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ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ

Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν 1
οἵδε, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ

ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ Η AB : οὐρανία | ἡροδότου ἱστοριῶν ὀγδόη *d* **1.** 1
οἱ δὲ : ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι· οἱ δὲ codd. *z* (nisi quod R om. δὴ, V pro ταῦτα exhib. αὖτα) || ἑλλήνων ἐς **α** : ἕλληνες **β**C || τὸ B 2
ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν **β**, Holder

1. 1. **οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τ. ν. στ. ταχθέντες** refers (*a*) to the *colon* immediately preceding, *ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι*, and now forming the close of the seventh Book (cp. App. Crit.). But (*b*) if 7. 239 is a late insertion (cp. notes *ad l.*), the grammatical correspondence may have been originally, and more happily, with the closing words of 7. 238 *οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίευν τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ποιέειν*. Yet perhaps (*c*) the original correspondence lay with the first sentence of 7. 234 *οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἠγωνίσαντο*, both Demaratos episodes, as well as 7. 238, which now intervene, being of the second or third redaction. The true contrast and correspondence lies between 'the Hellenes comprised in the naval forces' and 'the Hellenes brigaded at Thermopylai,' and the navy-list which here follows (*d*) really carries back to the army-list given above 7. 202. The transition between Bks. 7 and 8 is, indeed, abrupt, but the better inference from the abruptness of the transition is not (with Stein[5]) to a lacuna (*Ausfall im Texte*) but to an insertion, or to insertions, in the text by author and by interpolator to boot, destructive of the original continuity. The abruptness has been at once emphasized and obliterated by the division into books, made (by some anonymous Alexandrian), naturally enough, just at this point. The result has been still further to divorce the synchronous and inter-related operations on land and sea, the stories of Thermopylai and of Artemision as narrated by Hdt., on which point see further, Introduction, § 11, Appendix V. Ἑλλήνων is, of course, a partitive genitive. **ἐς**, not 'against' but 'into'; cp. 7. 21 *οἱ δὲ ἐς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο*.

ἦσαν οἵδε. The sources of the Greek navy-lists for Artemision (here) and Salamis (cc. 43–48 *infra*) cannot be exactly determined; but if Hdt.'s figures are ever to be trusted, it is in these two cases, the rather in view of his omission of all details for the fleet in the following year (c. 131 *infra*). See further, Introduction, § 10, and the notes on the details below.

2. **Ἀθηναῖοι.** The order here is determined by the size of the respective contingents, or perhaps by the (Athenian) provenience of the list (in contrast with the list of Salamis, cc. 43–48 *infra*). To the 127 ships here specified are to be added the 53 supplied in c. 14 *infra*, besides the 20 manned from Chalkis, just below, making a total of 200 bottoms from Athens, on which figure cp. 7. 144. With the use of the middle (*παρεχόμενοι*) for the war-ships (*νέας*), manned by the Athenians themselves, cp. the active (*παρεχόντων*) just below for the ships furnished to the men of Chalkis.

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ἑπτά· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίης Πλαταιέες, ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐόντες, συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι. καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας, Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυοκαίδεκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ, Ἐρετριέες δὲ ἑπτά, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο, καὶ Κήιοι δύο τε

5 τεσσαράκοντα *d* 6 καλχιδέες **β** || παρεχόντων σφι **β**P*z*
7 δυώδεκα **β** 9 στυριέες **β** : τυρέες δ || Κήιοι Stein : κεῖοι **α** : κῖοι **β**

3. **ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίης**: causal, and of psychological causality; cp. 1. 85 *ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν* (where the *κακόν* is external). The notice of Plataian valour and zeal is remarkable, and more generous than the recognition of their service at Marathon, 6. 108, 9. 27.

Πλαταιέες . . συνεπλήρουν. Blakesley argues that the verb implies more than merely service as *ἐπιβάται*. His contention is borne out by the remark *ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς* (sc. *τέχνης*) *ἐόντες*, which would be almost pointless if referred to *ἐπιβάται* alone. Cp. also *ἐπλήρουν* just below.

5. **Κορίνθιοι** supply but 40 ships, but are also represented by 400 hoplites at Thermopylai, 7. 202. Cp. also c. 43 *infra*.

Μεγαρέες supplying 20 ships still rank apparently as the fourth naval power in the confederacy.

6. **Χαλκιδέες**. Are these Athenian 'Kleruchs' (5. 77, 6. 100)? or natives of Chalkis? or both combined? Blakesley acutely remarks that 4000 men represent just the complement for 20 triremes; and it is possible that there is a relation between the 20 here and the 4000 there (*ll.c.*). But if so, the 4000 is probably an inference from the 20, and this passage is the older of the two (whether Hdt. himself or his authorities made the combination and drew the inference). This observation further strengthens the suspicion with which the figure 4000 is to be viewed (cp. my note to 5. 77), seeing that here the crews of these triremes may well have been natives of Chalkis and the Athenian Kleruchs serving merely, or mainly, as *epibataí* (=600. If the real number of Kleruchs was only 600, the story in 6. 100 would be more intelligible).

