THE HISTORY OF HERODOTUS: Translated from the Greek.

By ISAAC LITTLEBURY.

VOL. II.
The Third Edition.

LONDON:
HE Persians, left in Europe under the Orders of Megabyzus, subdued the Perinthians first of all the Hellepontins, for refusing to submit to Darius, tho’ they had before been considerably weaken’d by the Pæonians. For the Pæonians, who inhabit upon the River Strymon, had been admonish’d by an Oracle to invade the Perinthians; and if they should draw out their Forces, and with Clamours provoke the Pæonians by Name to fight, then to engage; otherwise not. The Pæonians did as they were instructed: And the Perinthians marching out, encamp’d before their City. Upon which a Challenge ensued, and three single Combats were fought: The first, of two Men; the second,
second, of two Horses; and the third, of two Dogs. The Perinthians already victorious in two of these Duels, were so full of Joy that they began to sing the Song of Triumph: When the Pæonians recollecting the Answer of the Oracle, said among themselves, “The Prediction is now accomplish'd: Our Work is next:” And immediately falling upon the Perinthians as they were singing, gave them so great a Blow, that few escap'd out of the Field. In this manner the Perinthians were defeated by the Pæonians: But against Megabyzus they behav'd themselves with the Valour that becomes Men fighting for Liberty; and were oppress'd only by the Numbers of the Persians. After the taking of Perinthbus, Megabyzus advanc'd with his Army, and reduc'd all the Cities and Nations of Thrace to the Obedience of the King. For Darius had commanded him to subdue the Thracians. This Nation is the greatest of any among Men, except the Indians: And in my Opinion, if the Thracians were either under the Government of one Person, or unanimous in their Counsels, they would be invincible, and the strongest People of the World. But because this is extremely difficult, or rather impossible, they are of little Strength. They go under several Names according to the Places they inhabit; but all observe the same Customs, except the Getes, the Traufes, and the Crestoneans, who are seated in the uppermost Parts. I have already spoken of the Customs of the Getes relating to Immortality. The Traufes differ in nothing from the rest of the Thracians, except in the Manners observ'd at the Times of their Nativity.
Nativity and Death. When a Child is born, his Relations sitting in a Circle about him, deploring his Condition, on account of the Evils he must suffer in the Course of Life; enumerating the various Calamities incident to Man-kind. But when a Man is dead, they inter him with Exultation and Rejoicings, repeating the Miseries he has exchanged for a compleat Felicity. Among the Creftoneans who inhabit the highest Part of Thrace, every Man has many Wives; and at his Death all these Women, strongly supported by their several Friends, contend fiercely, who shall be accounted to have been most dear to the Husband. In the end, she who is adjudg'd to have merited that Honour, having receiv'd great Commendations both from the Men and Women, is kill'd upon the grave by the nearest of her Relations, and buried together with the Man: Which is a great Mortification to the rest, because accounted the utmost Disgrace. The rest of the Thracians fell their Children for Transportation: and take no care of their Daughters; but suffer them to entertain as many Men as they like. Nevertheless they keep their Wives under a strict Guard, and purchase them of their Relations at a great Rate. To be mark'd on the Forehead is honourable; and a Man without such Marks is accounted ignoble. Idle-ness is esteem'd decent; Husbandry unbecoming; and to subsist by War and Rapine is thought glorious. These are the most considerable Customs of this Nation. For their Gods, they worship only Mars, Bacchus and Diana. But their Kings, besides the national Deities, adore Hermes with great Religion;
swearing by his Name alone, and pretending to be descended from him. The Funerals of eminent Persons are celebrated in this manner. They expose the Corps to publick View during three Days; and after they have perform'd their Lamentations, they sacrifice all kinds of Animals, and apply themselves to feasting. Then they either burn, or bury the Body in the Ground: And having thrown up a Mound of Earth over the Grave, celebrate all manner of Agonistical Exercises round the Place; appointing the greatest Prizes for those who fight single Combats. And such are their funeral Rites. Concerning the Northern Parts of this Region, no Man can certainly affirm by what People they are possess'd. But those beyond the Danube are wild and impracticable; inhabited by no other Men, that I have heard of, but the Sigynes, who wear the Median Habit, and have Horses cover'd over with Hair, like Bristles five Digits long; low of Stature, unable to carry a Rider, and having short Noses turning upward: Yet they draw a Chariot with Swiftness and the Inhabitants use them to that end. Next adjoining to these, are the Henetes, who dwell in Adria, and say they are a Colony of the Medes. But by what means that Colony came thither, I cannot affirm; tho' nothing be impossible to happen in length of Time. The Ligurians, who inhabit beyond Marfeilles, call the Sigynes, Brokers; and the Cyprians give them the Name of Javelins. The Thracians say, that the Parts which lie beyond the Danube are full of Bees, and on that account impassable. But I think their Assertion carries no Appearance of Truth; because that Animal cannot
cannot endure the Cold; and I am inclin'd to believe that the excessive Frost of the Northern Climates, are the only Cause why those Countries are uninhabited. But I have said enough concerning these Parts: Of which Megabyzus reduc'd all the maritim Places to the Obedience of Darius.

NO sooner was Darius arriv'd at Sardis, after he had repas'd the Hellespont, than remembering the good Offices of Histiaeus the Milesian, and the Counfel of Coes of Mitylene, he sent for both those Persons, and gave them the Choice of their Recompence. Histiaeus being already Tyrant of Miletus, demanded no other Dominion; and only desir'd the Edonian Myrcinus, in order to build a City there. But Coes, who was a private Man, and possès'd of no Government demanded the Dominion of Mitylene. They easily obtain'd all they desir'd, and then departed to take Possession. About the same time, by means of a certain Accident, Darius took a Resolution to command Megabyzus to transplant the Paeonians out of Europe into Asia. For Pigres and Ma'syes, two Paeonians, being desirous to become Masters of Paeonia, came to Sardis after the Return of Darius, accompanied by their Sister, who was a tall and beautiful Person: And observing Darius one Day sitting in the Suburbs of the Lydians, they dress'd their Sister in the best manner they could, and sent her down to the River; carrying a Pitcher on her Head, leading a Horse by a Bridle, hanging upon her Arm, and at the same time spinning a Thred from her Distaff. Darius looking upon the Maid with Attention as she pass'd by; because her manner was alto-
gether different from the Customs, not only of
the Persian and Lydian Women, but of any other
in Asia, order'd some of his Guards to observe
what she would do with the Horse. The
Guards follow'd her, and found that when she
came down to the River, she water'd the Horse,
and having fill'd her Pitcher, return'd again by
the same way; carrying the Water on her Head,
leading her Horse, and spinning, as she had
done before. Darius no les surpriz'd with the
Account they gave, than with what he himself
had seen, commanded her to be brought into
his Presence: Where she was no sooner intro-
duced, than her Brothers, who had observ'd all
that pass'd, appear'd likewise; and when Darius
ask'd who she was, the young Men made an-
swer, that they were Paeonians, and that the
Maid was their Sister. The King proceeding
to enquire, what sort of Men the Paeonians
were; in what Part of the World they liv'd;
and upon what Motive they themselves came to
Sardis; receiv'd for Answer, that they came to
put themselves under his Protection; that Pae-
onia is situate upon the River Strymon, not far
from the Hellespont; and that the People are a
Colony of Teucrians, from the City of Troy.
When they had given Account of these Particu-
lars, Darius farther demanded, if all the Wo-
men of that Country were as industrious as their
Sister: And the Paeonians, who had contriv'd
the whole Design to no other End, readily an-
swer'd, they were. Upon which a Messenger
was dispatch'd on Horseback, with Letters
from the King to Megabyzus, General of his
Forces in Thrace; requiring him to compel the
Paeonians to leave their Country, and pass into
Asia.
Asia with their Wives and Children. The Courier perform'd his Journey with great Expedition; pass'd the Hellespont, and deliver'd the Letters to Megabyzus: Who after he had read the Contents, taking Guides in Thrace, led his Army towards Paeonia. When the Pæonians heard that the Persians were coming to invade them, they drew all their Forces towards the Sea, thinking the Persians would attempt to enter that Way; and prepar'd to dispute their Passage. But Megabyzus, understanding that the whole Strength of Paeonia was in a readiness to receive him on that Side, took his Way, by the Direction of his Guides, towards the upper Part of the Country: And concealing his March from the Enemy, fell in upon their Cities empty of Men, and easily poss'd himself of all. The Pæonians no sooner heard that their Cities were surpriz'd, than they dispers'd themselves; and every Man returning home, the whole Country submitted to the Persians. And in this Manner all those Pæonians, who were known by the Names of Seiropæonians and Pæoplians together with the People of those Parts that descend towards the Lake of Praensis, were expell'd from their ancient Seats, and transported into Asia. But neither the Inhabitants of Mount Pangeus; nor the Doberes, Agrians, or Odomantes; nor those next adjoining to the Lake, were at that time conquer'd by Megabyzus. Yet he attempted to subdue a People, who lived upon the Lake in Dwellings contriv'd after this Manner: They drive down long Piles in the Middle of the Lake and cover them with Planks; which being join'd by a narrow Bridge to the Land, is the only Way
that leads to their Habitations. These Piles were formerly put down at the common Charge; but afterwards they made a Law, to oblige all Men, for every Wife they should marry, to fix three of them in the Lake, and to cut the Timber upon Mount Orbelus. On these Planks every Man has a Hut, with the Door opening thro' the Floor, down to the Water. They tie a String about the Foot of their young Children, lest they should fall into the Lake; and feed their Horses and other labouring Cattle with Fish; which abound so much there, that when they let down an empty Basket by a Cord thro' the Aperture of the Door, they draw it up again in a short time, fill'd with two Sorts of Fish, call'd Papraces and Tilones.

After Megabyzus had taken the Cities of the Paeonians, he dispatch'd seven of the principal Persians in his Army to Macedonia, with Orders to require Amyntas to acknowledge King Darius by a Present of Earth and Water. Macedonia is not far distant from the Lake of Prafias. For, passing by a Mine, which is near the Lake, and afterwards yielded a Talent of Silver every Day to Alexander, Men ascend the Mountain Dyforus; and on the other Side, at the Foot of the Hill, enter into the Territories of Macedonia. When the Persians were arriv'd, they went to Amyntas, and demanded Earth and Water in the name of Darius. Amyntas not only gave them what they requir'd, but receiv'd them for his Guests; and having prepar'd a magnificent Feast, entertain'd them with great Humanity. But as the Persians were beginning to drink after Supper, "Macedonian Friend, said they, When we
make a great Feast in Persia, our manner is, to bring in our Concubines and young Women to the Company: And therefore, since you have receiv'd us so affectionately; treat-ed us with such Magnificence; and own'd King Darius by the Delivery of Earth and Water, we invite you to imitate our Custom." Amyntas answered, "The Manner of our Coun-try is quite different; for we keep our Women separated from Men: Nevertheless, be-cause you are our Masters, and require their Attendance, we will do as you desire."

Having finish'd these Words, he sent for the Women; who coming in as they were order'd, plac'd themselves on the other Side of the Table opposite to the Persians. But when they saw the Women were very beautiful, the Persians told Amyntas that they were not plac'd with Discretion; and that he would have done better not to send for them at all, than to let them sit at that Distance, only to offend their Eyes. Upon this Amyntas, compell'd by ne-cesity, order'd the Women to sit down among the Men: Which when they had done, the Persians, full of Wine, began to handle their Breads; and some would have proceeded to Kisses. These Actions Amyntas saw with In-dignation; yet seemed unconcern'd, because he was afraid of the Persian Power. But his Son Alexander, who was present, and observ'd the same things, being a young Man and unac-quainted with Adversity, was no longer able to endure their Insolence; and therefore said to Amyntas: "Father, consider your Age; and leaving the Company, retire to your Rest. I will stay here, and furnish these Strangers with
"with all things necessary." Amyntas perceiving that Alexander had some rash Design to put in Execution; "Son, said he, I pretty well discern by thy Words, that thou art angry, and art resolv'd to attempt some imprudent Action in my Absence. I charge thee therefore to do nothing against these Men that may turn to our Disadvantage: But be contented to observe their Actions with Patience; and for my own Part, I will comply, and retire." When Amyntas had given him this Counsel, and was gone out, Alexander spoke to the Persians in these Terms; "Friends, said he, these Women are at your command: You may lie with all, or as many of them as please you best; and therefore I desire you to declare your Intentions with Freedom: For I see you are inclin'd to sleep, and abundantly replenish'd with Wine. Only permit them, if you think fit, to go out to bathe; and in a little time you may expect their Return." The Persians applauded his Proposal, and Alexander sending away the Women, order'd them to their own Apartment: And having dress'd a like Number of smooth young Men in the Habit of Women, he furnish'd every one with a Ponyard, and introducing them to the Persians, said: "We have treated you with all manner of Variety: We have given you not only all we had, but whatever we could procure: And, which is more than all the rest, we have not denied you our Matrons and Daughters to compleat your Entertainment: that you may be abundantly persuaded, we have paid you all the Honours you deserve; and at your Return may acquaint the King who
"who sent you, that a Grecian Prince of Macedonia, gave you a good Reception both at Table and Bed." Having thus spoken, Alexander plac'd at the Seat of every Peruvian a young Macedonian in the Disguise of a Woman; who, when the Persians attempted to carefs them, immediately dispatch'd all the Seven. This was the Fate of these Persians, and of their Attendants; who, together with the Chariots and all the Baggage, presently disappear'd. After some time, great Search was made by the Persians for these Men: But Alexander eluded their Inquiry, by giving a considerable Sum of Money, and his Sister Gygea to Bubares a Persian, one of those who were sent to enquire after the Generals he had kill'd: And by his Management the manner of their Death was conceal'd. This Family is of Grecian Extraction, and descended from Perdiccas; as not only they themselves affirm, but as I likewise have been inform'd, and shall relate hereafter. Nay, the Grecian Judges presiding in the Olympian Exercifes, have determin'd the Question; for when Alexander came thither with a Design to enter the Lists, and the Antagonists had refus'd to admit him; alleging, that those Exercifes were instituted for Grecians, and not for Barbarians; he openly prov'd himself an Argian; and on that account being receiv'd as a Grecian, he ran the Length of a Stade; and was the second at the end of the Race. In this Manner were these things transacted.

MEGABYZUS with the Pæonian Captives, being advanc'd to the Hellespont, imbarke'd; and passing over into Asia, arriv'd at Sardis. In the mean
mean time Histièus the Milesian was employ'd in building a City on the River Strymon in the Territory of Myrcinus, which Darius had given him upon his Request, for the Reward of his Care in preserving the Bridge. But Megabyzus, having heard of his Enterprize, no sooner arriv'd in Sardis, than he spoke to Darius in these Terms. "O King, said he, what have you done, in permitting a bold and subtile Grecian to found a City in Thrace? A Country abounding in Timber for the building of Ships; in Numbers of Men fit for the Oar; and in Mines of Silver; surrounded by Multitudes both of Grecians and Bar- barians; who, if they once find a Leader, will do as he shall direct, in all things and at all Times. Put a stop therefore to the Proceedings of this Man, that you may not be imbarrafs'd with an infinite War. To that End, send for him by a gentle Message; and when he is in your Power, take care he may never return to Greece." By these Words of Megabyzus, Darius was easily persuaded that he had a clear Fore-sight of things; and sending for a Messenger, dispatch'd him to Myrcinus with this Message. "Histièus, King Darius says thus. In all the Compa-

of my Thoughts, I have never found a Man more affectionate to my Person and the Good of my Affairs, than thy self; of which Truth I have had ample Experience, not by Words, but Actions: And on that account having great Designs to put in execution, I re-

quire thee to come to me with all Speed, that I may consult with thee concerning them."
Histiaeus giving Credit to these Words, and highly valuing the Honour of being a Councilor to the King, went to Sardis: Where, upon his Arrival, Darius said to him; "Histiaeus, I have sent for thee on this Occasion. Ever since my Return from Scythia, and thy Departure from my Sight, I have had no greater Desire, than to see and converse with thee again; persuaded that a wise and affectionate Friend is the most valuable of all Possessions: and that both these Qualifications concur in thy Person, my own Affairs have given me sufficient Proof. Now, because thy Arrival is so acceptable to me, I will make thee an Offer. Think no more of Miletus, nor of the City thou art building in Thrace; but follow me to Susa, and take Part of all I possess. Be my Companion and Councilor." After this, Darius departed for Susa, accompanied by Histiaeus; having first appointed Artaphernes, his Brother by the Father, to be Governor of Sardis. The Command of the maritime Parts he left to Otanes, whose Father Sisamnes had been one of the Royal Judges; and was put to death by Cambyse for receiving a Sum of Money to pronounce an unjust Sentence. By the King's Order his Body was flayed; and his whole Skin being cut into Thongs, was extended on the Bench where he us'd to sit. And when this was done, Cambyse plac'd the Son of Sisamnes in the Office of his Father, admonishing him to remember on what Tribunal he sat to administer Justice. This Otanes, who had perform'd the Office of a Judge on that Seat, now succeeding Megabyzas in the Command of the Army, subdued the Byzantians
tians, and Chalcedonians; with the Cities of Antandrus and Lamponium in Troas. He also possess'd himself of Lemnos and Imbrus, by the Assistance of the Lesbian Fleet; both which Places where then inhabited by the Pelasgians. But the Lemnians having fought valiantly, and defended themselves to Extremity; suffer'd much; and those who surviv'd, were compell'd by the Persians to obey Lycaretus, the Brother of Meandrius King of Samos. This Lycaretus en-slav'd the People, and exercis'd all manner of Violence; charging some, that they had deserted the Army of Darius in the Scythian Expedition; and others, that they had harass'd his Forces in their Return. Yet he escap'd not long with Impunity, and was kill'd for these Actions in Lemnos.

BUT farther Calamities impending over the Ionians, began in Naxus and Miletus. The first of these was at that time the most flourishing of all the Islands: And Miletus was then in a State of greater Prosperity than ever, and accounted the Ornament of Ionia; tho' that City had before been afflicted with domestick Disorders during two Generations, till their Differences were compos'd by the Parians; who, among all the Grecians, had been chosen by the Milefians to that Purpose, and amended the Government in this manner. Some of their most eminent Men arriving in Miletus, and seeing nothing but Desolation, told the Milefians, they had resolv'd to survey their whole Country. Which as they were doing, wherefover they saw in that depopulated Region any Portion of Land well cultivated, they wrote down the Name of the Possessor.
After they had view’d all the Milesonian Territories, and found very few such Possessions; returning to the City, they called an Assembly, and declar’d that the Government should be put into the Hands of those Persons, whose Lands they had found in good Condition: Not doubting that they would administer the publick Affairs, with the same Care they had taken of their own. They strictly enjoin’d all the rest of the Mileans, who before had been split into Factions, to obey these Magistrates; and in this manner reform’d the State of Miletus. From these two Places the ensuing Evils were deriv’d upon the Ionians. For some rich Men of Naxus being banish’d by the People, fled to Miletus; the Administration of which Place was then in the Hands of Aristagoras the Son of Molparagas, Nephew and Son in Law to Histiaeus the Son of Lytagoras, who was detain’d by Darius at Susa. For Histiaeus was Tyrant of Miletus; and during his Detention in Asia, the Naxians arriv’d; and in Confidence of the Engagements they and Histiaeus were under to a reciprocal Hospitality, desir’d some Assistance of Aristagoras, in order to restore them to their Country. Aristagoras thinking to get the Dominion of Naxus, if these Men were once re-stored by his Power; took Occasion from their former Hospitality to make them an Offer, in these Terms. “For my own Part, I am not able to furnish you with a Force sufficient to re-establish you in Naxus against the Inclinations of those who are in Possession; because I hear they have eight thousand Men arm’d with Shields, and a considerable Number of great Ships. Yet I will contrive
"contrive some Way; and use my best Endea-
"vours to affist you on this Occasion. Arta-
"phernes, the Son of Hyftaspes and Brother
"of Darius, is my Friend. He commands
"all the maritim Parts of Asia, and has a
"numerous Army, with many great Ships.
"This Man, I am perfuaded, will do what-
ever we should ask." The Naxians hearing his
Proposal, desir'd Aristagoras to bring about this
Affair in the best manner he could; authorizing
him to promise such Presents as he should think
necessary, and to engage for the Expence of
the Army; all which, they said, they would
repay; having great Expectation that their
Countrymen upon their Appearance would do
whatever they should order; and that the rest of
the Islanders should follow their Example. For
at that time none of the Cyclades were under the
Dominion of Darius. Accordingly Aristagoras
went to Sardis, and acquainted Artaphernes,
that Naxus was a beautiful and fertile I-
land, tho' not large, in the Neighbourhood
of Ionia, and abounding in Wealth and Ser-
vants. "For these Reasons, said he, I coun-
"sel you to make War upon that Country,
"and re-éstablisb those Persons who have been
"banish'd from thence: Which if you do,
you shall not only receive a great Sum of
"Money, already lodg'd in my Hands, toge-
"ther with Provisions for the Army (for that
"is no more than just, since the Expedition is
"made on our account); but besides the Ac-
quision of Naxus, you will put the King
"into Possession of Paros, Andros, and the rest
"of the dependant Islands that go under the
"Name of the Cyclades. To these, in the next
place
"place, you may without Difficulty add the
"Conquest of Eubæa, a great and wealthy
"Island, equal in Extent to Cyprus, and very
"easy to be taken. A hundred Ships will be
"sufficient to employ in this Expedition."
"Truly, said Artaphernes, you have propos'd
"an Enterprize of great Advantage to the
"King, and prudently advis'd in every thing,
"except the Number of Ships. For instead
"of one hundred, which you demand, two
"hundred shall be ready in the ensuing Spring.
"But the King's Consent must first be obtain-
ed." With this Answer Aristagoras return'd
very well satisfied to Miletus.

In the mean time Artaphernes sent to Susa,
to acquaint Darius with the Enterprize propos'd
by Aristagoras; and after he had obtain'd his
Approbation, made ready two hundred Ships,
and assembled a great Army of Persians and
their Confederates; appointing for General of
those Forces, Megabates a Persian, who was of
the Achemenian Blood, Nephew to himself
and Darius, and afterwards married his Daugh-
ter to Pausanias the Son of Cleombrotus a Lace-
demonian, who aspir'd to the Dominion of
Greece. When Artaphernes had declar'd Meg-
abates General, he sent him with the Army to
Aristagoras; and Megabates accompanied by
Aristagoras, with the Ionian Forces, and the
Naxians, departed from Miletus, and made a
Feint of failing to the Hellespont. But when
he arriv'd near Chio, he anchor'd over against
Mount Caucasus, in order to make the Coast of
Naxus by the Favour of a North Wind. But
because the Naxians were not to perish by this
Army, the following Accident happen'd: Meg-
abates
Gabates, visiting the Watches of the Fleet, and finding a Ship of Myndus without any Guard, fell into a great Rage, and commanded his Officers to seize the Captain, whose Name was Scylax, and after they had bound him, to put his Head thro' one of the Port-holes that were pierc'd for the Oars; so that his Head appear'd on the Outside of the Vessel, while the rest of his Body remain'd within. Aristagoras being inform'd in what manner his Friend Scylax of Myndus was bound and disgrac'd by Megabates went to the Persians; interceded for him; and when he found he could obtain nothing, set him at liberty with his own Hands. Megabates hearing of this Action, and thinking himself highly affronted, reprimanded him sharply: But Aristagoras in answer, said, "What have you to do with these things? "Has not Artaphernes sent you to obey me, and fail to what Part soever I shall command? "Why then should you undertake more?" This Answer was so provoking to Megabates, that he dispatch'd certain Persons to Naxus, with order to inform the Naxians of the impending Danger. Upon which they, who to that Hour thought of nothing less than of being invaded by those Forces, brought their Wealth with all Diligence into the City, laid up Provisions of Meat and Drink to sustain a Siege, and repair'd their Walls. When they had prepar'd all things, as Men expecting to be attack'd; the Persians arriving in their Ships, found the Naxians perfectly well provided, and besieged them in vain during four Months: So that having consum'd what they brought, together with great Sums furnish'd by
by Ariostagoras; and wanting still more to carry on the Siege, they built a Place for the Reception of the Naxian Fugitives, and retir'd to the Continent, after they had suffer'd much in the Expedition. Ariostagoras finding no Way to perform the Promises he had made to Aria-

phernes, and yet remaining charg'd with the Payment of the Army, which was demanded in a peremptory manner; apprehended that upon this ill Success, and the Accusations of Megabates, he might be depriv'd of the Dominion of Miletus; and on that account began to think of revolting from the King: To which he was solicited by a Message of Histiæus, sent to him from Susa. For Histiæus being desirous to signify his Intentions to Ariostagoras, and finding no other Way, because all the Passages were guarded, shav'd the Head of one of his Servants, in whose Fidelity he most confided, and having imprinted the Message on his Crown, kept him at Susa till his Hair was grown again. When that time was come, he dispatch'd him to Miletus, without any other Instructions, than that, upon his Arrival, he should desire Ariostagoras to take off his Hair, and look upon his Head: On which, as I said before, Characters were impress'd, soliciting him to a Defection. Histiæus took this Resolution; because he look'd upon his Residence at Susa as a great Misfortune, and entertain'd no small Hope of repassing the Sea, if Miletus should revolt: But if nothing new could be attempted there, he concluded he should never return home. And such were the Considerations that prevail'd with Histiæus to dispatch this Messenger to Miletus.
ALL these things concurring at the same time, induc'd Aristaugas to consult with those of his Faction, and communicate to them his own Opinion, and that of Histaes. They all applauded his Sentiment, and encourag'd him to revolt, except Hecatus the Historian; who at first dissuaded him from undertaking a War against the Persian King; enumerating the Forces of Darius, and all the Nations he commanded: But finding he could not prevail, he in the next Place advis'd that Care should be taken to render the Milesians Masters of the Sea; and said, that being fully convin'd of the Insufficiency of their Forces, he could see no more than one Way to effect this. Yet if they would seize the Treasures, which had been dedicated by Cresus the Lydian, in the Temple of Branchis, he had great Hope they might acquire the Dominion of the Sea; and not only convert those Riches to their own Use, but hinder the Enemy from plundering that Treasure: which indeed was very considerable, as I have already related. However they would not follow his Advice: But at the same time having taken a Resolution to revolt, they agreed to send one of the Assembly in a Ship to Myus (where the Enemies Forces that came from Naxus then were) with Instructions to endeavour to get into his Hands as many of their Sea-Commanders as he could. Aristaugas being charg'd with this Commission, circumvented and seized Olciatus of Mylasa, the Son of Ibanolis; Histaes the Son of Tymnus, of Termerra; Coes the Son of Erxandrus, to whom Darius had given Mitylene: Aristaugas of Cyme, the Son of Heraclides, and many others; Thus Aristaugas
Aristagoras openly revolted against Darius, and studied to annoy him by all the means he could invent. In the first place be abolish'd the Tyranny, and establish'd a Commonwealth in Miletus; to the end that the Milesians might more readily join with him in his Defection. He effected the same afterwards throughout all Ionia; expelling some of their Tyrants by Force; and delivering up all those who were taken from on board the Ships that had been at Naxus, into the Hands of the Cities to which they belong'd; in order to gratify the People. The Mityleneans had no sooner receiv'd Coes, than they brought him out, and ston'd him to death: The Cymeans banish'd their Tyrant: Many others fled, and the Tyrannies were every where suppress'd. In Conclusion, Aristagoras the Milesian having remov'd the Tyrants, and admonish'd each of the Cities to appoint a General, went on an Embassay to Sparta, because some powerful Assistance was now become necessary.

ANAXANDRIDES King of Sparta was already dead, and his Son Cleomenes had at that time Possession of the Kingdom; not on account of his Virtues, but his Blood. Anaxandrides had married his Sister's Daughter, and tho' she brought him no Children, yet he lov'd her with great Affection: Which the Ephori considering, they sent for him, and said; "If you neglect your nearest Concernments, we are not to imitate your Example, and suffer the Family of Eurytbeus to be extinguish'd. Since therefore you have a Wife which bears no Children, leave her, and marry another; and so provide for the Security of Sparta."

B 3

He
He answer'd, that he would not do either the one or the other: that, to advise him to abandon the Wife he had, and to take another in her place, without any Provocation, was unjust; and therefore he would not obey. Upon this, the Ephori and the Senate, after they had consulted, sent a Message to Anaxandrides in these Terms; "Because we see you are so fond of your Wife, be persuaded to do as we now propose, without Reluctancy; that the Spartans may not proceed to a more severe Resolution against you. We require you not to part with your Wife: Continue to live with her, as you have done to this time; but at least marry another Woman, who is not barren." To this Proposal Anaxandrides consenting, married another Wife, and kept two distinct Families, contrary to the Customs of the Spartans. After some time, his second Wife was brought to bed of this Cleomenes, and became the Mother of one who was to succeed in the Kingdom. And now his first Wife, who to that time had been barren, found herself with Child: and tho' the thing was really so, yet the Relations of his second began to murmur, and said, she only pretended to the Pride of a great Belly, in order to impose a supposititious Child upon the World. While these continu'd their Clamour, and the time of her Delivery drew near, the Ephori suspecting a Fraud, order'd the Woman to be kept under a strict Guard. Nevertheless she had not only Dorieus, but after him Leonidas, and at a third time Cleombrotus; tho' some say that Cleombrotus and Leonidas were Twins. But the Mother
ther of Cleomenes, who was the second Wife of Anaxandrides, and Daughter to Perimetades, the Son of Demarmenes, never bore any more Children. Cleomenes is reported to have been delirious, and much disorder'd in his Mind: so that Doricus, who surpris'd all the young Men of his Age, conceiv'd great hope of obtaining the Kingdom, on account of his Merit. But after the Death of Anaxandrides, when he found that the Lacedemonians had, according to Custom, created his eldest Brother King; full of Discontent and Indignation to be command'd by Cleomenes, he demanded a Draught of Men, in order to establish a Colony; and went away without asking the Oracle of Delphi to what place he should go, or doing any of those things that are usual on such Occasions; so deeply was he affected with the Indignity. He sail'd to Libya under the Conduct of Theban Pilots, and arriving at Cinype, settled upon a River, in the most beautiful Part of that Country. But in the third Year of his Establishment, being ejected by the united Force of the Maces, Libyans and Carthaginians, he return'd to Peloponnesus; where Antichares of Elis, puruant to the Oracle of Laius, admonish'd him to build the City of Heraclea in Sicily; assuring him that all the Country of Eryx, having been conquer'd by Hercules, belong'd to his Posterity. When he heard this, he went to inquire of the Oracle at Delphi, whether he should possess himself of the Region to which he was sent. The Pythian answer'd he should; and Doricus taking with him the same Army he had in Libya, set sail for Italy. At that time, as the Sybarites say, they and
HERODOTUS.

their King Telys were preparing to make War against Crotona; which the Crotonians apprehending, implor’d the Assistance of Dorieus; and having obtain’d their Request, march’d in Conjunction with his Forces directly to Sybaris, and took the City. This the Sybarites affirm concerning Dorieus and those who were with him. But the Crotonians deny that any Foreigner took part with them in the War against Sybaris, except only Callias of Elis, an Augur of Iamidenean Descent, who abandon’d Telys King of the Sybarites and deserted to their Side, because he found the Sacrifices inauspicious which he offer’d for the Success of the Crotonian Expedition. These Things they say: and each Side to confirm their Assertion, bring the following Testimonies. The Sybarites on their Part shew a Grove, with a Temple, built at Chrsayus, and dedicated, as they say, to Minerva, under the Name of Chraflian, by Dorieus, after he had taken Sybaris: alledging, for a farther and greater Proof, that he was kill’d there, because he had acted contrary to the Admonition of the Oracle. For if he had attempted nothing more than the Enterprize he was sent about, he might have taken and posses’d the Country of Eryx, and escap’d that Destruction which fell upon himself and his Army. On the other hand the Crotonians shew many considerable Donations, conferr’d upon Callias the Elean, in the Territories of Crotona; and now posses’d by his Descendants; but nothing at all given to Dorieus and his Posterity: Whereas doubtless, had he assisted them in the War of Sybaris, he should have been more amply rewarded than Callias.
Callias. These are the Testimonies produc'd on both sides; and every Man has the Liberty of adhering to that which he judges more probable. Dorieus had for Associates in the Conduct of his Colony, Thessalus, Parebates, Chelees and Euryleon, all Spartans; who, after their Arrival with the Army in Sicily, were kill'd with him in an unsuccessful Battle against the Phœnicians and Ægeftans: Euryleon alone surviv'd this Disaster, and having collected the shatter'd Remains of their Forces, possess'd himself of Minoa, a Colony of the Selinufians, and deliver'd the Minoans from their Monarch Pythagoras. But after he had remov'd him, he seiz'd the Tyranny of Selinus for himself. Yet he continued not long in Possession: For the Selinufians revolting, kill'd him at the Altar of the Forensian Jupiter, where he had taken Sanctuary. Philippus of Crotona, the Son of Butacides, accompanied Dorieus in the Time of his Life, and at his Death. He had enter'd into a Contract of Marriage with the Daughter of Telys the Sybarite: But being banish'd from Crotona, and disappointed of his Wife, he fail'd to Cyrene; from whence he parted to accompany Dorieus, with his Ship and Men maintain'd at his own Ex pense. He had been victorious in the Olympian Exercises; and because he was the most beautiful of all the Grecians at that time, so great Honours were conferr'd upon him, by the Ægeftans, after his Death, as they had never paid to any other Person: For they erected the Monument of a Hero upon his Sepulcher, and adore him with Sacrifices. Such was the End of Dorieus; who, if he could have endur'd the Government of Cleomenes,
Cleomenes, and continued in Sparta, had doubtless been King of the Lacedemonians. For after a short Reign Cleomenes died, and left no other Children than one Daughter, whose Name was Gorgo.

During the Reign of this Cleomenes, Aristagoras Tyrant of Miletus arriv'd in Sparta; and going to confer with the King, carried with him, as the Lacedemonians say, a Plate of Bras, on which a Description of the whole Earth, with all the Seas and Rivers, was engrav'd: And being come into the King's Presence, spoke in these Terms. "Wonder not, "Cleomenes, at the Pains I have taken to come "hither; the Cause is important: For, to see "the Posterity of the Ionians depriv'd of "Liberty, and reduc'd to the Condition of "Servants, will be extremely grievous and "shameful, not only to us, but, in the next "place, to you; because you are the Leaders of Greece. I adjure you therefore by "the Grecian Gods, rescue the Ionians, and "deliver your own Blood from Servitude. "The Enterprize will not be difficult to you, "who have attain'd to the utmost Height of "Military Glory. For the Barbarians are "not valiant, and their Manner in War is "thus: They use a flight Bow, with short "Arrows, and engage in Battle, dres'd in a "long Vest, and wearing a Turban on the "Head: By which means they become an "easy Conquest. Besides, those who inhabit that Part of the Continent, posses "greater Riches in Gold, Silver, Bras, magnificient Apparel, Horses, and Slaves, than "all the rest in conjunction. All these things "you
you may enjoy if you will, the Countries lying contiguous, as I shall shew you." Then pointing to the Description of the Earth, which he brought with him, engrav'd on a Plate: "Next to these Ionians, said he, the Lydians inhabit a fertile Country, abounding in Silver: And on the Confines of Lydia, these Phrygians are plac'd to the Eastward, more rich in Cattle, and living in greater Affluence than any other People I know. Adjoining to these are the Cappadocians, by us call'd Syrians; and beyond them, the Cilicians; whose Country extends to that Sea in which the Island of Cyprus is situate, and pays an annual Tribute of five Hundred Talents to the King. Next to the Cilicians, are these Armenians, who possess great Numbers of Cattle; and after them the Meissenians; beyond whose Territories lies this Province of Ciffia, in which Susa is built upon the River Choaftes. In this Place the great King resides, and his vast Treasures are here deposited. If you take this City, you may boldly contend with Jupiter in Wealth. You will not find your Account in fighting Battles, to gain a Country of small Extent, narrow Limits, and indifferent Soil, from the Meissenians, who are your Equals in War; or from the Arcadians and Argians: For none of these Nations have either Gold or Silver; the Desire of which induces so many Men to hazard their Lives. But when an Opportunity is offer'd to conquer all Asia with Facility, can you wish for any thing more?" To this Discourse of Aristagoras Cleomenes answer'd, "Mileshian Friend, I defer
"I defer to let you know my Resolution till three Days are past.' When that Time was come, and they were both met at the appointed Place, Cleomenes ask'd Aristagoras, in how many Days one might travel from the Coast of Ionia to the City where the King was. But tho' Aristagoras was in other things a Man of Art, and much superior in Ability to Cleomenes; yet he made a Slip in this. For designing to draw the Spartans into Asia, he ought to have abated something of the Account: Whereas he told him plainly, 'twas a Journey of three Months: Which Cleomenes no sooner heard, than interrupting him from proceeding in his Discourse concerning the Way, he said, "Milestian Guest, depart out of Sparta before the Setting of the Sun: For you have pos'd nothing to the Advantage of the Spartans, in advising us to take a March into Asia, not to be perform'd in less than three Months after our Landing." When he had spoken these Words he withdrew; and Aristagoras taking an Olive-Branch in his Hand, after the Manner of a Suppliant, went after Cleomenes, beseeching him to hear; and at the same time desir'd him to send away his little Daughter Gorgo, who was then with him, being the only Child he had, and about eight or nine Years of Age. But Cleomenes bid him say what he wou'd, and not refrain for the sake of a Child. So Aristagoras began with the Promise of ten Talents, in case Cleomenes would do as he desir'd; and receiving a Denial, proceeded gradually in his Offers, till he came to the Sum of fifty Talents; and then the Girl cried out, "Father, This Stranger will " corrupt
"corrupt you, unless you go away presently." Cleomenes pleas'd with the Admonition of the Child, retir'd to another Apartment: And Aristagoras was constrain'd to depart immediately from Sparta, without obtaining Leave to inform him farther concerning the Way to the Place of the King's Residence. But that Task I shall take upon me.

ALL this Way is furnish'd with Royal Stations, and magnificent Inns; and is everywhere safe, and well inhabited. Twenty of these Places of Reception are found in Lydia and Phrygia, at the distance of ninety four Parafanges and a half from each other. Out of Phrygia Men arrive at the Alis, and are oblig'd to pass that River by the means of certain Sluices which are built there, with a considerable Fort. Then entering into Cappadocia, and traversing that Country, they find twenty eight of those publick Stations, within the Space of one hundred and four Parafanges, before they arrive on the Borders of Cilicia: Where passing two Gates and two Guards, they cross the Territories of Cilicia by a Way of fifteen Parafanges and a half, and meet with three several Stations. A River call'd Euphrates, separates Cilicia from Armenia; and is not passable except in Boats. Armenia contains fifteen of these Inns, with one Fort, and fifty six Parafanges and a half in the Way over. Four Rivers run thro this Country; and Men are necessitated to pass all these in Boats. The first is the Tigris: The second and third have the same Name, tho' they are different Rivers, flowing from different Sources. For the first of these rises in Armenia, and the latter in Matsuene.
tiene. The Fourth is call'd the Gyndes, which was formerly cut by Cyrus into three hundred and sixty Channels. Next to Armenia are the Territories of Matiene, containing four Stations: And from thence to Ciffia and the River Choasphes, eleven Stations are found within the Space of forty two Parafanges and a half. This River also is no otherwise passable than in Boats, and the City of Susa is situate on the other Side. All these Stations are in number one Hundred and eleven: and such are the publick Places of Reception from Sardis to Susa. Now if we sum up the Number of the Parafanges of this Royal Road, and suppose every Parafange equal to thirty Stades, as the Truth is; we shall find that the four Hundred and fifty Parafanges from Sardis to the Memnonian Palace, amount to thirteen thousand five hundred Stades: And he who travels one hundred and fifty Stades every Day, must spend ninety Days in performing the whole Journey. So that Aristagoras the Milesian said right, when he told Cleomenes the Lacedemonian, that three Months would be requisite to arrive at the Place, where the King was. But if any should desire a more compleat Account, I will satisfy him: For adding the Measure of the Way from Ephesus and Sardis to the preceding Computation, the whole Number of Stades from the Grecian Sea to the Memnonian City of Susa, will be fourteen Thousand and forty. Because five Hundred and forty Stades are accounted from Ephesus to Sardis. And thus three Days Journey are to be added to that of three Months,
ARISTAGORAS being dismissed from Sparta went to Athens; which City had been deliver'd from their Tyrants in this Manner. After Aristogiton and Harmodius, originally descend'd from the Gephyræans, had kill'd Hipparchus the Son of Pisistratus and Brother to Hippias, the Athenians during the Space of four Years were no less oppress'd by Tyranny than before. Hipparchus had seen his own Destruction manifestly foretold in a Dream. For in the Night preceding the Panathenian Festival, a tall and handsome Man seem'd to stand by him, and pronounce these enigmatical Words,

Lyon, with Courage bear the greatest Ill,  
For Vengeance always reaches the Unjust.

At Break of Day he acquainted the Diviners with his Dream; but afterwards, flighting the Event, he celebrated that Solemnity, in which he perish'd. The Gephyræans, from whom those who kill'd Hipparchus were descend'd, derive their Original from the Eretrians, as they themselves say: But I am more certainly inform'd, that they are the Posterity of those Phoenicians, who arriving in Boeotia with Cadmus, were appointed by Lot to inhabit the District of Tanagra. The Cadmeans were first expell'd by the Argians; and these Gephyræans being afterwards ejected by the Boeotians, took themselves to the Athenians; who admitted them into the Number of their Citizens, under certain Conditions and Limitations, which are not necessary to be mention'd. These Phoenicians who came with Cadmus, and the Gephyræans
Herodotus.

raens their Descendants, inhabiting this Region, introduc'd many Kinds of Discipline into Greece; and particularly Letters, which, as I conceive, were not known among the Grecians before that Time. The first Letters they us'd were entirely Phœnician; but in succeeding Ages they were gradually alter'd both in Sound and Figure; and the Ionians who inhabited the greatest Part of the Country round about, having learnt these Letters from the Phœnicians, made use of them with some small Alteration, and gave out that they ought to go under the Name of Phœnician Letters; as Reason requir'd, because they had been introduc'd by the Phœnicians. Besides, the Ionians, from antient Time, have given the Name of Paper to the Skins of Goats and Sheep, which they then us'd instead of Paper; as many of the Barbarians do to this Day. And I my self have seen in the Temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes in Bœotia, some Cadmean Letters engrav'd on certain Tripos's little different from the Ionian Character. One of these Inscriptions runs thus;

Amphytrion of Telebois plac'd me here.

This was about the Time of Laius the Son of Labdacus; whose Father Polydorus was Son to Cadmus. Another Tripos has these words in Hexameter Verses,

To the Apollo by the conqu'ring Hand
Of Scæus offer'd, a rich Gift I stand.

Scæus was the Son of Hippocoon, if he were in-
deed the Donor of this Tripos; and not an-
other Person of the same Name, who liv'd a-
bout the Time of Oedipus the Son of Laius. A
third Tripos is inscrib'd thus, in Hexameters
likewise,

To thee, bright Phæbus, ever-shining Light,
To thee, Laodamas this Off'ring made.

During the Reign of this Monarch Laodamas,
the Cadmeans were expell'd by the Argians;
and retir'd to Enchelea. After which the Ge-
phyraëans being ejected by the Bœotians, be-
took themselves to Athens; where they erected
their own peculiar Temples, distinct from the
rest of the Athenians, and particularly one to
the Achaian Ceres, in which they perform'd the
Orgian Rites. And thus having related the
Dream of Hipparchus, with the Original of
the Gephyraëans, from whom those who kill'd
him were descended, I shall now resume the
Discourse I began, and shew in what manner
the Athenians were deliver'd from Tyrants.

UNDER the Tyranny of Hippias, who
was highly incens'd against the Athenians
for the Death of Hipparchus, the Alcmaeo-
des, being of Athenian Extraction, and at
that time banish'd by the Pisistratides, made
great Efforts, in conjuncion with other Ex-
iles, to obtain their Return: And tho' their
Endeavours had been unsuccessful; yet still
continuing to apply themselves with Dili-
gence to procure their own Re-establishment,
with the Liberty of Athens, they fortified
Lipysdrum in Paonia: And that they might
leave nothing unattempted against the Pi-
H E R O D O T U S.

Pisistratides, undertook by a Contract made with the Amphictyons, to build the Temple which now is seen at Delphi. These Persons being descended of illustrious Ancestors, and very rich, erected a Fabric, much more magnificent than the Model; and among other things, faced the Frontispiece of the Temple with Marble of Paros, instead of Stone, which by their Contract they were to bring from Parium. The Athenians say, that while the Alcmaeonides were at Delphi, they prevail'd with the Pythian by a Sum of Money, to exhort all the Spartans, who should come thither to consult the Oracle, either on their own account, or that of the Publick, to deliver Athens from Servitude: And that the Lacedemonians finding this Admonition incessantly inculcated, sent Anchimolius the Son of Aescher, an eminent Citizen, with an Army to Athens, in order to expel the Pisistratides, tho' they were the chief of their Allies: So much they preferr'd the Commands of the God to all human Obligations. Accordingly Anchimolius embark'd; and arriving at Phaleron, landed with his Army. But the Pisistratides, who had timely Notice of this Expedition, demanded Succour of the Thessalians, their Confederates; which they granted, and unanimously resolv'd to send a Thousand Horse to their Assistance, under the Conduct of their King Cineas of Coniæa. Having receiv'd this Reinforcement, the Pisistratides clear'd the Plains of the Phalereans, and render'd the Country practicable for Horse: which when they had done, they order'd the Enemy to be attack'd by the Thessalian Cavalry; who falling upon the Lacedemonians in their Camp,
Camp, kill'd great Numbers of them, with their General Anchimolius, and forc'd the rest to be-take themselves to their Ships. Thus the first Lacedemonian Army was compell'd to retire; and Anchimolius was buried at Alopece in Attica, near the Temple of Hercules in Cynosarges. But the Lacedemonians sent afterwards a greater Army to Athens, by Land, and not by Sea, under the Conduct of their King Cleomenes the Son of Anaxandrides: Who, when he had enter'd the Territories of Attica, was attack'd by the Thessalian Cavalry; which after a short Dispute he put to flight, with the Loss of about forty Men. Upon this Defeat the Thessalians by a precipitate March return'd to their own Country; and Cleomenes, accompanied by those Athenians who were desirous to recover their Liberty, march'd directly to the City, and besieg'd the Tyrants in the Pelasgian Fort, to which they had been oblig'd to retire. Yet the Lacedemonians could not by any means have reduc'd the Enemy; both because they themselves were not prepar'd to carry on a long Siege, and the Pisistratides had furnish'd the Place with all kind of Provisions; but must have been necessitated in a few Days to march away to Sparta, if an Accident had not happen'd, which was no less pernicious to some, than advantageous to others. For the Sons of the Pisistratides fell into the Hands of the Lacedemonians, as some Persons were endeavouring to convey them privately out of the Country; which broke all their Measures in such a manner, that, to redeem their Children, they yielded to whatever the Athenians would prescribe,
fcribe, and oblig’d themselves to depart out of Attica in five Days. But soon after, they abandon’d the Country, and retir’d to Sigeum upon the River Scamander, having possessed the Dominion of Athens six and thirty Years. They came originally from Pilus and Nelea; and were of the same Extraction with Codrus and Melanthus, who, tho’ Foreigners, had been formerly Kings of Athens. And for this Reason Hippocrates, the Father of Pisistratus gave that Name to his Son, in Memory of Pisistratus the Son of Nestor. Thus the Athenians were deliver’d from their Tyrants: And what memorable things they either did or suffer’d, before the Ionians revolted from Darius, and Aristagoras of Miletus came to desire their Assistance, I shall now relate.

The Power of Athens was great before; but after the Expulsion of their Tyrants, became much greater. Two Men of that City surpass’d all the rest in Authority. One of these was Clisthenes who was of the Alcmaonian Blood, and the Person, if we may believe common Fame, who prevail’d with the Pythian to do as I have mention’d. The other was Isagoras the Son of Tisander, of an illustrious Family; but from what Original descended, I am not able to discover: Only this I know, that the whole Race offers Sacrifices to Jupiter of Caria. In their Contests for Superiority, Clisthenes finding his Competitor too powerful, studied to become popular, and form’d the Athenians into ten Tribes; which to that time had been no more than four; changing the Names they had from Geleon, Ægicores, Argadeus and Opletus, Sons of Ion, into other Appellations deriv’d
riv'd from Heroes who were all Natives of the Country, except Ajax only, whose Name he admitted as a near Neighbour and Ally. This he did, as I conjecture, in Imitation of Clis-thenes, Tyrant of Sicyon, his Grandfather by the Mother; who, when he made War against the Argians, silenc'd all the Reciters of Verses, because the People and Country of Argos are so much celebrated in those of Homer; and having form'd a Design to destroy the Monument of Adrastus the Son of Talaus, which stands in the Forum of Sicyon, because he was an Argian, went to consult the Oracle of Delphi, and receiv'd this Answer from the Pythian, "That "Adrastus indeed had been King of the Sicyonians; whereas he deserv'd to be scorn'd."

Clisthenes finding the God would not yield to his Desires, return'd home, and bent his Thoughts to contrive, how Adrastus might of himself become insignificant. When he thought he had found the right way, he sent to the Thebans of Boeotia, to acquaint them, that he would bring back the Body of Melanippus the Son of Astacus; which having done with their Permission, he erected a Temple to him in the strongest Part of the Prytaneum. This he did, for I must not omit the true Motive, because Melanippus had been the greatest of all the Enemies of Adrastus; having kill'd his Brother Mecistes, and his Son-in-Law Tydeus. After Clisthenes had erected this Temple he abolish'd the Sacrifices and Festivals of Adrastus; and instituted the same Rites to Melanippus as the Sicyonians had been accustom'd to perform in a magnificent manner to the
other. For Polybus, who was Master of Sicyon, leaving no Male Line, gave that Country to Adrafitus the Son of his Daughter. The Sicyonians, among other Honours paid to him, us'd to celebrate his Misfortunes with tragical Dances; honouring Adrafitus, and not Bacbus, to that Time. But Clithbenes transferr'd these Dances to the Worship of Bacbus, and all the other Ceremonies to Melanippus. In a Word, he impos'd new Names upon the Dorian Tribes of Sicyon, that they might bear no Resemblance to those of Argos; and by this means made the Sicyonians ridiculous. For he denominated the other Tribes from Words signifying Swine and Asses, with the Addition of a terminating Syllable: But distinguish'd his own by a Name deriv'd from his Dominion. So that these were call'd Archelaians, while the rest went under the Names of Swine-herds, Ass-keepers, and Hogs-herds. The Sicyonian Tribes were call'd by these Names in the Time of Clithbenes, and after his Death, during the Space of sixty Year; when, by common Consent they were chang'd into those of Hylleans, Pamphylians, and Dymanates; and a Fourth Tribe was added, to which they gave the Name of Ægyalean from Ægyalus the Son of Adrafitus. These things were done by Clithbenes of Sicyon: And the Athenian Clithbenes, who was Son to the Daughter of the Sicyonian, and had his Name from him, seems to me to have imitated him, from a Contempt of the Ionians; and that they might not go under the same Denomination with the Tribes of Athens. For when he had prevail'd with all the Populace to unite and side with
with him, he chang'd the Names of the Tribes, and augmented their Number, from Four to Ten; appointing a President to every one: And thus having gain'd the People, he became much superior to his Adversaries. Iphagoras finding his Party broken, form'd a Resolution to apply himself for Succour to Cleomenes the Lacedemonian; who from the Time he had besieg'd the Pisistratides, was engag'd with him in a Friendship of mutual Hospitality; and besides was suspected to have made Love to his Wife. In the first Place therefore, Cleomenes sent a Herald to Athens, and obtain'd the Expulsion of Clisbenes, with many other Athenians; under colour, that they were guilty of an execrable Action. This Crime was laid to their charge by the Advice of Iphagoras. For the Alcmaeonides, and those of their Party, had been the Authors of a Slaughter, in which Iphagoras and his Friends were no way concern'd. The Action pass'd in this manner. Cylon an Athenian, having been victorious in the Olympian Exercises, attempted to make himself Tyrant; and to that end, forming a Society of Young Men about his own Age, endeavour'd to seize the Acropolis: Which not being able to effect, he fled with his Companions to the Image of the Goddess. From that Place they were taken by the Naucrarian Magistracy, who had then the Power in Athens, under a Promise, that their Lives should be spar'd. But the Alcmaeonides put them all to death. These things were done before the Time of Pisistratus. Nevertheless Cleomenes, tho' he had by his Herald ejected Clisbenes and his Accomplices, came to Athens with a small Force,
and upon his Arrival expell'd seven Hundred Athenian Families at the Instigation of Ifigoras. When he had done this, he attempted to dissolve the Council, and to put the Power into the Hands of three hundred Partizans of Ifigoras. But finding the Council resolv'd to oppose his Design, and not to obey; he and Ifigoras, with those of his Faction, seiz'd the Castle: Where they were besieged during two Days by the rest of the Athenians, who adher'd to the Council. On the third Day they surrender'd, on condition, that all the Lacedemonians in the Place might depart out of the Country. And thus an Admonition which Cleomenes had receiv'd, was ratified by the Event: For as he came to take Possession of the Acropolis, and was about to enter the Sanctuary of the Goddess, like one who had some Demand to make, the Priestess rising from her Seat before he could open the Door, "Lacedemonian Stranger, said she, return; and come not into this sacred Place; for no Dorian is permitted to be here." "Woman, replied "Cleomenes, I am not a Dorian, but an Achaian:" And flitting her Admonition, seiz'd the Fortres: Where the Lacedemonians were again unsuccessful. The rest were taken by the Athenians and put to death. Among these was Timistheus, Brother to Cleomenes, of whose Strength and Enterprizes I could give some surprizing Instances. After which the Athenians not doubting that they should be necessitated to make War against the Lacedemonians, recall'd Clisbenes with the seven Hundred Families that had been banish'd by Cleomenes; and sent an Ambassay to Sardis, in order to contract
tract a Confederacy with the Persians. When these Ambassadors were arriv'd, and had spoken according to their Instructions, Artaphernes the Son of Hytafpes, and Governor of Sardis, ask'd who the Athenians were, and what Part of the World they inhabited, that they should desire to make an Alliance with the Persians. And after he had inform'd himself of these Particulars, he plainly told the Ambassadors, that if they would acknowledge the King by presenting him with Earth and Water, he was ready to be their Confederate; if not, he commanded them to depart. Upon this Proposal the Ambassadors consulted together; and being very desirous to conclude the Alliance, made answer, That they would comply: For which they were highly blam'd at their Return. In the mean time Cleomenes hearing that the Athenians insulted him both in their Words and Actions, assembled an Army from all Parts of Peloponnesus, without discovering the Design he had to revenge himself upon the People of Athens, and to put the Power into the Hands of Isagoras, who went with him out of the Fortrefs. Thus having collected great Forces, he march'd into the Territories of Eleusis; while the Boeotians, as had been concerted, possess'd themselves of Oinoe and Hysea on the Borders of Attica; and the Chalcideans ravag'd other Parts of the Country. The Athenians, tho' they were doubtful at first to which side they should turn their Arms, resolv'd for the present to forbear the Boeotians and Chalcideans; and to bend all their Strength against the Peloponnesians, who had invaded Eleusis. When the two Armis were ready
ready to engage, the Corinthians, who had consulted together, being convic’d their Cause was unjust, drew off their Forces and march’d away; Demaratus, the other Spartan King, and Son of Ariston, following their Example. He commanded the Lacedemonians in conjuncti-
on with Cleomenes, and never before had any Difference with him. But on occasion of this Disunion a Law was made in Sparta, that the two Kings should not for the future march out together at the Head of their Armies, as they had done to that Time; and that one of the Tyndarides should remain with the King, who staid at home: For both these also had been formerly accustom’d to accompany the Army, as Inspectors. When the rest of the Confederates perceiv’d that the Lacedemonian Kings could not agree, and that the Corinthi-
as had quitted their Post, they drew off their Forces likewise. And this was the Fourth Ex-
pedition the Dorians made into Attica. Twice they enter’d, in order to make War; and twice for the good of the Athenian People. In their first Expedition they settled a Colony in Megara, during the Reign of Codrus King of Athens: They arriv’d a second and third time from Sparta, with a design to expel the Pisistratides; and a fourth time, when Cleome-
nes at the Head of the Peloponnesians invaded the Country of Eleusis. And thus the Dorian Armies had enter’d the Athenian Territories four several times.

AFTER the inglorious Dissipation of this Army, the Athenians desirous to right themselves for the Injuries they had receiv’d, march’d in the first Place against the Chalcideans; and find-
ing the Boeotians arriv’d to their Succour at the Euripus, resolv’d to attack them first. Accordingly falling upon the Enemy, the Athenians obtain’d a compleat Victory; kill’d great Numbers of the Boeotians, and took seven Hundred Prisoners. Then landing the same Day in Eubœa, they defeated the Chalcideans; and left a Colony of four Thousand Men in Possession of the Lands belonging to the most Wealthy of the Inhabitants, who are call’d by the Name of the Hippobates. All the Prisoners taken in this Battle, were, together with the Boeotians, put into Irons, and kept under a Guard; but afterwards were set at liberty by the Athenians in consideration of a Ransom of two Mines paid for each Man. Nevertheless the Athenians preserv’d the Feters in the Acropolis: Where they remain’d to my Time, hanging on a Wall; which facing the Apartment that opens to the Westward, was damag’d by Fire in the Median War. The Tenth Part of this Ransom they consecrated; and having made a Chariot with Four Horses in Front, all of Brass, they plac’d it in the Portico of the Acropolis, on the Left-side of the Entrance, bearing this Inscription,

When the victorious Youth of Athens made
The proud Boeotian and Chalcidean bow
Beneath the Chain, they to Minerva plac’d
This Monument, the Tenth of all the Spoil.

Thus the Affairs of the Athenians flourish’d. Yet they are not the only Example of this Kind. For all Places abound in Instances of the Prosperity that attends an equal Distribution of
of Power. Under their Tyrants indeed they were not inferior in War to any of their Neighbours: But they had no sooner freed themselves from that Servitude, than they far surpassed all the rest, and became the principal Nation of Greece: Which manifestly shews, that as long as they were oppress'd, they acted remissly, and would not exert their Courage to the utmost; because they knew their Victories could only redound to the Advantage of their Masters; whereas after they had recovered their Liberty, every Man contended who should do best, because they fought for themselves. And such was the State of the Athenian Affairs.

AFTER this, the Thebans meditating Revenge against the Athenians, sent to consult the Oracle; and the Answer of the Pythian was, that they must not expect the Satisfaction they desired, from their own Power; but should go to Polyphemus, and ask the Assistance of their nearest Neighbours. With this Answer the Messengers return'd, and when they had reported the Words of the Oracle in a general Assembly, the Thebans said, "Have we not the Tanaugasans, Coronæans and Thespians for our nearest Neighbours? Are not these our Companions in Fight, and always ready to take part with us in every War? What need have we then to ask their Assistance? But perhaps these Words may contain some other Sense." As they were discoursing in this manner, one of the Assembly said, he thought he understood the Meaning of the Oracle. "For, said he, according to common Fame, Jopus had two Daughters, Thebe and Ægina."
Now because these were Sistres, I presume the God admonishes us to desire the Aeginetes to be our Avengers." The Thebans approving this Opinion more than any other, sent to the People of Aegina, as their nearest Friends, to desire Succour according to the Admonition of the Oracle: And upon their Request, the Aeginetes promis'd to send the Aecides to their Assistance. In conjunction with these, the Thebans attack'd the Athenians; but being repuls'd with great Loss, they sent back the Aecides, and desir'd a farther Supply of Men. Upon which the People of Aegina, elated with their present Felicity, and remembering the antient Differences they had with the Athenians, invaded the Territories of Athens at the Desire of the Boeotians, without any preceding Denunciation of War. For while the Athenian Forces were employ'd against the Boeotians, they made a Descent into Attica, and ravag'd the Country of Phaleron, with many other Places on the Coast, to the great Damage of the Athenians. This Enmity of the Aeginetes against the Athenians began thus. The Epidaurians seeing their Country become unfruitful, sent to consult the Oracle of Delphi concerning the Cause of that Calamity: The Pythian answer'd, That if they would erect the Statues of Damias and Auxesias, their Affairs should go better. Then the Epidaurians farther demanded, whether those Images should be made of Stone or of Brass: and the Pythian replied of neither; but of the Wood of a cultivated Olive. Having receiv'd this Answer, the Epidaurians desired Leave of the Athenians to cut down an Olive-Tree, persuaded
persuaded that those of that Soil were the most sacred: And some say no Olive Trees grew at that Time in any other Country than that of Athens. The Athenians told them they were ready to grant their Request provided they would come annually to the City, and offer Sacrifice to Minerva and Eretheus. This Condition the Epidaurians accepting obtain'd their Desires; and after they had erected the Statues they form'd out of that Wood, their Country became fruitful again, and they perform'd the Promise they had made to the Athenians. In those and the preceding Times, the Æginetes were dependent upon the Epidaurians in all things; and particularly in matters relating to the Distribution of Justice, whenever they were either Appellants or Defendants. But afterwards applying themselves to the building of Ships, they ungratefully revolted from the Epidaurians; and being superior at Sea, among many other Hostilities exercis'd against them, took away the Statues of Damias and Auxesias; which they carried off, and erected at Oia in the midland Part of their own Country, about twenty Stades from their City. When they had done this, to render them propitious, they appointed Sacrifices, accompanied with Dances perform'd by Women in a ludicrous Manner; assigning to each Image ten Men to preside in the Solemnity. On this Occasion these Dancers were permitted to abuse all the Women of that Country with opprobrious Language, but not the Men: Which they did, in Conformity to the former Practice of the Epidaurians; who besides these, had other Religious Ceremonies not fit
fit to be mention’d. When these Statues were taken away, the Epidaurians ceas’d to perform their Contract with the Athenians; and being reminded of their Default, openly insisted that they were under no farther Obligation. For, said they, so long as we had those Images in our Country, so long we complied with our Agreement: But to demand the same Acknowledgment from us since the time they have been taken away, is unjust: The Æginetes who are now in Possession, ought to do, as we did before. Upon this the Athenians dispatch’d a Messenger to Ægina with Order to demand the Statues; but the Æginetes made answer, that they had no Business with them. The Athenians say, that after this Refusal they sent a Ship with some of their Citizens to Ægina by a publick Decree; who upon their Arrival attempted to take off the Statues from the Bases, and to bring them away, because they had been made of Athenian Timber: But finding themselves unable to succeed that way, they threw Cords about the Images and as they endeavour’d to pull them down they were so terrified with Thunder and an Earthquake, that they became outrageously mad, and kill’d one another like Enemies; till no more than one remain’d alive, who escap’d to Phaleron. In this manner the Athenians relate the Story. But the Æginetes say they arriv’d with a great Fleet, and not with a single Ship, as is pretended: For they could easily have resist’d such a Number as might come in one or a few Ships, tho’ they themselves had not been furnish’d with any. Nevertheless they give no certain Account, whether
whether they left the Athenians to do as they thought fit, out of a Diftrust of their own Naval Strength, or designedly perform’d the Part they acted: But only fay, that the Athenians meeting with no Opposition, landed their Men, and march’d directly to the Statues: That after they had in vain endeavour’d to move them from their Pedestals, they made use of Cords to draw them down; and that the Images upon their Descent perform’d an Action, which I cannot believe, tho’ perhaps some others may. For, faid they, both these Statues fell down on their Knees, and have ever since continued in that Posture. These things are related of the Athenians by the People of Ἱέγινα: And concerning themselves they fay, that being inform’d the Athenians would not fail to make War againft them, they prevail’d with the Argians to put themselves into a Readiness to come to their Assistance. And accordingly, when the Athenians were landed in Ἱέγινα, the Argians enter’d the Island privately, from Ἑπιδαυρός, and unexpectedly falling upon the Athenians, cut off their Retreat to the Ships: In which Instant the Thunder and Earthquake happen’d. Thus the Argians and Ἱέγινετες relate the Story; and the Athenians themselves confess, that no more than one Man escap’d out of this Action to Ἀττικα. But whereas the Argians affirm, that they destroy’d the Army of Ἀττικα, one Man only excepted; the Athenians on the contrary fay, some Demon interpos’d; and the surviving Person soon perish’d in this manner: When he return’d to Ἀθῆναι, and had given an account of this Disaffter, the Wives
Wives of those who had made the Decent upon Ægina, highly incens'd that one Man alone should be left alive of the whole Number, assembled together about him, and asking for their Husbands, kill'd him with the Points of the Pins which fasten'd their Garments. They add, that the Athenians were more disturb'd at this Action, than at their Defeat; and having no other way to punish the Women, compell'd them to alter their Dress, and wear the Ionian Habit. For before that time, the Wives of the Athenians were cloath'd in the Dorian Fashion, little differing from that of Corinth: But afterwards they were oblig'd to wear a linen Vest, that needed not to be fasten'd with Pins. Yet if we will speak the Truth, this Garment was originally of Caria, and not of Ionia: And indeed the ancient Habit of all the Women of Greece was the same with that which we now call Dorian. However, from this Event a Custom was introduc'd among the Argians and Æginetes, of making Pins greater by three fourths than before; and of these consisted the principal Offerings that were dedicated in the Temples of the Gods by the Women of Ægina: who might not carry to those Places any thing made in the Territories of Attica, not even a Pitcher; but were forc'd to drink there in Pots of their own Country. In a word, the Women of Argos and Ægina, in despite to those of Athens, wear at this Day Pins of a greater Size, than they used in antient time. Thus I have related the Original of that Enmity which the Æginetes conceiv'd against the Athenians; and which mov'd them so readily to assist the Boeotians at the Desire of the Thebans;
because they had not forgotten the things that had pass’d about the two Images.

While the Forces of Aegina were ravaging the maritim Places of Attica, and the Athenians prepar’d to march out against them, an Oracle was brought to Athens from Delphi, exhorting them to defer the Punishment of the Aeginetes during thirty Years; and in the one and thirtieth Year, to build a Temple to Æacus, and then to begin the War, with full Assurance of Success: Adding farther, that if they would not be dissuaded from undertaking that Enterprize immediately, they should sustain as great Losses as their Enemies, and be overcome in the end. When the Athenians heard the Prediction, they built a Temple to Æacus, which is now seen standing in the publick Place; yet would not defer the War for thirty Years upon the Admonition of the Oracle, because they had already suffered by the Hostilities of the Aeginetes. But as they were preparing to take their Revenge, the Lacedemonians obstructed their Design. For being inform’d of the Fraud contriv’d between the Alcmæonides and the Pythian, together with all that she had done against the Pisistratides, they perceiv’d they had injur’d themselves doubly; having expell’d their own Friends and Allies out of Athens, and receiving no Thanks from the Athenians for that Kindness. Besides, they were made acquainted with certain Oracles, threatening them with Indignities from the Athenians; of which they knew nothing till the Return of Cleomenes; who finding them in the Acropolis, after they had been in the Possession of the Pisistratides, and left in
that Place at their Expulsion, brought them away with him to Sparta. The Lacedemonians therefore having receiv'd this Informations, and considering the prosperous Condition of the Athenians; with their manifest Unwillingness to acknowledge the Superiority of Sparta; were persuaded that if the People of Attica should continue in Freedom, they would soon aspire to an Equality; and on the contrary would be weak and humble if they were under a Tyranny: Considering these things, I say, they sent for Hippias the Son of Pisistratus from Sigium on the Hellespont, to which Place the Pisistratides were retir'd; and after his Arrival, having assembled the Deputies of the rest of their Confederates, some of the Spartans spoke to this effect. "Friends and Allies, we are now convinc'd of the Error we committed, when relying upon deceitful Oracles, we not only expell'd from their Country, Men, who were our trusty Confederates, and had undertaken to put Athens into our hands; but deliver'd the City to an ungrateful People, who, after they had been set at liberty by us, had the insolence to eject our King with Loss and Dishonour; and from that time have advanced both in Pride and Power; as their Neighbours the Boetians and Chalcideans have already experience'd; and others may soon feel, if they should happen to incur their Displeasure. Since then we have been guilty of so great a Fault, let us agree to march against them, and endeavour to take Revenge. For to that End we have sent for Hippias, and summon'd every one of you; that by common Consent, and
"and united Forces, we may reinstate him in the Possession of Athens, and restore what we took away from him." To this effect the Lacedemonians express'd themselves. But their Confederates not approving their Proposition, were silent: Only Sophicles the Corinthian made the following Speech; "Then, surely, said he, the Heavens will sink beneath the Earth, and the Earth ascend above the Air; Men shall live in the Sea, and the Fishes possess the Habitations of Men, whenever you, O Lacedemonians, shall dissolve a Commonwealth, and endeavour to erect a Tyranny; than which nothing can be found more unjust, and more pernicious among Men! But if a Tyranny appear to you so excellent a thing, establish one first in your own Country; and then with a better Grace you may attempt to set up Tyrants in other Places. But would you, who are altogether unacquainted with the Exercise of tyrannical Power, and have carefully provided to prevent any such in Sparta, condemn your Allies to that Shame? I persuade my self, if you had been taught by our Experience, you would propose better things to us. The State of Corinth was formerly this: The Government being oligarchical was administered by those, who were known by the Name of the Bacchiades, and had been accustomed to marry only among their own Blood. Amphion, one of these, had a Daughter nam'd Labda, who was born lame: And because none of the Bacchiades would marry her, she was given to Etion the Son of Echerates, of the Tribe of Petra, tho' originally
originally of Lapithæ and Cenide. But Etion
having no Children by this Woman, nor by
any other, went to Delphi, on that account;
and as he enter'd the Temple, the Pythian
saluted him with the following Lines:

Etion, less bount'rd than thy Merits claim,
Labda is pregnant, and a Stone shall bring;
To crush the Monarchs, and Corinthus rule.

This Prediction was reported to the Bac-
chiades, who had not understood a former
Oracle, concerning Corinth, tending to the
fame End with that of Etion, and conceiv'd
in these Terms,

A brooding Eagle on the Rocks should hatch
A Lyon-Whelp, destructive, fierce, and strong.
Consider, Corinth, and Pirene fair,
What must ensue from this prodigious Birth.

The Bacchiades, who had never been able
to comprehend the Meaning of this Oracle,
no sooner heard that which was deliver'd to
Etion, than they presently understood the o-
ther; and perceiving that both these Oracles
foretold the same Event, they would not pub-
lish their Suspicions; but resolv'd to destroy
whatever should be born to Etion. In this
Resolution, after the Woman was brought to
bed, they sent ten of their own Number, in-
to the Disdriict where Etion liv'd, with Or-
ders to dispatch the Child: And when those
Men arriv'd in Petra, they went to the House
of Etion, and desir'd to see the Infant: Labda
not
not at all suspecting the Cause of their coming, and imagining they ask'd that Question out of Friendship to the Father, brought the Child and put him into the Hands of one of the Ten; who had made an Agreement by the way, that whoever should first receive the Infant, should let him fall upon the Floor. But the Child happening by strange Fortune to smile upon the Person, into whose Hands the Mother had deliver'd him, mov'd his Compassion to such a degree, that he could not prevail with himself to perform his Promise. So the first relenting gave him to another, and he to a third; till the Infant had pass'd thro' the Hands of all the Ten: And when none of the Company would kill him, they deliver'd him again to his Mother, and went out of the House. But standing still before the Door, they fell into a warm Debate, mutually blaming each other, and especially the first who took the Child, for not doing as they had determin'd. At last they all agreed to go in again, and that every one should be equally concern'd in the Death of the Infant. But, because the Desolation of Corinth was to proceed from the Race of Eton, Labda, who from within had overheard all their Discourse, fearing they would return with a Resolution to kill the Child, hid him in a Cypselan of Corn, as the securest Place; not doubting, if they should come in again, they would make a most diligent Search. Which indeed they did: For they return'd, and strictly examin'd every Part of the House: But not finding the Child,
they resolv'd to depart, and tell those who
sent them, that they had put their Orders in
execution. After this, Etion brought up his
Son, and nam'd him Cypselus, from the Mea-
sure of Corn, in which he lay conceal'd,
when he escap'd so great a Danger. He had
no sooner attain'd the Age of a Man, than
he went to consult the Oracle at Delphi, and
in Confidence of an ambiguous Answer, at-
tempted, and subdued Corinth. The Words
were these;

A happy Man is come within my House;
Cypselus, Etion's Son, and Corinth's King:
He and his Sons: But then no more from him.

When Cypselus had usurp'd the Dominion of
Corinth, he behav'd himself thus. He ban-
nish'd many of the Corinthians, depriv'd
many of their Estates, and put a greater
Number to death. After a Reign of thirty
Years, attended by constant Prosperity,
his Son Periander succeed'd him in the Ty-
ranny. He was at first more mild than
his Father: But afterwards having by his
Ambassadors contract'd a Friendship with
ThraSybulus Tyrant of Miletus, he became far
more cruel than Cypselus. He sent one to
ask ThraSybulus in his Name, how he might
manage his Affairs, and govern the Corin-
thians in the safest manner: The Milefian
conducting this Person out of the City, en-
ter'd with him into a Field of Corn, which
he travers'd in every Part; and entertain-
ing him with Questions frequently repeat-
ed concerning his Voyage from Corinth, cut
D 4
" down
down and threw away all the tallest Stems
he found in his Passage; till he had destroy'd
the best and fairest of the Wheat in that
manner. When he had done this quite over
the Piece of Ground, he dismiss'd the Amb-
bassador, without charging him with any
Message. At his Return, Periander was ear-
nest to know the Answer of Thraasybulus,
but he assure'd him he had receiv'd none; and
wond'ring he should be sent to such a mad
Man, who destroy'd his own Goods, related
what he had seen him do. Periander present-
ly comprehended the Meaning of Thraasybulus,
and understanding that by this Action he
had counsel'd him to take away the Lives
of the most eminent Citizens, exercis'd all
manner of Cruelties in Corinth, and by
Death and Banishment exterminated those
who had escap'd the Fury of Cypselus. Be-
sides, he stripp'd all the Corinthian Women
of their Clothes in one Day, on the account
of his Wife Melissa. For when he sent
Messengers into Thesprotia upon the River
Acheron, to consult her after her Death, con-
cerning a Treasure deposited in her Hands
by a Friend, Melissa appearing, said, she
would make no Discovery, nor tell in what
Place it lay, because she was cold and na-
ked; the Clothes which were buried with
her proving use-less, by reason they had not
been burn'd. And to confirm the Truth of
this she added, that Periander had put his
Bread into a cold Oven. When these Words
were reported to Periander, he well under-
stood the Comparison of Melissa, because
he had indeed lain with her after Death;
and immediately commanded Proclamation
to be made, that all the Wives of the Co-
rintheans should appear forthwith in the
Temple of Juno. The Women went thither
accordingly, richly dres'd, as their Man-
er was on Festival Days; and were all
stripp'd with their Attendants by the Guards
of Periander, which he had privately intro-
duc'd to that end. Then taking up the Gar-
ments, he order'd them to be carried and
burnt on the Grave of Melissa, whilst he per-
form'd his Devotions there. This done, he
sent again to enquire concerning the Treas-
ure of his Friend, and the Phantom of Mel-
issa nam'd the Place where he had conceal'd
it. These, O Lacedemonians, these are the
Fruits you will reap by erecting Tyrannies;
for such are the genuine Actions of Tyrants.
We Corinthians were seiz'd with Admira-
tion, when we understood you had sent for
Hippias; but our Amazement is highly aug-
mented, since we heard your Proposal. We
advise you therefore by the Grecian Gods,
that you would not establish Tyrannies in
the Cities of Greece. Nevertheless, if you
resolve to persift in your Design, and against
all Right endeavour to restore Hippias, know,
that the Corinthians will have no Part in
the Attempt." Thus spoke Sosicles, Am-
bassador of Corinth. But Hippias, after he
had attested the same Gods, told him that
the Corinthians would be the first of all Peo-
ple to regret the Pisistratides, when the fatal
Time should come, that they should be opp-
ress'd by the Athenians: And this he said, in
Confidence of certain Oracles, which he was
more
HERODOTUS.

more acquainted with than any Man. The rest of the Confederates, who had been silent before, having heard the Speech of Sosicles, openly declar'd themselves; and unanimously embracing the Sentiments of the Corinthian Ambassador, adjur'd the Lacedemonians not to introduce any Innovation into a Grecian City. And thus that Design was defeated.

