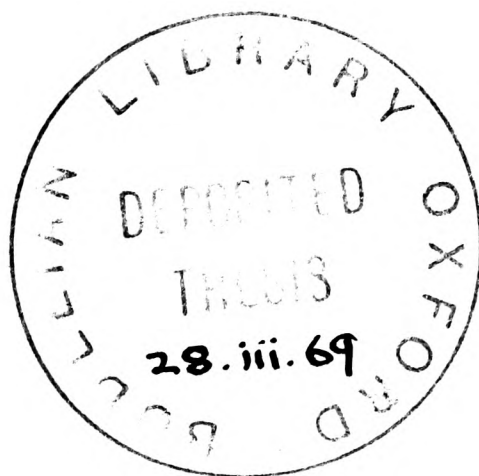


A Historical Commentary on Hdt. Bk. VII
with a General Introduction

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Introduction

Pt. 1

Jacoby.

By implication at least Thuc. seems to call Hdt. a logographer who wrote with a view toward pleasing the ear rather than telling the truth (i.21.1; see Gomme i.138f.). Modern scholars have promoted Hdt. to the rank of Historian. The present writer has come to believe that Thuc. was more nearly right than modern historians. Before proceeding with a re-appraisal, however, it is necessary to decide at least tentatively where Hdt. was born, where he lived, and where he traveled. Jacoby is still orthodox on these matters. Let us turn therefore to the monumental article in Pauly-Wissowa.

Hdt. and Thourii.

All our Mss read "Hdt. of Halicarnassus". An important part of Jacoby's biography of Hdt. and thus of his account of Hdt's work and development as a historian depends on Meyer's assumption (Forsch. i.196f. and 200) that Hdt. wrote not "Halicarnassus" but "Thourii". The assumption is un-justified.

Plutarch says that "others" deem Hdt. a Thourian but his own attachment is to Halicarnassus.

καὶ ταῦτα θούριον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων νομιζόμενον
αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλικαρνασέων περιεχόμενον

de Herod. Malig. 35

He also says that for "Hdt. of Halicarnassus" many substitute "Hdt. of Thourii".

τὸ δὲ "Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνασέως ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις
τόδε" πολλοὶ μεταγράφουσιν "Ἡροδότου θουρίου".
μετώκησε γὰρ εἰς θουρίους καὶ τῆς ἀποικίας ἐκείνης
μετέσχε.

Mor. 604 F

The straightforward interpretation is that many people of an un-specified nature but evidently writers in the broadest sense re-write (LS 1111) Hdt's phrase so as to call Hdt. a Thourian in spite of the fact that Hdt. calls himself a Halicarnassian. But on the basis of Plutarch's evidence, Jacoby concludes that in Plutarch's time there was a variant Mss tradition as

longer extant on which we must lay special emphasis (205). He supports that conclusion with Strabo's statement that Hdt. was later called a Thourian because he shared in the founding of Thourii.

ἄνδρες δὲ γεγόνασιν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἡρόδοτος τε ὁ συγγραφεύς,
ὃν ὕστερον θούριον ἐκάλεσαν διὰ τὸ κοινωνῆσαι τῆς εἰς
θουρίους ἀποικίας,
Strabo 656, xiv.2.16

Jacoby believes that Strabo also recognises a variant Mss tradition (205), and also that both Plutarch and Strabo try to reconcile this tradition with a biography of Hdt. that makes him a Halicarnassian, i.e. Suidas' biographical tradition. But the conclusions are un-warranted. Neither Plutarch (against Powell 63f.) nor Strabo need refer to alternate Mss readings and even if they do both Plutarch and Strabo seem to assume that Hdt. calls himself a Halicarnassian.

Jacoby lays great stress on a passage in which Aristotle distinguishes between lexis eiromene and katestrammene and strangely offers Ἡροδότου θουρίου ἢ δ' ἱστορίης ἀπόδειξις as an example of the former. Aristotle goes on to say that formerly everyone used this style but now not many use it. It is clear that he refers to the style and not the phrase.

ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰρομένη λέξις ἡ ἀρχαία ἐστίν· Ἡροδότου
θουρίου ἢ δ' ἱστορίης ἀπόδειξις· ταύτη γὰρ πρότερον
μὲν ἅπαντες, νῦν δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ χρῶνται.

Rhet. iii.9, 1409 a 29

And yet Jacoby concludes that "Hdt. the Halicarnassian" is a new reading that supplanted the older correct reading "Hdt. the Thourian" (207). Hauvette points out that Aristotle often quotes from memory, that in the same chapter indeed (iii.9) he attributes to Sophocles a passage of Euripides, that there is no reason to believe that Aristotle has a text before him as he writes, and that even if he does the reading of that Mss may be a product of Thourian patriotism. In any event the passage can be explained without reference to another Mss tradition (Hauvette 6 and n. 1). Jacoby uses the passage as evidence that Hdt. wrote "Thourii". It is not legitimate evidence for that proposition. It seems but in-conclusive evidence for the proposition that there was an alternate Mss reading of whatever worth (against Powell 63f., who believes the phrase in question is an interpolation in Aristotle's text that must have originated in a Mss reading that confirms Plutarch's statement quoted above). But let us waive that uncertainty. Even if there was a variant Mss tradition in the 4th century, still there is no reason to believe that Hdt. himself wrote anything but "Halicarnassus". The variant tradition is that of scribes: πολλοὶ μεταγράφουσιν.

Suidas writes as follows s.v. Panyasis.

Δοῦρις δὲ Διοκλέους τε παῖδα ἀνέγραψε καὶ Σάμιον·
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτον Θούριον.

Whether or not Wesseling's accusative for the Mss' nominative of Hdt' name is right, and whatever Suidas means, the passage can not be used as evidence of another legitimate Mss tradition (against Jacoby 207f.). Even if Douris believed that Hdt. was a Thourian he need not have derived that belief from a Mss reading of Hdt' opening sentence. Even if he believed that Hdt. was a Thourian and did derive that belief from a Mss reading of Hdt' opening sentence there is no special reason to trust that Mss reading. And it is not necessarily true that Douris was more likely to turn a Thourian into a Samian than one from Halicarnassus.

The Lindian temple-chronical that makes Hdt. a Thourian, quoted by Jacoby (208), is indeed evidence, like all the above passages, for a tradition of whatever kind that Hdt. was a Thourian, but not for Jacoby's proposition that Hdt. himself wrote "Thourii" and not "Halicarnassus" 'H. $\overline{\delta}$ $\overline{\theta}$ οὔριος ἐν τᾷ Β τᾷν ἱστορίᾳν (29).

Jacoby tries to provide a context in which patriotic Halicarnassians might originate the extant Halicarnassus Mss tradition (210, following Meyer's Forsch. i.197). The Thourians could have claimed Hdt. for similarly patriotic reasons. He points out that the Halicarnassus reading could have originated from the work itself (210f.). The same is true of the Thourii tradition. Hdt' glorification of the Athenian role in the war and his allusion to Pericles combined with the notion that Hdt. went to S Italy could be made to yield Hdt' role in the colonisation of Thourii by anyone seeking to write a biography for Hdt. or supplement a biography already in existence; cf. e.g. iv.15, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος ἐν Προκοννήσῳ τε καὶ Μεταποντίῳ εὕρισκον. Μεταποντῖνοί φασι...; the geographical comparisons of iv.99--the Crimea, Sounion, Iapygia; comm. below and pt. iii of this Introduction.

Jacoby (210-212) cites the many indications in Hdt' work that he is pro-Dorian, pro-Carian, and anti-Ionian as evidence for the biographical tradition, essential to Jacoby's conception of Hdt' development as a historian, that Hdt. was born in Halicarnassus and emigrated from Athens to Thourii (212) but all the same passages merely support the extant Mss tradition, "Hdt. of Halicarnassus". They do not necessarily bear on the biographical tradition. Even Hdt' somewhat remarkable reluctance to call the Dorians part of the Persian empire (comm. at chs. 93 and 95) tells us about Hdt' prejudice, not about his life.

Jacoby himself rightly sees (214) that the famous epitaph of

Hdt.

Ἡρόδοτον Λύξεω κρύπτει κόνις ἥδε θανόντα
 Ἰάδος ἀρχαίης ἱστορίας πρύτανιν,
 Δωριέων βλαστόντα πατρὸς ἄπο, τῶν γὰρ ἄτλητον
 μῶμον ὑπεκπροφυγὼν θούριον ἔσχε πατρίην.

Steph. Byz s.v. Thourii

is a late product of the biographical tradition and can not be used as evidence that Hdt. died in Thourii much less that he was buried in the market-place or took part in the foundation of the city (Jacoby 214).

Conclusion. There is a tradition associating Hdt. with Thourii. We do not know the source of that tradition. There is no legitimate evidence that Hdt. himself wrote "Hdt. of Thourii" rather than or in addition to (against Powell 64) what all our Mss. record, i.e. "Hdt. of Halicarnassus". The Hdt.-Thourii connexion may well derive from the History itself. The biographical tradition can not draw support from that connexion (against Jacoby and Powell 64).

If the biographical tradition stands on its own then of course the Hdt.-Thourii connexion is confirmed.

The biographical tradition.

Aly argued that no biography of Hdt. circulated with the History during the 4th century (Neue Jahrbucher 1913 i.172; cited by Jacoby 214). What reason have we to believe that Suidas' tradition is genuine?

Ἡρόδοτος Λύξου καὶ Δρυοῦς, Ἀλικαρνασσεύς, τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἐσχηκῶς Θεόδωρον. μετέστη δ' ἐν Σάμῳ διὰ Λύγδαμιν, τὸν ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίας τρίτον τύραννον γενόμενον Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ. Πισίνδηλις γὰρ ἦν υἱὸς Ἀρτεμισίας, τοῦ δὲ Πισινδήλιδος Λύγδαμις. ἐν οὖν τῇ Σάμῳ καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα ἡσκήθη διάλεκτον καὶ ἔγραψεν ἱστορίαν ἐν βιβλίοις θ', ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Πέρσου καὶ Κανδαύλου τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως. ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς Ἀλικαρνασσὸν καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἐξελάσας, ἐπειδὴ ὕστερον εἶδεν ἑαυτὸν φθονούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, εἰς τὸ θούριον ἀποικιζόμενον ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐθελοντῆς ἦλθε, κάκεῖ τελευτήσας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τέθαιπται. τινὲς δ' ἐν Πέλλῃ αὐτὸν τελευτήσασαί φασιν. ἐπιγράφονται δ' οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ Μοῦσαι.

Πανύασις: Πανύασις Πολυάρχου Ἀλικαρνασσεύς, τερα-
τοσκόπος καὶ ποιητὴς ἐπῶν, ὃς σβεσθεῖσαν τὴν ποιητικὴν
ἐπανήγαγε. Δοῦρις δὲ Διοκλέους τε παῖδα ἀνέγραψε καὶ
Σάμιον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτον Θούριον. Ἰστορήται
δὲ Πανύασις Ἡροδότου τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ ἐξάδελφος· γέγονε
γὰρ Πανύασις Πολυάρχου, ὃ δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Λύξου τοῦ
Πολυάρχου ἀδελφοῦ. Τινὲς δὲ οὐ Λύξην, ἀλλὰ Ῥοιὼ τὴν
μητέρα Ἡροδότου Πανυάσιδος ἀδελφὴν ἱστορήσαν. Ὁ δὲ
Πανύασις γέγονε κατὰ τὴν οἴ᾽ Ὀλυμπιάδα, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς
πολλῶν πρεσβύτερος· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν. Ἀνη-
ρέθη δὲ ὑπὸ Λυγδάμιδος τοῦ τρίτου τυραννήσαντος Ἀλι-
καρνασσοῦ. Ἐν δὲ ποιηταῖς τάττεται μεθ' Ὀμηρον,
κατὰ δὲ τινὰς καὶ μεθ' Ἡσίοδον καὶ Ἀντίμαχον. Ἐγγραφε
δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλειάδα ἐν βιβλίοις ιδ', εἰς ἔπη ιθ', Ἰωνικά
ἐν πενταμέτρῳ (ἔστι δὲ τὰ περὶ Κόδρον καὶ Νηλέα καὶ
τὰς Ἰωνικάς ἀποικίας) εἰς ἔπη ζ.

Jacoby begins his account of the Hdt.-biography by speculating that Demodamas the Halicarnassian (or Milesian; Athenaeus xv.682 D) could have gathered material about Hdt' life (cf. Aly, RE xx²1316) and he goes on to cite the plausibility that state archives and documents on stone in the temples would have been available to him (213). All that is speculation. But the reason for it Jacoby reveals at the outset (213). If we confine ourselves to what Hdt. himself says and exclude the biography, we are all at sea (Glauben, Verwerfen, Zweifeln). But that is what the biographers of antiquity must have felt. They had good incentive to write a biography for Hdt. if no reliable basis for one existed. Dissatisfaction with what Hdt. says about himself drives even the modern historian to accept as reliable evidence that which he would reject in another context.

Jacoby believes that whereas ancient biographies have incidental faults, they are not to be despised for that reason. He chooses Marcellinus' life of Thuc. as an example (215). It seems beyond the scope of this work to discuss that biography here. But whatever its worth (dubious to say the least) it can not be allowed to influence our judgement of Hdt' biography. Even if ancient biographers had reliable evidence about the lives of some ancient authors, that good fortune might lead them to manufacture evidence about others in the absence of firm tradition, or at least to accept as fact mere conversational speculation about them.

The important question about Suidas' biography is what does it transmit that could not be derived from the History itself? Jacoby lists eight facts for which the History offers nothing in the way of evidence(216). I retain his order.

(a.) Hdt. is the son of Lyxes (Oxylou and Xylou are variants) and Dryo or Hroio.

Any biographer who decided that Hdt. and Panyasis were related (see below) could have borrowed either or both these names from Panyasis' biography. Panyasis could have mentioned the name of one or more of his relatives in his work, like Hesiod. It seems significant that the important thing to the biographers is the relationship between Hdt. and Panyasis. They quarrel about just how the two were related (Suidas s.v. Panyasis, quoted above) but they accept the kinship as given.

We know from Suidas (s.v. Hdt., Panyasis, Pigres) of a tradition, whether reliable or not, that provided the names of Artemisia's family. A biographer of Hdt. could have derived the two names in question from that tradition. Pigres was said to be the brother of Artemisia (Suidas s.v.) and a Lyxes son of Pigres appears on a Halicarnassian inscription roughly contemporary with Hdt. (Dittenberger 46.28; see below).

Πίγρης Κὰρ ἀπὸ 'Αλικαρνασσοῦ ἀδελφὸς 'Αρτεμισίας τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις διαφανοῦς Μαυσώλλου γυναικὸς, δὲ τῇ 'Ιλιάδι παρενέβαλε κατὰ στίχον ἐλεγεῖον οὕτω γράψας· μῆνιν αἶδε, θεά, Πηληιάδεω 'Αχιλλῆος οὐλομένην Μοῦσα, σὺ γὰρ πάσης πείρατ' ἔχεις σοφίης. ἔγραψε καὶ τὸν εἰς "Ὀμηρον ἀναφερόμενον Μαργίτην καὶ Βατραχομυομαχίαν,

A third possibility is that Hdt' biographer finds Lyxes son of Pigres on an inscription (e.g. Dittenberger 46), reads in Hdt' work that Pigres son of Hysseldomos is a famous Carian sea-captain in Xerxes' fleet (vii.98) and draws his own conclusions, taking Rhoio's name from the Panyasis tradition.

The names of Hdt' and indeed Panyasis' and Artemisia's family could have been provided one by one over the years. Suidas' tradition need not rest on any one account.

Finally, an inscription, perhaps the single Ehreninschrift conjectured by Jacoby (224), may be the basis of the tradition. But there is no good reason to believe that it is.

(b.) Hdt. was a Halicarnassian and one of the enipthaneis.

Clearly anyone reading the History could have assumed as much.

(c.) Hdt. had a brother named Theodorus.

A Theodorus appears in Dittenberger 46 (31). Hdt. alludes to a famous Samian of that name (i.51, iii.41). Someone could have seized on the name just as someone probably seized on Hdt' Carian Pigres (vii.98) as the brother of Artemisia (Suidas s.v. Pigres; against Aly, RE xx²1316). We contend with the possibility that someone contrived a biography for Hdt.. We must also contend with the possibility that the biographer or biographers in question were not over-particular about where they got their names.

It may be easier to believe in a stone that had the names of Hdt' family on it. But even if such a stone existed, the rest of the biographical tradition could still be independent of it.

(d.) Hdt. was a relative of Panyasis.

Panyasis was allegedly connected with Samos. His biographical tradition has it that he suffered under Lygdamis of Halicarnassus and that he wrote a Heracleida (Suidas s.v. Panyasis). Those associations alone would be enough to make someone suppose that Hdt. and he were related, particularly in view of Hdt' own special interest in Heracles (e.g. ii.44; against Pohlenz 183).

(e.) He was banned by Lygdamis and fled to Samos.

Hdt' biographer could have borrowed the Hdt.-Lygdamis relationship in modified form from Panyasis' biography. But that relation may be nothing more than a biographer's own inference from Hdt' attitude toward tyrants. Lygdamis' name itself was probably famous all over the Aegean in its own right and also, perhaps, in connexion with Artemisia.

(f.) In Samos Hdt. learned Ionic and wrote his History.

The fact that Hdt. writes Ionic and gives great prominence to Samos is enough to inspire the Samos connexion (against Pohlenz 183). Hdt. learned Ionic in Halicarnassus. Both contemporary inscriptions of Halicarnassus are Ionic (Dittenberger 45 and 46).

(g.) Hdt. returned to Halicarnassus and ejected the tyrant who killed Panyasis.

That is embroidery on Hdt' attitude toward tyrants and his alleged relationship with Panyasis, and it paves the way toward his alleged emigration.

(h.) Hdt. left Halicarnassus because of his unpopularity there and emigrated to Thourii where he died and was buried in the market-place.

That is embroidery on the assumption that Hdt. was a Thourian. That latter assumption may well derive from the History itself (p. iii).

The most convincing parts of Suidas' biographical tradition are the names of Hdt' father, mother, and brother. Even Jacoby admits that Rhoio serves to determine the relationship with Panyasis and finds the name doubtful (bedenklich; 217). Lyxes and Theodorus could come from an inscription and the History. But even if the names derive from an inscription they hardly make the rest of the tradition trustworthy.

Jacoby's position on the biographical tradition becomes even more untenable when he comes to defend its assertions from the History itself. E.g. he quotes passages showing that Hdt. is an aristocrat (219, 223) who must have spent time in Samos (220, 222), without seeing that a biographer could have written what Suidas transmits on the basis of nothing other than what he quotes. He admits that the youthful sojourn on Samos could be nothing more than a Kombination and does not necessarily rest on the evidence of Douris but argues that the Kombination must in that case be right (222), just as he argues that Hdt' part in the colonisation of Thourii is a Kombination—but is nonetheless true even if Hdt. is not necessarily one of the first colonists (224ff. and 242ff.). Jacoby believes that the biographical tradition and Hdt' own information bolster one another. We are to use the two together in deciding the outlines of Hdt' life (see 222). But first

the tradition must be judged on its own. There seems no good reason to think we can rely on any of it.

Hdt' prize-money.

Jacoby rightly rejects Pliny's report that Hdt. wrote his History in Thourii (NH xii.18), Suidas' story that Hdt. wrote in Samos (s.v. Hdt.), and also the story that Hdt. and Hellanicus adorned the court of Amyntas (Suidas s.v. Hellanicus; Jacoby 226). All these are conclusions drawn from the work itself. But he puts Diyllus' tradition that Hdt. got 10 talents from Athens through a decree of Anytus on a different plane (Jacoby 226ff.; de Herod. Malig. 26; see Eusebius at 1572 or 445/444, who says that Hdt. was honoured by the boule for reciting his biblous). Modifying Kirchhoff's enthusiastic acceptance of the tradition (Über die Entstehungszeit des herod. Geschichtswerkes², 1878.10; quoted by Jacoby 227), Jacoby points out that the sum of 10 talents is impossible as a prize for an individual (228; cf. Aly, Rh. Mus. ~~1891~~.637). We can not draw safe conclusions about the amount of the prize or when it was given (229). But he nonetheless assumes that the tradition is reliable (229) and rests on a document that Diyllus could have found in the Metroon (227).

It is significant that e.g. Meyer seeks to retain the sum of 10 talents as a professional fee for diplomacy and propaganda when he accepts this tradition and identifies Anytus with the accuser of Socrates (Forsch. i.200 and ii.229). All Plutarch's story must stand or fall together. Someone could have known about Anytus' decree and added the sum or boosted a smaller sum. But it is just as easy to believe that someone heard a story about a prize and added Anytus' name. Or that someone heard about Anytus' reputation for giving prizes and embroidered using the word psephisma. Or that someone knew Anytus gave money to authors and embroidered by adding Hdt., the decree, and the 10 talents. The easiest explanation of this anecdote is that the

4th century Athenian historian Diyllus or one of his sources read Hdt' complimentary remarks about the Athenians and contrived the details for his own purposes. Jacoby points out that Isocrates talks about a much lesser prize that Pindar allegedly received (Peri Antidoseos 166; Jacoby 227). If such a grand prize had been given in the mid-5th century he should have mentioned it. But we do not need an argument from silence to reject this story.

The time of Hdt' death.

It is perhaps significant that Jacoby relies on just such arguments to establish the time of Hdt' death (232). He argues that on the analogy of vii.137, the wrath of Talthybius, Hdt. would have related the fate of the Aeginetans in 424 (Thuc. iv.57) at vi.91 if he had known about it. But that argument from silence fails. There are too many other possible reasons for Hdt' omission. Perhaps the most likely is that Hdt. could already have written that part of his narrative in final form when the event in question occurred and did not think to insert. Again, vi.98 and vii.106 do not show that Hdt. does not know Artaxerxes' successor. One could argue the opposite from the same passages.

Hdt. and Aristophanes.

Jacoby accepts Stein's famous thesis that Aristophanes shows knowledge of Hdt' work in the Acharnians, written in 425 (232; see e.g. Wright 80). He compares 85f. with i.133, 82 with i.192, 862f. with iv.2, and most important 523ff. with Hdt' procemion. The first passage makes no very obvious reference to anything other than the king's reputation for lavish hospitality and one hardly needed to read Hdt. to refer to that. It is not easy to understand why the 8 mths. on the golden hills of 82ff. must be the 8 mths. during which the king is sustained by the rest of Asia as against Babylon (i.192). When Aristophanes talks about blowing up the anus of a dog with bone pipes (862f.) he could indeed be alluding to Hdt' Scythian custom involving mares (iv.2) but

why Hdt' discussion specifically? Such humorous stories must have circulated from any number of sources. Finally, Aristophanes' tale of rape and counter-rape could allude to any story of injury and counter-injury, e.g. Homer's Iliad and the saga of the Trojan war. It is foolish to pretend that Aristophanes must be alluding to Hdt' work. Aristophanes is a comedian and almost everything he says is ambiguous if only because it is topical.

We find perhaps the most striking reminder of Hdt' history in Aristophanes' Wasps of the year 422, where the poet alludes to the heavens blotted out with arrows (ὕπὸ δὲ τῶν τοξευμάτων οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸν οὐρανόν (1084). The passage is strongly reminiscent of the anecdote of Dieneces in Hdt' account of Thermopylae (vii.226), where Persian arrows hide the sun and Dieneces rejoices in the opportunity to fight in the shade.

[Διηνέκην] πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὡς
ἐπεὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπώσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον
ὕπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν διστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι... εἰ
ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο
πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ.

vii.226

But how could we ever be certain that it is Hdt' anecdote Aristophanes is thinking of and not some other? Was Hdt. the only 5th century storyteller ever to think of the heavens blackened with arrows? Even here we can not be sure of Aristophanes' allusion.

Hdt. and Sophocles.

Jacoby builds much on the allegedly Sophoclean epigram in honour of Hdt. (233ff; cf. e.g. Pohlenz 185 and n. 1 and 212).

τουτὶ δ' ὁμολογουμένως Σοφοκλέους ἐστὶ τοῦπιγραμ-
μάτιον
ᾧδὴν Ἡροδότῳ τεύξεν Σοφοκλῆς ἐτέων ὦν
πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα.

Mor. 785 B

Jacoby admits that Sophocles could have written this epigram for another Hdt. (233) but he accepts the traditional connexion with our

Hdt. and retains the calculation from the 55 of the epigram because he assumes an association between the two men on other grounds, i.e. the Antigone—iii.118f. connexion to be discussed below (234ff.). Here again Jacoby wrongly uses two dubious pieces of evidence in such a way that each can shore up the other. But each must stand on its own or be rejected. As for Plutarch's epigram, first it is not certain that Sophocles wrote it. Second it is not certain that the Hdt. of the epigram is Hdt. the historian. Third, even if the Hdt. and Soph. of the epigram are the famous Hdt. and Soph., the epigram is not proof of a personal friendship in Athens and in view of the fact that we do not know when Soph. was born (Jacoby 233) the epigram could at best tell us little about Sophocles' own life, much less that of Hdt..

Jacoby compares Oed. Col. 337ff. with Hdt. ii.35 (235) but Sophocles did not need Hdt. to talk about Egypt. (With Jacoby's discussion see e.g. Meyer's un-warranted conclusions from Sophocles' and Euripides' philosophising on the changeability of man's life; Forsch. ii.261 and n. 2.)

The heart of the alleged Hdt.-Sophocles connexion is traditionally a supposed link between Antigone 904ff. and Hdt. iii.118f.. From these two passages in which a brother is preferred to a husband Jacoby draws the most far-reaching conclusions about Hdt' whole life, his stay in Athens, and his relation to the Periclean circle (234ff.). One hardly needs to debate whether the brother-theme in question is in-appropriate to Sophocles' (or Hdt') purpose or to speculate on the origin of the theme. The point is that either author could have written what he did without even reading the other's work. It seems nonsense to claim that Sophocles must have heard one of Hdt' lectures (!) and consulted with him personally to write this passage. Both men are great. Both had many sources of information and poetic inspiration. We can not infer anything about their lives from these two passages.

Hdt. and Pericles.

At this point Jacoby has concluded that Hdt. is in Athens in the mid-forties; that he is a mature middle-aged man when he arrives; that he delivers lectures good enough to interest Sophocles and gain him admittance to the circle of Pericles (237); that it is this circle from which he imbibes his attitude toward the Alcmaeonidae (238). Thus he is only consistent in viewing the famous Pericles-lion passage (vi.131) as favourable to Pericles (238; cf. Meyer's Forsch. ii.223 and e.g. Dyson, CQ 1929.186; Walzer, Gnomon 1930.581; Pohlenz 167-168) and not double-edged as Nissen had already suggested (Hist. Zeit. 1889.419f.). All these conclusions are uncertain to say the least. Hdt. himself never says he went to Athens. It is likely perhaps but by no means certain that Hdt. delivered lectures. Hdt. did not have to derive his attitude toward the Alcmaeonidae in Athens. The lion-image is ambiguous at best. We do not know if Hdt. meant it to be favourable, un-favourable, or merely part of a good story alluding to a man who came to be powerful and celebrated. It is another un-warranted assumption that Hdt. heard at least part of his defense of the Alcmaeonidae from Pericles himself (238). We do not know what if anything Hdt. hides when he alludes to Callias' mission at Sousa (vii.151; see comm. ad loc.). Callias' political relation to Pericles is hardly established anyway and we do not know the date of the embassy. Jacoby is concerned to show that Hdt. reflects the Athens of the 40's and not the Athens of the 30's as Meyer had argued (239) but he has already wrongly assumed from the Sophocles connexion (237) that which he sets out to prove from various ambiguous passages in the History, once again using the biography to make the ambiguous certain and the ambiguous to shore up the biography. Meyer had argued that Hdt. views the past coloured by Athenian politics of the 30's. Jacoby accepts the basic premise but argues that Hdt. gives the version of the Persian wars circulated by the radicals of the mid-forties (239f.). The largest un-warranted assumption inherent in that kind of position is that Hdt. is greatly influenced by

contemporary Athenian politics. To justify that assumption one has to establish the probability that (a.) Hdt. gets much of his information about the Persian wars in Athens (b.) from one side or the other. I doubt that it is possible to do so. Certainly Jacoby does not.

Hdt. and Italy.

According to Jacoby Hdt. goes from Athens to Thourii though he may not be one of the first colonists. At Pericles' behest he takes up Thourian citizenship to serve Periclean political purposes in Italy. Hdt. stops making trips of enquiry and yields himself up to lectures (242f.). Jacoby further assumes that the passages written for an Italian public were additions to lectures that already existed (likely enough granted the premises) and therefore that Hdt. did not make any of his important journeys from Thourii. All those conclusions are so dubious as to be worthless.

At this point two of Jacoby's most important arguments must be turned against him. He yet has it in mind, I think, to combat Meyer's notion that Hdt' Periclean politics locate him in Athens in the 30's. He quotes Wachsmuth to the effect that Pericles' adherents by no means confine themselves to Athens. In a state like Thourii, with its mixed population and raging political debate, Hdt. will have felt himself compelled to justify his politics in history (Jacoby 244 quoting Wachsmuth).

Jacoby not only cites Wachsmuth with approval but also reverts to his sceptical position on Hdt' alleged return to Athens (as set forth in Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte, 1895; cited by Meyer, Forsch. ii.196). But he thereby gives away his own position. Wachsmuth says that Hdt. could have imbibed Athenian ideas elsewhere than in Athens. He also says that Hdt. could have written under the influence of and on behalf of Athens somewhere other than Athens. But if he is right then all Jacoby's arguments for the Sophocles connexion, the Pericles connexion, and indeed the sojourn in Athens and Hdt' role in

Thourii, even if they do establish political bias, are not only inconclusive (as we have seen) but are also consistent with the hypothesis that as a storyteller of Asia Minor Hdt. spent very little time in Athens or none at all indeed, and very little time in Italy. Hdt. could have imbibed his attitude toward and information about Athens in Asia Minor.

Jacoby's second fatal argument concerns Hdt' attitude toward that which is personally important to him. He grapples with the problem of why Hdt. never mentions Thourii even though, in Jacoby's view, he is intimately connected with the new colony (245). He concludes that Hdt' silence is in keeping with an epic-traditional determination never to reveal personal details about oneself except when such information strengthens the credibility of ones narrative. It is because Hdt. is so intimately acquainted with Thourii, Pericles, and Sophocles that Hdt. tells us nothing about them (245f.).

First we can hardly know that tradition imposed any such secretive bent as Jacoby suggests. Perhaps Homer does not talk about himself because he himself is not the subject at hand. Hesiod does tell us about himself and at least one of his relatives. Hdt. purports to tell about the Persian wars, not about himself. But the issue here is the use to which Jacoby puts this rather traditional argument. First he assumes on other, quite in-sufficient grounds that Hdt. is intimately connected with Sophocles, Pericles, and Thourii. Then he tries to shore up those assumptions not by what Hdt. says but what he does not say. He tries to use an argument from Hdt' silence on hypothetical associations with positive force when it is dangerous to use the argument from Hdt' silence even on un-disputed facts such as the plague or the final expulsion of the Aeginetans in 424. The argument hurts rather than helps Jacoby's case for the Sophocles, Pericles, and Thourii connexions.

Many scholars have believed that Hdt. died of the plague in Athens (e.g. Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 1877.359; Hachez, de Hdti itineribus et scriptis 9.6 in 1878; Ammer, *Wurzburg* 1881.45, cited by Jacoby 246; Kirchhoff in

Über die Abfassungszeit des Hdtischen Geschichtswerkes, 1868, followed by Meyer, Forsch. i.199; Powell 86). Jacoby assumes that Hdt. died in Thourii because there is no good reason to believe otherwise (e.g. Pella has not a good claim, 246; cf. e.g. HW i.3). But if the biographical tradition is un-reliable it seems quite as likely that Hdt. died in Halicarnassus. Clearly we do not know where he died.

Conclusions.

Jacoby sums up his conclusions on the certain (gesicherten) facts of Hdt' life (246f.). My own are on the right. By "no" I mean there is no good reason for believing the allegedly certain fact in question.

Jacoby

Hdt. was born in Halicarnassus in the 80's.	yes uncertain
His father was Lyxes, Theodorus his brother, Panyasis a relative.	no
He was of noble birth.	uncertain
Opposition to a tyrant drove him out.	no
He went into exile in Samos.	no
Panyasis was probably killed in an attempt to return.	no
Hdt. and probably other members of his family succeeded in bringing down the ruler of Halicarnassus.	no
In 445/444 he was in Athens.	no
He was friendly with Sophocles and a member of the Periclean circle.	no
He held lectures in Athens and elsewhere in Greece.	uncertain (see below)
He got a state prize.	no
He became and remained a citizen of Thourii.	no
He called himself a Thourian in the first sentence of the History.	no
He lived not much later than 430.	uncertain
His work was already published in 425.	uncertain

Hdt' Travels

We must decide where Hdt. certainly traveled if we can take him at his word (see Pt. iii), where he probably traveled, and why he traveled. It seems most economical to retain Jacoby's general order of discussion.

Why?

When Hdt. says why he went somewhere his purpose seems always relatively insignificant in view of the scope of his work and the lofty aims of the poem. He goes to Thebes and Heliopolis to control the stories he heard in Memphis (ii.3). He goes to Tyre to learn about Heracles and the same enquiry is at least one of his main objectives when he goes to Thasos (ii.44). He goes to a place in Arabia near Buto to learn about winged serpents (ii.75). One of his main objectives in Egypt is to determine the sources of the Nile and the reason for its flood (ii.19,28,29). In those instances Hdt. only mentions individual places in countries where he could have traveled widely and he never tells us why e.g. he went to Egypt in general.

Where?

After correctly demonstrating that phrases meaning "in my time" and those specifying which people are responsible for a tradition can not prove autopsy, Jacoby is pessimistic about our ability to determine where Hdt. went (249f.). Nonetheless he claims at the outset that Hdt. certainly went to Delphi, Sparta, Athens, Thebes, Egypt, Babylon, and other places (250f.). We can remove half his examples from the category of certain autopsy even on the assumption that he does not deliberately deceive the reader (see Pt. iii).

Hdt. never says he went to Delphi. Perhaps the closest he comes to doing so is i.20 where he says he knows something because he heard it from the Delphians. But no one will claim that Delphians confined themselves to Delphi. It is perhaps significant that this passage

occurs in the midst of Milesian narrative (e.g. "the Milesians say so", i.21). It would be wrong to deny the prominence of Delphi in Hdt' narrative. But because Delphi figured large in the history of so many parts of the Greek world and elsewhere indeed, Hdt. can and must have heard about Delphi in other places. It seems inherently probable that Hdt. visited Delphi if he went to the mainland. But Hdt. could have written everything about Delphi preserved to us in the History without ever having been there. Many travelers and indeed many who had never themselves been to Delphi will have known where one or another dedicatory offering stood in the sanctuary. Each Delphi anecdote must be examined individually for evidence of its source. It would be a mistake to lump them all together and assume that Hdt. heard them all in Delphi. Nor can we forget the possibility of written sources.

Much the same mutatis mutandis must be said of Athens. Hdt. never says he went there however likely we may consider that proposition. There is much that he does not tell us about Athens. The prominence of Athens in Hdt' narrative does not prove that Hdt. went to the city. Stories about Athens must have circulated in Asia Minor, especially among expatriot Athenians, whom we meet frequently in the pages of Hdt.; Dicaeus son of Theocydes and Onomacritos the oracle-monger and friend of the Peisistratidae are two examples. Nor should we ever forget that Themistocles and his family were prominent in Asia Minor throughout the 5th century and much later, in possession of their own enclave there (e.g. Head's HN 581; Thuc. i.138.5f.; Plutarch's Them. xxxii). If Themistocles and his ideas figured in the politics of mainland Greece, they were no less significant in the politics of Asia Minor.

If we turn to Asia, Babylon is another case in point. Jacoby believes that Hdt. assures autopsy when he says that he has not seen an important statue but merely tells what was told by the Chaldeans (i.183; Jacoby 248). But strictly speaking Hdt. leaves it to the reader to infer that he was on the spot so that he could have seen the statue.

We are to see in pt. iii of this Introduction that Hdt. was hardly above implying that he traveled more widely than he did in fact, but in this case Hdt. did not need to go to Babylon to know what the Chaldeans said. He could have heard it or merely assumed it for the purposes of his narrative (see pt. iii, esp. p. xlvi). Much the same line of argument is applicable to i.193. Hdt. says he will not say more because he knows well that those who have not gone to Babylon will not believe what he has to say about Babylonian corn. He seems to imply that he went to Babylon himself (see pt. iii and esp. p. lxxv) but conceivably he could mean only that he himself believes the story because he has a reliable source whereas other people will not believe unless they actually go there themselves. Hdt. did not need to visit Babylon in person to gather the most intimate knowledge of the city and country even if he possessed that kind of knowledge (against Powell 28 n. 1). Tritantaechmes, son of Artabazus was satrap of Babylon (i.192). Artabazus' family ruled in Dascylion after the war and throughout Hdt's lifetime (Thuc. i.129.1, ii.67, v.1; see HW ii.277). We know from Hdt's favourable attitude toward Artabazus that he may have encountered either Artabazus himself or more likely some Greek-speaking member of the family somewhere in Asia Minor. He could have gained an introduction there to Babylon itself. But Hdt. could have written what he did about Babylon without ever going there.

The prominence of Samos, Chios, Caria, Miletus, and Ephesus in Hdt's narrative and their proximity to Halicarnassus make it likely that Hdt. collected information in those places. If we take Hdt. at his word he met Archias of Pitana in Sparta, having gained an introduction perhaps from Archias' friends on Samos (iii.55). He evidently went to Dodona (ii.52). Apparently he saw Cadmean characters in the temple of Ismenian Apollo in Thebes of Boeotia (v.59). If we take Hdt. at his word there is little doubt that he was in Egypt (e.g. ii.3) and he certainly went to Tyre and Thasos (ii.44) and part of Arabia (ii.75). He was evidently in Zacynthus (iv.195), perhaps on his way to or from the West. He seems to have gone to Metapontion in Italy and Proconnesus and Cyzicus of the Propontis where he enquired about Aristaeas of Pro-

connesus (iv.14 and 15). Where else?

Cyrene.

Jacoby believes it certain that Hdt. traveled in Cyrene on the basis of ii.181.

ποιησαμένη γὰρ ἄγαλμα ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ
ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σόον, ἔξω ἰδρυμένον τοῦ Κυρή-
ναίων ἄστεος.

But Hdt. merely says that the image was preserved in his own time, facing outward from the city, hardly a sure indication of autopsy. Jacoby indeed warns us not to assume that such phrases assure autopsy (249). The comparison of Egyptian acacia with Cyrenean lotus (ii.96), the three harvest seasons of Cyrene (iv.199), and Badres and Amasis passing through the city (iv.203) are all stories that Hdt. could have heard anywhere. Hdt. indeed never gives us a firm indication that he went to Cyrene. Macan's scepticism is justified (against e.g. HW i.18). Hdt. could have gone there on recommendation from Samos as Jacoby suggests (253; see iv.152 for the close connexion between Samos, Cyrene, and Thera). It may even be inherently likely that he did so. But Hdt. could have learned everything he relates about Cyrene and Thera in Samos without ever traveling to either. Jacoby believes that iv.198, where Hdt. relates the fertility of the Cinyps country, is a firm indication of autopsy. But this country, like Thera, figures large in the Dorieus-saga (v.42) and Hdt. could have learned much about that story from a Spartan source, in Sparta or e.g. in the Cnidian country

S of Halicarnassus--the Cnidians were Spartan colonists after all (i.174). If Hdt. went to Cyrene at all he could have gone direct from Samos and back. On the other hand *prima facie* at least Hdt. already knows about the pitch of Zacynthus when he writes about Libya (iv.195) so if we take him at his word, perhaps he went to Cyrene on his way from the West to Egypt. In any event Hdt. already knows at least part of what he wants to say about Cyrene when he writes about Egypt: in ii.161 he refers forward to the Libyan logoi.

Scythia.

Jacoby believes that Hdt. went to Scythia before he went to Delphi because otherwise he would have mentioned Croesus' great silver kettle of i.51 when he came to speak of the brazen vessel of Exampaeus (iv.81; Jacoby 257). It is by no means certain that Hdt. went to either Delphi or Scythia. But even granted Jacoby's premises his conclusion is unwarranted (thus e.g. Powell 28). Hdt. could have written what he did even if he had already gone to Delphi when he went to Exampaeus. He might not have been thinking of the Delphi vessel for whatever reason when he saw that of Exampaeus. Granted his premises, Jacoby's explanation, that of many scholars before him as he indicates, is indeed likely--but it seems idle to pretend that we can find certainty in that kind of argument from silence, any more than from Duncker's suggestion that Hdt. launched forth on Scythian travels from Pericles' Pontus expedition of 444 (approved by Bury and Macan but scouted by Jacoby 257).

Jacoby admits that the Olbiopolitae play but a small role in Hdt' narrative (iv.18), that the Scythian logos rests on a geographical written work and the information of Greek and Scythian informants. He nonetheless assumes that Olbia like Babylon is analogous to Memphis in that Hdt. uses the city as a headquarters (257). But the description of the Hypanis-Borysthenes marsh of iv.53 could easily derive not from autopsy as Jacoby assumes, but from one of the oral or written sources he has already hypothesised. The same must be said of the royal grave of iv.11 and the sources of the Tearus (iv.90ff.; against Jacoby 258).

It is clear that Hdt. did not have to go to Exampaeus to write about the country (see pt. iii p. lviff.). What of Olbia? Even apart from the question of Hdt's credibility (see pt. iii) it seems important that we realise how few places Hdt. had to visit in order to write what he did--while giving full weight of course to the possibility or probability as the case may be that he went elsewhere. Jacoby does not distinguish between that which Hdt. must have seen in order to write what we find in the History (on the assumption that he never tries to deceive the reader) and what he may have seen in addition. It is specially difficult to claim certainty for any of Hdt's alleged Scythian journeys because Hdt. gives us to believe that he learned much about Scythia and the Scythians from Tymnes the deputy of Ariapeithes (iv.76). If Hdt. really met Tymnes we do not know where and it may well have been in or near Halicarnassus. There was a Carian Tymnes of Termera (v.37, vii.98) and the name occurs in Halicarnassus (Dittenberger 46.27) and Iasos (Dittenberger 68.75, "the Carians whom Tymnes rules", cited by Jacoby 212). The point is that we can not assume that Hdt. met Tymnes in Olbia any more than we can assume that if he really met Thersander of Orchomenos it must have been in Thebes or Orchomenos, or that if he really met Artabazus it must have been in Dascylion (cf. Macan ii.360; against Meyer's Forsch. ii.231 and Jacoby 414-415).

The Colchian-Egyptian comparison of ii.105 can hardly assure autopsy. Hdt. probably met Colchians as well as Egyptians outside their respective countries and in any event Hdt. could have heard that comparison from a traveler or read it in the pages of Hecataeus. A fortiori it can not prove that Hdt. went to Egypt both before and after a Scythian trip (against Powell 25).

Everything Hdt. tells us about the Scythians and the Pontus indeed can be explained in terms of his apparent visit to Cyzicus and Proconesus (iv.14), what he gives us to believe is an acquaintance with Tymnes the deputy of Ariapeithes wherever he cultivated that acquaintance (iv.76), and his judicious use of both a geographical work, probably that of Hecataeus, and also the map which Jacoby allows him (258)—

an allowance that is to damage irreparably Jacoby's treatment of e.g. the famous Scythia-Attica-Italy geographical comparison of iv.99.

The north-Aegean.

Jacoby finds it extraordinarily probable, and indeed thereafter he assumes, that Hdt. made one grand Nordreise: Halicarnassus (or Samos), the coast of Asia Minor, the Hellespont and Propontis, Byzantion, Phasis, Olbia, a visit with the Tyrites, down the W coast of the Pontus to Apollonia, an excursion to the sources of the Tearus, Heraeon and Perinthus, down the European side of the Propontis, Sestos and Madytos, and along the Thracian coast to Macedonia (259). If there are too many uncertainties and indeed improbabilities in his account of the Pontus travels, it is all the more necessary to scrutinise the much more probable hypothesis that Hdt. travels across the N-Aegean, whether from the Propontis, if we can believe what Hdt. says about Cyzicus and Proconnesus (iv.14f.), or from the W.

Hdt. cites the Chersonesitae (ix.120) and the easiest assumption given his visit to the Propontis is that he went to Sestos and perhaps Madytos. But Hdt. hardly needed to learn first-hand what he tells us about the region.

He did not necessarily go to Samothrace (against Jacoby 259).

ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρήνικες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὗτος ὦνῆρ οἶδε τὸ λέγω...

ii.51

Prima facie Hdt. implies that he himself has been initiated. Even if we could be certain that he does that would not be the end of the matter (see pt. iii). But there are other possible explanations. Hdt. could have what he considers very good information on the subject without having been initiated. He could be aiming the remark at either a live or reading audience on Samothrace to win their interest by growing confidential with them.

Hdt. gives us to believe that he went to Thasos (ii.44, vi.47; cf. vii.118) but in any event (pt. iii, pp. lxii and lxv) he need not have done so in conjunction with other parts of the N-Aegean. Hdt. seems to say that he went to Thasos after he went to Tyre, pursuing his enquiries about Heracles. Some have translated his words to that effect: "So I went on to Thasos" (Rawlinson), "Then I went to Thasos, too" (Godley); cf. Powell, "And I came to Thasos also". If Hdt. went to Thasos at all he could have gone several times. If he only went once it probably was not as part of a great connected tour of the N-Aegean. The question of whether Hdt. went there at all still awaits the confirmation or disproof of what he says about the Phoenician mines and the mountain turned upside-down in the searching (pt. iii, p. lxii).

Jacoby believes it certain that Hdt. went to Potidaea (259; viii. 129), but Hdt. merely cites the natives of Pallene and the Potidaeans, hardly evidence of autopsy. The same can be said mutatis mutandis for Acanthus and Mt. Athos (vii.22f., 117). Local tradition may be evident in these chapters but not necessarily autopsy as Jacoby suggests (260). There is little doubt that Hdt. uses a geographical source on Thrace (v.3ff.) and Jacoby admits as much (260). City-traditions Hdt. could have learned in any number of ways, e.g. from traders and travelers in Asia Minor. Chalcidice figures large in the story of Artabazus. Hdt. did not need to go there to write what he does of the place.

Hdt. gives no firm indication that he went to Siris the city of the Paeonians (viii.115; against Jacoby 260). There is no good reason to assume that Hdt. saw lake Prasias or traveled the road from Prasias to Macedonia that he describes (v.17), especially if he works with a geographical source and a map of the area (against Jacoby 260f.). Hdt. certainly has an Abderan source (i.168; vii.109, 120; viii.120) but who can say that Hdt. met him or them in Abdera? Or that Hdt. does not rely on a written source for some of his local tradition?

Hdt. did not need to visit Thessaly to write what he does about it (vii.129f.; comm. ad loc. and see also comm. at chs. 172 and 174).

It is perhaps significant that whereas Jacoby clearly gives his great Nordreise more than the benefit of a doubt, he limits that journey quite as arbitrarily out of deference to the notion that much later Hdt. changed his plan and went to the mainland sites important in the history of Xerxes' invasion in one fell swoop. But many of the local traditions of the N-Aegean as reported by Hdt. are also strongly associated with Xerxes' campaign, e.g. those of Abdera and Chalcidice. Granted Jacoby's premise that Hdt. saw the vale of Tempe and went to Macedonia, there seems little reason to stop the Nordreise short of Thessaly.

Jacoby assumes not only that Hdt. knew Alexander personally but also that he met him in Macedonia. He admits that Hdt.' knowledge of the country was not extensive but relies on v.22 and viii.138 as evidence of a local source (261). But Hdt. did not need to travel in Macedonia to cite the Macedonians, and his Alexander source may be the court of Amyntas of Asia, who undoubtedly knew both the traditions of the royal household and also "what the Macedonians say" (viii.136).

All Jacoby's assumptions about an early Nordreise are un-warranted. Even if we take Hdt. at his word the only part of the N-Aegean he visited for certain is Thasos and he seems to have gone there from Tyre. Hdt. may well have coasted S Thrace but there is no firm evidence in the History that he did so.

Egypt and the East.

Jacoby rightly sees that ii.104, the Egyptian-Colchian comparison, does not necessarily mean that Hdt. made two trips to Egypt, as Hachez had argued and Powell was to argue much later (Powell 25). He assumes instead, however, that Hdt. went to Egypt, Syria-Phoenicia, and Babylon after the Nordreise, and he adopts Sourdille's belief that Hdt. went to Egypt only once and then for a short time only, 4 mths. at the most though he may have stayed longer at Memphis (262 cf. T.S. Brown, AJP 1965.60-76).

But if Hdt. went to the Propontis at all there is no good reason to believe that he went there before he went to Egypt. And even if Sourdille's work rightly calls attention to how little time Hdt. may have spent in Egypt it is surely over-optimistic to believe that we can determine when he was there and for how long, quite apart from the credibility of Hdt' Egyptian narrative (pt. iii, p. xlviff.).

Hdt' allusion to landing engines and the ruins of Ionian and Carian houses hardly proves autopsy at Pelousion (ii.154). He could have learned about these Ionians and Carians indeed without leaving Asia Minor (against e.g. Jacoby 264). At Papremis, however, Hdt. gives us to believe that he saw the skulls of Persians slain by Inarus (iii.12), and clearly that is different even if it is not the end of the matter (see pt. iii and esp. p. lxv).

If we take Hdt. at his word he went to Egypt when it was firmly under Persian control (ii.30,98,149; iii.15,91; see Jacoby 266), after the battle of Papremis (iii.12), and after the revolt of Inarus and Amyrtaeus had been suppressed (iii.15). It seems impossible to fix the time of his narrative more precisely (see Jacoby 266f.).

Jacoby follows Matzat in believing that Hdt. went from the Phoenician coast to Babylon on the Euphrates river. But Hdt' account of Nitocris' measures in dealing with the Euphrates (i.185) and his report on the river boat-men (i.194) are hardly evidence that he sailed the Euphrates. Hdt. could have learned about the bitumen of Is without visiting the city (i.179) and we have already seen that he did not necessarily visit Babylon as Jacoby assumes (i.181,192; p. xviiiif. above). Hdt. may have been specially interested in Ardericca because of its name (note the Ardericca near Sousa, vi.119) but his comments hardly show that he went to the city (i.185; against Jacoby 262). Even if we could accept Jacoby's premise that Hdt. went to Ardericca, Is, and Babylon, it would nonetheless be an un-warranted assumption that he did so in a particular season of the year merely because of his comments on the aridity and fertility of the land (i.193; against Jacoby 263).

Jacoby rightly endorses Macan's scepticism on Hdt' alleged visit to the Eretrian Ardericca of vi.119. It seems legitimate to wonder if there really were two cities of that name, and if so whether Hdt. was aware of it. Clearly the Euphrates Ardericca of i.185 is part of a good story about the winding river whereas the Cissian Ardericca of vi.119 Hdt. associates with the Eretrians and the well of three fluids.

In view of the fact that Hdt. did not necessarily go to Babylon, it seems idle to discuss Jacoby's arguments that he did so after he left Egypt (264f.). It seems significant, however, that Jacoby should believe that order of travel confirmed by Hdt' apparent inconsistency in describing the Egyptian fastidiousness in love-making of ii.64 (see i.198, the Babylonian and Arabian practise). The fact that Hdt. does not mention the Babylonians along with the Greeks and Egyptians when he alludes to the careful practise of the latter proves very little, certainly not that he went to Babylon after Egypt. The discussion of ii.64 probably indicates only that Hdt. was not thinking of the Babylonians when he wrote the passage, but that is not to say that he did not know about them at the time (against Jacoby 265).

Asia Minor.

Even for Asia Minor, where Hdt. must have traveled widely and almost certainly compared the stories of one city with those of another (see vi.14) Hdt. gives no firm indication of autopsy. He did not need to visit Rhodes to write about the Lindian temple of Athena (ii.182, iii.47). He could have got his information in Samos or Sparta or the Cnidian country S of Halicarnassus. He did not need to visit Ilion or Teuthrania to speculate that their plains were once

gulfs of the sea (ii.10). He has almost certainly been to Samos and Ephesus but reference to noteworthy Samian temples hardly proves it (ii.148, iv.152), nor does the reference to the golden oxen and famous pillars of Ephesus (i.92). Hdt. could have learned about Phocaea and the Phocaeans without going there (i.163). His story of the statues on the roads from Ephesus to Phocaea and Smyrna to Sardis shows that he never saw the statues or traveled any such roads (comm. in pt. iii, p. liiiff.; against Matzat 397ff. and Jacoby 268).

Hdt. gives no firm indication of autopsy for Sardis. He did not need to visit either Sardis or Gaza to compare their sizes (iii.5). He probably relied on a geographical work to describe the plain of Sardis (i.80). The city's fortifications are part of the story of Cyrus (i.84). The tomb of Alyattes must have been famous all over Asia Minor and even if it was not Hdt. could have learned about it from travelers or traders (i.93; against Jacoby's assumption of autopsy for all the above, 267-268).

The islands.

Of the islands apart from Thasos Hdt. says nothing that might tend to prove autopsy. Delos was famous everywhere (ii.170, iv.33-35). Apart from the literary sources Hdt. could have learned much about Euboea in Asia Minor, perhaps in connexion with the Marathon campaign (vi.101; against Jacoby 268). In Asia Minor he could have learned much about Aegina, in connexion with Demaratus' family perhaps, who were connected with the Aeginetan family of Crios and Polycritos (vi.50) and maintained their own enclave of Pergamos, Halisarna, and Teuthrania in the Troad in the time of Procles and Eurysthenes at the turn of the century and beyond (Xen. Hell. iii.1.6, Anab. ii.1.3, vii.8.17; cf. HW i.91). Hdt. could have written everything about Aegina that he does without ever leaving the coast of Asia Minor.

He did not need to visit Paros to know what the Parians themselves say about Miltiades (vi.134) nor did he need to

visit Cythera to know about a temple there (i.105). Hdt. cites what the Cyprians themselves say but that does not mean he went to Cyprus (i.105).

The mainland.

Jacoby believes that Hdt. used Athens as a headquarters and launched forth on excursions to Sparta, Thebes, and the sites important to his history of the Persian wars (269). Since there is no firm indication that Hdt. went to Athens at all (p. xviii) it is hardly reasonable to assign him that city as a headquarters if indeed he had one. Thus there is no good reason to believe that Hdt. made one trip through northern and central Greece and another through the Peloponnese (against Jacoby 269). Regardless of the possible extent of his travels on the mainland we have no firm indication that he delivered lectures there or anywhere else (p. xiii).

Hdt. has a good Deceleian source (vi.92, ix.73ff.) but he need not have found it in Deceleia. It may be written, e.g. Pherecydes of Athens. And Sophanes' fame was hardly confined to Deceleia. His connexion with the Athens-Aegina war and Sparta's preferential treatment of Deceleia may even point toward a Spartan source (p. xxviii). The Heracleion of Cynosarges is not only associated with Heracles but also the Spartan Anchimolios son of Aster (v.63).

Jacoby assumes that Hdt. sailed the coast of Attica (vi.99) but Hdt. could have got the geographical information of the chapter in question from a map, already hypothesised by Jacoby himself (258). He also assumes that Hdt. saw the grave of Hermolycus on Geraestus (270; ix.105) but Hermolycus was evidently a famous athlete and Hdt. could have learned about him almost anywhere in Greece. As for Hdt's alleged autopsy of the great battle-sites, all available evidence points in the other direction (pt. iii ad loc.; against Pohlenz 82,191 and n.1). It takes a powerful argument for autopsy indeed to make Hdt. an

observer of battlefields when he is 90 degrees wrong on the geographical orientation of Thermopylae.

It is nothing more than speculation that Hdt. learned about Laphystian Zeus in Halos (vii.197; against Jacoby 271). Xerxes' route is little more than Hdt's own inference from a geographical source and various local traditions of the great invasion (comm. ad loc. and pt. iii).

On Delphi see p. xviif. above. According to Hdt. he went to Thebes where he saw Cadmean writing (v.59) and therefore if we take him at his word he may well have seen Croesus' golden shield and spear dedicated to Amphiaraos (i.52) and his golden tripod (i.92). But Hdt. could have written about them without ever leaving Asia Minor. If Hdt. really met Thersander of Orchomenos he could have done so in Asia Minor (ix.16). Lebadeia and the cave of Trophonios Hdt. could have heard about almost anywhere in connexion with Mys of Europus (viii.134).

If we take Hdt. at his word on his acquaintance with Archias of Pitana he could have gone to Sparta direct from Samos and there is no indication that he stayed there any length of time (iii.55). Jacoby assumes that Hdt. went to Sparta from Athens and toured the major cities of the Peloponnese gathering information about the Persian wars (273) but there is no good evidence to that effect. The Tegeate role in the bones-of-Orestes saga may well derive from a Spartan source (i.66). The Athens-Tegea co-operation at Plataea may derive from an Athenian source (ix.70). The golden statue in Laconian Thornax belongs to the Croesus-Sparta story (i.69; see 77,81,83). The temple of Helen in Therapne is part of the Demaratus story (vi.61). The sculpted figure of Arion on Taenaron Hdt. could have learned about from the Corinthians and Lesbians of the same chapter (i.24), perhaps from the Lesbians on Lesbos citing the Corinthians. It looks as if Hdt. compared Athenian and Corinthian versions of what happened at Salamis (viii.94) but he did not need to go to Corinth for the Corinthian version any more than

he needed to go to Athens for an Athenian version, and especially in the case of a tale about Adeimantus, who figured large in the story of Themistocles (viii.61) and must have been discussed in Asia Minor in connexion with him.

Jacoby takes the isthmus trireme of viii.121, "which was there even in my time", as an indication of autopsy, but clearly Hdt. could have heard about it anywhere in Greece. And if Hdt. went to Salamis and Sounion as Jacoby assumes, it seems strange that he says nothing of the survival or demise of the other two triremes, or indeed of any such on-the-spot personal enquiry into their fate as we might expect from this passage. It might be argued that the most natural assumption from what Hdt. says is that he knows the other two triremes perished or that they were removed from their original sites. But it seems difficult to believe that the Athenians would have allowed that to happen to such important dedications. And if so, why does not Hdt. tell us? The easiest way to interpret Hdt' words is that when he writes them he does not know the fate of the other two triremes.

Information about women's dress in Corinth will have circulated outside Corinth (v.87). The Greek dedication to the god of the isthmus will have been known far and wide (ix.81). Jacoby again uses Hdt' reference to what the Argives say (v.87, vi.75, vii.148) as evidence for personal enquiry in Argos in spite of his own warning about the dangers inherent in that kind of procedure (250,273). The Athens-Aegina wars figure in the first of these passages, Cleomenes and the Spartans in the last two. Hdt. did not need to visit Argos to know what the Argives say. His continued discussion of women's dress proves nothing (v.88) and his allusion to Epidaurian secret rites hardly proves he went to Epidaurus (v.83; against Jacoby's attack on Hildebrandt and Macan, 273).

Hdt' reference to Elean stories hardly reveals personal knowledge of Elis (iv.30). One can know about Olympian statues without going to Olympia (vii.170, ix.81). The Elean-Egyptian conference over the Olympic games need not derive from Elis (ii.160) and Demaratus indeed

with his Asia Minor enclave almost certainly had strong ties with that city (vi.70). If we can take him at his word Hdt. went to Zacynthus, another island to which Demaratus' family could have introduced him (iv.195; vi.70). Hdt. did not need to know the Achelooos river personally to know of its effects (ii.10) and anyway he seems to believe that it lies due W of the Nestos (vii.126 and comm. ad loc.). Hdt. gives us to believe that he went to Dodona (ii.52) and if we can believe him he may have stopped there on the way from Zacynthus to the West.

Hdt' knowledge of the Styx need not derive from autopsy (vi.74). Sicyonian tradition need not derive from Sicyon, especially when connected with a figure as prominent as Cleisthenes (v.67).

Jacoby (274) adopts Kirchhoff's arguments (see Entstehung 32ff. and 49ff.) to the effect that Hdt. must have gone to Delphi before winter 448/447 (i.51) but we can not be certain that Hdt. went there at all (p. xviif.). One could argue that Hdt. was in Sparta before the Leonideion was erected (vii.224ff.; cf. Pausanias iii.14.1 and Frazer iii.324f. and 334.) but who can be confident about Pausanias' date of 440 (against Kirchhoff and Jacoby 274; see comm. at ch. 224)? Hdt' allusions to the king's mistreatment of Leonidas' body (vii.238) may argue that Hdt. did not know of the body's removal but even that argument from silence means nothing unless we know for certain when the body was re-interred. Hdt' allusion to Tanagra proves only that Hdt. wrote the final sentence of ix.35 after the battle, nothing about when Hdt. went to Sparta. Jacoby fails in his attempt to prove that 447-443 are Hdt' years of travel.

The West.

In Jacoby's view, after Hdt. went to Athens and the West his curiosity failed him. Having emphasised the places in Egypt, Asia, the Pontus region, and mainland Greece that Hdt. allegedly visited, Jacoby now emphasises the places in the West that Hdt. did not visit, denying Hdt. the benefit of a doubt in the case of e.g. the coast of Tuscany (275; i.57, 167). In the case of the Ehetoi (i.196) and the

Ligurians above Marseilles (v.9) Jacoby now assumes that Hdt. drew on Hecataeus (275). Hdt.' new penchant for vicarious rather than personal travel is allegedly wrought by the Periclean circle in Athens.

Jacoby is right when he says that Hdt. could have gone to many places in the West for which there is no indication of autopsy. The question is whether Hdt.' practise in the West is significantly different from that in other parts of the world. Regardless of how many places Hdt. really traversed among those mentioned in the History for which we have no firm indication of autopsy, Hdt. clearly tried to learn about the states that figure in the history of the Persian wars and the growth of the Persian empire that led to Xerxes' invasion of Greece. Relatively few places in the West are important in that context. Hdt. could have missed them out for that reason. But the same might be said for other places too. The point is that Jacoby does not show that Hdt.' treatment of the West is different from that of any other region even though he clearly over-emphasises the extent of Hdt.' certain autopsy in every locale but the West.

If we can believe Hdt. he went to Metapontion asking about Aristetas of Proconnesus (iv.15). He seems to have gone to Sybaris and Croton (v.44ff.) though the story of Democedes of Croton shows that Hdt. must have heard a lot about the West in Asia Minor (iii.129-138). Phayllos' role in the Persian war Hdt. could have known

before he went to the West-especially since Phayllos was a great athlete (viii.47). Jacoby admits that Hdt. could have met Sybarites in Thourii (276). He could also have met them in Metapontion or in Asia Minor for that matter.

The Iapygian promontory Hdt. may know from Hecataeus (iv.99). He did not need to visit Hyrie to know of it (vii.170). As for Sicily Jacoby rightly finds the references to Segesta (v.47) and Camicus (vii.170) inconclusive. The former is part of the Dorieus story and Hdt. could have heard that in the Chidian country. The latter figures large in the works of Sophocles (comm. ad loc.).

Hdt. could know what the inhabitants of Sicily say without going to Sicily (vii.153,165,166). The same can be said mutatis mutandis of the Carthaginians, Phoenicians, and Syracusans (vii.167). Everything Hdt. tells about Gelon and his history he could have learned without leaving Asia Minor, e.g. from a Demaratus source or the Cnidian country (note the prominence of Syagros the Spartan's role, vii.153ff.), from Cos (note Cadmus' intimacy with Gelon's affairs and his association with Cos, Zancle, and Samos, vii.163f., and also with Darius through his father (?), vi.23f.), and from the literary sources (comm. ad loc.). There seems no good reason to believe that Hdt. went to Sicily.

Jacoby's conclusions on the travels.

Jacoby gives a partial summary of his conclusions on Hdt' travel (276-280). My own are off to the right. "No" means there is no good reason to accept the conclusion in question.

Jacoby

Hdt. keeps to the beaten track.	yes
He goes as far as Elephantine in Egypt (ii.29)	no (see pt. iii)
He gathers material in Olbia.	no
He visits Babylon.	no
He does not visit Sousa.	yes
He is dependent on interpreters and bi-lingual Gks..	yes
The travels and the biography put Hdt. in Athens in the mid 40's.	no
With a probability bordering on certainty we can say that all Hdt' travels with the possible exception of Cyrene come before his stay in Athens.	no
i.98, i.143, i.192, ii.7, and iv.99 all presume a specifically Athenian public.	no (discussion below)
ii.148 and 168, iii.5, iv.61, and iv.81 all presume a specifically Asia Minor public.	no (discussion below)

Jacoby

Hdt. adds Athenian and S -Italian comparisons for the benefit of live audiences in Athens and Thourii.	no (discussion below)
Hdt. gave lectures in Athens and S-Italy.	no
Hdt. must have gone to Scythia before he went to Delphi.	no
Hdt' travels can not be brought down to 440-430 as Meyer would have it.	no

Pt. iiThe History without preconceptions.

From antiquity onward and especially since the 19th century Hdtian scholars have brought un-warranted assumptions to the study of Hdt' life and travels. The most important of these are (a.) that there was a special relationship between Hdt. and Athens and between Hdt. and Thourii, and (b.) that Hdt. was a professional lecturer.

The two are in-extricably bound up with one another as Jacoby's discussion reveals. If one accepts the first without the second (Powell 31ff.) one's position on the biographical tradition becomes anomalous (Powell 63ff.). If one leans toward the second on internal grounds, one seizes on the first for support (Pohlenz 209f.; cf. 116, 185, 187n.1, 212).

There is no good evidence to the effect that Hdt. was influenced by Athens in Athens. There is no good evidence that Hdt. took part in the colonisation of Thourii. Likewise there is no good evidence that Hdt. was ever a professional lecturer. There are many traces of the living word in Hdt' work as Pohlenz argues (209f.; cf. Maan vii-ix i.xlix-l). But like many other aspects of the History they are ambiguous. They could be remnants of what Hdt' informants told him or what he himself read in a written source. They could be his own unconsciously vivid and poetic means of expression. They could signify that Hdt. wrote some or all his work to be read aloud by other people, e.g. by small groups of the well-bred in private readings. It is wrong to assume without question that Hdt' work was meant for the public at large.

Powell argues from Hdt' use of the word grapho (i.95; ii.70,123; iv.195; vi.53; vii.214) that no part of the "Persian History" as we have it was intended for recitation (31f.). But the basic assumption is wrong. There seems no good reason to believe that Hdt. or anyone else could not use the word in a recitation. And it would have been but a small matter to substitute grapho for e.g. lego in seven passages when writing a final draft from notes and lectures given previously even if grapho could not be used orally. The question whether Hdt. originally meant the present work or various parts of it to be delivered orally is unanswerable, just as it is impossible to determine with any certainty what parts of the History were originally intended as separate works (Pohlenz 66f.). Every scholar has his own ideas on the subject and none can be established with any degree of probability, much less proved. As for Thuc' famous jibes (i.21.1, 22.4), no one can know exactly what Thuc. meant or how specifically he directed that celebrated scorn against Hdt. (against e.g. Meyer, Forsch. i.200).

But even the un-warranted assumptions—Athens, Thourii, the professional lecturer—are relatively harmless until they are used to establish Hdt' order of composition and his alleged spiritual progression.

When every part of the History is screened through the assumptions the result bears little relation to what we find if we scrap them and try to look at the work straight.

First the question of insertions must be put aside. It seems impossible to prove that anything in the History is a later insertion. It is a fortiori impossible to establish valid criteria by means of which we can determine what is and what is not a later insertion and therefore determine layers of composition. It seems curious that Jacoby admits as much in his discussion of Hdt' sources, arguing against Niese (Rh. Mus. 1907.419ff.) that we can not distinguish original narrative from one source, from later insertions deriving from another source (400).

The more important examples of allegedly later insertion are invariably ambiguous. E.g. iv.99. Hdt. could have written the cape Sounion comparison first and then added the Iapygian-promontory comparison later. But he could have written both sentences together for an Italian audience only some of whom were familiar with Sounion. He could have written both comparisons together for an Asia Minor audience some of whom had been to either Attica or Italy but not both. He could have written both together for a general audience without giving much thought to who had been where. He may simply be stressing a point and striking out in whatever direction comes to mind from his own experience. He may be speaking not from experience but from a map. There are numerous possibilities, any one of which would wreck the elaborate schemes based on this passage (e.g. Powell 65ff.). It is impossible to prove anything from allegedly later insertions.

When we stop making Hdt. an Athenian, a Thourian, and a professional lecturer, we are led to examine the various passages as they lie in the work as we have it.

Given only the assumption that Hdt. was born in Halicarnassus, Hdt. had easier access to Samos than to any other important place in the Greek world with the possible exception of Miletus. His information about and references to Samos are accordingly spread throughout the work. What of Athens and the West? Information about and allusions to them are likewise spread throughout the work. The four significant comparisons involving Attica are in books i (98,192), ii (7), and iv (99), too few to establish a pattern but even so not confined to one part of the History. The same can be said, mutatis mutandis, of Hdt' allusions to the West. E.g. i.57 (Pelasgians above Creston), i.167 (Carthaginians and Agyllaeoi), i.196 (Illyrian Enetoi), iii.129-138 (Democedes), iv.15 (Metapontion), iv.99 (Iapygian promontory), v.9 (Ligurians above Marseilles), v.44-47 (Dorieus,

Sybaris, Croton, Segesta), vi.17 and 21-24 (Sybarites, Scythes, Zancle, Rhegion), vii.153ff. (Gelon and Sicily), viii.47 (Crotoniates and Phayllos), ix.21 (? Olympiodorus son of Lampon). Making due allowance for the demands of Hdt' subject at hand, the material is pretty evenly distributed. Making the same allowances, there seems little significance in the fact that Hdt' Asia Minor comparisons occur in ii (148--Samos and Ephesus; 168--Samos; cf. 177, where the Athenians are "they"), iii (5--Sardis), and iv (61--Lesbos; 81--Pausanias' vessel at the mouth of the Pontus). In short, read without preconceptions the work shows that Hdt. reflects a knowledge of Asia Minor, the mainland, and the West throughout the History. Making due allowance for the special claims on Hdt' attention of the 2nd and 4th books, he refers often enough to the Scythians and Egyptians in the other books.

Conclusions.

It seems most economical to assume that Hdt. is nothing more or less than a storyteller (see pt. iii) of Asia Minor. He traveled perhaps but there is no good reason to believe that he did not come back to Asia Minor. If we can believe Hdt. he went to the mainland and S-Italy but there is no good reason to assume that he learned more there than he might have learned in Egypt or the Propontis. There is certainly no good reason to believe that Hdt. was shaped either as a man or a historian more on the mainland or in S-Italy than in Asia Minor.

On the assumption that we can take Hdt. at his word, if iv.15 in the midst of the Scythian narrative is original to its context in Hdt' notes as well as in the final draft, Hdt. went to the West before he went to the Propontis. He could have begun his enquiries about Aristeeas not in Proconnesus but in Metapontion. He could have followed up his enquiries not in Metapontion but in Proconnesus.

If iv.195.2-4 is original to its context in Hdt' notes as well as in the final draft, and if Hdt. visited the N-African coast at all, he went to Zacynthus, and thus probably the West, before he went to Cyrene and thus perhaps before he went to Egypt. Hdt. went to Egypt before he went to Tyre and he went to Tyre before he went to Thasos (ii.44), always on the assumption that we can take Hdt. at his word.

If Hdt. really met Archias in accordance with what he tells us, he almost certainly went to Sparta after meeting Archias' Samian contacts on Samos (iii.55). In that case it would be economical to suppose that Hdt. went to Thebes (v.59) and Dodona (ii.52) at roughly the same time that he went to Sparta.

If ii.52ff. (Dodona and Thebes) are original to their context in Hdt' notes as well as the final draft and if we can take Hdt. at his word, he went to the mainland before he went to Egypt.

If Jacoby's argument from Hdt' silence on Croesus' great silver kettle at Delphi is correct (257; i.51, iv.81; p. xxi above), Hdt. went to the Propontis before he went to Delphi, if he went to Delphi (p. xviif.) and if we can take him at his word on the visits to Cyzicus and Proconnesus (see pt. iii).

Taking all the above passages and their possible implications in conjunction with one another, and granted the premises as set forth above, the following itinerary accounts for all the travel-claims of the History.

Hdt. went direct from Samos to Sparta where he compared Samian and Spartan versions of various stories (ii.70, iii.47) and visited Archias of Pitana (iii.55). From Sparta he went to Zacynthus (iv.195) where he used the connexions of a Demaratus source in Asia Minor (vi.70). From Zacynthus he went to Dodona (ii.52) where he probably enjoyed contacts established in Asia Minor in connexion with his enquiries

on Croesus (i.46) and where he may well have established new friendships for use in Egypt (ii.53-57). He may or may not have gone to Thebes at roughly the same time (v.59). From Dodona he went to the West where he enquired about Aristeeas of Proconnesus (iv.15). In the West he followed up contacts he had made in Samos, Cos, and perhaps elsewhere in Asia Minor (vi.23f., vii.163f.). From the West he went to Egypt, perhaps via Cyrene (iv.195). From Egypt he went to Arabia as an excursion (ii.75), and then to Tyre and then perhaps all the way to Thasos (ii.44). While he was in the N-Aegean he sailed to the Propontis and called at Proconnesus and Cyzicus (iv.14-15). If Hdt. went to the mainland again he may have picked his way through Chalcidice, even if he did not write about it from autopsy in his account of Xerxes' march (p. lxxviii), and down into Thessaly (vii.129) all the way to Delphi (i.51, iv.81; Jacoby 257) and perhaps to Thebes and Athens.

None of the above is certain or even probable and all of it is subject to the reservations of pt. iii on Hdt' credibility. If Hdt. is willing to deceive the reader deliberately on what he himself has done then clearly all discussion of his travels is nothing but conjecture. The above is a possible explanation of what we find in the text taken at face value as we find it in the text.

Even from the above analysis it is clear that what Hdt. probably learned on his travels is relatively insignificant when compared with what he could have

learned in Asia Minor. In most cases Hdt. must have used on-the-spot information to supplement enquiries already begun in Asia Minor.

There is no good reason to suppose that such travel as Hdt. did embark upon changed him in any dramatic way if only because it did not take much of his time. With a 4-mth. sojourn Sourdille accounts for everything Hdt. says about Egypt, and Hdt. says more about Egypt than he does about anything else.

The work as we have it is best understood as written for an international reading public though not perhaps for a general reading public in the modern sense from all strata of society. All the extant prose of the 5th century indeed, including Hdt. and Thuc., may well

have been written for an international society of men from the older and better families of Greece. Hdt. probably used notes and entire passages written before-hand in the final draft. He probably revised and re-arranged very little and parts of what he had already written he did not re-read at all. The mere physical difficulty inherent in the addition of new material and the deletion of old must have been formidable. It is "the codex-form of book, which enables the reader to turn backwards and forwards with an ease impossible in a roll" (Powell 2).

Superfluous addition and alteration during revision was less likely in antiquity than now because of the dearness of papyrus, the greater difficulty of writing and the clumsiness of the roll.

Powell 2 (cf. Lattimore, Cl. Phil. 1958.8ff.)

He probably wrote a number of minor pieces and then combined them with notes to make a fair copy.

Powell accepts Jacoby's general view that Hdt. started out to write one thing, underwent spiritual growth and development, and ended up writing in an entirely different vein. But it seems wrong to proceed further without mentioning Pohlenz' sustained attack on that general view. Jacoby had already alluded in a rhetorical question to the very old view, essentially that of Schoell, Bauer, Hachez, and Matzat, that Pohlenz was to revive (and more recently see e.g. Gunther Gottlieb, Das Verhaltnis der Ausserherodoteischen Uberlieferung zu Herodot, 1963).

Oder hatte der grosse Nationalkrieg das Herz des Junglings entflammt...?

Jacoby 280

Pohlenz tries to show that Hdt. was interested in the Persian wars from the first and that all the work as we have it builds up to his account of Xerxes' campaign. Hdt. emphasises Croesus because he was the first to threaten Greek freedom. All previous Graeco-barbarian encounters had been nothing more than scuffles (11). The first 6 bks. culminate in the last 3 (20f.). Hdt. dwells on the Persian conquests that concern the Greeks, passing over e.g. the conquest of India and only alluding to the quelling of the Egyptian revolt (29; vii.1). Hdt' geographical passages were never intended to be a separate work (78f.). They and even the Novellen have historical significance

(cf. Erbse, *Gymnasium* 1961.248ff.). Hdt. is primarily interested in Egypt only in relation to the Greeks and Persians (81).

For all Pohlenz' cogency he is only superficially effective in combating Jacoby because he accepts too many of Jacoby's premises. He accepts much of the biographical tradition (183). He believes that the Athenian dramatists Aeschylus and Sophocles exert a profound influence on Hdt. (148f., 116 and 185, 185 and 212) and that Hdt. gives Periodes favourable notice (167-168 and n.3). The remnants of Hdt' lectures are easily discernible (209f.).

The Jacoby-adherent could admit a great many of Pohlenz' points without yielding. Many of the passages that seem to point toward the Persian wars, he might say, date from after Hdt' great change of plan. That Hdt. deals with Persian history in a certain way in the work as we have it does not mean that Hdt. gathered his material with the later plan in mind. Hdt. did not have good sources of information about some of the Persian conquests he does not tell us about. Pohlenz, he might say, does not give proper weight to the extent of Hdt' geographical passages and the meaning of his use of Hecataeus and also his enquiries in e.g. Egypt and Scythia. Nor does Pohlenz take into account what Hdt. must have done to his work if he had a change of plan: Hdt' artistry accounts for much of the continuity. The Jacoby-adherent could give full weight to everything Pohlenz says and then come back handsomely, so long as the basic premises are left untouched, Hdt. and Athens, Hdt. and Thourii, Hdt. the lecturer.

But if those premises are wrong then Pohlenz' general line of argument to the effect that all Hdt' work as we have it leads up to the Persian wars holds good. If we can not identify later insertions then the question of whether Hdt. originally intended another kind of work is un-answerable. All the many geographical, historical, and anecdotal digressions from the theme of E-W conflict seem covered by the following passages.

προσθήκας γὰρ δὴ μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίζητο...

iv.30

...ἄλλοισι γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν εἴρηται, ἐάσομεν αὐτά·
τὰ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ κατελάβοντο, τούτων μνήμην ποιήσομαι.

vi.55

ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε
μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω, καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος
ἔχέτω ἐς πάντα λόγον·

vii.152

Hdt. believes in digressions (see Erbse, *Gymnasium* 1961.248). He wants to tell us what other people have not. His job is to tell what he learns from his sources even if he does not believe it. Thus the many passages that have little or nothing to do with the E-W conflict culminating in the Persian wars. Much of the work as we have it is about that conflict. The rest is covered by Hdt's way of writing history.

When trying to determine the sources of Hdt's narrative each anecdote must be viewed without preconceptions. It may be well to expose the preconceptions that Jacoby brings to his own study, arising out of his conclusions on Hdt's life, travels, and development as an historian.

According to Jacoby one could almost say that Hdt. gives the Athenian tradition with variants, though he tries to be fair. Apart from the Athenians he believes only the Spartans and Delphians. He confines his dependence on source-material to logioi andres chiefly from Athens and Sparta (410). From those statements alone it is clear that Jacoby is dominated by his assumptions about the mainland's influence on Hdt.. Thus when he comes to notice that Archias comes from Pitane and the Anompharetos anecdote concerns a Pitane lochos (412) he assumes that Archias is the source of that anecdote. That is to pre-judge the story. Likewise Jacoby assumes that Hdt. gets his information about the Philaidae, the Alcmaeonidae, Themistocles, and

Sophanes of Deceleia in and around Athens (413f.) whereas all that information could as well derive from Asia Minor and in any event must not be presumed to derive from Attica merely because Hdt. is supposed to have gone there.

In his source-analysis (section 29) Jacoby reveals a facile over-willingness to believe that Hdt. gathered his account of Xerxes' invasion on the mainland. Eg. he assumes that Hdt. learned about Thessaly and Thessalian tradition when he went there without considering e.g. the literary sources of information on the country and the fact that there may have been Aleuadae in Asia Minor (453f.; cf. vii.6 and comm. ad loc.). He assumes that Hdt' Alexander source was Macedonian without considering Amyntas of Asia (453f.). He assumes that Hdt.' Delphic information comes from Delphi without considering Delphi's international contacts and her connexion with the traditions of Asia Minor (454). Information about the Argives comes from Argos (454). Hdt. learned about Gelon and the West in Italy in spite of the importance of the West in the literary sources and the traditions of Asia Minor (454; p. xxxiiif. above). Much of Hdt' information on the great invasion derives from Athens and Sparta in spite of the Athenians and Spartans of Asia Minor (454-458 and throughout section 29). Hdt. is made to learn the topography of Artemision and Thermopylae on the spot without consideration either of the difficulties inherent in such a view (pt. iii, lxviiiif.) or the possibility that Hdt. learns what he tells from a geographical work, from literary sources, and from traditions of Asia Minor, in spite of the fact that Jacoby assigns a geographical source for viii.43-48 and 73 (460) and in spite of the fact that Hdt. learns the contents of vii.195 "not first in the Motherland" (456). In the same vein, Jacoby admits that Hdt. learned something about Salamis on Samos and in Halicarnassus but he calls the information of viii.85, 87f., and perhaps 89f. "youthful memories", rejects even the notion that Hdt. had a first draft of Salamis before he came to the mainland, and assigns an Athenian and Aeginetan provenance to all the

rest of the Salamis narrative (460). Hdt' account of Plataea derives almost entirely from the mainland (466), Spartan and Athenian traditions fighting one another (cf. 357, 478). Later additions are prominent in the narrative, even though he has already argued against Niese in another connexion the difficulty of proving later additions and the impossibility of deciding which is the addition and which the original narrative (400). He emphasises the mainland even though he acknowledges a Pausanias source and an Artabazus source (463-466). Clearly Jacoby is dominated by the assumption that Hdt. mitigates Spartan tradition from Sparta with Athenian prejudice from Athens. Even in his assessment of the Mycale narrative he assumes that if Hdt. had only been possessed of a little more time for a final revision he would have given Athens greater prominence by relating what Pericles must have told him (467; hier die letzte hand fehlt).

There seems little need to labour the point further. Because Jacoby assumes that Hdt. traveled extensively on the mainland and changed his outlook there, he also assumes that most of Hdt' information about the war on the mainland derives from his enquiries there. The assumption is un-warranted. There is no reason to believe that most of Hdt' information does not derive from the traditions of Asia Minor, the literary and geographical sources, and Hdt' own inference and imagination.

Pt. iii

Is Hdt. capable of deliberate deception?

Even the limited and hesitant portrait of Hdt. set forth above is contingent on our willingness to resolve our doubts about what he claims for himself in Hdt' favour. The present writer is no longer able to do that. Pt. iii is an attempt to show why, passing rapidly over various passages from other books in the History and culminating in a summary of relevant conclusions drawn from this comm. on bk. vii. Forward reference within the Introduction and also to the comm. itself seems un-avoidable.

Hdt. is not a historian in the modern sense of the word but a story-teller.

Clearly an evaluation of Hdt' travels in Egypt would go far beyond the scope of this work. But it seems necessary to allude to those travels because the present orthodoxy relies on such evaluation to establish Hdt' credibility. E.g. Petrie sums up his evaluation of Hdt' narrative on the pyramids as follows:

the accuracy with which Hdt. states what he saw and relates what he heard, the criticism he often applies to his materials...all this should prevent our ever discrediting his words, unless compelled to do so.

HW 1.228

But can we really trust Hdt. in that kind of way in his Egypt narrative? The following give rise to grave apprehension.

(a.) Hdt. alludes to several conversations he had with the priests of Hephaestus and Thebes, about Psammetichus' determination that Phrygia is an older nation than Egypt (ii.2f.), about Theban priestesses carried away by the Phoenicians and sold in Libya and Hellas (ii.54), about Helen, Alexander, and Menelaos (113ff., 118ff.), Egyptian history and lines of descent (143f.), and, by implication, much else besides. Putting aside the question whether Hdt. is likely ever to have gone to Thebes while alluding to the great buildings there in such an off-hand manner (see HW 1.172f. and 237), is it really very probable that Hdt. was ever granted such extensive interviews with Theban priests, a Greek tourist who spoke no Egyptian?

He (Hdt.) came in contact, apart from his own countrymen, only with the lower classes of Egypt, probably mainly with the half-castes, who acted as interpreters (ch. 154). It is not at all probable that he met the 'priests', though he claims to have done so (e.g. 143.1), no doubt in all honesty. Maspero, a kindly critic, says this was about as likely as that a modern tourist would be shown round Notre Dame by the Archbishop of Paris (u.s. p. 137). The limitations of Hdt' experience are the explanation of many strange mis-statements, e.g. that the Egyptians used no wheat flour (36.2) and had only brazen cups (37.1)...

HW 1.413f.

HW believe that Hdt. did not in fact meet any priests but thought he did. But is it really very likely that Hdt. did not know a priest when he saw one and talked to one, albeit through an interpreter? Hdt. is very much interested in external class-distinctions, and especially those of the priests. He tells us how they shave their bodies to avoid lice, what kind

of garment and sandals they wear, how they wash, what kind of food they eat and wine they drink, their attitude to beans, and something of their religious practise and means of succession (37ff.). Is Hdt. really going to be fooled by half-castes masquerading as priests? And are there really going to be half-castes masquerading as priests in 5th-century Egypt? Prima facie at least either Hdt. did meet Egyptian priests or he is just telling a good story about them.

(b.) Let us now waive the above on the assumption that Hdt. did go to Thebes without telling us about the great buildings of the city and did converse extensively with Theban priests by means of interpreters. Is it really very likely that Theban priests, or indeed Egyptian half-castes, were interested enough in the saga of the Trojan wars to know variations on the traditional themes (113ff., 118ff.)? Plutarch indeed says that Helen and Menelaos were greatly honoured in the Egypt of his own time (de Herod. Malig. 12) but even if he is right we do not know who in Egypt is supposed to have honoured Helen and Menelaos and his evidence holds good only for his own day and not for that of Hdt. anyway. At least from the time of Gutschmid and Diels (Hermes 1887.441ff.) it has been noted that Hdt' stories seem to derive from Hecataeus. Hdt' temple of Heracles on the coast where fugitive servants take refuge (113) is at least reminiscent of Hecataeus' Libyan city of slaves, where a slave can be free even if he is not a native (FGH 1 F 345), even if the usage in question and the name of the place are quite different as both Diels himself (Hermes 1887.441) and HW (i.223) point out. Diels argues cogently that Stephen's entry on Thonis may well derive from Hecataeus even if Stephen does not name Hecataeus (Hermes 1887.441f.).

Θῶνις, πόλις Αἰγύπτου ἀπὸ Θῶνος βασιλέως τοῦ
ξενίσαντος Μενέλαον, κεῖται δὲ κατὰ τὸ στόμα
τὸ Κανωβικόν.

By analogy with other entries where Stephen cites Hecataeus the entry should belong to him. If so, Hdt. may take his Thonis, warden of the Canobic Nile-mouth, from Hecataeus. In any event we know that Hecataeus brought Menelaos to Egypt and connected both him and Helen with the Canobic mouth of the Nile (FGH 1 F 307ff.). HW argue against Diels that Hdt. does not mention the island of Pharos whereas Hecataeus does (FGH 1 F 307; HW i.223) but that seems neither here nor there. No one will argue that Hdt. took everything he says here from Hecataeus, or that he adopts everything that Hecataeus says. Rather the opposite. He may well give his own variants, even as he may have done in the case

of his un-acknowledged saying that Egypt is the gift of the river (ii.5; see Arrian, Anab. v.6.5 = FGH 1 F 301, and Diels, Hermes 1887.423) and his report on the crocodile, hippopotamus, and Phoenix (ii.70-73; see FGH 1 F 324) and the floating island of Chemmis (ii.156; see FGH 1 F 305).

HW also argue that Hdt' story of the slaves has nothing to do with Hecataeus' Libyan city (i.223) but here also they assume that if Hdt. borrowed from Hecataeus he must have borrowed exactly what Hecataeus said, which is not right. Finally they argue that there was a great variety of legends about Helen, such as that of Stesichorus (i.223), but that fact is ir-relevant.

Hdt. may well derive these stories of the Trojan war from Hecataeus. But the most important question is not whether Hdt. borrowed from Hecataeus, but whether he derived them from any Greek source, oral or written. It seems probable that he did, and if so he is lying when he says that the priests of Thebes told him the stories in person.

Even apart from these stories of the Trojan war, is it really likely that Theban priests gave Hdt. his history of Egypt? E.g. is it really likely that the priests recited the names of 330 kings from a papyrus-roll as Hdt. says(100)? Or told the story of Nitocris, who invited all those who killed her brother to a feast in an underground chamber and then let the river in on them and threw herself into a chamber full of hot ashes (100)? Or said that Sesostriis was on his way home in Daphnae of Pelousion when his brother invited him and his sons to a banquet and then piled wood around the house and set it on fire so that he had to use two of his sons as a bridge over the burning rubble to escape (107)? Or told Hdt. the story of Pheros, who hurled a spear into the raging Nile, like Xerxes at the Hellespont (vii.35), suffered blindness as a punishment, and only cured himself by means of the urine of a chaste woman (111)? Is it really likely that the priests of Hephaestus at Memphis told Hdt. the bekos-story of ii.2 according to which two isolated children proved that the Phrygians and not the Egyptians were the oldest nation on earth ("Hdt' story sounds like a Greek invention, a protest against the Egyptian claim to priority", HW i.156)? Viewed without pre-conceptions Egyptian priests did not tell these stories to Hdt. or anyone else. Hdt' repeated assertions that the priests told him this or that are nothing but a tissue of fabrication. The stories are Greek and not Egyptian. E.g. according to Hdt. "they said" that Rhampsinitus erected northern and southern

25-cubit statues, which the Egyptians called Winter and Summer (121.1). But the Egyptians divided the year into three seasons and not two, and symbolic statues of that kind are very rare in Egypt anyway (see HW i.225).

Another case in point is that of Chemmis. According to Hdt. the Chemmitae say that Perseus appears throughout their land and whenever his 2-cubit sandal turns up all Egypt prospers. He questioned the Chemmitae and they responded with a story of Danaus and Lynceus and the Gorgon's head (ii.91). But Perseus' 2-cubit sandal is nothing but a variant on a traditional Greek theme just like the Heraclidean 2-cubit foot-print by the river Tyras that Hdt. wants us to believe he saw (iv.82; see comm. below). All these stories indeed are Greek and not Egyptian. HW try to save Hdt. by supposing that he means the inhabitants of a Greek settlement when he refers to the Chemmitae (i.211). But even if that explanation is right Hdt. is still guilty of deliberate deception because he clearly implies that these Chemmitae are Egyptian. And the easiest explanation of the passage is that Hdt. merely calls a Greek story Egyptian and invents this interchange with the Chemmitae. Likewise it is not Egyptians who explain the island's movement through reference to Leto and Typhon and Apollo and Artemis and Dionysus as Hdt. says (ii.156)—that story is Greek and if Hdt. really got it from the local Greeks of Egypt (HW i.245) he should say so: he tries to deceive us if he puts a local Greek legend into the mouths of "the Egyptians". HW seem mis-guided when they try to save Hdt. in that kind of way. Hdt' visit to such a Greek settlement is hypothetical and if Hdt. really went to that sort of place why does not he tell us? In all probability his allusions to Chemmitae and Egyptians and his conversations with them are nothing but story-telling lies. In the same vein it is not the Medes who say that when Colchian Medea came to the Arians from Athens they began to call themselves Medians (vii.62). The story is Greek if not Athenian indeed. We can explain Hdt' allusion to the Medes in various ways (comm. ad loc.) but the easiest explanation is that Hdt. tries to deceive the reader into believing that he is intimately acquainted with what the Medes say by putting a Greek story into Median mouths.

(c.) If Hdt. went to Thebes he did not describe the great buildings there, a notable omission. But if Hdt. saw the pyramids of Cheops and Chephren, there is an even more notable omission in his narrative (Rawlinson ii.206). Just E of Chephren's pyramid stands the great sphinx, one of the most striking of all Egyptian landmarks. Hdt. is at least enough interested in sphinxes to tell us about the man-sphinxes of Sais (ii.175) and to

note that Scyles saw a vision of a spacious Borysthenite house surrounded by sphinxes and griffins in white marble (iv.79). But he never alludes to the great sphinx. Is it really very likely that Hdt. visited and even measured Chephren's pyramid without going to the great sphinx? And if he went there, why does not he say so?

Likewise, why does not Hdt. tell us about Abydos the holy city of Osiris with its notable Greek colony? There seems no question but that Hdt. should be interested not only in its religious significance but also in its connexions with the Greeks. Can we really believe that Hdt. sailed right past it on the way to Elephantine (ii.29) without taking notice of it? And without having his interpreters exclaim over it?

(d.) What of Hdt' visit to the pyramids? Hdt. begins by telling us that according to what he was told Egypt was well-governed and prosperous up to the time of Rhampsinitus, but then Cheops, the next king, brought the people to utter wretchedness by closing the temples and forcing everyone to work for him on the pyramids (124). Is it really very likely that Theban priests or indeed any Egyptians would talk in that kind of way?

This impiety is contrary to the monuments, on which 'Cheops' figures as a temple-builder. "What Hdt. relates is only the copy of a popular story" (Maspero 77). The sufferings of the Egyptian people under the pyramid-builders had coloured tradition as to them. Hdt. as a Greek would be the more ready to accept the accusation of impiety, because the mere building of such gigantic masses offended the Greek sense of moderation.

HW i.227

HW evidently assume that Hdt. gets the story from the Egyptian lower orders, perhaps "in the streets of Memphis" (i.423), and accepts it because it is congenial to him. But Hdt. seems to imply that he got this story from the priests (thus e.g. Rawlinson ii.199) in which case he is deliberately deceptive unless he is really convinced that whoever told the story was a Theban priest (see (a.) above). Even if Hdt. only means "the Egyptians" and not "the priests" he is still deceiving the reader. Far the most likely hypothesis is that Hdt' story is that of a Greek about the Egyptians, like much of his narrative. And if Hdt. means "the Greeks in Egypt" instead of "the priests" or "the Egyptians" clearly he is bound to say so.

Passing over Hdt' account of the causeway-building, and his dimensions for the causeway, which are not supported by the extant remains, we find that according to Hdt. Cheops encompassed his underground chambers with a channel of the Nile (124, 127) that does not exist now and never could

have done owing to the respective levels of the chamber and the river (HW i.227). Would Hdt. really have made a mistake like that if he went to the pyramids? Would not he have tried to see at least part of the channel for himself?

Hdt. not only says that there were Egyptian grammata on the pyramid, but also that he conferred with his interpreter about the meaning (125). We can explain this strange allusion by assuming that Hdt. saw tourist graffiti or his memory failed him or his interpreter invented the inscription for Hdt' benefit (HW i.229) but there are no inscriptions there now. Is it really legitimate to explain away this damning narrative in that kind of way? Clearly Hdt. refers to an inscription that we can not find, an inscription in support of which we have no evidence worthy of the name. It is probably a fictitious inscription that lets Hdt. tell a good story about purgatives and onions and garlic and 1600 talents "as far as I can well remember".

Hdt. says that he himself measured Chephren's pyramid and he gives passable dimensions for it (see HW' table, i.228) if we can assume that by the "height" of Cheops' pyramid (124) Hdt. means "the height as measured along a sloping side", along the ascending line or the line of the solid angle. (Can we really assume that Hdt. means the sloping side? See Verrall's Studies 45ff. for a complete account of the issues at large.) But is it really very likely in the light of the above that Hdt. himself measured Chephren's pyramid? Can we really imagine Hdt. clambering up and down the stony slopes to make certain of his figures in view of his attitude toward figures elsewhere in the History and even in this very narrative of Egypt (lxxiiiff.)? Viewed without pre-conceptions in the light of the above, Hdt' claim to have measured Chephren's pyramid is fraudulent, part of a good story like his conversation with an interpreter about the fictitious inscription. We are to find another case in which Hdt' claim to have measured the Pontus and Bosporus and Hellespont is highly suspect to say the least (p. lxxff.).

Hdt' defenders have set great store by the quality of Hdt' autopsy as revealed in the Egyptian narrative. But even allowing for the fact that only a comprehensive study of that narrative can hope to settle the larger issues, there are notable aspects of it that are not such as to bolster our confidence in Hdt' truthfulness.

ii.106.1

Hdt. says that when Sesostris conquered the valiant, men who had fought hard for their freedom, he put up stelae in their land recording his own name and that of his country, and the fact that he had conquered them with his own power. But when he conquered a city easily without a fight, he also inscribed on the commemorative stelae the privy parts of a woman (αἰδοῖα γυναικός, ii.102). Ordinarily we would not take that kind of story seriously but Hdt. also says that he himself saw Sesostris' stelae in Palestinian Syria, replete with inscription and aidoia.

αἱ μὲν πλεῖνες οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεοῦσαι,
ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ αὐτὸς ὥρων ἑοῦσας
καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα καὶ γυναικὸς
αἰδοῖα.

ii.106.1

At the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb or Dog river, the ancient Lycus, 8 miles north of Beirut, there is a weathered limestone stele on which "Ramses II" and "the year 4" can be discerned. It is next to another stele of Esarhaddon. It seems likely that Hdt. refers to these very stelae, though certainty is out of the question. But "there is no trace of the aidoia on them now, nor is it likely there ever was" (HW ii.219; see Breasted 423f. and 556 with fig. 159 opp. 424, and Lepsius' Denkmaler iii.197 but also Wilkinson's earlier and somewhat different description of four different stelae at this location, with more of the inscription in question legible, Rawlinson ii.173; more recently see Olmstead's Hist. of Assyria 384 opp. and Weissbach's Die Denkmaler und Inschriften an der Mundung des Nahr-el-Kelb 27f. and pls. xi-xii). We must also note in this connexion that according to Hdt. Sesostris crossed from Asia into Europe and conquered the Scythians and Thracians.

It seems to him that the Egyptian army got only that far because the stelae can still be seen in their country but no further.

ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρῃ φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι
[αἱ] στήλαι, τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω τούτων οὐκέτι.

ii.103.1

Hdt. seems to imply, though he does not say explicitly, that he saw the stelae in question. In any event he implies that someone saw them and looked for other similar stelae further on indeed.

But it is out of the question that Sesostris or any other Egyptian ever conquered Scythia and Thrace, much less erected any such stelae.

Really, however, no Egyptian conqueror ever penetrated beyond North Syria except Amenhotep II, who actually crossed the Euphrates.

HW 1.218

ii.106.2ff.

Hdt. says that in Ionia there are two reliefs of Sesostris, of the same description carved in stone, one on the road from the Ephesian territory to Phocaea and the other on the road from Sardis to Smyrna. There is nothing here to show who he is or where he comes from, but that appears elsewhere. Some of those who saw these figures guess that they are Memnon but they are a long way from the truth.

ὅστις δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἐστί, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῦ,
ἐτέρωθι δὲ δεδήλωκε. τὰ δὲ καὶ μετεξέτεροι τῶν
θεησαμένων Μέμνονος εἰκόνα εἰκαζουσὶ μὲν εἶναι,
πολλὸν τῆς ἀληθείης ἀπολελειμμένοι.

ii.106.4f.

Hdt. does not say he saw the monuments in question but "he certainly implies that he had done so and that he had traversed the roads" (HW 1.220). But everything Hdt. says seems to be wrong. Here there is no question but that we know at least one of the monuments he is talking about. There are two reliefs traditionally known as the Sesostres carved into stone in the pass of Kara Bel, some 3 miles E of Nimfi (Ramsay's "Nymphaion" on the map opp. p. 104, enclosed) and 25 miles inland from Smyrna. But the pass of Kara Bel, by means of which Ramsay's Greek (not Roman) road from Ephesus to Sardis crossed the mountains, is not on any very obvious road from the Ephesian territory to Phocaea or from Sardis to Smyrna indeed.

But it is certain that neither the road from Smyrna to Sardis, nor that from Ephesus to Phocaea could have gone through this pass, which is very far from the proper track.

Ramsay, JHS 1881.53

The very idea of defining a road as leading from Ephesus to Phocaea is as absurd as it would be to say that a monument was on the railway that leads from Scarborough to Lincoln. Moreover the natural way from Ephesus to Phocaea would be through Smyrna, and no one could possibly understand from Hdt's words a road through the pass of Kara Bel, which involves a journey of quite double the distance.