7. **Αἰγινῆται.** That Aigina sends only 18 ships to Artemision is curious: does the item include the ship of Asonides captured off Skiathos (7. 181)? The Aiginetan figure for Salamis is also perplexing; cp. c. 46 *infra*.

Σικυώνιοι are below their full strength with 12 ships; cp. c. 43.

8. **Λακεδαιμόνιοι** means, of course, the Spartan state. Doubtless the crews were composed of Helots, or at best Perioikoi; and perhaps there were few, if any, Spartiatai on board, except the Epibatai and officers. The Lakedaimonian contingent looks miserably small for the hegemonic power; but the service at Thermopylai is concomitant. Even at Salamis the Lakedaimonians muster only 16 ships, if c. 43 is to be trusted.

Ἐπιδαύριοι, unrepresented at Thermopylai, raise their contingent from 8 to 10 for Salamis (c. 43), and send only 800 Hoplites to Plataiai, 9. 28. Their best days were past (cp. 7. 99), or in the future, when the *ἱερόν* of Asklepios was to rise into oecumenical significance (cp. R. Caton, *The Temples and Ritual of Asklepios*, Cambridge, 1900).

Ἐρετριέες. After their experiences in 490 B.C. (cp. 6. 101, 119) it is surprising to find men of Eretria in a position to supply even 7 ships in 480 B.C. Either the destruction had not been so complete as Hdt. asserts, or the place had been reoccupied and reinforced.

9. **Τροιζήνιοι.** Troizen was a small place, supplying but 5 ships (cp. c. 43); it ranked as the metropolis of Halikarnassos (7. 99), and appears to have been at this time on especially good terms with Athens; cp. c. 41 *infra*.

Στυρέες. The men of Styra in Euboia supply 2 triremes. In the Athenian tribute-lists Styra is assessed at 100 drachmai.

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νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο· Λοκροὶ δέ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτά. 10

Ἦσαν μὲν ὦν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, 2 εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισέων νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, διηκόσιαι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ μία. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα 5

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10 νῆας **β** 11 ἐπεβώθεον **β**, van H. 2. 1 οὖν **β**: om. **α** 2 ὡς τὸ: ὅσον τὸ Reiske: ὅσον τι Schaefer: *quot* (ὅσας) Valla || verba εἴρηται . . παρείχοντο suspecta habet van H. 2, 3 νηῶν (bis) **β** 4 μία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διηκόσιαι **β**, Holder 5 τὸ om. **β** || κάρτος **αdz**

Κήιοι. The island of Keos appears in the tribute-lists as assessed for 400 drachmai, though in 480 B.C. it furnishes but 2 pentekonters beyond the Styrean contingent. The assessment probably represents the resources of Keos better than the contingent: the island was the birth-place of Simonides, the poet-laureate of the war. Cp. 7. 228.

10. **Λοκροὶ . . οἱ Ὀπούντιοι**: cp. 7. 203. As they were serving *πανστρατιῇ* at Thermopylai it is a wonder to find them represented at Artemision even by 7 pentekonters.

σφι might naturally be referred to *Κήιοι* just before, as *σφι* up above certainly refer to *Χαλκιδέες* immediately preceding; but the general sense of the passage suggests a reference here to the fleet as a whole, all the contingents enumerated above, or more vaguely still *τοῖς Ἕλλησι*. The verb (*ἐπεβοήθεον*) is varied from the *ἐπλήρουν* and *παρείχοντο* preceding, and requires the personal object expressed or understood.

2. 2. **εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὡς.** As the reference is to the immediate context, and as *ὡς* appears to be used in a doubtful sense, this whole sentence is naturally suspect. The verb *παρείχοντο*, too, is unfortunate, repeated, as it is, just below. Yet the *μοι* makes for authenticity, and there is a sufficient reason for the introduction of the sentence, the purpose of which is evidently to justify the *order* in which the ethnic names have been given, as corresponding to the relative strength of the respective contingents. A. G. Laird in *Class. Rev.* xviii. 1904, 97 ff. suggests, on the analogy of an Ionic inscription *circa* 400 B.C., that Hdt. might have intended *εἴρηται* (=*εἰρέαται*) as a plural; a *corruptela* might seem the simpler alternative. The difficulty in the sentence appears to arise less from the use of *ὡς* to signify the order of the list than from the presence of *καί* and *τό* (*πλῆθος*). The sentence would certainly be easier if it ran *εἰρέαται δέ μοι ὡς καὶ (τὸ) πλῆθος ἕκαστοι (τῶν) νεῶν παρείχοντο.* The article, however, may be referred in the first place to the particular contingents, taken severally, and in the second place to the total fleet; but the words *καὶ ὡς*, especially in that order, appear suspicious.

