, Book III. note 197.

[146] See Matt. 540. 2d paragraph.

[147] χάρειν ἴσθι, Viger, p 120, note 18. The contrast between the Pausanias of Herodotus, the virtuous and gallant patriot, and the Pausanias of

80 Pausanias having made a proclamation that no one should touch the booty, commanded the Helots to collect all the things together. These people, scattering themselves about the camp, found tents full of gold and silver, sofas plated with gold and silver, golden bowls and saucers, and other drinking vases. They found, on waggons, bags, in which were packed gold and silver kettles: they likewise tore the bracelets and necklaces[148] from the bodies stretched on the field, together with their cimeters, which were adorned with gold; for of their embroidered garments no account was taken, such was the abundance of the booty. Here the Helots stole much, and sold it to the Æginetæ, they likewise produced a great quantity, such articles principally as it was not possible to secrete; in consequence of this, the great riches of the Æginetæ had their first origin, for they purchased gold from the Helots as if forsooth it had been brass.

81 When they had brought together the treasures, and set out one-tenth for the god of Delphi, from which the golden tripod was dedicated which stands on the triple-headed serpent of brass, close to the altar, having likewise set out one-tenth[149] for the god at Olympia, from which was consecrated the bronze Jove, ten cubits high; and another tenth to the god at the Isthmus, from which was made the bronze Neptune, seven cubits high; having, I say, set out those portions, they divided the rest among themselves, each receiving according to his deserts—the concubines of the Persians, the gold, the silver, the other precious things, and the sumpter-beasts. No one makes mention of what choice things were, therefore, given to such of the conquerors who had exceeded in valour at Platæa: I suppose, however, they must have been presented with something. With regard to Pausanias, ten of every thing[150] were set out, and presented to

Thucydides, the proud and luxurious aspirant to tyranny, may serve, not only to statesmen, but to private individuals, as a wholesome lesson.

[148] See VIII. 113. Mardonius had particularly chosen the troops who wore those ornaments; which therefore appear to have been given as a reward for gallant conduct; like the medals in this country, and the orders of the continental states: if such was the case, we must conclude that the Persians were not deficient in that chivalrous feeling, which is the surest basis of national honour, and has generally elevated, in a moral point of view, the subjects of monarchies far above the members of republican states, who are ever ready to listen to the vilest suggestions of wicked demagogues and wild enthusiasts.

[149] I supply δεκάτην after ἐξελόντες: so that, according to my translation, three-tenths of the whole booty were dedicated to the gods. Larcher translates differently, understanding only one-tenth to have been given to the gods. Whichever interpretation is adopted, the moral is the same, that the truly brave are always ready to attribute their success to the interposition of Divine Providence, and leave to boasting cowards the office of attributing every thing to human efforts.

[150] This sense of πάντα, with numerals, is very frequent in Herodotus,

him, of women, of horses, of talents, of camels, and, in like manner, of the rest of the treasures. It is likewise related 82
that the following took place: as Xerxes, in his flight out of Hellas, had left to Mardonius all his furniture; Pausanias, therefore, seeing Mardonius's tent[151] furnished with gold and with silver, and with arrases of many dyes, gave orders to the suttlers and cooks to prepare a supper in the same manner as if for Mardonius. when the persons commanded had done so, Pausanias, seeing gold and silver sofas with rich coverings, together with gold and silver tables, and the magnificent preparations for the repast itself, was astonished at the riches spread forth, and, in joke, commanded his own attendants to get ready a Laconian supper. the difference between the two repasts being accordingly very great, it is related, that Pausanias, laughing, sent for the Hellenic captains: when they were assembled, pointing to the preparations made for the two suppers, he said: "Men of Hellas, I "have convened you for the following purpose, being de- "sirous of shewing you the folly of the commander of the "Medes; who, though he had such fare as this, has come to "deprive us of one thus miserable." Such is the speech Pausanias is said to have made to the Hellenic captains. A 83
long time however after these events, many of the Platæans found likewise gold and silver boxes, and other precious things[152]. And still later than that, when the bodies were stripped of the flesh, (for the Platæans collected the skeletons in one place,) there was found a scull without any seam[153], but consisting of only one bone; there was seen likewise a lower and upper jaw with the teeth of one piece, all in one

i. 50. iii. 18, 74. "The tenth of all" would be an absurd and unscholar-like translation. The meaning of the author is, that Pausanias received ten women, ten horses, ten talents, ten camels, &c.

[151] I am obliged to adopt Schweighæuser's conjecture, σκηνὴν instead of κατασκευήν Larcher passes over the difficulty without any admonition to his reader; an oversight, of which few instances are to be met with in his excellent work. As my labours are now drawing to a close, I hope I shall be permitted to express my gratitude for the assistance which I have derived from the literary researches of that learned gentleman—researches which he carried on amid the horrors of the Revolution, uncheered by the prospect of popular applause. Dearly connected as I am with his country, I regret that his labours should be appreciated only in foreign lands; but I hope the day will come, when Frenchmen will see, that the study of classical literature is the only sure basis of a correct taste, and haply of a good moral character: then, no doubt, French scholars will learn to cherish the memory of their illustrious countryman.

[152] The genitive τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων is governed, not by θήκας, but by τινα, understood. See Schweigh. Lex. Herod. Concerning the meaning of θήκη, see Book III. note 207, in the First Volume of this Work.

[153] Such a scull used to be seen, when I was a boy, in the catacombs of Paris: whether it is still there, I know not.

bone, both the front teeth and the grinders united: there was likewise found the skeleton of a man five cubits high.

84 On the day following the battle, the corse of Mardonius disappeared, but by whose means I cannot undertake to say for certain: for I have heard of many different individuals, and from various places, who are said to have buried Mardonius: I have even known many who received great gifts from Atrontes the son of Mardonius, for so doing. Which of them, however, it was that took away and buried the corse, I have not been able to ascertain: even Dionysaphanes, a native of Ephesus, has the reputation to have buried Mardo-
85 nius. He was therefore in this manner buried. The Hellenes, after they had shared the booty made at the field of Platæa, buried their own dead, each nation separately. The Lacedæmonians made three graves; and then buried those who had borne sacred offices[154], in which number were Posidonius, Amompharetus, Philocyon, and Callicrates: in one of the graves, accordingly, these individuals were laid in the second, the rest of the Spartans; and in the third, the Helots. In this manner did the Lacedæmonians bury their dead. The Tegeans buried theirs all together, in a separate spot: the Athenians did the like with their slain, as did the Megareans and Phliasii, with those of their countrymen who had been destroyed by the cavalry. The graves of the above nations, therefore, were filled with bodies. With regard to the tombs of the others which we know are seen at Platæa, I understand that those people, ashamed of their absence from the action, raised each an empty burrow, for the sake of future generations. Indeed, there is on that spot even a grave of the Æginetæ, which, I am informed, was thrown up, ten years after the action, at the request of the Æginetæ, by Cleades the son of Autodicus, a Platæan, and their representative[155].

[154] In the text, the *irenes*, from Pauw's conjecture. The ἰρὴν or *sirên*, in the language of the Lacedæmonians, was the young man, or ἔφηβος, from the eighteenth year upwards. The old reading was ἰρέας, which Mr. Mitford renders, "those who had borne sacred offices," with the following observation in the margin: "This obvious interpretation of the term ἰρέας, which stands in all the editions of Herodotus, does not appear to me loaded with any difficulty. I wish to avoid discussion of matters which lie within the proper province of the critic or the antiquarian, rather than of the historian; yet I must own, that I think the ingenious conjectures of Valckenarius and others upon this passage, in the notes of Wesseling's edition, all more open to objection than the old reading." Mitford's History of Greece, vol. II. p. 240. note 14. 8vo. edition, 1822.

[155] I have used the word "representative," because I did not like to put a Greek word in the English. With regard to the meaning of the word πρόξενος, see p. 91, note 137, of this Volume. I think the word has the latter of the two senses mentioned in that note; apparently, a sort of consul or chargé d'affaires.

When, therefore, the Hellenes had interred their dead at 86
Platæa, they held council, and determined upon immediately directing their arms against Thebes, and demanding the surrender of such of the inhabitants[156] as had sided with the Mede; and before all, Timegenides and Attaginus, who were the chief leaders of the party: they likewise resolved, in case the Thebans refused to deliver them up, not to retire from the city till they had captured it. Having come to the above resolutions, they consequently, on the eleventh day from the engagement, arrived before Thebes, and laid siege, summoning the inhabitants to give up the men. The Thebans refusing to deliver them up, the Hellenes ravaged their land, and battered their wall. Seeing the besiegers did not forego 87
their depredations, Timegenides, on the twentieth day, addressed the Thebans thus "Men of Thebes, since it is so "decreed by the Hellenes, that they will not raise the siege, "and withdraw, before either they have taken Thebes, or you

"But if, being desirous of obtaining money, they claim our "persons only as a pretence[158], let us give them money from "the public chest; for we have not alone held with the Medes, "but so likewise did the commons: really, if it is because "they want our persons that they lay siege, we will present "ourselves before them, to plead our cause." The Thebans considered that he spoke well, and to the purpose: wherefore they presently despatched a herald over to Pausanias, expressing their willingness to give up the men. When the 88
two parties had come to an agreement on those conditions, Attaginus ran away from the town; and his sons having been sent to the besiegers, Pausanias absolved them of guilt, declaring that the children could not have participated in Medism: as for the other men whom the Thebans delivered up, they[159] imagined that they should be admitted to make their defence, and flattered themselves they might escape by means of money; but Pausanias, suspecting their intentions, no sooner had them in his power, than he disbanded the army of the confederates, and, taking the prisoners to Corinth,

[156] Two constructions may be given: 1. ἐξαιτέειν αὐτῶν, *i.e.* ἐξαιτέειν ἐξ αὐτῶν, or παρ' αὐτῶν. 2. ἐξαιτέειν τοὺς μηδίσαντας αὐτῶν. *Schweig. Not. Herod.*

[157] Concerning the metaphor of the original, see p. 4, note 10, of this Volume; and p. 71, note 28. Understand κακὰ after πλέω.

[158] προσχημα, "in speciem tantum." See Viger, p. 109.

[159] If by οἱ μὲν are understood the persons delivered up by the Thebans, this sentence will afford an instance of those anacoluthia so frequent in this author: οἱ μὲν may, however, be understood of the Thebans themselves, without any grammatical anomaly.

there put an end to their existence. Such then were the events at Platæa and Thebes.

89 Meanwhile, Artabazus the son of Pharnaces, in his flight from Platæa, was already at a considerable distance. On his arrival, the Thessalians invited him to their board[160], and made inquiries about the rest of the army; as they knew nothing of the events at Platæa. Artabazus, aware that if he was to tell them the whole truth, with regard to the contest, he himself, together with his army, would run a chance of being cut off, (for he thought that every one, who was informed of what had taken place, would fall upon him,) considering, I say, this within himself, he had communicated nothing to the Phocians, and now spoke thus to the Thessalians: "Men of Thessaly, as you see, I myself am making all "possible haste to arrive in Thrace. I am obliged to use "despatch, having been sent from the main body on cer-"tain business, together with these troops. You may expect "Mardonius himself and his army, following at my heels. "Do you therefore shew him hospitality; and give proof of "your good-will towards us; for it will not repent you here-"after to have so done." Having so spoken, he marched his army, with all speed, over Thessaly and Macedonia, straight for Thrace, cutting across by the inland road, and, in good truth, making all haste. He reached at last Byzantium, after losing on his road many of his troops; who, having to contend with famine and disease, were cut down by the Thracians. From Byzantium he crossed over on shipboard. Thus did Artabazus return into Asia.

90 On the very same day that the blow was struck at Platæa, another rout of the barbarians took place at Mycale of Ionia. For after the Hellenes had taken up their station at Delos—those I mean who came on ship-board with Leutychides the Lacedæmonian[161]—ambassadors went to them from Samos: they were, Lampon the son of Thrasycles, Athenagoras the son of Archestratides, and Hegesistratus son of Aristagoras, and had been despatched by the Samians, unknown to the Persians, and the tyrant Theomestor[162] son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had nominated tyrant of Samos. The delegates having come into the presence of the captains, Hegesistratus spoke, using many and various arguments; as, that "were the Ionians but to see the Hellenes, they would "detach themselves from the Persians, and that the barba-"rians would not abide their attack; or that, supposing even

[160] Of the form ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέειν, see p. 9, note 40, of this Volume.

[161] See VIII. 131, 132.

[162] See the cause of his promotion to the tyranny, VIII 85.

" they did abide the attack, never would the Hellenes meet " with such a booty " at the same time calling upon the common gods, he exhorted them to deliver Hellenic men from bondage, and to repel the barbarian · " which," he continued, " might easily be done by them; for the ships of the enemy " were bad sailers, and no match for the Hellenes. and if " they had any suspicion that they were endeavouring to " lead them on for some crafty purpose, they were themselves ready to be taken aboard the Hellenic fleet, as ho- " stages." As the Samian stranger continued to make earnest 91
entreaties, Leotychides, whether he made the inquiry from a wish of receiving an omen, or that he did so by chance, Providence so ordering, put the following question: " My Samian friend, what is thy name?" " Hegesistratus," said the other. Leotychides, cutting short the rest of the speech, whatever Hegesistratus might have been about to say, exclaimed, " I accept the omen, I accept the hegesistratus[163], " my Samian friend: meanwhile, do you yourself, and these " persons with you, pledge to us your faith; swear[164], that " the Samians will be zealous allies to us, and then take your " departure." Thus he spoke, and followed his words by 92
action, for immediately the Samians pledged their faith, and made oath of alliance with the Hellenes: having so done, two of the delegates bore away, for Leotychides commanded Hegesistratus to sail with the fleet, regarding his name as an omen. The Hellenes, suffering that day to intervene, had, on the following, tokens of success in their sacrifices: their divine was Deiphonus, the son of Evenius, a native of Apollonia: Apollonia, I mean, in the Ionian gulf.

The following event befel Evenius, the father of this divine. 93
In that town of Apollonia there are some sheep sacred to the sun, which of days graze on the banks of a river that flows down from Mount Lacmon, through the territory of Apollonia into the sea, near Port Oricus; but of nights, some chosen individual, the most illustrious of the citizens in point of wealth and birth, keep watch over them, each for the space of one year · for the Apolloniatæ make great account of these sheep, in consequence of some oracle. They are folded within a cavern at some distance from the town: here accordingly, upon a time, this Evenius was selected to keep watch; and one night, he having fallen asleep on his watch, some wolves entered the cavern, and destroyed about sixty of the sheep: when Evenius saw what had happened,

[163] Ἡγησίστρατος signifies " the leader of an armament ": hence the omen boding success in the mind of Leotychides.

[164] ἢ μήν. See p. 53, note 261, of this Volume.

he held his peace, and mentioned it to nobody, having it in mind to purchase others, and substitute them. He could not however keep it hidden from the Apolloniatæ; who, as soon as they found it out, brought him to judgment[165], and decreed, that since he had fallen asleep on his watch, he should be deprived of sight. But after they had blinded Evenius, immediately their flocks would no longer yean, neither would their land bear any crops. When they consulted the prophets at Dodone and Delphi respecting the cause of their present calamity, an admonition was given them[166]: the prophets declared, "that they had unjustly de-
"prived of sight Evenius, the guardian of the sacred sheep;
"since they themselves[167] had sent the wolves; and would
"not cease to avenge Evenius, until they had made atone-
"ment, such as he himself might choose, and vouchsafe to
"accept. That when that was done, they themselves would
"give Evenius such a gift, that, blessed therewith, many of
94 "mankind should hold him happy[168]." Such was the response made to them, and the Apolloniatæ, keeping it secret, commissioned some individuals among the citizens to arrange the matter. this they did for them in the following manner. Evenius being seated on the senatorial bench[169], they drew near him, and sat down by his side, and entered with him in conversation upon different subjects, till, at last, they came to express their compassion at his sufferings: thus having artfully drawn him upon the subject, they asked him "what
"compensation would he take, supposing the Apolloniatæ
"were willing to undertake to make atonement for what
"they had done." Evenius, who had not heard of the oracle, said, "that if he had to choose, and any one would give him

[165] See Matt 593, last paragraph I have repeatedly directed the reader's attention to this form of speech, and do so now again, because Valckenaer has selected this instance for a note. Schweighæuser compares the form with the Latin, "sub judice lis est": the opposite is frequent in English, "to put a man *upon* his trial."

[166] I have followed Schweighæuser's interpretation: see his note It is certain, that in vi. 63, the same word, *προύφαντον*, is used without any allusion to prophecy, but rather to an admonition relating to what is to be done.

[167] The prophets (see p. 256, note 57, of this Volume) speak in the name of the gods themselves: *αὐτοὶ*, therefore, according to the beautiful simplicity of ancient eloquence, must be referred to the two gods, that is to say, Jupiter Dodonæus and Apollo Delphicus.

[168] Construction: *αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐηνίῳ δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν* (for *ἥν*) *ἔχοντά μιν πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπων μακαιριεῖν*.

[169] We have seen the expression *ἐν Θώκῳ κατήμενον* in vi. 63; which passage, I take it, determines the meaning of the expression in this place. The *Θῶκος* was a form or bench, with places for many sitters: it came to be used metaphorically, precisely as, in English, "the bench," for the assembly of magistrates: the *Θῶκος*, or "bench," for the aristocracy assembled; the *ἀγορὴ*, or "market-place," for the commons assembled.

" certain fields of the citizens (naming those whom he knew " possessed the two best estates in Apollonia); and would " add thereto a certain residence (that which he knew to be " the handsomest of the town); if, he said, he were put in " possession of those, he would thenceforth forego his wrath, " and that satisfaction would be all he desired." Such was the reply he made; and those seated by his side made answer eagerly: " Evenius, this atonement then, in obedience to the " oracle pronounced, do the Apolloniatæ offer thee, for having " blinded thy eyes." Evenius accordingly, then, understanding the whole matter, was highly indignant at being thus deceived: but the citizens purchased the property, which he had elected, from its holders, and gave it him; and immediately from that time he was inspired with powers of divination, so that he became a renowned seer.

Accordingly, Deiphonus, who was son to the above Evenius, 95
having been brought by the Corinthians, officiated as divine to the armament. I have however likewise heard say, that Deiphonus, having assumed the name of Evenius's son, without being so, went about in Hellas letting out his services[170]. The victims betokening success to the Hellenes, they got 96
their ships under weigh, and stood from Delos to Samos; and when they arrived off Calami, in the Samian territory, they took up their moorings near the Heræum, in that quarter, and made ready for action on sea. But the Persians, understanding they were making towards them, permitted the Phœnician squadron to proceed homeward, and got the rest of their fleet under weigh for the continent, for, after consulting together, they resolved not to engage by sea, as they did not regard themselves as equal to the task. they therefore made for the continent, in order they might be under protection of their land-forces at Mycale; which, according to the orders of Xerxes, had been left there by the main body, to serve as a watch over Ionia. The number of this detachment was sixty thousand, and the commander was Tigranes, who, in beauty and height, was distinguished among the Persians. Accordingly, the naval captains determined to take refuge under that army, to haul their ships on land, and open a trench, which might serve as a rampart

[170] ἐκδιδόναι ἔργον, "to propose a price for work to be done": ἐκλαμβάνειν ἔργον, "to offer to do work for a price." I have followed the reading, ἐπιὼν, from Reiskius's conjecture, adopted by Schweighæuser and Dr. Gaisford; but certainly the general reading, ἐπὶ, gives as good a sense, if taken in the same signification as in the form ἐπὶ δίξιὰ, ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κεῖσθαι We have the preposition used before in this sense, ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, VIII. 52.

97 to their ships, and an escape for themselves. Having come to this determination, they hove anchor; and when, after passing by the precinct of the Eumenidæ, in the territory of Mycale, they arrived at the mouth of the Gæson and Scolopœis, where stands a temple of Ceres Eleusinian, built by Philistus the son of Pasicles, who followed Neleus the son of Codrus for the purpose of founding Miletus. in that place they hauled their ships ashore, and raised a fence round them of wood and stone, cutting down the fruit-trees for that purpose; and around the fence they drove in sharp stakes[171]. They made their preparations both for a siege and for victory.

98 The Hellenes, when they understood the barbarians had departed for the continent, were annoyed at their escape: they were likewise in doubt as to what they should do, whether they should depart homeward, or make for the Hellespont. At last, they determined to do neither, but to stand for the main land. Having therefore prepared the boarding and landing ladders, and other things necessary for an action by sea, they bore away for Mycale. When they had nearly reached the enemy's camp, no one came out to meet them; but they beheld the ships hauled up withinside of the wall, and a multitude of foot soldiers arrayed along the strand Leotychides, then making some way a-head with his ship, neared the land as close as he could, and, through a herald[172], addressed the Ionians; saying. "Men of Ionia, such of you as "can hear, listen to what I say; for no doubt the Persians "understand nothing of the advice I give you. When we "join battle, it will behove every one[173], first of all things, "to remember FREEDOM, and next to that, the watch-word, "HEBE. Let him that hears me not, be informed of my "words by those of you that do hear." The intention of this proceeding was precisely the same as that of Themistocles' expedient[174] at Artemisium; for either those words, remaining concealed to the barbarians, might prevail upon the Ionians, or, if reported to the barbarians, might make
99 them distrustful of the Hellenes *in their service*. Leotychides

[171] This was to annoy the enemy, if he attempted the wall; a sort of chevaux-de-frise, as it is called in modern fortifications: the word σκόλοψ determines for that sense. I make the remark, because I see, by the plan usually given of the battle of Mycale, the author is understood to mean posts or buttresses to strengthen the wall itself. the wall likewise is absurdly placed on the south side of the Gæson, whereas it should be on the north.

[172] ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγορεύει. Matt. 592, first paragraph.

[173] σινα. See Matt. 487, 2.

[174] See viii. 22. He alludes to the inscription on the rocks, about the Artemisian roadstead.

having given this admonition, the Hellenes, in the second place, acted as follows: steering their ships to land, they debarked on the strand, and there formed. The Persians, seeing the Hellenes preparing for action, and knowing that they had admonished the Ionians, in the first place took away the arms from the Samians, whom they suspected of holding with the Hellenes· for some Athenian captives, who had been left in Attica, and taken by Xerxes' soldiers, having arrived with the fleet, the Samians had ransomed them all, and sent them back to Athens, with a provision for their voyage; in consequence of which, the Samians were held in great suspicion, having ransomed fifty[175] of Xerxes' enemies. In the second place, they stationed the Milesians to guard the roads up to the tops of Mycale[176], because, forsooth, they were the best acquainted with the country. the fact was, however, that they acted so in order to keep them at a distance from the camp. In the above manner the Persians took their precautions, before action, against such of the Ionians as they suspected[177] might make some attempt, if they had the power and then they placed together their wicker bucklers[178], to serve as a rampart.

When, therefore, the Hellenes had formed, they marched towards the barbarians, and, as they were advancing, a 100

[175] We say in English, as every body knows, "fifty head of cattle"

[176] The field of action was this A little SE of the island of Samos the continent shoots out into the sea, forming the Trogyllian headland, from which it bends inward, making a bay lying due SE from Cape Trogyllius to Cape Posidium, near which the Mæander flows into the sea The Trogyllian cape is the extremity of a lofty and rugged mountain, Mycale, the highest in those parts: it ranges along the coast, leaving between its root and the sea a rather spacious and sandy flat, where the battle was contested: this flat is skirted, on the SE, by the Gæson, a river which, flowing down from the mountain range, discharges its waters into a sort of pond, and from thence into the sea. The Persian land-forces had formed on the root of Mycale; and, in order they might not, in case of a defeat, be cut off, had sent the Milesians to guard the passes up the mountain, by which, if necessary, they might ensure their escape: the barbarian ships were hauled up on the sea-side, and no doubt, as their fate entirely depended upon the issue of the land-fight, were considered sufficiently guarded by the wall and chevaux-de-frise the crews therefore joined the land-troops The Greek confederates landed at the mouth of the Gæson, and formed in two divisions: one, headed by the Athenians, marched along the flat towards the enemy· the other, headed by the Lacedæmonians, marched higher up from the sea, and, wheeling to the left, proceeded along the mountain slope, to attack the enemy's rear, and cut off his retreat. Thus the action was commenced by the Athenians; and completed by the Lacedæmonians, whose progress along the ravines and rugged land was not impeded by the Milesians, according to the barbarian plan of the battle

[177] *καταδόκιον*, with the dative Matt. 394 *obs.* 2.

[178] See p. 340, note 114, of this Volume. I do not understand that these wicker bucklers, or hurdles, were *piled* one upon the other, but that they were set side by side. From the careful description that Herodotus (VII. 61,

rumour flew all through the line, and a herald's wand[179] was seen lying on the beach: the rumour that spread among them was this, that the Hellenes had engaged with the army of Mardonius in Bœotia, and conquered. The interposition of Providence in human affairs is manifest from many proofs; for at this time, when, on the same day[180] the Persians had been routed at Platæa, they were about to be defeated at Mycale, the report reached the Hellenes in this part of the world, in order that the troops might be inspired with much
101 greater courage, and be more eager to face danger. There was likewise another coincident circumstance, namely, that both engagements took place near precincts of Eleusinian Ceres. For, as I have before observed, one conflict took place close to the precinct of Ceres in the Platæan territory; and it was to be the same now, in the territory of Mycale. The report also that came to them of the victory won by the Hellenes under Pausanias was correct; for the battle of Platæa was fought while it was yet early in the day, and that of Mycale in the evening; and no long time after they learnt, for certain, that, by an extraordinary coincidence, both battles were fought on the same day of the same month. Previously however to the coming of the report, they were filled with terror, not so much for themselves as for the Hellenes, lest Hellas should stumble in her contest with Mardonius. Nevertheless, when this omen had flown along their ranks, they advanced to the charge with greater rapidity and more alacrity. Accordingly, the Hellenes on one hand, and the barbarians on the other, were eager for battle, as the prize before them, which they had to contend for, was the Hellespont and the islands.

seq ) has given of the arms and accoutrements of the Persian tributaries who marched in Xerxes' army, we may gather, that the Persians, in their days of glory, had to contend only with light-armed troops, whose principal weapon of offence was the bow: against such nations the use of the gerron, or gabion, must have given the Persian soldier a very manifest advantage: it was, however, of little or no avail against the Greek, who prepared for conflict hand to hand, marched up to his enemy, and, overthrowing the gabions, encountered a foe who had no buckler, and only a short lance and pomiard. The gerron was four-cornered, according to Xenophon, and probably of this shape, ⊔; if so, what the Historian terms *συμφέρειν τὰ γέρρα*, was to place them before the line in the following manner:



[179] *κηρύκειον*, a herald's staff; that is to say, a wand with two serpents entwining it, like Mercury's caduceus.

[180] Literally, "Since not only at this time (the day of the rout at Platæa, and that now to be at Mycale coinciding) did the report reach to the Greeks in this quarter, in order the forces might, &c., but likewise this other event coincided," &c.; in which *αὐτῆς* must be regarded as pleonastic. See Schweig. Not.

The road followed by the Athenians and those stationed in 102
that division with them, amounting to about one half of the army, was along the shore, and on the level ground; that taken by the Lacedæmonians, and those arrayed behind them, was along the ravine and mountain: at the time, therefore, that the Lacedæmonians were making the circuit, those of the other wing were already[181] closing with the enemy. As long therefore as the wicker fences of the Persians remained erect, they kept the assailants at bay, and had by no means the worst of the battle. But when the division, comprising the Athenians and their comrades, seeing that the brunt must fall to their share and not to that of the Lacedæmonians, cheered one another, and addressed themselves more earnestly to action, then did the battle take another turn; for they swept down the gabions, and, charging, fell in one compact body on the Persians, who stood their ground and held their foes for some time at arm's length: at last, however, they fled to the wall. The Athenians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Trœzenians, (for such was the order in which they had formed,) followed up, and together with the Persians burst through the wall[182] the rampart even being now taken, the barbarians no longer had recourse to valour, but all took to flight, saving the Persians: these last, though now but few in number, continued to fight with the Hellenes, who were rushing within the wall. Of the leaders of the Persians, two fled, and two went down. Artayntes and Ithamitres, leaders of the naval-forces, saved themselves by flight; whereas Mardontes, and Tigranes[183], general of the land-service, fell fighting. Still were the Persians defending their ground, 103
when the Lacedæmonians and those with them came up, and joined their efforts towards completing the rout. Of the Hellenes themselves, a considerable number fell on the field; and among others, some Sicyonians, together with their captain Perilaus. The Samian troops, who were in the Mede's camp, and had been stripped of their bucklers[184], as they saw at the beginning that the battle would be sharply contended on either side, did all they could, being desirous to lend a hand to the Hellenes. The rest of the Ionians, seeing the Samians begin, followed their example, and, seceding from the Persians, set upon the barbarians Orders had been given, 104
for their own safety, that the Milesians should guard the

[181] I can make nothing out of ἴσπι; I therefore adopt the conjectured ἥδη

[182] τεῖχος, as is frequently the case, signifies here, not so much the wall itself, as the space inclosed by the rampart See chap

[183] See VII. 80. IX. 95

[184] See chap. 98

paths for the Persians[185]; in order that, should any calamity befal them, as was actually the case, they might, having guides, make their escape to the tops of Mycale: accordingly, the Milesians had been stationed on that service, and to the end that, not being present in the camp, they might not make any attempt. but they acted directly contrary to orders, guiding the fugitives by wrong roads, which led back to the enemy; and, at last, became their greatest foes in the massacre. Thus, accordingly, did Ionia for the second time secede from the Persians[186].

105 In this conflict, the Athenians excelled among the Hellenes in the display of valour, and among the Athenians, Hermolycus the son of Euthynus, a man who had applied himself to the boxing art[187]. This same Hermolycus, subsequently to these events, when war was raging between the Athenians and the Carystians, had the fortune to die in action at Cyrnus of the Carystian country, and was buried near Geræstus. Next to the Athenians, the greatest valour was shewn by the

106 Corinthians, Trœzenians, and Sicyonians. The Hellenes having slaughtered most of the barbarians, some in battle, and the rest in their flight, set fire to the ships and the whole wall, after collecting together the booty on the beach they found some chests of money among the booty. Having therefore set fire to the ships and the rampart, they hove away. On their arrival at Samos, the Hellenes held council about transferring the people of Ionia, and as to what part of Hellas, over which they themselves were masters, it would be expedient to settle them in, and to abandon Ionia to the barbarians: for it was evidently impossible for themselves to protect and watch over Ionia for ever, whereas, unless they took them under their protection, they had no hope that the Ionians would come off unpunished at the hands of the Persians. In consequence of which, the men of rank among the Peloponnesians were of opinion, that they should drive from the staples such of the Hellenic nations as had sided with the Mede, and give their land to the Ionians to inhabit. But the Athenians were by no means of opinion that the Ionian people should be transferred, or that the Peloponnesians[188] had any right to propose measures in relation to

[185] The genitive τῶν Περσέων must be construed with διόδους. *Schweig Not.*

[186] The Ionians were subdued by Harpagus, i. 164, seq. They revolted, v. 28, seq.; and were once more subdued, vi 32.

[187] The pancratium comprised boxing and wrestling

[188] I am obliged to supply after Πελοποννησίοισι some such verb as κατήκειν, or ἐξεῖναι, otherwise my work would remain incomplete from want of any translation of this passage.

the Athenian colonists: as the Athenians were opposed to this measure, the Peloponnesians gave up willingly the point; and thus, accordingly, they took into the league the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and the rest of the islanders who had assisted the Hellenes in this expedition, binding them by pledges and oaths, that they would stand firm, nor abandon the cause. Having bound these by oaths[189], they now bore away, with the intention of unmooring the bridges, for they thought to find them still across the strait: accordingly, they made for the Hellespont.

107 The retreat of the few barbarians who, being driven to the heights of Mycale, escaped, was directed towards Sardis, which they reached in safety. But on the road, Masistes, the brother of Darius, the same who was present at the defeat, addressed much injurious language to the general Artayntes; affirming, among other things, that, heading the army as he had done, he shewed himself more dastardly than a woman, and was deserving of every kind of punishment, for having brought harm on the King's house: now, with the Persians, to be called more dastardly than a woman, is deemed the greatest of insults. Artayntes, after bearing with much abuse, now became indignant, and drew his cimeter upon Masistes, intending to kill him; but Xenagoras son of Praxilaus, a native of Halicarnassus, happening to be standing behind Artayntes, and seeing him rush forward, seized him round the waist, and, lifting him off his legs, threw him on the ground; and meanwhile the guards of Masistes arrived to his help. In so doing, Xenagoras gained the favour, not only of Masistes, but likewise of Xerxes, whose brother he had saved; and for this service Xenagoras received, as a gift from the King, the government of all Cilicia. Nothing more than the above occurred as they were on their road, and they therefore arrived at Sardis. At Sardis, the King had been staying from the time that, having failed in the battle of Salamis, he had arrived there in his flight from Athens.

108 At the time therefore that he was abiding at Sardis, he became enamoured of Masistes' wife, who was likewise staying there. He sent to solicit her favours, but was unable to succeed. he would not however use violence, out of respect for his brother Masistes:—the same thing likewise restrained the woman, for she well knew she should not be exposed to violence. Xerxes therefore, being shut out of any other mode of proceeding, framed the following mar-

[189] Vol. I. Book III. note 113.

riage for his own son Darius: he united to him the daughter of this woman and of Masistes, thinking that by so doing he should more easily obtain possession of the mother. Having performed the marriage, and observed the usual ceremonies, he proceeded on to Susa. When he arrived there, and had brought Darius's wife into his own house, he presently lost his passion for the wife of Masistes; and, having changed his inclinations, fell in love and succeeded with his son's wife, the daughter of Masistes. The name of the young
109 lady was Artaÿnta. But, in the progress of time, the matter was discovered, in the following manner. Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, having woven a large embroidered cloak and worthy of observation, presented it to Xerxes. He, delighted with the present, put it on, and went to pay a visit to Artaÿnta: being likewise pleased with her behaviour, he bade her ask whatever she should like to receive, in return for the favour she had granted him; for that she should have all she might ask for: accordingly—for it was fated that calamity should smite the whole family—she said to Xerxes, "Will you give me, then, what I will ask of thee?" The King, imagining she would ask any thing rather than what she did, promised he would, and swore to it; whereupon she, relying on his oath, boldly asked for the cloak. Xerxes made use of every argument, refusing to give it; not, however, from any other reason, than that he was afraid of Amestris, lest, previously suspecting what was going on, she might in that manner find him out. He offered the lady cities, gold beyond measure, even an army, which none should command but herself, for an army is among the Persians a frequent gift but, as he could not prevail upon her, he gave her the cloak: she, filled with joy, wore the garment, and prided herself upon it; and Amestris was in-
110 formed she had it. Amestris, understanding what had taken place, did not conceive any grudge against the woman herself; but taking for granted that her mother, Masistes' wife, was the cause, and that she had conducted the intrigue, determined upon her destruction. She selected, accordingly, the time when her husband Xerxes was to give the royal feast;—this banquet is spread once every year, on the day that the King was born; the name of the repast, in the Persic tongue, is "tycta"; in our language, the "perfect"; and on that day only does the King use soap to his head, and present gifts to the Persians;—selecting, I say, that day, Amestris besought Xerxes to give her the wife of Masistes. The King thought it a dreadful and atrocious thing, in the first place, to give up the wife of his brother; and, in the next

place, one who was guiltless of what had taken place; for he understood with what view Amestris made the request. At last, however, as Amestris urged her request, and he was constrained by custom, according to which the King must not turn away any petitioner while the royal banquet is spread, Xerxes most unwillingly assented; and having given up the woman, acted in this manner: he bade Amestris do what she chose; while he himself, sending for his brother, addressed him thus: "Masistes, you are the son of Darius, and "my brother; and, besides which, you are a good man. I "would have you no longer to cohabit with the wife you "now have: instead of her, therefore, I give you my own "daughter. live with her; and forbear to keep as wife the "one you now have, for such is not my pleasure." Masistes, astonished at the speech, spoke thus· "My lord! what "strange language do you hold to me; bidding me, when I "have a wife by whom I have sons grown up, and daughters, "one of whom you have united in marriage to your own "son—a woman likewise who is much to my mind; bidding "me, I say, to put her away, and take your daughter to "wife? I hold myself greatly honoured in being thought "worthy of your daughter: I will however, sire, do neither "of these two things. and do not you use force to obtain "such an end surely some other man, not inferior to my- "self, may be found for your daughter: permit me, there- "fore, to abide with my present wife." Such, accordingly, was the reply of Masistes. Xerxes, in anger, spoke thus. "Masistes, you have done for yourelf; for neither would I "now give you my daughter to wife, nor shall you abide "any longer with your present wife: so may you learn to "accept my offers." Masistes, having received this answer, withdrew from the apartment, after observing, "My lord, you have not yet taken life from me." In the meanwhile, as Xerxes was conversing with his brother, Amestris, having sent for the body-guards of Xerxes, mutilated in a horrible manner the person of Masistes' wife: she cut off her breasts, her nostrils, her ears, her lips, and cast them to the dogs; and then, cutting out her tongue, sent her home thus miserably disfigured. Masistes, who had heard nothing of this affair, but suspected that some misfortune had befallen him, proceeded speedily to his house. There finding his wife thus mutilated, he then forthwith held counsel with his sons; and departed for Bactra, accompanied by his sons and some other persons, with the intention of stirring up the Bactrian province, and working the greatest evils to the King: which would certainly have been the case, in my opinion, had he

111 112 113

had the start in arriving in the territory of the Bactrians and Sacæ; for those nations were well affected to him, and he was satrap of the Bactrians. But Xerxes, understanding what he was about to do, despatched an army in his pursuit, and massacred Masistes himself, with his sons and the troops with him. Such were the events in respect of the intrigue of Xerxes and the death of Masistes.

114 Meanwhile the Hellenes, having taken their departure from Mycale, with the intention of standing for the Hellespont, anchored first in the vicinity of Lectus, being windbound: from thence they shaped their course towards Abydos, where they found the bridges—which they fancied they should still find stretched across the frith—swept asunder: it was principally for this purpose they had come to the Hellespont. The Peloponnesians under Leotychides therefore thought fit to stand back for Hellas. the Athenians, and their commander Xanthippus, determined to make an attempt on the Chersonesus. Accordingly, the Peloponnesians tacked about, while the Athenians, crossing over from Abydos to
115 the Chersonesus, besieged Sestos. In this town of Sestos—it was the strongest place in that quarter—*troops* from the various stations in the neighbourhood had gathered together, as soon as they heard the Hellenes were on the Hellespont. among others, came, from the town of Cardia, Œobazus, a Persian man, who had deposited at that place the rigging saved from the bridges. The native Æolians were in possession of the town, to whom were joined Persians and a nume-
116 rous body of allies. Artaÿctes was then governor of this province, acting as viceroy of Xerxes he was a Persian man, cruel and wicked; and had even deceived the King in his march against Athens; and so had taken to himself the treasures of Protesilaus son of Iphiclus, out of Elæus. For there is at Elæus of the Chersonesus the tomb of Protesilaus, and a precinct around it, where there were great treasures, and saucers of gold and of silver and brass, and clothes, and various other offerings, which Artaÿctes sacked, the King having given him permission he deceived Xerxes, by using the following language: "My lord and master, yonder is the "house of an Hellenic man, who, having carried arms[190] "against your land, has met with his reward, and fallen.

[190] The Persians regarded Asia as having belonged to them always. thus Xerxes, VII 11, calls Pelops the slave of his ancestors, although Phrygia was not part of the kingdom of the Medes. Protesilaus was a Thessalian; he went to the siege of Troy, where he was killed on landing: Artayctes therefore takes advantage of this circumstance, to assert, that he had carried arms against the land of the King.

" I pray you give me his house, to the end every one may " learn not to carry arms against your land." By so saying, he easily persuaded Xerxes to give him the man's house; for the King did not suspect what were his intentions. Artaÿctes declared that Protesilaus had carried arms against the King, because the Persians hold that all Asia is theirs, and belongs always to him that is their sovereign. A present being made to Artaÿctes of the treasures, he took them from Elæus to Sestos, and sowed and grazed the precinct: whenever he visited Elæus, he would satiate his lust with women in the fane itself. At this period he was besieged by the Athenians, having neglected to make any preparations for a blockade, and not expecting the attack of the Hellenes; so that they fell upon him somewhat unawares. The autumn having 117
overtaken the besiegers, and the Athenians being annoyed that they were absent from their own country and unable to capture the place, besought their leaders to[191] to take them back; but the leaders refused, till such time as they had captured Sestos, or the commonwealth of Athens recalled them. Accordingly, the Athenians continued their efforts.

Meanwhile, the garrison within the place were reduced to 118
the utmost wretchedness; to such a degree, that they boiled and ate the thongs of their beds. But when these would no longer hold out, the Persians, together with Œobazus and Artayctes, ran away by night, descending down by the back part of the citadel, where the neighbourhood was least crowded with enemies. When it was day, the inhabitants made known, from the towers, to the Athenians what had taken place, and threw open the gates. Most of them marched in the pursuit, while others took possession of the town. As 119
Œobazus was directing his flight into Thrace, the Apsinthian Thracians seized him, and offered him up, in their own manner, to the native god Plistorus: the rest who were with him they slaughtered in other ways. Artaÿctes, and those with him who had taken to flight the last, overtaken a little above Ægos Potami, resisted for a considerable time: some of them fell, others were taken alive: and the Hellenes, after casting them in bonds, took them to Sestos; and among the rest, Artayctes himself, and his son, in chains. It is related 120
by the Chersonitæ, that a prodigy happened to one of the sentinels over them, as he was broiling some salt fish. The salt fish, being laid on the embers, leaped and quivered like fish just caught. The others, hurrying round, were seized with wonder; but Artaÿctes, beholding the prodigy, called

[191] See Matt. *obs* 2

to him the man who was broiling the fish, and said: "My "Athenian friend, be not alarmed at this prodigy: it regards "not yourself. Protesilaus, who is in Elæus, points out to "me, that, although dead and salted, he has power with the "gods to wreak vengeance on him that insults him. Now, "therefore, I am willing to make the following amends for "the treasures which I took from his temple—to dedicate one "hundred talents to the god. as a ransom for myself and "my son, I will give two hundred talents to the Athenians, "if I survive." He did not however, by these promises, prevail over Xanthippus; for the people of Elæus, wishing to avenge Protesilaus, besought the commander to put him to death: add to which, that Xanthippus himself was inclined that way; wherefore, taking Artaÿctes to the beach where Xerxes had fastened the bridge of boats, or, as others relate, to the knoll above the town of Madytus, they first nailed him to a plank, and hoisted him aloft: they then stoned the son
121 to death before the eyes of his father. Having so done, the Athenians stood back for Hellas, taking with them various treasures, and, among other things, the rigging of the bridges, intending to dedicate it in the temple. Nothing more than the above took place this year.

122 The grandsire of this Artaÿctes, who was crucified, was Artembares, who made an observation to the Persians, which they took and reported to Cyrus; it was this: "Since Jove "has given the sway to the Persians, O Cyrus, and taken it "from Astyages; come! as we possess a narrow country, "and that rugged, let us withdraw from it, and take some "better land; for there are many close to us, and many at a "distance: if we establish ourselves in one of those, we shall "become a greater object of admiration to most men. It is "meet that men who have the power should do so; and "when, therefore, can we have a fairer opportunity, than "now that we are masters of many nations and of all Asia?" Cyrus, having heard the observation, and not approving it, bade them do so: at the same time, he warned them to make ready no longer to rule, but to be ruled; as soft men are wont to spring from soft countries: for it was not the privilege of any land to produce excellent fruits, and likewise men of valour in matters of war[192]. So that the Persians went their

[192] Hippocrates confirms what is here asserted by Herodotus. After describing the advantages which the temperate parts of Asia possess over Greece, he adds, that the men there are not naturally valiant, and are unwilling to support fatigues and hardships. This sentiment is approved by experience. Greece subdued Asia: the Romans became masters of both those countries; and if they also conquered the Gauls, the Germans, and

ways, convinced that the opinion of Cyrus was better than their own; and preferred to abide in a sterile land and be ruled, than to cultivate a fertile country and be the thralls of others.

other nations of the north, it was because these were undisciplined, and ignorant of the art of war. When they became so, they in their turn subdued the lords of the world, and dismembered their empire. The Franks vanquished the Gauls, the Lombards, and the Visigoths of Spain. In a word, it is always to be observed, that the people of the north have the advantage over those of the south. *Larcher.*

# GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

## NINE BOOKS OF HERODOTUS.

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TO THE

# NINE BOOKS OF HERODOTUS.

There is very considerable difficulty to find any authority for the mode of spelling ancient proper names in English; the best authors differing most widely in spelling, or rather anglicising, the same word. The Translator, therefore, has generally preserved in this Index the Latin names, for which he can find authority; and leaves the reader to turn them into English, according to his own mind.

The Longitude and Latitude are added to every important place, where the exact position may be found in the plates of the Eton Atlas; to which the figures, placed within parentheses, refer.

*ABÆ.* (15.) long. 23. lat. 38, 40 A city of Phocis, with a rich temple of Apollo, and oracle. i 46. viii. 27, 33

*Abantes.* A people which formerly occupied the greatest part of the island of Eubœa they were originally from Thrace; from whence they came first into Phocis, where they built Abæ: from Phocis they passed over into Eubœa, which took from them the name of Abantis Some of them migrated from Eubœa to Ionia, and mingled with the Ionians. i 146.

*Abdera.* (14) long. 25. lat. 40,10. A town in Thrace; towards the E bank of the mouth of the Nestus. The native country of Democritus, Protagoras, Anaxarchus, and Hecatæus. i. 168. vi. 46. vii. 109, 126. viii. 120.

*Abydos.* (14.) long 26, 25. lat. 40,12. A city on the Hellespont, on the Asiatic side, near to, and N of, Dardanus; where the strait is narrowest, and where Xerxes threw over the bridges of boats It was opposite Sestos, a town of the Thracian Chersonesus; not bearing direct E to W, but S to NW. vii. 34, &c.

*Acanthus.* (14.) long 23, 52. An ancient town of Macedonia, according to Pliny; of Thrace, according to Steph. Byzant. It stood on the Strymonic gulf, in the NW quarter of the isthmus of the peninsula on which Athos rises · it was a sea-port. Near this town was shewn a canal seven stades long, said to be that dug by Xerxes. vi. 44. vii 116.

*Acarnania.* (15) long 20, 10. to 21, 35 lat 38 to 39 A country of Epirus; lying between the gulf of Amphracia (*m n.* gulf of Larta) which is to the NW, and the Achelous, a river which, skirting it on the SE, separates it from Ætolia. *m. n.* Carnia. ii 10.

*Aces.* A river of Asia. Herodotus's account of this stream is highly improbable, and it seems hardly possible to determine what river he could have alluded to. iii. 117.

*Achæi.* They are the descendants of Achæus, the son of Xuthus, and grandson of Hellen. They inhabited twelve cities in Peloponnesus; viz. from E to W, and W by S, Pellena, Ægira, Ægæ, Bura, Helice, Ægion, Rhypes, Patræ, Phara, Olenus, Dyma, Tritæa. i. 145. Each of those towns had seven or eight villages in its dependency

*Achæi.*—A people of Phthiotis. Herodotus calls them Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιῶται, to distinguish them from the Achæi of Peloponnesus. vii. 132, 197. See *Achaia.*

*Achaia.*—There were three Achaias; that of Pontus, that of Peloponnesus, that of Phthiotis.

1. Achaia of Pontus. Not mentioned by Herodotus.

2. Achaia of Peloponnesus. (16.) long. 21, 24. to 23, 15. lat. 38. A country situate N of Elis, on the Corinthian gulf, terminating at Sicyonia. This country was first called Ægialea, from αἰγιαλὸς, on account of its situation: it was afterwards called Ionia, from the Ionians. this name was in the end changed for Achaia, by the Achæans. i. 145.

3. Achaia of Phthiotis, or rather, the same as Phthiotis itself, of which it was the ancient name, sometimes used. long. 22 to 23. lat. 39. See *Phthiotis.* vii. 173.

*Achelous.* (16.) Mouth. long. 20, 3. lat 38, 21. A river of Ætolia: its head is in Mount Pindus of Thessaly: it crosses the country of the Dolopes; then, flowing S by W, passes at some distance from Argos Amphilochium; skirts Acarnania, which it divides from Epirus, and falls into the sea opposite the Echinades Islands. *m. n.* Aspro Pótamo, or White River; (ἄσπρος, *white*, in Mod. Greek.) ii. 10. vii. 106.

*Acheron.* (15.) Mouth. long. 20, 3. lat. 39, 18. A river of Thesprotia, a small country of Epirus. It is near the Cocytus; and both streams fall into the lake or morass of Acherusia, and from thence into the sea at port Glycys, the waters of which are sweetened by those two streams. v 92. viii. 47.

*Achilleum.* A town near the tomb of Achilles; a short distance from Cape Sigeum. v. 94.

*Achilleus cursus.* long 51. lat. 46. (D'Anv. Orb. Rom. Par. Orient) A peninsula, situate immediately below the E bank of the Borysthenes; between that mouth and the gulf of Carcinitis, twenty-five miles from the isle of Leuce, the sojourn of the soul of Achilles, and some other heroes given them by Jupiter for their valour.

This peninsula consists of two long and narrow strips of land, shooting into the sea in opposite directions, and so as almost to run parallel to the coast of Hylæa. These two tongues of land have the appearance of a sword lying flat. The Race of Achilles appears to be eighty R. miles long, and in its broadest part two stades over it. iv. 55, 76.

*Acræphia.* (16.) long. 23, 15. lat. 38, 28. A town of Bœotia;

on Mount Ptoon, towards the ENE bank of lake Copaïs, between that bank and Anthedon. viii. 135.

*Acrothoon.* (14.) long. 24, 20. lat. 40, 15. A town situate towards the promontory of the peninsula of Mount Athos. It stood on one of the pinnacles of the mountain. vii. 22.

*Acrothoon.* A promontory of the peninsula of Mount Athos, its E point.