AFTER the Departure of Hippias, Amyntas King of Macedonia, made him an Offer of Anthemus, and the Thessalians another of Ioleus; but accepting neither, he return'd to Sigeum, which Pisistratus had formerly taken from the Mityleneans, and put into the Hands of his natural Son Hegestratus, born of an Argian Woman. Yet he was not undisturb'd in his Possession: For the Mityleneans from Achilleum, and the Athenians from Sigeum, enter'd into a long War about the City; the first demanding Restitution, and the Athenians rejecting their Claim, and asserting, that the Æolians had no more Right to the Territories of Ilium, than they, or any of the Grecians, who affisted Menelaus after the Rape of Helena. Many remarkable Actions of various kinds happen'd during this War: Among others, one relating to the Poet Alcaeus; who being present in a Battle, and seeing the Athenians victorious, fled out of the Field and made his escape: But the Athenians having found his Arms, hung them up in the Temple of Minerva at Sigeum: And on that Occasion Alcaeus afterwards compos'd a Poem, which he publish'd in Mitylene, lamenting the Disgrace to his Companion Melanippus. In the End, Periander the Son of Cypselus being chosen Arbitrator on both sides,
fices, reconciled the Athenians and Mityleneans, on Condition that each Party should retain what they had. And by this Title the Athenians possessed Sigeum.

AFTER the Return of Hippias from Lacedemon to Asia, he set all his Invention to work against the Athenians; endeavouring by Aspersions to render them odious to Artaphernes, and omitting nothing that might tend to reduce Athens under the Power of Darius and himself. Which when the Athenians understood, they sent Ambassadors to Sardis, with Instructions to solicit the Persians not to give ear to the Athenian Exiles. But Artaphernes haughtily told them, that if they desired to be safe, they must receive Hippias again. The Athenians rejected the Condition, and chose rather to declare open Enmity against the Persians. When they had taken this Resolution, and were on these Terms with the Persians; in that Conjuncture Aristagoras the Miletian, who had been commanded to depart from Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedemonian, arrived in Athens; which of all the Grecian Cities was the principal in Power. There, addressing himself to the popular Assembly, he repeated all that he had said before in Sparta touching the Wealth of Asia: And to encourage them farther to make War upon the Persians, he assured them, that having neither Shield nor Lance, they must of necessity be an easy Conquest. He withal reminded them, that the Milesians were a Colony of the Athenians, and might justly expect their Assistance in this Exigency, since they were arrived to so great Power. In a word, he omitted no kind of Promises or Prayers; till at length,
length, he obtain'd their Consent. For he thought a Multitude might with more Facility be seduc'd than one Man. And thus he, who had not been able to prevail with Cleomenes the Lacedemonian singly, persuaded thirty thousand Athenians to do whatever he desir'd. In this Disposition the Athenians by a publick Decree determin'd to send twenty Ships to the Succour of the Ionians, under the Conduct of Melanthiues, a Man universally esteem'd in Athens. And from this Source the Evils that afterwards fell upon the Grecians and Barbarians, were principally deriv'd. Aristagoras fail'd before the Departure of this Fleet, and arriving in Miletus, form'd a Design, which could be of no Advantage to the Ionians; nor was contriv'd by him to that End; but only to make Darius uneasy. He sent a Man into Phrygia, to the Pæonians, who had been carried away Prisoners by Megabyzus from the River Strymon, and plac'd in a certain Distrikt of Phrygia; where they inhabited together. When this Person arriv'd he made the following Speech; "Men of Pæonia, Aristagoras the "Milefian has sent me hither, to open a Way "for your Deliverance, if you will take his "Advice. All Ionia has revolted from the "King, and therefore you may safely return "to your own Country: For you can meet "with no Obstruction from hence to the Sea; "and the rest shall be our Care." The Pæoni- ans heard the Proposition with exceeding Joy, and having assembled their Wives and Children, fled away towards the Coast; a few only excepted, who fearing the Consequences staid behind. When they were come to the Sea,
they imbark'd; and pass'd over to Chio: Where they were no sooner landed, than the Persian Cavalry arriv'd in great Numbers on the Shoar, pursuing the Pæonians; and finding they had made their Escape, sent Orders to Chio to command them to return. But the Pæonians flighting the Message, were transported by the Chians to Lesbos, and by the Lesbians to Doriscus; from whence they march'd by Land into Pæonia. In the mean time the Athenians arriv'd with twenty Ships at Miletus, accompanied by five more of the Eretrians, who engag'd not in this Expedition on the account of the Athenians; but to requite a preceding Kindness they had receiv'd from the Milesians. For in a former War the Milesians had taken Part with the Eretrians, against the Chalci-deans supported by the Samians their Confedrates. Aristagoras, after the Arrival of this Succour, and the rest of his Allies, resolv'd to attempt Sardis. But because he himself design'd to stay at Miletus, and not to go with the Army in Person, he appointed his Brother Charopinus to command the Milesians and plac'd Hermophantus at the Head of the other Forces. The Ionians arriving at Ephesus, left their Ships in the Harbour of Coreus, belonging to that City; and choosing Ephesians for their Guides, advanc'd with a numerous Army by the Side of the River Caystrus; pass'd the Mountain Tmolus, and coming before Sardis, took the City without Opposition. But Artaphernes with a strong Gar-rison kept the Castle from falling into their Hands; and an Accident happening, priv'd them likewise of the Pillage they expected: For as most of the Houses in Sardis were built with
with Cane; and even those which were built with Brick, were roof'd with Canes, one House being set on fire by a Soldier, spread the Flame throughout the Place. During this Fire, all the Lydians and Persians who were in the City, finding no way open for their Escape, because the Flame had seiz'd the outermost Parts, ran together in great Numbers to the publick Place; thro' the midst of which the River Pactolus runs, sweeping down Grains of Gold from the Hills of Tmolus, and being afterwards receiv'd by the Hermus, pass'd thro' the same Channel to the Sea. Thus the Lydians and Persians being assembled in great Multitudes upon the Place, and on both sides of the River, were constrain'd to defend themselves: And the Ionians seeing one Part of the Enemy standing in their Defence, and greater Numbers ready to support them, retir'd with Precipitation to the Mountain Tmolus, and march'd away by Night to their Ships. In this Conflagration, the Temple of Cybele, the Goddess of that Country, was burnt; which afterwards serv'd the Persians for a Pretence to set on fire the Temples of Greece. When the Persians who had their Habitations on this side the River Halys, were inform'd of these things, they drew together, and march'd to the Succour of the Lydians: But not finding the Ionians at Sardis, they followed them with all Diligence to Ephesus; where they fought and defeated the Ionian Army with great Slaughter. In this Battle many illustrious Persons were kill'd; and among others, Eualcides General of the Eretrians, who on account of his Olympian Victories having obtain'd
obtain'd divers Crowns, had been highly celebrated by Simonides the Cean. Those who escap'd out of the Field, dispers'd themselves into various Places. And such was the Success of this Expedition. After which, the Athenians totally abandon'd the Ionians; and when they were sollicited on their Part by the Ambassadors of Aristagoras in the most pressing Terms, declar'd they would send them no Assistance. But the Ionians, tho' they were depriv'd of that Succour; yet because they had done so much against Darius, prepar'd themselves to carry on the War with no less Vigour than before; and failing into the Hellespont reduc'd Byzantium, with all the adjacent Cities under their Obedience. Then proceeding farther with their Fleet, they prevail'd with many of the Carians to become their Confederates; for the City of Caunus, which before had reject-ed their Alliance, resolv'd to assist the Ionians after the burning of Sardis. And all the Cypri-ans, except the Amathusians, readily enter'd into the same Confederacy; having already re-volted from Darius in this manner: Onefilus the younger Brother of Gorgus King of the Salamini ans, Son to Cheris, and Grandson of Siro-mus the Son of Euelthon, having formerly sollicited his Brother at divers times to revolt against the King; when he heard of the Ionian Defection, renew'd his Instances with greater Earnestness than before. But finding he could not prevail upon Gorgus, he waited an Opportunity; and one Day, when his Brother was gone out of the City with his Partizans, shut the Gates against him. Gorgus being thus ex-cluded, fled to the Medes; and Onefilus having posses'd
possess'd himself of Salamis, persuaded the Cyprians to join with him, and besieged the Ama-
thusians, who singly refus'd to revolt at his Solicitation. Whilst Onesilus was employ'd in
the Siege of Amathus, Darius being inform'd that Sardis had been taken and burnt by the
Athenians and Ionians, and that Aristagoras the Miletian had been the Author of this Con-
federacy, as well as the Contriver of that Enterprize; was not much concern'd about the
Ionians, who, he doubted not, might be easily punish'd for their Rebellion; but demanding
what People those Athenians were, he had no sooner receiv'd an Answer to that Question,
than taking a Bow into his Hand, he let go an Arrow into the Air, with these Words;
"Grant, O Jupiter, that I may be reveng'd
" of the Athenians!" After he had thus spo-
ken, he commanded one of his Attendants
thrice to repeat the ensuing Words, every time
he should sit down to eat, "Monarch, re-
"member the Athenians." Then calling Hi-
stiaeus the Miletian, whom he had long detain'd
with him, Darius said; "I am inform'd, Hi-
stiaeus, that the Governor you appointed
to "command in Miletus during your Absence,
"has executed an injurious Enterprize against
"me; for he has brought Men into Asia
"from the other Continent, and having per-
"suaded the Ionians, who shall not go long
"unpunish'd, to join them, has with those
"Forces depriv'd me of Sardis. Can you
"think these Actions commendable? Or can
"any one imagine they were done without
"your Advice? Be careful therefore to avoid
"such Faults for the future." To this Histiaeus
"answer'd;
answer'd, "O King, what have you said?
" That I shou'd advise a thing, which might
" give you the leaft Occasion of Discontent!
" What Advantage could I propose to myself
" by such an Action? Can I want any thing?
" I who live in the fame Splendor with you,
" and am honour'd with the Confidence of
" all your Counsels? If my Lieutenant is guil
" ty of the Actions you mention, be affur'd,
" he himself has been the Contriver. But
" in the first Place, I cannot persuade my-
" self, that he and the Milesians have attempt-
" ed any thing againft your Authority. Yet
" if the Charge should be true, and he has
" indeed done as you have been inform'd, con-
" sider, O King, whether your Affairs are
" not prejudic'd by my Abfence from the ma-
" ritim Parts. For the Ionians feem only to have
" waited till I should be withdrawn, to put
" in execution a Design they had conceiv'd
" before; and if I had continued in Ionia,
" not one of those Cities would have revolted.
" Dismiss me therefore with Speed, and fend
" me back to Ionia; that I may restore the
" Affairs of those Countries to their former
" Condition, and deliver the Milesian Deputy
" into your Hands, who has been the Au-
" thor of these Enterprizes. When I have
" perform'd this according to your Desire,
" I swear by the Gods of the King, not to
" change the Garments I wear in my Voy-
" age to Ionia, before I render the great Is-
" land of Sardinia tributary to Darius." Hifiae-
" us said these Words in order to deceive the
" King; and succeeded in his Design. For Da-
" rius was perfuaded to let him go: Only com-
manding him to return to Susa, so soon as the
things he had promis'd should be perform'd.

When the News of Sardis was brought
to the King, and he shot an Arrow into the
Air; whilst he conferr'd with Hisiæus, and
Hisiæus was on his Journey to the Sea; in all
this Time the following Actions pass'd. Onesi-
lus the Salaminian, who was employed in the
Siege of Amathus, having receiv'd Information,
that a great Army under the Conduct of Artby-
lius a Persian, was suddenly expected to land
in Cyprus, sent Heralds to demand the Affittance
of the Ionians: who without much hesitation
assembled a considerable Fleet, and sail'd to
Cyprus. The Persians on their Part landing
their Men from Cilicia, march'd up to Salamis;
while the Phœnicians kept cruising with their
Ships about the Promontory which is called
the Key of the Island. In the mean Time the
Cyprian Princes summon'd the Ionian Captains
together, and spoke to them in these Terms;
"Men of Ionia, we give you the Choice ei-
ther to fight against the Persians or Phœni-
cians. If you chuse to engage the Persians
in a land Battle, 'tis time to bring your
Forces afloat, that we may go on board
your Ships, and fight the Phœnicians: But
if you are more willing to make an Experi-
ment of your Strength against the Phœnici-
ans do as you think convenient; that whe-
ther you determine one way or the other,
we may endeavour with all our Power to
preserve the Liberty of Cyprus and Ionia."
"to the Cyprians, in order to fight the Persians by Land. We shall endeavour to do our Duty in the best manner we can, according to the Instructions we have receiv’d. On your part, the Remembrance of the Evils you suffer’d under the Tyranny of the Medes, ought to incite you to exert the utmost of your Courage and Virtue." Soon after this answer made by the Ionians, the Persians were seen advancing into the Plains of Salamis; upon which the Kings of Cyprus drawing up their Forces in order of Battle, plac’d the best of the Salaminians and Solians against the Front of the Persians, and all the rest of the Cyprians against the Enemy’s Auxiliaries. Onesilus voluntarily plac’d himself directly against Artybius the Persian General, who was mounted on a manag’d Horse accustom’d to rise against an arm’d Enemy. Of this Onesilus had been already inform’d; and having with him an Officer well skill’d in Military Affairs, and of great Boldness, he said to him; "Artybius is mounted on a Horse, taught to stand upright, and with his Feet and Teeth to kill the Man he is push’d against; Chuse therefore immediately, whether thou wilt undertake to deal with Artybius or his Horse. I am ready answer’d the Officer, to do both, or either, or any other thing you shall command; but I shall take liberty to propose that which I think most conducing to your Honour. He who is a King and a General, should never decline to engage against one who is of the same Condition. For if you kill him, your Glory is great; and if he kills you, which the Gods avert, you are only
only unfortunate in part, because you fall by a noble Hand. In the mean time we Subjects will fight against those who are our Equals: And as to the Horse, you have nothing to fear; for I take upon me, to prevent him from falling upon any Man, for the time to come." Soon after these Words, the Armies engag'd both by Sea and Land. All the Ionians fought vigorously, and defeated the Phœncians at Sea: But the Samians surpas'd the rest in Valour that Day. By Land when the Armies met, and the Battle was begun, Artybius push'd his Horse towards Onesilus, and Onesilus struck Artybius, as he had concerted before with his Officer. The Officer on his part, seeing the Horse raising his Feet to the Shield of Onesilus, struck him with a Scythe, and cut them both off: So that Artybius the Persian General, fell with his Horse to the Ground at one Blow. But as the Dispute grew hot on both sides, Stefenor Tyrant of Curium, which is said to be a Colony of Argos, revolted to the Enemy with a considerable Number of Forces under his Command; and presently after this Treachery of the Curians, the Chariots of War belonging to Salamis follow'd their Example: By which means the Persians obtain'd the Victory, and the Cyprians were put to flight with great Slaughter. Among others Onesilus the Son of Cherfis, who had persuaded the Cyprians to revolt, was kill'd in this Battle; together with Aristocyprus King of the Solians, the Son of that Philocyprus, who of all the Princes of his Time is most commended in the Verses of Solon the Athenian, which he made during
during his Stay at Cyprus. The Amathusians cut off the Head of Onesilus, because he had besieged their City, and placed it over the Gates of Amathus: Where, after some time when the Head was become empty, a swarm of Bees entered and filled the Skull with Honey. Upon which the Amathusians consulting the Oracle, were admonished, that if they would inter the Head, and sacrifice annually to Onesilus, as to a Hero, their Affairs should prosper. The Amathusians did accordingly, and continued those Sacrifices to my Time. The Ionians, who had fought by Sea on the Coast of Cyprus, hearing the Disaster of Onesilus, and that the rest of the Cyprian Cities were besieged, except Salamis, which the Salaminians had restored to their former King Gorgus, sailed away to Ionia. Of all the Cities of Cyprus, Soli sustained the longest Siege: But in the fifth Month the Place was taken by the Persians; after they had undermined the Walls. And thus the Cyprians having been a free People during one Year, were again reduced into Servitude.

DAURIS E S, Hymees, and Otanes, whose Wives were Daughters to Darius, having together with other Persian Generals, pursued those Ionians who made War against Sardis to their Ships, and afterwards defeated them in the Field, separated themselves, in order to destroy the Cities. Daurises directing his March towards those of the Hellepont, took Dardanus, Abydus, Percote, Lampacus, and Pefus; employing no more than one Day in the Reduction of each. But advancing from Pefus towards Parium, he received a Message, importing, that the Carians
HERODOTUS.

entertaining a Correspondence with the Ionians, had likewise revolted from the Persians. Upon this Advice he abandon'd the Hellespont, and led his Army against the Carians; who being inform'd of his March, before his Arrival in their Territories, assembled their Forces at a Place call'd the White Columns, upon the River Marsya, which passes thro' the Country of Hydrias, and falls into the Meander. Divers Propositions were made in this Camp; but none, in my Opinion, so good as that of Pixodarus the Son of Mausolus, a Cyndian, who had married the Daughter of Syennesis King of Cilicia. He advis'd, that the Carians would pass the Meander, and fight the Persians on the other side; that having the River in their Rear, and no Way left to retreat, they might be necessitated to keep their Ground, and surpass the common Valour of Men. But the Carians rejecting his Proposition, resolv'd to let the Persians pass the Meander; to the end that if they should be beaten, the River might be in the Way, and cut off their Retreat. So the Persians advancing pass'd the Meander; and the Carians expecting the Enemy on the Banks of the River Marsya, fought a long and bloody Battle, till at last, oppress'd with Numbers, they were totally defeated. In this Action two Thousand Persians and ten Thousand Carians were kill'd. The rest of the Carians who escap'd out of the Fight, fled to Labranda, and betook themselves to a vaft Grove, sacred to the military Jupiter, and fill'd with Plane-trees. They are the only People we know, who sacrifice to that Deity, under the Name of the God of Armies. When they had taken sanctuary
ary in that Place, willing to make the best Provision they could for their own Safety, they consulted together, whether they should surrender themselves to the Persians, or entirely abandon Asia: And while they deliberated about this Affair, the Milesians with their Confederates came to their Assistance: Which so encouraged the Carians, that they immediately changed their Design, and resolved to try the Fortune of War again. Accordingly they met the Persians and fought another Battle with more obstinacy than the former; but in the end were put to flight, with great Slaughter; in which the Milesians suffer'd most. Yet after this Blow the Carians continued to carry on the War; and hearing that the Persians design'd to invade their Cities, plac'd an Ambuscade on the Way to Dausis; into which the Persians falling by Night, were cut in Pieces, with their Generals Daurifes, Amorges and Sisamaces. Myrses the Son of Gyges was likewise involv'd in this Slaughter: And such was the End of these Persians. Heraclides the Son of Ibanolis, a Mylefian, was the Author of this Enterprize.

HYMEES, another of those who pursu'd the Ionians after the Expedition of Sardis, bending his March towards the Propontis, took the City of Cius in Mydia. But hearing that Daurifes had quitted the Hellespont, and was advancing against the Carians, he abandon'd the Propontis; and being arriv'd with his Army on the Hellespont, subdued all the Æolians of the Ilian Coast, together with the Gergithes, who were the only remaining People of the ancient Teucrians: And after the Conquest of these Nations died at Troas. In the mean time Artaphernes,
Governor of Sardis, and Otanes, who was one of the three Generals, being appointed to invade Ionia, with the confining Territories of the Æolians, possesse’d themselves of Clazomene, belonging to the Ionians, and took Cyme from the Æolians. The News of which Disasters so discompos’d the Mind of Aristagoras the Mile-sian, who knew he had been the Disturber of Ionia, and Author of these great Confusions, that he began to consider how to make his E- scape; since he evidently saw he could do nothing effectually against Darius. To that end he sum-mon’d those of his Faction together; and having told them their common Safety requir’d, that Care should be taken to secure a Place of Refuge, in case they should be expell’d from Miletus; he ask’d, whether he ought to conduct a Colony to Sardinia, or to the City of Myrcinus, built by Histiaeus in the Country of Edone, which he receiv’d from Darius. But Hecateus the Historian, Son to Hegesander, declar’d his Opinion against both these Propositions, and said, that if they should be compel’d to relin-quish Miletus, they ought to build a City in the Island Lerus, and there continue quiet, ’till they could safely return back again. This was the Counfel of Hecateus. Nevertheless Aristagoras chusing rather to go to Myrcinus, left the Government of Miletus in the Hands of Pythagoras an eminent Citizen; and together with all those who were willing to accompany him, fail’d in-to Thrace and took Possession of the Region to which he was bound. But as he was besieging a Place situate beyond those Limits, he perish’d with his Army by the Hands of certain Thraci- ans, who before had offer’d to surrender upon Terms. THE
Thus died Aristagoras, who induc'd the Ionians to revolt: And Histiaeus Tyrant of Miletus, having obtain'd Leave of Darius, went to Sardis, where when he arriv'd from Susa, Artaphernes, Governour of Sardis, ask'd his Opinion concerning the Cause of the Ionian Defection. Histiaeus said, He could not imagine: And pretending to be ignorant of all that had pass'd, seem'd extremely surpriz'd at the Account he heard. But Artaphernes perceiving his Dissimulation, and being fully inform'd of the true Reason of the Revolt, reply'd, "Histiaeus, this Affair stands thus; Thou wast the Maker of that Shoe, which Aristagoras put upon his Foot." By which Words Histiaeus collecting that Artaphernes was well inform'd; and fearing the Consequences, went away the following Night towards the Sea, and deceiv'd Darius: For instead of reducing the great Island of Sardinia, according to his Promise, he took upon himself the Conduct of the Ionian War against the King. At his landing in Chio he was seiz'd by the Chians, upon Suspicion that he had some Design to execute there in favour of Darius. But when they understood the whole Truth,
Truth, and found he was an Enemy to the King, they set him at liberty again. During his Stay in that Place, being question'd by they Ionians to what end he had so earnestly press'd Aristagoras by Messages to revolt from Darius, and brought such Disasters upon Ionia; he conceal'd the true Reason, and told them, that the King had resolv'd to bring the Phœnicians into Ionia and to transport the Ionians into Phœnicia. This, he said, was the Cause of his Message to Aristagoras: and thus he alarm'd the Ionians; tho' indeed Darius had never form'd any such Design. After these things, he gain'd one Hermippus an Atomanian, and sent him to Sardis with Letters to certain Persians he had discours'd with before concerning a Revolt. But Hermippus not delivering the Letters to the Persons to whom they were address'd, put them into the Hands of Artaphernes; who by this means perceiving what was doing, commanded the Messenger to deliver the Letters of Histiaeus according to his Instructions, and bring to him the Answers he should receive from the Persians. Thus Artaphernes having made a full Discovery, put many of the Persians to death, and caus'd a great Disorder in Sardis. Histiaeus disappoint-ed of these Hopes, was conducted back to Miletus by the Chians at his own Request: But, the Milesians being pleas'd with their Deliverance from Aristagoras, and the Liberty they enjoy'd, would by no means receive another Tyrant into their Country. Upon which, en-deavouring to enter the City by Night with an arm'd Force, he was wounded in the Shoulder by a Milesian, and after that Repulse return'd to Chio. But finding he could not persuade the Chians
Chians to entrust him with their Fleet, he pafs'd over to Mitylene and prevail'd with the Lesbians to furnish him with eight Ships; which they fitted out, and accompanied him to Byzantium. In this Station they took all the Ships that came out of the Euxin, except such as were willing to take part with Hisiaus.

During the Course of these Actions done by Histiaus and the Mityleneans, the Enemy prepared to attack Miletus with a formidable Army, and a numerous Fleet. For the Persian Generals flighting the other Places had drawn all their Troops together in order to that Attempt. Their maritime Forces consisted of the Phœnicians, Cilicians and Egyptians, with the Cyprians, who had been lately subdued: But of all these, the Phœnicians shew'd the greatest Zeal to forward the Enterprize. When the Ionians heard of the Enemy's Preparations against Miletus and the rest of Ionia, they sent the principal Persons of their several Councils to the General Assembly; where being arriv'd, and consulting together, they unanimously resolv'd, that they would not bring together any Land Forces to oppose the Persians; but whilst the Milesians should defend the City to the utmost of their Power, would arm and fit out all the Ships they had; and then repairing with all Expedition to Lade, a little Island near Miletus, engage the Enemy in a Sea Battle within View of the Milesians. In this Resolution the Ionians mann'd their Ships, and appearing at the Rendezvous in Conjunction with those Æolians who inhabit Æolia, drew their Fleet into the following Order. The Milesians with 80 Ships were rang'd
rang’d at the Head of the Line, stretching to the Eastward; and next to these the Prienians with twelve Ships, and the Myusians with three, followed by seventeen of the Teians, and a hundred Sail of Chians. The Centre was compos’d of the Erythraeans in eight, the Phocæans in three, and the Lesbians in seventy Ships. The Samians alone with sixty Sail were plac’d in the Rear to the Westward. So that the whole Ionian Fleet consisted of three hundred fifty three Ships. And though three Barbarians arriv’d on the Milesian Coast with six hundred Ships, and all their Land Forces; yet the Persian Generals hearing the Number of the Ionian Fleet, began to fear they should not obtain the Victory, nor be able to take Miletus, unless they could be Masters at Sea: And apprehending the Displeasure of Darius, if the Event should prove unsuccessful, summon’d together the Tyrants of Ionia, who having been expell’d by Aristagoras out of their Dominions, had fled to the Medes, and at that time accompanied the Enemy in the Expedition against the Milesians. To these Men, when they were met together, the Persians spoke in the following Terms; “If any among you, O Ionians, are desirous to shew your Affection to the King’s Service, this is the Time. Let every one of you endeavour to divide his own Subjects from the rest of the Con- federacy; promising, in order to that End, that none shall suffer on account of their Rebellion; that we will neither burn the Temples, nor their own private Houses; and that they shall be as favourably treated as before. But if they refuse this Offer, and re-
The Persians had express'd themselves in this manner, and Night was come, every one of the Ionian Tyrants dispatch'd a Messenger to those he had formerly commanded, with Instructions to let them know what they were to expect. But the Ionians, upon the Reception of these Messages, despis'd their Menaces, and would not be guilty of so great Treachery: For each Nation was of opinion, that they alone were solicited by the Enemy. Such were the Actions of the Persians immediately after their Arrival before Miletus.

The Ionians having assembled their Fleet near Lade, call'd a Council of War; in which, after divers Propositions had been made, Dionysius General of the Phocæans spoke to this effect.

"Our Affairs, O Ionians, are upon a Needle's Point; we must either vindicate our Liberty now, or be totally enslav'd and punish'd as Fugitives. If you would submit to some Hardships at this time, you may indeed be uneasy for the present: But those Toils will enable you to preserve your Freedom, and overcome your Enemies. Whereas if you abandon your selves to Effeminacy and Disorder, I despair to see you escape with Impunity out of the Hands of the King. Yet could I persuade you to follow my Advice, and
"and to permit me to regulate your Conduct,
"I would undertake, unless the Gods interfere, either that our Enemies will not fight
"us at all, or if they do, that they shall be
"beaten." When the Ionians heard this, they consented to put themselves under the Discipline of Dionysius; who every day drawing the Fleet into Order of Battle, commanded the Squadrons frequently to change their Stations, that he might accustom the Rowers to the Labour of the Oar; and obliged all the Soldiers to wear their Armour. When they had performed his Orders, they lay at Anchor the remaining Part of the Day: And thus he exercised the Ionians in the Fatigues of War. Seven Days they continued to obey the Commands of Dionysius: But being unacquainted with such Hardships, and exhausted by daily Labour, and the scorching Heat of the Sun, they began to complain one to another in such Terms as these;
"What Demon have we neglected, and now
"pay so dear for our Contempt? Senseless
"and depriv'd of Understanding, we have
"surrender'd our selves into the Hands of an
"insolent Phocæan; who, though he brought
"in no more than three Ships to the common
"Defence, destroys us by intolerable Hardships. Great Numbers of us are already
"fallen into Distempers; and we may reasonably expect many more will soon be in the
"same Condition. 'Twere better for us to suffer any other thing, than the Pressures we
"now lie under: Better, to expect a future Servitude, of what sort soever, than to draw
"upon our own Heads the Addition of these present Calamities. Let us take Courage then,
"and
"and no longer submit to his Commands." This Discourse was so universal, that they unanimously refus'd to obey the Orders of Dionysius, and forming a Camp in the Island, sat under the Shade of their Tents, and would not return to perform their Exercise on board. The Generals of the Samians observing these things, and seeing great Disorders among the Ionians, accepted the Proposal they had receiv'd on the Part of the Persians, by a Message from Æaces the Son of Sylofon, exhorting them to abandon the Confederacy: And being persuaded that the Ionians could not possibly prevail against the King, because they knew, if that Fleet of Darius should be destroy'd, he would send another five times as powerful; they embraced the Occasion; and perceiveing the Ionians would not acquit themselves like Men, thought they should be Gainers, if they could preserve their Temples and private Houses from Destruction. This Æaces, who prevail'd with the Samians, was the Son of Sylofon, the Son of another Æaces; and being Tyrant of Samos, had been depriv'd of his Dominions by Aristagoras the Milesian, as the rest of the Ionian Tyrants were. In this Disposition of things, the Phœnicians advanc'd with their Ships, and the Ionians came on likewise in Order of Battle: But I cannot affirm with certainty, who among the Ionians behav'd themselves well or ill, after the two Fleets were engag'd; because they mutually accuse one another. Yet they say, that the Samians, in pursuance of their Agreement with Æaces, immediately hoisting Sail went out of the Line, and return'd to Samos, eleven Ships only.
only excepted, the Captains of which said and fought, in disobedience to their Leaders; and for this Action were rewarded at their Return by the Community of Samos, with an Inscription on a Pillar, declaring their Names and Families, in order to transmit their Memory to Posterity with Honour; which Monument is still seen in the publick Place. When the Lesbians, who were in the next Station, saw that the Samians had betaken themselves to Flight, they follow'd their Example; and most of the Ionians did the same. But among those who persever'd in the Battle, the Chians, as they suffer'd the greatest Loss, so they gave the most signal Proofs of their Valour, and defended themselves to Extremity. They brought, as I said before, one Hundred Ships, each of which had forty chosen Citizens on board; and tho' they saw that the greatest Part of the Confederates had abandon'd the common Cause, they would not be persuaded to imitate their Treachery: But chusing rather to remain with the few, they advance'd and engag'd the Enemy: till at last, after they had taken many Ships, and lost more of their own, they fled away homewards with the rest. Those Chians, who had their Ships disabled in the Fight, being pursu'd by the Enemy, made the best of their Way to Mycale; and having run their Ships a-ground on that Shoar, march'd by Land into the Country of Ephesus, and arriv'd near the City by Night, at a Time when the Women were celebrating the Rites of Ceres. The Ephesians altogether ignorant of what had befall'n the Chians, and seeing an arm'd Multitude within their Territories,
ries, thought they could be no other than Robbers, who had a Design upon the Women; and in that Opinion fall ing out with the whole Force of the City, kill'd them all on the Spot: And this was the Fate of those Chians. In the mean time Dionysius the Phocæan, when he saw the Ionians totally defeated, abandon'd the Fight, and sail'd away with three Ships he had taken from the Enemy. But not at all doubting that Phocæa would be subdued with the rest of Ionia, instead of returning home, he went directly to Phœnia; and after he had made Booty of many trading Ships on that Coast, sail'd away with immense Riches to Sicily: From whence he committed great Depredations upon the Carthaginians and Tuscan s, yet always sparing the Grecians. The Persians on their part, having obtain'd this Victory over the Ionians, besieg'd Miletus both by Sea and Land; and after they had undermin'd the Walls, and employ'd all manner of military Engines in the Siege, took and destroy'd the City in the sixth Year after the Revolt of Aristagoras, and reduc'd the Inhabitants to Servitude, as the Oracle had foretold. For when the Argians consult ed the Pythian touching the Fortune of their City, they receiv'd a double Answer; partly concerning themselves, and partly respecting the Mile sians. That which was address'd to the Argians, we shall repeat in a proper Place; the other Part relating to the Mile sians, was comprehended in the following Lines.

Miletus, Source of Ill, thy Stores shall serve To feast, and to enrich a Multitude.
These things fell upon the Milesians at that Time: For the greater Part of the Men were kill'd by the Persians, who wear long Hair; their Women and Children were made Slaves, and the Temple in Didyma, with the Grove and Oracle, were reduc'd to Ashes. The great Riches deposited in this Place, we have already mention'd on divers Occasions. All the Milesian Prisoners were conducted to Susa: From whence Darëus, without any other ill Usage, sent them to inhabit the City of Ampé, situate near the Mouth of the Tigris, not far from the Place where that River falls into the Red-Sea. The Persians reserv'd to themselves the Lands that lie about Miletus, with all the level Country, and gave the Carrians of Pedieis Possession of the Hills. In this Desolation, the Sybarites, who after their Expulsion, went to inhabit the Cities of Laos and Scydrus, requited not the former Kindness of the Milesians. For after the Crotonians had taken Sybaris, the Milesians shav'd the Heads of all their Youth, and gave publick Demonstrations of their Sorrow; because these two Cities had been more strictly united in Friendship than any other. But the Athenians behav'd themselves in another manner, and many ways manifested the Sense they had of the Calamities of the Milesians; particularly when Phrynicus had compos'd a Dramatic Poem concerning the Destruction of Miletus, the whole Theatre burst into Tears at the Representation; fin'd

82 HERODOTUS. Men with long Hair shall sit and see their Feet Wash'd by the Virgins; Didyma shall see Her Altars to another Place transferr'd.
fin'd him a thousand Drachma's for renewing
the Memory of a Misfortune they took to be
their own; and gave order that the Piece
should never more appear in publick. In this
manner the Milesians were ejected.

But the Samians who were of any Con-
ideration, not approving what their Generals
had done in favour of the Medes, assembled
a Council after the Event of the Battle at
Sea, and took a Resolution to relinquish their
Country before the Arrival of their Tyrant
Æneas; left by continuing in Samos, they
should become Slaves to him and the Medes.
In that Conjuncture the Zancleans, a People
of Sicily, being desirous to have a City inha-
bited by the Ionians, sent Messengers to Ionia,
with Orders to solicit them to settle a Co-
lon in that Part which faces the Tyrrenian
Sea, and is called the beautiful Coast. Upon
this Invitation the Samians, and such Milesi-
ians as had escap'd by Flight, were the only
Ionians who went thither. During their Voy-
age, and at the time of their landing in the
Country of the Epizephyrian Locrians, the
Zancleans, with Scythes their King, were em-
ploy'd in the Siege of a Sicilian City; which An-
axilus, Tyrant of Rhegium and an Enemy of
the Zancleans, understanding, he insinuated to the
Samians, that it would be more advantageous for
them to seize the City of Zancle in the Absence
of the Inhabitants, than to settle on the Coast
design'd for their Establishment. The Samians
soon persuaded to do as he advis'd, possest'd
themselves of Zancle accordingly; which the
Zancleans hearing, hasten'd to recover their
City, and call'd to their Assistance Hippocrates,
Tyrant of Gela their Ally. But Hippocrates arriving with his Army, caus'd Scythes King of Zanclæ to be seiz'd for abandoning the City, and banish'd him with his Brother Pythagones to Inycum: After which, by an Agreement made with the Samians, and confirm'd on both sides with an Oath, he betray'd the rest of the Zanclæans, on Condition to have one half of the Slaves and Plunder of the City, besides all that should be found in the Country. Under colour of this Contract, Hippocrates took the greater Part of the Zanclæans, and treated them as Slaves, delivering three hundred of the principal Citizens to be put to death by the Samians; but they would not commit so cruel an Action. In conclusion, Scythes King of the Zanclæans made his Escape from Inycum to Hymera, and there embarking, pass'd over into Asia to Darius, who thought him the most sincere of all the Grecians he had seen in his Court. For Scythes, after he had made a Voyage to Sicily with the King's Leave, return'd back again, and died among the Persians, very old and very rich. Thus the Samians at once escap'd the Yoke of the Medes, and without Pains made themselves Masters of Zanclæ, a great and beautiful City.

After the Battle which was fought by Sea for the Possession of Miletus, the Phœnicians by Order of the Persians, conducted Æaces the Son of Sylofon to Samos, in recompence of his Merits and Service. This was the only City of all those that revolted from Darius, which escap'd with its Houses and Temples undestroy'd; because the Samians had abandon'd their Allies in the Engagement at Sea. The Persians after the Reduction
Reduction of Miletus, soon possessed themselves of Caria; partly by a voluntary Submission of the Inhabitants, and partly by Force.

While Histiaeus the Milesian continued about Byzantium, intercepting the trading Ships of the Ionians in their Passage from the Euxin, he receiv'd an Account of all that had pass'd at Miletus; and leaving the Care of his Affairs on the Hellespont to Bisaltes of Abydus, the Son of Apollophanes, he took the Lesbians with him, and sail'd to Chio: Where meeting with Opposition from a Guard which was posted in a deep and narrow Pass, he kill'd great Numbers on the Spot: And afterwards marching with the Lesbians from a small Town of the Island, subdued the Rest of the Chians, considerably weaken'd by the preceding Fight at Sea. But because the great Desolations which are about to fall upon any City or Nation, seldom happen without some previous Signs, the Chians had divers very remarkable. For of one hundred Young Men they sent to Delphi, two only return'd home, after they had lost ninety-eight of their Companions by the Plague. And a little before the Battle at Sea, a House in the City falling upon the Heads of one hundred and twenty Boys, as they were learning to read, kill'd all that Number, except one. After these divine Admonitions, the Disaster of their Fleet ensued; which brought the City upon her Knees: And the Invasion of Histiaeus with the Lesbians following upon this, and surprizing the Chians in that low Condition, finish'd the Catastrophe of the Island. From thence Histiaeus with a numerous Army of Ionians and Æolians went to Thasus, and while he
was besieging that Place, receiv'd Information, that the Phoenicians had left Miletus, with a Design to invade the rest of Ionia. Upon which, breaking up from Thasus, he pass'd over to Lesbos with all his Forces; and from thence, because he found his Army under a Conternation, he sail'd again to Atarneus, under pretence of collecting Provisions in that Country, and on the Plains of Caicus in Mysia. But Harpagus, a Persian General, being in those Parts with a considerable Army, fell upon him soon after his Landing, kill'd most of his Men upon the Place, and took Hystiaeus Prisoner in the following manner. Whilst the Grecians made a long and vigorous Resistance against the Persians at Malene in the Country of Atarneus, the Enemy's Cavalry came pouring in upon them with such Fury, that they were forc'd to abandon the Field: Which Hystiaeus perceiving, and hoping the King would not put him to death for his Offence, he suffer'd himself to be taken Prisoner; too much desiring to preserve his Life. For as he fled, and was ready to fall into the Hands of a Persian, who had a Sword drawn to kill him, he in the Persian Language discover'd himself to be Hystiaeus the Mileian. And I am of opinion, that if he had been conducted alive to Susa, Darius would have pardon'd his Fault, and giv'n him his Liberty. But left that should happen, and Hystiaeus escaping, should again insinuate himself into the King's Favour, Artaphernes Governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, whose Prisoner he was, order'd him to be crucify'd at his Arrival in that City, and sent his Head embalm'd to Darius at Susa. When the King was inform'd
inform'd of this Action, he express'd his Dis-
content against the Authors, because they had 
not brought Histiaeus alive to his Presence, and 
commanded his Head to be wash'd, and de-
cently interr'd; as the Remains of a Man, who 
had highly merited of himself and the Persians. 
Thus died Histiaeus.

THE Persian Fleet, which winter'd at Mile-
etus, easily subdued, in the following Year, 
Chio, Lesbos and Tenedos, Islands lying near the 
Continent; and in every one of these, when 
the Barbarians had possess'd themselves of the 
Place, they hunted the Inhabitants into a fort 
of Net. For taking one another by the Hand, 
and forming a Line from the North to the 
South Side, they march'd over the Island, and 
drove all the People before them. They took 
the Ionian Cities on the Continent by the 
fame Fleet, but attempted not to inclose the 
Inhabitants in the same manner; because that 
was impossible. And after they had done this, 
the Persian Generals made good the menacing 
Messages they had sent to the Ionians, when 
the two Armies were in View. For upon 
the Reduction of the Ionian Cities, they made 
Eunuchs of the handsomest of the Youth; sent 
the most beautiful Virgins to the King, and 
burnt the private Houses and Temples. Thus 
the Ionians were the third time conquer'd; 
once by the Lydians, and twice afterwards 
by the Persians. This done, the Persian Fleet 
having already reduc'd the Places situate on 
the Right-hand of those who fall into the 
Hellepont, departed from Ionia, and subdued 
all the Countries that lie on the Left, and be-
long to Europe. Of this Number were the Helle-
spontin
fpointin Chersonesus, containing many Cities, Perintbus, Selybris, Byzantium, and divers wall'd Towns of Thrace. The Byzantians, with the Chalcedonians, who are situate beyond them, would not wait the coming of the Phœnician Fleet; but leaving their Habitations, and flying to the Euxin, built the City of Mesambria, on that Sea. In the mean time the Phœnicians burnt the Places I have mention'd, and failing to Proconnesus and Artace, set fire to these likewise: After which they return'd to Chersonesus, in order to destroy all those Cities they had not ruin'd at their first landing. As for Cyzicus, they had not touch'd there; because the Cyzicenians were under the Obedience of the King before the Phœnician Expedition, having already capitulated with Oebares the Son of Megabyzus, Prefect of Daseylium. The rest of the Chersonesian Cities were subdu'd by the Phœnicians, except Cardia, which was then under the Dominion of Miltiades the Son of Cimon, and Grandson to Stefagoras, and had been formerly acquire'd by Miltiades the Son of Cypselus in the following manner. The Thracian Dononces, antient Inhabitants of that Part of Chersonesus, having suffer'd much in a War against the Absynthians, sent their Kings to enquire of the Delphian Oracle concerning the Event; and were admonished by the Pythian, to desire the first Man, who after their Departure from the Temple, should invite them to lodge in his House, to lead a Colony into their Country. Accordingly the Dononces passing by the Sacred Way thro' the Territories of the Phocæans and Bœotians, and receiving no Offer of Entertainment, turn'd into
into the Road of Athens. In that time Písstratus had indeed the supreme Power; but Miltiades the Son of Cypselus was not without Authority in Athens; being of an illustrious Family, antiently descended from Ἐacus and Ἐgina, and afterwards establish'd among the Athenians by Phílæus the Son of Ajax, the first of that Blood that settled there. This Miltiades sitting before his Gates, and seeing the Dolonces passing by, cloth'd and arm'd in a different manner from the Athenians, call'd out to them and upon their coming to him, desir'd they would be his Guests, and accept the Entertainment of his House. They accepted his Invitation; and after they had been hospitably entertain'd acquainted him with the Oracle, and requpted him to act in conformity to the Admonition of the God. Miltiades hearken'd to their Proposition; and complied with more readiness, because he grew impatient of the Government of Písstratus, and desir'd an Opportunity to withdraw. In these Sentiments he went to Delphi to consult the Oracle, whether he should yield to the Request of the Dolonces; and receiv'd an encouraging Answer from the Pythian. Upon which Miltiades the Son of Cypselus, who had formerly been victorious in the Olympian Chariot-race, taking with him all such Athenians as were willing to join in his Expedition, set sail with the Dolonces: and arriving in their Country, was invested with the sovereign Power. The first thing he did was, to build a Wall upon the Ithmus of Cheroneus, from the City of Cardia to that of Paestya, in order to prevent the Ab- Synthians from infesting the Country for the future
future with their Incursions. This Isthmus is thirty-six Stades in Breadth; and the whole Length of Cherzoneus, beginning in that Place is four hundred and twenty Stades. When Miltiades had built this Wall on the Neck of Cherzoneus, and by that means excluded the Absynthians, he in the next place made War upon the Lampfacenians; and falling into an Ambuscade, was taken alive by the Enemy. But Cresus the Lydian, having a great Esteem for him, and hearing this Event, dispatch’d a Messenger to Lampacus, with Orders to demand the Liberty of Miltiades, and to threaten, if they refused to comply, that he would use them as Pines. The Lampfacenians differing in Opinion about the Meaning of the Menace sent by Cresus, That he would use them as Pines, were not a little perplex’d at his Message. But so soon as one of their Senators, understanding the Sense of those Words, had acquainted them, that the Pine alone of all Trees perishes entirely upon cutting, without emitting any after-Shoots; the Lampfacenians dreading the Power of Cresus, deliver’d Miltiades, and sent him home. Thus having escap’d by the means of Cresus, and afterwards dying without Children, he left his Dominion and Riches to Stefagoras the Son of Cimon, his Brother by the same Mother. The Cherzoneans honour him with Sacrifices, as the Founder of their City, in the accustomed manner, having instituted Gymnastic and Equestrian Exercises on that Occasion, in which no Lampface- nian is permitted to contend for the Prize. During the War, which still continued against the People of Lampacus, Stefagoras likewise died without
without Children; being kill'd by the Blow of
an Ax, he receiv'd on the Head from the
Hand of one, who pretending to be a Deferter,
was indeed a most cruel Enemy: After whose
Death the Pisistratides sent Miltiades, the Son
of Cimon and Brother of Stegagoras, to Cher-
sonesus with one Ship, to take upon him the Go-
vernment; having been already favourable to
him in Athens, as if they had not had any
Part in the Murder of his Father Cimon; which
I shall relate in another Place. Arriving in
Chersonesus, he kept himself retir'd under Co-
lor of honouring the Memory of his Brother
Stegagoras; which the Chersonesians hearing,
the principal Persons of every City assembled
together; and coming to his House with In-
tentions to condole with him, were all seiz'd
and imprison'd. By this means Miltiades made
himself Master of Chersonesus; entertain'd five
hundred Auxiliaries for his Guard, and mar-
rried Hegesipyla, Daughter to Olorus King of
Thrace. But he had not been long in Posses-
sion before he met with greater Difficulties
than he had yet experienc'd. For in the third
Year of his Government he fled out of the
Country, not daring to wait the coming of the
Scythian Nomades, who having been irritated
by the Expedition of Darius, had assembled
their Forces, and advance'd to the Frontier of
Chersonesus. Nevertheless, upon the Departure
of the Scythians, he was again restored by
the Dolonces: And in the third Year after this
hearing that the Phoenicians were at Tenedus,
he put all his Riches on board five Ships, and
sail'd for Athens. But when he had pass'd the
Coast of Chersonesus, in his Voyage from Cardia,
and was failing thro' the Bay of Melane, the Phœnician Fleet fell in with his Ships, and took one of the five, commanded by Metiochus, his eldest Son, tho' born of another Woman, and not of the Daughter of Olorus King of Thrace; whilst he with the other four escap'd to Imbrus. The Phœnicians understanding that the Captain of the Ship they had taken, was the Son of Miltiades conducted him to the King, in hope of meriting his Favour in a peculiar manner; because Miltiades had formerly endeav'rd to persuade the Ionian Generals to comply with the Scythians, when they were defir'd to break the Bridge and return home. But Darius, after the Phœnicians had put Metiochus the Son of Miltiades into his Hands, was so far from doing him any hurt, that on the contrary he confer'd great Benefits upon him. For he presented him with a House and Lands, and gave him a Persian Wise, by whom he had Children of honourable Esteem among the Persians. In the mean time Miltiades arriv'd at Athens from Imbrus, and during that Year the Persians attempted nothing more against the Ionians: On the contrary, one thing was done very much to their Advantage. For Artaphernes Governor of Sardis, having oblig'd the Enemies to send Deputies to him, compell'd the Ionians to enter into an Agreement to be mutually answerable for all future Injuries, and to desist from committing Depredations one upon another. After which he measur'd their Lands by Parasanges, (each containing thirty Stades) and settle the Tribute they should pay in proportion to the Extent of their Territories. This Regulation establish'd by Artaphernes, being little
little different from that which they were under before, continued to be observ'd by the inhabitants in our Time. And thus the Differences of the Ionians were compos'd.

In the beginning of the next Spring, after the King had recall'd his Generals, Mardonius the Son of Gobryas, a young Man, who had newly married Artazostra the Daughter of Darius, march'd down to the Coast, with numerous Forces to be employ'd both by Land and by Sea; and embarking in Cilicia, set sail with the Fleet, while the other Generals led the Land Army to the Hellespont. When he had pass'd the Coast of Asia, and was arriv'd in Ionia, he did an Action which will seem incredible to those Grecians, who cannot believe that Otanes endeavour'd to persuade the seven Persians to establish a Democracy in Persia, as most advantageous to the Nation. For Mardonius depos'd all the Ionian Tyrants, and sett'd a popular Government in every City. After which he departed to the Hellespont; and having there assembled a great Army, with a numerous Fleet, pass'd over that Sea into Europe, and turn'd his march towards Eretria and Athens. The Reduction of these Places was indeed the Pretext of their Enterprize: but they really intended no less than to subdue all the Grecian Cities they could. For with their Fleet they reduc'd the Thasians without Resistance, and with their Land Forces added Macedonia to their former Conquests; which they had carried to the Borders of that Country before this Expedition. From Thasus their Fleet stood over to the Continent, and coasted along the Shoar to Acanthus: But as they were endeavour-
endeavouring to double the Cape of Mount Athos, they were surpriz'd in a Storm of Wind blowing from the North with such insupportable Violence, that more than one half of their Ships were driven ashore against the Mountain. The general Report is that they lost by this Disaster three hundred Ships, and upwards of twenty thousand Men: Many of these being devour'd by monstrous marine Animals which abound in that Sea, many dash'd in pieces on the Rocks: while some, who could not swim, perish'd in the Water, and others died with Cold. In the mean time Mardonius incamping with his Army in Macedonia, was attack'd in the Night by the Bryges, a People of Thrace, who kill'd great Numbers of his Men, and wounded the General himself. Nevertheless they could not preserve themselves from falling under the Power of the Persians; but were subdued by Mardonius before he quitted those Parts: And then, considering the Loss he had received from the Bryges, and the greater Disaster of his Fleet at Mount Athos, he thought fit to retire, and accordingly repass'd into Asia with his Forces, after an unsuccessful Expedition.

In the following Year, Darius being inform'd by the Neighbours of the Thaefians, that they design'd to revolt, dispatch'd a Messenger to command them to demolish their Walls, and to fend away their Ships to Abdera. For the Thaefians, who had been besieged by Histiaeus the Milesian, and wanted not considerable Revenues, applied their Riches to the Building of Ships, and fortifying their City with a stronger Wall. Their Revenues arose partly from the Continent,
nent, and partly from their Mines: those of Sceaptē, which were of Gold, producing to the Value of eighty Talents yearly; and those of Thāus something less; yet in such a Quantity, that having their Lands free, the Thasians usually receiv'd in all two hundred Talents yearly from the Continent and from the Mines; and sometimes, in the best Years, three hundred. I myself have seen all these Mines: Of which the most memorable are those found by the Phoenicians, who accompanied Thāus, when he settled in this Island, and gave his Name to the Country. These Phoenician Mines are situated between the Enyrians and Cenyrians of Thāus; where a great Mountain, which fronted Samothraca, has been overthrown by the Miners in Search of the Sea.

THE Thasians in obedience to the King demolish'd their Walls, and sent away all their Ships to Abdera. After which Darius resolving to try whether the Grecians would submit, or make War against him, sent his Heralds into divers Parts of Greece, to demand Earth and Water in his Name: And when he had done this dispatch'd other Messengers to the tributary Cities on the Coast, with Orders to build large Ships, and Vessels of Transportation for Horse. Whilst these Preparations were carried on, many People of the Continent made their Submission to the Persian in the Manner requir'd by his Heralds: And all the Islanders in general complying with their Demand, deliver'd the usual Present of Earth and Water in Testimony of Obedience. When the Athenians heard these things, and that the People of Ægina had done like the rest, they suspected these last had wil-
ingly embrac'd this Occasion of joining with the Persians; in order to make War against Athens; and readily taking the Opportunity, sent to Sparta, and accus'd the Æginetes, as the Betrayers of Greece. Upon this Complaint Cleomenes the Son of Anaxandrides, at that time King of Sparta, pass'd over to Ægina, with intention to seize the principal Persons concern'd in that Action; and endeavouring to put his Design in execution, met with Opposition from many of the Æginetes; but chiefly from Crius the Son of Polycritus, who told him plainly, that he should not carry off any one of the Inhabitants with Impunity; that he came to make this Attempt without the Consent of the Spartans, corrupted by Athenian Money; and that if things had not been so, the other King of Sparta would have accompanied him on this Occasion. Which Words were spoken by Crius upon a private Message he had receiv'd from Demaratus. When Cleomenes was ready to depart, he ask'd Crius his Name, and after Crius had informed him, said, "*Crius, you would do well to point your Horns with Brass; for you have a formidable Enemy to encounter." Demaratus the Son of Ariston was likewise King of Sparta at the same time with Cleomenes; and staying at home, assist'd the Conduct of his Colleague. He was indeed of the younger Branch; but as they were both descended from the same Stock, their Nobility was equal; except only that the Family of Eurythemenes, being the elder, was more respected. The Lacedemonians differing from all the Poets, affirm, That they were not con-
ducted into the Region they now possessed, by the Sons of Aristodemus; but by their King Aristodemus himself, who was the Son of Aristodemus, Grandson of Cleomedus, and Great-grandson to Hyllus: That in a little time after their arrival, Argiva the Wife of Aristodemus, and Daughter, as they say, to Autesion the Son of Tisamenes, whose Father was Thersander the Son of Polynices, brought him two Male Children at a Birth; whom he had no sooner seen than he died by Sickness: That the Lacedemonians, according to the Custom they observ'd in that Age, determining to receive the eldest for their King, and not knowing which to choose, because they were in every thing alike, went to examine the Mother touching the Birth of the Children: That she, either really ignorant, or, which is more probable, dissembling the Knowledge she had, out of a great Desire to see both her Sons created Kings, denied she knew any thing of the Primogeniture: That the Lacedemonians continuing still in doubt, sent to inquire of the Oracle at Delphi, what Resolution they should take; and that the Pythian exhorted them to receive both for their Kings, but to pay the greatest Honours to the eldest: That after this Answer they were in no less Perplexity than before; till one Panites a Messenian advis'd the Lacedemonians to observe which of the two Children the Mother would first wash and feed; assuring them, that if she was constant to the same Method, they might be certain of the thing they so much desir'd to know; but if she should vary in her manner, and apply her Care indifferently to both, they ought to believe she knew
knew nothing of the Matter in question, and endeavour to find out some other Expedient: That the Spartans, in pursuance of his Advice, having diligently observ'd the Mother, who had no Suspicion of their Design; and imagin-ing they perceiv'd her to give the Priority to one of the Sons of Aristodemus, rather than to the other, they took him as the Eldest; educated him at the Expence of the Publick; nam'd him Eurysthenes, and gave the Name of Procles to the Younger: That these two Brothers, after they had attain'd the Age of Men, could never agree during all the time of their Lives; and that this Animosity became hereditary in their Descendants. The Lacedemonians are the only People of Greece who report these things: But I must not omit to mention what the rest of the Grecians say on this Subject. They affirm then, That all the Dorian Kings from Perseus the Son of Jupiter by Danae, are rightly computed by the Grecians, and were accounted Grecians in those Times. I say, from Perseus, and go no higher; because he had no Sirname deriv'd from a mortal Father, as Hercules had from Amphytrion: And therefore I may with reason forbear to look backward farther than Perseus. But if we trace the Genealogy of Danae the Daughter of Acrisius, and enumerate their Ancestors of the Male Line, we shall find that the Leaders of the Dorians were originally Natives of Egypt: And this is the Account given by the Grecians. Nevertheless, the receiv'd Opinion among the Persians is, that Perseus, being an Assyrian by Birth, became a Grecian by settling in Greece, which none of his Ancestors had ever done. For the
the Ancestors of Acrisius were no way related to Perseus, but were Egyptians, as the Grecians themselves own. And this I think sufficient to say concerning these things; for bearing to mention in what manner they who were Egyptians, accepted the Offer of the Dorian Kingdom; because others have related that Transaction; and contenting myself with giving an Account of such Particulars as I find to have been omitted by them. The Spartans conferr'd these Honours upon their Kings. In the first place, That they should enjoy the Priesthood, both of the Lacedemonian and the Olympian Jupiter: That they might make War in any Region at their pleasure; and that no Spartan should hinder them from so doing, under Penalty of incurring the Guilt of Impiety: That in all Expeditions they should lead the Van, and bring up the Rear in their Return: That in the Field they should have a hundred chosen Men for their Guard: That they might sacrifice what kind of Cattle they should think fit before they began their March, and that the Skins with the Chine should belong to them. These Advantages they have in times of War; and in peaceable times those that follow. In the Celebration of all publick Sacrifices, the Kings sit first down to the Feast, are first serv'd, and receive a double Allowance of whatever is given to the rest of the Company. They have the first Potion at the Libation, and the Skins of the Victims. Every New Moon, and Seventh Day of every Month, a whole Victim is presented to each of them in the Temple of Apollo at the publick Charge; accompanied with a Measure of Flour, and the fourth
fourth Part of a Laconian Vessel of Wine. They have the principal Places at all publick Spectacles; and may appoint such Citizens as they please, to receive and entertain Strangers. Each of these Kings have the Privilege of electing two Pythians; who are to be sent upon occasion to consult the Oracle of Delphi, and have their Provision with the Kings at the publick Charge. When the Kings are not present at Supper, two Measures of Flour, with a Flaggon of Wine, are sent home to each: But when they are present, they receive a double Portion of every thing. And if they are invited to eat with private Persons, they are treated with the same Honours. They have the keeping of all Prophecies, which they are oblig'd to communicate to the Pythians. But the Kings alone have the Direction of the following Affairs. They have the Power of determining who ought to marry those Heiresses, who have not been contracted during the Lives of their Fathers. They have the Care of the publick Highways: And if any Man desires to adopt a Son, he is oblig'd to perform that Act before the Kings. They may be present, whenever they please, in the Assembly of the Senate, which consists of twenty eight Senators: And if they are absent, two of those Senators who are most trusted by the Kings, enjoy their Privileges, and have two Ballots besides their own. These Advantages are conferr'd by the Republick of Sparta, upon their Kings while they live; those which follow, when they are dead. Horsemen are dispatch'd thro' all Laconia to notify their Death: Women are appointed to march thro' every Part of the City, beating upon Kettles;
Kettle; during which time one Man and one Woman, both free-born, are oblig'd under great Penalties, to appear out of every House with all the Marks of Mourning and Lamentation. To be short, the Lacedemonians celebrate the Funerals of their Kings in the same Manner as is practised by the Barbarians of Asia; who for the most part, vary nothing from the Spartans in the Performance of these Ceremonies. For upon the Death of a Lacedemonian King certain Numbers of the Inhabitants of the Country are oblig'd to attend the Funeral with open Breasts, those of the City being singly exempted: And when many Thousands of these are met together, with the Helotes, and even Spartans both Men and Women, they courageously cut themselves on the Forehead, and with incessant Howlings cry out, that the last King was the best they ever had. If one of their Kings die in War, his Effigy is prepar'd and expos'd to publick View, plac'd on a Bed of State. When they bury him, all Business ceases for ten Days; the Courts are not assembled, and the Mourning continues during that time. Their Customs are farther conformable to those of the Persians; in that, when a King dies, and the Successor enters upon the Administration, he remits whatever Debts may be due from any Spartan to the King or the Publick; as the King of Persia at his Accession to the Throne discharges all the Cities from the Arrears of Tribute due to his Predecessor. In other things the Lacedemonians resemble the Egyptians in their Manners. For every Herald, Musician, and Cook, takes upon him the Profession
feffion of his Father: So that a Musician begets a Musician; one Cook begets another, and the Son of a Herald is always of the fame Profession, no Man endeavouring to supplant him by shewing he has a clearer Voice; but on the contrary every one continues to exercise his Father's Art. And such is the Account of these things.

WHILST Cleomenes continued at Ægina, endeavouring to promote the common Cause of Greece, Demaratus accus'd him at home; not so much out of Kindness to the Æginetes, as from motives of Envy and Hatred. But Cleomenes, upon his Return, consulting in what manner he might deprive Demaratus of the Kingdom, took this Pretext to colour his Design. When Arifon reign'd in Sparta, he married two Wives, and had no Child by either; but not acknowledging any Defect in himself, he married a third in this manner. He had a Friend, who was a Spartan, and more entrusted by him than any other Citizen. The Wife of this Man was the most beautiful Woman of all Sparta, tho' she had formerly been exceedingly deform'd. But her Nurse perceiving her Deformity, and knowing her to be the Daughter of eminent Persons, and that her Parents were sensibly afflicted with the Misfortune, determined to carry her every day to the Temple of Helena, which is built in Therapne, above the Temple of Apollo. Hither she daily brought the Child, and standing before the Image of the Goddess, pray'd she might no longer continue in that Deformity. The common Report is, that as the Nurse was one day going out of the Temple, a Woman appear'd
pear'd to her, and ask'd what she had in her Arms: that the Nurse answer'd she carried an Infant; which when the Woman desir'd to see, the Nurse refus'd to comply, because the Parents had commanded her to shew the Child to none: that upon this Refusal the Woman express'd a greater Desire to see the Infant, prevail'd at last upon the Nurse to grant her Request; and stroaking the Head of the Child with her Hands, said she should become the most beautiful Woman of Sparta; and from that Day her Deformity began to diminish. When she had attain'd to a convenient Age, she was married to Agetus the Son of Alcides, and Confident of Ariston. Pleas'd with the Beauty of this Woman, Ariston contriv'd the following Design. He acquainted Agetus, who was her Husband and his familiar Friend, that he would make him a Present of any one thing he should chuse out of all his Possessions, on Condition he would oblige himself to do the like to him. Agetus not suspecting any Design upon his Wife, because he knew Ariston had one already, accepted the Proposal; and an Oath for mutual Performance was sworn on both sides. Accordingly Ariston gave him the thing he chose out of all his Treasures; and then pretending to the same Compliance from Agetus, demanded his Wife. Agetus acknowledg'd all other things to have been included in the Agreement, but thought that his Wife had been excepted. Nevertheless finding himself under the Obligation of an Oath, and deceit'd by the Artifice of the King, he permitted him to take her away. In this manner Ariston married a third Wife, and at the same time
time divorce'd his second. But before the usual Term was expir'd, and the ten Months elaps'd Demaratus was born of this Woman: And when one of his Servants came to tell him as he sat with the Ephori, that he brought him the News of a Son; Ariston not forgetting the time of his Marriage, but counting the Months upon his Fingers, said with an Oath in presence of the Ephori, This Child is not mine. The Ephori seem'd at that time to make no account of those Words: But when the Boy grew up, Ariston repented of what he had said, being then fully persuaded that Demaratus was his Son. He gave him the Name of Demaratus, because before his Birth the Spartans had made publick Supplications, that Ariston, whom they esteem'd the most illustrious of all the Kings they ever had, might have a Son. After some time Ariston died, and Demaratus obtain'd the Kingdom. But the Fates seem'd to have determin'd that the Words of the Father should deprive the Son of his Authority: and therefore as he had formerly been accus'd by Cleomenes for leading away the Army from Eleusis; so he was now again for procuring Cleomenes to be recall'd from his Expedition against the Æginetes, who were in the Interest of the Medes. When Cleomenes had thus begun to take his Revenge, he enter'd into an Agreement with Leutychides the Son of Menaris and Grandson of Agis, a Person of the same Family with Demaratus; under this Condition, that if he should make him King in the Place of Demaratus, Leutychides should accompany him in an Expedition against the Æginetes. Leutychides was an Enemy of Demaratus, chiefly for this Reason. He had
had been upon the point of marrying Percalum, the Daughter of Chilon the Son of Demarmenes; when Demaratus by an insidious Contrivance disappoointed him of his Bride, and having posses'd hims elf of the Woman by Violence, retain'd her for his Wife. On this account Leuctchides became his Enemy, and at the Instigation of Cleomenes, swore Demaratus had no Right to be King of Sparta, because he was not the Son of Ariston; confirming his Assertion with the Words spoken by Ariston, when upon the Message he receiv'd concerning the Birth of his Son, and the Computation he made of the time elaps'd after his Marriage, he affirm'd with an Oath, that the Child was not his. Insisting upon the Authority of these Words, Leuctchides openly maintain'd that Demaratus was neither the Son of Ariston, nor rightful King of Sparta; and for the Truth of his Assertion appeal'd to the Ephori, who then sat by the King, and heard him pronounce the Words in Question. Thus the Matter being drawn into Dispute, the Spartans determin'd to enquire of the Oracle at Delphi, whether Demaratus were the Son of Ariston or not. But before this Resolution was divulgd, Cleomenes with a timely Foresight took care to pre-engage one Cobon the Son of Aristophantus; who being a Person of great Authority in Delphi, prevail'd with Perialla the Arch-Priestess to give such an Answer as Cleomenes desir'd. So that when the Spartans came to consult the Oracle, the Pythian pronounc'd Demaratus not to be the Son of Ariston: Which Collusion being afterwards discover'd, Cobon fled from Delphi, and Perialla was depriv'd of her Dignity. By this
this means Demaratus was depos'd; and in conclusion betook himself to the Medes on account of an Affront he receiv'd. For after his Deposition, being chosen into the Magistracy, as he was one Day present at the Gymnastick Exercises of the Youth, Leutychides who had been appointed King in his room, sent a Messenger to ask him in Derision, "What he thought of being an inferior Magistrate after he had been a King." Demaratus disturb'd with the Insolence of his Message, answer'd, "That he indeed had experienced both, but Leutychides had not; and added, That this Question should be the Cause either of innumerable Calamities, or great Prosperity to the Lacedemonians." When he had said these Words, and cover'd his Face, he went out of the Theatre to his House, where he sacrific'd an Ox to Jupiter; and sending for his Mother to the Oblation, put the Entrails of the Victim into her Hands, and spoke to her in these pathetick Terms: "Mother, I adjure you by all the Gods, and by Jupiter, the Deity of our House, to tell me the Truth, and let me know plainly who was my Father. For in these late Contests Leutychides affirm'd that you were with Child by your former Husband before you became the Wife of Ariston: Others with more Impudence say, you had the Company of one who kept the Asses, and that I am the Son of that Wretch: I adjure you therefore by the Gods to inform me of the Truth. For if you have done as they say, you are not singly guilty; others have done the like. Besides, many of the Spartans are persuad'd..."
"""ded that Ariston was incapable of begetting
"""Children: Otherwise, they say, his for-
"""mer Wives had not been unfruitful.""" When
Demaratus had thus spoken, his Mother an-
swer'd him in this manner: """Son, because
"""you so earnestly desire me to speak the
"""Truth, I shall conceal nothing from you.
"""The third Night after Ariston had conducted
"""me home to his House, a Phantom entire-
"""ly like him in Shape, enter'd my Chamber,
"""and having lain with me, put a Crown on
"""my Head, and went out again. Ariston
"""himself soon after came in, and seeing the
"""Crown on my Head, ask'd, Who had made
"""me that Present. I answer'd, He himself:
"""But perceiving he would not own the thing,
"""I added an Oath to my Affertion, and told
"""him he did not well to deny what he had
"""done, having been so lately in my Cham-
"""ber, and giving me the Crown after he had
"""lain with me. When Ariston heard me swear
"""with such Assurance, he presently concluded
"""that something divine had been with me.
"""And indeed, not only the Crown was found
"""to have been taken from the Monument of
"""the Hero Astrobacus, which stands by the
"""Gates of the Palace, but the Prophets like-
"""wise affirm'd, That the Hero himself had
"""brought it. This, my Son, is the whole
"""Truth, which you so much desire'd to know:
"""And therefore either the Hero Astrobacus, or
"""else Ariston was your Father; for I conceiv'd
"""you in that Night. And as to that Reproach
"""which your Enemies endeavour chiefly to
"""fasten upon you, by affirming that Ariston
"""himself, when he receiv'd the News of your
"""Birth,
Birth, said in the presence of many Persons, that you could not be his Son; those Words were thrown out by him for want of sufficient Information concerning such matters. For Women are not always accustom'd to bear their Children ten Months: But some are deliver'd in nine, and others even in seven. You, my Son, was born within the Space of seven Months; and Ariston himself was in a little time convinc'd, that those Words were the Effect of his Ignorance.

Believe nothing therefore in Derogation of your Birth; for I have told you all the Truth with Sincerity. And if Leutychides or any other has calumniated us with the Fable of the Keeper of our Asies, may their Wives bring them Children so begotten.” Demaratus having thus satisfied himself concerning the matter he desir'd to know, prepared all things necessary for his Voyage, and departed to Elis; pretending he design'd to go to Delphi, in order to consult the Oracle. But the Lacedemonians suspecting that he intended to make his Escape, follow'd him to Elis; and finding he had already pass'd over to Zacynthus, they pursu'd him thither, and seiz'd him with his Attendants. Yet they could not obtain their Ends; because the Zacynthians refus'd to deliver him up; and by that means he made his Escape into Asia, where Darius receiv'd him honourably, and presented him with Lands and Cities. Thus Demaratus went away to Asia, unfortunately disgrac'd, after he had been famous among the Spartans both in Counsel and Action, and crown'd at the Olympian Exercises, for the Victory he obtain'd in the Chariot-Race; which
which had never happen’d before to any King of Sparta. Leutychides the Son of Menaris, created King in the place of Demaratus, had a Son named Zeuxidamus, who by some of the Spartans is call’d Cyniscus. This Zeuxidamus was never King of Sparta; for he died before his Father, leaving behind him a Son named Archidamus. Leutychides, after the Death of his Son, took for his second Wife Eurydame the Sister of Menius, and Daughter to Diastoris, who brought him no Male Child, and only one Daughter nam’d Lampito, whom he gave in Marriage to Archidamus the Son of Zeuxidamus. Nevertheless, Leutychides could not continue in Sparta to the end of his Life; but by his own Crime made some kind of Reparation to Demaratus. For while he was making war in Thessaly at the Head of the Lacedemonian Army, and might easily have conquer’d all the Country, he suffer’d himself to be corrupted with Money; and was surpriz’d in the very Act of carrying away Silver in both his hands. On this account being summon’d to appear in the Court of Justice, he fled from Sparta; his House was demolish’d, and having made his Escape to Tegea, he ended his Life in that City.

CLEOMENES having successfully accomplish’d his Design against Demaratus, and being highly incens’d against the Æginetes for the Affront he had receiv’d, oblig’d Leutychides to accompany him in his Expedition to Ægina; and finding no Opposition from the Æginetes, who would not resist both the Kings united against them, they took ten of the most eminent Citizens in Birth, Riches and Dignity,
(among them Crius the Son of Polycritus, and Casambus the Son of Aristocrates, who had the principal Authority) carried them away Prisoners to Attica, and put them into the Hands of the Athenians their greatest Enemies. After this Expedition, Cleomenes growing jealous of the Spartans because they had discover'd his fraudulent Practices against Demaratus, fled away privately to Thessaly; and from thence passing into Arcadia, began to form new Designs, soliciting the Arcadians to make War upon Sparta, and engaging them by an Oath to follow him to what Part for ever he would lead them. He likewise endeavour'd to persuade the principal Inhabitants to accompany him to Nonacris, a City of Arcadia, not far from Pheneos, in order to swear by the Stygian Waters, which, the Arcadians say are found in that Place. And indeed there is a Spring distilling slowly from a Rock into a Basin inclos'd with a Wall. When the Lacedemonians were inform'd of these Intrigues of Cleomenes, they fear'd the Event, and recalling him to Sparta, restored him to his former Dignity. But he was no sooner return'd, than he fell into a Frenzy, of which he had felt some Attacks before; striking the Spartans without Distinction, when they came near him, with his Sceptre, on the Face. His Relations seeing these outrageous Actions, and perceiving him to be depriv'd of his Understanding, resolv'd to fetter him. But when he found himself treated in this manner, and saw only one of his Keepers with him, he demanded his Sword. The Keeper at first refused to obey; yet after Cleomenes had threaten'd to punish him for his Disobedience, dreading the effect of his Menaces,
Menaces, because he was one of his Helots, he gave him his Sword: Which Cleomenes taking into his Hand, began to cut his Flesh from the Ankle upward, and made long Incisions reaching to his Thigh: Then proceeding by the Hip and Groin, he arriv'd at his Belly, which he ripp'd up, and died in this manner. Most of the Grecians say, he was thus punish'd for suborning the Pythian to frame the Answer she gave concerning Demaratus: The Athenians alone pretend, that his Invasion of Eleusis, where he pillag'd the Temples of the Gods, drew these Difasters upon him: and the Argians affirm that he came to this miserable End because he had violated the Temple of Argos, by cutting in pieces these Argians who took Sanctuary there after the Battle; and burnt down the sacred Grove in Contempt. For when Cleomenes consulted the Oracle of Delphi, the Answer he receiv'd was, that he should take Argos. Upon this Assurance marching at the Head of the Spartans he arriv'd at the River Erafinus, which, as they say, beginnings at the Stymphalian Lake, and passing thro' a subterraneous Cavity of the Earth, rifes again in Argos, and on that account by the Argians is called Erafinus. Cleomenes upon his Arrival sacrific'd to the God of the River: But finding the Entrails of the Victim without any Marks of a successful Passage, he said, that tho' he could not be displeas'd with Erafinus because he would not betray his own People, yet the Argians should have no cause to rejoice. Decamping therefore with his Army, he march'd to Thyrea; where, after he had sacrific'd a Bull to the Sea, he imbardk'd, and transported all his Forces
Forces to the Country about Tiryns and Nauplia. The Argians hearing of their Arrival, march’d out towards the Sea, and being advanc’d near the City of Tiryns, to a Place call’d Sipea, they incamp’d in view of the Lacedemonians, leaving only a small Interval between the two Armies. They were not afraid of coming to a fair Battle, but of being surpriz’d by Fraud and Stratagem; because the Oracle, they and the Milesians had jointly receiv’d from the Pythian, seem’d to predict such an Event. The Words were these:

*When in the Streets of Argos Female Pride Shall be exalted, and the Male expel;*  
*Then shall be Argian Dames so sadly mourn,*  
*That every one who passes by may say,*  
*Kill’d by a Spear the deadly Serpent lies.*

All these things happening together, struck the Argians with great Terror; so that they resolv’d to govern their Actions by the Signals of the Enemy; and accordingly when any thing was signified to the Lacedemonians, they took the same for a Signal to themselves. Cleomenes being inform’d that the Argians regulated their Actions by the Signals they heard from his Camp, gave order to the Spartans, that instead of going to Dinner upon the usual Signal, they should betake themselves to their Arms, and march out against the Argians. The Lacedemonians executed his Order, and falling upon the Argians at the time of their Dinner, kill’d many on the Spot; and having driven a far greater Number into the Grove, surrounded them there. After which Cleomenes having receiv’d
ceiv’d full Information by Deferters concerning their Persons, sent a Herald to summon by Name all the Argians who had taken Sanctuary in the sacred Ground, to come out and pay their Ransom; which in Peloponnesus is fix’d at two Mines of Silver for every Man. Upon this Summons fifty of the Argians coming out one after another, Cleomenes caus’d them to be put to death whilst those who still continued within, could not see the Slaughter, by reason of the Thickness of the Grove: till at last one of the besieged getting up into a Tree, discover’d the Treachery, and prevented the rest from obeying his Summons. Cleomenes seeing this, commanded all the Helots to surround the Grove with combustible Materials; and after they had executed his Orders, he set fire to the place. When all was in a Flame, he ask’d one of the Fugitives, to what God that Grove was consecrated; and being told to Argos, Cleomenes, with a deep Sigh, said, “O Apollo! O Prophet! how hast thou deluded me, by promising that I should take Argos? Now I know thy Prophecy is accomplisht.” After some time Cleomenes sent home the greater Part of his Army to Sparta, and retaining a thousand chosen Men with him, went to the Temple of June, in order to sacrifice on her Altar. But the Priest forbidding him to proceed, told him that no Stranger might sacrifice in that Temple: Which Refusal Cleomenes taking in Disdain, commanded his Helots to drag the Priest from the Altar and beat him. In the mean time he himself sacrificed; and when he had perform’d his Devotions, went away to Sparta. At his Return...
he was summon'd to appear before the Ephori by his Enemies, who accus'd him of Corruption; and affirm'd that in Consideration of Money receiv'd, he had neglected the Conquest of Argos, which he might easily have accomplish'd. I know not whether the Answer of Cleomenes were true or false: But however his Answer was, that he thought the Oracle fulfill'd when he had taken the Temple of Argos, and therefore resolv'd not to attempt the City, before he had inquir'd whether Heaven would favour or obstruct his Enterpize; and that whilst he was sacrificing in the Temple of Juno, he saw a Flame issuing from the Breast of the Image; which he understand'd to be a Sign that he should not take the City of Argos: For said he, if the fire had proceeded from the Head, I should have thought the place might have been taken by attacking the Castle; but perceiving it issuing out of the Breast, I concluded that the Goddess would not permit more to be done. These Reasons seem'd probable to the Spartans, and Cleomenes was acquitted by a great Majority. In the mean time Argos was so exaust'd of Men by the Defeat of the Argians, that their Servants took upon them the Administration of Affairs, and exercis'd all the Magistracies; but when the Sons of those, who had been kill'd, grew up, they asserted their Right, and ejected them out of the City. These Servants after their Expulsion took Tiryns by Assault, and continued there in peaceable Possession, till they were persuaded by one Cleander, an Arcadian Prophet of Phigalean Extraction, to attack their Masters; and entering into a long War, were at last subdued.
duced by the Argians, tho' not without great Difficulty.