Ramsay's HGAM 60

The reliefs are not in two different places on two different roads as

Hdt. gives us to believe.

the two figures are so close to one another that it is impossible any one could say they were on different roads, especially when they are in a single mountain-pass.

Ramsay, JHS 1881.53

And the two reliefs are not the same, as Hdt. says, or even similar.

The Sesostris figure described by Hdt. is the one near the ground in the Kara Bel Pass; his words do not suit the other figure high up on the rock.

Ramsay, JHS 1881.53

Even the one relief is quite different from what Hdt. says it is. The spear is in the left hand and not the right as Hdt. says. The bow is in the right hand and not the left, as Hdt. says. Hdt. says the inscription is right across the breast from one shoulder to the next but the extant hieroglyphics stand above the figure between the face and the top of the spear (see Rawlinson ii.173ff.; Sayce 180f.; Stein ii.117; HW i.219f.; Ramsay, JHS 1881.53 and HGAM 60; Garstang's Land of the Hittites 172ff. and Hittite Empire 176ff.; Gelb's Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments (1939) p. 15 for other bibliography).

If Hdt. really saw the figures of Kara Bel he was grossly in-accurate in describing them.

if the two Kara Bel figures are considered to be the two described by Hdt., it seems necessary to accuse the historian of a serious error in describing what he had actually seen.

JHS 1881.53

And in any event he did not see them on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea and the road from Smyrna to Sardis.

Ramsay proposed two different solutions to the difficulty in question. The first was essentially textual. We should transpose the names Phocaea and Sardis, i.e. the figures are on the roads from Ephesus to Sardis and Phocaea to Smyrna. Kara Bel is on the road from Ephesus to Sardis and the relief near the ground is roughly like that of Hdt' description. Then we need another relief.

In that case it would be necessary to look for another figure in the mountainous country towards Phocaea.

JHS 1881.53

Unfortunately Ramsay has not another relief to propose on the road from Phocaea to Smyrna.

Elsewhere Ramsay hypothetically restores the account that Hdt. heard on the assumption that Hdt. did not really leave the coast and never saw the monuments in question.

This [account] was to the effect that three great roads led to Sardis from the coast, one from Phocaea, one from the Ephesian territory, and one in the middle from Smyrna. Two of these roads were marked by monuments erected by the Egyptian conqueror Sesostris. Hdt. represents these monuments as of the same type; but I incline to think that in this also he is in-accurate. One of the monuments must be the so-called "Sesostris" in Kara Bel pass; the other must be the "Niobe".

Ramsay's HGAM 60

Ramsay's Niobe is the Syro-Cappadocian cult-statue of the great mother-goddess Cybele at Magnesia ad Sipylum on the road to Sardis that runs N of Mt. Sipylus and S of the river Hermus (see Il. xxiv. 614ff.; Pausanias i.21.3 and viii.2.7 with Frazer iii.552ff.; Garstang's Land of the Hittites (1910) 167ff. and Hittite Empire (1929) 176ff.; Gelb's Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments (1939) 19).

As Ramsay himself points out (HGAM 60) there is little reason to suspect the text, and Ramsay never suggested what Hdt. or his informant might be referring to on the road from Phocaea to Smyrna. As for Ramsay's second suggestion we have no reason to suppose that Ramsay's three great roads from Sardis to the coast figure in this passage. Clearly Hdt. only mentions two roads.

If Hdt. is at least right to suppose that his two famous monuments are in two different places on two different roads then Ramsay's suggestion that the Magnesian Niobe is the other relief seems a good one. Taking the Sipylus Niobe into account we can understand what Hdt. says on the assumption that he mis-uses a geographical source. The Kara Bel pass may not have been on the road from Smyrna to Sardis but on any kind of rough map it might very easily look as if it were, as a glance at Ramsay's own map will indicate. Likewise, Hdt. might well assume from a rough map of Asia Minor that the Niobe of Magnesia ad Sipylum is on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea. It is perhaps this same geographical source that leads Hdt. to the mistaken belief that Xerxes kept Mt. Ida on his left instead of his right when he marched toward the Scamander (vii.42 and comm. ad loc.). If it put Mt. Sipylus to the left instead of the right of the road from Ephesus to Phocaea, or even a little closer to the coast than it really is, Hdt. must indeed have associated the Sipylus Niobe with the road from Ephesus to Phocaea as a glance at the map will indicate.

In any event Hdt. did not traverse these two roads and look at the monuments in question before he wrote this passage--whereas he certainly implies that he did. That much holds true even if we accept the traditional identification of the two Sesostres with the reliefs of the Kara Bel pass.

It is clear that Hdt. was writing from hearsay: there is just enough general accuracy in his account to identify the monuments and enough discrepancy to make it apparent that he had not visited them himself.

iv.81f.

Jacoby

attacks the scepticism of Macan and the extreme caution of Hildebrandt and argues that we must not only allow Hdt. a coasting voyage from Byzantion to Olbia (see below) but also a further 4-day journey into Exampaeus to see the great vessel described in iv.81.

τοσόνδε μέντοι ἀπέφαινον μοι ἐς ὄψιν· ἔστι μεταξὺ Βορυσθένεός τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑπάνιος χῶρος, οὗνομα δέ οἱ ἔστι Ἐξαμπαῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων (52) μνήμην εἶχον, φάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνην ὕδατος πικροῦ εἶναι ἀπ' ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορρέον τὸν Ὑπανιν ἀποτον ποιεῖν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ κεῖται χαλκήλιον, μεγάθει καὶ ἐξαπλήσιον τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρητῆρος, τὸν Πausanίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἀνέθηκε. δὲ δὲ μὴ εἰδέ κω τοῦτον, ὥδε δηλώσω· ἔξακοσίους ἀμφορέας εὐπετέως χωρέει τὸ ἐν Σκύθησι χαλκήλιον, πάχος δὲ τὸ Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο χαλκήλιόν ἐστι δακτύλων ἑξ. τοῦτο ὧν ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀπὸ ἀρδίων γενέσθαι...

iv.81

Did Hdt. really go to Exampaeus? Macan translates the phrase in question "they offered to show me". He points out that "Hdt. uses the imperfect of actions which were projected but not performed or accomplished", citing i.68 and 69, iii.139, v.22 and 104 and pointing to the deceptive φαίνουσι of iv.82, where Hdt. certainly does not mean "they succeeded in showing me" a 2-cubit foot-print of Heracles stamped in rock (iv-vi i.56f.). Jacoby objects to Macan's translation.(252). But if Hdt. does say "they showed me" or "they made me see for myself", what did Hdt. see?

Not the whole region between the Borysthenes and the Hypanis. Certainly not the salt-spring that makes the Hypanis brackish (iv.52 and 81). Hdt. says the spring, like the brazen vessel, is at Exampaeus, but in reality it is nothing more than a myth to explain why the sluggish Hypanis is salty from its influx of sea-water (HW i.323 and Kiessling, RE vi.1552). But if we can not believe that Hdt. actually saw all the country between the Borysthenes and the Hypanis, or the mythical spring that he locates in the same place where he puts the brazen vessel, why should we believe that he saw the vessel? It seems

much more likely that Hdt. merely implies that he saw more than he really did (against Jacoby 252 and Powell 25n.). If not, if he really saw the great brazen vessel at Exampaeus, then we must ask why it is that he does not tell his guides to show him the mythical salt spring of that very place. If he has already gone 4 days' journey up the Hypanis to Exampaeus surely he might as well see the spring along with the vessel.

And what of the vessel itself? Can we really believe it? Hdt. says the brazen Scythian vessel is 6 fingers thick and easily holds 600 amphorae (iv.81). On the usual assumption that Hdt' amphoreus is a liquid measure equal to the Attic metretes and $1\frac{1}{2}$ Roman amphorae or about 9 gallons, this vessel must have held upwards of 5,000 gallons. And 6 fingers thick made of bronze! That kind of vessel would have been impressive even in the 19th century.

It has been calculated that this krater would have weighed upwards of 40,000 (41,000) old French pounds, and that no modern cast could be compared to it except the great bell in the Kremlin at Moscow, vid. Baehr.

Macan iv-vi i.57b

It goes without saying that nothing of the kind even remotely comparable in size and weight has ever been found. How can we possibly believe that such a vessel ever existed in the 5th century BC 4 days journey up the Bug, much less that Hdt. ever saw it?

And finally let us glance at Hdt' figures. Hdt. uses the word amphoreus as a term of liquid measure three times. Croesus' silver crater at Delphi holds 600 amphorae (i.51). The Scythian brazen crater holds 600 amphorae (iv.81). The Spartan brazen crater sent to Croesus holds exactly half as much or 300 amphorae (i.70). The Scythian vessel is 6 times greater than Pausanias' crater at the mouth of the Pontus and it is 6 fingers thick (iv.81). Clearly those 6's and 600's have no claim on history. The Samians spent 6 talents on a brazen vessel (iv.152). Gyges sent 6 golden bowls to Delphi (i.14). Croesus'

ingots are 6 palms long (i.50). Sesostris had 6 sons and saved 4 of them and himself from a house encircled with fire by using the other 2 of them as a bridge and walking over them (ii.107). An oracle of Buto told Mycerinus he had 6 years to live (ii.133). The Bubastis temple's propylaea is adorned with 6-cubit figures (ii.138). A hundred orguia = a 6 plethron stade, a single orguia = 6 ft., the cubit = 6 palms (ii.149).

Psammenitos had reigned for 6 mths. (iii.14). There were 6 conspiring Persian nobles before Darius made 7 (iii.70), 6 of the 7 wanted to be king (iii.83 and 86), and Darius feared counter-conspiracy by the other 6 (iii.119). There were 6 Chian conspirators against Strattis who were betrayed by the 7th and went to Sparta and Aegina entreating the Gks. to free Ionia (viii.132). Maeandrios only wanted 6 talents of Polycrates' wealth (iii.142). The Minyae divided themselves into 6 companies and founded 6 cities (iv.148). Battus and his colonists dwelt in their first Libyan settlement for 6 yrs. (iv.158). The Eretrians held out against the Persian siege for 6 days (vi.101). The Thracian king of the Bisaltae tore the eyes out of his 6 sons when they came home from the war (viii.116). Artabazus commanded 6 myriads (viii.126).

600 men fight in the battle of champions (i.82). The 14th satrapy of iii.93 pays 600 talents tribute (comm. at vii.100 on the arbitrary figures of the great satrapy list). 600 ships take part in the Scythian expedition (iv.87). 600 barbarian ships fight at Lade (vi.9). 600 ships sail to Marathon (vi.95). 600 Phocians cover themselves with gypsum and attack the Thessalians by night (viii.27). 600 Arcadians from Orchomenos, 600 Eretrians and Styreans, and 600 Plataeans fight at Plataea (ix.28; comm. at p. lxxvi on the arbitrary figures of the army list of Plataea). 600 Megarians and Phliasians fall to the Theban cavalry at Plataea (ix.69). (On Hdt' 60's see comm. at ch. 95).

Some of Hdt' 6's and 600's may be genuine. But most of them have no claim on history. It seems likely that the Exampaeus country itself, its mythical salt-spring, and its enormous brazen vessel made of

in-numerable arrow-heads are all nothing but stories of the Pontus that Hdt. hears or reads in Asia Minor. Hdt. himself must be held responsible for the 6's and 600's. If Hdt. implies that he himself saw such a bowl he is deliberately deceptive. If he really claims first-hand knowledge of such a bowl he is lying. A great deal rides on the way we translate Hdt' introduction to his narrative of the great vessel.

If the passage implies a visit to Exampaeus, which yet is not directly asserted, it raises the question of Hdt' honesty and character as a historian: but if it is conceivable that he might have penned this passage without having been to Exampaeus, and without wishing it to be supposed that he had been to Exampaeus, cadit quaestio.

Macan iv-vi i¹57a

In spite of Jacoby's objections Macan proves, I think, that Hdt. could mean "they offered to show me". But that is not the natural construction that one places on these words, and Macan admits as much.

If it be argued that the natural way of understanding this passage is the way in which it has been generally understood, I admit so much. But the question is whether the view here advanced is not tenable as a grammatical and logical exposition of the passage, and materially coherent with the general evidences in regard to Hdt' visit to the Pontus.

Macan iv-vi i¹57a

The present writer does not understand how it is possible to read this passage together with the $\varphi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\nu\upsilon\sigma\iota$ preceding Heracles' 2-cubit foot-print in stone in the next chapter without concluding that Hdt. wants the reader to assume that he has gone to Exampaeus and seen the brazen vessel and the giant foot-print.

iv.86.

Hdt. has just offered dimensions for the Pontus, Propontis, and Bosporus. Now he explains how they were measured, $\mu\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\eta\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon$... After telling us that a ship will, for the most part, accomplish 70,000 orguiae in a long day and 60,000 at night, Hdt. points out that the length of the Pontus is a journey of 9 days and 8 nights from the mouth of the Pontus to the Phasis, 111 myriad orguiae or 11,100 stades. Likewise the width is a voyage of 3 days and 2 nights, 33 myriad orguiae, or 3,300 stades. At this point Hdt. indicates a certain amount of personal involvement.

ὁ μὲν νυν Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσπορος τε καὶ
Ἑλλήσποντος οὕτω τέ μοι μεμετρέαται καὶ κατὰ
τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασιν,...

iv.86.4

It seems evident from the translations and comments of Hdt' followers that the statement is embarrassing to them. Rawlinson translates "Such is the plan on which I have measured the Pontus, the Bosphorus, and the Hellespont, and such is the account which I have to give of them" (iii.79): i.e. Hdt. guarantees his own calculation, not participation in the voyages. Macaulay, on the other hand, translates more literally. At the beginning of the chapter,

These measurements I have made as follows:

At the end,

This Pontus then and also the Bosphorus and the Hellespont have been measured by me thus, and their nature is such as has been said:

Macaulay i.325f.

But Powell, again, leaves Hdt. himself out of the translation.

Now these measures were taken thus...Thus hath the Pontus been measured, and the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and the size thereof is even as I have said.

Powell i.306f.

Most of the recent commentators are convinced that Hdt. alludes to nothing more than his own calculation: "ich habe durch Berechnung gemessen" (Stein ii.85a).

The expression does not in any way carry with it the inference that Hdt. had performed the voyage; it only asserts that he has made a calculation, based on certain data which he indicates.

Macan iv-vi i¹61a

Hdt. does not mean that he is giving the results of his own voyage; he is calculating from a seaman's periplous...

HW i.333

But for all the hedging, Hdt. does not seem to be saying that. There seems little point in telling us that the Pontus, Bosphorus, and Hellespont are as indicated because he himself did the calculating. Hdt. is not guaranteeing reckoning but measurement, his own measurement.

Thus Jacoby rightly follows Hildebrandt in claiming on Hdt' behalf voyages across the length and breadth of the Pontus (258). Prima facie at least, Hdt. says "I have measured the Pontus and Bosporus and Hellespont and therefore you can rely on the figures I have just given you." Hdt' commentators never felt the need of explaining away his claim to have measured the pyramids (ii.127; Rawlinson ii.206; Powell i.169; HW i.230) though Stein doubted that he actually measured the larger of the two (i.145). Why should they do so in the case of the Pontus, Bosporus, and Hellespont?

One reason that most scholars have shied away from the more obvious sense of the passage is that Hdt' figures are very badly wrong. Rawlinson shows that Hdt' error on the length of the Propontis and the width of the Euxine is 40%. His error on the length of the Euxine is 100% (Rawlinson iii.78). We can grant that Hdt. over-estimates the speed of a sailing-vessel (iii.77) but it is striking that in the case of the Propontis' width and the Hellespont's length Hdt' error drops to 1/7 and 1/6 respectively.

It may not be difficult to excuse Hdt. for any error he might perpetrate in measuring the length of the Pontus. But is it really likely that Hdt. sailed the length and breadth of the Pontus, Bosporus, and Hellespont measuring as he went in that kind of way? To the present writer that notion seems out of keeping with Hdt' attitude toward numbers (lxxiiiff. below), out of keeping with his natural bent as revealed throughout the History, and indeed out of the question.

According to the most natural reading of this passage Hdt. claims that he himself measured the Pontus, Bosporus, and Hellespont by sailing their length and breadth. The easiest interpretation of that claim is that at best it is nothing more than gross exaggeration. Hdt. almost certainly did not sail the length and breadth of the Pontus. This passage does not argue in favour of Hdt' personal experience of the far reaches of the Black Sea. Rather the opposite. It casts doubt even on Hdt' more reasonable claims. And in any event Hdt. did not need a sailing voyage to Scythia in order to write this passage as Jacoby seems to assume (258).

vi.47.

No one has ever found the Phoenician mines or the Thasian mountain opposite Samothrace turned up-side down in the searching, yet Hdt. says that he himself saw those mines. See App. iv ad loc..

In the Persian war narrative all Hdt' itemised lists, like the itemised financial contributions of the great satrapy list, are prima facie at least deliberately deceptive because the totals are predetermined. Likewise all Hdt' artificial numbers are prima facie deliberately deceptive because they purport to be genuine (above and pp. lxxiiiff.).

Hdt' anecdote to the effect that his total of 1,700,000 for the land army derives from a process of numbering the troops 10,000 at a time is deliberately deceptive. Hdt. may blindly adopt a traditional number from one of his sources in which case he does not give his authority and tacks on the anecdote to provide a factitious authority. He may blindly adopt both the number and the anecdote from the same source in which case it is that source who is the fraud—which possibility spares Hdt. but not the narrative. Hdt. probably calculates the number himself and tells the story of the numbering to make it look as if the number is genuine(comm. at ch. 60).

Hdt' great army list is grossly deceptive because it purports to be historical and is not, neither in the nations listed (comm. at chs. 99 and 100) nor in the weaponry ascribed to those nations (comm. at App. iii) quite apart from the fact that Hdt. seems to imply that it derives from some official Persian document or other (comm. at ch. 100).

Hdt. implies that he knows the names of all the native leaders in the Persian army, which implication is deliberately deceptive (comm. at ch. 96).

Likewise Hdt. says he learned the names of all the 300 Spartans who died at Thermopylae (ch. 224). The very number 300 is suspect (pp. lxxiiif.).

but even if that number is genuine it seems most unlikely that Hdt. went to the trouble of learning all 300 names and then did not tell us any of them (comm. at ch. 224). His claim is almost certainly deliberately deceptive.

The above does not take into account notable cases in which it is easier to give Hdt. the benefit of a doubt. E.g. Hdt. says the name of the king's birthday banquet in Persian is $\tau\upsilon\chi\tau\acute{\alpha}$, in Greek $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ (ix.110). Hdt. may be relating what he believes to be a Persian word. But $\tau\upsilon\chi\tau\acute{\alpha}$ means $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ in Homeric Greek. In view of all the above, and in view of the all-pervasive influence of Homer on Hdt.' whole narrative of the Persian wars (pp. lxxff.) how do we know that Hdt. does not take the word in question from Homer and try to convince the reader that he knows some Persian by means of it?

And in the narrative of the Persian war at least, more damning than any of the above is Hdt.' elaboration of poetic themes (pp. lxxff.). Hdt. may not be fully aware of the extent of it. But it seems impossible to believe that he is not conscious of any of it. And whenever he adapts Homer to what purports to be a history of the Persian wars he is deliberately deceptive.

If Hdt. is capable of deliberate deception all discussion of where he "really" went is so much wasted effort. At the very least and with all possible good will, Hdt' high-powered personal claims for his own authority take on a new and profoundly disturbing significance.

"I know very well that even what I said about corn is utterly incredible to those who have never gone to the land of Babylon" (i.193)--that may be nothing but a storyteller's sham.

"Whoever has been initiated into the rites of the Cabeiroi, he knows what I mean" (ii.51)--that could be nothing but a factitious claim to inside knowledge. What are we to make of Hdt' apparently familiar citations of e.g. the Ethiopians (iii.18), the Ammonians (iii.26), the Phalacroï (iv.25), the Issedones (iv.27), and the Tauroi (iv.103)? Hdt. could not have made contact with any of them on their own ground (see Jacoby 402). Does he really know what they said? The priests of Hephaestus at Memphis (ii.2f.), the priestesses of Dodona (ii.52,55), Hdt' interview with Theban priests in the footsteps of Hecataeus (ii.143), Archias of Pitana (iii.55), Tymnes the deputy of Ariapeithes (iv.76), Thersander of Orchomenos (ix.16)--those could be nothing but a storyteller's supposititious claims on the friendship of the celebrated. Elephantine (ii.29), the Arabian frontier of Egypt (ii.75), the Persian skulls of Papremis (iii.12), Tyre and Thasos (ii.44), the pitch-pools of Zacynthus (iv.195), the Cadmean characters in the temple of Ismenian Apollo in Thebes of Boeotia (v.59), all those sights may be nothing but the flounce and furbelow of the raconteur. If Hdt. tries to deceive even once then everything he says in that kind of way is suspect. Even the rigidly circumscribed portrait of Hdt. the traveler that emerged from our analysis of Jacoby's great study now disappears in a haze of uncertainty. In the light of the passages discussed above we can not but think that Hdt. does in fact make numerous deliberate attempts to deceive the

reader. There is not a very obvious way out.

Hdt' narrative of the Persian wars seems to confirm this portrait of Hdt. as a story-teller who wants to convince the reader that he knows much more, from personal experience and otherwise, than he really does.

Hdt. never says that he himself followed in the foot-steps of Xerxes' army but his implied familiarity with the king's route is at least such that it became fashionable to believe that he did (e.g. Rawlinson i.10f. and Hachez, de Herodoti itineribus et scriptis, Gottingen 1878.10ff.). Hdt. could have traversed much if not all Xerxes' line of march. But Hdt' evidence on that march from the interior to the head-waters of the Maeander is such that the king's route is lost to us beyond hope of recall in the absence of firm archaeological evidence to the contrary. We can not identify Critalla or Hdt' river Halys or Celaenae or Hdt' Maeander and Marsyas sources with any certainty on the basis of his evidence (comm. at vii.26). It is impossible to know exactly where Hdt. means by his Anaua and great salt-lake. His 5-stade subterranean course for the Lycus river is probably nothing more than a story. We do not know where his Cydrara was or his boundary between Phrygia and Lydia (comm. at oh. 30). Callatebus' wheat-and-tamarisk honey is probably nothing more than a traveler's story and in any event we have no reason to believe that Hdt.himself knew the city (comm. at ch. 31).

Deep in the interior of Asia Hdt. leaves an enormous gap in Xerxes' line of march between the Halys and Celaenae but he also leaves the same kind of gap between Sardis and the Caicus, probably because Ionian geography and Hdt' commercial travelers left him without even a story to fill in. When he describes the very coast of Asia Minor Hdt. says that Xerxes kept Mt. Ida on his left when he almost certainly kept it on his right (comm. at ch. 42). Likewise, Xerxes probably did not keep the city of Ophryinion on his left when he marched toward Abydos as Hdt. says he did (comm. at ch. 43). Hdt' Hellepontian aktae and the plains of Abydos derive no very obvious support from present-day topography and Hdt. probably creates them for the dramatic purpose of reviewing Xerxes' army (comm. at ch. 45).

A great many scholars decided that Hdt. was intimately acquainted with the Hellespont and had access to reliable second-hand information about the bridges. But examined closely Hdt' account of the bridges themselves is impossible and Hdt. clearly knows little or nothing about the topography or geographical orientation of the Hellespont and what he knows of the winds and currents he could have got from Homer. To

judge from Hdt' account of the bridges alone we should have to conclude that he never went to Abydos and in any event he could have written everything he tells us about the bridges and the Hellespont on the basis of Homeric and perhaps other poetry and what he heard in Hali-carnassus from travelers, traders, and raconteurs (comm. at ch. 36). Hdt. reveals the same confusion of geographical orientation when he comes to describe the movements of the army and fleet after Xerxes' Hellespontine review. Almost everything he says is wrong. Likewise his brief account of the army's march through the Chersonese is highly suspect because of its notable omissions and even W of the Chersonese Hdt' reference to the city of Aenos and the Stentorian lake is not unambiguous (comm. at ch. 58). To the W of Doriscus we can not identify Hdt' place-names and the river Lisos with any certainty (comm. at ch. 108) and Hdt. is almost certainly wrong about the relationship between the cities and lakes of ch. 109. In all probability he is wrong about the relationship between Abdera and the river Nestos. The river does not seem to have flowed through the city as Hdt. believes (ch. 126) nor can we identify the salt-lake of ch. 109 (comm. ad loc.). Hdt. does not know of lake Cercinitis and he seems to think the Angites flows N and S and the Strymon E and W. He could never have traversed the ground and whatever his source it is highly in-accurate (ch. 113).

Hdt. has no grasp on the geographical reality of Chalcidice. His order of the cities on Athos is wrong. What he says about the great Athos canal is nothing but un-reliable hear-say and he has nothing to say about the subsequent fate of the canal. Hdt. calls the Singitic gulf the sea over against Torone. We can not confirm his Sithonian Galepsos or Pallenean Sane and Hecataeus seems to locate Hdt' Sithonian Sermyle and Mecyberna on Athos and Pallene respectively. He does not seem to know that he describes a coasting voyage along the Singitic gulf from the Athos canal to Ampelos. He does not know that Sithonia is a narrow peninsula and he believes that Torone and four other cities are on cape Ampelos. Hdt. seems to believe that the fleet merely sailed along the W coast of Pallene toward the Thermaic gulf past his Pallenean cities in consecutive order. He does not seem to know that he reads down the coast from Potidaea to Therambos and up the coast from Soione to Sane. We can not control Hdt. on the cities of Crossaea and Hdt. may even be wrong to locate Pella on the coast. It seems out of the question that Hdt. could have written about Chalcidice from autopsy and he probably mis-used his geographical source or sources (comm. at chs. 22f. and 122f.).

W of Chalcidice Hdt. does not realise the difficulty involved in marching Xerxes' army through the Paeonian and Crestonian country to the Cheidoros (comm. at ch. 124), and he seems to believe that the Nestos and the Acheloos lie due E and W of one another (comm. at ch. 126). Hdt' upper road through highland Macedonia to the Perrhaebians and the city of Gonnos is not historical. That upper road and his tacit assumption that the Gonnos route is quite distinct from the Tempe defile show that he has not the slightest grasp on the geographical and topographical reality. Clearly he does not know where Gonnos is in relation to Tempe and he does not even associate the city with the river Peneus (comm. at ch. 128). Hdt' account of the geography of Thessaly is fanciful and indeed poetical and Hdt. probably derives much of it from the literary sources. The king's own plain of *iii.117* is also characterised by surrounding mountains and 1 great and 5 lesser rivers and it too is a potential lake, and no one suggests that Hdt. went there before he wrote his description (comm. at ch. 129 and cf. comm. at ch. 172). Likewise Hdt. need not have gone to Thessaly to write what he tells us about the country. Xerxes' desire to turn the Peneus from its channel establishes the tone of the Thessaly narrative and that derives from Homer (comm. at ch. 130).

If Hdt. has not a proper notion of the geography and topography of the route by means of which he marches the Persian army from Critalla to mainland Greece, his grasp on the geographical and topographical reality of the various battle-fields of the Persian wars is even more un-satisfactory. There is no good reason to suppose that he describes any of them from autopsy (comm. ad loc.). The geography and indeed Hdt' whole account of the Tempe campaign is profoundly disquieting, merely a collection of improbable stories from which we can never hope to extract a kernel of history (comm. at ch. 174). Hdt. does not know where Artemision is or where Histiaea is in relation to the Euripus (comm. at ch. 175). Everything Hdt. tells us about the geography of Artemision indeed may derive from the literary and geographical sources, including Simonides, Sophocles, and even Pindar (comm. at chs. 176 and 188). Hdt' evidence on the geography of the Artemision campaign is such that we can not identify Sepias, the Sepiad strand, the Sepiad promontory, Casthanaea, the Ipnoi, Meliboea, the headland of Magnesia, or Aphetæ with any certainty (comm. at chs. 183, 188, and 193). Hdt. seems to draw up the Persian fleet before the great storm indeed more in accordance with Homer than with the topography of any given stretch of Magnesian beach (comm. at ch. 188).

Hdt' evidence on the geography of Thermopylae is such that in the absence of firm epigraphic evidence we can not identify Alpenos, the

Phoenix river, Anthele, the Phocian wall, Anticyra, the Melas and Dyrras rivers, the city of Trachis, the Trachinian plain, the Amphictyon Demeter, the Amphictyon seats, Melampygos, or the seats of the Cercopes (comm. at chs. 176, 198ff.). Hdt' orientation is 90° wrong (chs. 176 and 200). Hdt. does not seem to realise that the pass of Thermopylae is determined by the proximity of the mountain to the sea and he knows nothing of a port of Thermopylae that probably existed in 480. His distances are highly suspect because they seem to resolve themselves into three 20's and Hdt' 20's in themselves are highly suspect. He believes the Trachinian cliffs enclose all the Malian land when they do not now and never could have done. He believes that some mountain or other encloses the Trachinian land when it does not now and never could have done. He implies that some mountain or other traversed by the Anopaea encloses the very ground in which Thermopylae proper lies so that we are confronted by three enclosures analogous to Hdt' three 20's. Hdt. describes a road that purportedly runs from N to S and yet encounters the Asopus river twice. He does not know where the Asopus ravine is in relation to the sea or where the mouth of the Asopus is in relation to the Asopus ravine. Hdt. devotes 4 chs. to the description of a road the course of which we can not determine to this day. His figure for the Trachinian plain is so large as to be an embarrassment. His evidence on the Anopaea is such that in the absence of firm epigraphic evidence the course of that mountain path is lost beyond hope of recall (comm. at chs. 200, 216ff.). Hdt. does not allow us to recover the ancient coast-line, the roads of 480, the Greek or Persian camps, the Greek or Persian positions before the battle, the Greek or Persian objectives, Xerxes' line of march, the strategical or chronological relation between the positions on land and sea, a solution to the so-called final problem, or even the exact place of the battle with any hope of certainty (comm. at chs. 225 and 239). And yet Hdt' capacity for spinning a good yarn is such that even in the absence of firm epigraphic evidence 160 years of modern topographers have tramped the slopes of Callidromos text in hand, convincing themselves not only that Hdt. knew the terrain from autopsy but also that just a few more complete topographical surveys, just a few more hikes over these hills, will enable them to solve the problems of Thermopylae if indeed they have not already done so. And that notion is simply preposterous (comm. at chs. 200 and on the Anopaea, 216-218).

Hdt. is not only himself a great story-teller, he is part of a long line of story-tellers beginning with the epic poets, and he uses traditional themes. There is much to suggest that Homer influenced not only the way Hdt. said things but what he said. In Hdt' lists his repetitive 280's and 12's, the 67 nations of the great satrapy-list, Xerxes' 67 infantry, horse, and navy contingents and 29 army contingents, and his Dorian contingent of 30 ships all seem to reflect the Homeric Catalogue rather more than any historical armies and navies of the Persian wars (comm. at ch. 99). We find in Hdt' great army-list a masterful raconteur's mixture. Hdt. probably drew up the list himself without the benefit of official Persian documents. The nations of the list derive from the same geographical source or sources that determine the great satrapy-list (comm. at ch. 100). Their number is pre-determined in the Homeric Catalogue. Much of the dress and weaponry that can be controled from Persepolis finds no support there. It derives from stories, many of which are recorded elsewhere in the History, from ethnographic information some of which Hdt. uses elsewhere in the History, and from epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry (comm. in App. iii).

Hdt' battle-scenes have much of the epic about them. In his account of Marathon Hdt. says the Athenians followed the Persians in their flight and hacked them down till they came to the sea where they called for fire and laid hands on the ships.

φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι εἶποντο κόπτοντες,
ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἵτεον
καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.

vi.113

We are reminded of Hector, who laid hold of Protesilaos' ship (Il. xv.704, 716) and called for fire (xv.718). According to Hdt. Cynegeiros son of Euphorion died at Marathon, his hand lopped off by an axe as he laid hold of a ship's aphlasta.

τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέγειρος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἐνθαῦτα
ἐπιλαμβανόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων νεός, τὴν χεῖρα
ἀποκοπεῖς πελέκει πρίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι
Ἀθηναίων πολλοί τε καὶ ὀνομαστοί.

vi. 114

But that passage is reminiscent of other battle-axes, other aphlasta, and even perhaps other lopped hands falling to the earth, all in this same part of the 15th bk. of the Iliad.

710 ἀλλ' οἳ γ' ἐγγύθεν ἰστάμενοι, ἕνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
 δεξιῇ δὲ πελέκεσσι καὶ ἀξίνῃσι μάχοντο
 καὶ ἔλφεσιν μεγάλοισι καὶ ἔγχεσιν ἀμφιγύοισι.
 πολλὰ δὲ φάσγανα καλὰ μελάνδετα κωπήεντα
 ἄλλα μὲν ἐκ χειρῶν χαμάδις πέσον, ἄλλα δ' ἀπ' ὤμων
 715 ἀνδρῶν μαρναμένων· ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα μέλαινα.
 "Ἐκτωρ δὲ πρύμνηθεν ἐπεὶ λάβεν οὐχὶ μεθείει,
 ἄφλαστον μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων, Τρωσὶν δὲ κέλευεν·
"οἴσετε πῦρ, ἅμα δ' αὐτοὶ ἀολλέες ὄρνυτ' αὐτήν·

Commenting on the scholiasts' notes on this passage, Miss Lorimer points out that "the curious statement in line 714 was explained to mean that swords fell from hands whose wrists were severed by swords and from shoulders when the whole limb was chopped off by an axe" (HM 305f.). Hdt. may well have taken the line that way.

We should also note in connexion with these closing scenes from the 15th bk. of the Il. that Protesilaos is well known to Hdt. for his temple in Elaeus in connexion with Artayctes' misdeeds there and his subsequent crucifixion at the hands of Xanthippus (vii.33; ix.116, 120). To Hdt. he is important in the Persian wars.

Most important of all we must note that the original wooden wall of ships is not the Athenian fleet of Salamis but the Greek fleet of the 15th bk. of the Iliad, but a few lines below the passage quoted above. Telamonian Ajax, from Salamis, declaims from it that there are no great warriors behind them anymore, no city in back of them, no stronger wall than the one before them with which to ward off ruin. They are far from their native land with nothing to support them but the sea (Il. xv.733ff.; comm. at ch. 141).

Hdt. may give Sidon Homeric prominence over Tyre (comm. at ch. 98). On—the way to Artemision the Persian fleet draws itself up Homeric fashion before the great storm (comm. at ch. 188). At Thermopylae there is an epic struggle over Leonidas' body (comm. at ch. 225).

Hdt' isthmus wall
 is finished once (viii.71) only to re-appear incomplete and in the process of getting battlements (ix.7). But there is a notable Homeric precedent. In one notable passage the Achaean wall seems to have

been built at the very beginning of the war (Il. xiv.30ff.; see Thuc. i.11.1) but in the 10th year of the war the Greeks seem to build the wall again.

Ἦμος δ' οὕτ' ἄρ' πω ἦώς, ἔτι δ' ἀμφιλύκη νύξ,
τῆμος ἄρ' ἀμφὶ πυρὴν κριτὸς ἔγρετο λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν,
τύμβον δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ἕνα ποίεον ἐξαγαγόντες
ἄκριτον ἐκ πεδίου, ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν τεῖχος ἔδειμαν
πύργους θ' ὑψηλοῦς, εἶλαρ νηῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν.
ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποίεον εὖ ἀραρυίας,
ὄφρα δι' αὐτῶν ἱππηλασίη ὁδὸς εἴη·

Il. vii.433ff.

Whatever the far-reaching implications this passage may have for the Homeric question (see e.g. Page, HHI 315ff.) there seems little doubt that the wall passages of the Iliad, like those of Hdt' history, serve a useful dramatic function (comm. ad loc. and see e.g. WS Companion 49f.). And just as the second building of the Achaean wall gives dramatic prominence to the erection of battlements, so also does the second building of Hdt' isthmus wall (ix.7). We need not believe that Hdt' isthmus-fortifications are purest fiction on the part of himself or one of his sources (comm. at ch. 139), but there is little doubt that Hdt' theme had already been laid down for him.

At Plataea one of Hdt' most dramatic incidents is that of Alexander's midnight visitation to the Greek camp purportedly warning them of the Persian intentions (ix.44f.). But Alexander was hardly the first Greek to find himself alone by night behind enemy lines down by the Asopus. During their war with the Cadmeans of Thebes when the Achaeans had come to the deep-reeded grassy-banked Asopus they sent Tydeus into the midst of the many Cadmeans on an embassy. He found them dining in the halls of mighty Eteocles (see Hdt. v.61, where the Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives leaving the Gephyraeoi behind in the time of Laodamas son of Eteocles), where he challenged them all to athletic bouts. On the way back to his own lines the Cadmeans set an ambush for him but Tydeus killed all 50 of the bushwhackers (Il. iv.382ff.). Alexander may have ridden to the Greeks on an embassy of treachery analogous to that of the Tempe expedition (comm. at ch. 173) but once again Hdt' theme was already laid down for him.

Poetic themes are hardly confined to martial contexts in Hdt' narrative of the Persian wars. Xerxes' night-time visions are in the tradition of Agamemnon's (comm. at ch. 12). The king's treatment of the Hellespont recalls the poetry of Aeschylus' Persae and so do the 1207 ships of the Persian fleet (comm. at chs. 35 and 89). The overseer of the Athos canal Artachaeus may not be a mythical figure as some have suggested, but when Hdt. says that he lacked only 4 fingers of 5 royal cubits in stature he may well borrow that image of a giant from Alcaeus' description of the warrior slain by his brother Antimenidas, changing Alcaeus' palm to its equivalent of 4 fingers in an effort to cover his tracks (comm. at ch. 117). Xerxes' desire to turn the Peneus into another course probably rests on Homer (comm. at ch. 130). Hdt' account of the West at the time of the Greek embassy borrows from Homer, Simonides, and Theognis (comm. at chs. 157ff.). Modern belief, indeed, in some allegedly advanced state of the military art in Sicily at the time of the Persian war probably rests on nothing more than Hdt' own poetical notions (comm. at ch. 158). The mysterious disappearances of the History are more poetical than historical (comm. at ch. 166). Hdt' account of Crete reveals the influence of Homer, Aeschylus, and Sophocles (comm. at chs. 169ff.). According to Hdt' own evidence the treacherous by-pass of Thermopylae is a traditional theme among Phocian story-tellers (comm. at ch. 215). A mere partial list of Hdt' own references to the Trojan war is fairly impressive (comm. at ch. 20), and according to Hdt. himself he thinks of Xerxes' invasion as part of a traditional series of E-W invasions (comm. at ch. 20).

Hdt' numbers are those of a story-teller. They are themes in themselves and like other themes Hdt. tends to repeat them and elaborate them. His 300's are a good case in point.

The Spartans' gift-crater for Croesus held 300 amphorae (i.70). 300 Spartans and 300 Argives fought in the battle of champions (i.82). Babylon yields a 300-fold crop when the harvest is best (i.193). 300 generations are equal to 10,000 years (ii.142). The Amphictyons contracted for a Delphic temple at 300 talents (ii.180). Periander sent Alyattes 300 potential eunuchs (iii.48). The 8th, 16th, and 19th

satrapies paid 300 talents (iii.91, 93, 94). The Cinyps country yields a 300-fold corn-crop (iv.198). Isagoras' faction numbered 300 (v.72). Hippocrates delivered 300 noble Zancleans to the Samians (vi.23). 300 of Mardonius' ships perished in the great storm off Athos (vi.44). The Thasians get 300 talents from the mainland and the mines when the revenue is greatest (vi.46). Datis burnt 300 talents' worth of incense on Delos (vi.97). Xerxes ordered the Hellespont scourged with 300 lashes (vii.35). The Phoenicians and Syrians of Palestine contributed 300 ships to the Persian fleet (vii.89). There were 300 Spartans at Thermopylae (vii. 202, 205, 224, 229, 232, ix.71). 4,000 Peloponnesians fought 300 myriads according to Simonides' epigram (vii.228). Demaratus told Xerxes to send 300 ships to Cythera (vii.235, 236). The 300 picked knights of Sparta gave Themistocles an escort to the borders of Tegea (viii.124). 300 ships of the Persian fleet kept watch over Ionia from Samos (viii.130). Olympiodorus' 300 picked Athenians helped the Megarians at Plataea (ix.21 and 23). There were 300 Potideans and 300 from Hermione at Plataea (ix.28). Aeimnestus led 300 men to Stenyclarus against all the Messenians (ix.64). 300 of the first and best Thebans were slain at Plataea at the hands of the Athenians (ix.67).

Some of these 300's, like the 300 of Thermopylae, may be genuine. But clearly most of them have no claim on history and in any event we can not control them. We can not establish that any one of them is true. Therefore all of them are suspect. The same is true of Hdt' 30's and 3,000's and 300,000's (comm. at chs. 91 and 97).

Hdt' 6's, 60's, and 600's are another good example (comm. at vii. 168 and pp. lviiiiff.). Others are his 20's (comm. at ch. 103), 200's, 2,000's, and 20,000's (comm. at ch. 158), his 10,000's (comm. at ch. 173), 8,000's (comm. at ch. 234), 5,000's (see below), 400's (comm. at ch. 28), 360's (comm. at ch. 36), 150's (comm. at ch. 90), 100's (comm. at ch. 90), 70's (comm. at ch. 94), 60's (comm. at ch. 95), 50's (comm. at ch. 92), 40's (comm. at App. ii line 22f.), 17's (comm. at ch. 95), and 7's (comm. at ch. 155).

Like any other story-teller Hdt. wants to be convincing. He often uses numbers to make his narrative seem true or in any event follows sources who do. In the great satrapy-list Hdt' elaborate itemised enumeration of financial contributions gives the impression of an

official or semi-official document. But the sum of Hdt' first 19 items or 7600 Babylonian talents is merely 19 times the 400 talents of the 1st province. The itemised list is arbitrary. And when Hdt. goes on to add 360 Indian talents of gold dust and converts to the Euboeic standard he merely hides the fact. This Persian finance is not historical. It is merely a good story (comm. at ch. 100).

Likewise not only are Hdt' grand totals for the Persian army and the calculations leading up to them un-historical (comm. at chs. 184ff.) but also Hdt' figure of 1,700,000 for the land army. Hdt. probably got that figure by multiplying Artabazus' contingent of 60,000 by 27 army contingents and adding 80,000 horse (comm. at ch. 60). But all those component figures are highly suspect. Artabazus' 6 myriads are probably un-historical (pp. lviiiiff.). Those 27 army-contingents are likely to be Hdt' basic 29 army-contingents, pre-determined themselves by the Homeric Catalogue (comm. at ch. 99f.), minus one full contingent standing guard over Ionia (ix.96) and one full contingent with Artayctes in Sestos (ix.116). The 80,000 horse are nothing more than 10 nations of horse times the Sagartian contingent of 8,000 (comm. at ch. 87), and even the 8,000 Sagartians are highly suspect in view of the other 8,000's of the History (comm. at ch. 234).

In like fashion Hdt. reckons 200 men per ship times 1207 ships equals 241,400 men on board. But this 200 is probably nothing more than Cleinias' complement of 200 (viii.17) which is highly suspect (comm. at ch. 158), and Hdt' 1207 is probably Hdt' mistaken inference from the even thousand ships of Aeschylus' Persae written under the influence of a penchant for 12's and the Homeric Catalogue's 1200 ships (comm. at chs. 89 and 99).

In the Plataea narrative Hdt. may reckon in a different way. There are 11 contingents at Thermopylae (vii.202f.). There are 22 at Plataea (ix.28 and 30). The total of 110,000 men is equal to Pausanias' Spartan 5,000 times 22 contingents and even the Spartan 5,000 is suspect to judge from the 5,000-talent capacity of the greatest Babylonian boats on the river (i.194) and the 5,000 Spartans, 5,000 perioecoi, and 5,000 Corinthians at Plataea (ix.10, 11, and 28). The Thespian 1800 indeed

are an after-thought to make up that total of 110,000 (ix.30). Hdt's itemised list of troop-contributions is arbitrary. The Athenian 8,000 and Lacedaemonian 10,000 are highly suspect in themselves (comm. at chs. 173 and 234). The Potidaean and Hermionean 300's are traditional (p. lxxiiif.). The Orchomenian, Eretrian-Styran, and Plataean 600's are highly suspect because of the other 600's of the History (pp. lviiiiff.) and so are the Mycenae-Tiryns and Chaloidian 400's for the same reason (comm. at ch. 28). The Sicyonian 3,000 may well be artificial in itself (comm. at ch. 97) but even if it is not these 3,000 are nothing more than the 15 ships of Salamis (viii.43) times Cleinias' complement of 200 men (viii.17) which is highly suspect in itself (comm. at ch. 158). Likewise the Troezenian thousand may well be artificial in its own right but even if it is not these 1000 are only 200 times the 5 Troezenian ships of Salamis (viii.43). There is no good reason to believe that any of the items are historical.

The troop commitments of Thermopylae are no less artificial. The Spartan 300 may be deeply woven into the tradition of Thermopylae (e.g. chs. 202 and 205 with comm. ad loc.) but even that 300 is far from certain in view of the other 300's of the History (pp. lxxiiif.). A thousand Tegeates and Mantineans apparently in a body and co-operating with one another seem most unlikely. Likewise a thousand from the rest of Arcadia are probably nothing more than a round number. The Corinthian 400 is highly suspect in view of the other 400's of the History (comm. at ch. 28) and so is the Phliasian 200 for the same reason (comm. at ch. 158). The 80 Mycenaeans seem designed to balance 120 Orchomenians to make up another round 200. Hdt's 3100 Peloponnesians seem purposely short of Simonides' 4,000 of ch. 228 by some additional body of Lacedaemonians or other (comm. at ch. 202). The total of 4200 including the Boeotian contingents is more than Simonides' 4,000 by 200, probably the Phliasian 200 (on which see comm. at ch. 158) to judge from their apparent insertion into the list (see below). As for the Locrians and Phocians, the former arrive in full strength because they are so near Thermopylae while the latter send another even thousand.

Some of the History's calculations, those of Hdt. himself or one of his sources, are much more subtle. At Marathon the Athenian casualties are 192 and the Persian 6400, likely enough figures at first glance (vi.117). But 192 is to 9000 as 6400 is to 300,000 (see Labarbe, Loi Navale 165f. and comm. at ch. 99). Clearly someone could have used a traditional 9,000 and 300,000 for the Athenian and Persian armies respectively plus the Athenian casualty figure to calculate the Persian. The ratio is not co-incidence. Likewise, counting the Plataeans, Hdt' navy list of Artemision has 14 entries numbering 280 ships including the penteconters (viii.1). Counting Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos as one entry in accord with what Hdt. says, the navy-list of Salamis has 19 entries (viii.46ff.) and 380 ships (viii.82). But 14 is to 19 as 280 is to 380. Clearly Hdt. or his source made additions to the Artemision list of 14 and continued to reckon 20 ships per entry. That ratio yielding 380 explains the notorious discrepancy of 12 between the sum of Hdt' items, which is 366 triremes, and his own total of 378 triremes plus deserters (viii.48). It also explains why Hdt. is anxious to boost his 378 triremes to 380 by means of the Tenian and Lemnian deserter-ships (viii.82). Even Hdt' basic 280 is almost certainly un-historical in view of the other ± 280 's of the History and the salient ± 280 's of the Homeric Catalogue (comm. at ch. 99). The itemised list of ship-contingents is arbitrary like the itemised list of financial contributions in the great satrapy-list. The totals are pre-determined.

Names are a potent force for verisimilitude in any good story. Hdt. knows how to use them to the best effect. Nowhere is that more evident than in the great lists of the history, which have an almost documentary air of reality about them. But the great satrapy-list, like the list of European contingents in Xerxes' army (comm. at ch. 185), almost certainly derives from a geographical source and it does not seem to reflect the official structure of the Persian empire represented at Persepolis (comm. at ch. 100 and App. iii). And the great army-list derives from the same source—we can determine the complex relation between the two (comm. at ch. 100 with chart).

Quite as important is the apparent relationship between Hdt' army lists of Thermopylae, Artemision, Salamis, and Plataea. Hdt' army list of Plataea seems to derive from the navy list of Salamis and the army list of Thermopylae. The navy list of Salamis with the islanders struck off except for Aegina and Euboea is as follows.

Sparta	Athens (Plataea mentioned)
Corinth	Megara
Sicyon	Ambracia
Epidaurus	Leucas
Troezen	Aegina
Hermione	Chalcis
	Eretria
	Styra

viii.43-46

The army list of Thermopylae with the names of those already present on the Salamis list struck off can be represented as follows.

- 1 Tegea-Mantineia
- 2 Orchomenos and the rest of Arcadia
- 3 Phlios
- 4 Mycenae
- 5 Thespiae
- Thebes
- Opuntian Locrians
- Phocis

In order to make the Athenians hold the right wing Hdt. reads upward on the second column of the Salamis list, taking Eretria and Styra together, putting Ambracia and Leucas before Aegina, and naming rather than apologising for Plataea. Here is the result on the left with Hdt' additions on the right.

Sparta
 1 Tegea-Mantineia
 Corinth
 Potidaea (CC)
 2 Orchomenos
 Sicyon
 Epidaurus
 Troezen
 Lepreates
 4 Mycenae-Tiryns
 3 Phlios
 Hermione
 Eretria-
 Styra
 Chalcis
 Ambracia
 Leucas-
 Anactorion (CC)
 Palees (CC?)
 Aegina
 Megara
 Plataea
 Athens
 5 Thespieae

ix.28,30

5 of the 10 additions are from the army list of Thermopylae and they are in Hdt' order of vii.202 except for the curious reversal of Phlios with Mycenae. Hdt. does not use the final 3 names of the Thermopylae list because they have all gone over. Thebes he knows to be on the Persian side (e.g. Asopodoros and the Theban horse, ix.69). Xerxes enrolls the Locrians by conquest (viii.66). Hdt. reports the conquest of Phocis (viii.32) and he knows the story of Harmocydes' 1000 Phocians on the Persian side (ix.17).

Hdt. works in the Thespians so as to raise the total to the requisite 110,000 (ix.30; p. lxxvf.). The Mantineians came

late (ix.77; cf. below), even though they are not represented on either the Serpent-column or the Olympian memorial.

Of the other 5 additions 2 and perhaps 3 are Corinthian colonies and they may reflect Hdt' desire of viii.94 to counter-balance the rumour about Adeimantus and emphasise the Corinthian role in the war. Potidaea and Anactorion are represented on both the Serpent-column and the Olympian memorial. The Paleans are not on either monument. Tiryns is a natural city to connect with Mycenae because of its illustrious past but it is also represented on both the Serpent-column (Tod 19.16) and the Olympian memorial (Paus. v.23). Hdt. may know about the Lepreate role in the war in connexion with the Minyan hexapolis of iv.148. The

Lepreates also appear on both monuments.

These 5 additions may or may not be significant but the rest of the list seems to have no historical validity independent of the army-list of Thermopylae and the navy-list of Salamis. Hdt. did not derive the list from a documentary source.

Where, in turn, did Hdt. get the navy list of Salamis? It may well have derived from the navy list of Artemision. With the Opuntian Locrians struck off the end of the list (they have medised by now, viii.66) and the names arranged in snaked columns of three, the Artemision list was as follows.

	P		1P	
1 Athens-Pl.	6 Sicyon	7 Sparta	12 Ceos	
P		P		
2 Corinth	5 Aegina	8 Epidaurus	11 Styra	
			P	
3 Megara	4 Chalcis	9 Eretria	10 Troezen	
			P	
			[Hermione]	

The new list was geographical. Hdt. began with the most important Peloponnesian state, i.e. Sparta. But after that he merely worked across the columns from left to right selecting the Peloponnesian entries, marked P, and adding Hermione for whatever reason.

Sparta
Corinth
Sicyon
Epidaurus
Troezen
Hermione

For the rest of the list Hdt. merely worked down the columns in order, adding Ambracia and Leucas at the bottom of the 1st column, Naxos in the 4th, and finally a 5th column including Cythnos, Seriphos-Siphnos-Melos, and Croton.

1 Athens-Plataea	5 Aegina	9 Eretria	12 Ceos	[Cythnos]
3 Megara	4 Chalcis		[Naxos]	[Seriphos-Siphnos- Melos]
[Ambracia]			11 Styra	[Croton]
[Leucas]				

The relationship with the Artemision list becomes specially obvious when the additional war-effort of Salamis is taken into account. The first 4 Artemision contingents remain the same at Salamis. The second 4 (Aegina, Sicyon, Sparta, and Epidaurus) are supplemented. The third 4 remain the same.

Once more the additions to the Artemision list may or may not be historical. Hdt. does not relate anecdotes pertaining to the Hermionean or Ambraciot role in the Persian wars. Hippomachus of Leucas is a diviner on the Persian side (ix.38). On the other hand Hdt. knows that Democritus led the Naxians to the Greeks when their fellow-citizens had ordered them to the Persians (viii.46). Rather than join the Persian fleet the Parians stayed behind in Cythnos waiting to see which way the war would incline (viii.67). Hdt. says only that Seriphos-Siphnos-Melos, which he changes to Melos-Siphnos-Seriphos, sent penteconters (viii.48). He gives Croton an entry because he knows of the Pythian victor Phayllus(viii.47). Hermione, Ambracia, Naxos, Cythnos, and Melos appear on both the Serpent-column and the Olympian memorial. Leucas and Siphnos are on the Serpent-column but not on the Olympian memorial. Seriphos and Croton do not appear on either monument.

In any event the other names on the list have no historical significance independent of the navy-list of Artemision.

What, then, of the army-list of Thermopylae and the navy-list of Artemision? We are thrown back on these two lists. We should like to know if they are documentary or at any rate historical.

The present writer has been forced to conclude that both these lists derive ultimately from the Homeric Catalogue. The relationship between the lists and the Catalogue is complex but un-mistakeable.

The significant nations of mainland Greece in the time of the Persian war from the Homeric Catalogue in Homer's order are as follows (Il. ii.494ff.).

Thespieae	<u>Argos</u> -neutral	Sparta
Plataea	<u>Tiryns</u> -at Plataea	Arcadia
Thebes	Hermione	Orchomenos
<u>Orchomenos</u> -medised, viii.34	Troezen	Tegea
Phocis	Epidaurus	Mantineia
Locris	Aegina	Elis
Chalcis	Mycenae	
Eretria	Corinth	
<u>Histiaea</u> -medised? viii.23ff.	Sicyon	
<u>Carystos</u>		
Styra		
Athens-Sal.		

Striking off Orchomenos as a mediser, Histiaea as a mediser or a conquered territory, Argos as a neutral, and Tiryns which appears at Plataea (cf. below on the relation between the Homeric Catalogue and the army-list of Plataea), and adding Phlios, which appears at Plataea (cf. below), the result is as follows with the army list of Thermopylae noted to one side.

Thespieae 9	Hermione	Sparta 1
Plataea	Troezen	Arcadia 5
Thebes 10	Epidaurus	Orchomenos 4
Phocis 12	Aegina	Tegea 2
Locris 11	Mycenae 8	Mantineia 3
Chalcis	Phlios 7	Elis
Eretria	Corinth 6	
<u>Carystos</u>	Sicyon	
Styra		
Athens-Sal.		

Super-imposing the isthmus list of viii.72 we obtain the following result.

Thespieae 9	Hermione	I ⁹	Sparta	1	I ¹
Plataea	Troezen	I ⁸	Arcadia	5	I ²
Thebes 10	Epidaurus	I ⁶	Orchomenos	4	
Phocis 12	Aegina		Tegea	2	
Locris 11	Mycenae 8		Mantineia	3	I ³
Chalcis	Phlios 7	I ⁷	Elis		
Eretria	Corinth 6	I ⁴			
<u>Carystos</u>	Sicyon	I ⁵			
Styra					
Athens-Sal.					

The isthmus list works down the right-hand column in order and up the middle column in order by pairs. Aegina is missed out because it is neither Peloponnesian nor on the isthmus. Phlios is no. 7 on both lists. Elis and Sicyon have not appeared on the list of Thermopylae but now they are covered so that all the Argive and Spartan columns have been named except for Aegina.

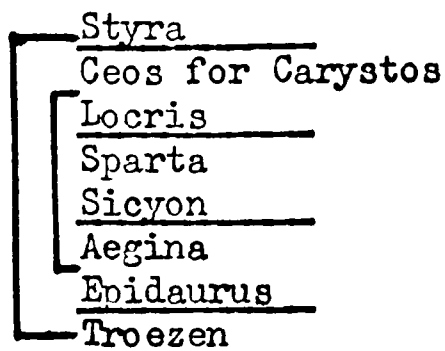
Even that much seems more than a matter of co-incidence, but the relation between the Catalogue and the Artemision list is even more striking. It is more difficult to present graphically but no less evident. Megara takes the place of Phlios and Ceos the place of Carystos. Corinth, Sicyon, Sparta, Epidaurus, Troezen, and the Locrians are named on both the Artemision and Thermopylae lists. Inverting the whole list and retaining the order the following is the result.

<u>Ath. col.</u>		<u>Sp. col.</u>	
1	Athens-Sal.		Sparta
	Styra		Sicyon
	Ceos for Carystos		
	Eretria	2	Corinth
	Chalcis		Megara for Phlios
	Locris		Aegina
	Plataea		Epidaurus
			Troezen

The navy list of Artemision, on the other hand, in snaked columns of seven, and marked off in pairs is as follows.

Athens	1	5	Locrians
Plataea			Ceos
Corinth	2	4	Styra
Megara			Troezen
Chalcis	3		Eretria
Aegina	6		Epidaurus
Sicyon	7		Sparta

The first 3 pairs are the major 3 of the alliance. But clearly Athens-Plataea flanks the 1st column of the Homeric list. The 2nd is the middle pair from the Spartan column. The 3rd is the middle pair from the Athenian column. This is what we have left.



The 4th pair flanks the new column on the analogy of Athens-Plataea. The 5th pair is below Styra while the 6th pair is above Troezen. The 7th and final pair is the middle pair of the new column. We begin with a pair from the Athenian column followed by a pair from the Spartan column. Then another Athenian pair and Styra-Troezen with a member in either camp. Then an Athenian pair followed by 2 Spartan pairs.

It is the departures from the Homeric list that are likely to be historically significant. Even they seem to rest on the most insubstantial footing. Hdt. may include Phlioi out of deference to Phliasian battle-duty not at Thermopylae but Plataea, where its troops are run down by the Theban horse (ix.69,85). When Megara takes the place of Phlioi that substitution may derive from nothing more than the Megaran-Phliasian disaster at the hands of the Theban horse of Plataea (ix.69 and 85 and cf. ix.21). The Ceans' displacement of the Carystians may even be out of honour to Simonides.

What of the nations present in both the Artemision and Thermopylae lists? We have no good reason to believe that Hdt. had anything firm to go on when he dropped some names and retained others. Corinth, Sicyon, Troezen, and Epidaurus, he may have figured, could not help but exercise power at sea. Sparta must have had some ships at Artemision.

At one time the present writer believed that Hdt. derived the navy-list of Artemision from Simonides' account of that battle (see PMG 532ff.). But even if that hypothesis were correct we should nonetheless have to account for the same relationship between Simonides' list and the Homeric Catalogue. Even in that event the list would not

be historical but poetical, little to do with the real ships that fought a real battle.

The Homeric Catalogue and the army list of Plataea.

We have thus far canvassed the hypothesis that Hdt. built the army-list of Thermopylae and the navy list of Artemision from the Homeric Catalogue and then derived the navy-list of Salamis from the navy-list of Artemision and the army-list of Plataea from the army-list of Thermopylae plus the navy-list of Salamis. But granted the relation between the Homeric Catalogue and Hdt' army and navy-lists it is likewise possible that Hdt. started with the army-list of Plataea and worked backward. It seems possible to test this latter hypothesis and control the former by enquiring into the relation between the Plataea list and the Homeric Catalogue. If either hypothesis is correct there should be a demonstrable if complex relation between the two.

Clearly the possible reasons for eliminating some nations from the Homeric list (Thebes, Orchomenos, Phocis, Locris, Histiaea, and Argos) and adding others (Potidaea, Lepreon, Phlios, Ambracia, Leucas-Anactorion, Pale, and Megara) are the same as above. Therefore we begin by assuming the additions and substitutions so as to concentrate on the order. Here is the Homeric list, with the Plataea numbers to one side.

Thespiae

13 Plataea	8 Tiryns	3 Corinth
11 Chalcis	9 Hermione	5 Sicyon
10 { Eretria	7 Troezen	1 Sparta
{ Styra	6 Epidaurus	4 { Arcadia
14 Athens-Sal.	12 Aegina	{ Orchomenos
	8 Mycenae	2 Tegea

Mantineia
Elis

Retaining the order of the columns but reserving the right to split them and snake them about, the list can also be written as follows.

Thespieae

10 Eretria	9 Hermione	8 Tiryns-Mycenae	1 Sparta
10 Styra	11 Chalcis	12 Aegina	7 Troezen
14 Athens-Sal.	13 Plataea	6 Epidaurus	5 Sicyon
			3 Corinth
			2 Tegea
			4 Arcadia
			Orchomenos

Mantineia
Elis

Working from the right-hand to the left-hand column and moving both vertically and horizontally one reproduces the order of the Plataea list. What of Thespieae, the first entry on the Homeric list, and Mantineia-Elis, the last two? Hdt. adds Thespieae to his list as an afterthought to make up the final 1800 of his 11 myriads (ix.30). Mantineia and Elis come late (ix.77). Can the apparent relationship between these two lists really be nothing more than co-incidence?

Let us grant for the sake of argument that it could be. We must also contend with the possibility that Hdt. employed not the Homeric Catalogue itself but some geographical or poetical list bearing the stamp of the Homeric Catalogue. We hardly need to assume documentary or even geographical sources to explain these army and navy lists. An alternative hypothesis does just as well. We can never again accept at face value Hdt' claim to represent the nations that actually fought. Enquiry into the nature of these lists is far more complicated than that.

The non-historical character of Hdt' Persian-war narrative extends much farther than Hdt' geography, topography, numbers, and lists; and much farther than those of his themes that reveal the profound and far-reaching influence of Homer and the lyric and dramatic poets. The chronological, military, and political fabric of the great invasion collapses. The spring eclipse is nothing but a fable, propagandistic or otherwise (comm. at ch. 37) and the rest of Hdt' chronology of Xerxes' campaign is artificial (App. i). Hdt' Persian-army organisation and order of march is un-historical and indeed impossible (comm. at chs. 38, 55, 81, and 111, and App. iii). Xerxes' desire to turn the Peneus from its channel rests on the Iliad's 12th book (comm. at ch. 130). The loyal Greeks' oath to tithe the medisers seems un-historical and it is probably nothing but Delphic propaganda (comm. at ch. 132). The demonstrable literary background of Hdt' Delphic oracles in the Persian-war narrative show that they do not necessarily derive from Delphi. Anyone with a knowledge of that literary background could have written them (comm. ad loc. but esp. at chs. 140ff. and 148). Hdt' account of the great public debate in Athens over those Delphic oracles may well be nothing but Hdt' own inference (comm. at ch. 142). Likewise Hdt' account of the Athenian resolve to confront the Persians at sea with their whole force need not rest on a document or on anything more than Hdt' own inference from the facts (comm. at ch. 144). Even Hdt' account of the wooden-wall controversy is highly suspect because of the Homeric background to that theme (p. lxxi above; comm. at ch. 141). His 1st pan-Hellenic congress seems little more than a good story. It could derive from nothing more than Hdt' own inference (comm. at ch. 145). Hdt' account of the West can hardly serve as the basis of any real history of Magna Graecia (comm. at chs. 153ff.). His account of Crete is also dominated by poetry (comm. at chs. 169ff.). His account of Thessalian politics probably rests on nothing more than his own inference from facts that must have been known to every educated Greek in Asia Minor (comm. at ch. 172).

Where we look to find bed-rock, however little, on which to found some kind of reliable military history of this momentous campaign we find instead little more than a tangle of profoundly disquieting stories. Nothing will make historical sense of Hdt' narrative of the Tempe campaign (comm. at chs. 173f.). We should very much like to rely on Hdt' synchronism between Himera and Salamis, and Plataea and Mycale, but they are nothing but un-reliable hear-say (comm. at ch. 166 and App. i). Likewise we can not rely on any notion of the alleged

strategical inter-relation between the Artemision and Thermopylae campaigns yet proposed because such notions rest on false premises (comm. at App. 1, "The Parallel Diaries", and ch. 239) and not only pre-suppose a chronological relation that is anything but secure, but also leave out of account the fact that if Hdt' isthmus-wall is historical then the Spartans must have discounted the possibility of amphibious operations against the Peloponnese (comm. at ch. 139). They also fail to embrace the full implications of Hdt' belief that the Euripus is analogous to the pass of Thermopylae (comm. at chs. 175f.), a belief that dominates Hdt' whole conception of the operations at Artemision and Thermopylae and has the most serious implications for various individual parts of his narrative, e.g. his account of the Greek change of anchorage from Artemision to Chalcis (comm. at ch. 183). The Artemision narrative is impossible as it stands and not least of all because it begins with the Persian fleet's 1-day voyage from Therma to Sepias which is impossible on the basis of evidence now in hand (comm. at ch. 183) and proceeds to unfold a Homeric defense (comm. at ch. 188) against a divinely-inspired storm (189) in which an artificial number of ships perish (190; comm. at ch. 28).

Hdt' Thermopylae-narrative itself is quite impossible as military history from beginning to end. According to Hdt. the Greeks had enough troop-carrying vessels available to transport 10,000 hoplites N to Halos at the time of the Tempe expedition (173 and comm. ad loc.) yet the Greek army marches to Thermopylae (177 and comm. ad loc.), perhaps because Hdt. does not know of a port of Thermopylae (comm. at ch. 200). After withdrawing from one forward position because of its vulnerability to an enemy turning-manoeuve it is *prima facie* unlikely that the Greeks tried to defend Thermopylae without first acquainting themselves with its strategical liabilities (comm. at chs. 175 and 239). According to Hdt' own evidence the treacherous by-pass of Thermopylae was a traditional theme among Phocian story-tellers (comm. at ch. 215). We are unlikely ever to know why it was that Leonidas remained at Thermopylae (comm. at ch. 239). And even apart from the hopeless geography of his narrative along with everything that entails (pp. lxxviii f.) Hdt. does not allow us to recover a single major facet of the campaign with any hope of certainty, not even the Greek or Persian objectives or the exact place of the battle (p. lxix; comm. at chs. 225 and 239).

As for the place of the narrative in Hdt' life and its implications for his writing-order, both the time and place of composition, and what is and is not original to its context remain uncertain (comm. at ch. 239), as we might expect (pp. xxxviii f. above).

Hdt. is a raconteur without peer. He enquired about the Persian wars and everything leading up to them of a great many people in Asia Minor and elsewhere perhaps. He used literary sources. But he traveled a great deal less than modern orthodoxy would have it and a great deal less than he himself wants us to believe.

Hdt. is willing to deceive the reader in the interests of a good story. Because he is willing to deceive the reader in the interests of a good story we can not determine the extent to which the artificialities of his narrative, his Homeric themes and lists, his contrived numbers and poetic weaponry, his inference from the fact and implied documents, are able to intrude themselves without his being aware of them (comm. at chs. 99 and 100). None of these artificialities in the least affects our appreciation of Hdt. as a great author. But Hdt. does not write history in the modern sense of the word. And it is useless to pretend that we can re-construct a historical account of the Persian wars on the basis of his stories. Hdt' evidence is the best we have and the later sources are even more un-historical than he is. Diodorus' narrative is impossible rationalisation even when he is dealing with Sicilian history, e.g. the battle of Himera (comm. at ch. 167). But Hdt' evidence is not good enough by modern standards.

1.

ἀγγελίζη-- The news presumably arrived via the Persian messengers of viii.98.

παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστίασπεος-- Hdt. may use the patronymic for the sake of solemnity and emphasis, and not necessarily to mark a new beginning.

καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐσβολήν-- See v.97 and 105.

τότε πολλῷ τε δεινότερα ἐπόζεε καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.-- The Athenians certainly

exaggerated the importance of Marathon (Macan i¹1b) but Grundy seems right in emphasising Marathon's impact on Darius (GPW 199; followed by Hignett 88). Darius must have been aware of the possible effects of Datis' and Artaphernes' failure on other parts of the empire. He could not have thought that the Hellespontine revolt and the Ionian revolt indeed were un-connected with his own failure in Scythia. Darius' objectives at Marathon were limited, perhaps, to punishment of the free Ionians and establishment of a bridge-head on the European shore (GPW e.g. 200). The failure of a limited expedition with limited objectives probably led him to increase his commitment along with the objectives it was meant to secure.

πολλῷ πλέω ἐπιτάσσω ἐκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρέχειν αΡ

The emendation seems un-justified: "ordering each to provide much more than before".

Stein assumes that Hdt. means more than a standard levy (iv.1), but it seems more likely that Hdt. means only "more than before", i.e. more than they contributed to the Marathon campaign.

καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῆτον καὶ πλοῖα.-- The πλοῖα are the transport vessels of chs. 21, 97, 186, and 191.

1 cont.

ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει— See ch. 20 and comm. ad loc..

Macan points out that Hdt. should count from the despatch of the king's message (i¹2b).

καταλεγόμενων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευομένων καὶ παρασκευαζομένων.—Troops were being enrolled for the Greek campaign when Egypt revolted.

Αἰγύπτιοι <οἱ> ὑπὸ Καμβύσῳ δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων.— Hdt. declines to refer back to his own narrative of

iii.1-38. It would be idle to speculate on the reason.

ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.— Hdt. clearly believes that Darius wants to mount a great expedition not only as a means of extending the empire but also to keep it well in hand. It must grow or else parts of it fall away.

Rawlinson believes that "Probably the Egyptian revolt was attributed to the machinations of the Greeks. It is not impossible that they may have actually fomented it" (iv.2), but that goes beyond the evidence. Cambyses' defeat in Ethiopia laid the foundation for the Egyptian revolt long before Marathon. We can only speculate on whether the battle of Marathon had repercussions in Egypt.

2.

στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας—

Darius does not give up the idea of marching on Greece when the Egyptians revolt.

τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ σιδήσας ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης— Stein (iv.4) believes the quarrel may have taken place

only after Darius' death, citing Plutarch (Mor. 488) and Justin (ii.10). The two versions are not mutually exclusive (Macan i¹2b)

but the late sources are hardly trustworthy and Hdt' account is at least plausible. Darius had to leave someone in control when he

2 cont.

marched against Egypt. Cyrus gave Cambyses the basileie before marching against the Massagetae (i.208). Cambyses made one of the Magi meledonos or epitropos before marching on Egypt (iii. 61 and 63), the question of his own authority, not to mention the succession, being very much in dispute at that time. Xerxes left the royal sceptra in Artabanos' hands at Abydos (ch. 52). It is Grundy's conjecture that Darius was in failing health (GPW 200), but even if he was not he had evidently been reigning since 521. Quite apart from the projected campaigns, the question of succession must have loomed large. It seems possible that the quarrel occurred because of Darius' own reluctance to face the question. We are not told that he appointed anyone to assume power when he marched on Scythia, and though it is not certain from his conversation of iv. 143 that Artabanos went with him, Hdt. elsewhere makes Artabanos say that he did (ch. 18).

ὥς δέ τ' μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι.—See above. Stein argues that if Hdt. were correct, Darius would have made his choice known before the Scythian expedition (iv.4) but he may have done for all we know. Someone should have exercised power from the capital in the king's absence. Besides, the custom or law to which Hdt. alludes may have existed even if Darius did not choose to honour it before marching on Scythia. Macan tries to draw a distinction between appointment as major-domo and appointment to succession (i¹2b-3a) but Hdt. offers no support for this distinction. Judging from Hdt' narrative there seems little doubt that if Xerxes had died on the Greek campaign Artabanos would have succeeded.

Rawlinson (iv.2) points out that the custom was not confined to the Persians because Alyattes appointed Croesus his successor according to Hdt. (i.92).

2 cont.

Meyer shows that monuments call Cambyses king of Babylon in the time of Cyrus (Forsch. ii.470ff.) but this position is not necessarily that of successor in view of the special, separate position accorded Babylon out of deference to a religion that demanded a local king. Xerxes abandoned this policy of religious tolerance (see e.g. HW i.142f.), at least in the case of Babylon.

πρότερον ἢ βασιλεύσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες ἐκ τῆς προτέρης γυναικός, Γωβρύεω θυγατρός—Hdt. does not mention

this wife in bk. iii [See iii.88, where he alludes to four of Darius' wives: Atossa and Artystone (Cyrus' daughters; see vii.69), Parmys (the daughter of Cyrus' son Smerdis), and Phaedyne (the daughter of Otanes; see iii.69).

Gobryas is one of the Seven (iii.70).

καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἕτεροι τέσσερες—

Rawlinson believes that "Darius reigned perhaps, to some extent, in right of his wife Atossa, and in default of an heir male of the blood of the conqueror" (iv.2). But Darius seems to have married Atossa after he became king (iii.88). He certainly used his marriages to strengthen his support among the most powerful families of Persia but it is difficult to tell by what if any "right" he reigned. Atossa's descent from Cyrus, again, must have made her powerful. But she seems to have been a powerful and influential woman in her own right (see iii.133f.).

τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρτοβαζδάνης—In the alternate version of Plutarch (Mor. 488) and Justin (ii.10), the elder son is named Ariamenes (thus also Julian, Orat. i.33).

νομιζόμενον εἶη πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸν πρεσβύτατον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν—

Macan takes the phrase as evidence of Hdt' dependence on Spartan or quasi-Spartan sources for his narrative (i¹3b), citing v.39 and 42 but Hdt. alludes merely to a general rule regardless of his possible dependence on a Demaratus source for much of his information here.

2 cont.

Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς 'Ατόσσης τε παῖς εἴη τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς—

Rawlinson believes that Xerxes ruled by virtue of the connexion with Cyrus. "...the eldest grandson of Cyrus could not but be the legitimate successor"(iv.2). But the importance of the relation must have been indirect rather than formal. If the link with Cyrus had been enough there would have been no quarrel, whereas we have little reason to doubt Hdt' evidence to the effect that there was.

καὶ ὅτι Κύρος εἴη ὁ κτησάμενος τοῖσι Πέρσησι τὴν ἐλευθερίην.—

The notion is Greek but Hdt. presumably means freedom from the Medes. He continues an emphasis of the value certain Persians are said to have attached to freedom: see Otanes' plea for democracy (iii.80 and 83) and Hdt' re-emphasis of it (vi.43). Predictably enough Hauvette believes that these reports have a historical basis (224f.) but we are not in a position to control what Hdt. says and the easiest explanation of this freedom-theme is that Hdt. or his sources inject a Greek pre-occupation into Persian history for the sake of a good story.

3.

Ἐτύγχανε κατὰ τούτῳ τούτοις καὶ Δημάρετος ὁ 'Αρίστωνος ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐς Σοῦσα, ἐστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλείης καὶ φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἑωυτῷ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος.—

Ctesias says that Demaratus fled in the reign of Xerxes, whom he joined at the Hellespont (Pers. 23). There is no good reason to believe him.

Demaratus retained an anomalous position in Sparta (as. e.g. procession-director) for an indeterminate period after his deposition by Cleomenes in favour of Leutychidas (vi.67) and he finally fled via Elis and Zacynthus (vi.70). HW date his trial to 491 (ii.90), the year accepted by Macan for his flight (i¹4a). The exact time is uncertain. According to Xenophon it was Xerxes and not Darius (see vi.70) who gave Demaratus the cities of Pergamon, Halisarna, and Teuthrania in the Troad, retained by his descendants Procles and Burysthene in the 4th century (Hell. iii.1.6; Anab. ii.1.3, vii. 8.17).

3 cont.

πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου παίδων τὴν διαφοράν—Hdt. believes that Demaratus first came to the fore at the time Xerxes' succession was determined. The relevant historical questions are (a.) how much influence did Demaratus really have in the court, and (b.) how did he come by such influence. Hdt' narrative does not allow us to answer either question.

ὥς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει—Hdt. does not believe the story; see below.

ἐπεὶ γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἔφη ὁ Δημάρητος ὑποτιθέμενος, οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, ἣν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεύοντι ὀψίγονος ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομένου τὴν ἐκδεξιν τῆς βασιληΐης γίνεσθαι.—None of Hdt' own evidence on the Spartan succession seems precisely relevant to this alleged custom, but see comm. at vii.205. If the anecdote comes from Demaratus' family on the Caicus or elsewhere in Asia Minor then perhaps this alleged custom had a basis in Spartan history or else Demaratus pretended that it did to support Xerxes' claim. But it may be nothing more than a good story.

δοκέειν δέ μοι, καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης ἐβασίλευσε ἂν Εἰρήνης· ἡ γὰρ Ἀτόσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος.—

Hdt. adheres to his rule. He tells us what is told him but he does not have to believe it (vii.152). Somewhere in Asia Minor he hears a great deal about Demaratus' role in the campaign against Greece. He makes full dramatic use of Demaratus. But he can reject the story that Demaratus was responsible for Xerxes' accession out of his knowledge of Atossa's power.

Atossa's position can be compared to that of Amestris (see vii. 114, ix.109-112). There was probably but one "queen" or head of Darius' household, as Rawlinson points out (see Esther i.9, ii.4; Hdt. ix.109ff.; Ctesias Pers. 20; Plutarch, Artaxerxes i.307f.; Arrian, Anab. ii.11f.). Hdt. could have derived his notion of Atossa's power almost anywhere in Asia Minor (e.g. Samos: he associates her with

3 cont.

the court of Polyorates and Democedes of Croton, iii.131ff.) but also from literary sources such as Aeschylus' Persae.

4.

μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα, ἀποθανεῖν—

According to Hdt. Darius was about 20 at the time of Cyrus' death (i.209). Cambyses reigned for 7 yrs. and 5 mths. (iii.66) and the Magian usurpers held sway for an additional 7 mths. (iii.67f.) so that Darius was probably 28 or 29 when he ascended the throne and died at the age of about 64 or 65. Ctesias makes Darius die at the age of 72 having reigned 31 yrs. (Pers. 19) and Stein tries to reconcile the figures 36 (see Manetho, FGH 609 F 2-3c, p. 50-51) and 31 through reference to a 5 yr. period in which Darius' rule was disputed (iv.5f.). Hdt' figures are hardly un-impeachable (Intro. pt. iii) but it seems un-necessary to contend with

Ctesias' evidence in that kind of way.

HW follow Weissbach in working upward from the death of Artaxerxes in 425/424 (Thuc. iv.50), putting his accession in 465 (see Diodorus xii.64.1) and accepting the Ptolemaic Canon's figure of over 20 yrs. for the reign of Xerxes so as to make Darius die and Xerxes ascend in 486 (ii.125). Tabulation of Hdt' evidence (from vii.1,4,7, and 20) gives the same result (see comm. at vii.20) and the late evidence seems even less trustworthy.

οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι.—

See Darius' vow of v.105. Further

on Xerxes' accession see XPf and Kent's App. v, OP 150 and 163.

5.

5.

ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς
στρατεύεσθαι-- Hdt' statement would be much more credible if

he explained why Xerxes was originally against an expedition
already planned by his father.

παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων
Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύεω (Γοβρύεω αΡ), ὃς ἦν Ξέρξῃ μὲν
ἀνεψιός, Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφεῆς παῖς-- There seems no good

reason to over-ride the better Mss tradition in the case of Go-
bryas' name.

A daughter of Gobryas is Darius' "former wife" of ch. 2. Her
son Artobazanes disputes the succession with Xerxes. Also Mardonius
married Darius' daughter Artozostre (vi.43).

There is a substantial difference between Hdt' introductions
of vi.43 and vii.5. In the previous passage Hdt. portrays Mardonius
as a young prince recently wedded to the king's daughter. Here
Mardonius is Xerxes' cousin and son of Darius' sister, and counsellor
at the court. In fact he is made to assume the role of advisor that
his father enjoyed with Darius in Scythia (iv.132, 134). In assessing
the validity of Hdt' picture of Mardonius as eager for the war it
is at least interesting that Hdt. portrays Gobryas as an advocate
among the Seven of immediate, decisive action against the Magi.
Mardonius is a man of action and son of a man of action. Early in
life he led an expedition that must have given him considerable
experience of command over a large body of troops. Hdt. points out
that Mardonius had previous experience of amphibious operations;
that he believed in democratic government for the Greek cities of
Asia Minor and hoped to conquer Eretria and Athens and as much of
Greece as he could as early as 492 (vi.43f.). If he believed in a
war against Greece 12 yrs. before Xerxes' campaign he also believes
that war can be won even after Salamis (viii.100). Hdt' portrait is
at least consistent.

5 cont.

As Blakesley points out (ii.184), Mardonius is associated with the strategy of an advance by land with the navy used chiefly in support of the infantry. When Datis and Artaphernes failed at Marathon they evidently discredited the alternative strategy of amphibious assault direct across the Aegean. It probably seemed impossible to land and support a large enough army by means of it, and between 490 and 480 the development of various Greek navies, owing largely, perhaps, to the Athens-Aegina conflict and the growing importance of the W, must also have figured in the decision to adopt Mardonius' strategy.

οὗτος μὲν οἱ [δ] λόγος ἦν τιμωρός--Behind the argument from vengeance may well have rested the argument from an offensive-defensive strategy. The free Greeks remained in a position to threaten the Greek perimeter of the empire by instigating revolt and even marching into the interior, as in the Sardis raid. Also they must have gained confidence from Marathon.

τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκην ποιέεσκετο τήνδε, ὥς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλῆς [εἶη] χώρα καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἡμέρα--Following Stein, HW (ii.126) cite Vendidad

iii.4 l. 12 and iii.23 l. 76, where Ahuramazda describes the bucolic charms of the third place where the earth feels most happy. Kings and satraps rivaled one another in laying out gardens and orchards (Xen. Oecon. iv.8; see Tod 10). See Xerxes' tribute to a plane tree (ch. 31).

Hdt. implies that Mardonius deceived Xerxes on the question of how rich a land Greece was. See Pausanias' Spartan meal of ix.82 and the enigmatic final chapter of Hdt' work, ix.122. One is also reminded of Aristagoras' alluring description of the Persian empire when he wanted Cleomenes to send an expedition against it (v.49).

6.

ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγε οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητῆς ἐὼν
καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπαρχος εἶναι.--

Pausanias (v.32; Thuc. i.128) and Themistocles (Thuc. i.138) also
aspired to this position. Mardonius' desire for it is credible.
His adventurous liking for unrest is not so credible.

τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίας παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδέων ἀπιγ-
μένοι ἄγγελοι ἀπεκαλέοντο βασιλέα πᾶσαν προθυμίην παρε-
χόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα (οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὗτοι ἦσαν
Θεσσαλίας βασιλῆες)--

On the Aleuadae see vii.130 and 172; ix.1

(Thorax of Larisa) and 58 (Thorax, Eurypylus, Thrasydeius); Thuc.

i.111; Pindar, Pyth. x.3,5, and 64; and Toepffer, RE i.1372ff..

For discussion of Hdt' attitude toward the Aleuadae as against the
Thessalian demos see comm. at chs. 129 and 130 and esp. on the
Tempe expedition, ch. 172f.. Either they or the Scopidae of vi.127
may be involved in the bribery of Leutychidas (vi.72) as Pausanias
says (iii.7.9). They may also be responsible for Thessalian aid to
the Peisistratidae (v.63,94).

It seems likely that after the war at least they make themselves
a second home in Asia Minor comparable to that of Demaratus, the
Peisistratidae with whom they are probably allied (v.63,94), and
Onomacritos. Hdt. may well have been able to learn a great deal
about Thessaly without visiting the country; see comm. at chs. 128
ff. and 172f.. Hdt' terminology here seems without prejudice to
his knowledge of the country. It seems illegitimate to assume
that Hdt. must have known about the tagoi and therefore these words
must be a gloss (against Blakesley ii.185 and Maean i¹7a). Hdt.
more than once ignores the title (see v.63) and Thuc. after all
calls the Aleuad Echeocratidas "king of the Thessalians" (i.111).

τοῦτο δὲ Πεισιστρατιδέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότεες ἐς Σοῦσα--

Hdt. speaks of Hippias as a very old man at the time of Marathon
(his teeth are falling out, vi.107), so he probably is not one of
them. Diaeos son of Theocydes could be (viii.65). That Hdt. does

6 cont.

not name them is not necessarily significant. He defers naming the Aleuadae till the 9th bk. (1, 58).

Ὀνομάκριτον, ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον χρησμολόγον τε καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου, ἀνεβεβήκεσαν, τὴν ἔχθρην προκαταλυσάμενοι. — On the forgeries and interpolations of Onomac-

ritos see Pausanias i.22.7 with Frazer ii.268; schol. Harl. Od. xi.

604; Clem. Alex. Strom. i.21.131, p. 397 and Sext. Emp. Pyrrh.

Hypotyp. iii.4, p. 115b for the connexion with Orpheus, in whose name he is supposed to have forged poetry; Plut. Mor. 407.

The Peisistratidae left a collection of oracles on the acropolis which Cleomenes seized (v.90) and Hippias is said to have possessed an exact knowledge of oracles (v.93). ("Bacis" is an epithet of Peisistratus; Schol. Ar. Peace 1071, Suidas s.v., RE ii.2802.) Onomacritos may have been responsible for both. HW (ii.127) note that he is said to have been commissioned by Peisistratus along with three colleagues to collect and arrange the scattered lays of Homer (Cramer, Anecd. i.6) but that report is probably nothing more than embroidery on Hdt' narrative.

Hdt. not only purports to know of Onomacritos' previous friendship with the Peisistratidae and its resuscitation, but also that Hipparchus banished him for forging an oracle, which oracle he forged, and who caught him at it. Hdt. also purports to know the drift of the favourable oracles by means of which he deceived Xerxes. Hdt. may have access to an Onomacritos source.

If so Hdt. could have derived the oracles of Bacis and Mousaeus from that source. Hdt. links the two, attributing the Salamis oracle of viii.77 to both (viii.96; see ix.43 and comm. ad loc.). Onomacritos may well have possessed the texts of other oracles. Like Dicaeos and the Peisistratidae themselves he will have known much about the Athenian tyrants and their connexions, and indeed

6 cont.

a great deal of Athenian history, even as Demaratus and his family must have retained a knowledge of Spartan tradition in the Troad. Like Demaratus, Onomacritos must have known the Persian court and he must have been specially interested in the supernatural as it affected the king and his family.

If Hdt. was able to draw on respectable sources of information for what went on at the Persian court the historical value of his dramatic scenes at the court must be considerably enhanced. Wecklein said that Hdt' court scenes of bk. vii. have no historical value and serve only to mislead and mis-inform the reader (Ueber die Tradition der Perserkriege, Munich 1876.11; see GPW 208, Burn 277 and 313, and Hignett's ch. on the antecedents of the invasion, esp. 88f.; against Hauvette 278-290, who takes them seriously). Clearly that thesis depends on whether Hdt. had good source material or whether he is just telling stories.

Stripped of dramatic overtones Hdt' court scenes are not improbable, though clearly every anecdote must be judged on its own merits. If Xerxes eventually made good use of the Aleuadae and Peisistratidae in planning the campaign of 480/79 (see e.g. GPW 207) they may have pushed Xerxes toward re-affirming Darius' commitment to that campaign in the first instance. Demaratus may have favoured Xerxes' claim to the throne at a time when it was in dispute. Onomacritos was not above the selective presentation of oracles. Xerxes' dreams are far from ridiculous when the bias of the narrative is considered (see below). On the other hand the traditions of Asia Minor almost certainly exaggerated Greek influence at the Persian court and Hdt. was hardly the man to minimise that influence.

ἐξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἀλοῦς ὑπὸ Ἀδίου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέως—Lasos is said to have been a rival of Simonides

(schol. Ar. Wasps 1410) and something of a musician (Plut. Mor.

6 cont.

1141 G; Hesychius s.v. Λασίσματα; Ath. viii.338b). Suidas and Diog. Laert. (i.42) call him one of the seven wise men. One untrustworthy tradition makes him the teacher of Pindar (Vit. Thom. p. 4.13; Eustath. Proem. 296.19; 300.1 Dr.; accepted by Bowra, Pindar 108 and 195). He also passes for the founder of the dithyramb (Schol. Pind. Ol. xiii. 25; Schol. Ar. Birds 1403; Suidas s.v. Κυκλιοδιδάσκαλος; Clem. Alex. Strom. i.16).

Hipparchus was the Peisistratid most known for his interest in the poets, e.g. Anac. and Simon. (Plato, Hipparch. 228f.).

ἐμποιέων ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμὸν ὥς αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνῳ ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφανιζοίετο κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης.—

Plutarch preserves an oracle predicting the appearance of an island before Thera and Planasia (Mor. 399). The small island of Chryse disappeared before the time of Pausanias (viii.33.4; see Frazer iv. 353f.) although it was there in 72 BC (App. Mith. 77). On the volcanic origin of the islands in the neighbourhood see Steph. Byz. s.v. Νέαι and Pliny NH ii.202.

Macan believes the prophecy has some bearing on the Peisistratid politics of the Hellespontine region (i¹7b). Lemnos was important to the Athenians. When Miltiades stood trial in 489 after the Parian expedition, his capture of Lemnos was one of the prime mitigations urged by his friends (vi.136) and Hdt. proceeds to write four chs. dealing directly and indirectly with the island (vi.137-140). But Onomacritos' motive evades us. We should like to know who or what he was working for.

εἰ μὲν τι ἐνέοι σφάλμα φέρον τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδέν—See the Plataea oracle of ix.43.

ὁ δὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα ἐκλεγόμενος ἔλεγε, τὸν τε Ἑλλησποντον ὥς ζευχθῆναι χρεὸν εἶη ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Πέρσῃ, τὴν τε ἔλασιν ἐξηγεόμενος.—If the exact words were accessible to

Hdt. it seems strange that he does not quote them. According to Hdt.

Onomacritos does not forge these oracles; he merely gives them to the exclusion of others equally important portending disaster (see Hauvette 282f.).

7.

ὥς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα-- He made the decision to march on Greece before he quelled the Egyptian rebellion. Macan believes that Hdt. could not have had good evidence to that effect (i^{18b}) but the statement is plausible. Preparations for the great expedition would inevitably bear on the conduct of operations against Egypt.

ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου πρῶτα στρατιὴν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας.--

If Darius died in 486, the Egyptian campaign took place in 485, leaving 4 full years of further preparations before the Greek campaign (ch. 20; see comm. ad loc.), in accord with Thuc' evidence of i.18 that the second stolos was in the 10th year after Marathon. The 2nd year after Darius' death may not be synonymous with the 2nd year of Xerxes' reign, as Blakesley points out (ii.186).

Xerxes' official reign probably began before Darius' death. But there seems little need to invoke this discrepancy in tabulating a chronology of the decade in question, nor is there any good reason to believe that this "2nd year" is that of Xerxes' official reign. See the table at ch. 20.

τούτους μὲν νυν καταστρεφόμενος--Macan believes the middle verbs ποιεῖται and καταστρεφόμενος suggest that Xerxes did not lead the expedition in person (i^{19a}) but there is no good evidence on the question and Hdt' language must not be pressed in that kind of way.

Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν πολλὸν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν--Xerxes abandoned Darius' policy of religious tolerance in the case of Babylon (see comm. at ch. 2). He seems to have been similarly tough in the case of Egypt. On Darius' leniency in general see iii.38, vi.97, Tod 10; in Egypt see ii.110, 158, and Meyer, GA iii.163ff.. Darius probably reacted against Cambyzes' needless disregard of Egyptian law and custom (iii.16,29,37).

7 cont.

ἐπιτρέπει Ἀχαιμένει, ἀδελφεῷ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ, Δαρείου δὲ παιδός.—He is the son of Darius, Xerxes' full brother, commanding the Egyptian contingent in the great invasion (ch. 97) and opposing Demaratus' strategy of dividing the fleet so as to occupy Cythera (ch. 236).

Ἀχαιμένεα μὲν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσε Ἰνάρως ὁ Ψαμμητίχου ἀνὴρ Λίβυς.—

Hdt. says that he himself saw the skulls of Achaemenes' Persians at Papremis (iii.12). On Inaros' revolt and Thannyras' recovery of his father's power, see iii.15, Thuc. i.104, and Ctesias 32 with Kroll, RE ix.1219f.. ATL date Inaros' revolt to 461/460 (iii.177).

8.

σύλλογον ἐπικλητον Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποιέετο—Macan calls the pre-campaign council "an important Persian institution and at least a potential check on the absolute monarchy" (i¹9b). For similar occasions see i.206, iii.65, vii.13, viii.67,101,119, ix.42; Ezra vii.14f., Esther i.14, Daniel iii.24; the Darius vase. The names applied to Xerxes' cortege of nobles are various: pareontes, epikletoi, dokimotatoi, homositoi, paredroi, symbouloi, protoi.

ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε.—To Dionysius of Halicarnassus this speech is a mean between the austere and sweet styles (de adm. vi dicendi in Demosth. 41).

Blakesley (ii.187), Rawlinson (iv.7), and Macan (i¹10a) argue that the speech is un-historical and there is no reason to doubt that it is Hdt.' own free composition, but the themes are nonetheless those that a Persian monarch would emphasise before mounting his campaign. The offensive-defensive strategy of empire underlies Xerxes' arguments.

8 cont.

οὐδαμὰ κω ἡτρεμίσσαμεν—We have been a nation of un-ceasing enterprise ever since Cyrus founded the empire.

ἐπέλτε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου κατελόντος Ἀστυάγεα—It seems unlikely that Xerxes would have been able to allude to the struggle with the Medes in quite this kind of way when so many of them were running the country. Perhaps one or more of Hdt' sources, e.g. the Artabanos and Artabazus sources, emphasise the conflict between the Medes and Persians.

χώρην τε τῆς νῦν ἐκτῆμεθα οὐκ ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ φλαυροτέρην παμφορωτέρην δέ—Xerxes may be referring to all Europe.

Aeschylus portrays Xerxes as taunted by evil advisors with an invidious comparison between the conquests of his ancestors and his own cowardly reticence and thus driven to the expedition against Greece (Pers. 753ff.).

μέλλω ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἑλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα—See Onomacritus' prediction of vii.6 and Aesch' Pers. e.g. 736, γέφυραν γαῖν δυοῖν ζευκτηρίαν.

ἵνα Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσωμαι ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν.—Xerxes is not made to desire vengeance on the Spartans for their treatment of the Persian heralds (ch. 136) but that does not necessarily mean that Hdt. is un-acquainted with that anecdote when he writes this passage (against e.g. Macan i¹11a). Xerxes' thirst for vengeance on the Athenians before his Greek campaign is analogous to Darius' desire for vengeance on the Scythians before the Scythian expedition (iv.1). Hdt. has already stated in memorable fashion that the Athenian ships of the Sardis raid were the ἀρχὴ κακῶν for both Greeks and Persians (v.97). He anticipates this speech more un-mistakeably when he has Darius say "O God let me punish the Athenians" and Darius' slave say "Master remember the Athenians" three times a day before dinner (v.105). Hdt. believes that the Persians felt more anger toward Athens than toward Sparta

8 cont.

just as he believes that it was Athens and not Sparta that saved Greece (vii.139). There is no good reason to believe that he was wrong.

ἐς Σάρδεις ἐλθόντες ἅμα Ἀρισταγόρῃ τῷ Μιλησίῳ—

Elsewhere Hdt. says that Aristagoras did not go in person (v.99).

Hdt. may have learned something new before he wrote that passage (thus e.g. Macan i¹11b) but he may simply have forgot his previous story. It seems wrong to build on this discrepancy.

οἱ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώραν—See vii.11, Soph.

Ajax 1292. Pindar calls him a Lydian (Ol. i.24, ix.9); Ister a Paphlagonian (FGH 334 F 74); Autesion an Achaean from the city of Olenos (FGH 298 F 1). His father Tantalus is king of Sipylus (Apollodorus iii.5.6) and thus Rawlinson finds Pindar's nomenclature the most "correct" (iv.9). Strabo says that tragic poets call Trojans, Mysians, and Lydians by the name of Phrygian (665).

οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώραν γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ἥλιος ὁμουρέουσιν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ... See Arrian, Anab. v.26.

διὰ πάσης διεξεληθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης—Hdt. says the Ister traverses the whole length of Europe (iv.49) and Macan concludes that this passage is not consistent with his conception of Europe as expressed in the 4th bk. (see iv.42; Macan i¹12b). This phrase constitutes in-sufficient evidence on which to base such a conclusion. Combining iv.49 and ix.8, Hdt. may believe that Xerxes' march runs parallel to the Ister but south of that river.

οὔτε τινὰ πόλιν ἀνδρῶν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσθαι τὸ ἡμῖν οἷον τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων τῶν κατέλεξα ὑπεξαραιρημένων.—Xerxes is made to

distinguish nicely between the civilised and the un-civilised (Macan i¹12b). He conveniently forgets the Scythians and the Massagetae. See Demaratus' promise that if the king but conquers the Spartans, there is no other race of men to withstand him (vii.209).

8 cont.

οὕτω οἱ τε ἡμῖν αἵτιοι ἔξουσι δούλιον ζυγὸν οἱ τε ἀνάτιοι.—Fulfilment of Persian destiny, filial piety, religious remembrance, and just revenge have given way to a lust for conquest and finally to an un-just desire that both the guilty and the innocent should bear the yoke.

On the phrase δούλιον ζυγὸν see Aesch. Pers. 50, ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλεῖν δούλιον 'Ελλάδι.

δώσω οἱ δῶρα τὰ τιμιώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου.—

Hdt. does not know who won the gifts or even whether the contest was ever decided (ch. 26). On the gifts themselves see iii.84, vii. 106, Xen. Anab. i.2.27 (a golden-bridled horse, a golden necklace, bracelet, and scimitar), i.8.29, and Cyrop. viii.2.8, Ctesias Pers. i.17 p. 49, Esther vi.9, Esdras iii.6.

The success of the enterprise depended on each satrap and general being prothumos, because the empire was loose-knit, composed of semi-autonomous provinces. It is credible that Xerxes should tempt each noble to do his best. He may have planned to decide which army was "best" in Critalla (ch. 26) but according to Hdt. he deferred full review of the army and navy till Doriscus, where he personally marshalled the host and ordered his scribes to take down the details (vii.59,100).

ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἰδιοβουλέειν ὑμῖν δοκέω—A penchant for councils may be an Indo-European characteristic held in common by the Greeks and Persians. Hdt. may indeed compose the speech freely, but much of it is plausible and indeed must have been communicated to the satraps and generals in one form or another.

2.

Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε·... "Ἴωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικη-
μένους οὐκ ἔάσεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν ἐόντας ἀναξίλους.—

9 cont.

Mardonius seems to refer specifically to the Athenians, just as Xerxes does in ch. 8. To Hdt. "Ionian" is something of a dirty name (see i.143, v.69). The Persians may have used "Ionians" to mean "Greeks" (see Aesch. Persae 178 and 950, where Aesch. could be thinking of the Athenians, however, just as Aristophanes has Pseudartabas address an Athenian as Iaonau, Ach. 104) but Mardonius is made to divide the Greeks into Ionians, Dorians, and Aeolians in this very speech.

καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἄν εἴη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς
καὶ Αἰθίοπας τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἄλλα τε ἔθνηα πολλὰ καὶ
μεγάλα...καταστρεφάμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν—

HW (ii.129) point out that Mardonius exaggerates grossly in that only small divisions of the Indians (iii.98, 101), African Aethiopians (iii.97), Amyrgian Sacae (iii.93.3; see vii.64.2), and Eastern Ethiopians (iii.94, vii.70) were Persian subjects according to Hdt.. But perhaps Mardonius is made to name these races largely out of dramatic irony, and not merely because they are distant and colourful. The Scythians and Aethiopians (iii.25) inflicted military disasters on the Persians when they tried to over-extend the empire. The Indians also may have done even if Hdt. does not say so (iv.44). The Assyrians were perhaps the most troublesome major province of the empire, subjugated only at great trouble and expense (i.177f., 190ff.) and held in subjugation only by force of arms (iii.150ff.).

*Ἕλληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα.—

According to Hdt. the Persians also were interested in who began the east-west conflict and were concerned to show that the west started the trouble (see Hdt' references to the Persian logioi of the 1st bk. esp. 1.1-5). It seems difficult to believe him (see Intro. pt. iii).

κοῖνην πλῆθος συστροφῆν; κοῖνην δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν;—

The Persians relied on numbers and wealth to win their wars. According to Hdt. both were to work against them in this campaign.