*Adramyttium.* See *Atramyttium.*

*Adrias*, or *Hadria.* (11.) long 12. lat. 45. A town of Italy; situate in the country now called Polesino di Rovigo. The Latins called it Atria. It stood on the Tartarus or Atrianus, a river between the Athesis (*m. n.* Adige) and the N arm of the Eridanus or Po. i. 163.

*Adyrmachidæ.* long. 44. lat. 32. (D'Anv. Par. Orient.) A tribe of Libya; extending from Egypt to port Plynus, *i. e.* to the Giligammæ, W of the towns of Marea and Apis. iv 168.

*Æa.* (21.) long. 42. lat. 42. A city of Colchis, near the Phasis; at the junction of the Hippus and Cyaneus, two large rivers flowing from different points (the Hippus from the N, and the Cyaneus from the S), and disemboguing in the Phasis. The territory of this town abounded in mines of gold, silver, and other metals. i. 2. vii. 193, 197.

*Æga.* (14.) long. 25, 30. lat. 40, 2. A city of the peninsula of Pallena: the last of the places on the Toronæan gulf, and at a short distance from Prom. Canastræum. vii. 123.

*Ægæ.* (16.) long. 22, 20. lat 38, 7. A town of Achaia in Peloponnesus; on the Corinthian gulf, and at the mouth of the Crathis. i. 145.

*Ægææ.* (18.) long 27. lat. 38, 40. A city of Æolis, in the territory of Myrina, between Cyma, Phocæa, and Temnos i. 149.

*Ægaleus.* (16.) long. 23, 35. lat. 38. An eminence of Attica, on the shore opposite Salamis. viii. 90.

*Ægila.* See *Augila.*

*Ægilia*, Αἰγίλια. (16.) long. 24, 10. lat 38, 15. A place in the territory of Eretria, of the island of Eubœa. vi 101.

*Ægilea*, Αἰγίλεια. A small island between the island of Eubœa and the coasts of Attica, nearly at equal distances from the two, and opposite to Styra in Eubœa, to which town it belonged.

*Ægina.* (16) long. 23, 30. lat. 37, 35 An island in the Saronic gulf, near to and E of the coast of Argolis. *m. n.* Ægina, pronounced Aýhena. viii. 41, 46.

*Æginetæ.* The inhabitants of Ægina.

*Ægipodes.* Men with goats' feet, above the Argippæi, inhabiting inaccessible mountains. iv. 25.

*Ægira.* (16) long. 22, 25 lat. 38, 5 A town of Achaia in Peloponnesus, on a hill near the shore of the Corinthian gulf; NW of Pellene; E of the river Crathis. i. 145.

*Ægiroessa.* A town of Æolis, of which the situation is not known. i. 149. There was another place of the same name in Megaris. *Strab.*

*Ægium.* (16.) long. 22, 5. lat. 38, 13. A town of Achaia in Peloponnesus, on the Corinthian gulf, sixty stades from port Erineus (of the wild fig), follow-

ing the shore; but only forty cutting over land, forty stades from Rhypes, the same distance from Helice: the Phœnix and Meganitas cross its territory. *m.n.* Bostiza, pronounced Vostitza. i 145.

*Ægli.* If these people are the same as those that Steph. Byzant. calls Ægeli, they must be placed on the frontier of Media, on the side of the Bactrians. iii. 93.

*Ægos Potamos.* (14.) long. 26, 30. lat. 40, 15. A small stream, with a town and roadstead of the same name. About the middle of the shore of the Thracian Chersonesus on the Hellespont; between Sestos S and Callipolis N ix. 119.

*Ægyptus.* (26.) Egypt. A vast plain, or rather a long and broad valley, extending S to N, from the tropic of Cancer to the Mediterranean: its breadth runs between two mountains, or rather two mountain ranges, which serve as boundaries to the country; one on the side of Arabia, the other on that of Libya or Africa. The breadth, however, is not all along the same; for at the N extremity, along the Mediterranean, it measures a hundred and twenty leagues above the place where formerly stood Heliopolis, and where now stands Grand Cairo (that is to say, about fifty leagues from the sea): the breadth of Egypt diminishes very much for a space of about seventy leagues up the country, where the bounding mountains on the E and W are in some places only six or seven leagues apart. Higher up, the two mountain ranges recede a little, and the country becomes broader and broader, up to its S extremity.

Egypt is divided into two parts, which are, Lower Egypt, and Upper Egypt; or into three, which are, Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt, or the Delta, the Heptanomis, and the Thebaïs.

Lower Egypt began on the spot where the Nile divides into several branches, and extends down to the Mediterranean. This part was the most populous.

Middle Egypt, comprised by some in Upper Egypt, began at the division of the Nile, or the point of the Delta, towards the city of Cercasorum, and extended up to Thebes. This part was much narrower than the two others. It comprised the city of Memphis, near the range of mountains W, on which were seen several beautiful pyramids.

Upper Egypt, properly so called, extended from the frontier of Thebais on the N to the Torrid Zone, a little beyond the Tropic of Cancer.

Egypt was formerly so cultivated and populous, that its towns amounted to twenty thousand.

Egypt was anciently called Aeria, and Potamia: in Hebrew it was called Mezor, Mezraim, or Mizraim.

*Ænea*, Αἴνεια. (15.) long 22, 50. lat. 40, 30. A town of Crossæa, a country of Macedonia. It stood on the NE shore of the Thermæan gulf, in a fertile soil, fifteen R. miles, E by S, from Therma, and opposite Pyna. vii. 123.

*Ænianes.* A people inhabiting the most S part of Thessaliotis, which shoots down into Greece,

between the Dryopes W and Trachinia E. They were between Mount Othrys N and Œta S, about the Spercheius, which crosses their land, and falls into the Maliac gulf. Herodotus distinguishes them from the Thessalians. vii. 185.

*Ænus.* (14.) long. 26. lat. 40, 15. A city of Thrace, on the E bank of the mouth of the Hebrus, near a recess of the Ægæan sea, and the gulf of Melas, improperly marked Sinus Melanes in D'Anville's Map. vii. 58.

*Ægæan sea.* That part of the Mediterranean, between Cape Sunium, ascending N to the Thermæan gulf, and from the Strymonian gulf to the island of Icaria, where begins the Icarian sea, in which lie the Sporades: therefore the Cyclades were not all in the Ægæan sea Strabo places some of them in the Myrtoum sea.

*Ænyra.* (17.) long. 24, 30. lat. 40, 40. A canton or place of the island of Thasos. There were some very rich mines between that place and Cœnyra. vi. 47.

*Æolis.* (18) long 26, 30 lat. 39 A country situate N of, and contiguous to, Ionia. it was almost wholly comprised between the Hermus and the Caicus. The Æoles occupied likewise Mysia, the Troad, some places on the Hellespont, some islands, &c.

*Æolicæ civitates.* The Æolian cities. The Æoles had in Asia eleven cities: Cyma, called likewise Phryconis, Neon-Tichos, Temnos, Cilla, Notium, Ægiroessa, Pitana, Ægææ, Myrina, Grynea. Smyrna had once belonged to them, but was taken away by the Ionians. Besides these eleven towns, the Æoles had some places in Mount Ida· they possessed five towns in Lesbos; that of Tenedos; another in the islands called Hecatonnesi· they likewise occupied the town of Sestos· Ænos in Thrace was likewise an Æolian town. i. 149.

*Æolidensium oppidum.* According to Herodotus's narrative, this town must have been somewhere between Delphi and the city of the Daulii. No other author mentions it, and therefore Wesseling and Valckenaer conjecture we should read the city of the Lilæi. viii. 35.

*Æthiopia.* A vast country in Africa, S of Egypt. It borders on the Arabic gulf and Erythræan sea, and extends very far inland. It comprised a portion of the Troglodytæ; I say, a portion, because some of the Troglodytæ were Egyptians, and there were others likewise on the shores of the Atlantic. Ethiopia comprised also the countries answering nearly to Nubia and Abyssinia, Meroe with its dependencies, and all S of the Niger. The ancients divided the Ethiopians into the Eastern and the Western. The eastern inhabited the town of Meroe, and the plain called the Ethiopic, they were the most just of men. The western occupied a vast extent of country S of the Niger. There were, moreover some Ethiopians much beyond the Line. these last were cannibals. The interior of this country was little known to the ancients, and as little perhaps to the moderns.

*Æthiopes:*—

1. Asiatic Ethiopians, *Αἰθίοπες*

οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀτίης. These were the Colchians; that is to say, the Egyptians transplanted into Colchis, and who resembled the Egyptians by their swarthy complexion and curly heads. iii. 94. ii. 104

2. Macrobian Ethiopians, οἱ Μακροβίοι Αἰθίοπες. They inhabited E of Meroe, between that island and the Ichthyophagi. The latter dwelt on the shores of the Arabic gulf. Herodotus says that the Macrobians dwelt towards the S Sea, by which must be understood the Arabic gulf, as in ii. 158, 159. Cambyses advanced against these people as far as the country between the Little Premnis and Pselche. iii. 17, &c.

3. Eastern Ethiopians, οἱ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων Αἰθίοπες. They were different from the Southern Ethiopians, or inhabitants of Ethiopia properly so called. they were likewise different from the Asiatic Ethiopians, or those of Colchis; for their hair was straight. It is probable they occupied, E of Persia, a part of Gedrosia, and even the country of the Oritæ, conquered by Alexander. Mecran, a province of Persia, on the bounds of Hindostan, appears to me to answer to the country of these Eastern Ethiopians. vii. 70.

*Ætolia.* (15.) long. 21, 20. to 22, 10. lat. 38, 20. A country of Greece, N of the Corinthian gulf, and of Achaia of Peloponnesus. E of Acarnania it shoots from the sea-shore into the mountains, up to the confines of Thessaly. *m. n.* Vlakia. vi. 127.

*Agathyrsi.* They were situate NW of the Scythians: they were the first people on the W that bounded the N part of Scythia. iv. 49, &c. They possessed Transylvania, and the NE part of Hungary, according to Rennell.

*Agbatana.*—

1. Agbatana, or Ecbatana of Media, τὰ Μηδικὰ Ἀγβάτανα. (21.) long. 47, 10. lat. 34, 40. The capital of Media, built by Deioces, first king of the Medes It was the summer residence of the Kings of Persia *m n.* Amadan.

2. Agbatana of Syria, Ἀγβάτανα τῆς Συρίης. (20.) long 35 lat. 32, 50. This town, so called to distinguish it from Agbatana of Media, was situate at the foot of Mount Carmel, on the side of Ptolemais. iii. 64.

*Agora.* (14.) long. 26, 50. lat. 40, 15. This town must have been, as is proved by the march of Xerxes, between Cardia and Pactya; but lower down, and more to the E. Agora was certainly not in the Chersonesus, as D'Anville places it. vii 58.

*Agrianes.* (14.) long. from 26 to 27. lat. from 41 to 42. A river of the E part of Thrace. It cannot be determined where it rises: all that we know is, that it waters the country between Salmydessus, Selybria, Perinthus, and Bisanthe, and that it falls into the Hebrus, after receiving the Contadesdus. iv. 90. The Agrianes were not near this river. See the following article.

*Agrianes.* (14.) long. between 22 and 24, lat. 42. One of the ten Pæonian tribes, and the most N. Their territory begins N near the place where Mount Scomius joins Mount Rhodope,

and extends S to that of the Graæi. v. 16.

*Agrigentum.* (13.)[3] long. 13, 20. lat. 37, 20. A town of Sicily, on Mount Acragas, eighteen stades from the sea. It is watered on the S by the Acragas; on the W by the Hypsas. Its citadel was towards the summer rise of the sun This town was exceedingly magnificent, as may indeed be inferred from its present ruins. *m. n* Girgenti. vii 170.

*Agyllæi.* (11.) long. 12, 5. lat. 42. The inhabitants of Agylla, subsequently *Cære*, a town of Tyrrhenia. It stood on the W bank of the little stream of Cæretanus, to which it gave its name; near the S shore of the lake Sabaius, or Sabatinus, now the Lago Bracciano; W by S of the seven hills of Rome, W of, and near, the mouth of the Tiber. *m. n.* Cervetere. i. 167.

*Alabanda.* (18.) long. 28. lat. 37, 30. A town of Caria, in Asia Minor; situate E by N of Miletus, inland, among some hills celebrated for the scorpions with which they are infested.

*Alalia.* (13.) long. 9, 30. lat. 42, 10 A town in the island of Cyrnus or Corsica. Situate towards the middle of the E coast, near the mouth of the Rhotanus (*m. n.* Tavignano), forty R. miles from Mariana. i. 165

*Alarodii.* A people of Asia; W by S of the Caspian sea; E of Colchis: they were partly N W and partly N E of the Saspires, and S W of Caucasus. iii. 94. vii. 79.

*Alazones.* They were above the Callipidæ. The bitter fountain, Exampæus, which communicates its bitterness to the Hypanis, was towards their frontier, and that of the Callipidæ. Their country is mentioned as famous for its bees. *m n.* Part of Podolia and Breclaw, according to Rennell.

*Alea.* (16.) long 22, 30. lat. 37, 30. A town of Arcadia; where Minerva had a temple.

*Aleius campus.* (18.) long. 35. lat 36, 30. A plain in Cilicia, where the troops for the first Persian invasion mustered. It was situate about the river Pyramus, which cuts it in two, N of Mallus, between Mount Taurus N and the coast of the Mediterranean: nearer to the coast than to Mount Taurus, between the Cydnos and Sinaros, two rivers of Cilicia.

*Alopecæ.* (16.) long. 23, 45. lat. 38 A canton of Attica, near Cynosarges, eleven or twelve stades from Athens. It belonged to the tribe Antiochis.

*Alus*, or *Halos.* (15.) long. 22, 55. lat. 39, 15. A town of Achaia of Thessaly, at the extremity of Mount Othrys, sixty stades from Iton, one hundred and ten from Pteleum, towards the shore of the Maliac gulf

*Alpeni*, or *Alpenus.* (15.) long. 22, 50. lat 38, 50. E. of Trachis, from whence it is about two leagues distant, below the Thermopylæ, at a distance of about three thousand paces: it is at no great distance E of Anthela. This place is the first town of the Epicnemidian Locrians, on the side of the Malians. vii. 186, 187, 216, 229.

*Alpis.* (14.) A river, which rises in the country above the Ombrici, and, flowing N, falls into the Ister or Danube. iv. 49.

*Amathus.* (18.) long. 33. lat. 35.

A town of Cyprus; situate about the middle of the S coast, or in the S E part of the island: it was peculiarly consecrated to Venus. v. 104.

*Amazons*, on the Thermodon. (18.) long. 37. lat. 41, 30. A nation of women dwelling in the vicinity of the Thermodon, a river of Cappadocia. They founded an empire in Asia Minor, near the Thermodon, and along the S coast of the Euxine. Being conquered by the Greeks on the Thermodon, some of them went and settled beyond the Tanais. The capital of their state was Themyscyra, a town of Cappadocia, and on the Thermodon their other towns were Lycastia and Chadesia · all three of these towns were on the plain of Doias or Docas. The existence of this female community is, for good political reasons, ranked among the fables of antiquity; and there is no reason to infer that Herodotus believed in such a people.

*Ammon*. (25.) long. 26, 10. lat. 29, 20. A town of Libya, ten journeys from Thebes, twelve from Memphis. Famous for a temple and oracle of Jupiter, which, however, was one journey distant.

*Ampa*. (23) long 48, 30. lat. 30, 20. A town situate on the Erythræan sea, or Persian gulf, at the place where the Tigris falls into that sea. Ampa appears to have been on one side of the Tigris, and Opis on the other. vi. 20.

*Ampelos*. (14.) long. 24 lat. 40. A promontory in the Toronæan or Toronaïc gulf. It is at the extremity of the peninsula, at the entrance of the Singitic gulf. *m. n.* Cabo Xacro. vii. 122.

*Amphiarai templum*. (16.) long. 23, 50. lat. 38, 23. A temple and oracle, twelve stades from Oropus, a town of Bœotia, on the banks of the Asopus, and E of Tanagra; on the road leading from Oropus to Athens, towards the sea-shore. This temple stood on the very spot where Amphiaraus was swallowed up. i. 46, 49. viii. 134.

*Amphicæa*. (15.) long 22,40. lat. 38, 45. A city of Phocis, N of the Cephissus and Delphi; S by W of Lilæa, from which it was sixty stades distant. It was fifteen stades from Tethronium, and eighty from Drymus. There was a temple of Bacchus and oracle in this town.

*Amphipolis* (14.) long. 22, 50. lat 41. A town situate on the Strymon, between Macedonia and Thrace, and built on the spot where formerly stood the town of the Nine Ways. Some authors place it in Edonia, and others in Thrace. v. 126. vii. 114.

*Amphissa* (16.) long. 22, 25. lat. 38, 30 Situate above the plain of Crissa, in the country of the Ozolæ Locrians, about sixty stades N W of Delphi. It is now called Salona: it is not exactly on the gulf of Crissa, but inland, E of the gulf, on a small river now called Pótamo Salonítico. viii. 32.

*Ampracia*. (15.) long. 21,10. lat. 39, 5. A town of Epirus, situate near a gulf called the Ampracian: the inhabitants were called Ampraciots, Ἀμπρακιῶται. Ampracia is watered by the Aracthus, a small river which falls at some stades distance into the Ampracian gulf. The

gulf of Ampracia is three hundred stades long from the sea to the bottom: it is not quite five stades broad at its opening, but, as it advances inland, it increases to one hundred stades. It is now called the Golfo di Arta.

*Amyrgii Scythæ.* See *Scythæ.*

*Anactorium.* (15.) long. 20, 40. lat. 38, 55 A town of Epirus, situate on the S shore, and towards the mouth of the gulf of Ampracia, in a peninsula, and in the N W part of Acarnania. It was a colony of Corinthians and Acarnanians. *m. n.* Bonizza, pronounced Vonizza. IX. 28

*Anagyrus.* (16.) long. 23, 45. lat 37, 50.

*Anaphlystus.* (16.) long. 23, 55 lat 37, 40. A town of Attica, near Cape Colias, twenty stades from Phalerus. It belonged to the tribe Antiochis it had a port.

*Anaua.* (18.) long. 29,50. lat 38. A town of Phrygia, situate between the Marsyas and Mæander, nearer to the sources than to the confluence of those two rivers, direct E of their junction on the road from Celænæ to Colossæ, so that Celænæ, Anaua, and Colossæ are on the same line from E to W, a little S of Anaua. In the vicinity of this last place was a salt-marsh. VII 30.

*Androphagi.* Men-eaters. They dwelt beyond a vast desert N of the Scythians Cultivators. It was a separate nation, unconnected with the Scythian. Rennell supposes them to have occupied Polish Russia, both banks of the Prypetz, and the W heads of the Borysthenes.

*Andros.* (17.) long. 25. lat. 38. One of the Cyclades, between Eubœa and Naxos; ten R. miles from Geræstus, and thirty-nine from Ceos. *m n.* Andro.

*Angites:* written *Gangites* in the Eton Atlas. (14.) long. 24. lat. 41, 10. A river, which, coming from the N or N E, falls into the Strymon on the E side of that river, more above Amphipolis, or the Nine Ways, than that town is above the mouth of the Strymon. VII 113.

*Angrus.* (14.) long. 20 to 21—30. lat. 43, 20. A river which issues from the country of the Illyrians, flows towards the N or N E, passes through the Triballic plain, and falls into the Brongus. IV. 49.

*Anopæa.* A path sufficiently described by Herodotus himself. VII 216

*Antandros* (18) long. 27. lat. 39, 30 A city of the Troad, situate N W of Atramyttium, on the N coast of the Atramyttenian gulf; at the root of a mountain called Alexandreia, where Paris or Alexander was said to have decided between the three goddesses. VII. 42

*Anthela.* (15.) long. 22, 45. lat. 38, 55. A town or hamlet between Thermopylæ and the Phœnix, fifteen stades from both. D'Anville improperly places it close to the Phœnix. In the plain round Anthela were seen a temple of Amphictyon, and one of Ceres Amphictyonis, where the Amphictyons held their autumn sessions. VII 171, 200.

*Anthemus.* long. 41, 15. lat. 40, 50. (See D'Anv. Græc. Ant.) The name of a country in Amphaxitis. It was likewise the name of the capital of that territory: the town was situate on the Rhechius, which comes from

the N, and falls S in the Thermæan gulf. v. 14.

*Anthylla.* (26.) long. 30, 40. lat. 31, 10. A town of Egypt, situate near to and W of the Canopic branch, in the plain S by W of Naucratis. It is the same as Gynæcopolis. ii. 98.

*Anticyra.* (15.) long. 22, 40. lat. 38, 55. The first town met with on the Maliac gulf, as you go from Achaia of Thessaly into Malis. It is situate near Mount Œta, on the N bank of the Sperchius, and near its mouth. There was another Anticyra, anciently called Cyparissus. *m. n.* Aspro Spitia · it was on the N shore of the Corinthian gulf. There was a third Anticyra in the country of the Epizephyrian Locrians. Herodotus mentions the first. vii. 198, 213.

There were likewise three islands called Anticyra.

*Anysis.* A town of Egypt, the nome of which was called Anysia: its situation is unknown. I think it is the same as the Hanes spoken of Isa. xxx. 4.

*Aparytæ.* Somewhere in Margiana. (23.) long. 60. lat. 35. Rennell. They composed a satrapy together with the Sattagydæ, Gandarii, and the Dadicæ. They paid three hundred talents yearly to the Persian King. We do not know where to place them, because Herodotus is the only author that mentions them; but it seems likely that they were in the vicinity of the Gandarii and Dadicæ. See *Gandarii*, iii. 91.

*Aphetæ.* (15.) long. 23. lat. 39. A place on the gulf of Magnesia, called the Pagasic gulf, or that of Pagasæ: here the Argonauts abandoned Hercules.

*Aphidnæ;* written *Aphiana* in the Eton Atlas. (16.) long. 23, 45. lat 38, 10. A town or hamlet of Attica, the precise situation of which is not known. It probably was not far from Decelea. ix. 73.

*Aphrodisias.* (25.) long. 22, 10. lat. 32, 50 An island at the extremity of the country of the Giligammæ: it cannot have been far from port Menelaus. iv. 169.

*Aphthis.* A nome of Egypt; which Herodotus, it appears, places between the nomes Bubastis and Tanis. ii. 166.

*Aphytis.* (14.) long. 23, 30. lat. 40, 10. A town of the peninsula of Pallena; situate on the Toronæan gulf, between the towns of Pallena and Potidæa. vii 123.

*Apidanus.* (15.) long. between 22 and 23. lat. between 39 and 40. A river of Thessaly in Achaia or Phthiotis · it rises in the N part of Mount Othrys, N of Alus. It is met with as one goes from Gonnus to Alus. It flows from S E to NW, passes near Pharsalium on the E, receives then the Enipeus, and falls into the Peneus above Larissa. *m n.* Epideno. vii. 129.

*Apis.* (26.) long. 30. lat. 31. A city of Egypt, situate due S of, and at no great distance from, Marea, on the lake Mareotis. This lake communicated by a canal with the Canopic mouth.

*Apolloma.* (14.) long. 19, 30. lat. 40, 30. First town of Illyria, near Epidamnus on the Adriatic, and at no great distance from port Oricum, ten stades from the river Aous, and sixty from the sea. It was situate near the country of the Taulantii. *m. n.* Pollina. It was a colony of

the Corinthians. ix. 92.

*Apollonia.* (14.) long. 27, 40. lat. 42, 20. A town of Thrace; on the Euxine sea; N of the Tearus, two journeys N of its heads. It was a Milesian colony. The greater part of the town stood on a small island, where there was a temple of Apollo, with a colossal statue, which Lucullus took away and placed in the Capitol. iv. 90, 93.

*Apsinthii.* (14.) long. 26. lat 41. A people dwelling in the S part of Thrace, towards the shore; between the river Melas E and the Hebrus W. They were so called from the river Apsinthus, which flowed across their country. vi. 34. ix. 119.

*Apulia.* See *Iapygia.*

*Arabia* (22.) A vast country of Asia, forming a peninsula, inclosed between the Arabic gulf on the one side, and the Persic gulf on the other It is divided into three parts—Arabia Petræa, Deserta, Felix.

*Arabicus sinus.* A gulf communicating with the Erythræan Sea, and stretching N towards Syria· its length is forty days' voyage· its breadth, where widest, half a day's voyage. *m. n.* Bahr Assuez, or more commonly the Red Sea. This latter name it received, no doubt, from the Arabs, descendants of Esau, surnamed Edom or the Red; It may likewise have taken its name from the mountains of porphyry and red granite found on its shores. Herodotus calls this gulf the Erythræan Sea. iv. 42.

*Aradus.* (19.) long. 36. lat. 34, 30. An island of the Mediterranean; situate on the coasts of Phœnicia, opposite Antarados on the main land, and the river Eleutherus, which falls into the Mediterranean. It was seven stades in circuit, two hundred R. paces from the continent, and twenty stades from Marathus. The town of Aradus (*m. n.* Ruad), together with Tyre and Sidon, built and peopled Tripolis, a Phœnician city (*m. n.* Tripoli di Siria).

*Ararus.* (14.) long. mouth, 28. lat. 45, 30. A river of Scythia, E of the Tiarantus it flows from N to S, and falls into the Ister. *m. n.* Siret.

*Araxes*, or *Oxus* · (23.) the old bed of the Gihon long. 53. lat. 40. See also (3): long. 50 to 65. lat. 30 to 45. A river of Armenia: its source is in the Matiani mountains· it crosses the principal part of that country in an E course, and falls into the Caspian, after receiving the Cyrus, which now bears the name of Kur or Mtknari. *m. n.* Aras.

The Araxes mentioned i. 202, 205. and iv. 40. must have been very different from that above defined. What stream was meant by Herodotus is a subject of great controversy; and probably will ever remain so, until more authentic information shall be obtained respecting the geography of the countries on the east of the Caspian. Schweighæuser, in his notes, has pointed out several palpable errors in the explanation of the passages above quoted. The description of Herodotus, thus illustrated by the Strasburg Editor, leads us to the conclusion, that the Araxes of Herodotus is really the Oxus of other authors. This river bears now

the name of *Gihon* or *Amoo*. Its source is in Sogdiana, the present *Bokhara*: it discharges its waters into the Aral Lake; which explains the meaning of the islands among which the stream is dissipated, excepting one branch that descends to the Caspian Sea: the channel by which the Oxus issued from the lake Aral is still (it is said) visible, but is now dry. The statement made in the text, that this Araxes of Herodotus has its source in Matiana, is attributed to interpolation, or to a confusion of the Historian, who had heard of the other Araxes on the western side of the Caspian Sea. See *Eton Atlas* (plate 23), long. 55 to 60. lat. 40; and compare the plate of Asia in the same work.

*Arcadia* (16.) long. 21, 45. to 22, 30. lat. 37,10. to 38. Is situate in the middle of Peloponnesus, distant on all sides from the sea. It has Achaia on the N; Laconia on the S; Argolis on the E, Elis on the W. Arcadia may be divided into three parts· 1. S of the Alpheus; 2. N of that river, 3. E of the Eurotas.

In the first part is found Mount Lycæus, towards the frontier of Messenia, and in Messenia. The second part is watered by two rivers, which, flowing from N to S, fall into the Alpheus. Those rivers are the Erymanthus and Ladon. In the third part are the towns of Tegea and Mantinea.

*Archandrus*, or *Anchandropolis*, a town of Egypt, situate in the same plain as Anthylla, and near the same arm of the Nile, more S than Anthylla, but more N than Naucratis. ii. 97.

*Ardericca*.—1. A town or borough of Assyria; above Babylon, on the Euphrates. i. 185.

2. (23.) long. 49. lat. 32. Was a village, with a stathmus, in Cissia; two hundred and ten stades from Susa, towards N by W. The former Ardericca was in Babylonia; therefore the two places must not be confounded. vi. 119.

*Areopagus*. The Hill of Mars. A hill situate nearly in the middle of the city of Athens, near and opposite to the citadel or acropolis. It is now outside of the town, and is nearly equal in height to the castle of Modern Athens. There are still some ruins to be seen of the Areopagus, consisting of huge stones, jutting out in the shape of diamonds.

*Argians*. The inhabitants of Argos, otherwise called Argives.

*Argilus*. (14.) long. 23, 40. lat. 40, 50 A Greek town in Thrace, situate on the shore of the Strymonian gulf, W by S of the river Strymon. vii. 115.

*Argiopius*. (16.) Not marked in the Eton Atlas. See *Molœis*. A place in Bœotia, on the banks of the Molœis. See the plan of the battle of Platæa, in the Tabulæ Herodoteæ.

*Argippæi*. A people N E of the Scythians, who had seceded from the Royal Scythians. Rennell supposes them to have occupied the N part of the track now in the possession of the greater or E horde of the Kirgees, who are dependent on China, as the middle and W hordes are on Russia.

*Argolis*. A country of Peloponnesus; S of the isthmus of

Corinth; between the Saronic gulf E and the Argolic gulf W.

*Argos.* (16.) long. 22, 45. lat. 37, 40. A town of the Peloponnesus, two miles from the sea, which bears the name of the Argolic or Hermionic gulf. It was built mostly on flat and level ground. Near Argos flowed the river Inachus, passing along ravines, and having its head at Mount Lyrcios or Lyrcion, near Cynuria, in Arcadia. The walls of Argos were built by the Cyclops; who, however, were not the same as the companions of Vulcan They were seven, and had come from Lycia There are several ruins still seen about Greece, which are attributed to these Cyclops the masonry is very extraordinary, the walls being composed of huge blocks of every imaginable shape, nicely fitted together without any cement. There were eleven towns of Argos. that in Peloponnesus is the only one mentioned by Herodotus.

*Argi Lucus.* Probably between Sepia and Argos.

*Aria.* (23.) long. 60 to 65. lat. 30 to 35. These people were distinct from the Medes, who formerly bore the same name. They inhabited a country called Aria, situate E of Parthia; W of Mount Paropamisus, S of Margiana, and part of Bactriana. The Aria of the ancients forms a part of the modern Khorasan, for Khorasan comprises not only Ariana, but Drangiana and Bactriana.

*Arimaspi.* See Herod. iv. 13, 27. These were somewhere in the N of Europe. Rennell places them at the Altaian or Golden Mountains. Herodotus does not believe in their having but one eye.

*Arisba.* (17.) long. 26, 5. lat. 39, 20. A town in the island of Lesbos, towards the SW coast. This town must not be confounded with another of the same name in the Troad: the latter is mentioned by Homer, but not by Herodotus.

*Arizanti.* (See *Media*). A people of Media, N of the Budii, in the vicinity N by W of the Choaspes. i 101.

*Armenia.* (21.) long. from 38 to 49. lat from 37 to 41. A large country of Asia. it is generally divided into Greater and Lesser Armenia. The Greater is E of the Euphrates, NW of Assyria, towards the sources of the Euphrates, and extending from those sources N to Mount Taurus, or Mount Niphates S, and beyond. The Lesser is W of the Euphrates, has Cappadocia N, and a mountain from which flows the Halys.

*Armenius mons.* Probably a branch of Taurus. i. 72.

*Artace.* (See *Cyzicus.*) A town and port of Asia Minor on the Propontis, near Cyzicus, of which it was a suburb, according to Procopius. iv. 14.

*Artanes.* (14.) long mouth in the Ister, 24, 30. lat. from 42 to 44. A river which flows through the country of the Crobyzi Thracians, and falls into the Ister or Danube. iv. 49.

*Artæi.* The name given to the Persians by their neighbours; and which they sometimes took themselves. vii. 61.

*Artemisium.* Diana was called in Greek, Artemis a temple of that goddess, an Artemisium. In reference to the island of

Eubœa, the name applied first to a temple of Diana, second to a coast of the island, third to a neighbouring roadstead:—

1. Artemisium, or temple of Diana. It was W N W of the mouth of the Callus, between Histiæa and Cerinthus, but nearer to the former than to the latter.

2. (15.) long. 23, 20. lat. from 39 south. This temple gave its name to the whole NNE coast of Eubœa.

3. The same name was given to the sea extending from Eubœa beyond the island of Sciathus, and perhaps as far as the Thermæan gulf. viii. 9, 10, 11.

*Artiscus.* (14.) long. mouth in the Hebrus, 25, 30. lat. source, 42. A river met with as one goes from the sources of the Tearus towards the Ister: it flows through the country of the Odrysi. iv 92.

*Asbystæ.* (25.) long. 22. lat. 31. A people of Libya; S of Cyrenaica; N of Augila and of the Nasamones; E of the Auschisæ, W of the Gilgammæ.

*Ascalon.* (20.) long. 34, 30. lat. 31, 40. A town of Syria; between Azoth and Gaza; on the shore of the Mediterranean; five hundred and twenty stades from Jerusalem. It belonged to the Philistines. The ancients have spoken in praise of the onions of Ascalon, *cæpa Ascalonica*: the eschalot or shalot is said to have derived its name from hence. *m. n* Scalona, an episcopal town dependent on the patriarchate of Jerusalem. i. 105.

*Asine.* There were three towns of this name in Peloponnesus

1. In Argolis. (16.) long. 23. lat. 37, 30. W of Hermione, on the Argolic Gulf.

2. In Laconia, was the W coast of the tongue of land advancing to the S, and forming Cape Tænarus. (16.) long. 22, 43. lat. 36, 50 It must be between Gythium and that cape; and not Gythium between the Cape and Asine, as in D'Anville's Map.

3. In Messenia, on the coast of the Messenian gulf; due S of Ithome, W by S of Cardamyle. (16) long. 21, 50. lat. 36, 45. It is mentioned by Herodotus, for the purpose of distinction from those of Argolis, as Ἀσίνη ἡ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ viii. 73

*Asopus.*—1 A river of Thessaly in Malis. (15) long. 22, 40. lat. mouth, 38, 55. It had two sources towards the E frontier of Dryopis; in the W part of Mount Œta, which is contiguous to Mount Pindus, flowing towards the E in a course nearly parallel to the Sperchius. it falls into the Maliac gulf, N of the Thermopylæ The people dwelling about its two sources were called Œtæi; and the name of Parasopii was given to those dwelling between the Asopus and the Sperchius, W of Heraclea. vii 200, 216.

2. A river of Bœotia. (16.) long source, 23, 18. lat. mouth, 38, 20. Its source was near Platæa, whose territory it watered from thence it crossed the plain of Thebes, and went to fall into the Euripus, W of Oropus, between the town of Aulis W and promontory Delphinium E. It separated the territory of the Platæans from that of the Thebans. *m. n.* Asopo. ix. 50.

*Asopii.* The name given to the inhabitants of the banks of the Asopus in Bœotia. They were divided into several villages dependent on Thebes. ix. 15.

*Assa.* (14). long. 23, 40. lat. 40, 10. A town situate at the extremity of the Singitic gulf, W of the channel excavated by Xerxes across the isthmus of Mount Athos. vii. 122.

*Assesus.* A town or village of Milesia; site unknown. i. 19.

*Assyria* (21.) long. 38 to 46. lat 33, 30 to 38 In ancient authors, the Assyrians are sometimes called Syrians, and, *vice versâ*, the Syrians, Assyrians therefore Assyria may be taken in a sense more or less extensive. In its more extensive sense, it comprised several large provinces, which depended on the kings of Assyria, besides the Syrians of Cappadocia, and the Syrians of Palestine In a less extensive sense, it was rather a limited province, the capital of which was Ninos, or Nineveh According to Ptolemy, the bounds of Assyria were N, a part of Greater Armenia, and Mount Niphates, W, Mesopotamia, or the Tigris, S, Susiana; E, a part of Media, with Mount Chaboras or Chaothras.

*Astræus.* See *Haliacmon.*

*Atarantes.* They are ten journeys from the Garamantes, and the same distance from the Atlantes. iv. 184.

*Atarbechis.* (26.) long 31 lat. 30, 30. A city in the island of Prosopitis, in the Delta. ii. 41.

*Atarneus.* (18) long 27. lat. 39. A small territory, with a town of the same name, belonging to Mysia, opposite to the island of Lesbos: it was fruitful in corn. vi. 29. viii 106.

*Athenæ.* (16) long. 23, 43. lat. 37, 58. A town of Attica, situate a little inland, between the Cephisus W, and the Ilissus E. It still bears its ancient name; and is a considerable town, for a country that has groaned so long under Mahometan bondage.

*Athos*, Peninsula of. (14.) long. 24, 10. lat. 40, 5. Is in Thrace It stretches in length from WNW to ESE, and Mount Athos extends its whole length. The shade of the mountain is said to reach the island of Lemnos, although, according to Pliny, it is eighty-seven R miles distant. Pliny, or his copyists, however, have made a mistake; for the distance is certainly not more than twenty miles. At sunset, the mountain is visible from the coast of Asia, appearing as a mass of fiery gold. It is now called Agio Oros, or Agio Bouni, from the quantity of monasteries which cover its sides these monasteries are inhabited by a crowd of dirty monks, or caloyers, as they are called in the Greek church, who affect to permit no animal of the female sex to set foot on their holy land

*Athribis.* (26) long. 31, 20. lat. 30, 30. A town of Egypt, the territory of which was called the nome Athribitana · it appears to have been at no great distance from Busiris. *m n.* Atrib in Sharkia

*Athrys.* (14.) long. 25, 30. lat. mouth in the Ister, 43, 30. A river, which, according to Herodotus, flows through the country of the Crobyzi Thracians,

and falls into the Ister. iv. 49.

*Atlantes.* They are situate ten journeys from the Atarantes. Their country confines on Mount Atlas, from whence they have taken their name. A salt hill and spring of fresh water are seen in their country. iv. 184.

*Atlas*, Mount. (25) long. 6 to 4. lat. 32 to 34. A mountain of Libya, mentioned by Herodotus. iv. 184.

*Atlas*, river. (14.) long. mouth, 28. lat. 44, 10. A large river, which rises in the tops of Mount Hæmus; flows N, and disembogues in the Ister. iv. 49.

*Atramyttium* (18.) long. 27. lat. 39, 40. A sea-town, with a port, situate in that part of Mysia, in Asia Minor, which is towards the Caicus, N of the territory of Atarneus, on the E point of a gulf, called, from the town, the Atramyttenian gulf. It was an Athenian colony; sixty stades from Thebe in Cilicia, capital of the states of Eetion, father of Andromache. vii. 42. *m.n.* Adramitti.

*Attica.* (16.) long 23, 40 to 24. lat 37, 40, to 38, 25. A country of Greece. Its boundaries were: S, the Saronic gulf; E, the Euripus, N, Bœotia; W, Megaris, and Mount Cithæron. The face of the country was unequal, half plains and half mountains: in the latter there were some gold and silver mines, and very famous marble quarries. The air was extremely pure; and the country was once so populous, that it contained one hundred and seventy-four places, some of which were equal to towns: 316 B.C., under Demetrius Phalerus, the census of the inhabitants of Attica was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Citizens | 21,000 |
| Metoicoi, those who had not the rights of citizenship | 10,000 |
| Slaves | 400,000 |
| | 431,000 |

The ports of Attica were good, and conveniently situated: the rivers were few; for the Ilissus, the Eridanus, and Cephissus are nothing more than mountain streams, dry throughout the summer.

Attica bore formerly the name of Acte, from Actæa and Atthis: it had been divided into thirteen tribes, which were, 1 Acamantis; 2. Æantis; 3. Antiochis, 4. Attalis, 5. Ægeis; 6. Erechtheis; 7. Hadrianis, 8. Hippothoontis; 9. Cecropis, 10. Leontis; 11. Œneis, 12 Ptolemais; 13. Pandionis. The ten most ancient tribes derived their names from heroes of the country.

Herodotus names the four most ancient tribes, Geleontes, Ægicores, Argades, Hoples; which Clisthenes subdivided into ten, but he does not give the names of those ten tribes.

*Auchatæ* See *Scythæ.*

*Augila* (25.) long 23 lat. 29, 30. A part of Libya; ten journeys from Ammon; twenty from Thebes: this country has a salt-hill and a fountain. The country appears to have abounded in date-trees or palms, the fruit of which the Nasamones went to collect in autumn "Modern "travellers inform us, that the "dates in the plain of Gegabib, "five journeys to the E of that "of Augila, are gathered by the "people on the coast of Derna; "so that one may conceive

" that the same practice prevails " throughout the whole re- " gion." *Rennell*, p. 614

*Auras.* (14.) long. 27, 30. lat. mouth, 44. A river, which, rising in the tops of Hæmus, flows N, and falls into the Ister. iv. 49.

*Auschisæ.* (25.) long. 23, 30. lat. 28. Border on the Asbystæ, E: they dwell above Barce, and extend to the sea, near the Euesperidæ. Their country is bounded, on the W, by that of the Nasamones. iv. 171, 172.

*Ausenses.* W of the Triton, a river which divided them from the Machlyes. iv. 180.

*Automoli* (*i e.* Transfugæ) A people originally Egyptian, who, under the reign of Psammitichus, passed into Ethiopia, and received from the king of that country a tract of land forty journeys from Meroe, and therefore ninety-two journeys from the island of Tachompso. ii. 30.

*Axius.* (14) long head, 21, 30. lat. mouth, 40, 30. A river of Macedonia, the head of which is in Mount Scardus, on the N. it falls into the Thermæan gulf, now called Golfo di Saloniki. Near the Axius is a marsh, by the side of which the Echidorus discharges its waters into the sea. The Axius, towards its mouth, divided Mygdonia from Bottiæis and Amphaxitis. *m. n.* Vardari. vii. 123.

*Axus.* Capital of a small kingdom in Crete: situate about the middle of the island, more N than S, at a small distance from Eleutheræ. iv. 154.

*Aziris.* A very agreeable quarter in Libya; surrounded on two sides by hills covered with trees; on another, watered by a river. This quarter was opposite the island of Platæa. iv. 157.

*Azotus.* (19.) long. 34, 40. lat. 31, 50. A large town in Syria, situate on the Mediterranean, between Ascalon and Acco, since called Ptolemaïs; or otherwise, between Jamnia and Ascalon, as may be seen in Judith (ii. 28. of the Lxx Version), or between Gaza and Jamnia, according to Josephus. These contradictions are only apparent, as Azotus was between all the above places. It had a port, and was a long time possessed by the Philistines. Joshua afterwards assigned it to the tribe of Judah. Psammitichus, king of Egypt, took it, after twenty-nine years' siege, ii. 157.

*BABYLON.* (23) long. 44, 30. lat 31, 30. A town of Assyria on the Euphrates. It was the capital of Babylonia, which became a separate kingdom after it had shaken off the yoke of the Assyrians. After the destruction of Nineveh, it extended its conquests into Assyria, and Babylon then became the capital of the empire of the Assyrians. Persia was never subject to it the Medes conquered it from the Assyrians.

Babylon stood on a large plain: its shape was a square, one hundred and twenty stades on each side, making, in all, a circuit of four hundred and eighty stades. It was surrounded with a deep fosse, filled with water; and a wall, fifty royal cubits thick, and two hundred high. It had one hundred gates, all of brass, with hinges and jambages and lintels of the same metal.

The Euphrates divided Ba-

bylon into two quarters, the E and the W: the houses were from two to three stories high.

Some vast ruins of this town are seen about the modern town of Hillah: they have been carefully examined by the British consul at Bagdad, whose memoir relative to Babylon is extremely interesting, as it serves, in another instance, to demonstrate the accuracy of the Historian's observation or information. i. 178, &c.

*Babylonia*—Is taken sometimes to signify the whole of the country between Mesopotamia, the Tigris, and the Persian gulf. in this sense, that gulf is the same as the gulf of the Chaldees. Babylonia is likewise sometimes used for the upper part, which is towards the bed of the Euphrates, and round the city of Babylon This country, after shaking off the yoke of the Assyrians, became a very powerful empire. It was conquered by Cyrus

*Bactra.* (23.) long 65. lat 36, 30. A town in Asia; capital of Bactriana on the river Zariaspa. The town itself likewise was called Zariaspa.

*Bactriana, ἡ Βακτρίη χώρη* A country of Asia it was bounded W by Margiana, N by the Oxus, S by Mount Paropamisus. It is a large and rich country, watered by several rivers flowing from S to N, and discharging their streams into the Oxus. Bactriana forms part of Khorassan its capital is Bactra. *m. n.* Balkhe.

The names Bactra and Bactriana are derived from Balchter, which signifies the east.

*Barce, ἡ Βάρκη κώμη.* (24.) long. 21. lat. 32, 30. A village of Bactriana; place of banishment for the Barcæi, made prisoners by the Persians, under the reign of Darius. Site unknown. iv. 204.

*Barce.* A town of the Pentapolis of Libya, one hundred stades from the sea, and near Ptolemais, which was its port. *m. n* Barca, and Tolometa.

*Beatorum Insula, Μακάρων νῆσος.* (See *Oasis*) A small tract in Libya, surrounded by a vast desert and sandy country, from which circumstance this spot took the name of island. The appellation *μακάρων* was given it, because it abounded in springs, produced excellent wine (probably date-wine), and abundance of every thing necessary. It was the Great Oasis. *m n.* El-Ouah, or El-Wah iii. 26.

*Belbina* In D'Anv. Græc Ant. lon. 41, 25. lat 37, 50. In the Eton Atlas (17), long. 24. lat. 37, 50. A small island of the Saronic gulf, near Ægina, but higher up in the gulf. *m. n.* Lavousa. viii 125.

*Bermius.* (14) long. 22. lat. 40, 20. A mountain of Macedonia, properly so called, towards Bottiæis. At the foot of this mountain stood the town of Berœa there were mines in the neighbourhood, from whence Midas drew his riches S of this mountain were the gardens of Midas son of Gordius, famous for their roses. viii 138.

*Bessi.* (14) long. 24. lat. 42. A people of Thrace; N W of the Pieres, and dwelling along and on the E bank of the Nestus, from its source to the territory of the Satræ: they do not appear to have been very clearly

distinguished from the Satræ. vii. 111.

*Bisaltia.* (14.) long 23 to 24. lat. 41, 30. A country of Macedonia, towards the confines of Thrace its inhabitants were called *Bisaltæ* It lay entirely W of the Strymon, and above the towns of Argilus and Amphipolis, or the Nine Ways. vii. 115.

*Bisanthe* (14) long 27, 30. lat. 41. A town of Thrace, on the Propontis, at the mouth of the Hellespont. It was built by the Samians It took afterwards the name of Rhædestum. *m. n.* Rhodosto.

*Bistones.* (14.) long. 24, 40. lat 41. A people of Thrace, dwelling N of Dicæa, E and N of the lake Bistonis vii 110.

*Bistonis lacus.* It is in Thrace, and takes its name from the neighbouring people, the Bistones. It is now called Bouron. It is formed by several rivers, which are from E to W, the Trauus, the Compsatus, and the Cossinites vii 109.

*Bithynia* (18) long. 29 to 32 lat 40. Bounded W by the Bosphorus of Thrace and the Propontis; S and SW by Mount Olympus, and by the Rhyndacus, a river which separates Bithynia from Mysia, rising in the country of the Olympienians, and falling into the Propontis, NE of, and near to, Cyzicus. On the N, Bithynia is bounded by the Euxine. Its E boundary is not clearly determined. according to Arrian, it is the river called Parthenius, vii. 75.

*Bœbeïs palus*, ἡ Βοιβηὶς λίμνη. (15.) long 22, 40. lat. 39, 30. In the W part of Magnesia, near Pheræ, and the W extremities of Mounts Ossa and Pelion. vii. 129.

*Bœotia.* (15 & 16.) long. 22, 50, to 23, 50. lat 38, 30 A country between Phocis W and N, and Megaris and Attica S This country touches three seas, and has a good number of ports.

*Bolbitinum ostium.* (26.) long. 30, 30. lat. 31, 30. A town of Egypt, which gave its name to a canal and mouth of the Nile. This canal must be between the Canopic and Saitic canals: it was dug by man. The mouth of this canal is a little above Rascid on Rosset, which stands on the site of Bolbitinis. ii 17.

*Borysthenes.* (2.) long. of the mouth, 32, 30. lat. 46, 30. A large river of Scythia, which discharges itself into the Euxine. It is more N than the Hypanis. Its *m n.* is Nieper, or Dnieper Its source was unknown to the ancients · we now know that this river rises in Muscovite Russia, between Wolock and Oleschno, it then traverses the Palatinate of Smolenskow from E to W, then proceeds from N to S, and, after many turns, falls into the Euxine sea Major Rennell suspects that Herodotus was not apprised of the famous cataracts of this river, which occur at about the height of two hundred miles above its embouchure, and are said to be thirteen in number, for he seems to consider the navigation as being uninterrupted during forty days upwards from the sea.

*Borysthenes.* A town built on the banks of the Borysthenes, at the mouth of the Hypanis. It was a staple, inhabited by

Greeks from Miletus. The port of Cherson (near the mouth of this grand river, *i. e.* the Dnieper), rendered famous by the marine arsenals and docks established there by the immortal Catherine of Russia, must be nearly in the same situation with the port of the Borysthenitæ. *Rennell.* Herodotus calls this town Βορυσθένης, τὸ Βορυσθενειτέων ἄστυ, and τὸ Βορυσθενειτέων ἐμπόριον.

*Borysthenitæ.* Herodotus gives this name, first to the Scythian cultivators who dwelt on the banks of the Borysthenes or Dnieper; secondly, to the inhabitants of the city of Borysthenes, who were Greeks from Miletus.

*Bosporus Cimmerius.* (2.) long. 36. lat. 40. A strait joining the Palus Mæotis with the Euxine sea. It was called Cimmerian, because the Cimmerians had anciently inhabited its W shores. *m. n.* Caffa, Taman, or Zabache.

Strabo reckons from the Cimmerian Bosphorus to the Tanais two thousand two hundred stades, in a straight line; a little more in following the Asiatic coasts; but by the European coasts the distance was more than triple.

*Bosporus Thracius* (18.) long. 29. lat. 41. A strait, serving as a communication between the Euxine and the Propontis. In calm weather, the voice of a man may be easily heard from the Asiatic shore to the European. *m. n.* Bosforo, or Canale del Mar Nero.

