

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

HERODOTUS  
HISTORIES  
BOOK VI

EDITED BY SIMON HORNBLOWER  
AND CHRISTOPHER PELLING

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CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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## PREFACE

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As explained in the Preface to Hornblower's edition of bk. 5 (2013), most of the sections of the Introduction to that volume covered bks. 5 and 6 together. The Introduction to the present volume does not, therefore, revisit every aspect of every topic covered there. The promises there made, about postponement of certain topics – Herodotus on Kleomenes, Aigina, and Homer – until the Introduction to bk. 6, have been kept, but not by the straightforward inclusion of entire sections with those titles. We have nowhere attempted a separate section on Herodotus' sources for bks. 5 and 6. More than a century ago, Felix Jacoby (1913: cols. 419–67 [1956: 114–38]) heroically went through the whole of the *Histories*, assigning sections to sources. The trouble with this sort of operation, certainly unfashionable in 2016, is that some such suggestions are much more plausible than others, so that the question is best dealt with in notes to individual passages.

Brevity has been at a premium throughout. We particularly regret that our references to modern scholarship have often had to be perfunctory, giving the impression of much more originality than we can claim.

As in bk. 5, we use **bold** type, for clarity and brevity, when referring to chapter numbers of the book which is the actual subject of our commentary; thus 70.2n. = 'see note on 6.70.2'. For references to Hornblower's 2013 commentary on bk. 5, we have said e.g. 'see 5.126.1n.', because we regard bks. 5 and 6, and therefore also the commentaries on them, as a continuum. For the most part we follow Herodotus' own spelling of personal names and place names, but we apologise for inconsistency; in particular we could not, as children of the 1960s, bring ourselves to talk about Hippies when discussing the Peisistratid tyrant.

We acknowledge gratefully the insights provided by the contributors to two Oxford seminar series: a graduate class on bk. 6 in 2011, and a seminar series on the 'green and yellow Herodotus' in 2013, covering all nine books, and addressed by the editors of individual volumes. Hornblower would also like to repeat his 2013 thanks to those UCL MA students who attended his two-term class on bks. 5 and 6 in 2009–10.

We also wish to thank, for particular help of various kinds: Angus Bowie (who once again, as for bk. 5, gave permission to reprint his section on Herodotus' language), Karen Caines, Richard Catling, Maurits de Leeuw, George Cawkwell, John Davies, Esther Eidinow, Aljos Farjon, Maria Fragoulaki, Vicki Jennings, Alan Johnston, Robert Parker, Margaret Pelling, Tim Rood, Oliver Taplin, Rosalind Thomas, Aniek van den Eersten, Stephanie West, Kathy Willis, and Nigel Wilson.



We both ought also to thank the designers and makers of *Dropbox* for helping to make our collaboration so easy and painless. It has been so close and disagreements so rare that we have often been unable to remember which of us originally drafted a note or sentence.

Finally, we express warm appreciation to Muriel Hall for acute and scrupulous copy-editing, and to Alan Griffiths for checking the proofs and saving us from many errors, by no means all of them typographic.

# ABBREVIATIONS

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## I ANCIENT AUTHORS AND WORKS

Abbreviations for Greek and Latin authors usually follow those in *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, except that Th. is Thucydides, Diod. is Diodorus and Pol. is Polybius. Greek not Latin spellings are generally used, but not when a Latin spelling is very familiar indeed (thus Aesch., not Aiskh., for Aeschylus).

## II HERODOTUS TEXTS, COMMENTARIES, AND TRANSLATIONS REFERRED TO

Bowie	A. M. Bowie, <i>Herodotus Histories book VIII</i> , Cambridge, 2007
Flower and Marincola	M. Flower and J. Marincola, <i>Herodotus Histories book IX</i> , Cambridge, 2002
<i>Herodotea</i>	see below under Wilson
Hornblower	S. Hornblower, <i>Herodotus Histories book V</i> , Cambridge, 2013
H/W	W. W. How and J. Wells, <i>Commentary on Herodotus</i> , 2 vols., Oxford, 1912
Holland	T. Holland, <i>Herodotus: the Histories</i> , London, 2013
Hude	C. Hude, <i>Herodoti Historiae</i> , 2 vols. (Oxford Classical Text), Oxford, 1912
Legrand	Ph. E. Legrand, <i>Hérodote Histoires livre vi Érato</i> , Paris, 1948
Macan	R. W. Macan, <i>Herodotus, the fourth, fifth and sixth books</i> (2 vols., London, 1895) or occasionally <i>Herodotus: the seventh, eighth and ninth books</i> (3 vols., London, 1908)
Nenci	G. Nenci, <i>Erodoto: le storie libro VI, la battaglia di Maratona</i> , Florence, 1998
Rosén	H. B. Rosén, <i>Herodoti Historiae</i> (Teubner edn), 2 vols., Leipzig, 1987–97
Scott	L. Scott, <i>Historical commentary on Herodotus book 6</i> , Leiden and Boston, 2005
de Sélincourt	A. de Sélincourt, <i>Herodotus: the Histories</i> , revised edn by J. Marincola, Harmondsworth, 1996
Shuckburgh	E. S. Shuckburgh (ed.), <i>Herodotos VI Erato</i> , Cambridge, 1889

Stein	H. Stein, <i>Herodotos</i> <sup>6</sup> , Berlin, 1901
Waterfield	translation in R. Waterfield and C. Dewald, <i>Herodotus: the Histories</i> , Oxford, 1998
Wilson	N. G. Wilson, <i>Herodoti Historiae</i> , 2 vols. (Oxford Classical Text), Oxford, 2015
Wilson, <i>Herodotea</i>	N. G. Wilson, <i>Herodotea: studies on the text of Herodotus</i> , Oxford, 2015

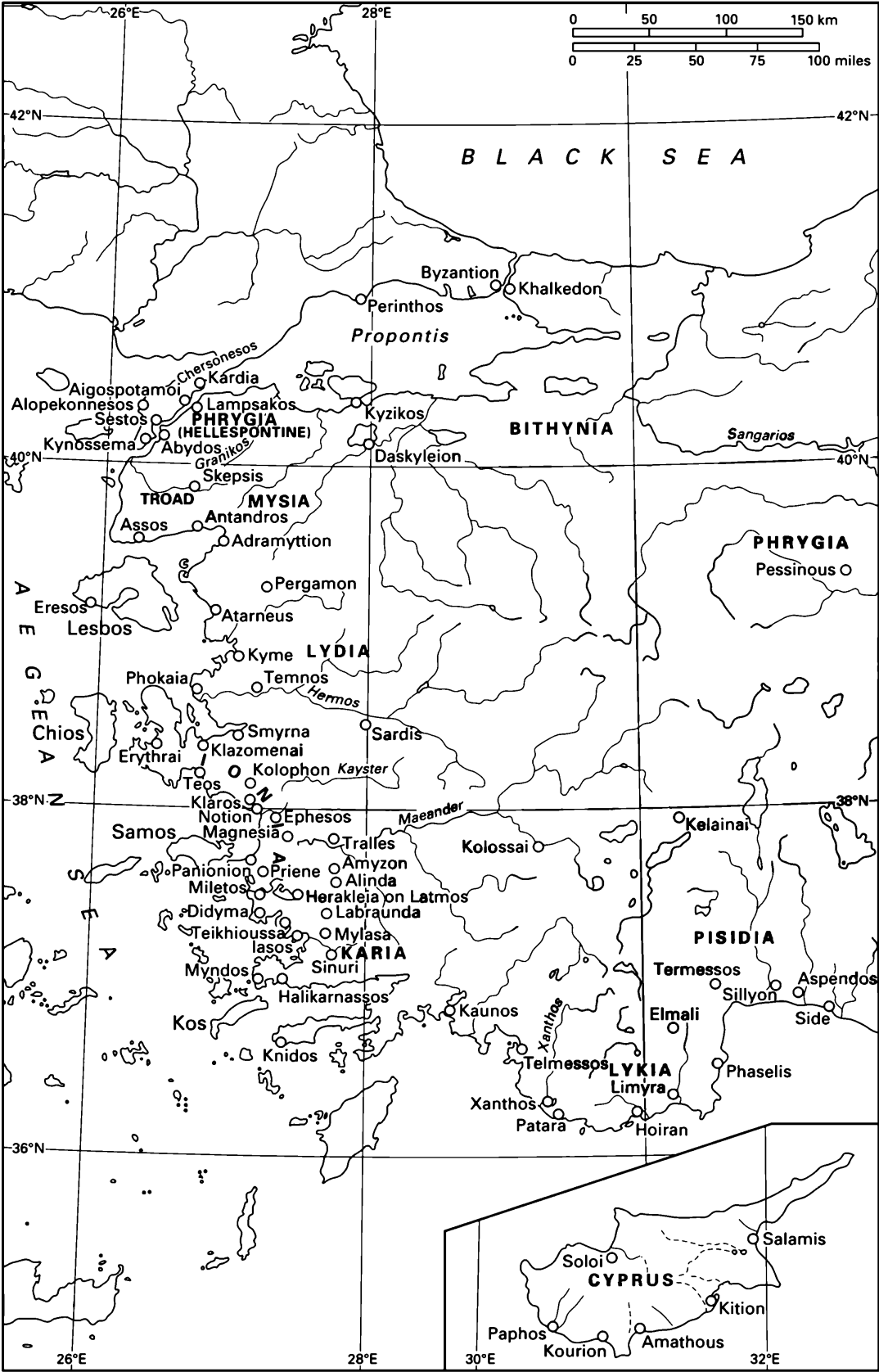
### III OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

AO	R. Develin, <i>Athenian officials 684–321 BC</i> , Cambridge, 1989
APF or Davies, APF	J. K. Davies, <i>Athenian propertied families 600–300 BC</i> , Oxford, 1971
AR	<i>Archaeological Reports</i> , booklet issued annually with <i>JHS</i>
Austin	M. M. Austin, <i>The Hellenistic world from Alexander to the Roman conquest</i> <sup>2</sup> , Cambridge, 2006
Barr.	R. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington atlas of the Greek and Roman world</i> , Princeton, 2000; the accompanying map-by-map Directory (also 2000, also ed. R. Talbert: 2 vols. with continuous pagination) is sometimes cited.
BE	<i>Bulletin Épigraphique</i> (in <i>Revue des Études grecques</i> )
Beloch	K. J. Beloch, <i>Griechische Geschichte</i> 2nd edn, 4 vols. in 8, Strasburg, Berlin, and Leipzig, 1912–27
Bill.	M. Billerbeck, <i>Stephani Byzantii Ethnica</i> , Berlin and New York, 2006–
BNP	<i>Brill's New Pauly</i> , ed. H. Cancik, H. Schneider, and M. Landester, Eng. tr. by C. F. Salazar and F. G. Gentry, Leiden, Boston, and Cologne 1996–: online version at <a href="http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/cluster/NewPaulyOnline">http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/cluster/NewPaulyOnline</a>
<i>Brill's companion</i>	E. J. Bakker, I. de Jong, and H. van Wees (eds.), <i>Brill's companion to Herodotus</i> , Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2002
CAH	<i>Cambridge ancient history</i> , new edn. The volumes most cited in the present book are J. Boardman, I. E. S. Edwards, E. Sollberger, and N. G. L. Hammond (eds.), vol. 3 part 2 (1992); J. Boardman and N. G. L. Hammond (eds.), vol. 3 part 3 (1982); and J. Boardman, N. G. L. Hammond, D. M. Lewis, and M. Ostwald (eds.), vol. 4 (1988).

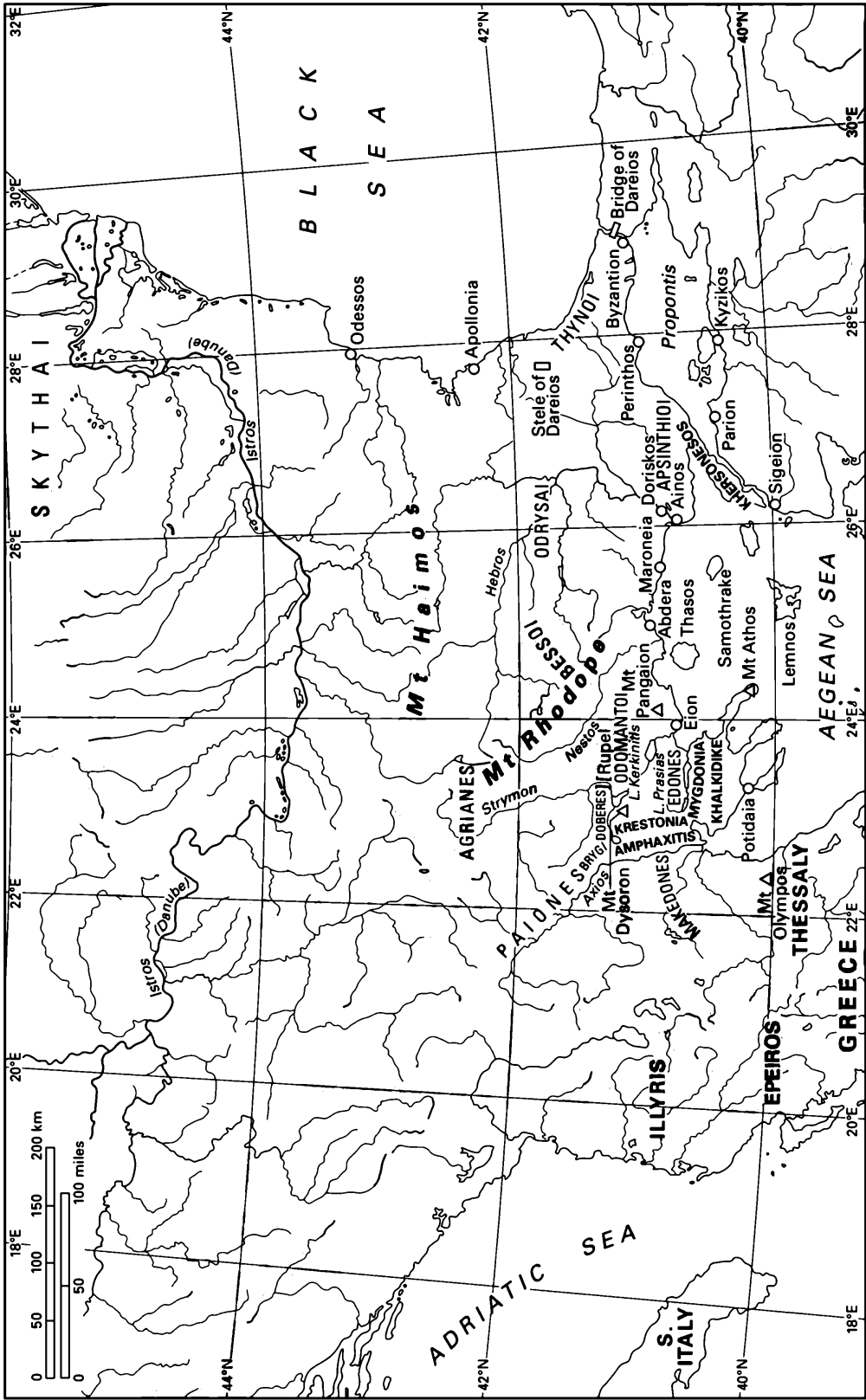
<i>Cambridge companion</i>	C. Dewald and J. Marincola (eds.), <i>Cambridge companion to Herodotus</i> , 2006, Cambridge
CEG	P. Hansen, <i>Carmina epigraphica graeca</i> , Berlin and New York, 1983 and 1989 (2 vols., numbering of inscriptions continuous)
CHGRW I	P. Sabin, H. van Wees and M. Whitby (eds.), <i>The Cambridge history of Greek and Roman warfare</i> , vol. 1, <i>Greece, the Hellenistic world and the rise of Rome</i> , Cambridge, 2007
CT I, II, III	S. Hornblower, <i>A commentary on Thucydides</i> , 3 vols., 1991, 1996, 2008
Derow and Parker	P. Derow and R. Parker (eds.), <i>Herodotus and his world</i> , Oxford, 2003
DK	H. Diels and W. Kranz (eds.), <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> <sup>6</sup> , 3 vols., Berlin, 1952
Ebert	J. Ebert, <i>Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen</i> , <i>Abh. Sächs. Akad.</i> 63. 2, Berlin, 1972
EGM 1 and 2	R. L. Fowler, <i>Early Greek mythography</i> , vol. 1: <i>text and introduction</i> ; vol. II: <i>Commentary</i> , Oxford, 2000 and 2013
<i>Et. Magn.</i>	<i>Etymologicum magnum</i> , ed. T. Gaisford, Oxford, 1841
FGE	D. L. Page, <i>Further Greek epigrams</i> , Cambridge, 1981
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , 15 vols., Leiden, 1923–58
Fornara	C. W. Fornara, <i>Translated documents, archaic times to the end of the Peloponnesian War</i> <sup>2</sup> , Cambridge, 1983
GG	W. W. Goodwin, <i>A Greek grammar</i> , Basingstoke and London, new edn, 1930
GP	J. D. Denniston, <i>The Greek particles</i> <sup>2</sup> , Oxford, 1954
<i>Greek world</i>	S. Hornblower, <i>The Greek world 479–323 BC</i> <sup>4</sup> , London, 2011
HCT	A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover, <i>A historical commentary on Thucydides</i> , Oxford, 5 vols., 1945–81
IACP	M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen (eds.), <i>An inventory of archaic and classical poleis</i> , Oxford, 2004
IE <sup>2</sup>	M. L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi graeci ante Alexandrum cantati</i> , 2nd edn, 2 vols., Oxford, 1989 and 1992

<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin, 1873–
<i>I. Priene</i>	F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen, <i>Inscripfen von Priene</i> , Berlin, 1906
Irwin and Greenwood	E. Irwin and E. Greenwood (eds.), <i>Reading Herodotus: a study of the logoi in Book 5 of Herodotus’ Histories</i> , Cambridge, 2007
<i>LGPN</i>	<i>A lexicon of Greek personal names</i> , 7 vols. published to date, Oxford, 1987–2013
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> , Zurich, Düsseldorf, and Munich, 1981–99
<i>LSAG</i> <sup>2</sup>	L. H. Jeffery, revised A. W. Johnston, <i>Local scripts of archaic Greece</i> , Oxford, 1990
<i>LSS</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> , suppl., Paris, 1962
<i>M&amp;T</i>	W. W. Goodwin, <i>Syntax of the moods and tenses of the Greek verb</i> , London, reissued 1965
<i>ML</i>	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, <i>A selection of Greek historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century BC</i> , revised edn, Oxford, 1988
Moretti	see Moretti 1957 in Works Cited
<i>OCD</i> <sup>4</sup>	S. Hornblower, A. J. S. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow (eds.), <i>The Oxford classical dictionary</i> 4th edn, Oxford, 2012
<i>OCT</i>	Oxford Classical Text
<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis graecae inscriptiones selectae</i> , 2 vols., Leipzig, 1903–5
<i>Onomatologos</i>	R. W. V. Catling and F. Marchand (eds.), <i>Onomatologos: studies in Greek personal names presented to Elaine Matthews</i> , Oxford, 2010
<i>PA</i>	J. Kirchner, <i>Prosopographia Attica</i> , 2 vols., Berlin, 1901, 1903
<i>PMG</i>	D. L. Page (ed.), <i>Poetae melici graeci</i> , Oxford, 1962
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	Oxyrhynchus papyri
Powell	J. E. Powell, <i>Lexicon to Herodotus</i> , Cambridge, 1939
Powell tr.	J. E. Powell, <i>Herodotus</i> (translation), 2 vols., Oxford, 1949; note esp. textual appendix in vol. II
<i>R.-E.</i>	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. A. F. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, 66 vols. and 15 supplements (Stuttgart, 1894–1980)

R/O	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, <i>Greek historical inscriptions 404–323 BC</i> , Oxford, 2003, revised paperback edn., 2007
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i> 1923–
SGDI	H. Collitz and F. Bechtel, <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> , 4 vols., Göttingen, 1884–1915
Syll. <sup>3</sup>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 4 vols., 3rd edn, Leipzig, 1915–24
Th. and Pi.	S. Hornblower, <i>Thucydides and Pindar: historical narrative and the world of epinikian poetry</i> , Oxford, 2004
ThesCRA	<i>Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum</i> , 7 vols., Los Angeles, 2004–11
Thucydides	S. Hornblower, <i>Thucydides</i> , London, 1994
Tod	M. N. Tod, <i>A selection of Greek historical inscriptions</i> , vol. I, <i>To the end of the fifth century BC</i> , Oxford, 1933; vol. II, <i>From 403 to 323 BC</i> , Oxford, 1948 (numbering of inscriptions is continuous)
TrGF	B. Snell, R. Kannicht, and S. Radt, <i>Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta</i> , 5 vols. in 6, Göttingen, 1986–2004
TT	S. Hornblower, <i>Thucydidean themes</i> , Oxford, 2011

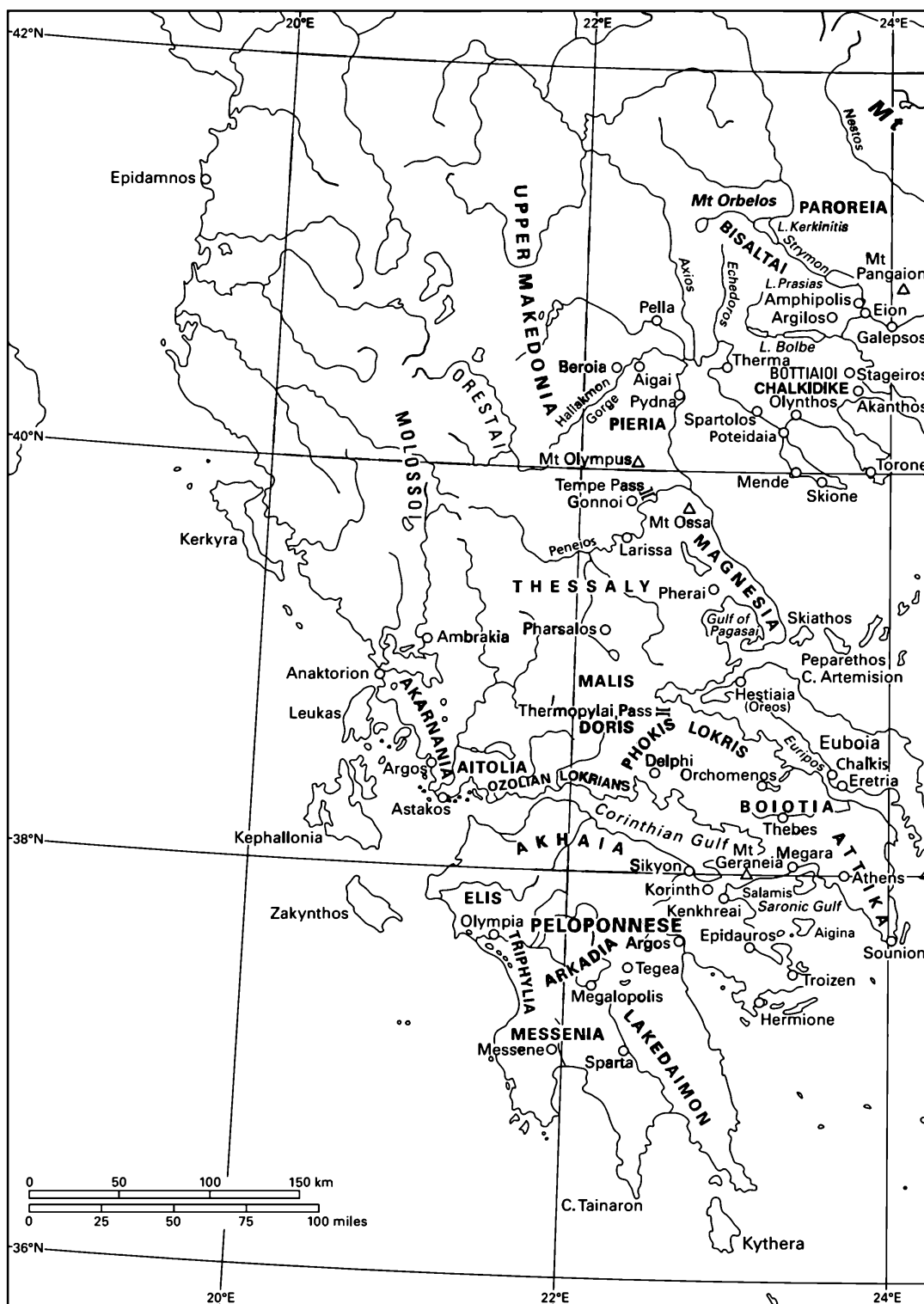


Map 1 Asia Minor

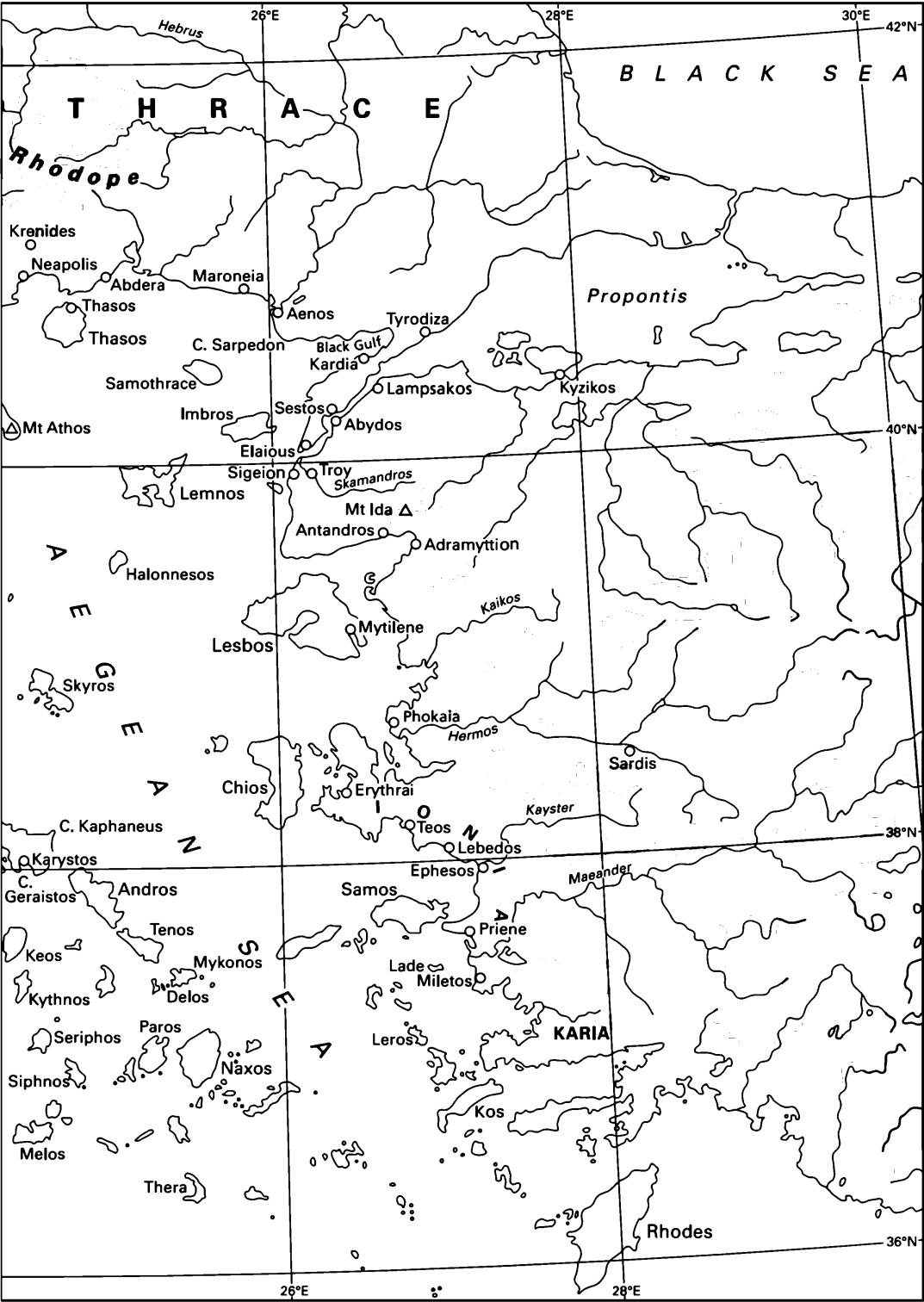


Map 2 Thrace, Macedonia, and north Greece

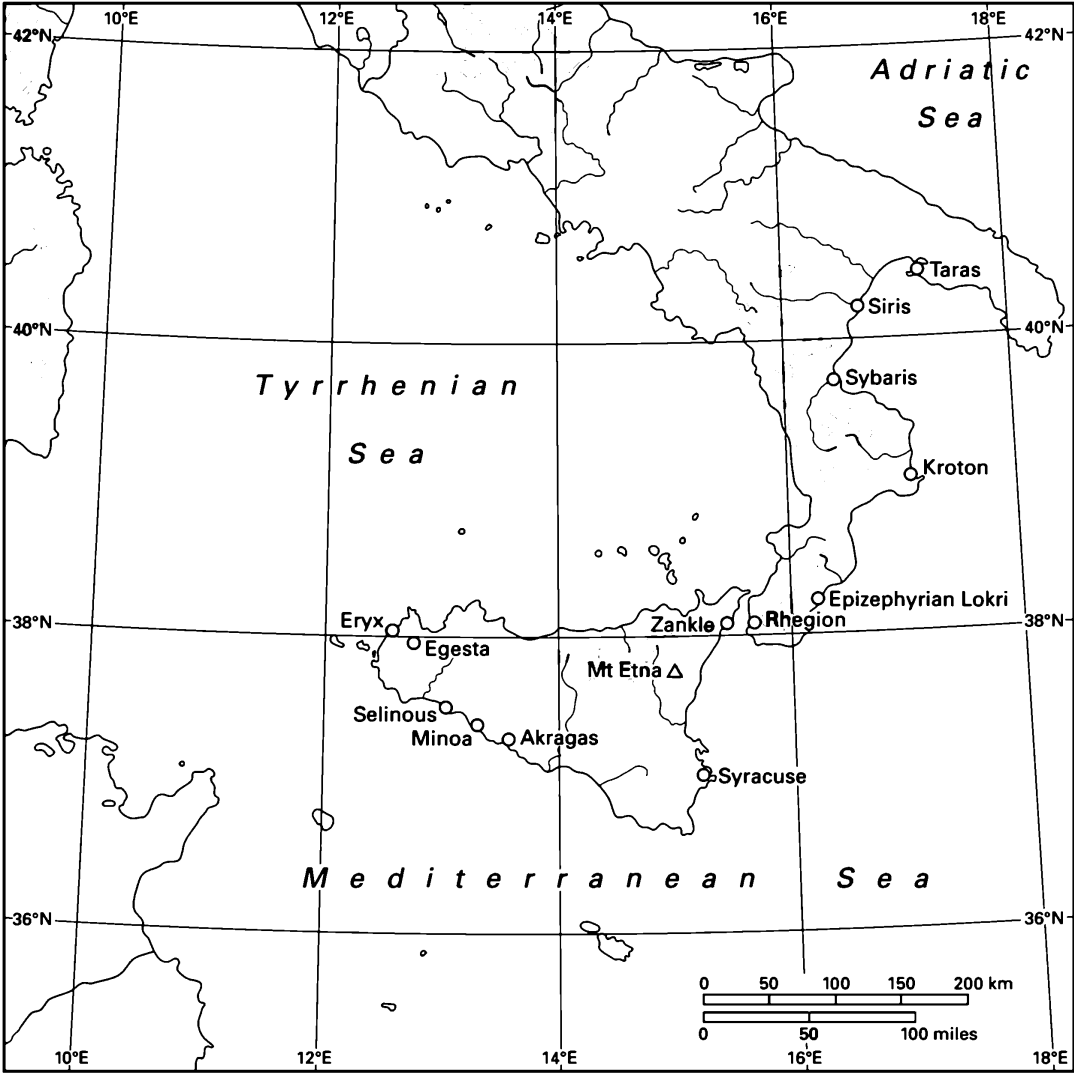




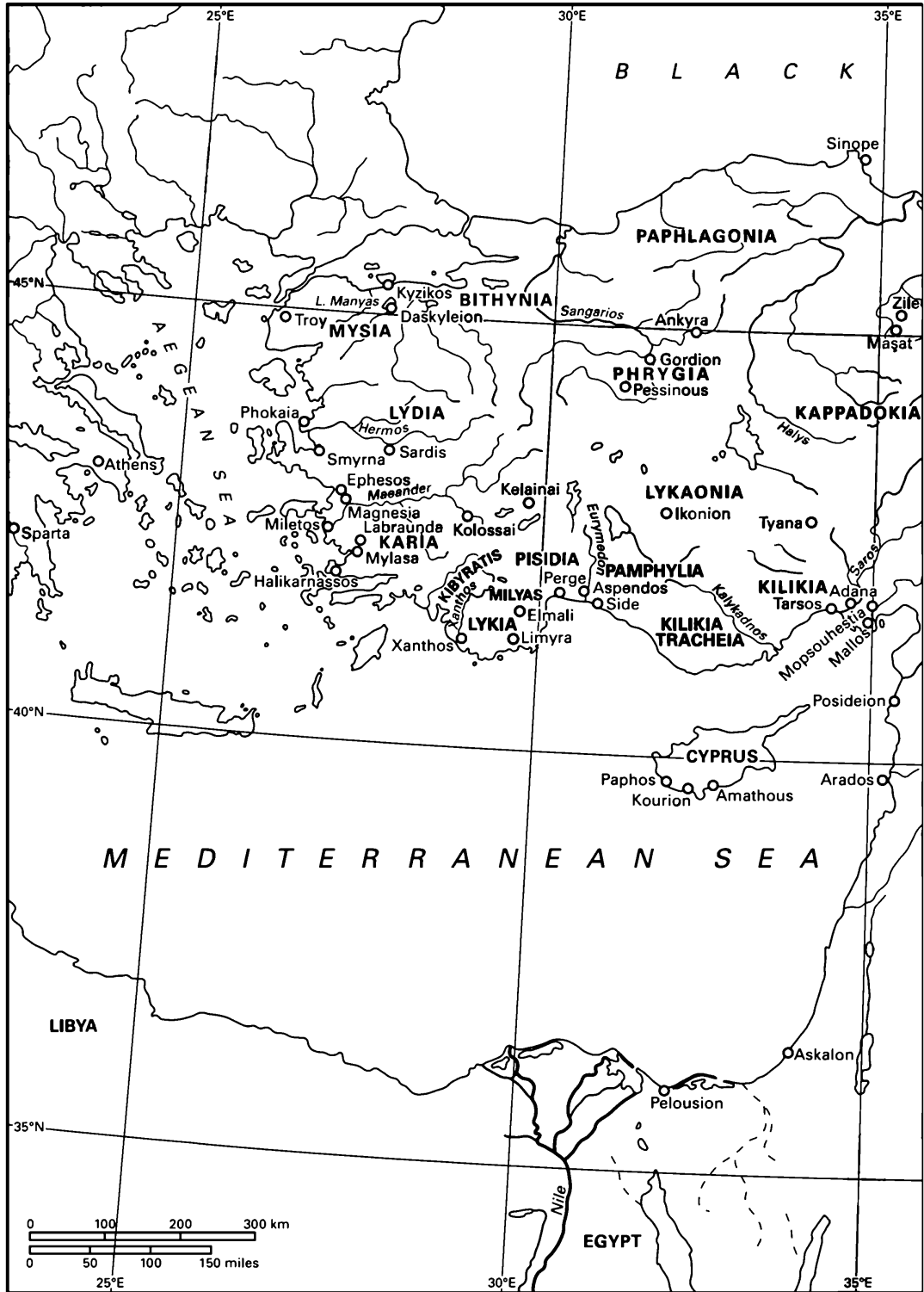
Map 3 Greece and the Aegean



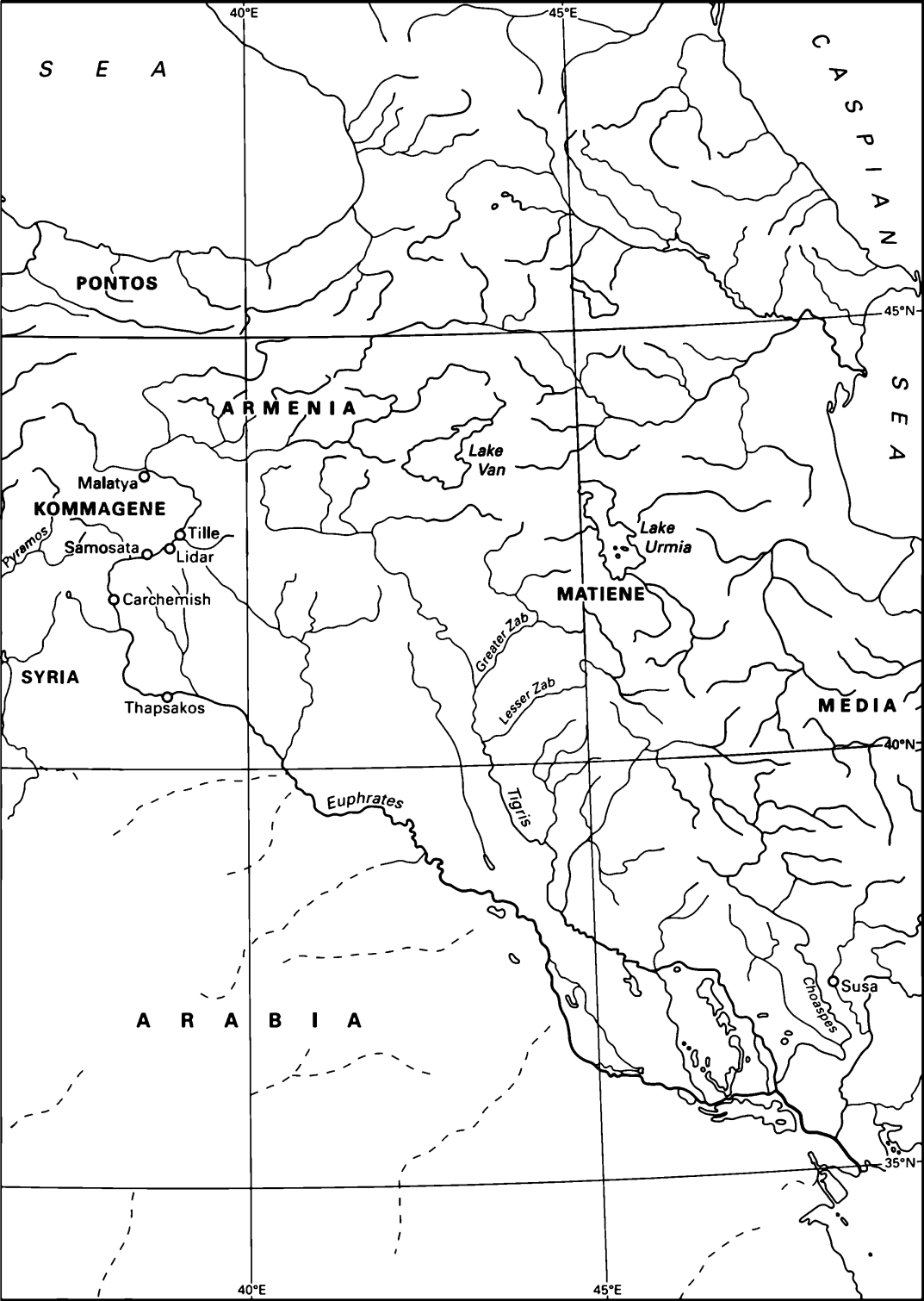


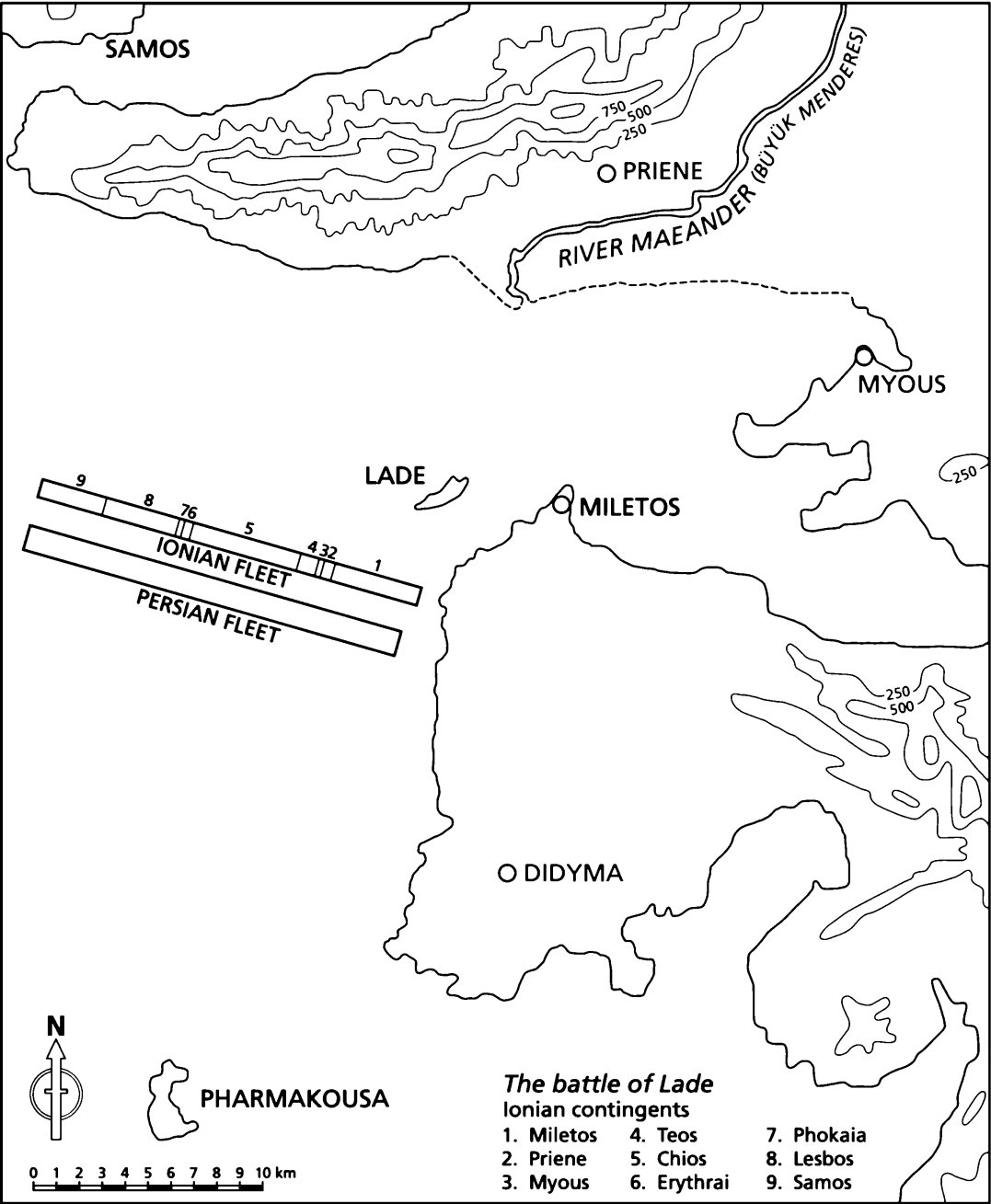


Map 4 Sicily and south Italy

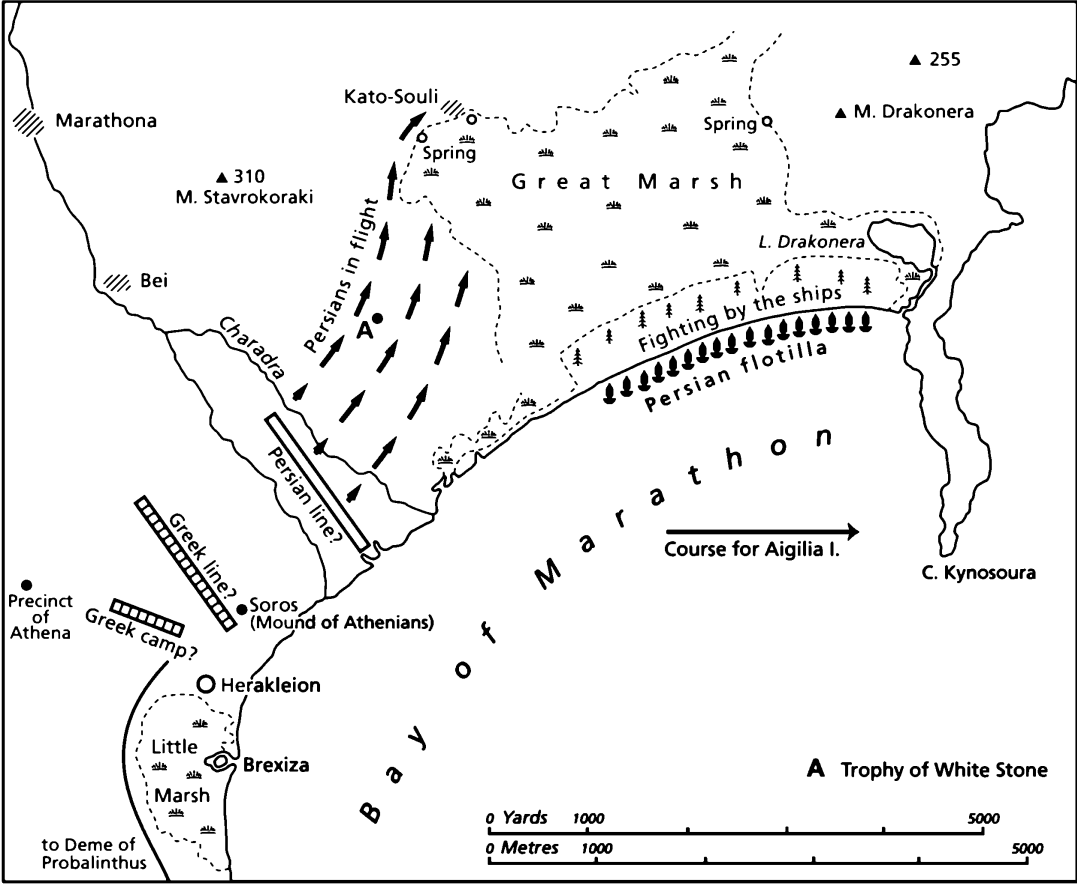


Map 5 Western Achaemenid empire





Map 6 The battle of Lade © Fabrizio Serra Editore used with permission



Map 7 Battle of Marathon





# INTRODUCTION

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## 1 THE SPIRIT OF MARATHON

‘The Battle of Marathon, even as an event in English history, is more important than the Battle of Hastings. If the issue of that day had been different (if the Greeks had not won), the Britons and Saxons might still be wandering in the woods.’ (J. S. Mill, *Edinburgh Review*, October 1846, 343)

‘Truth-loving Persians do not dwell upon  
The trivial skirmish fought near Marathon.  
... a mere reconnaissance in force  
By three brigades of foot and one of horse ...’  
(Robert Graves, *The Persian Version*, 1945)

‘We laugh at small children when they try to put on the boots and wear the garlands of their fathers; but when the leaders in the cities crazily stir up the masses by telling them to mimic the deeds and spirits and achievements of their forefathers, totally unsuited as those are to present crises and circumstances, their actions are laughable, but their sufferings are no laughing matter – unless they are simply treated with contempt ... As for Marathon, Eurymedon, and Plataia, and those examples that just make the crowds swell with pride and haughtiness: just leave them in the rhetoricians’ school-rooms.’ (Plutarch, *Advice on Public Life* 17 814a–c)

‘He [Steven Runciman] never entirely retracted his mischievous but genuinely inquisitive view that Europe might have ended up a more historically interesting, culturally various continent had the Persians won the Battle of Marathon.’ (Dinshaw 2016: 565)

Mill and Runciman exaggerate: Marathon, fought on the east coast of Attica in 490 BC, was not even the decisive battle of the Persian Wars, still less of British or European history. Yet Graves’ mischievous poem is wrong too. Marathon was more than a ‘trivial skirmish’. True, if Persia had won Athens would have survived, and the returning tyrant Hippias would still have had a city to rule. The fate of Eretria (101.3n.) shows what would have happened. Temples and sacred places would have been burned, as they were to be in 480 (8.50, 53); some citizens, especially perhaps the best-looking boys and girls (cf. 32), would have been deported to Persia to make good Dareios’ threat and instructions (94.2), but by no means all – the ships would only take so many; most important of all, this would count as ‘enslavement’ (94.2) to the Persian king, with the blow to human

self-respect that this meant. Some other cities would doubtless have been cowed by this example to give ‘earth and water’ (48.1–2n.), but again by no means all; Sparta, for one, would scarcely give in so easily, and it is unlikely that even a victorious Persian force would be in a position to fight a second engagement and defeat the Spartan army, newly arrived after the battle (120). The project of conquering all Greece (94.1) – if this was indeed Dareios’ intention – would remain unfinished, and it was already late in the season (109–17n.). The Persians would need to return in any case, win or lose. But that return would have been different from the great invasion that eventually came ten years later. It would probably have come sooner; and it would not have had a (by then enlarged) Athenian fleet to contend with, important as that would prove to be at Salamis. So it is true that Marathon could only be a beginning, whatever the outcome. But it was a beginning that mattered.

Its memory came to matter even more, as its fighters became legendary and inspirational. Commemoration started early. The dead were buried at the site of the battle itself, an honour that was not unparalleled<sup>1</sup> but was still unusual enough to be singled out by Thucydides for special mention (2.34.5): the Athenians were buried in the *sōros* (funeral mound) that is still such a prominent feature of the site, the Plataians in a separate tomb (117n.). A dedication on the Athenian acropolis in the name of the polemarch Kallimachos (ML no. 18 = Fornara 49) was then probably erected very soon after the battle (114n.). A stone memorial to the dead of the Erechtheid tribe, listing 22 names (there may originally have been more), was also probably erected within a few years. It was found far away in the Peloponnese (below, p. 6), but was probably one of ten such monuments, one for each tribe, originally standing at the *sōros* itself. It has a verse inscription proclaiming that ‘talk (φῆμις) of their valour reaches the ends of the bright earth, relating how they died, fighting against the Medes and bringing a crown of glory to Athens, few against many’ (SEG 56.430).<sup>2</sup> Shortly after 480–479, so it seems, a further memorial was put up in the Athenian *agora* (IG I<sup>3</sup> 503/4). The best reconstruction<sup>3</sup> suggests that it commemorated a sequence of three glorious Athenian battles, Marathon, Salamis, and a third that is uncertain (perhaps Mykale, though we might expect Plataia given the Athenians’ role there, 9.27–8,

<sup>1</sup> CT1: 294.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription is much discussed: see Petrovic 2013: 53–61, with bibliography. The reading of the first line of the verse is not certain, but its general sense seems clear.

<sup>3</sup> See Bowie 2010 and esp. Petrovic 2013, whom we largely follow here; both give references to earlier treatments, among which Matthaïou 2003 is particularly important. Arrington 2015: 43–8 prefers to think that the inscription limits itself to the dead of 490, but includes casualties from the Aigina campaign (cf. 88–93 with n.) as well as from Marathon.

56.2, 60–61, 67, 70.2, 73). A slab lay across the top of the base saying ‘the glory of these men’s valour shines forth’ (λάμπει κλέος), as ‘on foot and . . .’ (presumably) by sea they ‘saved all Greece from seeing the day of slavery’; underneath were three separate verse inscriptions side by side, of which the first seems to refer to Marathon and the ‘mighty adamantine heart’ of those who stood their ground ‘before the gates’ (which may be metaphorical, those of Athens, without implying close proximity) and repulsed the Persians in the vicinity of a ‘shore’. Among the few words that survive of the Salamis verse are ‘on foot’ and ‘island’; the third verse begins ‘before the enclosure’ and mentions the ‘calf-nourishing fertile land’. It looks as if the various verses echoed one another, pointing out similarities in the encounters (shore, gates) and stressing the motif ‘by land and by sea’.

Soon other monuments sprang up, including an Ionic column at Marathon itself (Paus. 1.32.5 with 109–17n.). There seems to be no Greek precedent for erecting such a memorial on the field of battle;<sup>4</sup> like the on-site burial (p. 2), that confirms that the 490 victory was felt as very special. Delphi too, predictably, saw memorials and dedications (Paus. 10.10.1–2, 10.11.5), especially a group by Pheidias again placing Miltiades in a heroic setting, this time with Theseus and seven of the eponymous heroes. Other works too were later said, rightly or wrongly, to have been remembered as built from the spoils of Marathon, not least Pheidias’ massive image of Athena on Cape Sounion (Paus. 1.28.2, 9.4.1; cf. 117.1n.) and a statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous, pointedly carved – so it was said – from the Parian marble that the Persians themselves had brought to commemorate the anticipated victory (Paus. 1.33.2–3).<sup>5</sup> This was a battle that posterity was meant to remember.

The *agora* monument is already seeing Marathon as the first of the sequence of great Persian War battles, but commemorations looked backwards as well as forwards. Some of the language of those memorials is Homeric, as epigrams for the war dead so often are: that ‘glory’ or ‘talk’ that shines forth and fills the earth (cf. *Od.* 9.19–20, 264); that ‘calf-nourishing fertile land’, οὔθαρ δ’ ἀπείρου πορτιτρόφου (cf. *Il.* 9.141, 283, *HAp.* 21). A few years later the Stoa Poikile, also in the *agora*, depicted scenes of Marathon, featuring the fighting by the ships and highlighting Miltiades and Kynegeros (109–17n.), together with some supernatural moments involving Theseus, Herakles, Echelos, and Epizelos (116, 117.2–3 nn.). It seems likely that a scene on a surviving sarcophagus at

<sup>4</sup> Proietti 2015.

<sup>5</sup> On these artworks see esp. Miller 1997: 30–2 and Arafat 2013, with references to earlier literature: on the Nemesis statue, now attributed to Agorakritos, see *LIMC* 1. 351–5 and 11. 679–80. The association with the battle of both the Athena and, especially, the Nemesis is in fact very dubious. On the Stoa Poikile see also Arrington 2015: 201–3.



Figure 1. The Brescia sarcophagus ©Archivio fotografico Musei di Brescia-Fotostudio Rapuzzi.

Brescia derives from the Stoa (figure 1);<sup>6</sup> if so, we can see a striking adornment on the sterns of the ships, and a looming Persian with an axe about to descend on, presumably, Kynegiros (114n.).

Most significant of all is the setting, for the other paintings on the Stoa included two from the heroic world, the fighting against the Amazons and an assembly of the Greek commanders following the fall of Troy; the fourth concerned a battle at ‘Oinoe’ which is hard to pin down. This is the world in which Marathon already belongs, with modern-day fighters who match up to the heroes of legend. The poem of Simonides on Plataia, depicting the Spartans marching out to battle in terms that echo the Homeric Achilles, is doing something similar for that battle eleven years later.<sup>7</sup>

The Stoa probably dates from the 460s:<sup>8</sup> it would be no surprise if there was much talk of Marathon at the time, when Miltiades’ son Kimon was so prominent in Athenian politics. Some have wished to develop this to a full-scale ideological ‘battle of the battles’, with Marathon being pushed by the more opulent class, those whose fathers would have fought there as hoplite foot-soldiers, against the claims of Salamis, the victory of the less wealthy citizens who rowed the boats.<sup>9</sup> However that may be, it need

<sup>6</sup> So Vanderpool 1966: 105, accepted by Harrison 1972: 359 and 365–6 and many since.

<sup>7</sup> Fr. 11 W<sup>2</sup>: ‘Simonides proposes to do for the Persian War what Homer did for the Trojan War’, Parsons 2001: 57.

<sup>8</sup> That date seems confirmed by the latest excavations: Camp 2015: 476–94, e.g. 479, 480, 492–3 (‘second quarter of the 5th century BC’).

<sup>9</sup> As Plato pointedly elevates Marathon and Plataia above the sea-battles of Salamis and Artemision, *Laws* 4.707b: so Podlecki 1966: 8–26, followed by Loraux 1986: 161 and others listed by Rhodes 2013: 19 n. 95. For doubts, Pelling 1997b: 9–12.

not be the reason for preferring Marathon as a theme for the Stoa: a land-battle was needed to underline the heroic parallels, and anyway sea-battles are harder to depict with individualised detail. But Marathon certainly remained a particularly evocative name in popular memory. It is not the men of Salamis but the ‘Marathon-fighters’, the *Μαραθωνομάχαι*, who figure in Aristophanes to summon up the sturdy fighters of old (*Ach.* 181, 697–8, *Knights* 781, *Clouds* 986) or the traditions which the young need to emulate (*Knights* 1334, *Wasps* 711, *Holkades* fr. 429 K–A).<sup>10</sup>

That note is struck even more emphatically in oratory, and again Marathon takes its place in a sequence of Athenian glories that begins in legend: the repulse of invading Skythians and Amazons, the championing of the Herakleidai – and Marathon, putting Dareios’ men to flight in a further victory over the *hybris* of the over-proud (Isok. *Panathenaikos* 192–8). There is no holding back: Lysias lists, once again, Amazons, Herakleidai, and this time the aftermath of the Seven against Thebes. And then ...

the Persians thought that, if they could only win this city over as a willing ally or defeat it if it resisted, they would easily rule over the rest of Greece: so they landed at Marathon ... Their knowledge of the city’s history had led them to think that if they attacked any other city first, then they would be fighting against both that city and Athens, because the Athenians would enthusiastically hurry to help; but if they attacked here first, no other Greeks would dare to risk open enmity with the invader through going to the help of others. That was their thinking. But our ancestors gave no reckoning to the dangers of warfare but took the view that glorious death left an undying reputation for their virtue: they were not afraid of the enemies’ numbers, but put the trust more in their own valour ... (Lysias, *Epitaphios* 22–3)

And more, a lot more. A much-admired and much-quoted passage of Demosthenes’ *On the Crown* culminates in his oath ‘by those of our ancestors who led the way in facing danger at Marathon, by those who took their stance in the line at Plataia, by those who fought at sea at Salamis and at Artemision ...’ (18.208). The Athenians were a beacon of freedom to others; they were the liberators of Greece (Andok. *On the Mysteries* 107, Lyk. *Against Leokrates* 104). What is more, they did this by fighting at Marathon ‘alone of the Greeks’, so they often said,<sup>11</sup> ruthlessly effacing the contribution of plucky Plataia. They are doing this already within Herodotus’ text,

<sup>10</sup> On Marathon in Aristophanes see esp. Carey 2013.

<sup>11</sup> Often but not always: for good rhetorical reasons Apollodoros plays up rather than down the Plataian contribution in *Against Neaira* ([Dem.] 59.94–103 with Pelling 2000a: 61–7). On Marathon in oratory see Volonaki 2013 and Efstathiou 2013, with references to earlier literature: on the ‘alone we fought’ motif, see Walters 1981.

as they make their claim for a place of honour in the battle-line at Plataia in 479 (μοῦνοι Ἑλλήνων, 9.27.5, after again the Herakleidai, the Seven, and this time the Trojan War; cf. 108, 111.2 nn.). Thucydides' Athenian envoys repeat the 'alone' theme when they speak at Sparta in 432 (1.73.4).

So Marathon is well on the way to becoming a slogan rather than a memory, a word to deploy whenever a glorious past is called up for inspiration in a disappointing present. No wonder the fourth-century historian Theopompos put Marathon as a prime example of 'Athens playing the braggart and fooling the Greeks' (*FGrHist* 115 F 153). No wonder, either, that centuries later Plutarch could warn against its abuse, in the third of our epigraphs: under the Roman masters in the early second century AD – 'the men of power above', as he disconcertingly calls them just afterwards in the same work (*Advice on Public Life* 18 814c) – one had to watch one's lip and pick one's inspirations carefully. There are indeed some enthusiastic treatments of Marathon a generation or so after Plutarch in the works of Aelius Aristides – Marathon, 'the greatest of deeds, with Salamis the second greatest' (*Against Plato on rhetoric*, p. 85 J.) It would have been about the same time that Herodes Atticus, a Marathon-dweller himself, moved the memorial of the Erechtheis tribe from Marathon to his estate in the Peloponnese (109–17n.).<sup>12</sup> Roman Greece often revelled in its past glories, and none, still, was more glorious than this.

So it has ever remained:<sup>13</sup> Marathon is still the name to warm the blood, and that doubtless was why Mill chose it rather than Salamis to make his point. And it was at Marathon,<sup>14</sup> 'musing there an hour alone', that Byron's troubadour

'dream'd that Greece might still be free:  
For standing on the Persians' grave  
I could not deem myself a slave.'

(*Don Juan* Canto 3 [1819])<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> For second-century AD celebration of Marathon see Bowie 2013.

<sup>13</sup> Though not always to the same degree: Rood 2007 suggests that it was in the nineteenth century that Marathon overtook Thermopylai in a further 'battle of the battles'.

<sup>14</sup> Not that Byron elevates Marathon over other battles: this same passage of *Don Juan* goes on to dwell on Salamis and Thermopylai, and Thermopylai in particular is prominent in his other writings. Still, his Marathon has proved especially resonant: 'Bad Lord Byron went to the firing, helmet and dogs and all | He rode and he swam and he swam and he rode but now he rode for a fall; | Twang the lyre and rattle the lexicon, Marathon, Harrow and all, | Lame George Gordon broke the cordon, nobody broke his fall . . .' (Louis MacNeice, *The Cock O'the North* (1953), lines 1–4). (We are grateful to Karen Caines for advice here.)

<sup>15</sup> Byron in fact knew full well that the *sōros* was the burial mound for the Athenians rather than the Persians: Rood 2007: 287. There may be other ironies too: Byron is not speaking in his own voice there but in that of a 'time-serving bard'

Herodotus will have seen the Stoa Poikile and at least some of the inscriptions; he may have heard some of the speeches; his ear will doubtless have been bent by many proud Athenians, and probably a few more sceptical non-Athenians too. His audiences, not just in the 420s when his text had reached or was reaching its final version<sup>16</sup> but for decades before, would have heard a lot of such talk as well, and doubtless many of his readings led to animated discussions afterwards. Sometimes he produces his own version of some of those themes of the inscriptional epigrams: there are several points, for instance, where Marathon prefigures themes in the other great battles that are to come, stressing the motifs that they share (109–17, 109.3, 112.2, 132 nn.). But his response is measured and critical. Some of the divine epiphanies figure, but he picks and chooses, leaving some aside that he must have known about (117.2–3n.). He goes out of his way to stress the contribution of the Plataians, who are allowed a considerable amount of narrative space (108, 111.2, 113.1 nn.); when those Athenian speakers in Book 9 trot out the ‘alone of the Greeks’ line, an attentive reader or hearer will recognise the cliché and remember from Book 6 that it is a lie, or at least stretches the truth (111.2n.). Nor is there any ‘beacon of freedom’ rhetoric on the example given to the rest of Greece, though it is certainly acknowledged that enslavement is what is at stake (109.3, cf. 11.2). Instead a realistic tinge is given to the debate, making it clear that an important reason for bringing on the battle was the fear of *stasis* and treachery at Athens, and treachery there indeed goes on to be (109.5, 115, 124.2 nn.). Most important, he keeps a sense of proportion. The battle narrative itself is very brief, much briefer than those of Thermopylai, Artemision, Salamis, and Plataia (109–17n.). The text as a whole leaves no doubt that it is those battles, not this, that would decide the fate of Greece. The elaborately fashioned new start given in Book 7 underlines the point, with the extensive court debate that launches Xerxes on his expedition. Bks. 7–9 will form a powerful unity, but that greater story has not started yet. The two big battles of Book 6, Lade and Marathon, can indeed be viewed as alternative preliminaries for what is to come: Marathon presages the Greek success, Lade shows how easily it could all have gone the other way and how freedom rhetoric, in that case that of Dionysios of Phokaia (11), can lead people astray.

(Rood 2007: 292) who knows how to tailor his theme to his audience, and this is what he ‘would, or could, or should have sung’ in Greece itself. Still, the dream of freedom is one that Byron would have endorsed.

<sup>16</sup> The date of any such ‘final version’ is disputed: the traditional date is around 425, but that rests on an inference from Aristophanes’ *Acharnians* that is insecure (Pelling 2000a: 154–5, Henderson 2012: 146–7). 98.2 takes us down to the 420s, probably but not certainly to a date after 424 (n.); 91.1 (n.) may suggest a date a little later. Fornara 1971b has arguments for a date closer to 414. Irwin 2013 argues for a date as late as the fourth century, but we would not go that far.



Still, Herodotus' treatment is measured rather than subversive. Various narrative techniques make it clear that something very special is about to happen, not least the evocative use of the name 'Marathon' itself (103–4n.). When it comes, the courage is not downplayed: indeed, Herodotus rather overdoes the extraordinariness as the troops charge 'at the run', the first – or so he over-generously says – to stand up in battle to Median dress and refuse to be terrified (112.3n.). It is an important part of his programme to ensure 'that things originating from humans should not be wiped out by time' (ἐξίτηλα, erased as words on an inscription might be erased) and that great and wonderful achievements should not 'lose their glory', become ἀκλεᾶ (Proem); his whole narrative can indeed be seen as a sort of prose equivalent of those memorial verses and monuments. The counterparts go further: he has his own Homeric touches, and they too, like the language of the epigrams, elevate the fighters' achievement to heroic stature (113.2n., cf. 11.1n.: below, p. 28). He does not withhold that highest form of praise for some who died, 'he became a good man', another phrase frequent in memorial inscriptions (14.3, 114.1, 117.2 nn.); here too the Greeks are outnumbered (8.2–9.1, 109.1, 117.1), even if not by the 'countless myriads' of later exaggeration (109–17n.). The gods always need to be mentioned with appropriate caution, but he gives space to the possibility, probably the likelihood, that these events were momentous enough to excite divine interest and support (105.2n.). That plays a part in his tracking of morale through this and the remaining books: for the moment all that is hoped is that the gods may allow them a fair fight (11.3, 109.5), but by the end of Book 8 the Athenians will have seen enough to be confident that the gods must be on their side (8.143.2, cf. 11.3n.). So for Herodotus too Marathon is only a beginning, an *hors d'oeuvre* with a very substantial main course to come; but for Herodotus too it is a beginning that matters.

It is a beginning of something else as well. Miltiades' choice of rhetoric is telling when he urges Kallimachos to take his own view and press on to fight (109). Yes, there is that realistic touch of the danger of *stasis*; and the realism has a positive touch, for the choice affords Kallimachos the chance 'to free your city and leave for yourself a memorial for all human eternity such as not even Harmodios and Aristogeiton won'. The optimism extends to the city too: 'if the city wins through, it can become the first city of all Greece'. That points to a broader future, one that includes all that would happen down to Herodotus' own time. It points to the way that Marathon would indeed be the first step along Athens' path to empire, aided by the disgrace of the Spartan Pausanias and the Spartan withdrawal from hegemony in carrying the fight to Persia after 479 (8.3.2). Other touches in Book 6 too carry the audience to much later events, including the birth of Perikles – a 'lion', with all the suggestions of that figuring for good or for

ill (131.2n.). The other foreshadowings are typically inexplicit, but rather mentions of individuals or gestures towards more recent events that would be in any reader's or hearer's mind – Archidamos the Spartan king, Aigina and its enmity with Athens, Plataia and its Athenian alliance, Delion, the powerful Alkmeonids, Athenian pressure on the islands, Miltiades' son Kimon (71.1, 73.2, 91.2, 108, 118.2, 126–31, 132–40, 136.3 nn.). What those readers or hearers would make of it all is a further question. Some, especially Athenians, might thrill with pride: others would find the thought of Athenian domination less to their taste. And all might wonder what the implications of the story might be for Athens herself: would that empire too be riding for a Xerxes-like fall? Or would this new, democratic, Greek empire be different?

Whatever the rights and wrongs of that new empire, Herodotus does not paint that future history in rosy colours. All that has happened through three successive Persian reigns has been 'bad' for Greece, κακά, worse than in the twenty generations that preceded. The Greeks themselves were partly to blame, for some of those κακά came from Persia but some from the leading states fighting for 'rule', ἀρχή (98.2). There is nothing mealy-mouthed about that.

## 2 ARCHITECTURE

The Greek war has been looming from the start of the *Histories*, with the promise of 'many and wonderful achievements, some of Greeks and some of barbarians' culminating in 'other things and the αἰτίη why they came to war with one another' (proem). Book 1 had duly kept a close eye on Greece, first with Solon's Greek wisdom at Kroisos' Lydian court (1.29–33), then with the background painted for Greece's two most powerful cities, Athens and Sparta. To give that Spartan background meant going back a long way, all the way to Lykourgos and the bones of Orestes (1.65–8). Athens had pushed forward more recently, so that after a few enigmatic words on the Pelasgians (1.57–8, cf. 137.1n.) Herodotus gives most of his space to Peisistratos and his tyranny (1.59–64): that is the context for the first introduction of two names that will be often heard in Book 6 as well, Marathon itself, where Peisistratos' own landing heralded a more successful return (1.62) than that of his son Hippias (102), and the Alkmeonids (1.61.1, 64.3), with the beginning of their up-and-down relations with the tyrants' family (121.1, 124.1 nn.). By the end of Book 1 'the barbarians' have duly come to war with Greeks, and very successfully, with their conquest of so many of the Greeks of Asia Minor: these are the first and the second 'enslavements' of Ionia that are summarised at 32.

After that strong introduction Greece recedes into the background, and bks. 2–4 keep a strong eastern focus as Persia expands into Egypt, Babylonia, Skythia (not successfully), and Libya. There are still reminders that Greece will lie at the end of this expansionist trajectory, especially when Queen Atossa impresses her husband Dareios with her hankering after Greek maidservants (3.134). Book 3 indeed has quite a lot of Greek material, with the sketches of Polykrates of Samos and Periandros of Korinth (3.39–60) and a little on a Spartan campaign against Samos (3.44.1, 54–6); still, Herodotus could there have given much more material on the Greek world had he wished. Kleomenes is allowed a cameo appearance at 3.148, where he is tempted by the slippery rhetoric of the Samian Maiandrios, and even more by the silver and golden goblets that he offered: that is a suggestive antecedent for the fuller picture of Kleomenes given in bks. 5 and 6 (below, Section 3), but for the moment this too is left unelaborated.

It is bks. 5 and 6 – the book-divisions are not Herodotus' own, and these two go closely together<sup>17</sup> – that reintroduce the Greek world, and in a big way. First in Book 5 comes some Thracian and Macedonian material, some of which (especially the introduction of Alexandros the Philhellene, 5.17–22) looks forward to later books. Then come the stirrings of the Ionian Revolt, a story that is not complete until Book 6. In the middle of Book 5 Herodotus fills in a good deal of what had been happening in Athens, jumping back some years to pick up the story of the Peisistratids from where it had been left in Book 1 (5.55–73); Book 6, as we shall see, tells a great deal about Sparta. Within the narrative Aristagores of Miletos is the first to shift the gaze across the Aegean, as he tries to interest the Persian commander Artaphrenes in a Greek adventure (5.30–1). Artaphrenes duly agrees, but this ends badly (5.32–5), and Aristagores is soon playing the opposite game, spurring on Sparta (unsuccessfully) and Athens (successfully) to support the Ionian rebels.

In an important moment several times recalled in Book 6 (9.3, 32, 101.3 nn., cf. 1.1n. and 97.2n.), Athenian and Eretrian troops penetrate to Sardis, and the fire spreads to the temple of Kybebe (5.102.1). It is this provocation that refocuses Dareios' mind and Herodotus' narrative on the west: every evening Dareios' slave reminds him, 'Sire, remember the Athenians' (5.105.2). That is partly, perhaps largely, a matter of revenge, fitting a pattern of reciprocal give-and-take that is fundamental to Herodotus' picturing of history: the Greeks have given it out, and now they must take it in return. At 5.102.1 itself Herodotus looks forward to

<sup>17</sup> Consequently several of the themes of this section deal with topics already discussed, sometimes in fuller detail, in the introduction to Hornblower 2013: 1–15.

explain that ‘the Persians put this forward’ (σκηπτόμενοι) as their reason when they ‘burned in revenge’ (ἀντεμπίμπρασαν) the Greek temples. But that word σκηπτόμενοι leaves open the possibility, even the likelihood, that there is more to it (cf. 7.28.1, Th. 6.18.1); as so often, especially in Book 6 as war looms, professed reasons are only part of the truth (cf. 13.2, 44.1, 49.2, 61.1, 86.1, 94–5, 94.1, 133.1 nn.). At 94.1 it is made explicit that the slave’s night-time reminder was important, but ‘at the same time Dareios, while keeping hold of this professed reason (πρόφασις), wished to conquer those people of Greece who did not give him earth and water’, i.e. recognise his suzerainty (48.2n.).

Crushing the Ionian Revolt is the first step, and many strands from Book 5 are tied together in the first chapters of Book 6: the break at the beginning of the book is very light, indeed barely a break at all (1.1n.). The end of Histiaios (30nn.) then replays several elements of Aristagores’ demise (5.126). Aristagores had promised ‘easy’ conquests, with the word εὐπετής (‘pushover’, Pelling 2007) as a signature tune: eventually the Persians do indeed take some islands εὐπετέως (31.1) – but as a result of his and Histiaios’ failure. There is a wider arc too: ‘thus were the Ionians enslaved for the third time, the first by the Lydians, and twice then by the Persians’ (32) – so this is not merely the end of this story but of one that repeats earlier events, going right back to Book 1 (as so much of bks. 5–6 does). At 17 Dionysios of Phokaia flees ‘to Phoenicia’ and takes to piracy, an echo of the way that the histories began in Phoenicia and with a questionable abduction (1.1, cf. 16.2n.); but unlike those earlier Phoenicians he does not raid Greeks, only ‘Carthaginians and Etruscans’ – itself an echo of an episode fifty years earlier when Phokaiaans similarly fled westwards and took to plundering (1.163–7, cf. 11.2, 17 nn.).

The end of one story, then; but, as so often,<sup>18</sup> the closure of one momentous story is the beginning of another. Dionysios’ flight is not the only way that the narrative has already cast its readers’ and listeners’ glance to the west, even the far west, just as Book 5 had often done. Now Samian refugees from Lade had reached Sicily, and were no better news for the local inhabitants than Dionysios was for those Carthaginian and Etruscan victims (22–3). The links of Miletos and Sybaris, far away in Southern Italy, are also noticed, even if the Sybarites failed to grieve for Miletos as they might or should have done (21.1). And there is no doubt what the Persians’ next move is going to be. The Athenians grieved more than the Sybarites for Miletos (21.2). Well they might. Their fates had been intertwined in Book 5, when Athens was more precipitate than Sparta in offering help, seduced by Aristagores’ rhetoric (5.97); there is every chance

<sup>18</sup> The end of Dostoevsky’s *Crime and Punishment* is a classic example: cf. Torgovnick, 1981: 13–14. It is striking how many modern novels begin at a funeral.

that their fates will be all too similar now. There are hints of the threat to others too, for the artful splitting into two of the ‘shared oracle’ given to the Argives makes it clear that the narrative will have to return to the question of ‘the safety of their city’ (19nn.). There is evidently Greek trouble ahead, and the crossing of the Hellespont, the continental boundary between Asia and Europe, is given appropriate stress (33n., 43.4–45n.: below, pp. 26–7). The Phoenicians begin this movement too (33), just as they began the *Histories* as a whole at 1.1.

When we get back to that shared oracle, it will emerge that the threat to the Argives comes not from Persia but from their near neighbour Sparta (77); but that tells a story too, for as the narrative focus switches to Greece it becomes a tale of quarrels – quarrels within cities, quarrels between cities. At Athens the older Miltiades is on bad terms with Peisistratos (35.3), and then his son Kimon is put out of the way by the Peisistratids (103); at Sparta the two kings Kleomenes and Demaretos are at each other’s throats (51.1). All are soon at odds with their cities too. By the end of Book 6 Demaretos has been deposed and humiliated, the victim of Kleomenes’ intrigue, and has departed angrily into exile (65–7); Miltiades, twice, and Kleomenes have been put on trial, or some sort of near equivalent (82.2, 104.2, 136 nn.), and so has Demaretos’ successor Leutychides (72.1, 85.1 nn.); the careers of all three end in disgrace. Argos, as we saw, is at odds with Sparta: thanks to Kleomenes’ disreputable and perhaps impious ploy (Section 3), it ends up ‘widowed of men’ (83.1). Aigina is getting on no better with its neighbours than it did in Book 5 (49–50, 64, 73, 85–93). The intra-city and inter-city squabbles also feed off one another. Demaretos provides Aigina with an argument to use against his co-king Kleomenes (50.2–3), a ploy that comes back to bite the Aiginetans themselves at Athens (86n.); Sparta exploits Athens’ hatred of Aigina when it deposits its hostages with them, ‘the Aiginetans’ greatest enemies’ (73.2).

The story is full of paradox. Miltiades, Athens’ future hero at Marathon, soon comes into the narrative – but he is not at Athens at all but in the Chersonese, tyrant there as his uncle had been (35–41).<sup>19</sup> For the moment the purveyors of democracy are, of all people, the Persians, with Mardonios spreading democracy among the cities of Ionia (43). Earlier in the *Histories* Herodotus has given ethnographic summaries of foreign peoples – Persia (1.131–40), Egypt (Book 2), India (3.98–105), Libya (4.168–9), with many asides on others; now the Greek city Sparta is considered weird enough to need a similar survey (56–60), with various features that show similarities with Persia (58.3, 59 nn.), Skythia (58.2n.),

<sup>19</sup> Much of the material on Miltiades touches on his relations with tyrants and tyranny, and it is an easy guess that Herodotus’ oral sources still carried partisan echoes of his two trials, 104.2 and 136. Herodotus himself avoids stridency on either side.

and Egypt (58.1, 60 nn.). Any smugness that Greek readers and listeners might have felt at Herodotus' treatment of, say, the mad Kambyzes is soon dissipated: Kleomenes' progressive insanity turns out to be all too similar (61–84, 75.1, 80 nn.),<sup>20</sup> and there will later be similarities with Miltiades too (132–40n.). In Book 1 the continuity since heroic times – Lykourgos and Orestes – seemed a sign of Spartan stability, that εὐνομία of which they were so proud (1.65.2, Th. 1.18.1 with CT 1: 51–3, and Tyrtaios' poem 'Eunomia', frs. 1–4 W<sup>2</sup>); the word conveys 'discipline and good order' (Andrewes 1938: 89). Now the strange tale of Ariston's wife and the birth of Demaretos (61–70) evokes a different legend, the birth of the Spartan kings' ancestor Herakles (69.1n.) after the double visit of Zeus and Amphytryon to Alkmene's bed. This time the result for Sparta will be far less happy.

Macan wrote, 'The literary structure of the sixth Book is almost indescribably complicated. At times the narrative might seem to have little more unity than a batch of anecdotes, the memorial stream of events to break into a shower of spray.'<sup>21</sup> That is only partly fair. When the focus is on the fighting with Persia, the narrative is much more straightforward: thus the beginning of the book has a strong forward movement, at least until ch. 17 and arguably until that tying up of the Ionian threads at ch. 32. The account of Marathon (94–120) is similarly tightly controlled, with even the flashback to earlier Plataian events at 108 serving an important function (n.). It is when the gaze shifts to the Greek states on their own that the presentation becomes more complex, with shifts back and forwards in time (34–40, 52–5, 61–4, 70, 86, 125, 126–31, 137–40)<sup>22</sup> and switches of focus from one city to another (though Sparta and Athens are never far from the limelight). Some motifs may come back in different tales, for instance the recurrent mention of Olympic victors and four-horse chariots (35.1, 103.1–3, 125.5, 126.2 nn.), but those provide a refrain rather than any real plot-tightening. Rather closer links, though, are given by the themes of τῖσις and intergenerational payback (Section 3), and some apparent unevenness in coverage may be more explicable than it seems at first sight. In particular, little may seem to come from the troubles of Athens and Aigina that attract such attention at 87–93, but their true significance will emerge later (7.144.2 and 86–93 n.; Hornblower 2013: 226–7).

Macan is on surer ground when he explains the confusion he finds by reference to the 'nebulous infinity of autonomous [Greek] states'. The

<sup>20</sup> See also Griffiths 1989 and 5.42.1n.; below, pp. 16–17.

<sup>21</sup> Macan 1895 I: xl.

<sup>22</sup> These switches often leave the commentator groping for chronological certainty, or at least needing to supplement Herodotus' narrative from elsewhere: cf. esp. 40, 48.1, 72.1–2, 74.1, 77–83, 86–93, 91.1, 108, 125, 137.1 nn. Not all these puzzles will have preoccupied all Hdt.'s initial audience, but some will have been left wondering some of the time.

very jumpiness of the Greek narrative is interpretatively suggestive: the Greek world *is* very confused, and it contrasts with the firm direction that the King's war-aims impart to Persian affairs. 'The Athenians, then, were engaged in war with the Aiginetans; the Persian (i.e. Dareios) was doing his own thing...' (94.1), i.e. making his careful and elaborate preparations for the 490 campaign. The two worlds are very different, but the one is about to impinge forcefully on the other, and Greek squabbling will have to stop.

Still, that is to be very much a new story, and a bigger one. The strong new beginning in Book 7 has already been noted (Section 1). The end of Book 6 gives some sense of interim closure, reprising motifs from the beginning of the Book (Miltiades' thigh-wound, 134.2n.), from early in Book 5 (Kleisthenes' banquet, 129nn.), and from Book 1 (Kroisos' riches, 125.2n.) to close rings of varying size. There is a relaxing of tone too, with the stories of Alkmeon (125), of Agariste's marriage (126–31), and even of Miltiades' ploy with Lemnos (137–40). The stories show some thematic links ('kissing cousins', 121–31, 125.4, 127.4, 132 nn.), and together they jump back in time and away in space after the tension of Marathon to give a lighter and more legendary tone: the hints of the world of epic here (126–131.1n., 136.2n.) are very different in flavour from those at Lade and Marathon (11, 114.1nn., p. 28), suggesting a distance from the world of the 490s rather than any correspondences between heroic and modern-day valour. It is an interval before the next Persian storm.

There are other ways too that Herodotus makes the lines into bks. 7–9 less continuous than they might have been. One is the treatment of individuals. Of the major players in Book 6 only Mardonios and Demaretos<sup>23</sup> have roles in bks. 7–9, though several of the later big names could have figured in Book 6. Themistokles had been archon in 493/2, but that is delayed to a flashback at 7.143, with the rather airy νεωστί, 'recently', for his rise to prominence over ten years before. Leonides' birth has been mentioned at 5.41.3, but despite the elaborate treatment of Kleomenes' death (75) Herodotus does not say that Leonides succeeded him, preferring to hold him back till the magnificent genealogical entry at 7.204. Gelon will become important at 7.153–67, and had become tyrant of Gela c. 491: despite those glances across to Sicily (above), Herodotus does not carve out an opportunity to do the same for Gelon, and leaves him to a further flashback at 7.154. Aristides, if we can trust Plutarch, played a significant role at Marathon, and his support was important in swaying the

<sup>23</sup> Demaretos' role is there so prominent that it is reasonable to infer that Herodotus drew information from his descendants in Asia Minor (50.3, 70.2, 72.1 nn.); but if so this does not lead him to give a particularly favourable treatment (50.2, 51nn.), though the wrathful prophecy at 67.3 does show an insight that recurs in Demaretos' dealings with Xerxes at 7.101–4 (below, p. 16), 7.209, and 7.234–7.

vote to fight (*Arist.* 5.2–3): not a word of that at **109–10**, nor of his fighting in the battle (next to Themistokles, says Plutarch: not necessarily reliable, **111.1n.**), nor of his being left to guard the prisoners while the bulk of the army hurried to Athens (*Arist.* 5.4–6). On the Persian side Dareios' brother Artabanos had not been short of a word of advice in Book 4 (83, cf. 143), and will pontificate at length in Book 7 (10, 15–18, 46–52); he is strangely absent in bks. 5–6. Of the lesser players Xanthippos (**131.2**, **136.1**) will return (8.131.3), and he plays an important role in the last episode of the *History*, imposing a gruesome punishment on the Persian satrap Artayktes at the Hellespont (9.114, 120). But fundamentally bks. 7–9 are played out with an almost wholly new cast.

Book 6 does prepare for what is to come, but in themes rather than characters. As we saw, Herodotus begins to trace the arc of rising confidence in the gods (Section 1); the theme of *τίσις* (Section 3) also prepares for later, with the continuing Persian quest for vengeance for Sardis and the eventual payback in Book 9 when the Greeks penetrate to the Hellespont. The battles introduce several motifs that will recur (**6–17**, **7**, **16.1**, **109.3**, **112**, **132 nn.**), and both the similarities and the contrasts are expressive: the 'madness' that the Persians ascribe to the Athenians when they charge at Marathon is echoed before both Artemision and Salamis (**112.2n.**), pointing to Greek spirit and to Persian incomprehension; after Kallimachos is told that everything at Marathon depends 'on you', later echoes of that *ἐν σοί* suggest similar inspiration on the Greek side and a very different style of command relationship on the Persian (**109.3 n.**, 8.60 α, 8.118.3). Lade foreshadows various aspects of the 480–479 campaigns (**6–17n.**), both the Greeks' need for naval skill (the *διέκπλοος*, **12.1** with n.) and the Persian strategy of sowing dissension (**9**), reinforced by the Greek tendency to mutual recrimination (**12.3**, **14.1**).

Such patterns are not moves in an aesthetic game, but reflect, and alert the reader to, underlying realities. Given the imbalance in land forces, a naval battle was always going to be the Greeks' best chance; and self-interested perfidy is always a danger in this world of precarious Greek fellow feeling. Themistokles too will feel it worth playing for such desertions among the Ionians in the changed circumstances of 480 (8.19.1, 22, 85.1). The revolt may be a false start to Greece's finest hours, but it is at least a start; Dionysios' freedom-fighting words (**11.2–3**) lose their inspirational power once their hearers have to train hard in the sun, but they presage the better times and the more resolute fighters that are to come. The parallels also underline how the later events could readily have re-enacted the débâcle of the earlier. Greek unity and constancy will be precarious then as now, and it could all so very easily have gone the other way.

One reason is that Greek squabbling. It is a further paradox, the paradox of freedom, pointed by the contrast between the failure of Lade and the success of Marathon. Freedom can be inspirational, as everyone fights



for himself rather than for a master (5.78); but freedom also means that men and cities are free to go their own way. That famed δρόμος of Marathon (112.1n.) could so easily come back in a different form, the δρησμός as states and individuals think of ‘running away’ (8.4.1, 18, 23, 75.2), just as Aristagores ‘ran away’ when the Ionian Revolt began to go badly (5.124.1 with n.). This theme – the perpetual danger of fragmentation, and yet the fragile ability under pressure to work together – persists through bks. 7–9, and it figures strongly in the exchange of Demaretos and Xerxes at 7.101–4. Xerxes there does not talk rubbish: he stresses the cohesion that only a unified command can give, and the weaknesses of freedom where men cannot be forced to fight against their will (7.103.3–4). Demaretos might be expected to understand Greek frailties all too well, but he understands their strengths too, especially Spartan strengths: ‘They are free, but not wholly free: for they have a master, *Nomos*, that they fear even more than your subjects fear you’ (7.104.4). That is a rosy-eyed view, and Lade has already shown that not all Greeks are so obedient. It is not always right even for Spartans, as the chaotic indiscipline before Plataia will demonstrate (9.53–7). But it is not always wrong either, as Thermopylai will show.

One final paradox is that the weaknesses as well as the strengths of freedom play so important a part in the outcome. It is those squabbles with Aigina that persuade Athens to build the fleet that proves decisive in 480 (7.144); it is the danger of fragmentation that means Themistokles can threaten to sail away and be believed (8.62.2), and thus win his argument for fighting at Salamis. Xerxes will believe Themistokles too when he pretends to ‘want your cause to win rather than that of the Greeks’ (8.75, 110). Freedom comes whole, for good and bad, and in 490 and 480–479 the good side wins out – but only just.

Even the inspirational side of freedom has more than one side to it. Book 6 ends with Athenians, not Persians, on the move. First comes their unsuccessful move against Paros, in a quest to squeeze the islanders for wealth that they do not have (133); then a flashback to Miltiades’ takeover of Lemnos from the Chersonese (137–40). That too looks forward, beyond bks. 7–9 to the Athenian empire that is to come (Section 1 and 132–40n.). That history will not be pleasant for all.

### 3 KLEOMENES AND IMPIETY

#### (a) *Introduction: the characterisation of Kleomenes*

Kleomenes I of Sparta is one of the most strongly characterised individuals in the *Histories*. It is therefore particularly frustrating that Herodotus gives no idea of his appearance, unlike for instance the tall and good-looking Xerxes (7.187.2) or the beautiful and tall Kambyzes (3.3.1), in other ways

Kleomenes' analogue (above, p. 13). Otherwise, the characterisation of Kleomenes is achieved solely by the narration of his actions; Herodotus' judgment of him is conveyed by that and by the structuring of his material.

Kleomenes' policies have been illuminatingly explained and defended by modern scholars against a perceived hostile bias on the part of Herodotus' informants.<sup>24</sup> It is, however, futile to try to force the evidence so as to achieve consistency, or to feel obliged to choose between such options as 'madness...and suicide, or a career of genius cut short by murder'.<sup>25</sup> Herodotus' strongest positive judgment is authorial: Kleomenes on Aigina was, by his arrest of prominent medisers, 'working for the common good of Greece' (61.1). The judgment stands, even if a distinction is made between his intentions and the actual results (see n. there). As for structuring of material, the grisly death of Kleomenes at 75 is not his final appearance, which is at the flashback at 108, his crafty and far-reaching advice to the Plataians to seek alliance with the Athenians. In something like the same way, the book ends on a positive retrospective note about Miltiades, who had in days gone by acquired Lemnos for the Athenians (140.2), although the reader's last actual glimpse of the disgraced hero is on a stretcher at his criminal trial (136.2). Rather than adding to a debate about which aspects of the Kleomenes narrative should be emphasised at the expense of which others, the rest of this section will concentrate on a single and almost defining trait, his impiety.

(b) *Impiety and its limits*

The impression that Book 6 is unusually rich in examples of impiety<sup>26</sup> among the books of Herodotus is probably due to the prominence in it of one man, king Kleomenes of Sparta, whose behaviour is presented as increasingly erratic and outrageous (75.1, 108.2 nn.). But there is much other evidence (Miltiades scores highly at the end of the book). One reason for the large amount of impiety which characterises Book 6 might be the theme of temple-desecration which originated in the Athenians' burning at Sardis (5.101–102.1, cf. 7.8 β3; above, p. 10): part of the Persian justification, and mission, is to take revenge by 'burning-in-exchange' (ἀντεπίμψασαν, 5.102.1), as they threaten (9.2, cf. 13.2) and go on to do (25.2, 32, 96, 101.3) – though Datis is strikingly restrained in the special case of Delos (97, 118.2). Another is a first stage in that growing Greek

<sup>24</sup> Forrest 1980: 85–3, 'The reign of Kleomenes'; Cawkwell 1993 [= 2011: 74–94]; de Ste Croix 2004b.

<sup>25</sup> Forrest 1980: 93.

<sup>26</sup> Other aspects of religion in bks. 5 and 6 (gods, heroes, divination, epiphanies) were covered in section 6 of the Introduction to Book 5 (Hornblower 2013: 31–40).

confidence that was noted in Section 1 (p. 8). For the moment all that can be hoped, even by the inspirational speakers Dionysios and Miltiades, is that the gods might grant an even playing field (θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, 11.2, 109.5). After Salamis the faith is stronger: Themistokles can say ‘it is not we who have brought this about, but the gods and heroes, jealous at the prospect of one impious and outrageous man becoming lord of Asia and Europe – this man who treated sacred and human possessions all the same, burning and destroying the images of the gods’ (8.109.3); then the Athenians’ message to Mardonios is that as long as the sun follows its same path they will never make terms, ‘trusting in gods as our allies and the heroes, whose houses and statues Xerxes scorned and burned’ (8.143.2). Herodotus finds caution appropriate when talking of the gods (27.1, 27.3, 74.2, 105.1, 117.2–3, 118.1 nn.), but he still allows the Marathon campaign to show the first signs of that divine support, with the epiphany of Pan (105) and the uncannily monstrous figure who looms over Epizelos (117), then the mysterious dream that comes to Datis (118). The gods go on to give aid in one literally equalising sense, with storms and shipwrecks to contribute some parity of numbers at Artemision (ἐξισωθείη, 8.13); but, for Herodotus, their help in the great battles will go further than that.

In modern accounts of ancient Greek religion, impiety tends to be studied in connection with a series of well-documented trials in classical Athens,<sup>27</sup> but in none of the trials or close equivalents in Book 6 (Kleomenes, 82; Leutychides, 72.1, 85.1; Miltiades, 104, 136 with nn.) is impiety an explicit charge, even though in the cases of Leutychides and especially Kleomenes it might have been expected to be. Even so, Polybius’ neat definition of the crime of impiety, ἀσέβημα (36.9.15), is useful: he classed it as offending (ἀμαρτάνειν) against the gods, parents, or the dead.<sup>28</sup> It thus has a wider extension than English ‘impiety’; the positive Greek concept ‘piety’, εὐσέβεια, has a similarly wider extension, and includes piety towards parents. ‘Pious Aeneas’ is so called because he looked dutifully after his father Anchises as much as because of his religious observance.<sup>29</sup> Nor is English ‘impiety’ usually thought of as covering offences against the dead.

<sup>27</sup> Thus the main entry for impiety in the index to Parker 2011 reads ‘impiety, prosecutions for’. On the 4th-cent. impiety trials at Athens, esp. those of women, see Eidinow 2015, with much valuable discussion.

<sup>28</sup> See Bowden 2015: 327, citing the Aristotelian *On virtues and vices* (1251a) for much the same definition. Naiden 2016 similarly notes the extension of ἀσέβεια charges to embrace e.g. ‘sexual impropriety’ (65–6) and ‘sundry other crimes’ (68): his emphasis falls on the way that ἀσέβεια could be felt to be contagious, infecting whole families and communities, and this too is highly relevant to this book (cf. Aigina, Alkmeonids, and Sparta’s reluctance to acknowledge Kleomenes’ impiety, 75.3–84n., 84.1n.).

<sup>29</sup> For this sense of εὐσέβεια, see the ancient evidence, literary and epigraphic, cited by Hornblower 2015: 449 (on Lycoph. *Alex.* 1266–9 and 1270, εὐσεβέστατος

Herodotus has several words for impiety. As is already clear from that passage of Polybius, one standard Greek word is ἀσέβημα (an act or crime of impiety) along with the more general ἀσέβεια (the more general and abstract word).<sup>30</sup> Herodotus uses only the verbal form ἀσεβέω, and does so three times (none of them in bks. 5 or 6), in each case of real or envisaged acts of sacrilege against shrines, temples, or priests. Another key word to express the notion of sacrilege is ἄγος, ‘curse’, a word especially likely to connote the danger of divine displeasure;<sup>31</sup> thus at 90 the antidemocratic faction at Aigina incur a curse which they could not expiate until they lost their island altogether at the start of the Peloponnesian War. Their offence was that they chopped off the hands of a suppliant who had fled to the temple of Demeter Thesmophoros and clung to the door-handles. Herodotus’ expression is ‘a curse befell them’, ἄγος σφι ἐγένετο; that is, he designates the sacrilege in terms of its consequences. So too at 5.71 the Alkmeonids are called ἐναγέες, ‘accursed’, because of their killing of Kylon, whose status as suppliant is clear only from the fuller account of Thucydides (1.126).

Herodotus’ most frequent words for piety and impiety are ὅσιος and its cognates, words especially (though not exclusively) appropriate for ‘ideas of the proper relationships among human beings, especially justice’, though seeing those relationships from the perspective of divine approval or disapproval (Connor 1988: 163). Once again, these are normally used of particular actions that are committed or contemplated. Thus Leutychides argues that it would be ὅσιον for the Athenians to return the hostages (86 α 1); Kleomenes will be told by the priest that it would be impious, οὐκ ὅσιον, for him to sacrifice at Argos (81; in the very similar episode in Book 5, the Athenian priestess had used a different expression, οὐ θεμιτόν, ‘not right’, ‘not lawful’: 5.72.3).<sup>32</sup> The very strong word ἀνοσιώτατον is used of Panionios’<sup>33</sup> castration of Hermotimos (8.105.1, which also speaks of ‘injustice’, ἀδικηθέντι, and in Hermotimos’ own words at 106.3). Mistreatment of the dead is considered not just impious but barbarian. The idea of beheading the corpse of Mardonios is again ἀνοσιώτατον (9.78.1, picked up by Pausanias’ use of ὅσια at 9.79.2). As for offences

κριθείς). As shown there, the idea that Aeneas’ piety was displayed towards his father Anchises as well as towards the gods is far older than Virgil; see esp. Xen. *Kyn.* 1.15.

<sup>30</sup> As at Th. 6.27.2, in connection with the mutilation of the Herms at Athens in 415 BC.

<sup>31</sup> Naiden 2016: 62.

<sup>32</sup> For the sly use of ὅσια by Leutychides at 86 α 1 (the speech about Glaukos), see below.

<sup>33</sup> Wilson, in a departure from Hude and all other modern texts, prefers the form Παίωνιος for the name of the castrator, but this is attested only in the poorer MS tradition, and the change ruins the point of the unusual name, for which see Hornblower 2003.

against parents, a passage in Book 3, which contains Herodotus' only quotation of Pindar, combines this motif and that of insult to the dead (3.38): Dareios asks some Greeks and some Indians how much they would need to be paid to eat or to bury their parents respectively, and both groups react with horror. 'Impiety' language is not used, but the notion is clearly implied.

The rest of this section will be concerned with offences against the gods, as they feature mainly but not exclusively in Book 6. One further restriction is necessary: in Greek thinking, an important category of impiety was atheism, 'not thinking the gods [exist]'.<sup>34</sup> This charge was deployed against several celebrities in fifth- and early fourth-century Athens, including Sokrates, but it is not relevant to Herodotus, as will be shown below. Whatever Kleomenes was, he was not an archaic Richard Dawkins.

There is impiety and impiety. When sacred laws<sup>35</sup> prohibit certain actions, this may, paradoxically, indicate that, although the offence was certainly sacrilegious, it was a frequent occurrence which did not generate too much horror.<sup>36</sup> By contrast, inscribed sacred laws do not bother to specify 'you must not flog a priest' (for Kleomenes and the priest at Argos, see below). In the first and more routine category may be placed prohibitions on cutting down or otherwise destroying sacred trees and groves.<sup>37</sup> Even within this offence, there were surely gradations, from petty pilfering of firewood to spectacular and homicidal acts of woodland arson (again, see below for Kleomenes at Argos). In between these extremes, perhaps, is Kleomenes' felling of trees at Eleusis as part of his earlier invasion of Attica (75.3n., mentioned in a flashback; in linear narrative terms, it 'belonged' at 5.74.2, but was not mentioned there). This action was presumably carried out for military reasons, and Kleomenes might have invoked the principle, if that is what it was, which the Athenians optimistically appeal to in 424/3 BC in their argument with the Boiotians over their alleged sacrilege at Delion: 'the god would surely forgive offences committed under the constraint of war or some other extremity'.<sup>38</sup> That is, Eleusis and Argos should be distinguished, the earlier incident from the later and more shocking one.

If this distinction is right, it is arguably an aspect of the general downward slide observable in Kleomenes' behaviour, as represented by

<sup>34</sup> Bowden 2015: 327; Whitmarsh 2016: esp. 117–24.

<sup>35</sup> See Parker 2004 and 2005b; Delli Pizzi 2011; Bowden 2015: 329; Petrovic 2015.

<sup>36</sup> But note that inscribed laws sometimes contain as an actual sanction that the offender shall be pronounced 'accursed and impious', ἐπάρατος καὶ ἀσεβής: Sokolowski 1969: lines 124–5 (Rhodian Lindos, 22 AD).

<sup>37</sup> See 75.3n. on ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι... (Kleomenes at Eleusis)

<sup>38</sup> Th. 4.98.6. There is a good deal of tendentious rhetoric in this exchange, but the values pleaded cannot be far from what was generally thought acceptable.

Herodotus. In the same way, Kleomenes allows the Athenian priestess in Book 5 to get the better of him, but – very decidedly – not the Argive priest in Book 6. It is a nice question whether it was impious for Kleomenes to sacrifice in person – αὐτὸς ἔθυσσε, 81 – at Argos after the priest had refused to let him do it. Hereditary kings sacrificed in ancient Greece (Alexander the Great was a kind of priest, as well as everything else),<sup>39</sup> and so there was nothing wrong with Kleomenes doing the sacrificing himself; the offence was to ignore the priestly prohibition. The god's statue proceeded to reject the sacrifice by a burst of flame from the chest; Kleomenes accepts this indication that he would not capture Argos, and comes up with his own explanation of the event (82).<sup>40</sup> This is piety, of an unusual sort, or at any rate not impiety.

Another religious area where wise Greeks found it necessary to warn against impiety was self-aggrandisement amounting to self-identification with the gods. If it is right that Kleomenes was the only human being ever to have imposed an oath by the river Styx (74 and n.), he was encroaching on a prerogative of Zeus, like Agamemnon in tragedy, who trampled on the purple tapestry in full awareness of the impious implications (Aesch. Ag. 922–4).

Popular notions of piety, and the solemnity of oaths, are themes which come together once again in the morality tale told by the Spartan king Leutychides about Glaukos the (hitherto) conspicuously just Spartan and the money deposited with him by a Milesian stranger (86 and nn.). As noted above, the king invokes the language of piety when he tells the Athenians that they will not be doing ὄσια if they refuse to hand over the 'deposits' i.e. hostages. But this is a dishonest speech by a speaker who has already – in the narrative, though not in 'real' time – been discovered in the act of dishonesty: see the anticipatory reference at 72.2. In particular, the ferocious warning against oath-breaking embedded in the Hesiodic poem, quoted by the speaker at 86 γ 1 (n.), is entirely irrelevant, because the Athenians have not sworn to anything at all. As to the impiety contemplated by Glaukos, there is interesting epigraphic evidence from the oracular site of Dodona for historical consultations asking e.g. 'should I be true to my oath?', 'should I give back the money?' (86 α 5n., citing Parker 2016). In the myth-history as narrated by Leutychides, Glaukos' lineage is extinguished by Apollo at Delphi for merely entertaining a bad thought and asking the god about it, but Zeus at Dodona may have been more relaxed towards real-life questioners.

This, then, is a quasi-mythical story of divine outrage, accompanied by a little moralising poem which had long been in oral circulation: both

<sup>39</sup> Hammond 1989: 22–3.

<sup>40</sup> See Naiden 2013: 134, calling Kleomenes' subsequent explanation a 'quibble'; cf. 203 for the Athenian episode in Book 5.

elements are exploited in an unpersuasive attempt – certainly the Athenians are not persuaded – to represent purely secular behaviour in terms of religious outrage. Its suggestion – not an unambiguous one (86γ.2n.) – that vengeance may come after several generations picks up a theme found in other contexts (especially Aigina, 91.2n.; perhaps Miltiades and Kimon, 136.3n., but see 132n.);<sup>41</sup> but it is unlikely, or at least unclear, that the threat of cross-generational punishment of Athens would remind Herodotus' audience of any later real-life event (86n.).

There are, however, plenty of genuine examples of religiously outrageous behaviour in Book 6. The most interesting, but also the most elusive, comes near the end of the book, as one of two explanations given for the younger Miltiades' failure to make good his boastful promise to conquer the island of Paros. On the Parians' own account (see 132–5 and nn.), a Parian underpriestess of Demeter Thesmophoros called Timo reasonably persuades Miltiades to enter the sanctuary of this emphatically female-oriented goddess, and to remove something that, as a man and as an outsider, he had no business with. The cryptic 'something' is referred to twice, with the same menacingly vague expression, ὅ τι δὴ (134.2). Miltiades injures himself in mid-attempt, fatally as it turns out. The Parians send to the oracle at Delphi to ask what should be done with Timo, who had tried to betray their island and to show Miltiades things which were prohibited to him as a man – probably in fact a single offence, the intended theft of a talisman which was sacred in some specially female way.<sup>42</sup> The oracle replies with an implied rebuke: 'it was not Timo who was responsible for this', but she had appeared to Miltiades (the language is that of epiphany) to lead him on to evil, because it was 'necessary for him not to end well', a favourite Herodotean expression in several variants, but here put in the mouth of the Pythia. There was a famous mythical precedent for stealing a city's talisman: the theft by Odysseus and Diomedes of the Palladion (an image of Athena) on which the existence of Troy depended;<sup>43</sup> in one version of this myth<sup>44</sup> the Palladion was betrayed to them by the Trojan priestess Theano, wife of Antenor, so that Timo's role may have a

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Gagné 2013a: 293: 'The episode of Glaukos is placed squarely in that cycle of generational punishment' (i.e. esp. Aigina); 295, 'That entire section of Book 6 [i.e. that dominated by Kleomenes] revolves around a pattern of crime and delayed punishment.'

<sup>42</sup> The implication might be that the cult was a 'mystery' cult, that is, one requiring special rites of initiation. The Eleusinian mysteries too were sacred to Demeter, but they were open to men, unlike the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros.

<sup>43</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 227–62, speculatively tracing aspects of the story back to Sophocles (*TrGF* frag. 268); cf. M. West 2013: 237–8 (the Epic Cycle). For this famous story, popular in art, see Hornblower 2015: 277, discussing Lycoph. *Alex.* 658, Odysseus as the 'thief of the Phoenician goddess', i.e. Athena.

<sup>44</sup> Suda π 34 Adler.

structural antecedent. This story of divinely inflicted failure by Miltiades on Paros is twinned in Herodotus with a story of success by Miltiades on Lemnos, set earlier in time than Paros but positioned after it so as to close the entire book (137–40). Miltiades acts to punish the impious abduction of some Athenian girls who were celebrating the festival of Artemis at Brauron.<sup>45</sup> But the impious element can hardly be said to dominate the Lemnian story as it does the Parian.

Miltiades' spectacular impiety causes his downfall; and the same was believed by several groups to be true of Kleomenes. The majority Greek opinion held that his insanity (μανία νοῦσος, 75.1) was due to his improper persuasion of the Pythia: 75.3. The fact itself is reported at 66. Denunciations of venal seers and even of Apollo<sup>46</sup> are frequent in tragedy; the incorruptibility of the Pythia was, by contrast, taken for granted,<sup>47</sup> and historically attested examples of corruption are very rare. (For the alleged bribery by the Alkmeonids, see 5.63.1n. This claim is there attributed to 'the Athenians' i.e. some Athenians hostile to the Alkmeonids.) The other three explanations that Herodotus lists – the Athenian, Argive, and Spartan – are all parochial, in that they refer only to actions carried out on Athenian, Argive, and Spartan territory respectively. Herodotus himself provides a kind of fifth, when he says that Kleomenes was paying requital, *τίσις*, to Demaretos (84.3; see n. there for the word's religious implications), and that explanation gains force because of the book's recurrent emphasis on *τίσις* (Demaretos, 64 and 65.1; Leutychides, 72.1; Miltiades and Kimon, 136.3 with nn.). In fact this fifth or Herodotean explanation is close to the first, because the Pythia was bribed to say what she did *about Demaretos*, 75.3 with 75.3–84n.

The Argive material is by far the fullest. The list of Kleomenes' impious crimes there begins with a much more appalling counterpart to the Athenians' charge of felling sacred trees at Eleusis: he cut down a first group of Argives, felling them like timber (see 75.3n. for the apt verb *κατακόπτω*) and then burned them alive in the sacred grove, 'showing it no respect'. Finally, he had a priest flogged when he refused to let him sacrifice, and then did the sacrificing himself (81; see above for this).

<sup>45</sup> Hdt. says *γυναῖκας*, i.e. married women, but see 138.1n. on *ἐλόχησαν*...

<sup>46</sup> See esp. Eur. *Ion* 835–922, 'Kreousa's lament', esp. the startling *μισεῖ σ' ὁ Δᾶλος*, 'Delos hates you [Apollo]', with Zacharia 2003: 78–96. Poetic denunciations of Apollo for false prophecy in particular begin with Thetis' outburst at Aesch. frag. 350 *TrGF*, whose own precursor is *Il.* 24. 62–3 (Zacharia 2003: 121). But in tragedy it is always necessary to look hard at the identity of the speaker, and at how the plot turns out.

<sup>47</sup> Parker 1985: 302: 'The society that abuses diviners is also the society that consults them', and 'the blatant venality and incompetence of the street-corner seer often serves to emphasize by contrast the unique honesty and insight of the distant Apollo'.



All this was impiety on a grand scale. And yet the narrative shows at many points that Kleomenes operates within, if only just within, the boundaries of conventional religion. See 76.1n.: he consults the oracle, conducts the sacrifices at the river Erasinos, and to an extent respects the outcome. His bull-sacrifice to Poseidon at Thyrea is notably aggressive in its symbolism, but it has precedents in the *Iliad* (76.2 and nn. citing Jameson 1994 on bulls as classical victims). When he realises that he has captured the wrong Argos, his cry to Oracular Apollo, ‘you have greatly deceived me’ (80), is surely not, if taken at face value, the exclamation of a non-believer. His remark that he admired Erasinos – that is, the river-god Erasinos – for not betraying his country, is merely witty. He accepts rejection by the flaming statue of Hera at Argos, while putting his own peculiar gloss on it (82, see above). It has been well said that ‘Greeks still believed in their gods and so no doubt did Kleomenes. His ambivalent attitude might be a mark of light-hearted cynicism when we see it in a Cicero; it could be a heavy burden for a sixth-century Greek to carry.’<sup>48</sup> It is a paradox that the Spartans, who in Herodotus’ opinion ‘held the things of the god to be more important than the things of men’,<sup>49</sup> should have been the only group of Greeks whose explanation for Kleomenes’ madness and revolting death was entirely secular: he learned to drink unmixed wine from some Skythian visitors. Nor did they even explain his alcoholism as divinely inflicted, in the way that some ancient writers sought to explain Alexander the Great’s excessive drinking as punishment by Dionysos:<sup>50</sup> Herodotus is explicit that they denied that τὸ δαιμόνιον had anything to do with his insanity. The impieties of the Spartan Kleomenes and of the Athenian Miltiades dominate and close out Book 6; but theirs was not the sort of impiety which challenged conventional religion in the manner of Diagoras of Melos ‘the Atheist’, or of some of the sophists.<sup>51</sup>

#### 4 THE QUALITIES OF BOOK 6

Book 6 is a very varied book, comparable in this respect with e.g. bks. 3 and 5. There are the moments of high tension, such as the tense preliminaries at Marathon (109–11). There are those of comedy, such as Alkmeon’s playing Kroisos’ game by cramming his clothes and even his mouth with gold (125). There are the times when the narrative moves very quickly, as with the Persians’ swift take-over of Macedonia (44.1 with n., cf. 5.26.1n.) and the speed with which the interval between Book 6

<sup>48</sup> Forrest 1980: 93.      <sup>49</sup> 5.63.2.

<sup>50</sup> O’Brien 1992, esp. 229–30, and in *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, ‘alcoholism’, where Kleomenes features in a list of the ancient world’s ‘most renowned toppers’ (but see further down: ‘allegations of intemperance often serve as vehicles for character assassination’).

<sup>51</sup> See *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, ‘Diagoras’ and ‘atheism’; Whitmarsh 2016: ch. 7.

and Book 7 takes the audience on to the preliminaries of the 480 invasion. There are the slower-moving scenes, often in a domestic setting, like Demaretos' awkward confrontation of his mother (68–9) or Hippokleides' happy-go-lucky dancing away of his marriage (129). Sometimes the story seems to be telling itself, with no overt intrusions by the narrator, as in the strange tale of Ariston's marriage (61–2) and in much of what follows at the Spartan court; but there are enough personal interventions elsewhere to leave readers and listeners in no doubt as to the person, and personality, that is pulling the narrative strings. It may be a matter of authorial opinion, sometimes combative as in his defence of the Alkmeonids (121–4 (n.)) or his 'you wouldn't believe me but I told you so' moment over Persian democracy (43.3), sometimes more cautious, especially where the gods are concerned (27.1, 27.3, 74.2, 105.1, 117.2–3, 118.1 nn.), and sometimes quietly sombre as in his testimonials to those who died as 'good men' (14.3, 114.1, 117.2 nn.). He says a little, but only a little, about his travels (47.1, cf. 61.3 (n.), 74.2); he explains a little, but again only a little, about his choice of material (53–5). He gives a hint of the lively exchanges that were still to be heard about who put up a good showing in battle and who did not (14.1n.), or the various possible reasons for Kleomenes' final craziness (75.3, 84): that tacitly conveys too that he would open a ready ear to those voluble mouths, while being alert to the prejudices (so clear in the case of Kleomenes, 75.3–84n.) that civic and partisan pride would import. When he cannot get beyond the fog of mutual accusations, he says so (14.1, 137.1); he can also indicate when an ascription of motive is no more than his opinion (95.2). That critical scepticism is on view often enough to lend weight to the judgments that are presented unequivocally, even when these too are clearly matters of inference: there is no similar diffidence about the motivation of Dareios (94.1, cf. 44.1), Demaretos (61.1), Kleomenes (73.1), or Miltiades (133.1).

Section 2 has already commented on some ways in which literary technique can convey interpretation. One was the strong forward narrative movement given by Dareios' direction of purpose and the contrasting jumping around in the tales of the Greek city-states; another was the ring-composition marking the end of the Ionian Revolt. There are other clausal gestures too as that particular story reaches its end: first the Persians polish off the remaining islands with notable speed after so much earlier fury (31.1), then earlier threats are echoed as the Persians deliver in action a sometimes qualified version of those words – the castrations, the deportations, the burning of sacred places: and 'that was the third enslavement of the Ionians...' (32). It is time for the narrative to move on to Europe, and that name, along with the Hellespont as the emblematic dividing point of the two continents, duly figures in the next sentence

or so (33.1); and when the more decisive crossing comes in 492 with Mar-  
donios, the importance of the moment is marked by double anaphora  
(συνελέχθη . . . συνελέχθη, ἐπορεύοντο . . . ἐπορεύοντο), an explicit pointing of  
the continental implications (διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης), a re-emphasising of the  
initial target (ἐπὶ τε Ἑρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας), and a knowing implicit forward  
glance to events twelve years later (crossing τῇσι νηυσί, not as then with a  
bridge) (43.4 and nn.).

In smaller ways too the pace responds to the rhythm of events. The first  
chapters of the book move quickly through a number of Histiaios' ini-  
tiatives, first with Artaphrenes and then successively with Chios, with the  
Ionians in general, with some supposed Sardinian dissidents, with Miletos,  
and finally with Chios again. The sentences are on the whole simple and  
short, often linked just by δέ or καί, as Histiaios tries to exploit one possible  
ally after another, each responds warily (in two cases with bloody conse-  
quences, first to the unfortunate Sardians and then to himself, 4.2, and  
5.2), and Histiaios moves on quickly to his next attempt. The one more  
complex sentence comes when 'the Ionians' indignantly remonstrate with  
Histiaios and he launches into his disingenuous apologia, 3, and his scare-  
mongering excuses are stylistically convoluted as well as simply false. The  
sequence ends with his finally persuading the Lesbians to lend him some  
ships and they sail off to Byzantion. After this parade of fruitless despera-  
tion, the narrative switches to the much more effective movements of the  
Phoenician fleet as the great events that Histiaios set in motion approach  
their climax at Lade – and Histiaios himself, together with those eight Les-  
bian ships, is a notable absentee. The narrative later picks him up at 26.1  
as he turns to the hapless Chians once more (26–7), then goes on to Tha-  
sos, Lesbos, and finally Atarneus in much the same swift δέ . . . δέ . . . way.  
Atarneus is usually bad news (4.1, 28.2 nn.), and so it is for Histiaios now  
as he moves from the relative safety of the sea to try his luck on land. He is  
captured, and Artaphrenes puts an abrupt end to it all by chopping off his  
head and sending it up to the king (30.1). Dareios had talked before of  
Histiaios being 'in his sight' and had told him to come back to Sousa when  
his job was done (5.107, 30.2n.); now the head is brought to 'his sight', a  
grisly echo to underline that only death could give closure to his slippery  
adventurousness.

