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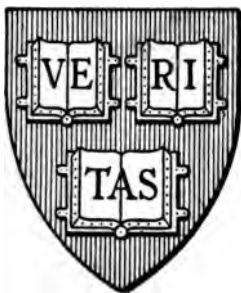
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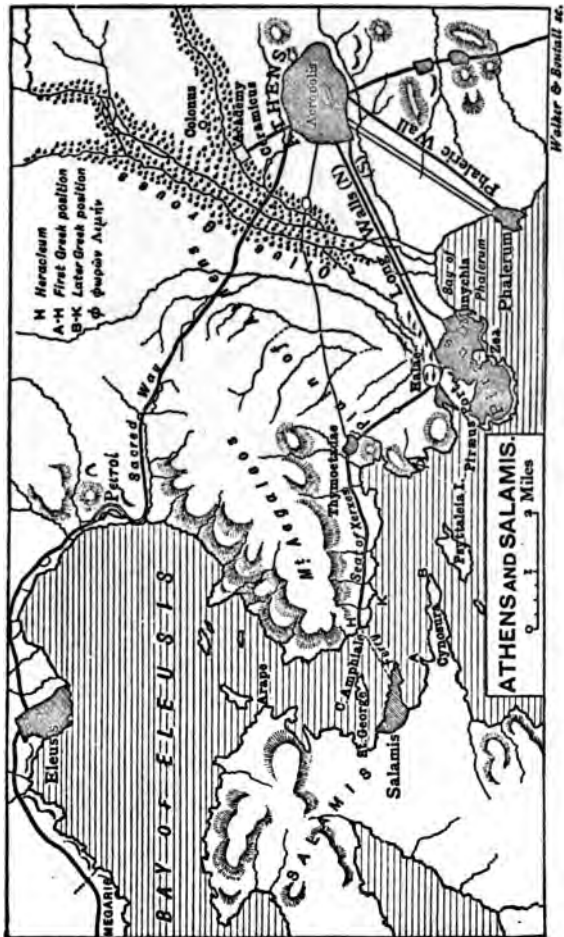
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PLUTARCH'S
LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES
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PLUTARCH'S
LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES

WITH INTRODUCTION
CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES
INDICES AND MAP

BY

HUBERT ASHTON HOLDEN LL.D.

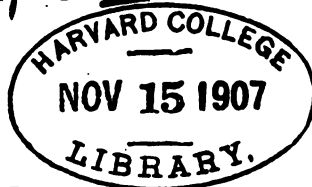
THIRD EDITION
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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

THE original edition of this little book has been so much altered and amplified that the present may be almost regarded as a new publication. When a third Edition was called for in the course of last autumn, it was my wish that some necessary corrections should be made in the stereotyped plates of the first, so that the book might be as free from errors as the printer *spatiis inclusus iniquis* could make it. The decision of my Publishers, however, to reprint the volume from beginning to end left me at liberty to give it the benefit of a thorough revision, and I have carried the *limas labor* or rather *pruritus corrigendi* to the extent of rewriting most of the Commentary. The outcome has, I hope, been a volume of more scholarlike form and substance.

The critical notes, instead of being relegated to an Appendix, where they are apt *διαφεύγειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας*, have been placed at the foot of the *Text*.

The Text itself has been very little altered. In the two former editions, it was based on the best of the Paris MSS (F^a); in the present, it is based upon an older representative (S) of the same family, which was collated for the Sintenis-Fuhr edition.

The Introduction remains nearly the same as before; Parts III and IV are, to some extent, an adaptation from the *Einleitung* of Fr. Blass, whose edition has otherwise been of great service to me. It was my intention to have added some observations on Plutarch's style and diction, but the limits of time and space have prevented me from carrying it out.

I cannot lay down my pen without adding my testimony, in confirmation of that of Prof. Tyrrell, concerning the singular merits of Messrs. R. & R. Clark's reader. His unfailing care and unusual accuracy have spared me much labour at a time when I was suffering from prolonged illness.

ATHENAEUM CLUB,
LONDON, S. W., February 24, 1892.

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ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαίωτατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν
ἀηλῶσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἑτέρογ
ἄξιος θαυμάσαι· οἰκεία γὰρ ζυγέσει καὶ οὔτε προμαθῶν
ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδέεν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθῶν τῶν τε παραχρήμα
δι' ἐλαχίστης βοῦλης κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελ-
λόντων ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος
εἰκαστής· καὶ δὲ μὲν μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι
οἶός τε, ὧν δ' ἄπειρος εἶη κρίναι ἰκανῶς οὐκ ἀπὴλ-
λακτο· τό τε δμεινον ἢ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί ἐτι
προεώρα μάλιστα· καὶ τὸ ζύμπαν εἶπεῖν, φύσεως
μὲν ἀγνάμει μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι κράτιστος δὴ οὔτος
αὐτος χεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο.

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INTRODUCTION

I *Life of Plutarch*

NOTHING is known of the personal history of Plutarch but what may be gathered from various notices scattered through his own writings.¹ He was born between A.D. 46 and A.D. 51 at Chaeronea in north-west Boeotia, a town small and insignificant, but rich in historical memories. It was one of the five cities in the famous plain, called by his favourite hero Epaminondas 'the dancing-plot of Ares,'² at the time when the two great battles³ which were

¹ Eunapius *Vit. Soph.* prooem. ὁ θεσπέσιος Πλούταρχος τῶν τε ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ ἀναγράφει τοῖς βιβλίοις ἐνδισπαρμένους καὶ τὸν τοῦ διδασκάλου (Ἀμμωνίου) . . . τὸ ἴδιον καὶ τὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν βιβλίων κατέσκειρεν, ὥστε, εἰ τις ἀξυδορκοῖη περὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἀνιχνεύοι κατὰ τὸ προσπίπτον καὶ φαινόμενον καὶ σωφρόνως τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀναλέγοιτο, δύνασθαι τὰ πλείστα τῶν βεβιωμένων αὐτοῖς εἶδέναι. Cp. M. Octave Gréard *De la morale de Plutarque* ed. 3 Paris 1880:—Nul écrivain, grec ou latin, n'a fait pour lui ce qu'il avait fait pour tant d'autres; le Biographe de l'antiquité n'a pas de biographie.

² Marc. c. 21, § "Ἀρεως ἑρχήστρα". Cp. R. Volkmann *Leben, Schriften und Philosophie des Plutarch von Chaeronea* Berlin 1873 p. 16.

³ That in B.C. 338 when Philip of Macedon defeated the united forces of the Athenians and Boeotians—a day fatal to the liberties of Greece (Strabo x 2, 37); and that in B.C. 86 when Sulla defeated the army of Mithridates (*Sull.* c. 19).

named after it were as yet not fought. Here his family had been settled for many years, and was of good standing and local repute. He speaks incidentally of his great-grandfather (*πρόπαππος*) Nicarchus recording an incident of the struggle between Antony and Octavius,⁴ and makes constant mention of Lamprias, his grandfather, as taking part in the 'Table talk' (*συμπουσιακά προβλήματα*), which occupies so considerable a portion of his miscellaneous writings;⁵ and of his father, who also was a man of cultivation and could occasionally take part in the discourses on various topics recorded by his son. He had two brothers, Lamprias⁶ and Timon.⁷ He married, it is not known at what period of his life, Timoxena, daughter of Alexion, by whom he had four sons and one daughter. The eldest and fourth sons died young.⁸ To the two survivors, Autobulus and Plutarchus, he dedicated his Treatise 'Concerning the procreation of the soul as discoursed in the *Timaeus* of Plato' (*περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας*). The only daughter, named

⁴ *Anton.* c. 68, 3.

⁵ e.g. I 5, 5 ἢ δὲ Λαμπρίας, ὁ ἡμέτερος πάππος, ἐν τῷ πίνειν εὐπεισιώτατος αὐτῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ λογιώτατος. Cp. IV 5 where he takes part in a discourse on the reasons why the Jews abstain from pork; also I 2, 2, v 2, 6, and *Anth.* c. 28, 2 where he repeats a story told him by the physician Philotas of Amphissa, in illustration of the luxuriousness of Antony's life at Alexandria.

⁶ *Symp.* I 2, 5; II 2, 1; VIII 6, 5; IX 5, 1.

⁷ *Symp.* I 2; II 5. Plutarch gives a touching record of his fraternal affection *Mor.* 487 E:—ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὅτι πολλῶν ἀξίων χάριτος παρὰ τῆς τύχης γεγονόνων, ἡ Τιμῶνος εἶναια τάδελοιφού προς ἀπαντα τάλλα καὶ γέγονε καὶ ἔστιν, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ἐπιτετυχηκότων ἡμῶν, ἥκιστα δ' οἱ συνήθεοις ὑμεῖς. Volkmann seeks to identify this brother with the Timon mentioned in a letter of Pliny (I 5, 5).

⁸ *Mor.* 609 D.

Timoxena after her mother, died when she was but two years old during her father's temporary absence. It was on this occasion that the affectionate and sensible letter of consolation (*παραμυθητικός πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα*)⁹ was addressed by Plutarch to his wife, 'showing him' as has been said 'in a very tender and attractive light as a husband and father, and affording us glimpses of a family life, the existence of which we are too apt to forget when taking account of the moral condition of the ancient heathen world.'¹⁰

Plutarch commenced his studies, when he was about 16 years old, at Athens, under the direction of Ammonius,¹¹ the syncretist philosopher, with a fellow-student named Themistocles, a descendant of the hero of Salamis.¹² He speaks of his having been at Alexandria,¹³ among other places, but it was his visit to Italy and Rome which exercised the greatest influence on his after-life. He makes a general reference to it in his *Life of Demosthenes*,¹⁴ where—after pleading the necessity that an author,

⁹ *Mor.* 608 A-612 B.

¹⁰ Archbp. Trench *Five Lectures on Plutarch* p. 32, who compares two striking passages, *Erotic.* c. 24 and *Præc. coniug.* c. 34. Cp. Volkmann *l.c.* p. 29.

¹¹ Ammonius is spoken of as his *καθηγητής* *Mor.* 70 E, a more honourable term than *διδάσκαλος*. It appears from *Mor.* 720 D that he was three times chief magistrate (*στρατηγός*) at Athens. When Nero was travelling in Greece A.D. 66, he acted as his *ἐξηγητής* over the temple buildings at Delphi.

¹² *Them.* c. 32, 4. Cp. *Mor.* 626 E.

¹³ *Mor.* 678 C *ἐν ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς ἃς ἐποιεῖτο τῶν φίλων ἑκάστες ἐστῶν ἡμᾶς ἤκουτας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας.*

¹⁴ c. 2, *ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰν μὲν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν, καὶ ὡς μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται φιλοχωροῦντες, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διατριβαῖς οὐ σχολῆς ὁδοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διδασκαλίαν ὑπὸ χρεῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πλησιαζόντων ὁπότε καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἠξάμεθα Ῥωμαϊκοῖς συντάγμασιν ἐπιτηχθέντων.*

who has undertaken to compile a history of some foreign country from materials scattered in different places, should be a resident in some historically famous, cultivated and populous town, where he can have unlimited use of books of all kinds, and where he can also pick up trustworthy information on such particulars as rest on popular tradition—he says of himself:—‘As to myself, I live in a small town and am fond of staying in it, that it may not be the smaller for the absence of a single inhabitant. But when I was in Rome and during my stay in different parts of Italy, I found my time so taken up with the public commissions with which I was charged and with the number of those who flocked to me for instruction, that I had not the leisure to study the Latin language. Consequently, it was not until late and at an advanced period of my life that I began to read works written in Latin.’ Plutarch then proceeds to explain that it was not from words that he learned to discover things, but rather words from familiar things. He professes himself unable to appreciate the beauty, fluency and precision of the Latin language, because to do so would require more pains and practice than he had time for. The fact of his being but an indifferent Latin scholar is pretty evident from the absurd mistakes he makes in the construction, meaning and derivation of words.¹⁵ As to his *χρείαι πολιτικάί*, it is probable that during his stay at Rome he was representative of his native town.¹⁶

¹⁵ Several instances will be found in my Introduction to *Life of Nicias* p. xxi note 15. See also Sickinger *De linguae latinae apud Plutarchum reliquiis*, Freib. Diss. 1883.

¹⁶ Gréard l.c. p. 32:—‘Tout le temps, qu’il demeura en Italie, il fut, en quelque sorte, le chargé d’affaires de sa ville natale.’

One limit for the date of his visit is given in the Treatise 'On the skill of animals,'¹⁷ where in recording an instance of wonderful sagacity in a dog, which he had himself witnessed in the theatre of Marcellus at Rome, Plutarch expressly mentions the presence of the old Emperor Vespasian (*παρὴν γὰρ ὁ γέρον Οἰσ-
πασιανὸς ἐν τῷ Μαρκέλλου θεάτρῳ*). This must have been before the year A.D. 79, in which Vespasian died. Again he relates casually in his *De curiositate*,¹⁸ how on one occasion, when he was lecturing, Arulenus Rusticus, who was put to death A.D. 94 by the Emperor Domitian, was amongst his audience. A passage in the *Symposiaci*¹⁹ seems to show that Plutarch paid more than one visit to Rome, Σύλλας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικομένη μοι διὰ χρόνον τὸ ἵποδεκτικόν, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, καταγγέλλας δείπνον ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐταίρων παρέλαβεν οὐ πολλοὺς κτλ. At that time he was accompanied by his compatriot Philinus. Now we know from the *Life of Poplicola*²⁰ that Plutarch was again in Greece and at Athens before A.D. 82, the year when the Capitol, which had been burnt down at the death of Vespasian, was restored by Domitian, for he saw there the columns of Pentelican marble destined for that building, which, he continues, when he saw them subsequently at Rome, had been again cut and polished, and lost thereby some of their original symmetry, being too slender. Plutarch therefore must have been at Rome after A.D. 82.

¹⁷ c. 19, *Mor.* 974 A.

¹⁸ c. 15, *Mor.* 522 E.

¹⁹ VIII 7, 1, *Mor.* 727 C.

²⁰ c. 15, 3 οἱ δὲ κίονες ἐκ τοῦ Πεντελήσιον ἐτμήθησαν λίθου κάλλιστα τῷ πάχει πρὸς τὸ μήκος ἔχοντες· εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἀθήνησιν. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πληγέντες αἰδοῖς καὶ ἀναξυθίνεσι οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔσχον γλαφυρίας, ὅσον ἀπώλεσαν συμμετρίας <καὶ> τοῦ καλοῦ δίδεσθαι καὶ λαγαροὶ φανέντες.

We find many other notices also of his presence at Rome scattered throughout his writings, as when he refers to various innovations,²¹ or speaks of buildings and localities, which he has seen, such as the sacred island of the Tiber,²² the temple of Vica Pota,²³ the bronze statue of Titus Quintus Flamininus, opposite the Circus, with the Greek inscription on it,²⁴ or the market of monstrosities,²⁵ and the ἀποφράδες πύλαι.²⁶ In the *Life of Numa* he states that he had himself heard many Romans narrate how in obedience to an oracle bidding the Romans set up in their own city a statue of the wisest and the bravest of the Greeks, they had erected in the Forum two bronze statues, one of Alcibiades, the other of Pythagoras.²⁷

At Rome Plutarch became acquainted with many eminent men—philosophers, poets, grammarians, historians, musicians, physicians—and also renewed his acquaintance with several whom he had known before in Greece, as with Favorinus of Arles,²⁸ the renowned rhetorician and eclectic philosopher, to whom he dedicated his Treatise 'On the principle of cold' (περὶ τοῦ πρώτου ψυχροῦ), and with Gaius

²¹ *Marcell.* c. 3, 4.

²² *Poplic.* c. 8, 3.

²³ *Poplic.* c. 10, 4 ἱερὸν Οὐκάς πόντας ὀνομαζόμενον.

²⁴ *Flamin.* c. 1, 1.

²⁵ *Mor.* 520 σ περὶ τῶν τεράτων ἀγορὰν ἀναστρέφονται, τοὺς ἀκροατοὺς καὶ τοὺς διαλέκτορας καὶ τοὺς τριφθάλμους καὶ τοὺς στρουθοκεφάλους καταμανθάνοντες.

²⁶ *Mor.* 518 β.

²⁷ c. 8, 10 αὐτοὶ δ' ἀκηκόαμεν πολλῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διεξιόντων ὅτι χρησιμὸν ποτε Ῥωμαίοις γενομένου τὸν φρονιμώτατον καὶ τὸν ἀνδρειώτατον Ἑλλήνων ἰδρύσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐστήσαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς δύο, τῆν μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδου τῆν δὲ Πυθαγόρου.

²⁸ *Cp. Aul. Gell. Noct. Att.* II 22, 27; XII 1, 24. A list of his works is given by J. L. Marks *Diss. de Favorini Arclatensis vita, studiis, scriptis*, Traiecti ad Rhenum, Kemink & Son, 1853.

Sossius Senecio, one of Pliny's correspondents,²⁹ who became an intimate friend and to whom he dedicates three of his Parallel Lives.³⁰ It was at his suggestion also that he compiled his 'Records of Table-talk' (*συμποσιακά*) held at entertainments in which he was himself the central figure among a circle of scholars or gentlemen devoted to literature and philosophy at Rome and elsewhere.³¹ Now we know from the *Fasti* that Sossius was four times consul under Trajan, viz. consul *suffectus* in A.D. 98 and consul *ordinarius* in A.D. 99, 102, 107. It is not quite clear, however, whether Plutarch made his acquaintance first at Rome or in Greece, where it is plain, from references in the *Symposiaca*, that Sossius must have stayed some considerable time.³²

Another man of consular rank, a scholar and archaeologist,³³ was also a friend of Plutarch's, viz. Mestrius Florus. In his company he travelled through Gallia Cisalpina, where the family of Mestrius was well known, and visited the battlefield of Bedriacum,³⁴

²⁹ *Ep.* i 13.

³⁰ Those of *Thescus—Romulus; Demosthenes—Cicero; Dion—Brutus*: also the Treatise *de profectibus in virtute*.

³¹ *Proem.* § 4 *ψήθης τε δειν ἡμᾶς τῶν σκοράδην πολλάκις ἐν τε 'Ρώμῃ μὲθ' ὑμῶν καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, παρούσης ἅμα τραπέζης καὶ κόδικος, φιλολογηθέντων συναγαγεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.*

³² From ii 1, 1 it is plain that Plutarch was once at Patrae with him; and in v 1, 1 he speaks of their being in each other's company at Athens. Again we are told in iv 3, 1 that Sossius came from Chaeronea to be present at the marriage feast of Plutarch's son Autobulus.

³³ *Φιλαρχαῖος Symp.* vii 4, 1: cp. viii 2, 2, *Suet. Vesp.* c. 22.

³⁴ *Οἰθ.* c. 14, 1 *ἡμολ δὲ ὑστερον ὀδεύοντι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου Μένστριος Φλώρος, ἀπὴρ ὑπατικός τῶν τότε μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἄλλ' ἀνάγκη μετὰ τοῦ Ὀθωνος γενομένου, νεῶν ὅσα παλαιὸν ἐπιδείξας διηγείτο μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπελθὼν ἰδεῖν νεκρῶν σῶρων τηλικούτων, ὥστε τοὺς ἐπιταλῆς ('on the top') ἀπτεσθαι τῶν ἀετῶν (i.e. 'the pediments')*.

Brixellum,³⁵ Ravenna where he saw the marble statue of Gaius Marius.³⁶

Fundanus, another friend, who, with Sextius Sulla of Carthage, is the interlocutor in the dialogue about 'the cure of anger' (*ἀοργησία*)—a very noble and humane character, and the counterpart of Plutarch himself in his domestic life³⁷—is probably to be identified with Minucius Fundanus, a distinguished friend of Pliny the younger.³⁸ A common friend of Sextius Sulla, Fundanus and Plutarch was Paccius, to whom the Treatise 'Of tranquillity of mind' (*περὶ εὐθυμίας*)³⁹ is dedicated, a distinguished forensic speaker.

Plutarch's occupation during his residence at Rome was akin to that of the ancient *grammaticus*, whom we should describe as lecturer or private tutor,⁴⁰ ready to give advice to any one consulting him on questions of practical morality, as a sort of physician of the soul, able to make a diagnosis of a diseased moral condition, one of 'the domestic chaplains of heathendom,' as Bishop Lightfoot calls them, ready to help all who sought his assistance as their moral director and adviser. He had cultivated,

³⁵ *Oik.* c. 18, 1 εἶδον δὲ ἐν Βριξίλλῳ γενόμενος καὶ μῆμα μέτριον καὶ τῆν ἐπιγραφὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν, εἰ μεταφρασθεῖη, 'Δηλώσει (δαίμοσι, *dis manibus* Lobeck) Μάρκου Ὀθωνος.'

³⁶ *Mar.* c. 2 1 τῆς δ' ὄψεως τῆς Μαρίου λιθίνῃ εἰκόνι κειμένην ἐν Ραβέννῃ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐθεώμηθα πᾶν τῇ λεγομένῃ περὶ τὸ ἦθος στρυφόντη καὶ πικρῶν πρέπουσαν.

³⁷ Volkmann *l.c.* p. 41.

³⁸ See his three Epistles I 9, IV 15 and VI 6. There is also a fourth letter (V 6) concerning the death of his young daughter in which Pliny speaks of his being *cruditus et sapiens, ut qui se ab ineunte aetate altioribus studiis artibusque dederit.*

³⁹ *Mor.* 464 F.

⁴⁰ *Dem.* c. 2, 1 where he speaks of his being prevented from learning much of the Latin language ὡπὸ τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πλεγμαζόντων. See note 14.

in a greater or less degree, the three branches of study recognized by the ancients, viz. philosophy, rhetoric and mathematics.⁴¹ But his attention was mainly given to moral and religious speculations, in all of which he took the most profound interest; the one aim and end of his life and writings being the illumination of the intellect by the force of morals. Thus Poetry, in his judgment, was mischievous, if it had not a direct moral tendency; his rhetorical precepts and his rules of historical criticism are alike based upon morals. Does he find himself in presence of some physical phenomenon,⁴² or confronted by a question of erudition, the solution is to be found only by recurring to moral principles. Even his rules for the preservation of health are for the most part observations of moral hygiene. If he attacks the Stoics and Epicureans, it is to vindicate Providence and the moral government of the world against their tenets. Politics, moreover, are in his view nothing but the most perfect exercise of moral philosophy applied to the amelioration of society.⁴³

Thus we see why, from the first, his miscellaneous essays on all sorts of topics were comprised under the common title of *Moral Works*. His *Parallel Lives* are but the complement of his *Moral Essays*; his leading purpose in writing them was not, as will be seen hereafter, historical but ethical: history is only a school of manners for him; what he looks for in

⁴¹ *Symp.* IX 14, 3, 3 ἀπόσας τὰς διὰ λόγου περαιωμένας ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας οἱ παλαιοὶ καταμαθόντες ἐν τρισὶ γένεσιν οὖσας τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ τῷ ῥητορικῷ καὶ τῷ μαθηματικῷ κτλ.

⁴² *Nic.* c. 28.

⁴³ *Mor.* 775 F περὶ τοῦ ὅτι μάλιστα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δεῖ τὸν φιλόσοφον διαλέγεσθαι, 779 D πρὸς ἡγεμόνα ἀπαιδευτὸν.

the example of great men is some lesson or other.⁴⁴ 'Vivid moral portraiture' says Archbishop Trench 'is what he aimed at, and this is what he achieved.'⁴⁵ And this is the secret of his vast popularity, which has stood the test of so many ages from the 4th century, when he could be spoken of as *ὁ θεϊώτατος, ὁ θεαπέσιος, ἡ φιλοσοφίας ἀπάσης ἀφροδίτη καὶ λύρα*,⁴⁶ or as *ὁ τῆς ἐπιστήμης πλούτος*,⁴⁷ until the period of the Renaissance. Since the revival of classical literature his admirers have been very numerous. Rabelais, Montaigne⁴⁸ who was a great imitator of Plutarch and confesses that he can hardly do without him, Shakespeare, Scaliger,⁴⁹ in the 16th century pay him signal homage; he is, to use Gréard's words, 'le bréviaire du siècle, sa lumière, sa conscience.'⁵⁰ His writings have proved a rich storehouse from which Christian writers in all ages have largely and freely drawn. Basil, the great bishop of Cappadocia, derived many a hint from the heathen moralist. Bishop Jeremy Taylor is constantly referring or alluding to his writings; Neander owned his great obligation to the Treatise on 'The delays in the divine justice' at a critical period of his life. In the 18th century we find Montesquieu⁵¹ borrowing his definition of law from him; Rollin gives an almost literal trans-

⁴⁴ Heeren *de fontibus et auctoritate vitarum parallelarum Plutarchi Commentatio prima*, prooem. p. 5 etc., Trench l.c. p. 90.

⁴⁵ l.c. p. 43.

⁴⁶ Eunapius *de vitis sophistarum*, prooem. p. 3 ed. Boissonade.

⁴⁷ Theophylact Sim. *Q.P.* p. 22.

⁴⁸ *Essais* II 4: c'est nostre bréviaire.

⁴⁹ *Plutarchus totius sapientiae ocellus*, Scaligerana, Colon. 1695 p. 317.

⁵⁰ l.c. *Introd.* p. xx.

⁵¹ *Esprit des lois* I 1.

lation of his *Lives* in his historical descriptions. Rousseau⁵³ reckons him among the few authors that he read in his old age, 'à cause du profit qu'il y trouve.' 'He is perhaps' says La Harpe 'l'esprit le plus naturellement moral, qui ait existé.'⁵³ 'He is' according to Joubert 'the Herodotus of philosophy in his *Moral Works*': and the same writer regards his *Parallel Lives* 'comme un des plus précieux monuments que l'antiquité nous ait légués. La sagesse antique est là tout entière.' Similarly Koraës pref. p. 73: ἀμφιβάλλω ἂν εὐρίσκειται κἀνὲν ἄλλο σύγγραμμα παρὰ τοῦ Πλουτάρχου τὰ συγγράμματα πλουσιώτερον ἀπὸ βιωφελῆ παραδείγματα καὶ παραγγέλματα. 'He stands before us' says a writer in the *Journal of Education*⁵⁴ 'as the legate, the ambassador and the orator on behalf of those institutions, whereby the old-time men were rendered wise and virtuous.'

We can readily imagine what a profound impression must have been made upon Plutarch by the great City, which was the heart and centre of the world's activity, with its glorious name and associations,⁵⁵ its beautiful and magnificent sights, representing all the grandeur and splendour of the earth, so that it might well be named οἰκουμένης ἐπιτομή, not so much from isolated expressions,⁵⁶ as from his whole method of speaking of the Roman power and the deep interest which he manifested in Roman history at a later period of his life. He

⁵³ *Les rêveries du promeneur solitaire*, 4^{me} Promenade, apud Koraës Plutarch *Praef.* p. 79.

⁵³ *Lycée* livre III ch. 11 sect. 2.

⁵⁴ Vol. II p. 114.

⁵⁵ *Rom.* c. 1, 1 τὸ μέγα τῆς Ῥώμης ὄνομα καὶ δόξη διὰ πάντων πεχωρηθεῖ.

⁵⁶ *Such as ἡ καλὴ Ῥώμη*, as he calls it *Mor.* 963 c.

regarded the Roman empire as a special creation of Providence⁵⁷ for helping men to lasting peace and undisturbed possession of their property after a long and dreary period of warfare.

From the noise and bustle of Rome—a fitter residence for him because of the opportunities it afforded of intercourse with great men and the ampler supply of books—he returned to the modest and quiet place of his birth, where he spent the remaining years of his tranquil life, ‘being loth’ as he says ‘to make the small town yet smaller by the absence of even one inhabitant.’⁵⁸ He made a point of undertaking its humblest offices at first⁵⁹—entertaining as he did the strong conviction that the exercise of public functions was the duty and the proper education of Man. Subsequently he became its ἀρχων ἐπώνυμος for more than one year,⁶⁰ and was also nominated by his fellow-townsmen to the office of Boeotarch. He was likewise chosen to officiate as priest of Apollo at Delphi⁶¹—a still higher testimony to the worth of his character, and he was an important personage at many of the Pythian games.⁶² But his public duties did not hinder him from making frequent excursions

⁵⁷ *Rom.* c. 8, 7 οὐκ ἂν ἐνταῦθα προΐβη δυνάμειος (τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα), μὴ θέλων τινα ἀρχὴν λαβόντα καὶ μηδὲν μέγα μηδὲ παράδοξον ἔχουσαν. Cp. *Pomp.* c. 75. 3, *Mor.* 316 c–326 c (*de fortuna Romanorum*).

⁵⁸ *Dem.* c. 2, 2 ἡμεῖς μικρὰν οἰκούντες πόλιν καὶ, ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γίνηται, φιλοχερούμεντες. See above note 14.

⁵⁹ *Mor.* 811 A (*Praec. ger. reip.* cc. 15, 17).

⁶⁰ *Mor.* 643 A (*Symp.* II 10, 1, 1), 694 A (VI 8, 1, 2).

⁶¹ *Mor.* 700 F (*Symp.* VII 2, 2, 1) where he speaks of Euthydemus as his colleague in the priesthood (συμιερέως). Hertzberg (*Gesch. Griechenl. unter d. Herrschaft d. Römer*, Th. II p. 166) thinks that he held the office at Chaeronea.

⁶² *Mor.* 792 F.

from Chaeronea; for it is clear from allusions in his *Lives* that he was familiar with all the principal localities, not to say the nooks and corners of Greece; he delights to relate his personal reminiscences and all he has seen of the memorials and records of her past splendour.⁶³

In the retirement of a happy domestic life Plutarch enjoyed abundant leisure for the pursuit of his favourite literary and moral studies. But, unlike other philosophers, he did not allow these to absorb his whole attention, to the neglect of other important claims on his time. His useful virtues were actively employed for the good of others. Besides taking his full share in the civil and religious duties of his station, he disbursed the stores of his learning liberally, diffusing knowledge in an age which stood greatly in need of education. His profound sympathy with the young made the task of their spiritual direction a pleasant one: his lecture-room was open to those who, longing to order their lives according to some higher rule in a corrupt age, sought special help in private and familiar intercourse. He gave lectures on philosophical and other subjects, expounding at one time some writing of Plato, at another answering offhand the various questions (*προβλήματα*) put to him, or warning his hearers against the manifold corrupt practices and principles of the time. Many of these lectures were afterwards enlarged by him and published as separate Treatises,⁶⁴

⁶³ See especially *Phoc.* c. 18, 5; c. 22, 1, *Arist.* c. 1, 2; c. 19, 21; c. 27, 1, *Per.* c. 13, 2 ff., *Nic.* c. 3, 3, *Dem.* c. 7, 3; c. 31, 1, *Them.* c. 22, 1, *Alex.* c. 69, 4, *Agas.* c. 19, 5; c. 35, 1, *Sol.* c. 25, 1, *Lyc.* c. 18, 1.

⁶⁴ To this category belong the treatises *de audiendis poetis*, and *de audiendo*; also the *ὕμνῶν παραγγέλματα*, *de sanitate praecipua*.

and it is plain that they were no mere showy declamations, like those of ordinary sophists, but 'earnest efforts, as of a spiritual physician, to heal the hurts of men's souls.'⁶⁵

Plutarch must have been an extensive reader, and had access to a select library, which contained a good many treasures, but at Chaeronea he felt the want of a large library of reference,⁶⁶ so necessary to a literary man. His wont at Rome, where he commanded an ample store of books, had been to make extracts from the more eminent writers in Biography, History or Philosophy for his pupils or audience, which he afterwards employed in the composition of his miscellaneous works; most of which were originally written or added to on some particular occasion, some festive event in the circle of his acquaintance or at the particular request of some friend.⁶⁷ His first series of biographies also was written at the instance of others, as appears from a passage in his Introduction to the *Life of Timoleon*, which shows us at the same time incidentally how much Plutarch valued them as a means of improving and elevating his own character.

As to the chronological order of his works we are left very much in the dark. Most of them must have been written in his riper years, after the reign of Domitian. For the date of his *Biographies*, there is an important passage in that of *Sulla* c. 21, 4, where, after describing the battle of Orchomenus

⁶⁵ Trench *l.c.* p. 107.

⁶⁶ *Dem.* c. 2, *Mor.* 384 D (*de EI ap. Delph.* c. 1).

⁶⁷ 'He was as indefatigable a gleaner of literary and ethical curiosities as Southey himself: and could we have his Common-place Book, it might be far more valuable and interesting than the very unequal collection of Photius.' *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1869 p. 73.

(B.C. 85), he says that many relics of the dead were found in the neighbouring marshes—*σχεδὸν ἐτῶν διακοσίων ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης διαγεγονότων*. From which it follows that Plutarch must have composed this *Life* at least not much before A.D. 115, consequently at the close of Trajan's reign. He does not appear to have lived long after A.D. 120. For he speaks in the *Life of Solon* c. 32, 2 of the Olympieion at Athens as unfinished (*ἀτελής*), which we know that Hadrian completed some time between A.D. 125 and A.D. 130.

There is sufficient evidence that Plutarch's works were much read and used soon after his death. Aelius Aristides,⁶⁸ the celebrated rhetorician of the 2d century, and Polyænus, author of the *στρατηγήματα*, borrowed largely from him. He is quoted by Aulus Gellius and Galen⁶⁹ and referred to by Tatian the Christian apologist in his *λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας*. In the 3d century we find Athenæus constantly quoting or making tacit reference to him, also Porphyrius the neo-Platonist, and Eunapius.⁷⁰ Stobæus made extracts of all kinds from his works, including some that are lost. Macrobius in his *Saturnalia* has made constant use of his 'Table talk.' In the 6th century he was carefully read by Sopater the younger of Apamea, the eighth and twelfth books of whose *ἐκλογαὶ διάφοροι* contained extracts from his writings, among others from the lost *Lives* of Crates, Daiphantus, Pindar, Epaminondas: also from his philosophical treatise *περὶ φύσεως καὶ πόνων*, and from another *περὶ ὀργῆς*, a fragment of which is

⁶⁸ v. Sintenis ad Plut. *Per. Excurs.* 3 p. 302 ff. ed. Lips. 1835.

⁶⁹ *de dogmate Platonis et Hippocratis.*

⁷⁰ See above note 46.

found in the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus. It is remarkable that Sopater made extracts from the spurious works also, such as that 'On rivers' and 'The apophthegms of Kings and Generals.' Ecclesiastical writers, as Clement of Alexandria and even Basil, were not ashamed to adorn themselves with his feathers—an easy proceeding which proved too tempting for compilers like Zonaras and Michael Psellus not to imitate.

II *The Parallel Lives of Plutarch*

The collection known as *The Parallel Lives*, which is a complement to the other half of Plutarch's writings entitled *The Morals*—the one exhibiting to us from ideal points of view what the ancients had aimed at and accomplished in the world of action, the other, what in like manner it had aimed at and accomplished in the world of thought—is not what its author left behind him, either in form or arrangement. The *Lives* were originally put forth in a series of Books (*βιβλία*), each containing the biography of a pair (*συγγία*)—one Greek and one Roman hero—and followed by a comparison (*σύγκρισις*).⁷¹ Some of these *βιβλία* have been lost, as that containing the *Lives* of Epaminondas—Scipio (?), which appears to have been the first he wrote, also that containing the *Lives* of Metellus and some parallel Greek.

The 46 extant *Lives* are contained in 22 *βιβλία*—

⁷¹ The *σύγκρισις* is wanting in the *Lives* of Phocion—Cato minor; Themistocles—Camillus; Pyrrhus—Marius; Alexander—Caesar.

those of Agis—Cleomenes—Gracchi, a double pair, being reckoned as one. They are of special value to us for the knowledge of Greek and Roman Antiquity, in fact, for many periods the only extant source of information, and they are still regarded as the legacy of a highly-cultivated man, a thorough-going advocate of truth and morality. 'It is a mistake to suppose' says F. A. Paley 'that Plutarch was content with writing merely amusing or popular biographies: the *Lives* are works of great learning and research, and they must for this very reason, as well as from their considerable length, have taken many years in their compilation.' His original idea in writing them was simply to set a distinguished Greek—warrior, statesman, orator or legislator—side by side with some noted Roman, celebrated for the same qualities. In his age, when, though Rome held the supremacy, Greece was looked up to as the source of wisdom and art, such a comparison between the greatest men of both nations had a special propriety and significance and was more than a mere literary exercise. It was a patriotic theme, to show the superiority of this or that race; and Plutarch, in some sense, belonged to both.

We have the interesting testimony of the Biographer himself that the *Lives* were not written by him on the same model. Those of the First Series, which were composed in deference to the wishes of some of his friends, partake more of an historical than an ethical character. To this Series belong the following pairs, which, as may be gathered from internal evidence, appeared in the following order⁷³ approximately:—

⁷³ See C. T. Michaelis *de ordine vitarum parallelarum Plutarci* p. 20 ff., where the evidence is stated very clearly. The

1. Epaminondas—Scipio (†) (not extant)
2. Sertorius—Eumenes
3. Cimon—Lucullus
4. Lysander—Sulla
5. Demosthenes—Cicero
6. Agis—Cleomenes—Gracchi
7. Pelopidas—Marcellus
8. Phocion—Cato minor
9. Aristides—Cato maior

(It will be observed that No. 2 is the only pair in which the Roman takes precedence of the Greek; the others are in chronological sequence.)

The Second Series—which was not written at the suggestion of friends but for his own satisfaction and improvement (as he himself records in the Proem to the *Life of Timoleon*), and partook of a more distinctly ethical character⁷³—comprised the following:

10. Pericles—Fabius Maximus⁷⁴
11. Nicias—Crassus
12. Dion—Brutus⁷⁵
13. Timoleon—Aemilius Paulus
14. Philopoemen—Titus Flamininus
15. Themistocles—Camillus
16. Alexander—Caesar
17. Agesilaus—Pompeius
18. Pyrrhus—Marius
19. Solon—Poplicola

Life of Epaminondas is quoted in *Agesilaus* c. 28, 4; that of Scipio ma. in *Pyrrhus* c. 8, and that of Scipio mi. in *Ti. Gracch.* c. 21, 4 and *C. Gracch.* c. 10, 2. We have no authority, except the spurious catalogue of Lamprias, for coupling the *Life of Scipio* with that of Epaminondas.

⁷³ *Nic.* c. 2, 5 τὴν πρὸς καταβολὴν ἡθους καὶ τρόπου ιστορίαν.

⁷⁴ *Per.* c. 2, 3 ἔδοξεν οὖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἐνδιατρίψαι τῇ περὶ τοῦ βίου ἀναγραφῇ· καὶ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον δέκατον συντετάχμεν τῶν Περικλέους βίου καὶ τῶν Φαβίου Μαξίμου.

⁷⁵ *Dion* c. 2, 4 ἐν τούτῳ, δωδεκάτῃ τῶν παραλλήλων ὅτι βίου.

The lost *Life of Metellus*, which was promised in that of Marius (c. 29, 8), was probably written before those of Solon—Poplicola. After exhausting the great characters of Grecian and Roman history whose example was worthy of imitation, in 'his gallery of portraits,' it occurred to Plutarch that he might teach virtue in a different way by painting its opposite.⁷⁶ Hence he composed a Third Series of *Parallel Lives*: but it comprises only two, viz. those of Demetrius—Antonius and Alcibiades—Coriolanus.

It was not until after the completion of the above three Series that the Biographer seems to have turned his attention to prehistoric times and 'like a geographer delineating unknown countries' (to use his own expressive simile⁷⁷) to have commenced yet a Fourth Series of *Lives*, of which the only ones extant are those of Theseus—Romulus and Lycurgus—Numa, usually placed first of all. But the order in which the *Lives* are arranged in the MSS is purely arbitrary. The four extant *Lives* of Artoxerxes, Aratus, Galba and Otho, together with the lost *Lives* of Heracles, Aristomenes, Hesiod, Pindar, Daiphantus, Crates and others, were detached narratives and do not come under the same category. Those of Galba and Otho indeed are placed in most of the MSS and in editions prior to that of Stephanus (Henri Estienne) among the *Morals*.

We are not left to conjecture what Plutarch's aim and purpose were in the composition of the Second Series of *Lives*, which, as has been already stated, was a continuation of those written at the instance of others. In the Introduction to the *Life of Alexander* he expressly says:—'I am not a writer of

⁷⁶ *Demetr.* c. 1, 4.

⁷⁷ *Theo.* c. 1, 1.

histories but of biographies. My readers therefore must excuse me if I do not describe in minute detail, but only briefly touch upon, the noblest and most famous events. For it is not the most conspicuous actions that of necessity exhibit a man's virtues or failings, but it often happens that some trifling incident, a word or a jest, gives a clearer insight into character, than battles with their slaughters of tens of thousands, and the greatest arrays of armies and sieges of cities. Accordingly, as painters produce a likeness by a representation of the countenance only and features, whereby the character is revealed, and pay least attention to the other parts of the body, so I must be allowed to study rather the indications of a man's character, and by means of these to portray the life of each, leaving to others the description of the grand events and struggles in which they were engaged.'

So again in the Proem to the *Life of Nicias*, while he takes the historian Timaeus to task for aspiring to emulate Thucydides by giving a full narrative of the events of the Sicilian campaign, and ridicules his feeble and senseless attempts at imitating such a great and unapproachable model, he professes his own immunity from such an error. He will not do more than make a cursory reference to the chief events so ably recorded by that historian and by Philistus, and, for the rest, endeavour to collect materials for his Biography from various other sources—the scattered remarks of writers not commonly known, ancient records and decrees—selecting such as would throw most light upon the character and disposition of his hero.

Herein lies the broad difference between Plutarch and such writers as Herodotus and Thucydides.

Their interest is for the doings and destinies of political communities, while they are comparatively indifferent to those of individuals—a fact easily accounted for from the circumstances of the age in which they lived, when the state was all in all and the individual entirely merged in it. But a change in this respect had set in as early as the following century, when it became the fashion to connect great events and achievements with the names of individuals; so that, while Marathon and Salamis were always described as victories of the Athenian people and not of Miltiades only and Themistocles, Timotheus is frequently spoken of as the conqueror of Corcyra, Chabrias of Naxos, and Iphicrates of the Lacedaemonians.⁷⁸ In Theopompus, for example, the historian of King Philip, we find greater prominence given to the characteristics of individuals and their actions more carefully described in detail: while in Plutarch—by whose time the Greeks as a nation were politically effaced, and all interest in their country extinct, when there was ‘Greece but living Greece no more’—the whole becomes absorbed in the individual, history in biography; personal character and the actions and motives of individuals are the objects of his interest and study. More or less of historical background he was obliged by the necessity of the case to give to his portraits, but always in subordination to the portrait itself: he is, in short, an historian only by accident, really and essentially

⁷⁸ Demosth. *Aristocr.* § 198 τῶν ἔργων τῶν τότε οὐδένος, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνεστέρησαν ἑαυτοῖς, οὐδ' ἔστιν οἶδεῖς ὅστις ἂν εἴποι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν Θεμιστοκλέους ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων, οἶδὲ τὴν Μαραθῶνι μάχην Μιλτιάδου, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως. νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὡς Κέρκυραν εἶλε Τιμόθεος καὶ τὴν μύραν κατέκοψεν Ἰφικράτης καὶ τὴν περὶ Νάξου ἐνικά ναυμαχίαν Χαβρίας. Cp. Aesch. c. *Ctesiph.* § 186 f.

a philosopher and moralist : and his *Biographies* take their tone from the spirit which animated the writer in his philosophical works, a proof of which is furnished by the Proem to the *Life of Pericles*, which is to the moral treatises what the example is to the rule.

III *Plutarch's Life of Themistocles*

To such an extent, then, a biography such as that of Themistocles offers an interesting addition to the chapters of Herodotus and Thucydides that relate to him. Plutarch does not profess to give his readers information concerning the main incidents of the Persian war or the building of the walls of Athens ; but presupposes a knowledge of these events from the great historians who preceded him ; the information which he affords is of a supplementary kind. If he does give a more or less detailed account of any event after Herodotus, the historian's clear and racy narrative is obscured by the biographer's omissions or distortions. On the other hand, the writings of the great historians would give us only an imperfect notion of the character of Themistocles : whereas Plutarch's story of his life presents us with a tolerably complete portrait of the man and his distinguishing characteristics. Interest in the personality of great men was, unfortunately, awakened too late among the Greek historians for them to be able to draw their knowledge of a man like Themistocles from direct sources : consequently, Plutarch had not anything at his disposal, in the works of the historians of the 4th and 3d centuries B.C., but a

mass of tradition, partly blurred and obscure, partly made up from originally fragmentary and incomplete notices. Historical criticism was not his strong point, and he was by no means the man to throw light upon the darkness; nor was he inclined to abandon a full and continuous narrative in favour of one more or less fragmentary and disconnected by the removal of the embellishing additions which served to complete it. Such a process would not have been generally in accordance with the received notions of the period, nor suited Plutarch's purpose as a writer of biography; for his object was not to ascertain historic truth in the interest of science, but to represent a picture of human excellence in the interest of ethical philosophy.

The story of Themistocles' adventures in Asia serves as a striking instance in point. Nowhere is a fuller and more richly-coloured and interesting picture presented by Plutarch than here; but nowhere one less historically true. The sum of what is clearly authenticated about them is given by Thucydides, and, though Plutarch was acquainted with and even quotes his account,⁷⁹ yet he disdained to reproduce it and chose rather to defer to the authority of an inferior writer like Phantias⁸⁰ of Eresus, one of Aristotle's pupils, who lived in the time of Alexander. Now, however well versed in historical literature Plutarch may have judged Phantias to be, he could not possibly have concealed from himself the fact that, where Phantias and Thucydides contradicted each other, the probability was, beyond all question, in favour of the latter being right. But the fact is, Thucydides makes his

⁷⁹ c. 27, 1.

⁸⁰ c. 13, 3.

hero die as prosaically as possible of natural causes ; and, if he does add that, according to some accounts, he poisoned himself, he spoils this story again by the motives which he assigns for the act, viz. that he felt himself unable to fulfil the engagements which he had made to the King of Persia. The narrative of Thucydides, compared with that of later writers, is for the most part as sober and simple as reality ; we cannot therefore be surprised at the preference shown by Plutarch. He says nothing about the report of his hero's dying of disease ; he accepts as true the motives assigned by Thucydides for the suicide, but improves upon them by the addition of a moral motive, which he believes to have been the really decisive one. Our own feeling, it is true, no less than Plutarch's, revolts at the idea of a hero, who by his incomparable genius and great achievements has excited our lively interest, being deterred from making war against his native land merely by some opportune illness or by his conviction of the impracticability of the attempt. Hence even modern historians differ in their judgment ; some, like Sintonis, in disregard of Thucydides' statement, consider the account of the suicide, with Plutarch's explanation of the motives which led to it, as historical ; others, as Ernst Curtius, while deferring to the authority of the great historian, attribute the illness to mental rather than physical causes, in fact to those very same causes which Plutarch himself assigns for his suicide. It is possible then to read between the lines of Thucydides, and not assume that the great historian thought and felt no more about the events and persons he depicts than he may expressly state in his grandly objective manner.

It must not, however, be supposed, from the above

remarks about Plutarch's choice between his several authorities, that he defied criticism altogether in his exclusive predilection for what was romantic. There was, for instance, a very touching and tragical narrative of the burial of Themistocles written by Phylarchus,⁸¹ the historian of the Spartan king Cleomenes III, which Plutarch rejects as unhistorical, precisely because it is tragical and touching. As a rule, he has none of that love of painting scenes of horror at the expense of historical truth, which is expressly censured by Polybius in the particular case of this historian, and by himself elsewhere⁸² in that of Duris of Samos, but he shows himself always sober and cautious and critical—that is, so far as a natural impulse, untutored and without searching study, can be. Method indeed and system he has none—as is shown by the predilection, which he openly avows in the passage already quoted from the *Life of Alexander*, for anecdotes and apophthegms. What he says there is quite correct:—that such small traits may be in the highest degree valuable for a knowledge of character, although, on the other hand, they are by no means the chief point to be considered, nor do they in themselves constitute greatness of character, such as to entitle the subject

⁸¹ See below p. xliv.

⁸² *Per.* c. 28, 1, 2 where in speaking of the conquest of Samos Plutarch adds: Δούρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος τοῖτοις ἐπιτραγοῦει, πολλὴν ὠμότητα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους κατηγορῶν ἦν οὕτε Θουκυδίδης ἰσθόρηκεν οὐτ' Ἐφορος οὐτ' Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀληθεύειν ἔοικεν, ὡς ἄρα τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας τῶν Σαμίων εἰς τὴν Μιλησίαν ἀγορὰν καταγαγὼν καὶ σωρίσι προσθήσας ἐφ' ἡμέρας δέκα, κακῶς ἤδη διακειμένους προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν, ζύλοις τὰς κεφαλὰς συγκόψαντας, εἶτα προβαλεῖν ἀκήδευτα τὰ σώματα. Δούρις μὲν οὖν οὐδ' ἔπου μὴδὲν αὐτῷ πρόσεστω ἴδιον πάθος εἰσθῆθαι κρατεῖν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, μᾶλλον ἔοικεν ἐνταῦθα δουλοῦσαι τὰς τῆς πατρίδος συμφορὰς ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

of them to a special biography. Even such importance as slight touches of the kind may have in contributing to the exhibition of every finely-shaded character can only belong to them in virtue of their truth, or at least when they are conceived in the spirit of and bear the stamp of the person concerned. But Plutarch, unfortunately, paid so little attention to the truth or probability of his stories, that he frequently collected and lumped together anything that came to hand, placing not only the true and the false, but the good and bad also, the clever and refined, the foolish and coarse, side by side without any discrimination.

Among other defects of Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles* must be reckoned his disregard of chronology—the natural consequence of his purely ethical aim and his lack of insight into the true significance of political events which he is relating—and his inability to estimate rightly great political situations: defects which are more manifest in some other of his *Lives*, as that of *Pericles*. On the other hand, we find in the *Life of Themistocles* less sympathy on the part of the writer for his hero and greater restraint in the delineation of his character than in the case of others; and not without reason, for Themistocles could hardly pass for a mirror of every excellence, if we except that of *σοφία*. Nor does Plutarch concern himself much about removing or palliating the blots on his hero's character, chief among which must be reckoned his unscrupulous avarice:⁸³ indeed he does no more than occasionally tone down the narrative of Herodotus in favour of Themistocles, as, for instance, when he makes him divide the Euboic

⁸³ c. 5, 1.

money honestly between Eurybiades and the others, whereas, according to the historian, he gave only a small portion to the others, reserving by far the greater share for himself. This forbearance is in general a trait of the Biographer which does more honour to him as a man than as an historian: in the present *Life* he extends his indulgence even to the Corinthian Adeimantus, who, as is well known, plays a bad part in Herodotus, by the suppression of his name in the passages relating to him. Plutarch may have had, in this single instance, cogent historical grounds for mistrusting Herodotus; still it strikes one as a strange sort of criticism, to take a narrative about a person out of an historian, and then, instead of giving the name of the person, to put down merely 'somebody.'⁸⁴

The present Biography lends itself to the following main divisions:—

A. c. 1-c. 5. The family (1), the youthful education (2) and political life of Themistocles up to the time of the war with Xerxes (3), followed by a string of anecdotes about him (5).

B. c. 6-c. 17. A contribution to the history of the great Persian War, a general knowledge of which is presupposed, in so far as Themistocles was actively engaged in it i.e. until the retreat of the Persian king and the honours paid to Themistocles by the Spartans. To these gleanings a fresh series of anecdotes, affording further illustration of his hero's character, are added in c. 18.

⁸⁴ c. 11, 3.

C. c. 19—c. 22. This division carries us up to the ostracism and banishment of Themistocles.

D. c. 23—c. 31. His accusation and flight, his reception at the Court of the Persian king and residence in Asia until his death.

E. c. 32. The family he left behind him and the circumstances of his burial.

IV *The sources of information open to Plutarch for his Life of Themistocles*

No less than thirty authors, all told, are named or quoted by Plutarch in this *Biography*, as his authorities: but there is a wide difference between them as to the importance and extent of the materials which they supply. The two great historians, Herodotus⁸⁵ and Thucydides,⁸⁶ provide the foundation respec-

⁸⁵ See c. 7, 3; c. 17, 1; c. 21, 1. In one statement Herodotus has accepted a current tradition of a detail which is not authentic but the invention of a later period, when the vials of men's wrath were discharged on the discredited exile. In VIII 57 he makes out that the credit of pointing out to Themistocles the impolicy of withdrawing the fleet from Salamis and fighting the Persians at the Isthmus of Corinth was due to Mnesiphilus, and that Them. had nothing to do with originating the idea. Pa.-Plutarch *de Herod. malign.* c. 37 is right in rejecting the story but wrong in imputing it to the malice of Herodotus, who elsewhere gives Them. ungrudging praise. What Plutarch says of Themistocles c. 2, 4 and again *Mor.* 797 B *εἰ δέ τι σφαλεῖη, μὴ περιορῶν ἐξαθυμῶντα τὸν νέον, ἀλλ' ἀνίστασ καὶ παραμυθούμενος, ὡς Ἀριστείδης Κίμωνα καὶ Μνησίφιλος Θεμιστοκλέα (sc. παραμυθεῖτο), δυσχεραينوμένους καὶ κακῶς ἀκούοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ πρῶτον* is taken from a different source. See A. Bauer *Themistokles Studien* etc. p. 26 Note 1.

⁸⁶ See c. 25, 1; c. 27, 1. It is very probable that Plutarch made use of the Scholia also to Thucydides. The agreement between his narrative c. 24, 3 and a scholion on Thuc. I 136 quoted *ad loc.* lends weight to this supposition.

tively for *Div. B*, and *Div. C* and *D*. It is easy to see what particulars are taken directly or indirectly from these authors and what not: and the reader's attention is drawn thereto throughout the Commentary.

His authority for *Div. A* was, among others, Theopompus,⁸⁷ who is also quoted several times later on; and for the continuation and supplement of the narratives of Herodotus and Thucydides, Ephorus, who is cited in c. 27, 1. These two Historians of the 4th century B.C. were both brought up in the school of Isocrates at Chios (*Mor.* 837 B), their style consequently has a strong rhetorical flavour: but they were radically different in character and turn of mind and accordingly chose different subjects.⁸⁸

The most celebrated work of Ephorus was a general history of the Hellenes and Barbarians, in 30 Books, covering a period of 750 years, from the return of the Heracleids—which since his time has always been taken as the beginning of the historical period—to the siege of Perinthus (B.C. 340), each Book forming a complete whole by itself. The XIth, XIIth, and XIIIth Books extended from the siege of Paros by Miltiades (B.C. 489) to the beginning of

⁸⁷ See c. 19, 1 with note; c. 25, 2; c. 31, 2. Theopompus with his aristocratic leanings judged Themistocles in the spirit of a partisan and misrepresented his motives where it was possible, unlike in this respect to Ephorus, who shows his partiality for him. Cp. *Dem.* c. 18, 4 with my note.

⁸⁸ Their tempers were so diverse (Ephorus being τὸ ἥθος ἀπλοῦς τὴν δὲ ἐρημνείαν τῆς ἱστορίας θυριστὸς καὶ τυωρὸς καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔχων ἐπίτασιν, Theopompus on the other hand τὸ ἥθος πικρὸς καὶ κακοήθης, τῇ δὲ φράσει πολλὸς καὶ συνεχῆς καὶ φορᾶς μεστὸς, φιλαλήθης δ' ἐν οἷς ἐγράψεν) that their master said one required a whip, the other a curb (τὸν μὲν ἐφη χαλίνου δεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἐφορον κέντρον) (*Suidas*). Cp. *Cic. de orat.* III § 36 *dicebat Isocrates se calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo frenis uti solere.*

the Peloponnesian War (B.C. 431). Polybius, who frequently refers to Ephorus, speaks of him as the first who attempted an universal history (τὸν πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ἐπιβεβλημένον τὰ καθόλου γράφειν, V 33, 2), and reckons him among οἱ λογώτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων (VI 45, 1). It seems from his account of it to have been full of curious and antiquarian research (IX 1, 4). He expresses his admiration of him in the following terms: ὁ γὰρ Ἐφορος, παρ' ὄλην τὴν πραγματείαν θαυμάσιος ὦν καὶ κατὰ τὴν φράσιν καὶ κατὰ τὸν χειρισμὸν ('treatment of his subject') καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν λημμάτων, δεινότατός ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς παρεκβάσεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ γνωμολογίαις καὶ συλλήβδην ὅταν πον τὸν ἐπιμετροῦντα λόγον ('his concluding observations') διατιθῆται (XII 28, 10). Yet he criticizes him unfavourably for his inability to describe a battle scene. Although an honest and painstaking writer, he cannot be regarded as a trustworthy and safe guide in the study of history, since even in the later periods, where he had such guides as Thucydides Herodotus Xenophon, he differs from them on points on which they were entitled to credit. Thus his statement of the causes of the Peloponnesian War, preserved in Diodorus Siculus⁸⁹ and in Plutarch's *Pericles*,⁹⁰ is a striking instance of the vast difference between him and Thucydides. Duris of Samos has, perhaps, hit the mark when he says (Müller *FHG.* I p. 469 b) that he as well as Theopompus οὔτε μμήσεως μετέλαβον οὐδεμίας οὔτε ἡδονῆς ἐν τῷ φράσαι, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ γράφειν μόνον ἐπεμελήθησαν. His style, as might have been expected from his rhetorical training, was clear and lucid but highly coloured and artificial, and at the same time diffuse and wanting in energy.

⁸⁹ XII c. 38-c. 41.⁹⁰ c. 29 ff.

Theopompus of Chios, on the other hand—who was a partisan of the aristocratic faction in his native town and who lived for a long time in exile on account of his Laconism, until restored at the instance of Alexander—following the example of Thucydides, devoted his leisure and a considerable part of his ample fortune towards procuring accurate information about the particulars he chronicled, and, though he did not attain to the greatness of his predecessor and offended by his intense subjectivity, nevertheless the loss of his historical works—the *σύνταξις Ἑλληνικῶν* in 12 Books, comprising a period of seventeen years, B.C. 411 to B.C. 393, from the battle of Cynossema, where Thucydides left off, to that of Cnidus;⁹¹ and the *Φιλίππικὰ*, which contained the History of Philip, son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia in 58 Books,⁹² from the commencement of his reign (B.C. 360) to his death (B.C. 336)—is one of the most to be regretted in Greek Literature. The latter, indeed, was a very miscellaneous compilation without much method or unity of purpose, and consisted of a number of tedious digressions and excursions on an extraordinary variety of topics.⁹³ One of these, forming the xth Book, is taken up with an account of Attic Statesmen (*δημαγωγοί*) from the time of the Persian Wars downwards. It is very difficult to determine what portions of the *Life of Themistocles*, setting aside direct quotations, are borrowed from Theopompus. On the other hand what belongs to Ephorus may, to some extent, be ascertained from Diodorus, upon whose compilation his history

⁹¹ Diod. XIII c. 42; XIV c. 84. Cp. Polyb. VIII 13, 3.

⁹² Diod. XVI c. 3. Cp. Polyb. VIII 11.

⁹³ On the different opinions concerning the merits of his style, see my Introduction to the *Life of Timoleon* p. xx f.

of the period is chiefly based. Thus the description of Xerxes' arrangements before the battle of Salamis (c. 12, 2),⁹⁴ and the account of the death of the Persian admiral (c. 14, 2, 3),⁹⁵ appear to be borrowed from Ephorus. The same may be said of the account of the ostracism of Themistocles (c. 22, 2) and of Pausanias' negotiations with him (c. 23, 2, 3) and of the order for the arrest of the latter,⁹⁶ to which we may add the direct quotation in c. 27, 1.

Plutarch, however, must have been far more indebted to Phantias than to either of these two historians, and a *Life of Themistocles* by this author was apparently at his disposal. Phantias shared the predilection of his teacher Aristotle and of his school generally for polyhistory and extended research in the whole field of literature and history: but, while other Peripatetics lay under the imputation of being careless and uncritical compilers, Phantias—who, unlike most of the others, cultivated style and studied to embellish his narrative—must be designated without reserve as a falsifier of history.⁹⁷ He gives a much more minute and detailed account of Themistocles' adventures in Asia than any contemporary could have given, and what with its dreams and portents there is a halo of romance about it: as a piece of history it is quite untrustworthy. It may almost be taken for granted that the story about the human sacrifice

⁹⁴ Cp. Diod. XI 17 who speaks of the Egyptian fleet (82). Plutarch speaks of 200 ships, which, according to Herodotus, was the exact number supplied by the Egyptians.

⁹⁵ Cp. Diod. XI c. 18, c. 27.

⁹⁶ Diod. XI c. 54.

⁹⁷ The passages in which he is quoted as an authority are c. 1, 2; c. 7, 3, 4; c. 13, 2; c. 27; c. 29, 4. See note to c. 7, 3.

at Salamis (c. 13, 2),⁹⁸ that about Architeles, trierarch of the sacred galley, when the fleet lay off Artemisium (c. 7, 4), and lastly the notice about the mother of Themistocles (c. 1, 2), are pure inventions of Phanias. Besides these, the tale of the owl (c. 12, 1) may possibly be from him.⁹⁹

The importance of the remaining authorities for the Biography is much slighter, and a brief survey of them will suffice. Aristotle is quoted in c. 10, 3, and his successor Theophrastus in c. 25, 1 and 2; the recently discovered *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* of the former, given for the first time to the world from the unique text in the British Museum papyrus CXXXI in 1891, is referred to; of the latter writer a philosophical treatise is especially named as the source of the first statement. Besides these, another member of the Peripatetic school, Ariston of Ceos (about B.C. 225), is quoted as the authority for an extraordinary love story (c. 3, 2), as is the great Geographer and Chronologer Eratosthenes¹⁰⁰ of Cyrene, who was a Stoic philosopher and in a philosophical treatise contributed some more satisfactory information about Themistocles than Phanias did. Plato, the philosopher, is quoted in c. 4, 3 and in c. 32, and is perhaps the authority for c. 18, 2.

⁹⁸ The story recurs in *Arist.* c. 9 with the variation of the sacrifice having been during, not before, the battle.

⁹⁹ Blass thinks there is little doubt that the section c. 26-c. 31, 2, which contains essentially a coherent and homogeneous narrative, is, with the exception of a few passages (on c. 29, 3 f., where Phylarchus is the authority, see below), taken bodily out of Phanias. He is expressly quoted for the conversation in c. 10 (besides c. 27, 4); but if so, then c. 28 must also be from him, and the mention therein made of the dream in Nicogenes' house gives us further ground for a conclusion as to the preceding chapter. Mohr in his *Dissertation* attempts to show that Phanias is Plutarch's chief source.

¹⁰⁰ See note to c. 27, 3.

Of the historians proper, besides those already named, who are occasionally made use of, the oldest is Charon¹⁰¹ of Lampsacus, who wrote before Herodotus and is reckoned among the logographers. He was the author, among other writings, of two books of *Περσικά*. There was a work under a similar title by Dinon¹⁰¹ of Colophon in the middle of the 4th century; and his son Clitarchus,¹⁰¹ one of the most untrustworthy chroniclers of Alexander the Great, is named along with him. Heraclides¹⁰¹ also of Cyme (or of Pontus?) is mentioned as one of those who maintained that Xerxes and not Artoxerxes occupied the throne of Persia, when Themistocles took refuge in Persia. Neanthes¹⁰² of Cyzicus (end of the 3d century B.C.) is cited twice; both passages are from his *Ἑλληνικαὶ ἱστορίαι*. Somewhat older than these is Phylarchus of Naucratis,¹⁰³ a contemporary of Aratus, who left a long historical work about Greece and other countries in 28 Books, covering the period B.C. 272 to B.C. 220.

The antiquarian writers, who composed the *Atthides*¹⁰⁴ or a chronological account of the history of Athens, form a special group, the oldest of whom Clidemus¹⁰⁵ or Clitodemus (*fl.* c. 378) is quoted in c. 10, 4, Phanodemus in c. 13, 1; Philochorus,¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ See note to c. 27, 1.

¹⁰² c. 1, 2; c. 29, 4. Albracht supposes him to have been one of Plutarch's principal sources.

¹⁰³ c. 32, 2.

¹⁰⁴ Müller *FHG.* I p. lxxxi-xci.

¹⁰⁵ Pausanias x 15 Κλειτόδημος ὄριστοι Ἀθηναίων ἔγραψαν τὰ ἐπιγράμματα ἀρχαῖοτάτους.

¹⁰⁶ Müller *l.c.* p. lxxxiv-v, p. lxxxviii-xc, where the titles of 22 works of his are recorded. Albracht and Mohr trace the story of Arthmius (c. 6, 2) to him. The former also thinks that c. 11 *ιστὶ* is taken from him, as well as part of c. 10.

the most important of all (B.C. 320-260), is probably the authority for the tale of the dog of Xanthippus (c. 10, 5).¹⁰⁷

Diodorus Periegeta, from whose work on the monuments of Attica the account of Themistocles' grave in c. 32, 3 is borrowed, wrote at the close of the 4th century. His treatise *περὶ δήμων*, i.e. on the domes of Attica, is of some historical value. A comparison with the *Life of Cimon* c. 16 might lead us to suppose that the circumstantial account of Themistocles' family (c. 32, 1) is taken from the same source. Acestodorus of Megalopolis, of uncertain date, who is quoted together with Phano-demus, is said to have left behind him a work *περὶ πόλεων*.

The almost contemporary political pamphlet (*τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν βίων ἡλικιώτης ιστορία*, *Per.* c. 13, 7, *Cim.* c. 4, 4)—containing a medley of sayings and doings of Themistocles, Thucydides and Pericles—by Stesimbrotus¹⁰⁸ of Chios, who obtained a

¹⁰⁷ Cp. Aelian *nat. hist.* XII 35 who refers to Aristotle and Philochorus, as vouchers for the truth of it.

¹⁰⁸ See note to c. 2, 3 where Plutarch finds him guilty of an anachronism; C. Müller, after Wichers and Sintenis, refers the story at the end of the chapter about Them.'s father's renunciation of him, and his mother's death in consequence, to the same source. Plutarch also refuses to believe the story taken from him in c. 24, 3, because it cannot be reconciled with the statements of Theophrastus and Thucydides. As to the statement in c. 4, 3 about Miltiades's opposition to the increase of the navy—which must have been before the battle of Marathon, for Miltiades was himself in command of 70 ships against Paros after that (*Her.* VI 32)—Plutarch does not disguise his opinion of the charge against Them., but speaks of it as a *διαβολή*. Stesimbrotus was a particularist, and, as such, as little favourable as Herodotus to the foundation of the Athenian naval power, as has been pointed out by Bauer after Wilamowitz *Hermes* XII p. 364, Schmidt II 44 and Holzappel p. 143. The same critic observes

reputation at Athens by his lectures on Homer, is unfortunately not altogether trustworthy, although it has its defenders.¹⁰⁹

About the same time as Stesimbrotus lived Ion the poet of Chios, whose prose work, *Ἐπιδημία*, which records the author's experiences during his visits to other cities and in particular his interviews with celebrated men, even in the scanty fragments of it which are extant, gives evidence of a refined and highly cultivated mind. The authenticity of this work has been disputed by some, its credibility by others, but without any sort of reason. In the *Life of Themistocles* it served as the foundation for the anecdote recorded in c. 2, 3.¹¹⁰

The remaining authorities cited by Plutarch are either the Attic orators, as Andocides,¹¹¹ the well-known prosecutor in the trial of the Hermocopidae, who however has no claim to historical credibility either in his notice of Themistocles or in any other, where he is not relating his own experiences; or

that *ταῦτα* in the following clause does not refer farther back than to the quotations from Plato. The peculiar position of the name *Θεμιστοκλῆς* (l. 26) shows that the previous sentence is made up of the two passages in Plato and Stesimbrotus.

¹⁰⁹ See n. to c. 2, 3; c. 4, 4. It has lately been pronounced to be the spurious production of a later age. See C. Bursian *Lit. Centralbl.* 1860 p. 620, and Franz Rühl *die Quellen Plutarchs im Leben des Kimon* Marburg 1867 p. 29-37. Schmidt vindicates its genuineness against Rühl, but he certainly fails to prove either the importance of the work or the extensive use of it in the oldest and latest periods. A. Bauer passes a sensible judgment on its merits.

¹¹⁰ See note *ad loc.* Bauer refers to an essay on Ion by F. Schöll *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. xxxii p. 145 ff. Ion was an admirer and partisan of Aristides and Cimon, and had a grudge against Themistocles as one *πέραν τοῦ λόγου ἐταίροντα τῆς δημοκρατίας*.

¹¹¹ See note to c. 32, 2.

poets, as Simonides,¹¹² Pindar,¹¹³ Aeschylus,¹¹⁴ the comic poets, as Aristophanes¹¹⁵ and his contemporary Plato,¹¹⁶ and finally, one of much greater importance than all these for the present Biography, the Rhodian Timocreon¹¹⁷ (c. 21, 2, 3), the famous athlete and lyric poet, and bitter and abusive enemy not only of Themistocles but of Simonides and many other of his contemporaries.

¹¹² (c. 5, 4); c. 15, 2. As to the Epigram on the mother of Them. (c. 1, 3), Unger (*philol. Anzeiger* 1874 p. 375), whom A. Bauer follows (*Themist. Studien* etc. p. 11, p. 135 n.), has shown from a passage in Athenæus (xiii 37, p. 576 c=fr. 1 ed. Müller) that the epigram was the production of a later age, the author being Amphicrates in the time of Lucullus. Schmidt (*Das Perikleische Zeitalter* p. 123), on the other hand, regards it as an evidently contemporary composition.

¹¹³ c. 8, 2.

¹¹⁴ c. 14, 1.