*Bottiæis.* D'Anv. Græc. Ant. long. 40. lat. 40, 30. Eton Atlas (15), long. 22. lat. 40, 30. A province or country of Macedonia; bounded N by the Erigon; NE by the Axius; E by the Thermæan gulf; S by Pieria; W by Emathia, or Macedonia, properly so called. vii. 123.

*Branchidæ.* (18.) long. 27, 10. lat. 37, 20. See *Milesia.*

*Brauron.* (16.) long. 23, 57. lat. 37, 55. A small town of Attica, at a short distance from Marathon; pretty near Mount Hymettus, between that mountain and Mount Pentelicus. Celebrated formerly for its temple of Diana, and a festival celebrated there in honour of the goddess. vi. 138.

*Brundusium* (13.) long. 18. lat. 40, 10. A very celebrated town of Iapygia, with a fine port. The town and its port resembled a stag's head, hence its name, which, in the Messapian language, signifies a stag's head. *m. n.* Brindisi.

*Briantica.* (14.) long. 26. lat. 41. A country of Thrace, so called in the time of Herodotus: its ancient name had been Galaica. See *Galaïca.*

*Brongus.* (14.) long. between 20 and 23. lat. 42 to 45. A river of Mœsia; which falls into the Ister or Danube after receiving the Angrus: supposed to be the Save. iv. 49.

*Brygi.* A people of Thrace. They were not far from Macedonia; near Mount Bermius.

*Bubastis.* (26.) long. 31, 30. lat. 30, 40. A town of Egypt, capital of a nome of the same name: it was not far from the vertex of the Delta, according to Strabo, and near the Pelusiac branch. The Arabian canal began a little higher up. D'Anville places it much too low

down in the Delta. This town is called Pibeseth in Ezek. xxx. 17; translated by the Lxx, Boubastos.

*Bucolicum ostium.* (26) long. 32. lat. 31, 30. A canal of the Nile, between the Sebennytic and Mendesian. It appears to be the same as that which Strabo calls the Phatnic. D'Anville confounds this canal with the Sebennytic ii. 17.

*Budii.* A people of Media. Situation unknown· conjectured to be N of the Magi, and W of the source of the Choaspes. i. 101

*Budini.* They dwelt above, and N of, the Sauromatæ. A large and numerous nation. Gelonus, a wooden town in their country, was occupied by the Greeks, hence they were improperly called Geloni. iv. 108. The country of the Budini is taken by Rennell for that of Woronetz.

*Bura.* (16.) long. 22, 10 lat. 38, 13. A city of Achaia in Peloponnesus; W of the river Crathis, on a mountain, and at a very small distance faom the Corinthian gulf i. 145.

*Busæ.* A people of Media: situate towards the S coast of the Caspian sea; due N of the Arizanti; N by E of the Struchates. i. 101.

*Busiris.* (26.) long. 31, 20. lat. 30, 55. A town of Egypt; situate in the middle of the Delta; where was seen a beautiful temple of Isis. It was the capital of the Busiritane nome, which comprised likewise the town of Cynospolis. ii. 59, 165.

*Buto.* (26.) long. 31. lat. 31, 20. 1. A town of Egypt, near the isle of Chemmis; towards the Sebennytic mouth: it had a celebrated temple of Latona. D'Anville places this town too far from the Sebennytic mouth. See *Chemmis.* ii. 155, 156.

2. A town of Egypt, out of the Delta, and near Arabia· it was therefore very different from the town of the same name near the Sebennytic mouth. No other author mentions this place it seems however to be alluded to in Numbers xxxiii. 3, &c. of the Lxx, under the name of Boutham. ii. 75. This place is called Etham in the English Version, Numb. xxxiii. 6 and Exod. xiii. 20.

*Bybassia.* (18) see *Cnidus.* A small country of Asia, touching the peninsula of Cnidia. i. 174.

*Byzantium.* (18) long. 29. lat. 41. A town situate on the the Thracian Bosphorus: Herodotus, however, places it on the Hellespont. See p. 3, note 2, of this volume. *m. n* Constantinople, or Stamboul, or Istamboul, a corruption of *εἰς τὴν* or *τὰν πόλιν.*

*CABALES.* A Libyan nation, not very numerous; situate opposite to the centre of the country of the Auschisæ; and extending along the sea-shore towards Taucheira. iv. 171.

*Cabalia.* (18.) long. 30. lat. 37, 20. A small country of Asia Minor; between Pamphylia, Lycia, and Pisidia. It appears to have been afterwards confounded partly with Lycia and partly with Pamphylia. In the days of Herodotus it formed part of the second satrapy, whereas Lycia and Pamphylia were in the first. iii. 90.

*Cabalenses Meones.* They inhabited Cabalia. See that word.

For it appears the Cabalians are the inhabitants of Cabalis, situate near Cibyra, S of the Mæander. Herodotus says they were armed and accoutred like the Cilicians, because they were in the vicinity W of the Cilicians, N of Lycia and Pamphylia. I know not why they were called Lasonii. viii. 77.

*Cadmei.* This was the name given to the Phœnicians who followed Cadmus into Greece. They drove out of Histiæotis a part of the Pelasgic nation there established.

The inhabitants of Thebes, a town in Bœotia, were called Cadmei. Some joined a colony of Ionians, and passed into Asia Minor, under the guidance of Philotas, where they founded Priene.

*Cadytis.* (20.) long. 35, 15. lat. 31, 45. Probably the same as Jerusalem although it is by no means clear what is the town alluded to by Herodotus, ii. 159. It was in Syria, and equal in size to Sardis.

*Caicus* (18) mouth, long. 26, 50. lat. 39. A river of Mysia. It flows north of the Hermus, and falls into the sea near the town of Elæa, opposite the island of Lesbos The plains which it watered were very productive of corn. vi. 28.

*Calacta,* Καλὴ ἀκτή. (13.) long. 14, 30. lat. 38 The 'Fair Shore' was a territory on the coast of Sicily, in that part of the island which looks towards Tyrrhenia. There is in this place a town of the same name, situate W of the mouth of a river now called Furiano. vi. 22.

*Calami.* A place, of which little is known, in the island of Samos. According to Herodotus, it was not far from the temple of Juno, and must have been W by S of the town of Samos. From the name, we may be led to suspect it was some marsh or bog; and Athenæus mentions such a place in Samos, where the harlots, who followed Pericles to the siege of Samos, erected a temple to Venus. ix. 96.

*Calatiæ.* A people of India subject to Darius. They inhabited the part E or N of India · the S of India was never subjected to that prince. Their site is unknown. iii 38, 97.

*Callatebus.* (18.) long. 22, 20. lat 38, 30. A town of Lydia, situate on the frontier of Phrygia and Lydia, on the road from Cydrara to Sardis, beyond the Mæander, in respect to those going from Cydrara to Sardis. vii 31

*Callipidæ.* They are Greco-Scythians, the first people met with after the town of the Borysthenitæ. iv 17.

*Callipolis.* (13.) long. 15, 10. lat. 37, 45. A town of Sicily, between Mount Ætna and Naxos, but nearer to Mount Ætna. It was founded by the Naxians. Its inhabitants were called Callipolitani. vii. 154. *m. n.* Gallipoli.

*Callista.* See *Thera.*

*Calydna.* (18.) long 27. lat. 37. An island near Nisyros and Cos, according to Homer, Il. ii. 677. W. of the island of Rhodes; about S of Cnidus; about E by S of the island of Cos and that of Nisyros. Calydna belonged to Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus,

*Calyndus,* or *Calynda.* (18.) long. 28, 50. lat. 36, 45. A sea-town

of Asia Minor, on the confines of Lycia and Caria. viii. 87.

*Camarina.* (13.) long. 14, 30 lat. 36, 50. A city in the S of Sicily, situate between the mouths of two rivers; one on the W, once called Hipparis, but now Camarana, the other E, formerly called Oanus, now Frascolani. W of Camarina was a marsh of the same name, crossed by the little river Hipparis this marsh, served as a defence to Camarina from the attacks of Syracuse the inhabitants wishing to make their country more healthy, drained the marsh, and, in consequence, fell a prey to the Syracusans: in draining the marsh, they slighted the oracle, which, when consulted by them, answered, "Stir not the Camarine marsh." On the site of Camarina stands a guard-station, called Torre di Camarana.

*Camicus.* (13.) long. 13, 30. lat. 37, 20. A town of Sicily, in the country now called the valley of Mazara; upon a mountain on the right bank of the river Camicus, now called Fiume delle Canne. Minos, eleventh king of Crete, was stifled at Camicus, in a bath the town was inhabited by Agrigentines in the time of Herodotus. vii. 169, 170.

*Camirus* (17.) long. 27, 35 lat. 36, 5. A town in the island of Rhodes, situate about the middle of the W part. Its inhabitants were transferred to Rhodes. See *Ialyssus*

*Campsa* (15) A town of Crossea, on the Thermæan gulf, between Gigonus and Smila

*Canastræum promontorium.* (14.) long. 23,50 lat. 40. The loftiest part of Pallena, and that which shoots farthest into the sea, at the entrance of the Toronæan gulf. It belonged to Paraxia, that is to say, that country of Macedonia near to and E of the river Axius. *m. n.* Paillouri, Canouistro, Cannistro, Mperlici, pronounced Berlici.

*Cane.* (18.) long. 27. lat 39. A mountain situate near the Caicus, towards the sea, with a little town called Cana, situate, according to Strabo, opposite the S point of Lesbos, with a little stream which Pliny calls Canaius amnis It appears that Herodotus places it N or NW of the Caicus vii. 42

*Canobus* (26.) long 30, 2. lat. 31, 15 A town of Egypt, situate W of, and near to, the Canopic or Canobic mark, one hundred and twenty stades from Alexandria, according to Strabo Aboukir stands on its site.

*Caphareum promontorium.* (17) long. 24, 30. lat. 38, 10. A celebrated promontory of the island of Eubœa, on the SE coast opposite the island of Andros. This cape was dangerous by its shoals the Greeks, on their return from Troy, were shipwrecked there, and lost a good number of ships · Ovid, Metamorph. xiv 480. Between this promontory and that of Geræstus the coast formed a bend, stuck full of rocks rising near the surface; these were the Cœla, or Cavities of Eubœa. These Cœla are called, in the modern language, Xylophagos, Devourer of Ships. The modern name of the promontory, that is to say, that by which it is known among Italian sailors, is Cabo d'Oro. viii. 7.

*Cappadocia,* (18) in Herodotus,

comprises Pontus. A country of Asia Minor; extending from W. to E, between the Halys and the Euphrates; and from S to N, between the source of the Halys and the coasts of the Euxine sea. The Cappadocians were called Syrians, and Leuco-Syrians; they belonged to the third satrapy. they were called Leuco-Syrians because they were white, whereas the complexion of the Syrians of Palæstine and Assyria was swarthy. See *Syri.*

*Carcinitis.* A town of Scythia, at a very small distance from the Hypaciris, and from the Tauric or Cimmerian Chersonesus. It gave its name to the gulf of Carcinitis, afterwards called Necro Pyla. iv. 55. According to Rennell, it was nearly in the situation of the modern town of Kammeinomost

*Cardamyla.* (16) long. 22, 15. lat. 36, 50. A town of Laconia, in Peloponnesus, W of Mount Taygetus, E of the Messeniac gulf; eight stades from the sea, and sixty from Leuctra. It preserves its ancient name, and is famous now for its dried figs.

*Cardia.* (14.) long 26, 50. lat. 40, 30. A town situate in the W part of the Isthmus, which joins the Thracian Chersonesus to the continent, at the bottom of the Cardiac gulf, or the gulf of Melas.

*Caria.* A country of Asia Minor. It is difficult, if not impossible, to mark precisely its bounds and extent, and to fix the towns that belonged to it, for the ancients vary much on the subject. Generally, Caria was bounded E by Greater Phrygia and Lycia; S and W by the Icarian sea; N by Ionia. *m. n.* Aïdenelli.

*Carine.* A city of Mysia, N of Atarneus, between that town S and Atramyttium NW. vii. 42.

*Carpathium mare.* (17) Between long. 26 to 28, and lat. 35 to 36. A part of the Ægean sea, taking its name from the island of Carpathus. It lies between the island of Rhodes and that of Crete· it touches the Icarian sea, which lies to its N. *m. n.* Mare di Scarpanto.

*Carpathus.* (17.) long. 27, 5. lat. 35, 30. An island situate between Crete, which lies to its SW, and Rhodes, which lies to the E by N. It is lofty, and is two hundred stades in circumference. *m. n.* Scarpanto.

*Carpis.* A river coming from the country above the Ombrici in Illyria. it flows towards the N, and falls into the Ister.

*Carthago.* (25.) long. 10, 10. lat. 37. A celebrated town of Lybia, the rival of Rome. It was at a pretty good distance N from the Lesser Syrtis; SE of and near Utica, on the seashore, on an isthmus formed by Cape Hermæum (*m. n.* Cape Bon), which looks toward Sicily. This isthmus or peninsula is three hundred and sixty stades in circumference: its neck is sixty stades long, and twenty-five over. The citadel of Carthage, called Byrsa, was in the centre of the town.

*Caryanda.* (18.) long. 27. lat. 37. An island and town of Caria, near the town of Myndus, E of that town, W of Bargylia, on the gulf Iassius. *m. n.* Caracoion. iv. 44.

*Carystus.* (16.) long. 24, 20. lat. 38. A town of the island of Eubœa, situate at the foot of Mount Ocha, where there were

some quarries of a fine green marble, in a place called Marmarium, and a temple of Apollo Marmarinos. It was in the SW part of the island, almost opposite Cynosura, a promontory on the E coast of Attica. The territory of the town was called Carystia, and the inhabitants Carystii. *m. n.* Caristo. The mineral called Amianthus, of which napkins are made which bear the fire, is still found in the vicinity of this place, as in ancient times iv. 33. viii. 92, &c.

*Casius.* (19.) long. 33. lat. 31, 10. There were two mountains in Asia of this name: they were at the extremities of Syria or Palestine, which they bounded; one on the N, the other on the S. Their common name, Casius, seems to be derived from a Hebrew word, signifying term, end, extremity, bourne, limit. 1 Begins E, at some miles from Laodicæa, on the sea, and terminates near Antioch: this Casius is not mentioned by Herodotus. 2. The Casius mentioned by Herodotus is a mountain of Arabia, between Syria and Egypt, pretty near lake Serbonis, and three hundred stades from Pelusium. This mountain is W of, and not far from, the W extremity of lake Serbonis: it resembles heaps of sand, says Strabo, and juts into the sea. The body of Pompey the Great reposed on this mountain. and there was seen there a temple of Jupiter, surnamed Casius: it was in this neighbourhood that Pompey, deceived by the Egyptians, was put to death. This mountain forms a promontory. *m. n.* El-Cas. ii. 6. iii. 2.

*Casmena.* An ancient town of Sicily. Its situation is not precisely known. vii. 146.

*Caspatyrus.* (24) long. 71, 30. lat. 33. A town of Pactyica, on the W bank of the Indus. Rennell thinks it is Puckoli; but, says Larcher, that town is beyond the Indus, and inland, whereas Scylax embarked on the Indus at Caspatyrus. iii. 102. iv. 44.

*Caspii* Two nations of this name are mentioned by Herodotus. The first is mentioned in iii. 92: they formed, with the Pausicæ, Pantimathi, and Daritæ, the eleventh satrapy these first Caspii evidently resided near the Caspian. The second nation of the Caspii (if the reading is correct) is mentioned in iii. 93. and vii. 86: where they are to be placed, nobody knows. As they are placed, in iii. 93, with the Sacæ, Rennell supposes the Historian to mean the Casii, that is to say, the inhabitants of the country called Casia by Ptolemy. this country bounds the Sogdians on the N, and the Chorasmians on the S: it is the kingdom of Kashgar, called likewise Little Bucharia.

*Caspium mare.* It is bounded W by the Caucasus; E, by a vast plain, part of which is occupied by the Massagetæ, by Chorasmia, and by the country of the Daritæ or Dahestam; S, by the country of the Mardi and Hyrcania. Its length is fifteen journeys with a rowing vessel; its breadth, eight journeys. *m. n.* among the Turks, Cozgoun Denghizi, 'the sea of crows or cormorants.

*Cassiterides insulæ.* Κασσίτερος signifies *tin.* Herodotus owns that he did not know where they were: the Phœnicians, who mo-

nopolized the tin-trade, kept, no doubt, the secret to themselves. There is no question but that the Cassiterides were the Scilly Islands, and a part of Cornwall. iii. 115.

*Castalia.* A fountain springing out between the two tops of Parnassus, nearer to the Hyampean top than to the Tithorean. It was on the right hand, going from the gymnasium of Delphi, and ascending towards the temple. The water is fresh, and forms some pretty cascades tumbling down the rocks. viii. 39.

*Casthanæa.* (15) long. 23, 10. lat. 39, 25. A town of Magnesia, country of Thessaly, on the Thermæan gulf, at the foot of Pelion, where begins the coast of Sepias. vii. 183, 184

*Castra* 1. The camps of the Ionians and Carians. They were the habitations which Psammitichus had given to the Carians and Ionians, who had assisted him in dethroning the eleven kings, his colleagues. These camps were situate on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, one on one side, and the other on the other, a little below Bubastis: these foreigners were afterwards transferred to Memphis. ii. 154. —2. The camp of the Tyrians, a quarter of the town of Memphis. ii 112.

*Catadupa.* (26) long 33. lat. 24, 10. The cataracts of the Nile: there are two; the larger one is in Æthiopia, the smaller, which alone is mentioned by Herodotus, is a little above Elephantis, seven stades from that town ii. 17.

*Catarractes.* This river appears to be the same with the Marsyas: *καταῤῥάκτης* signifies 'impetuous,' an epithet which seems to suit the Marsyas, which is in fact very impetuous, and flows from the citadel of Celænæ with rapidity and loud noise. Herodotus himself gives us to understand that the Catarractes is the same as the Marsyas, for he tells us, vii. 26, that the Catarractes was not inferior to the Mæander; that it rises in the forum of Celænæ, and discharges its waters into the Mæander. Livy says, likewise, that the Mæander rises at Celænæ, and that the Marsyas, which rises at no great distance from the source of the Mæander, joins its waters to those of the latter river. lib. xxxviii. c. 13. This Catarractes or Marsyas of Phrygia must not be confounded with the Catarractes a river of Pamphylia, whose mouth Ptolemy places near Antalia.

*Catari.* A Scythian people, who derived their origin from Arpoxais Site unknown iv. 6.

*Cava Euboeæ, τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης.* (17) See *Eubœa*, and *Caphareum promontorium.*

*Caucasa.* A place in the island of Chios, mentioned only by Herodotus, site, therefore, unknown, or whether it was a port or roadstead: we only know of three ports in Chios, Delphinium, Phanæ, and the port of the Gerontes v. 33.

*Caucasus.* A mountain, or rather mountain range, which may be considered as a continuation of Mount Taurus: it incloses the isthmus as with a wall, dividing the Euxine from the Caspian: it is the loftiest mountain of N Asia, and is inhabited by many wild nations. The ancients believed Prometheus to have been bound here. It is full of

rocks and awful precipices: towards its E part are two defiles, called the Caucasian Gates, which serve as a passage for the barbarous hordes of the N, to invade the territory of the Persians. The Caucasus, according to modern travellers, is covered with everlasting snow, in many quarters, it produces a great quantity of firs, honey, corn, vines, which clamber round the trees, and produce excellent wine at a reasonable rate. Though Strabo says that the rivers of the country brought down gold sand, the existence of such treasures is now unknown, for many of the tribes are even unacquainted with the use of money. The gold sand, says Strabo, was picked up in sheep's skins· Appian says the same, and adds, that this perhaps gave rise to the golden fleece of Æetes

*Caucones.* (18) long. 32 lat. 41. An ancient people of Paphlagonia, who inhabited the coast of the Euxine, from the Mariandyni to the river Parthenius, they were W of the Mariandyni, E of the Eneti A part of this nation passed into Greece, and settled near Dyma, in the fields of Buprasium, and in Lower Elis, or Hollow Elis· another part occupied the territory of the Lepreatæ and Cyparissians, and the town of Macistus in Triphyllia.

It is these latter that Herodotus mentions, i. 147. iv. 148. He calls them Καύκωνας Πυλίους, to distinguish them from those of Lower Elis, near Dyma, in the territory of Buprasium.

*Caunus.* (18). long 28, 30. lat. 36, 45. A town of Caria in Doris, on the sea-side; W of Artemisium, SE of Mylasa· it belonged to the Rhodians, and was the country of the celebrated painter Protogenes. *m. n.* probably, Kaiguez, or Rosa

*Caystrus.* (18.) long 27 to 28. lat. 38. A river rising in Lydia, among the Cilbian mountains: it winds (much less however than the Mæander) among the plains, called from its name the Caystrian plains it falls into the sea near to and W of Ephesus, between that town and Notium. Swans and wild-geese are no longer found on its banks. It is a very rapid stream *m. n* Kitchik Meinder, Turkish for the Little Mæander· it is likewise called Kara Sou, 'Black Water'· *sou* is a Turkish word, signifying water.

*Cebrenia.* A country of the Troad, SE of Troy, NW of Cilicia Thebaica, S of Dardanus, N of the Leleges and Atramyttenian gulf. The town of Cebren was at the foot of Mount Ida· it was founded by the Cymæans

*Celænæ.* (18) long. 30. lat. 38, 10. A large town of Phrygia, of which it was once the capital. It was in this town that Cyrus the Younger had a palace, and park full of wild beasts, for the exercise of hunting. The Mæander rises in the palace, flowing across the park and the town of Celænæ. The Great King had likewise in that town a fortified palace, on the source of the Marsyas or Catarractes, as Herodotus calls it, vii. 26. It was thought that Celænæ was the place where Marsyas durst dispute with Apollo the glory of the flute. *m. n.* Aphiom Kara Hisar, 'Black Castle of Opium,' a Turkish

name. D'Anville places the sources of the Mæander and Marsyas at too great a distance from each other.

*Celtæ.* They occupied an immense country. The Gauls and Germans were Celts: they passed over from Gaul into Albion (Great Britain). Strabo places some in Iberia, near the Bætis (Guadalquivir), near the Anas (Guadiana), near the Tagus, &c. They even are said to have occupied the greatest part of Iberia (Spain), as far as Gades (Cadiz). Those who dwelt between the Anas and Tagus belonged to the S part of Lusitania (Portugal). The Celtiberi (Arragonese) were of Celtic origin. Plutarch affirms that some authors commence Celtica at the ocean, and extend it to the Palus Mæotis. The name of Celts fell by degrees into desuetude, and each people took a separate name. it was, however, preserved in Gaul. and in the days of Cæsar, the Gauls were divided into Belgæ, Aquitani, Celtæ. iv. 49.

*Cenæum.* (17.) long. 23. lat. 38, 50. A promontory, the point most NW of the island of Eubœa, on the Maliac gulf, opposite the country of the Locri Epicnemidians. *m. n.* Cabo Lithari.

*Ceos.* (17.) long. 24, 20. lat. 37, 30. An island of the Ægæan sea, and one of the Cyclades; it is near Cape Sunium, S by E of that promontory, N of the island of Cythnos. *m n.* Zia.

*Cephallenia.* (16.) long. 20, 30 to 21. lat. 38 to 38, 30. This island, situate near the Corinthian gulf, looks towards Sicily. It is not far from the N and W parts of Peloponnesus, and more especially Elis; but its N and E parts look towards Epirus, Ætolia, and Acarnania. It is N of the island of Zacynthus, S of that of Ithaca. *m. n.* Cefalonia. It produces abundance of oil and red wines, and is, with Zacynthus, the principal place that supplies England with that sort of grapes called currants, used in cakes and puddings, and so called from Corinth, where some plants are still seen. Cefalonia is one of the islands of the Ionian states: it is garrisoned with British troops, who, at the time the author of this work was in the Ionian islands, were busy in cutting various roads.

*Cephenes.* The name anciently given by the Greeks to the Persians vii. 61.

*Cephissus.*—1. A large river of Phocis; (15) long. of mouth, 23, 5. lat. 38, 40. It rises in Mount Œta in Doris, near Lilæa, a town of Phocis· from thence flowing through Phocis, N of Delphi and Mount Parnassus, it enters Bœotia; and loses itself in lake Copais, with many other rivers and rivulets. The people on its bank were called Parapotamii, or Epicephissii. See Parapotamii. viii. 33. — 2. A small river of Attica. (16.) long. of mouth, 23, 40. lat. 38. It rises in Mount Pentelicus, near the township of the Trinemii, crosses the Thriasian plain; approaches Gephyra, where stood a bridge on the road from Athens to Eleusis: it then flows to Colonus crosses the long walls which joined Athens to ports Piræeus and Phalerus, and then loses itself in the marshes of Phalerus. This river is respect-

able in winter, but sometimes dry in summer. During some months stay at Athens, the author of this translation never saw any running water near the place.

*Ceramicus sinus.* (17.) long 27, 30. lat. 37. A gulf opposite to the island of Cos, N of the Chersonesus of Cnidia; between the gulf Iassius, which lies to its N, and that of Doris, which lies to its S It probably took its name from Ceramus, a town on that gulf, and on the N shore of the peninsula. *m. n.* Golfo di Castel Marmora.

*Cercasorum.* (26.) long. 31, 10. lat. 30, 5. A town of Egypt; situate on the left bank of the Nile, immediately above the point of the Delta. Near this place the Nile divides into two arms, the Canopic W, and the Pelusiac E, which embrace the whole of the Delta. *m. n.* El-Achsâs

*Cercopes.* Robbers who dwelt at the extremity of the path Anopæa, near the rock Melampygus, on the confines of Locris and Malis. vii 216.

*Chalcedon.* (18.) long 29. lat. 41, 10. A town situate in Asia, at the entrance of the Thracian Bosphorus, on the side of the Propontis, nearly opposite Byzantium: it was built seventeen years previous to Byzantium or Constantinople. The current of the Bosphorus takes ships into the Golden Horn or harbour of Constantinople, and repels them from Chalcedon, hence the latter place was not well adapted to commerce. *m. n.* Kaddi-Keui, a village consisting principally of Turkish country-houses, and caravanserais or khans.

*Chalcidenses.* The inhabitants of Chalcis in Eubœa, and its territory.

*Chalcidice.* (14.) long. 23 to 24. lat. 40, to 40, 30. A country or province of Thrace, which the Macedonians afterwards appropriated to themselves: it comprised not only the peninsulas situate between the Toronæan, Singitic, and Strymonian gulfs, but likewise a small country higher up, since the town of Chalcis, a good way inland, had given it its name. It had a good number of towns. It was bounded N by a part of Pæonia, and by Bisaltia, S, by the Singitic and Toronæan gulfs; E and NE, by the Edoni, W, by the Thermæan gulf, and Mygdonia. The Bottiæi, having been driven by the Macedonians out of the country near the gulf of Therma, passed into Chalcidice, and even occupied the town of Olynthus viii 127.

*Chalcis.*—1. (14.) long. 23, 30. lat. 40, 30 A town of Chalcidice in Thrace, E of Olynthus, W of the Sylean plain. 2. (17.) long 23, 30. lat. 38, 30. A town of the island of Eubœa; situate near the place where the island shoots farthest into Euripus, and nearest to Bœotia; N W of Eretria, and S E of Anthedon in Bœotia. The plain of Lelantus, famous for its vineyards, was to the N It was the capital of the island, and, by reason of its situation and strength, one of the three towns which Philip, son of Demetrius, (Polyb. Exc. lib. xvii. 11) called the shackles of Greece. It was joined to the continent by a bridge two plethra long. *m n.* Egripo or Euripo (pronounced Evripo), a corruption of Euripus.

Besides the two towns above defined, the ancients knew two more of the same name; one in Sicily, and another in Acarnania

*Chaldæa* (21.) long. 44. lat. 30 to 33. This name was formerly given to a part of Assyria, Babylonia, &c. But, in the sequel, the name was restricted to the country situate towards the SE of Babylon, and the S of the Euphrates.

*Chalestra.* (14.) long. 22, 50. lat, 40, 40 A town of Mygdonia in Macedonia, situate near to and W of the embouchure of the Axius vii 138.

*Chalybes.* (18.) long. 38. lat 40 to 41. They dwell between the Taochi and the Scythini, W of the former, E of the latter They were a brave nation, as the 10,000 experienced in their retreat. they occupied that part of the Pontus which lies between the Lesser Armenia, the Macrones, the Mosynœci, and the Tibareni, their country was mountainous, unfit for agriculture, but abounded in iron, from the working of which they derived their subsistence. this part of the Chalybes was much diminished in the time of Xenophon, the Mosynœci holding it in subjection. The Chalybes not only had possessed the countries above defined, but also Amisus and Sinope, and a territory of considerable extent this side of the Halys, with relation to Crœsus, whose states were bounded E by that river: these last Chalybes were those subjected by Crœsus; for, as Herodotus observes, he did not carry his conquests beyond the Halys. These last are the only Chalybes mentioned by the Historian.

*Charadra.* (15.) long. 22, 40. lat. 38. 40. A town of Phocis, on a rugged site, near which flows the Charadrus, a small river, or mountain torrent, which at a very small distance falls into the Cephissus. It is twenty stades NE of Lilæa, S. of Cytinium, W of Tethronium. viii 33.

*Chemmis* (26.) long. 31. lat. 31, 20.—1. An island on a large and deep lake in Egypt, near the temple of Latona at Buto: there was a temple of Apollo in the island, which was said, by the natives, to be floating. ii. 156.

2 A large town in Upper Egypt, situate nearly one mile from the E bank of the Nile, on the N frontier of Thebais, N of Ptolemais, S of Aphroditopolis. Herodotus, ii. 91, says it was near Neapolis. See *Neapolis.*

*Chersonesus* Herodotus generally understands by this word the Thracian Chersonesus.

1. Chersonesus of Thrace. (14.) long 26, 10. lat. 40. at the southernmost promontory. Its bounds were—from SW to NE, the Hellespont and W part of the Propontis, N, the main land of Thrace, from which it is separated by an isthmus, W, the Cardiac gulf, or gulf of Melas, which makes part of the Ægean sea, S, the Troad, which is in the continent of Asia. It was anciently inhabited by the Dolonci. See *Dolonci.* *m.n* Peninsola di Romania: it is 120 stades long from the isthmus to its extremity: the isthmus, that is to say, the space between Cardia and Pactya, is thirty-six stades over. vi. 36.

2 Chersonesus Taurica. (D'Anville, Orb. Rom. Pars, Orient. long. 52 to 55. lat. 44 to 46.) A

peninsula; S of the W part of Palus Mæotis, between Carcinitis W and the Cimmerian Bosphorus E. It has N, the Scythian Cultivators, the Scythian Nomades, and Hylæa; S, the Euxine sea. *m n.* Crimæa. It is, says Chardin, two hundred and fifty leagues in circuit, thirty-five long, and fifty-five broad. This Chersonesus was called, from the nature of its country, τραχέη; and such is the name that Herodotus gives it, iv. 99. Larcher asserts, that Herodotus, in that passage, alludes to a town so called in the Chersonesus Taurica; but the opinion does not appear tenable see Schweighæuser's note.

*Chios.* (17.) long. 26. lat. between 38 and 39. An island of the Ægæan sea, lying between the islands of Samos and Lesbos, NW of the former, S of the latter, W of and near the peninsula of Clazomenæ and of Erythræ, E of the S extremity of Eubœa. It must have been very powerful, since it furnished 100 ships. vi. 8. It had three ports: see *Caucasa.* It was celebrated for its wine, which is still much esteemed. *m. n.* Scio. Previous to the late bloody stand for freedom against the Turks, this island was the most populous and best cultivated of the Archipelago, a sort of university was established at the town of Scio, and the people seemed to be fast imbibing a taste for letters: the author of these pages found them hospitable and polite, in which they are much distinguished above the rest of the Greeks of the present day, who, however they may deserve the compassion of him who considers the evil effects of slavery on the human race, must excite the contempt of the traveller, by their sordid and treacherous behaviour.

*Chios,* the town of. long. 26, 5. lat. 38, 30. It stood on the E coast of the island, opposite Ionia, and about the middle of that coast. Its port, says Strabo, was extensive and fine: it could contain eighty vessels, and was inhabited by Ionians No modern seaman, however, would think of mooring his ship in the present port. *m. n.* Scio. This town had a temple of Minerva Poliouchos, *i e.* Protectress of the citadel.

*Choaspes.* (23.) long. of mouth, 48, 30. lat. 30, 30. A river which flows through Susa: it is E of, and a good distance from, the Tigris. It rises in the mountains of the Mardi (Louristan); it then flows from N to S; waters Elymais and Cossæa, before it enters Cissia: after crossing Susiana, it falls, like the Tigris, in the Persic gulf, near Khore Mousa. Cissia abounded in rivers, and although Herodotus mentions only the Choaspes, it cannot be concluded that he knew nothing of the others: he has probably mentioned the Choaspes only, because it was the most celebrated, by the goodness of its water, and was the river of the capital.

*Chœreæ.* A place in the territory of Eretria, in the island of Eubœa. vi. 101.

*Chorasmii.* (23) long between 55 and 60. lat. 40. They dwelt NNE of Parthiena; N of Ariana, or rather of Margiana; NW of Bactriana; S of the lake Aral. They had on the E by S, Segdiana; and on the W, the Caspian sea.

The Oxus crosses their country. It answers to the modern Chowarezem, or Khouarezem.

*Chytri.* A spot in the pass of the Thermopylæ. vii. 176.

*Cicones.* (14.) long. 26. lat. 41. A people of Thrace; dwelling N of the island of Samothrace. The Samothracians, having possessed themselves of the coast, there founded the cities of Sala, Zona, Mesambria, &c. The Cicones were then obliged to retire a little more N. They occupied the two banks of the Lissus, and even the plain Doriscus, as far as the Hebrus; for the women of the Cicones threw the head of Orpheus into that river. Georg. iv. 520—524. Thus they were W of the Hebrus, E of the Bistones, and inclosed N and NW by the Trausi and Mount Rhodope. Galaica, since called Briantica, was a part of their country.

*Cilices.* The inhabitants of Cilicia. See *Hypachæi.*

*Cilicia.* A country of Asia Its bounds: N, Mount Taurus; S, the sea, where lies the island of Cyprus, down to Posideum, where Syria began. iii. 91. Subsequently to Herodotus, Syria began more N, at the Syrian Pylæ, a narrow passage between the root of Mount Amanus and the shore, leading into Syria. Cilicia was divided into Western and Eastern.

1. Western Cilicia: Trachea. (18.) long. 32 to 34. lat. 36 to 37. It is called, by Herodotus, the Mountainous. W, it touched Pamphylia and Pisidia; E, Cilicia campestris; N, Lycaonia; S, the sea.

2. Eastern Cilicia: Pedias. (18.) long. 34 to 37. lat. 36 to 37. It is called Πεδίας, Campestris, on account of its vast plains. Its bounds are, N, Mount Taurus; S, the sea; W, Mountainous Cilicia; E, the Euphrates, which divides it from Armenia. It had two towns of some celebrity, Tarsus and Anchiale. Tarsus, the more E of the two, was celebrated for its philosophic schools, and still more so as being the birth-place of the Apostle of the Gentiles. Anchiale, W of Tarsus, and near the sea, was founded by Sardanapalus.

*Cilicia,* in Troas. (18.) long. 27. lat. 39. A small country near the Troad; divided into three small states, Thebe, Lyrnessus, and the Cetæi.

*Cilla.* (Not marked either in D'Anville or the Eton Atlas). A town of Æolis; NE of the Atramyttenian gulf, and in the territory of Thebe in Cilicia· the kingdom of Eetion, father of Andromache. It is between Gargarus E, Antandros W, S of Scepsis, N of the Caïcus, at the foot of Mount Cillæus, and in the vicinity of the sea. Mount Smintheus and Mount Cillæus were probably the same.

*Cimmerii.* A nation which anciently occupied not only Scythia, but also Chersonesus Taurica, of which they were dispossessed by the Scythians. Driven from that country, they passed into Asia, and even into that part of Asia Minor since occupied by the Greeks. They ravaged every thing on their passage; and no doubt owed their destruction to their devastations; for though they settled in Paphlagonia, where the town of Sinope was afterwards built, History from that time mentions them no more.

*Cimmerium.* (D'Anville Pars Orient.) long. 55, 10. lat. 45, 10. A town of Asiatic Scythia; on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, in Sindica, and the first town met with after passing the mouth of the Cimmerian strait, or Bosphorus.

*Cindys.* (Not placed either in D'Anville or the Eton Atlas) A town of Caria; in the vicinity of Iassus, of Bargyliæ, and the Iassius gulf. Mentioned only by Herodotus, v. 118.

*Cinyps.* (25.) long. of mouth, 14, 20. lat. 32, 30. A small river in Libya: it rises at the Hill of the Graces, crosses the country of the Macæ, and then falls into the sea.

*Cinyps.* A small country of Libya, watered by the Cinyps and several other fountains. iv. 198.

*Cion.* (18.) long. 29, 20. lat. 40, 30. A maritime city of Mysia, situate at the extremity of the gulf Cianus, which is a gulf in the E part of the Propontis, E of Myrlea, since called Apamea; NE of Prusa; W of Nicæa; SW of Nicomedia. The river Hylas falls into the gulf, at the same place.

*Cissia.* (23.) long. 45 to 51. lat. 30 to 33. A country of Asia, between Media N; Babylonia W; the Persic gulf S; Persia SE. Or if we wish to confine its limits, they were, Elymaïs N by W, Cossæa NE. It extended on both sides of the Choaspes. Susa was its capital, and the winter residence of the Kings of Persia. *m. n.* Khozistan. Susiana was properly the territory of Susa.

*Cithæron.* (16.) long. 23 to 23, 30. lat. 38, 15. A mountain of Bœotia, in the territory of Thebes, S of the Asopus, which rises in it near Platæa, and waters its root. *m. n.* Elateias.

*Claves Cypri.* Κληίδες τῆς Κύπρου. long 34, 40. lat. 35, 40. They were two small islands, according to Strabo, and four, according to Pliny, near the E part of the island of Cyprus; seven hundred stades from the mouth of the Pyramus in Cilicia. It appears from Herodotus, v. 108, that the promontory near those islands bore the same name. *m. n.* Cabo di Sant' Andréa.

*Clazomenæ.* (16.) long. 26, 30. lat. 38, 20. One of the six Ionian towns, situate in Lydia, on the gulf of Smyrna. According to Strabo, it was towards the middle of the N coast of the isthmus of the peninsula, which is opposite the island of Samos, and which was called the peninsula of Clazomenæ. *m. n.* Bourla.

*Cleonæ.* (14) long. 24, 10. lat. 40, 20. A town of the peninsula of Mount Athos, on the E coast of the Singitic gulf; SE of Sana; NW of Thyssus. A Chalcidian colony.

*Cnidia.* (18.) long. 28. lat. 36, 30. A peninsula bounded N by the Ceramic gulf, S by the sea of Syme and Rhodes: it holds to Bybassia by a tongue of land only five stades over. i. 174.

*Cnidus.* A town of Caria, in a peninsula on a promontory called the Promontory of Cnidus or Triopium. *m. n.* Cabo Crio. There was an astronomical observatory before that town.

*Cnossus.* (17.) long. between 23 and 27. lat. between 35 and 36. A town of Crete, situate towards the N coast of the

island; twenty-five stades from the sea. Its port was named Heracleum. It was one hundred and twenty stades NW of Lyctus, and NE of Gortyna. There was a labyrinth in this town. It was founded by Minos, for which reason Herodotus calls Minos the Cnossian. iii. 122..

*Cœle* A place of Attica, near the gate Melitis, in the N by E part of Athens. In this place were seen the monuments of the illustrious family of Cimon. Among those monuments was afterwards placed the tomb, or rather cenotaph, of our Historian. Thucydides, being of the house of Cimon, had likewise his tomb here. vi. 103.

*Cœla.* A place mentioned in vi. 26. as belonging to the Isle Chios. Meletius, archbishop of Athens, who wrote a celebrated work on Ancient and Modern Geography, in Romaïc or Modern Greek, speaks thus of Chios: "This island is divided "into two parts. The first is "lofty, and looks to the west: it "is covered with mountains "full of trees, and deep and dark "*cavities*, from whence spring a "great number of small rivers." Therefore, Cœla was in the W part of the island.

*Cœnyra.* (17.) long. 24, 30. lat 40, 30. A place somewhere in the island of Thasus. See *Ænyra.*

*Colchis.* (21.) long. 41 to 44. lat. 41, 30. to 43, 30. A country E of the Euxine, W of Iberia, of which it comprised a small part, N of the Macrones and Msynœci. It comprised therefore the countries now called Mingrelia and Guriel. Colchis was at no great distance NW of Media; the Saspires being the only people between the two countries. The inhabitants of Colchis were descendants of some troops in the army of Sesostris Their lands produced, among other things, excellent flax. ii. 104, 105.

*Colias* (16.) long. 23, 40. lat. 37, 50. A promontory and coast of Attica, on the Saronic gulf; twenty stades S by E of Phalerus; N of promontory Zoster; S by E of Athens. The clay of this part of the country was used in the manufacture of the Attic ware. *m.n.* Agios Nícolo. viii. 96.

*Colophon.* (18.) long. 27. lat. 38. A town of the Ionians, situate some distance from the sea, watered by the little river Halesus It is NW of Ephesus, SE of Lebedus; in the vicinity of Claros and Notion. Pliny mentions this place as producing a rosin of a reddish yellow colour, which when brayed became white, and gave so strong a smell that the perfumers would not use it: Colofonia is a well known English word for rosin. *m.n.* Belvedére; among the Turks, Sigatzik.

*Colossæ.* (18.) long. 29, 30. lat. 38. A town of Phrygia, large, rich, and populous; eight parasangs, about twenty miles, from the Meander, and situate at the place where the Lycus loses itself under ground not to appear again but five stades off, after which it presently falls into the Mæander. This town is E of Hierapolis, from which it is separated by the Lycus, W of Ceretapa; NW of Laodicea; S of Eumenia. Colossæ was after-

wards called Chonæ, and its modern name is Cono: it has lost all its splendour under the Turkish yoke, and is no more than a miserable hamlet. A part of the inhabitants of Colossæ embraced Christianity in the time of St. Paul; and that apostle addressed an epistle to them from Rome.

*Combrea.* (14.) long. 23, 10. lat. 40, 17. A town of Crossæa, or rather Crusæa, on the Thermæan gulf, between Lipaxos and Lisæ. vii. 123.

*Compsatus.* (14.) long. of mouth, 25. lat. 41. A river of Thrace: its head is in Mount Rhodope. leaving the Trausi on the E, it flows from the N to the S, between the Travus and the Cossinitus; and falls S into the lake Bistonis, as well as the Travus and Cossinitus. vii. 109.

*Conium.* A town of Phrygia Pacatiana, of which it seems that Cineas king of Thessaly was sprung. Laodicea was the capital of this Phrygia. v. 63.

*Contadesdus.* (14.) longitude of mouth 27. lat. 41, 20. A small river of Thrace, which flows from N to S by W, and, increased by the waters of the Tearus, falls into the Agrianes. iv. 90.

*Copaïs palus.* (15.) long. 23,10. lat. 38, 25. A lake in Bœotia; takes its name from the town of Copæ on its N shore · its length runs from W to E. The town of Chæronea is not far from its W extremity, or that of Acræphia from its E extremity. This lake was famous for its eels; Aristophanes mentions them frequently · "It were better," says Lysistrata, "that all the Bœo-" "tians should perish." "Not " all," answers Calonice, "ex-" "cept the eels." *m. n.* Λίμνη τῆς Τωπόλιας.

*Corcyra.* ἡ Κέρκυρα. (15.) long. 20. lat. 39, 20. to 39, 50. An island situate opposite Thesprotia, in the Ionian sea, twelve R. miles from Buthrotum (now Butrinto). It was first called Drepanon, afterwards Scheria, and Phæacia, lastly, Κέρκυρα, and Corcyra in Latin. After being a long time possessed by the Phæacians, it was occupied by some Corinthians, who, being driven from their country, came to Corcyra, under the guidance of Chersicrates. Its *m. n.* is Corfù, derived from Corypho, Κορυφὼ, the name of its citadel. It is now the capital of the Ionian States, and therefore forms a part of the British Empire: the fort, garrisoned by English soldiers, seems almost impregnable. The late Earl Guilford was for some time engaged in an undertaking, to which every lover of classical literature must, from the necessary associations in the mind, heartily and sincerely wish success; viz. the establishment of an University in Corfù. His Lordship spared no expense in the foundation of preparatory schools; and he was desirous that the University itself should be formed nearly upon the plan of that of Oxford: a model could not, perhaps, all things duly considered, have been more wisely selected.

*Coressus.* (16) A mountain, forty stades from Ephesus; at the foot of which, on the sea-shore, was a town of the same name. The road from thence to Sardis follows E the banks of the Cay-

strus, and crosses Mount Tmolus. v. 100.

*Corinthiacus isthmus.* The Isthmus of Corinth joins Peloponnesus (now Morea) to Greece (now Romania). It is situate between the Corinthian gulf W (now Lepanto), and the Saronic gulf (now the gulf of Engia) ESE.

*Corinthus.* (16.) long. 22, 50. lat. 37, 54. The capital of a small state of Peloponnesus. It is situate about the middle of the isthmus, on the ridge of a hill, about sixty stades from the two seas. N of and near Corinth was Lechæum, its port for Italian traffic; S was the Acrocorinth, or citadel of Corinth, on a rock, the ascent of which is thirty stades; ESE was Cenchreæ, its port for Asiatic traffic. Its *m. n.* is Corto: it consists of a bashaw's palace and harem, and a few miserable straggling houses: the citadel, at the time the author was there, was garrisoned by a pretty strong body of Turkish soldiers; but entrance to the fort, from which a most beautiful view must, if we judge from its height, be obtained of the surrounding country, was most strictly forbidden to all foreigners; the late Queen Caroline, with the females of her suite, being the only travellers ever known to have ascended the Acrocorinth.

*Coronea.* (15.) long. 23, 8. lat. 38, 25. A town of Bœotia, situate on an eminence, and near Mount Helicon; between that mountain and lake Copais; nearer the lake than the mountain; about forty stades from Libethrum, a mountain consecrated to the Muses and Nymphs, twenty stades from Mount Laphistius. It was SE of Chæronea, W of Haliartus, a town near lake Copaïs. Its vestiges bear the *m. n.* of Comari.

*Corsica.* See *Cyrnus.*

*Corycium antrum.* This cave was in Mount Parnassus, somewhere between Delphi and the tops of the mountain.

*Corys.* A river, or rather a torrent (that is to say, a river sometimes dry) of Arabia, which fell into the Erythrean sea. It flowed twelve journeys from the deserts through which Cambyses' army had to march, to go into Egypt. Abulfeda calls it Core. See Wesseling's note, Herod. iii. 9.

*Cos.* (17) long. 27, 3. lat. 36, 40. The principal of the islands which the ancients called Calydnæ and Sporades: one of the Cyclades, according to some. It lies towards the coasts of Asiatic Doris, W and at the entrance of the Ceramic gulf; W or W by S of Halicarnassus; fifteen R. miles from that town; N of Nisyros; SW of Calymna. It abounded in excellent wine, and was the country of Hippocrates and Apelles. *m. n.* Stanco. Aristotle gives so correct a description of a sort of caterpillar, whose cocoons were spun into garments at Cos, that there can be no doubt of the ancients being acquainted with silk, however the fact may militate against the romantic account of the introduction of the silk-worm at Constantinople. Ovid, Horace, Tibullus and Propertius, mention the light dresses of Cos.

*Cos.* The capital of the island

of Cos. It was very ancient, and stood near the sea, with a burrow port, opposite the town of Halicarnassus: it is mentioned by Homer. The inhabitants, in consequence of a sedition, forsook the old town, and built another on Cape Scandaria.

*Cranon.* (15.) long. 22, 25. lat. 39, 20. A town of Thessaly, in Pelasgiotis; on the banks of the Onochonus; S of the Peneus; E of Pharsalus; between Pharsalus W and lake Bœbeis E, S of Scotussa. vi. 127.

*Crathis.* (16) long. 22, 20. lat. 38, 15. A small river of Achaia in Peloponnesus: its source is at the foot of Mount Crathis: it falls into the sea near Ægæ. This river is never dry. i. 145.

*Cremni.* (D'Anv. Orb. Rom. Pars. Or.) long. 54, 30. lat. 46, 5. A commercial town, on the N shore of the Palus Mæotis; W of and very far from the mouth of the Tanais; but much nearer E of Sapra Palus.

*Creston.* A town of Thrace, and perhaps the capital of Crestonæa, a small country in Thrace.

*Crestonæa.* A small country of Thrace; W of the Mædi and Bisaltia; E of Mygdonia: on the S it is bounded by Chalcidice, on the N by the mountains which separate it E from the Mædi, W from Doberus Pæonica.

*Creta.* (17.) long. between 23 and 27. lat. between 35 and 36. A large island situate between the Ægæan sea N and the sea of Libya S. It is a little more than sixty leagues long, from E to W. The promontories Samonium and Erythræum terminate its E part, W of Cyprus and of Phœnicia: the promontories Corycus and Criu-Metopon are at its W extremity, E of the Lesser Syrtis. This island was populous, and contained one hundred towns. *m.n.* Candia.

*Crisa*, or *Crissa.* (15.) long. 22, 30. lat. 38, 30. A town of the Ozolæ Locrians; N of and at a short distance from Delphi, near the Corinthian gulf (now Golfo di Lepanto). It gave the name of Crisæan gulf to a part of the Corinthian gulf, and that of Crisæan plain to the vast plain lying N of the E part of that gulf. viii. 32.