3. **ἀριθμός.** The total 271 agrees with the items. Diodoros 11. 12 gives 280 as the total, including, apparently, the 9 pentekonters.

4. **πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων.** It is apparently to be understood that the only pentekonters were the two from Keos and the seven from Opuntian Lokris enumerated above. There were some still smaller and lighter boats in commission (cp. c. 21 *infra*), though not included in the navy-list.

5. **τὸν δὲ στρατηγόν.** Each of the distinct contingents enumerated above was presumably under an enchorial strategos: the process, by which the Spartan navarch (*ὁ Λάκων*) came to be commander-in-chief of the whole fleet, is not quite clearly exhibited by Hdt. The aorist (*ἔφασαν*) may here have temporally the force of a pluperfect, and the next chapter, not to say the very necessities of the case, will show that the question of the hegemony by sea and by land had been raised and determined before any operations at all were undertaken, probably at the Isthmus

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παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται Εὐρυβιάδην Εὐρυκλείδεω· οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἢν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ, Ἀθηναίοισι ἕψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στρά-
3 *τευμα. ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὸν εἴη ἐπιτράπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ γνόντες, εἰ*

6 εὐρυβιάδεα SV : εὐρυάδεα R || τὸν Εὐρυκλείδεω *z*, edd. plures || γὰρ : δὲ R 7 Ἀθηναίοισι : ἄλλοισι Naber 3. 1 καταρχὰς P*z*
2 ἐπὶ τὴν **B** : τὴν ἐπὶ συμμαχίῃ ? Kallenberg 3 ἐπιτρέπειν codd.
4 μέγα τε ποιεύμενοι coni. Stein, adm. van H.

in the previous year. Cp. further Appendix III. § 5, and c. 3 *infra*.

6. **Σπαρτιῆται**: the navarch was probably elected in the Spartan *Apella* to hold office for a year, beginning about the autumnal equinox (cp. Thuc. 5. 36. 1). Though 'Eurybiades son of Eurykleides' is the first Spartan navarch whose name has reached us, we are not justified in assuming that the office itself came into existence for and with him. It may have been of long standing, though of little importance, before the Persian war (cp. 3. 39). Eurybiades was not (perhaps) elected in view of the Persian war, but in the ordinary course of business; he is credited, by tradition, with little aptitude for the post, and in the two ensuing naval campaigns the command is entrusted to men of royal standing, Leotychidas, Pausanias.

7. **ἢν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ**: this sentence, or else the words *Ἀθηναίοισι ἡγεομένοισι*, may be regarded as superfluous; the two conjoined are, indeed, logically inconsistent. What the allies declared was that (*a*) they would abandon the whole undertaking if the Athenians were to have the leading, (*b*) that they would join in the undertaking if the Spartans had the lead. Two further points may be remarked. (i.) The question of leading is not necessarily confined to the naval operations; *τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα* has a more extended reference, actual or potential. (ii.) That being so *ὁ Λάκων* need not be referred specifically to Eurybiades, or even to the Spartan navarch (whoever he was, or was to be), but should be taken to refer generally to 'the Lakonian,' the man of Lakedaimon.

8. **λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα**: the two-fold, if not triple, future must place the declaration of the Symmachoi well before the despatch of the forces to Thermopylai-Artemision. *στράτευμα* is used by Hdt. both for 'expedition' (e.g. 3. 49 = *στρατεία*) and 'forces' (= *στρατός* 7. 48). Whichever sense be here preferred, the application need not, and indeed cannot, be restricted to the navy, for the defence of Thermopylai and Artemision is a single undertaking, a single plan.

3. 1. **κατ' ἀρχάς**: the dating is not quite precise, even with the additional indication *πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν*. The question of the *Hegemonia* was doubtless one of the first to be decided, but it can hardly have been intercalated between the mission to Argos, 7. 148 (where, by the way, the Argives demand *ἡγέεσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ*), and the mission to Sicily, 7. 153 ff. The dispute with the Athenian must have preceded both the other disputes, the stories of which imply that the hegemony is vested in Sparta. The *λόγος* here recorded, whether speech, demand, or argument, must have taken place (*ἐγένετο*) at the first meeting of the allies at the Isthmus, in the autumn or early winter of 481 B.C. The Athenians themselves (Themistokles ?), or some state friendly to Athens (Plataia ?), must have been its authors. The opposition of the allies here recorded must be identical with the opposition of the allies just above recorded in c. 2.

4. **μέγα πεποιημένοι**: the whole passage, down to the second **εἶκον** *infra*, introduces some obscurity into the argument or narrative, but is in itself clear enough, the subject *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι* being carried over or resumed apparently, at least as far as the second *εἶκον*.