9 cont.

ἔχομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεψάμενοι, τούτους οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατοικημένοι Ἴωνες τε καὶ Αἰολεὺς καὶ Δωριεὺς καλέονται.---The lines are ironic. The Persians were

able to quell the Ionian revolt only after 5 yrs. of war. This reference to the three divisions seems to indicate that Hdt. does not mean to dwell on the Persian habit of calling all Greeks Ionians (see above).

ἐπειρήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθεὶς, καὶ μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίης ἐλάσαντι καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπικέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἠντιώθη ἐς μάχην.---

Hdt. represents Mardonius as blatantly falsifying the degree of success he attained in Thrace to a gullible king. More important, the lesson of Mardonius' previous campaign and that of Darius' Scythian expedition as well is that it is not necessary for a Persian army to suffer defeat in battle in order that it come to nought. The elements alone are sufficient to ensure disaster, the land and the sea as Artabanos says (vii.49). Mardonius' reliance on the fact that no army gave him battle is ironic indeed in view of the more important fact that he failed.

ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι πόλεμον προείπωσι, ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται, ὥστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσσομένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχήν, ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται.---Mardonius seems to describe the epic wars of the past,

at Troy, the Lelantine plain (Strabo 465), Tegea (i.66), the Thyrean plain (i.82). Cleomenes' great victory at Sepeia does not conform to the epic pattern (vi.77ff.), at least not as Hdt. describes it. See Polybius' conception of classic Greek warfare (xiii.3).

The Greeks probably fought in the plain because that was the scene of the attacking army's ravages. If the defending polis did not come out and fight they faced slow starvation. Hoplite technique was evolved for and out of such warfare. See Grundy, THHA i, ch. 9.

9 cont.

τοὺς χρῆν, ἐόντας ὁμογλώσσους, κήρυξί τε διαχρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχῃσι.— See viii.144 and Thuc. i.140.2.

ἔστω δ' ὧν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι.—

Mardonius' spirit here, and that of the Persians in general as represented by Xerxes in ch. 8, is comparable to that of the Athenians as described by the Corinthians of Thuc. i.70.9:

ὥστε εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ξυνελὼν φαίη πεφυκέναι ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἔαν, ὁρθῶς ἂν εἴποι.

10.

Ἀρτάβανος δ' Ὑστράσπεος, πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξη, τῷ δὴ καὶ πρίσυνος ἐὼν ἔλεγε τάδε.—
He has already opposed Darius'

Scythian expedition (iv.83) as he points out below.

ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλῳ χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνω.—See Theognis 417, 449, 1105; Pindar, Pyth. x.67; Bacch.

Bergk 22, Kenyon 51; Pliny, NH xxxiii.43.

ἀλλ' ἦν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τοῦτο δὴ, βασιλεῦ, γίνεται δεινόν.—

Hdt. seems to emphasise Themistocles' suggestion of viii.108.

Perhaps he believes that Themistocles' plan of action was right from the Greek point of view but see comm. ad loc..

τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λῦσαι τὸν πόρον....—Hdt. refers back to his narrative of iv.136ff..

καὶ τότε γε Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ μηδὲ ἠντιώθη—

Hdt. does not allude to Miltiades' suggestion that the tyrants should do as the Scythians proposed, but that does not mean that he did not know the anecdote when he wrote this passage (against Macan i¹17b).

διαβολὴ γάρ ἐστι δεινότατον....—The passage has an air of youthful scholasticism about it (see e.g. Macan i¹19a).

10 cont.

ὕπνῳ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων διαφορεύμενον-- Hdt. implies that Mardonius' body will go un-buried, like the Persians of ix.83, an implication hardly in keeping with his portrait of a humane Pausanias (ix.76-80). In his post-Plataea narrative Hdt. assumes that someone buried Mardonius but he is not sure who it was (ix.84).

11.

μὴ γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος
τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω τοῦ Τείσπεος τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσῃ
τοῦ Τείσπεος τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονώς--

πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον,

Il. x.68

Kent translates DB i.3-11 as follows (OP 119):

Saith Darius the King: My father was Hystaspes; Hystaspes' father was Arsames; Arsames' father was Ariaramnes; Ariaramnes' father was Teispes; Teispes' father was Achaemenes. Saith Darius the King: For this reason we are called Achaemenians. From long ago we have been noble. From long ago our family had been kings. Saith Darius the King: VIII of our family (there are) who were kings afore; I am the ninth; IX in succession we have been kings.

This genealogy can be compared with that of Hdt. thus:

<u>DB i</u>	<u>Hdt.</u>
	Achaemenes
	Teispes
	Cambyses
Achaemenes	Cyrus
Teispes	Teispes
Ariaramnes	Ariaramnes
Arsames	Arsames
Hystaspes	Hystaspes
Darius	Darius

Prima facie at least, the 9 generations to which Darius refers at Behistun correspond to the 9 generations of Hdt' genealogy, but Darius knows nothing of the 3 generations intervening in Hdt' genealogy between Achaemenes and Teispes II. Why does Darius mention 9 generations of kings and name only 6? The most obvious explanation is that Darius' own ancestors are not necessarily kings:

11 cont.

there are 9 Achaemenid kings but only he and perhaps Achaemenes are among them.

What then is the relationship between the genealogy of the monument and Hdt's own genealogy? Prima facie at least Hdt. is wrong. Darius says Teispes was the son of Achaemenes. He may mean that in some figurative sense (see HW i.388) but we have no very good reason for believing that he does. And Hdt. apparently confuses the 9 gens. of Achaemenid kings with Darius' immediate ancestry.

What is the explanation of Hdt's genealogy? We can only guess. There seems no good reason to believe that he incorporates the line of Darius' father with that of his mother (against e.g. Macan i¹20). Atossa is the daughter of Cyrus (vii.2), son of Cambyses (i.108), son of Cyrus (i.111), in the line of Achaemenes (iii.75). I.e. there are two Cyruses in her line and no Teispes. We can not rule out the possibility that Hdt. merely invents an extra Cyrus, an extra Cambyses, and an extra Teispes to make up 9 generations..It seems likely that this number of gens. was commonly associated with Achaemenid rule in Persia. In any event we have no authority other than that of Hdt. for the 3 names intervening between Achaemenes and Teispes II.

εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν...

Hdt. represents Xerxes as obsessed with the offensive-defensive.

Πέλοψ ὁ Φρύξ-- See ch. 8 and comm. ad loc.. He could be thought of as the slave of Xerxes' fathers by the following reasoning. The Persian royal house were the Achaemenidae (i.125) who were descended from Perses, and thence from Perseus and Andromeda the daughter of Cepheus (vii.61 and 150). But both Cepheus (vii.61) and Ninos (i.7) were sons of Belos, and Agron son of Ninos was the first Heraclid king of Sardis (i.7), thus the Achaemenid mythological claim to the throne of Sardis, presumably ante-dating and making illegitimate the rule of the Mermnadae (see i.13f.). Pelops the Phrygian is evidently

11 cont.

considered a slave of the Heracleidae, even if he ante-dates their rule in Asia.

But in spite of Stein's emphasis on the mythological basis of Xerxes' statement (iv.25) Pelops may be called a slave of Xerxes' fathers merely because the Persians think all Asia belongs to themselves and whoever rules them (i.4, ix.116).

12.

εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων·— The night-time vision is at least as old as Homer (see the οὔλος ὄνειρος of Il. ii.6ff. and the εἶδωλον ἀμαυρόν of Od. iv.795ff.) and recurs in Hdt' History (cf. Cyrus' vision of Darius, i.209, and Hipparchos' vision of v.56). Stein (iv.26) and his followers cite the Darius vase' representation of APATE.

Hdt. may refer to Persian logioi such as those of i.1 or the Persians who know various versions of the Cyrus story (i.95). Hdt' explicit reference to the ultimate provenance of the story makes it more difficult to believe that the dream is nothing more than Hdt' own invention, as e.g. Macan assumes (i¹ 22b), but see pt. iii of the Intro..

On the following sequence see comm. at ch. 18.

13.

φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὔκω ἀνήκω— He was born after Darius' accession in 521 (vii.2) and his son Darius was old enough to marry Masistes' daughter (ix.108).

14.

μέγας καὶ πολλός—See Ar. Birds 488, οὕτω δ' ἴσχυσέ τε καὶ μέγας ἦν τότε καὶ πολὺς (of the Περσικὸς ὄρνις). Ar. may

14 cont.

be writing a parody of Hdt. here but there is no very good reason to think so. See Intro. i, "Hdt. and Ar."

15.

For discussion of the sequence see comm. at ch. 18.

16.

Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ κελεύσματι πειθόμενος,
οἷα οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι,
τέλος ὥς ἠναγκάζετο εἶπας τάδε ἐποίησε τὸ κελευόμενον.—

It may have been an offense punishable by death to sit on the king's throne. See Q. Curtius viii.4.17; Valerius Max. v.1, p. 177; Front. Strat. iv.6.3 but also Arrian, Anab. vii.24.2-3. Clearly the anecdote is at pains to show that Artabanos did so only on express, repeated orders from the king. See comm. at ch. 18.

Ἴσον ἐκεῖνο, ὃ βασιλεῦ, παρ' ἐμοὶ κέκριται, φρονέειν
τε εὖ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἐθέλειν πεῖθεσθαι.—

See e.g. Hesiod Works 293ff. and Soph. Ant. 720ff..

ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλῖαι σφάλλουσι.— See Aesch. Pers. 753,
ταῦτά τοι κακοῖς ὁμιλῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκεται/ θούριος
Ξέρξης· Plato, Rep. viii.550; Menander ap. i Cor. xv.33.

κατὰ περ τὴν πάντων χρησιμωτάτην ἀνθρώποισι θάλασσαν
πνεύματά φασι ἀνέμων ἐμπέπτοντα οὐ περιορᾶν φύσι τῇ
ἐωυτῆς χρᾶσθαι.— See Solon fr. 12, ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα

ταράσσεται· ἦν δέ τις αὐτὴν/ μὴ κινῆ, πάντων ἐστὶ

δικαιοσύνη; Polybius xi.29; Livy xxviii.27. Livy calls the simile

a vulgata similitudo for the passion of the mob, xxxviii.10.

πεπλανησθαι αὐται μάλιστα ἐώθασιν [αἱ] ὄψεις [τῶν]
ὄνειράτων, τὰ τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς
πρὸ τοῦ ἡμέρας ταύτην τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὸ κάρτα
εἶχομεν μετὰ χειρᾶς.—

Hdt. probably writes these lines in

an age when it is fashionable among the sophisticated to explain

portents as natural phenomena. Commentators since Valckenauer compare

16 cont.

Attius in Cicero's de Div. i.45. Hdt' own opinion on the matter remains indeterminate because this vision is supposed to be supernatural and not in fact a product of the cares of the day.

17.

See comm. at ch. 18.

18.

ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ ὄνειρον ἀπειλέειν καὶ θερμοῖσι σιδηροῖσι ἐκκαλεῖν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. — Rawlinson (iv.21) cites Xen. Anab. i.9.13, Amm.

Maro. xxvii.12, Procopius de Bell. Pers. i.11 p. 30, and Jeremiah xxxix.7 and lii.11, the earliest instance on record, where Zedekiah's eyes are put out by Nebuchadnezzar.

τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον...τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας τὸν Καμβύσεω...συστρατευόμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας. — See i.201-216, iii.17-25, iv.1-144.

Artabanos is made to warn Darius against the Scythian expedition (iv.83) even though he marched with the king (vii.18, quoted above). He was close to Darius. The king praised Megabazus to him in the pomegranite anecdote of iv.143. Hdt' Xerxes-Artabanos conversations give him consistently favourable treatment and make him privy to the highest counsels of state. Hdt. probably has access to a source of information about Artabanos. He is allowed to monopolise 15 full chs. of Hdt' narrative, some of them very long. Analysis of these court scenes in which Xerxes makes the final decision to march on Greece, leading up to Xerxes' presentation of the royal σκῆπτρα to Artabanos (vii.52), must take into consideration their bias in Artabanos' favour. The Persians of ch. 12 who are responsible for the story of Xerxes' vision according to Hdt. seem to be telling Artabanos' version of events. And Hdt' narrative seems credible once we make allowance for that fact.

18 cont.

Thirlwall is suspicious of Hdt' narrative but suggests that the Magi used their occult arts in an effort to counteract Artabanos' influence over the king, urged on by Artabanos' adversaries in high places (ii.279). Grote reacts by calling the dream "religious imagination" and the product of "Persian fancy" (iv.11Of.). Rawlinson reverts to the notion that Hdt' narrative has a basis in fact, and suspects that Mardonius' friends devised a skilful fraud so as to play on Xerxes' credulity (iv.21). Macan rejects that explanation in favour of pure scepticism because in his view Artabanos would have discovered the fraud (i¹27a and b).

But another hypothesis is that there was a fraud and Artabanos was the perpetrator. The key fact is that according to Hdt. Xerxes delivered the seals of government into Artabanos' hands when he marched from Abydos (vii.52). Therefore if we can believe Hdt. Artabanos had much to gain from the expedition and nothing to lose. Xerxes' personal command of the army exposed him to considerable danger and in the event of his death or disability Artabanos would have been king. He had groomed himself to be king by sitting on the king's throne, lying in his bed, wearing his clothes. According to Hdt' narrative he did so only in obedience to the king's repeated commands but that is the construction that Artabanos must have put on such conduct after Xerxes returned to Asia. According to Hdt. Artabanos did not want the king to go and acquiesced only to the supernatural. But that again is Artabanos' own construction of his advice to the king after the war was lost. Xerxes had a night-time visitation that urged him on to the war. Perhaps he did: but Artabanos confirmed that visitation. He it was who must have emphasised the role of fate in determining the expedition, as against that of human agency—his own, because he had been strong for the war (ch. 18). Even the oulos oneiros is entirely credible as part of Artabanos' defense after the war. His own explanation of the apparition is

18 cont.

sufficient to account for its first appearance. We may have Artabanos' own word for his confirmation of it.

Artabanos probably wanted to be king. To that extent at least later tradition according to which he killed Xerxes and shifted the blame on to the young Darius may have some historical basis (Diodorus xi.69; see Ctesias 6Of., Arist. Pol. 1311 b 34, and Justin iii.1).

Xerxes inherited plans and preparations for a Greek campaign. Perhaps as a result of his personal or vicarious experience in quelling the Egyptian rebellion he had doubts about it. He dreamed that he had to execute his father's designs and consulted Artabanos afterward. Artabanos knew that if Xerxes mounted a major expedition the king would probably lead it in person and leave him in control. Xerxes must either succeed or fail. If he succeeded Artabanos would have enjoyed many mths. of supreme authority and also stood to gain from having advised the king to carry on with Darius' plans. If he failed and lived, Artabanos would be able to claim that it was fate in the person of Xerxes' own dream that made the campaign inevitable. If he failed and died, Artabanos would be king. Therefore Artabanos contrived to sit on the king's throne, put on his clothes, and lie in his bed by pretending to test the king's apparition. He thereby strengthened his own claim to the throne in case Xerxes died, because in that event he could claim that the king himself gave him the right of accession. He proceeded to confirm the king's vision ("the very same spirit appeared to me") and urged on the war against Greece.

Seen in that kind of light Hdt' narrative of events at the Persian court may have some basis in history. even though it seems to be nothing more than a Greek story of Asia Minor.

19.

19.

τρίτη ὄψις--See chs. 12 and 14.

τὴν οἱ μάγοι ἔκριναν ἀκούσαντες φέρειν τε ἐπὶ πᾶσαν
γῆν δουλεύσειν τέ οἱ πάντας ἀνθρώπους.--

Once Xerxes is finally determined on the expedition the Magi have to interpret the omen favourably.

The Magi are one genos of the Median ethnos (i.101). They interpreted Astyages' dream of inundating waters flowing from Mandane (i.107) and the vision of Mandane's vine (i.108) rightly, but they placated Astyages by telling him that the kingship of Cyrus' game was that which they had predicted and that he was safe (i.120). Astyages impaled them for their trouble (i.128). A Magus must chant at official sacrifices (i.132) and Hdt. knows their treatment of dead bodies and also that they do not hesitate to kill all manner of animals with their bare hands except dogs and men (i.140). They were an integral part of the conspiracy to seize power at the end of Cambyzes' reign, and only the determined counter-conspiracy of the Seven could put them down (iii.61, 63-69, 71, 74-80). Here they give Xerxes a false prophecy (ch. 19) and another a few chs. later (ch. 37). Their sacrifices at Ilion bring on night-time panic in the army (ch. 43) and their slaughter of white horses at the Strymon smacks of witchcraft (ch. 113). In Hdt.' view it is not the sacrifices and spells of the Magi that make the storm off the Sepiad headland cease. It would have done so on its own (ch. 191).

Hdt.' treatment of the Magi is consistently un-favourable and it seems likely that his un-favourable portrait derives from a source or sources ill-disposed toward them. The Artabanos-source is one likely candidate because Artabanos and the Magi were rivals. Likewise the Artabanos source may be partly responsible for Hdt' un-favourable treatment of Mardonius because Mardonius also is one of Artabanos' rivals. The Magi and Mardonius are consistently wrong whereas Artabanos is consistently right.

19 cont.

ἔδοκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἐστεφανῶσθαι ἐλαίης θαλλῶ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίης τοὺς κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεῖν, μετὰ δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κείμενον τὸν στέφανον.—

The olive of this vision is not necessarily connected with the sacred Athenian olives of v.82 or the burning of the sacred olive on the Athenian acropolis (viii.55), and the Greeks of Asia Minor could have turned a vine of some other description into an olive, but nonetheless it seems most likely that this story is Greek (e.g. Blakesley ii.198; Rawlinson iv.22; Stein iv.32; Macan i¹29a; HW ii.132).

θέλων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα λαβεῖν— See comm. at ch. 8.

20.

ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου ἀλώσιος ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα παραρτέετο στρατιήν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ, πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτее χειρὶ μεγάλη πλῆθεος.— The following table is essentially that of Rawlinson.

490—Marathon. Darius orders the commencement of preparations.
ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα (vii.1).

489—

488—

487—Egyptian revolt (τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει, vii.1).

486—Darius dies, τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει (vii.4).

485—Reduction of Egypt, δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει μετὰ τὸν θάνατον (vii.7). Preparations against Greece renewed.

484—

483—

482—

481—Preparations continue till spring, ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα (vii.20). Xerxes marched from Sousa (or Critalla, vii.26) πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ (vii.20).

480 (spring)—After wintering in Sardis Xerxes marches for the Hellespont (vii.37).

The march to which Hdt. refers ought to be that from Critalla, the mustering-ground of vii.26, and not the march from Sardis in the spring of 480 (vii.37). HW err in beginning the 4 full years of preparations as late as spring 484 (ii.133) so as to make Hdt. refer

20 cont.

to the latter march. ἀνομένῳ means not "ending" or "commencing" but "in progress" (see Blakesley ii.198).

The 10-yr. interval between Marathon and Xerxes' expedition is determined most firmly by Thuc. i.18.2. See also Plato, Laws iii. 698 C; Par. Mar. 62 and 66; Aristides 46, ii p. 241.

στόλων γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν πολλῷ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο— See Thuc. i.23.

τὸν Δαρείου τὸν ἐπὶ Σκύθας— See ch. 10 and comm. ad loc..

τὸν Σκυθικόν, ὅτε Σκύθαι Κιμμερίους διώκοντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἐσβαλόντες σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ ἄνω τῆς Ἀσίας καταστρεψάμενοι ἐνέμοντο, τῶν ἐνεκεν ὕστερον Δαρεῖος ἐτιμωρέετο— See i.6,15,103; iv.11-13. The Massagetae pushed the

Soythians and the Scythians in turn pushed the Cimmerians (iv.11).

Hdt. re-enforces the motive of vengeance, iv.1.

μήτε κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα τὸν Ἀτρειδέων ἐς Ἴλιον— It is perhaps natural to suppose that Hdt. alludes to the Homeric Catalogue (Il. ii.484ff.; cf. Thuc. i.10; thus e.g. Stein iv.33) but we do not know what written and/or oral sources Hdt. may comprehend in this phrase. For Hdt' own allusions to the traditions of the Trojan war see e.g. i.3-5, ii.112-120, vi.61, vii.161, and ix.73.

μήτε τὸν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενον, οἳ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κατὰ Βόσπορον τοὺς τε Θρήικας κατεστρέψαντο πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον πόντον κατέβησαν μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἤλασαν.—

Hdt. does not attribute his information to the Persian logioi of i.1, who apparently did not emphasise the sins of Asia against Europe!

This story conflicts with their account, in which the E-W quarrel was only a matter of piracy on both sides till the Trojan war, when the Greeks invaded Asia before the Asiatics invaded Europe (i.4).

Hdt. evidently enquired about the participants in this early Asiatic invasion of Europe. The Paeonians claimed descent from the Teuorians (v.13; the Paeonians clearly hold an important place in

20 cont.

the relations between E and W --note their mass transportation, v.12ff., and their deliverance at the hands of Aristagoras, v.98). The Mysians and Teucrians drove the Bithynians from their homes (vii.75). Only the Gergithae are left of the ancient Teucrians (v.122; see vii.43).

At least from the time of Rawlinson (iv.24) and especially from the time of Stein (iv.33) the chief question arising from this passage is whether the Mysians were Asiatic and invaded Europe as Hdt. says or Europeans who invaded Asia, or indeed whether they invaded in both directions at various times. Perhaps the chief proponents of the Europe-Asia hypothesis are Cramer (AM i.78f.), Meyer (GA i.692, 736 and see ii.1²301), Macan (i¹30f.), HW (ii.133f.), and Ruge (RE v A 1121f.).

Stein supports Hdt' account as follows.

- (a.) The Paeonians claim to be colonists of the Teucrians from Troy (v.13).
- (b.) In Hdt' time (sic) Paeonian and kindred races were settled in scattered groups from the Illyrian mountains to the Propontis, in northern Thessaly, and in the Pelagonian (i.e. Paeonian) Tripolis. Local legends of Dyrrhachion and Cestrine on the Adriatic pointed to Trojan-Phrygian settlers (Appian BC ii.39; Pausanias ii.23.6).
- (c.) The Bithynians claimed to be Thracians driven from their homes on the Strymon by the Mysians and Teucrians (vii.75).
- (d.) There are many similar names on both sides of the Hellespont, e.g. the Thracian river Arisbos and the Lesbian and Troadic towns of Arisba; the Trojan Scaean gate and the Thracian Scaean fort and river (Strabo 590).
- (e.) Priam's alliance stretched among the inhabitants of the Thracian coast as far as the Axios.
- (f.) The early Thracians appear to have had the music and orgiastic rites of Phrygia. Strabo identifies the Thracian and Phrygian cultures (470-471).

Macan rightly points out that (b.)--(f.) are all compatible with a Europe-Asia invasion. Thus (a.) becomes "highly disputable" and especially since the Teucrians are unknown to Homer. But what is the case against Hdt' account?

20 cont.

Hdt. believes the Teucrians are Trojans (ii.114, 118, v.13,122, vii.20,43,75) and the Mysians are Troadic, from historical Mysia (i.28,36,160,171, iii.90, v.122, vi.28, vii.20,42,74 [colonists of the Lydians⁷, viii.106, ix.32). But Homer does not mention the Teucrians. There are various explanations of the fact. Blakesley concludes that the name is more recent than the Iliad (ii.199). Kretschmer believes that they are not mentioned because the epic purports to represent a period before their immigration (Einleitung in die Gesch. d. gr. Sprache, 1896.191). Whatever the explanation, Homer's knowledge of the Teucrians' eponymous hero Teucer the famous archer is all the more significant. Teucer is an Achaean to be sure, the son of Telamon and the brother of Ajax of Salamis, but that does not necessarily make him a European: he is the bastard son of Telamon (Il. viii.281ff.). His position is hardly at variance with Hdt's account. Homer's evidence on the Mysians is also ambiguous. They appear in the Catalogue of Trojans after the Thracians, Cicones, Paeonians, Paphlagonians, and Halizones in that order (ii.858ff.), and before the Phrygians, Maeonians, and Carians. Here they are clearly Asian. They also appear grouped with the Lycians, Phrygians, and Maeonians in another context (x.430f.). A third passage in the Iliad seems to put Mysia in Europe, and both Macan (i¹31a) and HW (ii.134) use it in support of their hypothesis that the Mysians and Teucrians are European and invade Asia. In view of the two previous passages in which the Mysians are clearly Asiatic, it seems necessary to quote.

5 Ζεὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν Τρῶας τε καὶ Ἑκτορα νηυσὶ πέλασσε,
 τοὺς μὲν ἔα παρὰ τῇσι πόνον τ' ἐχέμεν καὶ οἰζὺν
 νωλεμέως, αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὅσσε φαιινῷ,
 νόσφιν ἐφ' ἱπποπόλων θρηκῶν καθορώμενος αἶαν
 Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν Ἰππημολγῶν
 γλακτοφάγων, Ἀβίων τε δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων.
 ἐς Τροίην δ' οὐ πάμπαν ἔτι τρέπεν ὅσσε φαιινῷ·
 οὐ γάρ οἱ γ' ἀθανάτων τινα ἔλπετο δν κατὰ θυμὸν
 ἐλθόντ' ἢ Τρώεσσιν ἀρηξέμεν ἢ Δαναοῖσιν.

20 cont.

Those who reject Hdt' account assume that Zeus looks Thraceward, and that all the peoples of this passage live in that direction. First, that assumption is not necessarily correct because Zeus may be looking around from place to place rather than gazing in one direction. But let us waive that consideration. In what direction is Zeus looking? We know little enough of the Hippemolgoi and the Abioi, much less where their territory is. The Mysians are in question. What of the Thracians? Il. xiv.225ff. puts them on Hera's route from Olympus to Lemnos: she goes by way of Pieria, Emathia, the snowy mountains of the Thracian horsemen, and Athos. If we take the passage seriously that is much farther west than we should like the Thracians in any event. The Catalogue of Trojans on the other hand puts at least some Thracians as far east as the Hellespont, "those whom the mighty Hellespont enloseth" (ii.845). Peiros, leader of the Thracians, comes from Aenos, i.e. from the east bank of the Hebrus (iv.520). In fact it is impossible to tell if the author means one direction only in this passage and if so what direction that is. If he means that Zeus looks roughly NW from Troy, Troadic European Mysians lie within his gaze and particularly if these Thracians are Hellespontine. The passage is ambiguous but it can hardly be marshalled against Hdt' account.

Summing up, Homer's evidence is ambiguous in the case of the Teucrians and makes the Mysians rather Asiatic than European. Hdt' evidence, all of it (see below), shows that the Mysians and Teucrians are Asiatic and makes the Gergithae the last of the ancient Teucrians (v.122). What evidence can stand against them? The Strymonians of vii.75 flee eastward and not westward when they are dislocated by the Teucrians and Mysians, but that hardly means they are being driven from the west. Clearly the Myso-Teucrian invasion is merely the upheaval adopted by the Bithynians as a proximate cause of their

20 cont.

dislocation. Their W-E movement can be used in conjunction with Strabo's evidence to argue for a Europe-Asia invasion (see below) but on its own it means nothing, particularly when seen in the light of the rest of Hdt' evidence.

Strabo first identifies the Moesians with the Mysians and assumes that Moesia was their original home (see Kretschmer, Einl. in d. Gesch. d. gr. Sprache 211). That assumption arises merely out of the similarity of the two names. He goes on to argue Posidonius' thesis that Homer refers to the Moesians in the passage quoted and discussed above (295). But Posidonius' interpretation of Homer would be wrong in any event, and clearly it is dominated by the same desire to identify the Moesians with the Mysians.

Strabo also says that Bithynia is a colony of the Mysians, an assumption that may derive from Hdt. vii.75. According to Scylax of Caryanda Phrygians and Mysians live round the Ascanian lake. According to Dionysius of Chalcis the Thracian Bosphorus was once the Mysian Bosphorus (566). Scylax clearly makes the Mysians Asiatic. Dionysius' Mysian Bosphorus is without prejudice to an Asia-Europe invasion and may derive from this ch. of Hdt. anyway.

Strabo says that according to Callinus of Ephesus, the elegiac poet, the Teucrians come from Crete (see Steph. Byz. s.v. Arisbe and Ruge, RE v A 1121, and Berve, RE v A 1122f.) and also that another tradition makes Teucer come from Attica and not from Crete (604). The former tradition is without prejudice to an E-W invasion because even if it is right the Teucrians could have gone from Crete to Asia to Europe. The latter merely derives from the connexion between Teucer and Ajax of Salamis. It need not be taken seriously.

Strabo mentions a Mysios river, a tributary of the Caicus, and quotes Aeschylus' address to the Caicus and Mysian streams (616). Both allusions clearly refer to traditional Asiatic Mysia. Likewise

20 cont.

late mythological traditions according to which Teucer is a Trojan pre-suppose Hdt' Mysia (Apollodorus iii.12.1; Diodorus iv.75.1).

Kretschmer (Einleitung 189f.), Meyer (GA i³736), and Macan (i¹31a,b) believe the Teucrians derive from Cyprus, relying on Pindar's evidence that Teucer colonised the island (Nem. iv.46), on a connexion between the Gergithae (see e.g. Hdt. v.122) and the Cyprian Gergithoi (Ath. vi.256 c; see Steph. Byz. s.v. Gergis and Marcaion, and Burchner, RE vii.1248f.), and on archaeological evidence, especially that of pottery. Like the Teucer-Crete connexion (see above), this derivation is without prejudice to Hdt' account because the Teucrians could have gone from Cyprus to Asia to Europe. Anyway Pindar's evidence argues for a Teucrian migration from Asia to Cyprus rather than vice-versa.

The migration of the Phrygians from their home near the Macedonians where they were known as Bryges to Phrygia is not necessarily connected with the Myso-Teucrian invasion (vii.73), nor is the Midas connexion with Mt. Bermios (viii.138). Even if they are, they are compatible with Hdt' E-W invasion.

Hellanicus says that once the Macedones dwelt among the Mysians (FGH 4 F 74). He could mean that the Mysians once lived next to the present home of the Macedonians and then migrated to Asia, but he could also mean that once the Macedonians lived in Asia, or in Moesia, or that the Mysians came to live near Macedonia after they invaded Europe and later moved on. His evidence is ambiguous, and may even derive from Hdt' statement here that the Mysians and Teucrians got as far as the Peneüs.

According to Xanthos of Lydia (FGH 765 F 15) and Menecrates of Elaea (from Strabo 572), the Mysians' name derives from the Lydian name for the Oxya tree of Mt. Olympus. The Mysians lived around Mt. Olympus but crossed into Asia with the Phrygians when the latter

20 cont.

killed a ruler of Troy. The Mysian language is a mixture of the Lydian and Phrygian. The connexion with Mt. Olympus is compatible with Hdt' Myso-Teucrian invasion of Europe which got as far as the Peneus river after all. Their Lydian-Phrygian language points to an Asiatic origin rather than otherwise. The Phrygian movement eastward is without prejudice to the Myso-Teucrian invasion (see Hdt. vii.73 and above).

Finally, Macan argues that Hdt' E-W invasion fails to account for the presence of Mysians and Teucrians in historical Mysia (i¹32a,b) but Hdt' Asiatic Mysians and Teucrians argue for his account, not against it. Some of them merely stayed at home.

τὸν Ἰόνιον πόντον--The Adriatic. See vi.127, ix.92.

21.

κοῖτον δὲ πινόμενον [μιν] ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν;--

The following rivers failed: the Scamander

(43), Melas (58), Lisos (108), Cheidoros (127), and Onochonos (196).

On the other hand Hdt. names 15 rivers that evidently did not fail: the Hebrus (59), Trivos (109), Compsantos (109), Nestos (109)—this ch. also records a limne drained by Xerxes' beasts of burden, however—the Angites (113), Strymon (113), Axios (123), Lydias (127), Haliacmon (127), the Peneus, Apidanos, Enipeus, Pamisus, and Epidanos (196), and finally the Spercheus (198). Clearly Hdt. takes advantage of the rivers that do fail for dramatic purposes but those are few and he may even have special information about them (see ch. 127, where he singles out the Cheidoros). Hdt. does not say anything incredible in his account of river-failure. First, he makes it clear at the outset that he refers only to small as against large rivers. More important, however, he also makes it clear at the outset that he refers to drinking water when he says that a river fails

21 cont.

(πινόμενον). Out of the 5 cases of river-failure he uses this same word to designate drinking-water in 3 (43,127,196). Any large army must have rendered any small river unfit for drinking purposes, especially in a dry season.

τοῖσι δὲ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ἅμα στρατευομένοισι--Xerxes may have transported some of his cavalry by sea for at least part of the distance. Evidently those who furnished horse-transport vessels also provided troops (thus e.g. Rawlinson iv.24, Stein iv.34, Macan i¹33a, HW ii.134).

22.

ὥς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλεόντων περὶ τὸν Ἄθων-- See vi.44.

προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τὸν Ἄθων--Hdt. could mean 3 years till Xerxes' departure from Sousa, or 3 years till his march from Critalla, or from Sardis. "About" 3 years makes the phrase even more imprecise.

ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαίῳ τῆς Χερσονήσου ὄρμεον τριήρεις, ἐνθ' ἐβύτην δὲ ὀρμύμενοι ὤρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς--Miltiades sailed from Elaeus to Lemnos by virtue of the Etesian winds (vi.140). Hdt. also associates Elaeus with Artayotes and the temple of Protesilaus (vii.33 and ix.120). The Athenians at Sestos with 18 ships kept close to the shore and sailed toward Elaeus (Thuc. viii.102.1). Mindarus invested the city with 86 vessels (viii.103.1; see viii.107.2). Xenophon also confirms the fact that the city had a great harbour; the Athenians anchored 180 ships there (Hell. ii.1.20).

Strabo names Elaeus after the great cape Mazousia and says it is 40 stades from Sigeon and a little more than 400 from Cardia. Either the city or the shrine of Protesilaus (the wording is ambiguous) is about the southern-most extremity of the Chersonese (vii.331 fr. 51; see frs. 55f.). Strabo's cape Mazousia is certainly the modern

22 cont.

cape Helles, marked thus on BA charts 224 and 2836b (dein promunturium Cherronesi Mastusia adversum Sigeo, Pliny's NH iv.49). On the exact location of the shrine of Protesilaus see BCH 1915.145 and Casson's Mac. 216ff.. The great bay in question is clearly that of Morto to the east of cape Helles, marked "Morto" on BA chart 1608 and "Anit" on BA chart 2429 (1967), stretching from Seddul-bahir on the W to Hissarlik Burnu on the E. In 1915 French troops discovered a cemetery of the 5th century BC on the high ground above Eski Hissarlik or Hissarlik Burnu (BCH 1915.151-240). It seems likely that Elaeus was not far from that cemetery on the eastern shore of the bay (BCH 1915.146-151; ATL i.484) and indeed Oberhummer alludes to "ruins" at Eski Hissarlyk in his article in Pauly-Wissowa (RE i. 2228).

See also Oberhummer, RE i.2227f. and ATL i.484.

Hdt. calls Otanes the Persian governor of this region (στρατηγὸν τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν, v.25) and he probably had naval responsibilities (v.26) and jurisdiction over Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, Thasos, and the sea-coast cities of Thrace. Operations at Athos were presumably directed and supplied from Elaeus via communications by sea. Corn is evidently conveyed from the Pontus to Athos via Elaeus near the point of the Chersonese (see ch. 23). The headquarters of the district are probably in Sestos however, the strongest city of the region (ix.115).

On Persian use of the lash see chs. 56, 103, and 223 and Xen. Anab. iii.4.25. Hauvette defends the credibility of such detail, 293.

Βουβάρης δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάζου—See v.21. He is the husband of Alexander's sister Gygaea and the father of Amyntas of Asia (viii.136). Ἀρταχάνης ὁ Ἀρταίου—Hdt. gives him a very favourable obituary, ch. 117.

22 cont.

ἐπέστασαν α
 ἄνδρες Πέρσαι ἐπεστιάτεον τοῦ ἔργου.— There seems insufficient justification for the younger Mss reading even if we should like Hdt. to have used it.

Macan speculates that one overseer superintended the relays from Elaeus and the other the local press-gangs (i¹ 34a).

ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ ὄρος μέγα τε καὶ ὀνομαστόν...—It was notoriously dangerous even in the time of Leake.

...such is the fear entertained by the Greek boatmen of the strength and uncertain direction of the currents around Mt. Athos, and of the gales and high seas to which the vicinity of the mountain is subject during half the year, and which are rendered more formidable by the deficiency of harbours in the Gulf of Orfana, that I could not, so long as I was on the peninsula, and though offering a high price, prevail upon any boat to carry me from the eastern side of the peninsula to the western, or even from Xiropotami to Vatopedhi.

NG iii.145

Thuc. also describes Athos.

Βρασίδας...στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀκτὴν καλουμένην. ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως διορύγματος ἔσω προύχουσα, καὶ ὁ Ἄθως αὐτῆς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν τελευτᾷ ἐς τὸ Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος. πόλεις δὲ ἔχει Σάνην μὲν Ἀνδρῶν ἀποικίαν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα, ἐς τὸ πρὸς Εὐβοίαν πέλαγος τετραμμένην, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Θυσσὸν καὶ Κλεωνὰς καὶ Ἀκροθώους καὶ Ὀλόφυξον καὶ Δῖον· αἱ οὐκοῦνται ξυμμείκτοις ἔθνεσι βαρβάρων διγλώσσων, καὶ τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ἐνὶ βραχύ, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικόν, τῶν καὶ Ἀἰμυρόν ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων, καὶ Βισαλτικὸν καὶ Κρηστικὸν καὶ Ἡδῶνες· κατὰ δὲ μικρὰ πολίσματα οἰκοῦσιν.

iv.109.1-4

Perhaps the chief differences in the two accounts can be summarised as follows (see Macan i¹ 34a,b).

(a.) Thuc. gives both the name of the peninsula (Acte) and the name of the mountain (Athos) and describes their relationship to one another whereas Hdt. gives only the name Athos, and calls the mountain peninsula-shaped at its landward end. In another passage (v.82.1) Thuc. shows that he can refer to the peninsula merely as Athos.

22 cont.

- (b.) Whereas Hdt. describes the peninsula merely as "inhabited by men" and gives the names of the cities later in the chapter, Thuc. gives a succinct account of all the cities and their racial composition and goes on to elaborate on the racial composition of the peninsula.
- (c.) Hdt. describes the isthmus and Thuc. does not. He is not concerned with the isthmus in his narrative, whereas Hdt' chief interest is the isthmus.
- (d.) Hdt. makes the isthmus run from the sea of the Acanthians to the sea over against Torone (ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης). The designation is curious. Macan suggests that Hdt. has not visited the region when he writes the passage (i¹34b). Perhaps the most likely explanation of Hdt' account is that he is trying to read a map, according to which the body of water between Acte and Sithonia might look as if it were "over against Torone" (see comm. at ch. 123). However that may be, Thuc. rightly says that the mountain ends in the Aegean sea and that Sane faces toward the Euboean sea.
- (e.) Hdt. and Thuc. enumerate the same six cities but Thuc. seems to go counter-clockwise round the peninsula whereas Hdt. gives the reverse order, transposing Thyssos and Cleonae. See below.
- (f.) Hdt. calls Sane merely a Greek city. Thuc. calls it a colony of the Andrians.

Hdt. and Thuc. have different interests in the peninsula. That much is clear from Hdt' description of the isthmus and Thuc' omission of any such description. But we have good reason to believe that Thuc. deliberately improves on Hdt' account when he writes his own. Thuc' description is not only more precise. It is specially precise on points that Hdt. leaves vague. Hdt. says that Athos is inhabited by men: Thuc. says which men. Hdt. says that Sane is a Greek town: Thuc. says that it is an Andrian town. Hdt. says "sea over against

22 cont.

Torone": Thuc. says "sea towards Euboea". Hdt. describes a mountain called Athos with a peninsula-shape toward one end: Thuc. describes a promontory called Acte ending in a mountain called Athos.

The cities.

Thuc' order is as follows: 1) Sane 4) Acrothooi
2) Thyssos 5) Olophyxos
3) Cleonae 6) Dion

That order is probably correct, especially since that of Soylax 66 agrees with it, except that Soylax begins rather than ends with Dion:

		Mt. Athos
6) Dion	4) Acrothooi	
2) Thyssos	Charadrous	
3) Cleonae	5) Olophyxos	
	Acanthos	

Strabo gives the following:

Dion	Olophyxis	
Cleonae	Acrothous	
Thyssos		vii.fr. 33

and:

Cleonae	Dion	
Olophyxis	Thyssos	
Acrothous		vii.fr. 35

Strabo's evidence does not seem particularly significant, nor does that of Pliny (NH iv.37). The exact location of the towns seems impossible to determine with any certainty, with the possible exception of Sane (comm. below) and Acrothooi, which may well be near the monastery of Hagia Lavra (Leake, NG iii.149; see ATL i.464, who are perhaps more confident than the evidence justifies). But Hdt' order is clearly of great interest:

1) Sane	4) Acrothoon
2) Dion	5) Thyssos
3) Olophyxos	6) Cleonae

Assuming that Thuc' order is correct and also that Hdt. has a geographical list of names in the correct order but running down-up as they would on a map, here is what Hdt. may have seen:

Sane	Dion
Thyssos	Olophyxos
Cleonae	Acrothoon

22 cont.

He lists Sane first because it is on the canal and figures in the digging of it (see ch. 23). Thereafter he runs down the second column, the eastern column as it were, and then down the first or western column, probably without thinking that the geographical order of cities might be inherently important, perhaps without realising that the cities were listed in geographical order. Thuc. on the other hand is probably concerned to put his own list in geographical order from the outset, because he is familiar with the region, because he has a more precise mind, and perhaps because he wants to improve on Hdt' account.

τῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὸ ὄρος, χερσονησοειδές
τέ ἐστι, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ, ἐς τὸν τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἄθως--

See Thuc. iv.109.2, ὁ Ἄθως αὐτῆς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν τελευτᾷ ἐς
τὸ Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος. Hdt. looks N as he describes the lie
of Athos, which begins for him in the S and ends at the isthmus
where the canal is dug, whereas Thuc. looks S and thinks of
Athos as jutting into the sea. It seems unlikely that the similarity
of wording is co-incidental.

Σάνη πόλις--Sane figures in Hdt' account of Xerxes' canal (chs.
22 and 23) and Hdt. also names a city of that name on Sithonia
(ch. 123)--he is probably mistaken in doing so (comm. ad loc.).
Apart from naming the city in his account of Acte, quoted above
(iv.109.3), Thuc. also names it when he quotes the treaty of Nicias
(v.18.6) even if West tries to emend Sanaious to Galaious in that
passage (AJP 1937.166ff.; see comm. at ch. 122, Galepsos).

Thuc. gives the precise location of the city: Σάνην μὲν
'Ανδρῶν ἀποικίαν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα, ἐς τὸ πρὸς
Εὐβοίαν πέλαγος τετραμμένην (iv.109.3). Accordingly Leake
found ancient remains, un-impressive but including "foundations
containing several large squared masses of stone, and a block of
white marble" just E of the S end of Xerxes' canal on

22 cont.

the slope of the middle of three small heights facing the canal. Leake describes the summit as flat and apparently artificial (NG iii.144f.). ATL accept the identification (i.544) and ruins are marked at Leake's location on BA chart 2836b, though not on e.g. BA chart 1086.

See also Steph. Byz. s.v.; Oberhummer, RE i.A 2229; ATL i.544; comm. at ch. 123 on Hdt' other Sane.

On Acanthus see ch. 115 and comm. ad loc.. On Torone see ch. 122 and comm. ad loc.. On Dion, Olophyxos, Acrothoon, Thyssos, and Cleonae see above and ATL i.484.

23.

Ancient authors were frequently sceptical on the subject of Xerxes' canal (e.g. Demetrios of Scepsis, Strabo 331 fr. 35; Juvenal x.73f.; Lucian, Dial. Mort. 20). Wecklein (20) and Stein (iv.37) likewise doubt that it was ever completed. Thuc' reference to it does not exclude the possibility that the canal was never used (iv.109) but there is little reason to believe that it remained un-finished. For descriptions of the traces see Walpole's Turkey i.224 (Carlyle); Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage Pittoresque ii¹148; Leake's NG iii.145; Bowen's Mt. Athos 57f.; Captain Spratt, RGS Journal 1847, xvii.147ff.. On the potential economic worth of the canal to the inhabitants of Chalcidice see Hauvette 292, who argues that the economic impact would have been considerable had the canal been maintained. The hoard of 300 golden Darics found near the canal before 1840 is often connected with the digging of it (Borell, Num. Chron. vi.153; HW ii.135).

οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες σοφίην ἐν τε τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ--

Hdt' favourable attitude toward the Phoenicians is more than

23 cont.

evident (see e.g. vii.44,96). The other workers could not have been so maladroit. Macan speculates that Hdt. could not have been familiar with the great feats of Greek engineering of iii.60 and iv.88 when he wrote this passage (i¹36a) but this is merely a pro-Phoenician anecdote of Asia Minor told as he heard it, perhaps from Amyntas of Asia, son of Boubares (viii.136), perhaps from someone who was interested in the logistics of the operation to judge from Hdt' marketing-meadow and Asiaground corn. These last details may be part of a trader's story.

24.

ὥς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὕρίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης
εἵνεκεν αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε
δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρεὼν
γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι---

Rawlinson (iv.27-28) and Stein (iv.36) believe that Xerxes' object was indeed as Hdt. portrays it, that the canal's part in the war effort is a Greek invention. Xerxes was merely emulating Darius, who completed Necos' canal from the Nile to the Red Sea (ii.158, iv.39). Blakesley, however, points out that the canal must have facilitated a permanent occupation of Chalcidice (ii.201). Leake gives a cogent defense of the rationale underlying the project, arguing chiefly from the protection the canal afforded the fleet from storms of which the natives were still terrified in his own day (HW ii.136 cite Anderson, Papers of Univ. Coll. Sheff. 1897.221) but also alluding to "the facility of the work and the advantages of the ground, which seems made expressly to tempt such an undertaking" (NG iii.145; see Hauvette 292). Leake is also conscious of the fact that Xerxes had among the multitudes at his disposal Egyptians and Babylonians, accustomed to the making of canals.

24 cont.

Rawlinson (iv.28) rightly points out that diolcos (see Hesychius s.v.) was a common practise among the Greeks, especially at the isthmus of Corinth (see Thuc. iii.15,81; iv.8; viii.7,8; elsewhere see e.g. Polybius iv.19, v.101, viii.36; Dio Cassius 1142; Apoll. Rhod. i.375). But Macan is surely correct in emphasising the enormous difficulty in transporting Xerxes' whole fleet by land across the isthmus (i¹36b), Hdt' statement to the contrary notwithstanding.

Macan believes that those who reduce the size of Xerxes' fleet are entitled to cite this passage in support of their thesis. There will have been little difficulty in transporting fewer vessels by land (i¹36b). But Hdt' statement could only be made in the full awareness of what he believed to be the size of the fleet—and elsewhere he says there are 1207 ships. The fact itself that Xerxes built a canal argues *prima facie* for a large fleet. It is possible to agree with Macan that there is no real evidence that the canal was part of a long-range strategic or commercial plan (i¹37a), without believing that it was a trivial bit of engineering exaggerated by the Greeks.

Why should Hdt. think that Xerxes merely displayed his power when he built the canal? First he probably did not understand what difficulties the diolcos entailed for a large fleet. Second, however, his informants probably exaggerated the difficulties involved in building the canal. Finally, he may have thought that the isthmus was very narrow—narrower than it was.

τοῖσι τὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοις τοῖσι περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα,
προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας
γεφυρώσαι.—See ch. 114. Perhaps they had time to spare (Macan
i¹37b):

25.

παρεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὄπλα ἐς τὰς γεφύρας βύβλινά τε καὶ λευκολίνου, ἐπιτάξας Φοίνιξί τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι---

See ii.92 and vii.34. Col. Wilkinson believes the Egyptians used both kinds of cable but that is perhaps contingent, as Macan points out (i¹ 38a), on whether λευκόλινον is identical with Spanish λευκία, employed by Hiero II for the ropes of his ship of state (Ath. 206), as Hehn (Kulturpflanzen² 144) and Stein (iv.37) believe. Hehn believes that the Phoenicians in Spain were familiar with Esparto-grass, stipa tenacissima, which is probably identical with Spanish λευκία, long before the time of Xerxes. This may be authentic detail. Burn believes that white flax would not have been strong enough and that Esparto-grass was used (320).

Hdt' detail is convincing but it may be nothing more than his own inference that the Phoenicians and Egyptians should find themselves responsible for making cables out of that for which each was well-known (see ch. 34).

Λευκὴν ἀκτὴν καλεομένην τῆς Θρηίκης-- Stein identifies it with Alcibiades' castle for some reason (iv.38). Forbiger identifies it with Point St. George (Alte Geog. iii.1081). For a complete survey of the ancient and modern evidence, including that of Maurice, JHS 1930.219f., see ATL i.481f., 558, 563f.. Scylax 67 puts it just beyond the Chersonese on the Propontis, and accordingly the generally accepted site before Maurice was Inje Burun, marked "Injeh Burnu" on BA charts 224 and 2836b. Maurice tries to show that Inje Burun and indeed any site on the Propontis would be utterly unsuited to the purpose of a supply-dump (JHS 1930.219f.) and ATL accept his reasoning and move the site SE of Bulair, marking the frontier of the Chersonese (ATL i.564) whereas Maurice had put it at or near the mouth of the Melas on the gulf of Melas and not on the Propontis (see his map, JHS 1930.218, enclosed, and p. 220).

25 cont.

Clearly the site is uncertain and there may have been more than one Leuce Acie as Maurice suggests (220). But Maurice seems to consider only the army's convenience when he rejects the traditional identification, not that of the delivery-vessels. Nor does he seem to consider that Xerxes had at his disposal a great deal of cheap man-power by means of which to overcome the difficulties of march entailed by Rawlinson's Inje-Burun location on the Propontis.

Τυρόδιζαν τὴν Περινθίων—A Perinthian possession is probably in the Propontis. Steph. Byz. s.v. says πόλις Θράκης μετὰ Σέρρων and quotes Hellanicus but if he is right this Serrhion should not be that of Hdt. vii.59, near Doriscus (see Livy xxxi.17) and may be that of ATL's Serioteichitae on the Propontis (i.545f.), designated Ganos on ATL's map of i.481 (enclosed). Stein suggests that Tyrodiza is the Teiristasis of Scylax 67 (iv.38). In all probability his reasons are wrong but the identification is right (ATL i.558 and n. 1). The modern name is Peristeri, just east of Inje Burun on the Propontis and apparently marked "Sar Kioi" on BA chart 224 (ATL i.558; see enclosed map, i.481). Maurice' rejection of sites on the Propontis for Xerxes' supply dumps (JHS 1930.219f.) would exclude this site for Tyrodiza, but his reasoning is hardly valid (see above). ATL accept the reasoning, but believe that it does not exclude Peristeri because here there was a road leading W to join the line of Xerxes' march (ATL i.558).

Δορίσκον—See ch. 59.

Ἡρόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι—See vii.107,113, the valiant Bogen; viii.118, Thuc. i.98, iv.50; to be distinguished from Ἡρὼν ἡ ἐπὶ Θράκης Μενδαίων ἀποικία, Thuc. iv.7. It was 25 stades from Amphipolis and served as the sea-port of that city (Thuc. iv.102.4). See comm. elsewhere ad loc. and Oberhammer, RE v.2116f.. On the

25 cont.

ruins, at the mouth of the Strymon on the left bank, see e.g. Leake, NG iii.173,191, Collart's Philippes 73f., BA charts 1679 and 2836b, and indeed the 1967 Blue Guide, p. 542 and map opp. 520.

Μακεδονίην—Hdt. leaves the place or places vague. Macan suggests that he means Therma (ch. 127; Macan i¹39a).

26.

ὁ πεζὸς ἄπας συλλελεγμένος—It seems unlikely that the western contingents marched E to Critalla and then W again after mustering. They must have joined the king at Sardis and even perhaps at Abydos (see GPW 213). Hdt. seems to realise as much when he says that the muster is for those who are to march with the king himself.

ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὁρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίῃ—Critalla should lie on the Royal Road of v.52, though Hdt. does not mention it in that chapter. It may well be near the Halys of v.52. But the course of the Royal Rd. in Cappadocia and elsewhere is uncertain and what Hdt. means by "Halys" in his description is also uncertain. Critalla is otherwise unknown. Therefore we have not the evidence with which to identify the site (thus e.g. Ruge, RE xi.1896) or even determine whether it is e.g. a city or a plain.

The following present interesting discussions of the problem:

Leake, AM 62ff.; Rennell, Geog. of Hdt. 319 (Ereglia, marked "Eregli" on pl. 36 of the Times Atlas and the map in the back of the 1965 Blue Guide to Turkey; Blakesley i.54; Rawlinson iv.29; Ramsay's PGAM 36ff. and esp. 41 (the plain of Tyana, marked "Tyana" on pl. 36 of the Times Atlas); Macan ii.128f. (following Ramsay); HW ii.137,416 (some-

where on the Royal Rd., perhaps at Caesarea Mazaca, marked "Kayseri (Caesarea Mazaca)" on pl. 36 of the Times Atlas); Calder, CR 1925.9 (near Sebasteia, marked "Sivas (Sebastea)" on pl. 36 of the Times Atlas); Ramsay, JHS 1920.89ff. (near Cybistra, marked "Eregli (Cybistra Heraclea)" on pl. 36 of the Times Atlas).
ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἰρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ' ἡπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Εὐρέξῃ πορεύεσθαι στρατόν.—

Hdt. may refer to the 3-column division of ch. 121 but he may be trying merely to qualify his previous remark that all the land

26 cont.

army marched to Sardis from Critalla. The remark probably rests on his own inference.

τὰ προκείμενα παρὰ βασιλέος...δῶρα--See chs. 8 and 19. Hdt. purports to know that the prizes were offered, but not who won them. Macan believes that Hdt. may have fabricated the offer (i¹39b), and if so his admission of ignorance on the question of who won may be nothing more than a storyteller's verisimilitude.

διαβάντες τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν--Hdt. says that the Halys flows from S to N between the Syrians and Paphlagonians into the Euxine (i.6). The Paphlagonians indeed are among those races "within the Halys" subdued by Croesus (i.28). In another passage he describes the Halys as the boundary between the Median and Lydian empires. It flows N from the Armenian mountains through Cilicia, between the Matienoi on the right and the Phrygians on the left and further on separates the Cappadocian Syrians on the right from the Paphlagonians on the left (i.72). Hdt. believes that Croesus crossed the Halys on bridges whereas the Greeks in general believe that Thales of Miletus took them across (i.75); clearly he is interested in the river and the historical crossings of it. The Halys also appears as the boundary between Phrygia on the W and Cappadocia on the E in Hdt' description of the Royal Rd. (v.52), as it does in this chapter. Hdt' conception of the Halys is uniform throughout the History, bks. i, v, and vii. It divides upper from lower Asia. It is a straight line running N and S, from the Armenian mountains in the S to the Euxine in the N.

Nothing will make Hdt' Halys conform to the sinuous course of the modern Kisil-Irmak. Hdt. believes that Xerxes marched W when he crossed the Halys, probably nearer the Euxine than the Armenian mountains in the S to judge from i.72. But he also seems to believe that the Halys is no great distance from the

26 cont.

Maeander, because he makes Xerxes cross into Phrygia and march through that country to Celaenae at the head-waters of the Maeander. Clearly his notion of the geography of Asia Minor is very mistaken indeed. It probably comes from Ionian geography, and from traders and travelers, not from his own travels in the interior.

For many years Ramsay took Hdt' evidence on the river Halys very seriously indeed and believed that all of it could be reconciled with the traditional identification of the Halys with the Kisil Irmak. Rightly noting that in the centre of Asia Minor the great salt lake Tuz Golu and the salt desert W of it divide the sub-continent, and giving full weight to the fact that the great trade route of Graeco-Roman times and far the easier road E and W ran S of that barrier, Ramsay nonetheless decided that the Royal Road ran N of it merely because Hdt. says the Royal Road crossed the Halys. He went on to assume that the Persians used that difficult and circuitous road because they were maintaining an earlier road that antedates the Persian power (HGAM 27), and indeed he proceeded to build on that assumption (27ff.). Thus Ramsay believed that Xerxes crossed the Kisil Irmak and took the N route, crossed Phrygia from N. to S, and finally joined the easy S route by way of Celaenae and Colossae (36). Though he was fully aware of the improbability inherent in that kind of difficult and circuitous march (36ff.) Ramsay nonetheless believed that this very improbability militated in favour of his reconstruction (HGAM 41).

Between 1890 and 1920, however, Ramsay's viewpoint on this question underwent dramatic transformation. Beginning with the likely supposition that Xerxes crossed the Taurus at the Cilician gates in the SE corner of Asia Minor, Ramsay treated again of the enormous difficulties inherent in the assumption that Xerxes marched in the way of that great circle to the N. He finally concludes

26 cont.

that even if we could concede those difficulties Xerxes must have crossed the Halys twice or not at all (JHS 1920.90). Some of his views seem worth quoting entire.

years of consideration, and growing experience of the conditions governing the possibilities of marching across Anatolia, force me to the conclusion that Hdt. inserts the reference to the Halys without definite authority, merely because the Halys was the river of boundary between Phrygia and Cappadocia (i.72). This statement is an ornamental touch designed to give liveliness and detail to a narrative of march, which (except at Celaenae) was singularly bare and devoid of such lively details as Hdt. loves...It must seem to anyone who reads the passage that Hdt. had practically no information with regard to the route traversed between Critalla and Celaenae...The idea therefore that Xerxes crossed the Halys at all must be dismissed. Whatever road he took he did not require to, and would not, cross the river.

JHS 1920.89f.

Evidently Ramsay never reviewed his earlier re-construction of the Royal Road in the light of this significant reversal in his attitude toward Hdt' evidence, nor does he ever seem to question the traditional identification of the Halys with the Kisil Irmak.

But clearly there is no great river of Asia Minor that conforms to Hdt' notion of the Halys as revealed in all the passages from the history that refer to it, though naturally enough the traditional identification may well jibe with some of them. We may choose simply to scrap one or another of them in Ramsay's kind of way. But if Hdt. is capable of either inserting a reference to the Halys merely to add colour to his narrative as Ramsay assumes, or else of confusing another river with the Halys on any given occasion, then how can we be clear on which passages to reject and which to retain? When one reference is rejected then all become suspect.

Conclusions.

No river in Asia Minor divides the sub-continent in the way Hdt. seems to assume and exactly which river Hdt. means by the

26 cont.

Halys in any given passage, if indeed he does not contrive references to the Halys merely for the sake of colour, remains quite uncertain.

Therefore the Royal Road can hardly be reconstructed with any certainty on the basis of Hdt' reference to the Halys river crossing.

Xerxes' march from the interior to the headwaters of the Maeander at least is lost to us beyond recall on the basis of evidence now at our disposal. Whatever the road he took, however, he almost certainly crossed the Taurus through the Cilician gates and marched

S of the Tuz Golu and the salt desert to the W of it.

ὠμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίῃ, δι' αὐτῆς πορευόμενοι παρεγένοντο ἐς Κελαινάς, ἵνα πηγαὶ ἀναδιδούσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ ἑτέρου οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢ Μαιάνδρου, τῷ οὐνομα τυγχάνει ἐδὼν Καταρρήκτης, ὃς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς τῆς Κελαινέων ἀνατέλλων ἐς τὸν Μαιάνδρον ἐκδιδού·--

Xen. calls Celaenae a large and prosperous city where Cyrus the younger had a palace and a wild animal park through which the Maeander flowed. He goes on to say that the sources of the river are beneath Cyrus' palace while the river itself flows through Celaenae. Xerxes was said to have built another palace over the source of the Marsyas and also the acropolis of Celaenae on his way home from Greece (Xen. Anab. i.2.7ff.; see Arrian, Anab. i. 29.1). Strabo says that Celaenae was on a hill of the same name (see Ptol. v.2.6 and 4.3) and that Antiochus Soter made the inhabitants move to Apameia, which is near the mouth(s) of the Marsyas, a river that flows through the city and has its sources ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως (the Mss. reading is clear though the meaning is disputed and scholars have resorted to emendation, 577f.). Cf. also Pliny, NH v.106; for less important refs. see Ruge, RE xi.133f..

Xenophon and Strabo can not be reconciled to Hdt. or to each other on the question of these two rivers. To judge from the later ancient authorities, the Maeander and the Marsyas are the two important rivers in the neighbourhood, and scholars have therefore

26 cont.

assumed that Hdt. must be referring to the Marsyas when he mentions the Catarract. But Hdt. mentions the Marsyas elsewhere without alluding to the Catarract (v.118 and 119) just as he mentions the Catarract here without alluding to the Marsyas. That point is easy enough to waive because Hdt. may well be reporting hearsay in this passage, perhaps from a traveler or trader. But it should also be noted that Hdt. believes his two rivers to be of much the same size (see below). Even supposing that Hdt. does mean the Marsyas, Xerxes would not build a palace in the agora of the city, nor indeed would anyone else, and Strabo clearly does not believe that the sources of the Marsyas are in Celaenae, under a palace or otherwise, no matter how one reads the phrase in question. Therefore in spite of notable surveys of the cities and rivers of the region (e.g. Cramer, AM ii.47ff.; Leake's AM 158-162; Hamilton, AM i.497-501; Ramsay's CBP ii.396ff. and maps; Hogarth, JHS 1888.343) it seems impossible to identify Celaenae with any certainty. Clearly it should not be identical with Apameia but it probably lay relatively close to that city (thus e.g. Ruge, RE xi.134). If so, both were in the neighbourhood of the modern Dineir, marked "Dinar" on the map in the back of the 1965 Blue Guide to Turkey and pl. 36 of the Times Atlas (lat. $38^{\circ}3'$, long. $30^{\circ}20'$; see Hirschfeld, RE i.2664f. and esp. Ramsay's CBP ii.396ff.). For brief descriptions of the locale see Rawlinson iv.29 (following Hamilton) and HW ii.137f. (following Hamilton and Ramsay). For a full description see Ramsay, CBP ii.396ff..

The identities of the Maeander and Marsyas are far from certain (see Macan's discussion, i¹40b, but esp. Ramsay's CBP ii.399ff.). There are not two rivers of about the same size, as Hdt. would have it, in the vicinity of Dineir. Hirschfeld (Abh. d. Akad. Berl. 1875. 11f.) and Hogarth (JHS 1888.343ff.) are at variance on the question (cf. Ramsay's discussion arguing strongly that the Marsyas is Dineir-

26 cont.

water, CBP ii.399ff.) and Hogarth argues that the name Maeander may have wandered from stream to stream in the period intervening between Xenophon and Strabo. He concludes that the Maeander had no distinct source but was simply the river formed by the junction of the Marsyas, Obrimas, (or Therma), and Orgas. Macan denigrates the hypothesis that there have been violent natural convulsions of the landscape (i¹40b) but that possibility can hardly be ruled out in view of the fact that much of Turkey still lies in what is known as an "earthquake belt" (cf. Strabo 578). Finally, neither Xenophon or Strabo, much less Hdt., is an "undoubted eyewitness" as HW claim (ii.138).

For discussion of a famous coin of Apameia, with the legend MAI:MAR:THER:OR, evidently for Maiander, Marsyas, Therma, and Orgas, see Head, HN 665ff..

ἐν τῇ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ Μαρσύεω ἀσκήδς [ἐν τῇ πόλει] ἀνακρέματα, τὸν ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λόγος ἔχει ὑπὸ Απόλλωνος ἐκδαρέντα ἀνακρεμασθῆναι.---Further on the myth see Xen.

Anab. i.2.8, Diodorus iii.58, Apollodorus i.4.2, (perhaps) Solon fr. 29 (24), and Roscher's lexicon, 2440. The Macedonians believed that Silenos (or the silenos) was captured in the garden of Midas (viii.138; see comm. ad loc.). According to Xen. Apollo flayed Marsyas after defeating him in a contest of skill (Anab. i.2.8). Macan believes the story is Greek in origin (i¹41a). On the name Silenos see e.g. the Hom. Hymn to Aph. 262, Etym. Mag. s.v.. It seems unclear that Hdt. uses the word as a proper name.

Clearly Hdt. knows very little more about this part of Xerxes' march than he does of the march from the interior to the Maeander. What he does know he probably gleans on the coast.

27.

27.

Πύθιος ὁ Ἄτυος ἀνὴρ Λυδός--If this reading is correct (see App. Crit.) he is probably the son of Croesus' son Atys, whose misfortunes Hdt. relates in the first book (i.34). Plutarch calls him Pythes (cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Pythopolis) and tells a long anecdote about him and his wife, making him the governor of a city and an owner of notable gold mines (Mor. 262f.). His name is reminiscent of Croesus' relations with Delphi.

ὅς τοι τὸν πατέρα Δαρεῖον ἐδωρήσατο τῇ πλατανίστῳ τῇ χρυσῇ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ--He may have presented the gifts when

Darius was on his way to Scythia. See Xen. Hell. vii.1.38 (Antiochus the Arcadian says "the celebrated golden plane tree is not big enough to shade a grasshopper"); Diodorus xix.48 (Antiochus with the vine in 316 BC, the last we hear of it); Photius Bib. 612h, after Himerios (the golden vine as the work of Theodoros of Samos); Ath. xii.514f.--all quoted by Macan i¹42a,b.

For parts of an artificial tree at Persepolis see Schmidt's Persepolis ii.73.

28.

στατήρων Δαρεικῶν-- Harpocration s.v. says ἐκλήθησαν δὲ Δαρεικοὶ οὐχ ὥς οἱ πλεῖστοι νομίζουσιν ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρὸς ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρου βασιλέως. Cf. e.g. Head, HN 825ff..

The 400's of the History.

Hdt. believes that Homer and Hesiod lived not more than 400 years before his own time (ii.53). The 1st satrapy of iii.90 paid 400 silver talents and the 13th and 17th also paid 400 (iii.93f.). The Hellespont is 400 stades long (iv.85) whereas e.g. Murray measured about 290 (HW i.333). Pythios has 400 myriads of Daric staters lacking but 7,000 (vii.28) and Xerxes makes up the full 400 myriads (vii.29). The Thasian Antipatros

28 cont.

spent 400 silver talents on Xerxes' dinner (vii.118). Not less than 400 ships perished in the great storm off Magnesia (vii.190, 236). 400 Corinthians and 400 Thebans serve at Thermopylae (vii.202). According to Hdt. Eurymachus seized Plataea with 400 Thebans (vii.233) whereas Thuc. makes the number a little more than 300 (ii.2.1). The Mycenae-Tiryns and Chalcidian contingents at Plataea both number 400 (ix.28).

Clearly Hdt. has a penchant for 400's and none of them have much of a claim on history. Even Hdt' estimate of when Homer and Hesiod lived takes on a new light when placed in conjunction with the other 400's of the History. On the great satrapy list and the army lists of Thermopylae and Plataea see comm. ad loc., at chs. 99 and 100, and Intro. pt. iii. On the 7's of the History see comm. at ch. 155.

29.

30.

*Αναυα δὲ καλεομένην Φρυγῶν πόλιν παραμειβόμενος καὶ λίμνην ἐκ τῆς ἅλης γίνονται—

Arrian says that Alexander went through Phrygia to Celaenae by way of Lake Ascania, where the salt congeals on its own (i.29.1). Whereas Anaua is otherwise unknown to antiquity (Steph. Byz. merely quotes Hdt.) Ruge is able to cite the following for this salt-lake (RE ii.1610): Ps. Arist. de Mirab. Ausc. 53, Antig. Caryst. 166 (172), and Pliny, NH xxxi.110, who says that in common with certain springs around Chalcois, Ascanius has surface water that is sweet and drinkable while underneath it is alkaline (nitrosae). Strabo alludes to a nameless lake between Laodicea and Apameia that is like a sea and emits a muddy subterranean effluvium (Strabo 578; the text is certain but the reading is disputed and scholars have resorted to emendation). If he means Arrian's Ascania (a.) he is wrong, or (b.) his description is inaccurate, or (c.) the lake had changed by his time and was later to revert to a salt-lake (see below).

30 cont.

There are two prominent lakes SW of Dineir, Buldur Giolu and Adjituz Giolu, marked "Burdur Golu" and "Aci Golu" on pl. 36 of the Times Atlas. Leake identifies Ascania with Buldur Giolu (AM 145f.) and he is followed by Ramsay (HGAM e.g. 47 and esp. CBP 218, 230f., and 298f.). Another identification makes it Adjituz Giolu, near Tohardak (marked "Cardak" on pl. 36 of the Times Atlas; Hamilton's AM i.503ff, quoted by Rawlinson, iv.33).

It seems impossible to know that Hdt. and Arrian are referring to the same lake. Conceivably Hdt. and Arrian could be referring to one lake (Adjituz) and Strabo the other (Buldur). Ramsay shows that in his day Adji-Tuz was a salt-lake and Buldur lake produced saltpetre. But on the basis of his conclusions on the ancient roads of the neighbourhood he decided that Arrian's salt lake Ascania is Buldur and not Adji-Tuz, and that Alexander took the route that descends on the shore of Buldur from the NW, as Hirschfeld argues, the only route suitable for his army (CBP i.298f.). The fact is that both Hdt. and Arrian could be referring to either lake or both of them.

ἀπίνκετο ἐς Κολοσσὰς πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίης· ἐν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται· ἔπειτα διὰ σταδίων ὥς πέντε μάλιστα κη ἀναφαινόμενος ἐκδιδοῖ καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Μάξανδρον.— Xen. says that it is inhabited,

prosperous, large, and 3 stathmoi, 20 parasangs from Celaenae (Anab. i.2.6f.). Strabo calls it a polisma near Laodicea and Apameia (576) and says that the inhabitants prosper from a famous dye-stuff (578). Pliny makes it one of his oppida celeberrima (NH v.145) but his perspective is historical. It decayed in proportion as Laodicea prospered (see Ramsay, CBP i.209).

Rawlinson points out that until the time of Hamilton the city was identified with Chonos, the ancient Chonae (Constantine Porphyrogenitus i.3 p. 24; Rawlinson iv.33). Hamilton locates it 3 miles

30 cont.

NNW from Chonos in a plain on the banks of the Tchoruk river (see below), where he found impressive remains (Hamilton's AM i.510ff.). Ramsay confirms the identification (CBP i.213). On the coinage see Head, HN 670. The ruins are marked near "Honaz" on pl. 36 of the Times Atlas.

Especially given the above identification of Colossae, Hdt' Lycus must be the Tchoruk. There have been notable attempts to deal with the 5-stade subterranean course that Hdt. describes. Hamilton notes the high mineral content of the Lycus: in Colossis flumen est quo lateres coniecti lapidei extrahuntur (Pliny, NH xxi.29). In his view the banks of the stream probably arched over only to be broken down again by the earthquakes to which the region is susceptible (Strabo 578) and he found natives to confirm his hypothesis (AM i.522). Weber on the other hand rejects Hdt' account as highly improbable (Ath. Mitt. 1891.195ff.). Ramsay rightly emphasises the fact that Hdt. does not speak from autopsy and probably relies on the reports of traders who descended the Maeander valley to the coast (i.210) but proceeds to rely on Strabo's vague statement of 578 ("for the most part it flows underground and then emerges and unites with the other rivers") for which he cites the inevitable native confirmations of his own day (i.210f.). But Strabo's statement can not conceivably be used to confirm a native tradition of Ramsay's day that the river flows for more than 20 miles underground, from Adjı-Tuz Gölü (Ramsay's lake Anava). It may even derive from Hdt' evidence (of. Pliny, NH ii.225, where he registers the Lycus among those rivers that subeunt terras rursusque redduntur).

Nothing that conforms to Hdt' account has been reported by modern travelers. Because the region was notable for its susceptibility to natural convulsion (Strabo 578) it is impossible to say that nothing ever did conform to that description. But in view

30 cont.

of the fact that Hdt. speaks from hearsay there is no good reason to believe that his report is accurate.

ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσέων ὁ στρατὸς ὀρμώμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους τῶν Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Λυδῶν ἀπείκετο ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν--

Strabo mentions a Caroura with fountains of boiling water on the boundary between Phrygia and Caria (578 and 663). Accordingly Leake (AM 250f.) identifies the Caroura of Pococke (ii²12) and Chandler (AM 65) about 12 miles W of Denizlu (Denizli) with its hot springs (near Sarae Kieu, marked "Saraykoy" on pl. 36 of the Times Atlas and also on the 1965 Blue Guide map) as the Cydrara of Hdt.. Radet accepts this general site (Lydie 32, 34f.) but for some reason (cf. 325) on the map in the back of his book he makes Cydrara the village of Sighama on the S bank of the Lycus, a little SE of another place that he marks as "Carura" on the S bank of the Maeander. Ramsay treats Hdt' Cydrara as a "mere variant of Hydrela", meaning the Hydrela of Livy xxxvii.56 (CBP i.174; cf. 85 and 172-175) and makes a place for it on the N bank of the Lycus just before it joins the Maeander, NNE of his Laodicea and NE of his Hieropolis (see Steph. Byz. s.v. and Strabo 629). Stein (iv.43) believes that Cydrara is either Hieropolis itself because Steph. Byz. describes it as μεταξὺ Φρυγίας καὶ Λυδίας (see Ramsay's belief that Hieropolis absorbed Cydrara-Hydrela, CBP i.85) or else Laodicea because Pliny says that Xerxes visited the spot (NH xvii.242, Laodiciae Xerxis adventu platano in oleam mutata).

We should like to know the boundary of Phrygia and Lydia. Ramsay believes that both Hdt. (vii.30) and Strabo (629) put the boundary E of Hieropolis, that is to say between Colossae and Hieropolis (CBP i.84f.). But Hdt' evidence on this question is ambiguous at best. Hdt. believes merely that when Xerxes is at the border he has not yet crossed the Maeander (vii.31). Likewise Strabo merely believes that the Mesogis mountain(s) divide the Carians from the territory of Nysa. His evidence is ambiguous

30 cont.

on the question at hand and even if it were not it would hardly count for much in identifying the border city of Cydrara. On the other hand it seems fairly clear that Xenophon believes that the border is the Maeander. He crosses the river and then marches through Phrygia to Colossae (Anab. i.2.5-6). But his evidence is clearly at variance with that of Hdt.. Xerxes had already crossed into Lydia when he came to the place where the roads divide, the right-hand road leading to Sardis across the Maeander (vii.31). Clearly, any attempt at a near-certain identification of this border city must founder on that contradiction between our two chief ancient authorities. Judging from the name alone Strabo's Caroura seems better than Livy's Hydrela (see Strabo 650) and the latter can hardly be identified with any certainty anyway (see Burchner, RE ix.77f. following Ramsay without comment; Ramsay finds no more than "room" for the city on the N bank of the Lycus, CBP i.173f.). Therefore Sarae Kieui with its hot springs seems a likely spot. Stein's confidence in the evidence of Steph. Byz. and Pliny seems altogether misplaced. On the other hand, the fact that Strabo puts his city on the border of Phrygia and Caria instead of Phrygia and Lydia seems relatively un-important. But certainty on the question is hardly possible.

31.

ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερὴν ἐπὶ Καρίης φερούσης, τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὴν ἐς Σάρδις, τῇ καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται καὶ ἵεναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβον πόλιν—

This passage tends to confirm Ramsay's impression, expressed time and again in his CBP and HGAM and elsewhere, that Hdt. took his information about the interior of Asia Minor from traders who made their way down the Maeander to the coast. Hdt' information

31 cont.

about the commerce of the region is also of the sort that would have impressed itself on such traders (see below).

The city of Callatebos is otherwise unknown to antiquity; Steph. Byz. merely follows Hdt.. Blakesley (ii.205) and Rawlinson (iv.34) conjecture that it was Philadelphia or Allah Sheher, marked "Alasehir" on pl. 36 of the Times Atlas and also on the 1965 BG Turkey map, but without offering their reasons. Hamilton believes the city must have stood in the vicinity of Aineh Ghieul, some 4 hrs. SE of Allah Sheher on the left bank of the Cogamus river (AM ii.374 and map in the back of ii). Radet confirms this identification (Lydie 35 and map at the back) and also tries to restore the name in an inscription he found at the fountain of Baharlar, in the neighbourhood of Aineh Ghieul (BCH 1891.373-380; cf. Lydie 313f.). The inscription became controversial (see Lydie 313f. and Ramsay, CBP i.199f. with Reinaoh, Chron. d' Orient. i.62, ii.61f.) but Ramsay finally accepts the Aineh Ghieul identification if not Radet's restoration (CBP i.199f. and 346; against the restoration see also Anderson, JHS 1888.87-89). Buresch identifies Callatebos with the Byzantine Aetos, still in the Cogamus valley where Hamilton found so much tamarisk (AM ii.374) but evidently SE of Aineh Ghieul (see Ramsay, CBP i.194, 197, 200 n. 2, and map in vol. i) or at the pass of the 40 maple trees, Alaschehir-tschai (Aus Lydien 207f.; cf. Burchner, RE x.1610). The city probably lay in the Cogamus valley but all the above identifications are little more than guess-work.

ε Mss

ἐν τῇ ἀνδρες δημοιο/ργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῦσι— There seems no good reason to overturn the better Mss reading.

See the Libyan honey-makers of iv.194, and the honey of Babylon, i.193. Hamilton says that tamarisk does not grow in the mountain-passes but occurs in great abundance in the valley of the Cogamus near Aineh Ghieul, and also that the road between

31 cont.

Aineh Ghieul and Allah Sheher continues along a rich plain 5 or 6 miles wide that bears heavy crops of wheat (AM ii.374).

ταύτην ἰὼν ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν ὁδὸν εὔρε πλατάνιστον, τὴν κάλλεος εἵνεκα δωρησάμενος κόσμῳ χρυσέῳ καὶ μελεδωνῶ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας-- See the holy grove of plane trees

at Labraunda by the Marsyas (v.119) and Pythios' golden plane tree of vii.27. Licinius Mucianus was fond of a famous plane tree of Lycia (Pliny NH xii.9). Pliny also alludes to the plane near Apameia from which Marsyas was suspended after losing his match with Apollo (NH xvi.240). Hamilton saw a huge plane tree in the valley of the Lycus (AM i.517).

For the young Cyrus' march from Sardis to Celaenae see Xen.

Anab. i.2.5-9.

32.

ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδις πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αἰτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ προερέοντας δεῖπνα βασιλέϊ παρασκευάζειν· πλὴν οὔτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὔτε ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ πάντῃ.-- See Darius' heralds of vi.48 and Hdt' story of the wrath

of Talthybius, vii.133-137. Macan argues that Hdt. did not know the story of chs. 133-137 when he wrote this passage (i¹46b) but he is probably merely postponing that story because he has not yet shifted the scene to the Greeks. Here he is caught up in the story of Xerxes' march.

τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὅσοι πρότερον οὐκ ἔδοσαν Δαρείῳ πέμψαντι, τούτους πάγχυ ἔδόκει τότε δείσαντας δώσειν· βουλόμενος ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκμαθεῖν [ἀκριβῶς] ἔπεμπε.--

ἀκριβῶς may be more at home later in the century (see LS 55) but there seems no good reason to over-rule the better Mss merely on that account. The brackets are un-justified.

Hdt' explanation may be his own free composition, but it is plausible. Xerxes wanted to know the extent of his opposition before he left Asia, and he had reason to believe that it would

32 cont.

be lessened by the news of his preparations. Early reports reaching the Argives (ch. 148) and the Spartans (ch. 239) may have been sent at the king's behest.

33.

οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ἐξεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην.--Hdt. builds up to the bridges in ch. 25 to

which this line harks back. In chs. 34 and 35 he gives us the unsuccessful first attempt to bridge the strait and Xerxes' violent reaction, and in ch. 36 the detailed plan and construction of the bridges. Hdt. emphasises the time required for Xerxes' great projects.

ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ τρηχέα (παχέα αP) ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα. Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον--

Abydos.

Abydos appears in the Homeric Catalogue (Il. ii.836) and it is also associated with Priam's bastard son Democoon (iv.500) and Phaenops the son of Asius (xvii.584), though it does not appear in the Odyssey. The city is prominent in Hdt' history. One of Darius' Greek tyrants at the Danube comes from there (iv.138). It is associated with Daurises' campaign of re-conquest during the Ionian revolt (v.117). Histiaeus hands over to Bisaltes of Abydos when he sails to Chios (vi.26). Apart from the bridges and Xerxes' crossing (vii.33, 34, 37, 95, 174; viii.117; ix.114) Hdt. also knows the city in connexion with the king's survey of the army and navy (vii.43, 44, 45), Xerxes' magnanimous leniency toward the Peloponnesian corn transports (vii.147), and his return into Asia (viii.117 and 130). Dercylidas made the city revolt from Athens in 411 (Thuc. viii.61.1) and Strombichides had to make Sestos his headquarters when he could not re-take Abydos

33 cont.

(viii.62.2f. and see 79.3), which became the Spartan headquarters in the Hellespont (viii.102ff.).

Polybius says that Abydos is embraced by European capes, that it has a harbour that affords protection from all winds, and that without putting into the harbour it is impossible to anchor off the city owing to the swiftness and strength of the currents (xvi. 29.13-14). Strabo says that it lies at the mouth of the Propontis and Hellespont, half-way between Lampsacus and Ilion, about 170 stades from each and 30 stades from Sestos (591), and 70 stades from Dardanos (595). Abydos certainly lay in the recesses of Nagara bay, "the best natural harbour in the Troad" (Leaf's Strabo 117). The only remains known to Leaf, those seen and described by Choiseul-Gouffier, "lay where we should expect, on the shore on the western side of the acropolis, by Nagara Bay" (Strabo 118). Thus the city probably lay "in the bay S of the point of Nagara Kalessi" (Leaf's Troy 362; see Leaf's description, 362ff.), marked thus on BA charts 224 and 2836b, and "Nara Br." on BA chart 2429.

See also Hirschfeld, RE i.129f. and ATL i.463.

Sestos

Sestos appears in the Homeric Catalogue (Il. ii.836). Hdt. associates the city with Darius' crossing into Asia (iv.143) and with Artayctes (vii.78; ix.114ff. and 119) as well as the bridges (vii. 33). Apart from the Athenian siege after the Persian retreat (i.89.2; on which see comm. ad loc. in bk. ix) Thuc. knows Sestos as the Athenian headquarters in the Hellespont (e.g. viii.62.3). Xenophon knows it as a city not more than 8 stades from Abydos and a strong fortress (Hell. iv.8.5).

The approximate location on Ak Bashi Liman is certain but the exact site is debateable because there are no considerable remains

33 cont.

in the vicinity. ATL follow Leaf in relying too heavily on Strabo's 30 stades from Abydos harbour to Sestos harbour (591) when they locate the latter at the inner part of Ak Bashi Liman, marked thus on BA charts 224 and 2836b, and "Akbas Limani" on BA chart 2429. See Leaf's Strabo 119-120 and 123, and Troy 365; Casson's Macedonia 216f.; Ruge, RE ii A 1892ff.; ATL i.547.

Madytos

Madytos is unknown to Homer. Hdt. knows the city only in connexion with the bridges (vii.33) and the death of Artayctes (ix.120). Its harbour was the headquarters of the Athenian fleet between the two battles of Cynossema (Xen. Hell. i.1.3). Scylax names Elaeus, Madytos, and Sestos in that order (67=GGM i.55).

The city is traditionally identified with the modern Maidos, marked "Maitos" on BA chart 224 (thus e.g. Lenk, RE xiv.204f. and Casson's Mac. 212ff. and esp. 216) though ATL suggest that Kilia, about 3 miles N and marked "Khelia" on BA chart 224, is another possibility (i.514). For a description of the two sites see Reinach and Picard, BCH 1912.285-297 and 305-313 (Madytos). The site may be uncertain but there seems little reason to depart from the traditional identification.

Hdt' acte may be "the little delta at the mouth of the Bokali stream" as Leaf suggests (Troy 378) but this description can be made to conform with a great many stretches of the shore in that neighbourhood as a glance at the map will indicate. It is perhaps significant that Leaf rejects the Mss readings and even Abicht's emendation (see App. Crit.) in favour of Stein's πλατέα (Troy 379). There is no good reason to reject the reading of the older Mss; a headland might well be "thick".

33 cont.

ἐνθα μετὰ ταῦτα, χρόνῳ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ, ἐπὶ Ξανθίππου τοῦ Ἀρίφρονος στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναίων, Ἀρταύκτην ἄνδρα Πέρσην λαβόντες Σηστοῦ ὕπαρχον ζῶντα πρὸς σάνίδα διεπασσάλευσαν...— See ix.116-120 and comm. ad loc.. Hdt' sense of

the tragic leads him to mention this Persian humiliation in connexion with Xerxes' triumphant crossing, flanked by Xerxes' despatch of heralds demanding submission on the one hand and his scourging of the Hellespont on the other. Artayctes' patronymic appears in the army-list of ch. 78, where he commands the Maorones and the Mossynoecoi.

34.

ἐς ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὀρμώμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσέκειτο—Prima facie at least they should have built inward from both sides, but Hdt. does not seem to know that (Macan i¹48a). τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου Φοίνικες, τὴν δὲ βυβλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι.—

See ch. 25 for Xerxes' commission and ch. 36, where each new bridge uses both kinds of cable.

ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον.—

Scylax makes it 6 stades (67). Hdt., Strabo (125, 591), and Pliny (NH iv.75) say 7 stades. Xenophon (Hell. iv.8.5) says "not more than 8". Polybius estimates the distance at 2 stades (xvi.29.9)! The narrowest part of the strait at Abydos now measures more than 10 stades (over 2000 yds., HW ii.140; Leaf says 11 stades, "measured directly from Abydos itself", Troy 368) and the difference has been explained by the erosion of one shore (Macan i¹48b, the European) or both (HW ii.140; cf. ATL i.547). Leaf points out, however, that in another passage Hdt. seems to say, and rightly, that the Hellespont is 7 stades wide at its narrowest point (iv.85). Here he merely assumes that Xerxes' bridge crosses at the narrowest point, i.e. at Chanak-Kilid-Bahr (Troy 368f.; Strabo on the Troad 122). Leaf discounts the erosion factor (see esp. Troy 369) but he seems wrong

34 cont.

to do so. Clearly Hdt. has but one figure for the width of the Hellespont, but we do not know what that figure is or where he gets it. It may derive from a geographical source recording the width at its narrowest point—but the same source could equally record the distance from Abydos to a point opposite as in this chapter. Also the figure may derive from hearsay in the Troad, in which case it could apply to almost anywhere in the Hellespont and it would hardly need to be accurate. It would be wrong to argue that erosion could not have occurred on any considerable scale on the basis of that kind of evidence. Leaf rejects any assumption of erosion on grounds of "the contour and nature of the shores" (Troy 369) but it may be significant that he is unable to understand "how, for the general purposes of traffic, Sestos and Abydos can ever have competed successfully with Callipolis and Lampsacus" (Troy 377). Evidently they did. There are many possible factors but the currents and straits themselves may have changed since then. In any event the number 7 is highly suspect in view of the other 7's of the History (comm. at ch. 155), and just because Hdt' figure seems to be right for one part of the Hellespont now, that does not mean that it was right in Hdt' time or that Hdt. meant that very part.

^{35.} τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον ἐκέλευσε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζευγος. ἤδη δὲ ἦκουσα ὡς καὶ στιγέας ἄμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε στίξοντας τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον.—See Aesch' Pers. 745ff.,

ὅστις Ἑλλάσποντον ἱρὸν δοῦλον ὡς δεσμώμασιν ἤλπισε σχήσειν ῥέοντα, Βόσπορον ῥόον θεοῦ καὶ πόρον μετερρύθμιζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις περιβαλὼν πολλὴν κέλευθον ἤνυσεν πολλῷ στρατῷ.

Hdt. records the punishment three times; cf. ch. 54 (the flogging) and viii.109 (the flogging and fettering in Themistocles' speech). Elsewhere see Arrian, Anab. vii.14.5, and Juvenal x.183.

Thirlwall seems to have followed many other scholars (see Stanley and Blomfield on Aesch. Pers. 731; Muller's Kleine Schriften ii.59; Baehr iii.494f.) in his scepticism on this story (ii.281). Grote launches a vigorous defense of the probable truth in Hdt' anecdote, based on the treatment both angry and deferential accorded

35 cont.

things inanimate in antiquity (iv.116f.), citing Cyrus' division of the Gyndes (i.189 and 202), Pharnuches' cruelty to the horse that threw him (vii.88), the Macedonians' sacrifice to the river that saved their ancestors (viii.138), the analogous treatment of the river Aous by the Apollonians of Val. Max. i.5.2, and the flogging of a murderous statue as reported by Pausanias (vi.11.6); see also the offerings to the Hellespont of ch. 54, and Frazer ii.370ff. and HW ii.141 for other refs.. Stein, on the other hand, believes that Hdt. may simply mis-interpret the passage from Aesch' Persae quoted above (iv.45f.). Macan does not believe Hdt. (i¹49b). HW defend him along the lines of Grote (ii.141).

These deeds may be "thoroughly in keeping with the character of an oriental despot" (Rawlinson iv.37) and there were probably traditions of this kind at the Hellespont, but Hdt' narrative may well be nothing more than elaboration on that of Aeschylus.

σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει ὡς ἐόντι καὶ θολερῷ καὶ ἀλμυρῷ ποταμῷ.--

Prof. Zaehner of All Souls points out that the Zoroastrians thought brackish water had been corrupted by Ahriman, the evil opposite number to Ohrmazd (see The Teachings of the Magi 47 and Zoroastrianism 160; Burn 321). For sacrifices to water see i.131,138; vii.54,113.

τὴν τε δὴ θάλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ζημιοῦν καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεῶτων τῇ ζεύξει τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς.--According to Plutarch Xerxes cuts off their ears and noses (470).

36.

καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίηον τοῖσι προσέδειτο αὕτη ἡ ἄχαρις τιμή, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐζεύγνυσαν.--

One tradition is that Harpalus was the architect (see Diels, Laterculi Alexandrini 8-9, Abh. Berlin Akad. 1904).

36 cont.

ἐξεύγνυσαν δὲ ὧδε·--The Hellespontine bridges are one of the traditional problems of Hdt' History, interesting perhaps far beyond their inherent significance. If we distinguish at the outset between what "must" have occurred as the bridges were built, and how Hdt. conceives of the building process, textual emendations are un-necessary, most notably those of Schweighaeuser, Stein, and their followers.

πεντηκοντέρους καὶ τριήρεας συνθέντες--Kraz (Abhandlung 1851; from Macan i¹50b) suggested that one bridge was made of triremes and the other of penteconters. His suggestion has been generally rejected because scholars have assumed that there are more ships in one bridge than the other only because one bridge was longer than the other, in accord with the geography of the strait, and also because it seems inherently probable that the two kinds of ship should be mingled together, evidently for stability (see Grote iv.118). But first it seems likely that the difference in height above the water between the two kinds of ship must have presented needless difficulty. Second, however, there is no good reason to believe that these triremes and penteconters are anything more than Hdt' own inference from the fact that both kinds of ship were known to be operative during Xerxes' invasion. Hdt' allusion may be a guess. Anyway it is subject to various constructions. It seems idle to speculate on the proportion of triremes to penteconters even assuming that Hdt. means to say that each bridge was composed of both.

Hdt. leaves it unclear as to how the synthesis of boats was effected. Arrian contrasts the Roman method of bridging with the one that he assumes Hdt. to be describing.

36 cont.

Εἰ δὲ δὴ πλοίοις ἐζεύχθη ὁ πόρος, πότερα ξυνδε-
θεῖσαι αἱ νῆες σχοίνοις καὶ κατὰ στοῖχον ὁρμισ-
θεῖσαι ἐς τὸ ζεύγμα ἀπήρκεσαν, ὡς λέγει Ἡρόδοτος
ὁ Ἀλικαρνασεὺς ζευχθῆναι τὸν Ἑλλ., ἥ ὅτῃ τρόπῳ
Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστρῷ ποταμῷ ζεύγμα ποιεῖται...

Arrian, Anab. v.7.2

His assumption that the boats were lashed together and then moored in a line may be correct but Hdt. does not indicate that he knows the method to which Arrian alludes, nor does he indicate in this passage any recognition of the problems presented by the currents. He says that the ships lay parallel with the current of the Hellespont when they were in place to be sure (see below) but in joining the boats together clearly the current would present great problems. Arrian says as much when he presents as the easiest method of bridging a Roman process that takes advantage of the current when manoeuvring the boats into place (Anab. v.7.3f.).

It seems important at the outset to get clear on the relation between the boats and the cables. The boats formed the bridges only in a special sense. In fact they formed only the supports for the bridges, "standing in the same relation to them as the piles of Waterloo bridge stand to the bridge itself...they were first put, and then the bridge of tightened cables was laid over or upon them" (Grote iv.120).

ὕπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐτέρην τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας—Prima facie at least this 360 is artificial. Cyrus

punished the Gyndes by parting it into 360 channels and Hdt. alludes to these 360 channels time and again (i.190,202, v.52). Each thread on the Spartan breast-plate from Amasis was made up of 360 clearly visible strands (iii.47). The 3rd satrapy paid 360 talents and the 4th satrapy paid, among other things, 360

36 cont.

white horses, one for every day in the year (iii.90). Likewise the 12th satrapy paid 360 talents (iii.92) and the Indians of the 20th satrapy paid 360 talents of gold dust (iii.94) whereas the itemised list of financial contributions in the great satrapy list is purely arbitrary because the basic total is pre-determined (comm. at chs. 99 and 100 and see Intro. pt. iii).

But the proportion or ratio $314/360$ is interesting. It is roughly $\frac{7}{8}$. Assuming that one bridge was to be laid over a distance of 8 stades or thereabouts (see Xenophon's "not more than 8 stades" from Abydos to Sestos, Hell. iv.8.5) perhaps someone allowed 45 ships per stade and then subtracted one stade's worth of ships plus one for good measure to cover the 7 stades of ch. 34.

The absolute numbers are no less interesting. The 360 ships with which the above calculation begins is the equivalent of the total number of ships provided for Xerxes' fleet by the Greek coast of Asia Minor excluding the islanders' 17 ships. The Dorians of Asia, Carians, Ionians, Aeolians, Hellespontines, and Pontines provide a total of 360 ships (vii.93ff.). In his navy list Hdt. carefully excuses the natives of Abydos from providing ships:

Ἑλλησπόντιοι δὲ πλὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν (Ἀβυδηνοῖσι γὰρ προσετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέος κατὰ χώραν μένουσι φύλακας εἶναι τῶν γεφυρέων) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ <οἱ> ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου στρατευόμενοι παρείχοντο μὲν ἑκατὸν νέας...

vii.95

Hdt. nowhere says who provided the ships for the bridges, but he probably assumes that Abydos builds one bridge and Sestos the other while the Egyptians and Phoenicians are left to provide cables (see ch. 34). It may be co-incidence that the Greeks of the coast provide 360 ships for the fleet and one of the bridges contains 360 ships. Even if it is not co-incidence Hdt. certainly has a penchant for 360's (see above). Another explanation is

36 cont.

that someone tells Hdt. or his informant that Abydos alone did as much for the war-effort as all the rest of the coast combined. Having already calculated how many ships the rest of the coast contributed, Hdt. merely assumes that 360 represents a fair assessment of Abydos' effort.

The figures 314 and 360 could be genuine, representing the engineers' calculations in accordance with the breadth of the strait and allowing 45 ships to the stade. That is what we should like to believe. But this 360 at least is highly suspect (see above) and Hdt' use of numbers throughout the history as a mere adjunct of the storyteller's art (Intro. pt. iii) is not such as to bolster confidence in that hypothesis. If someone reckoned on an 8 stade bridge and a 7 stade bridge and allowed 45 ships per stade it was probably Hdt. and not the engineers.

τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας, τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥόον-- These brief phrases have been construed in a great many ways. E.g. Rennell believes that Hdt. is saying that the vessels in one line are placed lengthwise across the strait while those of the other line are placed side by side with their length parallel to the strait (i.161f.). Because such a method of construction would have been impossible in the reality, Rennell assumes that Hdt. knows of the angle in the Hellespont and describes the bridges accordingly, one on either side of it.

...may it not have been, that the two lines of ships were disposed on different sides of the angle just mentioned, by which it might truly be said, that the ships in one line presented their heads to the Euxine, the other their sides, although the heads of both were presented to the current?

Rennell i.165

Likewise Baehr reads as follows, printing into the Greek text in his note the words that he understands:

36 cont.

beneath the bridge towards the Pontus they placed the ships epikarsias, but beneath the other bridge, the one towards the Hellespont, they placed the ships parallel with the current.

See Baehr's long note, iii.497ff.

Accordingly Stein (iv.47), following Tzetzes (ad Lycophron 1432 p. 1036 Mull., cited by Baehr iii.497), believes that ἐπικαρσίας means πλαγίας or "shrag", "oblique" instead of "at right angles with" (see GPW 215f. and Hauvette 295). He goes on to present an account of the currents in the Hellespont such as to conform with the construction he places on Hdt' words, following Strabo's account of 591 and 331 fr. 55.

Perhaps the ultimate refinement along those lines is that of Leaf. After accepting Stein's conjecture of πλατέα for the παχέα of vii.33 (Troy 379), he goes on to dismiss the phrase τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας as meaningless on the ground that the Pontus is not near enough for comparison and does not suggest anything in the nature of a line. Therefore he adopts Schweighaeuser's πόρου and makes the ships lie oblique to the passage, i.e. to the direct passage across the strait northwards and "down the current of the Hellespont". (Note that Leaf makes both phrases apply to the same ships.) The angle of obliquity maintains the strain on the cables in accordance with Hdt' phrase to that effect (as Leaf somehow believes) so that the roadway is not disturbed (Troy 380).

Grote lays emphasis on the two most important points necessary to an understanding of this passage, arguing first that ἐπικαρσίας means "at right angles with" and not "oblique" and that Hdt. conceives of the Hellespont as meeting the Pontus at right angles; and second that both the phrases quoted at the beginning of this note apply equally to both the bridges (iv.118n.; see Macaulay ii.144,227). Grote might have gone on to conclude that Hdt. does

36 cont.

not take into consideration any such angle in the Hellespont as we know from our maps exists now and must have existed then. He believes that the two bridges lie parallel to one another.

Macan follows Grote in his interpretation of ἐπικαρσίαις and also agrees that both the phrases in question apply to both bridges, but he goes on to conclude that if "Pontus" is the true reading Hdt. is being over-nice in his reference to the remote Pontus and anyway involves himself in a contradiction because the part of the Hellespont lying at right angles with the Pontus is not Abydos-Sestos but Abydos southward, before the Hellespont bends to the east. He therefore adopts Schweighauser's emendation and reads πόρου instead of Πόντου (i¹51a,b). HW happily accept Grote's interpretation while evidently retaining the reading of the OCT (ii.142-143).

Judging from Hdt' other uses of the word it seems all but impossible to translate otherwise than "at right angles with" (cf. i.180, iv.101 and also Od. ix.70).

ἵνα ἀνακωχέῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὀπλων--The three chief questions in order of importance are (a.) Which cables are meant, the bridge-cables or the anchor-ropes? (b.) What is the subject of the verb? (c.) What does the verb mean?

Baehr construes the phrase in such a way that the current is the subject of the verb, which means "maintain the tension", and the cables in question are the anchor-ropes (iii.498f.). Macan follows and argues that the phrase is wanting in lucidity in any event but makes good sense only according to Baehr's construction and especially because Hdt. provides for the tension of the great cables by windlasses (i¹52a). On this question at least it seems difficult to take Baehr and Macan seriously. Nowhere in the chapter does Hdt. use this word to mean anchor-ropes whereas twice he

36 cont.

applies it to the bridge-cables themselves. We can make sense out of what Hdt. says. But even if we could not he must be referring to the bridge-cables as Grote points out (iv.119n.).

Baehr's subject is the current. Sitzler (ap. Macan i¹51b) suggests the more general τὸ ὥδε συνθεῖναι. Grote (iv.119n.), Stein (iv.48), and HW (ii.143) understand the bridge itself to be the subject. Reiske wants a plural subject and emends the verb accordingly. (Grote also would prefer the plural because he takes the proposition to be true of both bridges, iv.119a,n.) If the verb were plural the subject could be "they", i.e. the subject of the whole sentence. Once we reject the urge to emend, Sitzler's general subject seems to give the best sense, "in order that by so doing..." (see Macaulay ii.227 and Grote's conjecture, ἡ σύνθεσις τὰ συντιθέμενα, iv.121).