To the Guilt of these Actions the Argians attribute the Madness and Death of Cleomenes: But the Spartans deny that he was punish'd with Distraction by any superior Power; and affirm that his Folly proceeded only from an intemperate abuse of Wine, which he had learnt by conversing with the Scythians. For the Nomades of Scythia, whose Country Darius had invaded, being desirous to revenge that Injury, sent Ambassadors to conclude an Alliance with the Spartans on these Terms: That the Scythians should endeavour to make an Irruption into Media by the River Phasis: That the Spartans should enter the Persian Dominions by the way of Ephesus; and that both Armies should meet and join together at a certain place appointed to that end. They say that by conversing too much with these Scythians Cleomenes contracted an habit of Intemperance; that his Madness was deriv'd from this Cause, and that the Phrase of playing the Scythian, by which Men understand drinking Wine too liberally, was introduc'd on this occasion. These things are said by the Spartans concerning Cleomenes: But I am of opinion that he punish'd himself for the Wrong he had done to Demaratus.

When the Æginetes were inform'd of the Death of Cleomenes, they sent Ambassadors to Sparta with loud Complaints against Leuctrybides on account of the Hostages detain'd at Athens: And the Lacedemonians having summon'd an Assembly to deliberate concerning the matter, resolv'd that the Æginetes had been treated

H2

with
with Indignity by Leutychides, and therefore determin'd that he should be deliver'd into their hands, and carried Prisoner to Ægina in the place of those who were detain'd by the Athenians. But when they were ready to carry him away, Theasides the Son of Leoprepes, an eminent Spartan, spoke to them in these Terms: "Men of Ægina, said he, what are you about to do? Are you resolv'd to take away the King of Sparta because he is deliver'd into your hands? Consider whether the Spartans, when you shall have executed the Order they have now given in Anger, will not bring all the Evils and Desolation of War into your Country on this Occasion." The Æginetes having consider'd these Words were contented to desist; on condition nevertheless that Leutychides would accompany them to Athens, and procure the Restitution of the Hostages. Accordingly Leutychides went to Athens, and after he had demanded the Persons in question, the Athenians seeking by an artificial Evasion to elude his Instances, told him that having receiv'd the Hostages from two Kings in Person, they could not justly restore them to one in the absence of the other. Leutychides finding the Athenians resolv'd upon a Denial, said, "Do that, O Athenians, which pleases you best. If you restore the Hostages, you will do an Action of Justice: If not, the contrary. Yet I will tell you what happen'd formerly concerning a thing deposited in Sparta. We Spartans say, that about three Ages have pass'd, since one Glauclus the Son of Epicydides liv'd in Lacedæmon; a Man singularly eminent in all manner of Virtues,
"Virtues, and more esteem'd for his Justice than any other Person among the Lacedemonians. In his time a certain Milesian came to Sparta, and being desirous to be acquainted with him spoke to him in these Terms; Glaucus, said he, I am a Milesian, and now come to enjoy the Benefit of thy Justice, which is so highly celebrated thro' all Greece, and principally among the Ionians. I have consider'd that Ionia is always expos'd to great Dangers; and that on the contrary, Peloponnesus is perpetually secure, because the Inhabitants are known to have no Riches. Upon this Reflection I have determin'd to deposit with thee one half of my Estate, which I have reduc'd into Money; being fully assur'd it will be safe in thy hands. Take then this Silver, with this Token, and deliver the Money to no other than the Person who shall bring the like Mark. When the Milesian had said these Words, Glaucus receiv'd the Treasure, with a Promise to do as he desir'd. After a long time the Sons of this Man coming to Sparta, address'd themselves to Glaucus, and having shew'd him the Token, demand'd the Money which had been deposit'd in his hands. Glaucus in a passion told the Men he remembred nothing of the matter, and neither knew, nor cared to know what they meant. Yet, said he, if I can recover the Memory of this thing, I will do my Duty; because if I have been intrusted, common Justice obliges me to Restitution. But if on the contrary I have receiv'd nothing, I shall seek that Satisfaction which the Laws of Greece allow: And
And therefore I assign you the term of four Months to return hither in order to finish this Affair. The Milesians thinking they had been defrauded of their Money, departed from Sparta. But Glaucus having afterwards inquired of the Oracle at Delphi, whether he should retain these Riches by Perjury, receiv'd this Answer from the Pythian in Verse:

Perfidious Oaths, and violated Faith, Are oft attended by a present Gain: Swear boldly then; because the honest Man Must die as surely as the vilest Slave. But know, that speedy Vengeance shall o'ertake The perjur'd Criminal; his Son disgrac'd, Abject, and scorn'd, shall the whole House destroy: Then shall the Offspring of the Just rejoice.

When Glaucus heard this, he pray'd the God to pardon the Words he had said. But the Pythian told him, that to tempt the God, or commit the Crime, was the same thing. So Glaucus sent for the Milesians and restor'd the Money. Now I shall inform you, O Athenians, with what Design I have related this Event. The Posterity of Glaucus is utterly extinguisht; we know not where his House flood, but both he and his are totally extirpated: By which you may see that you ought to entertain no other Thought concerning a thing deposited, than to make Restitution to the Owner." Leutychides having finish'd these Words, and finding he could not prevail with the Athenians, departed from Attica.
BUT before the Ἐγινηται receiv'd the Punishment they deserv'd for the Injuries they had done to the Athenians in favour of the Thebans, they executed the following Enterprize. Being incens'd against the Athenians, and thinking themselves injur'd, they prepar'd to take their Revenge; and to that end, knowing that the Athenian Galley, which they us'd to lend annually to Delphi, was then at Sunium; they intercepted the Vessel, and bound many principal Athenians who were found on board. From the time of that Disafter the Athenians resolv'd to omit nothing they could imagine, in order to distress the Ἐγινηται. Nicodromus, the Son of Cnæthus, an eminent Person of Ἐγίνα, had formerly retir'd out of the Island in Discontent; and now hearing that the Athenians were determin'd to attack the Ἐγινηται, he enter'd into an Agreement with them to deliver the City into their Hands on a certain Day, if they would be ready to assist him in his Enterprize at the time appointed. In pursuance of this Engagement, Nicodromus feiz'd that part of the Place which is call'd the Old-Town, for the Athenians: But they fail'd to arrive at the Day prefix'd; because they had not a sufficient Number of Ships to fight the Ἐγινηται: and while they were in Treaty with the Corinthians for Succour, the Opportunity was lost. Nevertheless the Corinthians, who were then great Friends to the Athenians, assisted them at their Request, with twenty Ships; but took five Drachma's for each; because by their Laws they were forbidden to let them go without Reward. When the Athenians had receiv'd this Succour, and made ready
ready their own Fleet, they sail'd to Ægina with seventy Ships in all, and arriv'd one day too late. For Nicodromus finding himself dis-appointed by this Delay, had already made his Escape by Sea with divers of his Accomplices; who were all receiv'd by the Athenians, and permitted to settle in Sunium; from whence they afterwards infested the Æginetes, and committed many Depredations on the Island. In the mean time the most wealthy Citizens of Ægina having overpower'd the Plebeians of the Party of Nicodromus, put as many of them to death as fell into their Hands; and in their Rage incur'd the Guilt of a sacrilegious Crime, which they could never expiate; but were ejected out of the Island before they had appeas'd the Anger of the Goddes. For as they led to Execution seven hundred of the People they had taken Prisoners, one of them getting loose, fled to the Temple of Ceres the Legislatress, and entering the Portico, laid hold upon the Hinges of the Gate: But they pursu'd him close, and having in vain endeavour'd to drag him from the Place, cut off both his Hands, which they left fasten'd to the Gate, and forc'd him away in that Condition. After the Æginetes had done these things, they fought a Battle by Sea against the Athenians with seventy Ships; and being defeated, sent again to the Argians to desire their Assistance. But the Argians refusing to succour them, alleged'd in their Justification, that the Shipping of Ægina had been made use of by Cleomenes against the Territories of Argos, and that the Æginetes had landed their Forces with the Lacedemonians; as some of the Sicyonians had
had likewise done in the same Expedition; with this difference, that when the Argians had sentenced both Nations to the Payment of one thousand Talents for their Offence, the Sicyonians acknowledging their Fault, agreed with the Argians for one hundred Talents: But the Æginetes were so arrogant, that they would not condescend to own themselves in the wrong. For these Reasons none of the Argians were authorize'd by the Publick to assist the Æginetes: Only about a thousand Volunteers under the Conduct of Eurybates, who had been victorious in all the five Olympian Exercises, march'd to their Succour. But the greater part of these perish'd in the War against the Athenians, and never return'd home from Ægina. Eurybates himself after he had kill'd three several Antagonists in single Combat, died by the Hand of Sophanes the Son of Deceles, who was the fourth he encounter'd. Nevertheless, the Æginetes having found an Opportunity of attacking the Athenians when they were in Disorder, obtain'd a Victory, and took four Ships with all the Men that were on Board.

WHILST the Athenians were thus engag'd in a War against Ægina, Darius was not remiss in his Affairs; but being continually put in mind by his Servant to remember the Athenians, and incessantly surrounded by the Pisistratides who were their Enemies, he resolv'd to subdue all those Parts of Greece, which had denied him Earth and Water. To this End he remov'd Mardonius from his Command, because he had not succeeded in his Expedition by Sea; and sent Datis a Native of Media, and Artaphernes the Son of his Brother.
Brother Artaphernes, to make War upon Eretria and Athens, with Orders to destroy those Cities, and bring all the Prisoners to him. After these Generals had been declar’d and had taken leave of the King, they advance’d at the Head of a numerous and well provided Army into a Plain of Cilicia, situate near the Sea, and encamp’d there. In the mean time the Fleet arriv’d with Vessels for the Transportation of Horse; which Darius in the preceding Year had commanded the tributary Provinces to furnish: And when the Men and Horses were all imbarke’d, they sail’d for the Coast of Ionia, with six hundred Galleys. In this Voyage they would not shape a direct Course by the Continent of Thrace and the Hellespont; but departing from Samos made an oblique Passage thro’ the Icarian Sea among the Cyclades; chiefly, as I conjecture, dreading to double the Cape of Mount Athos, where they had sustain’d so great a Loss in the former Year; and partly in order to attack the Island of Naxus, which they had not yet reduc’d. Accordingly, when the Fleet arriv’d at Naxus, the Persians desir’d to make their first attempt upon that Place. But the Naxians remembring what had pass’d before, abandon’d their Habitations and fled to the Mountains: Upon which the Persians took as many Prisoners as they could seize; and after they had burnt the City with the Temples, departed to the rest of the Islands. During this Enterprize, the Delians left their Islands, and transported themselves to Tenus: But when the Fleet arriv’d at the Height of Delos, Datis, who had the Van, not permitting the Ships to anchor in that Harbour, proceeded to Rhenea; and be-
ing there inform'd where the Delians were, he sent a Herald to them with this Message: "Sacred Men, upon what Motive have you relinquish'd your Habitations, and by your Flight discover'd the ill Opinion you have of me? I am not your Enemy in Inclination; and besides I have receiv'd a Command from the King, that in the Region, where two Gods are born, I should commit no Violence either against the Inhabitants or the Place. Return therefore to your Houses, and resume the Possession of your Island." After he had sent this Message to the Delians, and burnt the Weight of three hundred Talents in Frankincense upon the Altar, he sail'd with the whole Fleet towards Eretria, accompanied by the Ionians and Æolians. The Delians say, that upon his Departure the Island of Delos was shaken by an Earthquake, the first and last ever felt in that place to our time; and that the God thereby foretold the Calamities impending over the Men of that Age. For under the Reigns of Darius the Son of Hystaspes, of Xerxes the Son of Darius, and of Artaxerxes the Son of Xerxes; I say, during the time of these three Kings, more disasters fell upon Greece than in twenty Generations before; partly brought upon us by the Persians, and partly by the principal Powers of the Country contending for Superiority. So that the Island of Delos, tho' unmov'd before, might probably be shaken at that time, as a former Oracle had predicted in these Words:

I'll Delos shake, however yet unmov'd.

And
And certainly the Names of these three Kings are rightly explain'd by the Grecians: For in our Language Darius signifies a violent Master; Xerxes a martial Man; and Artaxerxes, a mighty Warrior.

AFTER the Barbarians had left Delos, they went to the other Islands, where they recruited their Army with Men, and took the Sons of the Inhabitants for Hostages. Then advancing farther among the Islands, they arriv'd at Caryftus, the People of which refus'd either to put Hostages into their hands, or to fight against their Neighbours of Athens and Eretria. For this cause the Caryftians were besieged by the Persians, and their Territories ravag'd, till at last they surrender'd at discretion. By this time the Eretrians being inform'd that the Persians were coming to invade them with their Fleet, implor'd the Assistance of the Athenians; who, at their request, order'd those four thousand Men that were in Possession of the Lands formerly belonging to the Chalci-dean Cavalry, to march to their Succour. But the Counsels of the Eretrians were corrupted and unsteadly; and tho' they had desir'd the Aid of the Athenians, they could not come to any settled Resolution. For some among them propos'd to abandon the City, and to retire into the Mountains of Euboea; whilst others were ready to betray their Country to the Persians, in Expectation of private Advantages to themselves. So that Æsclines the Son of Notbon, a Man of principal Authority in the City, being perfectly inform'd of these Divisions, communicated the present State of their Affairs to the Athenian Forces, and advis'd
vis'd them to return home, that they might not be involv'd in the common Ruin. The Athenians follow'd his Counsel, and by a timely Retreat to Oropus, sav'd themselves from Destruction.

In the mean time the Persians arriving on the Coast of Eretria, brought their Fleet to an Anchor at Chærea, Ægilia, and the Temple; and having posses's'd themselves of those Places, landed their Horses with diligence, and prepar'd all things in order to a Battle. But the Eretrians having been oblig'd by a Plurality of Voices not to abandon the City, apply'd themselves wholly in making provision for the Defence of their Walls, and would not march out to offer Battle to the Enemy: Which when the Persians perceiv'd they began to attack the Place; and after fix Days had pass'd with various Success, and great Slaughter on both sides, Euphorbus the Son of Alcimachus, and Philagrus the Son of Cyneus, Men of considerable Figure among the Eretrians, betray'd the City to the Persians. In this manner the Persians became Masters of Eretria; where, after they had pillag'd and set fire to the Temples, in revenge for those which had been burnt at Sardis, they enslav'd the Inhabitants, pursuant to the Orders of Darius. When they had taken this City, and rest'd a few days, they fail'd to Attica, and ravag'd the Country, supposing the Athenians would act no otherwise than the Eretrians had done.

Marathon is a Region of Attica, more commodious for Horse than any other of that Country, and situate near Eretria. To this Place therefore Hippias the Son of Pisistratus con-

4
ducted the Persians upon their landing; Which when the Athenians heard, they sent their Forces thither also under ten Captains; and one of these was Miltiades, whose Father Cimon, the Son of Stefagoras, had been formerly oblig’d to fly from Athens in the time of Pisistratus the Son of Hippocrates. During his Exile he obtain’d the Olympian Prize in the Quadrijugal Chariot-race, and transferr’d the Honour to Miltiades his Mother’s Son. In the next Olympian he obtain’d a second Victory with the same Horses, and permitted Pisistratus to be proclaimed Victor; by which Concession he had Liberty to return home upon his Honour. At last having had the same Glory a third time, he was assassinated in the Night by the Treachery of the Sons of Pisistratus, after the Death of their Father. For they suborn’d certain Persons to that purpose, who kill’d him in the Prytaneum. He lies interr’d without the City, beyond the Highway of Diaecle; and his Mares which had won him three Olympian Prizes, are buried over against his Monument. Indeed Evagoras the Lacedemonian had a set of Mares, that had done the same before; but besides these, none ever arriv’d to that Excellence. Stefagoras, the eldest Son of Cimon, was educated in Chersonesus under the Care of his Uncle Miltiades; but the younger, in Athens with his Father, and had the Name of Miltiades from his Ancestor, the Founder of Chersonesus. This Miltiades returning at that time from Chersonesus, was made Captain of the Athenians, after he had twice escap’d Death; once, when the Phœnicians pursu’d him to Imbrus, exceeding-ly desirous to take a Man of that Importance, in
in order to present him to the King; and a second time, when, after he had escap’d the Phœnicians, and was return’d home, where he thought himself in Safety, his Enemies accus’d him to the Magistrates of usurping the Tyranny of Chersoneus. But he was clear’d of this Accusation, and elected Captain of the Athenians by the Suffrages of the People.

WHILST these Generals were yet in the City, they sent a Message to Sparta by one Phidippides an Athenian, who was a Messenger by Profession. To this Man, as he himself said, and affirm’d to the Athenians, Pan appear’d about Mount Parthenius beyond Tegea, calling him loudly by his Name, and commanding him to ask the Athenians, why they made so little account of him, who had always been inclin’d to favour them, and had already often deserv’d well of their State, as he resolv’d to do for the future. The Athenians being then in a prosperous Condition, gave credit to this Report, built a Temple to Pan at the Foot of the Acropolis, and from that time honour’d him with annual Sacrifices and a burning Lamp. This Phidippides, who said he had seen Pan in his way, arriving in Sparta on the second Day after his Departure from Athens, spoke to the Senate in these Terms: “Men of Lacedemon, said he, the Athenians desire you to assist them, and not to suffer the most ancient of all the Grecian Cities to be enslav’d by Barbarians: Eretria is already despoil’d, and Greece already weaken’d by the Loss of so considerable a Place.” The Lacedemonians having heard the Message deliver’d by Phidippides, in pursuance of his Instructions, consented
consented to succour the Athenians, but could not do it immediately, without violating one of their Laws. For being then at the ninth Day of the Moon, they said they might not march into the Field before the Moon was full, and therefore would wait that Conjunction. In the mean time Hippias the Son of Pisistratus, having introduc'd the Barbarians into the Plain of Marathon, dreamt one night that he lay with his Mother; and from thence concluded, that he should certainly recover the Dominion of Athens, and die an aged Man in his own House. But whilst he was employ'd in transporting the Booty of Eretria to Aegilia, an Island belonging to the Styrians; in ranging the Ships of the Persian Fleet in the Port of Marathon, and in drawing up the Barbarians in order of Battle, he happen'd to cough and sneeze with such Violence, that most of his Teeth were shaken in his Head, and one falling out into the Sand, could not be found, tho' all possible Search was made for it. Upon which Accident, with a deep Sigh Hippias said to those who were present, "This Country neither belongs to us, nor will ever be subdued by us: And I shall have no other Part here than that where my Tooth lies." Thus he thought his Dream was accomplished.

WHEN the Athenians had drawn their Forces together at the Temple of Hercules, the Platæans came in to their Assistance with all the Men they could raise. They were already under the Protection of Athens and the Athenians had gone thro' many Dangers in their Defence. For when the Platæans saw themselves oppress'd by the Thebans, they first offer'd their Submission to...
to Cleomenes the Son of Anaxandrides, and to the Lacedemonians. But they rejected the Offer in these Terms, "We are plac'd, said they, at such a Distance from you, that in time of Nece-
sity our Succours will prove ineffectual. For your Country may be frequently ravag'd be-
fore we can be inform'd of your Danger. We advise you therefore to put your selves under the Protection of the Athenians, who are your Neighbours, and sufficiently able to de-
 fend you." This Counsel the Lacedemonians gave not out of any good Will to the Platæans; but because they were desirous to see the Athenians weaken'd by a War against the Bœotians. However, the Platæans approving their Advice, went to Athens; and arriving there when the Athenians were met to sacrifice to the twelve Gods, they sat down by the Altar in the posture of Suppliants, and made their Submission in that place. Which when the Thebans heard, they sent an Army against Platæa; and at the same time the Athenians march'd to affist the Platæans. But as they were ready to engage in Battle, the Corinthians apprehending the Con-
sequences, interpos'd their Offices to reconcile the contending Parties, and with the Consent of both Sides determin'd the Dispute on this Agreement; "That the Thebans should per-
mit all those Bœotians, who would no longer be counted Members of Bœotia, to do as they thought most convenient for themselves." After this Reconciliation the Corinthians return'd home, and as the Athenians were retiring likewise, the Bœotians fell upon them in their March, but were repuls'd with Loss. Upon which Success the Athenians en-
Vol. II. larg'd
larg'd the Frontier of the Plataeans, and instead of that appointed by the Corinthians, fix'd the Limits of the Thebans at Ajopus and Hysea. In this manner the Plataeans came under the Protection of the Athenians, and join'd their Forces at Marathon. When the Army was assembled, a Division arose among the Athenian Captains; some delivering their Opinion against fighting, because they were far inferior in Number to the Medes; and others as vehemently pressing to come to a Battle: Among the last was Miltiades, who finding they could not agree, and that the worst Opinion would probably prevail, went to Callimachus of Aphiadna, at that time Polemarch in the Army, and elected to that Office by the Athenians with the Privilege of an eleventh Voice. For in former times the Athenians made the Polemarch equal to the Captains in the Decision of all Matters in debate. To this Person therefore Miltiades apply'd himself in these Words: "You alone, O Callimachus, must now determine, either to see the Athenians reduc'd to the Condition of Slaves, or by preserving the Liberty of your Country, leave an eternal Monument of your Fame, surpassing the Glory of Harmodius and Aristogiton. For the Athenians were never in so great Danger from the time they were first a people. If they fall under the Power of the Medes, one may easily imagine what Usage they must expect from Hippias: But if they conquer, Athens will be the principal City of Greece. To let you know then by what means these things may be effected and from what Cause the Fate of Athens is now..."
"now in your Hands I shall acquaint you
"that we are at this Instant divided in Opin-
"ion touching a Battle, some of us proposing
"to fight, and others advising the contrary:
"If we decline a Battle, I foresee some great
"Dissention will shake the Fidelity of the
"Army, and induce them to a Compliance
"with the Medes. But if we fight before
"the Corruption slides into the Hearts of the
"Athenians, we may hope from the Equity
"of the Gods to obtain the Victory. All
"these things are in your Power, and en-
"tirely depend upon the Resolution you shall
"take. For if you would support my Opi-
"nion with the Acceffion of your Vote, you
"will see your Country free, and Athens the
"most illustrious City of Greece: But if you
"join with those who would dissuade us from
"a Battle you can expect no other Consequen-
"ces than such as are most contrary to these
"Hopes." Callimachus, convinc'd by the force
of these Reasons, gave his Opinion with
those who were for fighting; and by that
means a Resolution was taken to engage the
Enemy. All those Captains, who in the Coun-
cil of War had press'd for a Battle, when-
ever their Turn came to command the Army,
yielded that Honour to Miltiades: But tho' he
accepted the Power, yet he would not hazard
an Engagement before his own Day. When
therefore that Day was come, the Athenians
were drawn up in this Order of Battle. Calli-
machus plac'd himself at the Head of the right
Wing; because the Laws of Athens assign'd
that post to the Polemarch. Then the Tribes,
rang'd in a Line, follow'd in order; and last of
all the Plataeans were posted on the Left: From which time, in the Solemnity of the Quinquennial Sacrifices, the Athenian Orator is oblig'd to pray for the Welfare of the Plataeans, as well as for the Prosperity of Athens. The Athenian Forces drawn up in this manner, were equal in Front to the Medes. But because they had not a sufficient Number of Men in the Centre, that Part was extremely weak, and the main Strength of the Army consisted in the two Wings. When all things were thus dispos'd and the Sacrifice rightly perform'd, the Athenians ran with speed towards the Enemy, tho' the Interval between the two Armies was no less than eight Stades in Length. The Persians seeing the Athenians advancing with such Precipitation, prepar'd themselves to sustain the Attack, imputing their Haste to Folly and Desperation; because they were not only few in Number, but wholly destitute both of Horse and Lancers. But the Athenians coming up with the Barbarians, fell on with such Valour, that their Actions deserve ever to be remembred with Honour. For they were the first of all the Grecians, who had the Courage to look up on the Median Habit without Fear, and to stand before the Men who wore that Dress; whereas in former time the bare Name of the Medes was a word of Terror in every Part of Greece. After a long and obstinate Fight, that Part of the Barbarian Army, in which were the Persians and the Saces, broke the Center of the Athenians, and pursued them thro' the Plain. But the Athenians and the Plataeans, who were in the right and left Wings, defeated the Barbarians on both sides; and
and having suffer'd them to fly out of the Field, clos'd the two Points, and fell upon those who had broken their Centre. When they had defeated these, they pursued the broken Enemy with great Slaughter to the Sea, and set fire to their Fleet. In this Battle Callimachus the Polemarch, after he had given signal Proof of his Valour, was kill'd, with Statileus the Son of Thrašylus, one of the Commanders in chief: and Cyne gyrus, the Son of Euphorion, having laid hold on the Prow of one of the Enemy's Ships, had his Hand struck off with an Ax, and died of his Wound. Many other Persons of considerable Name were slain in this Action; and after seven Ships of the Enemy had been taken by the Athenians, the Barbarians imbark'd in the rest; and having put the Booty of Eretria on board, sail'd by the Promontory of Sunium, with a Design to surprize Athens before the Return of the Army. The Athenians say this Enterprize was undertaken at the Solicitation of the Alcmaeonides, and that they held up a Shield for a Signal to the Persian Fleet. However, whilst they were doubling the Cape of Sunium, the Athenians decamping from the Temple of Hercules in Marathon, march'd with all possible diligence to the Succour of their City; and before the Barbarians could arrive, came and encamp'd at another Temple of Hercules in Cynosargis. Upon which the Barbarians having already pass'd the Harbour of Phaleron belonging to the Athenians, assembled their Fleet, and set sail, in order to return to Asia. In this Battle of Marathon, were kill'd about six thousand three hundred of the Barbarians, and one hundred and ninety two Athenians.
But here I must not omit a most surprising thing which happen'd during that Action. One Epizelus the Son of Cupagoras, an Athenian, fighting in the Rank with a becoming Valour, loft his sight on a sudden without receiving either Wound or Blow in any Part of his Body; and from that time continued blind to the end of his Life. I have heard him, relating the manner of his Misfortune, affirm, that he thought he saw a Man of uncommon Height standing before him in compleat Armour, holding a Shield cover'd by the Length of his Beard; and that this Phantom afterwards passing by him, kill'd the Person who stood next in the Rank.

Datis, in his return to Asia, arriving at Myconus, dreamt he saw a Vision; and tho' he would not publish the Particulars, yet upon the first Appearance of Day he order'd all the Fleet to be search'd; and having found a gilded Image of Apollo in one of the Phoenician Ships, enquir'd from what Temple they had taken it. When he was inform'd where they had the Statue, he fail'd in his own Ship to Delos, and finding the Inhabitants return'd thither, he deposit'd the Image in one of their Temples, commanding the Delians to transport it to Delium, a City of Thebes, built on the Sea-coast over against Chalcis; and after he had given this order put to Sea again. Nevertheless, because the Delians fail'd to execute his Command, the Thebans themselves sending to Delos upon the Admonition of the Oracle, brought away the Statue twenty Years after. In the mean time Datis and Artaphernes arriving in Asia, conducted the Eretrian Captives to Susa: And th'o' Darius had express'd
express'd great Indignation against the Eretrians before the Reduction of that Place, and charg'd them with the Guilt of beginning the War; yet finding they were now his Prisoners, and entirely in his Power, he did them no other hurt, than to send them to inhabit a Station belonging to himself in the Region of Cissa, and going by the Name of Anderica, distant from Susa two hundred and ten Stades; and forty Stades from a Well which yields Brimstone, Salt and Oil, in this manner: They let down a Bucket, fasten'd to a Crane, into the Well; and having drawn it up again, put the Liquor into a Cistern: Then they pour off the same Liquor a second time into a Vessel prepar'd for that purpose, and the Separation is presently made. For the Brimstone and Salt subside by different ways; and the Oil, which is black, of a strong Scent, and by the Persians call'd Radinace, is skimm'd off and put into Jars. In this Country Darius plac'd the Eretrians, who still continue to inhabit the same Region, and have preserv'd their antient Language to our Time. Thus I have finish'd what I had to say concerning the Affairs of the Eretrians.

AFTER the full Moon, two thousand Lacedemonians arriv'd in Athens, with so great a desire of finding the Enemy, that they had spent but three Days in their March from Sparta to Attica: And tho' they came too late to be present at the Battle, yet being violently bent upon seeing he Medes, they proceed to Marathon; and when they had satisfi'd their Curiosity, commended the Athenians for their Valour, and return'd home. But I am amaz'd, and can never
never comprehend that the Alcmaeonides should in concert with the Enemy hold up a Shield for a Signal to the Persians; as if they would have been contented to see the Athenians subject to the Barbarians, and to Hippias; they who had ever shewn as much Hatred to Tyrants, or more, than Callias the son of Phænippus, and Father of Hippocrates; tho' Callias was the only Man among the Athenians, who, besides many other Actions of the utmost Enmity, had the Courage to purchase the Goods of Pisistratus, when after his Expulsion they were publickly sold by a Decree of the People. Callias indeed deserves always to be remembred with Honour, as well for the eminent Part he had in restoring the Liberty of his Country, as for the Actions he perform'd at the Olympian Exercises. He won the Race with a single Horse, and was second in the Quadrijugal Course. He had been before victorious in the Pythian Solemnities, and distinguish'd himself by his Magnificence in the View of all the Grecians. He was so indulgent to his three Daughters, that when they had attain'd to marriageable Years, he presented them with immense Riches and permitted them to chuse their Husbands out of all the Families in Athens. But since nothing is more evident, than that the Alcmaeonides were no less Haters of Tyrants than Callias, my Wonder is the greater; and I can never believe that they made a Signal to the Persians; they, I say, who in all time had avoided to live under Tyranny, and had actually by their Contrivance expell'd the Family of Pisistratus, acquiring by that Action a better Title, in my Opinion, to be call'd the Deliverers of
of Athens, than Harmodius and Aristogiton. For these Men by killing Hipparchus, only exasperated those who surviv'd; but could not prevent them from continuing the Tyranny. Where-as the Alcmæonides manifestly restor'd the Freedom of Athens, if we may believe that they induc'd the Pythian to admonish the Lace-demonians to rescue the Athenians from Servitude, as I mention'd before. Perhaps some may pretend, that finding themselves afterwards upon the same Level with the People, they grew discontented, and were willing to betray their Country: On the contrary, no Men were ever in greater Esteem among the Athenians, or had a greater Share in the publick Honours; and therefore Reason forbids us to think that they held up the Shield on that account. That a Shield was seen, cannot be denied; for the thing is true: But who the Person was that held it up, is altogether unknown to me. The Alcmæonian Family had ever been considerable in Athens, and receiv'd an additional Lustre from Alcmæon and Megacles. For when the Lydians were sent by Cresus to consult the Oracle of Delphi, Alcmæon the Son of Megacles was their Confident, and entertain'd them hospitably: Which Cresus understanding, at their Return, he sent for him to Sardis, and after his Arrival gave him as much Gold as he could carry about his Body at once. Alcmæon having consider'd how to improve the Liberality of Cresus to the best Advantage, put on a Coat of a vast Compass, with Buskins proportionably wide, and in that Dress being conducted to the Treasury, he plac'd himself upon a great Heap of Gold; and after he had cram'm'd
cramm'd as much into his Buskins as they could contain, fill'd his Garments on all sides, loaded his Hair with Ingots, and put many Pieces into his Mouth; he went out of the Treasure, hardly able to drag his Buskins after him, and resembling any thing rather than a Man. When Cæsus saw him in this Condition, with his Mouth full, and every other Part loaded with Gold, he broke into a Fit of Laughter, and gave him all he had brought out, with many other Presents of no less Value. Thus Alcmaeon having enrich'd his Family, was enabled to breed Horses, with which he won the Quadrijugal Prize at the Olympian Exercises. But in the second Generation after him, Clisbenes Tyrant of Sicyon, rais'd this House to a higher Degree of Glory than ever they had attain'd before. This Clisbenes, who was the Son of Aristomymus, and Grandson to Myron the Son of Andreas, had a Daughter nam'd Agarista, which he purpos'd to marry to the Man he should judge most worthy among all the Grecians. To that end, during the Olympian Solemnity, in which Clisbenes obtain'd the Victory in the Quadrijugal Race, he caus'd open Proclamation to be made, that whoever of the Grecians thought himself worthy to be Son-in-Law to Clisbenes should come to Sicyon before the Expiration of sixty days; because he had determin'd to marry his Daughter within the Companys of a Year after that time. Upon which Notification all such Grecians as thought highly of themselves and their Country, went to Sicyon; where Clisbenes had made Preparations for Races and Wrestling. From Italy, arriv'd Smindyrides the Son of Hippocrates,
crates, a Man plung'd in Voluptuousness beyond most Examples, and born at Sybaris, which was then at the Height of its Prosperity; with Damas of Siris, the Son of Samyris surnamed the Wife. From the Gulph of Ionia came Amphimnes the Son of Epistrophus of Epidamnum; and from Æolia, Males the Brother of Titormus, who surpass'd all the Grecians in Strength, and had retir'd to the Extremities of Æolia. From Peloponnesus, arriv'd Leocides the Son of Phidon Tyrant of Argos: of that Phidon, I say, who prescrib'd Measures to the Peloponnesians; and exceeding all the Grecians in Arrogance, remov'd the Eian Judges, and assum'd to himself the Power of appointing the Olympian Exercises: Amiantus an Arcadian of Trapezus and Son to Lycurgus; with Laphanes the Azanian of Paus, Son of that Euphorion, who, according to a common Report, entertain'd Castor and Pollux in his Houfe, and from that time receiv'd all Strangers with great Hospitality: These, with Onomastus of Elis, the Son of Ageus, came from Peloponnesus. From Athens came Megacles the Son of that Alcmæon who visit'd Croæus; and Hippocides the Son of Tifander, in Riches and Beauty surpassing all the Athenians of his time. From Eubæa, Lisanius alone, a Native of Eretria, which was then in a flourishing Condition. From Thessaly, Diætorides of Cranon; and from the Molossians, Alcon. All these were Pretenders to the Daughter of Clisbenes, and arriv'd in Sicyon before the sixty Days were expir'd. Clisbenes, in pursuance of his Design, first examin'd every one touching his Country and Decent: After which he detain'd them a whole Year, in order to inform
form himself fully of their Fortitude, Temperance, Institution, and Manners; conversing with them frequently apart, and together, and conducting the Youngest to the Gymnastic Exercises. Above all he endeavour'd to discover their Inclinations when he entertain'd them with Feasting; for he tried all Experiments, and treated them with great Magnificence during the whole time they stayed with him. But among the several Candidates he principally favour'd the Athenians; especially Hippoclines the Son of Tisander; because he was esteem'd for his Courage, and deriv'd his Descent from the Corinthian Cypselides. When the Day was come, which Clytemnes had appointed for naming the Person he should chuse; he sacrific'd a Hecatomb, and invited the Pretenders, with all the Sicyonians, to the Feast. After Supper they enter'd into a Dispute concerning Musick, and other things that occasionally fell into Discourse at that time: And as the Wine went warmly about, Hippoclines with an assuming Air commanded the Musician to play a Tune call'd Emmelia; in which being readily obey'd, he danc'd with much Satisfaction to himself; tho' Clytemnes observing all that past'd, began to suspect the Event. When Hippoclines had finish'd his Dance, and rested some time, he commanded a Table to be brought in; which was no sooner done, than mounting upon it, he first imitated the Laconian Measures, then danc'd after the Athenian manner; and last of all seting his Head upon the Table, and erecting his Feet, he mov'd his Legs in such Postures, as he had already practis'd with his Hands. Tho' the first and second of these Dances
Dances had sufficiently dissuaded Clitophanes from chusing a Son-in-Law of so much profligate Impudence; yet he contain'd himself, and would not break out into an open Passion. But when he saw him endeavouring with his Legs to imitate the Actions of his Hands, he loft all Patience, and cried out, "O Son of Tisander thou hast danc'd away thy Marriage." The other answer'd, "That is not the care of Hip-poclides." Which Saying afterwards obtain'd the Authority of a Proverb. Then Clitophanes having commanded Silence, spoke to those who pretended to his Daughter, in these Words: "I commend you all, and am willing to gratify you all, if I could; without distinguishing any one in particular, to the Disadvantage of the rest. But because I have no more than one Daughter, and consequently cannot comply with the Desires of so many Persons, I give a Talent of Silver to every one of those who shall be excluded; as well in acknowledgment of your Readiness to enter into my Family by this Match, as of the time you have spent in a long Absence from your Habitations; and I give my Daughter Agarista to Megacles the Son of Alcmæon, to be his Wife under the Conditions and Usages of the Athenians." Megacles immediately declar'd his Consent, and the Nuptials were celebrated in the House of Clitophanes. Thus the Dispute so long depending between these Rivals was determin'd, and the Alcmæonides became famous in Greece. Of this Marriage was born a Son nam'd Clitophanes from the Father of his Mother. He divided the Athenians into Tribes and establish'd the Democratical Government.
Megacles had also another Son nam'd Hippocrates who was the Father of another Megacles, and of another Agaristra, so call'd from the Daughter of Clitibenes. This Agaristra being afterwards married to Xanthippus the Son of Ariphron, and big with Child, dreamt she had brought forth a Lyon, and within few Days was deliver'd of Pericles.

Miltiades having by his Success at Marathon acquire'd a much greater Reputation in Athens than he had before, demanded seventy Ships of the Athenians, with Men and Money proportionable; in order to undertake an Expedition, which he kept private; and only told them, that if they would follow him, he would put them into possession of great Riches; and lead them into a Country, from whence they should bring home Gold in abundance without Difficulty. The Athenians accepting the Proposition with Joy, prepar'd the Ships accordingly: And when Miltiades had receiv'd all things necessary to his Enterprize, he set sail for Paros; under Colour that the Parians had assist'd the Persians with their Ships in the Expedition to Marathon. But the Truth is, he was incens'd against the Parians because Lysagoras the Son of Theseus, a Man of Parian Extraction, had spoken ill of him to Hydarnes the Persian. When Miltiades arriv'd at Paros, he believ'd the City, and sending in his Heralds, demanded a hundred Talents of the Parians; threatning, in case of Refusal, not to draw off his Army before he had taken the Place. But the Parians refusing to deliberate whether they should give Money to Miltiades, applied themselves wholly to contrive by what means they might defend the City;
City; repairing their Fortifications in divers Places, and working in the Night, till they had made their Walls doubly higher than before in that Part where they were left defensible. Thus far all the Grecians agree in their Report: The rest, as the Parians say, pass'd in this manner. When Miltiades saw all his Measures broken, one Timo, a Woman of Paros, Subpriests of the National Gods, and then his Prisoner, came to him and counsel'd him, if he valued the taking of Paros, to do as she should advise. Miltiades having heard her Proposal, went directly to the Inclosure of the Temple dedicated to Ceres the Legislatress, without the City; and after he had endeavoured in vain to open the Gate, he mounted the Wall, and leap'd down, with a Design to enter the sacred Place, in order to do something, or to move something, which ought not to have been mov'd. But while he stood before the Doors, he was seiz'd with a sudden Horror; and resolving to return, leap'd back again from the same Place, and broke his Thigh, tho' some say he fell upon his Knee. Thus Miltiades having neither obtain'd the Money he demanded, nor taken Paros, return'd to Athens with Disgrace, after he had ravag'd the Country, and besieged the City twenty six Days. When the Siege was rais'd, the Parians being inform'd of the Counsel which Timo had given to Miltiades, and desiring to bring her to Justice, sent Deputies to inquire of the Oracle at Delphi, whether they should punish her with Death, for endeavouring to betray the City to the Enemy, and discovering the sacred Mysteries to Miltiades, which
HERODOTUS.

which ought not to be reveal'd to any Man. But the Pythian not permitting them to do as they defir'd, affirm'd that Timo was not the Author of that Advice; and that the Gods having determin'd the Destruction of Miltiades, had only made her the Instrument of his Death. This Answer the Pythian gave to the Parians.

WHEN Miltiades was return'd to Athens, many of the Athenians were incens'd against him, and none more than Xanthippus the Son of Ariphron, who accus'd him to the People for deceiving the Athenians, and defir'd he might be punish'd with Death. Miltiades could not be present to defend himself, because his Thigh beginning to mortify, render'd him unable to move from his Bed. But his Friends appearing for him, alledg'd in his Favour the Actions he perform'd at Marathon; together with the Acquisition of Lemnos; which Miltiades reduc'd under the Dominion of Athens, after he had expell'd the Pelasgians for the Injuries they had done to the Athenians. These Allegations prevail'd so far with the People, that they would not sentence him to Death; but fin'd him fifty Talents for his Crime. Soon after which, Miltiades ended his Life by the Putrefaction and Mortification of his Thigh; and his Son Cymon paid his Fine. As for Lemnos, Miltiades took possession of that Island, on the following Occasion. The Pelasgians had been already driven out of Attica by the Athenians; whether justly or unjustly I shall not determine; having nothing more to say than what is reported on both sides. Hecatus, the Son of Hegesander, affirms they were unjustly expell'd. For, says he, when the Athenians
nians saw that the Lands about *Hymessus*, which they had given to the Pelasgians in Payment for the Wall they had built about the *Acropolis*, were improv'd from a barren and unprofitable Soil, into a fertile and well cultivated Region, they grew envious of their Prosperity; and coveting to resume the Country, drove out the Pelasgians without any other Pretence whatever. On the other hand the Athenians affirm, that they were justly ejected on account of the Injuries they had done. For they saw that while the Pelasgians continued to inhabit under Mount *Hymessus*, they frequently left their Habitations, and in Contempt of the Athenians offer'd Violence to their Sons and Daughters who were sent for Water to the place call'd the *Nine Fountains*; because in those times neither they nor any other People of *Greece* were furnish'd with Slaves: That the Pelasgians not contented with these Attempts, were at last manifestly detected to have form'd a Design against *Athens*; and that the Athenians, to shew themselves as generous as the others had been base, when they had the Power of punishing these Offenders for their manifest Treachery, chose rather to command them only to depart the Country: Which the Pelasgians obeying posses'd themselves of *Lemnos*, and other Places. Thus *Hecataeus* relates this Occurrence in one manner, and the Athenians in another. But those Pelasgians who inhabited *Lemnos*, desiring to be reveng'd, and knowing all the Festival Days of the Athenians, fitted out some Gallies of fifty Oars each; and having laid an Ambuscade for their Wives as they celebrated the Feast of *Diana* in *Brauron*, they
they surpriz'd a great Number; carried them away to Lemnos, and kept them for Concubines. These Women abounding in Children, taught their Sons the Language of Attica, and Manners of the Athenians: By which means they not only refus'd to converse with the Sons of the Pelasgian Women; but if any one of their Number was attack'd, they all immediately ran to his Assistance, and reveng'd the Injury. Thus thinking themselves worthy to command the Sons of the Pelasgians, they easily became their Masters. When the Pelasgians were inform'd of these things, they consulted together; and judging such Arrogance insupportable, drew this Consequence: If, said they, at these Years they have learn'd to defend one another, and constantly endeavour'd to usurp a Superiority over the Children of our legitimate Wives; what will they not do, when they attain the Age of Men? Which Thought made so deep an Impression in the Minds of the Pelasgians, that they resolv'd to murder the Children they had by the Women of Attica; and, to compleat their Cruelty, dispatch'd the Mothers after them. From this atrocious Crime, and that which was perpetrated before by those Women, who with the Assistance of Thoas kill'd their Husbands, all enormous Actions pass among the Grecians under the Name of Lemnian. But the Pelasgians, after the Murder of these Children with their Mothers, perceiving their Lands to become barren, their Wives unfruitful, and their Flocks not to yield the usual Increase; tormented with Famine, and destitute of Children, sent to Delphi, in order to be inform'd by what means they might be
be deliver'd from those Calamities; And being admonish'd by the Pythian to give Satisfaction to the Athenians in the manner they should desire, they went to Athens, and profess'd themselves ready to suffer any Punishment they should think fit to impose on account of the Injuries they had receiv'd. The Athenians having heard their Offer, prepar'd a magnificent Feast in the Prytaneum; and when they saw the table furnish'd with all kind of Provisions, they commanded the Pelasgians to surrender their Country, in as good a Condition. To which they answer'd, "That they would obey, when the "North Wind should carry a Ship in one Day "from the Territories of the Athenians to "their Island:" Well knowing the thing to be impossible, because Attica is situate much more to the Southward than Lemnos. But many Years after they had given this Answer, when the Hellepontin Chersonesus became subject to the Athenians, Miltiades the Son of Cimon having embark'd at Eleus, a City on the Hellepont was carried by a strong Etolian Wind in one Day to Lemnos; and immediately commanding the Pelasgians to depart out of the Island, reminded them of their solemn Promise, which they hop'd never to see accomplish'd. The Hephæstians obey'd the Order of Miltiades: But the Myrinæans, not acknowledging Chersonesus to belong to Attica, sustain'd a Siege, till they were compell'd to surrender. And in this manner Lemnos was reduc'd by Miltiades under the Power of the Athenians.

K. 2
WHEN Darius the Son of Hydaspes had receiv'd the News of the Battle fought at Marathon, he became much more incens'd against the Athenians, than he had been before for the Invasion of Sardis, and much more diligent in his Preparations to carry on the War against Greece. He dispatch'd Messages to the several Cities of his Dominions, enjoin* ing every one in particular to raise a greater Number of Forces than ever, sufficiently furni*sh'd with Horses, Ships, and all manner of Provisions. These Commands of the King put all Asia into a Ferment during the Space of three Years. But in the fourth Year, when the best of his Forces were assembled, in order to invade Greece; the Ægyptians, who had been subdued by Cambyses, revolted from the Persians. So that Darius being irritated at once against the Grecians and Ægyptians, resolv'd to make War against both. But when he had prepar'd all things for his Expedition to Greece and Ægypt, a great Contest arose between his Sons concerning the Succession of the kingdom: For by the Customs of Persia the King is oblig'd to nominate his Successor, before
before he departs to put himself at the Head of the Army. Darius had three Sons by the Daughter of Gobryas, his first Wife; all born before he was King: And after his Succession to the Throne, he had four more by Atossa the Daughter of Cyrus. Of the first, Artabazanes was the eldest: Of the latter, Xerxes: And these two being born of different Mothers, were Competitors for the Succession. Artabazanes urg'd that he was the eldest of all the Sons of Darius, and that by the Customs of all Nations the eldest Son had a Right to the Kingdom: On the other hand, Xerxes alledg'd, that he was the Son of Atossa the Daughter of Cyrus, who had delivered the Persians from Servitude. Darius had not yet declar'd himself in favour of either, when Demaratus the Son of Ariston, who had been depriv'd of the Kingdom of Sparta, and arriv'd at Susa about that time, hearing of this Dispute between the Sons of Darius, went to Xerxes, as I am inform'd, and counsell'd him to add these Reasons to his Defence: That he was born after Darius had obtain'd the Kingdom, with all the Dominions of Persia; whereas Artabazanes was only Son of Darius a private Man; and consequently, to let another enjoy the Advantages that belong'd to him would be contrary to the Rules of Equity and Justice; and that by the Laws of Sparta, all Children born before their Father was invested with the Royal Dignity, were excluded from the Succession, if he had any Son to succeed him, born after that time. These Reasons having been produc'd by Xerxes at the Suggestion of Demaratus, appear'd so just to Darius, that he declar'd him King. But I am inclin'd to believe,
believe, that without this Advice, Xerxes would have been King; because the Authority of Atoffa was too great to be resisted. When Darius had nominated Xerxes to succeed him and firmly resolv'd to pursue his intended Enterprizes, he died, in the second Year of the Revolt of Ægypt, after he had reign'd thirty six Years; and had not the Satisfaction of executing his Designs either against the Ægyptians or Athenians.

XERXES the Son of Darius succeeding him in the Kingdom, shew'd little Disposition at first to make War against Greece, and bent his Thoughts wholly upon the Reduction of Ægypt. But Mardonius the Son of Gobryas by the Sister of Darius, and consequently Cousin German to Xerxes, in confidence of the Authority he had with the King, spoke to him on that Subject to this Effect: "SIR, if you suffer the Athenians to go unpunish'd, after all the Mischiefs they have done to the Persians, we shall be dishonour'd. However, at present finish the Enterprize you have begun; and when you shall see the Insolence of the Ægyptians humbled, lead your Army against Athens; that all Men may speak of you with Honour, and no Nation for the future may dare to attack any of your Dominions."

To this Discourse, hitherto tending only to Revenge, he added, That Europe was a beautiful Country; abounding in delicious Fruits, and Men of invincible Courage: In a word, too excellent to be possess'd by any other than the greatest of Kings. Now, tho' his own youthful Ambition, and a violent Desire to see himself made Governour of Greece, were
were the principal Motives he had to give this Counsel; yet he at laft prevail'd with Xerxes to do as he advis'd; and was not a little assist'd in his Design by a favourable Conjuncture. For about that time the Aleuadian Kings of Thessaly sent Ambassadors to Xerxes, with Orders to solicit him to invade Greece, and to promise him all manner of Assistance on their Part. The Pisistrатides likewise, then in Exile at Susa, us'd the same Persuasions; and in order to compass their Design, produc'd a certain Athenian nam'd Onomacritus, who, they said, could interpret Oracles, and explain the Divinations of Musæus. This Man was reconcil'd to them before their Arrival in Persia, but had been formerly their Enemy. For he was first banish'd from Athens by Hipparchus the Son of Pisistratus, upon the Discovery of Lasus the Son of Hermion, who surpriz'd him in the very Fact of inserting a supposittious Oracle among those of Musæus, importing, that the Islands about Lemnos should be swallow'd up by the Sea: and on that account Hipparchus expell'd him out of Athens, after he had us'd his Conversation with great Familiarity. This Onomacritus having accompani'd the Pisistratides to Susa, was recommended by them to the King as an extraordinary Person; and being introduc'd into his Presence, recited some of his Oracles; always remem-bring to suppress those that foretold any Disater to the Barbarians, and producing only such as were favourable to their Affairs. Among those of the laft Sort, he repeated one, which foretold that a Bridge should be laid over the Hellespont by a Persian; and descendent to all the Circumstances belonging to that Enterprize. Thus
Thus Xerxes, partly on the Hopes he conceiv'd from these illusory Oracles, and partly at the Instigation of the Pisistratides and Aleuadians, determined to make War against Greece. Nevertheless, in the first place, and in the second Year after the Death of Darius, having assembled an Army, in order to punish the revolted Egyptians, he reduc'd all Ægypt to a worse Condition of Servitude than they had felt under his Father, and gave the Government of that Country to his Brother Achæmenes the Son of Darius; who was afterwards kill'd by Inarus the Son of Pshammiticus, a Lybian. When Xerxes had thus recover'd Ægypt, and was about to prepare all things for his Expedition against Athens, he summon'd a Council of the principal Persians, as well to hear their Opinions, as to declare his own; and after they were all assembled, spoke to this effect: "I will not, O Persians, be the Author of new Institutions, but shall act in Conformity to those I have receiv'd. For I am instructed by Men of elder Years, that from the time we wrested the Power out of the hands of the Medes, and Cyrus dethron'd Astyages, we never liv'd an inglorious, unactive Life; but by following the Hand of God, which was our Guide, we have attain'd to a great measure of Prosperity. The Actions perform'd by Cyrus, by Cambyses, and by my Father Darius, together with the Nations they conquer'd, are too well known to you to need a Repetition. As for me, since I took Possession of the Throne, my principal Care has been not to fall short of my Predecessors in Glory, and to acquire as great a Proportion
HERODOTUS.

"of Power to the Persians. Revolving these
"Thoughts in my Mind, I am persuaded,
"we may at once obtain a glorious Name,
"with the Conquest of a Country not infe-
"rior to that we now possess, but rather
"more abounding in all things; and at the
"same time revenge the Injuries we have re-
"ceiv'd. To this end therefore I have called
"you together, and shall acquaint you with
"the Enterprize I have form'd. I design to
"lay a Bridge over the Hellespont, and to
"transport an Army by the way of Europe in-
"to Greece, that I may punish the Athenians
"for the Injuries they have done to the Per-
sians and to my Father. You know Darius
"had determin'd to make War against those
"Men, but Death prevented him from execu-
ing his Design. I resolve therefore to do Jus-
tice to my Father and the Persians, and not to
"lay down my Arms, till I have taken and
"burnt Athens, whose Citizens were the first
"Aggressors in this War against me and my Fa-
"ther. For before any Violence had been done
"on either side, they invaded Sardis, in con-
junction with Aristagoras the Milesian, our
"Servant; and burnt down the Sacred Groves
"with the Temples. And how they treated
"you, when you made a Descent into their
"Territories under the Conduct of Datis and
"Artaphernes, is sufficiently known to you all.
"These things have excited in me an ardent
"desire to invade their Country with Fire and
"Sword: being assure'd, and not without good
"reason, that if we can subdue the Athe-
nians, with their Neighbours, who inhabit
"the Country of Pelops the Phrygian, the Per-
sian
"The Dominions will be bounded by no other Limits than the Heavens; and the Sun shall not behold any Region distinguish'd from us, or exempted from our Obedience. For I intend, with your Concurrence, to march thro' all the Parts of Europe, and to reduce the whole Earth into one Empire; being well inform'd, that no City or Nation of the World will dare resist my Arms, after the Reduction of those I have mention'd. And thus, not only the Guilty, but likewise those who have not at all offended us, must equally submit to the Yoke of Servitude. If then you will gratify my Desires, prepare all things necessary for this Expedition, that you may be ready to attend me at the time I shall appoint. And I now promise, that he who shall appear at the head of the best Troops, shall be rewarded by me, in the manner he shall judge most honourable. But lest I should seem to impose my own Sentiments upon you, I desire you to debate the matter, and deliver your Opinions with Freedom." After Xerxes had finish'd these Words, Mardonius rose up, and said: "SIR, You are not only the most excellent of all the Persians that have liv'd before your Time, but likewise of all that shall be born in future Ages. And as in other things you have spoken most judiciously and truly; so you have rightly determin'd, no longer to suffer the European Ionians to insult the Persians, who ought not to be the Objects of their Contempt. For what greater Indignity can be imagin'd, than if, after we have conquer'd the Saces, Indians, Æthiopi-"
ans and Assyrians, with many other powerful Nations, which never offer'd to do us any Wrong, in order only to enlarge our Dominions, we should suffer the Grecians to go unpunish'd, who have first provok'd us by their injurious Attempts? Of what are we afraid? What Forces, what Treasures have they? We know their Manner of fighting; and we are no less inform'd of the Paucity of their Numbers. Besides, we have already subdued their Descendants the Ionians, Æolians and Doriens, who inhabit within our Territories. I learnt by Experience what they are, when I was command'd by your Father to make War against them. I penetratd into Macedonia, and advance'd almost to Athens; yet no Man had the Courage to oppose my Passage. The Grecians, as I am inform'd, are accusstomed to take up Arms rashly, and manage their Wars without Art or Knowledge. For when they have declar'd War against one another, they march into the most open Plain they can find, and fight a Battle; in which the Conquerors never go away without great Losses; and the Conquer'd, to say all at once, are cut in pieces. Whereas being of the same Language, they ought rather to adjust their Differences by Ambassadors, and try all ways of Accommodation, before they have Recourse to Arms: Or if these Means prove ineffectual, they ought at least to post themselves in Places of difficult Access, not easily penetrable on either side. Yet these very Men, tho' accusstom'd to this ill Method, never ventur'd to entertain a Thought of fighting
"fighting during all the time I continued in Macedonia. How then shall they dare to refuse you, attended by all the Forces and Ships of Asia? For my own part, I cannot imagine that the Grecians will ever proceed to such a Degree of Audaciousness. But if I should happen to be deceiv'd, and they should be so ill advis'd to appear in Arms against us, they must learn by a dear-bought Experience, that we know more of military Affairs than all other Men of the World. However, let us try the Experiment: For nothing moves without a Cause, but all things are accomplish'd by Labour and Industry." When Mardonins had thus flatter'd the Inclinations of Xerxes by a courtly Affentation, and the rest of the Persians continued silent, because they would not venture to propose a contrary Opinion, Artabamus the Son of Hystaspes, and Uncle to Xerxes, in confidence of his Dignity, deliver'd his Sentiments in the following Terms: "SIR, said he, unless Men will hear different Opinions, they can never chuse the most advantageous, but lie under a Necessity of following that which is first propos'd. Whereas when various and contrary Opinions have been heard, Men are enabled to discern the best Counsels; as they distinguish the purest Gold, by Comparison with that which contains a greater Quantity of Allay. I endeavour'd to dissuade Darius your Father and my Brother, from making War against Scythia, a Country destitute of Cities in any Part: But he hoping to conquer the Scythians, rejected my Advice, undertook that Expedition; and after he had lost the best of his Forces, was compell'd to retire with the
"the rest. You are now disposing all things to
attack a much braver Nation than the Scy-
thians; Men, who have distinguifh'd them-
selves with Glory both by Sea and Land: and
therefore I think my self oblig'd to inform you
of the Dangers that attend your Enterprize.
You say, you have resolv'd to lay a Bridge o-
er the Hellespont, in order to transport your
Army into Europe, and to march directly to
Greece. But this Design will bring you under
a Necessity of beating the Grecians either by
Land or by Sea; perhaps in both: Yet, as
I am inform'd, they are a warlike People, and
that they will not be an easy Conqueft, one
may conjecture from this Example: The A-
thenians alone defeated and ruin'd that nu-
umerous Army which invaded Attica, under
the Conduct of Datis and Artaphernes. But
if they should try their Fortune by Sea, and
obtain the Victory; if upon that Success
they should fail to the Hellespont, and destroy
your Bridge; What could be imagin'd more
terrible? I shall not pretend that these
Thoughts are the Result of my own Wifdom:
On the contrary, they are only the Effects of
former Experience. How near were we to
utter Defftruction, when your Father had
pass'd into Scythia by the Bridges he laid
over the Thracian Bofphorus, and over the
Ifter? For the Scythians arriving on the
Banks of that River, most earnestly desir'd
the Ionians left there for a Guard, to break
the Bridge: And if Histiaeus, Tyrant of
Miletus, had assented to the Opinion of the
rest, and had not vigorously oppos'd that
fatal Design, the Defftruction of the Persian
"Name was inevitable. I tremble to think, that the King, with all he possessed, lay then at the mercy of one Man. Let me persuade you therefore, not to expose your self to so great Dangers without necessity: Dissolve this Assembly; and after a more deliberate Reflection upon these things, declare your Intentions, and take such Measures as you shall judge most advantageous. I have ever found, that to form a Design upon the best Counsels, is in all Events most useful: For if the expected Success should not follow; yet he who has taken the most rational Measure, has always the Satisfaction of having done his Part, tho' Fortune happen to be superior to Wisdom. But if he who rashly undertakes an imprudent Enterprise, should chance to prosper, he indeed accomplishes his Design, and yet deserves no less Blame than if he had fail'd of Success. You see the greatest Animals are most frequently struck with the Thunder of Jupiter, and not long permitted to continue their Ravages, while the most inconsiderable are spare'd. You see those Bolts ever lanc'd against the state-liest Edifices, and most lofty Trees. For the God takes a pleasure in depressing whatever is too highly exalted. Hence great Armies are often defeated by small Numbers of Men; when struck by the jealous God with a panic Fear, or terrified by the Noise of his Thunder, they become destitute both of Vi- gour and Courage: because God will not suffer any Mortal to think magnificently of himself. In all Actions Precipitation produces Errors, which for the most part are attended with
"with pernicious Consequences. But many
"Advantages flow from deliberate Coun-
"sels; perhaps not presently apparent, yet
"most certainly ensuing afterwards. This, O
"King, is the Advice I would persuade you
"to pursue: And as for thee, Mardonius, thou
"Son of Gobryas, cease to talk impertinently
"of the Grecians; because they are no way
"fit to be contemn'd. By unjust Detraction
"you endeavour to engage the King to make
"War against them; and, in my Opinion,
"have strenuously exerted your Efforts that
"way. But I hope such Methods shall not
"prevail. For Calumny is a detestable thing,
"as it is a Combination of two against one:
"Because he who calumniates another, does him
"an Injury in his Absence: And he who be-
"lieves the Calumny, is no less unjust, in gi-
"ving his Assent to the Accusation, before he
"is duly inform'd. In a word, the absent
"Person receives a double Injury; being falsly
"accus'd by one, and unjustly condemn'd by
"the other. But, Mardonius, if nothing can
"dissuade you from making War against the
"Grecians, let the King continue in Persia
"and our Children be deposed in his hands:
"Then go on with your Expedition, accom-
"panied by the best Forces you can chuse,
"and in what Numbers you think fit: And
"if things succeed in the manner you have
"suggested to the King, I will be content-
ed to forfeit my own Life, and the Lives
"of my Children. But if, on the contrary,
"the Event be such as I have foretold, then
"let your Children suffer Death, and you al-
"so if ever you return. If you refuse to ac-
cept these Conditions, and obstinately resolve to lead an Army into Greece, I venture to affirm, that some of those you shall leave in this Place, will certainly hear, that Mar honius having brought some fatal Disater upon the Persians, was devour'd by Dogs and Birds in the Territories of Aibens or Lacedemon; or perhaps in his March thither; con vinc'd by too late Experience that the Grecians are another Sort of Men than he had represented them to the King." When Artabanes, had thus spoken, Xerxes with Indignation replied: "Artabanes, said he, you are my Father's Brother; and that Quality alone exempts you from receiving the just Re compense of your foolish Discourse. Yet I will set a Mark of Dishonour upon you; and since you have shewn so much Cowardice and unworthy Fear, you shall not accompany me in my Expedition against Greece; but shall stay behind among the Women, whilst I accomplish my Designs without you. I should not be the Son of Darius who deriv'd his Blood from Hystaspes, Arsames, Ariaramnes, Teispes, Cyrus, Cambyses, and Achæmenes, unless I can be aveng'd upon the Athenians. I know too well that if we continue quiet, they will find themselves Employment, and enter our Territories with an Army. We ought to judge of their future Enterprizes by those that are pass'd. They have already burnt Sardis, and made Excursions into Asia. Thus both Parties have advanc'd too far to retreat, and must resolve either to conquer or serve. All these Dominions must fall under the Power of the Grecians,
cians, or their Country be an Accession to this Empire. For no Way can be found to extinguish our mutual Enmity. They have been the first Aggressors; and we cannot omit to take our Revenge, unless we determine to sacrifice our Glory. Besides, I would be inform'd upon the Place, what Mischiefs those Men can bring upon me, who were so entirely conquer'd by Pelops the Phrygian, a Servant of my Ancestors; that both the Inhabitants and the Country they possess, are call'd by his Name." With these Words Xerxes ended his Speech. But when Night came, reflecting on the Opinion of Artabanus, he fell into great Perplexity; and, as that time frequently suggests the best Counsels, concluded at last, that a War against Greece would not terminate to his Advantage. Having thus alter'd his Resolution, he fell asleep, and, according to the Report of the Persians, saw in a Dream a Man of uncommon Stature and Beauty standing by him, and uttering these Words. "Have you then chang'd the Design you had form'd to lead an Army into Greece, after having given positive Orders to the Persians to assemble their Forces? You have not done well to alter your Resolution; neither will you find any Man of your Opinion. Resume therefore without Delay the Enterprize you determin'd by Day to undertake." The Phantom having pronounce'd these Words disappear'd: And the next Morning Xerxes neglecting his Dream, summon'd the same Persons together again, and said; "Pardon me, O Persians, if I now deliver an Opinion contrary
to that I declar'd yesterday: For I have not yet attain'd to a consummate Prudence in the Conduct of my Affairs: Neither shall those ever be absent from my Presence, who dissuade me from this Enterprize. When I heard the Opinion of Artabanus, I broke out into a sudden Passion, so incident to Youth; and threw out such Language against him, as was neither fit for me to use, nor for a Person of his Gravity to hear. But now acknowledging my Error, I resolve to follow his Advice: and therefore since I have laid aside my Design of invading Greece, you may enjoy the Advantages of Peace at home." When the Persians heard this they were transported with Joy, and prostrated themselves before the King. But in the following Night the same Phantom appear'd again to Xerxes as he slept, and pronounced these Words: "Son of Darius, you seem to have abandon'd the Thoughts of your intended Expedition, and to make no more account of my Admonition, than if I had not spoken to you at all. Know then that unless you instantly undertake this Enterprize, you shall become mean and contemptible, in as little time as you have been rais'd to Greatness and Power." Terrified with this Dream Xerxes hastily left his Bed; sent for Artabanus, and when he came, spoke thus to him: "Artabanus, I confess my Indiscretion, when I revil'd you with ill Language for the good Counsel you gave me. But soon repenting of my RASHNESS, I determin'd to follow your Advice. Nevertheless whatever Inclination I have to do so, I find
the Execution impossible. For I had no sooner alter'd my Resolution, acknowledg'd my Error, than I was admonish'd in a Dream that I could not desist from my design'd Expedition without Shame: And just now the Phantom appear'd again, pressing me to the same Effect, and threatening the greatest Calamities if I should fail. If God be the Author of this Dream, and would have our Expedition to Greece go forward, you will see the same Vision I have had, and receive the same Command. To this end I think convenient that you should sit in the Throne, cloth'd in all my Royal Robes and afterwards sleep in my Bed.'

Artabanus at first pray'd to be excus'd, as not deserving the Honour of sitting on the King's Throne: But when he saw he could not prevail, he did as Xerxes desir'd, after he had deliver'd his Sentiments in this manner. "For my part, said he, I have the same Esteem for one who knows how to assent to the best Advice, as for him who is able to be his own Counsellor: I acknowledge both these Qualities to be in you, O King, but corrupted by the Suggestion of ill Men; like the Sea, which of all these things is the most useful to Mankind, yet when agitated by the Violence of impetuous Winds, is sometimes constrain'd to act contrary to its own Nature. As for me, when I heard your Reproaches, I was not so much concern'd for myself, as griev'd to find that of two Opinions, one of which tended no less to propagate Infidelity, than the other to suppress it, and to shew the Vanity of inuring the Mind in-
“ceffantly to covet new Acquisitions, you had
chosen the worst and most dangerous to your
self and the Persians. Yet now, after you
have taken a better Resolution, and quitted
the Design of invading Greece, you say you
have seen a Vision, sent by some God to com-
mand you not to abandon your Enterprize.
But know, my Son, that this Dream is no-	hing less than divine: Men are frequently
misled by these Phantoms; and I, who have
liv’d many Years more than you, shall in-
struct you in the Nature of such Visions.
The things which have employ’d our Thoughts
by Day, present themselves to us for the
most part in our Dreams. And you know
the warm Debate we have had for several
Days concerning the Expedition to Greece.
Now, if this be indeed a divine Message,
and not such a Dream as I conjecture, you
have said all in a Word; and the Vision will
doubtless appear to me no less than to you
and command me the same things. But I
can never imagine that this will rather come
to pass, if I should be cloth’d in your Robes,
and lie in your Bed; than if I wear my own
Garments, and sleep in my own Bed. For
that which you have seen in your Sleep,
whatever it be, can never arrive to such a
Degree of Stupidity, to mistake me for you
upon exchanging our Apparel only. But if
the Spectre despise me, and think me un-
worthy of the same Vision, it will never ap-
ppear to me, whether I be cloth’d in your
Robes, or in my own; but will certainly visit
you again; and then such an Event will de-
serve Consideration. For if you have the
same Dream frequently repeated, I myself
L 3
will confess it to be Divine. Nevertheless,
if you have resolv'd to proceed this way,
and will not be dissuaded from your Pur-
posc, I am contented to sleep in your Bed,
as you have order'd; and then let the Phan-
tom appear to me also. But to that time
I shall persist in my present Opinion." After
these Words, Artabanus, not doubting to shew
the Vanity of all that Xerxes had said, com-
plied with his Desires; cloth'd himself in
the Royal Robes, and sat in the Throne. But
as he slept in the King's Bed, the same Phan-
tom appear'd to him in a Dream, and said:
Art thou then the Man, who assuming the
Authority of a Governour, hast dissuaded
Xerxes from invading Greece? But know,
that thou shalt not with Impunity contemn
the Decrees of Fate, either now or in time
to come: And as for Xerxes, he is suffici-
ently admonish'd of the Calamities he shall
suffer upon his Disobedience." Artabanus
terrified with these Menaces, and observing in
his Dream that the Apparition advance'd to burn
out his Eyes with a hot Iron, leap'd out of
Bed with loud Exclamations, and went im-
mediately to Xerxes; where, after he had related
all the Particulars of the Vision he had seen, he
spoke to him in this manner: "Having learnt
by Experience that the greatest Powers have
been frequently overthrown by small Forces,
I deliver'd my Opinion as a Man; and
was unwilling to see you transported by
the violent Passions incident to your Age;
well understanding the Dangers that at-
tend a boundless Ambition. I call'd to
mind the Fortune of that Army which Cyrus
led
led against the Medes; the Expedition of Cambyses against the Ethiopians; and the Invasion of Scythia, in which I accommodated your Father Darius. From the consideration of these Misfortunes, I concluded you to be the most happy of all Men, if you would live in Peace. But since you are mov'd by a divine Impulse, and some great Disaster decreed by Heaven, seems ready to fall upon the Grecians, I change my Opinion and shall contend no longer: Your Part therefore will be, to inform the Persians of this divine Message, and to command them to go on with their Preparations for War, according to your former Orders; that nothing of human Assistance may be wanting to second the Favour of the Gods." When he had said these Words, and both had determin'd to place an entire Confidence in the Vision; Xerxes early the next Morning acquainted the Persians with what had happen'd, and Artabanus, the only Man who had openly disapproved the Expedition, now appear'd most zealous to promote it.