At other times the narrative slows down, as in Kleomenes' campaign  
against Argos (75–83). Strictly speaking, this is all in retrospect, part  
of that chronological jumping around that has already been noticed  
(Section 2): in narrative terms, Kleomenes is already dead, and very nas-  
tily so (75). This episode is reintroduced by way of the Argives' expla-  
nation for his bizarre end, payback for the sacrilege at the grove (75.3:  
see Section 3), and so the audience know from the outset what the cli-  
max will be. The build-up to the battle has a false start, as Kleomenes fails

to get the good omens he needs to cross the River Erasinos and has to try again by sea (76). There is a further narrative pause once Sepeia is reached, with the flashback to the shared oracle and the Argives' consequent apprehension, especially their fear of deceit: Herodotus moves on without explaining quite why the oracle should suggest this (77.2n.), but there does indeed turn out to be trickery, both in the battle itself (78.2) and then at the murderous grove (79.1). After so elaborate a build-up the battle itself is described very briefly, little more than πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσαν αὐτῶν (78.2), and Herodotus may well be suppressing an alternative and more exotic version (that of the Argive poet Telesilla, 76–84n.). The more shocking element is still to come, and the narrative slows again for it. Fifty of the Argives are lured out of the grove: anaphora and repetition again mark, and slow, the moment ('he called them out . . . he called them out saying he had the ransom . . . calling them out one by one Kleomenes killed them'). Then comes a strongly visual moment, as someone climbs a tree and sees what is happening; Kleomenes turns to sacrilege, giving instructions to the helots to burn the grove that he already knew to be sacred (80). (Helots are oddly recurrent in his story, and never for good, 75.2, 80, 81 nn.) Only now does he realise that he too has been deceived, or at least has misunderstood the oracular promise of 'taking Argos' (81): his cry (ἀναστένᾳξας) recalls those of Kroisos and Kambyses as they too finally come to comprehend (80nn.). Those are uncomfortable associations, and Kleomenes' further act of sacrilege, instructing a helot to seize and whip a priest, aids the audience's understanding that this is going to end badly for him. Not that it ends well for Argos either: the laconic and powerful 'Argos was widowed of men . . .' marked the beginning of a generation of manless misery (83). One can certainly understand why Argives thought that this was the cause of Kleomenes' madness and death (84.1), but Herodotus has a further surprise in store. After surveying the rival explanations he gives his own vote not to this one, despite all the narrative emphasis he has given and despite Kleomenes' unmitigatedly bad behaviour, but to payback for Demaretos (84.3), presumably – though he does not say it himself – because the king's behaviour there was even more likely to invite divine displeasure.

Of the leading players Leutychides (86) and Miltiades (109) are allowed elaborate speeches, and Demaretos the extended conversation with his mother (68–9); perhaps oddly, Kleomenes does not speak at length. Those two speeches are both distinctive in style, with Leutychides' skilful and rather leisurely development of a single *exemplum* and Miltiades' insistence on the importance of the decision and the responsibility facing Kallimachos. Both are notable for their choice of argument, as Leutychides turns what initially looks like a justice case into one based on prudence (the later consequences that the Athenians should fear), and

Miltiades avoids the inspirational freedom rhetoric we might have expected (pp. 7, 8). Perhaps that characterises the two speakers (it matters that Leutychides in particular has already emerged as no moral saint himself), and Demaretos is certainly characterised by his embarrassed false sophistication ('if you did anything of what they say, you're not the only person to have behaved like that – lots of people do it', 68.3, addressed to his own mother); but it is just as important that Leutychides' and Miltiades' style characterises their addressees and the values that the speakers expected to weigh with them – a matter then of intellectual climate as much as of individual characterisation. The same is true of Dionysios of Phokaia when he evokes Homer in his fine words of inspiration at 11 (n.), and he is not wrong. Things are indeed there 'on a razor's edge', and freedom itself is at stake: the Homeric flavour of the catalogue of forces (8) was not out of place for so momentous a conflict. For the moment, though, Dionysios' words fall on ears that are only temporarily receptive, and Dionysios himself soon disappears from the narrative, reduced to piracy in the distant west (17). But his words will linger in the audience's mind. When a Homeric echo is felt on the field of Marathon (113.2n.), it is a tribute to the magnificence of the fighters, once again the counterparts of those Homeric figures just as on the Stoa Poikile (pp. 3–4).

Still, other books are richer in formal speeches; Book 6 is more notable for the shorter passages of speech, both direct and indirect, that enliven the personal exchanges. It is important to remember that Herodotus' initial audience would often be hearing rather than reading, and doubtless he knew how to extract maximum dramatic effect in oral performance: one can imagine him making a show of counting on his own fingers before delivering Ariston's 'it can't be mine!' (63.2: there may have been a similar pantomime at 5.92 γ 1(n.)). The powerful are allowed pithy and menacing epigrams: Artaphrenes' 'you sewed the sandal, Aristagores put it on' (1.2); Kroisos' enigmatic 'I'll destroy you just like a pine' (37.2); Kleomenes' 'it's time to put bronze on your horns, Mr Ram, as you have trouble ahead' (50.3); Kleisthenes of Sikyon's 'you've danced away your marriage' (129.4). That tendency to menace makes Datis' gracious words to the Delians even more arresting (97.2). Speech, both direct and indirect, is often crucial too for the deft capture of intimate domestic scenes, in this book especially in Sparta. The nurse's exchanges with the mysterious figure have *verismo* enough (60.4): 'What's that you're carrying?' 'It's a child.' 'Can I see?' 'Oh no, the parents told me not to show her to anyone.' 'Oh go on, show me anyway.' Later that child, now grown, turns out to be magnificently spirited, both with her new husband ('it's you that gave me these crowns, and calling me a liar is no way to behave', 69.3) and now a generation later with her embarrassed son ('Donkeymen? Let them father children on Leutychides' and those gossips' wives', 69.5). And what is not

said, or said disingenuously, can be telling too. When asked which of her twins is the elder, she had said she could not herself tell them apart, ‘in fact knowing very well, but wishing if possible that both should be kings’ (52.4). That εἰδυῖαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα economically conveys the Queen’s savvy intelligence, and even though she might seem – perhaps only seem – to be outwitted (52.6–7) she does get what she wants: both duly become kings (52.7n.).

Some descriptions are highly visual: Miltiades sitting in his porch and hailing the passers-by (35.2), Ariston counting the months on his fingers (63.2), Demaretos supplicating his mother, whose hands are full of dripping entrails (68.1), Alkmeon stuffing his clothes, his boots, and even his cheeks with gold (125), Hippokleides’ upside-down dancing (129.3–4), the crippled Miltiades lying before the court as his friends plead for his life (136.2). Most moments of horror are described emphatically but – except for the self-slicing of Kleomenes, 75.2–3 – without extensive elaboration: the picture of the shipwrecked Persians dashed against rocks, snatched by sea-monsters, or freezing to death conveys a vastness of terror in less than forty words (44.3). A poetic tradition of *Iliou Persis* descriptions offered an armoury of allusive possibilities for the capture of cities: these were to become a staple of later historiography (Polybius derided the emotional excesses of Phylarchos in such matters, 2.56.7, and cf. e.g. Livy 1.29 on the fall of Alba), but the grimness of Miletos is brought out not by elaborate description but through first the oracular prophecy of what had awaited the city, 19.2–3, then the long-distance sympathy of the Athenians and the contrasting insensitivity of Sybaris, 21. Readers or listeners were free to picture the hardships of the long forced marches as the captive Milesians (20), the children from the islands (32), and finally the Eretrians (119) were driven up-country to Sousa, gloomily fearful of what awaited them; but Herodotus does not do the work for them.

The climax, of course, is Marathon. The Persian preparation and crossing of the Aegean are tracked carefully: the twinned narrations of Naxos and Delos, one treated very badly and one very well, show the nervous Greek cities what is to be feared or hoped as they choose whether or not to resist. κακά loom for Greece, not just for the present but for three generations to come (98.2). Karystos falls, then Eretria; the Persians arrive at Marathon; the Athenians go to meet them. The name, so heavy with history, is repeated as each arrives (102–103.1). The stage is set.

Yet, for nearly four pages, there is no fighting. One long retrospect tells us about Miltiades, another about the Plataians (103–4, 108). The Athenians send to Sparta; more suspense still is given by the epiphany of Pan, related with due caution (105 with nn.). But the Spartans cannot come, not yet. Hippias stumbles on the beach (107), a negative sign to the Persians to match the Athenians’ positive encouragement from Pan. Will the

Athenians fight? Of course the audience already know that they will, and Miltiades, so insistent that they must, will win his victory; but the agonising and the need to persuade Kallimachos (109) underline how close the battle came to not happening at all, at least like this.

When the fighting comes it lasts ‘a long time’ (113.1), but the narrative is very short. The Greeks run into battle, the Persians are thunderstruck: the description adds details as their amazement accumulates – they must be mad! It’s suicidal! There aren’t many of them – and they’re running! And they’ve no horses! No archers either! (112.2). As for the Athenians, three words are enough: ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου (112.3, see n.). The Persian centre wins, their wings lose, the victorious Greek left and right join up; then another three telling words, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι (113.2). This is the Homeric moment (above, p. 28), the time when they ‘call for fire’ (113.2n.) and when the dying Kallimachos and Kynegeiros, clutching hold of the stern, attain the status normally kept for heroes of legend. Still, though, no elaborate scenes of carnage: much could have been said about the bloodiness in the marsh (109–17n.), but Herodotus does not even mention it beyond ‘the Athenians gave pursuit and cut them down’ (113.2). The casualty figures are enough (117.1). There is the race of the Athenians to get back to the city before the Persians can sail around and attack (116), but again Herodotus does not dramatise; the narrative has had suspense enough. Next day the Spartans arrive, too late, but eager to gaze on the field. ‘They praised the Athenians and what they had done and left to go back’ (120). Laconic enough, but coming from what by Herodotus’ day was the old enemy, praise indeed.

The Persians too sail away home (116). They will return, and the bigger story is still to come.

## 5 LANGUAGE AND DIALECT (BY A. M. BOWIE)

Our MSS are descended from an ‘archetype’ written probably in the first century AD.<sup>52</sup> These MSS and the few surviving papyri do not suggest there is a wide divergence between our text and Herodotus’ original in terms of expression, word order, order of incidents, etc. However, in matters of dialect, morphology, spelling, etc., considerable confusion reigns.<sup>53</sup> In the representation of particular forms, the MSS disagree with each other, are inconsistent with themselves, and contain some very peculiar spellings. It is clear that Herodotus’ text has been heavily corrupted by the introduction of Attic and false Ionic forms by scribes and scholars who were more

<sup>52</sup> See S. West in Bowie 2007: 30–2.

<sup>53</sup> Most useful on Herodotus’ dialect are Smyth 1894; Untersteiner 1949; Legrand 1955: 179–223; Rosén 1962; for later literary Ionic, Lightfoot 2003: 97–142.

used to Attic or had their own theories about how his Ionic dialect should look. Furthermore, we have too little contemporary Ionic from inscriptions against which to check the MSS' readings, and the texts of other Ionic writers close in time to Herodotus, such as the early historians and Hippokrates, are themselves heavily Atticised (and in the former case, very fragmentary).

Faced with the plethora of competing variants in the MSS, editors have hard choices to make: when the MSS write ποιέει and ποιέειν more often than ποιεῖ and ποιεῖν, but by contrast prefer νοεῖ and νοεῖν to the corresponding uncontracted forms, do editors go with the majority verdict in the case of each individual verb or form, do they standardise either the contracted or uncontracted form, or do they have a mixture of the two, and if so, how do they decide what the mixture will be? When standardisation and consistency of spelling is a relatively late feature of English, how much should we demand of fifth-century BC Ionia?

Again, it is difficult when we come across unusual forms to know how they should be accounted for. There are a number of possibilities. (1) They might be 'false' Ionicisms, that is, forms created as a result of insufficient knowledge of how that dialect works. A good instance of this problem concerns the genitive plural of the pronoun αὐτός in which Ionic distinguishes between the feminine in -εων (< -ηων < -ᾱων) and the masculine/neuter in -ων (< \*-ōm). However, in the MSS we find the feminine αὐτέων used as a masculine or neuter. This might have been introduced by a scribe who saw -εων frequently in his text and extended its use falsely, but we have ἑκαστέων (neut.) on a Milesian inscription. The document itself dates from the mid-fifth century, which is promising, but the actual version we have was carved only c. 100: is ἑκαστέων an original form or a later one, based on what the writer thought it should be in Ionic?<sup>54</sup> (2) They might be Atticisms, wrongly substituted for Ionic forms: πόλει (beside usual πόλι) is also found in Homer, but is likely to be an Attic form both there and in Herodotus. However, not all Atticisms need be copyists' errors: Herodotus seems to have spent time in Athens, and his lexicon (especially in later books) shows words that seem to have been specifically Attic (e.g. καταδοκέω, δωροδοκέω, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ): why not Attic spellings as well? (3) They might be poeticisms borrowed by Herodotus perhaps from epic and used as part of an attempt to create a language suitably elevated for his great subject. (4) It has been argued that such doublets as μοῦνος/μόνος found in the MSS might be variant spellings of the same sound,<sup>55</sup> introduced by copyists if not Herodotus himself. (5) They might simply be mistakes. In the list that follows, therefore, there are many uncertainties.

<sup>54</sup> Κροισέω etc. found in some MSS, with the first declension genitive ending transferred to the second declension, is a better candidate for falsehood.

<sup>55</sup> ο is written in many forms for which the usual later spelling is ου.



Because Attic is the dialect that most people learn first, Herodotus' dialect will be discussed below largely in terms of the differences between Attic and his Ionic. Herodotus came from Halikarnassos (modern-day Bodrum) in Karia. This was a Dorian colony, but inscriptions from that area are in a form of 'East Ionic', a dialect spoken in the Ionic areas of the Asia Minor coast and some of the adjacent islands, as well as in their colonies around the Hellespont and Black Sea. Historically, Attic and Ionic are two branches of an earlier 'Attic-Ionic' dialect, one of the five main groupings into which the historical Greek dialects are divided.<sup>56</sup> This Attic-Ionic group separated from other dialects after the Mycenaean period, and subsequently divided into its two branches during the migrations that marked that period. This is important for understanding the material that follows. 'x for y' below is merely a short-hand way of saying 'where in Attic we find form y, in Ionic we find form x'. It does *not* mean that 'Ionic replaced Attic y with its own x'. The differences between the two dialects are sometimes the result of *Attic* introducing innovations after it split from 'Attic-Ionic' (e.g. the contraction of ε + ο > ου: Ion. γένεος, Att. γένους < \*γένε(σ)ος), sometimes the result of Ionic and Attic independently treating an inherited form in different ways after the split (e.g. Ion. μοῦνος, Att. μόνος < \*μόνφος). Here is a general account of the differences between Herodotus' language and Attic, with some historical explanations. It is followed by a much briefer survey for those who wish to see quickly what the differences are.

**General. (a) *Psilosis***, the loss of the 'rough breathing', was a feature of East Ionic, but modern texts keep the initial aspirate as 'a venerable absurdity' (Powell):<sup>57</sup> e.g. "Ἕλληνες should strictly be printed Ἑλληνες. In some compounds, which were no longer felt as compounds, the aspirate was preserved (e.g. καθεύδουσι), as it was in some non-Ionic names and words (Ἀφεταιί (< ἀπό + ἦμι), ἔφορος (< ἐπί + ὄράω)).<sup>58</sup> **(b) *Etacism*** involved the wholesale replacement in Ionic of original ᾱ by η, where Attic keeps ᾱ after ρ, ε, ι (πρῆγμα, Πυθῆης, προθυμία). Forms like πᾶσα (< \*πάνσα < \*πάντ-γα), which developed a secondary long α, were created after the shift ᾱ > η had ceased to operate.<sup>59</sup> **(c) *Hiatus*** (conjunction of two vowels, often caused by loss of intervocalic -y-, -s-, -w-) is regularly found, especially between *e* and another vowel: Attic employs contraction more. Many examples of hiatus (e.g. νόος, πλήρεις, κυνέη, the many verbal forms in -εεῖ, -εεῖς, -εεῖν etc.) are also alien to spoken Ionic but are found in Homer: it is not absolutely

<sup>56</sup> The others are Doric, North-West Greek, Aiolic and Arkado-Cyprian. For a clear account of the Greek dialects, cf. Chadwick 1956.

<sup>57</sup> Papyri of Herodotus display *psilosis* more often than not.

<sup>58</sup> Such non-Ionic words and names often keep their own dialectal forms.

<sup>59</sup> I.e. the change from short vowel + -νσ- to long vowel + -σ- started after the ᾱ > η shift stopped.

certain whether they were written by Herodotus, but most editors keep them. Others we know to be Ionic (e.g. genitives Ξέρξεω, μοιρέων, γένεος, ἔσσει 'you will be', δοκέοι opt.).

**Vowels.** These are the most important differences in the treatment of vowels (note that in many cases here we are talking about a small number of particular words, not general rules).

α for ε	τάμνω, μέγαθος (Att. μέγεθος innovates by assimilation of α to the earlier ε).
α for η	μεσαμβρή.
ε for α	τέσσερες, ἔρσην ('male').
ε for ει	κρέσσων (<κρέτ-γων: Att. κρείττων on analogy with χείρων etc.), μέζων; ἡμίσειαι (fem. pl. of adj. in -υς); ἀποδέξω etc. (but unpounded δείξω); ἔργω 'restrain' < root *φεργ-; Att. εἶργω < *ἐ-(φ)έργω with a prothetic vowel); τέλεος (adj., Att. -ειος).
ει for ε	κεινός ('empty'), ξεῖνος, εἵνεκα/-εν (< κενφός etc.; East Ionic is unusual in lengthening the vowel thus); εἰρωτῶ, εἰρόμην, εἰρύω, ἡνείχθην.
ε for η	ἔσσοῦμαι (but ἥσσω).
ε for ο	πεντηκόντερος.
ευ for ου	regularly in ποιεῖν (ποιεῦσι, ποιεῦντες), and when -εο, -εου is preceded by a vowel (θεεύμενος): the original sequence is εο, which contracts to ου in Attic, and either remains εο in Ionic or becomes ευ. These sounds were very close, so the variants are probably orthographic, i.e. two ways of representing basically the same sound.
η for ε	μαχήσομαι, ἥως 'dawn'.
ηι for ει	nouns in -ηιον, -ηιη (ἄριστήιον); adjs. in -ηιος (οἰκήιος).
ι for ε	ἱστίη 'hearth' (by assimilation from ἐστία: (cf. μέγαθος above); Att. is unusual in keeping the original form; cf. also ἱστιαεὺς).
ι for ει	ἵκελος (but εἶκ- in compounds, which is a secondary form).
ι for ευ	ἰθύς, ἰθέως (Att. εὐθύς is unclear).
ο for ω	χρέον (< χρεῶ ὄν 'it being necessary').
ου for ο	οὔρος, μοῦνος, νοῦσος (but νοσέω etc.) from *ὄρφος, *μόνρφος etc. (cf. κεινός above); οὔνομα is a borrowing of a metrically lengthened form from Homer (contrast ὀνομάζω).
ω for αυ	θῶμα, τρῶμα.
ω for ευ	ἔπλωσα (from πλώω 'sail' rather than πλέω).
ω for ου	ῶν (= οὔν; unexplained), τοιγαρῶν etc.

**Consonants.** (a) κῶς, κως, ὁκότε, κότερος etc., i.e. interrogative and indefinite pronouns and enclitics derived from the root \*k<sup>w</sup>σ-, have forms with

-κ-, where Attic and other dialects have -π-.<sup>60</sup> (b) **δέκομαι** in Herodotus, literary Ionic and other dialects: Attic δέχομαι, with -χ- from δέχεται. (c) οὐκί (< οὐ + *k<sup>w</sup>i*) for οὐχί. (d) **γίνομαι, γινώσκω** for γίγνομαι, γιγνώσκω, probably with a weakening of the articulation of the second γ, by dissimilation (perhaps helped by forms in γεν- in the case of γίνομαι). (e) **ἐνθαῦτα, ἐνθεῦτεν** were turned by Attic through metathesis into ἐνταῦθα, ἐντεῦθεν.

**Nouns and adjectives.** (a) *a-stems*. (i) Gen. sg. masc. -εω (Ξέρξεω < -ηο < -ᾱο). (ii) Gen. pl. -εων (μοιρέων, ἐουσέων < -ηων < -ᾱων). (iii) Dat. pl. -ηισι, which is descended from the locative in -*āsu/i*, and developed the iota on analogy with -οισι, locative of the *o*-stems: when Greek dispensed with the locative, some dialects used it to represent the dative; Attic -αις was created on analogy with -οις, an old instrumental. (b) *o-stems*. Dat. pl. -οισι, another locative; Attic again uses the instrumental -οῖς. Note however τοῖσδε, also found in Homer. (c) **Consonant stems**. (i) Nouns and adjectives in -ος and -ης are uncontracted: γένος, γένεος, γένεϊ, γένεα, γενέων, γένεσι; Ἀστυάγης, Ἀστυάγεα etc.; ἀληθής, ἀληθέα, ἀληθέος etc. (ii) So nouns in -εύς: βασιλέα, βασιλέος etc. (iii) πόλις, ὕβρις, φύσις etc. retain the stem in -ι- throughout the paradigm (πόλιος, πόλι, πόλιες, πόλις, πολίων, πόλισι).

**Pronouns.** (a) **ἐμέο, σέο, τέο** for ἐμοῦ, σοῦ, and also with more closed pronunciation ἐμεῦ etc. (b) **ὅστις** gives ὅτε, ὅτεω, ὅτεων, ὅτεοισι. (c) **ὅς, ἧ, τό, τόν, τήν, τό** etc. is the relative; note also Herodotus' rare use of καὶ ὅς 'and he'; cf. ἧ δὲ ὅς 'he said'. They tend to be used where there is no preposition or a preposition that cannot be elided. Herodotus also uses ὅς, ἧ, ὅ; ὅν, ἧν, ὅ etc., especially in phrases such as ἐν ᾧ = 'while', ἐς ὃ = 'until'. (d) **σφεας, σφεων, σφι** and **σφισι** are used like αὐτούς etc., not just to refer to the subject of the main clause as in Attic. (e) **ἐωυτόν** stands for ἑαυτόν (ἐω- generalised from crasis of ἑο αὐτοῦ). (f) Note also accusative sg. **μιν** = αὐτόν, αὐτήν.

**Verbs.** (a) **Syllabic augment** is omitted in pluperfects (παρατετάχατο) and iteratives in -σκον (ἔχεσκον). (b) **Temporal augment** is sometimes absent, especially in verbs beginning with the diphthongs αι, αυ, ει, ευ, οι (e.g. αἶνεσα); in some cases, imitation of Homer may be involved. (c) **Uncontracted terminations**: 2nd p. sg. mid. -εαι for Att. -ει or -ηι (ἔσεαι 'you will be'); -εο for -ου (πείθεο pres. mid. imper.); -εε for -η (ἐγεγόνεε (ppf.), ἐτίθεε (impf.)). (d) **δείκνυμι** etc. have forms from the -ω conjugation in 2nd and 3rd p. sg. and 3rd p. pl. pres. indic. and 3rd p. sg. impf.: προσ-απολλύεις (for -υς), προδεικνύει (for -υσι), δεικνύουσι (for -ύασι), ἐδείκνυε (for -υ). (e) **-αται, -ατο** appear in the 3rd p. pl. of optatives, perfects and pluperfects (ἀνελοίατο, ἀπικάται, διεφθάρατο), and in the present and

<sup>60</sup> A problematic feature: the inscriptions usually give forms in π, but these are inscriptions where Koine influence is notable, so the π-forms may not be original. Forms in κ appear very rarely in the Ionic of the Asia Minor cities and their colonies. Cf. Lillo 1991, Stüber 1996.

imperfects of some verbs in -μι: regularly in δύναιμι, ἐπίσταμαι, ἴσταμαι (δυνέεται, ἡπιστέατο); less certainly also τιθέαται, ἐτιθέατο.<sup>61</sup> -αται etc. arose as a treatment of -νται after a consonant, and was then extended to other contexts. **(f) Contract verbs.** (i) Verbs in -εω are usually uncontracted, but note δεῖ, ἔδει. (ii) -ε- sometimes replaces -α- in -αω verbs: τολμέω, ὀρέων (part.), ὀρέωσι (subj.), beside expected 2nd and 3rd p. sg. ὀρᾷς and ὀρᾷ (contracted forms are also frequent: ὀρῶ etc.). **(g) -μι verbs**, in the 2nd and 3rd p. sg. and 3rd p. pl. of the present, have forms which show the influence of contract verbs: thus τίθημι, but τιθεῖς (Att. τίθης), τιθεῖ (Att. τίθησι), τιθεῖσι (as -εω verbs); δίδωμι, διδοῖς, διδοῖ, διδοῦσι (as -οω verbs); ἴστημι, ἱσταῖς, ἱστᾶι, ἱστᾶσι (as -αω verbs). **(h) Other forms.** (i) οἶδαμεν and οἶδασι beside ἴδμεν, ἴσασι. (ii) εἶπα, εἶπας (part.) beside εἶπον, εἶπών. (iii) λάμφομαι, ἐλάμφθην etc. from λαμβάνω. (iv) εἶς, εἰμέν are used for εἶ, ἐσμέν (cf. εἰμί < \*ἐσμί); ἔωσι, ἔών, ἐοῦσα for ὦσι etc.; opt. εἴησαν is used beside εἶεν. (v) The frequentative suffix -σκον with the present or aorist stem: ἄγεσκον, λάβεσκον.

### *Brief Guide to the Language of Herodotus*

(In this brief guide, Attic equivalents are given in brackets.)

#### Vowels and Consonants

η for ᾱ: προθυμία (προθυμία).

Uncontracted forms: νόος (νοῦς), γένεος (γένους), γένει (γένει), πλήρεις (πλήρεις), προσπλέειν (προσπλεῖν), ἐπεβοήθειον (ἐπεβοήθουν), ἐτίθει (ἐτίθει).

ει for ε: κεινός (κενός, 'empty'), ξεινός (ξένος), εἵνεκα/-εν (ἔνεκα).

ευ for ου: ποιεῦσι (ποιοῦσι), ποιεῦντες (ποιοῦντες).

ου for ο: οὔρος (ὄρος), μῶνος (μόνος), νοῦσος (νόσος), οὔνομα (ὄνομα).

κ for π: κῶς (πῶς), ὁκότε (ὀπότε), κότερος (πότερος).

γίνομαι (γίγνομαι), γινώσκω (γίγνωσκω).

#### Nouns, Adjectives and Pronouns

Gen. sg. masc. -εω (ου): Ξέρξεω (Ξέρξου).

Gen. pl. -εων (-ων): μοιρέων (μοιρῶν).

Dat. pl. -ηισι (-αις), -οισι (-οις): ἡμέρηισι (ἡμέραις), λόγοισι (λόγοις).

Words like πόλις keep their iota: πόλιος (πόλεως), πόλι (πόλει).

ἐμέο (ἐμοῦ), σέο (σοῦ).

ὅστις: ὅτευ (οὔτινος, ὅτου), ὅτεω (ῶτινι, ὅτωι), ὅτεων (ῶντινων, ὅτων), ὅτέοισι (οἴστισι, ὅτοις).

<sup>61</sup> Where the verb stem has a long vowel, that is shortened: ὀρμέ-αται 'they have set out' (cf. ὠρμη-σα etc.).

## Verbs

Augments are sometimes missing: ἀμειβόμεν (ἡμειβόμεν), αἶνεσα (ῥινεσα). -μι verbs sometimes conjugate like contract verbs: τίθημι but τιθεῖς (τίθης), τιθεῖ (τίθησι), τιθεῖσι (τιθέασι); δίδωμι but διδοῖς (δίδως), διδοῖ (δίδωσι), διδοῦσι (διδόασι).

In εἰμί an initial epsilon is often preserved: ἔωσι (ῶσι), ἔών (ῶν), ἐοῦσα (οῦσα).

Note also εἶς (εἷ), εἰμέν (ἐσμέν).

-αται, -ατο for -νται, -ντο: ἀπικάται (ἀφίκονται), ἀνελοίατο (ἀνέλοιντο).

## Various

ῶν (οῦν); ἴθεως (εὐθύς); ἐνθαῦτα (ἐνταῦθα); ἐαυτόν (ἐαυτόν); μιν = αὐτόν, αὐτήν; σφεας often = αὐτούς; δέκομαι (δέχομαι); οἶδαμεν (ἴδμεν), οἶδασι (ἴσασι); εἶπα (εἶπον), εἶπας (εἶπων).

## 6 TEXT

Although we have been able to make grateful use of Nigel Wilson's new Oxford Classical Text and of his accompanying *Herodotea* (both 2015), our text is our own. Our apparatus is brief, and mostly confined to the signalling of points discussed in the commentary, or of divergences from Wilson. One detail may be noted here: we have not followed Wilson's double accentuation of words preceding σφεας; see for example 16.2, where we print πάγχυ σφέας, not πάγχύ σφεας. We understand and respect the reasons for his decision, which are set out at *Herodotea*: 197, but we feared that the uninitiated (a category which included ourselves until we had read his explanation) would find this accentuation unfamiliar and confusing.

In several places (60n., 119.2n., 121.2–123.1n.) we suggest that the text may show signs of different stages of composition, incorporating Herodotus' additions over the many years in which he was accumulating material and giving oral performances. Half a millennium later Galen commented on the way that an author might at different times draft alternative formulations which could readily then slip into a published text (*in Hipp. Epid.* 1.36 17.80K); that would be all the easier with Herodotus' inevitable variations for different occasions and audiences. We considered marking these typographically in some way – Wilson uses double asterisks to mark passages that he considers to be such additions – but we felt that this would suggest too firm a view of where such passages begin and end.

The MSS used in this edition are denoted by the following sigla:

- A cod. Laur. 70, 3
- B cod. Romanus Angel. August. gr. 83
- C cod. Laur. conv. suppr. 207

- D cod. Vaticanus 2369
- P cod. Parisinus 1633
- R cod. Vaticanus 123
- S cod. Sancto Croftianus (Cantabr. Emm. 30)
- U cod. Urbinas 88
- V cod. Vindobonensis hist. gr. 85
- X** cod. Vaticanus gr. 122
- r** consensus RSUVX
- d** consensus Dr



# ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Ζ





Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν νυν Ἴωνίνην ἀποστήσας οὕτω τελευτᾷ, Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ὁ 1  
Μιλήτου τύραννος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρῆν ἐς Σάρδεις. ἀπιγμένον  
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Σούσων εἴρετο Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίων ὕπαρχος κατὰ  
κοῖόν τι δοκέοι Ἴωνας ἀπεστάναι. ὁ δὲ οὔτε εἰδέναι ἔφη ἐθώμαζέ τε τὸ 2  
γεγονὸς ὥς οὐδὲν δῆθεν τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων ἐπιστάμενος. ὁ  
δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ὁρέων αὐτὸν τεχνάζοντα εἶπε, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀτρεκίην τῆς  
ἀποστάσιος· Οὕτω τοι, Ἰστιαῖε, ἔχει κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ πρήγματα· τοῦτο τὸ  
ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σύ, ὑπεδήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης.

Ἀρταφρένης μὲν ταῦτα ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντα εἶπε· Ἰστιαῖος δὲ 2  
δεῖσας ὥς συνιέντα Ἀρταφρένεα ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ἐπελθοῦσαν νύκτα ἀπ-  
έδρη ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐξηπατηκῶς· ὃς Σαρδῶ νῆσον τὴν  
μεγίστην ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργάσεσθαι ὑπέδυνε τῶν Ἰώνων τὴν ἡγε-  
μονίην τοῦ πρὸς Δαρεῖον πολέμου. διαβὰς δὲ ἐς Χίον ἐδέθη ὑπὸ Χίων, 2  
καταγνωσθεῖς πρὸς αὐτῶν νεώτερα πρήσσειν πρήγματα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ  
Δαρείου. μαθόντες μέντοι οἱ Χῖοι τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὥς πολέμιος εἶη  
βασιλεῖ, ἔλυσαν αὐτόν.

Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ εἰρωτώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰώνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος κατ' ὃ τι προθύμως 3  
οὕτω ἐπέστειλε τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος καὶ κακὸν  
τοσοῦτον εἶη Ἴωνας ἐξεργασμένος, τὴν μὲν γενομένην αὐτοῖσι αἰτίην οὐ  
μάλα ἐξέφαινε, ὁ δὲ ἔλεγέ σφι ὥς βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἐβουλεύσατο Φοίνικας  
μὲν ἐξαναστήσας ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ κατοικίσαι, Ἴωνας δὲ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ, καὶ  
τούτων εἵνεκα ἐπιστείλειε· οὐδὲν τι πάντως ταῦτα βασιλέος βουλευσαμέ-  
νου ἐδειμάρτου τοὺς Ἴωνας.

Μετὰ δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος δι' ἀγγέλου ποιούμενος Ἑρμίππου ἀνδρὸς 4  
ἄταρνεῖτω τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἔπεμπε βυβλία ὥς προλε-  
λεσχηνευμένων αὐτῷ ἀποστάσιος πέρι. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμιππος πρὸς τοὺς μὲν  
ἀπεπέμφθη οὐ διδοῖ, φέρων δὲ ἐνεχείρισε τὰ βυβλία τῷ Ἀρταφρένῃ. ὁ δὲ 2  
μαθὼν πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἑρμιππον τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου  
δοῦναι φέροντα τοῖσί περ ἔφερε, τὰ δὲ ἀμοιβαῖα τὰ παρὰ τῶν Περσέων  
ἀντιπεμπόμενα Ἰστιαίῳ ἐωυτῷ δοῦναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν  
ἀπέκτεινε ἐνθαῦτα πολλοὺς Περσέων ὁ Ἀρταφρένης.

Περὶ Σάρδεις μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο ταραχή, Ἰστιαῖον δὲ ἀποσφαλέντα ταύτης 5  
τῆς ἐλπίδος Χῖοι κατήγον ἐς Μίλητον, αὐτοῦ Ἰστιαίου δεηθέντος. οἱ δὲ  
Μιλήσιοι ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλαχθέντες καὶ Ἀρισταγόρῃ οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμοι  
ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι ἐς τὴν χώραν, οἷα τε ἐλευθερίας γευσά-  
μενοι. καὶ δὴ νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐούσης βίῃ ἐπειράτο κατιῶν ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐς τὴν 2

- Μίλητον, τιτρώσκεται τὸν μηρὸν ὑπὸ τευ τῶν Μιλησίων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἀπωστὸς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται, ἀπικνέεται ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Χίον· ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Χίους ὥστε ἑωυτῶι δοῦναι νέας, διέβη ἐς Μυτιλήνην
- 3 καὶ ἔπεισε Λεσβίους δοῦναί οἱ νέας. οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες ὀκτὼ τριήρεας ἔπλεον ἅμα Ἰστιαίῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἰζόμενοι τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκπλωούσας τῶν νεῶν ἐλάμβανον, πλήν ἢ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ἰστιαίῳ ἔφασαν ἔτοιμοι εἶναι πείθεσθαι.
- 6 Ἰστιαῖος μὲν νυν καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐποίευν ταῦτα. ἐπὶ δὲ Μίλητον αὐτὴν ναυτικός πολλὸς καὶ πεζὸς ἦν στρατὸς προσδόκιμος· συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Περσέων καὶ ἐν ποιήσαντες στρατόπεδον ἡλαυνον ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τᾶλλα πολίσματα περὶ ἐλάσσοнос ποιησάμενοι. τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Φοίνικες μὲν ἦσαν προθυμότατοι, συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι νεωστὶ κατεστραμμένοι καὶ Κίλικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι.
- 7 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην ἐστρατεύοντο, Ἴωνες δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἔπεμπον προβούλους σφέων αὐτῶν ἐς Πανιώνιον. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τούτοισι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον καὶ βουλευομένοισι ἔδοξε πεζὸν μὲν στρατὸν μηδένα συλλέγειν ἀντίξοον Πέρσησι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τείχεα ῥύεσθαι αὐτοὺς Μιλησίους, τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν πληροῦν ὑπολιπομένους μηδεμίαν τῶν νεῶν, πληρώσαντας δὲ συλλέγεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Λάδην προναυμαχήσοντας τῆς Μιλήτου· ἡ δὲ Λάδη ἐστὶ νῆσος σμικρὴ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλι τῇ Μιλησίων κειμένη.
- 8 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πεπληρωμένῃσι τῇσι νηυσὶ παρῆσαν οἱ Ἴωνες, σὺν δὲ σφι καὶ Αἰολέων οἱ Λέσβον νέμονται. ἐτάσσοντο δὲ ὧδε· τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ εἶχον κέρας αὐτοὶ Μιλήσιοι, νέας παρεχόμενοι ὀγδῶκοντα· εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πριηνέες δυσῶδεκα νηυσὶ καὶ Μυήσιοι τρισὶ νηυσὶ, Μυησίων δὲ Τήιοι εἶχοντο ἑπτακαίδεκα νηυσὶ, Τηίων δὲ εἶχοντο Χῖοι ἑκατὸν νηυσὶ·
- 2 πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι Ἐρυθραῖοί τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Φωκαῖές, Ἐρυθραῖοι μὲν ὀκτὼ νέας παρεχόμενοι, Φωκαῖές δὲ τρεῖς· Φωκαῖέων δὲ εἶχοντο Λέσβιοι νηυσὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην κέρας Σάμιοι ἐξήκοντα νηυσὶ. πασέων δὲ τουτέων ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσiai τριήρεις.
- 9 Αὗται μὲν Ἰώνων ἦσαν. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἦσαν ἑξακόσiai. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὗται ἀπίκατο πρὸς τὴν Μιλησίην καὶ ὁ πεζὸς σφι ἅπας παρῆν, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Περσέων στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἰάδων νεῶν καταρρώδησαν μὴ οὐ δυνατοὶ γένωνται ὑπερβαλέσθαι, καὶ οὕτως οὔτε τὴν Μίλητον οἰοί τε ἔωσι ἐξελεῖν μὴ οὐκ ἔοντες ναυκρά-
- 2 τορες, πρὸς τε Δαρείου κινδυνεύσωσι κακὸν τι λαβεῖν. ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενοι συλλέξαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς τυράννους, οἱ ὑπ' Ἀρισταγόρεω μὲν τοῦ

Μιλησίου καταλυθέντες τῶν ἀρχέων ἔφευγον ἐς Μήδους, ἐτύγχανον δὲ τότε συστρατευόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς παρεόντας συγκαλέσαντες ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε· Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, νῦν τις ὑμέων 3  
εὖ ποιήσας φανήτω τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον· τοὺς γὰρ ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος ὑμέων πολιήτας πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ συμμαχικοῦ. προῖσχο-  
μενοι δὲ ἐπαγγεῖλασθε τάδε, ὥς πείσονται τε ἄχαρι οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν ἀπόσ-  
τασιν, οὐδὲ σφι οὔτε τὰ ἰρὰ οὔτε τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπρήσεται, οὐδὲ βιαιότερον 4  
ἔξουσι οὐδὲν ἢ πρότερον εἶχον· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ποιήσουσι, οἱ δὲ πάντως  
διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται, τάδε ἤδη σφι λέγετε ἐπηρεάζοντες τὰ περ σφέας  
κατέξει, ὥς ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐξανδραποδιεῦνται καὶ ὥς σφεων τοὺς  
παῖδας ἐκτομίας ποιήσομεν, τὰς δὲ παρθένους ἀνασπάστους ἐς Βάκτρα,  
καὶ ὥς τὴν χώραν ἄλλοισι παραδώσομεν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἔλεγον ταῦτα, τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων οἱ τύραννοι διέπεμπον νυκτὸς 10  
ἕκαστος ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαγγελλόμενος. οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες, ἐς τοὺς καὶ ἀπίκοντο  
αὗται αἱ ἀγγελίαι, ἀγνωμοσύνηι τε διεχρέωντο καὶ οὐ προσίεντο τὴν  
προδοσίην, ἑωυτοῖσι δὲ ἕκαστοι ἐδόκεον μούνοισι ταῦτα τοὺς Πέρσας  
ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἰθέως ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν Μίλητον τῶν  
Περσέων ἐγίνετο·

Μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων συλληχθέντων ἐς τὴν Λάδην ἐγίνοντο ἀγοραί, καὶ 11  
δὴ κού σφι καὶ ἄλλοι ἡγορόωντο, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁ Φωκαιεὺς στρατηγὸς  
Διονύσιος, λέγων τάδε· Ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πρήγματα, 2  
ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἢ εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἢ δούλοισι, καὶ τούτοις ὥς δρηπέτησι·  
νῦν ὧν ὑμεῖς ἦν μὲν βούλησθε ταλαιπωρίας ἐνδέκεσθαι, τὸ παραχρῆμα  
μὲν πόνος ὑμῖν ἔσται, οἰοί τε δὲ ἔσεσθε ὑπερβαλόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι  
ἐλεύθεροι· εἰ δὲ μαλακίῃι τε καὶ ἀταξίῃι διαχρήσησθε, οὐδεμίαν ὑμέων ἔχω  
ἐλπίδα μὴ οὐ δώσειν ὑμέας δίκην βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀποστάσιος. ἀλλ' ἐμοί τε πεί- 3  
θεσθε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑμέας αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψατε· καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγώ, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόν-  
των, ὑποδέκομαι ἢ οὐ συμμείξιν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ συμμίσγοντας πολλὸν  
ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἴωνες ἐπιτρέπουν σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Διονυσίῳ. 12  
ὁ δὲ ἀνάγων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας τὰς νέας, ὅκως τοῖσι ἐρέτησι χρή-  
σαιτο διέκπλοον ποιούμενος τῇσι νηυσὶ δ' ἀλληλέων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβά-  
τας ὀπλίσειε, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρης τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων,  
παρεῖχε τε τοῖσι Ἴωσι πόνον δι' ἡμέρης. μέχρι μὲν νυν ἡμερέων ἐπτὰ 2  
ἐπείθοντό τε καὶ ἐποίουν τὸ κελευόμενον, τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτησι οἱ Ἴωνες,  
οἷα ἀπαθέες ἐόντες πόνων τοιούτων τετρυμένοι τε ταλαιπωρήσιί τε  
καὶ ἡλίῳ, ἔλεξαν πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς τάδε· Τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε 3  
ἀναπύμπλαμεν; οἵτινες παραφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου

- ἀνδρὶ Φωκαιεῖ ἀλαζόνι, παρεχομένῳ νέας τρεῖς, ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἔχομεν· ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἡμέας λυμαίνεται λύμησι ἀνηκέστοισι· καὶ δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμέων ἐς νούσους πεπτώκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπίδοξοι τῷ τούτῳ πείσεσθαι· πρό τε τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν γε κρέσσον καὶ ὁ τι ὦν ἄλλο παθεῖν ἐστι, καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δουληίην ὑπομεῖναι ἥτις ἔσται, μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ παρεούσῃ συνέχεσθαι. φέρετε, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ πειθώμεθα
- 4 αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ἔλεξαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα πείθεσθαι οὐδεὶς ἤθελε, ἀλλ' οἷα <πεζή> στρατιῇ σκηνάς τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκητροφέοντο καὶ ἐσβαίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐς τὰς νέας οὐδ' ἀναπειράσθαι.
- 13 Μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα γινόμενα ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ παρ' Αἰάκεος τοῦ Συλοσῶντος κείνους τοὺς πρότερον ἔπεμπε λόγους ὁ Αἰάκης κελεύόντων τῶν Περσέων, δεόμενός σφεων ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἰώνων συμμαχίην, οἱ Σάμιοι ὧν ὀρῶντες ἅμα μὲν ἐοῦσαν ἀταξίην πολλήν ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι, εὖ γε ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς εἰ καὶ τὸ παρεὸν ναυτικὸν ὑπερβαλοῖατο, ἄλλο σφι παρέσται πεντα-
- 2 πλήσιον. προφάσιος ὧν ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἐπείτε τάχιστα εἶδον τοὺς Ἰωνας ἀρνευμένους εἶναι χρηστούς, ἐν κέρδει ἐποιεῦντο περιποιῆσαι τὰ τε ἱρὰ τὰ σφέτερα καὶ τὰ ἴδια. ὁ δὲ Αἰάκης, παρ' ὅτε τοὺς λόγους ἐδέκοντο οἱ Σάμιοι, παῖς μὲν ἦν Συλοσῶντος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, τύραννος δὲ ἑὼν Σάμου ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιλησίου Ἀρισταγόρεω ἀπεστέρητο τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ περ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς Ἰωνίης τύραννοι.
- 14 Τότε ὧν ἐπεὶ ἐπέπλων οἱ Φοίνικες, οἱ Ἰωνες ἀντανῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐπὶ κέρας. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀγχοῦ ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως συγγράψαι οἷ τινες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες κακοὶ ἢ ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ· ἀλλήλους γὰρ κατατιτῶν-
- 2 ται. λέγονται δὲ Σάμιοι ἐνθαῦτα κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς τὸν Αἰάκα ἀειράμενοι τὰ ἱστία ἀποπλῶσαι ἐκ τῆς τάξις ἐς τὴν Σάμον, πλήν ἑνδεκα νεῶν. τουτέων δὲ οἱ τριήραρχοι παρέμενον καὶ ἐναυμάχεον ἀνηκ-
- 3 ουστήσαντες τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι· καὶ σφι τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Σαμίων ἔδωκε διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφῆναι πατρόθεν ὥς ἀνδράσι ἀγαθοῖσι γενομένοισι, καὶ ἔστι αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ. ἰδόμενοι δὲ καὶ Λέσβιοι τοὺς προσεχέας φεύγοντας τῷ τούτῳ ἐποίευν τοῖσι Σαμίοισι· ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῖνες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐποίευν τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα.
- 15 Τῶν δὲ παραμεινάντων ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ περιέφθησαν τρηχύτατα Χῖοι ὥς ἀποδεικνύμενοί τε ἔργα λαμπρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες· οἱ παρείχοντο μὲν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, νέας ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐπ' ἐκάστης αὐτέων

12.4 πεζή suppl. Wilson  
post Συλοσῶντος proposuit

13.1 κείνους del. Wilson, et ἀκούσαντες vel δεξάμενοι

ἄνδρας τεσσεράκοντα τῶν ἀστῶν λογάδας ἐπιβατεύοντας· ὀρέοντες δὲ 2  
τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων προδιδόντας οὐκ ἐδικαίευν γενέσθαι τοῖσι  
κακοῖσι αὐτῶν ὅμοιοι, ἀλλὰ μετ' ὀλίγων συμμάχων μεμουνωμένοι διεκ-  
πλώνοντες ἐναυμάχεον, ἐς ὃ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλόντες νέας συχνὰς ἀπέβαλον  
τῶν σφετέρων τὰς πλεῦνας. Χῖοι μὲν δὴ τῇσι λοιπῇσι τῶν νεῶν ἀποφεύ-  
γουσι ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν.

“Ὅσοισι δὲ τῶν Χίων ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν αἱ νέες ὑπὸ τρωμάτων, οὗτοι δὲ ὥς 16  
ἐδιώκοντο καταφυγγάνουσι πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην. νέας μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ταύτηι  
ἐποκείλαντες κατέλιπον, οἱ δὲ πεζῇ ἐκομίζοντο διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου. ἔπειδὴ δὲ 2  
ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσίην κομιζόμενοι οἱ Χῖοι, νυκτός τε <γὰρ> ἀπίκοντο  
ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐόντων τῇσι γυναιξὶ αὐτόθι Θεσμοφορίων, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ  
Ἐφέσιοι, οὔτε προακηκοότες ὥς εἶχε περὶ τῶν Χίων ἰδόντες τε στρατὸν  
ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐσβεβληκότα, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξαντες εἶναι κλῶπας καὶ  
ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐξεβοήθεον πανδημεὶ καὶ ἔκτεινον τοὺς Χίους. οὗτοι  
μὲν νυν τοιαύτησι περιέπιπτον τύχησι·

Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Φωκαεὺς ἐπεῖτε ἔμαθε τῶν Ἰώνων τὰ πρήγματα διεφ- 17  
θαρμένα, νέας ἐλὼν τρεῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέπλεε ἐς μὲν Φώκαιαν οὐκέτι,  
εὖ εἰδὼς ὥς ἀνδραποδιεῖται σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ· ὁ δὲ ἰθέως ὥς εἶχε ἔπλεε  
ἐς Φοινίκην, γαύλους δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν πολλὰ  
ἔπλεε ἐς Σικελίην, ὁρμώμενος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ληιστῆς κατεστήκεε Ἑλλήνων μὲν  
οὐδενός, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν.

Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπεῖτε τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἰωνας, τὴν Μίλητον 18  
πολιορκέοντες ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ὑπορύσσοντές τὰ τεῖχεα καὶ παν-  
τοίας μηχανὰς προσφέροντες αἰρέουσι κατ' ἄκρης ἔκτωι ἔτεϊ ἀπὸ τῆς  
ἀποστάσιος τῆς Ἀρισταγόρεω· καὶ ἡνδραποδίσαντο τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε  
συμπεσεῖν τὸ πάθος τῶι χρηστηρίῳ τῶι ἐς Μίλητον γενομένῳ.

Χρεωμένοισι γὰρ Ἀργείοισι ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλιος τῆς 19  
σφετέρης ἐχρήσθη ἐπῖκοινον χρηστήριον, τὸ μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους  
φέρον, τὴν δὲ παρενθήκην ἔχρησε ἐς Μιλησίους. τὸ μὲν νυν ἐς τοὺς 2  
Ἀργεῖους ἔχον, ἐπεὰν κατὰ τοῦτο γένωμαι τοῦ λόγου, τότε μνησθήσο-  
μαι, τὰ δὲ τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι οὐ παρεοῦσι ἔχρησε, ἔχει ὥδε·

καὶ τότε δὴ, Μίλητε, κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων,  
πολλοῖσιν δεῖπνόν τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα γενήσῃ,  
σαὶ δ' ἄλοχοι πολλοῖσι πόδας νίψουσι κομήταις,  
νηοῦ δ' ἡμετέρου Διδύμοις ἄλλοισι μελήσει.

τότε δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Μιλησίους κατελάμβανε, ὅτε γε ἄνδρες μὲν οἱ πλεῦνες 3  
ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἐόντων κομητέων, γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ τέκνα

ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο, ἱρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι, ὃ νηὸς τε καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, συληθέντα ἐνεπίμπρατο. τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ χρημάτων πολλάκις μνήμην ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην.

**20** Ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ ζωγρηθέντες τῶν Μιλησίων ἤγοντο ἐς Σοῦσα· βασιλεὺς δὲ σφεας Δαρεῖος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας κατοίκησε ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ καλεομένῃ θαλάσσει, ἐν Ἄμπῃ πόλι, παρ' ἣν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παραρρέων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξίει. τῆς δὲ Μιλησίων χώρας αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδῖον, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ἔδοσαν Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι.

**21** Παθοῦσι δὲ ταῦτα Μιλησίοισι πρὸς Περσέων οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν τὴν ὁμοίην Συβαρίται, οἱ Λαόν τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἴκεον τῆς πόλιος ἀπεστερημένοι. Συβάριος γὰρ ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Κροτωνιητέων Μιλήσιοι πάντες ἡβηδὸν ἀπεκείραντο τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πένθος μέγα προσεθήκαντο· πόλιες γὰρ αὗται μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀλλήλησι ἐξεινώθησαν. οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἀλώσει τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ καὶ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν καὶ διδάξαντι ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον καὶ ἐζημίωσάν μιν ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκῆια κακὰ χιλίησι δραχμῇσι, καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δράματι.

**22** Μίλητος μὲν νυν Μιλησίων ἐρήμωτο· Σαμίων δὲ τοῖσί τι ἔχουσι τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιηθὲν οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσκε, ἔδόκεε δὲ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισι, πρὶν ἢ σφι ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀπικέσθαι τὸν τύραννον Αἰάκεα, ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκπλέειν μηδὲ μένοντας Μήδοισί τε καὶ Αἰάκεϊ δουλεύειν. Ζαγκλαῖοι γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον πέμποντες ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀγγέλους ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐς Καλὴν Ἀκτὴν, βουλόμενοι αὐτόθι πόλιν κτίσαι Ἰώνων· ἡ δὲ Καλὴ αὕτη Ἀκτὴ καλεομένη ἔστι μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνίην τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης. τούτων ὧν ἐπικαλεομένων οἱ Σάμιοι μούνοι Ἰώνων ἐστάλησαν, σὺν δὲ σφι Μιλησίων οἱ ἐκπεφευγότες.

**23** Ἐν ᾧ τοιόνδε δὴ τι συνήνεικε γενέσθαι· Σάμιοί τε κομιζόμενοι ἐς Σικελίην ἐγίνοντο ἐν Λοκροῖσι τοῖσι Ἐπιζεφυρίοισι καὶ Ζαγκλαῖοι αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Σκύθης, περικατέατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελῶν ἐξελεῖν βουλόμενοι. μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἀναξίλεως, τότε ἑὸν διάφορος τοῖσι Ζαγκλαίοισι, συμμείξας τοῖσι Σαμίοισι ἀναπείθει ὡς χρεὸν εἶη Καλὴν μὲν Ἀκτὴν, ἐπ' ἣν ἔπλεον, ἔαν χαίρειν, τὴν δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν, ἐοῦσαν ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν. πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ζαγκλαῖοι, ὡς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένην

τὴν πόλιν ἑωυτῶν, ἐβοήθεον αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο Ἴπποκράτεα τὸν  
 Γέλῃς τύραννον· ἦν γὰρ δὴ σφι οὗτος σύμμαχος. ἐπεῖτε δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ 4  
 ὁ Ἴπποκράτης σὺν τῇ στρατιῇ ἦκε βοηθέων, Σκύθην μὲν τὸν μούναρ-  
 χον τῶν Ζαγκλαίων ὡς ἀποβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἴπποκράτης πεδήσας  
 καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Πυθογένεα ἐς Ἴνυκα πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε, τοὺς δὲ  
 λοιποὺς Ζαγκλαίους κοινολογησάμενος τοῖσι Σαμίοις καὶ ὄρκους δούς καὶ  
 δεξάμενος προέδωκε. μισθὸς δὲ οἱ ἦν εἰρημένος ὃδε ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, πάν- 5  
 των τῶν ἐπίπλων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων τὰ ἡμίσεα μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει,  
 τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα Ἴπποκράτεα λαγχάνειν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πλεῦνας 6  
 τῶν Ζαγκλαίων αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ εἶχε δῆσας, τοὺς δὲ κορυ-  
 φαίους αὐτῶν τριηκοσίους ἔδωκε τοῖσι Σαμίοις κατασφάξαι· οὐ μέντοι οἱ  
 γε Σάμιοι ἐποίησαν ταῦτα.

Σκύθης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ζαγκλαίων μούναρχος ἐκ τῆς Ἴνυκος ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐς 24  
 Ἱμέρην, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης παρῇν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ ἀνέβη παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον.  
 καὶ μιν ἐνόμισε Δαρεῖος πάντων ἀνδρῶν δικαιοτάτον εἶναι ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἑλλάδος παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἀνέβησαν· καὶ γὰρ παραιτησάμενος βασιλέα ἐς 2  
 Σικελίην ἀπῖκετο καὶ αὗτις ἐκ τῆς Σικελίης ὀπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα, ἐς ὃ γῆραϊ  
 μέγα ὄλβιος ἔων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Πέρσῃσι. Σάμιοι δὲ ἀπαλλαχθέντες Μήδων  
 ἀπονητὶ πόλιν καλλίστην Ζάγκλην περιεβεβλήατο.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίην τὴν ὑπὲρ Μιλήτου γενομένην Φοίνικες 25  
 κελευσάντων Περσέων κατήγον ἐς Σάμον Αἰάκεα τὸν Συλοσῶντος ὡς πολ-  
 λοῦ τε ἄξιον γενόμενον σφίσι καὶ μεγάλα κατεργασάμενον· καὶ Σαμίοις 2  
 μούνοις τῶν ἀποστάντων ἀπὸ Δαρείου διὰ τὴν ἔκλειψιν τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἐν  
 τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνεπρήσθη. Μιλήτου δὲ ἀλούσης  
 αὐτίκα καὶ Καρίην ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι, τὰς μὲν ἐθελοντὴν τῶν πολίων  
 ὑποκυψάσας, τὰς δὲ ἀνάγκῃ προσηγάγοντο.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐγένετο, Ἰστιαίῳ δὲ τῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐόντι περὶ 26  
 Βυζάντιον καὶ συλλαμβάνοντι τὰς Ἰώνων ὀλκάδας ἐκπλώσας ἐκ τοῦ Πόν-  
 του ἐξαγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Μίλητον γεινόμενα. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον  
 ἔχοντα πρήγματα ἐπιτρέπει Βισάλτῃ Ἀπολλοφάνεος παιδὶ Ἀβυδηνῷ,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων Λεσβίους ἐς Χίον ἔπλεε, καὶ Χίων φρουρῇ οὐ προσιεμένη  
 μιν συνέβαλε ἐν Κοίλοις καλεομένοις τῆς Χίης χώρας. τούτων τε δὴ 2  
 ἐφόνευσε συχνοὺς, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Χίων, οἳ δὴ κεκακωμένων ἐκ τῆς ναυ-  
 μαχίης, ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἔχων τοὺς Λεσβίους ἐπεκράτησε, ἐκ Πολίχνης τῆς Χίων  
 ὀρμώμενος.

Φιλέει δὲ κως προσημαίνειν, εὖτ' ἂν μέλλῃ μεγάλα κακὰ ἢ πόλι 27  
 ἢ ἔθνεϊ ἔσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ Χίοις πρὸ τούτων σημήα μεγάλα ἐγένετο.  
 τοῦτο μὲν σφι πέμψασι ἐς Δελφοὺς χορὸν νεηνιέων ἑκατὸν δύο μῦνοι 2  
 τούτων ἀπενόστησαν, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτώ τε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα αὐτῶν λοιμοὺς



- ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεικε· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον, ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίης, παισὶ γράμματα διδασκομένοισι ἐνέπεσε ἢ  
 3 στέγη, ὥστε ἀπ' ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι παίδων εἰς μοῦνος ἀπέφυγε. ταῦτα  
 μὲν σφι σημήια ὁ θεὸς προέδεξε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ ναυμαχίη ὑπολαβοῦσα  
 ἐς γόνυ τὴν πόλιν ἔβαλε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεγένετο Ἰστιαῖος Λεσ-  
 βίους ἄγων, κεκακωμένων δὲ τῶν Χίων καταστροφὴν εὐπετέως αὐτῶν  
 ἐποιήσατο.
- 28** Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ Θάσον ἄγων Ἰώνων καὶ  
 Αἰολέων συχνοὺς. περικατημένωι δὲ οἱ Θάσον ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς οἱ Φοῖνικες  
 ἀναπλώουσι ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα  
 Θάσον μὲν ἀπόρθητον λείπει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Λέσβον ἠπείγετο ἄγων  
 2 πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιήν. ἐκ Λέσβου δὲ λιμαινούσης οἱ τῆς στρατιῆς πέρην  
 διαβαίνει, ἐς τὸν Ἀταρνέα ὡς ἀμήσων τὸν σῆτον τὸν τε ἐνθεῦτεν καὶ  
 τὸν ἐκ Καΐκου πεδίου τὸν τῶν Μυσῶν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις  
 ἐτύγχανε ἑὼν Ἄρπαγος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, στρατηγὸς στρατιῆς οὐκ ὀλίγης, ὅς  
 οἱ ἀποβάντι συμβαλὼν αὐτὸν τε Ἰστιαῖον ζωγρίῃ ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν  
 αὐτοῦ τὸν πλέω διέφθειρε.
- 29** Ἐζωγρήθη δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ὧδε. ὡς ἐμάχοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῖσι Πέρσησι  
 ἐν τῇ Μαλήνῃ τῆς Ἀταρνείτιδος χώρας, οἱ μὲν συνέστασαν χρόνον ἐπὶ  
 πολλόν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος ὕστερον ὀρμηθεῖσα ἐπιπίπτει τοῖσι Ἕλλησι· τό τε δὴ  
 ἔργον τῆς ἵππου τοῦτο ἐγένετο, καὶ τετραμμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁ Ἰστι-  
 αῖος ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀπολέεσθαι ὑπὸ βασιλέος διὰ τὴν παρεοῦσαν ἀμαρτάδα  
 2 φιλοψυχὴν τοιήνδε τινὰ ἀναιρέεται· ὡς φεύγων τε κατελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ  
 ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω καὶ ὡς καταιρεόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔμελλε συγκεντηθῆ-  
 εσθαι, Περσίδα γλῶσσαν μετιεὶς καταμηνύει ἑωυτὸν ὡς εἶη Ἰστιαῖος ὁ  
 Μιλήσιος.
- 30** Εἰ μὲν νυν, ὡς ἐζωγρήθη, ἀνήχθη ἀγόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον,  
 ὁ δὲ οὐτ' ἂν ἔπαθε κακὸν οὐδὲν δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἀπῆκέ τ' ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν  
 αἰτίην· νῦν δὲ μιν αὐτῶν τε τούτων εἵνεκα καὶ ἵνα μὴ διαφυγὼν αὐτὶς  
 μέγας παρὰ βασιλεῖ γένηται, Ἄρταφρένης τε ὁ Σαρδίῳ ὑπαρχος καὶ ὁ  
 λαβὼν Ἄρπαγος, ὡς ἀπύκετο ἀγόμενος ἐς Σάρδεις, τὸ μὲν σῶμα αὐτοῦ  
 ταύτῃ ἀνεσταύρωσαν, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ταριχεύσαντες ἀνήνεικαν παρὰ  
 2 βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐς Σοῦσα. Δαρεῖος δὲ πυθόμενος ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαιτησά-  
 μενος τοὺς ταῦτα ποιήσαντας ὅτι μιν οὐ ζῶοντα ἀνήγαγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν  
 ἑωυτοῦ, τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Ἰστιαίου λούσαντάς τε καὶ περιστείλαντας εὖ  
 ἐνετείλατο θάψαι ὡς ἀνδρὸς μεγάλως ἑωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσησι εὐεργέτεω.  
 τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰστιαῖον οὕτω ἔσχε.

Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον τῷ 31  
 δευτέρῳ ἔτει ὥς ἀνέπλωσε, αἰρέει εὐπετέως τὰς νήσους τὰς πρὸς τῇ  
 ἡπείρῳ κειμένας, Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον. ὅκως δὲ λάβοι τινὰ τῶν  
 νήσων, ὥς ἐκάστην αἰρέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσαγήνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.  
 σαγηνεύουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς ἀψάμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐκ 2  
 θαλάσσης τῆς βορηίης ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην διήκουσι καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ πάσης τῆς  
 νήσου διέρχονται ἐκθηρεύοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. αἶρεον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν  
 τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλιας τὰς Ἰάδας κατὰ ταῦτά, πλὴν οὐκ ἐσαγήνευον τοὺς  
 ἀνθρώπους· οὐ γὰρ οἶα τε ἦν.

Ἐνθαῦτα Περσέων οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὰς ἐπὶ 32  
 ἠπειλήσαν τοῖσι Ἴωσι στρατοπεδευομένοισι ἐναντία σφίσι. ὥς γὰρ δὴ  
 ἐπεκράτησαν τῶν πολίων, παῖδὰς τε τοὺς εὐειδεστάτους ἐκλεγόμενοι  
 ἐξέταμνον καὶ ἐποίευν ἀντὶ εἶναι ἐνορχέας εὐνούχους, καὶ παρθένους  
 τὰς καλλιστευούσας ἀνασπάστους παρὰ βασιλέα· ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐποίευν  
 καὶ τὰς πόλιας ἐνεπίμπρασαν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι. οὕτω δὴ τὸ τρίτον  
 Ἴωνες κατεδουλώθησαν, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, δις δὲ ἐπεξῆς τότε ὑπὸ  
 Περσέων.

Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰωνίης ἀπαλλασσόμενος ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ 33  
 ἐσπλέοντι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου αἶρεε πάντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι  
 Πέρσησι ὑποχείρια ἦν γεγονότα κατ' ἡπειρον. εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ  
 αἶδε τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, Χερσονήσός τε, ἐν τῇ πόλιες συχναὶ ἔνεισι, καὶ  
 Πέρινθος καὶ τὰ τεῖχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηίκης καὶ Σηλυμβρίῃ τε καὶ Βυζάντιον.  
 Βυζάντιοι μὲν νυν καὶ οἱ πέρηθε Καλχηδόνιοι οὐδ' ὑπέμειναν ἐπιπλέον- 2  
 τας τοὺς Φοίνικας, ἀλλ' οἷχοντο ἀπολιπόντες τὴν σφετέρην ἔσω ἐς τὸν  
 Εὐξείνιον Πόντον, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα πόλιν Μεσαμβρίην οἴκησαν. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες  
 κατακαύσαντες ταύτας τὰς χώρας τὰς καταλεχθείσας τρέπονται ἐπὶ τε  
 Προκόννησον καὶ Ἀρτάκην, πυρὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτας νείμαντες ἔπλων αὐτὶς ἐς  
 τὴν Χερσονήσον ἐξαιρήσαντες τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῶν πολίων ὅσας πρότερον  
 προσσχόντες οὐ κατέσυραν. ἐπὶ δὲ Κύζικον οὐδὲ ἔπλωσαν ἀρχήν· αὐτοὶ 3  
 γὰρ Κυζικηνοὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοῦ Φοινίκων ἐσπλόου ἐγεγόνεσαν ὑπὸ  
 βασιλεῖ, Οἰβάρεϊ τῷ Μεγαβάζου ὁμολογήσαντες, τῷ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ  
 ὑπάρχῳ. τῆς δὲ Χερσονήσου, πλὴν Καρδίας πόλιος, τὰς ἄλλας πάσας  
 ἐχειρώσαντο οἱ Φοίνικες.

Ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτέων μέχρι τότε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος τοῦ Στη- 34  
 σαγόρεω, κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην πρότερον Μιλτιάδεω τοῦ  
 Κυψέλου τρόπῳ τοιῶδε· εἶχον Δόλογχοι Θρήικες τὴν Χερσονήσον  
 ταύτην. οὗτοι ὦν οἱ Δόλογχοι πιεσθέντες πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Ἀψινθίων ἐς  
 Δελφούς ἔπεμψαν τοὺς βασιλέας περὶ τοῦ πολέμου χρησομένους. ἡ δὲ 2

Πυθίη σφι ἀνεῖλε οἰκιστὴν ἐπάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τοῦτον ὃς ἂν σφεας ἀπιόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρῶτος ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέσῃ. ἰόντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογχοι τὴν Ἰρὴν Ὀδὸν διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἦσαν· καὶ σφεας ὥς οὐδεὶς ἐκάλεε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων.

- 35** Ἐν δὲ τῇσι Ἀθήνησι τηνικαῦτα εἶχε μὲν τὸ πᾶν κράτος Πεισίστρατος, ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευέ γε καὶ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου, ἐὼν οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου, τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰακοῦ τε καὶ Αἰγίνης γεγονώς, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα Ἀθηναῖος, Φιλαίου τοῦ Αἴαντος παιδὸς γενομένου πρώτου τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης Ἀθηναίου. οὗτος ὁ Μιλτιάδης κατήμενος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ, ὁρέων τοὺς Δολόγκους παριόντας ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρίην καὶ αἰχμὰς προσεβώσατο καὶ σφι προσελθοῦσι ἐπηγγείλατο καταγωγὴν καὶ ξείνια. οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ ξεινισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐξέφαινον πᾶν οἱ τὸ μαντήιον, ἐκφήναντες δὲ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ τῶι θεῶι μιν πείθεσθαι.
- 3** Μιλτιάδεα δὲ ἀκούσαντα παραυτίκα ἔπεισε ὁ λόγος οἷα ἀχθόμενόν τε τῇ Πεισιστράτου ἀρχῇ καὶ βουλόμενον ἐκποδὼν εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησόμενος τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ποιοῖ τά περ αὐτοῦ οἱ Δόλογχοι προσεδέοντο.

- 36** Κελευούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς Πυθίης, οὕτω δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου, Ὀλύμπια ἀναραιρηκῶς πρότερον τούτων τεθρίππῳ, τότε παραλαβὼν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον μετέχειν τοῦ στόλου ἔπλεε ἅμα τοῖσι Δολόγχοις καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν· καὶ μιν οἱ ἐπαγαγόμενοι τύραννον κατεστήσαντο. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπετειχίσε τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος ἐς Πακτύην, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοιεν σφεας οἱ Ἀψίνθιοι δηλέεσθαι ἐσβάλλοντες ἐς τὴν χώραν. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι στάδιοι ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τούτου ἡ Χερσονήσος ἔσω πᾶσά ἐστι σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ τετρακοσίων τὸ μῆκος.

- 37** Ἀποτειχίσας ὦν τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Χερσονήσου ὁ Μιλτιάδης καὶ τοὺς Ἀψινθίους τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ὡσάμενος τῶν λοιπῶν πρώτοις ἐπολέμησε Λαμψακηνοῖσι· καὶ μιν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ λοχήσαντες αἰρέουσι ζωγρίην. ἦν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης Κροίσῳ τῶι Λυδῶι ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς· πυθόμενος ὦν ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα πέμπων προηγόρευε τοῖσι Λαμψακηνοῖσι μετιέναι Μιλτιάδεα· εἰ δὲ μή, σφέας πίτυος τρόπον ἀπείλεε ἐκτρίψειν. πλανωμένων δὲ τῶν Λαμψακηνῶν ἐν τοῖσι λόγοις τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶπαι τό σφι ἀπείλησε ὁ Κροῖσος, πίτυος τρόπον ἐκτρίψειν, μόγισ κοτὲ μαθὼν τῶν τις πρεσβυτέρων εἶπε τὸ ἔόν, ὅτι πίτυς μούνη πάντων δενδρέων ἐκκοπεῖσα βλαστὸν οὐδένα μετῖει ἀλλὰ πανώλεθρος ἐξαπόλλυται. δέισαντες ὦν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ Κροῖσον, λύσαντες μετήκαν Μιλτιάδην.

Οὗτος μὲν δὴ διὰ Κροῖσον ἐκφεύγει, μετὰ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἄπαις, τὴν ἀρχὴν **38**  
 τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδούς Στησαγόρη τῷ Κίμωνος ἀδελφεοῦ [παιδί]  
 ὁμομητρίου. καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντι Χερσονησῖται θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῇ,  
 καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι, ἐν τῷ Λαμψακηνῶν οὐδενὶ  
 ἐγγίνεται ἀγωνίζεσθαι. πολέμου δὲ ἐόντος πρὸς Λαμψακηνούς καὶ Στη- **2**  
 σαγόρεα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ἄπαιδα, πληγέντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκεϊ ἐν  
 τῷ πρυτανήϊω πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτομόλου μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, πολεμίου δὲ καὶ  
 ὑποθερμοτέρου τῷ ἔργῳ.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Στησαγόρεω τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἐνθαῦτα **39**  
 Μιλτιάδην τὸν Κίμωνος, Στησαγόρεω δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφεόν,  
 καταλαμφόμενον τὰ πρήγματα ἐπὶ Χερσονήσου ἀποστέλλουσι τριήρεϊ  
 οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, οἳ μιν καὶ ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐποίευν εὖ ὡς οὐ συνειδότες  
 δῆθεν τοῦ πατρὸς [Κίμωνος] αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ  
 σημανέω ὡς ἐγένετο. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον εἶχε **2**  
 κατ' οἴκους, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Στησαγόρεα δηλαδὴ ἐπιτιμέν. οἱ δὲ Χερ-  
 σονησῖται, πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, συνελέχθησαν ἀπὸ πασέων τῶν πολίων  
 οἱ δυναστεύοντες πάντοθεν, κοινῶι δὲ στόλῳ ἀπικόμενοι ὡς συλλυπηθη-  
 σόμενοι ἐδέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἴσχει τὴν Χερσόνησον πεν-  
 τακοσίους βόσκων ἐπικούρους καὶ γαμέει Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρηίκων βασιλέος  
 τὴν θυγατέρα Ἥγησιπύλην.

Οὗτος δὴ ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης νεωστὶ μὲν ἐληλύθεε ἐς τὴν Χερ- **40**  
 σόνησον, κατελάμβανε δὲ μιν ἐλθόντα ἄλλα τῶν κατεχόντων πρηγ-  
 μάτων χαλεπώτερα. τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτει τούτων Σκύθας ἐκφεύγει· Σκύθαι  
 γὰρ οἱ νομάδες ἐρεθισθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέος Δαρείου συνεστράφησαν καὶ  
 ἤλασαν μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτης· τούτους ἐπιόντας οὐκ ὑπομείνας ὁ **2**  
 Μιλτιάδης ἔφευγε ἀπὸ Χερσονήσου ἐς ὃ οἳ τε Σκύθαι ἀπαλλάχθησαν καὶ  
 μιν οἱ Δόλογοι κατήγαγον ὀπίσω.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τρίτῳ ἔτει πρότερον ἐγεγόνεε τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων. **41**  
 τότε δὲ πυνθανόμενος εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ πληρώσας τριήρεας  
 πέντε χρημάτων τῶν παρεόντων ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. καί, ὥσπερ  
 ὁρμήθη ἐκ Καρδίας πόλις, ἔπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου· παραμείβετό  
 τε τὴν Χερσόνησον καὶ οἱ Φοίνικες οἱ περιπίπτουσι τῇσι νηυσί. αὐτὸς **2**  
 μὲν δὴ Μιλτιάδης σὺν τῇσι τέσσερσι τῶν νεῶν καταφεύγει ἐς Ἴμβρον,  
 τὴν δὲ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατεῖλον διώκοντες οἱ Φοίνικες. τῆς δὲ νεὸς  
 ταύτης ἔτυχε τῶν Μιλτιάδεω παίδων ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἄρχων Μητίοχος,  
 οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρηίκος ἐὼν θυγατὸς ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄλλης. καὶ τοῦ- **3**  
 τον ἅμα τῇ νηὶ εἶλον οἱ Φοίνικες καὶ μιν πυθόμενοι ὡς εἶη Μιλτιάδεω παῖς  
 ἀνήγαγον παρὰ βασιλέα, δοκέοντες χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήσεσθαι, ὅτι

- δὴ Μιλτιάδης γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐν τοῖσι Ἴωσι πείθεσθαι κελεύων τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι, ὅτε οἱ Σκύθαι προσεδέοντο λύσαντας τὴν σχεδὴν ἀποπλῆειν  
 4 ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν. Δαρεῖος δέ, ὡς οἱ Φοίνικες Μητίοχον τὸν Μιλτιάδεω ἀνήγαγον, ἐποίησε κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν Μητίοχον, ἀγαθὰ δὲ συχνά· καὶ γὰρ οἶκον καὶ κτῆσιν ἔδωκε καὶ Περσίδα γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ τέκνα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐς Πέρσας κεκοσμέαται. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἐξ Ἰμβρου ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.
- 42** Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐγένετο τούτων ἐς νεῖκος φέρον Ἴωσι, ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν κάρτα χρήσιμα τοῖσι Ἴωσι ἐγένετο τούτου τοῦ ἔτεος· Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος μεταπεμψάμενος ἀγγέλους ἐκ τῶν πολιῶν συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τοὺς Ἴωνας ἡνάγκασε ποιεέσθαι, ἵνα δωσίδικοι εἶεν καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιεν τε καὶ  
 2 ἄγοιεν. ταῦτά τε ἡνάγκασε ποιεῖν καὶ τὰς χώρας σφέων μετρήσας κατὰ παρασάγγας, τοὺς καλέουσι οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τριήκοντα στάδια, κατὰ δὴ τούτους μετρήσας φόρους ἔταξε ἐκάστοισι, οἳ κατὰ χώραν διατελέουσι ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου αἰεὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὡς ἐτάχθησαν ἐξ Ἀρταφρέneos· ἐτάχθησαν δὲ σχεδὸν κατὰ ταῦτά τὰ καὶ πρότερον εἶχον.
- 43** Καὶ σφι ταῦτα μὲν εἰρηναῖα ἦν· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων στρατηγῶν ἐκ βασιλέος Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύεω κατέβαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, στρατὸν πολλὸν μὲν κάρτα πεζὸν ἅμα ἀγόμενος πολλὸν δὲ ναυτικόν, ἡλικίην τε νέος ἔων καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκῶς βασιλέος Δαρείου  
 2 θυγατέρα Ἀρτοζώστην. ἄγων δὲ τὸν στρατὸν τοῦτον ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Κιλικίῃ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ νεὸς ἐκομίζετο ἅμα τῇσι ἄλλῃσι νηυσί, στρατιὴν δὲ τὴν πεζὴν ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνες ἦγον ἐπὶ  
 3 τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὡς δὲ παραπλέων τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπίκετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἐνθαῦτα μέγιστον θῶμα ἔρέω τοῖσι μὴ ἀποδεκομένοισι Ἑλλήνων Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπτά Ὀτάνην γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ὡς χρεὸν εἶη δημοκρατέεσθαι Πέρσας· τοὺς γὰρ τυράννους τῶν Ἰώνων καταπαύσας  
 4 πάντας ὁ Μαρδόνιος δημοκρατίας κατίστα ἐς τὰς πόλεις. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἡπείγετο ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὡς δὲ συνελέχθη μὲν χρήμα πολλὸν νεῶν, συνελέχθη δὲ καὶ πεζὸς στρατὸς πολλός, διαβάντες τῇσι νηυσὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας.
- 44** Αὗται μὲν ὧν σφι πρόσχημα ἦσαν τοῦ στόλου, ἀτὰρ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ὅσας ἂν πλείστας δύνωνται καταστρέφεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολιῶν, τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῇσι νηυσὶ Θασίους οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταειρομένους κατεστρέψαντο, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ πεζῷ Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοῖσι ὑπάρχουσι δούλους προσεκτήσαντο· τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων ἔθνεα πάντα σφι ἤδη  
 2 ἦν ὑποχείρια γεγονότα. ἐκ μὲν δὴ Θάσου διαβαλόντες πέρην ὑπὸ τὴν

ἡπειρον ἐκομίζοντο μέχρι Ἀκάνθου, ἐκ δὲ Ἀκάνθου ὀρμώμενοι τὸν Ἄθων περιέβαλλον. ἐπιπεσὼν δέ σφι περιπλέουσι βορῆς ἄνεμος μέγας τε καὶ ἄπορος κάρτα τρηχέως περιέσπε πλήθει πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐκβάλλων πρὸς τὸν Ἄθων. λέγεται γὰρ κατὰ τριηκοσίας μὲν τῶν νεῶν τὰς διαφθαρείσας εἶναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ δύο μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων· ὥστε γὰρ θηριωδεστάτης ἐούσης τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἄθων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διεφθείροντο ἀρπαζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμενοι· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν νέειν οὐκ ἠπιστέατο, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ρίγει.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικός στρατὸς οὕτω ἔπρησσε, Μαρδονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ πεζῷ στρατοπεδευομένῳ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ νυκτὸς Βρύγοι Θρήικες ἐπεχείρησαν· καὶ σφῶν πολλοὺς φονεύουσι οἱ Βρύγοι, Μαρδόνιον τε αὐτὸν τρωματίζουσι. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον ἀπανέστη ἐκ τῶν χωρέων τουτέων Μαρδόνιος πρὶν ἢ σφῆας ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσατο. τούτους μέντοι καταστρεψάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὴν ὀπίσω, ἅτε τῷ πεζῷ τε προσπταίσας πρὸς τοὺς Βρύγους καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ μεγάλως περὶ Ἄθων. οὗτος μὲν νυν ὁ στόλος αἰσχροῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἀπαλλάχθη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τούτων ὁ Δαρεῖος πρῶτα μὲν Θασίους διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων ὡς ἀπόστασιν μηχανῶϊατο πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκέλευε σφῆας τὸ τεῖχος περιαιρέειν καὶ τὰς νέας ἐς Ἀβδηρα κομίζειν. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Θάσιοι, οἷα ὑπὸ Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου πολιορκηθέντες καὶ προσόδων ἐουσέων μεγαλέων, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρήμασι νέας τε ναυπηγεύμενοι μακρὰς καὶ τεῖχος ἰσχυρότερον περιβαλλόμενοι. ἡ δὲ πρόσ-οδός σφι ἐγένετο ἐκ τε τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετάλλων. ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν ἐκ Σκαπτησύλῃ μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων τὸ ἐπίπαν ὀγδῶκοντα τάλαντα προσήιε, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Θάσῳ ἐλάσσῳ μὲν τούτων, συχνὰ δὲ οὕτως ὥστε τὸ ἐπίπαν Θασίοισι ἐοῦσι καρπῶν ἀτελέσι προσήιε ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ τῶν μετάλλων ἕτερος ἐκάστου διηκόσια τάλαντα, ὅτε δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον προσῆλθε, τριηκόσια.

Εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα, καὶ μακρῶι ἦν αὐτῶν θωμασιώτατα τὰ οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνεῦρον οἱ μετὰ Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον ταύτην, ἥτις νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸ οὔνομα ἔσχηκε. τὰ δὲ μέταλλα τὰ Φοινικικὰ ταῦτά ἐστι τῆς Θάσου μεταξὺ Αἰνύρων τε χώρου καλεομένου καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντίον δὲ Σαμοθρηίκης, ὅρος μέγα ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ζητήσι. τοῦτο μὲν νῦν ἐστι τοιοῦτον. οἱ δὲ Θάσιοι τῷ βασιλεῖ κελεύσαντι καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ σφέτερον κατεῖλον καὶ τὰς νέας πάσας ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀβδηρα.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπεπειράτο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὃ τι ἐν νόῳ ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμέειν ἐωυτῷ ἢ παραδιδόναι σφέας αὐτούς. διέπεμπε ὧν

κήρυκας ἄλλους ἄλλῃ τάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύων αἰτέειν βασιλεῖ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμπε, ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὰς ἐσωτοῦ δασμοφόρους πόλεις τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ποιεέσθαι.

**49** Οὗτοί τε δὴ παρεσκευάζοντο ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖσι ἤκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἔδοσαν τὰ προΐσχετο αἰτέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησιῶται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο αἰτήσοντες. οἳ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιῶται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινῆται.

**2** ποιήσασι δὲ σφι ταῦτα ἰθέως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεκέατο, δοκέοντές τε ἐπὶ σφίσι ἐπέχοντας τοὺς Αἰγινήτας δεδωκέναι, ὥς ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφεας στρατεύωνται, καὶ ἄσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτέοντές τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγορεῖν τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

**50** Πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν κατηγορίην Κλεομένης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew, βασιλεὺς ἐὼν Σπαρτιητέων, διέβη ἐς Αἰγιναν, βουλόμενος συλλαβεῖν Αἰγινητέων  
**2** τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους. ὥς δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο συλλαμβάνων, ἄλλοι τε δὴ ἐγίνοντο αὐτῷ ἀντίξοοι τῶν Αἰγινητέων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Κριὸς ὁ Πολυκρίτου μάλιστα, ὃς οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸν οὐδένα ἄξειν χαίροντα Αἰγινητέων· ἄνευ γάρ μιν Σπαρτιητέων τοῦ κοινοῦ ποιεῖν ταῦτα, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀναγνωσθέντα χρήμασι·  
**3** ἅμα γὰρ ἂν μιν τῷ ἐτέρῳ βασιλεῖ ἐλθόντα συλλαμβάνειν. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης εἶρετο τὸν Κριὸν ὃ τι οἱ εἴη οὖνομα· ὁ δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐὼν ἔφρασε. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· Ἦδη νῦν καταχαλκοῦ, ὦ κριέ, τὰ κέρεα, ὥς συνοισόμενος μεγάλῳ κακῷ.

**51** Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑπομένων Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος διέβαλλε τὸν Κλεομένεα, ἐὼν βασιλεὺς καὶ οὗτος Σπαρτιητέων, οἰκίης δὲ τῆς ὑποδεεστέρης, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὑποδεεστέρης (ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγόνασι), κατὰ πρεσβυγενεῖν δὲ κως τετίμηται μᾶλλον ἢ Εὐρυσθένης.

**52** Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ λέγουσι αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὸν Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγεῖν σφεας ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν ἐκτέαται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς  
**2** Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολλὸν Ἀριστοδήμῳ τεκεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα, τῇ οὖνομα εἶναι Ἀργεῖν· θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν λέγουσι εἶναι Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τεισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος· ταύτην δὲ τεκεῖν δίδυμα, ἐπιδόντα δὲ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὰ τέκνα νοῦσωι  
**3** τελευτᾶν. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοὺς τότε ἐόντας βουλευῆσαι κατὰ νόμον βασιλέα τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι· οὐκ ὦν δὴ σφεας ἔχειν ὁκότερον ἔλονται, ὥστε καὶ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἐόντων· οὐ δυναμένους δὲ

<δια>γνῶναι, ἥ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐπειρωτᾶν τὴν τεκοῦσαν· τὴν δὲ 4  
οὐδὲ αὐτὴν φάναι διαγινώσκειν, εἰδυῖαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγειν ταῦτα,  
βουλομένην δὲ εἴ κως ἀμφοτέροι γενοίατο βασιλέες. τοὺς ὦν δὴ Λακεδαι-  
μονίους ἀπορέειν, ἀπορέοντας δὲ πέμπειν ἐς Δελφούς ἐπειρησομένους ὅ 5  
τι χρήσωνται τῷ πρήγματι· τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν ἀμφοτέρα 5  
τὰ παιδιά ἡγήσασθαι βασιλέας, τιμᾶν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν γεραίτερον. τὴν  
μὲν δὴ Πυθίην ταῦτά σφι ἀνελεῖν, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀπορέουσι  
οὐδὲν ἥσσον ὅκως ἐξεύρωσι αὐτῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον ὑποθέσθαι ἄνδρα 6  
Μεσσήνιον τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Πανίτην. ὑποθέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Πανίτην 6  
τάδε τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, φυλάξαι τὴν γειναμένην ὁκότερον τῶν  
παιδίων πρότερον λούει καὶ σιτίζει· καὶ ἦν μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα φαίνεται αἰ 7  
ποιεῦσα, τοὺς δὲ πᾶν ἔξειν ὅσον τι καὶ δίζηνται καὶ θέλουσι ἐξευρεῖν, ἦν  
δὲ πλανᾶται καὶ ἐκείνη ἐναλλάξ ποιεῦσα, δῆλὰ σφι ἔσσεσθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνη 7  
πλέον οὐδὲν οἶδε, ἐπ' ἄλλην τε τραπέσθαι σφέας ὁδόν. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοὺς 7  
Σπαρτιήτας κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Μεσσηνίου ὑποθήκας φυλάξαντας τὴν μητέρα  
τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων λαβεῖν κατὰ ταῦτα τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον καὶ  
σίτοισι καὶ λουτροῖσι, οὐκ εἰδυῖαν τῶν εἵνεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο. λαβόντας δὲ  
τὸ παιδίον τὸ τιμώμενον πρὸς τῆς γειναμένης ὡς ἔον πρότερον τρέφειν  
ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ· καὶ οἱ οὖνομα τεθῆναι Εὐρυσθένεα, τῷ δὲ Προκλέα.  
τούτους ἀνδρωθέντας αὐτοὺς τε ἀδελφεοὺς ἔοντας λέγουσι διαφόρους 8  
εἶναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζόης ἀλλήλοισι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων γενομέ-  
νους ὡσαύτως διατελείν.

Ταῦτα μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι μῦθοι Ἑλλήνων, τάδε δὲ κατὰ 53  
τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων ἐγὼ γράφω, τούτους γὰρ δὴ τοὺς Δωριέων  
βασιλέας μέχρι μὲν Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεόντος, καταλε-  
γομένους ὀρθῶς ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ὡς εἰσὶ Ἕλληνες· ἥδη 2  
γὰρ τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἕλληνας οὗτοι ἐτέλεον. ἔλεξα δὲ μέχρι Περσέος τοῦδε 2  
εἵνεκα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι ἔλαβον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔπεστι ἐπωνυμῇ Περ-  
σεί οὐδεμία πατρὸς θνητοῦ, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλεί Ἀμφιτρύων· ἥδη ὦν ὀρθῶι  
λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ μέχρι Περσέος εἴρηται μοι. ἀπὸ δὲ Δανάης τῆς Ἀκρισίου  
καταλέγοντι τοὺς ἄνω αἰεὶ πατέρας αὐτῶν φαινοίατο ἄν ἔοντες οἱ τῶν  
Δωριέων ἡγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενέες.

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν κατὰ τὰ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι γεγενεηλόγηται. ὡς δὲ ὁ 54  
παρὰ Περσέων λόγος λέγεται, αὐτὸς ὁ Περσεύς, ἔων Ἀσσύριος, ἐγένετο  
Ἕλλην, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἱ Περσέος πρόγονοι· τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρισίου γε πατέρας

52.3 <δια>γνῶναι Powell: γνῶναι codd. 52.7 αἰεὶ ante τιμῶσαν proposuit Wil-  
son τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον codd.: τιμῶσαν τὸν ἕτερον Richards ὡς ἔον πρότερον codd.:  
ὡς ἔον πρεσβύτερον Powell 53.1 post ἐγὼ γράφω lacunam proposuit Blakesley



ὁμολογέοντας κατ' οἰκηιότητα Περσέϊ οὐδέν, τούτους δὲ εἶναι, κατὰ περ  
 "Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, Αἰγυπτίους.

**55** Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν νυν περὶ τούτων εἰρήσθω· ὅ τι δέ, ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ὅ  
 τι ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωριέων βασιλῆας, ἄλλοισι γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν  
 εἴρηται, ἐάσομεν αὐτά· τὰ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ κατελάβοντο, τούτων μνήμην ποιή-  
 σομαι.

**56** Γέρεά τε δὴ τάδε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι Σπαρτιῇται δεδώκασι· ἱερωσύνας  
 δύο, Διὸς τε Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Διὸς Οὐρανίου, καὶ πόλεμον γ' ἐκφέρειν  
 ἐπ' ἣν ἂν βούλωνται χώραν, τούτου δὲ μηδένα εἶναι Σπαρτιητέων διακ-  
 ωλυτὴν, εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἄγχεϊ ἐνέχεσθαι· στρατευομένων δὲ πρώ-  
 τούς ἰέναι τοὺς βασιλέας, ὑστάτους δὲ ἀπιέναι· ἑκατὸν δὲ ἄνδρας λογάδας  
 ἐπὶ στρατιῆς φυλάσσειν αὐτούς, προβάτοισι δὲ χρᾶσθαι ἐν τῇσι ἐξοδίῃσι  
 ὁκόσοισι ἂν ὦν ἐθέλωσι, τῶν δὲ θυομένων πάντων τὰ δέρματά τε καὶ τὰ  
 νῶτα λαμβάνειν σφέας.

**57** Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐμπολέμια, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ εἰρηναῖα κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδο-  
 ται. ἦν θυσίη τις δημοτελὴς ποιῇται, πρώτους ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἵζειν τοὺς  
 βασιλέας καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρώτων ἄρχεσθαι, διπλήσια νέμοντας ἑκατέρωι  
 τὰ πάντα ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δαιτυμόνεσι· καὶ σπονδαρχίας εἶναι τούτων καὶ  
 2 τῶν τυθέντων προβάτων τὰ δέρματα. νεομηνίας δὲ ἀνὰ πάσας καὶ ἐβδό-  
 μας ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς δίδοσθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἱρήιον τέλειον ἑκατέρωι  
 ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μέδιμνον ἀλφίτων καὶ οἴνου τετάρτην Λακωνικὴν, καὶ  
 ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι πᾶσι προεδρίας ἐξαιρέτους. καὶ προξείνους ἀποδεικνύναι  
 τούτοις προσκεῖσθαι τοὺς ἂν ἐθέλωσι τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ Πυθίους αἰρέεσθαι  
 δύο ἑκάτερον· οἱ δὲ Πύθιοι εἰσι θεοπρόποι ἐς Δελφούς, σιτεόμενοι μετὰ  
 3 τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημόσια. μὴ ἔλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπ-  
 νον ἀποπέμπεσθαι σφι ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἀλφίτων τε δύο χοίνικας ἑκατέρωι καὶ  
 οἴνου κοτύλην, παρεοῦσι δὲ διπλήσια πάντα δίδοσθαι· τῷτὸ δὲ τοῦτο  
 4 καὶ πρὸς ἰδιωτέων κληθέντας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τιμᾶσθαι. τὰς δὲ μαντηίας τὰς  
 γινομένας τούτους φυλάσσειν, συνειδέναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθίους. δικάζειν δὲ  
 μούρους τοὺς βασιλέας τοσάδε μούνα· πατρωιούχου τε παρθένου πέρι,  
 ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν, ἦν μή περ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυήσῃ, καὶ ὁδῶν  
 δημοσιέων πέρι· καὶ ἦν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέεσθαι ἐθέλῃ, βασιλέων ἐναν-  
 5 τίων ποιέεσθαι. καὶ παρίζειν βουλευούσι τοῖσι γέρουσι, ἐοῦσι δυῶν δέουσι  
 τριήκοντα· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσι, τοὺς μάλιστά σφι τῶν γερόντων προσήκον-  
 τας ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους [τρίτην δὲ τὴν  
 ἑωυτῶν].

56 post αὐτὸν lacunam proposuit Krüger  
 Richards

57.5 τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἑωυτῶν del.

Ταῦτα μὲν ζῶσι τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτι- **58**  
 ητέων, ἀποθανοῦσι δὲ τάδε. ἱππῆες περιαγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονὸς κατὰ  
 πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικὴν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναῖκες περιοῦσαι λέβητας  
 κροτέουσι. ἐπεὰν ὦν τοῦτο γίνηται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη ἐξ οἰκίης ἐκάστης  
 ἐλευθέρους δύο καταμιαίνεσθαι, ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα· μὴ ποιήσασι δὲ  
 τοῦτο ζημίαι μεγάλαι ἐπικέεται. νόμος δὲ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι κατὰ **2**  
 τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς θανάτους ἐστὶ ὡτὸς καὶ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τοῖσι  
 ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· τῶν γὰρ ὦν βαρβάρων οἱ πλεῖνες τῷτῳ νόμῳ χρέων-  
 ται κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους τῶν βασιλέων. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεὺς  
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ πάσης δεῖ Λακεδαίμονος, χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων, ἀριθ-  
 μῷ τῶν περιοίκων ἀναγκαστοὺς ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἶεναι· τούτων ὦν καὶ τῶν **3**  
 εἰλωτέων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐπεὰν συλληχθῶσι ἐς τῷτὸ πολλὰ  
 χιλιάδες, σύμμιγα τῇσι γυναιξὶ κόπτονται τε τὰ μέτωπα προθύμως καὶ  
 οἰμωγῇ διαχρέωνται ἀπλῆτῳ, φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον  
 τῶν βασιλέων, τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστον. ὅς δ' ἂν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν  
 βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ δὲ εἰδῶλον σκευάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρω-  
 μένῃ ἐκφέρουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ θάψωσι, ἀγορὴ δέκα ἡμερέων οὐκ ἴσταται σφι  
 οὐδ' ἀρχαιρεσίῃ <οὐδὲ γερουσίῃ> συνίζει, ἀλλὰ πενθέουσι ταύτας τὰς  
 ἡμέρας.

Συμφέρονται δὲ ἄλλο τόδε τοῖσι Πέρσησι· ἐπεὰν ἀποθανόντος τοῦ **59**  
 βασιλέος ἄλλος ἐνίστηται βασιλεὺς, οὗτος ὁ ἐσιῶν ἐλευθεροῖ ὅστις τι  
 Σπαρτιητέων τῷ βασιλεῖ ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὤφειλε· ἐν δ' αὖ Πέρσησι  
 ὁ κατιστάμενος βασιλεὺς τὸν προοφειλόμενον φόρον μετῖει τῇσι πόλισι  
 πάσῃσι.

Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Αἰγυπτίοισι Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν **60**  
 καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατρῴας τέχνας, καὶ αὐλητὴς τε  
 αὐλητέῳ γίνεται καὶ μάγειρος μαγείρου καὶ κῆρυξ κήρυκος· οὐ κατὰ λαμ-  
 προφωνίην ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφέας παρακληίουσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια  
 ἐπιτελέουσι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γίνεται.

Τότε δὲ τὸν Κλεομένεα ἑόντα ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ κοινὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι **61**  
 ἀγαθὰ προεργαζόμενον ὁ Δημάρητος διέβαλλε, οὐκ Αἰγινητέων οὕτω  
 κηδόμενος ὡς φθόνῳ καὶ ἄγῃ χρεώμενος. Κλεομένης δὲ νοστήσας ἀπ'  
 Αἰγίνης ἐβούλευε τὸν Δημάρητον παῦσαι τῆς βασιλείης, διὰ πρῆγμα  
 τοιόνδε ἐπίβασιν ἐς αὐτὸν ποιεύμενος· Ἀρίστωνι βασιλεύοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ  
 καὶ γήμαντι γυναῖκας δύο παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο. καὶ οὐ γὰρ συνεγινώσ- **2**  
 κετο αὐτὸς τούτων εἶναι αἴτιος, γαμέει τρίτην γυναῖκα· ὧδε δὲ γαμέει. ἦν  
 οἱ φίλος τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἀνὴρ, τῷ προσέκειτο τῶν ἀστῶν μάλιστα ὁ

- Ἀρίστων. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα γυνὴ καλλίστη μακρῶι τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι καλλίστη ἐξ αἰσχίστης γενομένη. 3 ἐοῦσαν γὰρ μιν τὸ εἶδος φλαύρην ἢ τροφὸς αὐτῆς, οἷα ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίων θυγατέρα καὶ δυσειδέα ἐοῦσαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρέουσα τοὺς γονέας συμφορὴν τὸ εἶδος αὐτῆς ποιευμένους, ταῦτα ἕκαστα μαθοῦσα ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε· ἐφόρεε αὐτὴν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ἱρόν· τὸ δ' ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ καλεομένη, ὕπερθε τοῦ Φοιβηίου ἱροῦ· ὅπως δὲ ἐνείκει ἢ τροφός, πρὸς τε τῷγαλμα ἴστα καὶ ἐλίσσετο τὴν θεὸν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς 4 δυσμορφίης τὸ παιδίον. καὶ δὴ κοτε ἀπιούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῇ τροφῶι γυναῖκα λέγεται ἐπιφανῆναι, ἐπιφανεῖσαν δὲ ἐπειρέσθαι μιν ὃ τι φέρει ἐν τῇ ἀγκάλῃ, καὶ τὴν φράσαι ὡς παιδίον φορέει· τὴν δὲ κελεῦσαί οἱ δέξαι, τὴν δὲ οὐ φάναι· ἀπειρῆσθαι γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τῶν γειναμένων μηδενὶ ἐπιδεικνύ- 5 ναι. τὴν δὲ πάντως ἐωυτῇ κελεύειν ἐπιδέξαι. ὀρῶσαν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένην ιδέσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τὴν τροφὸν δέξαι τὸ παιδίον. τὴν δὲ καταψῶσαν τοῦ παιδίου τὴν κεφαλὴν εἶπαι ὡς καλλιστεύσει πασέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης μεταπεσεῖν τὸ εἶδος· γαμέει δὲ μιν ἐς γάμου ὥρην ἀπικομένην Ἄγητος ὁ Ἀλκείδew, οὗτος δὴ ὁ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος φίλος.
- 62** Τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστωνα ἔκνιζε ἄρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ἔρως· μηχανᾶται δὴ τοιάδε· αὐτὸς τε τῷ ἐταίρῳ, τοῦ ἦν ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη, ὑποδέκεται δωτίνην δώσειν τῶν ἐωυτοῦ πάντων ἓν, τὸ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἔλῃται, καὶ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἐωυτῷ ἐκέλευε ὡσαύτως τὴν ὁμοίην διδόναι. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικί, ὀρέων ἐοῦσαν καὶ Ἀρίστωνι γυναῖκα, καταινέει ταῦτα· 2 ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀρίστων ἔδωκε τοῦτο, ὃ τι δὴ ἦν, τὸ εἶλετο τῶν κειμηλίων τῶν Ἀρίστωνος ὁ Ἄγητος, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ὁμοίην ζητέων φέρεσθαι παρ' ἐκείνου, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοῦ ἐταίρου τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπειρᾶτο ἀπάγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ πλὴν τούτου μούνου τὰ ἄλλα ἔφη καταινέσαι· ἀναγκαζόμενος μέντοι τῷ τε ὄρκῳ καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης τῇ παραγωγῇ ἀπίει ἀπάγεσθαι.
- 63** Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὴν τρίτην ἐσηγάγετο γυναῖκα ὁ Ἀρίστων, τὴν δευτέραν ἀποπεμψάμενος. ἐν δὲ οἱ χρόνῳ ἐλάσσονι καὶ οὐ πληρώσασα τοὺς δέκα 2 μῆνας ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη τίκτει τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Δημάρητον. καὶ τίς οἱ τῶν οἰκετέων ἐν θῶκῳ κατημένῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξαγγέλλει ὥς οἱ παῖς γέγονε. ὁ δὲ ἐπιστάμενός τε τὸν χρόνον τῷ ἡγάγετο τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐπὶ δακτύλων συμβαλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας εἶπε ἀπομόσας· Οὐκ ἂν ἐμὸς εἴη. τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι, πρῆγμα μέντοι οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο τὸ παραυτίκα· ὁ δὲ παῖς ἠῤῥετο, καὶ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι τὸ εἰρημένον μετέμελε· 3 παῖδα γὰρ τὸν Δημάρητον ἐς τὸ μάλιστά οἱ ἐνόμισε εἶναι. Δημάρητον δὲ οὖνομα ἔθετο αὐτῷ διὰ τόδε· πρότερον τούτων πανδημεὶ Σπαρτιῇται

Ἀρίστωνι, ὡς ἀνδρὶ εὐδοκιμέοντι διὰ πάντων δὴ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενομένων, ἀρὴν ἐποιήσαντο παῖδα γενέσθαι· διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ τὸ οὖνομα Δημάρητος ἐτέθη.

Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος Ἀρίστων μὲν ἀπέθανε, Δημάρητος δὲ ἔσχε τὴν βασιληίην. ἔδεε δέ, ὡς οἴκε, ἀνάπυστα γεγόμενα ταῦτα καταπαῦσαι Δημάρητον τῆς βασιληίης, διότι Κλεομένει διεβλήθη μεγάλως πρότερόν τε ὁ Δημάρητος ἀπαγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐξ Ἑλευσῖνος καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐπ' Αἰγινήτων τοὺς μηδίσαντας διαβάντος Κλεομένεος.

Ὅρμηθεὶς ὦν ἀποτίνυσθαι ὁ Κλεομένης συντίθεται Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἁγίου, ἐόντι οἰκίῃς τῆς αὐτῆς Δημαρήτῳ, ἐπ' ᾧ τε, ἦν αὐτὸν καταστήσει βασιλέα ἀντὶ Δημαρήτου, ἔψεται οἱ ἐπ' Αἰγινήτας. ὁ δὲ Λευτυχίδης ἦν ἐχθρὸς τῷ Δημαρήτῳ μάλιστα γεγονῶς διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε· ἄρμοσαμένου Λευτυχίδεω Πέρκαλον τὴν Χίλωνος τοῦ Δημαρμένου θυγατέρα ὁ Δημάρητος ἐπιβουλεύσας ἀποστερέει Λευτυχίδα τοῦ γάμου, φθάσας αὐτὸς τὴν Πέρκαλον ἀρπάσας καὶ σχῶν γυναῖκα. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Λευτυχίδῃ ἡ ἐχθρὴ ἢ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον ἐγεγόνεε, τότε δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κλεομένεος προθυμίας ὁ Λευτυχίδης κατόμνυται Δημαρήτῳ, φᾶς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύειν Σπαρτιητέων, οὐκ ἐόντα παῖδα Ἀρίστωνος. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κατωμοσίην ἐδίωκε ἀνασώζων ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔπος, τὸ εἶπε Ἀρίστων τότε ὅτε οἱ ἐξήγγειλε ὁ οἰκέτης παῖδα γεγονέναι, ὁ δὲ συμβαλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας ἀπώμοσε, φᾶς οὐκ ἑωυτοῦ μιν εἶναι. τούτου δὲ ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ῥήματος ὁ Λευτυχίδης ἀπέφαινε τὸν Δημάρητον οὔτε ἐξ Ἀρίστωνος γεγονότα οὔτε ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύοντα Σπάρτης, τοὺς ἐφόρους μάρτυρας παρεχόμενος κείνους οἱ τότε ἐτύγχανον πάρεδροί τε ἐόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα Ἀρίστωνος.

Τέλος δὲ ἐόντων περὶ αὐτῶν νεικέων ἔδοξε Σπαρτιήτησι ἐπειρέσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι εἰ Ἀρίστωνος εἴη παῖς ὁ Δημάρητος. ἀνοίστου δὲ γενομένου ἐκ προνοίης τῆς Κλεομένεος ἐς τὴν Πυθίην, ἐνθαῦτα προσποιέεται Κλεομένης Κόβωνα τὸν Ἀριστοφάντου, ἄνδρα ἐν Δελφοῖσι δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον, ὁ δὲ Κόβων Περίαλλαν τὴν πρόμαντιν ἀναπεῖθει τὰ Κλεομένης ἐβούλετο λέγεσθαι λέγειν. οὕτω δὴ ἡ Πυθίη ἐπειρωτῶντων τῶν θεοπρόπων ἔκρινε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι Δημάρητον παῖδα. ὑστέρωι μέντοι χρόνῳ ἀνάπυστα ἐγένετο ταῦτα καὶ Κόβων τε ἔφυγε ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ Περίαλλα ἡ πρόμαντις ἐπαύσθη τῆς τιμῆς.

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Δημαρήτου τὴν κατάπαυσιν τῆς βασιληίης οὕτω ἐγένετο. ἔφυγε δὲ Δημάρητος ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐς Μήδους ἐκ τοιοῦδε ὀνείδεος. μετὰ τῆς βασιληίης τὴν κατάπαυσιν ὁ Δημάρητος ἤρχε αἰρεθεὶς ἀρχήν. ἦσαν μὲν

δὴ Γυμνοπαιδίαι, θεωμένου δὲ τοῦ Δημαρήτου ὁ Λευτυχίδης, γεγωνὺς ἤδη αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνου, πέμψας τὸν θεράποντα ἐπὶ γέλωτί τε καὶ λάσθῃ εἰρώτα τὸν Δημάρητον ὁκοῖόν τι εἴη τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ  
 3 βασιλεύειν. ὁ δὲ ἀλγήσας τῷ ἐπειρωτήματι εἶπε φᾶς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ἤδη πεπειρησθαι, ἐκείνον δὲ οὐ, τὴν μέντοι ἐπειρώτησιν ταύτην ἄρξειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἢ μυρίας κακότητος ἢ μυρίας εὐδαιμονίας. ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ κατακαλυψάμενος ἦγε ἐκ τοῦ θεήτρου ἐς τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία, αὐτίκα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ἔθυε τῷ Διὶ βοῦν, θύσας δὲ τὴν μητέρα ἐκάλεσε.

68 Ἀπικομένη δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθεὶς ἐς τὰς χεῖράς οἱ τῶν σπλάγχχνων κατικέτευε, λέγων τοιάδε· ὦ μητερ, θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καταπτόμενος ἰκετεύω καὶ τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς τοῦδε, φράσαι μοι τὴν ἀληθείην, τίς μεο ἐστὶ πατήρ  
 2 ὀρθῶι λόγῳ. Λευτυχίδης μὲν γὰρ ἔφη ἐν τοῖσι νείκεσι λέγων κυεύουσάν σε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς οὕτως ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Ἀρίστωνα, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ματαιότερον λόγον λέγοντες φασὶ σε ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οἰκετέων τὸν ὀνο-  
 3 φορβόν, καὶ ἐμὲ ἐκείνου εἶναι παῖδα. ἐγὼ σε ὦν μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν τῶληθές· οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ πεποίηκάς τι τῶν λεγομένων, μούνη δὴ πεποίηκας, μετὰ πολλέων δέ· ὁ τε λόγος πολλὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ ὡς Ἀρίστωνι σπέρμα παιδοποιὸν οὐκ ἐνῆν· τεκεῖν γὰρ ἂν οἱ καὶ τὰς προτέρας γυναῖκας.

69 Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε, ἡ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοισίδε· ὦ παῖ, ἐπεῖτε με λιτῇσι μετέρχεαι εἰπεῖν τὴν ἀληθείην, πᾶν ἐς σὲ κατειρήσεται τῶληθές. ὥς με ἡγάγετο Ἀρίστων ἐς ἐωυτοῦ, νυκτὶ τρίτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλθέ μοι φάσμα εἰδόμενον Ἀρίστωνι, συνευνηθὲν δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς εἶχε ἐμοὶ περι-  
 2 ετίθει. καὶ τὸ μὲν οἰχώκεε, ἦκε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀρίστων. ὥς δέ με εἶδε ἔχουσιν στεφάνους, εἰρώτα τίς εἴη μοι ὁ δούς. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφάμην ἐκείνον· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο· ἐγὼ δὲ κατωμνύμην, φαμένη αὐτὸν οὐ καλῶς ποιέειν ἀπαρνεόμενον· ὀλίγῳ γάρ τι πρότερον ἐλθόντα καὶ συνευνηθέντα δοῦναί  
 3 μοι τοὺς στεφάνους. ὁρέων δέ με κατομνυμένην ὁ Ἀρίστων ἔμαθε ὡς θεῖον εἴη τὸ πρῆγμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ στέφανοι ἐφάνησαν ἐόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἥρωι τοῦ παρὰ τῇσι θύρῃσι τῇσι αὐλείῃσι ἰδρυμένου, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀστρά-  
 4 βάκου, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ μάντιες τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἥρωα ἀναίρεον εἶναι. οὕτω, ὦ παῖ, ἔχεις πᾶν, ὅσον τι καὶ βούλει πυθέσθαι. ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἥρωος τούτου γέγονας καὶ τοι πατήρ ἐστι Ἀστράβακος ὁ ἥρως, ἢ Ἀρίστων· ἐν γάρ σε τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἀναιρέομαι. τῇ δέ σευ μάλιστα κατάπτονται οἱ ἐχθροί, λέγοντες ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων, ὅτε αὐτῷ σὺ ἡγγέλθης γεγεννημένος, πολ-  
 5 λῶν ἀκουόντων οὐ φήσεί σε ἐωυτοῦ εἶναι (τὸν χρόνον γὰρ τοὺς δέκα μῆνας οὐδέκω ἐξήκειν), αἰδρεῖται τῶν τοιούτων κείνος τοῦτο ἀπέρριψε τὸ ἔπος. τίκτουσι γὰρ γυναῖκες καὶ ἐννεάμηνα καὶ ἐπτάμηνα, καὶ οὐ πᾶσαι

δέκα μῆνας ἐκτελέσασαι· ἐγὼ δὲ σέ, ὦ παῖ, ἐπτάμηνον ἔτεκον. ἔγνω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν χρόνον ὡς ἀγνοίῃ τὸ ἔπος ἐκβάλῃ τοῦτο. λόγους δὲ ἄλλους περὶ γενέσιος τῆς σεωυτοῦ μὴ δέκεο· τὰ γὰρ ἀληθέστατα πάντα ἀκήκοας. ἐκ δὲ ὀνοφορβῶν αὐτῷ τε Λευτυχίδῃ καὶ τοῖσι ταῦτα λέγουσι τίκτοιν αἱ γυναῖκες παῖδας.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγε, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενός τε τὰ ἐβούλετο καὶ ἐπόδια λαβὼν ἐπορεύετο ἐς Ἥλιν, τῷ λόγῳ φὰς ὡς ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πορεύεται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑποτοπηθέντες Δημάρητον δρησμῷ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδίωκον. καὶ κως ἔφθη ἐς Ζάκυνθον διαβάς ὁ Δημάρητος ἐκ τῆς Ἥλιδος· ἐπιδιαβάντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τε ἄπτονται καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτὸν ἀπαιροῦνται. μετὰ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐξεδίδοσαν αὐτὸν οἱ Ζακύνθιοι, ἐνθεῦτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον. ὁ δὲ ὑπεδέξατό τε αὐτὸν μεγαλῶστί καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλιος ἔδωκε. οὕτω ἀπίκητο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Δημάρητος καὶ τοιαύτῃ χρησάμενος τύχη, ἄλλα τε Λακεδαιμονίοισι συχνὰ ἔργοισι τε καὶ γνώμησι ἀπολαμπρυνθεῖς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα σφι ἀνελόμενος τεθρίππῳ προσέβαλε, μῦνος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων βασιλέων ἐν Σπάρτῃ ποιήσας.

Λευτυχίδης δὲ ὁ Μενάρεος Δημαρήτου καταπαυσθέντος διεδέξατο τὴν βασιληίην, καὶ οἱ γίνεται παῖς Ζευξίδημος, τὸν δὴ Κυνίσκον μετεξέτεροι Σπαρτιητέων ἐκάλεον. οὗτος ὁ Ζευξίδημος οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε Σπάρτης· πρὸ Λευτυχίδεω γὰρ τελευτᾷ, καταλιπὼν παῖδα Ἀρχίδημον. Λευτυχίδης δὲ στερηθεὶς Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει δευτέρην γυναῖκα Εὐρυδάμην, ἐοῦσαν Μενίου μὲν ἀδελφεήν, Διακτορίδεω δὲ θυγατέρα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἔρσεν μὲν γίνεται οὐδέν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Λαμπιτώ, τὴν Ἀρχίδημος ὁ Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει δόντος αὐτῷ Λευτυχίδεω.

Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ Λευτυχίδης κατεγῆρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀλλὰ τίσιν τοιήνδε τινὰ Δημαρήτῳ ἐξέτεισε· ἐστρατήγησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐς Θεσσαλίην, παρεὼν δὲ οἱ πάντα ὑποχείρια ποιήσασθαι ἐδωροδόκησε ἀργύριον πολλόν. ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ δὲ ἀλούς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπικατήμενος χειρῖδι πλέῃ ἀργυρίου, ἔφυγε ἐκ Σπάρτης ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ὑπαχθεῖς, καὶ τὰ οἰκία οἱ κατεσκάφη· ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν ταύτῃ.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο χρόνῳ ὕστερον. τότε δὲ ὡς τῷ Κλεομένει ὠδώθη τὸ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον πρῆγμα, αὐτίκα παραλαβὼν Λευτυχίδα ἦε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγινήτας, δεινὸν τινὰ σφι ἔγκοτον διὰ τὸν προπηλακισμόν ἔχων. οὕτω δὴ οὔτε οἱ Αἰγινῆται, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων ἡκόντων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐδικαίευν ἔτι ἀντιβαίνειν, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἄνδρας δέκα Αἰγινητέων τοὺς πλείστου ἀξίους καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει ἦγον, καὶ ἄλλους καὶ δὴ καὶ

Κριόν τε τὸν Πολυκρίτου καὶ Κάσαμβον τὸν Ἀριστοκράτεος, οἳ περ εἶχον μέγιστον κράτος· ἀγαγόντες δέ σφεας ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν παραθήκην κατατίθενται ἐς τοὺς ἐχθίστους Αἰγινήτησι Ἀθηναίους.