The meaning of the verb is not altogether clear elsewhere in Hdt' History. Used transitively it seems to mean "to stay": as in the case of anchoring ships (vi.116, ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. vii.100, τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχευον...). Used intransitively it means "to hold back" (ix.13, πρὶν μὲν νυν ἦ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε, θέλων εἰδέναι τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοῖον τι ποιήσουσι). Here the verb should mean "stay the tension of the cables". But scholars have placed two different constructions on the phrase with minor variations on each construction. Perhaps most of Hdt' commentators have thought that it means "to maintain the tension" (e.g. Wesseling, Schweighaeuser, Kruse, Baehr, iii.498f., Blakesley ii.208, Grote iv.119a, n., Cary 348, Macan i¹52a, Leaf Troy 380). A variation on this construction takes τὸν τόνον τῶν ὀπλων=τὰ ὀπλα ἐντεταμμένα,

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the abstract for the concrete, and analogous to κατύπερθε τῶν ὀπλων τοῦ τόνου below, and οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς τόνους ἔψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο, ix.118 (Stein iv.48 and HW ii.143).

But the common-sense meaning is that the process just described relieves the tension of the cables to keep them from breaking. And construed literally, word by word, that is what this phrase seems to mean: "in order that by so doing it might stay the tension of the cables" (see Rennell i.161n.; Macaulay ii.144, 227; Rawlinson iv.37; Powell ii.487; Burn 320). Hdt. is trying to explain the elaborate precautions the new engineers took to prevent a repetition of the former mishap of ch. 34. One of these precautions is a sophisticated arrangement of the boats astride the current so as to ease the strain on the cables. Another is the great anchors of the next phrase. Literal construction, common sense, and the context all militate for the same interpretation.

συνθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατήκαν περιμήκειας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρης τῶν ἀνέμων εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης πρὸς ἐσπέρας τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου ζεφύρου (εὐρου L) τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκα.--

We must distinguish between what Hdt. says and what "must" have been the case. Rennell believes that Hdt. puts anchors on either side of both bridges:

they were secured on each side by anchors of great length; on the upper side, because of the winds which set in from the Euxine; on the lower, towards the Aegean sea, on account of the south and south-east winds.

Rennell i.161 n.

Rennell's translation holds good if τῆς ἐτέρης-τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης refer not to γεφύρας but to some such understood word as μερίδος, τελευτῆς or another word indicating direction (Grote iv.122n.; see Macaulay ii.144 and 227). Otherwise, as Dunbar (Gr. and Eng. lexicon³ from Grote iv.121n.) and Baehr (iii.499) believe, Hdt. says that

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the boats of one bridge are anchored at their Euxine extremity while the boats of the other bridge are anchored at their Aegean extremity (see Blakesley ii.208, Cary 348, Macan i¹52b, HW ii.143).

It seems probable that every ship was anchored both stem and stern because in both bridges every boat needed protection from winds (or currents) from both directions (see Grote iv.121n.). But that does not mean that the text has to be emended (thus e.g. Van Herwerden from Macan i¹53, Leaf's Troy 381) or that we must accept the more un-natural reading of Rennell and Grote, in order that Hdt. be made to say as much. Hdt. hardly knew the technicalities of navigation or bridge construction, as scholars from the time of Bredow have seen (see Baehr iii.497ff., also mentioning Kruse; Grote iv.119b n.). The most natural reading of the passage is that Hdt. refers first to the anchors of one bridge, then to the anchors of the other bridge. He may assume that other, ordinary anchors are also in place in addition to these of unusual size as HW seem to suggest (ii.143). But he probably does not think that closely about the matter, nor does he realise that if each bridge was anchored on one extremity only, the bridges would not have been secure against winds and currents from both directions.

The most striking evidence of Hdt' ignorance of the Hellespont is his account of what the engineers are protecting against. Hdt. mentions the current of the Hellespont but according to his account the engineers use these great anchors not against this current but against winds from several directions. There are a number of different ways in which to account for this fact (see below), but the easiest explanation is that Hdt. did not know about the strong currents in the Hellespont. He believed that the sophisticated new methods adopted by the second group of engineers were meant

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to counter-act the winds, which he thought he did know something about.

To Hdt., if there are currents they run the same way the wind blows. He could have imbibed the assumption from Homer.

ὥς ὅτε κύμα

ἀκτῇ ἐφ' ὑψηλῇ, ὅτε κινήσῃ νότος ἐλθὼν,
 προβλήτι σκοπέλῳ· τὸν δ' οὐ ποτε κύματα λείπει
 παντοίων ἀνέμων, ὅτ' ἂν ἔνθ' ἢ ἔνθα γένωνται.

Il. ii.394ff.

ὥς δ' ἄνεμοι δύο πόντον ὀρίνετον ἰχθυόεντα,
 βορέης καὶ ζέφυρος, τῷ τε θρήκηθεν ἄητον,
 ἐλθόντ' ἐξαπλίνης· ἄμυδις δέ τε κύμα κελαϊνὸν
 κορθύεται, πολλὸν δὲ παρὲς ἅλα φύκος ἔχευεν·

Il. ix.4ff.

ὥς δ' ὅτε πορφύρῃ πέλαγος μέγα κύματι κωφῷ,
 ὁσσόμενον λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα
 αὐτως, οὐδ' ἄρα τε προκυλίνδεται οὐδετέρωσσε,
 πρὶν τινα κεκριμένον καταβήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς οὔρον,

Il. xiv.16ff.

Homeric poetry can be so construed as to make the winds paramount over the waves. See also e.g. Il. iv.422ff..

Leaf makes a notable attempt to save Hdt. from this apparent in-consequence. He argues that the bridge is meant not only for summer but for winter as well, when the strong SW gales can actually reverse the direction of the current (Troy 381). There is no good reason to believe that Hdt. knows about these gales and even if he does there is no good reason to believe that he is thinking of them as he writes this passage. But for the sake of argument let us waive that point and grant Leaf's assumptions. Which winds must the engineers guard against? Certainly the N and NE or Etesian winds and Hdt. seems to get that right even if he calls them "the winds that blow from within", a periphrasis that looks very much as if he does not know exactly what direction they hail from (see below). But what of the other direction? Clearly the other winds, which are significant for only 3 mths. of the year, are chiefly southern and western (cf. e.g. the

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Black Sea Pilot of 1908 as quoted by Leaf, Troy 357, and also Burchner, RE viii.188). Eastern winds can make themselves felt, but for the purposes of bridge-construction only the western and to a lesser degree southern winds could be considered. Leaf himself mentions the SW gales of the area (381) and also alludes to a brisk breeze from the WSW (375). The fact that it is the W and not the E wind that can be important in the Hellespont explains why an anonymous scholar replaced the E wind of the Mss (L) with a zephyr, and also why most editors have adopted that reading. But the Mss indicate that Hdt. said εὖρον, E wind. If he does have information to the effect that the engineers were guarding against winds and not against currents that information was certainly wrong. The easiest way to explain the Mss reading is that Hdt. did not know which winds were important in the Hellespont. He names the E wind because the Aegean, like Europe, is off to the W ; Xerxes has been marching from E to W . He does not know exactly which direction the Pontus is from the Hellespont so he calls these winds blowing-from-within instead of N or NE. He nonetheless has a vague notion that the Hellespont runs N and S because it is a dividing line between E and W, Asia and Europe. Therefore he calls the other wind S. The anonymous emendation is un-justified because we have not the slightest reason to believe that Hdt. is acquainted with the winds of the Hellespont.

Many scholars have assumed that Hdt. is acquainted with the geography of the Hellespont because he makes the second bridge (or the second direction, according to ones reading) lie "toward the W and the Aegean", evidently because they assume that when he mentions the Pontus he recognises the N-S stretch of the Hellespont below Abydos while his allusion to "the W and

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the Aegean" shows that he is also acquainted with the nearly

E-W stretch just above the opening into the Aegean (e.g. Rawlinson iv.38 n.8; Stein iv.49; Macan i¹53a; HW ii.143). But Hdt. does not seem to know where the Pontus lay in relation to the Hellespont—thus his winds blowing-from-within. Therefore he must be vague about the other direction as well: the W and the Aegean. The easiest explanation of Hdt' account is not that he is acquainted with the general NE-SW orientation of the Hellespont, much less that he knows the various bends of the strait, and is merely struggling with his words to put his meaning across. The most economical hypothesis is that he has but the vaguest notion of the geography in question and protects himself as best he can with imprecise language that contrives to be full of specifics. His is the language of a fine story-teller who seems to know more than he does in fact.

διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπόφασιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ
 τριχοῦ, ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔχη ὁ βουλόμενος πλέειν
 πλοίοισι λεπτοῖσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω.--

τριχοῦ may not be altogether certain but emendation is unjustified. Whatever hearsay Hdt. takes as the basis of this description could have made three openings in the penteconters quite as well as one opening in the penteconters and triremes (Petavius) or two openings in the penteconters and triremes (Hude).

What the passage may mean is that three different penteconters are left out of each bridge, perhaps one in the middle and one on either side. The fact that the openings provide only for light vessels makes the detail credible. Macan believes that as a permanent arrangement his single gap (he accepts the anonymous reading) is an impossibility and he therefore conjectures detachable penteconters that could be returned to their place when the bridge came under stress (i¹53a, ii.143). It seems idle to speculate in that kind of way. The bridges had but a poor margin of safety if

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they could not support 3 one-penteconter gaps (or even larger gaps indeed) in their spans of 360 and 314 vessels (to accept the validity of Hdt' figures for the sake of argument). But to judge from Hdt' words, these gaps would not have been sufficient to accommodate e.g. the corn-transport of ch. 147, though Hdt. may have been thinking of those transport vessels when he wrote about them.

ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισι ξυλίνοισι τὰ ὄπλα-- Hdt. does not say whether the cables are lashed to the boats or whether they merely rest on the boats. He seems to assume that each cable is all in one piece and that is impossible because of the weight involved.

οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἐκάτερα τάξαντες-- The Phoenicians had built one bridge of flaxen cables and the Egyptians one of papyrus (ch. 34).

κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἐμβριθέστερα ἦν τὰ λίνεα, τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πήχυς εἶλκε.-- Hdt. knows the weight of a cubit of flaxen cable, in keeping perhaps with his knowledge from or about the Phoenicians in connexion with the two great projects, at Athos and the Hellespont. Clearly he does not know the weight of a cubit of papyrus cable or he would give it. But he implies that he does, and he purports to know that papyrus weighs less than flax. He is probably guessing and he implies that he knows more than he really does.

What of the measure that he does know? Macan points out that if Hdt. means an ordinary Greek cubit of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and an emporio talent of about 82 lbs. , the cable he describes is made to weigh about 55 lbs. per ft. (i¹54a). He could, however, mean a Samian or Egyptian cubit (see ii.168), which is considerably longer (see e.g. HW i.138), and he could mean an Attic-coinage talent, which weighs considerably less (see e.g. HW ii.144). He does not tell us which talent and cubit he means and the precise value of each is hardly certain anyway. Nor does he tell us the diameter of the

36 cont.

cable in question. The weight seems suspiciously large nonetheless.

θέντες δὲ ἐπεξῆς ἐνθαῦτα αὖτις ἐπεζεύγνυον.--The meaning is obscure. Stein (iv.50) and HW (ii.144) believe that Hdt. means to say that cross-ties are laid on the planks to fasten them together, as in the boats of ii.96. Macan believes the planks are bound down upon the cables by separate ties or by more of the great cables (i¹54b; cf. ii.143 and Grote iv.122). Hdt. seems to be saying that the planks themselves are bound together (thus e.g. Rennell i.161n.; Macaulay ii.145, "fastened them above"; Cary 349; Baehr iii.501; Grote iv.122; Rawlinson iv.38; Stein iv.50; HW ii.144). But far more important is how the planks are bound to the great cables. Hdt. never indicates that they are bound down upon the great cables, although Macan mis-translates the phrase in question so as to derive the necessary sense (i¹54b; but see ii.143).

The sense of αὖτις is not clear. Baehr vacillates between denuo and post modo or posthac (iii.501).

ὕλην-- What kind of wood? Stein believes that Hdt. means a second layer of planks because of the phrase κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν ὕλην (iv.50). He may do, but that phrase only seems to mean that they did everything properly. Brushwood seems a more likely possibility (thus e.g. Macan i¹54b, HW ii.144).

And so they did these things, those to whom fell that thankless honour, but other master-builders set about making the bridges. This is the way they made them. They joined together penteconters and triremes, under the bridge toward the Euxine Pontus 360 ships, but under the other bridge 314 ships, at right angles to the Pontus, but athwart the stream of the Hellespont, that by so doing it might stop the strain on the cables. When they had joined the ships

36 cont.

together, they let down enormous anchors, some toward the Pontus from the one bridge because of the winds blowing from within that sea, from the other bridge toward the west and the Aegean because of the east wind and the south wind. And they left an opening for sailing through in the penteconters, three of them indeed, so that he who wanted to sail with small vessels could make his way into the Pontus and out of it. Having done that much, they stretched the cables from the land, winding them on wooden capstans, no longer keeping each kind separate, but assigning two flaxen cables to each bridge, and four of papyrus. The thickness and quality was the same, but proportionately the flaxen cables were heavier: they weighed a talent the cubit. When the strait was bridged, having sawed logs of wood and made them equal in width to the pontoon-bridge, they laid them in order on top of the taut cables, and when they had set them in a row then again they joined them together. When they had done that, they laid on brush-wood, and having set the brush-wood in order, they laid earth on top, and when they had stamped down the earth, they drew along a fence on either side, in order that the beasts of burden might not be frightened looking at the sea down below, nor the horses either.

It will be well to glance briefly at what Hdt. tells us about these bridges. The thick headland he mentions between Sestos and Madytos is not prominent today, even if erosion may have changed the scene since Hdt' time. Hdt. does not tell us who the new engineers were or even what nationality they represented. His 7-stade distance is about right, but he could have got that figure from a geographical source or a trader or traveler. He says that both triremes and penteconters are used, but he does not say whether both kinds of ship are used in both bridges or if one bridge is made of penteconters and the other is made of triremes. He tells

36 cont.

us the exact number of boats in each bridge and the difference between the two figures is convincing because it seems to be related to the breadth of the strait. But Hdt. could have calculated these numbers for himself and the greater of the two is suspect not only because of the other 360's in the History but also because it is equal to the number of ships provided by the Pontus, Hellespont, and the coast of Asia Minor. Anyway Hdt. does not explain why the numbers are different. He does not say whether one bridge is longer than the other nor does he say whether the bridges lie parallel to one another. His orientation of the boats is such as to give the impression that the Pontus is close at hand whereas by his own reckoning the Hellespont is 400 stades long, the Propontis is 500 stades wide, the Bosphorus is 120 stades long, and all these intervene between the bridges and the Euxine (iv.85). He gives no indication that there is more than one kind of current in the Hellespont, nor does he indicate that he knows the geographical orientation of the Hellespont. He says that they joined the boats together but he does not say how. He anchors the vessels in a way that is impossible nor does he give any indication that ordinary anchors are already in place when his enormous anchors are dropped. He thinks that these enormous anchors are to protect not against the currents but against the winds. When he comes to name those winds he talks around the N wind so that we can not tell if he is certain about it. He gets the S wind right but he names the E wind instead of the W wind. He does not seem to know if the bridges run E and W or N and S, or if they run in different directions, because he says that one bridge lies toward the Pontus and the other toward the W and the Aegean. He makes three openings in the bridges for light vessels but not apparently for larger ships that he himself names later in his narrative (vii.147). Also he does not say how these openings were

36 cont.

made or whether they could be closed. He seems to think that the cables are made in one piece which is impossible, and that all six cables in either bridge span the strait, which is unlikely. He does not say if the cables are lashed to the boats or merely rest on the boats. He seems to know how much a cubit of flaxen cable weighs but his figure is suspiciously high, and that figure can not be verified because he does not say what kind of measurement he is giving even though he is interested in the different kinds of cubits (ii.168). He does not give the diameter of his cubit of cable anyway. Hdt. does not say that the planks of his road-way are lashed or otherwise joined to the cables and he seems to think that they are joined to one another, though he does not say how. He seems to be saying that brush-wood covered his road-way but he could mean more planks because his wording is ambiguous. Finally he does not say who built the ships that went into the bridges or who did the work on the bridges. A great many scholars have decided on the basis of this chapter that Hdt. is intimately acquainted with the Hellespont and has access to reliable second-hand information about Xerxes' bridges. That conclusion is wrong. Hdt. may have got his information at the Hellespont but if so that information was vague and un-reliable. What he tells us in this chapter he could have written in Halicarnassus on the basis of what he heard from those who pretended to know the subject at hand, travelers, traders, raconteurs. If he used a geographical source in constructing this narrative it must likewise have been vague and un-reliable. To judge from this chapter alone we should have to conclude that Hdt. never went to Abydos.

37.

37.

οἱ τε χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος, οἱ τῆς
 ῥηχίης εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ ἐμπίπληται τὰ
 στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος,-- Hdt. mentions the moles for the
 first time, leading Macan to speculate that the two mouths of
 ch. 23 are evidence of some confusion on Hdt' part between the
 digging of the canal and the preparation of the moles (i¹35b f.),
 and also that the canal was at first a failure, like the bridges,
 till the moles were added in the winter of 481/480 to keep it
 from being choked with silt (i¹56b). But Hdt' use of the same
 word in chs. 23 and 37 is hardly evidence that his anecdote
 of Phoenician engineering skill originally applied to the moles,
 and indeed it could not have done in anything like its present
 form. And if the canal had failed at first Hdt. should have learned
 about it in connexion with the original failure of the bridges.

On "ebbs" and "floods" see vii.198 and viii.129.

ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας ἄμα τῷ ἔαρι παρσκευασμένος ὁ
 στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὀρμᾶτο ἐλῶν ἐς Ἀβυδὸν.--

This is one of the landmarks of Hdt' chronology, such as they are.
 See the table at ch. 20 and App. i. The statement probably rests
 on nothing more than Hdt' own inference.

ὀρμημένῳ δέ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
 ἔδρην ἀφανῆς ἦν οὐτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων αἰθρίης τε
 τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νύξ ἐγένετο.-- See i.74 and 103.

This is a very inconvenient eclipse. HW ii.145 list the fol-
 lowing eclipses from the period of the second Persian war, relying
 on the calculations of Zech and Hoffman (see Busolt ii²662 and 715)
 and following Stein (iv.51).

- (a.) 18 April 481. Total. Visible on the Indian Ocean and at Sousa.⁺
- (b.) 8 April 480. Total. Visible from New Zealand to S. America.
- (c.) 2 October 480. Partial. Visible in Corinth and at Sardis. See
 Hdt. ix.10.3.
- (d.) 27 Feb. 479. Partial. Visible in Siberia and the Polar Seas.
- (e.) 16 Feb. 478. Annular. Visible in Sardis.

37 cont.

*There is some doubt about the exact date for whatever reason. Meyer (GA iii.354) and Burn (321) say 10 April. Rawlinson, from Larcher ad loc., says 19 April. Stein (iv.51), Macan (i¹57a), and HW (ii.145) say 18 April.

No eclipse of the sun is known to have been visible in Sardis in the spring of 480. Nor is it possible to alter the general chronological framework of the invasion to suit this eclipse, because of the Olympic festival (vii.206; viii.26,72), Hdt' allusion to the archonship of Calliades (viii.51), and Hdt' apparent confirmation of the partial eclipse of 2 October 480 (ix.10); see App. i. Unless the calculations from which the above dates derive are mistaken, and unless we choose to disregard the anecdote (thus e.g. Hignett 448), we must account for it on the basis of this list or write it off as nothing but a good story. Some scholars believe that Hdt' source post-dates the total eclipse of spring 481 (thus e.g. Blakesley ii.209; Rawlinson iv.39; Judeich, *Hist. Zeit.* xlii.148; Meyer, GA iii.354; HW ii.145; Burn 321). Others believe that Hdt' tradition pre-dates the annular eclipse of Feb. 478 (thus e.g. Busolt ii²663n.; Stein iv.51; Macan i¹57a,b). Stein believes indeed that since Thales' celebrated prediction of Hdt. i.74 there may have been an increased tendency to associate eclipses with famous events.

There is another possibility. In context the dramatic purpose of the eclipse is to make the Magi look bad. Hdt' attitude toward the Magi is consistently un-favourable and he probably draws on a source that is ill-disposed to them, perhaps the Artabanos source (see ch. 19 and comm. ad loc.). This anecdote may also derive from that source and the following re-construction of events might account for it:

At the time of the partial eclipse of 2 October 480, the same eclipse that Hdt. believes to have driven Cleombrotus from the isthmus (ix.10), Xerxes consulted the Magi and they told him that

37 cont.

the gods were showing the Greeks the abandonment of their cities. That interpretation was hardly ill-conceived in view of the Athenians' evacuation of Attica. But Hdt' anti-Magi tradition removes their interpretation from its proper chronological context into another that makes the Magi look both wrong and also sycophantic, i. e. into the context of Xerxes' departure from Sardis.

In any event, whether Hdt' eclipse of spring 480 is anti-Magi propaganda or nothing but a good story, it never took place.

λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων.--Hdt. believes that the Persians sacrifice to the moon as well as the sun and always have done (i.131) though he makes Xerxes pray to the sun and not the moon at the Hellespont (vii.54). As part of an anecdote designed to make the Magi look badly wrong, or indeed as part of nothing but a good story, the allusion requires no special explanation or attention.

38.

Πύθιος ὁ Λυδός--If Pythios is the grandson of Croesus (see ch. 27 and comm. ad loc.) then Hdt' source of information about him may be identical with one of the Croesus-sources. The Artabanos source, the anti-Magi source, and that of the eclipse are probably the same. The proximity in Hdt' narrative of the eclipse and this anecdote of Pythios suggests that these five sources are identical. There is another possible indication that Hdt' Artabanos and Pythios sources are the same. Immediately after relating the pro-Artabanos anecdote to the effect that Artabanos advised Darius not to march on the Scythians (iv.83) Hdt. tells the story of Oeobazus, who entreated Darius to leave behind one of his sons, only to have Darius leave all of them after they had been executed (iv.84). The story is clearly analogous to that of Pythios. It could have come from the same source or the same neighbourhood.

38 cont.

ἐμὲ ἐς τόδε ἡλικίης ἤκοντα--Stein (iv.52) and Maon (i¹58a) calculate that if Pythios is the grandson of Croesus he is about 80 years old; HW (ii.145) calculate between 70 and 80. In any event he is older than we should like him to be, even if the relationship is hardly impossible for all that.

39.

40.

οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια --See ch. 55, τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπηγή. Xerxes is in friendly country but he violates perhaps the first tenet of modern military practice by sending his baggage train first. This detail is almost incredible because it makes the beasts of burden set the pace for the entire army. But see comm. at ch.55 for Hdt' correction and the list in general.

dP

μετὰ δὲ τούτους σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι--Modern scholars have tried to save Hdt. by assuming that here he means only that the various contingents marched with no regular interval between them (thus e.g. Rawlinson iv.41, HW ii.145). But Stein rightly points out that σύμμικτος στρατὸς does not produce a redundant reading (as e.g. Maon assumes, i¹60a). The first adjective describes the composition of the army. The second applies to their marching order, or lack of it: they do not march in separate contingents. Perhaps the first adjective should be omitted (thus Hude; see App. Crit.). It may have been added because of its presence in ch. 55. But Stein's point holds good. (iv.53). Hdt. describes a mob on the march. It seems impossible to believe his account. The army must have marched in orderly contingents (see Xen. Anab. i.8.9) and it probably had its baggage train in the rear.

40 cont.

ἵπποται χίλιοι ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι·— See ch. 55, οἱ ἵπποται οἱ χίλιοι.

μετὰ δὲ αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι, καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες·—

They also appear in ch. 55. See ch. 41, αἰχμοφόροι Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοι τε καὶ γενναϊότατοι χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες.

μετὰ δὲ ἱροὶ Νησαῖοι καλεόμενοι ἵπποι δέκα, κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. Νησαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· ἔστι πεδῖον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Νήσαιον. τοὺς ὧν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδῖον τοῦτο.— Elsewhere Hdt. calls them Medio, iii.106.

Masistios rides one (ix.20). Nisaea probably embraces the great horse-breeding pastures along the road from Ispahan and Behistun to Hamadan, visited by Alexander on his march from Sousa to Ecbatana (Arrian, Anab. vii.13.1; see Diodorus xvii.110.6 and Strabo 525). This is presumably the Nisaya of the Behistun inscription (i.13.10 = Kent's OP, DB i.58, pp. 118 and 120).

Horse-breeding Nisaea is evidently to be distinguished from Strabo's Nisaea on the Ochus river in Hyrcania (509, 511; see Pliny, NH vi.113, Isidor Charax p. 254, and Vendidad i.8-26). See also Hanslik, RE xvii.712f..

ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἄρμα Διδὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο...—The chariot was stolen in Paeonia, viii.115.

See Xen. Cyrop. viii.3.12.

παρεβεβήκεε δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, ὅτανεω ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω παῖς.—Patiramphes may be the son of

Otanes, son of Sisamnes, who commanded against the Ionian rebels (see v.25, 116, 123), perhaps the father of Xerxes' wife Amestris (vii.40, 61, 82). This Otanes probably is not the son of Pharnaspes who originated the conspiracy against the Magi (iii.68-72; against Blakesley ii.212), though he may well be of the same family.

Hdt. knows a great deal about the latter (see iii.80, his advocacy of democracy; iii.83, the terms on which he surrenders

40 cont.

his claim to the throne; iii.88, where he becomes Darius' father-in-law; vi.43, where Mardonius' deposition of the tyrants confirms Hdt' story that Otanes advocated democracy for the Persians). He may have learned about the elder Otanes at least on Samos, where Otanes commanded (iii.144-147,149; note Hdt' belief that Otanes helped re-colonise Samos because of a dream and a disease of the genitals [venereal disease?], iii.149).

41.

ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς ἀρμαμάξαν.— Persian monarchs fought from chariots. See e.g. Arrian, Anab. ii.11.4-6, where Alexander captures Darius' chariot at Issus, and iii.15.5, where he takes it a second time at Arbela, and also Xen. Cyr. vi.4.2. Elsewhere carriages are frequently associated with women (see e.g. ch. 83 and Xen. Anab. i.2.16). Cf. also Aesch. Pers. 1000 and Aristoph. Acharn. 70; Xen. Cyr. iii.1.40 and vi.4.11; Diodorus xviii.26.1 (carrying the dead body of Alexander; cf. xx.25.4); Plutarch, Them. xxvi.4, Artaxerxes v, Mor. 173 F; Ath. 206 E.

μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔκπινον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν... These are evidently the immortals of ch. 83 but it is strange that Hdt. does not say so.

εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ῥοιὰς καὶ οἱ ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιιστα ἐπόμενοι Εἰρξῇ.—

Evidently Hdt. thinks of this detail only in connexion with the golden and silver pomegranites of the 10,000. There seems no good reason to believe that there is one chiliad too many or that the two chiliads preceding and succeeding the king are really divisions of the immortals, on the basis of this passage alone (against Macan i¹61b). On the chiliad of the noblest and best Persians see Ath. xii.514 B.

41 cont.

Elsewhere in Hdt' History the word pomegranite appears only in a story of Artabanos' converse with Darius, in which the king would rather have as many of Megabazus as the seeds of a pomegranite than make all Hellas subject to him (iv.143).

42.

ἐπολέετο δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Λυδίας ὁ στρατὸς ἐπ' τε ποταμὸν Κάρικον καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυσίην--

Histiaeus crossed to the mainland from Lesbos to reap the corn of Atarneus and the Mysian corn of the Caicus plain (vi.28). Thus the SE part of Lesbos points to it and though there has been considerable controversy over where it originally emptied (e.g. between Dorpfeld and Philippson; see RE x.1502 for Burchner's brief account), there is little doubt that it is the present-day Bakır (Bakyr). For a description of the Caicus and the Caicus valley see Leaf, Strabo 343ff. and also pp. xlvff. of the intro. against Dorpfeld's alleged alteration of the Caicus and Elaitic gulf. Hdt' Mysia extends S of the Caicus (see i.160 and vi.28), and Homeric Mysia is not inconsistent with that notion (see Leaf, Troy 297ff.).

Hdt. does not say how Xerxes marched from Sardis to the Caicus. He could have gone down the valley of the Hermus to the coast and thence northward, but he could also have marched N via Lake Gygaia to the upper Caicus and then down the Caicus valley to Atarneus.

ἀπὸ δὲ Κάρικου ὀρμώμενος, Κάρης ὄρος ἔχων ἐν ἀριστερῇ,--

See Strabo 615 and Leaf's Strabo ad loc., 335ff.. It is the modern Kara-Dagh, opposite SE Lesbos and marked "Karadagh" on BA chart 2836b. On the town (Canae), promontory, and mountain, see also Oldfather, RE x.1849ff..

42 cont.

Κάρνην α
 διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ἐς Κάρνην πόλιν.-- Atarneus is well-known to Hdt. as a district of Mysia opposite Lesbos (i.160) near the plain of the Caious and the scene of Histiaeus' final struggle with Harpagus (vi.28-29). He also calls it a part of Mysia inhabited by Chians (viii.106). Hdt. gives no indication that he knows of the city of Atarneus as described by Xenophon, Hell. iii.2.11. Clearly "the territory lay along the coast opposite Lesbos and north of the modern Dikeli" (marked "Dikili" on BA chart 2836b) but the location of the town is more doubtful (Leaf, Strabo 327f.). On the district and the town see also Frazer iii.454f., Burchner, RE ii. 1896f., and ATL i.496.

Steph. Byz. s.v. mentions Carene only as a city of Mysia though elsewhere he indicates that the city was of consequence at the time of the Ionian colonisation (s.v. Benna). Pliny mentions it only as a place that has disappeared (NH v.122). The site remains uncertain (see Leaf, Strabo 267 [not 167 as the index has it]). Hdt. probably wrote Κάρνην.

Ἀδραμύττειόν αP
 ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Θήβης πεδίου ἐπορεύετο, Ἀτραμύττειόν τε πόλιν καὶ Ἀντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα παραμειβόμενος.--

Thebe is the birthplace of Andromache (Il. vi.394ff., xxi.476ff.), and the plain of Thebe is "the triangular alluvial plain at the very head of the Gulf of Adramyttion" (see Leaf, Strabo 305ff.; see also Radet, Lydie 175). See also Xen. Anab. vii.8.7, Polybius xvi.1.7, xxi.10.13, Livy xxxvii.19, Strabo 614 and 616 among the ancients; Leaf, Troy 213ff. and Head, HN 538 among the moderns.

Adramyttion was long thought to be the modern Edremid, marked "Edremit" on pl. 36 of the Times Atlas, inland from the head of the gulf of Adramyttion, till Kiepert firmly identified it with the remains "several miles to the S and just W of the town of Kemer", "now called Kara-tash (Black Stone)" (Leaf, Strabo 318). The town is marked "Xemer" and the ruins are also marked on BA

42 cont.

chart 2836b. With Adramyttion confidently displaced to the SW, Leaf identifies the modern Edremid with Thebe (see Leaf, Troy 213ff. and Strabo 305ff.). The latter identification seems particularly insecure, resting as it does on Strabo's measurements of 612-614.

Hdt. is the first extant author to name Adramyttion. Thuc. knows it as a city given by Pharnaces to the Delians who had been expelled from their island by the Athenians (v.1) and thus as the home of the Delians who were treacherously shot down by Arsaces (viii.108.4). Xenophon marched through on his way from Ida to Pergamon (Xen. Anab. vii.8.8). Macan (i¹63b) points out that St. Paul sailed in a ship of Adramyttion (Acts xxvii.2). See also Strabo 583, 605, 612ff.; Pliny, NH v.123 and xiii.5. For a brief history see Hirschfeld, RE i.404 and Head, HN 520f. on the coinage. Hdt. probably wrote 'Αδραμύττειόν.

Antandros was captured by Otanes, the successor of Megabazus (v.26). Thuc. calls the Antandrians Aeolian and says that they brought Spartan hoplites from Abydos to their city by way of Ida (see below) to protect them from Arsaces (viii.108.4f.). The city had been seized by Lesbian exiles in 424 (iv.52.3), and recovered by the Athenians that same summer (iv.75). See also Xen. Hell. i.1.25f. (where Pharnabazus controls the city and uses it as a ship-building centre utilising the timber of Mt. Ida; see Aen. iii.5, where Aeneas builds his ships) and Anab. vii.8.7 (Xenophon's first stopping-place after crossing Mt. Ida); Strabo 606 (where Alcaeus calls it "city of the Leleges"); Diodorus xiii.42.4.

Leaf identifies it as the modern Avjilar, commanding the passage between Adramyttion and Assus (Strabo 263ff.; see Troy 202f., 218f. [Leaf suggests that Antandros is Homer's Lyrmessos], 238, 241). It is marked "Avjidar" on BA chart 2836b with "the ruins of Antandros" to the west of it. See also Hirschfeld, RE i.2346.

42 cont.

τὴν Ἰδὴν δὲ λαβὼν, ^X ἐς ἀριστερὴν χεῖρα ἦλε ἐς τὴν
'Ιλιδάδα γῆν.---The false punctuation is Holder's mistaken
attempt to save Hdt. from getting his directions wrong. Holder's
reading is clearly un-natural because Xerxes has not been "capturing"
the cities he passes.

To reach the Scamander Xerxes should keep Ida on his right,
not on his left. Thuc. shows indeed that hoplites could march from
Abydos to Antandros "through" Mt. Ida (ἐκ τῆς 'Αβύδου περὶ
διὰ τῆς Ἰδῆς τοῦ ὄρους, viii.108.4). Xenophon likewise
marches over Mt. Ida in the opposite direction to Antandros
(ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Τρωάδος, καὶ ὑπερβάντες
τὴν Ἰδὴν εἰς Ἀντανδρον ἀφικνοῦνται πρῶτον, Anab. vii.
8.7). Murray believes there was a route from Ilion to Antandros
following the line of the Scamander to Kebrene, continuing up the
Scamander (the Menderes Chai) to the modern Evjilar, marked "Evjilar"
on BA chart 2836b, and across the spurs of Ida to Narli (marked thus
on BA chart 2836b) and thence along the coast to Edremid (AM 69).
But if Xerxes used that route, clearly he kept Ida on his right,
not on his left as a glance at Leaf's map will show. Sitzler
mentions a route east of Ida from Zeitunlii (Bursian, Jahresb.
lxxxvi.67f.; see Macan i¹63a). Of this route Leaf says "The Alp
is reached by the long but easy path which runs NW
from the modern village of Zeitunlii, and still forms the natural
communication between the plains of Bairamich and Edremid; the
very path which was afterwards followed by the army of Xerxes
on its way to Abydos and the Hellespont." (Troy 245; see Strabo
264, where he describes the spur and col of 4,560 ft. altitude
and the artificial cutting known as the Portae). Leaf marks this
route in red on his map. But according to his own identification
of Antandros, also marked in red near Avjilar on the coast, Xerxes
would have had to reverse his direction and back-track along the
coast the way he came in order to take this route! We could assume

42 cont.

that Hdt' allusion to Antandros is a mistake indeed, but that solution is hardly better than admitting that Hdt. made a mistake in sending Xerxes to the Scamander with Ida on his left. And is it really likely that Xerxes marched his whole army over Mt. Ida?

At least from the time of Blakesley scholars have assumed that the army probably took several different routes and that only a small detachment went with the king over Ida while the rest of the army took an easier route (Blakesley ii.213). Macan believes that the army used all three routes, the coastal road, the road W of Ida, and the path E of Ida (i¹63a). (HW accept Holder's punctuation and thus solve the problem by denying its existence, ii. 147. Grundy believes that Hdt. speaks from the point of vantage of a traveler sailing up the coast in a ship, GPW 217.) The easiest solution is that Hdt. made a mistake. He probably thought that Ida was on Xerxes' left on the way to the Scamander because he did not know where Ida really was (see Rawlinson iv.44f.). He may have been looking at a rough sketch with Xerxes' route marked in when he wrote this account, one in which Ida was wrongly situated. What Hdt. knows or thinks he knows is place-names. He has not been over the ground and therefore he is vulnerable to mistakes of that kind. It seems likely indeed that he constructs at least part of Xerxes' route from geographical sources alone, calculating for himself which way Xerxes "must" have gone, much in the way of modern scholars. That hypothesis would explain the gaps in Xerxes' route: the enormous gap between the Halys and Celaenae of ch. 26 and the more surprising gap between Sardis and the Caicus. These were areas not touched on by the geographers for which Hdt. had no information from commercial travelers.

43.

43.

ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς
 πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπεῖτε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὁρμηθέντες ἐπεχεί-
 ρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ῥέεθρον οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ
 στρατιῇ τε καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος,--

On river-failure see ch. 21 and comm. ad loc.. Hdt' statement is
 all the more credible in the case of the Scamander, the modern
 Mendere, because it is a shallow stream, especially in the summer,
 although it sometimes floods in the winter and seems to vary in
 depth at any given point from year to year, and has cut at least
 one notable new channel in modern years, that of 1895 some distance
 above the village of Yeni Shehr (Troy 32; marked "Yenishehr" on
 BA chart 2836b). For brief descriptions of the river and the
 controversies on its ancient course see esp. Leaf, Troy 30-41,
 171-174, 384-389, and BSA 1910.266ff. and Burchner, RE iii A
 429-430.

ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀπύκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ
 Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη ἕμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι.--

See e.g. Il. v.446, 460. Stein (iv.56) believes that Hdt. does
 not think of this place as inhabited, in which case Hdt' evidence
 seems to conflict with that of Hellanicus on this question (Strabo
 602=FGH 4 F 25b but cf. Strabo 597), but Hdt. does not say one
 way or the other. For a brief history of the district see Leaf,
Strabo 136ff.. Alexander also ascended to Ilion (Arrian, Anab.
 i.11.7f.). There seems no reason to doubt that both kings went to
 the modern Hissarlik, though not, perhaps, to the same shrine
 (see Leaf, Troy 118).

τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσσε βοῦς χιλίας-- See Leaf's
 account of Athena's continuity at Ilion, Strabo 145f. and esp.
Troy 115ff.. Homer mentions a shrine of Athena, Il. vi.269,297,
 and Xenophon has Mindarus the Spartan navarch visit one (Hell.
 i.1.4).

Xerxes' sacrifice need not have been a mere propitiation of
 the Asiatic Greeks (thus Hauvette 303), nor did the Greeks merely

43 cont.

misunderstand Persian rites (thus Duncker GA vii.202 n.1). The Persians deferred to alien deities of the empire (e.g. v.102, vi.97, viii.54, viii.133, ix.42; Cyrus' cylinder; Records of the Past x.45ff. [in Egypt]; Tod 10; CAH iv.187ff.).

χοὰς δὲ οἱ μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο.--This detail seems a gratuitous complement to Xerxes' religious observance. Their libations are the proximate cause of the army's panic in the night, and clearly in keeping with Hdt' consistently un-favourable attitude toward the Magi (see comm. at ch. 19). (Thus we need not ascribe this panic to the offended majesty of Apollo, Macan i¹65b.)

ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε.--See iv.203, the panic of the Persians at Cyrene, and viii.38, the Persians at Delphi.

ἄμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεῦτεν, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἀπέργων Ροίτειον (Ροίτιον aDR) πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρύνειον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἥ περ δὴ Ἀβύδω ὁμουρός ἐστι, ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ Γέργιθας Τευκρούς.--

Rhoetion and Ophrynion.

Mytilenean exiles took Rhoetion in 424 with the aid of recruits and mercenaries but restored it when they received 2000 Phocaeian staters (Thuc. iv.52.2). Thuc. also mentions Rhoetion in sequence with Lecton, Larisa, Hamaxitos, and Sigeon (viii.101). On the name itself see Eustathius at Il. ii.648. There seems no reason to doubt that Hdt. wrote the name as transmitted by the older Mss (see App. Crit. and above). For Strabo's information on the history and location of the town see 595, 597, 601, 602. On the coinage see Head, EN v.125, 127 (where it is 70 stades from Dardanos); Livy xxxvii.37; Vergil, Aen. v.646, xii.456; Quintus v.655 (quoted by Leaf, Strabo 157); Lucian, Chron. 23; Lucan, Phars. ix.962.

Xenophon got to Ophrynion the next day after leaving Lampsacus on his way to Antandros (Anab. vii.8.5). Lycophron 1203, the schol. on 1194, and Schol. A on Il. xiii.1 give evidence of the tradition

43 cont.

that Hector was buried there; see also Dion. Hal. i.46.1 and 47.2 for the connexion with Aeneas. On Ophryinion and the great earthquake of the Chersonese see [Dem.] xxxiii.20 and Leaf, Strabo 154. Strabo names Dardanos, Ophryinion, lake Pteleos, and then Rhoetion (595). It is only with great difficulty that there is room for two major towns between Dardanos and Rhoetion (see below). Therefore Calvert ingeniously emends λίμνη to λιμήν, deciding there could never have been a lake in the vicinity, and identifying lake Pteleos with the harbour of Ophryinion (see Steph. Byz. s.v. Pteleon, who calls it a city of Ionia and the Troad). Leaf identifies his site for Ophryinion, N of Eren-kioi (see below) with the Callicolone of Il. xx.151 (Troy 44; cf. Strabo 154f.).

The locations.

Barker Webb identified Ophryion with a site just N of the modern village of Eren-kioi (Top. de la Tr. 61), marked "Aren Kioi" on BA chart 2836b, and Calvert not only confirmed this site but wrote an extensive account of the impressive remains he encountered there, including 14 coins that seem undoubtedly of that city (Arch. Journal 1860.291f.; Ath. Mitt. 1902.244ff. and cf. Head, HN 547f.). Though Schliemann and Dorpfeld moved Ophryinion to the flat hill SW of Eren-kioi known as Palaeocastro (see below), where coins of Ophryinion have been found indeed, Leaf re-asserted Calvert's location (Strabo 153ff.). Ruge found Thiersch' arguments against Calvert (presented together with Calvert's account in Ath. Mitt. 1902) un-convincing (they wrongly stress Hd't' evidence and that of Strabo; see below) without giving either the arguments or his grounds for rejecting them (see RE xviii.665ff.) and ATL also adhere to the Eren-kioi (Eren Roy)—Ophryinion identification (i.530).

It is on the firmness of this identification that one relies to determine the other relevant locations. There are two other obvious ancient sites in the vicinity. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles W of

43 cont.

Eren-kioi there are remains in a place called Palaeocastro. About a mile further W, SE of the little bay Tavolia Liman—and thus E of the mouths of the Scamander—lies the so-called Tavolia site, marked clearly on Leaf's map (Troy and Strabo, back). There is yet a third site at the mouth of the In-tepe Asmak, WSW of Karanlyk Liman. When Schliemann and Dorpfeld identified Ophryinion with Palaeocastro instead of the Eren-kioi site, they moved Rhoetion from Calvert's Palaeocastro (refs. above) to the Tavolia site. But Leaf (Strabo 155ff.) points out that when Ophryinion returns to its rightful place, Eren-kioi, Rhoetion likewise returns to Palaeocastro, where Leake originally put it (AM 275). ATL accept this Leake-Calvert-Leaf identification (i.530,544).

Although Palaeocastro seems as likely a spot for Rhoetion as any other, both Leaf and ATL rely heavily on Strabo's evidence of 595 that Rhoetion is 60 stades from Sigeon and Pliny's evidence of v.127 that Rhoetion is 70 stades from Dardanos. It seems relevant that Strabo says the Trojan plain extends as far to the E as Mt. Ida when it does not (596) and even more notoriously that Canae is S of the Elaitic gulf instead of N of it (607), facts that lead Leaf himself to conclude that Strabo is not personally acquainted with the Troad (Strabo, Intro. xxxv). Leaf believes that even so Strabo's figures tend to be reliable within a tolerance of 20%, because of Strabo's tendency to exaggerate by about that much. Since the actual distance from Sigeon to Palaeocastro is about 50 stades, Leaf gives Strabo's 60 stades full weight and indeed seems to rely on that figure rather than Calvert's Eren-kioi remains and 14 coins in rejecting the Schliemann-Dorpfeld attempt to identify Ophryinion with Palaeocastro! Without taking up Leaf's general rule on Strabo's figures, it seems safe to say that this 60 stades can hardly militate strongly against Schliemann and Dorpfeld's identification of Rhoetion with Tavolia. Pliny's figures

43 cont.

are too notorious to require special comment (see ATL i.530). The Rhoetion site is uncertain: Leaf was unable to determine the provenance of Rhoetion's single coin (see Strabo 155f. and Head, HN 548).

The other relatively un-important towns and places of this area seem outside the scope of this work. Leaf identifies Tavolia with the Rhoetians' Polion or Polisma of Strabo 601. Calvert believes that Roman Ilion must have a port. Leaf believes that Pliny's Asantion of v.33 and 125 is mythical and the name crept into our Strabo Mss by means of a marginal gloss, all of which seems highly uncertain. ATL i.530 accept Leaf's conjecture that Tavolia is Polion or the port of Roman Ilion.

If Ophrynyon is indeed identical with the Eren-kioi site, it is scarcely possible that Xerxes kept it on his left as he marched toward Abydos. As Leaf points out, he must have marched right through it or around it anyway. If we give Hdt' evidence full weight, we have to adopt the Ophrynyon-Palaeocastro, Rhoetion-Tavolia identifications of Schliemann and Dorpfeld, as Maurice seems to have done (see JHS 1930.248). But why should we give Hdt' evidence full weight, when he has just said that Xerxes kept Ida on his left when he marched to the Scamander? The easiest solution is not that the Eren-kioi--Ophrynyon identification is wrong, but that Hdt. is wrong when he makes Xerxes keep the city of Ophrynyon on his left as he marches toward Dardanos.

καὶ Δάρδανον, ἥ περ δὴ 'Αβύδῳ ὁμοῦρός ἐστι,--According to Homer, Zeus' son Dardanos founded Dardanie before the foundation of Ilion itself (Il. xx.215ff.). Hdt. says that Dardanos was taken by Daurises during the Ionian revolt (v.117). At the battle of Cynossema in 411 the Peloponnesian fleet stationed its right wing off Abydos and its left wing off Dardanos (Thuc. viii.104.2; see also Diodorus xiii.45.3). Sulla and Mithridates made peace there

43 cont.

in 84 (Plutarch, Sulla xxiv.1, Strabo 595). See also Livy xxxvii.9, 37, xxxviii.39; Ap. Rhod. Arg. 1.931.

Soylax 95 names Dardanos before Rhoetion and Ilion (GGM i.68). Strabo says that Dardanos is 70 stades from Abydos with the Rhodios river lying between the two cities (595). Pliny says that Dardanos is 70 stades from Rhoetion (v.127; of. 125) but see comm. above. The identification is virtually certain. The town lay on the low hill of Mal Tepe, 10 km. S of Chanak (Dardanelles, Kale Sultanie, Tsohanak Kalessi) and about 9 miles from Abydos. See Leaf, Strabo 150ff. and pl. ix facing p. 152; Burchner, RE iv.2163f.; ATL i.479. On the coinage see Head, HN 544.

ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ Γέργιθας Τευκρούς.--Hdt. says that the Gergithae are all that is left of the ancient Teucroi (v.122). Presumably he means that all the rest of the Teucroi have either invaded Europe before the Trojan war (ch. 20; see comm. ad loc.) or else perished in that war.

Xenophon mentions a "strong city" by the name of Gergis (Gergitha in the accusative, Hell. iii.1.15,19,21; see Steph. Byz. s.v. and s.Μάρκατον, Strabo 589, Pliny NH v.122, Ath. 255 C, 524 A). Leaf concludes that Gergis is "on the Bally Dagb, (marked "Baradagh" on BA chart 2836b), the commanding hill overhanging the defile by which the Scamander enters the plain of Troy" and also that Strabo's confused entry on the subject merely confuses the issue; Strabo's Gergitha of 589 is merely "somewhere in the Troad" (see Strabo 105ff.). On the Gergithes themselves Leaf says

The country of the Gergithes was therefore the tangled hill-district which lies NE from the bend of the Scamander at Ezine; the words of Hdt. may fairly be taken to imply that their domain extended in this direction at least as far as the neighbourhood of Abydos, and as the character of this inland district is maintained without any marked break to the neighbourhood of Kajabashlar, and indeed up to the very shores of the Sea of Marmora, we need not hesitate to suppose that the Gergithes may have occupied the whole of it. None of it seems ever to have been taken by the Greeks; the coastal plain was their country...

43 cont.

Strabo 102ff.; cf. BSA 1911.286f.

The Gergithes may well have roamed the tangled hill-district that Leaf describes but Hdt' evidence can not be made to extend their domain as far as Abydos. To Hdt. the Gergithes are probably only a name, perhaps even a name on a rough map. On Gergis and the Gergithes see also Burchner, RE vii.1248f..

44.

'Επεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν 'Αβύδῳ--See comm. at ch. 33. On Abydos, Sestos, and the narrows see esp. Leaf, Troy 354ff. (particularly 362ff.) and Strabo 116ff.. On the history see e.g. Hirschfeld, RE i.129f..

ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης ἰδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν.-- It seems difficult to believe that the entire fleet entered the Hellespont (thus Macan i¹66a), but there is no reason to doubt that Xerxes held a major review before crossing into Europe.

καὶ προεπεπόνητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ-- The hill of this tradition is probably that of Mal-tepe, the highest point of Cape Nagara. It is "admirably fitted to give a view of the Hellespont and its coasts" (HW ii.147). See Prokesch' description, Erinnerungen iii.19.24f., quoted by Stein, iv.57.

προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ-- Elsewhere the word seems to occur only in Pollux (ix.46). Cf. Il. xviii.504, Job xxix.7, Strabo 625, and also Darius at the Bosphorus in Mandrocles' picture, iv.88.

κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλόνοσ ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας-- The ships are evidently drawn up on the shore.

θηεῦμενος δὲ ἰμέρθη τῶν νεῶν ἄμιλλαν γινομένην ἰδέσθαι.-- This scene is perhaps reminiscent of Patroclus' funeral games of Il. xxiii.257ff., also at the Hellespont and also watched as if from a great height.

44 cont.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἥσθη
τῇ τε ἄμιλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.--Hdt. continues his favourable

accent on the Phoenicians. See chs. 23, 118, 128, and comm. at ch.

23.

45.

ὥς δὲ ὦρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπο-
κεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδία
ἐπὶ πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων,--This statement is probably nothing more than

Hdt' own free composition. The Hellespont full of ships is likely enough in the circumstances but also what Hdt. needs for dramatic emphasis. Nothing of the modern topography of the area conforms very obviously to Hdt' promontories and plains, as e.g. the map opp. p. 382 of Leaf's Troy will indicate (see also BA chart 2429). There are small projections from the shore. There are also flat places along the coast--but nothing remotely comparable to, say, the Trojan plain. One would have to force the modern topography to conform with Hdt' allusions. Even allowing for the factor of erosion (denied by Leaf, Troy 402 and Strabo 122) the easiest explanation of Hdt' words is that he imaginatively creates the topography that he needs for a review of Xerxes' army. Hdt. does not describe Darius' review at the Bosphorus with as much detail of this kind (iv.85-88).

46.

μαθὼν δὲ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτριος, ὅς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην
ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμβουλεύων Ξέρξη στρατεύεσθαι
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,--Hdt. emphasises Artabanos' first advice,

just as Artabanos will have done after the war--not his later fervid support of the war effort (see ch. 18).

46 cont.

ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχεί βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν
εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ
παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκὶ ἅπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι
μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν.— Cf. e.g. Solon's words of Hdt. i.31.

αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσιν— Cf. e.g. Soph. fr. 636,

ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὁ θάνατος λῶστος ἱατρὸς νόσων.

οὕτως ὁ μὲν θάνατος μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζόης καταφυγὴ
αἰρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε— Cf. e.g. Aeschylus, frs. 401

(ζωῆς πονηρᾶς θάνατος αἰρετώτερος) and 353 (ὥς οὐ δικαίως
θάνατον ἔχθουσιν βροτοί, / ὅσπερ μεγίστον ῥῦμα τῶν
πολλῶν κακῶν).

47.

48.

49.

γῆ δὲ πολεμὴ τῇδ' ἐστὶ κατίσταται· εἰ θέλει τοι μηδὲν
ἀντίξοον καταστήναι, τοσοῦτ' ἐστὶ γίνεται πολεμιωτέρη
ὅσῳ ἂν προβαίνης ἐκαστέρῳ, τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος·
εὐπρηξίης δὲ οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμία πληθώρη. καὶ
δή τοι, ὥς οὐδενὸς ἐναντιευμένου, λέγω τὴν χώραν πλεῦνα
ἐν πλείονι χρόνῳ γινομένην λιμὸν τέξεσθαι.—

This is a flight of considerable literary merit that Hdt' commen-
tators seem not to have understood. They are fairly evenly divided
on the question of whether Xerxes himself does the stealing (on-
ward) or whether he is being stolen from, i.e. whether the verb
is to be understood in the middle or passive (see Macan's long
note, i¹70a,b). In context there seems little doubt that it is
passive. Artabanos is saying that the land is an enemy of Xerxes
because of its poverty (cf. iv.83), and the more so the farther
he goes. It is this strange enemy of Xerxes that ever steals
from him what lies before him as he goes along, τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ
κλεπτόμενος, "ever being robbed of what lies before". Hdt.
uses the same effective mixture of the concrete and abstract in

46 cont.

the lines succeeding. Artabanos says that no one in this world gets a "plethora" of success, and then predicts real "famine".

50.

οὐκ ἄν κοτε εἶδες αὐτὰ ἐς τοῦτο προελθόντα·—This expedition is the logical continuation of previous Persian expansion (see chs. 8 and 11).

καὶ καταστρεφάμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν Εὐρώπην—The object of the expedition is sometimes Greece, sometimes all Europe. See chs. 8, 47, and 54.

ἐπ' ἀροτῆρας δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατευόμεθα ἄνδρας.—Artabanos has already used this argument against the expedition by pointing out that Xerxes wants to march on men better than the Scythians, ch. 10.

51.

τούτους ὦν τοὺς ἄνδρας συμβουλεύω τοι μηδεμιῇ μηχανῇ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας·—

See Themistocles' speech of viii.22. Artabanos assumes that the Ionians feel the same way as the Phoenicians of iii.19 who would not march on their own sons, the Carthaginians, in spite of Cambyses' demands. Artabanos' warning is the first hint that the Ionians will eventually turn on the Persians. See e.g. viii.10 (the ambiguity of Ionian sentiment at Artemision); Themistocles' stratagem of viii.22 and Leptychidas' imitation of ix.98; the Phoenicians' accusation of viii.90; Xerxes' fear of Ionian advice to the Greeks (viii.97); the Persians' fear of a revolt in Ionia after Salamis (viii.130); the Ionian messengers of viii.132 and the Samian ambassadors of ix.90; the Ionian role at Mycale (ix.103f. and see comm. ad loc.); the Spartan-Athenian dialogue on the Ionians and their eventual admission to the Greek alliance, ix.106. There are many possible explanations of this thread in

51 cont.

Hdt' narrative. Perhaps the easiest is that Hdt. has strong views about the Ionians' ambiguous place in the scheme of things. To him the Ionians are an un-necessary source of conflict between Greeks and Persians.

ἡ γὰρ σφεας, ἣν ἔπωνται, δεῖ ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι καταδουλουμένους τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἢ ὀικαιοτάτους συνελευθεροῦντας....—More "juvenile scholasticism". See

ch. 10 and comm. ad loc..

τὸ μὴ ἅμα ἀρχῇ πᾶν τέλος καταφάνεσθαι.—See Solon's

words of i.32 and Artabanos' other apparent paraphrase of Solon,

ch. 16. There is no reason to believe that either of these sayings

is original with Solon. They are gnomie wisdom indeed, and probably

nothing more than Hdt' own free composition.

52.

Ἴωνας φοβέαι μὴ μεταβάλωσι, τῶν ἔχομεν γνῶμα μέγιστον, τῶν σύ τε μάρτυς γίνεαι καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι Δαρείῳ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατιὴ ἐγένετο διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι· οἱ δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πιστότητα ἐνέδωκαν, ἅχαρι δὲ οὐδέν.—

Xerxes uses the Ionian conduct in the Scythian expedition as an argument in their favour whereas Artabanos has already used it against them, by implication, in ch. 10. The passage is clearly ironio.

σῶζε οἶκον τε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἐμήν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μούνῳ ἐκ πάντων σκῆπτρα τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτρέπω.—

See ch. 2 and comm. ad loc.. On σκῆπτρα see Aesch. Pr. 761,

Soph. OC 425. On the significance of Artabanos' stewardship

see ch. 18 and comm. ad loc.. It is Artabanos to whom Xerxes'

messenger announces the capture of Athens(viii.54).

53.

ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι οἱ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασι.—

Hdt. clearly believes that the Persians have special gods (see

53 cont.

i.131 and iii.76) and also that the Achaemenidae have their own gods (see iii.65 and vi.106).

54.

Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν,--

Hdt. seems to be referring to the day on which Xerxes arrived in Abydos (ch. 44) but he held a grand review on that day.

τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα,-- On the importance of sunrise at the time of Darius'

accession see iii.84-87. Hdt' tradition at least has it that Xerxes was worried about the sun's behaviour when he left Sardis (ch. 37).

σπένδων ἐκ χρυσέης φιάλης--Hdt. says the Persians do not pour libations before sacrifice (i.132) but he is clearly referring to animal sacrifice.

εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσειον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι.--See Alexander's offerings at the Hellespont and the

Indus (Arrian, Anab. i.11.6, vi.19.5).

ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο.--Hdt. refers back to Xerxes' punishment of

the Hellespont (ch. 35) but it is not immediately clear as to how he can believe that the king may be giving offerings to the sun by throwing them in the river. Perhaps he thinks of Xerxes gazing into the sun as he does it.

55.

ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζὸς τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπηίη.--On the bridges see ch. 36. Hdt. says that the supply

train went first on the march from Sardis (ch. 40; see comm. ad loc.).

55 cont.

Here they cross the Hellespont on the Aegean bridge so they end up behind the army. Maurice believes that Hdt' account implies that from the bridges to Doriscus the army marched in two parallel columns, a convenient arrangement for watering the troops from pack animals (JHS 1930.225), but Hdt' account should not be stretched that far. On the left is Hdt' list of chs. 40-41; on the right his list of this ch..

A

baggage train
mixed host (half)
1000 picked horse
1000 picked spears, reversed
sacred horses
sacred chariot
Xerxes
1000 spears, regular
1000 picked horse
10,000 picked foot
10,000 horse
rest of throng

B

baggage train
mixed host-----10,000 Persians
the horse
the spears, reversed
sacred horses
sacred chariot
Xerxes
the spears
the 1000 horse

the rest of the army

Clearly Hdt. took the second list from the first. When he names the immortals first after the baggage train, for whatever reason, he may confuse himself and forget the 10,000 horse that follow them on the first list. But it should be noted that if so he nonetheless leaves himself a way out because his first list explicitly divides the first 1000 picked horse (list A, item 3) from the 10,000 horse following the immortals whereas his second list says merely "the horse" (list B, item 4).

ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων.—

Here is a possible explanation of Hdt' alteration of his order of chs. 40 and 41 in favour of the immortals: he may also have heard that the immortals came first after the baggage train. Whereas he rejects the story that Xerxes came last, he accepts the report that the immortals went first after the baggage train and alters his list accordingly.

56.

56.

διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ [ἐν]
ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνησι, ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον.—

Hude's brackets are un-justified. Suidas' deletion hardly means that the word in question was missing from his Mss (see App. Crit.).

Hdt. seems to say that the army crossed in two days when he describes their order of crossing (ch. 55). Yet here he says that they took 7 days and 7 nights without a rest, and also that Xerxes watched them, as if he had gone over among the first. Hdt. can be saved from this contradiction. We could suppose that when Hdt. says "the next day they crossed" he really means "the next day they started to cross", and also that what Xerxes watched from the other side is "the rest of the army".

But it seems legitimate to wonder why we should try to save him from that kind of in-consequence. It seems likely that he just did not notice the discrepancy or did not care if he did notice (see Macan i¹78a). Maurice believes that movement across the bridges did continue for 7 days and nights but could not have been continuous because of the congestion that would have resulted in the Gallipoli peninsula (JHS 1930.225). But clearly these 7's are merely those of a good storyteller (comm. at ch. 155).
ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται Ξέρξῳ ἤδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον.—

There seems no good reason to believe that Hdt. must have heard this saying at the Hellespont.

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ οὖνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξην θέμενος ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα θέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους;—

The Delphic oracle of ch. 220 seems to take the comparison seriously while the allies of ch. 203 are at pains to point out that Xerxes is a man and not a god. Gorgias seems to have called Xerxes the Zeus of the Persians in a "pathetic" oration (Longin. de Subl. iii.2).

57.

57.

ὥς δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς ὁδὸν ὀρμημένοισι τέρας σφί ἐφάνη μέγα, ...ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ τέρας ἔδντι ἐν Σάρδισι.—If Onomacritos marched with Xerxes, the king may have neglected these portents because Onomacritos diverted his attention, just as he did before the final decision to proceed with the expedition (ch. 6). Hdt. may have learned of them from an Onomacritos source; otherwise it seems idle to speculate on the origin of this information. The gist of the anecdote is that Xerxes was given warnings from on high but could not heed them. That is also the drift of the Onomacritos-story of ch. 6.

The proper interpretation of the second portent remains obscure. Macan (i¹78b) compares viii.136, where Mardonius still expects his own affairs to be "above" those of the Greeks, but the true significance of the upper and lower positions is probably temporal just as the creation of a hare by a horse has temporal significance. Xerxes starts out as a man but returns as a woman, humbled (see Stein iv.68).

58.

ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον πλέων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσων τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔπλεε, ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης ποιεύμενος τὴν ἀπικλιν, —Almost everything Hdt. says is wrong. The fleet could not sail in a direction opposite to that in which the army is marching after it leaves the Hellespont or it would be sailing SW. It could not be sailing along the coast or it would meet the army at the head of the gulf of Melas. It does not sail west but north. Hdt' confusion of orientation here is at least the equal of that in ch. 36 where he describes the Hellespontine bridges.

On Cape Sarpedon see Strabo vii.51 (52), Jones; Apollodorus ii.5.9; schol. on Ap. Rhod. i.922; Steph. Byz. s.v.. Hdt. seems to mean Cape Grenea or Paxi, marked "Grenea" on BA chart 2836b.

58 cont.

ὁ δὲ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατὸς πρὸς ἧν τε καὶ ἡλίου
ἀνατολὰς ἐποιέετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου,--

They were marching NE.

ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχων τὸν Ἑλλης τάφον τῆς Ἀθάμαντος,--

On Athamas see ch. 197. According to one tradition Helle and her brother Phrixos were being carried on the golden ram over land and sea to escape from their cruel step-mother when Helle fell off into the sea "lying between Sigeon and the Chersonese" and the Hellespont thus took its name from her (Apollodorus i.9.1). According to Hellanicus she arrived in the Chersonese and died at Pactya (FGH 4 F 127). Rawlinson therefore puts her grave on the hill above his Pactya, the modern Doghan-Arslan, marked "Dohan Aslan" on BA chart 2836b (iv.54 n.6, and see map in front of iv), followed by Stein (iv.68) and HW (ii.150). Maurice on the other hand chooses a hill just NE of his Callipolis and thus considerably SW of Doghan-Arslan (JHS 1930.218f.). In view of the fact that Hdt. does not even mention Callipolis, perhaps the most important city on the Hellespont (see below), locating this site can be nothing more than guess-work. It could be anywhere SW of Cardia.

ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ Καρδίην πόλιν,--Hdt. says that Cardia alone held out against the Phoenicians after the Ionian revolt (vi.33) and that Miltiades I built a wall across the isthmus of the Chersonese from Cardia to Pactya (vi.36). Miltiades son of Cimon set sail for Athens from Cardia (vi.41) and Oeobazus was from that city (ix.115). In 410 it is a haven for the Athenian fleet (Xen. Hell. i.1.11, Diodorus xiii.49.3). Further on the history see Oberhummer, RE x.1932f..

Strabo says merely that it is on the gulf of Melas on one side of Lysimacheia while Pactya is on the other, on the isthmus

58 cont.

of the Chersonese (vii.51 (52), 53 (54), Jones). Scylax makes it his first city on the Thracian Chersonese (67). [Dem.] vii.41 evidently puts the city in close proximity to Agora but see below and ATL i.564b. See also Pliny, NH iv.48. The city is commonly identified with Baklar-burun, N of the modern Bulair (e.g. Oberhummer, RE x.1932; Maurice, JHS 1930.219; see "Bulair" and "Bakla Limani" on BA charts 224 and 2836b. ATL identify that site with the Pteleon of [Dem.] vii.40 and put Cardia at Dahut Iskele (marked "Dahut Iskalessi" on BA chart 224) so that Cardia-Pactya (which ATL identify with the tomb of Helle, or Maurice's hill 433 above Doghan-Arslan, JHS 1930.218f.) identify the shortest line between the gulf of Melas and the Hellespont, and thus what they take to be the wall-line of Hd. (vi.36), Plutarch (Per. xix.1), and Xen. (Hell. iii.2.10); ATL i.564b.

ATL assume that Miltiades' wall, Pericles' wall, and Dercylidas' wall are all identical and they may not be. Miltiades' 36 stades (vi.36) and Dercylidas' 37 (Xen. Hell. iii.2.10) mean nothing in this context. ATL themselves point out that the air-line measurement of their wall-line is under 37 stades while that of their flat, canal-line crossing NE of Bulair is more than 37 stades and the working measurement must be in excess of this figure (i.564 n.6). Either or both these two walls, not to mention Pericles' wall, may traverse the other course they describe or indeed a course they do not describe. They believe the canal-line is flattest while the wall-line is shortest—but the wall-line might easily be longer than necessary in order to take advantage of flat terrain. Also they assume that the terrain in antiquity was much the same as today. Erosion may have altered the landscape, and certainly the neck of the isthmus has grown steadily thicker since antiquity from the silt-deposits of the Melas (see Maurice, JHS 1930.219). Pactya

58 cont.

can hardly be identified with certainty; Hdt. does not mention it here. Nor can the lines that ATL try to distinguish. If there are but two lines it is hardly certain there was considerable space between the two. ATL believe there was, but on the strength of [Dem.] vii.39-41, about which they themselves say "the passage is tendentious and should be used with caution" (i.564a).

Cardia was probably in the vicinity of Bulair but exactly where is impossible to determine with any certainty. On the coinage see Head, HN 259.

διὰ μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος πόλιος τῇ οὐνομα τυγχάνει ἐδὲν Ἀγορῇ.--Scylax says that Agora is in the middle of the "neck" of the Chersonese, presumably between Pactya and Cardia, which he has just named (67). See also Steph. Byz. s.v. and also s.v. Ἀγοραῖον τεῖχος, quoted by ATL i.564; [Dem.] vii.39-41; Eustath. on Il. p. 45.10; Pausanias i.9.8.

Rawlinson assumes that Agora occupied the site of Strabo's Lysomacheia, which Strabo puts between Cardia and Pactya (vii.frs. 51,53, Loeb ed.), that Lysimacheia became Hexamilium (Ptol. Geogr. iii.11), and that Hexamilium is the modern Hexamili (iv.55 n.7), evidently marked "Examile" on BA charts 224 and 2836b. Maurice accepts this identification (JHS 1930.219).

Pausanias says that Lysimachos transplanted the inhabitants of Cardia at Lysimacheia (i.9.8). Therefore ATL over-ride Strabo's evidence to the effect that Lysimacheia is between Cardia and Pactya presumably somewhere in the middle of the Chersonese, i.e. where Scylax puts Agora, on the grounds that Cardia would not have been emptied had that been the case; Cardia would have been the port of Lysimacheia(ATL i.565). They put Lysimacheia at Bulair and Agora somewhere between Dahut Iskele and Maurice's hill 433, which they identify with Pactya (i.564b). But even this imprecise identification

58 cont.

rests on their establishment of a "wall-line" between Dahut Iskele and Maurice's hill 433, which is highly problematical (see above). The traditional identification is no less problematical, resting on Ptolemy's evidence and also on the assumption that Hexamili (marked Agora on Maurice's map) is the ancient Hexamilium. On Cardia, Pactya, and Agora see ATL i.563ff.; their identification of Agora with what they take to be Miltiades' capital Cherronesos, and with the home of the Cherronesitae from Agora of the tribute lists seems not to affect the site of Hdt' Agora, which remains uncertain.

ἐνθαυτεν δὲ κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον τὸν Μέλανα καλεόμενον καὶ Μέλανα ποταμόν,-- See vi.41. The identification of the gulf is hardly in question and the Melas river can be none other than the modern Kavak Dere, marked "Kavak" on BA charts 224 and 2836b, but the delta of the Melas has expanded into the gulf from the heavy deposits of silt brought down from the hills in the rainy season. Maurice believes that in 480 the gulf extended inland as far as the modern Hexamili, which he identifies with Agora (JHS 1930.219). Maurice says nothing of the river's course NE of the ancient shore-line but from what he says of the alluvial ground and continuous accretion of the delta the river itself may have changed course since 480.

οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀλλ' ἐπιλιπόντα,--See Maurice' assessment of the Melas' poverty as a potential water-supply for an army (JHS 1930.223).

For a description of all the Thracian Chersonese, see Casson's Mac. 210ff..

ἦγε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, Αἴνον τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα λίμνην παρεξιών,--To Homer it is the home of Peiros son of Imbrastos, leader of the Thracians (Il. iv.520). Hdt locates the city at the mouth of the Hebrus (iv.90). Thuc. guarantees Ainos' Aeolian origins (vii.57.4). Strabo confirms both the location and

58 cont.

the origin (331 fr. 51). On the history of the city see Hirschfeld, RE i.1028f. and ATL i.465.

Aenos lies on the eastern side of the S mouth of the Hebrus, marked "Evros (Maritsa)" on pl. 36 of the Times Atlas, and seems to co-incide with the modern Enos, marked thus on BA charts 224 and 2836b, and "Enes" on pl. 36 of the Times Atlas (see Casson, Mag. 256f., ATL i.465, and May's Ainos 1ff., with maps and discussion of the topography), and standing evidently on the S shore of Lake Bori (BA charts 224 and 2836b; the land-configuration is much different as marked on chart 1086). Maurice believes the Hebrus like the Melas pushed its delta far into the Aegean over the last 2000 years, so that Aenos has only come to be on the Hebrus since 480 (JHS 1930.220; see the map on p. 218, enclosed), but Hdt. locates Aenos at the mouth of the river (iv. 90) and says here that Lake Stentoris lies beyond the city. He may be wrong, but we can hardly over-ride his evidence on the strength of Maurice' conjecture on the ancient coast-line, even if the identity of Lake Stentoris is in doubt (see also May's Ainos 2n.).

On the coinage see Casson, Mag. 257, Head's HN 246ff., and esp. May, Ainos, Its History and Coinage, 1950, p. 8ff..

On the name of the lake see Homer's Stentor of Il. v.785, a Thracian according to the scholiast, and Pliny's portus Stentoris (NH iv.43). This lake is otherwise unknown. Baehr speculates that the true reading may be $\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ to judge from Pliny's evidence (iii.535; see Rawlinson iv.55), but that evidence is hardly trustworthy enough to warrant emendation.

Scholars have assumed that Hdt' lake must be identified with the modern marshy lake of Maritza or Bori. If what Maurice says of the ancient coast-line in this neighbourhood is true, this lake may not have existed in antiquity. It may have been part of the

58 cont.

gulf of Aenos (see JHS 1930.220 and the map on p. 218). Hdt' evidence to the effect that there was a lake by that name in his time is hardly in-controvertible, and especially when seen in conjunction with the other notable features of his account of Xerxes' march from Abydos to Doriscus (see below). But if Maurice is right, then Hdt. must be wrong not only about Lake Stentoris (this ch.) but also in locating Aenos at the mouth of the Hebrus (iv.90). In view of the fact that Casson's confirmation of the traditional identification with the modern Enos seems difficult to challenge; and also in view of the fact that Hdt' account (Aenos, Stentoris, Doriscus) seems to accord well with the traditional identifications of Aenos and Stentoris, it seems better to reject Maurice' account of the ancient coast-line in so far as it separates Aenos from the Hebrus.

Δορίσκον—See comm. at ch. 59.

Hdt' account of Xerxes' march from Abydos is no more convincing than his account of the march from the interior of Asia Minor or that of the Hellespontine bridges. He thinks the fleet coasts all the way to Cape Sarpedon (πλέων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο) which is most unlikely as a glance at the map will indicate. He seems to believe that the fleet continues sailing in the opposite direction from the army's line of march all the way to Sarpedon and it does not. He believes that the fleet sails W to Sarpedon and it does not. He believes that the army marches E through the Chersonese and it does not. His allusion to the tomb of Helle means nothing one way or the other because we are unable to confirm it. But when he comes to mention Cardia we realise at once the omissions of his account. He does not use Madytos or Sestos as a point of reference. Nor does he refer to Callipolis, which "is now, and must always have been, the best port on the Hellespont" (Maurice, JHS 1930.217). Maurice believes that Xerxes must have marched

58 cont.

through the middle of that city. The S route through the Chersonese is far the easiest and best-watered and must always have been (see Maurice, JHS 1930.217ff.).

It seems impossible to believe that Hdt. traversed this ground. The easiest explanation of his account is that he constructs Xerxes' march for himself with the help of a fairly rough and incomplete geographical source, perhaps merely a rough map.

59.

ὁ δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρηίκης αἰγιαλός τε καὶ πεδίων μέγα, διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει ποταμός μέγας Ἐβρος· ἐν τῷ τεῖχος τε ἐδέδμητο βασιλήιον τοῦτο τὸ δὴ Δορίσκος κέκληται, καὶ Περσέων φρουρὴ ἐν αὐτῷ κατεστήκεε ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεῖτε ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐστρατεύετο.—Hdt. says that at the outbreak of the Ionian

revolt the Lesbians carried the Paeonians from Lesbos to Doriscus (v.98). Apparently Doriscus was not in Persian hands at the time, yet here Hdt. says it was held by a Persian garrison from the time of the Scythian expedition. Blakesley believes that the Lesbians supported this Paeonian landing with a strong army in the face of this garrison (ii.72), but the question in that case is why they chose the site of a Persian garrison for a landing when other places on the coast of Thrace must have suggested themselves. Duncker also accepts the garrison (GA iv.528; see Grote iv.131, and Busolt ii²529). Stein assumes that Hdt' information here is correct and that Darius created the garrison on his way back from Scythia (see iv.143 and v.2) because he was not in the vicinity when he crossed into Thrace via the Bosphorus (iv.89f.; Stein iv.69 and see HW ii.150). Macan believes that Megabazus may have occupied Doriscus during the first conquest of Thrace but Persian control lapsed during the Ionian revolt, only to be

59 cont.

regained by Mardonius in 492 (i¹80a,b). Burn on the other hand seems to think that Doriscus first came under Persian rule in the time of Mardonius (222).

Hdt. is fairly insistent that Darius established the garrison because he says that Xerxes deposed Darius' governor of the city in favour of Mascames son of Megadostes (vii.105). But this was an area in which Persian government was intermittent and insecure. Perhaps the easiest solution is that Darius created the garrison on his return march from Scythia, either personally or vicariously through Megabazus, but the Persians abandoned their post at the outbreak of the Ionian revolt without abandoning the notion that the district belonged to them. Alternatively, the Paeonians' point of disembarkation is nothing more than a guess, without prejudice to the extent of the Persian dominion. Further on the history of the city see Oberhummer, RE v.1566f.. Throughout antiquity it was known as a fortress of considerable strength.

Its wide plain by the sea at the mouth of the Hebrus led scholars to identify the city with a site some 10 km. W of the modern Feredschik, marked "Ferijik" on BA chart 224 and "Ferrai" on chart 1086 (Oberhummer, RE v.1567). Maurice locates the fort near "Ferejik" and believes that in the time of Darius that place was at the head of the bay, the Hebrus having extended the coastline considerably since the period in question (JHS 1930.220; see the map on p. 218 but also comm. at ch. 58). ATL follow Dumont (Melanges 224f., 494f.) in locating the city just W of the modern Rumjik (i.518a).

There is no doubt that the Hebrus is the modern Maritza; Strabo gives evidence of considerable accretion at the delta (vii.331 frs. 47 and 51; thus e.g. Oberhummer, RE vii.2589).

59 cont.

ἔδοξε ὧν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χῶρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι
τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα.--

It is not incredible that Xerxes should halt, refresh, and re-organise his army in Doriscus. But Hdt. seems to think that the king does all this for the first time, which is hardly likely. Macan accepts Diodorus' tradition that in Doriscus Xerxes effects the first concourse of all the army and all the fleet (xi.3.6; Macan i¹80b,81a). That may be true, but it may be Hdt. himself who selects the plain of Doriscus as a likely pretext for setting forth his account of the Persian army, whether or not he heard of a full review in connexion with that place.

τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ ἐκόμισαν, ἐν τῷ
Σάλῃ τε Σαμοθρηκίῃ πεπόλισται πόλις καὶ Ζώνη,--

Sale (see Itin. Hierosol. 602) is probably the modern Dede Agach on the Samothracian peraea, where two boundary stones were found (ATL i.518a).

ATL locate Zone at Macri, marked "Makri" on BA chart 2836b, "the largest ancient site in this region" (Casson, Mac. 92), just E of Cape Serrheion by "a mile or so" (i.518a), whereas Casson assigns that site to Mesambria. The location can hardly be decided with any certainty on the basis of such evidence as ATL present even if Zone is larger than Mesambria as ATL believe. They seem to rest their case on a geographical boundary between Mesambria's Briantice and the Doriscus plain (i.518n.4) but the distinction in question rests on Hdt' evidence of vii.108 whereas ATL themselves argue that Hdt' evidence of the next chapter is false "and Hdt' whole account is that much discredited" (i.517a). Hdt. believes that Mesambria is the western-most of the Samothracian fortresses (ch. 108). If Mesambria is Macri as Casson suggests, Zone will lie to the E of that place.

59 cont.

τελευταία δὲ αὐτοῦ Σέρρειον ἄκρη ὀνομαστή. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Κικόνων.---Serrheion is almost certainly

Cape Macri. See ch. 108; Dem. ix.15 and x.8; [Dem.] vii.36f.; Aeschines iii.82; Appian, BC iv.101f.; Strabo vii.331 fr. 48; Pliny, NH iv.43; Livy xxxi.16.4; Steph. Byz. s.v.. On its significance see e.g. Oberhummer, RE ii A 1744. ATL try to dissociate "fort Serrhion" from this cape, i.545f..

On the Cicones see chs. 108 and 110. Homer knows them as allies of the Trojans (Il. ii.846; Od. ix.39ff., 165, xxiii.310). See also Strabo vii.331 fr. 18 (Orpheus the Ciconian), 44, and 57; Pliny, NH iv.43 and vi.55; Mela ii.2.28. Further see Oberhummer, RE xi.381f..

60.

ὅσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρεῖχον πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμόν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀτρεκές (οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων),--- Hdt. seems to be saying that he tried to get figures for the individual nations but could not. See below.

σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐφάνη ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες.---

Hdt. implies that whereas he could find no one to tell him the size of the individual national corps, he was nonetheless able to determine the size of the whole army. We can see how he did so.

There are no doubt many ways of explaining this 1,700,000. The easiest is that Hdt. began with Artabazus' contingent of 60,000 (viii.126), multiplied by the 27 contingents (not nations) of the army (see below), and added 80,000 horse (vii.87). Hdt. lists 29 contingents and not 27. But he probably subtracts two contingents at the outset, one to stand guard in Ionia (ix.96) and one to garrison Sestos under Artayctes (see ix.116), who is also listed as the commander of the Maerones and Mossynoecoi (ch. 78).

60 cont.

If that explanation is correct, Hdt' figure has no claim on history.

ἐξηρρίθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον...—Hdt. implies that his 170 myriads derive from this process of numbering. If he calculated as above he is deliberately deceptive (see Intro. pt. iii). The story is clearly un-historical.

61.

Further on the weapons and their significance see App. iii.

τιάρας καλεομένους, πέλους ἀπαγέας—See i.132, iii.12, v.49, vii.64; Xen. Anab. ii.5.23; Arrian, Anab. iii.25.3; Strabo 734; Schol. to Ar. Birds 487; Hesychius s.v..

περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κινῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους...λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὅψιν ἰχθυοειδέος—This has been a much-disputed

passage at least from the time of Wesseling. It is commonly thought that we have a lacuna in the text requiring some such word as "corslets" so that Hdt. can be made to distinguish between the tunic and corslet (see i.135, viii.113.2, ix.22.2; Xen. Cyr. vi.4.1, vii.1.2, and Anab. i.5.8, 8.6; Stein iv.71f. and HW ii. 152f.). But that explanation is un-justified because Hdt. may be describing an epio, Homeric kind of chiton, made partly of metal (see Il. xiii.439f. for a brazen chiton), and perhaps a woven or leather jerkin with scales sewed on (see Snodgrass, Early Greek Armour and Weapons esp. 72 and 85).

περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας—See i.71, iii.87, v.49, and see Snodgrass 86ff. on the greave.

ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα·—See ix.61, 62, 99, 102; Xen. Anab. i.8.9.

ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παλαιωρέμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης—See ch. 54.

61 cont.

καὶ ἄρχοντα παρέχοντο 'Οτάνεα, τὸν 'Αμήστριος πατέρα
τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός.— On Otanes see ch. 40 and comm. ad loc.

On Amestris see vii.114 and ix.108-112.

ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν 'Ελλήνων Κηφῆνες,— See ch.
150; Strabo 42; Pliny, NH vi.28 and 41; Apollodorus ii.4.3;
Steph. Byz. s.v. Chaldaei and Iope; further see Latte, RE xi.222.

ὑπὸ μέντοι σφέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιόκων 'Αρταῖοι.—
Hellanicus evidently invented from it a region of Persia (Steph.
Byz. s.v. Artaea). Ed. Meyer connects the name with the Arioi
(RE ii.1303; see also Weissbach, ii.1303).

On the myth see also i.7, vi.53f., and e.g. Latte, RE xi.
223f..

62.

οἱ δὲ Μηδοὶ ἄρχοντα μὲν παρέχοντο Τιγράνην ἄνδρα
'Αχαιμενίδην,—Tigranes is the son of Artabanos. He is surprised
that the Greeks fight not for lucre but arete (viii.26). Hdt. calls
Tigranes κάλλει' <τε> καὶ μεγάθει' ὑπερφέρων Περσέων (ix.96)
and he goes down fighting at Mycale (ix.102). There are other
sons of Artabanos in the army: Artyphios (ch. 66), Ariomardos
(67), Bassaces (75), and Tritantaechmes (82 and 121).

ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων "Αριοι.— Hdt. says that
the Areioi were part of the 16th satrapy along with the Parthians,
Chorasmians, and Sogdians (iii.93). This is the same people to
whom he refers in conjunction with the Parthians, Chorasmians,
Sogdians, Gandarians, etc. of ch. 66. But here Hdt. seems to use
the proud, generic title of the Aryan conquerors (see Strabo 724).
Darius calls himself "Achaemenid, Persian, son of a Persian, Arian,
of Arian seed" on his tomb at Naksh-i-Rustam (see Stein, iv.73f.).
(Kent translates "an Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian,

62 cont.

an Aryan, having Aryan lineage", OP 138.)

ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς
τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὔνομα.—

See Hesiod, Theogony 1001 and West 429f.; Pindar, Pyth. i.78;
Diodorus iv.55.7; Pausanias ii.3.8 and Frazer iii.27; Strabo
xi.526; Steph. Byz. s.v. Μηδία.

αὐτοὶ περὶ σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι.—Genuine Median
tradition could not have brought the author of the Median name
from Athens (see Blakesley ii.224; Rawlinson iv.61; Stein iv.74;
Macan i¹86a; HW ii.154). Hdt. clearly says that the oriental
nations claimed mythological kinship with Greece (see i.1; vi.54;
vii.61; vii.150; on the Egyptians see ii.91,98,113f.). Hauvette
indeed believes that many Persians of Asia Minor had come to
accept Greek traditions in Hdt.' day (175), reacting against the
views of Panofsky, who takes this as the case par excellence
of Hdt. ascribing his own views to fictitious informants (*Quaes-
tionum de historiae herodoteae fontibus pars prima*; Diss. Inaug.
Berl. 1885). HW believe that "Hellenised interpreters" mislead
Hdt. (ii.154). Hdt. may have found this story recorded as a
Median version in the pages of Hecataeus or Pherecydes. He could
have got it from an orientalised Greek family such as that of
Dicaeos son of Theocydes, φυγάς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγιμος
γενόμενος (viii.65). That kind of family may have acquainted
themselves with what the Persian logioi had to say (i.1,2,3,77).
But we can hardly escape the possibility that Hdt. deliberately
tries to deceive the reader by putting a Greek story into an alien
mouth (see Intro. pt. iii).

See also Lesky's article on the Medes, RE xv.29ff..

62 cont.

Κίσσιοι— See iii.91, v.49,52, vi.119, vii.210. They are the inhabitants of Susiana or Elam and together with the Medes and Persians comprise the elite of the Persian army. Cf. also Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 284 and RE xi.519ff..

ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πέλων μετρηφόροι ἦσαν.— See i.195 (the Babylonians), vii.90 (the Cypriotes), Aristoph. Thesm. 898 and Homer, e.g. Il. iv.137, who thinks of it as a warrior's girdle.

Κισσίων δὲ ἦρχε Ἀνάφης ὁ Ὀτάνεω.— See chs. 40 and 61. He is evidently Xerxes' brother-in-law.

Ὑρκάνιοι— They do not appear in Hdt' list of satrapies but see iii.117. See also Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 291; Strabo 507ff.; Steph. Byz. s.v. and Kiessling, RE ix.454ff..

ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγάπανον τὸν Βαβυλῶνος ὕστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπεύσαντα.— Hdt. also mentions Tritantaechmes son of Artabazus as a governor of Babylon, i.192, not to be confused with the son of Artabanos (vii.82 and 121).

63.

Ἀσσύριοι— See esp. i.178 and iii.92.

πρὸς δὲ ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ— See i.59 (Athenian clubs), ch. 69, Strabo 776, and Diodorus iii.33.1.

[τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ Χαλδαῖοι.]— Elsewhere Hdt. says the Chaldaeans are priests of Baal (i.181). Stein brackets the sentence as a gloss because of the alleged contradiction and also believes that Hdt' wording is peculiar (iv.75; see HW ii. 155). But there are "Chaldaeans" and "Chaldaeans" (Macan i¹88a) and Hdt' wording is not always what we should like. Macan believes there is no particular ground for special notice of the Chaldaeans among all the number of Syrians and Assyrians (i¹88a) but why

63 cont.

does Hdt. need a special reason for noting their presence? The phrase is probably genuine.

ἦρχε δέ σφεων 'Οτάσπης ὁ 'Αρταχάεω.— He is evidently the son of that Artachaees who super-intended the Athos canal (ch. 22; see comm. ad loc.).

64.

Βάκτριοι.—They are the 12th satrapy (iii.92). Darius settles Barcaeans in the country (iv.204; see the threat of the Persian strategoi, vi.9). Mardonius keeps them with him (viii.113). Masistes believes he can make them rebel against Xerxes, ix.113. Cf. also Aesch. Pers. 306, 318, 732, and Tomaschek, RE ii.2804ff..

Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβάσας ἐς δεξιὰ ἀπηγμένους ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγυῖας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν,—See v.49.3 (Aristagoras' allusion), vii.61;

Ar. Birds 487. On Scythian dress and weapons see Minns, Greeks and Scythians 54f. and 66ff.. Cf. also Herrman on the Sacae, RE i A 1770ff. and Humborg on the Scythae, RE iii A 693ff..

τούτους δὲ ἔόντας Σκύθας 'Αμυργίους Σάκας ἐκάλεον' οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας.—

See Steph. Byz. s.v.: 'Αμύργιον' πέδον Σακῶν' 'Ελλάνικος Σκύθαις τὸ ἐθνικὸν 'Αμύργιος, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν. An 'Ομάργης is king of the Sacae in the time of Darius (Polyaenus vii.12; see Ctesias, Pers. 3, who puts him in the time of Cyrus). See Tomaschek, RE i.2010f. and Roland Kent, OP 137f.: DNa 25f.—Saka: haumavarga: Sa/ka: tigraxanda (Amyrgian Scythians, Scythians with pointed caps).

Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ Σακέων ἦρχε 'Υστάσπης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ 'Ατόσσης τῆς Κύρου.—See ch. 2. He is Xerxes' full brother.

65.

65.

'Ινδοὶ—They are the 20th satrapy (iii.94.2). Much of what Hdt. knows about India is un-reliable hearsay (iii.98ff., iv. 40), which Hdt. purports to have got indirectly from the Persians (iii.105).

εἴματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα—See iii.47 and 106.

τόξα δὲ καλάμινα εἶχον καὶ διστοῦς καλαμίνους—See iii.98.

ἐπὶ δὲ σίδηρος ἦν.—See Il. iv.123.

Φαρναζάθρη τῷ 'Αρταβάτew.—Otherwise unknown.

66.

'Αριοὶ—See iii.93, where the "Arioi" are part of the 16th satrapy. The Mss tradition in both places is unanimous. On the generic title see ch. 62. Stein (iv.76) points out that Strabo uses the spelling "Arioi" throughout whereas Arrian says "Arioi". See Tomaschek, RE ii.619f..

'Αρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμνης ὁ 'Υδάρνεος.—Elsewhere Hdt.

mentions a Sisamnes who is a royal judge and father of a royal judge, v.25. Hydarnes son of Hydarnes is commander of the immortals, ch. 83.

Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδοι—Together with the Arioi they make up the 16th satrapy of iii.93; see iii.117. Hdt. and Hecataeus spell "Parthians" the same way (see FGH 1 F 292).

Ctesias says "Parthioi" (Pers. 8). Diodorus (xvii.105.7), Strabo (514), and Arrian (Anab. iii.11.4) say "Parthyaioi".

On the Chorasmioi see Steph. Byz. s.v. (Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 293); Arrian, Anab. iv.15.4; Tomaschek, RE iii.2406ff..

On the Sogdoi see Strabo e.g. 517; Arrian, e.g. Anab. iii. 28.9, iii.30.6, iv.2.2, and Kretschmer, RE iii A 788ff..

66 cont.

τε καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι--They are part of Darius' 7th province (iii.91). On the Gandarioi see e.g. Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 294f., Strabo 697, and Kiessling, RE vii.696ff..

On the Dadicae see iii.91; Steph. Byz. does not cite Hecataeus s.v. and merely quotes this passage. See also Tomaschek, RE iv.1978.

τούτων δὲ ἥρχον οἶδε, Πάρθων μὲν καὶ Χορασμίων

Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος--He escorts Xerxes back to the Hellespont and tries to suppress the revolt in Chalcidice (viii.126-129). He not only opposes Mardonius' policy with a better before Plataea in accord with the Thebans' advice (ix.41 and 58) but also withholds his army from the battle (ix.66) and outwits the Thessalians when he escapes into Asia (ix.89). As the satrap of Dascylion and the only general that we know of to emerge from the campaign of 480/479 with enhanced reputation, he negotiates the treason of Pausanias for the king with power plenipotentiary (Thuc. i.129). Hdt. seems to have a favourable source of information about him and seems to use his army of 60,000 as a basis for calculating the 170 myriads of the Persian army (see ch. 60 and comm. ad loc.). See also Judeich, RE ii.1297ff..

Σόγδων δὲ Ἀζάνης ὁ Ἀρταίου--He may be the brother of Artachaces son of Artaeus, ch. 22. See also ch. 61, where the Persians' neighbours call them Artaioi as against the Greeks' Cephenees. Several of the Mss read "Artanes", on whom see Darius' brother of vii.224.

Γανδαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων Ἀρτύβιος ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.--

Several of the Mss read "Artybios", on whom see the Persian general of the Cypriote campaign during the Ionian revolt (v.108-113). Hdt. does not use the patronymic.

Other sons of Artabanos are Tigranes (viii.26, ix.96 and 102), commander of the Medes (ch. 62); Bassaces, commander of the Thracians

66 cont.

(ch. 75); Tritantaechmes, a general of the whole army (chs. 82 and 121); and Ariomardos, commander of the Caspians (ch. 67).

67.

Κάσπιοι—They are part of the 11th and 15th provinces (iii. 92 and 93; see ch. 86). Cf. also Herrmann, RE x.2272ff..

σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες—See iv.109.

ἀκινάκας—See ch. 54.

Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν—He is another son of Artabanos (comm. at ch. 66 above).

Σαράγγαι—They are in the 14th province of iii.93; see iii. 117. See Tomaschek on Drangae, RE v.1665ff. and Darandae, RE iv.2151, and also Weissbach, RE i.A 2387.

Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου.—Pherandates is evidently the brother of that Boubares son of Megabazus, engineer of the Athos canal (vii.22), who married Gygaea, the sister of Alexander of Macedon (v.21). He is thus the uncle of Amyntas of Asia (viii.136).

Πάκτυες—The Pactyic country and Armenia and the lands stretching to the Euxine are the 13th province (iii.93). Hdt. also mentions Indians who border on Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country north of the other Indians (iii.102). Scylax of Caryanda starts out from this city (iv.44). (Hecataeus knows a Caspapyros, FGH 1 F 295, a city of Gandaria.) See ch. 85, Pactyan "equipment". The name is not uncommon: see Pactya, a town at the head of the Thracian chersonese (vi.36), and Pactyes, the leader of a Lydian revolt against Cyrus (i.154 and 161). See also Treidler, RE Supp. x.475f..

67 cont.

Πάκτυες δὲ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ἀρταΰντην τὸν
 Ἰθαμίτρεω.—He is evidently to be distinguished from the
 Artayntes son of Artachaees who appointed his nephew Ithimitres
 to be one of the admirals of Xerxes' fleet at Cyme the next year
 along with himself and Mardontes son of Bagaeus (viii.130), but
 if so the two are almost certainly related.

68.

Οὐξιοί.—They are part of the 14th province of iii.93. See
 Roland Kent on the Behistun inscription, DB iii.23, trans. p.
 127a. Rennell (ii²384) identifies them with the Ouxioi of Arrian
 (Anab. iii.8.5, 11.5, 17; Ind. xl.1.6) and Strabo (524, 728f.,
 732), an identification which Macan (i¹92a) calls "a sufficiently
 heroic expedient, approved by Baehr [ii.170f.], Rawlinson [ii.
 485 n.4], and others" (refs. and brackets mine). Stein rejects
 this identification (i²108) and believes they are a robber
 mountain-folk on the E of Susiana (cf. HW i.285). See also comm.
 at ch. 100 on the army list. They are nothing more than a name
 to Hdt..

Μύχοι.—See iii.93, where they are part of the 14th province.
 They are known to Hecataeus in connexion with the Araxes (FGH 1
 F 289; see iv.40). Many scholars have identified them with
 Steph. Byz.' Macae ("a race between Casmania and Arabia");
 Strabo locates the latter on the S side of the narrow

S mouth of the Persian gulf (765; cf. Pliny, NH vi.98).

Such identifications seem to lean heavily on a connexion between
 their name and that of the modern Persian province of the S called
 Mecran (see Baehr ii.171; Rawlinson ii.485 n.5; Stein i²108;
 Macan i¹92a; HW i.285). Cf. also Herrmann, RE xvi.1029.

68 cont.

Παρικάνιοι—They are of the 10th and 17th provinces of Darius' empire (iii.92 and 94). Hecataeus knows a city named Paricane (FGH 1 F 282). See also Pliny, NH vi.48 and Junge, RE xviii. 1482. Stein puts them in Beluchistan (i²109; cf. HW i.285).

τούτων δὲ ἥρχον οἶδε, οὐτῶν μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρεῖου—See the Arsames son of Darius who commands the Arabians and Ethiopians of ch. 69, Xerxes' half-brother because the king's mother was not Artystone but Atossa (see ch. 2).

Παρικανίων δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Ολοβάζου.—If Darius did indeed put all of Oeobazus' sons to death at the time of the Scythian expedition, Sirimitres could nonetheless be a later son of this same father (iv.84). Hdt. also mentions a Cardian Oeobazus who carries away the tackle of the Hellespontine bridges (ix.115 and 119). Sirimitres is probably the father of the Masistios who commands the Alarodioi and Saspeires of ch. 79, and the latter is probably the Masistios of the 1st position at Plataea (ix.20,22,24).

69.

Ἀράβιοι—Elsewhere Hdt. is careful to exclude the Arabians from the empire (iii.88 and 91) but Arabia appears on the three major inscriptions (Behistun, Persepolis, Naksh-i-Rustam) and here in the army. The independent "friends" of the empire may be nomads of the more in-accessible desert regions. See Muller's article on Arabia, RE ii.344ff..

Ζειράς—This is probably a semitic word (cf. Stein iv.77) but the Thracians of ch. 75 wear the garment in question, evidently a long, flowing cloak or robe.

Αἰθίορες—These are the Ethiopians above Egypt whom Hdt. has casually sub-divided into the Ethiopians proper around Meroe

69 cont.

(ii.29f.), the long-lived Ethiopians (iii.17f.), and the cave-dwelling Ethiopians (iv.183). He is to mention an E branch of the Ethiopians in the next chapter. Hecataeus treated of the Ethiopians (FGH 1 F 325-327). See also Pietschmann, RE i.1095ff..

τόξα—On bows and arrows see Snodgrass, esp. 141-143, 174f..

ρόπαλα τυλωτά.—See the Assyrian clubs studded with iron, ch.63.

Ἀραβίων δὲ καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκημένων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης ὁ Δαρείου <τε> καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνης τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς,—"Darius' grandfather was named Arsames (ch.

11). This Arsames' full brother Gobryas commands the Mariandynoi, Ligyes, and Syrians of ch. 72. Aeschylus has it that Arsames is governor of Egypt and dies at Salamis (Pers. 37 and 308). Artystone is the younger sister of Atossa who is virgin when Darius marries her (iii.88).

τὴν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν γυναικῶν Δαρεῖος εἰκὼ χρυσέην σφυρήλατον ἐποίησατο.—Macan speculates that the image was a Greek work (i¹94a). Darius' love for Artystone may be no more than inference from this hammered gold eikon.

70.

οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων Αἰθιοπες (διεοῖ γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο) προσετετάχατο τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι, διαλάσσοντες εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἑτέροις, φωνὴν δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα μοῦνον.—Homer puts one division of the Ethiopians at the rising and one at the setting of Hyperion (Od. i.23f.; see the blameless Ethiopians of Il. i.423). Hdt. seems confident about their place in the empire. The Ethiopians of Asia are part of the 17th province along with the Paricanioi (iii.94) while the Ethiopians bordering Egypt paid gifts instead of tribute (iii.97).

οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἡλίου Αἰθιοπες λευκώτριχες εἰσι, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα ἔχουσι πάντων ἀνθρώπων.—

The African Ethiopians are clearly negroes.

70 cont.

προβλήματα δὲ ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ἐποιεῦντο γεράνων δοράς.—

See the bucklers of the Macae, iv.175.

71.

Λίβυες—They are part of the 6th province of iii.91; see also Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 329ff. and Honigmann, RE xiii.149ff..

σκευὴν μὲν σκυτλήνῃν ἤλσαν ἔχοντες,—See iv.189. The war-chariots of iv.170 and 183 appear below, ch. 86.

ἄρχοντα καὶ παρέχοντο Μασσάγην τὸν Ὀαρίζου.—His name recalls that of the Massagetae in the NE against whom Cyrus foundered (i.201f.) and the river Oarus of iv.123.

72.

Παφλαγόνες—Homer knows them (see e.g. Il. ii.851, v.577), and so does Hecataeus (FGH 1 F 287). Hdt. locates Paphlagonia W. of the Halys (i.6 and 72). The Paphlagonians are part of the 3rd province of iii.90.

κράνεα πεπλεγμένα ἔχοντες—See ch. 63 and Xen. Anab. v.4.13.