IN the mean time Xerxes having resolv'd to put himself at the Head of his Army, had another Dream; which the Magi interpreted to relate to the whole World, and to signify that all Mankind should be reduc'd under his Power. For the King dreamt he saw himself crown'd with Twigs taken from an Olive-tree, which extended its Branches over all the Earth; and that afterwards this Crown disappear'd from about his Head. Upon this Interpretation of the Magi, the Persians who were then assembled in Council, departed immediately to their several
several Governments, and with the utmost Diligence applied themselves to execute the King's Orders; every Man hoping to obtain the Recompence he had promis'd. All the Regions of the Continent were search'd, in order to compose this Army. For from the time of the Reduction of Ægypt, four whole Years were spent in assembling these Forces, and providing all things necessary for this Expedition. In the fifth Year Xerxes began his March with an incredible Number of Men. For this Army was so much greater than all others we ever heard of; that neither the Forces led by Darius against the Scythians; nor the Scythian Army, which entring Media in Pursuit of the Cimmerians, subdued almost all the upper Asia, and occasion'd the succeeding Attempt of Darius; nor that which under the Conduct of the Atrides march'd, as we are told, to the Siege of Troy; nor the joint Forces of the Myrians and Tucrians, who before the Trojan War, pass'd over the Bosphorus into Europe, subdu'd all Thrace, and advancing to the Ionian Sea, penetrated to the Southward as far as the River Peneus: In a word, not all these Armies in Conjunction, even tho' we should add divers others, were to be compar'd with this one of Xerxes. For what People of Asia did he exempt from sending Men to this Expedition against Greece? What Waters, except those of great Rivers, were unexhausted by his numerous Forces? Some Nations he commanded to fit out Ships; others were order'd to furnish Horse, and others Foot: Some were oblig'd to build Vessels for the Transportation of Horse; others to prepare long Barks for Bridges, and some
some to furnish Corn, with Ships to transport it. Three Years had been spent about Mount Athos, in contriving to prevent the like Dilater with that which befel the Persians formerly on that Coaft. Their Ships had been order'd to the Port of Eleus, in the Chersonesus; and all the Forces on board were compell'd by Turns to dig, and open a Passage thro' the Mountain. The adjoining Inhabitants affifted them; and Bubaris the Son of Megabyzus, with Artaceus the Son of Artæus, both Persians, were the Directors of this Enterprize. Athos is a Mountain of great Fame and Magnitude, leaning upon the Sea, and well inhabited. It terminates to the Landward in the Form of a Peninsula, and makes an Isthmus of about twelve Stades in Length; containing a Plain with some Mixture of little Hills, from the Coaft of Acanthus to that of Torone. On this Isthmus, which lies at the Foot of Mount Athos, stands Sana a Grecian City: But Xerxes determin'd to cut off from the Continent all the other Cities, which being built upon the Mountain, and beyond this Place, were Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon Thybus and Cleone. The Operation was carri'd on in this manner. The Barbarians having drawn a Line before the City of Sana, divided the Ground among the several Nations: And when the Trench was considerably sunk, those who were in the Bottom continued to dig, and deliver'd the Earth to Men standing upon Ladders, who handed the same again to such as were plac'd in a higher Station, till at laft others who waited to receive the Burden at the Edge of the Canal, carried it away to another Place. But by
by digging in a perpendicular manner, and making the Bottom of equal Breadth with the Top, all the Workmen, except the Phœnicians, drew a double Labour upon themselves; because the Earth, as is natural, fell down continually in great Quantity from the upper Parts. The Phœnicians alone shew’d that Ability on this Occasion, of which they are so much Masters at all times: For they open’d the Part which was assign’d to their Care, twice as large as others had done; and sloping the Ground gradually till they came to the Bottom, they then found the Measure equal with the rest. In the Meadow adjoining to this Place they had a Court of Justice, and a Market furnish’d with great Abundance of Corn brought even from Asia. My Conjectures lead me to think, that Xerxes undertook this Enterprize upon a Motive of Openstentation, in order to shew the Greatness of his Power, and to perpetuate the Memory of his Name. For tho’ he might have caus’d his Fleet to be convey’d over the Land without much Difficulty; yet he would rather command the Isthmus to be cut, and a Canal to be made to receive the Sea, of such a Breadth as might be sufficient to carry two Ships failing in front. He likewise order’d the same Men, who had been employ’d in this Work, to lay a Bridge over the River Strymon; and commanded all manner of Cordage, and Stores necessary for Bridges, to be prepar’d with expedition. He issued Orders to the Phœnicians and Egyptians to take in Provisions for the Army, that nothing might be wanting either for the Men or the Cattle, which were to be transported into Greece.
And having fully enquir’d into the Nature of each Country, he order’d every thing to be brought from the most proper places of Asia, in Ships of great Burden, contriv’d on purpose for Transportation. Of these Provisions the greater Quantity was carried to that Part of Thrace, which goes by the Name of the White Coast. The rest was order’d to Tyrodiza of the Perinthians; to Doriscus; to Eion upon the Strymon, and to Macedonia. While these Men were employ’d in executing the Injunctions they had receiv’d, Xerxes having assembled his Army, parted from Critale in Cappadocia, and march’d to Sardis; which was the Place appointed for the Rendezvous of all the Forces that were to accompany him from the Continent. But I cannot affirm who was the General that receiv’d the Rewards promis’d by the King, for bringing the best Troops into the Field; being altogether uninform’d whether this Question were ever brought into Dispute. When the Army had pass’d the River Halys, they march’d thro’ Phrygia, and arriv’d at Celæne where rise the Springs of the Meander, and of another River no less considerable, call’d the Catarái; which, beginning in the midst of the Place, flows afterwards into the Meander: And where, if we may believe the Phrygians, the Skin of Marsias the Satyr is seen, pull’d off and hung up there by Apollo. Pythius the Son of Atys, a Lydian, then residing in Celæne, entertain’d the King and all his Army with great Magnificence, and offer’d him his Treasures towards the Expence of the War: Which Liberality Xerxes communicating to the Persians about him, and asking, Who this Pythius was,
and what Riches he might have to enable him to make such an Offer, receiv'd this Answer: "Pythius, said they, is the Person, who presented your Father Darius with a Plane-tree and Vine of Gold: And, after you, is the richest Man we know in the World" Xerxes, surpriz'd with these last Words, ask'd him, to what sum his Treasures might amount. "I shall conceal nothing from you, said Pythius, nor pretend to be ignorant of my own Wealth; but being perfectly inform'd of the State of my Accounts, shall tell you the Truth with Sincerity. When I heard you were ready to begin your March towards the Grecian Sea, I resolv'd to present you with a sum of Money towards the Charge of the War; and to that end having taken an Account of my Riches, I found by Computation that I had two thousand Talents of Silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety three thousand Pieces of Gold, bearing the Stamp of Darius. These Treasures I freely give you, because I shall be sufficiently furnish'd with whatever is necessary to Life by the Labour of my Servants and Husbandmen." Xerxes heard these Words with pleasure, and in answer to Pythius, said; "My Lydian Host, since I parted from Susa, I have not found a Man besides yourself, who has offer'd to entertain my Army, or voluntarily to contribute his Treasures to promote the present Expedition. You alone have treated my Army magnificently, and readily offer'd me immense Riches: Therefore, in return of your Kindness, I make you my Host; and that you may be Master of the entire
entire Sum of four Millions of Gold, I will
give you seven thousand Darien Pieces out of
my own Treasure. Keep then all the Riches
you now possess; and if you know how to
continue always in the same good Dispo-
sition, you shall never have Reason to repent
of your Affection to me, either now or in
future Time." When Xerxes had said this,
and taken care to see his Promise perform'd,
he continued his March; and passing by Anaua
a City of Phrygia, and a Lake famous for the
making of Salt, he arriv'd at Colosse, a con-
siderable City of the same Province; where the
River Lycus falling into an Aperture of the
Earth, disappears for the space of about five
Stades in Length; and then rising again runs
afterwards into the Meander. From this Place
the Army advanced to the City of Cydra, built
on the Borders of Phrygia and Lydia; where
an Inscription engrav'd on a Pillar, which was
erected by Croesus, declares the Limits of each
Country. After they had enter'd the Territo-
ries of Lydia, they found the Way divided in-
to two Routs; one on the Left-hand leading
to Caria, the other on the Right, to Sardis.
Those who take the last of these Ways, are ne-
cesitated to pass the Meander, and to approach
the City of Callatebus, in which Honey is
made by Men, with Wheat and the Shrub
Myrice. Xerxes taking his March by this Way,
faw a Plane-tree so beautiful, that he adorn'd
it with Gold; and having committed the
Care of it to one of those Persians who go
under the Name of Immortal, arriv'd the next
day at Sardis, the Capital of Lydia. Upon his
Arrival in that City he sent Heralds to Greece,
with Orders to demand Earth and Water, and to require all the Cities, except Athens and Lacedemon, to provide every thing necessary for the King's Table; not doubting that the Terror of his Arms would now induce all those to a ready Submission, who had formerly refus'd to comply with the like Demand, made on the part of his Father Darius. When Xerxes had dispatch'd these Heralds, he prepar'd to march towards Abydus; and in the mean time commanded a Bridge to be laid over the Hellespont, in order to pass into Europe. The Coast of the Hellespontin Cheroneis, which Faces the City of Abydus, and stretches along the Sea between Sestus and Mydonus, is uneven, and of difficult Access. In that Place, some time after this Enterprize, Zanhippus the Son of Ariphron, an Athenian Commander, took Artaytes, the Persian Governor of Sestus, and empal'd him alive, for constraining the Women to enter into the Temple of Proteus in Eleus, and there committing the most execrable Crimes. The Bridge was begun at Abydus, by Men appointed to that end, and carried on to the opposite Coast; which is seven Stades distant from that City; the Phoenicians making use of Cordage of white Hemp, and the Egyptians of another sort called Byblus. But no sooner had they finish'd the Bridge, than a violent Storm arising, broke in pieces, and dispers'd the whole Work: Which when Xerxes heard he fell into such a Transport of Anger, that he commanded three hundred Stripes to be inflicted on the Back of the Waters, and a Pair of Fetter's to be let down into the Hellespont. I have heard, he likewise order'd that
that Sea to be branded with Marks of Infamy. But nothing is more certain, than that he strictly enjoyn'd those who were entrusted with the Execution of his Orders, to pronounce these barbarous and impertinent Words: "O thou salt and bitter Water! thy Master has condemn'd thee to this Punishment, for offending him without Cause, and is resolv'd to pass over thee in despite of thy Insolence. With reason all Men neglect to sacrifice to thee, because thou art both disagreeable and treacherous." Thus having commanded the Hellespont to be chastis'd, he order'd the Heads of those who had the Direction of the Workmen to be taken off; which was all the Re-compence they had for contriving the Bridge. In their place other Architects were employ'd, who prepar'd two Bridges in the following manner: They brought three hundred and sixty Gallies into a Line, board by board, and facing the Euxin Sea. On the other hand they plac'd three hundred and fourteen more, with their Sides turned towards the Euxin, and their Heads to the Current of the Hellespont, in order to preserve the Cordage entire. This done, they drop'd their main Anchors, to secure the Vessels on one side against the Force of those Winds that blow from the Euxin, and on the other, from the South and Easterly Winds of the Ægean Sea; leaving three several Passages open to the Eastward, for the Convenience of those who should desire to pass from the Euxin, or to return thither. After that, they faften'd Cables to the Shoar, and straining them with Engines of Wood prepar'd for that purpose, bound the Vessels together:
together, allowing only two Ropes of white Hemp for every four made of Byblus. For tho' the Thickness and Shape was the same, yet the former were of much greater Strength; every Cubit weighing a full Talent. Having carried on these Lines of Ships from one Shore to the other, they cover'd the Cordage with Pieces of Timber, cut exactly to the Breadth of the Bridges, and strongly compacted together. Upon these again they laid Planks of Wood rang'd in order; and having thrown a Covering of Earth on the Top, they rais'd a Barrier on each side, that the Horses and other Cattle might not be terrified at the Sight of the Sea. When the Bridges were finish'd, and the Canal at Mount Athos secour'd by a Bank of Earth thrown up at each End, to prevent the Floods from choking the Passage with Sand; the Army being inform'd that all things were ready, departed from Sardis, where they had wintered, and directed their March towards Abydus. But as they were on the way thither, the Sun quitting his Seat in the Heavens, disappear'd; and tho' the Air was perfectly serene and free from Clouds, a sudden Night ensued in the place of Day: Which Xerxes observing with Surprize, and no little Anxiety, enquir'd of the Magi what might be the meaning of the Prodigy. They answer'd, That the Gods by this Prefage plainly foretold the Destruction of the Grecian Cities; because the Sun was the Protector of Greece, and the Moon of the Persians. Xerxes pleas'd with their Interpretation, resolv'd to continue his March: And as the Army was ready to advance, Pythius the Lydian, partly terrified by the late Aspect of the Heavens,
Heavens and partly confiding in the Merit of his liberal Offer, went to the King, and spoke to him in these terms: "SIR, Will you condescend to grant me a thing I desire? 'Tis of little Consequence to you, and of great Importance to me." Xerxes suspecting nothing less than what he design'd to ask, assur'd him he would grant his Request, and bid him ask freely. Upon which Pythius taking Confidence; "SIR, said he, I have five Sons, and they are all in your Army, ready to attend you in this Expedition against Greece. Pity my Age, and exempt my eldest from the present Service, that he may take care of me, and of my Estate. Let the rest follow your Fortune; and when you have accomplished your Designs, may you return home in Safety." The King transported with Indignation at these Words, answer'd; "Unworthy Man! How dar'st thou mention thy Son when thou see'st me going to hazard my Person, my Children, my Brothers, and my Friends? Thou, I say, who art my Slave; and bound in duty to follow me with all thy Family, and even with thy Wife. Know then, that the Spirit of a Man resides in his Ears, from whence, as the Pleasure of hearing things grateful is diffus'd thro' the whole Body, so the contrary is irksome and grievous to every Part. When you did well, and promis'd to continue in the same good Disposition, you had nevertheless no reason to boast of having surpas'd the King in Liberality. Neither shall you now, upon this change of your Manners, suffer that Punishment which your Impudence deserves.
"ferves. Thy first Merit has fav'd four of
"thy Sons; and thy Folly has destroy'd the
"other, who is so dear to thee." Having fi-
nish'd these Words, Xerxes commanded the pro-
per Officers to find out the eldest Son of Py-
thius, and to cut his Body into two Parts; one
of which they were order'd to lay on the Right-
hand, and the other on the Left of the Way,
that the Army might pass between both. When
they had put the King's Command in execu-
tion, the Forces began to move in the follow-
ing Order. The Baggage, with the Servants,
first appear'd in the Front, and were follow'd
by Men of all Nations, form'd into a Body
without Distinction, and amounting to more
than one half of the Army. Behind these an
Interval was left, that they might not mix with
that Part where the King was. Before him
march'd a thousand Horsemen, chosen among
all the Persians; and next to them, a thousand
more of the same Nation, Men equally well
chosen, and bearing Javelins pointing down-
wards. After these came ten great Horses,
bred in the spacious Plain of the Median Nis'an,
adorn'd with the richest Furniture, and con-
secrated to Jupiter. The Chariot of the God
immediately follow'd, drawn by eight white
Horses, the Driver on foot holding the Reins,
because no Mortal is permitted to mount the
Seat. Then Xerxes himself appear'd on a
Chariot drawn by Nisæan Horses, and dri-
ven by Patiramphes the Son of Otanes, a Persian.
He departed from Sardis in this Equipage, and
chang'd his Chariot for a lighter as often as he
saw convenient. A thousand Spearmen of the
bravest and most noble among the Persians,
march'd next to the King carrying their Arms after the manner of that Country; and were follow'd by another Body of Horse consisting of a thousand more, all chosen Men of the same Nation. After the Horse ten thousand Persian Foot advanc'd; and of these one thousand arm'd with Javelins, which were adorn'd on the uppermost Joint with Pomegranates of Gold instead of the common Ornaments, border'd the other nine thousand; whose Javelins carried a Pomegranate of Silver on the same Joint. All those who march'd nearest to the Person of the King, and turn'd the Points of their Arms towards the Ground had Pomegranates of Gold in the like manner on their Javelins. The ten thousand Foot were follow'd by ten thousand Persian Horse; and after an Interval of two Stades, all the rest of the Forces came on promiscuously. Thus the Army marching from Lydia, arriv'd at the River Caicus in Mysia; and leaving the Mountain Cana on the Left, pass'd thro' Atarneus to the City Carina. From thence they advanc'd into the Plains of Thebes; and passing by the Cities of Adramyttium and the Pelasgian Antandrus, enter'd the Country of Ilium, having Mount Ida on the Left-hand. But as they pass'd the Night at the Foot of that Mountain, many of their Men were destroy'd by Thunder and Lightning. When they arriv'd on the Banks of Scamander, the Waters were not found sufficient for the Men and for the Cattle, tho' that River was the greatest they had yet seen in their March. Here Xerxes being desirous to take a View of the adjacent Places, went up to the Tower of Priamus; and when
when he had satisfied his Curiosity, and enquir'd into divers Particulars, he sacrific'd a thousand Oxen to the Ilian Minerva, and the Magi pour'd out a Liberation in honour of the Heroes. But notwithstanding this, a panick Terroufeizing upon the Army in the following Night, caus'd them to break up early the next Morning. So passing by the Cities of Rac. tium, Ophrynum and Dardanus, which were on the Left, and leaving the Gergithians and Teucrians at a greater distance on the Right, they advent'd to Abydus. When Xerxes was arriv'd in that City, he desir'd to see all his Forces together: And to that end, ascending a stately Edifice of white Stone, which the Abydenians, in obedience to a former Command, had built to receive him in a manner suitable to his Greatness, he had a free Prospect of the Coast and from his Seat saw at one View both his Fleet and his Land-Army. Having given himself this Satisfaction, and desiring to be Spectator of a Sea-fight, he commanded all things to be made ready for that purpose; in which he was presently obey'd: And having adjudg'd the Victory to the Sidonian Phœnicians, he shew'd himself exceedingly pleas'd as well with this Spectacle, as with the View of his Forces. Then turning his Eyes upon the Hellespont, and seeing that Sea cover'd with his Ships, and all the Plain of Abydus down to the Sea full of Men, he seem'd at first to be much delighted; but afterwards wept. Which when his Uncle Artabanus perceiv'd, he said to him with the same Liberty he had us'd in diffuading him from invading Greece: "SIR, your Actions are not uniform;"
"In a few Moments you have pass'd from 
"an Excess of Joy to shedding Tears." The 
King answer'd: "When I consider'd the 
"shortness of human Life, I could not re- 
"strain the Effects of my Compassion: For of 
"all these Numbers of Men, not one shall sur- 
"vive a hundred Years. But, reply'd Arta- 
"banus, are we not expos'd, during our Lives, 
"to other things much more to be lamented? 
"Is any Man so happy, either among these, 
"or other Men, who even in this short 
"Course of Life, would not often chuse ra- 
"ther to die than to live? The frequent Ca- 
"lamities and Diseases incident to all, so 
"disturb the best of our Days, that Life, tho' 
"really short, yet seems of a tedious Length; 
"and Death remains the only desirable Refuge 
"of unhappy Mortals. But the Gods, from 
"a Motive of Envy, have infus'd a certain 
"Sweetness into Life, in order to delude 
"Mankind. Artabanus, said the King, since 
"the Condition of human Life is such as you 
"have describ'd, let us say no more on that 
"Subject; but rejecting all sad Reflections, en- 
tertain oursefes with the promising Hopes 
"we have now in View. Be plain with me; 
"if you had not seen the Vision you saw so 
evidently in your Dream, would you still 
"persist in your first Opinion, and continue 
to dissuade me from making War against 
"Greece? Tell me the Truth with Freedom 
"and Sincerity." To this Question Artabanus 
answer'd: "May the Event of my Dream be 
"such as we both desire; nevertheless my Fears 
"are still so prevalent with me, that I am not Ma- 
"ster of myself. Upon Reflection I have found 
M 3 ""divers
HERODOTUS.

"divers things very contrary to your Designs,
and especially two, which are not the greatest
Consequence." "Poor Man, said Xerxes; and
what may those two things be, that are so
counter to my Designs? Is our Land-
Army deficient in Numbers? Will the Gre-
cians bring greater Forces into the Field?
Or is our Fleet inferior to that of Greece?
Or, in a word, are our Enemies superi-
or in both? If you think so, we can eas-
ily add to the Strength of our Forces."
"Sir, answer'd Artabanus, no Man of com-
mon Understanding can think contemptibly,
either of your Land-Forces, or of the Num-
ber of your Ships. And if these should
be augmented, the two things I intended
would become more contrary to your Af-
fairs than they are at present. By these
two things I mean the Sea and the Land.
For, as I conjecture, no Harbour can be
found in any Part, sufficient to receive and
protect your whole Fleet, if a Storm should
arise: And yet one is not enough: your
Affairs require many on every Coast of
the Continent, to which this Expedition
will lead you. Since therefore you can have
no safe Harbour for such a Fleet, you will
do well to remember, that Men are in the
Power of Fortune, and not Fortune in the
Power of Men. Having thus explain'd one
of the two things I propos'd, I shall pro-
ceed to the other. The Land will be your
Enemy many ways; and still the more for-
midable, the farther you are permitted to
advance without Resistance, and to carry
all before you. Men are always unwilling to
"First in the Career of Success: And if you meet with no Opposition, Famine will probably overtake you, after you have spent much time in penetrating far into a vast Country. He only is truly wise and valiant, who with the utmost Caution considers every thing that may obstruct his Designs: and after the maturest Deliberation, boldly executes the Enterprizes he has form'd." To this Xerxes answer'd: "Artabanus, your Difcourse concerning these Particulars is rational; yet we must not fear all things, nor examine every Circumstance with such Strictness. For if we should enter into so nice a Discussion of all our Affairs, we should never do any thing. Bold and daring Enterprizes, tho' attended with one half of all the Evils that can possibly ensue, are preferable to Inaction, however safe. After all, he who disapproves and opposes every thing, without proposing something better, is no less worthy of Blame, than one who contradicts without reason: And I am of opinion, that no Mortal can determine with certainty concerning the Event of human Affairs. Experience shews, that those who resolve to push boldly, are for the most part successful; whereas those, who act with so much Caution, and form so many Difficulties, very rarely do any thing with Advantage. You see to how high a Degree of Power the Persians have attain'd: Which could never have been, if the Kings, my Predecessors, had entertain'd such Thoughts as you have; or had not met with Counsellors of another sort, to dissuade them from such Opinions.
nions. By despising the Dangers that threatened, they arrived to this Height of Grandeur. And indeed, great Successes are no otherwise to be obtain'd, than by adventuring boldly. We will therefore endeavour to imitate our Ancestors; and entering upon Action in the most agreeable Season of the Year, we intend to subdue all Europe, and afterwards to return home, without suffering by Famine, or any other Misfortune. For we not only carry a vast Quantity of Provisions with us, but shall be Masters of all the Corn that grows in the Countries we are about to invade, which are inhabited by Husbandmen, and not by Graziers. Artabanus having heard this Answer of Xerxes, said: "SIR, since you will not permit me to fear the Success of your Enterprise, yet hearken to my Counsel in another thing, and excuse me, if having many things to say, I am necessitated to extend my Discourse to a farther length. Cyrus the Son of Cambyses constrain'd all the Ionians, the Athenians only excepted, to be Tributaries of the Persians. I advise you therefore, not to lead these Men against their Fathers, upon any Motive whatever: Especially since we have Forces more than sufficient to subdue our Enemies without their Assistance. For if they accompany you in this Expedition, one of these two things must happen; either they will be so base and wicked, to enslave their Mother-City, or so just and honest, to contribute all their Endeavours to preserve its Liberty. If they should be unfaithful to that Country, from which they derive their Original..."
And if they should do their Duty, what Mischiefs might they not bring upon your Army? In conclusion, bear always in your mind this antient Saying, which will be eternally true, That no Man is able to judge with certainty of the Issue of things, whatever the Beginning may be. Artabanus, replied Xerxes, you are in nothing so much deceived, as in the Suspicion you have of the Ionians. You, and all those who invaded Scythia under my Father Darius, must own, that they gave the most certain Proof of their Affection to us, when having in their power to save or destroy the whole Army of the Persians, they refus’d to violate their Faith, or do any thing that might be prejudicial to our Nation. Besides, they have left their Children, their Wives, and their Possessions, in our Territories; which are the surest Pledges of their Fidelity. Fear nothing therefore of that sort; but be easy, and prepare to take upon you the Care of my Family, and of my Government. For of all Men, you are the only Person I resolve to entrust with my Authority.” After this Discourse, Xerxes dismissed Artabanus with Orders to return to Susa; and having again assembled the principal Men among the Persians, he spoke to this purpose: I have called you together at this time, to exhort you to acquit yourselves like Men of Courage, without blemishing the great and glorious Actions of your Ancestors. Let every one therefore in particular, and all of us in conjunction, shew our Alacrity and Resolution in this Enterprize, which is under-
taken for the common Good. But I could not
omit to incite you in a peculiar manner to
shew your Fortitude in this War; because
I am inform'd, that our Enemies are a brave
and warlike People; and that if we conquer
them, no other Army will dare to oppose us.
Prepare then to pass the Sea, after we have
recommended ourselves to the Care of those
 Gods who are the Protectors of Persia.

The rest of the Day was spent in disposing
all things, in order to their Passage: And wait-
ing the rising of the next Sun, they in the
mean time burnt all sort of Perfumes upon
the Bridges, and strow'd the Way with Myr-
tles. When the Sun was risen, Xerxes pour-
ing a Libation into the Sea out of a golden
Cup, address'd a Prayer to the Sun; "That
he might not meet with any Impediment so
great, as to hinder him from carrying his
conquering Arms to the utmost Limits of
Europe." After which he threw the Cup
into the Hellespont, with a Bowl of Gold, and
a Persian Scymetar. But I cannot determine
whether his Intention was to consecrate these
things to the Sun, or whether he made this
Donation to the Hellespont, by way of Satisf-
faction for the Stripes he had inflicted on that
Sea. After this Ceremony, all the Foot and
Horse of the Army pass'd over that Bridge,
which was next to the Euxin; while the Ser-
vants and Draught-horses, with the Baggage,
pass'd over the other, which was plac'd nearer
to the Ægean Sea. The ten thousand Persians
I mention'd before, led the Van, with Crowns
on their Heads, and were followed by Troops
promiscuously compos'd of all Nations. These
pass'd
pass'd the first Day. On the second, those Horse, who carried their Javelins pointed to the Ground, pass'd over first, wearing Crowns likewise. Then came the sacred Horses, the sacred Chariot; and Xerxes himself, followed by the Spearmen and one thousand Horse. All the rest of the Army clos'd the March; and at the same time the Ships made to the Coast of Europe. I have heard that Xerxes march'd in the Rear of all. But however that be, he saw his Forces compell'd by Blows to pass over the Bridge; which yet was not effected in less than seven Days and seven Nights, tho' they continued to pass without Intermission during all that time. After his Landing, a certain Man of that Country, as is said, cried out; "O Jupiter, why art thou come to destroy "Greece, in the Shape of a Persian, and un- "der the Name of Xerxes, with all Mankind "following thee; whereas thy own Power is "sufficient to do this without their Assist- "tance?" When the Army began to march, a prodigious thing happen'd, yet not difficult to be understood, tho' altogether neglected by Xerxes. A Mare cast a Hare instead of a Colt: From which one might easily conjecture, that after Xerxes had transported a mighty Army into Greece with great Vanity and Ostenta- tion, he should be afraid for his own Life, and run away to the Place from whence he came. Another Prodigy had been seen before, during the time he itaid at Sardis, where a Mule brought forth a Colt, with the Parts both of a Male and a Female, tho' the former appear'd more perfect. But Xerxes flighting both these Events, continued to advance with his Land-
Land-Forces; while the Fleet at the same time failing out of the Hellepont, coasted along by the Shoar, and kept on a quite different Course. For they stood to the Westward for the Promontory of Sarpedon; where they were commanded to attend farther Orders: But the Land-Forces march'd by the way of Chersonesus, facing the East and the rising Sun. Then leaving the Sepulchre of Hella, the Daughter of Athamas, on the Right-hand, and the City of Cardia on the Left, they pass'd through a Place call'd Agora; and from thence bending their March towards the Gulph Melana, they exhausted the Waters of a River bearing the same Name, and left the Channel dry. After they had pass'd this River, they march'd Westward; and passing by Ænus, an Æolian City, and the Lake Stentoris, they arriv'd at Doriscus. The Shoar of this Part of Thrace is of easy access, and opens into a large Plain, divided by the Streams of the great River Hebrus. In that Plain stands the City of Doriscus, encompass'd by a Royal Wall, and kept by a Persian Garrison plac'd there by Darius when he made War against the Scythians. Xerxes judging this Place convenient for reviewing and numbring his Forces, commanded the Sea-Captains to bring all their Ships to the Shoar that lay nearest to Doriscus, where the Cities of Sala, Samotbracia and Zona, are situate, with another called Serrium, built upon a famous Promontory, formerly belonging to the Ciconians. When they had brought the Ships to Land, those who were employ'd in that Work, were permitted to rest; and in the mean time Xerxes viewed his Army in the Plain of Doriscus. What Proportion of Men
Men each Nation furnish'd to this Expedition, I cannot affirm, because they are not enumerated by any Writer: But nothing is more certain, than that the Land-Forces amounted to the full Number of seventeen hundred thousand. For they were computed in this manner: Ten thousand Men being first drawn out into one Place, and crowded as close together as might possibly be, were encompass'd with a Circle trac'd upon the Ground: After which they were order'd to retire, and a sort of Hedge was planted upon the Circle, to the Height of a Man's Middle. When this was done, they caus'd another Ten thousand to enter the Ground; and continued to proceed in the same manner, till they had computed the whole Army. Then they divided all the Troops nationally into distinct Bodies, which I shall here describe, with their Arms and Clothing. In the first place, the Persians wearing a Tiara on the Head, so thick as to be accounted impenetrable; and on the Body a Coat of Mail, wrought with Iron to the likeness of the Scales of a Fish, and adorn'd with Sleeves of various Colours. Their Thighs were not undefended; and instead of a Shield, they carried a Target of Cane strongly compacted; which serv'd also to cover their Quiver. Their Javelins were short, their Bows long, their Arrows were made of Cane, and their Swords hung down from a Belt on the Right-side. They were commanded by Otanes, the Father of Amehtris, the Wife of Xerxes. In antient times the Persians were by the Grecians called Cephenes, and by themselves and nearest Neighbours, Artæans: But Perseus, the Son of Jupiter and Danae, coming
coming to Cepheus the Son of Belus, married his Daughter Andromeda, and by her had a Son, whom he named Perseus, and afterwards left with Cepheus, because he had no Male Child; and from him they took the Name of Persians. The Medes were arm’d and cloth’d in the same manner: For the Furniture I have describ’d, belongs properly to the Medes, and not to the Persians. They march’d under the Conduct of Tigranes, who was of the Achaemenian Family. The Medes were antiently called Arians by all Nations; but chang’d their Name, as they say themselves, when Medea of Colchis arriv’d from Athens in their Country. The Cisfians appearing in every thing like the Persians, except only that they wore Mitres on their Heads, were led by Anepheus the Son of Otanes. The Hyrcanians were also arm’d after the Persian manner, and commanded by Megapanus, who was afterwards Governour of Babylon. The Assyrians had Helmets of Brafs to cover their Heads, contriv’d in so strange a Fashion, as is not easy to be describ’d: Every one had a Buckler, a Javelin, and a short Sword after the manner of the Ægyptians, with a Pectoral made of Flax, and a Truncheon of Wood pointed with Iron. By the Grecians they are call’d Syrians; and by the Barbarians, Assyrians. Among these the Chaldæans were accounted, and Otapies the Son of Artaxebas was their Leader. The Bactrians had Turbans on their Heads, not unlike those of the Medes; and carried Bows made of Cane after the manner of their Country, with a kind of Javelin very short. The Saces, or rather Scythians, wore a Cap rising to a Point in the Form of
of a Pyramid: They had also Thigh-pieces; and for Arms, carried a sort of Bow peculiar to their Nation, with a Dagger, a Bill, and a Scymetar. They came from Amyrgium in Scythia: but the Persians call them Saces, which is the common Name they give to all the Scythians. The Bactrians and Saces were led by Hystaspes, Son of Darius by Atossa the Daughter of Cyrus. The Indians cover’d with a Cafaque of Wood, and carrying a Bow, and Arrows of Cane pointed with Iron, were commanded by Pharnazathres the Son of Artabates. The Arians had Bows made like those of the Medes; and in all other things resembling the Bactrians, march’d under the Conduct of Sisamnes the Son of Hydarnes. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians and Dadicians, appear’d in the same Arms and Clothing as the Bactrians, under the following Leaders: Artabazus, the Son of Pharnaces, commanded the Parthians and the Chorasmians: Azanes the Son of Artæus, the Sogdians; and Artypbius the Son of Artabanus, the Gandarians and Dadicians. The Caspians cloth’d in Goat-skins, and arm’d with a Scymetar, and with a Bow made of Cane, after the manner of their Country, had for their Captain Ariomardus the Brother of Artypbius. The Saranges magnificently dress’d in Garments of the richest Colours, and Buskins drawn up to the Knee, carried a Bow and Javelins, like those of the Medes; and were led by Pherendates the Son of Megabyzus: The Paætyans clothed likewise in Goat-skins, had a Bow and a short Sword peculiar to that Country, and were commanded by Atrayntes the Son of Itramites. The Utians, Mycians and Pari-
Paricanians, arm'd and cloth'd like the Pactyans, march'd under the following Captains: Arsamenes the Son of Darius led the Utians and Mycians; and Siromitres the Son of Oebazus, the Paricanians. The Arabians wore a Girdle over a Surcoat call'd Zeiras; and in the Right-hand carried a crooked Bow of great Length. The Æthiopians were cover'd with the Skins of Lions and Leopards, and arm'd with Bows full four Cubits long, made of the Branches of the Palm-tree, with Arrows of Cane proportionable, and pointed, instead of Iron, with a sharp Stone, of that sort they use for Seals. They had also Javelins pointed with Goats-horns sharpen'd like the End of a Lance, and Truncheons arm'd with Iron. When they are about to engage in Battle, they paint one half of their Bodies with white Plaster, and the other half with Vermilion. The Arabians, and those Æthiopians, who inhabit above Ægypt, were commanded by Arsamenes the Son of Darius by Arystion the Daughter of Cyrus, whose Image Darius caus'd to be made of solid Gold, because he lov'd her more than all his other Wives. But the Æthiopians, who inhabit more Easterly (for Xerxes had of both sorts in his Army) march'd with the Indians, no way unlike the others, except only in the Sound of their Voice, and in their Hair. For the Oriental Æthiopians have long straight Hair: But the Hair of the Lybian Æthiopians is more curl'd than that of any other People. The Arms and Habit of the Asiatick Æthiopians were almost the same with those of the Indians: But instead of a Helmet, they wore the Skin of a Horse's Head, stript off with the Ears and Mane;
Mane; and contrived in such a manner, that the Mane might serve for a Crest; while the Ears appear'd erected on the Head of the Man. They were also defended by a Buckler, which they cover'd with the Skins of Cranes. The Libyans had Coats made of Leather, carried a pointed Lance harden'd at one end by the Fire, and were under the Conduct of Mafanges the Son of Aorizus. The Paphlagonians wore Helmets compos'd of divers Pieces quilted together; they had a Buckler and Javelins of a moderate Size, with Darts and a short Sword: On their Feet they wore Shoes after the manner of their Country, reaching up to the middle of the Leg. The Ligyans, the Matienians and the Mariandynians, with those Syrians, who by the Persians are call'd Cappadocians, were arm'd and cloth'd as the Paphlagonians. The Matienians and the Paphlagonians, were led by Dotus the Son of Megaxis, and the Mariandynians, with the Ligyans and Syrians, by Go-bryas the Son of Darius and Artyfiona. The Phrygians carried Arms little differing from those of the Paphlagonians: This People, if we may believe the Macedonians, went under the Name of Brygians, during all the time they inhabited in Europe, within the Territories of Macedonia; but upon their Arrival in Asia, chang'd their Name with their Country, and have ever since been call'd Phrygians. The Armenians, being a Colony of the Phrygians, appear'd in the same Accoutrements; and both these Nations were commanded by Artocimes, who had married a Daughter of Darius. The Lydians were arm'd more like to the Grecians than any other People of the Army: They had been formerly
formerly known by the Name of Meonians; but were afterwards call'd Lydians from Lydus the Son of Atys. The Myrians had a sort of Helmet peculiar to their Country, with a little Buckler, and pointed Javelins harden'd at the End by Fire. They are a Colony of the Lydians, and are call'd Olympians from the Mountain Olympus. Both these Nations were led by Artaphernes, the Son of that Artaphernes who, with Datis, commanded the Persian Forces at the Battle of Marathon. The Thracians cover'd their Heads with a Cap made of the Skins of Foxes, and their Bodies with a Veil, and Surcoat of various Colours: They had Buskins tied with Thongs above the Ankle, and a small Buckler made in the form of a Half-moon, with Javelins and a short Dagger. They have gone under the Name of Bithynians ever since they arriv'd in Asia; and if we may believe their own Report, were formerly call'd Strymonians, from the River Strymon where they inhabited, and from whence they were expell'd by the Myrians and by the Teurrians. Those Thracians, who in Asia retain'd their original Name, were commanded by Bargafaces the Son of Artabanus. They carried a small Buckler compos'd of untann'd Hides, with two Lycian Javelins, and a Helmet of Brass, having the Ears and Horns of an Ox of the same Metal. They wore a Crest at the Top of their Helmet, and their Legs were cover'd with Phoenician Cloth. They have an Oracle of Mars in their Country. The Meonian Cabelians, who are also call'd Lasinians, had the same Arms and Clothing with the Cilicians, which I shall describe when I come to speak of that Nation.
The Mylians carried short Lances, and were cloth'd in a Garment buckled together. Some of them had Lycian Bows, and a Cap compos'd of Skins. All these were commanded by Badres the Son of Hystanes. The Myschians had a Helmet of Wood, with a little Buckler, and Javelins of a like proportion but deeply pointed. The Tiberenians, Macronians and Mysynoeceans were arm'd as the Myschians, who with the Tiberenians march'd under the conduct of Ariorardus, the Son of Darius by Parmys the Daughter of Smerdis the Son of Cyrus. But the Macronians and Mysynoeceans were led by Artaiestes, the Son of Cherasmis and Governour of Sestus on the Hellespont. The Marians wore a Cap strongly quilted, after the manner of their Country, and carried Javelins, with a little Shield cover'd with Skins. The Colchians had a Helmet of wood, with a Buckler made of untann'd Hides, a short Lance and a cutting Sword. The Forces of these two Nations had for their Leader Pherendates the Son of Theaspes. The Allarodians and the Sasprians, arm'd like the Colchians, march'd under the Command of Masfistius the Son of Siromitres. The People that inhabit the Islands of the Red-Sea, to which the King usually sends the Persons he resolves to banish, were cloth'd and arm'd like the Medes, and led by Mardontes, the Son of Bagaus, who was kill'd two Years after at the Battle of Mycale. These were the Nations that compos'd the Army, which was to be employ'd on the Continent; and these were the Names of their Leaders, who divided and numbered all the Forces, and had the Power of appointing the Comman-
ders of a Thousand, and of ten Thousand: But those who had the Command of ten Thou-
sand, were permitted to nominate the Centu-
riors and Decurions. Thus these national Forces had their inferior Officers; and those I have mention'd were their Commanders in chief. But the superior Generals of the Land-
Army, were, Mardonius the Son of Gobryas; Trintataechmes, the Son of Artabanus who gave his Opinion against the War; Smerdones the Son of Otanes (both Sons to the Brothers of Darius, and Cousins to Xerxes;) Masistes the Son of Da-
rus by Atoffa; Gergys the Son of Ariazus; and Megabyzus the Son of Zopyrus. These were Captain-Generals of all the Army, except the ten Thousand Persians, who obey'd no other Commander than Hydarnes, the Son of Hydarnes, and were firmam'd Immortal; because upon the Death of any one of their Number, whether by War or Sickness, another is presently substi-
tuted in his Place: So that they never amount to more or less than ten Thousand. They were accounted the most valiant among the Persians; and tho' in their Arms and Habit they were like the rest of their Countrymen, yet they were more magnificent, and adorn'd with Gold in abundance. Besides they had Chariots for their Women with their Attendants, who were richly cloth'd; and their Provisions were brought upon Camels and other Beasts of Bur-
den, appropriated to their own Use. All the Nations I have mention'd, are accustom'd to mount on Horseback; but none were furnish'd with Horses, except those which I shall enume-
rate. First, the Persians; who were no other-
wise arm'd than their Foot; except only that some
some of them wore a Helmet of Brass or Iron. The Sagartians; who are Breeders of Cattle, of Persian Extraction and Language; but arm’d and cloth’d in a manner participating both of the Persian and Paætyan Fashion; furnish’d eight thousand Horfemen to this Expedition. They had no Weapon either of Iron or Brass, except a short Sword; carrying only a kind of Net made of Cord, instead of all other Arms; and exposing their Persons in War, without any other Defence. When they approach the Enemy, they throw their Net, and having taken either a Man or a Horse, they easily dispatch whatever is so intangled. In this manner they behave themselves in Fight; and being accounted Persians, were drawn up in the same Body. The Median and Ciffian Horse were no otherwise equip’d than the Foot of those Nations. The Indians were also arm’d like their Foot; had led Horses, and Chariots drawn by Horses and wild Asses. The Baætrian and Caspian Cavalry were furnish’d in all Points as their Infantry. The Libyans were arm’d and cloth’d like their Foot, and every one of them had a Chariot. The Paricanians imitating the Caspians, carried the same Arms with their Foot. And the Arabians, not at all differing from their Infantry in Arms or Clothing were mounted upon Camels no less swift than Horses. These were the only Nations that compos’d the Cavalry; which amounted to the Number of fourscore Thousand, besides the Camels and the Chariots. All the Horses were dispos’d in proper Order: But the Arabians were plac’d in the Rear, left the Horses should be affrighted at the Sight of the Camels, which
which they cannot bear. Armamithres and Ti-thaeus, the Sons of Datis, were Generals of the Cavalry. For Pharnuches, who had been appointed the other General, was sick at Sardis, by an unfortunate Accident which happen'd to him as he march'd out of the City. His Horse frightened at a Dog that ran between his Legs, rose upright, and threw him to the Ground; upon which he vomited Blood, and fell into a languishing Distemper. But the Servants of Pharnuches, by his Order, punish'd the Horse upon the spot: For leading him to the Ground where he had thrown his Master, they cut off his Legs by the Knee. And thus Pharnuches was disabled from performing the Office of a General.

AFTER the Land-Forces had been view'd, the Ships of War were also numbred, and found to be twelve hundred and seven, fitted out by the following Nations, in such Proportions as I shall set down. The Phoenicians and Syrians who inhabit Palestine, furnish'd three hundred Ships, with Men arm'd in this manner. On their Heads they wore Helmets, nearly resembling those of the Grecians; and on their Breast a Pectoral of quilted Flax. They carried Javelins and a round Shield, without any Bofs on the Center. These Phoenicians, as they say of themselves, were antiently seate on the Red Sea; and afterwards leaving their Habitations, went and settled in the maritim Parts of Syria; which, with all the Country extending down to Ægypt, go under the Name of Palestine. The Ægyptians sent two hundred Ships for their part. Their Men had a Cap strongly quilted, a convex Buckler with a great Bofs; Javelins proper for
for a Sea-fight, and Bills of the largest Size. The more ordinary fort wore a Corset, and were arm'd with a great cutting Sword. The Cyprians brought a hundred and fifty Ships, and appear'd in this manner: Their Kings wore Mitres on their Heads, and the rest were cloth'd in Vests, and arm'd like the Grecians. The People of Cyprus, if we may believe their own Report, are descended of divers Nations; some deriving themselves from Salamis and the Athenians; and others from Arcadia, from Cythnus, from Phœnicia; and some from the Æthiopians. The Cilicians furnish'd a hundred Ships. They wore a Cap made after the manner of their Country; and instead of a Shield, had a Buckler of the smallest Size, cover'd with untanned Hides. They were cloth'd in a woollen Vest, and every one carried two Javelins, with a Sword not unlike that of the Ægyptians. The Cilicians were antiently call'd Hypachæans, and took the Name they now have, from Cilix the Son of Agenor a Phœnician. The Pamphylians, who are descended from those that return'd from Troy with Amphilochus and Calchas, furnish'd thirty Ships, and were arm'd after the manner of the Grecians. The Lycians appear'd in fifty Ships: Their Shoulders were covered with the Skins of Goats, their Legs with Boots and upon their Heads they wore a Cap adorn'd with a Crest of Feathers. They were arm'd with a Corset, and carried a Bow of Cornil, with Arrows of Cane; they had also a Falchion, with Darts and a short Sword. They derive their Original from Crete, and were formerly call'd Termilians: But receiv'd the Name of Lycians from Lycus the Son
Son of Pandion, an Athenian. The Doriens of Asia furnish'd thirty Ships; and as they were Peloponeseians by descent, appear'd, in all Points, arm'd like the Grecians. The Carians contributed Seventy Ships; and, except their Daggars and Faulchions, were arm'd after the manner of Greece. What Name they had in ancient time, I have mention'd in the former Part of this Work. The Ionians brought a hundred Sail, and were arm'd and cloth'd as the Grecians. Whilft they liv'd in Peloponefus and inhabited those Parts which are now call'd Achaia, before the Arrival of Danaus and Xuthus, the Grecians say, they went under the Name of Ægialian Pelasgians; and that they had the Name of Ionians from Ion, the Son of Xuthus. The Islanders appear'd with no more than seventeen Ships, and were arm'd like the Grecians. These also being of Pelasgian Original were afterwards call'd Ionians for the same Reason; and the twelve Cities in like manner have been so nam'd from the Athenians. The Æolians, who, as the Grecians say, were antiently call'd Pelasgians, brought sixty Ships, and were arm'd after the manner of Greece. All the Hellephontins (except the Abydenians, who were order'd by the King to stay at home for the Guard of the Bridges) furnish'd one hundred Sail; and being Colonies of the Ionians and Dorians, appeared in Grecian Arms. Every one of these Ships had Soldiers on board; who were either Persians, or Medes, or Scæces. But the Phœnician Ships, and especially those of Sidonia, were the best Sailors. All the Divisions of this Fleet, as well as of the Land-Forces, had their own national Officers; but I shall...
shall forbear to mention their Names, as not necessary to the Design of my History; partly, because those Commanders were of little Authority; and partly, because they were no less numerous than the Cities contain'd within the several Nations, from which they came. For indeed they were properly Servants, and not Generals; slavishly obeying their Masters, like the rest of the Multitude. For the supreme Command was lodg'd in the Hands of Persians; whose Names I have already mention'd, as far as relates to the Land-Army. The Naval Forces were commanded in chief by Ariabignes the Son of Darius; by Prexaspes the Son of Aspashines; by Megabazus the Son of Megabates; and by Achaemenes the Son of Darius. The Ionians and Barians were under the Conduct of Ariabignes the Son of Darius by the Daughter of Gobrias; the Ægyptians under that of Achaemenes, Brother to Xerxes: and all the rest of the Fleet was commanded by the two other Generals before-nam'd. Besides these Ships of War, the Gallies of fifty and thirty Oars, with the Vessels of Transportation for Horse and other Necessaries, amounted to the Number of three Thousand. Next to the Generals I have mention'd, the Commanders of greatest Fame, were, Tetramnestus the Son of Alleius, of Sidonia; Mapen the Son of Sironus, of Tyre; Narbal the Son of Arbalus of Aridela; Syennesis the Son of Oromedon of Cicilia; Cibernisius the Son of Sica of Lycia; Gortus the Son of Cheres, and Timonax the Son of Timogarbus, both Cyprians: And of the Carians, Histiaeus the Son of Tymnes; Pygres the Son of Seldomus; and Damaistibymus the Son of Candaules. I shall mention no more of the Commanders, be-
cause I judge it unnecessary. But above all I admire Artemisia, who being left a Widow, and having taken upon her the Administration of her Son's Kingdom during his Minority, exposed her Person in this Expedition against Greece; not constrain'd by any Necessity, but only to shew her Generosity and Valour. She was the Daughter of Lygdamis, and deriv'd her Original by the Father's Side from Halicarnassus, and from Crete by the Mother. The Halicarnassians, the Coans, the Nisyrians, and the Calydnians were under her Dominion; and she join'd the Fleet of Xerxes with five Ships of War, better than any of the rest, except those of the Sidonians. In a word, her Fore-sight was so great, that of all the Confederates she gave the most prudent Counsel to the King. As for the People, which, as I said before, were under her Government, they are originally Dorians: For the Halicarnassians are a Colony of the Troezenians, and the rest are descended from the Epidaurians.

WHEN Xerxes had caus'd all his Forces to be number'd, and drawn into distinct Bodies, he resolv'd to take a particular View of every Nation. And to that end, stepping into a Chariot, was carried to the Head of each Division; and having ask'd such Questions as he thought necessary, commanded his Secretaries to put in writing the Answers he receiv'd: continuing to proceed in this manner, till he had entirely view'd all the Land-Army, both Horse and Foot. That done, he left his Chariot, and going on board a Sidonian Ship, plac'd himself under a Canopy of Gold: And failing by the Fleet, which was rang'd on a Line he made the like Enquiry, as before in relation
relation to the Land-Forces, and order'd an Account of all the Particulars to be written down by the same Persons. In order to this Review, the Commanders had put to Sea in due time; and having drawn their Ships into one Line, at the distance of about four hundred Foot from the Shoar, with their Heads fronting that way, they arm'd their Men as for a Battle; and Xerxes failing between the Land and the Ships, saw them all distinctly. When he had made an end of viewing the Fleet, and was return'd to Shoar, he sent for Demaratus the Son of Ariston, and spoke to him in these Terms: "Demaratus, said he, I desire to ask you a Question: You are a Grecian; and moreover, born in a City of Greece, which, as I am inform'd by you, and other Persons of that Nation, whom I have seen, is neither the least nor the weakest. Tell me therefore, whether you think the Grecians will dare to resist my Forces? For I am persuaded, that if not only all the Grecians, but all the rest of the Western World were collected into one Body, they would not have the Courage to oppose me. However, I am desirous to know your Opinion on this Subject." "SIR, said Demaratus, shall I frame my Answer according to the Truth, or must I endeavour to please?" The King bid him speak the Truth with Freedom, and be assur'd he should not lose any part of his Favour on that account. Which when Demaratus heard, he began thus: "Since you require me to inform you of the Truth without reserve, I will take care that no Man shall hereafter justly accuse me of having deceived
ceiv’d you by a Falshood. Know then, that

Greece was ever inur’d to Poverty, which
has been her Mother and Nurse; that she
acquir’d Virtue by her Wisdom, and by a
steady Discipline, with which she has de-
defended her Poverty and her Power. These
Praisés are justly due to all those Grecians,
who inhabit the Country of the Dorians.
But I shall not now speak of any other People
than of the Lacedemonians alone. In the
first Place, they never will hearken to your
Terms, because they are destructive to the
Grecian Liberty: Nay more, they will not
fail to meet you in the Field, tho’ all the rest
of the Grecians should side with you. To
ask how many they are in Number, is un-
necessary; for whether they amount to a
thousand Men, or more, or even less, they
will most certainly appear and give you Bat-
tle.” At these Words of Demaratus, Xerxes
laughing said; “Are you not ashamed to speak
in this manner? What! Shall a thousand
Men venture to engage so great an Army?
Would you, who have been their King, un-
dertake to fight singly against ten Men? If
your Countrymen are so valiant as you pre-
tend, you, who are their King, ought by
your own Institutions, to be capable of do-
ing as much as any two of ordinary Rank;
and therefore, if one of these is able to fight
ten of my Men, I may justly require you to
fight twenty; and by that Experiment to
confirm your Discourse. But if they are
neither of greater Strength, nor of a high-
er Stature, than you, and the rest of the
Grecians I have seen, consider, whether the
“things
things you have said of them, may not be
the Effect of Pride and Vanity. I desire to
know, how a thousand Men, or even ten
thousand, or, if you will, fifty thousand, all
equally free, and not subject to the Command
of a single Person, can possibly resist such
an Army as mine? And unless they are
more than five thousand, we have a thousand
Men against one. Were they indeed, like
our Forces, under the absolute Command of
one General, they would doubtless be push'd
on to bolder Attempts by their Apprehen-
sions of his Power, than by their own natu-
ral Courage; and might be constrain'd by
Force, to attack a far greater Number than
themselves: But now, being under no Com-
pulsion, they are not likely to do either the
one or the other. And I am of opinion,
that the Grecians, upon Tryal, will not be
a Match for an equal Number of Persians.
Those Qualities of which you boast, are
really in us only, tho' I must own they are
rare and uncommon. Yet I have Persians in
my Guards, who will not refuse to encoun-
ter thrice their Number of Grecians, so
much magnified with you without Cause."

To this Demaratus replied; "SIR, I knew
from the Beginning, that the Truth I should
speak would be displeasing to you; but be-
cause you encourag'd me to deliver my Opini-
on with Sincerity, I thought myself oblig'd
to give you a just Character of the Lacedemo-
nians. You know how little Cause I have to
retain any Affection for those, who, after they
had depriv'd me of the Honours and Digni-
ty of my Ancestors, constrain'd me to to aban-
don my Country. On the other hand, you know how generously your Father receiv'd me, and made ample Provision for my Support; and therefore cannot possibly entertain the least shadow of Suspicion, that a Man in his right Senses will ever cease to acknowledge such eminent Benefits with all imaginable Gratitude. For my own part, I am so far from presuming to enter the Lifts against ten Men, that I would not willingly fight against two, nor even against one, without a just Cause; yet in a Case of Necessity, or at a time solemnly appointed for the Exercise of Valour, I would choose to engage one of those who pretend to be singly equal to the three Grecians. The Lacedemonians perhaps are not better than other Men in single Combat, but in a collected Body they surpass all Mankind. And tho' they are a free People, yet in some things they are willing to be restrain'd. For the Law is their Sovereign, which they obey with a more awful Reverence, than your Subjects pay to you. They do whatever he enjoyns, and her Injunctions are always uniform. She forbids them to fly from any Enemy, tho' his Forces are ever so numerous; and commands them to keep their Ranks, and to conquer, or die in the Battle. If you think I entertain you with impertinent Discourse, I shall say no more on this Subject: Nor indeed should have said so much, had I not been constrain'd by the Command you laid upon me. Nevertheless I wish you all the Prof- perity you can desire." When Demaratus had thus spoken, Xerxes laughing at his Simplicity, dismis'd
dismiss'd him without the least shew of Discontent: And after he had appointed Mascames the Son of Megadoses to be Governour of Doricus, in the room of another Person who had been plac'd in that Government by Darius, he advance'd with his Army into Thrace. To this Mascames Xerxes us'd to send a Present every Year; because he esteem'd him the most valiant of all the Governours that either he or Darius had chosen; and his Son Artaxerxes continued the same Bounty to his Posterity. For of all those who had been appointed to command in Thrace, and in all the Cities of the Hellespont, none were able to preserve the Places they held, from falling into the Hands of the Grecians, except only Mascames, who kept himself in possession of Doricus, notwithstanding the many Attempts they made against him: And on this account he annually receiv'd a Present from the King of Persia. But among all the Governours of those Cities, which were retaken by the Grecians, Xerxes thought no Man had behav'd himself with Courage, except Boges, who commanded in Eion. He took every Occasion to mention him with Praise, and confer'd the highest Honours upon the Children he left in Persia. The Truth is, Boges deserv'd the greatest Commendation. For when he was besieg'd by the Athenians under the Conduct of Cimon the Son of Miltiades, and might have march'd out, with leave to return to Asia upon his Honour, he refus'd to accept any Conditions, left the King should suspect him of Cowardice: And persisting constantly in that Resolution, after his Provisions were quite spent, he caus'd a great Fire to be kindled; and having kill'd his Wife
and Children, with his Concubines and Servants, threw their Bodies into the Flames: Then mounting the Walls of the City, he cast all the Silver and Gold, that was to be found, into the River Strymon; and after he had so done threw himself into the Fire: Deserving by this Action to be ever remembred with Honour among the Persians.

XERXES marching towards Greece, compelled all the Nations he found in his Way to join his Army with their Forces. For, as I said before, all those Countries, even to Thessaly, had been subdued and made tributary to him, by Megabazus, and Mardonius. In his March from Doribus, he pass'd by the Samothracian Cities; the last and most westwardly of which, is call'd Mesambria, situated at a small Distance from Stryma, a City of the Thasians. Between these two Places runs the River Lissus; which not having Water enough for Xerxes and his Army, was entirely exhausted. This Country was antiently known by the Name of Galaica, and is now call'd Briantica; but of right belongs to the Ciconians. When Xerxes had pass'd the dry Channel of the Lissus, he march'd by the Grecian Cities of Maronea, Dicae, and Abdera; with the memorable Lakes of Ismaris and Bistonis, which lie in their Neighbourhood. For the former of these is situate between Maronea and Stryma; and the latter is contiguous to Dicae, and receives the Waters of the two Rivers Travus and Compsatus. Xerxes observing no remarkable Lake about Abdera, pass'd the River Nestus, which runs into the Sea; and after he had travers'd all these Regions, turn'd his March to the midland Cities. In one
of these, call'd *Pyaurus*, is a Lake about thirty Stades in Circumference; of a brackish Water, abounding in Fish; which was drunk up by the draught Horses, and other Cattle belonging to the Baggage of his Army. Thus leaving the Grecian Cities of that Coast on the Left Hand, he march'd thro' the Countries of Thrace that belong to the Pætians, the Ciconians, the Bistonians, the Sapæans, the Derfæans, the Hedonians, and to the Satrians. As many of these as are situate near the Sea, attended him with their Ships; and those who inhabited the inland Parts, were all oblig'd to follow the Army by Land, except the Satrians. This People, if we are rightly inform'd, never had a Master; and among all the Thracians, have singly continued free to this Day. They inhabit a mountainous Country, cover'd with Woods and Snow. They are valiant in War; and have an oracle of *Bacchus* in the highest Part of their Hills. The Priests of this Temple are of *Beffa*; and an Archpriestefsf delivers the Answers of the Oracle, which are not more ambiguous than those of *Delphi*. Having pass'd these Countries, he advance'd to *Niphagra* and *Pergamus*, Cities of the Pierians, leaving *Pangeus* on the Right Hand, which is a great and high Mountain, abounding in Mines of Gold and Silver posses'd by the Pierians Odomantians; and especially by the Satrians. Then passing thro' the Territories of the Pæonians, the Doberes, and the Pæoplians, who inhabit to the North, beyond Mount *Pangeus*, he bent his March Westward, till he arriv'd at *Eion* on the River *Strymon*; of which City, *Boges*, whom I have so lately mention'd,
HERODOTUS.

was at that time Governour. The Country that lies about the Mountain Pangeus is call'd Phillis; on the West Side, extending to the River Angites, which falls into the Strymon; and on the South, to the Strymon itself. At their Arrival, the Magi offer'd a Sacrifice of white Horses to this River; and after they had thrown them into the Stream, with a Composition of various Drugs, the Army broke up, and march'd to the Nine Ways of the Edonians, where they found Bridges prepar'd for their Passage over the Strymon. But being inform'd that this Place was call'd by the Name of the Nine Ways, they took nine of the Sons and Daughters of the Inhabitants, and buried them alive, as the Manner of the Persians is. And I have heard that Amestris, the Wife of Xerxes, having attain'd to a considerable Age, caus'd fourteen Children of the best Families in Persia to be interr'd alive, for a Sacrifice of Thanks to that God, who, they say, is beneath the Earth. The Army having left the River Strymon, pass'd by a Grecian City call'd Argilus; which is situate to the Westward, on the Sea Coast, and, with the Country that lies above it, goes under the Name of Bisaltia. Then leaving the Bay, where the Temple of Neptune is built, on the Left Hand, they march'd thro' the Plain of Syleus; and pass'ing by Stagyrus a Grecian City, arriv'd at Acanthus; accompanied by the Forces of the Pangæans, and of all the other Nations I have nam'd, which they found in their Way; the Inhabitants of the maritim Places putting to Sea in their Ships, and those of the inland Parts following the Army on Foot. From the time of this March, the Thracians
ians have always shewn so great a Veneration for the Way, by which Xerxes led his Forces, that they have totally abstain'd from breaking up or sowing any part of that Ground to this Day.

WHEN the Army was arriv'd at Acanthus Xerxes declar'd he would be entertain'd by the Inhabitants; and having presented them with Suits of Apparel made after the manner of the Medes he commended their Readines to attend him in this War, and express'd great Satisfaction when he heard that the Canal of Mount Athos was finish'd. But whilst he continued at Acanthus, Artachaëus, who had been the Director of that Work, fell sick and died. He was highly esteem'd by Xerxes, and derived his Blood from Achæmenes: His Voice was stronger than that of any other Man; he was in Stature the tallest of all the Persians, and wanted only the Breadth of four Fingers to compleat the full Height of five Royal Cubits. Xerxes much lamenting the Loss of this Person, caus'd him to be accompanied to the Grave, and interr'd with great Pomp. All the Army was employed in erecting a Monument to his Memory; and the Acanthians admonish'd by an Oracle, honour him as a Hero, with Sacrifices and Invocations. Such were the Demonstrations, which Xerxes gave of his Concern for the Loss of Artachaëus.

THE Grecians, who were constrain'd to furnish Provisions for the Table of Xerxes, and for all his Army, found themselves so oppress'd, that they chose to abandon their Houses. But when the Thasians receiv'd him with his Forces, in the Name of those Cities which they possess in the midland Country, Antipater the Son of Oryges,
an eminent and wealthy Citizen, expending four hundred Talents of Silver in one Supper. The Magistrates of the neighbouring Cities having been inform'd of the Preparations that were made for this Feast, which was appointed long before, they propos'd the Example to their own People, and proclaim'd their Intentions by proper Officers. Upon which Notice, the Inhabitants of those Places, distributed all the Wheat and Barley they had, in convenient Portions, among themselves; and ground it into Meal, in such Quantities as might have been sufficient for many Months. They bought, and fatt'd the best of Cattle; furnish'd their Ponds and Yards with all manner of Land and Water Fowl, and did whatever they could to make Provision for Xerxes and his Army. Besides, they provided Cups and Basons of Gold and Silver, with all things necessary for the Service of a Table. But these Preparations were made for the King, and for those who were admitted to eat with him: The rest of the Army had only the common Allowance. In all Places where Xerxes arriv'd he found a spacious Tent erected for his Recep-tion: But the Forces had no other Covering than the Air. At the time of eating, those who furnish'd the Provisions, had the Labour of serving their Guests; who after they had been plentifullly treated, and pass'd the Night, car-ried away the Tent, with all the Furniture, and Utensils; leaving nothing behind them at their Departure in the Morning. On which Occasion Megacreon of Abdera said pleasantly, that he would advise the Abderites to go in a general Procession, with their Wives and
all the People, to the Temples of that City and to beseech the Gods, to avert one half of the Evils to come, as well as to acknowledge their Favour in not inclining Xerxes to eat twice every Day: For if the Abderites were commanded to provide a Dinner for him, equal to his Supper, they would be necessitated either to abandon their Dwellings, or, if they should flay, to become the most wretched of all Men. Yet they obeyed the Injunctions they had receiv'd, tho' not without Difficulty. At Acanthus, Xerxes sent away the Generals of the Naval Forces, to bring the Fleet to the Bay of Therma, which lies below a Place of the same Name, and there to attend his Arrival; because he had heard that was the shortest Way he could take. The Order of his March between the Cities of Doriscus and Acanthus, was thus: He divided the Army into three Bodies; one of which, commanded by Mardonius and Mæstis, march'd along the Coast, and, as it were, kept company with the Fleet. A second advanc'd by the way of the Inland Countries, under the Conduct of Trintatachmes and Sergis: Whilst the third Body, in which was the King himself, march'd between the other two, with Smerdones and Megabyzus at their Head. But the Fleet having Orders from Xerxes to depart, pass'd thro' the Canal of Mount Athos, into the Bay, where the Cities of Assa, Pidorus, Singus, and Sarga are situate; and after they had oblig'd those Places to join them with their Forces, they made the Promontory of Ampelus in Torone; and, in their way to Therma, were furnish'd with Ships and Men by the Grecian Cities of Torone, Galepsus, Sermylia, Mecyberna, O 3 and
and Olynthus, all belonging to the Country which is now call'd Sitbonia. From the Cape of Ampelus, crossing over to the Promontory of Canastraum, which advances farther into the Sea than any other upon all the Coast of Pallene, they had an additional Force of Ships and Men out of the Cities of Potidæa, Alphytis, Neapolis, Æga, Therambus, Scione, Mende and Sane, Cities of Pallene, which was antiently known by the Name of Phlegra. Continuing their Voyage along that Coast, they assembled more auxiliary Forces, out of the Cities of Lipaxus, Combrea, Lissi, Gignus, Campsa, Smila, and Ænea; which are situate in the Neighbourhood of Pallene, and near the Bay of Thermo. From Ænea, the last of the Places I mention'd, the Fleet stood for the Gulph of Thermo, and the Mygdonian Coast; till, according to their Instructions, they arriv'd at Thermo, and at the Cities of Sindus and Chalestra, both situate on the River Axios, which divides the Territories of Mygdonia from those of Botttais; where the Cities of Icne and Pella stand in a narrow Region near the Sea. All the Fleet took their Stations, either in the River Axios, or near the City of Thermo, or else in the Places that lie between both; and there waited the Arrival of the King.

In the mean time Xerxes departed from Acanthus in his way to Thermo; and advancing with his Army by the midland Countries, march'd thro' the Territories of the Pæonians and Cretonians, above the River Chidorus; which beginning among the Cretonians, passeth thro' Mygdonia, and falls into a Lake, near the River Axios. In this March the Camels that carried Provisions
Provisions for the Army, were assaulted by Lions; which coming down in the Night from their Haunts, fell upon those Animals only; leaving the Men, and all other Cattle untouch'd; A thing in my Opinion not a little strange: that the Lions should abstain from all the rest, and attack the Camels alone, which were never seen in that Country before. But Lions are very numerous in those Parts; and wild Bulls with large Horns frequently brought into Greece. Nevertheless these Lions never pass beyond the River Nestus of Abdera on one side; nor beyond the Arcarnanian Achealous on the other: And no Man ever saw a Lion in Europe, Eastward of the River Nestus; nor in any Part of the Continent, that lies to the Westward of the Achealous: But they breed between these two Rivers. Being arriv'd at Therma, Xerxes disposed his Army into a Camp, extended along the maritim Parts, from the Cites of Therma, and from Mygdonia, to the Rivers Lydius and Haliacmon; which joining their Streams together, pass between the Territories of Bottieis and Macedonia. Here the Barbarians incamp'd; after they had exhausted the Waters of the Chidorus; which was the only River they found in this March, that afforded not a sufficient Quantity for the Use of the Army. From Therma, Xerxes had a Prospect of the Thessalian Mountains, Olympus and Ossa, remarkable for their Height and Bigness; and being inform'd that the River Peneus runs into the Sea thro' a narrow a Passage, lying between the Ridges of those Hills, and accommodated with a Way leading to the Plains of Thessaly, he much desir'd to see the Mouth of
HE R O D O T U S.

of that River; because he design'd to march with his Army by the upper Parts of Macedonia, and by the City of Gennus into the Country of the Peræbians; which he understood to be the safest Way. Accordingly, leaving his Forces in their Camp, he went on board a Sidonian Ship, which he always us'd upon such Occasions, and made a Signal for all the rest of the Fleet to follow. When he arriv'd at the Mouth of the River Peneus, he view'd the Place; and being surpriz'd with the Situation, ask'd his Guides, if any Means could de contriv'd to divert the Course of the Stream, and to carry it by another Channel into the Sea. Thessaly is reported to have been antiently a Lake, and is encompass'd by vast Mountains on all sides. For Pelion and Ossa joining together at the Foot of each shut up that Part which faces the East: On the North side stands Mount Olympus; Pindus on the West; and Oebrys closes that side which lies to the Southward. Thessaly, is situate in the Midst of these Mountains, and water'd by divers Rivers; of which the principal are, the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamius. All these Rivers descending from the Mountains that encompass Thessaly, enter into the Plain; and joining their Streams together, pass thro' the Chops of a narrow Channel into the Sea; retaining no other Name than that of Peneus, after their Conjunction. They say also, that, before this Channel was laid open, neither these Rivers, nor the Lake Bœbeis were known by the Names they now bear, tho' the Waters then fell down from the Mountains in the same Quantity as at this Day; but that all Thessaly was one entire
tire Lake. The Thessalians tell us, that the Channel, by which the River Peneus passes into the Sea, is the Work of Neptune; and perhaps not improperly. For those who think that God to be the Author of Earthquakes, and such Divulsions of Countries to be the Effect of his Power, will not fail, upon Sight, to attribute this to Neptune. And in my Opinion, the Separation of these Mountains was effected by an Earthquake. But the Guides of Xerxes, in answer to his Question, whether the River Peneus might be convey'd into the Sea by another Channel, said with Reason; "O King, this River has no other way to discharge its Waters, except this alone; because all Thessaly is surrounded with Hills." If so, replied Xerxes, the Thessalians have shewn themselves wise Men, in making early Provision for their own Safety; because they knew their Country might be easily subdued in a short time. For nothing more is requir'd to effect this, than to stop the Mouth of the River by a Dike; which would certainly lay all Thessaly under Water, except the Mountains only." Xerxes express'd himself in this manner, out of a particular Regard to the Aleuadians; who being Thessalians, had put themselves under his Protection, before any other People of Greece: And he hop'd they would not be wanting to persuade the rest to imitate their Example. Having thus spoken, and satisfied his Curiosity, he return'd by Sea to Therma, and pass'd several Days about Pieria, while one third part of his Forces was employ'd in preparing a Way for all his Army to pass over a Mountain of Macedon.
I N the mean time the Heralds, who had been sent to Greece, return'd to Xerxes; some with Earth and Water, and others without. The Nations that presented those Elements, in Compliance with his Demands, were, the Theffalians, the Dolopians, the Enienians, the Peræbians, the Locrians, the Magneti- ans, the Melians, the Achaians, the Pthioti- ans, and the Thebans, with all the rest of the Bœotians, except the Thespians and the Plateans. But those Grecians, who resolv'd to defend themselves against the Barbarians by War, took a solemn Oath, "That so soon as the Affairs of Greece should be restor'd to a good Condition, they would compel every Grecian Community, which should be convicted of having put themselves into the Hands of the Persians without manifest Ne- cessity, to the pay the tenth Part of all their Possessions to the Delphian God."

X ER X ES sent no Heralds either to Athens or Sparta to demand Earth and Water; because they had formerly so ill receiv'd those who had been employ'd thither on the same Message by Darius; having thrown some into Wells and others into deep Pits, biding them carry Earth and Water to the King from those Places. For that Reason no Heralds were dispatch'd to either of these Nations. What Disastar fell up- on the Athenians, in consequence of the Seve- rity they us'd to those Messengers, I cannot affirm. Their City indeed and all their Territories suffer'd great Damage; but not, as I believe, on that account. As for the Lacedemo-
nians, they felt the cruel effects of the Anger of Talthybius, who had been Herald to Agamemnon. He has a Temple in Sparta; and his Posterity, who go by the Name of Talthybiads, have the Honour of performing all their Embassies. But after the bad Reception they gave to the Heralds of Darius, they could not sacrifice happily for a long time; and being much disturb'd at this Calamity, they met together often, and by publick Proclamation, made Inquiry, "If any Lacedemonian would die for Sparta." Upon which Notification, Sperthies the Son of Areistus, and Bulis the Son of Nicolaus, both Spartans, of eminent Dignity and Interest, voluntarily offer'd their Lives, to make Satisfaction to Xerxes the Son of Darius, for the Death of his Heralds. And accordingly, the Lacedemonians sent these Persons to the Medes, as to certain Death. But as their Courage deserv'd Admiration, so their Words were no less memorable. For when, in their Way to Susa, they came to Hydarnes, the Persian General of the maritim Parts of Asia, he receiv'd and treated them with great Magnificence; and among other Discourse ask'd them this Question; "Men of Lacedæmon, Why have you such an Aversion for the King's Friendship? You may see by my Example, and the Dignities I possess, how well the King understands the Value of a brave Man. He has already a high Opinion of your Courage; and if you will comply with his Desires, he will certainly confer the Government of some Part of Greece upon every one of your Nation." They answer'd; "Hydarnes, you are not a proper Person to give us Counsel in this Affair: For you
"you determine concerning two things not equally understood by you. How to be a Servant, you know perfectly well; but you have neither tried whether Liberty be valuable, or not. If you had ever experienced the Worth of Liberty, you would counsel us to defend it, not only with Lances, but even with Hatchets."

WHEN they arriv’d at Susa, and appear’d before the King, his Guards first commanded, and then went about to constrain them by force to prostrate themselves, and to adore him. But they said, they would not comply with that Usage, whatever Violence they might suffer: That they had never been accustomed to adore a Man, and came not thither to that end. Having thus defended themselves from this Imposition, they spoke to Xerxes in these Words: "King of the Medes, we are sent by the Lacedemonians, to make you Satisfaction for the Death of those Heralds who were kill’d in Sparta." Xerxes having heard their Message, generously answered, "That he would not be like the Lacedemonians, who had violated the Rights of Man-kind by the Murder of his Heralds; nor do the same thing which he blam’d in them; and by the Death of two Men acquit the Spartans from the Guilt they had contracted." However, after the Lacedemonians had offer’d this Satisfaction, the Anger of Talithybius ceas’d for that time, tho’ Sperthies and Bulis return’d safe to Sparta. But after many Years, and during the War between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, the Lacedemonians say, that the Wrath of Talithybius broke out again, in a manner
manner which to me appears wonderful. For tho' the Suspension of his Displeasure, when the two Spartans were sent away to Xerxes by way of Reparation, was no more than might be justly expected; yet that his Vengeance should overtake the Sons of those very Men, who had been devoted to that End, persuades me to think they were punish'd by a divine Power. For Nicolaus the Son of Bulis, and Aperiustes the Son of Sperthies, (who had before taken and pillaged some Tyrinthian Fishermen,) being sent on a Message to Asia by the Lacedemonians, were betray'd in their Passage by Sitales, the Son of Tyreus, King of Thrace; and falling into the Hands of Nymphodorus the Son of Pytheus of Abdera, were carried Prisoners to Athens, and put to death by the Athenians, with Aristeas the Son of Adimantus, a Corinthian. But these things happen'd many Years after the Expedition of Xerxes.

TO return now to my Narration: This War was colour'd over with the Pretence of attacking Athens; but was really design'd against all Greece. Yet the Grecians, who had long heard of the Preparations made by Xerxes were not all affected in the same manner. For those who had presented him with Earth and Water, flatter'd themselves, that they should not suffer any kind of Damage from the Barbarians; but those who had refus'd to pay that Acknowledgment, were under terrible Apprehensions; because all Greece, was not able to furnish a sufficient Number of Ships to fight the Enemy; and many inclining to favour the Medes, were not willing to engage in the war. On this Occasion, I must declare my Opinion, with a Plainness which perhaps
perhaps may be displeasing to the greater Number; and yet I cannot persuade myself to conceal what I think to be true. If the Athenians, terrified with the impending Danger, had abandon'd their Country; or continuing at Home, had surrender'd to Xerxes, no other People would have ventur'd to resist his Fleet. And if he had found no Opposition by Sea, he would soon have been Master of the Land. For tho' the Peloponessians had fortified the Wall of the Isthmus with many Works; yet the Lacedemonians, after they had seen their Allies dispossefs'd of their Cities by the Enemy's Fleet, and constrain'd by Necessity to abandon the Confederacy, would inevitably have been left alone to sustain the Weight of the War: And being thus deserted, they must have chosen, either to die with immortal Glory in the Field; or to make their Peace with Xerxes, after all the Grecians had taken part with him. In both Cases Greece must have been reduc'd under the Persian Power: For I cannot yet learn, of what Advantage the Wall upon the Isthmus would have prov'd, if the King had been Master of the Sea. To say, therefore, that the Athenians were the Deliverers of Greece, is no Deviation from the Truth. They could have cast the Balance, which side forever they had taken. But having resolv'd to defend the Liberty of Greece, they awaken'd the Courage of all those Grecians, who had not been corrupt-ed by the Medes; and with the Assistance of the Gods, repuls'd the King. They would not be persuaded to abandon Greece, by the terrible Menaces of the Delphian Oracle; but per-sisting in their Resolution, determin'd to sustain all
all the Efforts of the Invader. For when the Deputies of the Athenians went to consult the Oracle on their Part, and had perform'd the usual Ceremonies, they sat down in the Sanctuary and receiv'd this Answer from the Pythian, whose Name was Aristonica.

**FLY to the farthest Regions of the Earth,**
Unhappy Men, and shun the impending Ill.
Fly from your Houses, and desert your Walls;
For total Ruin shall subvert that Place.
An angry Mars, in Asia born, shall come,
And all your stately Piles, and Temples burn.
I see the sacred Walls trembling for Fear,
The lofty Roofs cover'd with Sweat and Blood.
Depart; and be prepar'd to bear your Fate.

These menacing Words put the Athenians, who came to consult the Oracle, into a great Con- 

ternation: And while they were discoursing together concerning this dismal Answer, Timon the Son of Androbulus, a Man of principal Authority in Delphi, counsel'd them to retum and consult the Oracle again in the humblest manner, with Olive-Branches in their Hands. The Athenians were easily persuad- ed to follow his Advice; and returning ac- 

cordingly, addres'd the God in these Words

"O King, vouchsafe to give us an Answer "more favourable to our Country; and shew "some Regard to these Branches, which we "hold in our Hands: Otherwise we will ne- "ver depart from this Place, but will remain "here till we die." After which Prayer the Priestes gave a second Answer in these Terms

**PALLAS**
PALLAS in vain has us'd her utmost Art,
To pacify the Wrath of angry Jove.
So that my present Answer must again,
Of almost Adamantine Hardness be.
Yet for Minerva's sake the God will give
A safe Protection under Walls of Wood,
To all that lies contain'd within the Bounds
Of Cecrops, or Citheron's sacred Hills.
These, these alone impregnable shall prove.
But never stay to fight the dreadful Troops
Of Horse and Foot, advancing thro' the Plains:
If e'er you see them, save yourselves by Flight.
The divine Salamis shall lose her Sons;
Tho' Ceres be brought Home, or left Abroad.

The Athenians rightly judging this Answer to be more moderate than the former, wrote down the Words, and departed for Athens: Where when they were arriv'd, and had acquainted the People with all that had pass'd, many different Opinions arose about the Meaning of the Oracle: But I shall mention only such as obtain'd the greatest Credit. Some of the old Men thought the God had declar'd, that the Acropolis should remain safe; because that Fortres had been formerly encompass'd with a Circumvallation; which they suppos'd to be meant by the wooden Wall. Others said, that nothing but Ships could possibly be understand'd by that Expression; and therefore advis'd, that omitting all other Designs, they would apply themselves to prepare a Fleet: Nevertheless this Opinion seem'd to be overthrown by the two last Verses pronounce'd by the Pythian.
The Divine Salamis shall lose her Sons,
Tho' Ceres be brought home, or left abroad.

These Lines, I say, confounded the Sentiment of those, who said, that Ships only could be meant by Walls of Wood: And the Interpreters of Oracles declared themselves of opinion, that their Fleet should be defeated in a Sea-fight, upon the Coast of Salamis.