*Critalla.* Herodotus is the only author who mentions this town: its situation can therefore only be conjectured. 1. It must be in Cappadocia, vii. 36. 2. It must be on the E bank of the Halys, since Xerxes crossed that river after reaching Critalla, vii. 36. 3. This town must be on the high road from Susa to Sardis. 4. Xerxes, having entered Phrygia after crossing the Halys, proceeded to Celænæ, and from thence to Colossæ; therefore he followed the Royal road. Now, there is on the banks of the Halys a town, where the Emperor Claudius sent a colony; it was called Archelais (now Ereteli). This town answers every condition. The two roads of Cilicia unite there with the great road from Armenia, and the countries situate between the Euxine and Caspian seas. Therefore Archelaïs must unquestionably have been founded on the site or in the vicinity of Critalla. See *Rennell*, p. 319.

*Crobyzi.* (15.) long. 26 to 27. lat. 43. See *Thracia.*

*Crocodilorum urbs.* Κροκοδείλων πόλις. (26.) long. 30, 40. lat. 29, 20. The town of the Crocodiles was near the famous Labyrinth and Lake Mœris; a small distance from the Nile; above Memphis; SW of Acanthus. Crocodiles were particularly venerated in this place. Strabo says they were kept in ponds, where they were so tame that they came to receive food from the hand: hence the name of the town. It was afterwards called Arsinoe. ii 148.

*Crophi* and *Mophi.* They are two mountains between the towns of Syene and Elephantis. The secretary of the sacred treasures at Sais told Herodotus that the sources of the Nile were between those two mountains, and that one half of their waters flowed into Egypt, and the other half in Ethiopia. ii. 27.

*Crossæa.* (14.) long 22, 50. to 23, 30. lat 40, 20. See *Crusæa.*

*Croton.* (13.) long. 17, 10 lat. 39, 10. A town on the gulf of Tarentum, about seven hundred stades from Sybaris This town was at the extremity of the W side of the gulf of Tarentum, near to and N of Promontory Lacinium; S of Petilia. Its only fortifications were originally those of nature and situation; but afterwards, a little before the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy, it was surrounded with a wall, according to Livy, twelve R. miles in circuit. It was celebrated as the native place of Milo the athlet, and still more so for the great number of Pythagorean philosophers it produced. The inhabitants were of Achæan extraction

*Crusæa.* A small country of Thrace, pretty near the peninsula of Pallena, bounded E by Chalcidice; W by the Thermæan gulf. From N to S were the following towns· Lipaxus, Combrea, Lisæ, Gigonos, Campsa, Smila, Ænea. There is some appearance that Crusæa should be read instead of Crossæa, vii. 123· otherwise Crossæa and Crusæa must be regarded as different names for one and the same country. See Wess not.

*Curium.* (18.) long. 32, 50. lat. 35. A town of the island of Cyprus, on the S coast of the W part of the island; E of Cape Phrurium; W by N of Cape Curias. *m. n.* of the town Piscopia, of the cape, Cabo Gavatti, or, delle Gatte.

*Cyaneæ.* (18.) long 29. lat 41, 20. Two small islands or rocks, one on the European, and the other on the Asiatic side, twenty stades distant from each other, N by E of Chalcedon, and in the Euxine sea, on the W part of the S coast; near the mouth of the Thracian Bosphorus. They were likewise called Symplegadæ, and Planetæ, because the ancients supposed that they were moveable, and that the wind made them clash one against the other; an ocular deception, which was not known to be false before Jason's voyage for the conquest of the Golden Fleece.

*Cyclades.* (17.) long. between 24 and 26. lat. between 36 and 38. Islands of the Ægæan sea; the principal of which were, Delos, Ceos, Naxos, Paros, and Andros. The four last were situate round Delos, and hence the name.

*Cydonia.* (17.) long. 21. lat. 35,

30. A town of Crete, built by Minos, and founded by the Samians. It is situate towards the W part of the island, at a moderate distance from the N coast; W of Minoa, E of Aptera. *m. n.* Canea.

*Cydrara.* (18.) long. 29, 15. lat. near 38. A town situate on the frontiers of Phrygia and Lydia, W of Colossæ; near to and S of the Mæander, for in going thence to Sardis it was necessary to pass the Mæander. vii. 30, 31.

*Cyma.* (18.) long. 27. lat. 38, 30. A town of Æolia in Asia Minor, on the shore of the gulf of Cyma; NE of Phocæa; S of Elæa. It was the largest and finest town in Æolia, according to Strabo. Some ruins of this town have been discovered at a place called Nemourt.

*Cynesians.* (10.) long. 8. lat. 37 to 38.

*Cynetes.* The most western people of Europe, the expression must be understood of the people along the coasts of the Mediterranean and Spain. They occupied the banks of the Anas or Guadiana. ii. 33. iv. 49.

*Cynosarges.* A hamlet of Attica, at a small distance E of Athens, near Alopeces. A temple of Hercules was seen there, and a Gymnasium, or place of exercise. The term Cynosarges was often used to express the Gymnasium; it was here likewise the Cynic philosophers established their school. The Gymnasium was at a very small distance from Athens, outside of the gate Diomia.

*Cynosura.* (16) long. 24, 10. lat. 38, 10. A promontory of Attica, SE of Brauron, NE of Prasia. There is no authority for placing it elsewhere.

*Cynuria.* (16.) long. 22, 40. lat. 37, 20. A small country between Argolis, Arcadia, and Laconia: it was a great subject of contestation between the Argians and Lacedæmonians: the latter at last obtained possession. The towns of Thyrea and Anthene were in that territory. viii. 73. Thucyd. v 41.

*Cyprus.* (18.) long. 32 to 35. lat. 34, 30. to 35, 30. An island situate at the E extremity of the Mediterranean, S of Cilicia, W of Syria It was formerly joined to Syria, says Pliny; and the sea has separated it, as it has Sicily from Italy, Eubœa from Bœotia, the islands of Atlanta and Macris from Eubœa. It is of an oblong form. Cape Dinaretum is the farthest point E; that of Acamas W; Cape Crommyon, N, looks towards Cape Anemurium of Cilicia Trachea; Cape Curias, S, is not far from Amathus. The length of this island, measured from Cape Dinaretum, likewise called Cleides (see *Claves*), to Cape Acamas, is one thousand four hundred stades from E to W: it is three thousand four hundred and twenty stades in circuit, following the bends of the shore.

*Cyraunis.* A small island of Libya, near the Gyzantes, abounding in vines and olives: a lake is seen in this island containing gold dust: it is near the main land. Herodotus gives the above particulars only after the authority of some Carthaginians; and as none but those who have copied the Historian mention the existence of such an island, it may be doubted

whether the information he received was correct.

*Cyrenaica.* A country of Libya, of moderate dimensions, situate within the tract of the Nomades; W of the Giligammæ; N of the Asbystæ; E of the Cabales and Auschisæ.

*Cyrene.* (25.) long. 22. lat. 33. A town of Libya, capital of Cyrenaïca; eleven R. miles from the sea, opposite Criu-Metopon, promontory of Crete. It was a large town in the shape of a trapezium; in a plain fertile in grain, and abundant in fruits. Some vestiges are still found. *m. n.* Curin.

*Cyrnus.* (11.) long. 9. lat. 42. An island of Italy, in the Tyrrhenian sea; N of Sardinia; S of the Ligustic gulf. *m. n.* Corsica.

*Cyrnus.* A place in Carystia, in the island of Eubœa. ix. 105.

*Cythera.* (17.) long. 23. lat. 36, 10. An island situate near the coasts of Laconia; S of promontory Maleæ; consecrated to Venus. *m. n.* Cerigo; a mountainous island, dry, rocky, and abounding in hares, quails, and turtle-doves; now belonging to the IonianStates, and garrisoned by a few British soldiers.

*Cythnos.* (17.) long. 24, 30. lat. 37, 30. An island situate near Attica; S by E of Ceos, N of Serephos. *m. n.* Thermia.

*Cyzicus.* (18.) long. 28. lat. 40, 30. An island of the Propontis, five hundred stades in circumference: it is joined to the continent by two bridges, built by Alexander.

*Cyzicus.* A town situate in the island of the same name. It stands near the two bridges which join the island to the continent. This town was equal to any of Asia, in respect to the size and beauty of its edifices and the excellency of its government. It is now ruined. *m. n.* among the Turks, Copidag; among the Greeks, Cizico.

*DADICÆ.* A people of Asia; forming, with the Sattagydæ, Gandarii, and Aparytæ, one satrapy. They were, perhaps, E of Bactriana, and W of the Gandarii.

*Dai.* A nomade tribe of Persians; situate, probably, NE of Persia, N of the Uti, S of the Cossæi, E of Elymais, in the mountains of Lorestan; and W of the Mardi, another nomade tribe of the Persians, which must not be confounded with the Mardi of the Caspian sea. i. 125.

*Daphnæ Pelusiæ.* (26.) long. 32. lat. 31. A town of Egypt; sixteen R. miles from Pelusium; on the road to Memphis; near the Pelusiac channel of the Nile. *m. n.* Safnas. ii. 30.

*Dardanus.* (18.) long. 26, 20. lat. 40, 10. A town of the Troad; situate on the Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, towards the place where that strait joins the Ægean sea; S of, and about seventy stades from, Abydos, and the same distance from Rhœteum. It is no longer in existence; but there is no doubt that it has given its name to the Dardanelles.

*Daritæ.* Herodotus names this people but once, when he places them in the eleventh satrapy, with the Caspii, Pausicæ, and Pantimathi. The other authors do not mention it, at least by that name. We know the position of the Caspii: starting

from that datum, and following the order in which the Historian presents those nations, the Pausicæ must be E by S of the Caspii; the Pantimathi E of the Pausicæ, S of the Caspian sea, between the Mardi and Hyrcania; and the Daritæ, E of the Pantimathi and the Caspian sea, between the Oxus and the angle which it forms with the Caspian sea.

*Dascylium.* (18.) long. 28, 40. lat. 40, 30. A sea town of Bithynia, on the Propontis, SW of Scylace, E of Placia, near the lake Dascyliticus. *m. n.* Dasceli.

*Datus*, or *Datum.* (14) long. 24, 20. lat. 41. A town of Thrace, in the country of the Edoni, W of Mount Pangæus, E of Myrcinus, S of Drabescus. It stands on a rugged hill, of which it occupies the breadth, having woods to the N, and to the S a marsh extending to the sea. Towards the E is the gorge of the Sapæi and Corpili: W is a plain, extending to Myrcinus and the Strymon; and towards the N to Drabescus, a plain of about three hundred and fifty stades, very fertile and pleasant, where Proserpine was said to have been culling flowers when she was carried off. It belonged to the Edoni. It was a town so rich and abundant in all sorts of advantages, that a Datos of treasure was a proverb for an abundance of treasure.

Philip, king of Macedonia, fortified this town, and gave it the name of Philippi: it is famous for the battle fought in its territory, and in which Brutus and Cassius lost their lives; still more so for St. Paul's Epistle addressed to its inhabitants. *m. n.* Philippi-ge, Φιλίππου γῆ.

*Daulia.* A small country of Phocis, near to and SE of Parnassus. This small country inclosed another called Tronis. Daulis was the capital of the whole. The inhabitants were called Daulii.

*Daulis.* (15.) long. 22, 40. lat. 38, 30. A town of Phocis, SE of Mount Parnassus and of Delphi, near which it stood.

*Decelea.* (16.) long. 23. 40. lat. 38, 15. A town or hamlet of Attica, situate N by E of Athens, about one hundred and twenty stades from that town, and the like distance from the frontier of Bœotia. It belonged to the tribe Hippothoöntis. It was one of the towns founded by Cecrops. *m. n.* Biala-Castro.

*Delium.* (16.) long. 23, 45. A town of Bœotia, which belonged to the Thebans, SE of Aulis, thirty stades from the port Aulis; on the coast, and near the sea; N by W of Oropus, in the territory of Tanagra, N of the Asopus. It took its name from a temple built after the plan of that in Delos.

*Delos.* (17.) long 25, 10. lat. 37, 20 One of the Cyclades, N of Naxos and Paros, S of Tenos, E of Rhenæa, W of Patmos; famous for the birth of Apollo and Diana, and held in high respect by the neighbouring nations. It once abounded in palm-trees, but none are found there now. *m. n.* Sdeele, a corruption of the ancient name, combined with the preposition εἰς, now pronounced *ees.*

*Delphi.* (15.) long. 22, 35. lat. 38, 30. See *Pytho.* The inhabitants are called Delphians.

*Delta*, (26.) or, Lower Egypt; begins at the place where the Nile splits into several branches. It is inclosed between the Canopic and Pelusiac arms, and the Mediterranean sea. Its shape is triangular, like the Greek Δ.

*Dersæi*. A people of Thrace, N of the Sapæi, W of the Nestus, E of Mount Pangæus, which separated them from the Pieres.

*Derusiæi*. A people of agriculturists, forming part of the Persians, of whom they were a tribe. According to Herodotus, they were probably W of Germania, and E of the Panthialæi.

*Dicæa*. (14.) long. 25. lat. 41, 30. An ancient town of Thrace, in the territory of the Bistones, on the ESE shore of Lake Bistonis, W of Maronea, E of Abdera. *m. n.* Mporou, pronounced Boroo.

*Didymis oraculum*. See *Milesia*.

*Dipæa*. (16.) long. 22, 15. lat. 37, 30. A town of Mænalia in Arcadia (*i. e.* the country towards Mount Mænalus), S by W of Mantinea, N of Lycæa and Helos, W by N of Tegea, E by S of Hypsus. Its inhabitants are called Dipæenses. ix. 35.

*Dium*. (14.) long. 24. lat. 40, 30. A town of the peninsula of Mount Athos, on the Strymonic gulf, N of Olophyxus, SE of Acanthus. vii. 22.

*Doberes*. A people of Thrace, and one of the ten Pæonian nations: they were between Mount Pangæus, which lay on the E, and the Strymon, which flows on the W.

*Dodona*. (14.) long. 21. lat. 39, 50. A country and town of Epirus, in Thesprotia, E of the island of Corcyra, W of Thessaly, N of Molossia.

*Dolonci*. A people of Thrace, who inhabited the Thracian Chersonesus, to the extremity of the gulf Melas, vi. 34, &c.

*Dolopes*. They were a Thessalian nation, dwelling in a country towards Mount Pindus. Their country was called Dolopia.

*Dolopia* (14.) long. 21, 30. to 22. lat. 39, 10. A country of Greece, in Mount Pindus, part N, part NW of that mountain, N of Ætolia and Acarnania, for the Achelous crossed their territory. Thucyd. ii. 102.

*Dores. Dorians*. They were originally Curetes, and Leleges, since called Ætolians, and Locrians, to whom many of the inhabitants of Parnassus united. Having set at their head Deucalion the son of Prometheus, they conquered Phthiotis from the Pelasgi, whom they drove from thence; took the name of Hellenes, under Hellenus the son of Deucalion; of Dorians, under Dorus the son of Hellenus; preserving, however, that of Hellenes, which they gloried in bearing. Under Dorus, they possessed themselves of Histiæotis. That country comprised, at that time, not only the country since known by that name and situate near Mount Pindus, but likewise Perrhæbia. Having been driven from thence by the Cadmei, they passed into the small country called from their name Doris, in which were four towns; they then took the name of Macedni. From thence they passed into Dryopis, which then bore the name of Doris: from thence they passed into Peloponn-

nesus, and were called Dorians, Dorian nation, Δωρικὸν ἔθνος. i. 56.

*Doris.* (18.) long. 27, 30. lat. 36 to 37. 1. A small country of Asia Minor, where the Dorians established some colonies. It was near the Byblesian Chersonesus, and originally comprised six towns, when it was called Hexàpolis; but Halicarnassus having been excluded from the association, it took the name of Pentapolis. Of those six towns, two were on the continent, Halicarnassus and Cnidus: Cos was in the island of the same name: the three others, Lindus, Ialyssos, and Camirus, were in the island of Rhodes i. 144.

*Doris.* (15.) long. 22 to 22, 40. lat. 38, 40 2. A small country in Europe, at the root of Œta: it comprised four towns; Pindus, on a river of the same name, falling into the Cephissus, pretty near Lilæa, this town was also called Cyphas: its other three towns are, Erinæus, Boion, and Cytinium. These four towns gave the country the name of Tetrapolis.

This country has on the N, Mount Œta; S, Crisa and a part of Phocis; E, the Dryopes, the Epicnemidian Locrians, and the Opuntian Locrians, W, Ætolia.

Æginius, king of this little state, having been driven from his country by the Lapithæ, was replaced by Hercules. The prince, out of gratitude, adopted Hyllus, his benefactor's son, and left him the throne at his death. Hyllus and his posterity reigned there, and it was from hence they started, to conquer Peloponnesus. It was anciently called Dryopis. viii. 31.

*Doriscus.* (14.) long. 26, 10. lat. 41. A shore of Thrace, and large plain crossed by the Hebrus: it extended to promontory Serrhium. The plain of Doriscus extended on either side of the Hebrus, but much more on the W.

*Doriscus.* A fort, or strong town of the plain of the same name in Thrace, at no great distance from the sea and mouth of the Hebrus, between Ænos E, and the Lissus W.

*Dropici.* A nomade people of Persia, one of the Persian tribes: they inhabited E of the Mardi 2, and W of the Sagartii. Such at least appears to have been their situation according to Herodotus. i 125.

*Drymus.* (15.) long. 22, 40. lat. 38, 40. A town of Phocis, on the banks of the Cephissus; S of Tethronium, N of Mount Parnassus, E by S of Amphicæa, W of Elatea; twenty stades from Tethronium, thirty-five from Amphicæa, or eighty by the left road. viii. 33.

*Dryopes.* A people of Greece, so called from Dryops, son of Arcadus, one of their chiefs. They occupied a small country S of Mount Œta, and in the vicinity of the Cephissus. Having been driven out of that country by Hercules and the Malians, they passed into Phocis, in the neighbourhood of Parnassus, where they had the Lycoritæ for neighbours. In obedience to an oracle from Delphi, Hercules transported them to Peloponnesus, where they occupied Asine, near Hermione in Argolis. When they were driven from that town by

the Argians, the Lacedæmonians gave them a quarter of Messenia, on the Messeniac gulf, with a town which they called likewise Asine. It is this town that Herodotus mentions, viii. 73. They preserved their original name, which they deemed a title of honour. There is every appearance that the Dryopes who joined the Ionians when they went to settle in Asia Minor were from Argolis. i. 146.

*Dryopis.* (15.) long. 22, 30. lat. 38, 40. A country situate at the foot and S of Mount Œta, contiguous to Doris, which was on its W: it had communicated its name to the latter small country previous to the time that the Hellenes, or Dorians, took possession of it. The Hellenes, or Dorians, compelled to evacuate Histiæotis, took possession of the part of Dryopis which then took the name of Doris: they afterwards became masters of the rest of Dryopis, and passed from thence with the descendants of Hercules, into Peloponnesus, which they almost wholly subdued.

*Dyma.* (16.) long. 21, 30. lat. 38, 10. A city of Achaia in Peloponnesus; on the gulf of Corinth, which is terminated by Cape Araxus. It is W of Olenus; E by N of Tichos; N by W of Phara. It is the last town of Achaia to the W; hence its name Dyma, from δύω, which, applied to the heavenly bodies, signifies *to set*, for its original name was Stratos. *m. n.* Papas. i. 145.

*Dyras.* (15.) long. mouth, 22, 35. lat. 38, 55. A river which rises in Mount Œta, and falls into the Maliac gulf, between Anticyra and Anthelus: it is twenty stades from the Sperchius. vii. 198.

*Dysorum.* (14.) long. 22, 15. lat. 41, 20. A mountain W of Lake Prasias, after the mine which is near it. It is part of the mountain range which separates Pæonia and Bisaltia from Chalcidice. v. 17.

*ECBATANA.* See Agbatana.

*Echedorus.* (14.) long. 22, 50. lat. 40, 35, mouth. A river: its source is in the country of the Crestonæi: it flows through Mygdonia, and falls into the Thermæan gulf, near the marsh which is on the Axius. Herodotus does not exactly say that the Echedorus or Echeidorus discharges its waters into the sea; but Ptolemy clearly distinguishes in the Amaxitis the mouth of the Echedorus, and that of the Axius: D'Anville, however, makes the Echedorus fall into the marsh. vii. 123, 127.

*Echinades.* (15.) long. 21. lat. 38, 20. This name is given to several islands lying between the islands of Cephallenia, Leucadia or Leucas, and the gulf of Corinth; at the mouth of the Achelous, N of Cape Araxus. The junction of those islands to the continent, by the sands and rubbish brought down the Achelous, is a fact to which all modern travellers bear testimony. *m. n.* Curzolari, according to Meletius Scrophais. ii. 10.

*Edonis.* A small country of Thrace, between Mount Orbelus, which separated it on the E from the Pieres, and the Strymon, which separated it on the W from the Odomanti. N, it had the country called Phyllis; S, the Ægæan sea, almost opposite the island of Thasus. Eion, Datus, Myrcinus,

and Drabescus were towns in this territory, the inhabitants of which were called Edoni. vii. 110, 114.

*Eion.* (14.) long. 23, 50. lat. 41. A town of Thrace, situate on the E bank of the Strymon, near the mouth of that river, in the Strymonic gulf; twenty-five stades from Amphipolis, or the Nine Ways, whose port it was. *m. n.* Rendina.

*Elatea.* (15.) long. 22, 55. lat. 38, 40. A town of Phocis, at a small distance from the Cephissus; one hundred and twenty stades N by E of Amphicæa; NW of Abæ; E of Tithoreum. This was the largest town of Phocis, and in a good situation to arrest the inroads of the Thessalians. *m. n.* Leuta, pronounced Lefta or Levta, a little N of Turcochori, pronounced Toorcohōri.

*Elbo.* See *Helbo.*

*Elearchia.* (26.) long. 31. lat. 31, 30. A government of Egypt, adjoining the sea, between the Bucolic and Sebennytic canals. This vast extent of country was partly covered with marshes, which served as a refuge to Psammitichus, Amyrtæus, and several other princes. These marshes became afterwards the lurking-place of banditti, who infested the coasts of Egypt. They were also inhabited by graziers, who were likewise banditti, from whence the country took the name Bucolium: the Bucolic branch flowed across it. Herodotus frequently mentions this tract of country under the name of Marshes.

*Elei*, Eleans, the inhabitants of Elis.

*Elæûs.* (14.) long. 26, 10. lat. 40. A town of the Thracian Chersonesus: on the ESE coast, at the entrance of the Hellespont; nearly opposite the ancient town of Troy. There was seen at Elæûs, a chapel of Protesilaus, with a tomb of that hero. He was the son of Iphiclus, and reigned in Phthiotis. He had married Laodamia, the daughter of Acastus. It had been foretold him, that if he went to Troy he should perish: he went nevertheless, and, having landed the first, fell by the hand of a Dardanian. *m. n.* The Newcastle of Europe: like the other fortifications up the Dardanelles, it bears a very formidable appearance at some distance off land, but, as one nears the land, marks of slothful negligence give proof of its being garrisoned by Turks.

*Elephantine.* (26.) long. 33. lat. 24. A town of Thebais, one thousand eight hundred stades from Thebes, half a stade from Syene. This town stood on an island of the same name. "Opposite to Syene is the island "Elephantine, in which there "was a city of that name. The "island is about a mile long, "and a quarter of a mile to the "south, ending in a point at the "north." Pococke, ii. c. 5. The *m. n.* of this island is Geziret-el-Sag, *The flowery island.* ii. 9, 17, 28, 29, 30, 31, 59, 175.

*Eleusis.* (16.) long. 23, 30. lat. 38, 5. Of the tribe Hippothoöntis, a very ancient town of Attica, twelve or fifteen R. miles NW of Athens, and a like distance SE of Megara: a part of the town was near the Saronic gulf, and the other part more N, on a hill, at the foot of which was a temple of Ceres, surnamed

Eleusinian. No festival was to be compared with that celebrated in honour of the goddess. All the Greeks were admitted to it · the Athenians went thither in procession, along a paved causeway, called the Sacred Way. The temple is now only a confused heap of ruins—there is only one house, and about half-a-dozen miserable huts. The most remarkable antiquity is the mole, consisting of immense blocks, and shooting a good distance from land. *m. n.* Eleusina, which is pronounced Lefsina.

*Elis.* (16.) long. 21 to 22 lat. 37, 20. to 38, 10. A country of the Peloponnesus; having Achaia N; Messenia, or rather Triphylia, S; Arcadia, E; and the Ionian sea W, where lie the islands of Cephallenia and Zacynthus. The Alpheus crosses it from E to W, and divides it in two parts, the southern and the northern. The S part, lying between the Neda S, and the Alpheus N, is watered by several rivers, the Acidon, Anigrus, the Chalcis, which falls into the gulf Cyparissus, the Dalion, the Acheron, the Parthenias, which fall into the Alpheus. The N part is watered by the Selleis, the Jardanus and the Peneus · the first falls into the sea, between the Alpheus and promontory Ichthys; the second near that promontory; and the Peneus in the gulf Chelonates. Cape Araxus bounds this country on the N. See Strabo, lib. viii. Several of the rivers are incorrectly marked in D'Anville.

*Elis*, town of. (16.) long. 21, 30. lat. 37, 50. A town of Elis in the Peloponnesus, situate on the Peneus, NW of Pylos, E of Cyllene, S of Buprasium. *m. n.* supposed to be Gastounion.

*Elorus.* (13.) long. 14, 10. lat. 36, 50, mouth. A river of Sicily, on the E coast of the island, and in the S part of that coast. It rises a little above Erbessus, passes by Acra, then takes a S direction, and, when it is near Neætum, bends SW, and falls in the sea of Sicily. N of and near to its mouth is a town called, likewise, Elorus. The *m. n.* of the river is Atellari. The road from the promontory Pachynus to the mouth of the Elorus was called the Via Elorina. Thucyd. vii. 80. Between Casmena and this mouth was a delightful quarter, called *Eloria Tempe.* vii. 154. Elorus is sometimes written with the aspirate, Helorus.

*Enchelees* A people of Illyria, between the Naro and the Drilon. v. 61.

*Enipeus.* (D'Anville, Græcia Antiq.) long. 40, 5. lat. 39. 40. A river of Thessaly · its source is at the foot of Mount Othrys · it waters Melitæum, passes near Thetidium (a place celebrated by the marriage of Thetis and Peleus) and Pharsala; from thence it flows N, into the Apidamus. vii. 129.

*Enneacrounos.* The nine heads, or rather pipes. This fountain was called Callirrhoe. Its source was at the foot of Mount Hymettus, and fell probably into the Ilissus. Pisistratus, whose views were all for the good of his country, brought the water to Athens; and distributed it about the town, by means of nine pipes, from whence it took the name of Enneacrounos · other pipes were afterwards added, and it then took the name of Δωδεκάκρουνος.

It passed along the Odeum and temple of Bacchus. vi. 137.

*Eordi.* (14.) long. 21. lat. 41. The inhabitants of Eordia, a country which had been conquered by the Macedonians. Herodotus places it between Pæonia and Bottiæis: he meant, no doubt, Pæonia in the neighbourhood of the Axius. Strabo is more precise: according to him, the Eordi dwelt between the Lyncestæ and the territory of Ædessa, and probably they occupied a portion of Emathia. The kings of Macedonia (Thucyd. ii 99.) invaded their country. most of the Eordi perished in the defence of their land, those who escaped, retired to the vicinity of Physcæ. Ptolemy places Physcæ in Mygdonia; that is to say, the Eordi went to the NE, and removed but a short distance from their original territory. It appears, however, by another passage of Strabo, that some of them retired more W, towards Elymæotis, and it is, no doubt, on that authority that D'Anville places them W of the Lyncestæ. vii. 185.

*Ephesus.* (18.) long. 27, 10. lat. 38. One of the twelve towns of the Ionians, situate in Lydia: it was near the sea to the S of the Caystrus. This town was adorned with a celebrated and magnificent temple of Diana, built between the town and port, seven stades from the old town besieged by Crœsus. According to Herodotus, the territory of Ephesus was once a gulf, which had been filled up. The temple of Diana, which was already celebrated in the time of Servius Tullius, king of the Romans, (Tit. Liv. i. 45.) was, as all the world knows, burnt by a madman, on Alexander's birth-day. It was rebuilt, with still more magnificence, but an earthquake swallowed it up, as we learn from the Sibylline oracles. Ephesus was the country of Heraclitus the tearful philosopher, and Parrhasius the famous painter. *m. n.* Hagia-Soulouk, pronounced Ahæa-Sooloòk, at some distance from which are seen some ruins.

*Epidamnus.* (14) long 19, 30. lat. 41, 10. A town of Illyria, situate on the Ionian gulf, or Adriatic sea, almost opposite Brundusium, N of the country of the Taulantii, and N of Apollonia, in a peninsula This town was built by the Corcyræans it was one hundred and fourteen R. miles from Thessalonica. It is known by this name in Herodotus, Thucydides, &c. its original name, however, was Dyrrhachium, which the Romans restored to it. Dyrrhachium is now called Durazzo. vi. 127.

*Epidauria.* A country of Argolis, belonging to the Epidaurians. It lay E of Argolis, W of the Saronic gulf. This wild and mountainous country was remarkable only for the temple of Æsculapius, to which the sick resorted from all parts of Greece.

*Epidaurus.* (16.) long. 23, 15. lat. 37, 38. A town of Argolis, the capital of Epidauria, on the Saronic gulf; SW of Athens, SE of Mount Arachnæus, S of Cape Spiræum, N of Methone, E of the island of Ægina. The Dorians having been driven from thence by the Argians and Deiphon, united with the Ionians, and went with them to

inhabit the islands of Samos and Chios: Herodotus mentions them, i. 146. *m. n.* Epidauro, pronounced Pidavro (I mean by the common people). Some vast ruins of the precinct of Æsculapius are seen near a place called Lygurio, one of the miserable villages that are met with here and there on the depopulated but beautiful face of this most hapless country. The precinct is still called τὸ Ἱερό.

*Epidaurus.* (14). long. 18. 40 lat. 42. 15. A town of Dalmatia. *m. n* Ragusi Vecchio

*Epidaurus Limera.* (16.) long. 23, 5. lat. 36, 50. On the E coast of Laconia, SE of Sparta, N of the promontory Malea. *m. n* Malvasia Vecchia.

*Epum.* (16.) long. 21, 50 lat. 37, 30. A town of Triphylia, in the Peloponnesus; built by the Minyæ, between Pyrgos and Nudium, Herod. iv. 148; or rather between Macistus and Heræa. Xen. Hellen. N of Macistus, S of Heræa, towards the frontier of Arcadia, not far N of the source of the Acheron.

*Erasinus.* (16) long 22, 45. lat. 37, 40. A small river of Argolis in Peloponnesus. It issues from the lake Stymphalia in Arcadia, precipitates its stream into a chasm, and re-appears two hundred stades farther off in Argolis, near Argos, where it takes the name Erasinus. *m. n.* Kephalani, or rather Kephalaia.

*Erectheus, temple of*—was in the citadel of Athens, one hundred and fifty feet N of the Parthenon, according to Stuart and Revett. viii. 55.

*Eretria.* (16.) long. 23, 52. lat. 38, 27. A town in the island of Eubœa, situate on the Euripus, opposite the Attic port called Delphinium. In the territory of Eretria, on the shore, was a temple and sacred grove. This town existed before the Trojan War, on a site not far distant from that it occupied in Strabo's time; the foundations were called Old Eretria *m. n.* Gavalinais, or Eripion, which is in the vicinity.

*Eridanus.* (11.) long. 12, 40. lat. 45. A large river of Italy, 'fluviorum rex Eridanus.' It falls into the Adriatic sea by several mouths. *m. n.* Po. The Eridanus mentioned by Herodotus, iii. 115, as the fiction of some poet, appears to be the Rodaun, a small river which rises in the Palatinate of Pomerania, and joins the Vistula near Dantzic. The Vistula falls into the Baltic, about three miles from that town. A prodigious quantity of amber used to be collected on its shores; and those of Prussia still produce a good supply. The people who inhabited those countries were called Venedi, which the ancients transformed into Veneti and Eneti, as they did the Rodaun into Eridanus, which is properly a river of Italy.

*Erochus.* (15.) long 22, 45 lat. 38, 40. A town of Phocis, in the vicinity of Charadra, between Charadra and Tethronium. viii. 33.

*Erythea.* (10.) long. 7, 40. lat. 36, 50. An island of Iberia, in the ocean, situate beyond the pillars of Hercules, between Iberia and Gades. The strait separating this island from the main land was one stade over, according to Strabo; one hundred paces, according to Pliny. Geryon, whose oxen Hercules

carried off, reigned in this island.

*Erythrebolus.* A town of Egypt. Site totally unknown.

*Erythræan sea.* The ancients comprised under this name the Arabian and Persic gulfs, (the latter, as Rennell shews, Herodotus was ignorant of,) and all that extent of sea from Cape Aromata W, and at the S entrance into the gulf Avalites, to the island of Taprobane, now Ceylon. Herodotus gives this name to the Arabian gulf. II. 158

*Erythræi.* The inhabitants of Erythræ and its territory.

*Erythræ.* (15.) long. 23, 28. lat 38, 15 —1. A town of Bœotia, inland, near to and N of Mount Cithæron, E of Platæa, S of Thebes, N by E of Eleutheræ, between Megara and Thebes. IX. 15, 19. See the plan of the battle of Platæa, in the Tabulæ Herodoteæ.

2. (17.) long. 26, 20. lat 38, 20. One of the twelve Ionian towns; situate towards the middle of the W coast of the peninsula of Clazomenæ; E of the island of Chios, W of Clazomenæ, N of the island of Samos, S of the gulf of Smyrna. *m. n.* Lythry, a miserable village I 18.

*Eryx.* (13) long 12, 35 lat. 38, 5. The name of a lofty mountain in Sicily, towards the top of which was a town of the same name. This mountain was near promontory Drepanum, in the most W part of the island; N of Selinus. *m. n.* Monte San Giuliano, or Monte di Trapani. On the plain, right at the top of the mountain stood a temple of Venus Erycina. The *m. n.* of the town is Trapani del Monte, to distinguish it from Trapani (a corruption of Drepanum), which is on the sea-shore. V. 43

*Eubœa.* (17) long. 22, 30. to 24, 30. lat. 38 to 39.— 1. A large island separated from Greece by a strait or arm of the sea, called the Euripus. It extends from a part of Attica, along Bœotia, up to Thessaly, whence its more ancient name Macris, "long." *m. n.* Negropont.

2. A town of Sicily, founded by the Leontines, inland, between promontories Pachynus and Lilybæum. It must be nearer promontory Pachynus than that of Lilybæum, because it was founded by the Leontines, who dwelt N by W of Syracuse. No farther information can be given respecting this town, as it was destroyed in the wars between the Carthaginians and Sicilians. VII. 156.

*Euesperides* Hesperides. (25.) long. 20 lat. 32. They are on the E coast of the Greater Syrtis, and touch the Auschisæ Their country was very fertile, and for that reason some authors have placed in that quarter the famous garden with the golden apples. Their town was first called Hesperides, but it took afterwards that of Berenice, on account of Berenice, Ptolemy's wife It was three hundred and seventy-five R. miles from Leptis Magna, forty-three from Tauchira. *m. n.* Bernic. "The gardens or orch-
"ards of the Hesperides, and
"the history belonging to them,
"are too well known to be re-
"peated here. It is however
"satisfactory to know, that the
"ancients fixed on a spot that
"was appropriate; since there is
"at present a wood there, ac-
"cording to the testimony of

Edrisi; and it being near the sea on the one hand, and on the edge of the desert of Barca on the other, a wood would "hardly have been expected in "that situation." *Rennell*, p 611.

*Euphrates.* (23.) mouth, long. 49, 30. lat. 30. A deep and rapid river. It rises in Armenia, and flows in Syria and the neighbouring countries. it then flows towards Babylonia, divides Babylon, and appears to fall in the Persic gulf, but before it reaches the sea, is exhausted by the cuts made to water the fields. Its waters, proceeding from melted snows, swell towards midsummer. Boats such as Herodotus describes (i 94), are still used on the lower part of the river, they are called Kufahs. See *Rennell*, p. 265.

*Euripus.* An arm of the sea, or strait, which separates Eubœa from Bœotia. It is subject to an extraordinary ebb and flow; regular during eighteen or nineteen days of every month, and irregular the rest.

*Europa.* Its limits E and N were utterly unknown in Herodotus's time. iv. 42.

*Europus.* (18.) long. 27, 50. lat. 37, 10. (*Euromos.*) There were several towns of this name. That to which Mys, the deputy of Mardonius, belonged (viii. 133), was in Caria; SW of Pedasus; NE of Labranda. It is probably the same town as other authors call Euromos.

*Exampæus.* A small canton of Scythia, between the Alazones and the Scythians Cultivators; four journeys from the sea. Herodotus had been at this place. iv. 52, 81.

*Exampæus.* A small stream coming from the quarter just mentioned · it falls into the Hypanis, four journeys from the sea, and communicates its bitter taste to the waters.

*FONS SOLIS.* In the country of the Ammonians. iv. 181.

*GADES*, τὰ Γάδειρα. (10.) long. east, 6, 10. lat 36, 30. An island and town so called by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, from a Punic word signifying a hedge or fence. It was situate beyond the pillars of Hercules, a little S of the mouths of the Bætis (Guadalquiver), towards a strait to which it gives the name Fretum Gaditanum, (called by us the Strait of Gibraltar, from the Arabic Gibl Tarec,) twenty-five-thousand paces from the entrance to that frith, at the head of Bætica. It is about seven hundred feet from the main land, on the side which looks towards Spain · at about one hundred paces distant was another island, called Erythea, (supposed by some to have been swallowed up in the sea, by others to be *Ila de Leon*). The ancients knew of two islands in this place: perhaps they gave them both the same name, and that may be the reason of their appellation being plural in Greek. The larger of the two is now called Cadiz. iv. 8.

*Gæson.* A river near Mycale: it fell into a pool called Gæsonis, and thence into the sea. It was not far from Miletus, and flowed between that town and Priene. ix. 96.

*Gallaïca.* See *Briantica.*

*Galepsus.* (14.) long. 23, 40. lat. 40, 30. A town of Si-

thonia, on the Toronæan gulf, between Sermyla N, and Torone S E. vii. 122.

*Gandarii.* Major Rennell places them in Margiana; Larcher, E of Bactriana, on both sides of the Indus. It is incompetent to the limits of this Index to probe the question.

*Garamantes.* (25) long. 11 to 16. lat. 27 to 28. They inhabit above the Psylli and Nasamones; S of those two people, and opposite the Great Syrtis or gulf of Sidra. They have for neighbours the Macæ. These are W, and inhabit along the Mediterranean sea. The E extremity of the country of the Garamantes is ten journeys from the W extremity of the territory of Augila · on the NW, they are not far from the Lotophagi: but, as from the country of the Lotophagi it is thirty journeys to that where the kine are found which graze backwards, which belongs to the Garamantes, their territory must have extended prodigiously S W and E. A part of this people was nomade, or rather vagrant. those nomades, like the Bedouins of the present day, made incursions to the country of the Lotophagi, although those latter were thirty journeys from that portion of the Garamantes, who, occupying an excellent land, did not lead a tramping life. There were immense deserts between them, which the nomade Garamantes crossed with rapidity.

The stationary Garamantes derived their name from Garama, their capital city, and communicated it to the rest of the nation. Abulfeda, quoted by Rennell, 616, 617, says, that it is E of Gadamis, which is the Cedamus of Pliny, and an island or rather Oasis in the great desert of Sahara, well watered, abounding in palm-trees, and containing several towns. There are still seen in that country the ruins of Garama or Gherma, which was then its capital, as well as those of Zawila S of the desert of Sort, which was the capital in the time of Abulfeda. Mourzouk is now the chief place. it lies S of the desert of Soudah, and W of Garama. The present name of this country is Fezzan. If Garama had been where Ptolemy and D'Anville place it, there would have been between that country and the ocean the kingdoms of Timbuctoo, Agades, Kashna or Kassar. But it is impossible to be mistaken; for in that part of Africa, it is the only extensive fertile tract that contains any number of cities or towns.

The Garamantes who inhabited this Oasis led a stationary and peaceable life, amid the deserts, and far from all society: having nothing to fear from the rest of men, it is not surprising that they should not have known the use of arms. iv 174, 175. This was not the case with the other Garamantes the vagrant mode of life of these latter inclined them to pillage; and one need not be surprised to see them at war with the Ethiopian Troglodytes, as we see, iv. 183. These Troglodytes inhabited the shores of the ocean, Strab. xvii, nine or ten days from the pacific Garamantes the desert of Sahara covers that space.

*Gargaphia.* (16.) long. 23, 23. lat. 38, 15. The name of

a Valley in Bœotia, in the territory of Platæa; W of Hysiæ; E of Leuctra; where Actæon was devoured by his dogs. It is also the name of a Fountain which watered the valley ix 25, 48.

*Gela.* (13.) long. 14, 20. lat. 37, 5. A town of Sicily, S, on the W bank of the river Gelas, not far from its mouth, E of Phintias; and S of Enna. The river Gelas is now called Fiume di Terra, from a small town called Terra Nuova, near the place where stood Gela. vi. 23. vii. 153, 156.

*Geloni.* They are originally Greeks, established in the country of the Budini; N of the Sauromatæ, E of the Melanchlæni. iv. 108, 109.

*Gelonus.* A town in the country of the Budini, belonging to the Geloni. iv. 108.

*Gephyræi.* They were probably originally from Gephyra, a town twenty-two R. miles from Antiochia They passed with Cadmus into Bœotia, where they occupied the territory of Tanagra; but having been driven out by the Bœotians, they took refuge in Attica, and were incorporated with the Athenians. v. 57, 62.

*Geræstus.* (17.) long. 24, 20 lat. 38. A town and port of the island of Eubœa, on the SW coast, about fifteen R. miles from Carystus. *m. n.* Gerasto Between this town and Cape Caphareum were the Cavities of Eubœa*. ix. 104.

*Gergithæ.* They inhabited a town of the Troad, E of Rhœteum, Ophrynium, and Dardanus, near the place where Ilium or Troy formerly stood, near Mount Ida.

*Germani*, or *Carmani.* (23.) long. 54 to 60. lat. 27 to 32. A tribe of cultivators of Persia: they are called Carmanii by other authors. Carmania was E of Persia Proper; W of Gedrosia; N of the Erythræan sea; S of Parthia · its N extremity, touching Parthia, was desert and uncultivated. i. 125.

*Gerrhi.* They occupied a tract in Scythia, fourteen journeys from the Euxine sea. In this quarter were the tombs of the Scythian kings, and here the Borysthenes begins to be navigable. It was E of the Neuri, NE of the Scythian labourers. Probably the palatinate of Kiow. iv. 71.

*Gerrhus* The seventh river after the Ister. It flows between the country of the Scythian nomades and that of the Royal Scythians, and then falls into the Hypacyris. It takes its name from a place called Gerrhus, which it passes through. It appears, from what Herodotus says, that it is a branch of the Borysthenes. iv. 56, 19, 20.

*Getæ.* (D'Anv. Orb. Rom. Pars Orient.) long. 45 to 49. lat. 45, 47. A people of Thrace, on this side the Ister. They had the Ister N; Mount Hæmus S;

* The Cavities of Eubœa, in most of the maps, are placed on the coast of Eubœa, opposite to Bœotia; because Strabo says, that the name of Κοῖλα was given to τὰ μεταξὺ Αὐλίδος καὶ τῶν περὶ Γεραιστὸν τόπων. But it seems rather extraordinary that a part of the Eubœan shore should be defined by such references. The epitome of Strabo has τὰ μεταξὺ Καφηρέως. Falconer, however, conjectures Χαλχίδος instead of Αὐλίδος See the Oxford edition of Strabo, p 648.

the Crobyzi Thracians W; and the Euxine sea E. They comprised Bulgaria, and perhaps a small part of Servia. Their bounds were much extended subsequently to Herodotus.

*Gigonus* (14.) long. 23. lat. 40, 30. A town of Crusæa, a small country in Thrace, on the Thermæan gulf, immediately after Campsa; between that town and Lisæ. vii. 122.

*Gilgammæ.* A people of Libya. They had on the E, the Adyrmachidæ, and Catabathmus Magnus, now Akabet-Asselom, on the W, Cyrenaïca, and the Asbystæ. Aziris, where the Theræans first established themselves, had belonged to them: they regained possession of it, when they had presented to them the bait of a rich country. Cyrenaica was also probably of their dependency, and they then extended as far as the island of Aphrodisias. Herodotus no doubt meant their ancient limits, when he says they occupied the country W to that island. *Larcher.*—Rennell is of opinion that the Historian has committed a mistake in stretching them so far W

*Gindanes.* (25) long. 13 to 14. lat. 32. A people of Libya, near the Macæ E. They are S of the Lotophagi, who dwell along the shore. They are mentioned only by Herodotus.

*Glisas.* (16.) long. 23, 33. lat. 38, 20. A town of Bœotia, near the W bank of the Thermodon; between the towns of Hyria and Thebes; E of the latter; S and at the foot of Mount Hypatus; on the top of which there was a temple and statue of Jupiter Hypatus, *i. e.* Supremus

*Gonnus.* (15.) long. 22, 38. lat. 39, 42. A town of Thessaly, in the E part of Perrhæbia; near the Peneus, N; towards the quarter where Olympus and Ossa, approaching each other, leave to the Peneus only the narrow gorge of Tempe, to flow down to the sea. it is near to and E of the place where the Titaresius discharges itself into the Peneus; due N of the N extremity of lake Bœbæis, at the entrance of the delicious Vale of Tempe; E of Larissa; twenty R. miles distant, and at the entrance of the wood called Tempe.

*Gratiarum collis.* The Hill of the Graces. It is in Libya, two hundred stades from the sea; and appears to belong to the Macæ. It is covered with a thick forest, and the Cinyps has there its source.

*Græcia.* The S part of Europe; S E of Italy; W of Asia. Authors more frequently call it Hellas, Ἑλλάς. This latter name, which succeeded the former, came from Hellen the son of Deucalion and Pyrrha. He reigned in Thessaly, which was likewise called Hæmonia, and is called by Homer, Argos Pelasgicum. He there built a town which was named Hellas, and communicated its name to all the country of his dominion, and to all his subjects. This, says Solinus, was the true Hellas· in the sequel, the same name extended to the Peloponnesus, and all the country stretching from the isthmus of Corinth to the N, E, and W. Greece comprised, in Terra Firma, first, Peloponnesus, second, Attica; third, Bœotia: these three parts constituted Greece Proper, whose inhabitants were called Greeks,

Dorians, Achæans, Argians, Danaans, Hellenes, Athenians, Bœotians; fourth, Epirus, fifth, Thessaly. Greece likewise comprised a vast number of islands.

*Grynea*, or *Grynium*. A small town of Æolis in Asia Minor; forty stades N of Myrina; S of the Caicus, on the same gulf where Myrina was, that is, the gulf of Cyma.

*Gygæa palus*. (18) long. 28. lat. 38, 40. It was situate between the Hyllus and the Hermus; near the tomb of Alyattes, about forty stades distant; E by N from Sardis, not far from the Caystrus; near Mount Tmolus and the Cilbian mountains, where was the spring of the Caystrus. It is said to have been excavated to receive the superfluous waters of the neighbouring rivers, in case of an inundation. It was afterwards called Coloe.

*Gyndes*. (21.) long. 45, 10. lat. 32, 30 (Mouth in Tigris.) A river of Upper Asia: its head is in the Matianian mountains: it takes a S direction, crosses the country of the Darnæi, and falls into the Tigris. Rennell supposes Herodotus to have confounded under this name the Mendeli and Diala.

*Gyzantes*. A people of Libya, near to the Zaueces on the N. According to Herodotus, they were not far from Carthage, and on the S and W of the Bagradas.

*HÆMUS*. (14.) long, 24 to 28. lat. 42 to 43. A mountain it begins nearly as far W as Mount Rhodope, and runs along the whole N of Thrace to the Euxine sea *m.n.* Greek, Hæmoni, Turk, Balcan, Italian, Catena del Monte.

*Halıacmon*. (15.) long. mouth, 22, 40 lat. 40, 30. A river of Macedonia: it falls, according to Herodotus, in the Lydias: according to Ptolemy and the abridger of Strabo, its mouth was in the Thermæan gulf. Larcher supposes that the text (vii. 127) has been defaced, and proposes to read Ἀστραίου: his arguments are very ingenious in support of the conjecture, and deserve to be read.

*Halicarnassus*. (18.) long. 27, 20. lat. 37. A town of Caria; situate at the entrance of the Ceramic gulf, N of the isthmus of the peninsula of Cnidia, and S of Myndus. It had a port, was excellently fortified, and very rich. *m.n.* Mpodroum, pronounced Bodroom. This town was the capital of Caria, and the usual residence of the kings of Caria: it was originally one of the six towns of the Hexapolis of the Dorians, but was excluded from the association. At the time of the Persian expedition against Greece, it was inclosed in very narrow limits. Artemisia's states consisted only of Halicarnassus, the islands of Cos, Nisyros, and Calydna; and Halicarnassus was far from having reached the high point of grandeur and magnificence to which the kings of Caria afterwards raised it. The country of two celebrated historians, Herodotus and Dionysius.

*Halys*. (18.) long. mouth, 36. lat. 41, 40. There were two branches of this river; or rather they were two very different rivers, falling the one into the other.

1. *Halys.*—It rose, according to Strabo, in Great Cappadocia, near the Pontica, and just by the Cambysenus; flowed W; watered the town of Sebasta; crossed, to the W, Sargarausena, and Cammanena; and fell into the other Halys, between Andrapa and Parnassus.

2. *Halys.*—It rose in Mount Taurus, flowed from S to N, bending now and then to the W. It crossed a small part of Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Galatia. It watered Archelais, Colonia, Garsaura, Rosologiacum, and Eccobriga, passed at a little distance from Tavium and Pimolis; and from thence descended to the Euxine sea, pretty near Naustathmus. This river was called Halys, from ἅλς ἅλος, because it is a sort of bitter saltness, passing through countries abounding in fossil salt *m. n.* with the Turks, Kizil Hirmak. This river cuts from S to N the immense peninsula which separates the Euxine sea from the Mediterranean Its course is traced with admirable accuracy in D'Anville's map of Asia Minor.