Λίγυες—Almost like the Ethiopians there seem to be E and W divisions of them. The W Ligurians live "above Marseilles" (v.9, vii.165, and see Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 53-58, Apollonorus i.9.24, ii.5.10, and Frazer i.114-115, 214-215). The E tribe remains a mystery. Eustathius said there were in Colchis Λίγυες ἄποικοι τῶν Εὐρωπαίων in connexion with the verse δὲ εἰς Κυτάλαν τὴν Λιγυστικὴν (or conceivably Λιβυστικὴν) μολών. See Berkelius, Steph. Byz. s.v. Κύτα, quoted by Macan i¹96a, but also Lycophron 1312, and Eustathius 77 with Muller's comments, GGM ii.232). On the basis of Lycophron's allusion, Eustathius' comments, and Stephen's mis-reading, Muller speculates that the Ligurians are to be associated with the

72 cont.

Caucasian Legae of Strabo 503, an idea that is taken up by Stein (iv.79) and Macan (i¹96a). Rawlinson, on the other hand, believes that the Asiatic Ligurians are the primitive race, that they sent most of their people W including perhaps the Ligurians of Thraee mentioned by Aristotle (fr. 284), but maintained a hold on their place of origin (iv.239f.; cf. HW i.92f. and ii. 156, who believe they might have disappeared from the Halys basin after the Gallio immigration of 278).

The strongest evidence of an E branch of the Ligurians is that of Hdt. and that is none too strong. See also Ruge, RE xiii.53 and Weiss on the "Ligures", RE xiii.525ff..

Ματιηνοί—Hdt. puts them E of the Halys river opposite the Phrygians (i.72), in the mountains (i.189) and near the source of the Araxes (i.202; see Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 289). They are part of the 18th province of iii.94, grouped with the Saspeires and the Alarodioi. In connexion with the Royal Road, Hdt. locates them between Armenia and Cissia and says that through their land flow three rivers named Tigris and one named Gyndes (v.52; see Aristagoras' allusion, v.49). Hecataeus knows them (FGH 1 F 287f.).

If we took all the ancient allusions to them seriously they would have been scattered throughout the mountains of W Asia (see Rawlinson, iv.233f.; Macan i¹96a,b; HW i.92f.). See Weissbach's article, RE xiv.2203f..

Μαριανδύνοί— See Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 198. Hdt. mentions them between the Mysians and Chalybes as subject to Croesus (i.28) and as part of Darius' 3rd province together with the Hellespontians, Phrygians, Thracians of Asia, Paphlagonians, and Syrians (iii.90). Xenophon locates them in the vicinity of the Megarian colony of Heracleia (Anab. vi.2.1). Strabo believes they were originally Thracian Briges (295). See Ruge, RE xiv.1747ff..

72 cont.

οἱ δὲ Σύριοι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδόκαι καλέονται.--

Hdt. repeats himself from i.72 and Aristagoras' explanation of v.49. In connexion with the Royal Road, Hdt. sets them between Phrygia and Cilicia (v.49 and 52) and he locates Cappadocia E of the Halys and near the Euxine (i.71,72,73,76). Here he locates Critalla, the mustering place of Xerxes' army (vii.26). Strabo distinguishes two tribes of Cappadocians, those near the Pontus and those near the Taurus and calls them both "White Syrians" (737). See Ruge's article, RE x.1910ff..

Παφλαγόνων μὲν νυν καὶ Ματιηνῶν Δῶτος ὁ Μεγασίδρου ἦρχε,--The names are otherwise unknown. Steph. Byz. s.v.

Δῶτιον "preserves rival views which traced that Thessalian town to Dotos, a son of Pelagos, or as others had it, a grandson of Hellen" (Macan i¹97a).

Μαριανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Συρίων Γωβρύης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνης.--

He is the Achaemenid full brother of Arsames (ch. 69), to be distinguished from the Gobryas who is father of Mardonius and one of the Seven (iii.70).

73.

Φρύγες-- The Phrygians are part of Darius' 3rd province of iii.90.

In connexion with the Royal Road, Hdt. locates them between the Lydians on the W and the Cappadocians on the E (v.49 and 52). He confirms that location in his story of Xerxes' march (vii.26 and 30f.). Hecataeus treats of Phrygia, FGH 1 F 270. See also Friedrich, RE xx.882ff..

οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπῆιοι ἐόντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἅμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὐνομα μετέβαλον [ἐς Φρύγας].--

The Phrygians are rivals of the Egyptians for the title of oldest

73 cont.

nation on earth (ii.2). Their movement E is not necessarily connected with the Myso-Teucrian invasion of Europe before the Trojan war (see ch. 20 and comm. ad loc.). Xanthos said they came from Europe and the left of the Pontus after the Trojan war (Strabo 680). Hdt. mentions a Macedonian garden of Midas, son of Gordias, viii.138, which squares with his view of the Phrygian migration. Their case seems to be similar to that of the Thracians who became Bithynians once they crossed into Asia (ch. 75). The name Briges is strongly reminiscent of the Brygoi who attacked Mardonius when he was encamped in Macedonia (vi.45; see vii.185).

Baehr believes that the Phrygians were indigenous to Asian Phrygia but that other European tribes may have come E to coalesce with them (iii.558). Blakesley believes the migration took place from E to W (ii.228). Rawlinson rationalises to the effect that the original Indo-European invasion was from E to W but some of the colonists yielded to the attacks of Macedonians and Illyrians and re-crossed into Asia (iv.70; see Stein iv.79f., who connects the movement with the Myso-Teucrian invasion of ch. 20). Macan believes that Hdt. is right in this passage but connects the migration with the Myso-Teucrian invasion of ch. 20 which he believes to have crossed the Hellespont from W to E (i¹97b-98a).

According to Hdt. the Phrygians' Macedonian origin is part of a Macedonian story. Which Macedonian story? It could be that of Amyntas of Asia, born of Boubares the Persian and Gygaea the sister of Alexander of Macedon. According to Hdt. the king gave Amyntas the great Phrygian city of Alabanda; he and his family may well have found good political reasons for connecting the Macedonians with the Phrygians (see viii.136). If so the tradition preserved by Hdt. has no claim on the historian. No matter where Hdt. got the story it seems impossible to decide whether there is any truth in it and if so how much. It may rest on nothing more than the similarity between the two names.

73 cont.

On the Brygoi see Oberhummer, RE iii.920f.. Gomperz' deletion seems un-justified. Hdt' wording does not have to be exactly what we should like.

Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἐόντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι.—Hdt' viewpoint seems Phrygian. Presumably he means

that the Armenians came from Phrygia after the Phrygians came from Macedonia if he thinks about the question. Baehr believes that Hdt' Phrygians, Armenians, and Cappadocians all derive from Aramaic stock of Syria and Chaldaea (iii.559). Rawlinson derives the Phrygians from the Armenians (iv.71; see Stein iv. 80). Macan (i¹98a,b) and HW (ii.156f.) prefer Hdt' account, supported as it is by the evidence of Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρμενία Ἀρμένιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ἐκ Φρυγίας καὶ τῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσιν. There seems no good reason to believe Hdt. on this point and especially if the story is Phrygian or Macedonian-Phrygian (see above). The Phrygian viewpoint is biased. HW point out that Genesis x.3 makes Togarmah (Armenia) the brother of Ashkenaz (Phrygia; see the Phrygian hero Ascanius and the lake and district of Ascania); ii.157. On Armenia and the Armenians see Baumgartner, RE ii.1181ff., who assumes a relationship between the Armenians and the Semites of Mesopotamia and Syria. Armenia is part of Darius' 13th province of iii.93.

τούτων συναμφοτέρων ἦρχε Ἀρτόχμης, Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα.—He is otherwise unknown.

74.

Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὄπλα.—Hdt. is concerned to show the similarity between the customs of the Greeks and Lydians from the beginning of his history (e.g. i.94). The Lydians are part of the 2nd province of iii.90.

74 cont.

οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μηλονες ἐκαλεῖντο τὸ πάλατ, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἀτυοῦ ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὐνομα.—

See i.7. Homer knows the Maeonians but not the Lydians (cf. Il. ii. 864, iii.401, iv.142, x.431). Strabo says that just as the Brygoi, Bryges, and Phryges are the same people, so also are the Mysi, Maeones, and Meiones (550; see 572) while elsewhere he confirms Hdt' assertion that the Maeonians of old are now called Lydians (620, 625). Pliny believes that Maeonians still live on the Tmolus (NH v.110f.). On the Lydians and Maeonians see Kretschmer, Einl. in die Gesch. d. gr. Sprache 384ff.; Radet, Lydie 50ff.; Keil, RE xiii, esp. 2122ff., 2138ff., and 2161ff.; Ruge, RE xiv.582f..

Μυσοὶ...οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι Λυδῶν ἄποικοι, ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου δὲ ὄρεος καλέονται Ὀλυμπιηνοί.— See vii.20 and i.171, where

the Mysians are brethren of the Carians (κασίγνητοι). Mt.

Olympus here is the Mysian Olympus of i.36 and 43; see Strabo 574f.. Macan (i¹99a) rightly describes the Mysians of Xenophon's Anabasis as troublesome and liberty-loving (e.g. i.9.14, ii.5.13) and doubts that there were many of them in Xerxes' army. They were part of Darius' 2nd province of iii.90.

Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἦρχε Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ἀρταφρένεος, ὃς ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἐσέβαλε ἅμα Δάτι.—

The elder was Darius' brother, a son of Hystaspes, and thus Xerxes' uncle, who was satrap at Sardis (v.25). The Marathon campaign seems not to have hurt his son's career.

75.
Θρήκες— They are part of Darius' 3rd province (iii.90). On the Thracians in general see Lenk, RE vi A 419ff.. To judge from Hdt' report and Xenophon's evidence, the European and Asiatic Thracians wore the same kind of clothing (Anab. vii.4.4). On their mantles see ch. 69. On their shoes see those of the Paphlagonians, ch. 72.

75 cont.

πέλτας--See ch. 89; Thuc. ii.29.5, iv.111.1, vii.27.1; Xen.

Hell. ii.4.12; Snodgrass 57 and 60; Lammert, RE xix.403ff..

οὔτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί, τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστῆναι δέ φασι ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν.--See i.28, θρήικες οἱ θυνοί τε

καὶ Βιθυνοί. Xenophon also knows of the Thynoi as a war-like tribe of European Thrace (vii.2.22). Their apparent migration

E does not necessarily contradict Hdt' account of the Myso-Teucrian invasion of Europe (see ch. 20 and comm. ad loc.).

θρηίκων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἦρχε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου--

He is the third son of Artabanos to appear in the army list thus far, after Artyphios and Ariomardos (chs. 66 and 67).

76.

Speculation on the missing tribe-name has been singularly unprofitable. The two chief candidates have been Wesseling's Chalybes and Stein's Pisidae. Hdt. mentions the Chalybes in his list of nations subject to Croesus (i.28) and all the other names of this list figure in the Persian war-effort as Rawlinson points out (iv.72). If the Chalybes are indeed Scythian (see Aesch. Septem 728) Hdt' oracle of Mars suits them (see iv.62). Xenophon's description of the Chalybes' arms, however, is quite unlike that of Hdt. (Anab. iv.7.15f.), and Maean rightly points out that they would violate geographical order in this chapter. The Pisidae on the other hand are nowhere mentioned by Hdt.. The Hytennes of iii.90 are a possibility. Toynbee rightly argues in favour of the better Mss reading "Hygennes" in that place and proposes to install the Sigynnae of v.9 here, regarding the former name as a variant of the latter (CR 1910.236-238). Clearly the connexion between the two names is far from certain.

II.

Καβηλέες δὲ οἱ Μηλίονες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλεούμενοι—

Hdt. treats the Cabelees and the Lasonians as separate peoples in his satrapy list, grouping them with the Lydians, Mysians, and Hytennes to make up the 2nd province of iii.90. He twice says the Lydians were once called Μείονες (i.7, vii.74), so he presumably believes the Cabelees are of old-Lyidian origin. He spells their name differently in the satrapy-list, and the two discrepancies together seem to reflect the independence of that list from the army list, but see comm. at ch. 100 and App. iii. On their country see Strabo 630f., who says the Cabelees are known as Solymoi. Steph. Byz. says the Pisidians were formerly Solymoi (s.v. Πισιδία; see below). See also Ruge's article on "Kabalia", RE x.1395.

τὴν αὐτὴν Κίλιξι εἶχον σκευήν, τὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίων τάξιν ὀλεξίων γένωμαι, τότε σημανέω.—

See ch. 91.

Μιλύαι— They are part of the 1st province of iii.90. Elsewhere Hdt. says that the land now possessed of the Lycians was Milyan of old, at which time the Milyans were called Solymoi (i.173); note the Lycian bows carried by some of them. Strabo says the Cabelees are called Solymoi (630) and Steph. Byz. says the Pisidians used to be Solymoi (see above). On the Solymoi see Il. vi. 184, 204, and Od. v.283; Strabo 666; Ruge, RE iii A 989. On the Milyae see Schmidt, RE xv.1710.

εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα μετεξέτεροι Λύκιοι,--See ch. 76 and Homer's description of the bow of Pandarus the Lycian, Il. iv.105ff..

τούτων πάντων ἦρχε Βάδρης ὁ Ὑστάνεος.—Badres of the Pasargadae is admiral of the fleet in the expedition against Baroa (iv.167,203) but this could hardly be the same man. Suidas

77 cont.

makes a certain Hystanes "governor of the Hellespont" in the time of Artaxerxes (s.v. Ἰπποκράτης) but the name seems otherwise unknown.

78.

Μόσχοι—They are the 1st tribe of the 19th province of iii.94. Hecataeus makes them a race of the Colchians next to the Matienoi (FGH 1 F 288) and Strabo seems to confirm that general location (497; see 61 and 492). See Pliny, NH vi.10,28,29 and Herrmann's article, RE xvi.351f..

Τιβάρηνοί— They are the 2nd tribe of the 19th province of iii.94, after the Moschoi. Hecataeus sets them W of the Mossynoecoi (FGH 1 F 204) and Xenophon also locates them W of the Mossynoecoi, on the S shore of the Euxine (Anab. v.4.2f.). Cotyora, a Greek city and a colony of the Sinopeans, seems to be the chief city of their country. See Herrmann, RE vi A 764.

Μάκρωνες—They are the 3rd tribe of the 19th province of iii.94, after the Moschoi and the Tibarenoi. Hecataeus knows them (FGH 1 F 206). Xenophon and his Greeks encounter the Macrones immediately after reaching the sea, and that puts them considerably E of the Mossynoecoi and also E of Trapezus on the SE shore of the Euxine (Anab. iv.7.27ff.). The Anonymous Periplus of the Euxine confirms that location and also identifies the Macrones with the Macrocephaloi (37; Muller's GGM i.410). Strabo says that above Trapezus and Pharnacia are the Tibaranoi and Chaldaeoi and Sannoi, who were formerly called Macrones (548). Hdt. says the Syrians along the Thermodon and Parthenios rivers and their neighbours the Macrones say that they learned circumcision but recently from the Colchians (ii.104). See also Pliny, NH vi.29 and Herrmann's article, RE xiv.815.

78 cont.

Μοσσύνοιχοι— They are the 4th tribe of the 19th province of iii.94 after the Moschoi, Tibarenoi, and Macones. Hecataeus puts them E of the Tibarenoi (FGH 1 F 204) and Xenophon marches through their country before reaching the Tibarenoi (Anab. v.4.1ff.). Xenophon says their chief citadel is called Metropolis (v.4.15) and it is clear from his account that there were at least two major divisions of them, hostile to one another. Those divisions may have been equipped somewhat differently from one another, but how differently? Xenophon's evidence on their dress and armour is not such as to bolster confidence in the historical worth of Hdt' narrative. See Strabo 549 and Schachermeyr, RE xvi.377f..

τούτους δὲ συνέτασσον ἄρχοντες οἷδε, Μόσχους μὲν καὶ Τιβαρηνοὺς Ἀριόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ Πάρμυος τῆς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου,-- This is the 2nd Ariomardos of the list, the 1st being the son of Artabanos, ch. 67. Parmys is among Darius' women of iii.88.

Μάκρωνα δὲ καὶ Μοσσυνοίκους Ἀρταῦκτης ὁ Χερδάσιος, ὃς Σηστὸν τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐπετρόπευε.--

See ch. 33 and ix.116ff.. His patronymic appears only in this passage.

79.

Μᾶρες—They are the 5th and final tribe of the 19th province of iii.94, after the Moschoi, Tibarenoi, Macones, and Mossynoecoi. Hecataeus makes them a neighbouring race of the Mossynoecoi (FGH 1 F 205). See Herrmann, RE xiv.1680. Their plaited helmets are like those of the Paphlagonians, ch. 72.

Κόλχοι— They bear gifts instead of tribute according to Hdt' satrapy list of iii.97. Hecataeus knows them (FGH 1 F 210). Hdt. mentions them frequently. They and the river Phasis are a 30-day journey from the Maeatian lake (i.104; see i.2). Their

79 cont.

territory extends as far as the northern sea into which flows the Phasis river (iv.37). Hdt. says he is personally acquainted with Colchians even if he does not say where he met them (ii.104f.). He believes that only the Saspeires intervene between the Medes and Colchians (i.104, iv.37 and 40). Xenophon encounters the Colchians after passing through the territory of the Macrones, and that locates them nearer the sea than the Macrones and around the SE shore of the Euxine (Anab. 8.8ff.). See Strabo 497ff., Arrian's Periplus e.g. 8 and 15 (Müller's GGM i.373 and 378) and among the poets Pindar's Pyth. iv.11,212 and Aesch' Pr. 415. See also Ruge, RE xi.1070f..

κράνεια ξύλινα—See the helmets of the Moschoi, ch. 78.

ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοόνας μικρὰς—See the little shields of the unknown tribe of ch. 76.

Μαρῶν δὲ καὶ Κόλχων ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιος.—

He is the captor of the noble Coan lady set free by Pausanias after Plataea (ix.76). This Teaspes is presumably father of the Achaemenid Sataspes of iv.43 who rapes the virgin daughter of Zopyrus the son of Megabyzus and turns back when he tries to sail round Libya only to be impaled by Xerxes.

Ἀλαρόδοι.—They are the 3rd and final tribe of Darius' 18th province of iii.94. Steph. Byz. s.v. mentions them only on the strength of this reference. See also Baumgartner, RE i.1292.

Σάσπειρες—They are the 2nd tribe of the 18th province of iii.94, and the sole tribe intervening between the Medes and the Colchians (i.104,110; iv.37,40). Rawlinson points out that they are also known as Sabeires (Steph. Byz. s.v. Σάσπειρες), Sabeiroi (Menander, frs. 5,41, and 42) and Abeires (Menander,

79 cont.

fr. 42), and through this last variation on the name he connects them with the Iberes. See Etym. Mag. s.v. Βέχειρ· ἔθνος Σκυθικόν, ὡς Ἀπειρ, ἥ μετὰ τοῦ σ, Σάπειρ. The connexion seems far-fetched (see HW 1.286), but see Herrmann, RE ii A 56f..

τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρομίτρεω ἦρχε.--This is the Masistios of the 1st position at Plataea (ix.20ff.). His father may be the Siromitres son of Oeobazus who commands the Paricanioi of ch. 68.

80.

τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνεα τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα,-- They are part of the 14th province of iii.93, together with the Sagartioi, Sarangeis, Thamanaeoi, Outioi, and Mycoi. Maean points out that these islands may be those of the Persian gulf, the existence of which Hdt. nowhere recognises (i¹104b).

νήσων δὲ ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεύς,--Hdt. alludes to mass transportation throughout the history. Darius transports the Barcaeans (iv.204), Paeonians (v.12), the Milesians after the Ionian revolt (vi.20; see also the threat of vi.9), and the Eretrians during the Marathon campaign (vi.119). Histiaeus' report that Darius means to transport the Ionians to Phoenicia and give Ionia to the Phoenicians may be a major factor in the Ionians' will to resist during the Ionian revolt (see vi.3). The Spartans want to move the Ionians to the medisers' empolaea of the mainland because of the difficulty of defending them in Ionia (ix.106 but see comm. ad loc.).

Bactria was also used to accommodate the unruly peoples of the empire (iv.204 and vi.9), and that may be why Masistes found it a good place to start a revolt against Xerxes--not merely because he was a popular satrap there (ix.113; see comm.

80 cont.

ad loc.).

Ctesias (Pers. 40) says that a eunuch was banished to Armenia while Megabyzus himself ἀνάσπαστος δὲ γίνεται εἰς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν ἔν τινι πόλει ὀνόματι Κύρται.

τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτέων ἦρχε Μαρδόντης ὁ Βαγαίου, δς ἐν Μυκίῃ στρατηγέων δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.— Although Mardontes appears here as a commander in the army, he re-appears in viii.130 as co-admiral of the fleet along with Artayntes son of Artachaees when it re-groups at Samos after ferrying Xerxes from the Chersonese to Abydos and then wintering at Cyme. Hdt' forward reference to his fate at Mycale (ix.102) is a little surprising in view of the commanders to whom he denies such a reference: e.g. Tigranes son of Artabanos, with whom he falls at Mycale (ix.62); Artabazus the rival of Mardonius (ix.66); and Masistios, famous for his role at Plataea (ix.79).

Mardontes is presumably the son of the Bagaeus son of Artontes who figures largely in Darius' suppression of the revolt of Oroetes (iii.128).

81.

τούτου ὧν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦρχον μὲν οὗτοι οἳ περ εἰρέαται καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἐξαριθμήσαντες οὗτοι ἦσαν καὶ χιλιάρχας τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες, ἑκατοντάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες.—

Hdt' telos is an organised troop-contingent of a particular kind. That much he makes clear in his account of Cyaxares' original organisation of the old Median tribal army (i.103). For telea of horse see ch. 87; ix.20,22,23 (Masistios in the 1st position at Plataea); foot, ch. 211 (the Persian attack at Thermopylae). Hdt. seems to use the word τάξις in much the same way: the Greeks at Thermopylae are arrayed κατὰ τάξις τε καὶ κατὰ

81 cont.

ἔθνεα (vii.212); Mardonius sends for the "taxiarchs of the telea" (ix.42). See ix.33, where the Greeks at Plataea are arrayed κατὰ τε ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεια.

When Thuc. describes the Spartan chain of command (v.66.3, and cf. v.68.3) he clearly knows the military significance of the units to which he alludes. Some scholars indeed believe that he is capable of serious error on these matters (e.g. Pareti and WG; see WG Essays 72 but also ix.53 and comm. ad loc.) but there is no doubt that Thuc. uses military terminology with precision, and because he knows or at least thinks he knows the significance of that terminology. Hdt. on the other hand seems to use military words for their own sake as part of a good story. The passage quoted above is poetical (cf. Il. iv.431). Nor is it clear exactly what Hdt. means by it. He could be distinguishing Persian officers from native officers. The archontes, myriarchs, chiliarchs, hecatontarchs, and decarchs are to be Persian while the officers of telea and ethnea are native. That is impossible because there would not have been enough Persians to go round. He could mean that the archontes, myriarchs, and chiliarchs are Persian and the other lesser officers are native, or that only the archontes are Persian and all the other officers are native. But in that case the officers of telea and ethnea have an anomalous position. To whom are they responsible? Here as elsewhere in the History Hdt. likes to use technical words but he does not understand the structure of command in the Persian army and it seems doubtful that he has a clear idea of the size of his telos in this chapter.

82.

ἦσαν μὲν δὴ οὗτοι οἱ περ εἰρέεσθαι ἄρχοντες, ἐστρατή-
γεον δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ—

82 cont.

Hdt. evidently excludes the Immortals of ch. 83 and the cavalry (see ch. 88) but he leaves the relationship between the commanders of these units and the six generals of this chapter quite unclear. Μαρδόνιος τε ὁ Γωβρύεω--Hdt. has already explained his credentials and influence with the king, ch. 5. He is co-commander of the 1st or sea-coast division of ch. 121.

καὶ Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα--

He seems to be the most important of Artabanos' five sons in the army (Artyphios, Ariomardos, Bassaces, Tritantachmes, and Tigranes). He is co-commander of the 2nd or inland division of ch. 121.

καὶ Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω, Δαρείου ἀμφοτέρου οὗτοι ἀδελφεῶν καὶ δες, Ξέρξη δὲ ἐγίνοντο ἀνεψιοί,--

He appears in ch. 121 as co-commander of the 3rd or middle division of the army. This Otanes is presumably the father of Xerxes' wife Amestris (ch. 61) and the son of Pharnaspes, who originated the conspiracy of the Seven against the Magi (iii.70). His daughter Phaedyne was instrumental in identifying the false Smerdis (iii.68-72) and eventually married Darius (iii.88). He was an advocate for democracy (iii.80 and vi.43) and surrendered his claim to be king (iii.83). He commanded on the coast and especially at Samos (iii.144 and 147), re-settling the island because of a dream and a sickness of the genitals (iii.149; venereal disease? of. i.105 and ii.84).

E.g. Stein (iv.83) and HW (ii.158) suggest that Hdt' word-order should be emended so as to place Smerdomenes after the word ἀνεψιοί in order that "both" refer to Mardonius (whose mother was Darius' sister, vii.5.1) and Tritantachmes (who was son of Darius' brother Artabanos). In that case the word

82 cont.

ἀδελφεῶν would cover both "brother" and "sister" (see Smyth 235 and Macan i¹106b).

There seems no special difficulty in accepting the word order as it stands because Otanes, like Gobryas, may have married a sister of Darius even if Hdt. does not say so elsewhere. It seems not impossible indeed that Hdt. thinks of Otanes as a "brother" of Darius because Darius married his daughter Phaedyme.

καὶ Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παῖς— He is Xerxes' full brother because the king also is the son of Atossa (ch. 2). He is co-commander with Mardonius of the 1st or sea-coast division of the army, ch. 121. After Mycale Xenagoras of Halicarnassus saved him from the wrath of Artayntes son of Artachaes on the road to Sardis and became satrap of Cilicia for his trouble (ix.107). Masistes was governor of Bactria (ix.113) and one of the chief figures of a notable scandal of the Persian court (ix.108-113).

καὶ Γέργης ὁ Ἀριάζου—He is co-commander of the 2nd, inland division of the army (ch. 121). He and his father are otherwise unknown.

Μεγάβυζος
καὶ Μεγάβυξος ὁ Ζωπύρου.—He and Smerdomenes commanded the 3rd or middle division of the army with which Xerxes himself marched (ch. 121). This Megabyzus commanded in Egypt against the Egyptians and Athenians (iii.160; Thuc. i.109-110). His father saw in his mule's offspring a portent signifying the capture of Babylon (iii.153), and was himself instrumental in this capture (iii.155-158), which stratagem Ctesias ascribes to his son Megabyzus at the alleged capture of Babylon by Xerxes in 478 (Pers. 22). Zopyrus' virgin daughter, evidently Megabyzus' sister, was raped by the Achaemenid Sataspes son of Teaspes (iv.43). Megabyzus' son Zopyrus deserted to Athens (iii.160).

83.

οὗτοι ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος πεζοῦ χωρὶς τῶν μυρίων.—See ch. 55, where the 10,000 cross the Hellespont first.

τῶν δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσέων τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγεε μὲν Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος,—

Maean finds it ridiculous that Hydarnes should be placed on a par with strategoi who, according to Hdt., command so many more men than his 10,000 (i¹107a,b) but there is little inherent improbability in Hdt' special attention to the commander of Xerxes' elite corps and personal escort.

Hdt. believes that Miltiades mounted the Parian expedition of 489 because a man of Parian descent slandered him to Hydarnes (vi.133). Hydarnes figures largely in Hdt' narrative of Sperthias and Bulis as strategos of the parathalassian men (vii.135) and also in the narrative of Thermopylae (211,215,218). He refuses to leave the king's side when Mardonius retains the Immortals for continued service in Europe (viii.113) and in one version of Xerxes' return to Asia commands the king's army while Xerxes himself embarks on a Phoenician ship at Eion (viii.118).

The elder Hydarnes is one of the Seven (iii.70) whose son Sisamnes, evidently brother of the younger Hydarnes, commands the Arioi of ch. 66.

ἀρμαμάξας τε ἄμα ἤγοντο—See ch. 41.

ἐν δὲ παλλακᾷς— See the noble Coan lady of ix.76.

κάμηλοι—Agésilaoa marched camels home with him from Asia in 394 via the same route that Xerxes took (Hell. iii.4.24, iv.2.8).

84.

Ἰππεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα· πλὴν οὐ πάντα παρέλχετο ἵππον, ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μοῦνα, Πέρσαι—

There are 12,000 Persian horse according to Hdt' count (chs. 40 and 41; see ch. 55 and comm. ad loc.).

85.

Σαγάρτιοι-- Hdt. mentions the Sagartians as one of the four nomad tribes of Persians (i.125). They are part of the 14th province of iii.93. A Sagartian named Cicantakhma raised a notable revolt against Darius commemorated on the Behistun inscription (see Kent, OP 131, DB iv.2Off.). See also Herrmann, RE i A 1737ff. and Weissbach, RE i A 1736f..

ἔθνος μὲν Περσικὸν καὶ φωνή-- Many scholars have called the phrase un-acceptable: καὶ φωνή del. Sitzler: φωνή <χρεώμενον Περσικῇ> Stein: <γένει' τε> καὶ φωνή van Herwerden: [καὶ] Hude coniecit (from Macan i¹109 App. Crit. and OCT App. Crit.).

Hdt' notion of good Greek was not necessarily that of the modern classical scholar. There is no good reason to change the text.

σκευὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτυικῆς-- See ch. 67 and comm. ad loc..

οἱ παρείχοντο μὲν ἵππον ὀκτακισχιλίην-- This 8,000 Sagartian horse seems to provide Hdt. with his "standard" cavalry unit. 10 nations X 8,000= the 80,000 horse of ch. 87. But the validity of the number is highly dubious. See ch. 234 and comm. ad loc..

χρέωνται δὲ σειρήσι πεπλεγμένῃσι ἐξ ἱμάντιων.-- The Shahnameh ascribes the lasso to the Persians (Macan i¹109b). Suidas makes it Parthian (s.v. σείρη). Pausanias describes the use of it by the Sauromatae (i.21.5).

καὶ ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας.-- Hdt. does not mention them on the march from Sardis or at the Hellespont.

86.

86.

Μῆδοι...Κίσσιοι...Ἰνδοὶ—See chs. 62 and 65.

ἄρματα—See iv.193, v.113, HW ii.62, and Snodgrass 159ff..

Βακτριοὶ...Κάσπιοι...Λίβυες—See chs. 64, 67, and 71.

καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως...~~Κάσπιοι~~ καὶ—Scholars have been unwilling to believe that Hdt. named the Caspians twice:

18 καὶ Κάσπιοι del., <καὶ Σάκαι> Munro, JHS 1902.297:

20 Κάσπειροι Reiz : Κάσιοι Larcher : Πάκτυες Stein:

Κάσπιοι Mss., del. Sitzler (Κασπίους <-σι> Laird) :

It is perhaps easy to talk oneself into emendation (see Macan i¹110a,b and HW ii.159) but Hdt. probably wrote "Caspioi" twice, once for the Caspians of the 11th province of iii.92 and once for the Caspians of the 15th province of iii.93. HW rule out tribes that have not already been mentioned among the infantry because Hdt. says that the tribe in question was armed as the foot, but Hdt. may well have made a mistake as he looked back and forth between his list(s) and his Mss. Addition, deletion, and emendation are un-justified.

Παρικάνιοι...Ἀράβιοι—See chs. 68 and 69.

καμήλους—See ch. 83 (the Immortals), 125 (lion-attacks on the camels alone among the beasts of burden), and ix.81 (Pausanias' booty at Plataea). Hdt. is consistent in his opinion that they are as fast as horses (see iii.102).

87.

ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐγένετο ὀκτὼ μυριάδες, πάρεξ τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων.— There are 10 nations of horse:

the Persians (ch. 84) with 12,000 (chs. 40 and 41), the Sagartioi with 8,000 (ch. 85), the Medes, Cissioi, Indians, Bactrians, Caspians, Libyans, Paricanians, and Arabians, each with an unspecified number. Hdt' total of 80,000 is probably 10 X the

87 cont.

Sagartian contingent of 8,000. To judge from the other numbers of the History it seems unlikely in the extreme that Hdt. has special information about the number of Persians and the number of Sagartians. He may use the smaller figure as a standard because he rightly assumes that the Persian contingent will have been larger than any other, embracing several elite corps as it does. But whatever Hdt' reason for using this 8,000 as a standard horse contingent, the figure is almost certainly un-historical (comm. at ch. 234) so that even the basis of Hdt' calculations has not a claim on history.

οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἱππείας ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τέλεια,--

See ch. 81 and comm. ad loc..

Ἀράβιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἐπετετάχατο. ἅτε γὰρ τῶν ἱππῶν οὐτι ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους ὕστεροι ἐτετάχατο, ἵνα μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ ἱππικόν.--

See i.80, where Harpagus the Mede leads Cyrus to dispose his troops against Croesus in accordance with this horsey fear of camels.

88.

ἱππαρχοὶ δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρμαμίσθρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος Δάτιος παῖδες.--They are otherwise unknown. On Datis see ch. 74 and chs. 8 and 10 for allusions to the Marathon campaign; vi.94,97, 98, and 118 in connexion with Marathon.

ὁ δὲ τρίτος σφι συνἱππαρχὸς Φαρνούχης κατελέλειπτο ἐν Σάρδισι νοσέων.--If there are three hipparchs it seems natural to assume that there are three divisions of horse, perhaps one to accompany each of the three divisions of ch. 121.

Pharnouches is otherwise unknown.

καὶ ὁ ἵππος οὐ προιδὼν ἐφοβήθη τε καὶ στάς ὁρῶς ἀπεσεύσατο τὸν Φαρνούχεια,--

Here Hdt. gives a glimpse into the way his mind works. He could have related this story in connexion with the march from Sardis (chs. 40 and 41) or again in connexion with the evil portent of

88 cont.

ch. 57 that Xerxes saw at Sardis. He relates the anecdote here because he has just been thinking of horses' fright in connexion with the Arabian camels of the preceding chapter. When he comes to mention Pharnouches he continues to think of horsey fear and its consequences.

καὶ ἐς φθίσειν περιήλθε ἡ νοῦσος.—Macan points out that this is probably the earliest example of phthisis as a disease (Macan i¹111b; Aristotle, Nic. Eth. vii.8.1=1150b).

89.

Τῶν δὲ τριηρέων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκόσιαι καὶ χίλιαι,—The easiest explanation of this figure is that

Hdt. took it from Aeschylus' Persae 341:

Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ γὰρ οἶδα χιλιάς μὲν ἦν
ὧν ἦγε πλῆθος, αἱ δ' ὑπέρκοποι τάχει
ἑκατὸν δὲς ἦσαν ἑπτὰ θ'.

Aeschylus seems to include the 207 specially swift ships in his thousand (thus e.g. Broadhead, Persae 115; MW 136 and 151). Hdt. adds them to the thousand, probably out of a penchant for 12's and under the influence of the Homeric Catalogue's 1200 ships (comm. at ch. 99).

παρείχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς οἶδε, Φοίνικες μὲν σὺν Συρίοισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τριηκοσίας,—

Hdt. may have talked to Phoenicians, or their interpreters anyway.

He went specially to Tyre indeed to see a particular temple of Heracles and on to Thasos to see another Phoenician temple of Heracles, or so he says (ii.44; but see Intro. pt. iii). His interest in the Phoenicians is evident throughout the History and also in this chapter, where he digresses to offer their old and new location for the second time (see i.1). They are part of the 5th satrapy of iii.91 and constitute the most zealous part of the Persian fleet of 600 (vi.9) during the Ionian revolt (vi.6).

89 cont.

On the Syrians of Palestine see i.105, ii.104 and 106, iii.91, and iv.39. They are part of the 5th province of iii.91. Rennell believes that these Syrians are Jews (245-247) but Rawlinson argues cogently that they must be Philistines (iv.78), and most scholars have agreed with him (e.g. Stein ii.7 and iv.86 ["the inhabitants of the coast (Philistines) S of Mt. Carmel"], HW i.257 and ii.160, and see Macan i¹112a,b). Hdt. himself gives no firm indication of who they are and he probably knows of them only from geographical sources and hearsay.

This Phoenician 300 is clearly an artificial number (comm. at Intro. pt. iii ad loc. and ch. 99).

θώρηκας λινέους—See ii.182 (Amasis' dedication to the Lindian Athena), iii.47 (Amasis' gift to the Spartans), and ch. 63 (those of the Assyrians).

ἀσπίδας δὲ Ἴτυς οὐκ ἔχούσας εἶχον—See ch. 75 (the Thracian peltae).

Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας παρείχοντο διηκοσίας.—They are the major part of the 6th province of iii.91. There are no Egyptians in the army (ix.32) and thus it is not surprising to see them making the second largest contribution to the king's navy (against Macan i¹113a), even if the figure 200 is almost certainly artificial (comm. at ch. 158). They are part of the great Persian fleet that sailed on Miletus (vi.6). Their admiral is Achaemenes, the full brother of Xerxes (vii.97), and they distinguish themselves in the 3rd engagement at Artemision (viii.17) although Artemisia is made to accuse them of being bad slaves (viii.68) and Mardonius blames them for the issue at Salamis, along with the Phoenicians, Cypriotes, and Cilicians (viii.100). Mardonius thinks highly enough of the Egyptians to disembark at least some of them at Phaleron for continued service in Europe (ix.32; see comm. ad loc.). HW (ii.160) suggest that they are not originally employed as infantry because of their recent revolt (vii.1) but their role at

89 cont.

sea is quite as critical as that on land would have been and Hdt. at least believes they filled it with distinction. On the so-called Egyptian squadron at Salamis see comm. ad loc..

κράνεα χηλευτά--χηλευτά=πλεκτά or plaited (see Steph. Thes. Linguae Graecae, Valpy vii.10596). Note the plaited helmets of the Mares (ch. 79).

90.

Κύπριοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν,--

Together with Phoenicia and Palestinian Syria Cyprus makes up the 5th satrapy of iii.91. The Cypriotes are censured by Artemisia before Salamis (viii.68) and Mardonius after Salamis (viii.100). They were part of the Persian fleet at Lade (vi.6), after the Persians suppressed their revolt (v.104-115). On the 150's of the History see comm. below on p. olvia.

τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς εἰλίσχαιτο μέτρῃσι--See the Cissians of ch. 62.

οἱ βασιλῆες αὐτῶν--See v.110 but also 109 and 113 (tyrannoi).

Diodorus says that in 351 there were 9 important Cypriote cities, each with its own king who was subject to the king of Persia (xvi.41.4; see Pliny, NH v.129). (The 9 cities are Salamis, Citium, Marion, Amathos, Curion, Paphos, Soloi, Lapithos, and Ceryneia. Hdt. mentions only Salamis, Soloi, Curion, and Amathos.)

τούτων δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεα ἔστι, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων,-- There may have been a settlement from Athens dating to Mycenaean times but the connexion with Salamis and Athens may have been merely inferred from the similarity of name. Teucer the Aeacid was thought to have led Trojan captives to the founding of Salamis after the Trojan war and the Gerginoi of that city, who claimed to be Gergithes (see ch. 43) were taken to prove the connexion (Ath. 255f.). Hdt. knows stories of Evelthon of Salamis, a contemporary of Arcesilaos of Cyrene (iv.162). Salamis and Soloi were the chief centres of Greek influence on the island and their

90 cont.

The 150's of the History.

Mycerinus spoiled 150 years of divinely-wrought affliction with his piety (ii.133). Every year 150 waggon-loads of sticks are heaped on Ares' sacred pile (iv.62). The Cypriotes contributed 150 ships to Xerxes' navy (ch. 90). We have no reason to believe that any of these 150's are historical.

90 cont.

conduct in the Ionian revolt reflected that influence (v.104,108ff.).

οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀρκαδίας,--See Strabo 683, where Paphos is founded by Agapenor the king of Tegea, presumably after the Trojan war. The Cypriote and Arcadian dialects are similar (see Busolt, i²319 and n. 1).

οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθνου,--Cythnos is a Dryopian island of the Cyclades (see viii.46). Heracles drove some of the Dryopians from Cythnos to Cyprus (Diodorus iv.37.2).

οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης,--Amathos was the only city of Cyprus that remained loyal to the Persians throughout the Ionian revolt (v.104ff.). Citium was perhaps the chief Phoenician city of the island (see Hirschfeld, RE i.1752 on Amathos and Oberhummer's extensive article on Citium, RE xi.535ff.).

οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας,--Hdt. calls Amasis the first conqueror of Cyprus (ii.182) but this allusion may rest on a connexion between Cinyras (see e.g. Il. xi.20; Theopompus, FGH 115 F 103; Ister, FGH 334 F 45) and the eastern Ethiopians because of his connexions with Assyria, Syria, and Cilicia (see Apollodorus iii.14.3 and Kroll, RE xi.484ff.). At best the meaning is obscure.

ὥς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι--See v.113, οἱ δὲ Κουριέες οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι Ἀργείων ἄποικοι. Hdt. seems to be throwing responsibility for the statement back on the natives.

On all things to do with Cyprus see Oberhummer, RE xii.59ff.. Κίλικες δὲ ἑκατὸν παρέχοντο νέας.--Cilicia alone is the 4th province of iii.90, paying a white horse a day and 500 talents a year. They are a formidable nation, holding out with the Lycians against Croesus when he had conquered the other nations W of the Halys (i.28). One of the two diplomats who reconciled the Medes and Lydians was the Cilician named Syennesis (i.74). Cilicia extends

90 cont.

on Aristagoras' map to the sea in which Cyprus lay (v.49) and Hdt. also puts it between Cappadocia and Armenia in his account of the Royal Road of v.52; see ii.34, where the mountainous part of Cilicia lies roughly opposite Egypt. The Cilicians contribute to the victorious Persian fleet at Lade along with the Phoenicians, Cypriotes, and Egyptians (vi.6). Along with the Egyptians, Cypriotes, and Pamphylians, however, they are accused of cowardice by Artemisia before Salamis (viii.68; see Mardonius' accusation after the battle, viii.100). They seem to have run into bad luck at Artemision (viii.14). Xenagoras of Halicarnassus is made satrap of Cilicia after Mycale for saving the king's brother on the road to Sardis (ix.107).

Hdt. has already promised to describe their equipment (ch. 77). On the 100's of the History see p. clviii below.

91.

λαισήϊά τε εἶχον ἀντ' ἀσπίδων, ὠμοβοέης πεποιημένα, — See Il. v.453 (the Achaeans and Trojans) and xii.426 (the Danae and Lycians), and Baehr's note, iii.574.

καὶ κινῶνας εἰρινέους ἐνδεδυκότες. — They are woolen. See i.195, ii.81, and iv.73.

δύο δὲ ἀκόντια ἕκαστος καὶ ἕλφος εἶχον, ἀγχοτάτω τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι μαχαίρησι πεποιημένα. — See ch. 89.

οὗτοι [μὲν] τὸ παλαιὸν Ὑπαχαιοὶ ἐκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Κίλικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. — It seems idle to speculate on the origin of the name

"Hypachaioi". It is otherwise unknown.

Clearly the Cilicians were a race kindred to the Phoenicians; see Apollodorus iii.1.1 and Frazer's n. 2 (Loeb Apollodorus i.296ff.) and iii.14.3 with Frazer's n. 2 (ii.82f.). To Hdt. Agenor is father

The 100's of the History.

There are 100 brazen gates in the great wall of Babylon (i.179). Pheros' stone obelisks are 100 cubits high (ii.111; "Hdt' figure, 150 ft., is suspiciously big", HW i.222). Cheops' and Chephren's pyramids stand on a hill about 100 ft. high (ii.127). Each of the channels approaching the temple of Bubastis is 100 ft. wide (ii.138). The pyramids in the middle of Lake Moeris are a total of 100 orguiae high (ii.149; "Hdt....accepted the greatly exaggerated figures of his guide", HW i.242). The aroura is 100 Egyptian cubits each way (ii.168). Polycrates had 100 penteconters (iii.39). The Samians exacted 100 talents from the Siphnians (iii.58). The Colchians pay the Persians 100 boys and 100 girls every 4 yrs. (iii.97). The Athenians hired Democedes of Croton for 100 minae (iii.131). The Scythians sacrifice one in 100 of the prisoners they take alive (iv.62). Triton prophesied that when any descendant of one of the Argo's crew should take away the brazen tripod 100 Greek cities must needs be founded on the shores of the Tritonian lake (iv.179). Aristagoras asks Artaphernes for 100 ships (v.31). The Chians brought 100 ships to Lade (vi.8 and 15). The Chians sent 100 youths to Delphi (vi.27). 100 picked men guard Spartan kings on their campaigns (vi.56). The Sicyonians offer to pay the Argives 100 talents for their previous wrong-doing (vi.92). Cleisthenes of Sicyon sacrificed 100 oxen at the marriage-feast of Agariste (vi.129). Miltiades demanded 100 talents of the Parians (vi.133). The Cilicians contributed 100 ships to Xerxes' navy (ch. 90), and so did the Ionians (ch. 94) and the Pontines (ch. 95). After Hyllus' death the Heracleidae were not to attempt a return to the Peloponnese for 100 yrs. (ix.26). Artayctes offers to pay 100 talents indemnity for the treasure he took from the temple of Protesilaus (ix.120).

Some few of these 100's may rest on something historical but most of them are nothing but an adjunct to the story-teller's art.

91 cont.

of Cadmus the Phoenician (iv.147). Homer's Agenor of Il. xi.59 seems to be a Trojan and not a Phoenician (see Pausanias x.25.6), but he may be connected with Homer's Cilicians at least, who dwell in Thebe and the Theban plain and give birth to Andromache (Il. vi.395ff., 415f.); see Hdt' Thebe of ch. 42. According to Hesiod, Agenor and Cassiopeia were the parents of Phoenix and the grandparents of Phineus (fr. 56=Cat. fr. 20, Loeb). Further on Agenor see Pherecydes, FGH 3 F 85ff. and Dümmler, RE i.773ff..

The Greek colonies on the coast of Cilicia were not numerous. Celenderis was allegedly founded by Sandocos, father of Cinyras (see Ruge, RE xi.138 and Head's HN 718f.). Scylax mentions but two, Holmoi and Soloi (102=Müller's GGM i.76f.), the latter having been founded by the Achaeans and Rhodians according to Strabo (671). With this early Phoenician colonisation cf. that of Thera (iv.147) and Thasos (vi.47). On Cilix, see Geisau, RE xi.390f.. On Cilicia see Ruge, RE xi.385ff. and Head, HN 715ff. on the coinage.

Παμφυλοὶ δὲ τριήκοντα παρέχοντο νέας Ἑλληνικοῖσι ὅπλοισι ἐσκευασμένοι.—The Pamphylians are part of the 1st province of iii.90. Croesus conquered them (i.28). They are among the nations accused of cowardice by Artemisia before Salamis (viii.68) but we miss them in Mardonius' similar accusation after the battle (viii.100).

οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὗτοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀποσκευασθέντων ἅμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ Κάλχαντι.—Calchas son of Thestor is the famous seer of the Iliad who first reveals the reason for the Achaeans' trouble in the 1st bk. and indirectly brings on the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon (i.68ff.). Further see Heckenbach, RE x.1552ff..

Amphilochos is known to Homer only as the son of Amphiaraos (Od. xv.248). Hdt. says that he founded Posideion on the border of Syria and Cilicia (iii.91). Thuc. says that he was dissatisfied

91 cont.

with the state of affairs in Argos when he came home after the Trojan war and therefore founded Amphiloehian Argos on the gulf of Ambracia (ii.68.3). Further see Bethe, RE i.1938ff..

Pamphylia seems to have been Hellenised earlier than either Lycia or Cilicia (see Rawlinson iv.83). Arrian says that the inhabitants of Side are Aeolian Cymeans who claim to have been the first to leave Cyme and who also claim that they forgot their native tongue straightaway in favour of a new kind of foreign dialect (i.26.4). Pausanias numbers the Pamphylians among the Greek race (vii.3.7; see Frazer iv.121).

See also Strabo 642, 668, and 675 and further on the Pamphylians see Head, HN 699ff. and Ruge, RE xviii.354ff..

Hdt' 30's.

Gyges' 6 golden bowls weigh 30 talents (i.14). It is 30 days' journey from the Maeetian lake to the river Phasis and the Colchians (i.104). In the Babylonian wall there are wattled reeds every 30th course of bricks (i.179). The parasang is 30 stades long (ii.6, v.53, vi.42). Sesostria's statues are 30 cubits high (ii.110). There is no block of stone less than 30 ft. long in Cheops' pyramid (ii.124). 30 men promised to help Darius kill Oroetes (iii.128). 30 nations dwell on Hdt' 2nd peninsula of iv. 38 (but see comm. at ch. 100). The wall of the Boudinoi's Gelonos is 30 stades long on either side of the city (iv.108). It is 30 days' journey from the land of the Garamantes to that of the Lotus-eaters (iv.183). A Delphic oracle told the Athenians to wait 30 years after the Aeginetans' wrong-doing (v.89). Cypselus reigned for 30 years (v.92). The Pamphylians committed 30 ships to the Persian fleet (vii.91) and so did the Dorians (vii.93). The salt-lake near Pistyrus has a circumference of about 30 stades (vii.109). The Argives wanted a 30-year peace with Sparta and half the supreme command of the army (vii.148). Gelon fought 30

91 cont.

myriads of Phoenicians (vii.165). On every ship in the Persian fleet there were 30 marines of the Persians, Medes, and Sacae plus the native complement (vii.184). 30 myriads of Europeans fought with Xerxes' army (vii.185). The Euboeans gave Themistocles 30 talents to fight at Artemision (viii.4). The Greeks captured 30 ships from the Persians there (viii.11). The narrow tongue of Dorian land is 30 stades wide (viii.31). The Aeginetans committed 30 ships at Salamis (viii.46). Xerxes leaves Mardonius 30 myriads (viii.100,101,113; ix.32,70).

Clearly most of these 30's have no claim on history.

92.

Λύκιοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα,-- Evidently formidable in war they and the Cilicians alone held out against Croesus (i.28) and the Xanthians fought valiantly against Harpagus (i.176). They finally became part of Darius' 1st province of iii.90. Hdt. seems to have considerable knowledge of them (see i.173 and 182), partly from Hecataeus, who treats of Lycia (and Xanthos) as well as Cilicia and Pamphylia (FGH 1 F 255 [Xanthos] ff.). On the 50's of the History see p. clxia below.

δρέπανα--See v.112 (Onesilos on Cyprus) and ch. 93 (the Carians).

Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες, ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.-- See i.173. Homer does not know the Termilae although

he is well acquainted with the Lycians, who are represented by Glaucus and Sarpedon and dwell on the Xanthos (Il. ii.876f.; see also vi.168ff., the story of Bellerophon, and iv.86ff., the story of Pandarus). Panyasis and Hecataeus confirm the name, though Hecataeus knows them as Tremilae (FGH 1 F 10). See also Pausanias i.19.3 and Frazer ii.198; Strabo 573 and 667; Ruge, RE v A 778ff..

According to Hdt. the Carians and Caunians also derive from

The 50's of the History.

The great wall of Babylon is 50 royal cubits thick (i.178). Cheops reigned 50 yrs. according to the Egyptians (ii.127; "It is hard to believe that a king who reigned 50 yrs. could be succeeded by a brother who reigned 56 yrs.", HW i.230). The Ethiopians ruled Egypt for 50 yrs. (ii.137 and 139). The blind king lived for 50 yrs. on an island of earth and ashes (ii.140). Lake Moeris is 50 orguiae deep and the two pyramids in the middle of the lake are 50 orguiae above and 50 below the water (ii.149). After a year the Scythians strangle, stuff, and spike 50 of a dead king's servants and 50 of their best horses, mount the former on the latter, and plant them around his tomb (iv.72). Aristagoras tried to bribe Cleomenes with 50 talents (v.51). Cleomenes treacherously killed about 50 Argives after the battle of Sepeia (vi.79). Miltiades was fined 50 talents after the Parian expedition and Cimon paid it (vi.136). The Lycians contributed 50 ships to Xerxes' navy (ch. 92). The Thessalians offered to turn aside Xerxes' invasion from Phocis for a bribe of 50 talents (viii.29). Attaginus invited 50 notable Persians and 50 notable Thebans to his banquet (ix.15f.).

Clearly these 50's are not historical. See Intro. pt. iii.

92 cont.

Crete (i.171f.). He believes that Tyrian Europa was of Asiatic birth and went from Phoenicia to Crete and from Crete to Lycia (iv.45). Hdt. nowhere reports a claim on the part of the Lycians that they are autochthonous as he does e.g. in the case of the Carians (i.171).

Hdt. says that Sarpedon and his followers fled Minoan Crete in favour of the Milyan land of Asia when the Milyans were still called Solymoi. While Sarpedon ruled, his people were known as Termilae but when Lycus son of Pandion came from Athens they came to be known as Lycians (i.173). This Lycus is unknown to Homer, but Pandion carries the bow of Teucer, the brother of Telamonian Ajax (Il. xii.372). Pausanias says the Lyceum takes its name from Lycus and that Apollo was first named Lyceus here (i.19.3).

Further on the Lycians see Deeters, RE xiii.227Off. on Lycia, and Head, HN 688ff. on the coinage.

23.

Δωριέες δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας,
ἔχοντές τε Ἑλληνικὰ ὄπλα καὶ γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου.---

Croesus conquered them (i.6 and 28). The Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidos, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis were among those founding the Hellenion at Naucratis (ii.178). Hdt. says there used to be a hexapolis of Dorian cities before Halicarnassus was expelled from it, upon which it became a pentapolis (i.144). Mardonius is made to know of the Asian Dorians (vii.9). The number 30 is clearly artificial (comm. at ch. 91).

Hdt. seems reluctant to call Doris part of the empire earlier in his History but the Dorians are conspicuously absent from the Ionian-Aeolian embassy to Sparta of i.152. When Harpagus conquers

93 cont.

Ionia he marches on the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians and takes Ionians and Aeolians with him—nowhere does Hdt. mention the Dorians (i.171). Cambyses treats the Ionians and Aeolians as inherited slaves but not the Dorians (ii.1, iii.1). The 1st province of the empire consists of the Ionians, Magnesians of Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans, and Pamphylians, but the Dorians are nowhere mentioned (iii.90). Hdt. does not mention them with the Ionians and Aeolians on the Scythian expedition (iv.89 and 138), or with Datis on the Marathon campaign (vi.98) or indeed as part of the "Ionian and Carian" fleet of ch. 97. It is also striking how little Hdt. tells us about them, when presumably he is in a better position to write about them than about any other people of the History.

Hdt. seems to include the Halicarnassians among them (see ch. 99, where Artemisia leads the men of Halicarnassus, Cos, Nisyros, and Calydnos), in spite of the ex-communication of i.144. See also e.g. Miller, RE i.1551ff..

Κάρεις δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας,— They are part of the 1st satrapy of iii.90. Their resistance during the Ionian revolt is persistent and at Pedasos they inflict on the Persians perhaps their greatest defeat of the period (v.117-121) even if they may have been won over by diplomacy later on (vi.20). At Artemision Themistocles is specially concerned that they should defect (viii.19 and 22). See also e.g. Burchner, RE x.194Off.

and Head, HN 606ff. on the coinage. On the 70's of the History see p. clxiii below.

ὀρέπανα— See the Lycians of ch. 92.

οὗτοι δὲ οἵτινες πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοις τῶν λόγων εἴρηται.— See i.171. Hdt. probably learned much about the Carians from Hecataeus; see FGH 1 F 239ff. and 119 on the Leleges of the Peloponnese.

This is one of the few certain backward references of the

The 70's of the History.

The limit of man's life is 70 yrs. (i.32). The natives say that 70 myriads of people are wont to gather at Bubastis (ii.60). The best way of embalming involves concealing the body for 70 days (ii.86). The 3rd best way also takes 70 days (ii.88). The Scythian expedition used 70 myriads counting the horse (iv.87). The greatest of the pitch-pools in Zaocynthus that Hdt. is supposed to have seen is 70 ft. each way (iv.195). The Lesbians had 70 ships at Lade (vi.8). The Athenians manned a total of 70 ships when they sailed for Aegina (vi.89) and fought the Aeginetans' 70 with them (vi.92). Miltiades sailed on Paros with 70 ships (vi.132). The Carians contributed 70 ships to Xerxes' navy (ch. 93).

Clearly these 70's are merely part of a good story.

93 cont.

History and has but one precise parallel, that of v.36, where Hdt. refers backward to his account of Croesus' treasure at Branchidae, equal to that of Delphi (i.92).

94.

"Ιωνες δὲ ἑκατὸν νέας παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι ὡς "Ελληνες.—They are part of the 1st satrapy of iii.90 and provide some 283 ships at Lade (353—70 Lesbian vessels=283; vi.8). The second phrase quoted above may be a jibe at the expense of the Ionians (against Macan i¹118b). Their history and place in Hdt' scheme of things is perhaps the second most important theme of the History, second only to the story of the Persian empire. On the 100's of the History see comm. at ch. 90.

"Ιωνες δὲ ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαιίην καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δαναὸν τε καὶ Εὐρύθου ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς "Ελληνες λέγουσι, ἑκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Ἀλγιάλεες, ἐπὶ δὲ "Ιωνος τοῦ Εὐρύθου "Ιωνες.—Elsewhere Hdt. first gives general background on Ionia, its climate and its cities (i.142), its reputation and its name (i.143). He goes on to elaborate on Ionian history in the Peloponnese and Ionian defeat at the hands of the Achaeans (i.145), and then attacks the idea that the Ionians of the 12 cities are more Ionian than any other or indeed are better born than other Ionians (i.146). Blakesley (ii.236) and Macan (i¹118b) believe that here and in ch. 95 Hdt. recognises the genealogical purity of the Ionians, in direct contradiction to his remarks and tone in the 1st bk. (cf. ch. 95, "the Ionians of the 12 cities from Athens"). But here Hdt. points out that the Ionians were once Pelasgians, and he never denies that a main body of Ionians came from Athens, which is all he says in ch. 95. His purpose is quite different in the two places but there is no contradiction.

Here Hdt. seems to be saying that Danaos and Xouthos arrive in the Peloponnese at the same time. If Xouthos is Achaeus' father

94 cont.

(Paus. vii.1.3) and if Danaos' son-in-law is Archander son of Phthios son of Achaeus (Hdt. ii.98) then Danaos and Xouthos are two generations apart. There is no guarantee, however, that Hdt. makes Xouthos the father of Achaeus, so there is no necessary contradiction between ii.98 and this chapter. Elsewhere Xouthos appears only as the father of Ion (viii.44).

• Hdt. frequently alludes to the Pelasgian origin of the Ionians (see i.56ff., 146, ii.171, and viii.44), but nowhere does he explain the name "Pelasgoi Aegialees". Aegialeus son of Adrastus gave his name to the Aegialeis, who were one of the four tribes that superceded those of Cleisthenes in Sicyon (v. 68). Pausanias says that the land between Elis and Sicyonia is now called Achaea but used to be called Aegialos and its inhabitants Aegialeis, either from Aegialeus who once reigned over what is now Sicyonia or from the name for coast, aegialos (vii. 1.1; see Frazer iv.115). To Homer, Aegialos is part of Agamemnon's kingdom (Il. ii.575). See Strabo 383 and Hirschfeld, RE i.956f..

Ion's sons gave their names to the pre-Cleisthenic tribes of Athens (v.66). Elsewhere he says that the Athenians came to be known as Ionians only when Ion son of Xouthos became the Athenian stratarches (viii.44). Further on Ion see Oldfather, RE ix.1857ff..

Further on the Ionians see Lenschau, RE ix.1869ff..

95.

νησιῶται δὲ ἑπτακάδεκα παρέχοντο νέας, ὠπλισμένοι ὡς Ἕλληνες, καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ὕστερον δὲ Ἰωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ οἱ δυωδεκάπολεις Ἴωνες οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων.--

There has been considerable controversy over what islands are included. Baehr (iii.576f.) believes they are the Cyclades (see v.30, where the Cyclades are not yet subject to Darius, and vi.49,

95 cont.

where all the islanders give earth and water including the Aeginetans). Leake suggests Lemnos and Imbros (Demi 237). Larcher specifies Ceos, Naxos, Siphnos, Seriphos, Andros, and Tenos (but see viii.46, where Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos are the only islanders who had not given earth and water; Tenos served in the Persian fleet even if it managed to have its name engraved on the tripod at Delphi because of its deserters, viii.82).

Blakesley (ii.236) believes that the contingent from the Cyclades does not join Xerxes' fleet till it arrives at Phaleron (viii.66; but Hdt. there re-emphasises the fact that he is not clear on the conduct of the islanders. He says that Carystos, Andros, Tenos, and the rest of the islanders except the afore-mentioned 5 cities joined Xerxes, but in viii.46 he names the Aeginetans, Chalcidians, Eretrians, Ceans, Naxians, Styreans, Cythnians, Seriphians, Siphnians, and Melians as part of the Greek fleet, even if he does explain that the Naxians had deserted from the Persian command). Rawlinson (iv.84) believes that the Cyclades contingent does not join till Phaleron (viii.66) and that Hdt. must mean the Pelasgians (ii.51 and v.26) of Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace. It seems difficult to accept that solution because whereas the Samothracians can be taken as Ionians (see viii.90), the king contrasts them with the Phoenicians in that context and Hdt. clearly uses the term in its broadest sense. It seems difficult to believe that Hdt. or his source could say that Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace "were later called Ionic for the same reason that the Ionians of the 12 cities from Athens were". Miltiades may have colonised Lemnos (vi.140) and Imbros (vi.41 and 104) so that the Athenian connexion may have given these islands a claim to the Ionian name, but was Samothrace in the same category? Macan (i¹19a) and HW (ii.162) revert to Baehr's view that Hdt. means the Cyclades (see Burn 330).

95 cont.

Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace are, roughly speaking, Ionian. They are also Pelasgic. They may be the islanders in question. If Hdt. or his source really means the Cyclades, this passage is in apparent conflict with viii.46 and 66, but that can be accounted for easily enough by assuming that viii.46 reflects the islanders' claims after the war and that this list reflects "book" rather than actual contributions. Or indeed more plausibly by assuming that this list is drawn up from a geographical source and Hdt. does not think very clearly on the implications of this entry (see comm. at ch. 100).

It is frequently the case that when Hdt. says "islanders" we do not know what islands he means. It seems legitimate to doubt that Hdt. himself knows what he means in these cases. In his satrapy list Hdt. says that as time went on, Darius drew tribute from the islands and from those who dwelled in Europe as far as Thessaly (iii.96) but once again we do not know which islands he means or if he himself knows. Stein interprets Hdt' vagueness in such a way that the islands in question are most of the Aegean islands except for Samos and Chios (which belong to the dodekapolis) and especially the Cyclades (iv.90). That construction on Hdt' words seems too precise, too confident, and here at least Hdt. speaks of a Pelasgic-Ionic race, whereas a great many of the islands of the Aegean are Dorian or Aeolian (see i.151, iv.147, vii.99, viii.48).

On the 17's of the History see p. clxviiia below.
 Αἰολέες δὲ ἑξήκοντα νέας παρέχοντο, ἑσκευασμένοι τε ὥς "Ἕλληνες καὶ τὸ πάλαι καλεόμενοι Πελασγοί, ὥς 'Ἑλλήνων λόγος.—They are subdued by Croesus (i.6; see i.26-28) and ask for leniency from Cyrus (i.141). When they do not get it they and the Ionians—but not the Dorians—ask help of Sparta (i.152) but Harpagus seems to conquer Aeolis and Ionia in the same campaign (i.171). Cambyses counts the Aeolians and the Ionians

95 cont.The 17's of the History.

The crocodile grows to a length of 17 cubits and more (ii.68). Periander's youngest son Lycophron is 17 when his murdered mother's father Procles admonishes him (iii.50). The Calchedonians are supposed to have founded their city 17 yrs. before the Byzantines founded theirs (iv.144). Teos contributed 17 ships at Lade (vi.8). The islanders contributed 17 ships to Xerxes' navy (ch. 95). All these 17's seem artificial.

The 60's of the History.

The Tyrsenoi and Carthaginians each have 60 ships when they sail to meet the Phocaeans, who themselves have 60 ships (i.166). The length of Egypt's sea-coast is 60 schoenoi and the schoenos measures 60 stades (ii.6). Lake Moeris has a circuit of 60 schoenoi (ii.149). Darius orders the Ionians to wait 60 days at the Danube (iv.98). The Oarus forts are 60 stades apart (iv.124). The Persians flee 60 stades after passing through Cyrene (iv.203). The Sicyonians used Cleisthenes' tribe-names for 60 yrs. after his death (v.68). The Samians have 60 ships at Lade (vi.8; see comm. at ch. 99). The Aeolians of ch. 95 supply 60 ships. The Corcyrans manned 60 ships and waited off Pylos and Taenaron to see who would win the war (ch. 168). All the Delphians flee except 60 men and a prophet (viii.36). In the garden of Midas the roses bear 60 blossoms apiece (viii.138). The wolves kill 60 of Evenios' flock (ix.93).

Some of these 60's may be genuine. In most of the examples cited Hdt. could write almost any figure he pleased without fear of contradiction and he merely chose 60.

95 cont.

as inherited slaves—but not the Dorians (ii.1 and iii.1). They and the Ionians serve with Darius on the Scythian expedition in the notable absence of the Dorians (iv.89 and 138). They participate in the Ionian revolt (v.122 and 123; vi.8 and 28) but the Lesbians flee at Lade (vi.14) and the Marathon campaign finds them once again serving with Datis together with the Ionians—again without the Dorians to judge from Hdt' words alone (vi.98). Mardonius thinks of them as slaves, along with the Ionians and Dorians (vii.9). They are part of the 1st satrapy of iii.90 and Hdt. enumerates their cities in the 1st book (i.149-151).

The Aeolians are of old known as Pelasgian the more easily because of their connexions with Pelasgian Thessaly (see vii.176, Diodorus iv.67.2ff., Apollodorus i.7.3 and Strabo 220), perhaps the seat of the Pelasgians (see Il. ii.681 and Aesch. Supp. 249ff., Pelasgian Argos).

On the 60's of the History see comm. above on p. clxviii.

Again Hdt. purports to give the "Hellenic" version (see ch.

94). Further see Head, HN 551ff. on the coinage; Meyer, RE i.

1030ff. on the Aeoles; Hirschfeld, RE i.1035f. on Aeolis.

Ἑλλησπόντιοι δὲ πλὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν (Ἀβυδηνόισι γὰρ προσ-
ετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέος κατὰ χώραν μένουσι φύλακας εἶναι
τῶν γεφυρέων) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου στρατευ-
όμενοι παρείχοντο μὲν ἑκατὸν νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦσαν
ὥς Ἕλληνες. οὗτοι δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ Δωριέων ἀποικοι.--

The Hellespontians, or part of them anyway, are part of the 3rd province of iii.90. They serve with Darius on the Scythian expedition (iv.89 and 138) and Megabazus is famous among them (iv.144) as indeed Xerxes' crossing is (vii.56). Hdt. probably uses the name "Hellespontioi" in the broad sense (see i.57, iv.89,95, 138, v.1,103, vi.26,33), to include the Bosphorus and Propontis as well as the Hellespont proper. "From the Pontus" presumably means "from the Pontus region", i.e. everything on the water from the Pontus to the Aegean.

Sestos (vii fr. 55b) is Aeolian (ix.115) but it may be

95 cont.

included with the Aeolians or even perhaps with the Abydenoi; so also Madytos (vii fr. 55b). HW list Abydos (590), Lampsacus (589), Paesus (635), Priapus (587), Cyzicus (635), Artace (635), Proconnesus (587), and Perinthus among the Ionian or Milesian colonies. Dorian or Megarian colonies are Selymbria, Byzantion, and Chalcedon (320; HW ii.162). Casaubon's numbers serve to indicate where Strabo's evidence supports this classification. Perinthus may well be Samian; see Strabo vii fr. 55 (56), Plutarch's Mor. 303 F, Scym. Chi. 744f.=Müller's GGM i.224, and Grote iii.254. On Selymbria's Megarian origin see e.g. Scym. Chi. 745f.=Müller's GGM i.224. Kubitschek points out the difficulties inherent in determining Byzantion's origin, RE iii.1128f.. Burchner points out similar difficulties in the case of Lampsacus, RE xii.592. Few of the above ascriptions indeed are free from difficulty. On the Hellespont generally see e.g. Oberhummer, RE viii.182ff..

96.

ἐπεβάτευον δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σάκαι.— See ch. 184, where Hdt. reckons 30 per ship in addition to the native marines.

The marines in all the vessels being supplied from the hereditary dominions of the Persian king indicates some distrust of their naval allies. They could perhaps depend upon these for working the ships, but not for much more.

Blakesley ii.237

τούτων δὲ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρέχοντο νέας Φοίνικες καὶ Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι.— On Hdt' admiration for the virtuosity of the Phoenicians in general and the Sidonians in particular see chs. 44, 99, and 100, ch. 23 with comm. ad loc., and comm. at ch. 98.

τούτοισι πᾶσι καὶ τοῖσι ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοισι αὐτῶν ἐπῆσαν ἐκάστοισι ἐπιχώριοι ἡγεμόνες, τῶν ἐγώ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον ἐξέργομαι ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον, οὐ παραμένημαι...—

Hdt. gives 5 reasons for not giving the names of the native leaders.

96 cont.

(a.) He does not have to. (b.) They were not notable. (c.) There were too many of them. (d.) They were not generals but slaves. (e.) He has already given the names of the real generals and men of power, i.e. the Persians. Clearly Hdt. is on the defensive for not giving the names in question, but the implications of the passage could be more serious than that. Hdt. seems to be implying that he could have given the names if he had wanted to and if so he is deliberately deceiving the reader (see Intro. pt. iii). It seems likely that if he had known the native leaders he would have given their names.

27.

τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατήγεον οἶδε, Ἀριαβίγνης τε ὁ Δαρείου... Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γωβρύεω θυγατρὸς— He is killed at Salamis (viii.89). His

mother, the daughter of Gobryas, gave Darius 3 sons before he became king: Artobazanes, Ariabignes, and one other (ch. 2).

Blakesley (ii.237) believes that he is the Ariamenes of Plutarch's Them. xiv.3, "the strongest and justest of the king's brothers".

Πρηξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω— An earlier Prexaspes is one of Cambyses' most trusted subordinates—in spite of what Cambyses does to his son, iii.35. He kills Smerdis son of Cyrus (iii.30) and reveals the Magian conspiracy to the people at the cost of his own life (iii.75). It is evidently this Aspathines who is one of the Seven (iii.70) and wounded in the thigh by one of the Magi (iii.78). He is the only one of the Seven not to appear on the Behistun monument (DB iv.80–86, Kent's OP 130 and 132) but is evidently the Aspacana of the Naksh-i-Rustam minor inscription (Kent's OP 140, DNd), Darius' bow and battle-ax bearer.

Μεγάβαζος ὁ Μεγαβάτεω— Blakesley (ii.237) believes that he is Darius' favourite general, whom Darius wanted multiplied into

97 cont.

as many as the seeds of a pomegranite (iv.143; see also iv.144, v.2,10, vii.108, the exaggerated conquest of Thrace; v.12,14-17, his transportation of the Paeonians; v.23f., his suspicion of Histiaeus; v.26, where he gives way to Otanes without benefit of an explanation by Hdt.). If so, he is presumably the father of Oebares, satrap of Dascylion (vi.33) and also of Boubares, one of the overseers of the Athos canal (vii.22), the husband of Alexander's sister Gygaea, and the father of Amyntas of Asia (viii.136). Another of his sons is presumably Pherandates, commander of the Sarangae, ch. 67.

Megabazus' father is evidently the cousin of both Artaphernes and Darius himself, and the father of Pausanias' wife—who would in that case be Megabazus' sister (v.32). He is indirectly responsible for the outbreak of the Ionian revolt by reason of his clash with Aristagoras (v.33) and it may be either he or even a great-grandson, son of Oebares (vi.33) whom Thuc. names as the Megabates superceded by Artabazus at Dascylion (Thuc. i.129).

'Αχαιμένης ὁ Δαρείου— He is the king's full brother (Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεός). Xerxes made him governor of Egypt after quelling the rebellion at the beginning of his reign (vii.7) and prefers his advice to that of Demaratus when he decides not to divide the fleet (vii.236f.). He campaigns against Inaros and dies at Papremis in 459 (iii.12, vii.7).

τῆς μὲν Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρατιῆς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γωβρύεω θυγατρός—

170 ships (chs. 93 and 94) but it seems likely that Hdt. once more omits the Dorians of Asia (ch. 93; see comm. ad loc.), whose 30 ships would raise the total to 200.

Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ἀχαιμένης, Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεός— 200 ships (ch. 89). Achaemenes probably

97 cont.

ruled harshly but well to judge from Hdt' remarks on the new regime in Egypt after the revolt (vii.7) and also from the Egyptian achievement at Artemision (viii.17).

τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιῆς ἐστρατήγεον οἱ δύο.—Thus far Hdt. has reported 2 divisions of 200 ships each (or possibly 170 and 200 ships respectively), each division from one part of the empire, with Achaemenes at least having command over sailors of his own province. Whatever his account rests on, it is plausible, however artificial the number 200 may be (comm. at ch. 158).

Prima facie it is much less plausible that the other two admirals should control the rest of the fleet. It seems relevant, however, that the 2 contingents receiving special attention must have been suspect, the Greeks because they were asked to fight against Greeks, the Egyptians because they had just risen against the king.

τριηκόντεροι δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντεροι καὶ κέρκouroi καὶ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα σμικρὰ συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐφάνη τρισχίλια.—Clearly this 3,000 is un-historical and especially in view of the other 3,000's of the History. Croesus offered up 3000 of each kind of sacrificial beast for the Delphic god (i.50). The Egyptian re-incarnation cycle is 3,000 yrs. (ii.123). There are 3000 chambers in the Egyptian labyrinth (ii.148). Darius impaled about 3,000 Babylonians (iii.159). There are 3,000 triekonfers, penteconfers, cercouroi, and great horse-transports in the Persian fleet (vii.97 and 184). 3,000 Rhegines died in the great Tarentine-Rhegine war (ch. 170). 3,000 Sicyonians, 3,000 Megareans, and 3,000 Tegeates fought at Plataea (ix.28 and 61). These 3,000's have no claim on history.

98.

τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλεόντων μετὰ γε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οἷδε ἦσαν
ὀνομαστότατοι, Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου—

Hdt. maintains his attention to the Sidonians. See chs. 44, 96, 99, 128, and viii.67. He may be giving them Homeric prominence (see Il. vi.290-291, xxiii.743; Od. iv.84, 618, xiii.285, xv.118, 425), but see also Diodorus xiv.79.8, where the Sidonian dynast has precedence in the time of Conon (396), and Arrian Anab. ii. 13.7, "the other kings of the Phoenicians and Cypriotes" with the cities left un-mentioned. There is no very obvious reason why Hdt. should be prejudiced in favour of Sidon as against Tyre. He claims

98 cont.

to have visited the latter (ii.44). With Tetramnestos cf. Arimnestos (ix.64 and 72 but see comm. ad loc.), and Polymnestos (iv.150).

Τύριος Ματτήν Σιρώμου--See Mattan the priest of Baal (ii Kings xi.18). The grandfather of Gorgos the king of Salamis is named Siromos (v.104).

Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος Ἀγβάλου--On Arados see Strabo 753f.. It seems to be the 3rd city of Phoenicia at this time.

Κέλιεξ Συέννεσις Ὀρομέδοντος--In 585 Syennesis the Cilician and Labynetos the Babylonian mediate between the Medes and Lydians (i.74). The name seems to be either a title or else a frequently recurring name among the kings of Cilicia. See the king of the Cilicians roughly contemporary with the Ionian revolt (v.118); the ruler of the Cilicians in 401 (Xen. Hell. iii.1.1), also called king of the Cilicians (Xen. Anab. i.2.12-27). For his glorious death at Salamis see Aesch. Pers. 326-328. Xenagoras of Halicarnassus seems to have succeeded him (ix.107).

Λύκιος Κυβερνήσχος Σίκα--See the name "Cybernis" of Dittenberger 403 and 408 (i.640 and 646), and the famous Sicinnos of viii.75 and 110, the tutor of Themistocles' children and the instrument of his deception.

καὶ Κύπριοι Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσιος καὶ Τιμῶναξ ὁ Τιμαγόρεω--

Chersis is the son of a Siromos and grandson of Evelthon (v.104).

He has at least 3 sons: Gorgos the king of Salamis (viii.11), who refuses to revolt against Darius in the Ionian revolt and flees to the Medes leaving Salamis to Onesilos, biding his time till the revolt on Cyprus is quelled and he can return to Salamis (v.115); Gorgos' rebellious younger Onesilos, who seizes much of the island during the revolt and lays siege to Amathos (v.104, 105, 108), killing Artybios but losing the crucial battle to the Persians

98 cont.

and dying therein (v.110-115); and Philaon, captured at Artemision (viii.11). Timonax and Timagoras are otherwise unknown and Hdt. does not tell us where they come from.

καὶ Καρῶν Ἰστιαῖός τε ὁ Τύμνεω--Histiaeus is the tyrant of Termera, seized by Aristagoras at the beginning of the Ionian revolt (v.37). Hdt. claims to be acquainted with another Tymnes, the deputy of Ariapeithes (iv.76).

καὶ Πίγρης ὁ Ὑσσελδῶμου-- A Paeonian Pigres conspires to interest Darius in the Paeonians out of a desire to be tyrant of his people (v.12). Another Pigres is the brother (Suidas) or son (Plutarch) of Artemisia who writes a mock epic (de Herod. Malig. 43; see Aly, RE xx.1313ff.).

καὶ Δαμασίθυμος ὁ Κανδαύλεω.--Damasithymos is the king of Calynda (i.172), sunk by Artemisia at Salamis (viii.87). Another Candaules, son of Myrsos, is the last Heraclid king of the Lydians (i.7,8,10-13).

99.

τῶν μὲν νυν ἄλλων οὐ παραμένηται ταξιάρχων ὥς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος,-- See ch. 96. For naval taxiarchs see viii.67.

ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρός--Suidas says he is named Mausolos (s.v. Πίγρης, where Pigres is Artemisia's brother). Hdt. mentions a Mausolos who is father of the Pixodaros of Cindya who believes the Carians should fight with the river at their backs at Marsyas, winning Hdt' approbation for his opinion (v.118). Suidas' evidence is worthless on this question. Macan suggests that Pixodaros is Artemisia's husband (i¹126a and v.118n.) but that is nothing more than a guess.

καὶ παιδός ὑπάρχοντος νεηνέω--Pisindelis according to Suidas (s.v. Ἡρόδοτος).

99 cont.

θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Λυγδάμιος,-- Hdt. was allegedly expelled from Halicarnassus by a tyrant named Lygdamis (Suidas s.v. Hdt.; see Dittenberger 45 and Intro. pt. 1 ad loc.).

γένος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ τὰ πρὸς πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρήσσα.-- The scholiast to Ar. Lys. 676 makes her τὸ γένος Ἐφεσία.

ἡγεμόνευε δὲ Ἀλικαρνησσέων τε καὶ Κώων καὶ Νισυρίων τε καὶ Καλυδονίων, πέντε νέας παρεχομένη.--

These 5 ships are presumably part of the Dorian 30 of ch. 93.

It is tempting to connect the number of ships with the Dorian pentapolis of i.144, but of the 4 places named here only Cos is one of the Dorian 5. Cos is the home of Scythes and Cadmus, who are well-connected with both the E and W (vi.23f., vii.163f.), and also of the noble Coan lady who belongs to Pharandates and travels to Aegina with Pausanias' blessing after Plataea (ix.76). Calydna and Nisyros are islands lying to the N and S respectively. See Il. ii.676f.,

Οἱ δ' ἄρα Νίσυρόν τ' εἶχον Κράπαθόν τε Κάσον τε καὶ Κῶν Εὐρυπύλοιο πόλιν νήσους τε Καλύδνας,

They are marked "Kalimnos (Calino)" and "Nisiroi" on pl. 83 of the Times Atlas. The former must be distinguished from the Carian town of Calynda, home of Damasithymos (i.172, viii.87). See also e.g. Diodorus v.54.1-3.

καὶ συναπάντησιν τῆς στρατιῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδωνίων, νέας εὐδοξοτάτας παρέχετο,-- See ch. 96 and comm. ad loc..

πάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλεῖ ἀπεδέξατο.--

See viii.68 and 102.

τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πόλιν ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτήν,-- Cos had been one of the cities that excluded Halicarnassus from the Dorian hexapolis (i.144), yet now it is subject to Artemisia. Macan speculates that the episode of i.144 takes place after 480 (i¹127a) but clearly Hdt. tells the story in the context of ancient history.

99 cont.

τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφάινω πᾶν ἔδν Δωρικόν, Ἀλικαρνησσέας μὲν Τροιζηνίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίους.--

Strabo says that Anthas once had possession of Troezen and founded Halicarnassus (374), "with Troezenians among others" (656). The tribe of the Dymanes seems specially associated with the colonisation (Steph. Byz. s.v. Halicarnassus). Pausanias says that the descendants of Aetios son of Anthas were sent from Troezen to found Halicarnassus and Myndos (ii.30.9) and also that Halicarnassus honoured Troezen as its mother-city (ii.32.6). The Anthadae were hereditary priests at the Halicarnassian Posidonion:

γεγ[εν]νημένους ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως κατὰ γένος
ιερεῖς τοῦ Πο[σειδ]ῶνος τοῦ κατεδρυθέντος
ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐχ[ού]σων Τροιζ[ην]ῶν ἀγα-
γόντων Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι
Dittenberger 1020.4ff.

Further see Burchner, RE vii.2253ff., and Toepffer, RE i.2358ff..

According to Homer, Pheidippos and Antiphos, the two sons of king Thessalos the son of Heracles led the men of Nisyros, Crapathos, Casos, Cos, and the Calydnian isles (Il. ii.676ff.); see the "Argives" of Tac. Ann. xii.61. The worship of Aesclepius is common to Epidaurus and Cos (see Pausanias iii.23.6 and Frazer iii.387f.; Strabo 657; Theopompus, FGH 115 F 103). On Hippocrates the Aesclepiad see e.g. Plato, Phaedr. 270 C, Prot. 311 B, "Hippocrates of Cos the Asclepiad".

According to Diodorus (v.54.1-3) Carians were the first inhabitants of Calydna and Nisyros; then Thettalos son of Heracles took possession--thus the Antiphos and Pheidippos of the Trojan war (Il. ii.676ff.). On the way home from Troy 4 of Agamemnon's ships were wrecked off Calydna and the survivors settled there. The ancient inhabitants of Nisyros were destroyed by earthquake and Cos re-colonised the island; after an epidemic the Rhodians also sent colonists. Cos also settled Calydna.

99 cont.

The figures of the navy-list.

According to Hdt. Darius mustered 600 ships for the Scythian expedition (iv.87) evidently in 12 contingents if there is one for every tyrant (iv.138). For the Ionian revolt Hdt. knows 4 Persian contingents, the Phoenicians, Cypriotes, Cilicians, and Egyptians (vi.6) but the number of ships remains constant, 600 (vi.9). For the Marathon campaign the muster is 600 ships (vi.95) and even if Hdt. does not dwell on the number of contingents involved it seems to be 12. Hdt. says that Datis sailed against Eretria and took with him Ionians and Aeolians (vi.98). If he means the newly reconquered Ionians and Aeolians of the Ionian revolt and if we can take the navy list of Lade as a guide (vi.8), there are 8 Ionian contingents and 1 Aeolian contingent from Lesbos, plus the barbarians themselves, making a total of 10. To the Ionian and Aeolian contingents we must add the contingents collected on the way. Hdt. says the Persians enslaved the Naxians but he does not say they took the Naxians with them (vi.96). Likewise there is no contingent from Delos because Datis is kind to the Delians (vi.97). Hdt. does say, however, that the Persians gathered an army on "the islands" and took the sons of the islanders as hostages (vi.99) and also that the Persians laid siege to the Carystians and brought them over (vi.99). Thus Hdt. may or may not be aware of the fact, but whatever the reason he does seem to name 12 contingents in his account of the Marathon campaign.

In the great navy-list there are 12 contingents: the Phoenicians and Syrians of Palestine, the Egyptians (ch. 89), the Cypriotes (ch. 90), the Cilicians, the Pamphylians (ch. 91), the Lycians (ch. 92), the Dorians, the Carians (ch. 93), the Ionians (ch. 94), the islanders, the Aeolians, and the Hellespontioi (ch. 95). The total number of triremes is 1207 (ch. 89), a little more than double the standard 600 of the Scythian expedition, the Ionian

99 cont.

revolt, and the Marathon campaign. The number of trireme-contributing Greek contingents at Artemision is 12, the total number of contingents being 13 including the Opuntian Locrians who contribute only penteconters; or, counting the Opuntian Locrians but omitting the Chalcidians because the Athenians provide their ships, the number of contingents is still 12 (viii.1).

The easiest explanation of these figures is that they are artificial, that Hdt' mind runs to 12's and 600's. Leaving aside the 12's (see below), the totals are easily accounted for. First Hdt. takes the figure 1207 from Aeschylus (Pers. 341; see comm. at ch. 89 and below), whereas Aeschylus himself seems to include the 207 swift ships in his thousand (thus e.g. Broadhead, Persae 115; MW 136 and 151). Perhaps one reason for choosing 1207 instead of 1,000 is simply that Hdt' mind runs to 12's. Perhaps another (see below) is that 1207 is more than the Homeric total or 1186 (or 1196 or 1200, see below) for the Catalogue of Ships (Il. ii. 494ff.). Once Hdt. adopts that total, then 600, or about half of 1207, becomes the standard Persian levy for the Scythian expedition, the Ionian revolt, and the Marathon campaign: not 604 or 603, because the 7 is not really important to Hdt. in the same way that the multiple of 12 is.

If these totals are arbitrary, the individual contingents are no less so.

Phoenicians and Syrians of Palestine	300	
Egyptians	200	
Cypriotes	150	
Cilicians	100	
Pamphylians	30	
Lycians	50	830
Dorians	30	
Carians	70	
Ionians	100	
Islanders	17	
Aeolians	60	277
Hellespontioi	100	

Each one of these numbers is a story-teller's theme of its own in the History (comm. ad loc.). None of them are historical. But even one of the sub-totals takes on new significance when seen in the light of other comparable figures elsewhere in the History.

99 cont.

The Greeks of Asia Minor excluding the final contingent of Hellespontioi contribute 277 ships. But the original Greek muster at Artemision (viii.1), excluding only the later addition of 53 Athenian ships (viii.14), numbers 280 ships. The number of Ionian ships at Lade is 283 (353—70 Lesbian vessels=283; vi.8), 3 more than 280 just as the 5 Greek contingents of Xerxes' navy list is 3 less than 280. Just as in the case of Hdt' 12's or Hdt' 600's it is open to the scholar to call these 280's mere coincidence, or to deny the validity of considering the Lade figure without the Lesbians or the Greeks of the coast without the Hellespontians or the Greeks of Artemision without the 53 additional Athenian ships, or even indeed to deny the propriety of comparing these various figures. But the easiest explanation of these 280's as in the case of the 12's and 600's is that they are not historical but arbitrary, the products of Hdt' own mind.

How much did Homer influence the arithmetic of that mind?

The following table represents the Homeric Catalogue of Ships.

Boeotians	50	Rhodes	9	
Orchomenos	30	Syme	3	
Phocians	40	Nisyros,		
Locrians	40	Crapathos,		
Euboea	40	Casos, Cos,		
Athens	50	Calydnian		
Salamis	12	isles	30	
Argos and		Pelasgian		
Tiryns	80	Argos	50	
Mycenae	100	Phylace &		
Lacedaemon	60	Pyrasos	40	
Pylos	90	Pherae (lake		
Arcadia	60	Boebeis)	11	
Bouprasion		Methone &		
and Elis	40	Thaumachie	7	
Doullichion &		Tricca &		
Echinae	40	Ithome	30	
Cephallene &		Ormenios	40	
Ithaca	12	Argissa and		
Aetolia	40	Gyrtona	40	
Crete	80 ?	Cyphos	22	282
		Magnetes	40	
	280		322	

The following seem relevant to the present enquiry.

99 cont.

- (a.) Homer names 5 islands for the Cos contingent (Nisyros, Crapathos, Casos, Cos, and the Calydnian isles), which numbers 30 ships. Hdt' "Dorians of Asia", which must include Artemisia's contingent, also contribute 30 ships. (Likewise there are 50 Athenian ships and Hdt. gives the Athenians 50 ships of their own for the Aeginetan war of vi.89.) And it seems at least interesting that Hdt. should name not only Cos and Halicarnassus but also the relatively inconsequential Nisyros and Calydna.
- (b.) Beginning with the 1st contingent of Asia Minor, the 11 contingents from Rhodes to Cyphos number 282 ships. Also the last 9 contingents of the list, from Pelasgian Argos to the Magnetes, include 280 ships.
- (c.) Homer's total number of ships is 1186. It may even be higher because Diodorus at least seems to have read 90 rather than 80 ships for the Cretans (v.79.4) and Thuc. gives the Greek fleet a round 1200 vessels (i.10.4). Hdt. seems to have taken 1207 instead of 1,000 ships from Aeschylus' Persae (341; see above).
- (d.) From the 1st Homeric contingent of Asia Minor, that of Rhodes, to the end of the Catalogue, there are 12 contingents, although the total number of ships contributed by all 12 contingents is 322 and not ± 280 .
- (e.) The total number of contingents in the Catalogue is 29. The total number of contingents in Xerxes' army is 29.
- (f.) In the combined Greek and Trojan armies there are 67 commanders. There are 67 nations in Hdt' satrapy-list of iii.90ff. and 67 contingents in Xerxes' combined infantry, horse, and navy.

It does not seem open to question that from certain numbers taken as "given" Hdt. or his source calculates other numbers and presents them as historical fact (see Intro. pt. iii). Thus e.g. at Marathon the Athenian casualties (192) are to the Persian

99 cont.

casualties (6400; vi.117) as 9,000 is to 300,000. Clearly someone could have used a traditional 9,000 and 300,000 plus the Athenian casualty figure to calculate the Persian (cf. Labarbe, Loi Navale 165f.).

But having pushed the matter to that conclusion, the next question is where Hdt. gets the figures that he begins with. Are even those numbers historical? The number 600 is highly suspect to begin with because of the other 600's of the History (Intro. pt. iii ad loc.). Even if Hdt. picks the number 600 for the Scythian expedition, Ionian revolt, and Marathon campaign because it is about half 1207, even that 1207 is not historical because it derives from Aesch' 1,000 and Aesch' 1,000 is just another way of saying "a very large number".

Within the grand total of 1207, the sub-total of 277 for the Dorians, Carians, Ionians, Islanders, and Aeolians is highly suspect because of what looks like a basic 280 at Lade and Artemision. It seems legitimate to wonder where Hdt. got that 280. And where he got his 12's. The 12 contingents of the Scythian expedition, Marathon campaign, great navy list, and Artemision seem contrived. How? One possible explanation is that the 280's, the 12's, the 29 contingents, the total of 67 contingents, the Dorian contingent of 30 ships, and Hdt' Nisyros and Calydna are all the result of the Homeric Catalogue's influence on Hdt., quite apart from the artificiality of the individual contingent figures. There are at least two ways of evaluating such Homeric influence.

As a storyteller and dramatist, a poet in his own right, with a flair for contriving verisimilitude on the basis of very little solid information, Hdt. almost certainly has something of the charlatan about him in so far as he wants the reader to believe that he knows more than he really does (Intro. pt. iii). On the other hand much of Homer's influence on Hdt. must be sub-conscious.

Scholars have long recognised the literary influence of the Homeric epic on Hdt' prose without ever questioning the legitimacy of Hdt' debt. In the modern world we draw a sharp line between what Homer says and the way he says it. But that distinction may

99 cont.

be modern. Hdt' prose sometimes lapses into poetry, not necessarily because he tried to make it do so but because he heard and read so much poetry that it happened of its own. Hdt' mind runs to poetry. So also does it run to 230's and 12's and 29's and 67's. Hdt. probably knew the Iliad by heart, because it was part of his training, his view of the world, his very patterns of thought. It seems not un-reasonable to suggest that when Hdt. came to decide what the armies and navies of the Persian wars "must have been like" the armies and navies of the Trojan war obtruded themselves.

100.

καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἐπυνθάνετο, καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί, ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπρίκετο καὶ τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ.--

Hdt. also says that Xerxes' scribes recorded the valourous deeds of Salamis on the Persian side (viii.90), and many scholars have assumed in both cases that Hdt. has access, direct or indirect, to the official documents seemingly implied in Hdt' narrative (see e.g. Heeren, Asiatic Nations i.441 ET; Thirlwall ii.283 citing Heeren; Blakesley ii.239; Rawlinson iv.88; but also Grote iv.138n., Macan i¹128a, HW ii.152 and 164, who believe in such documents but not that they were compiled at Doriscus or that Hdt. consulted them at first hand). For other views on the origin of Hdt' list see Jacoby 451: Choerilos (Niebuhr), Dicaeos (Matzat and Trautwein), "more or less official Persian sources" (Duncker) have all been canvased. If Hdt. really is implying here that Xerxes' scribes made an official army list such as the one he just presented, and that he used it, then that implication is deliberately misleading (Intro. pt. iii). See below.

νέα Σιδωνίην-- On Sidon's prominence elsewhere see chs. 44,96, 98,99,128, viii.67, and comm. at ch. 98.

100 cont.

The satrapy list and the army list.

The following represent Hdt' satrapy-list of iii.90ff..

1 Ionians		
2 Magnesians of Asia		
3 Aeolians		
4 Carians	I	400 talents
5 Lycians		
6 Milyae		
7 Pamphylians		
8 Mysians		
9 Lydians		
10 Lasonians	II	500
11 Cabalees		
12 Hytennees		
13 Hellespontioi of Asia		
14 Phrygians		
15 Thracians of Asia	III	360
16 Paphlagonians		
17 Mariandynoi		
18 Syrians		
19 Cilicians	IV	500—140 for maintenance
20 Phoenicia		
21 Palestinian Syria	V	350
22 Cyprus		
23 Egypt and neighbouring Libya		
24 Cyrene	VI	700 + silver from lake
25 Barca		Moeris
26 Sattagydae		
27 Gandarioi	VII	170
28 Dadicae		
29 Aparytae		
30 Sousa and the rest of Cissia	VIII	300
31 Babylon and the rest of Assyria	IX	1000
32 Agbatana and the rest of Media	X	450
33 Paricanioi		
34 Orthocorybantioi		

100 cont.

35 Caspians		
36 Pausicae		
37 Pantimathoi	XI	200
38 Dareitae		
39 Bactrians to the Aegloi	XII	360
40 Pactyice and Armenians and neighbours to the Euxine	XIII	400
41 Sagartioi		
42 Sarangae		
43 Thamanaeoi	XIV	600
44 Outioi		
45 Mycoi		
46 Islanders		
47 Sacae	XV	250
48 Caspioi		
49 Parthians		
50 Chorasmians	XVI	300
51 Sogdians		
52 Areioi		
53 Paricanioi	XVII	400
54 Ethiopians of Asia		
55 Matienoi		
56 Saspeires	XVIII	200
57 Alarodioi		
58 Moschoi		
59 Tibarennoi		
60 Macrones	XIX	300
61 Mossynoecoi		
62 Mares		
63 Indians	XX	360 talents of gold dust
64 Persians		
65 Ethiopians	gift-bearing but no tribute	
66 Colchians		
67 Arabians		

HW believe that "chs. 89-96 give an official statistical account of the Empire" (i.280 and cf. 406). But the seemingly official aspects of the document collapse on closer inspection.

100 cont.

Hdt' account of the Empire's tribute seems to rest on the sum of his 1st 19 items, or 7600 Babylonian talents, to which he adds the 360 Indian talents of gold dust, converting the whole to the Euboeic standard. But perhaps the latter need not detain us. This 7600 talents is equal to 19 times the 400 talents of the 1st province: can that be mere co-incidence? In all probability Hdt' elaborate itemised list is arbitrary. Either his source or more likely he himself distributes this 7600 talents among the various provinces. Hdt. may have the original 400 talents on good authority: Artaphernes' assessment of vi.42 remains current in Hdt' own day or so he says. But even that 400 is highly suspect in view of the other 400's of the History (comm. at ch. 28). And in any event the rest of these numbers have no claim on history.

We should be over-generous if we called Hdt' number of nations suspect. There are 67 of them. But there are 67 contingents in Xerxes' combined infantry, cavalry, and navy. There are also 67 commanders in the combined Greek and Trojan armies of the Iliad. In view of the probable Homeric influence on some of the other numbers of the History (on which see comm. at ch. 99) it would be wrong to dismiss Homer's 67 as irrelevant to the present enquiry.

The satrapy-list of iii.90ff. is probably compiled from a geographical source and the names in it could have been taken from a map that looked roughly like the chart of this commentary (see below).

I retain Hdt' order of names throughout. In the 1st panel, embracing the 1st 6 satrapies, the names are "snaked", up-down up-down by columns. In the 2nd panel the satrapies themselves are "snaked" into $2\frac{1}{2}$ horse-shoes:

XIX	XX
XVIII,XVII,XVI	
XIII,XIV,XV	
X,XI,XII	
IX,VIII,VII	

Within each satrapy I retain Hdt' order, but sometimes "snake" the names. Thus Hdt' order for the 7th satrapy is "Sattagydae, Gandarioi,

100 cont.

Dadicae, and Aparytae". On the chart they appear as

Gandaroi	Sattegydae
(2)	(1)
Dadicae	Aparytae
(3)	(4) ,

reading from right to left and then from left to right.

The names in daggers appear in the satrapy-list but not in the army-list. The names in brackets appear in the army-list but not in the satrapy-list. The names in parentheses are the non-tribute-bearing nations at the end of Hdt' satrapy-list which it seems fair to displace. Arabia is situated in accordance with Hdt' second peninsula of iv.39. Persia is next to the Medes and see iv.39. Ethiopia can only be next to Egypt. The Colchians are placed beyond the Saspeires but below the Black-Sea tribes in accordance with Hdt' description of iv.37. Some of the blank spaces on the chart are justified by what Hdt. says elsewhere in the History. E.g. Hdt. seems to say that Cyprus lies off Cilicia (v.49): on the chart it lies below Cilicia in the same column with blank space between the two.

Thus Hdt. could have taken the names of the satrapy-list from a geographical source (note how many of them appear in the fragments of Hecataeus; see comm. ad loc.) and indeed from a map. But that fact is relatively un-important to the present enquiry. Much more significant is the fact that Hdt. could have taken the names of his army-list from the same source. I have plotted how he could have done it in red (the infantry), black (the horse), and blue (the navy). Beginning with the Persians he moves right from column 15 to col. 16 to take in the Medes, then down 16 to the Cissians and left in section "e" to the Assyrians of Babylon. Moving to the far-east he travels up column 20 (the Bactrians, Sacae, and Indians) and down column 18 (the Arioi, Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandaroi, and Dadicae), then up col. 19 to section "c", calling the two Caspioi's and all the other

100 cont.

tribes of that column by the name "Caspioi". Moving laterally in section "c" from the Sarangae to the Pactyes, he moves straight down col. 17 to take in the Outioi, Mycoi, and Paricanioi. He goes straight down col. 11 (the Arabians and Ethiopians, who then remind him of the eastern Ethiopians) and finally left in section "e" to the Libyans of Cyrene and Barca. On Panel 1 he travels straight down col. 8, adding the Ligurians just as he added the Hyrcanians (only) in Panel 2 (see below). Stroke F takes him down col. 7 to but not including the Thracians. It may be objected at this point that the Matienoi and Armenians are badly out of place according to their position on the satrapy list. But first it should be noted that Hdt. associates the Matienoi and Armenians as well as the Phrygians and Paphlagonians with the Halys river basin (i.72). Second, Hdt. apparently believes the territory of the Matienoi is vast, stretching from the Armenians to the Cissians (v.49 and 52). Finally the question of the Armenians' location is complicated by the Armenian mountains of i.72, from which the Halys flows toward the Euxine. Hdt. seems to have no clear idea of the location or extent of these mountains: they are evidently in Cilicia and close to the Cypriote sea because Hdt. says the Halys cuts off almost all lower Asia from the Cypriote sea to the Euxine (i.72). That statement accords well with the Armenia of the 13th satrapy on the chart: see the Armenians in connexion with the Euphrates, i.180 and 194—passages which also accord well with the Armenia of the 13th satrapy as located on the chart. But to judge from i.72 Hdt. may well think of them in connexion with the Halys as well as the Euphrates, and both these rivers indeed in connexion with the mountains of Cilicia.