**74** Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κλεομένεα ἐπαίστον γενόμενον κακοτεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάρητον δεῖμα ἔλαβε Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ὑπεξέσχε ἐς Θεσσαλίην. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρκαδίην νεώτερα ἔπρησσε πρήγματα, συνιστὰς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ἄλλους τε ὄρκους προσάγων σφι ἣ μὲν ἔψεσθαί σφεας αὐτῷ τῇ ἂν ἐξηγῇται, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμος ἦν τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἀγινέων ἐξορκοῦν τὸ  
 2 Στυγὸς ὕδωρ. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλιν λέγεται εἶναι ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔστι τοιόνδε τι· ὕδωρ ὀλίγον φαινόμενον ἐκ πέτρης στάζει ἐς ἄγκος, τὸ δὲ ἄγκος αἵμασιθις τις περιθέει κύκλος. ἡ δὲ Νώνακρις, ἐν τῇ ἡ πηγή αὕτη τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα, πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας πρὸς Φενεῶνι.

**75** Μαθόντες δὲ Κλεομένεα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα κατῆγον αὐτὸν δείσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι ἐς Σπάρτην τοῖσι καὶ πρότερον ἦρχε. κατελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε μανίη νοῦσος, ἐόντα καὶ πρότερον  
 2 ὑπομαργότερον· ὅκως γάρ τεωι ἐντύχοι Σπαρτιητέων, ἐνέχραυε ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον. ποιέοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα καὶ παραφρονήσαντα ἔδησαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλῳ· ὁ δὲ δεθείς τὸν φύλακον μουνωθέντα ἰδὼν τῶν ἄλλων αἰτέει μάχαιραν· οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ φυλάκου δίδόναι, ἀπείλεε τὰ μιν λυθεῖς ποιήσει, ἐς ὃ δείσας τὰς ἀπειλὰς ὁ φύλακος  
 3 (ἦν γὰρ τῶν τις εἰλωτέων) διδοῖ οἱ μάχαιραν. Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν σίδηρον ἄρχετο ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐωυτὸν λωβώμενος· ἐπιτάμνων γὰρ κατὰ μῆκος τὰς σάρκας προέβαινε ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐς τοὺς μηρούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἔς τε τὰ ἰσχία καὶ τὰς λαπάρας, ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα ἀπίκητο καὶ ταύτην καταχορδεύων ἀπέθανε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, ὥς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι τὴν Πυθίην ἀνέγνωσε τὰ περὶ Δημάρητου [γενόμενα] λέγειν, ὥς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μοῦνοι λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ἐλευσίνα ἐσβαλὼν ἔκειρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν, ὥς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ὅτι ἐξ ἱροῦ αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἄργου Ἀργείων τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καταγινέων κατέκοπτε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλσος ἐν ἀλογίῃ ἔχων ἐνέπρησε.

**76** Κλεομένει γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐχρήσθη Ἄργος αἰρήσειν. ἐπεῖτε δὲ Σπαρτιήτας ἄγων ἀπίκητο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἑρασῖνον, ὃς λέγεται ῥέειν ἐκ τῆς Στυμφηλίδος λίμνης (τὴν γὰρ δὴ λίμνην ταύτην ἐς χάσμα ἀφανὲς ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἤδη τοῦτο ὑπ' Ἀργείων Ἑρασῖνον καλέεσθαι), ἀπικόμενος δ' ὧν ὁ Κλεομένης  
 2 ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐσφαγιάζετο αὐτῷ. καί, οὐ γὰρ ἐκαλλιέρεε

74.1 Θεσσαλίην codd.: Σελλασίην Hereward, *CR* 1 (1951) 146  
 γενόμενα A del. Gomperz καταγινέων codd.: ἐξαγινέων Powell

75.3 λέγειν

οὐδαμῶς διαβαίνειν μιν, ἄγασθαι μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἑρασίνου οὐ προδιδόν-  
τος τοὺς πολιήτας, Ἀργείους μέντοι οὐδ' ὥς χαιρήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
ἐξαναχωρήσας τὴν στρατιὴν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέην, σφαγιασάμενος δὲ τῇ  
θαλάσσει ταῦρον πλοίοισι σφεας ἤγαγε ἐς τε τὴν Τιρυνθίην χώραν καὶ  
Ναυπλίην.

Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐβοήθεον πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. ὥς δὲ ἀγχοῦ 77  
μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῆς Τίρυνθος, χώρῳ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κεῖται Σήπεια οὐνομα,  
μεταίχμιον οὐ μέγα ἀπολιπόντες ἴζοντο ἀντίοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι.  
ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχην οὐκ ἐφοβέοντο,  
ἀλλὰ μὴ δόλῳ αἰρεθέωσι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ σφι ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα εἶχε τὸ 2  
χρηστήριον, τὸ ἐπικοῖνα ἔχρησε ἡ Πυθίη τούτοις τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι λέγον  
ᾧδε·

ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενά νικήσασα  
ἐξελάσῃ καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρῃται,  
πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφῆας τότε θήσῃ.  
ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἀνθρώπων·  
Δεινὸς ὄφιν ἀέλικτος ἀπώλετο δουρὶ δαμασθεῖς.

ταῦτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι φόβον παρεῖχε. καὶ δὴ 3  
σφι πρὸς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τῷ κήρυκι τῶν πολεμίων χρᾶσθαι, δόξαν δὲ σφι  
ἐποίευν τοιόνδε· ὅκως ὁ Σπαρτιήτης κῆρυξ προσημαῖνοι τι Λακεδαι-  
μονίοισι, ἐποίευν καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τῷαυτὸ τοῦτο.

Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ποιεῦντας τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ὁκοῖόν τι ὁ σφέτε- 78  
ρος κῆρυξ σημήνειε, παραγγέλλει σφι, ὅταν σημήνηι ὁ κῆρυξ ποιέεσθαι  
ἄριστον, τότε ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα χωρέειν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους. ταῦτα 2  
καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ἄριστον γὰρ ποιευμένοις  
τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπεκέατο, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσαν  
αὐτῶν, πολλῶι δὲ τι πλεῦνας ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἄργου καταφυγόντας περι-  
ιζόμενοι ἐφύλασσαν.

Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐποίεε τοιόνδε· ἔχων αὐτομόλους ἄνδρας καὶ 79  
πυνθανόμενος τούτων ἐξεκάλεε πέμπων κήρυκα, ὀνομαστί λέγων τῶν  
Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἀπεργμένους, ἐξεκάλεε δὲ φᾶς αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὰ  
ἄποινα· ἄποινα δὲ ἐστὶ Πελοποννησίοισι δύο μνῆαι τεταγμένοι κατ' ἄνδρα  
αἰχμάλωτον ἐκτίνειν. κατὰ πεντήκοντα δὴ ὦν τῶν Ἀργείων ὥς ἐκάστους  
ἐκκαλούμενος ὁ Κλεομένης ἔκτεινε. ταῦτα δὲ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς 2  
λοιποὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ τεμένει· ἅτε γὰρ πυκνοῦ ἐόντος τοῦ ἄλσεος οὐκ ὥρων  
οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ὃ τι ἔπρασσον, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ δέν-  
δρος κατεῖδε τὸ ποιεύμενον. οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἔτι καλεόμενοι ἐξήρισαν.

77.2 ἀέλικτος A: τριέλικτος D, -ηκτος r  
suit Wilson

79.1 αὐτῶν <ἐκαστον δεῖν> ἔχειν proposuit Wilson



**80** Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκέλευε πάντα τινὰ τῶν εἰλωτέων περιnéειν ὕλην τὸ ἄλσος· τῶν δὲ πιθομένων ἐνέπρησε τὸ ἄλσος· καιομένου δὲ ἤδη ἐπείρετο τῶν τινα αὐτομόλων τίνος εἶη θεῶν τὸ ἄλσος· ὁ δὲ ἔφη Ἄργου εἶναι· ὁ δὲ ὥς ἤκουσε, ἀναστενάζας μέγα εἶπε· ὦ Ἄπολλον χρηστήριε, ἡ μεγάλως με ἠπάτηκας φάμενος Ἄργος αἰρήσειν· συμβάλλομαι δ' ἐξήκειν μοι τὸ χρηστήριον.

**81** Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν μὲν πλέω στρατιὴν ἀπῆκε ἀπιέναι ἐς Σπάρτην, χιλίους δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τοὺς ἀριστεάς ἦι ἐς τὸ Ἑραῖον θύσων· βουλομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ ἱεὺς ἀπηγόρευε, φὰς οὐκ ὅσιον εἶναι ξείνῳ αὐτόθι θύειν· ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης τὸν ἱερέα ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἰλωτάς ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀπαγαγόντας μαστιγῶσαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔθυσε· ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἀπήιε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην.

**82** Νοστήσαντα δὲ μιν ὑπῆγον οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐφόρους, φάμενοί μιν δωροδοκήσαντα οὐκ ἐλεῖν τὸ Ἄργος, παρεὼν εὐπετέως μιν ἐλεῖν· ὁ δὲ σφι ἔλεξε, — οὔτε εἰ ψευδόμενος οὔτε εἰ ἀληθέα λέγων, ἔχω σαφηνέως εἶπαι, ἔλεξε δ' ὦν φάμενος, — ἐπεῖτε δὴ τὸ τοῦ Ἄργου ἱερὸν εἶλε, δοκέειν οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμόν· πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα οὐ δικαιοῦν πειρᾶν τῆς πόλιος, πρὶν γε δὴ ἱροῖσι χρήσεται καὶ μάθῃ εἶτε οἱ ὁ θεὸς παραδοῖ εἶτε [οἱ] ἐμποδῶν ἔστηκε· καλλιερευμένῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἑραίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς ἐκλάμψαι, μαθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς οὕτω τὴν ἀτρεκείην, ὅτι οὐκ αἰρέει τὸ Ἄργος· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐξέλαμψε, αἰρέειν ἂν κατ' ἄκρης τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ τῶν στηθέων δὲ λάμπαντος πᾶν οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ὅσον ὁ θεὸς ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ λέγων πιστά τε καὶ οἰκότα ἐδόκεε Σπαρτιήτησι λέγειν καὶ ἀπέφυγε πολλὸν τοὺς διώκοντας.

**83** Ἄργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχηρώθη οὕτω ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντές τε καὶ διέποντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπήβησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες· ἔπειτέ σφας οὗτοι ἀνακτώμενοι ὀπίσω ἐς ἐωυτοὺς τὸ Ἄργος ἐξέβαλον· ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχῃ ἔσχον Τίρυνθα· τέως μὲν δὴ σφι ἦν ἄρθμια ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτε δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους ἦλθε ἀνὴρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἐὼν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας· οὗτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι δεσπότησι· ἐκ τούτου δὲ πόλεμός σφι ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνόν, ἐς ὃ δὴ μόγῃς οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν.

**84** Ἀργεῖοι μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα Κλεομένεά φασι μανέντα ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σπαρτιῆταί φασι ἐκ δαιμονίου μὲν οὐδενὸς μανῆναι Κλεομένεα, Σκύθησι δὲ ὁμιλήσαντά μιν ἀκρητοπότην γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆναι· Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπεῖτε σφι Δαρεῖον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν,

82.2 λάμπαντος A: ἐκλάμπαντος d 83.1 ἐπήβησαν Wesseling ex Valla (*ad puberem adolevere aetatem*): ἐπέβησαν codd.

μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονέναι μιν τείσασθαι, πέμψαντας δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην συμμαχίην τε ποιέεσθαι καὶ συντίθεσθαι ὥς χρεὸν εἴη αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν πειρᾶν ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσβάλλειν, σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας κελεύειν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὀρμωμένους ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τῷαυτὸ ἀπαντᾶν. Κλεομένεα δὲ λέγουσι ἡκόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὁμιλέειν 3 σφι μεζόνως, ὁμιλέοντα δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἰκνεομένου μαθεῖν τὴν ἀκρητοποσίην παρ' αὐτῶν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανῆναί μιν νομίζουσι Σπαρτιῆται. ἔκ τε τούτου, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἔπεαν ζωρότερον βούλωνται πιεῖν, Ἐπισκύθισον λέγουσι. οὕτω δὲ Σπαρτιῆται τὰ περὶ Κλεομένεα λέγουσι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκέει τίσιν ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρῆτῳ ἐκτεῖσαι.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ὥς ἐπύθοντο Αἰγινῆται, ἔπεμπον ἐς 85 Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους καταβωσομένους Λευτυχίδεω περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι ὁμήρων ἐχομένων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες ἔγνωσαν περιυβρίσθαι Αἰγινήτας ὑπὸ Λευτυχίδεω, καὶ μιν κατέκριναν ἔκδοτον ἄγεσθαι ἐς Αἶγιναν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐχομένων ἀνδρῶν. μελλόντων δὲ 2 ἄγειν τῶν Αἰγινήτων τὸν Λευτυχίδα, εἶπέ σφι Θεαρίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεος, ἑὼν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀνὴρ δόκιμος· Τί βουλευέσθε ποιέειν, ἄνδρες Αἰγινῆται; τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἔκδοτον γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιητέων ἄγειν; εἰ νῦν ὀργῇ χρεώμενοι ἔγνωσαν οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται, ὅπως ἐξ ὑστέρης μὴ τι ὑμῖν, ἣν ταῦτα ποιήσητε, πανώλεθρον κακὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐμβάλλωσι. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἔσχοντο τῆς ἀγωγῆς, ὁμολογίῃ 3 δὲ ἐχρήσαντο τοιῆδε, ἐπισπόμενον Λευτυχίδεα ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀποδοῦναι Αἰγινήτησι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος Λευτυχίδης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαίτεε τὴν παραθήκην, οἱ 86 Ἀθηναῖοι προφάσις εἶλκον οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδοῦναι, φάντες δύο σφέας ἐόντας βασιλέας παραθέσθαι καὶ οὐ δικαιοῦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀποδιδόναι. οὐ φαμένων δὲ ἀποδώσειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔλεξέ σφι Λευ- α τυχίδης τάδε· Ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιέετε μὲν ὁκότερα βούλεσθε αὐτοί· καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδόντες ποιέετε ὅσια καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες τὰ ἐναντία τούτων· ὁκοῖον μέντοι τι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι περὶ παραθήκης, βούλομαι ὑμῖν εἶπαι. λέγομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Σπαρτιῆται γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαί- 2 μονι κατὰ τρίτην γενεὴν τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο Γλαῦκον Ἐπικύδεος παῖδα. τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα φάμεν τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι πάντων ὅσοι τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἴκεον. συνενειχθῆναι δὲ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἰκνευμένῳ τάδε 3 λέγομεν, ἄνδρα Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σπάρτην βούλεσθαι οἱ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους, προῖσχόμενον τοιάδε· Εἰμὶ μὲν Μιλήσιος, ἦκω δὲ τῆς σῆς, Γλαῦκε, δικαιοσύνης βουλόμενος ἀπολαῦσαι. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἄλλην 4

Ἑλλάδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἦν λόγος πολλός, ἔμευτῶι λόγους ἐδίδουν καὶ ὅτι ἐπικίνδυνός ἐστι αἰεὶ κοτε ἡ Ἰωνίη, ἡ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἀσφαλέως ἰδρυμένη, καὶ διότι χρήματα οὐδαμὰ τοὺς  
 5 αὐτοὺς ἔστι ὁρᾶν ἔχοντας. ταῦτά τε ὦν ἐπιλεγομένωι καὶ βουλευομένωι ἔδοξέ μοι τὰ ἡμίσεα πάσης τῆς οὐσίης ἐξαργυρώσαντα θέσθαι παρὰ σέ, εὖ ἐξεπισταμένωι ὥς μοι κείμενα ἔσται παρὰ σοὶ σόα. σὺ δὴ μοι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δέξαι καὶ τάδε τὰ σύμβολα σῶιζε λαβών· ὅς δ' ἂν ἔχων ταῦτα ἀπαιτέη, τούτῳ ἀποδοῦναι.

β Ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἦκων ξεῖνος τοσαῦτα ἔλεξε, Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐδέξατο τὴν παραθήκην ἐπὶ τῶι εἰρημένωι λόγῳ. χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἦλθον ἐς Σπάρτην τούτου τοῦ παραθεμένου τὰ χρήματα οἱ παῖδες, ἔλθόντες δὲ ἐς λόγους τῶι Γλαύκῳ καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ σύμβολα ἀπαί-  
 2 τεον τὰ χρήματα. ὁ δὲ διωθέετο ἀντυποκρινόμενος τοιάδε· Οὐτε μέμνημαι τὸ πρῆγμα οὔτε με περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ὑμεῖς λέγετε· βούλομαι δὲ ἀναμνησθεῖς ποιέειν πᾶν τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἔλαβον, ὀρθῶς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ εἴ γε ἀρχὴν μὴ ἔλαβον, νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων χρήσομαι ἐς ὑμέας. ταῦτα ὦν ὑμῖν ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦδε.

γ Οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφορὴν ποιούμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὥς ἀπεστερημένοι τῶν χρημάτων, Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῶι χρηστηρίῳ. ἐπειρωτῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὀρκῶι τὰ χρήματα ληίσηται, ἡ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τοισίδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι·

2 Γλαῦκ' Ἐπικυδείδη, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτω  
 ὀρκῶι νικῆσαι καὶ χρήματα ληίσσασθαι·  
 ὄμνυ, ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε καὶ εὖορκον μένει ἄνδρα.  
 ἀλλ' Ὅρκου πάϊς ἔστιν ἀνώνυμος, οὐδ' ἔπι χεῖρες  
 οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰς ὃ κε πᾶσαν  
 συμμάρψας ὀλέσῃ γενεὴν καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα.  
 ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαῦκος συγγνώμην τὸν θεὸν παραιτέετο αὐτῶι ἴσχειν τῶν ῥηθέντων· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔφη τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἴσον δύνασθαι.

δ Γλαῦκος μὲν δὴ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μιλησίους ξείνους ἀποδιδοῖ σφι τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα ὁ λόγος ὅδε, ὥ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀρμήθη λέγεσθαι ἐς ὑμέας, εἰρήσεται· Γλαύκου νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονον ἔστι οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἰστίη οὐδεμία νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκου, ἐκτέτριπταί τε πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης. οὕτω ἀγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοέεσθαι περὶ παραθήκης ἄλλο γε ἢ ἀπαιτεόντων ἀποδιδόναι. Λευτυχίδης μὲν εἴπας ταῦτα, ὥς οἱ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐσήκουον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσετο·

Οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται, πρὶν τῶν πρότερον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκας τῶν 87  
 ἐς Ἀθηναίους ὕβρισαν Θηβαίοισι χαριζόμενοι, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· μεμφόμενοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ ἀξιοῦντες ἀδικέεσθαι, ὡς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ ἦν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι πεντετηρὶς ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, λοχήσαντες ὦν τὴν θεωρίδα νέα εἶλον πλήρεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Ἀθηναίων, λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔδησαν.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ παθόντες ταῦτα πρὸς Αἰγινητέων οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο 88  
 μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι ἐπ' Αἰγινήτησι. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κνοίθου καλεόμενος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, οὗτος μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖσι Αἰγινήτησι προτέρην ἐωυτοῦ ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, μαθὼν δὲ τότε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀναρτημένους ἔρδιν Αἰγινήτας κακῶς, συντίθεται Ἀθηναίοισι προδοσίην Αἰγίνης, φράσας ἐν τῇ τε ἡμέρῃ ἐπιχειρήσει καὶ ἐκείνους ἐς τὴν ἡκεῖν δεήσει βοηθέοντας. μετὰ ταῦτα καταλαμβάνει μὲν κατὰ [τὰ] συνεθήκατο Ἀθηναίοισι ὁ Νικόδρομος τὴν παλαιὴν καλεομένην πόλιν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐ παραγίνονται ἐς δέον.

Οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον ἐοῦσαι νέες σφι ἀξιόμαχοι τῇσι Αἰγινητέων συμβαλεῖν. 89  
 ἐν ᾧ ὦν Κορινθίων ἐδέοντο χρῆσαι σφίσι νέας, ἐν τούτῳ διεφθάρη τὰ πρήγματα. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἦσαν γὰρ σφι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Ἀθηναίοισι, διδοῦσι δεόμενοις εἴκοσι νέας, διδοῦσι δὲ πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι· δωτίνην γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ ἐξῆν δοῦναι. ταύτας τε δὴ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὰς σφετέρας, πληρώσαντες ἑβδομήκοντα νέας τὰς ἀπάσας, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἶγιναν καὶ ὑστέρησαν ἡμέρῃ μιῇ τῆς συγκειμένης.

Νικόδρομος δέ, ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν καιρὸν οὐ παρεγίνοντο, ἐς πλοῖον 90  
 ἐσβάς ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης· σὺν δέ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἔσποντο, τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι Σούνιον οἰκῆσαι ἔδοσαν. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὗτοι ὀρμώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Αἰγινήτας.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὕστερον ἐγένετο, Αἰγινητέων δὲ οἱ παχέες ἐπαναστάν- 91  
 τος σφι τοῦ δήμου ἅμα Νικοδρόμῳ ἐπεκράτησαν, καὶ ἔπειτά σφεας χειρωσάμενοι ἐξῆγον ἀπολέοντες. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφι ἐγένετο, τὸ ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἰοί τε ἐγένοντο ἐπιμηχανώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἔφθησαν ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἢ σφι ἴλεον γενέσθαι τὴν θεόν. ἐπτακοσίους 2  
 γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου ζωγρήσαντες ἐξῆγον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, εἷς δὲ τις τούτων ἐκφυγὼν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρου, ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἶχετο. οἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε μιν ἀποσπᾶσαι οὐκ οἰοί τε ἀπέλκοντες ἐγίνοντο, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἦγον οὕτω, αἱ χεῖρες δὲ ἐκεῖναι ἐμπεφυκυῖαι ἦσαν τοῖσι ἐπισπαστήρσι.

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν σφέας αὐτοὺς οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἐργάσαντο, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ 92  
 ἤκουσι ἐναυμάχησαν νηυσὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ

- ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρότερον, Ἀργεῖους. καὶ δὴ σφι οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθέουσι, μεμφόμενοι ὅτι Αἰγινᾶται νέες ἀνάγκη λαμφθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος ἔσχον τε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώραν καὶ συναπέβησαν Λακεδαιμονίοισι· συναπέβησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σικυωνιέων νεῶν ἄνδρες
- 2 τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἐσβολῇ. καὶ σφι ὑπ' Ἀργείων ἐπεβλήθη ζημίη χίλια τάλαντα ἐκτεῖσαι, πεντακόσια ἐκατέρους. Σικυῶνιοι μὲν νυν συγγνόντες ἀδικῆσαι ὡμολόγησαν ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκτείσαντες ἀζήμιοι εἶναι, Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὔτε συνεγινώσκοντο ἦσαν τε αὐθαδέστεροι. διὰ δὲ ὧν σφι ταῦτα δεομένοισι ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδεὶς Ἀργείων ἔτι ἐβοήθεε, ἐθελονταὶ δὲ ἐς χιλίους· ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς ἀνὴρ πεν-
- 3 τάεθλον ἐπασκῆσας, τῷ οὖνομα Εὐρυβάτης. τούτων οἱ πλεῖνες οὐκ ἀπενόστησαν ὀπίσω, ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγίνῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς Εὐρυβάτης μουνομαχίην ἐπασκέων τρεῖς μὲν ἄνδρας τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ κτείνει, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου Σωφάνεος τοῦ Δεκελέος ἀποθνήσκει.
- 93 Αἰγινῆται δὲ ἐοῦσι ἀτάκτοισι Ἀθηναίοισι συμβαλόντες τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐνίκησαν καὶ σφεων νέας τέσσερας αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἶλον.
- 94 Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνῆπτο πρὸς Αἰγινήτας, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἑωυτοῦ ἐποίηε, ὥστε ἀναμιμνήσκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμνησθαί μιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων προσκατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν
- 2 τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Μαρδόνιον μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίης, ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστελλε ἐπὶ τε Ἑρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας, Δᾶτίν τε, ἔοντα Μῆδον γένος, καὶ Ἀρταφρένεα τὸν Ἀρταφρένεος παῖδα, ἀδελφιδέον ἑωυτοῦ· ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε ἐξανδραποδίσαντας Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἑρέτριαν ἀνάγειν ἑωυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα.
- 95 Ὡς δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἀποδεχθέντες πορευόμενοι παρὰ βασιλέος ἀπίκοντο τῆς Κιλικίης ἐς τὸ Ἀλήιον πεδῖον, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι πεζὸν στρατὸν πολλόν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, ἐνθαῦτα στρατοπεδευομένοισι ἐπῆλθε μὲν ὁ ναυτικὸς πᾶς στρατὸς ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς ἐκάστοισι, παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ ἵππαγωγοὶ νέες, τὰς τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει προεῖπε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ δασ-
- 2 μοφόροισι Δαρεῖος ἐτοιμάζειν. ἐσβαλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἵππους ἐς ταύτας καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐσβιβάσαντες ἐς τὰς νέας ἔπλεον ἐξακοσίησι τριήρεσι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον εἶχον τὰς νέας ἰθὺ τοῦ τε Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἀλλ' ἐκ Σάμου ὁρμώμενοι παρὰ τε Ἴκαρον καὶ διὰ νήσων τὸν πλόον ἐποιεῦντο, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, δείσαντες μάλιστα τὸν περίπλοον τοῦ Ἄθω, ὅτι τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ποιεύμενοι ταύτῃ τὴν

κομιδὴν μεγάλως προσέπταισαν· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ Νάξος σφέας ἠνάγκαζε πρότερον οὐκ ἀλοῦσα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πελάγεος προσφερόμενοι προσέμειξαν τῇ Νάξῳ (ἐπὶ ταύτην γὰρ δὴ πρώτην ἐπεῖχον στρατεύεσθαι οἱ Πέρσαι). μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον οἱ Νάξιοι πρὸς τὰ ὄρεα οἷχοντο φεύγοντες οὐδὲ ὑπέμειναν. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι τοὺς κατέλαβον αὐτῶν, ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀνάγοντο. **96**

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐποίουν, οἱ Δῆλιοι ἐκλιπόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Δῆλον οἷχοντο φεύγοντες ἐς Τήνον. τῆς δὲ στρατιῆς καταπλεύουσης ὁ Δᾶτις προπλώσας οὐκ ἔα τὰς νέας πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον προσορμίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηναίῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος ἵνα ᾗσαν οἱ Δῆλιοι, πέμπων κήρυκα ἡγόρευέ σφι τάδε· Ἄνδρες ἱοί, τί φεύγοντες οἷχεσθε, οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα καταγνόντες κατ' ἐμεῦ; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε φρονέω καὶ μοι ἐκ βασιλέος ὧδε ἐπέσταλται, ἐν τῇ χώρῃ οἱ δύο θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, ταύτην μηδὲν σίνεσθαι, μήτε αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν μήτε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς. νῦν ὦν καὶ ἅπιτε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νῆσον νέμεσθε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τοῖσι Δηλίοισι· μετὰ δὲ λιβανωτοῦ τριηκόσια τάλαντα κατανήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐθυμίησε. **97**

Δᾶτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἔπλεε ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρέτριαν πρῶτα, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐνθεῦτεν ἐξαναχθέντα Δῆλος ἐκινήθη, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Δῆλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κου τέρας ἀνθρώποισι τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν ἔφηνε ὁ θεός. ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος καὶ Ξέρξεω τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξεω τοῦ Ξέρξεω, τριῶν τουτέων ἐπεξῆς γενεῶν, ἐγένετο πλέω κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι ἄλλας γενεὰς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων αὐτῇ γενόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμεόντων. οὕτως οὐδὲν ἦν ἀεικὲς κινήθηναι Δῆλον τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἀκίνητον. καὶ ἐν χρησμῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον περὶ αὐτῆς ὧδε· **98**

κινήσω καὶ Δῆλον ἀκίνητόν περ ἐοῦσαν.

δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ταῦτα τὰ οὐνόματα, Δαρεῖος ἐρξίης, Ξέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἀρτοξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος. τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλεῆς ὧδε ἂν ὀρθῶς κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν σφετέρην Ἑλληνες καλέοιεν.

Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπῆραν ἐκ τῆς Δήλου, προσῖσχον πρὸς τὰς <ἄλλας> νήσους, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ στρατιὴν τε παρελάβανον καὶ ὁμήρους **99**

95.2 ἠνάγκαζε codd.: ἐκνιζε Powell 98.3 Δαρεῖος ἀρήιος, Ξέρξης ἐρξίης, Ἀρτοξέρξης κάρτα ἐρξίης Wilson 99 ἄλλας suppl. Powell

2 τῶν νησιωτέων παῖδας ἐλάμβανον. ὥς δὲ περιπλέοντες τὰς νήσους προσέσχον καὶ ἐς Κάρυστον (οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι οἱ Καρύστιοι οὔτε ὁμήρους ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε ἔφασαν ἐπὶ πόλιας ἀστυγείτονας στρατεύσεσθαι, λέγοντες Ἑρέτριάν τε καὶ Ἀθήνας), ἐνθαῦτα τούτους ἐπολιόρκεόν τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σφέων ἔκειρον, ἐς ὃ καὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι παρέστησαν ἐς τῶν Περσέων τὴν γνῶμην.

100 Ἑρετριέες δὲ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Περσικὴν ἐπὶ σφέας ἐπιπλέουσιν Ἀθηναίων ἐδεήθησαν σφίσι βοηθοὺς γενέσθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπείπαντο τὴν ἐπικουρίην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους <τούς> κληρουχέοντας τῶν ἵπποβοτέων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώραν, τούτους σφι διδοῦσι τιμωρούς. τῶν δὲ Ἑρετριέων ἦν ἄρα οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς βούλευμα, οἷ  
2 μετεπέμποντο μὲν Ἀθηναίους, ἐφρόνεον δὲ διφασίας ιδέας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίης, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἴδια κέρδεα προσδεκόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ Πέρσεω οἷσεσθαι προδοσίην  
3 ἐσκευάζοντο. μαθὼν δὲ τούτων ἑκάτερα ὥς εἶχε Αἰσχίνης ὁ Νόθωνος, ἑὼν τῶν Ἑρετριέων τὰ πρῶτα, φράζει τοῖσι ἤκουσι Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, προσεδέετό τε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι σφείας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην, ἵνα μὴ προσαπόλωνται. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα Αἰσχίνῃ συμβουλεύσαντι πείθονται.

101 Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διαβάντες ἐς Ὑρωπὸν ἔσωιζον σφείας αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἑρετρικῆς χώρας κατὰ Τέμενος καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλεα, κατασχόντες δὲ ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία αὐτίκα ἵππους τε ἐξεβάλλοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς προσοισόμενοι τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι.  
2 οἱ δὲ Ἑρετριέες ἐπεξελθεῖν μὲν καὶ μαχέσασθαι οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλήν, εἴ κως δὲ διαφυλάξαιεν τὰ τεῖχεα, τούτου σφι πέρι ἔμελε, ἐπεῖτε ἐνίκα μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. προσβολῆς δὲ γινομένης καρτερῆς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἔπιπτον ἐπὶ ἕξ ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων· τῇ δὲ ἐβδόμῃ Εὐφορβός τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχου καὶ Φίλαγρος ὁ Κυνέω ἄνδρες τῶν ἀστῶν δόκιμοι  
3 προδιδούσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι. οἱ δὲ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἀποτινύμενοι τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡνδραποδίσαντο κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολάς.

102 Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑρέτριαν καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἔπλεον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καταγνόντες τε πολλὸν καὶ δοκέοντες ταῦτά τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσιν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἑρετριέας ἐποίησαν. καὶ – ἦν γὰρ Μαραθῶν ἐπιτηδεότατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι καὶ ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς Ἑρετρίας – ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου.

100.1 τοὺς suppl. Krüger 101.1 Αἰγίλεα A: Αἰγίλια d: an Αἰγαλέα(ν)?

102.1 καταγνόντες Madvig: κατέργοντες A: κατεργάζοντες d: καταργέοντες Wilson

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθειον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. 103  
 ἦγον δὲ σφεας στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης, τοῦ τὸν  
 πατέρα Κίμωνα τὸν Στησαγόρεω κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Πεισίστρα-  
 τον τὸν Ἴπποκράτεος. καὶ αὐτῷ φεύγοντι Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελέσθαι τεθρίπ- 2  
 πωι συνέβη, καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νίκην ἀνελόμενόν μιν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐξενείκασθαι  
 τῷ ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδελφεῷ Μιλτιάδῃ. μετὰ δὲ τῇ ὑστέρῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇσι  
 αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι νικῶν παραδιδοῖ Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν  
 νίκην παρὲς τούτῳ κατῆλθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ ὑπόσπονδος. καὶ μιν ἀνελό- 3  
 μενον τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι ἄλλην Ὀλυμπιάδα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ  
 τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων, οὐκέτι περιέοντος αὐτοῦ Πεισιστράτου· κτεί-  
 νουσι δὲ οὗτοί μιν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανήιον νυκτὸς ὑπίσαντες ἄνδρας. τέθαπ-  
 ται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, πέρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ·  
 καταντίον δ' αὐτοῦ αἱ ἵπποι τετάφονται αὗται αἱ τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνελό-  
 μεναι. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ἵπποι ἤδη τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦτο Εὐαγόρεω Λάκωνος, 4  
 πλέω δὲ τουτέων οὐδαμαί. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρεσβύτερος τῶν παίδων τῷ Κίμωνι  
 Στησαγόρης ἦν τῆνικαῦτα παρὰ τῷ πάτρῳ Μιλτιάδῃ τρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ  
 Χερσονήσῳ, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος παρ' αὐτῷ Κίμωνι Ἀθήνησι, οὖνομα ἔχων  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς Χερσονήσου Μιλτιάδεω Μιλτιάδης.

Οὗτος δὲ ὢν τότε ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ ἐκπε- 104  
 φυγῶς διπλόον θάνατον ἐστρατήγεε Ἀθηναίων. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες  
 αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώξαντες μέχρι Ἰμβρου περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῦντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ  
 ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε τούτους καὶ ἀπικόμενον 2  
 ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ δοκέοντά τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίῃ ἤδη, τὸ ἐνθεῦτέν μιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ  
 ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ἀγαγόντες ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς  
 ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους στρατηγὸς οὕτως Ἀθηναίων  
 ἀπεδέχθη, αἵρεθεις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἔοντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι 105  
 ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φιλίππιδην, Ἀθηναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα, ἄλλως δὲ ἡμερο-  
 δρόμην τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα· τῷ δὴ, ὥς αὐτὸς γε ἔλεγε Φιλίππιδης  
 καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε, περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πᾶν  
 περιπίπτει· βῶσαντα δὲ τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ Φιλίππιδεω τὸν Πᾶνα Ἀθηναίους 2  
 κελεῦσαι ἐπειρωτῆσαι, δι' ὃ τι ἑωυτοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμελείην ποιεῦνται,  
 ἔοντος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ πολλαχῇ γενομένου σφι ἤδη χρηστοῦ, τὰ  
 δ' ἔτι καὶ ἔσομένου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφι εὖ ἤδη 3  
 τῶν πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ Ἀκροπόλει  
 Πανὸς ἱρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίῃσι τε ἐπετείοισι καὶ  
 λαμπάδι ἰλάσκονται.

105.1 Φιλίππιδην d: Φειδιππίδην A (item infra) 105.2 Ἀθηναίους... ἐπειρωτῆ-  
 σαι Wilson: Ἀθηναίοισι... ἀπαγγεῖλαι codd. χρηστοῦ D: χρησίμου A



**106** Τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φιλιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν  
 2 Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε· Ὡ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμέων δέονται σφίσι βοηθῆσαι καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλῃσι δουλοσύνη περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἑρέτριά τε ἡνδραπόδισται καὶ πόλι λογίμωι ἢ Ἑλλὰς γέγονε  
 3 ἀσθενεστέρα. ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε, τοῖσι δὲ ἔαδε μὲν βοηθέειν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δὲ σφι ἦν τὸ παραυτίκα ποιεῖν ταῦτα οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον· ἦν γὰρ ἵσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἐόντος τοῦ κύκλου.

**107** Οὗτοι μὲν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον, τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ συν-  
 2 ευνηθῆναι. συνεβάλετο ὧν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου κατελθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασώσάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευτήσῃ ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ γηραιός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συνεβάλετο ταῦτα, τότε δὲ κατηγεόμενος τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίας ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεσμένην δὲ Αἰγίλιν, τοῦτο δὲ καταγομένης ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας  
 3 ὀρμιζε αὐτός, ἐκβάντας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι ἐπῆλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὡς ἐώθεε· οἷα δὲ οἱ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐόντι τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλεῖνες ἐσεῖοντο· τούτων ὧν ἓνα [τῶν ὀδόντων] ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίης βήξας· ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ  
 4 ἐποιέετο σπουδὴν πολλὴν ἐξευρεῖν· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετό οἱ ὁ ὀδὼν, ἀναστενάξας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας· Ἡ γῆ ἦδε οὐκ ἡμετέρα ἐστὶ οὐδέ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι· ὁκόσον δὲ τί μοι μέρος μετῆν, ὁ ὀδὼν μετέχει.

**108** Ἰππίης μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ τὴν ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένεϊ Ἡρακλέος ἐπῆλθον βοηθέοντες Πλαταιέες πανδημεῖ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιέες, καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς ἤδη ἀναραιρέατο. ἔδοσαν δὲ ὧδε. πιεζέμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐδίδοσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεομένεϊ τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας  
 2 αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλεγον σφι τάδε· Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκαστέρῳ τε οἰκόμεν καὶ ὑμῖν τοιήδε τις γίνοιτ' ἂν ἐπικουρίῃ ψυχρῇ· φθαίητε γὰρ  
 3 ἂν πολλάκις ἐξανδραποδισθέντες ἢ τινα πυθέσθαι ἡμέων. συμβουλευόμεν δὲ ὑμῖν δοῦναι ὑμέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι, πλησιοχώροισί τε ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρέειν ἐοῦσι οὐ κακοῖσι. ταῦτα συνεβούλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ κατὰ εὐνοίην οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων ὡς βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν

107.2 αὐτός Wilson: οὗτος codd.

107.3 τῶν ὀδόντων del. Van Herwerden

πόνους συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα 4  
 συνεβούλευσαν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠπίστησαν, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων ἰρὰ ποιούντων τοῖσι  
 δωδεκα θεοῖσι ἰκέται ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς.  
 Θηβαῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας· Ἀθηναῖοι 5  
 δὲ σφι ἐβόηθεον. μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιεῖδον,  
 παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφοτέρων οὖρισαν  
 τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τοισίδε, ἔαν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς  
 Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Ἀθη-  
 ναίοισι δὲ ἀπιοῦσι ἐπεθήκαντο Βοιωτοί, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσώθησαν τῇ 6  
 μάχῃ. ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι  
 εἶναι οὔρους, τούτους ὑπερβάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαντο οὔρον  
 Θηβαίοισι πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιás. ἔδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ Πλαταιέες  
 σφέας αὐτούς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἦκον δὲ τότε ἐς Μαρα-  
 θῶνα βοηθέοντες.

Τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γνῶμαι, τῶν μὲν οὐκ 109  
 ἐώντων συμβαλεῖν (ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων συμβαλεῖν),  
 τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδεω κελεύοντων. ὥς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐνίκα ἡ 2  
 χείρων τῶν γνωμένων, ἐνθαῦτα, ἦν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος ψηφιδοφόρος ὁ τῷ  
 κυάμῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχεῖν (τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμό-  
 ψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεῦντο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι), ἦν δὲ τότε πολέ-  
 μαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος, πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε· 3  
 Ἐν σοὶ νῦν, Καλλίμαχε, ἐστὶ ἢ καταδουλώσαι Ἀθήνας ἢ ἐλευθέρας  
 ποιήσαντα μνημόσυνον λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον οἷον οὐδὲ  
 Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων [λείπουσι]. νῦν γὰρ δὴ, ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο 4  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς κίνδυνον ἤκουσι μέγιστον, καὶ ἦν μὲν γε ὑποκύψωσι τοῖσι  
 Μήδοισι, δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἰππίῃ. ἦν δὲ περιγέν-  
 ηται αὕτη ἡ πόλις, οἷη τέ ἐστι πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολιῶν γενέσθαι.  
 κῶς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἶά τέ ἐστι γενέσθαι, καὶ κῶς ἐς σέ τοι τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν 4  
 πρηγμάτων τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσω. ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν  
 ἐόντων δέκα δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνῶμαι, τῶν μὲν κελεύοντων συμβαλεῖν, τῶν 5  
 δὲ οὐ. ἦν μὲν νυν μὴ συμβάλωμεν, ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγάλην διασεί-  
 σειν ἐμπεσοῦσαν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα ὥστε μηδίσαι· ἦν δὲ συμβάλω-  
 μεν πρὶν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέροισι ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα 6  
 νεμόντων οἰοί τέ εἰμεν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σέ  
 νῦν τείνει καὶ ἐκ σέο ἄρτηται· ἦν γὰρ σὺ γνῶμη τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ, ἔστι  
 τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη καὶ πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἦν δὲ <τὴν>  
 τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἔλῃ, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα  
 ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία.

- 110** Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾶται τὸν Καλλίμαχον· προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολέμαρχου τῆς γνώμης ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγένετο πρυτανήϊ τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδῃ παρεδίδοσαν· ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὔτι κω συμβολὴν ἐποιέετο, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανήϊ ἐγένετο.
- 111** Ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμβαλέοντες· τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν. ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου ἐξεδέκοντο ὡς ἀριθμέοντο αἱ φυλαί, ἐχόμεναι ἀλληλέων· τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο, ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας,
- 2 Πλαταιέες. ἀπὸ ταύτης γὰρ σφι τῆς μάχης Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριαις τὰς ἐν τῇσι πεντετηρίσι γινομένης κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ
- 3 Πλαταιεῦσι. τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι ἐγένετο τοιόνδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τάξιαις ὀλίγαις, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθει.
- 112** Ὡς δὲ σφι διετέτακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγένετο καλὰ, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἀπειθήσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δρόμῳ ἵεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι
- 2 οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἢ ὀκτώ. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέοντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι, μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὀρέοντες αὐτοὺς ἔοντας ὀλίγους, καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπείγομένους οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφι οὔτε
- 3 τοξευμάτων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατεΐκαζον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀθρόοι προσέμειξαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ταύτην ἐσθημένους· τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι καὶ τὸ οὖνομα τὸ Μήδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι.
- 113** Μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγένετο πολλός. καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσαι τε αὐτοὶ καὶ Σάκαι ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοί τε
- 2 καὶ Πλαταιέες. νικῶντες δὲ τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων, τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξαι αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρα ἀμφοτέρω ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι εἶποντο κόπτοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἶτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος δια- 114  
φθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε τῶν στρατηγῶν Στη-  
σίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεω· τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέγειρος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἐνθαῦτα ἐπιλ-  
αμβανόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων νεός, τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς πελέκει πίπτει,  
τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίων πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὀνομαστοί.

Ἐπτά μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇσι 115  
δὲ λοιπῇσι οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐξανακρουσάμενοι καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου  
ἐν τῇ ἔλιπον τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίας ἀνδράποδα, περιέπλων Σούνιον, βουλό-  
μενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. αἰτία δὲ ἔσχε ἐν  
Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμεωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τοῦ-  
τους γὰρ συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα ἐοῦσι ἤδη ἐν τῇσι  
νηυσί.

Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλων Σούνιον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥς ποδῶν εἶχον 116  
τάχιστα ἐβοήθειον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ ἔφθησάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς  
βαρβάρους ἥκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν  
Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργεϊ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῇσι  
νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθη-  
ναίων) ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν  
Ἀσίην.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ 117  
ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἀνδρας, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ  
ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο· ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τοσοῦτοι· συνήνεκε δὲ αὐτόθι 2  
θῶμα γενέσθαι τοιόνδε, Ἀθηναῖον ἀνδρὰ Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κουφαγόρεω ἐν  
τῇ συστάσι μαχόμενόν τε καὶ ἀνδρὰ γινόμενον ἀγαθὸν τῶν ὁμμάτων  
στερηθῆναι, οὔτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε βληθέντα, καὶ τὸ  
λοιπὸν τῆς ζῆς διατελέειν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔοντα τυφλόν. λέγειν 3  
δὲ αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ πάθους ἤκουσα τοιόνδε τινὰ λόγον, ἀνδρὰ οἱ δοκέειν  
ὀπλίτην ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν, τοῦ τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν·  
τὸ δὲ φάσμα τοῦτο ἑωυτὸν μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ παραστάτην  
ἀποκτεῖναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν.

Δᾶτις δὲ πορευόμενος ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο 118  
ἐν Μυκόνῳ, εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ. καὶ ἥτις μὲν ἦν ἡ ὄψις, οὐ λέγεται,  
ὁ δέ, ὥς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐπέλαμψε, ζήτησιν ἐποιέετο τῶν νεῶν, εὐρῶν δὲ  
ἐν νηὶ Φοινίσσῃ ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχρυσωμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν  
σεσυλημένον εἴη, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἦν ἱροῦ, ἔπλεε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ νηὶ ἐς  
Δῆλον· καὶ ἀπικάτο γὰρ τηνικαῦτα οἱ Δῆλιοι ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν νῆσον, κατατί- 2  
θεταί τε ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐντέλλεται τοῖσι Δηλίοισι ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ  
ἄγαλμα ἐς Δῆλιον τὸ Θηβαίων· τὸ δ' ἔστι ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ Χαλκίδος καταν-  
τίον. Δᾶτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἀπέπλεε. τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον 3

Δήλιοι οὐκ ἀπήγαγον, ἀλλὰ μιν δι' ἐτέων εἴκοσι Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ Δήλιον.

**119** Τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἑρετριέων ἀνδραποδισμένους Δᾶτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης, ὡς προσέσχον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην πλέοντες, ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ Δαρεῖος, πρὶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἑρετριέας, ἐνεῖχε σφι δεινὸν  
 2 χόλον, οἷα ἀρξάντων ἀδικίης προτέρων τῶν Ἑρετριέων· ἐπεῖτε δὲ εἶδε σφεας ἀπαχθέντας παρ' ἑωυτὸν καὶ ὑποχειρίους ἑωυτῷ ἑόντας, ἐποίησε κακὸν ἄλλο οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σφεας τῆς Κισσίης χώρας κατοίκησε ἐν σταθμῷ ἑωυτοῦ τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Ἀρδέρικκα, ἀπὸ μὲν Σούσων δέκα καὶ διηκοσίους σταδίου ἀπέχοντι, τεσσεράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ παρέχεται τριφασίας ἰδέας· καὶ γὰρ ἄσφαλτον καὶ ἄλας καὶ ἔλαιον ἀφύσσονται ἐξ αὐτοῦ  
 3 τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἀντλέεται μὲν κηλωνήϊω, ἀντὶ δὲ γαυλοῦ ἡμισυ ἄσκοῦ οἱ προσδέδεται· ὑποτύψας δὲ τούτῳ ἀντλέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐγχεῖ ἐς δεξαμενὴν· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς ἄλλω διαχεόμενον τρέπεται τριφασίας ὁδοῦς. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄσφαλτος καὶ οἱ ἄλεις πηγνυνται παραυτίκα, τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον < . . . > οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι τοῦτο ῥαδινάκην· ἔστι δὲ μέλαν καὶ ὁδμήν παρεχόμενον  
 4 βαρέαν. ἐνθαῦτα τοὺς Ἑρετριέας κατοίκησε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, οἱ καὶ μέχρι ἐμέο εἶχον τὴν χώραν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑρετριέας ἔσχε οὕτως.

**120** Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἦκον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχίλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν, οὕτω ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς, ἰμείροντο ὅμως θεήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθεήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.

**121** Θῶμα δέ μοι καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, Ἀλκμεωνίδας ἂν κοτε ἀναδέξαι Πέρσησι ἐκ συνθήματος ἀσπίδα, βουλομένους ὑπὸ βαρβάροισι τε εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὑπὸ Ἱππίῃ· οἵτινες μᾶλλον ἢ ὁμοίως Καλλίῃ τῷ  
 2 Φαινίππου, Ἱππονίκου δὲ πατρί, φαίνονται μισοτύραννοι ἑόντες. Καλλίης τε γὰρ μοῦνος Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων ἐτόλμα, ὅκως Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ κηρυσσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου ὠνέεσθαι, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἔχθιστα ἐς αὐτὸν πάντα ἐμηχανᾶτο.

**122** Καλλίῳ δὲ τούτου ἄξιον πολλαχοῦ μνήμην ἐστὶ πάντα τινὰ ἔχειν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὰ προλελεγμένα, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄκρος ἐλευθερῶν τὴν πατρίδα, τοῦτο δὲ τὰ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἐποίησε· ἵππῳ νικήσας, τεθρίππῳ δὲ δεύτερος γενόμενος, Πύθια δὲ πρότερον ἀνελόμενος, ἐφανερώθη ἐς

119.3 ἄλλω Lacey: ἐς ἄλλω C: εἰσάλλω A: ἐς ἄλλο d post ἔλαιον lacunam statuit Cobet 121.1–123.1 οἵτινες... ἀσπίδα ab ipso Herodoto postea addita? 122 om. A, del. Valckenaer

τοὺς Ἑλληνας πάντας δαπάνησι μεγίστησι. τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐωυτοῦ 2  
 θυγατέρας ἐούσας τρεῖς οἶός τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ ἐγίνοντο γάμου  
 ὥραϊαι, ἔδωκε σφι δωρεὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην ἐκείνησί τε ἐχαρίσατο· ἐκ  
 γὰρ πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐκάστη ἐθέλοι ἄνδρα ἐωυτῇ ἐκλέξασθαι,  
 ἔδωκε τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρί.

Καὶ οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ὁμοίως ἢ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν τούτου ἦσαν μισοτύραννοι. 123  
 θῶμα ὦν μοι καὶ οὐ προσίεμαι τὴν διαβολήν, τούτους γε ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα,  
 οἵτινες ἔφευγόν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς τυράννους, ἐκ μηχανῆς τε τῆς  
 τούτων ἐξέλιπον Πεισιστρατίδαι τὴν τυραννίδα. καὶ οὕτω τὰς Ἀθήνας 2  
 οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλευθερώσαντες πολλῶι μᾶλλον ἢ περ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀρις-  
 τογείτων, ὥς ἐγὼ κρίνω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγρίωσαν τοὺς ὑπολοίπους Πεισις-  
 τρατιδέων Ἰππαρχον ἀποκτείναντες, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἔπαυσαν τοῦ λοιποῦ  
 τυραννεύοντας, Ἀλκμεωνίδαι δὲ ἐμφανέως ἠλευθέρωσαν, εἰ δὲ οὗτοι γε  
 ἀληθέως ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπείσαντες προσημαίνειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι  
 ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ προεδίδοσαν 124  
 τὴν πατρίδα. οὐ μὲν ὦν ἦσαν σφεων ἄλλοι δοκιμώτεροι ἔν γε Ἀθηναίοισι  
 ἄνδρες οὐδ' οἱ μᾶλλον ἐτετιμέατο. οὕτω οὐδὲ λόγος αἰρέει ἀναδεχθῆναι ἐκ 2  
 γε δὴ τούτων ἀσπίδα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ. ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσπίς, καὶ  
 τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν· ἐγένετο γὰρ· ὅς μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας, οὐκ  
 ἔχω προσωτέρω εἰπεῖν τούτων.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἀθήν- 125  
 ησι, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος καὶ αὐτῆς Μεγακλέος ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμ-  
 προί. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμέων ὁ Μεγακλέος τοῖσι ἐκ Σαρδίων Λυδοῖσι 2  
 παρὰ Κροίσου ἀπικνεομένοισι ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι συμπρήκ-  
 τωρ τε ἐγένετο καὶ συνελάμβανε προθύμως. καὶ μιν Κροῖσος πυθόμενος  
 τῶν Λυδῶν τῶν ἐς τὰ χρηστήρια φοιτέοντων ἐωυτὸν εὖ ποιέειν μεταπέμ-  
 πεται ἐς Σάρδεις, ἀπικόμενον δὲ δωρέεται χρυσῶι τὸν ἂν δύνηται τῷ  
 ἐωυτοῦ σώματι ἐξενείκασθαι ἐσάπαξ. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμέων πρὸς τὴν δωρεήν, 3  
 ἐοῦσαν τοιαύτην, τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας προσέφερε· ἐνδύς κιθῶνα μέγαν  
 καὶ κόλπον βαθὺν καταλιπηνάμενος τοῦ κιθῶνος, κοθόρνους <τε> τοὺς  
 εὔρισκε εὐρυτάτους ἐόντας ὑποδησάμενος, ἦε ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τὸν οἱ  
 κατηγέοντο. ἐσπεσὼν δὲ ἐς σωρὸν ψήγματος, πρῶτα μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ 4  
 τὰς κνήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅσον ἐχώρεον οἱ κόθορνοι, μετὰ δὲ τὸν κόλπον  
 πάντα πλησάμενος χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπάσας τοῦ  
 ψήγματος καὶ ἄλλο λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα ἐξήιε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ, ἔλκων μὲν

123.2 τοῦ λοιποῦ Reiske τοὺς λοιποὺς codd.: del. Wesseling 124.2 δὴ  
 Cobet: ἂν d: om. A: ἂν ante ἐκ traiecit Blaydes: ἂν<δρῶν> coniecit Reiske  
 125.3 καταλιπηνάμενος Wilson: καταλιπόμενος codd.: κατέμενος Powell τε  
 suppl. Stein

- μόγισ τοὺς κοθόρνους, παντὶ δέ τειω οἰκῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ· τοῦ τό  
 5 τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγκωτο. ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον γέλως  
 ἐσῆλθε, καὶ οἱ πάντα τε ἐκεῖνα διδοῖ καὶ πρὸς ἑτέροισί μιν δωρέεται οὐκ  
 ἐλάσσοσι ἐκείνων. οὕτω μὲν ἐπλούτησε ἡ οἰκίη αὕτη μεγάλως, καὶ ὁ Ἀλκ-  
 μέων οὕτος οὕτω τεθριπποτροφήσας Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναιρέεται·
- 126** Μετὰ δέ, γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστερον, Κλεισθένης αὐτὴν ὁ Σικυώνιος  
 τύραννος ἐξῆρε, ὥστε πολλῶι ὀνομαστοτέραν γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι  
 ἢ πρότερον ἦν. Κλεισθένει γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστωνύμου τοῦ Μύρωνος τοῦ  
 Ἀνδρέω γίνεται θυγάτηρ τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀγαρίστη. ταύτην ἠθέλησε,  
 2 Ὀλυμπίων ὦν ἐόντων καὶ νικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τεθρίππῳ ὁ Κλεισθένης  
 κήρυγμα ἐποίησατο, ὅστις Ἑλλήνων ἐωυτὸν ἀξιοῖ Κλεισθένης γαμβρὸν  
 γενέσθαι, ἥκειν ἐς ἐξηκοστὴν ἡμέρην ἢ καὶ πρότερον ἐς Σικυῶνα ὡς κυρῶ-  
 σοντος Κλεισθένης τὸν γάμον ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς ἀρξαμένου  
 3 ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι σφίσι τε αὐτοῖσι ἦσαν καὶ πάτρῃ ἐξώγκω-  
 μένοι, ἐφοίτεον μνηστῆρες· τοῖσι Κλεισθένης καὶ δρόμον καὶ παλαίστρην  
 ποιησάμενος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ εἶχε.
- 127** Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλίας ἦλθε Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἱπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης, ὃς  
 ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἷς ἀνὴρ ἀπύκετο (ἢ δὲ Σύβαρις ἥκμαζε τοῦτον  
 τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα), καὶ Σιρίτης Δάμασος Ἀμύριος τοῦ σοφοῦ λεγομέ-  
 2 νου παῖς· οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας ἦλθον. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου  
 Ἀμφίμνηστος Ἐπιστρόφου Ἐπιδάμνιος· οὗτος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου  
 <μοῦνος>. Αἰτωλὸς δὲ ἦλθε Τιτόρμου τοῦ ὑπερφύντος τε Ἑλληνας ἰσχυῖ  
 καὶ φυγόντος ἀνθρώπους ἐς τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς Αἰτωλίδος χώρας, τού-  
 3 του τοῦ Τιτόρμου ἀδελφεὸς Μάλης. ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννήσου Φεῖδωνος τοῦ  
 Ἀργείων τυράννου παῖς Λεωκήδης, Φεῖδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαν-  
 τος Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων, ὃς  
 ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἥλείων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα  
 ἔθηκε, τούτου τε δὴ παῖς, καὶ Ἀμιάντος Λυκούργου Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Τραπεζοῦν-  
 4 τος, καὶ Ἀζὴν ἐκ Παίου πόλιος Λαφάνης Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ δεξαμένου τε,  
 ὡς λόγος ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ λέγεται, τοὺς Διοσκούρους οἰκίοισι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου  
 ξεινοδοκέοντος πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ Ἥλεῖος Ὀνόμαστος Ἀγαίου· οὗτοι  
 μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦλθον. ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηνέων ἀπύκοντο Μεγακ-  
 λέης τε ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος τούτου τοῦ παρὰ Κροῖσον ἀπικομένου, καὶ ἄλλος  
 Ἱπποκλείδης Τεισάνδρου, πλούτῳ καὶ εἴδει προφέρων Ἀθηναίων. ἀπὸ δὲ  
 Ἑρετρίας ἀνθεύσης τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λυσανίης· οὗτος δὴ ἀπ' Εὐβοίης

125.5 ἑτέροισι... ἐκείνων d: ἕτερα δωρέεται οὐκ ἐλάσσω κείνων A 127.2 μοῦνος  
 suppl. Maas ZPE 179 (2011) 67 127.4 ἐξ αὐτῆς codd.: ἀπὸ Powell: 'an ἐκ πάσης  
 (vel ἐκ τῆς) Πελοποννήσου?' Wilson

μοῦνος. ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἦλθε τῶν Σκοπαδέων Διακτορίδης Κραννώνιος. ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἄλκων.

Τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἐγένοντο οἱ μνηστῆρες. ἀπικομένων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν 128  
προειρημένην ἡμέρην, ὁ Κλεισθένης πρῶτα μὲν τὰς πάτρας τε αὐτῶν  
ἀνεπύθετο καὶ γένος ἐκάστου, μετὰ δὲ κατέχων ἐνιαυτὸν διεπειρᾶτο  
αὐτῶν τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίης καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ παιδεύσιός τε καὶ τρόπου,  
καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκάστω ἰὼν ἐς συνουσίην καὶ συνάπασιν· καὶ ἐς γυμνάσιά τε ἐξαγ-  
ινέων ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν νεώτεροι, καὶ τό γε μέγιστον, ἐν τῇ συνεστοῖ  
διεπειρᾶτο· ὅσον γὰρ κατεῖχε χρόνον αὐτούς, τοῦτον πάντα ἐποίηε  
<ταῦτα> καὶ ἅμα ἐξείνιζε μεγαλοπρεπέως. καὶ δὴ κου μάλιστα τῶν 2  
μνηστῆρων ἠρέσκοντό <οἱ> οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τούτων μᾶλ-  
λον Ἴπποκλείδης ὁ Τεισάνδρου καὶ κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην ἐκρίνετο καὶ ὅτι τὸ  
ἀνέκαθεν τοῖσι ἐν Κορίνθῳ Κυψελίδησι ἦν προσήκων.

Ὡς δὲ ἡ κυρίῃ ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμερέων τῆς τε κατακλίσιος τοῦ γάμου καὶ 129  
ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ Κλεισθέneos τὸν κρίνει ἐκ πάντων, θύσας βοῦς ἑκατὸν ὁ  
Κλεισθένης εὐώχεε αὐτούς τε τοὺς μνηστῆρας καὶ Σικυωνίους πάντας. ὥς 2  
δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγίνοντο, οἱ μνηστῆρες ἔριν εἶχον ἀμφί τε μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ  
λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. προΐουσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς  
ἄλλους ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης ἐκέλευσέ οἱ τὸν αὐλητὴν αὐλῆσαι ἐμμελείην· πειθο-  
μένου δὲ τοῦ αὐλητέω ὀρχήσατο. καὶ κως ἐωυτῷ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὀρχέετο,  
ὁ Κλεισθένης δὲ ὀρέων ὅλον τὸ πρῆγμα ὑπώπτευε. μετὰ δὲ ἐπισχῶν ὁ 3  
Ἴπποκλείδης χρόνον ἐκέλευσέ τινα τράπεζαν ἐσενεῖκαι· ἐσελθούσης δὲ  
τῆς τραπέζης πρῶτα μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὀρχήσατο Λακωνικὰ σχημάτια, μετὰ  
δὲ ἄλλα Ἀττικά, τὸ τρίτον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρείσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν  
τοῖσι σκέλεσι ἐχειρονόμησε. Κλεισθένης δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα 4  
ὀρχεομένου ἀποστυγέων γαμβρὸν δὴ οἱ ἔτι γενέσθαι Ἴπποκλείδεα διὰ τὴν  
τε ὀρχησιν καὶ τὴν ἀναιδείην κατεῖχε ἐωυτόν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγῆναι  
ἐς αὐτόν· ὥς δὲ εἶδε τοῖσι σκέλεσι χειρονομήσαντα, οὐκέτι κατέχειν δυνά-  
μενος εἶπε· Ὡ παῖ Τεισάνδρου, ἀπορχήσαό γε μὲν τὸν γάμον. ὁ δὲ Ἴπποκ-  
λείδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε· Οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδη. ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο  
ὀνομάζεται.

Κλεισθένης δὲ σιγὴν ποιησάμενος ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον τάδε· Ἄνδρες παιδὸς 130  
τῆς ἐμῆς μνηστῆρες, ἐγὼ καὶ πάντας ὑμέας ἐπαινέω καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, εἰ  
οἶόν τε εἶη, χαριζοίμην ἄν, μήτ' ἕνα ὑμέων ἐξαίρετον ἀποκρίνων μήτε  
τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων· ἀλλ', οὐ γὰρ οἶά τέ ἐστι μῆς περὶ παρθέ- 2  
νου βουλευόντα πᾶσιν κατὰ νόον ποιέειν, τοῖσι μὲν ὑμέων ἀπελαυνομένοις

128.1 συνεστοῖ codd. συνεστήνι West ταῦτα suppl. Stein: <ἐπιστίους>  
ἐποίηε Madvig 128.2 οἱ suppl. Matthiae 129.2 ὁ δὲ Κλεισθένης ὀρέων P  
129.3 οἱ τινὰ d <τῶν οἰκετέων> τινὰ Wilson



τοῦδε τοῦ γάμου τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκάστωι δωρεὴν δίδωμι τῆς ἀξιώ-  
σιος εἵνεκα τῆς ἐξ ἐμεῦ γῆμαι καὶ τῆς ἐξ οἴκου ἀποδημίας. τῶι δὲ Ἀλκ-  
μέωνος Μεγακλέϊ ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθη-  
ναίων. φαμένου δὲ ἐγγυᾶσθαι Μεγακλέος ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Κλεισθένει.

**131** Ἀμφὶ μὲν κρίσι τῶν μνηστήρων τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕτω Ἀλκμεωνί-  
δαι ἐβώσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τούτων δὲ συνοικησάντων γίνεται  
Κλεισθένης τε ὁ τὰς φυλὰς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίην Ἀθηναίοισι καταστήσας,  
2 ἔχων τὸ οὔνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ Σικυωνίου· οὗτός τε δὴ γίνε-  
ται Μεγακλέϊ καὶ Ἱπποκράτης. ἐκ δὲ Ἱπποκράτεος Μεγακλέης τε ἄλλος  
καὶ Ἀγαρίστη ἄλλη, ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεισθέneos Ἀγαρίστης ἔχουσα τὸ οὔνομα, ἣ  
συνοικήσασά τε Ξανθίππῳ τῶι Ἀρίφρονος καὶ ἔγκυος ἐοῦσα εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν  
τῶι ὕπνῳ, ἐδόκεε δὲ λέοντα τεκεῖν· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τίκτει Περικλέα  
Ξανθίππῳ.

**132** Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρῶμα γενόμενον Μιλτιάδης, καὶ πρότερον  
εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Ἀθηναίοισι, τότε μᾶλλον αὔξετο. αἰτήσας δὲ νέας  
ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ στρατιὴν τε καὶ χρήματα Ἀθηναίους, οὐ φράσας σφι  
ἐπ' ἣν ἐπιστρατεύσεται χώραν, ἀλλὰ φὰς αὐτοὺς καταπλουτιεῖν ἣν οἱ  
ἔπωνται· ἐπὶ γὰρ χώραν τοιαύτην δὴ τινα ἄξειν ὅθεν χρυσὸν εὐπετέως  
ἄφθονον οἴσονται· λέγων τοιαῦτα αἶτεε τὰς νέας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τούτοις  
ἐπαρθέεντες παρέδωκαν.

**133** Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης τὴν στρατιὴν ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Πάρον, πρόφασιν  
ἔχων ὥς οἱ Πάριοι ὑπῆρξαν πρότεροι <ἀδικίης> στρατευόμενοι τριήρεϊ ἐς  
Μαραθῶνα ἅμα τῶι Πέρσῃ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα λόγου ἦν, ἀτὰρ τινα  
καὶ ἔγκοτον εἶχε τοῖσι Παρίοισι διὰ Λυσαγόρην τὸν Τεισίεω, ἐόντα γένος  
2 Πάριον, διαβαλόντα μιν πρὸς Ὑδάρνεα τὸν Πέρσην. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν  
ἔπλεε ὁ Μιλτιάδης τῇ στρατιῇ ἐπολιόρκεε Παρίους κατειλημένους ἐντὸς  
τείχεος, καὶ ἐσπέμπων κήρυκα αἶτεε ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, φὰς, ἣν μὴ οἱ δῶσι,  
3 οὐκ ἀπαναστήσῃ τὴν στρατιὴν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλῃ σφέας. οἱ δὲ Πάριοι ὅκως μὲν  
τι δώσουσι Μιλτιάδῃ ἀργύριον οὐδὲ διενοεῦντο, οἱ δὲ ὅκως διαφυλάξουσιν  
τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο ἐμχανῶντο, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενοι καὶ τῇι μάλιστα ἔσκε  
ἐκάστοτε ἐπίμαχον τοῦ τείχεος, τοῦτο ἅμα νυκτὶ ἐξήιρετο διπλήσιον τοῦ  
ἀρχαίου.

**134** Ἐς μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν  
δὲ αὐτοὶ Πάριοι γενέσθαι ὥδε λέγουσι· Μιλτιάδῃ ἀπορέοντι ἐλθεῖν ἐς  
λόγους αἰχμάλωτον γυναῖκα, ἐοῦσαν μὲν Παρίην γένος, οὔνομα δὲ οἱ εἶναι  
Τιμοῦν, εἶναι δὲ ὑποζάκορον τῶν χθονίων θεῶν. ταύτην ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς ὄψιν  
Μιλτιάδεω συμβουλευῖσαι, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιέεται Πάρον ἐλεῖν, τὰ ἄν

132 τῶν Περσέων ante τρῶμα proposuit Wilson post Stein  
suppl. Stein τριήρεσι A

133.1 ἀδικίης

αὐτὴ ὑποθῆται ταῦτα ποιεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μὲν ὑποθέσθαι, τὸν δὲ διερχόμενον ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἔοντα <τὸ> ἔρκος Θεσμοφόρου Δῆμητρος ὑπερθορεῖν, οὐ δυνάμενον τὰς θύρας ἀνοῖξαι, ὑπερθορόντα δὲ ἶέναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὃ τι δὴ ποιήσοντα ἐντός, εἴτε κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων εἴτε ὃ τι δὴ κοτε πρήξοντα· πρὸς τῇσι θύρησιν τε γενέσθαι καὶ πρόκατε φρίκης αὐτὸν ὑπελθούσης ὀπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἵεσθαι, καταθρώσκοντα δὲ τὴν αἵμασιν τὸν μηρὸν σπασθῆναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ γόνυ προσπταῖσαι λέγουσι.

Μιλτιάδης μὲν νυν φλαύρως ἔχων ἀπέπλεε ὀπίσω, οὔτε χρήματα 135 Ἀθηναίοισι ἄγων οὔτε Πάρον προσκτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέρας καὶ δηιώσας τὴν νῆσον. Πάριοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ὥς 2 ἢ ὑποζάκορος τῶν θεῶν Τιμῶ Μιλτιάδῃ κατηγήσατο, βουλόμενοί μιν ἀντὶ τούτων τιμωρήσασθαι θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς πέμπουσι, ὥς σφεας ἡσυχίῃ τῆς πολιορκίης ἔσχε· ἔπεμπον δὲ ἐπειρησόμενους εἰ καταχρήσονται τὴν ὑποζάκορον τῶν θεῶν ὥς ἐξηγησαμένην τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι τῆς πατρίδος ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρσενα γόνον ἄρρητα ἱρὰ ἐκφήνασαν Μιλτιάδῃ. ἢ 3 δὲ Πυθίῃ οὐκ ἔα, φᾶσα οὐ Τιμοῦν εἶναι τὴν αἰτίην τούτων, ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδην τελευτᾶν μὴ εὖ, φανῆναί οἱ τῶν κακῶν κατηγεμόνα.

Παρίοισι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἢ Πυθίῃ ἔχρησε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ Πάρου 136 Μιλτιάδεα ἀπονοστήσαντα εἶχον ἐν στόμασι, οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ μάλιστα Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος, ὃς θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον Μιλτιάδεα ἐδίωκε τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτης εἵνεκεν. Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν παρεὼν οὐκ 2 ἀπελογέετο (ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὥστε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ), προκειμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίνῃ ὑπεραπελογέοντο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης πολλὰ ἐπιμενημένοι καὶ τὴν Λήμνου αἵρεσιν, ὥς ἔλων Λῆμνόν τε καὶ τεισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρέδωκε Ἀθηναίοισι. προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου, 3 ζημιώσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίην πεντήκοντα ταλάντοισι, Μιλτιάδης μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα σφακελίσαντός τε τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ σαπέντος τελευτᾷ, τὰ δὲ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἐξέτεισε ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Κίμων.

Λῆμνον δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ὦδε ἔσχε· Πελασγοὶ ἐπέιτε ἐκ τῆς 137 Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν, εἴτε ὦν δὴ δικαίως εἴτε ἀδίκως· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὅτι Ἐκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Ἥγησάνδρου ἔφησε ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι λέγων ἀδίκως. ἐπέιτε γὰρ ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώρην, τὴν σφι αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμησσὸν ἐοῦσαν ἔδοσαν οἰκῆσαι μισθὸν τοῦ τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν κοτε ἐληλαμένου, ταύτην ὥς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εὖ, τὴν πρότερον εἶναι κακὴν τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίην, λαβεῖν φθόνον τε καὶ ἴμερον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτως

ἐξελαύνειν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην πρόφασιν προῖσχομένους τοὺς Ἀθη-  
 3 ναίους. ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, δικαίως ἐξελάσαι. κατοικημένους  
 γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησῶι ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμωμένους ἀδικέειν  
 τάδε. φοιτᾷν γὰρ δὴ τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας [τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας] ἐπ’  
 ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφίσι κω  
 οὐδὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλησι οἰκέτας· ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὐται, τοὺς Πελασ-  
 γοὺς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίας βιάσθαι σφέας. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφι οὐκ  
 ἀποχρᾶν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τέλος καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπιχειρήσειν φανῆναι ἐπ’  
 4 αὐτοφώρῳ. ἔωυτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσοῦτωι ἐκείνων ἄνδρας ἀμείνονας,  
 ὅσῳ παρεὸν αὐτοῖσι ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγοὺς, ἐπεὶ σφεας ἔλαβον ἐπι-  
 βουλεύοντας, οὐκ ἔθελῃσαι, ἀλλὰ σφι προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξιέναι. τοὺς  
 δὲ οὕτω δὴ ἐκχωρήσαντας ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον. ἐκεῖνα  
 μὲν δὴ Ἑκαταῖος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι.

**138** Οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι Λῆμνον τότε νεμόμενοι, καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς  
 Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι, εὖ τε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων ὀρτάς,  
 πεντηκοντέρους κτησάμενοι ἐλόχησαν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρῶνι ἀγούσας  
 ὀρτὴν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀρπάσαντες τουτέων πολ-  
 λὰς οἶχοντο ἀποπλέοντες καὶ σφεας ἐς Λῆμνον ἀγαγόντες παλλακὰς εἶχον.  
 2 ὥς δὲ τέκνων αὐται αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπεπλήσθησαν, γλῶσσάν τε τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
 καὶ τρόπους τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἐδίδασκον τοὺς παῖδας. οἱ δὲ οὔτε συμμίσ-  
 γεσθαι τοῖσι ἐκ τῶν Πελασγίδων γυναικῶν παισὶ ἤθελον, εἴ τε τύπτοιτό  
 τις αὐτῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνων τινός, ἐβοήθεόν τε πάντες καὶ ἐτιμώρεον ἀλλήλοισι·  
 καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν τε τῶν παιδῶν οἱ παῖδες ἐδικαίευν καὶ πολλῶι ἐπεκρά-  
 3 τεον. μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἔωυτοῖσι λόγους ἐδίδοσαν· καὶ σφι  
 βουλευομένοισι δεινόν τι ἐσέδυνε· εἰ δὴ διαγινώσκοιεν σφίσι τε βοηθέειν  
 οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τῶν κουριδιέων γυναικῶν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τούτων αὐτίκα  
 4 ἄρχειν πειρώιατο, τί δὴ ἀνδρωθέντες δῆθεν ποιήσουσι; ἐνθαῦτα ἔδοξέ σφι  
 κτείνειν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀττικέων γυναικῶν. ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα,  
 προσαπολλύουσι δὲ σφεων καὶ τὰς μητέρας. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου  
 καὶ τοῦ προτέρου τούτων, τὸ ἐργάσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἅμα Θόαντι  
 ἄνδρας σφετέρους ἀποκτεῖναι, νενόμισται ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια  
 ἔργα πάντα Λήμνια καλέεσθαι.

**139** Ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι τοὺς σφετέρους παῖδας τε καὶ  
 γυναῖκας οὔτε γῆ καρπὸν ἔφερε οὔτε γυναῖκές τε καὶ ποῖμναι ὁμοίως ἔτικ-  
 τον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ. πιεζόμενοι δὲ λιμῶι καὶ ἀπαιδίῃ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον  
 2 λύσιν τινὰ αἰτησόμενοι τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε  
 Ἀθηναίοισι δίκας διδόναι ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δικάσωσι. ἦλθόν τε  
 δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ Πελασγοὶ καὶ δίκας ἐπηγγέλλοντο βουλόμενοι διδόναι

παντὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρυτανίῳ κλίνην στρώσαν- 3  
 τες ὥς εἶχον κάλλιστα καὶ τράπεζαν ἐπιπλήν ἀγαθῶν πάντων παραθέν-  
 τες ἐκέλευον τοὺς Πελασγοὺς τὴν χώραν σφίσι παραδιδόναι οὕτως ἔχου-  
 σαν. οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπαν· Ἐπεὰν βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ αὐτημερὸν 4  
 ἐξανύσῃ νηῦς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν, τότε παραδώσομεν. τοῦτο  
 εἶπαν ἐπιστάμενοι τοῦτο εἶναι ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττική πρὸς  
 νότον κεῖται πολλὸν τῆς Λήμνου.

Τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα· ἔτεσι δὲ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων, ὥς ἡ 140  
 Χερσόνησος ἡ ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίοισι, Μιλτιάδης ὁ  
 Κίμωνος ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων κατεστηκότων νηὶ κατανύσας ἐξ Ἑλαιοῦντος  
 τοῦ ἐν Χερσονήσῳ ἐς Λῆμνον προηγόρευε ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς νήσου τοῖσι  
 Πελασγοῖσι, ἀναμιμνήσκων σφέας τὸ χρηστήριον, τὸ οὐδαμὰ ἧλπισαν  
 σφίσι οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐπιτελέεσθαι. Ἡφαιστιέες μὲν νυν ἐπίθοντο, Μυριναῖοι 2  
 δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τὴν Χερσόνησον Ἀττικὴν ἐπολιορκέοντο, ἐς  
 ὃ καὶ οὗτοι παρέστησαν. οὕτω δὲ τὴν Λῆμνον ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ  
 Μιλτιάδης.



## COMMENTARY

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### 1–5 HISTIAIOS AGITATES

For the style of these chs. see Introduction, p. 26.

#### 1 *Exchange between Histiaios and Artaphrenes*

In many ways this exchange is a doublet of that between Dareios and Histiaios at 5.106, a passage that is several times echoed in these first few chapters (nn.). Dareios perhaps tipped off Artaphrenes about Histiaios when sending him west again, knowing that this was a risky move.

**1.1 Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν νυν Ἴωνίν ἀποστήσας οὕτω τελευτᾷ:** that is, in the way described at the end of bk. 5, in an adventure in Thrace involving an unsuccessful attack on a local city. The narrative continues smoothly: that (μὲν) was Aristagores' end, now (δέ) for Histiaios; cf. 16.2n. The (probably Hellenistic) division of the 'books' is here very artificial (5.126 n.). **μεμετιμένος** 'having been released' (passive participle of μετήμι), as described at 5.106–7. The same word is used at 5.108.1, and the echo marks the resumption of Histiaios' story from that point. **ἐς Σάρδεις:** Sardis was burned down at 5.101, to the extent that Dareios can say (5.106.1) that Aristagores has 'deprived him of Sardis'. See n. there. So, if we take Dareios literally, Histiaios is visiting a non-existent city. Either or both of two ways out are possible: (1) the damage was slight or partial (see 5.101–2 n. for the archaeological evidence), and/or (2) enough years had elapsed since 5.101–2 for the place to be rebuilt. Some combination of the two explanations is probably the best solution. For Sardis' dominant role in the *Histories* see 5.25.1 n. **Ἀρταφρένης:** satrap of Lydia, he was last mentioned at 5.123, embarking on a punitive campaign against Ionia and Aiolis. His name is sometimes spelt Ἀρταφέρνης, which is closer to the Iranian form (*OCD*<sup>1</sup>): that is the spelling printed by Wilson in OCT. Still, Ἀρταφρένης is metrically guaranteed at Aesch. *Pers.* 21, and this does seem to have been the earlier Greek form (Garvie 2009: 56; Schmitt 2007: 148–9). **κατὰ κοῖόν τι δοκέει** 'with what sort of purpose (or 'why', like κατὰ τί at Ar. *Clouds* 239) he thought the Ionians had rebelled'. The direct speech would have been δοκέεις. **ἐθώμαζε:** here 'expressed surprise ...': as with Eng. 'wonder', the verb's emphasis sometimes rests as much on the oral expression as on the mental state (e.g. 3.80.5 and e.g. Plato *Gorg.* 481e, 'if anyone were to θαυμάζειν at what you are saying, perhaps you would reply ...'), but it is rare for it to be so clearly disingenuous. **δῆθεν:** 'implying falsity of speech or thought' (Powell's lexicon).

**1.2 τεχνάζοντα:** implying *unscrupulous* artfulness, as at 3.130.1. Cf. *Il.* 23.415, and Hdt. 5.70.1 for ἀντιτεχν- and **74.1** for κακοτεχν-. The idea of such cunning devices, expressed by compounds of τεχν-, are favourites with Th. also: see 5.45 on Alkibiades. **εἰδὼς τὴν ἀτρεκίην τῆς ἀποστάσιος:** the focaliser is Artaphrenes; that is, Hdt. is saying that Artaphrenes *thought* he knew (cf. **13.1n.**). Hdt.'s own more complex view of the Revolt's causation is given at 5.36.1. Words for knowing are specially common in these first two chapters: εἰδέναι (**1.1**), ἀτρεκίην here, συνιέντα (**2.1**), καταγνωσθεῖς and μαθόντες (**2.2**). The two men are engaged in a game of bluff, one that goes on to involve the Chians too; they are each concealing how much each of them knows that the other also knows. **οὕτω τοι... ἔχει** 'I'll tell you how it really is', with a touch of 'how it is *for you*', pointing to Histiaios' role. This is one of those cases where the (probable) etymological origin of τοι as the ethic dative of σύ/τύ is felt: 'in many places it is hard to say whether τοι is a particle or a pronoun' (*GP*: 537 n. 1). **109.6** is similar (n.). **ὑπόδημα:** this word for 'shoe' (better 'sandal') replaced the older, in fact Mycenaean, πέδιλον: Steiner 2010: 75 and 211 on *Od.* 17.2 and 18.361. The literal meaning (something you tie under the foot) is brought out by the verb ὑπεδήσατο which follows. **ἔπραψας:** see 5.105.1n. on συνυφανθῆναι, also of Aristagores, in the context of Dareios' first news of the revolt: that passage may well be recalled here. The perceptive Artaphrenes now goes one step further in unravelling the story. Like Megabazos before him (5.23) he is less gullible than his master Dareios (5.106), and remains so till Histiaios' end (**30**).

## 2–5 *Histiaios and Chios*

Hdt. is much preoccupied with Chios and the Chians in the thirty chs. between here and the dreadful 'netting' at **31**. The Chians on the whole behave with a mix of self-protective caution and virtue, more so than the other Ionians (esp. at **15.1**), but it does them no good. Perhaps it is a 'curse' that goes back to the Atarneus affair at 1.160 and runs through to Panionios at 8.106: thus Hornblower 2013: 36 and n.123, and more fully 2003: 44–5, 54–5; map at 42.

**2.1 ταῦτα ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντα εἶπε** 'that was what he said, and it was a reference to the revolt': ἔχοντα carries some emphasis. Cf. e.g. **77.2**, 7.130.3, 9.43.1, and Powell s.v. ἔχω B 3 b ('pertain, relate'). It may pick up οὕτω τοι... ἔχει, as this was indeed 'how it really is', relating all too accurately to the revolt. **νύκτα:** a persistent motif in these early chs. of bk. 6: see **5.2** (Histiaios' wounding), **10** (the tyrants' message), and **16.2** (the Thesmophoria in Ephesian territory). The whole section is marked by underhandedness (notice the number of ὑπο- phrases and compounds in **1–2**)

and skulduggery. On the phrase *ὑπό... νύκτα* in particular George 2014: 110–11 suggests that a local as well as a temporal sense is often in play: Histiaios may be slipping out, as George puts it of other passages, ‘beneath the canopy of the sky’. *ἐπὶ θάλασσαν*: Histiaios had long aspired to get ‘to the sea’ (5.35.4, cf. 106.4) – but not like this. *ὅς Σαρδῶ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργάσεσθαι*: echoing Histiaios’ words at 5.106.6 (n.), which were themselves echoing Bias’ proposal at 1.170.2. In fact Sicily is a slightly bigger Mediterranean island than Sardinia (25.7k km.<sup>2</sup> as against 24k); not that Histiaios or anyone else was in a position to know that. For those far off in the east, Sardinia encouraged unreal and escapist thoughts, a ‘land of Cockayne’ (Ceccarelli 1996), and the island had also been in Aristagores’ mind at 5.124.2 (n.). *ὑπέδυε*: the verb conveys furtiveness.

**2.2 Χίων**: the Chians now join the mind-reading game. At several points they had already been in danger of being sucked in: the island was the scene of the row between Megabates and Aristagores (5.33), and the last mention of them was when the fugitive Paionians, with Persian cavalry at their heels, had fled to the island, and they had responded by deporting the Paionians to Lesbos, thus passing on the problem to them (5.98.4). The Chians are already showing the cautious and prudential qualities that later excited the admiration of Th. (8.24.4). But the Persians might have hoped for more, and the islanders had every reason to be nervous both of Histiaios and of Dareios. *καταγνωσθεῖς... νεώτερα πρήσσειν πρήγματα εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Δαρείου* ‘on suspicion of being up to no good and of working for Darius against them’ (Waterfield); *νεώτερα πρήγματα*, lit. ‘newer things’, often means ‘revolution’ or ‘rebellion’ (74.1), but can be used more broadly of violent mischief-making (5.19.2 and n.). Here it is a mix of both; had their suspicions been well-founded, Histiaios might have been plotting constitutional change (with himself as tyrant? So at least the Chians might have feared). Such suspicions are in the air on all sides: at 5.106.1, Dareios had rightly suspected Aristagores of plotting *νεώτερα πρήγματα*, and Histiaios’ denial at 5.106.4, echoing the phrase, is part of his own disingenuous mischief-making. *τὸν πάντα λόγον* ‘the full story’, and *ὡς πολέμιος εἶη βασιλεῖ* goes on to clarify its contents, with *εἶη* optative in indirect speech. One wonders who told them this, given that Histiaios’ own word would hardly be enough: presumably someone who had been close to Aristagores. If they were already keeping such company they had all the more reason to be nervous.

**3.1 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἴωνων**: perhaps at the Panionion, as at 7; but something less formal may be meant. Cf. 5.109.3 and n. *κατ’ ὅ τι* = Attic *καθότι*, ‘why’, introducing an indirect question. This is the second awkward question Histiaios has been asked, as Ionians and Persian (1.1) alike find the revolt



bewildering; once again he cannot give a straight answer. **κακὸν τοσοῦτον εἶη Ἴωνας ἐξεργασμένος**: focalised through the protesting Ionians: this is how they would indignantly have put it. In fact, so far not much has happened to the Ionians themselves that is so ‘bad’, though 5.123 had marked the start: the defeatism, then, may already be sensed that will reach its height at 13.1. In anticipation, however, the Ionians are right, and this prepares for 98 and the grander overview of three generations of κακά. **τὴν μὲν γενομένην αὐτοῖσι αἰτίην** ‘their real reason’, lit. ‘the reason that they had had’, and ‘their’ = Histiaios and Aristagores. **Φοίνικας μὲν ἐξαναστήσας ἐν τῇ Ἴωνίῃ κατοικίσαι, Ἴωνας δὲ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ**: a similar population exchange was alleged to be an intention of Alexander the Great at the end of his life (Diod. 18.4: one of the ‘Last Plans’). Such scaremongering was given plausibility by the Persian habit of population transplants (4.204, 5.14 and n., 9.4, 20, and 119.2), though this would have been a particularly massive one. The Phoenicians were on the Persian side (6, 28.1, 33.2), and presumably Histiaios was implying that they would get the rich Ionian lands as a reward, just as the Karians will be awarded Milesian territory at 20; it is not a question of punishing Ionians and Phoenicians symmetrically. **οὐδὲν τι πάντως ταῦτα βασιλεὺς βουλευσαμένου**: emphatic, with a striking asyndeton. It is unclear how Hdt. could be so sure about the king’s real intentions: perhaps because of the massiveness of the scheme, perhaps just because, by now, his default assumption was that Histiaios would be lying. The genitive absolute explains the use of the verb δειματόω, which like Eng. ‘scaremonger’ usually (not always) conveys fears that are false or excessive, as here: cf. e.g. Aesch. *Cho.* 845, Gorg. *Helen* 17, [Plato], *Axiochus* 370a. **ἐδειμάτου**: the imperfect is ‘conative’, that is, he *tried to* scare them.

**4.1 Ἑρμίππου ἀνδρὸς Ἀταρνεΐτω**: the name Hermippos is probably derived from the river Hermos, south of Atarneus, rather than the god Hermes. Those local suggestions are significant: Hornblower 2003: 46 compares Hdt 8.104–6 for the dreadful story of *Hermotimos* the castrated avenger, who is also connected to Atarneus (8.106.1–2). The place is always sinister in Hdt., and is especially so for Chians. **τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐοῦσι Περσέων** ‘those of the Persians who were in Sardis’. This is oddly phrased, as Hdt. cannot mean that Histiaios wrote to all the Persians there; it could only have been to some he thought were particularly susceptible or knowledgeable. τοῖς might be emended to a form of τις, either τεοῖσι or τισι(ν), but the word order would then be difficult. In any case, it is remarkable that there are disaffected *Persians* in the satrap’s capital of Sardis (if there are, see next n. but one.) **βυβλία** ‘letters’. **ὥς προλελεσχηνευμένων αὐτῷ ἀποστάσιος περί**: either ‘he sent them letters because they had previously had discussions with him about revolt’; or ‘as if’/‘intimating that’

there had been such discussions, without implying that this was in fact the case rather than Artaphrenes' conviction or suspicion. The ambiguous language leaves the reader as uncertain about the underlying truth as Artaphrenes would have been in the story. The deadly outcome here at 4.2 does not in itself demonstrate prior guilt, for Artaphrenes may have singled out those whose replies indicated readiness *at this stage* to play along: cf. 4.2n. In Attic λέσχη suggests casual and leisurely conversation, and that suits most of the Ionic uses too: this would be careless talk. **προλελεσχηνευμένων**: as at e.g. 84.3 (ήκόντων τῶν Σκυθέων... ὁμιλέειν σφι μεζόνως, with n.), 85.2, and 86 α 1, a 'needless' genitive absolute, as Hdt. could have written -οῖς to agree with τοῖς... ἐοῦσι. **ἀπεπέμφθη**: the implied subject might be either 'he' or 'they' (τὰ βυβλία, n. pl. with sing. vb.).

**4.2 τὰ δὲ ἀμοιβαῖα τὰ παρὰ τῶν Περσέων ἀντιπεμπόμενα... δοῦναι** 'but to give him the letters which the Persians sent back in reply'. **τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν** 'when these replies were revealed', i.e. when he had seen them. **πολλοὺς Περσέων** 'many of the Persians', but not necessarily all who had received the letters: it was their replies that decided their fate, not the initial receipt of the letters. Otherwise Artaphrenes would have had no reason to spring his trap.

**5.1 παραχή**: *stasis* perhaps. (But see on 4.1.) **ἀποσφαλέντα ταύτης τῆς ἐλπίδος** 'disappointed' or 'foiled in that hope', followed by a genitive ('of separation') in the same way as if the active σφάλλω had been used. **Χῖοι κατῆγον ἐς Μίλητον**: again (3 n.) conative, they *tried to* take him home. Doubtless the Chians would have been glad to see the back of him. They are good at getting rid of dangerous visitors: cf. 5.98.4 (the Paionians), 2.2 n. They would surely have a fair idea that Histiaios had hopes of restoring himself to power, just as the Milesians themselves knew that it is a matter of 'receiving a tyrant'. **ἀπαλλαχθέντες καὶ Ἀρισταγόρῳ**: since they had also, καί, got rid of Aristagores, meaning 'as well as Histiaios'. They could be said to have got rid of Histiaios himself as long ago as 5.24.2, when he left Miletos for Sardis. **οἳ τε ἐλευθερίας γευσάμενοι**: the reader has been well prepared for the tyranny/freedom contrast and for the rejection of an outside proposal to reinstate a tyrant by the stories told by Soklees at 5.92 and their sequel at 5.93: see introductory n. to 5.92. With the 'tasting' metaphor here, cf. 7.46.4, ὁ δὲ θεὸς γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα.

**5.2 νυκτός**: 2.1n. **βίη**: Histiaios' attempt to return 'by force' implies that he had a substantial following, although Hdt. has not said so explicitly. **ἐπειρᾶτο κατιών**: in Hdt., but only very rarely elsewhere, πειράω/-ομαι can take either a ptcpl. (as also at 9.3 and 50.2) or an inf. The ptcpl.

seems to be felt as particularly appropriate when some part of the relevant action is already implicit in the attempt: thus here (as in the similar 9.26.2) Histiaios is already ‘returning’, but what is at stake is whether he will succeed or not. Contrast e.g. 138.3, when any ‘ruling’ would begin only after the attempt was successful. But the distinction is not always clear-cut. **κατιών**: the standard term for ‘return from exile’. **τιτρώσκειται τὸν μηρόν**: another thigh wound will round off the book (134.2, Miltiades, cf. Introduction p. 14): these seem an occupational hazard of tyrants (3.64.3, Kambyzes; Kleomenes goes even further, gruesomely literally, at 75.3). **ὑπὸ τευ τῶν Μιλησίων**: Hdt. is nearly even-handed as between the two main available forms of the genitive of τις (τινος 11 times, the Ionic τευ 12 times, and its variant τεο once: 1.58). **ἄπωστός**: from ἀπωθέω, a very physical word that retains its strength even when used metaphorically: as Eng. would say, he has been ‘thrown out’. Cf. 5.106.4, where Histiaios complains that he had been ‘snatched up’ from the sea by the king (ἀνάσπαστον). That passage may be recalled here, with Histiaios encountering a new and franker set of expellers. **οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε . . . ἔπεισε**: the imperfect suggests repeated failed attempts at Chios, the aorist that a single act of persuasion was enough in Mytilene. Hdt. does not say what sweet-talking tricks he employed, but the narrative is now moving swiftly towards Lade, and another piece of slippery rhetoric from Histiaios would be a distraction here.

**5.3 τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου**: cf. Th. 3.2.2 (the opening narrative of the revolt of Mytilene) for maritime commerce between Lesbos and the Black Sea. Given the Milesians’ links with all their Black Sea colonies, their trade may have suffered particularly badly. The people of Lesbos are not acting in a pro-Ionian way, and this makes it surprising that they supply so many ships at Lade (8.1). **αὐτῶν**: presumably ‘them’ = ‘the sailors’: captains would have had to make the decision on their own initiative, as Dionysios will do at 17, a passage that marks the end of the next section (n.) as this one rounds off the first movement of the book.

## 6–17 NAVAL PREPARATIONS BY THE IONIANS; THE BATTLE OF LADE (494)

The showdown has been approaching for some time, and Hdt.’s narrative makes it clear that this battle for Miletos will be decisive: the Ionians’ decision to stake all on the naval engagement (7) shows that they recognise this themselves. The catalogue of their forces therefore is not merely in terms of ‘ships’ – that also evokes the Homeric model of *Iliad* 2 – but already lists them in terms of their battle deployment (8.1n.). Everything seems to prepare for an encounter worthy of such narrative preparation,

and the Persian commanders themselves have reasons for alarm at the large fleet they have to face (9.1). It is all the more expressive, then, that it peters out so disappointingly. The focus is on the Persians only at that initial stage of sowing dissent (9): once they have decided to deploy the fugitive Ionian tyrants (9.2) against their former cities, everything is told from a Greek point of view, and it is the Greeks themselves who destroy their own cause through their squabbling, their reluctance to bear hardship, and their self-seeking disloyalty.

Hdt. has also developed a bigger narrative arc for Persian aggression, one that points beyond Ionia to the Greek mainland as ‘always the last – as greatest aim and greatest risk’ (Huber 1963: 128). That has been the case for Dareios since his bedroom talk with Atossa at 3.134, and the burning of Sardis in bk. 5 narrowed the focus to Athens and Eretria (Introduction, pp. 10–11). Dareios at 5.105–7 saw dealing with Ionia and Miletos as a straightforward ancillary matter compared with vengeance on Athens. Lade now shows him to have been right.

We have therefore been made aware that this showdown is only the first act of a larger play. Various specific motifs point forward to those later sequences, especially but not only the Marathon campaign. The targeting of the Persian campaign on Miletos (6) presages the Persian prioritising of Athens and Eretria (44.1, 94.1). The exiled tyrants accompanying the expedition (9.2) are precursors of Hippias (107.1). Miletos’ sad fate (20) will recur with Eretria (119.2), and, as the Greeks knew all too well, would have been more widespread had Marathon gone differently. If we look further ahead, the Greek strategy to fight for Miletos (7.1, *προναυμαχῆσοντας τῆς Μιλήτου*) at the ‘small island’ of Lade is an anticipatory mirror of Salamis (Themistokles at 8.60 β, *ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ*). The Persian diplomatic tactics aimed at dividing the resistance and encouraging individual states to desert (9) are ones that they will reuse extensively in fostering self-interested medism. The abuse levelled at Dionysios (12.3) and the recriminations after the battle (14.1) prefigure the bad-tempered exchanges during the Salamis campaign (8.61, 94). Some of the patterning may seem more casual, such as the way the book begins (5.2) and ends (134.2) with an ex-tyrant suffering a thigh wound; but any reader or viewer of Sophocles’ *Oidipous Tyrannos* knows that apparent coincidences may turn out not to be coincidences at all, and there may be deeper forces at play, even if it is idle to speculate on what those enigmatic forces might be.

**6.1 ἐπὶ δὲ Μίλητον αὐτήν** ‘against Miletos itself’, singled out as ringleader city of the revolt. As at 1.78.3 and (with ἐς) 5.108.1, the idea of direction and aggression conveyed by ἐπὶ comes as much from the nouns, here ‘fleet’ and ‘army’, as from the adjective ‘expected’ (*προσδόκιμος*).

**στρατόπεδον**: as often, ‘military unit’, not ‘camp’: they ‘united their forces’ (de Sélincourt). **Φοίνικες**: 3n. The importance to Persia of the Phoenician navy is made clear at 1.143.1: Kyros was then (c. 540 BC) threatening Ionia but ‘the islanders had nothing to fear: for the Phoenicians were not yet subject to the Persians, and the Persians themselves were not seagoers’; then after their capitulation to Kambyses ‘their whole naval force depended on the Phoenicians’ (3.19). They were old trading rivals of the Ionian cities, and that might explain their ‘enthusiasm’ here; and/or they might be smarting after their naval reverse during the Cyprus campaign, 5.112.1. **Κύπριοι . . . καὶ Κίλικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι**: major contributors to Xerxes’ expedition as well, providing respectively 150, 100, and 200 ships (7.89–90). Artemisia and Mardonios are rude about them at 8.68 γ and 8.100. 4, but both are choosing the right words for Xerxes’ ear, and their dismissiveness should not be taken too seriously. Cf. Bowie on 8.14.2. **νεωστὶ κατεστραμμένοι**: at 5.108–15.

**7.1 προβούλους** ‘delegates’ or ‘representatives’ as at 7.172.1: προ- indicates taking counsel ‘on their behalf’ rather than ‘in advance of’ the states’ own deliberations. **ἐς Πανιώνιον**: the Panionion has, surprisingly, not been mentioned by name since 1.170; but see 5.109.3n. on τὸ κοινόν for collective meetings and decisions of the Ionians at times earlier than the present passage. It is slightly likelier that Hdt. had information about the grounds for Ionian decisions than for Persian ones. **ἀντίξοον** ‘to oppose the Persians’ (proleptic). Blanc 2010 gives good reasons for connecting the word with ἀντέχω/ἀντίσχω, ‘hold (out) against’, rather than, as suggested by e.g. LSJ, with ξέω, ‘hew’ or ‘polish’. **προναυμαχήσοντας**: the προ- is figurative, ‘for’ or ‘in defence of’, rather than literal: Lade would in fact be to the Milesians’ rear as they faced the Persians on land. The role in the city’s defence would be to protect the lifeline of provisions during a siege (cf. 9.1), and therefore much depended on those ‘walls’ which ‘the Milesians themselves’ needed to defend. This prefigures Salamis (6–17n.): 8. 60 β, ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. **ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει τῇ Μιλησίῳ** ‘off the coast of’ Miletos. See map 6.

## 8 *The Lade line-up*

This is the first and baldest of several such catalogues in the later books, of which the most elaborate is 7.59–100; then 7.202–203.1, 8.1–2.1 (see Bowie’s n.), 8.43–8, 9.28.2–32. As the first, and as specifically a catalogue *of ships*, this particularly evokes *Il.* 2: ἐτάσσοντο δὲ ὧδε (n.) even suggests that the fighting might be imminent. After such epic suggestions the fighting itself is a damp squib. On Hdt.’s ‘arithmetical facility and enthusiasm’

see Rubincam 2012: 99–102 and 108 (what she later calls ‘Herodotus’ number orgies’, 121 n. 3).

The totals have some ‘seed’ functions in the narrative: in particular, the three Phokaian ships are needed for the Ionian disparagement of Dionysios at 12.3. The absentees are interesting too. The Rhodians are virtually invisible throughout Hdt.’s *Histories* (such references as there are relate to much earlier periods, 1.144.3, 2.178, 7.143.1), and this is a general puzzle; contrast the attention given to Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and even Cyprus. For Datis’ siege of Rhodian Lindos, a story absent from Hdt., see 95.2n. (Hdt.’s list of participants at Lade is not purely Ionian, but includes Aioliens, so that the Dorians of the SE Aegean would not be impossible *a priori*.) Some cities, e.g. Kolophon and Lebedos, may already have been overrun along with Klazomenai and Kyme (5.123), but that does not seem to be the case with the Ephesians (16.2n.). Lesbos is a five-polis island, which may help to explain the large Lesbian total. On the historical and demographic implications of the ship numbers, see Roebuck 1959: 21ff. and J. M. Cook, *CAH* 3<sup>2</sup>: 3, 216–18.

**8.1 Αἰολέων οἱ Λέσβον νέμονται** ‘those of the Aioliens who live on Lesbos’. This makes better sense than Αἰολέων ὅσοι τὴν Αἰολίδα γῆν νέμονται (aP<sup>t</sup>, Rosén), the point of which would presumably be to exclude the islanders; yet it was their naval contribution that would be the most important, for the largest mainland coastal city, Kyme, was already in Persian hands (5.123). These are presumably the ‘Lesbians’ of 8.2, providing 70 ships. Any mainland Aioliens cities that had joined the revolt may well have fallen along with Kyme as the Persians advanced southwards. **ἐτάσσοντο** ‘were drawn up’. Hdt. speaks as if they were already forming up for battle. **εἶχοντο** ‘were next to’ (LSJ ἔχω C. 3).

**8.2 Σάμιοι ἐξήκοντα νηυσί: 14.3 n. τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσαιο τριήρεις:** so more than the 271 at Artemision (8.2.1) and only slightly fewer than the 380 at Salamis (8.82).

**9.1 ἐξακόσαιο:** as opposed to the 1,207 (agreeing with Aeschylus’ figure, *Pers.* 341–3) + 120 that Hdt. gives for the 480 campaign (7.184.1 and 185.1, 8.66). A reader who compared the figures could infer that the Greeks were much less outnumbered now than in the later sequence; again, they could have fought more vigorously. As in 480, the Persian figure at least may well be too high (see Bowie on 8.66.1) and is perhaps conventional (95.2 n.). **πρὸς τὴν Μιλησίην** ‘Milesian territory’, i.e. its *chōra*, rather than the city or *polis* of ‘Miletos’ itself, which they had yet to attack. **πυθόμενοι:** this whole section is an extreme case of inferred motivation: Hdt. tells us in detail what the Persian commanders found out,

what they were afraid of, etc. He can have had no evidence beyond what they actually did, and has reasoned back from that. **καταρρώδησαν μή οὐ δυνατοὶ γίνονται**: μή οὐ is the regular way of expressing fear ‘lest’ something might ‘not’ happen: GG 1364, 1378. Despite the implied comparison with the greater imbalance in 480 (see above on ἐξακόσιαι), it is still remarkable that the Persians with 600 ships fear the Ionians with hardly more than half that number. But they had recently lost a naval engagement in Cyprus (5.112), which may have affected their confidence. **μή οὐκ ἔόντες ναυκράτορες** ‘given that they would not have control of the sea’: see 106.3n., and cf. LSJ s.v. μή οὐ II. 2 for this rare use with a ptcpl.: in this case it is an extension of the use with an infinitive ‘after verbs and phrases signifying impossibility’, LSJ II.1 b. For the importance of sea control cf. 7n. **πρὸς τε Δαρείου κινδυνεύσωσι κακόν τι λαβεῖν**: various stories of brutal tyrants (e.g. 5.92) have prepared the reader well for such fear of their king, and this becomes a leitmotif of the later narrative: cf. esp. Xerxes’ confidence that men under one-man rule ‘might in their fear of that one man perform better than their nature and go forward against superior numbers, driven on by the whip’ (7.103.4). **κακόν τι λαβεῖν**: euphemistic. Various beheadings show what they had to fear: 7.35.3 (guards at the Hellespont when a storm had washed away the bridge of boats), 8.90.1, and cf. 8.118.4. At 8.65.4–5 the wise Demaretos advises someone who senses supernatural danger to keep it to himself: ‘if these words reach the king you will lose your head, and neither I nor anyone else will be able to save you’.

**9.2 ἐπιλεγόμενοι** ‘considering’. **τοὺς τυράννους... ἐς Μήδους**: this amplifies the bare statement at 5.37.2 (n.) that Aristagores ‘drove out some of the tyrants’, but Hdt. did not there say what happened to them. This is the ‘technique of increasing precision’ (Hornblower 1994b: 145 n. 40); cf. here ‘the tyrants...’, later qualified by ‘those of the tyrants who were present’. **καταλυθέντες τῶν ἀρχέων** ‘deposed from their rule’, with a genitive of separation. **ἔφευγον ἐς Μήδους** ‘were in exile among the Medes’. Their initial flight ‘into’ exile could have been described as ἐς Μήδους, as at 67.1 and 5.104.3: the ἐς construction is retained even though that initial motion ‘into’ is no longer apposite. **Μήδους**: it seems that Hdt. sometimes wrote ‘Medes’ rather than ‘Persians’ because it sounded more solemn and portentous and was appropriate for expressing formidable power (see 5.104.1n. and Tuplin 2013). This is true of e.g. 109.1 and 112.3(n.). The ‘formidable’ aspect links with the word’s frequent use for visually impressive ‘Median’ dress, as 112.3 makes clear. There is also a favouring of ‘Medes’ when exile or defection or surrender is in point: thus 22.1 (n.), 67.1, 109.3, and e.g. 5.104.3 and 8.35.1. That tendency is doubtless influenced by the familiar verb μηδίζειν (64, 109.5,

etc): so Bowie on 8.5.2. **ἐτύγγανον δὲ τότε συστρατευόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον** ‘who were at that time joining in the campaign against Miletos’, not ‘who happened to be...’: **τύγγανειν** does not necessarily mean that an event was accidental, but that it was contemporaneous’ (Gomme, *HCT* III: 488–9; cf. 108.2n.). There is a parallel between these tyrants and Hippias, who joined the march against Miletos’ mother city Athens.

**9.3 νῦν τις ὑμέων** ‘now let each of you...’. Rousing talk – not just ‘let someone among you...’, as **ἕκαστος** in the next line shows. Earlier generations of English translators might have caught the tone with ‘now is the time for a man to...’. Similarly Xerxes at 8.118.3: ‘Persians, now may **τις**... ὑμέων show himself to be caring for the king...’. The use goes back to Homer, as at *Il.* 16.200 and 209. **εὖ ποιήσας φανήτω** ‘make it clear that he has benefitted the king’s house’: **φαίνομαι** with ptcpl., as here and at 121.1, means ‘be apparent/manifest when doing’ (inf. would mean ‘appear to do’). The use of the aorist **ποιήσας** rather than present **ποιέων** is notable: a single action is being called for. **ἀποσχίζων** ‘split off’. **προισχόμενοι**: from **προίσχομαι**, ‘put a proposal’. **πείσονται... ἄχαρι οὐδέν** ‘will not suffer anything unpleasant’. The phrase is a cliché: 2.141.3, 7.50.4, etc. **οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ οὔτε τὰ ἴδια**: echoed at 13.2, of the Samians’ motives for their treachery: they take the point to heart. The order is expressive: temples and sanctuaries are central to a city’s survival and identity, just as worship of its household gods are to a family’s. **ἐμπεπρήσεται**: future passive of **ἐμπίμπρημι**. This is a back-reference to the burning of Sardis at 5.101. In fact the Persians did ‘burn-in-return’ the Greek temples, **ἀντενεπίμπρασαν**, 5.102.1.

**9.4 εἰ... οὐ ποιήσουσι**: ‘when **οὐ** [rather than **μή**] stands in a protasis, it generally belongs to some particular word (as in **οὐ πολλοί**, *few*, **οὐ φημι**, *deny*), and not to the protasis as a whole’, *GG* 1383.2. Thus here, as at 1.212.3, **οὐ ποιέειν** is taken as a single concept: the English equivalent would be ‘if they refuse...’. **διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται** ‘insist on fighting’ (lit. ‘will arrive through battle’). **ἐπηρεάζοντες**: the idea here is ‘in that case, you should rub their noses in it and tell them what will really happen to them’. The word is found here only in *Hdt.*, and means ‘treat with contempt’. It here suggests that the exiles would convey humiliation or scorn by their language even before any of the threats materialised. **ὥς ἰσσωθέντες... παραδώσομεν**: again (2.3n.) given plausibility by the Persian actions on other occasions: with the menacing concentration on the woe-ful fate of sons and daughters, compare Agamemnon to Chryses at *Il.* 1.29–31. At 32 *Hdt.* says that the Persians proved true to their threats (including castration), though the detail there suggests more of a gesture than a full carrying through (n.). **ἀνασπᾶστούς** ‘dragged off into captivity’, again strong language (cf. 5.12.1n) to turn the screw. **εἰς Βάκτρα**: *Balkh*



(*Barr.* map 99 A3) doubtless chosen rhetorically as a far distant part of the empire, but such things did happen (4.204). At 32 the Ionian girls will be simply taken ‘to the king’, and it is not specified where they are to be sent afterwards.

**10 νυκτός:** 2.1 n. The genitive is one of ‘time within which’, but an action could often be described equally as happening ‘on’ or ‘during’ a day or night (George 2014): the genitive is particularly favoured with νύξ. Cf. 16.2, 45.1, 103.3, 107.1. **ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ:** 13.1 suggests that, as might have been expected, the messages went to each city’s commanders at Lade rather than back to the cities themselves. **ἀγνωμοσύνη τε διεχρέωντο καὶ οὐ προσίεντο τὴν προδοσίην** ‘they were foolishly stubborn and so did not agree to this treachery’. There had been ‘treachery’ in Cyprus too (5.113.1), but Hdt. had not treated it with much sympathy: see n. ad loc. ἀγνωμοσύνη is usually ‘strongly condemnatory’ (5.83.1 n.), ‘folly’, a failure to apply γνώμη. There is some foreshadowing here too, as things driven by ἀγνωμοσύνη do not end well: Demokritos knew that human ills come from blindness and ἀγνωμοσύνη (DK 68 B 175, quoted by Flower and Marincola on 9.3.1) and Theognis that no quality brings more pain (895–6). Such an acknowledgement of folly does not prevent Herodotus from applauding those who stayed firm during the fighting (14–15): ‘a refusal to Medize was *folly* – glorious, wonderful folly’ (Pelling 2013a: 31). Elsewhere too he can adopt multiple perspectives when actions or events are morally complex, as in his remark that Aristagores ‘should not have spoken the truth’ to Kleomenes at 5.50.2. **ἑωυτοῖσί τε ἕκαστοι ἐδόκειον μούνοισι ταῦτα τοὺς Πέρσας ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι** ‘each thought that they were the only ones to whom the Persians were sending the message’. As Baragwanath 2008: 187 notes, this ‘hints... that otherwise there might indeed have been some response to the Persian overtures’. Doubts about Ionian commitment, then, may already be felt.

### 11 *Speech of Dionysios*

**11.1 μετὰ δέ:** is used absolutely, ‘later’, contrasting with ἰθέως, and τῶν ἰώνων συλλεχθέντων is then genitive absolute. **ἡγορόωντο:** from ἀγοράομαι, ‘make a speech’, so picking up ἀγοραί. The verb is found here only in Hdt., but is Homeric, see e.g. *Il.* 4.1, the gods καθήμενοι ἡγορόωντο. It thus prepares the way for the more obvious Homerism below, ἐπὶ ξύρου... There were other speeches on this occasion, or at least Hdt. infers that there were: κου, ‘I suppose’, affects some uncertainty, as in the similar ‘X, I suppose among others’ passages at 1.178.1, 1.184.1, and 9.113.1, and in other writers of historical narrative. The diffidence may be more an engaging, almost conversational mannerism than a signal of real doubt. Dionysios has no elected function: the Ionians merely ‘hand themselves

over to him', ἐπιτρέπουσι, 12.1, and then, so to speak, hand themselves back again. ἐν δὲ δὴ 'among them'. ὁ Φωκαεὺς στρατηγὸς Διονύσιος: Dionysios has a brief moment of prominence and then vanishes. Nothing else is known about him. The name Dionysios is, together with that other theophoric name Apollonios, one of the commonest in the Greek world (though this is the only Dionysios in Hdt.). In *LGPN* v A there are 894 bearers, of whom nos. 309–73 are from Phokaia.

In view of the prominent naval role which Dionysios is about to play, we should recall 1.163.1 on Phokaian naval traditions: cf. 17 n. Dionysios was presumably a descendant of the Phokaians who broke their oath not to return to Phokaia (1.165.3, ψευδόρκοι δὲ γενόμενοι).

11.2 ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πρήγματα: an echo of *Il.* 10.173–4: νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς/ ἢ μάλα λυγρὸς ὄλεθρος Ἀχαιοῖς, ἢ βιῶναι. But Hdt. inserts γὰρ to avoid exact hexameter rhythm (Hornblower 1994b: 67). The second Homeric line, heavy as it is with words of doom, is also suggested by implication, but here the 'razor's edge' choice is 'either to be free or to be slaves' rather than the Homeric 'life or grim death'. Yet freedom is indeed to matter to the Greeks as much as life itself, at least eventually. The Homeric echo marks the momentousness of the crisis, as Dionysios impresses on his listeners the epic significance of the looming conflict. καὶ τούτοις ὡς δρηπέτησι 'and like runaway slaves at that', who could therefore expect particularly harsh treatment. Ironically, Dionysios will be a sort of 'runaway' himself (17) once his rhetoric has failed to have a lasting effect. ταλαιπωρίας ἐνδέκεσθαι 'submit to hardships'. ἀταξίη: 13.1n. διαχρήσεσθε: echoing διεχρέωντο at 10. 'Employing' either the 'softness and indiscipline' that Dionysios now fears or that original ἀγνωμοσύνη would have been bad enough; combining all these qualities in sequence is worse still, as the sequel shows. ὑμέων . . . ὑμέας: emphatic duplication, lit. 'I have no hope for you, that you might escape punishment . . . ' 'You' rather than 'us' and 'we': Dionysios is already marking himself out from the rest of the army, as then in 'turn yourself over to me'. δώσιν ὑμέας δίκην: not τίσιν, because Dionysios adopts the king's focalisation: 'who will pay the penalty for what they have done'. See 5.106.1n. for the expression δίκην διδόναι. It is almost always (but see 87 and n.) used in speeches, direct or indirect, and a Persian is usually one of the interlocutors. The present passage is not a real exception to the generalisation, because Dionysios is talking about what the Persians will see as just retribution: cf. Lateiner 1980: 31.

11.3 ἐμοί . . . ἐμοί: emphatic duplication again, mirroring that ὑμέων . . . ὑμέας at 11.2. θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων: for this idea, cf. 109.5 (Miltiades before Marathon) and *FGE*: 156 (= 'Euripides' no. 1, from *Plut. Nik.* 17.4, about the Athenian dead at Syracuse, 413 BC): οἷδε Συρακοσίου

ὀκτῶ νίκας ἐκράτησαν | ἄνδρες, ὅτ' ἦν τὰ θεῶν ἐξ ἴσου ἀμφοτέροις. For the theology of this, see Parker 1997: 155 and n. 46. At Athens, at least, ‘civic theology’ was optimistic, and the idea of divine hostility was generally confined to tragedy. But here Dionysios does, by implication, contemplate the possibility that the gods might not be impartial. Later the Greeks become more confident that the gods are on their side, especially once the Persians have committed acts of sacrilege (8.143.2). See Introduction pp. 8, 17–18.