*Hebrus* (14.) long mouth, 26. lat. 41. A large river of Thrace. it rises in the country of the Odrysæ, at Mount Scomius. From thence it flows E by S, making many windings· it then bends S by W, and, winding still more, falls into the gulf Melas, between Sala W and Ænos E, by two mouths N of the island of Samothrace. The Hebrus produces a plant like marjoram, the tops of which the Thracians smoked after their meals. *m. n.* Mariza.

*Hecatonnesi* (17) long. 26, 30 lat 39, 20. A collection of small islands situate S of the Atramyttenian gulf; between the island of Lesbos W, and the quarter of Mysia called Atarneus. *m. n.* Moschonnesia, *i. e.* Islands of Calves, Μοσχοννήσια

*Helbo*, or *Elbo.* (26.) long. 32. lat. 31, 30. An island ten stades in circumference. It appears certain that it was in Lower Egypt, and in the Elearchia.

*Helice* (16.) long. 22, 10. lat. 38, 30. A town of Achaia in Peloponnesus; NW of Bura, E of Ægium, W of Ægæ, at a very small distance from the shore of the Corinthian gulf. Helice and Bura had in the time of Pliny been swallowed up in the Corinthian gulf:

> Si quæras Helicen et Buren, Achaidas urbes;
> Invenias sub aquis.——
> *Metam.* xv. 293.

*Heliopolis.* (26) long. 31, 30. lat. 30, 10. There were two cities in Egypt of this name; one out of the Delta pretty near to Babylon (of Egypt), the other in the Delta. 1. Not mentioned by Herodotus, was in that part of Egypt, lying on the left hand as you ascend the Pelusiac canal. *m. n* Ainschams, 'Fountain of the sun.' 2. Mentioned by the Historian, was in the Delta, between the Sebennytic canal and the Canopic, pretty near the point of the Delta.

*Helisyci.* A nation of Ligyans. vii. 165. See *Ligyes.*

*Hellæ sepulchrum.* Was in the Thracian Chersonesus, on the border of the Hellespont, N E of Cardia, S of Pactya, for near that town Hella died· she was the daughter of Athamas king

of Thebes; and wishing to escape from the ambush of her stepmother, fled, accompanied by Phrixus her brother, with the intention of proceeding to Colchis. She fell into the sea, which took from her the name of Hellespont; and there was drowned. Phrixus buried his sister on the coast. VII. 58.

*Hellespont.* (17.) long. 26, 10. lat. 40. at the juncture with the Ægæan sea. A strait communicating from the Ægæan (Archipelago) to the Propontis (sea of Marmora). It is from ten to twelve leagues long. *m. n.* Dardanelles. The breadth of this strait is a point much disputed, the jealousy of the ignorant Turks precluding travellers from any possibility of taking correct measures. in its narrowest part, I do not think it much more than half a mile over, it certainly is not near a mile across whether the bridge of boats was placed on this narrow part, or higher up where the strait widens immensely, is another question

The name of Hellespont was given not only to this strait, but likewise to its shore right and left, both in Asia and Europe. The same name was likewise applied to part of the coasts of Propontis, even as far as Byzantium and Chalcedon.

*Hellespontii.* This name was given to the inhabitants of the coasts of the Hellespont, both in Asia and Europe. The same name was likewise given to those who inhabited part of the coast of the Propontis, as far even as Byzantium in Europe and Chalcedon in Asia. The Asiatic Hellespontines furnished one hundred sail to Xerxes; excepting the inhabitants of Abydos, who were to guard the bridges. VII. 95. They formed one and the same satrapy with the Phrygians, Asiatic Thracians or Bithynians, the Paphlagonians, the Mariandynians, the Leuco-Syrians or Cappadocians. III. 90.

*Hellopia.* Hellops or Ellops, the son of Ion, had founded a city, or hamlet, which gave the name of Hellopia, or Ellopia, to a distinct portion of Eubœa, and even to the whole island, according to Strabo. The town or hamlet of Ellopia was in the territory of Histiæotis, in the island of Eubœa, near Mount Telethrium; N of the river Callas, E of Histiæa, towards the coasts of the most N part of Eubœa. There were some warm springs in the neighbourhood, which were called the Ellopian waters. VIII. 23.

*Helos* (16.) long. 22, 40. lat. 36, 50. A town of Laconia, at a small distance from the Laconic gulf; eighty stades E of Trinasus, NE of Asine; W of Acria. The inhabitants of this town were called Helots, Eleans, Eleotæ. See *Helots.*

*Helots.* Inhabitants of Helos in Laconia. Refusing to pay the tribute imposed by Agis, their town was besieged, stormed, and the inhabitants reduced to the hardest slavery. Some time after, the Lacedæmonians destroyed Messena, and made slaves of the Messenians. Both were known only by the name of Helots: in a word, all the slaves of the Lacedæmonians, whatever was their origin, had that name.

*Himera.* (13.) long. 13, 50. lat. 37, 55. A town of Sicily, on the N coast of the island, W of the mouth of the river Himera, which falls into the Tyrrhenian sea. There are warm springs in its vicinity; hence the *m. n.* Termini.

*Hippolai prom.* The name given to the tongue of land between the Borysthenes and Hypanis iv. 53.

*Histiæotis* —1. (15) long between 21 and 22. lat between 39 and 40. A country of Thessaly; anciently very extensive: it then comprised not only Gomphi and all the country near Mount Pindus, as afterwards, but likewise all the lands at the foot of Olympus and Ossa. Consequently, Perrhæbia was then a part of Histiæotis. The Perrhæbi having taken possession of part of this country, it was confined to narrower bounds. It then comprised the W part of Thessaly, towards the upper part of the Peneus, on both sides of that stream, between the Pindus and Upper Macedonia.—2 (15) long. 23. lat. 39. A small country of the island of Eubœa, of which Histiæa was the capital: it extended as far as Artemisium, towards promontory Cenæum, and at a short distance from the pass of Thermopylæ. viii. 23, 24.

*Histiæa.* A town of the island of Eubœa, capital of Histiæotis, towards promontory Cenæum, near the river Callas, at the foot of Mount Telethrium. Its ancient name was Titania, which it changed for Histiæa, from Histiæa the daughter of Hyrieus. afterwards it took that of Oreum. *m. n.* Orio.

*Hyampeus* (15) long. 22, 40. lat. 38, 40. One of the tops of Parnassus, E of Delphi. The Delphians were in the practice of dashing their criminals headlong from the top of this rock. But having unjustly put Æsop to death, it no longer served for that purpose, and that called Naupha was used. viii. 39.

*Hyampolis.* (15.) long. 22, 40. lat. 38, 40. A town of Phocis, E of Abæ and Elatea; in the defile by which one passed out of Thessaly and Epicnemidian Locris into Phocis. viii. 28.

*Hybla Major.* (13) long 15. lat 37, 20.

—— *Heræa.* (13) long. 14, 30. lat. 37, 10

*Minor.* (13.) long. 15. lat. 37, 10.

These three towns were in Sicily Great Hybla was near to and S of Mount Ætna; W and in the neighbourhood of Catana; NE of Murgentium, inland —Middle Hybla, called likewise Heræa, was in the S part of Sicily, inland on the road from Agrigentum to Syracuse; E of Gela; and W of Acra.—The Lesser Hybla was a sea-town on the E coast, a little distance N of Syracuse. It is likewise called Gæleotis, and more frequently Megara. Its ruins are between two rivulets, the Alabus (*m. n.* Cataro) S, and the Fiume San Cosmano. It appears that Hippocrates met with his death before the second of these towns. vii. 155.

*Hydrea.* (17.) long. 23, 10. lat. 37, 20. A small island of Argolis, E of Hermione; dependent on the Hermionians; in the vicinity of the islands Tricrana, Aristera, and Tiparenus. It has given its ancient name to

Aristera, which is much celebrated, among modern travellers, as a place inhabited solely by Greeks, and a great place of traffic: it was here that the late Greek Revolution was concocted.

*Hyela.* (13.) long. 15, 10. lat. 40, 10. A town of Œnotria or Lucania, built by the Phocæans. It was E of promontory Posidium; S W of promontory Palinurius. *m n.* Castel a mare della Brucca. i. 167.

*Hygennenses.* A people only known from one passage of Herodotus: the reading is supposed to be corrupt. Valckenaer reads Lasonians; Wesseling, Obigenes.

*Hylæa.* A peninsula of Scythia, E by S of the Borysthenes, near the Race of Achilles; N W of Tauris; S of the Scythians Cultivators; W of the Hypacyris, which skirts it on the E. *m. n.* Jamboylouk, inhabited by Nogais Tartars.

*Hyllus.* (18.) mouth into the Hermus: long. 27, 20. lat. 39, 20. A river which rises on the W frontier of Phrygia Epictetus, flows to the W, and falls into the Hermus, near Magnesia Sipyli

*Hymettus.* (16) long. 23, 50. lat. 37, 55. A mountain situate E by S of Athens and the Ilissus, towards the coasts of the Saronic gulf. It is no more than three miles from Athens, and is about twenty miles in circuit. It is celebrated for its honey: in modern times, the monasteries about this mountain were held to supply the Great Turks' harem with honey: the religious houses are however now destroyed, and the sweet tribute is transferred to that of Mendeli (on Pentelicus). Hymettus contained some quarries of fine marble, on the side towards Athens.

*Hypacyris.* A river of Scythia. It issues from a lake; passes athwart the country of Scythians Nomades; and discharges its waters into the Euxine, near the city of Carcinitis; skirting, on the right, Hylæa and the Race of Achilles. Rennell thinks that its *m. n.* is Kalauczac.

*Hypanis.* A river of Scythia. It issues from a large lake in the country of the Scythians Auchatæ. Its modern name is the Bog. The Dneister or Tyras of Herodotus, and the Bog or Hypanis, approach very near to one another at Braclaw and Mohilow; and then diverge greatly, directing their streams towards the Euxine. iv. 17, 18, 42, 52.

*Hyperborei.* According to what Herodotus states after Aristeas, the Arimaspi were above the Scythians; the Issedones above the Arimaspi; and the Hyperborei, who were beyond the Issedones, touched on the sea. It is therefore certain, from this description, that the Hyperboreans were towards the NE; and that they occupied a part of Russia and Siberia, and principally that portion of the latter country which comprises the upper part of the Oby and Irtish; and that they extended to the Frozen Ocean. It cannot be said that Herodotus had any exact knowledge of this country; but it was a great deal, even to know of their existence at his time. He was endowed with great good sense, and com-

bining what he was told, respecting the countries he had not seen, with his own practical knowledge, he was seldom mistaken. *Larcher.*—Herodotus is called the Father of History. he is entitled, certainly, to a name equally if not more honourable, that of the Common-Sense Historian· it appears, however, from what he says iv. 36, that he had great doubts about the existence of these people in the high north. See Book iv. note 84, in the First Volume of this Work.

*Hyrcania.* (23) long. between 55 and 60. lat 36. A large country in Asia; S of the E part of the S coast of the Caspian (the E part of which was called the Hyrcanian sea, whereas the W part preserves the name of the Caspian), NE of Media; E of the Mardi; W of Margiana; NW of Parthia, from which it is separated by Mount Coronus, which stretches a good distance from W to E. It is a mountainous country, covered with forests, and impracticable for cavalry. vii. 62.

*Hyrgis.* A river of Scythia, which falls into the Tanais. Bayer and Wesseling think it is the Seviersky, called likewise the Donetz or Little Don, because the Tanais is called the Don. The Syrgis falls into the Palus Mæotis, iv. 123: the Hyrgis falls into the Tanais, iv. 57. It appears, however, to be taken for granted, now, that they are one and the same river.

*Hyria.* (13.) long. 17, 30. lat. 41. A town of Messapia or Iapygia (in Italy), inland between Tarentum and Brundusium; eighteen R. miles E of the first; sixteen R. miles W of the other. Strabo calls it Ouria, and the Latins Uria. *m. n.* Oria.

*Hysiæ.* (16.) long. 23, 25. lat. 38, 15. A village of Bœotia, in Parasopia; that is to say, in the country watered by the Asopus, at the foot of Cithæron; E of Platæa; W of Erythræ. See the Tabulæ Herodoteæ; plan of the battle of Platæa

*IALYSSUS.* (17) long. 27, 50. lat. 36, 20. A town in the island of Rhodes, in its NW part.

*Iapygia.* (13.) long. 17 to 18. lat. 40 to 41. A country of Magna Græcia, in Italy it comprised anciently, and in the time of Herodotus, Messapia, Peucetia, and Daunia. It extended, therefore, from N to SE, from the river Fronto to promontory Iapygium, at the bottom of the heel of the boot. But afterwards it comprised only Messapia, that is to say, drawing a line from Brundusium to Tarentum, all the country comprised between that line and promontory Iapygium.

*Iapygium prom.* It is at the extremity of Iapygia. This cape was likewise called Salentinum. *m. n.* C. di Leuca.

*Iberia.* (10.) long. 40, 40. lat. 4. The country where the Phocæans trafficked, i. 163, comprised what we call Spain and Portugal. It was so called from the name of one of its rivers, Iber or Iberus, which divided it in two parts. There was another Iberia, in Asia.—This country was likewise called Hispania, derived from a Phœnician word, Spanya, which signifies abundant in rabbits, and from thence we have taken the name Spain: the Greek and Latin authors agree in representing Spain as swarming with rabbits, which, by burrowing

in the ground, even threw down whole cities. Bochart, Geogr. Sacra, p. 168. It was also called Hesperia, or Hesperia Ultima, to distinguish it from the other Hesperia, or Italy.

*Icarium Pelagus.* (17.) long. between 26 and 27. lat. from 37 to 38. This name is given to that part of the Ægæan sea which is near the island of Icaria. It is E of the Ægæan sea; N of the Sporades. It is now comprised in the Archipelago.

*Ichnæ.* (15.) long. 22, 50. lat. 39, 25. A town of Bottiæis, S of Pella; ENE of Alorus; in the narrow part of that country which borders on the sea, near a canal coming from the Loudias, or rather Lydias.

1. *Ichthyophagi.* (26) long. 34 to 35. lat. 24 to 26.
2. ———— (23) long. 60. lat. 25.

They were not properly Egyptians. Strabo calls them Troglodytæ, from their inhabiting caves on the shore: those, says he, who voyage (on the Arabic gulf, or Red sea) from Heroopolis, to Ptolemais Epitheras, have the Ichthyophagi on their right hand, and perform nine thousand stades S by E. From thence to the place where the gulf contracts, they perform about 1500 stades a little more E. This very narrow spot forms a promontory called Dira. There were some Ichthyophagi in the island of Elephantis, and it is those that Herodotus mentions, iii. 19. There was likewise a race of Ichthyophagi or Fish-eaters in Asia; on the shores of the Erythræan sea; E of Persia; W of the Oritæ; S of Gedrosia. These last are not mentioned by the Historian.

*Ida.* (18.) long. 26, 30. lat. 40. A mountain of the Troad, the loftiest of those towards the coasts of the Hellespont. It is not one single mountain, but rather a collection of mountains; the principal part of which is E, and near the place where Troy stood: from thence it extends NE, E, and SE to the sea; so that it had four parts, which stretched out to four promontories, towards Cyzicus NE; towards Antandros and the gulf of Atramyttium SW; towards promontory Lectum W by S It had therefore several tops, whence Homer calls it the Idæan mountain: the tops had various names, Gargara, Phalacra, &c. Several rivers had their sources in this range, the Æsepus and Granicus, which fall into the Propontis; the Simois, and Scamander or Xanthus, which roll their waters into the Hellespont; the Satinois and Cilleus, which fall into the gulf of Atramyttium; hence Horace calls it '*aquosa Ida.*' Ida is an appellative noun, coming from εἴδω; hence the name was given to all mountains from which the view was extensive: it became afterwards, by custom, the proper name of the mountain of the Troad, of another in Crete, &c.

*Idrias* A canton of Phrygia, on the confines of Caria, E of the Leucæ Stelæ, or White Pillars, of Anaua and Celænæ. This country is crossed by the Marsyas. v. 118.

*Ienysus*, or *Janysus.* (20.) long. 34, 55. lat 31, 50. A town in Syria of Palestine; S by W of Gaza, NE of Casius Mount; or, taking nearer stations, SE of

Gaza; N E of Raphia (now Rafech). This town was the frontier between the Arabs and Syrians towards Egypt. The country between Ienysus and Mount Casius, and the Lake Serbonis, was a vast desert, without water, and three journeys across. No other author mentions this place, which is supposed to have stood where now stands the Chan Iones, *i. e.* the Caravanserai of Iones. The name in Herodotus is Ἰήννσος· in my translation (see Vol. I. Book iii c. 5.) I have supposed the η to be an Ionism, and therefore have spelt the word Janysus.

*Ilium.* The ancient name of Troy.

*Ilissus.* A small river of Attica: it rises in Mount Hymettus, passes near the Lycæum; skirts the walls of Athens, and falls into the sea, near Phalerus. Now the bed of a mountain, almost always dry.

*Illyria.* (14.) long. 17 to 20. lat 42 to 43. Was properly the country comprised between the Narenta and the Drilo, or Drinus The Illyrians were between the Labeatæ, Enderoduni, Sassæi, Grabæi, on one side; the Taulantii, and the Pyræi, on the other Some extend this country, making it comprise Liburnia and Dalmatia.

*Imbrus.* (17.) long 26. lat. 40, 10. An island of the Ægæan sea, near to and S of Samothrace; with a small river, and a town of the same name. From Imbrus to Samothrace it was thirty-two R. miles, twenty-two and a half to Lemnos, which lies S of Imbrus. This island was still inhabited by Pelasgi, when Otanes conquered it, about five hundred and seven years before Christ. *m. n.* Imbro.

*India.* (24.) A vast country, the most E of Asia; although a part, called Pandionis Regio, stretches to the S. The Persians had subdued but a small part of it.

*Indus.* (24.) mouth, long. 69. lat. 24. A large river of Asia, giving the name of India to the country it flows through. It is called Sindus according to Pliny, who says its source is in a part of Caucasus called Paropamisus. It flows from N towards the S E; makes a bend towards the S W, and falls into the Erythræan sea. Arrian gives it two mouths; and adds, that the Indus forms, by its two arms, an island pretty similar to the Delta of Egypt, and that the island is called, in the language of the country, Patala.

Islands of the Erythræan sea. They were in great number in the Persic gulf. See Dr. Vincent's Work. vii. 80.

*Inycum.* A town of Sicily, supposed to be on the W coast of the island, at the mouth of the Hypsa, E of Selinus. vi 23, 24.

*Iolcus* (15.) long. 23. lat. 39, 20. A town of Magnesia in Thessaly, E by N of Pagasæ; E of Pheræ; seven stades above Demetrias and the Pagasic or Pelasgic gulf. v. 94.

*Ionia.* (18) long. 27. lat. 38. A maritime province of Asia Minor, on the W coast. Blessed with a pure air and temperate climate. Miletus is the first town on the S; afterwards, going N, are Myus and Priene: these three towns are in Caria. Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phocæa, are in Lydia. Phocæa is the last town on the N. Erythræ belongs to

Ionia, as well as the islands of Samos and Chios. Smyrna was taken away from the Æolians by the inhabitants of Colophon. Ionia contained other towns, which are not mentioned by Herodotus.

*Ionius sinus.* (15.) long. 20. lat. 39. The sea or gulf which washes the W, and W by S part of Greece. Herodotus calls it Ἰόνιον πέλαγος, and Ἰόνιος κόλπος: it was likewise called Adria, and Adriaticum mare. The sea has lost its name; but the islands of Corcyra, Cephallenia, &c, form a commonwealth, called in the present day the Ionian islands, and a part of the British empire. The Ἰόνιος κόλπος, just defined, must not be confounded with the θάλασσα ἡ Ἰώνων, which makes part of the Ægæan sea, and washes the coast of Asia, where the Ionians inhabited.

*Ipni.* (15.) long. 23, 15. lat. 39, 20. That is to say, 'ovens.' They were caves of Mount Pelion, resembling ovens. They are S of promontory Sepias.

*Irasa.* A very agreeable quarter of Libya; S by W of Azirıs; E by S of Cyrenaïca; belonging probably to the Gilıgammæ, and very near the Asbystæ.

*Is.* A bituminous river which falls into the Euphrates: it furnished the bitumen for the walls of Babylon.

*Is.* A town of Babylonia, eight journeys from Babylon, on a river of the same name. Rennell observes, that some fountains abounding in bitumen are found near Hit, a small town on the Euphrates, one hundred and twenty-eight G. miles above Hillah, following the banks of the river. Hillah is a town built with the bricks of ancient Babylon, and near the site of that town. The illustrious geographer shews that Hillah occupies the S extremity of ancient Babylon; and that Hit, or rather It, which is eight average journeys of the caravans distant NW, is the town of Is mentioned by Herodotus, i. 179.

*Ismarıs.* (14.) long. 25, 30. lat. 40, 35. A lake in Ciconia of Thrace, between Stryma and Maronea, W of the former, E of the latter. There was a mountain with a town of this name in the same quarter. vii. 109.

*Ismenus.* (15.) long. 23, 25. A river of Bœotia, which crossed the plain of Thebes. *m n.* Ismeno. Ismenian was a name given from this river to Apollo at Thebes. v. 59.

*Issedones.* These people dwelt beyond the Araxes (see Araxes); E of and at a great distance from the Thyssagetæ; E of the Argippæi; N of the Massagetæ. Major Rennell places them E of the Caspian.

*Ister:* the Danube. (14.) mouths, long. 29. lat. 45, 30. This river rises, according to Herodotus, ii. 33, near the town of Pyrene, in the country of the Celts.

The Danube rises in Mount Abnoba, now called Brenner; a German word, signifying nearly the same as Pyrene in Greek. It crosses an immense extent of country. The Greeks gave it the name of Ister from its source to its mouths; but the Romans called it Danubius from its head to about the middle of its course; and Ister from thence to its mouths. Some give it seven, others six, and Herodotus

five, mouths. It now falls into the Euxine sea by two mouths only.

*Istria.* (14.) long. 28, 30. lat. 44, 20. A colony of Milesians on the Ister. See *Istri.*

*Istri.* They were the inhabitants of a town which Pliny calls Istropolis. It was situate on the Euxine sea; S of the S mouth of the Ister, called Peuce; between the mouths of the river and Tomi (where Ovid was banished), NE of that town. It was three hundred stades off Tomi.

*Italia* (11, 12, 13.) A large country of Europe, situate between the Alps W, and two seas: one which is to the N is the Adriatic sea, the other, which is to the S, is the Tyrrhenian sea, and constitutes a part of the Mediterranean.

*Italiotæ.* There were two sorts of inhabitants in Italy. One was called Autochthones or Aborigines, that is to say, natives of the country: they were generally called Italians, Ἰταλοί. The others, who were called Italiots, Ἰταλιῶται, were strangers, who, attracted by the fertility of the soil, and the salubrity of the air and water, had established themselves in Italy Most of the Italiots were Greeks, who made so many establishments in the country, that the S part of Italy took the name of Magna Græcia.

*Itanus.* (17.) long. 26, 20. lat. 35, 4. A town of Crete, situate upon or towards the E coast of the island, in the bend of a gulf between promontories Samonium and Itanus. This last cape is probably the same as that called by sailors Cabo Xacro.

*Ithome.* (16.) long. 22. lat. 37, 14. A town of Messenia, in the Peloponnesus, near to and N of Messene. The Lacedæmonians having declared war against the Messenians, various battles were fought with various success. But, at last, the Messenians having shut themselves up in the town of Ithome, the Lacedæmonians besieged them, and took them at the end of five months. The capture of this town put an end to the first Messenian war, 723 years B. C., after lasting twenty years. Ithome was rebuilt by Epaminondas after the battle of Leuctra, 370 years B. C.: it then took the name of Messene. Vast ruins are seen on the site, the walls remaining almost entire in many places. I have forgotten the name given now to the place.

*Iyrcæ.* These people inhabited nearly the same country as the Thyssagetæ, to whom they were contiguous on the E. Pliny and Pomponius Mela place the Turcæ (Turks) immediately after the Thyssagetæ, but it is supposed that the reading should be, in both authors, Eurcæ, as the Turks dwelt anciently in the vicinity of Caucasus. iv. 22.

*LABRANDA.* (18.) long. 28. lat. 37, 10. A town of Caria, N of Mylaca, S of Stratonica, E of Bargasa. v. 119.

*Lacedæmon.* See *Sparta.* This name is likewise applied to Laconia. vii. 234. v. 58.

*Lacedæmonii.* Under this name were comprised not only the inhabitants of Lacedæmon, but those of Laconia. The Spartans, therefore, were Lacedæmonians, but all the Lacedæmonians were not Spartans, because that name was given only to the citizens of Sparta. vii 234.

*Lacmon.* A mountain: it was part of Pindus; and it was thence that the Aous (now Lao) flowed, a river which passed through the territory of Apollonia (now Pollina), and fell into the sea near to Oricum. ix. 93.

*Laconia.* (16.) long. 22, 20, to 23°. lat. 36, to 37, 30. The S part of Peloponnesus: Lacedæmon was its capital. It was bounded E by the Argolic gulf; W by Messenia and the Messeniac gulf; N by Arcadia; S by promontory Tænarus and Malea; the first on the W, the second on the E. The sea between those two promontories, shooting up into the country, is called the Laconic gulf.

*Lade.* (17.) long. 27, 5. lat. 37, 30. A small island lying a moderate distance from Miletus, and opposite that town. It is now joined to the main land. Wood's Troad, p. 332. vi 7.

*Lamponium.* A town of the Troad, towards the N coast of the Atramyttenian gulf, between Antandros and Gargara. v. 26.

*Lampsacus.* (17.) long. 27, 50. lat. 40, 20. A celebrated town of the Hellespont, situate on the sea; N of Percote, SW of Pæsus; forty stades S of Callipolis, a town in the Thracian Chersonesus, near the W entrance of the Propontis, one hundred and seventy stades N of Abydos. Priapus, the god of gardens, was particularly adored at this place. *m. n.* Lampsaki; a village with about two hundred Greek and Turkish houses. It is surrounded with trees; and a tall minaret, rising above them, gives the place a very picturesque appearance as you sail up the Dardanelles.

*Laus.* (18.) long. 15, 50. lat. 39, 45. In Italy; a town of Lucania; E of promontory Pyxous, called by the Latins, Buxentum, W of Pandosia. This town, which was at the extremity of Lucania, took its name from a little river, called Laos in Greek, and Laus in Latin, at the mouth of which it was situated. It was at the entrance of a gulf called likewise Laus (now Golfo di Policastro), and four hundred stades from the town of Hyela in Lucania, between promontories Posidium and Palinurus (now Capo Palinuro). *m. n.* Laïno. vi. 21.

*Laphystius* (16.) long. 23. lat 38, 30. A mountain of Bœotia, twenty stades from Coronea: it was, no doubt, a part of Mount Libethrius. There was on this mountain a temple consecrated to Jupiter Laphystius. vii. 197, 198.

*Lapithæ.* (15.) long. 22, 30. lat. 39, 55. A people of Thessaly, who occupied the maritime part of that country towards the mouth of the Peneus, from whence they had driven the Perrhæbi. They took possession likewise of Mount Cithæron, where the Centaurs had before dwelt.

*Larissa.*—1. (15.) long. 22, 30. lat. 39, 35. A town of Thessaly, on the right bank of the Peneus, ten R. miles to the N E of Atrax; E of the mouth of the Apidanus into the Peneus; forty-four miles from Demetrias; twenty-four S of Dium on the Thermæan gulf. It must not be confounded with another place called Larissa, surnamed Cremasta, in the same country: this latter was not far from the

Maliac gulf, and about three hundred stades from Thebæ Phthioticæ.

2. (18.) long. 27. lat. 38, 20. A town of Æolia, in Asia Minor, on the Hyllus, situate between Phocæa and Cyma, towards the E frontier of Æolia, and the W frontier of Mæonia, seventy stades S E of Cyma, near to and N of the Hermus. It must not be confounded with Larissa, a town of the Troad, nor with another Larissa, in the territory of Ephesus.

*Lasonii.* They are probably S by E of Lydia; W of Pisidia and Pamphylia; E of a part of Ionia. iii. 90. vii. 77.

*Laureum.* (16.) long. 24. lat. 37, 40. A mountain of Attica, placed by Pausanias near promontory Sunium. It was N W of Sunium. There were some silver mines in this mountain, which were worked by the Athenians. Spon, when he visited Athens, met with some old men who recollected a lead mine in the neighbourhood, which the country people suffered to be lost, lest they should bring the Turks upon them: the lead brought from the villages was said to contain a small quantity of silver. vii. 144.

*Lebadia* (16.) long. 23. lat. 38, 50. A town of Bœotia, situate N W of Mount Helicon; S E of Delphi, in the vicinity W of Cheronæa. *m. n.* Leibadia, pronounced Leevatheéa, a name which is extended even to the whole of Greece or Hellas. This town was celebrated for the oracle, and Trophonian cave. viii. 134.

*Lebæa.* The capital of the ancient kingdom of Macedonia the kings resided there: from what Herodotus says, it appears to have been in Upper Macedonia, but it is impossible to define its precise situation. viii. 137.

*Lebedus.* (18.) long. 27. lat. 38 A town of the Ionians, situate in Lydia, (as well as Ephesus, Colophon, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phocæa,) in an isthmus, one hundred and twenty stades N W of Colophon; S of Smyrna; between that town and Colophon. *m. n.* Lebeditzi Isar.

*Lectum.* (18) long 26. lat. 39 A promontory of Asia Minor, situate between the island of Lesbos S, and that of Tenedos N, nearer to the first, at the W extremity of Mount Ida it terminates the gulf of Atramyttium on the N. The Turks, according to Miletius, call it Mpampa Mpornou; which must be pronounced Baba Bornoo, for the Modern Greeks give the sound *b* to the letters *μπ*. ix. 114.

*Leleges.* They were originally a people collected from different nations, as the Greek term indicates. The people that Deucalion collected from the environs of Parnassus, when he made the conquest of Thessaly, were Curetes and Leleges. These obtained subsequently the name of Locrians. In the time of the Trojan war, there were some between the states of Æneas, and those Cilicians whose capital was Thebe (in Asia Minor) They occupied the towns of Assus, Pedasus, Gargara, and Antandros, mostly on the gulf of Atramyttium. Their places having been destroyed by Achilles, they passed into Caria, where they built eight towns, Myndus and Bargyliæ on the gulf Iassius,

and Pedasæ inland. They occupied also a good part of Pisidia. Having afterwards seconded the Carians in their wars, they were so much invalidated that they dispersed over different parts of Greece, and ceased to be a nation. Strab. xiii.

*Lemnos.* (17.) long. 25, 20. lat. 40. An island of the Ægæan sea, situate near Thrace. Pliny gives it one hundred and twelve R. miles circumference. There was in this island a celebrated labyrinth, and a brass cow, to which the shadow of Mount Athos reached. Etym. Mag. Ἄθως. Vulcan was precipitated into this island · the place where he fell was remarkable for a particular sort of earth, which had the property of curing the serpent's sting. Philoctetes felt its healing effects. this earth was called Terra Lemnia: whether of any efficacy or not, the same earth is much used in Spain and in the East, where it is called Terra Sigillata, from having the Turkish seal imposed.

*Leontium.* (13.) long. 15. lat. 37, 20. They inhabited an E town of Sicily, called Leontini, or Leontium. The general position of the town was N: in the centre was seen an oblong plain, where stood the senate-house, the tribunals, and the public square. On either side of the plain runs a steep hill; the tops of those two hills are level ground, occupied by temples and houses. It has two gates, one S, leading to Syracuse; the other N, leading to a fertile champaign, called Campi Leontini, and even Lestrigonii Campi, because they had formerly been inhabited by the Lestrigons. At the foot of the hill, on the W, flows the Lissus (now Lesso). Along that river was a road bordered with houses, *m. n.* Lentini. The ancients gave the name of Sinus Leontinus to the S part of the gulf of Catana, as being E of the town of the Leontii, and at no great distance from that town.

*Lepreatæ.* The inhabitants of Lepreum ix. 28.

*Lepreum.* (16) long 21, 50. lat. 37, 20. A town in that part of Elis called Triphylia, in the Peloponnesus: it was near the gulf Cyparissius; S of Pylus Triphyliacus; W of Macistus, according to the map in Anacharsis, NE according to D'Anville. iv. 148.

*Leros.* (17.) long. 26, 50. lat. 37, 10. An island lying off the coast of Caria, in Asia Minor: it was one of the Sporades; S of the island of Patmos, N of that of Calymna, W of the gulf Iassius. *m. n.* Liro. v. 125.

*Lesbos.* (17) long. 26. lat. 39. A large island of the Ægean sea; opposite the gulf of Atramyttium, and that part of Asia Minor called Æolis. *m. n.* Metelin.

*Leucadii.* The inhabitants of *Leucas.* (15.) long. 20, 40. lat. 38, 40 Leucas was originally a peninsula holding to Acarnania by a narrow isthmus 500 paces long and 120 broad. This isthmus having been dug through, the country became an island; but, as there was not water enough in the frith, the vessels could not near the shore. It was joined to the main land by a bridge "Leucada continuam veteres habuere coloni; Nunc freta circueunt." Ov. Met. xv. 289. *m. n.* Santa Maura, one of

the Ionian islands: it has an advantageously situated fort on the shore, garrisoned by British soldiers: the face of the island is diversified and agreeable: a long wall of Cyclopic masonry is the most remarkable antiquity. viii. 45.

*Leuce Acte.* (14.) long. 27. lat. 40, 35. A shore and village of Thrace, without the Isthmus of the Chersonesus on the Propontis. vii 25. There was near Cardia a plain called πεδίον λευκὸν· Leuce Acte was at the extremity of that plain on the Propontis, and Pteleum at the other extremity.

*Leucon.* A small canton of Libya; E of Barce. Leucon certainly is not a town. iv. 160.

*Leuco-Syri.* They are the same as the Cappadocians. See *Cappadocia*, and *Syri.*

*Libya.* This was the name given by the ancients to the third quarter of the world, what we now call Africa. Every one knows that it is a large peninsula, holding on Asia by a narrow isthmus, now called the Isthmus of Suez. It was ascertained to be surrounded with water, excepting at the isthmus, under Nechos, king of Egypt. See iv. 42.

The ancients knew but little more than the coasts of Libya from Egypt to Carthage W, namely, Mauritania, Numidia, Gætulia, and a part of the W coasts. Of the E and S, they knew a part of Ethiopia, the shores of the Arabic gulf, and Erythræan sea as far as the island Menuthias (now Zanzibar). The remainder was totally unknown to them. The divisions of Libya, or Africa, are, according to the most general opinion, Egpyt, Marmarica, Cyrenaïca, Syrtica, Libya Proper, Numidia, Mauritania, Libya, or Inner Africa, Ethiopia, &c. Its bounds are N the Mediterranean; E the Isthmus of Suez, the Arabic gulf, and the Eastern ocean; S the Ethiopian sea; W the Atlantic.

*Lida.* A mountain of Caria, in Asia Minor, near the town of Pedasus, WNW of that town, between it and Miletus. i 175.

*Ligyi.* A people of Italy; near the Tyrrhenians. Steph. Byzant. calls them Ligures.

*Ligyes.* A small people of Asia, probably W of the Mariandynians, Cappadocians, and Paphlagonians; NE of the Matianians

*Lindus* (17.) long. 28. lat. 36, 2 A town of the island of Rhodes, in E part, S of the town of Rhodes.

*Lipaxus.* (15.) long. 23, 15. lat. 40, 15. A town of Crossæa, on the E bank of the Thermæan gulf, W of Olynthus, N of Potidæa; SE of Combrea. vii. 123.

*Lipsydrion* A town of Attica; above Pæonia, near the N of Mount Parnes; on the frontier of Bœotia v. 62.

*Lisæ.* (15.) long. 23, 10. lat. 40, 40. A town of Crossæa, on the E shore of the Thermæan gulf, between Combrea and Gigonos. vii. 123.

*Lissus.* (14.) long 25, 50. lat. 40, 30. A small river of Thrace· it crosses Briantica, flows from N to S by W, and falls into the Ægean, between Stryma W and Mesambria E. vii. 108.

*Locris.* (15.) long. from 21, 40, to 22, 40. lat. 38, 15, to 39°. A country of Greece. it extends

from S to NE, from the Crissæan and Corinthiac gulfs to the Maliac and Opuntian gulfs. It comprised two tracts (separated from one another by Phocis) and three small nations, Epicnemidian Locrians, Opuntian Locrians, Ozolæ Locrians.

*Locri Epicnemidii.* A people of Locris; ENE of the Locri Ozolæ, from whom they were separated by the S part of Phocis Their territory was bounded N by the Maliac gulf and Mount Œta; S by the Locri Opuntii. Their country was opposite promontory Cenæum of the island of Eubœa. These Locrians are called Epicnemidii, because they inhabit the banks of the Cnemis. Strab. ix.

*Locri Epizephyrii.* That is to say, the Locrians inhabiting above promontory Zephyrium in Bruttia, on the E coast of the foot of the boot in Italy. Their town was called Locri it was situate N of promontory Zephyrium, now Capo Burzano. vi. 23.

*Locri Opuntii.* A people of Locris, opposite the coast of Eubœa. So called from Opûs, their capital.

*Locri Ozolæ.* A people of Locris; N of the Corinthian gulf; S of Doris and Mount Œta; E of Ætolia; W of the Crisæan gulf. Ozolæ signifies 'stinking:' there was a fountain of fetid water in their country (impregnated probably with bitumen and volatile alkali), which gave rise to the epithet, according to Strabo.

*Lotophagi.* A people of Libya, who dwelt on the shore: immediately S, and above them, were the Gindanes This nation touched the Machlyes on the sea-side, and towards the W. The E extremity of their country touched the Macæ.

*Lycia.* (18.) long. 30. lat. 36 to 37. A country of Asia Minor; E of Caria; W of Pamphylia: it is bounded S by the sea, and N by a part of Lydia and Phrygia. The little river Xanthus divides it into two parts, the E and W. i. 173.

*Lycus.*—1. (18.) long. 29. lat. 38: mouth into the Mæander. A river of Phrygia, which falls into a chasm at Colossæ, re-appears at the distance of five stades, and discharges its waters into the Mæander. vii. 30.

2.—A river which comes from the country of the Thyssagetæ, passes through that of the Mæotians, and falls into the Palus Mæotis, probably between the Chersonesus Taurica and the Tanais it is W of the Oarus.

*Lydia.* (18.) long. 27, 30, to 29. lat 37, 30, to 39, 30. Lydia, properly so called, began below the city of Sardis, and extended to the sea. The upper part was called Mæonia. Ionia was a portion of Lydia. The kings of Sardis extended their conquests in Mæonia, and gave to that country the name of Lydia. The last kings conquered, likewise, Ionia. Finally, Lydia acknowledged no boundaries but the Ægean sea and the river Halys. See i. 28.

*Lydias.* (14.) long. 23, 40. lat. 40, 40. A river of Macedonia. it flows out of a large swamp before the town of Pella; receives the Erigon below the marsh from whence it issues, and falls afterwards into the sea between Therma and Chalestrum. *m. n.* like many other

streams, Mauroneri, (pronounced Mavroneri,) 'Black Water.'

*MACEDNI.* A people of Dorian origin. They inhabited Phocis, under Deucalion; Histiæotis, under Dorus son of Hellen: driven from thence by the Cadmei, they passed into Pindus, where they took the name of Macedni. From thence they went to Dryopis, and from Dryopis to Peloponnesus. i. 56. viii. 43.

*Macedonia.* (14.) long. 20 to 24. lat. 40 to 42. It was an hereditary kingdom, situate between Greece on the S; Dardania on the N; Thrace on the E and N. Its limits have not always been the same. Under the first kings they were very confined: it did not begin to extend considerably till under Philip, who united Thessaly to it, and afterwards a part of Epirus and a part of Thrace: hence, Macedonia is often confounded with Thessaly; that is to say, Thessaly is frequently comprised under the name of Macedonia. Previously to that time, Macedonia was confined to one distinct province; bounded N by Pelagonia; S by Bottiæis, Pieria, and the mountains of Thessaly; W by the country of the Lyncestæ.

*Macæ.* A people of Libya. They dwell along shore; their neighbours are, E, the Nasamones, or rather Psylli; W, the Lotophagi; the Garamantes S; and the Gindanes SW. They were towards the Greater Syrtis; hence Ptolemy calls them Syrtitæ. The Cinyps watered their territory. iv. 175, 176.

*Machlyes.* A people of Libya, S of Lake Tritonis; W of the Lotophagi, whose territory it confines towards the Lesser Syrtis, or gulf of Gabes. The Machlyes extend to the river Triton iv. 178.

*Macistus.* (16) long. 21, 49 lat 37, 24. A town of Elis in the Peloponnesus, and in the Triphylia; N of the Neda; S of the Alpheus; E of Arcadia and Mount Lapithas. Barthélémy (Atlas of Anacharsis) places it on the Anigron, E of Pylos Triphylıacus; D'Anville on the Acidon, S by E of Pylos. iv. 148.

*Macrobii Æthiopes.* See *Æthiopes.*

*Macrones.* (18) long 40 lat. 39, 40 A people situate near the Euxine sea; W of Mount Theches, E of Trapezûs; SW of Colchis, NE of the Moschi. iii. 94.

*Mactorium.* (13.) long. 14, 15. lat. 40, 10. A town of Sicily, N of Gela. vii. 153.

*Madytus.* (17.) long 26, 10 lat. 37, 5. A town of the Thracian Chersonesus, on the Hellespont; SW of Sestos. *m. n* Maita. vii 33

*Mæander* (18) long. 27, 30 lat. 37, 30. A river of Asia Minor it rises at Celænæ, a town of Phrygia. Livy, xxxviii. 13. states that it issues from the high fort of Celænæ; that, after crossing through the middle of that town, it flows into Caria, then into Ionia, and loses itself in a gulf between Miletus S, and Priene N; watering a good many towns, and receiving the waters of the Marsyas, Eudon, Lycus, Lethæus, &c. This river, says Pausanias, flowing through the country of the Phrygians, and that of the Carians, where the lands are good and well cul-

tivated, has in a very short time converted into terra firma the sea that lay between Priene and Miletus. This stream was celebrated for its windings. *m. n.* Meinder, among the inhabitants: Medre, or Kotiz, among the Turks.

*Mæonia.* This name was formerly given to that part of Lydia which is E towards Mount Tmolus, and where the Pactolus, a river of Lydia, had its source. i. 7. vii. 74.

*Mæotæ* The people dwelling along the coast of the Palus Mæotis, towards the N. iv. 23.

*Mæotis* See *Palus Mæotis.*

*Magdolus.* (26.) long. 32, 20. lat. 30, 50. A town situate about the middle of the E frontier of Lower Egypt It is mentioned in Jeremiah, xlvi. 14 (Migdol in the English version), and in Exod. xiv. 2. (likewise Migdol) in the Lxx. it is in both passages called Magdolus. It was not far from the sea, between which and Magdolus stood Pi-hahiroth (Exod. xiv. 2.) a Hebrew word, which the Lxx translate ἔπαυλις. It was not near this town that Nechos beat Josiah king of Judæa, but near Mageddo (Megiddo in the English version). ii. 159.

*Mageddo*, or *Megiddo*, A town of the tribe of Manasseh (Judges i. 27; Joshua xvii. 11.) near the tribes of Issachar and Ashur, E of Cæsarea (now Kaisarie), or Tower of Strato. It was on the road that Nechos must have taken to enter Assyria. It was in the plain before this town, a very convenient place for battle, that Nechos defeated and killed king Josiah. "In his days, Pharaoh-"nechoh, king of Egypt, went "up against the king of Assy-"ria, to the river Euphrates: "and king Josiah went against "him; and he slew him at Me-"giddo, when he had seen him:" 2 Kings xxiii. 29. Herodotus, deceived by the similarity of the sounds, has confounded Mageddo with Magdolus.

*Magi.* They were a people of Media; which may be placed immediately N of the Cissians; N of the mountains of Susa; and W of Elymais. The Magi, who took possession of Persia under Cambyses, were Medes. It is not certain that there was in Persia a tribe of Magi, originally of the country, they had perhaps come from Media: but it is unquestionable, after what Herodotus says (i 101), that they must have been a distinct people in Media.

*Magnesia.*—1. (18.) long. 27, 30. lat 36, 40. A town of Asia Minor; situate on the N bank of the Mæander, nearly forty-five B. miles from the sea; E of Priene; fifteen R. miles S by E of Ephesus; N W of Alabanda; S W of Tralles. iii. 122; i. 161. It was a colony of the Magnetes of Thessaly, joined by some Cretans. This Magnesia was called *Magnesia ad Mæandrum*, to distinguish it from *Magnesia ad Sipylum;* the latter a town of Lydia, at the foot of Mount Sipylus; N W of Sardis; E of Phocæa. *m. n.* of Magnesia on the Mæander, Guzel Hisar, the Turkish for 'Fair-Castle.' *m. n.* of Magnesia near Sipylus, Manissa.

2.—(15.) long. 22, 45. lat. 39, 15, to 39, 40. A country of Thessaly, E of Thessaliotis and Phthiotis; W of the Thermæan

gulf; N of the Pelasgic gulf, S of Pelasgiotis, of which it was anciently a part. vii. 176, 183.

3.—(15) long. 23, 20. lat. 39, 20. A promontory of Magnesia; SE of Melibœa; W of the island of Sciathus, on the Thermæan gulf. *m. n.* Κάβος τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου, Cape St. George, and likewise Berlici. vii. 193.

*Magnetes.*—1. Of Asia: the inhabitants of Magnesia on the Mæander, and of Magnesia near Sipylus in Asia Minor. iii. 90.

2. Of Europe: the inhabitants of Magnesia near Mount Pelion and the Thermæan gulf. vii. 132.

*Maleæ.* (16.) long. 23, 13. lat. 36, 25. A promontory of Laconia. The most S part of the Peloponnesus shoots out into two promontories; one W, the other E. Promontory Tænarus is W, that of Maleæ E. Opposite the latter lies the island of Cythera It was exceedingly difficult to double this promontory, on account of the contrary winds. The merchants from Asia and Italy preferred, therefore, going to Corinth *m. n.* Cape Malea; among the Italian sailors, Capo di Sant' Angelo. iv. 179. Storms are frequent now-a-days off this cape; so much so, that ships bound for the Dardanelles and the Black Sea generally steer for Candia (Crete), from the N coast of which they alter their course to go up the Archipelago, or, as the British sailors quaintly term it, to make the Arches.

*Malena.* (18.) A small place in Atarneus, where Histiæus, tyrant of Miletus, was made prisoner. vi. 29.

*Maliacus Sinus.* (17.) long. 23. lat. 39. A gulf of the Ægæan sea, opposite the N extremity of the island of Eubœa. It was likewise called Sinus Lamiacus, from Lamia a town inland N of the gulf. *m. n.* Golfo di Zeiton. It takes its name from the neighbouring plain of Malis.

*Maliaca Terra,* ἡ Μηλὶς γῆ. The inhabitants were called Maleienses, Μηλίεες. They extended N to Phthiotis, and W to the Æniianes. They were subdivided into three small tribes, the Paralii, the Hierii, and the Trachinii.

*Mantinea.* (16) long 22, 25. lat 37, 30 A town of Arcadia in the Peloponnesus; E of Olympia, W of Argos, S of Orchomenus; NE of Megalopolis. iv 161.

*Marshes;* Fens, in Egypt; Paludes Ægypti. ii. 92. See *Elearchia.*

*Maraphii.* A people of Persia, probably NE of the Pasargadæ. i. 125.

*Marathon.* (16) long. 24. lat 38, 10. A town of Attica, about ten miles NE of Athens, the same distance NW of Carystus, a town of Eubœa, in the N vicinity of Brauron, sixty stades S by W of Rhamnus, three miles from the sea. This place was famous for the exploit of Theseus, who caught here the bull which had committed ravages in the Tetrapolis of Attica, and which he sacrificed at the temple of Delphi. It became still more celebrated by the signal victory over the Persians, won by the Athenians, in the third year of the LXXII Olymp. The plain of Marathon, where this battle was fought, still bears the

same name, and is about twelve miles in circuit. The tombs of the Athenians who fell in the battle were seen on the plain, together with columns on which were written their names and those of their tribes. The ancients speak also of a lake and little river of the same name. The town of Marathon still preserves its ancient appellation: it consists of about fifteen or twenty *Zeugaria* or farms, and not more than two hundred inhabitants, principally Albanians, with a few Turkish overseers. Some burrows are still seen on the plain; and the lake mentioned by Pausanias can be traced, in a swamp near the shore.

*Mardi.* There were two nations of Asia known by this name:—

1. A people of Asia, not originally Persian. They dwelt towards the N frontier of Media, or rather of the Matiani, who made part of Media, S of the Caspian sea, E of the Saspires; W of Hyrcania. Herodotus places them in the nineteenth satrapy. iii. 94.

2. Herodotus merely informs us that these people are one of the tribes of the Persians and nomades. They were probably thus situated: NE of Susiana, E of the Utii; E by S of the Dai; N of the Persic gulf; W of Persia properly so called; W by N of the Dropici; SE of Cossæa. i. 125.

*Marea.* (26.) long. 29, 55. lat. 31. A town of Egypt, towards the W frontier, on the Mediterranean, situate E of the gulf Plinthinetes; out of the Delta, towards Libya, and on the Lake Mareotis. It was the capital of a nome of the same name. ii. 18, 30. *m. n.* Mariout. See the following article.