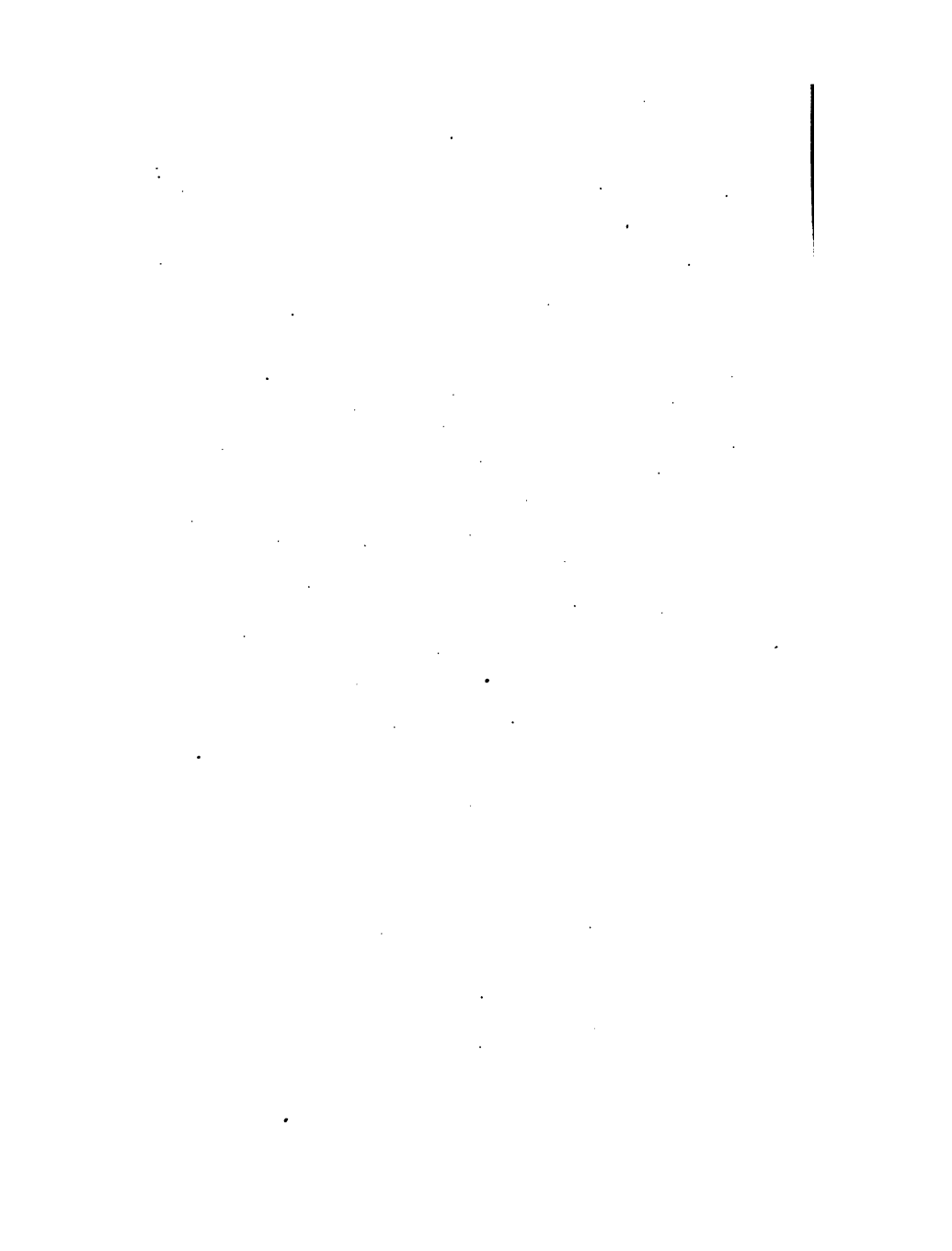
¹¹⁵ c. 19, 3 where the reference is to *Eq.* 815 ἀριστώσῃ (τῇ πόλει) τὸν Πειραιᾶ πρόσμαζεν, a passage which Koraës on Hippocrates *de aere* II p. 5 explains thus:—‘Thémistocle, non content de tous les biens dont il avait comblé sa patrie, voulut, outre le diner (c'est-à-dire les moyens qu'elle avait déjà de faire deux repas par jour), lui accommoder encore, comme un plat surnuméraire, le Pirée (en faisant construire le longue muraille).’ There is an allusion to Themistocles also in the *Δασυταίς* or ‘Banqueters’ fr. 220

εἰς τὰς τριήρεις δεῖν (i. q. δεῖν) ἀναλοῦν ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τεῖχη,
εἰς ὃ ἀνάλοιν οἱ προοῦ τὰ χρήματα.

The ll. 1351 and 1366 in the *Equites* serve as an indication that the generation in the time of the Peloponnesian War had become reconciled to the changes which Them. had introduced. See also *Pac.* 506, *As.* 1124 for other covert allusions to the same.

¹¹⁶ c. 32, 3.

¹¹⁷ c. 21, 2, 3. See on Timocreon A. Kirchhoff *Hermes* xi p. 38 ff. There is probably a reference to Timocreon in c. 5, 1. The story of the visit of Themistocles to Hieron is a pure fiction of Timocreon's, which was introduced in the play which he wrote upon Themistocles and Simonides, according to the testimony of *Suidas*. The court of Hieron was aptly chosen as the scene of his adversaries' medising. See Müller *FHG.* Vol. II p. 54.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
OF
PRINCIPAL EVENTS DURING THE LIFE
OF THEMISTOCLES

N.B.—The numerals in heavy type refer to the Text.

B.C.	
525	Ol. 63. 4. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Cambyes conquers Egypt in the 5th year of his reign. War of the Spartans against Polycrates of Samos. Birth of THEMISTOCLES (<i>circ.</i>) Birth of AESCHYLUS.
521	Ol. 64. 4. <i>Miltiades</i> . Death of Cambyes; Pseudo-Smerdis; accession of Darius, son of Hystaspes. Birth of PINDAR.
519	Ol. 65. 2. <i>Archon</i> (not known). The Plataeans place themselves under the protection of Athens. The power and prosperity of the Aeginetans at their height (c. 4, 1); they defeat the Samian pirates.
514	Ol. 66. 3. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Murder of Hipparchus, brother of the tyrant Hippias.
511	Ol. 67. 2. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Phrynichus (c. 5, 3), the tragic poet, gains his first <i>victory.</i>

B.C.	
510	Ol. 67. 3. <i>Archon</i> (not known). EXPULSION OF THE PISISTRATIDÆ.
509	Ol. 67. 4. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Expansion of the Solonian constitution by Clisthenes.
508	Ol. 68. 1. <i>Isagoras</i> . Expulsion of Clisthenes from Athens for a short time.
51	504 Ol. 69. 1. <i>Acestorides</i> . Charon, the historian, of Lampsacus <i>Æ.</i> (c. 37, 1).
503	Ol. 69. 2. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Heraclitus of Ephesus, the philosopher, and Lasus of Hermione, the lyric poet, <i>Æ.</i>
500	Ol. 70. 1. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Attempt upon Naxos by Aristagoras and the Persians. Revolt of Aristagoras from Persia (c. 2, 3). Hecataeus of Miletus, the logographer, assists at the deliberations of the Ionians respecting the revolt.
499	Ol. 70. 2. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Outbreak of the Ionian revolt. Sardis taken and burnt by the Ionians, assisted by the Athenians and Eretrians. Aeschylus (<i>act.</i> 25) first exhibits tragedy with Pratinas and Choerilus (c. 14, 1).
498	Ol. 70. 3. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Cyprus reconquered by Persians. Flight and death of Aristagoras.
494	Ol. 71. 3. <i>Pythocritus</i> . The Battle of Lade and Fall of Miletus (c. 14, 1 l. 9 n.)
493	Ol. 71. 4. <i>Themistocles</i> . Miltiades (c. 4, 3) takes flight from the Thracian Chersonese to Athens.
492	Ol. 72. 1. <i>Diognetus</i> . First expedition of Persians against Greece under Mardonius totally destroyed near Mt Athos.

B.C.	
491	<p>Ol. 72. 2. <i>Hybridides</i>. Darius sends heralds to demand earth and water from the Greeks. Demaratus (c. 29, 3), King of Sparta, deposed by the intrigues of his colleague Cleomenes, who dies. Leotychides and Leouidas become kings in their place. Feud between Athens and Aegina (-481, c. 4, 1). Gelon becomes tyrant of Gela (Sicily).</p>
490	<p>Ol. 72. 3. <i>Phaenippus</i>. Second invasion of Europe by the Persians under Datis and Artaphernes, guided by Hippias, and first Persian War. They take Eretria, after plundering and destroying Naxos on the voyage (c. 25, 1), and land in Attica, where they are defeated at MARATHON, Sept. 12, by the Athenians and Plataeans under the command of Miltiades (c. 3, 3). Aeschylus present at Marathon, act. 35 (c. 14, 1).</p>
489	<p>Ol. 72. 4. <i>Aristides</i>. Failure of Miltiades to take Paros; his indictment by Xanthippus (c. 10, 5; c. 21, 3), conviction and death.</p>
486	<p>Ol. 73. 3. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Revolt of Egypt from Persia (c. 31, 3 n.) delays the threatened invasion of Greece.</p>
485	<p>Ol. 73. 4. <i>Philocrates</i>. Death of Darius and accession of Xerxes (-465, c. 27, 1). Gelon tyrant of Syracuse. Simonides of Ceos <i>fl.</i> (c. 5, 4).</p>
484	<p>Ol. 74. 1. <i>Leostratus</i>. Egypt recovered by the Persians. Birth of HERODOTUS. Aeschylus gains the prize in Tragedy (c. 14, 1).</p>
483	<p>Ol. 74. 2. <i>Nicodemus</i>. Ostracism of ARISTIDES (c. 5, 4; c. 11, 1; c. 12, 3).</p>
482	<p>Ol. 74. 3. <i>Themistocles</i>. Athens under the guidance of THEMISTOCLES (c. 4, 1).</p>

B.C.	
481	<p>Ol. 74. 4. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Formation of the Isthmian confederacy under the hegemony of Sparta. They apply to Gelon for help. Aristides recalled.</p>
480	<p>Ol. 75. 1. <i>Calliades</i>. Second Persian War. Battles of THERMOPYLÆ (c. 9, 1) and ARTEMISIUM (c. 8, 1), followed by that of SALAMIS (c. 14). Battle of Himera (Sicily). Birth of EURIPIDES. Pherecydes of Athens, the historian, <i>d.</i> ANAXAGORAS (c. 2, 3) begins his career at Athens. The Sicilian Comedy. Epicharmus.</p>
479	<p>Ol. 75. 2. <i>Xanthippus</i>. Second evacuation of Athens and occupation of it by Mardonius and the Persians. Battles of PLATAEA and MYCALE (c. 29, 4 n.), followed by a renewal of the Isthmian confederation and the liberation of Thrace and Macedon from the Persian power. Sestos besieged in the autumn and taken by the Athenian fleet under Xanthippus in the following spring. Birth of Antiphon, the Athenian orator.</p>
478	<p>Ol. 75. 3. <i>Timosthenes</i>. Themistocles at Sparta (c. 17, 2). Athens rebuilt and surrounded with a wall by his energy in spite of Sparta's opposition (c. 19). Herodotus' history ends with the siege of Sestos.</p>
477	<p>Ol. 75. 4. <i>Adcimantus</i> (c. 5, 3). The Athenian fleet under the command of Pausanias carries on the war against Persia, and conquers Byzantium and part of Cyprus. The harbour of Piræus completed and surrounded with a wall (c. 19, 2). Themistocles wins a prize as tragic choragus, and Phrynichus with the <i>Phoenissæ</i> (c. 5, 3)—a glorification of the victory of Athens at Salamis.</p>

B.C.	
476	<p>Ol. 76. 1. <i>Phaedon</i>. Treachery of Pausanias (c. 23). Hegemony of the sea transferred from Sparta to Athens. Beginning of the Athenian empire. Themistocles at Olympia (c. 5, 2; c. 17, 2; c. 25, 1).</p>
475	<p>Ol. 76. 2. <i>Dromocides</i>. Organisation of the Confederacy of Delos.</p>
474	<p>Ol. 76. 3. <i>Accestorides</i>. Hieron's naval victory off Cumae over the Tuscan.</p>
472	<p>Ol. 77. 1. <i>Chares</i>. Theron of Acragas d. Aeschylus <i>Perseus</i> (c. 14, 1). TIMOCREON of Rhodes, the lyric poet, <i>fl.</i> (c. 21, 2).</p>
471	<p>Ol. 77. 2. <i>Praxiergus</i>. Themistocles ostracised withdraws to Argos (c. 23, 1). Pausanias, convicted of treason, is put to death (c. 23, 2). Birth of THUCYDIDES, the historian (c. 27, 1).</p>
470	<p>Ol. 77. 3. <i>Demotion</i>. The Persians expelled from Eion and the Dolopes from Scyros by the allied fleet under Cimon.</p>
469	<p>Ol. 77. 4. <i>Apsephion</i>. Archidamus, king of Sparta after Leotychides, banished.</p>
468	<p>Ol. 78. 1. <i>Theagenides</i>. Death of Aristides. Beginning of Pericles' influence (c. 2, 3). First tragic victory of SOPHOCLES, <i>act.</i> 27. Birth of SOCRATES.</p>
467	<p>Ol. 78. 2. <i>Lysistratus</i>. Themistocles at Corcyra (c. 24, 1). Birth of Andocides, one of the ten Attic orators. Death of SIMONIDES (c. 5, 4; c. 15, 2).</p>

B. C.	
466	<p>Ol. 78. 3. <i>Lysanias</i>. Siege of Naxos (Thuc. I 98, Arist. <i>Vesp.</i> 355), during which Themistocles in his flight from Greece passed through the Athenian fleet (c. 25, 1). Double victory of Cimon over Persians at the Eurymedon.</p>
465	<p>Ol. 78. 4. <i>Lysithens</i>. Revolt of Thasos from Athens. Death of Xerxes; soon after which Themistocles arrives in Persia and is introduced by Artabanus to his successor Artaxerxes I (Longimanus) (c. 27). Attempted colonisation of Amphipolis by Athens.</p>
464	<p>Ol. 79. 1. <i>Archdemides</i>. Rebellion of the Helots. The Athenians under Cimon march to the aid of the Spartans.</p>
463	<p>Ol. 79. 2. <i>Tepolemus</i>. Thasos made subject by Athens. Regeneration of Argos.</p>
461	<p>Ol. 79. 4. <i>Euthippus</i>. The Athenians, sensitive of the affront put upon them by the Spartans before Ithome (Thuc. I 102), banish Cimon, who was chiefly accountable for the despatch of the expedition, renounce their alliance with Sparta and conclude a counter alliance with Argos and Thessaly. Megara joins them, and the Athenians accordingly build the long walls of Megara from the town to the harbour of Nisaea.</p>
460	<p>Ol. 80. 1. <i>Phrasidates</i>. The Areopagus stripped of its pre-eminent influence by Ephialtes and Pericles (c. 10, § 1. 34 n.) Simultaneous enlargement of the powers of the popular tribunals. Revolt of the satrap Inaros against the King of Persia, and first year of war between Egypt and Persia (c. 31, 3). <i>N.B.</i> Curtius places the DEATH OF THEMISTOCLES about this year (<i>Hist. Greece</i> Vol. II p. 361 Engl. ed.) and his birth in 525. Plutarch says he lived 65 years (c. 31, 4).</p>

B.C.	
458	<p>Ol. 80. 3. <i>Bion</i>. Naval victory of the Athenians over the Aeginetans, Corinthians and Epidaurians at Aegina. Annihilation of the Aeginetan naval power.</p>
457	<p>Ol. 80. 4. <i>Mnesithides</i>. Athenian defeat by the Spartans in the Battle of Tanagra. Recall of Cimon.</p>
456	<p>Ol. 81. 1. <i>Callias</i>. Victory of the Athenians under Myronides over the Boeotians at Oenophyta. Completion of the long walls from Athens to the Piraeus and Phalerum. Aegina reduced to subjection (c. 4, 1). Campaign of Tolmides round the Peloponnesus.</p>
455	<p>Ol. 81. 2. <i>Sosistratus</i>. Third Messenian War ended by the capture of Ithome. The Messenians settled at Naupactus by the Athenians. Athenian army and fleet in Egypt annihilated. First play (<i>Πελοπιδες</i>) of Euripides, <i>act.</i> 25, which gains the prize.</p>
454	<p>Ol. 81. 3. <i>Ariston</i>. Campaign of Pericles in the Crissaeon gulf.</p>
451	<p>Ol. 82. 2. <i>Antidotos</i>. Ion of Chios begins to exhibit (c. 2, 3 n.)</p>
450	<p>Ol. 82. 3. <i>Euthydemus</i>. Five years' truce between Athens and Sparta. Thirty years' peace between Argos and Sparta. Anaxagoras (c. 2, 3), <i>act.</i> 50, leaves Athens.</p>
449	<p>Ol. 82. 4. <i>Pedieus</i>. Renewal of the war with Persia under the conduct of Cimon, after whose death the Athenians win a double victory at Salamis in Cyprus by land and by sea over the Phoenicians, Cyprians and Cilicians.</p>

B.C.	
448	Ol. 83. 1. <i>Phylacus</i> . Attack of the Phocians on Delphi, which leads to a renewal of hostilities between Athens and Sparta.
447	Ol. 83. 2. <i>Timarchides</i> . Defeat of the Athenians at Coronae by the Boeotians, who abandon the Athenian alliance. <i>N.B.</i> Some place the death of Themistocles in this year.
440	Ol. 85. 1. <i>Morichides</i> . Melissus the philosopher defends Samos against Pericles (c. 2, 3. <i>Per.</i> c. 26, 1; c. 27, 1).

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

111

I Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γένους ἀμαυρό-
 τερα πρὸς δόξαν ὑπῆρχε· πατρὸς γὰρ The parent-
age of The-
mistocles.
 ἦν Νεοκλέους οὐ τῶν ἀγαν ἐπιφανῶν
 Ἀθήνησι, Φρεαρρίου τῶν δῆμων ἐκ τῆς Λεοντίδος
 φυλῆς, νόθος δὲ πρὸς μητρός, ὡς λέγουσιν

ἈΒΡΟΤΟΝΟΝ ΘΡῆΙΣΣΑ ΓΥΝῆ ΓΕΝΟΣ ἌΛΛᾶ ΤΕΚΕΣΘΑΙ
 ΤΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΝ ἙΛΛΗCΙΝ ΦΗΜΙ ΘΕΜΙCΤΟΚΛΕᾶ.

The larger numerals in heavy type in the outer margin represent the pp. of the Paris Ed. a. 1624.

For full information concerning the MSS and Editions of Plutarch, the reader is referred to my edition of the *Life of Timoleon* (Cambridge 1889). The *Codex Seitenstettensis* (S)—the oldest and most important of the MSS of Plutarch's *Lives* containing that of *Themistocles*—is preserved in the Benedictine Monastery of Seitenstetten in Austria. It is a parchment MS of the XIth century, and may be considered the best representative of the group to which F^a—the XVth century MS, 1676 in the National Library at Paris—belongs. Fuhr's revised text of Sintenis is based on S.

B1 = the Teubner annotated edition (2d) by F. Blass, Leipzig 1883.

Bk = Immanuel Bekker's edition, Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1855-7.

Si¹ = Sintenis's complete edition in 4 vols., Leipzig 1839-1846.

Si² = that in Teubner's Bibliotheca, Leipzig 1877.

Fu = Fuhr's Sintenis's annotated edition, Berlin 1880.

Ko = Koras's edition, Paris 1809-1814.

OH. I § 1 l. 6 Fuhr conjectures *πῆλας* (i. e. *ἐρελας*) comparing *Anthol.* v 306, but Athenaeus XIII 576 c agrees with Plutarch.

2 Φανίας μέντοι τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐ
 Θρηῆταν, ἀλλὰ Καρίνην, οὐδ' Ἀβρότονον ὄνομα,
 ἀλλ' Εὐτέρπην ἀναγράφει. Νεάνθης δὲ καὶ 10
 πόλιν αὐτῇ τῆς Καρίας Ἀλικαρνασσὸν προσ-
 τίθησι. διὸ καὶ τῶν νόθων εἰς Κυνόσαργες
 112 συντελούντων (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμ-
 νάσιον Ἡρακλέους, ἐπεὶ κακείνος οὐκ ἦν γνήσιος
 ἐν θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνείχετο νοθεία διὰ τὴν μητέρα 15
 θνητὴν οὖσαν) ἔπειθ' ἵνα οὐδεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τῶν
 εὐγεγονότων νεανίσκων καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ
 3 Κυνόσαργες ἀλείφουσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτου
 γενομένου δοκεῖ πανούργως τὸν τῶν νόθων καὶ
 γνησίων διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν. Ὅτι μέντοι τοῦ 20
 Λυκομιδῶν γένους μετεῖχε δῆλός ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ
 Φλυῆσι τελεστήριον, ὅπερ ἦν Λυκομιδῶν κοινόν,
 ἐμπρησθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτὸς ἐπεσκεύασε
 καὶ γραφαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, ὡς Σιμωνίδης ἱστόρηκεν.

II Ἔτι δὲ παῖς ὢν ὁμολογεῖται φορᾶς μεστὸς
 Stories of εἶναι, καὶ τῇ μὲν φύσει συνετός, τῇ δὲ
 his boyhood. προαιρέσει μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ πολιτι-
 κός. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ σχολαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν
 μαθημάτων γιγνώμενος οὐκ ἔπαιζεν οὐδ' ἔρραθύμει, 3
 καθάπερ οἱ πολλοὶ παῖδες, ἀλλ' εὐρίσκετο λόγους
 τινὰς μελετῶν καὶ συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτόν.
 ἦσαν δ' οἱ λόγοι κατηγορία τινὸς ἢ συνηγορία τῶν
 2 παιδῶν· ὅθεν εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ διδύσ-
 καλος ὡς 'οὐδὲν ἔσει, παῖ, σὺ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ μέγα 20

§ 2 l. 12 Fuhr reads διότι with S.

§ 3 l. 21 δῆλος Bl vulgo: δῆλον Fuhr with S.

CH. II § 1 l. 6 οἱ πολλοὶ Fuhr with S: οἱ λοιποὶ Bl vulgo.

πάντως ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν.' ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παιδεύ-
 εων τὰς μὲν ἠθοποιούς ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τινα καὶ
 χάριν ἐλευθέριον σπουδαζόμενας ὀκνηρῶς καὶ
 ἀπροθύμως ἐξεμάνθανε, τῶν δ' εἰς σύνεσιν ἢ
 15 πρᾶξιν λεγομένων δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν παρ' ἡλικίαν,
 ὡς τῇ φύσει πιστεύων. ὅθεν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς 3
 ἐλευθερίοις καὶ ἀστείαις λεγομέναις διατριβαῖς
 ὑπὸ τῶν πεπαιδευθῆαι δοκούντων χλευαζόμενος
 ἠναγκάζετο φορτικώτερον ἀμύνεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι
 20 λύραν μὲν ἄρμόσασθαι καὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι
 ψαλτήριον οὐκ ἐπίσταίτο, πόλιν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ
 ἄδοξον παραλαβὼν ἔνδοξον καὶ μεγάλην ἀπεργά-
 σασθαι. καίτοι Στησίμβροτος Ἀναξαγόρου τε
 διακοῦσαι τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φησὶ καὶ περὶ Μέ-
 15 λισσον σπουδάσαι τὸν φυσικόν, οὐκ εὖ τῶν
 χρόνων ἀπτόμενος. Περικλεῖ γάρ, ὃς πολὺ
 νεώτερος ἦν Θεμιστοκλέους, Μέλισσος μὲν ἀντε-
 στρατήγει πολιορκοῦντι Σαμίους, Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ
 συνδιέτριβε. μᾶλλον οὖν ἂν τις προσέχοι τοῖς 4
 20 Μνησιφίλου τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοῦ Φρεαρρίου
 ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οὔτε ῥήτορος ὄντος
 οὔτε τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλοσόφων, ἀλλὰ
 τὴν τότε καλουμένην σοφίαν, οὔσαν δὲ δεινότητα
 πολιτικὴν καὶ δραστήριον σύνεσιν, ἐπιτήδευμα
 15 πεπονημένου καὶ διασφύζοντος ὥσπερ αἴρεσιν ἐκ
 διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος· ἦν οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δικα-
 νικαῖς μείζαντες τέχναις καὶ μεταγαγόντες ἀπὸ

§ 2 l. 15 δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν is the needless correction of Madvig
 (Adv. Crit. i p. 88), approved by Hercher (Hermes xiii p.
 303) and Fuhr: δῆλος ἦν οὐχ ὑπερορῶν vulgo: δῆλος ἦν ὑπε-
 ρορῶν B F^a Bl.

§ 3 l. 21 ἐπίσταίτο B F^a Fu Bl: ἐπίσταται Si v.

τῶν πράξεων τὴν ἄσκησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους
 5 σοφισταὶ προσηγορεύθησαν. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν
 ἤδη πολιτευόμενος ἐπλησίαζεν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς 40
 πρώταις τῆς νεότητος ὀρμαῖς ἀνώματος ἦν καὶ
 ἀστάθμητος, ἅτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν χρώμενος
 ἄνευ λόγου καὶ παιδείας ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα μεγάλας
 ποιουμένη μεταβολὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ
 10 πολλὰκις ἐξισταμένη πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, ὡς ὕστερον 45
 αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ τοὺς τραχυτάτους πῶλους
 ἀρίστους ἵππους γίνεσθαι φάσκων, ὅταν ἦς
 6 προσῆκει τύχῳσι παιδείας καὶ καταρτίσεως. ἃ
 δὲ τούτων ἐξαρτῶσιν ἔνιοι διηγήματα πλάττοντες,
 ἀποκήρυξιν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, θάνατον 50
 δὲ τῆς μητρὸς ἐκούσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀτιμῇ
 περιλύπου γενομένης, δοκεῖ κατεψεῦσθαι· καὶ
 τοῦναντίον εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ
 πράττειν ἀποτρέπων αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἐπεδείκνυε
 πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ τὰς παλαιὰς τριήρεις ἐρριμμένας 55
 καὶ παρορωμένας, ὡς δὴ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δημα-
 γωγούς, ὅταν ἄχρηστοι γένωνται, τῶν πολλῶν
 ὁμοίως ἐχόντων.

III Ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ νεανικῶς ἔοικεν ἄψασθαι

§ 5 l. 39 οὖν om. by S F^a. || 45 ἐξισταμένη vulgo, corrected by Korais.

§ 6 l. 53 τοῦ πράττειν S F^a Fu Bl: πράττειν v. Cp. Xen. Mem. IV vii 6 τῶν οὐρανίων φροντιστῆν γίνεσθαι ἀπέτρεπεν, Lucian Jur. conf. c. 6 ἀποτρέποντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλου θύειν, dial. doct. v 5 οὐδ' οἱ σπυθῆρες οὐδὲ ἡ κάμνος ἀπέτρεπόν σε μὴ ὀχλὶ πίνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ. || 56 παρορωμένας: the old reading was παρεωραμένας, for which Cobet (*Alcemos*. N.S. vi p. 143) suggests παρεωραμένας, referring to his *Var. Lect.* p. 160 for instances of the interchange of the two words in MSS || 57 γίνονται S Si¹ Fu: φαίνονται F^a: φαίνονται Si¹ Bl.

τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα καὶ
 σφόδρα ἢ πρὸς δόξαν ὀρμὴ κρατῆσαι, His first ap-
pearance in
public life.
 δι' ἣν εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πρωτεύειν Intense
rivalry be-
tween him
and Aris-
teides. 113
 ἐφιέμενος ἰταμῶς ὑφίστατο τὰς πρὸς
 τοὺς δυναμένους ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πρωτεύ-
 οντας ἀπεχθείας, μάλιστα δὲ Ἄρισ-
 τείδην τὸν Λυσιμάχου, τὴν ἐναντίαν αἰεὶ πορευ-
 ὄμενον αὐτῷ. καίτοι δοκεῖ παντάπασι ἢ
 πρὸς τοῦτον ἔχθρα μειρακιώδη λαβεῖν ἀρχῆν.
 ἠράσθησαν γὰρ ἀμφοτέροι τοῦ κάλλους Στη-
 σίλειω, Κείου τὸ γένος ὄντος, ὡς Ἀρίστων ὁ
 φιλόσοφος ἰστόρηκεν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλουν
 καὶ περὶ τὰ δημόσια στασιάζοντες. οὐ μὴν
 ἄλλ' ἢ τῶν βίων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἀνομοιότης
 ἔοικεν αὐξῆσαι τὴν διαφορὰν. πρᾶος γὰρ ὢν
 φύσει καὶ καλοκαγαθικὸς τὸν τρόπον ὁ Ἄρι-
 τείδης καὶ πολιτευόμενος οὐ πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲ
 πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου μετ'
 ἀσφαλείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἠναγκάζετο τῷ
 Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινουντι καὶ
 μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντι καινοτομίας ἐναντιοῦσθαι
 πολλὰκις, ἐνιστάμενος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν αὐξῆσιν.
 λέγεται γὰρ οὕτω παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι 3
 καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἑραστής,
 ὥστε νέος ὢν ἔτι τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης πρὸς
 τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένης καὶ τῆς Μιλτιάδου
 στρατηγίας διαβοηθείσης σύννοους ὀρᾶσθαι τὰ

OH. III § 1 l. 5 τὰς om. by B F^a. || 7 Ἄριστείδην: Cobet
 would read πρὸς Ἄριστείδην. || 8 πορευόμενος Si.
 § 2 l. 11 κάλλους B F^a Fu: καλοῦ Bl Si vulgo. || 12 Κείου
 from Arist. c. 2, 2: Τίου B F^a: Τήλου vulgo. || 23 ἀπὸυ Bl Si
 vulgo; αὐτῷ Fuhr. See explanatory notes.

πολλά πρὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖν
καὶ τοὺς πότους παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ 30
λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας καὶ θαυμάζοντας τὴν
περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολήν, ὡς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν
4 οὐκ ἔφη τὸ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
ἄλλοι πέρας φοντο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι
τῶν βαρβάρων ἦτταν εἶναι, Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' ἀρχὴν 35
μειζόνων ἀγώνων, ἐφ' οὓς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅλης
Ἑλλάδος ἤλειφε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤσκει, πόρρωθεν
ἔτι προσδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον.

IV Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Λαυρωτικὴν πρόσδοον

Fore-sight
of Themis-
tocles.

He urges the
conversion
of Athens
from a land
into a naval
power, and
application
of the fund
from the
mines of
Laurium to
the war
against the
Ægeians.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων ἔθος ἔχόν-
των Ἀθηναίων διανεμέσθαι, μόνος εἰπέιν
ἐτόλμησε παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς
χρὴ τὴν διανομὴν εἰσάσαντας ἐκ τῶν 5
χρημάτων τούτων κατασκευάσασθαι
τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πόλε-
μον. ἤκμαζε γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
μάλιστα, καὶ κατεῖχον οἱ νησιῶται
πλήθει νεῶν τὴν θάλασσαν. ἦ καὶ 20
ῥᾶον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς συνέπεισεν, οὐ Δαρεῖον οὐδὲ
Πέρσας—μακρὰν γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ δέος οὐ
πάνυ βέβαιον ὡς ἀφιζόμενοι παρεῖχον—ἐπι-
σείων, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας ὀργῇ καὶ
φιλονικίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποχρησάμενος εὐκαίρως 25
ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν. ἑκατὸν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν

§ 3 l. 30 τόπους S.

§ 4 l. 38 ἐτι S F^a Fu Bl: ἤδη Si vulgo.

OK. IV § 1 l. 1 μὲν om. by S and F^a. || 8 Fuhr conj. τὸν ἐν,
comparing *Aristides* II 187. || 9 νησιῶται S F^a Fu Bl: Ἀθηναῖοι
Si vulgo.

χρημάτων εκείνων ἐπιήθησαν τριήρεις, αἷς καὶ
 πρὸς Ξέρξην ἐναυμάχησαν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατὰ 3
 μικρὸν ὑπάγων καὶ καταβιβάζων τὴν πόλιν πρὸς
 20 τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς τὰ περὶ μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς ὁμόροις
 ἀξιόμαχους ὄντας, τῇ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀλκῇ καὶ
 τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 ἄρχειν δυναμένους, ἀντὶ μονίμων ὀπλιτῶν, ὡς
 φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ναυβάτας καὶ θαλαττίους
 25 ἐποίησεν καὶ διαβολὴν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ παρέσχευεν, ὡς
 ἄρα Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν ὑσπίδα τῶν
 πολιτῶν παρελόμενος εἰς ὑπηρεσίον καὶ κόπην
 συνέστειλε τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον. ἔπραξε δὲ ταύ- 4
 τα Μιλτιάδου κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ
 30 Στησίμβροτος. Εἰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὸ
 καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἔβλαψεν ἢ μὴ ταῦτα
 πράξας, ἔστω φιλοσοφώτερον ἐπισκοπεῖν· ὅτι δ'
 ἢ τότε σωτηρία τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης
 ὑπήρξε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν αὐθις ἀνέστησαν
 35 αἱ τριήρεις ἐκεῖναι, τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς
 ἐμαρτύρησε. τῆς γὰρ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀθραύστου 5
 διαμενούσης ἔφυγε μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἦτταν, ὡς
 οὐκ ὦν ἀξιόμαχος, καὶ Μαρδόνιον ἐμποδῶν εἶναι
 τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῆς διώξεως μᾶλλον ἢ δουλωσόμενον
 40 αὐτούς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατέλιπεν.

V Σύντονον δ' αὐτὸν γεγονέναι χρηματιστὴν 114
 οἱ μὲν τινὲς φασι δι' ἐλευθερίότητα· καὶ γὰρ

§ 2 l. 17 αἷς with S Fu Bl Si (ed. 1824): αἱ Si³ vulgo.

§ 3 l. 20 Cobet conj. τῶ περὶ. || ὁμόροις, the 'conjectural emendation of Bryan for ὁμοίαις.

§ 4 l. 31 τοῦ πολιτεύματος τὸ καθαρὸν F³.

§ 5 l. 36 Fuhr conj. περὶ, but cp. Thuc. vii c. 7, 2; c. 16, 1.

φιλοθύτην ὄντα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοὺς
 Characteristic ξένους δαπάναις ἀφθόνου δεῖσθαι χορη-
 anecdotes of γίας· οἱ δὲ τούναντίον γλισχρότητα 3
 Theomistocles. πολλήν καὶ μικρολογίαν κατηγοροῦσιν, ὡς καὶ
 τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν ἐδωδύμων πωλοῦντος. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ Διφιλίδης ὁ ἵπποτρόφος αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 πῶλον οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἠπέιλησε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ
 ταχὺ ποιήσειν δούρειον ἵππον, αἰνιξάμενος ἐγ- 10
 κλήματα συγγενικὰ καὶ δίκας τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς
 3 οἰκείους τινὰς ταραξείν. Τῇ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντα
 ὑπερέβαλεν, ὥστ' ἔτι μὲν νέος ὢν καὶ ἀφανῆς
 Ἐπικλέα τὸν ἐξ Ἐρμόνης κιθαριστὴν σπουδαζό-
 μενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκλιπαρῆσαι μελετᾶν 15
 παρ' αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν
 ζητεῖν καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν. εἰς δ' Ὀλυμπίαν
 ἐλθὼν καὶ διαμιλλώμενος τῷ Κίμωνι περὶ δεῖπνα
 καὶ σκηναὶς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λαμπρότητα καὶ παρα-
 3 σκευὴν οὐκ ἤρσκε τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν 20
 γὰρ ὄντι νέῳ καὶ ὑπ' οἰκίας μεγάλης ῥοντο δεῖν
 τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν· ὁ δὲ μήπω γινώριμος
 γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ
 παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι προσωφλίσκεαεν ἀλα-
 ζονείαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν τραγωδοῖς, 25
 μεγάλην ἤδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ
 ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος, καὶ πίνακα τῆς νίκης ἀνέθηκε
 τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΦΡΕΑΡΡΙΟΣ
 ΔΙΧΟΡΓΕΙ, ΦΡΥΝΙΧΟΣ ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΝ, ἈΔΕΪΜΑΝΤΟΣ ἦρχεν.

CE. v § 11 8 Διφιλίδης Fuhr Bl with S: Φιλίδης Si vulgo.

§ 21. 14 Ἐρμόνης S but with γρ. Ἐρμόνης mg in a more recent hand. || 16 παρ' αὐτῷ S F^o: παρ' αὐτῷ corr. Bl Fuhr.

30 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνήρμοττε, τοῦτο μὲν
 ἐκίστου τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦνομα λέγων Not with-
standing his
ostentation
and ambi-
tion, he is
popular with
the people
at large.
 ἀπὸ στόματος, τοῦτο δὲ κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ
 περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια παρέχων ἑαυτὸν,
 ὡς πού καὶ πρὸς Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κεῖον
 35 εἰπεῖν αἰτούμενόν τι τῶν οὐ μετρίων
 παρ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγούντος, ὡς οὐτ' ἐκεῖνος ἀν-
 γένοιτο ποιητῆς ἀγαθὸς ἄδων παρὰ μέλος, οὐτ'
 αὐτὸς ἀστείος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμον χαριζόμενος.
 πάλιν δὲ ποτε τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγε
 40 νοῦν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν λοιδοροῦντα μεγά-
 λην οἰκοῦντας πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ποιούμενον εἰκόνας
 οὕτως ὄντος αἰσχροῦ τὴν ὄψιν. αὐξόμενος δὲ
 καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων τέλος κατεστασίασε
 καὶ μετέστησεν ἐξοστρακισθέντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην.

VI Ἦδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βουλευομένων περὶ
 στρατηγοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκόντας ἐκ-
 στήναι τῆς στρατηγίας λέγουσιν, ἐκπε- Preparation
for war with
the Persians.
Themisto-
cles ap-
pointed
commander.
 5 πληγμένους τὸν κίνδυνον. Ἐπικύδην δὲ
 τὸν Εὐφημίδου, δημαγωγὸν ὄντα δεινὸν
 μὲν εἰπεῖν, μαλακὸν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ
 χρημάτων ἥττονα, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφίεσθαι καὶ κρα-
 τήσειν ἐπίδοξον εἶναι τῇ χειροτονίᾳ. τὸν οὖν
 10 Θεμιστοκλέα δείσαντα, μὴ τὰ πράγματα δια-
 φθαρείη παντάπασι τῆς ἡγεμονίας εἰς ἐκεῖνον
 ἐμπεισοῦσης, χρήμασι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐξωνήσασθαι
 παρὰ τοῦ Ἐπικύδου. Ἐπαινεῖται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ 2

ΟΗ. VI § 1 L 7 τῇ ψυχῇ S F^a Fu Bl: τῆν ψυχῆ Si vulgo.
 Cp. a. 16, 2 Ἀράτην ἰδέματι, Per. c. 3, 2 προμήκη τῇ κεφαλῇ.

τὸ περὶ τὸν δίγλωττον ἔργον < τὸν > ἐν τοῖς πεμφ-
θεισιν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος αἴτησιν. 15

ἔρμηνεα γὰρ ὄντα συλλαβῶν διὰ ψηφίσματος

ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι φωνὴν Ἑλληνίδα βαρβάρους

προστάγμασιν ἐτόλμησε χρῆσαι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ

τὸ περὶ Ἄρθμιον τὸν Ζελεΐτην· Θεμιστοκλέους

γὰρ εἰπόντος καὶ τούτου εἰς τοὺς ἀτίμους καὶ

παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος ἐνέγραψαν, ὅτι τὸν ἐκ

Μήδων χρυσὸν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐκόμισε. μέ-

γιστον δὲ πάντων τὸ καταλύσαι τοὺς

Ἑλληνικοὺς πολέμους καὶ διαλλάξαι

τὰς πόλεις ἀλλήλαις, πείσαντα τὰς ἔχ-

θρας διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναβαλέσθαι·

πρὸς δὲ καὶ Χεΐλεων τὸν Ἀρκάδα μάλιστα συν-

αγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι.

VII Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθύς μὲν

ἐπεχείρει τοὺς πολίτας ἐμβιβάζειν εἰς

τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔπειθεν

ἐκλιπόντας ὡς προσωτάτω τῆς Ἑλλάδος

ἀπαντᾶν τῷ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ θάλατταν. ἐνιστα-

μένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐξήγαγε πολλὴν στρατιὰν εἰς

τὰ Τέμπη μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς

αὐτόθι προκινδυνεύσόντων τῆς Θεττα-

λίας, οὕτω τότε μηδίξειν δοκούσης.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκείθεν ἄπρακτοι καὶ Θεττα-

λῶν βασιλεῖ προσγενομένων ἐμήδιζε

τὰ μέχρι Βοιωτίας, μᾶλλον ἤδη τῷ

§ 2 l. 14 τὸν has probably been dropped by lipography after ἔργον. | 20 καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ: Cobet (V.L. p. 371) would expunge these words, 'ne periret bis idem dicatur.'

7

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118

He endeavours to reconcile the divisions among the Greek states.

Strong opposition to his policy.

Unsuccessful expedition to Tempe.

Theensly medicea.

Θεμιστοκλεί προσείχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῆς
 θαλάσσης καὶ πέμπεται μετὰ νεῶν ἐπ' Ἄρτε-
 15 μίσιον τὰ στενὰ φυλάξων. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν μὲν 2
 Ἑλλήνων Εὐρυβιάδην καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἠγείσ-
 θαι κελευόντων, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πλήθει
 τῶν νεῶν σύμπαντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς ἄλλους
 ὑπερέβαλλον, οὐκ ἀξιούντων ἑτέροις
 20 ἔπεσθαι, συνιδῶν τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ Θε-
 μιστοκλῆς αὐτὸς τε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ
 Εὐρυβιάδῃ παρήκε καὶ κατεπράννε
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὑπισχνόμενος, ἂν
 ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γένωνται πρὸς τὸν
 25 πόλεμον, ἐκόντας αὐτοῖς παρέξειν εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ
 πειθόμενος τοὺς Ἕλληνας. διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ τῆς
 σωτηρίας αἰτιώτατος γενέσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ
 μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προαγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν,
 ὡς ἄνδρᾶ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων, εὐγνωμοσύνη δὲ
 30 τῶν συμμάχων περιγενομένους. Ἐπεὶ 3
 δὲ ταῖς Ἀφetaῖς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στόλου
 προσμείξαντος ἐκπλαγεῖς ὁ Εὐρυβιάδης
 τῶν κατὰ στόμα νεῶν τὸ πλήθος, ἄλλας
 δὲ πυνθανόμενος διακοσίας ὑπὲρ Σκιιάθου
 35 περιπλεῖν, ἐβούλετο τὴν ταχίστην κύκλω
 εἶσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος κομισθεὶς ἄψασθαι
 Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν
 ταῖς ναυσὶ προσπεριβαλέσθαι, παντάπασιν
 ἀπρόσμαχον ἠγούμενος τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν

Important
 service
 rendered by
 Themisto-
 cles in
 ceding the
 chief com-
 mand to
 Eurybiades.

Persian
 armada at
 Aphetae.
 Alarm
 among the
 Greeks. The-
 mistocles
 determines
 them to stay
 and fight at
 the urgent
 instance of
 the Eubo-
 ans.

CH. VII § 2 l. 26 διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ 3 F^a: διόπερ δοκεῖ vulgo.
 § 3 l. 31 Ἀφetais vulgo, corrected by Bekker. || 35 κύκλω in
 omitted in F^a.

ἀλκὴν βασιλέως, δείσαντες οἱ Εὐβοεῖς, μὴ σφᾶς *
οἱ Ἕλληνας πρόωνται, κρύφα τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ
διελέγοντο Πελάγοντα μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν
πέμφσαντες· ἃ λαβὼν ἐκείνος, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος
ιστόρηκε, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔδωκεν.

Ἐναντιούμενου δ' αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν *

Ἄρχιτέλους, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς
νεὼς τριήραρχος, οὐκ ἔχων δὲ χρήματα
τοῖς ναύταις χορηγεῖν ἔσπευδεν ὑπο-
πλεῦσαι, παρῶξυνεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς
τοὺς τριηρίτας ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὥστε τὸ δεῖπνον *
ἀρπάσαι συνδραμόντας. τοῦ δ' Ἄρχιτέλους
ἀθυμοῦντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ βαρέως φέροντος
εἰσέπεμψεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸς αὐτόν ἐν κίστῃ
δεῖπνον ἄρτων καὶ κρεῶν, ὑποθεὶς κάτω τάλαντον
ἀργυρίου καὶ κελεύσας αὐτόν τε δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ *
παρόντι καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῶν
τριηριτῶν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, καταβοήσειν αὐτοῦ πρὸς
τοὺς παρόντας, ὡς ἔχοντος ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν
πολεμίων. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος
εἶρηκεν. 6

VIII Αἰ δὲ γενόμεναι τότε πρὸς τὰς τῶν
βαρβάρων ναῦς περὶ τὰ στενὰ μάχαι
Ἰνδικεῖσι μάχαισι
Ἀρτεμισίῳ. κρίσιν μὲν εἰς τὰ ὅλα μεγάλην οὐκ
ἐποίησαν, τῇ δὲ πείρα μέγιστα τοὺς Ἕλληνας
ἄνησαν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἔργων παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους *
διδαχθέντας, ὡς οὔτε πλήθη νεῶν οὔτε κόσμοι

§ 3 l. 40 ἀρχὴ § F^a. || 42 πελαγόντα § F^a.

§ 4 l. 50 τριηρίτας § Si² Bl Fu for the vulgate πολίτας. || 58
τοὺς παρόντας § F^a Fu Bl : τοὺς πολίτας § vulgo.

καὶ λαμπρότητες ἐπισήμων οὔτε κραυγαὶ κομ-
 πώδεις ἢ βάρβαροι παιᾶνες ἔχουσί τι δεινὸν
 ἀνδράσιν ἐπισταμένοις εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι καὶ
 10 μάχεσθαι τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῶν τοιούτων
 καταφρονούντας ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα φέρεσθαι
 καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα διαγωνίζεσθαι συμπλακέντας.
 ὃ δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος οὐ κακῶς ἔοικε συνιδῶν ἐπὶ τῆς
 τῆς ἐν Ἀρτεμισίῳ μάχης εἰπεῖν

15 ὄθι παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἐβάλλοντο φαεινὰν
 κρητῖδ' ἐλευθερίας·

ἀρχὴ γὰρ ὄντως τοῦ νικᾶν τὸ θαρρεῖν. ἔστι δὲ
 τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ὑπὲρ τῆν
 Ἐστιάϊαν αἰγιαλὸς εἰς βορέαν ἀναπεπ-
 20 ταμένους, ἀνταίρει δ' αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῆς
 ὑπὸ Φιλοκτῆτην χώρας γενομένης Ὀλιζῶν. ἔχει
 δὲ ναὸν οὐ μέγαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπέκλησιν Προσ-
 φάας, καὶ δένδρα περὶ αὐτὸν πέφυκε καὶ στηλαὶ 118
 κύκλω λίθου λευκοῦ πεπηγάσιν· ὁ δὲ λίθος τῆ
 25 χειρὶ τριβόμενος καὶ χρῶαν καὶ ὄσμην κροκίζουσαν
 ἀναδίδωσιν. ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τῶν στηλῶν ἐλεγείῳ ἦν
 τὸδε γεγραμμένον

ΠΑΝΤΟΔΑΠΤῶΝ ἈΝΔΡῶΝ ΓΕΝΕᾶς Ἀσίας ἀπὸ χώρας
 παῖδες Ἀθηναίων τῷδέ ποτ' ἐν πελάγει
 30 ΝΑΥΜΑΧΙΑ ΔΑΜΑΣΑΝΤΕΣ, ἔπειτ' ἑστράτοσ' ὦλετο Μήδων,
 ΣΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΑΥΤ' ἔθεσαν παρθένῳ Ἀρτέμιδι.

7 δείκνυται δὲ τῆς ἀκτῆς τόπος ἐν πολλῇ τῇ περίῃ
 θινὶ κόνιν τεφρώδη καὶ μέλαιναν ἐκ βάθους ἀναδι-

CH. VIII § 2 l. 13 συνιδεῖν . . . εἰπὼν conj. Fuhr. || 15 ὄθι
 Stephanus: vulgo ὄθι. || 20 ἀνταίρει § F^a Fu Bl: ἀνταίρειαι
 Si vulgo. || 21 Φιλοκτῆτην § F^a Fu Bl: Φιλοκτῆτη Si vulgo. || 23
 περὶ αὐτῶν Reiske Fu Bl: περὶ αὐτῆ § F^a: περὶ αὐτῆ Si vulgo.

Description
 of Arte-
 misium.

δούς, ὥσπερ πυρίκαυστον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ναυάγια καὶ
νεκρούς καύσαι δοκοῦσι.

35

ΙΧ Τῶν μέντοι τὰ περὶ Θερμοπύλας εἰς τὸ Ἀρτε-
μίσιον ἀπαγγελλόντων πυθόμενοι Δεω-

Retreat of
the Greeks
on hearing
of the Per-
sian victory
at Thermo-
pylae.

ρίδαν τε κείσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν Ξέρξην τῶν
κατὰ γῆν παρόδων εἰσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ἀνεκομίζοντο, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ πᾶσι 5
τεταγμένων δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ μέγα τοῖς

Plan of The-
mistocles for
detaching
the Ionian
allies from
Xerxes.

πεπραγμένοις φρονούντων. παραπλέων δὲ τὴν
χώραν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἤπερ κατάρσεις
ἀναγκαίας καὶ καταφυγᾶς ἑώρα τοῖς
πολεμίοις, ἐνεχάρατε κατὰ τῶν λίθων 10
ἐπιφανῆ γράμματα, τοὺς μὲν εὐρίσκων

ἀπὸ τύχης, τοὺς δ' αὐτὸς ἰστάς περὶ τὰ ναυλόχια
καὶ τὰς ὑδρείας, ἐπισκῆπτων Ἴωσι διὰ τῶν γραμ-
μάτων, εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε, μετατάξασθαι πρὸς αὐτούς,
πατέρας ὄντας καὶ προκινδυνεύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς 15
ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίας, εἰ δὲ μή, κακοῦν τὸ βαρβα-
ρικὸν ἐν ταῖς μίχαις καὶ συνταρίττειν. ταῦτα
δ' ἠλπίζεν ἢ μεταστήσειν τοὺς Ἴωνας ἢ συν-
ταρίξειν ὑποπτοτέρους τοὺς βαρβάρους γενο-
2 μένους. Ξέρξου δὲ διὰ τῆς Δωριδος ἀνωθεν 20

Advance of
Xerxes into
Thocia.

ἐμβαλόντος εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα καὶ τὰ
τῶν Φωκῆων ἄσθη πυρπολοῦντος, οὐ
προσήμυναν οἱ Ἕλληνας, καίπερ τῶν Ἀθηναίων

CH. IX § 1 l. 1 τὰ περὶ Θερμ. . . ἀπαγγελλόντων conj. B1: περὶ
Θερμ. ἀπαγγελλόντων § F^a: περὶ Θερμ. ἀπαγγελθέντων vulgo.
|| 2 πυθόμενοι bracketed by Fuhr after Cobet. || 10 τῶν λίθων
αὐτῶν § F^a. || 12 ναυλόχια § F^a Fu B1: ναύλοχα vulgo. || 18
συνταρίξειν § F^a Fu B1: τάρξειν vulgo. || 19 τοῖς βαρβάρους
Held Fu B1: τοῖς βαρβάρους vulgo.

δεομένων εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπαντῆσαι πρὸ τῆς
 15 Ἀττικῆς, ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ κατὰ θάλατταν The Peloponnesians bent on the defence of their own isthmus only.
 ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐβόηθησαν. μηδενὸς δ' ὑπακούοντος αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ τῆς Πελοποννήσου περιεχομένων καὶ πᾶσαν ἐντὸς Ἴσθμοῦ τὴν δυνάμιν ὄρμημένων συνάγειν καὶ
 20 διατειχιζόντων τὸν Ἴσθμὸν εἰς θάλατταν ἐκ θαλάττης, ἅμα μὲν ὀργῇ τῆς προδοσίας εἶχε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ δυσθυμία καὶ κατήφεια μεμονωμένους. μάχεσθαι μὲν οὖν οὐ
 Reluctance 3 of the Athenians generally to quit Athens and trust their all to their ships.
 35 δ' ἦν μόνον ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τὴν πόλιν ἀφέντας ἐμφύναι ταῖς ναυσίν, οἱ πολλοὶ χαλεπῶς ἤκουον, ὡς μήτε νίκης δεόμενοι μήτε σωτηρίαν ἐπιστάμενοι θεῶν ἰερά καὶ πατέρων ἠρία προιεμένον.

Χ Ἐνθα δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπορῶν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους λογισμοῖς προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγηδίᾳ μηχανὴν ἄρας, σημεῖα δαιμόνια καὶ χρησμούς
 5 ἐπήγγεν αὐτοῖς· σημεῖον μὲν λαμβάνων τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, δὲ ἀφανῆς ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐκ τοῦ σηκοῦ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι· καὶ τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προτιθεμένας
 Device of Themistocles for making the Athenians take to their ships. The disappearance of the sacred serpent turned to account.

§ 3 l. 33 μάχεσθαι μὲν οὖν F^a Fu Bl : μάχεσθαι μὲν S : μάχεσθαι μὲν γάρ Si vulgo. || 34 οὐδὲ διανοοῦντο, ne cogitabant quidem, Cobet. || 37 ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ before Reiske. || 39 ἠρία Bl vulgo : ἠρία S F^a Fuhr, cp. *Act.* c. 31, 3 ἠρώα καὶ τάφους πατέρων.

CH. x § 1 l. 6 δὲ ἀφανῆς δὲ F^a : ἀφανῆς δὲ without δὲ S : whence Blass suspects a lacuna before ἀφανῆς δὲ, to be supplied from Herodotus VIII 41 λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐνδρακτῆσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.

ἀπαρχὰς εὐρίσκοντες ἀψαύστους οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐξήγγελλον εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς, τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγον διδόντος, ὡς ἀπολέλοιπε τὴν πόλιν ἢ θεὸς ὑψηγομένη πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν αὐτοῖς.

2 His interpretation of the oracle's 'wooden walls.'

τῷ δὲ χρησμῷ πάλιν ἐδημαγωγῆσαι, λέγων μηδὲν ἄλλο δηλοῦσθαι ξύλινον τείχος ἢ τὰς ναῦς· διὸ καὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα θείαν,

οὐχὶ δεινὴν οὐδὲ σχετλίαν ἀνακαλεῖν τὸν θεόν, ὡς εὐτυχήματος μεγάλου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπώνυμον ἐσομένην. κρατήσας δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ψήφισμα

His decree passed for the embarkation of all fit for service.

γράφει, τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι [τῇ Ἀθηναῖ] τῇ Ἀθηναίων μεδεούσῃ, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἀνδράποδα σφάζειν ἕκαστον ὡς δυνατόν.

3 κρυωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος οἱ πλείστοι

117 Removal of their wives and families to Troezen; welcome reception accorded to them there.

τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπεξέθεντο γενεὰς καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Τροιζήνα, φιλοτίμως πάντων τῶν Τροιζηνίων ὑποδεχομένων· καὶ γὰρ τρέφειν ἐψηφίσαντο δημοσίᾳ, δύο ὀβολοὺς ἑκάστῳ διδόντες, καὶ τῆς ὀπώρας λαμβάνειν ἐξείναι τοὺς παῖδας πανταχόθεν, ἔτι δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδασκάλοις τελεῖν μισθοῦς. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα Νικαγόρας ἔγραψεν.

§ 1 l. 11 λόγον διαδόντος, 'famae praeferat' conj. Cobet: cp. c. 19, 2.

§ 2 l. 16 ἀνακαλεῖν S F^a Fu Bl: καλεῖν v. || 20 τῇ Ἀθηναῖ omitted in S, in F^a added by a second hand: 'Ἀθηναίων Reiske, Fr. Jacobs, Hercher (*Hermes* xiii 304), Fuhr: 'Ἀθηναίων v. Cobet (*Monem.* N.S. vi 145): 'Ἀθηναίων Si Bauer: 'Ἀθηναίων Schäfer. || 23 ὡς ἀνὸς θανάτων S vulgo: ὡς ἀνὸς θανάτων γρ. S (first hand) mg Fu Bl after Herod. viii 41.

§ 3 l. 25 γενεὰς ἰδίους Madvig Bl: γούτας Fu codd.

οὐκ ὄντων δὲ δημοσίων χρημάτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν φησι τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου Different accounts of how money was raised to pay the service. πάγου βουλὴν πορίσασαν ἐκάστῃ τῶν στρατευσόμενων ὀκτὼ δραχμὰς αἰτιωτάτην γενέσθαι τοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὰς τριήρεις, Κλειδήμος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ποιεῖται στρατήγημα. καταβαινόντων γὰρ εἰς Πειραιᾶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φησὶν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ Γοργόνειον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγάλματος· τὸν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα προσποιούμενον ζητεῖν καὶ διεβηνόμενον ἅπαντα χρημάτων ἀνευρίσκειν πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς ἀποσκέυαῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένον, ὧν εἰς μέσον κομισθέντων εὐπορήσαι τοὺς ἐμβαίνοντας εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐφοδίων. Ἐκπλευούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς μὲν οἶκτον τὸ θέαμα, Heartrending scenes witnessed at the emigration from Athens. τοῖς δὲ θαῦμα τῆς τόλμης παρέιχε, γενεὰς μὲν ἄλλη προπεμπόντων, αὐτῶν δ' ἀκάμπτων πρὸς οἰμογὰς καὶ δάκρυα γονέων καὶ περιβολὰς διαπερώντων εἰς τὴν νῆσον. καίτοι πολλὴν μὲν οἱ διὰ γῆρας ὑπολειπόμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν ἔλεον εἶχον· ἦν δὲ τις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ συντρόφων ζῶων ἐπικλῶσα γλυκυθυμία, μετ' ὠρυγῆς καὶ πόθου συμπαραθεόντων

§ 3 l. 33 δημοσίων vulgo: ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ in aerario Cobet, 'χρήματα enim δημόσια esse quae aerario debeantur, praesertim ex bonis publicatis.'

§ 4 l. 40 τὸν Γοργόνειον (sc. ὀμφαλόν, umbonem in aculeo) F^a; with τὸ Γοργόνειον we must understand τὸ πρόσωπον.

§ 5 l. 49 γενεὰς S F^a: γονείας vulgo. || 50 Κοραῖς after Amyot καὶ δάκρυα γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων περιβολὰς: Schäfer also after Bryan reads γονέων for γυναικῶν. || 52 πολλὸν μὲν εἰ Fuhr Bl: πολλοὶ μὲν εἰ S F^a: πολλοὶ μὲν vulgo.

ἐμβαίνουνσι τοῖς αὐτῶν τροφεύσιν. ἐν οἷς ἴσται
 ρεῖται κύων Ξανθίππου τοῦ Περικλέου
 πατρός οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
 μόνωσιν ἐναλέσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τ
 τριῆρι παρανηχόμενος ἐκπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν Σαλαμῖν
 καὶ λιποθυμήσας ἀποθανεῖν εὐθύς· οὐ καὶ τ
 δεικνύμενον ἄχρι νῦν καὶ καλούμενον Κυνὸς σὴμ
 τάφον εἶναι λέγουσι.

XI Ταῦτά τε δὴ μεγάλα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέου
 καὶ τοὺς πολίτας αἰσθόμενος ποθοῦντα
 Ἀριστείδην καὶ δεδιότας, μὴ δι' ὀργῇ
 τῷ βαρβάρῳ προσθεῖς ἑαυτὸν ἀνατρέψ
 τὰ πράγματα τῆς Ἑλλάδος (ἐξωστρά
 κιστο γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου καταστα
 σιασθεῖς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους), γράφει
 ψήφισμα, τοῖς [ἐπὶ χρόνῳ] μεβεστώσιν ἐξείναι
 καταλθοῦσι πράττειν καὶ λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα τ
 Ἐλλάδι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν. Εὐρυβιάδου

δὲ τὴν μὲν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν νεῶν ἔχοντε
 διὰ τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀξίωμα, μαλακο
 δὲ περὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὄντος, αἰρεῖν ἔ
 βουλομένου καὶ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴσθμόν
 ὄπου καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἤθροιστο τῶν Πελο
 πονησιῶν, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀντέλεγει
 ὅτε καὶ τὰ μνημονεύμενα λεχθῆναι
 φασιν. τοῦ γὰρ Εὐρυβιάδου πρὸς αὐτὸ

§ 5 l. 62 καὶ καλοῦμενον ἄχρι νῦν P^a.

CM. XI § 1 l. 2 καὶ ὅτι Κοραῖος. || 8 ἐπὶ χρόνῳ is expunged by
 Fuhr: Cobet conjectures ἐπὶ χρόνῳ: μὴ ἐπὶ χρόνῳ Blass.

§ 2 l. 13 περὶ τὸν κίνδυνον . . . ἀπαίρειν Cobet: πρὸς
 Reiske Fu.

Themistocles gets a decree passed for the restoration of the exiles, among whom was Aristides.

Disensions among the Greeks in the fleet at Salamis. The timid Eurybides is for the removal of the fleet to the Isthmus. Sincere opposition of Themistocles.

εἰπόντος ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, ἐν τοῖς Stories told
of Themisto-
cles on this
occasion.
 ὁ ἀγῶσι τοὺς προεξανισταμένους ραπί-
 ζουσι, ὦ Ναι, εἶπεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς
 ἄλλα τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας οὐ στεφανοῦσιν.
 Ἐπαρμένους δὲ τὴν βακτηρίαν ὡς πατάζοντας, ³
 ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔφη Πάταξον μὲν, ἄκουσον δέ.
⁵ θαυμάσαντος δὲ τὴν πραότητα τοῦ Εὐρυβιάδου
 καὶ λέγειν κελεύσαντος, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς
 ἀνήγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον· εἰπόντος δὲ τινος, ⁷
 ὡς ἀνὴρ ἀπολις οὐκ ὀρθῶς διδάσκει τοὺς ἔχοντας
 ἐγκαταλιπεῖν καὶ προσέθαι τὰς πατρίδας, ὁ
 Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπιστρέψας τὸν λόγον ὦ Ἡμεῖς τοι,
 εἶπεν ὦ μοχθηρέ, τὰς μὲν οἰκίας καὶ τὰ τεῖχη
 καταλελοίπαμεν, οὐκ ἀξιούντες ἀψύχων ἕνεκα
 δουλεύειν, πόλις δ' ἡμῖν ἔστι μεγίστη τῶν
 Ἑλληνίδων, αἱ διακόσμαι τριήρεις, αἱ νῦν μὲν
¹⁵ ὑμῖν παρεστᾶσι βοηθοὶ σφίξεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν
 βουλομένοις, εἰ δ' ἄπιτε δευτέρον ἡμᾶς προ- ⁴
 δόντες, αὐτίκα πεύσεται τις Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίους
 καὶ πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ χώραν οὐ χείρονα
 κεκτημένους ἢς ἀπέβαλον. ταῦτα τοῦ Θεμι-
 στοκλέους εἰπόντος ἔννοια καὶ δέος ἔσχε τὸν
 Εὐρυβιάδην τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μὴ σφᾶς ἀπολιπόντες
 οἰχῶνται. τοῦ δ' Ἐρετριέως πειρωμένου τι λέγειν ¹¹⁸
 πρὸς αὐτόν, ὦ Ἡ γὰρ ἔφη καὶ ὑμῖν περὶ πολέμου

§ 3 l. 23 ἐπαιρομένους F^a, whence Fuhr conjectures ἐπαρομένους.
 || 27 Madvig thinks we should read either ἀνήγειν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν
 λόγον, *redii ad orationem*, or ἀνήγειν αὐτὸς κτλ. || 28 διδάσκει
 S F^a: διδάσκει v. || 29 ἐγκαταλείπειν F^a. || 34 τριακόσμαι S F^a.
 νῦν μὲν ἡμῖν S F^a.

§ 4 l. 41 ἀπολείποντες S F^a. || 42 οἰχῶνται S: οἰχονται F^a.

τίς ἐστὶ λόγος, οἱ καθάπερ αἱ τευθίδες μάχαιρα
 μὲν ἔχετε, καρδίαν δ' οὐκ ἔχετε

XII Λέγεται δ' ὑπὸ τινῶν τὸν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέ

Desperate
 stratagem
 of Themisto-
 cles to make
 the Greeks
 fight in the
 straits of
 Salamis.

περὶ τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστροφώματι
 ἄνωθεν τῆς νεῶς διαλέγεσθαι, γλαῦκα
 ὀφθῆναι διαπετομένην ὑπὸ δεξιᾶς τῶ
 νεῶν καὶ τοῖς καρχησίοις ἐπικαθίζουσαι

διὸ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ
 καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ναυμαχῆσοντες. ἀλλ' ἐπι-
 τῶν πολεμίων ὃ τε στόλος τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατὰ τ
 Φαληρικὸν προσφερόμενος τοὺς περίξ ἀπέκρυψε
 αἰγυαλοὺς, αὐτὸς τε βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ πεζο
 στρατοῦ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἄβρους ὠφθι-
 τῶν δὲ δυνάμεων ὁμοῦ γενομένων ἐξερρῆσαν
 τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πάλι
 ἐπάπταινον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμόν
 εἴ τις ἄλλο τι λέγοι χαλεπαίνοντες, ἐδόκει δὲ τῇ
 νυκτὸς ἀποχωρεῖν καὶ παρηγγέλλετο πλοῦς τοῖ
 κυβερνήταις—ἐνθα δὴ βαρέως φέρων ὁ Θεμιστο-
 κλῆς, εἰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν στενῶ
 προέμενοι βοήθειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διαλυθήσονται
 κατὰ πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο καὶ συνετίθει τὴν περ-
 τὸν Σίκιννον πραγματεῖαν. ἦν δὲ τῇ
 μὲν γένει Πέρσης ὁ Σίκιννος, αἰχμᾶ-
 λωτος, εὐνοῦς δὲ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καὶ τῶν τέκνων
 αὐτοῦ παιδαγωγός. ὃν ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξη

² The plot of
 Sicinnus.

CH. XII § 1 l. 3 ἄνωθεν om. by Cobet. || 4 ἐπιδεξιᾶς S: ἐπὶ δεξιᾶς Fuhr. || 7 ἐπὶ ναυμαχῆσοντες Cobet (Μηστος. N.S. vi | 145): but see explan. notes. || 12 δὲ om. by Fu. || 15 δὲ: S Fu. || 17 Fuhr places a full stop after κυβερνήταις.

15 κρύφα, κελεύσας λέγειν ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς αἰρούμενος τὰ βασιλέως
 ἐξαγγέλλει πρῶτος αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀποδι-
 δράσκοντας, καὶ διακελεύεται μὴ παρῆναι φυγεῖν
 αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ταραττονταὶ τῶν πεζῶν χωρὶς
 20 ὄντες ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὴν ναυτικὴν
 δύναμιν. ταῦτα δ' ὁ Ξέρξης ὡς ἀπ' εὐνοίας
 λεληγμένα δεξάμενος ἤσθη, καὶ τέλος εὐθὺς
 ἐξέφερε πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν νεῶν, τὰς μὲν
 ἄλλας πληροῦν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, διακοσίαις δ'
 35 ἀναχθέντας ἤδη περιβαλέσθαι τὸν πόρον ἐν
 κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ διαζῶσαι τὰς νήσους, ὅπως
 ἐκφύγοι μηδεὶς τῶν πολεμίων. τούτων δὲ §
 πραττομένων Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου
 πρῶτος αἰσθόμενος ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν
 40 τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, οὐκ ὦν φίλος, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ δι' ἐκείνον ἐξωστρακισμένος, ὥσπερ
 εἴρηται· προελθόντι δὲ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ
 φράζει τὴν κύκλωσιν. ὁ δὲ τὴν τε ἄλλην καλο-
 καγαθίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰδὼς καὶ τῆς τότε παρουσίας
 45 ἀγάμενος λέγει τὰ περὶ τὸν Σίκιννον αὐτῷ, καὶ
 παρεκάλει τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι
 καὶ συμπροθυμῆσθαι πίστιν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον,
 ὅπως ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ναυμαχῆσωσιν. ὁ μὲν
 οὖν Ἀριστείδης ἐπαινέσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοὺς
 50 ἄλλους ἐπήει στρατηγούς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐπὶ
 τὴν μάχην παροξύνων· ἔτι δ' ὅμως ἀπιστούντων

Arrival of
 Aristides,
 and private
 conference
 between him
 and The-
 mistocles.

§ 2 l. 32 ἤσθη καὶ τέλος omitted in B F^o: Madvig conjectures
 δέλωται εὐθὺς ἐξέφερε, tabellas et tesseras circummissis. || 35 περι-
 βάλλεσθαι B F^o.

ἐφάνη Τηνία τριήρης αὐτόμολος, ἧς ἐναυάρχει Παναίτιος, ἀπαγγέλλουσα τὴν κύκλωσιν· ὥστε καὶ θυμῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὀρμῆσαι μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον.

55

XIII Ἄμα δ' ἡμέρα Ξέρξης μὲν ἄνω καθήστο

Preparations
for the fight.
Position of
Xerxes' seat.

τὸν στόλον ἐποπτεύων καὶ τὴν παρά-
ταξιν, ὡς μὲν Φανόδημός φησιν, ὑπὲρ τὸ
Ἡράκλειον, ἧ βραχεὶ πόρῳ διείργεται

τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἢ νήσος· ὡς δ' Ἀκεστοδώρος, ἐν
μεθορίᾳ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν καλουμένων
Κεράτων, χρυσοῦν δίφρον θέμενος καὶ γραμματεῖς
πολλοὺς παραστησάμενος, ὧν ἔργον ἦν ἀπογράψ-

εῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην πραττόμενα. Θεμι-

Sacrifice
of three
Persian
captives to
Dionysus.