The passive form *πεποιημένοι* is remarkable as the perfect or pluperfect

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στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὀρθὰ 5
νοεῦντες· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσούτῳ
κάκιον ἐστὶ ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο
οὐκ ἀντέτεινον ἀλλ' εἶκον, μέχρι ὅσου κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν,
ὡς διέδεξαν· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὠσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου

5 *στασιοῦσι* **β** 6 *νοέοντες* **β** || *στάσις . . εἰρήνης* damn. Blakesley || *τοσοῦτο* **β** 8 *μέχρις οὗ* **β**P : *μέχρι οὗ* z 9 *δὴ ὠσάμενοι* : *διωσάμενοι* Bekker, van H. || *πέρσεα* **β**z

of *ποιέεσθαι*. The tense does not appear to have a merely temporal force. Stein's emendation would spoil this aspect of the word.

5. **ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες.** Hdt. apparently applauds the patriotic modesty of the Athenians, and adds a stock *gnome* of but doubtful application to the case in question, unless, indeed, the Athenians had been contemplating actually coming to blows over the question. The gnome was hardly meant in the first instance to be applied to the case of an alliance or confederacy. 'Civil war (*στάσις ἔμφυλος*) is to war conducted by a state at unity with itself (*πόλεμος ὁμοφρονέων*) as war is to peace (*εἰρήνη*).' The gnome does not cover the still darker evil of *στάσις* and *πόλεμος* combined (cp. Thuc. 3. 82). The neuter **κάκιον** is observable.

8. **μέχρι ὅσου**: sc. *χρόνου*: but the phrase might still mean either *dum* (while, so long as) or *donec* (until the point when). The exact rendering must depend upon the sense in which the words immediately succeeding are taken.

κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν. What is the subject of *ἐδέοντο*, and to whom does the word *αὐτῶν* refer? The exact meaning of *ἐδέοντο* may also be in question. If there is no change of subject, if the subject of all the final verbs (*εἶκον, ἐδέοντο, διέδεξαν, ἐποιεῦντο, ἀπείλοντο*) is 'the Athenians,' then the passage contains a distinctly unfavourable judgement upon the conduct of Athens, thereby conflicting not merely with the general Atticism of Hdt., but with the immediate context, wherein their patriotism, their pan-Hellenism, has been commended. 'The Athenians, however, made these concessions only so long as they were badly in need of them (the allies? or the Lakedaimonians? in preference the latter); for as soon as they had repulsed the Persian, and were carrying the war into the enemy's country, they deprived the Lakedaimonians of the lead on pretext of the violence of Pausanias.' But there is something to be said for a change of subject. The repulse of the Persian, and the war in Ionia or Thrace, were not simply the doing of the Athenians: *ὠσάμενοι, ἐποιεῦντο, ἀπείλοντο* should hardly be referred exclusively to the Athenians, but rather to 'the allies,' or 'the Hellenes'; in which case *αὐτῶν* will refer to 'the Athenians,' and the meaning will be: 'the Athenians gave way and yielded, until such time as they (the allies, the Greeks) had sore need of them (or possibly 'petitioned them'), as they showed: for the Greeks, after repulsing the Persian, etc.' The words *ὡς διέδεξαν* are in any case against the alternative rendering of *ἐδέοντο*, for it would be intolerably harsh to take 'the Greeks' as the subject of *ἐδέοντο* and *ἐποιεῦντο*, but resume 'the Athenians' as the subject of the intercalary *διέδεξαν*. If, however, the subject of *ἐδέοντο* is *οἱ σύμμαχοι*, there is some confusion of thought in the passage, as the allies, or Hellenes, who deprived the Lakedaimonians of the naval hegemony at Byzantion in 477 B.C., were quite different persons and states from the allies who refused naval hegemony to the Athenians in 481 B.C. The story of the transfer is told, from an Attic point of view, Thucyd. 1. 95, Diodor. 11. 44, Plutarch, *Aristeid.* 23, etc. (Cp. G. F. Hill, *Sources*, i. 18 ff.)

This passage has a bearing on the question of the composition, plan, and completion of the work of Herodotus. He could hardly have expressed himself as here, or concluded this prospective episode with the summary *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο*, had he been intending to carry his narrative below the point where it now terminates, viz. the siege of Sestos in 479–8 B.C. In other words, this passage supports the view that the work of Hdt., as we have it, is finished and complete, according to

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10 ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Παυσανίεω ὕβριν προϊσχόμενοι ἀπείλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

4 Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι ὡς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ

10 ἐποιέοντο **B** 12 ἐγένοντο C **4.** 2 νῆας **B** || ἐς τοὺς **B**

the author's own idea. Cp. Introduction, § 6.

10. **τὴν Παυσανίεω ὕβριν** is a remarkable expression, which might point to this passage being an insertion, cp. 9. 10 *infra*; but the phrase may be a current one, descriptive of the proceedings recorded more fully by Thuc. 1. 94, 95, and touched by Hdt. himself 5. 32.