THERE had lately appear'd among the most eminent Athenians, a certain Person, whose Name was Themistocles; but commonly call'd the Son of Neocles. He maintain'd, that the Interpreters had not rightly understood the Sense of the Oracle; because, if the Prediction had contain'd such a Meaning, the God would certainly have used a harder Expression; and in his Answer have inserted, the Unhappy Salamis, instead of the Divine Salamis, had the Inhabitants of that Place been destin'd to Destruction: And therefore, that all those, who would judge rightly, ought to conclude, that the Oracle was not intended against the Athenians, but against their Enemies. For this reason he advis'd them to prepare their Naval Forces; which he said, were really the Walls of Wood. The Athenians, convinced by these Reasons, preferred the Opinion of Themistocles before that of the Interpreters, who diffuaded them from making any Preparations for the Sea, and exhorted them not to resist the Enemy at all; but to abandon Attica, and depart to another Country. In this Conjuncture, the Counsel which Themistocles had formerly given, prov'd highly advantageous: For when...
the Athenians, finding their Treasury enrich’d by the Profits they receiv’d from the Mines of Laureus, had resolv’d to make a Dividend of ten Drachmas to every Citizen, not under Age, they were diverted from that Resolution by the Remonstrances of Themistocles, and persuad’d to lay out the Money in building two hundred Ships, to be employ’d against the Æginetes. One may justly say, that War fav’d Greece, by necessitating the Athenians to apply themselves to maritime Affairs. And though the Ships I mention’d were not used at that time, yet now they were of singular advantage: For they were ready to put to Sea on this Occasion, and only needed a farther Reinforcement. Which, having well considered, the Athenians, by common consent, and in obedience to the Oracle, resolv’d, That all who were able to bear Arms, should go on board their Ships, and, with such of the Grecians as would join them, wait the Approach of the Enemy. In pursuance of this Resolution, those Grecians, who had the Safety of Greece at heart, met together; and entering into mutual Engagements of Fidelity to one another, agreed, before all other things, to forget all former Enemies and Differences; for even among these divers Wars were then actually on Foot, though none so considerable as that of the Athenians against the Æginetes. After this Consultation, being inform’d of the King’s Arrival at Sardis with his Army, they determin’d to send some Persons into Asia, in order to discover the true State of his Affairs; and to dispatch others to Argos, to engage the Argians in an Alliance against the Persians. They also resolv’d to send
an Embassy to Gelon the Son of Dinomenes, the Sicilian; because they had heard, that his Power was great, and his Forces little inferior to any of the Grecians. With the same Intention, they agreed to send Messengers to the Corcyreneans and Cretans, that, as far as might be, the whole Body of the Grecians might be united, and unanimously concur in the defence of the common Cause. Having taken these Resolutions, and promised to lay down their mutual Animosities, they sent three Men for Spies into Asia; who arriving at Sardis, and endeavouring to get intelligence of the King's Forces, were seiz'd by the Generals of his Army; and, after they had suffered the Torture, condemn'd to die. But when Xerxes heard of this Proceeding, he disapproved the Action, and immediately sent some of his Guards with Orders to bring them to him, if they were not already put to death. The Guards obey'd; and finding the Men yet living, brought them before the King: where, after they had acquainted him with the Cause of their coming, he commanded the same Persons to shew them all his Forces, both of Horse and Foot, and afterwards to permit them to go away quietly to whatever Country they should chuse. This he did from an Opinion, that if the Spies were put to death, the Grecians would neither be inform'd, that his Preparations were yet greater than Fame had published, nor suffer any considerable Damage by the Loss of three Men: whereas, if they were allow'd to return to Greece, he doubted not that the Grecians, hearing of his numerous Forces, would surrender themselves and their Liberty to his Mercy, before he should
should invade their Country; and by that means, save him the trouble of Compulsion. This Opinion of Xerxes was not unlike another Thought he had at Abydus; where he saw certain Ships laden with Corn, coming from the Euxine Sea, and failing through the Hellespont to Ægina, and to Peloponnesus. For when those about him were inform'd that the Vessels belong'd to the Enemy, and fix'd their Eyes upon the King, in expectation to receive his Orders for seizing them, Xerxes ask'd to what part they were bound; and understanding they had Corn on board for his Enemies, he said, "Are not " we also going to the same Place, where these " Men are bound? And are we not oblig'd, a- " mong other things, to carry Corn with us? " What hurt then can they do us, by carrying " Corn thither, which must be ours?"

WHEN the Spies had seen all the King's Forces, they were dismiss'd: And after their Return to Europe, the Grecians, who had engage'd in a Confederacy against the Persian, sent a second Embassy to Argos; of which the Argians gave the following account: That having receiv'd early notice of the Barbarians Design against Greece, and not doubting that the Grecians would ask their Assistance among the rest, tho' they had lately lost six thousand Men, kill'd by the Lacedemonians, under the Conduct of Cle-omenes the Son of Anaxandrides, they sent to inquire of the Oracle of Delphi, what measures they should take in this Conjuncture; and that the Answer they had from the Pythian, was in these Terms:
By Neighbours hated, by the Gods belov'd,
Rest quiet, and from all Engagements free:
Preserve the Head, for that shall save the rest.

That after they had receiv'd this Answer, the Ambassadors arriving at Argos, were introduc'd into the Senate; and when they had delivered their Message, the Argians answer'd, That they were ready to comply on their part, and to that end would be willing to make a Truce with the Lacedemonians for thirty Years, provided they might have an equal share with them in the command, though they might justly pretend to the whole. This, they say, was the Answer of their Senate, notwithstanding the Pythian had forbidden them to enter into any Confederacy with the Grecians: And therefore they took care to insist upon a truce of thirty Years, out of a just Apprehension of the consequences of the Oracle; that their Children might become Men, before the Expiration of that time, and, if they should receive another Blow in the Persian War, be able to preserve their Country from falling into the hands of the Lacedemonians. To these Propositions of the Senate, the Spartans answer'd, That the Question about a Truce should be referr'd to the People: but as to the leading of the Forces, they were instructed to put them in mind, that they had two Kings; whereas the Argians had only one; and that they could not consent to deprive either of their Kings of his Power; yet would not hinder the Argian King from having a Voice in all Deliberations. Upon which, the Argians said,
They could no longer bear the Arrogance of the Spartans, but would rather choose to be subject to the Barbarians, than to yield the Superiority to them; adding that the Ambassadors should depart out of the Territories of Argos before the setting of the Sun, under the Penalty of being treated as Enemies. Thus the Argians relate the Success of this Embassy: but a quite different Report is current in other Parts of Greece: For they say, That before Xerxes began to advance with his Army against the Grecians, he sent a Herald to Argos with a Message conceived in these Terms: "Men of Argos, we are well informed, that Perseus, one of our Progenitors, was Son to Perseus the Son of Danae, by Andromeda, the Daughter of Cepheus; and therefore as we derive our Original from you, we ought not to lead an Army against the Country of our Fathers: nor should you appear in Arms against us, to gratify other Men; but rather choosing to enjoy the Benefit of Peace, continue quiet in your own Habitations: Which if you do, and I succeed according to my Expectation, no People shall have a greater part in my Esteem, than you." The Argians not a little pleas'd with this Message, kept the thing private, and said nothing of the Competition at that time: But when the Grecians would have taken them into the Confederacy, they demanded an equal share of the Supreme Command, which they knew the Lacedemonians would never grant; that they might have a Pretext for refusing to enter into the War. Which Conduct of the Argians, is not unlike what happened many Years after, if we may believe
Believe some of the Grecians: For while Callias the Son of Hipponicus, with other Ambassadors of the Athenians, were treating certain Affairs at Susa, the Argians sent an Embassy likewise to the same Place, with Orders to demand of Artaxerxes, the Son of Xerxes, whether he would observe the Alliance they had with his Father; or whether he accounted them his Enemies. Artaxerxes answer'd, That he understood their ancient Alliance to be still in force, and that he had no better Friends than the Argians. But I cannot affirm with certainty, either that Xerxes sent such a Message to Argos, or that the Ambassadors of the Argians went to Susa to continue their Alliance with Artaxerxes: And am inclin'd rather to believe the Report of the Argians themselves. Only this I know, That if all Men were to bring together their domestic Disgraces into one place, in order to make an Exchange with their Neighbours, they would no sooner have inspected those of others, than they would be most willing to return home with their own. And therefore I cannot think that the Argians behav'd themselves so ill, as some are ready to imagine. However, I am oblig'd to relate what is said, though I am not oblig'd to believe every thing without Distinction; which I desire may be consider'd in all the Course of this History: For the Argians are likewise charg'd with having invited the Persian into Greece, thinking any Change more tolerable than the miserable Condition, to which they had been reduc'd, by their ill Success in the War against the Lacedemonians.
IN the mean time, the Ambassadors of the associated Grecians arriv'd in Sicily, to confer with Gelon; and among them, Syagrus on the part of the Lacedemonians. Oecetor, one of Gelon's Ancestors, born in the Island Telus, which lies over against Triopium, left his Country, and came to inhabit in Gela. But when Antiochines and the Lyndians of Rhodes, possessed themselves of that City, they would not permit him to continue among them: Yet, in succeeding time, his Posterity became Priests of the infernal Gods; which Dignity was first acquired by Telines, one of his Descendants. For when some of the Inhabitants of Gela were expelled in a Sedition, and had retir'd to the City of Maetorius, above Gela, Telines conducted them back again by the Power of his Function, without any human Assistance; though, where he had these sacred things, or whether he really had them or not, is altogether unknown to me. However, in confidence of his Authority, he brought them home to Gela, on condition, that the Priesthood of the infernal Gods should continue in his Descendants. Nevertheless, I admire among other things, how Telines could succeed in so great an Enterprize; since such Attempts being above the reach of ordinary Men, seem only reserv'd for sagacious and daring Spirits: Whereas on the contrary, the Inhabitants of Sicily say, he was an effeminate Person, without any Virtue or Courage; and yet attain'd to this Dignity by these means. Upon the Death of Cleander the Patarean, who was kill'd by Sphyllus of Gela, after he had reign'd seven Years, his Brother Hippocrates took upon him the Government of Gela: During whose Reign, this Gelon, who
who was descended from Telines the Priest, became famous; together with many others, especially Aenesidemus, the Son of Pataicus, one of the Guards of Hippocrates, and afterwards made General of the Horse, on account of his Valour: For in all the Wars made by Hippocrates against the Callipolitans, the Naxians, the Zanclæans, the Leontins, and the Syracusians, besides divers Barbarian Nations, Gelon signaliz'd himself by the Glory of his Actions; and was so successful, that all those People, except the Syracusians, fell into the power of Hippocrates. But the Corinthians and Corcyraeans fav'd the Syracusians, after they had been defeated upon the River Florus; yet with this Condition, That they should surrender Camarina to Hippocrates, which they had always possessed to that time. When Hippocrates had reigned as many Years as his Brother Cleander, he died at the Siege of Hybla, carrying on the War against the Sicilians. Upon which, Gelon, under colour of defending the Rights of Euclides and Cleander, the Sons of Hippocrates, against their Subjects, who would no longer obey, defeated the Geleans; and having excluded the young Men, possessed himself of the Tyranny. After this Success, undertaking to restore some Syracusians, who were call'd Gamorians, and had been expell'd by the Populace, and by their own Servants, call'd Cyllirians; he conducted them from Casmene to Syracuse, where the Populace, upon his Arrival, put him into possession of that City. When he saw himself Master of Syracuse, he had little regard to Gela, and therefore gave that Government to his Brother Hiero, retaining Syracuse for himself, which
which he esteem'd more than all other Places. By this means that City in a short time attain'd to a high degree of Power and Prosperity; for he destroyed Camarina, and transferring the Inhabitants to Syracuse, gave them the Privilege of Citizens; as he did likewise to more than one half of the Geleans. He besieg'd the Megareans, who had settled in Sicily, and having oblig'd them to surrender their City, he contented himself to remove the most wealthy of the Inhabitants to Syracuse, and confer'd the same Privileges on them also, though they expected nothing less than Death, because they had been the Authors of the War against him. But he dealt otherwise with the Megarean Plebeians; and albeit they had no part in promoting the War against him, nor expected to suffer any Detriment on that account, he sold them in Syracuse; with express Condition, that they should be transported out of Sicily. He treated the Euboeans of that Island in the same manner, and made the same Distinction among the Inhabitants of both Places, out of an opinion, that a Populace is not easily govern'd. And by these means the Power of Gelon was grown formidable.

WHEN therefore the Ambassadors of the Grecians were arriv'd in Syracuse, and introduc'd into the Presence of Gelon, they deliver'd their Message in these Terms: "The Lacedemonians and their Allies have sent us hither, to desire you to enter into their Confederacy against a Barbarian King; For doubtless you have heard that a Persian is come to invade Greece: that he has laid a Bridge over the Hellespont, and " brings
brings with him all the Eastern Nations of Asia, under colour indeed of making war against the Athenians, but really designing to subdue all the Grecians. You therefore, who have so great power, and possess so considerable a part of Greece, by being the principal Potentate of Sicily, assist those, who would preserve Greece from Servitude, and concur with them in maintaining the common Liberty. If the Grecians will be unanimous on this Occasion, we shall make up a formidable Force, sufficient to resist the Invader: But if some of us should betray the publick Cause, and others refuse to give their assistance, the sound and honest part of Greece must of necessity be reduc’d to so small a number, that the Whole would be in danger of utter Ruin. Flatter not yourself, as if the Persian will spare you, after he shall have conquer’d us; think rather by proper means how to prevent the Mischiefs, and to preserve your own, by assisting us: For Enterprizes founded upon prudent Counsels, are generally attended with prosperous Success.” After the Ambassadors had thus spoken, Gelon, with some Emotion, roughly answered: “Men of Greece, your Presumption is greater than ordinary, to desire me to take part with you, against the Barbarian, because you denied me your assistance in former Occasions. When I implored your Succour against the Barbarian Army of the Carthaginians, and requested you to avenge the Death of Dorius, the Son of Anaxandrides, upon the Ægeftans, you refused both; and would neither help me in my
my Necessity, nor revenge the Death of Dorius, though at the same time I offered you my Assistance to restore the Liberty of those Ports, to which you trade with great advantage. So that I am no way oblig'd to you, if all I possess be not now in the power of Barbarians. But because my Affairs have succeeded better, and the War is at last brought home to your own Country, you will now condescend to remember Gelon. Nevertheless, though you treated me with Contempt, I shall not imitate your Example: On the contrary, I am ready to supply you with two hundred Gallies, twenty thousand Men compleatly armed, two thousand Horse, two thousand Bow-men, two thousand Slingers, and two thousand Light-horse. I will likewise undertake to furnish the whole Grecian Army with Corn during all the time of the War. But I cannot engage to perform these things, unless I may be General of the Grecians: Neither will I appear in the Field, nor send any Succour to Greece, except only on that Condition. Syagrus hearing these Words with impatience, cry'd out; "How would Agamemnon, the Son of Pelops, grieve, to hear that the Spartans had yielded the Supreme Command to Gelon, and to the Syracusians? Forbear to mention this Proposition again; and if you are willing to succour Greece, resolve to march under the Conduct of the Lacedemonians; or, if you disdain to obey their Orders, we will not accept your Assistance." Gelon finding Syagrus adverse to his Design, made another Proposition in these Terms: "Spartan Friend,
"Friend, said he, though injurious Language
"has a natural Tendency to raise the Indig-
"nation of Men, yet I shall not retaliate that
"which I have receiv'd from you, in the same
"kind. Nevertheless, since you so passionately
"affect the Supreme Command, I cannot for-
bear to tell you, that I might with more
"Justice pretend to that Honour, because I
"have a far greater number than you, both
"of Ships and Land-Forces. However, see-
ing you are so averse to the Proposition I
"made, I shall abate something of my first
"Pretenfions. If then you chufe to command
"the Army by Land, I will have the Condudt
"of the Fleet: or, if you had rather command
"at Sea, I will be General of the Land-For-
ces. One of these Conditions you must be
"contented to accept, or resolve to return
"home without obtaining any Assistance from
"me." When Gelon had made this Offer, the
Ambaffador of the Athenians, preventing
the Lacedemonian, reply'd in these Words;
"King of Syracufe, the Grecians have sent
us to you, not to defire a General, but an
Army. On the other hand, you tell us, you
will fend none of your Forces, unlefs you
may be General of Greece, which you seem
"to affect extremely. We said nothing to
"the Demand you made, of commanding all
"the Forces of Greece, because we resolv'd to
"content ourselves with the Answer of the
"Spartan Ambaffador, which we knew would
"in that Particular be sufficient for us both.
"But because, since your Exclusion from the
"whole Command you have thought fit to
"require the Generalship of the Sea, we must
inform you, that though the Lacedemonians
should be willing to comply with your De-
mand, the Athenians will never consent to
give you such a Power: For the Honour of
that Command belongs to us, unless the
Lacedemonians themselves will take it. If
they have that intention, we shall not oppose
their Design, but we will never yield the
Preeminence to any other. In vain should
we possess the greatest Naval Forces of all
the Grecians, if we should suffer ourselves
to be commanded by the Syracusians: we,
who are Athenians, the most antient People
of Greece, and the only Nation of those Parts
which has never been compell'd to abandon
their Country; we, I say, who are of a
City, which, according to the Testimony of
Homer, the Epick Poet, sent to the Siege of
Troy, the most experienced Men of all others
in the Art of disposing and drawing up an
Army to the best advantage. And there-
fore, we think, we may justly take the great-
er liberty to speak honourably of the A-
thenians." To this Speech Gelon answered;
Athenian Stranger, since you seem to abound
as much in Men who would command, as
destitute of those who should obey; and since
you resolve to retain the whole Power in your
hands without any Competition; depart out
of my Territories, and carry this News to
Greece, That their Year shall have no Spring." Intimating by these Words, that his Army was
by so much more considerable than that of
the Grecians, as the Spring is more delicious
than any other Season; and that Greece, de-
priv'd of his Assistance, would be reduc'd to
the Condition of a Year which should have no Spring. With this Answer the Ambassadors return'd home from Sicily.

In the mean time, Gelon, apprehending that the Grecians would not be able to resist the Barbarian, and yet determining not to go to Peloponnese, because he must there have obey'd the Spartans, which he accounted an intolerable Condition to be imposed upon a Sicilian Tyrant, took another Resolution: For he was no sooner inform'd that the Persian had passed the Hellespont, than he dispatch'd Cadmus, the Son of Scythes, a Coan, to Delphi, with a friendly Message, and three Ships laden with great Riches, enjoining him to wait the Event of a Battle; and if the Barbarian should conquer, to make him a Present of that Treasure, with Earth and Water for all the Places in his possession: but if the Grecians should be victorious, to bring back the Money to Sicily. This Cadmus had been formerly possess'd of the Dominion of Coos, which he receiv'd from his Father: And though his Power was firmly establisht, and his Affairs in a prosperous Condition, his Love to Justice was so great, that he freely surrendred the Government into the hands of the Coans, and retired into Sicily; where he liv'd with the Samians, in the City of Zanole, afterwards known by the Name of Messana. Gelon, who was not unacquainted with these things, nor ignorant of many other Proofs of his Integrity, sent him to Delphi on this Occasion: in which he gave no less Testimony of his Probity, than he had done by his preceding Actions. For albeit he might easily have converted the Treasure with
with which Gelon had entrusted him, to his own Profit, he was so far from taking the advantage, that so soon as the Grecians had obtain'd the Victory by Sea, and Xerxes was retiring with his Forces, he carried back the Money to Sicily. But the Sicilians varying from some Particulars of this Relation, say, that Gelon having at last prevail'd with himself to obey the Lacedemonians, would have assisted the Grecians in that Conjuncture, if at the same time, Terillus, the Son of Crinippus, who was Tyrant of Hymera, and dispossessed of his Government by Theron, Son to Æneasdemus, and King of the Acragantins, had not brought in an Army of three hundred thousand Men; consisting of Phoenicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligyans, Ellycians, Sardinians, and Cynrians, under the Conduct of Amilcar, the Son of Hanno, King of Carthage. To this Expedition, Terillus solicited the Carthaginians, partly on account of their mutual Amity, but principally at the Instigation of Anaxilaus, the Son of Critineus, Tyrant of Rhegium; who put his Children for Hostages into the hands of Amilcar, to oblige him to pass into Sicily, in order to revenge the Injury done to his Father-in-law: For Anaxilaus had married Cydippe, the Daughter of Terillus. And thus Gelon being made incapable of succouring the Grecians in any other manner, resolv'd to send Money to Delphi. They add, that Gelon and Theron defeated Amilcar, the Carthaginian, in Sicily, on the same day in which the Grecians obtain'd the Victory at Salamis, against the Persian. I am also inform'd, that Amilcar, who was a Carthaginian by his Father, and of Syracuse by his...
his Mother, and chosen King of Carthage for his Virtue, was never seen, either living or dead, after the Battle in which his Army was defeated, though Gelon fought him in all Places with the utmost Care and Diligence. The Carthaginians, who have a great Veneration for his Image, say, That whilst the Barbarians were engag’d with the Grecians of Sicily, in that Battle, which began early in the Morning, and lasted to the Twilight of the Evening, Amilcar continuing in the Camp, sacrificed entire Victims upon a great Fire, and when he saw his Army flying, poured out a Libation which he held in his hand, threw himself into the Flames, and so disappear’d: But whether he disappear’d in the manner related by the Phoenicians, or as the Fact is reported by the Carthaginians, they not only honour him with Sacrifices, but have erected Monuments to his Memory, in all the Cities they have founded; though the most memorable are in Carthage. These things I have thought fit to say concerning Sicily.

THE Corcyraeans, in this Conjunction, acted in a manner very different from the Professions they made: For when the Ambassadors of Greece arriv’d at Corcyra, and had acquainted the Corcyraeans with the Cause of their coming, in such Terms as they had already used to Gelon in Sicily, they readily promis’d to send Succours; and took upon them to say, "That they would by no means neglect the Safety of Greece in this time of imminent Danger, but would exert their utmost Efforts in the Defence of the common Cause; well understanding, that if the Enemy prevail’d they should
"should soon be reduc'd to the Condition of "Slaves." This indeed was a specious An-
swer: but when they ought to have given real Succours, they discover'd their bad Intentions:
and having after many Delays, fitted out sixty Ships, they fail'd to the Coast of Peloponnesus:
where they anchored about Pylus and Tanarus, which belongs to the Lacedemonians. In that Station they waited to see the Event of the War, not imagining that the Grecians were in any possibility of prevailing; but that the Persian, by the Superiority of his Numbers, must inevitably be Master of all Greece. By this artful Conduct, they thought they might have some colour to say afterwards to the King; "Sir, "when the Grecians solicited us to take part "in the War, we who have a considerable Force "by Land, and more Ships than any other Peo-
ple of Greece, except the Athenians, would "not be perswaded to oppose you, nor to give "you the least Cause of Discontent." By which Protestation they hoped to obtain more Favour than the rest: And if Xerxes had con-
quer'd, I am of opinion, they would not have been disappointed of their Expectation. On the other hand, they had prepar'd an Excuse to the Grecians, which they afterwards alllege'd in their defence. For when they were accus'd of neglecting to succour Greece, they urg'd that having arm'd and fitted out sixty Ships, they were hindred by the Etesian Winds, from passing the Cape of Malea, and consequently ought not to lie under any Imputation of Ma-
lace, for not being present at the Battle of Salamis. In this manner they eluded the Accusation exhibited against them by the Grecians.
WHEN the Cretans were solicited by the fame Ambassadors, in pursuance of their Instructions, to join in the Defence of Greece, they dispatched certain Persons, by common Consent, to enquire of the Oracle of Delphi, whether they should best consult their own Advantage, by giving or refusing, the Assistance demanded. The Pythian answer'd; " Fools impute to yourselves all the Calamities which angry Minos brought upon you, for aiding Menelaus. They would not revenge the Death of Minos, who was murdered at Ca-micus, and yet you assisted them, to revenge the Rape of a Woman carried off from Sparta, by a Barbarian." When the Cretans had receiv'd this Answer, they laid aside the Thoughts of succouring Greece. Touching the Fate of Minos, the Report is, That having pursued Daedalus into Sicania, which is now call'd Sicily, he there met with a violent Death; That after some time, by divine Admonition, all the People of Crete, except the Polichnitans and the Ptæfians, undertook an expedition to Sicania with a numerous Fleet, and during five Years, besieg'd the City of Camicus, which is now in the possession of the Acragantins: That finding themselves unable to take the Place, or to continue the Siege, because their Numbers were much diminished by Famine, they reim bark'd their Men, and passing by the Coast of Japygia, were forced ashore by a violent Storm; that seeing their Ships dashed in pieces, and all Hope of returning to Crete cut off, they settled in that Place; and having built the City of Hyria, took the Name of Messapian Japygians; and of Islanders, became Inhabitants
of the Continent. After this Establishment, they built other Cities in the Neighbourhood of *Hyria*, which, in succeeding time, were ruined by the Tarentins, though not without a heavy Loss on their part, and with the greatest Slaughter on both sides that we have ever heard of among the Grecians. For of the Rhegians only, who were constrain'd by *Micythus*, the Son of *Chærus*, to assist the Tarentins, three thousand Men died in that Expedition; but the Number of Tarentins, who perished on that Occasion, was never known. This *Micythus* was a Favourite of *Anaxilaus*, and by him made Governor of *Rhegium*; but being disposed of that Government, he retir'd to *Tegea*, a City of *Arcadia*, and afterwards dedicated a great number of Statues in *Olympia*. These things concerning the Rhegians and Tarentins, I thought fit to insert in this Place by way of Digression. As for *Crete*, the *Pre桑s* say, that Men of other Nations, and especially the Grecians, went and inhabited that desolate Country: That *Minos* died about three Generations before the *Trojan War*; in which the Cretans were not the most backward to avenge the Injury done to *Menelaus*: That on this account they were afflicted at their Return with Famine and Pestilence, which destroyed both Men and Cattle; and that *Crete* being thus depopulated again, was afterwards inhabited by the present Possessors, in conjunction with such as surviv'd those great Calamities. The Pythian therefore putting the Cretans in mind of these things, quite altered the Disposition they had to assist the Grecians.

THE
THE Thessalians were compelled by necessity to take part with the Medes; after they had by their Conduct given sufficient Evidence, that they disapproved the Treachery of the Aleuadians. For they were no sooner inform'd that the Persian was ready to pass into Europe, than they sent Ambassadors to the Isthmus; where the Deputies of the Grecian Cities were then assembled, to consult about the most effectual means to preserve Greece: and when their Ambassadors were arrived, they went into the Assembly, and deliver'd their Message in these words: “Men of Greece, the Pafs of Olympus ought to be guarded with the utmost Care; to the end that not only Thessaly, but that all Greece may be secur'd against the Efforts of the Enemy. For our own part, we are ready with all our Forces to concur in defending that important Post; but we expect at the same time, that you should send a considerable Army to act in Conjunction with us: and if you refuse to comply with our Demand, be assured we will make our Peace with the Persian, and not suffer our selves to be destroy'd singly, because we happen to be plac'd on the Frontier of Greece. If you will not succour us, you cannot constrain us to resist him; for Necessity can never be urg'd against those who are destitute of Power. In a word, we must endeavour to take such measures, as may be most conducing to our own Safety.”

UPON this Representation of the Thessalians, the Grecians resolv'd to send an Army to secure that Passage into Thessaly, which is near the Sea; and when they had assembled their Forces
Forces to that end, they failed thro' the Eury-
pus; and landing at Alus a City of Achaia, they
left their Ships, and marching into Thessaly by
Land, arriv'd at Tempe, in the way that leads
from the lower Macedonia to that Country, by
the River Peneus, and between the Mountains of
Olympus and Ossa. There the Grecians encamped
to the number of ten thousand Men well arm'd,
and were join'd by the Thessalian Cavalry.
The Lacedemonians were led by Euanetus, the
Son of Carenus, cho'n from among the Pole-
marchs, tho' not of the Royal Blood; and the
Athenians marched under the Conduct of The-
mistocles, the Son of Neocles. But they con-
tinued not many days in that Post, before Mes-
fengers arriv'd from Alexander of Macedonia, the
Son of Amyntas, and in his Name advis'd them
to retire, unless they would be trampled under
foot by the Forces of the Invader: which they
represented in the most formidable manner, both
as to the Numbers of his Men and Ships. The
Grecians imagining the Macedonian to be their
Friend, and his Counsel safe, determin'd to fol-
low his Advice; tho' I am of opinion, that their
own Fear was the most prevalent Motive to in-
duce them to do as they did: For they had
heard there was another Passage leading to Thes-
saly, thro' the Country of the Peræbians, in the
Upper Macedonia, by the City of Gonnus; and
indeed the Army of Xerxes afterwards entred
by that way. Thus the Grecians returning to
their Ships, fail'd back again to the Isthmus:
And such was the Event of the Expedition they
made into Thessaly, whilst the King staid at Aby-
dus, preparing to pafs from Asia into Europe
with his Army. After which, the Thessalians
finding
finding themselves abandoned by their Allies, made no farther Scruple to take part with the Medes; and were so ready to promote the King's Affairs, that they became highly useful to him.

THE Grecians being thus return'd to the Isthmus by the Counsel of Alexander; and consulting together by what Means, and in what Places they should adventure to make a Stand with their Forces, came to a fix'd Resolution, that they would defend the Pass of Thermopyle, as more narrow than that of Thessaly, and nearer to their own Territories. For they knew nothing of the other way, by which those Grecians, who undertook to guard the Passage, were afterwards surprized, till they were informed of it by the Trachinians after their Arrival in those Streights. Having resolv'd to defend this Post, and not to suffer the Barbarian to enter Greece without opposition, they also determin'd to send their Fleet to Artemisium, on the Coast of Histiaeotis; which being not far distant from Thermopyle, might facilitate a constant Communication between both. These two Places are thus situate: Artemisium is spacious at first, and afterwards streighten'd by the Thracian Sea into a narrow Passage, which lies between the Island of Scyathus and the Continent of Magnesia. The Coast of Artemisium begins at the Mouth of the Euboean Streight, and has a Temple dedicated to Diana. But the way that leads into Greece by Trachis, is, in the narrowest part, no more than fifty foot in breadth: And yet this Passage is wider than those that lie before and behind Thermopyle. For the way is so narrow near Alpeni, which is situate on the far-
HERODOTUS.

ther side of Thermopyle, that a Chariot can hardly pass: Nor is the other wider, which lies on this side, near the City of Anthela, and the River Phœnix. Thermopyle is bounded on the West by a high and inaccessible Mountain, surrounded with Precipices, and extends to Mount Oeta; and on the East by the Sea, and by an impracticable Morass. Within this Passage are Baths of hot Water to which the Inhabitants give the Name of Cauldrons; and above these there is an Altar consecrated to Hercules. The Phocæans formerly built a Wall with Gates, to secure the Pass against the Thessalians; who having abandon'd Thespotia, came to settle in that part of Æolia which they now possess. By this means, and by letting in the hot Waters, to render the way impassable, they defended themselves against the Attempts of the Thessalians, and omitted nothing that might prevent them from making Incursions into their Country. But because, thro' Length of Time, the greater part of this Wall was fallen down, the Grecians thought fit to rebuild it, and resolved to defend the Pass against the Irruption of the Barbarian: reckoning to be supply'd with Provisions from Alpeni, which was nearer than any other Place. Thus the Grecians having diligently weigh'd all Circumstances, and maturely consider'd what means might be more effectual to render useless the great numbers of the Barbarian Forces, both of Horse and Foot, determin'd to expect the coming of the Enemy in this Post; and were no sooner informed that the Persian Army was advanced to Pieria, than breaking up from the Isthmus, the Land-Forces march'd away to Thermopyle, and the Fleet made towards Artemisium.
But whilst the Grecians assembled from all Parts to defend the common Cause, according to the Measures they had concerted, the Delphians, terrified by the Dangers impending over themselves and the rest of Greece, consulted the Oracle, and receiv'd for Answer, "That they should address their Prayers to the Winds, which would be the most strenuous Defenders of Greece." This Admonition they presently communicated to the confederated Grecians, who being desirous to preserve their Liberty, receiv'd the good News with great Joy, because they were under terrible Apprehensions of the Barbarian Army. After that the Delphians erected an Altar, and offer'd Sacrifices to the Winds in Thyas: which Place was so called from Thyas, the Daughter of Cepheus, who has a Temple there. And these Sacrifices to the Winds are to this day celebrated by the Delphians, in obedience to that Oracle.

In the mean time the naval Forces of Xerxes departing from Therma, detach'd ten of the nimblest Vessels of the Fleet to the Island of Scyathus, where three Grecian Ships lay for a Guard: one of which was of Trozena, another of Echina, and a third of Attica. The Grecians seeing the Barbarian Ships advancing, betook themselves to flight; but the Enemy chancing, soon became Masters of the Trozenian Ship, which was commanded by Praxinus; and bringing out the stoutest Man of her Company, killed him upon the Deck: in this manner sacrificing the most valiant of those they first conquered, for a Pledge of their future Successes. The name of the Man was Leon; but his Fortune was not answerable to his Name. They met with
with more difficulty in taking the Ship of Ægina, which was commanded by Asonides. For Pytheas, the Son of Ifchenous, distinguishing himself on that occasion, continued to make resistance after the Ship was taken; till covered with the number of his Wounds, he fainted and fell. But the Persians, who took the Ship, perceiving him still to breathe, and admireing his Valour, took all possible care to preserve his Life, by applying Balfams to his Wounds, and binding them with Bandages of the finest Linen. At their return they shew'd him with astonishment to the whole Army, and gave him all manner of good Usage, tho' they treated the rest of the Prisoners as Slaves. Thus these two Ships were taken: whilst the other, which was commanded by Phirmus an Athenian, made away to the Mouth of the River Peneus, where she fell into the hands of the Barbarians, after the Men had sav'd themselves a-shore. For they had no sooner run the Ship aground, than they abandon'd her; and taking their way thro' Thessaly, arrived safely in Athens.

WHEN the Grecians, who had their Station at Artemisium, receiv'd the News of this Loss, they fell into so great a Confternation, that they retir'd to Chalcis, in order to defend the Passage of the Euripus, and plac'd Guards by day on the principal Eminences of Eubea. On the other hand the Barbarians, with three of the ten Ships, advancing to the Rocks which lie between Scyathus and Magnesia, went up, and erected a Pillar of Stone for a Monument of their Success. In the mean time the Enemy's Fleet having spent eleven days in
their Voyage from Therma, after the time of the King's Departure, arriv'd on this Coast, conducted through the Dangers of the Rocks by Pammon of Scyrus. From thence, in one day they failed along the Coast of Magnesia; and having doubled the Cape of Sepias, came to an Anchor in the Road between that Promontory and the City of Caphanaea. To this Place, and to Thermopyle, the Armies of Xerxes advanc'd without los'd, and, as I am informed, their Numbers were thus computed. The Ships that came from Asia amounted to one thousand two hundred and seven; which, at the time of their Departure, had on board two hundred forty one thousand four hundred Men of various Nations, allowing two hundred to each Ship, besides thirty Persians, Medes, or Saces, who, computed together, made up thirty six thousand two hundred and ten Men more. To these Numbers I must add those that were on board the lesser Vessels, which, as I have already said, amounted to three thousand: and accounting eighty Men to each, they will be found to have been two hundred and forty thousand: So that the whole Naval Force, that arrived from Asia, was composed of five hundred and seventeen thousand, six hundred and ten Men. The Land-Army consisted of seventeen hundred thousand Foot, and fourscore thousand Horse; besides the Arabians mounted on Camels, and the Libyans in Chariots; who, as I conjecture, might amount to about twenty thousand more. In a word, the number of these Forces, that were levied in Asia, and employ'd either in the Fleet, or by Land, was two Millions three
three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten Men; not including their Train of Servants, nor those who were on board the Ships that carried Provisions. To these must be added, the Forces that were rais'd in Europe; which I shall do according to the best Information I have been able to procure. The Grecians of Thrace, and the Islands adjacent furnished one hundred and twenty Ships, which had on board twenty four thousand Men. The Thracians, Pœonians, Eordians, Bottiæans, Chalcidians, Brygians, Pierians, Macedonians, Peræbians, Enians, Dolopians, Magnesians, and Achaians, together with those who inhabit the maritime Parts of Thrace, sent such a number of Land-Forces, as, in my opinion, were not less than three hundred thousand. So that if we add these Myriads, to those that were levied in Asia, we shall find in all, two Millions six hundred forty one thousand six hundred and ten fighting Men. Nevertheless, though these Numbers are so prodigiously great, I am persuaded that the Servants, with those on board the Store-Ships and Tenders, were yet more numerous. But supposing them only equal in number, and not more nor less than the military Part, the total Sum will amount to five Millions two hundred fourscore and three thousand, two hundred and twenty Men, brought by Xerxes, the Son of Darius, to Sepias, and to Thermopyla. Such was the number of this Army! But the Women that serv'd for Concubines, and Makers of Bread, the Eunuchs, Draught Horses, and other Beasts of Burden, with the Indian Dogs that follow'd the Forces, were so many, that no Man can affirm any thing with certainty.
certainty touching their Numbers. Therefore I am not astonished, if the Streams of some Rivers proved insufficient for this Multitude; but rather, how so many Myriads were supplied with Provisions: For allowing only a Chœnix of Wheat by day to each Man, the Total will amount to one hundred and ten thousand, three hundred and forty Mines, consumed every day; without including the Food of the Women, the Eunuchs, the Cattel, and the Dogs. But of all this prodigious Number, no Man, either for Stature or Beauty, seemed more worthy to command, than Xerxes himself.

WHEN the Fleet arriv'd in the Road that lies between the City of Caethanaea and the Promontory of Sepias, on the Coast of Magnesia, the foremost Ships were rang'd close by the Land. But because the Shoar was not sufficiently capacious to contain their Numbers, all the rest were oblig'd to ride at Anchor; and to that end, having turn'd the Heads of their Ships to the Sea, they form'd eight several Lines, one behind another; and in that Posture pass'd the Night. The next Morning at day-break, after a serene Sky and still Weather, the Sea began to rise, and a terrible Storm ensued, with a violent North-East-Wind, which, by the Inhabitants of that Coast, is called Hellepsontin. Those who perceive'd the Wind increasing, and were not hindered by their Station, prevented the Mischiefs of the Tempest; and haling under the Shore, sav'd themselves and their Ships: But of those who were surpriz'd out at Sea, some were driven into the Gulphs of Pelion, others were forc'd aground; some spilt upon the Promontory of Sepias;
HERODOTUS.

Sepias; some bulg'd upon the Shallows of Melibæa, and others near the City of Caethanæa: So intolerable was the Violence of the Storm. The Report is, that the Athenians having been admonished by another Oracle, to implore the Assistance of their Son-in-law, addressed themselves to Boreas: who, according to the Tradition of the Grecians, marry'd Orithya, a Woman of Attica, and Daughter to Erechtheus. On that account, they say, the Athenians were persuaded of their Relation to Boreas; and therefore, while they lay at Chalcis in Eubæa with their Fleet, both before and after they perceiv'd the Storm, they offer'd Sacrifices to Boreas and Orithya, invoking their Aid, and praying that they would destroy the Barbarian Ships, as they had done before at Mount Athos. For my own part, I shall not undertake to say, that their Prayers prevailed with Boreas to fall upon the Barbarians in this Station: But the Athenians say, that this and the former Aid they receiv'd, were both owing to Boreas; and therefore, at their Return, they built him a Temple upon the River Illisus. In this Disaster the Barbarians, according to the most moderate Computation, lost four hundred Ships, besides great numbers of Men, and infinite Riches; which prov'd afterwards of great advantage to Aminocles, the Son of Cretinus. For afterwards breaking up some Ground about Sepias, he found many Cups, and other Vessels both of Gold and Silver, with so great a Treasure belonging to the Persians, that he presently became extremely opulent; though in other things he was unfortunate, and much afflicted for the untimely Death of his Children. The Store-Ships
Ships and other Vessels cast away in the Storm, were so many, that the Commanders, fearing to be attack'd by the Thessalians after this Disaster, fortified themselves with a Rampart of a considerable height, composed of the broken Pieces of the Wreck. Three whole Days the Tempest continued; but on the fourth after the Mages had immolated the Victims appropriated to the infernal Powers, and endeavoured to charm the Winds by Enchantments, they sacrificed to Thetis, and to the Nereides, and laid the Storm: or perhaps the Wind fell of course, as at other times. They sacrificed to these Deities, because they had learnt from the Ionians, that Thetis was taken away by Peleus out of this Country, and that all the Coast of Sepias is dedicated to her, and to the rest of the Nereides. Thus the Tempest ceased on the fourth day.

BUT those who had been left to observe from the Eminences of Eubæa, what should pass within their View, came running on the second Day after the rising of the Storm, and acquainted the Grecians with this Shipwreck: Which when they had heard, they pour'd out a Libation with Thanksgiving, to Neptune the Deliverer, and immediately set sail for Artemisium, hoping they should not find many of the Enemies Ships on that Coast. Thus arriving a second time at Artemisium, they came to an anchor: And ever since, even to this day, have given to Neptune the Sirname of the Deliverer. On the other hand, the Barbarians seeing the Storm blown over, and the Sea quiet, weigh'd their Anchors; and coasting along the Shore of the Continent, passed the Promontory of Magnesia,
Magnesia, and stood into the Bay of Pegasæa. 'Tis reported, that in one part of the Country, adjacent to this Bay, Hercules was abandon'd by Jason and his Companions, whilst he went to take in fresh Water for the Voyage they design'd to Aia in Colchis, for the Golden Fleece; and that the Place goes by the Name of Aphete, on account of this Action. Into that Station the Persian Fleet retir'd: But fifteen of their Ships, which put to Sea some time after the rest, seeing the Grecians about Artemisium, and thinking they were Friends, fell in among their Enemies. The Barbarians were commanded by Sandoces, the Son of Thaumassius, Governour of Cyme, an Æolian City. He had been formerly condemned by Darius to be crucified, for taking a Bribe to pronounce an unjust Sentence, when he was one of the Royal Judges. But whilst he was actually hanging on the Cross, the King considering with himself, that the Services he had done to his Family, were greater than his Crime, and that his Condemnation was rather the Effect of Passion than of Prudence, ordered him to be set at liberty. In this manner he escaped the Punishment, to which he had been condemned by Darius: But now falling in among the Grecians, he found no way to escape. For when they saw him making towards them, they presently perceiv'd the Mistake, and advancing to meet him, soon made themselves Masters of all the Ships. In one of these, Aridolus, the Carian Tyrant of Alabanda, was taken; and in another, Pentbylus, the Son of Demonous, Commander of the Paphians: He had twelve Ships when he sail'd from Paphos; but having lost eleven in the Storm, he was taken at Artemisium.
fium, with only one remaining of that number. When the Grecians had examin'd the Prisoners, and made inquiry into such things as they desir'd to know, concerning the Forces of Xerxes, they sent them away under a Guard to the Isthmus of Corinth: The rest of the Barbarian Fleet, except these fifteen Ships, which were under the Conduct of Sandoces arriv'd safe at Abydus.

In the mean time Xerxes, with the Land-Forces, marched from Thessaly, and advancing by the way of Achaia, arriv'd on the third day in the Territories of the Melians. In Thessaly he made tryal of the Swiftness of his Mares, against those of that Country, which he had heard were the fleetest of all Greece; and the Grecian Mares were left far behind in the Race. Of all the Rivers of Thessaly, only the Onochonus had not a sufficient Quantity of water for the Use of the Army: whereas the Apidanus, which is the greatest River of Achaia, could hardly afford enough to supply their Necessities. When Xerxes arriv'd at Alus in Achaia, his Guides, who were always ready to inform him of every thing remarkable, gave him an account of the Tradition of the Country, concerning the Temple of the Aphlystian Jupiter, and how Athamas, the Son of Æolus, conspir'd with Inus to take away the Life of Phryxus. They told him, that the Achaians, to punish his Descendants, decreed, by the Counsel of an Oracle, that the eldest Person of his Race should never be permitted to enter into the Senate, which they call Leitum; and that, if ever he should presume to go in, he should not go out again, except in order to be sacrific'd: So that many, for fear of this
this Punishment, chose rather to abandon the Country: That in succeeding time, when any one of these return'd, and happen'd to be taken in the Prytaneum, they cover'd his Body with sacred Fillets, and led him out in great Ceremony to be sacrificed: That the Posterity of Cytisforus, the Son of Phryxus, became liable to the same Punishment; because, when the Achaians, by the Advice of an Oracle, were ready to expiate this Guilt with the Sacrifice of Athamas, the Son of Æolus, Cytisforus arriving in that instant from Aia in Colchis, forced him out of their hands, and by that Action drew the Anger of the Gods upon his Descendants. When Xerxes had heard this Relation, and was come to the sacred Grove, he not only left the Place untouched, but commanded all the Army to follow his Example; shewing great Regard to the Temple of Athamas, and even to the Houses of his Posterity. Having done these things in Thessaly and Achaia, he arriv'd at the City of Melis, situate in a Bay near the Sea, where the Tides ebb and flow every day. About this Shore lies a Plain of a considerable Breadth in one Part, and very narrow in the other; inclos'd by high and inaccessible Mountains, which, surrounding the whole Country of the Melians, are known by the Name of the Trachinean Rocks. The first City that appears in this Bay, to those who come from Achaia, is Anticyra, by which the River Sperchius descending from Eniene, falls into the Sea: And about twenty Stades from thence another River is seen call'd the Dyras; which, they say, rose up to succour Hercules when he was struggling with the Flames. At a like Distance
stance from this, we meet with the River Melas; and five Stades farther, the City of Trachis is built in the most spacious Part of all the Plain; which in that Place contains two and twenty thousand Plethrons in breadth. In these Mountains that surround the Plain, a Passage is open on the South side of Trachis, through which the River Aephus runs, at the foot of the Hills. Another River, not very large, called the Phænix, descending Northward from the same Mountains, falls into the Aephus. The way is so narrow by the River Phænix, that no more than one Chariot can pass. Thermopylae is fifteen Stades beyond that River; and between both lies the Town of Anthela. The Aephus passes by this Place, and afterwards falls into the Sea. The Country about Anthela is open, and has a Temple dedicated to the Amphictyonian Ceres; in which are the Seats of the Amphictyons, and the Chapel of Amphictyon himself.

The Persian King encamp'd with his Army in the Plain of Trachis, belonging to the Melians; and the Grecians at the Pafs, which, by the Inhabitants of the Place, and their Neighbours, is call'd Pyle, and by the greater part of Greece, Thermopylae. Xerxes was in possession of all the Countries that lie to the Northward, down to Trachis; and the Grecians of those Parts of that Continent, which lean to the South, and South-West. The Grecians drawn together in this place to sustain the Assualt of the Persian Army, were these: Three hundred Spartans in heavy Armour; one thousand Tägeans, and a like number from Mantiene: One hundred and twenty
Arcadians of Orchoemenus, and one thousand more from the other Parts of Arcadia. Four hundred Corinthians; two hundred Men from Philius, and fourscore from Mycene. All these were Peloponnesians. Of the Boeotians, seven hundred Thebians, and four hundred Thebans. These Grecians invited the Locrians of Opus to join them with all their Forces, and the Phocæans with a thousand Men; representing by a Message, that they were already arriv'd, and daily expected the rest of their Confederates: That the Sea was sufficiently guarded by the Athenians, the Æginetes, and others, who were entrusted with the Conduct of the Naval Forces; and that they had nothing to fear: That the Invader was not a God, but a Man; and that no Mortal ever was, or ever should be born, exempted from the Calamities of Life, which attend the greatest in the greatest proportion; and therefore, the Enemy being no more than a Man, might find himself mistaken in the Opinion he had entertain'd. Persuaded by this Exhortation, these People also march'd to assist their Allies in the Country of Trachis. The Nations that compos'd these Forces had their own particular Leaders; but the General, who was in most esteem, and had the command of all, was Leonidas, a Lacedemonian, the Son of Anaxandrides, descended from Leon, Eurycratides, Anaxander, Eurycrates, Polydorus, Alcamenes, Teleclus, Archelaus, Agesilaus, Doryagus, Leolotes, Echestratus, Hecatus, Euryxenæus, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and Hercules. He became King of Sparta, contrary to his own Expectation: For during the Lives of Cleomenes and Dorius, his elder Brothers, he was far from thinking to obtain the
the Kingdom. But after the Death of Cleomenes, who left no Son to succeed him, the Kingdom descended to Leonidas; because Dorius was dead before in Sicily, and he himself was elder than Cleombrotus, the youngest of all the Sons of Anaxandrides, and had married the Daughter of Cleomenes. He march'd to Thermopyle at the head of three hundred Spartans, all chosen by himself; Men of mature Years, and Fathers of Sons. In his March he took the Thebans with him, amounting to the Numbers I mention'd before, and led by Leontiades the Son of Eurymachus. This he did industriously and with Design, because they of all the Grecians were the People he most suspected to favour the Medes; by that means resolving to see whether they would accompany him in this Expedition, or openly renounce their Alliance with the Grecians. But the Thebans, tho' they had no good Intentions, yet would not omit to furnish their Part. The Spartans sent these Men with Leonidas before the rest of their Troops, to the end that the Confederates seeing their Diligence, might be encourag'd to take the Field, and not think of siding with the Medes, tho' these should be defeated: determining after the Carnian Festival, which they were then celebrating, to leave some Forces for the Guard of the City, and to march immediately with their whole Strength to the Defence of Greece. The rest of their Confederates taking like Measures, because the new Olympiad began at that time, and not imagining the Dispute at Thermopyle could so soon be decided; dispatch'd some of their Men before to the Rendezvous. In the mean while those Grecians
cians, who were already arrived at Thermopylae, seeing the Persian advance so near the Pass, and apprehending the Event, began to think of retiring. All the Peloponnesians, except the Spartans, were of opinion they should march away to Peloponnesus, and defend the Isthmus of Corinth. But Leonidas perceiving the Phocæans and Locrians offended with the Indignity of that Proposition, determin'd them all to stay, and to dispatch Messengers to the Confederates, with Instructions to desire Succour, because they were not sufficient to resist the Army of the Medes.

DURING the time of these Deliberations Xerxes sent a Scout on horseback to View their Numbers, and to discover how they were employ'd. For whilst he staid in Thessaly he was inform'd that the Grecians had assembled a small Army, in which the Lacedemonians had the principal Authority; and that Leonidas, of the Race of Hercules, was their General. The Scout approaching the Grecian Camp, could not see their whole Force, because the Wall, which they had rebuilt, covered all those who were upon the Guard within; so that he discovered no more of their Men, than those who were on the other side, with their Arms lying before the Wall. On that day the Lacedemonians happened to be without, as their Turn was; and by that means he saw some of them performing their Exercises, and others putting their Hair in order. When he had seen these things with Astonishment, and inform'd himself of their Number, he retired at his Leasure; no Man pursuing nor seeming to take any notice of him. At his Return he gave an account to Xerxes
Xerxes of everything he had discovered: But when the King had heard his Report, he could not imagine that the Grecians were come ther only as Men prepared to die, and to destroy as many of their Enemies as they could; tho' nothing was more true. And therefore deriding the Vanity of their Enterprize, he sent for Demaratus the Son of Ariston, who was then in the Army; and when he was come into his Presence, examined him touching each Particular, shewing himself desirous to know what the Lacedemonians might mean by the Measures they had taken. "Sir, said Demaratus, You have already heard my Opinion concerning these Men, when we were about to invade Greece: And tho' I told you no more than I foresaw would come to pass, you entertain'd my Discourse with Derision. I know the Danger of defending Truth against the King: yet I desire you would hear me once more. These Spartans are advanced to this Place with a Resolution to fight, and are now preparing themselves to dispute our Passage; for their Custom is to put their Hair in order when they are going to expose their Lives to the greatest Dangers. But if you conquer these Lacedemonians, and those they left behind in Sparta, be assured no other Nation will dare to lift up a Hand against your Power. For you are now to attack the most valiant Men, and the best govern'd State of all Greece." These things seeming incredible to Xerxes, he ask'd him again how so small a Number could possibly resist his Army. "O King, replied Demaratus, deal with me as with a Liar, if every thing...
"I have said come not to pass." Nevertheless his Words made no impression upon Xerxes; who being still in hope they would retire, undertook nothing during four Days after this Discourse. But on the fifth Day, perceiving they were not yet withdrawn, and imputing their Stay to Arrogance and Rashness; transported with Indignation, he sent out the Medes and the Cissians, with Orders to take them alive, and bring them Prisoners to him. They attacked the Grecians furiously, but were repulsed with considerable Slaughter; and tho' the Places of those that fell were incessantly supplied by others, yet they could not succeed in their Attempt: the great Loss they sustained, plainly demonstrating to all, no less than to the King, that they were indeed many Men, but few Soldiers. This Action happen'd by day. When the Medes saw they could maintain the Fight no longer, they retir'd; and in their room Hydarnes advance'd with that Body of Persians who by the King were call'd immortal, not doubting to put an end to the Dispute. But when they came to close with the Grecians they succeeded no better than the Medes. For they fought in a narrow Pass, and their pointed Arms being shorter than those of the Grecians, render'd their Numbers useless. The Lacedemonians deserve ever to be remember'd with Honour for the Actions they perform'd that day; in which, among other things, they shew'd how much they were superior to the Enemy in military Knowledge. For whenever they retired, they made their Retreat in close order. And when they found they were pursu'd by the Barbarians with noise and
and shouting, then facing about on a sudden, they kill'd an inconceivable Number of the Persians, with little Loss on their side. So that after the Enemy had in vain attempted to force the Pass, both in separate Bodies, and all together, they were at last obliged to retire. The Report is, that the King, who was Spectator of this Fight, rose thrice from his Seat during the Action, being under great Apprehensions of losing his Army. The next day the Barbarians, considering how few the Grecians were in number, and supposing so many of them to be already wounded, that they would not be able to maintain a second Fight, resolved to make another Attempt; in which they had no better Success than before. For the Grecians having drawn up their Forces in good order, and in national Bodies, excepting only the Phocæans, who were sent to guard the Passage of the Mountain, gave them so warm a Reception, that the Persians finding no Probability of succeeding better than they had done the preceding day, abandon'd their Enterprize.

BUT whilst the King was doubtful what Measures he should take in this Sate of Affairs, Epialtes the Son of Eurydemus a Melian, coming to him in expectation of a great Reward, inform'd him of the Passage which leads to Thermopyle by the way of the Mountain; and by that means caused the Dispersion of those who were left there for a Guard. Afterwards, fearing the Indignation of the Lacedemonians, he fled to Thessaly: And during his Flight the Assembly of Amphictyons held at Pyle proscrib'd him, and set a Price upon his Head. But after some
some time he was kill'd at Anticyra by Athenades a Trachinian; who, though he kill'd him for another reason, which I shall mention hereafter, was yet rewarded by the Lacedemonians. Some indeed relate this Story in a different manner, and pretend, that Onates the Son of Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydalus of Anticyra, were the Men who discovered the Passage to the King, and conducted the Persians by the way of the Mountain. But to me this seems altogether incredible; partly because we ought to believe, that when the Amphietyons set a Price upon the Head of Epialtes the Trachinian, and not upon Onates and Corydalus, they were perfectly well inform'd of his Guilt. In the second place, we are certain Epialtes ran away on this Occasion. And lastly, Onates not being a Melian, could not well be acquainted with this way, unless he had been much conversant in that Country. From all which I conclude, that Epialtes was the Enemy's, Guide and guilty of betraying the Passage to the Persians.

Xerxes having heard with Satisfaction what Epialtes took upon him to perform, shew'd himself extremely pleas'd, and order'd Hydarnes to march away immediately with the Forces he commanded. In the Evening Hydarnes began to advance towards the way, by which formerly the Inhabitants of Melis, who were the first Discoverers, conducted the Thessalians against the Phocæans; when, having built a Wall to defend the other Pass, they thought themselves secure from any such Attempt. This Passage is not at all fortified, because not useful to the Melians; and beginning at the River Aiospus
(which pass'd thro' an Aperture of the Mountain Anopæa) goes under the same Name with the Mountain; and extending along the back of the Hills, leads down to Alpeni, a Locrian City near the Frontier of Melis, by the Stone of Melampygus, and the Seats of the Cercopians: where the Way is more narrow than in any other part. In this Passage, thus situate, the Persians march'd all night, after they had pass'd the River Aëopus, having the Mountains of Oeta on their Right, and those of Trachis on their Left-hand; and at Day-break arrived at the Top of the Hills: where, as I have already said, a thousand Phocæans were posted, as well to secure their own Country, as to prevent an Irruption on that side. For the lower Pass was guarded by those I mention'd before: And the Phocæans had voluntarily undertaken to Leonidas to defend that of the Mountain. The Persians were not discover'd by the Phocæans till they had reach'd the top of the Hills, having been all that time conceal'd by the great number of Oaks which grew in the way. But then, the noise of the Leaves they trod upon, gave notice of their Approach; the rather, because the Air was perfectly serene and quiet. Upon this Alarm the Phocæans ran to their Arms, and had no sooner put themselves in order, than the Barbarians appear'd; but were not a little surpriz'd to find such a Body of Men, in a place where they expected not to meet with any Resistance. Hydarnes fearing the Phocæans might be Lacedemonians, demanded of Epialtes, of what Nation the Enemy was; and being inform'd who they were, he drew up the Persians in order of Battel. The Phocæans
Phocæans finding themselves gall'd by the great numbers of Darts, which the Persians threw incessantly among them, retir'd with Precipitation to the highest part of the Mountain; and being persuaded that this Enterprize was form'd against them, prepar'd to die gallantly. But Epialtes and Hydarnes, with the Persians, neglecting to follow the Phocæans, as a thing of little Importance, march'd down from the Mountain with all possible expedition. The Augur Megistias having inspected the Sacrifices, was the first who acquaint'd the Grecians at Thermopyle, that they were all threaten'd with Death. After which, certain Deserters arriving in the night, gave notice, that the Persians were passing over the Mountain: And at day-break the ordinary Guard came running from the Hills with the same Advice. Upon this the Grecians call'd a Council of War, and divided in their Opinions. For some would not hear of abandoning their Station, and others were of a contrary Sentiment. In this confusion they separated, and one part of their Forces return'd home, whilst the rest with Leonidas prepar'd themselves to receive the Enemy. Some say, that Leonidas, out of an earnest desire to preserve their Lives, dismiss'd all those who march'd away; but that he and the Spartans with him, thought themselves obliged in honour to maintain the Post they came to defend. For my own part, I incline to think, that Leonidas observing his Allies averse and unwilling to run the same hazard with him, gave them leave to retire; and that he himself resolv'd to stay, in order to preserve his own Reputation, to leave a glorious Name behind him, and
and to secure the Felicity of Sparta. For the Spartans having already consultated the Pythian touching the Event of this War, had receiv'd for Answer, That Sparta should be destroyed by the Barbarians, or their King should lose his Life. The Oracle was deliver'd in the following Hexameters:

The Spartan Plains shall feel the Persian Rage,
Their City under Servitude shall groan;
Unless a King, born of Herculean Race,
Oppress'd in War, shall die to save the rest.

My Opinion therefore is, that Leonidas resolv-
ing these things in his mind, and being de-fi-
rous that the Spartans alone should have the Glory of this Action, sent away the Confed-
rates; and not, that those who marched away, separated themselves from the rest in an inde-
cent manner, on account of their mutual Ani-
mosities. The Conduct of Leonidas himself is no small Argument to confirm what I say: For since, among others, he would have dismiss'd Megistias the Acarnian, who was reported to be descended from Melampus, and had predicted the Event of this Enterprize by inspecting the Sacrifices, nothing is more manifest than that he gave him leave to depart, left he should per-
ish with the Spartans; tho' Megistias would not make use of that Permission, but contented himself to send home his only Son, who had attended him on this occasion. So that in truth the Allies, that went away, retired by the Persuasion of Leonidas: Only the Thel-
pians and the Thebans, remain'd with the La-
cedemonians; the Thebans indeed unwilling-
ly, and against their Inclination, detain'd as hostages by Leonidas; but the Thespians voluntarily, and with their Leader Demophilus, the Son of Diadromeus, constantly refusing to abandon Leonidas and his Spartans, died with them in the Field.

XERXES, after he had pour'd out a Libation at the time of the Rising of the Sun, and staid till the hour Men usually meet in the publick Places, began to move on with his Army, as Epialtes had advis'd; because the Descent of the Mountain is much shorter and more free from Windings than the Ascent. Upon their Approach, Leonidas, with the Grecians, leaving the Wall guarded, advanced to the broadest part of the Passage, in far greater Expectation of Death than at any time before. They fought the preceding Days in the narrowest way of the Pass; but now engaging in the widest, great numbers of the Barbarians fell: for their Officers standing behind the Divisions they commanded, forced them to advance with Blows and Menaces; so that many falling into the Sea were drowned, and many more were trampled under foot, without any regard had to those that perished. The Grecians, on their part, knowing they could not avoid Death upon the Arrival of those who were coming by the way of the Mountain, push'd on desperately, and exerted their utmost Efforts against the Barbarians. And because most of their Javelins were already broken, they drew their Swords, and made a great Slaughter among the Persians. In this Action fell Leonidas, after he had done all that a brave Man could do; and with him other eminent Spartans, whose Names
Names I have heard repeated with Honour, as well as the rest of the three hundred. The Loss of the Persians was great, and many illustrious Men were killed on their side. Among these Abrocomes and Hyperantbes, Sons of Darius, by Phrataguna, the Daughter of his Brother Artanes, who was Son to Hyphasis, and Grandson to Arsames. When Artanes married his Daughter to Darius, he gave him all his Possessions, because he had no other Offspring. These two Brothers of Xerxes were killed fighting for the Body of Leonidas, which the Lacedemonians and Persians obstinately disputed, till at last the Grecians rescued it by their Valour, and four times repuls'd the Enemy. This was the State of things, when the Army with Epialtes arriv'd; of which the Grecians were no sooner inform'd, than Victory shifted to the other side: For returning into the narrow way, and passing within the Wall, they all drew together, except the Thebans, and posted themselves in close Order on a rising Ground, where a Lion of Stone is now seen, erected for a Monument to Leonidas. In this place they defended themselves, with the Swords they had left, against the Barbarians, who pour'd in from every part with a horrible Noise; some beating down the Wall, and entering by the Breaches, whilst Multitudes of others came in, and surrounded them on all sides. The general Opinion is, that tho' the Lacedemonians and Thespians shew'd such invincible Courage, yet Dieneces the Spartan distinguish'd himself beyond all others: And when a Trachinian told him, before the Fight began, that the Multitude of the Barbarians was so great, that they would
would let fly such a number of Arrows at once, as should hide the Light of the Sun; he was so far from being astonished, that, in Contempt of their Numbers, he said, The News was good; and that if the Sun was intercepted by the Medes, they should then fight in the Shade. This, and other memorable Sayings, are attributed to Dieneces the Lacedemonian. After him those who signalized themselves most among the Lacedemonians, were two Brothers, Alpheus and Maron, Sons of Orestphantus; and of the Thespian, Ditbyrambus, the Son of Harmatideus. They were all buried in the Place where they fought, as well those who fell in this Action, as those who were killed before Leonidas dismissed the Confederates; and a Monument was erected to their Memory, with this Inscription:

Four thousand Men, from antient Pelops nam’d,
Upon this Ground against three Millions fought.

This Epitaph was made for all; that which follows only for the Lacedemonians:

Go, Friend, acquaint the Spartans how we fell
With Glory, and their just Commands obey’d.

Besides these, there was another Inscription for the Prophet Megistias, conceiv’d in these words:

Slain by the Medes, divine Megistias lies
Under this Stone; he saw approaching Fate
With Heart undaunted, and refuse’d to live
When the brave Spartans had resolve’d to die.

The
The two former Inscriptions were order'd by the Amphictyons; but this of Megistias was erected by Simonides, the Son of Leoprepes, in Testimony of their mutual Friendship. Some say, that Eurytus and Aristodemus, two of the three hundred Lacedemonians, being despe- rately afflicted with a Disease of the Eyes, re- tir'd to Albeni by the Permission of Leonidas; and though they might have preserved their Lives by returning to Sparta, or, refusing to return, might have died with the rest, they could not agree in either; but continu'd to differ in their Opinions, till at last Eurytus hearing the Persians were arrived by the way of the Mountain, call'd for his Arms; and when he had them on, order'd his Servant to lead him into the Field of Battle; where falling in among the thickest of the Enemy, he lost his Life: whilst Aristodemus, wanting Courage, staid behind at Albeni. As for the Servant of Eurytus he had no sooner conducted his Master to the Place where the Fight was, than he left him, and ran away. Now if Aristodemus alone had been disabled by his Distemper, and in that Condition had return'd to Sparta; or if both had gone home together, I cannot think the Lacedemonians would have been displeased. But one of these dying in the Field, put them under a Necessity of shewing their Resentment against the Survivor; who refus'd to die, albeit he was in the same Circumstance with the other. Thus, some Men say, Aristodemus return'd safe to Sparta, under colour of his Disease; but others pretend, that being sent with Orders from the Army, he might have been present at the Fight, and would not, tho' his Companion ar-

Vol. II. S riv'd
riv'd in due time, and died in the Field. However, at his Return, he was punish'd with Ignominy and Contempt: with Contempt, in that no Lacedemonian would converse with him, or suffer him to make use of his Fire; with Ignominy, in that they gave him the name of Aristodemus the Fugitive. But he afterwards wiped off all the Guilt of this Action, by his Behaviour at the Battel of Platea. They say also, that another of the three hundred, whole Name was Panites, having been sent on a Message to Thessaly, surviv'd this Action, and return'd to Sparta; but being unable to bear the Reproaches of the Spartans, he strangled himself. As for the Thebans, and their General Leontiades, they were necessitated for some time to fight against the King's Army, in conjunction with the Grecians: but they no sooner saw the Persians victorious, than they abandon'd the rest of their Allies, as they were hastening to the Hill; and with extended Hands approaching the Barbarians, most truly said, That they had always been Partizans of the Medes; that they were among the first who presented the King with Earth and Water; that they came to Thermopyle by force, and were no way guilty of the Loss he had sustain'd. By these words, which the Thessalians confirm'd with their Testimony, the Thebans saved their Lives, but had no great reason to boast: For the Barbarians kill'd many of their Men, as they advance'd to surrender themselves; and, by the Command of Xerxes, branded a much greater number with the Royal Mark, beginning at their General Leontiades; whose Son Eurymachus having afterwards surpriz'd the City
City of Plataea, at the head of four hundred Thebans, was killed by the Platæans. Thus
the Grecians fought at Thermopylae.

UPON this Event, Xerxes having sent for
Demaratus, began his Discourse in this manner;
"Demaratus, said he, I find by the certain
Evidence of Truth, that you are a Man of
Probity; for all things have happen'd as you
foretold. Tell me now how many the rest
of the Lacedemonians may be? What Num-
ber of such Men as these they can bring in-
to the Field? And whether they have all the
same Courage?" "SIR, said Demaratus,
the Lacedemonians are numerous, and have
many Cities; but I shall inform you of that
which you desire to know. The City of
Sparta has about eight thousand Men, all
equal in Valour to those who have fought on
this Occasion; and the rest of the Lacede-
monians are valiant, tho' not altogether like
these." "Let me know then, said Xerxes,
the readiest way to conquer these Men, for
you have been their King, and consequently
are well acquainted with the Tendency of
their Counsels." "SIR, reply'd Demaratus,
since you condescend to ask my Advice, I
am bound to give you the best I can: The
most probable way to effect our Design, is
to send a Fleet of three hundred Ships to
the Lacedemonian Coast. For there is an
Island, call'd Cythera, lying off that Shore;
which Chilon, one of the wisest Men of our
Nation, said would be more advantageous to
the Spartans, if drown'd in the bottom of
the Sea, than in the present Situation: al-
ways apprehending such an Enterprize as I
am
"am about to propose: Not that he forefaw
the Arrival of your Fleet, but fearing such
an Attempt might be made at one time or
other. From this Island you may continual-
ly alarm the Lacedemonians; who finding
themselves involved in a defensive War at
home, will be no longer formidable to you,
nor in a condition to succour the rest of the
Grecians, when they shall be attack'd by
your Land-Forces." In a word, when by
this means you have subdued the other Parts
of Greece, the Lacedemonians alone will not
be able to resist. But if you act otherwise,
expect another kind of Event: For the Pe-
loponeesians have in their Country a narrow
Isthmus, to which they will not fail to draw
all their Forces, and constrain you to engage
in Actions more bloody than you have yet
seen; whereas if you put my Advice in exe-
cution, not only the Isthmus, but their Ci-
ties also will be yours without hazard."

When he had finish'd these words, Achaemenes,
Brother to Xerxes, and Commander in chief at
Sea, being present at this Discourse, and fear-
ing the King might be induc'd to follow the
Counsel of Demaratus; "SIR, said he, I per-
ceive you hearken to the Suggestions of a
Man, who either envies your Prosperity, or
perhaps would betray your Affairs. For the
constant manner of the Grecians is to envy
the Fortunate, and to hate the Powerful:
If therefore, after you have lost four hun-
derd Ships by the Storm, you shall send
three hundred more to hover about the Coast
of Peloponnessus, our Enemies might fight us
upon equal Terms; but will never dare to
"engage
engage us, if our Fleet be kept in a Body,
because we shall be much superior in num-
ber. Besides, if the whole Fleet be order'd
to attend the Motions of the Land-Army,
they will be able mutually to assist each o-
ther; whereas if you separate your Naval
Forces, they can be no way useful to you,
nor you to them. Would you then have all
to go well, resolve not to enter into a parti-
cular Discussion of your Enemy's Affairs,
nor inquire what they will do, where they
will make a Stand, or what Numbers they
are? They best know how to take care of
themselves, and we, on our part, no less. If
the Lacedemonians dare venture a Battle a-
gainst the Persians, they will find no Cure for
such a Blow as they must of Necessity re-
ceive." "Achemenés, reply'd Xerxes, I ap-
prove your Reasons, and will do as you ad-
vise; but I am persuaded Demaratus gave me
that Counsel which he thought most advan-
tageous to me, tho' at the same time I think
your Opinion more rational; for I can by
no means suspect him of Disaffection to my
Affairs, when I duly consider his former
Discourses all confirm'd by the Event. A
Citizen indeed generally envies his Fellow-
Citizen, if he sees him prosper; he hates him
privately, and unless he hath attain'd to an
uncommon Degree of Virtue, will not give
him Counsel with Sincerity. But a Friend
loves to see his Friend in Prosperity, and, if
he ask his Advice, always gives him the best
he can. For the future therefore I enjoin all
Men to abstain from such indecent Express-
sions concerning Demaratus, who is my Host.
and Friend." When Xerxes had said these words, he went out among the Dead; and having heard that Leonidas was King and General of the Lacedemonians, he commanded his Head to be taken off, and fixed upon a Pole. By which Action, and many other Proofs, I am persuaded that Xerxes was highly incensed against Leonidas during his Life, else he would not have violated the Laws of Humanity upon his dead Body; because the Persians are accustomed to pay a greater Reverence to Men eminent in military Virtue, than any other Nation we know. However, the King’s Command was executed in the manner he had order’d. But to return to my Narration.

The Lacedemonians were the first who had notice of the King’s Expedition against Greece; and on that occasion sending to the Oracle at Delphi, receiv’d the Answer I lately mention’d. But the way, by which they had their Information, deserves to be remember’d. Demaratus, the Son of Aristion, being at that time an Exile among the Medes, had as I conjecture, andAppearances confirm, no great Kindness for the Lacedemonians: But whether he acted in this Affair by a Motive of Affection, or in order to insult his Country, I shall leave to the Judgment of others; yet when Xerxes had resolv’d to make war against Greece, and Demaratus, who was then in Susa, had heard of his Intention, he determin’d to acquaint the Lacedemonians with the Design. But because he could contrive no other means, and apprehended the Danger of a Discovery, he fell upon this Invention: He took a double Table-Book, and having shave’d off the Wax, he engrav’d
grav'd the King's Resolution on the Wood; which when he had done, he laid another Covering of Wax upon the Letters, that his Messenger might meet with no Impediment from the Guards of the Way. In this manner the Table-Book was brought to Sparta; but the Lacedemonians could not comprehend the Secret, till Gorgo, the Daughter of Cleomenes, and Wife to Leonidas, making a right Conjecture, bid them break up the Wax, and they should find Letters written underneath. The Lacedemonians did as she order'd, and after they had read the Contents, sent the Letters to the rest of the Grecians.
THE History of Herodotus.

BOOK VIII.

URANIA.

These things are thus reported; and as for the Naval Forces of the Grecians, they were compos'd of the following numbers: The Athenians furnished one hundred and twenty-seven Ships, mounted by themselves, and the Platæans; who with great Alacrity and Courage, tho' unexperienced in Sea-Affairs, went on board with them. The Corinthians brought in forty Sail, the Megareans twenty; the Chalcidæans mann'd twenty Ships, borrow'd of the Athenians; the People of Ægina furnished eighteen Sail, the Sicyonians twelve, the Lacedemonians ten, the Epidaurians eight, the Eretrians seven, the Trozzenians five, the Styreans two. The Chiens contributed two Ships of War, with two Gallies of fifty Oars each; and the Locrians of Opus brought in seven Gallies of like force. All these Ships, being two hundred and seventy one in number, besides
besides the Gallies, had their Station at Artemisium; and the principal Command was in the hands of Eurybiades, the Son of Euryclides, nominated to that Dignity by the Spartans, because the Confederates had declar'd, that they would not follow the Athenians, but would break the Fleet, and return home, unless they might have a Lacedemonian for their Leader. For before they sent Ambassadors to make an Alliance in Sicily, they had debated about the Expediency of giving the Conduct of the Naval Forces to the Athenians. But the Athenians finding the Confederates averse to that Proposal, and being extremely desirous to preserve Greece, which they knew must inevitably be destroyed, if they should split into Factions for the Precedency, deserted voluntarily, and gave a great Proof of their Wisdom in so doing: For intestine Dissensions are by so much more pernicious than a War carried on with Unanimity, as War in general is more prejudicial than Peace. This they well understood, and therefore chose rather to recede from their Pretensions, than to contend in that Exigency of Affairs, as the Event demonstrated. For when they had driven out the Persian, and carried the War into his own Territories, they took occasion from the Arrogance of Pausanias, to deprive the Lacedemonians of the chief Command; but these things were done afterwards.