**12.1** ἐκάστοτε ‘on each occasion’, conveying the idea of ‘time after time’. ἐπὶ κέρας ‘in line ahead’. διέκπλοον ποιούμενος ‘sailing through’ the enemy line, i.e. using that single, forward-sailing line to break through the enemy’s ships as they are drawn up in line abreast. Cf. 8.9, Artemision (also Th. 1.49.3 and 7.36.4), and, for this interpretation of the manoeuvre, Morrison, Coates, and Rankov 2000: 43 and 293. The Chians go on to use this tactic in the battle, with some success but heavy losses (15.2). The Ionians clearly needed practice; maybe it was originally a Phoenician speciality (Cawkwell 2005: 221–32), and at 8.9 the expectation is that the Persian fleet will adopt it at Artemision. καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὀπλίσειε: the emphasis on the ‘arming’ explains why they went on to suffer so much under the sun. The embarking of heavily armed marines is striking when the *diekploos* required ships to move with agility, but 15.2 shows that the culmination involved the *capture* of ships, presumably after outmanoeuvring, isolating, and perhaps disabling them: marines would be essential for this last phase. τῇσι νηυσὶ δι’ ἀλληλέων: the ‘sailing through’ of the διέκπλοος is through the *enemy* rank, and so ‘the ships’ that ‘sail through’ one another here must be all those expected to participate in the battle, not just the Ionian ones. δι’ ἡμέρης ‘all day long’. The marines could still be exercised while the ships were at anchor.

**12.2** μέχρι μὲν νυν ἡμερέων ἑπτά: such precision is characteristic of Hdt.’s storytelling, particularly at crucial moments, e.g. 1.1.3, 1.30.1, 3.42.1. ‘Seven is particularly common in fabulous and novelistic contexts’ and ‘is especially common in lengths of time’: Fehling 1989: 225. οἷα ἀπαθές ἐόντες πόνων: see 5.19.1n. (the young Alexandros). Thus the fifth-century Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places* discusses the ‘unmanliness’, ‘gentleness’, and reluctance to put up with ταλαιπωρία (cf. ταλαιπωρήσι here) that characterise Asiatics in general (ch. 12), relating it especially to their climate that makes life easy. On softness in Hdt., see Redfield 1985: 109–18 = 2013: 281–91. The Skythians saw the Ionians in particular as cowardly and unmanly (4.142), and at 5.105.1 Dareios too expected the Ionians to pose no real threat. There have been more recent cases of Ionian pluckiness, but the narrative here may be about to suggest that Dareios’ judgment

was not wholly awry. **τετρυμένοι** ‘worn out’: in its only two other occurrences in Hdt. it is linked with ‘to the utmost degree of suffering’, 1.22.3 and 2.129.1. This is already beginning to be focalised through the grumbling Ionians: this is how they would have put it. **ἔλεξαν πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς τάδε**: group speakers are frequent enough in Hdt. (9.3–4, 139.4), just as they are in Th., but for this ‘man of the people’ sort of utterance we might expect something like ‘one of them said . . .’, as at 4.79.4 in indignation or at 7.56.2 in amazement. This picture of collective sharing of grizzling is even more effective. The use of the aorist rather than the imperfect *ἔλεγον* suggests that it did not take long: cf. αὐτίκα, 12.4.

On this Ionian resistance to the training methods see B. Strauss in *CHGRW*1: 226–8.

**12.3 τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀνατίμπλαμεν**: often it is hard in Hdt. to distinguish δαίμων from θεός (cf. Harrison 2000: 164–9), but often, as here, δαίμων is the *mot juste* when mortals are uncertain which heavenly force is, or might be, responsible for something good or bad. Cf. also 84.1n. and Flower and Marincola on 9.76.2. Similarly in Homer mortal speakers, including Odysseus himself when he narrates *Od.* 9–12 (e.g. 12.169, 12.295), generally speak only of a δαίμων intervening in their affairs, but the omniscient narrator regularly identifies specific gods. **παραβάντες** ‘offend’, a rare and bold extension of the more usual ‘transgress’ with e.g. τὰ νόμιμα (1.65.5). The phrase was striking enough for the Augustan writer Dionysios of Halikarnassos to echo it in a passage conjuring up a Herodotean world of oracles and plagues and angry gods (*A.R.* 1.23.4). **ἀνατίμπλαμεν**: for the Homeric ἀνατίμπλημι see 5.4.2n., citing *Il.* 15.132. **παραφρονήσαντες**: perhaps echoing ἀγνωμοσύνηι at 10. Yes, they feel, they really must have been crazy. **ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου**: very neat in this context of a fleet – the only sailing-out that they have done is . . . sailing out of their minds. The more literal sailing-away follows at 14.2. But 3.155.3, not a maritime context, may suggest that the metaphor is clichéd. **ἀνδρὶ Φωκαίῃ ἀλαζόνι, παρεχομένωι νέας τρεῖς** ‘a Phokaian boaster, who was providing (a mere) three ships’. Compare 8.61.1, Adeimantos the Korinthian jeering at Themistokles as a ‘man with no city’. The reported Ionian abuse does not include, as it might have done, a sneer at Dionysios for being a descendant of oath-breakers (11.1n.). It is also possible that the Phokaians were regarded as imperfect Ionians (see Paus. 7.3.10 for the story of their late admission to the Panionion), but Hdt. gives no hint of this. **ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἔχομεν**: echoing 11.3 and 12.1: they had then done what was asked without further ado, but now it rankles. The periphrastic use with ἔχειν is close to a simple perfect, but even more emphatically directs attention to the condition that one ‘has’ as a result, more ‘I have a dish prepared’ than ‘I have

prepared a dish': cf. GG: 1262. This is the position the Ionians are now stuck with. **λυμαίνεται λύμησι ἀνηκέστοις**: for the type of expression ('figura etymologica') see 5.56.2n. Strong language: the disgruntled are again rather overdoing it. Such maltreatment is a speciality of barbarians, especially Persians (3.16.2 and 5, 5.33.3n.), and at 9.79.1 such behaviour (λυμαίνεσθαι again), in that case inflicted on a corpse, is explicitly stigmatised as barbarian rather than Greek. This is what they might expect from enemies rather than from their own command. **πολλοὶ μὲν . . . ἐς νούσους πεπτώκασι**: sunstroke? Cf. καὶ ἡλίωι at 12.2. **πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπίδοξοι τῷ τούτῳ πείσεσθαι** 'and many more are likely to suffer the same'. **τῇ παρ-ούσῃ συνέχεσθαι**: strong language again, 'be constrained (or 'held tight') by the slavery they had already'. **τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ**: 'in future (gen. of 'time within which', GG:1136) let's take no more orders from *him*'. πείθεσθαι + gen. (a Herodotean idiosyncrasy), 'accept his command' or 'be under his orders', has a different nuance from + dat., 'obey his (particular) order' or 'take his advice' (35.2, 41.3, 100.3).

**12.4 οἷα <πεζή> στρατιή** 'like a land army'. Wilson's supplement restores a normal expression (cf. 43.2, Th. 7.12.1, 22.1 etc): a στρατιή is a fighting force, and can be distinguished from 'ships' (e.g. 132, 5.30.5) but not from a body of sailors.

### 13 *Aiakes' message*

**13.1 Μαθόντες . . . οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων**: this sentence is long and complicated. The first finite verb does not arrive until ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, but Hdt. finds it necessary to repeat the subject shortly before that, with a resumptive particle, οἱ Σάμιοι ὧν ὀρῶντες . . . etc. **ταῦτα γινόμενα ἐκ τῶν ἰώνων**: picked up by ἐοῦσαν ἀταξίην πολλήν ἐκ τῶν ἰώνων later in the sentence to redefine 'these things' as 'extensive indiscipline', a verbal version of the literal ἀταξίη – 'disorder', a failure to keep one's place in the line – that Dionysios feared at 11.2, and that will come at 14.2. As in τὰ γινόμενα ἐκ ἀνθρώπων in the *Histories'* first sentence, ἐκ = 'originating from' the Ionians. **Αἰάκεος τοῦ Συλοσῶντος**: ex-tyrant of Samos, deposed by Aristagores, as Hdt. will explain a little later; see 13.2n. **τοὺς πρότερον ἔπεμπε λόγους . . . : 9.2–10.1**. **εὖ γε ἐπιστάμενοι** 'being quite certain'. Hdt. does not quite commit himself to the truth of this insight: ἐπιστάμεναι 'often means "to know" (a true fact) but can sometimes . . . mean false belief, mis-placed confidence' (*Th. and Pi.* 110 n. 94), as it does at 139.4. The Ionians may have been right to expect Dareios to send a second stronger force, even if it was unlikely to be as numerous as 'five-fold'; but the main point anyway is this defeatism so soon after that early belligerence. **εἰ καὶ** 'even if'. **ἄλλο σφι παρέσται** 'they would be faced

with...’, lit. ‘another will be present for them’. σφι = ‘the Samians’ or ‘the Samian generals’ and by extension all the Ionians, as with the earlier σφι in the sentence.

**13.2** προφάσιος ὧν ἐπιλαβόμενοι ‘so seizing on that justification’. πρόφασις can cover any explanation, true or false, though there is often a hint that it is not the whole truth. Here the Ionians’ shirking and the Samians’ consequent pessimism do form a large part of the explanation for their action, though they are also concerned for their own interests. εἶναι χρηστούς ‘to behave well’. Language of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ is often used of courage in battle, as at 14.1, 14.3, 114.1 (nn.), but here the Ionians have fallen short even before the battle begins. τὰ τε ἰρὰ τὰ σφέτερα καὶ τὰ ἴδια: echoing 9.3 (n.). ὁ δὲ Αἰάκης...: on the deposition of Aiakes of Samos by Aristagores see 5.37.2 and 38.2nn. Aiakes was not named or mentioned either there or at the first mention of these Persian messages at 9–10: Hdt. holds back the details until they and Aiakes himself are most relevant, a typical feature of his technique (Fraenkel 1950: 3. 805). See further 43n. This Aiakes is presumably son of the Syloson of book 3.39.2 etc., and therefore nephew of the famous Polykrates. A Samian called Aiakes – no patronym given – was among the Ionian tyrants listed at 4.138.2, and should probably be identified with the Aiakes of the present passage, although Hdt. does not actually say so. On the usual assumption that these two tyrants are identical, Hdt. has saved the names of father and grandfather until now, and does not in any way hint that we have met the man before, despite his uncle who occupied so much of book 3. Hdt. does sometimes reintroduce names and places without back-reference; see e.g. 5.42.3 and n. for the Libyan river Kinyps, already mentioned as recently as 4.198.1. κατὰ περ...: in effect, a back-reference to the general deposition of tyrants narrated at 5.37.2.

#### 14–15 *The Battle of Lade*

**14.1** ἐπὶ κέρας: so far so good, as this was part of Dionysios’ plan and training (12.1). ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀγχοῦ ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι: as at 12.1 (n.), the implied subject has now shifted to ‘the ships of both sides’. Had those planned tactics worked, this is the point where the disciplined διέκπλοος would have come into play, but instead the ἀταξίη strikes that Dionysios feared (11.2, 13.1 n.) οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως συγγράψαι... ἀλλήλους γὰρ καταιτιῶνται: hence Hdt. cannot include, as he sometimes does, a rounding-off summary giving credit to those who conducted themselves with particular distinction (a sort of ‘mention in dispatches’): 7.227, 8.17, 9.71–3. With the initial disclaimer, compare the very similar formulation at 8.87.1, ‘I cannot say precisely’, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως, how

the individual Greeks or Persians fought at Salamis. οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν is a favourite expression. Such disclaimers often concern numbers, especially when they are very large, but here, as at Salamis, the point is the tumult and confusion of the moment, and particularly the impossibility of disentangling the truth from the babble of recrimination that followed.

Selective admissions of uncertainty imply, and convey, a reassuring certainty about the remainder of the narrative. They should not obscure the importance of this passage as evidence that Hdt. consulted oral informants and compared their testimony.

**14.1 (cont.)** ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες κακοὶ ἢ ἀγαθοί: the appropriate phrasing for gauging how men fared in the test of battle, as at 114.1: cf. 14.3n.

**14.2** λέγονται: it may have been the Chians who ‘said’ this, or perhaps a different group of Samians. In any case, Hdt. does not seem in any real doubt that *some* Samians disgraced themselves, any more than he is at 15 that the Chians behaved well. αἰράμενοι τὰ ἰστία: only oars, not sails, were used in actual naval battles, so by this action of raising their sails, the Samians were breaking off the engagement. A similar charge figured in the recriminations after Salamis (8.94.1). ἀνηκουστήσαντες τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι: and so, paradoxically, even the most respectable performance in the battle was an instance of ἀταξίη.

**14.3** ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφῆναι πατρόθεν ὡς ἀνδράσι ἀγαθοῖσι γενομένοισι: the formula ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος succinctly projects fine behaviour in battle (cf. 114.1 and 117.2), and is attested epigraphically: *CEG* nos. 13 and 136 (with E. Bowie 2010: 364); also 474, 523; *BE* 2015: no. 556 (Rhodes, Hellenistic). It is also ‘common in Athenian funeral speeches’: Boedeker 2003: 35. For πατρόθεν, cf. 8.90.4, where Xerxes’ scribes record the name *and patronymic* of any trierarch who fought specially well at Salamis. This too is epigraphically attested: cf. e.g. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 355 lines 16–18 (Ilion, c. 300 BC), and see *CT* III: 691 on Th. 7.69.2. The present passage is also quasi-epigraphic, and may well reflect the actual wording of the *stèle*. . . . καὶ ἔστι αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ: there is no reason to doubt that Hdt. saw it (as S. West 1985: 282–3 accepts). The στήλη not merely reinforces Hdt.’s own text in giving lasting memory where it is due (Introduction p. 8) but also provides evidential support for the account he has given: despite all the uncertainties mentioned in 14.1, a στήλη commemorating the bravery of just eleven trierarchs out of, presumably, sixty (8.2) does suggest that the narrative is broadly correct.

Hdt. is not generous to the Samians here. He did not need to single them out as the most rotten of the Ionians’ rotten apples; he could have

mentioned the honorific inscription without emphasising that eleven trierarchs, no more, were named. Nor does he mince words about the self-seeking treachery (προδιδόντας, 15.2) in mid-battle. People who do that are simply ‘willingly bad’, the literal meaning of ἐθελοκακέειν at 15.1: cf. κακοῖσι, 15.2, and κακοὶ ἢ ἀγαθοί, 14.1.

**14.3 (cont.)** τοὺς προσεχέας ‘those next to them’, according to the formation set out at 8.2. οἱ πλεῖνες ‘the greater number’, ‘the majority’. If H. is right about this ‘majority’ and if all the Chians, numbering 100 of the 353 ships (8.1–2), remained along with the eleven Samian and three Phokaian ships (14.2, 17), there will indeed have been ‘few’ others (ὀλίγων, 15.2) who stayed with them.

**15.1** περιέφθησαν τρηχύτατα ‘suffered the roughest treatment of all’, a favourite expression; see 5.1.1n. (the verb is aor. pass. of περιέπω). ἀποδεικνύμενοί τε ἔργα λαμπρά ‘putting on display glorious deeds’, hence the sort of material that Hdt.’s proem (ἔργα μεγάλα τε και θωμαστά... ἀποδεχθέντα) advertised as his material. Here λαμπρά, lit. ‘bright’, continues the visual register of ‘display’. ἐθελοκακέοντες ‘fight badly on purpose’, ‘play the coward’; another key concept for Hdt. At 5.78 it typified people under a tyrannical regime, as opposed to free people who are fighting for themselves (Hdt. is talking about the extreme example of democratic Athens). Here the Chians fit that optimistic contrast, the other Ionians less so – except in the sense that they are following the lead of their own ‘tyrants’ (9.2), Aiakes in particular. This is one of the cases (Introduction p. 15) where the Ionian Revolt can be seen as a failed precursor of the successful Greek freedom-fighting of bks. 7–9. ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἰρήθη: see 5.35.3n. and 36.4n. for such explicit back-references. Here it is limited to the ‘100 ships’; 8.1 did not mention the ‘40 men on each’, and so this is another case of ‘increasing precision’ (9.2n.)

**15.2** οὐκ ἐδικαίευν γενέσθαι τοῖσι κακοῖσι αὐτῶν ὅμοιοι: the language and rhythm have a poetic ring; cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1371–2, ... κοῦ κακοῦς ἐπωφελῶν | δόξεις ὁμοῖος τοῖς κακοῖς πεφυκέναι. It may come from an epigram. διεκπλώνοντες: 12.1n. Χῖοι μὲν... ὅσοις δὲ τῶν Χίων...: an odd and rather clumsy μὲν... δέ antithesis, given that the second group is strictly speaking a sub-section of the first. The effect is virtually one of correction in stride: the Chians, or rather those who could, sailed away in the remaining ships...

**16.1** ὑπὸ τρωμάτων: for the semi-personification implied by this talk of ‘wounds’ suffered by ships, cf. 8.18 and see *CT* III: 617 on Th. 7.41.4, also 584–5 on 7.25.1. One can similarly use ἀκέομαι (‘heal’) for mending damaged ships: *Od.* 14.383. πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην: this looks both backwards, to 1.148.1 (the Panionion ‘is a sacred place of Mykale’), and also forwards,



to the battle of Mykale, the final battle of the Persian Wars, narrated at 9.96–105. **νέας... ἐποκείλαντες** ‘after beaching their ships’. The verb is ἐποκέλλω, transitive, as at Th. 4.26.7 (but at Hdt. 7.182 and Th. 8.102.2 it is intransitive). **ἐκομίζοντο**: inceptive, ‘they began to travel’, picked up in the next sentence by κομιζόμενοι, ‘on their journey’.

**16.2 ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσίην** ‘to Ephesian territory’ (understand χώραν with the ethnic), not Ephesos itself. The non-participation of Ephesians at Lade is notable: Roebuck 1959: 22 claims that their lands were already occupied by the Persians, but that is not the impression given by the present passage. They paid seven and a half talents in the Delian League, compared with Miletos’ ten, and this gives an idea of their city’s wealth and importance. They had pro-Spartan sympathies (Catling 2010), which might be relevant. The story about thinking the Chians were brigands looks suspiciously like a cover-up to explain their slaughter of fellow Greeks who had stayed loyal to the cause. **νυκτός**: see 2.1n. for the recurrent ‘night’ theme. **καὶ ἰόντων τῇσι γυναιξὶ αὐτόθι Θεσμοφορίων**: lit. ‘it being the Thesmophoria for the women there’, i.e. the women of Ephesos were celebrating the festival of the Thesmophoria. This women-only festival was sacred to Demeter (for Demeter Thesmophoros see 91.2 and 134.2), and was evidently extra-urban, but not so remote from the city that the townspeople did not know what was going on: they mobilise in full force against the perceived threat. Although it is night (see previous n.), the men are keeping a close eye on what the women are up to so that they are able to ‘see’ the supposed brigands.

The main evidence for the festival, which was celebrated all over the Greek world, is not to be found in the *Thesmophoriazusiai* of Aristophanes, which is notably reticent, but in a scholion on Lucian, Rabe 1906: 275. The best modern discussions are Parker 2005a: ch. 13 (examining the various modern theories), and Austin and Olson 2004: xlv–li.

**16.2 (cont.) στρατὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐσβεβληκότα** ‘that an army had invaded their territory’. ἐσβάλλω picks up ἐσέβαλον above, but the verb is almost always used of *hostile* entering, and ‘army’ is also too strong for these bedraggled survivors: the phrasing is focalised through the eyes of the mistaken Ephesians. **καταδόξαντες εἶναι κλῶπας καὶ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας**: a glimpse into the realities and hazards of *polis* life (their fear and expectation are ill-founded, but are evidently plausible). The Ephesians see an armed force and suspect exploitation, by these imagined bandits, of the unpreparedness generated by religious festivals. Aineias Tacticus (ch. 17) would warn against this in the 4th cent., and there are several instances in Th., e.g. 1.126.5, 3.3.3, 3.56.2. **ἐξεβοήθεον... ἔκτεινον**: probably the first imperfect implies that the Ephesians did not all arrive in a body and the second is inceptive, ‘they set about killing’. They may or may not have stopped when they discovered who the men were.

The Ephesians' fears recall the story of Io's abduction by Phoenicians at 1.1 and in 17 Dionysios sails 'to Phoenicia', the culmination of many echoes of bk. 1 in bks. 5 and the early part of 6 (Hornblower 2013: 4–9). The ring-composition marks the end of a large narrative loop that bk. 1 began (Introduction p. 11). The Persian move westwards has so far endangered the Greeks of Asia Minor. The battle for Ionia is now over; the battle for Greece is about to begin.

The Chians are consistently unlucky in Hdt. (see 8.104–6, the culmination of the sequence, with Hornblower 2003). They help Histiaios (2.2, 5.1) but that does not do them much good (26); they keep faith at Lade too (15) and that does not do them any good either (16). They will suffer further at 27 and 31 (nn.).

**16.2 (cont.)** μέν νυν: as in the first words of the book and often (e.g. 6.1, 16.2, 22.1, 45.2, 135.1), rounding off a section in 'so much for them' manner, before a δέ switches to the person or people who will be the focus of the next narrative panel. Here and at 22.1, it carries some pathos: there was nothing more to be said.

### 17 *Dionysios' activities after Lade*

As often, an episode closes on a biographical note (see 5.1.1n.). It is strange that Dionysios goes to Sicily, given that Phokaia's most famous colony (Th. 1.13, Timaios, Antiochos, Hekataios) was Massilia in Gaul, *IACP*: no. 3, one of the great cities of the Greek west, but mentioned by Hdt. only for the derivation of Sigynnai at 5.9. This is a Herodotean blind spot. The mention of Sicily helps prepare for the Zankle excursus (22–4).

**17 νέας ἐλὼν τρεῖς τῶν πολεμίων:** so he at least had fought in the battle. Hdt. does not mention the three ships that the Phokaiaians themselves had contributed (8.2 and 12.3); they had presumably been lost. ἀπέπλεε ἐς μὲν Φώκαιαν οὐκέτι: emphatically expressed by the postponed negative. Realising that Phokaia is doomed, Dionysios sails away to the western Mediterranean. This recalls the movingly narrated earlier adventures of the Phokaiaians who refused to submit to slavery at the hands of Harpagos in 546 and (after a brief visit to Chios) went to the western Mediterranean instead: see 1.163–7 (surely drawn on by Horace, *epode* 16 lines 17ff.). εὖ εἰδὼς 'knowing full well'. The phrasing does not convey any of the ambiguity of εὖ γε ἐπιστάμενοι at 13.1(n.): this really is reliable 'knowledge'. The reader is left to infer that Phokaia fell with the rest of the mainland cities at 31.2. γαύλους 'merchant-ships'. ὁρμώμενος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ληιστῆς κατεστήκει: rather as Histiaios had ended at 5.3, rounding off the first movement of the book. So too at 1.166.1 the Phokaiaians in Corsica plundered all their neighbours (ἦγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιόικους ἅπαντας), prompting Etruscan and Carthaginian reprisals; see next n.

Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐδενός, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν: another emphatic negative (see above, n. on ἀπέπλεε). The Carthaginians and Etruscans are otherwise coupled in Hdt. only at 1.166–7, where they join forces to fight and defeat the Phokaians. Dionysios' selective treatment of shipping is to be thought of as belated requital for the earlier defeat and the consequent outrage, though Hdt. does not spell this out.

## 18–21 THE FALL OF MILETOS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

### 18 *The fall of Miletos*

**18.1** καὶ παντοίας μηχανὰς προσφέροντες ‘and bringing up all sorts of siege-engines’. These will have included battering-rams, but presumably other types of device as well, such as ladders (cf. e.g. Th. 5.56.5) and towers. For ingenuity in matters of siege-warfare, see esp. Th. 4.100 (the dangerous-sounding flame-throwing contraption used at Delion in 424). But the devices used at Miletos cannot have been artillery of any kind, because non-torsion artillery was not invented until about 400 BC and torsion artillery half a century later. κατ’ ἄκρης ‘from top to bottom’, lit. ‘down from the citadel’: cf. 82.2. Hdt. may be exaggerating here: see 20n. on τῆς δέ... ἔκτωι ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσιος τῆς Ἀρισταγορέω: i.e. in 494. This is an almost Thucydidean statement of chronology. Hdt. dates by years of the revolt from now on. See Hornblower 2013: 19 for the crucial importance of this passage for the chronological reconstruction. ὥστε συμπεσεῖν... γενομένωι ‘so that their suffering came to correspond with the oracle that had related to Miletos’.

### 19 *The shared oracle given to the Argives and Milesians*

As Hdt. presents this double or shared (ἐπικοινωνον) oracle, it was given to two separate and unrelated communities, the first part (lines 1–5, reported at 77) to the Argives, and the second part to the Milesians (lines 6–9, reported here). The Argive lines will be discussed at 77n.

Here (19.1) Hdt. makes clear that in his view the oracle as a whole was given to the Argives only, who had come to Delphi ‘about the safety, σωτηρία, of their city’; the Milesians are then specifically said to have been absent at the time of the consultation (τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι οὐ παρευοῦσι, 19.2, where it is also said that the ‘Milesian’ lines were an addition or appendix, παρενθήκη). This joining of two communities in one oracle is a most unusual procedure, especially when one of them is supposedly absent (Fontenrose 1978: 169), and some reason needs to be found to explain why the Pythia might have been represented as joining them in this way.

That reason has been sought in a hypothetical attempt by the Milesian Aristagores to enlist help from the Argives, as well as the Athenians and Spartans, at the beginning of the Ionian Revolt (Bury 1902; cf. 5.55n. for the possibility that Aristagores stopped off at Argos on his journey from Sparta to Athens).

A radical solution is to eliminate the historical Argives by taking the ‘Argives’ of the oracle in the Homeric sense of ‘Greeks’ generally. The original oracle would then have been a single Delphic oracle about the Milesians only, at the beginning of the Ionian Revolt. For this theory, which imputes to Hdt. a number of fundamental misunderstandings, see Piérart 2003, suggesting that the oracle, as preserved, post-dated the battle of Lade in 494 and the subsequent fall of Miletos and therefore exploited the wisdom of hindsight (Piérart 2003: 294 and 296). On this view, the female who drove out the male will have been the Persians, often feminised in Greek thinking, who defeated the Greeks in the Ionian Revolt. Still, it would be very odd to say that the Revolt ‘won great glory’ for the Persians among the Greeks, so that it would be necessary to suppose that the original oracle was somewhat differently expressed. (Possibly we might say that just the ‘winning’ was done among the Greeks and the glory was universal, cf. 77.2n.; but in that case ‘Argives’ is more odd for distinctively *Ionian* Greeks.) Finally, if the Argives did not consult the oracle, the obvious alternative consulters are the Milesians; but there is no other example of a Milesian consultation of Delphi at any period (Fontenrose 1978: 169 n. 6), and if the oracle is a post-494 invention it is unlikely that it would have been attributed to Delphi. In the present commentary, the text of the oracle will be treated in the way Hdt. understood it, i.e. as an oracle directed at two communities, but given to envoys from Argos. It was probably at Argos that Hdt. learned of the oracle (Piérart 2003: 283–4, discussing other possibilities, such as a collection of oracles made by Bakis, a Spartan source, or Delphi itself).

For the two parts of the oracle printed as a single entity, see Parke and Wormell 1956: 138–9 (Greek text only), Fontenrose 1978: 313 (Eng. tr. only) and Piérart 2003: 285–9 (Greek text, Engl. tr. and comm.).

**19.1** *χρεωμένοισι* ‘consulting the oracle’. *ἐπικοινωνον*: a ‘shared’ or ‘joint’ oracle, relating partly to Argos and partly to Miletos. The word’s recurrence at 77.2 serves as a sort of back-reference to this passage. *παρενθήκη* ‘extra inclusion’ or ‘addition’, ‘appendix’. *ἐχρησε*: the subject shifts to an implied ‘the oracle’ or ‘the god’, as again in the next sentence. *εἰς* ‘relating to’ the Milesians.

**19.2** *ἐπεὰν κατὰ τοῦτο γένωμαι τοῦ λόγου*: at 77.2. *καὶ τότε δὴ...*: unlikely at the beginning of an oracle (though not impossible if ‘then’ picks up something in the consulters’ question); plausible enough if this

is the continuation of the lines quoted at 77.2. **κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων:** because the trouble started with the Milesians Histiaios and Aristagores. **κακῶν** does seem to indicate disapproval of the revolt, though it would also be reasonable to approve of freedom fighting and disapprove of the way that those Milesians set about it. What was incontrovertible was that it had ended up ‘bad’ for the Ionians themselves: thus 5.28.1, ‘and for the second time evil (κακά) came upon the Ionians, starting from Naxos and Miletos’. Cf. 98.2. **δεῖπνόν τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα γενήσῃ:** that is, Miletos will be destroyed. ἀγλαὰ δῶρα is a Homeric phrase (*Il.* 1.213), but in Homer the gifts are regularly seen from the pleasant viewpoint of the one who receives them; it is very different where, slave-like, one becomes a ‘gift’ oneself. **σαὶ δ’ ἄλοχοι πολλοῖσι πόδας νίψουσι κομήταις:** washing one’s master’s feet (*Od.* 19.386–7) became an emblem of humiliating slavery (e.g. Catullus 64.162 and Jesus washing the disciples’ feet); it again marks the luxury that the victors will enjoy (cf. *Athen.* 12.553). As 19.3 rather ploddingly explains, the Persians are to be these ‘long-haired’ victors: similarly Aeschylus is praised for facing up at Marathon (cf. 114 n.) to the βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος, ‘the deep-haired Mede’, in the epitaph quoted in his ancient *Life* (11) and possibly composed by Aeschylus himself (*Athen.* 14.627c–d). Still, long hair is not a particularly frequent ethnic signifier of Persians, even though Achaemenid monuments often show kings and elite males with elaborate braided hairstyles; in the *Iliad* it is the Achaeans, not the Trojan easterners, who are ‘long-haired’. Long hair is however associated with an ostentatiously rich lifestyle (*Ar. Clouds* 14, *Knights* 580, etc.). Probably, then, the point is again the sustained luxury that the victors will enjoy. If this oracle is continuous with that of 77.2 and if ‘the feminine’ there refers to the Persians, then the emphasis will continue the feminising of those earlier lines. **νηοῦ ἡμετέρου:** ‘our’, because the god Apollo is speaking.

**19.3 ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο** ‘came to be counted as slaves’: cf. 23.6 and n. **συληθέντα:** the ‘plunder’ is stressed as well as the burning to explain how it afforded the ‘banquet and glorious gifts’ of the oracle; that too is why the ‘wealth’ is the point of the back-reference. **πολλάκις μνήμην . . . ἐποίησάμην:** see 5.36.3–4 (n.), which itself refers back to the πρῶτος τῶν λόγων, i.e. 1.92.2; he had also mentioned the sanctuary of Didyma without dwelling on its riches at 1.46.1, 1.157–9, and 2.159.3. In these other cases Hdt. calls it ‘Branchidai’, but here the more usual name ‘Didyma’ is needed to explain the wording of the shared oracle.

## 20 *Distribution of Milesian territory*

**20 κατοίκησε ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ καλειομένῃ θαλάσῃ:** there is a parallel between this treatment and that of the similarly deported Eretrians (119.2;

κατοίκισε again, with a similar stress on ‘doing them no further harm’). The Milesians and Eretrians were bracketed together at 5.99.1 as allies against the combination of Samians and Chalkidians (the Lelantine war of c. 700 BC); see n. there. The name ‘Red Sea’ ‘was extended by the ancients to cover all eastern waters, including the Indian Ocean’ (*OCD*<sup>4</sup>); here it refers to what we call the Persian Gulf, regarded as continuous with the Ocean. Nobody has yet been able to locate Ampe.

For ‘making people ἀνασπαστοί’ as Persian policy see 5.12.1 n.

On the other hand, some Milesians will have escaped (below), and it is possible that they established themselves on the island of Leros, Miletos’ colony, for which see 5.125 and n. (Hekataios advised Aristagores to make it his base). The mid-5th-cent. tribute paid to the Athenians was a surprisingly large three talents, and this may (Thonemann 2011: 284) reflect a temporary upsurge in the population, swollen by Milesians from the metropolis.

**20 (cont.)** τῆς δὲ Μιλησίων χώρας αὐτοὶ . . . Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι: on the problem of Pedasa or Pidas, see 5.121 n. This will be northern Pidas near Miletos.

Hdt. here may exaggerate the destruction and depopulation of the city (18.1 n. on κατ’ ἄκρης): see *IACP* p. 1085; and note that there is no break in the annual list of Milesian στεφανηφόροι (for which see Rehm 1914: nos. 122–8, discussed at 5.30.2 n.), though this might be not much more than a symbolic assertion of the continuity of the *polis*. Cf. 101.3 n. on Eretria, and the similar exaggeration about Sardis at 5.106.1 with n. Hdt. needs the catastrophe of Miletos for the comparisons with the western Mediterranean. On the other hand there is some archaeological evidence for the sack (Senff 2007: 322), and the new city took time to emerge (Thonemann 2011: 284–5: the temples not finished by the 450s). In any case some will have fled to nearby Leros and some to Kalabaktepe, a small hilltop settlement above the city; at least some of these will have returned when they could.

**20 (cont.)** τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ‘the hill-country’ of the hinterland, presumably that of the western part of Mt. Grion. This too makes it likely that the northern Pidasans are meant: they were close neighbours further along the mountain, and their territory was simply enlarged to take in this new land. It would not be particularly good for cultivation, and this was probably more a matter of Persian convenience than of rewarding their friends.

## 21 *Sybaris and Miletos; Phrynichos' play wounds the Athenians*

**21.1** οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν τὴν ὁμοίην Συβαρίται ‘the people of Sybaris failed to repay their obligation in kind’: understand e.g. ἀπόδοσιν or χάριν with ὁμοίην, as at 4.119.3 and 9.78.3 and as e.g. δωτίνην is understood at 62.1.

On the structural importance of the Sybaris/Miletos parallel (two cities, one eastern one western, which illustrates the generalisation at 1.5.4 about the reversal of civic fortunes), cf. Hornblower 2007. See 5.44.1n. for the war between the Sybaritai and Krotoniates. **Λᾶόν τε καὶ Σκίδρον**: on the west coast of Italy, some 60 km and 85 km respectively from Sybaris on the east (*Barr.* map 46). Laos is *IACP* no. 58, though Skidros is unnecessarily there denied the status of *polis*; see *IACP* p. 258 for what little is known about it. **ἡβηδόν** ‘all adults’, as at 1.172.2. **ἀπεκείραντο τὰς κεφαλὰς**: in contrast to the luxuriating long-haired Persians of the shared oracle, 19.2n. Cf. *Il.* 23.141, where Achilles cut off some of his hair to give to the dead Patroklos; originally he had vowed it as an offering to the river Spercheios when he returned home. See also Arr. *Anab.* 7.14.4 (Alexander, mourning Hephaistion, imitates Achilles). Such hair-cutting was both dedicatory (often as part of male initiation) and a sign of grief. See Garvie 1986: 50–1 on Aesch. *Cho.* 6 and Nilsson 1967: 136–7. **πένθος μέγα προσεθήκαντο** ‘they took upon themselves deep mourning’: first aorist middle of προστίθημι. For the mourning, see Loraux 2002: 42–3. **πόλεις γὰρ αὗται μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀλλήλησι ἐξινώθησαν** ‘these cities were bound by closer ties of guest-friendship than any others that we know of’. In c. 300 BC, Timaios explained the friendship as due to the wearing by Sybarites of Milesian wool (*FGrHist* 566 F 50). This might suggest economic ties. The verb ξινοῦμαι is suggestive of ritualised guest-friendship, for which see Herman 1987; such relationships are important in Hdt. (Vandiver 2012). It is used here only in Hdt., and shows that closeness between distant cities might be expressed in language that did not derive from blood relationships. (For kinship or συγγένεια between cities, often connected as colony to mother-city, see Hornblower 2013: 21–3.) The actual colonisers of Sybaris were Achaians, but even here the family idea is not far away, because this friendship led the Milesians to shave their heads and put on mourning when Sybaris was captured by the men of Kroton, just as if a close relative had died. For the frequent formula τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν see Shimron 1973; as at 3.122.2, it leaves open the possibilities for an earlier period when events were no longer recoverable by inquiry, but at least some experiences can be assumed to have been qualitatively similar to those of more recent periods. On this see several papers in Baragwanath and de Bakker 2012, esp. Munson 2012: 195–201 and the editors’ introduction, 19–29.

**21.2 οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι** they ‘[the Sybarites] behaved very differently from the Athenians’. On this translation, both the subject and the verb have to be supplied, and the subject is the Sybarites not the Athenians. For καὶ in this sense (expressing comparison or opposition, see LSJ III) compare 7.50.3, εἰ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεῦ γεγόμενοι βασιλεῖς γνώμησι

ἐχρέωντο ὁμοίησι καὶ σύ, and e.g. Th. 7.28.4. The alternative translation would be 'the Athenians too (like the Milesians before them) did not behave in any way similar to the Sybarites now'. Either way, the sentence is severely compressed, with emphasis aided by the asyndeton (3n.); but by ending with 'the Athenians' Hdt. can pass naturally to the Phrynichos story. **τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλὰ καὶ...** 'in many other ways as well and...': for this use of the feminine (there is no need to specify a particular noun to be understood) cf. LSJ ὁ, ἡ, τό A.VIII.1 c, 'of manner'. **ποίησαντι... καὶ διδάξαντι**: that is, Phrynichos both wrote (ποίησαντι) and produced/directed the play (διδάξαντι, 'teaching' the actors and chorus how to perform it). **Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν**: the syntax, with ἄλωσιν as acc. in apposition with δρᾶμα, suggests strongly that *Fall of Miletos* was the play's title and not just its theme; otherwise the expected Greek would have been e.g. περὶ τῆς Μιλήτου ἀλώσεως. Aeschylus (2.156, and see 114n. for his brother Kynegeros) and Phrynichos are the only dramatists referred to by Hdt. Phrynichos (*TrGF* 1 no. 3) had the famous Themistokles for his choregos in a play – maybe the *Phoinissai* (see below) – produced in 477/6: Plut. *Them.* 5 (*TrGF* 1 DID B1 = no. 3 T4), though it is unsafe to draw conclusions about Phrynichos' politics from this (as do e.g. Wade-Gery 1958: 177–8 and Forrest 1960).

Phrynichos' play, of which no certain fragments survive, was probably produced a year or two after the fall of Miletos which it portrayed so vividly. It has been thought that the prefix ἀνα- ('back', thus implying 'reminded') in ἀναμνήσαντα implies a lapse of many years: Badian 1971: 15 n. 44 and 1996 dated the play down to the early 470s (see, however, Rosenbloom 1993: 170–2). But ἀναμνήμημι/ἤσκω often means just 'bring to the front of one's mind', just as its middle/passive voice is sometimes 'being mindful of'. Cf. 94.1 (n.) and Plato *Phaedo* 73c4–d10 with Ostwald 1986: 29 n. 106, 'call to mind by association', and e.g. Eur. *Alk.* 1045. Cf. Roisman 1988: 17.

**21.2 (cont.) ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον**: this is not a simple example of the 'tragic paradox' (pleasure can be derived from suffering): Phrynichos' play was too close to home, and evoked the wrong, i.e. unhappy, sort of tears. On 'dacryology' in the Greek historians, see Lateiner 2009; on this passage, Segal 1997: 165 and 172 n. 41. **τὸ θέητρον**: this is one of only two mentions of a theatre in Hdt.; the other comes not long afterwards, at 67.3 (Demaretos at the Spartan *gymnopaedia*). See n. there. Hdt. does, and Th. does not, mention the theatre as a civic institution (at Th. 8.93.1 the 'theatre at Mounychia' is a specification of a meeting-place). **καὶ ἐξημίωσάν μιν ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκία κακὰ χιλίησι δραχμῇσι**: the change of number (singular θέητρον then plural here) is significant, and conceals a jump in time. 'The theatre' stands metonymically for the audience. But



theatre audiences did not have powers of fining, nor did this audience shout with one voice ‘we fine you one thousand drachmai!’ The fining was done by the ‘they’ indicated by the plural, but Hdt. has not made clear what authoritative body or persons ‘they’ were. Complaints of misconduct could be put to the Assembly after the festival (Pickard-Cambridge 1988: 68–70), and probably at the Assembly meeting on 21 Elaphebolion (roughly March) it was decided to impose an ἐπιβολή or fine. But there are other possibilities: one of the types of prosecution known as *eisangelia*, if that process existed at this time, see *OCD*<sup>4</sup>; or an appeal from a magistrate to the (H)eliaia (Rhodes 1979: 105); or a decision of the Areopagus (cf. Ostwald 1986: 28–31).

οἰκία refers to Milesian ‘closeness’ to Athens as metropolis (5.65.3 n.), strongly adumbrated at 5.97.2 by Aristagores (the Milesians as ἄποικοι of the Athenians), not to Athenian thoughts about ‘their own’ ills in the sense of their slight involvement in the revolt itself (5.99–103.1), or if we push the play down to the 470s the city’s sufferings in 480, or – on a broader implication of κακά – ‘remorse that they had not done more to help the Milesians after 498’ (Scott). People from colonies could actually be identified with their mother cities in a strong sense (e.g. 4.78.3), and we can readily believe that at emotional moments the converse identification, of mother-city with colony, was readily made and accepted. Athens is upset at the fate of her daughter.

Hdt. does not say what exactly the offence consisted of, nor is it obvious. Bowie 1997: 40 says it is ‘tantalising’ that we cannot be sure whether this was a crucial moment at which tragedy moved away from contemporary topics or whether Phrynichos breached an existing convention. But the incident should not be over-interpreted. Hdt. is evidence only for anger against this particular play and topic, and against an unacceptable degree of immediacy (Pelling 1997b: 18). At one level tragedy often reminds audiences of ‘their own κακά’, or at least κακά that viewers may, some day and in some way, find to be their own: for Aristotle pity (*Poetics* 1449b27) is evoked when one thinks that ‘it, or something like it, might happen to oneself or one of one’s own’ (τῶν αὐτοῦ τινα, *Rhet.* 1385b11–16), the more so when that threat is ‘close at hand’. But Phrynichos’ *Fall of Miletos*, describing the fate of kin, came ‘close to home’ in a way that other plays did not. καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δράματι ‘they gave orders that nobody should ever again make use of that play’. If this is a specific ban on future productions (the usual view), it could be either a reference to reperformance at festivals, especially the Rural Dionysia, or e.g. to less formal performances around the demes of Attica. This makes it important evidence for ‘a sophisticated’ (or at least some) ‘culture of reperformance as early as the 490s’, even of an initially unpopular play (Finglass 2015: 209–10).

It has been argued (Mülke 2000, followed by Wilson, *Herodotea*: 110) that χρᾶσθαι is more general, ‘make literary use of’, rather as Aeschylus said to have exploited Phrynichos’ *Phoinissai* in the *Persai* (*Pers. hypothesis*: the example given is an echo of the first line). One would expect such a prohibition to be extraordinarily difficult to enforce, though that does not mean that it was not decreed. Wilson further suggests that the ban went beyond Phrynichos’ play, and that it forbade all mention of the disaster in literary composition. It is hard to get this meaning out of δράματι, which should mean just this ‘play’ or more precisely ‘stage-action’, and he contemplates radical emendation to τρώματι, ‘defeat’, or πρήγματι, ‘matter’. Still, one suspects that if this had been Hdt.’s meaning he would have made it clearer, e.g. (δράματα) διδάσκειν or ποιέειν περὶ τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων. On balance, we prefer the traditional interpretation of a ban on reperformance.

On any view, the ban is remarkable as evidence for a kind of dramatic censorship more usually attested at Athens in connection with comedy, though it was a ban on this play alone rather than any more general prohibition. See Csapo and Slater 1995: 167 (and 176 no. III. 136) for the Phrynichos episode as a ‘censorship trial’; also *OCD*<sup>†</sup>, ‘intolerance, intellectual and religious’.

The episode has structural significance. With the collapse of the revolt, the narrative focus, like the Persian threat, will move west (16.2n.). The events presage this, partly through physical movement (Dionysios at 17 and the Samians at 22–4), partly through the enigmatic link of Miletos and Argos in the shared oracle (19), and now through this shock of sympathy as the impact of the news radiates westwards. The Athenians are soon to find their κακά coming even closer to home.

**22.1 Μίλητος μὲν νυν Μιλησίων ἡρήμωτο** ‘so Miletos was deserted of Milesians’. The combination of city-name and ethnic is pathetic: a city could be said to consist of its citizens, ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις, as Th. will make Nikias say (7.77.7). **μὲν νυν**: carrying some pathos (16.2n.).

## 22.1–25.2 SAMIANS IN THE WEST

As in bks. 3 (131–8, Demokedes) and 5 (43–7), a substantial western excursus – already prepared for at 17 (Dionysios) and by the mentions of Sybaris and Kroton at 21 – serves as a reminder of the Greek world on the other side of the Adriatic. The western motif will reach a climax at 7.153–67, the long Gelon narrative, and will make its final appearance at 8.47 (Phaῖllos of Kroton fights on the Greek side at Salamis). The west, it has been suggested (Munson 2006: esp. 259 and 262–3 on the present

passage), functions in Hdt. as a refuge – colonisation as escape from difficulties at home – but also as a locus of tyranny. Both those themes are prominent here, as at 5.43–7; and Hippokrates tyrant of Gela is common to both the present narrative (23.3–5) and that of Gelon (7.154.1–155.1); the biographical information about Hippokrates is much fuller in bk. 7, which generally supplies much western detail held back in bk. 6. See also 23.2n. for Anaxileos of Rhegion. Two other individuals, Skythes (23.1 and 4) and Kadmos son of Skythes (7.163.2), might have formed a bridge from the present narrative to that of Gelon; but unfortunately Hdt. never clarifies the relationship, if any, between the two (23.1n.). Finally, Skythes, like Demokedes, moves between Persia and the western Mediterranean, but unlike Demokedes Skythes is happy to go back to Persia after a return to Sicily (24.1).

On this whole complex episode of the Samians in the west, see the slightly divergent account at Th. 6.4.5–6, with *CT* III: 295–6. The main difference is Th.’s explanation of the change of the name of Zankle to Messina/Messana, and the role of Anaxilas, but that is more of a difference from Hdt. 7.164.1 than from the present passage.

**22.1** Σαμίων δὲ τοῖσιν ἔχουσι... οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσκε, ἐδόκει δέ: picking up the Samian and Aiakes thread from 13–14. Compare 3.45.1 for a similar independent-minded decision by an earlier sub-group of discontented Samians.

The western excursions in bks. 5 and 6 are good illustrations of some characteristic features of demographically volatile west Greek culture, as it would be brilliantly analysed by Th.’s Alkibiades at 6.17.2; and in both passages the principal agents display rapid changes of mind and flagrant opportunism (cf. 5.46.2, the story of Euryleon). Munson 2006: 258 may be right that Hdt. does not provide much ethnography about the barbarians of the west, but he does in his own way inform us about the distinctiveness of west Greek culture.

It was nothing new for Samians in particular to go west. The most famous such émigré was the philosopher Pythagoras in the time of, and perhaps because of opposition to, Polykrates (DK no. 14.8 = Aristoxenos fr. 16 Wehrli, with Shipley 1987: 91). At the same period, a group of Samian exiles founded or refounded a city Dikaiarcheia, later Puteoli, on the bay of Naples (Shipley as above). There is even a tradition that one of the original oikists of Zankle, Krataimenes, was a Samian (Paus. 4.23.7 with Dunbabin 1948: 396 and n. 3); see 22.2n. for the more usual ‘Euboian’ story.

**22.1 (cont.)** τοῖσιν ἔχουσι: ‘the men of property’. Cf. Th. 1.115, where again some members of the propertied class at Samos will be at odds with fellow citizens and choose to flee the city. **Μήδοισι τε καὶ Αἰάκει δουλεύειν:**

the prospect is one of being ‘enslaved’ to the ‘tyrant’ – those two concepts often go together – with Aiakes in turn subject to the Persians. There is some focalisation in the succinctness: this is how the disgruntled Samians would have put it, and that may explain the choice of ‘Medes’ rather than ‘Persians’ (9.2n.). Aiakes and the Persians duly arrive at 25.1, and ironically Aiakes’ closeness to the Persians then turns out to be good rather than bad for the city (25.2). The ‘enslavement’ theme though is shortly to take a different turn: 23.6n.

**22.2 Ζαγκλαῖοι...οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης:** oddly expressed, as if there were some other Zanklaians than the ‘ones from Sicily’, but the ἀπὸ clause is influenced by the notion of ‘sending’. For the mainly Chalkidic Euboian foundation of Zankle, later Messina/Messana, see Th. 6.4.5n. with *CT*; *IACP* no. 51. **τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον** ‘during this same time’, *GG*: 1062. **Καλή...Ἀκτή:** an unlocated Sikel site on the north coast of Sicily, east of Himera, for which see 24.1n. See *IACP* p. 177, giving its subsequent history. **ἔστι μὲν Σικελῶν** ‘belongs to Sikels’. Neither here nor at 7.155.1 does Hdt. think it necessary to explain that the Sikels were the pre- and non-Greek inhabitants of Sicily, successors of the Sikanoi, and migrants from Italy according to Th. 6.2.4. This sort of casual assumption of knowledge – cf. 24.1n. on Himera – might indicate a western readership or audience for at least part of the *Histories* (cf. Munson 2006: 257). But Hdt.’s knowledge or interest is uneven: he has plenty to say about Kroton and its citizens, but virtually nothing about Kroton’s flourishing rival Epizephyrian Lokroi (23.1n.). **πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνὴν τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης** ‘is the part of Sicily which faces (lit. ‘is turned towards’) Tyrsenia’. **Μιλησίων οἱ ἐκπεφευγότες:** 20n. Th. 6.4.5 has simply ‘Samians and other Ionians’.

**23.1 ἐν Λοκροῖσι τοῖσι Ἐπιζεφυρίοισι:** this is Hdt.’s only mention anywhere of this important S. Italian city (*IACP* no. 59 and Redfield 2003: 204–7, noting but exaggerating the extent to which Lokroi is ‘strikingly absent’ from the classical Greek historical record; the implications of Th. 5.5.2–3 are important counter-evidence). This Lokroi was a foundation of the Lokrians of Old Greece, perhaps of the geographically separated Opuntian and Ozolian Lokrians jointly. It is curious that Hdt., who seems very well informed about late archaic Kroton, never mentions the great 6th-cent. battle at the Sagra river (including an epiphany of the Dioskouroi) fought between the Epizephyrian Lokrians and Krotoniates, which supposedly ended in a crushing defeat that set Kroton back for many years (Strabo 6.1.10). But for Hdt. Kroton is a great Italian power which was able to prevail over Sybaris. **τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Σκύθης:** cf. 7.163.2–164 for Kadmos, son of Skythes of Kos: Kadmos abandons his tyranny at Kos and emigrates to Zankle. This is one of the most serious pieces of poor co-ordination in all Hdt. The stories of the two men Skythes and Kadmos are

given in bks. 6 and 7 respectively with no cross-reference at all, so that some think that Kadmos is not the son of Skythes, although both are heavily connected with the affairs of Zankle and both are said (whether by Hdt. or by a character in his *Histories*) to have been men of justice. **περικατέατο**: 3rd pers. imperf. of περικάτῃμαι = Attic περικάθημαι, ‘sit round... esp. besiege a city’ (Powell). Their target is just ‘a city of the Sikels’, perhaps because Hdt. did not know the name, perhaps because its identity does not matter for the narrative – but then Hdt. often names other incidental people and places.

**23.2** ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἀναξίλεως: Hdt. postpones more detail about this man (patronymic, name of daughter) until 7. 165. In ?480 BC he was victorious at Olympia in a short-lived event, the four-mule chariot-race, and Simonides wrote a victory-poem for him (Aristotle frs. 568, 611 Rose; Moretti 1957: no. 208). Aristotle quotes a notorious line of it in the *Rhetoric*, 1405b23 = *PMG* no. 515: ‘hail, daughters of storm-footed mares!’). For Rhegion itself, see *IACP* no. 68. **συμμείξας**: physically ‘met with’ rather than the weaker ‘got in touch with’ or ‘made contact with’. **ἀναπείθει**: 66.2n. **ἔαν χείρειν** ‘let [Καλή Ἀκτή] be’, i.e. ‘dismiss it from their minds’. The phrase builds on the use of χείρε = ‘farewell’, as in English colloq. ‘say goodbye to’ some prospect that has to be abandoned. The Greek phrase too has a conversational ring, with a flavour of what Anaxileos would have said in pungent direct speech. **ἐοῦσαν ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν** ‘empty of men’, but presumably not of women and children. Milesians’ emptiness had been the stuff of tragedy (22.1, cf. 21.2); but for these fellow Greeks, Milesians included (22.2), Zankle’s emptiness made it a target.

**23.3** Ἱπποκράτεα τὸν Γέλῃς τύραννον: tyrant of the important Rhodian-Kretan colony Gela in S. Sicily (*IACP* no. 17) from c. 498 to 491, when he was succeeded by his son Gelon. He is another figure, like Anaxileos (23.2n.), about whom Hdt. says more in bk. 7 (154–5): note especially there the ‘slavery’ (δουλοσύνην, 7.154.2) to Gela that several Sicilian cities, Zankle included, suffered under his rule. That slavery was doubtless more figurative than the enslavement to which he now subjects the city (23.5–6n.), but here too he behaves more like the Zanklaians’ boss than their ally, as in his punishment of Skythes ‘for losing the city’ (23.4). He is certainly no friend in the opportunism that follows.

**23.4** ἐς Ἴνυκα πόλιν: more usually known as Inykon, and Stephanus of Byzantium says that Hdt. ‘seems to have got the name wrong’. Its location is uncertain; *Barr.* map 47 puts it (with ‘?’) a little east of Eryx, *BNP* (G. Manganaro) between Acragas and Selinus. **ὄρκους δούς καὶ δεξάμενος**: in an atmosphere of such double-crossing faithlessness, both parties

were wise to extract the firmest guarantees they could. On Hdt.'s narrative habits in treating oaths, cf. Lateiner 2012. There is no mention of a battle, but presumably the Zanklaian forces capitulated before the might of Gela, though some may have melted away. Nor is anything heard of help offered by Anaxileos. **προέδωκε**: a stark word to end the sentence abruptly, contrasting with the heaviness of the fairly rare κοινολογησάμενος and the solemnity of the oaths. 'Betrayal' is a keynote of these chapters, especially with the Samians and, in this case, those they deal with: cf. 15.2, προδιδόντας.

**23.6** ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ εἶχε 'counted as slaves', 19.3 n. This picks up on ἀνδραπόδων at 23.5: in Hippokrates' view at least, the 'slaves' to be shared out were not just those who had already been slaves, but included the hitherto free. We are not told whether the Samians took the same view, but the final 'the Samians did not do this' looks as if it is confined to the slaughter of the 300 rather than the general enslavement, described here in terms of 'counting as' rather than doing.

Enslavement was the fate that the Samians had fled in the east (22.1), and they are now implicated in its imposition in the west. Once again Hdt. is hardly showing them favouritism (14.3, 23.4nn.), even if they drew back from the slaughter of the 300 leaders. The juxtaposition with a man whom Dareios at least thought ἀνδρῶν δικαιοτάτος (24.1) is suggestive.

**24.1** μούναρχος: as already at 23.4; at 23.1 he was βασιλεύς. It is unclear if there is any significance in Skythes' not being called 'tyrant': perhaps his role as victim, accentuated by using the friendlier terms, is more important than any suggestion of untoward or oppressive rule. In any case, the terms may not always be so very different in their connotations: see 5.44.1 and 5.46.2 nn. **ἐς Ἰμέρην**: this off-hand mention takes a good deal for granted, perhaps as already familiar to Hdt.'s audience. Maritime Himera (*IACP* no. 24) was founded by Zankle, as Th. explains (6.5.1) but Hdt. does not. Th. is also informative, as again Hdt. is not, about its position – the 'only Greek city in that part of Sicily' i.e. the north coast (6.62.1); contrast Hdt.'s helpful description of Kale Akte at 22.2. A recently published inscription from Himera (*SEG* 47.1427, late 6th or early 5th cent. BC) concerns the redistribution of land, and its mention of 'Zanklaian *phylai*' (tribal sub-divisions) has been speculatively connected with Hdt.'s narrative of the arrival of the Samians at Zankle and the Skythes episode. **πάντων ἀνδρῶν δικαιοτάτον**: cf. 3.148. 2, where the same expression is used of Kleomenes, and 3.142.1, when Maiandrios tries to be δικαιοτάτος ἀνδρῶν and it ends in farce. The δικαιοσύνη of Skythes' son (?) Kadmos is stressed at 7.164 also, and in particular his *reputation* for justice with another tyrant, Gelon. **ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἀνέβησαν**: the language implies that this was quite a large category, but it may include

various ambassadors or travellers. Dareios may just have said (or been reported as saying) ‘the most just Greek that I’ve met’. Assuming (what presumably is likely) that Skythes’ journey to Sicily took place before all this and the journey back to Sousa was afterwards, Dareios may have been over-easily impressed, rather as he had been too credulous about Histaïos (see e. g. 30). Skythes may have had nowhere else to go, at least locally. Kos was a possibility, if his son Kadmos was still ruling there (7.164.1, cf. 23.1n.), but the son might not be too delighted to have a father-tyrant around in what was doubtless an unstraightforward political situation.

**24.2** *παραιτησάμενος* ‘obtained permission from’. *ἔς Σικελίην ἀπίκητο καὶ αὐτίς ἐκ τῆς Σικελίης ὀπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα*: a sort of reverse equivalent of Demokedes of Kroton, a man who was greatly honoured at Dareios’ court and ‘had everything except one thing – return to Greece’ (3.132.1). The consequences for his homeland were unfortunate (3.133–8): such long-distance links between east and west could be dangerous. *πόλιν καλλίστην Ζάγκλην*: there is perhaps a play on words with Καλή Ἀκτή. Their initial ‘fair’ target city had been abandoned, but they had by now gained the ‘fairest’ or ‘very fair’ one instead. *περιβεβλήατο* ‘they had come into possession of’: 3rd pers. pl. plup. pass., with middle sense, of περιβάλλω; cf. 3.71.4. But the Samians soon lost Zankle again to Anaxileos/Anaxilas of Rhegion (23.2n.) according to Th. (6.4.6). Hdt. himself seems to say by contrast that they lost it to Kadmos (7.164.1), but the text is there uncertain. This pluperfect leaves the Samians in control of Zankle and shifts the narrative forward to some future time when this ‘had’ happened. That unspecified future time is unlikely to be that of the reimposition of Aiakes in 25.1, which was presumably pretty immediate (as the Samian malcontents had expected, 22.1); the overrunning of Karia of 25.2 may have taken longer, but is still described as taking place ‘straightaway’, αὐτίκα; most likely it is a vaguer future pointing to the (transiently and relatively) more settled period that followed the Ionian Revolt, and Hdt. goes on to sketch some other constituent elements of that settlement in 25–32.

**25.1** *ὑπὲρ Μιλήτου* ‘for Miletos’, or just possibly ‘off [the coast of] Miletos’ (Powell, *ὑπὲρ* B I 4, LSJ): cf. 116n. *Φοίνικες*: presumably the dirty work fell to them because they were the mariners (6n.). *σφίσι*: i.e. to the Persians, not to the Phoenicians. A reflexive can sometimes refer to some emphatic word which is not the grammatical subject (GG: 994): here the Persians are as it were the conceptual subject, the ones that initiated the action, even though the Φοίνικες are the grammatical subject. For Aiakes’ services cf. 13–14.

**25.2** *διὰ τὴν ἔκλειψιν τῶν νεῶν*: the abstract noun ἔκλειψις is unusual in Hdt. (otherwise only at 7.37.3, where however there is a play on the double

sense of 'eclipse', literal solar eclipse and eclipse of the cities). Such formations in -σις are frequent in Hdt.'s near-contemporaries Th. and Soph., but not confined to them: Hdt. too is affected by the linguistic innovations of the sophists. Cf. e.g. 8.54, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος. οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ ἱρά: emphatic negatives. For the coupling cf. 9.3 (n.) and 13.2, but this time the order is reversed and the temples are in second place. Those passages are perhaps recalled here: Aiakes has, however unexpectedly, been able to deliver on the promise of 'the tyrants' at 9.3. Cf. also 22.1n. ὑποκυψάσας 'bowing down'; its physical resonance brings it closer to the colloq. and rather dated Eng. 'kow-tow'. The word is perhaps felt as particularly appropriate for submission to *Persians*, with a hint of the *proskynēsis* that might be expected before the king himself (7.136). It is used of Medes' subjection to Persians at 1.130.1, and strong enough to figure in Miltiades' words to Kallimachos at 109.2 (n.). Parallels suggest that the physical act of head-bowing is not far away, e.g. at Ar. *Wasps* 555, of suppliants; much later (but with classical Greek models and language in mind) Lucian links it with προσκυνεῖσθαι at *Nigrinus* 21 and especially *A Voyage* 30. Cf. also 27.3 n.

## 26–32 THE END OF HISTIAIOS; FURTHER CHIAN SUFFERINGS

The troubles of Chios continue: they were left in a bad way at 15–16. Cf. 2–5 n., 16.2n., and Hornblower 2003. Those troubles are compounded by the reappearance of Histiaios, as opportunistic as ever; but their bad times now become bad for him too. The story of the revolt began with Histiaios and Aristagores (5.23), and now his elimination allows Hdt. to close the narrative ring, with various echoes tying the story together (26.1, 27.3, 30.1, 30.2 nn.); but its effects continue, and the shift of focus westward begun at 21.2 (n.) and 22–4 takes the form of physical Persian aggression from 33 onwards.

26.1 Ἰσπαιῶι... Πόντου: this echoes the language of 5.3, reminding readers of where and how Histiaios was last mentioned. τὰ... περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχοντα πρήγματα 'Hellespontine affairs': a mix of 'the situation that prevailed (Powell, *ἔχω* IV B 4) around the Hellespont', i.e. in that geographical region, and 'the situation pertaining to (Powell, IV B 3 b, 2.1n.) the Hellespont'. ἐπιτρέπει Βισάλτη: like his appointment of Aristagores as deputy ruler of Miletos at 5.30.2 and 106.4, or Aristagores' appointment of Pythagores at 5.126.1, also at Miletos. This seems to be the only historical Bisaltes who is known (*LGPN* VA), though the name may be connected with the Macedonian district Bisaltia NW of Amphipolis. For such personal names formed from ethnics, see Fraser 2000 and



2009: 215–24. **ἔχων Λεσβίους**: evidently those with him in Byzantion (5.3). **ἐς Χίον ἔπλεε**: just as he had at 2.2 and 5.2; his lukewarm reception at 5.2 makes it no surprise that the garrison was not pleased to see him back, assuming as they would that he was up to something that was unlikely to end well (cf. 2.2 n. for the characteristic Chian caution). But what *was* Histiaios up to? Hdt. does not tell us. The reader is left to assume that it was an opportunist attempt to extend his personal power, attacking states when they were down; the same will be true of the attack on Thasos (28.1). There is no longer any broader talk of stimulating or renewing general revolt, though any such growth of Histiaios' power would be bound to produce a further collision with Persian forces. That duly happens soon enough (28). **Κοίλοισι**: these 'Hollows' are not securely identified: see Scott, App. 7.

**26.2 οἷα δὴ κεκακωμένων ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης** 'given that they had been weakened as a result of the sea-battle': not just 'by' the battle, though they had indeed suffered badly there (15), but also through its consequences (16.2). **ἐκ Πολίχνης τῆς Χίων ὀρμώμενος**: 'Polichne' ('small town') is the name of a number of Greek townlets, including several in this region. If this is the same Polichne near Chios as that of Th. 8.14.3 and 23.6, it is 'in Chian territory' as part of the *peraia*; but that identification is one of several uncertainties (CT III 793; Scott, App. 7), and after his initial victory we should expect Histiaios to choose a base on the island itself.

**27.1 φιλέει δέ κως προσημαίνειν**: κως ('somehow'), like *κου* at 98.1, indicates the cautiousness appropriate to any inference about the divine: cf. 61.4 n. It is unclear who or what is the understood subject here. 'The god', 27.3 goes on to suggest (n.), but it might be taken more vaguely, 'there tend to be signs in advance'. So Harrison 2000: 172–3; Powell, *φιλέω* and *προσημαίνω*. Anyway, not necessarily Apollo or Zeus. For the underlying idea see 98, Delos, where 'the god' causes an earthquake as a *τέρας* portending the evils to come; in that case the god had given an earlier oracle predicting the earthquake. On the basis of these and other important passages, even those who like Scullion 2006: 203 and n. 43 see Hdt. as a pious sceptic accept that he believes that the god 'gives signs'.

Harrison 2000: 137 asks, what would have been said if Chios had not come to grief? He suggests that people would have just said these disasters were blots on the otherwise uninterrupted record of Chian prosperity.

**27.2 πέμψασι ἐς Δελφοὺς χορόν**: presumably to compete at the Pythian Games, perhaps those of 498 (given that this happened 'earlier', *πρὸ τούτων*) or 494. The normal size of a dithyrambic chorus was 50: Chios presumably sent two. **ὑπολαβών**: *ὑπο-* suggests suddenness or unexpectedness (LSJ *ὑπολαμβάνω* 1.2): the plague caught them out of the blue.

The verb is used of diseases elsewhere ([Hipp.] *Epid.* 5.1.20, 30–1), and of Kleomenes' madness at 75.1. **παισὶ γράμματα διδασκομένοισι ἐνέπεσε ἡ στέγη**: see Th. 7.29.5 for another catastrophe in a school full of children (Mykalessos in Boiotia). Th. comments on the unexpected and terrible nature of the event, which was the result of human agency. Hdt., by contrast, makes no comment except to classify the fate of the Chian school as one of two divine warnings, neither of them humanly caused. A Samson-like story was told of Kleomedes of Astypalaia, who won the Olympic boxing competition of (probably) 496, but his opponent died and Kleomedes was deprived of the crown. Maddened by the humiliation, he overturned the column supporting the roof of a local school and 60 children died (Paus. 6.9.6–8, Plut. *Rom.* 28). This gives a close coincidence of date – 'shortly before the sea-battle' is a flexible phrase – and some proximity of place: the island of Astypalaia is some 160 km S. of Chios.

If the room fell in because of an earth tremor, the divine agent was Poseidon, but Hdt. does not say so. If the Astypalaia incident has any historical basis, it is tempting to connect any such tremor with that as well; but nothing affected Delos (98.1n.), closer to both Chios and Astypalaia than either is to the other, and seismic activity in the region is generally very localised (Rusten 2013; Pavlopoulos et al. 2011).

**27.2 (cont.) εἷς μῶνος ἀπέφυγε**: such stories often end with just a single survivor, and this is one of several parallels with the Aeginetan disaster at 5.85 (n.): see also *CT* III 605 on Th. 7.32.2.

**27.3 ὁ θεός**: as at 98.1 (n.), perhaps 'the god in question', whoever that may have been, or perhaps what Hdt. elsewhere calls without further specification τὸ θεῖον, 'the divine'. Hdt. himself might have been hard put to distinguish the two interpretations, and either way the phrasing continues the caution of 27.1 concerning human knowledge of the gods. Such language is especially frequent in generalisations concerning the ways of god(s) to man, as here, in Solon's words at 1.31.3 and 1.32.9, and in three instances within six lines at 7.10 ε. Cf. Harrison 2000: 171–5; Scullion 2006, who finds in Hdt. a 'sceptical attitude' that goes some way beyond simple caution; and, briefly, Hornblower 2013: 34. **ὑπολαβοῦσα**: this echoes ὑπολαβὼν at 27.2: another bolt from the blue, this time caused by humans. **ἐς γόνυ τὴν πόλιν ἔβαλε**: this picks up the 'bowing down' figure of 25.2: if the Persians do not get the island, then natural disasters do, and the result either way is 'to bend the knee'. This time, though, the image also draws on wrestling: see Garvie 2009: 346–7 on Aesch. *Pers.* 929–30, where after Salamis the tables are turned and 'the land of Asia is dreadfully, dreadfully bent to its knee' (αἰνῶς αἰνῶς ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται). **ἔπεγενετο**: 'supervened', suggesting that Histiaios came as a further calamity: as we might say, 'on top of that came Histiaios . . .' **Ἰστιαῖος Λεσβίου ἄγων** and **κεκακωμένων**:

these words form a ring with 26.2, rounding off this explanation of the Chians' weakness and the Histiaios/Lesbian success. **εὐπετέως**: finally Histiaios does manage to deliver something 'easily': cf. 31.1n, Introduction p. 11. Not that it does him much good.

**28.1** ὁ Ἰστίαιος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ Θάσον: Thasos (*IACP* no. 526) has been mentioned hitherto only at 2.44.3–4, where Hdt. said that his researches on Herakles took him to Thasos, where he saw a sanctuary to Herakles established by the Phoenician founders of Thasos (cf. 47.1 and n.). Now it is news of the Phoenicians, i.e. the Thasians' founding kin, that brings safety to the island, although Hdt. does not say that their ships were heading towards Thasos, but rather to Ionia. Thasos did not escape so easily two years later (46–7). **ἄγων Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων συχνοῦς**: so not just 'the Lesbians' any more (though the Lesbians were Aiolian too). Hdt. does not see any need for an explanation for this growing support for Histiaios: readers will probably assume that it was simply opportunism, as one success offered a good chance of more. Thasos was some distance both from Chios and from 'Ionia and Aiolia' in general, and routine local score-settling is unlikely. Its gold mines (46.2–3) made it an attractive target. **οἱ Φοίνικες**: 'the Phoenicians' points to the ones of 25.1: they were there left at Samos, but it is unsurprising that Miletos should have been their base for operations in the region, and 31.1 confirms this. **ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην** 'to the rest of Ionia'. Not to Thasos or even Chios, then, but in the opposite direction: so nothing suggests that this was a move against Histiaios himself, though it may have been a grabbing of an opportunity while 'many of the Ionians and Aiolians' were away on his campaign. **Θάσον μὲν ἀπόρθητον λείπει**: 'Thasos' might refer to the whole island as well as to the physical *polis* in the NE, and ἀπόρθητος can mean 'unravaged', of territory, as well as 'of cities, *untaken*' (Powell). But Hdt. may have his mind mainly on the physical city, because the Thasian response to this narrow escape was to use their huge revenues to build ships and strengthen their walls: 46.2.

**28.2** πέρην διαβαίνει 'went across' to the mainland, the *peraia*. **ἔς τὸν Ἀταρνεά ὡς ἀμήσων τὸν σῖτον**: the pollution attaching to Atarneus and its produce resonates here: 1.160.3–5; cf. 4.1n. and Hornblower 2003. Atarneus was the Chians' reward for having surrendered a suppliant, Paktyes, after wrenching him away from the temple. At 29.1 Atarneus will be mentioned again (Malene in the territory of Atarneus), as if to rub in the significance of the place name. **Ἄρπαγος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης**: possibly a descendant of the Harpagos who played an important part in Kyros' seizure of the throne (1.108–29) and went on to subdue Ionia (1.162–70); the Harpagos of bk. 1 had been a Mede, but just as ethnic Persians can sometimes be 'Medes' (9.2n.), so ἀνὴρ Πέρσης here may simply indicate that he was one of the rulers rather than a local big man. It was worth

making that clear: around Hdt.'s own day there was for instance a Lykian dynast called Harpagos (*LGPV* VB: 60), presumably a native Lykian whose family had adopted Persian names (Thonemann 2009: 168–9).

**29.1 ἐζωγρήθη δέ...**: the narrative jumps back to explain. **ἐν τῇ Μαλήνῃ τῆς Ἀταρνείτιδος χώρας**: filling out 28.2 (n.) with more detail; and Atarneus, so often bad news for Chios, now turns out to be bad news for its tormentor Histiaios as well. The site of Malene is unknown, but ἀποβάντι συμβαλὼν at 28.2 makes clear that it was on the mainland; see *IACP* p. 1037. **διὰ τὴν παρεοῦσαν ἀμαρτάδα**: this is phrased in the way Histiaios would have put it, perhaps even to himself: 'because of this current misdemeanour' (and nothing worse than a 'misdemeanour', little more than a 'slip'). **φιλοψυχήν**: the word has a negative ring, 'clinging to life': cf. LSJ φιλοψυχέω. Tyrtaios exhorts young soldiers to take up a great and brave spirit in their hearts, 'and do not φιλοψυχεῖν when fighting against men' (10.17–18). **τοιήνδε τινά**: this suggests that φιλοψυχή should here be taken to indicate his choice of what he hoped would be a lifesaving *stratagem*, not 'conceiving a desire for life' (LSJ), a matter of mentality.

**29.1–2 κατελαμβάνετο...καταιρεόμενος**: the two words are close in meaning ('overtake'), but the second carries the idea of 'seize' as well: cf. 41.2. **συγκεντηθήσεσθαι**: a vigorous and visual word, capturing the piercing movement: the captor was about to 'run him through'. **Περσίδα γλώσσαν μετιείς...**: it is notable (and a final tribute to his presence of mind) that Histiaios knew enough Persian to be able to do this, although he would not need much of the language merely to identify himself. It is possible that Greeks exaggerated their ignorance of other languages, and that Histiaios' linguistic ability was not all that unusual, especially for someone in a frontier zone like Milesian territory. See Feeney 2016: 28 and (listing Histiaios and a few other cases) 257 n. 57.

**30.1 ὁ δὲ οὐτ' ἂν ἔπαθε κακὸν οὐδέν**: for Hdt.'s interest in such 'roads not taken' cf. Baragwanath 2013, stressing in particular his emphasis on contingency in history and the role of individuals, as here Artaphrenes and Harpagos, in steering towards particular outcomes. Here the speculation emphasises the extraordinary hold that Histiaios still had over Dareios, and explains the need that the Persians on the spot felt for urgent execution. The episode echoes 1–2, when Artaphrenes had already seen through Histiaios (1.2n.), and also various elements from bk. 5 (nn.): the completion of the ring rounds off Histiaios' story. **δοκέειν ἐμοί** 'so it seems to me'. Hdt. likes this form of parenthetic absolute infinitive to qualify a sentence or word: cf. e.g. 8.22.3 (with Bowie's n.), 5.67.1, 69.1. **ἀπῆκέ τ' ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίην**: either 'would have forgiven his fault', as

at 8.140 β4 τὰς ἀμαρτάδας (cf. ἀμαρτάδα at 29.1) ἀπιείς, or 'would have dismissed the charge'. Ἀρταφέρνης τε ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος καὶ ὁ λαβῶν Ἄρπαγος: an elegant ABBA arrangement. ταύτῃ 'there', in Sardis. ἀνεσταύρωσαν 'impaled', a Persian speciality (1.128.2, 3.132.2, 159.1, 4.43.2, 7.194.1). Powell s.v. assumes that the beheading came first and only the corpse was impaled, like that of Polykrates at 3.125.3; the other way round is more likely, with the head removed after death for despatch. ταριχεύσαντες: probably 'embalming': the word is used of various forms of preservation. Histiaios' adventurism had begun with a head playing a crucial part, that of the tattooed slave (5.35–6). His own head, prepared in a different way, ends the tale. ἀνήνεικαν: this should mean 'take up', i.e. up-country to Sousa, not just 'send up': but presumably Artaphrenes at least did not go himself, and 'took up' the head via a representative.

30.2 ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ: so Dareios had first summoned Histiaios to Sousa saying he could not bear him to be 'out of his sight' (ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν, 5.24.3), and this final stage of his activity had begun with the king calling him ἐς ὄψιν (5.106.1 (n.)) and instructing him to 'come back to Sousa' when his job was done (5.107). μεγάλως ἑωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσησι εὐεργέτω: i.e. at the bridge over the Danube, where he played a leading role in facilitating the Persian withdrawal: 4.137–41. Dareios there told a stentorian Egyptian to shout out to 'Histiaios the Milesian': if so, Dareios already knew that he was the most philo-Persian among the waiting Ionians. Dareios had duly rewarded him for that 'benefaction', εὐεργεσίας (5.11); μέγας words have also become a refrain in Histiaios' story (5.24.2 *bis*, 35.4, 106.3 and 6, 2.1), but his big schemes and promises have finally fizzled out. τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰστιαίου οὕτως ἔσχε: this rounds off Histiaios' story, as 1.1 rounded off Aristagores'.

31.1 τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει: counting inclusively, so 'the next year', i.e. 493. ἀνέπλωσε 'put to sea'. εὐπετέως: that keyword again (27.3n.). This is the sort of conquest that Aristagores originally promised would be 'easy' (5.31); but it becomes so because of his and Histiaios' failure rather than their success. The echo contributes to the sense of closure of the Ionians' story: cf. Introduction p. 11. ὡς ἐκάστην 'each in turn'. οἱ βάρβαροι: the grammatical subject did not need to be specified, as a 'they' implied by the verb would have been clear enough. Specifying 'the barbarians' points to the netting as a non-Greek practice.

31.1–2 ἐσαγήνευον... σαγήνεύουσι: a σαγήνη is a dragnet used in fishing. This was envisaged as a distinctively Persian way of desolating a territory, and Samos suffered a similar netting at 3.149. The reader may recall that now, as it happened just before Samos was handed over to the Syloson who has now re-entered this narrative at 25.1. The process captured the Greek

imagination: Plato mentions it at *Menex.* 240b–c and *Laws* 3. 698c–d in connection with the capture of Eretria in 490 (101.3n.).

Hdt's clear account shows that he envisages the 'netting' as only figurative: this systematic arm-in-arm progression through the island makes escape as difficult as for a fish in a dragnet. Plato's descriptions are very similar, and Meuli 1954 cites cross-cultural parallels from hunting manoeuvres in Mongolia and China. But such an arm-in-arm search is impracticable, especially at Chios (29 km. across and split by a steep mountain ridge which would exclude any literal arm-to-arm sweep) and at Lesbos because of size (1632 km<sup>2</sup>), shape, and mountains. Perhaps 'we might understand a series of dragnets where the terrain permitted' (Scott), or perhaps this applied only to those pinned down during the final stages (cf. Meuli 1954: 67 = 1975: 704). See Ceccarelli 1993: 43–4, though she, like Meuli, is less sceptical. Either way, many will have taken to the hills.

At 1.141 Kyros told to Ionian and Aiolian envoys a fable of which a version survives in the Aesopic corpus (no. 11 Perry) and elsewhere: a flute-playing fisherman told the fish that they now deserved to 'dance' in his net, as they had not danced their way out of the water when he had played to them. Ceccarelli 1993 and Kurke 2012: 400–4 link that netting passage with this, and also with the story at the *Histories*' end of fish 'jumping' in the pan as they are fried (9.120.2); but by then the tables are turned, and the Persian Artayktes is the victim.

32 οὐκ ἐπεύσαντο τὰς ἀπειλὰς 'did not belie the threats', or more naturally in Eng. 'proved true to the threats...' The language as well as the substance of 9.4 is then echoed, though it is only the particularly good-looking boys and girls who are singled out for treatment, not all of them as 9.4 had threatened; nor is there any mention, as there had been at 9.4, of 'handing the lands over to others'. This therefore is not the sort of mass deportation that 9.4 would have suggested. It is gesture politics, showing that the new masters were able to fulfil their threats. αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱεροῖσι 'sacred sites and all': GG: 1191. Emphatic: as 5.102.1 made clear, the Persians are burning Greek ἱερά in retaliation for the temple of Kybebe at Sardis. Cf. 9.3 (n.), 25.2. τὸ τρίτον: 1.169.2 similarly marked 'the second' enslavement, inflicted by Kyros. Kroisos imposed the first, though only of mainland rather than islands: 1.27–8.

### 33 FIRST PERSIAN MOVES AGAINST EUROPE

This is a critical turning-point, as Persian/Phoenician forces cross the continental boundary of the Hellespont for the first time: notice the emphasis on 'Europe' in the following geographical sketch (Introduction

pp. 25–6). But, for the moment, it is just burning and devastation (κατέσυραν, cf. 5.81.3), not enslavement.

Some Greek and therefore ‘European’ (96–7 n.) islands were already within the Persians’ power.

**33.1** τὰ ἐπ’ ἀριστερά ἐσπλέοντι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ‘the places on the left as one sails into the Hellespont’, i.e. those on the European side. αἶδε: perhaps understand χῶραι: cf. τὰς χῶρας τὰς καταλεχθείσας in § 2. But the use of the feminine in idioms of place (LSJ ὁ, ἡ, τό A.VIII) is so familiar that native speakers may not have felt the need to understand any particular noun. αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι ‘the Persians themselves’, as opposed to the Phoenician navy. κατ’ ἡπειρον: again there is a distinction between the clear-cut position on land and the more complicated picture with the islands.

**33.2** οἱ πέρηθε Καλχηδόνιοι ‘the Kalchedonians opposite’, i.e. those on the Asiatic side: a slight revision of the claim that those on the right-hand side of the Hellespont had already been subjected. πέρηθε – only here in Hdt. – or πέραθε is used especially of locations on ‘opposite’ sides of water: Lightfoot 2003: 351. ἔσω ‘inwards’ as seen from a Mediterranean viewpoint, i.e. away from the Aegean. πόλιν Μεσαμβρίην οἰκησαν ‘they settled in Mesambrie’. This city (*IACP* no. 687) was in modern Bulgaria, on the west coast of the Black Sea, and so these victims were fleeing north rather than east. Mesambrie had been founded twenty years earlier, by Greeks from Kalchedon and Megara at the time of Dareios’ invasion of Skythia (so, explicitly, Ps.-Skymnos 739–42; the other evidence is cited at *IACP* p. 935). οἰκησαν, ‘settled in’, from οἰκέω, is therefore preferable to Schaefer’s emendation οἰκισαν (‘founded’, from οἰκίζω). Προκόννησον καὶ Ἀρτάκην: both of these were on the sea of Marmara (*Barr.* map 52 B3 and 4), and both were, like Kyzikos (33.3), colonies of Miletos; *IACP* nos. 759 and 736 (adding Ap. Rh. 1.959); see 5.117n. for the significance of this Milesian kinship tie. πυρὶ . . . νείμαντες ‘consigned to the flames’: rather grandiose language, perhaps echoing *Il.* 2.780 οἱ δ’ ἄρ’ ἴσαν ὥς εἴ τε πυρὶ χθῶν πᾶσα νέμοιτο, as the Greek forces mass for the opening moves of the poem against the Asiatic Trojans (though the force of νέμειν there is uncertain and may be different). ὅσας πρότερον προσσχόντες οὐ κατέσυραν ‘as many as they had not earlier put into shore and devastated’. For κατέσυραν cf. 5.81.3.

**33.3** ἐπὶ δὲ Κύζικον οὐδὲ ἐπλωσαν ἀρχὴν ‘they did not sail against Kyzikos at all’, as in colloq. Eng. ‘they never . . . in the first place’. The negative probably implies a contrary expectation on the part of the reader or hearer, though perhaps not on the basis of any prior knowledge but simply of what one might expect from the general comprehensiveness of operations

in the vicinity. Hdt. seems to imply that Kyzikos had joined the revolt; it was a Milesian colony, see *IACP* no. 747 and 5.117n., cf. 33.2 for Prokonnesos and Artake. It is uncertain when it capitulated. **ἔτι πρότερον** ‘even earlier’: they submitted even before the Phoenicians arrived to force them to do so. **Οἰβάρεϊ**: not the same as Dareios’ groom of 3.85. **τῆς δὲ Χερσονήσου**: Hdt. rounds off his geographical list by reverting to the Chersonese, the first locality he had named. That neatly manages the transition to the story of Miltiades, which looks forward to his triumph at Marathon. **πλὴν Καρδίας πόλιος** ‘except for the city of Kardia’. For Kardia as ‘always exceptional in its politics’, see J. Hornblower 1981: 6f.

### 34-41 FIRST MILTIADES EXCURSUS

The Persian or rather Phoenician subjugation of the Chersonese allows Hdt. to expand on the back-history of its tyrant the younger Miltiades son of Kimon (to be distinguished from his uncle the son of Kypselos of Athens, Miltiades the elder, oikist of the Chersonese). Miltiades the younger, who in Hdt.’s account was prominent at the Danube bridge by his advocacy of the Skythian plan to ‘liberate Ionia’ (4.137.1), was not heard of at all in bk. 5. The omission is significant and Hdt.’s silence eloquent: Miltiades the younger took no part in the Ionian Revolt, as far as we can see (see further 137-140n.). For the Athenian settlement of the Chersonese, and for its political centre ‘Agora’, see *IACP* pp. 900-1 and no. 661, ‘Chersonesos/Agora’ (cf. 36.1n. on τύραννον...); also Igelbrink 2015: 119-31.

Possible sources are Athenians belonging to, or close to, Miltiades’ distinguished family; Athenian forensic oratory; the Chersonesian colonists; even Delphi. But the excursus has features of ‘saga’ (Aly 1969: 238) and cannot be analysed like a normal slice of history. For the genesis of the Dolonkoi section in particular see Griffiths 2001b: 85-6.

**34.1 ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτέων μέχρι τότε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος**: the fact of the tyranny was given, but not explained, at 4.137.1. Miltiades the younger was there given an ethnic but not a patronym; Hdt. reserves that for the family story he is about to tell in bk. 6 (and adds his grandfather’s name to make clear that there are two men called Miltiades in what follows). Conversely, he does not now immediately remind us that Miltiades was Athenian; that can wait until 35.1.

The elder Miltiades’ father Kypselos was eponymous archon at Athens in 597-6 (ML 6 = Fornara 23), and grandson of the famous Korinthian tyrant Kypselos. For the intermarriage see 130.2, Megakles becoming son-in-law to Kleisthenes of Sikyon. Another of Agariste’s suitors, the Athenian



Hippokleides, son of Teisandros, was also related to the Kypselids (Teisandros and the Athenian Kypselos were probably brothers), 127.4n.; and see 5.92 β 1n. for the mythical Lapith connection which joined the family of Miltiades too to the Kypselids.

**34.1 (cont.)** εἶχον Δόλογοι: for this sort of ‘story-telling’ asyndeton at the beginning of an excursus, see 5.71.1n. Of the area inhabited by the Dolonkoi, nothing is known beyond what Hdt. tells us here: they ‘held’ the Thracian Chersonese, and were neighbours of the Apsinthioi (for ‘APSINTHIS’ see *Barr.* map 51 GH3). Steph. Byz. δ 107 Bill. says the Dolonkoi were a Thracian γένος, named from Dolonkos brother of Bithynos. **πιεσθέντες πολέμῳ**: see 108.2 for a similar development with the Plataians, described in similar language. Here the Dolonkoi, pressured by the neighbouring Apsinthioi, consult Delphi and then seek aid from the Athenians. **ἐς Δελφοῦς ἔπεμψαν τοὺς βασιλέας**: consultation of Delphi by non-Greek neighbours of Greeks is no problem; an example is Kroisos, and many others are collected by Scott. But this oracular consultation is given very differently by Nepos *Mill.* 1.1–3: the *Athenians* wish to colonise the Chersonese, so they ask Delphi who would be the best man to act as leader. The Pythia answers ‘Miltiades’. Fontenrose 1978: 305 thinks Nepos’ version more plausible than Hdt.’s, but even if Nepos was drawing on Ephoros, who was given to recounting foundation-legends (*FGrHist* 70 T 18 a and b), it looks as if he has abbreviated and simplified his source: he mixes up the elder and younger Miltiades and attributes everything to the latter.

The story has been rationalised by supposing that Miltiades had already had dealings with the Dolonkoi; so Aly 1969: 146.

**34.2 ξείνια**: 35.2n. **ἐκτράπονται** ‘they took [historical present] a detour...’: cf. 1.104.2. Athens is not on any obvious route back from Delphi to the Chersonese: Miltiades may already have been in the ambassadors’ mind, and may even have been suggested by Delphi.

**35.1 εἶχε μὲν τὸ πᾶν κράτος Πεισίστρατος**: a curiously extravagant expression, otherwise used by Hdt. only in Persian contexts: 7.3.2 (Atossa) and 7.96.2 (Persian commanders generally), though those two passages show that κράτος even in those contexts is not absolute power, simply the effective ability to get done what the person wanted. The picture of Peisistratos’ rule given at 1.59.6 had, by contrast, stressed its constitutionality, and this was largely endorsed by Th. at 6.54.6, on which see *CT*. **ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευέ γε καὶ Μιλτιάδης** ‘but Miltiades was powerful too’, just as Kleisthenes and Isagores were to play a prominent role after the Peisistratids were overthrown (5.66.1, ἐδυνάστευον): this is the sort of prominence and influence that leading men can have whatever a city’s constitution (39.2,

66.2, 9.2.3), and falls short of the κράτος exercised by a tyrant such as Peisistratos. For μέν... ἄτάρ as resembling μέν... δέ, *GP*: 54. The distinction between the μέν and ἄτάρ clauses may resemble the modern distinction between ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ power as exercised by nations (cf. *TT*: 57). From what follows, it appears that Hdt. is thinking of soft-power prestige as opposed to the overtly exercised power of Peisistratos. **ἑὼν οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου**: a ‘house capable of maintaining a four-horse chariot’ was extremely wealthy, esp. at Athens, which did not have much suitable terrain for horse-breeding: Th.’s Alkibiades claims that his Olympic successes brought glory to the city (6.16.2). The theme of four-horse chariots, a weapon of aristocratic competition as well as an indicator of wealth, recurs constantly in bk. 6: 70.3, Demaretos of Sparta; 103.2, Kimon of Athens; 122.1, Kallies of Athens; 125.5, Alkmeon of Athens, 126.2, Kleisthenes of Sikyon; and see 131.2n. for Megakles, whose horse-breeding was held against him. **τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν... Ἀθηναίου**: for the adverbs ἀνέκαθεν and ἄνωθεν as indicating descent see 5.55.1n. on γένος ἑόντες... Miltiades the oikist of the Chersonese claimed direct descent from Zeus, because Aiakos was son of the nymph Aigina, who mated with Zeus. Aiakos was father of Telamon and grandfather of Ajax/Aias (‘Telamonian Ajax’). Ajax’s son Philaios migrated with his brother Eurysakes to Athens (Plut. *Sol.* 10.3), and Hdt. is here aware of this move, which can be seen as implicit acknowledgement that the Aiginetan claim to the Aiakidai was actually prior to the Athenian; so Irwin 2011: 409 n.85, and see 5.89.3n. Some of this was in a much-discussed genealogy given by the 5th-cent. Athenian Pherekydes and preserved, with some textual corruption, in Marcellinus’ *Life of Thucydides* (F 2 in both *FGrHist* 3 and *EGM* 1). Thus the Pherekydan genealogy, as preserved, opens ‘Philaios son of Ajax lived in Athens’, and this corresponds roughly to Hdt.’s τὰ δέ... clause. For Hippokleides son of Teisandros, who is part of the Philaid genealogy, see 127.4n. **τὰ δὲ νεώτερα** ‘more recently’.

**35.2 ἑσθῆτα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρίην καὶ αἰχμᾶς**: the arms-bearing indicates an old-fashioned or barbarian people; cf. Th. 1.5–6. **ἐπηγγέλατο καταγωγὴν καὶ ξείνια**: the offer included a bed for the night (καταγωγή), but ξείνια covers a good deal more: the guest–host relationship establishes a bond in which both parties might expect reciprocation if the need or opportunity arose. Hence the indignation of Proteus at Paris’ abuse of the relationship, 2.115.4. Here the reciprocation is immediate and immense. **ἑδέοντο αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ μιν πείθεσθαι** ‘put a request to him that he should do what the god said’: for the acc. + inf. after δέομαι when we might expect just an inf. cf. 1.141.3. The difference of nuance is between asking x to do something (simple infinitive) and putting a proposition and asking x to accept it along with the obligation that it implies (acc. + inf.).

**35.2–3** **πειθῆσθαι . . . ἔπεισε**: the middle **πειθῆσθαι** ranges over both ‘be persuaded by’ and ‘obey’: cf. **11.3**, where Dionysios is in no position yet to demand obedience, **41.3**, and **100.3**. Here Miltiades did find the suggestion persuasive, but at least partly because he had other reasons to do so (οἷα ἀχθόμενον . . .), and he still felt it appropriate to repeat the question to the oracle on his own account (below).

**35.3** **οἷα ἀχθόμενόν τε τῇ Πεισιστράτου ἀρχῇ**: with Miltiades allegedly fed up with the rule of the Peisistratids, compare the story of Dorieus of Sparta at **5.42.1**. On both occasions a colonising venture is (mis-)represented as an act of quasi-rebellion, but surely had official sanction (for some reservations, see Igelbrink 2015: 121–8). For the younger Miltiades as archon under the tyranny see **39.1n**.

**36.1** **κελευούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς Πυθίης**: like Eng. ‘tell someone to . . .’, **κελεύειν** can mean ‘urge’ as much as ‘order’: cf. the similar range of **πειθῆσθαι** covering the possible responses on the other side, **35.2–3n**. Thus **καί** here suggests ‘when the Pythia urged this as well (as the Dolonkoi)’. **Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου**: the repetition from **35.1** is partly to rub in which Miltiades is in point, but it adds a sonorousness appropriate to the initiation of a significant action. **Ὀλύμπια ἀναραιρεκῶς πρότερον τούτων τεθρίππωι**: for the victory Moretti 1957: no. 106. The verb here means ‘win’; for this sense, cf. **5.102.3n**. The narrative technique is that of ‘increasing precision’: at **35.1** Hdt. explained that Miltiades came from a family of four-horse chariot winners; now he reveals that Miltiades himself had previously won, and at Olympia. **παραλαβὼν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον**: presumably there was some sort of proclaimed invitation (cf. Th. 3.92.5, general invitation to join the Spartan colony at Herakleia in Trachis), e.g. at the festival of the Panathenaia. Otherwise it is not easy to see how all these Athenians came to hear of the expedition. This is a further reason for supposing that the enterprise was viewed favourably by the Peisistratids. **τύραννον κατεστήσαντο**: **τύραννος** not **βασιλεύς**. **ἐπαγαγόμενοι** closes a ring with **34.2**, but talk of **οἰκιστήν** there has shifted to **τύραννον** here, almost as if the narrative is moving forward into a different world.

Miltiades, in fact, creates a new Greek *polis* called Chersonesos/Agora in the middle of the narrow point of the Chersonese; see *IACP* no. 661 and *Barr.* map 51 H3. The *polis* continued to pay tribute to the Delian League.

**36.1 (cont.)** **ἵνα μὴ ἔχοιεν** ‘so that the Apsinthians would not be able to . . .’ **ἔσω** ‘inside’, i.e. enclosed and protected by the wall.

**37.1** **ἐν γνώμῃ γεγωνώς** ‘he was known to Kroisos’, lit. ‘had become’ (and therefore was still) ‘present to his mind’, a pointedly understated expression, meaning ‘he stood high in his favour’: LSJ, **γνώμη** II (2). This is not a mere case of one tyrant helping another. An aristocrat like Miltiades would

have been proud of the connection with a great figure like Kroisos, himself ‘l’aristocrate par excellence’ (Duplouy 1999: 20). Philaid rivalry with the Alkmeonids (themselves supposedly friends of Kroisos, 125.2) may have played its part. **πίτυος τρόπου**: the phrase seems to be proverbial, and to refer to the way that pine trees do not normally ‘coppice’, i.e. resprout from the base or stump after fire or felling. Theophrastos *HP* 3.9.5 denies this by implication, saying that mountain pines (πεῦκαι, Meiggs 1982: 118) if burnt down do not shoot up again, unlike these coastal pine trees (πίτυες), which do, and he cites what happened after a fire on his native Lesbos. It is true that one of the few varieties of pine that do coppice is *Pinus Halepensis* (Aleppo pine), which is found on Mediterranean coasts; still, along the Aegean coast it is normally replaced by *Pinus brutia*, which does not readily coppice. But it makes a difference that Theophrastos’ counter-example refers to a fire: both varieties do sprout again from seeds shed in fires, and sometimes from the stump too if the tree is not wholly destroyed – but Kroisos’ phrase is more likely to mean chopping down, not burning. We are most grateful here to Aljos Faron of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, for advice.

Part of the point is thought to be the old name for Lampsakos, viz. Pityoussa or ‘Pineville’ (*FGrHist* 471 Deiochos of Kyzikos F3): so Harrison 2000: 194 n. 40, citing Macan. If so, Kroisos’ research department was working long hours.

**37.1 (cont.) ἐκτρίψειν**: again in a metaphor from tree-destruction at 86 δ (n.).

**37.2 πλανωμένων... ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι** ‘missing their way in their discussions’, floundering. At 2.115,3 Paris similarly ‘wanders in what he says’ when Proteus questions him about his abduction of Helen, but Paris is deliberately avoiding the point whereas the Lampsakenes are just missing it. **μόγισ κοτὲ μαθὼν τῶν τις πρεσβυτέρων**: for the motif of the one clever interpreter who sees the truth when all others are baffled, see 5.80.1 and n. **εἶπε τὸ ἔόν** ‘gave the true explanation’. **πανώλεθρος ἐξαπόλλυται**: this evokes the special horror of a totally extinguished line; cf. 9.109.2, πανοικίη. For total extinction of a line, see esp. 86 δ n., and for the very strong word word πανώλεθρος see 85.2 and n. The noun πανώλεθρία is used in a passage with Homeric resonances, 2.120.5 (echoed by Th. at 7.87.6, the doom-laden end of the Sicilian expedition). The theme of childlessness recurs in the immediately following narrative, but it is applied to the house of Miltiades.

**38.1 καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντι... ἄγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικόν ἐπιστᾶσι**: the last six words repeat exactly 1.167.2 (the Agylaians, on Delphi’s instructions, appease with hero-cult the Phokaians whom they have stoned to death), except that τε is here added and the order of ἵππικόν and γυμνικόν is

reversed. ἐπίστημι is used in this sense only in these two passages. For the present tenses see next n.

With the ‘oikist’ cult compare Th. 5.11.1, Brasidas at nearby Amphipolis. The north Aegean region is noticeably rich in early hero cults. ML 3 is a boustrophedon inscription from the agora of Thasos (625–600 BC) honouring Glaukos the friend of Archilochos: Γλαύρο εἰμί μνήμα τῷ Λεπτίνῳ ἔθεσαν δέ με οἱ Βρέντεω παῖδες. The central position hints at oikist cult. For the long-lasting cult of Theagenes of Thasos, who becomes a healer-hero in time, see e.g. Currie 2005: 120f., 124–8, 130f., 133f., 155f.; *Greek world*: 39.

This, then, may be a ‘kissing cousin’ of the sort identified by Griffiths 2001a (121–31n.). That is, north Aegean oikist cult here perhaps looks forward inexplicitly to Thasos in 46–8.

**38.1 (cont.)** ἐν τῷ Λαμψακηνῶν οὐδενὶ ἐγγίνεται ἀγωνίζεσθαι: as elsewhere (e.g. 5.88.2), Hdt. gives a continuing cult exclusion (note the present tense, here as above) and the reason for it. He may have worked back from the cult and the exclusion to the aetiological story.

**38.2** ὑποθερμότερου: a comparative can convey ‘more x than one might expect’: here, so passionate as to be ‘overheated’, though the ὑπο- may suggest that it was ‘beneath the surface’, not obvious – which explains why he could get so close. Cf. ὑπομαργότερον at 75.1 and n; and perhaps 4.95.2 ὑπαφρονέστεροι.

**39.1** ἀποστέλλουσι τριήρεϊ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι: presumably not long before Dareios’ Skythian expedition of c. 513, if his presence at the Danube Bridge is historical (41.3, 4.136–8). On the chronology see also 40n. οἱ μιν καὶ ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐποίευν εὔ: there is some evidence for this: the archon-list ML 6 (= Fornara 23) col. c line 4 shows that Miltiades was archon in 524/3 BC. But see 124.1n. for some cautions about the use of this inscription. δῆθεν: this points to disingenuousness (1.1n), but that casts into doubt only the pretence that the Peisistratids knew nothing of Kimon’s death (103n.), not the favour shown to Miltiades himself. τὸν ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ σημανέω: the promise is kept at 103.

**39.2** εἶχε κατ’ οἴκους, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Στησαγόρεα δηλαδὴ ἐπιτιμέων: this is part of the trick, and δηλαδὴ, ‘ostensibly’ or ‘on the face of it’, is a further pointer in that direction like δῆθεν above. There is disingenuousness everywhere in these tyrannical doings. ὥς συλλυπηθησόμενοι ‘to join him in mourning’. The trick brings to mind Kleomenes’ methods. See 41.2n. on Miltiades’ son’s name.

He is, in a way, carrying out the advice of Thrasyboulos of Miletos to ‘prune the tallest poppies’ (5.92 ζ–η). Thrasyboulos had in mind human

poppies in just one city, but the δυναστεύοντες neutralised by Miltiades were all, presumably, from cities in or very near the Chersonese.

**39.2 (cont.)** καὶ γαμέει Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρηίκων βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Ἥγησιπύλην: ‘Oloros’ (cf. 41.2) was also the name of the father of Th. the historian, reflecting the family’s long connection with the area (Hornblower 1987: 1). For Hegesipyle, mother of Kimon II (Plut. *Kim.* 4.1), see *APF* p. 302.

**40** This chapter presents one of the book’s most difficult chronological puzzles, and it is hard to feel confidence about any answer. The puzzle has both linguistic and historical aspects. The temptation is to emend the text to satisfy historical plausibility. It may be right to give in to this temptation, but to do so risks assuming that Hdt. had a clear and accurate picture of these events, in particular the length of the interval between Miltiades’ two terms in the Chersonese.

We first try to interpret the text on its own terms, for the moment leaving historical questions aside. ἐληλύθει and ἐλθόντα in 40.1 ought to refer to Miltiades the Younger’s first arrival in the Chersonese (not to his return, which would be expressed by the verb with the prefix κατ-): cf. Prontera 1972: 116 and n. 49. Then τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτει . . . τούτων in 40.1 most likely means ‘two years after his arrival’ (n.), and the preceding words say the following: two years after he first arrived (by 513, 39.1 n.), something happened to him which was even worse than τὰ κατέχοντα πρήγματα. That last phrase is more likely to mean ‘the situation when he arrived’ than ‘the situation that now prevailed in 493’: see n. Then 41.1 means that this (the restoration by the Dolonkoi) was two years before the Phoenician takeover in 493 (τρίτῳ ἔτει πρότερον, 41.1), so 495.

This raises two difficulties. (a) The first is stylistic: if our interpretation of the two phrases is correct, it implies that both τρίτῳ ἔτει and τὰ κατέχοντα πρήγματα occur twice within nine lines and in each case refer to different periods. This will either have to be pure coincidence or a trivial form of ring-composition, conveying that Miltiades’ time away from the Chersonese was bookended by two periods of equal length. (b) The second is historical: where was Miltiades and what was he doing during the considerable period, perhaps as much as eighteen years, between those terms? If he was in Athens (so Hammond 1956: 119) and if Hdt. knew it, why does he not say?

Both difficulties were removed surgically by Dobree and Powell, who deleted the second τρίτῳ ἔτει and τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων: this would keep the first tyranny short but leave an indefinite period for the second. A less drastic variant is to emend the second numeral. Herbst 1890: 145 suggested τρίτῳ <καὶ δεκάτῳ> at 41.1; Beloch (2<sup>2</sup> 2. 61) more vaguely opted for ‘another, higher number’, thinking that the second τρίτῳ ἔτει

was an erroneous repetition of the first. Alternatively Stein inserted <πρό> before τούτων at 40.1, which would keep the second term short but allow the first to be long. Less convincing is Kinzl's deletion (1968: 102, cf. 98–100) of πρότερον at 40.2, which would allow the second term to be long: this would make the two τότες of 41.1 refer to different times. His alternative suggestion was to insert commas around πρότερον so as to detach it from τρίτῳ ἔτει ('this had happened earlier, in the third year . . .'), but this is linguistically forced.

The alternatives are (a) to emend: we take the view that this is necessary if the repeated τρίτῳ ἔτει and κατέχοντα πρήγματα are to have the same reference in each case. The suggestions of Beloch and Stein are best. Or (b) to keep the text, to assume that those two phrases have different references, and to accept that it simply is not known what happened to Miltiades between his two terms. Perhaps Hdt. did not know either, or underestimated the interval that his narrative implied; or perhaps he did not want to make it clear that Miltiades was at Athens during such an eventful period, including the Kleisthenic reforms, wishing to keep the paradox of so central a figure to Athenian greatness being such a new arrival on the scene (Introduction p. 12). Hesitantly, we leave the text as it is.

**40.1 τῶν κατεχόντων πρηγμάτων:** if the text is sound, this presumably means the difficult situation on his arrival: the uncompromising methods of 39.2 make it clear that he was not welcome to all. The alternative is to take it as the situation before the new ἄλλα . . . χαλεπώτερα, which would mean the Phoenician attack now. In that case Hdt. might have made his meaning clearer by saying τῶν νῦν κατεχόντων. **τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτει τούτων:** in the third year after these things, counting inclusively: so 'two years later'. 'These things' refers back to Miltiades' arrival in the Chersonese (39.2).

Cf. 40n. above for the suggestion of adding <πρό>: τούτων will then refer to the arrival of the fleet in 493 (33.3). Viviers 1993: 235 suggested that the phrase could mean 'two years before' even without the πρό: he explains that, as this a flashback, one naturally counts backwards to find the 'third-nearest year' whereas in linear narrative uses like 46.1 one counts forward. That is ingenious and perhaps not impossible, but it is hard to think that a first-time hearer, unencumbered by knowledge of the chronological puzzle, would take it this way.

**40.1 (cont.) ἐκφεύγει:** like καταφεύγει at 41.2, a 'success-word', not just 'flee' (φεύγειν, 40.2) but 'escape': cf. φεύγων ἐκφεύγει at 5.95.1 (with n.), marking both the attempt and the success. Here Miltiades is at least successful in that the Skythians do not capture him, but the flight is still humiliating. **ἰρεθισθέντες** 'exasperated', 'provoked'. It is normally assumed that this followed soon after Dareios' unsuccessful invasion of Skythia in

c. 513, which would fit well with ‘two years after’ Miltiades’ arrival (last n. but one). Yet Dareios may have authorised some further, less extensive incursions as well, and so this is also consistent with interpretations that allow Miltiades a longer first term (40n.). A series of pinpricks may have driven some Skythians to move west, as much in search of new *Lebensraum* to include in their nomadic range as to retaliate against any presumed Persian sympathisers. Still, it requires faith to believe that genuine Skythians could have penetrated as far as the Chersonese, and maybe there is some confusion here with Thracians.

**40.2 οὐκ ὑπομείνας... ἔφευγε...:** perhaps a sort of playing the Skythians at their own game. But it is one thing for a whole people to beat a tactical retreat, another for a leader, and evidently the Dolonkoi as a whole stayed in the city.

**41.1 τρίτῳ ἔτει πρότερον:** again inclusive, so ‘two years before’. **τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων:** despite the apparent echo of τῶν κατεχόντων πρηγμάτων in 40.1, this would here mean the events that ‘overtook’ him now. See 40n. **ἐν Τενέδῳ:** Tenedos was the obvious station to threaten shipping coming through the Hellespont and from the Chersonese. If the story of his activity at the bridge is historical (41.3), Miltiades would naturally feel threatened. **τριήρεας πέντε:** see 5.85.1n. for the date of the introduction of the trireme. On Wallinga’s late dating, the present passage is the first authentic mention. **ἀπέπλεε:** the imperfect is inceptive or conative or both: he ‘tried to’ and/or ‘began to’ sail away. **ὥσπερ ὁρμήθη... κόλπου** ‘just as [one would expect as] he had set sail from Kardia, he was sailing through the Black Gulf’ (see map 2), which is the stretch of water immediately off shore; ‘he was then sailing past the Chersonese’ on his left when the Phoenicians attacked.

**41.2 κατέϊλον:** 29.1–2n. **Μητίοχος** ‘he who has cunning intelligence’. In Greek mythology, sons often have names which reflect their fathers’ characteristics (e.g. Neoptolemos son of Achilles who went to war young). For Miltiades’ cunning intelligence, see 39.2 above; but these are not mythological figures. Metiochos is mentioned by Hdt. only here and at para. 4 below, but his name was picked up and used by the author of the late Greek romance *Metiochos and Parthenope*. The name is otherwise found at Athens as that of a companion of Perikles (Plut. *Advice on public life* 811f), and occasionally elsewhere in the Greek world.

**41.3 δοκέοντες χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήσασθαι** ‘thinking that [LSJ s.v. δοκέω 1] they would lay up for themselves a deposit of great gratitude...’, one on which they might draw later if need arose: Themistokles thinks similarly at 8.109.5, and the Kerkyraians argue along the same lines at Th. 1.33.1.



Cf. the more literal ‘deposits’ at 5.92 η 4, 73 and 86. ὅτι δὴ Μιλτιάδης γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο . . . ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν: Hdt. tells the story at 4.136–7.

41.4 κεκοσμέαται: ‘are counted as’: cf. 3.91.2, but in both passages (wealth is in point at 3.91.2) there may also be an idea of being treated or regarded particularly well. ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας: where we pick up his story again at 103.

#### 42–43 *The Persian financial and political settlement of Asia Minor*

This section is important, not least for the retrospective light which it sheds on the causes of the Ionian Revolt. The motives of Artaphrenes and Mardonios are not stated or investigated (see 43.3n. on τοὺς γὰρ τυράννους . . .), but the abolition of tyrannies, at least, was surely a rectifying response to the political discontent and grievances which began the revolt in the first place. See Hornblower 2013: 17.

42.1 κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο: 493 (31.1n.). οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐγένετο τούτων ἐς νεῖκος φέρον Ἴωσι ‘nothing more occurred to provoke the Ionians to a quarrel’. The primary meaning is ‘to any further battle or war between Ionians and Persians’: cf. 7.225.2. But νεῖκος more usually (Powell § 1) means the sort of disputatious quarrelling that has typified the *internal* Ionian exchanges, esp. before Lade (12–14), and so there may be a hint of the internal squabbling that Persian attacks ‘lead to’ (φέρων) as well as the external threat itself. That then connects conceptually with the peaceful harmony that now comes, but ironically has to be imposed by the Persians themselves. Along with 43.3 and the imposition of democracy, there is paradox everywhere. τάδε μὲν κάρτα χρήσιμα τοῖσι Ἴωσι ἐγένετο: the word τάδε looks forward to what follows: strictly, only the imposition of arbitration and the tribute-allocation should be included as happening τούτου τοῦ ἔτους (‘genitive of time within which’, cf. 10n.), but Mardonios’ democratising moves (43.3n.) the following year may be influencing the positive verdict. See also 42.2n. on κατὰ δὴ . . ., end of n.

So, for once, there is a respite in the normal pattern of κακά coming on the Ionians as a result of their engagement with the east (5.28n.; also 3, 19.2, 98.2, with nn.).

42.1 (cont.) μεταπεμψάμενος ἀγγέλους: including Hekataios, according to Diod. 10.25, who allows him to give Artaphrenes some moralising advice: if only they would treat the Ionians better, they would have less resentment to face. That suggests that this brief bout of good deeds seemed to someone, Diod. or a predecessor, to require an explanation. In fact Artaphrenes’ motives were probably more basic, and would have been assumed to be so by Hdt.’s audience: 43.3n. ἵνα δωσίδικοι εἶεν: with the arbitration

arrangements here described cf. R/O no. 16, c. 390 BC, again encouraged or imposed by Persia, which provides for a jury of five representatives apiece from ten of the cities in the Panionion (7n.) to settle a boundary dispute between the remaining two, Miletos and Myous. This is a century later, but may still suggest that Hdt. had good information: cf. Raaflaub 2009: 106. **καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιέν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν**: the original meaning of the double verb was ‘carry off [movables] and drive off [cattle]’ (as still at 1.88.3, where the verbs govern τὰ σά, acc.). But that specificity was not always remembered, so that Hdt. can use it here to mean ‘plundering each other’ (acc.); so also at 90 (plundering the Aiginetans on the island), 1.166 (where the order is ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν) and 9.31.5 (Mardonios’ army).

**42.2 κατὰ παρασάγγας, τοὺς καλέουσι οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τριήκοντα στάδια**: see 5.53n. for the emphatic restatement of the ‘thirty stade’ equivalence, already given at 2.6.3. **κατὰ δὴ τούτους... ἐξ Ἀρταφρένεος** ‘measuring out their territory in these (parasangs), he assigned tribute-assessments to each people, which remain in place (κατὰ χώραν, and ἔχοντες impersonal) as drawn up by Artaphrenes continuously from this time even to my own day’. This must mean that the *Persian* tax assessment (rather than Athenian, as some have thought) for each of the Ionian cities (not each rich individual) remained the same in Hdt.’s day as the *Persian* assessments had been when Artaphrenes first fixed them. So rightly Murray 1966, who thought that the Persians continued to claim to be owed taxes right through the 5th cent. even when there was no realistic hope of extracting them. Th. 8.5.5 shows that this claim continued to be made as late as 411 (Tissaphernes is sent down by the king to collect the *phoroi* which could not be collected because of the Athenians: cf. *CT* III: 771–2). This general picture must be right, but it now seems likely that the Ionian cities were much wealthier than was once thought (see Osborne 1999), so it is possible that the cities of Asia Minor actually did pay tribute to both the Persian and the Athenian empires.

Hdt. may note the continuation to his own day just as a curiosity, but it may also convey the assessment’s overall fairness: it has not needed to be revised (though admittedly this point would be weak if the tribute had indeed come to be largely or wholly notional). The same point may be suggested by noting that the new levies were much in line with the old. It is still not easy to see why this should have been thought so very beneficial to the Ionians (κάρτα χρήσιμα, above), but it is certainly peaceful rather than warlike, εἰρηναῖα not ἐς νεῖκος φέρον. Or else Hdt. has forgotten how his thoughts began.

**42.2 (cont.) κατὰ ταῦτά τὰ καὶ πρότερον εἶχον**: i.e. those paid to Persia before the revolt, and perhaps stretching back to those paid to Kroisos

before the fall of Lydia (1.27.1), though 3.89.3 might suggest that organisation was less regularised and bureaucratic under Kyros and Kambyes than it became under Dareios.

**43.1** καὶ σφι ταῦτα μὲν εἰρηναῖα ἦν ‘these measures were peaceful for the Ionians’ or ‘made for peace for them’, in contrast to the warlike move of Mardonios that follows: the expression rounds off this collection of helpful policies by reverting to the theme of 42.1, οὐδὲν . . . ἐς νεῖκος φέρον τοῖς Ἴωσι, and like that embraces both peace with the Persians and peace among the Ionians themselves. ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι: 492 (31.1, 42.1nn.). καταλελυμένων: i.e. removed from office. κατέβαινε ‘was making his way’: the imperfect prepares for the particular incidents that took place within the timeframe of the journey, beginning in 43.2. Ἀρτοζώστην: she is the only daughter of Dareios named by Hdt., and this puts Mardonios in a special category. With the build-up of Mardonios at this, his introduction, compare 5.32, Megabates and n. there, and 7.143, Themistokles. Mardonios’ filiation from Gobryes, a major player in the overthrow of ps.-Smerdis in bk. 3, prepares us for the more or less explicit allusion to 3.80–2.

**43.2** ἐκομίζετο . . . ἤγον: inceptive imperfects marking a new stage begun in Kilikia, ‘began to travel on board ship’ and ‘began to take the land army’. For Kilikia as mustering point cf. 95.1 and n.