Hdt. begins again (stroke G) and circles counter-clockwise to take in the Lydians, Mysians, Thracians, Lasonioi (with which

100 cont.

he connects the Cabalees, as the same people in the army-list and a different people in the satrapy-list; see below), and finally the Milyae. For the connexion with the Lycians see i. 173 and below.

The next stroke shows Hdt. traveling straight down col. 14 (the Moschoi, Tibarenoi, Macrones, Mossynoecoi, Mares, Colchians, Alarodioi, and Saspeires), missing out the Matienoi of the 17th satrapy, whom he has already listed, and finally moving to col. 15 for the Islanders, displaced N of Persia instead of S of it, as we should expect from Hdt' account of the 4 nations between the N and S seas (iv.37).

For the horse, beginning with the Persians Hdt. moves up col. 15 to take in the Sagartians whom he has not yet mentioned, then down col. 16 for the Medes and Cissians. Again he moves to the far-east, but this time down col. 20 instead of up it, to take in the Indians and Bactrians and finally over to the Libyans. The 3rd stroke moves laterally in section "d" from the Caspioi through the Paricanioi and ends with the Arabians.

Plotted on the chart, the navy is a straightforward coasting voyage. Hdt. travels down col. 10 (the Phoenicians and Syrians of Palestine to Egypt), up col. 9 (Cyprus and Cilicia), laterally in section "c" (Pamphylians, Lycians, Dorians), jogs uncomfortably backward for the Carians, and then travels up and around the coast, substituting Islanders for Magnesians because they would be more likely to provide ships and taking in the Ionians, Aeolians, and Hellespontioi.

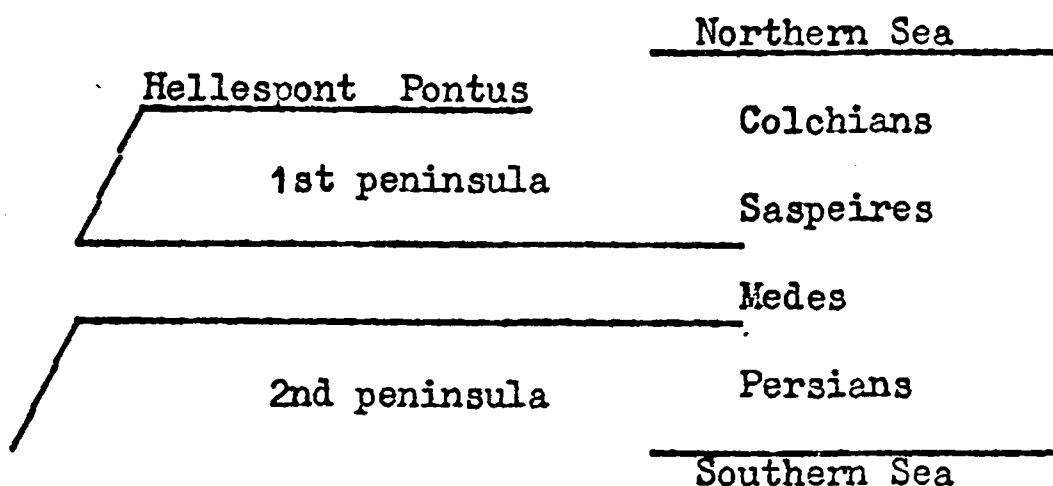
Clearly if Hdt. derives the lists from the same geographical source at least some of the differences between the two must be explicable in terms of Hdt' geography. Others I suggest are explicable at least partly in terms of Hdt' 67 contingent places.

100 cont.

The map Hdt. saw.

The gist of the previous argument is that the two great lists are related and both probably derive from a geographical source. Schematic presentation required vertical columns of names and the retention of Hdt' order, neither of which is conducive to the super-imposition of a map-outline. If the hypothesis in question is right still there is no way of determining the relative proportions of the columns or their orientation. Some few of the names seem badly out of place no matter what the schematic presentation: the final infantry contingent, the Islanders, should be stationed below the Persians, not above them.

Still, the chart enclosed seems in rough accord with the outlines of Hdt' geography from the 4th bk.. According to Hdt' "Persian map" (Myres' terminology, p. 37ff.) the Colchians, Saspeires, Medes, and Persians dwell between the N and S seas. Westward from their land there extend 2 peninsulas, the 1st stretching along the Pontus and Hellespont to the Troad in the N and from the Myriandric gulf by Phoenice to Triopia in the S, with 30 nations living on it. The 2nd owns but 3 nations and is much less clearly defined, but seems to take in Assyria, Arabia, Phoenicia, Palestinian Syria, and Egypt (iv.37ff.). Hdt. seems to be describing something roughly like the following:



With due allowance for the difficulties mentioned above and the number of names involved, the essentials of that outline can be

100 cont.

traced on the chart enclosed, which seems also to confirm the 30 nations of Hdt' 1st peninsula.

Hdt' 1st peninsula of iv.38 corresponds roughly to Asia Minor, and Hdt. says 30 nations live there. The number may be artificial in view of the other 30's in the History (comm. at ch. 91). If this 30 is not arbitrary we can make up that total by including, if we wish, the Chalybes, Thynians, and Bithynians of 1.28 (named among Croesus' subjects) or the Caunians of i.171 (Harpagus' campaign)—see e.g. Rawlinson iii.32. But without resort to those nations, and excluding the Colchians, the Persians who are the base of the peninsula after all, the islanders on the coast, and the Pactyes NW of Media, it is nonetheless possible to make up the total of 30 nations by combining the names of the satrapy-list and those of the army-list as plotted on the chart. I assume the 30 nations in question are, from left to right by columns on the chart, as follows.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Aeolians				Hellespontioi		Phrygians
Magnesians				Hytennees		Armenians
Ionians				Cabalees		Thracians
Dorians	Carians	Lycians	Milyae	Lasonioi		
			Pamphylians	Lydians	Mysians	
8	9	14				
Paphlagonians		Moschoi				
Matienoi		Tibarennoi				
Mariandynoi		Macrones		(Black Sea tribes)		
Ligurians		Mossynoecoi				
Capp. Syrians		Mares				
	Cilicians	Alarodioi				
		Saspeires				
		(Matienoi already named)				

Hdt' desire to have 30 nations living in his 1st peninsula of iv. 38 may well be responsible for the many gratuitous additions of the army-list to the names of the 1st 6 satrapies. Of these names Hdt. misses out only 2 in the army-list: the Magnesians of Asia and the Hytennees, encased in daggers on the chart, compared with

100 cont.

9 names missed out in the last 14 satrapies (see panel 2 of the chart). On the other hand whereas he adds only the Hyrcanicoi to the names of the last 14 satrapies, he adds the Islanders, Dorians, Armenians, and Ligurians to those of the 1st 6. He also gratuitously makes 2 nations out of what might otherwise be known as 1 in the case of the Lycians and Milyae (see i.173) and that of the Cabalees and Lasonians (see vii.77). Finally he inserts the Ligurians, who must then become an eastern branch of the western Ligurians above Marseilles (v.9, vii.165). There are perhaps many possible explanations of these phenomena but one is that Hdt. is trying to augment the names of his 1st peninsula so as to make up a total of 30—which he does.

Why then the tendency to pare down the names of the last 14 satrapies, represented on panel 2? The most likely explanation is that whereas he feels compelled to add names on one part of his chart, assuming it is roughly like this one, he must nonetheless name several nations more than once in his account of the horse and still end up with only 67 contingents, which he does. That means that in the army-list he must try to eliminate names from the final 14 satrapies as represented on panel 2. Thus he does indeed add the Hyrcanians but he leaves out the Thamanaeoi, 1 tribe of the Paricanicoi, the Orthocorybantioi, 1 tribe of the Caspioi, and the Pausicae, Pantimathoi, Dareitae, Sattagydae, and Aparytae, all of whom he seems to call merely "the Caspioi".

Thus the additions and omissions of the army-list can be dealt with on the assumption that the 2 lists derive from the same geographical source, though the Ligurians and Hyrcanians remain to embarrass. The Hyrcanians' omission from the satrapy-list seems specially difficult to explain. Their strange position in the army-list may be due to their association with the king's own plain of iii.117, which adjoins their territory.

100 cont.

A geographical explanation of the 2 lists also casts new light on the double appearances. The Caspioi appear in the 12th and 15th satrapies: the 2 satrapies are next one another on the chart. Likewise the Paricanioi of the 10th and 17th satrapies are in the same column, separated only by the Outioi and Mycoi.

It is possible to explain Hdt' "Areioi" of iii.93 as against the "Arioi" of vii.66 by reference to different sources. But why should we adopt that explanation? Hdt. has just written "Arioi" in another connexion at the beginning of the army-list (vii.62), where the Medes used to be called Arioi. It seems only natural therefore that the Areioi should become Arioi 4 chs. later.

Even regardless of the foregoing to the effect that the satrapy and army lists derive from the same geographical source and that Hdt' figures in both lists are arbitrary and probably derive from Homer and Hdt' own imagination and calculation, Hdt' historical-ethnographical notes on the nations represented in the army are enough on their own to give us pause if we should be tempted to give Hdt. credit for transcribing "official Persian documents". They point rather to the literary sources of a geographer and ethnographer.

The Persian Inscriptions.

Neither the satrapy nor the army list bears any very obvious relation to any of the Persian inscriptions, apart from Hdt' division into 20 satrapies plus the non-Asiatic islanders and Europe as far as Thessaly (iii.96). and Persia (iii.97), besides the gift-bearing nations. That division is clearly quite close to the 23 provinces of DB I (see Kent's OP 119). But Hdt' distribution of names seems irrelevant to the nations of the inscriptions. Arachosia appears on all 5 of the relevant documents but in neither of Hdt' lists. Hdt' 16th satrapy is made up of the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Areioi but they are 4 of

100 cont.

23-31 names on the relevant inscriptions. If Hdt' satrapy-list is made up from geographical sources his assignment of names to satrapies is arbitrary and bears no relation to the official organisation of the empire unless by accident or in a few scraps of correct information. Hdt' division into 23 parts may reflect one such scrap.

For texts and translation of the relevant inscriptions see Kent's OP 116ff.. For casual commentary and a convenient table of information in English see Burn 120ff..

101.

Δημόρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος-- He has already been introduced in connexion with Xerxes' succession (ch. 3).

102.

σύντροφός--A medical word. See Thuc. ii.50 and Hippocrates Peri Aer. 7, ἦν μὴ ἐκ παιδίου σύντροφος ἢ [ἢ νοῦσος] With this gnomic wisdom cf. Thuc. i.123.1; Eurip. fr. 641; Theocritus xxi.1.

103.

σέ γε τὸν κείνων βασιλέα πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους.--

Hdt. may allude to the king's double portion at public sacrifices (vi.57) and perhaps even to the alleged double vote of Thuc. i.20 (see Hdt. vi.57.5). The number 20 is part of a good story, like many of the 20's in Hdt' work.

103 cont.

The 20's of the History.

Cyrus told the Persians to clear a thorny tract 18 or 20 stades each way (i.126). The Phocaeans had founded a city named Alalia in Corsica 20 yrs. before they went there (i.165). The Phocaeen Cadmean victory destroyed 40 of their 60 ships and left them with 20 that were useless (i.166). Each stallion in Tritantæchmes' stable served 20 mares (i.192). Darius was about 20 when Cyrus marched on the Massagetae (i.209). Sesostris' statues of his sons were 20 cubits high (ii.110). Demeter's temple was 20 stades from Thebes (ii.122). Cheops' pyramid took 20 yrs. to build (ii.124). In a highly ornate palace-chamber of Sais there were about 20 huge wooden statues of naked women (ii.130). During the 6 mths. the Nile river-water flows into Lake Moeris the fishing-revenue is 20 minae a day (ii.149). Elephantine is 20 days' river-journey from Sais (ii.175; cf. HW's struggles with Hdt' allowances for a day's journey, i.164f.). On either side of Amasis' supine colossus there stand two 20-ft. statues hewn from a single block (ii.176). The Greeks in Egypt gave the Amphictyons 20 minae toward the cost of finishing the temple at Delphi (ii.180). About 20 days after Cambyses wounded himself he called a council of Persians (iii.65). 20 elephant-tusks were part of the Ethiopian yearly "gifts" to the empire (iii.97). Zopyrus told Darius to launch a full-scale assault on the walls of Babylon after 20 days (iii.155). Darius would rather have Zopyrus un-harmed than 20 more Babylons (iii.160). It is 20 days' journey from the sea to the Black-cloaks (iv.101). There are 20 stages of the Royal Road through Lydia and Phrygia (v.52). Oea is about 20 stades from the city of Aegina (v.83). The Athenians contributed 20 ships to the Ionian revolt (v.97 and 99). The Corinthians sold the Athenians 20 ships for 5 drachs apiece because it was illegal to give them away (vi.89). More ills befel Hellas in the time of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes than in the 20 generations before Darius (vi.98). It was 20 yrs. after Datis charged the Delians with returning a gilt Apollo to Delion that the Thebans did so (vi.118). Xerxes thinks that Demaratus should be a match for 20 men (ch. 103). It is 20 stades from the Spercheus to the Dyrras and 20 stades from the Dyrras to the Melas (vii.198). The Megarians and Chalcidians both contribute 20 ships at Artemision (viii.1 and 46). The Heraeum of Plataea is 20 stades from the Gargaphian spring (ix.52).

Clearly the number 20 is a non-historical theme in itself.

ἐόντες γε ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι--

See Hdt' emphasis on unity under one rule in the case of the Thracians of v.3, and Il. ii.204ff..

104.

ἑστοργῶς, στέργειν—

...words recur sometimes, in all but the most careful compositions, with different senses at no great intervals (cf. A.B. Cook, "Unconscious Iterations" in CR 1902, pp. 158, 256).

Macan i¹133a,b

The 1st use is ironical, the 2nd is straightforward.

ποιεῦσι γῶν τὰ ἄν ἐκεῖνος ἀνώγη· ἀνώγει δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ, οὐκ ἔῶν φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι.—

Only Spacteria could tarnish this reputation (see Thuc. iv.40).

105.

ὑπαρχον ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ— See ch. 59, where Hdt. introduces the royal fortress of Doriscus.

καταστήσας Μασκάμην τὸν Μεγαδόστω— See Hdt' elaboration on his valour, ch. 106.

τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου σταθέντα καταπαύσας— This may be no more than Hdt' own inference in view of the fact that Hdt. does not seem to know his name. On the question of the presence of Persian troops at Doriscus in the time of Darius in view of the Paeonian landing there of v.98 see comm. at ch. 59.

106.

τῷ μούνῳ Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε ὥς ἀριστεύοντι πάντων ὄσους αὐτὸς κατέστησε ἢ Δαρεῖος ὑπάρχους— App. Crit.:

μούνη om. a. Hdt. probably wrote the word in question. The reason for the brackets is clear enough. Hdt. says the king sends yearly gifts to whoever shows the most sons (i.136) and also that Darius sent gifts to Zopyrus every year (iii.160). But these statements do not necessarily affect the Mss reading. Hdt. could mean "alone of all the governors in Thrace" (Wesseling, Baehr iii.593, Blakesley ii.243, Stein iv.99, "Thrace and the

106 cont.

Hellespont" and thus HW ii.165) or he could be merely forgetful of what he has already written whether or not this passage is prior to the other two (see Macan i¹135a).

τοῖσι Μασκαμέλοισι ἐκγόνοισι.—Stein (iv.100) cites Il. iv.367, Pindar Pyth. viii.19, Plato Gorgias 482 A. The patronymic adjective is poetic usage.

κατέσταναν γὰρ ἔτι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς ἐλάσιος ὕπαρχοι ἐν τῇ θρηίκῃ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πανταχῇ. οὗτοι ὦν πάντες, οἳ τε ἐκ θρηίκης καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, πλὴν τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον ταύτης τῆς στρατηλασίης ἐξαιρέθησαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ Μασκάμην οὐδαμῶς κω ἐδυνάσθησαν ἐξελεῖν, πολλῶν πειρησαμένων.—

Hdt' emphasis on Mascames' name is understandable and van Herwerden's deletion seems un-justified.

Hdt. refers (at least) to the capture of Sestos (ix.118), Byzantion (Thuc. i.94 and 128), Eion (ch. 107), and perhaps (HW ii.166) the Thracian Chersonese (Plut. Cimon xiv.1, CIA i.432).

διὰ τοῦτο δέ οἱ τὰ δῶρα πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρσῃσι.— Hdt. writes as if the city is still in the hands of Mascames' descendants in his own time. He gives no indication that the Persians ever abandoned the city and indeed implies that they did not (against e.g. Stein iv.100; Kohler, Hermes xxiv. 89, who believes that it fell to the Thracians; HW ii.166).

107.

...Βόγης· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδεω—

Eion was the 1st allied success after the transfer of the hegemony. See Thuc. i.98; Ephoros, FGH 70 F 191.43-45 (Hill's fr. 6, p. 114); Diodorus xi.60.2; Plutarch, Cimon vii-viii.2. On the epigrams see Plut. Cimon vii.4-6 and Aeschines iii.183-185 (Hill 5). On the alleged stratagem see Pausanias viii.8.9 but also Wilamowitz A&A i.155n.f.. Cf. also Busolt iii.100f., 101n.1-102, Meyer's Forsch. ii.61, and Oberhummer, RE v.2116f..

107 cont.

τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον—

See v.7, vi.46, vii.112, ix.75.

οὕτω μὲν οὗτος δικαίως αἰνέεται ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε ὑπὸ Περσέων.—Hdt' point of view purports to be Persian but this

information may be nothing more than a storyteller's inference.

108.

ἐδεδούλωτο γάρ, ὥς καὶ πρότερον μοι δεδήλωται, ἡ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας πᾶσα καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος,—

In conclusion of his satrapy-list Hdt. says that as time went on Darius drew tribute from the islanders and those dwelling in Europe as far as Thessaly (iii.96). In connexion with Mardonius' expedition he says that all the territory up to Macedonia was subject to the king (vi.44). On the extent of Persian control in Europe see comm. at ch. 58.

Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕστερον Μαρδονίου.—

See iv.143ff., v.2, vi.43ff.. Hdt. forgets Otanes, v.25f..

τὰ Σαμοθηρῆκία τείχεα, τῶν ἐσχάτη πεπόλισται πρὸς ἐσπέρης πόλις τῇ οὐνομά ἐστι Μεσαμβρία.—

See ch. 59 and comm. ad loc.. This Mesambria must be distinguished from the city of the Euxine (iv.93, vi.33). The site is uncertain but it is probably either at Drys, west of Cape Macri near Dikilitash, or W of it at the mouth of the Shabli Dere, though Casson identifies it with Macri, Mac. 92. See ATL i.518f., Head's HN 248, and Lenk, RE xv.1074.

ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης θασίων πόλις Στρύμη, διὰ δέ σφρων τοῦ μέσου Λίσος ποταμὸς διαρρέει,—

The Lisos may well be the Yali Dere but both identifications are uncertain. See ATL i.519f., and Fredrich, RE iv A 390, and also App. iv p. iiif. on the connexion with Thasos.

108 cont.

οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ ὕδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ξέρξῳ στρατῷ ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε.— See comm. at ch. 21.

ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέετο Γαλλαϊκή, νῦν δὲ Βριαντική.— Gallaice is otherwise unknown although Galaioi appear on the tribute-lists; see ATL i.477.

On Briantice see the Priaticus campus of Livy xxxviii.41.8, the Priantae of Pliny's NH iv.41, and Oberhummer, RE iii.833.

ἔστι μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ αὕτη Κικόνων.—

See ch. 59 and comm. ad loc. and ch. 110. Hdt. may well be thinking of Homer's Cicones as he writes, Il. ii.846f. (and see comm. on the Homeric influence on Hdt' numbers, at ch. 99) and Od. ix.39ff..

109.

διαβὰς δὲ τοῦ Λίσσου ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀπεξηρασμένον πόλιας Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε παραμείβετο, Μαρώνειαν—

Maron was a benefactor of Odysseus, the son of Euanthes and priest of Apollo who watched over Ismarus, who gave Odysseus, among other things, a dark, sweet wine (Od. ix.196ff.). A Spartan known for his valour at Thermopylae bears his name (ch. 227). The city was a colony of the Chians (Scymnos Chios 676ff.), and identified with the Ismarus of the Odyssey (Harpocration s.v.; Tzetzes ad Lycophron 818; Ephoros, FGH 70 F 38). Pliny says it was once called Orthagurea (NH iv.43), and Steph. Byz. calls it a city of Ciconia (s.v.). Hecataeus knows it (FGH 1 F 159).

Hdt. says that lake Ismaris is between Maroneia and Stryme (Μαρωνείης μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρύμης κειμένην Ἰσμαρίδα). He is almost certainly wrong. The great Boru lake, called Vistonis in the Times Atlas (iv.83), is about 15 miles E of the Nestos. Ana Geulu, which must be Ismaris because it is the only other significant lake in the area, is about 10 miles further E. But the modern Maronia is almost 10 miles SE of Ana Geulu, against

109 cont.

the Karakush Dagh (both easily discernible on pl. 83 of the Times Atlas), whereas Stryme is yet further E even if the site is uncertain (comm. at ch. 108). The ancient city lay S of Maronia, nearer the sea (see ATL i.517) and Hdt. has clearly got wrong the relationship between the lakes and the cities of the area.

See also Strabo vii.331 fr. 43, Scylax 67, Muller's GGM i.222f., Head's HN 248ff.; on the Lisos see Oberhummer, RE xiii. 736f. and at Ismaros (3), ix.2134f.. On Maroneia see also Oberhummer, RE xiv.1912f..

Δικαίαν,-- See Strabo vii.331 frs. 43 and 46; Scylax 67 (GGM i.55); Pliny, NH iv.42; Suidas s.v. Δικαίόπολις.

Strabo puts the city on a gulf and if he is right it should have been at the seaward mouth of lake Vistonis, S or SE of the modern Porto Lago, marked thus on pls. 82 and 83 of the Times Atlas (iv). See ATL i.517, Head's HN 252, and Oberhummer, RE v.545.

*Αβδηρα--Hecataeus knows Abdera (FGH 1 F 158). Hdt. says that Timesios of Clazomenae founded the city, only to be driven out by the Thracians. When Harpagus took Teios, the Teians sailed away like the Phocaeans and re-founded Abdera (i.168). It is evidently a Persian naval base in the year between Mardonius' Thracian venture and the Marathon campaign because the Thasians have to bring all their ships there when they submit to Darius (vi.46ff.). It was Megacreon of Abdera who thanked heaven that Xerxes demanded of the city only one meal a day (ch. 120). Hdt. records a special relationship between Xerxes and Abdera (viii.120). He also believes that the Nestos flows through the city (ch. 126; see below).

Hercules' 8th labour was to carry the mares of Diomedes the Thracian king of the Bistones to Mycenae. He committed the mares to the keeping of Abderos son of Hermes and when they killed him Hercules founded the city of Abdera beside his grave (Apollodorus

109 cont.

ii.5.8; see Strabo vii.331 frs. 43 and 46, Steph. Byz. s.v.

Abdera, Philostratus Imagines ii.25, and Frazer i.200ff., Mela ii.29f., Scymnos Chios 666ff. and Muller's GGM i.222).

Diodorus calls Abdera one of the most powerful cities in the Thrace of 407-406 (xiii.72.2).

The city seems to have lain not on either side of the Nestos as Hdt. believes (ch. 126 and above) but a little E of the river's mouth (as Strabo thought, vii.331 fr. 46; see Livy xlv.29, Scymnos 672). We should note, however, the various eastern "reported mouths" of the river Kara Su (the Nestos) as marked on BA chart 2836b. The medieval name seems to have been Polystolon (App., i.61 in Parthey's 1866 ed. of Hierocles as cited by ATL i.463) and the Greeks give that name to the modern village of Bulustra. According to Regel (Ath. Mitt. 1887.161-167) the town lay on the hilly cape 4 miles SE of the town Bulustra or Balastra Burun (marked "C. Baloustra" on BA chart 2836b) and ATL follow this identification (ATL i.463 and ii.84), which must be approximately correct, because of the river's proximity. For general discussion of the site and its importance see May's Abdera 1ff. and also JHS 1951.245.

On the coinage see Head's HN 253ff. and May's Coinage of Abdera ad loc.. See also Hirschfeld, RE i.22f..

ταύτας τε δὴ παρεξήλε καὶ κατὰ ταύτας λίμνας ὀνομαστὰς
τάσδε, Μαρωνείης μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρώμης κειμένην
'Ισμαρίδα—Strabo says the lake is near Maroneia and is called

Odyseion (vii.331 fr. 43). See also Steph. Byz. s.v. Ismaros.

If we can identify the lake with Ana Geulu it lay W and not E of Maroneia (see above). See Oberhummer, RE ix.2134 and ATL i.517. Hecataeus may have called the lake "Maris" (FGH 1 F 159).

κατὰ δὲ Δίχαλαν Βιστονίδα—Scymnos Chios says the lake took its name from the Bistones (674f., Muller's GGM i.222).

Strabo says that its circuit is about 200 stades (vii.331 fr. 43 and see fr. 46), and also that certain Thracian cities were flooded by the lake (i.59). There is no reason to doubt its identity

109 cont.

with the modern lake Vistonis. See Oberhummer, RE iii.505 and ATL i.517.

ἐς τὴν ποταμοὶ δύο ἐσιεῖσι τὸ ὕδωρ, Τραυδός τε καὶ Κόμψατος.--Scylax mentions a river Coudetos E of Abdera, which may be Hdt' Compsatos (67). ATL believe the 2 rivers in question are the Kuru Chai and Ak Su (i.517), "coming in from the E". Hdt. knows a Thracian tribe known as the Trausoi who mourn over a birth and rejoice at a death (v.4).

ποταμὸν δὲ Νέστον-- There is no reason to doubt its identity with the modern Nestos or Mesta. See Thuc. ii.96.4, who makes the source of the Nestos and Hebros a great un-inhabited mountain-range adjacent to Rhodope; Oberhummer, RE xvii.138f.; and Casson's description, Mac. 21f..

μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ^{ἰώντι} θασίων τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις παρήιε,--See Scylax 67, Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν Θράκῃ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἷδε· Ἀμφίπολις, Φάγρης, Γαληψὸς, Οἰσύμη καὶ ἄλλα ἐμπόρια θασίων. Stein's conjecture, adopted by Hude, makes the passage more specific. But are we really justified in changing the text? It seems possible to read "After going by way of these lands, he passed the mainland cities", "of Thasos" perhaps to be understood or else Hdt. is merely vague. On the Thasian peraea see Fredrich, IG xii.8.80-81; Perdrizet, Klio 1910.1ff.; Collart's Philippes 67ff.; Pouilloux's Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos (1954) ad loc.; comm. at App. iv.

τῶν ἐν μίῃ λίμνῃ ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει ὥσει τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα καὶ τὴν περὶ ὁδὸν, ἰχθυώδης τε καὶ κάρτα ἀλμυρή· ...τῇ δὲ πόλει ταύτῃ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Πίστυρος.--

This must be the city of the Cystirioi, List 21 of the ATL. Steph. Byz. lists both Pistiros and Bistiros. Etym. Mag. lists both Kyst- and Pist-. Harpocration lists Pistaira. ATL note the interchange of K and P in N-Aegean names (e.g. Cydna for Pydna, Mela ii.35).

There are salt lakes along the W shore of the Nestos delta. Since the Nestos probably debouched further E in antiquity,

109 cont.

and the delta is no doubt largely modern... it is not possible to identify Hdt' lake; but Pistyros must lie somewhere in the delta (Sarishaban Ovasi), S of the road from Sarishaban to Kavalla.

ATL i.509

The number 30 is clearly artificial (comm. at ch. 91). See also Oberhummer, RE xx.1837.

ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἑλληνίδας ἐξ εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἀπέργων παρεξήλε·—

Hdt. is probably saying only that Xerxes marched a little inland and not along the coast: that gives him an opportunity to name the Thracian tribes of the next chapter.

110.

Ἔθνεα δὲ Θρηλικῶν δι' ὧν τῆς χώρας ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο τοσάδε, Παῖτοι,--

Arrian locates Paetice between the Hebrus and the Melas (Anab. i.11.4). See also Oberhummer, RE xviii. 2437.

Κίκονες-- See chs. 59 and 108 and comm. ad loc.. Hdt. moves westward; their land is W of the Hebrus.

Βίστονες-- They live around lake Bistonis (ch. 109). See Oberhummer, RE iii.504f..

Σαπαῖοι-- Appian locates them E. of Phillippi (or Daton) and opposite Thasos, in connexion with a mountain pass (BC iv.105-106). They are evidently associated with Pangaeon. Steph. Byz. gives 3 names for them, Sapai, Sapaioi, and Sapioi.

Δερσαῖοι-- Thuc. mentions them as one of the autonomous tribes inhabiting the plain E of the Strymon to the N (ii.101.3). See Hecataeus' Darsioi, FGH 1 F 175. On Thuc' Drooi and Dersaioi see Baehr iii.599.

110 cont.

'Ηδωνοί,--Histiaeus' Myrcinus is in their territory (v.11, 124), and so is Ennea Hodoi on the Strymon (vii.114), and Daton, where Sophanes of Deceleia died fighting them (ix.75; see comm. ad loc.). Thuc. says the Macedonians drove the Edonians across the Strymon (ii.99.4). Aeschylus thinks of Pangaeon as Edonian land (Pers. 494r.). See also Oberhammer, RE v.1974.

Σάτραι.--Hecataeus knows them, FGH 1 F 157. Leake (NG iii.190) suggests that they are the original Satyrae who accompany Dionysus during his conflict with Lycurgus the king of the Edonians (Apollodorus iii.5.1).

τούτων οἱ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν κατοικημένοι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ εἵποντο.--

We can understand how Hdt. conceives of

Xerxes' conscription. The sea-coast is the province of the navy--see his original enrollment of the navy (comm. at ch. 100). Inland the army holds sway. Hdt. is almost certainly working with a map. But what he says is not historical. The navy could never have enrolled sea-coast tribes as it sailed along--it could never have taken un-trained and indeed un-civilised tribesmen on board and forced them to serve alongside professionals.

111.

Σάτραι δὲ οὐδενός κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἀλλὰ διατελεῦσι τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἐόντες ἐλεύθεροι μοῦνοι θρησκῶν.--

Rawlinson believes that Hdt. alludes to the conquests of the Odrysae, described by Thuc. (ii.95ff.; Rawlinson iv.96) but it seems more likely that he thinks of the Persians as he writes.

Hdt. does not mention the Odrysae, as he does in connexion with Darius' Scythian expedition (iv.92), and presumably if he thinks of them at all he believes they are conquered, which seems unlikely in view of Thuc' account of ii.97. The whole territory was nominally subject (iv.93; see ch. 108 and comm. ad loc.).

111 cont.

οὗτοι οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήλιόν εἰσι ἐκτημένοι·—

See v.7 (the worship of Dionysus); Eur. Hec. 1267; Suet. Aug. 94; Dio Cassius li.25.

Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ, —

According to Strabo they are notorious brigands, inhabiting much of Haemus and controlling territory that borders on Rhodope, the Paeonians, and the Autariatae and Dardanioi among the Illyrians (318). See Livy xxxix.53, Pliny's NH iv.40, Dio Cassius li.25, and Oberhummer, RE iii.329ff..

πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέωσα κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον. —

Hdt. seems to assume that the reader has heard stories about the oracle that are not true. He assures us therefore that the priestess performs in the classic manner of Delphi.

112.

δεύτερα τούτων παραμείβετο τεύχεα τὰ Πιέρων, — Xerxes

was to linger many days in the old Pieria (vii.131), abandoned by the Pierians when the Macedonians drove them across the river Strymon (Thuc. ii.99.3).

τῶν ἐνὶ Φάγρης ἐστὶ οὖνομα καὶ ἐτέρῳ Πέργαμος. —

Phagres seems to have been the most important (see Thuc. ii.99.3). Hecataeus knows it (FGH 1 F 156) and see also Scylax 67 (Muller's GGM i.54) and Strabo vii.331 fr. 33. Therefore Leake locates the city at the modern Orfana (Orfani), near the coast and commanding the entrance to the Pierian valley from the sea, and thus in accord with Thuc' evidence:

Πέρας, οἱ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τὸ Πάγγαιον πέραν Στρυμόνος ὤκησαν Φάγρητα καὶ ἄλλα χωρία (καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πιερικὸς κόλπος καλεῖται ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Παγγαίῳ πρὸς θάλασσαν γῆ),

ii.99.3 and see Leake, NG ii.176ff.

112 cont.

ATL agree and plausibly suggest that it may be concealed in the tribute lists under Πίερες παρὰ Πέργαμον (i.534).

Leake locates Pergamos inland at the modern Pravishta or Pravi, beyond the watershed NE of Orfani (NG iii.177f.). ATL rightly prefer Aphthonides' ancient remains of Meshtian or Mustenya not so far inland and "well in the middle of the Pierian valley" because such a location better suits the Περγαμοτειχῖται (a restoration however) and Πίερες παρὰ Πέργαμον of the tribute lists, who should dwell relatively near the sea rather than inland (i.534). See also Oberhummer on Phagres, RE xix.1516, and Collart's Philippes 75ff. on all the relevant sites.

ἐκ δεξιῆς χειρὸς τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος ἀπέργων, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ὑψηλόν, — Hdt. knows that Megabazus never subdued

the vicinity of the mountain (v.16). See vii.113,115, Thuc. ii. 99.3, and Oberhummer, RE xviii³589ff.. See also Casson's description, map, and photographs, Mac. 63ff..

ἐν τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἔνι μέταλλα, τὰ νέμονται Πίερες τε καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι. —

On the Pierians see above. Megabazus never subdued the Odomantoi (v.16). Thuc. makes them one of the 4 autonomous tribes inhabiting the plains beyond the Strymon to the N (ii.101.3; see the Dersaioi of ch. 110) and Cleon sends to Polles their king for mercenaries (Thuc. v.6.2). Leake believes they hold Mt. Orbelos (NG iii.210 and 465).

On the Odomantoi see also Oberhummer, RE xvii.1897f.. On the Satrae see ch. 110 and comm. ad loc., and 111. On the mines see App. iv.

113.

113.

ὑπεροικέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγγαιον πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου Παίονας—

Hdt. knows them in connexion with Mt. Rhodope (iv.49), and the Strymon (v.1). They are transported to Asia (v.12-15, 17,23) and dwell in Phrygia (v.98) until their return home becomes an important event at the beginning of the Ionian revolt (v.98). Hdt. believes they supply troops for the army (vii.185, ix.32). Xerxes considers the territory safe enough to leave some of his sick troops and the sacred chariot of Zeus there (viii.115). See Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 154, Thuc. ii.98, and Lenk, RE xviii²2403ff..

Δόβηρας— They escape subjugation at the hands of Megabazus, v.16.

Thuc. knows a Paeonian Doberos on the inland route from Thrace to Macedonia taken by Sitalces (ii.98f.). See also Philippon, RE v.1249f.. Stein wrongly tries to distinguish their land from that of Thuc' Doberos (Itiner. Hieros. 604; Stein iv.105, and see Leake, NG iii.212). To Hdt. they are merely a name.

τε καὶ Παιόπλας—Megabazus transports the Paeoplae into Asia along with the Paeonians and the Siriopaeonians (v.15). Hdt. thereby distinguishes them from the Pangaeian-Prasiad Doberes, Agrianes, and Odomantoi who remain free (v.16). See also Oberhummer, RE xviii²2414.

Στρυμόνα—See Oberhummer, RE iv A 390ff. and Casson's description, Mac. 19ff..

Ἡδόνα—See comm. at chs. 25 and 107.

Βόγης, τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων λόγον ἐποιεῦμην.—
Ch. 107.

ἡ δὲ γῆ αὕτη ἡ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καλέεται Φυλλίς,—

Steph. Byz. says there is also a river in Bithynia of this name.

See Manslik, RE xx.1021f..

113 cont.

κατατείνουσα τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἀγγίτην
ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην
τείνουσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα·—

The Angites is the modern Angista, which flows, roughly speaking, from NE to SW and empties into lake Cercinitis, through which the Strymon flows just NW of its mouth. The southern reaches of this lake at least have almost certainly varied in size from time to time. In one passage Thuc. names Cercine as a desolate mountain (ii.98.1). In another he refers to the lake in question as "the marsh of the Strymon" (v.7.4). But in yet a 3rd passage he says that the river was a great lake for a long way above the city (or the bridge, iv.108.1). Thus Cercinitis should have been prominent both in 480 and also in Hdt' time. Arrian seems to be the first author of antiquity to call it by name (Anab. i.11.3).

In modern times it is interesting to note that whereas Leake gives Cercinitis great prominence on his map in the rear of NG iii (cf. Casson, Mac. 122 opp.), it does not even appear on pls. 82 and 83 of the Times Atlas (iv). Oberhummer says that at present it is merely a shallow flooding of the plain, of varying extent (RE xi.309). See also Hirschfeld on the Angites, RE i.2191, and Casson's description of the river, Mac. 21. Casson also briefly describes the lake, which he calls Tahinos; 4,7 (esp.), 19, 21. It was evidently drained in the 1930's (Gomme iii.581).

Hdt. does not even know it exists. More important than that, he seems to believe that the Angites flows N and S and the Strymon E and W, to judge from his statement that Phyllis extends W to the Angites and S to the Strymon itself. He has no clear idea of the topography. He could never have traversed the ground in question, any more than he could have traversed the Troad before writing about that part of Xerxes' route (see comm. at ch. 43) or the country around lake Ismaris (see comm. at ch. 109) before writing about Xerxes' route W of Doriscus. He is probably working from a geographical source listing towns, rivers, and lakes, and a source

113 cont.

highly inaccurate at that.

ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιερέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοὺς.—

For the sacrifice of horses see i.216 (the Massagetae), i.133 (the Persians), iv.61 (the Scythians). Strabo says the Magi dig a pit next the stream so the blood and water make no contact (732).

Hdt. may or may not be following a source hostile to the Magi as he records this sacrifice; see chs. 19,37,43, and comm. ad loc.. Hdt. knows that rivers can be worshiped (see vi.76, Cleomenes at the Erasinos; viii.138, the sacred river of Macedonia). The Strymon itself is sacred (see e.g. Aesch. Supp. 254f., Pers. 497; Hdt. may have been familiar with both passages). But the easiest explanation of this sacrifice is that it is not recorded history but the poetry of Hdt' own imagination or that of his source. Achilles speaks bitterly of horses flung living into the Scamander (Il. xxi.132). At the Scamander the Magi are made only to pour libations (ch. 43). At Aeschylus' sacred Strymon white horses may well seem more appropriate. It is also at least interesting that the Paeonians, a tribe to which Hdt. gives great prominence in the History, are specially associated with Achilles' duel against the Scamander (Il. xxi.200ff.).

114.

ἐν Ἐννέα ὁδοῖσι τῇσι Ἡδωνῶν ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας—

On the bridge see ch. 24, where Xerxes orders the building. Ennea Hodoi is the predecessor of Amphipolis, founded in 437 (Thuc. iv.102), which Hdt. does not mention. On the unsuccessful Athenian effort to colonise the area, culminating in the disaster at Drabeskos, see Thuc. i.100f., iv.102 with Gomme ad loc., ATL iii.106ff., App. iv on the mines, and ix.75 with comm. ad loc., where Sophanes of Deceleia dies at Daton, fighting the Edonians. On Amphipolis see also Hirschfeld, RE i.1949ff..

114 cont.

τοσοῦτους ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδάς τε καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν
τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζῶοντας κατώρυsson.---

See iii.35, Ctesias Pers. 41 and 55. It seems unlikely that Xerxes would alienate the local population to that extent, especially since he wanted some of them to serve in the army if we are to believe Hdt. on this question (ch. 110).

ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀμηστριν τὴν Ξέρξεω γυναῖκα πυνθάνομαι
γηράσασαν---See Ctesias Pers. 43, who puts her death shortly before that of Artaxerxes (425). The passage is often thought of as a late addition, but Amestris must have been considered old for a considerable time before her death, and we do not know if we can trust Ctesias on the time of her death anyway. Even if we could we have no guarantee that Hdt. compiled the History before writing its latest parts. On Amestris see ix.109-112. On the number of noble Persians she buried alive (twice 7) see comm. at ch. 155. 115.

ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατός, ἐνθαῦτα
πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων ἐστὶ ἀλγιαλὸς ἐν τῷ οἰκημένῃ
Ἀργίλον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παρεξήτε.---

Argilos was an Andrian colony (Thuc. iv.103), like Stagiros and Acanthos (iv.84 and 88), and Pausanias' trusty servant-informer came from there (i.132). Thuc. says the city was near Amphipolis (iv.103) and also that the height of Cerdylion, in the territory of the Argilioi, is across the river and not far from Amphipolis, commanding a view in all directions so that Cleon could not move his army without being observed (v.6.3). Perdrizet identifies it with a place called Palaeocastro, an hour's ride by horse W of the Strymon (BCH 1894.434-436; confirmed by Collart and Devambez, BCH 1931.191f., and accepted by ATL i.469). It is about 3 miles W of the Strymon. See ATL i.469 and Hirschfeld, RE ii.718.

115 cont.

αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε ταύτης καλέεται Βισαλτίνη.--

A Bisaltes of Abydos takes charge of the Hellespont for Histiaeus when he sails to the Hollows of Chios, vi.26. Hdt. tells of the vengeance wreaked by the king of the Bisaltae on his own sons because they went to war with Xerxes, viii.116. According to Thuc. the Macedonians conquered Bisaltia and remained in control of the country (ii.99.6), but the Bisaltae remained fortissimi viri in Livy's time (xlv.29-30). See also Oberhummer, RE iii. 499f., and Head's NN 199f. on the coinage.

Plutarch says that Pericles sent a thousand clerouchs to settle with the Bisaltae (κληρούχους...εἰς δὲ Θράκην χιλίους Βισάλταις συνοικήσοντας, Pericles x.5). In the middle of the 19th century (see e.g. Duncker's GA ix.230f. and Busolt iii¹417f., n.) this settlement came to be associated with the Athenian colony of Brea, to which Cratinus alluded (Kock i.121 fr. 395, Edmonds i.146, from Hesychius; see also Steph. Byz. s.v. and Cramer's Anecdota ii.102), and a foundation-document in our possession addressed itself (IG i²45+ = Tod 44). Actually both the site and time of Brea are quite uncertain, but traditionally it has seemed most convenient to date the colony within a wave of Periclean colonisation between 450 and 440, and to locate it near Argilos. See e.g. Busolt, iii¹417f., n.; Nesselhauf, Klio 1933 Beiheft 30.131; Gomme i.277 n. 2; ATL iii.286-288 with nn.; Meiggs, JHS 1943.32 and HSCP 1961.18; Woodhead, CQ 1952.57-62, who believes the Beroia of Thuc. i.61.4 should be emended so as to read "Brea".

ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσιδηίου ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔχων--Pliny lists a town named Posidium on the Strymonic gulf (NH iv.38) and a Posideon appears once in the tribute lists (A 10, v.32) between Sale and Acrothooi-on-Athos. ATL mark it with a question near the promontory of Marmora between the inner gulf and the bay of Acanthus (ATL i.541).

115 cont.

ἦλε δὲ Συλέος πεδίου καλεομένου,-- Syleus was a son of Poseidon who made passing strangers dig for him. Hercules killed him and his daughter Xenodoce (Apollodorus ii.6.3). Thuc. alludes to an Aulon and Bromiscus; where lake Bolbe issues into the sea (iv.103.1), and at least since the time of Leake (NG iii.168-170) scholars have identified the plain of Syleus with the flat tract around the stream issuing from lake Besikia or Volvi into the sea (Baehr iii.606, Rawlinson iv.99, Stein iv.107, Macan i¹145b, HW ii.170). See also Oberhammer, RE iv A 1039.

It is perhaps traditional to locate Scaptesyale somewhere in the vicinity of Pangaeon (see comm. on the Thasian peraea in App. iv) but the name of this plain at least may suggest a location in Bisaltia.

Στάγειρον I

Στάγειρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παραμειβόμενος,--There seems no good reason for over-ruling the consensus of Mss. Stagiros was an Andrian colony (iv.88) and the birthplace of Aristotle. Strabo says that Stagiros had a separate harbour-town named Capros with an island of the same name (vii.331 frs. 33 and 35). Since the time of Leake (NG iii.165-167) scholars have found little difficulty in identifying the island of Capros with the modern Kafkana (marked "Kaphkana" on BA chart 2836b) and the harbour-town with Leake's ancient remains on the bay of Lipsasa (marked "Libiadha" on BA chart 2836b). It is also generally agreed that Stagiros lay inland because of Strabo's harbour-town of Capros. But whereas Leake identified the city with the modern Stavros and found there ancient remains, Bowen argues for Nisvoro to the S (Diary of a Journey from Constantinople to Corfu 120). ATL (i.550) follow Struck (Makedonische Fahrten i, Chalkidike, Vienna 1907, pp. 70-73) in selecting a site near "Izvoran", but clearly the identification is uncertain. Arguments from the route that Xerxes should have followed are in vain if Hdt. takes his names from a geographical

115 cont.

source. See also Oberhummer, RE iii A 2125.

καὶ ἀπλκτο ἐς Ἀκανθον— Like Argilos and Stagiros it was an Andrian colony (Thuc. iv.84.1) and probably the most important city of the 3 to judge from its coinage (see Head's HN 204f.). It is particularly associated with Xerxes' canal across the isthmus of Athos (see Strabo vii.331 fr. 35; Scymnos Chios 646-648, Muller's GGM i.221) and that canal plus the narrow width of the isthmus may explain why the city was sometimes thought of as on the Singitic gulf (Strabo vii.331 fr. 33; cf. Ptolemy iii.12.9 and Livy xxxi.45). ATL rightly point out that Hdt' evidence of vii.22 (where the sea of the Acanthians is opposed to that against Torone), and that of Scylax (66, Muller's GGM i.53) and Pliny (NH iv.38) all make it clear that the city lay near the N end of the canal where the ancient ruins remain to this day, at the modern Erisso (Ierissos on BA chart 2836b and pl. 84 of the Times Atlas). See Leake's description, NG iii.147-149; ATL i.467; Pietschmann, RE i.1147f..

Hdt. thinks of Acanthos as Mardonius' jumping-off place for rounding Athos (vi.44), the recipient of Xerxes' largesse for special co-operation (ch. 116), and the home of a cult in honour of Artachaees (ch. 117).

ἄμα ἀγόμενος τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν ἐθνέων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος οἰκεόντων, ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχων οἰκημένους ἐν νηυσὶ στρατευομένους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης πεζῇ ἐπομένους.—

See ch. 110 and comm. ad loc..

τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τὸν στρατὸν ἤλασε, οὔτε συγχέουσι θρήλικες οὔτ' ἐπισπείρουσι, σέβονταί τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ.—

See Xen. Hell. iv.2.8, where Agesilaos marches via Xerxes' route into Greece. The road was still in use in 185 BC (Livy xxxix.27).

Hdt' insistence on the Thracians' maintenance is no good reason for believing that he knew the road from autopsy.

116.

καὶ ἐδωρήσατό σφεας ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ—See Otanes' yearly Median raiment, iii.84.

καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα ~~ἀκούων~~.—Hdt. probably wrote what we have, "and also hearing about the canal", i.e. hearing about their part in the canal. Acanthians were among those dwelling around Athos who helped with the construction, ch. 22.

If Acanthus had a special relationship with the king, so did Abdera, viii.120.

117.

τὸν ἐπεστεῶτα τῆς διώρυχος Ἀρταχάην,—See ch. 22. He is presumably the brother of Azanes, commander of the Sogdians (ch. 66).

μεγάθει τε μέγιστον ἔοντα Περσέων (ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε πήχεων βασιληίων ἀπέλειπε τέσσερας δακτύλους)—

According to Hdt. the royal cubit is 3 fingers greater than the ordinary cubit (i.178). Valckenaer observes that the Greeks seem to consider 4 ordinary cubits the ideal height for a man (Ar. Frogs 1014). Phya impersonated Athena with a height 3 fingers short of 4 cubits but then she is a woman (i.60). The Tegeate Orestes of i.68 is 7 cubits long.

φωνέοντά τε μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων,—See the Egyptian with Darius at the Danube, iv.141. He seems precisely analogous to the RAF's "Boom" Trenchard.

ὥστε Ξέρξην συμφορὴν ποιησάμενον μεγάλην ἐξενεῖκαί τε αὐτὸν κάλλιστα καὶ θάψαι· ἐτυμβοχόρεε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιή.—Hdt. does not seem to think of the bird and dog-

tearing of i.140 in this connexion. Macan (i¹147b) rejects

Winckler's suggestion that Artachaees is a mythical figure

(Geschichte Israels ii.175), and HW (ii.170) point out that

Hdt. does not seem to be borrowing from Alcaeus (see LP fr. 350

117 cont.

[36-37 or 67-68] and Diels, *Hermes* 1887.425). But is it not possible that Hdt. merely covers his tracks? Alcaeus writes as follows:

ἦλθες ἐκ περάτων γὰρ ἐλεφαντίναν
 λάβαν τῷ ξίφει χρυσοδέταν ἔχων
 ...τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντιμενίδαν...φησὶν Ἀλκαῖος
 Βαβυλωνίοις συμμαχοῦντα τελέσαι*
 ἄεθλον μέγαν, εὐρύσας δ' ἐκ πόνων,
 κτένναις ἄνδρα μαχαίταν βασιληῶν
 παλάσταν ἀπυλείποντα μόναν ἴαν
 παχέων ἀπὸ πέμπων

* συμμαχείς δ' ἐτέλεσσας Βαβυλωνίοις
 (reconstructed from Strabo's text above)

You have come from the ends of the earth with an ivory hilt, bound with gold, on your sword. Fighting with the Babylonians you achieved a great feat, and saved them from their troubles by killing a warrior who lacked only a single span from five royal cubits in height.

Bowra's text, translation, and re-construction of line 3; GLP 139

A palm is 4 fingers in breadth (LS 1291). It seems likely that Hdt. takes this image of a giant from Alcaeus and then says 4 fingers instead of a palm to make it look as if he has not. Alternatively this may be a standard poetic definition of a giant, or at any rate one which Hdt. reproduces without reflection, by poetic instinct.

τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχάτῃ θύουσι Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὥς ἥρωι, ἐπονομάζοντες τὸ οὖνομα.--

Cf. the cult of Philip at Segesta (v.47); Onesilos at Amathos (v.114); Brasidas at Amphipolis (Thuc. v.11.1). For the hymning of names see the Delian hymn to Opis and Arge that spread to Ionia, iv.35.

118.

δοῦναι γε θασίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλεων τῶν σφετέρων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξῃ στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίσασιν--

See chs. 108-109.

Ἀντίπατρος δ' Ὀργέος ἀραιρημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὅμοια τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα.--

Hdt. says the Thasians drew an income of 200-300 talents a year

118 cont.

from the mainland and the mines (vi.46), so that 400 talents for Xerxes' subsistence is enormous. The number is not historical; see comm. at ch. 28 and App. iv. Athenaeus quotes Ctesias and Deinon to the effect that Xerxes dined with 15,000 men and consumed 400 talents on dinner (iv.146 C).

An Antipappos son of Orgeos may have been archon at the beginning of the 5th century (Pouilloux's Thasos i.57 n. 8).

119.120.121.

Ξέρξης σὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου--Hdt. takes up his narrative from ch. 116.

ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ--Hdt. refers to the strategoi of ch. 97.

ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ πορεύεσθαι τὰς νέας,--Hdt. implies that up to Acanthus the navy maintained contact with the army. He goes on to explain himself below.

Θέρμη δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ οἰκημένη, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει.--

Hecataeus knows the city and the gulf (FGH 1 F 146). It was of relatively little consequence until Alexander's brother-in-law Cassander founded Thessalonica there in 305 BC (Strabo vii.331 fr. 24). Muller's Handbuch (iii.224)--Lolling--locates the ancient site not at the modern Salonica but 10 km. SE at the town of Sedes, a watering-place known for its warm springs, and ATL accept the identification (i.546). GS map 2097 (sheet Mt. Athos) marks the ruins just NE of Sedes with the name "Sermi", and ATL identify Therma with the Serme of the tribute lists. See also Oberhammer, RE v A 2391f. on Therma and 2377 on the Thermaic gulf. On the silting of the gulf see also Struck's Mak. Fahrten

121 cont.

ii.18ff. followed by Casson's Macedonia 14f.; Edson, HSCP 1934. 232 and n. 5; and Woodhead, CQ 1952.58, but also the grave reservations of e.g. Oberhummer, RE xiii.2205 and xix.344f., and Geyer, RE xiv.649, and comm. at ch. 127.

ταύτη γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι.-- That was the shortest way for the army across Chalcidice.

μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάνθου ὧδε τεταγμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο· τρεῖς μοῖρας ὁ Ξέρξης δασάμενος πάντα τὸν πεζὸν [στρατόν],--

Literary considerations (or whatever) are hardly enough to over-rule the older Mss tradition in favour of these brackets. There are many parallels; see Powell 339 for refs..

Hdt. is explicit about the 3-fold division of the army only in the case of the march from Doriscus to Acanthus, but he seems to assume a continuation of that arrangement at least in so far as another "third" of the army clears a road over the Macedonian mountains while Xerxes and the rest of the troops linger in Pieria (ch. 131). See below.

μίαν αὐτέων ἔταξε παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰέναι ὁμοῦ τῷ ναυτικῷ· ταύτης μὲν δὴ ἐστρατήγεον Μαρδόνιος τε καὶ Μασίστης, ἑτέρη δὲ τεταγμένη ἦε τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορίε τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῆς ἐστρατήγεον Τριτανταίχμης τε καὶ Γέργις. ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν μοιρέων, μετ' ἧς ἐπορεύετο αὐτὸς Ξέρξης, ἦε μὲν τὸ μέσον αὐτέων, στρατηγούς δὲ παρείχετο Σμερδομένεα τε καὶ Μεγάβυξον.--

On the basis of this passage alone (supported by the pioneer "third" of ch. 131) a great deal of scholarly effort has been expended on determining the 3 separate routes to which Hdt. alludes. That effort seems mis-guided. In his army-list Hdt. names 6 generals of the whole land army (ch. 82).

a.) Mardonius	d.) Masistes	sea-coast
b.) Tritantaichmes	e.) Gergis	inland
c.) Smerdomenes	f.) Megabyxus	middle

But (a.) and (d.) command the sea-coast column; (b.) and (e.) the

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inland column, and (c.) and (f.) the middle column with which Xerxes himself marches.

It is open to us to suppose that this list is prior to that of ch. 82. In that case, however, we must suppose that Hdt. deliberately defers explanation of this 3-fold division of command till ch. 121 where he finds it more relevant. But the point is that Hdt' explanation is not relevant in this place. As the narrative stands in ch. 121 Xerxes has already accomplished the march from Doriscus to Acanthus, which is the only part of the march to which this description explicitly applies. It is plain from Hdt' narrative of 108-117 that he is not thinking of this 3-fold division as he writes. It comes as an after-thought. Not only is he imprecise in his description of Xerxes' route from Doriscus to Acanthos. Clearly he even purports to describe 1 route and not 3.

I suggest, however, that we can understand why Hdt. describes these 3 columns at this point in the narrative. First, he has already said in 2 places (110, 115) that the subject tribes of the sea-coast were forced to provide men for the navy while the inland tribes had to contribute recruits for the army. Hdt. is interested, as ever, in the inexorability of the Persian juggernaut. In reality sea-coast tribesmen could hardly have been pressed into the navy (comm. at ch. 110). But this unlikely impressment, stated and emphasised, probably forces Hdt. to consider how it could have been implemented: only by dividing the army and recruiting inland tribes with an inland division of the army and sea-coast tribes with a sea-coast division, leaving the 3rd or middle division on this hypothesis in order that Xerxes have a contingent of his own, and also merely because the names of ch. 82 fall out that way when set down as above. Second, however, Hdt. can set forth this division of the army without feeling compelled to describe 3 different routes from Doriscus to Acanthus now that the march is already accomplished.

121 cont.

It seems most probable that this list is not prior to that of ch. 82 but the other way round. This division of the army is probably artificial and indeed arbitrary. Hdt. has 6 names. He lists them as above and the 3 columns fall out as above, thus providing Hdt. with a means of impressment for the army and navy without forcing him to do that which he is unable to do, i.e. describe 3 different routes in Thrace. That hypothesis also explains why Hdt. does not list the 3 divisions geographically, i.e. sea-coast, middle, inland or inland, middle, and sea-coast. The 2 columns of names read across so as to make 3 columns of names determine the order in which Hdt. describes the divisions: sea-coast, inland, middle.

It would help us in dealing with these 2 lists (82 and 121) if we could determine that the generals in question are listed in some particular order in either chapter, but that question seems impossible to decide. Mardonius is certainly the most important general of the 6 because he assumes the high command when Xerxes leaves the army. Megabyzus is probably the youngest general of the 6 because he is still active in Egypt much later in the century. But that fact may cut both ways: if he is indeed very young and rises to high position there may be some compelling reason such as the influence of his family or demonstrably great ability. It is by no means certain that he is the least important of the 6 generals named. Tritantaechmes is probably very powerful because his father is the Artabanos to whom Xerxes entrusts the royal sceptra when he crosses into Europe (ch. 52). Smerdomenes also must be very powerful because he is presumably a member of the most independent family of the empire to judge from Hdt' stories of Otanes (see iii.83 and comm. at ch. 82). Masistes must be exceedingly powerful because he is the king's full-brother, governor of Bactria, and capable of raising a revolt against

121 cont.

Xerxes' authority (comm. at ch. 82). But we have no means of judging the relative power or influence of these 3 men and we know nothing of Gergis that would allow us to speak of his relation to the other generals.

If this division of the army is indeed arbitrary, determined by the factors set forth above or any others along the same lines, it makes no claim on history. There may or may not have been a division by columns in Xerxes' army, depending on how large that army was and what the structure of command in it happened to be at the time of the expedition. We have not the means of determining either of these questions, certainly not from the history of Hdt.. If there was a division of the army by columns the columns may or may not have marched sometimes together and sometimes apart. Even if they did march via separate routes it would be idle to speculate on what those routes may have been.

122.

καὶ διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ "Αθῶ γενομένην,--

See chs. 22-23 and 37. If Hdt. traversed this area, here is where he should relate the further use, or at any rate the subsequent fate of the canal.

διέχουσιν δὲ ἐς κόλπον ἐν τῷ "Ασσα τε πόλις-- Aristotle seems to call the district of Assa Asseritis (de Animalibus iii.12) and it is natural to identify Assa with Pliny's Cassera (NH iv.38) and Theopompus' Assera (Steph. Byz. s.v.). Identifications for all the towns of this list depend on Hdt' evidence, and on the assumption that Hdt' order is that of a coasting voyage down the E. coast of Sithonia. But in view of Hdt' blatant errors elsewhere in his description of Xerxes' march, e.g. in the Troad, Chersonese, and W of Doriscus (see comm. at chs. 42, 58, 109, 113) how can we rely on his order of cities? He is almost certainly using a geographical

122 cont.

source. How do we know he read down a column of names instead of up it? That doubt seems all the more compelling in the light of Hdt' treatment of the cities of Athos as against that of Thuc. (comm. at ch. 22). Perhaps most disturbing, how do we know that all Hdt' cities are coastal?

Leake identifies Assa with the ruins of a place called Palaeokastro near the modern Pergadikia at the head of the Singitic gulf (NG iii.153). Struck seems to put Assera on this site but without mentioning ancient remains (Mak. Fahrten i.65). The site may be that of an ancient city, but even if it is, which city must remain uncertain on the basis of evidence now at our disposal.

See also the map of CAH v.173 opp.; ATL i.471; Oberhummer, RE ii.1740.

καὶ Πίλωρος--Leake identifies Piloros with Port Vurvuri (Vururi; NG iii.154) but Struck selects a site on the E side of the isthmus N of the metochion Xenophontos (Mak. Fahrten i.63-64) and thus farther up the coast. CAH v adopts Struck's identification for the map opp. p. 173 and ATL follow (i.471). See comm. at Assa above and also Schmidt, RE xx.1330.

καὶ Σίγγος--Singos is the most important town of the list. It appears in the treaty of Nicias (Thuc. v.18.6) and Pliny mentions it after Ampelos and Torone (NH iv.37). It lends its name to the gulf in question. The city was in ruins in the time of Strabo (vii.331 fr. 31). Leake believes that Sykia is a corruption of the word Singos (NG iii.153) and accordingly puts Singos at the modern port of Sykia N of Siky bay; note the ruins marked "Sikia" NE of the bay on BA chart 2836b. Struck, however, moves Singos up the coast to Cape Vurvuri (Mak. Fahrten i.63f.), where CAH put it (v.173 opp.). ATL follow (i.471) and the modern traveler has this identification commended to him by the 1967 Blue Guide to Greece (520 opp., map). See comm. at Assa above and Oberhummer,

122 cont.

RE iii A 236f..

καὶ Σάρτη οἴκηνται,--Leake believes that Kartali is a modern corruption of the name Sarte and identifies the city accordingly (NG iii.154). Struck eliminates this site from consideration as he continues to push the cities in question up the coast. Thus he chooses pt. Sykia (Mak. Fahrten i.63-64), followed by CAH (v.173 opp.).

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ATL advance a new argument in favour of eliminating the Kartali site: Torone's high tribute implies control over most of the S end of the peninsula (i.471). See comm. at Assa above and Oberhummer, RE ii A 53. In spite of the uncertainty involved in these identifications for the reasons noted above, and giving full weight to the difficulties inherent in identification on the basis of name alone, Leake's identification of pt. Sykia as Singos and Kartali as Sarte seem reasonable. Either identification alone is un-convincing. Together they present, perhaps, a cumulative case. It is interesting to note, however, that BA charts 1085 and 1086 and also the latest popular map of Chalcidice note an island Sykia, W of Leake's pt. Sykia (1967 Blue Guide 520 opp.).

ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολλῶν στρατιὴν παρέλαβε, ἔπλεε ἀπιέμενος ἐς τὸν θερμαῖον κόλπον, κάμπτων δὲ Ἀμπελον τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην--

There is no doubt that Ampelos is the modern Ambelos, and that seems to be the SW as against the SE cape of Sithonia (see Hirschfeld, RE i.1882), marked Derrhis by CAH (v.173 opp.) and Dhrepanon by the Times Atlas (iv.83). There is evidently confusion over which name or names apply to which cape (see Oberhummer, RE v.245), and the 1967 Blue Guide marks the SE cape with the name Ambelos (520 opp.). BA chart 2836b marks 3 different capes, from W to E, Drepana, Derris, and Pseudo, whereas charts 1085 and 1086 mark Ambelos and Dhrepanon in the SW and Pseudhokavos to the E.

On the fleet's course see comm. at ch. 123.

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παραμέλβετο Ἑλληνίδας [τε] τάσδε πόλεις, ἐκ τῶν νέας
τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε, Τορώνην,--

The first conjunction is in-elegant perhaps but not un-acceptable.

The brackets are un-justified.

Hdt. knows Torone as a Chalcidian city (viii.127) and in connexion with the Athos canal he refers to the Singitic gulf as the sea that lies over against Torone (ch. 22), a passage that shows clearly that Hdt. does not have a clear idea of where Torone is, and may even think it is inland or on the E coast of Sithonia. The city figures large in Brasidas' operations and the Athenian counter-measures (see Thuc. iv.110ff. and v.2-3) and appears prominently in the treaty of Nicias (v.18.8).

Just N of the land-locked harbour of Kufo (the present bay of Kufos, marked "Kupho" on BA chart 2836b and "Koufo" on BA chart 1085), Leake found the ruins of Torone still bearing the ancient name (NG iii.119 and 153; they are marked "Toron" on BA chart 2836b). Kufo is Thuc' harbour of Cophos, "not far from the city of Torone" (v.2; but cf. Casson Mac. 30 and n. 3--Cophos may have been on the bay of Toronis). Thuc' Lecythos, "the citadel of the city, projecting into the sea on a narrow isthmus" (iv.113.2) is also recognisable. See Meritt's full description and photographs, AJA 1923.452-460, ATL i.555, and Oberhummer, RE vi A 1795ff..

Γαληψόν,--The most important city of this name, and perhaps indeed the only relevant city of this name, is a Thasian colony, probably on the Thasian peraea and certainly on the coast E of Amphipolis (Thuc. iv.107.3 [but see App. Crit.; the Mss reading is Gapselos] and v.6.1 [Galepsos]; Strabo vii.331 fr. 33; Scylax 67, Muller's GGM i.54; see also ATL i.477 and ii.85, and Oberhummer at Galepsos (3), RE vii.597). This Galepsos must be that of Hecataeus, "a city of Thrace and the Paeonians" (FGH 1 F 152; against Oberhummer, who grants Hdt' Sithonian Galepsos and cites

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Hecataeus for it).

Some of Hdt' commentators therefore have doubted his authority on a Sithonian Galepsos (see Blakesley ii.251 and Macan i¹154a). But there has been a growing tendency to identify the Gale of the tribute lists with a site on the W coast of Sithonia (see West's question-mark, CAH v.173 opp.; Meritt, AJA 1925.27; West, AJP 1937.166-173; ATL i.477). ATL settle on a site near the modern Balaban, which Meritt visited in 1922 (AJA 1923.453 n. 4, 460). This Gale then becomes Hdt' Galepsos (thus ATL i.477). But that reasoning tends to be circular. Gale must go somewhere, and Hdt. mentions a Galepsos that ought to be on the W coast of Sithonia, so Gale is on the W coast of Sithonia. Once Gale is on the W coast of Sithonia it can be identified with Hdt' Galepsos. It is not certain that Gale belongs on the W coast of Sithonia. But even if it does that does not mean that Hdt. is right to put Galepsos there (if indeed he means to do so; see comm. at ch. 123). The easiest explanation of Hdt' Galepsos is that Hdt. misplaces the Thasian Galepsos located E of the Strymon.

Σερμύλην--Sermyle is prominent in the Potidaean campaigns (Thuc. 1.65.2, but see App. Crit.; the best reading makes the inhabitants Hermylioi) and also appears grouped with Scione and Torone in the treaty of Nicias (v.18.8). See also Scylax 66(GGM i.53, Sermylia and the Sermylie gulf between Mecyberna and Torone), and Oberhummer, RE ii A 1736f..

At least from the time of Leake Sermyle is generally and convincingly identified with the modern Ormylia or Ormilina (marked "Ormilia" on BA chart 2836b (NG iii.154; Struck, Mak. Fahrten, Chalkidike i.57; Casson, Mac. 45; ATL i.546). Therefore the entry of Steph. Byz. is all the more disturbing:

Σερμουλαία πόλις περὶ τὸν Ἀθων, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος.

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Clearly there are several ways of explaining the entry. Steph. Byz. could be wrong about what Hecataeus says. Hecataeus' contributions "are liable to misuse, misspelling and misinterpretation" (Casson's Mac. 262). He could be right about what Hecataeus says but Hecataeus could be wrong about where the city is. But finally the standard identification of Sermyle with Ormylia, attractive and reasonable as it is, may be wrong. In view of Stephen's entry it would be naive to suppose that we can be certain on the question of this identification.

Μηχύβερναν—In the treaty of Nicias it is grouped with Sane and Singos (Thuc. v.18.6); see v.39.1, where the Olynthians seize the city, though garrisoned by the Athenians. Strabo calls Mecyberna the naval arsenal of Olynthus (vii.331 fr. 29). Hecataeus seems to know it as a city of Pallene (FGH 1 F 150). See also Diodorus xii.77.5 and xvi.53.2.

Harpocration and Suidas place the city 20 stades from Olynthus, and Strabo makes it the port of Olynthus (vii.331 fr. 29). Leake identifies it with the modern Molivopyrgo "where some remains of antiquity are said to be preserved" (NG iii.154-155). On the exact site see Struck, Mak. Fahrten, Chalkidike i.56; A.J.B. Wace, BSA 1913.132 and BSA 1914-1916.11ff., map enclosed (followed by Casson, Mac. 89); D.M. Robinson, AJA 1935.229-231. See also Lenk, RE Supp. vi s.v. and ATL i.519.

*Ολυνθον.—Artabazus reduces the city along with Potidaea and delivers it over to the Chalcidians, at which time the Bottiaeans are in possession (viii.127). It becomes one of the most important cities in the Thraceward region during the Peloponnesian war (see Thuc. i.57f.; ii.79,99,101; iv.7), appearing prominently in the Treaty of Nicias (v.18.5).

Thuc. says that Olynthus is about 60 stades from Potidaea and visible from there (i.63.2). Leake accordingly identified the

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city with the place Aia Mamas, marked "Agia Mama" on BA chart 2836b, where he found ancient remains and a lagoon or marsh which he identified with that of Hdt. viii.127, where Artabazus executed the defenders of Olynthus (IG iii.154f.). Chrysochoos locates the site more precisely on the E bank of the Sandanos river at the modern Pasetnik and opposite the farm of Iyriophyton ('Επιτηρὶς τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ 1899.142ff.); followed by Wace (BSA 1914-1916.11ff., map enclosed; cf. Casson's Mac. 89) and Robinson (AJA 1929.53-76). For the coins and a full discussion of the site and excavations see the multi-volume Excavations at Olynthus by Robinson and his colleagues, and more briefly Robinson, RE xviii.325ff.. See also ATL i.529. For Wace's list of the ancient sites in the vicinity see BSA 1913.131ff..

ἡ μὲν νυν χώρα αὕτη Σιθωνίη καλέεται.-- See Oberhummer, RE iii A 393.

123.

ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω συντάμνων ἀπ' Ἀμπέλου ἄκρης--On the promontory see ch. 122 and comm. ad loc.. On the larger issues of chs. 122 and 123 see comm. at the end of this chapter.

ἐπὶ Καναστραῖον ἄκρην, τὸ δὴ πάσης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει μάλιστα,--The promontory is given this name on pls. 83 and 84 of the Times Atlas, and the 1967 Blue Guide also uses the name while adding "Kalogria" (520 opp.). It is interesting to note that BA chart 2836b marks the tip of the peninsula "Paliuri" but also marks a "Kanastri pt." about a third of the way along toward Posidhion to the W.

Thuc. mentions a postern of Torone that is "toward Canastraeon" (iv.110.2). See Scylax 66 (GGM i.53), Livy xxxi.45.15, Steph. Byz. s.v., and Oberhummer, RE x.1855f..

ἐνθεῦτεν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάβανε ἐκ Ποτειδαίης--Potidaea openly revolts and evidently escapes with impunity in spite of Artabazus' campaign (viii.126ff.). Hdt' story of the great ebb and flood that destroy much of Artabazus' army implies that Potidaea is on the isthmus of Pallene (viii.129) and Thuc. says so explicitly (i.56.2 and see i.63.1, where Aristeus forces his way in via the

123 cont.

break-water); see Scylax 66 (GGM i.52) and Pliny, NH iv.36. Potidaea is perhaps the greatest city of Chalcidice in the 5th century.

Leake identifies the city with the modern village of Pinaka (NG iii.152). For a description of the site see Struck, Mak. Fahrten, Chalkidike i.39,42,43f.. On the coins see Head, HN 212f. and Robinson's Excavations at Olynthus esp. iii.101-105. See also ATL i.542 and Ernst Meyer, RE Supp. x.616ff.. More recently (1963) see Alexander's Potidaea and esp. 1ff. on the site and present remains.

καὶ Ἀφύτιος--It is Phormio's base of operations against Potidaea (Thuc. i.64.2). According to Pausanias Lysander laid siege to it unsuccessfully (iii.18.2). Agesipolis died there (Xen. Hell. v.3.19). See also Scylax 66 (GGM i.52), Strabo vii.331 fr. 27, and Steph. Byz. s.v.. We have several documents that seem to regulate Athenian relations with Aphytis and Potidaea early in the Archidamian war (Hill's B 83 and 84, p. 314).

Leake convincingly identifies Aphytis with the modern Athyto, marked "Atheto" on BA chart 2836b and "Athitos" on BA chart 1085 (NG iii.156), about 7 miles SSE of Potidaea. "Athyto is built above a cliff about 100 ft. high; between the foot of the cliff and the sea is a strip of land, about 100 yds. wide and 600 long, forming a small natural harbour protected from N and S, but exposed to the E. The country between Athytos and Potidaea is open, with low hills." (Gomme i.221). ATL accept the identification (i.474). See also Hirschfeld, RE i.2801, and Casson's Mac.44. The 1967 Blue Guide marks the village clearly on its map opp. p. 520. On the coinage see Head's HN 209f., and see also Hirschfeld, RE i.2801.

καὶ Νέης πόλις καὶ Αἰγῆς καὶ Θεράμβω--Neapolis and Aege are insignificant and cannot be located with anything like certainty (see Casson's map, Mac. 94 opp. and CAH v.173 opp., who merely try to choose likely places on the coast between Athyto and Struck's remains on the bay of Karavi [see below], following Leake, who identifies Neapolis with Polykrono, marked "Polekrono" on BA chart 2836b, and Aege with Kapsokhori, marked "Kapsokhora" on BA chart 1085: NG iii map and see Rawlinson iv.104a; Kapsokhori appears prominently in the 1967 Blue Guide, 520 opp., map). ATL follow Leake (i.464).

Scylax mentions "Thrambeis" between Aphytis and Scione, omitting the less important Neapolis and Aege (66, GGM i.52). Stephen calls "Thrambos" a promontory of Macedonia and "Strambae" a city of Thrace (s.v.). Leake locates the town merely "very near Cape

123 cont.

Canastraeum" (NG iii.156). Struck reports the remains of ancient walls on the bay of Karavi below the metochion of Iviron and he also heard about other remains in the vicinity (Mak. Fahrten, Chal. i.51). ATL use this evidence as a basis for identifying Therambos (i.464), evidently following Casson (Mac. 95 opp.) and West's map, CAH v.173 opp.. See also Oberhummer, RE iii A 2303f.. These 3 identifications may be as good as any others, but they are clearly far from certain. They carry no weight in evaluating Hdt' lists (see below)..

καὶ Σκίωνης--According to the Scionians of Thuc. iv.120.1 the city was a colony of Pellene in Peloponnesian Achaea, founded immediately after the Trojan war when the Pelleneans were blown off-course by a storm. It went over to Brasidas in 424 (iv.120.1) for which they met a terrible fate at the hands of the Athenians 3 years later (v.32.1). Scione is one of Strabo's 4 cities of Pallene (vii. 331 fr. 27).

Thuc. mentions a suburb of Mende "toward Scione" (iv.130.1) and also says that the territory of Mende bordered that of Scione (iv.130.2). Scylax seems to name the cities of Pallene in zig-zag fashion (as ATL put it): Potidaea, Mende, Aphytis, Therambeis, Scione, the promontory of Canastraeon (66; GGM i.52-53). Leake locates it much nearer cape Possidhi, marked "Kassandra" on BA chart 2836b and "Posidhion" on BA chart 1085 and pl. 84 of the Times Atlas, than to Canastraeon (NG iii map). Struck locates the town on the S shore of Pallene about 10 miles E of Mende and thus nearer Canastraeon than Posideon (Mak. Fahrten, Chal. i.52; see Meritt, AJA 1923.450f.). See CAH v.173 opp. (map); ATL i.550; Oberhummer, RE iii A 529f.. On the coinage see Head's HN 210. The ruins are marked prominently on the map of Chalcidice in the 1967 Blue Guide (520 opp.).

καὶ Μένδης--Mende is an Eretrian colony that goes over to Brasidas in 423 (Thuc. iv.123.1) and therefore meets severe treatment at the hands of the Athenians (iv.130.6f.). It is one of Strabo's 4 cities of Pallene (vii.331 fr. 27).

The Athenians of Thuc. iv.129.3 set out from Potidaea, put in at the Posidonion, and advance against the Mendaeans. In BC 200 Attalus and the Romans of Livy xxxi.45.14 sail first to Mende, round the promontory, and sail up to the city walls of Cassandreia (Potidaea). Accordingly Leake identifies the city with ancient remains lying E of cape Posidhi, the ancient Posideion (NG iii. 156f.). There has been general agreement on the site since the time of Leake. It is about a mile SE of the modern village of

123 cont.

Kalandra, marked thus on BA chart 1085. See Meritt, AJA 1923.447-450; Lenk, RE xv.777ff.; ATL i.519. On the coinage see Head's HN 210ff. and S.P. Noe, "The Mende (Kaliandra) Hoard," Numismatic Notes and Monographs xxvii (New York 1926). The remains are prominently marked on BA chart 2836b and on the map of Chalcidice opp. p. 520 of the 1967 Blue Guide.

καὶ Σάνης.—Sane is the name of a city situated on Xerxes' canal (see chs. 22 and 23 and comm. ad loc.) and the question, therefore, is whether there were 2 cities of that name in Chalcidice. Sane is one of Strabo's 4 cities of Pallene indeed (vii.331 fr. 27) but we do not know the basis of his evidence. It could be this passage of Hdt. for all we know. Oberhummer cites Leake for a Pallenean Sane (RE i A 2229) but Leake found no ancient remains at the place marked Sane on his map (NG iii.157 and map at the end of the vol.). Whatever Struck's speculation (Mak. Fahrten, Chal. i.54 and cf. West's question mark, CAH v.173, map. opp.) it seems wrong to conjure up another Sane when we have no reliable ancient evidence to confirm that of Hdt.. Stephen's entry probably reflects the same puzzlement felt by the modern scholar: Σάνη·πόλις Θράκης μεταξύ Ἀθῶ καὶ Παλλήνης. He assumes there is only one city named Sane and because he does not know whether to put it on Athos or Pallene he puts it between the two. On the basis of evidence now at our disposal the easiest explanation of this Sane, like the Sithonian Galepsos of ch. 122, is that Hdt. misplaces a city that is really located farther E. Blakesley (ii.251) and Macan (i¹156a, b) also deny Hdt' authority on the question of this 2nd Sane.

αὕται γάρ εἰσι αἱ τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην πρότερον δὲ Φλέγρην καλεομένην νεμόμεναι.—Stein (iv.111) suggests that by καλεομένην Hdt. means "so called in poetry". See Aesch. Eumenides 295 (Orestes invoking Athena); Pindar, Nem. i.67 and Isth. vi.33, all evidently referring to the victory of the gods over the giants in this general area. Ptolemy has a Γεγωνίς ἄκρα in the Thermaic gulf (iii.13.13). See Oberhummer on Pallene, RE xviii³245ff. and on Phlegra, xx.264f..

παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔπλεε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατιὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πόλεων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμουμεουσέων δὲ τῷ θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῇσι οὐνόματά ἐστι τάδε, Λίπαξος—

On the larger issues see below. On Lipaxos see Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 149 and Oberhummer, RE xiii.722. The town is inconsequential.

123 cont.

Κώμβρεια,--The town is otherwise unknown. See Oberhummer, RE xi.1141.

Λισαί,--Stein emends the text so as to read **Αἷσα**, in order to conform with the city of that name in the tribute lists (see ATL i.466) and also because of the following entries by Steph. Byz.:
Αἷσα· πόλις θράκης προσεχῆς τῇ Παλλήνῃ.
Γίγωνος· πόλις θράκης προσεχῆς τῇ Παλλήνῃ.

ATL accept the reasoning and the identification (i.466) and thus place the town E of Gigonos (see below and CAH v.173 opp., entered with a question-mark). Hdt. probably wrote the text as we have it but he may well have mistaken A for Λ. See also Oberhummer, RE xiii.729f..

Γίγωνος--Gigonos marks a stage in the march from Pydna to Potidaea (Thuc. i.61.5). Ptolemy's promontory of Gigonis is NW of Cassandreia (Potidaea; iii.12.10) and Et. Mag. has a promontory of Gigonis "between Macedonia and Pallene". Leake identifies this promontory with the modern Aponomi, marked "Epanomi" in BA chart 1085, and puts Gigonos nearby (NG iii.452f. and map at the end of the vol.). ATL argue that if Gigonos is anywhere near Aponomi the battle of Thuc. i.62.5ff. must have been fought after a march of more than 20 miles on the same day. They move the city SE to the next relatively prominent point along the coast (see CAH v.173 opp. and Leake's map at the end of NG iii), thus reducing the distance from Potidaea to about 10 miles, while pointing out indeed that Thuc. may neglect to mention another night's rest between the encampment at Gigonos and the battle (i.62.4; ATL i.540). It seems wrong to build on this kind of reasoning because not only are we un-sure as to whether the Athenians stopped again as ATL suggest, but also we are not certain whether they maintain their leisurely rate of march (i.61.5). The location is uncertain.

Κάμψα--The name in this form is otherwise unknown but there has long been a tendency to identify the town with the Scapsa of the ATL (see Boeckh, Staatshaushaltung ii² 2.729f. and Oberhummer, RE x.1842). Steph. Byz. makes the following entry, evidently writing under the influence of this passage from Hdt.:

Κάψα· πόλις Χαλκιδικῆς χώρας κατὰ Παλλήνην, ὁμοροῦσα τῇ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ. ὁ πόλις τῆς Καψαῖος /Καμψαῖος Rehdigeranus/

Struck found Hellenistic remains a little more than a mile NE of cape Mesimere (Mak. Fahrten, Chal. i.36), sometimes marked cape Smila as on e.g. BA charts 2836b and 1085. ATL accept the Campsa-Scapsa identification and locate the town at Struck's Hellenistic site, suggesting that Scapsa may be the Hellenistic Antigoneia

123 cont.

(ATL i.540) and also that some form of the name lies behind the Ἀντιγόχεια ἡ Ψαπαρά of Ptolemy iii.12.35 (ATL i.549). Their identification seems founded on too many uncertainties.

Σμίλα--See Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 148. ATL locate the town merely N of Scapsa and S of Aenea (i.540,550). Clearly the site is uncertain. See CAH v.173 opp. (where the name appears with a question-mark) and Oberhummer, RE iii A 717. The name survives in the modern cape Smila, marked thus on BA charts 1085 and 2836b.

Ἀῖνεια-- It is probably the most important town of the list. Strabo names it as one of 26 cities that Cassander incorporated when he founded Thessalonica (vii.331 frs. 21 and 24). It seems to have survived as a sanctuary and a fortress (Livy xl.4.4,9, xliv.10, xlv.30). Dionysius of Halicarnassus says the Trojans founded the city after the Trojan war and also mentions Cassander's foundation of Thessalonica and the removal of the Aeneians to the new city (i.49.4). Scylax mentions the city between Therma and the peninsula of Pallene (66; GGM i.52). Scymnos Chios mentions a promontory of Aeneia (627f.; GGM i.221), and Lycophron associates the city with a promontory (1236 with scholia; quoted by Leake, NG iii.451 and ATL i.465). It seems most likely that this promontory is the great Karaburnu (Karaburun), marked "Kara" on BA chart 2836b, but this identification on which the location of the city rests, is far from certain. Livy says that Aeneia is 15 Roman miles from Thessalonica, but also that it is opposite Pydna (xliv.10). These two attributes are prima facie incompatible (see Leake, NG iii.452). If the promontory and city are literally opposite Pydna, they must be associated with Aponomi, marked "Panomi pt." on BA chart 2836b and "Epanomi" on BA chart 1085, and not the great Karaburnu. In this case, however, it is perhaps best to follow Leake's reliance on Livy's distance rather than his description, so that we can look for Aeneia near the great Karaburnu = the promontory of Aeneia. As ATL point out, "In the tribute lists, it pays far higher tribute than any neighbouring city, and its remains should be considerable." Struck's remains (Mak. Fahrten., Chal. i.35) "are vague both in position and nature", merely "bei Tumba", a mile S of the village of Mega Karaburnu. See ATL i.465 and ii.84, and Edson, Cl. Phil. 1949.88-91, and also Hirschfeld, RE i.1009f.. On the coinage see Head's HN 214.

ἡ δὲ τούτων χώρα Κροσσαία ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε καλεῖται.-- Thus. says that in 429 at an engagement between Olynthus and Spartolos the Athenians had a few peltasts from the land called Crousis (ii.79.4). Strabo also calls the land Crousis (vii.331 fr. 21).

123 cont.

Steph. Byz. names Crousia as a part of Mygdonia (s.v.) but also cites Hecataeus (FGH 1 F 213) for a Crossa and a Crossaian race on the Pontus.

Hdt. and Strabo seem to use the name to distinguish the territory SE of Great Karaburun from that of the Thermaic gulf. See also Oberhummer, RE xi.2019 and esp. ATL i.439ff..

ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰνεΐης, ἐς τὴν ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τὰς πόλεις,--
Hdt. seems aware that he has been giving the names of cities for their own sake.

ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη ἐς αὐτόν τε τὸν θερμαῖον κόλπον--
See ch. 121 and comm. ad loc..

ἐγίνετο τῷ ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυγδονίην,--
Thuc. seems to apply the name to all the territory between the Axios and the Strymon (ii.99.4) but see also ii.100.4 (Mygdonia, Grestonia, Anthemos), where he may use it in a more restricted sense. Thuc. also associates Perdiccas' Mygdonia with Lake Bolbe (i.58.2). See also Strabo vii.331 fr. 41, Steph. Byz. s.v., and Oberhummer, RE xvi.998ff..

πλέων δὲ ἀπῆκετο ἔς τε τὴν προειρημένην θέρμην καὶ Σίνδον τε πόλιν--On Therma see ch. 121 and comm. ad loc..

With the name Sindos cf. iv.28 (Sindoi), iv.86 (Sindice), Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 147 (Sindonaioi), Steph. Byz. s.v. Sinthos, and Dittenberger i.332.5 (Sinaia).

At least from the time of Boeckh (ii.728) there has been a tendency to identify Hdt' Sindos with the Sinos of the ATL (see Stein iv.112, Maean i¹158a). ATL accept this identification and place the town near the modern Salonica (i.548f.). See also Leake, NG iii.450 and the map at the end of vol. iii, and Oberhummer, RE iii A 229.

καὶ Χαλέστρην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμόν--Plutarch mentions "Chalaistra" as the birthplace of Limos (Alex. xlix), Diodorus' Dimnos of xvii.79. It is known to Hecataeus (FGH 1 F 146). Strabo names it as one of the cities absorbed into Thessalonica (vii.331 frs. 21 and 24), but like Aeneia (see above) it seems to have survived as a fortress of sorts (see Diodorus xxx.2.4, Perseus' siege of "Chalestron"). See also Lycophron 1441 and Oberhummer, RE iii.2038.

Strabo twice says that the Axios empties between Chalestra and Therma (vii.331 frs. 20 and 23). Pliny puts "Chalastra" on the coast (NH iv.36). Together with Hdt' evidence to the effect that

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Chalestra is on the Axios, they indicate that Chalestra may have stood on the right bank of the Axios near its mouth (see Leake, NG iii.450) although silt from the rivers emptying into the gulf must have changed the landscape considerably since the early 5th century. See Casson's map (Mac. 15, included here) with comm. at obs. 121 and 127; Leake, NG iii.437; Oberhummer, RE iii.2038 and ii.2629 on the Axios; CAH v.173 opp., map included.

The Axios has been identified with the modern Vardhari at least from the time of Leake (NG iii.258) and there is no reason to doubt that identification. It is prominent in Greek literature from the Iliad onward (ii.850; xvi.288; xxi.141-143). See Casson's description, Mac. 16ff..

ὅς οὐρίζει χώραν τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαίδαν,--

The Bottiaeans were driven from the Thermaic gulf and held Olynthus when Artabazus laid siege to the city (viii.127). Thuc. calls the country Bottia (ii.99.3) and Bottiaea (ii.100.4); he also makes the Axios the boundary between Bottiaea and Mygdonia, although he mentions a narrow strip of Paeonia along the Axios that complicates the matter. The boundary on the W between Macedonia and Bottiaea is the Lydias-Haliacmon according to Hdt. (ch. 127; see comm. ad loc.). Further on Bottiaeis see Oberhummer, RE iii.794f.. On Bottiaean coinage see Head, HN 213.

τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν, στεῖνδον χωρίον, πόλεις
"Ιχναί τε καὶ Πέλλα.--

The best Mss reading is "Ιχνη and there seems little reason to abandon that reading. Steph. Byz. merely cites Hdt. for the name (Ichnai) and adds Eratosthenes' name for it, Achnai, and the fact that there is another Ichnai in the E. (The eastern Ichnai is presumably the Mesopotamian Ischniai of Dio Cassius xl.12.2 and Plutarch, Crassus xxv.11, near Carrhae and probably founded from Macedonia; cf. Weissbach, RE ix.829f..) In Thessaliotis Strabo mentions an Ichnai where the Ichmaian Themis is held in honour (ix.435). Pliny mentions an Ichnae in conjunction with the Axios river (NH iv.35). The town could never have been important and it would be impossible to identify the site precisely on the basis of evidence now at our disposal. See Stahlin, RE ix.829. Casson tries to distinguish Hdt' Ichnai from the western Ichnai of Steph. Byz. (Mac. 48, following Svoronos), but without apparent justification. Struck's location is only approximate and he does not seem to have examined the region in detail (Mak. Fahrten, Chal. i.96; see Casson, Mac. 80). For Svoronos' arguments on the basis of coinage, see L' Hellénisme primitif

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de la Macédoine, esp. p. 41, and Head, EN 199.

Pella is the later home of Macedonian kings and the birthplace of Philip and Alexander the Great. Thuc. says the Macedonians acquired a narrow strip of Paeonia stretching along the Axios river from the interior to Pella and the sea (ii.99.4). In 383 an ambassador of Acanthus calls Pella the greatest city in Macedonia (Xen. Hell. v.2.13), though Demosthenes seems to think it was unimportant before the birth of Philip (xviii.68). Strabo also says that Philip greatly enlarged the city (vii.331 fr. 23). Casson conjectures that Pella is a later name for Bounomos (Macedonia 50).

Scylax knows the city as royal and says that one gets there by sailing up the Lydias river (66; GGM i.52). Strabo says that it is 120 stades up the Lydias from the sea (vii.331 fr. 22), and also that it has a lake before it from which the Lydias flows, filled from an off-shoot of the Axios (vii.331 fr. 23). Clearly either Hdt. and Thuc. are wrong when they apparently put the city on or near the coast or there was considerable silting of the gulf between classical and later antiquity (comm. at ch. 121 and 127). Pliny also says the city is inland (NH iv.34). Plutarch gives us the name of the lake, Borboros, when he quotes Theocritus of Chios to the effect that Aristotle prefers the flows of Borboros to Academia (Mor. 603 C). Livy describes the city as it appeared to Aemilius Paulus in 168 BC, bounded by marshes impassable in winter and summer caused by the overflow of streams, with the citadel near the city rising like an island and built on a great embankment (xliv.46). Athenaeus quotes a comic poet named Machon who alludes to the baths of Pella (viii.348e; see 352a).

SE of the modern Janitsa and some 20 minutes from the village of Alaklisi Leake found baths called Pella, "another much more copious source, which is received into a square reservoir of masonry, and flows out of it in a stream to the marsh" (NG iii.261), in the midst of plenteous ancient remains where coins were found "in great abundance" (NG iii.262). See also Wace, BSA 1914-16.125 and Oberhummer, RE xix.341ff. with Struck's maps from Mak. Fahrten.; CAH v.173 opp. (map enclosed). Janitsa is marked "Yiannitsa" on pls. 82 and 83 of the Times Atlas and the ruins of Pella are clearly marked on the map opp. p. 520 of the 1967 Blue Guide, SE of "Giannitsa".

What does Hdt. know of Chalcidice? What he says about the great canal is nothing but un-reliable hearsay. To judge from Thuc' evidence on the order of cities on Athos Hdt. is badly wrong on that question. His order of cities is explicable on the hypothesis

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that he reads a geographical source if not a map and does it badly (chs. 22-23 and comm. ad loc.). He has nothing to say about the subsequent fate of the Athos canal (ch. 122 comm.).

We have no reliable control on Hdt' cities that are presumed to lie on the E coast of Sithonia. But far more important in its implications is the fact that Hdt' does not seem to know that the fleet is coasting along the Singitic gulf to get from the canal to Ampelos. He says merely that the fleet sailed into the gulf, and that the cities of his list are on that gulf. Finally he says that in rounding Ampelos the fleet passed Torone, Galepsos, Serryle, Mecyberna, and Olynthus. It seems idle to speculate that the land army over-runs the peninsula in co-operation with a few light vessels (Blakesley ii.251) or that only a few ships made a circuit of the bay (Rawlinson iv.103) or even that Hdt. confused places visited by the army with places touched on by the navy (Macan i¹155a). What Hdt. says is that in the process of rounding Ampelos the fleet sailed past the cities in question, i.e. that these cities are on Ampelos. Hdt. does not seem to know that Sithonia is a narrow peninsula; he merely knows that the "land" in question (χώρα) is called Sithonia. If his knowledge of Aote is embarrassing because of the conflict with Thuc' evidence, what he says about Sithonia is even more damaging. Once again he seems to be reading a geographical source and doing it badly. If he believes that the Singitic gulf lies over against Torone (ch. 22) he is likewise capable of believing that Torone and four other cities are on cape Ampelos and that Sithonia is not a narrow peninsula. Hdt' Sithonian Galepsos probably lies E of the Strymon (122). We can hardly be certain about Serryle if Hecataeus seems to put it on Athos. Hdt. may seem to be on firm ground with his Mecyberna but how do we know where he got this name? Hecataeus again seems to put it on Pallene. Even aside from the fact that he does not know where these cities are in relation to the rest of Chalcidice, some of the very names themselves are suspect.

Confidence in Hdt. can hardly be restored by what he says of Pallene. He seems to believe that the fleet merely sails along one stretch of coast toward the Thermaic gulf and that his Pallenean cities lie in consecutive order along that coast. He does not seem to know that he reads down the coast from Potidaea to Therambos and up the coast from Scione to Sane. As in the case of Sithonia he has not the slightest notion of the real shape of Pallene; nor does he seem to get his names right, because he reproduces Sane on Pallene and we have no reliable confirmation of that city.

No one has ever pretended that we can control Hdt. on the cities of Crossaea. Likewise on the location of Sindos and Chalestra and

123 cont.

Ichne Hdt. may be right and he may be wrong. On the one important city of the chapter other than Therma itself Hdt. may be wrong because he believes that Pella is on the coast instead of inland and we have not as of yet reliable confirmation of Struck's hypothesis on the huge extent of silting in the gulf of Therma in historical times (comm. at ch. 121 and 127). From the Athos canal to the gulf of Therma Hdt. has no grasp whatever on the realities of the geography he purports to know. That Hdt. could have written from autopsy seems out of the question. He seems to be using a geographical source that gives him lists of names and little more, and some of the names are badly out of place. Precise identifications that rely wholly or largely on the dubious authority of such lists are so precarious as to be worthless.

124.

Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου τὴν μεσόγαλαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ, βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπικέσθαι.--

Hdt' wording may indicate that he is cutting Athos and Pallene off Xerxes' route, but it can also be accounted for in that Xerxes must march inland to be attacked by the lions of ch. 125 and he must be taking the straightest route because he is in a hurry.

ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς Παλονικῆς καὶ Κρηστωνικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐχέιδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ἀρξάμενος ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρας καὶ ἔξειει παρὰ τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπ' Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ.--

Hdt. associates Paeonia with Pangaeon and the Strymon (v.13,16; vii. 113 and comm. ad loc.). He associates Crestonia with the upper Cheidoros (see ch. 127 and below) and perhaps with Rhodope (viii. 116) but it is otherwise difficult to tell where he thinks the country is (see v.3,5), except that it is W of Paeonia. See Thuc. ii.99.6 (Anthemios, Grestonia, and Bisaltia); ii.100.4 (Mygdonia, Grestonia, and Anthemios); iv.109.4 (the Bisaltic and Grestonic races and the Edonians). See also Strabo vii.331 fr. 41 and Oberhummer, RE xi.1718. Hecataeus knows both the Paeonians and the Crestonians (FGH 1 F 153 and 154).

Scylax mentions the "Echedoros" between the Axios and Therma (66; GGM i.52). Ptolemy puts it between Thessalonica and the Axios (iii. 13.14). See also Apollodorus ii.5.11 and Oberhummer, RE v.1909.

At least from the time of Leake it has been identified with the modern Galliko (NG iii.439f.), marked "Gallikos" on pl. 83 of the Times Atlas and opp. p. 520 of the 1967 Blue Guide to Greece. See also Casson's description, Mac. 16ff..

Hdt. clearly associates Mygdonia with the Thermaic gulf (ch. 123 and comm. ad loc.), and the marshes to which he alludes clearly

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have to do with the silting up of that gulf (ch. 121 comm.). That puts Crestonia above Mygdonia on the Cheidoros, and any route for the army via that country is impossible. It is idle to speculate that some part of the army may have descended the Cheidoros while the main body of it crossed Chalcidice via Lake Bolbe and Apollonia (see e.g. Blakesley ii.252f.; Rawlinson iv.106; Stein iv.113; Macan i¹159bf.; H7 ii.173). Hdt. merely gets his geography wrong, and we can hardly be certain that he knows which way the Cheidoros flows to judge from his conception of the Angites and Strymon (ch. 113 and comm. ad loc.).

This Paeonian-Crestonian route has long been associated with the upper road of v.15 and/or the short route from Prasias to Macedonia via Dysoron (v.17); see Baehr iii.619; Macan i¹159b. But there is no evidence to the effect that Hdt. associated Crestonia with the road or roads in question.

125.

λέοντες οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο τῇσι σιτοφόροισι καμήλοισι·
καταφοιτῶντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας καὶ λείποντες
τὰ σφέτερα ἦθρα--

Blakesley ingeniously suggests that the army stirred them up in its march and in effect forced them into the way of the supply train (ii.253).

126.

τὰ κέρεια ὑπερμεγάρθρα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐς Ἑλληνας φοιτέοντα.--

They made their way into Greece as articles of commerce. See iii. 115 and ch. 23.4.

οὗρος δὲ τοῖσι λέουσιν ἐστὶ ὃ τε δὲ Ἀβδήρων ῥέων
ποταμὸς Νέστος--

For lions in Europe see Aristotle, HA vi.31, 519 A; Pliny, HN viii. 45; Pausanias vi.5.4f. and Frazer iv.16f..

On the Nestos see vii.109 and comm. ad loc., Casson's Mac. 21f., and Oberhummer, RE xvii.138f..

καὶ ὁ δὲ Ἀκαρνανῆος ῥέων Ἀχελῷος--Hdt. associates the river with Acarnania, the Echinades, and a great deal of silt (ii.10), perhaps taking his information from Hecataeus, who is also familiar with Acarnania (FGH 1 F 119). Thuc. describes the river and the country quite fully (ii.102.2ff. and see Gomme ii.249f.). See also Strabo x.458, Pausanias viii.24.11, and Hirschfeld, RE i.213.

126 cont.

οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τοῦ Νέστου οὐδαμόθι πάσης τῆς ἔμπροσθε Εὐρώπης ἴδοι τις ἄν λέοντα, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται.---

Hdt' point of vantage is Asian (ἔμπροσθε Εὐρώπης) and he seems to think that the Nestos and Acheloos lie due E and W of one another (thus Macan i¹161a).

127.

χώρην τοσήνδε, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίης μέχρι Λυδίας τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀλιάκμονος, οἱ οὐρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βοττιαίδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα, ἐς τῷτὸ ῥέεθρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες.---

On Mygdonia see ch. 123 and comm. ad loc.. On Therma and the Thermaic gulf see ch. 121 and comm. ad loc..

Scylax mentions the Lydias in conjunction with the city of Aloros (66; GGM i.52). Strabo says that the Lydias is navigable 120 stades inland to Pella and also that it issues from a lake of the same name that is fed by an off-shoot of the Axios (vii. 331 fr. 20 and cf. 22). Ptolemy distinguishes the outlets of the Axios, Lydias, and Haliacmon (iii.13.14-15). It is known to Hecataeus as the Loidias (FGH 1 F 145).

At least from the time of Leake the Lydias has been identified with the modern Karasmak or Mavroneri (NG iii.270). Casson calls it the Kara Asmak (Mac. 14ff.). It is marked "Loudhias" on e.g. BA chart 1085 and pl. 83 of the Times Atlas. See also Struck, Mak. Fahrten i.19ff. and Philippson, RE i A 960f..