IN the mean time the Grecians at Artemisium seeing a prodigious number of the Enemies Ships at Aphete, all Places fill'd with their Forces, and the Barbarians successful beyond their Expectation and Opinion; in a great Consternation deliberated to retire to the remotest Parts of Greece.
Greece. The Eubœans hearing of this Consultation, earnestly begg'd of Eurybiades to defer the Departure of the Fleet, till they could carry off their Children and Families: But finding him inflexible, they addresed themselues to Themistocles, the Athenian General, and by a Present of thirty Talents prevail'd with him to promise, that they would stay and fight the Enemy on that Coast; which he effected in this manner: He gave five Talents of this Money to Eurybiades, as from himself; and having gain'd his Consent by that means, he went to the Corinthian Commander, Adimantus, the Son of Ocytus; because he was now the only Person, who refusing to stay, had peremptorily declar'd he would leave Artemisium, and with an Oath said to him, "Adimantus, you shall not abandon us; for I will make you a greater Present than the King of the Medes would send you for deserting the Allies." When he had spoken these Words, he presently sent him three Talents of Silver on board his Ship; and by this Bribery, having prevail'd with the Commanders to stay, he at once gratify'd the Eubœans, and secur'd all the rest to himself; whilst those who took part of the Money, knew nothing of the Remainder, but thought the Athenians had entrust'd him with that Sum, to be employed in such an Occasion. Thus the Grecians continued on the Coast of Eubœa, till they came to an Engagement; which happen'd in this manner: The Barbarians arriving in the Road of Aphete about Day-break, and observing that the Grecians were at Artemisium with a small number of Ships, as they had been already inform'd, shew'd a general Disposition to try if they
they could surprize them in that Station; but they were not of opinion to attack them in Front, left the Grecians, seeing them approaching, should betake themselves to flight; and favour'd by the ensuing Night, should make their escape: Whereas, in their account, every Ship was already condemn'd to fall into their hands, without excepting even that which carried the Light. In this Design they detach'd two hundred Ships, chosen out of all their Fleet, with Orders to fail behind Sciatbus, and shape their Course to the Euripus, by Caphareus and Gereflus, that the Enemy might thus be circumvented, and not discover them passing along the Coast of Euboea: Not doubting, by this Force, to prevent their Escape on that side, whilst all the rest of the Fleet should attack them in Front. When they had taken this Resolution, they sent away the two hundred Ships; and determining to attempt nothing against the Grecians that Day, nor before they should see the Signal agreed upon, to notify the Arrival of their Detachment, they applied themselves to take a view of their Numbers remaining at Aphete. In this Fleet was Scyllias, a Native of Scione, who being the best Diver of his time, had fav'd for the Use of the Persians a great part of the Treasure sunk in the Shipwreck at Pelion, and diverted a considerable Sum to his own Profit. He had been long desirous to go over to the Grecians, but not finding a proper Opportunity, had deferr'd his Design to the time of this Review. By what means he made his escape to the Grecians, I cannot certainly affirm, and am astonished at the account given of him: For the Report is, that he plung'd under water at Aphete, and role no
no more till he arriv’d at Artemisium; which Places are about fourscore Stades distant from each other. Many other things are related of this Man, that have the Air of Falshood; and some that are true. Yet after all, my Opinion is, that he made his Passage to Artemisium in a Boat. At his Arrival he inform’d the Commanders of the Particulars of the Shipwreck, and of the Ships that were ordered to fail round Euboea: Which when the Grecians heard, they call’d a Council of War, and after divers Opinions had been propos’d, came to a Resolution, That they would continue in their Station all that day, and at midnight weigh anchor to advance to meet the Fleet, which was sent out to prevent their Escape: But not discovering any Ships making towards them, they lay by till Sun-set; and then advancing against the Barbarians, resolv’d to make a tryal of their Courage in Fight, and of their Skill in maritime Affairs. When the Enemy, both Officers and Soldiers, saw them approaching with so few Ships, they attributed their Enterprize to extreme Folly; and advancing likewise on their part, doubted not of an easy Victory: The truth is, they had great reason to expect Success. And therefore, seeing the Grecian Ships were few, and their own not only far more in number, but much better Sailors, they with Scorn encompassed them on all sides. Some of the Ionians retaining an Affection for the Grecians, were with regret among the Enemies Forces, and extremely concern’d to see them surrounded in such a manner; thinking their Condition so desperate, that not a Man could possibly escape. But others, pleas’d with their Distress, labour’d with all their
their might, who should take the first Athenian Ship, and merit a Recompence from the King: For the Athenians were in greater esteem among the Enemy than any of the other Confederates. At the first Signal the Grecians drew into a Circle, and turn'd the Heads of all their Ships against the Barbarians. At the second Signal they began the Fight, crouded into a narrow Compass, and having the Enemy in front on every part: yet in a short time they took thirty Ships from the Barbarians, with Philaon, the Son of Chersis, Brother to Gorges, King of the Salaminians; a Man highly esteem'd in their Army. Lycomedes, the Son of Æschreus, an Athenian, was the first who took a Ship from the Enemy, and was honour'd in the usual manner for that Action. But Night coming on, put an end to the Dispute, after they had fought with various Success on both sides; the Grecians returning to Artemisium, and the Barbarians to Aphete, with less Good fortune than they expected. In this Engagement, Antidorus the Lemnian was the only Grecian that revolted from the King; and on that account, the Athenians rewarded him with Lands in Salamis. This Battle was fought in the midst of Summer; and during all the Night, so prodigious a Storm of Rain fell, accompanied with hard Thunder, breaking out from about Pelion, that the dead Bodies, and Pieces of Wreck driven to Aphete, rolling to the Heads of their Ships, disturb'd the Order of their Oars: Which the Barbarians observing, were struck with Con-

fervation, and expected nothing but Death, when they saw so many Calamities succeeding one another. For before they had recover'd Breath after the former Tempest and Shipwreck at
at Mount Pelion, they were forced to fight a dangerous Battle at Sea; and before that Engagement was well over, were surpriz'd by impetuous Rains, and horrid Thunder with Torrents of Water driving through the Sea. In this Terror they passed that Night: But those who had been ordered to fail round Eubœa, met with a much greater Disaster, and being out at Sea the same Night, they all perished miserably. For as they approached the Gulphs of Eubœa, the Storm and Rain fell upon them with such Violence, that they were driven they knew not where, by the Force of the Winds, and dashed in Pieces upon the Rocks. This the Gods did, to reduce the Persia Fleat to an Equality with that of the Grecians; or at least, not to leave them so much superior in Number. And thus these Ships perished on the Coast of Eubœa.

THE Light of the next Day was welcome to the Barbarians at Aphete; who keeping themselves quiet in their Station, were contented after their ill Success, to attempt nothing more for the present: On the other hand, the Grecians receiv'd a Reinforcement of fifty three Athenian Ships; which, with the News they brought, that all the Barbarians that were failing by Eubœa, had perished in the Storms, so heighten'd their Courage, that having waited to the same Hour they chose the day before, they attacked and ruin'd the Squadrons of the Cilicians, and return'd at night to Artemisium. On the third Day, the Commanders of the Barbarians, mov'd with Indignation to be thus insulted by a few Ships, and fearing the Displeasure of Xerxes, would not stay to be again attacked by the Grecians; but encouraging their Men to acquit themselves valiantly,
liantly, unmoor'd about Noon, and prepar'd to fight. These Actions by Sea happen'd on the same Days with those by Land at Thermopyle; and the Contest in both Places was of the same nature: For as Leonidas, and those who were with him, endeavour'd to defend the Pass of Thermopyle, so the naval Forces fought to prevent the Enemy from entering the Euphrus; the Grecians, on their part, encouraging one another not to suffer the Barbarians to break into Greece; and these, on the other hand, animating their Men to force the Grecians, and make themselves Masters of the Passages.

IN this View, the Barbarians having drawn out their Fleet, advance'd towards the Grecians; who lying quiet at Artemisium, no sooner saw the Enemy approaching in the Form of a Half-moon, and endeavouring to make sure of them, by surrounding their whole number, than they came out likewise, and fell on immediately. The Battle was fought with almost equal Success on both sides: For though the Enemies Ships, being large, and in great number, fell foul on each other, and confounded their Order, yet they continued to fight, and would not retire, because they were ashamed to be beaten by so few. So that many of the Grecian Ships perish'd in the Action, and many Men; but the Loss of the Barbarians was much greater in both. Thus they fought with equal Resolution, and after an obstinate Fight, retir'd to their former Stations. In this Battle the Egyptians signaliz'd their Courage above the rest of the Enemies Forces; and, besides other memorable Actions, took five Grecian Ships, with all the Men on board. On the part of the Grecians, the Athenians behav'd them-
themselves with the greatest Valour; and among the Athenians, Clinias the Son of Alcibiades, who fought in his own Ship, which he had mann’d with two hundred Men, maintain’d at his own Expence. But after both the Fleets had voluntarily separated, the Grecians, tho’ they were in possession of the Dead, and of all the Wreck; yet being in a shatter’d condition, and especially the Athenians, whose Ships were for the most part disabled, took into their consideration, whether they should retire to the remoter Parts of Greece. At the same time Themystocles persuaded himself, that if they could prevail with the Ionians and Carions to abandon the Barbarians, they might be able to overcome the rest; and therefore as the Eubœans were driving their Cattle down to the Shore, he assembled the Grecian Commanders together, and told them he had contriv’d a Stratagem, by which he hoped to deprive the King of the best of his Allies. He discover’d no more for the present; only adding, that in order to forward his Design, they should kill as many of the Cattle belonging to the Eubœans as they thought fit, because their own Army ought rather to have them than the Enemy. He also exhorted them to direct their Men to kindle Fires, and promised he would choose a convenient time for their Departure, that they should all arrive safe in Greece. The Captains resolv’d to do as he advis’d; and after they had order’d Fires to be lighted, they began to seize the Cattle. For the Eubœans flighting the Answer they receiv’d from the Oracle of Baçis, as frivolous, had sent nothing away, nor brought in any thing; as Men would do, who expect a
War: and by that means had put themselves into ill Circumstances. The Oracle was conceiv'd in these Words:

When a Barbarian with a Yoke of Hemp
Shall curb the Sea, then drive your Flocks and Herds
Far from Euboean Shores.

But the Euboeans shewing no regard to this Admonition, tho' they were in a bad condition at present, and in expectation of farther Misfortunes, fell into the greatest Distress.

In the mean time a Messenger arriv'd express from Trachis. For as Polyas of Anticyra was appointed to stay at Artemisium, and had a Vessel ready to attend him, in order to inform the Grecians at Thermopyle, if the Fleet should come to an Action; so Abronychus the Son of Lysicles an Athenian, was with Leonidas, and had Instructions to come away to Artemisium in a Galley of thirty Oars, if any thing considerable should happen to the Land-Forces. This Abronychus arriving, gave an account of what had befallen Leonidas, and those who were with him: Which when the Grecians heard, they resolv'd not to defer their Departure, but stood away immediately in the order they were; the Corinthians in the Van, and the Athenians in the Rear. Themistocles, at the same time, having chosen the nimblest of the Athenian Ships, sail'd to the place where they us'd to take in fresh Water, and engrav'd these Words upon the Stones; which were read the next day by the Ionians when they arrived at Artemisium: "Men of Ionia, you are guilty of a heinous Crime;
in fighting against your Fathers, and help-
ing to enslave Greece. Resolve therefore to
come over to us: Or if you cannot do
that, withdraw your Forces from the Ene-
my, and persuade the Carions to imitate
your Example. But if both these ways are
impracticable, and you find yourselves un-
der an absolute necessity of continuing in
the Persian Fleet, favour us at least when
we come to an Engagement; and remem-
ber that you are not only descended from
us, but are the original Cause of the Bar-
barians Enmity against us." I suppose
Themistocles did this with a double View;
hoping that if these Words were not discover'd
to the King, he should induce the Ionians to
come over to the Grecians; or if they were re-
ported to him, and imputed to the Ionians for a
Crime, he should bring them into such a Sus-
picion, that Xerxes would for the future refuse
to accept their Assistance.

SOON after the Departure of the Grecians,
a certain Man of Histiaea arriving by Sea, gave
the Barbarians an account of their Fleet from
Artemisium. But they suspecting the Messenger,
secur'd him under a Guard, and sent out some
light Vessels to discover the state of things. At
their return, being inform'd of the Truth, all
the Fleet weigh'd Anchor upon the rising of the
Sun, and failed directly to Artemisium; where
they continued till about Noon, and then pro-
ceeding to Histiaea, possesed themselves of that
City, and ravag'd all the Maritime Territories
which are in the District of Ellopia. Whilst
they were on this Coast, they receiv'd a Message
from Xerxes, after he had disposed of the dead

T 2 Bodies
Bodies of his Men as he thought most convenient. For of twenty thousand of his Army, who were kill'd at Thermopylae, leaving only one thousand unburied, he caused all the rest to be interred, with Leaves strewn over their Bodies, and then to be cover'd with Earth, that they might not be seen by those who should come from the Fleet. When his Messenger arriv'd at Histiaea, he summon'd a general meeting of all the Naval Forces, and said, "Friends and Allies, all those among you "that are desirous to see how the King's Forces "have fought against inconsiderate Men, who "vainly imagin'd they could conquer his Army, "may leave this Station, and go to Thermopyla "with his Permission." Upon which Notification the Number of those who went thither was so great, that the remaining Ships were very few. When they arriv'd, they view'd the Field of Battle, supposing all the Dead to be Lacedemonians and Thespians, tho' indeed many Helots were among them: But the method Xerxes had taken to dispose of the Bodies of his own Men, could not be conceal'd from those who came from the Fleet. And indeed the thing was ridiculous, to shew only a thousand Barbarians kill'd, when all the four thousand Grecians lay dead in Heaps upon the spot. In this view they spent that day, and on the next return'd with their Ships to Histiaea, whilst Xerxes advanc'd with his Army. In his March a small number of Arcadians, indigent, and desirous of Employment, desert'd to him; and being brought into the King's Presence, were examin'd touching the Grecians. Among others, one of the Persians, in the name of all the rest, ask'd what the
Grecians were then doing: The Arcadians answer'd, they were employ'd in celebrating the Olympian Exercises, and in viewing the Horse-Races and Gymnicks Combats. The Persian ask'd farther, what Reward the Victorious were to have; they replied, a Crown of Olive. Upon which, Tigranes the Son of Artabanus delivered his Opinion with a noble Generosity; which yet the King thought to be the Effect of Fear. For when he heard that the Recompence of the Conquerors was a Crown, and not Riches, he could not forbear breaking out into this Expression, "O Mardonius, said he, against what kind of Men have you persuad'd us to make War? Men who fight not for Gold or Silver, but for Virtue only."

In the mean time the Thesaliens, incessantly mindful of their former Enmity to the Phoceans, and now more exasperated since the Slaughter at Thermopyle, sent a Herald to them. For not many Years before the Expedition of Xerxes, the Thesaliens, in conjunction with their Allies, having invaded the Territories of the Phoceans with all their Forces, had been repulsed with great Loss, in this manner: The Phoceans being compelled to retire to Mount Parnassus, made use of this Stratagem by the Advice of the Prophet Tellias of Elis, who was then in their Camp; they cover'd the Armour and Faces of six hundred of their best Men with white Plaster, and sent them out by night against the Thesaliens, with Orders to kill every Man they should not find painted like themselves. They were first seen by the Thesalian Guards, and soon after by their whole Army; who taking them for
for some prodigious Apparition, were struck with such a Terror, that the Phoceans killed three thousand upon the place; and being Masters of the Dead, sent one half of their Shields to Abe, and the rest to Delphi. The tenth Part of the Booty they took in this Fight, was employ'd to purchase those great Statues which stand about the Tripos in the Temple of Delphi, and others of equal Dimensions erected in Abe. Thus the Phoceans dealt with the Foot of the Theffalians, by which they had been in a manner besieged; and by another Stratagem ruin'd their Horse, when they made an Irruption into their Territories. For having open'd a vast Trench in the way near the City of Hyampolis, and filled the Vacuity with empty Pots, which they cover'd with Earth, and brought to a level with the rest of the Ground, they waited the coming of the Theffalians: Who advancing hastily to attack the Phoceans, fell in among the Earthen Vessels, and spoilt the Legs of their Horses. Both these Actions so irritated the Theffalians, that they sent this Message by their Herald to the Phoceans: "Be convinc'd now more than ever, O Phoceans, that you are inferior to us. For during all the time we chose to take part with the Grecians, we were justly esteem'd your Superiors; and now we have so great Power with the Barbarian, that we can without difficulty dispossess you of your Country, and enslave your Persons: Nevertheless, tho' you are entirely at our mercy, we forget the Injuries you have done us, and ask no more than fifty Talents of Silver by way of Reparation; engaging, upon your compliance, to prevent the
"the Dangers impending over you." The Thessalians sent to make this Demand, principally because the Phoceans were the only People of those Parts, who had not fallen in with the Interest of the Medes: From which, as I conjecture, they were restrain'd by no other reason, than their Enmity to the Thessalians; and I am of opinion that the Phoceans would have join'd with the Medes, if the Thessalians had taken part with the Grecians. However, in answer to this Message, the Phoceans peremptorily refused to give the Money, and said, if they were disposed to revolt to the Medes, the way was open to them as well as to the Thessalians; but that they would not be Traytors to Greece without necessity. When their Answer was reported to the Thessalians, they were so incens'd against the Phoceans, that serving for Guides to the Barbarians, and marching in the Van of their Army from Trachis, they enter'd the narrow Plain of Doris; which being about thirty Stades in breadth, and situated between Melis and the Territories of the Phoceans, (antiently known by the Name of Dryopis) is the Mother Country of all the Dorians in Peloponnesus. The Barbarians made no Depredations in their Passage thro' the Territories of Doris, because the Inhabitants were Partizans of the Medes; which yet was not known to the Thessalians. From thence advancing into Phocis, and not meeting with the Phoceans, they were conducted over all Parts of the Country by the Thessalians, and carrying Fire and Sword wherever they came, destroy'd both their Cities and their Temples. For some of the Phoceans were retired to the top T 4 of
of Mount Parnassus, on that side which descends to the City of Neon, and goes by the Name of Tithorea; where the Ground is spacious enough to contain considerable Numbers of Men: but the greater part had been taken themselves to Amphissa, a City belonging to the Locrians of Ozoile, and built in the Plain of Criseus. In their March the Barbarians ravaged all the Country along the River Cephissus, and burnt the Cities of Drymus, Charadra, Eroclus, Amphicaea, Neon, Pediea, Tritea, Elatea, and Hyampolis; with all the Places in the Neighbourhood of the River, and particularly the City of Abe, in which was a Temple of Apollo enrich'd with many Treasures and consecrated Donations, where Oracles were deliver'd in those Days, as they are at present. This Temple they plunder'd and burnt; and pursuing the Phocceans into the Mountains, took several Prisoners: such Numbers of Men forcing the Women who fell into their hands, that divers died in the place. After the Barbarians had thus pass'd the Countries bordering on the River, they divided their Army into two Bodies. The most numerous and best part of their Forces march'd towards Athens with Xerxes, and enter'd Boeotia by the way of Orchomenus. But because all the Boeotians were in the Interest of the Medes, their Cities were preferved by Macedonian Forces, which Alexander had sent, to satisfy Xerxes that they were entirely at his Devotion.

WHILST these Barbarians march'd this way, the rest, with their Leaders, stretching their Right to the foot of Mount Parnassus, advanced towards the Temple of Delphi; and destroying all
they found in their way belonging to Phocis, let fire to the Cities of Panopea, Daulis, and Aeo-
lium. These Forces were detach'd from the other Part of the Army, and sent this way, in order to plunder the Temple of Delphi, and to put the Booty into the hands of Xerxes; who, as I have heard, was better inform'd of all the valuable things there, than of those he left behind him at home: so many Persons continual-
ly entertain'd him with Discourses concerning these Treasures, and more especially of the Donations made by Cresus the Son of Alyattes.
When the Delphians heard of their Design, they fell into a great Consternation, and with dreadful Apprehensions consulted the Oracle, whether they should hide their Treasures under ground, or transport them to another Country: But the God would not suffer the Treasures to be remov'd, saying, he was suffi-
ciently able to defend his own. The Delphians having receiv'd this Answer, began to think of themselves; and after they had sent their Wives and Children by Sea to Achaia, the greater part of the Men went either to the top of Parnassus, or into the Cave of Corycium; whilst others retir'd to Amphissa, belonging to the Lor-
crians: In a word, all the Inhabitants of Del-
phi abandon'd the City, except only sixty Men, and the Prophet. When the Barbarians were advanc'd within sight of the Temple, the Pro-
phet, whose Name was Aceratus, seeing the Arms, which no Mortal may touch, brought out and laid before the sacred Place, went and told the Prodigy to the Delphians who were left in the City. But when the Barbarians ar-
viv'd at the Temple of Minerva the Provident, much
much greater Prodigies than the former were seen. And indeed though the sight of those In-
struments of War, which had mov'd out of the Temple of themselves, was very wonderful; yet the second Prodigies were far more af-
nishing than all others: For immediately after the Arrival of the Barbarians at Minerva's Tem-
ple, Thunder fell from Heaven upon their Troops; the two Heads of Parnassus breaking from the Mountain with a horrible Noise, and, rolling down killed many of their Men, and a Voice, accompany'd with Shouts of Joy, was heard issuing from the Temple of the Goddess. All these things, in conjunction, so terrified the Barbarians, that they betook themselves to flight; which when the Delphians heard, they came down from the Mountain, and made a great Slaughter among them. The rest fled into Bœotia, and, as I am inform'd, declar'd, that besides other miraculous things, they saw two Persons of more than human Stature, compleatly armed, pursuing and killing them in their Flight. The Delphians say these two were Phylacus and Autonous, Heroes of the Country, whose Altars are not far from the Temple; that of Phylacus standing by the Highway beyond the Temple of Minerva, and the other near the Caftalian Spring, under the Brow of Hyampea. The Stones that broke from Parnassus, are seen to this day lying in the Grove of Minerva, on the Place where they fell among the Barbarians: And such was the Success of this Enterprize against the Temple.

THE Grecian Fleet, in their Return from Artemisium, put in at Salamis, at the Sollicita-
tion of the Athenians; who made this Request,
in order to carry off their Wives and Children out of Attica, and to consult of measures to be taken in that Conjunction, the present Condition of Affairs requiring new Counsels, because they had been disappointed in their Expectation: For whereas they thought to find the Peloponnesians, with all their Forces, waiting in Boeotia to receive the Barbarians, they found nothing less than what they expected: but, on the contrary, were inform'd that they were employ'd in fortifying the Isthmus with a Wall, taking great care to preserve themselves, and to secure the Peloponnesus, without any regard to others; and for these Reasons the Athenians desir'd the Allies to stay at Salamis. But while the rest continu'd in that Station, the Athenians return'd home: and at their Arrival caus'd Proclamation to be made, that every one should endeavour to save his Wife and Children by the best means he could contrive. Accordingly they sent the greater part to Trachonæ, some to Aegina, and others to Salamis, using all possible Diligence in transporting their Families, not only in obedience to the Oracle, but out of a desire of Victory, and for another reason of no less Efficacy: For the Athenians say, that the Acropolis was guarded by a great Serpent kept in the Temple; and, as if the thing had been true, they every month brought thither a certain quantity of Paste mix'd with Honey; which, in former time having always been consum'd, now remain'd intire and untouch'd: So that when the Priestess had given publick notice of this Event, the Athenians were willing to leave the City, because they concluded the God had abandon'd the
the Fortresses; and therefore after they had embark’d whatever they thought convenient, they made the best of their way to join the Fleet.

WHEN the rest of the Naval Forces of the Grecians understood, that those who had lain at Artemisium were arriv’d at Salamis, they hasten’d thither from Traæzene, where their Rendezvous had been appointed in the Harbour of Pogon. This Fleet, much more numerous than that which fought at Artemisium, as being furnish’d by a greater number of Cities, was still commanded by Euribiates the Lacedemonian, though he was not of the Royal Family. The Athenians brought in more Ships and better Sailors than any other People, and the whole Fleet consisted of these particular Proportions: The Lacedemonians furnish’d eleven Ships, the Corinthians the same number they had at Artemisium, the Sicyonians fifteen, the Epidaurians ten, the Traæzenians five, and the Hermionians three. All these, except the last, were of Dorian or Macedonian Original, antiently transplanted from Erineus, Pindus, and Dryopis. The Hermionians indeed are of Dryopian Extraction; but they were ejected by Hercules and the Melians out of that Country which is now called Doris. These were the Forces of the Peloponnesians. From the Continent beyond the Isthmus, the Athenians alone furnished one hundred and eighty Ships; for the Platæans were not with them at the Battle of Salamis, by this Accident. When the Grecians had abandon’d Artemisium, and were arriv’d on the Coast of Chalcis, the Platæans landed in a Place adjoining to the farther part of Baotia, in order to carry
carry off their Wives and Children; and whilst they took care to preserve their Families, were themselves left behind. When the Pelasgians possess'd those Countries, which now go by the name of Greece, the Athenians were called Cranian Pelasgians. Under the Reign of Cecrops, they had the name of Cecropians; which in the time of their King Erechtheus, they changed for that of Athenians: and lastly were nam'd Ionians from Ion the Son of Xuthus, who was their General. The Megareans appear'd with the same number of Ships they had at Artemisium; the Ambracians furnish'd seven, and the Leucadians, who are Dorians, of Corinthian Extraction, three. From the Islands the Æginetes brought in thirty Ships, and having left divers others at home for the Guard of their Country, fought at Salamis in these thirty, which were the best Sailors they had. The Æginetes are Dorians, descended from Epidaurus, and their Island was formerly known by the name of Oenone. Next to these the Chalcideans appear'd with twenty Sail, being the same they had at Artemisium; and the Eretrians with seven: both these Nations are Ionians. The Chians, who are likewise Ionians, and descended from the Athenians, came with the same number they had before. The Naxians brought in four Ships, though they had been sent by their Principals to join the Medes with the rest of the Islanders; but flighting their Orders, they chose to side with the Grecians, chiefly by the Peruaision of Democritus, an eminent Citizen of Naxus, and their Commander in chief. The Naxians also are Ionians, and derive their Blood from the Athenians.
nians. The Styreans came in with the fame Ships they had at Artemisium, and the Cynthians with one Ship of War, and a Galley of fifty Oars: Both these People are Dryopians. The Seriphians, the Siphnians, and the Melians took part with the Grecians likewise, having already distinguish'd themselves from all the rest of the Islanders, by refusing Earth and Water to the Barbarian. All these Nations are situate between the River Acheron and the Thespianians, who inhabiting beyond Ambracia and Leucadia, came to this Expedition from a greater distance than the rest. But of all the People that inhabit the Countries above the Thespianians, the Crotonians, originally of Achaia, came singly to succour Greece in this time of Danger, and brought in one Ship of War, commanded by Phy Abbas, who had thrice been victorious in the Pythian Exercises. The Melians, the Siphnians, and the Seriphians arriv'd in Gallies of fifty Oars, but the rest of the Fleet consisted of Ships built with three Ranks. The Melians, who are descended from the Lacedemonians, furnish'd two; and the Siphnians, with the Seriphians, both Ionians, of Athenian Original, two more. So that the whole number of these Ships, without accounting the Gallies, amounted to three hundred and seventy eight.

WHEN they were all assembled at Salamis from the several Cities I have mention'd, they held a Council of War; in which Eurybiades proposed to the rest of the Captains, that every Man would freely deliver his Opinion, where he thought they might fight with most advantage, in those Parts which were yet in their Possession.
For having already laid aside all thoughts of Attica as of a lost Country, and now only consulting in what other Place they should engage, the greater number agreed in opinion, that they should fail to the Ithmus, and fight upon the Coasts of Peloponnesus: alluding for their Reasons, that if they should lose a Battle at Salamis, they should be besieged in the Island, without the least hope of Succour; whereas if the like Misfortune should happen at the Ithmus, they might retire to their own Cities. When the Peloponnesians were come to this Conclusion, a certain Athenian arriv’d with Advice, that the Barbarian had enter’d Attica, and set fire to all the Places he found in his way: For Xerxes, with his Army, having pass’d thro’ Boeotia, where he burnt the City of the Thespians, who were retir’d to Peloponnesus, and the City of the Plataeans, marched to Athens, and destroyed every thing. He set fire to Thespiæ and Platea, upon the information he had from the Thebans, that those Cities were not in the Interest of the Medes. The Barbarians had spent a month in passing the Hellespont, and bringing their Forces into Europe: In three months more they arriv’d in Attica, when Calliades was Archon of the Athenians, and took the City, abandon’d by all the Inhabitants, except a few Men they found in the Temple, with the Officers of that Place, and some indigent Persons, who having fortified the Acropolis with Gates, and Palisadoes of Wood, defended themselves against the Enemy. These Men did not go to Salamis; partly by reason of their Poverty, and partly because they thought they had found the Sense of the Oracle deliver’d by the Pythian,
Herodotus, "That the Wall of Wood should be " impregnable: " imagining that this was the Defence predicted by the Priests, and not the Navy. The Persians, on their part, posted themselves over against the Fort upon a Hill, which the Athenians call Areopagus; and began their Attack in this manner. Having wrapped their Arrows in Tow, and set fire to them, they shot into the Works of the Besieged, who, though they were in the utmost extremity, and saw their Palisadoes all in flames, yet resolving to defend themselves to the last, refused to accept the Terms that were offer'd by the Pisistratides, if they would surrender: and, among other things they contriv'd for their Defence, threw down Mill-stones upon the Barbarians, as they made their Approaches to the Gates. So that Xerxes was in no little perplexity, for a considerable time, to find he could not reduce the Place. At last the Barbarians surmounted these Difficulties, by discovering another way to enter the Fort, according to the Prediction of the Oracle: "That all the Territories of Attica, which are situate on the "Continent, should be subdued by the Persians." Having therefore found out a certain Passage behind the Gates, and the Ascent that leads to the Front of the Acropolis, where the Athenians had plac'd no Guard, because they had no suspicion that any Man could pass that way; some of the Barbarians mounted the Precipice, by the Temple of Aglaura, the Daughter of Cecrops. When the Athenians saw the Enemy within the Acropolis, some threw themselves down from the Walls, and were killed, and others retir'd into the Temple. But the Persians
Perfians, who had enter'd, went immediately to the Gates; and having forced them open, kill'd all those that had taken Sanctuary there: after which Slaughter, they pillag'd the Temple, and set fire to every part of the Acropolis.

XERXES being thus entirely Master of Athens, dispatch'd a Messenger to Susa on horseback, to acquaint Artabanus with the prosperous Condition of his Affairs: And the next day after the Departure of this Courier, he call'd together the Athenian Exiles, who were in his Army, and order'd them to go up to the Acropolis, and to sacrifice according to the Custom of their own Country. But whether he command'd this by the impulse of a Dream, or from a Motive of Remorse for burning the Temple, is uncertain. However that be, the Exiles perform'd his Command; and I shall now give the Reason that mov'd me to mention the thing. In the Acropolis stands a Temple dedicated to Erechtheus, who is reported to have been born of the Earth; and within that Building an Olive-tree, with a Representation of a Sea, serving for a Monument, as the Athenians say, of the Contention between Neptune and Minerva, about that Country. The Olive-tree was burnt with the Temple by the Fire of the Barbarians; and yet the next day after, when the Athenians went thither to sacrifice, by the King's Command, they saw a Shoot risen from the Trunk, of a full Cubit in height: at least the Exiles said so.

WHEN the Grecians at Salamis were inform'd of what had happen'd to the Fortresses of Athens, they fell into so great a Conternation, that some of the Commanders went out of the Council.
Council without staying to hear the Result of the Deliberation, and hastening to their Ships, hoisted sail in order to depart; whilst those who continued to sit, came to a Resolution, to return and fight at the Isthmus. The Assembly broke up at night, and every one departed to his own Ship. But when Themistocles was come on board, Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, asked him what they had determined to do; and being told they had resolv'd to return to the Isthmus, and fight to defend Peloponnesus, "Then, said he, if these Men carry off their Ships from Salamis, you will fight for no Country at all; because they will certainly return home to their several Cities: and neither Eurybiades, nor any other Man living, will be able to prevent the Dispersion of the Fleet; and Greece must perish by bad Counsel. Therefore, without delay, endeavour to contrive some means to break these Measures; and try by all possible Ways, to persuade Eurybiades to alter his Opinion, and to continue in this Station." Themistocles heard his Advice with great Joy, and, without returning any Answer, went immediately on board the Ship of Eurybiades; and after he had acquainted him that he had something to communicate to him, which concern'd the common Safety, the Lacedemonian desir'd him to speak with freedom. Then Themistocles sat down, and appropriating to himself the Counsel of Mnesiphilus, spoke to him in the same Terms, and prevail'd with him to go ashore, and to summon the Commanders together. When they were all assembled, before Eurybiades had acquainted them with the Cause of their meet-
ing, Themistocles, as he had too great reason, enter'd into an ample Deduction of the State of their Affairs: But whilst he was speaking, Adi-mantus, the Son of Ocytus, Commander of the Corinthians, interrupting him, said, "Themis-tocles, those who stand up before others are corrected with a Switch." True, reply'd "Themistocles: But those who falter in the Race, never win the Crown." Having thus calmly answer'd the Corinthian, he turn'd to Eurybiades; and, omitting that part of his former Discourse, which foretold their Separation, in case they should leave Salamis, because he thought himself oblig'd by Decency, not to accuse any of the Confederates in the presence of the rest, took a different Method and said, "The Safety of Greece, O Eurybiades, is now entirely in your Power, if, approving my Opinion, you will stay and fight in this Place, and not hearken to those who would per-suade you to retire with the Fleet to the Isthmus. You will see this plainly, when I shall have shewn you the Consequences of each Proposition. If you fight before the Isthmus, you must fight in an open Sea; which will be a Disadvantage to us, because our Ships are not only more slow, but fewer in number than those of the Enemy; and besides, you will inevitably sacrifice Salamis, Megara, and Aegina, though we should happen to meet with better Fortune in other Places: And as the Land-Army of the Barbarians will certainly follow their Fleet, you will by this mean, draw all their Forces into Peloponnesus, and bring all Greece into the utmost danger. But on the other hand,
HERODOTUS.

"if you will do as I advise you will reap the following Advantages: In the first place, being oblig'd with few Ships to fight against a great number, we shall gain much in point of Strength, if we come to an Engagement in a narrow Channel, unless things vary from their usual Course; for our Interest obliges us to fight in such Place, as much as the Enemy should endeavour to engage in the wide Sea. Besides we shall preserve Salamis, where we have left our Wives and Children. But that which ought principally to prevail with you, is, that if you stay and fight here, you will defend Peloponæus no less effectually, than by fighting at the Isthmus; and, if you consult your prudence, you will never lead the Enemy thither. In a word, if we beat the Barbarians at Sea, as I hope we shall, they will neither proceed to the Isthmus, nor penetrate farther than Attica, but must return home with Disgrace; and we shall have this additional Advantage, that we shall preserve Megara, Ægina, and Salamis; where we may reasonably expect to be superior to the Enemy. Men generally meet with Success, when their Enterprizes are founded upon prudent Counsels; but God himself will not indulge their ill-conceiv'd Opinions, if they determine to take such Measures as carry no Probability of a prosperous Event." When Themistocles had said these Words, Adimantus the Corinthian, breaking out a second time into Invectives against him, said, He ought now to be silent because he had no Country to speak for; and not bearing with patience, that Eurybiades should
should permit him to deliver his Opinion, told him, he might then have a Voice in the Council, when he should be able to say he had a Home: Upbraiding him in this manner, because Athens was taken, and in the hands of the Persian. Themistocles, thus provoked, said many things to the disadvantage of the Corinthians, and of Adimantus in particular; telling them, that he had yet a Country of greater power than Corinth, since the Athenians had still two hundred Ships of War, arm'd and mann'd by themselves, which no Nation of Greece was able to resist. And after he had vindicated himself, addressing his Discourse again to Eurybiades, he said, with some Emotion; "If you stay, you will do the "part of an honest Man; if you go, you will "ruin Greece; for the Fate of the War rests "wholly in our Fleet. Be persuaded then by "my Reasons; or, if you are resolv'd not to "do as I desire, we will immediately take our "Families on board, and depart to Siris, a Ci-
"ty of Italy, belonging to us from antient time, "which we are told by an oracle, is to be "built and peopled by the Athenians: Perh-
haps you will remember my Words, when "you shall find yourself abandon'd by so con-
"siderable a Part of your Allies." When Themistocles had thus spoken, Eurybiades alter'd his Opinion; or rather, as I conjecture, the Apprehensions he had, that the Athenians would leave him, if he should fail with the Fleet to the Isthmus, prevai'd upon him to change his Resolution: For, without the Assistance of the Athenians, the rest were no way able to resist the Enemy. So, adhering to the Opinion of Themistocles, he determin'd to stay and come
to a Battel at Salamis. Which Resolution was no sooner taken, than those, who before had disputed with such Warmth, prepar'd them- selves unanimously for an Engagement. But after day-break, upon the rising of the Sun, a Shog was felt both by Land and Sea: Upon which, they resolv'd to invoke the Gods, and to implore the Help of the Æacides. Accordingly, having addressed their Prayers to all the Gods, and invoked Ajax and Telamon, in the Place where they were, they sent a Ship to Ægina, with like Instructions, in reference to Æacus, and the Æacides. Dicæus, the Son of Theoclydes, an Athenian Exile, in great reputation with the Medes, reported. That after the Territories of Attica had been ravag'd by the Land-Forces of Xerxes, and abandon'd by the Athenians, he happen'd to be at that time with Demaratus, in the Plain of Thriasium; where he saw so great a Dust rising from Eleusis, as might probably be rais'd by thirty thousand Men; That wondering at the Sight, and who should be the Cause, they heard a Voice, which to him seem'd like that of Mystical Iacbus: That Demaratus being unacquainted with the Eleusinian Mysteries, ask'd him the meaning of the Noise, and that he made the following Answer; "Demaratus, said he, some signal Disastar will certainly befall the King's Army; for since Attica is utterly abandon'd, this can be no other than the Voice of God, coming from Eleusis, to succour the Athenians and their Allies. If he goes to Peloponnesus, the King and his Land-Forces will be in danger on the Continent; and if he takes his way to Salamis, the King will run the hazard of losing his
his Fleet. The Athenians annually celebrate this Festival to Ceres and Proserpina; admit-
ing all other Grecians, who desire it, to be initiated in these Mysteries: and the Cries you hear, are such as they make at the Ce-
lebration of this Solemnity." To these Words, Demaratus replied; "Be silent, and say nothing to any Man of this Matter; for if the King should be inform'd of your Discourse, he would take off your Head; and neither I nor any other could possibly save you: Therefore keep the thing secret; and as for the Army, let the Care of that rest with the Gods." After Demaratus had given him this Counsel, and both together had seen the Dust and heard the Voice, they perceiv'd a Cloud ascen-ding in the fame Place, 'rolling thro' the Air to Salamis, and there hovering over the Grecian Fleet: By which they understood, that the Navy of Xerxes should be destroy'd. These things were affirm'd by Dicaeus, the Son of The-
ocydes, appealing to the Testimony of Demara-
tus, and other Witnesses.

WHEN the naval Forces of Xerxes had view'd the dead Bodies of the Lacedemonians, they passed over from Trachis to Histaia, and af-
ter three days stay, fail'd through the Euripus, and in three days more, arriv'd at Phaleron. Their Numbers, in my opinion, were no les, both by Land and by Sea; when they came to Athens, than when they arriv'd at Sepias and at Thermopyle. For I balance the Los's of those that perished in the Storm, and at Thermopyle, as well as of those that were kill'd in the Sea-fight at Artemisium, with the additional Forces they receiv'd from the Melians, the Dorians,
the Locrians, and generally from all the Boeotians, except the Thespian and the Paltæans; none of these People having before join’d the King’s Army. To this Number I must also add the Carystians, the Andrians, and the Te- nians, with all the rest of the Islanders, except the five Cities I mentioned before: For the farther the Persian penetrated into Greece, the more was his Army increased, by the Nations that follow’d his Fortune. When they were all arriv’d at Phaleron, and at Athens, except only the Parians, who flaid at Cythnus, in expectation of the Event, Xerxes himself went on board the Fleet to confer with the Commanders, and to know their Opinions: Where, after he had taken his seat, and the Kings of the several Na- tions, with the other Generals of his Marine Forces, were assembled, by his Direction, they sat down likewise in the Order appointed by him; the King of Sidon first; next to him, the King of Tyre; then the rest in their respective Ranks; and when they were all placed, Xerxes sent Mardonius to put the question to every one in particular, whether they should venture an Engagement by Sea, or not. Accordingly, Mar- donius beginning at the King of Sidon, collected the Opinions of the whole Assembly; which were unanimous for fighting, except only that of Artemisia, who said; “Mardonius, tell the “King I give my opinion in these Words: “Sir, since I have not behav’d myself worse “nor done less than others, in the Actions up- “on the Coast of Euboea, I may with reason “speak my Thoughts freely; and let you know “what I think most advantageous to your Affairs “I advise you then to save your Ships, and not
to come to an Engagement against those, who, by Sea, are as much superior to your Forces as Men are to Women. Besides, what need have you to hazard another Battel at Sea? Is not Athens in your possession, for which you undertook the War? And you are Master of the rest of Greece; for no Man now opposes you, since those who ventur'd to resist, met with the Fate they deserv'd. But, to tell you what I think will be the Fortune of the Enemy: If you abstain from hazarding a Sea-fight, and order the Fleet to continue here, you will easily compass the Design you came about; whether you stay aghore in this place, or advance to Peloponnesus in person. For the Grecians cannot be long in a condition to resist, but must separate, and fly to their own Cities; because, as I am inform'd, they have no Provisions in this Island. Neither can we with any reason believe, that, when you have march'd your Land-Forces into Peloponnesus, those who came hither from thence, will continue here, and fight a Battel by Sea, in order to defend the Territories of the Athenians. But if you determine to engage the Enemy at this time, I fear the Defeat of your Naval Forces will cause the Destruction of your Land-Army. Consider, SIR, that good Men have sometimes bad Servants, and bad Men good. You are the best of Men, but you have bad Servants, who yet go under the name of your Confederates; and such are the Ægyptians, the Cyprians, the Cilicians, and the Pamphylians, all utterly insignificant."
had said these words to Mardonius, her Friends were not a little disturb'd, fearing she might fall under the King's Displeasure, for diffusing him from a Battle at Sea. But those who envied her, because she was no less honour'd than the most considerable among the Confederates, were glad she had delivered such an Opinion, as they thought must certainly ruin her. Yet when the Report was made to Xerxes, he shew'd himself extremely pleas'd with the Opinion of Artemisia; and having always esteem'd her zealous for his Interests, he now honour'd her with greater Praifes than before. Nevertheless he determin'd to comply with the Majority; and thinking his Forces had not done their best at Euboea, because he was not present, he resolv'd to be Spectator of the Engagement. To that end Orders were given out for failing, and the whole Fleet stood towards Salamis, drawing up into national Squadrons at leisure. But because Night was coming on, and the remaining Light not sufficient for a Battle, they prepar'd themselves to fight the next Day. In the mean time the Grecians were under much Fear and Apprehensions, of which the Peloponnesians had the greatest share; reflecting with Aftonishment, that they were then at Salamis, ready to fight for a Place belonging to the Athenians; and that if they were beaten, they should be besieg'd, and prevented from retiring to their own Country, which they had left without defence.

IN that fame Night the Land-Army of the Barbarians march'd towards Peloponnesus, where the Grecians had done all they could to prevent an Irruption by the way of the Continent. For fo
soon as they had heard of the Slaughter of the Peloponnesians with Leonidas, they drew together from their Cities to the Isthmus, and put themselves under the Conduct of Cleombrotus, the Son of Anaxandrides, and Brother to Leonidas. Being encamped there, they first fortified the Passage of Sciron; and afterwards having resolv'd to erect a Wall upon the Isthmus, they brought that Work to perfection, every Man, of so many thousands that were in the Army, performing his part, without exception. For they were all employ'd in carrying Stones, Bricks, Timber, or Hodds of Sand, working without intermission both by night and by day. The Grecians who came to succour the common Cause at the Isthmus, were, the Lacedemonians, the Arcadians, the Eleans, the Corinthians, the Sicyonians, the Epidaurians, the Phliasians, the Tecezenians, and the Hermioneans; all highly concern'd for the Danger of Greece. But the rest of the Peloponnesians took no care of any thing, tho' the Olympian and Carnian Solemnities were past.

PELOPONNESUS is inhabited by seven Nations, two of which are the Arcadians and the Cynurians, who being originally of that Country, have always dwelt in the same Places they now possess. After these the Achaians, who, tho' they never abandoned Peloponnesus, yet left their ancient Seat, and settled themselves in another. The remaining four are Strangers, and consist of Dorians, Ætolians, Dryopians, and Lemnians. The Cities of the Dorians are many, and of great Fame: The Ætolians have only Elis: The Dryopians, Hermione and Asina, situate near Cardamyla, a City of Laconia; and the Lemnians are
are Masters of all the Places that lie at the foot of the Mountains. Among these, the Cynurians alone appear to have been Ionians; but were accounted Dorians after they fell under the Power of the Argians, as were also the Orneates and their Neighbours. Now except those Nations I mention’d before, the rest of the seven sat still; or rather, if I may speak with freedom, abstained themselves, because they favour’d the Medes. Nevertheless the Grecians at the Isthmus concurr’d with all possible Diligence to finish the Work they had undertaken, expecting no Success from their Navy. On the other hand, those at Salamis were much disturb’d when they heard these things, as being more concern’d for Peloponnesus than for themselves. They first began to whisper to one another, and to wonder at the Imprudence of Eurybiades; till at last breaking out into open Murmurs, a Council of War was called, and a long Debate arose. Some said they ought to sail for Peloponnesus, and hazard a Battle for that Country, rather than to stay and fight for a Place already in the power of the Enemy. But the Athenians, the Æginetes, and the Megareans, voted to stay and fight at Salamis. Then Themistocles seeing his Opinion set aside by the Peloponnesians, went privately out of the Council, and sent away a Man to the Enemy’s Fleet, in a small Vessel, with such Orders as he thought necessary. The Name of the Man was Sicinus, he lived in his Family, had the care of instructing his Sons; and in succeeding time, when the Thebians augment’d the Number of their Citizens, Themistocles procur’d him to be made a Citizen of Theopia, and gave
gave him considerable Riches. This Person arriving in the Fleet, delivered his Message to the Barbarian Generals in these Words: "The Captain of the Athenians, who is in the Interest of the King, and desires your Affairs may prosper, rather than those of Greece, has sent me privately away, with Orders to let you know, that the Grecians in great consternation have determined to betake themselves to flight; and that you have now an Opportunity of achieving the most glorious of all Enterprizes, unless your Negligence opens a Way to their Escape. For being divided in their Opinions, they will not oppose your Forces; but you will see those who are your Friends, fighting against those who are not of your Party." Sicinus having thus deliver'd his Message, departed immediately; and the Enemy believing what he said, landed a considerable Number of Persians in Pfyttalea, an Island lying between Salamis and the Continent: And about midnight stretching the westwardly Point of their Fleet towards Salamis, whilst those who were about Ceos and Cynosura extended the other to Munychia, they shut up the whole Coast with their Ships. In this manner they dispos'd their Fleet, that the Grecians finding no way to escape, might be all taken at Salamis, to compensate the Loss of the Barbarians in the Action of Artemision; and landed the Persians in Pfyttalea, to the end that, as they expected the most part of the disabled Ships and distress'd Men would be driven thither, because that Island is situate near the place where the Battle was like to be fought, they might be ready to save what-
ever they thought fit, and to destroy the rest. But these things they endeavour'd to conceal from the Grecians, and pass'd the whole Night without Sleep in making all necessary Preparations. Considering the Event of this War, I have nothing to say against the Truth of Oracles, resolving not to attempt to invalidate so manifest a Prediction.

When circling Ships shall join the sacred Shore
Of Artemis to Cynosura's Coast,
Just Vengeance then shall reach the furious Youth,
True Son of Violence, who vainly proud
Of ravag'd Athens, insolently thought
That all must bow to his audacious Rage:
For clashing Swords shall meet, and Mars shall stain
The foaming Billows with a purple Gore.
Then Saturn's Son and Victory shall bring
A glorious Day of Liberty to Greece.

These Words of Bacis are so clear, that I dare not dispute the Veracity of Oracles, nor shall admit the Objections of others.

IN the mean time the Generals at Salamis continued their Debates with great Animosity, not knowing that they were surrounded by the Ships of the Barbarians. But when Day was come, they saw the Enemy so dispos'd, as if they design'd to make towards the Shore. And whilst they were still in Council Aristides the Son of Lytmachus arrived from Ægina. He was an Athenian, but voted into Exile by the People: And yet, for as much as I have learnt of his Manners, he was the best and juilest Man in Athens. This Person coming to the place where the Council sat, sent for Themistocles out, who was
was not his Friend, but rather the fiercest of his Enemies: yet the Greatness of the impending Danger made him forget their former Enmity, and resolve to confer with him; because he had heard that the Peloponnesians were determined to retire with the Fleet to the Ithmus. When Themistocles came out, Aristides said, "We ought at this time, and on all occasions, to contend who shall do the greatest Service to our Country. I assure you, that to say little or much to the Peloponnesians, about their Departure, is the same thing: For I tell you as an Eye-witness, that neither Eurypides himself, nor the Corinthians, can now retire, if they would, because we are on all sides inclosed by the Enemies Fleet. Go in again therefore, and acquaint the Council with our Condition." Themistocles answered, "Your Admonition is exceeding grateful, and the News you bring most acceptable: For you tell me you have seen that, which I defir'd should come to pass above all things. Know then, that what the Medes have done, proceeds from me: for necessity requir'd, that those Grecians, who would not fight voluntarily, should be compelled to an Engagement against their will. But since you have brought so good News, let the Council hear it from yourself; because if I should be the Reporter, they would think it a Fiction, and I shall not persuade them that the Barbarians are doing such a thing. Go in therefore and inform them of the Fact: If they believe you, nothing better can happen; if not, we are still in the same Condition: for they have no way open to escape
"escape by Flight, if, as you say, we are al-
ready encompassed on all sides." Accordingly
Aristides going in, gave the same Account
to the Council, acquainting them that he
came from Ægina, after he had with great
difficulty made his Passage, and eluded the
Vigilance of the Enemy, who with the whole
Navy of Xerxes had entirely encompassed the
Grecian Ships. He counselled them therefore
to prepare themselves with all Diligence for
their Defence; and when he had said this, he
retired. But yet the Disension continued a-
mong the Generals, and the greater part gave
no credit to the Report, till a Tenian Ship,
commanded by Panatius, the Son of Socime-
nes, arriving from the Enemy to join the Gre-
cians, discover'd the whole Truth; and for
that Action the name of the Tenians was en-
grav'd upon the Tripos consecrated at Delphi,
among those who defeated the Barbarian. By
the addition of this Ship, and that of Lemnos,
which came over at Artemisium, the Grecian
Fleet now amounted to three hundred and
eighty Sail; for before, they wanted two of
that number.

THE Grecians believing the Account they
receiv'd from the Tenians, prepar'd for an En-
gagement; and at day-break called a general
Assembly of the Men at Arms: in which Themis-
tones having first declar'd the hopes he had of
a prosperous Event, framed all his Discourse to
shew the Difference between Actions of the
greatest Glory, and those of less importance;
animating them to chuse the most noble, as far
as the Nature and Condition of Man permit.
When he had finish'd his Speech, he encourag'd
them
them to return on board; which they had no sooner done, than the Ship they had sent to Ægina, with Orders touching the Æacides, return'd to Salamis, and at the same time the Grecians weigh'd all their Anchors. The Barbarians seeing them coming out, advance'd with diligence; but the Grecians continu'd luffing, and bearing upon the Stern: when Aminias, an Athenian of the Pallenian Tribe, breaking out of the Line, fell in among the Enemy, and fasten'd the Grappling-Iron to one of their Ships; which the rest perceiving, and that there was no other way to bring him off, they made up to his Assistance: and thus the Athenians say the Fight began. But the Æginetians affirm, that the Ship which went to Ægina, with the Instructions about the Æacides, was the first engag'd. There is also a Report that a Phantom appear'd in the shape of a Woman, encouraging the Grecians with so loud a Voice, that she was heard by all the Fleet, after she had first reproach'd them in these words: "Infatuated Men! how long will you rest upon your Oars, and forbear to advance?" In the Order of Battel, the Phœnicians were placed on that Wing which fronted the Athenians, and extended Westward towards Eleusis. The Ionians were rang'd on the other Point, facing the Lacedemonians, and stretching towards the East and the Piræus. Of these some few, persuaded by the Admonition of Themistocles, voluntarily omitted to perform their part; yet the greatest number did their best: And I could give the Names of many Captains who took Ships from the Grecians, though I shall mention no more than Theomesfor.
the Son of Androdamas, and Phylacus the Son of Hifteus, both Samians. I name these two, because Theomeflor was afterwards made Tyrant of Samos by the Persians, for his Service on this occasion, and Phylacus was not only admitted into the number of those, who by deserving well of the King, are call'd among the Persians Orofanges, but rewarded with large Possessions in Land: and such were the Recompences of these two Commanders. Nevertheless this numerous Fleet was defeated at Salamis, and receiv'd a terrible Blow, principally from the Athenians and the Æginetes: For the Grecians observed so good Order, and such a steady Conduct in the Fight, whilst the Barbarians fought in a disorderly manner, and without judgment, that no other Event could be expected; yet the Enemy shew'd far more Courage that day, than they had done before on the Coast of Eubœa, or at any other time; every one exerting himself vigorously, in fear of the King's Displeasure, because they all imagin'd that their Actions were observ'd by him. I cannot exactly relate how each particular Person, either of the Grecians or Barbarians, behav'd himself in this Engagement; but an Adventure happen'd to Artemisia, which served to augment her Credit with Xerxes. For when the King's Fleet was in the utmost Confusion, Artemisia finding she was chas'd by an Athenian Ship, and not knowing whither to fly, because she had those of her own Party in Front, and the Enemy in the Rear, contriv'd to do a thing which turn'd to her great advantage: As she fled from the Athenian, she drove directly upon a Ship of her own side, belonging to the Calyn-
diants, and having their King Damasiphymus on board: But whether on account of a Contes-
tation they had together at the Hellespont, she pur-
posefully run down his Ship; or whether the Cal-
lyndians were in her way by accident, I cannot
affirm. However, the Ship went down to-rights,
and Artemisia had the good fortune to reap a
double advantage by that Blow: For the Cap-
tain of the Athenian Ship, when he saw the
Barbarian funk, concluding Artemisia’s Ship to
be a Grecian, or at least one that had aban-
don’d the Enemy to join with the Grecians,
gave over the Chace, and left her. By which
means Artemisia not only escap’d the Danger,
but advance’d her Reputation with Xerxes by a
bad Action: For they say, that when the King,
who was Spectator of the Exploit, had taken
notice of the Ship which gave the shock, one of
those about him said, “SIR, You see with
what Courage Artemisia fights, and has funk
one of the Enemy’s Ships.” Then the King
asking, if indeed Artemisia had done that Ac-
tion? they answer’d, that they knew the Flag
perfectly well, still imagining the lost Ship to
be an Enemy. For to the rest of her good For-
tune, which I mention’d before, this also was
added, that none of the Company belonging to
the Calyndian Ship surviv’d to accuse her. So
that when Xerxes heard their Answer, he is re-
ported to have said, “My Men have fought
like Women, and my Women like Men.” In
this Battle Ariabignes, the Son of Darius, and
Brother of Xerxes, was killed, with great num-
bers of illustrious Men, as well Persians and
Medes as their Confederates. On the part of
the Grecians the Slaughter was not great; be-
cause
caife those who loft their Ships, and surviv'd the Fate of War, saved themselves by their Skill in swimming, and got ashore at Salamis; whereas most of the Barbarians being ignorant of that Art, perish'd in the Sea. The greatest loss the Enemy sustained, began after their headmost Ships were put to flight; for those who lay a-stern, endeavouring to come up into the Van, that they might shew the King some proof of their Courage, fell foul upon their own flying Ships. In this Confusion some Phœnicians, whose Ships were destroyed, going to the King, told him, the Ionians had betray'd all, and been the Caufe of their Disafter: But contrary to their Expectation, the Punishment they design'd to bring upon the Ionian Commanders, fell upon the Accusers themselves: For whilst they were yet speaking, a Samothracian Ship attacking one of Attica, sunk the Athenian; and a Ship of ΄êgina coming up in that instant, sunk the Samothracian. But the Samothracians being armed with Javelins, poured in such a shower from the sinking Vessel upon the ΄êginetes, that venturing to board the conquering Ship, they carry'd her. This Success fav'd the Ionians: For Xerxes having seen them perform so great an Action, turn'd about to the Phœnicians; and being above measure troubled, and ready to fling the blame every where, commanded their Heads to be struck off, that they might no more accuse those who had fought better than themselves. He sat upon the Descent of a Hill, called ΄êgaleos, over againft Salamis; and whenever he saw a remarkable Action done in the Fight by any one of his Officers, he made Inquiry touching the Man, and caus'd
caus'd his Secretaries to write down his Name, his Family, and his Country. But not satisfy'd with the Slaughter of the Phœnicians, he add'd that of Ariararnnes, a Persian, and his Favourite, who had been present at their Death. In the end the Barbarians betaking themselves to open flight, made the best of their way towards Phaleron; but the Æginetes waiting for them in their Passage through the Streights, gave memorable proof of their Valour: And as the Athenians destroy'd those flying Ships, which ventur'd to resist in the Confusion; the Æginetes did no less execution upon those which escap'd out of the Battel: So that, for the most part, when any Ship happen'd to avoid the Athenians, they fell into the hands of the Æginetes. In this Rout the Ship of Themistocles giving chase to one of the Enemy, came up with another commanded by Polycritus of Ægina, the Son of Crius, as he was ready to attack a Sidonian Ship, which prov'd to be the same that took the Guardship of the Æginetes near Scyathus, with Pytheas the Son of Ischenous on board; who being cover'd with Wounds, was exempted from Death by the Persians, in admiration of his Valour, and kept Prisoner in the Ship. In this Action the Sidonian Ship was taken with all the Men on board, and by that means Pytheas return'd safe to Ægina. But when Polycritus saw the Athenian Ship, which he knew to be the Admiral by the Flag he carry'd, he call'd aloud to Themistocles, and in a jesting manner bid him take notice how the Æginetes favour'd the Medes. In the mean time the Barbarians, with the Ships they had left, fled in great disorder towards their Land Forces, and arriv'd
at Phaleron. Among the Grecians, that fought this Battle, the Æginetes were most commended; and next to these the Athenians. Among the Captains, Polycritus of Ægina; and among the Athenians, Eumenes of the Anagyrian, with Aminias of the Pallenian Tribe, who gave chase to Artemisia; and if he had known she had been in the Ship, would not have given over the Pursuit, till either he had taken her, or the him. For the Athenians had given Orders to that purpose to all their Captains, and promised a Reward of ten thousand Drachmas to the Person who should take her alive; resenting, with great Indignation, that a Woman should make war against Athens. But, as I said before, she made her Escape, and with divers other Ships arriv'd at Phaleron. The Athenians say, that Adimantus, the Corinthian General, struck with a panick Fear in the beginning of the Fight, put up all his Sails, and took himself to flight: That the Corinthians seeing their Leader run, bore away after him; and when they had reach'd the Temple of Minerva at Sciras in Salamis, a Frigate magnificently adorn'd tell in with their Squadron: That when they found she made no Discovery whence she came, nor had brought any Message to the Corinthians from the Army, they concluded the thing to be divine; for as soon as the Frigate came up with their Ships, those on board cry'd out, "Adimantus, thou haft by thy flight depriv'd the Grecians of the Assifiance of these Ships, and art a Traytor to Greece; yet know, they shall conquer their Enemies as compleatly as they desire." That finding Adimantus gave no credit to their words, they added,
added, that they would be contented to remain as Hostages, and be put to death, if the Greeks were not victorious. Upon which Adimantus, with the rest of the Corinthians, return'd to the Fleet, but came not in till the Work was done. This Report is current among the Athenians; yet the Corinthians deny the Fact, and affirm they fought no less valiantly than the best; all the rest of Greece concurring to confirm their Assertion. Whilst things were in this Confusion on the Coast of Salamis, Aristides, the Son of Lyсимachus the Athenian, mention'd by me a little before as a most excellent Person, taking with him a considerable number of Men, all of Athenian Blood, who were drawn up along that Shore in their Arms, pass'd over to Pitalea, and put to the sword all the Persians he found in the Island. The Greeks, after the Engagement by Sea was over, brought to Salamis all the Wreck that continu'd floating about that Coast, and prepar'd for another Battel, expecting the King would make use of his remaining Ships to that end. But the greater part of the broken Vessels were carried by a South-Wind to the Shore of Colias in Attica; that not only those Predictions of Bacis and Musæus, touching the Success of the Sea-fight, might be verified; but that also relating to the Shatter'd Remains rolling to that Coast, which many years before had been deliver'd in these Terms to Lysistratus an Athenian Augur, and concealed from all the Greeks:

The Colian Dames shall shake to see the Oars.
This was to happen in the time of the King's Expedition.

WHEN Xerxes was inform'd of the Loss he had sustain'd, he began to apprehend that some of the Ionians, either upon the Suggestion of the Grecians, or from their own Inclination, might go and break the bridge at the Hellespont, and by that means, cutting off his Retreat out of Europe, might bring his Person into danger. Under these Apprehensions he resolv'd upon his Departure; but being willing to conceal his Intentions both from the Grecians, and from his own Forces, he attempted to form a Digue extending down to Salamis; and having fasten'd together the Phœnician Tenders, to serve for a Bridge and a Rampart, he prepar'd all things, as if he design'd to fight another Battle at Sea. Every one that saw him thus employ'd, firmly believ'd he had determin'd to stay, and to carry on the War in Person; except only Mardonius, who, by the knowledge he had of the King's Genius, was not ignorant of his Intentions. Whilst Xerxes was making these Preparations he dispatch'd a Message to the Persians, with an account of the Misfortune which had befallen him. Nothing is found among Men more expeditious than these Messengers, invented by the Persians, and regulated in this manner. For every Day's Journey they appoint a Man with a Horse, to be always ready to ride out that day, obliging him to perform his Course with the utmost diligence, and not to be prevented either by Snow, Rain, Heat, or the Darkness of Night. The first of these Couriers delivers his Orders to the second, the second to the third, and so forward
forward to the last; as the Torch consecrated to Vulcan passes from hand to hand among the Grecians. And this Expedition by laid Hor- fes, the Persians call Angarion. The first Mes- sage which was brought to Susa from Xerxes, with the News that he had taken Athens, cans'd so great Joy among the Persians there, that they strew'd the Streets with Myrtle, burnt Perfumes, sacrific'd, and abandon'd them- selves to Pleasure. But the second Messenger arriving, put them all into such a Confternation that they tore their Clothes, and with incessant Howlings and Lamentations threw all the blame upon Mardonius: Not that the Persians were so much troubled for the Disafter of the Fleet, but they dreaded the Danger of the King's Person; and continued in their Fears during all the time that passed between this Message, and the Return of Xerxes. In the mean time, Mardonius seeing Xerxes much dis- turb'd at the unhappy Event of the Sea-fight, and conjecturing he had meditated his Escape from Atilica, began to think, he should suffer the Penalty of having persuaded the King to make war against the Grecians; and therefore, that nothing could be more advantageous to him than to put all to the hazard, either to con- quer Greece, or die with Glory in so great an Attempt. Reflecting upon these things, and in- clinng to believe he might subdue Greece, he addressed himself to the King in these Words: "Sir, be not disturb'd, nor think you have receiv'd so great a Loss by the late Action; for we are not to determine this Dispute with Timber, but with Men and Horses. None of those, who imagine they have given us a
"a finishing Blow, will quit their Ships to appear against you in Arms by Land; neither have we any thing to fear from those of the Continent, because they have paid so dear already for their Resistance. If then you think fit, we will make an attempt upon Peloponnese; or, if you had rather take time to consider of that Enterprize, you may do so without hazard: only be not discourag'd; for the Grecians have no way to exempt themselves from rendering a severe Account of their past and present Actions; and must submit to be your Servants. In this manner I would advise you to act; but if you have determin'd to return, and to withdraw the Army, I have other Counsel to offer on that Subject. Above all things, Sir, let not the Persians be expos'd to the Derision of the Grecians; for they have brought no Disappointment upon your Affairs, nor can you charge us with want of Courage on any Occasion. If the Phœnicians, Ægyptians, Cyprians, and Cilicians, have behaved themselves ill, their Faults are not to be attributed to the Persians. Since therefore the Persians cannot be justly blame'd, let me persuade you, if you have resolv'd your Return, to take with you the greatest part of the Army, and to leave me three hundred thousand chosen Men; with which I take up on me to reduce all Greece to your Obedience." Xerxes having heard these Words with as much Joy and Satisfaction, as his Despondency had been great, told Mardonius, he would consider his Propositions, and let him know which of the two he should approve. To that
that end, after he had call’d together a Coun-
cil of Persians, he determin’d to send for Ar-
temisiz, in order to consult with her also, because
she alone seem’d to have understood the Mea-
sures that ought to have been taken before. 
When Artemisia came, Xerxes order’d the Coun-
cil and Guards to withdraw, and spoke to her
in these Terms: "Mardonius encourages me
to stay here, and to attack Peloponnesus; telling
me that the Persians are not at all guilty of
the Defeat I have receiv’d, but wish for an
Occasion to give me Demonstration of their
Valour. This Enterprize he counsels me to
attempt; or else, with three hundred thou-
sand Men chosen out of my Forces, he him-
sely proposes to conquer Greece for me, and
desires I would return home with the rest of
the Army. You therefore, who gave me
such prudent Counsel, in diffuading me from
hazarding a Battle at Sea, advise me now, which
of these two Propositions you think most ad-
vantageous to my Affairs." To this De-
mand, Artemisia answer’d; "Sir, I am under
no little Difficulty how to give you the good
Counsel you desire; yet, considering the pre-
sent State of things, I am of opinion, you
should return home, and leave Mardonius
here with the Troops he requires, if he will
take this Enterprize upon him: For if he
conquers these Countries, as he promises,
and all things succeed to his mind, the Ho-
nour, Sir, will redound to you, because your
Servants were the Instruments of the Succes:
But if, contrary to the Expectation of Mar-
donius, the Event should prove unprosperous,
the Misfortune cannot be great, so long as
you
you survive, and your own Affairs are safe at home: For whilst you and your House are in being, the Grecians will be often driven to run the utmost hazards to preserve themselves; so that whatever Disaster may fall upon Mardonius, is of no importance: Neither could the Grecians call themselves Conquerors, though they should happen to destroy your Slave. In a word, having burnt Athens, which was the thing you propos'd to do in this War, you may with reason return home." This Counsel being so agreeable to the Inclination of Xerxes, pleas'd him exceedingly; for his Fears were so great, that if all the Men and Women of the World had advis'd him to stay, I believe he would never have consented. He applauded the Wisdom of Artemisia; and when she had taken leave, she departed from Ephesus with some of his natural Sons, who had accompanied him in his Expedition. With these Children he sent Hermotimus their Governour, by Descent a Pedæean, and among the Eunuchs, inferiour to none in the King's Favour. The Pedæeans inhabit above Halicarnassus; and 'tis said, that when any Calamity is, within a certain time, to fall upon themselves, and all those who live about their City, a great Beard shoots from the Chin of Minerva's Priestess; which Prodigy has been seen twice in that Place. Hermotimus was born among these Pedæeans; and of all the Men we know, reveng'd himself in the severest manner for an Injury he had receiv'd. He was taken by an Enemy, and sold to one Panionius, a Chian, who liv'd by a most infamous Practice; for whenever he purchas'd Boys of excellent Beau-
ty, he castrated them, and sold them at Sardis and Ephesus for immense sums; because the Barbarians set a greater value upon Eunuchs than upon others, on account of their fidelity in all respects. Among the many Panionius had castrated, Hermotimus was one; yet, not being unfortunate in every thing, he was sent from Sardis, with other presents to the King; and in time became the greatest favourite of all his Eunuchs. Whilst Xerxes was at Sardis, preparing to lead his army against Athens, Hermotimus went on some occasion to Atarneus, a town of Mycia, possessed by the Chians, and found Panionius there: He knew him, and entertaining him with much discourse in a friendly manner, acquainted him first with the many felicities he had acquired by his means, and promised him great things in requital, if he would come to his house, and bring his sons with him. Panionius heard all this with satisfaction, and accordingly came with his wife and children. But when Hermotimus saw the whole family in his power, he said, "O thou, who hast to this time sustained thy most wicked life, by transcending all others in a detestable commerce, what had I, or any of my ancestors done to thee or thine, that of a man, thou hast made me nothing? Thy opinion surely was, that the gods would not see that action: But they, for thy crimes, have now delivered thee into my hands with so much justice, that thou canst have no colour to complain of the punishment I shall inflict upon thee." When he had thus upbraided him, he order'd his four sons to be brought in, and compelled the father
HERODOTUS.

334

There to castrate them in his presence. Panionius, constrain'd by inevitable Necessity, did as he commanded; and after he had done, his Sons were forced to do the same to him. In this manner Hermotimus was reveng'd, and Panionius punish'd in the way he deserv'd. Xerxes having committed his Sons to Artemisia's Care, in order to be conducted to Ephesus, sent for Mardonius, and bid him chuse what Forces he would out of the Army, that he might be able to perform the things he had promis'd. Nothing more was done that day; but in the night, the Generals, by the King's Order, fail'd with the Fleet from Phaleron, making towards the Hellespont with all possible diligence, to preserve the Bridges, over which he was to pass in his Return. The Barbarians, as they fail'd by Zoster, imagining the little Promontories they saw on that Coast, to be Ships of War, dispersed and fled for a considerable time; but afterwards, perceiving they were Promontories, and not Ships, they rallied again, and pursued their Voyage. The next Morning, the Grecians seeing the Enemies Land-Forces still encamped in the same Place, suppos'd their Fleet to be at Phaleron; and therefore, in expectation of another Engagement, prepar'd to defend themselves; when being inform'd of their Departure, they presently determin'd to fail in quest of them. But coming up to Andros without having discover'd any of the Enemies Ships, they called a Council of War; in which Themistocles mov'd, that shaping their Pursuit by the way of the Islands, they would make directly to the Hellespont, and destroy the Bridges. But Eurybiades was of a contrary Opinion, and said, that nothing could be
be more destructive to Greece, than to break those Bridges; for if the Persian, intercepted by that means, should be constrain'd to continue in Europe, he would certainly make some Attempt; because by Inaction, he could neither advance his Affairs, nor open a Way to his Return, but his Army must inevitably perish by Want: That if he should be the Aggressor, and enter upon Action, all the Cities and Nations of Europe must probably become an Accession to his Empire, either by Force, or by a preceding Agreement; and for Provisions, the annual Produce of Greece would furnish him sufficiently: That being of opinion, Xerxes would not willingly continue in Europe after the Defeat he had receiv'd at Sea, he was for favouring his Flight, till he should arrive in Asia; after which he advis'd them to carry the War thither, and compel him to fight for his own Territories. To this Opinion the other Captains of the Peloponnesians unanimously adher'd; and Themistocles, finding he could not persuade the greater number to fail for the Hellen's Pont, address'd himself to the Athenians; who, of all the Allies, being most averse from suffering the Enemy to escape, were dispos'd to proceed thither with their own Ships, if the rest should refuse to concur in that Design. "I have often seen, said he, and much more often heard, that Men, constrain'd by unavoidable Necessity, have fought again, and repair'd their former Losses. Since therefore we have found means to repel that Cloud of Men, which threaten'd us and all Greece, let us no longer pursue those that fly; for this Success is not owing to our own Force, but to the Gods, and to the
Heroes, who were too jealous to permit one
Man to be King both of Asia and Europe;
a Man of such Impiety and Infolence, that
he burnt all Places, sacred and profane, with-
out distinction, overthrew the Images of the
Gods, and attempted to chastise the Sea with
Stripes and Fetters. Since then, our Af-
fairs are in so good a Condition, that we have
quite driven out the Barbarian, let us con-
tinue in Greece, and taking care for ourselves
and our Families, rebuild our Houses, and
sow our Lands with diligence; deferring our
Expedition to the Hellespont and to Ionia, till
the Beginning of the next Spring." This
turn Themistocles gave to his Discourse, in order
to insinuate himself into the Favour of the Per-
sian, that he might have a Place of Refuge, if
any Misfortune should overtake him at Athens,
as afterwards fell out: And tho' his Words were
counterfeit, yet he persuaded the Athenians;
who having always thought him a wise Man, and
now seeing such manifest Proofs of his consum-
mate Prudence, and excellent Counsels, were
entirely dispos'd to believe him in every thing.
But after they had assented to his Opinion, he
presently sent off certain Persons in a Sloop, and
among them that Sicinus I mention'd before,
with Orders to carry a Message to the King, and
not to discover it to any other Person, whatever
Torture they might endure. When they arriv'd
in Attica, the rest continu'd on board, and Sicin-
us going alone to the King, said, "Themistocles,
the Son of Neocles, General of the Athenians,
the most wise and valiant of all the Confede-
rates, sent me to tell you, that being desirous
to do you a good Office, he has prevail'd with
the Grecians to desist from the Resolution
they had taken to pursue your Ships, and to
destroy your Bridges on the Hellepont: So
that you may now retire at your leisure."
And after he had deliver'd his Message, they all
return'd to Themistocles.

THE Grecians having thus determin'd,
neither to continue their Pursuit, nor to fail
for the Hellepont, to break the Enemies Bridges,
befieg'd Andros, with intention to destroy that
City; because the Andrians were the first of
all the Islanders, who refused to give Money
to Themistocles: For when he told them, that
the Athenians were come thither accompanied
by two great Deities, Persuasion and Force,
and that therefore they must part with their
Money; the Andrians answer'd, that the A-
thenians, having such useful Goddesses, were
great and prosperous of course; but that the
Andrians being confin'd to a narrow Slip of
Land, and having two unprofitable Goddesses,
Poverty and Impossibility, always residing in
their Island, and fond of living among them,
should give no Money so long as they had
such Deities: adding that the Power of Athens
was not greater than their Inability. Thus
they answer'd; and for refusing to give Mo-
ney, were besieged: During which time, The-
mitocles, incessantly coveting more Wealth,
sent threatening Messages to the other Islands,
by the same Persons he had employ'd before
to the Andrians, with Orders to demand
Money in the same Terms; and to let the
Islanders know, that if they refus'd to send
him the Sum he requir'd, he would bring the
Grecian Forces against them, and destroy their

Vol. II.

Y

Coun-
Countries. By these Menaces he extorted great Riches from the Caryftians, and from the Parians; who being inform’d that the Andrians were besieged, for corresponding with the Medes, and that Themistocles was in the greatest Reputation of all the Generals, terrify’d with Apprehensions of his Indignation, sent him the Money he demanded. Whether any more of the Islanders gave him Money or not, I cannot affirm; but I am of opinion that some others did, and that these were not the only People that comply’d. Yet for all this, the Caryftians could not avoid their ill Fortune, though the Parians escaped the Visit of the Army, by pacifying Themistocles with Money. Thus in a clandestine manner, and without the Participation of the other Generals, Themistocles demanded Money of the Islanders, beginning with the Andrians.