**43.3** μέγιστον θῶμα . . . τοῖσι ἑπτὰ . . . : the explicit back-reference is to 3.80 (speech of Otanes in c. 520 BC, with Pelling 2002); with the ‘ending of the tyrannies of the Ionians’ compare 5.37.2 and 38.2. The reference to ‘the seven’, i.e. the seven grandees who overthrew ps.-Smerdis and then took part in the 3.80–2 debate, assumes that the reader or listener remembers the story well. The word order, juxtaposing Ἑλλήνων with Περσέων and repeating Πέρσας in the emphatic final position, stresses the contrasts and paradoxes: *Greeks* would not believe that *Persians* could speak freely and propose democracy in *Persia*. This builds on, but is an even greater θῶμα than, the other ways that Persians have been treating Ionian Greeks in welcomely uncharacteristic ways (42.1, 43.1nn.). μέγιστον θῶμα ἐρέω: Hdt. rarely uses ἐρέω in this way to introduce a statement that immediately follows (Lightfoot 2003: 162 and n. 338); cf. 4.129.1. Listing ‘marvels’ has been a primary interest of Hdt. since the proem (ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά): cf. esp. 2.35.1, the great number of Egyptian θωμάσια as a primary reason for his expansive treatment of the country. See esp. Munson 2001. Here Hdt. is led to refine this familiar objective by concentrating on the more sceptical among his audience: those who were disbelieving at 3.80 will, as it were, inadvertently have held back their θῶμα to feel all the more now (μέγιστον); presumably those who were more sympathetic then

will feel less (though doubtless still some) amazement now. There is no way of telling how far these ‘audiences’ are real or constructed, but there is no reason to doubt that some would genuinely have been sceptical: it was already clear at 3.80.1 that Hdt. expected disbelief, noting that he will report speeches ἀπιστοι μὲν ἐνίοισι Ἑλλήνων. These explicit references to readers and listeners put us on our mettle to expect something special both in bk. 3 and now.

Lucian parodies the technique at *True history* 1.40, ‘I know that I will be narrating things that seem incredible but I’ll tell them anyway’, introducing a tale of floating islands inside the belly of the whale that is itself a parody of Hdt. 2.156.2.

**43.3 (cont.) ἀποδεκομένοισι:** present tense, not ‘those who did not accept’ but ‘those who do not/are disinclined to accept’. So this is not clear evidence that Hdt. had already received a sceptical response to recitation of bk. 3 provoking this reply in bk. 6. At 3.80.1 the phrasing more readily suggests (a) that the speeches were ‘unbelievable to some of the Greeks’ even before Hdt. included his version than (b) that people *will* find them incredible now; so there as here he can be referring to a pre-existing but continuing air of incredulity about the story. Cf. 1.193.4.

There may be some wordplay in the jingle ἀποδεκομένοισι... ἀποδέξασθαι, even though they come from different verbs (ἀποδέκομαι = both Attic ἀποδέχομαι and ἀποδείκνυμι), especially given the wordplay in the proem between Hdt.’s own ἀπόδεξις and the great works ἀποδεχθέντα by the characters in his text: Otanes put his opinion on display (ἀποδείκνυμι) and in his own way Hdt. responded in kind, but those sceptical listeners and readers fail to answer with an appropriate ‘I accept’ that this really happened (ἀποδέκομαι). 4.97.2 has a similar play on the two verbs. **δημοκρατίεσθαι:** the word was not used in the debate itself at 3.80–2, though this was clearly what was in point: cf. 131.1 n. In the bk. 3 debate, all three speakers talked in terms of the ‘rule’, κράτος or (in the verbal form) ἄρχειν, of the πλῆθος or ὄμιλος or δῆμος; Otanes spoke of ἰσονομία, and Dareios simply used δῆμος as a parallel option to ὀλιγαρχία and μουναρχία; cf. Pelling 2002: 135–9. ἰσονομία conveys a strong contrast with tyrannical denial of the rule of law, and that is useful for Otanes’ anti-tyrannical rhetoric. It is less clear why Megabyxos and Dareios avoid the word: perhaps because both are stressing the aimlessness of rule by the δῆμος, and talk of δημοκρατίη would imply more of a familiar regularised system than either is willing rhetorically to concede. By now in contrast it is the imposition of such a system that is in point. **τοὺς γὰρ τυράννους... δημοκρατίας κατίστα ἐς τὰς πόλεις:** Diod. 10.25 attributes this giving back of laws not to Mardonios but to Artaphrenes along with the tribute assessment, again (42.1n.) on Hekataios’ suggestion.

Still, this part of Diodoros' text is fragmentary and there may be some garbling.

The force of the imperfect κατίστα is unclear, perhaps deliberately: is it just that this 'establishment' required time and could not be instantaneous, or is it inceptive or conative, 'he began to' or 'tried to' do so? After the aorist καταπαύσας, which sounds like a single once-for-all act, and before ποιήσας, a further aorist might have been expected here if the construction of democracies had been as immediate and decisive as the destruction of the tyrannies.

The language closely echoes that at 5.37, and raises the logical problem: how could this general deposition have happened twice, once imposed by the rebel Aristagores and once by the loyal Persian Mardonios? Those tyrants expelled by Aristagores had fled to the Persians (9.2n.) and had played their part at Lade (10); but if they had been reinstated, Hdt. might have been expected to tell us so. Perhaps the emphasis falls here on πάντας (Mardonios now did this to *all* the tyrants); or perhaps 'all the tyrants' is an exaggeration for the only one we know for sure to have been deposed by Aristagores and then reinstated, viz. Aiakes of Samos (25.1, where the Phoenicians reinstate him on Persian instructions). Any of these views would imply that the echo of 5.37 can be expressive, and in that case the point of the present passage is also structural: here ends the Ionian Revolt *logos*, with Mardonios finishing what Aristagores began, just before that emblematic crossing of the Hellespont (33.1n.). But perhaps Hdt. has simply got it wrong.

As with Artaphrenes at 42.1 (n.), Hdt. does not speculate on Mardonios' motive. Here it is probably as simple as playing for Ionian goodwill and gratitude so as to avert any further revolt (Histiaios, admittedly scaremongering, had warned his fellow-tyrants at 4.137.2 that every city would prefer to have a democracy); and/or Mardonios or Dareios may have felt that the tyrants had outlived their usefulness. The stress on 'hurrying to the Hellespont' at 43.4 might well suggest a concern not to leave any dangerous unrest to the rear.

#### 43.4-49 FURTHER PERSIAN MOVES AGAINST EUROPE

43.4-45 *Mardonios crosses the Hellespont: the first land  
advance into Europe.*

Various techniques (nn.) mark the importance of this crossing of the continental divide: cf. Introduction p. 12. The initial success in Macedonia (44.1n.) is surprisingly swift; then the stress turns to the magnitude of the reverses, imposed by nature on the fleet and by the Thracians on the land

army. The quick retreat is then humiliating (αἰσχροῦς ἀγωνισάμενος, 45.2), especially after the initial stylistic build-up. The brief account prepares for 490 and 480 in several ways, explaining why Datis and Artaphrenes took the sea route in 490 (95) and setting out the dangers that faced Xerxes ten years later; the contrast between his grandiose methods and Mardonios' more conventional approaches may already be sensed (43.4, 44.2nn.).

**43.4** χρῆμα πολλὸν νεῶν 'a vast number of ships'. Hdt. is fond of this use of χρῆμα 'in periphrases to express something strange or extraordinary of its kind' (LSJ II 3): e.g. ὕδρ' χρῆμα μέγα, 1.36.2, where English might turn it round and say 'a boar, a great monster of a thing'. The idiom 'probably began as a colloquial usage and was felt to be such in the fifth and fourth centuries' (Stevens 1976: 21). It is forceful in dialogue, e.g. Plato *Tht.* 209e, *Rep.* 8.567e, and is emphatic here too. **συνελέχθη . . . συνελέχθη . . . ἐπορεύοντο . . . ἐπορεύοντο**: emphasis again, this time given by the repetition of the same word at the beginning of successive cola ('anaphora'). The combination of emphatic techniques marks the importance of the crossing into Europe, and διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης makes the point explicit. **διαβάντες τῇσι νηυσί**: i.e. by sailing in them. What makes this worth specifying is the contrast with Xerxes' later crossing, again using ships but lashing them together into a bridge (7.35–6): that too has often been felt to be emblematically significant as Xerxes assaults nature itself, turning the sea into land just as he turns the land into sea with the Mt. Athos canal (7.37). Cf. the stress on Mardonios' attempted *rounding* of Athos at 44.2. Those later events will have been sufficiently familiar to most of Hdt.'s immediate audience for them to sense the contrast already. **ἐπὶ τε Ἐρετρίαν καὶ Ἀθήνας**: the prominent mention of Eretria looks both backwards (to 5.99.1, see nn. there) and forwards (to 98–102 and – the narrative of the eventual fate of the Eretrians – 110). For the linking with Athens as the joint target cf. 94.2 (twice) and 99.2, the latter passage confirming that the pairing figured at the time of the 490 campaign in Persian propaganda. It has been doubted whether Hdt. is right in regarding this as the aim of the 492 campaign as well, but the attempt to round Athos at least suggests aspirations to go a good way further. Still, the successes in Thrace and Macedonia were real (44.1), and Mardonios is later allowed credit, along with Megabazos earlier, for expanding Persian control 'as far as the Thessalians' (7.108).

**44.1** Αὗται μὲν ὧν σφι πρόσχημα ἦσαν τοῦ στόλου, ἀτὰρ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες . . . : the pretext is set against the real or underlying cause or motive (cf. Th. 1.23.6 and 4.167.3), which is imperialist expansion. See also 94.1 (n.), where ἅμα suggests that the quest for vengeance was real enough together with the broader motive, even though it was less important. For similar distinctions between openly stated and deeper motives and reasons, cf. 13.2

(n.), 49.2, 61.1, 133.1; Introduction p. 11. Histiaios was already concealing a true cause at 3, but in several of these other cases it is again likely that the secondary motive remains real along with the deeper drive to self-interest. νηυσί...πεζῶι: the common sea-land balance; the narrative of 44 and 45 will follow this order. καταστρέφεισθαι...κατεστρέψαντο...δούλους προσεκτήσαντο: 'conquest' could normally, at least for the Persians, be assumed to have 'enslaving' as its result: cf. e.g. 11.2, 12.3, 22.1, 32, and note the presumed equivalence of δουλοσύνην and καταστρεψάμενος at 45.1–2. Doubtless the texture of this 'slavery' differed from one case to another, ranging from the simple acknowledgement of suzerainty and payment of φόρος to the deportations of 32, 94.2 (n.), and 119.2; but here the distinction of phrasing for the Macedonians is presumably just to neaten the juxtaposition with those slave subjects 'that they already had' in the interior. οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταειραμένους: this expression for 'resisting' is used here for the first time, and then three times in bk. 7 (143.3; 209.4; 212.1); cf. also Th. 3.32.2. Μακεδόνας...προσεκτήσαντο: Hdt. clearly regards these Macedonians as belonging among the 'Greek cities' he has just specified as the Persian target; at 5.22 (n.) and 8.139 he defends the Greekness of the Macedonian kings but makes no claim about the Macedonians as a whole.

So, in one short sentence, the Macedonians are overwhelmed, despite the build-up early in bk. 5, which might have created the expectation that the Persians will not have an easy time of the conquest of Macedonia. See Introductory n. to 5.17–22.

44.2 διαβαλόντες πέρην ὑπὸ τήν ἡπειρον ἐκομίζοντο: 'they crossed and then sailed under cover of the mainland'. The army would meanwhile have been marching in the same direction, but the concentration on the ships prepares for their disaster at Athos. μέχρι Ἀκάνθου. ἐκ δὲ Ἀκάνθου ὀρμώμενοι...: Hdt.'s first mention of Akanthos, which will be the location both of the memorable death and heroisation of the Persian Artachaies during a pause in Xerxes' march (7.117–18), and of an equally though differently notable visit by Brasidas in 424 BC (Th. 4.84–8), an episode possibly known to Hdt. Akanthos (*Barr.* map 51 B4) was at the narrow point where the Akte/Athos peninsula of Chalkidike joins the mainland. It is *IACP* no. 559; for other modern refs. see *CT* II: 275. The contrast between the handling of the first mentions of the place by Hdt. and Th. is instructive. It is Th. (4.84.1), not Hdt., who specifies that Akanthos was a colony of Andros. Here and elsewhere, Th. is more interested in the metropolis and daughter-city relationship than is Hdt., and generally takes less knowledge for granted. Good remarks in Fragoulaki 2013: 146 n. 32, 189 and n. 297, and 218–19. τὸν Ἄθων περιέβαλλον 'they *tried* to round Athos': 43.4n. Hdt. reserves a very full and detailed account of Athos for 7.22 (cf. Th.

4.109). Here, the first mention of Athos in the *Histories*, we are meant to know where and what it is. The present passage is needed so as to explain the building of the canal in bk. 7, and that is a θῶμα, hence the elaboration; but the postponement is still curious. If the information is considered helpful at 7.22, it would have been even more so here. **ἐπιπτεσών δέ:** the abrupt participle at the start of the sentence enacts the suddenness and violence of the storm. The same word is used at 7.189.3 (cf. below), and often of human attacks in warfare. **βορῆς ἄνεμος μέγας τε καὶ ἄπορος:** Greeks would make no sharp distinction between Bore(e)s the north wind and Bore(e)s the divinity. Similar language is used at 7.189, when the Athenians recall this when praying to Bore(e)s to blow again in 480: the storm follows that wrecks many Persian ships before Artemision. The present storm, like that one, was a kind of epiphany. **τρηχέως:** a favourite adverb with περιέπω, but more usually of humans 'treating roughly' other humans, generally in battle: 15.1, also 5.1.1 (n.) and four times elsewhere; not in battle, 1.114.3, 2.63.4. Like ἐπιπτεσών, it reinforces the idea of the storm being like a personalised epiphany.

**44.3 λέγεται γὰρ . . . εἶναι** 'it is said that the number of ships destroyed was in the region of 300'. For scepticism about the figure three hundred here, see Fehling 1989: 224 and Ruffing 2013: it may be an estimate of 'half' of the usual figure of 600 for a Persian fleet, 95.2n. **ὑπὲρ δὲ δύο μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων:** for the figure, cf. Th. 7.27.5: more than 20,000 slaves deserted after the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia. Round numbers should not automatically be disbelieved, but this total would be impossible to ascertain, like Th.'s figure for the slaves. **ὥστε:** explanatory: 'given that the sea here around Athos is particularly rich in fierce creatures . . .' **θηριωδυστάτης:** Hdt. is probably thinking of sharks: one was caught in 2013 close to Thasos. But θηριωδυστάτης is an exaggeration, at least if these modern marine populations are any guide: sharks are much more frequent to the east, off the Turkish coast. Hdt. may already be preparing the notion of land and sea as hostile to the Persian advance beyond the continental boundary, just as they will be in 480 when the sea, lashed once again by storms, will throw the fleet against the land. Cf. 7.188–91, again around Athos, where the destructive wind is, significantly, the 'Hellespontian'; then 8.13–14 before Artemision.

'A big sea creature', κῆτος μέγα, is one of the dangers that the swimming Odysseus fears at *Od.* 5.408–23, along with that of being dashed against coastal rocks. Odysseus' plight may be echoed in other ways here: see on ῥίγει below.

**44.3 (cont.) νέιν οὐκ ἠπιστέατο:** the Persians could not swim, just as at Salamis, 8.89.2. See 45.1n. on αἰσχροῶς for the significance of this. **ῥίγει:** this probably refers to the effect of long immersion in water, as at *Od.*



5.472, rather than giving any indication of the time of year: Instinsky 1957: 485–90 = 1965: 483–90

**45.1 Βρύγοι Θρήικες:** the Brygoi or Briges (the name is related to that of the group who migrated to Asia and became known as the Phrygians) are recorded in different parts of the north Balkans at different times, no doubt drifting around as such people did. These Thracian Brygoi are evidently north of Chalkidike. Strabo also says (7 fr. 14a Radt) that the Brygoi formerly occupied the area round Mt. Bermion (for which see *Barr.* map 49 D3), and this is much closer to Hdt.'s presumed location for them. See Oberhummer *R.-E.* 3 cols. 920–1 and Hammond 1972: 302–3. **οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων:** cf. 44.1n. A very emphatic assertion, or rather assertion disguised as a denial. **Μαρδόνιος:** this could have been put in the third person plural, 'they did not...', but the specification of Mardonios makes it sound as if this is an act of personal vengeance for his wounding. **αἰσχροῦς ἀγωνισάμενος:** again strongly put: not just 'unsuccessfully' but 'disgracefully'. Death by drowning (44.3) was, it seems, thought particularly dreadful and humiliating (*Od.* 5.312, *Il.* 21.281–2); among prominent Homeric figures it is the fate only of the unimpressive lesser Ajax (*Od.* 4.449–501).

Mardonios will duly be relieved of his command, 94.1, where his failure is characterised with the equally strong φλαύρως; his own later description of the campaign as 'very nearly reaching Athens' sounds ridiculous (7.9 α2), just as his claim there that 'no-one faced us in battle' glosses over the Brygoi. The catastrophic failure of this early Persian expedition against the mainland Greeks prefigures the eventual larger-scale failure of Xerxes. Even the elements are already against them.

**45.1 (cont.) ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην:** again emphasising the continental theme, forming a ring with διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης at the expedition's outset, 43.4. Hdt. does not say what happened to the army once it had crossed back; one obvious possibility is that it remained somewhere in Asia Minor, but Datis and Artaphrenes bring a fresh army for the 490 campaign (95.1).

#### 46–47 *The Thasians surrender to Persia; their spectacular mineral wealth*

Thasos and Aigina (50) are singled out for expansive treatment. Both were large, prosperous and outward-looking islands; for Thasos see Osborne 2009. They were the two highest-contributing tributary members of the Delian League, paying 30 talents a year each, albeit at different periods. Both islands eventually came to grief at the hands of the Athenians, Aigina more comprehensively.

A further reason for the generous space allotted to Thasos may be Hdt.'s autopsy, for which see 47.1n. He was naturally proud of his first-hand knowledge and visit. See also 46.2n. (importance of Thasos in bk. 7).

**46.1** δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τούτων: inclusive counting, so 'in the following year', i.e. 491; but the despatch of the messenger did not need to wait for the beginning of the campaigning season and could be very early in the year. On the chronology see also 48.1n. **Θασίους διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων ὥς ἀπόστασιν μηχανώιατο:** for Thasos see 28.1n. The range of διαβάλλω – sometimes 'deceive', sometimes 'slander', sometimes 'denounce', sometimes 'disingenuously mislead' but without necessarily any lying, and often with an additional nuance of 'setting at odds' (Pelling 2007: 183–5) – leaves it ambiguous exactly what the neighbours had done, though it was clearly bad: perhaps they had just denounced the Thasians, or perhaps they had tricked them or stirred them up to revolt by raising unrealistic hopes rather as Aristagores stirred up the Athenians at 5.97.2 (διαβάλλειν again). The ambiguity continues in the ὥς clause: if 'denounce' or 'slander', the neighbours said 'that' the Thasians were plotting revolt; if 'tricked' or 'led astray', this was 'in order that' they would do so.

These neighbours are not specified, but they must be mainlanders, because there is no island closer than Samothrace, 60 km. to the east. Abdera, opposite Thasos to the east, is an obvious candidate (see below, n. on ἐς Ἀβδηρα). Neapolis, opposite Thasos to the west, was a Thasian colony (*IACP* no. 634), and therefore less likely to have wished to bring disaster to the mother-city, unless either (a) the bitterness attested by e.g. ML 89 (409–7 BC) was already in evidence in the 490s or (b) there was no intentional misleading, just unfortunate over-optimism. In any case, it is odd that Hdt. does not specify. Perhaps he did not know, or perhaps the generalising is another discreet way of preparing for 480–479, when inter-state tensions and sensitivities will be so important.

**46.1 (cont.)** ἐς Ἀβδηρα κομίζειν: Abdera, a Teian foundation, 'occupied one of the very few natural harbours east of the [river] Nestos' (*IACP* no. 640, p. 873), and was on notably friendly terms with Xerxes: cf. 8.120, extravagant royal gifts during his return journey after the defeat at Salamis. Cf. *IACP* for a plausible conjecture that Abdera and Thasos were rivals.

**46.2** οἷα ὑπὸ Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ Μηλήσιου πολιορκηθέντες: as narrated at 28.1. οἷα is causal, 'because they were being besieged... and had large revenues', one factor explaining why they wanted to and the other why they could. Hdt. delays giving the evidence for the Thasians' wealth until now, but it was also presumably part of the motive for Histiaios' briefly narrated attack (28.1n. on ἄγων). **προσόδων ἰουσέων μεγάλων:** in what follows, Hdt. speaks only of the mineral resources which the Thasians possessed

and exploited, but the early inscribed legislation about the Thasian trade in quality wines redresses the concentration of the literary texts upon mining interests (Osborne 2009: 109).

Hdt.'s own later mentions of Thasos help to explain the fullness of the present passage, especially 7.118 (Antipatros of Thasos spends 400 talents 'on behalf of the Thasian mainland cities' to feed Xerxes' army). The 'quarrel' of the 460s between Athenians and Thasians about 'the markets and the mine' (Th. 1.100.2, where 'markets' may embrace the wine trade) is also relevant; see 47.2n. on τὸ τεῖχος... This also prepares for the future in a further way, prefiguring an important element in 480, the Athenian windfall from its own (silver) mines (7.144.1). Thasos uses the money prudently, just as Athens will be persuaded by Themistokles to do; both cities build ships, initially with a non-Persian enemy (Histiaios, Aigina) in mind. But the Thasians fail to follow through: 48.1.

**46.3 ἐν Σκαπτησύλῃ:** this form of the place name is preferable to the alternative Σκαπτὴ Ὑλῃ (Wilson, *Herodotea*: 112, also giving reasons for accepting Blaydes' adjustment of the word order). Hdt. seems to introduce the name as one likely to be familiar, presumably for the same reasons that made it still the archetypal gold mine for Lucr. 6.810, rich but dreadful to work in with its underground stench. In exile Thucydides the historian lived and died there (Marcell. *Life of Thucydides* 25, 47, Plut. *Kim.* 4.3). Its precise location is uncertain. **ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Θάσῳ:** for the mines on Thasos itself, see Wagner and Weisgerber 1988. **καρπῶν ἀτελέσι:** 'i.e. when free from the exactions of Persians – or of Athenians' (Macan).

**47.1 εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα:** the claim to a visit and autopsy is reiterated from 2.44.4 (ἀπικόμεν δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὐρον etc.), and there is no reason to doubt it. **οἱ Φοίνικες... οἱ μετὰ Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον:** one reason why Hdt. expands on the Phoenician aspect of Thasos is the prominence of the Phoenicians in the military story so far in bk. 6, most recently at 41.1 (where they have actually reached Tenedos).

Here κτίζω must mean 'settled', 'colonised'. The usual story had Thasos colonised by Greeks from Paros (Th. 4.104.4, Strabo 10.5.7, and esp. Archilochos fr. 21 W and 22 W). But although there is no direct archaeological evidence for Phoenicians, the Phoenician story is also believable. The arguments in favour of it are partly religious (the cult of Herakles/Melkart on Thasos, see Stafford 2005 and Malkin 2011: 132–3) and partly circumstantial; there is much early pottery on Thasos from a wide area (Troy, Lemnos, Macedon), so the Phoenicians are argued to be the best candidates for the bringers. On this view, the pre-Greek population was Thracian, and the Phoenicians brought the pottery to them. The Phoenician and Parian traditions are not difficult to reconcile, provided it is assumed that the Phoenicians got to the island first.

Apollodoros (3.1.2) says Thasos was son of Poseidon ‘or of Kilix, as Pherekydes says’ (*FGrHist* 3 F 87, also F 87 in *EGM* I p. 321), and that he founded the city of Thasos in Thrace (the text has been emended so as to give ‘...Thasos in <an island off>Thrace’). The name Kilix may be ‘spuriously specific’ for ‘Phoenician’, rather than an indication of actual immigration from Kilikia, though this is also possible: Fowler, *EGM* II: 348. Another strand of the mythographic tradition made Thasos brother of Kadmos and son of Agenor (Paus. 5. 25. 12 etc, *EGM* II: 348 n. 3).

**47.1 (cont.)** ἦτις νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸ οὐνομα ἔσχηκε: ἐπὶ = ‘from’ or ‘in memory of’ (Powell A I 4). This is often (most recently by Fowler *EGM* II: 348 n. 3) taken as ‘Thasos the Phoenician’, which would be pointless redundancy, but the Greek could equally mean ‘Thasos son of Phoinix’, and that works better here. Phoinix, in the usual genealogical scheme, was grandfather of Thasos and father of Kilix (see the tree at *EGM* II: 348). Hdt. will then be offering yet another genealogical scheme for Thasos and his family the ‘Agenorids’. See previous n.

Hdt. is fond of such onomastic explanations; see e.g. 7.61.3, Persians taking their name from Perses son of Perseus, and 7.74.1, Lydians called after Λυδός (both again with ἐπὶ).

**47.2** μεταξύ Αἰνύρων... Σαμοθρήικης: the location of Ainura is fixed by a short inscription found at Aliki on the south of the island, indicating distances. See Salviat and Servais 1964: 268 line 4 (Ainura 13,660 *orguiiai* from the *polis* of Thasos on the north of the island, i.e. 24,342 m.). Ainura is in Potamia bay, which is between Thasos town (mod. Limenas) and Aliki. For gold mines at Koinura, south of Potamia bay, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1988. ὄρος μέγα ἀνέστραμμένον ἐν τῇι ζητήσι: a graphic exaggeration: ‘a great mountain was turned upside down in the quest’ (i.e. for precious metal). So it will not just be the Persian Xerxes who transforms nature, changing the land into sea at nearby Athos (7.37, cf. 43.4, 44.2nn.); the Greeks have long been doing the same. Romm 2006: 186–90 reasonably observes that Hdt.’s attitude to such ‘human dominion over nature’ is not always the same, and lists cases where ‘grand-scale reshaping of the earth’s topography elicit wonder and amazement’, for instance the ducts and tunnels that created the artificial Lake Moiris (2.149). It is less clear that this is quite the tone here. τὸ τεῖχος τὸ σφέτερον κατέϊλον καὶ τὰς νέας πᾶσας ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἄβδηρα: this rounds off the section by closely echoing its opening at 46.1. The Thasians meekly do what they were told.

Three decades later (463 BC) the Thasians were again forced to pull down their walls, this time on the orders of the Athenians, from whom they had revolted unsuccessfully: Th. 1.101.3. Either they had rebuilt them in between, or the Persian order was not carried out fully (*IACP* p. 781); the

first explanation is perhaps likelier. Hdt. may intend an unspoken parallel between the two surrenders, both of which also entailed the handing over of the Thasian fleet (Raaflaub 2009: 110). That is, Athenian domination turned out to be as harsh as Persian, and took the same forms – the Athenians ‘learning from the enemy’, in the title of Raaflaub’s essay.

48–9 *Persian demand from the Greek states for earth and water*

For the fate of the envoys sent to Athens and Sparta, see 7.133: those sent to Athens were hurled into the Pit and those to Sparta into a well, and told to fetch earth and water from there. Hdt. delays this information because he has a story to tell now, and it is about Aigina. He does not wish to be deflected by narrating the responses of the Athenians and Spartans.

**48.1 Μετά δὲ τοῦτο:** the chronology is problematic, and important: on it depends, in part, the answer to the question, when did Dareios decide to subject the whole of Greece (the demand for earth and water is a preliminary to this). The smoothest reading of the text also gives the most likely chronology, putting the despatch of heralds later than the demands to Thasos but in the same Athenian archon year 492/1, probably fairly early in 491.

It has been said (Rhodes 2003: 61) that ‘the new topic begins at an earlier point than the end of the old topic’, and that the demand for earth and water should be pushed back a couple of years from where Hdt. initially appears to place it, which is after the reduction of Thasos (47.2). Rhodes first argues that Hdt.’s dating of the despatch of heralds may suggest 492/1 (rather than 491/0), but the ‘backtracking’ may allow us to put it back a further year to 493/2. (Against Rhodes, see Tuplin 2010: 272–3.) It is not unreasonable, perhaps, to take μετά δὲ τοῦτο as following on from πρῶτα μὲν of 46.1 (thus Tuplin): the various developments that have intervened all seem to constitute a parenthesis following through that demand of 46.1 to its logical consequence, except that of οἱ δὲ Θάσιοι of 47.2 which seems to pick up the story from before the parenthesis. In that case the τοῦτο that this despatch of 48.1 is ‘after’ is not the reduction of Thasos but the initial demand of 46.1, i.e. after the beginning rather than the end of the old topic. If this is right, it does allow 48.1 to give some ‘backtracking’, but only to a point later than 46.1.

A bigger problem in following Rhodes is in assuming that Mardonios’ expedition straddled the two years 493/2 and 492/1 and in interpreting δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ τούτων at 46.1 (n.) as ‘in the second (i.e. the next) year after’ not Mardonios’ retreat but the beginning of that expedition. But that δέ is answering the μὲν of the previous sentence of 45.2, which is explicitly about Mardonios’ departure (ἀπαλλάχθη). Probably we would

have to squeeze all Mardonios' expedition into the single archon year 493/2, contra Rhodes and probably contra the suggestions of 95.2(n.), and that would still get the despatch of the heralds only into 492/1, not 493/2. Still, assuming that the despatch of the heralds and the fleet preparations belong together (48.2n.), 492/1 does look the right year for that (τῶι προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ, 95.1 and n.).

In that case, Dareios' aspiration to conquer all of Greece cannot be later than 492/1. Does this imply a broadening of aim from that of Mardonios' expedition, nominally against Eretria and Athens but also 'to conquer as many Greek cities as they could' (44.1)? Perhaps, though we might also assume that, if Mardonios' campaign had gone spectacularly well, he would not have held back from total conquest, overwintering in Greece as he would in 480–479 (8.115.1, 131.1). Equally, this demand for earth and water might serve now as a test to see how much of Greece was likely to capitulate easily; widespread refusal could lead to some limiting of that 'aspiration'. What does seem clear is that Dareios' rhetoric now became more thunderous: no more any 'pretext' (πρόσχημα, 44.1) of targeting just Eretria and Athens, but an open demand for total subjection.

**48.1 (cont.)** ἀπεπειράτο... ὃ τι ἐν νόῳ ἔχοιεν 'sent out feelers to see what they had in mind': cf. 9.21.3.

**48.2** αἰτέειν βασιλεῖ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ 'to demand for the king earth and water': cf. 94.1. For this formal and symbolic submission as a Greek custom, see 5.17.1n. For the Greek mythical pattern whereby a gift of a clod of earth can symbolise or prefigure transfer of territory, see Hornblower 2015: 479 on Lycoph. *Alex.* 1380–1.

**49.1** καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινῆται: Hdt. now, by a neat transition, returns to the Aiginetan theme which was suspended at 5.89.3.

**49.2** ἐπὶ σφίσι ἐπέχοντας 'with themselves in mind as their target': both ἐπέχω and ἔχω, here transmitted as a variant, are also used of more physical 'bearing down on' in manoeuvres or battle, e.g. ἐπεῖχέ τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεήτας at 9.59.1 and σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα twice in 8.40.1–2.

ἐπί + dat. here combines elements of 'against' and 'with a view to': cf. the definitely sinister Th. 7.79.3 (ἐπὶ τῶι σφετέρῳ ὀλέθρῳ) with *CT* on the 'menacing atmosphere' thus conveyed.

**49.2 (cont.)** ἄσμενοι: see below, n. on προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα. **προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο**: so the Athenians, figuring in a Persian πρόσχημα at 44.1, now resort to something similar themselves; but once again there is no need to doubt that the Athenian fears and resentment were genuine *as well as* their desire to grab an opportunity to stir the Spartans into action. **φοιτούντες**: this and the imperfect κατηγορεῖν imply repeated

visits. **προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα**: fine-sounding words from the Athenians, but in view of the hostilities and bad blood recounted in bk. 5, this is inflated rhetoric. ἄσμενοι suggests as much. Still, even inflated rhetoric can touch the truth: the thought is picked up authorially at 61.1, where Kleomenes in Aigina (whatever his motives) is said to be ‘laying a preparation for the general good of Greece’. The accusation of medism will be tauntingly recalled, at a moment of Aiginetan bravery at Salamis, by Polykritos of Aigina, who is almost certainly son of the Krios who is about to be introduced at 50: see 8.92.2.

### 50–86 SPARTA AND AIGINA

Kleomenes’ intervention on Aigina provides the link to a lengthy Spartan section. Some heavyweight ethnographic material (56–60) is framed and enlivened by two excursuses with a very different flavour: 51–5, the uniquely Spartan fairy-tale story of the queen’s bathing of the twin babies, followed by the more usual Greek genealogy for the kings, and after it the Persian one; then 61–3, another baby-story, this time with a supernatural element: an epiphany by Helen is suggested but not made explicit. Baby-stories may contain an element of menace alongside the charm (as most obviously at 5.92, the smiling baby Kypselos). Here the first story, at least, foreshadows strife, because the enmity between the twins points to the perennial rivalry between the two royal houses. At 64, the reference to Aiginetan medisers picks up the language and thought of 50.1 (n.), so that Aigina encloses Sparta in an even larger frame. The already simmering hostility between Kleomenes and Demaretos boils over as a result of the Aigina episode (64–5.1), and this leads to a quasi-biographical section about Demaretos (65.2–70). This, too, has a supernatural aspect: another possible epiphany, this time by the hero Astrabakos. Thereafter (71–90) Kleomenes dominates the narrative. See also Introduction p. 13 and Hornblower 2013: 12 for the importance of the Aiginetan material.

**50.1** **πρὸς** ‘in response to’. **Αἰγινήτων τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους**: the language suggests that Kleomenes thought that the Aiginetans were divided about their decision. Talk of such punishment of the αἰτιώτατοι tends to be presented from the viewpoint of the punisher, as at 4.202.1, Pheretime ‘impaled the αἰτιώτατοι of the Barkaians’, and 3.52.7, Th. 3.36.4 and 50.1. But that way of putting it at 4.202.1 does not suggest that Pheretime’s judgment was wrong, even if the Barkaian populace took some of the blame (μεταίτιον, 4.200.1), and here too Αἰγινήτων τοὺς μηδίσαντας at 64 suggests that Kleomenes’ judgment had some basis in truth. Still, the real divisions it opens up will be those in Sparta.

**50.2 ἀντίξοι:** 7n. As often, with γίνεσθαι, ‘to oppose’. **Κριός ὁ Πολυκρίτου:** for this Krios (= Ram) see Simonides F 518 *PMG*, an epinikian or victory poem: ‘he was fleeced, and no wonder, when he came to the glorious wooded precinct of Zeus’. This seems to refer to athletic activity at a panhellenic festival or contest: Zeus was patron of the festivals at both Olympia and Nemea.

The name is not all that rare. For a curious verse attestation from Athens, c. 400 BC, see *CEG* 1: no. 105: the deceased had the name of a κριός, but the soul of a just man. Above the epigram, the name Κριός is inscribed. Was the play on the name’s meaning prompted by awareness of Hdt.? With the patronym, cf. 8.92 and 93.1, Polykritos (II) son of Krios and grandson of Polykritos (I): a brave Aiginetan at Salamis; cf. 49.2n.

**50.2 (cont.)** ὃς οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸν οὐδένα ἄξιν χαίροντα Αἰγινήτων: that is, Krios said that if Kleomenes removed any Aiginetan, he would not get away with it: see Powell, χαίρειν (4), ‘χαίρων, *in peace, unpunished*’. **Σπαρπητέων τοῦ κοινοῦ:** 56.1n. **ἀναγνωσθέντα** ‘persuade’, but often with a derogatory tinge, either because of the nature of the persuasion (here, Krios alleges, effectively bribery, and compare the allegations of improper persuasion against Kleomenes himself at 75.3) or because of the untoward action that may result (e.g. 83.2 and 5.106.1); still, it is not always bad (7.144.1 and 8.57.2, 58.2, of Themistokles). **ἅμα γὰρ ἂν μιν τῷ ἑτέρῳ βασιλεῖ ἐλθόντα συλλαμβάνειν** ‘for otherwise [i.e. if he had been acting with official sanction] he would have brought the other king with him to carry out the arrests’, lit. ‘it would be with the other king that he would have come and would (now) be carrying out the arrests’. The Aiginetans were perhaps appealing to a particular interpretation of the law, νόμος, which was passed after 506 BC, as described by Hdt. at 5.75.2: in future, only one king should command expeditions. (See n. there, but for ‘6.73.2’ read ‘6.50.2 with 73.2’.) If the original Spartan treaties with their allies contained a promise to follow wherever ‘Spartan kings’ might lead, then ‘to keep one king at home would automatically free the ally from his obligation’ (Forrest 1980: 89 and 91). At 73.2, the Aiginetans, when confronted with both kings, do hand the men over. Kleomenes was not leading an army out to war, but he will not have arrived on the island without armed force, and Demaretos was perfectly capable of the casuistry and the Spartan constitutional knowledge needed to construct such an argument and pass it on to Krios, and so buy some time for the Aiginetans.

**50.3 ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου** ‘he said this on the instigation of Demaretos’. Not absurd: the two men could have got to know each other at a panhellenic festival: see 70.3 for Demaretos’ Olympic victory, and 50.2n. for Krios as athlete. ἐπιστολή means ‘injunction’ or



‘instruction’, whether oral (as at 4.10.1, the only other occurrence in Hdt.) or written. Here, an oral message is likelier. Either way, the injunction must have been sent post-haste by messenger, after Demaretos became aware of Kleomenes’ intentions. Demaretos was perhaps Hdt.’s source, at least for the detail of the message (Introduction p. 14 n. 23). He has not been mentioned since 5.75, but is here casually introduced, with no patronymic. In the next chapter (see 51 and n.) he will get a second formal introduction, almost exactly as in bk. 5. **καταχαλκοῦ**: the allusion is to sacrificial gilding of an animal (Griffiths cited at Dewald 2006: 162 n. 15), and this adds ‘a sinister undertone to the overt threat’ (Dewald). With the exploitation of the name compare 9.91, Hegesistratos ‘leader of the army’. **συννοισόμενος μεγάλῳ κακῷ**: lit. ‘as one who is going to collide with a great evil’.

**51 Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος**: he has just been mentioned without patronymic, but he is now given it as part of a full formal reintroduction with royal title (50.3n. on ἔλεγε...). But in fact Hdt. often gives the patronymics of both Kleomenes and Demaretos, and it is not always as easy as this to see why. Ariston will soon become an agent in his own right (from 61). **διέβαλλε τὸν Κλεομένεα** ‘he was trying to undermine Kleomenes’, echoed at 61.1. For the verb, see 46.1n. Several of its suggestions may here be in play: ‘slander’, ‘put at odds’ (with the rest of the Spartans), perhaps even ‘trick’, though it does not look as if any false statements were involved in the case of 50.3. However exactly it is to be translated, the word is negative, and this may suggest – like the authorial praise of Kleomenes at 61.1 – that even if Hdt. drew on Demaretos as a source, he was not entirely in sympathy with him in his struggle with Kleomenes. **ἔων βασιλεὺς καὶ οὗτος Σπαρτητέων**: see 5.75 for the introductory description of Demaretos in exactly the same words, except that their order there was trivially different. This is not mechanical repetition, because this time the statement that he too was king but of the subordinate line (‘the inferior house’, see below) functions as a bridge to an account of the dual kingship and of the supposed origin of the tensions between the lines.

The Spartan dual kingship was one of the most unusual features of the city’s political organisation. Its origins are a matter for conjecture; perhaps they should be sought in the original unification of the four constituent villages (Cartledge 1987: 102). For Hdt., the Delphic oracle provided the sanction (52.3n. on ἀμφοτέρω...).

**51 (cont.) οἰκίης δὲ τῆς ὑποδεστέρης** ‘from the inferior house’, i.e. – on Hdt.’s view – the Eurypontid line, rather than the Agiad; see 52n. In practice the senior king seems to have been the one who had reigned longest: Wade-Gery 1925: 567 n. 2, citing Th. 5.24.1 (the Eurypontid king named

before the Agiad) and what is now R/O no. 3 (other way round). **κατὰ πρεσβυγενείην**: i.e. an element inherent in the double kingship presages a theme of the current story, just as the tension of the double kingship is going to be replicated in particularly intense form in Demaretos and Leutychides.

52–55 *The origins of the double royal house at Sparta: Argeia and the twins*

The type-scene (Alter 2011: ch. 3) is made up of elements found elsewhere, both in Hdt. and in the Hebrew bible. For the mother who by tricking the slower-witted men manages to secure the kingship for her son, see 5.92 γ–δ (Labda and Kypselos). Here in bk. 6 the mother's trickery consists in pretending that she does not know which of the identical twins is the elder, when she 'knows perfectly well' (see 52.4 and n., also 52.7 n.: she surely knew why she was being watched).

The theme of the warring twins (sometimes from the womb, see 52.8 and n.) who generate a double and antagonistic line of descent is exemplified by the biblical story of Jacob (= Israel) and Esau: Genesis 27. Here too a mother schemingly arranges matters so as to advance one of her sons. Rebekah's ruse is to persuade the younger son Jacob, 'a smooth man', to disguise himself as the elder son Esau, a 'hairy man', and thus secure their weak-eyed and aged father Isaac's (main) blessing. But there are differences: Hdt.'s twins are identical, the biblical twins are not; and Argeia is making sure that the elder son does in fact succeed along with the younger, whereas Rebekah overturns the natural order of succession.

The story of the mother and her twins is intended to explain the seniority of the 'Agiad' house (i.e. that to which Eurysthenes belonged, as opposed to the 'Eurypontid' descendants of Prokles: cf. 7.204 and 8.131.2 for selective king-lists). But it has been speculated that the reality behind the story is that the Agiads were once the sole ruling family, and the Eurypontids were added in the 'democratising' eighth century. See Cartledge 1987: 23 and 2002: 90 with App. 3.

**52.1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇι λέγουσι...**: for the poetic citation, see 5.95.1n. on Alkaios, though here Hdt. presumably has no single poet in mind but rather a traditional version retailed by several poets; cf. 55n. These may have included the Spartan Kinaithon and the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, as both at least treated Hyllos and both were rich in genealogy, and also the Spartan Tyrtaios, who said something about the Herakleidai's return (fr. 2.12–15). As 'Aristodemos himself... and not Aristodemos' sons' here suggests, the return of the Herakleidai was usually attributed to those sons Eurysthenes and Prokles (52.7): see EGM II:

335–6 and *OCD*<sup>4</sup> s.v. ‘Heraclidae’. But Xenophon too assigns it to Aristodemos himself (*Ages.* 8.7).

The Spartans diverge not only from all poets, but from all other Greeks: 53.1, λέγουσι again. This word (repeated soon after at 52.2 and again at 52.8) explains why all of what follows is in accusative and infinitive construction. The idea that Hdt. regards the Spartans as generically different from other Greeks is already planted here; see 56–60n. on Spartan ‘exceptionalism’.

**52.2** Ἀργείην: sister of Theras, who on Aristodemos’ death acted as regent until the young princes grew up (4.147). It is surprising to find the ethnic of the hated rival city Argos used as a personal name at Sparta, but this woman provides a connection with Polyneikes of Thebes, and thus a non-Dorian line of descent, cf. 5.72.3n. For the name Argeia, see Theoc. 15.97 with Gow 1950: 2.292. For ethnics used as personal names, usually in cities other than that represented by the ethnic, see 26.1 n. (Βισιάτης). ἐπιδόντα: he (just barely) ‘lived to see’ his children. νούσωι τελευτᾶν: see 5.122.2n. on Hymaies the Persian. The infinitives, other than βουλευῆσαι in the next line, now move from aorist into present, plunging the reader more immediately into the action as it becomes more tense. At 52.5 they move back into the aorist with ἀνελεῖν.

**52.3** Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοὺς τότε ἔοντας: on the face of it an odd emphasis, for of course it was the Lakedaimonians ‘of the day’ (who else?). Cf. 52.5n. for a possible explanation. ὥστε καὶ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἔοντων ‘given that they looked the same and were the same size’, i.e. the twins were identical or close to it. <δια>γνῶναι ‘to tell them apart’, an improvement on the MSS reading γνῶναι, just ‘recognise’. ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου ‘or even earlier’.

**52.4** εἰδυῖαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγειν ταῦτα: for καὶ τὸ κάρτα here, which goes with εἰδυῖαν, i.e. ‘(she said this although) she knew *very well*...’, see GP: 317 (in such usages, the particle καὶ ‘conveys a sense of climax, and denotes that something is not only true, but true to a marked degree’). ἀπορέειν, ἀπορέοντας δέ: this is the ‘flowing style’ identified by ancient literary critics; the repetition of the verb has a colloquial flavour. (It will recur at 52.6 with ὑποθέσθαι... ὑποθέσθαι, while another ἀπορέουσι deepens the impression of the Spartans’ perplexity; ὑποθήκας at 52.7 similarly picks up ὑποθέσθαι. Other examples, again in close proximity: 61.2 and 4, 101.1.

**52.5** ἀμφότερα... τὸν γεραίτερον: the second half of the oracle’s reply is comically unhelpful as regards the immediate problem (which is the older child?), but the first half in effect provides the divine sanction for the double kingship (cf. Paus. 3.1.5). But the clever mother’s ambition (that

both her sons should be kings, 54.4) should not be forgotten: see 52.7n. The human agent anticipates the god.

Whether or not this oracle is legendary (so Fontenrose 1978: 406–7), it would not be hard to reconstruct its original hexameter form, which might have contained ingredients such as κελεύω... ἀμφοτέρους παῖδας, τιμᾶν δὲ γεραίτερον...

**52.5 (cont.)** ἀνελεῖν: from ἀναιρέω, sense 1 (1) in Powell, ‘answer, of oracles etc.’ Πανίτην: the name is extremely rare. In *LGPN IIIA*, the Peloponnese, there is a solitary Panites or rather Πανίτας, and he is indeed a Messenian, though much later (c. 240–220 BC). It is possible that the name is theophoric, not from Pan (see Parker 2000: 77f. for the rarity of Pan names), but from a cult epithet of Athena, namely Πηνήτις (Doric Πανῖτις), the ‘Weaver goddess’, cf. Aelian *Nature of animals* 6.57. It is stressed that he is Messenian, here and esp. at 52.7, where ‘the Spartiates’ heed his advice (cf. 56.1n.). Hdt. may be looking back ironically to earlier days of a more equal relationship with Messenia, and that may explain that odd ‘Lakedaimonians of the day’ at 52.3, drawing a contrast between the Lakedaimonians as then defined and those of Hdt.’s own day.

**52.6** φυλάξαι ‘to watch over’. This too (cf. 52.4n.) is picked up below with φυλάξαντας and ἐφυλάσσετο when they do what Panites advised. ὅσον τι: this apparently unnecessary τι is not infrequent with e.g. ὅσον, and has a mildly softening force: it sounds colloquial, figuring in direct speech at 69.4 and 7.102.3 and here too keeping the feel of Panites’ spoken words. Cf. ὁκόσον τι, again in direct speech, at 107.4. ἦν δὲ πλανᾶται καὶ ἐκείνη ἐναλλάξ ποιεῦσα ‘if she is capricious, varying the order’ (Jebb 1890: 125 on Soph. *Phil.* 758f., who explains that the idea behind such πλαν- words is ‘intermittent’, of fevers and so on). ἔσεσθαι... τραπέσθαι the first infinitive is again one of indirect statement (‘it would be clear’), the second one of indirect command (‘they should turn’).

**52.7** κατὰ ταῦτά τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον... ‘according to a regular pattern giving precedence to the older’ in feeding and bathing. Strictly speaking the observers could not tell which was the older until the experiment had been a success, and hence Richards 1907: 226–7 emended to τὸν ἕτερον, ‘the one of them’; but it is easy enough to take this as ‘the one who was in fact the older’. Wilson also inserts <αἰεῖ> before τιμῶσαν, which would bring it into even closer line with Panites’ advice, and alters the second τὸν πρότερον to τὸν πρεσβύτερον: the first may be a slight improvement, the second seems unnecessary. οὐκ εἰδύϊαν τῶν εἵνεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο: the phrasing seems to imply that she is outsmarted by the ploy, for it does not read as if this failure to realise is simply an inference of the observers. Yet she

knows that she is being watched, and we should expect her to have some inkling of why: at 52.4, εἰδυῖαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα puts us on notice of her intelligence. Maybe each note is to explain what needed to be explained in each case, her previous insight clarifying why she professed ignorance and her present slowness why she failed to vary her sequence; but Hdt.'s characterisation is normally more deft than that, and the intended inference may rather be that she has got wind of the Pythia's advice, and is content to have them both considered kings – that is after all what she wanted, 52.4 – and to have the elder regarded as senior. λαβόντες δὲ τὸ παιδίον τὸ τιμώμενον πρὸς τῆς γειναμένης: πρὸς is ambiguous: either 'they took the child which was honoured by the mother' or 'they took away from the mother the child which was honoured [by her]'. Either way, the choice of γειναμένης rather than μητρός is appropriate: the woman who bore them might be particularly expected to know the difference, and to take a child away is particularly harsh. Even at Sparta children were apparently brought up at home until the age of seven, or so at least seems the implication of Plut. *Lyk.* 16.7.

The observers too could at least tell the difference between the twins, as otherwise they would not have known whether she was consistently preferring one of them or not. Perhaps they were not strictly identical, and ὁμοίων at 52.3 means no more than 'similar'. But it would anyway not have been beyond the observers' wit, and may not have been beyond their authority, to insist on some mark of difference – an anklet, perhaps, or different clothes.

52.7 (cont.) τρέφειν: the tense captures what would have been an imperfect in direct speech: the upbringing took a long time. ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ: Hdt. writes vaguely: this should mean something like 'in the public hall', but he probably did not know himself what sort of public building this would be. The important point is 'not at home'. It cannot mean 'at public expense', as most translators take it. καὶ οἱ οὐνομα τεθῆναι Εὐρυσθένα, τῷ δὲ Προκλία: Hdt. has kept his audience waiting a long time for the two famous names, and when they come they are climactically positioned, right at the end of the long sentence.

52.8 ἀνδρωθέντας... ἀλλήλοισι 'they are said to have spent the whole of their adult lives quarrelling with each other'. λέγουσι looks both backwards (to 52.1, the Spartans say this, agreeing with no poet) and forwards (to 53.1, that's what the Spartans say, but...).

Greek mythology supplies examples of twin brothers who start fighting even in the womb, such as Panopeus and Krisos, eponyms of hostile neighbouring cities (Lycoph. *Alex.* 939–40), or Akrisios and Proitos (Apollod. 2.2.1): Esau and Jacob at Gen. 25.22–3 are again comparable (see introductory n. above), 'and the children struggled within her [Rebekah]', and

God explains to her ‘two nations are in thy womb’. The present story is, in part, an aetiology for the antagonism between the Spartan royal houses. The antagonism between Dorieus and Kleomenes (5.41) is different; they are from the same house. The sisters of the Queen’s dream at Aesch. *Pers.* 181–99, one in Persian dress and one in ‘Doric’, similarly suggest an explanation for an inherited antipathy, but they are of different tempers rather than quarrelling with each other.

### 53 *The Egyptian descent of the Spartan kings*

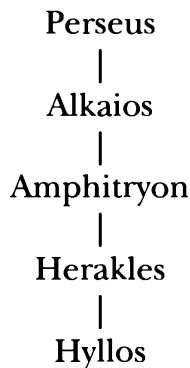
The material here is not easy to follow because Hdt. assumes so much knowledge of myth, esp. the story of the Danaids and the usual version of the return of the Herakleidai, in which Aristodemos’ sons Prokles and Eurysthenes (together representing Sparta) shared out the Peloponnese with Kresphontes (Messenia) and Temenos (Argos): cf. Apollod. 2.8 and see 52.1, 55 nn. One purpose of the excursus seems to be to prepare for the quantity of Egyptian and other non-Greek parallels about to be drawn in the ethnographic section. It is possible that difficulties of comprehension have been compounded by a lacuna; see 53.1n. on ἐγὼ γράφω.

The language of proof and ‘correctness’ here reflects the intellectual climate of the times; there are parallels both in the sophists and in medical literature (Thomas 2000: 223, 228–9).

**53.1 ἐγὼ γράφω:** perhaps echoing Hekataios’ preface, τάδε γράφω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι (*FGrHist* 1 F 1), even though Hekataios there goes on to *distinguish* his version from the ‘many ridiculous tales’ of ‘the Greeks’. If so, the echo may have point, for it is possible that all the material attributed to the Greeks in 53–5 derives from Hekataios (so Jacoby 1956: 225 = *R.-E.* 7 [1912]: 2745–6), and γεγενεηλόγηται at 54 may then allude to Hekataios’ title *Genealogiai*, and cf. 55n. But 53.2–55 have a combative quality, and the emphasis falls more on his *correction* of ‘the Greeks’, refusing to go any further back than Perseus. In that case, might the echo of Hekataios’ preface may be a piece of allusive one-upmanship? Hekataios may have liked to pretend he was providing an alternative to the ridiculous version of the Greeks, but in fact he was just reproducing Greek versions, and Herodotus can go one better, reproducing usual Greek versions so far and no further?

After ἐγὼ γράφω, there may be a lacuna containing the genealogy which connected the Spartans with the royal houses of Argos and Mykenai. The content of any such lacuna may have made the sequence of thought clearer.

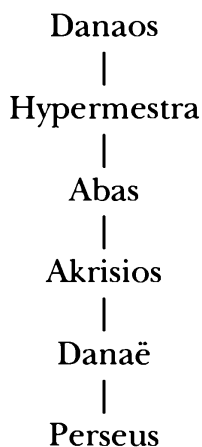
**53.1 (cont.)** μέχρι μὲν Περσείος τοῦ Δανάης ‘as far [back] as Perseus son of Danaë’. The early steps in the genealogy were normally as follows (cf. *EGM* II: 261–2):



τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεόντος, καταλεγόμενους ὀρθῶς...: either (1) ‘they are listed correctly, for these do not include the god’, i.e. it is a sign of the reliability of the Greeks’ listing up to this point that there is no recourse to the divine. Or (2) ‘they are listed correctly if we leave the god out of it’, gesturing to but rejecting the tendency of the Greeks to include Zeus as father of Herakles. Either way, this prepares for the related argument of **53.2**, assuming that ‘correct reasoning’ would exclude divine parentage from a responsible genealogy; cf. 2.43.2, mentioning Amphitryon alone as Herakles’ father, and 4.5.1, signalling scepticism at Skythian claims of divine ancestry. This is consistent too with a gibe at Hekataios’ expense, for Hdt. has already sniped at him once for including divine ancestors (2.143) and he included the story of Zeus having sex with Danaë (*FGrHist* 1 F 21 = *EGM* F 21). Yet at 7.61.3 Hdt. too refers in passing to Perseus as ‘son of Danaë and Zeus’, presumably to make it clear to his audience that this Perseus was indeed the one that Greeks knew about. εἰς Ἑλληνας οὗτοι ἐτέλειον ‘these were counted among the Greeks’, with τελέω as at **108.5** (n.) and 2.57.2. Previously, as Hdt. goes on to explain, they were regarded as Egyptians.

**53.2** οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι ἔλαβον ‘I have not taken any further back’. ἔλαβον combines the senses ‘take in intellectually’ or ‘take over’ (from the version of ‘the Greeks’) and ‘take in a particular way or direction’, i.e. ‘treat’. ὥσπερ Ἡρακλεῖ Ἀμφιτρυῶν: not just an analogy for Perseus, as the mention of Herakles’ mortal father provides justification for his inclusion (perhaps implied, perhaps mentioned in a lacuna) in the listing between Perseus and Hyllos: see above. According to the myth Alkmene became pregnant after visits by Zeus and by Amphitryon in the same night. Hdt.’s allusion to that story offers a preparatory analogy to the queen’s double visit by Ariston and his divine counterpart, **69.1–2**. καταλέγοντι ‘to anyone who

listed . . . ’, though Hdt. will not fill in the details himself. The descent from the Egyptian Danaos would normally have been figured as follows:



ἰθαγενεές ‘direct descendants’.

**54** ὥς δὲ ὁ παρὰ Περσέων λόγος λέγεται: cf. 7.150.2, for which the present passage is preparation, although the two are not reconcilable (Xerxes there accepts the Greek version of the genealogy): see S. West 2009: 90–1. Hdt. does not here commit himself to preferring one alternative over the other: that may reinforce the idea that the line before Perseus was too shadowy for a reliable writer to trace. ἀλλ’ οὐκ οἱ Περσέος πρόγονοι: whereas in that usual Greek version it would have been the Danaids’ arrival that made the lineage Greek, with Hypermetra’s son Abas becoming king of Argos. That also seems to be assumed in the ‘Egyptian’ version reported at 2.91.5–6. ὁμολογέοντας κατ’ οἰκηιότητα Περσέϊ οὐδέν ‘having nothing to do by way of blood-relationship with Perseus’, as opposed to the Greek version that would make Akrisios Perseus’ grandfather (above). ὁμολογέω here = ‘share the same λόγος’, almost ‘belong in the same story’. τούτους δὲ εἶναι, κατὰ περ Ἕλληνας λέγουσι, Αἰγυπτίους: so this is a point on which the two versions agree. This is more important to Hdt. than Perseus’ identity problem (cf. 53n. for a possible reason), and it is emphasised by the following ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι.

**55** καὶ ὃ τι ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωριέων βασιλῆας: Hdt. does not specify who ‘they’ are who thus gained the kingships over ‘the Dorians’. If they are limited to the ‘Egyptian’ ancestors of Perseus whom Hdt. excludes from reliable genealogy, then this conflicts with the usual assumption that ‘the Dorians’ arrived in the Peloponnese with the Herakleidai (Th. 1.12.3, etc.); but Hdt. has not given any details of the achievements of Aristodemos’ post-Perseus ancestors either, simply noting that the Greeks normally get that part of the ancestry right. Nothing precludes the ‘they’ from including those figures, hinting at the explanation of how despite



‘being Egyptian’ they came to be ‘counted among the Greeks’ (53.1). Wilson follows Powell in marking a lacuna after Αἰγύπτιοι where the train of thought might have been made clearer, but in view of the general allusiveness of 53–5 this seems unnecessary. τὰ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ κατελάβοντο, τούτων μνήμην ποιήσομαι: the verb καταλαμβάνω is a strong one, often used of military capture or occupation as at 88, 96, and the middle voice adds the nuance ‘for themselves’: so almost ‘got hold of’ or ‘got their hands on’, though the stylistic register is higher. The statement of selectivity is unusual in its implied acknowledgement of other literary sources, which will include poets (Hesiod? Kinaithon? Cf. 52.1n.) as well as historians. Still, Hdt. was surely aware of the works of prose contemporaries and predecessors (Fowler 1996): Hekataios, who certainly treated the arrival of the Danaids in Argos and the story several generations later of Zeus and Danaë, the exploits of Herakles and the exile of the Herakleidai (*FGrHist* 1 FF 19, 21, 23–7, 30, 76), may again be particularly in point, but it is known that others (Akousilaos, Pherekydes, Hellanikos) handled various parts of the mythical descent.

#### 56–60 SPARTAN ‘ETHNOGRAPHY’

The decision to treat the Spartans as in some respects a non-Greek people becomes explicit at 58.2, 59 and 60. Hodkinson 2000 and 2009 argues that Sparta was a more normal society than is usually assumed, but evidently Hdt. thought they really were unusual and that this needed an explanation. Hdt. contrasts hard peoples inhabiting the north and west with soft, over-civilised Egyptians and Near Easterners, and places the Greeks in between as a kind of mean. But the Spartans incline away from this towards the extreme represented by hardy sexually promiscuous savages. Elsewhere Hdt. makes connections between Spartans and Skythians, 4.77 (Anacharsis) and below, 84.2 (Kleomenes). Cf. Redfield 2003: 305–6, Munson 2001: 107–18, and Hartog 1988: 152–6. On Spartan women specifically, see also Redfield 1977/8 and 2003: 266–78.

On the historical contents of this section, see Cartledge 1987: 105–9 and Millender 2002: 3 and 2009.

The structure of the excursus is: religion and war (both 56); peace and life, including more religion (57); death (58).

#### 56–7 *Privileges of Spartan kings in life*

56 γέρεά τε δὴ τάδε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι Σπαρτιῇται δεδώκασι: the emphasis falls on the grant of privileges by the sovereign authority (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, 58.1: see below on Σπαρτιῇται). Th. speaks (1.13.1) of early kings – in Greece generally, not just in Sparta – possessing ‘ancestral

kingships on stated privileges', ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι. This is not inconsistent with Hdt. (cf. *CT*), except that Th. does not make clear who was doing the 'stating' (Delphi?) while Hdt.'s emphasis is secular, with 'the Spartiates' giving the privileges. Th. presumably means that these were specified in different ways in different cities; his important point is the contrast with the tyrannies that followed, where rulers could do what they wanted. In any case, it was the duality of the kingship, not the kings' possession of stated privileges, which made Sparta special, even if some notion of shared kingdoms is as old as Homer (*Il.* 6.193, with Graziosi and Haubold 2010: 132, and 9.616, of Lykia and Phthia respectively).

The recurrent stress on νόμοι, whether or not the word is used (as it is at 58.2), may prepare for 7.104.4, where Demaretos tells Xerxes that the Spartiates have their own 'master which is νόμος, and they fear that much more even than your people fear you'.

**56 (cont.) Σπαρτιῆται:** often virtually equivalent to Λακεδαιμόνιοι, and one word is often picked up by the other as at 52.3 and 7; but 'Spartiates' are strictly Spartan *citizens*, as opposed to *perioikoi* and helots (58.2–3, 9.28.2). The word is therefore appropriate for the decision-making deliberative body, as at 50.2 and 58.1 (cf. 63.3, 66.1), or for the social elite, as at 4.146.3. **ἱερωσύνας δύο:** so at Kyrene, colony of Sparta's colony Thera, the king retains his 'precincts and priesthoods' after the reformer Demonax has removed 'all the other things which the kings had held': 4.161.3.

Religion comes first, and features frequently thereafter in 56–60. This primacy can perhaps be seen as another expression of Spartan religiosity, which struck Hdt. as unusually intense (5.63.2). But 'beginning with Zeus' (cf. Arat. *Phain.* 1) was no mere proverb among Greeks generally. Thus the Athenian–Spartan truce agreement at Th. 4.118 begins with provisions about Delphi. As for kings in particular, the 4th-cent. *Athenaion Politeia* begins its account of the ἄρχων βασιλεύς with his superintendence of the Eleusinian Mysteries (57.1). This King Archon should be thought of as 'retaining the religious functions of the kings of early Athens' (Rhodes 1981: 636). But this is no argument against Spartan exceptionalism: the hereditary Spartan life-kingship, which was held by some strong personalities such as Kleomenes I and Agesilaos, was very different in the historical period from its much attenuated Athenian homonym.

**56 (cont.) Διός τε Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ Διὸς Οὐρανίου:** Zeus' name is repeated, as if these are two separate gods called Zeus, just as the priesthoods are distinctly enumerated (above). Wide 1893: 11 and n. 1 thinks that Zeus Lakedaimon may originally have been a thunder-god who then merged with a local hero Lakedaimon, for whom see Lamer, *R.-E.* XII: cols. 520–1, comparing e.g. Zeus Agamemnon. For Zeus Ouranios, god of the heavens,

see L. Ziehen, *R.-E.* IIIA 'Sparta: Kulte' col. 1488. The cult epithet is less common than might have been expected (contrast the common Ourania for Aphrodite). From Sparta, see *SEG* 36. 361 (improved version of *IG* v. 1. 36, 2nd cent. AD) lines 6–8: Onasikl[eidas] son of Philost[ratos] – not a king – holds the priesthood of Zeus Ouranios. There are also patchy and post-classical attestations elsewhere, e.g. at Stratonikeia in Karia (*SEG* 4. 386 line 14, verse inscription invoking οὐράνιε (or Οὐράνιε?) Ζεῦ) and in Syria. For the later spread of the epithet to other gods, see Parker 2017: 179–80.

Zeus takes special care of kings: Hes. *Th.* 82 for 'Zeus-nourished kings', *Il.* 1.175 and 279.

**56 (cont.)** καὶ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν ἐπ' ἣν ἄν βούλωνται χώραν: contrast 5.75. Hdt.'s claim here has been generally and rightly thought reckless and in need of drastic qualification: perhaps Hdt. was thinking of an ancient right possessed by both kings acting together (de Ste Croix 1972: 149–51; cf. Cartledge 1987: 105, 'false for his own day'). War was a matter for collective decision (see e.g. *Th.* 1.88, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, and cf. Andrewes 1966: 10). By the later 5th cent., heavy restrictions might be imposed on Spartan kings who were considered to have made mistakes, notably the requirement that they be accompanied by advisers; see *Th.* 5.63.4 with *CT.* *Th.* comments at 8.5.3 that Agis acted 'without [the permission of] the Spartan *polis*', because he had full authority while at Dekeleia, but this seems to be a comment on Agis' unusual personal prestige at the time. ἐν τῷ ἄγῳ ἐνέχεσθαι: the curse on any Spartiate who hinders the king when he wishes to make war is an extravagant detail, and at variance with the limits on the freedom of action by historical kings, for which see previous n. 'The ἄγος' suggests that the curse was a familiar feature. Hdt. 'is probably referring to a public curse regularly pronounced against offenders of this kind' (Parker 1983: 7), but what would 'this kind' be? Perhaps traitors to the state or committers of sacrilege (cf. Parker 192). Wilson marks a lacuna after αὐτόν because its position in the sentence appears emphatic, and suggests that something like Bresler's 'and his *genos*' may have stood there (*Herodotea*: 112). στρατευομένων: best taken as gen. abs., 'when they [the Spartans] were on campaign'. Less likely because more cumbersome, 'the kings should go out as the first of those on campaign and return as the last'. ἐπὶ στρατιῇς: these words look otiose, as it is clear that these provisions relate only to campaigns, with στρατευομένων picked up and echoed by the first words of 57. But perhaps the emphasis is to underline that this was *only* on campaign, given that bodyguards were thought of as a distinctive feature of tyranny (1.59.5, 98.2, 5.92 η 3, and e.g. Xen. *Hiero* 5.3–4, Plato *Rep.* 8.566b, 567d–e; see Pelling on Plut. *Caes.* 57.7). τῶν δὲ θυομένων πάντων τὰ δέρματά τε καὶ τὰ νῶτα λαμβάνειν σφίας: this (as the first words of 57 again make clear) is supposed to apply

only to sacrifice on campaign; but presumably immediately pre-battle sacrifices (σφάγια, see Th. 6.69.2) are not meant, because they were not eaten (there would not be time).

Parts of the animal (esp. as here the skin) were commonly given as perquisites or privileges in Greek 'sacred laws'; see Lupu 2005: 164 and n. 16. Thus at R/O: no. 62 (Kos, mid-4th cent.) A 46 shows that the priest took the skin and leg, γέρη φέρει δέρμα, σκέλος; discussion at p. 310. See also line A 20–1 for the similar perquisites of the 'share-taker of the kings', γερεαφόρος βασιλέων.

**57.1 δαιτυμόνες:** a δαιτυμών is a guest at a feast: Homeric, but also at four other places in Hdt. **πρώτους ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἵζειν τοὺς βασιλέας:** it is best to take ἵζειν as transitive with a vague 'they' – the servers or organisers – who have to 'seat them first for dinner and start (serving) from them...' ἵζειν in itself could be intransitive as at 5.25.1, 'the kings should take their seats first' (so Powell), but then there is an awkward change of subject to the implied servers. **διπλήσια νέμοντας ἐκατέρωι τὰ πάντα** 'giving each double portions of everything'. This was 'not so that they could eat twice as much, but so that they would have the wherewithal to offer marks of honour to anyone if they chose', primly notes Xenophon (*Constitution of the Spartans* 15.4). The custom is alluded to at 7.103.1. **καὶ σπονδαρχίας εἶναι τούτων καὶ τῶν τυθέντων προβάτων τὰ δέρματα:** the first noun is acc. pl., 'the rights to make the first libation'. τυθέντων is aor. pass. part. of θύω.

**57.2 ἱρήιον τέλειον:** cf. Th. 5.47.8 with CT for 'perfect victims'. **οἶνου τετάρτην Λακωνικὴν** 'a Laconian quart of wine'. τετάρτη means that it must be a 'quarter' of some unspecified larger unit. If Hultsch 1882: 500 is right in assuming that this is a quarter of a *metrētēs* or amphora and that Laconian measures were larger than Attic by about 50%, the quarter will be some 14 litres: Dewald 1998: 593. It was meant to last the whole month. **καὶ προξείνους ἀποδεικνύναι... τοὺς ἂν ἐθέλωσι τῶν ἀστῶν:** it seems that Spartan *proxenoi* were Spartan citizens charged with the duty of looking after visiting foreigners (and keeping an eye on them, no doubt – a manifestation of Spartan suspicion of outsiders: so Cartledge 1987: 245). This is unlike regular Greek usage. *Proxenoi* were normally citizens of *polis* A, resident in *polis* A and representing the interests of *polis* B, by something like the modern consular system. (See esp. Wilhelm 1942 and Mack 2015). The words τῶν ἀστῶν here must mean that Spartan *proxenoi* were Spartan citizens, and this again (see above) implies something very different from normal Greek practice. Tod no. 135 is a decree of 367 BC in which the Athenians made Koroibos of Sparta a *proxenos* and benefactor. This sounds like normal proxeny, and is therefore not easily compatible with the present passage. But the procedures may have changed by then. **καὶ Πυθίους αἰρέεσθαι:** as Hdt. feels it necessary to explain, these are θεοπρόποι

ἐς Δελφούς, i.e. messengers sent to consult the oracle. θεοπρόποι were not peculiar to Sparta (at 1.38.2, Kroisos of Lydia sends some to Delphi), nor is the word used about Delphi only (see 1.158.2, Branchidai); but the special category of Pythioi is not attested elsewhere. (And indeed the only other mention of *Spartan* Pythioi by that name is at Xen. *Const. Spart.* 15.5). This is further evidence for Spartan exceptionalism, and also for a particularly close Spartan relationship with Delphi, as against other oracular sites. As for the royal role in Delphic consultation, this must not be exaggerated: questions are often said to have been put to the oracle by ‘the Spartans’, which probably means that the decision to send the Pythioi was ‘normally taken publicly’ (so Parker 1989: 155 with 170 n. 62, who thinks it unlikely that kings ‘could consult the oracle on their own initiative on matters of public importance’). For a Delphic consultation decided on by ‘the Spartiates’ (56.1n.) and carried out by ‘the θεοπρόποι’ i.e. the Pythioi, see 66.1 and 3 with MacDowell 1986: 134–5 (but see nn. there. The episode has exceptional features). τῷαυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο . . . τιμᾶσθαι ‘they are honoured in this same way’. τῷαυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο is acc. of respect.

**57.4 δικάζειν δὲ μόνους τοὺς βασιλέας τοσάδε μούνα** ‘the following matters alone are left for judgment to the kings alone’, a snappy formulation for ‘the kings pass judgment on their own concerning the following matters, and no others’. This has been seen as evidence of the meagre and limited nature of the kings’ power (so Millender 2009: 11, calling them the ‘dyarchy’). Perhaps, but Hdt. is here concentrating on what they can do on their own. πατρωιούχου τε παρθένου περί, ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν ‘the decision on the appropriate husband for an heiress’, lit. ‘concerning an heiress, the decision concerning whose right it is to have [i.e. marry] her’: a variation on the ‘I know thee who thou art’ construction, 136.2n. πατρωιούχος = ἔχων τὰ πατρῷα, in possession of her father’s goods, and for ἰκνέεται (‘rightly pertaining to’) see 65.3n. on φάς . . . This statement of Hdt. seems to be contradicted by Arist. *Pol.* 1270a, which says one may give an heiress to whom one wishes. It has often been thought that there was a change after the Peloponnesian War (see esp. Pomeroy 2002: 85 and n. 38). But Hdt. and Aristotle are perhaps not in conflict, if (with Hodgkinson 2000: 94–8) stress is placed on the proviso ἢν μή περ . . . , ‘unless the father betrothes her’ before he dies: in a case where the father died intestate, there would be scope for royal adjudication between claimants to the potentially valuable position of κληρονόμος (heir in possession). καὶ ὁδῶν δημοσιέων περί: an odd and unclear item. Public roads are clearly important, not least for military reasons: cf., for Attica, Siewert 1982. But this appears to refer just to another judicial role (δικάζειν, and note the repeated περί) rather than a general royal responsibility for the upkeep of public roads. If so, it is not clear what form such litigation might

take – boundary-disputes, perhaps, or claims by or against contractors for maintenance. Whatever it means, it fits most awkwardly between two family matters. (Griffiths agrees, and suggests emending to ὀρφανῶν.)

**57.5 δύο ψήφους:** Th. 1.20.3 is usually taken to be a correction of this, giving as an example of Greek mistaken assumptions 'that the Spartan kings have not one vote each but two'. δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους could in itself mean either (a) that each proxy in such cases cast two votes, the king's (single) vote and his own, or (b) that the two proxies cast two extra votes, one for each of the kings (thus *CT* on the Th. passage). On both interpretations Hdt. is acquitted of the error Th. attacks, and it is possible enough that Th. has other targets in that passage. It certainly seems that the privilege Hdt. is stressing is the use of proxies, and we should expect more weight to have been given to the double vote if that is what he had intended (cf. the double portions in 57.1). But then Richards and Wilson should probably be followed in deleting τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἑωυτῶν, as on neither of these interpretations would the proxies be delivering 'their own as a third vote': on (a) the proxy's own vote would be the second of the two already cast, on (b) there would be two different next-of-kin and if both kings were away they would be casting 'a third and a fourth vote' (in fact Hdt. would probably have expressed this with τρίτας δὲ τὰς ἑωυτῶν or ἑτέραν or ἄλλην rather than τρίτην). If it is right to delete, it presumably originated in a gloss by someone who assumed that Hdt. was making that 'two vote' error.

### 58 *Honours paid to Spartan kings after death*

One reason for the extensive coverage of the death rituals of and extravagant mourning for Spartan kings (Cartledge 1987: 340, Millender 2009: 14) will become clear only much later, at 7.220.4 (Thermopylai): referring to the self-sacrificing death of Leonides, the oracle predicts, 'borders of Lakedaïmon will mourn for the death of a king of the line of Herakles'.

One omission is important, especially given the length and fullness of the present chapter: Hdt. does *not* say that Spartan kings were given heroic honours after death (the εἰδωλα of 58.3, statues of kings who died in war, need not suggest anything superhuman: see n.). But they were so honoured. See Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.1 (a 'more than human funeral' for Agis), and *Const. Spart.* 15.9 (under Lykourgan arrangements, Spartan kings were honoured 'not as mortals but as heroes'); see Parker 1989: 153 and – for the limits of this heroisation, which was not 'continuing heroic cult *post mortem*' – 169 n. 51 and refs. One reason for Hdt.'s silence may perhaps be found at the emphatic 2.50.3: the Egyptians do not have hero cult at all, νομίζουσι δ' ὧν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἥρωσι οὐδέν. He wishes, in the present contest, to play up, not play down, similarities with Egypt.

**58.1** ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτιητέων: 56.1n. κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναῖκες περιουσαι λέβητας κροτέουσι: Egypt is similar: 2.60.1 (cf. Introductory n. above). καταμιαίνεσθαι: ‘defile’ or ‘pollute’ themselves, not just by ‘wearing squalid garments’ (LSJ) but in other ways as well, e.g. not washing (Eur. *Or.* 42) and perhaps even rolling in the dirt in some sort of imitation of a corpse (cf. *Il.* 18.23–7, 24.162–4, with Macleod’s n.; Eur. *Suppl.* 826–7; Parker 1983: 40 and n. 34). Here it is Skythia, the ethnographical inverse of Egypt (Hartog 1988), which provides a parallel, 4.71.2 (Hartog), even if the defilement there was more extreme.

Private funerals at Sparta were much more restrained: Plut. *Lyk.* 27.1–5.

**58.2** τῶν γὰρ ὧν βαρβάρων οἱ πλεῖνες...: either ‘for most barbarians [anywhere, not just those in Asia] follow the same custom’, or ‘for most of the [Asiatic] barbarians really do (for γὰρ ὧν see *GP.* 446) follow the same custom’, and hence it has been reasonable for Hdt. to generalise about ‘the barbarians in Asia’. The parallel with Skythia favours the first interpretation, but that also makes it odder that Hdt. should have singled out the Asiatics in this way. Σπαρτιητέων: 56.1n. ἀριθμῶι τῶν περιοίκων ἀναγκαστοῦς ‘a certain number of *perioikoi*, under compulsion’. For this idiomatic use of ἀριθμός cf. Th. 2.72.3, and the fourth-century comic poet Dionysios, fr. 3 K–A; it relates to the ‘counting’ or ‘muster’ (LSJ s.v. II, as in ἀριθμὸν ποιέεσθαι, 8.7.2) in which the conscript mourners would be picked out. The word περίοικος, ‘neighbouring’, has occurred before this in Hdt., and *perioikoi* are found in other states, such as Elis; but this is the first mention of *perioikoi* in the almost technical Spartan sense of semi-free semi-citizen inhabitants of Lakonia and neighbouring areas. For *perioikoi* see *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, and for the Spartan ones in particular see esp. Shipley 1992 and 1997. The helots too are also mentioned by Hdt. for the first time in the present context (58.3n.)

**58.3** καὶ τῶν εἰλωτέων: remarkably, this is Hdt.’s first mention of the helots, one of the most distinctive features of Spartan life, and he introduces them with no explanation. Contrast Th.’s first mention (1.101.1–12), explaining that they were mostly descendants of enslaved Messenians. For three more mentions of helots in quick succession, all (significantly?) involving Kleomenes, see 75.2 and esp. 80 and 81, with nn. οἰμωγῇ διαχρέωνται ἀπλέτωι: such male lamenting is normally associated particularly with Persians, esp. in discussion of Aesch. *Pers.*: e.g. Hall 1989: 83–4. εἶδωλον σκευάσαντες: cf. Polyb. 6.53.4–10 for the Roman exhibiting of the *imagines* of the dead man. (Polyb. is concerned in that bk. to bring out parallels between Spartan and Roman arrangements.) The noun is used of human statues, with no implication of divine or heroic quality, to express which ἄγαλμα would be the right word. For both εἶδωλον and εἰκὼν used of a statue of a non-heroised human being, see 1.51.5 (Kroisos’ female baker).

On statues of Spartan kings see D. Shipley 1997: 77: Agesilaos avoided the practice (Plut. *Ages.* 2.4).

**58.3 (cont.)** <οὐδὲ γερουσίη>: Wilson's supplement after van Herwerden, on the grounds that συνίζει suggests a 'sitting' inappropriate for an electoral assembly. **πενθέουσι ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας**: that is, for ten days. Parker 1983: 65 n. 110 raises the question whether these days should be described as ones of mourning (here) or of purification from pollution (the implication of Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.1): very likely both. The term of mourning for private citizens was fixed at eleven days (Plut. *Lyk.* 27.4).

**59** **συμφέρονται δὲ ἄλλο τόδε τοῖσι Πέρσησι**: the foreign analogy again becomes explicit. This reference to taxation is thought by some to indicate Spartan normality, but Hdt.'s point is the cancellation of arrears, which he marks out as unusual and distinctive. **ἐλευθεροῖ** 'frees', i.e. from the debt: Spartiates were already free citizens (56.1 n.). **ἐν δ' αὖ Πέρσησι . . .**: cf. 42.2 n.

**60** There is no good reason to think this chapter to be interpolated by another hand (see app. crit.); but there is something to be said for the idea that Hdt. himself added it (H/W). For such authorial additions, see Introduction, Section 6. **συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Αἰγυπτίοισι Λακεδαιμόνιοι**: this is a neat mirror-image reversal of 2.80.1, **συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τόδε ἄλλο Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων μούνοισι Λακεδαιμονίοισι**. For the frequency of foreign comparisons in this Sparta section, see 56–60 n. For Egyptian trades and professions, see 2.164–8; but only the warrior Kalasiries are there said to inherit their roles (166). **καὶ αὐλητῆς τε αὐλητέω γίνεται . . .**: for the style cf. Hesiod *WD* 25–6, **καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων | καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει καὶ αἰοιδὸς αἰοιδῷ**: that passage may be recalled here (see next n.). **οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφέας παρακληίουσι** 'others do not compete on the grounds of having a loud clear voice and displace them . . .' Perhaps this is a sidelong glance at the typical Greek world of competitiveness captured in those lines of Hesiod (last n.).

This emphasis on heralds in particular prepares for 7.136–7, the story of the contrasting fates of Sperthieus and Boulis, heralds to Xerxes in 480 who offer themselves in requital for the throwing of Persian heralds into a well (7.133, cf. 48–9 n.), and their sons Aneristos and Nikolaos, captured and killed by the Athenians in 430.

## 61–84 CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY OF KLEOMENES

The circumstances of Kleomenes' end recall those of his beginning, 5.39–41 (n.). His father king Anaxandrides and his wife were childless, and the



king came under pressure from the ephors to divorce her and remarry to produce an heir; Anaxandrides, fond of his wife, refused, but agreed when the ephors pressed him to take an additional wife, ‘acting in a way that was quite unSpartan’ (5.40.2). The new queen soon gave birth to Kleomenes, but then the first queen too had a burst of fertility, producing three sons in quick succession. The eldest of these, Dorieus, was far superior to the unstable (so it was said) Kleomenes, and went to Sicily and S. Italy (5.42–8). So there too a new queen was taken in irregular circumstances, though in that case with a king who (unlike Ariston) would not give up his first wife; in each case it is the new wife who produces the son (Kleomenes, Demaretos) who goes on to cause trouble, in an atmosphere of understandable resentment or suspicion, and the confrontation of those two sons now reaches its climax.

There is also a pattern familiar from the story of Kandaules (1.8–12) and indeed from the *Iliad*, with trouble starting from female beauty (61.2, 65.2 nn.). That rhythm of early bk. 1 is reasserting itself as this new phase of the *Histories* gets under way.

For the theme of *tisis*, ‘requital’, so important in this section, see 72.1 and 84.3 nn. and Introduction, Section 3; also 64n. on ἔδεε; on the Ariston sequence see Lateiner 2012: 164–7, and on the biblical parallels 5.39–41n. On Hdt.’s presentation of Kleomenes, see also Griffiths 1989 (parallels with Kambyzes); Cawkwell 1993; de Ste Croix 2004b.

**61.1 διέβαλλε:** echoing 51, διέβαλλε τὸν Κλεομένέα, as it resumes the narrative from that point. **προεργαζόμενον:** as at 2.158.5, προ- may convey either ‘on behalf of, for the sake of’ (H/W, Powell) or ‘beforehand, paving the way for’ (LSJ). Either way, this is on the face of it surprisingly generous to Kleomenes: his motives are usually less altruistic, as they will be at 65.1–2. But it may not imply that ‘doing good for Greece’ was his intention rather than the likely *effect* of what he wanted to do: cf. 49.2n. **οὐκ Αἰγινήτων οὕτω κηδόμενος ὥς φθόνῳ καὶ ἄγῃ χρεώμενος:** the second noun, ἄγῃ, is very rare, and is thought to derive from ἀγαίομαι and to mean ‘envy’. At Aesch. Ag. 131, cited by LSJ, ἄγα θεόθεν is merely Hermann’s Hdt.-based emendation for the MSS ἄτα, and ἄτη is the reading of one Hdt. MS here. But the ancient lexicographers (e.g. Suda α 212 Adler) explain the word by ref. to Hdt., παρ’ Ἡροδότῳ βασκανία (‘malice’): so, perhaps not very different from φθόνος. For φθόνος and related terms, including βασκανία, see now Eidinow 2015: 71–163 (146 n. 19 for the present passage).

On the statement of motivation, see Baragwanath 2008: 174, who remarks ‘thus an alternative possibility, that he might have been motivated by (positive) care for Aegina, is carefully closed down’. Cf. Th. 7.57.9 on the Argives’ reasons for fighting on the Athenian side at Syracuse, 413 BC. For another example of goodwill denied, see 108.3n. (Plataia).

**61.1 (cont.)** ἐπιβασιν . . . ποιεύμενος ‘making his grounds for attack’, thus implying that the attack on Demaretos’ parentage was a mere *prophasis*: cf. Introduction p. 11. Leutychides, with equally personal motives and equally eager to ‘take his stand’ on the same pretext (ἐπιβατεύων, 65.4n.), joins in with a will at 65. καὶ γήμαντι γυναῖκας δύο παῖδες οὐκ ἐγένοντο: mentally, and perhaps actually, we should punctuate after δύο: ‘though he married two wives, no children were born’.

**61.2** καὶ οὐ γὰρ συνεγινώσκετο αὐτὸς τούτων εἶναι αἴτιος ‘because he would not admit that he was responsible’. A refreshing authorial acknowledgement of the possibility of male infertility or subfertility (see also, with hostile focalisation, 68.3: Demaretos reports that the malicious gossip was that ‘child-producing seed was not in Ariston’). The more usual assumption was that the woman must be responsible for childlessness. Anxieties about whether a woman will bear children often led to consultations of the oracle at Dodona, usually but not always by male inquirers (Eidinow 2007: 87–9).

For καὶ οὐ γὰρ cf. 4.125.2 and 5.33.2, with *GP*: 69: ‘[i]n Herodotus a sentence often opens with καί, followed at once by the γὰρ clause’ which is thereby marked off as parenthetical.

**61.2 (cont.)** γαμέει . . . γαμέει: cf. ἐπιφανῆναι . . . ἐπιφανεῖσαν at 61.4, and see 52.4n. τρίτην γυναῖκα: Hdt. introduces a woman who will play an important role in the subsequent narrative (see esp. 68–9 for her extraordinary exchange with her son Demaretos), but who is never named. (Contrast 71, where Hdt. names several royal Spartan women who will have no importance whatever for his story.) But she is strongly characterised; she is the subject of not one but, probably, two epiphanies (both Helen and Astrabakos); she is amusingly presented as a better biologist than her husband or son (69. 4–5); and for once (Introduction, p. 16) readers are told something about the physical appearance of one of his agents: she is a great beauty (61.4). It is inconceivable that Hdt. did not know her name. The anonymity reinforces the emphasis on her status as the king’s mother: at 69 she will scornfully assert that maliciously contested status. Similarly Kandaules’ wife remains unnamed at 1.8–12, and asserts her status as consort and Queen even more effectively; similarly with the Queen in Aesch. *Pers.* ἦν οἱ φίλος: the usual story-starting asyndeton. τῷ προσέκειτο . . . μάλιστα ‘to whom he was particularly attached’, combining the idea of liking (e.g. 3.34.2–3) and assiduous attention (e.g. 1.123.1, Th. 6.89.3).

**61.3** οἷα ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίων: the implication is that the happiness – in the sense of material prosperity – of the married couple was puzzlingly at odds with the unhappiness inflicted by their daughter’s looks. ἐπιφράζεται: cf. 62.1, μηχανᾶται: one piece of scheming contrivance leads to another a

generation later. For this episode, see Larson 1995: 80. ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ καλεομένη, ὕπερθε τοῦ Φοιβίου ἱεροῦ: Therapne (or -ai) was some 2.5 km. SE of Sparta. The shrine was well known (*OCD*<sup>4</sup> Menelaion), and Hdt. does seemingly assume that a fair number of readers or listeners would be familiar with the topography of Sparta, despite its reputation for being unwelcoming to strangers – or at least would be impressed by his own parade of local knowledge. Paus. 3.14.9 confirms that the sanctuary of Phoibos (Apollo) was ‘outside the city [of Sparta], not far from Therapne’, and it was well-enough known for Statius to refer to ‘Apollo’s Therapne’ (*Theb.* 3.422). It has been plausibly identified as the site of a monumental extramural altar at Psychiko, to the SE of Sparta, half way to the Menelaion. Hdt.’s account is slightly misleading in so far as it implies very close proximity to Therapne. See Kourinou 2000: 199–201, esp. 204–6 for the identification, also plates 46–8 and brief Eng. summary at 283. ὁκῶς δὲ ἐνείκει ἡ τρόφος ‘each time the nurse brought her’.

**61.4** γυναῖκα λέγεται ἐπιφανῆναι, ἐπιφανέϊσαν δέ...: for this type of repetitive expression, cf. γαμέει... γαμέει at 61.2, and see 52.4n. on ἀπορέειν. The religiously cautious λέγεται generates a switch to the acc. and inf. construction. ‘No story containing miraculous elements is delivered in the narrator’s own voice’ (Fowler 2015: 201): cf. 27.1, 98.1 nn. Hdt. carefully avoids saying that the apparition was of Helen, but the reader/hearer can hardly resist making that assumption, esp. when the language used is that of divine epiphany. Paus. 3.7.7 makes Helen’s role explicit.

There is some similarity here to the miraculous cures in R/O: no. 102, the healing sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros, late 4th cent. BC. For the cult of Helen at Therapne (‘Helenion’; not ‘Menelaon’ until Paus.) see Whitley 1994: 221 n. 37.

**61.4 (cont.)** τὴν δέ... τὴν δέ...: this is a lively and colloquial piece of dialogue (‘Please!’, ‘No!’, ‘Go on! Do it anyway’, ‘Oh all right’). Hdt. might have said ‘she met a woman who asked to see the baby, and who then said...’, or have explained first that the nurse kept the baby well covered up instead of letting that emerge by ‘What’s that you’re carrying?’ οὐ φάναι ‘said she wouldn’t’.

**61.5** μεταπεσεῖν τὸ εἶδος ‘her appearance underwent a change’. μεταπίπτω is used as the passive of μεταβάλλω.

## 62 *A promise is a promise*

The story pattern recurs at 9.109.2 (Xerxes and Artañte), picking up on those suggested ethnographic parallels between Sparta and Persia: and here as there, and as indeed with the original Helen and in the first story

of bk. 1 (Kandaules, 1.8–12), beauty leads to great trouble among men, and disturbs an entire city or country (61–84n.).

For the ‘open promise’ motif in Hdt., see Griffiths 1999: 175 n. 23, discussing 9.94.3 (Euenios).

**62.1** ἔκνιζε: ‘scratched’, of the itch of desire: as the stress on beauty already suggests, Ariston’s motives were not limited to producing an heir for his country. But erotic κνίζειν can easily lead to the ‘vexation’, for which κνίζειν can also be used, of jealousy and suspicion: e.g. Eur. *Med.* 555 and 568. The language may already suggest trouble ahead. τὴν ὁμοίην διδόναι: 21.1n. οὐδὲν φοβηθεῖς . . . ὁρέων ἐοῦσαν καὶ Ἀρίστωνι γυναῖκα: perhaps intentionally comic, in its implied suggestion that, if Ariston had been a bachelor, he might well have been expected to ask his friend to surrender his wife. ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν ‘they imposed oaths’ (i.e. on each other, as at 1.146.3, where the addition of σφίσι αὐτῇσι makes this meaning clear); from ἐπελαύνω.

**62.2** μετὰ δὲ αὐτός . . . ἀπάγεσθαι: the story is again engagingly told: Ariston gave one of his treasures, ‘whatever it was’ – that is not worth specifying; τὴν ὁμοίην picks up τὴν ὁμοίην διδόναι, as Ariston demands the agreed ‘repayment in kind’; then ἐνθαῦτα δὴ shows Ariston’s timing – *that’s* when he dropped his bombshell and asked him for his wife. ἐπειρᾶτο still suggests he is ‘making trial’, not confident that the ploy will work, and there may indeed have been initial resistance, as ἔφη . . . ἀπίει (3rd pers. pres. ind. from ἀπίημι) suggests that *first* Agetos said he’d agreed to everything else (but not this), *then* (under further pressure?) ‘lets her go’ (for had Agetos said straight out both that he had agreed to everything except this but nevertheless would give her up, the inf. ἀπιέναι or ἀπεῖναι would be used); finally the repetition of ἀπάγεσθαι apparently gives closure as she is ‘led away’, with 63.1 giving the symmetrical ‘leading into’ the house of the new wife and ‘sending away’ of the old one. There is apparently no interest in the new wife’s feelings about the matter; but a possible reading of her behaviour later suggests that, like Aristodemos’ wife generations earlier (52.4 and 7 nn.), she knew a trick or so of her own (69.1 and n.). τῆς ἀπάτης τῇ παραγωγῇ ‘the misleading deception’ (lit. ‘the misleadingness of the deception’).

**63.1** οὐ πληρώσασα τοὺς δέκα μῆνας: ten *lunar* months; see 69.5. The definite article suggests ‘the (usual or expected) ten months’.

**63.2** ἐν θώκῳ κατημένῳ: words in θωκ- (Ionic and epic for θακ-) are often formal or solemn, used – as here – of sitting in council or in acts of supplication; cf. 2.173.2 ἐν θρόνῳ σεμνῶι σεμνὸν θωκέοντα, and cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 519, σεμνοὶ τε θᾶκοι. μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων: not much can be inferred from this story about the constitutional role of the ephors, any more than from

5.40.1; see n. there. For discussion of the present passage, see Richer 1998: 398–400 and Luther 2004: 99f. ἐπὶ δακτύλων συμβαλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας: for counting on the fingers, see n. on δέκα at 5.92 γ 1. At the otherwise resumptive 65.3, the vivid detail of the fingers will disappear. ἀπομόσας ‘denying it on oath’; again at the resumptive 65.3. οὐκ ἂν ἐμός εἴη ‘It can’t be mine!’ The potential optative may appear more tentative than a simple assertive ‘it is not mine’ (thus there is no ἂν when this is recalled in indirect speech at 65.3 and 69.4), but it is in fact stronger: Ariston denies even the possibility that the child might be his.

63.3 Δημάρητον δὲ οὖνομα ἔθετο αὐτῷ διὰ τόδε: in fact the name is not all that uncommon; for a very early Spartan example of the feminine form Demarete, see Alkman 1.1.76 *PMG*. At Athens, naming took place at the festival of the Amphidromia, a few days after birth (three, five or ten), and Spartan practice is likely to have been similar. εὐδοκιμέοντι διὰ πάντων δὴ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενομένων: διὰ = ‘above all’, a sense that probably comes from ‘even among’, ‘even if one goes through’, all the other kings. This is high praise for Ariston, but the reasons have not been given, except that he was one of the kings at the time of the successful 6th-cent. struggle against Tegea in Arkadia, 1.67.1. (His name suggests ‘the best’, and it thus speaks no less eloquently than that of Demaretos.) Hdt. knows more than he tells – or wants his readers to think he does. ἄρῃν: the rare word for ‘prayer’ (normally εὐχή) is needed for the explanation of the name Δημάρητος. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν...: μὲν prepares for the reverses in the house’s fortune in 64, duly introduced by δέ: so far so good, including the happy popularity embodied in the prince’s name, but...

#### 64–65 *Intrigues against Demaretos*

64 χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος... ‘time went by, and...’. ἔδεε δέ, ὥς οἴκε... διότι: the necessity or inevitability implied by ἔδεε is explained by Demaretos’ behaviour towards Kleomenes (but note that διότι, ‘because’, is an emendation). That is, τίσις, ‘requit’, is at work, as at 72 and 84 (cf. ἀποτίνυσθαι at 65.1, but see n. there), for Demaretos’ attempted undermining of Kleomenes now triggers his own downfall: the old story of his father counting on his fingers would not otherwise have come to light. Hdt. here uses οἴκε (= ἔοικε) as a distancing device, as often where he offers a religious or quasi-religious assertion; cf. 61.4n. on λέγεται. For such suggestions of ‘what had to happen’ cf. 135.3 (n.) and 5.33.2n. διεβλήθη: echoes διέβαλλε of 51.1 and 61.1, picking up on some of the wordplay in bk. 5 (Pelling 2007), as Demaretos’ attempts to ‘slander’ and ‘put one across’ his rival (51.1, 61.1) has ‘put them at odds’ with each other, and his (grammatical and actual) active role turns him into the passive victim.

**ἀπαγαγών τὴν στρατιὴν ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος:** 5.75.1, marked there as the beginning of the rift with Kleomenes. **τοὺς μηδίσαντας:** 50.1n., the episode of which the verbal echoes now remind us.

**65.1 ἀποτίνυσθαι:** the word is a derivative of τίσις and serves to bring that powerful explanatory concept to mind (Introduction, Section 3); but it here refers to the human revenge about to be taken by Kleomenes rather than to the more-than-human requital just hinted at (see 64n. on ἔδεε... and 61.1n. on Kleomenes' motivation). **καταστήσει:** of course Kleomenes could not 'make Leutychides king' in any sense that implies that this was wholly in his gift: Leutychides succeeded through birthright, evidently as next in line to the throne, though the details of the family relationship are not known. But Kleomenes could still start the initiative that would make it happen.

**65.2 Πέρκαλον:** the name is the equivalent of Περίκαλον, 'very beautiful'. There is a lot about beauty in this section; Spartan women were famously beautiful. The nom. form is likely to be the same as the acc., viz. Πέρκαλον (not Perkalos/Πέρκαλος); see *LGN* IIIA. **ἀποστερεί Λευτυχίδα τοῦ γάμου:** like father, like son, and γάμοι again cause trouble. **ἄρπάσας:** this word in particular (see previous n. and 62n.) suggests the language of bk. 1, where it was key in the abductions of 1.1–4. It is a strong word: there may be a suggestion, no more, of rape. Hdt. is no unconditional admirer of Demaretos (51.1n.). Lykourgos was said to have introduced the custom of 'marriage δι' ἄρπαγῆς' (Plut. *Lyk.* 15.4–7), which Demaretos may have been able to cite as a precedent; but Hdt.'s description, especially the contrast with Leutychides' politer betrothal, does not give the impression of normal behaviour, and this is indeed the only recorded case (Scott). With the language used, compare also 5.47.1, Philippos of Kroton ψευθεὶς τοῦ γάμου.

**65.3 κατόμνυται:** cf. ἀπόμοσας of Ariston, 63.2, with both words echoed in the next sentence. Demaretos, named for 'the people's prayers' (63.3), is now beset by 'curses' within his own house. Cf. 69.2–3 (n.). **φᾶς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰκνεομένως** 'saying that it was not by right that he was king'. For the nuance conveyed by φᾶς...οὐ, see 135.3n. on φᾶσα οὐ... The final word will be echoed for emphasis at 65.4: from ἰκνέομαι (lit. 'pertaining to', with the extra sense 'rightly pertaining to'). **ἐδίωκε** 'persecuted' (Powell); English might use a similar pursuit metaphor and say 'hounded'. The word is also often used of formal legal prosecution; it need not imply that here, though it does not exclude it. Cf. 82.2n. **ἀνασώζων** 'keeping alive' by constant quotation. **συμβαλόμενος:** see 63.2n. on ἐπὶ δακτύλων... **φᾶς οὐκ ἑωυτοῦ μιν εἶναι:** again (cf. on φᾶς... above) see 135.3n.

**65.4** ἐπιβατεύων ‘taking his stand on’, with the hint of ‘getting a lift from’: Flower and Marincola on 9.95.2, comparing 3.63.3. Again, a strong word, picking up ἐπιβασιν at **61.1** (n.). So both Kleomenes and Leutychides have deeper-rooted motives, but emphasis now falls on the rhetoric they used, how they could make the claim persuasive. ἀπέφαινε is also strong, but should be translated ‘declare’ rather than ‘demonstrate’: it need not imply that Leutychides was right. At 5.41.1 Kleomenes’ mother herself ἀπέφαινε him as a possible king, but by giving birth; now Kleomenes’ attempted bringing-to-light is of a different sort.

66–70 *The fall of Demaretos; his reception by the Persian King*

It is possible that Demaretos had hopes of being reinstalled on the throne if Xerxes’ invasion succeeded (**67.3n.**), and that the story of his divine parentage or co-parentage, so clearly parallel to Herakles (**69.1n.**), originated in his or his supporters’ propaganda, thus hallowing a potential new beginning in the kingship. So Burkert 2001b. But despite Astrabakos’ local relevance (**69.2n.**) such propaganda could surely have done better: ‘with all the pantheon to choose from, he was not a particularly desirable parent for a king of Sparta’ (Seeberg 1966: 62). He even belonged in legend to the wrong royal house, Agiad rather than, as Demaretos, Eurypontid (Paus. 3.16.9).

66 *A corrupt Pythia!*

This chapter is of great importance in the history of Greek religion, because it is one of a very few securely attested attempts at improper persuasion of the Pythia. Allegations of bribery against seers, individually and collectively, are as old as Homer (*Od.* 2.186) and are commonplace in Attic tragedy (esp. Soph. *Ant.* 1055, *OT* 387–9), as is mockery of them in comedy (esp. Ar. *Peace* 1043–126 and *Birds* 958–91). But any such low-grade venality on the part of the ‘street-corner seer’ served only ‘to emphasise by contrast the unique insight and honesty of the distant Apollo’ (Parker 1985: 302, cf. 324–6 (2000: 81, cf. 106–8)). There were only two examples of improper persuasion, that described by Hdt. at 5.63.1 (the Alkmeonids, see n. there for this Athenian allegation) and by Th. at 5.16.2 (recall of king Pleistoanax). The present attempt was only temporarily successful; see **66.3n.** on ὑστέρωι...

**66.1** ἔδοξε Σπαρτιήτησι: see **57.2n.** for the mechanics of this consultation: the θεοπρόποι, i.e. the royally-appointed Pythioi, will be mentioned at **66.3**, but the Spartiates collectively (probably the assembly rather than the *gerousia*; cf. MacDowell 1986: 134) decide to consult Delphi, although

Kleomenes had a hand in the decision (66.2). The present episode is exceptional, for both kings had an interest in the outcome, with one's legitimacy challenged by the other: Parker 1985: 311. εἰ Ἀρίστωνος εἴη παῖς ὁ Δημάρητος: the word order throws the emphasis on Ariston: 'if it was Ariston, *rather than somebody else*, who was the father'.

66.2 ἀνοίστου δὲ γενομένου ἐκ προνοίης τῆς Κλεομένους ἐς τὴν Πυθίην 'after the matter was referred to the Pythia as a result of a plan by Kleomenes'. ἀναπείθει: stronger than πείθει, not just 'persuade' but 'stir up' (cf. ἀνα-), usually to do something momentous: e.g. take on Persia (Aristagores at Athens, 5.97.2–3, cf. 5.104.3) or the king of the Medes (Kyros, 4 times in 1.123–5), or invade Greece (Xerxes at 7.6.1, cf. 7.10 η 2). It is the word used in the similar case of the Alkmeonidai and the Pythia (see intr. n. above), 123.2 and 5.63.1, 66.1, and is particularly appropriate for bribery (LSJ (3)) – though Hdt. does not here explicitly say that money was involved.

66.3 τῶν θεοπρόπων: 66.1n. ὑστέρωι μέντοι χρόνῳ...: what seems at first a clear case of corruption of the Pythia turns out not to be so straightforward because Kobon and Perialla are punished when it all comes out into the open. That leaves Kleomenes, and Hdt. will soon reveal what happened to him (see esp. 84.3).

67.1 ἔφυγε δὲ Δημάρητος ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐς Μήδους ἐκ τοιοῦδε ὄνειδος: Hdt. here anticipates the conclusion of a lengthy narrative; he will close the ring at 70.2 by taking Demaretos across to Asia and Dareios. ὄνειδος (sometimes 'disgrace') here means 'taunt'. This becomes the final straw: Demaretos has accepted the loss of kingship itself and willingly taken on a lower position (ἀρχήν), but such public ridicule is unbearable. Sophocles' Ajax (367, 382) and Euripides' Medea (383, 404, 797, 1049) similarly find the really intolerable prospect is being 'laughed at' by their enemies. μετὰ τῆς βασιλείης τὴν κατάπαυσιν ὁ Δημάρητος ἤρχε αἰρεθεὶς ἀρχήν: to hold a routine magistracy (there is no way of knowing which one) after the kingship was extraordinary, as Leutychides is about to point out; but then few ever got to be ex-kings. Even the converse, becoming king after being a private citizen, was unusual, as Plut. *Ages.* 1.4 points out (though he overstates: cf. D. Shipley 1997: 62).

67.2 ἦσαν μὲν δὴ Γυμνοπαῖδια: the Gymnopaidia or -paidiai was a festival at which choruses of ephebes competed. See also Th. 5.82.2 and esp. Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.16, another very theatrical moment (the arrival of the news of the Spartan defeat at Leuktra), and generally Ducat 2006: 265–74; *OCD*<sup>4</sup> 'Spartan cults'. ἐπὶ γέλῳ τι καὶ λάσθῃ: the second noun, a rare one, means 'mockery'. With the gibe, and the witty but dignified rejoinder, cf. Th. 4.40.2, another mocked Spartan. ὁκοῖόν τι εἶη τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν: a twist on a *topos* of good generalship, the ability to take orders



as well as give them, ἄρχεσθαι as well as ἄρχειν (e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 669, Xen. *Kyr.* 1.6.20, Plato *Laws* 1.643e): here ‘being a (mere) magistrate’, ἄρχειν, is contrasted not with the humbler ‘taking orders’ but with the higher ‘being king’, and accepting subordination becomes the target for derision rather than praise. The trope of good generalship has become a travesty.

There may be a pun felt with ἄρχειν in 67.3: this episode is going to mark *that* sort of ἀρχή, one of perilous ‘beginning’ rather than ‘rule’.

**67.2 (cont.)** αὐτὸς μὲν... ἐκεῖνον δὲ οὐ: for the combination in indirect speech of nom. αὐτός (as is regular when the subject of the infinitive is the speaker) and acc. ἐκεῖνον cf. Kleon’s riposte to Nikias, οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνον στρατηγεῖν, Th. 4.28.2.

**67.3** ἄρξειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἢ μυρίας κακότητος ἢ μυρίας εὐδαιμονίας: ‘untold misery’ is vaguely menacing language, and may anticipate in a general way 98, the ills to be suffered by both Greeks and Persians. If a more specific reference is needed, it may look forward (so Harrison 2003: 149) to the advice given by Demaretos to Xerxes at 7.137 to fortify Kythera, advice not in the event taken. The Athenians too have had their ἀρχή κακῶν, the ships sent to Ionia at 5.97.3 (n.): so the narrative marks several different beginnings, none of them good for Greece.

‘Untold happiness’ has been thought to hint at Demaretos’ hopes to return one day as tyrant of Greece if the Persians won; so Burkert 2001b: 104f. (comparing 5.32, the ambitions of Pausanias the Regent), in which case the Demaretos narrative of bk. 6 is composed with retrospective knowledge of his later role as Xerxes’ warner-adviser. But it may also be a polar expression where the weight falls more on one side than the other, which is not much more than a foil (Finglass 2007: 189 on Soph. *El.* 305–6). Either way, it may be relevant that people on the point of death are envisaged as seeing especially clearly (Janko 1992: 420 on *Il.* 16.852–4, cf. 5. 92 η 2–4n.): Demaretos is experiencing a sort of social death.

**67.3 (cont.)** κατακαλυψάμενος ἦι ἐκ τοῦ θεήτρου: Hdt. does not explain why he covered his head; presumably he expected it to be self-evident. Perhaps he did it in shame: veiling was ‘connected with a sense of humiliation and exposure to the ridicule of others’ (Cairns 1996: 155); cf. 67. 1n. Or maybe he (also?) felt anger at loss of status, τιμή, closely linked as that was to what others said or could get away with saying about you. Anyway, Demaretos ‘retreats to total passivity: he wordlessly covers himself up to avoid being seen’ (Lateiner 1987: 93), rather like Euripides’ on-stage Herakles at *Her.* 1155–62 or Orestes at *Or.* 467–9 or, presumably, Hippolytos in his lost Ἰππόλυτος καλυπτόμενος. This too is a wonderful piece of ‘theatricality’, not least because it actually mentions a theatre.

Transitions are often marked by change in clothing (Hitch 2015: 525), and the veiling may again point to Demaretos' 'social death' (last n.). Along with the solemn prediction, almost a curse, it marks the moment when he leaves not only the theatre, but also Sparta and then Europe, though he will return as a pensioner of the Great King. In fact, this is when he medises. The next scene too is strongly visual.

This is one of only two mentions of a theatre in Hdt.; for the other, see 21. 2, Phrynichos' *Fall of Miletos*. The classical Greek historians, other than those from Sicily, are almost silent about the theatre as a civic institution: *CT* III: 12–21.

### 68–9 *Conversation between Demaretos and his mother*

This is one of the most fraught and unusual mother-son exchanges in all literature, on a level with Klytaimestra and Orestes in Aesch. *Cho.*, or Gertrude and Hamlet. It makes it all the more notable that the mother is unnamed. See 61.2n. on τρίτην γυναῖκα for a possible explanation.

**68.1** ἀπικομένηι δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθεις ἐς τὰς χεῖράς οἱ τῶν σπλάγχνων κατικέτευε 'when his mother arrived, he placed some of the entrails in her hands and supplicated her'. This is powerful action, of a kind associated with solemn oath-taking (Burkert 1985: 22), although Demaretos does not actually administer an oath to his mother. The underlying idea is thought to be that the swearer calls on the gods, in the event of perjury, to treat him/her as the sacrificed animal has just been treated. This appeal by Demaretos is also, as the verbs κατικέτευε and ἰκετεύω show, a formal act of supplication. Naiden 2006: 64 thinks that because 'Demaretos holds the entrails of the animals in his hands', he cannot make a gesture of the formal kind usually necessary, such as knee-clasping (but he could have handed her the entrails first and then clasped the knees!). Still, as Naiden shows, there are other cases where the formal gesture does not happen, as when Odysseus beseeches Nausikaa (γουνούμαί σε) when explicitly *not* touching her knees (*Od.* 6.141–9). This strong gesture of placing some of the entrails in her hands may well have been thought of as somehow validating the supplication; for other alternative gestures cf. Naiden 2006: 44–62. We have to visualise the following conversation taking place as the surprised mother holds in her hands a still warm pile of animal entrails. **θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καταπτόμενος ἰκετεύω καὶ τοῦ Ἐρκείου Διὸς τοῦδε** 'I supplicate you, appealing to all the gods, and especially Zeus of the household.' κατάπτομαι means 'appeal to', but the root meaning of the active verb is to 'fasten' or 'fix', with an implication of physical contact. So the verb is very apt in the present context: the powerful action with the entrails, just described, is a metaphor for the physical contact which usually accompanies

supplication. At 8.65.6 Dikaïos uses the same verb, but purely metaphorically, to call on Demaretos himself to attest the truth of a remarkable story, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος. See also 69.4n.

Ἐρκεῖος is lit. ‘of the courtyard’. At *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 991 (Galepsos in the N. Aegean), this Zeus is equated with Zeus Πατρῷος, and at Plato, *Euthydem.* 302d with Zeus Φράτριος, Zeus of Phratrises. Hdt.’s use of θύω here – the regular verb for Olympian sacrifice – may indicate that the cult was not chthonic. See Schwabl 1978: cols. 309–10.

All this indicates that we are meant to take the mother’s account very seriously indeed; but see below, 69.1n.

68.2 ματαιότερον ‘more offensive’ (e.g. 3.120.1, 7.15.1, Eur. *Hipp.* 119) rather than ‘more silly’ (e.g. 2.2.2, 3.56.2): Demaretos is not yet giving his mother the benefit of any doubt. The Pythia has pronounced that he is not Ariston’s son, but left the true father unspecified. Had it been his mother’s first husband, that would not have been in itself dishonourable even if it excluded him from the throne and left him vulnerable, as it clearly did, to Leutychides’ taunting. τὸν ὄνοφορβόν ‘the donkey-keeper’. See 69.3n., for the significance of this preparatory detail: it will slowly emerge that a miraculous story of semi-divine birth has been twisted into a comic insult. At 69.5 the Queen Mother returns the insult magnificently.

68.3 μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν ‘I beseech you by the gods’. For the verb see LSJ μετέρχομαι IV (5), and cf. Eur. *Ba.* 713, εὐχαῖσιν ἄν μετῆλθες. For the genitive cf. *GG* 1101. But the usage is rare, and if the text is right (Wilson thinks of inserting πρὸς before it) Demaretos is reaching for epic heights: cf. *Od.* 2.68, λίσσομαι Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου, and *Il.* 22.345, μή με . . . γούνων γουνάζω μηδὲ τοκῶν. The grandeur is rather let down by the embarrassed attempt at sophistication that follows. οὐδὲ γάρ . . . μετὰ πολλέων δέ: cf. Eur. *Ion* 1520 ff., when Ion, again perhaps with a clumsy attempt at sophistication, suggests to Kreousa that this Apollo story might be a way of covering up a mortal affair. σπέρμα παιδοποιὸν οὐκ ἐνῆν ‘he had no genital seed in him’: 61.2n. The adjective (= ‘child-begetting’) is otherwise poetic.

69.1 λιτήισι μετέρχεαι: for the verb, see 68.3n. The word λιταί, ‘entreaties’ is almost exclusively poetic in classical Greek (they are famous for their personification at *Iliad* 9.502), except for three occurrences in Hdt. Here the language and sing-song dactylic rhythm (a tiny adjustment would produce ἐπεὶ με λιτήισι μετέρχεαι) enhances the solemnity and other-worldliness of the narrative which follows; and perhaps the Queen Mother is responding in kind to Demaretos’ grand language: 68.3n. νυκτὶ τρίτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ‘on the third night after the first’. The last three words have been thought excessively clumsy, and Wilson suggests that πρώτης has displaced a word meaning e.g. ‘wedding banquet’ (*Herodotea*:

113; his OCT apparatus offers Holford-Strevens' ἀπὸ τῆς ὁρτῆς, 'after the festival'). But marital 'first nights' do tend to be thought rather special, and the Queen Mother may be delicately suggesting that Ariston had already had the chance to consummate his new marriage: Astrabakos was not exploiting some heroic variety of a *ius primae noctis*. ἦλθέ μοι φάσμα εἰδόμενον Ἀρίστωνι: cf. *Od.* 3.372 φήνηι εἰδομένη, 'likening herself [Athena] to a vulture', with Buxton 2009: 29–37 on the problem whether Athena is to be thought of as having turned into a bird, as he thinks overwhelmingly likelier, or is merely compared to one. Here, too, the word goes beyond mere comparison: Astrabakos takes on the human shape of Ariston, just as Zeus is said at 7.56.2 to have taken on human shape (as Xerxes), ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος, the only other occurrence of εἶδομαι, 'simulate', in Hdt. συν-ευνηθέν: neuter, to agree with φάσμα; but at para. 2 below Hdt. uses the masculine συνευνηθέντα. The double or uncertain paternity – human or divine? – resembles not only the Greek myth of Amphitryon (earthly father of Herakles, whose divine father was Zeus) and the Greek myth-history of Theagenes of Thasos (Paus. 6.11), whose real father was said not to be Timosthenes but Herakles, but also Egyptian royal claims. An inscription says that 'the glorious god Amon' put on the shape of Hatshepsut's father. Another near-eastern parallel is Joseph the husband of Mary mother of Jesus. See Burkert 2001b: 98–9 and Boedeker in *Brill's companion*: 111–12. Cf. also the various versions of the births of Alexander (Plut. *Alex.* 2), and Romulus (Plut. *Rom.* 2–4). One might wonder whether this three-times repeated promise to be telling the truth might be overdoing it, and in this case too the Queen Mother was not being wholly frank: cf. 62.2n. τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς εἶχε: these garlands play an important part in the story: according to the Queen Mother, Ariston accepted them as proof positive that the matter was θεῖον (69.3n.). For garlands or wreaths as indicators of hero-status, cf. Pind. *P.* 8.56–60, esp. 57, the 'neighbour hero' Alkmaion (another enigmatic epiphany), and Blech 1982: 270 n.11.

69.2 οὐ καλῶς: a frequent Spartan tag for expressing disapproval (e.g. Th. 3.32.2 and 93.2; 5.52.1). Again the conversation is lively – 'who gave you those?' 'Why, you did.' 'No, I didn't.' 'I swear you did, and calling me a liar is no way to behave...' κατωμνύμην 'I swore it on oath': that clearly impresses Ariston, as is underlined by the repetition in the next sentence. More swearing, then, and again within Demaretos' own house (65.3n.): this time it is strong assertion rather than the 'cursing' that the same word signified in the similar repetition at 65.3, but that does not make it any better for him.