στοκλεῖ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ναυαρχίδα τριήρη¹⁰
σφαγιαζομένῳ τρεῖς προσήχθησαν αἰχ-
μάλωτοι, κάλλιστοι μὲν ιδέσθαι τὴν
ὄψιν, ἐσθῆτι δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένοι

διαπρεπῶς. ἐλέγοντο δὲ Σανδαύκης παῖδες εἶναι
τῆς βασιλείως ἀδελφῆς καὶ Ἀρταύκτου. τούτους¹⁵
ιδὼν Εὐφραντίδης ὁ μάντις, ὡς ἅμα μὲν ἀνε-
λαμψεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μέγα καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ,

119 ἅμα δὲ πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσήμηνε, τὸν Θεμι-
στοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσε τῶν νεανίσκων
κατάρξασθαι καὶ καθιερεῦσαι πάντας ὠμωστῆ²⁰
Διονύσῳ προσευξάμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ἅμα σωτηρίαν
[τε] καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἐκπλα-

§ 3 l. 52 Τηνία Palmer: Τενεῖα μία codd. : μία om. by Reiske.
CH. XIII § 1 l. 3 τὸν Ἡράκλειον § F^a. || 6 μεθορία Fu Bl w. § :
μεθορίῳ vulgo.

§ 2 l. 14 Σανδαύκης § F^a : Σανδαύης Fu Bl cl. § Arist. 9, 2.
|| 20 καθιερεῖσαι § F^a v. : καθιερεῖσαι Si Fu Bl cl. Arist. c. 9, 2.
|| 22 τε om. in §.

γέντος δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὡς μέγα τὸ μάντευμα
καὶ δεινόν, οἶον εἶωθεν ἐν μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ
5 πράγμασι χαλεποῖς, μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων
ἢ τῶν εὐλόγων τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντες οἱ
πολλοὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅμα κοινῇ κατεκαλοῦντο φωνῇ
καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῷ βωμῷ προσαγαγόντες
ἠνάγκασαν, ὡς ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευσε, τὴν θυσίαν
ο. συντελεσθῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος
καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄπειρος ἱστορικῶν Φανίας
ὁ Λέσβιος εἶρηκε.

XIV Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βαρβαρικῶν
νεῶν Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς ὡς ἂν εἰδῶς Battle of
Salamis.
Number of
the fleets
and plan
of attack.
καὶ διαβεβαιούμενος ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ Πέρ-
σαις λέγει ταῦτα:

5 Ξέρξης δέ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιάς μὲν ἦν
ἠν ἦγε πλῆθος· αἱ δ' ὑπέρκοποι τάχει
ἐκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἑπτὰ θ'· ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.

τῶν δ' Ἀττικῶν ἐκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα τὸ πλῆθος
οὐσῶν ἐκάστη τοὺς ἀπὸ [τοῦ] καταστρώματος
ο. μαχομένους ὀκτωκαίδεκα εἶχεν, ὧν τοξόται
τέσσαρες ἦσαν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ὀπίται. Δοκεῖ
δ' οὐχ ἦττον εὖ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἢ
τὸν τόπον συνιδῶν καὶ φυλάξας μὴ πρότερον
ἀντιπύρους καταστήσαι ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς τὰς
5 τριήρεις, ἢ τὴν εἰωθυίαν ὥραν παραγενέσθαι τὸ

§ 2 l. 30 τελεσθῆναι F^a.

CH. XIV § 1 l. 3 τραγῳδία is om. by Cobet V.L. p. 371.

|| 5 Ξέρξης . . χιλιάς μὲν νεῶν ἦγε πλῆθος B F^a. || 6 ὑπέρκοποι τάχεις B F^a. || 9 ἀπὸ καταστρώματος B F^a, rightly, I think.

§ 2 l. 13 συνιδῶν v. : εἰδῶς B F^a.

πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἐκ πελάγους ἀεὶ καὶ κύμα δ
 τῶν στενῶν κατὰγουσαν· ὃ τὰς μὲν Ἑλληνικ
 οὐκ ἔβλαπτε ναῦς ἀλιτενεῖς οὐσας καὶ ταπειν
 τέρας, τὰς δὲ βαρβαρικὰς ταῖς τε πρῦμμα
 ἀνεστώσας καὶ τοῖς καταστρώμασιν ὑγροφό
 καὶ βαρείας ἐπιφερομένας ἔσφαλλε προσπίπτ
 καὶ παρεδίδου πλαγίας τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὅξεί
 προσφερομένοις καὶ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέχουσ
 ὡς ὀρῶντι μάλιστα τὸ συμφέρον, ὅτι ἦν κα
 ἐκείνῳ ὁ Ξέρξου ναύαρχος Ἀριαμένης ναὺν ἔχε
 μεγάλην καὶ ὡσπερ ἀπὸ τείχους ἐτόξευε κ
 ἠκόντιζεν, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν καὶ τῶν βασιλεί
 ἀδελφῶν πολὺ κράτιστός τε καὶ δικαιοτάτ
 3 Τούτου μὲν οὖν Ἀμεινίας ὁ Δεκελεὺς καὶ Σωκλ
 ὁ Παιανιεύς ὁμοῦ πλέοντες, ὡς αἱ νῆες ἀνι
 πρῆροι προσπεσοῦσαι καὶ συννερείσασαι το
 χαλκώμασιν ἐνεσχέθησαν, ἐπιβαίνοντα τ
 αὐτῶν τριήρους ὑποστάντες καὶ τοῖς δόρα
 τύπτοντες εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐξέβαλον· καὶ
 σῶμα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων διαφερόμενον ναυαγί
 Ἀρτεμισία γνωρίσασα πρὸς Ξέρξην ἀνήνεγκεν.

XV Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὄντος φῶς μ
 ἐκλάμψαι μέγα λέγουσιν Ἐλευσινίθε
 ἦχον δὲ καὶ φωνὴν τὸ Θριάσιον κα

Supernatural
 signs.

§ 2 l. 16 ἀεὶ ἐκ πελάγους S F^a. || 17 τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς μὲν S F^a I
 || 18 ἀλιτενεῖς S F^a: γρ. ἀλιτενεῖς S¹ mg: ἀλιτενεῖς Bryan. || 24
 ἦρ (στ' ἦρ S F^a) κατ' ἐκείνῳ . . . καὶ ὡσπερ ἀπὸ τείχους Fu Bl wi
 S F^a. || 26 ἐτόξευε S Fu Bl: ἐτοξείετο (not, as Si notes, ἐτόξευ
 F^a. || 28 τε om. S F^a.

§ 3 l. 30 Παιανιεύς Bl conj.: Πεδικεύς v.: Πελιεύς codc
 Περαιεύς Si: Αἰγλιεύς conj. Fuhr. || 33 αὐτῶν Bl: αὐτῶν vul
 Si. || 35 μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων S F^a Fuhr Bl: μετ' ἄλλων vulgo.

- έχειν πεδίον ἄχρι θαλάττης, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῦ
 5 πολλῶν τὸν μυστικὸν ἐξαγόντων Ἰακχον. ἐκ δὲ
 τοῦ πλήθους τῶν φθεγγομένων κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ
 γῆς ἀναφερόμενον νέφος ἔδοξεν αὐθις ἵππουσοτεῖν
 καὶ κατασκήπτειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις. ἕτεροι δὲ
 φαντάσματα καὶ εἶδωλα καθορᾶν ἔδοξαν ἐνόπλων
 10 ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τὰς χεῖρας ἐπεχόντων πρὸ
 τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τριήρων· οὗς εἵκαζον Αἰακίδας
 εἶναι παρακεκλημένους εὐχαῖς πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ
 τὴν βοήθειαν. Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν λαμβάνει ναῦν Λυκομήδης, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος
 15 τριηραρχῶν, ἧς τὰ παράσημα περικόψας
 ἀνέθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνι δαφνηφόρῳ Φλυήσιν. οἱ δ'
 ἄλλοι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐξισούμενοι τὸ πλήθος
 ἐν στενῷ κατὰ μέρος προσφερομένους καὶ περι-
 πίπτοι· τὰς ἀλλήλους ἐτρέψαντο μέχρι δείλης
 20 ἀντισχόντας, ὥσπερ εἶρηκε Σιμωνίδης, τὴν καλὴν
 ἐκείνην καὶ περιβόητον ἀράμενοι νίκην, ἧς
 οὐθ' Ἕλλησιν οὔτε βαρβάροις ἐνάλιον ἔργον
 εἰργασται λαμπρότερον, ἀνδρία μὲν καὶ προ-
 θυμία κοινῇ τῶν ναυμαχησάντων, γνώμη δὲ καὶ
 25 δεινότητι τῇ Θεμιστοκλέους.

Great victory of the Greeks.

XVI Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν Ξέρξης μὲν ἔτι 120
 θυμομαχῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀπότευξιν ἐπε-
 χεῖρει διὰ χωμάτων ἐπάγειν τὸ πεζὸν
 After the battle, Xerxes talks

CH. XV § 1 l. 9 φαντάσματα Fu Bl with S F^a: φάσματα v. Si.
 || 10 ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἀνατερεῖς τὰς χεῖρας ἐπεχόντων Bl' c¹: ἀνατερεῖς
 τὰς χ. ἐπεχόντων S F^a: ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατερεῖς Si Fu:
 ἀπ' Αἰ. τ. χ. ἐπεχόντων Bl². || 25 τῆ S F^a: ὁμ. v.

§ 2 l. 20 ὥσπερ εἶρηκε S F^a: ὡς v. || 22 ἐνάλιον Bl' c¹: ἐνάλιον S F^a.
 CH. XVI § 1 l. 2 ἀπότευξιν S.

about
throwing a
mole across
the strait to
Salamis.

Themisto-
cles suggests
a means of
preventing
his escape,
but is over-
ruled by the
caution of
Aristides.

τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἰς Σαλαμίνα, ἐμφράξας
τὸν διὰ μέσου πόρον· Θεμιστοκλῆς δ',⁵
ἀποπειρώμενος Ἀριστείδου, λόγῳ γνώ-
μην ἐποιεῖτο λύειν τὸ ζεῦγμα ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπι-
πλεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον, ὅπως
ἔφη· τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ λάβω-
μεν· δυσχεραίνοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου¹⁰
καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι· Νῦν μὲν τρυφῶντι
τῷ βαρβάρῳ πεπολεμήκαμεν, ἐὰν δὲ
κατακλείσωμεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ
καταστήσωμεν εἰς ἀνάγκην ὑπὸ δέους ἄνδρα
§ 2 τηλικούτων δυνάμεων κύριον, οὐκέτι καθήμενος¹⁵
ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσῇ θεύσεται τὴν μάχην ἐφ'
ἡσυχίας, ἀλλὰ πάντα τολμῶν καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὸς
παρὼν διὰ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπανορθώσεται τὰ παρει-
μένα καὶ βουλευσεται βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων·
οὐ τὴν οὖσαν οὖν· ἔφη· δεῖ γέφυραν, ὧ Θεμιστό-²⁰
κλεις, ἡμᾶς ἀναιρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν, εἴπερ οἶόν τε,
προσκατασκευάσαντας ἐκβαλεῖν διὰ τάχους τὸν
ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης· Ὁκοῦν· εἶπεν ὁ
Θεμιστοκλῆς· εἰ δοκεῖ ταῦτα συμφέρειν, ὧρα
σκοπεῖν καὶ μηχανᾶσθαι πᾶντας ἡμᾶς, ὅπως²⁵
ἀπαλλαγῆσεται τὴν ταχίστην ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔδοξεν, ἔπεμπε τινὰ τῶν
βασιλικῶν εὐνούχων ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώ-
τοις ἀνευρών, Ἀρνώκη ὀνόματι, φράζειν
βασιλεῖ κελεύσας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν Ἑλλησι³⁰
δέδοκται τῷ ναυτικῷ κεκρατηκότας ἀναπλεῖν εἰς

εἰς

Second
device of
Themisto-
cles by
secret
message to
Xerxes.

§ 2 l. 20 δεῖν B. || 26 ἀπαλλαγῆσεται B Reiske: ἀπαλαγή-
σεται v. || 29 ὀνόματι B F^a: ὄνομα v. See n. on c. 6 § 1 l. 7.

τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπὶ τὸ ζεύγμα καὶ λύειν τὴν γέφυραν· Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ κηδόμενος βασιλέως ³ παραινεῖ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ [θάλατταν] καὶ ¹⁵ παραιουῖσθαι, μέχρις αὐτὸς ἐμποικεῖ τινὰς διατριβὰς τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ μελλήσεις πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν. Ταῦθ' ὁ βάρβαρος ἀκούσας καὶ γενόμενος περίφοβος διὰ τάχους ἐποικεῖτο τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. καὶ πείραν ἢ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδου φρόνησις ἐν Μαρδονίῳ παρέσχεν, εἶγε πολλοστημορίῳ τῆς Ξέρξου δυνάμεως διαγωνισάμενοι Πλαταιᾶσιν εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν ὄλων κίνδυνον κατέστησαν.

which causes the hasty retreat of the King.

XVII Πόλεων μὲν οὖν τὴν Αἰγινητῶν ἀριστεύσαι φησιν Ἡρόδοτος, Θεμιστοκλεῖ δέ, ^{Distribution of prizes of valour among the Greeks.} καίπερ ἄκοντες ὑπὸ φόβου, τὸ πρωτεῖον ἀπέδωσαν ἅπαντες. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ^{Foremost place assigned to Argina among states.} τὴν ψῆφον ἔφερον οἱ στρατηγοί, πρῶτον μὲν ἕκαστος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφαινεν ἀρετῆ, ^{Honours paid to Themistocles.} δεύτερον δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν Θεμιστοκλέα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην αὐτὸν ² καταγαγόντες Εὐρυβιάδῃ μὲν ἀνδρίας, ἐκείνῳ δὲ σοφίας ἀριστεῖον ἔδωσαν θαλλοῦ στέφανον, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀρμάτων τὸ πρωτεῖον ἐδώρησαντο καὶ τριακοσίους τῶν νέων πομποὺς ἄχρι τῶν ὄρων συνεξέπεμψαν. λέγεται δ' Ὀλυμπίων ³ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀγομένων καὶ παρελθόντος εἰς τὸ

§ 3 l. 34 αὐτοῦ S: αὐτοῦ v. Bl: αὐτοῦ Fu. || θάλατταν is bracketed by Blass as a gloss or out of its proper place.

CH. XVII § 2 l. 10 ἀνδρίας S F²: ἀνδρίας vulgo. || 12 πρῶτον S F². || 15 ἐξῆς Fuhr with S.

στάδιον τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀμελήσαντας τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν τοὺς παρόντας ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνον θεᾶσθαι καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιδεικνύειν ἅμα θαυμάζοντας καὶ κροτοῦντας, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡσθέντα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὁμολογήσαι τὸν ²⁰ καρπὸν ἀπέχειν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῷ πονηθέντων.

XVIII Καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῇ φύσει φιλοτιμότητος, εἰ δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομένων. αἰρεθεῖς γὰρ ναύαρχος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν ἰδίων οὔτε τῶν κοινῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ⁵ ἀλλ' ἐπανεβάλλετο τὸ προσπίπτον εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, καθ' ἣν ἐκπλεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἵν' ὁμοῦ πολλὰ πρᾶττων πράγματα καὶ παντοδαποῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλῶν μέγας εἶναι δοκῆ καὶ πλείστον δύνασθαι. τῶν δὲ νεκρῶν τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ¹⁰ ἐπισκοπῶν παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ὡς εἶδε περικειμένους ψέλια χρυσᾶ καὶ στρεπτούς, αὐτὸς μὲν παρῆλθε, τῷ δ' ἐπομένῳ φίλῳ δείξας εἶπεν

121 'Ἀνελοῦ σαυτῷ· σὺ γὰρ οὐκ εἶ Θεμιστοκλήης.'

² Πρὸς δὲ τίνα τῶν καλῶν γεγονότων, Ἀντιφάτην, ¹⁵ ὑπερηφάνως αὐτῷ κεχρημένον πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ θεραπεύοντα διὰ τὴν δόξαν, 'ὦ μειράκιον' εἶπεν 'ὄψέ μὲν, ἀμφότεροι δ' ὁμοῦ νοῦν ἐσχήκαμεν.' ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ θαυμάζειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ πλατάνῳ ²⁰

CH. XVIII § 11. 8 παντοδαπῶς Fuhr with B. || 11 περιειμένους Si¹: περιειμένα v.

§ 21. 18 ἀπό B²: ἅμα v.

χεϊμαζομένους μὲν ὑποτρέχειν [κινδυνεύοντας],
 εὐδίας δὲ περὶ αὐτοὺς γενομένης τίλλειν καὶ
 κολουέιν. τοῦ δὲ Σεριφίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος,
 ὡς οὐ δι' αὐτὸν ἔσχηκε δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν
 25 πόλιν· 'Ἀληθῆ λέγεις' εἶπεν 'ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ
 Σεριφίος ὦν ἐγενόμην ἔνδοξος, οὔτε σὺ 'Αθηναῖος.'
 'Ἐτέρου δὲ τινος τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὡς ἔδοξέ τι
 χρήσιμον διαπεπράχθαι τῇ πόλει, θρασυνομένου
 πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς ἐκείνου
 30 πράξειςιν ἀντιπαραβάλλοντος, ἔφη τῇ ἑορτῇ τὴν
 ὑστεραίαν ἐρίσαι, λέγουσαν ὡς ἐκείνη μὲν ἀσχο-
 λιῶν τε μεστή καὶ κοπῶδης ἐστίν, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ
 πάντες ἀπολαύουσι τῶν παρεσκευασμένων σχολ-
 ᾶζοντες, τὴν δ' ἑορτὴν πρὸς ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν· 'Ἀληθῆ
 35 λέγεις· ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ μὴ γενομένης σὺ οὐκ ἂν ἦσθα·
 'κάμου τοίνυν' ἔφη 'τότε μὴ γενομένου, ποῦ ἂν
 ἦτε νῦν ὑμεῖς;' τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἐντρυφῶντα τῇ μητρὶ
 καὶ δι' ἐκείνην αὐτῷ σκώπτων ἔλεγε πλείστον τῶν
 'Ελλήνων δύνασθαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ 'Ελλήσιν ἐπι-
 40 τάττειν 'Αθηναίους, 'Αθηναίους δ' ἑαυτόν, αὐτῷ δὲ
 τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, τῇ μητρὶ δ' ἐκείνον. ἴδιος δὲ τις
 ἐν πᾶσι βουλόμενος εἶναι, χωρίον μὲν πιπράσκων
 ἐκέλευε κηρύττειν, ὅτι καὶ γείτονα χρηστὸν ἔχει·
 τῶν δὲ μνωμένων αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα τὸν ἐπιεικῆ
 45 τοῦ πλουσίου προκρίνας ἔφη ζητεῖν ἄνδρα χρη-
 μάτων δεόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα ἄνδρός.

§ 2 l. 21 κινδυνεύοντας is bracketed by Fuhr, omitted by Blass: Si' reads καὶ κινδυνεύοντας.

§ 3 l. 31 ὑστεραίαν Si: ὑστέραν vulgo.

§ 4 l. 37 τῇ δὲ υἱῷ ἐντρυφώσῃ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ δι' ἐκείνου αὐτῷ Fu.

XIX Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀποφθέγμασι τοιοῦτός

Themistocles rebuilds the city. His device to procure for the Athenians the opportunity of fortifying it.

τις ἦν· γενόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων εὐθὺς ἐπεχειρεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ τειχίζειν, ὡς (μὲν) ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος, χρήμασι πείσας ἢ μὴ ἐναντιωθῆναι τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὡς δ' οἱ πλείστοι, παρακρουσάμενος. ἦκε

μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σπάρτην ὄνομα πρεσβείας ἐπιγραφάμενος· ἐγκαλούντων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ὅτι τειχίζουσι τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ Πολυάρχου κατηγορουμένου ἐπίτηδες ἐξ Λιγύνης ἀποσταλέντος, ἤρνεϊτο καὶ πέμπειν ἐκέλευεν εἰς Ἀθήνας τοὺς κατοψομένους, ἅμα μὲν ἐμβάλλων τῷ τειχισμῷ χρόνον ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πεμπομένους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ὃ καὶ συνέβη· γινόντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἠδίκησαν αὐτόν, ἄλλ' ἀδήλως χαλεπαίνοντες ἀπέπεμψαν. Ἐκ

Enlargement and fortification of the town and harbour of Piræus.

δὲ τούτου τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατεσκεύαζε, τὴν τῶν λιμένων εὐφυῖαν κατανοήσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ἀρμοττόμενος πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς παλαίοις βασιλεῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀντιπολιτευόμενος. ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ, ὡς λέγεται, πραγματευόμενοι τοὺς πολίτας ἀποσπᾶσαι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ συνεθῆσαι ζῆν μὴ πλέοντας, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν φυτεύοντας, τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς διέδοσαν

λόγον, ὡς ἐρίσαντα περὶ τῆς χώρας Ποσειδῶνα
 δείξασα τὴν μορίαν τοῖς δικασταῖς, ἐνίκησε,
 30 Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' οὐχ, ὥσπερ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ
 κωμικός φησι, τῇ πόλει τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαξεν,
 ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξῆψε τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τὴν
 γῆν τῆς θαλάττης· ὅθεν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἠύξησε
 κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ θράσους ἐπέπλησεν, εἰς
 35 αὐτάς καὶ κελευστάς καὶ κυβερνήτας τῆς
 δυνάμεως ἀφικομένης. Διὸ καὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν
 Πυυκλί πεποιημένον ὥστ' ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν
 θάλατταν ὕστερον οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν
 ἀπέστρεψαν, οἴομενοι τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν
 40 ἀρχὴν γένεσιν εἶναι δημοκρατίας, ὀλιγαρχία δ'
 ἦττον δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς γεωργοῦντας.

XX Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ καὶ μεῖζόν τι περὶ τῆς
 ναυτικῆς διανοήθη δυνάμεως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ τῶν 122
 Ἑλλήνων στόλος ἀπηλλαγμένου Ξέρξου κατήρεν
 εἰς Παγασὰς καὶ διεχείμαζε, δημηγορῶν ἐν τοῖς
 5 Ἀθηναίοις ἔφη τινὰ πρᾶξιν ἔχειν ἀφέλιμον μὲν
 αὐτοῖς καὶ σωτήριον, ἀπόρρητον δὲ
 πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων
 Ἀριστείδη μόνῳ φράσαι κελευόντων,
 κὰν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ περαίνειν, ὁ μὲν
 10 Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔφρασε τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ
 τὸ νεώριον ἐμπρῆσαι διανοεῖσθαι τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων· ὁ δ' Ἀριστείδης εἰς τὸν δῆμον

§ 2 l. 28 τὸν Ποσειδῶ Bl.

§ 3 l. 30 ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς S F^a. Fuhr suggests the omission of Θεμιστοκλῆς. || ὥσπερ... φησι S F^a: ὡς... λέγει vulgo. || 31 προσέμαξεν libri: corr. Xylander.

CH. XX § 1 l. 2 δυνάμει διανοήθη S F^a. || 5 μὲν om. S.

προελθὼν ἔφη τῆς πράξεως, ἣν διανοεῖται πρᾶτ-
 τειν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μηδεμίαν εἶναι μῆτε λυσιτελ-
 εστέραν μῆτ' ἀδικωτέραν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι 13
 διὰ ταῦτα παύσασθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέ-
 2 ταξαν. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀμφικτυονικοῖς συνεδρίοις
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσηγουμένων, ὅπως
 ἰπεύργωνται τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας αἱ μὴ
 συμμαχήσασαι κατὰ τοῦ Μήδου πόλεις, 20
 φοβηθεῖς μὴ Θερταλούς καὶ Ἀργεῖους,
 ἔτι δὲ Θηβαίους ἐκβαλόντες τοῦ συνε-
 δρίου παντελῶς ἐπικρατήσωσι τῶν
 ψήφων καὶ γένηται τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκείνοις,
 συνεῖπε ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ μετέθηκε τὰς 23
 γνώμας τῶν Πυλαγόρων, διδάξας ὡς
 τριάκοντα καὶ μία μόναι πόλεις εἰσὶν
 αἱ τοῦ πολέμου μετασχούσαι καὶ τούτων αἱ
 πλείους παντάπασι μικραί· δεινὸν οὖν, εἰ τῆς
 ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐκσπόνδου γενομένης ἐπὶ ταῖς 30
 μεγίσταις δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶ πόλεσιν ἔσται τὸ
 συνέδριον. Ἐκ τούτου μὲν οὖν μάλιστα τοῖς
 Λακεδαιμονίοις προσέκρουσε· διὸ καὶ τὸν Κίμωννα
 προήγον ταῖς τιμαῖς, ἀντίπαλον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
 τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καθιστάντες. 35

XXI Ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς συμμαχοῖς ἐπαχθῆς
 περιπλέων τε τὰς νήσους καὶ χρηματιζόμενος ἀπ'
 αὐτῶν· οἶα καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἀργύριον αἰτοῦντά
 φησιν αὐτὸν Ἡρόδοτος εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκούσαι.

§ 1 l. 13 προελθὼν S P^a: παρελθὼν vulgo.

§ 2 l. 28 αἱ πλείους S P^a. || 34 προήγοντο libri: προήγου, 2
aliius aliis aliius pronelchani, Reiske.

- 1 δύο γὰρ ἦκειν ἔφη θεοὺς κομίζων, Πειθῶ καὶ
 Βίαν· οἱ δ' ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρ' Themisto-
cles levies
fines on the
insular and
other allies
of Athens.
 αὐτοῖς θεοὺς μεγάλας δύο, Πενίαν καὶ
 Ἀπορίαν, ὑφ' ὧν κωλύεσθαι δοῦναι
 χρήματα ἐκεῖνο. Τιμοκρέων δ' ὁ Ῥόδιος
- 10 μελοποιοὺς ἐν ᾄσματι καθάπτεται πικρότερον τοῦ
 Θεμιστοκλέους, ὡς ἄλλους μὲν ἐπὶ Bitter lam-
poons on him
by the poet
Timocreon
of Rhodes.
 χρήμασι φυγάδας διαπραξαμένου κατ-
 ελθεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ ξένον ὄντα καὶ φίλον
 προεμένου δι' ἀργύριον. λέγει δ' οὕτως
- 15 ἄλλ' εἰ τί γα Παιγανίαν ἢ καὶ τί γα Ξάνθειππον αἰνεῖς στρ.
 ἢ τί γα Λεγυγίαν, ἐγὼ δ' Ἀριστείδαν ἐπαινέω,
 ἄνδρ' ἱερᾶν ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν
 ὅς ἠλθ', ἕνα λῶστον· ἐπεὶ Θεμιστοκλέα δὴ ἤχθαρε λατῶ,
 ψεύξαν, δάικον, προδόταν, ὅς Τιμοκρέοντα ζεῖνον 3
 εἶοντα ἀντ.
- 20 ἀργυρίοις κυβαλικοῖσι πεισθεῖς οὐ κατάγεν
 εἰς πατρίδα Ἰάλυσον,
 λαβῶν δὲ τρεῖς ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἕβα πλέων εἰς ὄλεθρον,
 τοὺς μὲν κατάγων ἀδίκως, τοὺς δ' ἐκδιώκων, τοὺς δὲ
 καίνων,
 ἀργυρίου δ' ὑπόπλεος, Ἰσθμοὶ δὲ πανδόκευς γελοῖος ἐπ.
- 25 ψυχρὰ κρέα παρέχων· τοῖ δ' ἠσθιον κηΐχοντο μὴ ὦραν
 Θεμιστοκλέος γενέσθαι.
- πολὸν δ' ἀσελγεστέρα καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη μᾶλλον 4

OH. XXI § 2 l. 15 αἰτίσεις S F^a. || 18 ὅς ἠλθ' ἕνα λῶστον Blass :
 ὅς ἦλθε λατῶς S F^a : ἐλθεῖν ἕνα λῶστον Fu v. || δ' ἤχθαρε S F^a :
 § 3 l. 20 κυβαλικοῖσι Bl Fu after Bergk : κυβαλικοῖσι S F^a :
 σκυβαλικοῖσι vulgo : σκυβαλικοῖσι Si after Hermann. || κατήγαγεν
 S F^a. || 21 πάτραν Si with Hermann. || 22 ἐπ' S F^a. || 23 διώκων
 S F^a. || 24 ἀργυρίου δ' S F^a : ἀργυρίων v. || ὑπόπλεος Blass after
 Ahrens : ὑποπλείος F^a : ὑπόπλεως S vulgo. || πανδοκεὺς γελοῖος
 oozj. Blass : πανδόκευς γελοῖος S : γελοῖος πανδόκευς Enger Fu.

εἰς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα βλασφημία χρῆται μετὰ
τὴν φυγὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν καταδίκην ὁ Τιμοκρέων,
ἄσμα ποιήσας, οὐ ἔστιν ἀρχή· 30

ΜΟΥΣΑ ΤΟΥΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΛΕΟΣ
ΚΛΕΟΣ ΔΝ' ἙΛΛΑΝΑΣ ΤΙΘΕΙ,
ὩΣ ΕΘΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ.

λέγεται δ' ὁ Τιμοκρέων ἐπὶ μηδισμῷ φυγεῖν
συγκαταψηφισαμένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. ὡς 35
οὖν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αἰτίαν ἔσχε μηδίξειν, ταῦτ'
ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτόν·

ΟΥΚ ἌΡΑ ΤΙΜΟΚΡΕΩΝ ΜΟΝΟΣ
ΜΗΔΟΙΣΙΝ ὠΡΚΙΑΤΟΜΕΙ,
ἌΛΛ' ἘΝΤΙ ΚΑΛΛΟΙ Δὴ ΠΟΝΗΡΟΙ·
ΟΥΚ ἘΓΩ ΜΟΝΑ ΚΟΛΟΥΡΙΣ·
ἘΝΤΙ ΚΑΛΛΑΙ ΔΛΩΠΕΚΕΣ. 40

123 XXII Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν διὰ τὸ φθονεῖν
ἠδέως τὰς διαβολὰς προσιεμένων ἠναγ-
κάζετο λυπηρὸς εἶναι τῶν αὐτοῦ πράξ-
εων πολλάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μνημονεύων,
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας 'Τίς
κοπιᾶτε' εἰπεῖν 'ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολ-
λάκις εὐ πάσχοντες;' ἠνίασε δὲ τοὺς
πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος,
ἦν Ἀριστοβούλην μὲν προσηγόρευσεν, ὡς ἄριστα
τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι βουλευσάμενος, 10

Growing
jealousy of
Themisto-
cles, who
gives offence
by his mani-
festations of
personal
vanity.

§ 4 l. 28 κέχρηται βλασφημία v. || 30 ἡ ἀρχή F^a. || 31 τοῦδε
μέλεος S F^a. || 38 μόνος Ahrens Bl Fu : μόνος v. || 39 μήλοισιν
S. || ὠρκιατόμει Blass after Bergk : ὀρκιατομει Si Fu after Her-
mann : ἄρκια τομή S F^a : ὀρκια τέμει vulgo.

OH. XXII § 1 l. 3 αὐτοῦ S. || 4 μνημονεύων S Bryan : μνημονεο-
μένων v. || 6 εἰπεῖν S Bl : εἶπεν vulgo (εἶπών Fuhr after Bryan).

πλησίον δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Μελλίτῃ
 τὸ ἱερόν, οὐ νῦν τὰ σώματα τῶν θανατουμένων
 οἱ δῆμοι προβάλλουσι καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τοὺς
 βρόχους τῶν ἀπαγχομένων καὶ καθαιρεθέντων
 15 ἐκφέρουσιν. Ἐκεῖτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους §
 εἰκόνιον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀριστοβούλης ἔτι καθ'
 ἡμᾶς· καὶ φαίνεται τις οὐ τὴν ψυχὴν μόνον,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἡρωϊκὸς γενόμενος. τὸν μὲν
 οὖν ἐξοστρακισμὸν ἐποίησαντο κατ' He is
 20 αὐτοῦ κολούοντες τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ostracisoi.
 ὑπεροχὴν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ πάντων, οὐδ'
 ᾧοντο τῇ δυνάμει βαρεῖς καὶ πρὸς ἰσότητά
 δημοκρατικὴν ἀσυμμέτρους εἶναι. κόλασις γὰρ
 οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐξοστρακισμὸς, ἀλλὰ παραμυθία φθόνου
 25 καὶ κουφισμὸς, ἡδομένου τῷ ταπεινοῦν τοὺς
 ὑπερέχοντας καὶ τὴν δυσμένειαν εἰς ταύτην τὴν
 ἀτιμίαν ἀποπνέοντος.

XXIII Ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τῆς πόλεως After his
 αὐτοῦ καὶ διατρίβοντος ἐν Ἄργει, ostracism,
 περὶ Πausανίου συμπεσόντα κατ' ἐκεί- during his
 νου παρέσχε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀφορμᾶς. exile at
 5 ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος αὐτὸν προδοσίας Λεω- Argos, the
 βώτης ἦν ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος Ἀγρυλῆθεν, exposure of
 ἅμα συνεπαιτιωμένων τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. the treason
 Ὁ γὰρ Πausανίας πράττων ἐκεῖνα δὴ of Pausanias
 τὰ περὶ τὴν προδοσίαν πρότερον μὲν and the
discovery of
his corre-
spondence
raise the
presumption
of collusion
against The-
mistocles.

§ 1 l. 13 προσβάλλουσι B.

§ 2 l. 17 μόνον B: μόνην v. || 20 κολούοντες F^a.

OH. XXIII § 1 l. 5 Λεωβώτης Cobet Bl Fu: Λεωβότης v. || 6
 ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος Ἀγρυλῆθεν Cobet Bl Fu: ὁ Ἀλκμείωνος Ἀγρυλῆθεν
 Si vulgo.

ἀπεκρίπτετο τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, καίπερ ὄντα ¹⁰
 φίλον· ὡς δ' εἶδεν ἐκπεπτωκότα τῆς πολιτείας
 καὶ φέροντα χαλεπῶς, ἐθάρσησεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοι-
 νωνίαν τῶν πραττομένων παρακαλεῖν, γράμματα
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ καὶ παροξ-
 ῦνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὡς πονηροὺς καὶ ¹⁵
 ἀχαρίστους. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν δέησιν ἀπετρίψατο
 τοῦ Πausανίου καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ὅλους ἀπέ-
 πατο, πρὸς οὐδένα δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐξήνεγκεν
 οὐδὲ κατεμήνυσε τὴν πρᾶξιν, εἴτε παύσεσθαι
 προσδοκῶν αὐτόν, εἴτ' ἄλλως καταφανῆ γενή- ²⁰
 σεσθαι, σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ πραγμάτων ἀτόπων
 3 καὶ παραβόλων ὀρεγόμενον. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Παν-
 σανίου θανατωθέντος ἐπιστολαὶ τινες ἀνευρεθεῖσαι
 καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων εἰς ὑποψίαν ἐνέβαλον
 τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα· καὶ κατεβῶν μὲν ²⁵
 αὐτοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατηγοροῦν δ' οἱ
 φθονοῦντες τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐ παρόντος,
 ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ἀπολογουμένου
 μάλιστα ταῖς προτέραις κατηγορίαις·
 διαβαλλόμενος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ³⁰
 πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν αἰεὶ
 ζητῶν, ἄρχεσθαι δὲ μὴ πεφυκῶς μηδὲ
 βουλόμενος, οὐκ ἂν ποτε βαρβάρους
 αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίους ἀποδόσθαι μετὰ
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμπεισθεῖς ὑπὸ ³⁵

Themisto-
 cles tries in
 vain to
 defend
 himself by
 letters
 against the
 charge of
 Medism pre-
 ferred by his
 political
 opponents
 at the in-
 stance of the
 Spartans.
 Envoys sent
 to arrest
 him.

§ 2 l. 11 τῆς πόλεως Cobet coll. v. 1. || 13 γράμματα S F^a Bl
 Fu: τὰ γράμματα Si v. || 16 ἀπετρίψατο S F^a. || 19 παύσεσθαι S.

§ 3 l. 22 δέ S. || 31 ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν αἰεὶ Madvig S pr.: ἔγραφον
 ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν αἰεὶ vulgo. || 34 αὐτόν οὐδὲ πολεμίους F^a S (ubi αὐτόν)
 Bl Fu: καὶ πολεμίους αὐτόν Si vulgo.

πλησίον δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κατεσκευάσεν ἐν Μελίτῃ
 τὸ ἱερόν, οὐ νῦν τὰ σώματα τῶν θανατουμένων
 οἱ δῆμοι προβάλλουσι καὶ τὰ ἰμάτια καὶ τοὺς
 βρόχους τῶν ἀπαγχομένων καὶ καθαιρεθέντων
 15 ἐκφέρουσιν. Ἐκεῖτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους
 εἰκόνιον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀριστοβούλης ἔτι καθ'
 ἡμᾶς· καὶ φαίνεται τις οὐ τὴν ψυχὴν μόνον,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἡρωϊκὸς γενόμενος. τὸν μὲν
 οὖν ἐξοστρακισμὸν ἐποίησαντο κατ'
 20 αὐτοῦ κολούοντες τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν He is ostracised.
 ὑπεροχὴν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ πάντων, οὐδ'
 ᾧοντο τῇ δυνάμει βαρεῖς καὶ πρὸς ἰσότητά
 δημοκρατικὴν ἀσυμμέτρους εἶναι. κόλασις γὰρ
 οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐξοστρακισμὸς, ἀλλὰ παραμυθία φθόνου
 25 καὶ κουφισμὸς, ἡδομένου τῷ ταπεινοῦ τοὺς
 ὑπερέχοντας καὶ τὴν δυσμένειαν εἰς ταύτην τὴν
 ἀτιμίαν ἀποπνέοντος.

XXIII Ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τῆς πόλεως After his ostracism, during his exile at Argos, the exposure of the treason of Pausanias and the discovery of his correspondence raise the presumption of collusion against Themistocles.
 αὐτοῦ καὶ διατρίβοντος ἐν Ἀργεῖ, 5 τὰ
 περὶ Πausανίας συμπεσόντα κατ' ἐκεί-
 νου παρέσχε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀφορμὰς.
 5 ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος αὐτὸν προδοσίας Λεω-
 βώτης ἦν ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος Ἀγρυλῆθεν,
 ἅμα συνεπαιτιωμένων τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν.
 Ὁ γὰρ Πausανίας πράττων ἐκεῖνα δὴ
 τὰ περὶ τὴν προδοσίαν πρότερον μὲν

§ 1 l. 13 προσβάλλουσι B.

§ 2 l. 17 μόνον B: μόνον v. || 20 κολούοντες F^a.

OH. XXIII § 1 l. 5 Λεωβώτης Cobet Bl Fu: Λεωβότης v. || 6
 ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος Ἀγρυλῆθεν Cobet Bl Fu: ὁ Ἀλκμαίωτος Ἀγρυλῆθεν
 Si vulgo.

ἀπεκρίπτετο τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, καίπερ ὄντα ¹⁰
 φίλον· ὡς δ' εἶδεν ἐκπεπωκότα τῆς πολιτείας
 καὶ φέροντα χαλεπῶς, ἐθάρσησεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοι-
 νωνίαν τῶν πραττομένων παρακαλεῖν, γράμματα
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ καὶ παροξ-
 ύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὡς πονηροὺς καὶ ¹⁵
 ἀχαρίστους. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν δέησιν ἀπετρίψατο
 τοῦ Πausανίου καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ὄλως ἀπέ-
 πατο, πρὸς οὐδένα δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐξήνεγκεν
 οὐδὲ κατεμήνυσε τὴν πράξιν, εἴτε παύσεσθαι
 προσδοκῶν αὐτόν, εἴτ' ἄλλως καταφανῆ γενή- ²⁰
 σεσθαι, σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ πραγμάτων ἀτόπων
 3 καὶ παραβύλων ὀρεγόμενον. Οὕτω δὴ τοῦ Πau-
 σανίου θανατωθέντος ἐπιστολαὶ τινες ἀνευρεθεῖσαι
 καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων εἰς ὑποψίαν ἐπέβαλον
 τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα· καὶ κατεβίων μὲν ²⁵
 αὐτοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατηγοροῦν δ' οἱ
 φθονοῦντες τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐ παρόντος,
 ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ἀπολογουμένου
 μάλιστα ταῖς προτέραις κατηγορίαις·
 διαβαλλόμενος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ³⁰
 πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν αἰεὶ
 ζητῶν, ἄρχεσθαι δὲ μὴ πεφυκῶς μηδὲ
 βουλόμενος, οὐκ ἂν ποτε βαρβάρους
 αὐτόν οὐδὲ πολεμίους ἀποδόσθαι μετὰ
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμπεισθεῖς ὑπὸ ³⁵

Themisto-
 cles tries in
 vain to
 defend
 himself by
 letters
 against the
 charge of
 Medism pre-
 ferred by his
 political
 opponents
 at the in-
 stance of the
 Spartans.
 Envoys sent
 to arrest
 him.

§ 2 l. 11 τῆς πόλεως Cobet coll. v. 1. || 13 γράμματα S F^a Bl
 Fu : τὰ γράμματα Si v. || 16 ἀπετρίψατο S F^a. || 19 παύσεσθαι S.
 § 3 l. 22 δέ S. || 31 ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν αἰεὶ Madvig S pr. : ἔγραφεν
 ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν αἰεὶ vulgo. || 34 αὐτόν οὐδὲ πολεμίους F^a S (ubi αὐτῶ)
 Bl Fu : καὶ πολεμίους αὐτόν Si vulgo.

τῶν κατηγορούντων ὁ δῆμος ἔπεμψεν ἄνδρας, οἷς εἶρητο συλλαμβάνειν καὶ ἀνάγειν αὐτὸν κριθησόμενον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.

XXIV Προαισθόμενος δ' ἐκείνος εἰς Κέρκυραν διεπέρασεν, οὔσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν His flight from Argos to Corcyra. ἐυεργεσίας. γενόμενος γὰρ αὐτῶν κριτῆς πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐχόντων διαφοράν, Being pursued, he seeks protection from Admetus. εἴλυσε τὴν ἔχθραν εἴκοσι τάλαντα κρίνας τοὺς Κορινθίους καταβαλεῖν καὶ Λευκάδα κοινῇ νέμειν ἀμφοτέρων ἄποικον. Ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς 3 Ἠπειρον ἔφυγε· καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς 10 ἐλπίδας χαλεπὰς καὶ ἀπόρους, καταφυγὼν πρὸς Ἄδμητον, ὃς βασιλεὺς μὲν ἦν Μολοτῶν, δεσθεὶς δέ τι τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ προπηλακισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ὅτ' ἠκμαζεν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, δι' ὀργῆς εἶχεν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ καὶ δῆλος ἦν, εἰ λάβοι, 15 τιμωρησόμενος. ἐν δὲ τῇ τότε τύχῃ μᾶλλον ὁ 124 Θεμιστοκλῆς φοβηθεὶς συγγενῇ καὶ πρόσφατον φθόνον ὀργῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ βασιλικῆς, ταύτην φέρων ὑπέθηκεν ἑαυτὸν, ἰκέτης τοῦ Ἄδμητου καταστάς ἰδίον τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον. 20 ἔχων γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν ὄντα παῖδα πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν προσέπεσε, ταύτην μεγίστην καὶ μόνην σχεδὸν ἀναντίρρητον ἡγουμένων ἰκεσίαν τῶν Μολοσσῶν. Ἔγιοι μὲν οὖν Φθίαν τὴν γυναικα 3 τοῦ βασιλέως λέγουσιν ὑποθέσθαι τῷ Θεμιστο- 25 κλεῖ τὸ ἰκέτευμα τοῦτο καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τὴν

§ 3 l. 37 ἀνάγειν § Bryan Bl Fu : ἀγειν Korāös Si : ἐνάγειν v. CH. XXIV § 2 l. 9 ἑαυτῶν § : αὐτῶν vulgo.

ἔστιαν καθίσει μετ' αὐτοῦ· τινὲς δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἄδμητον, ὡς ἀφοσιώσαιο πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας τὴν ἀνάγκην, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσι τὸν ἄνδρα, διαθεῖναι καὶ συντραγωδηῖσαι τὴν ἱκεσίαν. ἐκεῖ, δ' αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκκλέψας ἔκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, Ἐπικράτης ὁ Ἀχαρνεὺς ἀπέστειλεν· ὃν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κίμων ὕστερον κρίνας ἐθανάτωσεν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Σησιμβροτος. εἰτ' οὐκ

οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπιλαθόμενος τούτων ἢ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ποιῶν ἐπιλαθόμενον πλεῦ- 3: σαί φησιν εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ παρ' Ἱέρωνος αἰτεῖν τοῦ τυράννου τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον, ὑπισχνούμενον αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπηκόους ποιήσειν· ἀποτριψ-

αμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος, οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἠ- ἀπᾶραι. xxv Ταῦτα δ' οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν οὕτω γενέσθαι. Θεόφραστος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ βασιλείας ἱστορεῖ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, πέμψαντος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν Ἱέρωνος ἵππους ἀγωνιστὰς καὶ σκηνήν τινα κατεσκευασμένην πολυτελῶς στήσαντος, εἰπεῖν 5 ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι λόγον, ὡς χρὴ τὴν σκηνήν διαρπάσαι τοῦ τυράννου καὶ κωλύσαι τοὺς ἵππους ἀγωνίσασθαι. Θου-

κυδίδης δ' ἐκπλεύσαι φησιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν καταβάντα θύλασσαν ἀπὸ 1: Πύδνης, οὐδενὸς εἰδότος ὅστις εἶη τῶν πλεόντων,

§ 3 l. 39 ἀποτριψαμένου § F^a: ἀποστρεψαμένου vulgo.
 CH. XXV § 1 l. 9 δ' ἐκπλεύσαι φησιν αὐτὸν Blass after Madvig
 (who reads δὲ φησιν ἐκπλεύσαι αὐτόν): δὲ φησιν καὶ πλεύσαι αὐτόν
 vulgo: δὲ καὶ πλεύσαι φησιν αὐτόν Si Fu after Bousset.

μέχρι οὐ πνεύματι τῆς ὀλκάδος εἰς Νάξον κατα-
 φερομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων πολιορκουμένην τότε
 φοβηθεὶς ἀναδείξειεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ τε ναυκλήρῳ καὶ
 15 τῷ κυβερνήτῃ· καὶ τὰ μὲν δεόμενος, τὰ δ' ἀπει-
 λῶν καὶ λέγων, ὅτι κατηγορήσοι καὶ καταψεύσοιτο
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς οὐκ ἄγνοοῦντες ἄλλὰ
 χρήμασι πεισθέντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλάβοιεν αὐτόν,
 οὕτως ἀναγκάσειε παραπλεύσαι καὶ λαβέσθαι
 20 τῆς Ἀσίας. τῶν δὲ χρημάτων αὐτῷ The amount
of his
property
and the
disposal
thereof.
 πολλὰ μὲν ὑπεκκλαπέντα διὰ τῶν
 φίλων εἰς Ἀσίαν ἔπλει· τῶν δὲ φανε-
 ρῶν γενομένων καὶ συναχθέντων εἰς
 τὸ δημόσιον Θεόπομπος μὲν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα,
 25 Θεόφραστος δὲ ὀγδοήκοντά φησι γενέσθαι τὸ
 πλήθος, οὐδὲ τριῶν ἄξια ταλάντων κεκτημένου
 τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους πρὶν ἄπτεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας.

XXVI Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς He goes to
the Aeolic
Cyme, and
thence,
being
watched,
escapes to
Aegae to his
guest-friend
Nicogenes,
who sends
him on in a
closed litter
to seek
refuge with
the king of
Persia
 Κύμην καὶ πολλοὺς ἦσθετο τῶν ἐπὶ
 θαλάττῃ παραφυλάττοντας αὐτὸν
 λαβεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἐργο-
 5 τέλη καὶ Πυθόδωρον (ἦν γὰρ ἡ θήρα
 λυσιτελῆς τοῖς γε τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ
 παντὸς ἀγαπῶσι, διακοσίων ἐπικεκη-
 ρυγμένων αὐτῷ ταλάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ
 βασιλέως), ἔφυγεν εἰς Αἰγίως, Αἰολικὸν

§ 1 l. 12 Νάξον Bl v. : Θάσον Fuhr with S : Θάσσον (sic) F^a.
 cu. xxvi § 1 l. 4 Cobet suggests the omission of λαβεῖν, com-
 paring *Timoleon* c. 19 τὰς Καρχηδονίων τριήρεις αἱ παραφυλάττονται
 αὐτοῖς; but in *Eumenes*. c. 13, 6 we have αὐτὸν παραφυλάττοντας
 ἀπελεῖν, εἰ γένοιτο καιρὸς. || 6 τοῖς γε τό Blass after Fuhr : τοῖς
 τότε S F^a : τοῖς τό v.

πολισμάτιον, ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγνοούμενος πλὴν τοῦ κ
 ξένου Νικογένους, ὃς Αἰολέων πλείστην οὐσίαν
 ἐκέκτητο καὶ τοῖς ἄνω δυνατοῖς γνώριμος ὑπῆρχε.
 παρὰ τούτῳ κρυπτόμενος ἡμέρας ὀλίγας διέτριψεν·
 εἶτα μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκ θυσίας τινὸς Ὀλβιος ὁ
 τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Νικογένους παιδαγωγὸς ἔκφρων κ
 γενόμενος καὶ θεοφόρητος ἀνεφώνησεν ἐν μέτρῳ
 ταυτί

ΝΥΚΤΙ ΦΩΝΗΝ, ΝΥΚΤΙ ΒΟΥΛΗΝ, ΝΥΚΤΙ ΤΗΝ ΝΙΚΗΝ ΔΙΔΟΥ.

κ
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατακοιμηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς
 ὄναρ ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν δράκοντα κατὰ τῆς γαστρὸς κ
 αὐτοῦ περιελιττόμενον καὶ προσανέρποντα τῷ
 τραχήλῳ· γενόμενον δ' αἰτόν, ὡς ἦψατο τοῦ
 προσώπου, περιβαλόντα τὰς πτέρυγας ἐξἄραι
 καὶ κομίζειν πολλὴν ὀδόν, εἶτα χρυσοῦ τινὸς
 κηρυκείου φανέντος, ἐπὶ τούτῳ στήσαι βεβαίως κ
 αὐτὸν ἀμηχάνου δείματος καὶ ταραχῆς ἀπαλλα-
 125 γέντα. πέμπεται δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νικογένους
 μηχανησαμένου τι τοιόνδε. τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ
 γένους τὸ πολὺ καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Περσικὸν εἰς
 ζηλοτυπίαν τὴν περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἄγριον φύσει κ
 καὶ χαλεπὸν ἔστιν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς γαμετάς,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀργυρωνήτους καὶ παλλακευόμενας
 ἰσχυρῶς παραφυλάττουσιν, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς

§ 1 l. 14 ὁ τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Νικογένους κ. Bl vulgo: ὁ Νικο-
 γένους παιδαγωγὸς Führ with S. || 16 ἐν μέτρῳ S Reiske conj. Bl
 Fu: μέτρῳ vulgo.

§ 2 l. 19 κατακοιμηθεὶς S F^a Bl Fu; κοιμηθεὶς vulgo. || 25 κηρυ-
 κίου S F^a. || ἐπὶ τούτῳ S Fu: ἐπὶ τούτου Bl v. || 28 τοιόνδε S F^a
 Bl Fu: τοιούτῳ Si vulgo.

ὀράσθαι τῶν ἐκτός, ἀλλ' οἴκοι μὲν διαιτᾶσθαι
 35 κατακεκλειμένας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ὑπὸ
 σκηναῖς κύκλω περιπεφραγμένας ἐπὶ τῶν
 ἄρμαμαξῶν ὀχεῖσθαι. τοιαύτης τῆς Θεμιστοκλεῖ
 κατασκευασθείσης ἀπήνης καταδύς ἐκομίζετο,
 τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι καὶ
 40 πυνθανομένοις λεγόντων, ὅτι γύναιον Ἐλληνικὸν
 ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐπὶ θύραις
 βασιλέως. XXVII Θουκυδίδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Χάρων
 ὁ Λαμφακηνὸς ἱστοροῦσι τεθνηκότος (who was
 Ξέρξου πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς probably
 Θεμιστοκλεῖ γενέσθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν. the son of
 5 Ἐφορος δὲ καὶ Δεῖνων καὶ Κλείταρχος Xerxes, not
 καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ἔτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες, as some say,
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Ξέρξην. τοῖς δὲ χρονι- Xerxes
 κοῖς δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὁ Θουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι, himself).
 καίπερ οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἀτρέμα συντεταραγμένοις.
 10 Ὁ δ' οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς γενόμενος Through
 παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ δεινὸν ἐντυγχάνει πρῶτον Artabanus
 Ἄρταβάνῳ τῷ χιλιάρχῳ, λέγων Ἐλληὺν himself,
 μὲν εἶναι, βούλεσθαι δ' ἐντυχεῖν βασιλεῖ the visir,
 περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ πρὸς ἄ according to
 15 τυγχάνει μάλιστα σπουδάζων ἐκεῖνος. Phanias, or,
 ὁ δὲ φησιν Ὡ ξένη, νόμοι διαφέρουσιν as others
 the king. 3

§ 3 l. 35 κατακεκλειμένας S P^a B1 Fu : κατακεκλεισμένας Si v.
 || 36 σκηναῖς B1 Fu after Madvig, ipsae enim feminae erant
 περιπεφραγμέναι : σκηνας vulgo. || 41 τινας S.

CH. XXVII § 1 l. 7 τῶν omitted by S P^a. || 9 αὐτοῖς...συντε-
 ταραγμένοις Blass after Cobet's conjecture συνταραττομένοις :
 αὐτοῖς...συντεταγμένοις S P^a Fuhr : αὐτοῖς συντεταγμένοις Si :
 αὐτοῖς συνταραττομένοις v. || 14 πραγμάτων μεγάλων S P^a B1 Fu :
 μεγάλων πρ. v. || 15 τυγχάνει S.

ἀνθρώπων· ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοις καλὰ· καλὸν δὲ
 πᾶσι τὰ οἰκεῖα κοσμεῖν καὶ σφύζειν. ὑμᾶς μὲν
 οὖν ἐλευθερίαν μάλιστα θαυμάζειν καὶ ἰσότητα
 λόγος· ἡμῖν δὲ πολλῶν νόμων καὶ καλῶν ὄντων
 κάλλιστος οὗτός ἐστι, τιμᾶν βασιλέα καὶ προσ-
 κυνεῖν ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα σφύζοντος.
 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα προσκυνήσεις,
 ἔστι σοι καὶ θεύσασθαι βασιλέα καὶ προσεπεινῆν·
 εἰ δ' ἄλλο τι φρονεῖς, ἀγγέλοις ἑτέροις χρήση
 πρὸς αὐτόν. βασιλεῖ γὰρ οὐ πάτριον ἀνδρὸς
 ἀκροᾶσθαι μὴ προσκυνήσαντος· ταῦθ' ὁ Θεμι-
 στοκλῆς ἀκούσας λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· 'Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε
 τὴν βασιλέως, ὦ Ἀρτάβανε, φήμην καὶ δύναμιν
 αὐξήσων ἀφίγμαι, καὶ αὐτός τε πείσομαι τοῖς
 ὑμετέροις νόμοις, ἐπεὶ θεῶ τῷ μεγαλύνοντι Πέρ-
 σας οὕτω δοκεῖ, καὶ δι' ἐμέ πλείονες τῶν νῦν
 βασιλέα προσκυνήσουσιν, ὥστε τοῦτο μηδὲν
 ἐμποδῶν ἔστω τοῖς λόγοις, οὓς βούλομαι πρὸς
 3 ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν.' 'Τίνα δ' εἶπεν ὁ Ἀρτάβανος 35
 'Ἑλλήνων ἀφίχθαι σε φῶμεν; οὐ γὰρ ἰδιώτη
 τὴν γνώμην ἔοικας.' καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς 'Τοῦτ'
 οὐκέτ' ἂν' ἔφη 'πύθοιτό τις, Ἀρτάβανε, πρό-
 τερος βασιλέως.' Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Φανίας φησίν, ὁ
 δ' Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Περὶ πλούτου προσιστό- 40
 ρησε, διὰ γυναικὸς Ἐρετρικῆς, ἣν ὁ χιλίαρχος
 εἶχε, τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντευξιν
 γενέσθαι καὶ σύστασιν.

§ 2 l. 22 τοῦ πάντα S F^a. || 28 ἐγὼ S F^a. || 34 ἔσται S F^a,
 corrected into ἔστω by Si¹.

§ 3 l. 36 ἀφίχθαι φῶμεν S F^a Fuhr. || 38 οὐκ ἂν S F^a Fuhr. ||
 Ἀρτάβανε omitted by S F^a Fuhr. || 41 αἰρετρικῆς S : αἰρετικῆς F^a.

XXVIII Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν εἰσήχθη πρὸς βασιλέα
καὶ προσκυνήσας ἔσθη σιωπῇ, προσ-
τάξαντος τῷ ἑρμηνεῖ τοῦ βασιλέως
ἑρωτῆσαι, τίς ἐστὶ, καὶ τοῦ ἑρμηνέως
ἑρωτήσαντος, εἶπεν

His favour-
able recep-
tion by the
Persian
King.

Ἦκω σοι, βασιλεῦ, Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος
ἐγὼ φυγὰς ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων διωχθεὶς, ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν
ὀφείλουσι Πέρσαι κακά, πλείω δ' ἀγαθὰ κωλύ-
σαντι τὴν δίωξιν, ὅτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ
γεγενημένης παρέσχε τὰ οἰκεία σφριζόμενα χαρί-
σασθαί τι καὶ ὑμῖν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν πάντα
πρέποντα ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς ἐστὶ, καὶ
παρεσκευασμένος ἀφύγμαι δέξασθαί τε χάριν
εὐμενῶς διαλλαττομένον καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι μνησι-
κακοῦντος ὀργήν· σὺ δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐχθροὺς
μάρτυρας θέμενος ὧν εὐεργέτησα Πέρσας, νῦν
ἀπόχρησαι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαις πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν
ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν ὀργῆς.
σφῆεις μὲν γὰρ ἰκέτην σόν, ἀπολείς δ' Ἑλλήνων
πολέμιον γενόμενον. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ Θεμιστο-
κλῆς ἐπεθείασε τῷ λόγῳ προσδιελθὼν τὴν ὄψιν,
ἣν εἶδεν ἐν Νικογένους, καὶ τὸ μάντευμα τοῦ
Δωδωναίου Διός, ὡς κελευσθεὶς πρὸς τὸν
ὁμώνυμον τοῦ θεοῦ βαδίζειν συμφρονήσειε πρὸς
ἐκείνον ἀναπέμπεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους
εἶναί τε καὶ λέγεσθαι βασιλέας. Ἀκούσας δ' ὁ
Πέρσης ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, καίπερ

CH. XXVIII § 11. 1 ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν Bl Fu after Benseler: ἐπειδὴ
ὄν vulgo. || 5 εἶπεν S F^a. || 9 ἀσφαλεῖς S. || 10 γεγενημένης S
F^a Bl Fu: γενομένης vulgo. || τὰ οἰκεία S F^a Bl Fu: τὰ οἰκεία v.

θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ·
μακαρίσας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἐπ'
εὐτυχία μεγίστη, καὶ κατευξάμενος ἀεὶ τοῖς 3
πολεμίοις τοιαύτας φρένας διδόναι τὸν Ἀρειμί-
νιον, ὅπως ἐλαύνωσι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐξ ἑαυτῶν,
θῦσαι τε τοῖς θεοῖς λέγεται καὶ πρὸς πόσιν εὐθὺς
τραπέσθαι καὶ νύκτωρ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς διὰ μέσων
τῶν ὑπνῶν ἐκβοῆσαι τρίς Ἐχω Θεμιστοκλέα 3
τὸν Ἀθηναῖον.

XXIX Ἄμα δ' ἡμέρα συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους
εἰσήγεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἐλπίζοντα χρηστὸν
ἐξ ὧν ἑώρα τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἐγγύς, ὡς
ἐπύθοντο τοῦνομα παριόντος αὐτοῦ,
χαλεπῶς διακειμένους καὶ κακῶς λέγοντας. ἔτι 5
δὲ Ῥωξάνης ὁ χιλίαρχος, ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν ἦν ὁ
Θεμιστοκλῆς προσιῶν, καθημένου βασιλέως καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων σιωπῶντων, ἀτρέμα στενάξας εἶπεν
'Ὅφισ Ἕλλην ὁ ποικίλος, ὁ βασιλέως σε δαίμων
δεῦρο ἤγαγεν.' οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθόντος 11
αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν προσκυνήσαντος, ὑσπασάμενος
καὶ προσειπὼν φιλοφρόνως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦδη μὲν
διακόσια τύλαντ' ὀφείλειν ἔφησεν αὐτῷ· κομί-
σαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπολήψεσθαι δικαίως τὸ
ἐπικηρυχθέν τῷ ἀγαγόντι. πολλῶ δὲ πλείω 15
τούτων ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ παρεθάρρυνε καὶ λέγειν
ἐδίδου περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἂ βούλοιο παρρη-

§ 31. 29 πρὸς φίλους F^a. || 31 Ἀρειμίγιον S Fu Bl: Ἀρμίγιον v.
|| 35 ἐκβοῆσαι S F^a Fu Bl: βοῆσαι v.

CM. XXIX § 1 l. 1 ἄμα vulgo: μᾶ S F^a. || 2 οὐδὲν S F^a Fu Bl:
μηδέν vulgo. || 3 ἐγγύς, ὡς S F^a: ὡς vulgo: εὐθὺς ὡς conj. Fu Bl.
|| 4 παριόντος Blass Fu after Sintenis: παρόντος v.

σιαζόμενον. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπεκρίνατο τὸν 2
 λόγον εοικέναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῖς ποικίλοις
 20 στρώμασιν· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, καὶ τοῦτον ἐκτεινό-
 μενον μὲν ἐπιδεικνύει τὰ εἶδη, συστελλόμενον
 δὲ κρύπτει καὶ διαφθείρει· ὅθεν αὐτῷ χρόνου
 δεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡσθέντος τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ εἰκασίᾳ
 καὶ λαμβάνειν κελεύσαντος, ἐνιαυτὸν αἰτησάμενος
 25 καὶ τὴν Περσίδα γλωτταν ἀποχρώντως ἐκμαθὼν
 ἐνετύγχανε βασιλεῖ δι' αὐτοῦ, τοῖς μὲν ἐκτὸς
 δόξαν παρέσχε περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων
 διειλέχθαι· πολλῶν δὲ καινοτομουμένων περὶ
 τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν
 30 ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ φθόνον ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς δυνατοῖς,
 ὡς καὶ κατ' ἐκείνων παρρησίᾳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ἀποτετολμηκῶς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ τιμαὶ 3
 ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων εοικυῖαι ξένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κυνη-
 γεσιῶν βασιλεῖ μετέσχε καὶ τῶν οἴκοι διατριβῶν,
 35 ὥστε καὶ μητρὶ τῇ βασιλέως εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν καὶ
 γενέσθαι συνήθης, διακοῦσαι δὲ καὶ τῶν μαγικῶν
 λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος. Signal proof
thereof.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Δημάρατος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης
 αἰτήσασθαι δωρεὰν κελευσθεὶς ἤτήσατο τὴν
 40 κίταριν, ὥσπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἐπαιρόμενος εἰσελά-
 σαι διὰ Σάρδεων, Μιθροπαύστης μὲν ἀνεψιὸς
 ὢν βασιλέως εἶπε τοῦ Δημαράτου τῆς τιάρας
 ἀψάμενος Ἄυτη μὲν ἡ κίταρις οὐκ ἔχει ἐγκέ-

§ 2 l. 21 ἐπιδεικνύει S Fu Bl: ἐπιδείκνυσθαι v. || 29 ἐν is
 omitted by S F^a. || 30 χρόνῳ S F^a: καιρῷ v. || 31 χρῆσθαι S F^a
 Fu Bl: χρῆσασθαι v.

§ 3 l. 32 οὐδέ S F^a Fu Bl: οὐδέν v. || 38 ὁ is omitted by S. ||
 40 ἐπαιρόμενος S: ἐπαράμενος v.

φαλον, ὃν ἐπικαλύψει· σὺ δ' οὐκ ἔση Ζεὺς, εἰάν
 4 λάβῃς κεραυνόν.' ἀπωσαμένοι δὲ τὸν Δημά-
 ρατον ὀργῇ διὰ τὸ αἶτημα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ
 δοκούντος ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὁ
 Θεμιστοκλῆς δεηθεὶς ἔπεισε καὶ διήλλαξε. Λέγε-
 ται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον βασιλεῖς, ἐφ' ὧν μᾶλλον
 αἱ Περσικαὶ πράξεις ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἀνεκρά-
 5 θησαν, ὡς ἂν δεηθεῖεν ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνοσ, ἐπαγ-
 γέλλεσθαι καὶ γράφειν <πρὸς> ἕκαστον, ὡς
 μείζων ἔσοιτο παρ' αὐτῷ Θεμιστοκλέους. αὐτὸν
 δὲ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φασὶν ἤδη μέγαν ὄντα καὶ
 θεραπευόμενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν λαμπρῶς ποτε τρα-
 6 πείξης αὐτῷ παρατεθείσης πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας
 εἰπεῖν ὦ παῖδες, ἀπωλόμεθα ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλό-

127 The revenues of certain districts were assigned to him. μεθα.' πόλεις δ' αὐτῷ τρεῖς μὲν οἱ πλείστοι δοθῆναι λέγουσιν εἰς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὄψον, Μαγνησίαν καὶ 6 Λάμψακον καὶ Μυοῦντα· δύο δ' ἄλλας προστίθωσι ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Νεάνθησ καὶ Φανίας, Περκώτην καὶ Παλαίσκηψιν εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ ἀμπεχόνην.

XXX Καταβαίνουντι δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλλη-
 111a narrow καὶς πράξεις ἐπὶ θάλατταν Πέρσης
 escape from ἀνὴρ Ἐπιζύης ὄνομα, σατραπεύων τῆς
 danger during a ἀνω Φρυγίας, ἐπεβούλευσε, παρεσκευ-
 the coast. ἀκὼς ἔκπαλαι Πισίδας τινὰς ἀποκτεν- 5

§ 3 l. 44 & Blass vulgo: εἰάν S: κἄν Koräes.

§ 4 l. 52 πρὸς ἕκαστον Bl after Reiske: ἕκαστον Fuhr vulgo. || 55 ποτε vulgo: τότε S F^a. || 56 αὐτῷ παρατεθείσης S F^a Fuhr: παρατεθείσης Blass vulgo.

οὐντας, ὅταν ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ κόμῃ Λεοντοκεφάλῳ
 γενόμενος καταυλισθῆ. τῷ δὲ λέγεται καθεύδοντι
 μεσημβρίας τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν ὄναρ φανείσαν
 εἰπεῖν 'ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, ὑστέρει κεφαλῆς λεόν-
 10 των, μὴ λέοντι περιπέσης. ἐγὼ δ' ἀντὶ τούτου
 σὲ θεράπαιναν αἰτῶ Μνησιπτολέμαν.' δια-
 παραχθεὶς οὖν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς προσευξάμενος
 τῇ θεῷ τὴν μὲν λεωφόρον ἀφήκεν, ἑτέρα δὲ
 περιελθὼν καὶ παραλλάξας τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον
 15 ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης κατηυλίσατο. τῶν δὲ τὴν
 σκηνὴν κομίζοντων ὑποζυγίων ἐνὸς εἰς τὸν ποτα-
 μὸν ἐμπесόντος, οἱ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οἰκέται τὰς
 αὐλαίας διαβρόχους γενομένας ἐκπετύσαντες
 ἀνέψυχον· οἱ δὲ Πισίδαι τὰ ξίφη λαβόντες ἐν
 20 τούτῳ προσεφέροντο, καὶ τὰ ψυχόμενα πρὸς τὴν
 σελήνην οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἰδόντες ᾤθησαν εἶναι τὴν
 σκηνὴν τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους κάκεινον ἔνδον εὐρή-
 σειν ἀναπαυόμενον. ὥς δ' ἐγγὺς γενόμενοι τὴν
 αὐλαίαν ἀνέστελλον, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ
 25 παραφυλάσσοντες καὶ συλλαμβάνουσι. διαφυ-
 γῶν δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οὕτω καὶ θαυμάσας τὴν
 ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ ναόν τε κατεσκεύασεν ἐν
 Μαγνησίᾳ Δινδυμήνης, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Μνησι-
 πτολέμαν ἱέρειαν ἀπέδειξεν.

XXXI Ὡς δ' ἦλθεν εἰς Σάρδεις καὶ σχολὴν
 ἄγων ἐθεάτο τῶν ἱερῶν τὴν κατασκευήν, καὶ τῶν

OH. xxx § 1 l. 6 κόμῃ S F^a: πόλει v. || 10 μὴ S Bl Fu: ἵνα
 μὴ v. || 11 transposui vulgatum αἰτῶ θεράπαιναν.

§ 2 l. 18 ἐκπέτυσαντες S F^a: γρ. ἐκπετύσαντες S (first hand)
 mg. || 27 ναόν τε Bl Fu with S: ναόν vulgo.

OH. XXXI § 1 l. 2 ἐθεάσατο Si'.