*Mareotis Lacus.* (26.) long. 30. lat. 31. A lake near Alexandria, separated from the sea by a strip of land which Ptolemy calls ταινία. It extends from N to SW. Major Rennell places it ESE of Alexandria; because, says he, going from Schedia to Memphis, it was on the right hand, as Strabo observes; but supposing the lake to stretch SW, as in D'Anville's map, it would certainly be on the right hand as well, going from Schedia to Memphis. This lake was joined to the Nile by canals, so that it filled at the increase of the river: those canals having fallen in, the waters of the lake have evaporated, and the vast space it once occupied (thirty R. miles long and one hundred and fifty in circumference) has become a plain, near Alexandria, distinguished by a little green, and a few palm-trees. M. Miot places Marea on the E frontier of Egypt; but, as may be supposed, he gives no authority for this most extraordinary situation. ii. 18, 30.

*Mares.* A small Asiatic tribe, probably one of the small tribes at the foot of Caucasus, between Colchis and the country of the Alarodii. vii. 79.

*Mariandyni.* (18.) long. 30, 30, to 31, 30. lat. 41. A nation situate between the Asiatic Thracians or Bithynians, and the Paphlagonians; E of the former; W of the latter; S of the Euxine sea; N of that part of Phrygia since called Galatia. iii. 90. vii. 72.

*Maris.* (14.) long. of mouth, 20, 5. lat. 46, 25. A river of Scythia: it rises E in the country of the Agathyrsi, and falls into the Ister or Danube. *m. n.* supposed by Larcher to be the Temesh, which falls into the Danube some miles below Belgrade: by other geographers it is supposed to be the Marosch or Merisch, which rises in Transylvania (which makes part of the country of the Agathyrsi), flows to the W, enters Hungary, and falls into the Tibiscus or Tiesse, near Segedin. Herodotus may perhaps have mistaken the course of the river. iv. 49.

*Maronea.* (14.) long. 25, 30. lat. 40, 35. A town of Ciconia in Thrace, near the Lake Ismaris; W of that lake and the river Lissus; E of Dicæa It was famous for its wine, and particularly under the protection of Bacchus. *m. n* Marogna, an archiepiscopal see. vii. 109.

*Marsyas.* (18) long 29, 40. lat. 38, 15. A river of Phrygia it rises near the head of the Mæander, and falls into that river, after crossing the territory of Idrias. See *Catarractes*

*Maspii.* A tribe of Persia mentioned only by Herodotus, and Steph. Byzant, who evidently copies the Historian. They were probably E of the Maraphii, and N of the Germanii. i. 125.

*Massagetæ.* They were situate on a spacious plain, E of the Caspian sea. Their situation involves the question of the Araxes. i. 204.

*Matiani.*—1. (21.) long. 46. lat. 36. A people of Asia: they touch Armenia on the NW, and Media on the S. iv 94. v. 49.

2. A small people E of Phrygia; which is separated from it by the Halys, after crossing Cilicia: I mean that branch of the Halys which rises in Mount Paryadres. i. 72.

*Maxyes.* A people of Libya, situate NW of the Ausenses, and of Lake Tritonis. They cannot have been very far from the N part of the Lesser Syrtis, or gulf of Gabes. They were probably pretty near the place where Shaw places the castle of Maha-ress. iv. 191.

*Mecyberna.* (15.) long. 23, 30. lat. 40, 15. A Greek town in the peninsula of the Toronæi, or Sithonia. This peninsula is between the Singitic gulf and the Toronæan gulf, called likewise the Mecybernæan gulf, now the gulf of Hagios Mamas, Κόλφος Ἁγίου Μάμα. Mecyberna is twenty stades ESE of Olynthus, of which it was the port or haven. vii. 122.

*Media.* (21.) long. 48. lat. 34 to 39. A country of Asia. It is a flat country, saving that part which extends towards the N, from Agbatana towards the Saspires and the Euxine sea, which is lofty, mountainous, and covered with wood. "Media "ab occasu transversa obliquc "Parthiæ occurrens . . . habet "ab ortu Caspios et Parthos, à "meridie Sittacenem et Susia-"nen et Persida, ab occasu "Adiabenen, à septentrione Armeniam."— *Plin. Hist. Nat.* vi. 26. This territory extended from the Caspian sea to the Lake of Vau. *m. n.* Irak-Aiami, and part of Azerbijan.

*Megara.*—1. (16.) long. 23, 10. lat. 37, 58. A town of Megaris in Greece; situate near the Saronic gulf, nearly at equal

distances E of Corinth and NW of Athens; between the Peloponnesus, Attica, and Bœotia. It was built on two rocks, stretching SSE and WNW, about three miles from the shore of the Saronic gulf. Its ancient boundaries, which comprised those two rocks, and a part of the plain S, may still be traced: there is a town, consisting of a few miserable huts, on one of the rocks. *m. n.* Megara. i. 59 ix. 14, 21, &c.

2. (13) long. 15, 10 lat. 37, 10. A town of Sicily, founded 728 years B. C. by some inhabitants of Megara in Greece; destroyed by Gelo, king of Syracuse, 482 years B. C. It was on the sea-shore N of Syracuse, and in its vicinity. It bore the name of Hybla previous to its foundation by the Megarians. *m. n.* Penisola delli Manghisi, according to D'Anville. vii 156.

*Megaris*, ἡ Μεγαρὶς χώρη. A small country bounded S by the Saronic gulf, and Argolis; N by Bœotia, SE by Eleusis and Attica; W by the Isthmus of Corinth, the Corinthiac gulf, and the Alcyonian sea It was anciently a part of Attica; but the Peloponnesians, or Dorians, coming to attack Codrus, took possession of it; from which Megaris became a distinct state. It was separated from Attica by two mountains, still called Κέρατα, or Horns. Megara was its capital.

*Melampygus.* (15.) long. 22, 50. lat. 38, 50. A rock of the mountain Anopæa. on the frontiers of Malis and Locris. On the left, going out of Alpeni towards the Thermopylæ. vii. 216

*Melanchlæni.* A Greek word signifying 'Black Mantles,' certainly not the real name of the nation. They dwelt NE of the Anthrophagi; N of the Royal Scythians Beyond the Melanchlæni, nothing was found but marshes and deserts. According to Major Rennell, they occupied the Russian governments of Novogorod, Orel, Mohilow, and Kursk. "Tamerlane found "in the mountains of Kawuck "(a part of the Indian Caucasus) a tribe who are named, "by his historian Sherefeddeen, "Sia-poohias, or 'black-clothed.' "The Getæ, beyond the Jaxartes, had black ensigns."—*Rennell*, 87.

*Melas.* (14.) long. 26. lat. 40, 30. A gulf of Thrace: it closes part of the Thracian Chersonesus, and stretches towards the town of Cardia. *m. n.* Gulf of Magarision. Its name was Μέλας κόλπος. vi. 41. D'Anville designates it, erroneously, Sinus Melanes

*Melas.*—1. (15.) long. 22, 40 lat. 38, 55. A small river of Thessaly; S of the Dyras; N of the Asopus: it falls into the Maliac gulf on the E, as well as the two rivers just mentioned The Melas is twenty stades from the Dyras. Livy, xxxvi. 22. calls it, with good reason, *Amniculus:* it passed near Heraclea. Old Trachis, which gave the name of Trachinia to this quarter, was five stades from this river, and about six from Heraclea. vii. 198.

*Melibœa.* (15) long. 23, 5. lat 39, 30. A town situate on the W shore of the Thermæan gulf, and on the E coast of Magnesia, at the S extremity of Ossa. vii. 188.

*Melos.* (17) long. 24, 30. lat. 36, 10. An island of the Ægean sea; N of the island of Crete; SW of those of Cimolus and Siphnus; West of the islands Pholegandrus and Thera; E of promontory Maleæ. Its inhabitants were called Melii. *m. n.* Milo. This island is almost circular, being sixty miles round, and well cultivated. viii. 46, 48.

*Memnonia, regia Pers.* It was the palace of the kings of Persia, at Susa; and the citadel. It was also called Memnonium. See *Susa.* v 53, 54.

*Memphis* (26.) long. 31, 15. lat. 29, 50. A celebrated town of Egypt, situate three schœni above the Delta, on the left or W bank of the Nile. Its ruins are seen at a place called Menf. There was a mountain near Memphis W, running from N to S: that mountain was of stone, surrounded and covered with sand: the pyramids were on that mountain. E of Memphis, on the other side of the Nile, were the quarries from which the stones were brought that served to erect the pyramids: the mountain in which those quarries are is on the side of Arabia, and runs likewise from N to S. ii. 99.

*Menda.* (14.) long. 23, 10. lat. 40. A town of the peninsula of Pallena, near Sana, in the part where the peninsula widens, and between Sana and Sciona. It was a colony of Eretrians, and its territory was famous for its wines. vii. 123.

*Mendes.* A town of Egypt, on the Mendesian canal, not far from the sea, and on a rugged site. This gave its name to a nome of Egypt, and to one of the mouths of the Nile, now called Dibe, and, by the Franks, Peschiera. *m. n.* Ashmun-Tanah.

*Menelaius portus.* On the coast of the Giligammæ in Libya, pretty near the island of Platæa, between promontory Drepanum W, now Cape Derma, and Catabathnus Magnus E; at the E extremity of the Giligammæ. It took its name from Menelaus, who landed there after he had quitted Egypt. iv. 169.

*Meroe.* (26) The capital of Æthiopia, in an island formed by the Nile, the Bahr el Abiad, the Astespus, or Abawi, and the Astaboras, or Tacazze, forty journeys from the island of Tachompso The island in which Meroe stood is, according to Strabo, three thousand stades long, and one thousand broad; that is to say, three hundred and seventy-five miles by one hundred and twenty-five. Bruce (Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, vol. iv. p. 542) having found the island of Atbara in Ethiopia, which is inclosed by the Nile, and the Astaboras, to be three hundred and forty-five miles long by one hundred and forty-five broad, concludes, with good reason, that Meroe stood somewhere in Atbara.

*Mesambria.*—1. (14.) long. 27, 40. lat. 42, 30. A town of Thrace on the Euxine sea, near the extremity of Mount Hæmus, N of Apollonia, between Anchiale and the extremity of Hæmus. vi. 33. *m. n.* Misevria.

2. The last of the Samothracian towns to the W, in the continent of Thrace, nearly opposite the island of Samothrace.

The Lissus falls into the sea between this town and Stryma, which belongs to the Thracians. Mesambria was towards the E bank of the mouth of that river; NW of Tyrodiza; SE of Stryme. vii. 108. *m. n.* Misevria.

*Messapia.* (13.) long. 18. lat. 40. Was a part of Iapygia: it is a sort of peninsula, jutting into the Ionian sea· its isthmus is between Brentesium, or Brundusium, and Tarentum. The Latins call it, generally, Calabria. The country of the Salentines occupied a part of it, being the S or inner portion of the heel; hence Messapia is likewise called Salentina. See *Iapygia.* Herodotus mentions the Messapii Iapyges. vii. 170.

*Messana.* (13) long. 15, 30. lat. 38, 10. A town of Sicily, near promontory Pelorus (now Cape Faro): it is separated from Rhegium, at the toe of the boot of Italy, only by a narrow strait. It is W by N of Rhegium, N of Syracuse. It anciently bore the name of Zancla. *m. n.* Messina. vii. 164.

*Messenia.* (16.) long. 22. lat. 37. A considerable country of Peloponnesus, separated from Laconia by the Nedo; from Triphylia by the Neda; bounded W and S by the sea, and the Messeniac gulf. Its inhabitants were called Messenii. ix: 35.

*Metapontum* (13.) long. 16, 40. lat. 40, 15. A town of Lucania, situate on the gulf of Tarentum, between Tarentum, which is to its NE, and the town of Siris, or port of Heraclea, which is to the S by W; nearly equidistant from those two places: one hundred and forty stades N of Heraclea, near the mouth of the Casuentum (now Basiento), on the spot where now stands Torri di Mare. Pythagoras is said to have been killed here, in a sedition against him and his disciples; but that is not indubitable. The inhabitants were called Metapontini· they were Italiots. See the word. iv. 15.

*Methymna.* (17.) long. 26, 10. lat. 39, 20. A town in the island of Lesbos, on a strait, the extremity of which forms the Elaitic and Atramyttenian gulfs It is on the N coast, NW of Mytilene: Arion belonged to this town. It preserves its ancient name, and is the see of an Archbishop. i. 151.

*Milesia.* This was the name of the territory of Miletus, where dwelt the Branchidæ, priests of the temple and oracle of Didymi. This temple was consecrated to Apollo and Diana· as those deities were twins, the place where they gave their oracles was called Didymi, from the Greek word δίδυμοι in the sequel, it took the name of Branchidæ. vi. 19, &c.

*Miletus.* (17.) long. 27, 10. lat. 37, 30. A town of Ionia· Pliny places it ten stades S of the mouth of the Mæander. It was the first town of Ionia, going from S to N. It sent forth very many colonies. *m. n.* Palet, or Palatia, according to Chandler (Travels in Asia Minor, p. 146)· he found, on the theatre near the river, an inscription in rough characters, where the name of Miletus is repeated three times.

*Milyas.* (18.) long. 30. lat. 37. A country of Asia Minor, in Lycia. The whole of Lycia was anciently called Solyma it afterwards took that of Milyas.

Lycus son of Pandion, driven away by his brother Ægæus, landed in Milyas, which took from him the name of Lycia. The name of Milyas was however preserved to a quarter of Lycia, joining to Pisidia, Pamphylia, and Caria; E of the latter; W of Pisidia and Pamphylia; N of Lycia, properly so called. The entrance to Milyas on the E is by the Solymi mountains. The Lycus rises there. See *Lycia*, *Solymi*, *Termilæ*. The inhabitants were called Milyæ. i. 175. iii. 90. vii. 70.

*Minoa.* (13) long. 13, 10. lat. 37, 25. A colony of Selinus. One of the most ancient towns of Sicily: it was situate in the territory of Agrigentum, towards the E mouth of the river Halycus; on the spot now called Capo Bianco. Its original name was Macara. In the course of time, Minos, king of Crete, being in search of Dædalus, who had fled into Sicily, took possession of it, and gave it the name of Minoa, establishing there the laws of Crete. Hercules afterwards, having gained a victory over Eryx, took possession of it. Since then, the Selinusii founded it, *i. e.* sent a colony thither. Minoa afterwards changed its name, and took that of Heraclea; when Dorieus and Euryleon, descendants of Hercules, became masters of it. v. 46.

*Minyæ.*— 1. Μινύαι Ὀρχομένιοι. The inhabitants of Orchomenus, and its territory in Bœotia. See *Orchomenus*. i. 146.

2. The descendants of the Argonauts. They inhabited, first, the island of Lemnos, where they were born; but having been driven from thence by the Pelasgi, they came to Laconia; and some of them went afterwards to found the island of Callista, with Theras and some of the Laconians. iv. 145, 148.

*Mœridis tacus.* (26.) long. 30, 10 lat. 29, 20. It is composed of a canal, and the lake properly so called. It is three thousand six hundred stades in circumference; that is to say, a little more than seventy-one leagues.

1. It runs from S to N· this part is that excavated by man, and the canal. It is now called Bahr-Jusef.

2. It stretches inland, along the mountain above Memphis It is the lake properly so called its present name is the Lake of Kern.

3. The canal of Bahr-Jusef begins near Hermopolis, or Ashmuncin; runs about four leagues towards the W; and then, bending, continues its course from S to N, as far as Feuim. ii. 149. *m.n.* Birket-el-Karoun.

*Molœis.* (16.) long. 23, 10. lat 38, 11. A river of Bœotia, near Platæa; on the banks of which was a temple of Ceres Eleusinian. ix. 56.

*Molossia.* (15.) long. 21. lat. 39 to 40. A country of Epirus, bounded S by the gulf of Ampracia; N by Hellopia; E by the Perrhæbi and Aperantia, W by the Cassopæi, and the Ionian sea. The inhabitants are called Molossi. vi. 127.

*Momemphis.* (26.) long. 30, 50. lat. 30, 45. A town of Egypt, out of the Delta on the W, towards the sea, a short distance from Lake Marea.

*Mophi.* See *Crophi*

*Moschi.* (21.) long. 42. lat. 41. A people of Asia; N of Armenia

and the source of the Euphrates; S of Colchis: SW of the Macrones; E of the frontier of Cappadocia; and W of the Saspires. iii. 94. vii. 78. The country inhabited by the Moschi is called Moschica: it was divided into three parts: one, the N, was inhabited by Colchians; another, the E, by Iberians; the third S. by Armenians. Strab. xi. —Mount Moschicus is a name given to the part of Mount Taurus towards the Euxine sea.

*Mosynœci.* (18) long. 38 to 39. lat. 41. A people situate near the Euxine sea; S of Cerasûs (from which Lucullus first imported the cherry-tree); N of the Chalybes. iii 94. vii. 78.—See likewise Xenoph. Anab. v. 4. § 16, &c.

*Munychia.* A port of Athens, at the mouth of a river called the Ilissus. There was at this port a town of the same name: the long S wall extended from Athens to Phalerus, near Munychia. It is now overgrown with weeds, too shallow even for the lightest vessel, and the resort only of storks.

*Mycale.* (18.) long. 27. lat. 37, 40. A mountain of Caria, with a promontory opposite the island of Samos; between the mouth of the Mæander S, and that of the Caystrus N; S of Panionium; N of Priene and Myûs. It is the loftiest mountain on that coast, and well stocked with game. ix. 97, &c

*Mycenæ.* (16.) long. 22, 47. lat. 37, 47. A town of Argolis, in the Peloponnesus, situate N by E of Argos; N of Cleonæ, E of Orchomenus; W by N of Tiryns; on a small river which is E of the Inachus, about fifty stades from Argos: for it is forty stades from Argos to the Heræum, or Temple of Juno, and ten stades from that temple to Mycenæ. This town was entirely destroyed by the Argians, the Cleonæans, and Tegeans, a short time after the battle of Salamis. In Strabo's time, not the least vestige of it was to be seen. ix. 27. The inhabitants were called Mycenæi. Strabo's expression is as strong as it could be, ὥστε νῦν μηδ' ἴχνος εὑρίσκεσθαι τῆς Μυκηναίων πολέως: (Strab. edit. Falconer, 1807. vol. I. p 540. line 18.) Immense ruins of Cyclopic masonry are, however, now seen on the probable site of Mycenæ, a short ride from Argos. they are remarkable in many respects, but more particularly for the rough representation of two colossal lions in basso relievo, carved over one of the gates; the most ancient specimen of art probably in existence. *m. n* Krábata, pronounced Crávata.

*Myci.* They were an inconsiderable nation, subjected to the King of Persia. They were probably somewhere near the Utii. See *Utii.* iii. 93. vii. 68.

*Myconus.* (17.) long. 25, 30. lat. 37, 20. One of the Cyclades, near Delos; SE of Tenos; N by W of Naxos. Strabo observes, the inhabitants were prone to baldness· this, like many other observations of the ancients, has been verified by modern travellers· the inhabitants of this island are, in fact, generally bald at the age of twenty, or five and twenty. *m. n.* Myconi. vi. 118.

*Myecphoris.* (26) long. 31, 30. lat. 30, 30. A town of Egypt, in an island situate opposite

Bubastis: it gave its name to a nome or government. ii. 166.

*Mygdonia.* (14.) long. 23. lat. 40, 40. A province of Thrace, ENE of Bottiæis, from which it is separated by the Axius, W of Crestonia and Bisaltia; N of Pelagonia. The Macedonians having taken it from the Thracians, made of it one of their provinces. vii. 123, 127.

*Mylasa.* (18) long. 27, 55. lat 37, 10 A town of Caria, in Asia Minor, situate in a rich country, E of the town of Myndus, W of Telmessus, S of Stratonice; N of Physcus. Mylasa had a port, eighty stades from the town, where was seen a temple of Carian Jove. It still bears its ancient name, but, from its marble quarries, is sometimes called Marmara. i 171. v 37, 121.

*Myndus* (18.) long 27, 20. lat. 37. A town of Caria, in Asia Minor, situate in an isthmus, N by W of Halicarnassus *m n* Mentese, pronounced Méndese, for the Modern Greeks always pronounce τ after ν, as we do the δ. v. 33.

*Myrcinus.* (14.) long. 23, 50. lat. 41. A town of Thrace, in the country of the Edonians, built by Histiæus of Miletus, on the Strymon, a little distance N of the town of the Nine Ways, *i.e.* Amphipolis. v. 23, 124. It was likewise the name of a quarter in Thrace, on the E bank of the Strymon, towards its mouth. v. 11.

*Myriandricus sinus.* (18.) long. 36. lat. 36, 30. It belongs to Cilicia, in Asia Minor, and shoots a good way inland. It is so called from the town of Myriandrus, on the S and E shore. It is likewise called Sinus Issicus, from the town of Issus, on its N shore. *m. n.* Gulf of Aiasse. iv. 38.

*Myrina.*—1 (17.) long. 25, 2. lat. 39, 50. A town of Æolis, in Asia Minor; situate forty stades NW of Cyma, on the gulf of Cyma, with a port. It stood at the mouth of the river Pythicus, which comes from Lydia, and falls into the gulf of Cyma. *m. n.* Marani and Tsandarli i. 149.

2 A town of Lemnos, situate at the NW extremity of the island *m. n.* Mandra, or Palaio-Castro. The inhabitants were called Myrinæi. vi. 140.

*Myrmex.* (18) long. 23, 30. lat. 39, 10. not marked in the Atlas. A rock or shoal between the island of Sciathus and Magnesia. vii. 183.

*Mysia.* (18) long. 26. to 28, 30. lat. 39. to 40, 30. A country or province in Asia Minor; N of Æolis, and Mæonia; and, for the most part, N likewise of the Caicus; E of the Troad, W of Bithynia The inhabitants are called Mysi. vii 20, &c

*Mytilene.* A town of the island of Lesbos; situate on the E coast. It has two ports, one S, and the other N: this latter is the largest and deepest: before each of those ports is a small island, making part of the town. This town was very magnificent: it was traversed by canals of sea-water, called the Euripi, with beautiful bridges of polished marble. Seventy stades N of Mytilene was Cape Maleæ. Letters were much cultivated in this town, which produced Alcæus, Sappho, Pittacus, Æschines, &c. *m n.* Castro and

Metelin: the latter is likewise given to the whole island. The ancients (or rather, perhaps, the scribes) vary in the spelling of this name, some writing Mytilene, others Mitylene: it is spelt in the latter manner in ii. 178. v. 94; in the former manner, in i. 160, the ν and ι are pronounced alike in Modern Greek, hence probably the confusion: be it as it may, *Mytilene* and *Libya* are, of all words, those in which printers (who, to the great advancement of literature, have taken the place of the ancient scribes) are more prone to mistakes. M. Miot, seeing, in the Index to Schweighæuser's Herodotus, "Mitylene, Æolensium civitas," has put in his own Index, "Mitylène, ville d'Æolie, dans l'Asie Mineure",—so much for his knowledge of Ancient Geography.

*Myus.* (18.) long. 27, 30. lat. 37, 30. A town of Caria, in Asia Minor; one of the twelve Ionian towns: S of, and near the Mæander, inland, thirty stades from the mouth of that river; SE of Priene. i. 142. v. 36. The inhabitants are called Myusii. vi. 8.

*NAPARIS.* A river of Scythia: it flows E of the Ordessus (Argish); W of the Ararus (Siret); and falls into the Ister (Danube). *m. n.* according to Samson, in his Map of Turkey, Ialonicza; according to D'Anville, Proava; according to Meletius, Ialonutza.

*Nasamones.* A people of Libya they inhabited the Greater Syrtis; and a country of no great extent, E of that Syrtis. They were SW of the Asbystæ and Auschisæ; W of Augila, a quarter of Libya where they went in autumn to gather dates. iv. 172. "Lucan, ix. reckons them a barbarous tribe; and says, that they live by wrecks; the Syrtis supplying their wants, and making up for the barrenness of their soil. Curtius, iv. 7, also speaks of their making a prey of stranded ships. Our countryman, Bruce, was shipwrecked on their coast, and found them much the same sort of people."—*Rennell.*

*Natho.* (26.) long. 31, 30. lat. 31, 5. A nome or province of Egypt, probably the same which Ptolemy calls Neouth, between the Mendesian and Tanitic mouths. The Index to Herodotus, says *Natho, insula Ægypti*,—I do not know from what authority. ii. 165.

*Naucratis.* (26.) long. 30, 40. lat. 31, 10. A town of Egypt, in the Delta, and nome Saites; S of Metelis, a town near Alexandria, on the E bank of the Canopic branch; SE of Schedia, two schœni NW of Saïs. Athenæus was of this place. ii. 135.

*Nauplia.* (16.) long. 22, 43. lat. 37, 32. A town of Argolis, in the Peloponnesus; SE of Temenium, which was situate towards the bottom of the Argolic gulf. Pausanias says, that Nauplia was fifty stades from Temenium. It was a very convenient port, and all agree that Napoli di Romania stands on its site. *m. n.* Anapli, by the Greeks; and Nápoli di Romanía, by the Franks: it is a respectable town for Modern Greece, and, if we may believe the newspapers, has been the theatre of several bloody contests between the Greeks and Turks: the fort is situate in a strong position, and, if I recollect

rightly, is called Palaméde by the inhabitants.

*Naxos.*—1. (17.) long. 25, 30 lat. 30. The largest, most fertile, and most agreeable of all the Cyclades. It is nearly ninety miles in circumference, and twenty-five broad. Its capital bore the same name. (See p. 267, note 100, of this Volume.) *m. n.* Naxia. i. 64. v. 28, 30. vi. 96. viii. 46.

2.—(13.) long. 15, 10. lat. 37, 45. An ancient town of Sicily, towards the E coast of the island; on a small promontory, E of Mount Ætna, N of Catana; S of, and near the mouth of, a small river named Arsines, Acis, or Asinarus (Onobala of D'Anville). *m. n.* of Naxos, Castel-Schiffo. vii. 154.

*Neapolis.*—1. (not marked in the Atlas.) A town of the peninsula of Pallena, in Thrace, on the W shore of the Toronæan gulf, between Aphytis and Ægа. vii. 123.

2.—(Not mentioned in the Eton Atlas.) A town of Egypt, in the Thebaïs; towards the N frontier of that province; near the town of Chemmis. ii. 91.

*Neon*, Νεῶν. (15.) long 22, 45 lat. 38, 40. A town of Phocis, in Greece; eighty stades N of Delphi, by the mountain road, more by the carriage road: the Cachales waters its walls, viii. 32, 33. See p. 254, note 50, of this Volume.

*Neon Teichos*, Νέον τεῖχος. (Not mentioned in the Eton Atlas.) A town of Asia Minor, in Æolis; thirty stades E of Larissa; near the plain of the Hermus. This town is commanded by Mount Sardenus, the root of which is watered by the Hermus. i. 149.

*Nestus.* (14) long, 24, 40. lat. 41. A river of Thrace. it comes from the E extremity of Mount Scomius, which tends towards Rhodope From thence it flows between Mounts Rhodope and Pangæus, crosses the country of the Satræ, Dersæi, Sapæi: it falls into the Ægean, at Topiris, near Abdera; NE of the island of Thasos, and sixty miles from the mouth of the Strymon *m. n* like that of many other streams in Modern Greek, Μαυρονέρι, pronounced Mavronāri, 'Black Water,' among the Turks, Cara Soui. vii. 109, 126.

*Neuri.* Their country was called Neuris: they lay NW of the Scythians Cultivators, from whom they are separated by the lake from which the Hypanis issues iv. 51 They are confined SW by the Agathyrsi; N by E by the Androphagi. Neuris answers to that part of Poland formerly called the Palatinate of Russia; and to a part of that of Lucko, which now constitutes the E part of Gallicia.

*Nilus.* (26.) A large river of Egypt, the head of which is yet unknown. It enters Egypt below the Lesser Cataract; and divides that counntry into two parts, as far as the town of Cercasorum. Having reached that town, it splits into three arms or channels: one of these channels flowing in an E direction, and another in a W direction, form the Delta, for the space inclosed between those two arms resembles the Greek Δ, and this is the name given by the ancients to that part of Egpyt, which extends from the point where the Nile divides, down to the mouths of those channels,

into the sea. The third arm bisects the Delta.

The Nile, therefore, at the vertex of the Delta, and in the vicinity of Cercasorum, divides into three arms, from which diverge four more arms or channels: these seven channels, accordingly, roll their waters into the sea by seven mouths. Of these seven channels, five are the work of nature; to wit, the Pelusiac, Mendesian, Sebennytic, Saitic, and Canobic: the two others are the work of hand, to wit, the Bucolic and the Bolbitine. We proceed to consider each channel separately.

1. The channel most to the E is called Pelusian, and falls into the sea by a mouth called the Pelusian.

2. The channel most to the W is called Canobic, and discharges into the sea by a mouth called the Canobic. It has likewise been called the Heracleotic (on account of a temple of Hercules near its mouth, ii. 113); and the Naucratic, because the Naucratis was on its banks.

3. The middle channel commences, like the two former, at the vertex of the Delta; bisects the Delta; and falls into the sea by a mouth called the Sebennytic, a little below Buto. ii. 155. It takes its name from the town of Sebennys. From the Sebennytic channel diverge two more, one flowing W, the other E

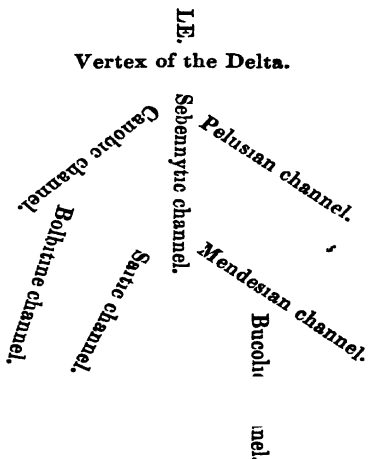
4. The W channel, diverging from the Sebennytic, is called the Saïtic, because it passes at no great distance from Saïs, and skirts the nome of that name. It falls into the sea by a mouth called by the same name.

5. The E channel, diverging from the Sebennytic, is called the Mendesian, and discharges into the sea by a mouth called the Mendesian. These five channels, as well as their mouths, are the work of nature.

The two remaining are the work of hand.

6. The Bolbitine channel has a mouth of the same name, and, diverging from the Canobic channel, flows between that and the Saitic.

7. The Bucolic channel diverges from the Mendesian, flowing between the Mendesian and Sebennytic, and falls into the sea by a mouth called the Bucolic.




The seven mouths of the Nile, therefore, are from W to E, the Canobic, the Bolbitine, the Saitic, the Sebennytic, the Bucolic, the Mendesian, the Pelusiac.

*Ninus.* (21) long. 43. lat. 36. 30. Nineveh, a town of Assyria; W of Ecbatana; N of Babylon, on the right bank of the Tigris. The modern town of Mosul is

on the left bank, and nearly opposite the situation of Nineveh: there is seen on the site of the ancient town, a hill called Kalla-Nunia, or citadel of Nineveh, together with a village of Nunia. It was of an enormous size: So Jonah arose, and went unto Nineveh, according to the word of the LORD. Now Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days' journey" Jonah, iii 3. Diodorus Siculus affirms the walls were one hundred feet high, and broad enough for three chariots to pass abreast on them: it had fifteen hundred towers, each a hundred feet high. i. 185, 193, 106. ii. 150.

*Nipsæi.* A people of Thrace, W of Mesambria, towards the extremity of Mount Hæmus, S of the Getæ, N of the Scyrmiadæ. iv. 93.

*Nisæa.* (16) long. 23, 20. lat. 37, 56. A city of Megaris; situate S of Megara, of which it was the port it was joined to Megara by a long wall. i 59

*Nisæa campus.* (23) lon. 58 lat. 39. A vast plain of Media, towards the Caspian Pylæ, but E of Ecbatana. Strab. xi. Rennell places this plain above Mount Zagros, between Ghilau and Kermaushah; but, as Larcher observes, those places are NW of Ecbatana, and too distant from the Caspian Pylæ. i. 59. iii. 106. vii. 40.

*Nisyros.* (17.) long. 27, 2. lat. 36, 30. One of the Sporades islands; N by W of that of Telos; S of that of Cos; W of the island of Rhodes; E of that of Astypalæa; W of, and near Cnidus. *m. n.* Nisouro, or Nisari. vii. 99.

*Noes.* (14.) long. 25. lat. 43, 10. A river of Thrace: it crosses the country of the Crobyzi Thracians; falls into the Ister, E of the Artanes, W of the Athrys. iv. 49.

*Nonacris.* (16.) long 22, 20. lat. 37, 57. A small town of Arcadia; near the frontier of Achaia and the Aroanian mountains; W by N of Pheneus; E of Cynætha. The Styx, which fell into the Cratlis, had its source at no great distance from that town. vi 74.

*Notium.* A town of the Æolians, in Asia Minor, N of, and near, the Caystrus; on the sea-shore; about two R. miles S of ancient Colophon i 149.

*Novem Viæ, Ἐννέα Ὁδοί.* (14) long. 23, 50. A town of Thrace; twenty-five stades NW of Eion, which was its port, near the mouth of the Strymon, on the Strymonic gulf, E of Bisaltia, and the first city of the Edoni, to the W. The inhabitants were driven away by the Athenians, who colonized the place, and gave it the name of Amphipolis, being built on both banks of the river. vii. 114.

*Nudium* (mentioned only by Herodotus, and therefore cannot be determined). A town of Triphylia in Peloponnesus, built by the Minyans. iv. 148.

*Nysa.* A city of Ethiopia. ii. 146. iii. 97.

*OARUS* A river of Scythia: it comes from the country of the Thyssagetæ, crosses that of the Mæotes, and falls into the Palus Mæotis. It flows between the Lycus and the Tanais, or Don; W of the latter; E of the former. Rennell supposes it to be the

Wolga; but the Wolga is E of the Tanaïs; whereas Darius, on his return from the Tanaïs, halted on the W banks of the Oarus, and, after beginning to build eight forts there, continued to pursue the Scythians, who, like his own army, had repassed the Oarus. iv. 123.

*Oasis* (26.) long. 29, 30. lat. 26. Although there are, in all parts of Africa, many Oases, that is to say, small quarters fertile and well watered, appearing as so many islands amid an ocean of sands, the name is confined properly to three spots, the Great Oasis, the Little Oasis, and the Oasis of Ammon.

1. The Great Oasis. This is the only Oasis mentioned by Herodotus; for he does not give the name to the Oasis of Ammon. He places it seven journeys from Thebes. *m. n.* El-Wah. According to Poncet, whose account is confirmed by Du Roule, the ambassador of Louis XIV. to Abyssinia, this Oasis is watered by many springs, and covered with gardens and woods of date-trees.

2. The Little Oasis. According to Pococke, it is W of the Lake Mœris, and about one hundred miles from the Great Oasis. *m. n.* El-Wah El-Gherbi.

3. The Oasis of Ammon. The most N of the three. *m. n.* Si-Wah.

*Odomanti.* (14.) long. 23, 30. lat. 41, 30. One of the eight Pæonian nations, mentioned by Herodotus, v. 16. They occupied a small country W of the Strymon, between the Bisaltæ and the Siropæones. They must have extended likewise E of the Strymon, since they worked, with the Satræ and the Pieres, the gold and silver mines of Mount Pangæus. vii. 112.

*Odrysæ.* (14.) long. 26. lat. 42. A people of Thrace, occupying a very extensive territory. It extends, on the sea-side, from Abdera, on the Ægean sea, to the mouth of the Ister, in the Euxine sea.

*Œa.* (16.) long. 23, 30. lat. 37, 40. A place in the island of Ægina, about twenty stades from the town of Ægina, inland. v. 83.

*Œnoe.* (16.) long. 23, 25. lat. 38, 10. A town situate on the frontiers of Attica, Bœotia, and Megaris, S by E of Eleutheræ. v 74

*Œnone.* The ancient name of Ægina.

*Œnotria.* This country comprised the instep of the boot of Italy, from Posidonium to Tarentum: it extended still farther W towards Tyrrhenia; and ESE towards the toe of the boot. It has since been called Lucania. vii. 46.

*Œnussæ.* (16.) long. 21, 45. lat. 36, 45. Islands in the Messenian gulf. *m. n.* Sapientzai.

*Oeroe* (16.) long. 23, 25. lat. 38, 15. See p. 335, note 95, of this Volume.

*Œta.* (15) long. 22 to 22, 40. lat. 38, 50. A chain of mountains, extending from E to W from the Thermopylæ and the Maliac gulf to Mount Pindus, and from thence, SW, to the gulf of Ambracia. *m. n.* Banina.

*Olbia.* See *Borysthenes.* It is the same as the town of that name.

*Olenus.* (16.) long. 21, 40. lat. 38, 8. A town of Achaïa, in Peloponnesus, near the sea, be-

tween Patræ and Dyma, watered by a large river, the Pirus. i. 145. *m. n.* Camenitza.

*Olophyxus.* (14.) long. 24, 20. lat. 40, 20. A town of the peninsula of Mount Athos; on the W shore of the Strymonic gulf; E of Sana; SE of Dium.

*Olympus.*—1. (15.) long. 22, 30. lat. 40. A mountain of Thessaly; between Pieria of Macedonia and Pelasgiotis of Thessaly: it is a range of mountains, beginning SE, near Tempe, and joining N the Cambunian mountains, which separate Thessaly from Pieria *m. n.* Lacha. vii. 128, 172.

2.—(18) long 29. lat. 40. A mountain, or rather chain of mountains, in Mysia of Asia Minor: it begins N of, and near the head of the Hermus: it extends from S to N into Bithynia, and from thence, NW, into Mysia. It was called the Mysian Olympus, because the greatest part of it was in Mysia, E of Æolis; S of the Troad. *m. n.* Tsheshish Dag. There were several other mountains of this name, in Cilicia, Elis, Arcadia, and Cyprus.

*Olympia.* (16.) long. 21, 40. lat. 37, 48. A celebrated town of Elis, in Peloponnesus, on the S bank of the Alpheus, opposite to Pisa on the N bank. See *Pisa*

*Olympieni.* Mysians dwelling in the vicinity of Mysian Olympus. vii. 74.

*Olynthus.* (14.) long. 23, 30. lat. 40, 10 A town of Chalcidice, between the peninsula of Pallena, NE, and Sithonia, NW; near the bottom of the Toronæan gulf, N, having the Thermæan gulf, W. *m. n.* Hagios Mamas.

*Onochonus.* A river of Thessaly. It appears that it fell into the Asopus, a good way below the mouth of the Enipeus. Its course, however, is not clearly settled. vii. 129, 196.

*Onuphis.* A town of Egypt, in the Delta: its nome is called Onuphites, by Herodotus, ii. 166. It was on the E as you ascended the Sebennytic channel.

*Ophryneum.* A town of Troad, on the shore of the Hellespont, between the town of Rhœtium and that of Dardanus; SW of the latter, E of the former. *m. n.* Renn-Keui

*Opis.* See *Ampa.*

*Orbelus.* (14.) long. 22. lat. 42, 5 A chain of mountains; N of Macedonia, NW of Pæonia; S of Dardania; E of Mount Scardus; between the Axius and the head of the Strymon These mountains are on the S frontier of Servia. Herodotus, however, does not mention this Orbelus; that which he speaks of, v. 16, was near the Pæonians dwelling on the Lake Prasias.

*Orchomenus.*—1. (16.) long. 22, 35. lat. 37, 40. A town of Arcadia, in the Peloponnesus; N of Mantinea; S of Pheneus; E of Psophis; W of Mycenæ and Argos. vii. 202. ix. 28.

2.—(16.) long. 23, 6. lat. 38, 30. A town of Bœotia; W of Lake Copais, near the Melas, which flows between that town and Aspledon. It is NE of Cheronæa. It sancient name was Minyæa. The inhabitants of this country, called the Orchomenii Minyæ, joined the Ionians, and founded Teos with the sons of Codrus. i. 146. viii. 34.

*Ordessus.* (14) Mouth in the Ister, long. 26, 40. lat. 44. A

river of Scythia, E of the Tiarantus, and W of the Naparis Its source is in the mountains of Transylvania: it falls into the Ister. *m.n.* Argischa, which flows through Bucharest, and falls into the Danube, five German leagues below that town. iv. 48

*Orestium.* A small town of Mænalia, in Arcadia; five or six leagues NW of Sparta, on the road from that town to the Isthmus. It is at a small distance E of Megalopolis, and SW of Tegea iv. 11

*Oricus.* A town and sea-port, on the S frontier of the Taulantii, one of the Macedonian towns, three miles from the island of Saso, N of the mouth of the Celydrus, S of that of the Æas ix. 92.

*Orneæ.* (16.) long. 22, 40. lat. 37, 35. A town of Argolis, in the Peloponnesus; N by W of Argos, on the right bank of a river of the same name. Its inhabitants were called Orneatæ. viii. 73.

*Oropus.* (16.) long 23, 50. lat 38, 20. A town of Bœotia, on the frontier of Attica, near the Euripus, on the river Asopus, twenty stades W of Delphinium, at no great distance E of Tanagra. vi. 100. *m n.* Oropo.

*Orthocorybantes.* They probably occupied the S part of Media, since called Corbiana, and now called Khorrem Abad. iii. 92.

*Ossa.* (15.) long. 22, 35. lat. 39, 50. A mountain of Thessaly, in Thessaliotis. Its S extremity touches Mount Pelion; its N extremity touches the Peneus. It commences, therefore, S of the Peneus, and the valley of Tempe. *m.n.* Kissabo. i. 56. vii. 128, 129.

*Othrys.* (15.) long. 22 to 23. lat. 39. A chain of mountains in Thessaly · it begins about the NE corner of the country of the Dolopes, N of the Sperchius: it extends from W to E along that river, diverging insensibly · having reached nearly the mouth of that stream, it bends N, and stretches from S to N by E, as far as the middle of the W coast of the Pelasgic gulf. This mountain, shooting into Phthiotis from S to N by E, divides that country in two parts, W and E. vii. 129.

*PACTOLUS.* (18.) Mouth into the Hebrus, long. 28. lat. 38, 30. A river which rises in Mount Tmolus, waters the city of Sardis, and then falls into the Hermus. it once brought down gold sand, but had ceased to do so in the time of Strabo. v. 101.

*Pactyica.* A country of Asia, mentioned only by Herodotus: its situation is therefore unknown iii. 93. vii. 67.

*Pactya.* (14.) long. 26, 50. lat. 40, 30. A town situate in the E part of the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus, on the Propontis. From Pactya to Cardia is a distance of thirty-six or forty stades. Miltiades raised a wall on this space, in order to preclude the Apsinthians from entering the Chersonesus. vi. 36. *m.n.* Palaia Patino.

*Padæi.* An Indian tribe, known only by what Herodotus states concerning them: he places them in the E part of India. In the Sanscrit, the Ganges is called Padda: it is assumed, therefore, that the Padæi inhabited on the banks of the Ganges. Now the only people known in antiquity,

as deriving their name from the Ganges, were the Gangaridæ· hence it is inferred, that the Padæi and Gangaridæ were one and the same people: now the Gangaridæ inhabited the E bank of the mouth of the Ganges. See Rennell, p. 310 If this conjecture is correct, and Herodotus did, in fact, know the real name of this distant tribe at so early a period, it constitutes a remarkable proof of his astonishingly extensive and deep research

*Pæania.* There were two small places in Attica of this name, the Upper and the Lower. they both belonged to the tribe Pandionis. Their situation undetermined. i. 60.

*Pæonia.* (14.) long 22. lat. 41, 31. A small town of Attica, above Lipsydrion, and near Mount Parnes. v 62.

*Pæonia.* A country of Thrace, extending more in length than breadth. It begins at Mount Scomius; stretches S, between Mounts Cercine and Pangæus. It comprises likewise the Pæonic plain, and Lake Prasias, S of Bisaltia The greatest part of that country is E of the Strymon. It extends likewise beyond Mount Cercine, as Doberus, called Pæonica on account of its position, is on the W bank of a river which falls into the Echidorus. v. 13. vii. 124, &c.

*Pæones.* The inhabitants of Pæonia in Thrace· they were divided in ten nations; the Pæonians near the river Axius; those of Mount Pangæus; those of the Lake Prasias; the Agrianes, the Doberes, the Graæi, the Leæi, the Odomanti, the Pæoplæ; the Siropæones. The Pæonians near the Axius, the Graæi, and the Leæi, are not mentioned by Herodotus: the different nations mentioned in v. 15, 16, are defined, under their respective names, in this Index.

*Pæones* about Mount Pangæus. They could not be subdued by the Persians. Their country was called Phyllis: see that word.

*Pæones* of the Lake Prasias. They dwelt on the lake itself, in houses standing on piles. See *Prasias.*

*Pæonic plain.* It lies S of the territory of Anthemus; and of Bisaltia, at a small distance W of Stagirus and the Strymonian gulf, W by S of the Syleus plain. It extended likewise to Lake Prasias. Xerxes having started from Acanthus on the Strymonian gulf, crossed Pæonica to join his fleet at Therma. vii. 124. v. 15.

*Pæonidas.* (16) long. 23, 50. lat 38, 7.

*Pæoplæ.* An extensive people of Thrace, and one of the ten Pæonian nations· they occupied a country in the NW of Thrace, between Mount Pangæus and the Strymon; S of the Leæi; N of the Doberes. There were some likewise near Lake Prasias, Bisaltia, the Pæonic plain, and Mount Dysorus. The Historian mentions both· the former, vii. 113.; the latter, v. 15.

*Pæum.* (16.) long. 22, 5. lat. 37, 50. A town of Arcadia, in Peloponnesus, belonging to that part called Azania. It probably was not far from the Ladon, and the fountan Clitor vi 127.

*Pæsus.* (18.) long. 26, 40. lat. 40, 20. A town of the Hellespont, on the Asiatic side, between Lampsacus S, and Parium N. v. 117.

*Pæti.* (14.) long. 26, 30. lat. 41, 10. A people of Thrace; N of the Apsinthii; E of the Hebrus; W of the Melas; consequently, between the Hebrus and the Melas. Xerxes crossed their country, before he arrived on the territories of the Cicones and Bistones. vii. 110.

*Pagasæ.* (14.) long. 22, 57. lat. 39, 20. A town of Magnesia, on the W coast of the bottom of the Pelasgic gulf, called likewise Pagasæan or Pagasitic gulf. The Argonauts embarked at this port for the conquest of the golden fleece. The gulf is now called Gulf of Bolos, pronounced Volos. The Turks call it Kolos.

*Pala.* (16.) long. 20, 26. lat. 38, 13. A town of the island of Cephallenia, on the W coast of a gulf bending inland, on the S part of the island. Polybius, v. 5, calls it ὁ Παλοῦς. *m. n.* Lixouri. ix. 28. The inhabitants were called Palenses · they constituted one fourth of the island of Cephallenia.

*Palæstina.* See *Syria* of *Palestine.*

*Pallena.*—1. A town of Attica, of the tribe Antiochis, on the road from Marathon to Athens. i. 62.

2.—(15.) long. 23, 30. lat. 40. A peninsula of Thrace, anciently called Phlegra. It shoots into the Ægæan sea, between the Thermæan gulf W, and the Toronæan gulf E: it was the theatre of war between the giants and the gods. Herodotus assigns eight towns to this peninsula; namely, Potidæa, Aphytis, Neapolis, Ægæ, Therambus, Sciona, Menda, Sana. vii. 123.

*Palus Mæotis.* A sea between Europe and Asia; communicating with the Euxine, by the Cimmerian Bosphorus. *m. n.* Sea of Zabache, or Asoph.

*Pamisus.* (15.) Mouth in the Peneus, long. 22, 2. lat. 30, 30. A river of Thessaly which falls into the Peneus, towards the N. Nothing more of this river seems to be known. vii. 129.

*Pamphylia.* (18.) long. 30 to 32. lat. 37. A small country of Asia Minor; bounded E by Cilicia Trachea; W by Milyas; SW by Lycia; S by the sea of Pamphylia; N by Pisidia. i. 28. iii. 90.

*Pangæus.* (14.) long. 24. lat. 42. A mountain: it begins NW at Mounts Scomius and Rhodope, stretches SE to the sea, towards Abdera and the mouth of the Nestus, which flows E of that mountain. It was inhabited by several tribes, most of them Pæonian; from N to S by the Pæoplæ, Doberes, Satræ, Dersæi, Pieres, and Sapæi. v. 16. vii. 92.

*Panionium.* (18.) long. 27, 2. lat. 37, 40. A territory and sacred place, at the foot of Mount Mycale, three stades from the sea, in the SW vicinity of Ephesus. This was the place of assembly for the deputies of the twelve Ionian cities. which are enumerated in the article Ionia.

*Panopæus.* (15.) long. 22, 50. lat. 38, 30. A town of Phocis; S of Parapotamii; E of Daulis; W of Orchomenus. viii. 34.

*Panormus.* A port of Milesia, in Ionia; not far from Ephesus. i. 157.

*Panthialæi.* A small tribe of Persia · following the order in which Herodotus places them, they must be E of the Pasargadæ; W of the Derusiæi. i. 125.

*Panticapes.* A river of European Scythia. It issues from a

lake N; flows towards the SW; crosses Hylæa; and falls afterwards into the Borysthenes, a little above the mouth of that large river. iv. 54. There is no such river to be found at the present day, and it is supposed that Herodotus mistook its real course: he alluded, probably, to the stream now called Samara, which loses itself in the Borysthenes, above Porowis. iv. 18, 47, 54.

*Panthimathi.* A small people of Asia: they were probably situate E of the Pausicæ; W of the Daritæ, S of the Caspian sea; N of the Mardi and of Hyrcania. iii. 92.

*Paphlagones.* (18.) long. 32, 30. lat. 41. A people of Asia, between the Parthenius W, and the Halys E. The Parthenius separated them, on the W, from the Asiatic Thracians, or Bithynians, the Halys divided them on the E from the Leuco-Syrians, or Cappadocians. They had a part of Phrygia and Cappadocia S, and the Euxine sea N.

*Papremis.* (26.) long. 31, 10. lat 31. A town of Egypt; capital of the Papremitan nome. Its site unknown. ii 59, &c.

*Paralatæ.* A Scythian people originally derived from Colaxais, who was king of the Scythians they are probably the Scythians whom Herodotus calls, elsewhere, the Royal Scythians. See *Scythæ.* iv. 6.