69.3 τὸ καλέουσι Ἀστράβακου: Demaretos would not need to be told that 'they call it' the shrine of Astrabakos; it is Hdt. the narrator, not the mother, who speaks. The name Astrabakos is thought to be from a root

connected with a word for ‘mules’; this helps to explain the jokes about donkey-drivers (69.5n.), which are ‘a bit of counter-propaganda built right into Herodotus’ narrative’ (Burkert 2001b: 105, seeing this as a response to what he takes to be Demaretos’ own propagandist story of divine parentage, 66–70n.: it wasn’t the mule-god, it was the mule-boy!). An ἄστράβη is a cushion for sitting on a mule, and there are various derivatives. For Astrabakos and his hero-cult (he is some sort of local Spartan ‘Doppelgänger’ of both Orestes and Dionysos) see Wide 1893: 279–80; Seeberg 1966; Ogden 1997: 111–15 (with speculative comparison to Orthagoras tyrant of Sikyon).

**69.3–4 ἀναίρεον... ἀναιρέομαι:** both are from ἀναιρέω, but the first means ‘answer’ and the second (middle voice) ‘conceive (a child)’. A third meaning of the same verb will occur very soon, at 70.3, ἀνελόμενος, ‘win’ a contest (36.1n.). οὐτω, ὦ παῖ, ἔχεις πᾶν... ‘so there, my son, you have the whole story...’, another neat colloquial touch.

**69.4 ἐν γάρ σε τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἀναιρέομαι** ‘for it was in that night that I conceived you’. This is very deliberate and emphatic: note the present tense. Perhaps it is over-literal to ask how she could be so sure that the baby was conceived on that night: possibly Ariston had been a poor sexual performer for the rest of the month, but more likely the divine accompaniment was enough to point to this night’s being special. But there are anyway indications that conception was known to be more likely at particular stages of the cycle (Dean-Jones 1994: 170–1), and that it was thought that one could tell immediately after intercourse whether conception had taken place ([Hipp.] *On the Seed* 5, Dean-Jones 1994: 172). τῇ δέ σευ μάλιστα κατάπτονται οἱ ἐχθροί... ‘as for that which your enemies use to attack you...’, literally ‘get a hold on you’. At 68.1 the same verb is used of a particularly vigorous ‘appeal to’ (n.); there is point in the echo. His enemies are applying pressure to Demaretos and he in turn applies it to his mother, each in a way so appropriate as to be irresistible. οὐ φήσεί σε ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι: 63.2 (n.). αἰδρεῖται τῶν τοιούτων: a rare acknowledgment of male gynaecological innocence. ἀπέρριψε ‘threw out’, even more than ἐκβάλοι below suggesting haste and probably anger: cf. 1.153.2, 7.13.2, 8.92.2, and for ἐκβάλλω *Il.* 18.324, Aesch. *Ag.* 1663.

**69.5 καὶ ἐννεάμηνα καὶ ἐπτάμηνα** ‘both in the ninth month and the seventh month’ *as well as* – that is the force of the first καὶ – in the usual tenth. Cf. Arist. *Gen. an.* 772b7–11: ‘humans alone have a variable gestation period: children are born in the seventh and the tenth month and at intervening times’; also *FGrHist* 566 Timaios F 161. Cf. Dean-Jones 1994: 209–11 for the various views on gestation length and the relative dangers of particular months: the eighth was thought particularly hazardous – babies

born then may survive elsewhere, but ‘in Greece very few survive, and it is thought that if they do . . . the mother must have been wrong about the date of conception and it was earlier’, Arist. *Hist. an.* 584b10–14. That may explain the omission of ‘the eighth month’ here, unless the point is ‘in the ninth month and [even as early as] the seventh month’. δέκεο ‘believe’, as at 2.143.4: the equivalent of Attic δέχου. ἐκ δὲ ὀνοφορβῶν αὐτῷ τε Λευτυχίδῃ καὶ τοῖσι ταῦτα λέγουσι τίκτοιν αἱ γυναῖκες παῖδας: 69.3n. The important word comes first: ‘as for the donkey-keepers – may it be Leuty-chides and the other people saying this, whose wives bear their children’. The underlying assumption is not merely that the slanderers will suffer the pain of cuckolding but also that ‘their’ children will closely resemble their biological fathers, as in Hesiod’s well-ordered city (*WD* 235, with West’s n.) and therefore make their humiliation clear.

### 70 *Demaretos’ flight to Asia*

70.1 ὁ δὲ πυθόμενός τε τὰ ἐβούλετο . . . ἐπορεύετο εἰς Ἡλιν: ‘Apparently he considers her mythic, even pseudo-Heracleian, story unlikely to convince his enemies in Sparta; H[erodotus] . . . is clearly unconvinced by it’ (Dewald 2012: 63). τὰ ἐβούλετο therefore does not mean ‘what he wished’ in the sense of getting the answer he wanted: the phrase picks up his mother’s ὅσον τι καὶ βούλεαι πυθέσθαι, 69.3, and conveys ‘what he wanted to find out about’. ὑποτοπηθέντες Δημάρητον δρησμῷ ἐπιχειρέειν: ‘running away’ is strong language. Lykourgos was said to have prohibited foreign travel without permission (Plut. *Lyk.* 27.6, etc), but the real concern would be political: a disaffected ex-king could easily make trouble abroad. Legalism is equally out of place in discussing who could authorise his arrest (70.2).

70.2 εἰς Ζάκυνθον: one of the modern ‘Ionian islands’, off the westernmost point of the Peloponnese, part of Odysseus’ kingdom in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.234). ἄπτονται ‘lay hands on’, although the next sentence makes clear that they were not able to make a full arrest or at least to take him off the island against the Zakynthians’ will; perhaps it should simply be taken as conative, but for that the imperfect would be expected. ἐνθεῦτεν . . . γῆν τε καὶ πόλιος ἔδωκε: in c. 491 BC. See Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6 (399 BC): ‘Teuthrania and Halisarna [near Troy, NW Asia Minor] were ruled by Eurysthenes and Prokles, descendants of Damaratos the Spartan [as Xen. spells him]. This land had been given to Damaratos by the king of Persia as a reward for accompanying him on the expedition to Greece.’ The same passage of Xen. mentions Gorgion and Gongylos as brothers occupying two cities in the same area which the Persian king had given to ‘Gongylos,

the only Eretrian who medised' (cf. Th. 1.128.6) – probably the brothers' grandfather. The long-lived families apparently intermarried (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> no. 381 = Durrbach 1921 no. 15, 3rd-cent. BC Delian inscription mentioning 'Demaratos son of Gorgion the Spartan'), and would have been living in NW Asia Minor in Hdt.'s time. He surely talked to these descendants: see 72.1n. on τίσιν τοιήνδε τινά... See Jacoby 1956: 125–6 = 1913: 442–3 for his 'Demaratos-source', which however Jacoby does not seek to identify more precisely, and Introduction p.14 n.23.

For the possibility that the Demaretids and Gongylids of Mysia (NW Asia Minor), perhaps even Demaretos himself, actively promoted myths – in particular that of Telephos – more usually associated with the Attalid rulers of Pergamon, see Dignas 2012: 121–32, noting parallels between the Heraklid Telephos and Demaretos.

**70.3 ἄλλα τε Λακεδαιμονίοισι συχνὰ ἔργοισι τε καὶ γνώμησι ἀπολαμπρυνθείς:** ἀπολαμπρυνθείς is passive in form, so 'made bright by his words and deeds', but as at 1.41.2 it comes to be close to middle in meaning, as Demaretos is the one who has 'won glory' (Powell) for himself. For leaders who excel in both 'words and deeds' cf. Phoinix at *Il.* 9.443. Th. 1.139.4 (about Perikles) will again echo Phoinix. The dative Λακεδαιμονίοισι leaves it open whether it should be taken as 'in the Spartans' eyes' or 'for the Spartans', as with σφι... προσέβαλε in the next clause (see on μοῦνος below). Either way, the episode of Demaretos' departure closes on a high (ἀπολαμπρυνθείς).

The summarising style is almost that of an obituary, going with the 'social death' hinted at in 67.3. But his ominous words there anticipated that his story would not be over so simply, and Sparta would hear more of him yet. He duly plays a big role in bks. 7–8, including the important insights into Sparta itself that he gives the disbelieving Xerxes at 7.101–5: cf. Introduction p. 16.

**70.3 (cont.) καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα σφι ἀνελόμενος τεθρίππωι:** for the verb for winning, see 69.3 and 4n. For Olympic and other athletic victors in Hdt., see 5.22.2n. and cf. the elder Miltiades at 36.1 and Kimon Koalemos at 103. In their case it was their nephew and son, the younger Miltiades, whose relations with his city came after great glory to an acrimonious end (136.2–3). **μοῦνος:** the novelty is that he proclaims the victory in the name of the Spartan people, therefore 'assigning the victory to them' (σφι... προσέβαλε). For such cession of victories, cf. 103.2, Kimon Koalemos 'hands over', παραδίδοι, his victory to Peisistratos.

**71.1 Κύνισκον** 'little puppy': cf. Kyniska, sister of Agesilaos, or Κυνώ at 1.110.1. For such alternative names, cf. Skamandrios, as Hektor called his son, but the Trojans called him Astyanax (*Il.* 6.402–3, cf. 22.506).

καταλιπών παῖδα Ἀρχίδημον: this ch. contains Hdt.'s only two mentions of the king who ruled c. 469–427 BC and who, as Archidamos (as Th. spells him), was so prominent in the first and second books of Th. This is one of several allusions around here that point to much later events: see esp. 98.2 and 131.1–2 (Immerwahr 1966: 126). Contemporary topicality thus helps to explain the inclusion of 71. Otherwise, given that neither Archidemos nor his father Zeuxidemos will play any further part in Hdt.'s narrative, it is hard to see why he should give these complicated family details at such length (including the names of Eurydame and Lampito, two women who will also not recur), except perhaps to underline still more the importance of royal marital politics and intrigue at Sparta.

71.2 Διακτορίδεω δὲ θυγατέρα: for the name Διακτορίδης (Doric -ας) cf. the Thessalian suitor at 127.4. Otherwise there are only the thirteen Delians in *LGN* I, an unaccountably strange pattern of distribution. ἐκ τῆς οἰᾶς ἔρσεν μὲν γίνεται οὐδέν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Λαμπιτώ: cf. 5.48 (Gorgo), and for the Spartan female name Lampito, Ar. *Lys.* τὴν Ἀρχίδημος... γαμέει δόντος αὐτῷ Λευτυχίδεω: Archidemos thus married his aunt.

## 72 *Leutychides disgraced*

72.1 οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ Λευτυχίδης... ἐξέτεισε: cf. 84.3 (n.), where Kleomenes, too, will be said to pay requital, τίσις, to Demaretos. Demaretos' descendants, living in the Troad through the 5th cent. and later (70.2n.), are an obvious source for biographical material about Demaretos; but as always the interpretation, here the characteristic line of explanation in terms of requital, is Hdt.'s own. ἐστρατήγησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐς Θεσσαλίην: this happened after the Persian Wars, perhaps in 478 BC. The Spartans always had ambitions in Thessaly during the classical period: see Pind. *P.* 10.1 (c. 500 BC) for an early linking. Their most conspicuous attempt to establish a central Greek stronghold was their foundation of Herakleia Trachinia in the early 420s (Th. 3.92–3). The reasons for Spartan interest in Thessaly may have included a desire to maximise their otherwise slender amphiktionic influence at Delphi: Thessaly exercised a preponderance of votes there. See *TT*: chs. 1 and 2. For Kleomenes' presence in central Greece (Boiotia) in 519, see 108.2n. παρεόν: see 82.1n. οἱ παρεόντες εὐπετέως... Hdt. is clear-cut here, unusually so for the murky world of Spartan intrigue: this is asserted in the narrator's own voice.

72.2 ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ δὲ ἀλούς 'caught in the act', lit. 'self-detected', from φωράω, 'detect' or 'discover' a φῶρ, a thief. See also 137.3n. ἐπικατήμενος χειρὶ πλέθι ἀργυρίου: 'sitting on a glove full of money'. This elegant 18th-cent. emendation – hardly more than a redividing of the words – makes sense of the enigmatic 'double hand' of the MSS: χεῖρ



διπλῇ(1). For χειρὶς see *Od.* 24.230 (Laertes' gardening-gloves). See Wilson, *Herodotea*: 113. ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ὑπαχθεῖς 'after being brought before a court of law': this is mentioned again at 85.1, where the δικαστήριον is convened by 'the Spartiates'. This court presumably took the same form as it did for several later trials of kings, consisting of the ephors, the *gerousia* (a body of 28 senior life members: 5.40.1n.), and the other king (MacDowell 1986: 127–8, 140–2): cf. esp. Paus. 3.5.2, the case of King Pausanias in 403. The case against Kleomenes at 82 may, but need not, have been heard by the same body: see n. there. καὶ τὰ οἰκία οἱ κατεσκάφη 'and his house was razed to the ground'. A very thorough and solemn step, sometimes used to indicate strong disapproval of attempted tyranny; cf. Clodius' destruction of Cicero's house (Cic. *De domo*). In 418 BC another Spartan king, Agis, was threatened with this punishment (Th. 5.63 with *CT* III: 166). Connor 1985 sees this as an anti-pollution measure; Brock 2013: 73–4 and 80 n. 34 explains in terms of the expunging of an offender from the community. ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην: despite the 6th-cent. Spartan success recorded at 1.65–8, relations between the Spartans and Arkadians were bad in the period before and after the Persian Wars (cf. 74, where Kleomenes stirs up disaffection among the Arkadians). At the battle of Plataia the Spartans awarded the place of honour in the battle-line not to them but to the Athenians (9.28.1). Otherwise, Hdt. provides no continuous narrative (nor does Th.), but drops a number of advance hints. See esp. 9.35.2 for the five ἀγῶνες or contests which the seer Teisamenos of Elis would win for the Spartans, including two against the (disunited) Arkadians at a date later than 479 but earlier than the 460s; and 9.37.4, where Hegesistratos the seer (for whom see 75.2n.) flees to Tegea 'which was on poor terms with Sparta at that time' (480s?). See *Greek world*: 11. ἐτελεύτησε: probably around 469.

### 73 *Kleomenes and Leutychides visit Aigina*

**73.1** ὠδῶθη 'guided along its path'. ὀδόω is normally used with a personal object, but also of metaphorically 'guiding along the road' (Owen) lethal poisonings at Eur. *Ion* 1050. In the *Ion* passage there is a play with real 'roads', as it is an address to *Einodia*, the goddess of cross-ways; at Hdt. 4.139.2 there may be a similar play, as the Ionian bridge-building, providing a path for the Persian retreat, is concerned. Here too there may be two 'paths' taken, the metaphorical one against Demaretos and the literal one against the Aiginetans. This campaign is what Kleomenes had in mind in his deal with Leutychides at 64–5, and the narrative picks up the story from there. ἔγκοτον... ἔχων: in Hdt., the strong and rare word ἔγκοτος, 'grudge', is always (as at 133.1, Miltiades) a substantive, whereas in Aesch.

(e.g. *Cho.* 924, the Erinyes as ἐγκότους κύνας) it is an adj., 'grudge-bearing', 'spiteful'. διὰ τὸν προπηλακισμόν: that of 50–1.

**73.2** ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων ἡκόντων: see 50.2 and n. **Κριόν:** 50.2–3nn. οἱ περ εἶχον μέγιστον κράτος: normally used of tyrants: cf. 3.142.1, Maiandrios εἶχε τὸ κράτος at Samos, or 35.1 and n., Peisistratos εἶχε μὲν τὸ πᾶν κράτος. The rulers of Aigina too have something of the tyrant about them: Nagy 1990: 174–80. παραθήκην κατατίθενται: the choice of two ponderous words from the same root – in effect, 'they deposited as a deposit' – is artful. Hdt. is looking ahead to the narrative sequel. These men are really hostages (so, correctly, 85.1 περὶ τῶν . . . ὁμήρων), but Hdt. needs the language of financial or material deposit, as used at 5.92 ζ, in order to facilitate Leutychides' parable of 86 about Glaukos the Spartan and the Milesian stranger who trusted him. In that ch., παραθήκη (or παρακαταθήκη, see n. there) will occur frequently, to describe both the hostages and the Milesian's deposit.

#### 74–84 *Kleomenes' grisly death: the various Greek explanations*

**74.1** μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα: Hdt. again leaves vague the chronological relationship of the various sequences (cf. Introduction pp. 13 and n.22), and nowhere clarifies whether Kleomenes' disgrace, departure, return, and death happened before or after Marathon. **κακοτεχνήσαντα:** the noun κακοτεχνή was used by Herakleitos and Gorgias, DK 22 B 129 and 82 B 11a, and at *Il.* 15.14 Zeus reviles Hera as κακότεχνος. Once again (cf. 72.1n.) the hostile comment is in the narrator's own voice. **Κλεομένεα . . . δέϊμα ἔλαβε Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ὑπέξέσχε:** first fear 'takes' Kleomenes and then madness (ὑπέλαβε, 75.1 with n.), after Kleomenes' fear is reciprocated by that of the Spartans (δείσαντες, 75.1); cf. also 75.1 n. Such vivid semi-personified expressions are appropriate to, and tend to be reserved for, cases where the emotion or the danger is extreme, as 1.165.3, ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος, or 8.70.2, τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἄρρωδίη. The use is especially frequent with φόβος, often effectively denoting 'panic': 4.203.3, 7.43.2, 8.38, and e.g. Th. 2.91.4 and – particularly memorably – 8.1.2. Intense fear precipitates actions that turn out catastrophic for the fearful, in a pattern that is familiar from 1.46.1 onwards and will become even more familiar in Thucydides. **ἐς Θεσσαλίην:** the rationale for the suggested emendation Σελλασίην is geographical: Sellasia in the Peloponnese – scene of a famous battle in 222 BC – was just north of Sparta (*IACP* no. 343), so the itinerary Sparta–Sellasia–Arkadia makes good sense. By contrast, the itinerary Sparta–Thessaly–Arkadia is baffling, and Thessaly could have been scribally introduced by memory of 72.1. On the other

hand, Sellasia is not attested before Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.13; nowhere in Th., for instance. *νιώτερα ἔπρησαι πρήγματα* 'he engaged in revolutionary activities': 2.2n. *συνιστάς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ*: see 72.2n. *ἡ μὲν ἔπεισθαι*: this use of *ἡ μὲν* is typical in oaths, as in other 'earnest asseverations' (CP. 389). *καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν πόλιν*: for Nonakris, a poorly attested *polis* in N. Arkadia (Barr. map 58 c1), see IACP no. 285, Jost 1985: 36. It was probably dependent on the larger *polis* of Pheneos, about to be mentioned at the end of 74.2. *ἱεσφοῦν τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ* 'make them swear by the water of Styx'. See Hom. *Il.* 15.37–8, also Hes. *Th.* 399–400 and 805–6 with West 1966, for the gods swearing by Styx. Kleomenes seems to have been the only non-mythological mortal ever to have used the Styx for administering an oath (see the Nottingham *Oaths in archaic and classical Greece* database, [www.nottingham.ac.uk/greatdatabase/brzoaths/public\\_html/database/index.php](http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/greatdatabase/brzoaths/public_html/database/index.php), last accessed 9 October 2017). If so, this would be powerful evidence of insanity, or at least of dangerous refusal to 'think mortal thoughts', in Pindaric language; and it is all the more outrageous as he is compelling other mortals to behave so perilously. See Introduction p. 21.

74.2 *ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει λέγεται εἶναι ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ*: Hdt. has reported the oaths by the Styx without a distancing formula, but the notion that the visitable site of Nonakris was home to a river of the underworld makes him resort to *λέγεται*, and to attribute the belief to the Arkadians. Caution is specially appropriate when the human and the divine are alleged to meet. It may be relevant that the Styx was sometimes associated with the Cumae region in S. Italy (Lycoph. *Alex.* 706 with Hornblower 2015: 291; Strabo 5.4.6), and so *λέγεται* might merely show awareness of a rival tradition. *καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔστι τοιόνδε τι...*: the build-up (*καὶ δὴ καὶ*, repeated from the previous sentence) and the opening of the detailed description create the expectation that a *θῶμα* or marvel will follow. This might have taken the form of a note about the river's poisonous or preternaturally icy waters, for which see Strabo 8.8.4 (poisonous) and the implied mention of Styx at Plut. *Alex.* 77.4 (icy and poisonous). But the description here is purely natural, and contains nothing very spectacular or outré (unless Bollack 1958: 32 is right that the *κύκλος* of the low fencing-wall represents 'la grande enceinte du monde'). *ἄγκος*: in its more usual spelling *ἄγγος*, usually a 'jar' but here the 'bowl' or 'basin' of a fountain. *πόλις ἔστι τῆς Ἀρκადίης πρὸς Φενεῶν*: for the third time in this ch., Hdt. tell us that Nonakris was a *polis*, and now adds (what a more pedestrian historian might have said at the outset) that it was Arkadian and situated 'close to Pheneos'. In fact, it was probably dependent on Pheneos (IACP no. 291, Barr. map 58 c2) at all periods.

**75.1** κατῆγον αὐτὸν δέισαντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι . . . : for δέισαντες, see 74.1n. Probably αὐτὸν is to be taken with both verb and participle ('they feared him, so brought him back').

To restore him to his former status after he had gone to such an extreme of anti-Spartan activity was surprising, and Hdt.'s expression is almost an implied negative: 'they did not, as you might expect, deprive him of his kingship/restrict his freedom of action/raze his house'. In a later period or with stronger-minded ephors (cf. n. on οἱ προσήκοντες, 75.2), they might have imposed advisers on him, as happened to king Agis in 418 (Th. 5.63.4). These Spartans have no idea how to handle so headstrong and wayward a personality as Kleomenes. They may have learned from an overlightness of touch here: cf. 82.2n. for a possible tightening of legal procedure after his fall.

**75.1 (cont.)** ὑπέλαβε μανίη νοῦσος, ἐόντα καὶ πρότερον ὑπομαργότερον: everything is gradual or qualified (ὑπ- . . .).

Kambyzes too is ὑπομαργότερος at 3.29.1, and Kambyzes too, after being initially in this way 'a little on the mad side', goes madder because of a particular outrage, in his case his treatment of the Apis bull – or so the Egyptians said (αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη, ἐὼν οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενήρης, 3.30.1). That pattern may be recalled here; if so, it may prepare the ground for the explanation in terms of divine punishment, 84.3.

**75.1 (cont.)** ὅκως 'whenever . . .', as often in Hdt. (e.g. 31.1, 61.3, 77.3). ἐνέχραυε ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον: the verb (ἐγχράω or ἐγχράω, to dash or thrust something in) is very rare. σκῆπτρον, usually a poetic word, often had royal connotations; the standard Spartan officer's staff or baton was called a βακτηρία, as at Th. 8.84.2–3: Astyochos threatened non-Spartans with his βακτηρία. See *TT*: 259–60, and generally 250–74 for aggression by elite Spartans with sticks of one sort or another.

**75.2** ἔδησαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλῳ 'his relatives shackled him in wood'. See 9.37.2 for another man (the seer Hegesistratos of Elis) who is placed by the Spartans in the 'wood' (actually 'iron-rimmed wood', ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ) and who, like Kleomenes, ends the situation by horrific self-mutilation, cutting off his foot after measuring the exact amount needed. He goes to dissident Tegea in Arkadia (cf. 74.1 for dissident Arkadia in the Kleomenes story) and makes himself a prosthetic foot, so that a piece of wood replaces the damage done by 'the wood'. But there are differences: his behaviour is entirely rational (perhaps modelled on the observed behaviour of e.g. foxes in traps?) and is intended to secure his escape and survival, whereas Kleomenes' is presented as that of a madman.

Translators take 'wood' as 'stocks', which suggests public humiliation. Such punitive displays were indeed known: that seems to have been the

point of the ποδοκάκη mentioned by Lys. 10.16 (cf. Todd 2007: 679–80 and Eidinow 2015: 238–9), and Dem. 24.114 has a thief displayed ‘so that people could see him’ for five days and nights; a law cited there at 105 specifies the ποδοκάκη, though the authenticity of that law has reasonably been doubted. But Hunter 1994: 178–81 distinguishes such public cases from other sorts of ‘shackling in wood’ several times mentioned by the orators, which seem to have taken place in prison: Andok. 1.45 is such a case, where everything is being done in secret. That raises the question whether Kleomenes’ shackling is in public, as ‘stocks’ would suggest: perhaps not, as people would surely have intervened, either when the guard was getting the knife or when the king had started the cutting. At 9.37.2 Hegesistratos is clearly in confinement as well, and has to burrow through the wall to escape.

It is not obvious why this falls to ‘the relatives’ rather than the ephors. Perhaps it was thought appropriate to deploy the relatives as a marker that he was no longer in public control or even to demonstrate civic solidarity, or perhaps the relatives were discontented with the weak line so far taken (75.1n.). Nor, anyway, is it clear that ephors had coercive powers against kings in the 5th cent. The assumption that they did rests on a problematic text, Th. 1.131.2: Pausanias is thrown into prison by the ephors, who ‘have the power to do this to the king’. But Pausanias is not king but regent, and so there is anyway some confusion there: cf. *CT* 1: 217.

**75.2 (cont.)** δέισας: fear yet again (cf. 74.1), allowing the crisis to become even more bizarre. ἦν γὰρ τῶν τις εἰλωτέων: this is only the second mention of helots in Hdt.; for the first, see 58.3, their compulsory role in the obsequies for Spartan kings. The third and fourth also concern Kleomenes: see 80 and 81 and nn. there. Helot actions are not at all common in Hdt.: cf. also 7.229.1 and 9.80.3.

γάρ implies that a Spartiate, as opposed to a helot, would not have been so easily intimidated by Kleomenes’ menaces. Helots were held down by violence and the permanent threat of violence (*TT*: 267–9).

**75.3** τὰς λαπάρας ‘his flanks’. Elsewhere only at 2.86 4, describing Egyptian embalming. It is Iliadic (e.g. 6.64), but otherwise mainly found in the medical writers. The description is clinically precise. καταχορδεύων: very strong, slicing himself up as if for a sausage: the lavish detail of the cutting-up, gradually moving up the body (but – thankfully – moving out from the thighs to hips and flanks rather than staying central), again suggests self-butchery. Some of the theatre audience in 409 may well have recalled this story when they heard Philoktetes’ despairing plea for a sword ‘so that I can slice off my head and cut myself limb from limb’ (Soph. *Phil.* 1207).

75.3–84 *Four Greek beliefs about the reason for Kleomenes' madness and death*

The first belief was that held by most Greeks: Kleomenes' 'persuasion' of the Pythia was the cause, i.e. this was divine vengeance, although Hdt. does not yet spell that out. This is a back-reference to the full description at 66. The second belief was held by the Athenians; Hdt. refers to an episode in bk. 5 where, however, the detail here supplied was absent. The grounds for the third and fourth beliefs (the Argive especially, but also the Spartan) are given much more fully than the other two; they provide Hdt. with the opportunity to supply entirely new material about Kleomenes' kingship. (Even then, Kleomenes will not be quite 'dead', in narrative terms, because of the important Boiotian flashback at 108. The small flashback at 92.1 – Argive ships hijacked by Kleomenes – really 'belongs' in the narrative at 76.2: see n. there on πλοίοισι.) Only in the last sentence of 84 will Hdt. give his own belief, as a culminating fifth: Kleomenes was paying τίσις to Demaretos. In a way, this is not so different from the first, or general Greek, belief, because in this opening section he emphasises that the Pythia was persuaded by Kleomenes *to say what she did about Demaretos*, τὰ περὶ Δημαρήτου. See further 84.3n. for the theological point and Introduction, Section 3.

Athenians, Argives, and Spartans all come up with an explanation that suits their own interests, the Athenians and Argives concentrating on their own affronts, the Spartans favouring an interpretation that excuses the city from any suggestion of sacrilege or divine hostility: see Introduction (p. 18 and n.28) for the idea that impiety was contagious.

ὅτι τὴν Πυθίην ἀνέγνωσε...: see 66. ἀναγινώσκω regularly means 'persuade' in Hdt., but often with a derogatory tinge (50.2n.); at 66.2 the verb was ἀναπείθει. τὰ περὶ Δημαρήτου λέγειν: see introductory n. above. ὥς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα ἐσβαλὼν ἔκειρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν: 'the gods' at Eleusis are Demeter and Kore/Persephone. Hdt. here refers back to 5.74.2, with a close verbal echo to jog the memory (ἐσέβαλε ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα). But that passage contained nothing about cutting down sacred trees. For the reasons for this narrative delay, see n. there. For literary and epigraphic prohibitions against felling trees in sacred groves, see Hornblower 2015: 481 (n. on Lycoph. *Alex.* 1388–96), Delli Pizzi 2011 and Bowden 2015: 329 (citing Sokolowski 1969: no. 150, Kos). A violation of such a ban was a precipitating cause of the great *stasis* at Kerkyra, Th. 3.70.4. Kleomenes' actions at Argos, about to be described, are comparable (he burns down a sacred grove). A mythical parallel is that of Lykourgos, driven mad by Dionysos after he tried to cut down the god's vines and 'said to have cut off one of his own feet instead' (Hyg. *Fab.* 132): Leigh 1999: 179–82 = 2010: 213–16 suggests that this paradigm may have influenced

the Kleomenes story. **τούς καταφυγόντας... κατέκοπτε... καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλσος ἐν ἀλογίῃ ἔχων ἐνέπρησε:** this summary of the Argive explanation is elaborated in the chs. which follow. **κατακόπτω**, ‘cut down’, is appropriate for felling trees, but is here used of men, and thus sets up a grisly parallel between the halves of the narrative: Kleomenes cut down the first set of Argives and had the rest burned alive in the sacred grove itself (the sacrilege is as bad as the killing). **καταγινέων:** if the text is right, **κατ-**presumably means ‘downhill’ (cf. *Od.* 10.104) out of the grove (79.1). The grove does indeed seem to have been on a hill: according to the collection of proverbs attributed to Diogenianos of Herakleia (2nd cent. AD), ‘hill of Argos’ became proverbial for a mass of misfortunes ‘because great carnage took place there’ (3.10). It would still be an odd specification of terrain, especially here rather than in the narrative of the slaughter itself at 78–9. Wilson prints Powell’s emendation **ἐξαγινέων**, ‘leading out’ (cf. 128.1), referring to the ‘calling out’ (**ἐξεκάλεε**, **ἐκκαλεύμενος**) of the Argives at 79.1. That may be right, though a reader or listener would again find it less confusing if that ‘calling out’ had already figured in the narrative. If so, the corruption will have been influenced by the adjacent **καταφυγόντας** and **κατέκοπτε**. **ἐν ἀλογίῃ ἔχων:** presentation through negation: he *took no heed* of the grove’s sacred status, as he ought to have done; see above on **ὡς δέ...**

#### 76–84.1 *Kleomenes and Argos*

The Argives and Spartans were inveterate enemies and rivals for hegemony in the Peloponnese (Th. 5.28.2 and Diod. 12.75.5–6). Tyrtaios fr. 23a W<sup>2</sup>, published in 1980, ‘reinforces the traditional account of seventh-century Spartan–Argive relations against recent scepticism’ (*P. Oxy.* 3316 at p. 2), describing a spirited encounter of Spartans and Argives who ‘will kill as many of the Spartiates [as they find] fleeing in retreat’. For the 6th cent. in Hdt.’s narrative, see 1.82, the Argive–Spartan Battle of the Champions; cf. 76.2n. on **κατήγαγε...** Hdt. can even make Aristagores of Miletos speak in 500 BC of Spartan wars against Messenians, Argives and Arkadians as the normal state of affairs (5.49.8).

The present section is unusual in that later literary sources provide a very different account of the foiling of Kleomenes’ designs on Argos, in terms of the heroism of the Argive women – ‘new Danaids’ (Piérart 2003: 281) – led by the poetess Telesilla. Telesilla is a fully historical personality, nine of whose poems survive in small fragments (*PMG*: 372–4, frs. 717–25 and the miscellaneous material at 726). The story was variously told, but the kernel is that after a battle in which the men of Argos were badly defeated (presumably Sepeia in 494, see below), Kleomenes attacked the city, but the women, and perhaps others normally in the non-combatant

category, heroically repulsed them and inflicted great losses. Demaretos was also present (an odd detail in view of the law of 5.75.2 specifying that only one king should command, cf. 50.2n.) and managed to enter the city, but they drove him out. See (1) Plut. *On the courage of women* 4 245c–f, the fullest version, citing at one point the Hellenistic historian Sokrates of Argos (*FGrHist* 310 F 6 with Jacoby's comm.); (2) Polyain. 8.33; and (3) Paus. 2.20, mentioning (para. 8) a statue of Telesilla at Argos, holding a helmet; perhaps, like the kneeling statues at 5.86, this object gave rise to the legend (thus Jacoby and Stadter 1965: 45–53). Others, beginning with Paus., have thought that the story arose from an over-literal interpretation of the oracle at 77 about the female driving out the male.

The currently favoured view is that the story is an aetiology for the festival of the Hybristika mentioned by Plut. at the end of his narrative, a rite of role-reversal or male–female inversion (Graf 1984: esp. 246–7 and 250; Piérart 2003: 278; and already H/W). That is attractive, but women like Telesilla could genuinely have played a part in the defence of a city. Note esp. Th. 5.82.6 about, precisely, Argos: the whole population, *including women and slaves*, helped to build the long walls made necessary by the threat of a Spartan attack. That also underlines that it would (as here) be found paradoxical or unnatural, but it happened. See Piérart 2003: 279 and *CHGRW*1: 43f. (with fig. 2.2 at p. 45, an inscription honouring female war casualties at Messene). But if there was a historical basis to the story in its 'Telesilla' aspect, it is surprising that Hdt., who admired the warrior queen Artemisia, shows no knowledge of it (Piérart 2003: 281). The mention of Demaretos fits the usual date for the battle of Sepeia, 494 BC; see below – Hdt.'s whole Argive excursus is a flashback.

For the possibility that Aristagores stopped off at Argos in 499, and that this visit prompted the Argive part of the common oracle about to be quoted, see 5.55n.

**76.1 μαντευομένωι ἐν Δελφοῖσι:** Kleomenes may have been grossly impious in the eyes of most Greeks, and ready to corrupt Delphi himself (66.2), but he still consults the oracle, conducts the proper sacrifices at the river, and to an extent respects the outcome (see Introduction p. 24). There is no mention here of the Pythioi of 57.2, but their role is probably to be taken for granted, unless this is further evidence for Kleomenes' disregard for convention by taking things into his own hands; thus at 81 he conducts a sacrifice in person. Ἐρασῖνον, ὃς λέγεται ῥεῖν ἐκ τῆς Στυμφηλίδος λίμνης . . . καλεῖσθαι: oddly enough, this seems to be true, and the river does flow for some 55 km. underground (Pritchett 1965–91 1: 122–3), before emerging SW of Argos as the Erasinos (*Barr.* map 58 D2). Arkadian Stymphalos (*IACP* no. 296), mentioned in the Homeric *Catalogue* (*Il.* 2. 608), was far away to the NW (*Barr.* map 58 C2). The eponymous lake, famous



in mythology as home of the man-eating birds slaughtered by Herakles, was close by that Arkadian city. So for the Argive Erasinos to represent the waters of this lake, reappearing from an underground chasm, is a *θῶμα*. Paus. 8.22.3 has the same fabulous idea, but speaks of an actual river Styμφalos which goes underground and then at Argos changes its name to the Erasinos. Its course is comparable to, if less spectacularly improbable than, the underground journey of the Arethusa spring from Arkadia to Syracuse in Sicily, or the supposed identity of the Delian Inopos and the Nile. Arkadian myths are rich and ancient, beginning with the idea that the Arkadians liked to think of themselves as autochthonous acorn-eaters (1.66.2), ‘older than the moon’ (Lycoph. *Alex.* 482): cf. Jost 1985, Scheer 2010 and Roy 2011. Paus. bk. 8 is the main source, but Hdt. was already aware of this aspect of Arkadia. (For another example of a myth-laden Arkadian river, see 74, the Styx). But perhaps the Erasinos ‘renaming’ in this story was of Argive manufacture, and represents a political claim to Arkadia (Stymphalos’ connections were with Argos by the time of Hadrian).

**76.2** οὐ γὰρ ἐκαλλιέρεε . . . : impersonal, ‘for the omens were not good for him to cross’. ἄγασθαι μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἑρασίνου ‘he said he admired Erasinos’. It is better to omit the definite article in tr., because Kleomenes is talking about the river-god. This is the only instance of ‘a deity being named in connection with . . . crossing rites’: Jameson 1991: 203 [= 2014: 104]. κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέην, σφαγιασάμενος δὲ τῇ θάλασσῃ ταῦρον . . . : Thyrea and the Argive–Spartan borderland the Thyreatis (already familiar from 1.82, the Battle of the Champions) were well to the south (*Barr.* map 58 D3), so this is a clever ruse. Kleomenes drops down by land as if returning home frustrated by the bad river-omens, but then he boards ship to sail north again and take the Argives off their guard. The sacrifice ‘to the sea’ was presumably to Poseidon, as at *Od.* 3.6. Poseidon’s was a ‘testosterone-driven, men-only’ cult (Parker 2000: 65; cf. 1984: 84, Poseidon an ‘emphatically masculine’ god, like Ares and Zeus). But this was something more, a bull-sacrifice at the start of a voyage and a military operation. σφάγια is the right word for high-tension pre-battle sacrifices: see Th. 6.69.2 with Jameson 1991: 204 [= 2014: 106]. To slit the throat of an uncastrated bull, as opposed to a placid ox, was in classical times an unusual action, ‘expressive of “marked” symbolism’ (Jameson 1994: 315–16 = 2014: 136). For a Spartan king to take to sea was rare, if not actually taboo (Lewis 1977: 45). πλοίοισι: the ships were Argive, captured by Kleomenes, and were joined by some from Sikyon, as Hdt. will explain at 92.1; see n. there. That detail is, by a common technique, saved until it is most relevant (Kleomenes’ insouciant action will generate serious trouble), but an advance hint here would have helped understanding of the later passage. ἤγαγε ἐς τε τὴν Τίρυνθιν χώραν καὶ Ναυπλίων: Tiryns (*IACP* no. 356) and Nauplia were SE of

Argos (*Barr.* map 58 D2), and were separated from it by the River Inachos. Tiryns was dependent on Argos, with which it shares a line in the Homeric *Catalogue* (*Il.* 2.559). The harbour town of Nauplia was also an Argive dependency. Nevertheless, Tirynthians fought with the Greeks at Plataia in 479 (*Hdt.* 9.27.4, where they are brigaded with the men from Mykenai) while the virtually-medising Argives (8.73.3) held aloof. So Τιβύνθιοι have an honourable place on ML no. 27, the serpent column at Delphi, coil 6.

### 77–83 *The battle of Sepeia and its aftermath*

The date is not absolutely certain, but usually taken to be approximately 494 because of the link in the shared oracle with the fall of Miletos (17). Cf. Beloch 2.1: 14 n.1. Paus. 3.4.1 dates Kleomenes’ attack on Argos to the beginning of his reign, i. e. c. 519 BC, but this can be confidently ruled out: see Wells 1923: 74–5 and cf. 108n.

**77.1** χώρῳι . . . τῷ κεῖται Σήπεια οὖνομα: Sepeia cannot be precisely located beyond what *Hdt.* says. ἀλλὰ μὴ δόλωι αἰρεθέωσι: it is a puzzle why the oracle as here quoted should have given rise to Argive fears of trickery. See 77.2n. οἱ καὶ γὰρ δὴ σφι . . .

### 77.2 *The ‘shared’ oracle (Argive section)*

For the Milesian part, which formed the last four lines and is presented as an afterthought to an oracle delivered to the Argives, see 19 and n.

The oracle contains many Homerisms, from well-known passages: they are collected by Piérart 2003: 286–7.

καὶ γὰρ δὴ σφι ἐξ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα εἶχε τὸ χρηστήριον ‘for the oracle that they had referred to this matter’. ‘The oracle’ assumes that we remember the story of 19, and τὸ ἐπικοινωνᾷ . . . gives a further prompt. ‘This matter’ could refer just to this confrontation rather than the trickery interpretation: that is marked as the apprehensive thinking of the Argives, not necessarily that of *Hdt.*, though γὰρ δὴ (emphatic explanation, *GP.* 243–4) does imply that we will grasp why the oracle should have led them to think in that way.

The oracle is enigmatic, and it may be wrong to seek a single clear interpretation, though the Argives doubtless did their best to do so. It is possible that Delphi was hedging its bets, making sure that the oracle could be regarded as vindicated whichever side won (so Parke–Wormell 1956: 1.158–61; Scott). If it is right (see next paragraph) to take line 2, ‘win glory among the Argives’, as implying that the Argives will celebrate, then the driving out of the male by the female must allude to an initial *Argive* success. Unless line 3 simply means that that success will be at considerable cost (possible, but on that interpretation e.g. ἀλλὰ or at least δέ would

have made it clearer that this is still referring to the same encounter), lines 3–5 will then mean that this success will be cancelled when the (Argive) snake is defeated by the enemy spear: this means the battle of Sepeia and its consequences. In that case Hera, patron goddess of Argos, is perhaps the female, and Zeus the male, bettered on a famous Homeric occasion by his wife Hera (the Διὸς ἀπάτη, *Il.* 14), but Zeus swiftly ensures that her successes are reversed (*Il.* 15.1–77): see Th. 5.16.2 for Spartan kings as the semi-divine seed of Zeus. Alternatively, still on this interpretation of an initial Argive success, the city Sepeia was the female and Kleomenes himself the male (Stein). After the battle of Sepeia and Kleomenes' failure to take the city, the first two lines could be reinterpreted as referring to the military repulse of Kleomenes by actual women, Telesilla and her 'Danaids' (76–84.1n.). The oracle appeared to imply that the Argive success would precede the defeat, but the Telesilla story assumed that the defeat preceded the success.

On the more usual view, the clue lies in the first line only (H/W; Piérart 2003: 290). The Argives are supposed to fear a victory won by female guile (Sparta) over manly valour (Argos). But (1) on this view line 2 cannot mean 'celebrated among the Argives', for they will be grieving in defeat (line 3): it would have to mean 'will win (universal) glory in Argive territory', as we might say 'Montgomery won great glory in El Alamein' – not impossible (Parke–Wormell 1956: 1.160 insist on the ambiguity) but less straightforward. And (2) it is not easy to take 'the female' as signifying manly Sparta, especially as 'the spear' in the last line must mean the Spartan side. It is scarcely relevant that Sparta is a feminine noun, for Argos (the city) is neuter, and a reference to the male hero Argos (so H/W) is much too obscure. It might be better to think of the statue of armed Aphrodite at Sparta (Paus. 3.15.10, Quint. 2.4.26, Nonn. *Dion.* 31.263 and 34.121, Lact. 1.20.29–32), famous enough to be the subject of several epigrams (*Anth. Pal.* 9.320, 16. 173, 176), and Aphrodite was often connected with wiles (e.g. δολοφρονέουσα, *Il.* 3.405: cf. Bouchard 2015); but that again seems too obscure unless the statue was itself carried into battle as the Dioskouroi and Aiakidai sometimes were (5.75.2, 5.80.2 nn., 8.64), and there is no evidence for this.

Still, if this second interpretation were possible it would at least explain why the Argives should be so ready to think of trickery. The assumption would be that the female (Sparta) could only defeat the male by trickery: and in tragedy words do indeed tend to be the woman's weapon, and plotting and intrigue are more successful when women are involved (Zeitlin 1990: 81–3 = 1996: 358–61). Explaining this Argive fear of deceit is more difficult on the first interpretation, as then the Argives, not the Spartans, will be the female ones, and the Spartan victory will be won by the manly spear. Perhaps it is simply an assumption that the anticipated initial

triumph could not be reversed except by cunning. Still, this passage remains puzzling, and the answer may not yet have been found.

**77.2 (cont.)** τὸ ἐπίκοινα ἔχρησε: for ἐπίκοινον χρηστήριον see 19.1, but here the word is an adverb, as at 1.216.1. ἀλλ’ ὅταν...: a favourite way for oracles to begin (1.55.2, 3.57.4, 8.77). ἐξελάσῃ καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρηται: ἄρηται (middle) is from ἄρνυμαι, ‘win’. For κῦδος ἄρηται cf. *Il.* 14.365. The theory (Piérart 2003) that these five lines refer to Greece generally (Argives to be taken Homerically) runs up against a difficulty with this line. If the female is Persia and the Ionian Greeks are the male, it is odd to say that the defeat of the latter will bring the Persians ‘glory among the Greeks’: 19n. But see above on the possible ambiguity, more easily ‘become celebrated among the Argives’ but possibly ‘win glory in the Argives’ land’. ἀμφιδρυφέας ‘scratched on both cheeks’: cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.700, ἀμφιδρυφῆς ἄλοχος (the wife of Protesilaos). ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἀνθρώπων: this line has been assembled from bits of Homer. For the first four words, cf. e.g. *Il.* 4.182, and for the rest cf. e.g. *Il.* 22.305, καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι. But τις with a genitive is anomalous; Piérart 2003: 287 can cite only the inscribed herm at Aeschin. 3.184, μᾶλλον τις καὶ ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει. δεινὸς ὄφης: animal-imagery is frequent in oracles (e.g. 1.55.2, 5.92 β 3, 7.220.4), as it is in dreams (131.2n., 5.56.1). For Argos in particular as a snake, cf. Eur. *Ph.* 1138 (δράκων); Aesch. *Supp.* 262–70 (δρακονθόμιλον... ξυνοικίαν). Snakes were generally protectors of the land against outsiders, as at 1.78.3; cf. Schwartz 1890: 16. It is also possible that the name Sepeia was retrospectively connected with σήψ, a name for a poisonous viper: cf. 77.3n. In tragedy snake-imagery, particularly viper-imagery, is several times used of deadly and deceptive females: Aesch. *Cho.* 249, Soph. *Ant.* 531, Eur. *Andr.* 271, *Ion* 1262: the focus on vipers may be because of the idea that they bit through the male’s neck in mating (3.109). Deceitfulness characterises several snakes in Nikander’s *Theriaka* too (157–67, 258, 333–7), including the σήψ, which takes on the colour of its lair (147–50). This image may therefore have contributed to the idea of deception (77.1) and may connect with the ‘female’ of line 1. Yet this snake is more easily taken as the Argive loser (above), and that fear was of a victory for Spartan deception. ἀέλικτος: if this reading is right, the alpha is ‘intensive’ (LSJ ἄ- III), so the meaning is much the same as the MS variant τριέλικτος, ‘thrice-coiled’, preferred by Hude and Legrand. δουρὶ δαμασθεῖς: cf. *Il.* 16.816 (Patroklos).

**77.3** ταῦτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα: oddly phrased. It should point to the ‘coincidence’ or ‘convergence’ of ‘all these’ factors, as at 5.36.1; but there seems to be only one factor, the oracle, and this would be a strange way to describe the combination of several phases in a single prophecy, at least before anything had in fact happened. Perhaps it means the ‘convergence’

of all the details of a prophecy received some years earlier (19n.) with what could now be seen to loom in real life, so that they realised that the bad things portended were about to come true. As such realisation is often prompted by locality (e.g. 80, 3.64.4–5, Th. 3.96.1 with *CT* 1: 511–12), that may support the suggestion that it is the name Sepeia that aligns with the snake (77.1n.). But this does nothing more to clarify the ‘female’ and the ‘male’ of the oracle.

**78.1** For the trick Griffiths 1989: 57 compares Babrius 33, where a farmer notices that starlings fly off at the word ‘sling’ and so tells his boy to bring a sling when he calls for ‘bread’.

**78.2** ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ‘the Spartans carried out these orders’. ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἄργου: Argos, the eponym of the city, was son of Zeus and Niobe and husband of Euadne: Apollod. 2.1.

**79.1** ὀνομαστί λέγων: a curious detail, but it links with the note that Kleomenes ‘had deserters’: these deserters would presumably have given the king the names. φὰς αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὰ ἄποινα: if this means that Kleomenes told them that their ransoms had been paid (Powell, Waterfield), it implies a ‘telescoping of the narrative’ (Wilson, *Herodotea* 114–15): the herald’s naming of names would carry conviction that the relatives of each had come up with the ransom, and so they could be free to leave. Wilson finds the telescoping excessive and suggests that the text ought to mean that they must be *in a position to pay* a ransom. He therefore suggests αὐτῶν <ἐκαστον δεῖν> ἔχειν... Still, ‘your ransom has been paid’ would seem a better reason for calling out named individuals than ‘you need your ransom’. Such ransoming was a regular practice (see next n.), and Hdt.’s audience might not find the narrative compression bemusing. ἄποινα δέ ἐστι Πελοποννησίοισι δύο μνῆαι: for this, the standard ransom figure of two minas (= 200 drachmai) per prisoner, cf. 5.77.3 and n.

**79.2** ἐλελήθει: the pluperfect marks a jump forward to the dramatic next moment of the narrative when those inside the grove are told what is happening: up to that point ‘they had not realised...’ Cf. 130.1n.

**80** ἐνθαῦτα δὴ... τὸ ἄλσος: the helots pile up the wood, but it is Kleomenes who burns the grove and thereby commits sacrilege (as at Eleusis earlier, see 75.3n. on ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι...; Berge 2016 notes the contrast with 7.197, where Xerxes treats a sacred grove with respect). The Hellenistic historian Myron of Priene (*FGrHist* 106 F 2) says that helots were employed for works of ‘*hybris* leading to dishonour’. Another outrage perpetrated by means of helots will follow in 81. It is possible that one reason for the downfall of Kleomenes was a Spartiate suspicion that he was making militarily sound but socially threatening use of helot manpower, like Pausanias

the Regent and Brasidas. If so, it is suggestive that helots should feature, both here and at 75.2, and again at 81, in episodes involving him, two of them outrages against religious propriety. τῶν δὲ πιθομένων: see 75.2n. for helot obedience: they were schooled to think there was no alternative. But there is (see previous n.) some reason to think that Kleomenes had a special hold over the helots. τίνος εἶη θεῶν τὸ ἄλσος 'which god the grove belonged to'. As Hdt. presents it, Kleomenes clearly knew or assumed that it was sacred to some god: he could not have excused the sacrilege by pleading ignorance. ὁ δὲ εἶπε Ἄργου εἶναι: the grove of 'Argos': again a parallel with Kambyzes, this time with his mistaking of the oracular meaning of 'Ekbatana', 3.64. ἀναστεινάξας μέγα εἶπε ὦ Ἀπολλὼν χρηστήρι: for such crying out to Apollo, cf. 1.87 of the more conventionally pious Kroisos. The rare epithet 'oracular', χρηστήριος, a word found only here in Hdt., is epigraphically attested for Apollo, but seems (Nilsson 1961: 108 and n. 6) to have been confined to two sites, Chalkedon (*SEG* 17.540 line 5, explicitly oracular; cf. also 37.375) and Aigai in the Aiolid (Fabricius 1885; also *OGIS* 312 and *SEG* 36.1102). μεγάλως μὲν ἠπάτηκας: Kleomenes says the oracular god has 'deceived' him, but nevertheless accepts that the oracle has come true (next n.). Kroisos similarly accused Apollo of deceit (ἐξαπατᾶν, 1.90.2), but subsequently accepted that the mistake was his own (1.90.6). συμβάλλομαι 'conclude', a regular word for 'throwing together for oneself' the various components to interpret a dream or oracle. ἐξήκειν: cf. 1.120.4 for this verb used of a dream coming true. Cf. ἐξεληλυθέναι, 82.1.

81 φῶς οὐκ ὅσιον εἶναι ξείνῳ αὐτόθι θύειν: this has an obvious similarity to the rebuke of the priestess at Athens, οὐ γὰρ θεμιτόν . . . 5.72.3. No flogging for her, though. For such exclusions from sanctuaries, 5.72.3.n.; also Cole 1992: 105–6 (in inscriptions, foreigners and women are banned in similar terms, in both cases to assert the privileged status of the included male citizens); Versnel 2011: 112 n. 134, with refs., among which note esp. Butz 1994. ἐκείλει τοὺς εἰλωτας . . . ἴθυσαι: again (80 and n.) the helots are used for an act of appalling *hybris*. Helots knew all about floggings, from the 'receiving end', as Myron (80n. on ἐνθαῦτα . . .) again attests.

82.1 οἱ ἔχθροι: by the end of 82.2, the deciding body has become 'the Spartiates'. See n. there. παρὲν εὐπετέως μιν εἶλιν 'when it was possible for him to capture it easily'. παρὲν is neuter participle of an impersonally used verb in an accusative absolute construction. Th. 4.65.3 is strikingly similar.

This phase of the history is where Telesilla and her fellow Danaids might have been relevant. Kleomenes did not take the city because it was better defended than he had expected. As given here, the king's explanations are (surprisingly) religious, but not inconsistent with that prosaic alternative:

(1) the oracle ('you will take Argos') had already been fulfilled, albeit by what he called 'deceit' on Apollo's part (80); and (2) flame came from the wrong part of the statue of Hera.

The ephors make no charge of sacrilege. That is of a piece with the Spartiates' denial that there was any question of divine punishment (84.1).

**82.2** καλλιευμένωι 'seeking good omens' (Powell) rather than 'obtaining' them (LSJ): cf. 7.167.1 for another occasion when the omens obtained were anything but good. This use of the verb is to be distinguished from the impersonal use of the active at 76.2. ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς ἐκλάμψαι: see *ThesCRA* II: 467 (= 5.G no. 465, Noelle Icard-Gianolio) for the flame issuing from the statue. For this as an example of a god who wished to 'reject [a request] but not depart' (as gods did when they abandoned a doomed city), see Naiden 2013: 134, comparing the (more obviously divinatory) function of the moving statue of Apollo at Lucian *De dea Syria* 36–7 with Lightfoot 2003: 456–69. Kleomenes' sacrifice was rejected because the priest had denied his right to perform it; Kleomenes accepts this rejection as indicating that he would not capture Argos. As elsewhere in the narrative, Kleomenes pushes against the limits of conventional piety rather than overturning it completely. See Introduction, Section 3. πᾶν οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ὅσον ὁ θεὸς ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι 'he had done everything the god wanted him to do'. This vague phrasing may hint at some divinity 'behind' the usual gods (so Scullion 2006: 197 with 206 n. 19, and see Harrison 2000: 174–5). Cf. 27.3n. on the generalising use. πιστά τε καὶ οἰκότα ἐδόκεε Σπαρτιήτησι λέγειν καὶ ἀπέφυγε πολλὸν τοὺς διώκοντας 'his account was thought by the Spartiates to be convincing and plausible, and he was acquitted by a large majority'. Yet the explanation may not sound particularly convincing to a reader or listener; there may be wry humour here at the Spartiates' expense.

Hdt. does not specify which body reached this decision. At 82.1 Kleomenes was brought before the ephors, but since there were only five ephors, it is not likely that Hdt. means by πολλόν that four out of five voted for him; the mention of Spartiates anyway implies that the case was decided by a fuller body of Spartan males. Perhaps the formal trial was before ephors, *gerousia*, and the other king, as in the δικαστήρια trying Leutychides at 72 and 85 and in some later cases when kings were brought to trial (72n.): so MacDowell 1986: 127–8, 140–2. Or perhaps it came before the assembly (Richer 1998: 411–13). In any case it is likely that the ephors carried out a preliminary investigation, as apparently for other trials: *Vat. Gr.* 2306 A 1–30 with MacDowell 1986: 136–40.

Too little is known about Spartan institutions at this date for certainty to be possible. There may not even have been a formal trial at all, though ὑπὸν at 82.1 and ἀπέφυγε and διώκοντας suggest that it at least had a

flavour of one: all three words are regularly used of legal proceedings, though the metaphors can be broader (for διώκω cf. 65.3n.). Kleomenes may simply have defended his actions in the assembly against a personal attack, and, in the modern cliché, have been ‘acquitted in the court of public opinion’. It may be wrong to read back from the Leutyichides case: perhaps the Spartans had by then learned their lesson if the proceedings had been looser now. For a similar problem cf. 5.40.1 with n.

**83.1 Ἄργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχηρώθη:** a strong personification. The verb (here only in Hdt.) means lit. ‘widowed’, as at *Il.* 17.36. For the metaphorical use, cf. *Il.* 5.642 and Solon fr. 36 W<sup>2</sup> line 25: πολλῶν ἄνδρῶν ἥδ’ ἐχηρώθη πόλις. See 7.148.2 (480) for the numbers of Argives ‘recently’, νεωστί, killed by Kleomenes (6,000). ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντες τε καὶ διέποντες: this was found incredible even in antiquity. Plut. *On the virtues of women* 4 245f complained that the Argives repaired their manpower losses not by means of slaves, as Herodotus says, but by enfranchising the best *perioikoi* and giving them in marriage to their women. This is a careless reading or misremembering of Hdt., but the correction of ‘slaves’ into ‘perioikoi’ has found favour; so also Arist. *Pol.* 5.1303a6–8. An alternative possibility is that the temporary rulers of Argos were serfs rather than either chattel slaves or *perioikoi* (Willetts 1959; Hunt 1998: 26 n. 1, suggesting the helot-like class called the Gymnetes). But the ‘slave’ imputation may be mere abusive rhetoric for ‘poor or democratic political opponents’ (Gray 2015: 276 n. 442).

Bourke 2011 suggests that Bacchyl. 11 adapts his version of the myth of Proitos and his daughters to fit these contemporary events: there a quarrel with his brother Akrisios leads to Proitos leaving Argos to found Tiryns, with Zeus conveniently instructing the Kyklopes to build its walls.

**83.1 (cont.) ἐς ὃ ἐπήβησαν** ‘until they came to manhood’: the conjecture seems to be due to the 15th-cent. humanist Lorenzo Valla, whose Latin tr. has *ad puberem adolevere aetatem*. The root word is ἥβη, ‘youth’, as in ἔφηβος, an ephebe, and the verb is ἐπηβάω. σφεας: i.e. the slaves, referring back to the subject of the previous sentence: cf. 25.1n. These are now the obj. of ἐξέβαλον, while τὸ Ἄργος is the obj. of ἀνακτῶμενοι.

**83.2 ἀνὴρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἑὼν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπὸ Ἀρκαδίας:** for the adjectival use of μάντις, cf. Pind. *P.* 11.33, of Kassandra, μάντιν τ’ ὄλεσσε κόραν. For Phigaleia in W. Arkadia, see *IACP* no. 292 (*Barr.* map 58 B3), and for Kleandros, Flower 2008: 157 (he exploited his mantic authority to start this war, an unusual example of a seer taking an initiative). The war probably continued until ‘Mykenai and Tiryns were destroyed by the Argives after the Persian Wars’ (Paus. 5.23.3, cf. 2.25.8), perhaps in 468, the date given by Diod. 11.65 for the destruction of Mykenai.



84 *The Spartan explanation; Herodotus' own view*

Hdt. has already (4.77) quoted a Peloponnesian belief in cultural contact between Skythians and Spartans: Anacharsis was sent by the Skythian king on a fact-finding visit to Greece, and reported that the Spartans were the only Greeks with whom it was possible to have a sensible conversation. This is partly a joke about 'laconic' speech-habits. There are also broader links between Hdt.'s treatment of the two peoples: cf. 56–60n.

The Spartan allegation of excessive drinking by their king may be a way of reinforcing normal Spartan abstemiousness by the extremity of the contrast (Luraghi 2006: 84). If so, there is a parallel with Kleomenes' breezy attitude to religion, so different from normal Spartan respect for the 'things of the gods' (5.63.2 and n.). Kleomenes' drunkenness, especially as it might have contributed to his spectacular death, appealed to several later writers: cf. Chamaileon, *On drunkenness* fr. 10 W. and esp. Athen. 10.427B–C and 436E–F, with Pelling 2000b: 185–8.

**84.1** ἐκ δαιμονίου μὲν οὐδενός 'from no supernatural reason'. It is remarkable that the Spartans, who 'placed more importance on the things of the god than on the things of men' (5.63.2), should offer the only secular explanation of the four reported by Hdt.: cf. Introduction p. 24. δαίμων-language is especially appropriate when mortals cannot identify the heavenly agent (12.3n.), and talk of τὸ δαιμόνιον is equally appropriate when some supernatural agency is sensed but cannot be more precisely identified: thus of Hdt.'s own presumption of exemplary divine punishment at 2.120.5, and of the Athenians attributing a defeat to the gods' displeasure at 5.87.2 (n.). The language is generalising and dismissive, intimating that this explanation is wholly on the wrong track: 'the Spartiates deny that the gods had anything to do with his madness' (Holland). ἀκρητοπότην γενέσθαι 'he started to drink his wine unmixed with water' (ἀ- privative + κεράννυμι + ποτόν). The custom was associated with Macedon: Plut. *Alex.* 70.1.

**84.2** μεμονέναι μιν τείσασθαι 'they were eager to punish him'. The verbs are μέμονα (unusual outside Homer; cf. μεμῶς in the quotation at 2.116.5) and τίνυμαι. συμμαχίην τε ποιέεσθαι καὶ συντίθεσθαι: representing what would have been impfct. tenses in direct speech, 'they *tried to* form an alliance and agree...'. σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας κελεύειν... ἀναβαίνειν 'while they [the Skythians] urged the Spartiates to... march inland...'. If the text is right, there is a mild anacoluthon, as σφέας δὲ is parallel to αὐτοὺς μὲν and a similar construction would be expected, with a further infinitive dependent on χρεὼν εἶη. The sentence has become unwieldy, and κελεύειν may have been inserted to make clear that this was merely what the Skythians encouraged, not the subject of a firm agreement. Wilson

however deletes *κελεύειν*: that gives easier syntax and may well be right. *ἐξ Ἑφέσου ὁρμωμένους*: for close ties between Spartans and Ephesos, see Catling 2010.

**84.3 ἡκόντων τῶν Σκυθίων**: strictly a ‘needless genitive’ (4.1n.), as Hdt. could have written *ἦκουσι... ὁμιλέειν* and dropped *σφι*: further instances soon follow at 85.2 and 86 α 1. The effect is to give mildly more emphasis to the two actions as separate: ‘once the Skythians had arrived... he spent more time with them than one might expect’. **Ἐπισκύθισον**: for this sort of aetiological story, cf. οὐ φροντίς at 129.4 and n. **ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τίσις ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρῆτι ἐκτεῖσαι**: cf. 72.1 and n. (the *τίσις* that befell Leutyichides); Introduction, Section 3. It is a difficult question, whether *τίσις* has here a religious tinge; probably it does (see Hornblower 2013: 35 n. 117, also discussing the *τίσις* paid by Panionios to Hermotimos at 8.105–6, where the gods certainly feature). Sometimes in Hdt. it has, and sometimes not. See esp. Scullion 2006: 208 n. 43: *tisis* is ‘a vivid term’, but as it is applicable to the behaviour of snakes at 3.109.2 it ‘can be conceived very abstractly, as a structural mechanism of the cosmos rather than an *ad hoc* intervention by a personified being’. But Scullion lists the *τίσις* paid by both Leutyichides and Kleomenes as examples of the divinity ‘checking excess’. That seems right, although (1) the line of explanation is easier for Kleomenes here than for Leutyichides at 72.1 (see below); and (2) even here ‘excess-checking’ is not so obvious a divine motive as it was in Scullion’s other example, 4.205 of Pheretime, where both excess and the gods are mentioned explicitly. The implication of Kleomenes’ actions at Delphi should not be forgotten, because these were directed at Demaretos, as Hdt. emphasises at 75.3 when reporting the general Greek view about Kleomenes’ bad end: see 75.3–84n. If the implication of 75.3 is pressed, it means that Apollo was Demaretos’ avenger – or even Zeus, because all oracles are from Zeus. But Hdt. recoils from any such specificity. In the case of Leutyichides *τίσις*, if it is to be seen as supernaturally caused, has to be explained in terms of general divine displeasure at his injustice (65) and insults (67) towards Demaretos. That is not impossible.

### 85–93 *Aigina*

On the reasons for the city’s narrative prominence see Introduction p. 13.

**85.1 περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι ὁμήρων ἔχομένων**: see 73.2n. on *παραθήκην*... for their status as hostages. **Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες ἔγνωσαν**: this is vague, but is perhaps best taken as referring to a court composed of the members of the *gerousia*, the ephors, and the other king: 72.2n.

**85.2 Θεαρίδης:** this, rather than Θεασίδης, is the more common form of the name and is likely to be right. See *Herodotea* 115. **ὅκως ἐξ ὑστέρης μῆ:** a verb in the imperative must be understood ('take care that you do not...'). **πανώλεθρον κακόν:** see 37.2n. for πανώλεθρος, which in the present context prefigures 86 δ, the total extinction of Glaukos' line.

**85.3 ὁμολογίη:** it is unclear how this would have worked, and with whom the Aiginetans would have agreed this: presumably the (one-off?) δικαστήριον would now have dispersed. So again, as at 82, an initially more intimate procedure may have been replaced by a full assembly.

The Aiginetans' speech will have taken some delicate crafting: 'Well, actually, we think you're not really going to be happy with what you've just decided, so why don't you decide this instead?'

### 86 *Leutychides' speech about Glaukos and the Milesian stranger*

This is one of two long 'story-telling' speeches in Hdt.; the other is at 5.92 (where see n.), Soklees on the Korinthian tyrants Kypselos and Periandros. At the heart of Leutychides' parable or cautionary tale is the remarkable seven-line poem at 86 γ 2, which is presented as the response of the Pythia. It is likely that this poem, in some form or other, was composed at a considerably earlier date than the narrative into which Hdt. has inserted it (Gagné 2013a: 279–80). In particular, the final line, ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων, is identical to Hesiod *WD* 285. Gagné 2013b: 101–2 argues that the name Glaukos evokes the Glaukos of *Iliad* 6, particularly his memorable remark οἷη περ φύλλων γενεὴ τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν and his 'witless' exchange of gold armour for Diomedes' bronze (*Il.* 6.146, 234–6): far from being a tree whose 'leaves' regrow annually, this Glaukos' γενεὴ will be destroyed 'roots and all' (πρόρριζος, 86 δ), and this exchange too (one of the long-term future for immediate gain) is catastrophic. Hdt. himself clearly did not take this Spartan Glaukos to be the Homeric one from Lykia, but the poem may have originally been composed with the *Iliad* figure in mind.

The Herodotean Glaukos may have perished without descendants, but in literary terms he had a long and influential life. Thus the parable not only looks back to Hes. but may also lie behind Plato, *Rep.* 2.363d, according to a Plato scholiast (Hunter 2014: 118; cf. 251–4 and n. 55). The actual story is a variant of similar, later, tales (Fontenrose 1978: 118–19, citing Konon *FGrHist* 26 F1 para. xxxviii, Μιλήσιος ἡ παρακαταθήκη, and Ps.-Hdt. in Stob. *Flor.* 3.28.21, where the trustee's name Kydias of Tenedos recalls Epikydes, the patronym of Glaukos). In these versions, the trustee usually tries to avoid repayment by a trick rather than actually denying receipt on oath.

The story is frightening but fraudulent. The case might be expected to be one of justice but is in fact framed in terms of expediency (Pelling 2012: 303): Glaukos paid a terrible price for even thinking in such terms, and this warning example (Griffiths 2006: 135f.) illustrates the consequences of false oaths and oath-breaking, or even the contemplation of them. But the Athenians have not taken an oath to do or not do anything at all! (See *TT*: 156–9, against S. West 2003.) Despite the terrible fate with which they are threatened, nothing seriously bad happens to them: so Davies 1997: 56, though Munson 2001: 188–91 says the Athenians are likely to be punished in the end although not in the timeframe of the *Histories*, and Fisher 2003: 200 too stresses longer-term payback. Yet the oracle is horrifyingly insistent that ‘Son of Oath’ moves swiftly, and that ‘Son of’ need not imply (though it allows the possibility) that the punishment may take a full generation, with a ‘swiftness’ only when it swings into action (86 γ 2n.). The immediate Sounion reprisals (87) and the naval defeat (93) hardly amount to a fulfilment of the dreadful prophecy, and it is hard to identify a longer-term Athenian reverse that could be regarded as retribution: Hdt. rejects seeing the devastation of the land and city in 480 in this way when a similar issue arises at 7.133.2, and it makes him too crude a writer to find a prediction of the city’s ultimate defeat in the Peloponnesian War. It is possible though that Hdt. leaves it open-ended: any future reader who lived to see such a reverse was free to interpret it in these terms.

The speech resembles a Homeric type of speech which ‘prefigure[s] ironically the fate of its teller’, like that of the doomed Eurytion in *Od.* 21.299–301 (narration of the ghastly fate of the centaurs); see Said 2011: 210. Leutychides, as has already been made clear at the proleptic 72, will himself meet an ignominious fate after being discovered with a bribe, and his role in the deposition of Demaretos was dubious (65). So he was a crook, and hardly in a position to deliver moral sermons; the whole chapter is to that extent an exercise in irony.

One thing should be said in Leutychides’ favour: the speech is a well-constructed, eloquent and lengthy mix of prose and verse narrative, enlivened by direct speech. As Hdt. presents him, the king was, as Th. memorably says of Brasidas, ‘not bad at speaking – for a Spartan’ (4.84.2).

An important subsidiary theme is the reminiscence of Kleomenes and Aristagores (5.49–51): two elite Spartans are tempted by money brought by rich Milesians. This helps to explain the anonymity of the Milesian ξείνος: cf. Kleomenes’ address at 5.49.9, ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, and note that 86 β 2, ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον μῆνα, palpably echoes the same bk. 5 passage: ἀναβάλλομαί τοι ἐς τρίτην ἡμέρην. More generally, echoes of Miletos resonate through the narrative. 77.2 was the last. If the first panel of the ‘book’ suggested ways in which the fate of Miletos might be paradigmatic for ‘mainland’ Greece (see Introduction pp. 7, 11), Hdt. finds ways

to make sure that it stays in the mind. For the general importance and centrality of Miletos in bks. 5 and 6, and in particular for the recurrent links, taking the form of visits, between Miletos and Sparta, see Bouzarovski and Barker 2016: 172–3. The verbal echoes here (Aristagores/Glaukos) reinforce the point.

The story has generated a large literature: see the works cited by Gagné 2013a: 278–96, esp. Johnson 2001; Lateiner 2012: 167–8.

**86 ἀπαίτεε τὴν παραθήκην:** the choice of noun is artful (as noted at 73.2n. on παραθήκην...), and designed to smooth the way for the story of the Milesian's deposit. The men in question were really hostages (85.1, ὁμήρων, see n. there). The MSS fluctuate between παρα- (certainly the reading at 73.2) and παρακατα- (certainly the reading at 5.92 η 2), but it is preferable to retain the simpler form throughout, although παρακαταθήκη has attractions because of its religious tinge; cf. Sokolowski 1969: no. 90 lines 2, 39 and 57: Rhodian Lindos, AD 22. **προφάσις εἶλκον:** πρόσφαις may suggest, but in itself need not demonstrate, disingenuousness (cf. 44.1n.): it is just what they said. But the use of ἔλκω does suggest lack of sincerity, as at Ar. *Lys.* 727, though that passage suggests the metaphor is of 'dragging in' rather than 'dragging out' in prevarication. **φάντες δύο σφεας ἐόντας βασιλέας:** the 'two kings argument' again: cf. 50 and n. The Athenians are playing the Aiginetans at their own game. **σφέας:** i.e. the men who constituted the παραθήκη. For the use of the reflexive cf. 25.1n.

**86 α 1 οὐ φαμένων** 'when they refused', the usual sense of this expression. **καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδόντες ποιεῖτε ὅσα καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες τὰ ἐναντία:** a very solemn and emphatic rhetorical antithesis, comparable with the final sentence of Soklees' speech (5.92 η 5, οὐκ ὦν παύσεσθε ἀλλὰ πειρήσεσθε παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον...) or the first sentence of Dionysios at 11.2 or of Miltiades at 109.3. Oaths often contain curses of the form 'if I keep my oath may I prosper, but if I don't may the opposite, τὸ ἐναντίον, happen'; see e.g. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 490, Arkadia, 3rd cent. BC, line 11, εὐορκέ]οντι μὲν μοι εἴη τὰγαθὰ, ἐπι-ορκέοντι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία. For the pairing εὐορκοὶ καὶ ὅσιοι see Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.42. Leutychides' language and thought, then, prepare for the stress which will be laid by the speech on the need to respect oaths. See also Introduction pp. 19, 21 for the '(im)piety' language here.

**86 α 2 λέγομεν...**: the sentence is asyndetic, as often at the start of a story-telling sequence. See 34.1n. on εἶχον..., and cf. Lightfoot 2003: 416. **κατὰ τρίτην γενεὴν τὴν ἀπ' ἐμεῖο:** probably counting inclusively, so Leutychides is talking of his grandfather's generation. That will be perhaps a hundred years before Hdt.'s time, so around 546 BC, the date at which his detailed narrative begins. The point is not just one of chronological precision: it also prepares for the poem at 86 γ 2 and the punch-line at 86 δ,

reverting to the theme of generations. Enough time has passed to make it clear that Glaukos has no descendants. **Γλαῦκον Ἐπικύδεος παῖδα**: for the name Glaukos, see 86 δn. Another Spartan Epikydes is attested at *IG* v (1) 1231 (427 BC), and there is a Spartan Epikydidias at Th. 5.12.1, and so the name is a plausible touch. But the prestige, κῦδος, of Glaukos' reputation for justice may have been a contributing factor. **περιήκειν** 'attain' (Powell). Leutychides strongly emphasises Glaukos' excellence on the principle *corruptio optimi pessima* and to explain why the Milesian trusted him so much.

**86 α 3 ἐν χρόνῳ ἰκνευμένῳ** 'in due time'. [Hipp.] *Airs waters places* 7 uses the expression of people who grow old before their time (προγηράσκειν τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ ἰκνευμένου). Here it probably means that an interval passed that fitted what one might expect for his fame to spread; less likely, 'the time specified by divinity or fate' (Stein, H/W). **ἄνδρα Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σπάρτην**: Spartan contacts with the wider world were more extensive in the archaic period than they liked other Greeks to believe. For other evidence, see 5.50.3n.; for Asia Minor in particular, see Cartledge 1982 (Samos) and Catling 2010 (Ephesos). **εἰμὶ μὲν Μιλήσιος**: a strange start to a self-introduction. In any real-life conversation the name would have preceded the place of origin, but Hdt. is prepared to accept the lack of realism in order to preserve the man's anonymity. See Hornblower 2013: 30 on this fine example of non-naming. **ἦκω . . .**: it may not be too fanciful to detect hints of verse rhythm hereabouts – not so much evidence of a poetic 'source', but of a tendency to elevated discourse in this most unusual speech. Thus a very little adjustment would produce ἦκω τῆς σῆς, Γλαῦκε, δικαιοσύνης ἀπολαῦσαι/βουλόμενος (for δικαιοσύνη as a poetic word see Thgn. 147). For hexameter rhythm in the other long speech containing an elaborate story, see 5.92 η 3n.

**86 α 4 ἐπικίνδυνός ἐστι αἰεὶ κοτε ἢ Ἰωνίη**: if this is to be taken seriously as a comment on mid 6th-cent. Ionian instability, it may recall the emigrations recorded in bk. 1 at the time of the Persian takeover. **καὶ διότι χρήματα οὐδαμὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔστι ὄραν ἔχοντας** 'and that it is never possible to see property staying in the same hands'. There is no need to make this simply a point about Ionia, but its vulnerability would certainly mean that the Milesian had special reason to fear such ups and downs.

**86 α 5 ἔδοξέ μοι . . . θέσθαι παρὰ σέ**: such deposits are an authentic and well-attested feature of Greek social and economic life. Sometimes *proxenoi* (57.2n.) played a role. See e.g. *SEG* 19.595 = Maier 1959 no. 55 (second half of 4th cent. BC): Herakleodoros of Olynthos pays for a tower at Thasos out of the deposit, ἐκ τῆς παραθήκ[ης], which he had entrusted

to Archedemos son of Histiaios (perhaps in anticipation, or as a consequence, of Philip's destruction of Olynthos in 348). See Mack 2015: 134–8, who (136 n.176) compares Hdt.'s story about Glaukos for the 'vulnerability of foreign depositors, a theme which recurs in Apollodoros' speech against Kallippos' (Dem. 52).

There may even be historical evidence for hesitation about returning what had been entrusted. Among the four thousand new Dodona inscriptions are some which seem to ask whether the enquirers should repay deposits. See Parker 2016: 83, discussing Dakaris et al. 2013: nos. 1312 (a man asks the oracle, in connection with debt, whether he should be 'true to his oath'), and 1800 and 2384 (enquirers ask whether they should give back the money). For the options 'swear or pay', cf. R/O: no. 1 (the Labyadai inscription from Delphi, 5th or 4th cent. BC) C 25–9 and D 22–5, with Parker 2005b: 73–4 and n. 36.

**86 (cont.)** ἐξαργυρώσαντα 'turn into silver'. Cf. Th. 8.81.3 with *CT* (Tis-saphernes quoted by Alkibiades as saying he would turn his bed into silver, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρωμνὴν ἐξαργυρῶσαι) and Dem. 5.8, οὐσίαν φανεράν... ἐξαργυρίσας. If details are to be pressed, the silver will hardly have been in the form of coin at the early 'dramatic' date of the story. καὶ τάδε τὰ σύμβολα σῶιζε λαβών: probably knuckle-bones, or tablets broken in two. See Gauthier 1972: 67f. (this is one of the earliest literary attestations of such σύμβολα). τούτῳ ἀποδοῦναι: an imperatival infinitive, another sign of solemn language (5.105.2n. and Lightfoot 2003: 407).

**86 β 1** τούτου τοῦ παραθεμένου τὰ χρήματα οἱ παῖδες: the depositor is still not named, but designated by this roundabout description.

**86 β 2** οὔτε με περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι 'nothing brings me to knowledge...' ἀναμνησθεῖς: not necessarily 'reminded', but including the possibility of his own 'bringing it back to mind': cf. 21.2 n. νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων χρήσομαι ἐς ὑμέας: if this is more than bluster, it may mean that he would be prepared to swear on oath. ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον μῆνα: see introductory n. for the echo of 5.49.9. Four months seems a long time for such memory-racking; time must be allowed for him to go to Delphi, but there may be a hint that Glaukos hoped that the Milesians would give up and go home.

**86 γ 1** εἰ ὅρκῳ τὰ χρήματα λήσσηται: the root of the verb is λεία, one of the many words for booty. The verb ('to plunder') is a strong one, so that – even inside a story with obvious fictional elements – the question is not likely to have been put in this tendentious form. The focaliser is Hdt.

The 'oath' may be a hypothetical one as projected in νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων χρήσομαι (86 β 2n.), or it may be assumed that Glaukos had sworn an oath when originally agreeing to accept the deposit.

**86 (cont.)** **μετέρχεται**: the Pythia sets about Glaukos as one might ‘go after’ someone in hostile pursuit. Cf. **μετέρχεται** in line 5 of the poem.

86 γ 2 *The poem (here referred to by its line nos.)*

The poem can be seen as a pair of three-line halves, arranged ABCDABC, with a pivotal line 4, at the transition between what happens now – very short-term gain – and the awful future consequences. (See Gagné 2013a: 282 for good analysis of the structure, and the responsions between the halves, e.g. lines 3 and 7.) The symmetry goes beyond verbal form: Son of Oath hunts down the oath-breaker’s *descendants*. There is an element of paradox here (so Gagné 2013a: 283), if the elimination of the oath-breaker’s family has to be thought of as happening after his own death, i.e. tardily, and yet Son of Oath ‘comes swiftly after’ his victims, **κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται** (line 5). Still, the ‘Son of’ element simply points to the way that oaths beget consequences: it need not always imply a delay of a generation or more – Panionios at 8.106 lived to see his sons castrated and so his family brought to an end – though it leaves such a delay as a possibility (86n. above). The sententious line 3 (death awaits even oath-keepers) does not affect this point.

**line 1** **τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον**: the profit is (merely) immediate.

**line 2** **ληίσσασθαι**: from **ληίζομαι** (already prepared for at 86. γ 1, see n. there). Compare Hes. *WD* 322, **ἀπὸ γλώσσης λήσσεται**, where ‘plundering by the tongue’ means gaining wealth by lies or perjury.

**line 4** **ἀλλ’ Ὀρκου πάις ἔστιν**: for the personification of Oath, and the idea that it runs swiftly alongside crooked judgments, see Hes. *WD* 219. **ἀνώνυμος**: like the Milesian. Compare generally Hes. *WD* 274ff. Aristodikos too (see below on **τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ**) is threatened with quick and total destruction, 1.189.4.

**line 5**: **κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται**: for the swiftness, see 86 γ 2n. The pursuit by a creature with no feet is a sinister paradox.

**line 6** **συμμάρψας**: compare **συμμάρψας... χερσίν** at Hes. fr. 243.7 M/W; but the paradox of the previous line is continued, because this footless creature has no hands either.

**line 7** This line reproduces exactly Hes. *WD* 285. Both may be echoing a proverb, but the other Hesiodic parallels suggest that the specific allusion to *WD* was also felt, lending the moral authority of that didactic master to the sententiousness. **εὐόρκου**: picking up **εὐορκον**: he will die (line 3), but his descendants will go on to flourish. **ἀμείνων**: both here and in Hes., there



may be a hint at the common oracular formula λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον (Gagné 2013a: 281). τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ ‘testing the god’, trying something out in the hope that the god might allow them to get away with it. ‘Testing’ was acceptable, though doubtless bold, when done by Kroisos (1.46.2, ἀπεπειράτο τῶν μαντηλίων, 1.47.1 ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων), but on that occasion there was no criminal intent. A closer parallel is 1.158–9, where the oracle at Branchidai twice encourages Kyme to surrender a suppliant. There as here, the question had been one about a projected action which the askers already know to be wrong. See Eidinow forthcoming on ‘testing’ oracles.

86 δ Γλαύκου νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονον ἔστι οὐδέν...: Glaukos, whose name occurs no fewer than ten times in this chapter, will leave nothing and nobody behind him. The only Spartan Glaukos in a thousand onomastically covered years is precisely Hdt.’s man, although the name is common elsewhere. πρόρριζος ‘roots and all’. The metaphor extends to ἐκτέτριπται, for that too is used of destroying trees or vegetation (37.1, 4.120.1). Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 684 (with Barrett’s n.), Hippolytos’ cursing of Phaidra, Ζεὺς σε γεννήτωρ ἐμὸς | πρόρριζον ἐκτρίψειεν οὐτάσας πυρὶ. It is particularly appropriate for destroying not just an individual but his seed as well: that gives an extra significance to Solon’s words to Kroisos at 1.32.9, πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίλους ἀνέτρεψε, given that the destruction of Kroisos’ heir Atys will follow so quickly (1.34–45). Such phrasing is predictably frequent in curses: Finglass 2011: 467–8 on Soph. *Ajax* 1177–8. That too gives extra resonance here. Glaukos’ family is under a curse. οὐδὲ οὕτως: i.e. but the Athenians are *nevertheless not* frightened; perhaps a hint that there is something not quite right about the warning. ἀπαλλάσσειτο: an extraordinarily understated punch-line: so he just ‘went away’. It picks up 86 β 2, the defrauded sons of the Milesian ἀπαλλάσσονται.

## 87–93 THE ATHENIAN-AIGINETAN QUARREL CONTINUES

The animosity of Aigina and Athens is only one among several Greek quarrels, but it is the worst. One of the great ironies is that this will turn out to be the salvation of Greece (7.144.2), once the Athenians learn a lesson from the naval inferiority that is clear at 88 and 93 (though note too the success at 92.1) and take steps to put that right. Cf. Introduction p. 13; Barker and Pelling 2016: 247–8.

In this episode, the Athenians exploit *stasis* at Aigina (cf. Gehrke 1985: 15–16), including (90) giving some land at Sounion to their favoured faction in exile, thus enabling them to carry out raids from the mainland against the island of their fellow-countrymen. For this pattern, see Th.

1.115.4, exiled Samians, and 3.85.3 and 4.45.1 (Kerkyraians, except that these people occupy a mountain stronghold on Kerkyra itself).

For the date of the prolonged Aiginetan–Athenian hostilities, described episodically by Hdt., see 5.81.2n. The view taken there (and here) is that they were over before Marathon (but see 91.1 and 94.1nn.).

Hdt.’s marked attention to Aiginetan affairs is partly to be explained by the role of Aigina in the second phase of the Persian Wars (including the indirect contribution mentioned above, the stimulus given to the growth of the Athenian navy), partly by the topicality of Aigina at the start of the Peloponnesian War: see 91.1 (the Athenian expulsion of the Aiginetans in 431). Still, his account of the fighting itself is very brief, especially the naval battles (92.1, 93.1). The details matter less than the two cities’ mutual preoccupation even as the greater external threat looms (94.1n.).

**87 δοῦναι δίκας:** this is an exception to the usual norms that (a) δίκας διδόναι is used in speeches, direct or indirect, and that (b) a Persian is one of the interlocutors: see Lateiner 1980: 32 n.11, suggesting that Hdt. here ‘blindly’ repeats Athenian prejudice. It would be better to say that H. suggests (1) that there are faults on both sides, and (2) that perceptions and resentments are now driving events rather than any real self-interest. **πεντετηρίς ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ:** for this quadrennial festival, in which a tribal rowing-race was the central element, see Lys. 21.5 and *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2311 line 78 (with Davies 1967: 36 and other refs. at *CT* on Th. 6.32.2).

Sounion, at the SE tip of Attica (*Barr.* map 59 D4) and far from Peiraieus, was – as this passage shows – highly vulnerable to sudden attacks by sea, which is why the Athenians fortified it in the nervous aftermath of the Sicilian expedition (413 BC), at a time when much of their food came round by sea from Euboea: Th. 8.4. The famous temple of Poseidon dominates Sounion and marks the eastern limit of Athenian territory (together with Nemesis at Rhamnous: see Parker 2005a: 59); but he was not protection enough on his own.

**τὴν θεωρίδα νέα** ‘the pilgrim ship’; for this expression cf. Kall. *Hymn to Delos* 314–15. *Theōroi* were high-status people (cf. below, τῶν πρώτων Ἀθηναίων) who attended international religious festivals and in an informal sense represented their state. See Rutherford 2013, and cf. Th. 8.10.1 (the Isthmia festival), with *CT*.

**88 οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι:** lit. ‘they no longer delayed so as not to contrive in every way...’, i.e. they now went ahead and contrived [counter-revenge] against the Aiginetans. Hdt. uses several ‘contrivance’ words for the various bits of plotting: ἀρμολογέμενον at 65.2, μηχαν- language at 19.2 (oracle), 62.1 (Ariston), 91.1; κακοτεχνήσαντα of Kleomenes at 74.1. For μηχαν- words, cf. Th. 5.45.2 (with *CT* III: 105–7),

and 5.30.4 with n. (Aristagores). **Νικόδρομος**: for Nikodromos and his name ('victorious runner'), which suggests an 'athletic, aristocratic background', see Fearn 2011b: 222; but he clearly had popular support (91.1 and n.). **ἀναρτημένους ἔρδιν . . . κακῶς** 'poised ready to do them injury'. **συντίθεται Ἀθηναίοισι προδοσίην Αἰγίνης**: a classic move in *stasis*. Even in Dorian islands such as Aigina and Melos (Th. 5.116.3), there were always groups ready to betray their city to the Athenians.

**89 οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον ἰοῦσαι νέες σφι ἀξιόμαχοι**: these vaguely described 'ships' were probably triremes (van Wees 2013: 65). If the twenty Korinthian ships now brought the total to seventy (below), the total of the Athenians' fleet of battleworthy ships in the 490s was only fifty. The Korinthian navy was of roughly the same size as this during most of the 5th cent. (Salmon 1984: 167 thinks a total of around forty ships was the upper limit), and so the loan was generous, as was the Athenian decision to send twenty ships to help the Ionians in 500 (5.97.3n.). **τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὸ μάλιστα**: for this episode as one example of the generally good relations between Korinthians and Athenians before the 460s, see 5.95.2n. on Μυτιληναίους δέ . . . and 108.5n. (two 6th-cent. adjudications by Korinthians in favour of the Athenians, the first by Periandros). By the 460s the situation had changed drastically: see Th. 1.103.4 for the beginning of the 'extreme hatred' between Athenians and Korinthians at that time. Hdt.'s language here (τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον) may show awareness of the change; cf. Stadter 2006: 252: Hdt. 'expected his audience to find this [the loan of ships] surprising'. **εἴκοσι νέας**: cf. Th. 1.41.2, where the Korinthians remind the Athenians of this benefit. In Th., specific reminiscences of Hdt. tend to be in speeches (see 108n.) **ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ ἐξῆν δοῦναι**: it is not certain (1) whether νόμος here means 'law' or 'custom', or (2) whether it was a Korinthian νόμος only (Salmon 1984: 251 n. 41).

**90 τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι Σούνιον οἰκῆσαι ἔδωσαν**: in view of the Sounion episode at 87, the Athenians may have intended that these exiles should exercise a defence function resembling that of cleruchs (5.77.2n. and below, 100.1n.). This would be especially likely if (as plausibly suggested by Figueira 1991: 105 n.4) they were given Athenian citizenship. Another group of neighbouring islanders were similarly domiciled at Sounion, the 'Salaminiotai', originally from Salamis (Taylor 1997). Hdt.'s language at 91.1 implies that these Aiginetan depredations went on for some time (see n.). At 4.99.4, Hdt. had offered, as a purely hypothetical illustration of a geographical point, the image of Cape Sounion as occupied by non-Athenians – just as now happened in reality. **ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Αἰγινήτας**: for φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν used with the people plundered in the acc., see 42.1n.

**91.1** ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὕστερον ἐγίνετο: not necessarily ‘later’ than Marathon, although the plundering activity of these discontented Aiginetan exiles might have been carried out independently of the Athenians, and therefore have continued into the 480s. **Αἰγινήτων οἱ παχέες**: see 5.30.1n. for ‘fat cats’; παχέες in this sense is a favourite expression of Hdt. **ἐπαναστάντος σφι τοῦ δήμου**: it does seem likely that these παχέες controlled Aigina as an oligarchy (Figueira 1981: 299–308), but it need not follow, nor need Hdt. imply, that the δῆμος was agitating for democracy: Nikodromos’ attempted coup may have been ‘nothing more than a particularly violent factional confrontation’ without ideological baggage (Figueira 1981: 310), with Nikodromos recruiting the δῆμος in his support. **ἄγος**: the reason for this is explained in 91.2. This mirrors the outrage the Argives suffered themselves from Kleomenes, 79, rather as the Athenian argument at 86 init. mirrors the Aiginetans’ own. They are all as good and as bad as one another. **ἔφθησαν ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου**: a very casual allusion to a much later event, the forcible Athenian removal of the population of Aigina in 431 as being ‘not least responsible for the [Peloponnesian] war’ (Th. 2.27.1). Hdt. leaves it to the reader to wonder whether there was a causal link between the Aiginetan oligarchs’ gross impiety (and the resulting curse) and the loss of their island sixty years later. If so, this would become ‘the most recent instance presented in the *Histories* in which a city’s loss of *eudaimonie* is a historical process related to guilt’ (Munson 2001: 190). **ἴλιον** ‘propitious’, as at 4.94.3; cf. ἱλάσκονται at 105.3 (Pan).

**91.2** Δῆμητρος θεσμοφόρου: the epithet (‘upholder of right’) reflects the suppliant’s hopes. The failure might make it seem ironic, but see on ἔφθησαν above: punishment may come in the end. For this Demeter, see 16.2n. and Cole 2004: 209, 211, 216. It has been suggested that Hdt. tends to associate Demeter with vengeance (Boedeker 1988: 46 [= 2013: 376]). There is something in this; see also 134–6 (Miltiades at Paros). **ἐπιλαβόμενος . . . ἀποκόψαντες τὰς χεῖρας**: a grim and unheroic anticipation of the glorious scene with Kynegiros, 114, where the words recur. **τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων** ‘the door-handles’. The man had only reached the porch or vestibule (πρόθυρα).

**92.1** τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρότερον, Ἀργεῖους: ‘the same people as before, the Argives’: *GP*: 292, καί section 1 (7). The back-reference is to 5.86.4 (see n. there for the curious abruptness of that mention of an Argive–Aiginetan alliance). **λαμθῆναι ὑπὸ Κλεομένους**: see 76.2 and n. on πλοίοισι. Hdt. has waited until now before providing the important detail that the ships there mentioned were captured Argive and (volunteer?) Sikyonian vessels.

**92.2** ὑπ’ Ἀργείων ἐπεβλήθη ζημίη . . . ἑκατὸν τάλαντα: this fine may be evidence for the continued existence of the ancient and shadowy Argolic or

Kalaureian religious amphiktion (5.82–88n.); but the hypothesis of φιλία, formalised friendship, has been thought sufficient. So Tausend 1992: 8–9, conceding that after Sepeia (83) the Argives were in no position to exercise state force. The amphiktionic explanation remains attractive. A fine of 1,000 talents (6 million drachmai!) was fabulously large. That the Sikyonians were willing and able to pay even one tenth of that sum is testimony to the wealth and fertility of their *polis* and its territory; cf. Livy 27.31.1 and refs. at Hornblower 2014: 220 n. 20. **ἔθελονταὶ δὲ ἐς χιλίους**: the number one thousand, as a total of Argive soldiers, recurs so often in the sources as to make it likely that this was a recognised elite force. See Th. 1.107.5 and esp. 5.67.2 with *CT* III: 177–8; Diod. 12.75.2. **ἀνὴρ πεντάεθλον ἐπασκήσας, τῷ οὖνομα Εὐρυβάτης**: like Teisamenos of Elis, who made an impressive switch from seer to athlete-in-training because he misunderstood a Delphic oracle (9.33.2, ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάεθλον: that misunderstanding has its comic side, given the man's profession). Eurybates won a pentathlon victory (long jump, javelin-throwing, discus, running, wrestling) at the Nemean festival, acc. to Paus. 1.29.5. But Hdt. mentions no victory (contrast e.g. 5.102.3), and this might imply that he died at the training stage – or just that Hdt. was not omniscient.

**92.3 Σωφάνεος τοῦ Δεκελίου**: see 9.73 (the same Sophanes distinguished himself at the battle of Plataia). At 9.75, Hdt. will repeat the information given here about Sophanes' killing of Eurybates the Argive, with a fullness which suggests he had forgotten that he had already recounted the episode in bk. 6 ('a rare repetition', Flower and Marincola ad loc.). But he there adds information about Sophanes' subsequent death in Thrace, participating in an expedition led by Leagros son of Glaukos (probably 465, see *AO*: 71).

## 94–120 THE MARATHON CAMPAIGN AND ITS AFTERMATH

### 94–95 *Dareios prepares another expedition*

Hdt. picks up the Persian thread from 48–9. At that point the Athenians had seized on the Persian demands as a πρόφασις to exploit Sparta against the Aiginetans: there is some ring-composition in returning to the Persian menace via the Aigina-Athens bickering of 88–93, and now the Persians too are dealing in προφάσεις (94.1, cf. 49.2n.).

**94.1 συνῆπτο** 'had been joined', pluperfect. In itself this need mean only that hostilities had started, not that they had been completed, but on the chronology cf. 86–93n. **ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἑωυτοῦ ἐποίει**: 'doing one's own thing', τὰ αὐτοῦ πράττειν, will characterise Plato's

utopia in *Republic* (4.433a–d, etc), and there as here it has more of ‘getting on with one’s job’ than ‘minding one’s own business’: neither Plato’s guardians nor the Persian king will refrain from poking their noses into others’ affairs. The μέν...δέ...contrast does however emphasise how distinct those Greek and Persian spheres of activity are, with the Athenians and Aiginetans getting on with their squabbles as if Persia were irrelevant. That is about to change. ὥστε ἀναμιμνήσκοντος...Ἀθηναίους: Πεισιστραδέων...διαβαλλόντων are gen. abs., like ἀναμιμνήσκοντος...θεράποντος, whereas τῶν Ἀθηναίων is governed by μεμνησθαι: the meaning is that the servant was reminding him of the Athenians; and the Peisistratids were nagging him too. For the servant see 5.105.2. On ἀναμιμνήσκοντος see 21.2n. προσκατημένων: for ‘sitting at the doors of a Persian monarch cf. Syloson at 3.140.1; Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.3; Plut. *Them.* 26.6, 29.1. διαβαλλόντων: 51n., but here the meaning is straightforward, ‘verbally attack’ (not ‘slander’, which would wrongly suggest that everything they said was false). ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος...γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ: cf. 13.2, 44.1 and nn.: Dareios’ desire for vengeance is real *as well as* his broader and deeper desire to reduce Greece to subjection, but Athens figured particularly in what he said, as is reflected in the prominence of ‘Eretria and Athens’ at 94.2 (n.). On ‘earth and water’ cf. 48.1–2nn. μὴ δόντας: οὐ δόντας might be expected, but μὴ conveys ‘*whichever* Greek states shall not have given earth and water’.

94.2 φλαυρῶς πρήξαντα: the implication of φλαυρῶς is strong: Mardonios had ‘done badly’, managed things in a bad way, as at 45.2, αἰσχροῶς ἀγωνισάμενος, and that explains why Dareios now ‘relieves him of his command’. ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας...ἐξανδραποδίσαντας Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἐρέτριαν: cf. 94.1n.: the prominence of these two cities suggests that these instructions were made well known in Dareios’ propaganda. This degree of ‘enslavement’ is clearly more intense than the subjection implied by offering earth and water, even if that too could be described in terms of slavery: cf. 44.1n. But there could be no question of transporting the whole populations for Dareios to see: only so many would fit on board ship (cf. 101.3n.) There would still be many Athenians left in Athens for Hippias to rule as a Persian dependency (5.96.1). Δατὶν τε, ἰόντα Μηδον γένος: ‘Medes were extremely rare in court circles’ (Cook 1983: 230, cf. 97–8), but this was clearly a very big man. A tablet from Persepolis attests a ‘Datiya’ who receives a ration of 70 quarts of beer for a journey which started at Sardis and will end at the king’s court in Persepolis (Lewis 1980 [=1997: 342–4]). 70 quarts is a big ration, marking the man out as one of high rank. The tablet is dated in Jan.–Feb. 494, suggesting that he was already in the west during the Ionian Revolt: Lewis suggests that he was ‘on a tour of inspection and co-ordination before the final campaign’. It

is possible but unlikely that an attack on Rhodes (95.2n.) should be dated to this earlier campaign.

Both Datis and Artaphrenes were depicted on the Stoa Poikile at Athens (Introduction pp. 3–4: Plin. *NH* 35.57), but Datis made the bigger impact on Athenian popular awareness, perhaps because he wrote a peremptory letter calling on them to surrender (Plato *Laws* 3.968c–d, Diod. 10.27). An *ostrakon* that, if correctly restored, reviles Aristeides as ‘Datis’ brother’ or ‘like a brother’ (Raubitschek 1957) need not be taken so seriously as to suggest that Datis really cultivated Athenian friends (Cook 1983: 97–8), but shows that the name had resonance. Aristophanes’ audience in 421 still presumably knew who he was when a snatch of a ‘song of Datis’ was included in *Peace* (289–91).

94.2 (cont.) Ἀρταφρένεα τὸν Ἀρταφρένεος παῖδα: the last mention of Dareios’ brother (5.25.1) the elder Artaphrenes was at 42.1, but he will still be a familiar character: cf. 1.1n. His son went on to hold a command in the 480 campaign, 7.74.2.

95.1 τὸ Ἀλήιον πεδῖον: ESE of Adana (*Barr.* map. 66 G3). Kilikia had been the mustering point for Mardonios too, 43.2, as already for the Cypriot campaign at 5.108.2. ‘Throughout Achaemenid history, Cilicia retained its role as crossroads and nerve center between the Mesopotamian lands and Anatolia’ (Briant 2002: 499), and see Casabonne 2004. ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς ἐκάστοισι ‘that had been requisitioned from each people’. τὰς τῶι προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ προεῖπε . . . ἐτοιμάζειν: 48.2. Those instructions were probably given in 492/1: 48.1n.

95.2 ἐπλεον . . . ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην: the inscribed Lindian Temple Chronicle of 99 BC (*FGrHist* 532 D. 1) mentions that Datis landed on Rhodes ‘first of the islands’ when ‘Dareios sent out a great force to enslave Greece’. That attack may have been when Datis was in the west in 494 (94.2n.), but the phrasing seems to suit the 490 campaign better (so Higbie 2003: 141–2). If so, and if the Chronicler is basing this on good information, the most obvious time would be on this voyage from Kilikia to Ionia, before the fleet turned north: had Rhodes fallen easily, then it would have been worthwhile to secure the island as an extra maritime base to the Persian rear. The Chronicle goes on to recount how Datis laid siege to Lindos on the E. coast of the island but then abandoned the siege when Athena sent a storm that miraculously provided water for the Rhodians but not for the Persians. Thoroughly impressed, he sent for dedication ‘the mantle and torque and armlets, and the Persian cap and Persian curved short sword, and even the covered carriage’ (the definite articles imply that these were well-known artefacts); similar dedications are attributed to ‘the general of the Persians’ in the Chronicle’s C Epiphany 32. If this tradition is right,

Datis was as respectful at Lindos as he was on Delos (97.2, 118.2 and nn.). Still, if Hdt. had known a story as full as that in the *Chronicler*, he would probably have included it, even if qualified by e.g. λέγεται. Most likely, the storm story developed later than Hdt. to explain the dedication. Finally, the story of stout Lindian resistance to Persians under Datis in 490 makes it even harder to explain Rhodian absence from Lade, for which see 8n. The dedication might be historical, the siege not (Beloch 2<sup>2</sup> 2: 81–3; Tozzi 1978: 96 n.104). **ἑξακοσίησι τριήρεσι**: Persian fleets are elsewhere too given as ‘600’ (9.1, 4.87.1); cf. the 300 losses at 44.3(n.) and the 1,207 in 480 (7.184.1, Aesch. *Pers.* 341–3), which may be 600 × 2, with seven added either as captures or requisitions en route or just to give verisimilitude. Perhaps these numbers are conventional (Fehling 1989: 223–4, and Ruffing 2013, stressing the frequency of ‘300’ in estimates of contingents and casualties), but it may be that this was a standard size, at least in notional strength, of a Persian fleet. See also Rubincam 2003, showing that Hdt. is no more given to ‘typical numbers’ than Th. or Xen. **παρά τε Ἴκαρον καὶ διὰ νήσων**: παρά + acc. could mean either ‘to’ or ‘along the side of’: here probably the second. They sailed past large but almost harbourless Ikaros (mod. Ikaria, the island W. of Samos), presumably to the S. through the so-called ‘Ikarian Sea’, 96.1, before continuing ‘through’ (διὰ) the other islands. They of course made stops at some, more or less aggressively (96–7). **τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει . . . μεγάλως προσέπταισαν**: 44.2–3. This προτέρῳ ἔτει is more problematic than that of 95.1, as on any view it is hard to put Mardonios’ naval disaster into that same ‘year before’ as the demand to prepare ships. That disaster was apparently in 493/2, presumably the summer of 492, and δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τούτων at 46.1 seems to move the narrative decisively forward from that point: see 48.1n. **ἠνάγκαζε** ‘compelled’: Th.’s Spartans list honour, τιμή, as well as ‘fear’ and ‘advantage’ as enough to constitute ‘necessity’ (κατηναγκάσθημεν, Th. 1.75.3), and there was a military as well as a prestige point in not leaving an unfriendly maritime state to the Persian rear. At 99.1 they will take care to protect their exit sea-route by taking hostages from the islands (n.). The reader/listener may recall the Persian hopes of Naxos that Aristagores had raised at 5.31.1: the campaign that followed (5.34–7) could easily leave an impression of unfinished business.

#### 96–7 *Naxos and Delos*

Both Naxos and Delos could be envisaged as important stages across the Aegean. Thus at 5.31 Aristagores represented Naxos as the stepping stone to other islands, suggesting that once it had fallen others would swiftly follow. Delos was often envisaged as a geographical as well as religious ‘centre’, a midway point (Thomas 2016: 41–5; Ceccarelli 2016: 65, 72,



79): this made it a mid-sea counterpart of the Hellespont as a continental divider between Europe and Asia. Thus after Salamis the Greeks halted their pursuit at Delos, fearing the great unknown that lay beyond and ‘thinking Samos as far away as the pillars of Herakles’, 8.132. This double demonstration was a powerful indication of what Persian power might mean, in enmity (Naxos) or in friendship (Delos). This boundary status added especial point to Datis’ offering of sacrifices and display of religious piety (97.2n.): the earthquake of 98 marks a heavenly response. Hdt.’s style, especially the emphatic direct speech at 97.2, reinforces the impression that this is the start of something big, with 98.2 making clear that its bigness extends a long way past the campaign that looms now.

**96 τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πελάγους:** 95.2n. **προσέμειξαν:** προσμίσγω often signifies hostile action, ‘come to grips with’, as at 112.3; but here it is simply ‘put into land at’, as at 7.168.2 and 8.130.1, and the military aspect is left for ἐπέιχον στρατεύεσθαι. **ἐπέιχον** ‘intend’, hence governing the inf. στρατεύεσθαι; but the verb suggests a strongly concentrated purpose, and here and at 1.153.4 it may retain something of its sense of ‘aim an attack’ (9.59.1). **τῶν πρότερον . . .**: particularly their own sufferings in the siege of 500 BC (5.34), but also what the Persians had done to others (31–2, etc). **ἀνδραποδισάμενοι . . . ἀνήγοντο:** Plut. *Herodotus’ Malice* 36 869b cites ‘the Naxian chroniclers’ for a different version: a lacuna leaves it unclear exactly what it was, but it had the Naxians ‘driving Datis out’ (ἐξελάσαι) after he had ‘burnt’ something, presumably the temples. Such a Naxian victory is obviously implausible, and 8.46.3 shows that the Naxians were under an obligation to provide the Persians with ships in 480. But local patriotism clearly made the most of the way that Datis had passed on. He had more important things to do than completing the round-up of the locals.

**97.1 καὶ αὐτοί:** i.e. ‘as well’ as the Naxians. **τὴν Δῆλον . . . Τῆνον:** the islands are only a few kilometres apart. The Delians could not have hoped that this would make them safe had Datis wanted to pursue them, but it was reasonable to hope that he had an eye on Delos for emblematic reasons and once he had control of the island would not pursue the people. **πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηναίῃ** ‘at Rheneia across the water’. The two islands were so close that Polykrates, so it was said, linked the two with a chain (Th. 3.104.2, cf. 1.13.6) and Nikias later bridged them with a temporary walkway (Plut. *Nik.* 3.5–6). For Rheneia see *IACP* no. 514.

**97.2 Ἄνδρες ἱοί:** Datis constructs his beginning well: the people are to be regarded as ‘sacred’ along with the temple and the island. **οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια:** ἐπιτήδεις here conveys several of its regular connotations, ‘unfriendly’,

‘inappropriate’, and ‘inexpedient’. **ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτός . . .**: Datis stresses his personal engagement with the issue, as either ‘we’ or a simple reference to the king’s orders would have been enough. Cf. 118.1n. **ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε φρονέω**: φρονέω here suggests ‘be *high*-minded to so great an extent’ as to be so religiously generous: Datis, and behind him Dareios, are showing the same μεγαλοφροσύνη as Xerxes will when he refuses the Spartan invitation to impose a retributive punishment on their heralds at 7.136.2. **οἱ δύο θεοί**: Apollo and Artemis. **ἐπεκηρυκέυσατο τοῖσι Δηλίοισι**: Hdt. does not say how they responded. It would not be surprising if they waited for Datis to sail on before returning, but they were back on the island by the time of Datis’ return voyage (118.2). **μετὰ δὲ λιβανωτοῦ . . . ἐθυμίησε**: the bulk and weight of such an offering would be immense: Krentz 2010: 96–7 estimates it as 7.5 tons. He still finds it plausible, for it would not all have been burnt at once, and much could have been left for future use. For Datis’ religious respect for Delos cf. 118.2. Later inventories record a gold necklace in the temple of Apollo, ‘against the wall, a votive of Datis’ (*IG* xi. 2.161 B.96), but the ascription is an ancient fraud: see Parker 2017: 154 n.3. Delos’ boundary position (96–7n.) made such religious offerings particularly appropriate, parallel to Xerxes’ offerings at the Hellespont at 7.54.2. For a possible similar display of respect at Rhodes, cf. 95.2n. Datis’ words and actions are exemplary, but they also invite a contrast with the burning of those ἱερά of Naxos and with the other burnings of temples (9.3, 32n., 101.3) in retaliation for the Athenians’ burning at Sardis, 5.101–2; Athens’ own turn will come at 8.53.2. Hdt. has already mentioned those counter-burnings in advance at 5.102.1 (n.), and the Sardis burning is taken as familiar at 101.3. So ‘the twin towers of smoke, one from Naxos and the other from Delos, sent a powerful message to other Greeks’ (Krentz 2010: 97; cf. Billows 2010: 199–200).

**98.1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐνθεῦτεν ἐξαναχθέντα** ‘after Datis had set sail from there’. Hdt. leaves the impression that it was *soon* after that, though not necessarily immediate: the evils for Greece that it was taken to portend were still in the future. They started soon enough. **Δῆλος ἐκινήθη**: Th. 2.8.3 mentions an earthquake at Delos ὀλίγον πρό τούτων (i.e. shortly before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431), πρότερον οὐπω σεισθεῖσα ἀφ’ οὗ Ἕλληνες μέμνηνται. Earthquakes are normally a matter not of ‘moving’ (κινεῖν) but of ‘shaking’ (σειεῖν, σεισμός): Rusten 2013: 137–9. Hdt.’s use of κινεῖν is explained by κινήσω and ἀκίνητον in the oracle, and Th.’s by his echo of Hdt.; but both, like the oracle itself, also recall Pindar’s description of Delos as an ἀκίνητον τέρας (*Hymns* fr. 33c) and the legend that the island moved around the Aegean until anchored by four adamantine pillars to ease Leto’s delivery of Apollo and Artemis (Pind. fr. 33d).

Hdt. and Th. agree on the uniqueness of the earthquake but disagree on its timing (though Hdt.'s *ἔλεγον* may convey some uncertainty: see next n.). Th. is best seen as offering some correction at least of the version that Hdt. gives, and probably, in view of the verbal echo, of Hdt. himself; even if the pre-431 earthquake had not yet happened at the time when Hdt. first drafted 98.1 (cf. *CT* 1: 245), Th.'s insistence that it was unprecedented is at odds with this passage, and anyway 98.2 takes the story right down to the 420s (n.). Yet both authors seem wrong, or at least to be exaggerating a minor tremor. There is convincing geological evidence that Delos suffered no significant earthquake at all: Rusten 2013: 136–7, 142, and see Chaniotis 1998: 406–11 for similar 'imaginary earthquakes' in antiquity (5.85.2n.), often cases of exaggeration rather than total fabrication. 'The Delian earthquake is less a seismic event, than a semiotic one' (Rusten 2013: 142).

Earlier Rusten, then assuming that there were two earthquakes rather than none, commented 'after each earthquake Delian propaganda evidently succeeded in re-establishing the legend that it was immune (1989: 105). It may be that 'Delian propaganda' was more nuanced, encouraging the idea that any slight movement there, real or imagined, was unusual enough to be particularly special.

**98.1 (cont.)** *ὥς ἔλεγον οἱ Δῆλιοι*: it is not clear exactly what 'the Delians' are cited as authority for, the fact of the earthquake, its timing after Datis' departure, or its uniqueness: the third is most likely in view of the placing of *ὥς ἔλεγον* . . . , emphasising what is to follow. *ἔλεγον* conveys Hdt.'s usual religious caution (27.1, 61.4 nn.) and he may well have been uncertain about the details, but in itself such language need not convey scepticism. Thus the words of the priestess at 1.91 are introduced by 'it is said that the Pythia replied' but are ended by an unqualified 'that is what the Pythia said', and assume the truth of the miraculous storm of 1.87 which had itself been introduced by *λέγεται*; cf. 134.1n. Here too the view that this, whatever it was, constituted a god-sent omen is advanced in Hdt.'s own voice, *ἔφηνε* (though notice too the diffident *κου*, n.). On his willingness to accept that 'the god' sent signs, cf. 27n. *κου* affects some uncertainty, though this does not always go very deep: 11.1n. But even if one accepted that this was a *τέρας* there was room for doubt about what it portended: the campaign itself could be thought momentous enough to stir a god's interest, and earthquakes could be interpreted as good omens as well as bad: Chaniotis 1998. Even if bad, an alternative perspective would have made it bad for the Persians, embarked as they were on a losing campaign. Cf. *οὐ κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι*, 98.2n. *ὁ θεός*: 27.3n. If Hdt. were pressed to identify a particular god, Poseidon the Earth-shaker (*ἐνοσίχθων*) would be the obvious candidate: cf. 7.123.4. But there are advantages in leaving it

unclear here, as the gods with an interest in Delos would be Artemis and particularly Apollo, whose prophetic characteristics would fit him for such a portent and who was presumably the first-person subject of κινήσω in the oracle.

**98.2 Δαρείου . . . καὶ Ξέρξεω . . . καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξεω:** Dareios reigned 522–486, Xerxes 486–465, and Artaxerxes (the spelling closer to the Old Persian form) 465–late 424 or even early 423 (see Stolper 1983: 229–30 and *CT* II: 207–8). This is often taken, e.g. by Fornara 1971b: 32–3 and 1981: 150–1, to indicate that Artaxerxes was already dead when Hdt. wrote this sentence. That is not quite certain – it could be taken to suggest the opposite, as those κακά hardly ceased in 424 – but it is true that if Hdt. were writing before 424 the perfect γέγονε might have been expected rather than ἐγένετο. If he wrote this a few years later he might still have phrased it in terms of those three long reigns spanning a century, each marking a separate generation (γενεέων). The immediate successors Xerxes II and Sogdianos had very short reigns, 45 days and just over six months respectively, and Hdt. would hardly muddy his elegant formulation by mentioning them here. **κακά τῇ Ἑλλάδι** ‘miseries for Greece’. This narrows the focus from 5.97.3, where the Athenian ships were the ἀρχὴ κακῶν for both Greeks and barbarians (de Jong 2013: 274). That suits the rhythm of the *Histories* as a whole, as the focus moves westwards along with the momentum of events; it also discreetly distracts from the omen’s more obvious application to the Persian campaign rather than to the next fifty years of Greece (cf. on *κου*, 98.1n.). Contrast the movement of the *Iliad*, initially heralding the μυρί’ ἄλγεα of the Greeks (1. 2) but from bk. 2 onwards allowing Greeks and Trojans equal focus. **ἐπὶ εἴκοσι ἄλλας γενεάς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας:** Hdt. may have not had any particular earlier event in mind in choosing this sweeping phrase, but if he did it was probably the Trojan War, ‘about eight hundred years before my own time’ (2.145.4), or – better – the Dorian invasion perhaps eighty years later (Th. 1.12.3 with *CT* I: 39–40, cf. 55n.); at 2.142.2 he reckons three generations to a century, and Dareios’ accession in 522 was two or three generations before Hdt. Cf. Ball 1979: 278. **ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμούντων:** especially in the Peloponnesian War that broke out in 431, but those self-inflicted κακά had been going on for some time before then: one set, the sufferings of Aigina, has just been mentioned at 91.1. κορυφαῖος is usually applied to the ‘head men’ in a city, as at 23.6: these ‘heads’ are rather Sparta and Athens, leaders not merely of their own leagues and subjects but of the grand alliance of 480. The tendency of intra-city leaders to squabble murderously had been observed by Dareios at 3.82.3, and this will be the inter-city equivalent. Hdt. is unequivocal about what they have been fighting for: it is ‘empire’, not just the ‘leadership’ (ἡγεμονίη) that

Athens took over from the Spartans in the aftermath of 480–479 (8.3.2, Th. 1.96.1). ‘*The empire*’, rather than ‘each of their empires’, further suggests that there can only be one state in control – or so those protagonists thought. See Introduction p. 9.

**98.3 Δαρειὸς ἐρξίης, Χέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἀρτοξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος:** this is the only occurrence in Greek of ἐρξίης as an adjective, though Erxias or -es appears as a proper name in Archilochos (frs. 88–9) and later in Asia Minor (*LGPN* VA: 171). It is unclear if it connects with the ἐργ- (‘doer’) or the εἰργ- (‘restrainer’) root, but either way Hdt. might have found a more familiar Greek word, e.g. δραστήριος or κωλυτής. Perhaps he is influenced by the similarity of sound to ‘Xerxes’, as each ruler echoes and trumps the name of his predecessor. The escalation of epithets might suggest that the troubles too will progressively get worse, but of course those coming from Persia reached their height under Xerxes.