ἀναθημάτων τὸ πλήθος εἶδε καὶ ἐν Μητρὸς
Themistocles at
Sardin and
Magnesia. ἱερῷ τὴν καλουμένην ὑδροφόρον κόρην
χαλκὴν, μέγεθος δίπηχυν—ἦν αὐτὸς ὅτε 5
τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ὑδάτων ἐπιστάτης ἦν,
ἐλὼν τοὺς ὑφαιρουμένους τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ παροχετεύ-
οντας, ἀνέθηκεν ἐκ τῆς ζημίας ποιησάμενος—εἶτε
δὴ παθὼν τι πρὸς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ ἀναθή- 10
ματος, εἶτε βουλόμενος ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναίοις, ὅσῃ ἔχει τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς
βασιλέωσι πράγμασι, λόγον τῷ Λυδίας σατράπῃ
προσήνεγκεν, αἰτούμενος ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν κόρην
§ εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. χαλεπαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ βαρ-
βάρου καὶ βασιλεῖ γράφειν φήσαντος ἐπιστολὴν, 15
φοβηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς τὴν γυναικωνίτιν
κατέφυγε, καὶ τὰς παλλακίδας αὐτοῦ θεραπεύσας
χρήμασιν ἐκεῖνόν τε κατεπραῖνε τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ
πρὸς τὰλλα παρέιχεν ἑαυτὸν εὐλαβέστερον, ἥδη
καὶ τὸν φθόνον τῶν βαρβάρων δεδοικώς. οὐ γὰρ 20
πλανώμενος περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὡς φησι Θεόπομπος,
ἀλλ' ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ μὲν οἰκῶν, καρπούμενος δὲ
δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ τιμώμενος ὅμοια Περσῶν
τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀδεῶς διῆγεν, οὐ
πάνυ τι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖσι πράγμασι βασιλέως 25
προσέχοντος ὑπ' ἀσχολιῶν περὶ τὰς ἄνω πράξεις.
§ The Persian
King pre-
pares an
armament
against
Athens.
Ὡς δ' Αἴγυπτός τε ἀφισταμένη βοη-
θούντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τριήρεις Ἑλ-
ληνικαὶ μέχρι Κύπρου καὶ Κιλικίας
ἀναπλέουσαι καὶ Κίμων θλαττοκρατῶν 30

§ 2 l. 18 Fuhr conj. κατέπαινε or the omission of τῆς ὀργῆς.

ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὸν ἀντεπιχειρεῖν τοῖς
 "Ἕλλησι καὶ κωλύειν αὐξανομένους ἐπ'
 αὐτόν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις ἐκινουῦντο
 καὶ στρατηγοὶ διεπέμποντο καὶ κατέ-
 35 βαινον ἀγγεῖλαι πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα,
 τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξάπτεσθαι κελεύοντος
 βασιλέως καὶ βεβαιοῦν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, οὔτε δι'
 ὀργὴν τινα παροξυνθεῖς κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε
 ἐπαρθεῖς τιμῇ τσαύτῃ καὶ δυνάμει πρὸς τὸν
 40 πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἴσως μὲν οὐδ' ἐφικτὸν ἡγούμενος
 τὸ ἔργον, ἄλλους τε μεγάλους τῆς Ἑλλάδος 4
 ἐχούσης στρατηγοὺς τότε καὶ Κίμωνος ὑπερφυῶς 128
 εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον
 αἰδοῖ τῆς τε δόξης τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
 45 τῶν τροπαίων ἐκείνων, ἄριστα βουλευσάμενος
 ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ βίῳ τὴν τελευτὴν πρόπευσαν ἔθυσσε
 τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τοὺς φίλους συναγαγὼν καὶ δεξιω-
 σάμενος, ὡς μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος, αἷμα ταύρειον
 50 πιών, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι, φάρμακον ἐφήμερον προσ-
 ενεγκάμενος, ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κατέστρεψε, πέντε
 πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα βεβιωκῶς ἔτη καὶ τὰ
 πλεῖστα τούτων ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις.
 τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τὸν τρόπον πυθό-
 μενον βασιλεῖα λέγουσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσαι
 55 τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκείοις
 χρώμενον διατελεῖν φιλανθρώπως.

Themisto-
 cles, in order
 that he
 may not be
 constrained
 to serve
 against his
 country,
 puts an end
 to his life.

§ 3 l. 32 κολούειν Fuhr after Blass: all the MSS have κωλύειν.
 || 34 κατέβαινον S F^a Bl Fu: κατέβαινον εἰς Μαγνησίαν v. ||
 40 οὐδ' ἐφικτὸν S F^a Bl Fu: οὐκ ἐφικτὸν v. || 52 καὶ ἡγεμονίαις is
 omitted in F^a, but not in S.

XXXII Ἀπέλιπε δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς παῖδας ἐκ
 μὲν Ἀρχίππης τῆς Λυσάνδρου τοῦ
 Ἀλωπεκῆθεν Ἀρχέπτολιν καὶ Πολύ-
 ευκτον καὶ Κλεόφαντον· οὐ καὶ Πλάτων
 ὁ φιλόσοφος ὡς ἰππέως ἀρίστου, τὰλλα δ' οὐδενὸς 5
 ἀξίου γενομένου μνημονεύει. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτάτων
 Νεοκλῆς μὲν ἐτι παῖς ὢν ὑφ' ἵππου δηχθεὶς
 ἀπέθανε, Διοκλέα δὲ Λύσανδρος ὁ πάππος υἱὸν
 ἐποίησατο. θυγατέρας δὲ πλείους ἔσχευ, ὢν
 Μνησιπτολέμαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης 10
 γενομένην Ἀρχέπτολις ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὐκ ὢν
 ὁμομήτριος ἔγημεν, Ἰταλίαν δὲ Πανθοίδης ὁ
 Χίος, Σύβαριν δὲ Νικομήδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος·
 Νικομάχην δὲ Φρασικλῆς ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Θεμι-
 στοκλέους, ἥδη τετελευτηκότος ἐκείνου, πλεύσας 15
 εἰς Μαγνησίαν ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν,
 νεωτάτην δὲ πάντων τῶν τέκνων Ἀσίαν ἔθρεψε.
 2 Καὶ τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ
 ἀγορᾷ Μύγνητες ἔχουσι· περὶ δὲ τῶν
 λειψάνων οὐτ' Ἀνδοκίδη προσέχειν 20
 ἄξιον ἐν τῷ Πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους λέγοντι
 φωράσαντας τὰ λείψανα διαρρῖψαι τοὺς
 Ἀθηναίους (ψεύδεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον
 παροξύνων τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς), ἃ τε λέγων Φύλ-
 αρχος, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ μονοῦ 25
 μηχανὴν ἄρας καὶ προαγαγὼν Νεοκλέα τινὰ καὶ

CH. XXXII § 1 l. 2 τῆς S F^a. || 4 Κλεόφαντον S F^a. || 10 μνησι-
 πτολέμαν F^a (μνησιπτολέμην S). || 13 Νικόδημος S F^a Fuhr.

§ 2 l. 18 ἐν omitted in S F^a. || 24 ἃ τε λέγων Φύλαρχος . . .
 πάθος, οὐδ' ἂν Blass conj. : ἃ τε Φύλαρχος <ὅτι> Fuhr conj. :
 § (δ S F^a) τε Φύλαρχος . . . πάθος, ὅ οὐδ' ἂν vulgo.

Δημόπολιν, υίεις Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀγῶνα βούλεται
 κινεῖν καὶ πάθος, οὐδ' ἂν ὁ τυχὼν ἀγνοήσειεν ὅτι
 πέπλασται. Διόδωρος δ' ὁ περιηγητὴς 3
 30 ἐν τοῖς Περὶ μνημάτων εἴρηκεν ὡς ὑπο- Was his
burial-place
in Attica?
 νοῶν μᾶλλον ἢ γινώσκων, ὅτι περὶ τὸν
 μέγαν λιμένα τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν
 Ἄλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίου πρόκειται τις οἶον ἀγκῶν,
 καὶ κάμψαντι τοῦτον ἐντός, ἢ τὸ ὑπεύδιον τῆς
 35 θαλάττης, κρηπὶς ἐστὶν εὐμεγέθης καὶ τὸ ἐπ'
 αὐτῇ βωμοειδὲς τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. οἴεται
 δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν ἐν
 τούτοις

ὁ εὖς δὲ τῆμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος
 40 τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,
 τοῦς τ' ἐκπλέοντας εἰσπλέοντας τ' ὄψεται,
 χῶπόταν ἀμιλλ' ἢ τῶν νεῶν, θεάσεται.

Τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ τιμαῖ 4
 τινες ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ φυλαττόμεναι μέχρι
 45 τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων ἦσαν, ὡς ἔκαρ- Honours
paid to his
descendants.
 ποῦτο Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναῖος, ἡμέτερος
 συνήθης καὶ φίλος παρ' Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ
 γενόμενος.

§ 3 l. 35 ἐπ' αὐτῇ B l Fu after Koraës : περὶ αὐτῆν v. || 41 τοῦς
 τε εἰσπλέοντας B F^a : οὗς ἐκπλέοντας r Bekker conj. || 42 ἀμιλλ' ἢ
 Cobet Meineke Fuhr after Porson : ἀμιλλαι B Reiske : ἀμιλλα
 Blass v.



COMMENTARY ON
PLUTARCHI'S
LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES

ABBREVIATIONS

G. = W. W. Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*. Macmillan, 1883.

G. *MT.* = W. W. Goodwin's *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*, rewritten and enlarged. Macmillan, 1889.

HA. = J. Hadley's *Greek Grammar*, revised and in part rewritten by F. de F. Allen. Macmillan, 1884.

Rath. = W. Gunion Rutherford's *First Greek Grammar Syntax*. Macmillan, 1890.

NOTES ON
PLUTARCH'S
LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES.

CHAPTER I

Page:
Text
1

§ 1. 1. The *δέ* without corresponding *μέν* shews that the beginning is incomplete: there was probably a short introduction to the pair Themistocles-Camillus—such as we find in many of the other biographies, e.g. that of Agis—which has been lost. τὰ μὲν ἐκ γένους, 'the circumstances of his birth.' The *μέν* brings forward the first point to be considered—his parentage: the next is introduced by *ἐτι δέ*, c. 2, 1. ἀμαυρότερα πρὸς δόξαν ἐπήρχε, 'were, to begin with, too humble for distinction' i.e. to do him honour. Cp. *Phoc.* c. 1, 2 τὴν Φωκίανος ἀρετὴν . . . αἱ τόχαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀμαυρὰν πρὸς δόξαν ἐποίησαν, *Sertor.* c. 18, 2 ἦρθε τότε μάλιστα πρὸς δόξαν. For ἀμαυρός, cp. *Public.* c. 21, 6 γένος οὐδένης ἀμαυρότερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ Κλαυδίω, *Hesiod Opp.* 282 τοῦ δέ τ' ἀμαυροτέρῃ γενεῇ μετόπισθε λείπειται, *Eur. Andr.* 204 ἀδρή τ' ἀμαυρὰ καὶ τύραννος ἦν Φρυγῶν.

2. πατρός ἦν: predicate genitive of origin, HA. § 782 a.

3. οὐ τῶν ἀγαν ἐπιφανῶν οὐκ ὄντος, 'not one of the great notables.' Cp. *Cic.* c. 44, 5 ἦν δὲ πατὴρ Ὀκταουίου τῶν οὐκ ἀγαν ἐπιφανῶν, *Flam.* c. 18, 1 ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν οὐκ ἀγαν ἐπιφανῶν τέσσαρας, *Phoc.* c. 24, 1 ἀνθρώπων τινα τῶν οὐκ ἐπιφανῶν, *Herod.* VIII 125 τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν θεμιστοκλέσιων ἄλλοι δὲ οὐ (ἐὼν) τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν. The phrase ἀγαν ἐπιφανής = 'a conspicuous personage,' is a very favourite one with Plutarch, *Cam.* c. 15, 3, *Pomp.* c. 14, 5, *Brut.* c. 18, 5 etc.; cp. the French use of 'apparent' in the sense of 'con-

siderable, 'important.' So in Plutarch's *Comp. Arist. c. Cat. ma. c. 1, 3* Them. is stated to be *οὐκ ἀπὸ γένους λαμπρῶς*, although he was allied to the noble family of the Lycomidae, whereas on the other hand Nepos *c. 2* says *pater eius Neocles generosus fuit*.

4. 'Αθήνησιν: a locative case like Φλυῆσι (§ 3), Ἀλωπεκῆσι, Ὀλυμπιάσι, Μοονυχιάσι, Πλαταιῶσιν, Θεσπιῶσι. Such forms are proparoxytons when the nom. is baryton, and properispomenons when it is oxyton. Φρεαρρίου τῶν δήμων, 'of the deme Φρεάρρι,' so called after Phrearrhus, who was Ἀθήνησιν ἐπίσημος ἦρωσ. τῶν δήμων, 'one of the demes,' is the partitive genitive after ἐκ Φρεάρρων implied in Φρεαρρίου. *Cy. Per. 3, 1* Περικλῆς ἦν τῶν μὲν φυλῶν Ἀκαμαντίδης, τῶν δὲ δήμων Χολαργεύς, *Cim. c. 4, 2* Κίμων Ἀλιμοῦσιος γέγονε τῶν δήμων, *Plat. Euthyphr. 1 2 B* ἐστὶ δὲ τῶν δήμων Πιτθεύς, *Diog. Laert. Plat. III 3* ἦν δὲ τῶν δήμων Κολλυτεύς, *Xen. II 1* ἦν τῶν δήμων Ἀρχιεύς. So that Cobet's correction τῶν δήμων is quite unnecessary. Δεωντίδος, so named after Δεῶς, another ἦρωσ ἐπώνυμος.

After the reforms of Cleisthenes the population of Attica was divided into ten local tribes (φυλαὶ τοπικαί), each called after some popular hero. Their names were Eretheis (Eretheus), Aegaeis (Aegeus), Pandion (Pandion), Leontis (Leos), Acamantis (Acamas), Oeneis (Oeneus), Cecropis (Cecrops), Hippothoontis (Hippothon), Aiantis (Aias), Antiochis (Antiochus). A member of the phyle was called Ἐρχομένης, Αἰγιῶνος, Δεωντίδης, Παρθενίδης etc. These φυλαὶ were subdivided into 174 δήμοι, 'districts,' each possessing its principal town. The names of the different demes were taken either from the chief towns in them, as Marathon, Oenoe, Brauron, Eleusis, Rhamnus, Decclia, Peiraeus etc., or from the names of their principal houses or clans, as Daedalidae, Butadae, Thymoetadae, Scambonidae etc. The largest of the demes was Acharnae, which belonged to the tribe Oeneis (*c. 24 § 3*). The ten tribes were blended with the whole machinery of the constitution; members of the βουλὴ were chosen, fifty from each, and the same principle of election ran through the chief offices of state. Each deme formed an independent corporation and had its own peculiar worship, its several magistrates, landed and other property, and held periodical meetings (ἀγοραὶ) for the transaction of public business, the election of officers and the revision of its register of enrolment (ἀφίεργον τῶν γραμματέων). Admission into a deme was necessary before any one could enter upon his full rights and privileges as a citizen.

5. νόθος πρὸς μητρὸς, 'a half-blood on his mother's side' (γνήσιος, 'of whole blood.'

'Athenian citizenship depended essentially on being born in lawful wedlock of parents who were themselves both citizens. The children of a citizen and a foreign woman were, in the eye of the law, illegitimate (νόθοι). Solon deprived them of all the *iura agnationis* (ἀγχιστεία, *Arist. Av. 1000*), and, on the decease of the father, the utmost claim they had on his property was a portion (νόθηα) of 1000 drachmae; there is not however any evidence that they were, in that legislator's time, excluded from the other rights of citizens. Their participation in the exercises of the Gymnasia (to which no author asserts that foreigners were admissible) with the rest of the Athenian youth, for which purpose, moreover, the Gynaecargae was set

apart for them, is testimony for the very reverse. Pericles, as far as we know, first exacted citizenship on the mother's side also (Plutarch *Per.* c. 37, 2, *Aelian Var. Hist.* vi 10); but his law, if not actually repealed, must have become obsolete in the course of the Peloponnesian war; for, when Aristophanes revived it in the archonship of Euclides, he expressly exempted from its operation all born up to that time of women who were not citizens; so that it was only from that time that the citizenship of both parents became legally essential (Athenaeus. XIII p. 577 a, *Dem. edn. Eubul.* § 30, *Isaeus de Circa. her.* c. 43). G. F. Hermann *Pol. Antiq. of Greece* § 118.

ὡς λέγουσιν: according to the following inscription, which we must suppose to have been written under her statue or bust. Athenaeus XIII p. 576 σ quotes the two lines as from Amphicrates (*ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν συγγραμμάτι*), probably the Athenian orator who lived in the time of Lucullus (Plut. *Luc.* c. 22, 3). Schneidewin thinks that Simonides was the author of the inscription.

6. Ἀβρότερον sc. εἰμὶ. For the neuter form of the name, cp. Γλυκέρειον, Δελφίον, Λοσράδιον, Νάντιον, Φιλημάτιον, Χλιδασόν, Σοφόν, and other similar names of female slaves and *εταῖραι*.

Θρήσση, a dialectic form of Θρήσσα (Θρήτρα), fem. of Θρήξ, 'a Thracian.' γένος, accus. of specification, as *ὄνομα* l. 9. τεκνέσθαι, a poetical middle for act. τεκνέω.

§ 2 l. 8. Φανίας: see *Introduction*.

2

9. Καρίην, a native of Caria.

10. Εὐτέρων: so Athenaeus XIII p. 576 D:—Νεάνθησ δ' ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ιστοριῶν Εὐτέρωνσ αὐτὸν εἶναι φησιν ἰδόν.

ἀναγράφει, *scribendo refert, tradit*, 'puts on record.'

The verb is frequently found in Plutarch in the sense of 'recording,' either with the objective acc. as *Rom.* c. 20, 3 Βούρας τις αἰτίας μνησθεὶς ἐν ἰλαγίαισιν περὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀναγράφει, *Sol.* c. 5, 1, c. 32, 2, *Pelop.* c. 2, 6 παραλλήλουσ ἀνεγράψαμεν αὐτῶν τοὺσ βίουσ, *Flam.* c. 16, 3, *Ign.* c. 25, 4, or with the predicate acc. as *Arist.* c. 1, 4 ἐν... συγροῖ γένουσ διδασκαλοσ ἀναγράφουσι, *Alex.* c. 20, 3 ἢ τῆσ ἀνομοματεσ ταύτησ αἰτίαν ἀναγράφει, or with the acc. and infin. as *Flam.* c. 14, 2. It is more generally used of 'inscribing' or 'registering' on a *στῆλα*, or tablet set up in some public place, public acts or treaties, decrees, judgments.

Neantes, the rhetorician of Cyzicum (quoted again c. 29, 4), lived about B.C. 241, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus; he was a pupil of Philiscus of Miletus, who was himself a pupil of Isocrates. The writers who refer to him, Diogenes Laertius, Athenaeus, and several of the early Christian writers, seem to rely upon his judgment and accuracy. He wrote 'Memoria of king Attalus,' 'Hellenica,' 'Lives of illustrious men,' 'Pythagorica,' 'Annals.'

καὶ πόλιν, 'a (fixed) city also.' Cp. Nepos *Them.* l. 2 in (*Neocles*) uxorem Halicarnassiam auxit, ex qua natus est Themistocles, according to the correction of the MSS reading *Acarnanam* made by Aldus.

11. προστιθέναι τινί τι, *praeterea quid de quo dicere* (Wyttenschach).

12. ἕνεκα, 'for which reason,' i.e. because he was a νόθος πρὸς μητρί. Κυνόσαργες was one of the three most famous Gymnasia outside the walls of Athens, situated a little to the N.E. of the Lyceum, on the road to Alopecis; the others were the Ἀκαδημία (about $\frac{1}{3}$ of a mile on the road to Colonus) and the Λύκειον (on the right bank of the Ilissus, east of the city, near Diochares' gate), which was used as a parade-ground (Arist. *Pac.* 355) and was the scene of some of the dialogues of Socrates. In the Κυνόσαργες there was a temple of Heracles, who was only a half-god, and so the natural patron of the νόθοι (Aristoph. *Av.* 1650). The name Cynosarges (κύων, ἀργός) is said to have been derived from a 'white dog,' which snatched a part of a victim which Didymus was sacrificing to Heracles, whereupon he was told by an oracle to build a temple to the god in the exact spot εὖ τὸ λεπτεῖον ἀπέθετο ὁ κύων. For συντελούντων εἰς, 'subscribing to,' hence 'belonging to,' 'being members of,' cp. *Mor.* p. 750 τ ἠήλω και νόθων ὡσπερ εἰς Κυνόσαργες συντελούντων τῆρ γυναικῶντω, Thuc. II 15, 2 ἀπάντων ἡδῆ ξυντελούντων εἰς αὐτήρ (τῆρ πόλιω), Dem. c. *Aristocr.* § 213 εἰς τοὺ νόθους ἐκαί συντελεῖ, καθάπερ ποτὲ ἐνθάδε εἰς Κυνόσαργες οἱ νόθοι.

13. Translate:—'this is a gymnasium' (not 'this gymnasium is,' as if τοῦτο τὸ γυμνάσιον). ἔξω is for ἐκτός. Cp. Arist. *Av.* 497 ἔξω τείχους, Thuc. IV 92, 5 ἔξω θρον, VII 58, 3 οἱ ἔξω Σικελίας, VIII 67, 2 ἔξω πόλεως, Dem. *de cor.* § 304 ὅτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήρων ὅτε τῶν εἰσω, all which, observe, are common local expressions, and therefore without article. See HA. § 661, Ruth. *Greek Synl.* § 11.

14. κἀκείνος (crasis for καὶ ἐκεῖνος), sc. Heracles.

15. ἐνέχερο νοθεῖα, 'was under the imputation of being a half-blood.' Cp. *Mor.* p. 662 B τῆ Σωκράτους ἐνέχεσθαι κατάρρ, p. 925 τ ἐνέχεσθαι ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ἀπορίας, Dem. p. 1281, 15 τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἐπιτιμοῖς ἐνέξεται, Plat. *Crit.* p. 52 λ ταύταις ταῖς αἰτίας ἐνέξεσθαι. For the allusion, cp. Ar. *Av.* 1650, where Peithetaeris says to Heracles νόθος γάρ εἰ κοῦ γνήσιος, and when Heracles replies ἐγὼ νόθος; τί λέγεις; adds εὖ μέντοι νῆ Δία | ὦν γ' ἐκ ξένης γυναικός. μητέρα sc. Alcmena.

17. εὖ γεγονότων, 'well born.' Arist. c. 27, 4 σουικισαργες (αὐτήρ) ἀδελφῶ τῶν εὖ γεγονότων. καταβαίνοντας, because it was in a suburb.

18. ἀλείφονται, 'to anoint themselves' as a preliminary to gymnastic exercises, hence 'to train,' 'practise.' So ἀλείφτης

is used for a 'trainer and teacher of gymnastics,' and sometimes for 'a teacher' generally, as *Per.* c. 4, 2 τῷ δὲ Περικλεῖ σὺν καθάρῳ ἀλλαγῇ τῶν τελευτικῶν ἀλειπτῆς καὶ διδάσκουσας. *Cp. Aesch. c. Tim.* § 138 'δοῦλον' φωνῆς ὁ νόμος 'μὴ γυμνάζεσθαι μηδὲ ξηραλοίφεῖν ἐν ταῖς τελευσίταις.' καὶ οὐκ ἐπι προέγραψε 'τὸν δ' ἐλευθέρων ἀλείφεσθαι καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι.' See on c. 3, 4.

§ 3 l. 19. δεκά παντόργως τὸν . . . διοριστὸν ἀνελάν, 'he is popularly thought to have done away with, by an ingenious device, the line of demarcation between.'

20. μέντοι, 'for all that,' in spite of his *vetula*.

21. Διωκμιδῶν, an old priestly family, who had to chant hymns at the Eleusinian mysteries. See O. Müller *Misern.* *Poliad.* p. 11. θήλος ἔστι, the personal for the impersonal construction (θήλος ἔστιν ἐτι, which Fuhr reads with B). *Cp. Xen. Cyr.* i iv 2 δήλος ἦν τᾶσιν ἐτι ὑπερφοβεῖσθαι, *Anab.* v ii 26 θήλος ἦσαν ἐτι ἐπιεισένωνται, and see HA. § 944 a.

22. Φλυθῆς (§ 1), at Phlya, a deme of the *Κεκροπιδόλη*, c. 15, 2. τελευτήριον, the chapel used for initiating (τελεῖν) novices at the mysteries, *Per.* c. 13, 3.

23. ἐπὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, in the Persian invasion of B.C. 490. αὐτὸς ἐπισκεύασε κτλ., 'restored at his own expense and embellished with paintings.'

24. Σμυωνίδης: c. 15, 2. ἱστορήκεν, 'has recorded,' probably in an inscription set up in the chapel itself (Schneidewin *Simonid.* *Epigr.* oxovii and p. xviii). The verb ἱστορεῖν, which in classic Greek means 'to enquire,' 'to learn by enquiry,' is commonly used by Plutarch in this sense of *memorias proferre*, 'to put on record.' *Cp.* c. 7, 3; c. 19, 1; c. 24, 3; c. 25, 1; c. 27, 1.

CHAPTER II

§ 1 l. 1. ἐτι 84: see n. to c. 1 § 1 l. 1. ὀμολογεῖται . . . αἰῶνα, personal for impersonal construction, HA. § 944. φορᾶς μωρῆς, 'full of impetuosity,' 'restless arldour.'

The word φορεῖ (φέρουσα) is used of persons only in late Greek in the sense of vehement mental or bodily impulse. *Cp. Fab. Max.* c. 5, 4 σπράττωμα μακρῆς φορᾶς καὶ κενῶν ἀκρίβων ἐν αἰσῶνι πεπληρωμένον, *Cor.* c. 22, 6 ἀπὸ τῶν ταῖς παραβήλας καὶ φορᾶς τῆς ἐπιθυσιᾶς ἐκείνου, *Plat.* c. 11 l. 1 τῆς φορᾶς τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμιῶν, c. 23, 1, *Aristot.* c. 2 τῆς Κλαυδίου φορᾶς αἰῶνα τὰ πρῶτα κατακτείνου, *Arrian* *bell. ctes.* 5, 16 μακρῆς φορᾶς, *Maxim.* *Tyr.* 11, 6 ἄρῃ καὶ φορᾶ καὶ ἀλογίας ἐστίν, [*Lucian*] *dm.* c. 37 ἀπὸ τῆς φορᾶς αἰῶνι τὸ βουλομένον ἄγαν. See my n. to *Sall.* c. 27, 4.

2. εἶναι is the infinitive of the imperfect, as in c. 3, 3. τῇ φήσιν συνενός: For this distinctive characteristic of Themistocles, cp. Thucydides i c. 74, 1, who speaks of him as ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ξυνοτάτων, c. 138, 1 βασιλεὺς δὲ ('Αργαζέξης), ὡς λέγεται, εἰθαυμασέ τε αὐτοῦ (sc. Θεμιστοκλέους) τὴν διάνοιαν . . . γίγνεται δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας . . . μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ πείραν διδοῦν ξυνοτάς φαίνεσθαι. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θ. βεβαίωτατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχυρὸν δηλώσας . . . οἰκείῃ γὰρ ξυνοέσει . . . τῶν τε παραχρήμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλήs κράτιστος γνῶμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής. καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν φύσεως μὲν δυναμίε μελέτη δὲ βραχύτητι κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο. So Plut. Cim. c. 5, 1 οὐτε τόλμη Μιλτιάδου λειψόμενος οὐτε συνοέσει Θεμιστοκλέους, Mor. p. 343 A σωφροσύνη τῆς Ἀγησίδαου, σύνοεσιν δὲ τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους, [Lucian] Dem. c. 37 Δημοσθένης ἐφάμυλλος Θεμιστοκλεῖ μὲν τῆς σύνοεσιν, Περικλεῖ δὲ τὸ φρόνημα. τῇ προαιρέσει, 'in his preference,' 'bent,' 'inclination,' dat. of respect, H.A. § 780.

3. πολιτικός, 'fitted for public life,' 'a statesman.'

4. ἐν ταῖς ἀνάσεσι καὶ σχολαῖς, 'in his intervals of relaxation and leisure.' ἀνεσει (ἀνείναι) is properly said of unscrewing and so relaxing the strings of the lyre, Plat. Rep. p. 349 E. Cp. Polyb. i 66, 10 διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου τετευχότες ἀνεσεως καὶ σχολῆς, Plat. legg. p. 724 A σπουδῆς τε περὶ καὶ ἀνεσεως. Instances of plural abstract nouns in concrete sense are given in my n. to Xen. Oecon. c. 1, 21. ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γυγνόμενος, 'as often as he left off his lessons.' Blass joins σχολαῖς with ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων, and might quote in justification Liv. c. 14, 2 σχολῆν ἀγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, or Plat. Phaed. p. 66 D ἐάν τις ἡμῖν καὶ σχολῆ γένηται ἀρ' αὐτοῦ sc. τῆς φιλοσοφίας, but, on the other hand, see below c. 19, 1 γενόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων, Cal. ma. c. 1, 7 ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν γενόμενος ἔργων, Anon. c. 67, 1 γενόμενος ἀπὸ τούτων, Polyb. i 24, 13; v 77, 7, Diod. xi 26, 7.

5. οὐκ ἐπαίξεν οὐδ' ἐρραθῆμει κτλ., 'he did not indulge in play or amusement, but he would be found rehearsing or composing some speeches to himself.' For συντάττεσθαι, cp. Plat. Phaedr. p. 264 E πρὸς τοῦτο συνταξάμενος πάντα τὸν ὄστερον λόγον διεπεράτω, Polyb. i 3, 8 συντάξασθαι τάσην τῆς βίβλου, III 1, 2 συνεταξάμεθα τὰς πρὸ ταύτης βίβλου. Hence σύνταξις (Dem. c. 2, 2) or σύνταγμα, 'a composition.'

7. πρὸς ἑαυτὸν: cp. Dem. c. 8, 2, Arist. Ban. 53 τὴν Ἀνδρομάδαν ἀναγγεῖσκοντι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, Eccl. 890 μνηρομένη τι πρὸς ἑαυτὴν μίλος, 931, 1060, Plat. Tim. p. 26 A πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πάντα ἀναλαβὴν λέγειν οὐτος, Hipp. ma. p. 288 A πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀναλίσθη δὲ λέγει.

8. κατηγορία . . . παύων, 'an accusing or excusing of one of his school-fellows.'

§ 2 l. 9. ὅθεν, 'from which circumstance,' 'for which reason,' as below l. 16.

10. ὅς is of much rarer occurrence than ὅτι before a direct quotation, G. *MT.* § 711, E. H. Spieker in *American Journal of Philol.* v p. 221-7.

11. πάντες, οὐκίνο, 'in any case,' 'to a certainty,' *Dem.* c. 3 27, 3. ἐπεὶ καὶ κτλ., a further proof in confirmation of the previous statement. παιδεύσεων ἰ.η. παιδευμάτων, 'his subjects (not, as ordinarily, 'processes,' 'methods') of instruction.' The three branches of education were γράμματα, μουσική, γυμναστική, *Plat. Clit.* p. 255 c, *Xen. tyr. Lac.* c. 2, 1, *Arist. Pol.* VIII (v) c. 3, p. 1337^b, 24.

12. τὰς ἠθροποιούς κτλ., 'such as are designed to form the character or are pursued with a view to some refined pleasure and gratification worthy of a free man' (and not with a view to making money by them). *Cp. Dion.* c. 9, 1 γέσσαι (αὐτῶν) καὶ μαθημάτων ἠθροποιῶν, ὡς τοῖς καλοῖς χαίρει ἐθισθεῖν.

14. τῶν . . . λεγομένων, neuter.

15. Σήλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν παρ' ἡλικίαν κτλ., 'he did not disguise his contempt for anything that was said referring to (the improvement of) the understanding or practical life (as being too easy a lesson for him), since he trusted to his natural ability.' For παρ' ἡλικίαν, 'beyond (i.e. more than was natural at) his age,' *cp. Cui. tit.* c. 1, 2 ἰσχυρὸν εἶχεν αὐτοῦ παρ' ἡλικίαν τελεσιουργῶν αἱ ὄρμαι, *Rom.* c. 25, 5 ἀφρόνως καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν ἀπειροῦ τοῖς πράγμασι κεχρησθαι (de sene), *Isid.* c. 12, 4 εὐρώστως παρ' ἡλικίαν διὰ τῶν μαχομένων ὠθοόμενον, *C. Gracch.* c. 14, 3, [*Menand.*] *monosol.* 690 (*Mein. F.C.G.* IV 360) ὁ παρ' ἡλικίαν τοῖς μῖσοι ἐξεργάζεται.

16. ὅς . . . πιστεύων, G. *MT.* § 864.

§ 3 l. 16. ὅθεν (l. 9), 'in consequence of which,' referring to the former clause of the preceding sentence, i.e. because he did not learn μουσική etc. in the usual way.

17. Ἐλευθερίους, *liberalibus, libero hominis dignis.* *Cp. Rom.* c. 6, 3 ἐχρῶντο δὲ διατραις καὶ διατριβαῖς ἐλευθερίοις, οὐ τὴν σχολὴν ἐλευθέριον ἠγούμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἀλλὰ γυμνάσια καὶ θήρας καὶ δρόμους, *Mor.* 706 β ταύταις ταῖς ἐλευθερίαις λεγομένοις περὶ ὅσα καὶ ὄρματα φιλοσόφοις καὶ φιλαῖοις μουσομανίαις, *Dion.* c. 9, 1 ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς διατριβὰς ἐλευθερίου ἐφιλοτιμῶντο. ἀστέλαις, urbanis, 'polite.'

διατριβαίς, 'social gatherings,' or, perhaps, 'amusements.'

Διατριβή is properly 'a wearing away,' esp. of time; hence 'occupation,' 'pastime,' or 'serious pursuit.' See below c. 20 § 3, and cp. *Nwm.* c. 4, 1 ἐλάττωσεν τὰς ἐν ἀσπίδι διατριβάς, c. 5, 2 διατριβήν περὶ λόγου ἀντρέμματος, *Per.* c. 10, 2 ὡς (ὁ πατήρ πλοῦτος) μὴ ἀμελούμενος ἐπιφύγει μὴτε πολλὰ πρᾶγματα καὶ διατριβὰς ἀσχελομένους παρέχει, *Aesch.* c. *Timarch.* § 12 οὐκ ἀφαιεῖς διατριβὰς διατριβῶν ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἐκαλήσιναις μὲθ' ἡμῶν ὄραται, § 53 οὐκ ἐνούθεῖσεν ἑαυτὸν οὐδὲ βελτιῶνων διατριβῶν ἕψατο, *Polyb.* x 19, 5 ἕδιστας τοῖς νέοις ἀπολαύσεις καὶ διατριβὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρέχει. It occasionally implies 'conversation,' especially philosophical, as the best method of employing time, e.g. *Nwm.* c. 8, 3 κοινὰ μετὰ Μουσῶν διατριβαί, *Plat. Euthym.* p. 2 A τὰς ἐν Ἀρκίῳ καταλιπὼν διατριβὰς, *Apol.* p. 37 C οὐχ οἷοί τε ἐγίνεσθε ἐνεγκεῖν τὰς ἡμᾶς διατριβὰς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. From ths: meaning to that of 'places of diversion' or 'of conversation' the transition is easy (cp. our word 'parlour'), as *Alc.* c. 24, 5 (παράδεισον) διατριβὰς ἔχοντα καὶ καταφυγὰς γρηγορίας περιττοῦ, *Mor.* p. 61 A καταλιπὼσα διατριβὰς εὐδαίμονας, *Aesch.* c. *Tim.* § 132 ἐν πάλαιστραῖς καὶ διατριβαῖς γυμνασίῃ, *Strabo Geogr.* vi c. 2, 11 ἱκεῖ ἰδὲκοντο οἱ τε τῶν ἱερῶν οἴκοι καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Εὐδόξου διατριβαί.

18. ἐπὶ τῶν πεπαιδευθῆαι δοκούντων: there is, perhaps, some irony conveyed by λεγομέναις, as also by δοκούντων, which may mean either 'considered themselves' or 'were reputed to be,' 'passed as.' Cp. *Dion.* c. 18, 1 πολλοὺς συνήγε τῶν πεπαιδευθῆαι δοκούντων.

19. φορτικότερον, 'somewhat arrogantly')(*λευθερίας*. φορτικός is properly 'burdensome' (φέρω, φότος), hence met. (of persons or things) 'tiresome,' 'offensive,' 'odious,' from vulgar manners or bad taste, especially arrogance. Cp. *Sol.* c. 3, 1 τὸ φορτικώτερον ἢ φιλοσοφώτερον ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν. ἀμύνησθαι, 'to retort.'

20. ἄραν μὲν ἀρμόσασθαι, 'to tune a lyre or play on (lit. 'handle') a harp.' ψαλτήριον, 'a stringed instrument,' here used for κιθάρα. The story recurs in *Cim.* c. 9, 1, where Ion of Chios, after having sung a song in which he complimented Cimón's guests, is praised by them as being δεξιώτερος Θεμιστοκλέους: ἐκείνου γὰρ ᾄδειν μὲν οὐ φάναι μαθεῖν οὐδὲ καθαρίζειν, πόλιν δὲ ποιῆσαι μεγάλην καὶ πλουσίαν ἐπίστασθαι.

21. ἐπίσταται, optative in indirect discourse: Sintenis has ἐπίσταται. μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον, predicate adjectives to παραλαβῶν. Observe the chiasmic opp. of the following adjectives ἐνδοξὸν καὶ μεγάλην.

22. ἀπεργάσασθαι, *reddere, efficere*; so *Xen. Oec.* c. 14, 6 περὶ ὧμαι δικαίους ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοὺς οἰκείας, *Plat. Rep.* p. 381 E ἵνα μὴ . . . τοῖς παιδῶν ἀπεργάζωνται δειλοτέρους.

23. Σπρισιβροτος: Stesimbrotus of Thasos was one of the Ionic prose writers and a sophist contemporary with Ion. He is frequently quoted as an authority for gossiping anecdotes by Plutarch, who ranks him with the comic poets in his savage

attacks on Pericles. A work of his on the mysteries (*τελετών*) is quoted in the *Etymologicum Magnum*. He also wrote about Homer. See note on c. 4, 4. *Ἀναξαγόρου*: Anaxagoras was born at Clazomenae in Ionia B.C. 500, and came to Athens B.C. 456, where he lived till about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. He was called ὁ Νοῦς (*Per.* c. 4, 4) because of his chief doctrine, *νοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πάντων αἰτίας*. He exercised great influence over Pericles (c. 28) and other thoughtful men of his day, and Socrates once believed in him, though in Plato's *Phaed.* 97 C and *legg.* p. 967 B he turns his theory concerning the phenomena of nature into ridicule. Being charged by the faction inimical to Pericles with atheism he left Athens B.C. 431, and died three years afterwards at Lampsacus. On his celebratōi *ὁμοιομερείαι*, see Lucretius i 834 ff., Müller-Donaldson, *Hist. Grk. Lit.* i p. 328 ff., Mahaffy, *Hist. Grk. Lit.* vol. II pt. i, pp. 46, 48, 55, ed. 3, 1890.

24. *διακοθῆσαι*, 'was a hearer or disciple of,' cp. c. 29, 3, *Cic.* c. 4, 1 *ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας Ἀντιόχου διήκουσε*, *Per.* c. 4, 3 *διήκουσε δὲ Περικλῆς καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου*, *Mor.* p. 791 A *τότε Καρνεάδου διήκουον*, Strab. *Geogr.* XIV c. 1, 36 *διήκουσαν δὲ τούτου* (Anaxagoras) *Ἀρχέλαος ὁ φυσικός καὶ Ἐδρικήδης ὁ ποιητής. περὶ Μελίσσου σπουδάσαι*, 'that he attended the lectures of Melissus.' Melissus, a native of Samos, was distinguished as being the general who resolutely defended his city against the Athenians in the war of B.C. 440, *Per.* c. 26, 1 *πλειώσατος αὐτοῦ* (sc. Περικλέους) *Μέλισσος ὁ Ἰθαγένους, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος, στρατηγῶν τότε τῆς Σάμου, . . . ἐπεισε τοὺς πολίτας ἐπιέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ γενομένης μάχης νικῆσαντες οἱ Σάμοι . . . ἐχρῶντο τῇ θαλάσῃ. . . Ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Μελίσσου καὶ Περικλέα φησὶν αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλης ἠττηθῆναι ναυμαχοῦντα πρότερον*. Thucydides has not a word about him. Melissus, like Zeno, his fellow Eleatic, transferred the poetic philosophy of his great pantheist predecessor Parmenides into Ionic prose. Hesychius Milesius (*F.H.G.* IV 170, 43) says of him *περὶ θεῶν ἔλεγε μὴ δεῖν ἀποφαινεσθαι, μὴ γὰρ εἶναι γῶνιν αὐτῶν*.

25. *τὸν φυσικόν*, 'the physicist,' a name given to the first (Ionic, Eleatic and Italian) philosophers, who were wholly occupied in speculating on the origin and existence of things apart from phenomena. See *L.-S. Lex. s.v.* *οὐκ εἰς τῶν χρόνων ἀπτόμενος*, 'wrong as to dates,' 'being guilty of an anachronism,' lit. 'not handling the chronology correctly.' Cp. Thuc. i 97, 2 *τούτων ὅσπερ καὶ ἤψατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐπιγραφῇ, Ἑλλάνικοι βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη*, v 26, 3 *λογισόμενος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους*. So *Isopora*, *Cic. Acad.* i 9, where see Dr. Reid's note. Plutarch's doubt about the

statement of Stesimbrotus appears groundless. Themistocles may have met Anaxagoras in Asia.

27. νεώτερος: The first appearance of Pericles in public life was B.C. 469.

29. συνδιέτριβε, 'was his intimate companion.' Plat. *Symp.* p. 172 c, Xen. *Mem.* i ii 3, Aesch. c. *Tim.* § 149 περι τῶν διατριβῶν ὡς συνδιέτριβον ἀλλήλοις. Cp. *Per.* c. 4, 4 ὁ δὲ πλείστα Περικλεῖ συγγενόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα περιθεὶς ὄγκον αὐτῷ καὶ φρόνημα δημαγωγίας ὑμβραθέτερον, ὅπως τε μετewρίας καὶ σωεξέρας τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἥθους Ἄραξαγόρας ἦν ὁ Κλαζόμενιος, *ib.* cc. 5, 6, 16.

§ 4. l. 29. μάλλον ἢν τις προσέχοι, 'one would rather give heed to,' potential opt., H.A. § 782, G. *MT.* § 235 f. On προσέχειν used absolutely, see my note to *Dem.* c. 20, 4. τοῖς . . . λέγουσιν: the order is τοῖς λέγουσιν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα γενέσθαι ζηλωτὴν Μνησιφίλου τοῦ Φρααρρίου.

31. ζηλωτὴν, in good sense, 'an admirer,' 'imitator,' here almost = μαθητὴν. Cp. *Mor.* 6 ὁ Δημοσθένης ζηλωτὴς τῆς τούτου (Περικλέους) πολιτείας γενόμενος, 154 c Μνησιφίλος, εἰαίρος ὢν καὶ ζηλωτὴς Σόλωνος, 741 ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐπαινεταὶ καὶ ζηλωταί, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i p. 302 Σόλωνος δὲ ζηλωτὴς ἀναγράφεται Μνησιφίλος ὃ Θεμιστοκλῆς συνδιέτριψεν, Dio Chrys. *orat.* lv p. 559 ὁ ὁ ζηλῶν τινα ὀρθῶς ἐπίσταται δῆπου ἐκείνον ὁποῖος ἦν καὶ μιμούμενος τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς λόγους ὡς αὐτὸν τε ἐπιχειρεῖ ὁμοῖον αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνειν. ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς ποιεῖν ἔσκει. So in Lat. *acmilus*; Cic. *or. p. Marc.* § 2, *or. p. Mur.* § 61 *Zeno*, cuius inventorum acmuli Stoici nominantur, *Liv.* i c. 18.

32. τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλοσόφων (τῶν φιλ. οὐ φυσικοὶ ἐκλήθησαν), such as Melissus and Anaxagoras, who were the first philosophers properly so called, because their researches were directed to τῆν φύσιν τῶν ὄντων.

33. σοφίαν, i.e. moral and political science, beyond which that of Solon and the other seven wise men except Thales did not extend; their wisdom had nothing speculative about it, it was purely moral and practical. Cp. *Sol.* c. 3, 5 ὅπως ἔσκεν ἢ θάλλω μόνον σοφία τότε περαιτέρω τῆς χρείας ἐξικέσθαι τῇ θεωρίᾳ: τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦνομα τῆς σοφίας ἐπῆρξε. The later wise men, or, as they called themselves after the time of Protagoras, Sophists, substituted for it either rhetoric and the art of persuasion in courts of justice (Gorgias B.C. 480-375) or dialectic (Protagoras, fl. B.C. 444). οὕτως, 'which really was' (καλουμένην); the contrast would have been heightened if there had been a μὲν ἄστωρ καλουμένην. δεινότητά, 'insight,' 'shrewdness,' *Per.* c. 4, 2.

34. βραστήριον σύνεσις, 'practical sagacity'; ἐπιτήδευμα is the predicate accusative after τετρακλιμένου.

35. αἵρεσις, 'sect,' 'school of philosophy'; ἐκ διαδοχῆς, 'in unbroken succession,' as in the schools of philosophy.

36. ἀπὸ, 'from the time of.' ἦν α. σοφίαν. μετὰ ταῦτα, 'afterwards.'

38. τὴν ἀσκησιν α. αὐτῆς.

4

§ 5 l. 39. μὲν οὖν, 'so then': the οὖν is resumptive, after the digression about Mnesiphilus; the μὲν answers to the δὲ of the following clause. Cp. c. 7, 4.

40. ἦδη πολιτευόμενος, 'when he was just embarking in politics.' Πολιτεύω means 'to be a πολίτης,' πολιτευέσθαι 'to take an active part in the government' (ἰδιωτεύειν. ἐπλησιάζειν, 'was his disciple.' Dem. c. 2, 2 τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πλησιάζοντων, Dion. c. 1, 1 αὐτῷ Πλάτῳ πλησιάζειν, Mor. 145 B ἐντυγχάνων καὶ πλησιάζων τοῖς ὠφελούσι, Xen. Mem. IV iv 25 τοιαῦτα λέγων τε καὶ πράττων δικαιότερους ἐποιεῖ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας, Lucian Hermot. c. 80 ἤκουσα ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας τινοῦ λέγοντος ἀνδρός, ὡς πάντολλοι τῶν νέων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ πλησιάζουσι).

41. ὄρμασι, 'impulses,' 'sallies.'

42. ἀστάθμητος, 'irregular,' 'unstable,' as ἀστάθμητοι ἀστέρες = 'comets,' Xen. Mem. IV vii 5. Hence fig. 'not to be reckoned on,' 'of no settled purpose or balance.' Cp. Ar. Av. 169 ἀνθρώποι ὄντι ἀστάθμητος περιέμενοι, Dem. de f. l. § 149 ὁ δὲ δήμος ἴστω ἀσταθμητότατον πρᾶγμα τῶν πάντων. ἅτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν χρώμενος, 'inasmuch as he followed his natural inclination only,' lit. 'by itself.' ἅτε with participle marks the objective, as ὡς marks the subjective, reason.

43. ἄνευ λόγου καὶ παιδείας = ἀλόγως καὶ ἀπαιδευτός, 'without rational motive or control.' ἢ ἄμφότερα, 'for both' i.e. 'for good or for evil.' Cp. Nic. c. 9, 1 ἢ ἄλλυβέδδον φύσει ἢ ἄμφότερα πολλὰ βυίση.

45. ἐξισταμένη πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, 'degenerating.' Cp. Mor. 649 D ἐν βαβυλωνί φυνευόμενος (κισσὸς) ἐξίστατο καὶ ἀπηθήρευεν, Theophr. Hist. Pl. II 2, 6 ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐξίστασθαι (φασὶ δάφνην μεταφυνευομένην) καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ χρώμα διασφίγει, de causis plant. VI 7 § 5 οἶνος ἐξιστάμενος and [Dem.] Lacrit. § 32 ἐξιστηκότες οἶνου, 'wine that has turned rapid.'

46. καὶ τοὺς τραχυτάτους κτλ., 'even the wildest colts make the best horses.'

47. ἦς προσήκα . . . καταρτίσσει for τῆς καταρτίσσει

('training,' 'management') ἢ προσήκει αὐτοῖς τυχεῖν. καταρ-
 τύειν is the technical term for 'breaking a horse in'; *Mor.*
 38 C τὰς ἐφ' ἡδοῆν ὁρμάς . . . ἂν ἐφ' τῆς ἀφέτου, ἢ πεφύκασι,
 χωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ λόγους χρηστοῖς ἀφαιρῶν ἢ παρατρέπων, καταρτύη
 τῆν φύσιν, οὐκ ἔστι δ' τῶν θηρίων οὐκ ἂν ἡμερώτερον ἀνθρώπου
 φασίη, *Soph. Ant.* 477 συμκρῖ χαλιῶν δ' οἶδα τοῖς θυμουμένους |
 ἴππους καταρτυθέντας. Observe the transition in προσήκει
 τήχουσι—γένωται to the direct discourse.

The scandal-monger Idomeneus ap. Athenaeum XII 533 D
 tells a story of the licentiousness of Themistocles: cp. also
 Athen. XIII p. 576 and *Mor.* 184 v.

§ 6 l. 48. & τούτων ἔξαρθέν ἵκιοι, 'as for the stories of
 their own invention which some fasten upon, connect with
 these.'

49. πλάττοντες, 'fabricating,' anticipates the judgment pro-
 nounced in the next clause.

50. ἀποκηρύξιν ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, 'the solemn renuncia-
 tion of him by his father, pronounced by the voice of the
 herald.' Cp. *Alcib.* 3, 1 βουλομένου δ' αὐτὸν ἀποκηρύττειν
 Ἀρίφρονος, Περικλῆς οὐκ ἔλασεν, Thomas Magister p. 95
 ἀποκηρυκτός: ὁ ἐπὶ ἀδικημάτων ἐβλήθη τῆς οἰκίας παρὰ τοῦ
 πατρὸς μετὰ ψήφου δικαστικῆς, *Dem.* p. 1006, 21 ὁ νόμος . . . τοὺς
 γούνας ποιεῖ κυρίους οὐ μόνον θέσθαι τοῦνομα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 πάλιν ἐξαλείφαι βούλωται καὶ ἀποκηρύξαι, *Plato legg.* XI p.
 928 D οἱ πατέρες ἡγοῦντ' ἂν δεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην νομοθετεῖν, ἐξείναι
 σφισιν, ἂν βούλωται, τὸν υἱὸν ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐναντίον πάντων ἀπεικῶν
 υἱὸν κατὰ νόμον μηκέτ' εἶναι 'to disclaim a son, so that he should
 no longer be legally such,' p. 929 C ταύτη καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐξέσω
 τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκηρύττειν, ἄλλως δὲ μηδαμῶς. Lucian in
 his Ἀποκηρυττόμενος tells us that substantial reasons were
 required to insure the ratification of such extraordinary severity.
 The process was not unknown to the Romans, as is shown by
 Spalding on Quintil. *Inst.* III 6, 96, where a law is quoted:
abdicatus ne quid de bonis patris capiat. As to the story
 itself, Plutarch's doubts are justified, notwithstanding the
 agreement of later writers, as Nepos c. 1, 2 *quod et liberius
 vivebat et rem familiarem neglegabat, a patre exheredatus est,*
 the renunciation of course implying disinheritance, *Val. Max.*
 VI 9 ext. 2 *piget Themistoclis adulescentiam attingere, sive
 patrem adspiciam abdicacionis iniungentem notam, sive mat-
 rem suspensio finire vitam propter filii turpitudinem coactam.*

For the genitive of the agent with ὑπό after the verbal sub-
 stantive, cp. *Mor.* 20 E τῶν θεῶν μέγιστον ἢ ἀλλήλων καὶ τρώσεω ὑπ'
 ἀνθρώπων, *Xen. Hier.* c. 8, 4 εἰ ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπεῖαι,

Cyr. III iii 2 τῆ ὑπὸ πάντων τιμῇ, *Plato Rep.* p. 378 A τὰ τοῦ Κρόνου παθήματα ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ = ἀ ἐπασχε ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ, p. 390 σ' Ἄρεσι τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεσμῶν.

52. δοκᾶ καταψευθεῖσθαι, 'are generally thought to have been downright falsehoods,' c. 3, 2. *Antiph.* p. 131, 35 χαλεπῶν τὰ ἐκ πολλοῦ καταψευθεμένα... παραχρήμα ἀπεδείχθη.

53. τὸ θάνατον, *contra*. Plutarch appeals to another anecdote, which presupposes a friendly relation between father and son at this period also. τὰ κοινὰ πράτταν, 'to take part in public business,' a favourite phrase with Plutarch, *Dem.* c. 6, 1; c. 12, 1; *Cic.* c. 4, 2; varied in *Sol.* c. 14, 1 where we have τὸς κοινῶς προσελθεῖν, and c. 5, 2 τὰ δημόσια πράττοντα.

54. ἀποτρέπων αὐτόν, 'by way of discouraging, deterring him.' The imperfect participle is used more often than the present in a conative sense. ἐπεδείκνυε, 'used to point to them' as examples. The deme Phrearrilay near the sea.

55. ἔρριμμένως, prod. part. 'abandoned,' 'derelict,' lit. 'flung aside.' Cp. *Agis* c. 9, εἰδόντο μὴ περιθεῖν ἔρριμμένον τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης, *Timol.* c. 14, 1 ἄν ἔρριμμένον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης πατήσοιεν τὸν Διονύσιον, *Flam.* c. 20, 2 παρορώτων ἀπάντων δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ γῆρας (τὸν Ἀντίβαν) ὥσπερ ἔρριμμένον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, *Soph. Aj.* 1271 ἀχεται ταῦτ' ἔρριμμένα.

56. παρορωμένως, 'in a state of neglect.' ὡς δὲ... δημοῦς ἐχόντων, 'telling him for a fact that the populace are similarly disposed towards their leaders, whenever they show themselves unable to serve them.' For ὡς with the partic. in the gen. absol., see *G. MT.* § 918; in c. 4, 3 we find the acc. abs.

The verb ἔχειν is often joined to an adverb of manner in the sense of 'to be,' and Plutarch is fond of adding πρὸς, as c. 29, 4, *Per.* c. 10, 3 οἰκτιροῦς εἶχεν πρὸς αὐτόν, *Philop.* c. 1, 1, *Sull.* c. 11, 5, *Lucull.* c. 22, 4 πόλεως ὑποδύου εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, *Num.* c. 6, 8 ἀκρατῶς ἔχουσι καὶ μαλακῶς πρὸς πόλεμον, *Cim.* c. 12, 3 πρὸς τοῦς Φαρσίγας φιλικῶς ἔχοντες, *Thes.* c. 19, 5 πολυπραγῶς ἔχει πρὸς τοῦς Ἀθηναίους.

Nichol, *Death of Themistocles* p. 9, makes his hero tell the story thus:—

'Twas in my twentieth year,
that, by the Ilissus, Neocles and I
walked to the shore at sunset, when the Nyx
murmured with surges of the evil news,
that Artaphernes, brother of the king,
sagest of Medes, at Ladd, had o'erwhelmed
Miletus and our kindred of the isles—
in that full spring of life, when all the world
seems to an eager dream a ready spoil,
'When I am chief in Athens' I exclaimed
'we shall efface disaster.' Neocles
smiled, till, as we went pacing by the tide,
he broke in speech 'So you are born to rule
and are ambition haunted: see the end.—

He pointed to a battered hulk that lay
with yawning rents more ghastly by each wave—
‘I saw this galley crowned with myrtle boughs;
the swiftest in the war, it bore the gods
on its exultant bulwarks; now disused
it falls asunder, plank by plank, unknown.
So fare the favourites of an hour, the play
that made them princes on the stage being o’er,
and the crowd clamours they have served their turn,
onst like a ruined wreck or broken toy.’

CHAPTER III

§ 11. 1. ταχὺ καὶ νεανικῶς, ‘quickly (early) and vigorous
Cał. mi. c. 16, 3 ἐπιτεταὶ τοῖς πράγμασι νεανικῶς, Ages. c. 11,
ἐπειρῶτο νεανικῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, Cic. c. 9,
νεανικῶς τῶν ἀλιμαρχικῶν καθαρπόμενος, Plat. Theact. p. 161
πάνυ νεανικῶς τῷ ἀνδρὶ βεβοήθηκας. μέντοι, ἰαμεν, ‘ye
notwithstanding his youthful excesses. ἀψασθαι, ‘laid hold
attracted, him.’ The inverse construction is more common,
in c. 25, 2, Cał. ma. c. 3, 3 ἀψασθαι τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείας.

5. 3. κρατήσας, ‘obtained the mastery over him,’ prevailed
4. εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ‘from the very first.’

This is a phrase of common occurrence in Plutarch, *Ages. c. 1, 1 ὡς*
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Paul. c. 3, 3 εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς μεγάλη παρανομίᾳ κινεῖ τὴν πολιτείαν
Num. c. 8, 1, Comp. Lyc. c. Num. c. 4, 4 εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς κλαπτόμενος
τυπόμενος, Romp. c. 1, 1, Lyc. c. 16, 1 τὸ μὴ καλῶς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρ
εὐσίαν καὶ ῥώμην νεφεκός, c. 18, 2 εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθίζοντο, Pericl. c. 31,
Lyc. c. 2, 1, Tit. Flam. c. 4, 3, Phlorp. c. 1, 2. We find also εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχ
as Pelop. c. 8, 4, Luc. c. 33, 3, Marc. c. 29, 5.

τὸ πρῶτον ἀφιέμενος, ‘by his ambition to hold the foremost
place.’

5. ἱταμῶς, ‘in headlong fashion’ (εἰμι, ἱτη), ‘recklessly.’

Cp. *Cał. mi. c. 23, 2 οὕτω περιφανῶς καὶ ἱταμῶς τοὺς κοινούς ἔβαρπάζ*
τολμήσας, Mor. 33 π ἀποκριματέος ἱταμῶς καὶ προχείρους, 127 π βαδίζ
ἱταμῶς ἐπὶ τὴν συνέθειαν, Dem. Choz. § 68 τὸν ἱταμῶς πολιτεύουσαν.

ἑφίστατο, ‘faced,’ ‘bore up against.’ *Demetr. c. 11,*
ἱταμῶς ὑποστάς τὸν θόρυβον, Dem. c. 6, 4 ὑφίστάμενος το
ἔχλου, Mor. 32 ο ὑφίστασθαι τοῖς κωδύουσιν, 118 ο τοὺς ἐ
τοῖς κωδύουσιν θανάτου πρῶτον ὑποστάντας, Thuc. VIII 6
3 ἐπειδήπερ ὑπέστη τὰ δευά. Translate ‘he was not underterr
by the (necessary) hatreds and enmities with the men
leading position and influence in the state’ which such amb
tion would entail upon him.

8. τὴν ἰσχυρίαν α. ὀδόν. So μακρῶν c. 4, 1; τὴν ταχίστην
c. 7, 2; c. 16, 2. προερέμενον: The word is especially appr

Cyr. III iii 2 τῆ ὑπὸ πάντων τιμῆ, Plato *Rep.* p. 378 A τὰ τοῦ Κρόνου παθήματα ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱέος=ἀ ἐπασχε ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱέος, p. 390 C Ἀρεῖς τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεσμύς.

52. δοκᾶ καταψεύσθαι, 'are generally thought to have been downright falsehoods,' c. 3, 2. Antiph. p. 131, 35 χαλεπὸν τὰ ἐκ πολλοῦ κατεψευσμένα... παραχρήμα ἀπελέγχευ.

53. τὸνναντίον, *contra*. Plutarch appeals to another anecdote, which presupposes a friendly relation between father and son at this period also. τὰ κοινὰ πράτταν, 'to take part in public business,' a favourite phrase with Plutarch, *Dem.* c. 6, 1; c. 12, 1; *Cic.* c. 4, 2; varied in *Sol.* c. 14, 1 where we have τοῖς κοινοῖς προσελθεῖν, and c. 5, 2 τὰ δημόσια πράττωντα.

54. ἀποτρέπων αὐτόν, 'by way of discouraging, deterring him.' The imperfect participle is used more often than the present in a conative sense. ἐπεδείκνυε, 'used to point to them' as examples. The deme Phrearri lay near the sea.

55. ἐρριμμένος, prod. part. 'abandoned,' 'derelict,' lit. 'flung aside.' Cp. *Agis* c. 9, ἐδέοντο μὴ περιβεῖν ἐρριμμένον τὸ ἄξιωμα τῆς Σπάρτης, *Timol.* c. 14, 1 ὁν ἐρριμμένον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης πατήσαστες τὸν Διονύσιον, *Flam.* c. 20, 2 παρορώτων ἀπάντες δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ γῆρας (τὸν Ἀνρίβαν) ὡς περ ἐρριμμένον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, *Soph. Aj.* 1271 οἴχεται ταῦτ' ἐρριμμένα.

56. παρορωμένος, 'in a state of neglect.' ὡς δὴ... ὁμοίως ἐχόντων, 'telling him for a fact that the populace are similarly disposed towards their leaders, whenever they show themselves unable to serve them.' For ὡς with the partic. in the gen. absol., see *G. M. T.* § 918; in c. 4, 3 we find the acc. abs.

The verb ἔχειν is often joined to an adverb of manner in the sense of 'to be,' and Plutarch is fond of adding πρὸς, as c. 29, 4, *Per.* c. 10, 2 οἰκείως εἶχον πρὸς αὐτόν, *Philop.* c. 1, 1, *Sull.* c. 11, 5, *Lucull.* c. 22, 4 οὐδὲν ὑποδύως εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, *Nem.* c. 6, 3 ἀπαρῶς ἔχουσι καὶ μανικῶς πρὸς πόλεμον, *Cim.* c. 12, 3 πρὸς τοῦ θεοσλήτες φιλικῶς ἔχοντες, *Thea.* c. 19, 5 πολέμικῶς ἔχον πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων.

Nichol, *Death of Themistocles* p. 9, makes his hero tell the story thus:—

"Twas in my twentieth year,
that, by the Illissus, Neocles and I
walked to the shore at sunset, when the Pnyx
murmured with surges of the evil news,
that Artaphernes, brother of the king,
sagest of Medes, at Ladd, had o'erwhelmed
Miletus and our kindred of the Isles—
in that full spring of life, when all the world
seems to an eager dream a ready spoil,
'When I am chief in Athens' I exclaimed
'we shall efface disaster.' Neocles
smiled, till, as we went pacing by the tide,
he broke in speech 'So you are born to rule
and are ambition haunted: see the end:—"

He pointed to a battered hulk that lay
with yawning rents more ghastly by each wave—
'I saw this galley crowned with myrtle boughs;
the swiftest in the war, it bore the gods
on its exultant bulwarks; now disused
it falls asunder, plank by plank, unknown.
So fare the favourites of an hour, the play
that made them princes on the stage being o'er,
and the crowd clamours they have served their turn,
cast like a ruined wreck or broken toy.'

CHAPTER III

§ 11. 1. ταχὸν καὶ νεανικῶς, 'quickly (early) and vigorous'
Cal. ml. c. 16, 3 ἐπιστὰς τοῖς πράγμασι νεανικῶς, Ages. c. 11
ἐπειρᾶτο νεανικῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, Cic. c. 9
νεανικῶς τῶν ἀγυαρχικῶν καθαρτῆμενος, Plat. Theat. p. 16
πᾶν νεανικῶς τῷ ἀνδρὶ βεβοήθηκας. μέγροτος, ἰαμεν, 'ye
notwithstanding his youthful excesses. ἀψασθαι, 'laid hold
attracted, him.' The inverse construction is more common,
in c. 25, 2, Cal. ma. c. 3, 3 ἀψασθαι τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείας.

5 3. κρατήσας, 'obtained the mastery over him,' 'prevails

4. εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, 'from the very first.'

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ἴσους εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεμαζόμενοι, Dion. c. 7, 2, Alcib. c. 4, 2, Ai
Paul. c. 2 2 εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς μεγάλη παρανομίᾳ κινεῖ τὴν πολιτεί
Num. c. 8, 1, Comp. Lyc. c. Num. c. 4, 4 εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλαττῆμενος
τυποῦμενος, Pomp. c. 1, 1, Lyc. c. 16, 1 τὸ μὴ καλῶς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς
εὐερίαν καὶ ῥώμην σφεκοῦς, c. 18, 2 εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐερίοντο, Peric. c. 31
Lyc. c. 2, 1, Tit. Flam. c. 4, 2, Philop. c. 1, 2. We find also εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρ
as Pelop. c. 8, 4, Luc. c. 55, 3, Marc. c. 29, 6.

τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιβήμενος, 'by his ambition to hold the foremost
place.'

5. ἱταμῶς, 'in headlong fashion' (*εἰμι, ἱτη*), 'recklessly.'

Cf. *Cal. ml. c. 23, 2 ὅπου περιφανῶς καὶ ἱταμῶς τοῖς κοινοῖς ἱερασί*
πολεμίου, Mor. 93 2 ἀποκρινόμενος ἱταμῶς καὶ προχείρως, 137 F βαβίς
ἱταμῶς ἐπὶ τὴν συνέθειαν, Dem. Chers. § 68 τὸν ἱταμῶς πολιτευομένου.

ἐπίστατο, 'faced,' 'bore up against.' *Demetr. c. 11,*
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δχλου, Mor. 32 0 ὑφίστασθαι τοῖς κινδύνοις, 118 0 τοῖς ἐ
τοῖς κείνους γενομένοις θανάτοις πρῶτος ὑποστάντας, Thuc. VIII 6
3 ἐπειδήπερ ὑπέστη τὰ δευρά. Translate 'he was not undeterm
by the (necessary) hatreds and enmities with the men
leading position and influence in the state' which such am
tion would entail upon him.

8. τὴν ἑνωσίαν α. ὁδόν. So μακρὸν c. 4, 1; τὴν ταχίστην
c. 7, 2; c. 16, 2. *ωρονόμενον*: The word is especially appr

prize to the character and steady-going conservatism of Aristides. Cp. *Arist.* c. 3, 2 *ὅ μὴν ἄλλὰ πολλὰ κινουμένων τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους παραβόλων καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν αὐτῷ πολιτείαν ἐπισταμένου καὶ διακόπτοντος, ἤραγκάσετό που καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἀμυνόμενος, τὰ δὲ κολούων τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν . . . ὑπερπατιοῦσθαι οἷς ἐπραττεν ὁ Θεμ., c. 25, 4 χρῆσάμενος αὐτῷ (Themistocles) πρὸς πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐχθρῶν. For a similar omission of πρὸς before Ἀριστείδην, see *Comp. Timol. c. Ασπ. c. 1, 1* οἱ πόλεμοι πρὸς ἐνδόξους γυγῶσιν ἀμφοτέρως ἀσταγασιστάς, τῷ μὲν Μακεδόνας, τῷ δὲ Καρχηδόνιους.*

9. καίτοι, *quamquam*, 'though,' 'and yet,' introduces a remark limiting the previous statement, to show that variance of political sentiments was not the original cause of their animosity, c. 10, 5. *παντάπασι . . . μερακιώδη*, 'altogether childish.'

*Syll. c. 4, 4 ἡ ἐχθρὰ βραχίαια καὶ μερακιώδη λαβούσα τὴν πρῶτην . . . ἀρχήν, Alex. c. 21, 7 μερακιώδη καὶ κενὴν ἀπάθειαν, Orata. c. 16, 1 πρὸς τοὺς συνόβους πολλὰ κενὰ καὶ μερακιώδη λέγειν Num. c. 8, 10 μερακιώδους φιλονικίας, Arist. c. 8, 3 τὴν κενὴν καὶ μερακιώδη στάσιν ἀφίστεν, Plat. *rep.* p. 406 B ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ μερακιώδους ὄψεα, Polyb. 10, 33, 6 δὲ ἀπενοθεΐαν ἢ μερακιώδη στάσιν.*

§ 21. 11. *Στησίλαος Κέων*, Stesilaus of Ceos, an island in the Mare Myrtonum not far from Cape Sunium, whose town Iulis was famous as the birthplace of the poets Simonides and his nephew Bacchylides, and of Prodicus the Sophist. Ariston of Ceos (*Arist.* c. 2, 3, not to be confounded with his namesake and contemporary the Stoic philosopher of Chios, *ἐπιταλοόμενος Σείρην*, *Diog. Laert.* vii § 160 ff.) succeeded Lycon as head of the Peripatetic school about B.C. 230.

He was according to Cicero *de Sen.* v 5, 13 a man of taste and elegance, but without the earnestness of a true philosopher (*concinna et elegans: sed ea quae desideratur a magno philosopho gravitas in eo non fuit; scripsit sane et multa et polita, sed nescio quo pacto auctoritatem oratio non habet*). In his *de sen.* § 3 Cic. speaks of him slightly for giving Tithonus the chief part in a dialogue on old age. Besides this work he appears to be the author of one called *ἑρωτικά διαγράμματα* (quoted once or twice by Athenaeus under the title of *ἑρωτικά ἐπιεία*) and another—inscribed Διονύσιον out of gratitude to his master—the work from which the present anecdote is probably taken (*Mor.* 14 r).

13. *ἰστορήκεν*, 'has recorded,' c. 1, 3. *ἐκ τούτου*, 'from that time,' 'thenceforward.' *διετέλλον . . . στασιάζοντες*, c. 31, 4. G. § 279, 4 n., Rutherford § 369.

14. *ὅ μὴν ἄλλὰ*, 'not but what,' lit. 'this was not, however, the only ground but' etc. Cp. c. 5, 4; c. 23, 3; c. 29, 3; *Timol. lex.* p. 243^a.

16. *ἔωκον*, a weaker expression than *φαίνεσθαι*, but objective

and not, like *δοκεῖ*, subjective. ἀξήσται τὴν διαφορὰν, 'widened the breach between them.' πρῶτος, 'placable,' gentle' Ἰβλαίος.

17. καλοκαγαθός (unclassical), 'inclined to καλοκαγαθία' (c. 12, 3) or 'conservatism,' the conduct and character of καλοκαγαθός, which was originally a party name = Lat. *optimales*, *boni viri* 'the nobles' or 'conservatives' as opp. to the mass of the people. τὸν τρώων, the defining accusative (Ruth. § 81), is parallel (not opposed) to τῇ φύσει, G. § 188, 1 Note 1.

18. οὐ πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲ πρὸς δόξαν, 'with no desire to ingratiate himself with the people, nor yet to win personal glory.'