THE Army of Xerxes having continued a few Days in their Camp, after the Sea-fight, march’d back into Bactia by the same way they came; because Mardonius designing to attend the King in his way, and seeing the Season of the Year improper for military Action, inclin’d to winter in Thessaly, and to attack Peloponnesus early the next Spring. Upon his Arrival in Thessaly, he in the first place made choice of the ten thousand Persians, who are call’d Immortal; but their General Hydarnes refus’d to stay with them, declaring he would not leave the King. After these, he chose out of the Persians, all the Cuirassiers, and that Body of a thousand Horse, which I mention’d before. Of the Medes, Saces, Bactrians, and Indians, he omitted none either
either Foot or Horse: But of the other Nations he took few, only chusing such as were of a promising Aspect, or known to him by some remarkable Action. Among the Forces he chose, those of the Persian Nation were most considerable, and wore Bracelets and Chains for ornament. Next to them, the Medes, not less numerous than the Persians, but inferior in Valour. And thus, including the Horse, he made up the Number of three hundred thousand. But whilst Mardonius selected his Army, and Xerxes stayed in Thessaly, an Oracle was brought to Sparta from Delphi, admonishing the Lacedemonians to demand Satisfaction of the King for the Death of Leonidas, and to hear the Answer he would give. Accordingly, they immediately sent away a Herald, who finding all the Army of Xerxes in Thessaly, went to him, and said, "King of the Medes, the Lacedemonians and Heraclides of Sparta, require you to make reparation for killing their King, whilst he endeavoured to defend the Liberty of Greece." At these Words the King laugh'd; and after he had long forbore to answer, pointing at last to Mardonius, "There, said he, is the Man who shall give them the Satisfaction they deserve." When the Herald had receiv'd this Answer, he went away; and Xerxes, leaving Mardonius in Thessaly, marched with precipitation to the Hellespont. His haste was so great, that he arriv'd at the Passage in forty five Days, follow'd only by an inconsiderable Part of the Army: For among all People without distinction, and in all Places that lay in their way, they plucked the Corn and Fruit they met.
met with, for their Nourishment; but where they found no kind of Fruit, press'd by extreme Want, they fed upon the Herbage, that grew spontaneously on the Ground, and eat even the Bark and Leaves, which they stript from the Trees, both wild and cultivated, leaving nothing behind. This brought a Plague into the Army, with frequent Dysenteries, and destroyed great Numbers in their March. The Sick Xerxes left in the Cities, through which he passed, commanding the Inhabitants to take care of them, and to furnish them with Provisions. Some he left in Thessaly, others at Siris, a Pæonian City, and some in Macedonia: But he could not recover the sacred Chariot of Jupiter, which he deposited there, as he was marching to invade Greece; for the Pæonians having given it before to the Thracians, told Xerxes, when he demanded the Chariot, that those who inhabit the upper Parts of Thrace, about the Springs of the River Strymon, had taken it away, and the Mares out of the Pasture at the same time. In that Country, a Thracian, King of the Bysaltians and Chrettonians, did an Action of an extraordinary nature: For after he had declar'd he would not willingly be a Slave to Xerxes, and commanded his six Sons not to join in the Expedition against Greece, he retir'd to the top of Mount Rhodope. Nevertheless, either in contempt of his Command, or from a desire to see the War, they enter'd into the Army of Xerxes; but at their Return, the Father, to punish their Disobedience, caus'd all their Eyes to be put out
THE Persians arriving at the Bosporus, by precipitate Marches through Thrace, passed over the Hellespont to Abydus in their Ships: because they found their Bridges broken and dissipated by a Storm. But being now more plentifully furnished with Provisions than before they fill'd themselves so immoderately, that this Excess, together with the Change of Water, destroy'd a great part of the remaining Army; and Xerxes, with the rest, arriv'd at Sardis. Some relating this Retreat in another manner, say, that Xerxes went from Athens to Eion, upon the Strymon, and made no more Marches by Land; but leaving Hydarnes to take care of conducting the Army to the Hellespont, he went on board a Phoenician Ship, and pass'd over to Asia: That in his Voyage, a violent Wind arising, made so high a Sea, that his Ship being over-charged with Numbers of Persians, who were above Deck, was in imminent Danger from the Storm: That Xerxes fearing the Event, called aloud to the Pilot, asking him if he had any hope to save the Ship, and that the Pilot answered, "Sir, I have none, unless some way " might be found to remove these Passengers:" That the King having heard his Answer, said to the Persians, "Who among you will shew " his Love to the King, and save my Life, " which now seems to be in your power?" That when he had pronounced these Words, all the Persians ador'd the King, leaping into the Sea, lighten'd the Ship; by which means he arriv'd safe in Asia: That, soon after his landing he rewarded the Pilot with a Crown of Gold, for saving the King's Life; but commanded his Head to be struck off, for destroying so many
Nevertheless, this Manner of relating the Retreat of Xerxes is of no credit with me, for divers Reasons, and especially on account of the Catastrophe of the Persians: For granting that the Pilot said those Words to Xerxes, yet hardly one Man of a thousand will deny, that the King would have done thus: He would have sent down into the Body of the Ship, the Persians above Deck, who were principal Men of that Nation, and would as certainly have thrown into the Sea an equal number of Phœnicians, who were at the Oar. But indeed he return'd to Asia by Land, with the rest of the Army, as I said before: And to confirm this, we are assur'd, that Xerxes in his Return, was at Abdera; that he made an Alliance with the Abderites, and presented them with a Scymeter of Gold, and a gilded Ship; to which the Abderites add, tho' I can by no means believe the thing, that he took off his Girdle in their Country, for the first time, after his Flight from Athens, not thinking himself safe before. Besides Abdera is nearer to the Hellespont, than the River Strymon, or the City of Eion, where they say he embarked.

In the mean time, the Grecians finding themselves unable to reduce Andros, departed to Carysthus, and after they had ravag'd the Country, return'd to Salamis. There, in the first place, they set apart the Spoil they intended to consecrate to the Gods, and, among other things, three Phœnician Ships; one to be deposited at the Isthmus, which continued there to my time; a second at Sunium, and the third they dedicated to Ajax, at Salamis. After that, they parted the Booty among themselves, and sent Offerings to Delphi.
Delphi, of which a Statue was made, twelve Cubits high, holding the Prow of a Ship in one hand; and erected in that Place, where Alexander the Macedonian stands in Gold. When the Grecians had made their Present to Delphi, they inquir'd of the God, in the Name of all, if he had receiv'd a grateful and satisfactory Offering: To which he answer'd, That from the rest of the Grecians he had, but not from the Æginetes; of whom he expected a due Acknowledgement, for having behav'd themselves with the greatest Valour in the Sea-fight. The Æginetes being inform'd of this Answer, sent three Stars of Gold, which were affixed to a Mast of solid Brats, and are seen in a Corner of the Temple, next to the Bowl of Cæsus. After the Grecians had thus dispos'd of the Booty, they set sail for the Isthmus, with a Resolution to confer the accustomed Honours upon the Person, who should be found to have behaved himself best in this War; and accordingly, at their Arrival, the Captains brought in, and laid upon the Altar of Neptune, the Names of those they judg'd to deserve the first and second Place. But every one thinking he had perform'd his part best, every one wrote down his own Name first; and for the most part gave his second Vote for Themistocles: So that each General adjudging the first Place to himself, in which they were single, left the second to Themistocles uncontested. And tho' the Grecians, out of mutual Jealousy, would not determine this Dispute, but return'd to their several Countries, without coming to a Decision, yet Themistocles was universally applauded and obtain'd the Reputation of the most prudent.
dent Man in Greece. Nevertheless, because those who fought the Battle at Salamis, had not honour'd him as he expected, he went presently away to Lacedemon, that he might there receive the Honours he desir'd. The Lacedemonians receiv'd him splendidly, and paid him the greatest Respects. They decreed the Prize of Valour to Eurybiades; of Dexterity and Prudence to Themistocles; and therefore presented each with a Crown of Olive. They also gave Themistocles the most magnificent Chariot in Sparta; and after they had said much in his praise, three hundred eminent Spartans of the Equestrian Order, attended him in his Return, to the Borders of Tegea; which is the single Example we know of a Man accompanied by the Lacedemonians at his Departure. But upon his Return to Athens, from Sparta, Timodemus, of Aphidna, one of his Enemies, tho' otherwise of no great figure, invidiously snatching the Occasion, reproached Themistocles with his Journey to Lacedemon, and objected, that the Honours he receiv'd from the Spartans, were not conferred on him for his own Merit, but on account of the Athenians. And because he continued to repeat the same things with importunity, Themistocles at last answered him; "The truth is, said he, were I of Belbina, I should not have receiv'd so much Honour in Sparta, nor you, tho' you are an Athenian."

ARTABAZUS, the Son of Pharnaces, a Man of great Reputation among the Persians before, and of much greater after the Battel of Plataea, having with him sixty thousand Men, drawn out of that Army which Mardonius had chosen, conducted Xerxes to the Passage; and after the

King's
King's Arrival in Asia, return'd back, and encamp'd about Pallene. But because Mardonius, wintering in Thessaly and in Macedonia, was not willing to augment his Camp with these Men, Artabazus thought to take that opportunity, to punish the Defection of the Pottidæans with the utmost Rigour. For as soon as the King had passed by, and the Persian Fleet, flying from Salamis, was out of sight, they openly revolted from the Barbarians, and the Inhabitants of Pallene did the same: For that cause Artabazus laid siege to Potidæa; and suspecting the Olynthians would follow their Example, besieged Olynthus also, which was then in the possessio of those Bottaneans, who had been driven out of the Bay of Therma by the Macedonians. These, when he had taken the City, he brought down into a Morass, and put them all to death; after which he gave the Government to Critobulus of Torone, by Descent a Chalcidian, and by that means the Chalcidians became Masters of Olynthus. After the Reduction of this Place, Artabazus apply'd himself with more attention to the Siege of Potidæa; and as he was earnestly desirous to succeed in his Attempt, Timoxenus, Captain of the Scionæans, agreed to betray the City to him. Touching the beginning of their Correspondence I can say nothing, because nothing is reported; but the Event was thus: When Timoxenus had any thing to impart to Artabazus, or Artabazus to Timoxenus, they put a Letter into the Head of an Arrow; and afterwards affixing the Feathers, shot the Arrow into the Place they had agreed upon. But the Traytor Timoxenus was at last detected: For an Arrow of Artabazus happening to fall in a wrong
wrong Place, wounded one of the Potidæans in
the Shoulder; upon which the Multitude run-
ing together about the wounded Man, as is
usual in time of War, drew out the Arrow,
and having found the Letter, carried it to the
principal Officers of the Potidæans, and of the
other Pallenians their Confederates, who were
then in the City. When they had read the Let-
ter, and discover'd the Author of the Treache-
ry, they determin'd, in favour of Scione, not to
punish Timoxenus with death, left the Scionæans
should ever after be accounted Traitors. Thus
the Treason of Timoxenus was detected: And as
for Artabazus, after he had continu'd the Siege
during three Months, the Tides rose so high,
and lasted so long, that the Barbarians seeing
all the Shore full of Water and Mire, retired
towards Pallene; and when they had passed
two parts in five, of the March they had to
make through that way, before they could ar-
rive there, so great an Inundation came pouring
in from the Sea, that the Inhabitants say the
like never happen'd before, though more mode-
rate Floods are frequent on that Coast. Those
that could not swim, perish'd by the Waters;
and those that could, were killed by the Poti-
dæans, who pursued them in Boats. The Cause
of this Inundation and Disastre of the Persians,
is, by the Potidæans, attributed to the Indigni-
ties done by those who were drown'd, to the
Image and Temple of Neptune, which stands
in the Suburbs; and to me they seem to have
made a right Judgment. The rest return'd with
Artabazus to the Camp of Mardonius in Thessaly;
and such was the Fortune of those Troops that
were sent to conduct the King.

3 

THE
THE Remains of the Fleet of Xerxes, which fled from Salamis, arriving on the coast of Asia, landed the King with his Army at Abydus, passed the Winter at Cyme, and in the Beginning of the next ensuing Spring assembled at Samos, where some of their Ships had been laid up. The fighting Men they had on board, being for the most part Persians and Medes, were under the Conduct of Mardontes, the Son of Bagoes, and Artayntes, the Son of Artachæus, in conjunction with Amitres, Uncle to the latter. And as they were extremely dispirited, and not compelled by necessity, they would not adventure to the Westward, but continu'd at Samos with three hundred Ships, including those of Ionia, to prevent the Ionians from revolting: not imagining that the Grecians would come thither, but be well contented to preserve their own Country; because they had so readily retir'd, without pursuing the Persians, when they fled from Salamis. Thus despairing of Victory by Sea, and yet believing Mardonius, with his Land-Forces, would be more successful, they consulted together at Samos what damage they might be able to do the Enemy, and at the same time were attentive to the Event of his Enterprise: But the Spring coming on, and Mardonius in Thessaly, awaken'd the Grecians; and though their Land-Army was not yet assembled, they arrived at Ægina with one hundred and ten Ships, putting themselves under the Conduct of Leutychides, descended from Menares, Agesilaus, Hippocrates, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidamus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicander, Charilus, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanes, Euryphon, Procles,
Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyl–lus, and Hercules. He was of the other Branch of the Royal Family, and his Progenitors were all Kings of Sparta, except the four last, and the seven I mention'd immediately after Leutychides. Xanthippus, the Son of Aripbron, was General of the Athenians; and when all these Ships were assembled at Ægina, certain Ionians arrived in the Grecian Fleet, being the same Persons who a little before had been at Sparta, to desire the Lacedemonians to deliver Ionia from Servitude; and of these Herodotus, the Son of Basilides, was one. They had been at the beginning seven, and having determin'd to kill Strattes, Tyrant of the Chians, were discover'd by one of their Accomplices; so that the other six withdrawing privately from Chio, went first to Sparta, and then to Ægina, beseeching the Grecians to fail to Ionia, but could hardly prevail with them to advance to Delos: for all beyond that Place seem'd terrible to the Grecians; who being ignorant of the Countries, thought every part to be full of Enemies, and that Samos was as far distant from them, as the Columns of Hercules. Thus because the Barbarians durst not venture to fail beyond Samos Westward, nor the Grecians Eastward beyond Delos, though earnestly press'd by the Chians, their mutual Fears preserved the Nations that lay between both.

During the time of this Voyage to Delos, Mardonius having pass'd the Winter in Thessaly, and being ready to march out of that Country, sent away a certain Person of European Extraction, named Mus, with order to contrive some means to get access to the Oracles,
cles, and to consult for him. What Questions he commanded him to propose to the Oracles, I cannot determine, because Fame is silent in that particular; but I am of opinion, that he sent to enquire about the Affairs then depending, and not of other things. However, we are certain that this Mus arriv’d in Lebadia, and having corrupted a Native of the Place, descended into the Cave of Trophonius; that he procured Access to the Oracle of Abe in Phocis, and that he had been before at Thebes, where he consulted the Iphemenian Apollo, offering such Sacrifices as are used in Olympia, and bribed a Stranger, not a Theban, to sleep in the Temple of Amphiarauts: For none of the Thebans are permitted to consult there, because when Amphiarauts left to their choice, whether they would have him for their Prophet, or their Ally, the Thebans rather chose to take him for their Ally; and for this cause no Theban may sleep in his Temple. In that time a surprizing thing happened, as I was informed by the Thebans; they told me, that this Mus of Europus, as he went round to all the Oracles, arrived at the Temple of the Ptoan Apollo; which, tho’ called by that Name, belongs to the Thebans, and stands beyond the Lake Copais, at the foot of the Mountain, near the City of Acræphia: That he had no sooner entered the Temple, accompanied by three Citizens, chosen by the Publick to write down the words of the Oracle, than the Archpriests immediately spoke in a barbarous Tongue: That when those Thebans, who follow’d him, stood amazed to hear a Barbarian Language instead of Greek, and knew not what to do on that occasion, Mus suddenly
Suddenly snatching the Table-book they brought with them, wrote down the words of the Priestesses, which, they say, were in a Carian Tongue; and after he had done, departed for Thessaly.

When Mardonius had read the Answers of the Oracles, he sent Alexander, the Son of Amyntas, a Macedonian, to Athens; as well on account of his Relation to the Persians, by the Marriage of his Sister Gygea to Bubares a Persian, who had by her a Son named after his Grandfather Amyntas, to whom the King of Phrygia had given the Revenues of Alabanda; as because he was informed of the mutual Friendship and Hospitality that passed between him and the Athenians. This way he thought most effectual to gain the Athenians; and having not only heard that they were a numerous and valiant People, but believing they had been the principal Cause of the late Disaster of the Persians in the Sea-fight, he hoped, with reason, that if he could bring them over, he should easily become Master at Sea; and being persuaded of the Superiority of his Land-Forces, concluded, that he should be able to conquer Greece. Perhaps also the Oracles counselled him to procure the Alliance of the Athenians. However, for the Reasons above-mentioned, he sent away Alexander, Successor, in the seventh Generation, of that Perdiccas, who obtained the Monarchy of Macedonia, in the following manner: Gauanes, Æropus, and Perdiccas, three Brothers, Descendants of Temenus, fled from Argos to Illyria, and from thence passing into the Upper Macedonia, arrived in the City of Lebaea, where they entered
tered into the King's Service for Wages. One of them had the care of his Horses, another of his Oxen, and Perdiccas, who was the youngest, kept the lesser Cattle; for in ancient time, not only the People, but Monarchs too, had little Wealth. And as the Wife of this King made their Bread, she constantly perceived that of Perdiccas increased to double the Quantity of the rest; which when she had long observed, she acquainted her Husband with what she had seen. The King having heard her, and taking the thing for a Prodigy portending some considerable Event, sent for the Brothers, and commanded them to depart out of his Territories. They answered, That in justice they ought to receive their Salaries, and then they would readily go. But the King hearing them mention their Salary, and at the same time seeing the Sun shining through the Chimney into the House, blasphemously said, "This I "give you as a sufficient Reward of your Ser-"vice:" pointing to the Sun, as he pro-ounced those words. Gauanes and Æropus, the elder Brothers, stood amazed at his Discourse; but the youngest answering, "We "accept thy Offer, O King," took out a Sword, which he happened to have about him; and having drawn a Circle upon the Floor round the Brightness, made three several Mo-tions to put up the Light of the Sun into his Bosom, and then departed with his Brothers. After their Departure, one of those who were present, told the King what the Youth had done, and that being the youngest, he must have had some Design in accepting his Offer: Which when the King heard, he fell into a great
great Rage, and sent away Men on horseback, with Orders to pursue and kill the Brothers. In this Country is a River, to which the Descendants of these Argians sacrifice in commemoration of their Deliverance; because they had no sooner passed, than the Streams ran so high, and with such Violence, that the Horsemen could not possibly get over. The Temenides thus escaping, went to inhabit in another Country of Macedonia, near the Gardens that are said to have belonged to Midas, the Son of Gordias; where Roses of sixty Leaves each, and of a more fragrant Scent than any other, grow naturally without Cultivation. If we may believe the Macedonians, Silenus was taken in these Gardens; which are shelter’d by a Mountain called Bermion, inaccessible in Winter. Here they began their first Enterprizes; and after they had reduced these Parts, they subdued the rest of Macedonia. From this Perdiccas, Alexander derived his Blood, in the following manner: Alexander was the Son of Amyntas, Amyntas of Acestor, Acestor of Aeropus, Aeropus of Philip, Philip of Aræus, and Aræus of Perdiccas, who acquired the Kingdom.

ALEXANDER, the Son of Amyntas, arriving at Athens on the part of Mardonius, spoke thus to the Athenians: “Men of Athens, Mardonius has sent me to tell you, that he has received a Message from the King, containing these words: I forgive the Athenians all the Injuries they have done me; and therefore, Mardonius, observe the following Orders: Re-instate them in the Possession of their own Territories; give them moreover whatever other
other Country they shall chuse; let them
govern by their own Laws, and rebuild all
their Temples which I have burnt, if they
will come to an Agreement with me. Havin-
ing received these Orders, I am obliged to
put them in execution, unless you prevent
me: And now I myself would ask you, what
Madness pushes you on to make war against
a King you will never conquer, nor always
be able to resist? You are not ignorant of the
numerous Forces and great Actions of Xerxes;
you have heard of the Army I have, and if
you should happen to be victorious, and to
defeat us, which you can never hope so long
as you have the use of Reason, another much
more powerful will come against you. Suf-
fer not yourselves then to be dispossessed of
your Country, and continually alarmed for
your own Lives, by measuring your Strength
with the King; but be reconciled to him,
since you have now so favourable an Opportu-
nity in your hands, from the present Dispo-
sition of Xerxes. Enter therefore into an
Alliance with us, sincerely and without
fraud, and continue to be a free People.
These, O Athenians, are the words which
Mardonius ordered me to say to you: For
my own part, I shall not mention my con-
stant Affection to your State, because you
have had sufficient proof of that in the former
time. I beseech you then, hearken to the
Counsel of Mardonius; for I see you will not
be always able to make war against Xerxes.
Had I not known this, I should never have
undertaken to bring you such a Message; but
the King's Power is incomparably greater
Vol. II.
"than that of all other Mortals, and his Reach "so extensive, that, unless you immediately "accept the favourable Conditions he offers, I "dread the Consequence to you, who lying in "the way of Danger more than any other of "the Confederates, and posessing a Country, "placed as a Prize between the contending "Parties, must be always most exposed to "Ruin. Let these Reasons prevail with you, "and consider the important Advantages you "will receive, if the great King forgives you "alone among all the Grecians, and becomes "your Friend." Thus spoke Alexander. But "the Lacedemonians having been informed that "he was gone to Athens, in order to persuade the Athenians to an Agreement with the Barbarian; and remembring the Oracles had predicted, that they, together with the rest of the Dorians, should be ejected out of Peloponnesus by the Medes and the Athenians, were not a little afraid that the Athenians would make Peace with the Persians; and therefore resolved forthwith to send Ambassadors to Athens, who happened to be present in this Assembly. For the Athenians had purposely protracted the time of their meeting, that, as a point of Decency, they might openly shew their Intentions to the Lacedemonians; not doubting, that when they should hear of a Messenger coming to Athens from the Barbarian to treat of Peace, they would immediately send to them. By this means Alexander had no sooner finished his Discourse, than the Spartan Ambassadors speaking next, said, "The Lacedemonians have sent us hither, "to desire you not to introduce Innovations in- "to Greece, nor to hearken to the Propositions "of
of the Barbarians; because such actions are altogether unjust, and dishonourable in any of the Grecians, and least of all becoming you, for many Reasons. In the first place, you were the Authors of the War against our Inclination; the Dispute was about your Territories, which is now spread through all Greece; and what can be more intolerable, than that the Grecians should be brought into Servitude by means of the Athenians, who, in all preceding Times, have been famous for delivering many Nations from Oppression? We affectionately take part in your Sufferings, we are grieved to see you twice lose the Produce of your Lands, and be so long deprived of your Families and Habitations. But in compensation, the Lacedemonians, with the other Allies, promise to provide Subsistence for your Wives, and all other Persons unfit to bear Arms, and belonging to you, as long as the War shall continue. Be not therefore seduced by the delusive Colours which Alexander the Macedonian has put upon the words of Mardonius. He acts in conformity to his Condition; he helps the Tyrant, because he is a Tyrant himself. But you ought to act in another manner, if you judge rightly, because you know the Barbarians have no regard either to Truth or Justice.” When the Spartan Ambassadors had thus spoken, the Athenians gave the following Answer to Alexander: “We know the Forces of the Medes are far greater than ours, and therefore that Insult was unnecessary; yet, in order to preserve our Liberty, we will defend ourselves as long as we can.
"But we would have you forbear attempting to persuade us to treat with the Barbarian, because you shall never prevail. Go then, and tell Mardonius, that the Athenians declare, they will never make Peace with Xerxes, so long as the Sun shall continue to perform his Course; and that, trusting to the Assistance of the Gods and Heroes, whose Temples and Images he has burnt in contempt, we resolve to resist him to the last extremity. In conclusion, appear no more in the Presence of the Athenians with such Messages, nor exhort us to detestable Actions, under colour of doing us good Offices: For we are unwilling to use Methods that may be uneasy to you, who are our Friend, and engaged with us in a reciprocal Hospitality."

This was their Answer to Alexander; and to the Spartan Ambassadors they said, "If the Lacedemonians have been apprehensive, left we should come to an Accommodation with the Barbarian, their Thought was very natural, as they are Men; but such Fears seem indecent in you, who know the Sentiments of the Athenians. Not all the Gold in the World, nor the greatest, richest, and most beautiful Country, shall ever induce us to join with the Medes, and to betray the Liberty of Greece. Many and powerful Reasons forbid us to do this, even though we had the Inclination. The first and greatest is, that the Temples and Images of the Gods have been burnt, and laid in Heaps of Ruin. This we are under a necessity of avenging with the utmost Rigour, rather than to make Peace with the Man who has perpetrated the Crime."
Crime. Besides, as the Grecians are of one
Blood and Language, have the same Altars
and Sacrifices, and altogether resemble one
another in Manners, the Athenians would
act an unbecoming Part, should they be the
Betrayers of Greece: In a word, be now in-
formed, if you knew it not before, that so
long as one Athenian is left alive, we will nev-
ver make an Accommodation with Xerxes.
We acknowledge your provident Care of us,
in the Willingness you express to furnish
Subsistence for our Families, now we have
loft our Houses and Harvests, and return you
Thanks in as full a manner, as if we had re-
ceived the Benefit; but shall continue to
make Provision for ourselves, without being
a Burden to you. At present, in regard to
the Condition of Affairs, let your Army
march out with all possible Expedition: For
we are of opinion, that the Barbarian will
not delay to invade our Territories, but ad-
vance immediately, after he shall hear that
we will do none of the things he demands of
us. The best way therefore that we can
take, is to prevent him, by marching into
Bœotia with our Forces, before he arrives in
Attica."
THE Lacedemonians having receiv’d this Answer of the Athenians, departed for Sparta; and when Mardonius was inform’d by Alexander, at his Return, how things had pass’d, he set out from Thessaly, and led his Army with diligence towards Athens, taking with him the Forces of all those Places that lay upon his March. The Thessalians of most Authority, were so far from repenting of their former Actions, that they press’d the Persian more than ever, to go on with his Enterprize; and among them, one Therax, of Larissa, who had serv’d for a Guide to Xerxes in his Flight, now openly conducted Mardonius into Greece. When the Persian Army arriv’d in Boetia, the Thebans went to Mardonius, and told him by way of Advice, that their Country, of all other, was most convenient for his Camp.
and that, if he would continue there, and advance no farther, he might be Master of Greece without hazarding a Battle: That the Grecians, when unanimous, were so strong, as hardly to be conquered by all Mankind, which he had already experienced: "But if, said they, you will do as we advise, you may without difficulty frustrate their best concerted Measures: Send Money to the principal Persons of every City; for by that means you will split Greece into Factions, and then you may easily subdue those who are not in your Interest, and the Factions at the same time." Such Counsel the Thebans gave to Mardonius; but he, partly from a vehement Desire he had to take Athens a second time, and partly out of Vanity, imagining, that by firing the Beacons in the Islands, he should shew the King at Sardis, that he was Master of Athens, would not be persuaded. When he arriv'd in Attica, he found no Athenians there; but being inform'd that most of them were at Salamis, and on board the Fleet, he took possession of the abandon'd City in the tenth Month after the King's Entrance. Being possessed of Athens, he dispatch'd Muricbides, a Hellepontin, to Salamis, with the same Instructions, which Alexander the Macedonian had already carried to the Athenians; not that he was ignorant of the little Friendship they had for him, but hoping they would remit something of their Haughtiness, since Attica, reduced by the Fortune of War, was now in his power. Accordingly, Muricbides arriving at Salamis, went into the Council; and when he had spoken as he was instructed by Mardonius, Lycidas, one of the Senators, delivered for his Opinion, that
the best Resolution they could take, would be, to receive the Propositions brought by Murichides, and refer them to the People. This he said, either because he was corrupted by Mardonius with Money, or because he was really of that opinion. But the Athenians, who were in the Council, having heard his Words, and those without being soon inform'd of what he had said, they all resented the thing with the highest Indignation; and immediately gathering about Lyceidas,stoned him to Death, dismissing Murichides the Hellepontin without Hurt. The Athenian Women observing the Tumult that happen'd at Salamis on this Occasion, and inquiring into the Cause, were no sooner inform'd of the Fact, than taking one another by the Hand, with mutual Exhortations, they went without other Inducement to the House of Lyceidas, and stoned his Wife with his Children. The Reason that mov'd the Athenians to go to Salamis, was this: They had continued in Attica as long as they had any Hope that the Forces of the Peloponnesians would come to their assistance; but when they perceiv'd their Indolence, and insupportable Delays, and were inform'd that Mardonius was already advanced into Boeotia, they transported themselves with their Goods to Salamis. From thence they sent Ambassadors to Sparta, to complain of the Lacedemonians, for shewing no Concern at the Irruption of the Barbarian into Attica, and neglecting to join the Athenians with their Forces, in order to oppose the common Enemy in Boeotia. They were also to remind them of the great Advantages the Persian had offer'd, if the Athenians would embrace his Interest; and to forewarn
warn them, that unless they were succoured, they would find some Remedy themselves. At the same time the Lacedemonians were employ'd in celebrating the Festival of Hyacinthus, which they observe with great Solemnity, and in building a Wall for themselves upon the Isthmus, which was already cover'd with Battlements. In this Conjunction the Athenian Ambassadors, accompanied by those of Megara and Platea, arriving in Sparta, went to the Ephori, and said:

"The Athenians have sent us hither, with Orders to speak thus to you: The King of the Medes is willing to restore our Territories; and not only to make an Alliance with us upon a foot of Equality, without Fraud or Diffimulation, but to give us any other Country we shall chuse: Yet the Reverence we bear to the Grecian Jupiter, and our Abhorrence of the Crime of betraying Greece, have prevail'd with us to refuse our Consent, and to reject his Offers; though in requital, we are injur'd and betrayed by the Grecians. We know we should consult our own Interest more, by making Peace with the Persian, than by continuing the War; but we will never willingly come to an Accommodation with him. This is our Way of demonstrating our sincere Affection to the Grecians: But you, who where then in the utmost Consternation left we should make our Peace with the Persian, were no sooner assured of our constant Resolution never to betray Greece, and had built a Wall for your own Defence upon the Isthmus, than you threw off all Concern for the Athenians. For after you had promis'd to advance into Boeotia with us, in order to prevent
"prevent the Persian, you left us to shift for
ourselves, and looked upon the Irruption of
the Barbarian into Attica, with Indifference.
Hitherto the Athenians are dissatisfied with
you, for neglecting to do that which was be-
coming: At present they exhort you to send
your Forces, to join them with all Expedition;
that having lost the Opportunity of meeting
the Enemy in Boeotia, we may find him in
Attica, where the Plain of Thrace is the most
commodious Place of all our Territories for
fighting the Battle." When the Ephori had
heard this Message, they put off their Answer
to the next Day, and from that to another, still
protracting the time from day to day, till ten
Days were passed: During which, all the Pelo-
ponnesians wrought with the utmost diligence
at the Isthmus, and finish'd the Wall. I can give
no other Reason of the great Industry they used
to prevent the Athenians from taking part with
the Medes, when Alexander the Macedonian was
at Athens, and of their total Neglect of them af-
terwards, than that having fenced the Isthmus
with a Wall, they thought they had no farther
need of the Athenians: Whereas, when Alexan-
der went to Athens, their Wall was not yet built,
but they were hard at work, and much afraid of
the Persians. At length, things turn'd in the
following manner, with relation to their Answer
and March: The day before the meeting of the
last publick Assembly, Chilicus, of Tegea, a Man
of the greatest Credit with the Spartans, of any
Stranger, being told by one of the Ephori
what the Athenians had said, spoke to them in
these Terms: "The Matter in short, is
thus: If the Athenians divide from you, and
join
join with the Barbarian, he will enter Peloponnese by Passages large enough, notwithstanding the strong Wall you have built upon the Isthmus; therefore hearken to the Athenians, before they come to any Resolution that may be prejudicial to Greece." Such was the Counsel of Childeus; which the Ephori having considered with Attention, they immediately the same night, and without speaking to the Ambassadors, sent out five thousand Spartans, with seven Helots to attend each, under the Conduct of Pausanias, the Son of Cleombrotus. These Forces should have been led by Plistarchus, the Son of Leonidas; but because he was under Age, they were committed to the care of Pausanias, who was his Guardian and Cousin-German: For Cleombrotus, the Father of Pausanias and Son to Anaxandrides, died in his Return with the Army, after they had built the Wall upon the Isthmus: from whence he decamp'd with his Forces, because the Sun was darkened in the Heavens, whilst he sacrificed for Success against the Persian. Pausanias chose Euryanax, the Son of Doris, a Man of his own Blood, to assist him in the Conduct of this Army.

WHEN these Forces were gone from Sparta with Pausanias, the Ambassadors knowing nothing of their Departure, and designing to return forthwith to their Principals, went early the next morning to the Ephori, and said, "You are here, O Lacedemonians, at your ease, celebrating the Festival of Hyacinthus, and diverted yourselves, whilst you betray your Allies. But know that the Athenians, injured by you, and destitute of Succour, will make Peace with the Persian on such Terms as
as they can obtain. When we have done so, and are become the King's Allies, we shall be obliged to march with him against whatever Country he shall lead us, and then you will see the Event of these Counsels.” After the Ambassadors had thus spoken, the Ephori assured them with an Oath, that their Army was in full March against the Foreigners, for by that name they call the Barbarians, and that they doubted not they were already arrived at Orestia. The Ambassadors not comprehending this Discourse, desired to know their meaning; and being much surpriz’d when they heard the whole Truth, departed with all possible Expedition to follow the Troops. Five thousand Men more, drawn out of the Places adjacent to Lacedemon, marched out at the same time to join Pausanias.

WHILST these Forces advanced in diligence towards the Isthmus, the Argians, who had before undertaken to Mardonius, that they would prevent the Spartans from going out, hearing they were actually upon the March, under the Conduct of Pausanias, dispatched the best Courier they had to Attica; where, at his Arrival, he spoke thus to Mardonius: “The Argians have sent me to inform you, that the Youth of Lacedemon are marched out, and that they could find no way to hinder them: they wish you may take the most advantageous measures in this Emergency.” When he had said these words, he went away, in order to return home; but Mardonius having received this Information, would not venture to stay longer in Attica, where he had continued to that time, to see what the Athenians would do, and had
had neither intrenched himself, nor ravag'd the Country, being in daily expectation that the Athenians would make their Peace. But now finding he could not prevail with them, and understanding how things had passed, he withdrew his Army out of Attica, before Pausanias arrived at the Isthmus, having first set fire to Athens, and demolished whatever remained standing of the Walls, Houses, and Temples, laying all in Heaps of Ruin. He quitted Attica, because the Country is not proper for Cavalry; and if he should have lost a Battle, he had no way to get off except th'o' narrow Passes, in which a small number of Men might have intercepted his Retreat. For these Reasons he determined to retire to Thebes, and to fight in a Country commodious for Horse, and Friends to the Persians. In this manner he abandoned Attica, and in his Retreat receiv'd a Message, with information, that a Body of a thousand Lacedemonians were gone towards Megara: which he no sooner understood, than resolving to make his first Attempt upon these, he turned his March that way, and sent out his Horse before to scour the Country. So far this Persian Army penetrated into Europe Westward, and no farther.

AFTER this, Mardonius being informed by a second Message, that the Grecian Forces were assembled at the Isthmus, returned back by the way of Decelia, having for his Guides certain Persons sent to him by the Boeotians from the Country adjoining to the River Asopus. They conducted him first to Sphendale, then to Tanagra, where he passed the Night, and the next day to Colon, a Place belonging to the Thebans. After his Arrival, he ravaged their Territories for
for Provisions, tho' they were in the Interest of the Medes, not out of Enmity to the Thebans, but compelled by Necessity: For he resolved to intrench himself with his Army, that he might have a Place of Refuge, in case he should not meet with the Success he desired in a Battel. His Camp extended from Erythraea to the Country of the Plataeans, by the way of Hyxia, stretching along the River Asopus, and was strengthened by a Wall of less Circumference than one might expect, having only about ten Stades on each Front. While the Barbarians were employed in this Work, Attagus, the Son of Phryno, a Theban, invited Mardonius, with fifty of the most eminent Persians, to a magnificent Feast, which he had prepared at Thebes; and they came accordingly. The rest of this Relation I heard from the mouth of Thersander of Orchomenus, a Man of great Reputation among the Orchomenians. He told me, that he was one of fifty Thebans, invited by Attagius to this Feast, and that each Person had not a Table to himself, but that two Men were placed at each, a Persian and a Theban: That after Supper, in the midst of their Cups, the Persian, who sat by him, asking him, in the Grecian Tongue, of what Country he was; and finding by his Answer that he was of Orchomenus, said to him:

"Since we are Companions, in eating and drinking at the same Table, I will leave my Opinion with you, that you may remember me; and foreseeing the Event, may prudently consult your own Safety. You see these Persians, now feasting here, and you have seen the Army we left encamped upon the River. Of all these you will see few Survivors in a little
"little time." Thersander added, That the Persian, having thus spoken, shed abundance of Tears, and that he himself being much astonish-
ed at his words, asked him, if these things should not rather be communicated to Mardonius, and to those Persons, who, next to him, were the most considerable of the Army? To which he answered, "That which God has determined, Men cannot avert; besides, among us, the best Advice prevails with no Man. Many of the Persians are convinced of these things, but we are necessitated to follow Mardonius; and the most pernicious of all the Evils that infect Mankind, is, when he who understands much, has nothing in his power." This Relation I had from Thersan-
der the Orchomenian, who told me, at the same time, that he had given an account of his Dis-
course with the Persians to divers others, before the Battel was fought at Platea.

DURING the time Mardonius was incamped in Bœotia, all the Grecians of the adjacent Parts that were in the Interest of the Medes, sent in their Forces, and marched with him to Athens; except only the Phoceans, who had been con-
strained by necessity to take part with them, much against their Inclination. But, not many days after his Arrival at Thebes, they also joined him with a thousand Men well armed, and led by Harmoclydes, a Citizen of principal Authori-
ty among them. When they were arrived at Thebes, Mardonius sent out some Horse, to order the Phoceans to encamp by themselves in the Plain; which they had no sooner done than all the Cavalry of the Army appeared in sight. By this means a Rumour was spread among the Grecian
Grecian Forces with *Mardonius*, that the Horse were ordered to massacre all the Phoceans with their Javelins: and after the same had been also divulged among the Phoceans themselves, their captain *Harmocydes*, to awaken their Courage, said, “These Men, O Phoceans, have a manifest Design to take away our Lives, and I believe the Thessalians are our Accusers. Every one of you therefore must exert himself to the utmost on this occasion; because we ought rather to die resisting, and doing something in our own defence, than tamely to expose ourselves to suffer a most disgraceful Death. Let us then convince some of these Barbarians, that they are not a Match for these Grecians, whose Murder they desiged.” Thus *Harmocydes* encouraged the Phoceans; and at the same time the Horse having surrounded them on all sides, moved on in a hostile Posture, brandishing their Javelins, and some actually threw. But when they saw the Phoceans standing firm, drawn into the closest Order, and fronting every way, they turned about and retired to their Army. I cannot certainly tell whether this Cavalry came to destroy the Phoceans at the desire of the Thessalians, and seeing them determined to resist, retired for fear of exposing their Persons, covering their Retreat with the Pretext of Orders from *Mardonius*; or whether they came only with a design to try the Courage of the Phoceans. But after the return of the Horse, *Mardonius* sent them a Message, in these words: “Fear nothing, O Phoceans! you have given manifest proof that you are Men of Valour, contrary to the Information I had received. Bear the Toils of this
HERODOTUS.

"this War with Resolution, and be assured " that you shall never do more for me, and " for the King, than we will do for you." Such was the Event of this Affair concerning the Phoceans.

WHEN the Lacedemonians were advanced to the Isthmus, and encamped with their Army; the other Peloponnesians, at least as many as had the common Cause at heart, having heard of their Arrival, and perceiving the Spartans disposed to march on, thought they could not stay behind without disgrace. Accordingly, after they had performed their Sacrifices auspiciously, they all marched out from the Isthmus; and advancing to Eleusis, sacrificed again there with the same fortunate Presages, and continued their March, in conjunction with the Athenians, who arriving from Salamis, had joined the Peloponnesians at Eleusis. When they were advanced to Erythra in Boeotia, and perceived the Barbarians encamped by the River Asopus, they consulted together, and placed their Camp right against the Enemy, at the foot of the Mountain Cytheron: But Mardonius finding that the Grecians declined to come out into the Plain, sent all his Cavalry, commanded by Masius, a Man of great Esteem among the Persians, and called by the Grecians Macius, to insult their Camp. He mounted a Nisan Horse that wore a Bridle of Gold, and all other Furniture suitably magnificent. The Cavalry advancing to the Camp of the Grecians, made their Attacks by Parties, in which they did great mischief, and challenged them under the name of Women. In these Attempts the Megareans, who were accidentally posted in that part,
part, which was most accessible, and lay most exposed to the Enemies Horse, finding themselves hard pressed, sent a Trumpeter to the Grecian Generals, with a Message, which he delivered in these Terms: "The Megareans say thus, Friends and Allies, we are not able alone to sustain the Efforts of the Persian Horse, having had the same Station from the beginning, in which we now are, and where we have hitherto maintained ourselves by our Constancy and Fortitude, though not without great difficulty; but now, unless you will send some other Forces to relieve us, we must abandon our Post." When the Messenger had thus spoken, Pausanias founded the Grecians, to see if any of them would voluntarily offer to march into that Quarter to relieve the Megareans. But after they had all refused, the Athenians undertook the Charge with a Body of three hundred chosen Men, led by Olympiodorus, the Son of Lampon. These were they who took upon them to defend that Post, which the rest of the Grecians at Erythra had declined; and being accompanied by a Party of Archers, chosen by themselves, fought the Enemy for some time: till at last, as the Cavalry continued to attack in Squadrons, the Horse of Mæsius appearing before the rest, was wounded in the Side with an Arrow; and rising upright, impatient of the Pain, threw his Rider to the ground. The Athenians seeing Mæsius fall, immediately surrounded him; and having first seized his Horse, killed him, as he endeavoured to defend himself. Yet this they could not do presently, because he wore a Cuirass underneath covered with Mails of Gold and a purple Cloke
Cloke for his upper Garment. They tried in vain to penetrate his Cuirasfs; which an Athenian perceiving, thrust him into the Eye, and by that Wound he fell down and died. His own Troops at first knew nothing of his Death; for they neither saw him, when he fell from his Horse, nor when he was killed, nor even, at the time of their Retreat, had they heard of the Accident. But coming to make a halt, they presently enquired for their General, because they perceived there was no Commander; and as soon as they were informed of his Fate, animating one another, they all together pushed their Horses against the Enemy, in order to carry off the dead Body. When the Athenians saw that they no longer attacked in Parties, but with their whole Force, they called out for Succour to the rest of the Army: Yet before the Infantry could come to their Relief, the Dispute about the Body of Mæsius was so sharp and unequal, that the three hundred, being unable to keep their Ground, were obliged to retire: But after the Grecian Forces came in to their Assistance, the Enemies Horse not daring to continue the Fight, abandoned the dead Body, with many of their Men killed upon the Place; and retiring to the distance of about two Stades to consult together, resolved to return to Mardonius, because they had then no General. When they arrived in the Camp, Mardonius, and all the Army, broke out into the loudest Lamentations for the Death of Mæsius, cutting off not only their own Hair, but that of their Horses and Cattel of Draught. Their Ejulations were heard all over Bœotia, as for the Loss of a Man, who, next to Mardonius, was
was in most Esteem among the Persians, and with the King. In this manner the Barbarians lamented the Death of Mæsithius, according to the Custom of their own Country.

The Grecians having thus sustained and repulsed the Enemies Cavalry, were much encouraged; and because their Men, out of a desire to view the Body of Mæsithius, left their Stations in great numbers, they placed it on a Chariot, and carried it through every Quarter of the Camp; a Spectacle deserving admiration, on account of his Stature and Comeliness.

After this they resolved to march down into the Territories of the Plataëans, judging those Parts much more commodious for their Camp, than the Country about Erythra, in divers respects, and especially that they might be well supplied with Water. For this reason having determined to encamp near the Spring of Gargaphia, which is in that Country, they marched with their Arms by the foot of Mount Cytheron, at a little distance from Hysia, into the Territories of Platea, where when they arrived, they encamped in a Plain, intermixed with some small Elevations of Ground, near the Gargaphian Spring, and the Temple of the Hero Androcrates, assigning a separate Quarter to the Troops of every Nation. In the Distribution of these Stations a long Dispute arose between the Tegeans and the Athenians, both sides claiming a Right to be placed at the Head of one of the Wings, and alledging their ancient and late Actions to justify their Pretensions. "We, said the Tegeans, have always been honoured with this Post among the allies, whenever the Peloponnesians have marched..."
marched out with united Forces, from the time in which the Heraclides attempted to return into Peloponnesus, after the Death of Eurystheus; and we then obtained this Dignity in the following manner: When we, in conjunction with the Achaians and Ionians of Peloponnesus, had marched to the Isthmus, and were encamped in sight of the Invaders, Hyllus said publicly, that they ought not to expose the Armies to the danger of a Battle; but that the Peloponnesians ought rather to pick out the Man they should think the most valiant of all their Camp, to fight singly with him, and so put an end to the Dispute. The Peloponnesians accepted the Condition, and an Agreement, confirmed by an Oath, was made between both Armies, in these Terms: If Hyllus conquer the Peloponnesian Captain, the Countries that were possessed by his Father, shall be restored to him; but if he be conquered, the Heraclides shall depart with their Army, and not endeavour to return into Peloponnesus during the space of an hundred years. On this occasion Echemus, the Son of Æropus, and Grandson of Phegeus, our King and General, being preferred by the Confederates before all others, to his great satisfaction, fought the Duel, and killed Hyllus. By that Action we obtained of the Peloponnesians several great Prerogatives, which we enjoy to this day; and particularly that of having the Post of Honour in one of the Wings, whenssoever we should march out upon an Expedition by common Consent. We pretend not to contest with you, O Lacedemonians, but are ready to give you the Preference, and to acquiesce in
in the choice you shall make: Only we
challenge the leading of the other Wing, ac-
cording to the Custom of former times. Be-
sides, though we should set aside the Merit of
the Action we have mentioned, we are yet
more worthy of that Station than the Athe-
ians, on account of the many prosperous
Successes we have had, in conjunction with
your Forces, as well as with others. For
these Reasons we ought to obtain the second
Post of Honour, and not the Athenians;
whose Actions, either old or new, are no
way comparable to ours.” To this Speech,
the Athenians answered, “We are not igno-
rant, that these Forces were assembled, in or-
der to fight the Barbarian, and not to dispute
about Precedency: Yet the Tegeans having
thought fit to mention the great Actions they
have done, both in antient and latter time,
have put us under a Necessity of shewing you
that for our Ancestors Merit and our own,
we ought always to be preferred before the
Arcadians: We alone receiv’d the Heracli-
des, (whose Captain these Men boast to have
kill’d at the Ithmus) after they had been re-
jected by all the Grecians, to whom they ap-
plied themselves for Protection, when they
fled from the Oppression of the Mycenians;
and joining with them, we punished the In-
solence of Euristheus, and defeated the Forces
of those, who were then in possession of Pel-
poneus. We made war upon the Cadmaeans;
in which, having recovered the Bodies of the
Argians, who were kill’d in the Expedition
of Polynices against Thebes, and lay unburied,
we interr’d them at Eleusis, in our own

A a 4

“ Coun-
Country: We fought successfully against the Amazons, when arriving from the River Thermodon, they invaded Attica; and in the great Actions perform'd during the Trojan War, we were inferior to none. But to what purpose should we mention these things? For perhaps those who were than valiant, may have degenerated; and those who had little Courage then, may now be brave. Therefore, to say no more of the Actions of our Ancestors, let us see who we are at present: And certainly, though we could produce no other Examples, as we can undoubtedly, as many and as illustrious, as any People of Greece; yet what we did at the Battel of Marathon, renders us worthy of this, and greater Honour. For, without the Assistance of the Grecians, we alone undertook that hazardous Enterprize, fought the Persian with our own Forces, and obtain'd a Victory over the Troops of six and forty Nations. This single Action gives us a just Title to the Rank we claim. But, because the present Conjunction is altogether improper for such Contentions, we readily refer the Decision to you, O Lacedemonians, and will take our Station in whatever Order you shall judge most convenient: For wherefoever we are placed we shall endeavour to do our best. Give Judgment therefore in this Affair, and be assured of our ready Compliance." Thus said the Athenians; and immediately the whole Army of the Lacedemonians cried out with one Voice, that the Athenians were more worthy to be at the Head of the other Wing, than the Arcadians. So they obtained the Rank they demanded, and were
were preferred before the Tegeans. After which, the Grecians, as well those who came at the beginning, as those who arrived afterwards, were drawn up in the following manner: Ten thousand Lacedemonians had the Right, and five thousand of these, being of Sparta, were guarded by thirty five thousand Helots, lightly arm’d, every Spartan having seven Helots about his Person: Next to themselves the Lacedemonians placed the Tegeans, consisting of fifteen hundred Men, partly to do them honour, and partly in consideration of their Valour. After these, five thousand Corinthians; who by the Permission of Pausanias, had three hundred Potidæans of Pallene, join’d with them: Next in order stood six hundred Arcadians, of Orchomenus, three thousand Troëzenians, and two hundred Men from Leprion: After these, four hundred Mycenians and Tyrinthians; one thousand Phliasians, three hundred Hermionians, six hundred Eretrians and Styrians; four hundred Chalcideans, five hundred Ambracians, eight hundred Leucadians and Anaëtorians; two hundred Paleans of Cephalonia, five hundred from Ægina; three thousand Megareans, six hundred Platæans; and last of all, but in a Post of principal Honour, eight thousand Athenians took their Station at the head of the Left, conducted by Aristides, the Son of Lyæimachus. All these, exclusive of the seven Helots attending every Spartan, amounted to thirty eight thousand seven hundred Men; which was the whole number of those who came solidly arm’d to fight the Barbarian. Their Light-arm’d Forces were as follows: Of the Helots belonging to the Spartans, thirty five thousand, all ex-
exercised to War; and thirty four thousand five hundred Men more, in Light-Arms, attending the rest of the Lacedemonians and other Grecians, one to each Man. So that the Numbers of these light-arm’d Forces, amounting to sixty nine thousand five hundred fighting Men; the whole Army of the Grecians, assembled at Platea, including both forts, wanted only one thousand eight hundred, to compleat the Number of a hundred and ten thousand: which yet was made up by the Arrival of the surviving Thespians, tho’ they came to the Camp without Arms. And in this Order the Grecians encamp’d on the side of the River Asopus.

On the other part, Mardonius, with the Barbarians, having perform’d the Obsequies of Massibius with great Lamentation, and hearing that the Grecians were in the Territories of the Plataeans, marched thither also: and arriving at the River Asopus, drew up his Army in the following manner: Over against the Lacedemonians he placed the Persians; and because they were far more in number, he extended their Ranks to an equal length with those of the Tegeans, but chose the best Men to face the Lacedemonians, and the worst to oppose the Tegeans: which he did by the Counsel and Information of the Thebans. Next to the Persians he placed the Medes, fronting the Corinthians, the Potidaeans, the Orchomenians, and the Sicyonians: After these, he posted the Bactrians, opposite to the Epidaurians, Trecezenians, Lepreates, Tyrinthians, Mycenians, and Phliasians. The Indians had the next Station to the Bactrians, over against the Hermionians, Eretrians, Styrians, and Chalcideans.
Cideans: Contiguous to the Indians, Mardonius placed the Saces, facing towards the Ambracians, Anauctorians, Leucadians, Palearians, and Æginetes: But after the Saces, and opposite to the Athenians, Platæans, and Megareans, he rang’d the Boeotians, the Locrians, the Melians, the Thessalians, and the thousand Phoceans I mention’d before; for only some of the Phoceans were in the Party of the Medes, but others among them favouring the Grecians, retir’d to Mount Parnassus, and making Excursions from thence, pillag’d and harassed the Troops of Mardonius, and of the Grecians who were in his Army. The Macedonians, with the Forces of the Countries adjoining to Thessaly, were added to those who faced the Front of the Athenians. And these are the Names of all the most considerable and illustrious Nations, which Mardonius drew up, in order of Battle: Yet they were mixed with Men of other Countries, Phrygians, Thracians, Myrians, Æonianians, Ethiopians, and others. They had also among them some Hermotybians and Calastrians of Ægypt, distinguished by the Sword they wore, and finely fit for War of all the Ægyptians. These Men he took out of their Ships, whilst he was at Phaleron; for no Ægyptians were in the Land-Army, which follow’d Xerxes in his Expedition against Athens. The Barbarian Forces of Mardonius, as I have already said, amounted to three hundred thousand Men; but no one certainly knows how many his Grecian Allies were, because their Number was not taken: Yet, if I may give my Opinion, I guess they might be about fifty thousand. When the Infantry was drawn into
into the Order before mention'd, the Cavalry was placed in separate Stations; and the next day, after the two Armies were thus dispos'd into national and distinct Bodies, they offer'd Sacrifices on both sides. Those of the Grecians were perform'd by Tisamenus, the Son of Antiochus, an Elean of the Clytidean Family, descended from Iamns, who accompanied the Army in the Quality of Augur, and had been admitted by the Lacedemonians into the Number of their Citizens, in this manner: Tisamenus consulting the Oracle of Delphi about Children, and being told by the Pythian, that he should obtain five great Victories, mistaking the Sense of her Answer, frequented the Places of publick Exercise, as if he were to be victorious in the Gymnic Contentions; and having inured himself to all the five forts, appear'd at the Olympian Solemnity, and ran for the Prize against Hieronymus the Andrian. But the Lacedemonians conceiving that the Oracle was to be understood of Victories in War, and no other, endeavour'd, by Offers of Money, to persuade Tisamenus to assist their Kings, and the Heraclides, in the Direction of military Affairs. When he saw the Spartans so extremely desirous of his Friendship, he set a great Value upon himself, acquainting them, that unless they would make him a Citizen of Sparta, with all the Privileges they themselves enjoy'd, he would never give his consent on any other Terms: Which Answer being brought to the Lacedemonians, was at first receiv'd with Scorn, and the Oracle slighted; yet afterwards, falling under great Apprehensions of the Persian Army, they complied, and offer'd him all the Rights.
Rights of a Citizen. But Tifamenus being inform'd that the Lacedemonians had chang'd their minds, said, he would not now be contented with what he demanded, unless they would also make his Brother Hegias a Spartan, with the same Privileges; intimating, as one may guess, the Example of Melampus, who asked a Kingdom, as well as the Privilege of a Citizen. For when the Argians would have hired him to come from Pylon, to cure their Women of a Frenzy, with which they were infested, he demanded one half of the Kingdom for his Recompence. The Argians rejected his Proposal, and went away: But many more of their Women falling into the same Distemper, they return'd to him, and offer'd to comply with his Demands. Melampus seeing this Change, requir'd yet more, and said, that unless they would give a third Part of their Kingdom to his Brother Bias, he would not do as they desir'd; so that the Argians, reduced to these Streights, granted him whatever he demanded. In like manner, the Lacedemonians, out of a vehement Desire to gain Tifamenus, assented to everything he ask'd; by which means, of an Elean becoming a Spartan, and accompanying their Forces as Augur, he achiev'd, in conjunction with them, five great Enterprizes. These were the only Men the Spartans ever admitted into their Community; and the five Actions were as follows: In the first place, this of Plataea; the second was against the Tegeans and Argians, in the Territories of Tegea; the third at Dipæa, against all the Arcadians, except the Mantineans; the fourth against the Messèians at the Isthmus; and the fifth and last, at Tanagra, a-
against the Athenians and Argians. This Thraemenus being then conducted to Platea by the Spartans, and officiating as Prophet to the Grecian Army, acquainted them, that their Sacrifices promised Success, if they would stand upon the defensive; and the contrary, if they should pass the River Asopus, and begin the Battle. On the side of Mardonius likewise, who was very desirous to attack the Grecians, the Sacrifices were not at all favourable to that purpose, but very promising, if he would stand to receive the Enemy: For he also sacrificed after the manner of the Grecians, and had for his Augur, Hegesistratus of Elis, the most famous of the Telliades. This Man had been formerly taken by the Spartans, and condemned to die, for the many Indignities they had suffered from him: When finding his Condition desperate, his Life in the utmost hazard, and being in expectation of various Tortures before Death, he perform'd an Action beyond belief: For after he was made fast to a Clog plaited with Iron, having by some means or other got a Knife into his possession, he contriv'd the most resolute thing I ever heard: He took the exact measure of as much of his Foot as he could draw out, and then cut off all the rest. When he had done this, he dug a Hole through the Wall, and escaping the Vigilance of his Guards, made towards Tegea, travelling by night, and hiding himself by day in the Woods: So that he arriv'd in Tegea the third Night, notwithstanding the most diligent Search of the Lacceemonians; who, when they saw half his Foot lying on the ground, and yet could not find his Person, admired the Resolution of the Man.
Man. Thus Hegeisistratus having made his escape, betook himself to the Tegeans, who were at that time in discord with the Lacedemonians; and after he was cured of his Wound, put on a wooden Foot, and declared himself their mortal Enemy. Nevertheless, in the end, his Enmity to the Lacedemonians was fatal to him; for they took him at Zacynthus, exercising his Profession of Augur, and put him to death: But this happen'd not till after the Battle of Plataea. Hegeisistratus therefore being hired with a considerable Sum, accompanied Mardonius to the River Asopus, and there sacrificed with great Zeal; partly out of hatred to the Lacedemonians, and partly for his own Profit. But as these Sacrifices were not such as might encourage the Persians to attack, no more than those perform'd on the part of the Grecians in his Camp, who had also an Augur named Hippomachus, of Leucadia; Timogenides, the Son of Herpy, a Theban, perceiving the Grecian Army incessantly increasing by the Arrival of other Forces, counsel'd Mardonius to guard the Passage of Mount Cytheron, assuring him, that he might surprize great Numbers of them, as they came daily. The two Armies had been eight Days encamped, fronting to each other, when Timogenides gave this Advice; which Mardonius approving, sent some Horse, in the Beginning of the Night, to the Passage of Mount Cytheron, that leads to Plataea, and is called by the Boeotians, The three Heads; but by the Athenians, The Heads of Oak. This Cavalry was not sent out in vain; for entering into the Plain, they took five hundred Cattel, carrying Provisions from Peloponnesus to the Army,
my, with the Men that attended the Convoy; and when they had taken this Booty, killed both Man and Beast without distinction: After which Execution, they carried off what they thought fit to preserve, and return'd to the Camp of Mardonius. Both Armies pass'd two Days more, after this Action, without being willing on either side to begin the Battle; for though the Barbarians advanced to the Bank of the Abydes, to irritate the Grecians, yet neither would venture to pass the River. In the mean time, the Cavalry of Mardonius making continual Excursions, harassed the Grecian Camp; and the Thebans being entirely in the Interest of the Medes, perform'd their part with Vigour, leading their Forces as near as possible to the Grecians, that a general Battel might ensue. In these Actions, they were supported by the Persians and Medes, who gave signal Demonstrations of their Valour. Nothing more was done during ten Days; but on the eleventh Day, after the two Armies had faced each other in the Country of Plataea, and the Grecian Forces were considerably augmented, Mardonius, the Son of Gobryas, tired with these Delays, went to confer with Artabazus, the Son of Pharnaces, a Persian of eminent Reputation with Xerxes; in which Conference they gave their Opinions to this effect: Artabazus advis'd, that they should break up with all their Forces, and, without farther delay, march to the Walls of Thebes; where they should find plenty of Provisions for themselves, with Forage for their Horses; and that being encamp'd there, they might accomplish their Enterprize at leisure, if his Advice was follow'd: For, having a great quantity
quantity of Gold, coin'd and uncoin'd, with much Silver and wrought Plate; if they would not be sparing of these Treasures, but send them to the Grecians, especially to those of principal Authority in each Nation, they should undoubtedly prevail with them to betray the common Liberty, without hazarding the Event of a Battel. The Thebans were of the same Sentiment with Artabazus, as thinking him a Person of greater Forethought than the other. But the Opinion of Mardonius was more bold, inconsiderate, and pertinacious: He said, that conceiving his Army to be better than that of the Grecians, he was for fighting immediately, not for looking on idly, till farther Supplies should join their Forces; and that they ought not to heed the Sacrifices of Hegesistratus, but resolve to fight, according to the manner of the Persians. Mardonius having delivered his Opinion in these Terms, was not contradicted; and his Sentiment prevail'd, because the King had given the Command of his Army to him, and not to Artabazus. Then calling together the Commanders of his Forces, and the Grecian Generals who were in his Camp, he asked if they had heard of any Oracles that threaten'd the Persians with Destruction in Greece: but they gave him no Answer; because as some of the Assembly knew nothing of the Predictions, so others were afraid to speak what they knew: Which Mardonius perceiving, said, "Since you either know nothing, or dare not speak, I shall tell you what I know perfectly well. There is an Oracle importing, "that the Persians arriving in Greece, shall "plunder the Temple of Delphi, and be all de-

Vol. II. B b "stroy'd
“...troy’d after that Fact: Therefore being ap-
pris’d of this Prediction, we will neither
pillage that Temple, nor go to that Place;
and thus we shall preserve ourselves from
being destroy’d on that account. Let every
one then, who wishes well to the Persians,
rejoice, and be assure’d that we shall con-
quer the Grecians.” Having finished these
Words, he required them to dispose all things
in order to a Battel, and prepare to fight
early the next Morning. Nevertheless, I cer-
tainly know, that the Oracle pretended by
Mardonius to have been pronounced against the
Persians, was really delivered to the Illyrians,
and to the Forces of the Enchelians, and no
way concern’d the Persians. But the Predic-
tion of Bacis, relating to the Battel, was in
these Terms:

In verdant Plains, which far extended lie
On the Asopus, and the Thermodon,
The Grecians shall against Barbarians fight,
And Medes in numerous Crouds their Fate shall meet.

Besides this Oracle of Bacis, I have heard of
others of a like Tenour, denounced by Musæus
against the Persians: As for the Thermodon, that
River runs between the Cities of Tanagra and
Glisas.

AFTER Mardonius had made inquiry
touching the Oracles, and encourag’d his Men,
Night came on, and the Guards were placed:
But when the Night was so far spent, that all
things seem’d quiet in the Camp, and the Ar-
my in profound SLEEP, Alexander, the Son of
Amyntas, King and General of the Macedonians
mounting
mounting on horseback, advanced to the Athenian Guard, and desir'd to speak with their principal Leaders. The greater part of the Guard continu'd in their Station, while some hasten'd to the Generals, and acquainted them, that a certain Person on horseback, arriving from the Army of the Medes, demanded to speak with them; and having repeated their Names, discovered no more of his Business. When the Generals had receiv'd this Information, they went immediately to the Guard; and were no sooner arriv'd, than Alexander began thus: "I come to deposit a Secret with you; "O Athenians, on condition you will conceal "it from all Men, except only Pausanias, left "you should ruin me. I would not make this "discovery to you, if I were not extremely "concern'd for the Safety of Greece, and, be- "ing myself of Grecian Original, were not "very unwilling to see the Liberty of Greece op- "pressed. Know then, that Mardonius would "have fought long before this time, if the Sa- "crifices offer'd for him and his Army had "been found favourable: but now, he has ta- "ken a resolution to have no regard to the Sa- "crifices, and to attack you at break of day; "fearing, as I conjecture, that more Forces "may come in to your Succour. Be therefore "in a readiness to receive him. But if Mardo- "nious should defer the Execution of his Pur- "pose, and not come to a Battel, continue in "your camp; for his Provisions are not suffi- "cient to last many Days. And if this War "terminates happily on your side, some of you "ought to remember me; who, for the sake "of the Grecians, and out of a desire to preserve
HERODOTUS.

"their Liberty, have voluntarily undertaken so dangerous an Enterprize, and acquainted you with the Intention of Mardonius, to the end that the Barbarians may not surprize you, and fall upon your Forces, before you are prepar'd to receive them. I am Alexander the Macedonian." Having finished these Words, he return'd to his Station in the Camp. And the Athenian Captains went to the head of the Right; where, after they had told Pausanius all that they had heard from Alexander, he began to be afraid of the Persians, and said, "Seeing the two Armies are about to engage when the Day appears, you, O Athenians, ought in reason to be placed opposite to the Persians, and we against the Bœotians and Grecians, who are now drawn up against your Forces; because you know the Medes, and their manner of fighting, having fought with them already at Marathon; whereas, we are so utterly unacquainted with those Men, that none of us Spartans have ever been engag'd in any Action against their Troops: but the Bœotians and the Thessalians we experimentally know. For this reason we would have you march with your Arms into our Post, and we will take the Left." To this Proposal, the Athenians answered; "From the time we first saw the Persians drawn up against you, we were inclin'd to mention the Expedient you now propose to us, and only refrain'd, out of an apprehension that our Advice might not be well receiv'd; but seeing you are pleas'd to make the Offer, we are ready to do as you desire." Thus having voluntarily taken this Resolution on both sides, they
they chang'd their Stations; which the Bœotians observing upon the first Appearance of Light, gave notice to Mardonius of what they had done; and when he had heard their Report, he presently made a motion to change his Post, and to place the Persians against the Front of the Lacedemonians again. But Pausanias perceiving he was discover'd, return'd with the Spartans to the Right of the Line; and Mardonius in like manner to the Left. When both sides had resum'd their former Stations, Mardonius sent a Herald to the Spartans with the following Message: "You, O Lacedemonians, are reported to be the best Soldiers of all the People in these Parts, and formidable to the rest, as Men who never abandon the Field of Battle, nor quit your Ranks, but continue firm, till either you have destroy'd your Enemies, or die upon the Place. Yet none of these things are true: For even before you come to engage, and to try the Fortune of War, we see you fly, and abandon your Station, obliging the Athenians, at their peril, to make the first Trial of our Valour, and placing yourselves against the Front of our Servants, which is not the part of brave Men. We were much deceiv'd, when we expected, that to sustain your Reputation, you would have sent a Herald, to bid us defiance, and to let us know, that relying on the Goodness of your Forces, you had determin'd to fight singly against the Persians. We find nothing of this sort in you, but rather manifest Signs of Fear. Now therefore, seeing you have declin'd to challenge us, we shall begin with you, and ask, " why
why you, who are thought the best of the
Grecian Forces, and we, who have the same
Esteem among the Barbarians, may not termi-
minate this Dispute with equal Numbers:
If you think the rest ought also to fight, let
them engage afterwards; but if you are of
another opinion, and judge that unnecessary,
let us fight alone: and let that side which
shall obtain the Victory, be accounted victo-
rious of the whole Army." After the He-
rald had thus spoken, and stay'd some time with-
out receiving any Answer, he return'd to Mar-
donius, and gave him an account of his Com-
misson. Upon which, Mardonius being above
measure joyful, and proud of an imaginary Vic-
tory, gave order to insult the Grecians with his
Horse; who, by the Showers of Arrows and
Darts they pour'd in among them with great dex-
terity, put all their Camp into disorder, and
choak'd the Fountain of Gargaphia, which sup-
plied the Army with Water. This Spring was
in the Quarter of the Lacedemonians, and more
or less distant from the rest of the Grecians, as
their Stations were appointed. The Ajopus was
near at hand indeed, but they were hindred by
the Enemies Cavalry from approaching that Ri-
ver, and contrain'd to water at the Gargaphian
Spring only. In this Condition of things, des-
titute of Water for the Army, and put into great
confusion by the Barbarian Horse, the Grecian
Generals went together to the right Wing, in
order to deliberate about these, and other Af-
fairs. For though their Circumstances were bad
in these Particulars, yet they were in much
greater perplexity for want of Provisions; which
they could not receive from Peloponnesus, because
the
the Enemies Cavalry being Masters of the Passages, hindred the Servants they had therfrom returning with Convoys to the Camp. In this Assembly the Captains resolv’d, if the Persian should defer their Attack all that day, to remove with the Army into an Island, ten Stades distant from the River A¢opus, and the Spring of Gargaphia, were they were then encamped. This Island lies opposite to the City of Plataea, and is in some measure join’d to the Continent: For the River, descanding from Mount Cytheron, and running into the Plain, divides its Streams for the space of about three Stades, and then rejoining, forms an Island, which is call’d by the Name of Oeroe; who, as the Inhabitants say, was the Daughter of A¢opus. Into this Place the Grecians determining to remove, that they might have sufficient Supply of Water, and be no longer infested by the Enemies Horse, agreed to decamp in the Night, at the time of placing the second Watch, left, as they quitted their Camp, they should be discovered, and disturb’d by the Persian Cavalry in their March. They also resolv’d, that when they should arrive where the A¢opian Oeroe is encompassed by the Waters which descend from Cytheron, they would detach one half of their Forces to that Mountain, in order to bring in a Convoy of Provisions, which had stopp’d there for fear of the Enemy. Having taken these Resolutions, they continued all that day in their Camp, and suffer’d much by the Horse: But in the Evening the Enemy retir’d; and when the Hour of Night was come, in which they had agreed to decamp, the greater part took up their Arms, and marched away without
without any Intention of going to the Place appointed: Whilst others, upon their breaking up, being desirous to avoid the Enemies Cavalry, made towards Platea; and arriving at the Temple of Juno, which stands before the City, twenty Stades distant from the Spring of Gargaphia, grounded their Arms, and encamped there. Pausanias having seen these Forces file off out of the Camp, and supposing they were marching to the Rendezvous, order'd the Lacedemonians to take up their Arms, and follow. All the rest of the Leaders were ready to obey, when Amompharetus, the Son of Poliades, Captain of the Pitanean Division, protested he would not fly from the Barbarians, nor willingly bring a Disgrace upon Sparta; and was the more astonished at what he saw, because he had not been present in the Council where this Resolution was taken. Pausanias and Euryanax, not a little disturb'd at his Refusal, and more deeply concern'd to leave the Pitanean Cohort behind them, left by executing the Measures they had concerted with the rest of the Grecians, Amompharetus, and all those who were under his Conduct, should be cut in pieces, suspended the Departure of the Spartans, and endeavour'd to dissuade him from his Purpose. But whilst they were exhorting Amompharetus, that he alone of all the Lacedemonians and Tegeans would not suffer himself to be left in the Camp, the Athenians well knowing the Genius of the Spartans, and that they are accustomed to say one thing and mean another, continued in their Station, contenting themselves, when they saw the Army begin to move, to send a Horseman to see, if indeed the Lacedemonians
cedemonians intended to decamp, or had absolutely resolv'd to stay; and in that case, to enquire of Pausanias what was fit to be done. This Messenger arriving, found the Lacedemonians drawn up in their Post, and their principal Leaders engag'd in a warm Debate: For though Euryanax and Pausanias had endeavour'd to persuade Amompharetus, not to bring the Lacedemonians into the danger of continuing singly in the Camp, yet, having not been able to prevail with him, they were fallen into an open Contention, when the Athenian Messenger arriv'd. In this Dispute, Amompharetus taking up a Stone with both his Hands, and laying it down at the Feet of Pausanias, said, "There is my Vote, to testify that we ought " not to fly from the Strangers:" meaning the Barbarians. But Pausanias telling him he was distracted, and not in his right Senses, turn'd to the Messenger, and in Answer to the Questions he was instructed to ask, bid him report the present Condition of their Affairs to the Athenians, and their earnest Desire, that they would join in one common Resolution, and act in relation to their Departure, as the Lacedemonians should do. With this Answer the Messenger return'd to the Athenians, and the Dispute continued till the Morning; when Pausanias having said to that time, and supposing, as indeed happen'd, that Amompharetus would not be left behind, gave the Signal, and marched away by the Hills, with the rest of the Lacedemonians, and the Tegeans. On the other hand, the Athenians marched in order of Battle, by the Way of the Plain; because the Spartans apprehending the Enemies Horse, kept close to the
the higher Ground, about the Foot of the Mountain Cytheron. But when Amompharetus saw that Paunianias, with the rest, had actually left the Camp, he thought they had deserted him on purpose, and taking up his Arms, led his Men slowly after the main Body: Which nevertheless, after a March of about ten Stades, halted at the River Melois, in the Plain of Argiope, (where a Temple stands dedicated to the Elusian Ceres) in order to wait his coming up, or else to return to his assistance, if he and his Forces should persist in their Resolution, not to leave their Station. However, at length Amompharetus join'd the rest of the Army, and the Barbarian Horse went to attack the Camp, as they were accustom'd to do: But finding no Man in the Place, where the Enemy had encamped, they pursued without delay, and overtaking the Grecians, incommoded them in their March.

WHEN Mardonius was inform'd that the Grecians were retir'd by night, he view'd the abandon'd Camp; and having sent for Thraon of Larissa, with his Brother Euryphilus and Thrafydius, he spoke to them in these Terms: "What will you say now, O Aleuadians, to the things you see? You, who being Neighbours to the Lacedemonians, affirm, they were the most warlike of all People, and that they would never quit the Field of Battel. These Men you saw, first shifting their Station, and now we all know, they fled away last night, because they found they were to engage against those Forces, which are deservedly esteem'd the most valiant in the World; demonstrating by these Actions, that having no real Worth " in
"in themselves, they made only a vain Often-
tation of their Bravery among the Grecians,
who have no more Valour than they. I rea-
dily forgave you, when you extoll'd the
Spartans, because you knew something of
their Actions, and were altogether unac-
quainted with the Persians; but I wondered
more at Artabazus, who was in so great fear
of the Lacedemonians, that he basely ad-
vised us, as a thing expedient, to break up
with our Army, and retire to Thebes, in ex-
pectation of a Siege, which the King shall
know from me, though of that I shall say
more another time. At present, seeing the
Grecians have shewn so little Courage, we
ought not to suffer them to escape out of our
hands; but by a speedy Pursuit make them
bear the Penalty of all the Mischiefs they
have done to the Persians. Having finish'd
these Words, he put himself at the head of the
Persians, and passing the Aetopus with precipita-
tion, pursued the Grecians, as if they had be-
taken themselves to flight; but overtook only
the Lacedemonians, and the Tegeans, not per-
ceiving the Athenian Forces, who, turning
short, had passed from the Hills into the Plain.
When the other Commanders of the Barbarian
Troops saw the Persians advancing in pursuit
of the Grecians, they also took up their Stan-
dards, and hastened after them, without ob-
serving either Rank or Order, crouding toge-
ther in Multitudes, and making a hideous Noife,
as if they had been sure of tearing the Grecians
in pieces. Pausanias, in the mean time, find-
ing himself pressed by the Enemies Cavalry, dis-
patched a Messenger on horseback to the Athe-
nians, with this Message: "Men of Athens, in
the great Question before us, whether Greece
shall be enslaved, or continue free, our Al-
lies have betrayed both you and the Lacede-
monians, and fled away during the last night.
What remains now to be done, is to defend
ourselves in the best manner we can, and to
succour each other. Had the Enemies Horse
attacked you first, we and the Tegeans who
are with us, and have not betray'd the com-
mon Cause, ought to have assisted you: But
seeing all their Cavalry is fallen upon us, you
are obliged in justice to come to the Succour
of that part which is most hardly pressed. If
any insuperable Impediment should hinder
you from coming to our Relief, we promise
ourselves, from the great Zeal you have
shewn for carrying on the present War, that
you will not refuse to send us some of your
Men armed with pointed Weapons." The
Athenians no sooner heard these Words, than
they prepared to succour the Lacedemonians to
the utmost of their power; but as they were
actually marching with that Design, they were
attacked, and to their great regret prevented,
by those Grecians who sided with the Persian,
and had been drawn up opposite to the Athe-
nians. The Lacedemonians and the Tegeans
being thus deprived of Assistance, and necessi-
tated to engage alone against Mardonius and the
Forces with him, began to offer their usual Sa-
crifices: The former, including the light-
armed Men, amounted to the number of fifty
thousand; and the Tegeans, who had never
parted from the Lacedemonians, to three thou-
fand. During these Sacrifices, which were not
at all favourable, they had many Men killed, and more wounded, by the great number of pointed Arms which the Persians let fly among them, whilst they themselves stood covered with their Bucklers. When Pausanias saw the Spartans so terribly galled, and their Sacrifices disturbed, turning his Eyes towards the Temple of Juno in Platea, he prayed the Goddes, that his Hopes might not be frustrated; and before he had finished these words, the Tegeans began to advance against the Barbarians. Immediately after the Prayer of Pausanias, the Lacedemonians sacrificed happily, and in a little time marched out likewise against the Persians; who laying aside their Bows and Darts, stood firm, and maintained a long and obstinate Fight near the Temple of Ceres, till both sides came to close: For the Barbarians venturing to lay hold of the Enemies Lances, broke them in pieces. And indeed in Courage and Strength the Persians were not inferior to the Grecians; but they were ill-armed, ignorant of military discipline, and no way comparable to their Adversaries in prudent Management: So that whether one, or ten, or more, or less, fell in among the Lacedemonians, they were certainly destroyed, because they observed no manner of Order. Nevertheless, in that part where Mardonius, mounted on a white Horse, fought at the head of a thousand Men, the best among the Persians, there the Grecians were attacked with most Vigour: For as long as he continued alive, the Persians made a strenuous Defence, and killed many of the Spartans; but when Mardonius fell, and the choicest Troops about him were defeated, the rest turned their backs,
backs, and fled before the Lacedemonians, being much embarrased with their Garments, and fighting naked against armed Men. Here the Death of Leonidas was revenged by the Spartans upon Mardonius, according to the Oracle; and here the most glorious Victory, we ever heard of, was obtained by Pausanias, the Son of Cleombrotus, and Grandson to Anaxandrides, whose Ancestors I mentioned before in the Genealogy of Leonidas, for they were the same. Mardonius died by the hand of Aimnestus, a considerable Spartan, who, some time after this Persian War, was killed at Stenyyclerus, with three hundred Lacedemonians, fighting against all the Forces of the Messenians. The Persians thus put to the Rout by the Spartans in the Territories of Platea, fled in confusion to their Camp, which they had fortified with a Wall of Wood in the Plains of Thebes. But I am surpriz'd, that seeing the Battle was fought near the Grove of Ceres, not one of the Barbarians was seen to enter into the Temple, nor to die in any part of the sacred Ground, tho' great numbers fell in other Places; and if a Man may be permitted to form a Conjecture concerning divine things, I imagined the Goddes would not receive them, after they had burnt her Royal Temple at Eleusis. Such was the Event of this Battel.