Hdt.’s explanations are wildly inaccurate. Dareios = ‘he who holds fast to the Good’, Xerxes = ‘he who rules over heroes’, Artaxerxes = ‘he who holds/exercises lordship through truth’: see Schmitt 2000: 104 and 2011: 334–6. ‘Artaxerxes’ has in fact no etymological connection with ‘Xerxes’.

Wilson favours rewriting to give Δαρειὸς ἀρήιος, Ξέρξης ἐρξίης, Ἀρτοξέρξης κάρτα ἐρξίης (*Herodotea*: 117); so does Schmitt. That brings the Greek equivalents closer to the Iranian, or rather to the Graecised forms that he has given of the Iranian; but it is unclear that this is what Hdt. is trying to do. Cf. e.g. 2.143.4, where he explains the Egyptian *pirōmis* as καλὸς κάγαθός.

**98.3 (cont.) ὥδε ἂν ὀρθῶς...** oddly emphatic: Hdt. may well be correcting some misconception of others, which again makes better sense if he is concerned with meaning rather than closeness of sound. For similarly misplaced confidence cf. 1.139, commenting that all Persian names end in -s (‘simply false’ and presumably based on their Greek forms rather than the Iranian originals, Schmitt 1967: 140).

#### 99–100 *Karystos and Eretria fall to the Persians*

**99.1 στρατιήν τε παρελάμβανον:** presumably not just ‘they took on board the army’ that had by now caught up with them (cf. 97.1) – that would require τήν, and that army had anyway reached them by 98.1 – but ‘enlisted’ more men: these may have included Parians (133.1n.). The Greek is not as strong as ‘rounded up’ (Waterfield) or ‘press-ganged’ (Holland), but those translations probably reflect the reality. **ὁμήρους τῶν νησιωτέων παιδας ἐλάμβανον:** not just to dissuade those new recruits from desertion but also to protect the maritime line of retreat: 95.2n.

**99.2 Κάρυστον:** near the south tip of Euboia (*IACP* no. 373), and hence the first city on the island they would reach. **παρέστησαν ἐς τῶν Περσέων τὴν γνώμην** ‘came round to the Persian way of thinking’, i.e. gave hostages and agreed to fight. Hdt. puts it with wry irony.

**100.1 τοὺς τετρακισχίλιους <τοὺς> κληρουχέοντας τῶν ἵπποβοτέων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώραν** ‘the four thousand who were holding as cleruchs the land of the horse-feeders of Chalkis’. The first ‘the’ assumes that the reader/listener is familiar with these four thousand from 5.77.2(n.), which explains that they had been settled on this land by the Athenians in 506 after a victory over the Chalkidians: these ‘horse-feeders’, as he explains there, were the local ‘fat cats’, οἱ παχέες, and the Athenians had imprisoned and then ransomed as many of those as they could catch. Moreno 2007: 93–4 takes ἐς σφετέρην at **100.3** to imply that most or all of the cleruchs were residing in Attica and had to cross to Euboia. If so, the present tense of κληρουχέοντας would reflect not residency but their exploitation of the land as absentee landlords. That is possible but unlikely, for even in Euboia they might still think of Athens as their homeland. Clearly the cleruchs remained liable for military service (5.77.2n., Moreno 2007: 102–3), and Figueira 2010 suggests that they, or a lot of them, were integrated into their old tribal regiments and then fought at Marathon, where 4,000 men would have constituted a substantial fraction of the Athenian force (**109–17n.**). See also Igelbrink 2015: 177–9.

At some stage the ‘horse-feeders’ reclaimed at least some of their lands, for they were expelled again by Perikles in 446 (Plut. *Per.* 23.4). *SEG* 56.521, the Theban inscription discussed at 5.77.4n., mentions some person or persons – presumably Theban or at least Boiotian, given the find-spot – ‘freeing’ or ‘ransoming’ (λυσάμενοι or λυσαμένοι, i.e. λυσαμένωι) ‘Chalkis’. This may be relevant to the cleruchs’ departure and the horse-feeders’ return, but the historical context is very difficult to pin down; Alan Johnston has kindly advised us that the letter-forms cannot be dated precisely enough to help, but nevertheless he saw ‘no objection to c. 506’. The *editio princeps* associated this with the campaign of 506 (Aravantinos 2006, followed at 5.77.4n.). If so, the reference would be to a Theban contribution to that ransoming of the horse-feeders after the Athenian victory: the Boiotians will have been ‘putting the best face on the event that they could’ (Aravantinos). On that view it has nothing to do with 490. Krentz 2007: 738–9 prefers to assume a separate Theban operation in 490 to ‘liberate Chalkis’ from the Athenians, perhaps while Athens was preoccupied with Aigina; in that case the horse-feeders may have returned now, and the cleruchs presumably never came back after crossing to Attica at **101.1**. Figueira 2010: 200 also assumes such a Theban operation but

dates it to 480–479, and if so the cleruchs would have enjoyed a ten-year return.

Certainty is impossible. The 506 dating has attractions, making the inscription offer a rare alternative perspective to Athenian triumphalism (D. Knoepfler, *BE* 2008 no. 237, cited at 5.77.4n.). We however now tend towards one of the later dates because (a) a successful Theban operation remains the more plausible topic for commemoration and (b) in the inscription ‘Chalkis’ seems to be the object of λύεσθαι, and ‘ransoming’ a town is an unlikely phrase for ransoming some prominent citizens; a later ‘liberation’ fits the description better.

**100.1 (cont.)** τῶν δὲ Ἑρετριέων ἦν ἄρα οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς βούλευμα ‘none of the Eretrians’ deliberations, so it transpired, was sound’. ἄρα expresses ‘the surprise attendant upon disillusionment’, *GP*: 5–6. This suggestion of disillusionment gives some focalisation through the Athenians, as they came to realise what was going on.

ὑγιής is used quite readily of healthy thinking or deliberation (LSJ 11), but the language is strong: cf. the cry (ἀμβώσας) of Gyges at the fraught moment when Kandaules suggests a glimpse of his naked wife, Δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγιέα . . . ; (1.8.3), or Soph. *Phil.* 1006. The criticism is not confined to those who medised (**101.2**) but extends to ‘the Eretrians’ as a whole: it is the *combination* pointed by μέν . . . δέ . . . that is so shameful, as they should not have sent for the Athenians when so internally divided. They are treated less sympathetically than the Karystians, who may have given up their proud words quickly at **99.2** but did not involve anyone else. Hdt. (or his source) did not need to be ‘pro-Athenian’ to form such a judgment.

**100.2** οἱ μὲν . . . ἄλλοι δέ . . . : not very generous to the Eretrians, as **101.2** makes it clear that there was a third group that eventually carried the day, those who preferred to stay in the city and hope to withstand the siege. Hdt. focuses on those whose plans were shaming in combination with the request for reinforcements, as either flight to the hills or treachery would leave the Athenians to fight the Persians. ἐσκευάζοντο: i.e. they were not merely thinking about it but ‘laying their preparations’.

**100.3** ἐὼν τῶν Ἑρετριέων τὰ πρῶτα ‘who was a foremost man among the Eretrians’. For the phrase cf. 9.78.1, of an Aiginetan. It need not indicate a particular office or that the man was uniquely pre-eminent: Euripides’ Elektra even addresses a chorus of Mykenaian women as τὰ πρῶτα κατὰ Πελασγὸν ἔδος Ἀργείων, *Or.* 1247. ἐς τὴν σφετέρην: **100.1n.** above. προσεδέετο . . . προσαπόλωνται: the repeated prefixes have a point: ‘he asked them in addition’ to telling them how it was; the concern was to

stop them ‘perishing in addition’ to the Eretrians themselves, whose fate Aischines assumes now to be certain.

**101.1 κατέσχον... κατασχόντες:** 52.4, 61.4nn. **τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς χώρας:** this goes with what follows: ‘they put in their ships at Temenos and Choireai and Aigilea, places in Eretrian territory’. **κατὰ Τέμενος καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλεια:** these are all demes of and close to Eretria, see Knoepfler 1997: 379 and nn. 220–2 with map at 402, also 2001: 103–4. For Choireai see *IG* XII. 9. 222 line 1 and 241 line 18 where Knoepfler reads [Χο]ιρη(θεν). Place names in Χοιρ- are not infrequent for low-lying hilly islands or the territory opposite them (Knoepfler 2001), as in Eng. ‘Hog’s Back’. **οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλὴν:** nearly equivalent to ἐβουλευόντο (cf. 8.40.1), but making it clearer that the option of open battle was not even considered: their concern focused wholly on how to survive an attack on the walls, once (ἐπεῖτε is a conjunction) it had been decided not to leave the city. So the proposal of taking to the hills (100.2) had not prevailed, though some may have done so anyway (101.3n.). **ἐπὶ ἑξ ἡμέρας:** Plato says three (*Menex.* 240b). **τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ:** Diog. Laert. 2. 144 records an epigram on the death of the philosopher Menedemos of Eretria c. 265 BC: he fasted himself to death in seven days, ‘doing an Eretrian thing’ (ἔργον ἑρεξας Ἐρετρικόν) – presumably an allusion to the 490 siege. **Εὐφορβός τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχου καὶ Φίλαγρος ὁ Κυνέω:** Hdt. names and shames, the converse of his ‘mentions in dispatches’ of those who distinguished themselves in battle (14.1n.). The names fit a squirearchy. Philagros (‘fond of the country/hunting’) is well attested at Athens, Euphorbos (‘well-fed’) in Thessaly and Boiotia, all of them areas in reach of Euboea. Κυνέας is rare; perhaps alluding to hunting dogs, like Κυναγός (also common in Thessaly/Boiotia).

**101.3 τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν:** in particular the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros of c. 530 and perhaps an earlier temple of c. 670–650. Hall 2014: 35–54 takes this as a test-case for the difficulties in reconciling archaeological and literary evidence. One problem is that some statues from a pedimental group assumed to come from the temple (5.99.1n. on οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν, the Theseus theme on the temple) show no signs of burning; another is that there are no architectural elements or blocks securely datable to the 5th or 4th centuries, which suggests that there was no attempt to rebuild the temple – odd, as the site continued to be inhabited (see below) and there is inscriptional fourth-century evidence for some sacred site (cf. Boardman 1984: 161–2). Still, the Eretrians may not have rebuilt because they were acting in line with the ‘Oath of Plataia’ (which Krentz 2007 suggests may in fact have been or have reproduced an oath taken before Marathon), which bound the swearing states not to repair temples but leave them as memorials of Persian impiety. The problems presented by that ‘Oath’ are however complex, and it may well be a



fourth-century reconstruction rather than a reliable original: see Flower and Marincola 2002: 323–5. τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν: see 5.101–2, clearly now assumed to be familiar (97.2n.). ἡνδραποδίσαντο κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολὰς: 94.2. Some clearly were deported, and Hdt. recounts their fate at 119 (n.). Not everyone could be transported on board ship, but 119 makes it clear that there were enough to form a sizeable community. While awaiting deportation the captives were left on the island of Aigilie (107.2n.).

According to Plato (*Menex.* 240b–c, *Laws* 3.698c–d) the Eretrians were rounded up by σαγήνευσις: 31.1–2n. Strabo 10.1.10 says the same, wrongly attributing that version to Hdt. himself. Hdt.’s account in fact leaves no room for this, as such a dragnet was impracticable in a town. Perhaps some did take to the hills after all (100.2, 101.2nn.), or perhaps Plato is thinking of the round-up of villagers in the Eretrian χώρα. Hdt. might well be sceptical of that tradition if he knew of it: σαγήνευσις, at least as he envisaged it, would be as difficult in this terrain as in those of 31.1–2. In any case the captive-taking did not need to be complete: it was not practicable to deport everyone, and time was pressing. Understandably only a few days were spent before moving on to Attica (102.1).

Eretria was not destroyed completely: cf. 20n. (Miletos). The city provided seven ships in 480 (8.1.2 and 46.2), two more than they had sent to Ionia (5.99.1), and also provided a small land detachment at Plataia (9.28.5). But still the devastation was considerable. In Strabo’s day the ‘old city’ was still pointed out and the ‘foundations’ of the buildings the Persians had destroyed: the ‘new city’ had been built alongside or on top (10.1.10, cf. 9.2.6). On the apparent failure to rebuild the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros see above.

102 καταγνόντες τε πολλόν ‘holding the Athenians in great contempt’ (and therefore ‘expecting to do to the Athenians what they had done to the Eretrians’). καταγνόντες (cf. 97.2) is Madvig’s emendation for the MSS’ κατέργοντες (A), which would probably mean ‘penning up’ (cf. 5.63.4) rather than ‘pressing hard’ and is odd with πολλόν rather than πολλούς, or κατεργάζοντες (d), which would need to be emended to κατεργαζόμενοι, ‘overpowering’. Neither meaning seems right for this stage of the campaign (*Herodotea*: 117–18). Wilson’s καταργέοντες, ‘idling a lot’, does not seem to suit the context, unless Hdt. was suggesting that they were so over-confident that they felt no need to hurry. καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετρίας: we tentatively suggest the further emendation of this to κατὰ τοὺς Ἐρετρίας, ‘expecting the Athenians to do the same as they had done in the case of the Eretrians’, i.e. send a force out to fight – as indeed they did. That might provide a reason for delay, in the hope of fighting in a cavalry-friendly terrain.

**102 (cont.)** καί – ἦν γὰρ Μαραθῶν . . . Ἱππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ‘Marathon was the place in Attica that was best suited to cavalry manoeuvres and nearest to Eretria, so this was the place where Hippias the son of Peisistratos directed them.’ That need not mean that Marathon was literally top-scorer in both categories (in fact Rhamnous was nearer), simply that it was the terrain that best combined both advantages. Hdt. does not add that this part of Attica was a Peisistratid stronghold. He has, however, prepared for this family-political aspect by the four mentions of Marathon as Peisistratos’ base at 1.62 (his final return from exile on Eretria in 546), where too the closeness of Marathon to Eretria is stressed. On that occasion, though, Hdt. tells us that most Athenians did not mind so long as Peisistratos stayed at Marathon and marched out only when he made a move against the city. An attack now with an enemy force bent on enslavement was a different matter.

For the ‘family home’ of the Peisistratids on the east coast of Attica (the Brauron region), see Rhodes 1981: 187. For discussion of why this was a sensible landing choice, see Lazenby 1993: 48–50.

**102 (cont.)** Ἱππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου: Hippias was last heard of at 5.96.2, scheming at Sardis with Artaphrenes for his return, and Artaphrenes had duly told an Athenian embassy that they must receive Hippias back ‘if they wanted to be safe’. It is thus no surprise that he is accompanying the expedition, but the reader might still have expected to be told so before now. Still, it is now that his local knowledge becomes relevant.

There is more than one reason for specifying ‘son of Peisistratos’ here: (1) a more elaborate re-introduction is appropriate after so long an absence from the narrative; (2) the patronym hints at the political point (that third but unstated reason for choosing Marathon), recalling those events of 1.62 (last n.); (3) the narrative is about (103) to jump back to the time of Peisistratos himself.

## 103–104 SECOND EXCURSUS ABOUT MILTIADES AND HIS FAMILY

The name Μαραθῶνα, prominently placed at the end of the sentence at 103.1, will have struck a chord with Hdt.’s original audience as it does with a modern. They will have known that something extraordinary is about to happen. Narrative suspense is one reason for this relatively leisurely excursus; like other authors, Hdt. often marks off climaxes by preceding and/or following them with slower-moving passages or flashbacks, as he does once Marathon is completed (125–31): see Introduction p. 14. Cf. 5.94–5 n. and e.g. 1.92–5, rounding off the Kroisos-*logos*, or 7.204–205.1 and 7.239 before and after Thermopylai. Another reason is to resume the story of

Miltiades and his family from 34–41, which had concluded with his arrival at Athens; again most of his audience will have known then that this would lead on to great things, and the separation but linking of the two excursions, like the splitting of the shared oracle between 19 and 77, helps to knit together the beginning and end of the book and its eastern and western strands. The content is thematically suggestive too. The relations with Athens of Miltiades' father have shown great ups and downs; Miltiades' own story too is to be one of exile, glory, and ignominious death. Some readers/listeners will have reflected that his son Kimon would go on to have his own ups and downs (see 136.3n. on ἐξέτεισε...); others will have remembered others whom Athens would find difficult to accommodate (Themistokles, even to an extent Perikles, perhaps Alkibiades if Hdt. was writing so late). But even if such later resonances were missed, an important point is conveyed. Athens came within a series of hair's breadths of not having Miltiades at hand to be its hero; and, if the political path there was so precarious, other tensions and jealousies too might always surface. In 490 as in 480–479, it might all so easily have gone wrong.

**103.1 ἐβοήθειον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα:** 4th-cent. orators refer to a 'decree of Miltiades', apparently requiring the Athenians to 'take food and march' (Kephisodotos, quoted at Arist. *Rhet.* 3. 1411a9–11); Dem. 19.303 derides Aeschines for reading aloud 'the decree of Themistokles and Miltiades'. Plut. *Table talk* 1.10 628e mentions 'a decree' but does not name Miltiades; Nepos *Milt.* 5.2 says that Miltiades was behind the decision to march out. If so, Hdt. might have said so, given that he immediately goes on to mention Miltiades. It would not be surprising if Miltiades' role were elaborated over the next century and a half, and that could easily have extended to a fake decree (see esp. Habicht 1961: 17, 20, 27, accepting that Miltiades was behind the decision but taking the written decree to be a later fabrication). But conceivably Hdt. is holding back Miltiades' driving influence to the crucial instance on the battlefield itself, 109–10. Some at least of Miltiades' inspiring rhetoric at 109 seems more suited to this earlier context at Athens; but Hdt. might well have preferred not to weaken his speech by dividing it into two. **στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν ὀδέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης:** Hdt. does not spell out that ten was the full complement of the city's generals, each (normally, in the 5th cent. at least) from one of the ten tribes created by Kleisthenes in 507 (5.69.2), although the στρατηγία itself was not actually introduced until 501. Miltiades is called 'the tenth', but this does not indicate superior authority, merely that he was the most famous. **τὸν πατέρα Κίμωνα . . . Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἰπποκράτης:** 39.1. Hdt. goes on to keep the promise he there made to tell the story of Kimon's death.

**103.1–2:** φυγεῖν...φεύγοντι: the first (aorist) = ‘flee’, the second (present) = ‘be in exile’. For the distinction cf. Lys. 14.33.

**103.1–3** Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελέσθαι τεθρίππωι...τῇ ὑστέρῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι... ἄλλην Ὀλυμπιάδα: Kimon’s three victories are Moretti 1957: nos. 120, 124, and 127. They were presumably consecutive if it was indeed the same team of horses each time. Hammond 1956: 117 n.4 dates them to 532, 528, and 524, Moretti 1957 to 536, 532, and 528, and even earlier sequences are possible. See 103.3n. For four-horse chariots as a recurring theme in bk. 6, see 35.1n. on ἐών...

**103.2** τωὐτὸ ἐξενείκασθαι τῷ ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδελφεῷ Μιλτιάδῃ: as recorded at 36.1. παραδιδοῖ Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι: i.e., presumably, it was announced in his name as if he were the owner of the team. There are other cases where controversy centred on the city that the victor stated as his own, esp. Th. 5.50.4, where the Spartan Lichas was flogged for declaring his victory to be that collectively of the Boiotians (cf. CTIII: 132); those of Sotades of Krete, Dorieus of Rhodes, and Astylos of Kroton, announced as ‘from Ephesos’, ‘from Thourioi’, and ‘from Syracuse’ respectively, may be similar (Paus. 6.18.6, 6.7.4 and 6.13.1, *Th. and Pi.* 140 and 283–4). But an exact parallel is hard to find.

**103.3** κατέλαβε...οὐκέτι περιέοντος αὐτοῦ Πεισιστράτου: Peisistratos died in 528/7. The date of Kimon’s murder is uncertain. Hdt. perhaps insinuates that it was connected with the chariot-victories, presumably because the Peisistratids were motivated by jealousy or fear of his glory, but he does not say so. Even if those were the motives, the killing may not have been immediately after the final victory but have been prompted by some later scare. This therefore casts no light on the date of the final victory itself, which might have fallen during either Peisistratos’ reign or that of his sons.

κατέλαβε may echo the same word at 103.1. Kimon’s digression begins and ends with bad things ‘overtaking’ him because of the tyrants.

**103.3 (cont.)** κατὰ τὸ πρυτανήιον: the Prytaneion was N. of the acropolis, near the Anakeion and the sanctuary of Aglauros (Paus. 1.18.3; Travlos 1971: 1 and 8 fig. 5, where it is no. 27 on the map). For its symbolic centrality see already 1.146.2; cf. Th. 2.15.2 for the role of Theseus. Like the prytaneia in many Greek cities, it contained a statue of Hestia, goddess of the hearth and symbol of the city’s life; and this one housed the laws of Solon (Paus.; Miller 1978: 13–16; *OCD*<sup>4</sup> ‘Hestia’ and ‘prytaneion’). A shocking place, then, for a political assassination. Kimon’s son Stesagores was also assassinated in a prytaneion, but not that of Athens; see 38.2. ὑπίσαντες ‘having placed in ambush’, as at 3.126.2. This must be aorist active ptcpl. of

ὑπίζω (= Attic ὑφίζω), though most uses of that vb. are intransitive; on the spelling (the MSS have ὑπέισαντες) see LSJ ὑφεῖσα. τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ ‘the road called “Through the Hollow”’. Koile is the Attic deme taking in the slopes of the Pnyx and the Hill of the Muses and the valley in between; the road going through it led to Peiraieus and would be heavily used. See Judeich 1931: 180. αἱ ἵπποι τετάφαι: Ael. *VH* 9.32 mentions a bronze statue of the horses, ‘extremely lifelike’: we might expect that to have stood on top of the tomb, but Aelian elsewhere says that it was erected by Miltiades in the Kerameikos (*NA* 12.40). One would like to think that the team of mares lived out their lives and were buried sequentially, but sadly this is unlikely: horse-burials had been known since the tenth century, and are normally taken as indicating the custom of horse-sacrifice as an accompaniment to elite male funerals, as already for Patroklos at *Il.* 23.171–2 (again a team of four). So e.g. Lemos 2002: 166, commenting on one burial of four horses and one of two at Lefkandi and adducing parallels from Cypriot Salamis and Krete; Kosmetatou 1993. Four complete horse graves have also been found in the Faliro necropolis south of Athens.

103.4 Εὐαγόρεω Λάκωνος: Ael. *NA* 12.40 says that Euagores too buried the horses ‘magnificently’, but the passage links them closely with the memorial to Kimon’s horses and may be a misreading or misremembering of Hdt. Moretti 1957 puts these victories in 548, 544, and 540 (nos. 110, 113, 117), but they ‘are more or less infinitely movable between 680 and the mid fifth century’ (Davies *APF*: 299). παρὰ τῷ πάτρῳ Μιλτιάδῃ τρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ Χερσονήσῳ: the reader is clearly expected to remember the background from 36–8. τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς Χερσονήσου Μιλτιάδεω: again recalling 36–8. There is some awkwardness as this is the same man as ‘uncle Miltiades’ earlier in the sentence, but it is hard to find a more elegant way to put it. Davies, *APF*: 300–4 disentangles the various members of the family.

104.1 οὗτος δὲ ὢν τότε ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου: there is no need to explain why he was in the Chersonese, as that is taken as familiar from 39–41. The narrative picks up exactly where 41.2–4 left off, except that there Miltiades was already said to have eluded the Phoenicians and made his way to Athens. New information then comes with διπλόον θάνατον: the audience know about the first escape, but the second may be a surprise.

104.2 δοκέοντά τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίῃ ἤδη: δοκέοντα may be either ‘thinking’ or ‘seeming (to others) to be already safe’, probably both. οἱ ἐχθροί: if Hdt. knew who these were, he does not regard it as important to say. Big men

always had their enemies. ὑποδεξάμενοι ‘met him by...’. The precise force of the word is hard to catch. It is often used of ‘greeting’ or ‘entertaining’, and some mild irony may be sensed. ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ἀγαγόν-τες: this is one of only six attested Athenian political trials between 500 BC and Ephialtes’ changes in the late 460s (two of them trials of Miltiades, and the first that of Phrynichos, 21.2, depending on when that is dated), and the procedures are disputed (useful summary at Ostwald 1986: 28–31, noting the surprising absence in most of the sources of any mention of the Areopagus. It seems that after 500 BC the people had taken over this sort of case, whatever the exact machinery). Miltiades’ first case, that described here, may have been referred by an archon (or by the Assembly itself) to the (H)eliaia, if at this period that body was still identical with the Assembly in its judicial capacity (Rhodes 1979: 105; Hansen 1980: 91, both discussing the prosecution process known as *eisangelia*: see 21.2n. on καὶ ἐζημίωσαν... and next n.). If that identification is right, Hdt. is not sharply distinguishing δικαστήριον and δῆμος when he comments below that Miltiades was elected general by the latter after being acquitted by the former. If, however, the (H)eliaia was a separate sworn body of jurors (Hansen 1975: 69 n.3, and 1980, as above), the distinction Hdt. expresses was sharper. But it is doubtful how far he was aware of the niceties. For Miltiades’ second trial, see 136.1 and n. ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ...: perhaps by *eisangelia* to the Assembly (Hansen 1975: 69 and n.1, cf. 27), as that was later thought appropriate for cases of treason or attempted overthrow of the democracy; Miltiades’ alleged tyranny was exercised elsewhere than at Athens, but still on Athenian territory, at least according to the Athenian view, 140.2. The Athenians guarded against tyranny at home, not only by specific measures such as R/O no. 79, cf. Ostwald 1955, but by promising – in common with many other Greek states down to Hellenistic times – rewards and immunity to tyrant-killers. (For such decrees see Teegarden 2013 and Hornblower 2015: 419, on Lycoph. *Alex.* 1173.) αἶρεθεις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου: the emphasis points the paradoxical transformation: on trial for tyranny one moment, elected by the *demos* the next. This is not the background that might be expected for the saviour of the democratic state, and tells a tale both about Miltiades’ ups and downs and about democratic politics: see above, 103–4n.

The natural way to take this passage is that election to the στρατηγία was by the people as a whole, as it was later (Ostwald 1986: 23); this is preferable to the view that in the early years after 502/1, elections were made within the ten individual tribes (Fornara 1971c: 10–11, and n. 29). Or perhaps (cf. Rhodes 1981: 264) there was some initial election by tribes, then the assembly as a whole had the final say. Hdt. is unlikely to have had procedures in mind. He is thinking of the shift in Miltiades’ fortunes, and

of the other occasion when Miltiades escaped death, namely at the hands of the Phoenicians – not a judicial fate at all.

105–106 *Philippides and Pan; what he said at Sparta*

A further epiphany, that of Epizelos, will round off the Marathon narrative, 117.2–3n. For this important religious concept see briefly Henrichs in *OCD*<sup>4</sup>; more fully Versnel 1987; Platt 2011 and 2015. Epiphanies are not always visual (cf. St Paul on the road to Damaskos), and this one need not have been: the important aspect is aural or ‘sonic’ (105.2, βώσαντα, cf. 105.1n.). It is more of a ‘crisis-’ than a ‘cult-’ epiphany (see Platt 2015: 494 for this distinction), despite the cultic element fully reported by Hdt. at the end.

The Pan epiphany is the closest anywhere in Hdt. to a generic cross-over from the world of epic; see Feeney 1991: 261 (‘characterful narration of divine action is the irreducible line of demarcation between epic and history’).

Hdt. does not go on to detail any helping act of Pan during the battle itself, but other writers tried to fill the gap. Pan perhaps pursued a Persian ship (the second-century sophist Polemon, 2.41), or perhaps was the φάσμα of 117.2 (n.) that went on to help the blinded Epizelos to fight and encourage his comrades ‘just as if he could see’ (Suda Ἰππίας, calling the man ‘Polyzelos’; see Petridou 2015: 114). Modern writers have followed suit: perhaps he inspired a *Pan*-ic attack when the Persians saw the Greeks charging them (112.2–3; McCulloch 1982: 40, Garland 1992: 51–4), or as they were scrambling into the ships (113.2–115; Borgeaud 1988: 95) – though panics more typically affect armies at rest (Th. 7.80.3 with *CT* III.727). The only possible warrant for this in Hdt. is the cryptic statement (105.3) that the Athenians decided to honour Pan *after their affairs turned out well*, but Pan’s promise here could be enough to make Athenians assume that he must have been helping in invisible ways. A dedicatory epigram (*FGE* 700–1, ‘Simonides’ no. v) seems to record or imagine a statue of Pan erected by Miltiades to commemorate his help ‘against the Medes’, and if this is roughly contemporary (Keesling 2010: 116) the specifying of Miltiades might support some connection with the battle. Still, this may just as well be ‘a later literary exercise’ (Bowie 2010: 218), fleshing out the tradition as recorded by Hdt., and anyway once again need assume no more than invisible help.

For the new cult of Pan established at Athens as a result of this epiphany, see 105.3n. on ἰδρύσαντο... On his cult generally, see Borgeaud 1988 and (for Arkadia) Jost 1985: 456–76. See also *OCD*<sup>4</sup>. On the Pan epiphany see also Harrison 2000: 82–3; Versnel 2011: 40 with (for the midday sun) n. 57; and Mastrapas 2013. Finally, it has been suggested (Herman

2011) that this was a ‘sensed presence’ of a sort attested in extreme situations from other periods.

**105.1** **έόντες έτι έν τώι άστεί:** therefore a flashback to earlier than **103.1**, when the generals and army left for Marathon. How much earlier is unclear, and the message may have been sent during the Persians’ rest period after the fall of Eretria (**102**); the Athenians would not then have known where the Persians would attack, but would have been clear that they would need the Spartans somewhere, and further messages could reach them en route to tell them where. **Φιλιππίδην:** this is the spelling given by **d**, i.e. the Roman family of MSS, and in nearly all MSS of later authors who tell the tale, including Plutarch, *Herodotus’ Malice* 26 862A. An apparent exception is Nepos *Milt.* 4 where modern texts print *Phidippumque*, but even there the MSS are divided between *Phidippumque*, *Phidippumque* and *Philippumque*. Φειδιππίδης (A) is preferred by LGPN11. That is much the rarer form and scribal confusion between Δ and Λ is always easy, but even if that was the reading of Nepos’ source the spelling may have been influenced by the well-known character in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes. For a different view see Badian 1979. **άλλως δέ** ‘and besides’. **ήμεροδρόμην** ‘courier’ (Powell), lit. ‘day-runner’: ‘the Greeks use the word *hemerodromos* for people who cover an immense distance in a single day’s running’, Livy 31.24.3. At 9.12.1 the Argives send ‘a herald, the best of their day-runners’ to Mardonios, and cf. Philonides the Kretan, Alexander the Great’s ήμεροδρόμας καί βηματιστής τής Ασίας, ‘day-runner and stepper [i.e. route-measurer] of Asia’ (Tod no. 188, Olympia, not in R/O), and see Tsifopoulos 1998 and esp. Christensen, Nielsen, and Schwartz 2009. **καί τοῦτο μελετώντα** ‘and making a speciality of this’, i.e. he was fit and in training. **ώς αὐτός τε έλεγε Φιλιππίδης καί Αθηναίοισι άπήγγελλε:** Hdt. is at his most cautious here and at **106.1** **ότε πέρ . . . έφη:** he does not vouch for the truth of the epiphany, only for Philippides’ report. **τό Παρθένιον όρος:** between Tegea and Hysiai. **περιτίπτει** ‘encounter’: his presence was felt. This does not require the god to have been visible, though it does not exclude it.

**105.2** **Αθηναίους . . . έπειρωτήσαι:** Wilson’s bold emendation of MS Αθηναίοισι άπαγγείλαι looks right (or perhaps e.g. Αθηναίοις . . . άπαγγείλαι καί είρωτήσαι); see *Herodotea*: 118. **πολλαχῇι γενομένου σφι ἤδη χρηστοῦ, τὰ δ’ έτι καί έσομένου:** χρηστοῦ keeps some of its meaning of ‘useful’ (Powell (1)) as well as ‘good to’ (Powell (3)): for the dat. cf. 3.78.2 and 7.190, again combining both senses. The formulation is an inversion of the usual prayer of a human praying ‘you have often helped us in the past: help us now too’ (e.g. Sappho fr. 1, Soph. *OT* 164–7: *da-quia-dedisti*, as Pulleyn 1997: 16–38 puts it). Here the god has to say it himself, as the humans – he points out – have omitted to do so.



**105.3** καταστάντων σφι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθεία: both Hdt. and the Athenians are cautious, Hdt. in the guarded way that he reports the affair (105.1n.) and the Athenians because they accept the epiphany and establish the cult only (cf. ἤδη) once the outcome seemed to confirm it – i.e. when they won the battle? or even later? For καταστάντων σφι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων see 7.132.2, the solemn oath to tithe the medising Greeks. Perhaps this was a phrase appropriate for religious decisions. **ιδρύσαντο . . . ἱλάσκονται**: the Athenian cult of Pan was combined with that of the nymphs (Parker 1996: 163–8). See also Kearns 2015: 32: for a human being to introduce a new god might arouse suspicion, but when a god asks to be worshipped, as Pan does here, ‘there is a presumption of authenticity’. Pan was new only in the sense that he was a newcomer to Athens; his cult was long established in Arkadia, where Philippi- des’ epiphany took place. A political aspect for his adoption at Athens has been conjectured, in view of Arkadian–Spartan tensions after the Persian Wars (72.2n.): see e.g. Mastrapas 2013: 121. It has even been suggested that the Athenians wanted Arkadian timber for their navy (Garland 1992: 60 n. 7, but for doubts see Anderson 2015: 313).

For the cave of Pan on the Athenian acropolis, under the Propylaia, see Paus. 1.28.4 with Travlos 1971: 417–21. Torches (cf. λαμπάδι) were a feature of several rituals, and the connotations were not always gloomy and nocturnal; cf. e.g. Plato, *Rep.* 1.328a and Hornblower: 2015: 299 on Lycoph. *Alex.* 734. A torchlit procession duly ushers in the city’s better future anticipated at the end of Aesch. *Eum.* (1022, 1029–31, 1041–2).

**106.1** δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ: good going, but not implausible. ‘In 1982 a Flight-Lieutenant in the RAF ran the distance in 34 hours, and a Wing-Commander of fifty-six in 35½’ (Lazenby 1993: 52), and cf. Krentz 2010: 108 and Christensen, Nielsen, and Schwartz 2009, esp. 155 n. 48 for other modern parallels. One might still wonder why he was not allowed a horse for at least part of the journey: cf. Th. 8.11.2 with CT III: 789, a horseman from the Isthmos to Sparta, and Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.7, one from Lechaion (just the other side of the Isthmos) to Athens. But the absence of nailed horseshoes and thus the risk of lameness must be borne in mind. On rough or mountainous terrain, two legs might be better and faster than four.

#### 106.2 *Philippides’ speech*

The speech ‘deploys the most prominent harangue *topos*, the contrast between freedom and slavery’ (Zali 2015: 257, cf. 266). So already Dionysios before Lade, 11.2: that struggle for freedom has moved across the Aegean, and is now resumed.

**106.2** πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι: cf. 7.161.2, where the untactful Athenians at Gelon's Syracusan court parade their claim to maritime leadership ἀρχαιοτάτον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι, μοῦνοι δὲ ἔόντες οὐ μετανάσται ('migrants') Ἑλλήνων. Yet even Solon claimed that Athens was merely the senior *Ionian* land (fr. 4a W.). Perhaps the superlatives here and at 7.161.2 are rhetorical exaggeration, perhaps they simply mean 'very old' rather than 'oldest'. Zali 2015: 267 suggests that 'the phrase implies autochthony', the claim coupled with it in that speech to Gelon; certainly such arguments came easily to Athenian lips (Rosivach 1987). But to make that explicit would not have been the right note to strike at non-autochthonous Sparta. καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἑρέτριά τε ἡνδραπόδισται: 101.3, where the verb was used of the men, not the city. καὶ πόλι λογίμωι ἢ Ἑλλάς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρα: the message cleverly combines the appeal to honour with one to self-interest, as the 'grown weaker' point is most relevant if Greece as a whole, not just Athens, has to anticipate a fight. λόγιμος, 'notable', is broad enough to include both past glory and current military resources.

**106.3** τοῖσι δὲ ἔαδε 'they decided', lit. 'it pleased them', from ἀνδάνω, with the inf., as also at e.g. 3.45.1, καὶ σφι ἀδεῖν . . . μηκέτι πλεῖν. 'They' are presumably the assembly (Andrewes 1966: 10), although the actual call-up was the responsibility of the ephors. λύειν τὸν νόμον: Hdt. does not specify the content of this law. Plutarch, *Herodotus' malice* 26 861e–f says, 'Hdt. has been exposed as telling lies against the Spartans' (the phrasing suggests previous scholarly discussion) in that (a) they often mounted expeditions and fought battles in the first third of the month, and (b) his explanation does not fit what Plut. takes to be the battle's date, the Attic 6th Boedromion. On the second point see on εἰνάτη . . . τοῦ κύκλου below. The first shows that Plut. took Hdt. as meaning that the law excluded such expeditions in any month, but Hdt. need not mean that: the law can be, and probably was, one prohibiting military action only in the month Karneios, when the Karneia festival was celebrated between 7th and 15th (so Popp 1957: 76–81; *contra*, Pritchett 1971–91: 1. 116–18). The Karneia similarly impeded action before Thermopylai (7.206.1, cf. n. on εἰνάτη . . . below) and again in 419 and 418 (Th. 5.54.2, 5.75.2, with *CT* III: 144). The festival was observed not just at Sparta but by other Dorian states too: see *OCD*<sup>4</sup> 'Carnea' and 'Dorian festivals'. ἦν γὰρ ἵσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη: the calendar divided the month into thirds: this was the ninth day of the first third. εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἔοντος τοῦ κύκλου 'they said that they would not go out on the ninth given that the moon was not full'. μὴ οὐ with a ptcple. is usually 'if . . . not', 'unless' (*M&T* § 818), but in Hdt. that 'if' need not imply real uncertainty: thus at 9.1 there is no real doubt that the Persians will not have sea control if they

cannot defeat the bigger Ionian fleet, and at 2.110.3, 'Dareios should not be standing in front of Sesostri's statue μή οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῖσι ἔργοις', the speaker has made it clear that Dareios has not rivalled Sesostri's conquests.

In fact the moon can never be full on the ninth day of the lunar month (cf. Lazenby 1993: 53), but (a) we cannot be sure that the Spartan calendar was accurately in step with the lunar cycle (see last paragraph below), and (b) this may be laconic shorthand for 'we are forbidden to go out on this day but can when the moon is full'. The moon would be full on the fifteenth day of its cycle, so six days later (the days of the festival and the prohibition are more likely to have been phrased in terms of the calendar than in those of lunar reality, though that fifteenth day might well have been conventionally called e.g. 'full-moon day'). A six-day delay before the Spartans could leave fits well enough with the version at 120.1, where the Spartan troops are said to arrive 'on the third day' after departing 'after the full moon' (though see n. there). Thus if the Spartans left on 16th, they would arrive on 18th, nine days later than now. That is a reasonable interval to allow Philippides to return to Athens, for the battle to be fought some days later, and the Spartans to arrive when the corpses were still on the field (120.1).

Doubts about the sincerity of the Spartans in giving this reason are as early as Plato, who thinks they were distracted by a helot revolt and perhaps 'some other reason that we do not know about' (*Laws* 3.692d, 698e); Paus. 5.24.3 mentions a 'second Messenian rebellion' in connection with a Spartan thank-offering at Olympia whose dedication survives as ML no. 22 = Fornara 38, and that has sometimes been taken to be this supposed helot revolt rather than the firmly attested one of the 460s. But it is hard to think that any such distraction should have lasted only a matter of days, and the religious reason should be accepted (Popp 1957: 82–7): the Spartans moved very quickly as soon as their religious scruples allowed (120.1n.).

Spartans gained a reputation for their willingness to sacrifice their interests in order to fulfil obligations to the gods (Goodman and Holladay 1986: 154–60). In 480 the Karneia again played a role: the Olympics happened in that year to coincide, and the two together prevented the Spartans from sending more troops to fight at Thermopylai (7.206). On that occasion, though, they were prepared to send the small advance force under Leonides, probably because their position as leader of the alliance and the need to protect Delphi imposed a clashing religious obligation (Goodman and Holladay 1986: 157–8).

In the course of his criticism (see above on λύνειν τὸν νόμον) Plut. says that the battle was fought on the Attic 6th Boedromion, and as the Spartans arrived shortly after the battle (120.1) they must have left well before full moon. Plut. repeats the date 6th Boedromion elsewhere, once as the

battle date (*Cam.* 19.5) and once as the date of the annual commemoration still celebrated in his own day (*On the glory of the Athenians* 23 349e): in *Cam.* as in *Herodotus' malice* the battle's date is important to his argument, and so his assumption that the celebration was on its anniversary is not simple carelessness, though he may have been wrong. It is often claimed (e.g. by H/W and Popp 1957: 75–6 n.1) that he was indeed wrong, that 6th Boedromion was the date only of the commemoration, and that the battle itself was more likely to have been fought in the middle of the previous month Metageitnion, equated with the Spartan month Karneios by Plut. at *Nic.* 28.2. If this is right, it still does not fix the battle's date, as there was a new moon in 490 just before the summer solstice, and it is unclear whether the year's calendar started with that new moon or a month later: if the first, a mid-Metageitnion date would put the battle in mid-August; if the second, in mid-September. It may be better to abandon either or both assumptions (a) that Attic Metageitnion corresponded in this year to Spartan Karneios, as the two states may not have chosen the same new moon as their starting-point; and (b) that both these calendars were in step with the lunar cycle anyway. Different states' calendars were often out of line with the moon (for Athens cf. the light-hearted moaning at Ar. *Clouds* 615–26 and *Peace* 406–15) and therefore with one another (Pritchett 1957: 76–9; Gomme, *HCT* III: 713–15). In that case Plut.'s criticism of Hdt. is wrong-headed, but his 6th Boedromion dating may still be right for the battle, making September more likely. Cf. Rhodes 2013: 6–7.

**107.1** οὔτοι μὲν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον: the army will have set off not on 15th itself, as that was still a day of festival, but on 16th. To arrive within three days (120.1n.) they would have had to be packed and ready early on the 16th; presumably such military preparations were not excluded by the restriction.

### 107 *Hippias' dream*

The negative sign given to Hippias mirrors and contrasts with the positive indication that Pan offered to the Athenians (106.2). This mini-narrative, and the excursus about Plataia which follows in 107, have a retarding effect: we are made to wait not once but twice for the battle narrative.

Hdt. is fond of dreams: seventeen occur in his narrative, as opposed to six in Homer and none in Th., and fourteen of those seventeen are dreamed by kings or tyrants (Frisch 1968: 1, 52–3). His dreams seldom bode well, often because, as with oracles, their enigmatic quality leads to disastrous misinterpretation: that is so even when the dreamer senses danger, as Kroisos at 1.34.1, Astyages at 1.107, and Xerxes at 7.12. Here Hippias senses none, for the moment. Hipparchos too had had an

ominous dream (5.56), and that had not turned out well for him. On Hdt.'s dreams cf. 118.1 and 131.2nn., and Frisch 1968; on particular dreams S. West 1987 and Pelling 1996 and 1999; on ancient dreams more generally, Harris 2009.

It may seem odd that Hippias should have initially given a favourable interpretation to such a dream; when Oidipous received his oracle prophesying maternal sex along with patricide, he regarded it as something fearful enough to make him keep his distance from Korinth, Soph. *O.T.* 992–8, and when Plut. recounts Caesar's similar dream before crossing the Rubicon he describes it as 'transgressive' (ἐκθεσμον) and the imagined sex as 'unspeakable' (ἄρρητον): *Caes.* 32.9 with Pelling 2011: 313–14. But such dreams admitted multiple interpretations, and Artemidoros 1.79 suggests that e.g. sexual position could make a big difference (Harris-McCoy 2012: 463–5). The dreamer's social and public position also affected dream-interpretation (Price 1986), and Artemidoros makes such dreams a good sign for politicians and office-holders, because 'mother' signifies the native land (cf. Kearns 2015: 35) and is thought of as willingly submissive. Thus Caesar's dream too could be taken positively: Suet. *Div. Iul.* 7.2 and Dio 37.52.2 both put it much earlier in his career and make it portend his future greatness.

It is therefore easy to understand both (a) why Hippias could interpret the dream positively, with an expectation both of conquering his motherland (ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι, 107.4) and of ending his days there, 'sleeping with' his mother eternally in his grave (συνευνηθῆναι, 107.1); and (b) how he could get it so wrong. But this ambiguity combines with the further *topos* of an oracle or dream that comes true, but in a way that is more trivial or more negative than expected, as with Kleomenes and Argos (80) or Kambyzes' dream about Smerdis and the oracle about Ekbatana (3.64), or, more positively, when Chariton's Kallirhoe dreams that her lover is in chains and wrongly assumes that this must mean his death (Char. 1.12.5) when it is simply true – he is indeed, for the moment, in chains. Here 107.3–4 turn out to be the fulfilment.

τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι: the word for 'barbarians' is repeated at 107.2, and has a point: Hippias is leading not just an enemy but a barbarian enemy against his home. The word recurs unusually often in the Marathon narrative, especially at 112.1–3 where it has a point that goes beyond the non-Greek dress and at 115–17 when the city of Athens is threatened: this is the first clash of Greek against barbarian, emblematic both of what is at stake and the triumph that Greece, and freedom, will go on to secure. κατηγέτο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα: this resumes the story on the Persian side from 102, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέτο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου, and κατηγέσθαι will be repeated at 107.3(n.). It takes the reader/listener

back to a stage earlier than the intervening events, as at 103 the Athenians were responding to the news of the landing at Marathon.

**107.2 συνέβαλετο: 80n.** ἀνασωσάμενος ‘winning back’ (ἀνα-): the word is regularly used of recovering an ἀρχή, and the idea of ‘saving’ or ‘rescuing’ in σωζ- reflects the aspirant’s claim that the ἀρχή should have been his all along. **γηραιός:** it would be hard to extract that aspect from the content of the dream, but Hippias was already at least eighty years old (Davies, *APF* 446) and very likely older (Arnush 1995: 138): cf. πρεσβυτέρωι, 107.3. **συνεβάλετο...κατηγορούμενος:** chiastically echoing κατηγοέτο...συνεβάλετο of 107.1–2, thereby marking off the dream interpretation in a way more typical of longer digressions. συνεβάλετο is echoed at 108.1, as the true interpretation takes the place of the false. **ἀπέβησε...ὄρμιζε αὐτός...διέτασσε:** Hdt. writes as if Hippias has temporarily taken over sole command, partly no doubt to underline his treacherous enthusiasm after the dream, partly also to suggest that he was using his local knowledge (102n.). The emphasis on his agency supports Wilson’s conjecture of αὐτός for the unnecessary and clumsy οὗτος. **τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγιλίην:** Styra is on the W. coast of Euboea, opposite Marathon. *Barr.* tentatively identifies Aigilie with the small island between the two.

**107.3 πταρεῖν:** sneezes could be omens in themselves (Pease 1911), more usually good (Hom. *Od.* 17.541, Xen. *Anab.* 3.2.9, etc.) than bad (Men. fr. 620 S, λυπούμεθ’ ἂν πτάρῃ τις); but here it is the tooth rather than the sneeze and cough that is significant. Doubtless Hippias’ dental health left something to be desired, and such things did happen: Martial gets an epigrammatic joke out of a similar mishap, 1.19. But still it does not happen every day: all the more significant, therefore.

**107.3–4: τῶν ὀδόντων...ἕνα...ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετό οἱ ὁ ὀδών:** it is important not only that the tooth was ejected but also that it buried itself deep in the sand – penetration of the motherland as well as ejaculation. The same idea underlies the myth of the Spartoi, armed men springing from the earth when Kadmos buried dragon’s teeth at Thebes and Jason did the same in Kolchis. It is, and probably always was, unclear whether the tooth should be taken as emblematic of phallus (Frisch 1968: 26–7, Glenn 1972) or of semen (Griffith 1994) **ὁκόσον δὲ τί μοι μέρος μετῆν** ‘however big a share of it belonged to me...’

#### 108 *The background to the Plataian help to the Athenians*

This ch. is beautifully constructed in ring-form (108.1 and 6), and with some eloquent and distinctly un-laconic Spartan rhetoric in direct speech

at its heart (108.2–3, including a poetic metaphor in ψυχρή, and a fine piece of hypothetical hyperbole about enslavement). See also 108.4 for some vivid theatricality. The ch. narrates Kleomenes' and the Spartans' advice to the beleaguered Plataians in 519 BC (for the date see 108.1n.). It was as a result of this advice, so Hdt. says, that the latter aligned themselves with the Athenians and then fought alongside them at Marathon; hence this excursus. Hdt. painlessly folds in successive references to Athenians, Plataians (here appearing for the first time in the *Histories*, see below), Thebans and Boiotians, Spartans, and Corinthians – all of them key players once again around 430, the start of the Peloponnesian War.

The city of Plataia (*IACP* no. 216), at the foot of of the N. slopes of Mt. Kithairon (*Barr.* map 55 E4), had an importance in Greek (not only Athenian) history and oratory out of proportion to its size. Because of the events of 479 Plataia was an enduring symbol of Greek unity. Hellenistic Plataians, so a contemporary observed, 'have nothing to say except that they are colonists of the Athenians [false] and that the battle between the Greeks and Persians took place on their soil': Austin: no. 101 ('Heraclides Creticus') para. 11. He continued 'they are Athenians among Boiotians', and the present passage of Hdt. shows how that came about. By the 420s they 'shared in citizenship' at Athens (Th. 3.55.3). The Athenians' behaviour towards their Plataian allies in 431–427, when Thebans attacked and besieged Plataia, was controversial: some Athenian individuals went to Plataia and gave their lives (Th. 3.20.1 and 68.2), but the Athenian state did not intervene. Hdt.'s treatment of the early phase of Athenian–Plataian relations was thus highly topical early in the Peloponnesian War; indeed Th. at 3.55.1 makes two Plataian speakers echo and follow 108 closely.

This ch. is the first mention of Plataia and the Plataians in Hdt. This lateness is surprising in view of the amount of relevant Boiotian material in the middle of bk. 5; and in view of the striking absence of Plataia from the list of three Theban *polis*-neighbours at 5.79.2 (see n. there), it is clear that Plataia has been deliberately held back until now. Plataia, as the location of the last and greatest and most fully described battle, will dominate bk. 9, and it is thus significant that it is introduced now, just before the first and much less fully described battle on Greek soil.

The flashback story about to be told involves Kleomenes in 519 BC, and is the last time he is heard of, apart from three brief mentions in bk. 7, all of which refer back to facts already known to the reader (148.2, 205.1, 239.4). Hdt. thus contrives, by artful chronological displacement, to leave the reader with a memory of a Kleomenes fully in control of events, and leading the Spartans in some skilful disingenuousness (for his companions see 108.2n. on οἱ δέ...), although his grisly death and insanity have

already been narrated in the sequence which culminated at 84. Compare the closure of the present bk., the last word of which is 'Miltiades', who, together with the Athenians, acquired Lemnos (140.2; see n. there for the positive effect of this flashback, after the sad events – gangrene, humiliating condemnation, etc. – described at 136).

See further 111.2 (n.) for the cultic tributes paid by the Athenians to the Plataians after the battle, and the problem of 9.27.5, where the Athenians of 479 BC appear ungratefully to forget or ignore the Plataian role at Marathon entirely. (For this Athenian habit see Walters 1981; Introduction p. 5 and n. 11.) The space here given to the Plataians may be intended to correct what had already become a cliché (Th. 1.73.4). If so, Hdt. 9.27.5 may be drawing attention to the early growth of that habit. But not everyone was forgetful: the Plataians figured in the Stoa Poikile, with attention drawn to them by their distinctive headgear (Paus. 1.15.3).

The emphasis on the Plataian role will also have struck a contemporary note, for in 427 the Spartans had destroyed Plataia and executed its males: Th.'s account of the debate about the Plataians' fate contains many allusions to the city's role in the Persian Wars and the debt that it might be owed (3.52–68). This may not just imply a contrast of Spartan bad faith with Athenian loyalty (Hennig 1992), as the Athenians too did not cover themselves in glory in leaving Plataia to its fate in 427: cf. Pelling 2013: 26–7.

108.1 Ἀθηναίοισι τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος: IG 1<sup>3</sup> 1015bis (= CEG no. 318), an inscribed metrical dedication to Herakles, fixes the location of this sanctuary as N. of Brexiza (see map 7): Matthaïou 2003. This is a problem for orientations that place the Persian line of battle to the seaward side of the Greek (109–17n.), as this is not far from the coast: Fromherz 2011: 393 suggests that the stones were moved there from an inland site, but this seems less likely. See also 116.1n. βοηθόντες...: the narrative ring will be closed at 108.6 by the repetition of this word at the very end of the ch. and the excursus; and see next n. for another such enclosing verb. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιεῖς: the pluperfect verb signals a flashback as far as events of 519 BC. This Plataian action is what the Romans would have called a *deditio*, a complete surrender entailing the obligations of alliance but going further. Hdt. leaves it floating chronologically, but it can be dated precisely from Th. 3.68.5, who calls the arrangement an 'alliance' and says of the Theban takeover of the city, and slaughter of the surviving Plataians, 'that is what happened to Plataia in the ninety-third year after they became allies of the Athenians'. See further CT I: 464–6.

The narrative ring will again (see previous n.) be closed at 108.6, ἔδοσαν...



**108.1 (cont.)** καὶ πόνους...: the word recurs at 108.3, but Hdt. neatly varies the implication. Here it means ‘trouble’ in a morally good way: the Athenians had already (ἤδη) and often (συχνοῦς) ‘taken trouble’ over their Plataian friends, i.e. exerted themselves on their behalf; but there it has a bad implication (the Spartans wanted to ‘make trouble’ for the Athenians – and they succeeded). The most obvious example of pre-Marathon πόνοι experienced by the Athenians as a result of their commitment to the Plataians is precisely the battle against the Thebans at 108.5. But Hdt.’s language here implies that there were other troubles undergone ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, by the ‘affectionate and protective’ Athenians (Fragoulaki 2013: 134), in the three decades from 519 to 490.

**108.2** πιεζέμενοι...σφέας αὐτούς: the impfct. ἐδίδοσαν is conative, ‘they tried to give’. Kleomenes is here given his patronymic, although his death was reported as recently as 84, and he was briefly mentioned at 92.1. See 50n.

The ‘pressure’ applied by the Thebans to the Plataians is the first hint at the unification of federal Boiotia under Theban leadership; cf. the mention of (federal) ‘Boiotarchs’ at 9.15.1. By 108.5 ‘the Thebans’ are implied to have a leading position among ‘the Boiotians’. See n. there. The thought, though not the language, will be picked up at 108.5: the arbitration stipulated that Thebans must leave alone, ἔαν, those Boiotians who did not want to join, i.e. there must be no pressure.

It is not really too surprising (despite any contingency implied by παρατυχοῦσι) to find Kleomenes and Spartans operating in central Greece, even as early as 519 BC. See 72.1n. In any case, παρατυχοῦσι might suggest coincidence/contemporaneity rather than any matter of chance, ‘they happened to be there at the time’. Cf. 9.2n. and Gomme, *HCT* III: 488–9. Note that there is nothing contingent about the use of the word at 108.5.

**108.2 (cont.)** οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε: Kleomenes alone was named just above; but there are also ‘Spartans’ with him, and the plural verbs of (non)-receiving and of speaking ensure that they are not forgotten; then at 108.4 it is οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι... who gave this advice. Although this is the last we hear of Kleomenes in the Herodotean narrative, it is the first recorded Herodotean action by him in ‘real time’, and one in which that element of consultation suggests that he acted with propriety. There is a case for saying that Kleomenes, like Alexander the Great, progressively emancipates himself from normal human and constitutional constraints. At 3.148.2 he very correctly reports Maiandrios of Samos to the ephors; at 5.49.9 he postpones a decision about Aristagores for three days, perhaps (see n. there) with a view to consulting more widely. By bk. 6 he is a loner and half-mad. For the difference between the

Kleomenes of bks. 5 and of bk. 6 ('so much more bizarrely at odds with his own citizens'), see Barker and Pelling 2016: 228. Seen in this way, the present passage is really a 'book 5' passage, because of its dramatic date. **ἐκαστέρω**: the reader/listener may initially take the comparative as 'on the far side' (cf. 38.2n.) or 'too far' [to be any use], and then sense, as the sentence develops, the implication of 'further away' [than the Athenians]. **ἐπικουρίη ψυχρή**: for this vivid figure ('cold' = 'ineffectual', 'empty', cf. Eng. 'cold comfort') see also 9.49.1, where it is applied to νίκη, 'victory', also ψυχρὸν παραγκάλισμα at Soph. *Ant.* 650. For a close relationship between Hdt. and this play in particular, see S. West 1999. **πολλάκις ἔξανδραποδισθέντες**: these multiple enslavements are strikingly hyperbolic rhetoric.

**108.3 τιμωρεῖν...οὐ κακοῖσι**: 'litotes', the 'not bad' style of understatement which, as in English, is actually an emphatic positive assertion. See Köhnken 1976 (on Pindar, but of wider validity). **συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι** 'coming to grips with' the Boiotians. In itself the οὐ...οὕτως...ὥς construction need not be denying the 'goodwill' completely, only saying that any such motive weighed less than the other one, but one does not sense genuine goodwill here any more than at 61.1 οὐκ Αἰγινήτεων οὕτω κηδόμενος ὥς φθόνῳ καὶ ἄγῃ χρεώμενος. Cf. n. there. The Boiotian Plutarch (*Herodotus' malice* 25 861d–e) was annoyed: cf. Baragwanath 2008: 134. The statement of motive may nevertheless be correct (see Schachter 1994: 304).

**108.4 οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠπίστησαν**: another litotes (see 108.3n.), lit. 'they did not disobey'. **ἰρὰ ποιούντων...σφέας αὐτούς**: compare the more succinctly described supplication of the Egestaians and Leontinoi at Th. 6.19.1, similarly seeking Athenian help; cf. Naiden 2006: 57 n. 156 (also 118, but the Plataians' city has not actually fallen to the Thebans). The notion of 'the Twelve [Olympian] Gods' was a fairly recent one: see *CT* III: 445, n. on Th. 6.54. 6.

Descriptions of desperate acts of supplication are common in tragedy (but not in epic or lyric), and Hdt.'s inclusion of them is a tragic, visually appealing feature, although the Plataians are not actually pleading for their lives on this occasion. See Griffin 2006: 48 with 57 n. 21.

**108.4 (cont.) ἔδιδosan**: again conative as at 108.2, 'they tried to give', 'offered' – but this time successfully, so that this is picked up by ἔδosan at 108.6 and both echo the pluperfect ἔδεδώκεσαν of 108.1 (n.) = 'had given'. **Θηβαῖοι...ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιάς**: it is hard not to be 'reminded' of a future event, the Theban attack on Plataia which began Th. bk. 2 and the main Peloponnesian War.

**108.5 παρατυχόντες δέ...**: like Kleomenes and the Spartans, some Corinthians just ‘happen’ to be present: see **108.2n.** above. The verb is used absolutely only in these two passages and at 1.59.2, when Chilon the ephor happens – but the chance is a significant one – to be present at a sacrifice at Olympia. **καὶ καταλλάξαντες**: once again (cf. 5.95.2, Sigeion, again with the verb καταλλάσσω) Hdt. reports an archaic Korinthian arbitration in favour of Athens. For Korinthian goodwill toward Athens before the ‘vehement hatred’ which began only in the late 460s (as Th. 1.103.4 explicitly says), see **89** and n., and 5.95.2n. for the explanation. **οὔρισαν τὴν χώραν**: Hdt. leaves the actual demarcation line unhelpfully vague, but it must have been somewhere N. of Plataia but S. of the river Asopos (*Barr.* map 55 E4), because at **108.6** the Athenians (a) cross the line and (b) then fix the boundary at the Asopos. **ἔαν**: see **108.2n.** on *πιεζέμενοι*... There is no second infinitive verb governed by ἔαν, which is thus used absolutely: ‘leave them alone’. **ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν**: this too may hint at Boiotian federalism (Beck and Ganter 2015: 137); see Powell, *τελέω* (2): ‘be counted among’. The verb is authentic in a federal Boiotian context. Cf. *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3 line 389 Chambers and Th. 4.76.3 with *CT* for the cognate verb σ(ξ)υντελῶ ἐς...

**108.6 ὑπερβάντες δέ...**: one infraction (the Theban attack on the retiring Athenians) is met by another (the Athenians cross the line stipulated by the arbitrators). **καὶ Ὑσίας**: see 5.74.2n. for Hysiai: it seems that the Plataians were themselves at some point in this period pressing against the territory of Hysiai.

### 109–117 *The battle of Marathon*

The narrative has given the impression that something remarkable is looming (**103.1n.**); Hippias’ dream confirms as much (**107.1–2**), and his insightful glumness (**107.4**) points not just to the battle but to its outcome. The slowing of narrative momentum in **107–8** (**107n.**) strengthens the feeling that this will be worth waiting for, and Miltiades’ speech at **109** underlines how much is at stake. Even the split of opinion among the generals (**109.2**) reflects how much there is to be nervous about. When it comes, though, the battle is described with remarkable speed, with much less detail than Hdt. will later give on the great battles of 480–479. Important phases seem omitted completely, especially the killing spree in ‘the marsh’ (below). That is partly because Hdt. is holding his fire for bks. 7–9: it is those battles, not this, that will decide the outcome. To that extent he is refusing to assent to the more exuberant expressions of Athenian pride which elevated Marathon to the same status as Salamis (Introduction pp. 2–3); he also continues to emphasise the part played by the

Plataians, conscious no doubt of the Athenian tendency to write them out of the story (Introduction p. 5 and n.11, 108n., 111.2n.). Yet, brief as it is, the account pays due tribute to what was achieved. The charge into battle was dumbfounding and (so he says) unprecedented (112.3 and n.). At the ships, the call for fire echoes a critical moment of the *Iliad* (114n.): Kynegiros is a modern-day Hektor. The others who died so heroically – Kallimachos, Stesilaos, and the rest of the 192 (114, 117.1) – deserve their eternal commemoration too. In those lapidary words of highest praise, they showed themselves ‘good men’, 114, 117.2, with 14.3n. The account also introduces various themes which will come back decisively in those later battles – the initial internal wrangling (cf. the ‘pushing and shoving of words’, ὠθισμός λόγων, before Salamis, 8.78), the mammoth numbers that have to be faced, the apprehensiveness but also the ultimate resolve, the final disordered enemy flight (Plataia, 9.65.1). It also looks backwards as well as forwards. Miltiades’ words echo the inspirational rhetoric of Dionysios at 11, though this time with a happier outcome; at the same time his mention of Athenian στάσις (109.5) strikes a more troubling note, while the prospect of Athens becoming ‘the first city of Greece’ (109.6) looks forward even further, to all the events that will culminate in the Peloponnesian War (Introduction, pp. 8–9).

The battle was already legendary when Hdt. wrote. It had been the subject of epigrams, and figured prominently on the Stoa Poikile (Introduction, Section 1). Paus. 1.15.3 describes the scenes on the Stoa: first the Plataians and Athenians coming to grips with the Persians, with the battle evenly fought; then the Persians in flight, shoving one another into ‘the marsh’ (see below); finally, the Phoenician warships and the Greeks slaughtering the Persians as they ‘fell into these’. This third scene seems to be the one shown on the Brescia sarcophagus (figure 1), thought to be based on the Stoa (Introduction, p. 4). Aeschin. *Against Ktesiphon* 186 adds that Miltiades was seen exhorting the soldiers, and a Scholiast that he was ‘stretching out a hand, pointing out the barbarians to the Greeks, and telling them to launch themselves against them’. Pliny *NH* 35.57 and other sources add that Kynegiros was shown too (114n.), and he and a pooped ship are visible on the Brescia sarcophagus. Hdt. had doubtless seen the Stoa, and his omission of (for instance) the phase in the marsh will be a deliberate choice. The Homeric echoing, however, shows something of the same sensibility as the Stoa, which represented the battle in juxtaposition with scenes from the Trojan War; that omission may itself be, at least partly, because the marsh had no Homeric counterpart (Pelling 2013a).

The account has its oddities. The narrative is told from a Greek viewpoint, and little is said of Persian movements or decisions (Raaflaub 2010: 226–7). The decision first to delay and then to fight is represented as the

Athenians' (109.1–2, 110); nothing is said of any Persian attempt to precipitate the battle, though they are likely to have known that Spartan help was on its way and they would have been eager to fight. The Persians had selected Marathon as favouring their own strength in cavalry (102n.), and yet nothing is said of cavalry in the fighting. If they had been involved, Hdt. would be expected to know about it and mention it: it was not in his Athenian informants' interest to suggest that they had beaten only part of the army (Whitby, *CHGRW*1: 70). A notice in the *Suda* (χ 444 = Fornara no. 48) says that the phrase *χωρίς ἱππεῖς* ('cavalry separate') originated in this battle, when some 'Ionians' climbed trees (or 'withdrew to some trees') and signalled to Miltiades that the Persians were beginning to re-embark their horses; that may be right (110n.). If so, this may have precipitated the battle if the Athenians feared that they were about to sail to Phaleron. But the *Suda*'s notice may easily be a false aetiological legend, and perhaps the Persian cavalry did play some role after all (Whatley 1964: 133–6; Shrimpton 1980): Nepos says that they did, despite earlier Greek attempts to place obstacles by 'dragging trees' (if this is what *arborum tractu* means, *Milt.* 5.3–4); a horse's head is visible on the Brescia sarcophagus (above); and, for what it is worth, Paus. reports a 'sound every night of horses whinnying and men fighting' still heard centuries later (1.32.4, cf. 117.2–3n.) and mentions stone remains near the marsh called 'the mangers of Artaphrenes' horses' (1.32.7). If they did participate, they may have had little to do once the infantry had closed: the same is true of the battle of Plataia once the hoplite phase had started, despite their prominence before and after (Whatley 1964: 135–6). Or Hdt. may have preferred to concentrate on the spectacular hoplite charge (112.2–3) and the battle at the ships with its Homeric resonance (114n.). Cf. 112.2n. for this tendency to write the non-hoplite elements out of the story.

The topographical reconstruction has been much discussed. Most ancient battle-narratives provide simple and probably simplified models, as may be inevitable for readers and listeners who have to form a mental picture without maps. Hdt. describes Greek and Persian lines of equal length (111.3) but different density: when the Greek centre breaks, the Persians pursue them 'into the interior' (113.1), which would imply that the Greeks started facing the sea and the Persians the land. It may be that this is how it was – but battles are messy, lines may swing in the fighting and not break evenly, and whatever the battle's orientation the fleeing Greeks might have found it wise to make for the hills as best they could. The location of the Athenian camp ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος (108.1n.) is also a difficulty for that orientation, and most reconstructions now have the two lines facing each other along the coastal plain, with the Athenians to the SW in front of the Herakleion and the Persians to the NE. One fixed point is the surviving *sōros*, which now is generally accepted to have been erected over

the funeral pyre and to contain the remains of the 192 Athenian dead (117.1n., Krentz 2010: 122–9; but this is still doubted by Mersch 1995: 56–9 and Fromherz 2011: 388–91). It seems reasonable to assume that at least some of the critical fighting happened close by. Paus. 1.32.3 saw a marsh where ‘most of the killing took place, so they say’ (1.32.3): this must be ‘the marsh’ that he has earlier mentioned as figuring on the Stoa Poikile (1.15.3, above), and was almost certainly the ‘Great Marsh’ to the NE of the plain of Marathon rather than the smaller one now existing to the SW. In 490 BC the sea penetrated further inland at that point than it does today, and some of the present marsh may then have been open to the sea, forming a shallow lagoon (Krentz 2010: 116–17). The Persian ships were probably moored there or on the nearby beach, and the Persians would have been slaughtered as they tried to re-embark. Paus. saw ‘a trophy of white marble’ (1.32.5), probably to be identified with an Ionic column found on the NE of the plain (Krentz 2010: 130–2); the marsh would have extended closer to the find-spot in antiquity.

On the battle’s date cf. 106.3n. On numbers the judgment of Whatley 1964: 132 cannot be bettered: ‘we can, I think, regard 10,000 Athenians and Plataeans as right within a few thousand. But of the Persian numbers we are in complete ignorance’, though the fact that they came in ships rules out the vast numbers given by later authors. Those later numbers ranged from 200,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry (Nepos *Milt.* 4.1) through 600,000 (Justin 2.9.9) to ‘countless myriads’ (Athen. 6.253f).

Rhodes 2013: 12–13 gives a useful summary of the issues: the main discussions are Whatley 1964; Pritchett 1960; Hignett 1963: 55–74; Hammond 1968; Van der Veer 1982; Burn 1984, with important addenda by D. M. Lewis at 606–7; Lazenby 1993; Sekunda 2002; Krentz 2010; Billows 2010; Fromherz 2011.

**109.1 ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γνώμαι:** on δίχα see 109.2n. **ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι . . . συμβαλεῖν** ‘a small number to engage with . . .’, implying ‘too small’: the same phrase recurs before Thermopylai, 7.207 – perhaps an echo. On the numbers see 109–17n.

As Hdt. presents it, the issue is simply one of fighting or not fighting. He does not say what those taking the second view proposed as an alternative, but dismisses it as ‘the worse’, ἡ χείρων. The suggestion seems to be that they had as little stomach for the fight as those who ‘played the coward’ at 14–15: Miltiades’ rhetoric of 109.3 may imply that accepting slavery was the only alternative to fighting now, and that this was what the opposing proposal amounted to. Cf. the fear of ‘medising’ at 109.5. But this awareness that they were outnumbered might more readily suggest that the sensible thing was, not to give up, but to wait for the Spartans: the backtracking at 107.1 (n.) leaves it uncertain whether Philippides had yet

returned, but even if he had they would have only a few days to wait. Of course, waiting might turn out to be impossible, if the Persians attempted to march directly on Athens. But it might still be sensible to wait and see. In the event the Persians clearly did wait for several days (110), and the Spartans arrived only a little after the battle (120n.).

**109.1 (cont.)** τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδεω ‘the others, including Miltiades’: καὶ as in ἄλλοι δὲ καί, ‘others and in particular’, often translated ‘especially’. Miltiades had no special status among the στρατηγοί (103.1n.), but is singled out because of the role he is about to play.

**109.2** ὥς δὲ δίχα τ’ ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐνίκα ἢ χεῖρων τῶν γνωμέων: see 109.1n. on ἢ χεῖρων: the argument against fighting may have been less clearly ‘worse’ than Hdt. implies. δίχα need not in itself mean that the votes were equally split among the στρατηγοί, or even that a formal vote had been taken at all; but 110 shows that the extra vote of Kallimachos swung the decision, and that does imply a five–five split. The impfct. ἐνίκα should therefore be taken as inceptive, ‘was on the way to’ or ‘in danger of’ winning. It is unclear whether an appeal to the polemarch was established procedure in such deadlocks: the system of electing ten generals by tribes was only eleven years old (*Ath. pol.* 22.2–3, with Rhodes 1981: 264–5), and the issue may not have arisen before. ἦν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος ψηφιδόφορος ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχεῖν ‘for there was an eleventh person with a vote, the man who had been appointed by the bean to be the polemarch of the Athenians’. This was the one of the nine archons particularly entrusted with war: see *OCD*<sup>4</sup> ‘polemarchos’. ‘The bean’ was the regular method of sortition at Athens, with a single white bean drawn from among the black: the system had been exported to subject states by Hdt.’s day (Erythrai, ML 40 = Fornara 71, line 9; Hestiaia, *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 41 = *SEG* 32.3 line 53), and was not confined to public duties (Plut. *Per.* 27.2). Here only in the political sense in Hdt.: cf. Th. 8.66.1 and 69.4, with *CT* III: 947.

The constitutional issues have been much discussed, and there is no room for a full treatment here.

(a) It seems clear that the στρατηγοί rather than the polemarch were the ones in regular control: it was they who sent Philippides to Sparta (105.1, 106.1) and led the Athenians to Marathon (103.1), then took turns to have operational command from day to day (110). The implication here is that the appeal to the polemarch comes only because of the generals’ disagreement; it is not clear that he even attended this first meeting where they were split (109.4n.). *Ath. pol.* 22.2 says that the polemarch was ἡγεμὼν of the whole army: presumably only titular head, if *Ath. pol.* is to be regarded as consistent with Hdt.

(b) Hdt. says explicitly that the polemarch was selected by lot (above). According to *Ath. pol.* Solon introduced the principle of selecting archons

by lot from a pre-selected panel (κλήρωσις ἐκ προκρίτων), the Peisistratids then substituted election, and the lot was reintroduced only in 487/6 (8.2, 22.5). Hdt. here is one of several authors normally thought to contradict *Ath. pol.*, with most preferring *Ath. pol.* but some, esp. Badian 1971, defending Hdt.: see Rhodes 1981: 272–3. Hdt. can be reconciled with *Ath. pol.* if he means that the polemarch was selected by lot *from among the elected archons*; this passage then has no implications for how the archons themselves were chosen.

(c) ‘Of old’ (τὸ παλαιόν), says Hdt., the polemarch was ὁμόψηφος with the generals. That could be a retrospect from Hdt.’s own perspective to the ‘old’ days of Marathon, and it is true that the polemarch’s role soon changed markedly (*OCD*<sup>4</sup>). In that case, though, ‘of old’ seems superfluous, as well as unduly emphatic for an interval of only a couple of generations: a simple impfct. would be enough, perhaps with a τότε as at 111.1 and 116. It may well therefore refer back to an earlier period of history where there were already στρατηγοί, though not yet elected by the tribes: perhaps they were then appointed for particular campaigns (Rhodes 1981: 264) rather than annually (Hammond 1969: 113 = 1973: 349). In that case the implication is probably that in this earlier period the polemarch had been regularly ὁμόψηφος, and that the generals now reverted to this tradition only because the deadlock rendered some tie-breaking mechanism essential.

Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος: in the battle he commanded the right wing (111) and died heroically (114 and n.). He and Miltiades were the particularly conspicuous figures on the Stoa Poikile (Paus. 1.15.3).

109.3 Ἐν σοὶ νῦν... ἢ καταδουλώσαι Ἀθήνας ἢ ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα...: Hdt.’s version of Miltiades’ opening echoes Dionysios of Phokaiia’s inspirational contrast of freedom and slavery (11.2 with n.) and will in its turn be echoed by Themistokles to Eurybiades at 8.60 α, ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ... , linking together three decisive battles. There may be a further echo at 8.118.3, when Xerxes, during a raging storm at sea, calls upon his noble companions to save him: ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἴκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἢ σωτηρία – and they all dutifully jump overboard. Life-and-death choices appear rather different on the two sides, with the Greeks making ‘free’ choices in more senses than one. μνημόσυνον λιπέσθαι: just as there will be material ‘memorials’ dotted around the plain of Marathon (Introduction p. 2) and as Kallimachos will have his own monument on the Acropolis (114n.); but Kallimachos’ memorial will not be confined to those, and Hdt.’s work will play its own part in such memorialising (Introduction p. 8). The middle λιπέσθαι emphasises ‘leaving *for yourself*’, as Miltiades pulls no punches: Kallimachos’ own fame is on the line.



οἶον οὐδέ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων: the Athenian freedom-fighters *par excellence*, renowned in popular tradition as tyrannicides: in fact, as 5.55–6 and (more stridently) Th. 6.54–9 make clear, they killed only Hipparchos, the tyrant's brother, and Hippias' rule continued. They came from the same deme as Kallimachos, Aphidna (Plut. *Table talk* 1. 10.3 628d–e). They had a particularly prominent material μνημόσυνον, a tomb in the Kerameikos and bronze statues by Antenor in the agora that were probably erected soon after the events (*OCD*<sup>1</sup> 'Aristogeiton'). These were carried off by Xerxes in 480 but soon replaced by a new group. **ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι**: the time-sweep looks back (cf. ἀρχαιοτάτην of Eretria, 106.2) as well as forward (ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον): this is the turning-point of their whole history. **ὑποκύψωσι**: 25.2n. **δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται** 'it has (already) been resolved what they will suffer', i.e. the Persians have already decided. **περιγένηται**: see 109.5n. below. **οἷη τέ ἐστι πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων γενέσθαι**: cf. Solon F 4a W, Athens as the πρεσβυτάτη γαῖα of Ionia, where more than age is meant by the adjective. The phrasing gives a heavy hint of the future, when Athens will play such a domineering role in those 'battles for the supremacy' of 98.2: cf. Introduction pp. 8–9.

**109.4 κῶς ἐς σέ . . . ἀνήκει** 'how it falls to you . . .'. **νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσω**: this 'I am going to say' locution is much less natural in Greek than in Eng., but is found throughout Hdt.'s work from 1.5.3 onwards. Wood 2016: 23–4 argues that in speeches it always reflects particularly important themes: the vices of a tyrant, Otanes at 3.80.5; the land itself as opposing Xerxes, Artabanos at 7.49.3; the courage of the Spartans, Demaretos at 7.102.2; and here what is at stake for Athens. **δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνῶμαι**: closely echoing the language of 109.1, there in the authorial voice. Had Kallimachos himself attended that meeting he would know all this already, but it would be rash to conclude that he had not.

**109.5 ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγάλην διασεΐσειν . . . ὥστε μηδίσαι**: on the rhetorical line Hdt. here chooses for Miltiades see Introduction pp.8–9. There are no fine words of the sort that will become familiar in later speeches, especially funeral speeches celebrating the patriotic dead: nothing on Athens as a beacon of freedom, setting an example for other states; no 'we will never surrender' along the lines of 8.143–4. The argument rests on the danger that resolve will crumble, that στάσις and 'something rotten' will set in, and that Athens will μηδίσαι. As often, Hdt. injects a note of realism even into Greece's greatest moments, and the subsequent narrative bears him out: *someone*, he is clear, held up that treacherous shield at 121–4. **σαθρόν** 'rotten', only here in Hdt. Perhaps a nautical metaphor for this troubled ship of state (Brock 2013: 54, 117); and/or it may have a medical tinge (Brock 2013: 71), as at [Hipp.] *On regimen* 1.15: physicians are like cobblers in the way they stitch and heal what is σαθρόν. Either way

it goes well with ἐμπεσοῦσαν, as both diseases and storms can ‘fall upon’ one. **θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νιμόντων**: see 11.3n. (Dionysios of Phokaia), another hortatory speech. Hdt. again constructs a Miltiades who does not claim too much: he would know of the Persian desecration of temples and by now of the epiphany of Pan, but still only hopes for an equal dispensation from the gods rather than the positive support assumed at 8.143.2; and even this sounds conditional, ‘if God gives us fair play’ (de Sélincourt). **περιγενέσθαι**: repeated from 109.3. Even this has an air of understatement, as the word more often means ‘survive’ (Powell 1) than ‘get the better of’, ‘win’ (2).

**109.6 ταῦτα ὧν πάντα ἐς σέ νῦν τείνει καὶ ἐκ σέο ἄρτηται** ‘all this points (lit. stretches out) to you and depends on you’, echoing but also intensifying ἐς σέ... ἀνήκει, 109.4. For ἄρτηται (from ἀρτάω ‘hang’, as LSJ, rather than from ἀρτέομαι ‘be prepared’, as Powell) cf. Demosthenes’ claim not to have allowed the Athenians to run into danger ‘through hanging on one hope after another and promises’, ἀναρτωμένους ἐλπίσιν ἐξ ἐλπίδων καὶ ὑποσχέσεων, 19.18. **πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι**: 109.3n. **ἀποσπενδόντων** ‘urging us away from’ fighting. **ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλιξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἑναντία**: rather prosaic after the fine climax to which the speech has built, but that has its own effect: ‘the opposite’ of those prizes is too dreadful to bear saying. τοι here keeps a strong sense of the Attic σοι (1.2n.): the speech ends as it began (109.2n. on μνημόσυνον) by stressing that all points to Kallimachos’ own person, and Miltiades’ success is then described as gaining not just his vote but the man himself (προσκητᾶται, 110).

**110 προσγενομένης...τῆς γνώμης ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν**: the plup. ἐκεκύρωτο as at 130. Once the vote had been added/Megakles had accepted, the matter ‘had been decided’ – nothing more was needed – and the narrative can move on swiftly. **ὥς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγένετο πρυτανίη τῆς ἡμέρης**: πρύτανις is used of chief magistracies in other cities, but would be esp. familiar from Athens, where it was used of the Council ‘presidency’ that rotated by tribes (*OCD*<sup>1</sup> *prytaneis*). The word is here extended to this alleged rotation of operational command, and if Hdt. is right about this the practice itself had probably been modelled on the ‘presidency’ analogy. (Rotation every 35 to 39 days, as with the presidency, would not work for military commands, as the seasonal nature of campaigning would mean that some *stratēgoi* would effectively be excluded.) Such rotating commands were not regular Athenian practice, though they are attested also for Arginousai and Aigospotamoi (Diod. 13.97.6, 13.106.1) and again in the 4th cent.: all these cases have been doubted, including Hdt.’s notice here, and it is true that there is no trace of rotation of the στρατηγία in Th., at least at Athens. But the position at Athens may have changed between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, and here at

least rotation is accepted by Krentz 2010: 138, by Rhodes 2013: 17, and by us. **Μιλτιάδης παρεδίδοσαν:** Hdt. leaves it unclear whether this was deference to him as the leading spirit for engagement or as a commander of unusual experience; perhaps both. **οὔτι κω συμβολὴν ἐποιέετο, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανίῃ ἐγένετο:** Hdt. does not explain why, and many have found this item implausible: if Miltiades was so convinced of the case for fighting straight away, then why wait? And if they could afford to wait for some days, why not wait a few more until the Spartans could arrive, at least once Philippides had reported that they could be expected a few days later? Perhaps it was simply that fighting on someone else's day would mean that Miltiades would share the glory if they won but not escape the blame if they lost. Or there may be a religious dimension, and he would not want to fight except 'under his own auspices', as Romans would have put it. The **μάντις**, presumably sacrificing the **ἱερά** daily (see 112.1 n.), might well have had something to say. They are strangely absent from Hdt.'s account at the present stage, and this needs an explanation. Plato (*Laches* 199a) said that the general should be master not servant of his *mantis*, and a strong-minded individual like Miltiades would have his own ideas about how much weight to allow to the opinions of such advisers.

Alternatively, Hdt. may have got it wrong, and there was another reason why the battle fell on 'his' day. Perhaps it was the Persians who brought on the battle by beginning to re-embark their cavalry (see intr. n. to 109–17) or to march on Athens; or perhaps it was a pure one-in-ten chance. If so, it is credible that a Miltiades-friendly oral tradition could have turned this into a matter of his conscious choice.

**111.1 ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμβαλέοντες:** συμβάλλειν and συμβολή have been running through the last few chapters as a refrain (ten times since 109.1), and συμβαλέοντες picks those up here: the clash has certainly been prepared. But still this lengthy account of their order holds things up. Once it comes, it comes quickly: the troops move 'at a run' (112), and the narrative is rapid too. **τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος:** the right wing was the place of honour (9.28.2); Eur. *Supp.* 657 places Theseus there in a legendary battle. A knowledgeable speaker at Plut. *Table talk* 1. 10.3 628d–e claims that not merely Kallimachos but also his tribe Aiantis were on the right: this may be correct. It is usually assumed that the tribes would instead have followed their regular order, with Erechtheis coming first (see next n.), but the position of the polemarch may have made a difference. Less weight can be put on Plut. *Arist.* 5.4, with Antiochis and Leontis next to each other in the middle of the line (they would normally be either four or six positions apart): it would be attractive to represent Themistokles (Leontis) and Aristeides (Antiochis)

as fighting next to each other. **ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου ἐξεδέκοντο ὡς ἀριθμέοντο αἱ φυλαί** ‘with him in the lead the tribes came next, according to their usual sequence’: this seems more likely than taking ἀριθμέοντο to refer to an initial roll-call (Pritchett 1960: 147). ἡγεομένου need not imply operational command; Hdt. has made it clear that this was in Miltiades’ hands. The word picks up ἡγέετο at 111.1, and is also in contrast with τελευταῖοι, ‘last were the Plataians...’ It was regular for the army to march by tribal divisions in a fixed order (for the full list and order, see Woodhead 1981: 113); the same principle now applied to their deployment, though it may be that on this occasion the sequence began with Aiantis (see last n.), then presumably continued in usual order to the end and then reverted to the beginning with Erechtheis. It need not follow that each tribe waited for the preceding tribe before taking up its position, though they may have done: that may depend on whether the line extended in front of the Athenian camp or to one side (109–17n.). It appears that the dead were buried by tribe too: 117.1n.

**111.1–2: Πλαταιέες... Πλαταιεῦσι:** Hdt. again puts particular emphasis on the Plataian role: cf. 108n.

**111.2 σοφί** ‘to them’, i.e. in honour of them (the Plataians, or more specifically the Plataian dead). **ἐς πανηγύριος τὰς ἐν τῇσι πεντετηρίσι γινομένας** ‘for the religious gatherings that take place in the five-yearly festivals’, i.e. (counting inclusively) those that take place every four years. *Ath. pol.* 54.7 lists five such quadrennial festivals, of which the most important was the Panathenaia: the plural here presumably means ‘at every celebration of...’, and so the Panathenaia may be the only festival meant (so, by implication, Deubner 1932: 28). Hdt. uses the word only here and at 1.31.3 of ‘major Greek festivals’. This regular solemn reminder makes the Athenian speakers seem even more ungrateful at 9.27.5 in the rhetorical exaggeration, delivered at Plataia itself, that they ‘alone of the Greeks’ fought against the Persians at Marathon: see intr. n. to 108. If the Athenians really said that, one possible justification might have been that the Plataians were already so close to the Athenians that they were effectively one people, but Hdt.’s readers and listeners were more likely to notice the exclusion at 9.27.5 than to ponder its possible excuse. **ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι... καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι:** (prays) ‘that prosperity may come to the Athenians together with the Plataians’. Later there were similar prayers linking Athenians and Chians in gratitude for their military assistance (Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 104).

**111.3 ἐγένετο... ἐγίγνετο... ἔρωτο:** Hdt. writes as if it just turned out that way, presumably as a result of stretching the line to match the Persians’ width, and gives no indication that the weakening of the centre was a

conscious tactical decision (ἔρρωτο need not imply a deliberate ‘strengthening’, only that the wings ‘were strong’: cf. LSJ ῥώννυμι II). Perhaps he was right: so Lazenby 1993: 64, though most scholars think the tactic was deliberate. τὸ στρατόπεδον . . . τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ . . . τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον: the sentence-subject is stated, then subdivided into two, each with its separate verb (ἐγίνετο, ἔρρωτο).

**112.1 καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλὰ:** the first mention of sacrifices and by implication of the μάντεις who would bring them forward and interpret them (see esp. Th. 6.69.2). This is the immediately pre-battle throat-slitting of the sacrificial animals at the moment of highest tension (σφάγια is from σφάζω, ‘slit the throat’); the animal was not eaten. The μάντεις would see which way the blood spurted, and pronounce whether the signs were good (as here) or not; cf. Xen. *Anab.* 6.5.8, καλὰ τὰ σφάγια. This last-minute activity by the μάντεις is to be distinguished from the role they and their sacrifices (ἱερά) played in the calmer deliberations as to whether battle should be joined or not (e.g. Th. 7.50.4): cf. Jameson 1991: 200–9 [2014: 102–11] for this distinction between ‘campground’ and ‘battle-line’ sacrifice; Flower 2008: 159–65. Cf. 110n. for Hdt.’s silence about their advice at that earlier stage. ἀπείθησαν ‘they were released’, aorist passive of ἀπίημι. δρόμωι: the word is repeated twice before the end of 112. The Persian Wars will develop into a more general ‘race with everything at stake’ (8.74.1, τὸν περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες). The fear or prospect of Greek ‘running away’ (δρησμός) will recur several times in the fighting of 480 (8.4.1, 18, 23, 75.2), as was already presaged in Ionia with Aristagores, 5.124.1. That contrasts with this gloriously positive ‘running’, and the theme then takes a paradoxical turn when Xerxes himself contemplates δρησμός after Salamis (8.97.1, 100.1). A further reversal comes at Plataia, when it is the Persians who attack δρόμωι (9.59.1): perhaps an attempt to fight fire with fire, but if so it goes wrong. ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἢ ὀκτώ: i.e. about 1500 m. (5.53n.): Hornblower 1994a: 26–7. For μεταίχμιον cf. 77.1. It has normally been thought impossible for a whole army to run in heavy armour for the full distance: either δρόμωι needs to be watered down to ‘quick step’ (Th. uses the word of a long march of Brasidas, 4.78.5), or the Athenians would have broken into a run only for the final stages when they would have been vulnerable to Persian archers. But Krentz 2010: 45–50, 143–52, has argued that hoplite armour was less heavy than has normally been thought, and that at least a ‘jog’ of eight stades would be possible. Krentz’s points about the weight of armour are extremely valuable, but it remains hard to believe that a large civilian army, with their varying degrees of fitness, could have retained formation over such a distance. But perhaps they did not: Krentz also has good arguments for hoplite battles being less formal and compact

affairs than is often assumed. See 112.3n. on *πρῶτοι* . . . : it was not the running itself but the alleged distance ('almost a mile instead of a 200-yard dash', van Wees 2004: 180) which became part of the Marathon myth.

**112.2** *παρεσκευάζοντο . . . ἐπέφερον . . . κατείκαζον*: the impfct. tenses dwell on the interval, however short (*δρόμῳ*), between the two critical moments captured by aorists, the release (*ἀπείθησαν*) at the beginning and the clash (*προσέμειξαν*) at the end. *μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην* 'convicted the Athenians of madness, and madness of a particularly lethal sort'. *ἐπιφέρω* is often used of literally 'bringing an accusation against': 1.68.5, 1.138.2 and, not in a lawsuit but no less destructively, 1.26.3, 4.154.2, 7.231. For the present use cf. 8.10.1 (*Artemision*), where the Persians sight an apparently small force and put out against them *πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες*: that presumably echoes this passage (see Bowie's n.). There are further echoes in the narrative of the battle of Plataia (Tuplin 2013: 223–4), especially when Pausanias calls the recalcitrant Amompharetos a madman, 9.55.2: but there too the madness turns out less lethal than might have been feared. *οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφι οὔτε τοξευμάτων*: they are thinking in Persian, with expectations based on their own fighting techniques (on which see conveniently Krentz 2010: 23–31): many *ἵππο-* and *τοξο-* compounds and names figure in Aeschylus' *Persians* (Pelling 1997b: 6). The two points go together: Persian cavalry tactics were not usually to charge into an infantry line, but to ride up close and shoot, then wheel about, re-form, and charge again. It is the combination of their unpersian techniques with the bemusing *δρόμος* that was so startling.

On the strange absence of cavalry in most accounts of the battle see intr. n. to 109–17.

Hdt. exaggerates the extent to which Marathon was a purely hoplite battle, ignoring the participation of the slaves (Paus. 1.32.3, cf. 117n. on *Ἀθηναίων δέ* . . .) and probably also poor citizens with no hoplite armour: 'within a generation these non-hoplites had been written out of the picture' (Van Wees 2004: 180 and 297 n. 45).

**112.3** *ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου*: these three words are, in effect, most of Hdt.'s description of the battle of Marathon. 113–14 adds a little. *ἀξίως λόγου* is high praise: it recurs in the description of the Spartans at Thermopylai (7.211.3) and the Aeginetans at Salamis (8.91). The phrase carries special bite in a narrative which itself constitutes a *λόγος* conveying to posterity the commemoration they earned. *πρῶτοι μὲν . . . πρῶτοι δέ*: emphatic anaphora. *πρῶτοι . . . τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν δρόμῳ ἐς πολέμιους . . .*: 'first of any we know of' is a favourite Herodotean phrase, but understandably such 'firsts' are normally attributed to more ancient and even legendary people (1.14.2, 1.23, 1.94.1, 3.122.2, 4.42.2). That is the company in which

the heroes of Marathon are coming to belong. Cf. 8.124.3 for a similarly phrased Spartan 'first', the unprecedented honour they paid Themistokles after Salamis. Hdt. here 'overdid it just a little' (Tuplin 2013: 237): 'running into battle had long been common practice' (Van Wees 2004: 180), and more generally Greek resistance during the Ionian conquest (1.169) and the Ionian Revolt (5.2.1, 110–13) had not been spineless. *ἰσθῆτά τε Μηδικήν*: this had by now been adopted by the Persians as a whole (1.135), but Tuplin 2013: 229–35 suggests that the dress may have been literally 'Median' as he doubts the presence of many non-Iranian troops on the Persian side. Aristagores had spoken dismissively of Persian dress at 5.49.3 ('why, they wear trousers into battle and turbans on their heads!'): see n. there. Now Hdt. tells a different story – their battledress was terrifying. Their dress continues to be emblematic, as it so often is in Greek art (see esp. Miller 1997), with their 'necklaces and bracelets' stressed at 8.113.3; but in the battle of Plataia their clothing is more significant for a more literal and prosaic reason – 'they were lightly clad men fighting hoplites' (9.63.2). Cf. Pelling 2013b: 375–6. *Μηδικήν...Μήδων*: both the dress and the terror help to explain why Hdt. writes 'Medes' rather than 'Persians': cf. 9.2n.

113.1 *Σάκαι*: a distant Skythian people (7.64.2: see Bowie 2007: 205), not mentioned since 1.153.4 and 3.93.3. Their part in 480–479 suggests that they were tough fighters: they are linked with 'Persians and Medes' again in a marine force at 7.184.2, and Mardonios included them among the troops he chose to retain after Salamis (8.113.2). Their cavalry then distinguished themselves at Plataia (9.71.1). Cf. Tuplin 2013: 231. *ἐνικῶν...καὶ ῥήξαντες ἰδωκον*: the barbarians 'were victorious' (impfct.), 'broke' the line (aorist), and 'were pursuing' or 'began to pursue' (impfct. again).

113.2 *συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρτα ἀμφοτέρω*: the picture is probably too simple to capture the confusion of battle in the killing zone. Hdt. writes as if the defeated Persian wings vanished in flight, while the victorious Persian centre had gone forward in pursuit and left an empty space where the Greeks could 'bring both their wings together' and take on that centre; presumably they would either be attacking them in the rear, or the Persians would by then have noticed and turned to face them. What really happened was surely messier, but it is hard to reconstruct what that could have been. Lazenby 1993: 68–9 takes *συναγαγόντες* as 'rallied' each wing separately, without implying that the two combined, and suggests that they then attacked the victorious Persians in the flank as they returned across the battlefield: that is easier if *ἀμφοτέρω* is omitted with d and Hude, but the weight of MS tradition is in favour of keeping it. *κόπτοντες* 'smiting'. The word is more usually used of breast-beating as at 58.3 or of craftsmen

hammering as at 2.172.3, but Homer uses it of battle violence too (e.g. *Il.* 11.146, 12.204, 13.203); this is the only occasion where Hdt. uses it in such a context, here of Greek smiting, in 114 (ἀποκόπτειν) of Persian. Cf. next n., and for κατακόπτω used of ‘felling’ human beings, see 75.3n. **πῦρ τε αἵτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν**: on any reconstruction the Greeks would by now be some way from their camp, and it is hard to see where such fire could come from. Hdt. constructs a battle on the model of the fighting for the ships in *Il.* 15–16, a crucial turning-point of the poem. Hektor was leading the charge, and grasped the first ship by the stern, ‘grabbing the poop-end (ἄφλαστον, cf. 114n.) in his hands, and shouted to the Trojans: “Bring fire, and all together raise the war-cry . . .”’ (15.716–17). So now at Marathon the Greeks ‘grasped’ the ships; Kynegiros, like Hektor, will grab the ἄφλαστον, and will not let go (114). The repeated κόπτειν (last n.) reinforces the Homeric hint. Cf. Pelling 2013a: 25–6. Wilson emends to αἶθον, ‘they lit’; but that does not avoid the logistical difficulty, for they would not have anything with which they could rapidly light a fire, and it downplays the importance of the Homeric model.

**114 ὁ πολέμαρχος . . . διαφθείρεται**: i.e. Kallimachos (109.2). A memorial to him was put up on the Acropolis near the NW corner of the Parthenon, consisting of an inscribed Ionic column topped by a winged female figure, apparently Nike. If correctly restored, the inscription (ML no. 18 = Fornara 49) begins ‘Kallimachos dedicated me . . .’ and goes on to mention Marathon; yet Kallimachos was in no position to make dedications after the battle. The best explanation seems to be that ‘the dedication was vowed by Kallimachos before the battle and made on his behalf after his death’ (ML): see Introduction p. 2 and Keesling 2010. **ἄνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός**: 14.3n. **Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεω**: hitherto unmentioned. His naming is a mark of honour: Hdt. gives him the commemoration that as στρατηγός he deserved. He is *LGPNI* no. 2. A ‘Stesilaos’ occurs on a *kalos* vase (i.e. one praising a youth for his beauty) of c. 520–510 (no. 1): that may be the same man (so Bicknell 1970: 432), though if so Hdt. might have mentioned his beauty (as he did with Kallikrates who died in the Plataia campaign, 9.72.1), unless he had lost his looks by 490. He is less likely to be the clumsy show-off Stesilaos ridiculed at Plato, *Laches* 183c–e (no. 3). **Κυνέγειρος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος**: Aeschylus’ brother. The scene figured on the Stoa Poikile (Plin. *NH* 35.37, Lucian, *Zeus rants* 32, Aelian *NA* 7.38) and is visible on the Brescia sarcophagus (figure 1). According to his ancient *Life* Aeschylus too fought in the battle, and this was recorded in the epigram on his tomb (§§ 3, 11). Hdt. may well have known this, but this was not the place for literary curiosities. **τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς πελέκει**: contrast the shameful precursor at 91.2(n.). **ἀφλάστων**: as at *Il.* 15.717, quoted at 113.2n. It is a very rare word indeed, translated by LSJ



‘curved poop of the ship’, by Powell ‘figure-head’, and by Janko 1992: 306 ‘a carved stern-post’: something similar is visible on the Brescia sarcophagus (figure 1). Cf. Pelling 2013a: 25–6 n. 12. The plural is odd (*Herodotea*: 119), but the precise nautical bits denoted by the word are unknown: e.g. it might refer to ‘carvings’, several of which could be grasped at once. Hdt. probably did not know either. ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίων πολλοί τε καὶ ὀνομαστοί: for precisely this formula, but used, with notable even-handedness, about the casualties on the Persian side, see 7.224.2 (Thermopylai); 8.89.1 (Salamis). At 9.72.1, ὀνομαστοί will be used of those on both sides who distinguished themselves at Plataia. The formulation about the Spartan dead at 7.224.1 (Thermopylai again) is more elaborate: some ὀνομαστοί Spartiates (i.e. ‘worth *naming*’) fell together with Leonides, and ‘I found out all their *names*, as the worthy men they were, and those of all the Three Hundred’.

115 ἑπτὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν: only seven out of the original 600 (95.2n.), if that number is trustworthy. That is a surprisingly low number in view of the disproportion in casualties: it supports the view that the main slaughter happened in the marsh (109–17n.) rather than at the ships. βάρβαροι: the word again becomes frequent, four times in 115–17: cf. 107.1n. ἐξανακρουσάμενοι ‘pushing off from shore’, a very physical word that captures the effort and difficulty: contrast the blander words for ‘set sail’, ἀνάγειν (12.1), ἀναπλεῖν (28.1), ἐξανάγεσθαι (98.1), or ἀπαίρειν (99.1). ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου... τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίης ἀνδράποδα: i.e. from Aigilie (107.3). This is odd, even if only some of the Persian fleet were involved (so Burn 1984: 252): if speed was of the essence in making for the city, the slaves could have waited. If this item is accurate, it suggests that the Persians were already making off for home, and any move towards a further attack on the SW Attic coast was only a gesture. Doenges 1998: 16 suggests it was a reconnaissance of the bay of Phaleron for the return in force that could already be anticipated. περίεπλων Σούνιον: for Sounion, see 87 and 90 with nn. The voyage might well have taken as long as 30–45 hours, especially if the fleet initially had to contend with a strong wind from the east (so Plut. *Arist.* 5.5, though Plut. may be imaginatively expanding): see Hodge 1975: 170. αἰτίη δὲ ἔσχε...: cf. 5.70.1n. for this usage, lit. ‘blame has it that...’, and esp. 5.71.2(n.), where again it is the Alkmeonids whom αἰτίη ἔχει. At 121–4(nn.) Hdt. will strongly reject the accusation against the Alkmeonids but equally strongly insist that a signal was given by someone. μηχανῆς... συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα: the phrasing is echoed at 121 (ἀναδέξαι Πέρσησι ἐκ συνθήματος ἀσπίδα) and 123.1 (μηχανῆς, there of the Alkmeonids’ ‘scheming’ which led to the expulsion of the Peisistratids): this passage ‘seeds’ that later important discussion, but Hdt. does not interrupt the speed of the narrative as both Greeks and

Persians now race for the city. μηχανῆς here too may initially suggest general scheming, but τούτους... makes it clear that a specific ‘device’ or act of ‘contriving’ is in point.

This is normally taken to be literally a ‘shield’, as is the ἄσπις used by Lysandros as a signal before Aigospotamoi (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.27). Hammond 1968: 37 and n. 108 [= 1973: 210–11 and n. 1] prefers to think it ‘not a hoplite’s shield, a ὄπλον, but a shield-shaped σημεῖον’, probably ‘a round, flat polished disc’ that could glisten in the sun; cf. Th. 1.63.2. ἄσπις could indeed be used metaphorically of other things, a round flat dish or a door boss (LSJ 1.4–5); and a hoplite shield was not particularly big (perhaps 1 metre in diameter), and if the signal was heliographic – not said by Hdt., but as has been widely assumed – both its size and its convex shape would make it difficult to direct the sun’s rays. Hence some elaborate calculations of angles at different times of day: Hodge and Losada 1970, Hammond 1973: 250, and Hodge 2001. But Hdt. does not say that the signal was heliographic, only that a shield was ‘raised’, and it is likely that no heliography was needed at all, only lifting and waving; even if heliography was involved, some waving would be enough to ensure that a signal would have been seen somewhere in the fleet, by now occupying quite an expanse of water. Nor is it clear where the signal was given, nor where the Persians were when they saw it. Finally, Hdt. does not say what the signal conveyed. That too must have been prearranged, and the implication is that traitors have been at work and preparations made to welcome the Persians; that fits the suggestions of στάσις in Miltiades’ speech, 109.5. But what these preparations might be, and why they should be necessary if the Persians had managed to reach an undefended city, is anything but transparent. It may have meant something quite different: e.g. Hodge 2001 suggested that it concerned a possible landing at Loutsā, just N. of Brauron, whence cavalry could ‘dash to Athens’ in only a few hours. (But the stop at Aigilie is hard to square with such a ‘dash’: cf. on ἀναλαμβάντες... above.) If Hdt. knew or had any idea about all this, he prefers to leave it vague, and no less sinister for that. Plut. *Herodotus’ malice* 27 862e–3a rejected the whole story, and some modern scholars have done the same (Lazenby 1993: 72–3; Billows 2010: 228; Scott); but given Hdt.’s stress on the wildness of the Alkmeonid rumour, his conviction that *someone* gave the signal (124.2) deserves respect.

116 ὥς ποδῶν εἶχον ‘as fast as their legs could carry them’, as at 9.59.2 and Plato *Gorgias* 507d, lit. ‘to whatever degree they had of [speedy] feet’: GG: 1092. Valckenaer deleted τάχιστα, but the redundancy may simply be emphatic.

When the Athenians made this rapid journey, which route they took, and how long it would take are all disputed. Probably the march was on the

following day. This is what Plutarch seems to say at *On the glory of the Athenians* 8 350e), though the passage is ambiguous and rhetorically inflated. At *Arist.* 5.5 Plutarch has the march ‘on the same day’, presumably the same day as the battle (it would be a good march but no great feat to arrive ‘on the same day’ as they started the journey), and that is accepted by Hammond 1968: 36–7 = 1973: 209–11 and Billows 2010: 228–33. But the battle had lasted a long time (113.1), and it is unlikely that they would have needed to set off immediately to forestall the enemy, especially if the Persians picked up the prisoners first (115).

The easiest route is that of the modern main road via Pallene (about 25 miles or 40 km.), but Billows 2010: 229–30 may be right in suggesting that the force divided, with some taking the slightly shorter but more difficult hill route via Kephisia. Splitting between two routes always makes sense where possible, for an army moves not like a dot but like a caterpillar, forming a very long line, especially on a narrow unmade road: those in the rear have to wait for hours while those in front depart, and the more pell-mell the rush the longer it would take. A 40 km. march might take a single walker eight or nine hours (Hammond 1968: 36–7), but it is necessary to allow a lot more time than that: however scrambled the departure and even with two routes, it would take a few hours for everyone to be on the road, and even if it was the day after the battle many would be exhausted or carrying wounds. Cf. Holoka 1997; Rhodes 2013: 15; and on the routes Berthold 1976/7: 84–7.

Lucian tells the story that has become the best known of all, that of Philippides [105.1n.] bringing the news to the archons: ‘Joy, we conquer’, he said, (Χαίρετε, νικῶμεν), and dropped dead on the spot (*On a slip of the tongue in greeting* 3). But the first to mention this run to Athens seems to be Herakleides Pontikos in the fourth century BC (fr. 156 W.), who gave the runner’s name as Thersippos; others called him Euklees (Plut., *On the glory of the Athenians* 3 347c). The attribution to Philippides is first found in Lucian. These are ‘the dubious origins of the Marathon’ (Frost 1979) in modern athletics. The precise 26 miles 385 yards dates from the London Olympics of 1908, allegedly so that it could start on the lawn at Windsor Castle and end in front of Edward VII’s royal box.

**116 (cont.)** ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο... ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργει: hence Herakles was assumed to have helped the Athenians in the battle, and he was depicted on the Stoa Poikile (Paus. 1.15.3: Introduction p. 3). For the Marathon Herakleion see 108.1n; for the Athenian, Travlos 1971: 340. Kynosarges, SE of Athens, was the site of a famous gymnasium, and gymnasia were sacred to Hermes and Herakles.

An early 5th-cent. inscription records procedure for electing officials for ‘Heraklean games’ at Marathon, and a festival and games for

Herakles at Marathon are mentioned by Pindar (*O.* 9.89). These may have been instituted in gratitude after the battle (Matthaiou 2003), but it is clear that the Herakleion at least was there before, and it would already have had some cult attached.

**116 (cont.)** ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου . . . ὑπὲρ τούτου: ‘lying at anchor off Phaleron: for ὑπερ- as ‘off’ cf. 25.1n. For the bay of Phaleron (E. of Peiraieus, *Barr.* map 59 B3), see 5.63.3 and n. τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ‘for it was at that time the naval station of the Athenians’. τότε makes a contrast with the as yet undeveloped Peiraieus: 5.63.3n. ἀνακωχεύσαντες ‘riding at anchor’.

**117** κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας: Cic. *Att.* 9.10.3 and Justin 2.9.21 say that Hippias was among the dead, but that is doubtless a confusion; if he had been, Athenians would have made a good deal more of it. The Suda (entry on Ἰππίας) says that he died at Lemnos. According to Xen. *Anab.* 3.2.11–12 the Athenians had promised to sacrifice one goat to Artemis Agrotera for every dead Persian, but the number was so great that they substituted an annual sacrifice of five hundred goats instead. So also Plut. *Herodotus’ malice* 27 862b–c, doubtless following Xenophon, and Ael. *VH* 2.25, who says ‘three hundred’; Σ Ar. *Knights* 600 says that oxen were originally vowed and goats substituted. The sacrifice was conducted by the polemarch (*Ath. pol.* 58.1): see Rhodes 1981: 650.

If the 6,400 figure is right the casualty level was very high: losses in hoplite battles seem rarely to have been more than 20% and typically 10–20% (Krentz 1985: 18). The size of the Persian force is admittedly uncertain (109–17n.), but most estimates put it at well under 30,000. Hyland 2011: 274–5 concluded that this casualty figure was exaggerated, but the story of the goat-sacrifices suggests that a careful count was made, and the slaughter in the marsh made this a very atypical hoplite battle.

**117 (cont.)** Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο: Th. 2.34.5 mentions the special honour granted to the Marathon dead of being buried at the battle site rather than the ‘state tomb’ at Athens: cf. *CT* 1: 294. Paus. 1.32.3 reports seeing their grave in the Marathon plain, with ‘*stēlai* giving the names of the dead by tribe’, together with a separate burial for the Plataians and the slaves: this, he adds, was the first time that slaves fought in battle. (See 112.2n. on οὔτε ἵππου . . . for the significance of this evidence about slaves.) Paus. was unable to find any burial-marker for the Persians, and concludes that they were probably thrown into a communal trench (1.32.5). The Athenian tomb was surely the *sōros* that survives at the site: see 109–17n. The location of the Plataian tomb is less clear (Mersch 1995: 59–61; Rhodes 2013: 12–13). A marble slab (*SEG* 56.430) has been found in the Peloponnesian villa of the second-century AD magnate

Herodes Atticus, recording 22 names under the heading 'Erechtheis' (the first of the tribes of Attica according to the regular order, see 111.1n. on τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ . . .). Herodes was a native of Marathon, and it was probably moved there from the original burial place in Marathon itself: Introduction, pp. 2, 6. If so, this was presumably one tribe's share of the 192 dead, and each tribe will have had a similar commemorative *stēlē*. (It is a curious coincidence that ML 33 = Fornara no. 78, c. 460 BC, should also have commemorated the dead of Erechtheis only.) The inscription has been much discussed: see Petrovic 2013 with further bibliography.

The dead were worshipped by the demesmen of Marathon as heroes (Paus. 1.32.4 with Kearns 1989: 35 and 183), but not by the 'full citizenry' (Jones 2010: 27–8, noting that the Athenians were reluctant to use the word 'hero' for the sort of collective honours attested at Athens for war dead from the time of the Persian Wars onwards; so also Ekroth 2015: 386). Boardman 1977 and 1999: 325–30 suggested that the horsemen and grooms (but not the charioteers) on the Parthenon frieze represented these 192 dead. On this we share the scepticism of the standard works on the Parthenon (Jenkins 1994: 26; Neils 2001: 180–1; Beard 2002: 135). But it is safe to say that the dead of Marathon were in a very special category and 'would continue in death to be powerful protectors' (Kearns 1989: 55).

Remarkably, Hdt. is silent about the spoils: these will have been considerable if the Greeks overran the Persian camp, as they presumably did. Several of the commemorative monuments were said to have been built from these spoils (Introduction, p. 3). See Miller 1997: 30–2: she suggests that Hdt. is reticent as he is 'reluctant to detract from his climactic account of the treasures gained after the battle of Plataia' (9.80–4).

### 117.2–3 *Epizelos' vision*

Hdt. devotes ten lines to this apparition, after so brief a description of the battle itself. Those were his priorities: the battle was enclosed by two remarkable claims of epiphanies; see 105–6 for Pan, also described at some length. That flags the battle itself as a miracle too, no less of a θῶμα than this (117.2). Epizelos figured on the Stoa Poikile (Aelian NA 7.38). Not the least strange feature of this second epiphanic episode is that, unlike the other supernatural battle helpers in Hdt. (Harrison 2000: 84), this one is evidently fighting on the Persian side, and as a hoplite too. Not Pan, then, despite one later attempt to interpret it in that way (Suda 'Πηπίας: cf. 105–6n.). At 8.38–9 Hdt. reports the tale of two further ἐπιχώριοι ἥρωες, this time Delphic ones, who appear as 'hoplites of super-human size' (ὀπλίτας μέζοντας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν); but by then these are firmly on the Greek side. Cf. Introduction pp. 17–18 for this rhythm

in Hdt.'s portrayal of the supernatural. The epiphany is most unusual, and does not much resemble the battle-epiphanies in the *Iliad*. On the whole, the epiphanies of the Persian Wars were of local figures rather than Panhellenic gods (Petridou 2015: 115), but that does not account for Epizelos' giant opponent on the Persian side.

In addition, other sources related other epiphanies in connection with Marathon: (a) A φάσμα of Theseus appeared in the battle on the Greek/Athenian side (Plut. *Thes.* 35.8). Theseus also was depicted on the Stoa 'figured as coming out of the earth' (Paus. 1.15.3, cf. Gartziou-Tatti 2013: 105–8), and this may lie behind Plut.'s item. (b) Another hero, Echelos or Echelaios ('he of the plough-handle', ἐχέτλη), who again featured on the Stoa (Paus. 1.15.3, adding further details of the legend): cf. Jameson 1951 [=2014: 3–21]. (c) For Pan see 105–6n. (d) Gartziou-Tatti 2013: 104–5 would add Herakles, but the evidence is less good. (e) At a pinch, the whinnying horses and fighting men audible in after years might also count as an epiphany (Paus. 1.32.4 with Petridou 2015: 115, and see 109–17n.). Hdt. probably knew of the first two, as he will have seen the Stoa; given his clear interest and emphasis, it must have been a deliberate choice not to include them. With Theseus he may have assumed that the Stoa representation was visual shorthand for unseen aid and inspiration, as with the help that Pan could be presumed to have given (105–6n.). Or it may simply be that one is enough at each end, a Greek-favouring one to begin and a Persian-favouring one to end. The gods are indeed being even-handed (θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, 109.5n.) – for the moment.

Various demythologising explanations for Epizelos' blindness have been put forward by modern scholars: 'the first case of shell shock' or 'war neurosis' (discussed by King 2001, who prefers to think of 'a response to situations of gender-specific anxiety', 46); 'hysterical blindness' as a symptom of post-traumatic stress disorder (Tritle 2000: 64, Scott); various possibilities including the hallucinatory effect of sensory deprivation (Keaveney and Bartlett 2014, citing personal experience on night-time Australian manoeuvres – but Marathon was fought in broad daylight, and it is hard to think that the 'shadowing' of 117.3 could be so extreme). In less demythologising vein, Buxton 1980: 30 [= 2013: 188] puts Epizelos among dangerous 'visual infringements against divinity', like Teiresias who was blinded after seeing Athene bathing or Philip of Macedon who was said to have lost an eye because he had seen his wife Olympias in bed with the god Ammon (Plut. *Alex.* 3.1–2).

Ἐπιζήλον: some later writers give his name as 'Polyzelos', e.g. Plut. *On the glory of the Athenians* 3 347d. ἄνδρα γινόμενον ἀγαθόν: again (cf. 114.1) the formula for high praise, 14.3n.

**117.3 λέγειν δὲ...ἐπυθόμην λέγειν:** again (cf. 105.1n.), Hdt. is cautious: this is what he ‘heard that Epizelos said’ (not ‘heard him say’, which would be ἤκουσα δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος) and ‘discovered that he said’ – to other people, not to Hdt. himself; what lawyers call ‘hearsay’. **ἄνδρα οἱ δοκέειν...**: either ‘that he said that he thought that a great hoplite figure confronted him’ (δοκέω as ‘expect’ or ‘think’) or ‘that he said that a great hoplite figure seemed to him to be confronting him’ (LSJ δοκέω II): if the first, οἱ is governed by ἀντιστῆναι and the further infinitives σκιάζειν, παρεξελθεῖν and ἀποκτείνειν are all still dependent on δοκέειν; if the second, οἱ is governed by either δοκέειν or ἀντιστῆναι or both, and παρεξελθεῖν and ἀποκτείνειν depend on the original λέγειν (‘that he said that the phantom passed him by...’) while σκιάζειν can be taken as depending on either λέγειν (‘...he said that the φάσμα’s beard cast a shadow over the whole of his [probably his own rather than Epizelos’] shield’) or δοκέειν (‘...he said that the φάσμα’s beard appeared to cast a shadow...’).