*Parapotamii.* (15.) long. 22, 55. lat. 38, 40. A town of Phocis, SE of Mount Parnassus; on the S bank of the river Cephissus (see *Cephissus* 1.); about forty stades SW of Chæronæa; N of Daulis; SE of Elatea. viii. 33. The territory of this town was the most fertile in Phocis.

*Parætaceni.* (23.) long. 50 to 56. lat. 31, 30. A people of Media; N of Persia; NE of the Orthocorybantes; W of Ecbatana of the Magi. i. 101.

*Paricanii:*

1. Paricanii. — These are taken by Rennell, 270, to be the same with the Paretaceni, the people of the E province of Media, which extends from Persis to the Caspian straits. Larcher places them between the Medes and the Orthocorybantes; SE of the former; NW of the latter. iii. 92.

2. Paricanii. — These composed the seventeenth satrapy, together with the Asiatic Ethiopians these latter, according to Larcher, are different from the Eastern Ethiopians; they are the same with the Colchians. See *Æthiopes* 1. He therefore infers, that these Paricanii were N of Colchis; between Caucasus and the Euxine. Rennell, however, who does not admit the difference between the Asiatic and the Eastern Ethiopians, places these Paricanii in the country of Gedrosia, *i.e.* Kedge, or Macran. iii. 94.

*Parii.* The inhabitants of the island of Paros. See *Paros.*

*Parium.* (18.) long. 27. lat. 40, 30. A town of the Hellespont, on the Asiatic side; NW of Pæsos and Lampsacus; W of Priapus. v. 117.

*Parnassus.* (15) long. 22, 30. lat. 38, 30. A mountain of Phocis. It is situate NE of the Crisæan gulf; SW of the river Cephissus. Parnassus was consecrated to the Muses, to Apollo, and to Bacchus: it is dry and sterile, well clad with firs, and

thrown about in glens: beyond those glens is found a plain, seven or eight miles in circuit. It is one of the highest mountains in Europe: it is distinctly seen at Corinth, which is more than eighty miles off· and were it detached from other mountains, like Athos, would be seen at a still greater distance. It is one long day's journey round, and is inhabited only towards the root, being dry and sterile.

It has several tops, like most mountains, although the poets assign only two to it, Hyampeus and Nauplia.

*Paroreatæ.* The inhabitants of Parorea, a town of Arcadia, in Peloponnesus. It was ten stades from Zœtia, fifteen from Thyrea; W of the former, E of the latter. The Paroreatæ, however, of Herodotus dwelt in Messenia, as is proved by the towns the Minyans built in their country, after driving them out. iv. 148.

*Paros.* (17.) long. 25, 10. lat. 37. One of the Cyclades islands, between Naxos E, and Oliaros W. It is well cultivated, rich in flocks, and full of red-legged partridges and wild pigeons· it was famous for its marble.

*Parthenius.* A mountain in Peloponnesus; S of the source of the Inachus; E of Tegea; W of the Argolic gulf, partly in Arcadia, partly in Argolis, a little above the road leading from Tegea to Argos. *m. n.* Parthenii. vi. 105.

*Parthia.* (23.) long. 55 lat. 35. Bounded W by the Mardi, E by Asia and Margiana; N by Hyrcania; S by Mount Parchoathras, which divides it from the Isatici, a people near Carmania Deserta iii. 93, 117. vii. 66.

*Patara.* (18.) long. 29, 20. lat. 36, 30. The capital of Lycia, in Asia Minor, some leagues E of the mouth of the Xanthus; W of the town of Myra; S of that of Pinara. i. 182.

*Patræ.* (16.) long. 21, 45. lat. 21, 45 A town of Achaïa, in the Peloponnesus, on the S coast of the W part of the Corinthiac gulf, about eighty stades N of the Pirus, which falls into the sea at Olenus. It is commanded by Mount Panachaicus. *m. n.* Patras.

*Patumos* (26) long 32, 20. lat. 30, 20. A town of the Arabic nome, the same as Heroopolis, situate at the extremity of the Arabic gulf. ii. 158.

*Pausicæ* They are mentioned only once by Herodotus. Larcher conjectures they sood E by S of the Caspians, W of the Panthimathi. in 93.

*Pedasus.* (18) long. 27, 50. lat. 37, 10. A town of Caria, in Asia Minor, situate inland; NE of Halicarnassus; E by S of Miletus; NW of Stratonicea, due N of Mylasa. i. 175. viii. 104.

*Pediecæ.* A town of Phocis, placed by Herodotus among the towns in the vicinity of the Cephissus. He is the only author who mentions it. viii. 33.

*Pelasgi* A wandering and vagabond people, originally of the country since called Argolis. Pelasgus, youngest son of Niobe, grandson of Phoroneus, and great-grandson of Inachus, disliking to live a private life, took with him some followers, to whom he gave his own name: with their assistance he took possession of Arcadia: soon after

he passed into Thessaly. The Pelasgi were driven from Thessaly about 156 years afterwards, by another horde of adventurers, who issued from Argolis, and were headed by another Pelasgus, from whom those new adventurers took likewise the name of Pelasgi. The ancient Pelasgi withdrew into Thesprotia the new Pelasgi, who had taken the place of the ancient in Thessaly, were driven from thence by Deucalion, about 1541 B.C. Some withdrew to Dodona in Thesprotia, and joined the ancient Pelasgi, from thence they passed into Umbria: others proceeded to Crete and Asia, where they formed some small states, which did not subsist any length of time. They who went to Umbria flourished there about three centuries, when they were driven away by the Tyrrhenians. the greatest part of these Pelasgi fled into Attica, but having been driven from thence in consequence of their overbearing conduct, they passed over to Lemnos and other countries. They remained in possession of that island 652 years, but at last Miltiades forced them to evacuate it, 510 years B.C. The Pelasgi then dispersed into various countries: some were incorporated with other nations, and became totally extinct; others founded in Asia the towns of Scylace and Placia, which were presently conquered by the neighbouring nations, others proceeded to Thrace, and were soon after subdued; in a word, they became extinct everywhere, and not the slightest trace of them remained. *Larcher.*

*Pelasgi Ægialees.* The name of the ancient inhabitants of that part of the Peloponnesus since called Achaia. vii. 94.

*Pelion mons.* (15.) long. 23. lat. 39, 20. In Magnesia, runs along the E coast of that country, and particularly of the peninsula formed by the Pelasgic gulf it shoots likewise inland towards the W source · according to Strabo, Lake Bœbeis was near its W extremity. *m. n.* Petra, or Samation. iv. 179 vii. 129.

*Pella.* (14) long. 22, 30 lat 40, 30. A town of Bottiæis, a region of Macedonia. It stood towards the sea, near a lake, from which issues the Loudias, one hundred and twenty stades from the mouth of that river, between Edessus W, and Thessalonica E. It became the capital of Macedonia, when Edessus had ceased to be so. It was indebted for its greatness to Philip, who was educated there; and to Alexander, who was born there. Its ruins are still to be traced. *m. n.* Palatia. vii. 123.

*Pellena.* (16.) long. 32, 32 lat. 37, 58. An ancient town of Achaia, in the Peloponnesus; SW of Sicyon; between Bura and Phlûs, but nearer to the latter. *m. n.* Blocoba, pronounced Vlócova. i. 145.

*Peloponnesus.* (16.) That is to say, Island of Pelops. A peninsula forming the most S part of Greece, so called from Pelops the Phrygian, who went and established himself in that country. *m. n.* Morea, from the Greek Μορέα, or the Latin *Morus*, on account of the resemblance it bears in outline to a mulberry-leaf, or on account of its producing many mulberry-trees.

Peloponnesus contained six

principal provinces; two in the S part; namely, Messenia W, Laconia E; two in the mid part; namely, Elis W, Arcadia E of Elis; two in the N part; namely, Achaïa W, and Argolis E.

*Pelusium.* (26.) long. 32, 30 lat. 31. A town of Egypt, towards the mouth of the canal; more than twenty stades from the sea. It is surrounded with lakes and marshes; it was muddy and filthy; hence, Ezekiel xxx. 15, 16, calls it Sin, an Hebrew word answering to the Greek πηλὸς, *mud.* It was as the key of Egypt, on the side of Phœnicia and Judæa, hence Ezekiel calls it the strength of Egypt: "And 'I will pour my fury upon Sin, 'the strength of Egypt; and I will cut off the multitude of No." From its situation, it was often an object of attack. The mouth to which it gave its name was the seventh, and most E. Some ruins are seen on its site, at a place called Tineh. Al Farma, or Farameh, is a modern town at no great distance from it.

*Peneus.* (15.) long. of mouth, 22, 40. lat. 39, 55. A river of Thessaly: it rises in Mount Ptous, part of Pindus: it flows S, and afterwards bends back to the NE, making many windings; rolls through the vale of Tempe; and afterwards falls into the Thermæan gulf, between Mount Olympus and Mount Ossa. This river anciently inundated Thessaly, not having any egress for its waters; but an earthquake having separated Ossa and Olympus, opened a passage for the river through the agreeable Valley of Tempe, between those two mountains. *m. n.* Salambria: its banks are thickly scattered with laurel or bay, hence the poets feigned that Daphne, the daughter of Peneus, had been metamorphosed into a bay-tree.

*Pentapolis:*

1. Pentapolis of the Dorians.—(17.) long. 28. lat 36 to 37. It comprised the towns of Lindus, Ialyssus, Camiros in the island of Rhodes, Cos in the island of the same name, Cnidus in Caria. It was formerly called Hexapolis, because Halicarnassus was then comprised in it. i. 144.

2. Pentapolis of Libya.—(25) long. 20 to 22. lat. 32 to 33. This name was given to Cyrenaica, on account of its five principal towns, Cyrene, Berenice, Arsinoe, Ptolemaïs, Apollonia. These five towns did not all exist in the time of Herodotus; and Cyrenaica was not then known by the name of Pentapolis. Berenice took the place of the Euesperitæ; Arsinoe that of Tauchira; Ptolemaïs was built in the vicinity of Barce; and being a sea-port, Barce was gradually neglected. Apollonia was, in the sequel, almost forgotten, when the town of Sozusa had been built at a small distance from it on the sea-side.

Those towns, though much degraded, are still in existence, and even their ancient names are still recognisable: they are called Curin, Bernic, Tolometa. Arsinoe has resumed its ancient name, and is called Taukera; Barce, near Ptolemaïs, is called Barca; and Apollonia, better known afterwards by the name of Sozusa, is now called Sosush.

*Percote.* (18.) long. 26, 40. lat.

39, 50. A town of the Hellespont; between Abydos S, and Lampsacus N. It was one of the two towns given to Themistocles by Artaxerxes. v. 117.

*Pergamum of Priam.* (18) long. 26, 20. lat. 39, 50. The fortress of Troy: it was situate in the loftiest part of the town, on the banks of the Scamander. vii. 43.

*Pergamus.* (14.) long. 24, 30 lat. 41. A town of the Pieres, in Thrace; W of Phagres; near the Pieric gulf; SE of Datos, since called Philippi, at the foot of Mount Pangæus. vii. 112.

*Perinthus.* (14.) long. 28. lat. 41. A town of Thrace, on the Propontis, according to Ptolemy and Pliny, on the Hellespont, according to Herodotus,—proof that the towns at a little distance from the Hellespont were regarded, though really situate on the Propontis, as belonging to the Hellespont. It was E of Bisanthe; W of Selybria; S of Tirallus. *m. n.* Rheglia, a considerable town, and the see of an archbishop. iv. 90. v. 2 &c. &c

*Perrhæbia.* (15.) long. 22 to 22, 30. lat. 39, 30. to 40°. A part of Thessaly, lying along the Peneus, towards the sea; between the confluence of the Pamisus and Peneus N, and the town of Gonnus, on the W beginning of the Vale of Tempe E, and the Titaresius N.

*Persia.* (23.) long. 50 to 55. lat. 30. Properly so called, was SE of Media; N and E of the N and E part of the Persic gulf, along the coast of the Erythræan sea, or Persic gulf.

*Persæ.* Properly so called, were divided into several tribes. Herodotus mentions those whom Cyrus assembled, when he resolved to shake off the yoke of Astyages, king of the Medes. This is the order he follows: the Pasargadæ, the Maraphii, the Maspii: the most illustrious, he adds, are the Pasargadæ; and among the Pasargadæ, the house or stem of the Achæmenidæ, from whence the Kings sprang: the other Persians are the Panthialæi, the Derusiæi, the Germani; all the above are husbandmen: the following are nomades, or graziers; to wit, the Dai, the Mardi, the Dropici, the Sargatii. See each of those words.

*Petra.* A place somewhere near Corinth, according to Herodotus, not mentioned in any other author. v. 92.

*Phagres.* (14.) long. 44, 30. lat. 41. A town of the Pieres of Thrace; E of Pergamus. vii. 112.

*Phalerus.* (16) long. 23, 40. lat. 37, 55. A port of Athens, on the Saronic gulf, S of the Ilissus, previous to the time that Themistocles undertook to fortify that of the Piræeus. From Phalerus to Athens was a distance of twenty stades. *m. n.* Porto, or Tripyrgi.

*Phara.* (16.) long. 21, 45. lat. 38, 4. A town of Achaia, in Peloponnesus, one hundred and fifty stades SW of Tritæa, near the Pirus, which falls into the sea about seventy stades off. i. 145.

*Pharbæthis.* (26.) long. 31, 35. lat. 30, 40. A town of Egypt, and capital of the nome of that name; a little above the island of Prosopitis, W of the Sebennytic branch of the Nile. ii. 166.

*Phaselis.* (18.) long. 30, 35. lat. 36, 40. A town of Lycia, in

Asia Minor, on the borders of that province and Pamphylia, in the S vicinity of a mountain called Climax, N of Olympus. It was a very considerable town, with three ports and a lake. It was a Dorian colony. *m. n* Fionta, pronounced Fionda ii 178.

*Phasis.* (21.) long. of mouth, 41, 30 lat. 42, 80. A river of Colchis, rising in the mountains of the Moschi, and falling into the Euxine: it is reckoned among the largest rivers of Asia *m. n.* Fasch, among the Turks, Rioni, among the natives. The islands and banks near the mouth of the Phasis abound in pheasants: the first specimen of that bird was said to have been brought from thence by the Argonauts.

*Pheneus.* (16) long 22, 20. lat. 37, 50. A town of Peloponnesus, in that province of Arcadia called Azania, at a moderate distance S by E of Nonacris, at a lesser distance from Cyllene. The Olbius, likewise called the Aroanius, flows near this place. Pheneus is fifty stades from a lake out of which issues the Ladon, flowing S, and falling into the Alpheus. *m. n* Phonia. vi. 74.

*Phigalia.* (16.) long. 21, 57. lat. 37, 20. A town of Arcadia, near which flows the river Neda, rising in Mount Lycæus. This town is situate in an elevated and rugged spot, and the greatest part of the walls are built at the foot of the rocks: at the top of the mountain is seen a level plain. vi. 83. The ruins of the walls of Phigalia are still seen, opposite a miserable hamlet, now called Pávlitza, in a situation which, by its terrific beauties, surpasses any perhaps in Switzerland or Savoy. On the summit of the mountain, left of Phigalia, and called Cotylius, stood a temple of Apollo Ἐπικουρίος, so named for having assisted the Phigalians during a pestilence: the situation of this temple is the most striking and sublime that the author of these pages ever beheld, it is surrounded by vast forests of oak, and from its entrance are seen the gulfs of Messenia and Arcadia, the Strophades, and good part of the Messenian plain. It was here that the Phigalian frieze, preserved in the British Museum, was discovered, by a company of ardent and industrious artists of different nations. Thirty-six columns of this monument are still remaining upright: hence the *m n.* Tas Colonnais.

*Phla.* An island of the Lake Tritonis. Shaw observes, that though there are several islands in that lake, there is one very large, filled with palm-trees. iv. 178.

*Phlegra.* The ancient name of the peninsula of Pallena. viii. 123. See *Pallena.*

*Phliasii.* The inhabitants of Phlius and its territory. ix. 28.

*Phlius.*—1. (16) long. 22, 54. lat. 37, 32. A town of Argolis, on the Argolic gulf; SE of Prosymna and Nauplia; NW of Asine. *m. n.* Drepano, or Thermisi. This is supposed to be the town whose inhabitants are mentioned, ix. 28. There was, however, another Phlius: see the following article.

2.—(16.) long. 22, 40. lat 37, 50. A town on the confines of Sicyonia, in Peloponn-

nesus, built first at the root of Mount Cœlossa: it was called Aræthyræa, and afterwards Phliasia. Its inhabitants having moved to a distance of thirty stades on the banks of the Asopus, which divides Sicyonia from Asopia, their town took the name of Phlius. It is between Sicyonia, Argolis, Cleonæ, Mount Stymphalus, S of Sicyon, N by W of Nemæa, SE of Pellena, SW of Corinth. *m. n.* formed by the combination of the article and preposition (see the article *Cos*), *Sta-Phliaca.*

*Phocæa.* (18.) long. 26, 50. lat. 39, 10. A town of the Ionians, in Lydia of Asia Minor, near the mouth of the Hermus, and at the bottom of a small gulf forming part of the bay of Cyma. It derived its name, probably, from the quantity of seals which frequent the gulfs of Cyma and Smyrna. *m. n.* Phokia, a miserable village.

*Phocæans.* Φωκαίεες. The inhabitants of Phocæa. They must be carefully distinguished from the Phocians. See *Phocians.*

*Phocis.* (15.) long. 22, 30; to 23°. lat. 38, 25. to 38, 50. A country of Greece, between Locris and Bœotia, E of the former; W of the latter. It was once very extensive, for it stretched from the gulf of Corinth to the sea of Eubœa · it even extended to the Pass of Thermopylæ, but the Opuntian Locrians, and the Epicnemidian Locrians, having taken possession of the most N part of Phocis to Mount Œta, the Phocians were confined in narrower limits. Phocis is narrow in its S part towards the Crisæan gulf, which is the N or NW part of the Corinthian gulf. This country was celebrated by the temple of Delphi, and Mount Parnassus.

*Phocians*; Φωκεῖς, Gr., Phocenses, Lat; Phocidiens, Fr. The inhabitants of Phocis some of them joined the Ionian colony. i. 146.

*Phœnicia.* (20.) long. 35, 10 lat. 30. A country of Asia, of which the limits have not always been the same. Some people make it stretch from N to S, from the Syrian Pylæ, or straits, to Pelusium others more properly confine it S by Mount Carmel and Ptolemais. It is very certain that after the conquest of Palæstine by the Hebrews, Phœnicia was confined within rather narrow limits; it possessed nothing in the country of the Philistines, that is to say, in Palæstine, which occupied almost the whole tract, stretching from Mount Carmel, along the Mediterranean, to the frontier of Egypt · neither did Phœnicia extend far inland, because the Israelites confined it on the Mediterranean coast. When Phœnicia, therefore, is mentioned, great attention must be paid to the date. Before Joshua had conquered Palæstine, all this country was occupied by the sons of Ham, divided into eleven families, the most powerful of which was that of Canaan, founder of Sidon, and head of the Canaanites, properly so called, to whom the Greeks gave the name of Phœnicians: they were the only ones who preserved their independence, not only under Joshua, but likewise under David, Solomon, and the kings his successors they were afterwards subjected by the kings of Assyria, and of Chaldæa, by the Persians, the

Greeks, &c. The Phœnicians anciently possessed some places on Mount Lebanon · sometimes even the Greek authors comprise the whole of Judæa under the name of Phœnicia.

In the time of Herodotus, Phœnicia began N at Posideium; but in the time of Xenophon, its first town was Myriandrus on the Issic gulf, which station is still more N than Posideium.

*Phœnicians:* the people of Phœnicia. They were said to have come from the shores of the Erythræan or Red sea, to establish themselves on the sea-shore of Syria. In consequence of their skill in navigation, Necos, king of Egypt, sent some of their nation to circumnavigate Africa; an enterprise which, however it may gall the vanity of the moderns, they certainly performed. iv. 42. There were likewise some Phœnicians established in Sicily, according to Herodotus. v. 46. They were probably Carthaginians.

*Phœnix.* (15.) long. of mouth, 22, 42. lat. 38, 55. A small river of Malis, which falls into the Asopus, near its mouth. It flows near Thermopylæ, and the pass is very narrow in that quarter. vii. 176. It must not be confounded with another river of the same name in Thessaly, which falls in the Apidanos.

*Phrixæ.* (16.) long. 21, 50. lat. 37, 38. A town of Elis, in Triphylia, on the frontier of Arcadia, in the vicinity of Æpium. iv. 148.

*Phrygia.* (18.) long. 29; to 33, 30. lat. 38. A province of Asia Minor; E of Lydia; W of Leuco-Syria, or Cappadocia; S of Galatia, which was a dismemberment of it; N of Lycia and Pisidia. i. 28. vii. 73.

*Phrygians.* The inhabitants of Phrygia. They had formerly dwelt in the vicinity of the Macedonians: they were then called Briges. vii. 73.

*Phthiotis.* (15.) long. 22, 10; to 23°. lat. 39. A small province of Thessaly: its bounds were, W Thessaliotis; N Pelasgiotis, NE Magnesia; E the Pelasgic gulf; S the Maliac gulf, Mount Œta, and the Epicnemidian Locrians.

This part of Thessaly was likewise called Achaïa. Herodotus makes of this Achaia a country different from Thessaly. Pausanias informs us likewise, x. 8. that the emperor Augustus ordered Phthiotis to be placed among the provinces of Thessaly. i. 56. vii. 132.

*Phyllis.* A small country of Thrace: bounded N by the Angitas, S by the Panæi and Edonians; E by Mount Pangæus; W by the Strymon, which divided it from the country of the Odomanti, and that of the Syropæonians. It was inhabited by the Pæonians of the vicinity of Mount Pangæus. vii. 113.

*Pieres.* (14.) long. 24. lat. 41. A small people of Thrace, originally from Pieria in Macedonia. Having been expelled that country by the Macedonians, they entered Thrace, crossed the Strymon and Edonis, and established themselves E of Mounts Pangæus and Orbelus. Their chief places were Pergamus and Phagres. Their territory extended to the sea, which, shooting inland, formed the gulf called Sinus Piericus. vii. 112, 185.

*Pieria.* (14.) long. 22, 30. lat. 40 A country S of Lower Macedonia, on the Thermæan gulf; bounded S by the Cambunian mountains; N by Bottiæis; W by Mount Bermius; E by the Thermæan gulf. vii. 181, 177.

*Pilorus.* (14.) long. 23, 50. lat. 40, 20. A town, not on Mount Athos, as the Index Rerum to Herodotus says, but in the E part of Sithonia; SE of Assa; N of Singos. vii. 122.

*Pindus.*—1. (14.) long. 21, 30. lat. 39, 30. A mountain of Thessaly, or rather a chain of mountains, consecrated to the Muses, and inhabited by different nations of Epirus and Thessaly; amongst others, the Athamani, the Molossi, the Æthices, the Perrhæbi. It separated Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus, having Macedonia N, the Perrhæbi and Dolopes E.

2.—(15.) long. 22, 25. lat. 38, 40. Called Cyphas, one of the four towns of Doris. It was watered by a river of the same name, which falls into the Cephissus, near Lilæa. It was E of Erinæus, N of Cytinium. When Herodotus says that the Hellenes driven out of Histiæotis by the Cadmeans went and established themselves in Pindus, he means this town and its territory. i. 56.

*Pirene.* A fountain in the citadel of Corinth: it was celebrated and consecrated to the Muses. v. 92.

*Pirus.* (16.) long. of mouth, 21, 40. lat. 38, 10. A river of Achaïa in Peloponnesus: it flows by Tritæa, Teuthea, Phara, and falls into the sea at Olenus, about forty stades E of Dyma. The Teutheas, which rises in Mount Erymanthus, falls into the Pirus between Tritæa and Teuthea. Strabo calls this stream Melas; although, in the days of Pausanias, it still bore the name of Pirus, Πεῖρος. i. 145.

*Pisa.* (16.) long. 21, 35. lat. 37, 40. A town of Elis in Peloponnesus; on the N bank of the Alpheus, near Olympia, standing opposite, on the S bank, one thousand four hundred and eighty-five stades from Athens. Some vestiges of this place are found between Miraka, and Antilalla, pronounced Andilalla. Olympia and Pisa seem, from their situation, to have been frequently confounded, as, in England, Gosport, Portsmouth, and Portsea. Be that as it may, Pausanias, in his description of Olympia, mentions a portico, the real name of which was Pœcile; but by many called the portico of the Echo, because it repeated the sound of the human voice seven times, and not unfrequently more often. It is not a little remarkable, that Ἀντιλαλία, the name of the Turkish village near which the remains of the stadium are traced, signifies *Echo.* ii. 7.

*Pistyrus*, or *Topiris.* (14.) long. 24, 50. lat. 40, 20. A town of the continent of Thrace, in the W neighbourhood of the mouth of the river Nestus, between Abdera and Phagres: for Xerxes, marching from Doriscus, came to Abdera; then crossed the Nestus; found afterwards, on his road, Pistyrus; and, lastly, Phagres. Pistyrus is therefore necessarily in the country of the Sapæi. Larcher supposes the reading in Herodotus to be corrupt for Topiris. vii. 109, 113.

*Pitana.* (18.) long. 26, 50. lat. 38, 40. A town of Æolis in Asia Minor; thirty stades N of the mouth of the Caïcus, on the Elaïtic gulf, between Elæa S, and Atarneus N. According to Strabo and Vitruvius, bricks were made in this place, which swam in water. It was watered by a small river called the Evenus. i. 149.

*Placia.* (18.) long. 28, 10 lat. 40, 30. A town of the Hellespont, or rather Propontis, a colony of Pelasgi, E of Cyzicus, W of Scylace. i. 57.

*Platæa.* (16.) long. 23, 37. lat. 38, 10. A town of Bœotia on the Asopus; towards the head of that river, on the confines of Megaris and Attica, at the N foot of Mount Cithæron; between that mountain and Thebes, near the road leading to Athens and Megara. See the Tabulæ Herodoteæ. There was a temple to Jupiter Eleutherian or Liberator, erected on the field of battle. The Platæans celebrated, every five years, games called Eleutherian, near that altar. They every year performed solemn sacrifices and anniversaries to the Greeks who had lost their lives in that country, fighting for the common liberty. *m. n.* Cocla.

*Plinthinites Sinus.* (26) long. 29. lat. 31. A gulf serving as the W boundary to Egypt, in the same manner as Lake Serbonis was its E boundary. *m. n.* Arabs' Gulf. ii. 6.

*Plynos.* (25.) long. 25. lat. 31, 30. A port of Libya, at the W extremity of the Adyrmachidæ, in the E vicinity of Catabathmus Magnus; W of Parætonium, which is almost at the E extremity of the Adyrmachidæ; from whence Plynos was very distant. iv. 169.

*Pogon.* (16.) long. 23, 30. lat. 37, 30. The port of the Trœzenians, situate opposite the small island of Calauria, S of Methane and the port Schœnites, N of Hermione. It took its name, probably, because it stretched before the town of Trœzen, as a long beard before the chin. viii. 42.

*Polichna.* A small town of the island of Chios.

*Polichnitæ.* The inhabitants of Polichna in Crete· *polichna* signifies a small town. It was in the vicinity of Cydonia. vii. 170.

*Pontus,* Πόντος This term was invented, by the Greeks, to signify the Mediterranean sea and its different parts; and not to signify the Pontus Euxinus, the Caspian sea, the Palus Mæotis, or the Ocean, which they were not acquainted with, at their first establishment in Greece. It was an appellative noun, signifying "sea." When they had become acquainted with that great sea which lies between the Propontis and the Palus Mæotis, they called it Πόντος ἄξεινος, afterwards Πόντος εὔξεινος, and, at last, Πόντος simply, so that the word Πόντος became by degrees the proper name of that sea: still, it did not lose its quality of an appellative or common noun, but preserved it principally in compound words, for instance, in the word Ἑλλήσποντος, signifying "the sea of Hellen"· it likewise preserved that sense when it was with εὔξεινος. Whenever, therefore, it signified such or such sea in

particular, it was not as a proper name, but only as a common name determined by some epithet or circumstance.

*Pontus Euxinus*—is situate between Asia and Europe; having Colchis to the E. This sea was formerly called Πόντος ἄξεινος, that is to say, "inhospitable," on account of the barbarity of the people who inhabited its banks, but that name was afterwards changed into that of *Euxinus*, εὔξεινος, when they had become more civilized, by their intercourse with other nations. Some of the ancients likewise call it Cimmerian, on account of the Cimmerians who once resided in the vicinity of this sea. Herodotus calls it the Borean or Northern sea, in contradistinction of the Erythræan sea, which lay S. Its commercial towns were called Pontica Emporia. Rennel is of opinion that Herodotus gives too great an extent to this sea. *m. n.* Mar Maggiore in Italian; Black Sea in English

*Porata.* (14.) long. of mouth, 28, 10. lat. 45, 30. A river of Scythia; to which the Scythians give that name, and the Greeks Pyretos. *m. n.* The Pruth. It rises in the Bastarnian Alps, that is to say, in that part of Mount Kzapak bordering on Bukhovine: it crosses that country and Moldavia, and falls S in the Danube (Ister), on the confines of Bessarabia, below Axiopolis. iv. 48. It now forms the boundary between the Turks and Russians.

*Porthmia.* A place of the Tauricus Chersonesus, at the entrance of the Palus Mæotis. iv. 12, 45.

*Posideĭum.* (19.) long. 35, 55. lat. 35, 50. A town built by Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus, on the frontier of Cilicia and Syria; opposite the island of Cyprus; in the vicinity of Antiochia, the Issic gulf, and the mouth of the Orontes; S of Seleucia, surnamed Pieria; SW of Antiochia; N of Laodicæa. Syria began at this place, in the time of Herodotus; but afterwards it began more N, at the Syrian pylæ or straits. iii. 91.

*Posidonia.* (13.) long. 15. lat. 40, 30 A town of Œnotria, in Italy: that country afterwards partly belonged to the Lucanians. This town was likewise called Pæstus, or Pæstum; the Latins have likewise called it Neptunia. It gave to the neighbouring gulf the name of gulf of Pæstus, or Posidonia. It was situate about the middle of that gulf, fifty stades from the temple of Juno, built by Jason. Posidonia was a colony of Sybaris. *m. n.* Pesto, the ruins of which are very celebrated, and visited by most travellers who reach as far as Naples. i. 167.

*Potidæa.* (14.) long. 25, 20. lat. 40, 10. A town of Thrace, in the peninsula of Pallena; at the entrance of the isthmus joining it to Chalcidice; on the E bank of the Thermæan gulf; about sixty stades from Olynthus: N of Suna, S of Lipaxos. vii. 123. viii. 127, &c.

*Præsos*, or *Prasus.* (17.) long. 25, 10. lat. 35, 2. A small town of Crete, in the S part of the island, towards its E extremity: it belonged to the Cretans Autochthones or Eteocretes. It was W of prom. Samonium, E of Hierapytna, S by E of Olûs; due S of Camara; N of Mount Dicte. viii. 170, 171.

*Prasias.* A lake in Thrace; at

no great distance from Macedonia; pretty near the Strymonian gulf; S of the town of Datos, since called Crenides, and afterwards Philippi. There were gold mines in the neighbourhood, probably those to which Herodotus alludes, v. 17. Mount Dysorum was not very far off; from whence the way into Macedonia was very short, as the Historian observes. D'Anville confounds this lake with that of Bolbe, but there does not seem to be any authority for the confusion. *m. n.* Lake Polyanes, Πολυανῆς λίμνη.

*Priene.* (18.) long. 27. lat. 37, 40. One of the twelve Ionian towns; situate in Caria, at the foot of Mount Mycale, NW of Myus and Thymbria, E of the island of Samos, S of Panionium. The country of Bias, one of the seven sages. *m. n.* Palatia. i. 15, 142.

*Proconnesus.* (17.) long. 27, 30. lat. 40, 30. An island of Propontis; N W of the island of Cyzicus. The towns of Priapus in Asia and Heraclea in Europe looked towards its W extremity, and the gulf Astacenus its E extremity. It was from Proconnesus that was procured the fine marble, called the marble of Cyzicus; and it is for that the island has now the name of Marmara. iv. 13, 14. vi. 33.

*Propontis.* (17.) long. 28. lat. 40, 30. A sea which communicates with the Euxine by the Thracian Bosphorus, and with the Ægean by the Hellespont. *m. n.* Sea of Marmara, or White Sea.

*Prosopitis.* (26.) long. 31. lat. 30, 20. An island of Egypt, between the Saïtic branch W and the Sebennytic E. This island became famous by the siege which the Athenians suffered there eighteen months, when they had come to the assistance of Inaros, who had revolted againt Artaxerxes. Thucyd. i. 104, 109.

*Psylli.* (25) long. 17° to 20°. lat. 30°. A people of Libya, dwelling S of and towards the middle of the Great Syrtis, now the desert of Sort. iv. 173.

*Psyttalea.* (25.) long. 23. 35. lat. 37, 55. A small island situate in the Saronic gulf, between the island of Salamis E and the W coast of Attica. vii. 76, 95.

*Pteria.* A small country forming part of Cappadocia, near Sinope, a town situate on the Euxine sea. Its capital bears the same name. i. 76.

*Ptoum.* A temple of Apollo, belonging to the Thebans; situate above Lake Copaïs, at the foot of Mount Ptous, near the town of Acræphia. viii. 135.

*Pydna.* (14.) long. 22, 30. lat. 40, 20. A town of Pieria, near the W border of the Thermæan gulf, as that of Ænia on the E border of the same bay: Pydna was SW, and nearly opposite Ænia.

*Pylæ.* The name given by the inhabitants of Trachinia to the place called by the Greeks Thermopylæ. See *Thermopylæ.* vii. 201.

*Pylos.* There were three towns of this name in Peloponnesus; one in Messenia, and the two others in Elis:—

1. Pylos of Messenia. (16.) long. 21, 40. lat. 36, 50. Situate on the W coast of Peloponnesus, N of Methone, which is the last town of Messenia SW; near and towards the island of Sphacteria, which sheltered its port from the winds.

2. Pylos of Elis. (16.) long. 21, 45. lat. 37, 50. Stood on the Ladon, which falls in the Peneus: it was in the W neighbourhood of Opus, SE of Elis, E of promontory Chelonites.

3. Pylos Triphyliacus. (16.) long. 21, 50. lat. 37, 30. In that part of Elis called Tryphylia, thirty stades from the sea, on the river Angrus, N of and very near to Lepreum, E of Samicum, W of Macistus. Its proximity to Lepreum caused it sometimes to be called Pylos Lepreaticus This town had the honour of having Nestor for king.

*Pyrene.* A town in the country of the Celts, near which the Ister or Danube rose. It has been remarked, that near the source of the Danube are two small rivers, one of which is called Die Bregen, and the other Die Prigen, from which the neighbouring country has taken the name. Now Brige is a Celtic word, which signifies 'burnt,' and approaches very close to Pyrene, which has the same meaning; Πυρὴ, Ionically for πυρὰ, signifying 'a pyre.' ii. 33.

*Pyretus.* See *Porata.*

*Pyrgos.* (16) long. 21, 45. lat. 37, 22. A town of Elis in the Peloponnesus, situate on the river Pyrgos, at a short distance from the mouth of the Neda, which separates Elis from Messenia. It was one of the six towns built by the Minyæ. iv. 148.

*Pytho*, or *Delphi.* (15.) long. 22, 30. lat. 38, 30. A town of Phocis, situate in a valley towards the SE foot of the crest of Parnassus, called Tithorean. It was E of Amphissa, and W of Daulis. It was called Python, from the Greek πύθεσθαι, because the serpent killed by Apollo rotted in that place. It was also called Delphi, either from Delphos the son of Apollo, or from Δελφίνη, the name of the serpent which guarded the rock where the oracles were afterwards rendered. This town was celebrated for its temple of Apollo, and its oracles: it is only sixty stades from the port of Cirrha. i. 54.

*RHEGIUM.* (13.) long. 15, 40. lat. 38, 5. A town situate at the foot of the boot of Italy, opposite Zancla or Messana, a little more to the S, on the strait now called Faro di Messina, which separates Italy from Sicily. This town was afterwards called Rhegium Julium, in distinction of Rhegium Lepidi, a town of Cisalpine Gaul in Modonese. *m.n.* Reggio. At this place, as well as at Taranto and Malta, jackets, gloves, socks, and other articles of dress, are made out of a sort of fish-wool (that is to say, the silky filaments or down of certain shell-fish): those articles are exceedingly light and warm. i. 176, 177. vii. 160.

*Rhenæa.* (17.) long. 25, 5. lat. 37, 20. An island in the W neighbourhood of Delos; S of the island of Tenos, N of that of Paros. Strabo asserts, that it was desert, and used as the burial-place of the inhabitants of Delos; because the latter being sacred ground, it was unlawful to bury the dead there. Both islands are now called Sdili. vi. 97.

*Rhodus.* (17.) long. 28. lat. 36. An island situate S of Doris in Asia Minor; NE of the island of Crete; and W of Lycia. It is one hundred and twenty-five R.

miles in circuit, according to Pliny; five hundred and seventy-eight R. miles from Alexandria, and one hundred and sixty-six from Cyprus. This island, like many others, had risen up from the bottom of the sea: the tradition appears to have been common in Pindar's time.

*Rhodes.* (17.) long. 28, 7. lat. 36, 28. A celebrated town, capital of the island of the same name: it is modern, in comparison with the other towns of the same island. It was founded 408 B. C.; and thither were transferred most of the inhabitants of Lindus, Ialyssus, and Camirus.

This town was distinguished by its maritime power, its commerce, its riches, its magnificent buildings, its numerous statues carved by the most skilful statuaries, and, above all, by the colossus of the sun, which was seventy-eight cubits high, and the work of Chores of Lindus, the disciple of Lysippus: this town was still more celebrated by the illustrious men it produced. It was first the ally of the Romans, and afterwards subjected to the Romans it passed under the dominion of the Greek emperors; but when the French and Venetians had taken possession of Constantinople, the Genoese conquered it. The Grand Master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem took possession of it in the sequel: at last, it fell into the hands of the Turks, the first of January 1533, after an obstinate and bloody siege.

*Rhodian Sea.* This name was given to that part of the Ægæan sea which was in the vicinity of the island of Rhodes. i. 174.

*Rhodope.* (14.) long. 24° to 26°. lat. 41° to 42°. A mountain of Thrace, beginning NW at Mount Scomius, and towards the source of the Nestus. It stretches from NW to SE, almost through the whole of Thrace, S of the Hebrus and of Mount Hæmus, or at least as far as the bend made by the Hebrus, where it directs its stream S. *m. n.* Valiza, and Despote Giæli iv. 49.

*Rhœteum.* (18.) long. 26, 20. lat. 40. A town of Troad, on the shore of the Hellespont; on an eminence near the tomb of Ajax; E of promontory Sigeum; W of Ophrynium. There was seen here the statue of Ajax; which Antony took into Egypt, but Augustus sent it back to Rhœteum.

There was also, about the same place on this coast, a promontory called Rhœteum, four miles distance from that of Sigeum, *m. n.* Capo Barbieri.

*Rhypes.* (16.) long. 22. lat. 38, 25. A town of Achaia in Peloponnesus, thirty stades W of Ægium; a little less E of Bolina, whither Augustus transferred the inhabitants of Rhypes after he had destroyed it. It was at a small distance S of the shore of the Corinthian gulph. i 145.

*SACÆ.* A people of Asia: they dwelt E of Sogdiana; N by E of Bactriana, S of Asiatic Scythia; W of Mount Imaus; N of Mount Paropamisus. The Sacæ were probably Scythæ Amyrgii: see that article. The Persians gave the name of Sacæ generally to all the Scythians; and there is nothing to hinder us from comprising them under the name of Asiatic Scythians. xii. 64.

*Sagartii.* (23.) long. 46. lat. 35.

A nomade or pastoral people, and one of the Persian tribes they were probably E of the Dropici; W of the Gandarii. They must have been very powerful, since they furnished eight thousand horse to Xerxes's army. i. 125. iii. 93. vii. 85.

*Sais.* (26.) long. 30, 50. lat. 31. A celebrated town of Egypt, near Naucratis, between the Canopic and Saitic canals, about five miles E of Naucratis, which being on the Canopic canal, was more W. ii. passim.

*Sala.* (14.) long. 26. lat. 41. A town of Thrace, on the coast of the Ægæan sea, near the W mouth of the Hebrus; E of Zona, and W of Ænos. Herodotus gives the epithet of Samothracian to this town, not because it was situate in the island of Samothrace, but because it was in a quarter of the continent possessed or inhabited by the Samothracians. vii. 59.

*Salamis.* (17.) long. 23, 30. lat 37, 55.—1. An island situate in the Saronic gulf, towards the SW coast of Attica, opposite Eleusis There was a temple of Minerva Sciras on the S side of the island. Strab. ix. *m n.* Coulouri. viii. 56, &c.

2.—(19.) long. 34 lat 35, 10. A town in the island of Cyprus, in the E part, towards the place where commences the promontory called the κληίδες τῆς Κύπρου. *m. n.* Costanza. iv. 162. v. 104, &c.

*Salmydessus.* (18.) long. 28, 5 lat. 41, 30. A town and port of E Thrace, on the Euxine; NW of Byzantium, E of the sources of the Tearus; S of Apollonia and Mesambria; N of Perinthus or Heraclea, and of Selybria, towns situate on the Propontis. *m. n.* Midgeh, according to D'Anville; Stagnara, according to Meletius. iv. 93.

*Samos.* (17.) long. 28. lat. 37, 40. An island of Ionia, in the Ægæan, or rather in the Icarian sea; separated by a narrow channel from Mycale, Panionium, and Priene. It is opposite and NW of Miletus. This was the favourite seat of Juno; in whose honour a magnificent temple was erected near the shore, twenty stades from the town This island was famous for its pottery · indeed, the Samians were said to be the inventors of that manufacture. The capital bore the same name as the island, and was situate at the beginning of the strait which divides the island from Ionia.

*Samothrace.* (17.) long. 25, 40. lat. 40, 30 An island situate opposite the mouth of the Lissus; NW of the entrance of the Hellespont; E of Mount Athos. It was first called Leucosia; and afterwards Samos, because anciently the Greeks gave that name to elevated places it was subsequently called Samothrace, that is, Thracian Samos, both because it was inhabited by Thracians, and was near Thrace. Its first inhabitants were Sinthi Thracians. The Pelasgi passed over into this island, after they had taken possession of Lemnos; but were afterwards driven away. *m. n.* Samandrachi.

*Samothraces.* They were not only the inhabitants of the island of Samothrace, but also of a part of the continent of Thrace, towards the coasts of the N vicinity of the island of Samothrace, and W of the mouth of the Hebrus.

Herodotus mentions, as Samothracian towns, Mesambria, Sala, and Zona, which are on the continent of Thrace. vii. 108, 59.

*Sana.* (14.) long. 23, 20. lat. 40, 5. —1. A town of the peninsula of Pallena, near the E shore of the Thermæan gulf, between Potidæa and Menda; S of the former, and N of the second. vii. 123. Not the same as the place mentioned in vii. 22. See the following article.

2.—(14.) long. 23, 50. lat. 40, 50. A Greek town situate in the Acanthian isthmus, or that of Mount Athos; near the canal dug by Xerxes; and on the E shore of the Singitic gulf; N by W of Cleonæ, W of Dium. It was turned towards that side of the sea which looks at the island of Eubœa. It was a colony of the island of Andros. vii. 22. This town and the foregoing are improperly confounded in the Latin Index Rerum to Herodotus.

*Sapæi.* (14.) long. 24; to 24, 30. lat. 41, 10. A people of Thrace, dwelling on the sea-shore, W of Abdera and the Nestus; SE of the Pieres: their territory was bounded on that side by mountains: they were S of the Dersæi, and N of the island of Thasos. Strabo observes, that they dwelt in the neighbourhood of Abdera, and in the islands near Lemnos: he calls them Sapæ. vii. 110.

*Sarangæ.* (23.) long. 60. lat. 30, 30. A people of Asia, nearly at equal distances from Persia properly so called, and from the Sacæ. They are separated from Persia S by immense deserts, N by E from the Sacæ by the Mardi, and by Bactriana. They were bounded SE by Arachosia; N by W by Asia; SW by Germania or Carmania.

*Sardinia.* (13.) long. 9. lat. 40. Anciently Sardo; an island in the S vicinity of the island of Cyrnus or Corsica, and N of Africa. This island was so named from Sardus, one of the sons of Hercules, who came from Libya to establish himself there with a numerous colony. Pliny observes, that Timæus called it Sandaliotis, from its resemblance to a sandal, a sort of shoe used by the ancients, consisting only of a sole fastened round the instep by thongs: he adds, that Myrsilus called it Ichnusa, because it resembles the mark left on the sand by a man's foot, from the Greek ἴχνος. i. 170. v. 106, 124. vii. 165.

*Sardonium Mare.* The name given to that part of the Mediterranean sea which was in the neighbourhood of the island of Sardinia. ii. 166.

*Sardes.* (18.) long. 28. lat. 38, 35. An ancient town, the capital of Lydia, situate between the Caystrus S, and the Hermus N; at the foot of Mount Tmolus, on the Pactolus, a river which, coming down from Mount Tmolus, and rolling gold sand with its stream, crosses the middle of the public square of the town. N of Sardis was a large plain, watered by several rivulets, flowing in part from a neighbouring hill SE of the town, and partly from Mount Tmolus. The citadel was on the E side, or E by S of the town, on a rugged and precipitous rock; so that, before the invention of gunpowder, it might be regarded as impregnable.

This town was large, rich, and

populous. The kings of Lydia, whose capital it was, had greatly embellished it. Conquered by the Persians, and subsequently by the Macedonians, it became the residence of the Persian satraps, and afterwards of the Macedonian governors. Under the dominion of the Romans, it preserved its splendour and dignity, and was one of the first towns of the province of Asia: it continued to be a considerable town under the Greek emperors, till it was taken by Tamerlane. It is now only a miserable village, consisting of a few huts, inhabited by shepherds, who graze their flocks on the neighbouring plain.

*Sarpedonium Prom.* (14.) long. 26, 10. lat. 40, 40. A promontory of Thrace, mentioned by no other author. Herodotus says, that the fleet of Xerxes, standing out of the Hellespont, steered W, and made for promontory Sarpedonium, and then the coast of Doriscus: it appears, therefore, that this cape must have been at the W beginning of the N shore of the gulf of Melas, or Sinus Melanes, as the maps from D'Anville improperly term it. vii. 58.

There was in Cilicia a promontory of the same name, celebrated by the treaty of peace between the Romans and Antiochus "neve navigato citra Calycadnum, neve Sarpedonem, promontoria." Tit. Liv. xxxviii. 38. Herodotus does not mention this latter.

*Sarta.* (14.) long. 24. lat. 40, 2. A town of Sithonia, on the W shore of the Singitic gulf; S of Singus; N of promontory Ampelos. vii. 122.

*Saspires*, or *Sapires*. They were W of the Caspii, SE of the Colchians, NW of Matiana, and S of the Alarodii, from whom they were probably separated by the Cyrus or Kur. They comprised, therefore, a small portion of modern Georgia. This supposes Matiana to be a part of Media; because between that country and Colchis there lay only the country of the Saspires. i. 104. *Larcher.*—Rennel makes them occupy the line between the Matiene and Colchis; in modern geography, the E part of Armenia: but Herodotus, iv. 37, seems to have been misunderstood by that illustrious geographer. See his work, p. 277.

*Satræ.* (14.) long. 23, 30. lat. 42. A people of Thrace. They inhabited N of the Dersæi, on either side of the Nestus, between Mounts Pangæus and Rhodope; and, to all appearance, they occupied also, beyond Mount Pangæus, a part of N and E Edonis. Thus it is easy to conceive how Xerxes' army, having entered Edonis from the country of the Dersæi, penetrated into that of the Satræ through Edonis. vii. 110. See *Bessi.*

*Sattagydæ.* A people of Asia, in the same satrapy with the Gandarii, Dadicæ, and Aparytæ. Their situation is not clearly ascertained; and it would be incompatible with the limits of this Index to enter into a discussion of the various opinions proposed relative to the situation of this and other Asiatic nations mentioned in the enumeration of the satrapies. iii. 91.

*Sauromatæ.* They were Scythians, who, having married some Amazons, separated from their

countrymen. They crossed the Tanaïs; advanced three journeys E; and as much from the Palus Mæotis, ascending N. They occupy a country fifteen journeys across. They are S of the Budini, whose territory is covered with forests and all sorts of trees; although in that of the Sauromatæ neither wild nor fruit trees were to be seen. They were named Sauromatæ by the Greeks, and Sarmatii by the Romans· they occupied the isthmus of Zaritzin formed by the Wolga. Rennel, p. 89.

*Scamander.* A small river of the Troad, which the Iliad has rendered celebrated for ever. It rises in Mount Ida, towards the E part of that mountain· its mouth is in the E vicinity of Sigeum. It forms, towards the sea, some muddy marshes; and receives S the Simois a little above the new town of Troy v. 65. vii. 48.

*Scapte Hyle.* (14) long. 25, 50. lat. 41. Σκάπτη Ὕλη. An excavated mine or forest. A small town of Thrace, situate near to, if not on, the sea-side, W of Abdera, N of and opposite the island of Thasos. vi. 46.

*Sciathus.* (15) long. 23, 30. lat. 39, 10. An island situate at the entrance of the Thermæan gulf. opposite Magnesia, a country of Thessaly, Mount Pelion, and Ipnæ. *m. n.* Sciatho. vii. 179, &c.

*Scidrus.* A town of Italy, the site of which is not known for a certainty: it was probably somewhere between Laos and Sybaris. vi. 21.

*Sciona.* (14.) long. 23, 20. lat. 40. A town of the peninsula of Pallena, near the E shore of the Thermæan gulf, NW of Thermbus, S of Menda. vii. 123.