Cp. *Ant. m. n.* c. 32, 1 πρὸς χάριν ἐπολιτεύοντο τῶν πολλῶν, *Phoc. c.* 1, 1 πρὸς χάριν πολιτεύεσθαι. *Μακεδόνων, Fab. Max. c.* 20, 2 πρὸς χάριν τὰς τιμὰς ἱμερόντας, *Lnc. c.* 5, 3 ὁ κρατὼν τότε τῆς πολιτείας τῷ πρὸς χάριν ἔπαινα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν . . . ἔχθραν εἶχε, *Compr. Alc. c. Cor.* 1, 3 ἐν τῷ πρὸς χάριν ἐμλεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς, *Thes. c.* 32, 1 πρὸς χάριν ὄχλῳ διαλέγεσθαι, *Mar. c.* 28, 1 πρὸς χάριν ἐνδοθεὶς τοῖς πολλοῖς, *Ag. c.* 2, 6 τῶν πρὸς χάριν ἄπειρα ἐπολιτευόμενος, *Nic. c.* 2, 3 οὐ πρὸς χάριν ἔπραττε, *C. Cir. c.* 11, 2, *Alex. c.* 18, 4 οὐκ οἶον, ἐν οἷ μάταιοι πρὸς χάριν ἐξήρουντο, *Dion. c.* 8, 3 ἐγγύστερον οὐ πρὸς χάριν ἀλλ' ἀποκτοῖς ὑπὸ χρείας τοῦ τυράννου πρῶτος ὢν, ἀποκατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, *Ant. m. n.* c. 48 ἀπερίστα μὴτε τὰ πρῶτα πρὸς ἀνίχθειαν τοῦ Πουμπλίου εἶπειν μῆτε ταῦτα πρὸς χάριν, *respondit se neque prius illa odio Pompei neque hinc gratia persequi non dixisse, Dem. de Chers. p.* 90, 3 μῆτε πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιῆσθαι λόγων κἀμῖνα μῆτε πρὸς χάριν, *neque alio neque gratia regi in dicendo.*

19. ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου μετ' ἀσφαλείας κτλ., 'making the highest good of the state, together (consistently) with steadfastness and justice, his spring of action.' Cp. *Dionys. Hal. ant. rom. x* 55, 1 ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ταῦτα βουλευόμενος.

The contrast between the aristocratical and conservative leanings of Aristides and the democratical and destructive tendencies of Themistocles is more clearly indicated in *Arist. c.* 2, 5 'Ἀριστιδῆς δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὡσερ ὄντων ἰδίων ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῆς πολιτείας, πρῶτον μὲν οὐ βουλόμενος συναρκεῖν τοῖς ἔταιροις ἢ Ἀνακτορὶ εἶναι μὴ χραιζόμενος, ἔπειτα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἰδίων ἐπαύρουσαν ἀδικεῖν ἐφυλάττετο, μόνῃ τῷ χρηστῷ καὶ δικαίᾳ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ἀξίαν θεωρεῖν τὸν ἀγαθὸν πόλιτῃν. See also *Aristot. περὶ Ἄθην. πολ. c.* 23 p. 66 ed. Kenyon φωνεῖ δὲ προστάται τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τοῦτους τοὺς καιροὺς Ἀριστιδῆς ὁ Ἀριστιμέων καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλείδης, ὁ μὲν τὰ πολέμια ἀσπῶν, ὁ δὲ τὰ πολιτικὰ θεῖνός ἐστίν <δοκεῖ> καὶ δικαιοσύνη τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαφέρειν διὰ καὶ ἔχρηστο τῷ μὲν στρατηγῷ, τῷ δὲ συμβούλῳ, *Aesch. c. Tim. §* 25, c. *Clea. §* 181 Ἀριστιδῆς ὁ δικαίος ἐπικαλούμενος.

21. ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινεῶντι, 'stirring up, as he did, the people to embark in many novel schemes.'

22. μεγάλας ἐπιφέρουσι καινοτομίας, 'seeking to introduce great innovations.' Cp. *Sol. c.* 15, 1 § ἀρεστὸν ἦν ('where the present position was tolerable') οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν ἰατρῆαν οὐδὲ καινοτομίαν, *Cleom. c.* 3, 2 κινούμενος ὑπερφῶς πρὸς τὴν καινοτομίαν τοῦ Ἀγδοῦ, *Cic. c.* 2, 4, *Plat. legg. p.* 950 A καινοτομίας ἀλλήλους ἐμποιοῦντων, *Polyb. 18, 1, 2 οἰκείως διακρίμενοι πρὸς καινοτομίαν τῆς οἰκείας πολιτείας, 35, 2, 8*

ἐτόλμου πάντας πρὸς καινοτομίαν ποιήσουσι. The primary meaning of καινοτομεῖν is 'to make a fresh cut,' or, as a mining term, 'to open a new vein'; hence it comes to mean *res novare*, as *Ar. Eccl.* 584 where it is opposed to τοῖς ἰδέσσι Μαν τοῖς ἄρχαίσι ἐνδυστρίβειν.

23. ἐνιστάμενος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν, 'opposing him to prevent his aggrandisement,' interfering against the increase of his influence (*Clough*), c. 7, 1. Cp. *Marcell.* c. 22, 1 ἐνισταμένω τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῷ Μαραθῶνι πρὸς τὸν θρίαμβον.

§ 3 l. 24. λέγεται γάρ, in ref. to πολλὰ κινεῖν τε κτλ. παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν, 'transported with a passion for glory.' The word means 'borne away from,' 'swerving aside from,' as in *Plat. Soph.* 228 οὐσα καθ' ἑκάστην ὁρμὴν παράφορα αὐτοῦ (τοῦ σκοποῦ) γίγνεται (i.e. 'swerving from the mark'), *id.* D (ψυχῆς) παραφόρου ξυνέσεως γενομένης; hence *aba.* 'déranged,' 'frenzied,' as in *Artoz.* c. 5, 2 ὑπόκουφος καὶ παράφορος, *Dion.* c. 2, 2 παιδάρια καὶ γύναια καὶ παραφόρους δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀνθρώπων.

25. ἐπὶ, *prae*, 'owing to.' ἐραστής, *studiosus*, *appetens*, frequently applied to things: cp. *Cam.* c. 25, 1 δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ἐραστής, *Plat. Rep.* vii p. 521 β ἐραστὰς τοῦ ἀρχεῖν, *Xen. Cyr.* i 5, 12 τοῖς ἐπαινῶν ἐραστὰς, *Soph. Oed. R.* 601 ἐραστής τῆσδε τῆς γυναικῆς, *Eur. Heracl.* 377 ὁ πολέμων ἐραστὰς, *Herod.* iii 53, 5 πολλοὶ αὐτῆς (τῆς τυραννίδος) ἐρασταὶ εἰσι, *Ar. Av.* 324 ἐραστὰς τῆσδε τῆς χώρας, 474 μοναρχίας ἐραστὰς, *Pl.* 254 τοῦ ποιεῖν ἐρασταί, *Pac.* 191, *Nub.* 1458.

26. τῆς . . . διαβεβήσεως, 'when the generalship of Miltiades was the common talk everywhere.' *Mor.* p. 871 A διεβήθη τὸ πρᾶγμα, *Per.* c. 19, 1 διεβήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἑκτὸς ἀνθρώπων, *Sextor.* c. 4, 1, c. 18, 2 ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διεβήθη, *Lucian Men.* c. 6 μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ σοφῶν καὶ σφόδρα ἐπὶ συνέσει διαβεβοημένων. ἐν Μαραθῶνι: so *Thuc.* i 18, 1, ii 34, 1. *Cobet (V. L.* p. 201; *N. L.* p. 95) maintains that Μαραθῶνι is a local adverb as much as Πυθαί, Ἀθήνησι (c. 1, 1), and that therefore the preposition should be omitted without regard to the authority of the MSS, even the best of which insert it in violation of the metre, as in *Aristophanes Eq.* 781, where the Ravenna has ἐν Μαραθῶνι. Cp. *Ach.* 699, *Eq.* 1344, *Vesp.* 711, *Thesm.* 807. In *Thuc.* i 73, 4 all MSS omit the prep. Marathon, the scene of the famous battle between the Persians and Athenians in B.C. 490, was a deme of the tribe Leontis near a bay on the E. coast of Attica.

28. εἰόντος ἐπᾶσθαι, 'he was observed by himself, in thoughtful mood.' Cp. *Brut.* c. 40 εἰόντων ἐπᾶσθαι καὶ συνεπᾶσθαι.

Cic. c. 4, 5 σύννεον καθέζεσθαι πολλὸν χρόνον. The phrase πρὸς ἑαυτῷ εἶναι (γίγνεσθαι), 'to be by oneself,' occurs several times in Plutarch, *Agca.* c. 11, 7 χρόνον τιὰ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος, *Alex.* c. 37, 3, *Phoc.* c. 5, 3 αὐτὸν ὅσα πρὸς ἑαυτῷ τῆρ διαοίαν, *Dion* c. 55, 1. τὰ πολλὰ, *plerimque*, 'usually.'

- 6 30. τοὺς πότους παραιεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήθει: Blass takes this to be a double accusative: 'begged his boon companions to excuse him drinking bouts'; but why not 'declined his customary drinking bouts'? For παραιεῖσθαι, *deprecari*, *recusari*, 'to beg to be excused,' 'to decline,' cp. *Mor.* 207 Ε οὐτω μετενόησεν ὅστε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην παραιτήσασθαι τὸ δεῖπνον, *Per.* c. 23, 1 παρρηγεῖτο τὸν πόλεμον, *Plat. Prot.* p. 355 A τὴν δὲ Προδικίου διαίρεσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων παραιτοῦμαι.

Cp. *Mor.* 184 F Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπὶ μεράκιον ὢν ἐν ποταῖς ἐκλυιδεῖτο, 800 B ἀποκρίσθαι ὅτι καὶ Θ. ἀπεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας διαποσόμενος ἀπίστῃσι τῶν πότων καὶ τῶν πικρῶν ἑαυτῷ, 552 B εἰ δὲ τις . . . Θεμιστοκλέους ἐφ' οἷς ἀσελγαῖων ἐπιμαχεῖ καὶ ὄβριζε ἐ' ἀγορᾶς ἀφείλετο τὴν πόλιν . . . ἐρ' οὐκ ἐν ἀπολάλεισιν ἦναι οἱ Μαραθῶνες . . . οὐδὲν γὰρ αἱ μεγάλαί φύσεις μικρὸν ἐκφέρουσι, οὐδ' ἀργαὶ ἐ' ἀέτηρα τὸ σφοδρὸν ἐν αἰταις καὶ δραστήριον, ἀλλ' ἐν σάλμ διαφέρουσαι, πρὶν εἰς τὸ μέγιστον καὶ καθωστρατὸς ἴδου ἔλθειν.

31. τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολήν, a periphrasis for τὴν τοῦ βίου μεταβολήν.

Cp. *Dem.* c. 20, 2 τῆς περὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀέτητος, *Cicem.* c. 18, 2 αἰτίων γίγνεσθαι τῆς περὶ τοῦτο Σπαρτιάτας μεταβολῆς, *Mor.* 102 B ἢ περὶ σε διὰδουσι (animi affectio tui), 118 E τὴν περὶ τὸν νότον τελευτήν (*Alit mortem*), 122 A τῆς ἀνοφελοῦς περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καταφόρος (*inutili illa corporis anituitio tui corruptela*), *Lys.* 31, 4, p. 187 τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν κακίαν (*malis malitiam*), *Plato Phaedr.* p. 279 A τοὺς περὶ Ἀσπίαν λόγους (*Lysis orationes*).

32. ὡς . . . οὐκ ἐφέη, 'that it prevented him from sleeping,' opt. of indirect discourse after ὡς.

The story recurs *Thea.* c. 6, 7 τότε δὲ παντάσῃσι ἦν (Θηοῦσι) φανερίτε πεποιθὸς ὅπερ ὕστερον χρόνῳ πολλοῖσι Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπαθε καὶ εἶπεν ὡς καθυπεῖν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐφα τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρέπαιον, *Mor.* 84 B Θεμιστοκλῆς εἶπεν ὡς οὐκ ἐφ' καθυπεῖν αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων ἀπίστῃσι τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρέπαιον, οὐκ ἐπαιῶν μόνον οὐδὲ θαυμάζων (τῆρ Μιλτιάδου τάλμαρ καὶ ἀνδρείαν) καταφανῆς ἦν εὐδὲς ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῆλῶν καὶ μιμούμενος, p. 92 C, p. 800 C, [*Plut.*] *Mor.* 184 F ἐπὶ δὲ Μιλτιάδῃσι στρατηγῶν ἐνίκησεν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τοὺς βαρβάρους, οὐκ ἐπὶ ἦν ἐπιτυχίῃ ἀπακούοντι Θεμιστοκλεῖ' πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θαυμάζοντας τὴν μεταβολὴν ἔλεγεν ὡς οὐκ ἐφ' με καθυπεῖν οὐδὲ βεβῆμεν τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρέπαιον. Cp. Cicero *Tusc.* iv 19, 44 noctu ambulabat in publico Themistocles, quod somnum capere non posset, quacrentibusque respondebat, *Milliadis tropaeis ac e somno suscitari*.

- § 4 l. 34. ἔπρας . . . ἀρχῆν, being predicate nouns, are without the article.

36. ἑαυτὸν . . . ἤλαφε, 'was anointing' i.e. 'training, preparing himself.' Cp. a. 1, 2.

Similarly ἀποδέσσειν from its meaning 'to strip for gymnastic exercises' came to be used figuratively of 'preparing for any thing requiring effort'; *Dem.* a. 6, 2 ἀμυσσέσθαι τὸ πρῶτον ἀποδέδοντι πρῶτον τὸ

λέγει, *Agis c. 6, l* οἱ νέοι συναπεθύσαντο (αὐτῶ) πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν, καὶ (cum eo) se accipiunt ad virtutem capessendam, *Mor. 811 E* οἱ πρὸς πάσαν ἀποδύμενοι πολιτικῶν πράξεω, 94 C φίλους πολλοὺς εἰς ἄγαθα πάσαν τύχην συναποθύσαντες, *Diad. Sic. II 29, 5* εἰ φιλοσοφίαν ἀποθύσαντες ἐργολάβους ἴκανα.

87. ἤσκα, another metaphor borrowed from the palaestra. πύρρωθεν ἔτι (for ἔτι πύρρωθεν, to avoid the hiatus between ἤσκει and ἔτι), 'from afar,' 'long before.'

CHAPTER IV

§ 1 l. 1. καί, 'and so.' πρῶτον μὲν, correlative to ἐκ δὲ τοῦτου l. 18.

τὴν Λαυρευτικὴν πρόσοδον, *pecuniam publicam quae ex metallis redibat* (*Nepos Them. c. 2*), 'the income derived from Laurium.'

The silver mines of Laurium (Λαύρεια or Λαύρια), situated in the south of Attica, north-west of the promontory of Sunium, amidst a district of low hills extending across the space between the eastern sea at Thoricus and the western at Anaphlystus, formed for many years one of the most productive sources of Athenian revenue (*Ar. Vesp. 657*). They were farmed in small parcels to hereditary tenants, who, besides a sum paid for the right of working them, tendered a fixed portion of the produce to the state. This rent the people had hitherto enjoyed like the profits of a private partnership, by sharing it equally among them; it was one year unusually large, and would have yielded to each citizen of the poorer class a sum which would have been felt as an important addition to his ordinary income. Themistocles prevailed upon the people to forego this advantage and to apply the fund to the enlargement of their navy, making the war against Aegina his immediate pretext. See *Herod. vii 144* ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοισι γενομένην χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ('the public treasury') τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων σφί προσήθε των ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἐμελλον λάζεσθαι ἀρχῆδον (σολίτην τριτίτην) ἑκάστος δέκα δραχμῆς, τότε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέγνωσε (pergnasit) Ἀθηναίους, τῆ διαίρεσιος ταυτῆς παυσάμενους, νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι δικαιοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινητας λέγων. *Aristotle Ἀθην. πολ. c. 23 p. 62 ed. pr.* refers to these mines under the name Maroneia—which was doubtless the place in the neighbourhood of Laurium mentioned by *Dem. Pantien. § 4*—ἔτι δὲ τρίτη μετὰ ταῦτα Νικομήδου ἀρχοντος, ὡς ἔφηται τὰ μέταλλα τὰ ἐν Μαρωνείῃ καὶ περιεγίνετο τῇ πόλει ταλαντα ἑκάτον ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, συμβουλευόντων τινῶν τῷ δήμῳ διατείνασθαι τὸ ἀργύριον, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκάλυψε, οὐ λέγων ὅτι χρῆσται τοῖς χρῆμασιν, ἀλλὰ δεικνύσας πόλεμον τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις Ἀθηναίων ἑκάτον ἑκάστην ταλαντον, εἰ' ἴαν μὴ ἀρετῆ τὸ ἀνάλωμα, τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τὴν δαπάνη, εἰ δὲ μὴ, κομισσάσθαι τὰ χρῆματα παρὰ τῶν δεικνυμένων. λαβὼν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπαυγηγῆσθε τρέφοντες ἑαυτὸν, ἑκάστην κομισσόμενον τῶν ἑκατὸν μίαν, εἰς ἐναυμάχουσαν ἐν Σαλαμίῃ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους.

2. ἕθες ἔχόντων = εἰωθόντων.

3. διατέμνεται, reciprocal middle, 'to divide amongst themselves,' so that each received ten drachmas, *Herod. vii 144*.

4. παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, 'coming forward to speak before the people.' Παρῆται and παρελθεῖν were technical terms in this sense, *Thuc. v 45, 4* ἐς τὸν δῆμον παρελθόντες. Hence [*Dem.*] *περὶ συντάξ. § 14* calls 'the speakers' οἱ παρίοντες.

5. ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων, 'out of this money,' like ἀπὸ l. 16, the means being considered as the starting-point, c. 31, l. Cp. Arist. *or. de IVvir.* p. 187 ed. Jebb ἐκείνου τοίνυν Ἀθηναίους τῆς μὲν διαδόσεως ὑπερθεῖν, ναυὶ δὲ κατήσασθαι ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων, πρόσθεν μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας, οὗτος γὰρ ἐνεστήκει τότε, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσθαι προῶν καὶ νομίζω τῆν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ὡσπερὶ προῖμον γεγενῆσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἶναι δ' οὐ πέραν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ παύτος . . . ἀλλ' ἄρχην μᾶλλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ἑτέρων ἀγώνων.

8. ἤματι, 'was at its height,' c. 24, 2, *Anf.* c. 32, 4 ἀκαξούσης τῆς εὐνοίας, Thuc. III 3 τοῦ πολέμου ἀκαμάζοντος. Cp. Herod. VII 145 ὁ δὲ ὡς μέγιστος (πόλεμος ἦν) Ἀθηναίοι τε καὶ Αἰγινήταισι, Thuc. I c. 14, 3; c. 41, 2. Aegina, one of the earliest naval powers—the removal of which as an eyesore of Piraeus was advised by Pericles (*Dem.* c. 1, 2, Aristot. *Rhet.* III 10 § 7d)—had made war upon Athens at the instigation of Thebes in B.C. 507 (Herod. VII 81-89). Athens retaliated by inducing Sparta to punish Aegina for her submission to Persia B.C. 493 by taking hostages; it was the retention of these hostages in Attica that brought about a renewal of the war (Her. VI 50, 87 ff.)

9. κατείχον . . . τὴν θάλασσαν i. q. ἰθαλασσοκράτου, 'were masters of the sea.' Cp. Cic. *or. p. leg. Man.* § 54 *civitas Atheniensium, quae nullis tale quondam mare tenuisse dicitur. et νησιῶται,* esp. the Corcyraeans, Thuc. I c. 14, 2.

10. πλεῖστα, 'superior numbers,' as often in Thuc. II c. 11, 1; c. 87, 6; c. 100, 1.

§ 2 l. 10. ἢ καὶ ῥᾶον, 'wherefore all the more easily.' ἢ καὶ before a comparative adverb emphasises an inference: cp. ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον *Actm. Paul.* c. 33, 4, Thuc. I c. 11, 1, c. 25, 4, III 13, 2, IV c. 1, 3, c. 103, 2, ἢ καὶ ῥᾶον II 2, 3.

11. συνείπασεν κ. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Δαρῆτον . . . ἐπίσειεν, 'shaking Darius at them as a scare.'

12. μακράν serves as predicate 'were a long way off.' Cp. *Arist.* c. 4, 3 αἰ δ' ἀπ' Αἰγίοντον παρὰ Πτολεμαίου μακράν ἤσαν ἐπίθετα. οὐ πάνυ (not omnino non, 'altogether not,' 'not at all,' but) 'not altogether,' 'not absolutely,' for there was a general apprehension of such an invasion, τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ἔστος Thuc. I 14, 3. The meaning of οὐ πάνυ has been thoroughly discussed by Cope, App. Note C p. 139 ff. to his translation of Plato's *Gorgias*.

13. ὡς ἀφεζόμενοι, G. § 227 N. 2 (a), *MT.* § 364.

15. ἀποχρησάμενος, 'turning to account.'

'Αποχρησάμενος means (1) *multum et libere uti, totum in usum suum convertere*, *Mor.* 267 γ, *Cat. ma.* c. 5, 1 τοῖς εἰσέταις ὡς ὑπεργίως ἀποχρησάμενος ἐπὶ γέρας ἐβόλαις, *Alex.* c. 71, 2 ὄβριον ἔφασαν εἰσα ἀφ᾽ἑαυτοῦ ἀποχρησάμενος εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἶον λαθεῖν σὺν αἰσχύρῃ καὶ προσέγγισαι ταῖς πατρίδι, *Cic.* c. 56, 2 ἐπίστατος καὶ γ. . . ζῆλον εἶχε ὡς ἀποχρησάμενος τῆ παρούσῃ, *Polyb.* xvii 15, 9 χρῆται τοῖς πλοίοις οἱ στρατηγοὶ καθὼ τὸ συμφέρον ὅταν γὰρ μὴ ἀποχρησώμενται: ('when they have made what use they can of them'), χρῶνται λοιπὸν ὡς πλοίοις, *Thuc.* i 86, 4, vi 17, 1, vii 42, 5. (2) *abuti*, 'to misuse' or 'to use for some other object than the pretended one,' c. 22, 2, *Timol.* c. 16, 2 πρὸς κἀλλιστον ἔργον ἀποχρησάντες τῇ σχολῇ, *Mor.* 178 C συνεβόησαν (Θάλλωνος τῆ νιψῆ) τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ἄνακτων καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς φίλοις ἐπίσθαι καὶ τοῖς πολεμοῖς, εἶτα εἰς μὲν χρῆσθαι, εἰς δ' ἀποχρησάσθαι, *Act. Paul.* c. 26, 6 ἰκανοὶ ἦμαί καὶ τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς κακοῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν καταρθεμένων ἀποκρίχεται ἡμεῖς, *Op. Ala.* c. *Cor.* c. 2, 7 ἀποχρησάμενος αὐτῷ (Alcibiades) μάλλον ἢ χρημίστων.

εὐκαιρως, 'opportunately.'

16. ἑκατόν: 200 according to Herod. and Justin ii 12, 12; *Neop. Them.* c. 2, 2 and *Polyaenus Strat.* c. 1, 80 agree with *Plutarch*. *Thirlwall* reconciles the different statements by supposing that they built a hundred new galleys, and so increased their naval force to two hundred ships.

17. αἷς καὶ . . . ἠναντιόχουν, 'with which they actually fought, as he intended.' *Cp. Thuc.* i 14, 3, ii 86, 1.

§ 3 l. 18. ἐκ δὲ τούτου, *post hoc*, 'after this,' answering to *πρῶτον μὲν* l. 1. *Cp.* c. 19, 2; in c. 20, 2 it means *propter hoc*. κατὰ μικρὸν, 'little by little,' 'gradually.'

19. ὀπάγων, 'luring them on insensibly,' *Xen. Cyr.* i vi 37 τοὺς πολεμοὺς εἰς δυσχωρίαν φυγῆ ὑπαγαγόντες, iii 2, 8 ἐπειδὴν ὑπαγάγωσι τοὺς πολεμοὺς ὑποφύγοντες. καταβιβάζων . . . πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν *sc.* by connecting it with its port Piræus.

20. ὡς . . . ὄντας = λέγων ὡς εἶεν. τὰ περὶ, *rem proleptem*, limitative acc. after ἀξιωμαχούς. *Cp. Thuc.* iv 12, 3 τὰ περὶ ἀκρατίστους. οὐδὲ τοῖς ἡμέροις ἀξιωμαχοῦς, 'not a match even for their neighbours,' i.e. the Bœotians.

21. ὄντας *sc.* τοὺς πλοῖους, implied in the preceding πλοῦν. τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀληθῆ, 'the defence, protection afforded by their ships.' See n. to c. 12, 1, and *cp. Thuc.* ii 39, 1 τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν εὐφύχῃ, *Dem.* 54, 36 ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐταυμάστῃ, *Xen. Cyr.* i i 5 τῷ ἀφ' αὐτουὶ φέβῃ, *Hier.* c. 10, 3 ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν θαυροφόρων φέβος.

22. ἀμένεσθαι, aor. of a single expected event.

23. ἔργων, imperf. of a continuous state of things. ἔς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων *sc. leg.* iv 706 a, where, though *Themistocles* is not mentioned by name, *Plato*, in comparing the comparative effects of their naval and military victories on

the Athenians, censures the innovations introduced by him, regarding the land service as a type of steadiness and inflexibility, the sea-service as one of mutability and adventure, *ἐτι γὰρ ἂν πλεονάκις ἐπὶ ἀπολέσει καὶ δας αὐτοῖς συνήγαγε* ('it would have been better for them (the Athenians) to have lost seven sons oftener' as a tribute to Minoes) *πρὶν (ποτίσις quam) ἀπὶ περὶ ὀπλιτῶν μονίμων (στασιουργίῳ) ναυτικοῦ γενομένου ἔθισθῆναι πικρὰ ἀποσηδῶντας δρομικῶς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ταχῶ πάλιν ἀποχωρεῖν, καὶ δοκεῖν μῆδὲν αἰσχροῦ ποιεῖν μὴ τολμῶντας ἀποθῆσθαι μένωνας ἐπιφερομένων πολεμίων, ἀλλ' εὐκείας αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι προφάσεις καὶ σφόδρα ἔτοίμας ὄπλα τε ἀπολλύσι καὶ φεύγουσι δὴ τινες οὐκ αἰσχροί, ὡς φασί, φηγds. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκ ναυτικῆς ὀπλιτείας ῥήματα φιλεῖ ξυμβαλεῖν, οὐκ ἄξια ἐταίρων πολλῶν μύρων ἀλλὰ τοῖναρτίων.*

This passage is also referred to in *Philop.* c. 14, § πλὴν Ἐκαταμυριόβην λέγουσιν ἀνοῦστα γρῶσαι τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ὀφελείων τοῦ πολέμου, ὅπως αὐτῶ μὴ λήθωσιν ἀπὶ μονίμων ὀπλιτῶν, κατὰ Πλάτωνα, ναῦται γὰρ ἰσχυροὶ καὶ διαφθαρτοί, ἀσφακεῖ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν ῥιζῶν ἀναλθεῖν ἰκνούσιαι, and by Aristides *or. de I Nivris* II p. 205 ed. Jebb Πλάτων κατηγορεῖ Θημιστοκλέους ἰσχυροῦς Ἀθηναίους εἰς τὰς τριήρεις, φύσικων αὐτοῦς ἔθισθῆναι φεύγειν ἐκ τούτων καὶ μὴ μάχεσθαι. Grote contends that Plato does not render justice to the Athenian seaman, whose training was far more perfect and laborious and his habit of obedience far more complete than that of the Athenian hoplite or horseman.

24. ναυβάτας, a poetical word found in *Thuc.* I 121, 3, VII 75, 7, VIII 44, 1.

25. διαβολὴν . . . παρέχων, 'furnished occasion for a charge against himself.' *ὡς ἄρα*, 'that, strange to say,' indicates the surprising nature of the charge.

26. τῶν πολιτῶν παρελόμενος, 'taking away from the citizens.' *Cp. Xen. Hell.* II III 20 τὰ ὄπλα πάντων παρελόντο, *Symp.* IV 40 εἰ μού τις καὶ τὰ νῦν ὄντα παρέλοιτο, *Mem.* I VI 1 τοῖς συνουσιαστὰς αὐτοῦ παρελέσθαι.

27. ὑπηρεσίον, τὸ κῶς ψ ἐπικαθῆναι οἱ ἐρέσσοντες διὰ τὸ μὴ συντρέβασθαι αὐτῶν τὰς πηγὰς *Schol. ad Thuc.* II 93, 1. *Cp. Arist. Eq.* 785, *Isocr. de pace* § 48 τότε μὲν εἰ τριήρεις πληροῖται, τοὺς μὲν ξένους καὶ τοὺς δούλους ναύτας εἰσεβίβαζον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας μεθ' ὀπλων ἐξέπεμπον· νῦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ὀπλίταις χρώμεθα, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἐλαύνειν ἀναγκάζομεν, ὡςθ' ὁπότεν ἀποβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν ἄρχων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιούσιντες ὑπηρεσίον ἔχοντες ἐκβαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοιοῦται τὰς φύσεις ὄντες, αὐοὺ ἄλλω πρότερον δὴλθον, μεθ' ὀπλων κωδινεύουσιν.

28. συνέσταλα, 'reduced.' *Συστέλλειν* is 'to draw together,' 'bring into a small compass,' as in folding up, wrapping, *c. 29. 2. Cp. Dem. de cor.* § 246 ταῦτα (τὰ ἀμαρτήματα) εἰς ἑλάχιστον συστεῖλαι, *Plato legy.* p. 691 κ τῆρ τῶν βασιλέων

γίνεσθαι εἰς τὸ μῆτριον συνέστειλε, with the accessory notion of 'abasing,' 'humbling,' Plut. *Cicoum*. c. 11, 2 συστελλομένων εἰς τὴν εὐγενῆ καὶ λακωνικὴν ἐκείνην διαίταν, c. 13, 4 συνεσταλαμένον δαίτην (μακρὰ cf. *frugalis cœna*).

§ 4 l. 28. ἔπραξε, 'achieved,' 'carried through.'

29. κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, 'by overpowering his opposition (to the augmentation of the marine) in the ecclesia.' *Isotopet*, c. 1, 3 note.

The work of Stesimbrotus of Thason (c. 2, 3), to which Plutarch frequently refers, was probably the same as that quoted by Athenaeus (xiiii 589) by the title *περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θεμιστοκίδου καὶ Περικλέους*. It appears to have been a sort of *Chronique scandaleuse* of these worthies, dealing mostly with anecdotes of their private life. Cp. c. 24, 3 and *Pericl.* c. 13, 7, where Plutarch speaks of him in terms of disparagement. His ill-natured remarks about Cimón were no doubt occasioned by the part which that hero took in the siege of his native island.

30. εἰ μὴν δὴ . . . ἐπισκοπεῖν, 'whether indeed he really did (as Plato thinks) relax or not the original strictness and mar the integrity of the constitution, let it be a subject for philosophers rather to consider.' φιλοσοφώτερον is for μᾶλλον φιλόσοφον, as Thuc. vii 77, 4 ἀξιώτερον for μᾶλλον ἀξίον, Xen. *Oec.* c. 15, 3 ἀσχιον for μᾶλλον ἀσχυρόν, *Cyr.* viii ii 13, *Hell.* vii v 10 θαυμαστότερα for μᾶλλον θαυμαστά. For τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, cp. Thuc. vii 18, 3 τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ('the exact discipline') τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, and for τὸ καθαρὸν, Plut. *Cal. mai.* c. 4, τῆς πολιτείας τὸ καθαρὸν ὑπὸ μεγέθους οὐ φυλαττούσης. The explanation of G. H. Schäfer, who is followed by Engelmann in his version, is somewhat different: *licet* (nobis alio tempore) *magis* *ut liceat philosophum* (quam nunc licet versantibus in historico argumento) *expendere*. Oralli proposed to read φιλοσοφωτέρων.

32. ὅτι δὴ . . . ἐμαρτύρησε: This is aimed at Plato *Legg.* p. 707 a, who will not allow the truth of this statement either, but contends that the battles of Salamis and Artemisium did not either save the Athenians or make them better than they were before, but that those of Marathon and Plataea τὴν μὲν ἀρχαί τῆς σωτηρίας τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τὴν δὲ τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι.

34. ἀνέστησαν, 'set up,' 'reinstated.' Cp. *Alcib.* c. 32, 5 τὴν πόλιν . . . ἐκ λυγρῶν ἐπι λειψάνων ἀναστήσας, *Arist.* c. 10, 2 τὴν τε πόλιν ἀπὸ αὐτῶν ἀναστήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου, Eur. *H.F.* 845 θεῶν ἀνέστησεν μόνος τιμὰς πιπρούσας ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν ὕπα.

35. τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ Ἑλένης κτλ., 'besides other testimony there is also that of Xerxes himself.' Cp. Thuc. i 73, 5 τεκμήριον δὲ μύστων (sc. of the battle of Salamis being the salvation of Greece) αὐτὸς (ὁ βάρβαρος) ἐποίησεν· νικῆεις γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶν ὡς

οἰκέτι αὐτῷ ὁμοίως εὐσεῖς τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ τάχος τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν.

§ 5 l. 36. ἀβράστου διαμενοῦσης, 'though it continued throughout unbroken.'

38. ἐμποδὼν εἶναι, infinitive of purpose, corresponding to the future partic. δουλωσόμενον. G. Gr. § 265, MT. § 770, § 772.

39. τῆς διδῶντος, gen. after ἐμποδῶν, a word of hindrance: cp. Xen. Cyr. VIII v 24 ἐμποδῶν ἀλλήλοις πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔσεσθε, Hier. c. 8, 1 ἐπιθυμῶν φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, ἐμποδῶν σα τούτου νομίζεις αὐτῆν εἶναι, Hell. VI v 38 μόνους ἂν ὕμᾶς οἴσεται ἐμποδῶν γενέσθαι τοῦ ἄρξαι αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Eur. Suppl. 395 λόγων τις ἐμποδῶν οὐδ' ἔρχεται.

CHAPTER V

Before giving an account of the Persian war Plutarch, in his usual way, puts together a few characteristic anecdotes and notices of Themistocles.

§ 1 l. 1. σέντονον . . . χρηματιστήν, 'eager in the acquisition of riches,' not in a sordid way but 'for the sake of liberality,' that he might have the more to spend. Cp. Plato Theaet. p. 144 D πρὸς τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐλευθεριότητα θαυμαστός.

2. καὶ γὰρ, not *elenim*, but *nam et*, καὶ answering to the καὶ before λαμπρῶς. Cp. Xen. Oec. c. 5, 4 καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει (*nam in agris quam in urbe*) ἀεὶ ἐν ὄρῳ αἱ ἐπικαιριώταται πράξεις εἰσίν.

3. φιλοθύτην ὄντα, 'since he was fond of sacrificing.' Sacrifices were among the chief means of social enjoyment, as they were mostly followed by the entertainment of friends and relations (Xen. Mem. II ix 4, iii 11). Clearchus, according to Athen. XII 533 E, says of him ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ φίλων Τρίκλων οἰκοδομησάμενος περικαλλέστατος ἀγαπᾶν ἔφησεν, εἰ τούτων φίλων πληρώσειεν.

4. ἀφθόνου χορηγίας, 'a plentiful supply,' 'an ample revenue,' lit. 'means for the provision of χοροί.' Cp. Mor. p. 602 A χορηγία βασιλικῇ πρωτανεύμενος, Arist. Pol. p. 1325^b, 37 οὐ γὰρ αἰὼν τε πολιτείας γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην ἀνευ συμμετροῦ χορηγίας, Polyb. XI 8, 5 καὶ τις ἦρ' περὶ τοῦ πλείστου καλλιπασμῶς ὑπερέχω τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου χορηγίαν, XVII 18, 5 κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον βίον οὐ περιττώω τῇ χορηγίᾳ. See also c. 7, 4 and my n. to *Sull.* c. 12, 2.

5. γλισχρότητα πολλήν και μικρολογίαν κατηγοροῦσιν (sc. αὐτοῦ), 'charge him with great stinginess and penuriousness.' Cp. c. 21, 2. Herodotus (VII 112) represents him as being insatiably covetous. Γλισχρος (γλίχουμαι) is properly *iscas*, 'sticky,' hence of persons *grasus*, 'close-fisted'; μικρολογία is defined by Theophrastus *Char.* XXIV ed. Jebb to be φειδωλία τοῦ διαφόρου ὑπὲρ τὸν καιρῶν, 'a too strict attention to the difference,' i.e. to profit and loss. The two words are again combined *Mor.* p. 125 κ.

6. ὅς expresses the ground of their charge, c. 4 § 3.

7. τὰ πεμπόμενα, viands sent from time to time as a present for the guest-friends (ξένοι) whom he was entertaining from foreign states. Athenaeus (XIV 656 D) tells a similar tale of Simonides, who ἐν Συρακούσαις τοῦ Ἰέρωνος ἀποστελλοῦτος αὐτῷ τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν λαμπρῶς πωλῶν τὰ πλείω τῶν τὰρ ἐκείνου πεμπόμενων ἐαυτῷ μικρὸν μέρος ἀπετίθετο. τὸν βωβιδίμων, partitive gen. after τὰ πεμπόμενα.

9. ἠπειλήσει . . . ποιήσαν δοῦραον ἕκων, 'threatened that he would soon turn his house into a wooden horse.' Cp. Cic. *or. p. Mur.* § 78 *intus, intus, inquam, est equus Troianus, a quo nunquam me consule opprimemini.* The threat meant, that out of his own house there should come misfortunes to ruin him, just as the Greeks who captured Troy came out of the wooden horse (*Hom. Od.* VIII 493).

10. ἐγκλήματα συγγενικὰ . . . ταραξάν, 'that he would stir up family quarrels and litigation between the fellow and some of his relations.' ταρασσειν, a frequent expression, 'to raise by stirring up'; cp. *Cal. mi. c.* 22 *στάσειν και πολέμου ταρασσειν*, *Plat. Rep.* 567 A *πολέμου ταρασσειν*, *Soph. Ant.* 792 *τίς κείνος ταραξάς*, *Dem. de cor.* § 151 *ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα και πόλεμος ἐταράχθη*, § 153 *ἄλλα πράγματα ταραξάσα.*

11. τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ: c. 16, 2.

§ 2 l. 13. ἔτι μὲν answers to εἰς δ' Ὀλυμπίαν. ἀφανής, 'obscure,' 'unknown to fame' (ἐπιφανής (c. 1, 1)). Hermione (or Hermion) was a town at the southern extremity of Argolis, celebrated for its temple of Demeter.

14. σπουδαζόμενον, 'held in high esteem,' 'courted.' Cp. *Plu. c.* 24, 3 *αὐτῷ λέγουσι ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους σπουδασθῆναι*, *Isa. dial. doct.* c. 16, 1 *ὁ δὲ Ἡφαιστος τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐγάμε και σπουδάζεται πρὸς αὐτήν*, *Strabo Geogr.* XVII c. 3, 15 *μάλιστα ἐσπουδάζετο παρὰ τοῖς Ἑσπερίοις ὁ Μασσαρότης δὲ ἀρετῆν και φιλίαν.*

15. ἐκλιπαρῆσαι μελετῶν παρ' αὐτῆ, 'moved him by his importunity to practise at his house.'

16. φιλοτιμώμενος . . . πρὸς αὐτόν, 'because he was ambitious of the honour of many persons frequenting his house. Cp. Xen. *Hipp.* i 25 εἰς τὸ φιλοτιμείσθαι αὐτοῦ καλῶς παρὸς κενναμένους ἕκαστον τῆς φυλῆς ἤγεισθαι. τὴν οἰκίαν, 'the house where Epicles was staying.'

17. Ὀλυμπίας: the famous plain in Elis, where the Olympic games were celebrated. The story may have arisen from Timocreon's (c. 21, 2) complaint of the shabbiness of the entertainment given at the Isthmian games by Themistocles to the visitors.

18. διαμιλλόμενος, *contendens*, 'vying with.' Cp. *Dem.* c. 31, 2 διαμιλλῶντο τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασιν εἰς τὸ ἀδωροδόκητον τοῦ Δημοσθένους, *Cic.* c. 32, 4 τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων διαμιλλωμένῳ πρὸς αὐτὰς ταῖς πρεσβείαις, c. 4, 5 διαμιλλᾶσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλου τοῖς ἐπαίνοις. For instances of διὰ with this meaning of *certatin* in composition, see my n. to Xen. *Cyr.* i iv 4.

19. σκηνάς, 'tents' or 'pavilions' richly furnished, which were necessary for the accommodation of visitors at the games Cp. *Arc.* c. 12, 1 σκηνὴν αὐτῷ (Alcibiadi) κεκοσμημένην διαπερὶ πῶς ἔστησαν Ἐφέσιοι. τὴν ἄλλαν . . . παρασκευήν, 'the general magnificence of his equipage.'

§ 3 l. 21. ἐπ' οἰκίας μεγάλης: cp. *Cim.* c. 4, 1 Κίμων ἢ Μιλτιάδου μητρὶς ἐν Ἱερουσόλει . . . θυγατρὶς Ὀλοῦρου τοῦ βασιλέως, c. 5, 3 ἦν δὲ αὐτὴν ἰδέαν οὐ μεμνητὸς, ὡς Ἴων ὁ ποιητὴς φησιν, ἀλλὰ μέγας. φανερὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα λαμπρῶς καὶ ἀδρόνως ταχὺ εἶδεν τῆ πόλει μετ' εὐνοίας ἔχειν ἀπορροιαίων πολλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλούντων εἰς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὸ δεικνύσθαι καὶ πράττειν. ἀμφίβαντα δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀσμενος δῆμος εἶδεν καὶ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀγῶνα <ει> τὰς μέγιστας ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχάς, εὐφροσυνὸν οὖν καὶ προσφιλέϊ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπὶ πρῶτον καὶ ἀφίλειαν. οὐχ ἥμισυ δ' αὐτὸν πῆξεν Ἀριστίδης . . . οἷο ἀντιπαλόν πρὸς τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους δεινότητα καὶ τόλμην.

φορτὸ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν, 'they thought proper to allow such extravagances as these.'

22. μῆτις γνώριμος γυγονός, 'since he had not yet become distinguished.' The use of μῆ for οὐ, with a participle other than conditional, is a familiar usage in Plutarch and Latin writers, but inadmissible of course in classical Greek.

23. δοκῶν, 'being thought,' c. 2, 6. ἔξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων 'with inadequate (lit. 'non-existing') means.'

24. παρ' εἶξιν = οὐ κατ' εἶξιν, 'beyond desert,' 'unduly.' Cp. c. 2, 2 προσωφλίσκων ἀλαζονείαν, *tantum abfuit et admirationem, ut insolentiae notam sibi contraheret*, 'got :

character besides (i.e. πρὸς τῷ οὐκ ἀρέσκειν) for vulgar ostentation, pretentiousness.' ὀφλισκάνειν with acc. often signifies 'to incur by one's conduct the punishment or reproach of.' Cp. *Mor.* 856 ὁ ἀνελευθερίαν τῇ κακοηθείᾳ προσοφλισκάνουσι, 1090 A, *Dem.* 8, 12 ὑπεριζῶντας τῶν ἔργων αἰσχύνῃ προσοφλισκάνειν.

25. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν : a further proof of his φιλοτιμία.

The choregia was one of the most expensive of the recurring liturgies (ἐγκύκλιος ἀγούργημα) at Athens, the others being ἀρχιθωρία, γυμνασιαρχία, ἰσθμιαίαι, to which the representative of a property of 3 talents was liable. The duties of the choregus were to get the choreutae together, to provide them with a trainer (χοροδιδάσκαλος), to pay and maintain them while training, and also to furnish them with the requisite dresses, crowns and masks.

τραγῳδοίς may be taken either with χορηγῶν or with ἐνίκησε. Cp. *Dem. Mid.* § 43 τραγῳδοίς κεχορηγηκέ ποτε οὗτος, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀλλήταις ἀνδράσι with *Theoph. Char.* xxxii νικήσας τραγῳδοίς, 'when he has gained a prize in a tragic contest,' and *Andoc. c. Alc.* § 41 καὶ ταυ τυγχάνω νενικηκώς λαμπράδι καὶ τραγῳδοίς; also the phrase καινοῖς τραγῳδοίς, 'at the representation of the new tragedies,' with which cp. *Cic. ep. ad Att.* II 19, 3 *gladiatoribus*, 'at a show of gladiators.'

26. ἤδη τότε, 'already at that time,' 'even then,' when there was not so much competition as later on in the time of Pericles.

27. πύνακα τῆς νίκης, 'a votive tablet recording his victory'; he set it up (ἀνέθηκε, c. 15, 2) in the temple of Dionysus.

29. Φρόνιχος, the famous tragic poet who gained his first victory in B.C. 511, and his last, the one here recorded, with the *Φοίνισσαι* in B.C. 477. ἔδιδασκεν, *docbat*, because the author of the tragedy had also to train his own chorus and actors. Hence τραγῳδοδιδάσκαλος came to signify 'a tragic poet,' κωμικοδιδάσκαλος, 'a comic poet.' ἄρχων, 'was chief (ἐπίνομος) archon.'

§ 4. Notwithstanding his affectation of show, he § knew how to win popular favour.

30. εἰ μὴν ἀλλὰ, 'not but what' (c. 3, 2), returns to the subject broken off at l. 25. ἐτήρησεν, *placbat*, 'adapted himself to,' not used as intransitive elsewhere by Plutarch. Cp. *Alex. c. 52*, 4 ἀπὸν θαυμάσιον ἐτήρησεν. τότε μὲν . . . τότε δὲ, 'partly . . . partly,' 'as well . . . as,' cp. τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δὲ c. 25, 2.

32. ἀπὸ στόματος, *memoriter*, 'by word of mouth' i.e. without writing, 'by memory,' without any ἐπιμαρτυρίαι or *testimonia*. Cp. *Dem. c. 7*, 3 τῶν Ἑλλήτιδων τὰ μύθεα εἰπὼν

ἀπὸ στόματος, Plat. *Theaet.* p. 142 π οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία (ἔγωγε ἀπαγγέσσασθαι), οὐκ οὖν ὄντω γε ἀπὸ στόματος, Xen. *Mem.* iii vi 9 οὐκ ἂν ἐχομῖ σοι ὄντω γε ἀπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν. Them. thus flattered the self-love of the people, cp. Cic. or. p. *Mur.* § 77 *nomine appellari abs te civis tuos honestum est.* κριτῆν, 'an arbitrator,' 'referee,' chosen by litigants in disputes about private affairs, such as breach of contract (*συμβόλαιον*). Nepos *Them.* c. 1, 3 *nullum in iudiciis privatis verabatur.* ἀσφαλῆ, 'safe,' 'to be depended on.'

34. ὧς, consecutive for ὥστε. Σιμωνίδην: Simonides of Coos, the celebrated lyric poet, was noted for his mercenary spirit (*φιλαργυρία*). See *Introduction* to my edition of Xen. *Hiero* p. xxxviii and n. to l. 7 above.

35. αἰτούμενόν τι τῶν οὐ μετρίων, 'when he asked him to do something unreasonable,' 'to strain a point in his favour.' Cp. Arist. *Nub.* 1137 ἐμοῦ μέτρι' ἄττα καὶ δίκαι' αἰτουμένου.

The story recurs *Mor.* 807 C καίτοι γε καὶ πρὸς Σιμωνίδην ἐξιστόντι τι τῶν κτῆ δίκαιων· ὅστι ποιητῆς' εἶη 'σπουδαῖός ἐστιν εἶδον παρὰ μέλος οὐκ ἄρχων ἐπιστάτης παρὰ τὸν νόμον χαρίζμενος,' 834 E δ' εἰ Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸς τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐξιστόντι τι τῶν κτῆ δίκαιων· ὅσ' ἂν σὺ ποιητῆς ἀγαθὸς εἴη' εἶη 'παρὰ μέλος εἶδον, οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ χρῆστέος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμον κρινών.'

37. εἶδον (= εἰ εἶδαι) contains the protasis to ἂν γένοιτο. Cp. l. 38; c. 18, 3, and see G. § 226, 1. παρὰ μέλος = πηλημελῶς, 'out of tune' ἤ ἐμμελῶς.

38. ἀστέιος is used in late Greek of anything 'proper' or 'good of its kind,' Lat. *probus, idoneus*, of things as well as of persons, as *Lyc.* c. 4, 5 ἀστέιον ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ καθαρὸν ἀποδείξει (with allusion to ἀστυ), *Mor.* 1043 B ὁμοίως τῆς τε αυτοπραγίας καὶ ὀλιγοπραγμοσύνης ἀστέιον ὄντω, 620 C ἀστέιος οἶκος, *Strabo* IX c. 3, 3 ἑλληβορον τὸν ἀστέιον, *Mor.* 12 F εἰς ποιητῶν ψυχὴν ἀστέιον λόγον ἐμβάλλειν, 29 B, E, 1038 B, 1046 c where it is opp. to φαῖλον, 35 F ἀστέιον καὶ χρῆστος, 502 B παιδεύσειν ἀστέιον, 622 B πρόφασιν ἀστέιον καὶ καλὴν, 1060 D σπουδαῖος καὶ ἀστέιος νόμος, 672 E (*Phoc.* c. 29, 3) τοὺς ἀστέιους καὶ χαρίεντας ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αἰεὶ συνέχευε, 443 D εἶς ἀστέια, 778 A ἀνδρὶ μετρίῳ καὶ ἀστέιῳ, 779 B πανηγυρὸς ἀστέιος, 881 C τὸ μὲν κίβδηλον εὐτυχεῖ, τὸ δ' ἀστέιον ταραχία πάσχει, *Timol.* c. 3, 4 ἢ φύσις ἐξέφερον ἀστέια, *Cat. ma.* c. 3, 2 ἡμερον καὶ ἀστέιον ἦσθε, *Demetr.* c. 32, 2 ταῦτα μὲν ἀστέια τοῦ Σελεύκου.

χαρίζμενος = εἰ χαρίζομαι, 'if he favoured.'

40. Κορινθίους μὲν . . . τὴν εἴην, (paratactic) 'for his want of sense in getting (c. 31, 1) portraits of himself so often taken, though he was so ugly, while he cast a slur upon the Corinthians though they inhabited so great a city.' Observe that the clause introduced by μὲν is logically subordinate to though grammatically coordinate with, the clause with which it is contrasted. The contrast lies between αὐτοῦ ποιούμενον εἰκόνας and λαοδοροῦντα, and μεγάλην οἰκονίαν πόλιν and αἰσχροῦ ὄντος τὴν εἴην.

For the allusion, cp. *Dion* c. 1, 1 ὁ Σιμωνίδης φασὶ τοῖς Κορινθίοις ὁπ' ἀπείων τὸ Ἴλιον ἐπιστρατεύσασιν μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅτι αἰκονοῖς οἱ πρὶ

Γλαύκων ἢ ἀρχῆ; Κορίθιοι γυγνόντες ἀναμίχων τροφίμοι, Aristot. *Rhet.* 1 6 p. 136^b λέλοιπορροβαί ἐπιλάβων Κορίθιοι, ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδου κωμίσαντες 'Κορίνθιοι δ' οὐ μίμνηται τὸ Ἴλιον.' 'Nothing is imputed to the Corinthians by Simonides except that the aid of Glaucus and his men of Corinthian race compensated the Trojans for their own hostility, and therefore that Troy had nothing to reproach them with.' The Schol. to *Findar Ol.* XIII p. 78, who cites the line, has *μαρία* (ς), 'is wroth' for *μίμνηται*, and this reading also appears in Plutarch's *Dion*.

41. εἰκόνας, 'portrait-statues' or 'busts,' not 'paintings.' See Prof. Jebb to Theophr. p. 180, 11. For *ποιούμενον*, cp. *Alex.* c. 40, 4 *εἰκόνας χαλκῆς ποιησάμενος τοῦ λέωντος καὶ τῶν κωνῶν*, *Demetr.* c. 41, 4 *χρυσοβαφεῖς πεποιημένους ἐμβάδας*.

42. αἰξόμενος i.q. ἀξάνομενος, 'growing in credit,' in reference to the statement at the commencement of this section.

43. τέλος, adv. 'finally.'

καταστασίασε, 'he overpowered (him) in party strife.'

The verb *καταστασιάζειν* (κατά, στάσις) is a favourite one with Plutarch for 'to overpower by forming a counter party,' cp. *Per.* c. 9, 3, *Mar.* c. 23, 5 *καταστασίασε τὸν Μέγαλλον*, *Sertor.* c. 4, 3 *δημαρχίαν μετιών* (being a candidate for the tribuneship) *Σύλλα καταστασίαντος αὐτὸν ἐξέτεσε*, *Spez.* c. 14, 9 *καταστασίασε: Κικέρωνα μετὰ Κλωδίου*, *Cat. maj.* c. 29, 3 *Γαίω Μερμηίων καταστασιάζοντος αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ δήμῳ*, *Cic.* c. 45, 3 *τὸν Ἀπίωνα ἐξέτερον* (Cicero) *καὶ καταστασίασε*, *Diod.* XIII c. 38 *καταστασίαν ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλεία*, *Philop.* c. 15, 6 *τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῇ συνέδριον καταστασιάζοντος ἀπίου*, c. 18, 5 *συγκαταστασίασε τὴν πόλιν*, and in the pass. below c. 11, 1 *Comp. Arist.* c. *Cat. maj.* c. 2, 3 *ἔστρατιαισθεις καὶ καταστασιασθεις* ὑπὸ Θμιστουλείου, *Comp. Sull.* c. 19, c. 5, 1 *καταστασιασμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ἰσθρίων*, *Thea.* c. 85, 3 *ἐπιχειρῶν βιάσασθαι κατῳμαγωγῆσαι καὶ καταστασιάζεσθαι*, *Brut.* c. 22, 3 *Ἀπύωνα καταστασίασε*, *Dem. Leoc.* § 3 *μὴ περιδείν πύργου ἀνθρώπων... καταστασιασθέντας ὑπὸ παραδείου ἀδικου*, *Diod.* XIII 63 *ὑπὸ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων καταστασιάζεσθαι*.

44. μετέστησεν, 'caused him to retire.' This was the technical term for temporary removal by ostracism; *ἐκβάλλειν* and its passive *ἐκπίπτειν* were applied to *φυγή*. Cp. *Arist.* c. 7, 4 *δοτρακὸν λαβὼν ἕκαστος καὶ γράψας ἐν ἐβούλετο μεταστῆσαι τῶν πολιτῶν*, *Nic.* c. 11, 1 *ἕνα τῶν ὑπόπτων ἢ διὰ δόξαν ἄλλως ἢ πλοῦτον ἐπιφθόνων ἀνδρῶν τῷ δοτράκῳ μεμιστὰς εἰς δέκα ἔτη*, below c. 11, 1 *τοῦ ἐπὶ χρόνῳ μεθεστῶσιν*, *Arist.* c. 8, 1 *ἐψηφίσαντο τοῦ μεθεστῶσι κάδοον*. This event happened acc. to Plutarch (*Arist.* c. 8, 1) in B.C. 482, acc. to Corn. Nepos (*Arist.* c. 5) in B.C. 485; we should probably take the mean 484 or 483. His sentence was for ten years, but he returned much earlier. *ἔστρατιαισθέντα*, *ostracismo eiectum* (*ἐκ, δοτρακῶν*). See c. 22, 2, *Arist.* c. 7, *Her.* VIII 79, *Plat. Gorg.* p. 516 D; also *Dict. of Antiq.* vol. i p. 818 a, ed. 3.

CHAPTER VI

§ 1 l. 1. τοῦ Μήδου (not here collective 'the Medians' but 'the Persian king,' Xerxes, as representing his people. Cp. Thuc. I 69, 5, III 10, 4. So δ' Ἰνδός, 'the king of India,' Xen. Cyr. III ii 27. καταβαίνοντες, because he was coming from Upper Asia. On the contrary, the expeditions of Cyrus and of Alexander the Great were ἀναβάσεις.

3. στρατηγῶδ' : on the appointment of the ten strategi consultant Marchant's *Introd.* to Thucydides II p. lxx ff. ἐκστήναι, 'stood aloof from' i.e. declined to be candidates for. *Cal.* πλ. c. 41, 2 πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μετέπειτα τῆν ἀρχὴν τότε παρασκευαζομένων . . . μόνον Δελκίων Δομίτιον . . . εἴπεισε μὴ ἐκστήναι μηδ' ὑφέσθαι.

4. ἐκπεληγμένους τὸν κίνδυνον, 'because they were dismayed at the risk'; c. 7, 3; c. 13, 2.

6. δεῶν εἰπών, 'an able speaker.' The more familiar phrase is δεῶν λέγειν. See my n. to *Dem.* c. 3, 1.

7. τῇ ψυχῇ: cp. c. 2, 1 τῇ φήσει συνετός, c. 16, 2 Ἀρσάνην ὀνόματι, *Per.* c. 3, 2 προμήκη τῇ κεφαλῇ. χρημάτων ἤτρονα, 'unable to resist bribes,' 'venal' ἢ χρημάτων κρείττων *Per.* c. 15, 2. Cp. Xen. *Mem.* I v l ἤττω γαστρός ἢ οἴνου, Plato *Protag.* p. 353 c ἤττω τῶν ἡδονῶν.

8. κρατήσαν ἐπιδοξον εἶναι, 'that he was expected, likely, to be successful.' The personal for the impersonal construction.

The word ἐπιδοξος is used either of persons or of things, most frequently with the fut. infin. *Thes.* c. 19, 2 ἐπιδοξος ὡν πάντας πάλιν ἐκείσθαι ὁ Ταύρος ἰφρονέιτο, *Num.* c. 5, 1 ἐπιδοξος ἦν ὁ ἔθνος αἰρήσεσθαι τὸν ἔτραρ βασιλεία, *Publ.* c. 1, 4 μέχρι μὲν ἐπιδοξος ἦν ὁ ἔθμος εἶνα χειροτονήσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, *Cal.* ma. c. 17, 7 ὑπερεύσειν ἐπιδοξον ὄντα, *Pyrrh.* c. 13, 3 τοῦτο ποιήσθαι ἐπιδοξος ἦν, *Agas.* c. 25, 3 εὐθὺς ἐκ παιδῶν ἐπιδοξος ἀνὴρ ἵσθαι σπουδαίος, *Brul.* c. 4, 1 ἐπιδοξος ἦν αἰρήσεσθαι τὰ Καιοσπας, c. 14, 1 βουλῆς, εἰς ἣν ἐπιδοξος ἦν ἀφίξεσθαι Καισάρ, *C. Gracch.* c. 11, 2 ἐπιδοξος ἦν ὑπερεύσειν, *Luc.* c. 5, 2 ἐπιδοξος ὡν . . . αἰρήσεσθαι στρατηγῶν, *Sull.* c. 6, 5, c. 34, 4, *Galb.* c. 21, 2, *Mor.* p. 674 f, p. 800 A, p. 968 ff, *Herod.* vi 12 πολλοὶ ἐπιδοξοὶ τούτῳ τούτῳ πείσεσθαι εἶσι, *Isocr.* or. c. *Loch.* § 12 τοὺς ἐπιδοξοὺς γενήσεσθαι ποταροῦ, *Ateop.* § 47 τοὺς ἐπιδοξοὺς ἀμαρτήσεσθαι, *Er.* iv § 6 τῶν ἐπιδοξῶν διαφθαρήσεσθαι πραγματίων. It is used without infinitive, which is however implied, in *Aracl.* c. 50, 2 οὐδὲν ἀγρεύει καλύτερ ἐπιδοξος ὡν (sc. ἀγρεύει) ἐπ' ὄργῃ, and with aor. infin. *Mor.* 760 A, *Herod.* I 89, *Isocr.* *Archid.* § 8 ἐπιδοξος ὡν τυχεῖν τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης, i.e. being heir-presumptive to this dignity (the Spartan kingship), *Aesch.* c. *Clea.* § 165 αὐτῇ (ἢ πόλις) καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπιδοξος ἦν εἰδέναι, *Lyc.* c. *Loos.* § 9 ἐπιδοξον γενέσθαι (but γενήσεσθαι Valck. Nicolaï), *Appian* *bell. civ.* I 32, 46 Μερμίου ἐπιδοξοτέρου ὄντος τυχεῖν, *Aristot.* *Rhet.* *Abel.* *Alex.* 30, p. 1437*, 14 ἀν' ἐπιδοξος ἢ κρίσει ἢ γενέσθαι; and lastly with the present infin. *Antiph.* *Ictral.* I 1 § 5 τὸν μεγάλα μὲν κακὰ προνοητότα, εἶτι δὲ μάλιστα ἐπιδοξον ὄντα πάσχειν, I 4 § 9 ἐπιδοξοὶ ἢ δυσπραγία μεταβάλλειν

αἰὼν ἐστὶ, Arist. *Rhet. ad Alex.* 19 p. 1433^a, 32, 36; 37 p. 1443^a, 7, 40 τὰ ἐπιδοξα λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτῶν. In one or two instances we find the future partic. as *Agis* c. 13, 4 Αἰσάκι φωνεῖ ἐπιδοξα... ἐμβαλλόμενος εἰς τὴν ἡλασπύγγον, and in *Pyrrh.* c. 13, 3 (quoted above) the MSS have κερύσειν, though edd. adopt κερύσειν after Stephanus.

9. τῇ χειροτονίᾳ, 'in the voting,' lit. 'show of hands.' The crier's invitation to the voters was ἀράτω τὰς χεῖρας ἐν ταύτῃ δοκεῖ εὖν, continuative.

10. τὰ πρῶγματα, 'the whole business.'

12. χρήμασι is the dat. of means instead of χρημάτων the gen. of price. Cp. *Dem.* c. 13, 2, Aristot. *Pol.* p. 1315^a, 24 τὰς ἀτιμὰς ἐξωνεῖσθαι μείζονα τιμαῖς, *Lys. or.* 24 § 17 οἱ πλοῦστοι τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐξωνοῦνται τοῖς κινδύνοις with [Arist.] *Oecon.* p. 1352^a, 13 χρημάτων ἐξωνοῦντο τοῖς σκευημένους. For the reference, see cp. *Nic. c. Cr.* c. 3, 3 καὶτοι δ' γε Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἵνα μὴ φαῦλος ἄνθρωπος ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς καὶ ἄλλων στρατηγῆσας ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἀργυρίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησεν αὐτῶν. τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐξωνήσασθαι, 'bought off (bribed him to forego) his ambitious projects.'

§ 2 l. 14. τὸ περὶ τὸν δίγλωττον ἔργον, 'his treatment of the 10 man who spoke two languages, being one of those who were sent by the King to ask earth and water.' Herodotus VII 32 says that Xerxes οὕτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὕτε ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα ἀπέπεμψε ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτησίην, and in c. 133 he tells the reason why; so that Plutarch's story is the invention due to the vanity of a later age and is opposed to historical truth. The γῆς καὶ ὕδατος αἰτήσις was tantamount to a demand for complete surrender of their people, land and cities.

16. ἐρμηνεῖα ὄντα, 'who was an interpreter.' Aristides I p. 122 ed. Jebb adds the reason: ὡς οὐδ' ἄχρι φωνῆς διακοπῆσαι προσήκον τοῖς βαρβάροις. συλλαβῶν... ἀπέκτανεν, he had him arrested (in virtue of his authority as στρατηγός) and procured a decree (ψήφισμα) of the ecclesia to put him to death.

18. χρεῖσαι (= δανείσαι, not, as Fuhr, δανείσασθαι), *commodare, ulendum dare*, 'to lend,' 'put at the service of,' from κτρημι (not, as Koræa, μολύναι, κατασχύναι, as if from χραῖν = χραίνω). Cp. *Plut. Dion.* c. 22, 2 χρεῖσαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ τοῦνομα Σικελιώταις ἐπὶ τὸν Διονύσιον, *Pomp.* c. 24, 1 ἡ δύναμις (coriæ) χρεῖσασα ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ὑπηρεσίαις αὐτῆς, *Philop.* c. 13, 2 χρεῖσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ σχολὴν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίᾳ δεηθεῖσι τοῦ Γερτυνίου.

19. τὸ περὶ Ἄρθμιον οὐκ ἐπαυεῖται. The infamy with which Arthmius of Zelea (a town in the Troad, mentioned by *Homer Il.* IV 108 and II 824 as the home of Pandarus), one of

the agents sent by Mardonius to scatter Persian gold and promises in Peloponnesus (Herod. ix 2), was branded (σηλητής) is frequently spoken of in terms of praise by the orators; Dem. Phil. 3 § 41 τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα (the inscription); "Ἀρθμίος φησὶν ὁ Πυθίωνακτος, ὁ Ζελεΐτης, ἄτιμος καὶ πόλεμος τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος." εἰδ' ἢ αἰτία γέγραπται, δε' ἦν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο' ὅτι τῶν χρυσῶν τῶν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἤγαγεν, *de f. l.* § 308, Aesch. in Oles. § 258, Dinarch. in Aristog. § 24 μόνω τούτῳ (τῷ Ἀρθμίῳ) προσέγραψαν τῆν αἰτίαν δε' ἦν ὁ δήμος ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Plutarch is the only writer who states that it was Themistocles who moved (εἴρε) the resolution.

20. καὶ τοῦτον, 'him also,' as the interpreter before him was punished. Arthmius could not be made ἄτιμος in the ordinary sense of forfeiting the franchise, because he was not an Athenian, but as Demosthenes says, δοῦλος βασιλέως, ἢ γὰρ Ζελεΐδ' ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίας, though we are told by Aeschines *l.c.* that he was an Athenian πρόξενος. The sentence against him and his family was one of outlawry, so that καθαρόν τὸν τούτῳ τινὰ ἀποκρίναντα εἶναι. The omission of the article before γένος in this formula is not exceptional, but regular and may be classed under the head of enumeration. εἰς τοὺς ἄτιμους ἐνέγραψαν, 'entered on the list of persons disfranchised.'

21. τὸν ἐκ Μήδων χρυσῶν... ἐκόμισε for τὸν Μ. χ. ἐκ Μήδων ἐκόμισε by a very common attraction of the attribute to the predicate.

So Xen. Anab. i 11 18 οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄνια ἔφερον, Dem. Ol. i § 15 τὸν ἐκείθεν πόλεμον δεῦρο ἤξοντα for τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον ἤξοντα ἐκείθεν δεῦρο, Theophr. Char. 11 4 ἄρας τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης for ἄρας τι τῶν ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ ἀπὸ τῆς τραπ., Plato Phaed. § 134 οἱ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰχθύας ἀποκόπτοντες, Dem. Ol. i § 17 δε' ἀνάγκη στρατοπέδῳ τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνειν, Issous or. 16 § 17 τοὺς ἐκ Δακελίας μεταπέμψαντο.

22. μέγιστον δὲ πάντων (*sc. αὐτοῦ ἐστίν*), 'is his greatest achievement of all,' the subject being the clause τὸ καταλῦσαι τοὺς Ἐ. π. As to the statement, cp. Herod. vii 145 who says that the greatest of these wars was that between Athens and Aegina; he does not however name either Themistocles or Cheileids in connexion with the termination of the feud, which was, he says, brought about by the Panhellenic congress at the Isthmus of Corinth. Aristides *or. de IV^o viris* p. 220 ed. Jebb agrees with Plut. πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ἦκεν τοὺς βαρβάρους, τὰς τε πόλεις ἐπέλλαξε καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πόλεταις ἀνῆκε τὰ ἐγκλήματα.

23. ἀναβαλέσθαι, 'to defer.'

27. πρὸς δ, 'towards which object.' Cheileids, an Arcadian of Tegea, by his judicious advice in B.C. 479 induced the

Σpartans to march to Plataea, Herod. ix 9, [Plutarch] *de Herod.* *nat.* c. 41, Ptolemaeus *Strab.* v 30, who, like Herodotus, gives him the name of Chileῶα.

CHAPTER VII

§ 11. 3. *ἔπειθεν*, 'tried to persuade.'

4. *ὡς προσωτάτω τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 'as far as possible from Hellas.'

5. *τῷ βαρβάρῳ*, not collective, see c. 6, 1. *ἐπισταμένῳ* : c. 3, 2.

6. *εἰς τὰ Τέμπη, ἐς τὴν ἰσθμὸν, ἢ περὶ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρεται παρὰ Ἰθρηίδων ποταμῶν, μεταξὺ Οὐλύμπου τε οὐρέος μέγιστα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης* Herod. viii 173.

7. *ὡς* : c. 4, 3.

8. *αὐτόθι = αὐτοῦ, ἰδί. προκινδυνεύουσάντων κ. αὐτῶν* i.e. the Athenians and Lacedaemonians.

9. *οὕτω τότε μηδίζαν δοκούσης*, 'which was not yet believed at the time to be medising' i.e. to have declared in favour of the Medes.

10. *ὅταν ἀνεχώρησαν ἀπρακτοί*, 'after they had returned (to the Isthmus) without accomplishing their object.'

It does not seem to have occurred to them that the position at Tempe would be useless as a place of defence, and that an expedition to Thessaly would answer no purpose, unless it was made with the intention of giving the enemy battle in the Thessalian plain—a field much more favourable to the invading army than to the weaker force. A body of 10,000 men was sent to take possession of Tempe. While they were encamped there, they received a message from Alexander, King of Macedon, exhorting them to withdraw and not to wait until they were trampled under foot by the invading host. At the same time they discovered that Thessaly lay open to the passers over the Cambunian Range, and that the enemy would be able to hem them in on every side.—THIRLWALL *Hist. of Gr.* vol. ii p. 305-6 ed. 1843.

Θεσσαλῶν βασιλεῖ προσηγομένῳ : Her. viii 174 *Θεσσαλῶν δὲ ἐρημιώτατοι συμμάχων, οὕτω δὲ ἐπιβίοντες προθύμως εὐδ' ἐπι ἐπιβίοντες, ὅσπερ ἐν τοῖσι πρῆγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλεῖ ἄνδρες ἴσους χρομῶντα*. It was the Thessalian nobles of the house of the Aleuadae—perhaps, as Athenaeus (xiv 83) suggests, captivated by the Persian luxury and splendour, which were peculiarly congenial to their habits—who first invited Xerxes to the conquest of Greece.