### 118 *Datis’ dream*

**118.1 εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ:** ‘a task dream’, giving the dreamer a job to do: such dreams are particularly frequent in Near Eastern inscriptions and literature (Lightfoot 2003: 402). This is one of the few dreams in Hdt. that leads to a welcome outcome: cf. 107n. For Datis’ parade of piety cf. 97 and Gruen 2011: 32, commenting on Hdt.’s willingness to allow Persians some respect for other peoples’ religion. **ἥτις μὲν ἦν ἡ ὄψις, οὐ λέγεται:** Hdt. might well have filled the gap by creative reconstruction, e.g. with a threatening divinity along the lines of 7.12.2, 14.1, and 17: his restraint is noteworthy, even if taken as a gesture of scrupulousness to add conviction to cases such as 107 and 131.2. Such a threatening divinity would presumably have been Apollo himself: Hdt. prefers to add suspense by keeping back the name till the discovery in the ship, just as later in the sentence he holds back the name ‘Delion’ for some time after the initial πυθόμενος δὲ ἐξ οὗ ἦν ἱροῦ. **τῇ ἐωυτοῦ νηί:** the phrase can mean either ‘flagship’ or ‘the ship which was his own personal property’, as at Th. 6.61.6, Alkibiades. Here the first meaning must be right, contrasting with the ‘Phoenician ship’ where the statue was found. The stress is still striking: Datis is shown to be taking personal responsibility here, just as at 97.2 (n). As with Dareios himself (20, 97.2, 119 etc), the mighty men are gentler, at least sometimes, than the mass of the army would lead the Greeks to expect.

**118.2 ἀπικάτο...ἐς τὴν νῆσον:** 97.2n. **ἐς Δήλιον τὸ Θηβαίων:** i.e. to the temple of Delian Apollo in Theban territory (for this Delion, probably mod. Dilesi, see *IACP* p. 433 and *Barr.* map 59 B1; Th. 4.76.4 placed it in the territory of Tanagra, and said it ‘looked towards Euboea’). Evidently

the Phoenicians had exploited their time across the channel in Euboia to the full. The sanctity of Delion became topical in 424, when Athens and Thebes fought a battle there: the Athenians were accused of sacrilege in cutting down vines, using holy water, and ‘doing everything that humans do on unconsecrated ground’; the Thebans refused to surrender the Athenian dead (Th. 4.97–9 with *CT* II: 308–15). Thebans might well have made much at that time of their earlier propriety towards the temple, but there is no need to doubt the story, nor to assume that this passage was written after that date. **Χαλκίδος καταντίον**: more nearly opposite Eretria, but Chalkis might well have been the more convenient crossing point, because the Euripos, which separates Euboia from the mainland, is narrowest there.

### 119 *The fate of the Eretrians*

**119.1** τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἑρετριέων ἀνδραποδισμένους: on their numbers see 101.3n. The Persians, to their grief, will now have found they had more room for them on the ships than they would have anticipated.

**119.2** ἐποίησε κακὸν ἄλλο οὐδέν: echoing the language and substance of 20 (the treatment of the Milesians). **σταθμῶι** ‘station’, marked as ‘his own’ because it was in such lodges that Dareios would stay when travelling along a ‘royal road’: see 5.52.1 and n. **Ἀρδέρικκα**: a different ‘Arderikka’ from that of 1.185.2 on the Euphrates. The location of this one seems to be at Kir-Ab, about 65 km. NE of Sousa (so about twice ‘210 stades’, 111.1n.): see Scott; *Barr. map-by-map directory* 2: 1331 lists it among ‘unlocated toponyms’ on map 92–3. Two poems attributed to Plato (*Anth. Pal.* 7.256 and 259 = *FGE*: 618–24) purport to be grave-epigrams for this community. The second in particular may be simply based on Hdt.:

Εὐβοίης γένος ἔσμεν Ἑρετρικόν, ἄγχι δὲ Σούσων  
κείμεθα· φεῦ, γαίης ὅσον ἀφ’ ἡμετέρης.

Philostratos, *Life of Apollonios* 1.23–4 described a doubtless fictional visit of Apollonios of Tyana to the spot in the first century AD. This combines Herodotean elements with items that may be accurate, e.g. comments on the unhealthiness of the locale and the note that 780 were deported and just over 400 survived the journey.

Such displaced communities apparently enjoyed a reasonable degree of self-government, subject to providing contingents for the royal army when needed (Briant 2002: 506–7). Some Boiotians displaced under Xerxes still retained traces of their original language and customs in the time of Alexander (Diod. 17.110.5).



**119.2–3** *The triple well.* The treatment may seem strangely elaborate, as almost as many words are spent on this as on the description of the fighting at 112.2–3. It is conceivable that this is one of those later additions by Hdt. of the sort we go on to suggest at 121.2–123.1 (n.): the sentence καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄσφαλτος . . . βαρέαν may show some of the same clumsiness as that later passage (n.). But it may be enough that this is a θῶμα, and a lowering of the pace makes some narrative sense after the swift-moving climax. Hdt.'s fascination with the methods of extracting bitumen (asphalt) was shared and perhaps inherited by the Hellenistic historian Hieronymos of Kardia (see Diod. 19.98 on the Dead Sea, from a very Herodotean ethnographic excursus, with J. Hornblower 1981: 144 and 147–51).

Hdt. does not claim to have seen the well himself: contrast 4.195.2, αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὤρων another spectacular well in Zakynthos.

**119.2–3 (cont.)** ἄσφαλτον καὶ ἄλας καὶ ἔλαιον 'bitumen and salts and oil'. For the sources of Achaemenid bitumen, see Kuhrt 2007: 707 no. 16 n. 2.

**119.3** ἀντλέεται . . . τριφασίας ὁδοῦς 'it is drawn up by use of a swinging pole but one with a half wine-skin instead of a bucket attached; one dips this in and draws up the liquid, then pours it into a cistern [δεξαμενή, cf. 3.9.3]; when poured out from this into a tank on the floor it separates in three ways'. This is a 'shadoof', 'a contrivance used in the East for raising water for irrigation purposes, consisting of a rod or pole working upon a pivot, at one end of which is fastened a bucket [or here a wine-skin] and at the other a weight to serve as a counterpoise' (OED). 'One' or 'the workman' is understood as the subject of ἀντλέει and ἐγχέει, as at 1.195.1 and 5.16.4. ἄλω, literally 'threshing-floor', is the good suggestion of Lacey 1981a for the various MSS readings (see app. crit.). Lacey further took διαχεόμενον as 'being liquefied' (as opp. πηγνυνται, 'solidify', in the next line), but this is less likely: the mixture is already liquid when drawn up in the skin. The prefix δια- instead captures the idea of 'spreading out' or 'diffusing' as the cistern is emptied into this larger and shallower floor-tank.

Hdt.'s description of the extraction process is anything but clear, especially as to how the different elements take their 'three ways'. The lighter oil may well float on the surface, and an outlet high on the side of the tank could be used to draw it off. Pliny *NH* 31.82 gives a clue to the next stage, describing a process at Babylon: condensation there produces a 'liquid bitumen like oil, which they use there in lamps. When this is drawn off, the salt is underneath.' Elsewhere Pliny describes a spring in Sicily producing bitumen in a 'rich and oily liquid' form, which the inhabitants collect by dipping tufts of reeds to which it adheres (*NH* 35.179). That is rather like the process at Zakynthos described at 4.195.3–4 (119.2n.), where the locals extract pitch by dipping in myrtle-branches. Either such

a dipping or filtration through a fine-meshed net would seem the easiest way to separate out the bitumen particles, probably still stuck to bits of dirt; or perhaps they could just be ‘raked off’ (M. L. Allen, quoted by Lacey 1981b). The salt could then be left to crystallise as the water evaporated. Still, *τρέπεται τριφασίας ὁδοῦς* makes it sound as if the separation happened automatically, with each seeping away through its own outlet pipe, rather than needing manual intervention: that seems to be the way Philostratos took it, *Life of Apollonios* 1.23. Perhaps *τρέπεται τριφασίας ὁδοῦς* means that the liquid ‘turns into three quite different forms’ (G. T. Griffith, again quoted by Lacey) or ‘goes three ways’ more metaphorically, in that each is removed separately (Forbes 1964: 45). But in either case the language would be misleading, and it is more likely that Hdt. has no clear idea of what was involved; he does not claim autopsy.

Whatever exactly was done, it is unlikely that the separation was more than rough-and-ready. Desalinating bitumen is still an elaborate and costly industrial process.

**119.3 (cont.)** *τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον <...>*: the lacuna would presumably have stated what the locals did to the oil instead of solidifying it, perhaps e.g. ‘collecting it in buckets’ (as was added in S). Still, it is no surprise that the oil did not solidify, and it may be that there is no lacuna and Hdt. is just hurrying on to say what he found interesting about this third component – its name and its smell. *οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι τοῦτο ῥαδινάκην*: cf. 98.3 and nn. for Hdt.’s interest in Persian names. *φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν*: cf. 1.57.3 for another (admittedly very problematic) case where Hdt. thought a language had survived a long exile.

**120** *τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ*: they presumably had left on 16th and arrived on 18th (106.3n.). This is very quick – three days for 140 miles, or a little less if we take *ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ* literally and assume that there was still some distance from the border to Marathon itself. Macan and Holoka 1997: 350–1 frankly say that it is unbelievable. Anything more than 20 miles a day is hard for a marching army, and anything more than thirty very rare; Caesar’s march at Gergovia – 24 miles to confront the Aedui, 3 hours’ rest, then 24 miles back again before sunrise (*BG* 7.40–1) – was wholly exceptional.

Plato, *Menex.* 240c and *Laws* 3.698e says that they arrived on the day after the battle. Perhaps they did, but the story might easily have been embellished with that detail once it was known that the corpses were still unburied. Still, the Spartans will certainly have arrived very soon: it would not take many days for those corpses to be cleared.

**120 (cont.)** *καταλαβεῖν* ‘come in time for’ the battle, as at 7.230. *θεήσασθαι τοῦς Μήδους*: ‘symmetrical’ with the Persian body-count at

8.24–5, Thermopylai, where there is more gazing at dead bodies. Cf. *Iliad* 22.371–4, the Greeks jeering at and poking the corpse of Hektor.

So the battlefield has become a *lieu de mémoire* even before the bodies are buried, and the tradition of Athenian praise is begun by none other than the Spartans, in Hdt.'s own day their great enemy.

121–31 EXCURSUS ON THE ALKMEONIDAI, WITH  
ANALEPSIS ABOUT ALKMEON AND KROISOS;  
MEGAKLES AND THE SUITORS OF AGARISTE  
OF SIKYON

The paired sections about Alkmeon and Megakles – perhaps the two most entertaining stories in all Hdt. – have more in common than their Alkmeonid content. They are ‘kissing cousins’; that is, similar themes occur in adjacent narratives (cf. 38.1n.). Here the shared motif is ‘aristocratic legs in motion’. See Griffiths 2001a: 167–8.

They are preceded by an excursus within an excursus, about another wealthy tyrant-hater, Kallies son of Phainippos and father of Hipponikos (Kallias I in *APF*). The connection of the information about Kallies – not an Alkmeonid – with the Alkmeonids may seem loose: Plut. *Herodotus' malice* 27 863b says that this irrelevant material was included only to flatter Hipponikos (seemingly confusing this Hipponikos with his grandson, Hdt.'s contemporary). But to delete it would be to impose anachronistic standards of relevance. Perhaps the point is that families of the highest social standing could still be hostile to tyranny (cf. 121.2–123.1n.), and/or Hdt. wished to contrast the aristocratic tyrant-haters: Kallies stayed, the Alkmeonids went into exile. He may also have wished to prepare for the proleptic mention (7.151.1) of Hipponikos' son Kallies the ‘Peace-maker’ (= Kallias II in *APF*, 121.1 n., who in the mid fifth century brokered an important peace deal between Persians and Athenians). It is usual for Hdt. to give patronymics, but much rarer for him to give the son's name. This, then, is significant ‘denomination’ (see de Jong 1993 for this notion) and supports the idea that the present passage is preparatory.

It has been said that ‘Hdt.'s argument is not enough to absolve the Alcmaeonids’ (Rhodes 2013: 18), especially as his μισοτύραννοι claim is overstated (121.1, 123.2 nn.). Some put it more strongly: Green 1998: 33 regards Alkmeonids as ‘almost certainly’ among the ringleaders of a Persian fifth column and responsible for the signal. Hdt.'s narrative does seem constructed in such a way as to complicate that μισοτύραννοι claim, as it goes on to stress the links with Kroisos (but see below) and Kleisthenes of Sikyon; readers might recall not merely the role of Megakles in driving out Peisistratos in bk. 1 (123.2n.) but also the original marriage-alliance (1.60.2). So Thomas 1989: 265–72 and esp. Baragwanath 2008:

27–32, suggesting that the to-and-fro of readers’ responses ‘draw[s] readers into the atmosphere of rumours and accusations’ at the time. The same impression is left by the combative assertiveness of 123–4 (124.1n.), making it clear that there were opposing views. But some of the puzzles arise from shifts in political vocabulary and attitudes. In the period Hdt. was writing about (as opposed to the period when he was writing), the distinction between τύραννοι and more ‘normal’ oligarchic or aristocratic leaders was far from sharp (Anderson 2005). As for Kroisos, he is not here called a tyrant, nor presented as one, but as a prestigious and recognisably aristocratic figure with whose wealth the Alkmeonids were proud to be associated (cf. 37.1n. for Miltiades and Kroisos). See Duplouy 1999: 16.

For the signal itself, see 115 n.

121.1 θῶμα δέ μοι: this picks up θεήσασθαι and ἐθεήσαντο in 120. For the tone here, see 124.1n. on ἀλλὰ γάρ...

121.2–123.1 *Kallies excursus. Interpolated? But by whom?*

The extensive material about Kallies, from οἵτινες (121.1) to ἀσπίδα (123.1), is often judged to be interpolated in part or whole. 122 is omitted by A (‘probably the best manuscript’, *Herodotea*: 15). We accept the view that – here and elsewhere – the interpolator was no interloper, but was Hdt. himself, still working on his material at a later date than the completion of his main text. See Introduction, Section 6. This is not unlike the controversial view taken by M. L. West 2011 and 2014 to explain anomalies in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

The whole passage is enclosed by \*\*...\*\* in Wilson, meaning ‘an alternative version not yet integrated into the text’ (*Herodotea*: 120, citing Maas for this excursus as ‘a later addition by H[dt.]’): Maas credited this suggestion to Powell, though Powell seems to have discriminated the case for 121.2 and 123.1 (to ἀσπίδα) from that for 122, which he omitted from his 1948 translation. Wilson too seems more confident about adopting this explanation for 121.2 and 123.1 than for 122, but fairly comments that if 122 is a later interpolation by another hand ‘we must try to guess where the author might have obtained his information’. One possible answer, at least for the material of 122.1, might be an epinikian epigram (n.); but if a later interpolator could echo such a poem, so might Hdt. himself.

Doubts about the language centre on 122: the difficulties are conveniently summarised by Stein, who found some expressions suggestive of a Hellenistic or even Second Sophistic date: (i) τὰ προλελεγμένα, ‘the aforesaid’, instead of the usual ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται as at 124.1. The syntax is certainly awkward: we need either to take τὰ προλελεγμένα almost absolutely, understanding something like διελθεῖν χρεόν along with a

further ἐγένετο with ἄκρος, or (better) to see τὰ προλελεγμένα as parallel to τὰ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ with both as direct objects of ἐποίησε, ‘did the aforesaid’ – clumsy but not impossible. An alternative would be to emend to <κατά> τὰ προλελεγμένα, ‘acted as I have said . . .’ (ii) ἐφανερώθη, where e.g. ἔνδοξος ἐγένετο or ἀπελαμπρύνθη might be expected. Attested uses of the verb do seem later (LSJ), but since φανερός/όν can mean ‘conspicuous, remarkable’, as at e.g. Th. 1.17, a verb in -όω is hardly an offensive formation. Perhaps it was suggested by Kallies’ patronymic Phainippos, 121.1n., or by the wording of an epigram (122.1n.). (iii) δωρεή rather than some more specific word for ‘dowry’ such as φερνή or προῖξ. But the gift (the right to choose a husband) is just that, a gift to the girls, not a dowry. The word neatly anticipates the δωρεή of Kroisos to Alkmeon, 125.3, and also allows this to foreshadow the big set-piece of Agariste’s wedding, where the ‘magnificence’ lay in the entertainment (μεγαλοπρεπέως, 128.1, as μεγαλοπρεπεστάτη here) and in the ‘gift’ (δωρεή, 130.2) of silver to the *unsuccessful* suitors.

If Hdt. did at some point think this material worth including despite its apparent irrelevance, one must ask why. It resonates with various themes in the surrounding narrative: explicitly the ‘tyrant-hating’ theme, making it clear that big men who did well under the tyranny could still oppose it, a point that makes it more credible that the Alkmeonids could do the same; the accumulation of wealth, looking forward to Alkmeon at 125; the Olympic success, linking with Miltiades’ family (36.1n., 103), again no tyrant-lovers (35.3); and the thematic links to another generous father-of-the-bride, Kleisthenes (above). If Hdt. were not the author, we would have to posit an interpolator who was sensitive to his interests.

**121.1 Καλλίη τῶι Φαινίππου, Ἱππονίκου δὲ πατρί:** for Kallies and kin, ‘the only family from the genos Kerykes to attain any major political prominence in Athens until the Hellenistic period’, see Davies, *APF*: 254–70, no. 7826; quotation from 254. Davies regards the material about this Kallies as ‘almost certainly not from the pen of [Hdt.] himself’, but he uses it all the same. The name of Kallies’ son, ‘Winner with Horses’, no doubt refers to Kallies’ own equestrian victories of the 560s (Moretti 1957: no. 103). The name Phainippos is another aristocratic ‘horsey’ name (Dubois 2000). If the prefix Φαιν- indicates brilliance or illustriousness, it may be relevant to the perceived problem of ἐφανερώθη at 122.1; see 121.2–123.1n. This was a spectacularly wealthy family, but it is only with Kallies (son of Hipponikos, Kallias II in *APF*) that ‘credible details about the family property begin to appear’ (*APF*: 259). For the point of naming Kallies’ son as well as his father, see 121–131n. **φαίνονται . . . ἔόντες:** ‘are clear as being’, not ‘appear to be’ (which would be φαίνονται . . . εἶναι, 9.3n.): Hdt. is stating this as evident, not merely apparent. For the Alkmeonidai as

μισοτύραννοι (121.1, 123.1) cf. Th. 6.89.4 (speech of Alkibiades at Sparta), surely derived from Hdt.; see *CT* III: 512. But the claim is undermined by ML no. 6 (Fornara 23) col. 6 lines 3, showing that Kleisthenes was archon in 525/4, year 2 of Hippias' tyranny. Hdt.'s subsequent narrative is often thought to cast doubt on it by stressing the family's links with Kroisos and Kleisthenes of Sikyon, but see 121–131n. (at end) for reservations about this. ὅκως Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων 'whenever Peisistratos was exiled from Athens'. This happened only twice, in fact. ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου: understand δούλου, a 'public slave'. Such state officials performed tasks ranging from the highly responsible (like this auctioneering duty or supervising the genuineness of the city coinage) to the unpleasant but important (performing executions, policing, road-building): see Fisher 2001 on Aeschin. 1.54.

122.1 τὰ προλελεγμένα: probably to be taken with ἐποίησε as 'did what we have described', though the Greek is clumsy: see on 121.2–123.1. ἐλευθερῶν τὴν πατρίδα: the reference is obscure, and certainly an exaggeration, if it refers to no more than Kallies' supposed bravery in buying up Peisistratos' property at auction (121.1). It is presumably to accentuate the parallel with the Alkmeonid 'liberators' (123.2). ἵππῳ νικήσας, τεθρίππῳ δὲ δεύτερος: it may be possible to detect traces of an original agonistic epigram: Ὀλύμπια (cf. Ebert 1972: 16, τρις Ὀλύμπι' ἐνίκων) . . . ἵππῳ νικήσαντα (cf. Ebert 1972: no. 3 line 3 for Alkmeonides, 6th cent., ἵπποισι νικέ[σας, cf. 125.1n.; also no. 8 line 2) . . . καὶ δεύτερον ὄντα τεθρίππῳ (cf. Ebert 1972: no. 17, Hieron 464 BC, line 3, τεθρίππῳ μὲν ἄπαξ) . . . Πυθιονίκης or Πύθια (cf. Ebert 1972: no. 20, Ergoteles of Himera, 464 BC, line 2, Πύθ[ια δὲ] . . . δαπάναις δὲ μεγίσταις . . . (cf. Pind. *I.* 4. 29, δαπάναι χαῖρον ἵππων). ἐφανερῶθη: see 121.2–123.1n.

122.2 οἷός τις ἀνὴρ: explained by what follows, ἐπειδὴ . . . The language and construction may be a faint echo of Homeric expressions like οἷον τόδ' ἔρεξε καὶ ἔτλη καρτερὸς ἀνὴρ (*Od.* 4.242). ἔδωκέ σφι δωρεὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην ἐκείνησιν τε ἐχαρίσατο: not quite tautologous, as 'giving' focuses on the father but ἐχαρίσατο includes the expected response of the daughters: 'a present no less magnificent than it was welcome to them' (Holland). δωρεήν: see 121.2–123.1n. At one time it seemed possible (*APF*: 256) that the husbands of two of the girls could be identified, but even so this would not tend to prove that Kallies allowed his daughters to choose their husbands, except in so far as it would show that he did indeed have daughters. But in any case, Professor Davies tells us that he is no longer confident about identifying the husbands, and that he adheres even more firmly to his 1971 view (*APF*, as above) that 122 is, as he now puts it, 'wholly bogus'.

There may be an intended contrast with Kleisthenes of Sikyon (126–31): his daughter Agariste's wishes do not seem to have been consulted at any stage, but that was the usual Greek way (Lacey 1968: 107, 162–3).

**123.1** μισοτύραννοι . . . θῶμα ὧν μοι καὶ οὐ προσίεμαι . . . ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα are all resumptive from 121.1. This may be a minor argument for the equal authenticity of 122: the resumption is more necessary after a longer break. ἔφευγόν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς τυράννους: i.e. they spent the whole period of the tyrants' rule in exile. Not true: see 121–31n. and 5.62.2n.

**123.2** πολλῶι μᾶλλον ἢ περ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων, ὥς ἐγὼ κρίνω: see 5.55 (Harmodios and Aristogeiton) and 62–3 (the Alkmeonids). Knowledge of those passages, or perhaps merely general knowledge, is here taken for granted. But in bk. 5 Hdt. did not pronounce so absolutely on the relative importance of the contribution of each party. See also on οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγρίωσαν below. In a sense the Alkmeonids were responsible twice over for the ejection of a Peisistratid tyrant, because Peisistratos was forced into one of his exiles by the Megakles who is about to feature as the winner of the hand of Agariste: 1.61.2. Agariste featured, though not by name, in that episode, because it was to her mother Agariste that the young woman revealed that Peisistratos was having abnormal sex with her, and this slight, when reported to the father, was the reason why Megakles made common cause with the other faction-leaders to force Peisistratos out. Hdt. does not here back-refer to that story explicitly. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγρίωσαν . . . : Hdt. had made the point in bk. 5 (5.55 and n. on μετὰ ταῦτα . . . ), but again more weakly; see last n. but one. The verb ἐξαγρίω – lit. 'make savage' – is found here only in Hdt., and is extremely strong as well as rare. τοὺς ὑπολοίπους Πεισιστρατίδων: unless this a rhetorical plural-for-singular and just means 'Hippias', this formulation implies that the tyranny was a family business (for this co-rule cf. D. M. Lewis, *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 4: 288). ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται: at 5.63.1. For this common back-referencing formula, later imitated by Th., see 5.36.4n. and 5.35.3n.

**124.1** ἀλλὰ γάρ: 'introducing an imaginary objection' (*GP.* 104). That objection is immediately countered by οὐ μὲν ὧν, 'on the contrary' (*GP.* 475). These phrases bring out the liveliness of the debating tone here: they continue the combativeness of 123.2, 'not nearly so much Harmodios and Aristogeiton as the Alkmeonids – that's what I think'. The whole of the present ch. is insistently and almost irritably expressed. Hdt. was walking on the crust of hot lava here. The Alkmeonid past was highly topical and controversial at the time of the composition of the *Histories*, whenever exactly that is taken to be; see 5.70.2n. for the curse which attached to the family because of the killing of Kylon, and which was revived by

the Spartans against Perikles (Th. 1.126.1 and 127.1), perhaps even earlier against his father Xanthippos (depending on how a verse inscription on an ostrakon is interpreted: ML p. 42 on no. 21), and certainly against Megakles the Alkmeonid uncle of Perikles: see 131.2n. The archon-list ML no. 6 (see 39.1n. for Miltiades as archon in 524/3) should be seen as part of this political jostling, not just as a neutral source of facts: whoever in the mid-420s commissioned its inscription and publication may have wished to draw attention to ‘tyrant-hating’ families like the Alkmeonids collaborating with the Peisistratid regime. ἐν γε Ἀθηναίοισι: the force of γε is not clear. Perhaps it conveys a hint that of course there were more renowned people elsewhere, but they got as much as one could get in a democracy, which is all μισοτύραννοι would have wished for.

124.2 λόγος αἰρέει ‘reason requires’.

#### 125 *Alkmeon at Sardis*

This purports to be the earliest in real time of the Alkmeonid stories, except for 5.71, Kylon (see nn. there). Alkmeon belongs towards the beginning of the sixth century: see AO: 39, dating Alkmeon’s command of the Athenians in the First Sacred War to 591/90 (cf. Davies 1994 for the complex traditions about this war.). This might seem to place him a generation before Kroisos, whose reign according to 1.86.1 lasted ‘fourteen years’ before the fall of Sardis, normally put in 547/6. Wallace 2016 however makes a good case for seeing that ‘fourteen’ as a formular number (cf. Fehling 1989: 216–39, esp. 226 and 236), and antedating the start of Kroisos’ reign to the mid-580s. So the dates may match up, though that is not enough to encourage belief in the story’s literal truth. The symbolic historical point behind it may be that the wealth of the Alkmeonids did indeed derive in some way from overseas, specifically eastern, contacts; cf. Perysinakis 1998: 49, suggesting Samos; but for the narrator’s purpose in making this point, the specific connection with the legendary wealth of Kroisos was absolutely necessary. The claim that Alkmeonid wealth was old, and traceable to the prestigious figure of Kroisos, could even have provided a defence against accusations that the Alkmeonids had embezzled funds at the time of the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi (5.63.1n.). So Duploux 2015: 73, cf. Gagné 2016: 87. That story is absent from and attested only later than Hdt.; but in any case a connection with the great Kroisos was one to be valued by any aristocratic Athenian family (see 37.1n.). If we take the story on its own terms and disregard chronological problems, Alkmeon is hardly likely to have been poor when he set out for Sardis (the travel alone will have been expensive, and he had presumably entertained Kroisos’ agents lavishly on their visit to Delphi).



'Herodotus certainly must have wanted his readers to compare Alcmaeon's immoderate behavior to Solon's sober behavior in that same treasury (1.30–33)' (McCulloch 1982: 45). There is also a neatly matching Spartan story at 1.69.4: the Spartans send to Kroisos to try to buy gold for a statue but he gives it them for nothing. The present story is a classic example of long-distance reciprocity, of the kind stressed by Gould 1989 as an explanatory motif in the *Histories*. By helping Kroisos' θεοπρόποι when they visited Delphi (125.2, a very big analepsis), Alkmeon made a shrewd deposit in what Tom Wolfe in *Bonfire of the Vanities* nicely called the 'favour bank'. See *APF* 371 and 5.67.2n. for the possible link between the First Sacred War and Alkmeon's visit to Sardis.

See Introduction p. 14 on the book's changes in time, place, and tone after Marathon. In particular, Alkmeon's behaviour is comic: he is happy to play the buffoon, dress like a Lydian easterner (125.3n.), and make his body look grotesque (125.4) when it pays so well. Critics tend to disapprove: Thomas 1989: 266 finds Alkmeon 'a boorish Greek displaying his greed before the wise and generous king of Lydia'; Purves 2014: 113 suggests that 'this childish, theatrical kind of dressing-up belongs to the outdoors' and fits uneasily with the treasure-house. Still, Hdt.'s emphasis rests on the happy consequences for the family, and Alkmeon plays the effeminate Lydian here but goes on to be the consummate Greek, winning an Olympic victory (125.5). Odysseus would have thoroughly approved.

125.1 οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἀθήνησι: see the verbally similar 5.62.3 and n.: Alkmeonid wealth and fame were there asserted, in connection with the lavish expenditure on the temple at Delphi; but their origins were not explained. The present passage is thus resumptive. It is surprising, in view of the present statement by Hdt., that the family was associated with no Athenian cult (the absence is noted by Davies *APF* 369, cf. Parker 1996: 318). Megakles' brother Alkmeonides did, however, make a prominent dedication at the Ptoion, a Boiotian site sacred to Apollo – but so did Hipparchos the Peisistratid: see Schachter 1994, discussing the politics of these and other inscriptions. For ἀνέκαθεν see 35.1n. on τὰ μὲν... ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκμείωνος: it is curious that the eponym of the accursed Athenian family should have the same name as the Alkmeon (son of Amphiaraios and Eriphyle), who was accursed and polluted in myth because of his matricide (Th. 2.102.5–6). Hdt.'s Alkmeon was son of the Megakles who was implicated in the killing of Kylon (124.1n.); Alkmeon himself led the Athenians in the First Sacred War, see 5.67.2n.

125.2 Λυδοῖσι... τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι: for the initial despatch of envoys to Delphi see 1.48.2, where they are called by the technically correct word θεοπρόποι. Hdt. had said nothing about Alkmeonid or any other Greek hospitality

there, but as usual he holds it back until it is most relevant. There had been further visits too, to bring his gifts (1.50–1) and then consult the oracle (1.53); hence the impfct. tenses ἐγίνετο and συνέλαμβανε here. The final visit of 1.90.4–91 was frostier and would anyway have been after Alkmeon's supposed visit to Sardis, but Alkmeon could still have been civil and helpful. Bk. 1 was a long time ago in narrative terms, so in more considerate mood Hdt. might have said e.g. ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται. **συμπρήκτωρ . . . συνελάμβανε προθύμως**: the emphatically repeated prefix συν- emphasises the energetic character of the help, no less than does the explicit adverb προθύμως (the noun συμπρήκτωρ occurs only here in Hdt., though the verb συμπρήσσομαι occurs at 5.94.2). With this help to foreign visitors, compare that half-Alkmeonid Alkibiades at Th. 5.43.2: he was piqued that the Spartans had negotiated peace through his enemy Nikias, although he himself had taken care of the Spartans captured at Pylos (the verb is θεραπεύω): reciprocity refused. See 125n. **φοιτεόντων**: appropriate for repeated actions, whether or not Kroisos actually used the same θεοπρόποι each time. He may well have done so as far as possible: it would be an advantage to know the Delphian ropes. **χρυσῶι . . . ἐσάπαξ**: the impending joke is carefully set up in advance by the king's bizarre stipulation that the gold should be carried away on Alkmeon's own person, τῶι ἑαυτοῦ σώματι, and on one single occasion. Not quite a 'trolley-dash', then, but the idea is the same.

**125.3 τὴν δωρεήν**: see 121.2–123.1n.: the noun links the stories of Kallies, Alkmeon, and Megakles. Cf. 125.4n. on ἐξώγκωτο. **ἐοῦσαν τοιαύτην, τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας**: the repetition emphasises that the ridiculous response was appropriate to the ridiculous offer. Kroisos was beaten at his own game (Duplouy 1999: 14). **ἐνδύς**: descriptions of personal dress and appearance are as common in Hdt. as they are rare in Th. (Hornblower 2013: 37 n.). In particular, the verb ἐνδύεσθαι occurs only once in Th., and that in a leisurely passage with a Herodotean flavour: 1.130, the 'Median' dress adopted by Pausanias the Regent. **κιθῶνα μέγαν . . . κοθόρνους**: a κόθορνος was a boot supposed to be so roomy that it was wearable on either foot (so the nickname Κόθορνος was applied to the political trimmer Theramenes, Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.31), though it is hard to reconcile this with the modern tradition that the idea of different shoes made for the different feet should be credited to the Prince Regent, who – as King George IV – died in 1830 (Powell 1980: 127). In fact, the explanation in Xen. of the nickname is textually doubtful: in OCT it is printed in square brackets.

It is often said that κόθορνοι were especially associated with the stage ('buskins'), and that would certainly suit the marked theatricality of this scene. Still, in the fifth century they seem rather to have been thought of as feminine or effeminate, and that suits their only other occurrence in Hdt.

at 1.155.4, where they have a connotation of unwarlike Lydian femininity and are associated with music-making rather than acting. That passage occurs in a speech of, precisely, the Lydian Kroisos to Kyros, and there, as here, buskins are mentioned in the same breath with the tunic, κιθών (Ionic for χιτών). κόθορνοι are sometimes said to have been loose-fitting, and that would have added some extra capacity; but the iconographic support for this is frail, and the idea derives mainly from the present passage of Hdt. Still, κόθορνοι did vary in appearance, and some were doubtless more capacious than others. Perhaps the flaps at the top of the *kothoroi* on the Würzburg vase (if that is what they were: Taplin 2007: 12 fig. 3) might have offered scope for the packing in of more gold dust. See Bryant 1899: 87–9; Taplin 2007: 38; Wyles 2010: 237–41.

**125.3 (cont.) καταλιπηνάμενος:** the verb καταλιπαίνω, ‘make very fat’, is rare (only in Hesych. κ 1234 Latte), but we accept Wilson’s emendation for the nonsensical MS καταλιπόμενος, although he himself confined the suggestion to his app. crit.

**125.4 ψήγματος:** Kroisos’ gold came from the R. Paktolos, and this noun (repeated a few lines later) serves as a reminder of the fact; see 5.101.2n. on καὶ ἐπὶ... **παρέσαξε** ‘crammed in beside’, from παρασάσσω. **διαπάσας** ‘sprinkled’, from διαπάσσω. **ἔλκων μὲν μόγις τοὺς κοθόρνους:** more awkward leg-movements will follow soon, with Hippokleides (129.4). For the suggestion that these stories (Alkmeon/Hippokleides) are ‘kissing cousins’ see 121–31n. **ἐβέβυστο:** from βύζω, ‘cram’. Only here in Hdt. **ἐξώγκωτο:** from ἐξογκῶ, ‘puff out’. The verb is otherwise used only once by Hdt., and that metaphorically, in the Megakles story, where the suitors are ‘puffed up’, i.e. proud of, themselves or their native country (126.3). This is another link between the ‘kissing cousins’.

**125.5 γέλως ἐσηλθε...:** good-natured laughter, contrary to the view of Lateiner 1977 that laughter in Hdt. tends to be black, minatory, or an indication of mistaken judgment. Kroisos comes to grief in due course, but that is hardly in the narrator’s mind here. Still, a contrast might be felt with the more derisive and ill-judged laughter of Xerxes at the expense of a Greek, in his case Demaretos: 7.103.1, 7.105.1, and (showing how it rankled) 7.209.2. The lighter atmosphere of these chapters does not last. **ἐπλούτησε ἡ οἰκίη:** this completes the ring begun by 125.1. *Ath. pol.* 20. 1 and 28. 2 called the Alkmeonidai a γένος (clan or group of families, see *OCD*<sup>4</sup> ‘genos’) rather than an οἶκος (family), but this is probably non-technical (Parker 1996: 319). **Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναιρέεται:** apparently in 592 BC (Moretti 1957: no. 81).

126–131.1 *The betrothal of Agariste of Sikyon*

This is the second of two excursuses about Kleisthenes of Sikyon, both of them prompted by the tyrant's relationship to the Alkmeonidai, as grandfather of the Athenian reformer Kleisthenes; see 5.67–8 and nn. Unlike the story of Alkmeon's visit to Kroisos, the betrothal can be dated: it must have taken place around 575 BC (*APF*: 372).

In the course of this amusing and lengthy excursus, Hdt. might seem to have lost the thread of his argument, which was to prove that the Alkmeonidai could not have sent a shield-signal to the Persians. The sense of remoteness from the Athenian politics of 490 BC is enhanced by fabulous features: the precious picture of life at an archaic tyrannical court is enriched, but not falsified, by elements drawn from Greek epic and even – at some unascertainable remove – from an Indian folk-tale, the Dancing Peacock (below). And yet, in a cleverly managed closure, Hdt. moves briskly through three generations until at 131.2 he reaches his own contemporary Perikles, mentioned only here in the *Histories*. On the way, he glances (again, cf. bk. 5) at Kleisthenes junior, 'who introduced the tribes and the democracy' (131.1). The message is clear, if unstated: can you really believe that this, the family of the reformer Kleisthenes and the great war-leader Perikles, would betray Athens?

This is not to say that the whole Alkmeonid excursus, or the mention of Perikles, should be seen as a 'panegyric' on the clan (so rightly Strasburger 2013, esp. 298 and 310–13, against Jacoby 1913: 238 col. 2 [=1956: 23]), and it may still be that this picture of Megakles getting into bed with a tyrant's daughter complicates the claim that the family were μισοτύραννοι, 121.1: see 121–31n.; even more so if it is to be inferred that Kleisthenes was looking for an heir, as is suggested by S. West 2015, though in that case the insistence that the marriage is to be 'by Athenian law/custom' (130.2) may imply that Megakles was rejecting that implied suggestion by taking the girl back to Athens. This reconstruction assumes Kleisthenes has no male children at the time. In fact, though, the tyranny went on until the Spartans deposed Aischines, the last of the dynasty (*FGrHist* 105 no. 1, Rylands papyrus; Plut. *Herodotus' malice* 21 859d); that might have been as late as 510, but the chronology is very uncertain (cf. Bowen 1992: 118–19 on the Plut. passage). Kleisthenes might anyway have expected some procreating years ahead at the time of Agariste's betrothal (she was probably not more than thirteen or fourteen), and it is not certain that Aischines was his direct rather than collateral descendant.

The story-type is paralleled by the Indian animal fable of the 'Dancing Peacock', who comes close to winning the 'hand' of the daughter of the King Goose or (in another version) Lord Mallard, but disgraces himself by indecent dancing, so that the king in disgust gives his daughter to one

of her own kind; see Macan 1895: II. 304–11. One detail may hint at the influence of this fable: the disqualified winner Hippokleides is said to be outstanding for his wealth *and good looks*, 127.4. Looks are strictly irrelevant here: Kleisthenes is interested in athletic prowess, deportment, good breeding, ἀνδραγαθή (general manly qualities, which admittedly might include good looks), and – most important of all – behaviour at the symposium (128.1, including singing and speaking, 129.2); but extreme and flaunted beauty is the essence of the peacock. (For peacocks in 5th-cent. Athens see Cartledge 1990 and Miller 1997: 189–92.) Still, the similarities to the Dancing Peacock do not prove that the story as a whole is fiction, as argued by S. West 2015.

The Homeric/epic flavour is palpable: one precursor is the wooing of Tyndareus' daughter Helen: see esp. Stesichoros fr. 190 PMG = 87 Finglass (in Davies and Finglass 2014): the suitors were the best men in Greece for their lineage and beauty, γένος καὶ κάλλος (and so this too may have influenced the stress on Hippokleides' looks); another is the gathering of suitors in the Odyssey, who must, it has been pointed out, have originally been there by invitation (S. West 1988: 57). For the generally Homeric character of the Hdt. episode, Griffiths 2006: 136, citing Murray 1993: 212–13. From epinikian poetry, cf. Pind. *P.* 9.103–25, the wooing of the daughters of Antaios and of Danaos. Pelops' wooing of Oinomaos' daughter Hippodameia may also be recalled, esp. given the prominence of Olympic competition in the context (below) and the aetiological connection of Pelops with the Olympic Games (Pind. *O.* 1): that contest for a daughter's hand also ended with a confrontation of father and prospective son-in-law, but one that ended murderously when Pelops sabotaged the father's chariot. This one has a lighter and less bloody outcome. The number of Agariste's suitors is thirteen; perhaps this too is influenced by the thirteen suitors of Hippodamia who are killed by Oinomaos: Hesiod fr. 259 M–W with Müller 2006: 249 and n. 88; Pind. *O.* 1.79. The stress on the qualities of the suitors' kin is also reminiscent of Pindar (S. West 2015: 15). Seven of them or their kinsmen can be seen as paradigms of one quality or another (Smindyrides for luxury, Amyris wisdom, Titormos strength, Euphorion piety, Pheidon impiety, Alkmeon wit, Hippokleides beauty): so Müller 230.

Sikyon is *IACP* no. 228. The mythical Sikyon, eponym of the *polis*, was son of (Athenian) Erechtheus according to Ps.-Hes. fr. 224 M–W; this 'looks like a reflection' of Kleisthenes' anti-Argive policies, and of Agariste's marriage to the Athenian Megakles (Fowler *EGM* 2: 127). Sikyon was not in the first rank of archaic *poleis*, but was wealthy and fertile (92.2n.), and was in any case and for a short time pushed closer to the front by Kleisthenes himself, not least by means of the episode here described. In the *Catalogue of Ships* Sikyon is merely part of Agamemnon's kingdom

(2.572), but that passage may have been interpolated precisely at the time of Kleisthenes' prominence, when Sikyon's absence from the *Catalogue* 'must have become a sore point' (M. West 2015: 18; cf. also M. West 2011: 401 on *Il.* 23.296–300).

The pattern of cities and regions represented by the suitors, and of the areas *not* represented, can perhaps be explained. Of the great archaic centres, there are conspicuous absences: no Theban, Aiginetan, Sicilian (thus no-one from Syracuse, Naxos, Akragas or Gela), Kyrenaian, or anyone from east Greece generally (thus no Milesian, Samian or Rhodian); not to mention the – disputably Greek – rulers of Macedon (cf. 5.22). Nor does anyone come from Sikyon's mighty neighbour Korinth, though that city is indirectly present twice over: Hippokleides found favour with Kleisthenes partly because he was related to the Kypselids (128.2), and Epidamnos (127.2) was a joint foundation of Korinth and Korinth's own daughter-city Kerkyra.

Kleisthenes made his announcement at Olympia, where he had just won his victory (126.2, Moretti no. 96): it is arguable that Hdt.'s list at 127 is authentic to the extent that it reflects the archaic catchment areas of the Olympic festivals and contest. Hdt. does not quite say that all the suitors had just participated in the contest at which Kleisthenes won the prestigious four-horse chariot event, but the inference is plausible (cf. S. Lewis 1996: 70), even if the announcement would have spread further by word of mouth during the sixty days of 126.2. Seen in this light, the suitors' places of origin make good sense. The local nature of the early Olympic victor lists has always been regarded as a sign of their believability (thus there is a good showing of Messenians until their loss of independence to Sparta at the end of the 8th cent.). Hdt.'s emphasis on the Peloponnese (127.3 and 4) corresponds to the reality as evidenced in Moretti 1957. The general areas indicated by Hdt. can be satisfyingly paralleled from the victor lists; for the detailed argument, which is not repeated further here, see Hornblower 2014.

Finally, one motive for the excursus is aetiological, to explain the familiar or proverbial saying 'Hippokleides doesn't care' (129.4n.).

**126.1** μετὰ δέ, γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστερον 'later, in the next generation'. This is impossible: Kroisos and Kleisthenes of Sikyon were approximate contemporaries, and indeed Kleisthenes may well have been dead (?570) before Kroisos became king in c. 560.

**126.1 (cont.)** αὐτήν... ἐξῆρε 'exalted it', i.e. the Alkmeonid οἰκίη. ἐξῆρε is aorist of ἐξείρω. Ἀριστωνύμου... Ἀνδρέω: Kleisthenes of Sikyon's genealogy was not given in bk. 5, not even his patronymic. Now Hdt. names his father, grandfather and great-grandfather. The dynasty is conventionally known as the Orthagorid, after a founding Orthagoras (Arist. *Pol.*

1315, Plut. *God's slowness to punish* 7 553a–b and other evidence) whom Hdt. does not here include, unless he is identical to Andreas. There have been many other attempts to reconcile the evidence; the family tree at A. Griffin 1982: 41 makes Andreas the father of both Orthagoras and of Myron I, grandfather of Kleisthenes (there is a Myron II, perhaps Kleisthenes' brother).

**126.2** Ὀλυμπίων... κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο: this is perhaps the first example of a phenomenon traceable right down to Nero's proclamation of the freedom of the Greeks at the Isthmia (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 814): the making of an announcement at a Panhellenic venue. For a parallel closer to Hdt.'s time see Th. 3.8.1, the use of Olympia made by the Spartans. Kleisthenes' victory in the four-horse chariot race is Moretti: no. 96, dating the victory to 572, and noting an earlier 'tethrippan' victory at the Pythian festival, Paus. 10.7.7 (?582). See McGregor 1941 for Kleisthenes and the panhellenic festivals.

**126.3** ἐξωγκωμένοι: see 125.4n. on ἐξώγκωτο. μνηστῆρες: the word suits the world of myth: it is used of the suitors for Hippodameia (Pind. *P.* 9.106a) and Helen (Th. 1.9.1) as well as being frequent in the *Odyssey*. See Introductory n.

Some of the personal names (as well as the ethnics, discussed in Hornblower 2014) are unusual and suggest an authentic tradition, albeit enlivened by folk-tale elements and taking liberties with chronology.

**126.3 (cont.)** τοῖσι Κλεισθένης... ἐπ' αὐτῶι τούτῳ εἶχε: 'Kleisthenes had a racing-track and a wrestling arena for them that he had made for this very purpose.'

**127.1** ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλίας ἦλθε Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἱπποκράτεος: the patronymic is commonplace, but the name is not, and is therefore unlikely to be invented. There is a Hellenistic Ζμίνδαρος (variant for Σμιν-) at *I. Priene* no. 316, a list of names carved in the gymnasium. χλιδῆς: the tradition about Sybarite luxury was evidently well established by the time Herodotus wrote, and as a settler at the successor *polis* Thourioi he was familiar with the traditions of the region. (See also 21.1n.) On χλιδή see Gorman and Gorman 2007 – not quite the same as the τρυφή, morally corrosive luxury, with which Sybaris was later associated, but the distinction is a fine one. Athen. 12.541b–c quotes the present passage, and continues seamlessly by saying that Smindyrides brought a thousand cooks and fowlers with him. The 'cooks and fowlers' are probably Athenaios' own addition from elsewhere, though if Hdt.'s *Histories* had not survived it might forgivably have been assumed that they too were in his text (Pelling 2000: 176). They are not; but the χλιδή emphatically is. See further, 128.1n. on ὅσοι... ἥκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον: see 5.28 for this expression used about Miletos, and (for the Miletos–Sybaris parallel) introductory n. to 5.39–48. καὶ Σιρίτης Δάμασος Ἀμύριος τοῦ σοφοῦ παῖς: for the name Damasos cf. Kall. fr.

33 Pf. with D'Alessio 2007: 413. If it were not for Kall. one might have preferred the MSS alternative Damas, a much commoner name in *LGN IIIA*. The name Amyris is attested at Athen. 12.520a and the *Suda* α 1684 (a proverb), but is there applied to a man from Sybaris who went to consult the oracle at Delphi; see *R.-E.*, entry by W. Judeich. Siris (*IACP* no. 69, and see Moscati Castelnovo 1989) still existed at the time of Kleisthenes' hospitality but was destroyed in the mid-6th cent., and replaced in the 430s by the new foundation of Herakleia in Lucania. For the very complicated myths and history of early Siris see Hornblower 2015: 364 on Lycoph. *Alex.* 978. At 8.62.2, the only other mention in Hdt., Themistokles will claim that it was 'ours [sc. Athenian] of old', and was therefore a suitable destination for large-scale emigration; this must refer to the largely abandoned site.

**127.2 Ἀμφίμνηστος Ἐπιστρόφου Ἐπιδάμνιος:** Amphimnestos is another rare name, attested elsewhere only by two bearers of the name from Chios, one of Hellenistic, one of Roman Imperial date. Epistrophos is Homeric (e.g. *Il.* 2.856 and Arrian *Bithyniaka* 22: see S. West 2015: 15). There is no historical ex., but cf. the female slave Ἐπιστροφά attested at Delphi in *SGDI* 1896 (Bechtel 1917: 613), and there is an Epistrophides at Hellenistic Amorgos. **Αἰτωλὸς δέ... Τιτόρμου... ἀδελφεὸς Μάλης:** the suitor's brother Titormos was a wrestler who defeated the famous Milon (Ael. *VH* 12.22). This intriguing characterisation as a lonely strong man is perhaps a signifier for the reputed 'backwardness' of Aitolia; on this myth see Roy 2011.

**127.3 Φείδωνος παῖς... Λεωκῆδης:** this is the most serious anachronism in the list. The Argive tyrant Pheidon floats chronologically to a notorious degree, but he is usually and preferably dated to c. 668, almost a century earlier than Kleisthenes of Sikyon (see nn. below). One popular solution to the Herodotean crux is to postulate a Pheidon II, grandson of the tyrant, and there is some epigraphic support for this: ML 9, Aristis son of Pheidon at Nemea near Argos c. 560. On this view, Hdt. has merely muddled the generations. On Pheidon the tyrant, see Tausend 1995. There is another sort of difficulty here (noted by S. West 2015: 16): at 5.56–9 Hdt. had remarked on Kleisthenes' extreme hostility to Argos, and yet here is an apparently welcome elite Argive at the court of Sikyon. It is true that Kleisthenes 'had given an open invitation' (Scott) and might have preferred not to turn it gratuitously into a diplomatic issue; but Pheidon might have realised that he was wasting his time. **τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίοισι:** Hdt. does not say that Pheidon introduced coinage into Greece, merely that he 'made measures for the Peloponnesians'. But the stronger claim was made in antiquity: it was said that he minted the first coins on Aigina (*FGrHist* 70 Ephoros F 115; *Et. Magn.* 615). But it is now



thought that coined money did not antedate 600 BC, and perhaps what he really did was determine the weights of silver which would be accepted in exchange for a handful or ‘drachma’ of six spits of iron. See Kraay 1976: 313–14. **καὶ ὑβρίσαντος . . . ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε:** Pheidon’s violent takeover of the Olympic festival is dated by Pausanias to the 8th Olympiad (6.22.2), i.e. 748 BC, but this is usually emended to 28th, i.e. 668 BC, in view of the tradition, also recorded by Pausanias (2.24.7), that the Argives defeated the Spartans at Hysiai in 669/8 BC. For this action at Olympia, an early example of the ‘*hybris* of the oppressive ruler’, see Fisher 1992: 128 and 143, arguing that Pheidon’s *hybris* was interpreted as directed against (not just the Eleians but) the notion of the Panhellenic festival and the gods honoured there, i.e. Zeus in first place. **ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἡλείων ἀγωνοθέτας:** for the Eleian role at Olympia in normal times, see 5.22.1n. on καὶ οἱ . . . The noun is found only here in Hdt., but is common in post-classical inscriptions (see the indexes to *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> and *OGIS*), and cf. Kleon’s metaphorical use of ἀγωνοθετοῦντες at Th. 3.38.4, a chapter full of agonistic colour. **Ἀμιάντος Λυκούργου Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος** ‘Amiantos son of Lykourgos, an Arkadian from Trapezous’. The *polis* is *IACP* no. 303. **καὶ Ἀζὴν ἐκ Παίου πόλιος Λαφάνης Εὐφορίωνος** ‘and an Azanian from Paios, Laphanes son of Euphorion’. The *polis* is Paion (*IACP* no. 288, *Barr.* map 58 B2, marked as Paos), the Arkadian sub-region is Azania (*Barr.* map 58 C2). Laphanes is a good Arkadian name, borne by a man from Kynouria attested in Tod no. 132 = R/O no. 32, c. 369 BC. The theoxeny (see next n.) may have been rewarded with wealth, ‘since Paion lay at the junction of important routes, and heavy hospitality might have been expected’ (S. West 2015: 17). **τοῦ δεξαμένου τε, ὡς λόγος ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ λέγεται, τοὺς Διοσκούρους:** for the special type of epiphany (105–6n.) known as ‘theoxeny’, entertaining the gods, see *OCD*<sup>4</sup> ‘*theoxenia*’ and Petridou 2015: 289–311, esp. 295–6 and n. 37 for the present passage. The Dioskouroi, for whom see 5.75.2n. on παραλυομένου . . ., were specially prone to epiphany (cf. 23.1n.) and theoxeny (see esp. Pind. *N.* 10.49–50 for an Argive family; *OCD*<sup>4</sup> ‘*Dioscuri*’). Note, as often in religious matters, Hdt.’s cautious λέγεται, ‘it is said’, cf. 61.4n. Here the ‘saying’ is attributed to the Arkadians alone. Dioskouroi cult there is attested by *SEG* 11.1045, dedication from Arkadian Kleitor, c. 500 BC (Jost 1985: 519–20, cf. 41). The jump to mythical material, only one generation removed from a narrative purporting to be historical, is striking (Griffiths 1999: 179 n. 36). **ξεινοδοκέοντος:** ξεινοδόκος is ‘a very non-technical, indeed poetic term’ (Lightfoot 2003: 522), and again fits the world of myth. **Ἡλεῖος Ὀνόμαστος Ἀγαίου:** Onomastos is not an uncommon name; it was specially favoured on Rhodes. The earliest bearer is from Smyrna, an Olympic victor in 688 BC (Moretti no. 29). Agaios seems to have been specially popular in the Argolid but nowhere else (Argos was the metropolis of Rhodes in myth).

**127.4** οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ‘these came from the Peloponnese itself’, i.e. as opposed to those coming from outside and therefore having to travel into the Peloponnese to reach Sikyon. **ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκοντο Μεγακλῆς τε ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος τούτου τοῦ παρὰ Κροῖσον ἀπικομένου:** here only, the link between the ‘kissing cousins’ is explicitly flagged, both by the explanatory clause as a whole and by the artful choice of verb, here repeated within a very few words: ἀπικόμενον was also used at **125.2** about Alkmeon’s visit to Kroisos. Hdt.’s point is that both foreign visits enhanced the family’s distinction (and wealth), its λαμπρότης.

Megakles has already featured in the *Histories*, for his relationship (leader of rival faction, then cautious ally, then bitterly hostile) to Peisistratos: 1.59–61. So indeed has Agariste herself; see **123.2n.** for her role in that story as the mother of the slighted daughter.

**127.4 (cont.)** Ἱπποκλείδης Τεισάνδρου: for Hippokleides’ father see 5.66.1n. (he may be the father of Isagores, opponent of the Athenian Kleisthenes). A further important detail about Hippokleides’ (Kypselid) family connections will be given at **128.2**, an effective narrative delay. Hippokleides was archon at Athens in 566 BC, and his archonship is associated with a wholesale re-organisation of the Great Panathenaia festival (*FGrHist* 3 Pherekydes F 2 and 4 Hellanikos F 22, with *EGM*: 2.457–8). Although this never achieved quite the prestige of the big four Panhellenic festivals, it looks like a bid on the part of Athens for similar status at around the time (the 580s and 570s) when the Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean festivals all became Panhellenic (see *OCD*<sup>4</sup> under the various festivals, there called ‘Games’). So it is interesting to find Hippokleides himself participating in an international agonistic event at Sikyon – and perhaps at Olympia before. **πλούτῳ καὶ εἰδῇ:** for the first noun see **73.2n.** For the second, a mention of a person’s physical appearance, see 5.12.1n. See introductory n. **ἀπ’ Ἐυβοίης μούνης:** the emphasis may hint at the absence of anyone from Eretria’s rival and neighbour Chalkis (Hornblower 2014: 227). **Σκοπαδέων Διακτορίδης Κραννώνιος:** the immensely rich and powerful Skopadai of Krannon in Thessaly (*IACP* no. 400) were patrons of Simonides: 510, 529, and 542 *PMG*. See Helly 1995: 107–12, also Morgan 2003: 86 for the Skopadai and their rivals the Aleuadae of Larisa (for whom Pindar wrote *P.* 10,) the two ‘great houses of Thessalian cattle-barons’ (Feeney 2016: 217). With the name Diaktorides cf. the Spartan at **71.2**, father-in-law of Zeuxidemos, and n. there. **ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἄλκων:** Alkon does seem an authentically NW Greek name, otherwise rare. A bleak spondaic closure for this isolated fatherless figure.

**128.1** καὶ γένος ἐκάστου: Kleisthenes can hardly have been unaware of their lineage; the word prepares for the surprise mention of Hippokleides’

Kypselid connections at 128.2. **τῆς ὀργῆς** ‘disposition’ (Powell); almost ‘mettle’. **γυμνάσια** ‘gymnastic contests’. Perhaps the first attestation of the gymnasium; see Davies 2007: 60. Here it picks up the reference to the δρόμον and παλαίστρην of 126.3. The hints of competition are not explicit until 129.2. **ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν νεώτεροι**: so they were not all young. In particular, it has been claimed that Smindyrides’ characterisation (127.1) ‘hardly suits a young man’ (S. West 2015: 15); but perhaps he was merely out of condition after all that χλιδὴ and S. Italian pasta. **συνεστοῖ** ‘in society’; but in view of the emphasis on feasting together, the alternative reading συνεστήι should perhaps be preferred, with S. West 2015: 19. In any case, she is right to note the importance attached by Kleisthenes to social skills (there are three compounds of συν- here in eighteen words). **ἐξείνιζε μεγαλοπρεπέως**: with the verb cf. 5.18.2, **μεγάλως δὲ ξεινίζεις**, and for the adverb, 5.18.1, **δεῖπνον μεγαλοπρεπές** (both from the account of the Macedon feast: see 129.2n. on **ὡς δέ...** and 129.4n. on **οὐκέτι**).

**128.2 καὶ ὅτι...Κυψελίδησι ἦν προσήκων**: so the Korinthians, hitherto conspicuous by their absence, feature after all. The precise relationship, here vaguely given, is disputed (*APF*: 295–6); but Hippokleides’ father Teisandros was probably brother of the Athenian Kypselos who was both father of the elder Miltiades (34.1n., citing ML 6 for this ‘Kyphselos’ as archon in 597/6) and grandson of the Korinthian tyrant. On **ἀνέκαθεν** cf. 35.1n. on **τὰ μὲν...**

**129.1 τῆς τε κατακλίσιος τοῦ γάμου** ‘the celebration of the marriage feast’: Hdt. writes as if the announcement and the marriage would be part of the same celebration – scarcely credible, but an understandable story-telling simplification. **κατάκλισις** is a rare word, here only in Hdt. **ἐκφάσις**: gen. of **ἐκφασίς**, ‘proclamation’, another extremely rare and solemn word; the form was perhaps suggested by that of **κατάκλισις** above. The solemnity is needed to underline by contrast the outrageousness of Hippokleides’ impending behaviour; see next n. **θύσας βοῦς ἑκατόν**: sacrifice of a real ‘hecatomb’ is hard to believe: see Vêrilhac and Vial 1998: 291–2, citing Eur. *IA* 718, 721. But (cf. two previous nn.) the mention of the religious ritual enhances the solemnity.

**129.2 ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγίνοντο**: for exactly this phrase, see 5.18.2 and n. (Macedon again) and for another echo of that episode cf. 129.4, with n. on **οὐκέτι...** for a possible explanation. **ἔριν εἶχον ἀμφὶ τε μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον**: the competition is for singing and speaking. Good looks do not come into it (despite **εἶδει** at 127.4n.: see introductory n.), though they may not have been irrelevant to Agariste’s own preferences, about which the reader is not informed (contrast the lucky daughters of Kallies, 122.2 and n.). Note the Pindaric or Thucydidean **μεταβολή** or ‘variation’ in **μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ**, cf. e.g. Pind. *O.* 6.17 or Th. 6.57.3. **τῷ**

λεγομένωι ἐς τὸ μέσον prepares for the inappropriate words Hippokleides will utter as the culmination of his μουσική. ἐς μέσον is often a democratic catchword for airing serious matters publicly (Pelling 2002: 140 n.54), but here it just means ‘speaking in company’, as in the convivial advice given by Theognis 495. προΐούσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος: for the noun, cf. 5.19.1 (Macedon), τῇ πόσι. Cf. 129.4n. οἱ οὐκέτι... κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους: probably ‘greatly outdoing the others’, leaving them far beneath him, rather than ‘captivating’ or ‘holding as with a charm’ (Stein, H/W); but κατέχων may also carry a hint of ‘repressing’ his rivals (so Powell, *Lexicon*), with Hippokleides already too full of himself and occupying too much of the limelight. κατέχω is a keyword of this story, used twice of Kleisthenes’ admirable hospitality (128.1), now of Hippokleides, then of Kleisthenes again twice at 129.4 until he finally can ‘restrain’ himself no more. ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης ἐκέλευσε: part of his offence was that it was for the piper-paying host, not a guest, to call the tune. ἐμμέλειαν: strictly, a kind of dance (the ‘peaceful’ kind, εἰρηνικόν, rather than the ‘warlike’ πυρρίχη, Plato *Laws* 7.816b), but here transferred to the tune appropriate to that dance (as a band might be asked to ‘play a waltz’). ὁ Κλεισθένης δὲ ὀρέων ὄλον τὸ πρῆγμα ὑπώπτει: ὁ δὲ Κλεισθένης (P) might be expected rather than ὁ Κλεισθένης δέ, but in a μέν...δέ...contrast the words immediately before the particles are often the most important elements (*GP*: 371). This therefore strengthens the contrast with ἐωυτῶι: Hippokleides liked it *himself*, but *Kleisthenes* began (inceptive imperfect) to ‘look askance’ (Waterfield). See above on κατέχων and on ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης...: even before the final outrage, Kleisthenes was not best pleased.

129.3 ἐκέλευσέ τινα τράπεζαν ἐσενεῖκαι ‘he gave orders for someone to bring in [from ἐσφέρω] a table’. ἐκέλευσε is repeated from 129.2: giving instructions to a musician was one thing, giving instructions to the household slaves and taking liberties with the furniture was a notch worse. Wilson added <τῶν οἰκετέων> before τινά to make it clear that a servant is being given instructions, but it is better to keep the MSS reading, possibly with the variant <οἱ> τινα, and picture Hippokleides drunkenly shouting φερέτω οἱ ἐνεγκάτω (μοί) τις τράπεζαν. Such language would be familiar to Hdt.’s audience, who would not sense any ambiguity: cf. e.g. Ar. *Thesm.* 238 ἐνεγκάτω τις ἔνδοθεν δαῖδ’ ἢ λύχνον, Dem. 19.197, and Plato *Phaidon* 116d8 (Sokrates’ words as the time for death grows near) ἐνεγκάτω τις τὸ φάρμακον, εἰ τέτριπται. See Sommerstein on Men. *Sam.* 321. Λακωνικά σχήματα, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλα Ἀττικά: the latter were probably more comic than the Spartan; there is a graduated escalation of inappropriateness, see 129.2n. and Lavelle 2014: 327–31. τοῖσι σκέλεσι ἐχειρονόμησε: a paradox to emphasise the upside-down-ness: the verb derives from a root including ‘hands’.

129.4 ἀποστυγέων γαμβρόν ἄν οἱ ἔτι γενέσθαι Ἴπποκλείδεα ‘hating the thought that Hippokleides might still become his son-in-law...’

διὰ τε τὴν ὄρχησιν καὶ τὴν ἀναιδείην: in effect a hendiadys for ‘shameless dancing’. The shamelessness here arose because of the unsuitable context in which the man’s αἰδοῖα were put on display; Hdt.’s audience would assume that the suitors had all been training naked in the gymnasium for the past year, so nobody was seeing anything new (as a woman, Agariste will not have been present). **ἐκραγῆναι**: from ἐκρήγνυμι, more usually literal in Hdt., ‘burst (out)’. It adds to the vividness: cf. Th. 8.84.3, where it is used of the sailors who nearly lynched the Spartan commander Astyochos. **οὐκέτι κατέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε**: 129.2n. Cf. 5.19.1 where the young Macedonian Alexandros is similarly ‘unable to contain himself’. See n. there. For other such echoes of that episode, see 129.1, 129.2, and nn. They may have a structural purpose: they stake out the beginning and end of the unit made up of bks. 5–6, which form the centre and hinge of the entire *Histories* (Introduction, Section 2). In each story (Macedon, Sikyon) lavish hospitality has a surprise climax. **ὦ παῖ Τεισάνδρου**: this kind of greeting is often used for negative statements (Dickey 1996: 55, cf. also S. West 2015: 22). There are other possible reasons (see Hornblower 2013: 32): (1) to emphasise that Hippokleides is bringing shame on his family. This fits Kleisthenes’ emphasis on γένος at 128.1. (2) It is a further Homeric feature. (3) To avoid mentioning the name Hippokleides itself too often; it will be needed as part of the punch-line, which is to be Hippokleides’ reply. (This last explanation requires that Kleisthenes knows how he will reply, but that trivial inconsistency would go unnoticed in oral performance. See further below on the possible implications of μέν.) **ἀπορχήσαό γε μὲν τὸν γάμον**: Greek males wore no underwear, and so there may be a pun on ὄρχις = testicle. That would square with the dancing peacock. Ogden 1997: 117 renders as ‘you have ballsed up your marriage’, but see S. West 2015: 22 (‘this short-lived slang for making a mess of something is alien in register’).

The γε μὲν is certainly emphatic, but its precise force is elusive. The combination can be used in several ways (*GP* 386–9). In the narrative the μέν reads very naturally, because it prepares for the punch-line, ‘but, δέ, Hippokleides said...’ Yet the short sentence is a piece of direct speech, so how did Kleisthenes know what was coming? Stein and H/W suggest that γε μὲν may be a way of indicating an ellipse, ‘You’ve danced very well, but...’; S. West 2015: 22 adds that Kleisthenes might be ‘at a loss for words from indignation’. Alternatively we could see this as the rare ‘affirmative’ use (*GP* 387–8): ‘you’ve certainly danced away your marriage’, and/or the emphasis could be ‘marking a coinage’ of the word ἀπόρχησας (West again). But perhaps Kleisthenes intended to continue the sentence quite differently, e.g. ‘dancing away the marriage μέν is what you have done, and now δέ I will pick someone different’, and Hippokleides is compounding his rudeness by interrupting his host.

**129.4 (cont.)** οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδῃ: see Zenobios 5.31 (without the word μέν, see previous n.). Plutarch, *Herodotus' malice* 33 867b applies this in meta-historical terms: like Hippokleides, he says, Herodotus dances away the truth and says 'Herodotus doesn't care'.

The famous reply is an iambic dimeter catalectic (S. West 2015: 23): it might easily have fitted into sympotic songs. The words might denote 'Hippokleides has no cares' rather than just 'Hippokleides doesn't care' (Cook 1907, West), but φροντὶς is often anxious thought about a particular person or issue (1.46.1, 1.111.1, 7.205. 1, and e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 161, Eur. *Med.* 1301), and the distinction is a fine one.

**130.1** ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν ὀνομάζεται: one motive for the excursus is to explain a proverbial saying. See 5. 79–89n. at p. 227 and cf. 84.3 ('drinking Skythian style') and 138.4 ('Lemnian deeds'). On the informal verb (Hdt. avoids the technical term παροιμία, although it was current in his time, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 264) see Milette 2009: 143. **σιγὴν ποιησάμενος**: a neat ellipse of thought: Hdt. does not need to mention that there was uproar and loud hilarity until Kleisthenes reasserted his authority by calling the room to order (the middle ποιησάμενος may indicate that someone else did the actual calling, on his instructions). **ἐς μέσον**: echoing 129.2(n.), as Kleisthenes' dignified and measured public statement again contrasts with what we have just heard from Hippokleides.

**130.2** δωρεὴν δίδωμι: the δωρεή motif yet again; see 121.2–123.1n. **τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος Μεγακλείῃ**: like a modern announcer of a prize-winner, Kleisthenes keeps back as long as possible the name everyone has been waiting for, even putting the patronym before the name. This order of names is a 'traditional poetic licence', acc. to M. West 2011: 82, n. on Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλῆος at *Il.* 1.1. **νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων**: either 'laws' or 'customs'. If the idea was that Megakles was Kleisthenes' intended successor as ruler of Sikyon, the emphasis on a marriage by Athenian custom might mean that he was expected to rule there as a foreigner, like Miltiades' family on the Chersonese (S. West 2015: 32). See also on 126–131.1. **ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος** 'the marriage had been ratified', rounding off the day's work by echoing κυρή... τῆς... κατακλίσιος τοῦ γάμου (129.1). The pluperfect conveys the immediacy: as soon as Megakles accepted the betrothal it was all over. Cf. 79.2n.

**131.1** ὁ τὰς φυλάς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίην Ἀθηναίοισι καταστήσας 'the man who established the tribes and the democracy for the Athenians'. This recalls 5.66 and 69, but there the achievement was less frankly stated (cf. 123nn. for greater assertiveness second time round) and the word δημοκρατίη was not used (cf. 43.3n.). In bk. 5 there was more emphasis on the tribes than on the democracy, a concept which was not there specifically attributed to

Kleisthenes. But this stronger bk. 6 formulation in terms of democracy is right (it is defended by Hansen 1994: 27) as well as tying in more closely with the – admittedly problematic – *μισοτύραννοι* theme (126–131.1n.).

**131.2 Ἴπποκράτης:** known only from this passage (*APF*: 379) and from mentions of his name on e.g. ostraka as the father of Megakles (below). **Μεγακλῆς τε ἄλλος:** this is Megakles IV in *APF*: 379, made famous by Pindar (*P.* 7, celebrating a four-horse chariot victory at Delphi, cf. 35.1n. on ἐών...), and ostracised in 487: *Ath. pol.* 22.5. An ostrakon from the Kerameikos cemetery calls him ‘Megakles son of Hippokrates, horse-breeder, ἵπποτρόφος’: *SEG* 46.84, see *Th. and Pi.*: 250 n. 475 for further (unpublished) ostraka against Megakles connecting him with horses. *SEG* 46.85 and 86 call Megakles ‘accursed’, ἀλειτερός, in allusion to the Kylonian curse at *Hdt.* 5.70; *SEG* 46.87 even calls Megakles Κυλόνε<1>ος, ‘Kylonian’, yet Megakles was not related to Kylon. **καὶ Ἀγαρίστη ἄλλη, ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεισθέ- νεος Ἀγαρίστης ἔχουσα τὸ οὖνομα:** naming a son after a grandfather is common, but it is much more unusual to hear of daughters named after grandmothers. **Ξανθίππῳ τοῦ Ἀρίφρονος:** unlike his son Perikles, Xanthippos has prominent roles to play later in the *Histories* (8.131, 9.114 and 120, and most immediately 136.1, where his prosecution of Miltiades ties together the present excursus with the following one): Introduction p. 15. Ariphron is a shadowy figure; see *APF*: 455 (dating Xanthippos’ marriage to Agariste II no later than 496 BC, and inferring from that marriage high social status). For the metrical ostrakon cast against Xanthippos as one of the ‘accursed leaders’, see 124.1n. on ἀλλὰ γάρ. **εἶδε ὄψιν...**: cf. Hekabe’s dream that she would give birth to a firebrand, which turned out to be Paris (*Lycoph. Alex.* 86, *Apollod.* 3.12.5; cf. *Eur. Tro.* 921–2). For *Hdt.*’s taste for dreams see 107n. **ἐδόκει δὲ λέοντα τεκεῖν:** for lion symbolism, see 5.56.1n. and Brock 2013: 89–90, 118. It is always ambiguous. This is a fairly ‘good’ lion, at first sight: Frisch 1968: 44–5 collected parallels for such good lions, and see Michalowski 1999: 76 for a Mesopotamian omen text: ‘If the fetus is like a lion, it is an omen of Naram-Sin, who subdued the world’. Still, the oracle of 5.92 β 3 may still be in a reader’s or listener’s mind: ‘an eagle... will give birth to a lion, a strong, ravening one, and he will loose the knees of many’: this lion is Kypselos, such bad news for his city. Placed near the end of the *Histories* will also be a shocking story about Perikles’ father Xanthippos (9.120.4), who agrees to the crucifixion of Artayktes the Persian, and this might recall Perikles’ treatment of the Samians in 439 (*Plut. Per.* 28.1–3). *Hdt.* leaves the interpretation hanging, without comment on the implications.

‘However we interpret the much discussed dream sent to Agariste a few days before Pericles’ birth (6.131.2), it would hardly have laid to rest the anxieties natural to an expectant mother’ (S. West 1987: 267 n. 26).

**131.2 (cont.)** **τίκτει Περικλέα Ξανθίππωι**: the naming of Perikles is closural and climactic; see introductory n.

**132–40 THIRD MILTIADES EXCURSUS. HIS  
MISERABLE END: FAILURE AT PAROS, EARLIER  
SUCCESS AT LEMNOS**

The final (Miltiades) λόγος of bk. 6 is in two halves, like the penultimate (Alkmeonid) λόγος, except that that was about two different members of the same family. The first half here describes a failure (Paros, **132–5**), the second a success (Lemnos, **136–40**); but the second is earlier in time. The whole of the Miltiades λόγος can be seen as a pocket version of the career of Kambyzes: impiety then death: Munson 2001: 57 n. 43 (see **136.3n.** on σφακελίσαντος . . . for the similarity of their deaths). A corollary is that Miltiades is a kind of Athenian Kleomenes (for whose resemblances to Kambyzes see Griffiths 1989). But there are differences from Kambyzes: Hdt. kills off Kleomenes and Miltiades, but then resuscitates them with flashbacks to episodes of their cunning which turned out positively for their cities: **108** for Kleomenes and Plataia, **137–40** for Miltiades and Lemnos, esp. the last four words of the book. For the relation between the final Miltiades *logos* and the Alkmeonid *logos* which precedes it, see **132n.** on καὶ πρότερον . . .

There is a further and forward-looking similarity, namely with Themistokles. Miltiades will fail humiliatingly on Paros, and the Parians' attitude will still be equivocal as between the Greeks and Persians at 8.67.1. That other maverick Athenian, Themistokles, will be more successful in that he will extract a bribe from the Parians (8.112.2–3). The Parians will later join the Delian League, and pay a high level of tribute (**133.1n.**). So Miltiades' attempt on Paros hints at the Athenian πλεονεξίη, 'grasping for more', that will become more explicit with Themistokles, and reach its climax with the developed Athenian imperialism of the later fifth century.

Like Paros, Lemnos 'prefigures later fifth-century Athenian conquests' (Baragwanath 2008: 143–4 and n. 63 for the similar 'trajectories' of Miltiades and Themistokles 'from heroes . . . to bullies').

**132–5 Miltiades, Paros and the priestess Timo**

An alternative version of Miltiades' attempt on Paros was recorded by Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 F 163), featuring Datis and not mentioning Timo at all; the Parians broke an agreement, and this is used to explain the proverbial expression 'to do a Parian', ἀναπαρίσσειν. There is no need to choose, or to try to reconcile the two accounts: incompatible and differently motivated versions were in circulation at and after the time. See Kinzl 1976: 298.



**132** μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρῶμα γενόμενον: the expedition was probably in the same archon year as Marathon (summer 490/summer 489), but early in the following campaigning year, i.e. spring 489 (Fornara 1971c: 42). The choice of the word τρῶμα implies a Persian perspective; contrast 7.1.1, where the neutral μάχη will be used for Marathon when the news reaches Dareios. But the literal meaning of τρῶμα is a ‘wound’, and this foreshadows Miltiades’ mortal injury at **134.2** and **136.3**, even though τρῶμα is not there used: Miltiades gloriously inflicts the first wound and catastrophically suffers the second. τρῶμα contributes to a larger-scale pattern as well, as the word is used also of Thermopylai, Mykale, and Plataia, linking almost all the major battles: 7.233.1, 7.236.3, 8.27.1, 9.90.1, 100.2, and Introduction p. 15. καὶ πρότερον εὐδοκιμέων . . . αὔξετο: as the Athenians themselves ἡῤῥοντο after inflicting a notable defeat: 5.78. At 1.59.4–5, Peisistratos was also said to be πρότερον εὐδοκιμήσας, but the Athenian *dēmos* was then deceived by him, ἐξαπατηθεῖς; for the pattern, see Kinzl 1976: 283. The steady advance of Miltiades’ reputation also recalls what was said about the Alkmeonids at **125.1**: they were λαμπροί before, but now became κάρτα λαμπροί. These two final λόγοι of bk. 6 (taking the Alkmeon and Megakles excursuses each as a single *logos*) are thus presented as a matching pair, at least initially and in certain details: Xanthippos is common to both, **131.2** and **136.1**, the prospect of riches at **132** recalls Alkmeon, and both *logoi* explain proverbial expressions, **130.1** and **138.4**. But humour is absent from this final story of Miltiades, which is much darker than that of either Alkmeon or Megakles. On the other hand, there is no suggestion (though see **136.3n.** for ἐξέτεισε) that the pollution of Miltiades’ impiety will be inherited by his son Kimon, and this is unlike the enduring Alkmeonid curse. (Hdt. must have been aware of Kimon’s later misfortunes and unhappy end in the late 450s: **103–4n.**, **136.3n.**) νέας ἑβδομήκοντα: a very large number: only a few years earlier the Athenians apparently had only fifty (**89n.**, 5.97.3n.). If this is accurate, it must have been effectively their entire fleet. ἐπὶ γὰρ χώρην . . . : the Athenians are not told the destination; nor are Hdt.’s readers, who are similarly left in ignorance. He is vague too on who exactly was consulted: perhaps the Council of Five Hundred (*boulē*)? If so, cf. 5.97 n. εὐπετέως ‘easily’. With this dangerous word, Hdt. makes clear that he thought the Athenians foolish to have voted for Miltiades’ expedition with no questions asked. There is a pattern here: ‘[t]hey are persuaded that grandiose enterprises will be easy’, just as they were by Aristagores at 5.97.1 (Munson 2001: 210).

**133.1** ἐπὶ Πάρον: this island of the Cyclades, due W. of Naxos, featured twice in the early part of bk. 5 (5.28–9, 31.2): cf. *IACP* no. 509 and 5.28n. In the 4th cent., the Parians were claimed by the Athenians as their colonists (R/O 29 lines 5–6), but Hdt. does not here allow his agents to

show knowledge of that relationship, if it existed. Paros paid between 16 and 18 talents to the Athenians in the Delian league (*IACP* p. 765), but that level of prosperity is not quite the ‘abundant gold’ promised by Miltiades (Parian wealth, such as it was, derived from its marble, for which see 3.57.3 and 5.62.3 with n.). Miltiades’ plans went beyond the conquest of Paros; so Kinzl 1976: 284 n. 21, cf. 292. **ἀδικίης**: we accept that something like Stein’s supplement is necessary. **στρατευόμενοι τριήρεϊ**: not mentioned before, but perhaps included in the στρατιή picked up from ‘the islands’ en route, 99.1n. **τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα λόγου ἦν, ἀτάρ τινα καὶ ἔγκοτον εἶχε**: the pettier motive is preferred; see Baragwanath 2008: 140. But καὶ indicates that the medising excuse was not mere pretext, but a genuine motive *as well*: cf. 94.1n. For ἔγκοτον see 73.1n. **διὰ Λυσσαγόρεα τὸν Τεισίεω . . . πρὸς Ὑδάρνεα τὸν Πέρσην**: this episode, if it happened at all, is left obscure. Hydarnes is presumably the commander of the ‘Immortals’, ‘commander of the coastal people of Asia’, and son of another Hydarnes (7.83.1 and 135.1). For the name Lysagores, see 5.30.2n. (where it is the patronym of Histiaios). The inclusion of the detail of Lysagores’ patronym here (Teisias, a common name) suggests that Hdt. knew more than he has chosen to tell.

**133.2 κατειλημένους** ‘cooped up’, from κατελλέω. **ἑκατὸν τάλαντα**: twice the fifty talents of Miltiades’ eventual fine, 136.3, perhaps reflecting some feeling of symbolic appropriateness.

**133.3 ἐμνηχανῶντο**: the favourite word, for the last time in bks. 5–6. **ἐκάστοτε** ‘on each occasion’, presumably in response to repeated attacks by the besiegers on different parts of the wall, creating or exposing fresh weaknesses in turn. **ἐπίμαχον** ‘vulnerable’. **ἄμα νυκτί** ‘at night’ or ‘as night fell’, not suggesting that all this work was done in a single night: like ἐκάστοτε, the impfct. ἐξήριετο points to repeated actions. It would not be so much a matter of concealment (impossible after the first night), more a matter of making repairs and improvements during the night-time breaks in the assault.

**134.1 ἐς μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο . . . ὥδε λέγουσι**: the sentence follows a familiar pattern (cf. 2.99.1 and esp. 4.150.1): up to now Hdt. has given the agreed Greek version, but from now on he will give the Parian one only (the two are, however, not mutually exclusive, see Kinzl 1976: 289–90). He therefore switches here to an acc. and inf. construction to describe the eerie episode of Timo. Then at 135.1, he returns to a nom. and indic. construction (ἀπέπλεε) and stays with it. Yet the Timo theme continues until the end of 135, which presupposes the contents of 134 (in particular, the Pythia will explain at 135.3 why Timo had ‘appeared’ to Miltiades). So, after all, it might seem that Hdt. vouches for crucial elements of the story

by using the indicative, rather as he does at 1.91 (quoted at 98.1n.). But after bringing Miltiades to Athens, thus recording an uncontroversial historical fact, it would have been awkward for Hdt. to revert to accs. and infs. without an explicit ‘this is what the Parians say’. It is also possible that 135.2–3 draws on Delphic – not just Parian – traditions (Jacoby 1913: 445 col. 1 [=1956: 127]). In this sentence the second λέγουσι does not quite have its usual function of protecting Hdt. in a religiously sensitive matter, because it merely balances the neutral λέγουσι a few words earlier. **Τιμοῦν, εἶναι δὲ ὑποζάκορον**: Timo’s religious office is given three times in all (twice at 135.2); but at least one further specification may be making it clear that Timo was not just an element in the Parians’ controversial version, but was an acknowledged historical person. The name Τιμώ was popular and common everywhere and at all periods. **ὑποζάκορον**: ‘assistant warden’. A ζάκορος is a temple guard: Dignas 2008: 81 (on priests of Hellenistic Sarapis). According to the grammarian Philemon, a ζάκορος was more honourable than a νεωκόρος or temple-guard (the prefix ζα- may be the equivalent of διὰ- = ‘very’, as in e.g. ζάπλουτος). For ζάκορος and ζακορεύω, see Sokolowski 1969: no. 3 (Athens, 485/4 BC) line 14, and Sokolowski 1962: no. 18 (Athens, 5th cent. BC) A 35. (ζακορε[...]); for ὑποζάκορος, *IG* II. 2445 line 36 (Athens, Hellenistic). The Parians were later regarded as colonists of the Athenians (133.1n.), and if there was any truth in this claim, the shared religious terminology is not surprising. **τῶν χθονίων θεῶν**: gods especially connected with the underworld, such as Persephone and Hades; cf. 7.153.2 for Gelon’s family as ἱεροφάνται τῶν χθονίων θεῶν at Gela, where the gods are clearly Demeter and Persephone, as also here. The permeability of the distinction between Olympian and chthonian deities has been much discussed; see esp. Scullion 1994 and 2000 for a defence of its validity, and Deacy 2015 for an overview of the debate. **ἐς ὅσιν Μιλτιάδεω**: see 5.18.1n.

**134.2 Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος**: see 16.2n.; Richardson 1974: on *HHDem.* line 497; Cole 1997: 209. **ὃ τι δὴ (twice)**: indefinite: cf. 1.86.2, θεῶν ὅτεωι δὴ, ‘some god or other’. The ‘something’ was probably a talisman, regarded as protecting the island (Griffiths 1999: 174), but it evidently had in addition a specially female character to do with the cult of Demeter: 135.2n. on ἐξηγησαμένην... For a possible structural parallel between the Timo story and the theft by Odysseus and Diomedes of a more famous talisman, the Palladion at Troy, see Introduction pp. 22–3 and nn. **πρόκατε φρίκης αὐτόν ὑπελθούσης** ‘suddenly horror crept up on him’. φρίκη, lit. ‘shuddering’, is (as in mod. Gk.) a strong and sinister word, found only here in Hdt. In the 5th cent. it is poetic in the sense ‘fear’: see e.g. Eur. *Trö.* 183, where φρίκαι are perhaps personified. For this passage as an example of ‘impiety instantly punished’, see Parker 1983: 178f.; cf. Ael. frag. 44

(Battos at Kyrene). For another example of Demeter's protection of her sacred space, see 9.65. She perhaps had a special role in Hdt. as avenger: see 91.2n. **ὀπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν** 'back the same way'. Not quite a repetition of ideas, but still emphatic. **τὴν αἵμασιν**: 'the low fencing-wall'; see 74.2n. **ὁ καὶ δὴ καὶ . . .** (the Styx). **τὸν μηρὸν σπασθῆναι** 'suffered a dislocation of his thigh', acc. of respect: presumably the hip-joint. Cf. 5.2 (Histiaios at Miletos): bk. 6 begins and ends with an injury to a man's thigh. There is an even closer similarity to Kambyses' fatal injury; see 136.3n. Again, various rings are closing (Introduction p. 14): this is no surprise, given that bk. 7 init. is going to be such a strong new start (see below, *Closure*).

**135.1 ἀπέπλεε**: on the return to the indicative, see 134.1n. on **ἐς μὲν . . .**

**135.2 τιμωρήσασθαι**: perhaps with a play on the name Τιμώ. **ἐς Δελφοὺς πέμπουσι**: for this Parian consultation, see Fontenrose 1978: 313 (Q 143), who doubts its genuineness, and 78, suggesting that the Parians invented the story on the pattern of mythical stories like the Skylla who betrayed Megara to Minos or Tarpeia who tried to betray Rome to Titus Tatius. For a possible analogy with another female betrayer (and priestess), Theano of Troy, see Introduction pp. 22–3. **ἐξηγησαμένην . . . ἰρὰ ἐκφήνασαν**: a double offence, both the betrayal of the island and the display to a man of objects intended for female ears and eyes only (**ἄρρητα** means 'not to be spoken', while the implication of **ἐκφήνασαν** is visual). The same objects could have been both a 'collective talisman' (134.2n. on **ὅ τι δὴ**) and sacred in a specially female way.

**135.3 φᾶσα οὐ Τιμοῦν εἶναι τὴν αἰτίην τούτων** 'saying it was not Timo that was responsible for this'. Where **οὐ** follows rather than precedes **φημί** it goes closely with the word it qualifies: it was not Timo but someone or something else. Cf. two cases in 65.3, **φᾶς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύειν Σπαρτιητέων**, not denying that Demaretos was for the moment king but saying that it was **οὐκ ἰκνεομένως**, and **φᾶς οὐκ ἑωυτοῦ μιν εἶναι**, saying that the child was not his. Here this reply may indicate that there were 'more powerful forces at work' (Eidinow 2011: 103). See further below, n. on **φανῆναι . . .** For another example of an oracle telling an inquirer that a divine not a human agent was responsible for a bad action, see 9.93.4 (the Euenios story) with Griffiths 1999: 175. **ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτᾶν μὴ εὔ**: see 5.33.2n., citing 4.79.1 and other passages; see also 5.72.2 (Kleomenes) and 9.109.2. For **δεῖν** see 64n. This comment is ostensibly embedded in the Pythia's response, but her reply is thoroughly in line with Hdt.'s own thinking: see esp. the prominent and programmatic 1.8.2, **χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλην γενέσθαι κακῶς** (Kandaules). 5.92 δ 1 is similar, where a very Herodotean **ἔδει . . . Κορίνθωι κακὰ ἀναβλαστεῖν** is embedded in Soklees'

direct speech. φανῆναι οἱ τῶν κακῶν κατηγοιμόνα: perhaps the language of epiphanies, i.e. Timo was a phantasm (which would again suit the phrasing 'it was not Timo who was responsible': see above): φαίνω is a regular word for epiphanies (see 106.1 for Pan). If so, the hint is lightly conveyed. Timo is clearly envisaged as a real-life individual, as the Parians' thoughts of punishment make clear: so, if this appearance was indeed a (malicious) phantasm, presumably it took her human form, as Athena takes the form of the human Deiphobos to lure Hektor to his death, *Il* 22.227, 299. This second part of the Pythia's reply 'implicates [Timo] in a divine plan, of which the Pythia has knowledge' (Eidinow 2011, as above). It is not clear whether this is still offered as the Parian account, as the infinitive φανῆναι is used because this is what the Pythia said, not because it is what the Parians said; but it probably was their version, despite the return to indicatives. See 134.1n. on ἐς μέν...

### 136–40 *Miltiades' trial and 'Lemnian deeds'*

After the first stage, the organising principle throughout is 'negative reciprocity' (cf. Gould 2001b: 285): the Athenians give the Pelasgians some Attic good land under Hymettos as a payment or reward (μισθόν, 137.1) for wall-building, but then they expel them justly or unjustly; the Pelasgians, after migrating to Lemnos, get their revenge (τιμωρήσασθαι, 138.1) for the expulsion by abducting some Athenian females; Miltiades pays the Pelasgians back (136.2, τεισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγούς) for the abduction by forcing them to hand over Lemnos.

136.1 εἶχον ἐν στόμασι 'he was much talked about': the Eng. idiom would be 'was on their lips', rather than 'in their mouths'. This can be for good (as of the Babylonians about Zopyros at 3.157.4, with the positive ἀνέοντες) or ill, as here. The transition to οἱ τε ἄλλοι followed by the name of the prosecutor is elliptical: Wilson suggests adding an explicit negative word like αἰτιώμενοι, 'blaming/accusing him'. Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος: see 131.2n. ὑπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον Μιλτιάδεα ἰδίωκεν: 104.1n. ἀπάτης εἵνεκεν: the charge was 'deceiving the people' (Nepos *Milt.* 7. 5 has 'treason', *proditionis*). In the 4th cent. at least, one of the grounds for bringing an accusation under the *eisangelia* procedure (104nn.) was when an orator was alleged to have given bad advice corruptly to the Athenian people (Hypereides, *Against Euxenippos* 8, with Rhodes 1972: 163 and Whitehead 2000: 188; cf. Hansen 1975: 69, where this is *eisangelia* case no. 3). On this occasion, the Athenian people had allowed themselves rather too readily to be 'deceived' (132n. on εὐπετέως).

136.2 σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ 'his thigh was becoming mortified'. προκειμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίνῃ: what a theatrical scene! At a given signal,

the great man is brought in on a stretcher, mortally ill, while the assembled Athenians crane their necks to see him. Cf. the sick Phaidra, carried on-stage in her litter at Eur. *Hipp.* 176, and the mirroring scene of the dying Hippolytos, walking-wounded ‘but supported and half carried by his servants’ (Barrett 1964: 402), at the play’s end (1342, 1358–9). **ὑπεραπελογέοντο οἱ φίλοι**: these ‘friends’, who conducted Miltiades’ defence for him, are the first certain attestation of what would later be called *συνήγοροι* or ‘supporting speakers’ and became an important feature of the developed Athenian democracy. See Rubinstein 2000: 126. Greek φίλοι included relatives as well as friends; cf. Nepos *Milt.* 7.5. **πολλὰ ἐπιμεμνημένοι**: the ‘friends’ had much to say about Marathon, but Hdt. has no need to repeat it. That is reflected in the change of construction after ἐπιμεμνημένοι. All the audience needs to know is that they ‘mentioned’ Marathon (gen.), as they can fill in the rest; but what they said about ‘the capture of Lemnos’ needs to be stated more fully, and so the construction moves to acc. plus ὥς, where the topic is stated first then the content of what was said. For this ‘I know thee who thou art construction’ (Mark 1.24 = Luke 4.34 οἶδα σε τίς εἶ) cf. 7.18.2 with the uncompounded vb., μεμνημένος . . . τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας στόλον ὥς ἔπρηξε. The construction regularly introduces an indirect question rather than indirect statement, and so we should translate ὥς as ‘how’ rather than ‘that’. **καὶ τὴν Λήμνου αἵρεσιν . . .**: the transition to the final section of the book, the narrative of Miltiades’ capture of Lemnos, is neatly managed, by means of the second main argument used in his defence; Marathon was the first. This is not to say that Hdt. invented the forensic use of the capture of Lemnos. In the middle of the 5th cent. there would still have been Athenians alive who recalled this memorable trial and could tell him about it. For the island of Lemnos in the N. Aegean, due W. of Troy, see 5.26.1 and n.; *IACP* pp. 756–7; *Barr.* map 57 D2; and for the two cities of the island see 140.2n. on Ἡφαιστίες . . . Ὁν αἵρεσιν, see next n.

Lemnos and lameness are strangely linked. It was the island where the lame Hephaistos fell from heaven (*Il.* 1.593–4, cf. *Od.* 8.294 with Garvie 1994: 300, both mentioning the Lemnian ‘Sinties’ or ‘robbers’); it was also where the Greeks abandoned Philoktetes on their way to Troy, disgusted by the foul smell from his snake-bitten foot, only to recover him ten years later when he and/or his bow proved indispensable (*Soph. Phil.*). Miltiades may even be seen as a non-legendary figure in the same mould (rather as Timo had her mythical antecedents, 134.2 and 135.2nn.), even if his wound (like Philoktetes’) was not inflicted on the island itself.

**136.2 (cont.) ὥς ἔλὼν Λῆμνόν τε καὶ τεισάμενος τοῦς Πελασγούς**: the language used in this para. for Miltiades’ success on Lemnos (αἵρεσιν, ἔλων,

perhaps even τεισάμενος) might be thought to suggest military action. But at the fuller 140.1–2 Hdt. gives a different impression: see n. there. The discrepancy can perhaps be explained in terms of focalisation. 140.1–2 is narrative and authorial, whereas the present passage gives the rhetoric used by the *philoi*. They would naturally exaggerate the arduousness and military character of the undertaking, so as to balance μάχη above (Marathon). τεισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγούς: for the verb, see 136.3n. and 136–40n., and for the Pelasgians 137.1n. This allusion is both proleptic in one way (Hdt. has not yet explained what Miltiades did to the Pelasgians) and analeptic in another (the event lay in the distant past).

136.3 κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου ‘as far as absolving him from the death penalty was concerned’. σφακελίσαντός τε τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ σαπέντος ‘his thigh became gangrenous and mortified’. The second participle is from σήπομαι: cf. 136.2. The language used about Kambyses at 3.66.2 was very similar (ἐσφακέλισέ τε τὸ ὀστέον καὶ ὁ μηρὸς ἐσάπη). ἐξέτεισε ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Κίμων: the name is saved so as to end the long sentence and the whole Paros sub-narrative with a bang. This and 7.107 (another siege, of the Persian Bogen, resembling in some details Miltiades’ siege of Paros) are the only mentions of the famous Kimon, rival of the young Perikles. He will die on Cyprus in 450 BC, ingloriously. Cf. ML no. 26 (Kimon’s epigraphic rehabilitation of his father Miltiades), and see 103–4n. This links with 131.2: before the focus switches to Persia at the beginning of bk. 7, various items prefigure the next generation in Greece. ἐξέτεισε echoes τεισάμενος (136.2, Miltiades’ punishment of the Pelasgians for their polluting crime): Hdt. could have found other ways of saying that Kimon paid his father’s fine. Given the way that the notion of τίσις haunts bk. 6 (84.3 and n., Introduction, Section 3), it is possible that this τίσις-related verb hints at moral or religious requital. See 132n. on καὶ πρότερον... for inherited guilt.

137.1 Λῆμνον δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ὧδε ἔσχε: the date of Miltiades’ capture of Lemnos is uncertain and disputed – Hdt. may well not have known himself – but it probably took place between 516 and 507 (for Kleisthenes’ tribal changes of 507 as a possible ‘date before which’, see 140.2n. on καὶ οὕτω...). The date currently favoured (but not by us) is later, c. 499 BC, in the context of the Ionian Revolt: so D. M. Lewis, *CAH* 4<sup>2</sup>: 298, *IACP* p. 759, and already Wade-Gery 1958: 163 (but see his n. 2: ‘the alternative date is 510–508, after Hippias’ fall’). The main evidence offered for this dating of the takeover is a helmet dedicated by the ‘men of Rhamnous [a fortified E. Attic deme] from Lemnos’ (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 522bis: see Rausch 1999 and Igelbrink 2015: 184–92). There are two similar inscribed helmets said to date to around 498 BC (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 1466, from Olympia, and 518bis, from the Athenian acropolis. But Alan Johnston tells us that he would date these

in or after *c.* 490: this would rule out any connection with the hypothetical dating of the takeover to 499 or 498. In any case there is no reason to think that Miltiades must have used military force in a way that would make a helmet an appropriate dedication: see 140.2n. The precise context and date for these helmets must be left uncertain: not everything that happened in the first quarter of the 5th cent. found its way into Hdt. or the rest of the meagre surviving source-tradition.

At 140.1, Hdt. will imply that Miltiades settled Lemnos directly from the Chersonese; this must be reconciled with *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 1477, a later casualty list which lists Lemnians by Kleisthenic Athenian tribes (Parker 1994: 343 n. 21). That might imply that Miltiades' conquest preceded Kleisthenes' reforms of 507 BC in time for the island's tribal system to be reorganised at the same time; but *IACP* p. 756 (cf. above) draws the opposite conclusion. So we do not set great store by this argument.

Since inscriptions are inconclusive, that compels a return to Hdt., and to general probability. He has left few clues, but the language of 140.1 for Miltiades' takeover of Lemnos, 'many years later, when/after the Chersonese came under the control of the Athenians', ὥς . . . ἐγένετο, suggests a date considerably earlier than 498, perhaps not far into Miltiades the Younger's tyranny in the Chersonese, which began shortly before 513 (39.1n.). (For what it is worth, Nepos *Milt.* 2.4 places it before Dareios' Skythian expedition of 513.) Hdt.'s detailed account of the years 500–493 does not hint at activity of this sort by Miltiades, and his Lemnian operations cannot easily be brought into connection with the narrative of the Ionian Revolt itself. In particular, Meidani 2010 suggests that Miltiades used the Athenian fleet on its way back from helping the Revolt; but the defeated Athenians seem to have pulled their fleet out of Ionia rapidly, and a diversion to the N. Aegean is most unlikely (Kinzl 1968: 60 n. 8).

**137.1 (cont.) Πελασγοί:** for the Pelasgians on Lemnos, see 5.26 and n. (Th. 4.109 called them Etruscans); also (for the 'Pelargic' or 'Pelasgic' wall at Athens) 5.64.2 and n., and below, 137.2n. The Pelasgians are obscure and problematic: cf. Fowler *EGM* 2: 84–96, esp. 86: 'Pelasgians have no home; they are always people who have come from some place else, and live under a standing order of eviction . . . They existed no more than the Amazons or Atlantis.' See also McInerney 2014: 34–45; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003. **ἐπεῖτε . . . ἐξεβλήθησαν:** this temporal clause is not picked up by a main clause, as the εἴτε . . . εἴτε . . . discussion interrupts the syntax to explore the rights and wrongs. The original train of thought is picked up at 138.1, οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι Λῆμνον τότε νεμόμενοι: by then the reader or listener will have inferred this settlement on Lemnos from the end of the preceding indirect speech (τοὺς δὲ . . . Λῆμνον, 137.4n.). The anacoluthon might not even be noticed in oral performance. **εἴτε . . . εἴτε:** Hdt. tends



to use this formula when he is ‘just guessing or palpably does not know’ (Lightfoot 2003: 415): cf. e.g. 82.1, 1.61.2, 2.103.2. ὧν δὴ (like δὴ ὧν: the two seem indistinguishable) reinforces the preceding εἴτε (*GP*: 468–70; Bowie 2007 on 8.54), but need not imply that this first alternative is more plausible than the other. The interest falls simply on the existence of alternatives and the continuing partisan controversy. οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα: for the refusal to adjudicate between rival versions, cf. 5.45.2n. on καὶ πάρεστι... Baragwanath 2008: 136–48 subtly analyses the way Hdt. here guides the reader’s sympathies to and fro on the variant versions.

137.1–2 *Hekataios’ version*

137.1 ὅτι Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Ἠγησάνδρου ἔφησε ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι: what follows (to the end of 137.2) is *FGrHist* 1 F 127; see Fowler, *EGM* 2: 84–96. Hekataios’ line seems to have been critical of the behaviour of the Athenians and Miltiades, which may suggest a date for his work earlier than the Ionian Revolt, i.e. in the last years of the 6th cent. See Bertelli 2001: 86–9; cf. Fowler *EGM*: 2. 85 on Hekataios’ ‘anti-Athenian account’.

137.2 ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἰδεῖν... ταύτην ὡς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους: the intervening material has gone on so long that Hdt. needs the resumptive repetition. ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμηττόν: Mt. Hymettos, famous in antiquity for its marble and its honey, is the large range E. of Athens (*Barr.* map 59 c3). The rural cave of Pan and the nymphs was on its S. slope (for the shrine on the acropolis, see 105.3n. on ἰδρύσαντο). See *OCD*<sup>4</sup> ‘Hymettus’. μισθὸν τοῦ τείχεος: for the Pelasgic or Pelargic wall, see 5.64.2n.; also Baragwanath 2008: 144 for Pelasgian and broader wall imagery in Hdt. The location of the Pelasgians under Hymettos is common to both versions, the Hekataian and the Athenian (137.3), so perhaps the motif of payment for services rendered can also be read into both versions. The story recalls the building by Apollo and Poseidon of the walls of Troy, for which Laomedon refused payment (*Il.* 21.441–60). The mytheme (i.e. a mythical unit around which other elements cluster) is wall-building, followed by a later greedy attempt to avoid payment (agreed or already made), followed by retribution. ἐληλαμένου ‘which had been built’: cf. LSJ ἐλαύνω III. 2. λαβεῖν φθόνον τε καὶ ἔμερον τῆς γῆς: probably the Athenians are the subject and φθόνον τε καὶ ἔμερον the object: one can take ‘heart’, ‘fear’, ‘anger’, and ‘shame’ (at least in poetry: exx. listed in LSJ λαμβάνω II. i. 3) and can ἔμερον ἔχειν (5.106.2, 7.43.1), and so Hdt. – or Hekataios – might easily say that the Athenians ‘took envy and desire’. Powell s.v. λαμβάνω 2 c took φθόνος to be the subject and the Athenians the object, but this would give an even harsher change of subject than 74.1 (see n. there). Some features of this story

resemble that of Naboth and his vineyard at Jezreel, coveted by king Ahab, whose wife Jezebel had Naboth stoned to death (1 *Kings* 21). Retribution overtook king and queen. οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην πρόφασιν προῖσχομένους: after so many disingenuous or half-true excuses for aggression (Introduction p. 11), this is a case where the Athenians are even more ruthless, making no excuse at all.

137.3–4 *The Athenian version*

**137.3** φοιτᾶν... Ἐννεάκρουνον: for the Enneakrounos fountain-house and the stream Kallirhoe, see Th. 2.15.5 (the building said to be the work of the Peisistratids) and Paus. 1.14.1 with Travlos 1971: 204 and figs. 267–74 (and p. 8 no. 31 for its location S. of the agora). It is commonly said that Hdt. is here guilty of anachronism because of that Peisistratid connection, but the word just means Nine Springs, and the water-supply was presumably there from time immemorial. The present passage does not require the existence of a building. τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας [τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας]: the omission of τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας in S is probably only a matter of conjecture by its intelligent scribe Andronikos Kallistos (*Herodotea*: xvii), but is likely to be right in view of αὐταὶ in the following sentence. οὐ γὰρ εἶναι... οἰκέτας: this may not be much more than a way of indicating the remoteness of the period. One Greek view was that chattel slavery began on Chios (cf. *FGrHist* 115 Theopompos F 122). In Attica, a large-scale import of chattel slaves may well have been an unintended consequence of Solon's agricultural reforms in the early 6th cent. But Hdt. is surely not thinking in these terms, or with this in mind. ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὐταὶ 'whenever they came...', pointing to repeated incidents – or so the Athenians said. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφι οὐκ ἀποχρᾶν ποίειν... 'and not content with doing this...' φανῆναι ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ: 'caught [lit. 'displayed'] in the act', as at 72.2 (see n. there). There is no need (with LSJ) to give ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ here a more general sense, 'manifestly', 'notoriously'. The focalisation is Athenian, and they were likely to state it punchily: 'you've been caught in the act!'

**137.4** ἑωυτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι... ἀμείνονας: neatly capturing the indignant tone of the Athenians as they take the high moral ground: far from being the guilty parties, we showed just what better men we were... τοῦς δὲ οὕτω δὴ ἐκχωρήσαντας ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον: δὴ emphasises the preceding οὕτω: *that's* how they left (say the Athenians). But the move to Lemnos, and presumably to 'other places' too, is common to both the Hekataian and the Athenian version, as was the original settlement under Hymettos (137.2n.). The reader or listener at this point picks up the train of thought begun with ἐπεῖτε... ἐξεβλήθησαν at 137.1 (n).



Figure 2. A Brauron ‘bear’ © East Attica Ephoreia of Antiquities

138.1 εὖ τε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων ὀρτάς: on the exploitation of religious festivals for the purposes of military or other unpleasant surprises see 16.2 and n. (Ephesos, where the fear is for attacks on women, who are also the victims here). ἐλόχησαν . . . τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας: Hdt. has already mentioned this seizure by the Pelasgians of the Athenian women in bk. 4 (145.2), but neither there nor here does he cross-refer by e.g. ‘as I will show’, ‘as I have said’ (cf. Gould 1989: 46). This may be mere inadvertence. He there explained that ‘Minyan’ descendants of the Argonauts were driven from Lemnos by these Pelasgians, and were received at Sparta instead in what was, for Sparta, an unexpectedly immigrant-friendly gesture. Hdt.’s γυναῖκας (also in bk. 4) is explicit that Athenian *wives* were taken, but the early Hellenistic historian Philochoros, who was learned in matters of Attic cult, says the victims were virgins, παρθένοι, serving as ‘bears’ at Brauron (*FGrHist* 328 F 100, and see next n. for these little ‘bears’). Philochoros is surely right, and Hdt. has ‘blurred the distinctive Attic details in favour of the familiar story type, “married women seized during a festival”’: Parker 2005: 248. For that ‘story type’, see previous n. Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρωνί ἀγούσας ὀρτήν: the large sanctuary of Brauron was in E. Attica, not far from Marathon (Osborne 1985: 154–82 and in *OCD*<sup>4</sup>). Hdt. implies rightly that the rituals there were strongly female in character (Sourvinou-Inwood 1988), but wrongly that the abducted females were wives rather than young unmarried girls (see previous n.). Brauron was famous for its *arkteia* or ‘bear’ ritual in honour of Artemis: see Parker 2005: 230–5 and 463, and for the prestige conferred by participation *Ar. Lys.* 645. The festival mentioned by Hdt. will have been the Brauronia. A cast of one of the little ‘bears’ (i.e. young girls) stands outside the main entrance to the Eleftherios Venizelos airport of Athens, which is not far away from Marathon and Brauron (figure 2).

It is unlikely that all Athenian girls went through the prestigious *arkteia* ritual, though the point is disputed. If it was an elite marker, then – whatever the historicity and imagined date of the story – Athenians of the fifth century would have understood that this was abduction of females of high status. It was also (because of the festival) an act of impiety; see Introduction p. 23.

138.2 τέκνων . . . ὑπεπλήσθησαν ‘they bore many children’ (from ὑποπίμπλημι, ‘fill up’). γλῶσσάν τε τήν Ἀττικήν . . . ἐδίδασκον: so too the Skythian Skyles learned Greek at the knee of his Greek mother: 4.78.1. With this assertion by the Athenian women of their original culture (Dench 2005: 309 and n. 32) contrast the Spartan wives who are loyal to their Minyan husbands: 4.146.2–4. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν τε τῶν παιδων . . . : similar imperious behaviour in childhood revealed Kyros’ identity, 1.116–18.

**138.3** δεινόν τι ἐσέδυνε ‘a feeling of fear crept over them’. διαγινώσκειεν ‘determine’ (Powell), but with a sense of the more usual use as ‘draw a distinction’, here between the other half-Athenian children and those that were fully Pelasgian.

**138.4** καὶ τοῦ προτέρου τούτων... Λήμνια καλέεσθαι: again, cf. 130.1, the inclusion of the story is partly justified as explaining the origin of a proverb. As at 52.1 (n.), Hdt. takes much mythological knowledge for granted. Cf. the similarly expressed Th. 2.29.3 (the myth of Prokne and Tereus), ‘τὸ ἔργον which αἱ γυναῖκες did concerning Itys’: another murder, but that is not made explicit.

The murderous deed of the Lemnian women was recounted as part of the Argonautic saga. It is here glued casually on to the much less famous Attic story about the Pelasgians, and is more likely to have given rise to the proverb. (But there was an Argonautic aspect to the Pelasgian story also, see 138.1n. on ἐλόχησαν...) The women of Lemnos were afflicted with a horrible smell because they had neglected Aphrodite. (Cf. Philoktetes, 136.2n., another stinky figure: Soph. *Phil.* 876, 890–1, 1032, etc.) So their husbands had sex with local Thracian women instead, but were killed by their wives, except for king Thoas, who was saved by his daughter Hypsipyle. The Argonauts paid a visit on their way to the Black Sea, and had sex with the widows. See Burkert 1970 [= Buxton 2000: 227–49]; *OCD*<sup>1</sup> ‘Hypsipyle’.

**139.1** οὔτε γῇ καρπὸν ἔφερε...: for the punishment – it is particularly appropriate that killing of *progeny* should lead to diminution of fruitfulness of both humans and land – cf. Hes. *WD* 225–47. For consultation of oracles by communities in time of famine or crop-failure see 5.82.1n. on περὶ ταύτης... (the Epidaurians). Particularly close to the present passage is 9.93.3: because the Apollonians blinded the ‘negligent nightwatchman’ Euenios unjustly, their sheep ceased to reproduce and their crops failed, so they consulted the oracles at Dodona and Delphi. οὔτε... ὁμοίως... καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ‘not in the same way as before’. For this use of καί, see 92.1n. on τοὺς αὐτοὺς... ἀπαιδίη... λύσιν...: both nouns are found only here in Hdt., and both have a poetic tinge, at least in the 5th cent. See Soph. *OT* 1024 (ἀπαιδία) and 921 (λύσις). ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον: perhaps anachronistic, depending on the date at which the story is supposed to be set (this can hardly be fixed).

**139.2** ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε: this response is Fontenrose 1978: 311–12, Q 132, marked there as ‘not genuine’; ‘the narrative shows the pattern of offended deity, Artemis in this instance’. If so, Apollo is taking care of his sister. δίκας διδόναι: on the ‘epic and archaic’ feel of this phrase, often found in oracular contexts like this one (e.g. 9.93.4, Euenios again)

see Lateiner 1980: 30. ‘Giving’ words are frequent in Hdt. as indicators of reciprocity: Gould 2001b: 285.

**139.3** ἐν τῷ πρυτανίῳ: the symbolic centre of Athens, see **103.3n.** κλίνην στρώσαντες...: a curious detail, and a very elaborate way of saying ‘in good condition’. Something else, perhaps of ritual or (as Esther Eidinow suggests to us) magical significance, may lie behind it. The procedure described resembles the preparation for a theoxeny (**127.3n.**) or the Roman *lectisternium*, for which see *OCD*<sup>4</sup>.

**139.4** οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπαν: unless some words have dropped out, e.g. ‘thereby expressing a condition repeated from the oracle’, Hdt. presents this as an eccentric stipulation thought up by the Pelasgians themselves; but see **140.1n.** on ἀναμιμνήσκων... ἐπιστάμενοι: **13.1n.** (the word does not necessarily imply the truth of what is supposed). ἀδύνατον: this is exactly that, an *adynaton* (5.92 α 1n.) of a familiar oracular sort, on the lines of ‘when mules foal’ (3.151.2, cf. 1.55.2): that, together with the dactylic rhythm of ἐπεὰν Βορέηι/ ἀνέμῳι/ αὐτημερὸν ἐξανύσῃ, might again suggest that the oracle had itself included something similar (see on οἱ δὲ Πελασγοί... above and **140.1n.**). In this story-type, the ‘impossible’ always happens.

Fontenrose (as above) remarks that the famine apparently ended ‘in spite of the Lemnians not really doing what the oracle demanded’; indeed, the Pelasgians survived for ‘very many years’ (**140.1**).

**140.1** ὥς ἡ Χερσόνησος... ἐγένετο: on the possible chronological implications of this, see **137.1n.** on Ἀθηναίῳ δέ... ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων: the ‘annual winds’, now called the ‘meltemi’, which blows every summer from the N. between June and September; they mainly affect the Aegean (cf. 7.168.4), but see 2.20.2 (Egypt). νηὶ κατανύσας ἐξ Ἐλαιούντος ‘crossing in a ship from Elaious’. For Elaious, on the S. tip of the Chersonese, see Th. 8.102.1 (the run-up to the battle of Kynossema in 411 BC), R/O no. 71, and *IACP* no. 663. ἀναμιμνήσκων σφέας τὸ χρηστήριον: this implies that the oracle included the requirement that the Athenians should reach Lemnos in one day, but as given in **139** it does nothing of the sort, although there are strong hints (see **139.4n.** on ἀδύνατον). Miltiades should rather have reminded them of the reply of their ancestors. Still, it may be that the ‘day’s voyage’ somehow figured in the oracle itself, even if Hdt. has abbreviated it out of the story (**139.2n.**), and in that case τὸ χρηστήριον may not be wrong after all. Another possibility, put to us by Esther Eidinow, is that *χρηστήριον* should be interpreted very broadly, so as to include reactions to the oracle as well as the oracle itself; or else *χρηστήριον* here means something like *κληδών*, a human utterance which has oracular power.

**140.2** Ἡφαιστιέες μὲν νυν ἐπίθοντο, Μυριναῖοι δέ...: as often (cf. e.g. Th. 3.2.1, Lesbos 'except for Methymna' revolts from Athens), there was not unanimity among an island's *poleis*. Myrina on the W. coast of Lemnos and Hephaistia on the E. were the island's two classical *poleis* (*IACP* nos. 503 and 502, both marked at *Barr.* map 57 D2); they are mentioned only here in Hdt. The prehistoric centre was at a third site, Poliochne, also on the E. of the island. Poliochne was not inhabited after the second millennium BC, but remarkable finds there show that the level of pre-Greek civilization on Lemnos was not low, despite dismissive Greek talk of Pelasgians, robber Sinties (136.2n. on καὶ τήν...), and so on. ἐπίθοντο... ἐπολιορκέοντο: Hdt. now fills out the background to 136.2, ὡς ἐλὼν... (n.). The narrative has three steps: Miltiades ordered the Pelasgians to leave; one group did so immediately; the other did so only after a siege. This is compatible with no fighting at all, for an obvious advantage of a blockade is precisely that it avoids bloodshed. (Military action is tacitly assumed at e.g. *LSAG*<sup>2</sup>: 300 and Igelbrink 2015: 189). The point is important, because modern arguments dating Miltiades' takeover to the time of the Ionian Revolt rest on some dedicated helmets which are reckoned to date from the 490s (137.1n.) But helmets are military dedications, and are not obviously appropriate to the sort of action described here. Whatever the exact context for the helmets, they do not compel a date in the 490s for the takeover. οὕτω δὴ τήν Λῆμνον ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Μιλτιάδης: a strong positive close: the individual rather than the collective is allowed, literally, the last word. On the date of the takeover, see 137.1n. on Λῆμνον δέ... This sentence closes the ring there begun: Λῆμνον ἔσχε is resumed by Λῆμνον ἔσχον. The Athenians are now added because Miltiades handed the island over to them, 136.2, παρέδωκε.

At some point, perhaps in the mid-5th cent. (Graham 1983: 179; *IACP* p. 756), the Athenians installed a cleruchy there (for which see esp. Parker 1994).

### Closure

The narrative of Marathon and its hero Miltiades ends resoundingly (contrast the almost imperceptible transition between bks. 5 and 6); whoever ended bk. 6 here (Introduction pp. 7 and 14) knew what he was doing. With the opening of bk. 7, the narrative pace will speed up drastically: three years will be covered in as many words at 7.1.2, whereas much of bk. 6 has been spent covering the three years 493–490.

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