4. 1. **τότε**: in contradistinction to the ὕστερον just above, or to the κατ' ἀρχάς, c. 3 *ad init.*; but the precise date is still in question, and is to be inferred, or extracted, from the words immediately following. The term οὗτοι . . ἀπικόμενοι denotes undoubtedly the same object as οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον of c. 2, or again οἱ ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες of c. 1; but the τάξις, the στρατεία, the ἄπιξις ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, are successive epochs in the operations of the fleet, the last of which is here more precisely defined by the sight of the enemy's fleet already in position at Aphetai, albeit whether the occupation of Artemision by the Greeks here involved precedes or succeeds the occupation of Aphetai by the Persians is not quite clearly indicated in this context. A problem at once arises as to the relation of this narrative to the narrative in Bk. 7. There the occupation, or first occupation, of Artemision by the Greeks precedes by some time the appearance of the Persian ships at Aphetai (cp. 7. 177, 183, 195). The Greek fleet, in fact, apparently occupies Artemision before the Persian fleet has quitted Therme, and actually retreats from Artemision to Chalkis upon news of the Persian advance signalled from Skiathos (7. 183). But the three days' storm detains the Persian fleet *en voyage*, and not until the fourth and last day of the storm (7. 191), that is, the fifth day after leaving Therme, at earliest, could the Persian fleet have steered into Aphetai (7. 193). The Greeks have already resumed their station at Artemision on the third (or fourth) day of the storm (7. 192), and consequently it is the Persians on their way to Aphetai who lose fifteen ships to the Greeks already stationed, for the second time, at Artemision (7. 194). To harmonize this passage with that it must be inferred that the ἄπιξις ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον here in question is the second occupation of Artemision by the Greek fleet which in Bk. 7 precedes, not merely the arrival of the Persian ships at Aphetai, but apparently even their departure from the Magnesian strand. This harmony, indeed, Hdt. himself has apparently attempted. Stein finds a proof of this in the otherwise superfluous **καί** in this passage: a still clearer proof lies in the sentence **ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν κτλ.**, which clearly resumes the statement in 7. 192, ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινάς σφι ἀντιξόους ἔσεσθαι νέας. The attempt is clear; not so the harmony itself. For (1) the Greeks here on arriving at Artemision (for the second time) apparently discover the Persians before them at Aphetai; (2) the Greeks at once project a second retreat. But such a retreat at this point is out of the question, as inconsistent with the whole plan of defence for Thermopylai-Artemision, and also inconsistent with the brilliant success they have just achieved (according to 7. 194) in the capture of fifteen of the king's vessels. The conclusions are forced upon us that the two passages are in the main from different sources (the one here probably of European, the other, that in Bk. 7, of Asianic origin), and that Hdt. has been ill-advised in his attempt to harmonize them, especially in his duplication of the retirement, or supposed retirement, of the Greek fleet from Artemision. The doubling of his sources has also apparently doubled the storms, and complicated other episodes in the naval operations, for the reduction of which to the simpler issues see further, Appendix V.

2. **καταχθείσας**: κατάγεσθαι is the proper word for putting into land; cp. 6. 107 καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὅρμιζε οὗτος.

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στρατιῆς ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν 5 *Ἑλλάδα. γνόντες δὲ σφέας οἱ Εὐβοέες ταῦτα βουλευομένους ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδεω προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα ταλάντοισι, ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ* 10 *τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης* **5** *τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὧδε ποιέει· Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοῖ πέντε τάλαντα ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῦ δῆθεν*

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3 πάντα **β** 5 ἐβούλευον **β**, Holder: ἐβούλευον τὸν vel τὸ? Kallenberg 8 <τὰ> τέκνα van H. || τε om. **β**

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3. **στρατιῆς ἅπαντα πλέα**: a reference to the king's encampment in Melis (7. 198–200) can hardly be excluded from these words.

αὐτοῖσι: the 'ethical' dative; the words **ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον** are somewhat redundant, for they cannot be referred to *τῶν βαρβάρων* as subject.

τὰ πρήγματα: cp. 7. 10 (ll. 34 ff.).

4. **ἀπέβαινε** has the full imperfect sense; and likewise **ἐβουλεύοντο** just below.

5. **δρησμὸν . . ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα**: apparently a further and still more craven flight than their supposed first move to Chalkis, 7. 182 *supra*; the change of phrase may be intended by Hdt. to mark the difference of the two occasions; but in reality the two were probably only one and the same, and the goal was neither the Isthmus, nor even Chalkis, but probably at most the bay of Aidepsos; cp. Appendix V. § 4.

6. **οἱ Εὐβοέες**: the term might seem to ascribe a solidarity to the peoples and cities of the island, which they certainly did not possess. Rationalistically the word might be interpreted of the Euboians *in loco*, chiefly those of Histiaia (c. 23 *infra*): critically viewed, it rather betrays the bad conscience of the narrator, or his source, by its vagueness.