The article is generally, but not always, omitted when the Persian King is meant. It is used in c. 22, 2; c. 24, 1; c. 24, 1; c. 25, 2.

11 13. *προσέχον*, 'were for listening to.' See n. to *Dem.* c. 20, 4.

14. *καί*, 'and so.' *ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίων*, c. 8, 2. Artemisium, a long beach (*αἰγιαλός*), was capable of receiving the galleys, if it should be necessary to draw them up on the shore, and commanded a view of the open sea and the coast of Magnesia and consequently an opportunity of watching the enemy's movements, as he advanced towards the south. Herod. vii 176 gives the following description of it:—*ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους τοῦ Θρηάκιου ἐξ εὐρείου συνάγεται* ('there is a narrowing') *ἐς στενὸν πόνρον, τὸν μεταξὺ ἐόντα νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου Μαγνησίας· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στενοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἦδη τὸ Ἀρτεμισίων δέκεται αἰγιαλός.*

15. *τὰ σπυρὰ φυλάξων*, 'for the purpose of guarding the straits.'

§ 3 l. 15. *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, all except the Athenians, c. 20, 2. Herodotus (viii 2) puts the date of this question of precedence earlier, and does not mention the name of Themistocles in connexion with it at all. Plutarch has perhaps been misled by a desire to give his hero the credit of the transaction.

16. *Ἐρυθριάδην καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους*, the whole subjoined to the part, as in Thuc. i 116, 3 *ὄχετο εἰς Κεῖνον καὶ Καρίας*, iii 83, 1 *τῷ Πάχηνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*, Arist. *Plat.* 895 *ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ θεοί*. Similarly in Latin Hor. *Sat.* ii 7, 86 *Mulvius et scurras*, *Liv.* 21, 40 *adversus Hannibalem et Poenos*.

17. *ἔτι πλεῖστα κτλ.*: on the grounds of their pretension see c. 11. According to Herodotus (viii 1) the Athenians had manned 127 galleys themselves, and supplied the Chalcidians with 20 others; the Lacedaemonians sent only 10: the whole fleet consisted of 271 triremes.

18. *ὁμοῦ τι, προπεποδῶν*, 'almost,' with *σὺμπαρτας*. Cp. *Sull.* c. 11, 3, *Nic.* c. 16, 3, *Cic.* c. 26, 3.

19. *οὐκ ἀξιοῦντων*, 'disdaining,' after the analogy of *οὐ φάται*, *οὐκ ἔαν*. Cp. c. 11, 3, Thuc. i 102, 4 *δεινὸν ποιήσαντες καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦτο παθεῖν*.

20. *ἔκωθαι = κείθεσθαι. συνιδόν*, 'taking in at a glance,' grasping the situation: cp. c. 8, 2; c. 14, 2, *Sol.* c. 25, 2, *Cim.* c. 16, 6 *συνιδὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος τὸν μέλλοντα κινδύνον*, *Dion.* c. 15, 1, *Nym.* c. 20, 8, *Bru.* c. 42, 1, *Agas.* c. 5, 4, *Polyb.* i 28, 7, *Acts* xii 12, *Dem. Ol.* i 28. The word is not found in Thuc., and only thrice in Xen.

22. *παρήκε (παρῆται)*, 'ceded,' 'resigned.'

23. *ἂν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίνωνται*, 'should they behave like brave men.'

25. *παρῆσαν... παθεμένους*, 'that he would guarantee their

submission.' For *παρέχειν*, with predic. added, meaning *reddere, facere*, 'to make so and so,' see the exx. in my lex. to Xen. *Oec.* p. 117 a. Them. prophesied truly, for three years afterwards B.C. 477 the Athenians *παρέλαβον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ τὸ Παννατολίου μίσος*, Thuc. I 96, 1.

28. *εἰς δέξαν ὡς . . . περιγνομένους*, 'to the credit of being superior to.' They were *ἀνδρείτεροι* than their enemies, *εὐγνωμοίστεροι*, 'more sensible,' 'showed more prudence' than their allies. This was a favourite topic with Athenian orators.

Cp. Lycurg. c. *Leocr.* § 70 *μῆνοι δὲ ἀμφοτέρων περιγνοῦσθαι, καὶ τῶν πολέμων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ὡς ἑατέρων προσήκει, τοὺς μὲν εὐεργετοῦντες, τοὺς δὲ μαχόμενοι νικῶντες*, and Ael. Aristides *Ranath.* 217 p. 39 *ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ τὰς νίκαις ἀνείλοντο σαφέστατα ἀνθρώπων οἱ τότε . . . τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς τοῖς ὅλοις, τῇ δὲ ἐπιεικείᾳ τοὺς φίλους ἐνίκησαν*—both of which passages are adapted from Isocr. *Paneg.* § 71 *μεγίστων γὰρ πολέμων συνστάτος ἴκεινον . . . καὶ τῶν μὲν πολέμων ἀντιστάτων οἰομένων εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλεῖστος, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἀντιπράβλων ἡγουμένων ἔχειν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀμφοτέρων κρατίστατες, ὡς ἑατέρων προσήκει*.

§ 3 l. 31. *ταῖς Ἀφetaῖς . . . προσμέξαντες*, 'when it had come up to Aphetae.' *Flamin.* c. 16, 1 *προσμέμειξε τῇ Χαλκίδι*, *Alex.* c. 11, 4 *προσμέμειξας ταῖς Θήβαις*, *Phoc.* c. 13, 2 *τῷ χάρακι (castris) προσμέμειξαντες* etc., Thuc. I 46, 3 *εἰσεὶθὲ προσμέμειξαν τῇ κατὰ Κερκύραν ἡπείρω*, VII c. 41, 3; c. 70, 2. Sometimes Plutarch adds *ἐαυτῶν*. Aphetae was a port of the peninsula of Magnesia at the mouth of the gulf of Pagasae opposite Artemisium. Cp. Herod. VIII 6, 7, and for the origin of the name, VII 193.

32. *ἐκπλαγείς . . . τὸ πλεῖστος*: c. 13, 2.

33. *στόμα*, 'front,' = τὸ ἐμπροσθεν μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ *Suidas*. Cp. Herod. VIII 11 *κατὰ στόμα* ('front to front') *ἔργον εἶχοντο*. *ἄλλας . . . διακοσίας*, 'two hundred more sail,' Herod. VIII 7.

34. *πυρρανόμενος . . . περιπλεῖν*: G. *M.T.* § 914, 1. *ἐπὶ Σκιᾶθου (ἐξωθεν Σκιᾶθου Herod. l.c.)*, 'beyond the coast of Sciatheos,' which was an island off Magnesia N.E. of Euboea. This squadron was detached to sail round Euboea and up the strait from the south, so as to take the Greeks in the rear.

35. *τὴν ταχέστην sc. ὁδόν*, IIA. § 622, § 719 a.

36. *εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα*, 'into the interior of Hellas,' c. 9, 1, Herod. VIII 4 *ἀρησμένον βουλευόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφασθαι*, 'to reach.' The Greeks abandoned their station at Artemisium, but after the storm at Cape Sepias, which dispersed the barbarian fleet, they returned thither from Chalcia, where in their dismay they had taken shelter. They arrived in time to capture fifteen Persian ships which had been detained at Sepias after the departure of the main body.

38. *προσπεριβαλίεσθαι*, 'to surround, as with an additional (*πρὸς*) protection.' The word is used again *Mor.* 831 A.
- 12 40. *μὴ σφᾶς πρόωνται* (*προύνται*), 'lest they should leave them to their fate,' c. 9, 3; *Thuc.* I c. 36, 3; c. 120, 2.
42. *Πελάγοντα*: no name is given by Herodotus (VIII 4) for this and other particulars. Plutarch probably borrowed his account from Phanias of Lesbos, concerning whom see below I. 59 and *Introduction*. *χρημάτων*: the enormous sum of 30 talents, according to Herodotus.
43. *ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἰστέρηκε*: Plutarch misrepresents Herod., who says (VIII 5) that Them. gave Eurybiades 5 talents, Adeimantus the Corinthian 8, and kept the remaining 22 himself (*αὐτὸς τε ὁ Θεμ. ἐκέρθησε, δάνθαιε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων*).
44. *τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην*, a periphrasis for Eurybiades himself (see my n. to *Timol.* c. 13, 2), though it might also include Adeimantus.
- § 4 l. 46. *τῆς ἱερᾶς ναῦς*, one of the two sacred vessels, *Paralus* and *Salaminia*, which were used for all state purposes—except the *Delian* and other theories—for embassies, despatches etc. from Athens, for the transporting of money and persons, fetching state-criminals etc. The trierarch of these vessels, being only a representative of the state, had not to provide for the equipment of his ship nor for the pay of the crew. These expenses were supplied by the public treasurer (*ταμίης*) at the cost of the state (*Aristot. Ἀθην. πολιτεία* c. 61), though they passed through the trierarch's hands.
48. *χορηγῶν*, *supplying*, c. 5, 1.
49. *ἔτι μᾶλλον*, 'still more' than before; the crew were already angry with him, because they had not received their pay. Themistocles suspected that he was in possession of money, and that he wished to return lest he should lose it.
52. *ἐπὶ τούτῳ*, 'thereat,' c. 21, 3; c. 24, 3.
54. *δείνονον κρεῖον*, gen. of material; cp. c. 8, 2 l. 24. *τάλαντον* was not a coin, only a sum of money, value about £235.
56. *μεθ' ἡμέραν*, 'at daybreak' i.e. next day, because *δείνονον* was the evening meal.
57. *εἰ δὲ μὴ αἰ. ἐπιμεληθείη*, 'otherwise' i.e. if he did not attend to them. *καταβοήσαν αὐτοῦ αἰ. ἐφη*, 'that he would raise an outcry against him,' c. 23, 3.
58. *τοῖς παρόντας*, who would find the money (*τάλαντον ἀργυρίου*) in his possession.

59. Φανίας: Phanias of Ereos in Lesbos was the most distinguished disciple of Aristotle after Theophrastus, whose friend, fellow-citizen and contemporary he was: and a most diligent writer on logic, physics, history and literature. In c. 13, 2 he is spoken of by Plutarch as ἀπὸ φιλόσοφος καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἀπειρος ἱστορικῶν. His Πρωτάνεις Ἐφέσιοι, or chronicles of his native city, was probably a chronicle of the history of Greece, arranged under the several years, which were distinguished by the name of the *Prytanis eponymoi* of Ereos. He also wrote a history of the *τόρῶνται*, quoted more than once by Athenaeus. For μὲν εὖν, see c. 2, 4.

CHAPTER VIII

§ 11. 1. αἱ . . . μάχαι, the battles at Artemisium described by Herod. VIII 6 ff.

2. τὰ στενά, 'the straits' of the island of Euboea, of which Artemisium is a promontory, c. 7, 1 note.

3. κρίσειν μὲν μεγάλην, 'though they did not produce a decisive result.' Cp. Thuc. I 23, 1 ταχίαν τὴν κρίσειν ἔχε, Polyb. 16, 4, 8 βῆδαν ἔλαβε κρίσειν ἢ ναυμαχία. εἰς τὰ ἔλα, *ad rem summam*, 'for their vital interests.'

4. τῇ ψείρᾳ μέγιστα . . . ἤνησαν, 'were of the greatest service because of the experience they gave them'; the causal participle διαχθέντας takes up and explains τῇ ψείρᾳ.

5. ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων . . . διδαχθέντας, taught by practical experience in earnest fighting, in opposition to λόγοι. Cp. Thuc. I 18, 3 ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένοντο μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιοῦμενοι—a passage referred to by Plutarch himself, *Dem.* c. 6, 1. παρὰ τοῖς κινδύνους, *inter ipsa discrimina*, 'at the moment of danger.'

Cp. *Alex.* c. 32, 2 παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον, *Caes.* c. 39, 4 παρὰ τὸ δεῦρον (in ipso periculo), *Ant.* c. 63, 3 παρὰ τὰ δεῖρά, *Timol.* c. 27, 5 παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα (in certamine), *Marc.* c. 25, 3 παρὰ τὸ ἔργον, *Arist.* c. 3, 3 παρὰ τὰς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβολάς, *Flam.* c. 7, 4 παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν, *Mar.* c. 11, 8, *Nic.* c. 25, 2 παρὰ τὰς μάχαι, *Arat.* c. 29, 6 παρὰ τοῖς ἀγῶσι, *Pyrrh.* c. 30, 4 παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν, *Aesch. Clea.* § 170, *Xen. de resq.* c. 9, 11 εἰ παρὰ κρουγῆς (in clamore) καὶ παρὰ σάλτιγγε μὴ' αὐτὸν φαινεσθαι τεθρονημένον τῷ ἔργῳ, *Dem. Mid.* § 59 παρ' αὐτὰ ριδικήματα, *de cor.* § 15 τοῖς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πρίγματα' ἀλέχουσι. Cp. also the adv. παραχρῆμα.

7. ἐπισημεῖον, 'figure-heads' carved or painted on the bows 13 of a ship and imitating the person or object after which the vessel was named. Artemisia's vessel at the battle of Salamis was known by its ἐπισημεῖον (Herod. VIII 88). The word παρὰ

σημον has the same meaning. For the sentiment, cp. Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 382

κέρμον μὲν ἀνδρῶν ὄντων ἂν τρέσσαιμ' ἐγώ,
οὐδ' ἄλκοιὰ γίγνεται τὰ σήματα.

8. *καίαινες*, 'war-songs.' Cp. Schol. Thuc. I 50 δύο *καίαινας* ᾄδων οἱ Ἕλληρες, πρὸ μὲν τοῦ πόλεμου Ἄρει, μετὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι.

9. *εἰς χεῖρας ἵνα*, *manus conserere*, 'to come to close quarters.'

12. *διαγωνίζεσθαι*, 'to fight it out,' 'to fight desperately,' Thuc. v 10, 3. For the meaning of *δεῖ*, see n. to c. 5, 2. *συμπλακέντας*, 'in close grapple,' met. from the palaestra.

Cp. *Per.* c. 11, 1, *Eum.* c. 7, 1, *Demetr.* c. 48, 1; c. 49, 1 *θηρίω δειρῷ συμπέλεκται*, *Marcell.* c. 29, 7 *συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις*, *Aem. Paul.* c. 20, 4, *Anton.* c. 42, 2, *Flamin.* c. 4, 4, *Pelop.* c. 11, 5; c. 15, 1, *Pomp.* c. 17, 1, *Alex.* c. 16, 2, *Pyrrh.* c. 20, 4, *Dom. Phil.* III § 51 οὐδεὶς *συμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι*, *Polyb.* I 28, 2 *συνεπλέκοντο καὶ διαγωνίζοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις*, IV 58, 6 *ἤμυνοντο καὶ συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς Αἰγυπίοις γενναίοις*, XVI 33, 3, *Lucian Conv.* 44 *ἐμάχοντο συμπλακέντες*. It is followed by the acc. with *πρὸς* also in *Fab.* c. 25, 2, *Cicero.* c. 20, 1 *συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς φάλαγγα συναστράτηνον*.

§ 2 l. 13. § δὴ *συνιδῶν* κτλ.: the order is δὴ *συνιδῶν Πίνδαρος* ἔσκεν οὐ κακῶς εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς . . . μάχης, 'Pindar must surely have had this in view, when he expressed himself so well on the subject of the battle at Artemisium,' in reference to τῆ *πειρᾷ μέγιστα ὄνησαν*. Πίνδαρος, οὐκ ὦν *συμμάχου πόλεως*, ἀλλὰ *μηδίζου αἰτίας ἐχόσεως* [*Plut.*] *de malign. Herod.* c. 34. οὐ κακῶς is a litotes for εἶ or καλῶς. For ἐπὶ = *super*, 'of,' 'concerning,' after verbs of judging, proving and saying, cp. c. 22, 2, *Xen. Mem.* III ix 3 ὅρῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ὁμοίως καὶ φύσει διαφέροντας ἀλλήλων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, II iii 2 ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδελοφῶν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐγροῦσι. It is frequently so used in Aristotle.

15. *ἔθι* for οὐ, 'where': so αὐτόθι for αὐτοῦ. *παῖδες Ἀθαυαίων*, like Homer's *νῆες Ἀχαιῶν* and Herodotus' *παῖδες Λυδῶν* (I 27). *ἔβαλοντο φαεινὰν κρηπίδ' Ἰλευθερίας*, 'laid the shining groundwork of freedom.' Cp. *Pindar Pyth.* IV 138 *βάλλετο κρηπίδα σοφῶν ἐπέων*, VII 3 *κρηπίδ' ἀουδῶν Ἰπποῖσι βαλέσθαι*. So *Xen. Mem.* I v 4 calls *ἐγκαρτεία ἀρετῆς κρηπίς*. The passage is again cited by *Plutarch Mor.* 552 B, 867 C, and 350 A; also by *Aristides or. Plat.* II p. 188.

17. *ἔντως*, 'really,' in reference to the quotation, as in *Nic.* c. 17, 4.

18. τῆς *Ἐπίβοίας*, the chorographic or partitive genitive denoting a country or place with the name of a single town or point in it. See the description by Herod. quoted above c. 7 l. 7.

ἔτις τὴν Ἑστίαν, i.e. farther from the mainland of Hellas and nearer the Aegean Sea, c. 7, 3.

Hestiaea in Euboea—to be distinguished from Hestiaea in Acarnania—was settled fourteen years earlier than Aegina in B.C. 445. The colony probably received its new name OREA (Thuc. VIII 95, 7) from the adjoining place, when the Athenians took possession of the land (Ἑστιάσθ' ἔξουσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ὄρων, Thuc. I 114, 5). Still the old name was retained in public documents and on coins in the time of the geographers Pausanias (VI 26, 2 [4]) and Strabo (X c. 1, 3 p. 445).

19. ἀναπεπταμένους (ἀναπετάσσονται), 'lying open to,' 'facing.'

Cp. *Fab. Mex.* c. 6 εὐδὸν ἀναπέπταται πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, *Erol.* c. 6 τῆς ἐν ἡλίῳ καθαρᾷ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένῃς διαγραφῆς. Xen. *Hell.* IV 1 15 θῆραι αἱ μὲν ἐν κρημυγμένῃσι παραδείσοις, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις τόποις. *Urc.* c. 9, 4 ἐπιβέβηται τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἀναπέπταται. *Rec.* c. 21, 3 for another of its meanings.

20. ἀνταίρει, *contra assurgit*, 'rises over against,' or 'in the same parallel with': cp. *Actm. Paul.* c. 6 τῶν Ἀλπίων τὰ πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην ἀνταίρουσα. τῆς χώρας, as above l. 18. Olizon (the 'lesser town,' from ὀλιγ-ίων, as μείζων from μεγ-ίων) was in Magnesia; it is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* II 717 of Μελίβοιαν ἔχων καὶ Ὀλιζῶνα τρηχέϊαν) as being part of the dominions of Philoctetes. μάλιστ'α, 'about,' 'pretty near.'

22. ἐπὶ κλησῶν, 'by surname,' adverbial acc., G. § 160, 1. Προσηφίας, 'facing the East,' from the position of her temple, cp. *Mor.* p. 867 F.

23. πέφυκε, 'have been planted,' 'grow.' Hence Simonides 137 (Bergk) ἀγῶας Ἀρτέμιδος ταξοφόρου τέμενος. στήλαι κτλ., 'upright slabs of white marble are set in a circle.' For λίθων, gen. of material, cp. c. 7, 4.

25. χροάν . . . κροκίζουσαν ἀναδύουσαν, 'yields a saffron-like colour.' Thuc. III 88, 3 τὴν νύκτα φαίνεται πῦρ ἀναδιδούσα πολὺ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καπνὸν (of the island Hiera).

§ 3 l. 26. Δεγνέτο ἦν τότε, 'there was an inscription as follows.' It is attributed to Simonides (*fr.* 192) by Schneidewin. Bergk reads ἀέθετο for ἔθετο. The lines are quoted also *de mal.* *Her.* c. 34, *Mor.* p. 867 E. See T. Preger *Insc. gr. metr.* *Prol.* § 12 and p. 85.

32. τῆς ἀκτῆς: see n. to l. 18.

34. τὰ ναύγια καὶ νεκροῦς: the omission of the article before νεκροῦς is due to the stereotyped nature of the expression. Cp. Thuc. I 64, 2 ἀνελόμενοι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοῦς ναύγια καὶ νεκροῦς.

35. θεκούσιν, c. 2, 6; c. 5, 3; c. 10, 1.

CHAPTER IX

§ 1 l. 1. τῶν . . . ἀπαγγελλόντων : the news was brought by the Athenian Habronichus (Herod. VIII 21), who two years later went on the mission about the walls to Sparta with Aristides and Themistocles (Thuc. I 91, 3).

3. κέσθαι, 'had fallen in battle,' Hom. *Il.* XVIII 20.

4. εἶσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος, c. 7, 2.

5. ἐπὶ πάνσι, 'behind,' 'in the rear of all.' Herod. VIII 21 ἐκομίσθητο ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὄστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

6. μέγα τοῖς π. φρονούστων, 'being proud because of their achievements.' φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τινί is the more usual expression.

7. παραπλέον, 'as he coasted,' Herod. VIII 22.

8. κατάρσεις, ἀρρίσεις, 'landing-places' (καταίρειν c. 20, 1). Cp. *Ρομπ.* c. 65, 4 κατέλαβε . . . ναύλοχα καὶ κατάρσεις ἐπιφόρου τοῖς ἐπιφοιτῶσι διὰ θαλάττης, *Μορ.* 162 Α ἐκπέμψαι πλοῖα καὶ στρατιώτας τὰς κατάρσεις παραφυλάξοντας, Thuc. IV 26, 7 οὐ ὅπλιται περὶ τὰς κατάρσεις τῆς νήσου ἐφύλασσαν.

9. ἀναγκαίας, for getting water and provisions.

10. κατὰ τῶν λίθων, 'on (lit. down from top of) the stones'; the article anticipates the explanation given by τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ. The inscription acc. to Herodotus (VIII 22) was as follows:—
"Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ὃ ποιετέε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοῖς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταδουλούμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ἡμῶν ἐστὶ τοῦτο μὴ δυνατόν ποιεῖσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐπι καὶ πῶν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῶν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ἡμῶν ποιεῖν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἴωτε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέγιστος κατέφευχε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεὶν συμμαχοῦμεν, ἐθελοκακείτε, μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ' ἡμεῶν γεγονάτε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχήθεν ἢ ἐχθρῇ πρὸς τὸν Βάρβαρον ἀπ' ἡμῶν ἡμῶν γέγονε.

11. ἐπιφανῆ γράμματα, 'a conspicuous inscription.'

12. ἀπὸ τύχης, *forte fortuna*; cp. *Τιμόλ.* c. 10, 6.

13. ὕδρειας, 'watering-places.' The word means properly *aquatio*, 'fetching water,' as in *Serl.* c. 13, 3 τὰς ὕδρειας ἀπέκοπτε, Thuc. VII 13, 2 τῶν ναυτῶν διὰ φουργανισμῶν καὶ ἀπογαγῆν καὶ ὕδρειαν μακρὰν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰσπτεῶν ἀπολλυμένων. ἐπισκήπτων, a strong expression, 'conjuring,' 'solemnly enjoining.'

14. οἶόν τε κ. ἐστὶ, c. 16, 2. μετατρέψασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς. 'to change their places and come over to them.'

15. *πατέρας ὄντας*, 'as being the authors of their race.' The Athenians were regarded as the parent stock of all Ionians.

16. τὸ *βαρβαρικόν* = τοῖς *βαρβάροις*, the neuter adj. in collective sense; cp. Thuc. VII 43, 7 with my note *ad loc.* Herodotus (VIII 22) has *ἐθελκακότες*, 'fight backwardly,' 'play the coward on purpose.'

19. *ὑποπτοτέρους*, 'suspicious.' Herodotus (VIII 22) ascribes two motives to Them. *ἵνα ἢ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἴωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτῶν, ἢ ἐπει τε ἀνευχεθῆναι καὶ διαβληθῆναι πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπέσχη.* The result, as recorded by the historian (c. 85), was that *ἐθελκακέων αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς θεμιστοκλέους ἐπιτολὰς ἄλιγοι, οἱ δὲ πλείους οὐδ.*

§ 2 l. 20. *ἀνοθεν*, crossing that part of the Oetaean chain which separates the vale of the Sperchius from the valley of Doria.

21. τὰ τῶν Φωκίων ἄσθη *πυρπολοῦντες*: the Phocians refused to medise; and when the Thessalians sent to them to demand a bribe of fifty talents, as the price at which they would consent to avert the destruction impending over them, they turned a deaf ear to them. Herod. VIII 32 *οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῆν χώρην πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τῆν Φωκίδα . . . ἄδικα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐπίεντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερά.*

23. *προσήμνυναι*, *ορμη τιλεριμι*.

The verb *προσαμύνειν* is found several times in Homer, but not in classical prose writers. Plutarch uses it often, *Sertor.* c. 18, 6 *καρῶν ἰγγῆν οὐ προσήμνυνεν*, *Cor.* c. 36, 4 *διέφθειραν αὐτὸν καὶ προσήμνυνεν οὐδὲς τῶν παρόντων*, *Cal. m.* c. 44, 4 *κινδυνεύοντα στρατηγὸν ἰγκραταλιπότες καὶ μὴ προσαμύναντας*; also with the dative as *Hom.* c. 25, 2 *πολεμούνους οὐ προσαμύναντες*, *Cal. m.* c. 31, 1 *Δευκάλῃη Κάτωτος ἰδικουμένην προσαμύνοντες*, *Mor.* 734 *ἂ ἀνθρώποις προσαμύνων ἀγωνίζομένους.*

24. *εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπαντήσαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς*, 'to 15 march into Boeotia to meet him and to make a stand there in defence of (πρὸ) Attica.'

26. *ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίον ἰβοήθησαν*, 'had gone to Artemisium to help them.' *μηδενός* is for *οὐδενός*, c. 23, 3.

28. *περιοχόμενων*, 'when (all) clung to the Peloponnesus,' *πάντων* being implied from *μηδενός*, as in *Fab. Max.* c. 11, 4 *οὐδενός ἐν χώρῃ μένειν τολμώντος*, ἀλλὰ πρὸς φυγὴν ἰδομένου, *Tib. Gr.* c. 19, 3 *οὐδενός ἐπισταμένου . . . ἀλλὰ φευγόντων*, *Brul. a.* 31, 2 *οὐδενός αὐτῷ προσέχοντος*, ἀλλὰ πάντα τρέκω ἰαυτοῦ

ἀπολλόντων, *Marc.* c. 20, 7 μηδενὸς τομῶντος . . . ἀπαρτήσαι διὰ δευσιδαιμονίας ἀλλ' ἐκτροπεύμενος, *Lnc.* c. 19, 3, *Mar.* c. 11, 1. So Herod. viii 40 οἱ δὲ (sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) ἐπυθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοῦς (τοὺς Πελοποννησίους) τευχέοντας, τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστον τε ποιούμενους περιεῖναι καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπίεσαι.

For περιέχεσθαι, cp. *Mor.* 630 C τοῖς πόροις τοῖσις ἐν ἑνὶ περιέχονται, 739 C τὴν ἱρακμαστέρην χεῖρα καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ Διόνου περιεχομένην, 808 A Θούριον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τομιζόμενον, αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ περιεχόμενον, 1123 A τὸ δὲ φύσει περιέχεσθαι τὰ τεκόντα τῶν γυναιμένων, *Chnr. Thea.* c. Rom. c. 2, 1 σώζεται δὲ (ἡ ἀρχὴ) οὐχ ἦτοσ ἀνεχωμένη τοῦ μὴ προσήκοντος ἢ περιεχομένη τοῦ προσήκοντος, Herod. i 71 γενοσμένοι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέχονται (υποκί α ε παυίβυς dimittite), iii 73 τῶντοῦ περιεχόμεθα, vii 160 οἶον ὑμῖς περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡμετέρας.

29. τὴν δύναμιν, *corias.* ὀρημένον, 'having begun.'

30. εἰς θάλατταν ἐκ θαλάττης, from the Saronic to the Corinthian Gulf. Cp. *Pcr.* c. 19, 1, *Xen. Hell.* i iii 4.

31. ὄργη τῆς προδοσίας, objective genitive, 'indignation at their treachery.'

32. κατήφεια (=λύπη κάτω βλέπειν κοιούσα *Mor.* 528 K), 'dejection,' a poetical word, found once in Thucydides (vii 75, 5), very frequently in Plutarch.

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CHAPTER X

§ 1. 1. ἀπορῶν . . . προσάγειν, 'being at a loss how to bring over to his own point of view by methods of human reasoning.' Cp. *Timol.* c. 20, 4, *Dion* c. 4, 1 κατ' οὐδένα λογισμῶν ἀνθρώπων, *Nic.* c. 13, 5.

3. ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ μηχανῆν ἄρας, 'raising his machinery, like a poet in tragedy,' having recourse to supernatural agency to solve the difficulty. P'ollux 4, 123 ἡ μηχανὴ δὲ θεῶν δέικνυσι καὶ ἥρωας τοὺς ἐν ἀέρι, Βελλεροφόντας ἢ Περσεύας. Cp. c. 32, 2, *Lys.* c. 25, 1 ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ μηχανῆν αἰρών ἐπὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς, *Dion* c. 18, 2 πᾶσαν μηχανῆν αἰρών, *Mor.* 724 D τραγικῶς μηχανῆν ἄραντες δεδίδτεσθε τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἀντιλέγοντος, 870 O τί γὰρ εἶδει φείδεσθαι μηχανῆς τραγικῆς, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπερπαιοντα τοὺς τραγῳδοῦς ἀλαζονεία.

4. σημεῖα δ. καὶ χρησμούς, generalising plurals.

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8. προτιθέμενος, participle of the imperfect.

ἀπολλόντων, *Marc.* c. 20, 7 μηδενὸς τομῶντος . . . ἀπαρτήσαι διὰ δεσποδαμοσίαν ἀλλ' ἐκτρεπομένω, *Lic.* c. 19, 3, *Mar.* c. 11, 1. So Herod. VIII 40 οἱ δὲ (sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) ἐπυθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοῦς (τοῦς Πελοποννησίους) τειχέοντας, τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποικυμένους περιεῖναι καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπίεσαι.

For περιέχεσθαι, cp. *Mor.* 680 ο τοῖς πόροις τοῖσις ἐν ἑνὶ περιέχονται, 789 ο τὴν ἱερουκεσίτην χεῖρα καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ Αἰγίου περιέχομένην, 808 Α Θούριον μὲν ὑπὸ τὸν ἄλλων τομιζόμενον, αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλικαρνασσίω περιεχόμενον, 1123 Α τὸ δὲ φύσει περιέχεσθαι τὰ τεκόντα τῶν γυναικῶν, *Suppl. Thea. c. Rom.* c. 2, 1 σφίεται δὲ (ἡ ἀρχὴ) οὐχ ἴππου ἀεκομῆτι τοῦ μὴ προσκότου ἢ περιεχομένη τοῦ προσκότου, Herod. I 71 προσκότου τῶν κρητῆρων ἀγῶν περιέχονται (πολεῖ ἐν εὐμανίῳ δὲ μίτῳ), III 72 τὸντοῦ περιεχόμεθα, VII 160 ἔβου ἡμῖς περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίης.

29. τὴν δὲναμιν, *corias*. ὀρηγμένω, 'having begun.'

30. εἰς θάλατταν ἐκ θαλάττης, from the Saronic to the Corinthian Gulf. Cp. *Petr.* c. 19, 1, *Xen. Hell.* I iii 4.

31. ὀργὴ τῆς προδοσίας, objective genitive, 'indignation at their treachery.'

32. κατήφεια (=λύπη κάτω βλέπειν ποιοῦσα *Mor.* 528 π), 'dejection,' a poetical word, found once in Thucydides (VII 75, 5), very frequently in Plutarch.

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CHAPTER X

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δ. προσιθμῆνας, participle of the imperfect.

16 9. ἀπαρχάς, 'firstlings for sacrifice,' hence generally 'offerings,' which were in this case the honey-cake, daily served to the serpent (καθ' ἡμέρας προπιθεμένη). ἐπέσκοπτος ἀφαιρούσις, G. *MT.* § 883. ἐξηγγέλλον, 'notified it.'

11. λόγον δίδόντος, 'giving as an explanation' of the prodigy.

12. ἐφηγομένη, *præcians*.

§ 21. 13. τῷ χρησµῷ ἰδηµαγόγια, 'made use of the oracle for awaying the popular mind.' It is given in full by Herod. VII 141. This was the second of the oracles which the Athenian deputies received from Aristonice, priestess of Apollo at Delphi. For the history of the word *δηµαγωγεῖν*, see my n. to *Tib. Gr.* c. 14, 1. Plut. says πάλιν, not (as Blass) because the oracle had been delivered some time before and he had already given this interpretation of it, but in reference to *σηµαίω*. The two lines here referred to are:—

τείχος Τριτογενεῖ ξέλιων διδοὶ εὐρύσια Ζεὺς
μοῖνον ἀπὸρθῶν τελέθει, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀθήσει.

14. δηλοῦσθαι, *significari, declarari*. ξέλιων τείχος: Nep. *Them.* c. 2, 7, Justin II c. 12, 13. Cp. Cic. *ep. ad Att.* VII 11, 3, Polyæn. *Strat.* I 30, 1.

15. θέλειν: the words of the oracle were:—

ὦ θεῖη Σαλαµίς, ἀπέλεις δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,
ἢ πεν σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιοβότης,

i. e. at seed-time or in harvest.

16. σχετλίαν, 'sad.' Herod. VII 143 *εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἐπος εἰρηµένον ἰόντως, οὐκ ἂν ὀδυ µιν δοκέειν ἠπίως χρῆσθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὄδε ὦθε ὦ σχετλίη Σαλαµίς, ὅτι τοῦ ὦ θεῖη Σαλαµίς: εἶπερ γε ἐµελλον εἰ οἰκήτορες ἀµφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσειν.*

17. ὡς ἐπώνυµον ἰσοµένην, 'because it would give its name to.'

Cp. *Rom.* c. 2, 1 *εἰ Ῥωµίλων . . . ἀποφαίνοντες ἐπώνυµον τῆς πόλεως, c. 12, 1 τὴν ἐπώνυµον τῆς γενέσεως ἰσότης, Num.* c. 13, 6; *Nic.* c. 9, 6 *ἐπώνυµον γενέσθαι τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἀγαθῶν*. It is also used to signify 'named after,' *Rom.* c. 20, 2 *ἐς τοῖσι λόγοισιν ἐπώνυµος φραστρίας οἰκίας ἰσίων τῶν γυναικῶν, Flavia.* c. 21, 1 *ὡς ἐπώνυµος τοῦ θαυνοῦ γένους (ut ex eius nomine nomini sibi compararet), Num.* c. 19, 5, *Cor.* c. 11, 2 *καίστερ Ἐλλλητες ἰσίδετος (ὄνομα) πρέβου μὲν ἐπώνυµον τῶν Σατύρων, ἰσείας δὲ τῶν Γρυπῶν, ἀρετῆς δὲ τῶν Φιλάδελφον.*

18. κρατήσας τῇ γνώμῃ, 'when his counsel had prevailed,' c. 6, 1. ψήφισμα γράφει, 'he indites a bill for ratification (*curatio*) in the ecclesia.' Cp. *Dem. de f. l.* § 303, Aristides p. 256 (Θεµιστοκλήτῃ) γράφει τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο, τὴν μὲν πάλιν παρακαλεῖσθαι Ἀθηναίους Ἀθηναίων μεθεούσῃ, καίδαι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκαί τε

Τροίηνα ὑπεκθέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβύτας εἰς Σαλαμίνα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐμβάντας εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι, Justin II 12, 16, Dio Chrya. xxv 312 ed. Dind. Παρακαταθέσθαι, παρακαταθήκη (not παραθέσθαι, παραθήκη) are the technical Attic terms for 'entrusting to a person's keeping.' See Lobeck on *Rhymich.* p. 313 and cp. *Cał. mī. c.* 14, 3 ἄσμενος μόνῳ σχεδὸν ἐκείῳ τῶν εἰς Ῥώμην πλεόντων τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα παρακαταθέμενος, *Rhoc. c.* 21, 2 τῷ δὲ Φωκίῳ τὰλλα πάντα καὶ μετὰ πάντων ἐαυτὸν ἐκείῳ μόνῳ παρακατατιθέμενος. Cp. Quintilian *inst. or.* IX 2, 92 Themistocles suasione existimatur Atheniensibus, ut urbem apud deos deponerent, quia durum erat dicere, ut relinquere.

20. μεδεούση, an archaic epic word, taken doubtless from the original psephism. Cp. Arist. *Eg.* 763 τῇ μὲν δεσποίῳ Ἀθηναίᾳ, τῇ τῆς πόλεως μεδεούσῃ. Blass compares an Inscription from Samos *CIGr.* 2246 ὄρος τεμένεος Ἀθηναῖς Ἀθηναῶν μεδεούσης.

21. τοὺς ἐν ἥλικίᾳ 'those able to bear arms.'

22. παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἀνδράποδα: in enumeration in English we say either 'children, wives and slaves,' or 'their children, wives and slaves,' or 'their children, their wives and their slaves,' but in Greek the article must be used with each noun or it may be omitted altogether. Cp. c. 6, 2 and see HA. § 680 a.

23. ὡς δυνατόν, sc. ἐστίν.

§ 3 l. 25. ἐπεφέθετο, 'conveyed secretly away out of the reach of danger.' Cp. Thuc. I 89, 3 διεκομίζοντο εὐθὺς ἔθεν ὑπεφέθετο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περιούσαν κατασκευήν, Eur. *Andr.* 69 τὸν παῖδά σου μέλλουσι . . . κτείνειν ἐν ἔξω δωμάτων ὑπεφέθεου, Dem. *de f. l.* § 194, Lyc. c. *Loocr.* § 25, Lys. *Epitaph.* § 33, Nepos *Them.* c. 2, 8, Cic. *de off.* III 11, 48. Herod. (VIII 41) says that some went to Aegina, others to Salamis.

26. Τροίηνα: Troezen was a very ancient city, the capital of a small district in the S.E. angle of Argolis on the Saronic Gulf, opposite Aegina. It was the birthplace and home of Theseus (Eur. *Hipp.* 1097). Its inhabitants sent five ships of war to Salamis, and 1000 hoplites to Plataea. Their choice naturally fell on Troezen because of its geographical position and of the friendly relations which subsisted between it and Athens. Before the Peloponnesian war, the two states became estranged from one another, and the Troezenians henceforth became the allies of Sparta. φιλατῶμας ὄναυ, 'with great emulation.'

28. δημοσίᾳ, 'at the public cost.' ὅσο ἔβλοσάν, i.e. rather more than 3*δ.* daily.

29. ἐκάστῳ, to each head of a family.

τῆς ἐπώρας λαμβάνειν, 'to pick the fruit. HA. Gr. § 736.

Cr. Mor. 671 *ὑγρατίδες προτίθενται παντοδαπῆς ἐπώρας* i.e. 'of all kinds of fruit,' 683 B *παροτίθησι παντοδαπῆς ἐπώρας*, 692 E *τοὺς ἄροισμένους τὴν ἀμπελίαν ἐπώραν*, 734 C *κατηγορεύει τῶν κῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῆς φύλης ἐπώρας*, 752 A *γλυκῆ ἐπώρα φύλακος ἐκλεισιστότος*, 672 A *ἀνάλωτος τῆς ἐπώρας*, Thea. c. 23, 3 *συγκομιζομένης ἐπώρας*, Sol. c. 17, 1 *τοὺς λαχάρια κλέψαντας ἢ ἐπώραν*, Cat. ma. c. 25, 1 *περὶ τῆρστος ἐπώρας γράφειν*, Cim. c. 10, 1 *τῶν ἐγγῶν τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἀφελών, ἵνα τοῖς δοκίμοις ἐπαρχῆ λαμβάνειν τῆς ἐπώρας*. Alex. c. 50, 1 *ἐπώραν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆ βασιλείᾳ κομιζομένης*. The Greek for 'in autumn-time' is τῷ μετοπίῳ or τοῦ φθινοπώρου.

30. ἐξῆναι, *licere*, depends on *ἐψηφίσαντο*. τοὺς παῖδας, subject of the inf. λαμβάνειν: it might also have been expressed by τοῖς παῖσιν ἐξῆναι.

31. τελέειν μισθοῦς, 'to pay fees.'

32. Νικαγόρας: a name of favourable omen—a circumstance to which the Greeks attached great importance.

17 33. οὐκ ὄντων δημοσίων χρημάτων: Cobet says that *χρήματα δημοσία* can only mean *pecunia quas aerario debetur*, and that therefore we should read *ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ, in aerario*.

34. Ἀριστοτέλης: the reference is to the newly (1891) discovered treatise *περὶ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας* c. 23: *μετὰ δὲ τὰ Μηδικὰ πόλις ἰσχυρὴν ἢ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλῆ καὶ δικαίᾳ τῆν πόλις, οὐδενὶ ὄγκματι λαβοῦσα τῆν ἡγεμονίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχίας αἰτία. τῶν γὰρ στρατηγῶν ἐξαπορησάντων τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ κηρυξάντων εἴψειν ἕκαστον ἑαυτῶν, πορίσασα δραχμὰς ἐκάστῳ ὀκτῶ διέδωκε καὶ ἐνεβίβασεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς. τῆν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆν, 'the council of Areopagus,' (ἢ ἄνω βουλῆ), which, as reformed by Solon, consisted of those who had performed the duties of archon unexceptionably. Independently of its jurisdiction as a criminal court in cases of wilful murder, it possessed extensive powers of a censorial and political nature. Sol. c. 19, 2 *τῆν δ' ἄνω βουλῆν ἐπίσκοπον πάντων καὶ φύλακα τῶν νόμων ἐκάθισεν, οἰόμενος ἐπὶ δυοῖ βουλαῖς ὥστερ ἀγκύρας ὁμοῦσαι ἦττον ἐν σάλῳ τῆν πόλις ἕσσεσθαι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀτρεμοῦντα τῶν δήμων παρέξειν*. From the present passage it has been concluded that its authority extended to the public finances also, but it is more probable that it had a treasury of its own, which enabled it to advance pay to the seamen at this crisis. Thirlwall *Hist. Gr.* Vol. III App. 1. Cr. Cic. *de off.* I 2, 75 *et Themistocles quidem nihil dixerit, in quo ipse Areopagum adiungeret, at ille vere ad se adduxerat*.*

Themistoclem; est enim bellum gestum consilio senatus eius, qui a Solone erat constitutus.

[The most strikingly novel fact brought to light by the treatise just referred to is the participation of Themistocles (from purely selfish motives) in the overthrow of the supremacy of the Areopagus, of which he was a member. The attack on this ancient council was designed and led by Ephialtes and delivered in the year B.C. 462. The share of Themistocles in the attack—at the time when he was under apprehension of a charge of Medism, which was being investigated by the Areopagus—consisted principally in hastening the course of events. Having first warned Ephialtes that the Areopagus was about to arrest him, Themistocles proceeded to the Areopagus and there denounced Ephialtes as being engaged in a conspiracy against the state, and offered to conduct a party to the meeting-place of the conspirators (*ἔλεγεν ὅτι δεῖξαι τινος συνομωτήσεως ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς πολιτείας*). On arriving at the house of Ephialtes, he managed that he should be seen talking with the selected members of the Council by whom he was accompanied. Ephialtes, thinking that the warning of Themistocles was being fulfilled, made his escape and took refuge at the altar; but realising that his only chance of safety lay in taking the bull by the horns, he hurried to the Βουλῆ and made a violent attack on the Areopagus, in which he was seconded by Themistocles, proposing to strip it at once of its peculiar powers. The matter was transferred from the Council of Five Hundred to the Ecclesia, and the attack was completely successful there. The Areopagus was deprived of all the rights which made it the general guardian of the state, and its functions were distributed between the Five Hundred, the Ecclesia and the Law Courts.]

35. *πορίσασαν ἐκάστῳ τῶν στρατευομένων*, 'by advancing to every man who served eight drachmas,' a sum equivalent to the ordinary pay for twenty-four days.

36. *αἰτιωτάτην γενέσθαι τοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὰς τριήρεις*, 'was the chief cause of the ships being manned.' A 'ship's crew' is in Greek *πλήρωμα*.

38. *Κλειθῆμος*: see *Introduction*.

§ 4 l. 39. *ποιεῖται στρατήγημα*, 'considers, represents this (in his narrative) as a device of Them.' *στρατήγημα* is properly 'a piece of generalship,' hence generally 'any artifice' or 'device,' as in *Mor.* 755 D *ἀπολόγημα καὶ στρατήγημα τοῦ νεωρίσκου τοῦν ἔχοντος*, *Polyh.* III 78, 1 *ἐχρήσατό τῳ Φωικικῷ στρατηγήματι*.

40. *τὸ Γοργόνειον*, 'the Gorgon's head,' which ornamented the breastplate (*αιγίς*) of Athene in the Erechtheum. See the figure from the archaic Athena torso at Dresden, No. 370 in *Baumeister's Denkmäler* Vol. I. *Hom. Il.* v 741, *Lucian Philop.* c. 8 *τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τῆς ἐνὸπλου καὶ καταπληκτικῆς θεᾶς, ἣ καὶ τῆρ τῆς Γοργῶνος κεφαλῆν ἐν τῷ στήθει περιπέττειται, τῆρ γιγαυτολέτῳ θεᾶ.*

43. *χρημάτων πλῆθος*, 'a large sum of money,' c. 25, 2. *ἀνευρίσκων* (not *ἀνευρίων*), because he found it more than once.

44. ἐν ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς, 'amongst the luggage' of those who were removing.

The word is not found in classical prose: it is mostly used by Plut. of 'military baggage' either in the plural, as *Marc.* c. 11, 1 διανοῦντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιείκτους τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοῖ διαρπάσαι τὰς ἀποσκευάς, *Caes.* c. 24, 3; *Alex.* c. 24, 1 μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔλαβε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευάς, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν Περσῶν, c. 20, 1; c. 32, 8 ἀγγέλους φράζοντας εἰσέσθαι τὸν χάριμα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευάς, *Arist.* c. 11, 1; or in the singular, as *Egypt.* c. 21, 9, *Mor.* 197 Ἐ διαρπάσαντες τὴν ἀποσκευήν, *Enn.* c. 5, 3; c. 16, 5, *Crass.* c. 9, 7 τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἔλαβε πᾶσαν, *Inc.* c. 25, 6 φέουσι . . . πρόφρονες τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἀπᾶσαν, *Crass.* c. 9, 5 ἐκράτησε τὴν ἀποσκευήν, *Rom.* c. 67, 1 καταλιπεῖν (αὐτὸν) ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, *Alex.* c. 20, 6 τὰν πλείστα τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἐν Δαμασκῷ καταλιπόντων, *Anton.* c. 63, 2 πᾶσαν αὐτῆ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἀπέπεμψε, *Mor.* 174 Ἀ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς αὐτῷ διασπαρίσθη. Polybius uses the singular only.

45. εἰς μέσον, in *mediū*, 'for public use.'

Cr. Xen. Cyrop. 11 1, 14 καταθεῖε τὰ ὅλα εἰς τὸ μέσον, *Oecon.* c. 7, 28 τὴν μίσην καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφότεροι κατέθηκεν, *Plato Philod.* c. 4 p. 14 β μὴ ἀνοκροτῶμενοι, καταθέτοντες δὲ εἰς τὸ μέσον, *Iso.* 11 c. 9 p. 719 Ἀ βούλομαι ἵναν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸ θείαι.

ἐσπορήσθαι . . . ἐφοδῶν, 'they provided themselves with necessaries.' Plutarch uses the verb frequently in this sense, as *Alcib.* c. 28, 1 ἵκνου ποθὲν εὐπορήσας, *Sull.* c. 26, 1 εὐπορήσαντα τῶν ἀντιγράφων, *Artax.* c. 18, 1 ὅπως κενὸς εὐπορήσει, with other *exx.* in *Gr. Ind.* to *Timolcon* p. 228^b.

§ 5 l. 46. ἐκπλοῦσθης τῆς πόλεως, emphatically, 'as the whole city put to sea.'

48. θαύμα τῆς τόλμης, 'wonder at their resolution,' objective genitive, c. 9, 2.

49. γενεάς 'families,' i.e. wife and children, a common meaning in Plutarch.

Cr. Rom. c. 28, 1 οἱ πλείστοι γενεάς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα . . . ἐν φρουρίοις εἶλον ἀποκείμενα, *Caes.* c. 20, 4 γενεάς καὶ κτήσεις ἐν τινι βυθῷ τῆς ἕλης ἀνατάξαι θέμενοι τῶν πολέμων, *Mor.* 807 β ὅπως ὑπεκρίοντο γενεάς καὶ τὸ εἰκετόν, *Timol.* c. 24, 1 μετοικεῖν πρὸς Σαρακοσίους χρήματα καὶ γενεάς ἀποδίδοντες, *Polyb.* xx 6, 6 πολλοὶ τῶν ἔχόντων γενεάς ἀπεκρίοντο τοῖς συσσιτοῖσι τὸ πλείον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας, and in the singular *Dionys. Halic.* and *tom.* 11 15 ἀπᾶσαν ἀρρενα γενεάν ἐκτρέφειν.

ἄλλη προσηκόντων, 'as they escorted them on their road elsewhere,' *gen. abs.*, not *dep.* on τόλμης.

προσηκύνει means generally 'to accompany a person part of the way,' while *παρᾶσκειν* is the usual word for 'to accompany him the whole way.' *Pet.* c. 32, 3 Ἀναξάγοραν φοβηθεὶς ἐξέπεμψε καὶ προῦπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, *Alc.* c. 16, 6 εὐμεγέθησάντα καὶ προσηκόμενον αὐτῆς ἐκλήθης, *Flam.* c. 19, 2 ὁ δὲ ἄλλος . . . τὸν Κάτωνα προῦπεμψε λαμπρῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, *Caes.* c. 58, 1 πρὸς ἐν δεξιῶσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ προῦμψαι Βαδίζοντων, *Cat. ma.* c. 65, 4 τὸν φίλον ὄντος ἐπισην ἠπάξατο καὶ προῦπεμψε, c. 72, 1, *C. Gr.* c. 15, 2, *Cic.* c. 19, 3, c. 22, 3 οὐκ ἐτι σιωπῇ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ τάξει προσηκόντων αὐτῶν, *Demetr.* c. 26, 4 προσηκων (αὐτὸν) ἔχει Θετταλίας, *Anton.* c. 40, 3, *Dion.* c. 58, 4, *Mor.* 81 β ἴνα . . . οὐκ ποικιλιῶν ἐπι φιλοσοφίαν προσηκῆται. The two verbs, however, are sometimes used with little difference of meaning.

αὐτῶν δ' ἀκίματων πρὸς εἰμαγὸς . . . διαπερόντων, 'while they themselves unmoved at the cries . . . were crossing.' Cp. *Lyc.* c. 11, 3 τὸ ἀπαθεῖ αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους ἀκίματων, *Nic.* c. 2, 4 τὸ πρὸς τοὺς σκυφοτάτας εἰθορίζητον αὐτοῦ.

51. γούρων must refer to the aged folk who were left behind, but the reading is probably corrupt for γυναικῶν. περιβολάς, 'embraces.'

C. Gr. c. 15, 2 ἀπείμα τὰς περιβολὰς ἐπαινοσάμενος αὐτῆς, *Ant.* 49, 8 πρὸς δάκρυα καὶ περιβολὰς ἀλλήλων ἐπράκοντο, *Dion* c. 46, 4 χαρῆν καὶ περιβολὰς ἔργῳ τριπλοῦτον προσηύδατο οὐ παρίσχεν ὁ καιρὸς, *Xen. Cyr.* c. 7, 3 (sic augustinibus caestis) τῶν ματήρων καὶ τὸ γάλα ἄγαθον καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ αἱ περιβολαὶ φίλαι.

52. καίτοι, *quamquam*, 'and yet,' 'though,' as corrective of the previous statement, c. 1, 1. πολλῶν . . . ἄλεον εἶχον, 'were the objects of much pity.' So φθόνον ἔχειν, 'to be envied,' c. 29, 2; αἰτίαν ἔχειν c. 21, 3; δόξαν ἔχειν c. 18, 2; πίστιν ἔχειν c. 12, 3, *Dem.* c. 10, 3.

Herod. viii 51 καὶ αἰρόμενοι (sc. Πέρσαι) ἔφημον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινες ἐλέγουντο εὐρίσκειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὄντας, ταμίαι τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ κήρυκες ἀνθρώπων, οἱ φράζεσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν διήρησι τε καὶ βύλαισι ἠμύοντο τοῦτο εἰσιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμίνα, *Oros.* *Per.* 24.

53. τις . . . ἐπικλῶσα γλυκυθυμία, 'a certain fond tenderness of feeling that melted them to pity,' Fr. 'une douce et attendrissante émotion.' Cp. *Mor.* 970 B τὰ ἔναλα καὶ βίβλια (marine animals) πάσης ἀμοιρα γλυκυθυμίας, 982 A τοῦ δὲ γαλέου τὸ φιλόστοργον οὐδενὶ τῶν ἡμερωτάτων ζῴων ὑπερβολῆν γλυκυθυμίας πρὸς τὰ ἔκγονα καὶ χρηστότητος ἀπολέλοιπε; and *for* ἐπικλῶσα, *Per.* c. 37, 2 ἡ παροῦσα δυστυχία τῷ Περικλεῖ . . . ἐπέκλασε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, *Dem.* c. 22, 5 ὁρῶντες ἐπικλῶντα πολλοὺς καὶ ἀποθηλύνοντα τὸν Αἰσχίην τῷ λόγῳ ταύτῃ πρὸς αἰκτον, *Mar.* c. 20, 7 ἐπικλασθεῖς ἀφήκε πάντας, *Lys.* c. 15, 3, *Alex.* c. 62, 3, *Demetr.* c. 47, 2, *Anton.* c. 18, 2 πρὸς τὴν θῆν ἐπικλωμένων, c. 36, 3, *Mor.* 259 D, *Aelian nat. an.* x 36 κήνων τι μέλος . . . ἄλω εἰς αἰκτον ἐπικλάσαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας, *Helliod.* *Act.* ix 11 εἰ πως εἰς ἔλεον ἐπικλασθεῖεν. Thuc. uses the word, but only in the passive. ἀπὸ, 'because of,' 'occasioned by.' Cp. c. 12, 1; *Xen. Cyr.* iii iii 53 ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμων φόβος.

54. συντρόφων, 'domestic.' *Acem. Paul.* c. 10, 4 'οὐ γὰρ εἶσθα' εἰεῖν 'ὄ πάτερ, θηὶ ἡμῶν ὁ Περσεὺς τέθηκε;' λέγουσαν κυνῆϊον σύντροφον οὗτον προσγαροῦνμενον, *Xen. Mem.* ii iii 4 πρὸς φίλων μήγα ὑπάρχει τὸ ὄμοιο τραφῆναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις πόδος τις ἐγγίγνεται τῶν συντρόφων, *Her.* ii 65 τὰ μὲν (θηρία) σύντροφα ἀναίτιοι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, *Pausan.* vii 13, 2 οὗτε τὸ θηρίον τοῦτε (ἄγριον) ἴσθιν ἀνθρώποις σύντροφον.

55. μετ' ὄρυγης καὶ πένθου, 'with yearning howls,' 'with whining and pining.' Zenodotus ap. Valckenaer. *ad Aristoph.* p. 283 ὄρυγῃ κυρίως ἢ τῶν κωῶν φωνῇ, καὶ ὠρέσθαι, 'ὡς λύκος ὠροῦμένη' παρὰ Καλλιμάχου, ὠρέσθαι γὰρ ἐπὶ λύκων εἶπεν. Cp. Theocr. *Id.* II 35 τὰ κύνες ἄμυν ἀπὸ πτόλιω ὠρόνται. συμπαραθεόντων, 'as they accompanied them running by their side.'

18 57. Ξανθίππου, father of Pericles and commander of the Athenians at the battle of Mycale. Cp. *Cal. ma.* c. 5, 4 κύνες τε συντρόφους ἕνομένους καὶ συνήθεις ἄλλα τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ξανθίππος ὁ παλαιὸς τὸν εἰς Σαλαμίνα τῇ τριηρεί παραηγμένον, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν ὁ δῆμος ἐξέλειπεν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρας ἐπέδρασε, ἢ Κυρὸς σῆμα μεχρὶ νῦν καλοῦσιν.

58. τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μόνωσιν, 'his separation from him.' Cp. Eur. *Iph. in A.* 669 μουωθεῖσ' ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητέρας, where Markland has initiated a wrong punctuation before ἀπὸ.

59. ἐναλέσθαι, 'jumped into the sea.' The same story is found in Aelian *nat. an.* XII 35 μετοικισμένον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὰς ναῖς, ἤρκα . . . ὁ Πέρσης τὸν μέγαν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξῆγε καὶ εἰλεγεν οἱ χρησμοὶ λῶον εἶναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὴν μὲν πατρίδα ἀπολιπεῖν, ἐπιβῆναι δὲ τῶν τριηρῶν, οὐδὲ οἱ κύνες τοῦ προαιρημένου ἀπελείφθησαν ἄλλα συμμετρικίστατο τῷ Ξανθίππῳ καὶ διανηγόμενοι ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα ἀπέσβησαν. Λέγεται δὲ ἀρα ταῦτα Ἀριστοτέλει (probably in his *Natural History*) καὶ Φιλόχορῳ.

60. ἐκπεσεῖν, 'was washed ashore,' c. 18, 1. So Hom. *Od.* VII 283 ἐκ δ' ἐπεσον θυμηγρέων, Eur. *Hel.* 409, 1211, Thuc. II 92, 3 ἐσφαζεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὸν Ναυρακτίω λυμένα; VII c. 71, 6; Xen. *An.* VI iv 2, VII v 12.

CHAPTER XI

§ 1. 1. ταῦτά τε δὴ μεγάλα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, 'these then were great achievements of Them.,' the gen. as in c. 6, 2, *Cim.* c. 5, 1 τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα τοῦ ἥθους ἀγαθὰ καὶ γενναῖα τοῦ Κίμωνος, *Philop.* c. 13, 1 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν κατὰ τοῦ Φιλοπολίμενος. The τε corresponds to καὶ of the next clause, which would have been more regular in the form (μέγα ἐστὶ) τὸ . . . αἰσθόμενον . . . γράφειν ψήφισμα or ὅτι . . . αἰσθόμενος . . . γράφει ψ., 'among the great actions of Them. was his moving a decree.'

4. τῷ βαρβάρῳ προσθεῖς ταυτὸν: cp. *Arist.* c. 8, 1 φοβοῦμενοι τὸν Ἀριστοίδην μὴ προσθέμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις διαφείρη καὶ μεταστήσῃ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον. ἀνατρέψῃ, *scrital.*

5. ἕνωστράκιστο . . . καταστασιασθέντα, c. 5, 4.

7. γράφει ψήφισμα, c. 10, 2. From *Arist. l.c.* it would appear that Themistocles himself was not the mover of the decree, and it is a question whether Plutarch found this in his authorities. A decree of the people, by which the ἀτιμοὶ (c. 6, 2) were restored and exiles recalled, is mentioned by Andocides *de myst.* § 77 and § 107 ἔγνωσαν τοῖς τε φυγόντας καταδέξασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀτιμοὺς ἐπιτιμοὺς ποιῆσαι, as published at the time of the Persian war. Murderers, however, and tyrants also (in Athens) were excluded from the amnesty (§ 78). Similarly Plut. limits the amnesty to those who were under temporary banishment (τοῖς μεθεστῶσιν), cp. c. 5, 4.

8. τοῖς [ἐπὶ χρόνῳ] μεθεστῶσιν: μετὰστασις was always only temporary, therefore ἐπὶ χρόνῳ seems superfluous: Blass reads μὴ ἐπὶ φόνῳ, 'for other offences than murder.'

9. καταλθεῖν, 'being restored from exile,' c. 21, 2. So κατάγειν means technically 'to recall from banishment.' πρῶττον καὶ λέγειν together imply the exercise of full political privileges.

10. Εὐρυβιάδου: Herod. VIII 42 ναύαρχος μὲν νυν ἐπὴν αὐτὸς ὅσπερ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ Εὐρυβιάδου Ἡρόκλειδου, ἀπὴρ Σπαρτιατῆς, οὐ μόντα γένεός γε τοῦ βασιλέως ἔων.

§ 2 l. 12. ἀξίωμα, dignitas, 'consequence,' 'position,' the result of ἀξίωσις, 'consideration due to.' Thuc. I 18, 2 οἱ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν ξυμπολεμησάντων Ἑλλήνων ἠγάσαντο δύναμις προδραστες. So when Alexander claimed to be leader of the army destined for the invasion of Persia, the rank was ceded to him by all but the Lacedaemonians, who replied μὴ εἶναι σφίσι πάτριον ἀκολουθεῖν ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἄλλων ἐξηγεῖσθαι, Arrian *Anab.* c. 1, 1.

13. ἀφρην, 'to get under way,' 'to put to sea'; frequently absol. in Thuc.; ἄφρα (VIII 39, 1) we have αἱ νῆες ἀφρασαί ἐπλεον. For the fact, cp. *ibid.* VIII 56, Diod. XI 15, 2. The δέ is used after ἀφρην instead of τε because of the negative notion implied in μαλακοθ= 'wanting in spirit,' see n. to c. 27, 2.

17. ὅτε, 'at which time.' See my n. to *Timol.* c. 11, 3, *Sull.* c. 4, 5. τὰ μνημονεύμενα (ἀπομν. c. 13, 1), 'the recorded sayings.' Cp. *Mor.* 811 B τὸ τοῦ Ἀρτισθέου μνημονεύμενον, *Phil.* c. 26, 4 εἰπὼν τὸ μνημονεύμενον, *Marc.* c. 21 ἐπειπὼν τὸ μνημονεύμενον, *Cal. ma.* c. 15, 4 τὸ μνημονεύμενον εἶπεν.

18. γάρ, 'namely,' introduces the narrative. This anecdote is told by Herodotus also (VIII 59), but he makes Adeimantus the Corinthian the interlocutor: ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν (οἱ ἑταῖροί), πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδου προθῆναι τὸν λόγον τῶν ἀνακαταγγαγῶν τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλοὶ ἦν ὁ θεμιστοκλέης ἐν τῷ

λόγοις, οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος· λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ἰσάτου εἶπε· Ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προξενιστάμενοι ραπίζονται, ὁ δὲ ἀπολύμενος (σε ριγῆται) ἐφη· Οἱ δὲ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανοῦνται, Ael. var. *l.c.* xiii 40.

- 19 20. τοὺς προξενιστάμενους, 'those who start before the signal is given,' *Mor.* 185 B, *Her.* VIII 59. They were kept in order by the rods of the beadles (ραβδοῦχοι) or Ἑλλανοδικαί (Pana. VI 2, 1) or ἀλύται as they were called at Olympia, in the employ of the stewards of the games (ἀθλοθέται). So we read in *Thuc.* V 50, 4 that one Lichas ὑπὸ τῶν ραβδοῦχων πληγὰς εἶλετο for a breach of the rules of the course: cp. *Xen. Hell.* III II 21. ραπίζουσι = ραβδίζουσι, 'strike with a rod.' In Plutarch's time this word had come to signify 'to strike with the palm of the hand,' as is proved by *Field Notes on select passages of the Greek Testament* p. 71 (Oxford, 8vo, 1881), where he expresses doubt whether any instance can be found later than Herodotus of its older meaning = ραβδίσειν. The present passage is an anecdote from Herodotus, which will account for the use of the verb in its earlier sense.

22. τοὺς ἀπολειπόμενους, 'those who lag behind.' *Mor.* 58 F ἀπολειπόμενοι θεῶντων ὡστερ Κορίων ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ἀπελείφθη διαθῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, *Isocr. Evag.* § 79 παρακλειόμενοι τῶν δρομέων οὐ τοῖς ἀπολειπόμενοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ τῆς νίκης ἀμιλλωμένοις.

§ 3 l. 23. ἐπαράμενον τὴν βακτηρίαν κτλ., 'raising his staff, as though he were going to strike him.' The same brutal threat as was made by the Spartan Astyochus at a later period, *Thuc.* VIII 84, 2 τῷ Διωρεῖ ξυναγορεύοντι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ναύταις καὶ ἐπαρήρατο τὴν βακτηρίαν (i.e. ὡς πλήξων *Schol.*), and by Mnasippus, *Xen. Hell.* VI II 19 ἀποκρινάμενον δὲ τινος λοχαγῶν . . . τὸν μὲν τῶα βακτηρία, τὸν δὲ τῷ στόματι ἐπάταξεν. Cp. *Xen. Anab.* II III 11.

25. πρᾶσιγτα, 'composure' ἤ ὀργιλόγητα, 'irascibility.'

27. ἀνήγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, 'tried to bring him back to the subject' under discussion. ἀπόντος τινος: according to *Her.* VIII 61, this was Adeimantus the Corinthian. See *Intro.*

28. ἀπολις: cp. *Her.* VIII 61 ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλῆος αὐτὸς ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐτεφέρετο, σιγῶν τε κελύων τῷ μὴ ἔστι πατρίς καὶ Εὐρυβιάδην οὐκ εἶδον ἐπιψήφισεν ἀπόλι ἀνδρὶ. πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλῆα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γυνῶμαι συμβάλλεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ οἱ προέφερε, ὅτι ἤλικος ἐν τε καὶ κατερχόμενος αἰ Ἀθήναι. οὐκ ὀρθῶς διδάσκουσι, 'was not the right person'

admonish.' τοὺς ἔχοντας α. πόλιν, to be understood from ἔπολις.

29. ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, *derelinquere*, 'to forsake.' This meaning of ἐγκαταλείπειν is peculiar to late Greek. In classical prose it signifies 'to leave in a place,' and is followed by the dative with or without ἐν. Such is the meaning which it bears in Thuc. IV c. 44, 4 πλὴν θυοῖν (ρεκροῖν) οὐδ' ἐγκατέλιπον i.e. 'which they left on the field' (not, as Liddell-Scott, 'left in the lurch'). See my note to *Gracch.* p. 144.

30. ἐπιστρέψας τὸν λόγον, 'turning his conversation' from Eurybiades to the man who had interrupted him, or, perhaps, 'in emphatic language.' Cp. Herod. VIII 62 λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα i.e. 'more plainly,' 'expressively.' τοι, 'let me tell you' emphatically.

31. ὦ μοχθηρό, 'you wretch!'

32. οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες, 'disdaining,' c. 7, 2. ἀφύχων ἔνεκα: Justin II 12, 15 makes Them. say *patriam municipibus esse, non moenia, civitatemque non in acclivitate, sed in civibus positam; melius ilaque salutem navibus commissuros.*

33. πόλις 8' ἡμῶν κτλ.: the remark is not so pointed in Herodotus (VIII 61) ἐνωτοῖσι τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ, ὡς εἴη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέγαν ἢ περ' ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ' ἂν διηκόσια νέες σφι ἔσει πεπληρωμένα.

34. διακόσια, 180 Athenian; and the 20 lent to the Chalcidians, to be manned by them (Herod. VIII 1).

36. βουλομένοις, 'if you choose.'

§ 4 l. 36. δεύτερον, c. 9, 2.

37. πύσσεται τις Ἑλλήνων, 'many a one of the Hellenes [a litotes for πάντες Ἕλληνες] will hear of the Athenians being in possession both of a free city and a country not inferior to that which they lost.' In Herodotus (VIII 62) the threat of Them. is more explicit:—εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὡς ἔχομεν, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οὐκ ἴστας κομμομένα ἐς Σίρην τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ἥπερ ἡμετέρη τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιῶν ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ' ἡμέων αὐτῶν θεῶν κτισθῆναι: ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιούτου μουνωθέντες μακρότεροι τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων.

39. ἦς ἀπέβαλον, by attraction for ἦν ἀπέβαλον.

40. ἔσχα, c. 9, 2. εἶδος τῶν Ἀθηναίων μὴ for εἶδος μὴ εἰ Ἀθηναῖοι (anticipation of the subject). So Herod. VIII 63 says δοῦσαν δὲ μοι, ἀρρωθέτως μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (Κίρυβιδῶν) ἀπεθιθέσσαν, μὴ σφίσις ἀπολίπῃσι, ἢ πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμῶν ἀνάγῃ τὰς

είας ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἔτι ἰγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι εἰ
λοιποί. The speech of Them. in Diodorus agrees with that in
Herod. VIII 60.

41. σφᾶς, 'himself and men,' indirect reflexive. See my n.
to Thuc. VII c. 4, 3.

42. τοῦ Ἐρετριέως, 'the Eretrian commander,' as Blass, not,
as Sintenis, 'the Eretrian' with whose name the anecdote is
associated. It is not recorded by Herodotus. Eretria (Hom.
II. II 537) was a town on the western coast of Euboea, just
south of Chalcis, next to which it was the most important place
in the island. The original town was destroyed by the Persians
in B.C. 490, but afterwards rebuilt. τί λέγειν, 'to say some-
thing.' Its usual meaning is 'to say something to the point,'
ἢ οὐδέν λέγειν, 'to talk nonsense.'

20 44. αἱ τευθίδες, *loliginæ*, 'cuttle-fish.' Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.*
I 11 f.) says that no molluscs (*μαλάκια*) have a σπλάγχνον i.e.
heart or lungs, but the σπηρία and τευθίς and τευθός (a larger
kind) have τὰ στερεά (bony substances) ἐν τῷ πρᾶντι (the back)
τοῦ σώματος, ἃ καλοῦσι τὸ μὲν σήπιον, τὸ δὲ ξίφος. By μάχαιρα
is meant some cartilaginous organ.