The Haliacmon is known to Hesiod (Theogony 341). Strabo says it empties into the Thermaic gulf between Dion and Pydna, which could hardly have been right (vii.331 fr. 22). Scylax names it after Pydna and in conjunction with the city of Methone (66; GGM i.52). On its deep, clear, and pure character see Pliny NH xxxi.14 and Casson's Mac. 14. Caesar says it divides Macedonia from Thessaly (BC iii.36). At least from the time of Leake it has been identified with the modern Vistrizta or Inje-kara-su (NG i.303). It is marked "Aliakmon" on BA chart 1085, pl. 83 of the Times Atlas, and opp. p. 520 of the 1967 Blue Guide.

As marked on BA chart 1085, in the Times Atlas, and in the 1967 Blue Guide, the Haliacmon, Lydias, and Axios all have separate outlets into the gulf of Therma. In the time of Leake, however, the Lydias was tributary to the Axios (NG iii.437). In their lower reaches these rivers are shifting constantly.

The Haliacmon itself appears to have moved its lower course to the E of late, so that in time, perhaps, all the three rivers may unite before they join the sea. In all the large

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rivers of Greece, similar changes of direction in the lower parts of their course are observable. The new soil which is brought down by the water, and distributed along the shore by the sea, acted upon by prevailing winds and currents, produces a continual change of obstacles and of relative levels in the maritime plain, which speedily gives a new course to the waters, even in the land which is not of the latest formation.

Leake, NG iii.437

It seems likely that Hdt. merely confused the Lydias-Axios that Leake saw with a Haliacmon-Lydias that never existed. But in view of these shifting channels it is far from impossible that Hdt' description was true in his own time.

On the other hand it seems wrong to construct a history of the Thermaic gulf on the basis of Hdt' Lydias-Haliacmon and Strabo's Lake Lydias fed by an off-shoot of the Axios (vii.331 fr. 20). Struck does so (Mak. Fahrten i.19), and Casson adopts his theory (Mac. 14ff.; see also Geyer, RE xiv.644ff. and 649 and Pritchett, AJA 1961.373a). The enclosed map, that of Casson 15 taken over from Struck, is self-explanatory. The evidence of both Hdt. and Strabo is too uncertain to justify it. E.g. Strabo twice says that the Haliacmon empties between Dion and Pydna, which could never have been true (vii.331 frs. 20 and 22). And if Strabo's evidence is worth accepting it is worth accepting as he gives it. His Lake Lydias is 120 stades inland, by Pella, clearly what is otherwise known as Borborus (see 123 and comm. ad loc.), not anywhere near the gulf of Therma. It is true that both Hdt. and Thuc. seem to locate Pella on or near the sea (comm. at ch. 123) and there may well have been considerable silting in the gulf of Therma, but we have no reliable confirmation of Struck's hypothesis that it took place on such a grand scale in historical times (comm. at ch. 121).

According to Hdt. the Axios is the boundary between Mygdonia and Bottiaea (ch. 123) and elsewhere he makes it clear that he associates Bottiaea with the Thermaic gulf (viii.127). Here he says that the Lydias-Haliacmon divides Bottiaea from Macedonia, both countries clearly resting on the coast. Thus Hdt' Bottiaea extends from his Lydias-Haliacmon to the Axios. That agrees with Thuc' statement that the Bottiaeans now border on the Chalcidians having been driven from Bottiaea by the Macedonians (ii.99.3). Thuc' statement in turn agrees with Hdt' to the effect that at the time of Artabazus' siege the Bottiaeans held the city of Olynthus, having been driven from the Thermaic gulf by the Macedonians (viii. 127). Hdt. does not, however, leave room on the coast for the Pieria of chs. 131 and 177 (see comm. ad loc.). The Macedonia of Thuc' own day is also on the coast (ii.99.3).

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ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ῥέων Ἐχελιδωρος μόνος οὐκ ἀντέχρησε
τῇ στρατιῇ πινόμενος ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε.--

See chs. 21 and 43 and comm. ad loc..

128.

Ξέρξης δὲ ὁρῶν ἐκ τῆς Θέρμης ὄρεα τὰ Θεσσαλικά, τὸν
τε Ὀλυμπον καὶ τὴν Ὀσσαν,--

Xerxes could have seen Olympus and Ossa from Therma (e.g. Leake, NG iii.240; Clarke's Travels 372; Munro from Macan i¹163a). On Olympus see Leake's NG i,iii, and iv passim; Casson's Mac. passim; Schmidt, RE xviii.253ff.; Pritchett, AJA 1961.69-75.

On Ossa see Leake's NG i,iii, and iv passim, and Schmidt, RE xviii.1591ff.. It retains the ancient name as marked on pls. 83 and 84 of the Times Atlas and opp. p. 392 of the 1967 Blue Guide. See also comm. at ch. 129.

διὰ μέσου τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶνα στεινὸν πυνθανόμενος εἶναι,
ὅτι οὐ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειός,--

Hdt. refers to Tempe (see chs. 172 and 173). On the Peneus see e.g. Leake, NG iii.403ff., iv.283,291,512ff.; Casson, Mac. 4ff.; Stahlin, RE xix.458. The river is well-known to Greek literature from Homer (Il. ii.752ff.) and Hesiod (Theogony 343) onwards. It is known to Leake as the Salamvria or Selambria. It is marked "Pinios" on BA chart 1085, pl. 84 of the Times Atlas, and opp. p. 392 of the 1967 Blue Guide.

ἀκούων τε ταύτη εἶναι ὁδὸν ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσιν,--

Hdt. represents Xerxes as having no previous knowledge of the way into Thessaly and also as gaining a first-hand knowledge of the country superior to that of the Greeks in that he becomes familiar with two different passes into Thessaly (see chs. 172-173).

ἐπεθύμησε πλώσας θεήσασθαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ὅτι
τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν ἔμελλε ἐλθὼν διὰ Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε
οἰκημένων ἐς Περραιβοὺς παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν.--

Hdt. is to show us a third of Xerxes' army relegated to the role of pioneers clearing a way over the Macedonian mountain(s) as a part of this "upper road" (ch. 131).

Pritchett concludes his article on "Xerxes' route over Mt. Olympus" as follows.

In conclusion, the route assigned to Xerxes by Hdt. is a much more feasible military way than any of the possible alternatives. The topographical accuracy of the historian need never have been called into question.

AJA 1961.375b

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Pritchett assumes that Hdt. assigned Xerxes one particular way over Olympus. Which way is that? It is naive to believe that we can determine Hdt's upper road by studying the various modern roads in the neighbourhood of Olympus and proposing an efficient alternative route allegedly suitable for Xerxes' army (AJA 1961.374). That would be to assume that Hdt. knew the geography and topography in question; that the topography in question remains largely un-changed over the last 2400 years; that the roads of today are an accurate guide to the roads of antiquity; that Xerxes "must" have used one particular route because it "must have been" easier for his army and that Hdt. must have known about that easier route, probably from a visit to Gonnos and the Vale of Tempe (AJA 1961.369a,370b,372b-373a,374a-b,375a-b). None of those assumptions can be justified. Whatever Pritchett learned about the modern Olympus by scouring the slopes with his binoculars (AJA 1961.374a), and however the Germans marched in WW II (AJA 1961.375a), that kind of information is simply irrelevant to the question of what Hdt. meant by his "upper road". Pritchett believes he can find out by treading the very ground of Olympus (AJA 1961.373). We would do much better to look at previous passages from the history (see below). And it is little short of irresponsible to propose a dividing line between upper and lower Macedonia on the basis of some military route that Xerxes "must" have used because it "must" have been so much more convenient for him than any other, even if Prof. Vanderpool did make the suggestion (against Pritchett, AJA 1961.375b). It would be idle to take up Pritchett's study of Olympus in detail because it is nothing to do with Hdt.. Xerxes may or may not have used the route proposed by Pritchett for some or all of his army, but there is no good reason to believe that he did.

It seems likely that Hdt. is thinking of the upper road into Paeonia of v.15 and the short-cut from Lake Prasias into Macedonia via the region of Alexander's talent-a-day mine and the mountain that Hdt. calls Dysoron (v.17). This upper road avoids the coastal route via Tempe just as the upper road into Paeonia avoids the coastal route and allows Megabazus to take the Paeonians unawares. (v.15).

Following Philippson (RE v.1889) there are three proposed identifications of the Prasias-Dysoron road. If Prasias is Cercinitis, or Tahino, as Leake (NG iii.210ff.) and Abel (Maked. vor Philipp 60) believe, then Dysoron is Besik Dag to the W, marked "Kerdhillion" on pls. 82 and 83 of the Times Atlas. If Prasias is the modern Butkova Gol, marked "Butkovou" by the Times Atlas, as

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Doll (Progr. d. alt. Gymn. Regensburg 1891) and Kiepert (Formae) suggest, then Dysoron is the modern Kursa Balkan, stretching E and W south of that lake and marked "Krousia" by the Times Atlas. If Prasias is the modern sea of Dojran, marked "Dojransko Jez" by the Times Atlas, as Chrysochoos believes ('H Πρασιὰς λίμνη, Athens 1893), then Dysoron consists of the heights to the S and W. It is interesting to note that the 1967 Blue Guide marks the whole series of heights stretching NW in an arc from Kerdhillion with the name "Dysoron" (520 opp.). It seems impossible to be certain about the identifications and indeed they do not really matter in this context because a glance at the map will reveal that Hdt. greatly exaggerates the alleged advantages accruing to this short-cut. None of the above three routes makes it possible to enter Macedonia by circumventing an easier but much more circuitous lowland route, no matter where the Macedonia of v.17, nor indeed do any other very obvious Prasias-Dysoron's suggest themselves by means of which to enter what could be construed as "Macedonia" much the quicker. (See Casson's Mac. 62f. for a review of other suggestions.) Hdt. simply has the geography wrong, and there is reason to believe that he is quite as mistaken about the geography of this part of Xerxes' march. By the sea-coast there is to be obstruction in the form of the Greek expedition to Tempe so Xerxes is to take the more difficult but quicker and safer road over the mountains, just as Megabazus circumvents the sea-coast obstructions of the Paeonians and marches the upper road into Paeonia so as to take the Paeonians by surprise (v.15). Hdt' notion is poetic rather than historical. It seems idle to dwell on the Petra pass between Olympus and the Pierian hills or the Volustana pass via the valley of the Haliacmon because Hdt. has not the slightest real grasp of those geographical realities. To him there are only the two ways into Thessaly just as there are two analogous ways into Paeonia and indeed two analogous ways at Thermopylae (cf. Westlake, JHS 1936.19-20).

But if Hdt' reference to an upper road is somewhat disturbing in view of the Dysoron short-cut into Macedonia and the upper road to Paeonia, his reference to the highland Macedonians is profoundly so. The highland Macedonians to which Hdt. alludes are clearly those of Mt. Bermios, near the garden of Midas (viii.138). It is far from clear as to what part of the range Hdt. mentions, but his Bermios is Mt. Vermion as marked on pl. 83 of the Times Atlas and opp. p. 520 of the 1967 Blue Guide, stretching in a gentle arc from the Haliacmon to the Lydias, and probably the summit known as Doxa (see comm. adloc. and Oberhummer, RE iii.295). Now it is no doubt possible to contrive some reason for marching Xerxes' army that

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far inland. But why should we? Hdt. almost certainly believes that Bermios and the garden of Midas are very much nearer the coast than they really are. Perhaps that is the significance of Hdt' notion that Pella is on the coast (ch. 123). A glance at the map will reveal that anyone who thinks Pella is on the coast might also think that Xerxes used a mountain-road over Bermios and through the country of the highland Macedonians as an alternative to the coastal route through Tempe. But this march through the Macedonian highlands could not have anything to do with the historical march of a huge army to the plains of Thessaly. Neither Hdt' pioneer third of the army cutting its swath through the mountains (ch. 131 and comm. ad loc.) nor his "safest" inland route (ch. 128 and comm. below) have any claim on history. Here as elsewhere Hdt. decides Xerxes' route for himself on the basis of his own highly inaccurate notions of the terrain Xerxes "must have traversed". That impression is confirmed by Hdt' repeated statement that from highland Macedonia Xerxes could march into the country of the Perrhaebians (chs. 128 and 173). Hdt. associates the Perrhaebians with the city of Gonnos (chs. 128 and 173). A glance at the map will show that relative to the scale of operations in question, the distance intervening between Vermion and Gonnos is truly enormous. It is not that Hdt. must have believed the Perrhaebians a large and powerful race to occupy such spaces; he does not realise that such spaces are at issue.

Perrhaebians.

Homer associates the Perrhaebians both with Dodona and also with the Titaesios, tributary to the Peneus (Il. ii.749ff.). Hecataeus knows them (FGH 1 F 137). Thuc. seems to locate them in roughly the same area (iv.78.5-6 and Gomme iii.545). Strabo extends them from the mountains of Olympus and Tempe into Histiaeotis (ix.441). Scylax thinks of them as a Hellenic tribe inland of the Magnesians (65; GGM i.51). See also Lenk, RE xix.906ff. and Stahlin, RE vi A 99-102 and the map on pp. 87ff.. Pritchett accepts Stahlin's boundaries for Perrhaebia (AJA 1961.372a f.) but they are not necessarily relevant either to the early 5th century or Hdt' history. On the coinage see Head, HN 304.

Gonnos.

Elsewhere Hdt. also associates the city with the Perrhaebians (ch. 173). Strabo knows it merely as a Perrhaebian city (ix.440).

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Polybius puts it at the entrance of Tempe (xviii.10.2), a position confirmed by Livy (xxxvi.10.11, xlii.54.8, 67.6, and xliv.6.10, part of quite a famous description of Tempe).

Leake felt certain that the Byzantine Lycostomium was built on the site of Gonnos and therefore identified it with the village of Lycostomo (NG. iii.388f.; cf. 397). There seems little doubt from the remains that a considerable city stood in the general vicinity of Leake's site from pre-historic times (Stahlin, HT 32-36), some "20 miles (36 kilometers) from Larisa, about one mile N of the Peneus river not far from the W entrance to the Vale of Tempe; the modern village of Dereli (or Gonnoi or Gonnos) lies about one mile to the NW. The ancient city was built on three hills commanding the surrounding plain. Walls and foundations of shrines of various periods are still extant" (Pritchett, AJA 1961.372a). We have no reason to doubt that the Gonnos of the late 6th and early 5th century stood here. But it seems worth noting that Stahlin cites no epigraphic evidence of the late 6th or early 5th centuries that might inextricably connect these extensive remains with Hdt' Gonnos. And other possible sites suggest themselves, e.g. Tsurba Mandria, some 5 kilometers up Olympus from the modern Dereli or Gonnos.

There is good evidence for a settlement of the classical period in this part of the valley, and the name of Gonno-kondylos is associated with the site by Arvanitopoulos and Stahlin.

Pritchett, AJA 1961.373b

The present writer finds room for doubt on the location of Gonnos while admitting that the balance of probability lies strongly in favour of the traditional identification with the extensive remains near Dereli that are catalogued by Stahlin (HT 32-36). The modern village is marked "Gonnos" on pl. 84 of the Times Atlas and also in the 1967 Blue Guide (392 opp.). See also Burchner, RE vii.1586f..

ταύτη γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι.--

If our confidence in Hdt' geographical grasp had not already been shattered by the previous statements of this ch. noted above, it must have been by this phrase. Clearly Hdt. believes that the upper mountain route via the highland Macedonians, Perrhaebians, and Gonnos is distinct from the Tempe route. Therefore he has not the slightest notion that Gonnos is really part of the Tempe defile and not a separate pass. He does not know where Gonnos is in relation to Tempe.

What does Hdt. mean by "safest"? Safest from what? He portrays Xerxes cannily spying out the terrain so as to outsmart the Greeks,

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who know of only one way into Thessaly whereas he has already acquainted himself with two ways before they can even mount their expedition (see ch. 173). This safety can only mean safety from the Greeks. Xerxes is circumventing the opposition just as Megabazus did when he avoided the Paeonians of the coast (v.15) and just as he does when he turns the Greek position at Thermopylae. But unlike those two instances there is not any opposition. Tempe is not occupied when Xerxes sails up the Peneus, and if it is not occupied there is no good reason for marching the army via any road other than the one through Tempe, much less one that his pioneers have to cut over Bermios! Once more Hdt' narrative is not historical.

Finally, Hdt. says that Xerxes wanted to sail up and look at the mouth of the Peneus because (ὅτι) he was about to march via the upper road through highland Macedonia to the Perrhaebians and the city of Gonnos. Why the causal relationship between the two phrases? The easiest explanation is that Xerxes wants to see the Peneus by ship because later on he will have no opportunity to do so. If he marches with his army via the upper road to Gonnos he will not be able to see the Peneus, so now is the time to look at the river. Not only does Hdt. fail to realise the relationship between Gonnos and Tempe, he does not even associate Gonnos with the river Peneus.

ἐσβὰς ἐς Σιδωνίην νέα, ἐς τήν περ ἐσέβαινε αἰεὶ ὅπως
τι ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι,--

On the Sidonian prominence see chs. 44,96,99, viii.67, and comm. at ch. 98.

εἶρετο εἰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔστι παρατρέψαντα ἑτέρῃ ἐς
θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγεῖν.--

The enquiry is connected with Xerxes' interest in Thessaly as a former and potential lake. See chs. 129 and 130 and comm. ad loc..

129.

τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι λίμνην,
ὥστε γε συγκεκλημένην πάντοθεν ὑπερμήκεσι ὄρεσι. τὰ
μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἔχοντα τό τε Πήλιον ὄρος καὶ
ἡ Ὀσσα ἀποκληθεῖ συμμίσγοντα τὰς ὑπωρέας ἀλλήλοισι,--

On the larger issues see comm. below. The Argo was built for Jason at the foot of Pelion (iv.79). Hdt. also knows the Ovens of Pelion in connexion with the great storm of ch. 188; see viii.8 and 12. See also Stahlin's article on the mountain, RE xix.339ff.. It is marked "Pilion" on pl. 84 of the Times Atlas and opp. p. 392 of the 1967 Blue Guide.

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On Ossa see also comm. at ch. 128. Hdt. seems to join Ossa and Olympus when he says that in the time of Doros son of Hellen the race of Hellenes occupied Histiaeotis under Ossa and Olympus (i.56 and see below). He also associates Ossa and Olympus when he says that Xerxes saw the two of them from Therna (ch. 123) although he does know that the Peneus runs between Olympus and Ossa (ch. 173).

Allowing for the fact that Pelion is SE and not S of Ossa, Hdt. is right to say that Pelion and Ossa enclose Thessaly on the E.

τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου "Ολυμπος,--It is perhaps more difficult, though by no means impossible, to imagine Olympus enclosing Thessaly to the N. Rawlinson, therefore, assumes that by Olympus Hdt. means not only Olympus but also the Cambunian range to the W (iv.109). On the mountain itself see comm. at ch. 128.

τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Πίνδος,-- According to Hdt. the Hellenic race was driven from Histiaeotis under Ossa and Olympus to Pindos (i.56). Hdt' Pindos of viii.43 is a city of Doris. See Oberhummer, RE xx.1700ff.. The range is marked "Pindhos" in the Times Atlas (iv.84) and "Pindos" by the 1967 Blue Guide (opp. p. 392). Hdt. is right to say that it encloses Thessaly to the W.

τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ ἄνεμον νότον ἡ "Οθρυς.--

Hdt. does not name Othrys again. Making allowance for the fact that we do not know how far W the name extended Hdt. is right in believing that it is a kind of southern boundary for the hollow of Thessaly. See Schmidt, RE xviii.1872ff.. Hesiod knows it (Theogony 632). It retains the ancient name as marked in the Times Atlas (iv.84), who spell it "Othris" however, and the 1967 Blue Guide (392 opp.). It could be thought of as enclosing Thessaly to the S but it is far from meeting either Pindos on the W or Pelion on the E.

τὸ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν λεχθέντων ὁρέων ἡ θεσσαλὶς ἐστὶ ἐοῦσα κοίλη. ὥστε ὧν ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα τῶνδε, Πηνειοῦ καὶ Ἀπιδανοῦ--

On the Peneus see comm. at ch. 128. Thuc. locates the Apidanos near Pharsalos (iv.78.5). See also Euripides, Hec. 451, and Pliny, NH iv.30. Strabo is uncertain as to whether the Apidanos is tributary to the Enipeos or vice versa (the two relevant passages seem to conflict) but he certainly connects the Apidanos with Pharsalos (viii. 356, ix.432).

At least from the time of Leake it has been perhaps most com-

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monly identified with the Vrysias (NG iv.320f.), the present-day Pharsalites (Farsalitis); see Gomme's description (iii.544). The identification is hardly certain. See also Hirschfeld, RE i.2802. The variant spelling of ch. 196, where the Epidanos is the greatest river of Achaea, may indicate that Hdt' source here is poetical (comm. below) while that of ch. 196 is geographical, but see comm. at ch. 176.

καὶ Ὀνοχώνου-- Elsewhere Hdt. says that it failed of drinking water (ch. 196). Pliny mentions it (NH iv.30). Leake identifies the Onochonos with the modern Pelas, which flows into Lake Boebeis and not the Peneus (NG iv.512,514, and Index s.v.) but he does so out of deference to Xerxes' supposed line of march. Clearly the identification must remain uncertain but the Sofadhes stream, Leake's alternate Apidanos (NG iv.320f.) and the present-day Sofadhitikos is perhaps as good as any (cf. e.g. Rawlinson iv.110). See also Kirsten, RE xviii.486. The chief advantage of Leake's reasoning is that it allows identification of Hdt' Onochonos and Polybius' Onchestos (xviii.20.5).

καὶ Ἐνιπέος-- It is perhaps the principal tributary of the Peneus to the S, analogous to the Titaresios on the N, which Hdt. omits. Homer knows it (Od. xi.238ff.) although Philippson believes his Enipeus to be Elean (1; RE v.2569). Brasidas encounters opposition on the Enipeus (Thuc. iv.78.3), at or near Meliteia and on the way to Pharsalos and the Apidanos (iv.78.5). Strabo seems to associate the Enipeus with both Othrys and Pharsalos and believes that the Enipeus and Apidanos join one another regardless of which is the tributary (viii.356, ix.432). It is one of Pliny's rivers of Thessaly (NH iv.30).

At least from the time of Leake (NG iv.320) it has been identified with the modern Tsanarles (Leake's Fersaliti). Both the Times Atlas (iv.84) and also the 1967 Blue Guide mark it "Enipeus" and S of its great bend the Blue Guide also marks it "Chiliadiotikos" (392 opp.), a name that is noted by Philippson (Enipeus 2; RE v.2569f.). See Gomme's description, iii.543f..

καὶ Παμίσου,--It is one of Pliny's rivers of Thessaly (NH iv.30). Leake identifies it with the modern Bliuri or Piliuri (NG iv.514), evidently rising from Mt. Kerava (Karava), SW of Trikkala and W of Karditsa. Clearly the identification is uncertain. See also Stahlin, RE xviii³296.

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οἱ μὲν νυν ἐς τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων τῶν περικληλόντων τὴν θεσσαλὴν ὀνομαζόμενοι δι' ἐνὸς αὐλῶνος καὶ τούτου στεινοῦ ἔκροον ἔχουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, προσυμμίσγοντες τὸ ὕδωρ πάντες ἐς τὴν τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συμμειχθέωσι τάχιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ὁ Πηνειὸς τῷ οὐνόματι κατακρατέων ἀνωνύμους τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι ποιεῖ. --

In a manner of speaking Hdt. is right. In so far as the Peneus directly or indirectly drains all Thessaly these various rivers do indeed flow together and become anonymous in the Peneus as Hdt. says. But not the way Hdt. means. First, three of these rivers are almost certainly tributaries of the Enipeus and not the Peneus (the Apidanos, Onochonos, and Pamisos); see Kiepert's representation (Forma xv). But that is the smallest part of the matter. As quoted above Hdt. believes that the principal rivers of Thessaly flow down from the mountains of Thessaly that hem it in. That is why Hdt. names 5 rivers, because there are 5 principal mountains surrounding the country (Pelion, Ossa, Olympus, Pindos, and Othrys). What Hdt. seems to believe is that one of these rivers flows down from each of the 5 mountains, one river to a mountain. That notion is poetical and not historical, and something very like it occurs elsewhere in Hdt's history. The king's own plain of iii.117 is also characterised by surrounding mountains, one great river, and 5 streams, and it too is a potential lake. The only difference between it and Thessaly is that the river Aces flows into it and not out of it, its 5 streams draining outward and not inward. But this Asian plain is a poetical story even if it may indeed have its origin in someone's account of a real irrigation system (see HW i.294). But this account of Thessaly is no less poetical and no less fanciful. It is, in fact, *mutatis mutandis*, the same story. It is open to us to explain one account in terms of the other. Thessaly could be thought of as an elaboration of the Asian plain. The scholar who believes in the priority of vii, viii, and ix could argue that the Asian plain is but a pale reflexion of Thessaly. But it seems more likely that Hdt's conception of a hollow plain surrounded by mountains and watered by 5 streams and a great river is merely recurrent poetical fancy regardless of whether Thessaly came first, which seems impossible to establish anyway.

τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν λέγεται, οὐκ ἐόντος κω τοῦ αὐλῶνος καὶ διεκρόου τούτου, τοὺς ποταμοὺς τούτους καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι τούτοισι τὴν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην οὔτε ὀνομάζεσθαι κατὰ περ νῦν ῥέειν τε οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἢ νῦν, ῥέοντας δὲ ποιεῖν τὴν θεσσαλὴν πᾶσαν πέλαγος. --

Homer names both the lake (Il. ii.711) and the town (712). Hesiod mentions the lake (fr. 88 from Strabo ix.442) and so does Pindar (Pyth. iii.34). At least from the time of Leake (NG iv.420-431)

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it has been identified with the modern lake Karla, the present-day Limni Volviis as marked by the Times Atlas (iv.84), or Viviiis as marked by the 1967 Blue Guide (392 opp.). See also Oberhummer, RE iii.628f.. Hdt. presumably takes the story from the same source responsible for the following anecdote attributed to the Thessalians.

αὐτοὶ μὲν νυν θεσσαλοὶ φασὶ Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειὸς, οἰκότα λέγοντες. ὅστις γὰρ νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα τὴν γῆν σείειν καὶ τὰ δειστέωτα ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι, καὶ ἂν ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν φαίη Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι· ἔστι γὰρ σεισμοῦ ἔργον, ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐφάνετο εἶναι, ἡ διάστασις τῶν ὀρέων.--

It is not unlikely that Hdt. went to Thessaly. He could have got this anecdote from the Thessalians on the spot, and he could be making this observation on the basis of autopsy, just as he could derive his distinction between the Aleuadae and the Thessalian people from Thessalian informants in Thessaly. Clearly, however, none of that can be certain. Hdt. could know what the Thessalians say because he heard it from travelers. Even his observation about the great rift in the firmament may be no more than comment on someone else's description (against e.g.

Pritchett, AJA 1961.370b, 375b). Hdt. certainly implies that he saw it just as he implies that he saw Theodoros' bowl at Delphi (οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι, i.51) and the land between the mountains above Memphis and that around Ilion, Teuthrania, Ephesus, and the Maeandrian plain:

τῶν γὰρ ὀρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν πόλιν κειμένων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐφάνετό μοι εἶναι κοτε κόλπος θαλάσσης, ὥσπερ τὰ τε περὶ Ἴλιον καὶ Τευθρανίην καὶ Ἐφεσὸν τε καὶ Μαϊάνδρου πεδίον

ii.10

But that hardly settles the matter. He also implies that he saw the footprint of Heracles on the banks of the Dniester (ἵχνος Ἡρακλέος φαίνουσι ἐν πέτρῃ ἐνεόν, τὸ οἶκε μὲν βήματι ἀνδρός, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ, παρὰ τὸν Τύρην ποταμόν. iv.82), 2 cubits long like the sandal of Perseus in the Chemmitae's narrative according to Hdt. (ii.91). Many of the things that he implies indeed seem highly suspect (Intro. pt. iii).

Regardless of whether Hdt's sceptical commentary on Poseidon's handiwork is written on the basis of autopsy, all the geography of this chapter may derive from Hecataeus and the poets. Both Hesiod and Hecataeus dealt with the myths of Deucalion (FGH 1 F 13-16) and Hecataeus connects him with Thessaly (FGH 1 F 14). Hdt. may be borrowing from Hecataeus when he says that the Hellenic race occupied

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Phthia in the time of Deucalion and Histiaeotis in the time of Doros son of Hellen, under Ossa and Olympus (i.56). We can hardly be certain as to what extent Hecataeus treated of Thessaly (see FGH 1 F 133-137). With the poets, however, we are on firmer ground.

All Hdt' 5 mountains are famous in poetry that Hdt. almost certainly read. We know that Hdt. associates Pelion with Jason and the Argonauts (iv.79), a myth that Hecataeus deals with (FGH 1 F 17-18). But Pelion is also well-known to Homer (Il. ii.744), and especially in connexion with the Peneus river (ii.757; see also xvi.144, xix.391, and Od. xi.316), and so is Ossa (Od. xi.315) and Olympus. The first half of Thessaly's mountain enclosure indeed Hdt. could have derived from Homer, because the poet's steps to heaven yield a geographical interpretation.

Ὅσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὅσση
Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἔν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη.

Od. xi.315-316

The poet works from N to S, piling Ossa on Olympus and then Pelion on Ossa. These are the E and N boundaries of Thessaly. The W could be derived from Pelasgos' reign in Aeschylus' Suppliants.

καὶ πᾶσαν αἶαν, ἧς δὲ ἀγνὸς ἔρχεται
Στρυμών, τὸ πρὸς δύνοντος ἡλίου, κρατῶ.
ὀρίζομαι δὲ τήν τε Περραιβῶν χθόνα,
Πίνδου τε τάπεκκεῖνα, Παιόνων πέλας,
ὄρη τε Δωδωναῖα συντέμνει δ' ὄρος
ὕγρ᾽ ἀσπερίδος· τῶνδε τὰπὶ τάδε κρατῶ.

Supp. 254-259

This passage can be so construed as to make Pindos the boundary of the Perrhaebians (mentioned by Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 137) on the W. At least one other poet that Hdt. could have read might have been helpful. Pindar associates Pindos with the Peneus (Pyth. ix. 15-16). Hdt. could have taken Thessaly's S boundary, Mt. Othrys, from Hesiod's Theogony.

δηρὸν γὰρ μάρναντο πόνον θυμαλγέ' ἔχοντες
Τιτῆνές τε θεοὶ καὶ ὅσοι Κρόνου ἐξεγένοντο,
ἀντίον ἀλλήλοισι διὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας,
οἳ μὲν ἀφ' ὕψλης Ὀθρυος Τιτῆνες ἀγαυοί,
οἳ δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο θεοί, δωτῆρες ἑάων,

Theogony 629-633

Here the gods and titans confront one another from Olympus and Othrys. Olympus and Othrys are clearly opposite one another.

To learn the 4 mountainous sides of Thessaly Hdt. did not have to go there or even speak with someone who did.

What of the rivers? Homer knows the Peneus and Enipeus (see above). Euripides at least knows the Apidanos (Hec. 454; Iphig. A.

129 cont.

713). The Onochonos and Pamisos are obscure, but they are all the more likely to derive from a poetical or geographical source if indeed the whole list does not. Hecataeus knows obscure cities of Thessaly such as Photinaeon, Olizon, and Eurymenae as well as the better-known Crannon; and obscure races of Thessaly such as the Impheis as well as the better-known Perrhaebians. He also at least mentions Tempe (FGH 1 F 133-137). It is not difficult to imagine that Hdt. consulted him on the question of Thessaly's rivers, or indeed that he recorded lesser rivers such as the Onochonos and Pamisos.

Lake Boebeis is famous in Greek literature from Homer and Hesiod onward.

Conclusions.

There is no conclusive evidence that Hdt. went to Thessaly at all. Even if he did it seems wrong to assume that he wrote about the mountains and rivers and potential lake of the country on the basis of what he saw there. The mountains and rivers he could have got from written sources that we know about not to mention those we do not know about. The notion of a hollow plain convertible to a lake by means of 5 streams and a river Hdt. does not reserve for Thessaly alone. No one insists that Hdt. must have visited the king's own Asian plain to which he attributes those characteristics. There is no reason to suppose that Hdt. visited the Thessalian plain before writing about it in the same vein. His sceptical commentary on Poseidon's role in shaping the outlet of the Peneus is not conclusive on this question because it does not necessarily mean that Hdt. went to Thessaly and even if it did mean that, it

would not be conclusive (Intro. pt. iii).

The spur to write about Thessaly as an indefensible potential lake probably derives from Asia Minor (cf. comm. at ch. 130).

130.

ταῦτ' ἄρα πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐφυλάσσοντο—The anecdote has it that Xerxes thought the Thessalians had been his subjects for some time. It was the Aleuadae, he goes on to say, who gave him this wrong idea, because some of the Thessalians originally sided with the Greeks (chs. 172-173).

χώρην ἄρα εἶχον εὐαίρετόν τε καὶ ταχυάλωτον· τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πρῆγμα ἄν ἦν μόνον ἐπειναί σφρων ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, χώματι ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἐκβιβάσαντα καὶ παρατρέψαντα δι' ὧν νῦν ῥέει ῥεέθρων, ὥστε θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν ἔξω τῶν ὁρέων ὑπόβρυχα γενέσθαι.—
ὑποβρυχέα αἶψα

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Hdt' word for "under water" is both rare and Homeric (Od. v.319). There is no good reason for over-riding the better Mss reading for the sake of an allegedly better spelling.

Xerxes started out wanting to see the Peneus from his Sidonian vessel because he intended marching via the upper road and would not otherwise have the opportunity. But according to Hdt. the first thing he wanted to know about the Peneus was whether it was possible to turn it from its present channel (ch. 128). We are now made to understand his drift. Turning the river into another channel is an easy way to conquer the country. But Thessaly is already subject to Xerxes through the agency of the Aleuadae according to Hdt' narrative thus far.

The story of Xerxes' visit in Thessaly is carefully constructed so as to emphasise the alleged hostility remaining between Thessaly and the Persians. The country has already medised but Hdt. presents it as a strategical problem for Xerxes' military thinking. In so doing Hdt. anticipates the alleged Thessalian partiality for the Greek cause that he relates in connexion with the Tempe expedition (see chs. 172-173 and comm. ad loc.). This is the story of the alleged Thessalian resistance and Xerxes' alleged reaction to it as the Thessalians wanted it told after the war, whether or not Hdt. himself heard it this way in Thessaly.

He need not have done. This part of the story of Thessaly is not merely apologetic on behalf of all the Thessalians—"the king was hostile to us". It is also apologetic on behalf of the Aleuadae: We surrendered the country because it was indefensible, a former lake and still a potential lake. But that is the kind of drift Hdt. will have derived in Asia Minor, where Thessalian medisers such as Thorax, Eurypylos, and Thrasydaeos of Larisa (ix.1,58) will have maintained their connexions if indeed they did not take refuge there after the war. The family may have bribed Leutychidas soon after the war (vi.72, Paus. iii.7.9, and cf. Toepffer, RE i.1373) but that is not to say that it was not represented in the Asia Minor of Hdt' time, along with the medising families of Athens (Themistocles, Onomacritos, the Peisistratidae), Sparta (Demaratus), Eretria (Gongylos), and no doubt many other cities of mainland Greece.

And what is the basis of the anecdote, given Hdt' desire to emphasise an alleged hostility between Thessaly and the Persians and perhaps also the indefensibility of the country on behalf of the Aleuadae? Xerxes' desire to turn the Peneus into another course probably rests on Homer, whatever Hdt' motives for the drift of his narrative, or those of his informants. Phoebus Apollo and also Poseidon conspired to destroy the Achaeans' great wall long after the war by turning from their courses all the rivers that flow from Ida

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to the sea, forcing their mouths together, and rending the wall-- which then stands between their combined flood and the sea just as the mountains of Thessaly originally stand between the Peneus and the sea. It is Poseidon who finally breaks down the wall and sweeps it away just as it is Poseidon (according to the Thessalians!) who has riven the mountains asunder. He finally turns the rivers once again into their usual courses.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μὲν Τρώων θάνον ὅσσοι ἄριστοι,
πολλοὶ δ' Ἀργείων οἳ μὲν δάμεν, οἳ δὲ λίποντο,
πέρθετο δὲ Πριάμοιο πόλις δεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ,
Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἐν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἔβησαν,
δὴ τότε μητιόωντο Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων
τεῖχος ἀμαλδῦναι, ποταμῶν μένος εἰσαγαγόντες.
ὅσσοι ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὄρεων ἄλαδε προρέουσι,
Ῥῆσος θ' Ἐπτάπορος τε Κάρησός τε Ῥοδῖος τε
Γρήνικός τε καὶ Αἴσηπος δῖός τε Σκάμανδρος
καὶ Σιμόεις, ὅθι πολλὰ βοάγρια καὶ τρυφάλεια
κάππεσον ἐν κονίῃσι καὶ ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν·
τῶν πάντων ὁμόσε στόματ' ἔτραπε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
ἐννῆμαρ δ' ἐς τεῖχος ἔει ῥόον· ὅτε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς
συνεχές, ὅφρα κε θάσσουν ἀλίπλοα τείχεα θείῃ.
αὐτὸς δ' ἐννοσίγαιος ἔχων χεῖρεσσι τρίαιναν
ἤγεῖτ', ἐκ δ' ἄρα πάντα θεμελῖα κύμασι πέμπε
φιτρῶν καὶ λάων, τὰ θέσαν μογέοντες Ἀχαιοί,
λεῖτα δ' ἐποίησεν παρ' ἀγάρροον Ἑλλήσποντον,
αὐτίς δ' ἠιόνα μεγάλην φάμαθ' οἰσι κάλυψε,
τεῖχος ἀμαλδύνας· ποταμοὺς δ' ἔτρεψε νέεσθαι
κὰρ ῥόον, ἧ περ πρόσθεν ἔεν καλλίρρον ὕδωρ.

Il. xii.13ff.

ταῦτα δὲ ἔχοντα ἔλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεῦεω παῖδας, ὅτι
πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες θεσσαλοὶ ἔδοσαν ἐωυτοὺς βασιλέϊ,--

See their message of ch. 6 inviting the king into Greece. Elsewhere on the Aleuadae see ix.1 and 58, and Toepffer, RE i.1372ff..

δοκέων δ' Ἑέρξης ἀπὸ παντός σφρας τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι φιλήν.--

Hdt. anticipates the allegedly patriotic sentiments of the Thessalians who invited the Greeks to send an expedition to Tempe (chs. 172-173 and comm. ad loc.).

131.

Ὁ μὲν δὲ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς·--Hdt. has just sent the king back to Therma: εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ θεησάμενος ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὴν Θέρμην. (ch. 130). Therefore he must think that Therma is part of Pieria, unless he merely neglects to mention

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the march from Therma to Pieria for whatever reason. But if so he contradicts himself in that Therma is part of his Bottiaea, stretching from his ⁼Lydias-Haliacmon to the Axios (127 and comm. ad loc.). In any event this Pieria is clearly the land from which the Pierians of ch. 112 were expelled by the Macedonians (Thuc. ii.99.3), between the Haliacmon and the Peneus at the eastern foot of Olympus (see e.g. Fritchett, AJA 1961.372b) and still marked as such on pl. 84 of the Times Atlas (iv) and opp. p. 520 of the 1967 Blue Guide. Its chief cities seem to have been Methone, Dion, and Pydna (on which see ATL i.489). See also Geyer, RE xiv.649f..

τὸ γὰρ δὴ ὄρος τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἔκειρε τῆς στρατιῆς
τριτημορίας, ἵνα ταύτῃ διεξίη ἅπανα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐς
Περραιβούς. -- This pioneer third of his army is supposed to

be clearing the upper road of ch. 128, presumably over Mt. Bermios (see comm. ad loc.). Wherever and however Hdt. got this story it is not historical. Xerxes has no opposition because the Greek expedition to Tempe has long since failed (ch. 174). There is no reason to take any inland route much less one leading through highland Macedonia. Even if there were such a reason and even if Xerxes planned to use a difficult inland road he would not send a third of his army to clear the way. Hdt. seems influenced by the alleged 3-fold division of the army between Doriscus and Acanthus (see ch. 121 and comm. ad loc.).

It seems legitimate to wonder if Hdt. was not influenced by Sitalces' great expedition against Macedonia of 429-428 when he wrote this account. Thuc. says that Sitalces had previously constructed a road over the desolate range of Cercine when he marched on the Paeonians, and now took what was reported to be an army of 150,000 men over this road, a third of which were cavalry, augmenting his army as he went with independent Thracians and descending on lower Macedonia (Thuc. ii.98 and 99.1).

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οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν ἀπύχματο οἱ μὲν κεινοί, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.—

See ch. 32 and comm. ad loc.. If Hdt. is right in saying that the heralds of ch. 32 were despatched from Sardis and only now reported to the king, Pieria must have been the pre-concerted meeting-place. But it seems more likely that Hdt. merely selects Pieria as a convenient place because it is the threshold of Greece as it were.

132.

τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οὔδε,--Hdt. does not say when they gave earth and water. He merely purports to know at least some of the nations that did so. On the larger issues see below.

Θεσσαλοί,--This is a list of tribe-names and therefore Hdt. does not mean the Thessalians in general but the original tribe of Thessalians who came from Thesprotia to dwell in the Aeolian land they now possess (ch. 176). It may be this original tribe that drove the Boeotians from Arne 60 years after the Trojan war (Thuc. i. 12.3) and fought the inhabitants of Heracleia Trachinia in 420 (see below). Homer knows Thessalos son of Heracles (Il. ii.379) but not the Thessalians. Scylax mentions Thessaly between the Achaeans and Magnesians and says that inland it extends above the Aenianians, Dolopians, Malians, Achaeans, and Magnesians (64; GGM i.50-51). See also Hiller von Gaertringen, RE vi A 112ff..

Δόλοπες--Elsewhere Hdt. names them as part of the infantry (ch. 185). Homer puts them on the border of Phthia (Il. ix.484) and also names a Dolops on the side of the Achaeans (xi.302) and one on the Trojan side (xv.525ff.). Thuc. populates Scyros with Dolopians (i.98.2) and also says that the river Acheloos rises in Pindos and flows through Dolopia (ii.102.2). More important, however, he says that in 420 the Aenianians, Dolopians, Malians, and some

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of the Thessalians made war on the inhabitants of Trachinian Heracleia because they were neighbouring hostile tribes who felt threatened by the fortress (v.51). Scylax knows them in connexion with Thessaly and the Aenianians, Malians, Achaeans, and Magnesians (64; GGM i.51). See also Miller, RE v.1289f..

Ενιῆνεες,-- They contribute to the infantry (ch. 185) and Hdt. believes the river Spercheus flows from their country (ch. 198). The Homeric Catalogue associates them with the Perrhaebians and seems to locate them, along with the Perrhaebians, around Dodona and on the Titaressos (Il. ii.749ff.). Scylax says the Spercheus flows through their country and that they dwell above the Malians (62; GGM i.50). He also names them in his list of inland tribes below Thessaly (64; GGM i.51). Scymnos Chios associates them with the Dolopians and Perrhaebians (615ff.; GGM i.220). They are one of the tribes hostile to Heracleia Trachinia (Thuc. v.51). See also Hirschfeld, RE i.1027f..

Περραιβοί-- See ch. 128 and comm. ad loc..

Λοκροί-- The Opuntian Locrians are represented at Artemision (viii.1) and Thermopylae (vii.203) and remain in favour of continued resistance when the Peloponnesians other than the Spartans want to go home (ch. 207). The Anopaea ends at Alpenos, which is the Locrian town nearest the Malians (ch. 216). The Phocians flee to the Ozolian Locrians (viii.32). The Locrians of viii.66 Hdt. numbers among those who are not yet following the king at the time of Artemision and Thermopylae. Hdt. also mentions Epizephyrian Locrians in connexion with the Samians' adventures in Sicily (vi.23 and cf. Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 83). Locrians appear in Mardonius' line at Plataea (ix.31).

These Locrians are part of a list, and it seems likely that Hdt. is not thinking of any of the above passages when he names them here. As part of the Homeric Catalogue they dwell opposite

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Euboea, commanded by the lesser Ajax (Il. ii.527ff.). Homer also mentions them in connexion with the Boeotians, Ionians, Phthians, and Epeians (xiii.685f.). Hesiod knows them in connexion with the Boeotians and Phocians (Shield 24f.). Hecataeus knows the Locrians and their cities (FGH 1 F 113a,b). Scylax mentions them between the Boeotians and Phocians (60; GGM i.48).

Μάγνητες,--Hdt. locates Magnesia across from Sciathos (chs. 176 and 183), between Casthaneia and the Sepiad promontory (188), and on the Pagasitic gulf (193). Elsewhere he also names this tribe as contributing to the infantry (ch. 185). The Homeric Catalogue associates them with the Peneus and Mt. Pelion (Il. ii.756). Thuc. names them as subject to the Thessalians (ii.101.2). Scylax names them after the Aenianians, Dolopians, Malians, and Achaeans in connexion with Thessaly and the Pagasitic gulf (64 and cf. 65; GGM i.51). See also Stahlin, RE xiv.459ff..

Μηλιέες,--Their gulf figures in the Delians' story of how offerings reach them from the Hyperboreans of Scythia (iv.33). When the fleet reached Aphetae it was the 3rd day since Xerxes entered Malis (196 and 198), and Hdt' narrative of Thermopylae fixes the location (201, 213-216). Hdt. also refers to a narrow tongue of Doris between Malis and Phocis (viii.31) and says that the Malians drove the Dryopians from Doris (viii.43). They figure in Hdt' list of the new contingents that helped offset the Persian losses in the storm and at Artemision (viii.66) and also in Mardonius' army at Plataea (ix.31), but not in Hdt' list of ch. 185.

Hesiod knows a Melian race of mortal men although his meaning is far from certain (Theogony 563ff.). Hecataeus knows them (FGH 1 F 132). Scylax mentions them between the Phocians and the Achaeans, in 2 categories: in connexion with the cities of the Malian gulf and the river Spercheus, and in connexion with the Aenianians (62; GGM i.48-50), immediately preceding the Achaeans. Thus also Thuc. divides the Malians into 3 categories, Paralioi, Hiereis, and Trachinioi (iii.92.2). Strabo shows that the Spercheus is specially associated with Achilles and names the Malians as subject to him (ix.433). See also Stahlin, RE xiv.900ff. and vi A 109ff. on Malis, Oetaea, and Aenis.

*Αχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιώται--They inhabit the land where first the Hellenic race dwelled in the time of Deucalion (i.56). Hdt. also mentions Alos in Achaea (ch. 173), and locates Achaea between Thessaly and Malis (chs. 196-198). He names the Achaeans as contributing to the infantry of ch. 185 and especially associates them

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with Alos and the legend of the Argonauts (ch. 197).

Homer mentions them *passim* and specially associates them with Achilles their commander (e.g. Il. ii.681ff., where the Homeric Catalogue makes Alos one of the places under Achilles' rule). Scylax names them between the Malians and Thessaly in connexion with the Pagasitic gulf (63; GGM i.50). Thuc. names them as subject to the Thessalians (viii.3.1). Cf. also Stahlin, RE vi A 99ff. on Perrhaebia, Magnesia, Achaea-Phthiotis, and Dolopia. καὶ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπεέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων.--

Hdt. says they had not medised at the time of Artemision and Thermopylae (viii.66) and they are represented with Leonidas to the extent of 400 men (ch. 202). They all medise when the Persian army reaches Boeotia (viii.34) and presumably give refuge to the Persians fleeing from Delphi (viii.38). The Thebans are partially to blame for the destruction of Thespieae and Plataea (viii.50) and are zealous medisers throughout the 9th bk..

The Thespians are given an honourable role at Thermopylae (vii.202,222,227; viii.25), flee to the Peloponnese when the Persians burn their city (viii.50), are specially mentioned again as not having given earth and water (viii.66), and send troops to Plataea (ix.30). Themistocles probably has a special connexion with the city (viii.75) though not necessarily before or during the war.

The role of the Plataeans is somewhat analogous (viii.50 and 66), and they fight at Artemision (viii.1) and Plataea (ix.28 and 31) but not at Salamis (viii.44).

On the larger issues of the list see comm. at the end of this ch..

ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι.--

The terminology is Homeric; see iv.70 and 201, and e.g. Il. ii.124. With this name for the loyal Greeks cf. ch. 145, οἱ τὰ ἀμείνω φρονέοντες; ch. 148, οἱ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, and comm. at ch. 145.

Hdt. does not say when the oath was sworn or under what circumstances (see ATL iii.105). See comm. below.

τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε, ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοῦς Ἕλληνες ἔδόντες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφι εὖ τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.--

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Hdt. purports to know the provisions of an oath sworn against the nations who gave earth and water to Xerxes' heralds, nations listed by himself in this chapter (ἐπὶ τούτοις). He does not say who exactly swore the oath or where or when. He purports to know against whom the oath is sworn but he may draw up this list himself on geographical or other criteria (see below) and even if he does not there is no guarantee that he has access to a document listing the names he gives.

Reasonable interpretation of Hdt' list, and also of Hdt' word δεκατέσσαρ as it appears in this context, both depend on the nature of this oath. Without some conclusion about the oath it is impossible to find a solid foundation on which the list and the meaning of this tithe can rest. But can we indeed arrive at any valid conclusion on the nature of this oath?

What Hdt. says is that the nations listed proffered submission while Xerxes was in Pieria, or immediately before so that the heralds despatched from Sardis could reach him while his camp was still in Pieria. The loyal Greeks, according to Hdt., swore an oath against these nations to the effect that whatever Greeks, without compulsion and retaining a sound state of affairs (καταστάντων σφι εὖ τῶν πρηγμάτων), nonetheless surrendered to the Persians, would suffer a tithe to the god of Delphi. Taken at face value that means that some time after Xerxes' march to Pieria the loyal Greeks swore to tithe all Thessaly, all the major tribes around Thessaly, and all central Greece except the Phocians, Thespians, and Plataeans.

It seems impossible, however, that the loyal Greeks should have done so at that time, while Xerxes was in Pieria, even in the heat of the moment. First, the Greeks were far from certain they could win the war, especially now that the Tempe expedition had long since failed (ch. 174). Second, such an oath could only harden the resolve of the medisers that the Persians should win. Third, the provisions of the oath would be literally impossible to execute even if the Greeks did win the war. Perhaps it is worth adding that even if we are prepared to admit this oath as an irrational gesture of defiance, it is difficult to provide a suitable meeting at which the loyal Greeks could have sworn it while Xerxes was in Pieria. Hdt. says indeed that the Greeks met at the isthmus to make decisions in the light of what Alexander had told them at Tempe (ch. 175), but he also says that when they learned the Persian was in Pieria they broke up their meeting and set out for Thermopylae and Artemision; he says nothing of an oath taken at this 2nd congress (ch. 177). Even if the oath is a mere gesture we must assume that the Greeks

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make it immediately before dissolving the congress and at the same time they are taking highly realistic thought for the defense of Thermopylae and Artemision.

Even waiving all the above considerations the loyal Greeks could not have sworn such an oath against the Locrians and Thebans before Thermopylae if Hdt' army-list of Thermopylae is right (comm. ad loc.) because both those nations are represented in Leonidas' army (chs. 202-203 but see Intro. pt. iii on the army-list of Thermopylae).

Therefore if we retain Hdt' account as he gives it the oath must come after Thermopylae. After Salamis there was a real prospect of winning the war and it seems all the more unlikely that the Greeks would have sworn to inflict such an un-realistic penalty against all the nations listed by Hdt. in this chapter. Hdt. does tell us, indeed, that after Mycale the Peloponnesians in authority wanted to uproot the empolia (or emporia) of the medising states and transport the Ionians there (ix.106). But even if we can take this story at face value (comm. ad loc.), it would not be evidence that the oath could have been taken after Salamis because, first, it has the Peloponnesians in question suggest uprooting only the emporia of the medising nations whereas the oath presumably provides for tithing all of every nation in this chapter; and second, even the limited proposal is ruled out by the Athenians in the event.

Retaining Hdt' account the oath must have been sworn between Thermopylae and Salamis. But when? The Athenians were evacuating Attica as best they could (viii.40-41). There were meetings at Salamis indeed (viii.49ff., and 56ff.) but Hdt. represents them as military councils concerned with war-strategy, and anyway such an empty gesture of defiance against the nations of northern and central Greece seems in-compatible with the tenor of those councils as Hdt. portrays them. Hdt. tells us about a muster at the isthmus soon after Thermopylae (viii.71-72, ix.10) but only of Peloponnesians and definitely for purposes of defense.

Therefore Hdt' account, according to which certain nations gave earth and water and the loyal Greeks swore an oath against those nations--those who had already given earth and water (ἔδωσαν)--sometime after Xerxes arrived in Pieria, is difficult if not impossible to accept as it stands.

Historians from the time of Diodorus onward (xi.2.3) have tried to change the context of the oath. Diodorus and his followers believe the oath was taken at the 1st Hellenic congress of 481 (the spies are sent to Asia by that congress when Xerxes is still in Sardis; vii.145-

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146). In that event the oath is couched in general terms as a warning to those Greeks who are wavering, and perhaps as a bid for the favour of Delphi. It is not sworn against those nations named by Hdt. in this chapter, or if it is they have presumably given their earth and water long before Xerxes arrives in Pieria, which is when Hdt. says the heralds returned (ch. 131), and indeed contemporaneously with Xerxes' despatch of the heralds from Sardis (ch. 32). In that event Hdt. does not preserve the exact words of the oath, because his wording has reference not to those who might medise in the future, but to those who have already medised at the time of the oath (ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοῦς). Hdt. uses the past tense (see Brunt, *Historia* 1953.136). There is no doubt that such an oath makes good political sense in the context of the 1st Hellenic congress, brandishing the stick against potential medisers and extending the carrot to Delphi (see Macan ii.220; Brunt, *Historia* 1953.136-137; Hignett 99). But is it really legitimate to accept Hdt' oath as historical while rejecting his context and even what purports to be the terms of the oath as Hdt' own mistakes? If Hdt. is wrong about the context of the oath, wrong about those against whom it is sworn and the time of swearing, he must have the story on the most un-reliable hearsay. That hearsay may or may not have a basis in fact, but if it does we can hardly determine what it may have been and placing the oath at the time of the 1st Hellenic congress rests on nothing more than conjecture.

The most popular alternative to the context of the 1st Hellenic congress is that of a later Amphictyonic meeting (see e.g. Baehr iii.636 and 766 citing Tittman; Rawlinson iv.113; Parke, *Hermathena* 1948.92; ATL iii.105), presumably that of spring 479. But what good reason have we for attributing this oath to any such Amphictyonic meeting? All the peoples of Hdt' list belong to the Amphictyony indeed (see Busolt's GS ii.1294), the Dorians, Ionians, and Phocians being omitted. But if the basis of Hdt' account is a resolution taken by the loyal minority of the Amphictyony after Delphi rallied to the Greek cause (Parke, *Hermathena* 1948.92 and ATL iii.105), "would not Hdt., who drew extensively on information from Delphi, have known of this and mentioned it for the greater glory of Delphi? And why should the use of Amphictyonic nomenclature be held to imply an Amphictyonic resolution? How else could Hdt. have accurately and compendiously referred to the peoples to whom the oath applied?" (Brunt, *Historia* 1953.137 n. 2). But in addition to Brunt's objections to that hypothesis, the oath is hopelessly un-realistic anytime after

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Salamis. It could clearly be nothing but a source of future embarrassment in anything like the form in which Hdt. gives it. In order to retain the oath, therefore, on the above hypothesis we should be forced to assume a special meeting of the Amphictyony after Xerxes arrived in Pieria but before the Persians over-ran central Greece. But that kind of time is impossible because Delphi is then fundamentally pro-Persian, whatever she wanted the world to believe after the war.

Thus we can assume that some oath or other couched in general terms and not directed against the nations of this chapter was sworn at the 1st Hellenic congress of 481 while admitting that Hdt. is wrong about the context of the oath he gives; or else we can assume that Hdt' account of this oath is un-historical, founded on hear-say such that further speculation on it seems idle. Recurring talk about decimation of the Thebans (Xen. Hell. vi.3.20, 5.35; Polybius ix.39.5) seems impossible to evaluate because we do not know what the basis of the famous saying was. To judge from Hdt' account of the aftermath of Plataea there was no talk of decimating the Thebans at that time. Hdt. relates the allies' resolution in council to march on Thebes and demand surrender of the medisers, two of whom he names (Timegenidas and Attaginos), but he does not mention decimation (ix.86ff.). Finally the notorious oath of Plataea is irrelevant to the present enquiry because it is probably nothing but a 4th-century forgery (see ATL iii.105; Brunt, *Historia* 1953.137 n. 2), comparable to the equally notorious decree of Themistocles, on which see App. ii. (Frost believes there was a copy of the Covenant of Plataea on view or perhaps an official version recited by the guides that is Plutarch's principal source, but he rightly alludes to Alexander's incentives for the Plataeans to preserve and indeed improve on their traditions [*Classica et Mediaevalia* 1961.188f.].)

If the *sumbouloi* swore some such oath at the 1st Hellenic Congress it came to nothing during and immediately after the war. Brunt believes the oath provided the justification for Leutychidas' expedition to Thessaly (vi.72; *Historia* 1953.157) but clearly that conclusion rests on nothing more than speculation. Regardless of whether they did or not, and regardless of whether or not Hdt' account is mere hear-say, perhaps the chief question of the chapter is how the story came to be told. Any hypothesis to account for it is bound to be conjectural but we can at least make a good guess on the basis of the tithe to Delphi. Delphi undoubtedly wanted to prove she had always been on the right side during the war. It seems likely that this story was part of her demonstration to that effect. If she was

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specifically assumed to be loyal in a resolution that condemned other nations to dire penalties for medising she could not be accused of medising herself. Delphi probably contrived the story as a means of diverting suspicion. It is not necessary to believe that chs. 133-137 are a later insertion (Macan i¹lxvi) to see that this story may belong with chs. 140ff. which contain information deriving directly or indirectly from the Delphic oracle. It is not necessarily historical, but it may well be Delphi's version of history.

The list.

What the list is depends on what the oath is. If the oath is genuine and somehow belongs after Xerxes' sojourn in Pieria the list records the nations proscribed by the sumbouloi on whatever occasion they swore it. If the oath is mere fiction for its own sake and somehow included the nations of the list, speculation on the nature of the list is futile. If the story of the oath is founded on a historical oath taken at the 1st Hellenic congress of 481 and merely threatening any and all nations that might medise in the future, or if the story of the oath did not include the list when Hdt. heard or read it, then Hdt. himself is responsible for drawing up the list, probably on the basis of geography and his own belief that the Phocians and Dorians had not medised (viii.30,31,66). But if the story of the oath is really Delphic propaganda as I have suggested, the list records Delphi's political enemies at the time of the story's origin, and by implication her political friends. Her political enemies are Thessaly and Thessaly's supporting tribes and protectorates, and Boeotia except for Thespieae and Plataea. Her friends are, most notably, the Phocians, and perhaps the Dorians. On this hypothesis, therefore, we can date the story and the list to a period of Phocian dominance over Delphi, either the period immediately following the battle of Oenophyta, when Athens gave the Phocians effective control over the oracle (457-about 449), or else the period in the early 40's immediately following Pericles' 2nd Sacred War (see Parke and Wormell i.184-186). The hypothesis in question well accords with Hdt' favouritism towards the Phocians, consistent throughout bks. vii, viii, and ix, and also with his deep consciousness of the enmity prevailing between the Phocians and Thessalians (viii.30). It is also consonant with Hdt' deeply-held conviction that Athens' role in the war was paramount (vii.139). The late 50's and/or early 40's were two periods when Hdt. could have derived

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all three convictions--pro-Delphi, pro-Phocis, pro-Athens--from the same sources, though Hdt. had almost certainly imbibed pro-Athenian views before then.

The tithe.

The verb in question means "to exact a tithe from" but there has been some dispute over its exact meaning in this context. What does the threat entail? Earlier commentators such as Baehr and Abicht believe that a 10th part of the medisers' property would be dedicated to the god; see the schol. to Aristeides, p. 224, τὸ δέκατον μέρος ἀνελεῖν. In that event a 10th of the populace might also be themselves dedicated to the god, like the Chalcidians who founded Rhegion (Strabo vi.257) or the Mysians of Olympus (Strabo xii.572) as Creuzer suggests; or else their land might be laid under permanent obligation to yield up a 10th of its proceeds annually (Boeckh, Staatshaushaltung i²444 = i³399; Baehr iii.636), just as Xenophon tithed the land in his keeping (Anab. v.3.9).

Reacting against this mild interpretation, Stein (iv.121) points out that the word can mean simply "to dedicate", the equivalent of καθιεροῦν, citing Harpocration s.v.. In his view the Greeks threaten to dedicate all the medisers and their property to the god, "mit Leib und Gut". It is this sense of the word that became proverbial (Xen. Hell. vi.3.20, 5.35, τὴν γνώμην ὡς νῦν θεβαίους τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ δεκατευθῆναι ἐλπὶς εἴη; see Polybius ix.39.5). Stein seems right to assume that "titheing" must imply something terrible but there is no need to assume that the verb ever lost its original sense in favour of a more general sense, especially since even Harpocration's entry is not unambiguous (thus Macan i¹173b) and even if it were it could shed no special light on Hdt' meaning in this passage.

The real question is not about the 1/10th but the 9/10ths. The tithe was appropriate on occasions of conquest, when the victors generously surrendered a 10th to the gods (v.77, viii.27, ix.81; the Athenians, Phocians, and allies respectively), retaining the 9/10ths for themselves. Therefore it seems most likely that the medisers are threatened with spoliation wholesale, their real property to be sacked, their people sold into slavery, and a 10th of the proceeds to be given over to Delphi while 9/10ths remain at the disposal of the victors. That sense seems appropriate to Hdt' use of the word elsewhere. Croesus advises Cyrus to station guards at the gates of Sardis and

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take the plunder from those leaving the city with it, telling them it had to be tithed to Zeus (i.89). He clearly means the booty to be dedicated to Zeus, but as part of the usual 10th, the other 9/10ths of the city as it were to remain in Persian hands.

See also Stephanus' Thesaurus iii.3192f. (Valpy); Baehr iii. 636; Stein iv.121; Macan i¹173; HW ii.173; Parke, Hermathena 1948. 82ff.; Brunt, Historia 1953.136 and 157.

If, however, the *sumbouloi* (or Amphictyonic delegates) somehow swore an oath roughly like that which Hdt. records sometime after Salamis, when there was a realistic prospect of winning the war, they may have attached some such relatively mild sense to the word "tithe" as the earlier commentators disputed. If the prospective victors expected to execute the terms of their oath in the near future those terms are probably much less drastic than the threat outlined above. In the final event our interpretation of both the list and also the meaning of "to tithe" in this context must depend on our interpretation of the oath.

133.

ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκα· πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο--See vi.48.

ὃ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεικε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι,--

Pausanias says Miltiades was responsible and also that the wrath of Talthybius fell on his house (iii.12.7). There is no reason for believing Pausanias on this point and Hdt' account of Miltiades' last days shows that had he been able to associate Miltiades with the infamous deed he would probably have done so (vi.135-136).

πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηλώθη, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἵτινιν δοκέω γενέσθαι.--

Hdt. may well believe the Athenians were punished for their role in the Sardis raid (v.102).

134.

τοῖσι δὲ ὧν Λακεδαιμονίοισι μῆνις κατέσκηψε--Hdt. does not say when or how.

Ταλθυβίου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κήρυκος.--See II. i.320. He and Eurybates take Briseis from Achilles at the behest of Agamemnon.

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ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρόν,--Pausanias saw the tomb of Talthybius near the Hellenion in Sparta (iii.12.7), where, as one story has it, the Greeks debated over how to resist Xerxes (iii.12.6). The Achaeans of Aegion also have a heroon of Talthybius (iii.12.7; vii.24.1).

εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι ^{om. ap} [Ταλθυβίου] Ταλθυβιάδαι καλεόμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ κηρυκῆαι αἱ ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται.--

Hdt. has already alluded to hereditary heraldry in Sparta without naming the Talthybiadae (vi.60). They are one of the great pre-Dorian clans, like the Aegeidae of iv.149.

ἀλγίης τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης καὶ κήρυγμα τοιόνδε ποτευμένων, εἴ τις βούλοιτο Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν,--

Embassies are capable of various constructions after the event. Cleisthenes' ambassadors probably did not act on their own initiative when they gave earth and water (v.73). The purpose of Callias' famous mission of vii.151 may have been concealed. The Thessalian embassy to the 2nd Hellenic congress of ch. 172 probably intended something far different from that which Hdt. hands down to posterity. Alexander's famous embassies on behalf of Xerxes and Mardonius later became personal gestures of phil-Hellenism.

So it may have been with the embassy of Sperthias and Bulis. It seems unlikely that the Spartans sent them merely to appease the wrath of Talthybius. The march of the Persians gave rise to another legend of self-sacrifice on the part of a noble Spartan lord, that of Leonidas (vii.220). It seems at least possible that the same emergency gave rise to this appeal for patriots willing to hazard all--not to appease the wrath of Talthybius but perhaps to conclude a last-minute peace with the Persians before Xerxes began to march. Sperthias and Bulis were probably Talthybiadae, hereditary heralds such that they may never have had a choice in the matter, just as it was probably no co-incidence that sent their sons on the mission of ch. 137: they also inherited the job. Their mission was not one they could talk about after the war. But the legend of self-sacrifice serves to hide the real purpose of their mission and also to make it voluntary. It was probably hazardous in that the Spartans could not predict beforehand what Xerxes' attitude might be to a nation that had thrown his heralds into a well (if that story is not, indeed, part of the cover for Sperthias and Bulis). But it was hardly suicidal. Xerxes might send them back with a message just as he did the spies of ch. 145, and we can hardly rule out the possibility indeed that Sperthias and Bulis are two of the katascopoi of that

134 cont.

famous mission (146ff; see Macan i¹176b), even if they find the king in Sousa (ch. 136) and the spies find him in Sardis according to Hdt' report (145ff.). The Spartans could have felt a sense of urgency about the coming invasion in 481. They were the first to know about Xerxes' plans and they got a gloomy response from Delphi when they consulted the oracle about them (chs. 220 and 239).

135.

πορευόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπικνέονται παρὰ Ὑδάρνεα.—

He is probably the Hydarnes connected with Miltiades in the Paros episode (vi.133), perhaps the same Hydarnes who figures large in the story of Thermopylae as commander of the Immortals (vii.83) and also in the story of Xerxes' return into Asia (viii.113 and 118).

στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ.—

Was his job civil or military or both? The power structure of Asia Minor seems particularly difficult to understand. In the time of Cyrus Oroetes was the governor of Sardis (iii.120) but the independence of Samos seems to have been his responsibility (iii.120ff.) and he seems to have lived or at least to have been stationed in Magnesia (iii.122). When he killed Mitrobates the governor of Dascyion and his son Cranaspes he seems to have had no further opposition in all Asia Minor (iii.126ff.). Hdt. divides Asia Minor into three provinces, Ionia, Lydia, and Phrygia (iii.90 and 127) but his division may well be artificial (see comm. at chs. 99 and 100). The fact that Daurises, Hymaees, and Otanes do not adhere to their respective provinces (v.102 and 116) during the Ionian revolt (v.117,122,123) proves nothing because of the special conditions prevailing at the time (against HW ii.9).

Darius appointed Artaphernes governor of Sardis (ὑπαρχον) but at the same time made Otanes general of the sea-coast people (στρατηγόν), v.25, succeeding Megabazus in his strategia (v.26). Hdt' account of Artaphernes' role in mounting the Naxian expedition seems to confirm this distinction between Artaphernes' supreme authority and that of a mere general (v.30,32); cf. his governmental and financial reforms of vi.42. He governs all the sea-coast peoples of Asia (τῶν δ' ἐπιθαλασσίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἄρχει πάντων), v.30, whereas Hydarnes seems to be no more than a general, strategos, even if he is in a position to entertain on a large scale. Hdt. does not say where he lives, so he lays no

135 cont.

definite claim to the governorship of Sardis. An anecdote such as this one would not necessarily distinguish between a general and a governor but here there is no special reason for believing that Hydarnes is the governor of Sardis rather than a general in charge of the sea-coast. Hdt' wording here is similar to that of his description of Artaphernes (v.30) but he nonetheless calls Hydarnes a general, and there seems no good reason to believe that he is other than successor to Megabazus and Otanes, στρατηγὸν τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν, v.25.

πελέκεσι--Homeric; cf. Il. xiii.391, xv.711, xvi.484. "You would advise us to fight for it all the harder."

136.

ὕπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης--Note Xerxes' magnanimity as expressed in the case of Pythios (ch. 27ff.) and the spies sent to Asia by the 1st Hellenic congress (ch. 146).

137.

χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα πολλῶ ἐπηγέρθη κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησίῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον, ὡς λέγουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι.--

In 430 according to Thuc. (ii.67). Hdt. does not say how much of what he tells comes from the Spartans, but he himself seems to take credit for the recognition of divine intervention in the matter.

Hdt' interest in the events of 431/429 seems to focus on such divine intervention, whereas Thuc. seems to tell a contemporary narrative of events.

τοῦτό μοι ἐν τοῖσι θειότατον φαίνεται γενέσθαι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κατέσκηψε ἐς ἀγγέλους ἡ Ταλθυβίου μηνίς οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἢ ἐξηλθε, τὸ δίκαιον οὕτω ἔφερε· τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν ἐς τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων τῶν ἀναβάντων πρὸς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν μῆνιν, . . . ὁφείλον ὦν μοι ὅτι θεῶν ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα--

Hdt. knows Spartan heraldry is hereditary (134 and comm. ad loc.) and thus it would seem strange that Hdt. should be so struck with the co-incidence were it not for the fact that he is so willing to find divine intervention in this sequence of events. There is indeed a certain element of co-incidence because the wrath might have struck any Talthybiadae at any time, but Hdt. does not seem to think of Sperthias and Bulis or their sons as Talthybiadae.

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ἐς Νικόλαν τε τὸν Βούλιος καὶ ἐς Ἀνήριστον τὸν Σπερθίω,
ὃς εἶλε Ἀλιέας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὀλκάδι καταπλώσας πλήρεϊ
ἀνδρῶν,--

Halieis was a small port opposite the modern island of Spetzia, marked "Spetsai" on pl. 84 of the Times Atlas (iv) and probably the modern Porto Kheli of BA chart 2836a and pl. 84 of the Times Atlas, marked "Cheli" in the 1967 Blue Guide opp. p. 250. Hdt. alludes to a war of the early 60's between Tiryns and Argos in which Argos finally got the upper hand (vi.83). Strabo seems to believe the Tirynthians occupied Halieis at the conclusion of this war (viii.373). (Ephoros calls the inhabitants of Halieis Tirynthians; FGH 70 F 56.) Aneristos' seizure of Halieis presumably took place after Argos' victory over Tiryns, and before the 2nd year of the Peloponnesian war, when Halieis was allied with the Spartans (Thuc. ii.56.5), and perhaps in connexion with the Athenian descent on Halieis of Thuc. i.105.1, around 460.

It is frequently assumed that the Tirynthians settled Halieis in agreement with the Argives, and also that the beginning of the 1st Peloponnesian war found Halieis allied with the Argives (see Stein iv.125; HW ii.180; Bolte, RE vii.2247), so that Aneristos' raid was directed against an ally of Argos during the 1st Peloponnesian war. But that Halieis-Argive alliance is by no means certain and likewise the proposed context of this raid (see Macan i¹137a). Further on Halieis see Bolte, RE vii.2246ff..

[ἐκ τῆς μηνιός]-- This explanatory phrase may not be elegant but that is not a good reason for deleting it. The same must be said of the bracketed conjunctive in the next line.

οἱ [γὰρ] πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην,--

Thuc. says that one Corinthian (Aristeas), three Spartans (Aneristos, Nioalaos, and Pratodamas), one Tegeate (Timagoras), and one Argive acting in a private capacity (Pollis) journeyed to Asia to the king in order to persuade him to provide money and join them in the war (ii.67.1). I.e. it was not only Hdt' "they" who were sent. They were not sent by the Spartans, not all of them anyway. They were going to Asia but more specifically they were going to the king and they were not mere messengers as Hdt. says.

προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρηίκων βασιλέος καὶ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Πυθέω ἀνδρός Ἀβδηρίτew,--

The Athenians made Nymphodoros their proxenos with Sitalces, even though they hitherto regarded him as an enemy, because Sitalces married his sister and they wanted Sitalces as an ally. Nymphodoros

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went to Athens, arranged the alliance with Sitalces, and got Sitalces' son Sadocos made an Athenian citizen. He also promised to end the war in Thrace by persuading Sitalces to send the Athenians a Thracian force of cavalry and peltasts, and reconciled Perdiccas with the Athenians (Thuc. ii.29.1, 5-6).

In ii.67 Thuc. first explains that the envoys came to Sitalces in Thrace in order to persuade him to give up his alliance with the Athenians and send a force to relieve Potidaea, and also hoping he would help them cross the Hellespont to Pharnaces son of Pharnabazus who was to take them to the king. I.e. Thuc. first explains what they had to do with Sitalces in the first place. Next he explains that two Athenian envoys, Learchos son of Callimachus and Ameiniades son of Philemon, persuaded Sadocos son of Sitalces, who had become an Athenian citizen, to give over the Peloponnesians into their hands (ii.67.1-2). Thuc. does not mention Nymphodoros of Abdera in this connexion, but then he has already explained the man's importance to the relations between Athens on the one hand and Thrace and Macedonia on the other (ii.29). He seems to be over-ruling Hdt. on this point in view of his own detailed account of the affair. I.e. Thuc. gives the whole picture; Hdt. a more limited and probably inaccurate account with an emphasis on divine intervention. The envoys were not betrayed by Sitalces as Hdt. says. By implication Nymphodoros had nothing to do with the matter, and Thuc. has already explained his role in Athens' relations with the N.

ἤλωσαν κατὰ Βισδάνθην τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, -- Alcibiades built a castle there (Plutarch, Alc. xxxvi.3; Nepos' Alc. vii.4), and Seuthes offered it to Xenophon (Anab. vii.2.38; cf. vii.5.8). Ptolemy identifies it with Rhaideston (iii.11.4) and the traditional identification is therefore with the modern Rhodosto, marked "Tekfur Dagħ or Rodosto" on BA charts 224, 844, and 2836b and "Tekirdag (Rodosto)" on pl. 83 of the Times Atlas (iv). ATL follow Papadopoulos and Dumont in locating it a few miles SW of Rhodosto at the modern Panados, marked "Panidos" on BA charts 224 and 2836b (i.475 and see their map, p. 481, enclosed). See also Oberhummer, RE iii.500f., who accepts the traditional identification.

Thuc. says they were seized as they journeyed through Thrace before embarking on the boat by means of which they were to cross the Hellespont (ii.67.3). Historians have assumed that both Hdt. (HW ii.181) and Thuc. (Gomme ii.200) include the Propontis in their Hellespont and also that Hdt' account is more precise than that of Thuc. in that Hdt. names the city of Bisanthe whereas Thuc. does not (e.g. Macan i¹182a). Hdt. may indeed include the Propontis in his Hellespont but Thuc. probably does not, in this passage at least, and in any event Hdt' account is hardly more precise than

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that of Thuc.. It seems doubtful indeed that Hdt. knows where Bisanthe is in relation to the Hellespont of Xerxes' crossing.

It seems most unlikely than anyone from mainland Greece would cross the Hellespont by way of either Rhodosto or Panidos, far up the Propontis nearly opposite the island of Marmora. Therefore Thuc' Hellespont may well be our own, and when he omits the name of Bisanthe he probably does so on purpose, because he knows where the city is and thinks it out of the question that anyone should go to Pharnaces by way of that city. Far from being more imprecise than Hdt. he probably over-rules Hdt. on this point. He is more imprecise only in that he does not give the name of a city whereas Hdt. may well be giving the wrong name.

καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων,--

Thuc. (ii.67.4) tells us who brought them to Athens (the Athenian envoys). He also gives a complete account of the Athenians' reasons for executing them, the circumstances in which they were executed (un-tried and wanting to say something in their own defense), and the time they were executed (that very day).

μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστεάς ὁ Ἀδεϊμάντου Κορίνθιος ἀνὴρ.--

Aristeas is evidently son of the Adeimantos who has such a bitter interchange with Themistocles (viii.5,59,61) and comes to be known among the Athenians as a coward at Salamis (viii.94).

Thuc. has already made Aristeas one of the envoys whereas Hdt. either does not know or does not admit that he is, perhaps because he is not relevant to Hdt' interests. Thuc. now says the Athenians executed all the Peloponnesians because Aristeas previously hurt Athens a great deal at Potidaea and along the coast of Thrace and they feared that if he escaped with his life he would do so again. I.e. he explains Aristeas' key role in the Athenians' harsh treatment of the envoys (ii.67.4).

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέως στόλου,--

Thuc. dates the incident to the 2nd year of the Archidamian war at the beginning of his chapter (καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος; ii.67.1).

Hdt' interest in this sequence of events probably remains confined to the element of divine intervention. Thus, from our point of view it would be difficult for any ancient historian to improve on any other ancient historian's account of a single incident more than Thuc. improves on Hdt' account of this one. It seems likely that Thuc. did so deliberately and with Hdt' text before him. See also comm. at viii.3.

138.

ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίη ἡ βασιλείος οὖνομα μὲν εἶχε ὥς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα.--

See vi.44, where Eretria and Athens are the professed goals of Mardonius' expedition of 492 whereas he is really trying to conquer as many Greek cities as he can; ch. 8, Xerxes' announcement of his intentions; and vii.157, the Greek envoys' reference to the full extent of the king's ambitions in their audience with Gelon. Xerxes' campaign is not merely punitive.

πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ οἱ Ἕλληνες-- Hdt. says the Argives claimed to have learned from the first that the Persians were raising war against the Greeks (ch. 148). He also says the Spartans were the first to know, that they consulted Delphi upon learning, and that Demaratus told them (chs. 220,239). We must suppose it became common knowledge thereafter.

οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ-- They probably include most of the old medisers of vi.48 and also those of the new ones who were Greeks (chs. 131-132).

ἄτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιωμαχῶν δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα,--

Hdt. anticipates his story of the Athenian fleet, ch. 144.

οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδικομένων δὲ προθύμως.--

Hdt. clearly exaggerates in view of the two Hellenic congresses (145ff., 175) but probably as a build-up for Athens' paramount role in the war (ch. 139).

139.

ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπὶ φθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δέ, τῇ γέ μοι φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθές, οὐκ ἐπισχῆσω.--

The statement is in-admissible as evidence for time of composition because we do not really know when Athens first became generally un-popular and it could have been early in the pentacontaetia. Nor is it evidence for Hdt' place of composition because Hdt. probably writes for a larger public than that of the city in which he writes this passage, whatever it may be.

εἰ Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξ-έλιπον τὴν σφετέρην,--

I.e. if they had fled to the ends of the earth as Delphi's first oracle of ch. 140 advised.

139 cont.

ἦ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μέιναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς
Ξέρξῃ,--

As Alexander gave them the chance to do, viii.136ff.. No doubt they could have made their peace while Xerxes was in Pieria even if Xerxes had not sent them an invitation.

κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἄν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι
βασιλέϊ.--

Hdt. continues anticipating his account of Athens' importance at sea.

εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἠντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ
γε ἄν τὴν ἡπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο. εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων
κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοισι,--

Hdt. alludes to the fortifications of viii.40, 71f., and ix.7. The chiton has lent itself to striking metaphors from the time of Homer.

Hector threatens Paris with a stone chiton, Il. iii.57 (λάϊνον
χιτῶνα). Hdt. may borrow this one from an oracle or some other

poetical source, but he may coin it himself under the influence of Homer because the Iliad applies the same adjective meaning "stone"

to both "wall" and "chiton": λάϊνον χιτῶνα(iii.57) ; τεῖχος

λάϊνον (xii.177-178). See also i.181.1 and vii.223.2 for comparable

metaphors, τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστὶ and

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔργον τοῦ τεύχεος.

προδοθέντες ἄν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐκόντων
ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκῆς, κατὰ πόλιν ἀλισκομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ
στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου,--

Hdt. conceived of a series of landings on the coast of Peloponnese by means of which the Persians would have enveloped and destroyed the defending armies or compelled them to surrender without a fight. He evidently thinks Demaratus' plan for attacking the coast of Peloponnese after seizing the island of Cythera (235) or something like it would have prevailed in the event of Athenian medism or defection. Thuc' Athenian envoy at Sparta also believes Athens averted just such Persian amphibious operations (i.73.4).

Thus arises the real and difficult problem of the wall. We are to see that although Hdt. resurrects the construction of isthmus fortifications in the 9th bk. as part of his un-favourable portrait of a selfish and sluggish Sparta (ix.7), he states explicitly in his account of the Peloponnesian emergency effort after Thermopylae that the wall was finished, thus implying that the Peloponnesians began it after Thermopylae and finished it before Salamis (viii.71). The question is why they built it at all. If we can believe Hdt., Demaratus was aware of the Persian fleet's potentially decisive capacity for amphibious operations (235) and according to Hdt. it was Demaratus who informed the Spartans of the king's intentions before any

139 cont.

of the other Greeks knew them (239). Thus the Spartans will have known from the first from Demaratus if they could not see for themselves that their chief vulnerability lay inherent in their extensive sea-coast. Then why build the wall? Hdt. shows himself puzzled over this question when he says below that he can not see the good of walls across the isthmus with the king ruling the waves.

One of the following may answer the problem.

- (a.) The whole story of the wall from beginning to end is purest fiction, analogous to the erection and re-erection with battlements of the Achaean wall in the Iliad (Intro. pt. iii). We can accept the analogy with the Achaean wall and the dramatic function of Hdt' isthmus fortifications, but Hdt' detail, including his mention of the Scironian road, plus the repetition and apparent inconsistency inherent in the two passages seem too convincing to admit of such an explanation entailing the purest fabrication of this wall by Hdt. or one of his sources. The story is likely to have a historical foundation, even if the traditional nature of the theme makes it difficult if not impossible to determine exactly what it was.
- (b.) The Peloponnesians threw up the wall in a frenzy after Thermopylae to be doing something. But Hdt' narrative of viii.71 suggests the Peloponnesians are well-organised and spare no effort and no potential source of building material in erecting the edifice.
- (c.) They are trying to throw up a feint of some kind, to fool the Persians or more likely their own people (like much of Churchill's anti-aircraft fire during the London blitz). To judge from Hdt' narrative, however, their effort seems to be in deadly earnest.
- (d.) The Spartans must be convinced after Thermopylae and presumably not only before Salamis but also before the Athenian embassies preceding that sea-battle, that Xerxes will not in fact attack the Peloponnese by sea. Hdt. supports this conclusion by leaving the Spartan government ignorant of their vulnerability by sea until informed by Chileus the Tegeate of ix.9. Even in that passage Chileus' assumption is that the Persians alone will never attack by sea--only in the event of Athens' defection and assumption of an active role in the war on Xerxes' side will there be opened μεγάλαι κλισιάδες into the Peloponnese.

The Spartans can only have assumed that the Persians alone would not attack them by sea for one of 3 reasons:

- (a.) They felt secure in the belief that the Persians did not know how to conduct amphibious operations. That the Spartans entertained such a belief seems out of the question in view of Datis' and Artaphernes' campaign 10 years before.

139 cont.

(b.) They felt convinced that just as Athens had defeated the Persians at Marathon, so also they were capable of staving off any such landing on the Peloponnese and Xerxes knew it. But the Spartans could hardly count on Xerxes' timidity in view of the enormous scale of his operations relative to those of Datis and Artaphernes. His expedition was not merely another attempt like that of the Marathon campaign.

(c.) They were convinced that all the fleet were needed to support the army. *Prima facie* at least the Spartans assumed that Xerxes' fleet lost enough ships in storms and at Artemision to destroy its amphibious capacity. If this conclusion is right, it tends to support Hdt' generous estimate of the great storm's enormity and the amount of damage it perpetrated (190-192) though not perhaps his estimate of the fleet's original size.

ἐμουνώθησαν, μουνωθέντες δὲ ἄν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως. ἡ ταῦτα ἄν ἔπαθον, ἡ πρὸ τοῦ ὀρῶντες ἄν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους "Ελληνας μηδίζοντας ὁμολογίῃ ἄν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξην.--

Hdt. realistically considers the possibility that Sparta would have medised once the rest of Greece had gone under but in deference to the legend of Thermopylae he also believes that Sparta might have fought to the end. The former consideration contradicts Demaratus' speech of ch. 102, but Eurybiades also seems to raise the possibility of a negotiated peace with the Persians in the event they are cut off at the Hellespont (viii.108).

καὶ οὕτω ἄν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἡ 'Ελλάς ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. τὴν γὰρ ὠφελίην τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ 'Ισθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἄν ἦν βασιλέος ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης.--

See Demaratus' advice of ch. 235, Chileus' lecture of ix.9, and comm. above.

Hdt. has evidently tried to determine the strategy that lay behind the wall, but he does not seem to realise that Xerxes may have been well on the way to losing control of the sea before Salamis.

The plural ("walls") may give some indication that Hdt. recognises the difficulty inherent in his apparent revival of previous wall-building in the 9th bk. (viii.71, ix.7), but it may be only a manner of speaking.

οὐδέ σφεας χρηστήρια φοβερά ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δεῖμα βαλόντα ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν 'Ελλάδα,--

Hdt. merely anticipates the frightening oracle of ch. 140.

140.

Πέμφαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοῦς—When did the Athenians first consult Delphi? Scholarly opinion ranges from 482 (Stein iv.128) to sometime after Thermopylae and before Salamis (Macan i¹186; ii.232). Hdt. at least is un-ambiguous on the question and he really is not careless about his sequence of events (see Strasburger, Herodots Zeitrechnung, Wd F 723; Jutta Kirchberg, Hypomnemata xi.96 n. 1). He clearly dates the oracles before the 1st Hellenic congress:

Τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγεγόνεε·
vii.145.1

The tense of the verb is decisive (see Hignett 441). The 1st Hellenic congress in turn can be dated to 481; the *sunbouloi* were meeting when they learned Xerxes was in Sardis with his army (ch. 145) and their spies found Xerxes still in Sardis (ch. 146), where he spent the winter till he marched in the spring (ch. 37). Therefore the Athenian consultation of Delphi can be dated before autumn 481 according to Hdt.. The next question, however, is whether the oracles given by Hdt. are appropriate to that time, and more important, what these oracles are.

καί σφι ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα,— See Parke and Wormell i.17ff..

χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίη, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀριστομένη, τάδε— Prima facie Hdt. knows the name of the priestess because he is familiar with the oracle itself, the shrine, and the personnel attached. See vi.66, where Cleomenes enlisted the aid of Cobon son of Aristophantos, who bribed Perialla the prophetess to say that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston. But here as in the story of the Cleomenes-Demaratus feud it can hardly be certain that the relevant Delphic information is not part of the subject at hand rather than the result of Hdt's own special enquiry at Delphi.

On the larger issues see comm. at ch. 141.

ὦ μέλαιοι, τί κάθησθε; λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης
δῶματα—

ὦ μέλεος, οἶαν ἄρ' ἤβην ξυμμάχων ἀπώλεσαν.

Aesch. *Persae* 733

οἶκον ἀποπρολιπὼν φεῦγ' Ἀργεος ἱποβότοιο,

Hesiod fr. 144 (7 Loeb; Paus. ix.36.7)

χώρῳ ἐν εὐρώεντι, πελώρης ἔσχατα γαίης.

Theogony 731.

140 cont.

The oracle evidently alludes to the West as a refuge of last resort (cf. i.164-168; 170; viii.62).

καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κάρηνα.-- See i.98, τὸ δ' αὐτῶν μέγιστόν ἐστι τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστα κη τὸ μέγαθος.; ii.170, λίμνη... ὅση περ ἡ ἐν Δήλῳ ἡ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη.; Theognis 7 (of Delos), ἐπὶ τροχοειδέϊ λίμνῃ;

ὅς δὴ πολλάων πόλιν κατέλυσε κάρηνα

Il. ii.117

οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,--

ἀλλ' ὥς τε στήλη μένει ἔμπεδον, ἥ τ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ

Il. xvii.434

οὔτε πόδες νέατοι οὔτ' ὦν χέρεις, οὔτε τι μέσσης λείπεται,

οἱ δὲ Ζέλειαν ἔναιον ὑπαὶ πόδα νεύατον Ἰδης,

Il. ii.824

ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, περὶ δὲ δρατὰ σώματα νήει.

Il. xxiii.169

ἀλλ' ἄζηλα πέλει.--

ρεῖτα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει,

Hesiod, Works 6

κατὰ γὰρ μιν ἐρέλπει

πῦρ τε καὶ ὄξυς Ἄρης,-- ἐρέλπω in the sense "to destroy" or "pull down" is good Homeric usage (e.g. Il. xii.258, xiv.15, xv.356, 361). ὄξυς Ἄρης is also common in the Iliad (e.g. Il. ii.440, iv.352, vii.330, viii.531, xi.836, xvii.721).

Συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων.--

κυάνεον δ' ὄμμασι λεύσσω
φονίου δέργμα δράκοντος,
πολύχειρ καὶ πολυναύτας,
Σύριόν θ' ἄρμα διώκων,
ἐπάγει δουρικλῦτοισι ἀν-
δράσι τοξόδαμνον Ἄρη.

Aesch. Pers. 81ff.

It is always assumed that the oracle is prior but see below.

πολλὰ δὲ κἄλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα, κοῦ τὸ σὸν οἶον.--

τοῖος γὰρ σφιν πύργος ἀπώλεο·

Od. xi.556

140 cont.

ὥς οὐδ' ἄν Ἄρης σφ' ἐκβάλῃ πυργωμάτων.

Aesch. Septem 469

πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῷ πυρὶ δώσει,--

καὶ νηοὺς ποίησε θεῶν,

Od. vi.10

The fire-epithet is also Homeric.

μηδ' ὁπότε ἄν Τροίῃ μαλερῷ πυρὶ πᾶσα δάηται

Il. xx.316

οἷ που νῦν ἰδρῶτι ῥεούμενοι ἐστήκασιν,-- The usage, if not exactly this image, is Homeric.

ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα.

Il. iv.451

For running sweat without the dative see e.g. Il. xi.811,

σκάζων ἐκ πολέμου· κατὰ δὲ νότιος ῥέεν ἰδρῶς

See also Apollonius Rhodius iv.1285; Diodorus xvii.10.4; Livy xxii.1, xxiii.31, xxvii.4, xxviii.11; Verg. Georgics i.480.

δείματι παλλόμενοι,--

δείματι παλλόμεναι· ἄμα δ' ἡοῦ φαινομένηφιν

Hom. Hymn to Dem. 293

αἷμα μέλαν κέχυται, κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισιν
προιδὼν κακότητος ἀνάγκας.--

ἔστη, καὶ δ' ἄχος οἱ χύτο μυρίον ὀφθαλμοῖσι,

Il. xx.282

τμήδην δ' αὐχέν' ἐπῆλθε, μέλαν δ' ἀνεκῆκιν αἷμα

Il. vii.262

The last three words quoted above are also Homeric, but not the phrase.

ἀλλ' ἔτον ἐξ ἀδύτοιο, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.--

αὐτὸς δ' Αἰνείαν μάλα πόνος ἐξ ἀδύτοιο
ἦκε

Il. v.512f.

Ἀξιοῦ, οὗ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδναται αἶαν.

Il. ii.850

Homer uses the unusual penultimate word only in the passive. For comm. on the larger issues see ch. 141.

141.

οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι συμφορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωντο.—

Like the Spartans when they called on Sperthias and Bulis, ch. 134.

Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου, τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὅμοια τῷ μάλιστα,— Otherwise unknown.

συνεβούλευέ σφι ἱκετηρίας λαβοῦσι δεύτερα αὖτις ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἱκέτας.—

ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἐνδυκέως ἱκέτεω πεφιδήσεται ἀνδρός.

Il. xxiv.158

πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι— Hdt. clearly means the Athenian theopropoi, not the Athenians at large. He also clearly assumes that the 2nd oracle follows immediately on the 1st. He gives no support to the assumption that the two oracles in question are separated by even so much as a day (against e.g. Macan i¹189b).

Ῥωναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τᾶσδε τὰς τοι ἤκομεν φέροντες· ἢ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τῆδε μενέομεν ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν—

Priam also stands ready to die for the sake of his appeal as a suppliant.

εἰ δέ μοι αἶσα
τεθνάμεναι παρὰ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,
βούλομαι· αὐτίκα γάρ με κατακτείνειεν Ἀχιλλεὺς
ἀγκὰς ἐλόντ' ἐμὸν υἷόν, ἐπὴν γόου ἐξ ἔρον εἶην.

Il. xxiv.224ff.

Orestes threatens to starve himself.

ἕως ἐς ἀγνὸν ἦλθον αὖ Φοίβου πέδον,
καὶ πρόσθεν ἀδύτων ἐκταθείς, νῆστις βορᾶς,
ἐπώμοσ' αὐτοῦ βίον ἀπορρήξειν θανών,
εἰ μὴ με σώσει Φοῖβος, ὅς μ' ἀπώλεσεν.

Eur. Iph. Taur. 972ff.

οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι,—

ὁψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·
ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε Κρονίδη, ὕπατε κρείόντων,
εὖ νυ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ὅ τοι σθένος οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν·
ἀλλ' ἔμπης Δαναῶν ὀλοφυρόμεθ' αἰχμητῶν,
οἳ κεν δὴ δακδὺν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες ὄλωνται.

Il. viii.30ff.

It is Zeus who extends special protection over Priam when he becomes suppliant to Achilles (see Il. xxiv.287ff. and 570). Hdt' word for "propitiate" is specially prominent in the 1st bk. of the Iliad in connexion with the Achaeans' propitiation of Apollo (i.100, 147, 386, 444, 472; cf. vi.380 = 385, Od. iii.

141 cont.

419, propitiation of Athena).

λίσσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ.—

On the position of the relevant words in the hexameter line, note the following.

λίσσομένη προσέειπε Δία Κρονίωνα ἄνακτα·

Il. i.502

εἰδὼς παντοίους τε δόλους καὶ μήδεα πυκνά.

Il. iii.202

ᾧφρ' ἄλλην φράζωνται ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μήτιν ἀμείνω,

Il. ix.423

σοὶ δὲ τόδ' αὖτις ἔπος ἐρέω, ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας·—

στεῦται γάρ τι ἔπος ἐρέειν κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ.

Il. iii.83

γόμφοισιν πελάσσας προσαρήρεται ἱστοβοῆι.

Works 431

δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις ἀγρίως πελάσσας,

Aesch. Pr. 155

See also Pindar, Pyth. iv.224ff., ἀδαμάντινον ἐν μέσσοις ἄροτρον ζεύγλα πέλασσεν μοῦνος; Ol. i.78.

τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλίσκομένων ὅσα Κέκροπος οὖρος ἐντὸς ἔχει—

ἄκουε τοίνυν· οἶσθα Κεκροπίας πέτρας
πρόσβορρον ἄντρον, ὅς Μακρὰς κικλήσκομεν;

Eur. Ion. 936f.

Κέκροπος ἐς ἄντρα καὶ Μακρὰς πετρηρεφεῖς.

1400

See also P Ox 2255.42.4 (Aeschylus? thus Italie's Index 152). On the mythology see Hdt. viii.44, 53 with Hecataeus, FGH 1 F 119.

κευθμών τε Κιθαιρῶνος ζαθέοιο,—

μαιομένη κευθμῶνας ἀνὰ σπέος· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς

Od. xiii.367

καί ποτε τὸν τρικάρανον
Πτωΐου κευθμῶνα κατέσχεθε κούρα...

Pindar, fr. 51 Schröder (70), 5f.

ναῖ', ἐπεὶ ἄνδρα κατέκτα Κυθήροισι ζαθέοισι,

Il. xv.432

τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.—

141 cont.

βουλήν δ' Ἀργείοις ὑποθησόμεθ', ἥ τις δνήσει,
 ὥς μὴ πάντες ὄλωνται ὀδυσσαμένοιο τεοῖο."
 Τὴν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη νεφέληγερέτα Ζεὺς·
 "θάρσει, Τριτογένεια, φίλον τέκος· οὐ νύ τι θυμῷ
 πρόφρονι μυθέομαι, ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἥπιος εἶναι."

Il. viii.36ff.

παρθένον αἰδοίην, ἐρυσίπτολιν, ἀλκήεσσαν,
Τριτογενῇ, τὴν αὐτὸς ἐγείνατο μητίετα Ζεὺς
 σεμνῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς, πολεμήλια τεύχε' ἔχουσιν
 χρύσεια παμφανόωντα· σέβας δ' ἔχε πάντας ὀρῶντας
 ἀθανάτους·

Hom. Hymn to Athena xxviii.3ff.

εἴλετ' ἀπ' ἀθανάτων ὤμων θεοείκελα τεύχη
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίῃ· γήθησε δὲ μητίετα Ζεὺς.

15-16

Αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς γλαυκῶπιδα Τριτογένειαν
 δεινὴν ἐγρεκύδοιμον ἀγέστρατον ἀτρυτώνην
 πότνια, ἣ κέλαδοί τε ἄδον πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε,

Hesiod, Theogony 924ff.

It seems possible to trace the line of thought of the man or woman who composed these highly significant lines. The underscored words of the first passage quoted above from the Iliad occupy the same metrical position in the hexameter that they do in the lines of the oracle. The Homeric Hymn to Athena calls Athena not only Tritogeneia but also Pallas (see l. 1 of the oracle) and emphasises her close connexion with Zeus. Furthermore it lays stress on her divine armour, war-like, golden, and a source of awe even to the gods (see Il. v.736ff., viii.387f.).

By comparison Hesiod alludes to her birth without mentioning the name of Zeus, without referring to her armour, and without calling her Pallas. Whoever wrote these lines was influenced by Homer's treatment of Athena and not that of Hesiod.

It may be Pallas' armour (τεύχε', τεύχη) that gives rise to the wooden wall of the oracle (τεῖχος). This phrase "wooden wall", perhaps one of the most important in the history of Athens' survival as a free nation to judge from Hdt' account of that survival, also comes down to us in the poetry of Pindar, in an ode written, to be sure, after the war (probably 474; see Bowra's Pindar 408). But the context is very different. Pindar alludes to a funeral pyre, that of Coronis, who bears within her the unborn Asclepius.

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τεύχει θέσαν ἐν ξυλίνῳ
 σύγγονοι κούραν

Pyth. iii.38f.

141 cont.

Here as in the case of Aeschylus' Syrian chariot (see ch. 140 and comm. ad loc.) it is possible to admit a connexion between the oracle and other 5th century poetry containing identical images while yet insisting on the priority of the oracle. But it is nonetheless possible that Pindar's wooden wall signifying an awful death to Asclepius' mother is prior, that whoever wrote the oracle took the image from Pindar and reversed it perhaps in the light of Pallas Athena's mighty armour so as to make it an image not of death but of life. It seems hardly necessary to point out in this connexion that Pindar's poetry must have been known throughout the Gk. world. Hdt. himself seems to know the work of Pindar; e.g. he seems to quote Pindar to the effect that nomos is lord of all (iii.38.4; see Bowra's Pindar 373).

In any event the wooden wall is clearly an allusion to ships. But which ships? Hdt. gives us to believe that two Delphic oracles were delivered to Athenian theopropoi at Delphi and thus came to Athens before the 1st Hellenic congress; that the question of a wooden wall became a matter of public controversy in Athens once those oracles were bruited about the streets; that Themistocles' interpretation according to which the Pythia referred to the fleet prevailed; and that (by implication) after the battle Themistocles was known to be right. But how much of the story is firm? We control none of it because all subsequent authors must have relied heavily on Hdt' account. The Athenians did win the battle of Salamis and they did rely on their ships to defeat the Persians. But the question of a great fleet for Athens was settled long before the 1st Hellenic congress because of a timely war with Aegina (ch. 144). And it would be wrong to adduce support for this alleged public debate over the wooden wall from Hdt' account of the evacuation of Attica, where the Athenians try to obey the oracle. There is no good evidence that the Athenians ever conducted an organised evacuation of Attica supported by the Athenian fleet (viii.44 comm.). Whatever the Athenians did before Salamis (comm. ad loc.) Hdt. says they did it in obedience to this oracle; but it is just this oracle that is now in question.