7. **ἐδέοντο**, 'petitioned,' 'besought'; cp. cc. 3 *supra*, 132 *infra*.

8. **τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται**: the women doubtless come in somewhere by implication, either with *τέκνα*, or with the *οἰκέται* (*οἱ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον πάντες*, Hesychius); cp. cc. 36, 41 *infra*, *ὑπεκθέσθαι* c. 41 *infra*, *ὑπεκτιθέμενοι* 5. 65, *ὑπέκκειται* c. 60 *infra*, *ὑπεξεκομίσαντο* 9. 6. The prepositions suggest the ideas of secrecy and safety, the subjunctive their design and intention.

9. **μεταβάντες**: here perhaps of psychological, as in 7. 73 of local movement.

τὸν Ἀθ. στρατηγόν incidentally implies a chief commander, although he must constitutionally have had nine colleagues. The form of expression **πείθουσι . . ἐπ' ᾧ τε** recurs *verbatim* 5. 65. **πρό** here is not merely causal, but locative. The story of the bribing of Themistokles on this occasion is a transparent scandal; cp. Appendix V. § 2.

A delightful inconsequence in this passage lies in the Euboians wanting Eurybiades to remain 'a little while,' just till they have cleared their families out of the island, while Themistokles gets the Greeks to hold on and fight three battles (*τὴν ναυμαχίην*!) on three successive days.

11. **ποιήσονται**: the voice, the mood, the tense, not to say the change of subject, are all observable, and point rather to the actual result than to any implied condition.

5. 2. **ἐπισχεῖν**, 'to hold on': a stronger term than *προσμεῖναι* or even *καταμεῖναι*, connoting a longer time, a larger purpose.

τούτων τῶν χρημάτων: partitive genitive, emphasized by **μεταδιδοῖ**.

3. **ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῦ δῆθεν**: so on a subsequent occasion he presents to Eurybiades arguments which are not of his

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διδούς. ὡς δέ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου
5 ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἤσπαιρε μοῦνος, φάμενος
ἀποπλεύσεσθαί τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμενέειν,
πρὸς δὴ τοῦτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπομόσας "οὐ σύ γε
ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεί τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς
ἄν τοι ὁ Μήδων πέμψειε ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους." ταῦτά
10 τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδειμάντου
τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πληγέντες δώροισι ἀνα-

5. 5 ὁ Κορίνθιος Suidas (sub v. ἤσπαιρεν) cum v.l. Κορινθίων : κόρινθος C : κορίνθιος ceteri : Κορινθίων Schaefer, van H. || τῶν λοιπῶν om. β : 'fortasse est glossema' van H. 6 ἀποπλώσεσθαί β, van H. 10 νῆα β || τὴν alterum : τοῦ dz 11 πληγέντες βz, Holder, van H., Stein[3] : πάντες α, Stein[1 2]

own devising, as though they were his own, c. 58 *infra*.

4. **ἀνεπέπειστο**: the pluperfect here has its full temporal force; but a shade of difference enters below, in *ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν* and *ἐκεχάριστο*.

Ἀδείμαντος . . ὁ Ὠκύτου: cp. 7. 137 *ad f.*, a passage which in part might explain the hostility of Athens to the memory of Adeimantos, were it not that the stories to the discredit of Adeimantos are surely far older than the exploits of Aristeas his son. The account of the bribery of Adeimantos by Themistokles at Artemision is, indeed, not merely absurd in view of the strategic necessities of the position, and obviously 'pragmatic'—to the discredit of Themistokles too; but it is flagrantly inconsistent with the stories of the relations between Themistokles and the Korinthian admiral just before the battle of Salamis. It is thus doubly significant that the version of the story followed by Plutarch, *Themist.* 7, omits Adeimantos altogether. If there is any truth in the tradition of the employment of money by Themistokles to procure a halt, to promote a battle, the scene must be laid at Salamis, not at Artemision, where the Peloponnesians could no more have thought of retreating than the Athenians themselves, as long as Leonidas was holding Thermopylai. The name and patronymic of the Korinthian strategos are here genuine, as the *γάρ* would show; cp. c. 59 *infra*. Aineas, son of Okytos, a Korinthian, appears among the signatories of the truce of Laches in 423 B.C., Thuc. 4. 119. 2. This second Okytos might well be a son of Adeimantos; the name is presumably connected with *ὠκύς*.

5. **ἤσπαιρε**: like a fish out of water, cp. 9. 120, or a babe new-born, cp. 1. 111, or (as Stein suggests, but without a reference) a bird in the hand of the fowler.

9. **Μήδων**. Did Themistokles, and the Athenians of his generation, speak of the 'Mede' rather than of the 'Persian'? cp. Aristoph., Thuc. The general colour of the stories of Artemision is decidedly Attic; Hdt. and the Ionians for at least a generation before him could clearly distinguish between Mede and Persian.

ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ πέμπει: the emphatic parataxis and the historic tenses are observable: 'the words were hardly out of his mouth before he sends to the Korinthian admiral's flag-ship three talents of silver.'

11. **πληγέντες**. The reading of the second class for *πάντες* (cp. App. Crit.), adopted by Blakesley and Baehr, from Wesseling, and now by Stein, on the ground that *πάντες* is inadmissible for *δύο*. Baehr compares Plutarch, *Demosth.* 25 *πληγεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας*, and other Plutarchisms more remote; Stein still thinks of bird-snaring, and cps. Horace, *Od.* 3. 16 *munera navium Saevos illaqueant duces*. It is easier to understand *πάντες* as a corruption of *πληγέντες ex librariorum quibus vulgatum durius visum ingenio* (Wesseling) than *vice versa*, or one might be tempted to see in *πάντες* a hint of a story of still more far-reaching corruption than that just related; at any rate, the *corruptela* was intended to cover 'all three.'

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πεπεισμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο, αὐτός τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐκέρδηνε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἠπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα. 15

6 Οὕτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν, ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε. ἐπείτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δείλην πρωίην γινομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε

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13 ἐκέρδανεν **β**: ἐκέρδησε *d* 15 Ἀθηνέων Bekker, Stein[2 3]: ἀθηναίων codd., Stein[1] || τὰ χρήματα om. **β** **6.** 1 δὴ om. **β** 2 τὰς: τοὺς R 3 γενομένην **β***z* || ἀπικέατο P*z* 4 τὸ om. **α** || νῆας **β** || τότε . . ἰδόντες om. **β**

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13. **ἀλλ'**: as though a negative had preceded, **ἐλάνθανε** having indeed a sort of negative force.

14. **ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων**: if we transfer the scene to Salamis we shall be convinced that the recipients were right in their opinion; and the purpose (**λόγος**, *ratio*) was to keep them at Salamis.

6. 1. **ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ**: the officers and men were mostly ashore, even if the ships were not actually beached.

2. **ἐπείτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας**: referring back (*δή*) not so much to c. 4 *supra*, as to 7. 195, or 193.

περί: here of time, as just below of place.

δείλην πρωίην γινομένην, 'the early afternoon'; cp. *δείλην ὀψίην γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης* c. 9 *infra*. The present participle is more curious with the *πρωίην* than with the *ὀψίην*, as *δείλη* itself (whatever its derivation) means afternoon, in distinction from *ἠώς* and *μέσον ἦμαρ*. Cp. *Iliad* 21. 111. At what o'clock exactly we are to place the arrival (*ἀπίκατο* 7. 193) is unfortunately not clear: before 3 P.M.?

3. **πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον**: cp. 7. 208. The Persian advance has been conducted with all due foresight and circumspection: the number of the Greek fleet does not apparently exceed their anticipations.

The construction (and sense) of the words **ἔτι καὶ πρότερον**, especially of *ἔτι*, is disputable. Are they to be taken together? Do they, if so taken, qualify *πυθόμενοι* or *ναυλοχέειν*? Or are they to be taken separately, and, if so, do *καὶ πρότερον* cohere, or are *ἔτι* and *πρότερον* co-ordinate? Finally, what is the exact sense of *ἔτι*? Stein takes *ἔτι* = *ἤδη* (*schon*); cp. 5. 62 *ἐόντες ἄνδρες δόκιμοι ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι*, 1. 65 *τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν*, 1. 92 *τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον κατιρώσας κτλ.*, 1. 190 *ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα*, 3. 64 *τῷ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον ἐκέχρηστο*, 6. 33 *αὐτοὶ γὰρ Κυζικηνοὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοῦ Φοινίκων ἐσπλόου τούτου ἐγεγόνεσαν ὑπὸ βασιλέι*. So also c. 69 *infra νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαίην εἶναι τότε πολλῷ μᾶλλον αἴνεε*. But in no instance does *ἔτι* appear used with a verb simply as = *ἤδη*, but always as reinforcing a temporal adverb, generally *πρότερον*, and so in its normal (comparative) force of 'still'—the point of departure being the latest date, and the point of arrival not 'already' but 'still' and 'still' earlier. In c. 62 *infra ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι*, where there is no comparison, the *ἔτι* may have its true (temporal) force. In none of these cases does a *καί* separate, or connect, the *ἔτι πρότερον*. The very peculiar case in 9. 102 *ἔτι καὶ δή* is now abandoned by Stein (cp. note *ad l. infra*). The *καί* here therefore remains a problem, most simply resolved by understanding it as intensive 'still even' (or 'even still') earlier, and taking the phrase as qualifying *πυθόμενοι* (c. 69 *infra*, quoted above, favouring this, as well as the *τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες*). But if *ἔτι καὶ πρότερον* might be taken with *ναυλοχέειν*, then *καί* is disjunctive ('still as before,' referring to the reoccupation of the position); but the *τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες* seems to forbid this.