In the mean time Artabazus, the Son of Pharnaces, who from the beginning had disapproved the King's assenting to leave Mardonius in Greece, and who, by all the Reasons he could alledge, was not able to prevail with him to forbear fighting, thought fit to act in this manner: Being displeased at the Conduct of Mardonius,
nins, and rightly judging what the Issue would be, he gave Orders, during the Battel, for all the Forces he commanded, consisting of forty thousand Men, to follow him wherefoever he should lead them, with the same diligence they should see him make: And after he had given these Instructions, advancing with his Men, as if he designed to charge the Enemy, he discovered the Persians flying. Upon which, continuing no longer to lead his Forces in an orderly manner, he presently betook himself to flight not towards the Walls of Wood, nor the City of Thebes, but into the Territories of the Phoceans, with intention to reach the Hellepont as soon as he could.

In this Battel, while the rest of the Greeks in the King's Army behaved themselves ill on purpose, the Boeotians maintained an obstinate Fight against the Athenians. In particular the Thebans, who favoured the Medes, and would not remit of their utmost Efforts, fought with such Ardour, that three hundred of the principal and most valiant were killed by the Athenians upon the Place: And the rest, after they were broken and put to flight, would not follow the Persians, nor the vast multitude of their Associates, who either fought not at all, or performed nothing considerable, but retired to Thebes. The Barbarians appear to me to have been totally influenced by the Conduct of the Persians on this occasion: For when they saw the Persians flying, they abandoned the Field, even without striking a Blow, and by their example at length betook themselves all to flight, except some of the Horse, consisting of Boeotians and others. Yet these, in their Retreat,
Retreat, being nearest to the Enemy, were of some advantage to those that fled, by defending their Friends from the Grecians; who vigorously pursuing their Victory, pressed hard upon the broken Forces of Xerxes, and made a great Slaughter among them. During this Pursuit, a Message was brought to those Grecians who had abscended themselves from the Battel, and retired to the Temple of Juno, that the Armies had engaged, and that the Grecians with Pausanias were victorious. Upon which News they hastened back, without observing any kind of Order; the Corinthians by the way of the Hills, that leads directly to the Temple of Ceres; and the Megareans, with the Phliasians, by the Plain: But the Theban Cavalry, commanded by Asopodorus, the Son of Timander, seeing the Megareans and Phliasians approaching in so disorderly a manner, pushed on their Horses immediately, and falling upon them, killed six hundred on the spot, and drove the rest to the Mountain Cytheron. Thus these Men fell without Honour.

The Persians and the rest of the Multitude arriving within their Intrenchments; mounted the Towers before the coming of the Lacedemonians, and improved their Works in the best manner they could: So that when the Lacedemonians arrived, they found a vigorous Resistance from the Walls; and indeed so long as the Athenians were absent, the Barbarians not only defended themselves, but were too hard for the Lacedemonians, who knew not how to attack a Fortification: But upon the Arrival of the Athenians, the Action grew hotter on both sides, and continued for a long time;
time; till, in the end, by their Valour and Constancy, the Athenians mounted the Walls, and opened a Passage to the rest of the Grecians. The first that entered by the Breach were the Tegeans, who plundered the Tent of Mardonius, and, among other things, took away a Manger for Horses, all of solid Brass, and admirably wrought; which they afterwards placed in the Temple of the Alean Minerva: But the rest of their Booty they brought to the common Heap, and deposited with that taken by the other Grecians. The Barbarians, after the forcing of their Intrenchment, rallied no more, nor thought of defending themselves; but terrified to see their Troops, consisting of so many Myriads, intercepted within a small Compass of Ground, fell into the utmost Consternation. By which means they were so easily cut in pieces by the Grecians, that of three hundred thousand Men, not full three thousand escaped the Sword, besides those forty thousand who fled away with Artabazus. Of the Lacedemonian Spartans, ninety one were killed in the Battel; of the Tegeans sixteen, and of the Athenians fifty two. Those among the Barbarians who fought best, were, of the Foot, the Persians; of the Horse, the Saces; and of the Generals, Mardonius. Of the Grecians, the Tegeans and Athenians acquired great Glory, but the Lacedemonians greater: For though the former beat all the Forces they engaged, yet the Lacedemonians broke and defeated the firmeft part of the Enemy's Army. But among all the Lacedemonians, no Man, in my Opinion, gave so great Proofs of Valour as Aristodemus, who was before disgraced and dis-
esteemed, because he alone, of the three hundred, had saved himself from the Slaughter of Thermopyle. After him Posidonius, Philocyon, and Amompharetus distinguished themselves among the Spartans; yet when the Question came to be debated, who had behaved himself best, those Spartans, that were present, gave judgment, that Aristodemus, resolving to die in the fight of his Countrymen, to wipe off the Blemish of his former Conduct, and to that end breaking his Rank, and advancing beyond his Companions, had performed Actions of great Glory; but that Posidonius having no occasion to desire Death, deserved greater Honour for the Valour he shewed on this occasion. Perhaps they gave that Judgment from a Motive of Envy. However, they paid great Honours to all those that died in the Battel, excepting only Aristodemus, who was deprived of that Glory, because he had predetermined to lose his Life for the foregoing Reason. These were the Men who acquired the greatest Fame in the Battel of Plataea. For Callicratides, the most valiant, not only of the Lacedemonians, but of all others in the Grecian Army, died not in the Action; but standing in his Rank, after Pausanias had sacrificed, he received a Wound in the Side by an Arrow; and, as they carried him off, regretting his Fate, he turn'd to Aimnestus a Platæan, and told him, that he was not at all discontented to die for Greece; but to die before he had fought, or done any thing worthy of himself, and of his Zeal to the common Cause. Of the Athenians, Sophanes, the Son of Eutycbides, a Decelian, is reported to have distinguished himself by his Valour. The Inhabitants of Decelia,
Decelia, as the Athenians say, were the Authors of a thing, which has been ever since of advantage to them: For, in antient time, when the Tyndarides, seeking to recover Helena, entered the Territories of Attica with a numerous Army, and dispossessed the People of their Habitations, not knowing to what Place she was carried; the Decelians, and, as some say, Decelus himself, disturbed at the Injury done to Theseus, and fearing that all the Country of the Athenians might be ravaged, discovered the whole Intrigue, and conducted the Tyndarides to Aphidna; which Titatus, a Native of the Place, delivered into their hands. From the time of that Action, even to this day, the Decelians have been always treated with such Distinction and Preference by the Spartans, that in the War, which happened many years after, between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, the Lacedemonians pillaged the rest of Attica, and left Decelia untouched. Of that place was Sophanes, who distinguished himself above all the Athenians on this occasion; but two different Accounts are given of him: Some say, he carried an Anchor of Iron fastened to the Girdle of his Breast-plate with a Chain of Bras, which he fixed before him when he approached the Enemy, to hinder them from forcing him out of his Rank; and when they were repulsed, taking up his Anchor again, he pursuèd with the rest. But others, varying from this Account, say, that he had no Anchor of Iron fastened to his Cuiras, but one engraved on his Shield, which was made to turn round incessantly. Sophanes did another signal Action, when the Athenians besieged Ægina: For in a single Combat
404 HERODOTUS

Combat he killed Eurybates of Argos, who had been victorious in all the five Olympian Contentions. But some time after the Persian War, commanding the Athenian Forces jointly with Leagrus the Son of Glaucon, he was killed by the Edonians at Daton, fighting for the Mines of Gold, with the same Valour he had shewn on all other Occasions.

WHEN the Barbarians were thus defeated at Plataea, a Woman, who had been a Concubine to Pharandates, the Son of Theaspes, a Persian, hearing of the Disaster of the Persians, and of the Victory obtained by the Grecians, came voluntarily to the Army, magnificently dressed, both she and her Attendants, in Gold and the richest of their Attire; and alighting from her Chariot, went towards the Lacedemonians, who were still employed in the Slaughter of the Enemy; when observing that Pausanias had the Direction of all things, and having often heard his Name and his Country, she addressed herself to him, and embracing his Knees, said, "King of Sparta, deliver me, I beseech you, from a flavish Captivity. You have already done me one Favour, in destroying those who had no regard either to the Demons or to the Gods. I am of a Coan Family, Daughter to Hegetorides, the Son of Antagoras. The Persian took me away by force at Coos, and kept me to this time." "Woman, answered Pausanias, thou haft nothing to fear, partly because thou art come as a Suppliant to seek Protection, and much more if thou haft spoken the Truth, and art indeed the Daughter of Hegetorides the Coan, who is the best Friend I have in that Country." Having thus
thus spoken, he committed her to the care of the Ephori, who were present, and afterwards sent her to Ægina, where she desired to go. Presently after her Departure the Mantineans arrived with their Forces, when all was over; and finding they were come too late to fight, were much disturbed, and said, They were yet worthy in having some part in punishing the Barbarians. Upon which being informed of the flight of Artabazus and the Medes, they pursued them into Thessaly, against the Opinion of the Lacedemonians; but at their Return home, their Leaders were all banished. After them came the Eleans, and shewing the fame Regret, marched back again; but arriving in their own Country, they punished their Captains also with Banishment. Such was the Conduct of the Mantineans, and of the Eleans.

LAMPON, the Son of Pytheus, one of the principal Men of Ægina, being then at Platea in the Camp of the Æginetes, came in haste to Pausanias; and soliciting him to a most detestable Action, said, "Son of Cleombrotus, the Enterprize you have atchieved, is, beyond example, great and illustrious; God has enabled you to acquire more Glory, in preserving Greece from Servitude, than any other Grecian, we ever heard of, obtained. Yet something remains to be done, in order to render your Name more famous, and to deter all the Barbarians for the future from daring to irritate the Grecians by unjust Attempts. You know that after Leonidas was killed at Thermopyle, Mardonius and Xerxes took off his Head, and fixed it on a Pole."

"if
"If you will punish that Insolence by a just
Retaliation, you will be praised, not only
by all the Spartans, but by the rest of the
Grecians: In a word, if you order Mardo-

nius to be empaled, you revenge the Indig-

nity done to your Uncle Leonidas." This he
said with a design to please: But Paufanias an-
swered, "Friend of Ægina, I thankfully ac-
cept your good Meaning and provident
Care, but you are far from making a right
Judgment; for after having highly magnified
me, my Country, and my Achievement, you
throw all down again, by soliciting me to
insult the Dead, and telling me I shall in-
crease my Fame, if I do that, which is more
fit to be done by Barbarians than by Gre-
cians, and which we blame even in them.
I cannot therefore assent to the Æginetes,
nor to any other Men who delight in such
Actions, contented to please the Spartans,
and never to do nor to speak an unbecom-
ing thing. As for Leonidas, whose Death
you exhort me to revenge, I affirm, that, by
sacrificing the Lives of such an innumerable
Multitude, we have made a magnificent Re-
paration to him, and to all those who fell at
Thermopyle. Come no more then to me with
such Discourses: nor venture to give me such
Counsel; and take for a Favour, that you
now escape unpunished." Lampon having re-
ceived this answer, retired; and Paufanias, af-
ter he had caused Proclamation to be made,
that no Man should meddle with the Booty,
commanded the Helots to bring together all
the Riches they could find. Accordingly dis-
persing themselves through the Camp, they
found
found great quantities of Gold and Silver in the Tents; Couches plated with Gold and Silver; Bowls, Phials, and other drinking Vessels of Gold, besides boiling Pots of Gold and Silver, which they found lying in Sacks upon the Waggons. They took the Chains, Bracelets, and Scimitars of Gold from the Dead, but left the rich Apparel of various Colours, as things of no value. The Helots purloined much of the Booty, which they sold to the Æginetes, producing only so much as they could not hide; and this was the first Foundation of the great Wealth of the Æginetes, who purchased Gold from the Helots at the Price of Brasses. With the tenth part of this collected Treasure, the Grecians dedicated to the God at Delphi, a Tripos of Gold, supported by a three-headed Serpent of Brasses, and placed close to the Altar to the God at Olympia, a Jupiter of Brasses ten Cubits high; and a Neptune of Brasses seven Cubits to the God at the Isthmus. When they had taken out this Part, they divided the rest of the Booty, consisting of Gold, Silver, and other Treasure, together with the Concubines of the Persians, and all the Cattel, according to the Merit of each Person. How much was given to those who were reputed to have fought with the greatest Valour in the Battel of Platea, is reported by none; yet I am of opinion they were considered in a particular manner. But to Pausanias they gave the Tenth of all; Women, Horses, Camels, Talents, and every thing else.

Among other things reported to have paffed in this Expedition, they say, that when Xerxes fled out of Greece, he left all his Equipage.
to Mardonius; and that Pausanias seeing such magnificent Furniture of Gold, Silver, and Tapestry of various Colours, commanded the Cooks and Bakers to prepare a Supper for him, as they used to do for Mardonius: That when they had so done, in obedience to his Command, and Pausanias had viewed the Couches of Gold and Silver, covered with the richest Cushions, the Tables of the same Metals, and the expensive Supper prepared; surprized at the Profusion he saw before him, he ordered his Attendants, with a Smile, to make ready a Lacedemonian Meal: And that after he had observed the vast difference between the two Suppers, fending for the Grecian Generals, and fhewing them both the one and the other, he said; "I have called you together, O Grecians, with a design to let you see the Folly of the King of the Medes; who leading such a Life at home, came hither to pillage us, who fare fo hardly." Some time after this Defeat, many of the Platæans found Treasures of Gold and Silver, with other Riches buried under ground; and among the dead Bodies, when the Flesh was consumed from the Bones, which lay together at a certain Place, they discovered a Skull, of one solid Piece, without any Sutures. They found also an upper Jaw, with all the Teeth distinct, but shooting from one fingle Bone; and the Skeleton of a Man five Cubits high.

THE next day after the Battel, Mardonius was not found among the dead, though by what Person his Body was taken away, I never could learn with Certainty. But I have heard that many Men, of different Nations, were concerned in giving
giving him burial, and I know that divers had Presents from Ariontes, the Son of Mardonius, on that account: Yet who, among them all, was the Man that carried off, and took care of the Body, I could never discover; whatever Report has been spread abroad, concerning Dionysiophanes the Ephesian, as if he had buried Mardonius. And thus that Question remains undetermin’d. But the Grecians, after they had parted the Booty in the Fields of Plataea, buried their Dead separately: The Lacedemonians made three Graves; in one of which they interred Posidonius, Amompharetus, Phylocion and Callicrates, who were of the Priesthood: In another they put the rest of the Spartans; and in the third the Helots. The Tegeans buried all their Dead together in one Grave; the Athenians did the same; and so did the Megareans and Phliasians to those of their Forces, who were killed by the Enemies Cavalry. All these Sepulchres were filled with the Bodies of Men; but the rest, which are seen about Plataea, were erected, as I am inform’d, by those, who being ashamed of their Absence from the Battle, threw up those Mounds by common Consent, to deceive Posterity. Among these, there is one, bearing the Name of the Æginetes; which, I have heard, was erected at their Request, ten Years after this War, by Cleades, the Son of Autodicus, a Platæan, oblig’d to them by the Yses of Hospitality.

WHEN the Grecians had buried their Dead in the Territories of Plataea, they took a resolution in Council, to lead their Army to Thebes, and to demand the Partizans of the Medes, especially Timegenides and Attaginus, the Ring-leaders
leaders of the Faction; and not to depart, till they had destroy'd the City, if the Thebans should refuse to surrender them. Having all consented to these Measures, they broke up; and on the eleventh Day after the Battel, arriving at Thebes, demanded the Men: But receiving a denial from the Thebans, they ravag'd the Country, and made approaches to the Walls. On the twentieth Day after these Hostilities began, which the Grecians incessantly continu'd, Timegenides spoke thus to the Thebans: "Men of Thebes, seeing the Grecians are resolv'd not to withdraw their Army till either they shall have taken the City, or you deliver us into their hands, we are far from desiring that Bœotia should any longer suffer for our sake: If, under the pretext of demanding our Persons, they design to exact a Sum of Money, let us give it by a general Contribution; for we were not the only Partizans of the Medes, but join'd with them by general Consent: Nevertheless, if they really besiege Thebes because they would have us deliver'd up, we are ready to justify our Conduct in their presence." The Thebans approving his Proposition, as just and reasonable, sent to acquaint Pausanias, that they were willing to surrender the Persons he demanded. After this Agreement was made, Attaginus made his escape from Thebes; but, in place of him, his Sons were sent out to Pausanias; who discharged them, saying, they were too young to have any part in the Guilt of joining with the Medes. Of those who were deliver'd up by the Thebans, some thought to clear themselves by pleading their Innocence, or
else to come off by Money; but Pausanias suspecting their Intention, dismiss'd the Confederate Army, and conducting the Prisoners to Corinth, put them all to death. Such was the Event of things in the Territories of Plataea and of Thebes.

IN the mean time, Artabazus the Son of Pharnaces continuing his Flight from Plataea, arriv'd in the Country of the Thessalians; who receiving him in a friendly manner, and being altogether ignorant of what had past, asked him News of the rest of the Army. But Artabazus considering, that if he should discover the whole Truth, both he and his Forces would be in danger of Destruction, (because he thought every one would fall upon him, when they should be inform'd of the Success of things) had conceal'd all from the Phocceans; and to the Thessalians spoke thus: "Men of Thessaly, you see I am hastening to Thrace with the utmost Expedition, being sent with these Forces from the Camp upon a certain Affair. Mardonius with his Army follows me close, and may be suddenly expected. Receive him as a Friend, and do him all the good Offices you can, for you will never have cause to repent of the Proofs you shall give him of your Amity." Having said this, he broke up with his Army, and marched through Thessaly and Macedonia, directly towards Thrace, with great Precipitation, and by the shortest Ways of the midland Country, as indeed his Affairs had called him to those Parts. But arriving at Byzantium, after he had left many of his Men by the way, who were part killed by the Thracians, and part consumed by Hunger and Fatigue,
tigue, he went on board the Ships, and return'd into Asia.

THE same Day on which the Persians were defeated at Plataea, they receiv'd another Blow at Mycale in Ionia, by this means. Whilst the Grecians, under the Conduct of Leutychides the Lacedemonian, continued with their Ships at Delos, Lampon, the Son of Thrasycleus, Atenagoras, the Son of Archebstratides, and Hegesistratus, the Son of Aristagoras, arriv'd there from Samos; being sent thither privately with a Message by the Samians, who had taken care to conceal their Intentions, both from the Persians, and from the Tyrant Theomestor, the Son of Androdamas, impos'd upon them by the Barbarians. These Ambassadors, upon their Arrival, went to the Generals; and Hegesistratus, among many other things said, that the Ionians would not fail to revolt from the Persians so soon as they should see the Grecian Fleet, and that the Barbarians would never stand an Engagement; or if they should, the Booty would be greater than could be found in any other Place. He adjur'd them by the Gods they worship'd in common, that they would deliver the Grecians from Servitude, and repel the Barbarians; which he affirm'd was easy to be done, because their Ships were sluggish, and no way comparable in fight to those of Greece. He added, that if they suspected any Fraud to lie conceal'd under this Invitation, they were ready to go on board with them, and to remain in the Ships, as Hostages of their Sincerity. But as he continued his Sollicitations with much Earnestness, Leutychides resolv'd to ask his Name, either as a thing he accounted ominous, or perhaps by a divine
divine Impulse, put the Question to him accordingly; and no sooner heard that he was called *Hegeśstratus, than interrupting the rest of his Discourse, if indeed he intended any; "Samian Friend, said he, I accept the Prefage of thy Name; and therefore, in order to fail, let us have thy solemn Promise, and the Faith of those with thee, that the Samians shall readily assist us." When he had said this, he proceeded to finish the Work; and the Samians having on their part given their Promise and Oath, with great Readiness, to be the Confederates of the Grecians, set sail to return home; except only Hegeśstratus, whose Name Leutychides taking for a Prefage of Good-Fortune, order'd him to accompany them in the Expedition. The Grecians continued in their Station that day, and on the next sacrificed auspiciously, by the hands of the Augur Deiphonus, a Native of Apollonia, in the Gulph of Ionia, and Son to Euenus, of whom the following account is given. In the Territories of Apollonia, a Flock of Sheep, sacred to the Sun, feed by day on the Banks of a River, which descending from the Mountain Lacmon, runs thro' that Country into the Sea, at the Port of Oricus; but by night, they are folded in a Cave, far distant from the City, and guarded by Men chosen annually to that end, out of the most eminent among the Citizens for Birth and Riches; because the People of Apollonia set a high Value upon these Sheep, pursuant to the Admonition of an Oracle. Euenus being chosen Keeper of this Flock, neglecting his Charge, fell asleep, and in the mean time, Wolves en-

*The Word signifies Leader of an Army.
tring the Cave, destroy'd about sixty of the Sheep. When he awak'd and saw what was done, he said nothing to any Man, thinking to purchase the like number, and to put them among the rest. But the Apollonians being soon inform'd of the thing, caused him to appear without delay before the Court of justice, and sentenced him to lose his Eyes, for sleeping when he ought to have watched. Nevertheless, after they had thus punish'd Euenus with Blindness, the Sheep brought no more Lambs, nor the Earth her usual Increase, as the Oracles of Dodona and Delphi had predicted: And when they applied themselves to the Prophets, to know the Cause of the present Calamities, they told them, that they had unjustly put out the Eyes of Euenus, the Keeper of the sacred Sheep: That they themselves had sent in the Wolves, and would not discontinue their Vengeance, till the Apollonians should make him full Satisfaction, and such Amends for the Injury he had receiv'd, as he himself should chuse, and judge sufficient; after which, they would make so valuable a present to Euenus, that the greater part of Men should think him happy. These Predictions the Apollonians kept secret, and appointed some of their Citizens to act in conformity to their Intentions; which they did in this manner: Having found Euenus sitting on a Chair, they sat down by him; and, after other Discourse, expressed their Sorrow for his Affliction, taking occasion from thence, to ask him what Reparation he would chuse, if the Apollonians were disposed to give him Satisfaction. Euenus, who had not heard of the Oracle, said, if they would give him the Lands of Inheritance, belonging to two Citizens he named, and which
he knew to be the best of that Country, and would moreover add to that Gift the most magnificent House of the City, he would be reconciled to them, and contented with that Satisfaction. Those who sat by him immediately taking hold of his Answer, Euenus, said they, the Apollonians offer you the Reparation you demand for the loss of your Eyes, in obedience to an Oracle they have received. Which when Euenus heard, he was not a little mortified, to find himself deceived by this Artifice. However, the Apollonians having first satisfied the Phœnicians, made him a Present of the Lands he demanded, and in a short time he obtained the Spirit of Divination, and acquired a considerable Name. Deiphonus was the Son of this Euenus, and officiated as Augur in the Army, being conducted thither by the Corinthians: yet I have formerly heard that he was not really the Son of Euenus, but had been under some Disgrace in Greece for assuming that Quality.

THE Grecians having sacrific'd favourably, departed from Delos with their Fleet, standing towards Samos; and arriving before Calamisus, belonging to the Samians, came to an Anchor near the Temple of Juno, and made all things ready for an Engagement. But the Persians being informed of their Approach, and having determined not to hazard a Sea-fight, because they thought themselves inferior in force to the Grecians, permitted the Phœnicians to return home, and with all the rest of their Ships made towards the Shore of the Continent. This they did, that they might betake themselves to the Protection of their Land-Forces, which were encamped at Mycale, to the number
ber of sixty thousand Men, having been left for a Guard to Ionia, by the order of Xerxes, under the Conduct of Tigranes, a Man surpassing all the Persians in good Mien and Stature. To that Army the Sea-Commanders resolved to fly for Protection, to draw their Ships to the Shore, and to throw up an Intrenchment quite round, which might serve for a Defence to the Fleet and for a place of Refuge to themselves. Having taken this Resolution, they brought off their Ships, and anchored near the Temple of the Potnians in Mycale, at Geson, and at Scolopis, where a Temple stands dedicated to Ceres of Eleusis, built by Ptilistus, the Son of Pausicles, who accompanied Neleus, the Son of Codrus, when he founded Miletus. There, having drawn the Ships ashore, they encompassed them with a Circumvallation of Timber and Stone, strengthened quite round with Palisadoes made of Fruit-Trees, which they cut down in the place, preparing themselves deliberately both to sustain a Siege, and to come off victorious. When the Grecians understood that the Barbarians were retired to the Continent, vexed that the Enemy had thus escaped, they began to doubt what course to take, and whether they should return home, or proceed to the Hellespont: But at length laying aside the Thoughts of both these, they determined to make to the Continent; and having prepared Ladders for boarding, and all other things necessary for fighting at Sea, they sailed to Mycale. When they arrived near the Camp, they saw no Enemy in a readiness to meet them; but all their Ships drawn within the Circumvallation, and a numerous Army disposed along the Coast. Upon
Upon which, Leutychides advancing before the rest, and standing in to the Shore as near as he could, ordered a Herald to speak thus to the Ionians in his Name: "Men of Ionia, all those among you, who hear me, hearken with Attention to my words; for the Persians will understand nothing of the Advice I give you. When the Battle begins, every one of you ought, in the first place, to remember Liberty; and next, that the word agreed upon, is Hebe: If any of you hear me not, let those who hear inform him." In doing this his meaning was the same as that of Themistocles at Artemision; for he expected that if these words were concealed from the Barbarians; the Ionians would be persuaded to revolt, or be brought under suspicion, if they should be reported to them. When Leutychides had given the Ionians this Admonition, the Grecians, in the next place, putting to shore, landed their Men, and drew up in Order of Battle: Which when the Persians saw, and were informed of the Exhortation they had made to the Ionians, they disarmed the Samians, fearing they were more particularly disposed to favour the Enemy, because they had already redeemed all the Athenians taken in Attica by the Forces of Xerxes, brought them to Samos in the Barbarian Ships, and sent them back to Athens, furnished with provisions for their Voyage; by which means they had set at Liberty five hundred Men of the Enemies of Xerxes. Having done this, they committed the care of guarding the Passes, that lead to the Eminencies of Mycale, to the Milesians, as knowing they were well acquainted with the Country, and intending, under that
colour to remove them from the Army. When they had taken these Precautions, to make sure of those among the Ionians, who seemed most like to endeavour a Change, if they could come at the power, they joined their Bucklers together, in order to their Defence. On the other part the Grecians, after they had prepared all things for a Battel, advanced towards the Barbarians; when, at the same time, a Herald's Staff was seen lying upon the Shore, and a sudden Rumour spread through the Army, that the Grecians had defeated the Forces of Mardonius in the Territories of Bœotia. In this the Direction of a Divine Power was manifest in many respects; for though the Blow already given at Plataea, and that now ready to be given at Mycale, happened both on the same day, the News thus reaching the Grecians, inspired their Army with a greater Resolution, and a more vigorous Boldness, to meet the present Danger. Besides, in each of these Places, which is farther remarkable, there stood a Temple, dedicated to Ceres of Eleusis, by the Field of Battel: For at Plataea, as I have already said, they fought near the Temple of Ceres, and were now about to fight again in Mycale near another belonging to the same Goddess: So that the Rumour of the Victory obtained by the Grecians, under the Conduct of Pausanias, came rightly to Mycale, because the Battel of Plataea was fought in the Morning, and this of Mycale in the Evening: But that both were fought on the same Day of the same Month, they plainly understood in a little time by mutual Information. Before they heard the Fame of the Victory of Plataea, they had been in great pain, not
not so much for themselves, as for the Safety of Greece, fearing left Mardonius should defeat the Grecian Army: But after they had that Rumour among them, they advanced towards the Enemy with greater Readiness and Alacrity: And thus both the Grecians and Barbarians hastened to begin the Fight, being equally persuaded that the Islands and the Hellespont must be the Recompence of the Victorious. The Athenians, with those who were drawn up in that part of the Army which they led, advanced through the Plains, and along the Shore; but the Lacedemonians, with those who were in the other part with them, marched through the broken Ways among the Hills: So that whilst the Lacedemonians were obliged to take a wider Compass, those of the other Line were already engaged with the Enemy. The Persians, so long as they were covered by their Bucklers, defended themselves strenuously, and maintain'd their Ground. But when the Athenians and the rest, to the end that they, and not the Lacedemonians, might have the honour of the Action, had mutually encouraged one another, they soon changed the face of Affairs, struck down the Shields of the Enemy, and in close order broke in among the Persians. At first they were received with Vigour; but after the Persians had continued to defend themselves, during a considerable time, they fled to their Intrenchments; and the Athenians, with the Forces which were drawn up next to them, consisting of the Corinthians, the Sicyonians, and the Troezenians, pursued them so close, that they entered their Camp at the same time. When the Barbarians saw their Intrenchments forced,
forced, they thought no longer of resisting, but betook themselves all to flight, except the Persians; who, though reduced to a small number, still continued to dispute the Entrance of their Camp, against the Grecians pouring in on all sides. Of the Persian Generals, two made their Escape, and two were killed. Artayntes and Ibramites, Commanders of the Naval Forces, fled; Mardonies and Tigranes, Generals of the Land-Army, died in the Field. At length, whilst the Persians were yet fighting, the Lacedemonians arrived with the other part of the Forces, and made an end of the Slaughter. On the part of the Grecians many were killed, especially of the Sicyonians, who lost their General Perilaus. The Samians, who were in the Camp of the Medes, and had been disarmed before the Action, when they saw the Event doubtful at the beginning of the Fight, did all they could to help the Grecians; and the rest of the Ionians seeing the Samians lead the way, abandoned the Enemy in like manner, and fell upon the Forces of the Barbarians. The Persians to provide for their own Safety, had appointed the Milesians to keep the Passages, to the end that, if such a Misfortune should overtake them, as happened, they might save themselves upon the Mountains of Mysce by their Direction. For this reason, and left they should foment any Alteration by staying in the Army, the Milesians were posted in those Stations: But acting quite contrary to their Orders, they brought back, by other ways, to the Enemy, many of those that fled out of the Battle, and at last shewed greater Fiercenes as than all others in the Slaughter of the Barbarians.

Thus
Thus Ionia revolted a second time from the Persians.

In this Battle the Athenians fought with the greatest Valour among all the Grecians; and among the Athenians, Hermolyce, the Son of Euthothenus, a famous Athlete; who being afterwards killed at Cynus, during the war between the Athenians and the Cystians, was buried at Gerestus. After the Athenians, those that had most Applause were the Corinthians, the Tra-zenians, and the Sicyonians.

The Grecians, after they had killed great numbers of the Barbarians, both in the Field and in the Pursuit, set fire to the Ships, burnt the whole Camp, and brought out upon the shore all the Booty, among which were several Chests of Money. Having done this, they failed to Samos; and arriving there, consulted together about transporting the Ionians to some part of Greece, which was in their power, and then leaving Ionia to the Barbarians, because they judged themselves unable to protect the Ionians at all times, and had no hope, unless they were protected, that they would have cause to be pleased with their Revolt from the Persians. The principal of the Peloponneseans proposed to expel those Nations of Greece, which had sided with the Medes, and to give their Territories and Cities of Commerce to the Ionians; but the Athenians were not of opinion, either that the Ionians should be removed; or that the Peloponneseans should intermeddle with the Affairs of their Colonies. In this Controversy the Peloponneseans readily yielded to the Athenians; and after they had obliged the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and o-
HERODOTUS.

Herodotus, who were then in their Army, to swear, that they would be their constant Confederates, and continue in their Alliance without revolting, they fail'd for the Hellespont, in order to ruin the Bridges, which they imagined still to find entire.

In the mean time the Barbarians, who fled out of the Field, and were forced to betake themselves to the Eminences of Mycale, made off towards Sardis, reduced to an inconsiderable number: But as they were upon their way, Maffites, the Son of Darius, having been present in the late unfortunate Action, gave many hard words to Artayntes; and, among other Reproaches, told him, That he had shewn less Courage than a Woman, in performing the part of a General so ill, and deserved the worst of punishment, for bringing so great a Disaster upon the King's House. Now, because among the Persians, to tell a Man he has less Courage than a Woman, is accounted the most insupportable of all Affronts, Artayntes, having already borne many Reproaches, lost all Patience, and drew his Scymetar to kill Maffites: But Xenagoras, the Son of Praxilaus, a Halicarnassean, standing behind him, prevented the Blow; and grasping Artayntes round the middle, lifted him up in his Arms, and threw him down flat upon the Ground. Upon which the Guards of Maffites immediately interposed. By this Action Xenagoras acquired the favour of Maffites, and of Xerxes himself, whose Brother he had faved, and was rewarded by the King with the Government of all Cilicia. Nothing more passed among the Barbarians in their way; but when they arrived at Sardis, they found Xerxes
Xerxes there, having continued in that Place from the time he fled thither from Athens, after his ill Success in the Engagement by Sea.

During his Stay at Sardis, he fell in love with the Wife of Mæstis, who was then in that City: but finding he could not prevail with her by presents, he abstained from force, out of regard to his Brother; and the same Consideration was also a Restraint to the Woman, because she well knew he would not offer any Violence to her Person. Xerxes seeing he had no other way left, resolved to marry a Daughter she had by Mæstis to his Son Darius, thinking by that means to compass his Design with greater facility. Accordingly the Contract was made, and when the usual Ceremonies were performed he departed for Susa, conducting the Bride home to Darius. But after his Arrival, he forgot his Passion for the Wife of Mæstis; and changing his Inclinations, made love to his Daughter Artaynte, who was now the Wife of his own Son; which Intrigue was afterwards discovered in the following manner: Amestris, the Wife of Xerxes, having woven a Mantle of various Colours, large and beautiful, made a Present of it to her Husband; which he receiving, with great joy, put it on, and went to Artaynte: where, after he had taken his Satisfaction, he bid her ask whatever she most desired for her Recompence; adding, that he would deny her nothing. Upon this Invitation (for the misfortune of all his Family was inevitable) she said to Xerxes, Will you then give me whatever I shall ask? He said he would, and affirmed his Promise by an Oath; not at all imagining her Demand would termi-
nate in the thing she chose: But he had no sooner sworn, than he boldly demanded the Mantle. *Xerxes* being unwilling to comply; and endeavouring to get off by any Contrivance he could invent, left *Amestris* should make a plain Discovery of an Intrigue she only suspected before, offered her immense Treasures, with Cities, and an Army to be solely at her Disposal, which is one of the greatest Presents that can be made in *Persia*. At last, finding she would not be persuaded, he gave her the Mantle; and she, with a womanish Vanity, put it on, and wore it. When *Amestris* was informed of the thing, and heard that *Artaynte* had the Garment, she was not angry with her; but believing her Mother to be the Author and Contriver of all, determined to destroy the Wife of *Mastistes*. To that end she expected till *Xerxes* should make the Royal Feast, by the Persians called *Tyeta*, and in the Language of *Greece*, *Telion*, which is celebrated once every year on the King's Birth-day, when he alone wears magnificent Ornaments on his Head, and makes Presents to the Persians. *Amestris* having waited to that day, asked *Xerxes* to give her the Wife of *Mastistes* for a Present: And though the King detested the Indignity of giving the Wife of his Brother, and knew her to be innocent of the thing which was the Cause of this Petition; yet, in the end, overcome by continued Solicitation, and constrained by the Custom of *Persia*, which forbids the Denial of any thing during the Royal Feast, he consented with the utmost Reluctancy, to the Request of *Amestris*; and putting the Woman into her hands, told her, She might do as pleased her best.
best. But immediately after, having sent for his Brother, he said to him, "Majestes, you are my Brother, the Son of Darius, and, which is yet more, a man of Honour. Be persuaded by me to cohabit no longer with the Wife you have, and I will give you my own Daughter to supply her Place. Dismiss then this Woman; for my opinion is, that you ought to do so." Majestes, astonished to hear these words, answered, "SIR, What vain Discourse is this? You bid me leave a Woman I love, and by whom I have three young Sons, besides Daughters, of which you have chosen one to be your Son's Wife; and then, you tell me, I shall marry your Daughter. But, SIR, though I set a due Value upon the Honour of being thought worthy of your Daughter, yet I shall do neither of these things; and therefore let not your Desire to bring about this Matter, put you upon offering Violence to my Inclinations. Some other Person, not inferior to me, will be found for your Daughter; in the mean time permit me to keep my Wife." When he had made this Answer, Xerxes, in a great Rage, reply'd, "Know, Majestes, that your Affairs stand thus: you shall not marry my Daughter, nor cohabit for the time to come with your own Wife, to the end you may learn to accept what I give. Majestes having heard these words, retired, and as he went out, said, "SIR, you have not yet taken away my Life." Whilst Xerxes was in Conference with his Brother, Amestris sent for his Guards, and exercised her Cruelty upon the Wife of Majestes. She cut off her Breasts, which she
HERODOTUS.

she threw to the Dogs, her Nose, Ears, Lips, and Tongue, and in that mangled Condition sent her home. Mæsiæs had heard nothing of this, but suspecting some Injury was intended him, he returned to his House with all possible Diligence; where finding his Wife so barbarously mutilated, he consulted with his Sons, and accompanied by them, and others, departed for Bætria, designing to induce the Bætrians to revolt, and to revenge himself of the King in the severest manner: In which Design, as I conjecture, he must have succeeded, had he been able to arrive among the Bætrians and Saces; for he was Governour of Bætria, and much beloved by both those Nations. But Xerxes being informed of his Intentions, sent some Troops after him with expedition, who killed him and his Sons upon the way, and cut his Forces in pieces. Thus died Mæsiæs, and such Success had Xerxes in his Love.

The Grecians failing, from Mycale towards the Hellespont, were obliged by tempestuous Weather to put in about Lehton; and from thence arriving at Abydus, they perceived the Bridges were taken in pieces, which they thought to have found entire, and which were the principal Motive to their Enterprize. Upon this Emergency Leutychides, with the Peloponnesians, determined to return to Greece; but the Athenians, with their General Xanthippus, resolved to stay, and to make an Attempt upon Chersonesus. Accordingly, after the Peloponnesians were withdrawn, the Athenians set sail from Abydus, and landing in Chersonesus besieged Sestus. To that Place as to the strongest of those Parts, great Numbers came from the adjacent Country, when they heard that the Grecians
Grecians were arriv'd in the Hellespont; and, among others, Oibazus, a Persian from Cardia, who had already caus'd all the Materials of the Bridges to be brought thither. The Inhabitants were Æolians, but a great Multitude of Persians and their Confederates had been drawn together, in order to defend the City. The Government of the whole Province was in the hands of Artayastes, a Persian of profligate and detestable Manners, who had been placed in that Station by Xerxes; and by imposing a Fraud upon him, when he marched to Athens, had rifled the Treasures of Protefilaus, the Son of Iphicles, which were at Eleus. For in the City of Eleus in Chersonesus, the Sepulcher of Protefilaus was erected in the midst of this Temple; and a great Sum of Money, with Gold and Silver Plate, Vessels of Brass, and other Offerings, were taken from thence by Artayastes, in vertue of a Grant from the King; which he obtain'd by this Artifice: "Sir, said he, here is the Habitation of a Certain Grecian, who having enter'd your Territories with an Army, perish'd, as he well deserve'd. Give me the House of this Man, that for the future none may dare to invade any Part of your Dominions." By this Representation he doubted not to obtain the House from Xerxes, because he could have no Suspicion of his Project; and told him Protefilaus had invaded the Royal Dominions, because the Persians imagine, that all Asia is the Property of their Kings. Thus after Artayastes had obtain'd his Request he brought away the Treasure to Sestus, converted the Sacred Place into Pasture and Arable Land; and when he was at Eleus, lay with divers Women in the Sanctuary. This Man being now besieg'd
by the Athenians, was utterly unprepar'd to defend himself; having never thought of being attacked by the Grecians, who fell upon him unexpectedly. But while they were engag'd in this Enterprize, Autumn came on, and the Athenians growing uneasy to be so far from home, without any Appearance of taking the City, besought their Leaders to conduct them back to their own Country. This, the Generals said they would not do, till either they should take the Place, or be recalled by the People of Athens: So great was their Affection to the State. In the mean time, those who were with Artaytes in the City being reduced to the last Extremity, boil'd and eat the Cords of their Beds; and when that Food likewise fail'd, Artaytes and Oibazus, with the rest of the Persians, made their escape from the Land-side of the Wall, in a Part where the Besiegers had not placed a sufficient Force. In the Morning, the Chersonesians from their Towers, having first given notice to the Athenians of what had pass'd, open'd their Gates; and some of the Athenian Forces enter'd the City, whilst the greater part went in pursuit of the Enemy. The Thracians of Ap syntbus seizing upon Oibazus as he fled thro' Thrace, sacrificed him to Pleritorus a God of the Country, according to their Custom, and killed all his Companions in another manner. But Artaytes and his Company, being few in number, and beginning to shift for themselves later than the rest, were overtaken at the River of Ægos; where, after they had defended themselves a considerable time, some were killed upon the Place, and the rest, with Artaytes and his Son, were made Prisoners, and carried back to Sesius. The Chersonesians say, that one of
his Guards saw a thing prodigious, as he stood broiling salted Fish; the pieces which lay upon the Fire moving and leaping like Fishes newly taken out of the Water; and that, when divers Persons crowded about the Place, and wondred at the Sight, Artayiles observing the Miracle, call'd the Man who broil'd the Fish, and said to him, "Athenian Friend, be not afraid; you are not at all concern'd in this Prodigy: Protevsilaus, though dead and embalm'd at Eleus, admonishes me, by this Sign, that the Gods have given him power to revenge the Injury he has receiv'd: Resolving therefore to make him reparation, I will consecrate a hundred Talents to his Divinity, instead of the Riches I took out of his Temple; and I will give two hundred Talents to the Athenians, if they will spare my Life, and the Life of my Son." But their General Xanthippus would not be persuaded by these Promises; partly because he himself was averse to the thing, and partly because the People of Eleus, to avenge the Injury done to Protevsilaus, earnestly sollicited him, that Artayiles might be put to death. Having therefore conducted him to that part of the Shore, where the Bridges of Xerxes terminated; or, as others say, to an Eminence standing near the City of Madytus, they caus'd him to be impaled on a Stake, fixed in the Ground for that purpose; and at the same time stoned his Son before his eyes. When the Athenians had done these things, they return'd with their Fleet to Greece; carrying, besides other Riches, all the Materials of the Bridges, in order to be consecrated in their Temples: and nothing more was done that Year.
HERODOTUS.

THIS Artaybes, thus executed by the Greeks, was descended by the Male Line from Artembares; who in his time fram’d a Discourse for the Persians, which they approving, repeated to Cyrus in these Terms: “Since Jupiter has given the Superiority to the Persians, and the principal Authority among Men to thee, O Cyrus; give us leave to remove out of our Country, which is narrow and mountainous, into a better. Many such are near our Confines, and many at a greater Distance. The Possession of one of these will render us more reverenc’d by most Men; and this Conduct becomes a People, who have the Power in their hands. In a word, what Opportunity can ever be more favourable to us, than the present, when we have the Command of so many Nations, and the Dominion of all Asia? Cyrus heard these words without wonder, and bid them do as they desir’d; but withal, admonish’d them to prepare for the future to obey, and not to command, as in time past: Because Nature has so ordered things, that delicious Countries produce an effeminate Race, and Men excellent in War, are not bred in those Regions which yield the most admirable Fruits. The Persians perceiving their Error, receded from their Purpose, and yielded to the Opinion of Cyrus; chusing rather to live in a barren Country, and to command, than to cultivate the richest Plains, and be subject to other Men.

FINIS.
An INDEX to the Second Volume of the History of Herodotus.

A

Chaemes, Brother to Xerxes, and Commander of his Fleet, his Speech, 276.

Adimantus, the Corinthian, his Dispute with Themistocles at Salamis, 307. He run away out of the Fight there, 326.

Eginetes, several Actions of theirs related, 47, 96, 109, 115, 119. They do great Service, and acquire much Honour in the Fight at Salamis, 322, 325, 326.

Alcmeon, some Account of him 137.

Alcmaenides, being banish'd Athens by the Plistratides, build the Temple at Delphi, and corrupt the Pythian with Money, to deliver such Oracles as serv'd their Interest, 34. By which means, they brought the Spartans against the Plistratides, whom they expell'd, and restor'd the Liberty of Athens, 35. They are highly prais'd by Herodotus, 136.

Alexander of Macedonia, Son of Amyntas, induces the Grecians to abandon the Defence of Thessaly, against the Persians, 246. Is sent by Mardonius to make an Alliance between the King and the Athenians, 350. His Speech to the Athenians on that Subject, 352. He personally gives private Intelligence to the Grecian Generals at Platea, 386.

Amestris, see Artayme.

Amonpharetus, the Spartan, resolutely refuses to draw off with his Cohort from before the Persians at Platea, 392. He is abandon'd by the rest of the Army, 393. And therefore follows and rejoins them, 394.

Amyntas, of Macedonia, treats the Persians sent to require him to acknowledge King Darius; but his Son Alexander kills them for their Insolence in their Wine, 9.

Andrians, receiving a Message from Themistocles, importing, that the Athenians were coming against them with two Deities, Persuasion and Force, and therefore they must part with their Money; return'd an-
INDEX.

... that they had two Goddesses, Poverty and Im-possibility, and that the Power of Athens was not greater than their Inability, 337.

Argians, refuse to affist the Grecians against Xerxes, 228.

Aristagoras, of Miletus, persuades the Persians to make an Expedition against the Island of Naxus, 16. On the Miscarriage of that Expedition, revolts from Darius, and persuades the Ionians to join with him in his Defection, 20, and 21. Goes to Sparta to solicit Assistance, and has Audience of Cleomenes, who rejects his Propositions, 26, and 28. Whereupon, he goes to the Athenians, and prevails with them to send 20 Ships to affist the Ionians, 60. His Death, 72.

Aristides, comes to the Grecians at Salamis, when surrounded by the Persian Fleet; his Discourse with Themistocles, 319. He destroys the Persians on the Island of Pnyx, 327. He commands the Athenians at Platea, 377.

Aristodemus, the only Spartan of 300 that surviv'd the Battel of Thermopyle; for which he is treated with Ignominy and Contempt at home, 274. He retrieves his Reputation in the Battel of Platea, where he dies fighting, 401.

Artabanus, Uncle to Xerxes, his Speech to dissuade his Nephew from the Expedition against Greece, 157. Another Speech of his to Xerxes, 164. He sleeps in the King's Bed, and is frighted by the same Apparition which had terrified the King; his Speech thereupon, 166. His Conversation with Xerxes on his weeping at a general View of all his Forces, 181.

Artabanus, a Persian, besieges Potidaea, but is obliged to draw off, after he had in vain endeavour'd, by Treachery as well as Force, to take it; a remarkable Story thereupon, 345. His Advice to Mardonius at Platea 384. On the Defeat of the Persians there, he makes off with a Body of Horse, 398. He passes through Thessaly, by a Wile proceeds safely through that Country to Byzantium, and passes over into Asia, 411.

Artacheus, a Persian Director of the Work of separating Mount Athos from the Continent, 211.
INDEX.

Artaphernes, Governour of Sardis, his Conversation with Aristagoras, 16. And with Histaicus, 73. He discovers and punishes Histaicus's Confederates in Sardis, 74.

Artaytes, a Persian of profligate Manners, besieged by the Athenians in Sestus, 427. He escapes out of the Place, 428. But is taken, carried back to Sestus, and impaled, 429.

Artaynte, Wife of Darius, the Son of Xerxes, becomes the Mistress of Xerxes, which Intrigue being discover'd by Amestris, the Wife of Xerxes, is barbarously reveng'd on the Mother of Artaynte, 423.

Artembares, see Cyrus.

Artemisia, Queen of Caria, joins the Fleet of Xerxes with 5 Ships, 202. Advises him not to hazard a Sea-Engagement with the Grecians at Salamis, 312. Her Adventure in the Fight at Salamis, 322. The Athenians offer a great Reward to the Perion who should take Artemisia, 326. She advises Xerxes to accept of Mardonius's Proposition, to be left in Greece with 300,000 Men, 331.

Artemisium, several Engagements off that Place, between the Grecian and Persian Fleets, 285.

Athenians, begin to flourish from the time they established free Government, 44. Their Women surround and kill a Man, who singly had escaped from a Battel in which their Forces were all cut off, 49. By assisting the Ionians in their Revolt against Darius, provoke him to resolve upon invading Greece, 64. Fine a Poet, for bringing on their Stage a Dramatick Piece which reviv'd the Memory of the Calamities of their Friends, the Milesians, 82. Send Miltiades with their Forces to oppose the Persians commanded by Datis, 126. They send to the Spartans for Assistance, 127. The Spartans do not join them, till after a decisive Battel, 135. Herodotus's Opinion, that the Athenians were the Deliverers of Greece from Xerxes, 222. The Answers of the Delphian Oracle, when consulted by them touching Xerxes's Expeditions 223. Themistocles's Interpretation
INDEX.

Interpretation of the Sense of the Oracle approved, 225. They prudently avoid contesting with the Spartans the Command of the Grecian Fleet, 282. They abandon their City, the Men going on board the Fleet, after they had sent away their Wives and Children to Places of Safety, 299. They acquit themselves very honourably in the Fight at Salamis, 322. 326. They resent heinously, that Artemisia, a Woman, should make war against Athens, 326. Their Answer to Alexander the Macedonian’s Proposition of an Alliance between them and the Persians, 355. And to the Spartan Embassadors present on that Occasion, 356. Observing the Delays of the Peloponnesians, to come timely to their Assistance, they abandon Athens, and go with their Fleet to Salamis, 360. They stone Lycidas, one of their Senators, for proposing to accept the Offers made to them at Salamis, on the part of Mardonius; and their Wives stone Lycidas’s Wife, 360. They send Ambassadors to the Spartans, to reproach and quicken them to give their promised Assistance; the Speech of those Ambassadors to the Ephori, 362. A Party of Athenians distinguish themselves, when Pausanias, with the Grecian Army lay at Cytheron, 371. Their Dispute with the Tegeans about the Post of Honour in the Grecian Army, 373. The Athenians plac’d opposite to the Persians at the Battle of Platæa, tho’ that Disposition was afterwards casually alter’d, 388. Their Behaviour in the Action, 396, 399, 400. The Athenian Squadron landing their Men in Cherionesus, besiege Artaytès, in Sestus, 427. Take the Place, 428. And afterwards, Artaytès, whom they caus’d to be impaled, 429.

Athens taken by Xerxes, 303. Burnt, and laid in Ruins by Mardonius, 366.

B.

Boges, a Persian, renders his Name famous, by a desparate Defence of Eion, against the Athenians, 207.

Callicratides
INDEX.

C

Callicratides, a Spartan, his valour extolled by Herodotus 402.

Carians, their Actions against the Persians, 70. Their Country subdued by the Persians, 85.

Chians, acquit themselves very valiantly in a Sea-Fight; yet are worsted, 80. Soon after which, their Island is subdued by the Lesbians, 85. and next by the Persians, 87.

Chileus, the Tegean, his honest advice to the Spartans, 363.

Cleomenes, King of Sparta, his Treatment of Aristagoras the Miletian, 28. His Actions at Athens, 35, 40, 41. Goes among the Æginetes to seize the principal of them, who had acknowledged Darius, 96. Procures Demaratus, to be depos'd, 104. His Expedition against the Æginetes, 109. Fearing to return to Sparta, because his fraudulent Practices against Demaratus had been discover'd, he flies to Thessaly, 110. Is recall'd to Sparta, and restor'd to his former Dignity, ib. He falls into a Frenzy, and kill's himself, 111. His Frenzy imputed by the Argians to a Punishment from the Gods, for his Impiety, 113. But the Spartans affirm, his Disease came from Intemperance, 115.

Clitthenes proposes to marry his Daughter to the Man he should judge most worthy among the Grecians; an entertaining Story on that Subject, 138.

Corecyraeus, their deceitful Management with respect to the Assistance they had promis'd the Grecians against Xerxes, 241.

Corinthians, charg'd by the Athenians with running away out of the Battel of Salamis, 326.

Cyprians revolt from the Persians, and are assist'd by the Ionians, yet are reduc'd to their former Subjection, 66.

Cypselus, Tyrant of Corinth, his Birth and Actions, 54.

Cyrus, an excellent Saying, of his to the Persians, 432.

D.

Darius, King of Persia, in resentment of the Athenians assisting the Ionians in their Revolt against him, deter-
INDEX.

mines to be reveng’d, 64. Sends Heralds into divers Parts of Greece, to demand Earth and Water, in token of Submission to him, 95. He resolves to subdue all those Parts of Greece which had denied him Earth and Water; and sends Datis and Artaphernes on that Expedition, 121. The Motions of their Fleet to Naxus, Delos, Eretria, 122. And to Attica, 125. They are defeated at Marathon, 131. And return to Asia, 133. Darius being incens’d by this Disgrace, makes extraordinary Preparations to invade Greece, 149. He dies, 151.

Datis, see Darius.

Delphi, Oracle there corrupted by Cleomenes, 105. The Persians who attempt to plunder the Temple at Delphi, are in a miraculous manner defeated, 297.

Demaratus, King of Sparta, his Parents and Birth, 103. He is depos’d, 105. He retires to Asia, to King Darius, who receives him honourably, 108. His Advice to Xerxes, Son of Darius, to procure himself to be nominated his Father’s Successor in the Kingdom of Persia, 130. His Conversation with Xerxes, upon his taking a Review of all his Forces, 203. His Discourse to him on another Occasion, 203. Again after the Action of Thermopylae, 275. His Device to inform the Spartans of Xerxes’s Designs against Greece, 278. His Discourse with Dicurus, 310.

Dieneces, the Spartan, an honourable Character of him, Dionysius, General of the Phoceans, his Advice to the Ionians, 77. His manner of exercising their Fleet, 78. They refuse to obey him, 79. He leaves them, his Actions afterwards, 81.

E.

Epialtes, discovers to Xerxes a Passage, by which to surround the Grecians at Thermopylae, 265. His Fate, 266. Eretrians, being subdued by the Persians, are transplant-ed to Asia, 135.

Eurybiades, a Spartan, Commander in chief of the Grecian Fleet, 281. He is prevail’d upon by Themistocles, for Mo-
ney, to fight the Persians on the Coast of Euboea, 283. Is again prevail'd upon by him to fight at Salamis, 306. He is again falling with the Grecian Fleet to the Hellespont, to ruin Xerxes's Bridge, and cut off his Retreat to Asia, 334. He is honour'd for his Valour by the Spartans, at his Return home, 344. Eurytus, a Spartan, a remarkable Story of him, see Aristodemus.

Gelon, how he became posses'd of Syracuse, 233. His Propositions to the Ambassadors of the associated Grecians, who came to ask his Assistance against the Persians, 235. His subtile Conduct after he had refus'd to assist the Grecians, 239.

Glaucus, a remarkable Story of him, 117.

Grecians, some submit to Xerxes, the Resolution of the rest, 218. They apply themselves to make the necessary Preparations for resisting the Persians, 226. They invite the Argians into the Confederacy, but in vain 228. They send Ambassadors to Gelon, in Sicily, 234. That Embassy fruitless, 235. They send also to the Corecyreans, who promise fair, but act deceitfully, 241. The Cretans refuse to assist them, 243. They send Forces to assist the Thessalians, to defend the Pass of Olimpus against the Persians, but without Success, 246. They resolve to defend the Pass of Thermopylae, and to send their Fleet to Artemisium, 247. Their Fleet retires from Artemisium to Chalcis, 250. But returns to Artemisium again, 255. The Number of the Grecian Forces posted to defend the Pass of Thermopylae, 259. The Fight there, and the Issue of it, 264. The Number of Ships furnished by all the confederate Grecians against the Persians, 281. Several Engagements between the two Fleets, 285. The Grecian Fleet, on the News of the Defeat of Leonidas at Thermopylae, retire from Artemisium, 290. to Salamis, 298. Where they are considerably reinforce'd, 300. The Grecian Land forces draw together to the Peloponnesian Isthmus, to defend it against the Land-Army of the Persians.
INDEX.

By the Contrivance of Themistocles, the Grecian Fleet is surrounded by the Persian at Salamis, 315. They defeat the Persian Fleet there, 321. They divide the Spoil, sending part to Delphi, and separate 342. The Land-Army of the Peloponnesians and other Grecians, led by Pausanias against Mardonius, advances to Erythra in Boeotia, 370. Some Actions near Mount Cytheron, ib. The Army removes into the Territory of Plataea, 373. The Disposition of the Army at Plataea, 377. Great Delay on both sides to come to Action, because the Augurs of each Army had forbidden them to attack the other, 382. Being distress’d for want of Water and Provisions, the Grecian Generals resolve to change their Camp; what happen’d thereupon, 391. The Spartans and Athenians, being abandon’d by their Allies, fight the Persians, and entirely defeat them, 395. The routed Persians flying to their walled Camp, are forced there, and almost all put to the Sword, 400. They divide the Spoils of the Persians, 407. The Grecian Allies, who let the Lacedemonians, Athenians, and Tegeans fight the Battle of Plataea by themselves, censur’d, 400, 405, 409. The Grecian Fleet, commanded by Leutychides, fails from Delos for Samos, 415. And thence to Mycale, on the Coast of Ionia, 416. Where landing, they defeat the Persians, and restore Liberty to the Ionians, 417.

H.

Harmocydes animates the Phoceans to defend themselves to extremity, against the Persian Cavalry, who ’twas suspected, design’d to massacre them, 369.

Hermotimus, his Revenge on Panionius, for making him an Eunuch, 332.

Hegesistratus, the Augur, a strange Account of his escaping out of Prison, by cutting off part of his own Foot, 382.

Hegesistratus, with other Samians, solicits the Grecian Fleet, commanded by Leutychides, to assist the Samians to recover their Liberty, and succeeds, 413.

Hisiaus.
INDEX.

Histiaius, Tyrant of Miletus, for his good Service in the Expedition against the Scythians, is rewarded by Darius with Myrcinus in Thrace, 5. Begins to build a City there, but is recall’d by Darius, and made to accompany him to Susa, 13. Engages Aristagoras his Lieutenant at Miletus, to revolt against Darius, 19. His speech to Darius, when tax’d with advising that Revolt, 65. Prevails with Darius to send him to Ionia, ib. Takes umbrage at the Conversation which pass’d between him and Artaphernes at Sardis, and goes to Chio, 73. Thence to Miletus: where being refus’d Admission he gets some Ships, and cruises near Byzantium, 74. Invades the Island of Chio, and makes himself Master of it, 85. Is taken Prisoner by the Persians, and crucified 86. His Death regretted by Darius, 87.

Hymeis, and Daurises, Sons-in-law of Darius, 71.

I.

Ionians, revolt from Darius, 21. Take Sardis, but are forc’d to retire from thence to Ephesus, where they are defeated, 61. And afterwards receive other Losses, 69. Their Resolution to assist the Milesians with a Fleet, 75. They submit to the Discipline of Dionysius, 78. But grow weary of it, and are defeated by the Persians, 79. Their Usage when conquer’d by the Persians, 87. Revolt a second time from the Persians, assisted in their Defeat by the Grecians at Mycale, 68.

L.

Lacedemonians, see Spartans.

Lampen, his Advice to Pausanias deservedly slighted, 405.

Lemnians, some account of them, 145.

Leonidas, King of Sparta, General of the Grecian Forces, appointed to defend the Pass of Thermopyle, 260. His Actions there, and Death, 264. et seq.

Leutychides, gets Demaratus despo’d, and is made King of Sparta, in his room, 105. By his Infolence afterwards to Demaratus, provokes him to retire to Darius, in Persia, 106. A remarkable Speech of his to the Athenians, 116. Being convicted of taking Money to dif-
INDEX.

Serve the Publick, his House is demolished; he escapes to Tegea, and dies there, 109.

Leuctychides, commanding in chief the Grecian Fleet, resolves to assist the Samians, to recover their Liberty, 412. Sails from Delos to Samos, and thence to Mycale, 415. Where landing, he defeats the Persians. 418.

Lyceidas the Athenian, stoned to death. (as was also his Wife) for proposing to his Countrymen to accept the Propositions of Mardonius the Persian, 360.

M.

Marathon, the Battle there, 131.

Mardonius, the Persian, deposes all the Ionian Tyrants, and settles a popular Government in every City, 93. Passes over into Europe, ib. Conquers Macedonia, ib. Losing half his Fleet by a Storm near Mount Athos, and suffering loss by Land, in Macedonia, he returns to Asia, 94. His Speech and Arguments to induce Xerxes to undertake the Expedition against Greece. 151. His Speech to the principal Persians, who were called by Xerxes, to consult about that Expedition, 155. He is reproach'd by Tigranes, on a proper Occasion for persuading the Persians to make war against the Grecians who fought not for Riches, but for Virtue only, 293. He prevails with Xerxes, to leave him in Greece, with 300,000 Men, 329. He accompanies Xerxes back to Boeotia, and there chuses out of the whole Army his 300,000 Men, 338. He sends Alexander the Macedonian to procure an Alliance with the Athenians, 350. Who rejecting his Propositions, he advances with his Army towards Athens: Advice given him by the Thebans, 359. He takes possession of Athens, which the Inhabitants had abandon'd, 360. Being inform'd by the Argians, of the March of the Spartans toward him, he burns Athens, retires out of Attica, and encamps in Boeotia, 365. Is treated by Attalus at Thebes, 367.

His Treatment of the thousand Phocceans who join'd his Army in Boeotia, 369. He looses Ma- syrius, General of his Cavalry, near Mount Cytheron, 351. He follows the Grecians to Plataea, and draws
INDEX.

draws up his Army against them, 378. He resolves to fight, tho' well advis'd to the contrary, 385. He proposes to the Spartans, to fight them with the Persians singly, 389. The Grecian Army retiring, he passes the Aegopus, and overtaking part of them, a Battle ensues, 395. He is slain, and his Army totally defeated, 397.

Mascames, a Persian of some Fame, 207.

Mafistes, Brother of Xerxes, one of the Persians who escap'd out of the Battel of Mycale to Sardis, 422. The Misfortune of his Wife, 224. His own ill Ufage from Xerxes, 425. Exasperated by the Barbarity of Xerxes and Amestris, against himself and his Wife, he sets out for Bactria, designing to raise a Rebellion against Xerxes; but on the way is kill'd, 426.

Mafistius, a Persian General, slain by the Athenians near Mount Cytheron, 371.

Medes, see Persians.

Megabyzus, Darius's Lieutenant, subdues Thrace to his Obedience, 2.

Megistias, his Behaviour at Thermopyle, 268.

Milefians, their State reform'd by the Parians, 15. Their City Miletus taken, and destroy'd by the Persians, 81.

Miltiades, Son of Cypselus, goes with a Colony of Athenians to Cardia, and on what Occasion, 88. Is taken Prisoner by the Lampacenians, but releas'd at the Instance of Cæsuras, 90.

Miltiades, Son of Cimon, by Stratagem makes himself Master of Chersonesus, 91. Returns to Athens, 92. Is made General of the Athenian Forces against the Persians, under Datis, 126. His Speech to Callimachus the Polemarch, to engage him to consent to a Battel with the Persians, at Marathon, 130. fights that Battel, and defeats the Persians, 131. His Expedition to Paros, 142. He is cenfured for that Expedition, and fin'd: He dies 144.

Monuments, erected to the Memory of the Grecians who were slain at Thermopyle, and their Inscriptions, 272.

Mycale, on the Coast of Ionia; the Persians defeated there the fame Day the Battel of Platæa was fought, 48.

Onesilus,
INDEX.

O.

Onesilus, the Cyprian, his Actions and Death, 63.

Onomacritus, by reciting some illuitory Oracles, contributes to persuade Xerxes to invade Greece, 152.

P.

Paonians, Battle between them and the Perinthians, 1.

Transported into Asia, 6. Return back to Paonia, 60.

Pausanius, General of the Spartans, appointed to lead the Army against Mardonius, 364. He advances to Erythra in Boeotia, and encamps at the foot of Mount Cytheron; some Actions there, 370. He removes into the Territory of Plataea, 373. His Disposition of the Army at Plataea, 377. Entirely defeats the Persians, 395. His good Usage of a Grecian Woman, who had been a Slave to a Persian, 404. His noble Answer to one who counselfled him to impale the dead Body of Mardonius, 405. He has the tenth of the Persian Spoils beflou'd on him, 407. His admirable Saying, on occasion of being serv'd at Table after the Persian and the Lacedemonian manner at once, 408. His Equity in sparing the innocent, and punishing the guilty Thebans, who had favour'd the Medes, 410.

Peloponnesians, see Grecians.

Perdiccas, Founder of the Macedonian Monarchy, 351.

Pericles, who his Mother was, 142.

Persians, conquer the Ionians, 87. The Actions of their Fleet, ib. See Darius, Xerxes, and Mardonius.

Phocceans, by Stratagem defeat the Thessalians, 194. Their Country ruin'd by the Persians, conducted thither by the Thessalians, 295. They join (unwillingly Mardonius with 1000 Horses) what pass'd at their Junction, 369.

Plataeans, assist the Athenians against the Persians under Datis, 128.

Plataea, the Battel there, 377.

Post-Horses, used in Persia, in the time of Xerxes, 329.

Pytheas, well used by the Persians, for his great Valour, 250. By an Accident returns to his own Country, 325.

Pythius.
INDEX.

Pythius, his vast Wealth, and Entertainment of Xerxes, 172. The Barbarity of Xerxes to his eldest Son, 177.

S.

Salamis, the Fight there between the Grecian and Persian Fleets, 321.

Samians, their Ships desert the Ionians in an Engagement with the Persians, at the Instigation of Aeaces, who had before been Tyrant of Samos, 79. Which the principal Samians disapproving, to avoid that Tyrant returning to the Exercise of his Power, leave the Country, and settle at Zancle in Sicily, 83.

Scyllias deserts from the Persian Fleet, and acquaints the Grecians with their Designs, 284.

Seius, being besieged by the Athenians, the Besieged, when reduced to Extremity, boil and eat the Cords of their Beds, 428.

Sisamnes, a Judge, how punish'd for pronouncing an unjust Sentence, 13.

Sophanes, his Behaviour in the Battle of Platea, 403.

Sosicles, the Corinthian, his Speech to the Lacedemonians, when they propos'd to re-establish Tyrants in Athens, 52.

Spartans, take umbrage at the increasing Power of the Athenians, after they were under a free From of Government, consult their Allies about re-inflating in Athens, the Tyrants they had help'd to expel, 51. Are oblig'd to lay aside that Design, 58. The Original of their having two Kings at once, 67. The Honours they confer on their Kings, 99. Resolve to affist the Athenians against the Persians, led by Datis, but delay to march for a superstitious Reason, 128. After the Battle, their Forces arrive at Athens, and thence proceed to Marathon, to view the dead Persians, 135. They send two Persons to make Satisfaction to Xerxes, for their putting to death his Heralds: The Conversation of those Persons with Hydarxes, 219. Their Treatment by Xerxes, 220. The Actions of Leonidas, with 300 Spartans, at Thermopylae, 264. Their Usage of Aristodemus, who fingly surviv'd the
INDEX.

The Fight at Thermopylae, 274. Being admonish’d by an Oracle, they send Heralds to Xerxes, then in Boeotia, to demand Satisfaction for the Death of Leonidas, 339. The Speech of their Ambassadors at Athens, upon Alexander the Macedonian’s proposing an Alliance between them and the Persians, 354. They delay to send timely Assistance to the Athenians, while they celebrate a Festival, and build a Wall for their own Security, on the Isthmus of Peloponnesus, 391. The Ephori being mov’d by the Admonition of Chileus the Tegean, dispatch to Attica, by night, a Body of Spartans under Pausanias, 364. Their Behaviour at the Battle of Plataea, 396. Their very remarkable Distinction between the Actions of Aristodemus and Posidonius, in the Battle of Plataea; 402.

Syagrus, the Spartan, in what manner he discharg’d his Embassy to Gelon of Syracuse, 236.

T.

Tegeans, their Dispute with the Athenians for the Post of Honour in the Grecian Army, 373.
Thebans advise Mardonius to corrupt the principal Grecians with Money, in order to make himself Master of Greece, 259. They act with Vigour for the Persians, 384. And fight obstinately against the Athenians in the Battle of Plataea, 399.

Themistocles advises the Athenians to trust to their Naval Forces, and resist Xerxes, 225. His fruitless Expedition to Thessaly, in order to guard the Pass of Olympus against the Persians, 246. Takes Money of the Euboeans, and employs part of it to prevail with Eurybiades the Spartan, and Adimantus the Corinthian to fight the Persian Fleet on the Coast of Euboea, 283. His Stratagem to introduce the Ionians and Carions to abandon the Persians, 289, 290. He prevails with the Grecian Fleet to keep together and fight at Salamis, 306. He sends a Person to the Persian Fleet, who persuades them to compel the Grecians to fight at Salamis, 316. His Discourse there with
INDEX.

with Aristides, 318. He animates the Grecians to acquire themselves nobly, 320. He corruptly advises the Athenians not to pursue the Persian Fleet, and destroy the Bridge at the Hellespont, and by this means makes his Court to the Persian King, 336. He is very greedy of Money and extorts it from the Islanders, 337. He gains the Reputation of being the most prudent Man in Greece, 343. He goes to Lacedemon, and receives great Honours there, 344.

Thermopyle, describ'd, 248. The Fight there, 264.

Thersander, of Orchomenus, reports to Herodotus a memorable Discourse of a Persian to him, when Mardonius was treated at a Feast in Thebes, 367.

Thebians and Thebans, an Account of their Behaviour in the Battel of Thermopyle, 269, 274.

Thebians, disposed to join in the Defence of Greece, but oblig'd to side with the Persians, 245. The Enmity against the Phoceans, 293. Into whose Country they conduct the Persians, 295.

Thracians, their Customs, 3.

Tigranes, an excellent Saying of his, concerning the Grecians, 293.

Tigranes, General of the Land-Forces of the Persians at Mycale, slain there, and his Army defeated, 418.

Tifamenus, an Augur, some Account of him, 380.

Tisander, see Clytemnest, 140.

X.

Xerxes, succeeds Darius in the Kingdom of Persia, 151. He is persuaded by Mardonius, the Pisistratides and some illusory Oracles, to undertake the Expedition against Greece, ib. He reduces Ægypt, which had revolted from the Obedience of his Father Darius, 153. Holds a Council of the principal Persians, and in a Speech acquaints them with his Designs against Greece, ib. His Reply to a Speech of his Uncle Artabanus against that Expedition, 161. On Reflection, alters his Resolution, and declares it to the Persians the next morning, 163. But being terrified by an
an Apparition in a Dream, in which he was advis'd to resume his first Thoughts against Greece, he sends for Artabanus, and proposed that he should sleep in his Bed, to try whether the same Phantom would appear to him, 164. The Success of that Experiment, 166. His Preparations for the Expedition against Greece, 168. and the Number of Forces, 170. 178, 189, 198, 251. He cuts off Mount Athos from the Continent, 169. He draws an Army together in Cappadocia, and marches to Sardis, where all his Forces were to rendezvous, 171. His March thither and his generous Treatment of Pythius, 172. His March to Sardis continued, 173. From Sardis he sends Heralds to Greece, to demand Earth and Water 174. Causes a Bridge to be laid over the Hellespont, at Abydus, ib. The Bridge being broke by a Storm, he causes the Sea to be chastis'd, 175. Another Bridge made and describ'd, ib. His Barbarity to Pythius, 177. His March from Lydia to Abydus, 179. On a View of all his Forces together at Abydus, he weeps: The Conversation between him and Artabanus thereupon 180. His Speech to the principal Persians, to animate them to acquit themselves well in the Expedition, 185. The Army passes the Bridge into Europe, 187. Their March to Doriscus in Thrace, 188. He takes a Review of all his Forces at Doriscus; his Conversation with Demaratus thereupon, 203. He marches towards Greece, and compels all the Nations he found in his way to join his Army with their Forces, 208. The manner of his being entertain'd once a day, with Provisions brought in by the Country, 212. His Fleet and Land-Forces meet at Therma, 214. He views the River Peneus, 215. His Saying concerning the Thessalians, 216. His Heralds whom he had sent to Greece for Earth and Water, return to him. The Names of the Nations who presented those Elements, and the Resolution of the rest, 218. His Treatment of two Spartans, who were sent by their Nation to make him Satisfaction for the Death of his Heralds, 220. His Treatment of three Grecian Spies, 227. His Fleet
Fleet proceeds from *Therma*, his Scouts take two of the Grecian Guard-Ships, at the Island of *Scyathus*, 249. The prodigious Number of all his Forces, 251. His Fleet suffers much by a Storm 253. His Army advances through *Thessaly* into the Neighbourhood of *Thermopyle*, 257. He is inform'd by a Scout, of the Posture of the Spartans and other Grecians at *Thermopyle*; his Discourse with *Demaratus* thereupon, 265. He attacks the Pafs of *Thermopyle*, and is beaten off with great Loss, 264. Another Pafsage is discover'd to him, by means of which, the Grecians are surrounded, and overcome, 265. His Discourse with *Demaratus* after that Action, 275. His Fleet contrive to surround that of the Grecians, the Design discovered by a Deferter, 284. Part of his Fleet destroy'd by a Tempel, the rest are engage'd several Days successively by the Grecians, 285. The Grecians retiring from *Artemisium*, the Persians advance to *Hisitia*, 291. *Xerxes* sends a Messenger to his Fleet at *Hisitia*, to invite all that would, to come and view the Slain at *Thermopyle*, 292. He advances with his Army, *ib*. Proceeds on his March, 295, 296. Part of his Forces sent to plunder the Temple of *Delphi*, and the Success of that Enterprize, 297. He advances with his Army into *Attica*, and takes *Athens*, 303. He calls a Council on board the Fleet, to consider whether to venture an Engagement again with the Grecians at Sea, or not, 312. *Artemisia* gives her opinion against fighting again by Sea, *ib*. But he resolves to fight, 314. His Fleet surrounds the Grecians at *Salamis*, 317. But are defeated in the Battel there, 321. *Xerxes's Saying of Artemisia*, 323. His Treatment of the Phoenicians, who charg'd the Blame of that Defeat on the Ionians, 324. He fears the Ionians should break the Bridge at the *Hellefs-pont*, and cut off his Retreat, and therefore thinks of saving his Person in time, 328. *Mardonius* desires him to leave him in *Greece*, with 300,000 Men, 329. He consults *Artemisia* on this Proposition, and accepts it, 331. His Fleet hastens back to
INDEX.

to the Hellepont, to secure the Bridge 334. He
marches back with his Army into Baeotia, where
Mardonius chuses his 300,000 Men from among the
rest, 338. His Answer to the Heralds of the Spar-
tans, who demanded Satisfaction for the Death of
their King Leonidas, 339. Leaving Mardonius in
Theffaly, he retires to the Hellepont, and passes over
into Asia by Shipping, finding his Bridge broken by
a Storm, and arrives at Sardis, 339. There he falls
in love with the Wife of his Brother Mestes; and
afterwards with Artaynte, the Wife of his own Son,
423. The Intrigue discover'd by his Wife Amestris, ib.
The cruel Effects of that Discovery, 424.

Z.
Zancleans, a remarkable Story of their City's being
feiz'd by the Samians, 83.

FINISS.