In Homeric poetry Pallas Athena is associated not only with famous armour (comm. above) but also with famous walls. She and the Trojans built a wall for Heracles so he could escape from the great sea-monster.

Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας ἡγήσατο κυανοχαίτης
 τεῖχος ἐς ἀμφίχυτον Ἡρακλῆος θείοιο,
 ὑψηλόν, τό δ' αἰ Τρῶες καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
 πόλεον, ὅφρα τὸ κῆτος ὑπεκπροφυγὼν ἀλέαιτο,
 ὁππότε μιν σεύαίτο ἀπ' ἡϊόνοος πεδίωνδε.

141 cont.

It is Athena who guides Odysseus to the great walls of the Phaeacians.

Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας ἡγήσατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
καρπαλίμως· ὁ δ' ἔπειτα μετ' ἔχνη βαῖνε θεοῖο.

Od. vii.37f.

θαύμαζεν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς λιμένας καὶ νῆας εἰσας,
αὐτῶν θ' ἡρώων ἀγορὰς καὶ τεῖχεα μακρὰ
ὕψηλά, σκολόπεσσιν ἀρηρότα, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι.

43ff.

By implication it is Athena, a guardian of the Achaeans, who watches over the great Achaean wall.

Ἦμος δ' οὔτ' ἄρ πω ἦώς, ἔτι δ' ἀμφιλύκη νύξ,
τῆμος ἄρ' ἀμφὶ πυρὴν κριτὸς ἔγρετο λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν,
τύμβον δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ἕνα ποίεον ἐξαγαγόντες
ἄκριτον ἐκ πεδίου, ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν τεῖχος ἔδειμαν
πύργους θ' ὕψηλούς, εἴλαρ νηῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν.
ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποίεον εὖ ἀραρυίας,
ὄφρα δι' αὐτῶν ἱππηλασίη δόδος εἴη·
ἔκτοσθεν δὲ βαθεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τάφρον ὄρυξαν,
εὐρεῖαν μεγάλην, ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατέπηξαν.

Il. vii.433ff.

It is Poseidon and Apollo on the other hand who destroy the wall with Zeus' permission (Il. vii.443ff., xii.13ff., quoted at ch. 129). Thus it is not perhaps over-fanciful to connect Athena's mighty armour with that of a city or nation, i.e. a wall. But regardless of whether that connexion be accepted or rejected, there is no doubt that the concept of a nation driven back on its ships and relying only on them for its sole support as a wooden wall is at least as old as the 15th bk. of the Iliad. Athena has helped the Achaeans in their desperate plight to some extent by driving the cloud of mist from their eyes so they can at least see the whole panorama of Trojans on the attack (xv.668ff.). But even Telamonian Ajax from Salamis retires before them and finally cries out that there are no great warriors behind them anymore, no stronger wall than the ships they stand on, no fortified city in their rear. The Achaeans are supported only from the sea and far from their native land.

ὦ φίλοι ἦρωες Δαναοί, θεράποντες Ἄρηος,
ἄνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς.
ἥέ τινας φαμεν εἶναι ἀοσητηῆρας ὀπίσσω,
ἥέ τι τεῖχος ἄρειον, ὃ κ' ἀνδράσι λοιγὸν ἀμύναι;
οὐ μὲν τι σχεδὸν ἐστὶ πόλις πύργοις ἀραρυῖα,
ἢ κ' ἀπαμυναίμεσθ' ἑτεραλκέα δῆμον ἔχοντες·
ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ Τρώων πεδίῳ πύκα θωρηκτῶν
πόντῳ κεκλιμένοι ἐκὰς ἡμεῖα πατρίδος αἴης·
τῷ ἐν χερσὶ φόως, οὐ μείλιχ' ἡ πολέμοιο."

Il. xv.733ff.

141 cont.

Whoever wrote these oracular lines could have done so with or without the help of Pindar's more explicit wooden wall, and with or without a historical picture of the abandonment of Attica preceded by a public debate over the meaning of a wooden wall. If that person was a Delphic priest or priestess well-versed in Homer and certain that the Persians were coming he could have delivered the lines in question long before Thermopylae or even Tegea, long before the 1st Hellenic congress indeed, once the Persian intentions became manifest. These lines are not necessarily post eventum because they, like the 1st Delphic response, could have been written on the basis of literary antecedents without reference to any such historical context as the one Hdt. describes.

But if that much is true, the implications are enormous. First, the lines need not be Delphic. Anyone with a knowledge of the literary tradition could have written them. Second, and far more important, whether or not they are Delphic their historical context as Hdt. describes it may not be historical at all but Hdt' own inference or that of his sources, from the oracles themselves and Themistocles' subsequent victory at Salamis (comm. at ch. 143). Hdt' account of repeated supplication, a spirited public debate, Themistocles' superior interpretation, and the abandonment of Attica in obedience to the oracle could have been written without regard to what we know as history, on the basis of oracles that rest ultimately on the traditions of Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, and the lyric poets.

The oracle's word for "un-sacked" appears in the Iliad in connexion with the great Achaean wall, in a passage immediately preceding that quoted at ch. 129 because of its influence on Hdt' account of Thessaly.

ὄφρα μὲν Ἑκτωρ ζωὸς ἔην καὶ μῆνι' Ἀχιλλεύς
καὶ Πριάμοιο ἀνακτος ἀπόρθητος πόλις ἔπλεν,
τόφρα δὲ καὶ μέγα τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν ἔμπεδον ἦεν.

Il. xii.10ff.

μηδὲ σύ γ' ἱπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἰόντα
πολλὸν ἀπ' ἡπείρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν
νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοί ποτε κἀντίος ἔσση.--

μηδέ τις ἱπποσύνη τε καὶ ἡνορέηφι πεποιθὼς
οἶος πρόσθ' ἄλλων μεμάτω Τρῶεσσι μάχεσθαι,

Il. iv.303f.

Nestor restrains the Achaean charioteers.

μένειν--

ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται,
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφιδά παρ' Ἑρμῶν
φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν, μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

Hdt. i.55

141 cont.

Note: Full comm. on the oracle of i.55 lies beyond the province of this work, but it seems likely that whoever wrote it did so on the basis of literary precedents.

ἀβροδιαίτων δ' ἔπεται Λυδῶν
ὄχλος, οὔτ' ἐπίπαν ἠπειρογενὲς
 κατέχουσιν ἔθνος,

Aesch. Pers. 41ff.

Ἴπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ὧ̃ μόνα ταῦτα πάρεστιν,
 γαστρί τε καὶ πλευρῇ καὶ ποσὶν ἀβρὰ παθεῖν,

Solon 14.3-4

Ἴπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ὧ̃ τὰ δέοντα πάρεστιν,
 γαστρί τε καὶ πλευραῖς καὶ ποσὶν ἀβρὰ παθεῖν,

Theognis 721-722

Ἴπποις ἡμιόνοις τε μοναμπυκία τε. τὴν δὲ κῦδος
ἀβρόν
 νικᾶσαις ἀνέθηκε,

Pindar, Ol. v.7f.

See also Sappho LP 44.7 (ἄβραν Ἀνδρομάχαν) and 14 (ἄγον αἰμιόνοις).

Clearly the oracle of i.55 is part of a long literary tradition in which mules and "tenderness", mules and "tender-footed-ness" indeed went together. Nausicaa's waggon may have been the origin.

ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐπότηνον πατέρα κλυτὸν ἦῶθι πρὸ
 ἡμιόνους καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐφοπλίσαι, ἥ κεν ἄγρῳ
 ζῶστρά τε καὶ πέπλους καὶ ῥήγεα σιγαλόμεντα.
 καὶ δὲ σοὶ ὧδ' αὐτῇ πολὺ κάλλιον ἢ ἐπόδεσσιν
 ἔρχεσθαι· πολλὸν γάρ ἀπὸ πλυνοῖ εἰσι πόληος.

Od. vi.36ff.

φεύγειν, αἰδεῖσθαι, κακός--

Αἰδεῖσθαι δὲ φίλους, φεύγειν τ' ὀλεσθήνορας ὄρκους...

Theognis 399

ἢ τινά που δείσας ἐξαίσιον ἦε καὶ ἄλλως
 αἰδεῖται κατὰ δῶμα; κακὸς δ' αἰδοῖτο ἀλήτης.

Od. xvii.577f.

πολλὸν ἀπ' ἠπείρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν--

On the positions of the relevant words in the hexameter line we can note the following.

ὥς Ἐκτωρ ἄσβεστον ἔχων μένος οὐχ ὑπεχώρει,
 πύργῳ ἐπὶ προὔχοντι φαεινὴν ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας

Il. xxii.96f.

νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοί ποτε κἀντιος ἔσση.--

141 cont.

τοὶ δ' οὐ προπάρειθε πόληος
νῶθ' Ἰππων ἐπιβάντες ἐθύνεον.

Shield 285f.

ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἐτέρη γε δόμων ἔκτοσθεν ἐοῦσα
γαῖαν ἐπιστρέφεται,

Theogony 752f.

e.g. ἦ πολὺ λώϊόν ἐστι κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν
δῶρ' ἀποαιρεῖσθαι ὅς τις σέθεν ἀντίλον εἴπῃ·
Il. i.229f.

ὦ θεῖη Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν
ἥ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἥ συνιούσης.

Surprise and suspicion over the fact that this couplet should name the island of Salamis betrays failure to recognise the literary tradition that stands behind the oracle. It is Telamonian Ajax who falls back on the original wooden wall (see above) and he comes from Salamis. The close of the 15th bk. of the Iliad shows him destroying the enemy with his spear from that wall of wood. The name of Salamis is prominent in the Catalogue of Ships and Ajax himself is made to be proud of it. It occupies the same metrical position in the hexameters of the Iliad, astride the 2nd and 3rd feet, that the oracle gives it.

Αἶας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
Il. ii.555

ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμὲ νῆιδά γ' οὕτως
ἔλπομαι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε.
Il. vii.198f.

Pindar indeed remembers Salamis as the island of Ajax when he praises the sailors of Aegina for winning the battle.

καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἀρεὶ μαρτυρήσαι
κεν πόλις Αἶαντος ὀρθωθεῖσα ναύταις

ἐν πολυφθόρῳ Σαλαμῖς Διὸς ὄμβρῳ
ἀναρίθμων ἀνδρῶν χαλαζάεντι φόνῳ.

Isth. v.47ff.

So does Aeschylus,

αἰμαχθεῖσα δ' ἄρουραν
Αἶαντος περικλύστα
νᾶσος ἔχει τὰ Περσῶν.

Pers. 595ff.

Cf. also Simonides 90.1 (Diehl).

The end of the couplet's 1st line is interesting not only for its epic antecedents but also for what it has in common with one of Hdt's notable expressions elsewhere in the history. The metrical value is that of Homer's ἔργα γυναικῶν and indeed Hdt. himself quotes a passage in which that phrase is prominent (ii.116).

141 cont.

ἔνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμπούκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν,

Il. vi.289

It is also reminiscent of Hesiod's τέκνα θεάων.

Νηρῆος δ' ἐγένοντο μεγήριτα τέκνα θεάων

Theogony 240

But perhaps its most notable feature is the resemblance it bears to Hdt' own expression for "women and children". On all but three occasions (v.98, vi.139, viii.40) he says τέκνα and not παῖδες. He puts "children" before "women" 12 times and uses the reverse order only 3 times (Powell 71). τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκες comes easiest to him.

The oracle's use of "Demeter" for "grain" is reminiscent of Homeric periphrasis.

παρ γὰρ σοὶ πρώτῳ πασάμην Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν,

Il. xxi.76

Homer uses the word σκίδναμαι to mean "scatter" or "disperse", mostly of men; whoever wrote the oracle adopts his metrical position and twists the usage.

αὐτοὶ δ' ἐσκίδναντο κατὰ κλισίας τε νέας τε.

Il. i.487

οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐσκίδναντο ἔην ἐπὶ νῆα ἕκαστος,

Il. xix.277

οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐσκίδναντο ἔα πρὸς δῶμαθ' ἕκαστος,

Od. ii.258

Homer also, however, uses the word to mean "diffuse", of water spreading, scattering, being diffused throughout a garden.

ἐν δὲ δύω κρῆναι ἡ μὲν τ' ἀνὰ κῆπον ἅπαντα
σκίδνεται,

Od. vii.129-130

It is this latter sense of the word that Hesiod takes up and develops. He does use the word transitively indeed.

ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλαι ἄεισι διασκιδνᾶσι τε νῆας
ναύτας τε φθείρουσι.

Theogony 875f.

But he also develops Homer's "diffusion" image such that what is being scattered is even more in-substantial than water: i.e. a voice.

γελαῖ δέ τε δῶματα πατρὸς
Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο θεῶν ὅπλ' λειριοέσση
σκιδναμένη,

Theogony 40ff.

141 cont.

It is perhaps significant that Hdt. himself seems to develop still further this "in-substantial" usage when he applies the word to sun-light.

ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, οὕτω δὲ ἅμα
ἡλίῳ σκιδναμένῳ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἔπλεε ἀλῆς
ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.

viii.23

Here again, as in the case of Hdt. "women and children" the oracle itself seems to belie the same kind of literary influence that Hdt. usage elsewhere reveals. Scattered corn is not perhaps as "in-substantial" a quantity as Hesiod's scattered voice or Hdt. own scattered sun-light, but it clearly lies in that direction, somewhere beyond Homer's diffusion of water.

Demeter's metrical position is that of Hesiod in the Works and Days (393,466,597,805). See also H. Cer. 319,374, and 442.

The end of the couplet shows another distortion of Homeric usage.

τόσσοις ἄρα κτύπος ὤρτο θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνιόντων.

Il. xx.66

ἔγέλασσε δὲ οἱ φίλον ἦτορ
γηθοσύνη, ὅθ' ὀρᾶτο θεοῦς ἔριδι ξυνιόντας.

Il. xxi.389f.

When considering the literary tradition that stands behind these oracles it is also well to remember that some of the most important parts of that tradition are lost to us. We should very much like to know what poetic imagery Simonides put into his work on the battle of Salamis (see Page 536) and particularly since Hdt. is almost certainly familiar with that work (see v.102, where Hdt. mentions Simonides in connexion with Evalcidas of Eretria, and vii.228, where Hdt. quotes Simonides' epigrams on Thermopylae). Even so it is clear that this verse need not derive from Delphi. Whoever wrote these hexameters with their wooden wall and their allusion to Salamis could have done so on the basis of Ajax' original wooden wall, Ajax' connexion with Salamis, and a great deal of help from Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, and the lyric poets. It is open to us to believe that some anonymous Delphic priest or priestess did so, but we can hardly be certain on the authorship. We have no good evidence to the effect that collections of Delphic oracles were circulating in the 5th century, much less that Hdt. had access to them. Hdt. could have got these oracles from Delphi, but we have not even un-impeachable evidence that he went there (Intro. i ad loc.) and even if he did that fact is not conclusive. Hdt. purports to know what Delphi said

141 cont.

on two different historical occasions and we should like to take him at his word, but what Hdt. purports to know is hardly decisive (Intro. iii). In any event the historical context may rest on nothing more than Hdt' own inference from the oracles themselves and Themistocles' subsequent victory at Salamis (see above and comm. at ch. 143). It tells nothing about who wrote them. If the oracles are Delphic it is difficult to explain how the first one survived (comm. at ch. 142). The literary influences seem un-mistakeable and those influences must have been wide-spread in the 5th century; indeed we can see them at work on Hdt' own prose elsewhere in the History.

Thus it seems naive to ask if the oracle is vaticinium post eventum because that is to assume that it is genuine. If the oracle is genuine then it can be explained without the assumption that it is wholly or in part after the event. Regardless of strategical and political factors Salamis is the home of Telamonian Ajax who declaims from and on the original wooden wall. But there is no good reason to believe that the oracle is in fact genuine. It could be nothing more than a careful literary exercise based on the numerous literary antecedents quoted above plus others no longer extant.

142.

Ταῦτά σφι ἡπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι, συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.—

Hdt. says the theopropoi rejected the 1st oracle, wrote down the 2nd, and took it to Athens. Hdt. has just quoted the 1st oracle and therefore he implies that it was somehow preserved in Delphi so that he eventually had personal access to it, an implication tacitly supported by his apparently intimate knowledge of the Delphic personalities involved (chs. 140-141). But the 1st oracle is incriminating. Delphi will never have released it after the war as evidence of its own original attitude. Hdt. himself does not pretend to intimate acquaintance with the Athenian theopropoi and anyway he says they rejected the 1st oracle: they did not record it.

There is no very obvious way in which the 1st oracle could have survived. It is plausible that there should have been a 1st gloomy oracle. It is also plausible that Delphi itself should have preserved that oracle till the end of the war in case the Persians won. In that event the Pythia could have brought forth the 1st oracle in case of later complaints such as that of Croesus (i.90-91). But it is not plausible that the 1st oracle should have been preserved.

142 cont.

in Delphi after the war, and it is even less plausible that a Delphic priest or priestess should have released such an incriminating document even if it was preserved.

διζημένων--Homer uses the word to mean "search after", "seek out", or "strive for". Cf. Works 428.

μαντήιον--Homer uses the word to mean "a prophetic warning"; Od. xii.272. Cf. Hesiod fr. 240.9.

ἡ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ῥηχὺ ἐπέφρακτο.--

Hdt. does not give his authority for the statement but it may well be poetic; see Soph. fr. 812, and the Achaeans' action in response to the urging of Telamonian Ajax,

ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀλέξασθαι μενέαινον,
ἐν θυμῷ δ' ἐβάλοντο ἔπος, φράξαντο δὲ νῆας
ἔρκει' χαλκείῳ

Il. xv.565ff.

They hedge the wooden wall with a brazen barrier.

[κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν]--Hdt' phraseology may be imprecise but that is not sufficient reason for deleting it.

τοὺς ὧν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος
ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης,
ὧ θεῇ Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν
ἧ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἧ συνιούσης.

σφάλλω is Homeric but Homer uses it transitively.

Clearly Hdt. makes the 2nd oracle in general and the Salamis couplet in particular the source of public debate in Athens. If Hdt' account of that debate is nothing but inference from the oracle itself and the fact that the Athenians gave battle at sea off Salamis we have no way of knowing what the public debate was or even if there was one.

συνεχέοντο--Homer also uses the word in this sense ("confound"); cf. Il. ix.612, xxiv.358, Od. viii.139.

χρησμολόγοι--Elsewhere Hdt. names two Athenian chresmologoi, Onomacritos (ch. 6) and Lysistratos (viii.96). These are foils of Themistocles. Corinna uses the word (Page 654 iii.43). On the word χρησμός see Pindar, Pyth. iv.60 and Corinna, Page 654 iii.34.

143.

ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρῶτους νεωστὶ παριών,
τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλέης, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἐκαλέετο.—

νεωστὶ must not be pressed. Hdt. elsewhere uses the word in referring to the battle of Sepeia, removed from the events of his narrative by more than a decade (ch. 148). Themistocles was probably eponymous archon in 493 (cf. Thuc. i.93.3 and Ath. Pol. xxii.5) and in any event Hdt' wording can not be used to bring his archonship down 10 years. Even if the expression is pressed, "it might refer to the recent triumph of his naval policy and the ostracism of Aristides" (HW ii.185). ἐς πρῶτους is Homeric; cf. e.g. Il. xv.643 and Od. vi.60.

ῥΩ σχετλίη Σαλαμῖς—The epithet is commonplace in Homer and Hesiod.

οἰκήτορες—The word is used by all three major tragedians (cf. esp. Soph. Ajax 396 and 517) but also in the prose of an important inscription (D 15.22, the Colophon treaty) and frequently by Thuc. (e.g. i.100 and ii.27). The death envisioned is apparently that of the natives of Salamis, after the lost sea-battle (according to the chresmologoi) from the final sentence of the previous chapter, though conceivably "dwellers" and "around it" can be taken together to mean "Athenians".

In this account of the great public debate in Athens Hdt. distinguishes three bodies of opinion. Some Athenians wanted to rely on the impregnability of the acropolis. Some wanted to take to the fleet and sail away in the Tean and Phocaeian manner (i.164-168). Themistocles wanted to fight at Salamis and his point of view prevailed. Hdt. relates all three bodies of opinion to the 2nd Delphic oracle, and prima facie his narrative is convincing. But what does it rest on? The first opinion follows from Hdt' belief that the acropolis was in fact defended against Persian attack (viii.52-53). The second opinion had its antecedents. It may or may not be likely that a major part of the city wanted to abandon Attica in favour of the West. The important thing is that we can not control Hdt. on this point. What he says may seem likely; but by the same token that may be why he says it and not because he has anything more than the oracles themselves to build on (whatever their origin). The third opinion follows from the event. The Athenians did in fact fight at Salamis and Themistocles was in fact given credit for the victory. We can not assume that Hdt. needed anything more than the oracles themselves and a story to the effect that the acropolis was defended (viii.52-53) and Themistocles got credit

143 cont.

for the decision to give battle at Salamis in order to write his narrative of this public debate. The clash between Themistocles and the chresmologoi is probably no more than good story-telling.

The most likely hypothesis to account for this narrative of a great Athenian public debate is that it is not historical but Hdt' own embroidery on an oracle that may or may not be Delphic. There may well have been a great debate in Athens over the proper course of action in the face of Xerxes' preparations, but it would be naive to assume that we can re-construct that debate if there was one on the basis of Hdt' narrative.

144.

ἐτέρη τε θεμιστοκλέει γνώμη ἔμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἠρίστευσε, ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων σφι προσήλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἔμελλον λάξεσθαι ὀρχηδὸν ἕκαστος δέκα δραχμάς·---

There seems little reason to put the episode in the 90's. Aristotle dates his version to 483 (Ath. Pol. xxii.7) and that time is consonant with Thuc' remark that the Athenian navy dates only from the time of the Aeginetan war (i.14.3). According to Hdt. Miltiades had only 70 ships for the Parian expedition of 489 and there is no guarantee that all of them are supposed to be Athenian (vi.132). For the Aeginetan war of vi.89, according to Hdt., the Athenians had but 50 ships of their own and bought another 20 from the Corinthians. Hdt. presumably records Themistocles' reaction to that shortage. But Hdt' figures are highly suspect. The 70 ships of the Parian expedition are likely to be an artificial number (comm. at ch. 94) and even if they are not they are nothing more than the 50 + 20 of the Aeginetan war. And the basis of that fleet, the 50 Athenian ships, is nothing more than the Athenian contingent of the Homeric Catalogue (Il. ii.556; see comm. at ch. 99) while the 20 Corinthian ships are also suspect (comm. at ch. 103). Hdt' story to the effect that the Athenians were short of vessels at the time of the Aeginetan war is likely enough but the numbers are mere embroidery.

On the Laurion silver mines see Thuc. ii.55 with Gomme ii.162, and also vi.91.7; Ath. Pol. xxii.7 ("in Maroneia"); Kock, RE xii. 1024ff.; Labarbe, La loi navale de Themistocle; esp. 25ff. with refs.; Eliot, Coastal Demes of Attica esp. 75ff. and see Index.

ὀρχηδὸν is from the poetic word for "row", ὄρχος, in Homer and Hesiod and later poetry as well.

According to Hdt. the Siphnians divided the income from their mines (iii.57); the Athenians may have wanted to follow a kind of standard procedure (see also Hdt' account of the Thasian mines,

144 cont.

vi.46). If there were 30,000 Athenian citizens (v.97) and each was to receive 10 drachs, the total sum to be divided was 50 T., and Hdt. seems to assume that the amount in question was sufficient for 200 ships. Later authors raise the sum to 100 talents and decrease the number of ships to 100 (see Ath. Pol. xxii.7; Polyaeus i.30; Plut. Them. iv.2), perhaps because 50 talents seemed in-sufficient for 200 vessels. It seems worth noting that 50 is one of Hdt' recurrent numbers (comm. at ch. 92). The amount of money involved seems arbitrary. Clearly Hdt' figure of 200 ships is that for the whole Athenian navy, 53 ships of which are presumably still building at the time of Artemision (viii.1,14,44,46,61 but see comm. at viii.1). Athens already had a navy at the time of Themistocles' navy bill. According to Hdt. Miltiades took 70 ships to Paros (vi.132), and Athens disposed of 50 ships of her own and 20 Corinthian ships in the Aeginetan war of vi.89. This basic 50 is a traditional number for an Athenian fleet (comm. above) but whatever the number of Athenian ships already in commission at the time of Themistocles' navy bill, those ships must be subtracted from Hdt' 200 of this chapter, unless the former are penteconters and the latter triremes. But in any event the number 200 is almost certainly artificial (comm. at ch. 153). We can hardly press it either to confirm or deny Hdt' figure of 10 drachs, which is highly suspect in itself because of the 50 T. total it yields.

τότε θεμιστοκλέης ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσαμένους νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον,--

Hdt. does not say there was a regular distribution of money. He gives no indication that the Athenians agreed to give up an annual distribution for a certain number of years in the future. He seems to be saying merely that the Athenians sacrificed a windfall. He knows nothing of a regular income from Laurion.

τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος συστάς ἔσωσε τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους.--

Hdt. says it was the Aeginetan war that saved Hellas but he leaves open the question whether Themistocles foresaw the Persian invasion at the time of that war. Thuc. has no doubt that he did.

ὁψέ τε ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθηναίους θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπεισεν Αἰγινήταις πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι αἷσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν.

Thuc. i.14.3

(τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτέα ἐστί), καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ξυγκατεσκεύαζεν.

i.93.4

144 cont.

αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιήθησαν, οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν, ἐς δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο.--

The Athenians were preparing only for the war at hand.

αὗται τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι προποιεῖσθαι ὑπάρχον, ἐτέρας τε ἔδεε προσναυπηγέσθαι.--

Prima facie at least Hdt. says the Athenians completed and retained Themistocles' 200 ships and had even more to build. There were no losses from the Aeginetan war because Themistocles' ships were not used to the purpose for which they were built (see above). That is more ships than the 200 Hdt. accounts for at Artemision (viii.1,14), but he gives the Athenians 200 ships at Salamis (viii.44,46) in spite of his belief that half the Athenian ships at Artemision were badly damaged (viii.18). The number is almost certainly artificial (comm. at ch. 158).

ἔδοξέ τε σφι μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευόμενοισι ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημεῖ, τῷ θεῷ πειθομένους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι.--

Hdt. makes this resolution consequent on the 2nd Delphic oracle. If that oracle as Hdt. gives it is not genuine then Hdt' statement rests on nothing but his own surmise, which would follow from the event anyway. Hdt. says the Athenians decided to confront the Persians at sea with their whole force together with their allies because that is what the Athenians did in fact. We can not conclude that Hdt. knows of a decree to that effect.

145.

συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τούτῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεόντων καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν,--

Hdt. does not say where. The place may have been the isthmus (see chs. 172 and 175; thus Baehr iii.659, Blakesley ii.265, Rawlinson iv.124, Stein iv.136, HW ii.187, ATL iii.183f.), or Pausanias' Hellenion in Sparta (iii.12.6; cf. Macan i¹196a and Brunt, *Historia* 1953.148 and 156), but it seems idle to speculate.

With this phraseology applied to the allies cf. ch. 132 (οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι); ch. 148 (οἱ δὲ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ); ch. 157 (τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖνον τῆς Ἑλλάδος); ch. 172 (τῶν πόλεων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα); ch. 235 (πάντων Πελοποννησίων συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοί). On the oath see comm. at ch. 132. This is evidently the time when the first formal anti-Persian alliance is joined (see Brunt, *Historia* 1953.135ff. and 156-157), the one to

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which Thuc. alludes (i.102.4: τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίαν). There are at least two current views on the origin of that alliance. ATL believe the Peloponnesian League is the kernel.

At first these allies were in the main, probably, Peloponnesians: the "Spartan group" of the Serpent Column plus Corinth... Corinth's NW allies were also perhaps there from the start, certainly before the envoy was sent to Corcyra (Hdt. vii.145.2). Hdt. speaks of this assembly in vii.145.1 and 172.1 (the representatives are there called probouloi). He nowhere says explicitly that the Peloponnesians assembled first, but we think it is implied by his general narrative.

ATL iii.183 n. 1

Brunt on the other hand argues against this assumption (Historia 1953.135ff. and esp. 143ff.). In his view many cities from central Greece, including Thebes, sent delegates, and the alliance was joined for an indefinite period but not necessarily in perpetuity (Historia 1953.135ff. and cf. also 143ff., 153, 156-157, 162-163).

There is little reason to doubt that many inhabitants of central Greece were favourably disposed to the anti-Persian cause (cf. Westlake, JHS 1936.12ff.), even when Xerxes was already at Sardis (ch. 145.2). But whether or not they sent delegates to a congress such as the one Hdt. purports to know about must remain an open question; there is no evidence worthy of the name.

How strong indeed is the evidence for a pan-Hellenic congress when Xerxes was in Sardis? The oath of ch. 132 can be left out of the discussion (comm. ad loc.); Hdt. himself does not connect it with this conference. Prima facie Hdt. seems to be describing official proceedings of some kind: καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν. But as ATL point out (iii.184 n. 6) Hdt. is merely using the same words with which he introduces the famous Persian conspirators' debate of iii.71:

συνελθόντες δὲ οὗτοι ἔόντες ἑπτὰ ἐδίδουσιν
σφίσι λόγους καὶ πίστις.

This is merely the language of a good story.

Hdt. assigns decisions of great moment to this 1st pan-Hellenic congress but all those decisions could be inference from the event.
(a.) The Greeks decided to reconcile their feuds and wars with one another in the common interest, most notably the war between Athens and Aegina. That could be nothing more than Hdt's own inference from the fact that the Athenians and Aeginetans did not seem to have fought one another during the Persian invasion.
(b.) The Greeks decided to send ambassadors to Argos, Syracuse, Corcyra, and Crete. That decision could be nothing more than Hdt's own

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inference from stories to the effect that Greek ambassadors did in fact go to Argos, Syracuse, Corcyra, and Crete.

(c.) The Greeks decided to send spies into Asia. That decision could be nothing more than Hdt' own inference from the story of the king's magnanimous behaviour toward Greek spies.

Learned speculation on the precise nature of the conference is naive. We have not the means with which to control what Hdt. says about it and for all we know Hdt. merely spins out a good story on the basis of a limited number of anecdotes dealing with the Greek reaction to the news of the coming invasion.

ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τινας καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεκρημένοι^L— There seems no good reason to accept Reiske's emendation. LS point out that the Mss reading could mean wars that were undertaken (from ἐγχρόω).

These "other" feuds may include the one between Sparta and Argos (ch. 148) and the one between the Phocians and Thessalians (viii.27ff.).

ὁ δὲ ὢν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Αἰγινήτησι.—

See v.81 and 89; vi.87-93.

μετὰ δὲ πυθανόμενοι Ξέρην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι.—

Hdt. does not say how long afterward. This Greek discovery that Xerxes is in Sardis could be nothing more than Hdt' own inference from the story of the spies, the setting for which is Sardis (ch. 146). See chs. 163 and 172 with comm. ad loc..

ἐβουλεύσαντο...— All the measures described by Hdt. could be the work of Themistocles. Hdt. gives him a penchant for secret missions that is somewhat confirmed by Thuc. (Hdt. viii.5,22,75,110, 112; Thuc. i.91,137.4). Also Themistocles seems to be specially associated with each of the places visited by Greek envoys. He lived in Argos when he was ostracised (Thuc. i.135). Plutarch relates Stesimbrotos' tradition that he sailed to Sicily (Them. xxiv.4) and also that he named two of his daughters Sybaris and Italia (Them. xxxii.2). He was supposed to have been a public benefactor to Corcyra (Thuc. i.136.1), having settled a quarrel between that island and Corinth over Leucas (Plut. Them. xxiv.1). There is even a report that Cretan archers were present at Salamis on the invitation of Themistocles (and Aristides), Ctesias Pers. 26, though historians as gullible as Hauvette (88) and as sceptical as Hignett (101 n. 2) are little inclined to take it seriously. Clearly we can not trust the late evidence. Storytellers were bound to associate Themistocles with any nation that figured in the Persian wars.

145 cont.

But Thuc' confirmation in the matter of Themistocles' secret missions and also his connexions with Argos and Corcyra may be taken to justify an association of Themistocles with the Greek preparations. We have no evidence worthy of the name on his western interests even if there is little reason to doubt that he had them. His daughters' names could be nothing more than embroidery on his threat to lead the Athenians to Siris in Italy (viii.62 and comm. ad loc.).

Argos' attitude was probably important in shaping Spartan policy; it was also a potential source of contributions for the war and perhaps even a means of maintaining communications with the Persians. Sicily, Corcyra, and Crete were not only potential contributors to the war effort but also perhaps potential refuge in the wake of an unsuccessful defense.

καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τὸν πρῆσσοιεν πάντες,-- Hdt. again recalls the language of the Persian conspirators' debate.

οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ συγκύψαντες ποιεῦσι.

Darius' speech of iii.82

146.

For a somewhat similar instance of Xerxes' magnanimity see the story of Sperthias and Bulis, ch. 136. This spy story is reminiscent of Cambyses' Fish-eater spies against the Ethiopians, who also return un-harmed without discouraging their employers (iii.25).

147.

ἔων γὰρ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὁ Ξέρξης εἶδε πλοῖα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγὰ διεκπλέοντα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔς τε Αἴγινα καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα.--

It may be true that Hdt' testimony is important evidence for the early 5th century corn trade with the Pontus (HW ii.187; Grundy, THHA i.71-79, 159-161) but that does not make the story any more credible. It is difficult to believe that such traffic continued while Xerxes was at Abydos. Hdt. does provide gaps in the Hellenic bridges but for light vessels and presumably not for corn-transport (ch. 36 and comm. ad loc.)--though the gaps themselves may rest on little more than Hdt' own inference from this anecdote. The Greeks could hardly count on Xerxes' friendly co-operation with their commercial ventures: unless they had already come to some understanding with him.

The key to the probable origin of the anecdote lies in the

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alleged destination of the vessels. Hdt. tells the story as an instance of the king's generosity toward his adversaries. Originally it may have been an Athenian accusation: even when the king was in Abydos he let grain through to Aegina and the Peloponnese. 148.

οἱ δὲ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ--On the phrase see ch. 145 and comm. ad loc..

Ἀργεῖοι δὲ λέγουσι τὰ κατ' ἐωυτοὺς γενέσθαι ὧδε.--

Hdt. does not specify which Argives or where he met them or heard what they say. They are made to agree with Demaratus' verdict on Cleomenes in that they shift on to him the ultimate blame for their lack of co-operation with the loyal Greeks. See below.

πυθέσθαι γὰρ αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,--

Hdt. does not say when. As Macan points out (i¹201a) 491 is a possible time, when the Aeginetans gave earth and water and brought Athens and Cleomenes down on themselves (vi.49f.). To judge from Hdt' wording, however, he alludes to the time of Demaratus' secret message to the Spartans, if not the message itself.

ἐπύθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτοι, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν,

ch. 239

ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι χρεωμένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένου,

ch. 220

If so, Hdt. dates their intelligence sometime between 485 (ch. 20 and comm. ad loc.) and 481 inclusive, unless Demaratus' message itself dates to 491 (comm. ad loc.).

The connexion between the Argive and Spartan early warnings and Delphic enquiries has fairly serious implications. The Argive and Spartan information may derive from the same source. It is at least interesting to note that in the 6th bk. Hdt' information from Argos is interwoven with that from Demaratus (see esp. vi.49-51 and 75 [end]ff.). See below.

πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ μαθόντες ὥς σφεας οἱ Ἕλληνες πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσῃ,--

Hdt. does not say how; the effect of the phrase is to stress the fact that the Argives consulted Delphi before the envoys arrived and thus that the Argives were willing to help against the Persians

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in the face of Delphi's discouraging oracle. In view of his later connexion with Argos (Thuc. i.135) Themistocles may have informed them.

πέμψαι θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρησόμενους,
ὥς σφι μέλλοι ἄριστα ποιέουσι γίνεσθαι· νεωστὶ γὰρ
σφέων τεθνάναι ἐξακισχιλίους ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ
Κλεομένεος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδew, τῶν δὴ εἵνεκα πέμπειν.—

According to this story the Argives did not consult Delphi over the question of whether or not to medise, although they probably medised in 491 (vi.49); their perplexity arises out of the impending Greek embassy in the light of Cleomenes' slaughter.

Hdt. alludes to the battle of Sepeia, probably about 494 and before the sack of Miletus in any event to judge from Hdt' account of the Milesian-Argive oracle of vi.19 and 77 (see e.g. Forrest, CQ 1960.221).

ἐχθρὲ περικτιόνεσσιν, φίλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν,—

ἐχθρός sometimes occurs as the first word of a Homeric hexameter.

ἐχθρός γάρ μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀίδαο πύλῃσιν

Il. ix.312

ἐχθρὰ δέ μοι τοῦ δῶρα, τίω δέ μιν ἐν καρδὸς αἴσῃ.

Il. ix.378

περικτιόνεσσιν is Homeric and occurs indeed in a notable instance of "the head saving the body". In the 18th bk. of the Iliad Athena sets a thick golden cloud around Achilles' head, which gives off a brilliant gleam that frightens the Trojans from afar even though Achilles himself does not go farther than the Achaean trench. Homer likens Achilles' head to the blazing beacon-fires atop the walls of a beleaguered island-city that invite the dwellers round about to sail up and bring help. Here the walls of a city are likened to a head. The head saves the rest of the city. The neighbours on the other hand are friendly and not hostile.

πυρσοί τε φλεγέθουσιν ἐπήτριμοι, ὑπόσε δ' αὐγὴ
γίγνεται αἴσσουσα περικτιόνεσσιν ἰδέσθαι,
αἶ κέν πως σὺν νηυσὶν ἄρεω ἀλκτῆρες ἔκωνται·
ὥς ἀπ' Ἀχιλλῆος κεφαλῆς σέλας αἰθέρ' ἔκανε·

Il. xviii.211ff.

Achilles himself indeed is now the "head" of his people.

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ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι is common at the end of a Homeric hexameter.

ἦ ῥα καὶ Αἰνείας φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν
Il. xx.347

εἶσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχων πεφυλαγμένος ἦσο-- εἶσω does not appear at the beginning of a Homeric or Hesiodic hexameter or indeed at the beginning of any extant pre-Hdtean lyric hexameter line.

προβόλαιον apparently does not occur elsewhere in pre-5th century or 5th century prose or poetry. It is strongly reminiscent of Hd't own προβόλους from ch. 76 of the great army list; cf. Od. xii.251 and comm. at ch. 76 of App. iii. This word occurs only the once in Homeric poetry and does not appear in the works of Hesiod, the lyric poets, Pindar, Aeschylus, or Sophocles. See Aristophanes, Clouds 1151, however. πεφυλαγμένος occupies this metrical position in the only Homeric hexameter where it appears, and in one of the two Hesiodic hexameters to contain it.

ἔσσεται. ἀλλὰ, φίλος, φρονέων πεφυλαγμένος εἶναι.
Il. xxiii.343

Εὖ δ' ὅπιν ἀθανάτων μακάρων πεφυλαγμένος εἶναι.
Works 706

καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο· κάρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα σαώσει.--See comm. at περικτιόνεσσι above. κεφαλὴ takes this metrical position where Hector captures Achilles' helmet.

ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς θείοιο κάρη χάριν τε μέτωπον
ρύετ' Ἀχιλλῆος· τότε δὲ Ζεὺς Ἑκτορι δῶκεν
ἢ κεφαλῇ φορέειν, σχεδόθεν δέ οἱ ἦεν ὄλεθρος.
Il. xvi.798ff.

Note that κάρη also takes this metrical position in the passage quoted above.

φυλάσσω takes this metrical position but not this tense in the Od..

ἔσχ', ἦ πάντ' ἐφύλασσε νόου πολυῖδρεῖησιν,
Od. ii.346

It does, however, appear in this form in the Works and Days.

πρηϋνεῖν ἐπὶ χεῖρα τιθείς. πεφύλαξο δὲ θυμῷ
Works 797

On the word κάρη and its position see above at κεφαλὴν. On the sense, a head protecting a body, see above at περικτιόνεσσι. The oracle may also be reminiscent of Aeschylus' Choephoroi, where

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all Argos is said to be saved when Orestes lops off the heads of two serpents (1046f.).

ἤλευθέρωσας πᾶσαν Ἀργείων πόλιν,
δυοῖν δρακόντων εὐπετῶς τεμὼν κάρα.

Ch. 1046f.

This time the Argives must guard a head, not lop it off. Atossa's vision from the Persae may also be relevant. An eagle flees to the altar of Apollo and a falcon swoops down on its head.

μεθύστερον δὲ κίρκον εἰσορῶ δρόμῳ
πτεροῖς ἐφορμαίνοντα καὶ χηλαῖς κάρα
τίλλονθ'· ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γ' ἢ πτήξας δέμας
παρεῖχε.

Persae 207ff.

The eagle crouches and offers its body to the falcon, which has already plucked at the head with its talons. The moral might be to guard the head which could then look after the body.

σῶμα takes this position in the Homeric hexameter.

δημόν ἐλὼν ἐκάλυψε νέκυν μέγαθυμος Ἀχιλλεύς
ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, περὶ δὲ δρατὰ σώματα νῆει.

Il. xxiii.168f.

ὥστε λέων ἐχάρη μέγῳ ἐπὶ σώματι κύρσας,

Il. iii.23

σαόω also takes this position at the end of a Homeric hexameter, in various forms.

νῦξ δ' ἥδ' ἡὲ διαρραΐσει στρατὸν, ἡὲ σαώσσει

Il. ix.73

κερδαλέης, ἥτις κεν ἐρύσεται ἡδὲ σαώσσει

Il. x.44

See also Prendergast-Marzullo 351b and Dunbar-Marzullo 333a.

Evaluation and conclusions.

Whoever composes the oracle in question probably writes very much under the influence of Homer. He or she is particularly interested in Achilles' head to judge from the passages quoted from the 16th and 18th bks. of the Iliad. Aeschylus is another possible source of inspiration. These two major passages from the Iliad plus the lines of Aeschylus quoted above account for the sense of the oracle. Whoever composed the oracle could have taken his words and construction from Homer and Hesiod, his ideas from the Iliad and Aeschylus.

If so it is idle to debate Delphi's intent or the Argive

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construction placed on the oracle. If a Delphic priest or priestess composed it the oracle was meant to be ambiguous. The 1st line is significant in that it emphasises the enmity prevailing between Argos and Sparta. The 2nd line could mean "crouch in a defensive posture". It could also mean "crouch in an offensive posture, ready to spring on Sparta". The 3rd line could mean "save your warriors because they will save the rest of the city" or "save your nobles because they will save the rest of the people" or "save your fortifications because they will preserve the city in case of invasion". But if the oracle is really nothing but a product of literary skill and imagination it is merely someone's idea of what a Delphic oracle should be. Whatever it means is an academic question, un-important to the historian. And most important of all, if the oracle really was built on literary precedents such as the ones above, we have not the means of deciding who wrote it because it bears no necessary relation to the context. Hdt. gives it. The Argives could perhaps realistically hope for a 30-years peace from Sparta if she gave serious thought to joining the loyal Greeks, but co-leadership with Sparta at a time when she was still reeling from the effects of a previous defeat at the hands of Cleomenes was clearly out of the question. Sparta had already settled the issue of Peloponnesian hegemony in her own favour on the field of battle. If the Argives ever talked in this kind of way they merely covered their desire to stand aloof.

149.

βουλῇν— It would be naive to draw conclusions about the Argive constitution from this terminology. There may have been a boule but hardly that of Thuc. v.47.9 (Thuc. mentions a body of 80 and the artynae in addition to a boule).

καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντός σφι τοῦ χρηστηρίου μὴ ποιέεσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας συμμαχίην.—

That is what the Argives will have said after the war.

ἵνα δὴ σφι οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρωθέωσι ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι ἔτεσι.—

There seems little need to calculate precisely how many years the Argives will have needed to recover. These purport to be words of Argive justification for demanding a 30-years peace.

μὴ δὲ σπονδέων ἐουσέων ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἣν ἄρα σφέας καταλάβῃ πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἄλλο πταῖσμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκοοι.—

149 cont.

The Argives of this version emphasise their alleged fear of both Spartans and Persians. They do not acknowledge previous medism and thus they deny they ever got any joy of it.

περὶ μὲν σπονδέων ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας,-- Questions of war and peace were decided, or at least debated, in the Spartan ecclesia; see Thuc. i.67,72, v.77, vi.88; Xen. Hell. iii.2.23, iv.6.3, v.2.11,24, vi.4.2; Plut. Ages. vi, (Mueller's Dorians ii. 91 n. 1).

οὐκ ὦν δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον παῦσαι τῆς ἡγεμονίης, μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὁμόψηφον τὸν Ἀργεῖον εἶναι κωλύειν οὐδέν.--

The Spartan law of v.75 ensures that only one king commands the Spartan army in the field to avoid conflict between the two such as that between Cleomenes and Demaratus. This story seems to assume that both Spartan kings would march with the army against the Persians. It seems un-necessary to assume that Hdt. forgot the Spartan law of v.75 when he wrote this passage or else wrote v.75 after this passage. This purports to be an Argive version of what happened, and the Argives can hardly be required to tell their side of the story in accord with the Spartan constitution.

οὕτω δὲ οἱ Ἀργεῖοί φασι οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων τὴν πλεονεξίην, ἀλλ' ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχεσθαι ἢ τι ὑπεῖξαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, προειπεῖν...--

If the Argives have any pro-Persian sentiments the Spartans drove them to it! But can we really believe this story? The "Argives" have already gone out of their way to affirm their fear of the Persians and their willingness to fight with the Greeks if the terms were right. Now they are not only made to defy the Spartans in a fit of pique but also to voice their willingness to medise. The Argives could never have admitted to any such sentiments after the war. We can make excuses for them to save Hdt's narrative but the easiest explanation of the anecdote is that it is not Argive but at least predominantly Hdt's own free composition, in accord with what he thought the Argives must have done in response to a request for help from the Greek allies. Some Argive or other may have given him the basis of his narrative but in the face of such blatantly improbable and indeed contradictory statements we do not much help the credibility of his narrative by foisting part of it off on some hypothetical person or persons unknown.

150.

ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,--Hdt. does not even give it a place of origin.

ὥς Ξέρξης ἔπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος πρότερον ἢ περ ὀρμῆσαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.--

See ch. 148, where the Argives say they learned of the Persian expedition "at the very beginning", but also comm. ad loc..

Ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσῃν εἶναι ἀπ' οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν, παῖδα Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέος θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης. οὕτω ἂν ὧν εἴημεν ὑμέτεροι ἀπόγονοι.--

According to Hdt. the Persians believe the Greeks are a race apart from themselves (i.4), not of the same race. They also believe that Perseus was an Assyrian who then became a Greek (vi.54)--it is the Greeks who believe that Perseus is the son of Danae, a Greek, and a king of the Dorians (vi.53). Hdt. evidently puts into the mouth of the Persian herald a version of the myth that would be congenial to the Argives.

Hdt. also describes Perses as the son of Perseus, born of Zeus and Danae, and Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus, in connexion with the Persians of the great army list (vii.61).

ἀλλὰ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖσι ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι.--Sit tight. The words are somewhat reminiscent of the 2nd line of the Delphic oracle.

εἴσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχων πεφυλαγμένος ἥσο
vii.148

καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταίτεειν, ἐπεὶ δέ σφεας παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὕτω δὲ ἐπισταμένους ὅτι οὐ μεταδώσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι μεταίτεειν, ἵνα ἐπὶ προφάσιος ἡσυχίην ἄγωσι.--

According to Hdt' version of the Argive story, the Argives treated of terms with the Spartan envoys in good faith and only when the Spartans exasperated them with their arrogance did they express a preference to be ruled by the Persians rather than yield anything to the Spartans. According to this other version that was bandied about Greece the Argive terms are set too high on purpose, giving them a pretext for remaining aloof from the war.

The surprising thing about this other story is that it does not accuse the Argives of medising even though the Argive message to Mardonius of ix.12 seems to pre-suppose medism, and the Argive envoys of ch. 151 clearly trade on Argive medism (see below).

151.

λέγουσιν τινες Ἑλλήνων--Hdt. does not say who or where.

τυχεῖν ἐν Σούσοισι τοῖσι Μερνόνεοισι ἐόντας--See v.53-54.

Hdt. also mentions Memnon (cf. Od. xi.522) in connexion with two notable statues of Asia Minor (ii.106), on which see Intro. iii ad loc..

ἑτέρου πρήγματος εἵνεκα ἀγγέλους Ἀθηναίων,-- It seems idle to speculate on the reason for Hdt's vague statement. He may or may not know the reason.

Treatment of the so-called peace of Callias would go beyond the scope of this work, and Hdt's evidence properly has little or nothing to do with that notorious question. Hdt. is vague about the date of this Athenian embassy; his "many years later" does not help. Perhaps the most natural construction that can be placed on the contemporaneous Argive embassy is that it takes place soon after Artaxerxes' accession as a respectful tribute to the new king from one of Xerxes' old subjects. Later historians probably take Hdt's vagueness as an invitation to embroider on the background and purpose of the Athenian embassy.

Καλλίην τε τὸν Ἰππονίκου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτου ἀναβάντας,--

On this illustrious Athenian see e.g. Busolt iii¹ 111-112 with nn. and Kirchner, RE x.1615ff..

152.

οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν--If Hdt. really makes extensive enquiries in Athens and/or Argos it is strange that he is unable to confirm or deny these reports on the basis of those enquiries. It seems more likely that the foregoing narrative is based on mere hearsay from Asia Minor which Hdt. has not bothered to control with further research on any of his trips.

ἐπίσταμαι δὲ τοσοῦτον ὅτι εἰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὰ οἰκῆια κακὰ ἐς μέσον συνενείκαιεν ἀλλάξασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῖσι πλησίοισι, ἐγκύψαντες ἂν ἐς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ ἀσπασίως ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἀποφεροῖατο ὀπίσω τὰ ἐσηνείκαντο. οὕτω [δὲ] οὐδ' Ἀργείοισι αἰσχίστα πεποίηται.--

Hdt's precise meaning, or the extent of his confusion if that be the proper explanation, may never emerge clear and it seems idle to review previous attempts to deal with the passage.

Clearly Hdt. is criticising Argos' critics, who blame her conduct during the war. And clearly whatever Hdt. says, he concludes with the thought that Argos' conduct was not the worst of the period, i.e. other nations acted just as badly. We can also feel certain that τὰ οἰκῆια

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κακά means "their own troubles" (see i.153.1, iii.14.10, vi.21.2). Hdt. says that if people would only look carefully at their own troubles in comparison with those of other people they would much prefer to deal with their own. He implies therefore that Argos' critics are not in fact comparing their own troubles with other peoples' problems--i.e. with Argos' troubles at the time in question. They are not therefore preferring to deal with their own.

One way of interpreting the passage without assuming confusion of mind on Hdt' part is as follows. When Argos' critics have blamed her conduct during the war they have stated or assumed what she should have done, i.e. they have dealt with Argos' problems in a way different from that in which Argos herself dealt with them in the event. But if these critics were to look carefully at their own troubles in comparison with those of Argos, they would prefer to deal with their own problems instead of Argive problems, i.e. they would mind their own business. Argos, Hdt. implies, had bigger problems to contend with than any of her critics because of her recent disastrous defeat at the hands of Cleomenes. Once the extent of her trouble in comparison with that of other Greek nations in the same period is taken into consideration, Argos did not act so badly after all.

ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω, καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἔχέτω ἐς πάντα λόγον·--

Cf. ii.123.1, iv.195.2.

ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται, ὥς ἄρα Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπειδὴ σφι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κακῶς ἡ αἰχμὴ ἐστήκεε, πᾶν δὲ βουλόμενοι σφίσι εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παρεούσης λύπης.--

This rumour seems to apply to the period of Argive weakness immediately after the battle of Sepeia, i.e. to the period of domination by the douloi (vi.83). It may apply, more specifically, to the time of Darius' heralds (vi.49), when according to Hdt. all the islanders including Aegina of whom the heralds demanded earth and water gave it, and also some of those who dwelt on the mainland. On this period in Argive history and the nature of Hdt' narrative dealing with it, see Forrest, CQ 1960, esp. 222.

153.

ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίην ἄλλοι τε ἀπὸ κατὰ ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων συμμερίζοντες Γέλωνι--

This embassy may not be historical. Hdt. could have made it up (cf. Treves, CP 1941.321-345). But there is enough detail in Hdt'

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narrative to give pause before adopting any such hypothesis, and Hdt. had sources of western information close to home (see below ad loc.). For detailed refutation of Treves' argument see Bruat, *Historia* 1953.158f..

καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Σύαγρος.— We know nothing about him other than what Hdt. relates. He shows, however, that Hdt' western narrative may rest in part on Spartan sources.

τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος τούτου πρόγονος, οἰκῆτωρ ὁ ἐν Γέλῃ,—

He may be Deinomenes, who was sometimes called co-founder of the colony with Antiphemos (Etym. Mag. s.v. Γέλα; schol. Pind. *Pyth.* ii.27) but that tradition is probably nothing more than an attempt to connect Gelon (whose father was named Deinomenes) with the foundation (see Freeman i.400; Ziegler, *RE* vii.947 and against Dunbabin 64 and n. 6), more directly than Hdt., who does not give his name.

ἦν ἐκ νήσου Τήλου—Telos is an island in the Carpathian sea between Rhodes and Nisyros, one of the Sporades (Strabo 488), marked "Piskopi or Tilo" on BA charts 872 and 2836a and "Tilos (Piscopi)" on pls. 36 and 83 of the Times Atlas. Cf. Fiehn, *RE* v A 427ff..

τῆς ἐπὶ Τριονίῳ κειμένης.—Hdt. knows it as inhabited by Cnidians, colonists from Sparta (i.174), and also as the seat of the Dorian hexapolis (i.144). This head-land may be Hdt' source of information for many of his traditions about Spartans and the W. See also iv.38, Thuc. viii.35.2f., and Ruge, *RE* vii A 175f.. It is marked "C. Krio" on BA charts 872 and 2836a.

ὃς κτιζομένης Γέλης ὑπὸ Λινδίων τε τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμου οὐκ ἐλείφθη.—

Antiphemos of Rhodes and Entimos of Crete, leading out their colonists together, founded Gela in the 45th year after the foundation of Syracuse. The city takes its name from the river Gela, but the land where the city is now and which was the first to be fortified, is called Lindioi. Doric customs were established there.

Thuc. vi.4.3

See also Freeman i.398ff.; Ziegler, *RE* vii.946ff.; Dunbabin 64².. On Antiphemos see also Tumpel, *RE* i.2523f..

τῶν χθονίων θεῶν—Demeter and Persephone; see vi.134.

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Τηλίνεω ἑνός τευ τῶν προγόνων κτησαμένου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε·---

On Telines see Gebhard, RE v A 401; Freeman ii.102ff.. On the rites see Grote iv.299ff. with refs.. Both Gelon and Hieron held hereditary priesthoods (see Pindar, Ol. vi.93ff. with schol. to 95).

ἐς Μακτώριον πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ Γέλης οἰκημένην--- The site is uncertain. It has been identified with Mazarino, Butera, Castelluccio (Holm, Gesch. Sic. in Alt. i.70,365), and Niscemi (Freeman i.409, who discusses the various proposed sites). Dunbabin concludes that it was "perhaps at Niscemi or Butera; both sites stand up boldly about 10 miles from the ramparts of Gela. Mazarino, which is suggested as the site by the resemblance of the name, is too far away..." (113). See also Ziegler, RE xiv.815f..

ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων πεφυκέναι θηλυδρίης τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ.---

The story itself, to the effect that Telines was effeminate, is probably little more than inference from the fact that Telines restored the exiles from Mactorion and established a hereditary priesthood in Gela. The weaker he was the stronger his sacred power and vice-versa.

Hdt' reference to what the inhabitants of Sicily think about Telines is without meaning for his biography. What they say could be hear-say from Asia Minor, e.g. from the island of Telos or the Triopian head-land.

154.

Κλεάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Παντάρεος τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, ὃς ἐτυράννευσε μὲν Γέλης ἑπτὰ ἔτεα,---

Aristotle mentions Gela among those Sicilian cities that changed from oligarchy to tyranny and Cleander as the tyrant in question (Pol. v.10.4, 1316a 35). Pantares may well be the subject of an Olympian dedicatory inscription:

Παντάρης μ' ἀνέθηκε Μενεκράτιος Διδ[?] ἄθλον Ἀρματι
νικήσας πέδου ἐκ κλει[?] τοῦ Γελοαίου

IGA 512a or Olympia v.241ff.

See also Freeman ii.104; Dunbabin esp. 377f.; Lenschau, RE xi.557. For a somewhat dubious attempt to date Pantares' victory to 512 or 508 see Dunbabin 378 n. 1; the argument rests on Pausanias' evidence that Cleosthenes of Epidamnus, victor in 516, was the first winner

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of the chariot race to dedicate a statue (vi.10.8) combined with Dittenberger and Purgold's evidence on the inscription, and presupposes that Cleander became tyrant in 505 whereas all three are open to question.

If Gelon became tyrant of Gela in 491 (see comm. at ch. 155) then the 7-year reign of Hippocrates (ch. 155) and the 7-year reign of Cleander bring the latter's date of accession to 505, but on these 7's see comm. at ch. 155.

ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου ἀνδρὸς Γελώου, -- He is otherwise unknown.

ἐνθαῦτα ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μοναρχίην Ἱπποκράτης, Κλεάνδρου ἐὼν ἀδελφεός. --

Hdt's wording has led to somewhat justified speculation that Hippocrates took power in the face of opposition, especially in view of Cleander's violent death and a hint by Timaeus to that effect (FGH 566 F 18; cf. Freeman ii.104, 496f.; Macan i¹213a; Dunbabin 378). If Gelon becomes tyrant of Gela in 491, Hippocrates accedes in 498; see the chronological note at ch. 155 however.

ἔχοντος δὲ Ἱπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα ὁ Γέλων, ἐὼν Τηλίνεω τοῦ Ἰροφάντεω ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταίκου ~~ἦν~~ δορυφόρος Ἱπποκράτεος. --
υἱέος Stein

The text is uncertain but if Stein is right virtually nothing important has fallen out of it. It seems wrong to speculate on the basis of what seems to be a lacuna.

Gelon is the son of Deinomenes (ch. 145.2) and has three younger brothers: Hieron, Polyzelos, and Thrasyboulos (Simonides fr. 142 = 106.1 D.). For discussion of his rise to power see e.g. Freeman 496f., Dunbabin 378, and Ruge, RE vii.1007.

Aenesidemos may or may not be the father of Theron, the monarch of Acragas (ch. 165). Pindar names Aenesidemos three times but does not mention Pataikos (Ol. ii.46, iii.9, Isth. ii.28), nor do the scholiasts on Ol. ii.16 and 82, who call Theron's father the son of Emmenides, clearly an inference from the fact that this Aenesidemos hails from the house of the Emmenidae (Ol. iii.38). Pausanias believes that a statue was erected by an Aenesidemos other than the tyrant of Leontini (v.22.7), and Aristotle evidently believes that Gelon forestalled an Aenesidemos in some way (Rhet. i.12 = 1373a; the text is uncertain and speculation on the story seems wholly un-justified) but all that seems irrelevant. Freeman makes no convenient identifications (ii.105, 106, 123, 124) and those of Dunbabin rest on little more than conjecture (383f.).

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On the name of this Aenesidemus' father, Pataicos, see iii.37, where the Phoenicians have pataicoi on the prows of their triremes.

πολιορκέοντος γὰρ Ἱπποκράτεος--For discussion of Hippocrates' vigorous campaign of expansion, see esp. Freeman ii.104ff.; Dunbabin 376ff.; Lenschau, RE viii.1777f.. Interpretation of it depends largely on the construction placed on this passage. Without the assumption that Hdt' order of campaigns is chronological there is no basis for discussion. Even granting that assumption for the sake of argument there seems little doubt that Hdt' presentation of the six enterprises as three pairs puts valid interpretation of the campaign as a whole beyond hope of recall. That presentation is almost certainly literary (thus Dunbabin 381 n. 1) but it is always possible to interpret these three pairs as three wars (thus Macan i¹214) and if e.g. Zancle and Leontini do not go very well together then Hippocrates must have employed some kind of subtle strategy no doubt. For speculation on the matter see Dunbabin 381 and n. 1.

Καλλιπολίτας--We do not know where Callipolis was. Strabo says merely that the Naxians founded it (272). Scymnos Chios knows it (286; Müller's GGM i.208). For speculation on the site see Holm's Gesch. Sic. in Alt. i.389 and Freeman i.379f.. See also Ziegler, RE x.1660.

Ναξίους--Naxos was a Chalcidian colony founded by Thucles about 735 (Thuc. vi.3.1) and the peninsula on which it lay forms the S horn of the bay of Taormina, and is marked "C. Schiso" on pl. 81 of the Times Atlas. For a description of the site see Freeman i.321ff. and Dunbabin 8ff.. On the city and its history see Ziegler's long article, RE xvi.2064ff.. On the coins see Head, HN 159ff..

Ζαγκλαίους--According to Hdt. the people of Zancle invited the Ionians westward after the Ionian revolt only to have the Samians seize the city at the behest of Anaxilaos of Rhegion. Hippocrates helped the Samians hold it and imprisoned the Zanclean king Scythes, who eventually fled to the court of Darius, went back and forth between Asia and Sicily, and rose high in the king's service (vi.22ff.).

According to Thuc. the city was settled by Cymean pirates who eventually shared it with colonists from Chalcis and the rest of Euboea. Samians took possession after the Ionian revolt and when Anaxilas of Rhegion re-founded it with a mixed population he changed the name to Messene (vi.4.5-6), the name that endures in the modern Messina.

For discussion of the site see Freeman i.390ff. and Dunbabin 11f.. On the city and its history see Philipp's article, "Messene 2", RE xv.1214ff.. On the coins see Head, HN 151ff..

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ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΥΣ--According to Thuc. Thucles and the Chalcidians set out from Naxos and founded Leontini and then Catana in the 5th year after the settlement of Syracuse (vi.3.3), driving away Lamis and the Megareans shortly afterward (vi.4.1). Polybius describes the site (vii.6), which lay SE of lake Lentini and NW of the modern Lentini. For modern descriptions see Freeman i.369ff. and Dunbabin, esp. 10 and 67f.. On the city and its history see also Ziegler, RE xii.2042ff.. On the coins see Head, HN 148ff. and 406.

ΣΥΡΗΚΟΣΙΟΥΣ-- According to Thuc. Archias of Corinth founded the city in the year after the foundation of Naxos (vi.3.2). For a description of the site, the modern Siracusa, see Freeman i.345ff. and Dunbabin 95ff.. On the city and its history see also Wickert, RE iv A 1478ff.. On the coins see Head, HN 171ff. and 406.

ΣΥΡΗΚΟΣΙΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΙ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΡΚΥΡΑΙΟΙ ΕΡΡΥΣΑΝΤΟ ΜΑΧΗ ΕΣΩΘΕΝΤΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΠΟΤΑΜῳ 'ΕΛΩΡῳ'--

Thuc. knows of a Helorine coast road from Syracuse (vi.66,70, vii.80) but never mentions the river, marked "Tellaro" on pl. 81 of the Times Atlas. See e.g. Freeman i.80 and ii.18.

Pindar dedicated two odes (Nem. i. and ix) to Chromios of Aetna, son of Agesidemos (Nem. i.29, ix.42), who evidently fought in a battle on the Heloros (Nem. ix.36ff.) and thus won from Pindar comparison with Hector (ix.39). Pindar tells us nothing about the battle he mentions, not least of all because his text is uncertain where he names the place on the Heloros that he associates with the fighting (Nem. ix.41). It is not even certain indeed that Pindar and Hdt. allude to the same battle. On Chromios' career see Freeman ii.116, 491ff. and Niese, RE iii.2453f..

Both the site and nature of the battle are disputed. Freeman puts it far inland where the stream issues from the hills (ii.116, 492) but cf. Dunbabin 399f..

ΕΡΡΥΣΑΝΤΟ ΔΕ ΟΥΤΟΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣΙΔΕ ΚΑΤΑΛΛΑΞΑΝΤΕΣ, ΕΠ' ᾧ ΤΕ 'ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΕΙ ΚΑΜΑΡΙΝΑΝ ΣΥΡΗΚΟΣΙΟΥΣ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΥΝΑΙ. ΣΥΡΗΚΟΣΙΩΝ ΔΕ ἦν ΚΑΜΑΡΙΝΑ ΤΟ ΑΡΧΑΪΟΝ.--

According to Hdt. Gelon transferred the people of Camarina to Syracuse and destroyed the city (ch. 156). Thuc. says the Syracusans founded the city about 135 years after the foundation of

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Syracuse (vi.5.3).

The city lay on the S coast, SE of Gela on the left bank of the river Hippari. It is marked "Camarina" on pl. 81 of the Times Atlas. For description of the site see Freeman ii.29ff. and Dunbabin, e.g. 104ff.. On the city and its history see also Ziegler, RE x.1801ff.. On the coins see Head, H1 123ff..

Thuc' version of events is somewhat different. According to Hdt. the Corinthians and Corcyraeans made peace between Hippocrates and Syracuse on condition that Camarina be surrendered to Hippocrates, and Gelon transferred its people to Syracuse and destroyed the city (chs. 154 and 156). Thuc. on the other hand says that previously there had been a revolt, the result of which was that the Syracusans drove out the Camarinaeans. Later Hippocrates took possession of Camarina as ransom for Syracusan prisoners of war, made himself founder, and re-colonised the city (vi.4.3). There is no necessary conflict but Thuc. could be taken to fill in Hdt' "Camarina belonged to the Syracusans of old" on the one hand, and correct his version of how the city changed hands on the other.

155.

ὥς δὲ καὶ Ἰπποκράτεια τυραννεύσαντα ἴσα ἔτεα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Κλεάνδρῳ κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλιν Ὑβλην, στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς,--

This could be any one of three Sicilian Hyblas that we know about. The first was probably "at Mellili, on the hill immediately behind Megara (on which see comm. at ch. 156), where there are remains of all Sikel periods" (Dunbabin 19); cf. the Megara Hyblaea of Thuc. vi.4.1 and, probably, vi.94.3; Strabo 267 ("Megara, formerly called Hybla") and 387 ("the Hyblaeans Megarans"); Freeman i.388f. and 512ff.; Ziegler, RE ix.27f., Hybla b); Dunbabin 19, 44, 221.

The second, Thuc' Hybla Geleatis of vi.62.5 and 63.2 is probably but not certainly at the modern Paterno; cf. Freeman i.512ff., Dunbabin esp. 130f. and 144, and Ziegler's Hybla a), RE ix.25ff.. Dunbabin believes that Hippocrates died at this Hybla (130f. and 404f.).

The third Hybla, called Heraean Hybla, is chosen by Freeman as that of Hippocrates' final campaign and death (ii.121 and 517), though without good reason (thus Dunbabin 403 n. 3). See Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὑβλα and Itin. Ant. 89; it is identified with the modern Ragusa in the SE corner of the island. See Freeman i.162-164 and 512ff. esp. 517; Ziegler's Hybla c), RE ix.28f.; Dunbabin, esp. 107f. and 403f..

155 cont.

The most generally accepted date for Hippocrates' death is 491; it depends on when Gelon took power in Gela (see below). Clearly which Hybla claimed him depends on what kind of Sicel campaign he was waging, e.g. on whether he was trying for a major extension of his power and influence or merely mopping up close to home. If Hdt' order of Hippocrates' campaigns should happen to be chronological then it seems most likely that Hippocrates died on or near the road connecting Syracuse, his most important and recent conquest, with his home city of Gela, i.e. at Heraean Hybla.

οὕτω δὴ ὁ Γέλων τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρέων τοῖσι Ἱπποκράτεος
 παῖσι Εὐκλείδῃ τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐ βουλομένων τῶν
 πολιητέων κατηκόνων ἔτι εἶναι,--

We know nothing more of them nor do we know how long Gela remained "free"; see Freeman ii.122 and Dunbabin 410.

τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε μάχῃ τῶν Γελῶν, ἦρχε αὐτὸς
 ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Ἱπποκράτεος παῖδας.--

For discussion of Gelon's seizure of power see Freeman ii.124ff. and Dunbabin 410f..

The chronology of Cleander and Hippocrates' 7-year reigns depends on the date of Gelon's accession, which is generally assumed to be 491 or (Pareti) 485. It may be worth noting how insecure this early period of western chronology really is.

Pausanias says that a Gelon of Gela dedicated a chariot at Olympia and the date of his victory is the 73rd Ol. (488). He objects that the Sicilian tyrant took possession of Syracuse in the 2nd year of the 72nd Ol. (491) when Hybrilides was archon in Athens and Tisicrates of Croton won the foot-race. If the tyrant Gelon had made the dedication he would have called himself Gelon of Syracuse and not Gelon of Gela. Therefore, Pausanias concludes, it was another Gelon who made the dedication (vi.9.4-5). It has been assumed at least since Larcher, Clinton (FH at 491, ii.26 and 28), and Grote (iv.304 n. 1) that whereas Pausanias professes to give the date of Gelon's occupation of Syracuse, he really gives the date of Gelon's occupation of Gela (thus e.g. Freeman ii.124 and n. 2, and Dunbabin 410f. with nn. and 432ff.). Historians find confirmation of this reasoning in the evidence of Dionysius of Hal., who says that it was Gelon son of Deinomenes and not Dionysius of Syracuse as other historians have thought, who had recently succeeded to the tyranny of his brother Hippocrates when a Roman embassy went to Sicily in the 2nd year of the 72nd Ol. (491), when Hybrilides was archon in Athens (vii.1.4ff.).

155 cont.

But can we really trust either Pausanias or Dionysius? Pausanias is certain that Gelon's Olympic victory-date is 488: but then he is equally certain that Gelon took power in Syracuse in 491. It will be objected that the Olympic inscription militates against that supposition; but we have only Pausanias' word for that inscription and that inevitably leaves room for doubt about what it really said; anyway Gelon could easily have called himself a Gelan after he took power in Syracuse. Pausanias may even be right that the Gelon of the inscription is a private person! Viewed without pre-conceptions Pausanias' evidence is worthless in this context because we do not know when he is right and when he is wrong. He is un-trustworthy in the matter of 5th-century history.

Dionysius is hardly any better. Grote rightly notes that after criticising previous historians for confusing Dionysius with Gelon, he himself makes Gelon the brother of Hippocrates. Can we really trust his date for Gelon's accession? Anyway how can we be certain that to Dionysius 491 is the date of Gelon's accession at Gela, and not that of his accession at Syracuse, or the date of his hipparchy under Hippocrates or his first war with Syracuse? Viewed without pre-conceptions Dionysius also is an un-reliable guide to the history of the 5th century and the chronology as well.

Pareti argues that the traditional date of 491 for Gelon's succession is in-valid (Studi Siciliani ed Italoti 46-49) and suggests a new western chronology (adopted by Hackforth in ch. xi of CAH iv) according to which Gelon accedes at Gela in 485 and takes Syracuse almost immediately, arguing that when Diodorus (xi. 38) puts his death in 478 after a 7-year rule he must include the Gelan rule as well as that in Syracuse. Hdt. also seems to assume that Gelon took Syracuse soon after rising to power in Gela, for what that evidence may be worth. It is significant that when Dunbabin attacks Pareti's chronology in a long note (432ff.) he attacks Pareti's date (485) and not the assumption that the traditional date is in-valid:

The evidence for Gelon's beginning at Gela in 491-490 is not ir-refragable; but the case for 485-484 is, in itself, weak.

Conclusions on the chronology.

Clearly without a firm date for Hippocrates' death and/or Gelon's accession in Gela Hdt' 7-year rules of Cleander and Hippocrates respectively have no anchor. But that is the least of our chronological problems. It is suspicious that Hdt. makes Hippocrates

155 cont.

rule for exactly as many years as Cleander. Waiving that suspicion it is even more suspicious that Aristotle makes Gelon rule at Syracuse for 7 years and a few mths. (Pol. 1315b 34) and Diodorus also makes Gelon rule for 7 years and die in 478 (xi.38). It seems likely that chronographers merely assumed that Gelon ruled for as long as Hdt. said Cleander and Hippocrates ruled. When Diodorus makes Gelon die in 478 he merely reflects a tradition to the effect that Gelon died in the first convenient year after the Persian wars. And it must be remembered that the 7-year period from 485 to 478 is the most secure in the chronology of this era in the West (see Dunbabin 433, "Gelon's rule at Syracuse is agreed to belong, within a year, to 485-478."). When it crumbles all hope of re-constructing the chronology of Hippocrates' career goes with it, even if we accept Hdt' 7-year rule. The only anchor in that case becomes Hippocrates' connexion with the Samians' seizure of Zancle sometime after the Ionian revolt (vi.23). It is only the merest conjecture that the Samians' Zancle episode is the same as Hippocrates' Zancle campaign of ch. 154, and in fact the two embarrass one another rather than otherwise.

Hdt' 7-year periods are highly suspect in themselves. The Ephesians strung a 7-stade rope from Ephesus to the temple of Artemis (i.26). Croesus reigned 14 years, was besieged 14 days; and Cyrus put him on a pyre with twice-7 Lydian boys (i.86). There are 7 circles of walls at Agbatana (i.98). Lake Moeris is 7 days up-river from the sea (ii.4). The Egyptians are divided into 7 classes (ii.164). 7 stones lie between two Arabians when they swear a pledge (iii.8). The city of Oasis is 7 days from Thebes (iii.26). Eupalinus' great Samian tunnel-channel is 7 stades long (iii.60) even though Hdt. "exaggerates the length of the tunnel, which is really about 1,100 ft." (HW i.273). Cambyses reigned 7 yrs. 5 mths. (which may be right, however; see e.g. HW i.274; iii.66). The Magian usurper reigned for 7 mths. (iii.67). There are 7 great Persian conspirators (iii.71,76, and passim) and they saw 7 pairs of hawks (iii.76). When Darius wrenched his foot he could not sleep for 7 days and 7 nights (iii.129). Darius could not take Babylon for a yr. and 7 mths. (iii.152). N of the Boudinoi there is a desert for 7 days (iv.22,123). The Scythians conduct their business with the Greeks of the Pontus with 7 interpreters in 7 languages (iv.24). The Hellespont is 7 stades wide (iv.85, vii.34), which may seem right now but probably was not in Hdt' time (comm. at ch. 34). There was no rain for 7 yrs. in Thera (iv.151), and the Theracians inhabited 7 regions (iv.153). Megabazus sent 7 distinguished Persians to Amyntas (v.17). The Ionians obeyed Dionysius for 7 days (vi.12). The Athenians took 7 ships at Marathon

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(vi.115). Pythius lacked 7 thousand Daric staters of an even 400 myriads (vii.28,29), on which see comm. at ch. 28. Xerxes' army spent 7 days and 7 nights crossing the Hellespont (vii.56). Amestris buried alive twice—7 noble Persians (vii.114). Cleander and Hippocrates both reigned for 7 yrs. (vii.154,155). 7 nations inhabit the Peloponnese (viii.73). 7 Chians conspired against Strattis and entreated the Greeks to sail against Ionia (viii.132). At Plataea there were 7 light-armed helots for every Spartan (ix. 10,28,29). A few of these 7's might seem historical but who is to say that they are not right by accident even if they are right? Most of them are nothing but part of a good story and none of them is possessed of an independent validity. Even if these two 7-yr. periods are historical we do not know when they end. Hdt' order of Hippocrates' campaigns may not be chronological and even if they are Hdt' grouping into three pairs makes it impossible to interpret them. Hippocrates may be tied to the period immediately following the Ionian revolt but even if he is we do not know exactly when after the Ionian revolt or how the Samian episode fits into his career. We have nothing firm on when he died or how long Gelon served as hipparch or when Gelon acceded at Gela or how long Gelon ruled in Gela before attacking Syracuse (again) or when Gelon acceded in Syracuse or how long Gelon ruled in Syracuse or when Gelon died.

For more optimistic views of western chronology from Cleander to Gelon see Grote iv.304 n. 1; Busolt ii.779f. n.; Beloch ii².162ff.; Freeman ii.124f. with nn.; Pareti's ch. ii; Dunbabin 410f. with nn. and 432ff.; Burn 297 n. 1.

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ εὖρημα τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου--

Like the Samian γεωμόροι of Thuc. viii.21 they are presumably land-owning nobles. See also Par. Mar. 36 (which dates their government at Syracuse to 595), Diodorus viii.11.2 and Plut. Thes. xxv.2 (allegedly at Athens), and Boerner, RE vii.1219ff..

καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων, καλεομένων δὲ Κυλλυρίων,--

According to Photius and Suidas (s.v. Καλλικύριοι) Aristotle compares them with the helots of Sparta, the Penestae in Thessaly, and the Clarotae of Crete in his Συρηκοσίων πολιτεία. Photius and Suidas also cite Timaeus. See Oehler, RE xii.2460. For general discussion of the struggle see Freeman ii.11-15 and 436-439; Dunbabin 55f., 57ff., 61f., 110f., 400, and 415f..

155 cont.

ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτους ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας--

Thuc. says that Casmenae was founded by the Syracusans 90 years after the foundation of their own city (vi.5.2). Freeman puts it at the modern Spaccaforno (ii.25f.), perhaps marked "Ispica" on pl. 81 of the Times Atlas, in the SE corner of the island, but the site has never been determined with any certainty (Dunbabin 102). For general discussion of the proposed sites see Freeman ii.25f. and Dunbabin 103f.. On the city and its history see Ziegler's brief article, RE x.2267f..

For general discussion of Gelon's alliance see Freeman ii.126ff., Dunbabin 414ff., and Wickert, RE iv A 1478ff..

ἔσχε καὶ ταύτας· ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐπιδόντι Γέλωνι παραδίδοι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐωυτόν.--

Clearly Syracuse was ripe for Gelon because of its own internal problems. Aristotle gives Syracuse before the tyranny of Gelon as an example of democracy that ruined itself (Pol. v.2.6 = 1302b). That evidence seems to conflict with Hdt' account of the Syracusan gamoroi, Cyllyrioi, and demos unless we somehow assume that the Cyllyrioi were running a democracy before Gelon came to them. Thus Grote believes that Aristotle confused Gelon with Dionysius, who seems more likely to have gained his tyranny by means of Aristotle's ruined democracy, supporting his thesis with Dionysius of Hal' criticism of those historians who confused Gelon and Dionysius (Dion. Hal. vii.1.4ff.; Grote iv.304 n. 1). Freeman defends Aristotle (ii.126 n. 3) but Macan points out that the two other instances alleged by Aristotle, Thebes and Megara, fall into proper chronological sequence on Grote's supposition (i¹216). Dunbabin ignores the possibility that Aristotle is confused or simply wrong (415 and n.4), probably because he is convinced from what is by his own admission "a disputed excerpt from Diodorus" (x.26) and Photius' note on the Cyllyrioi that the slaves of the gamoroi took part in the government and instituted democracy (414-415).

Burn follows Dunbabin (305) but how can we possibly take Diodorus and Photius seriously in this context? Diodorus does not name the city in question; only conjecture makes it Syracuse. Whatever Photius says about the "Cillicyrioi" could not make any difference. And quite apart from whether or not Aristotle confused Gelon with Dionysius he may be wrong and in any event there is no good evidence that any recognisable form of democracy preceded Gelon's rule. For all we know if Aristotle really does mean Gelon and not Dionysius

155 cont.

he may derive his information from nothing more than someone's inference from Hdt' narrative, which alludes to the Syracusan demos. In short it seems idle to speculate on the nature of Syracusan politics when Gelon took power because there is no evidence worthy of the name.

156.

ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας, Γέλῃς μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὴν Ἰέρωνι ἀδελφεῷ ἑωυτοῦ,--

Hieron is perhaps "second only to his predecessor in ability and splendour" (Macan i¹ 216b). On this great Syracusan see e.g. Freeman ii passim and esp. 232ff., Dunbabin passim, and Lenschau, RE viii. 1496ff..

ὁ δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυνε, καὶ ἦσαν οἱ πάντα αἱ Συρήκουσαι.--

He made it a capital city and a great power.

αἱ δὲ παραυτίκα ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἔβλαστον.--Cf. Sparta after Lycurgus: ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθενήθησαν, i.66.

τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Καμαριναίους ἅπαντας ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀγαγὼν πολιήτας ἐποίησε,--

He evidently reverses Hippocrates' policy on Camarina (see below and ch. 154 with comm. ad loc.).

Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἄστυ κατέσκαψε,--Thuc. says that Gelon depopulated the city which was later colonised for the third time by the Geloans but he omits explicit mention of its destruction.

καὶ αὖθις ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἀνάστατος γενομένη τὸ τρίτον κατῴκηθη ὑπὸ Γελῶν.

Thuc. vi.5.3

Dunbabin at least does not seem to mention archaeological evidence of physical destruction at this time and in the absence of such evidence--and it would have to be very strong indeed--we should be justified in doubting that Camarina was rased to the ground.

For discussion of late and un-trustworthy traditions that fill in the alleged circumstances of Gelon's treatment of Camarina, see Freeman ii.497ff., Dunbabin 416, and Ziegler, RE x.1802.

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τοῦτο δὲ Γελῶν ὑπερῆμίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν τῷ τὸ τοῖσι
Καμαριναίοισι ἐποίησε·--

Gelon evidently weakens Gela as a possible rival without de-populating the city entirely.

Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ--See Thuc. vi.4.1-2, 75.1, 94.1, and 97.5, and refs. at the 1st Hybla of ch. 155. It lay on the coast about 10 miles NW of Syracuse. For a description of the site see Freeman i.387f. and Dunbabin esp. 44f., 245, 255f.. On the city and its history see Ziegler, RE xv.205ff.. On the coin(s) see Head, HN 151.

ὥς πολιορκεόμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκῶντας ἀπολέεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἀγαγὼν καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολιήτας ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρέων, οὐκ ἐόντα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου οὐδὲ προσδεκόμενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγὼν καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ ἐκ Σικελίης.--

Thuc. confirms Gelon's de-population of the city (vi.4.2 and vi.94.1), adding that the Syracusans took the territory for themselves. An Olympian inscription alludes to Megarean exiles received at Salinus (Olympia v.22). Suidas records an ἐλέγεια εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ as the work of Theognis (s.v.); it probably commemorated Hippocrates' withdrawal from before Syracuse (Freeman ii.157; Pareti 92ff.) if it was indeed the work of Theognis but perhaps Dunbabin is justified in speculating that it may also have been a poem on the Megarians who received Syracusan citizenship (418), though his argument against the accepted view on the basis of Hdt' wording is clearly in-valid. Polyaeus' stories of Gelon's invitation to Megarian nobles and crushing taxation for those who did not accept are without historical significance (i.27.3) and it seems difficult to understand why they have been taken seriously (against e.g. Dunbabin 417 and n. 1 and Burn 305 n. 26).

All historians of the West have concerned themselves with interpreting Gelon's alleged partiality for the aristocracy but the results are little more than guess-work. See e.g. Freeman ii.131ff. and Dunbabin 416ff., and Freeman's over-tolerant discussion of the late sources (ii.497ff.), followed by Dunbabin 416ff., but also comm. at ch. 153 for the connexion with Theognis of Megara.

τῷ τὸ τοῖσι καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε
διακρίνας.--

Strabo's comment probably reflects someone's elaboration on that of Hdt. (449):

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ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Εὐβοία Χαλχιδέων τῶν ἐκεῖ
(in Leontini) κτίσμα, ἦν Γέλων ἐξανέστησε καὶ
ἐγένετο φρούριον Συρακουσίων.

Strabo 449

According to Strabo the Leontines founded Euboea (272). Freeman believes the town lay somewhere on the NE coast between Naxos and Messene (i.380; cf. ii.132). Dunbabin points out that "Euboea is still un-identified, but probably lay farther to the E (than Licodea, called Eubea), in the hills S of Leontini in the direction of Syracuse" (128).

ἐποίεε δὲ ταῦτα τούτους ἀμφοτέρους νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι
συνοίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον. τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ τύραννος
ἐγεγόνεε μέγας ὁ Γέλων.--

Freeman believes that no one could have invented such a line after the time of Gelon (ii.135) but Hdt' source may be literary, someone with the anti-democratic sentiments of a Theognis (see comm. at ch. 158) or indeed his own humour and imagination.

157.

τότε δ' ὡς οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς
Συρηκούσας,--

For a late, rationalised version of the negotiation that changes the scene to Corinth see Polybius xii.26b, citing Timaeus. For over-tolerant attention to the late evidence on the negotiations see Freeman ii.515ff.; Dunbabin is rightly more sceptical (421f.).

"Ἐπεμφαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι [τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι] καὶ οἱ
τούτων σύμμαχοι παραλαμφομένους σε πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον"--

The older Mss do not have the bracketed phrase, which is clearly the result of scholarly apprehension over the omission of the Athenians.

"The Lacedaemonians and their allies" probably reflects Hdt' desire to have Syagros give his own state the chief prominence. It may also reflect Hdt' dependence on Spartan sources (see ch. 153 and comm. ad loc.); it is not good evidence that the anti-Persian alliance is merely the Peloponnesian league with additions.

ἐπάγων πάντα τὸν ἡῶνον στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης-- ἡῶνος is used by Hesiod and in the Hom. Hymn to Hermes (17) to mean "at break of day"; cf. Bacc. fr. 4.78. To judge from extant pre-Hdtean poetry, Hdt. may be the first author to use the word to mean "eastern".

On the wording here cf. vi.43-44, where the pretext is Athens and Eretria while the real intention is subjection of as much of

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Greece as possible; Xerxes' announcement of his intentions, vii.8; and Hdt' own evaluation of vii.138.

ἄρχοντί γε Σικελίης— Ὡ βασιλεῦ Συρηκοσίων (ch. 161) is another flattering way of addressing Gelon but clearly these rhetorical phrases are without prejudice to his constitutional position. Even "tyrant of Sicily" (ch. 163.1) is without meaning in this context. On the question of Gelon's position see Freeman ii.137 and 499ff. and Dunbabin 427f..

βοήθει τε τοῖσι ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συνελευθέρου.
ἀλῆς μὲν γὰρ γενομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς χεῖρ μεγάλη συνάγεται,--

φημὶ Γελῶν', Ἰέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,
παῖδας Δεινομένεως τοὺς τρίποδας θέμεναι,
βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη, πολλὴν δὲ παρασχεῖν
σύμμαχον Ἑλλησιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.

Simonides fr. 141 Bergk = 106 D.

χεῖρ μεγάλη-- Cf. v.72 and ch. 20.

τὸ δὲ ὕγιαῖνον τῆς Ἑλλάδος-- See i.8 and vi.100 on the wording. On the phrase as a name for the loyal Greeks see ch. 145 and comm. ad loc..

μὴ γὰρ ἐλπίσης, ἣν ἡμέας καταστρέφεται ὁ Πέρσης μάχῃ
κρατήσας, ὥς οὐκὶ ἤξει παρὰ σέ γε, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτου
φύλαξαι.--

The envoy's persuasion is clearly without prejudice to the question of possible Persian designs on Magna Graecia.

158.

λόγον ἔχοντες πλεονέκτην ἐτολμήσατε ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ
τὸν βάρβαρον παρακαλέοντες ἐλθεῖν.--

Clearly the reaction is similar to that of the Argives of ch. 149.

οἱ Ἀργεῖοί φασι οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων
τὴν πλεονεξίην, ἀλλ' ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρ-
βάρων ἄρχεσθαι ἢ τι ὑπεῖξαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι...

ch. 149

In essence the Spartans ruin the negotiations because of their pleonexia.

ἐμεῦ πρότερον δεηθέντος βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπάψασθαι,
ὅτε μοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους νεῖκος συνῆπτο,--

It seems idle to build on these words because we do not know anything about a previous war between Gelon and the Carthaginians. Holm

158 cont.

identifies this struggle with the campaign culminating in Himera (GS i.416). Freeman believes that Cleander or Hippocrates fought a war with Carthage in which Gelon played a major role as subordinate to one of those tyrants (ii.98 and 479-480). Dunbabin believes that Gelon fought a war of vengeance that freed the emporia (see below) about 489, relying on Justin (!) for the date (xix.1.9, iv.2.6; Dunbabin 411f.). But all that is nothing more than conjecture based on this obscure allusion for which Hdt. offers nothing in the way of support. Gelon may even be made to claim the credit for a war that was never fought; the Phoenicians may have been manoeuvred out of the ports in question, or Gelon could have "freed" them by relieving them of Carthaginian obstruction by sea (see below). For less sceptical discussion that takes into account the late sources see Freeman ii.477ff. and Dunbabin 411ff..

ἐπισκήπτοντός τε τὸν Δωριέος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδew πρὸς Ἑγεσταίων φόνον ἐκπρήξασθαι,--

Hdt' story of Dorieus contains no reference to any such effort on the part of Gelon (v.42-46).

ὑποτείνοντός τε τὰ ἐμπόρια συνελευθεροῦν ἀπ' ὧν ὑμῖν μεγάλαι ὠφελίαι τε καὶ ἐπαυρέσεις γεγόνασι,--

It seems idle to wring evidence on commerce between old Greece and Magna Graecia from this general rhetorical allusion. Clearly there was such commerce and it must have increased with the decline of Carthaginian fortunes in Sicily but there is no reason to believe that Gelon is made to allude to any specific ports: if he is we can never know what they were. Dunbabin (and cf. Burn 303) believes the term "has a special geographical limitation to the part of Africa nearest Sicily" (412; cf. Polybius i.82.6, Livy xxix.25.12, Ar. Pol. 1259 a 25, and Bosch-Gimpera, CQ 1944.56-57) but whatever Polybius' Emporia are and wherever they may be, they belong to the middle of the 3rd century; and even if we could give full weight to Aristotle's story, and surely we can not, still we could not know exactly where he is talking about (Pol. i.4.7 = 1259 a 25). And even if we did, that need not help us evaluate this passage.

If Gelon really did free the emporia he probably made good use of his growing navy (see below at "200 triremes").

Hdt' wording here is at least interesting and perhaps significant. In connexion with Hdt' word ἐπαυρέσεις it is striking that of all the lyric poets before Pindar only Theognis of Megara, who visited Sicily (783), is known to have used the word in any form (ἐπαυρίσκουσι). And he

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does so in a passage extolling the gratitude of the nobles and criticising the ingratitude of the kakoi (105-112) in words that recall Hdt' description of Gelon's attitude toward the demos:

Δειλοὺς εὖ ἔρδοντι ματαιοτάτη χάρις ἐστίν·

Theognis 105

νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι συνόλημα ἀχαριτώτατον.

Hdt. vii.156.3

This similarity between Theognis' anti-democratic sentiments and wording, and that of Gelon as described by Hdt. may be nothing but co-incidence. We can not but recall, however, that Gelon exercised his prejudice most memorably in the case of Sicilian Megara according to Hdt. (ch. 156.2), and also that Theognis was supposed to have written an elegy on those Syracusans saved in a siege (Suidas s.v. Theognis, quoted at ch. 156 above) who may even be noble Megareans (see comm. at ch. 156). Co-incidence it may be, but the easiest explanation of all the above is that Hdt. writes about Gelon and especially about Gelon's treatment of Sicilian Megara under the influence of Theognis of old Megara. Perhaps that suggestion can be clinched by examining Hdt' report that Gelon freed the emporia from which the Greeks were said to derive the profits discussed above. In all extant Greek lyric poetry including Pindar this word appears only twice, once in Simonides (Bergk 127.2 = Diehl 138.2) and once in the following peculiar couplet of Theognis:

Τοῖς' ἀγαθοῖς σύμμισγε, κακοῖσι δὲ μήποθ' ὀμάρτει,
εὖτ' ἂν ὁδοῦ τελέηις τέρματ' ἐπ' ἐμπορίην.

1165-1166

The couplet is striking in its own right because it shows Theognis bitterly trying to adhere to the rules of an aristocratic society in an age when that society is increasingly coming under pressure from a new commercial wealth and the new rich. It is also striking in comparison with Hdt' narrative, not only because Theognis and Hdt. use the same rare word but also because Hdt. portrays Gelon as doing what Theognis tries to do: both favour the nobles while accommodating commerce.

But if this kind of relation inheres between Theognis and Hdt' narrative of Gelon's career, can we really accept that narrative as fully historical? In all probability some of it is and some of it is not. But how can we ever be sure about any given part? As in the case of the great army-list and the wooden wall if Hdt. allows poetry to influence what he says as well as how he says it, his very credi-

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bility as a historian must now come under the closest scrutiny (Intro. pt. iii).

Note. Theognis' couplet, in turn, clearly reveals the influence of Hesiod.

Εὐτ' ἂν ἐπ' ἐμπορίην τρέψας ἀεσίφρονα θυμὸν
Works 646

Homer does not use the word and Hesiod only this once.

οὔτε ἐμεῦ εἵνεκα ἦλθετε βοηθήσοντες οὔτε τὸν Δωριέος
 φόνον ἐκπρηξόμενοι,--

On the wording we can note the following.

οὐ γάρ σε μοῖρα πρός γ' ἐμοῦ πεσεῖν, ἐπεὶ
 ἱκανὸς Ἀπόλλων, ὃ τάδ' ἐκπρᾶξαι μέλει.
 Soph. OT 376f.

μητρῷον ἐκπράσσοντες ἀνόσιον φόνον.
 Eur. Medea 1305

Carriere reads ἐκπρῆξαι in Theognis 661 (Fatouros 119).

τό τε κατ' ὑμέας τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροισι νέμεται.--

Many historians have taken Hdt' indirect allusions to a Carthaginian war and the freeing of emporia and vengeance for Dorieus quite seriously, but surely it is difficult to believe that the Carthaginians ever came within striking distance of driving Gelon from Syracuse.

νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ περιελήλυθε ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπῆκται ἐς
 ὑμέας,--περιέρχομαι is characteristically Hdtean; see Powell's
 lexicon 302 and LS 1373.

Gelon is made to refer to his own struggle with the Carthaginians and the Persian invasion as the same war, thus anticipating the synchronism between Himera and Salamis (chs. 165-166).

ἔτοιμός εἰμι βοηθεῖν παρεχόμενος διηκοσίας τε τριήρεας
 καὶ δισμυρίους ὀπλίτας καὶ δισχιλίην ἵππον καὶ δισχιλίζους
 τοξότας καὶ δισχιλίζους σφενδονήτας καὶ δισχιλίζους
 ἵπποδρόμους φιλοῦς.--

Historians have long conceded that much of these speeches must be Hdt' own free composition and they have also considered the possibility that they reflect various literary influences. E.g. Freeman believed they derive from a piece of Syracusan satire by Epicharmus ridiculing the pretensions of Gelon's new western power (ii.173,418, 515; cf. Dunbabin 421), a likely enough suggestion. Why, then, is it necessary to take Gelon's alleged pretensions seriously? Are the figures in this speech really different from the rest of the speech

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just because they are figures?—On the face of it they are suspect because they are uniform (cf. *HW* ii.197), and even more so when we take them in conjunction with comparable figures elsewhere in Hdt' history.

To begin with, 200 may be the number of ships demanded of the West by Sparta at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (*Thuc.* ii.7.2 with app. crit. and *Gomme* ii.7).

• 20,000 is twice the 10,000 of the Tempe expeditionary force of ch. 173 (*Pohlenz* 136 n. 2), and it is significant that Hdt. likes to think in 20,000's and 2,000's and 200's. If the Nile chose to turn its waters into the Arabian gulf there is nothing to stop it being silted up in 20,000 years and indeed 10,000 years would probably suffice (ii.11). In the time of Amasis there were 20,000 inhabited cities in Egypt (ii.177). There are 20,000 Arabian camel riders and Libyan charioteers (vii.184). The plain next to Trachis measures *δισχίλια τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα* (vii. 199; cf. the *δισμυρίους ὀπλίτας καὶ δισχιλὴν ἵππον* of this ch.). Cambyses yokes 2,000 young Egyptians (iii.14). At the Marsyas 2,000 Persians and 10,000 Carians die (v.119). 2,000 Spartans come to Athens after Marathon (vi.120). It seems to Hdt. that there are no more than 200 stades between the Arabian and Libyan mountains (ii.8), and Hdt. reckons a day's journey at 200 stades (iv.101). From the hill of Charitae to the sea is 200 stades (iv.175). The isle of Cyrauis is 200 stades long (iv.195). Artaphernes gives Aristagoras 200 ships for the Naxian expedition (v.31ff.). The Egyptians provide 200 ships for Xerxes' navy (vii.89). Themistocles persuades the Athenians to build 200 ships for the war with Aegina (vii.144), and 200 is the number of Athenian ships in this war (ch. 144 and viii.61). Hdt. reckons on a 200-man crew for a trireme (vii. 184, viii.17). The Persian circum-navigating squadron of Artemision numbers 200 ships (viii.7). Artayctes tries to bribe Xanthippus with 200 talents (ix.120). Assyrian corn is usually 200-fold and 300-fold when the harvest is best (i.193): The Thasians get 200 talents a year from the mainland and the mines and 300 when the revenue is greatest (vi.46).

Some of the 200's and 2,000's and 10,000's and 20,000's in Hdt' History may be historical. But which ones? How can we tell? Clearly there are certain number-patterns in Hdt' mind and these patterns tend to repeat themselves in his work. The easiest explanation of the 200, 2,000's, and 20,000 of this chapter is that these figures merely reflect Hdt' love for numbers in general and his preference

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for these particular numbers. They are part of the rhetoric of Gelon's speech even as the alleged Carthaginian threat to Syracuse's very existence as a Greek state. But they are not historical any more than the alleged war of vengeance for Dorieus, or Gelon's alleged offer of help at a time when he has not yet fought the Carthaginians at Himera to judge from Hdt' evidence. There is no kernel of historical truth in the speech, no reason to believe that Hdt. did not compose all of it freely including the numbers.

σφενδονήτας, ἵπποδρόμους φιλοῦς--

It is generally thought that Gelon's alleged allusion to these light-armed troops reflects an advanced state of the military art in Sicily in the year 481; cf. e.g. Macan i¹222; HW ii.197; Burn 307. Why? The sling is prominent in the *Iliad*, explicitly only once to be sure (*Il.* xiii.600) but also indirectly in the showers of stones that Homer compares with snow-flakes (cf. xii.156ff. and 279ff.). Archilochus mentions it (3.2) and so does Pindar (fr. 183.1). Aeschylus alludes to the sling (*Ag.* 1010). Gelon's number of slingers in relation to the rest of his army means nothing because that number is artificial and arbitrarily assigned (see comm. above). Nor should the ἵπποδρόμοι φιλοῖ detain us over conjectural notions of high-powered cavalry formations. To Hdt. they are probably charioteers; note the λεῖλος δ' ἵπποδρομος of *Il.* xxiii.330 (evidently a kind of smooth driving-circuit) and the chariot-races to which Pindar alludes (*Pyth.* iv.67, *Isth.* iii.13, the ἵπποδρομία) and cf. the tantalising fragment of Simonides (PMG 511 fr. 1(a)8), θ' ἵπποδρ[.].
 They are light-armed indeed, but surely no more advanced in their science than the light-armed helots of Plataea (ix.28ff. and 61) who are much more numerically preponderant, incidentally, than these Syracusans are supposed to be. Aeschylus also knows of light-armed troops (fr. 451).

οὔτ' ὅν τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλήνων στρατιῇ, ἔστ' ἂν διαπολεμήσωμεν, ὑποδέχομαι παρέξειν.--

This reference is frequently regarded as evidence for corn-trade with the West in the early 5th century (cf. Grundy, THHA i.77; Burn 307 citing Thuc. iii.86). Why? Could Gelon really supply all the Greek army with food all the way from Sicily? Would not it be easier to feed the army from mainland Greece? Clearly these words are nothing more than rhetoric in keeping with the rest of Gelon's offer and the mere allusion to corn means nothing in the way of historical evidence for Graeco-Sicilian corn-trade, though it does attest to Hdt' own belief that Sicily grew an abundance of corn.