Dr. B. V. Head is inclined to think that, when Them. reproaches the
Eretrians with being like cuttle-fish, this not very obvious or appro-
priate comparison may have been suggested to his mind by the cuttle-fish,
the distinctive emblem on the then current coinage of Eretria, of
which there are many specimens in the British Museum. See his *Guide to
the Coins of the Ancients* Pl. 4 no. 39.

CHAPTER XII

§ 1. 1. τινῶν, not by Herodotus. τὸν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέα . . .
γλαῦκα δέ, 'while Them. was talking . . . ; an owl was observed.'
The simultaneous concurrence of two events is more often
marked by τε . . . καί.

3. ἄνωθεν is to be taken with ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος; it
forms a closer definition of ἀπό. γλαῦκα, the bird sacred to
the goddess of war: a similar omen at the battle of Marathon
is recorded in Aristophanes *Vesp.* 1086 ἄλλ' ὅμοι ἐσφζόμεσθα ξὺν
θεοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν, γλαυεὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὶν μάχεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν
διέπτετο.

4. ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς, c. 13, 2. The Greek augurs faced the North
in their observation of omens, and since the lucky ones came
from the East, they were on their right: while the unlucky
ones, coming from the West, were on their left (Hom. *Odyss.*
II 154, xv 164). The Romans, on the contrary, turned their
faces towards the South, and therefore had the eastern or

fortunate signs on the left hand, hence *laevus* and *sinister* in augural language meant 'lucky'; and when *dexter* has the same meaning, it is from a Greek point of view. τῶν νεύων goes with διατεταμένῳ. Cp. Pυγῆ c. 13, 4 θροῦς διέδραμε τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

5. τοῖς κερκασίοις, 'the mast-head,' through which the halyard worked. Cp. Eur. *Hec.* 1261 πεσοῦσαν ἐκ κερκασίων.

6. δὴ δέ, c. 8, 2. καὶ μάλιστα, *vel maxime*. Cp. *Mor.* 5-18 c ἡ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας τῶν ποικρῶν βραδύτης τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ μέλλουσι ἔμοι δοκεῖ καὶ μάλιστα δεῦν εἶναι, *Timol.* c. 30, 4 ἐξ ὧν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Τιμολέωντος ἐπιτυχίαν συνίσθη γενέσθαι γνώριμον, *Xen. Cyr.* II i 13, *Plat. rep.* p. 404 b, *legg.* p. 773 c ἐξ ὧν ἂ μὴ βουλόμεθα ξυμβαίνειν ἡμῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ξυμβαίνει ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι.

προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ, 'agreed with his opinion.'

Arist. c. 5, 1 γνώμῃ τῇ Μιλτιάδου προσθέμενος, *Herod.* I 100 εὐ εἰ ἔγνω προσθέσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ, II 20 τῷ λόγῳ τῷ λεχθέντι προστίθεμαι, *Thuc.* VI 50, 1 προσέθετο τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδου γνώμῃ, *Xen. Anab.* I 6, 10 ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐψη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προσέσθαι.

7. παρεσκευάζοντο ναυμαχῆσοντες: so without ὡς prefixed to the fut. participle, *Thuc.* II c. 18, 1 προσβολὰς παρεσκευάζοντο τῷ τελεῖσι ποιησόμενοι, c. 91, 1 παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνομένοι, V 8, 3, VI 54, 4, VII 17, 3 παρεσκευάζοντο πέμψοντες. ἀλλ' ἐπεί: see *Herod.* VIII 87. The conclusion begins with ἐνθα δὴ l. 17.

8. ὁ στόλος, *classis*. κατὰ τὸ Φαληρικόν, 'at the shore of the Phaleric gulf,' *Herod.* VIII 66, 67. Phalerum (Phalerus), a demus belonging to the tribe Acantis, was at the south-eastern corner of the gulf, which is named after it (μετὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ Φαληρεῖς δῆμος ἐν τῇ ἐφεξῆς παραλίᾳ *Strabo* IX p. 398). It was the oldest and easternmost port of Athens.

9. ἀπέκρυψεν, 'covered,' so as to hide from view.

11. ἄθρονε, 'with all his assembled force.'

Cp. *Sull.* c. 12, 1 ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἄθρονε ἐπίστη, *Eum.* c. 5, 3 τῇ φίλαγγι δεσποκράτῃ ἄθρονε ἐπιλάσας, *Plut.* c. 20, 3 ἄθρονε ἐπιφανίης καὶ συνάφῃ μάχῃ, *Luc.* c. 47, 1 ὑπερβαλὼν τὸν Ταύρον ἄθρονε πατήσῃ. In classical Greek the adjective is only used with Plurals or Collectives.

12. τῶν δὲ συνάμεινον ὁμοῦ γινομένων, 'when the forces (land and naval) were (thus) combined,' a summary of the previous statement.

ἐξεργήσαν τὸν Ἕλληνας, *effugerunt (ex animis) Graecorum*, 'were forgotten by the Greeks,' *Her.* VIII c. 70, c. 74.

Cp. *Mor.* 41 π τῆς ἀκοῆς ἐξεργή τὸ ἴδι, 792 D περιφέρεται τηλεκίνας ἄρτους ἐκρετίσας τῆς ψυχῆς, *Alex.* c. 8, 4 ὁ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐμπεφύκας . . .

αὐτὸ ζῆλος οὐκ ἐξερρήγῃ τῆς ψυχῆς, *Cał. mł. c. 71, 1 τῶν δὲ τριακοσίων οὐ πολλῶν οἱ Κάτωτος λόγοι χρόνον ἀμειψάστας ἐξερρήσαν.*

14. ἐπάπταινον πρὸς, 'looked wistfully, anxiously, to.' *παπταίνειν* is a poetical word, of frequent occurrence in Homer. Plutarch uses it again *Auton. c. 37, 4 ὑπὸ φαρμάκων τῶν ἢ γοητείας παπταίνοντα πρὸς ἐκείνην δελ.*, *Philop. c. 12, 1 ἢ δύναιμι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐτέρου στρατηγούστος ἠθόμει καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνων ἐπάπταινον.*

15. Ἔδεκα, *visum est, placuit.* τῆς νυκτός, 'the following night.' Cp. c. 7, 4.

16. παρηγγέλλετε πλοῦς τοῖς κυβερνήταις, 'the steersmen had their orders to prepare for sailing.' This is the picture drawn by Plutarch; according to Herodotus matters had not gone so far.

17. ἔθα δῆ, *tum demum*, 'just then,' 'then and not until then.' βαρέως φέρων ε, 'vexed at the thought that.'

18. τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου . . . προέμει βοήθειαν: he means the advantage of a battle at Salamis—where, as Aristides says, ἡ φύσις τῆς θαλάσσης ἀχρηστον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐποίησε—and the disadvantage of returning (*Herod. VIII c. 57, c. 60*); in the latter case κατὰ πόλιν (distributive) ἕκαστοι τρέψονται. For the use of ἀπὸ with gen., where a simple gen. would have sufficed as in Latin, see n. to c. 4, 3, and cp. c. 10, 5; *Thuc. IV 108, 7 φθόνῳ ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀδρῶν. τῶν στανῶν, c. 8, 1; c. 14, 2.*

20. τὴν περὶ τὸν Σικινοῦν πραγματείαν, 'the (well-known) device of Sicinnus.' See n. to c. 3, 3.

§ 2 l. 21. Herod. (VIII 75) does not speak of Sicinnus as a Persian or as a prisoner of war. Hence it is surmised that Plutarch read the words of Herodotus πέμπει εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἀνδρα πλοῖον carelessly, as if he had written τῶν Μήδων ἀνδρα, *quendam ex Media*. For τῷ γένει, the dat. of respect, see G. § 188 Note 1 and cp. c. 2, 1.

23. εἰνους: *Nepos Them. c. 4 quem (sc. Eurybiadem) cum minus quam vellet moveret, noctu de servis quem habuit fidelissimum ad regem misit.*

24. παιδαγωγός, the slave who had charge of the sons of the more respectable families, c. 26, 1. *εἶν* for *εἶν*, as *εἶν* for *εἶν* c. 11, 2.

21 26. τὰ βασιλείας, 'the King's side.'

27. ἠπάστας: the greater therefore the service. ἀποδιδρά-

σκεντας, 'are trying to make their escape by stealth.' Cp. Aesch. *Perz.* 353 ff.

ἀπὴρ γὰρ Ἕλληρ ἐξ Ἀθηναίων στρατοῦ
 ἰθὺς ἔλεξε παιδὶ σὺ Σέρξῃ τάδε,
 ὡς εἰ μάλα γινε νικητὸς ἕσται ἀνέφαις,
 Ἕλληρες οὐ μενοειν, ἀλλὰ σέλευσσω
 νεῶν ἐπενθερότετες ἄλλοι ἄλλοσε
 θρασυῖ κρηφαλίῃ βίοντες ἐκαστοῖατα.

Herod. VIII 75 ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληρες ἀποῖσι δρησ μὲν βουλεύονται καταρρωδηκότες, Diod. XI 17, Polyæn. *Strat.* I 30, 3.

28. παρῆναι (παρεῖναι), 'to allow.'

29. ἐν ᾧ παρᾶντονται, 'while they are in a state of confusion,' before the complete junction of the land and naval forces.

32. δεξιόμενος, 'welcoming it as a proposal emanating from goodwill to himself.' Aesch. *Perz.* 361 οὐ ξυεῖς δόλων, Diod. I 17, 2 διὰ τῆρ πιθανότηγα τῶν προσαγγελθέντων πιστεύουα.

τῶλοσ ἐξέφερε, 'promulgated decisive orders.'

Cp. *Cor.* c. 6, 1 ἀναπόσθησ περὶ τούτων τῆρ βουλήρ και μὲν τῶλοσ (decision) ἐκφερούσασ, c. 16, 1; Dionys. *ant. rom.* VII 45 οὐδὲν ἄμὲν οὐδὲ ἀποφῆσαν ἐξήνεγκαν τῶλοσ καθ' ἑμῶν, VIII 54 περὶ τῆρ καθύλου μῆτη τῆρ βουλήρ τῶλοσ μὲν ἐκφέρειν εἰσ τὸν ὄμιλον μῆτ' ἑαῖνον ἐπισηφίξαι.

34. καθ' ἡσυχίαν, 'at their leisure' ἧ ἤσθῃ, 'at once.' Plutarch's account differs from that of Herodotus, who does not notice the personal interference of Xerxes in any way, but treats the communication of Sicinnus as having been made to the Persian generals, and the night-movement as having been undertaken by them. It agrees with Aeschylus *Perz.* 361. διακοσῶλαισ, the *dativus militaris*, HA. § 774, Ruth. § 166.

35. ἀναχθέντασ, *evectos*, 'putting to sea.' τὸν πόρον, 'the strait' between Salamis and the mainland, which was only a quarter of a mile broad at the narrowest part.

Prof. Goodwin in his able paper referred to in c. 13, 1 says:—'Plutarch with his usual carelessness seems to suppose that the blockade of both outlets (northern and southern) of the straits and, indeed, of the whole island, was effected by these 200 ships. But he evidently understands that the main body of the fleet, which was to be manned at leisure, is to remain outside of the southern outlet until morning.' It is usually assumed, from a misinterpretation of two passages of Herodotus, that the battle of Salamis was a contest between a Greek fleet in the bay of Salamis and a Persian fleet which had been drawn up along the opposite shore of Attica during the night. But Aeschylus (*Perz.* 368) distinctly represents the Persians as entering the straits of Salamis after day-break to begin the battle. This is confirmed by Diodorus (i.e. Ephorus) and Plutarch (c. 14, 2). The words ἀνίγον μὲν . . . πρὸσ Σαλαμίνα of Herod. VIII 76 refer really to the two hundred Egyptian ships (which probably formed the west wing of the Persian fleet as it lay near Salamis the afternoon before the battle) to the north-west point of Salamis to cut off escape through the bay of Eleusis;

and the following words ἀπὸν δὲ . . . φρούς to the posting of the main Persian force to guard the southern outlet of the straits, where Aeschylus places it. The Greeks were probably drawn up in a line from north-west to south-east across the passage between Aegleus and the long point Salamis (Cynosura). See map facing title-page.

36. διαζώσαι τὰς νήσους, 'to form a girdle (as it were) between the islands' (Salamis, Pyttalea (*Arist.* c. 9, 2), Malan and Sileniae), 'to throw a boom across so as to close up the passages between them.' Cp. *Per.* c. 19, 1 τὸν αὐχέει (Chersonesi) διαζώσας ἐρύμασι καὶ προβλήμασιν ἐκ θαλάττης ἐθάλατταν.

§ 1. 39. ἦκεν, from Aegina, *Arist.* c. 8, 2. According to Herod. (VIII 79), Aristides summoned Them. out of the assembled synod of chiefs (στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέετο Θερμοπύλας . . . θέλων αὐτῷ συμμῆξαι).

41. ὡς περ εἴρηται : c. 5, 4 ; c. 11, 1.

Aristotle (*Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* c. 22 p. 64 ed. Kenyon) says ὡστρακισθῆναι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς (B.C. 481) Ἀριστιδῆος ἢ Ἀστυμάχου τετάρτη δ' ἐστὶ ἀποδείξαντο πάντας τοὺς ὡστρακισμένους, ἀρχόντος Ὑψηλίδου, διὰ τὴν κέρει στρατιάν. Plutarch (*Arist.* c. 8, 1) says that Aristides and the other political exiles were recalled while Xerxes was on his march through Thessaly and Boeotia, for fear that he might attach himself to Xerxes and carry with him a considerable party in Athens—a statement which, as M. Kenyon observes, is confirmed by the above passage of Aristotle. From an earlier passage in the same chapter we learn that Cleisthenes was the author of the law of ostracism, which was aimed originally at the supporters of the house of Pisistratus, who remained at Athens (ὅτι ἐπέθη διὰ τὴν ὑποφίαν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐνομήσιν, ὅτε Πεισιστράτος δημοκράτης καὶ στρατηγὸς ὢν τὴν αὐτὴν κατέστη καὶ πρῶτος ὡστρακισθῆναι τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν Ἰππαρχος . . . δι' ἧς καὶ μάλιστα τὸν νόμον ἔθηκεν ὁ Κλεισθένης, ἐξέλασεν βουλευμένος αὐτὸν). The law was confined to them for three years; but in B.C. 480 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τις δοκοῦν μάλιστ' εἶναι μεθίστατο καὶ πρῶτος ὡστρακισθῆναι τῶν ἀποστῆναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνου Ἐπίδοκτος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος.

43. τὴν κύκλωσιν, in the sense of *κυκλοῦσθαι* (passive), 'the being surrounded by the enemy.' *Arist.* c. 8, 2 οὐδενὸς περικύκλωσεν τὴν κύκλωσιν. τὴν ἄλλην καλοκαγαθίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός 'the general nobleness of the man's character' (c. 8, 2), which commanded his confidence. τοῦ ἀνδρός, used especially in familiar language, instead of the demonstrative pronoun, c. 16, 1.

44. τῆς παρουσίας ἀγάμενος sc. αὐτόν, gen. of the cause which excited his admiration, G. § 173, 1.

46. συνενωλαμβάνεσθαι, *simul retinere*, 'to aid him in keeping back,' not 'to take the part of,' as Liddell-Scott translate. Cp. *Agis* c. 7, 5 τὸν Λεωνίδα παρακλῶν ὅσα πρεσβύτεροι ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι (*veluti manu iniecta reprehendere*) τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ τὰ πρεσβύτερα διακυβέειν.

47. συμπερομένεσθαι . . . ὅπως ναυμαχίῶσιν : cp. *Arist.* c. 9, εἰδὲν σκοπεῖν ὅπως τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλλωσι τὸν Μῆδον ἐκ τῆς

'Ελλάδες. The subjunctive is less frequent than the future indicative in object clauses after verbs of striving, *G. MT.* § 339.

πίστειν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον, 'because he had more credit,' 'commanded more confidence.' See n. to c. 10, 5.

Op. *Arist.* 8, 5 εἶχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον πίστειν. *Ρητῆ.* c. 26, 8 δευτὴν βλασὴν εἶπε αὐτῷ εὐνοίαν αὐτὸν πίστειν εἶχε. *Caes.* c. 62, 2 πίστειν εἶχε μεγάλων παρ' αὐτῷ. *Dem.* c. 10, 3 ἐν ῥήματι καὶ νόμῳ πίστειν ἔχοντος ἀνθρώπου κεραιότερον ἡγοῦμαι. *Dion.* c. 19, 1 ἦν εἰσέριτος παρὰ τῷ Διονυσίῳ πίστειν. ἢ ἄλλος οὐδὲς εἶχε.

48. μὲν οὖν: c. 2, 4; c. 7, 4.

50. ἐπήει, *οἰδαί,* 'went round to.' *Ρομπ.* c. 68, 3 ἐπέειπεν τὰς φυλακὰς, *Thuc.* v 110, 2 τῶν ἐυμαχῶν ἔσους μὴ Βρασιδᾶς ἐπέηλθε, vii 78, 1 ἐπήει τὸ στράτευμα, viii 54, 3 τὰς ξυνομοσίας ('political clubs') ἀπέσσευ ἐπέηλθε.

51. ὁμως, in spite of his assurances.

52. Τηνία, from the island Tenos, mod. *Τίνο*, one of the 22 Cyclades, *Herod.* viii 82. ἐνανάρχα, a pleonasm for ἄρχη, c. 4, 2.

54. καὶ θυμῷ, 'even with exasperation.' ὀρηθησαί, *intrans.* μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης, 'under the influence of necessity.' *Arist.* c. 8, 4 φυγῆς ὁδοῦ οὐ λελειμμένη.

CHAPTER XIII

§ 1. 1. Ἐίρξης ἀνω καθήστο: *Aesch. Pers.* 463

ἔδραν γὰρ εἶχε παντὸς εὐαγῆ στρατοῦ,
ὑψηλὸν ἔχθον ἀγχι πελαγίας ἁλός.

2. τὴν παράταξιν, nearer definition of τὸν στόλον.

3. Φανόδημος: Phanodemus was the author of one of those works on the legends and antiquities of Attica, which are known under the name of *Ἀρθίδες*. His age and birth-place alike are uncertain: it is conjectured that he was a native of Icus, one of the Cyclades, because he wrote a special work on that island (*Ἰκιάδα*).

ὄπισθ' τὸ Ἡράκλειον κτλ., 'above the Heracleum, where the island (Salamis) is separated by a very narrow passage from Attica.'

'This' says Prof. Goodwin in his paper 'On the Battle of Salamis' in the *Papers of the American School of Class. St. at Athens* i p. 255 ff. (Boston 1885), 'must be the τετραπέμπιον Ἡράκλειον, the sanctuary of Heracles which was the bond of union of four Attic demes, the τετραπέμπια of Piraeus, Phalerum, Xypete and Thymocotadae.' *Ctesias* (*Pers.* 36), after speaking of the burning of Athens by Xerxes, thus proceeds:—ὁ δὲ Ἐίρξης ἀντίθεν ἐπέειπεν οὐ στανόσενον τῆς Ἀττικῆς (Ἡράκλειον καλεῖται) ἔχοντος χωμα ἐπὶ Σαλα-

μικρῶν, πρὸς τὴν αἰχμὴν ἑρακλείου διακοσμήμενος i.e. 'Xerxes came from Athes to the place in Attica called Heracleum, where there is the narrow (or a very narrow) passage, and undertook to build a causeway across Salamis, with the intention of passing over to the island by land.' No we learn from Strabo (*Geogr.* ix c. 1, 13) that the ferry which Xerxes attempted to dam over was near Cape Amphiale, and the seat of Xerxes was, according to Herodotus (viii 90), on the slope of Mount Aegaleos. If Heracleum, therefore, must have been somewhere about the point marked H on the Map. 'It is impossible' adds the same writer 'now identify any particular point of Aegaleos as the seat of Xerxes. If the battle took place at the outlet of the straits, any place on the southern slope of the hill would have commanded a full view of it.'

6. μεθορία (μερᾶ, ὄρος), 'the frontier of (Attica and) the Megarid.'

7. Κράτων: Strabo ix c. 1, 11 ἐν τῇ Παραλία τῇ κατὰ Σαλαμίς κίεσθαι συμβαίνει τὰ ὄρια τῆς τε Μεγαρικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀθησίδος, ὅρη δὲ ἄ καλοῦσι Κέρρατα. This would be much too far to the north-west, eight or nine miles from the scene of action. The ascription is a sample of that carelessness in geography, which marred so many ancient writers. χρυσοῦν δίφρον θέμενος, 'having golden throne set for him.' The throne with silver feet (ἀργυροῦσι), upon which he sat, was long preserved in the Acropolis of Athens, having been left behind on his retreat, Dem. c. *Timoc* § 129. Rawlinson gives a representation of the throne of Persian king in his Herodotus vii c. 16.

8. παραστησάμενος, 'causing to sit by him.' ἔργον, 'duty' 'business.' ἀπογράφεσθαι κτλ., 'to note down the incidents of the battle.'

§ 2. This story is taken from Phanias. See *Introduction*

11. σφαγιαζόμενος, 'while he was sacrificing,' to get favourable omens, without which no one would venture to begin battle.

12. κάλλιστοι ἰδέσθαι, an Homeric expression, which will account for the use of the middle, unusual in prose.

16. ἀνθλαψεν . . . πῦρ, 'a great and brilliant flame shot from the victim on the altar.'

18. πταρμός, 'sneezing,' was considered a good omen even in Homer's time, *Od.* xvii 545. Cp. Xen. *Anab.* iii ii 9, Theoc. vii 96 Σμηχίδα μὲν ἔρωτες ἐπέπταρον, xviii 16, Catull. xi 18 *dextram sternuit approbationem.* ἰσημίνα, 'gave an omen'

19. δεξιωσάμενος, 'seizing him by the right hand' to congratulate him. τῶν νεολέσκων κατάρξασθαι, 'to sacrifice to youths,' lit. 'to make a beginning of' or consecrate for sacrifice by cutting off the hair of the forehead (Herod. ii 45, Hom. *Il.* i 273 ἀρῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμεν τρίχας) and putting it in the fire

20. ὀμωστῆ, *quis crudis carnisibus vescitur*. This or ὀμώδιος was the title given to Dionysus because of the wild orgies which formed a part of his worship, and because of the tearing in pieces of Pentheus by his mother Agave acting under the inspiration of the god. Also because he had human sacrifices offered to him at Chios and Tenedos, Orph. *Ἦγμα*. 29, 5, Porphyr. *de abst.* 2, 55 ἐθόντο δὲ καὶ ἐν Χίῳ τῷ ὀμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ ἀνθρώπων διασπῶντες καὶ ἐν Τενέδοις. On the rites of ὀμοφαγία connected with the cult of Dionysus, see also Sandys' note on Eur. *Bacch.* 138.

21. οὕτω γὰρ ἕσθαι, infinitive dependent on ἐφη implied in ἐκέλευσε.

22. μέγα καὶ θαυμάσιον, 'monstrous and shocking.' τὸ μάντισμα, 2 object to ἐκπλαγέντος, cp. c. 7, 3.

23. οἷον ἕσθαι, 'as is usual,' in reference to what follows.

24. μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων κτλ., 'by strange and unreasonable rather than by reasonable and ordinary means.' Cp. Polyb. x 44, 6 τὰ μάλιστα ἀν ἐκ τῶν εὐλόγων (probabili ratione) προνοίας τυγχάνοντα, XII 16, 13 αὐτῷ δὲ τοῦ βίου τὸ πλείον ἐκ τῶν εὐλόγων ἐπι μένει.

25. ἕμα is explained by κοινῇ φωνῇ. κατακαλούντο, 'invoked,' 'called upon them to receive their offering,' for the more usual ἐπεκαλούντο. *Mor.* 389 C τρεῖς μῆνας τοῦτον κατακαλοῦνται τὸν θεόν, *Isocr. Helen.* § 61 οἵτινες ἀν αὐτοῖς εἰσεβῶς κάτω κατακαλέσονται, *Appian Pun.* c. 81 (ed. Mendelssohn) has the active:—τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἠπατημένοι κατεκάλουν.

26. Φανίας: c. 1, 2. Cp. *Arist.* c. 9, 2 λέγεται κατὰ τι λόγων ὀμωστῆ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι, where these prisoners are said to have been brought from Psyttalea, when Aristides attacked it at the beginning of the action. Now Aristides did not attack Psyttalea until the naval combat was nearly over, so that no prisoners can have been brought thence at the commencement of the action; there could therefore have been no Persian prisoners to sacrifice and the story may be dismissed as a fiction.

CHAPTER XIV

§ 1. 2. ὅς ἂν εἰδώς, 'as one who knew,' in full λέγει ὡς ἂν λέγει εἰδώς.

3. διαβιβασθέντες, 'being positive.' Πέρσαις, v. 341-3; the words are those of a Persian, who escaped from the battle, addressed to Atossa, the mother of Xerxes.

5. καὶ γάρ, *denim.*

χιλίας ἦν . . . πλήθος, 'the bulk was a thousand,' τὸ πλήθος being opposed to αἱ ὑπέρκκοι ῥάχει, 'those of extraordinary speed.'

The words of Aeschylus may express that the whole amount was 1000, which included 207 fast-sailing vessels; but the former meaning seems to be established by the concurrence of Herodotus (VII 184), who raises the whole to 1307. This number is adopted with slight variations by Isocrates (who in three passages, *Paneg.* 105, 111, 126, gives 1200, but in *Panaeth.* 53 1200) and by Nepos *Them.* c. 2 who has 1200, also by Diod. Sic. who has more than 1200. On the other hand, Demosthenes *de ignav.* § 29 speaks of 1000 in round numbers.—*THEIRWALL Hist. Gr.* II App. IV ed. ma.

6. ὡς ἦγε *sc. νεῶν.*

7. ὅς' ἔχει λόγος, 'such is the tale' i.e. the reckoning, not 'so the story goes.'

8. ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα: c. 11, 3. τὸ πλήθος, accusative of limitation.

9. τοὺς ἀπὸ [τοῦ] καταστρέματος μαχομένους: The number of *δρέσσαι* on board the Athenian galleys seems to have been very small, not only when compared with that of the Persians, who took 80 of the best troops on board each vessel in addition to the ordinary complement of 200, but in comparison with the usual force of a Greek ship of war. Herodotus (VI 15) tells us that the Chians at the battle of Lade had forty to each crew. It has been said that Them. was the author of an improved system of naval tactics, but Thuc. I 49 speaks of the ancient usage as subsisting down to the Peloponnesian war, apparently as if he did not know that it had ever been interrupted. It is possible that the eighteen men mentioned by Plutarch, instead of being the full complement of soldiers on the deck, were an extraordinary addition to the usual number.—*THEIRWALL Lc.*

§ 21. 13. συνιδόν: c. 7, 2; c. 8, 2. φυλάξας, 'having watched for.'

14. ἀντιπρόρου, 'with their prows facing those of the barbarians,' so as to be ready for action.

15. ἕραν, 'time of day.'

- 24 16. λαμπρόν, 'fresh,' predicata. Cp. *Sull.* c. 38, 3 ἀρέμου λαμπροῦ καταγίσαντος, *Sertor.* c. 7, 4, *Pomp.* c. 80, 1, Herod. II 96 ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀπὸ τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλεῖν, ἢ μὴ λαμπρὸς ἀνεμος ἐπέχη, Alexis ap. Athen. VIII 338 D εἰ πνέουσι βορρᾶς ἢ νότος ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ λαμπρόν, Arist. *Eq.* 430 ἔξεμι σοι λαμπρόν ἤδη καὶ μέγας καθυεῖ, *id.* 760 ὅπως ἔξει . . . λαμπρόν. ἐκ πάλαιός is in opp. to διὰ τῶν στενῶν; δαλ with κατάγουσαι κύμα, 'a swell.' Leake (*Demi of Aëtica*, p. 203 n.) rejects this account, because in the latter part of the year, when the battle took place, the sea-breeze seldom sets in until late in the forenoon, and according to Aeschylus and Herodotus the battle began at daybreak.

According to Herodotus (VIII 83) the Greeks waited for the arrival of the Arginætan trireme sent the day before to summon the Aescidae from Argina to their aid. See c. 15, 1.

17. τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς οὐκ ἔβλαπτε κτλ., 'did not impede or thwart them, because they were flat (ἀλιτενεῖς) and lower.'

19. ταῖς πρῆμαυς ἀνοστήσας, 'high-sterned,' lit. 'standing up with their sterns.'

21. βαρείας, with τοῖς καταστρώμασι. ἐπιφερομένους ἐσφαλῆ κτλ., 'as it caught them, bore them out of their course and caused them to present their broadsides to the Greeks.'

22. ἄξίως προσφερομένοις, 'eagerly attacking,' c. 15, 2; c. 30, 2.

23. προσέχουσιν: c. 2, 4; c. 7, 1; c. 31, 1.

24. ὡς δρῶντι, 'because they thought he saw,' subjective reason; a further reason (objective) is introduced by ἔτι. Cp. Aesch. *Perz.* 413 ff., Herod. VIII 60. κατ' ἐκένον, 'opposite to him.'

25. Ἀριαμῆνης: according to Herod. (VIII 89), it was Ariabignes, the son of Darius by the daughter of Gobryas.

28. Δικαιότατος, because, when the sons of Darius disputed the succession to his throne, and Xerxes, a son of the second family, was appointed, Ariamenes, who was the eldest of the first family, at once renounced his claims. Plutarch *Mor.* 488 κ quotes his conduct herein as ἀρχέτυπον καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμόμητον εὐμελείας καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης. In Herodotus VII 3 this son is named Artabazanes.

§ 3 l. 29. Ἀμεινίας ὁ Δεκελεύς, Ameinias of the deme Decelea, in the φυλὴ Ἰπποβοωντίς. He could not have been a brother of the poet Aeschylus, according to the tradition of Diodorus XI 27, 2, because the poet was an Eleusinian, not a Decolean nor a Pallenian (Παλληνεὺς Herod. VIII 84, 93). See Prof. Goodwin *l.c.* p. 247 note 3.

30. Παιανιεύς, 'of the deme Paonia,' the birthplace of Demosthenes the orator, in the tribe Pandionis. ὁμοῖοι.ε. in the same vessel. αἱ νῆες, of Ariamenes and Ameinias.

31. συνπείσασαι, intrans. *in se mutuo impactae*, 'dashing together.' Cp. *Agat.* c. 22, 6 τέλος συνπείσαντες ἐξωθοῦσι τοὺς πολεμίους, Polyb. XII 21, 3 συνήκτισαν οὕτως ὥστε συνπείσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, V 84, 2 ὄλγα τινα (τῶν θηρίων) συνήρεισε τοῖς ἐναντίοις, Diod. Sic. XIII c. 46 ὅποτε συνπείσειαν αἱ νῆες τοῖς χαλκώμασι ἐνοσχέθησαν, 'were held fast, became entangled, by their brazen beaks' (ἐμβολοι, *rostra*). Cp. *Ant.* a. 66, 1 τῶν Καίσαρος (νεῶν) ἀντιπρῶτων συμφέρεσθαι πρὸς χαλκώματα στερεὰ καὶ τραχέα φύλασσομένων, c. 67, 3 τῆν ἑτέραν τῶν νευροχίλων τῇ χαλκώματι πατάξας, Diodor. Sic. XX c. 9 ἔλαβον τὰ χαλκώματα Ἀγαθοκλέους νεῶν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας τρήμας.

32. ἐπιβαίνοντα, 'as he was in the act of boarding.'

33. ὑποστάντες, 'making a stand against him,' c. 3, 1.

τοῖς δόρασι τύπτοντες, 'wounding him with their spears.'

Cobet (*Var. Lect.* p. 330) points out that *τύπτειν* has two meanings: *ferire*, *vulnus infligere* 'to inflict a wound with some weapon,' and *caedere*, *verberare* 'to beat,' 'smite.' In the second sense its future is *τυπήσω*, aor. *πλήγας ἐπέβαλον* or *ἐπέτεινα*, very seldom *ἐπέταξα* and sometimes *ἐπαισα*. In the former sense the future in use is *πατάξω*, the aor. is *ἐπέταξα*, *πλήγην ἐπέβαλον*, sometimes in poetry *ἐπαισα*. The perfect is in both senses *πέπληγα*, but *πλήγας δέδοκα* is more common, for *cecidit*, *verberibus constudī*, though the former is found in Arist. *Av.* 1250 and Xen. *Anab.* vi 1 δ ἐδέκευ πεπληγέμαι τὸν ἄνδρα. In the passive the forms in use are respectively (1) *τύπτομαι*, *παίεμαι*, *πλήγας λαμβάνω* (*caedor*), *τυπήσομαι*, *πλήγας λήθομαι*, *πλήγας ἔλαβον*, *πλήγας εἰλήφα*, (2) *τύπτομαι*, *πλήγην λαμβάνω* (*vulneror*), *πέπληγαίμαι*, *πεπλήξομαι*, *ἐπλήγη*, *πληγήσομαι*.

35. διαφερόμενον, 'tossed about,' 'floating amongst the other wreckage.' Cp. *Mor.* 606 D ὡς ἐπὶ σχεδίας διαφέρονται τῆς ἐλπίδος. Strabo *Geogr.* III c. 2, 5 εἰς Ἰταλίαν κατὰ μίλους παραδιερχοίς περὶ τὰς Γυμνησίας νήσους, Act. Apost. xxvii 27 διαφερομένων ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρια. Ἀρτεμισία, the heroine Queen of Caria, who distinguished herself above all the rest of the Persian forces, her ships being the last that fled. She is not to be confounded with the Artemisia who was the wife of Mausolus, King of Caria. The death of the admiral Ariabignes (Ariamenes) is recorded also by Herodotus (VIII 89).

CHAPTER XV

§ 1. 1. ἐν τούτῳ . . . ὄντος, 'when the battle was at this point.'

3. ἤχον καὶ φωνήν: These voices, according to Herodotus VIII 65 (who however does not mention the 'great light,' φῶς . . . μέγα), were heard some days before the battle, while the Persian land-force was ravaging the territory of Attica. Diceasus, an Athenian exile (who hoped thereby to procure a mitigation of his country's fate), was the first who observed the thing and carried an account of it to Xerxes (*Langhorues*). He affirmed that he heard the hymn called *Iacchus*, which was always recited in honour of Dionysus during the procession from Ceramicus to Eleusis (*Wrascham*).

τὸ Θριάσιον κατέχων πεδίον, 'filled the Thriasian plain.' This plain, so named from the deme of Thria near Eleusis (Strabo *Geogr.* IX c. 1, 6, 13), extends along shore seven or eight miles from Mt Poecilium to Mt Kerata (*Kandili*) (c. 13, 1), and reaches inland about five miles. Herod. VIII 65, IX 7, Apollodorus III 14, 11.

25 5. τὸν μυστικὸν ἐξαγόντων Ἴακχον, 'escorting the mystic *Iacchus*.' The great festival of the Eleusinia was celebrated annually from the 15th to the 23rd of the month Boedromion

(Plut. *Cam.* c. 19, 6). The sixth (called *Ἰαχῶς*) was the great day of the festival, on which the statue of the Eleusinian Dionysus was carried along the sacred road (Plut. *Alc.* c. 34, 3 ff.) amid joyous shouts from the Ceramicus to Eleusis (Arist. *Ran.* 315, Plut. *Phoc.* c. 28, 1). The procession was accompanied by a great number of followers and spectators, usually as many as 30,000 (Herod. viii 65).

6. *πλήθους*, 'dense crowd.' *κατὰ μικρόν, paulatim*, 'little by little,' below l. 18, c. 4, 3.

7. *νόφος*: Herod. viii 65 *ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γκίσθαι νόφος καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμίῳς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατιῶδες τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ὑποοιστέν, not in its usual sense *subsidiere*, 'to settle on the ground,' but 'to retire' as *Mor.* 1005 n.*

8. *κατασκήπταν εἰς*, 'dropped upon,' generally used of lightning. Cp. Her. *Lc.* *ἦν (τὸ φεγγόμενον) κατασκήψῃ εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον*. The insulted deity therefore, he inferred, was issuing from Eleusis to succour the Greeks and avenge his neglected rites upon the Persians. *ἔταροι*: The Greeks, according to Herod. (viii 64), had sent a vessel to Aegina to fetch (the statues of) Aeacus and the other Aeacids, viz. Peleus, Phocus, and their descendants Crisus, Panopeus, etc. Telamon and Ajax had already been invoked from Salamis: *εὐξήμεροι πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτῶθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμίῳς Αἰακῶν τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νῆα ἀπέστειλλον εἰς Αἴγινα*. This vessel came back at the beginning of the battle (*ib.* 84).

9. *καθορᾶν ἔδοξαν*, 'fancied that they distinguished.' See n. to c. 26, 2.

10. *τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιχόντων*, 'stretching forth their hands.' *πρό*, 'in defence of.'

12. *παρακεκλημένους, invocatos*, Her. viii 64.

§ 2 l. 13. *μὲν* answers to *δέ* in *οἱ δ' ἄλλοι*; the *οὖν* is consecutive. According to Herodotus (viii 11), it was at Artemisium that Lycomedes performed the exploit mentioned; he makes Ameinias the first to capture a vessel at Salamis. Plutarch probably had seen the inscription of the votive offering, in which the place of the battle was not mentioned.

15. *παράσημα = ἐπίσημα*, c. 8, 1.

16. *ἀνέθηκεν*: c. 5, 2. *Φλυήσιν*, 'at Phlya' (c. 1, 3), the deme from which Lycomedes came, where was a temple of Apollo with the laurel crown (*Phaëbo laurigero*, Ovid *ars am.* iii 389), called *Δαφνοφορεῖον* (Athenae. x c. 24).

17. *ἕισομένοις τὸ πλῆθος*, 'being on an equality in point of numbers,' explained by *ἐν στενῷ κτλ.*; for, as Nepos says, *barbarus alienissimo sibi loco, contra opportunissimo hostibus, adeo angusto mari confixis, ut eius multitudo navium explicari non poterit.*

18. *κατὰ μέρος*, 'in detachments': see above l. 6 *κατὰ μικρῶν προσφερομένων*: c. 14, 2.

19. *ἐτρέφαντο μέχρι δαλῆς ἀντισχόντας*, 'routed them after they had held out till evening.'

20. *Σιμωνίδης*: Simonides of Ceos (c. 1, 3; c. 5, 4)—to be distinguished from his namesake, the iambic poet of Amorgos—B.C. 558-469, was the most popular of the Greek lyric poets, being the spokesman of the nation in celebrating the heroism of the victors in the great national struggle with Persia. We have no complete poem of his left (save epigrams and epitaphs), but only remains of Hymns, Dithyrambs, Hyporchemes, Epinicoi, Parthenia and Threnoi. The most celebrated fragment is the beautiful Epode containing the 'Lament of Danae.' See my Introduction to Xen. *Hieron* p. xxvi ff.

21. *περὶβήτην*, 'far-famed.' *ἀράμειος νίκην*, *reportata victoria*, op. Hom. *Il.* vii 203 *ὄδε νίκην Ἀλαρι καὶ ἐγλαδὸν εὐχος ἀρέσθαι*, Aesch. *S. c. Theb.* 305 *ἀροισθε κῆδος*, Plat. *legg.* p. 969 *Δ κλέος ἀρεὶ μέγιστον*.

22. Ἑλλησῶν, dative of the agent, which is seldom found with other parts of the passive than the perfect, c. 17, 2. *ἐνάλιον ἔργον*, 'naval exploit,' probably the actual words of Simonides.

25. *δανότητι*: c. 2, 4 n., Nep. c. 4 *victus est magis consilio Themistocli quam armis Graeciae.*

CHAPTER XVI

§ 1 l. 2. *θυμομαχῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀπώτευξιν*, 'enraged at, unable to reconcile himself to, his defeat.' The verb *θυμομαχεῖν* means properly 'to struggle with the feelings,' implying deep-seated anger. It occurs again *Demetr.* c. 22, 1 *οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου πρῶτων ἡμῶν ἐθυμομάχει πρὸς αὐτοῦς*, and once in the New Test., Acts xii 20 *ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἡρόδης θυμομαχῶν Τυρῶσις*. In Polybius ix 40, 3, xxvii 8, 4 it is said to mean 'to fight desperately.'

3. *δὲ χαμάτων*, 'by means of mounds' i.e. by filling up the strait with earth. Her. viii 97 *ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα χῶμα ἐπειράτο διαχούσθαι, γαυλοῦς τε* ('merchantmen') *Φωκυκτοῦσι συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς τε σχεδίου ἕσσι καὶ τείχεος*. In this way Alexander after-

wards succeeded in reducing Tyre, though the Tyrians were masters of the sea (Arrian *Anab.* II 18). So Ctesias *Pers.* c. 26 and Strabo *Geogr.* IX c. 1, 13 represent Xerxes as having originally designed to carry his troops across to Salamis over a causeway (*διαχοῦν τὸν πορθμὸν*) and as having been prevented from executing his plan by the battle. *ἐπάγειν*, the usual word for 'leading an army against an enemy.' Hence *ἐπακτὸς στρατός*, 'a foreign army of invasion,' Soph. *Trach.* 258.

6. ἀποπειρώμενος Ἀριστείδου, 'by way of making trial of, 26 sounding, Aristides.' *λόγῳ γνώμῃ ἐποιεῖτο* (= *ἐγγίγνωσκεν*), 'formed the design (or 'made a proposal') in pretence, not in earnest.' Cp. *Marcell.* c. 13, 5 *ἐποίησατο γνώμῃ ἢ βουλή μὴδὲν* . . . δέσθαι Ῥωμαίους ἀνθρώπων ἀνδρῶν, *Caes. vi.* c. 41, 1 *Καίσαρι συγγενόμενοι γνώμῃ ἐποίησαντο κοινῇ δευτέραν ἡπατεῖαν μετέπειτα*, *Thuc.* I 128, 7 *γνώμῃν ποιοῦμαι θυγατέρα τῆσ ὄντ γῆμαι*, II 2, 4 *γνώμῃν ἐποιοῦντο κηρύγμασι χρῆσθαι ἐπιτηδείους*, VII 72, 2 *γνώμῃν ἐποιοεῖτο βιάσασθαι τὸν ἔκπλου.*

7. τὸ ζεύγμα, 'the bridge of boats.'

8. ὅπως . . . λάβωμεν, vivid construction.

9. τὴν Ἀσίαν κτλ. Cp. *Arist.* c. 9, 2 *μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καλὸν μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς ἔργον ελεγε, κρείττον δὲ λείπεσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀναπλεύσοντας εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον τὴν ταχίστην καὶ τὸ ζεύγμα διακόψοντας.*

10. δυσχεραίνοντες, 'exhibiting his dislike' of the project.

Plutarch ascribes this counsel to Aristides, supposing it to have been given at Salamis, but there was no reason for supposing that he was with the fleet at Andros, where the Greeks in pursuit of the Persian fleet stopped to hold a council of war. The Athenians according to Herodotus were all desirous of continuing the pursuit and sailing to the Hellespont to destroy the bridge and intercept the return of Xerxes. But Eurybiades represented the danger of driving a powerful enemy to despair, and was of opinion that no impediment ought to be thrown in his way. The Peloponnesian commanders all approved of the admiral's caution; and it was only after this failure that Them. opposed independent action on the part of the Athenians. According to Thucydides I 137, 4, Them. claimed credit with the Persians for preventing the destruction of the bridge. He makes him speak in a letter addressed to Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, of an *ἐνέργεια* being owed to him because of *τῆς ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προέγχεσιν τῆς ἀνεχώρησους καὶ τὴν τὸν γέφυραν ἦν ψευδῶς προσπειρήσατο, τότε δὲ αὐτὸν οὐ διέλιπεν.* Cp. Nep. c. 6 *Themistocles, verens ne bellare perseveraret, certiorum eum (Xerxes) fecit, id agi ut pons, quem ille in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur ac reditus in Asiam excluderetur idque ei persuasit.*

11. τρυφῶντι, 'taking his ease.'

12. ἴδν . . . καταστήσωμεν εἰς ἀνάγκην, 'should we force him to fight for fear of extremities,' *Arist.* c. 9, 3 *μη κατακλεισθεὶς ἀπορία. φυγῆς μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως τραπῆ πρὸς ἡμῶν ὅπ' ἀνάγκης.*

§ 2 l. 16. σκιάδι χρυσῆ, 'a golden canopy,' held over him by eunuchs standing behind, after the fashion of effeminate Asiatics. Cp. *Anton.* c. 26, 2 *κατέκειτο ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσοκόσμη* (of Cleopatra sailing on the river Cydnus). *ἐφ' ἡσυχίας*, 'quietly'; so *ἐν ἀέλει*, *secure*, *Sol.* c. 22, 1.

17. πᾶσιν αὐτὸς παρών, 'appearing at all operations in person.'

18. ἐπανορθώσεται τὰ παρεμύνα, 'he will make amends for his errors,' 'repair his negligences.'

19. ἐπὶ τῶν ἔλων, *de summa rerum*, l. 43; c. 8, 1.

21. ἑτέραν προσκατασκευάσαντας, 'building another besides.' *ἕτερ οἶόν τε sc. ἐστὶ*.

22. τὸν ἀνθρώπου, used for the personal pronoun, 'the man,' 'the fellow,' generally with a connotation of contempt or pity. So *Cam.* c. 15, 4 τὴν ἀνθρώπου, 'the woman,' *Timol.* c. 33, 1 τὰς ἀνθρώπου. Similarly *homo* is used in Latin, as in *Plaut. Men. prol.* 66 *abstraxitque hominem in maxumam malitiam crucem*, *Ter. Phorm. prol.* 2; *IV* 2, 1. Cp. c. 5, 1; c. 12, 3.

24. ἔρα *sc. ἐστὶ*, 'it is high time.'

25. πάντας ἡμᾶς: from this it might seem that the proposal was made in a council of war; yet Aristides, not being one of the generals, could not have been present; *ἔδοξε* (l. 27), 'it was resolved,' points to the same conclusion. *ὅπως ἀπαλλαγῆσεται*, c. 12, 3.

26. τὴν ταχίστην: c. 7, 3; c. 3, 1; *Arist.* c. 9.

27. ἔπειπε τινά: according to Herod. (VIII 110), the bearer of the message was Sicinnus (c. 12, 2), who was accompanied by several other trustworthy servants or friends. The tradition followed by Plutarch is more probable.

28. εὐνούχων: Her. VIII 105, 3 *παρὰ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμώτεροι εἰσι οἱ εὐνούχοι πίστιος εἴνεκα τῆς πάσης*.

29. Ἀρνάκην: *Arist.* c. 9, 3 *εἶπε δ' Ἀριστείδης . . . ἐκέλευε (τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα) σκοπεῖν καὶ ζητεῖν ὅπως τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλωσι τὸν Μήδον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, μὴ κατακλεισθεὶς ἀπορία φύγῃς μετὰ τῶσαυτης δυνάμεως τραπῆ πρὸς ἑμυαν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, πέμπει πάλιν Ἀρνάκην εὐνούχων ὁ Θεμ. ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κρύφα, φέρσαι τῷ βασιλεὶ κελύσας ὅτι πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς γεφύρας ὤρημένους τοῖς Ἕλληνας αὐτὸς ἀποστρέψει, σφίσεσθαι βασιλεῖα βουλόμενος*. Cp. Herod. VIII 110. *ὀνόματι*: c. 6, 1.

30. Ἕλλησι . . . κεραιηκότας: for the change from the dative, cp. Xen. *Anab.* III ii 1 *ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖσι προφιλῶσθε καταστήσαντας ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς στρατιώταις*.

31. ἀναπλεῶν κτλ., 'to put out to sea and sail into the Hellespont to the bridge of boats.' *Dem. de Cherson.* § 15 ἡμῶν μὴ διαμένειν ἐνθένδ' ἀναπλεύσαι.

33. γέφυραν, not pleonastic, but explanatory of ζεύγμα as 27 defining its object. *Plut. Mor.* 174 κ τὸ τοῦ Ἰστρου ζεύγμα λίσσας, *Diod. Sic.* xi 19, 5 τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Ζέρξην δηλώσαστα διότι μέλλουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες πλεύσαστες ἐπὶ τὸ ζεύγμα λείπειν τὴν γέφυραν.

§ 1. 33. κηδόμενος βασιλέως, 'out of concern for the king.'

35. μέχρις αὐτὸς ἐμποίει διατριβὰς τοῖς συμμάχοις, 'whilst he himself is creating delays among the allies.' Cp. *Thuc.* iii 38, 1 χρόνους διατριβὴν ἐμποίησαντων, [*Dem.*] c. *Eucyr.* § 63 διατριβὰς ἐμποίων, *Dem. Phil.* iii § 71 ἴσα... χρόνους ἐμποίητε τοῖς πράγμασι, *de f. l.* § 163 οὐδ' ἐνεποίησαν (conj. Dobree) χρόνους οὐδένα, *Aristocr.* § 93 οἱ γραψάμενοι καὶ χρόνους ἐμποίησαντες, *Phorm.* § 2 ἴν' ἐκκρούοντες χρόνους ἐμποιώμεν. His motive appears from *Herodotus* (viii 109) ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι ἐς τὸν Πέροισιν, ἴσα, ἦν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνη πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος, ἐχθ' ἀποστροφῆν ('a place of refuge'). Cp. c. 28, 1.

38. περίφοβος: *Diod.* xi 19, 6 περίφοβος ἐγένετο μὴ τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπανόδου στερηθῆ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θαλασσοκρατούστων. ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀναχώρησιν = ἀνεχώρει.

39. πείραν παρέσχεν α. ἐαυτῆς, 'gave proof of itself,' 'was manifested,' in respect to Mardonius.

41. εἶγε, *siquidem*, 'inasmuch as.' πολλοστημορίη κτλ., 'with an infinitely small part of the force under Xerxes.'

42. Πλαταιαίων: c. 1, 1.

CHAPTER XVII

§ 1. 1. πόλει, as if ἀνδρῶν δὲ followed instead of Θεμιστοκλεῖ μὲν οὖν: c. 15, 2 n. ἀρωπεύσαι, 'bore off the palm of individual merit.' *Her.* viii 93 ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἦκουσαν Ἕλληνας ἄριστα Αἰγυπῆται, ἐπὶ δὲ (μοῖ ἴλιος) Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκράτης τε ὁ Αἰγυπῆτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀγαγυρᾶσιος καὶ Ἀμεινίης Παλλήνευς, οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπέδωκε. Neither *Herod.* nor *Plut.* says anything about the formal division of the spoil.

[*Plutarch Mor.* 671 n carps at this statement, but it is confirmed, says *Bentham*, by *Ephorus* (*fr.* 115), *Diodorus* (xi 37, 3), and *Aelian* (*var. hist.* xii 16). *Diodorus* ascribes it to the jealousy of the Spartans that Aegina was preferred above Athens: κρίσεισι πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀρτεμισίων.

χρίτι κατασχόντες (Λακεδαιμόνιοι) ἐποίησαν κρήνας, πόλιν μὲν ἀριστεῦσαι τὴν Αἰγινητῶν, ἀδρα δὲ Ἀμεινῶν Ἀθηναίων. He speaks even more unreservedly in c. 55, 6 of the jealousy shown by the αἰ κύριοι τῆς ψήφου toward Athens.

3. ἀκοντες ἐπὶ φθόνου: c. 2, 6. τὸ πρῶτεον ἀπέδωσαν, 'awarded the foremost place' i.e. virtually, because they nearly all agreed in allowing the second place to him, while each awarded the first to himself. Her. VIII 123 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἱμοιοῦντο, Θεμιστοκλέη δὲ δευτερείοισι ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν.

5. ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν ψήφον ἔφερον, 'took each his ballot from off the altar' of Poseidon (Herod. VIII 123). The most solemn method of voting, designed to make the competitors voting give their judgment impartially as in the presence of the gods. Cp. Per. c. 32, 2; Dem. *de cor.* § 134 καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψήφον ἔπραξε, *adv. Macart.* § 14 λαβόντες τὴν ψήφον καιόμενων τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέροντες τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ φρατρίου.

7. ἀπέφαιναν, 'declared,' one after another.

§ 2 l. 9. Diodorus also (XI 27, 3) says that he went to Sparta on invitation. According to Herod. (VIII 124) he went there θέλων τιμηθῆναι, ὅτι νεκῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων.

11. θαλλοῦ α. ἐλαίης, acc. to Herod. *l.c.*

12. τῶν ἀριμάτων τὸ πρῶτεον, 'the finest of their chariots.' Herod. *l.c.* ἐδωρήσαντό τε μιν ὄχι τῶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεῦσασσι. The Athenian ambassadors remind the Lacedaemonians of the honour thus bestowed on their hero, Thuc. I 74, 1 μάλιστα ἐτιμήσατε ἄνδρα ξένου τῶν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων; cp. Diod. XI 27, 3 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φοβηθέντες μήποτε Θεμιστοκλέη ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι κακῶν μέγα βουλευέσθαι κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν διπλασιαίσι δωραῖς τῶν τὰ ἀριστεία εὐληφόντων.

13. τριακοσίους τῶν νέων: Herod. *l.c.* πρόπεμψαν ἀπίοντα τριακόσιοι Σπαρτιηγῶν λογάδες, οὐκ οἱ περ ἱπτεῖς καλέονται, μέχρι ὄρων τῶν Τεγεθικῶν. μόνου δὴ τούτου πάντων ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Σπαρτιῆται πρόπεμψαν.

These three hundred so-called knights were a band of picked youths, chosen by three officers appointed for that purpose by the ephors, who served in the field as the king's body-guard, but, notwithstanding the title, they fought on foot, and, if they were mounted, used their horses only on a march, or in executing the king's commission. Müller's *Dorians* III 12 § 5, Xen. *de rep. Lac.* IV 3, *Hell.* V III 9.

τομποιός, 'as an escort of honour,' to the borders of Tegea.

14. Ὀλυμπίων τῶν ἐπέξης ἀγομένων, 'during the celebration of the next Olympian games' i.e. those of B.C. 476, the sixth year of the 76th Olympiad.

15. *παρὰθόντες*: c. 4, 1.

18. *ἐκείνον θαύσθαι*: The story is not told by Herod., but ²⁸ Pausanias (VIII 50, 3), in speaking of the presence of Philopoemen at the Nemean games and the applause he received there, adds: *ταούτο ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα ἄλλο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πυνθάνομαι συμβῆναι*: καὶ γὰρ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐς τῆν ἐπαύστη τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θέατρον ('the spectators'); cp. Aelian *V. H.* XIII 43. *ἐπιθακνύων* κτλ., 'pointed him out to the visitors (from Sicily, etc.), while admiring and applauding him.'

20. *ὁμολογήσαι . . . ἀπέχων*, 'acknowledged that he was now reaping in full the fruit due to him for all his labours in behalf of Greece.' *ἀπέχειν* = 'to receive one's due,' or 'to receive in full payment'; cp. *Publ.* c. 14, 1 *ὡς οὖν ἀπέργαστο τελῶς (ὁ νόμος) καὶ τὸν προσήκοοντα κόσμον ἀπέχειν*, *Sol.* c. 22, 4 *τὸν μισθὸν ἀπέχει*, *Alex.* c. 27, 4 *χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ . . . Φίλιππον ἀπέχειν ἐκπέσω τὴν διακίαν*, *Aesch. de f. leg.* § 50 *ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀνεργώσθη (ἢ ἐπιστολή) ἀπέχερε' ἔφη 'τὴν ἀπόκρισιν'*, *Ev. Matth.* c. vi 2, 5, 16; *Ev. Luc.* c. vi 24, *Ep. Phil.* c. iv 18.

21. *τὸν ἀπὸ πονηθέντων*: the dative of the agent is very rare, except after the perfect and pluperfect passive, c. 15, 2.

CHAPTER XVIII

§ 1 l. 1. καὶ γὰρ, *εἰς τὴν*. εἰ δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι κτλ., 'if we are to judge (i.e. as we may judge) by means of the sayings recorded of him.'

3. *ναύαρχος*, 'admiral of the fleet,' who was one of the ten generals (*στρατηγοί*).

4. *οὐδὲν . . . ἐχρημάτιζεν*, 'transacted no business.' Cp. *Thuc.* I 87, 5; the middle (c. 21, 1) is used mostly of mercantile business, 'to make money,' as *Thuc.* VII 13, 3 *οὐόμενοι χρηματίζεισθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μαχεῖσθαι*.

5. *κατὰ μέρος* (ἴσως): c. 15, 2.

6. *ἐπαυβάλλετο*, 'he used to put off from day to day.' Cp. *Herod.* I 91 *τρία ἔτη ἐπαυβάλλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἄλωσιν*, *Phalar.* *Ep.* 69 *ἐπιμύσσει τὸ ἀργύριον οὐδ' ἔσον ἐπαυβαλλόμενος. τὸ προσπίπτων*, 'any business that devolved upon him.'

7. *ὅρα . . . δεκῆ*, as a natural consequence of this mode of action, not as the object (opt.) of Them.

10. *ἀπνοστήσας*, 'washed ashore,' c. 10, 5.

11. περικεμένους, *alligata habentes*, 'having round them,' 'wearing.' Cp. *Pelop.* c. 11, 1; c. 30, 4 τὸν στέφανον ἐν πίνων περιέκειτο, Herod. I 171 περὶ τοῖς ἀρχαῖς περικεῖμενοι (τὰς ἀσπίδας).

In purely classical Greek κείμαι is the recognised *passive perfect* of τίθεμαι being the perf. middle: e.g. ὁ τῶνδ' ἴσμενος νόμος τέθειται, ἢ τῶνδ' ἴσμενος (pass.) νόμος κείται: so a father τίθειαι ὄνομα παιδί, but παιδί κείται ὄνομα. See Shilleto on Thuc. I 37, 3 who quotes, as an exception belonging to the days of the decadence, Menander *fr. inc.* 65 τῷ μὲν τὸ σῶμα διατεθειμένῳ κακῶς.

12. ψάλλια, 'bracelets,' a favourite ornament of the Persians, as also στρωπετός (sc. κύκλους), *torques*, 'collars of twisted or linked metal,' Herod. III 20, VIII 113.

§ 21. 15. Cp. *Mor.* 185 c Ἀντιφάτου δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ πρότερον μὲν ἔρωτα τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φεύγωντος καὶ καταφρονούντος, ἐκεῖ δὲ δόξαν ἔσχε μεγάλην, προσερχομένου καὶ κολακείουτος "Ὁ μαιράκιον" εἶπεν "ὄψέ μὲν ἀμφοτέροι, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐσχθήκαμεν."

16. ὑπερηφάνως κεχημένον = καταφρονήσαντα.

18. ὄψέ μὲν κτλ., 'it has taken some time, but we have both at once come to our senses': in Themistocles' own case, because he had recovered from his passion.

20. πλατάνη, as being ἀμφιλαφής, 'wide-spreading.'

20 21. χεμαζομένους, 'when overtaken by a storm.' Cp. Aelian *var. hist.* IX 8.

23. τοῦ Σεριφίου, 'the Seriphian' of the story. Cp. Plat. *dc rep.* p. 329 E: τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εἶδος ἔχει, διὰ τῷ Σεριφίῳ λαοδορομένῳ καὶ λέγοντι, ὅτι οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν εὐδοκμοί, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν αὐτὸς Σεριφίος ὢν ὀνομαστός ἐγένετο οὐτ' ἐκεῖνος Ἀθηναῖος: from whom Cicero *dc sen.* § 8 borrows the story:—*Them. fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset non eum sua sed patriae gloria splendorem assecutum, 'nec hercule' inquit 'si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis, clarus umquam fuisses.'*

Herodotus (VIII 125) gives a somewhat different version of the anecdote. Timodemus, an Athenian of no repute, being envious of the reception given to Them. at Sparta, said that the honours paid him were really paid to Athens, to which he replied οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ εἴην Βελβίνας ἐπιμύθησθαι οὐτω πρὸς Σπάρτην, οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἀνέστημι ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίους. Belbina was a small rocky island at the mouth of the Saronic gulf, about two miles south of Sunium. Seriphos is one of the smallest of the Cyclades, proverbial for its poverty and insignificance and the borne tone of its inhabitants (Cic. *dc nat. d.* I § 88, Arist. *Act.* 542, Aelian *hist. an.* III 37); but it was one of the three island states which refused submission to Xerxes (Her. VIII 46). It was used as a place of banishment by the Roman emperors, *Jav. Sat.* x 170.

26. Σαρπίσιος ἄν, i. q. εἰ Σαρπίσιος ἦν, G. M. T. § 472. οὕτω σὺ 'Αθηναῖος i. e. οὕτω σὺ, εἰ ἦσθα 'Αθηναῖος, ἐνδοξοί ἄν ἐγένου.

Cobet *Musæus*. N. S. vi p. 116 quotes in illustration the reply of Fabius to M. Livius when he said 'mai opera, Q. Fabi, Tarentum receperisti' (Cic. *de sen.* § 11), γαλαῖος ὅν δ' ἔθεός 'ἄλθῃ λέγεις' εἶπεν 'εἰ μὴ γὰρ σὺ τῆν πόλιν ἀπέβαλες, οὐκ ἄν ἐγὼ παρέλαβον,' *Plut. Fab. Max.* c. 22, 1.

§ 3 l. 27. ἐτέρου, 'one of the other strategi,' with ref. to Themistocles.

28. τῇ πόλει with *χρήσιμον*.

30. ἀντιπαραβάλλοντος, 'comparing one with the other closely.' ἔφη τῇ ἑορτῇ κτλ.: a fable (μῦθος, αἶνος). τῆν ἑσπεράϊαν, 'the day after the feast,' called *ἐπίρδα γεμετία*, when the guests still continued their feasting.

31. ἐκείνη κ. ἡ ἑορτή.

35. ἔμοῦ μὴ γενομένης = εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ ἐγενόμην.

36. ποῦ ἄν ἦτε νῦν; = οὐδαμοῦ ἄν ἦτε, 'you would have been nowhere' i. e. nobodies, meaning his fellow στρατηγοί.

§ 4 l. 37. τὸν νῖόν κ. Cleophrantus, c. 32, 1.

ἐντροφῶντα, 'behaving pettishly to, tyrannising over.' The verb *ἐντροφᾶν* aptly expresses the tyranny exercised by a spoiled child over his mother.

It is a favourite word with Plutarch: cp. *Agis* c. 9, 5, *Mor.* 401 π ἐντροφῶν τῷ ἱερῷ, *Pel.* c. 30, 4 Πελοπίδης οὕτω μὲν οὐχ ἐντροφῆσθε, *Artid.* c. *Cal.* ma. comp. c. 1, 3 τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείαν . . . δι' ὅταν πᾶσι καὶ δύναμιν ἐντροφῶσαν τοῖς ἀρχῆν ἐξίσταν, *Sull.* c. 6, 5 τὸν Σύλλαν οἱ μὲν ἐπῆρσαν ἐντροφῆσαντα τοῖς βαρβάρους, *Emm.* c. 16, 3 τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐντροφῶντες, and (in the passive) *Romp.* c. 40, 3 ἐντροφώμενος ὅτ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ δυσκολαιῶν, *Lucian dial.* m. 1 ἐλευθέρους ἀνδράσιν ἐντροφῶντες. The story is told also in *Cal.* ma. c. 8, 2 περὶ δὲ τῆς γυναικακρατίας διαλεγόμενος 'πάντες εἶπεν 'ἄνθρωποι τῶν γυναικῶν ἀρχουσι, ἥξει δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἡμῶν δ' αἱ γυναῖκες.' τοῦτο μὲν ὅν ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν Θεμιστοκλέους μετεγγεγμένον ἀποφθιγμάτων. ἑκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπιτάττοντες αὐτῷ πολλὰ τοῦ νιού διὰ τῆς μητρὸς 'ὡ γυναῖ' εἶπεν 'Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἀρχουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐγὼ δ' Ἀθηναίων, ἐμοῦ δὲ σὺ, σοῦ δ' ὁ νῖός, ὥστε φείδεσθε τῆς ἐξουσίας, δι' ἣν ἀσῆτος ἄν πλείστον Ἑλλήνων δύναται'; also *Mor.* 1 c, 189 d.

38. δι' ἐκείνην, 'by means of her.'

41. Ἰδίος τις, *singularis*, 'original,' 'peculiar,' different from everybody else.

Cp. *Mor.* 57 π ἰδίος ἄνθρωπος, πάντα κτήνη φέρει, πάντα ἀλόγιος, *Act.* *Rust.* c. 37, 2 εἶποι τῆς τελευταῖης ἰδίων τινα καὶ παραλλαγμένον τρόπον ἱστῶντες, c. 38, 2 αἰκίσιον δ' ἰδίον καὶ περιττὸν τοῦ Λιμίλιον, *Fab. Max.* c. 1, 7 πῶς ἰδίον καὶ περιττὸν ἐν γυμνασίου οὐκ ἔστι καὶ βάθος ἔχει, *Mor.* c. 7, 4 νῦν οὖν ἰδίαν γε καὶ τρόπον περιττῆν καὶ παράδοξον, *Cal.* ma. c. 23, 1 ἐν παντὶ φιλοτιμούμενος περιττὸς εἶναι καὶ ἰδίος.

42. ἐν πᾶσι, 'amongst all men,' not 'in all things.' *χαρίων πωπράσκων*, 'when he put up an estate for sale.'

43. ἐκλεῖν *sc.* τὸν κέρκον, *praecocum.* καί, among other disadvantages.

44. τὸν μνωμένον, gen. of the divided whole with τὸν ἐπιεικῆ and τοῦ πλουσίου. The story is introduced differently by Cic. *de off.* II § 71 *Themistocles cum consulcretur, utrum bono viro pauperi an minus probato divitiis filiam collocaret, 'Ego vero' inquit 'malo virum, qui pecunia egoat, quam pecuniam quas viro.'* Cp. Valer. Max. VII 2 ext. 9.

46. ἀνδρῶς *sc.* δεόμενα.

CHAPTER XIX

30 § 1 l. 1. μὲν οὖν, 'so then,' in concluding one subject, and passing on to a fresh one, c. 2, 4 u.

2. γενόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων, 'when he had done with his famous exploits,' cp. c. 2, 1 ἐν σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενος, *Cał. pa.* c. 1, 7 ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν γενόμενος ἔργων. πράξεων may refer to the honours he received at Sparta and to the Olympic games, referred to c. 17 *καί ῥη.*

3. ἐπεχείρα ἀνοικοδομεῖν, 'he took in hand the rebuilding,' Thuc. I 89, 3 τῆν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τεῖχη· τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα εἰσθήκει καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ πεπτώκεισαν, ὄλγαι δὲ περιήσαν, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήρσαν αἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν. Cp. *Lysand.* c. 14, 5, Plat. *Gorg.* p. 455 D (Isiquitur Gorgias) οἶσα γὰρ δῆπου ἐστὶ τὰ νεώρια ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἡ τῶν λιμένων κατασκευὴ ἐκ τῆς Θεμιστοκλέους συμβουλῆς γέγονε.

5. ἱστοροῖ: c. 1, 3.

Θεόπομπος: Theopompus of Chios, the greatest of Isocrates' pupils, one of the lost historians of the fourth century, was born about a.c. 380. He was twice exiled from his native country. Besides a number of ἐπιδεικτικαὶ λόγοι, the most successful of which appears to have been his panegyric on Mausolus, prince of Caria, he wrote in 12 books a continuation of Thucydides' history from a.c. 411 to the battle of Cnidus a.c. 394. But his most voluminous and greatest work was his *Φιλιστιανία* or History of Philip, father of Alexander the Great (a.c. 360 to a.c. 336) in 53 books which embraced in digressions all the contemporary history down to the king's death. The work, when these digressions were omitted, was reduced by Philip III of Macedonia to 16 books. His subject was treated in an intensely rhetorical spirit, seeking everywhere for effect rather than strict truth. Prof. Mahaffy, *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* Vol. I Pt. II p. 422, calls him 'a self-conscious, rhetorical, Isocratic ape of the great historian Herodotus.' See Introduction to *Timoleon* xviii-xxi.

χρήμασι πείρας μὴ ἐναντιοθῆναι τοῖς ἐφόροις: *sc.* ἢ ἄλλο *Andoc.* 3, 38 λαθόντες δὲ Πελοποννησίων ἐπιχρῆσαν τὰ τεῖχη.

πράγματι δὲ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων μὴ δοῦναι τούτων δίκην, βασιμένοι δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους τῆν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεργασάμεθα. Grote *Hist. Gr.* v p. 330 n. 1 remarks that the statement of Theopompus is not inconsistent with the narrative of Thucydides, but the latter either had not heard or did not believe it, although it is not improbable in itself.

'Sparta shared the jealousy and uneasiness of the allies at the fortification of Athens, and would have been pleased to see all the other Grecian cities as well systematically defenceless like herself.' Grote *Hist. Gr.* v p. 327. Thuc. i 90, 1 μάλα Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ εὐχόμενοι τὸ μὴ ἄλλων ἕλθεν προσβείναι, τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἂν ὄρωσιν μὴ ἰσχύουσιν μὴ ἄλλων μάλιστα ταύτης ἔχεσθαι, τὸ δὲ πλεον τῶν ἐνμαχίων ἰσχυροτέρου καὶ φειδόμενον τοῦ τε σωτηρίας αὐτῶν τοῦ πλείους, ἢ πρὶν οὐκ ὕπαρχε, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῶν Μηδικῶν πόλεμον τόλμαν γενόμενον. Cp. Nepos *Them.* c. 6 namque Lacodemonii cum iam idoneam civitatem propter barbarorum excursiones qua negarent oportere extra Peloponnesum ullam urbem muris habere, nec essent loci munia quae hostes possiderent, Athenienses aedificantes prohibere sunt conati.

7. οἱ πλείστοι sc. ἰστοροῦσι, αἰθέριαι Thucydides, whose authority must outweigh that of all others put together.

παρὰκρουσάμενος, 'by outwitting, misleading them,' properly said of a seller who strikes too much off from the top of the measure, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ ἰσθάντας ('weighing') τι ἢ μετρούσοντας κρούειν τὰ μέτρα καὶ διασεύειν ἕνεκα τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν (*Harrocratium*). Aelian (*Vit. Hist.* c. 47) describes Them. as κλέπτοντα τῶν Ἀθηναίων τεύχεσι.