*Scironis Via.* (16.) long. 23, 15. lat. 37, 55. It extended from the isthmus of Corinth to Megara, and led into Attica. It had been levelled, for the convenience of foot-passengers: it was afterwards widened, by the command of the emperor Adrian; and in the time of Pausanias, two chariots might pass abreast. In one place, this pass forms a sort of gorge, bounded by large rocks; one called Molouris, very famous as the place from whence Ino was said to have dashed herself into the sea with Melicertes her youngest son, after her husband had killed Learchus, her eldest son The neighbouring rocks were celebrated by the robberies and cruelties of Sciron; who in olden times dwelt about these places, and used to seize travellers, and hurl them into the sea. viii 71.

*Scius*, alias *Oscius.* (14.) long. 24, 30. lat. 43, 50. A river of Thrace, rising in the W part of Mount Rhodope. It crosses Mount Hæmus, nearly about the middle of that mountain range· it then cuts across the E part of the Triballic plain, between that plain and the country of the Crobyzi Thracians; and falls into the Ister, a good way above the river Tiarantus (which, flowing out of Scythia, falls into the same river on the opposite side), and much nearer the Artanes, which waters the country of the Crobyzi Thracians before it falls into the Ister. It is the Scæos of Strabo, the Oscios of Thucydides, and the Œscus of Pliny. iv. 49. *m. n.* Isker, or Ischar.

*Scolopoeis.* It was certainly a river of Asia Minor, flowing

towards Priene and Mycale, between Priene and Mycale, N of the Mæander. ix. 97.

*Scolus.* (16.) long. 23, 28. lat. 38, 17. A small town of the territory of the Thebans, on the S bank of the Asopus, S of Thebes, NE of Hysiæ and Erythræ, N of Eteonus, and near the root of Cithæron. ix. 15.

*Scoloti.* The name which the Scythians give to themselves. iv. 6.

*Scopelus.* (17.) long. 23, 40. lat. 39, 6. A small island of the Ægean sea, between Sciathus and Halonesus, E of the former, W of the latter, fifteen miles N of the N extremity of the island of Eubœa. It preserves its ancient name.

*Scylace.* (18) long. 28, 15. lat. 40, 10. A small town which was a colony of Pelasgi; E of Cyzicus and Placia, N of Mount Olympus, and on the S shore of the gulf of Cianus or of Cios. *m. n.* Siki. i. 57.

*Scyrmiadæ.* (17.) long. 27° to 28°. lat. 41, 30. A small people of Thrace; situate W of Apollonia and the Euxine, S of the Nipsæi, and consequently of the Getæ. iv. 93.

*Scyros.* (17.) long. 24, 30 lat. 38, 40. One of the Cyclades, where Achilles, at the court of Lycomedes, disguised as a girl, had Neoptolemus, by Deidamia, the king's daughter. This island is E of Eubœa, W of Lesbos, N of Andros, S of Peparethus. *m. n.* Sciro.

*Scythæ:*—

1. Scythæ Amyrgii.—There is every appearance that this people dwelt in Asia, and not in Europe, since they served in the army of the Persians. They took their name, no doubt, from a plain called Amyrgium, in the country of the Sacæ. vii. 64.

2. Scythæ Auchatæ. — They dwelt on the banks of the Hypanis, a river rising in their country, now called Podolia.

3. Scythæ γεωργοί.—They are the Scythians whom the Greeks resident on the banks of the Hypanis called Borysthenitæ, but who called themselves Olbiopolitæ. They dwelt between the Borysthenes and the Panticapes, on a tract of country three journeys over towards the E, and towards the N a country of eleven days' navigation up the Borysthenes They fed on corn, and the other fruits of the earth, for which reason they were called γεωργοί, to distinguish them from those of the following article.

4. Scythæ ἀροτῆρες —In their country, the streams of the Tyras (Dneister) and the Hypanis (Bog) approach one another, leaving but little space between them, towards Podolia. They cultivated corn, not for their own food, but for sale.

5. Scythæ nomades — They dwelt beyond the Panticapes, E of the Scythæ γεωργοί, on a tract of land of fourteen journeys, as far as the river Gerrhus.

6 Scythæ Regii.—A numerous nation beyond the river Gerrhus, their W boundary. They extend S as far as Taurica, N to the Melanchlæni, E to the trench dug by the sons of the blind slaves, and to Cremni, a staple on the Palus Mæotis: some extend them as far as the Tanais. They regard the other Scythians as their slaves.

7. Scythæ ἀπὸ τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων ἀποστάντες. They dwelt beyond and E of the Iyrcæ.

*Scythia.* A vast country separated S from Thrace by the Ister: it extends N to the countries occupied by the Agathyrsi, the Neuri, the Androphagi, the Melanchlæni, and the Budini; and E along the Euxine sea and Palus Mæotis to the Tanaïs or Don.

*Sebennytica urbs.* A town of Egypt, which gave its name to one of the channels of the Nile, and to a nome: it appears that that nome was between the Sebennytic and the Bucolic channels. *m. n.* Samanud.

*Sebennyticum ostium.* The mouth of one of the seven principal channels of the Nile; which begins at the vertex of the Delta, cuts it down the middle, and falls into the sea a little below the town of Buto.

*Selinus.* (13.) long. 12, 45. lat. 37, 35. A town of Sicily, on the W coast of the island, SE of promontory Lilybæum, NE of promontory Hermæum in Africa. It is built near the river Hypsa, and at the E mouth of the small river of Selinus; so called from the Greek word σέλινον, *wild parsley*, which grew in abundance on its banks. The river gave its name to the town which Virgil calls Palmosa. Its inhabitants were driven away by the Carthaginians. The ruins yet subsisting give a very high idea of the splendour of the place. v. 46.

*Selybria.* (14.) long. 28, 15. lat. 41. A town of Thrace, on the coast of the Propontis, twenty-five miles E of Perinthus, thirty-five miles W of Byzantium. *m. n.* The same as the ancients, pronounced Selyvria.

*Sepia.* A place of Argolis, which, according to Herodotus, must have been in the territory of Tiryns, between Nauplia and Tiryns, but nearer the latter than the former. vi. 77.

*Sepias.* (15.) long. 23, 25. lat. 39, 10. A strand and promontory at the E point of the S coast of Magnesia, at the entrance of the Thermæan gulf. This shore was likewise called Iolcos. *m. n.* Cabo Monasteri. vii. 183, 186, 188, 190, &c.

*Serbonis Lacus.* (26.) long 33. lat. 31. Was between Egypt and Palestine; E of Mount Casius; W of Rhinocolura or El-Arisch. This lake is parallel to the Mediterranean, from which it is separated only by a very narrow strip of land. The sand, which is constantly drifting in it by the S wind, gives it the appearance of solid ground; and armies, deceived at the sight, have been swallowed up in it. The fable says, that Typhon was laid at the bottom of this lake. *m n.* Sebaket Bardoil.

*Seriphus.* (17.) long. 24, 30. lat. 37, 10. An island placed by some among the Cyclades, by others among the Sporades. It is S of the island of Cythnos, N of that of Melos, W of that of Paros, E of the Hermionic gulf, SE of promontory Sunium. A rugged and stony island, used by the Romans as a place of transportation. *m. n.* Serpho. viii. 46, 48.

*Sermyla.* (14.) long. 23, 30. lat. 40, 15. A town of Sithonia, in Thrace, on the E coast of the Toronæan gulf, between Mecyberna and Galepsus, SE of the former, NW of the latter. vii. 122.

*Serrhium.* (14.) long. 25, 40. lat. 40, 50. A celebrated promon-

tory of the Ægean sea, on the coast of Doriscus, in the vicinity W of Zona, SE of Mesambria, and between the Hebrus and the Lissus. It was a mountain jutting into the sea. D'Anville calls it, by mistake, Sarrum. vii. 59.

*Sestos.* (14.) long. 26, 30. lat. 40, 10. A town of the Thracian Chersonesus, on the Hellespont. The coast at this place juts into the sea, opposite Abydos. Sestos is celebrated by the loves of Hero and Leander. It is completely ruined. *m. n.* of its site, Zemenic.

*Sicania.* (16.) long. 12, 10; to 15, 10. lat. 36, 13; to 38, 15. This island was previously called Trinacria, on account of its three promontories: the Sicanians, having established themselves there, gave it the name of Sicania. Thucyd. vi. 2. The Siculi, having afterwards driven away the Sicanians, gave it the name of Sicily, which it still bears. vii. 170.

*Sicanians.* See Thucyd. vi. 2.

*Sicilia.* See *Sicania.*

*Sicyon.* (16) long. 22, 45. lat. 38. The capital of Sicyonia in the Peloponnesus, S of the Corinthiac gulf, one hundred stades N of Phlius, the same distance NW of Corinth, one hundred and twenty-three stades NE of Pellina. *m. n.* Basilica. v. 67, &c.

*Sicyonia.* A small state of Peloponnesus, S of the Corinthiac gulf, E of Achaïa, W of Corinthia. v. 68.

*Sidon.* (20.) long. 35, 20. lat. 33, 35. A town of Phœnicia, on the shore of the Mediterranean sea, in a fine plain, with a good port. One of the most ancient towns in the world. It was founded one thousand seven hundred and thirty years B. C. and one hundred and forty before the building of Tyre. It was twenty-six miles N of Tyre, thirty miles S of Berytus, seventy miles W of Damascus. *m. n.* Zaid. ii. 116. iii. 136.

*Sigeum.* (18.) long. 26, 15. lat. 40. A promontory of the Troad. It is in the W vicinity of the mouth of the Scamander. There was in that quarter a large lake, called Stomalimne, which had an issue into the sea. *m. n* Cape Genisari. iv. 38.

*Sigeum.* A town of the Troad, at no great distance from Troy; sixty stades from the town of Rhœteum, coasting the land; one hundred from Tenedos. It is now a miserable village, which the Turks used to call Genisari: they now call it Gaurkioi. It was here that was found the famous Sigean inscription, written in the *βουστροφηδὸν* style, that is to say, the lines running alternately right and left: the slab served as a bench before the church door. v. 65, 94.

*Sigynnæ.* This nation was situate, according to Herodotus, beyond the Danube. Their probable bounds were, N the Carpathian mountains, S the Ister, E the Agathyrsi. In this situation they would have had for neighbours, S the Veneti, or Eneti, who had extended their possessions down to that river. See Veneti, v. 9. Horses exactly similar to those described by the Historian were seen in the allied army which invaded France in 1814: they came from the quarter above defined.

*Sindus.* A town in Mygdonia of Macedonia, W of Therma, between Therma and the mouth of the Axius. vii. 123.

*Sindica regio.* A country of Asia, or, perhaps, even of Europe, touching on the Cimmerian Bosphorus and the Euxine sea. It is E of the Euxine sea, SE of the Cimmerian Bosphorus: it is bounded N and E by a part of Caucasus. *m. n.* Kuban. iv. 28, 86.

*Singus.* (14.) long 23, 50. lat. 40, 10. A town of Thrace, in the E part of Sithonia, on the W shore of the Singitic gulf, to which it gave its name it was S of Pilorus, N of Sarta. *m. n.* Porto Figuero. vii. 122.

*Sinope.* (18.) long 35, 10. lat. 42. A town of Paphlagonia, on the Euxine sea, SE of promontory Carambis; N of the mouth of the Halys, in the isthmus of a peninsula where the Cimmerians established themselves, when, driven from their country by the Scythians, they came into Asia, opposite the mouth of the Ister or Danube. *m. n.* Sinub. iv. 12. It was the country of the famous Cynic Diogenes, who was buried at Corinth.

*Siphnos.* (17.) long. 24, 40. lat. 37. It is one of the Cyclades. It is situate W of Paros, N by E of Melos, S by E of Seriphos. This island was very rich by reason of its mines, but their situation now can hardly be pointed out. *m. n.* Siphano. viii. 46.

*Siris.* (13.) long. 16, 35. lat. 40, 15.—1. A town of Lucania in Italy, at the mouth of the river Siris, now called Senno. The Ionians changed its name to Polieium. viii. 62. vi. 127.

2. Siris, a town of Pæonia in Thrace. It was the capital of the Siropæones, and had probably communicated its name to that part of the nation. viii. 115.

*Siropæones.* One of the eight Pæonian nations, according to Herodotus; or rather of the ten, according to Thucydides, ii. 98. They had S the Bisaltæ and the Odomanti, N the Sinthi or Saii, E the Strymon, W the Mædi, and a chain of mountains separating them from Crestonia. 15.

*Sithonia.* (14.) long. 23, 30; to 24. lat. 40. A peninsula of Thrace, between the Toronæan and Singitic gulfs. In this peninsula were found the following towns; from SE to NW, Torone, Galepsus, Sermyla, Mecyberna, and Olynthus, all of which were on the Toronæan gulf, excepting Olynthus, which was above the extremity of that gulf. On the W shore of the Singitic gulf stood the following towns, from N to SE, Assa, Pilorus, Singos, and Sarta. vii. 122.

*Siuph.* A town of Egypt, in the Saitic nome. Major Rennel thinks it is the place now called Sauafe, which he places on the E bank of the Canobic channel. ii. 123.

*Smila.* (14) long. 23. lat 40, 20. A town of Thrace in Crosæa, on the E bank of the Thermæan gulf, NW of Campsa and Gigonos, S by E of Ænia. The situation of the towns of Crosæa is very inaccurate, in most maps. vii. 123.

*Smyrna.* (18.) long. 27. lat. 38, 30. One of the Ionian towns, situate near the N part of the isthmus of the peninsula of Clazomenæ, on a gulf called the Smyrnæan gulf. It is a very ancient town. The Meles flows along its walls. At the source of that river is a cave, where it is pretended Homer composed

his poems: hence Tibullus calls Homer's poems Meleteæ Chartæ, for Smyrna claimed the honour of his birth. There was at Smyrna an Homerium, that is to say, a temple of Homer, with a square portico. The Smyrnæans had likewise a brass coin, which they called Homerium.

The town of Smyrna was built in part on the declivity of a hill, and in part in a plain towards the port, where was seen the temple of the mother of the gods, and the Gymnasium. The streets of the town were paved, and as much as possible at right angles. Smyrna was adorned with large square porticoes several stories high, and a fine library. It is still a very considerable town; the next for commerce to Constantinople, in the Ottoman dominions.

*Sogdiana.* (23.) long. 62 to 70. lat. 40. A country of Asia, between the Oxus (*m n* Gihon), which divides it from Bactriana and the Jaxartes (*m. n.* Sirr), which divides it N from the Nomades. *m. n.* Sogd or Samarcand. iii. 93. vii. 66.

*Soli.* (19.) long 33. lat. 35, 10. A town in the island of Cyprus, on the banks of the river Clarius, on a barren eminence: it was then called Apeia. By the advice of Solon to Philocyprus, one of the kings of the island, the town was transferred to a neighbouring and fertile plain: in this new situation, it stood on the bank of a river, with a port opposite Cilicia, N of promontory Carias, E of promontory Acamas, S W of that of Crommyon. The new town was called Σόλοι, from Solon. *m. n.* Solia. v. 110.

*Soloeis.* (25) long. 9. lat. 32, 40. A promontory of Libya, the first met with as one goes from Egypt, after passing the Columns of Hercules. ii. 32. It is, therefore, the promontory now called Cape Spartel.

*Solymi.* The same people as the Milyæ. See *Milyas.*

*Sparta*, or *Lacedæmon*, (16.) long. 22, 35. lat. 37, 7. The capital of Laconia, in Peloponnesus: it was surrounded below and above, towards Arcadia, by Mount Taygetus. On the left, coming from Tripolitis, were found Mount Thornax, and that called Menelæum. The Eurotas flowed between those two mountains and the town. This city was not surrounded with walls: its site, the valour of its inhabitants, and, more than all, the laws of Lycurgus, served it as ramparts. On an eminence, nearly in the centre of the place, was seen a temple of Minerva, which was called Chalcicœcos, being of brass. The site of Ancient Sparta is now called Paleochori, a corruption of παλαιὰ χώρα. Mistra is about four or five miles from the ruins.

The name of Lacedæmon, which originally signified Laconia, and the territory of Sparta, was afterwards given to the capital itself.

*Sperchius.* (15.) long. mouth, 22, 37. lat. 38, 55. A river which comes from the country of the Æniancs, in the most distant part of Mount Œta, passed by Hypata, and discharges its waters in the Maliacus Sinus, near Anticyra. vii. 198, 228.

*Sphendale.* A town of Attica, between Decelea and Tanagra. ix. 15.

*Stagirus.* (14.) long. 23. 40. lat. 40, 40. A Greek town on the W shore of the Strymonic Bay, between Amphipholis N, and Acanthus S, in the NW vicinity of Mount Athos. The birth-place of the immortal Aristotle. vii. 115. *m. n.* Stauros, pronounced Stavros.

*Stentoris lacus.* (14.) long. 26. lat. 40, 45. A lake of Thrace, formed by the E mouth of the Hebrus, in the S vicinity of the town of Ænos, E of the plain of Doriscus, from which it is separated by the Hebrus, and W of the gulf Melas. vii. 58.

*Stenyclerus.* (16.) long. 22, 4. lat. 37. A town of Peloponnesus in Messenia, near the bottom of the Messeniac gulf. § *m. n.* Nissy.

*Struchates.* A people of Media, NW of the Arizanti, E of the Matiani and the Darnæi, S by E of the Saspires, W of the Paretaceni. i. 101.

*Stryma.* (14.) long. 25, 50. lat. 40, 52. A town and colony of the Thracians, in Galaïca, or Briantica in Thrace, on the coast of the Ægæan sea, in the vicinity W of the Lissus. It preserves its ancient name. vii. 108, 109.

*Strymon.* (14.) long. 23, 50. lat. 40, 50. A river of Thrace, which rises in Mount Scomius, pretty near the place where that mountain joins that of Rhodope. It then crosses the countries of the Agrianes, Graæi, Leæi, Pæoplæ, Doberes, Odomanti, Panæi: it then flows all round the town of the Nine Ways, which thence took the name of Amphipolis; after which it passes by Eïon, where it falls into a bay of the Ægæan sea, to which it gives the name of Sinus Strymonius. The *m. n.* of the bay is Contesa, or Orphani.

*Stymphalis lacus.* (16.) long. 22, 40. lat. 37, 50. A lake towards the N part of the E frontier of Arcadia in Peloponnesus; W of Alea, and E of Orchomenus. *m. n.* Zaracas. It is, properly speaking, nothing more than a spring, which forms in winter a lake. The river Stymphalis issues from that lake; but in summer, the lake being dry, the river proceeds immediately from the spring. At some distance from thence, it precipitates itself under ground, and re-appears in Argolis, where it takes the name of Erasinus. vi. 76.

*Styra.* (16.) long. 24, 15. lat. 38, 15. A town of the island of Eubœa, in the neighbourhood of Carystus. The inhabitants were of the Dryopean nation, but disdained to bear the name. The island of Ægilia belonged to them. vi. 107.

*Styx.* (16.) long. 22, 40. lat. 37, 57. A fountain dripping from a rock near Nonacris, in the vicinity of the Aroanian mountains, in the N part of Arcadia: it falls into the Crathis. vi. 74.

*Sunium.* (16.) long. 24. lat. 37, 40. A promontory of Attica, the point where the E and S shores of that country meet. There was a port or roadstead at this promontory, and a town of the same name, celebrated by the fine temple of Minerva Sunias. Some of the columns of the temple still subsist, and give to the promontory the name of Capo Colonni. There was likewise in this place a temple of Neptune. vi. 87. iv. 99.

*Susa.* (23.) long. 48. lat. 32. The capital of Cissia, on the E bank

of the Choaspes. The part of Cissia where this capital was situated was called Susiana, from Susa, the name given in the Scriptures to this town. After the reign of Cyrus, the kings of Persia passed the winter at Susa, the summer at Ecbatana, the spring at Babylon, and the autumn at Persepolis: in winter, the climate was mild at Susa, but in summer the heat was excessive. *m. n.* Souster, Schouster, or Touster. Major Rennel, however, is of opinion that it was nearer Babylon than Toster, p. 334.

*Sybaris.* (13.) long. 16, 30. lat. 39, 40. A town of Italy in Lucania, on a bend of the W coast of the gulf of Tarentum, at the mouth of the river Sybaris (*m. n* Sybari), which watered the N side of the town, as the Crathis did the S side. The effeminacy of its inhabitants, who were of Achæan origin, was proverbial vi. 127.

This town having been destroyed three or four times, and as often re-established, the Athenians sent to Sybaris ten vessels with men, under the guidance of Lampon and Xenocritus. They founded a new town near Sybaris, in a place where they found a fountain: they called it Thurium, from the name of the fountain Thuria. The fountain is now known by the name of Acqua che favella. Herodotus, forty years of age, and the orator Lysias, fifteen, were of the colonists.

*Syene.* (26.) long. 32, 55. lat. 24, 10. A town of Thebaïs on the E bank of the Nile, towards the confines of Ethiopia, one hundred stades below Philæ, half a stade above Elephantine. It was directly under the Tropic of Cancer. This town was destroyed at the conquest of Egypt by Omar, and rebuilt a little lower down. *m.n.* Assuan. ii.27.

*Syleus campus.* It was in Chalcidice of Thrace; between Stagyrus, Arna, and Arethusa, towns on the W shore of the Strymonic gulf, with the exception of Arethusa, which was contiguous to Lake Prasias vii. 115.

*Syme.* (17.) long. 27, 50. lat 36, 34. A small island situate in the Sea of Rhodes, between Cnidus and Rhodes. *m. n.* Symi. i. 174.

*Syracuse.* (13) long. 15, 20. lat. 38, 8. Formerly a very large and powerful city, the capital of the island of Sicily; on the E coast, a little S, N of the river Anapus (now Anapo), S of the Lesser Hybla, or Megara. *m. n.* in Sicilian, Saraguśa; in other languages, Syracuse. The birthplace of Theocritus and Archimedes.

*Syrgis.* A river which issues from the country of the Thyssagetæ, flows from NE to SW: it is E of the Tanais, crosses the country of the Mæotæ, and falls into the Palus Mæotis. *Larcher.* According to Bayer, Wesseling, and Rennel, it is the same with the Hyrgis, but Larcher is not of that opinion iv. 123.

*Syria.* (19.) A country of Asia. In the Scriptures, Mesopotamia and Cœlesyria alone constitute Syria; but, according to the ancient authors, it comprises Palestine, Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, the country of Babylon, and Assyria. The most celebrated

authors among the ancients limit Syria, properly so called; N by the gulf Issicus, and S by Egypt and Arabia Petræa.

*Syria Palæstina.* Herodotus is the most ancient writer we know of that mentions Syria of Palestine: he places it between Phœnicia NE, and Egypt SW. It formed part of Great Syria. It had Syria N, and Arabia S; so that its length ran from Syria Antiochiana to Egypt and Arabia; but, confined in breadth by the Hebrews, it occupied but a very narrow territory along the coasts. This country is called Falestin by the Arabs, from whence comes the name of Philistines, found in the Scriptures. Consequently, the country of the Philistines is that part of Palestine towards the shore which remained in the hands of the ancient inhabitants of the country

*Syrians.* See Assyria. vii. 63. The Cappadocians were known by this name · some authors call them Leuco-Syrians, but Herodotus invariably calls them Syrians.

*Syrtes.* They are two broad and shallow gulfs, which shoot pretty far inland, on the coasts N and NW of Libya, between Cyrenaica and Carthage. They are exposed to the N and E winds; and as the bottom is of sand which yields to the force of the winds and waves, the soundings are constantly varying. There are two Syrtes, the Greater and the Lesser, more than two hundred miles asunder.

1. The Greater Syrtis, (25.) long. 18. lat. 32. is due N of Libya, bounded by Cyrenaica, or rather by the Cabales and the Auschisæ, and the W by the promontory of the Triremes (τριήρων ἄκρον), which D'Anville improperly calls Triæorium promontorium "The natives," says Marmol (quoted by Rennel), "call this gulf Syrte al Kibbeer, which has precisely the same meaning with the ancient name." At the bottom of this gulf is the town of Sort, which gives its name to a neighbouring desert.

2. The Lesser Syrtis, (25.) long. 28. lat. 34. is S of Carthage, and shoots inland W. The Lotophagi are E, the Machlyes SW, the Ausenses W by N, and the Maxyes a little farther NW. It is likewise called Syrtis Lotophagitis. *m. n.* Gulf of Gabs.

*TACHOMPSO.* (26) long. 32, 50. lat. 23, 5. An island above Elephantine, belonging rather to Ethiopia than to Egypt, although peopled in part by Egyptians, and in part by Ethiopians ii. 29.

*Tænarum.* (16.) long. 22, 30. lat. 36, 17 A promontory of Laconia in Peloponnesus; at the extremity of the S coast, between the Messeniac gulf and that of Laconia It is the most S part of Greece, remarkable by a temple of Neptune in the middle of a coppice. *m. n.* Cape Matapan or Maina. It was forty stades from the town of Tænarum. vii. 168.

*Tamynæ.* (17.) long. 24. lat. 38, 6. A town of the island of Eubœa, near the W coast, and in the territory of Eretria. vi. 101.

*Tanagra.* (16.) long. 23, 40. lat. 38, 20. A town of Bœotia, near the Asopus, E of Thebes, W of Oropus, two hundred stades E by N of Platæa, thirty

stades S of Aulis. The country of Corinna, the beautiful and successful rival of Pindar in lyric poetry. *m. n.* Tenagra. ix. 15, 43, &c.

*Tanais.* A large river of Europe in Russia, which rises near Tula, capital of a government of the same name. Herodotus says, iv. 57, that it issues from a large lake; in which he agrees with the best geographers of the present day, who represent this river as springing from Lake St. John, called Iwan Osero. At first, it flows from N to S, and after being increased by the waters of the Sosna, near Pawlowsk or Nowo Pawlowsk in the government of Woronetz, and crossing a large extent of country from W to E, it again directs its course from N to S, making many windings, at last it divides into three arms, which begin to extend below Tscherkask, and falls into the Palus Mæotis, or Sea of Zabache, below Asoph and Lutik. *m. n* Don.

*Tanis.* (26.) long. 31, 55. lat. 31. A town of Egypt, situate between the Mendesian mouth of the Nile W, and the Pelusiac mouth E. It gave its name to a nome, ii. 166, and to the second mouth of the Nile.

*Tarentum.* A town of Italy in Iapygia. situate at the inner corner of the heel of the boot, on a gulf to which it gave its name, a little E of the mouth of the river Galesus. *m. n.* Taranto. It was a great place of traffic, and the passage between Greece and Magna Græcia.

*Tarichæ Pelusiacæ.* It was not so much the name of a town, as of a place near Pelusium, where the embalmed bodies of men and animals were kept. See Wesseling on ii. 15. The name of Tarichеæ was, by this reason, common to several places in Egypt. Herodotus mentions another, near the Canobic mouth ii. 113.

*Tartessus.* (10.) long. 7, 30. lat. 36, 30. A town situate between the two arms by which the river Bætis (of Spain), now the Guadalquivir, used to discharge itself into the sea. One of the arms of the Guadalquivir has disappeared; and the site of Tartessus must have been somewhere between Cadiz and San Lucar de Barrameda. The territory of Tartessus was famous for its silver mines.

*Tauchira.* (25.) long. 20, 30. lat. 32, 11. A town of Cyrenaica, in the territory of Barce, at the W extremity of Cyrenaica, and near the territory of the Cabales. vi. 171.

*Tauri.* The inhabitants of the Tauric Chersonese They were a separate nation. They likewise inhabited the tract N of the gulf Carcinitis, between Carcinitis and the Palus Mæotis, N of the Euxine sea, and extending to the Palus Mæotis; as likewise on the Race of Achilles, W of the gulf Carcinitis.

*Tauricі montes:* otherwise Taurus Scythicus. They were near the Palus Mæotis, iv. 3; and must not be confounded with Taurus, the mountain of Asia. See the following article.

*Taurus.* (18.) long. 31° to 38°. lat. 37° to 38°. A mountain of Asia, the greatest that we know of, particularly by its extent. This range begins W in Caria; and extends not only to the E

extremity of Asia, but also towards the N, sending out branches more or less broad and lofty. It received different names, according to the different countries or nations its branches run through. It was called *Taurus* in Cilicia, where it extends from W to E, as far as the Euphrates; *Amanus*, from the Issic or Myriandric gulf to the Euphrates; *Anti-Taurus*, from the W frontier of Cilicia (S to NE) to Armenia and the Euphrates; *Taurus* and *Niphates* (W to E by N) to Armenia, *Matiani* mountains, in the country of the Leuco-Syrians, about the sources of the Halys, to those of the Araxes and Phasis: *Moschian* mountains, S of the Phasis, between the Phasis and the bend of the Euphrates, where that river turns to flow S; *Amaranta*, N of the Phasis, between the Phasis and Mount Caucasus, *Caucasus*, from the N part of the Euxine sea to the N part of the Caspian; *Hyrcanian* mountains, towards Hyrcania, and more E of Parapamisus, Imaus, &c. In some places, Mount Taurus left openings and passages, to which the name of Gates, πύλαι, was given. These were the Caspian Pylæ, the Cilician Pylæ, &c.

Taurus was properly the name given to that part of this immense range which separates Phrygia and Pamphilia from Cilicia.

*Taygetus.* (16.) long. 22, 30. lat. 37. A mountain of Laconia in Peloponnesus, situate W of the Eurotas river. It begins at promontory Zenarum, extends N to opposite Sparta, and then joins the mountains of Arcadia. This mountain is now occupied by a lawless tribe called the Maimiotes.

*Tearus.* (14.) long. of mouth in the Contadesdus 27°. lat. 41, 20 A river of Thrace, which flows from E by N to W, and falls into the Contadesdus. It has thirty-eight sources gushing from one and the same rock, some of which are hot, and some cold. iv. 90.

*Tegea.* (16.) long. 22, 30. lat. 37, 30. A town situate on the E frontier of Arcadia in Peloponnesus, S of Mantinea, N of Sparta. *m. n.* Moklia.

*Telus.* (17.) long. 27, 10. lat. 36, 20. A small island of the Carpathian sea, and one of the Sporades; S of promontory Triopium, which is at the W extremity of the Ceramic gulf, W of the gulf Doris, SE of the island of Nisyros, W of that of Rhodes, E of those of Astypalæa, Anaphe, and Thera. vii. 153. *m. n.* Episropia.

*Temnos.* (18.) long. 27. lat. 38, 30. A town of Æolis, situate at the N mouth of the Hermus, near the gulf of Smyrna, SE of Phocæa, NW of Smyrna. *m. n.* Menimen. I cannot conceive why it is called an island, in the Index to Herodotus.

*Tempe.* (15) long. 22, 40. lat. 39, 50. A celebrated valley of Thessaly, athwart which flows the Peneus, between Mount Olympus N, and Mount Œta S: it begins at the town of Homolis, which is on the S bank of the Peneus. The banks of the Peneus in this place are covered with constant verdure, and abound in singing birds. *m. n.* Mpampa, pronounced Baba.

*Tenedos.* (17.) long. 26. lat. 39,

50. An island situate opposite to and W of the Troad, E of the island of Lemnos, without the Hellespont, fifty-six miles N of the island of Lesbos, twelve miles S of promontory Sigeum. Its town bore the same name, and had two ports, with a temple of Apollo Smintheus: it was an Æolian town.

*Tenos.* (17.) long. 25. lat. 37, 30. An island of the Ægæan sea, placed by some among the Cyclades, by others among the Sporades. It lay between the islands of Andros and Mycene; SE of the first, NW of the second; fifteen R miles from Delos, and only one from Andros. *m. n.* Teno.

*Teos.* (17.) long. 26, 44. lat. 36, 6. One of the twelve Ionian towns, situate towards the middle of the S coast of the peninsula, which is N of the island of Samos: it is NW of Lebedos, E by N of Mount Corycus. The country of Anacreon.

*Termera.* A town of Asia Minor, on the confines of Caria and Lycia. The country of Histiæus. v. 37.

*Tethronium.* (15.) long. 22, 40. lat. 38, 40. A town of Phocis, in a plain near the Cephissus, fifteen stades SE of Amphcleia, anciently called Amphicæa; twenty stades N of Drymæa. *m. n.* παλαιαὶ Θῆβαι, or Belitza. viii. 33.

*Teuthrania.* (18.) long. 27, 30. lat. 39. A town and small country of Mysia, near the N bank of the Caïcus, E of Læa, Pitane, and Atarneus. ii. 10.

*Thamanæi.* A people of Asia, mentioned only by Herodotus. Like many other nations of that quarter of the world, it is almost impossible even to conjecture where they were situate. iii. 93, 117.

*Thasos.* (17.) long. 24, 40. lat. 40, 30. A small island, situate towards the coast of Thrace, opposite the mouth of the Nestus, twenty miles from the port of Abdera, seventy-two miles from Mount Athos, and at a like distance from the island of Samothrace. Thasos produced excellent wines. *m. n.* Thaso.

*Thebe.* (18.) long. 27. lat. 39, 30. A town situate in a plain SE of the Troad and of the town of Troy. Herodotus mentions the plain of this town. vii. 42.

*Thebæ*:

1.—(16.) long. 32, 35, lat 25, 40. A celebrated town of the Thebais. It was situated E of the Nile. It was very ancient; and its hundred gates have been heard of by every one. The *m. n.* of its ruins is either Luxor, Aksor, or El Kursour.

2.—(16.) long. 23, 25. lat. 38, 20. The capital of Bœotia, on the W bank of the river Ismenus, a good way inland, and nearer to the head of the river than to its mouth; W of Tanagra, and E by S of Onchestus. The present town occupies nothing more than the site of the citadel of the ancient town. *m. n.* Theba, pronounced Theeva.

*Themiscyra.* (18.) long. 37. lat. 41. A town of Cappadocia, on the W bank of the mouth of the Thermodon, at the place where the Euxine is widest. This town had belonged to the Amazons. It is likewise the name of a considerable plain watered by the Iris, the Thermodon, and other rivers.

*Thera.* (17.) long. 25, 20. lat.

36, 20. One of the Sporades islands, in the Ægæan sea, between the island of Crete and the Cyclades. Its former name was Calliste. *m. n.* Sautorin, a corruption, no doubt, of Saint Irene, who was of Thessalonica, and was martyrized in the year 304, at Thera. iv. 147, &c.

*Therambus.* (14.) long. 23, 30. lat. 40. A town of the peninsula of Pallena, on the E shore of the Thermæan gulf; SE of Scione, NW of promontory Canastrum. Mentioned by Herodotus only. vii. 123.

*Therapne.* (16.) long. 22, 40, lat. 37, 10. A town of Laconia. E of the Eurotas, and at a very short distance S of Sparta. D'Anville places it too far from Sparta. vi. 61.

*Therma.* (14.) long. 23. lat. 41. A town of Amphaxitis, a country of Macedonia, situate at the N extremity of the Thermæan gulf. Cassander gave it the name of Thessalonica, from his wife. *m.n.* Saloniki, a very large and commercial town.

*Thermæan gulf.* A bay of the Ægæan sea, on the Macedonian coast: it shoots a good way inland, and washes E from N, to S Crosæa, or rather Crusæa, and the peninsula of Pallena; N, Amphaxitis, Crestonia, and Paraxia; NW, Bottiæis; W, Pieria and Perrhæbia; SW, Pelasgiotis and Magnesia *m. n.* Golfo di Saloniki.

*Thermodon:*

1.—(16) long. 23, 40. lat. 38, 20. A small river of Bœotia, which rises N, at the foot of Mount Hypatos, passes by Glisas, flows W, and afterwards SE, and falls into the Asopus, at a small distance from Tanagra. ix. 42.

2.—(16.) long. 37. lat. 41. 20. A river of Cappadocia: it rises E, and, after crossing several countries from E to W, it bends N, and falls into the Euxine sea near Themiscyra. iv. 86. ix. 27.

*Thermopylæ.* (15.) long. 22, 35. lat. 38, 50. A defile closed W by mountains, E by the sea, by marshes, and ground covered with water and mud. It led from Thessaly into Locris and Phocis; E by S of Trachis. vii. 176, 177.

*Thespia.* (16.) long. 23, 38. lat. 38, 20. A town at the foot S by E of Mount Helicon; SW of Thebes; W by N of Platæa; E of Ascra. *m. n.* Cacosi. viii. 50.

*Thresprotia.* (15.) long. 20°, 30'. lat. 39° to 40°. A country of Epirus, of great extent. It comprised SE the Cassopæi and Molossis; and had for bounds on that side the Ampraciots and the gulf of Ampracia; NE it comprised Chaonia, and even Orestaïs. The Cassopæi, Molossis, Chaonia, and Orestaïs, having been retrenched, the limits of Threspotia were much more confined. It was watered by three rivers, which are from W to E, the Thyamis, Cocytus, and Acheron. Dodona was its principal town.

*Thessalia.* (15.) long. 21, 30; to 23, 30 lat. 38, 30; to 40°. A country of Greece, which, in the times of Herodotus, had the following boundaries:—E, the Thermæan gulf, the Ægæan sea, Mounts Ossa and Pelion; N, Mount Olympus, which begins towards the Thermæan gulf, and extends very far W; W, the Pindus; S, the Othrys and Œta.

Thessaly was divided into five parts, Histiæotis, Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, and Perrhæbia. See each of those words.

*Thessaliotis.* (15.) long. 22° to 23°. lat. 39; to 39, 30. It is a part of Thessaly, entirely S of the Peneus: its W part is S of Histiæotis, bounded S by Pindus. This part is small and narrow between Histiæotis N, and Pindus S; its E part grows wider from S to N; and shoots S into Hellas, between the Dryopes W, and Trachinia E: it is bounded S by Mount Œta, a range extending W to E, as far as the Maliac gulf, S of the Sperchius, and even S of the Asopus: it is bounded E by Phthiotis.

*Thestes.* A fountain of Libya near Irasa, where the Cyrenæans beat the Egyptians. iv. 158, 159.

*Thmuis.* A considerable town of Egypt, in the Delta; on one of the canals with which Egypt was intersected, but not on one of the seven principal branches of the Nile. It was between Tanis and Cynopolis, seventy-six miles from Pelusium. Herodotus mentions only its nome. ii. 166.

*Thoricus.* (16.) long. 24, 4. lat. 37, 45. A town of Attica, N of promontory Sunium, with a promontory of the same name, near the island of Macris or Hellen, on the E shore of Attica, S of Prasia. *m. n.* Thorico. iv. 99.

*Thornax.* (16.) long, 22, 40. lat. 37, 10. A mountain of Peloponnesus, in Laconia, N by E of Sparta, E by S of Mount Olympus. i. 69.

*Thracia.* (14.) A country of Europe of vast extent its boundaries in the time of Herodotus were, N the Ister, NE the same river towards its mouth in the Euxine sea, SE the Propontis, S the Hellespont and Ægæan sea, E the Euxine sea, W Mygdonia, Macedonia, Pelagonia, and, Mount Boras, and, advancing N, Illyria.

Its principal mountains are, Hæmus, extending E to the Euxine sea, and W to Mount Scomius; Pangæus, which extends to the sea near Abdera, and comprises the Pieres, the country called Phyllis, the Doberes, the Pæoplæ, and joins Mount Scomius in the country of the Agrianes, and Mount Orbelus.

Its chief rivers are, the Ister, Atlas, Tibisis, Athrys, Noes, Artanes, Scius, Angrus, Brongus, Artiscus, &c.

Thrace was occupied by a great number of nations; the Getæ, Crobyzi, Triballi, (Træri, and Tilatæi, of Thucydides), the Agrianes, Pæoplæ, Doberes, Odomanti, Edoni, Cicones, Pieres, Dersæi, Bistones, Trausi, Odrysi, Scyrmiades, Nepsæi.

*Thyni.* (18.) long. 30. lat. 41. They were originally Thracian. They had passed over into Asia, where they occupied a tract of country along the shore.

*Thyrea.* (16.) long. 22, 45. lat. 37, 24. A town of Cynuria in Argolis. i. 82.

*Thyssagetæ.* Above and N of the Budini is found a desert country, seven journeys across. N by E of that desert are found the Thyssagetæ, a numerous and independent nation. iv. 21, 22, 123.

*Thyssus.* (14.) long. 24, 12 lat 40, 20. A town of the penin-

sula of Mount Athos, on the E shore of the Singitic gulf, S of Cleonæ, N of promontory Nymphæum, now called Nymphe. vii. 22.

*Tiarantus.* (14.) long. of mouth in the Danube, 24, 50. lat. 43, 40. A river of Scythia, which rises NE in the mountains of Transylvania, flows W, and falls S in the Ister, nearly opposite Nicopolis. *m. n.* Olt.

*Tibareni.* (18.) long. 38. lat. 41. A small people of Pontus, E of the mouth of the Thermodon, W of the Mosynœci and of Cerasus, in the SE vicinity of the Chalybes. iii. 94. vii. 78.

*Tibiscis.* (14.) long. of mouth in Danube, 26. lat. 43, 50. A large river issuing from Mount Hæmus, and falling N into the Ister.

*Tigris.* (23.) long. of mouth in Persic Gulf, 49. lat. 30. One of the largest rivers of Asia. The Tigris E, and the Euphrates W, skirt Mesopotamia, which lies between those two streams: the Tigris flows N to S by E, until it reaches nearly opposite to Babylon; from whence it flows more directly S, till it falls into the sea.

The Tigris falls into the Persic gulf at Ampa, pretty near Opis. The Euphrates and Tigris had at one time two different embouchures; but about the time of Alexander those two rivers united their waters into one channel. *m. n.* Tigil.

*Tiryns*, or *Tirynthus.* (16.) long. 22, 40. lat. 37, 35. A town of Argolis, in Peloponnesus; E of Argos, NE of Nauplia. The walls of this place were built by the Cyclops; and their ruins still remain, consisting of very prodigious blocks of stone. vi. 96, 97.

*Tithorea vertex.* One of the tops of Parnassus. viii. 32.

*Tmolus.* (18.) long. 28. lat. 38, 30. A mountain of Lydia, where the Pactolus had its source. It abounded in good wine. *m. n.* Turkish, Bouz-Dog; Greek, Tomolitzi. i. 84.

*Torone.* (14.) long. 23, 50. lat. 40. A town of Sithonia in Chalcidice. It was situate at the entrance, and on the E shore, of the Toronæan gulf, SE of Galepsus. *m. n.* Toron.

*Toronæum promontorium.* The Promontory Ampelos: see that article.

*Toronæus sinus.* It lies between promontories Canastrum and Derris: it receives its name from the town of Torone. Pliny calls it Sinus Mecybernius, from Mecybernus, a town at its E extremity. *m. n.* Gulf of St. Mamas.

*Trachiniæ petræ.* (15.) long. 22, 30 lat. 38, 50. Lofty and inaccessible rocks surrounding Malis on all sides. vii. 198.

*Trachis.* The capital of Trachinia, a small country of Malis in Thessaly. It is on the bank, near the mouth of the Asopus, at the foot of Œta.

*Trapezus.* (16.) long. 21, 55. lat. 37, 29. A town of Arcadia, in Peloponnesus, in the S vicinity of the Alpheus, NW of Megalopolis, W by N of Mount Lycæus. *m. n.* Maukup.

*Traspies.* A Scythian people, sprung from Arpoxaïs. Position unknown. iv. 6.

*Trausi.* A people of Thrace. Their situation cannot be indicated with any degree of probability. v. 3.

*Trauus.* (14.) long. of mouth, 25. lat. 41. A river of Thrace rising in Mount Rhodope, NE: it flows SW, crosses the country of the Trausi and Bistones, and falls into the Lake Bistonis SW. vii. 109.

*Trœzen.* (16.) long. 23, 25. lat. 37, 30. A town of Argolis, in Peloponnesus, near Port Pogon and the Saronic gulf. *m. n.* Damala, pronounced Thamala. vii. 99.

*Triballi.* (14.) long. 24. lat. 43, 30. A people of Thrace, separated E from the Crobyzi, Trœri, and Tilatæi, by the Scius. They are bounded W by the Illyrians, N by the Ister, S by Mount Orbelus; not that near the lake Prasias, but another of the same name, a good way off, NW. The country of the Triballi answered to what has since been called Mœsia, and is now known by the name of Servia.

Herodotus does not mention this people, but he speaks of the Triballic plain. iv. 49. That plain was cut by several rivers which are going from E to W, the Scius, the Brongus, and the Angrus.

*Triopium prom.* (18.) long. 27, 10. lat. 36, 40. A headland of the Cnidian Chersonesus, on which was placed the town of Cnidus. i. 174.

*Tritœa.* (16.) nearly long. 22. lat. 38. A town of Achaïa in Peloponnesus, situate inland, SE of Dyma, S of Rhypes, towards the frontier of Elis and Arcadia, one hundred and twenty stades SE of Phara. i. 145.

*Triteæ.* A town of Phocis: according to Herodotus, somewhere near the Cephissus; probably E of Delphi. viii. 33.

*Triton.* A considerable river of Libya, which falls into Lake Tritonis. Very little seems to be as yet known respecting this river, which, according to Ptolemy, rises in Mount Vasaletus, crosses three lakes, that of Libya, that of Pallas, and the Tritonis, and afterwards falls into the Lesser Syrtis, near Tacope. iv. 178.

*Tritonis.* A lake of Libya, around which dwell SE the Machlyes, and the Ausenses NW: it is not far from the Lesser Syrtis, according to Herodotus. It is probable that it once communicated with the Lesser Syrtis, but that the sands have choked up its mouth. We have seen that Ptolemy represents the Triton as crossing three lakes. Dr. Shaw observes, that this lake may likewise be divided into three parts: the lake Libya SW, now called El-Low-Deah; the lake Pallas, now Bahyre; while the E part of the lake, or Lake Tritonis, is now called Faraoune.

*Troas* (18.) long. 26° to 27°. lat. 39° 40′. A country of Asia Minor, beginning at Promontory Lectum, and from thence extending to the Propontis. It took its name from Troy, the capital.

If by the word Troad, or Troas, is meant all the country subjected to the Trojans, that is to say, all the kingdom of Priam, it contained almost the whole of what we call the two Mysias, Lesser Phrygia, &c. If, on the other hand, its meaning is restricted to the particular country in which Troy stood,

which is Troad Proper, it comprised only the country between Dardania N and NE, the country of the Leleges E by S, the Hellespont and Ægæan sea W.

*Troglodytæ.* (25.) long. 28. lat. 28, 30. This name comes from τρώγλη, *caverna*, and δύνω, *subeo*: it therefore applies to all tribes dwelling in caves. There were some Troglodytæ along the Arabic gulf, as far as Ptolemaïs Epitheras, and even as far as Promontory Dira. Herodotus calls them Ichthyophagi, iii. 19, 23; and it appears that they are the Shangallas of the present day; although those latter are much more distant from Egypt. The Ethiopian Troglodytæ mentioned by Herodotus, iv. 183, must have been, according to Herodotus, on the shores of the Ocean, and separated from the fixed Garamantes by the desert of Sahara.

*Troy.* (18.) A town of Asia Minor, near the confluence of the Scamander, or Xanthus, with the Simois, three miles from the Ægæan sea, between the part of Mount Ida E, and promontory Sigeum W. After the destruction of this town, another Ilium was built, thirty stades from the first: this latter was embellished by Alexander and Julius Cæsar.

*Tyre.* (19) long. 35, 15. lat. 33, 15. A town of Phœnicia, on the sea S of Sidon, and W of Paneas. There were two towns of Tyre; one, the ancient, called Palætyros; the other new, called simply Tyros: the first, on the continent, thirty stades from the second S, according to Strabo: the temple of Hercules, of which the antiquity was so much boasted to Herodotus. The other was in an island opposite the ancient town, from which it was separated only by a narrow arm of the sea.

*Tyras.* A river of Scythia, issuing NW, from a large lake it separates Neuris from Scythia, flows NW to SE, waters the town of Mohilow in Lithuania, passes through Bender in Bessarabia, and afterwards falls S into the Euxine. *m.n.* Dnieper.

*Tyras.* A town on the left bank of the Tyras, ascending one hundred and forty stades from its mouth. It was founded by the Milesians.

*Tyrodiza.* A town of Thrace, on the coast of the Ægæan, near to and W of Promontory Serrhium, and SE of Mesambria

*Tyrrhenia.* (13.) A large country of Italy, answering in part to what we now call Tuscany, but much more extended, principally towards the N and SE.

*UMBRI.* (13.) They inhabited Umbria, a part of Italy, between the Padus W, the Pixenum E, the Tibris S, and the Adriatic sea N. They were the most ancient people of Italy: they were driven from their country by the Pelasgi; which latter were, in their turn, driven out by the Lydians, who took the name of Tyrrhenians, from Tyrrhenus, their chief, son of the king of Lydia.

*Utii.* A people of Asia. They formed the fourteenth satrapy, with the Sagartii, the Thamanæi, the Mycians, and the inhabitants of the islands in the Erythræan sea. Their situation is not very clearly known.

*XANTHUS.* (18) long. 29, 10. lat. 36, 15. A town of Lycia, on a river of the same name, not very far from its mouth. The river Xanthus divides Lycia in two: the town was ten stades above Patara.

*ZACYNTHUS.* An island of Greece, W of Elis, sixty stades S of Cephallenia. The pitch lake is still found there: see Chandler's Travels, p. 302. *m. n.* Zante, one of the Ionian islands, and a British military station.

*Zancla.* An ancient and celebrated town of Sicily, on the strait which divides the island from Italy, and almost opposite Rhegium. *m. n.* Messina.

*Zaueces.* A small tribe of Libya, between the Gyzantes and the Maxyes; S of the former, NE of the latter. They occupied, probably, a small part of the space between the Lesser Syrtis and gulf of Adrumetum. iv. 193.

*Zona* A town of Thrace, on the Ægæan sea, near Promontory Serrhium, E of that promontory, and W of the town of Ænos, and almost at the entrance of the gulf of Melas, improperly called Sinus Melanes in the map of Asia Minor by D'Anville. vii 59.

*Zoster.* A promontory of Attica, SE of the Piræeus, between that port and Promontory Sunium. It is the first promontory one meets with after Æxone, going from Phalerus to Sunium. It is opposite the small island of Phaura. viii. 107

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