4. **τότε δέ**: on their arrival at Aphetai, or on the way thither; in either case it appears here that the Greek fleet is already in position at Artemision (for

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5 δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρέειν, εἴ κως ἕλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλέειν οὔ κώ σφι ἐδόκεε τῶνδε εἵνεκα, μή κως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλέοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμήσειαν φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλαμβάνῃ· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν φεύξεσθαι, ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον τῷ ἐκείνων
7 λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν τάδε ἐμη-

6 προσπλώειν **Bz**, van H. 7 εἵνεκε R || κως *z*: πως **a**: om. **B** || προσπλώοντας **Bz**, van H. 8 καταλάβῃ **B**: καταλάβοι P*z*: καταλαμβάνει *d* 9 φεύξεσθαι Stein(2)3, van H.: ἐκφεύξεσθαι 10 λόχω **B** 7. 1 ἐμηχανῶντο Stein2 3, Holder: ἐμηχανέωντο *d*: ἐμηχανέοντο ceteri, Stein1, van H.

the second time), before the arrival of the Persians at Aphetai; but if so, why did not the Greeks advance upon the Persians (especially if Aphetai should be placed within the entrance of the gulf of Pagasai)? The Persians do not advance at once for a frontal attack upon the Greeks (*ἐκ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλέειν*) for fear the Greeks should sail away and escape, through the Euripos, under cover of night; a squadron of 200 sail is detached to circumnavigate the island and take the Greeks in the rear, while the fleet from Aphetai will attack *ἐξ ἐναντίης* when the time arrives. The exposition of the plan ignores the bearing of the naval manœuvres upon the situation at Thermopylai: had the Greek fleet desired, and been allowed, to 'fly' from Artemision, Leonidas and his men were at the mercy of the Persians. The squadron detached to circumnavigate Euboia may have been directed rather against Thermopylai than against Artemision.

8. **εὐφρόνη καταλαμβάνῃ**. The noun is a poetic word for 'night,' cp. 7. 12. The verb is used in a favourable, or at least a neutral sense, here; cp. 3. 139.

9. **ἔμελλον δῆθεν φεύξεσθαι** seems to be not the writer's own opinion, but an idea spread among the Persians; the tone of the passage, therefore, hardly accords with the account of the Greek panic in c. 4 *supra*. (*ἐκφεύξεσθαι* is of course barely sense, but would accord better with referring the utterance wholly to the author.)

ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι: *ἐκείνων* must refer to the Persians, but *τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ* cannot be intended to ascribe to Persian origin the obviously Greek, or Lakonic, proverb. The *Fire-bearer* was a Spartan official, but not perhaps to be found only at Sparta; cp. Xenophon, *Laced. resp.* 13. 2 *θύει μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οἴκοι ὢν* (sc. *ὁ βασιλεὺς*) *καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ· ἢν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καλλιερήσῃ, λαβὼν ὁ πυρφόρος πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ προηγεῖται ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρας· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖ αὖ θύεται Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ. ὅταν δὲ ἀμφοῖν τούτοιν τοῖν θεοῖν καλλιερηθῇ, τότε διαβαίνει τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρας· καὶ τὸ πῦρ μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ἱερῶν προηγεῖται οὔποτε ἀποσβεννύμενον, σφάγια δὲ παντοῖα ἕπεται.* Cp. Suidas *sub v.* who says, *ἐν τοῖς οὖν πολέμοις εἰώθασι τῶν ἱερέων οἱ νενικηκότες φείδεσθαι.* This might be true of Greeks, but would not hold good for 'barbarians.' Canon Blakesley, however, denies the sacrosanctity of the *πυρφόρος*, and supposes only that he would be more likely than the fighting men to escape.

7. 1. **πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν**: pleonastic. The subject of **ἐμηχανῶντο** is understood, sc. *οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ*: cp. the (subsequent) conversation previously reported 7. 236. This device (*μηχανή*), of detaching a squadron (200 strong) to circumnavigate Euboia, and take the Greeks at Artemision (or Thermopylai?) in the rear, is here apparently dated after the arrival of the Persians at Aphetai. But (1) the direction to sail *ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου*; (2) the previous knowledge of the Persians concerning the positions occupied by the Greeks; (3) the curious introduction of the word *ἀπασέων*—i.e. 'while the ships were still in full force'; (4) the improbability of the Persians dividing their fleet, if they had just suffered the colossal losses recorded off Magnesia; (5) the probability that the storm has been duplicated in Hdt.'s narrative, and the Persian losses thereby enhanced; (6) and last, not least, the whole strategic development of the

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