Cp. Alcib. c. 17, ἡ ἐκείνος μὲν οὐκ ἐτυχεν ὄν ἕξιν, παρὰκρουσάμενος τοῖς πολιταῖς, *Them.* c. 26, 1 καὶ ταύτην παρὰκρουσάμενον λαβεῖν, c. 10, 3, *Sol.* c. 30, 2 τοῖς πολιταῖς παρὰκρουσάμενος, *Pub. Mar.* c. 10, 3 ἀλίγῳ παρὰκρουσάμενος ἐσφάλε τον ἄνδρα, *Comj. Alc. c. Coriol.* c. 2, 1; *Lys.* c. 8, 3; *Herul.* c. 50, 3; *Dem. Lys.* § 74 ὅση τὸ πικρίας τοῦ παρὰκρουσάμενος πρᾶγμα ὅτιον ἰσχυρότερον, τοσοῦτον ἀλλίον Κόμοσα τὰ τεύχη στήσαι Θεμιστοκλέους, *Mecart.* § 83 οὐκ ἐτίσκειν ἀλλὰ παρὰκρούσαστο, *Ul.* ii § 5, *I'hil.* ii § 23, § 30, *de Rhod. lib.* § 8, § 20, § 74, *Timocr.* § 79, *Plat. Lys.* p. 216 c.

8. γὰρ: c. 11, 2. ὄνομα προσβέλεις ἐπιγραφάμενος, *legationis titulum sibi ascribens*, 'assuming the title of an ambassador,' whereas his real object was to overreach and deceive the Spartans. Cp. *Demetr.* c. 42, 6 ἔχαιρε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν θεῶν ἀνομοκράτην ἐπιγραφόμενος προσωνημᾶν, *Timol.* c. 36, 3 πολλὰκίς ἐφη τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι βούλομενος σῶσαι Σικελίαν ἐπεγράψαστο τῆν αὐτοῦ προσηγορίαν, where see the editor's note.

9. ὅτι ταίχίζουσι, vivid construction. Cp. Thuc. i 91, 1.

10. κατηγοροῦντος sc. ὅτι ταίχίζουσι τὸ ἄστυ. Polyarchus is probably to be identified with Polycritus mentioned by Herod. (viii 92). Thuc. (i 90, 1) speaks only of the allies generally and (c. 91, 1) τῶν ἄλλων ἀφικουμένων καὶ σαφῶς κατηγοροῦντων. The strained relations between Athens and Aegina give Plutarch's account the air of probability, but Corinth also, her other maritime rival, had taken the alarm.

13. ἐμβάλλον χρόνον, like διατριβὰς ἐμποίων, c. 16, 3.

15. ἀντ' αὐτοῦ . . . ἐπάρχειν, 'to be at their disposal in his stead' i.e. as hostages for his safety. Cp. Thuc. I 91, 2 *περὶ αὐτῶν* (sc. τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων) ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κρύφα πέμπει κελύωσιν ὡς ἤμιστα ἐπιφανῶς κατασχέειν καὶ μὴ ἀφίπειν πρὶν ἢ αὐτοὶ πάλιν κομισθῶσιν.

16. 8 καὶ συνέβη, 'and this in fact happened' i.e. his expectations were realised. γνόντες . . . τὸ ἀληθές, 'when they had ascertained the truth' from Them. himself, who dropped the mask and avowed the stratagem practised upon them.

18. ἄσφalus, 'secretly.' Cp. Thuc. I 92 ἀρχὴν μὲν φανεράν οὐκ ἐποιούnte τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις . . . τῆς μέντοι βουλῆσεως ἀμαρτάνοντες ἄσφalus ἤχθοντα.

§ 2 l. 18. ἐκ τούτου, 'after this,' B.C. 477. Cp. Isocr. *de perm.* 307, Diodor. xi 41.

19. τὴν Πηραιῶν, here in its widest sense, 'the peninsula formed by the steep height of Munychia, from which the rocky land stretches to the sea like an indented leaf and forms three natural basins with narrow entrances,' Curtius *Hist. Gr.* II p. 611.

Plutarch does not mention that something had already been done two years before in the archonship of Themistocles towards the enlargement of the Piræus; see Thucyd. I 93, 2 *ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδοκίει—ὠνέμαρτο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον εἰς τῆς ἑκταίου ἀρχῆς ἢ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξαν—τοῖσιν δὲ τε χωρίων καλῶν ἑσσι λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αἰσφορεῖς, i.e. Zea, Munychia, and Piræus proper, the largest of the three.*

τὴν τῶν λιμένων εὐφροίαν, 'the favourable situation of its basins.' See my n. to *Timol.* c. 20, 3 and cp. Nep. *Them.* c. 6 *huius consilio triplex Piræi portus constitutus est itaque moenibus circumdatus ut ipsam urbem dignitate acquirararet, utilitate superaret.*

21. ἀρμολτόμενος, 'endeavouring to unite.'

22. τρόπον τινα, 'in some measure.'

23. ἀντιπολιτευόμενος, 'pursuing an opposite policy to.' Thuc. (II 16) speaks of the reluctance of the inhabitants of Attica to give up their old habits and associations.

24. ἀλγεῖν i.e. by the rationalistic interpreters of legends. πραγματευόμενοι . . . ἀποσπάσαι, 'exerting themselves to draw them away.' Cp. *Mor.* 709 D *πραγματευόμενος ἀρχὴν τινα φιλίας δὲ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τῷ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τὸν καλοῦντα.*

27. φύτεύοντας, 'planting,' chiefly with olive trees. ἐξέλασαν, 'spread abroad.' Cp. c. 10, 1 *στ. νοδ.*

28. ἰδίσαντα περὶ τῆς χώρας: The legend is thus given by 31 Apollodorus *Bibl.* III 14, 1:—ἐπὶ τούτου (Cecrops) εἶδαε τοὺς θεοὺς πόλει καταλάβεσθαι, ἐν αἷς ἐμελλόν εἶχει τιμὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστος. ἦκεν οὖν πρῶτος Ποσειδῶν ἐπὶ τῆν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πλῆξας τῇ τριαλῆν κατὰ μέσσην τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέφανε θάλασσαν ('a salt spring'), ἣν οὖν Ἐρεχθίδα καλοῦσι . . . μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἦκεν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ ποιησαμένη τῆς καταλήψεως Κέκροτα μύστυρα ἐφότυσεν ἐλαίαν ἣ οὖν ἐν τῷ Πανδρῶσιφ δεικνυται. γενομένης δὲ ἐριδος ἀμφοῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας . . . ἡ χώρα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐκρίθη, Κέκροτος μαρτυρήσαςτος ὅτι πρῶτον τὴν ἐλαίαν ἐφότυσεν. Cf. Herod. VIII 55. The group in the west pediment of the Parthenon represents the contest between the deities and the moment when the victory of the goddess was declared.

29. τὴν μορίαν, 'the sacred olive' in the Acropolis; the name was afterwards given to all the olives that grew in the precincts of temples and were state property, as opposed to ἰδία ἐλαία. τοὺς δικασταῖς: according to one legend, the gods, according to another, Cecrops or Cranaus or Erechtheus.

§ 3 l. 30. Ἀριστοφάνης: *Eq.* 815 καὶ πρὸς τοῦτους ἀριστώσῃ (sc. τῇ πόλει) τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαζεν, in a double sense, 'when she was sitting at breakfast, he kneaded for her the Piræus as a dainty dish,' and 'he kneaded it (i.e. attached it closely) to her.' It is in the latter sense that Plutarch objects to the expression, on the ground that the Piræus was rather a principal part of Athens than a mere adjunct. So, according to Thucyd. I 93, 5, Them. himself τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὠφελιμώτερον ἐρόμιζε τῆς ἄνω πόλεως, καὶ πολλὰκις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρήγει, ἣν ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βιασθῶσι, καταβάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς ναυσι πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀποθίσασθαι i.e. 'he considered the Piræus to be of more value than Athens itself, and frequently endeavoured to impress upon the Athenians, that, if ever they should be overwhelmed by a superior land force, they might go down to it and defy all the world with their fleet.'

32. ἐξήψε, 'fastened it to,' 'made it depend on.'

33. ἔθεν . . . ἀρίστων, 'by which means he made the people (πλοῖα) powerful against the nobles (οὔριμαλς).' The development of the navy was favourable to democracy, because those who served in it belonged to the lower class, who were now therefore the real support of the state, instead of the hoplites, who came of the well-to-do class. Plut. has in his mind's eye the remarks of Plato *legg.* IV 707 A: cp. also Arist. *Pol.* p. 1304^a 23 ὁ ναυτικὸς ἔχλος γενόμενος αἰτίος τῆς περὶ Σαλαμίνα νίκης καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἡγεμονίας διὰ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν δύναμιν τὴν δημοκρατίας ἰσχυροτέραν ἐποίησεν, and see Grote *Hist.* V p. 87 ff.

35. κλινοτάς, *porticulus* or *hortatores*, 'commanders of the rowers,' the officers who gave them the signal, that they might keep time in rowing, a matter of great importance where there were as many as 175 rowers, as was the case in the Greek trireme.

36. διὸ καί, because of the connexion between democracy and sea-life.

τὸ βῆμα . . . ἀπέστρεψαν, 'the thirty made the βῆμα in the Pnyx, which had been constructed to look towards the sea, face the land.'

What importance might be attached to such apparently insignificant circumstances is shown by Plut. *C. Gracch.* c. 5 2: τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντων δημαγωγῶν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ('the senate') ἀφορῶντων καὶ τὸ καλούμενον κομίτιον, πρῶτος τότε στραφεὶς ἔξω πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν (ἀγεται) δημογροῦσαι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω ποιεῖν ἕξ ἑαυτοῦ, μικρὰ παρεγκλίσει καὶ μεταθεσει σχήματος μέγα πρᾶγμα κινήσας καὶ μετενεγκῶν τρόπον τινα τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας εἰς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὡς τῶν πολλῶν δέον, οὐ τῆς βουλῆς, στοχάζεσθαι τοὺς λέγοντας i.e. 'whereas all the popular leaders who preceded him faced the senate and the comitium, he is recorded as the first who turned his face the other way to the forum while haranguing the people, and he continued to do so from that time; and by a small deviation and shifting of posture he stirred a great question, and in a way transformed the government from an aristocratical to a democratical form, as by this new attitude intimating that the orators should address themselves to the many and not to the Senate.'

The Pnyx, which was the usual place for the assembly of the people (*ἐκκλησία*) in the time of Thucydides (viii 97, 1) and Aristophanes (*Ach.* 20, *Eq.* 42, 750-1, *Fesp.* 31), was situated in a hollow against the side of a hill $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile to the west of the Acropolis and $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile S.W. of the Areopagus. It was semicircular in form, and consisted of two terraces, an upper and smaller on the South and a lower and larger one on the North, separated by a perpendicular wall of solid rock, 13 to 15 feet high, which formed the chord of the arc, the enclosure of the arc to the North being a huge sort of wall of Cyclopean masonry. It was in the lower terrace that the great bulk of the ecclesia assembled. The original bema or platform was probably not far from its outer boundary, so that the speaker had the greater part of the assembly before him, rising gradually upwards towards the southern wall; thus in fact resembling an inverted theatre, the audience part rising up to, instead of from, the chord of the semicircle, and the orator, instead of being in the middle of the chord like an actor, taking his place in the middle of the arc, so that he faced the sea, that is, the south. The alteration mentioned by Plutarch, whose reason however for it is too absurd to be accepted, was the making of a new bema, facing in a contrary direction to the older one. This bema, the identical one from which Demosthenes spoke, is no other than that which still exists in the centre of the back wall of the lower terrace, out of which it is hewn, facing towards the country or north. Dyer, *Ancient Athens* p. 541, supposes that the original Pnyx was defaced by the Lacedaemonians or the Thirty Tyrants, and that when the new Pnyx was made after their overthrow by Thrasybulus, the reversal of the bema may have been suggested by the convenience of the rock wall for making one, and the more theatre-like arrangement of the whole, by which the speaker would be placed in the middle of the chord of the arc and so have a greater number of his auditors within reach of his voice.

38. οἱ τριάκοντα, 'the Thirty,' usually called 'the thirty tyrants,' to whom the government of Athens was entrusted by the Lacedaemonian admiral Lysandor after his capture of the city in B.C. 404.

40. Cp. Arist. Pol. p. 1303^b, 11 μᾶλλον δημοτικοὶ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν ἀκούοντες τῶν κατ' ἔστυ.

CHAPTER XX

§ 1. Cp. Arist. c. 22, 2, Diodor. XI c. 42, Cic. *de off.* III § 49.

'This celebrated story has long ceased,' says Grote *Hist. Gr.* v p. 37 note 2 'to be received as a matter of history. It is quite inconsistent with the narrative of Herodotus, as well as with all the conditions of the time: Pagasae was Thessalian, and as such hostile to the Greek fleet rather than otherwise: the fleet seems to have never been there: moreover we may add, that taking matters as they then stood, when the fear from Persia was not at all terminated, the Athenians would have lost more than they gained by burning the ships of the other Greeks, so that Themistocles was not very likely to conceive the scheme, nor Aristides to describe it in the language put into his mouth. The story is probably the invention of some Greek of the Platonic age, who wished to contrast justice with expediency and Aristides with Themistocles—as well as to bestow at the same time a panegyric upon Athens in the days of her glory.'

Θεμιστοκλῆς δέ, as opp. to the later oligarchy, c. 19, 3.

3. κατήρεν, ἀρμυλί, 'put into port.' Pagasae was a port on the Pagasacan bay of the coast of Thessaly, south of Iolcoa. Cic. *l.c.*, in telling the story, speaks of Gytheum and of the Lacedaemonian instead of the Grecian fleet, but the plan in that case would not have been either expedient or practicable. Mark the distinction between the tenses—κατήρεν, 'had put in,' and διεχέμαζε, 'was passing the winter.'

9. ἄν δοκιμάσῃ, 'should he approve of it.' The καί with which ἄν forms a crasis belongs to περᾶναι.

11. τὸ νεώριον here = τὸ ναύσταθμον, 'the ships assembled in the roristead.' ἐμπρήσαι: Plut. *Arist.* c. 22, 2 adds:—ὄστω γὰρ εἶσθαι μεγίστους καὶ κυρίους πάντων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Cp. Cic. *l.c. quo facto frangi Lacedaemoniorum opes necesse esset. τῶν Ἑλλήνων*: c. 7, 2.

16. παύσασθαι sc. τῆς πράξεως ἣν διανοεῖται πράττειν. 32

§ 2 l. 17. ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτυονικοῖς συνεδείοις, 'at special meetings of the (Delphian) Amphictyony or Sacred League.'

18. δηγομένον ὄσως, 'introducing a motion that.' Elsewhere εἰσηγεῖσθαι is followed either by the infinitive as *Lysand.* c. 15, 2, or by the accusative and infinitive as *Publ.* c. 16, 7, or by the objective acc. as *Alcid.* c. 20, 2 εἰσηγήσατο γράμην ὅσην πρόσω πολέμητων ἐστὶ, *Cic.* c. 30, 2, *Dion.* c. 48, 2,

Lys. comp. c. Sull. c. 3, 2 τοὺς περὶ γάμων καὶ σωφροσύνης εἰσηγείτο νόμους, Ti. Gr. c. 13, 2, Anon. c. 31, 2 τοῦτων ἅπαντες εἰσηγούοντο τὸν γάμον.

19. αἱ μὴ συμμαχήσασαι, G. § 283, 4, Ruth. § 349.

21. **Θετταλοῦς**: The twelve members of the league were the Phocians, Locrians, Dolopes, Oetaeans, Achaeans of Phthiotis, Mallians, Magnetes, Perrhoebians, Thessalians, Boeotians, Dorians, Ionians. Of these the Thessalians and Thebans had sided with the Persians, the Argives (who were members as Dorians only, and, as such, were represented by Sparta) had remained neutral. The other members who joined the Medes were the Locrians, Dolopes, Perrhoebians, Oetaeans, Achaeans, Mallians, Magnetes, Boeotians (except those of Thespiæ and Plataea). See Herod. (vii 132).

22. *ἔτι δέ*, 'and besides,' c. 10, 3; c. 29, 1.

23. *παντελῶς ἐπικρατήσασαι τῶν ψήφων*, 'should have complete control over the votes.'

26. **Πυλαγῶρων**: the *Πυλαγῶραι* (or *-ραι*) (*Πύλαι*=*Θερμοπύλαι*, *ἀγέρω*), the deputies of the Greek states at the Amphictyonic Council.

27. **τριάκοντα καὶ μία μόνα πόλεις**: Herodotus mentions Greeks from 36 states as having taking part in the Persian war. The list given by Pausanias (v 23, 1) of the nations inscribed upon the statue of Jupiter at Olympia contains 27 (Hicks, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* p. 11 Oxf. 1882). In the remarkable inscription, brought to light in 1856, on the bronze stand of three intertwined serpents, which supported the golden tripod dedicated at Delphi by the Greeks after Plataea (Herod. ix 81, Thuc. i 132, 2 *τῶν τριάκοντα τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὃν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἐκροβίμων*), but destroyed by the Phocians in the Sacred War (Pausan. x 13, 6), which was removed to his new capital by Constantine and placed in the hippodrome there (the modern *Atmeidan*, where it still remains, Gibbon, *Rom. Emp.* c. xvii), there is a list of thirty-one names. These are the Lacedaemonians, Athenians, Corinthians, Tegeans, Sicyonians, Arginians, Megarians, Epidaurians, Orchomenians, Phliasians, Troezenians, Hermionians, Tirynthians, Plataeans, Thebians, Mycenaeans, Ceans, Melians, Tenians, Naxians, Eretrians, Chalcidians, Styrians, Eleans, Potidaeans, Leucadians, Anactorians, Cythnians, Siphnians, Ambraciots, and Lepreans.

29. *σῶνδν οὖν α. ἐστὶ* c. 13, 2.

30. **ἐκσπόνδου**, 'excluded from the league.' According to Herodotus (vii 132), the Greeks who took up arms to resist the Persians swore an oath that they would devote the medising states to the god at Delphi with their goods and persons, *ὅσας τῷ Πέρσῳ ἔδοσαν σφας αὐτοῖς Ἕλληνες ἴσσαντες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφῶν ἐν τῶν πρηγμάτων, τοῦτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. ἐπὶ ταῖς . . . πόλεσιν ἔσται*, 'shall be in the power of the two or three greatest cities.' Cp. Thuc. ii 84, 2 *τὴν ἐπιχειρήσασιν ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ ἐνόμισεν εἶναι*, iv 29, 4 *ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἀν εἶναι τὴν ἐπιχειρήσασιν*, vii 12, 3 *αἱ ἐπιχειρήσασιν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις*, Antiphon *de caede Her.* § 3 *ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν καταγῶρων λόγους εἶναι*, 'to be at the mercy of.'

32. ἐκ τούτου, *propter hoc*. μὴ οὖν: c. 2, 4.

33. προσέκρουε, 'gave offence to,' 'made an enemy of,' lit. 'knocked up against.'

προσέρουεν means either (1) *offenders in aliquid re*, 'to give offence to,' or (2) *offendi*, 'to take offence at.' (1) *Thea. c. 2*, 2 λέγονται τοῖς ἑαυτῶν προσέρουσαι πολίταις, *Fab. Max. c. 20*, 4 προσέκρουσαν τῆς πολλοῦς ὡς δυσκόλος ἀνὴρ, *Plam. c. 17*, 1, *Philop. c. 18*, 3, *Enn. c. 2*, 1, *Suif. c. 6*, 4, *Ti. Gr. c. 14*, 2, *Cacl. ml. c. 36*, 3; c. 56, 3, *Sol. c. 16*, 2, *Agex. c. 4*, 2, *Public. c. 7*, 4 παντάσῃ προσέρουσαι ἄφρονι τὴν ἀρχήν, *Mor. 96* c ἐπὶ ὑπογυῖοντα προσέρουεν πολλοῖς, 148 ε φέρειν τὸ προσέρουεν τῷ ἀντὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τῇ γυναίκα τὸν ἀνδρα, *Dem. Mid. § 206*, *Arct. § 7*, *def. l. § 305* ἔν τῃ ἀποδείξι προσέρουσαν, *Aesch. Tim. § 110* προσέρουσαι τι τοῦτῃ καὶ παρενοθεῖς, *Dinarchus Dem. § 99* ὅταν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιληψίαις λυδαιώσονται καὶ προσέρουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἰκετιήτες, (2) *Cacl. ma. c. 23*, 1 φιλοπόνη προσέκρουσας, *Dem. Tim. § 6* προσέκρουε ἀφροσύνην ποικίλην, φ τέλει τῆς ἄλλῃ προσέκρουεν ἢ πόλις, *Mid. § 61* ἐπὶ τῷ προσέκρουσε καὶ ἰχθῶς τῷ, *Aristot. § 41* προσηται ἕπαισι προσέρουεν.

τῶν Κίμωνα προήγον ταῖς τιμαῖς: cp. *Cim. c. 16*, 2 ηἰρήνη δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἦδη τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσπολε-
μουμένῃ καὶ τούτων ὄντα νέον ἐν Ἀθήναις μάλλον ἰσχύειν καὶ
κρατεῖν βουλομένῳ. For προάγειν, cp. c. 7, 2, *Cam. c. 38*, 2
βουλόμενος ἀποκρῖναι τὴν συμφορὰν . . . ἀπὶ πάντων τούτων
προήγειν, *Polyb. XII 13*, 6 τοιούτων ἀνδρα προήγον, *XVIII 43*, 3
τοῦτ' ἄλλους ἐτίμων καὶ προήγον.

34. ἀντίπαλον, 'as a counterpoise.' Cp. *Nic. c. 11*, 4.

CHAPTER XXI

§ 1 l. 1. καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις i.e. not to the Lacedaemonians only. The Greek fleet, which after the battle of Salamis had proceeded as far as Andros in chase of the Persians, had stayed among the Cyclades to punish the islanders, who had aided the barbarians. Them. seized this opportunity of enriching himself at their expence.

2. χρηματιζόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν sc. τῶν συμμάχων, 'trying to get money from them by extortion,' as *Isocr. Hel. § 6* οὐδενὸς ἀποῖς ἄλλου μέλει πλὴν τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν νεωτέρων, not 'making money by them,' as *Plato Soph. p. 225* ε ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ἐρίδων χρηματιζόμενον, *Arist. Pol. p. 1286^b 14*, 8 ἐχρηματίζοντο ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν.

Herodotus also (*viii c. 112*) says that Themistocles obtained money from the islanders λέβηθι τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, but in the following story Plutarch places him in too unfavourable a light, because Andros was besieged by the Greek fleet and not by Themistocles only. Yet he threatened the others that he would bring the Greek fleet upon them if they did not send him the amount he required. Cp. [*Plut.*] de Herod. *mal. c. 40*.

3. *οἷα*, 'as a case in point,' obj. to *εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκούσαι*. The Greeks laid siege to Andros when the Andrians refused to pay the contribution demanded from them.

4. *ἀκούσαι α. πρὸς Ἀνδρίων*, 'was told by them in reply.'

33 6. *Βίαν . . . Ἀπορίας*: in Herodotus VIII 111 *Ἀναγκαλίην . . . Ἀμμηλίην*.

8. *ὅψ' ὄν καλοῦσθαι*, the infin. in a dependent relative clause in indirect discourse by assimilation, G. *MT*. § 755. The Greeks did not get the money eventually, but *ἐπει ὄψ' οἷα τε ἐγένοντο ἐξελέυε τὴν Ἀνδρον, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμίνα*.

§ 2 l. 9. *Τιμοκρέων*: Timocreon was a lyric poet and also an athlete of renown (Athenae. x p. 415 f) of Ialysus in Rhodes, whence he was banished on suspicion of *meddling*, and in his exile neglected by Themistocles, who had formerly been his guest-friend. He quarrelled with Simonides also, and the two poets gave vent to their anger in recriminatory verses. The following epigram inscribed upon his tomb is supposed to have been written by Simonides:—

*πολλὰ πῦν καὶ πολλὰ φαγῶν καὶ πολλὰ κάκ' εἰπῶν
ἀνθρώπου κείμεν Τιμοκρέων Ῥόδιος.*

10. *καθάπτεται, γερπριγγίλ, incessit*, 'assails,' lit. 'fastens on.' Cp. Thuc. vi 16, *ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐντεύθεν ἀρξασθαι, ἐπειδὴ μου Νικίας καθήφατο*, *ib.* 82, 1, Plato *Cyil.* p. 52 A *ἴσως ἂν μου δικαίως καθάπτουσιν α. πικρότερον*, 'with excessive acrimony.'

11. *ὡς . . . διαπραξαμένου καταλθεῖν . . . προσμένον, parataxis*, 'for leaving him to his fate though a friend etc., while he brought about the restoration of others from exile.' Cp. Dem. *de f. l.* § 332 *διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ χρήμασι λυμαινομένου τοῖς πράγμασι, Timocr.* § 200 *ταῦτα πράττων ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ*.

12. *καταλθεῖν*: c. 11, 1. The victory of the Greeks had been followed by a revolution throughout the islands in which the hitherto dominant party that favoured the Persians were expelled. The one mentioned here must have been later than 480 B.C., since it does not agree sufficiently with the narrative of Herodotus VIII 111 ff., 121 ff. The lines were probably composed between 476 B.C. and the year of Themistocles' banishment.

14. *δὲ ἀργύριον* may imply either that he (Themistocles) did not favour his (Timocreon's) restoration because he did not receive money from him, or that he had received a bribe from others to prevent it. The former is probably meant. Timocreon perhaps hoped that the fleet would have sailed to Rhodes to favour his party.

15. The fragment is composed in dactylo-epitrite verse, consisting of trochaic dipodias and dactylic tripodias with base: at the end of the epode is a trochaic tripodia (*ilkyphallicus*) with base.

The pride and arrogance of Pausanias are well known; Xanthippus (c. 10, 5) perhaps incurred the poet's censure because of his impeachment of Miltiades. Both he and Leotychides, the Spartan king, were commanders at the battle of Mycale. The former succeeded Themistocles as commander of the Athenian fleet in B.C. 479; the latter was banished to Tegea B.C. 469 for receiving bribes from the Aleuades of Thesaly (Herod. vi 72).

16. ἔγὼ δέ: the δέ in apodosis is common enough in Homer. Observe the synizesis in ἐπαυέω, Τιμοκρέοντα, πλέω, ἐπύπλεος, and the crasis in δὴ ἤχθαρε, μὴ ὦραν, the Doric ā for ē in Λατώ, Ἄρσειδαν and for ω in ἱερῶν Ἀθανῶν, γᾶ for γε, τό for σύ, ἐπύπλεος for ἐπύπλεως, τοί for αἱ.

17. ἱερῶν Ἀθανῶν: cp. Hom. Od. xi 323 Ἀθηναίων ἱερῶν.

18. ἔνα λῶστρον, 'above all others best.' Cp. Virg. Aen. II 426 *inmissimus un us qui fuit in Teucris*. ἤχθαρε Δατώ, *us a liar, because she is herself, like her son, by preference ἀψευδής (Bliss)*.

19. προδότην, 'a traitor' i.e. to the poet himself.

§ 3 l. 20. κυβηλικόισι, 'suitable to a κύβαλος,' 'knavish,' 'rascally.'

21. Ἰάλυσον: Ialysus was one of three old Doric cities in the island of Rhodes, and a member of the Dorian hexapolis. Thuc. VIII 44, 2, Herod. II 182. For κατὰ γε, cp. c. 11, 6 n. The verse requires one syllable to make it correspond to the 3d line of the strophe.

22. λαβόν i.e. from the poet's enemies. ἔβα εἰς ἐλεθρον, *ab illi in malam rem*, implying a wish that bad luck might go with him i.e. the poet's adversary.

24. ἐπύπλεος, 'filled in an underhand way.' Ἴσθμοί, 'at the Isthmian festival,' c. 5, 2. Cp. *Ἱστοριοί Arist.* c. 27, 4.

πανδοκέος, an expression sufficiently insulting in itself, the occupation of 'innkeeper' being looked down upon.

The context shows that some act of stinginess is charged to Themistocles (*φουγὰ ἀπὸ πανδοκείων*), possibly on occasion of the adjudication of the prizes at the Isthmus (c. 17), when he entertained the strategi and other Greeks present in such a manner as to incur ridicule.

25. μὴ ὦραν Θεμιστοκλῆος γενέσθαι, 'that Themistocles may come to no good end,' 'may not live to see next year.'

Cp. the phrase *μη ὄρασω ἴκαιο* and Arist. *Lys.* 391. It may mean also 'that no heed might be taken of Themistocles': cp. Tyrtaeus 10, 11 *ἀνδρός ται ἀλωμένου οὐδέμι' ὄρη γίγνεται*.

§ 4 l. 27. *ἀναπεπταμένη*, lit. 'spread out' (c. 8, 2), hence fig. *protervus*, 'bare-faced,' 'unreserved.' Cp. *Mor.* 139 *ε μέμφει καὶ παρησία ἀναπεπταμένη*, 712 *Α ἦ τε πρὸς τὰ σκόμματα καὶ βωμολοχίας εὐχέρεια δεινῶς κατάκορος καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη*, 1050 *С τῇ κακίᾳ . . . ἀναπεπταμένην παρησίαν δίδωσιν*, *Plat. Phaedr.* p. 240 *Ε παρησία κατακορεῖ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένην χρωμένον*.

34 31. *Μόσσα τοῦδε . . . τίθει*, 'make this song famous': trochaic dimeters, the two first catalectic; *μέλεος* (with synzesis) depends upon *κλέος*.

33. *ὡς ἱοικός α. ἐστί*, 'as is fitting.'

34. *ἐπὶ μηδισμῶ φηγέω*, 'to have been exiled for medising,' c. 2, 6; c. 7, 3; c. 24, 3. The complaint of the poet against Them. is that he did not restore him amongst others from exile.

36. *αἰτίαν ἔσχε = ἤτιδ' ἔθη*, hence used with the infin. without article. Cp. c. 10, 5.

'This accusation of treason brought against Themistocles at Athens, prior to his ostracism, and at the instigation of the Lacedaemonians, is mentioned by Diodorus xi 54. Thucydides and Plutarch take notice only of the second accusation, after his ostracism. But Diodorus has made his narrative confused, by supposing the first accusation preferred at Athens to have come after the full detection of Pausanias and exposure of his correspondence; whereas these latter events, coming after the first accusation, supplied new proofs before unknown, and thus brought on the second, after Themistocles had been ostracised. But Diodorus has preserved to us the important notice of this first accusation at Athens, followed by trial, acquittal and temporary glorification of Themistocles—and preceding his ostracism. The indictment stated by Plutarch to have been preferred against Themistocles by Leobotas, son of Alcnaeson (c. 23), at the instance of the Spartans, probably relates to the first accusation at which Themistocles was acquitted. For when Themistocles was arraigned after the discovery of Pausanias, he did not choose to stay, nor was there any actual trial; it is not therefore likely that the name of the accuser would be preserved.' *Monre Hist. Gr.* v p. 377 ed. 1.

ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν εἰς ἀντὶν, 'composed these lines on him.' Cp. *Mor.* 186 *Β Αἰσχύλου ποιήσαντος εἰς Ἀμφιάραον*, *Dem.* c. 1, 1 *ὁ γράψας εἰς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐγκώμιον*, *Plat. Phaed.* p. 61 *Β εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησα ποιήματα*. So in Latin, *Cic. de off.* i § 28 *quod est in philosopho dictum*.

38. *ὅτι ἄρα*, 'not after all,' 'not, as it appears.' The metre is iambic and trochaic.

39. *ἄρκιατόμαι = ἄρκια ἔτευξε* (cp. *foedus ierre*), 'made a solemn treaty with.' *ἴφα γὰρ ἔτευξεν, ταῖς τεσθ' ἐθυσάκω, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρκιαι καὶ διαλλαγαῖς* (*Korala*).

40. ἐντί, Doric form of εἰσι (ἐσ-ντι).
 41. σὺκ ἔγὼ μόνη κέλευρις, 'I am not the only animal with a brush,' a slang name for 'a fox.' Liddell-Scott translate 'that has lost its tail.'

CHAPTER XXII

§ 1 l. 2. ἤδως . . . προσιένων, 'gladly giving ear to,' 'admitting': cp. Herod. 1 75 τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσίεμαί, VI 123 οὐ προσίεμαι τὴν διαβολήν, Plato Phaed. p. 97 B τούτων (τὸν τρόπον τῆς μεθόδου) οὐδαμῆ προσίεμαι.

4. ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, 'in the popular assembly,' *Per.* c. 18.
 5. τοῖς δυσχεραίνοντας (c. 16, 1), 'those who were offended' with him for so frequently mentioning his services. τί κοπιᾶτε . . . πάσχοντες, 'why are you weary of being so often benefited by the same men?' Cp. *Mor.* 541 E, 812 B.
 8. εἰσάμενος = ἰδρύσας, 'by building,' a poetic and archaic aor., from the root ἐδ-, of which ἴσω is the present in use: see Veitch's *Greek Verbs* p. 259 s.v. ἴω. Thuc. (III 58, 5) θυσίας τὰς πατρῶν τῶν εἰσαμένων (ἐπὶ θεῶν) καὶ κτισάντων ἀφαιρήσεσθε, Herod. 1 66, 1 τῷ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσασσι ἰδὼν εἰσάμενοι.
 9. Ἀριστοβούλην, 'best counsellor.' *As:* c. 14, 2. G. § 277, 6 note 2.
 11. πλησίον: this clause is loosely connected with the relative clause preceding. Μελίτη, a deme in the tribe Cecropia, S.W. of the Inner Ceramicus. It contained several temples as well as houses of distinguished men, Dyer *Ancient Athens* p. 97 ff.
 12. οὐ, κί. τῶν θανατουμένων, 'of executed criminals.'
 13. οἱ δῆμοι, 'the public executioners.' *Cic.* c. 22, 2 γενόμενοι πρὸς τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ παρέδωκε τὸν Λέντλον τῷ δήμῳ καὶ προστάξεν ἀνελεῖν, Plat. *Legg.* p. 872 B ὁ τῆς πόλεως κοινὸς δῆμιος . . . θανατωσάτω, Lycurg. c. *Leocr.* IV p. 221. προβάλλουσι, 'sing away' without interment.
 14. τῶν ἀπαγομένων καὶ καθαιρέντων, 'of those who from time to time hang themselves and whose bodies are taken down,' or, as Fuhr-Sintonis, 'the culprits who are from time to time punished by hanging,' but not (as Clough, Langhorne, Engelmann and others) 'who have been strangled and otherwise put to death.' For this technical meaning of καθαιρεῖν, *συρτησιμῶν* εἰ παύσειλο *demere*, cp. *Mor.* p. 253 E τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆ διδάσσα τῷ τραχίλῳ περιβαλεῖσθαι τῷ βρέχῳ, ὡς ἔσθετε τεύνηκῶς.

καθεῖλε καὶ κατεκάλυψεν, *Agis* c. 20, 4 τὴν μητέρα νεκρὰν . . . ἐκ τοῦ βρόχου κρεμαμένην . . . αὐτὴ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις συγκαθεῖλε, *Luko* xxiii 53 (τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ) καθελὼν ἐνετύλιξε συνδόνι, *Polyb.* i 86, 6 ἐκείνων μὲν καθεῖλον, τούτων δ' ἀνέθεσαν ζώντα, *Joseph.* *B. J.* 4, 5, 2 τοὺς ἐκ καταδίκης ἀνασταυρωμένους πρὸ δόντος ἡλίου καθαιρεῖν τε καὶ θάπτειν.

Plato (*Legg.* ix p. 873 c) proposes a special mark of infamy for those who commit suicide without any apparent ground; δεῖν αὐτὸν κτείνειν, τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης ('natural death') βίαν ἀποστερῶν μοίραν, μήτε πόλεως τυφίσσης διαρῆ μήτε περιπέτειν ἀφίκτην προσκεκοσμένη τύχῃ ἀνεγκασθεῖς μὲν ἀισχύοντες τινας μεταλαβῶν βίου ('making life untenable'), ἀργίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀειδηρίαις ἐκλείει αὐτοῦ διαρῆ ἀδικον ἐπιθεῖν—τάφουτος εἶναι τοῖς οὐτο φθαρείσι πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ νόμον μὲν μὲθ' ἑαυτοῦ θάπτειν, εἴτα ἐν τοῖς τῶν δίκαια ἔρκοισι μέρει τῶν ὄσα ἀργὰ καὶ ἀπόνομα θάπτειν ἀδικεῖς αὐτοῦ μήτε στήλαις μήτε ὀνόμασι δηλοῦντες τοὺς τάφους. *Aeschin. Ctesiph.* § 244 καὶ οὕτως—ἴδω τις αὐτὸν διακρίσσει, τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τοῦτο πράξαντα χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος θάπτωμεν.

15. ἐκφέρουσιν, indefinite subject.

§ 2 l. 15. καὶ with εἰκόσιον, 'a small portrait-statue also.'

16. ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς, *nostra aetate*, 'still in my time.' *Cp.* *Publ.* c. 19, 6, *Sol. c. Publ. Comp.* p. 1, 2. So οἱ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀρο a man's 'contemporaries,' *Nic.* c. 3, 2, *Alc.* c. 1, 2, *Ti. Gr.* c. 4, 1.

17. φαίνεται . . . γινόμενος, 'it is plain that he was. τις . . . ἡρωικός, 'an heroic sort of man': τις is frequently used in this restrictive sense by Plutarch with adjectives to increase or weaken their notion, denoting that a thing is particularly great or particularly small, c. 18, 4 ἰσὺς τις, c. 24, 2, *Arist.* c. 1, 7 τὸ φρονεῖν ἐδόκει τις εἶναι περὶ τῶν, *Phoc.* c. 14, 5 δοκῶν ἀμαχὸς τις εἶναι καὶ ἀνανταγώνιστος, *Col. ma.* c. 14, 2 αἰεὶ τις ἦν τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκωμίων ἀφειδῆς. *Cp.* the use of *quidam* as explained by Dr. Reid on *Cic. de am.* § 6 p. 67.

18. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐξοστρακισμὸν, 'the banishment by ostracism, then, as a special (μὲν) result (οὖν) of his general unpopularity,' c. 2, 4.

19. ἐποήσαντο sc. his fellow-citizens.

20. κολούοντες . . . τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, 'by way of curtailing his preeminence.' *Cp.* *Arist.* c. 1, 7, *Nic.* c. 11, 1.

21. ἐπὶ πάντων, 'in the case of all,' c. 8, 2.

22. βαρεῖς, 'oppressive,' 'obnoxious.' *Dem. Aristocr.* § 205 οἱ πρόγονοι . . . Θεμιστοκλέα λαβόντες μείζον αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦντα φρονεῖν ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, *Diod.* xi 54, 5 οἱ μὲν φοβηθέντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, οἱ δὲ φθονήσαντες τῇ δόξῃ, τῶν μὲν ἐκέρρασαν ἐκείλυσαν, τὴν δ' ἰσχύον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ταπεινῶς ἑκτείναν.

24. παραμυθία φθόνου κτλ., 'a mitigation and relief of envious feelings.'

Plutarch regards the institution of ostracism too much from its ethical and too little from its political side. It really served as a factor in the settlement of party struggles, such as that, in this case, between the aristocrats supported by Sparta and the democrats. *Arist.* c. 7, 2 μαχόμενος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν πόλις ἢ ἐξοστρακισμός, ἀλλ' ἐπαλείφοντο μὲν ἐπὶ ἐστρατείας ἔργου καὶ ἰσχυροῦς βαρύτερος ταπεινότης καὶ πόλις, ἦν δὲ φθόνου παραμυθία φιλαδέλφειος, εἰς ἀνεκτότου οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἰς μεταστάσειν ἑῶν ἕκαστην πρὸς τὸ λυπεῖν ἀπειρεσιμῶν δυσμένειαν, *Diod.* xi 55, 2 δὲ οἱ νόμοι ἐγένετο τοιοῦτος· ἕκαστος τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς ἑστρατον ἔγραφε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ δεκόντος μάλιστα ἕνασθαι καταλύσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν. . . κομωθέντων δὲ ταῦτα δεκόντων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἴνα τὴν κακίαν κολλήσωσι, ἀλλ' ἴνα τὰ φρονημάτων τῶν ὑπερχόντων ταπεινότερα γένηται διὰ τὴν φύσιν. We learn from Aristotle *Ἄθην.* πολ. c. 21 that the law of ostracism was originally passed by Cleisthenes, in consequence of the lesson taught by the career of Miltiades, and was aimed especially at the supporters of his house who still remained in Athens. The leading adherents of the tyranny, however, were not expelled till after Marathon; the first victim, we are told, was Hipparchus, son of Charmus. *Cp. Nic.* c. 11, 1.

27. ἀποπνέοντος, 'venting.'

CHAPTER XXIII

§ 1. 1. ἐκπεσόντος, 'after he had been banished.' This was in the year B.C. 471. His exile was the result of a reaction—the preponderance which the aristocratic party, with Cimón at their head, had acquired under Spartan influence.

2. διατρέβοντος ἐν Ἀργεῖ, 'while he was staying at Argos.' Argos was not only unfriendly to Sparta but strongly believed to have been in collusion with Xerxes on his invasion of Greece. *Cp. Ovid Ep. ex Pont.* i iii 69:—

Arma Neocleides qui Persica contudit armis

Argolica primam sensit in urbe fugam.

τὰ περὶ Πausανίαν συμπεσόντα, 'what had happened about Pausanias,' viz. the detection of his treason. See Thuc. 1128 ff.

3. κατ' ἐκείνου . . . ἀφορμάς, 'a handle against him.' We have a similar instance of the use of ἐκείνος in the same sentence and referring to the same subject as αὐτός in *Rom.* c. 29, 2 ἰερὸν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ κατασκευασμένον ἐν τῷ λόφῳ τῷ Κυρίου προσαγορευομένῳ δι' ἐκείνου.

4. τοῖς ἔχθροῖς sc. in Athens.

5. ὁ γραφόμενος αὐτόν, 'the man who preferred the indictment (γραφὴ or εἰσαγγελία) against him for high treason.' G. § 173, 2. Δωροβάτης Ἀγρῶν, 'Leobotes of Agrule,' a deme in the phyle Erechtheis. *Lex. Rhet. ad calc. Photii* p. 667, 12 (*Müller Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii p. 619) συνομολογεῖ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ Θεοφράστου (sc. λεγομένοις), ὅτι Θεομοκλεῖα εἰστέγγελε κατὰ

Κρατερὸν Λεωβέτας Ἀλκμαίωνος Ἀγραυλῆθεν. In *Arist.* c. 25, 7 and *Mor.* p. 805 c the prosecutor's name is given erroneously as Alcmeon himself.

7. *ἄμα συνεπακτιωμένων* : Thuc. I 135, 2 τοῦ δὲ μηδισμοῦ τοῦ Πausανίου Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσβεις πέμψαντες παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐνεπεγγύοντο καὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, ὡς ἤθρισον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Πausανίας ἐλέγχων, ἤξιον τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολάζεσθαι αὐτόν. Cr. Nepos *Them.* c. 8, 12 *Argos habitatum concessit*; hic cum propter nullas virtutes magna cum dignitate viveret, Lacedaemonii legatos Athenas miserunt, qui eum absentem accusarent, quod societatem cum rege Persarum ad Graeciam opprimendam fecisset.

§ 2 l. 8. *πράττων* κτλ., 'when he was carrying on those well-known (δή) intrigues of his, concealed them at first from Themistocles.' Πράττειν is often used by Thucydides of secret negotiations or diplomacy, as I c. 65, 2; c. 131, 1 *πρόσσωπον* πρὸς τοῖς βαρβάρους, c. 132, 4 *ἐκυνθάνοντο* καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἐκλωτας πρόσσωπον τι αὐτόν (sc. Pausanias), II c. 2, 3; c. 5, 7 *πρὸς ἢ ἐπραξαν* εἰ *προδιδόντες*.

38 11. *ἐκπεπυκτότα τῆς πολιτείας*, 'that he had been excluded from political life.'

12. *ἰθάρσησεν* . . . *παρακαλέν*, 'he summoned up courage to invite him.'

13. *γράμματα τοῦ β.*, 'the king's letter,' which is given in Thucyd. I 129.

14. *ἐπιδεικνύμενος*, not *ἐπιδεικνύς*, because addressed to himself.

15. *ὡς πονηροῦς* sc. *ὄντας*.

16. *ἀπετρίψατο*, 'repudiated,' lit. 'rubbed off himself,' 'brushed away.'

Cr. *Thes.* c. 26, 3 τὴν κείραν ἰσχυρῶς ἀποτρίψασθαι, *Brut.* c. 17, 2 ἀποτρίβοντες τὰς δεξιὰς, *Licull.* c. 35, 2 οἱ δ' ἀπετρίβοντο τὰς δεξιὰς, *Rom.* c. 44, 3 ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ ἡ θυγατέρα χελεπίως ἔφερον, εἰ Περικλῆος Μάγνον ἀποτρίψεται, *Anton.* c. 12 καὶ πάλιν ἐπέχε (τῷ Καίσαρι διὰ τὸν δόφον) καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνος ἀπετρίβετο, *Nat.* c. 40, 3 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἀπετρίβετο τὴν ἀντροπὴν, c. 34, 2 Μάρκος φιλοτιμῶς πᾶν καὶ μερικῶς ἀποτρίβοντες το γράμα I.e. *dissimulare conatus recusavit*, *Aeschin.* *Tim.* § 120 αἰσχύνεται εἰ μὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἄλλο ἀποτρίψεται, *Polyb.* v 42, 8 τὸν δὲ τῆς τύχης διδόντων ἀποτρίβεσθαι στέφανον, *XIV* 1, 7 ἀποτρίβεσθαι τὴν δεξιάν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτροπῆν.

17. *ἀπέκλιπε*, *denegavit*, 'refused,' 'declined.'

Aleth. c. 4, 4 τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπέκλιπε, *Cat. ma.* c. 11, 4 ἑαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ περικεῖν καὶ φίλους χρῆσθαι καὶ πολιτείας, οὗτε τὰς συνηγορίας οὗτε τὰς στρατείας ἀπέκλιμενος, *Eum.* c. 5, 2 ἀπικρούς ἀπέκλιπε τὴν στρατείαν, *Metr.* c. 4, 2 ἔπος (οἱ ἔπαροι) τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέκλιπεν, *Atol.* c. 51, 1 δεξιάν αὐτοῦ στρατηγίαν ἀπέκλιπε, *Mor.* 220 A τοῦ μνηστέρου αὐτοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας

ἀπειπαμένους, 511 γ οὐκὸν ἔθεε σιωπῆν μὲν, οὐ πάντες ἀπεικωνται τὴν ἀπόφασιν, 512 β αὖν ἀπεικωνται τὴν λόγον ἢ αἰσθῆσι, 585 ε τὴν αὖν ἀπὸν ἀπεικωνται, 616 C φίλων ἀπεικωνται ἕλκεται, 795 E οὐκ ἀν οὐραὶ σε φέρει οὐδ' ἀπεικασθαι, ὃ θρασυταί, 808 κ τὴν χέρον ἀπεικωνται, 808 c οὐκ ἀπεικωνται τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τὴν στραχίαν, Herod. vi 100 οὐκ ἀπεικωνται τὴν ἐπισημαίαν, iv 120 τὸν ἀπεικωνται τὴν σφαιρῶν στραχίαν, ix 7, 4 οὐ κατακίσηται ἀλλ' ἀπεικασθαι, Aristot. p. 637 α τοῖς προσεστατοῖς τὸν Καρχηδονίαν ἀπεικασθαι θανατὸν ζῆμιον τοῖς εἰς αὐτὴν (τὴν νῆσον) πλευσσομένοις, Polyb. xliiii 9, 13 ἔθεε τὴν τὸν κλοίων δωρῶν ἀπεικασθαι. The middle is not admissible in good Attic prose. It also means 'to renounce,' as Caes. c. 8, 1 τὸν ἀρμάτους γράμεις ἀπεικασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀπίουσι μετίστησαν, Demetr. c. 45, 1 ἀπεικωνται τῶν σὺν ἑλπίδα, Caes. mil. c. 7, 1, Ptol. c. 14, 1 τὴν στραχίαν ἀπεικωνται τοῖς Ὀρθαίοις, Arist. Eth. Nic. viii 16, 4.

18. πρὸς οὐδένα τοῖς λόγουσ ἐξήγγικον, 'revealed to no one his proposals.' For ἐκφέρειν, *effere*, *vulgare*, 'to publish,' 'divulge,' cf. *Sextor.* c. 27, 3 φοβηθεὶς μὴ τῶν ὁμομάτων ἐξερεχθέντων πρὸς τινὰ παραχαλ γένωται, *Per.* c. 36, 2 ἐκφέρειν ἐπὶ γέλωτι τὰς οἰκο διατριβὰς αὐτοῦ, Herod. viii 132 ἐξερείκωντος τὴν ἐπιχειρήσων ἐνὸς τῶν μετεχόντων, iii c. 71 ἐξοίσει τις πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον, c. 74 μὲν ἐξοίσειν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπάτην γεγούσιν, Eur. *Hipp.* 295 ἐκφοροί, Plat. *Lach.* 201 A.

19. τὴν πρᾶξιν, either simply 'the transaction,' or 'his treachery,' in which sense it is frequently used by Polybius, as ii 7, 8 ἐπιχειρήσων τὴν πόλιν προδοῦναι· τῆς δὲ πράξεως ταύτης ἀποτυχόντες, 9, 2 ἐπιβουλή καὶ πρᾶξις ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, iv 8, 4; 71, 6. See note on l. 8. παύσασθαι sc. τῆς πράξεως.

21. σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ, 'irrationally.' πραγμάτων . . . ὀρεγόμενον, 'aspiring to such chimerical and hazardous projects,' not to be taken closely with καταφανῆ γενήσεσθαι.

§ 3 l. 22. οὕτω δὲ goes with the whole clause, not with θανατωθέντος: 'thus it came about that.'

23. ἐπιστολαί: it is not stated whose. Still more indefinitely Thuc. (i 135, 2) ὡς εὑρισκον (οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι) ἐκ τῶν περὶ Πανασίαν ἐλέγχων.

27. τῶν πολιτῶν, partitive gen. after οἱ φθορόντες.

28. διὰ γραμμάτων . . . ταῖς προτέραις κατηγορίαις, 'in writing, by means of the earlier charges brought against him,' explained by the following clause.

30. διαβαλλόμενος γὰρ sc. ἔγραψεν, implied in διὰ γραμμ. ἀπολ., '(he wrote) namely, that traduced as he was by his enemies before his fellow-citizens, as one always seeking to rule and not born to serve and having no mind thereto, it was not likely he would ever sell himself and Hellas to a slave to barbarians or enemies.'

33. οὐκ ἂν ἀποδόσθαι would be in direct discourse *οὐκ ἂν ἀπώδοιτο*, the potential optative.

37 35. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, *veruntamen*, 'however,' lit. 'they did not, however, listen to his defence but' etc., c. 3, 2; c. 5, 4; c. 29, 1.

36. ἄνδρας = τινάς. οἷς εἴρητο, 'who had been ordered.'

37. ἀνάγειν, *captivum ducere*, 'to bring him up as a prisoner,' Thuc. I 135, 2 ('Ἀθηναῖοι) πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτόιμον ὅτῳν ξυνδιώκειν ἄνδρας οἷς εἴρητο ἀγειν, οὗον ἂν περὶ τύχῳιν.

No notice is taken of this technical meaning of the word ἀνάγειν in the Lexx., not even in Hase-Dindorf's *Thesaurus*. Cp. Lucull. c. 12, 5 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἀνήχθη καὶ Μάρκος ὁ παρὰ Σερτυρίων στρατηγός, c. 15, 2 Πομπηῖος . . . ἔλαο τετραμέντος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μιθράδατον ἀνήχθη, c. 28, 6 ἀλοῖς κατὰ τύχην ἀνήχθη πρὸς Λοῦκουλλον, *Sert.* c. 27, 4 ἐπὶ Πομπηῖον ἀναχθέντες διεσφάρασαν, *Just.* c. 36, 2, *Alex.* c. 12, 8 ὡς δ' ἀνήχθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὸ τῶν Θηραίων δεδεμένη, *Tl. Gr.* c. 20, 3 ἀνήχθη ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, *Brul.* c. 33 Βρότων οὐκ ἔλαθεν, ἀλλ' ἀναχθεὶς καὶ κολασθεὶς ὄνομα τοῦ θανάτου πλέον ἔσχεν ἢ τοῦ βίου, *Mor.* 606 c πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναχθεὶς ὡς κατὰ σκοπὸν, *Polyh.* II 8, 2 οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ ζωγρία τῶν ἀλίσκομένων ἀνήγον, VIII 22, 7 πανταχόθεν κυκλωθεὶς ὑποχείριος ἐγένετο τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ ἀνήγετο πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτίστον, 26, 2 τῶν δὲ φυλάκων ἐπιλαβομένων αὐτῶν ἀνήγοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίβαν, XX 11, 5, *Xen. Hell.* II iv 8 Ἀσπίμαχον ἐπέλευσε ἀναγαγόντα (not, as Breitenbach, 'a pari in urhem') παραδουναί αὐτοῦς (sc. τοὺς ζυνελημμένους) τοῖς ἑσθεα, III III 11 ὡς δ' ἀνήχθη ὁ Κινάδων καὶ ἡλέγητο, *Lucian ser. Hist.* II 6 ἀναχθέντες ὡς τὸν βασιλέα, *Appian bell. civ.* I 60 καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα κτείνειν ἢ ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, *Ev. Luc.* c. xxii 6 ἀνήγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῶν, 'they brought him up before their council.'

38. ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, 'before the Pan-Hellenic council.' So ἐν τῷ δήμῳ c. 22, 1. Cp. Diodor. xi 55, 4 (Λακεδαιμονιοὶ) δεῖν ἔφασαν τῶν κοινῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀδικημάτων εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν, οὐκ ἰδίᾳ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅπερ εἰώθει συνεδρεῖν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ κατ' ἐκείον τὸν χρόνον.

CHAPTER XXIV

§ 1. 2. διεπίρασεν: B.C. 467. οὕτως αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν *εὐεργεσίας*, 'for he stood in the official relation of *εὐεργέτης*, one who had done good service to that state.' As such, he probably had a right of asylum. The title *εὐεργέτης* is more often found in inscriptions than in authors. It was a purely honorary distinction; while *προξενία*, with which it was often associated, was a distinction and a function. The latter gradually fell into disuse, as *εὐεργεσία* became more common. See Monceaux *Les proxénies Grecques* (Paris 1886) p. 55 ff.

3. αὐτῶν sc. τῶν Κερκυραίων, implied in Κέρκυραν. So Thuc. I 136, 1 ὁ δὲ Θεμ. φεύγει ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐς Κέρκυραν, ὡ

αὐτῶν εὐεργέται, where the Scholiast gives another reason, viz. that Them. excused their absence in the Persian war. κριτής, 'arbitrator,' chosen by both parties, c. 5, 4. So according to Herodotus (v 95) Pericles was chosen by the Athenians and Mitylenaeans to arbitrate between them.

4. διαφοράν, 'a dispute.' This was about Leucas on the west coast of Acarnania, which was colonised by the Corinthians under Cypselus between B.C. 665 and B.C. 625 (Strab. *Geogr.* x c. 2, 8), mod. *Σαπίς Μαύρα*. As colonists of Corinth, the Leucadians zealously espoused the cause of that city in the Peloponnesian war and successfully resisted the attacks of the Athenians (iii c. 7). A similar difference about Epidamnus gave occasion to the Peloponnesian war.

5. κρίνας, 'giving as his award.'

6. καταβαλεῖν, 'that they should pay down.' *Scrl.* c. 6, 3 *δεινολογούμενον εἰ Ῥωμαίων ἀσθέντατος τέλη καταβαλεῖ βαρβάρους δόλοισι*, Dem. *Tim.* § 40 (clause of a law) *ἐὰν δὲ μὴ καταβάλῃ τὸ ἀργύριον*, § 83 *τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων προσόσεις ῥήμας καταβάλλειν*, *Plat. Legg.* p. 932 D *τὸ δημίσιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν τῷ κεκτημένῳ καταβαλλέτω*.

7. νέμων, 'should possess,' here used of the relation subsisting between the daughter and mother state (*μητρόπολις*).

§ 21. 7. *εἰς Ἥπειρον ἐφυγε*: Thuc. i 136 *δεδίειναι δὲ φασκόντων Κερκυραίων ἔχειν αὐτὸν ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἀπέχθεσθαι, διακομίζεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἥπειρον τὴν κατανακτῆρ. καὶ δικαίωμα ὑπὸ τῶν προσταταγμένων κατὰ πίστιν ἢ χωρὶν, ἀναγκάζεται κατὰ τι ἄπορον παρὰ Ἀδμήτου τὸν Μολοτῶν βασιλέα, ὅσα αὐτῷ οὐ φίλον, καταλύσαι*.

9. *ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἐπιβασ. . . καταφυγόν*, 'he threw himself blindly upon chances of safety that were hazardous and desperate by taking refuge' etc.

11. *Μολοτῶν*, one of the three chief tribes of Epirus, who became subsequently its rulers, although they originally inhabited only a narrow strip of country, from the Ambracian gulf northwards as far as Dodona. *δεηθείς τι*: Schol. Thuc. *ἱ. c. πέμψαντος γὰρ ποτε Ἀδμήτου Ἀθήνας περὶ συμμαχίας αἰτήσεως, ὃ Θημιστοκλῆς ἀπέπεισε τὴν πόλιν μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῷ βοήθειαν, καὶ δὲ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ φίλον*.

12. *προπηλακισθείς*, 'refused with insult.'

13. *ἤκμαζεν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ*, 'was at the height of his power in the state.'

14. *ὁ δ' ὀργῆς εἶχεν αὐτόν*, 'was angry with him.' Thuc. II

c. 37, 2 οὐ δὲ ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας ἔχοιτες, c. 64, 1 μήτε ἐμὲ δὲ ὀργῆς ἔχετε, v c. 29, 3; c. 46, 5. Ἐῆλος ἦν τιμωροσόμενος, 'it was evident that he would revenge himself upon him,' the personal for the impersonal construction, G. § 280 N. 1, *MT.* § 907.

16. συγγενή . . . φθόνον, 'hate of his countrymen.'

πρόσφατος is properly 'fresh-slaughtered' (φάω); hence generally 'recent,' 'fresh.' Cp. *Alex.* c. 36, 1 πρόσφατον τὸ αἶθος ἐτι και μαρονφυλάτωσης, *Enk.* c. 6, 3 μετὰ πρόσφατον ἰακην, (*ἦθος* c. 8, 1 (οὐσῆς) πρόσφατου τῆς νικῆς. *Lys.* p. 151, 5 ἐτι τῆς ὀργῆς οὐσῆς πρόσφατου, *Herod.* II 89 πρόσφατος νεκρός, *Polyb.* II 46, 1 πρόσφατους ἐνεργασίας, *Soph.* *Andromeda* πρόσφατους ἐπιστολάς, *Aesch.* *Choeph.* 800 πρόσφατοι δίκαι, *Diod. Sic.* III 46 πᾶσα τις ἄλλα . . . ἢ πρόσφατος μὲν οὐσα τοῖς ὄμμασι προσεστώτων παρῆει τέρψιν, ἐχρησασθεῖσα δὲ συντόμως γίνεται ἐξήγητος, *Menander Troph.* fr. 1, 4 πρόσφατος ἰχθυόειοις, *Antiphanae* Φιλοθύβριος fr. 11 (*Mein.* III p. 123, *Kock* II p. 107) πρόσφατους ἰχθυε. Aristotle applies the epithet to rain, water, oil and generally in opp. to παλαιός, an hero; *Eket.* I 15, 13 p. 1375b, 27 μέγιστος εἰσι δαιτός, οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ οἱ δὲ πρόσφατοι. In *Mor.* 517 v and *Dein. Mid.* § 173 it is opposed to εἶλος.

17. βασιλικῆς, in chiasmic opp. to συγγενή. Cp. *Hom. Il.* I 80:

κρείσων γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὅτε χῶσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρμη·
εἴπερ γὰρ τε χλόων γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψη,
ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κτόων, ἔθρα τελέσση.

ταύτη α. τῇ ὀργῇ.

18. φέρων ἐπέθηκεν ἑαυτόν, 'he took and put himself at the mercy of': ἑαυτόν is object to both verbs.

The participle φέρων marks a degree of determination or urgency emphasizing the action of the principal verb with which it is used, 'on the impulse of the moment,' 'without hesitation': *Herod.* VIII 87 (of Artemisia) φέρουσα ἐπέβαλε τῆι φιλίῃ, *Pomp.* c. 27, 4 (de piratis) Ποικιλίῃ φέροντες ἑαυτοὺς μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναίκων ἐνεχείρισον, *Comp. Arist.* c. *Cal.* III c. 1, 3 ὁ Κάτων ἐκ πολιτικῆς μικρῆς φέρων ἀπέκεν ἑαυτόν ὥσπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀγαγὼς τὴν ἐν Ἴωμῃ πολιτείαν, *Per.* c. 7, 1 οὕτω δὲ φέρων ὁ Περικλῆς τῷ δήμῳ προσέειπεν ἑαυτόν, *Arist.* c. 9, 4 προσέειπεν αὐτῆν (urbem) φέρων τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, *Fab. Max.* c. 6, 1 ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν φέροντες εἰς πόλιν Κασιλίων, [*Plut.*] *de lib. citac.* c. 7 ὅτι δ' ἀν εὐρώων ἀνδράποδον οὐκίληκτων καὶ λίχνον, τούτω φέροντες ἐπέβάλλουσι τοὺς υἱούς, *Aesch. Tim.* § 175 ἀπαγωγῶν αὐτοὺς (α. τοὺς κριτάς) ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Τίμαρχον αἰτίων ἐπίσταρα φέρων εἰς τὸν κατήγορον, *Clez.* § 83 εἰς τοῦτο φέρων περισσῆρον τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε etc., § 90 ἐπέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν φέρων Ὀθρβίοις, § 143 τὴν δὲ κατὰ τὴν (ἡγεμονίαν) ἔρδην φέρων ἀπέθεκε Ὀθρβίοις, § 146 προσέειπε φέρων τὸν αἰκιστὸν ἀπαρσάτω τῇ πόλει. In earlier writers the passive participle φερόμενος is used similarly, *Herod.* VIII c. 91, IX c. 102.

19. ἕβων: c. 18, 4.

παρηλλαγμένον, 'strange,' lit. 'altered,' as in *Cor.* c. 33, 4, *Polyb.* VII 17, 7 παρηλλαγμένον τῆς συνθέσεως; so 'out of the common run,' 'extraordinary,' *Thest.* c. 24, 1 ἰδίον τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον ἴδιον λέγον δ' ἴστωρος . . . ἀναφέρει, *Act. Paul.* c. 27, 2 ἴδιον τῆς ταλάντης ἰδίον τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον ἰστωροσύ, *Polyb.* I 79, 4 παρηλλαγμένα ἑνεργήσαντες τιμωρίας, III 55, 1 τὸ συμβαῖνον ἕβων ἦν καὶ παρηλλαγμένον, II

28, 12 τῶν ἐχόντων παραλλαγμένον τι καὶ διαφέρειν τόπων, II 29, 1 ξένη καὶ παραλλαγμένην ἐπιφάνειαν, VIII 52, 5 πλῆθος ἢ πόλις κραυγῆς ἐγίνετο καὶ παραχρῆ παραλλαγμένης, Diod. Sic. III c. 46 παραλλαγμένον ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων μίγμα, c. 3 παραλλαγμένοις ἔδει χρώσται, XVII 90 παραλλαγμένους τοὺς μεγάβησιν ὄφει.

20. τὸν ἰδὲν : *filiam patulam*, according to Nepos.

21. μεγίστην ἰκεσίαν, 'the most solemn form of supplication,' predicate to ταύτην : Thuc. I c. καὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἰκέτευμα τοῦτο.

22. ἀναντίρρητον, 'not to be rejected,' Polyh. XXVIII 11, 4 πᾶν τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων παραγγελθὲν ἀναντίρρητον γέγονεν.

§ 3 l. 23. ἐνιοι, as Thucydides, Diodorus XI 56.

24. ὑποθέσθαι . . . τὸ ἰκέτευμα τοῦτο, 'suggested this mode of supplication.' Cp. *Rom.* c. 1, 2 ταῖς γυναῖξιν αὐτῶν ἀπορουμεναί . . . ὑποθέσθαι μίαν Ῥώμην δομα, *Nim.* c. 15, 5 ἐπιοι οὐ τοὺς δαιμονιάς φασιν ὑποθέσθαι τὸν καθαρμὸν, Herod. I 90 ὑπερήδeto ὡς ἰδοκέε εὐ ὑποτίθεσθαι, V 92, 98, VI 134, VII 237, VIII 97, Arist. *Ecol.* 1154 σμικρὸν δ' ὑποθέσθαι τοῖς κριταῖσι βούλομαι.

27. ὡς ἀφοσιώσασατο . . . τὴν ἀνάγκην, 'in order that he might plead religious scruples for being compelled to decline giving him up.' See n. on *Sull.* c. 22, 4 for the usage of this verb.

28. οὐκ ἐκδίδωσι, vivid construction.

29. διαθεῖναι καὶ συντραφεῖσθαι, 'arranged and played a leading part together with him in the solemn pathetic scene.' ἐκεῖ for ἐκεῖσιν, 'thither,' as *Rom.* c. 28, 7 ἦκει γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν, ἐκεῖ δ' ἄνεισιν, *Marc.* c. 13, 1 ἦν ἐκεῖ προαπεσταλμένη δύναμις, Herod. VII 147 ἐκεῖ πλέομεν, IX 108 ἐκεῖ . . . ἀπικετο, *Soph.* *Oed. C.* 1019 ὁδοῦ κατάρχει τῆς ἐκεῖ, Thuc. III 71 τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταπεφυγύτας.

30. ἐκκλέψας : c. 25, 2.

31. Ἀχαρνεῖς, 'of the deme Acharnae,' the largest in Attica, in the phyle *Οἰνιῆς*, situated not far from the foot of Mt Parnes : the inhabitants of this deme gave their name to one of the most famous plays of Aristophanes.

32. ἐπὶ τούτῳ, 'for,' 'because of this,' c. 2, 6 ; c. 7, 2 κρίνας, 'bringing him to trial,' 'prosecuting.' Cp. *Cacs.* c. 4, 1 Δολοβέλλαν ἐκρίνε κακώσεως ἐπαρχίας, *Dem. de f. l.* § 283 τούτων οὐκ ἐκρίνε (ἐταίρησεως) Αἰσχίνης, *Lycurg. c. Leocr.* § 1 κρίνω τὸν πρόδικτα τοῦ νεώ, § 3 τοὺς κρίνοντας τοῦ παρανομοῦστας, § 113 τὸν νεκρὸν κρίνειν προδοσίας.

33. *θαυμάσιος*: c. 6, 2; c. 22, 1. *Σησιμβρότος*: see c. 2, 3; c. 4, 4, also *Introduction*. *ὅχι οὐδ' ἕως*, parenthetical, *neque quomodo* (Cic. *de off.* 1 § 146), 'singularly enough.' The inconsistency lies in *αἰεὶ τῆς θυγατέρας πρὸς γάμον*.

35. *ποιῶν*, 'representing as.'

36. Hieron, despot of Syracuse from B.C. 478/7 to B.C. 467 in succession to his brother Gelon, was a liberal patron of men of letters, and his court was the resort of the most famous poets and philosophers of his day, as Aeschylus, Simonides, Bacchylides, and Pindar by whom his victories in the Olympian and Pythian games have been immortalised. He obtained a great victory over the Etruscan fleet near Cumae in B.C. 474. See my *Introd.* to Xenophon's *Hier.* p. xv-p. xxvi, or to Thucydides Book VII p. xxx.

39. *ἀποτριψαμένου*: c. 23, 2.

40. *ὅτως*, 'under these circumstances,' often thus used as a corroborating word after a participle denoting a cause, G. *MT.* § 857. Cp. c. 25, 2, Xen. *Cyr.* VII v 71, VIII i 22.

41. *ἐπῶραι*: c. 11, 2.

CHAPTER XXV

§ 1. 1. *ἐν τοῖς Περὶ βασιλείας*, 'in his treatise on monarchy,' which is not extant. See *Introduction* and n. on l. 25.

3. *ἰστορεῖ*: c. 1, 3.

4. *ἀγωνιστάς*, 'as competitors in the races.' *σκηνήν*: c. 5, 2.

6. *ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι*: c. 5, 3; c. 23, 3.

7. *τοῦ τυράννου* contains the reason of his suggestion. Aelian *Var. Hist.* IX 5 gives a different reason:—*εἰπὼν τὸν μὴ μεταλαμβάνειν τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν κινδύνων τῶν πανηγυρίων μεταλαμβάνειν μὴ δεῖν*. As citizen of a Greek colony, Hieron had a right to compete at the Olympic games.

8. *Θουκυδίδης* (l. c. 137) also is in direct contradiction to Stesimbrotus.

10. *τῆν ἑτέραν θ.*, the sea on the other side of Greece i.e. the Aegean (the Ionic, Thuc. *l.c.* ἀπὸ Πύδνης with *ἐκκλειθεῖα*). Pydna was on the coast of Pieria in the Thermaic gulf.

11. *ὅστις εἴη*: G. § 243. *τῶν κλεόντων* with *οὐδενός*.

39 12. *μέχρι οὗ . . . ἀναδείξαι ἑαυτόν*, 'until such time as he revealed himself'; the optative is due to the indirect discourse by assimilation to *εἴη*. Naxos, the largest island of the

Cyclades, situated about half-way between Greece and Asia Minor, was conquered B.C. 490 by the Persians, but recovered its independence after the battle of Salamis, when it became a member of the confederacy of Delos: but B.C. 471 it revolted and was subdued by the Athenians (Ναξιοὶ δὲ ἀποστάσι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπολέμησαν καὶ πολιορκίᾳ παρεστῆσαν, πρῶτῃ τε αὐτῆ πόλις ξυμμαχίς παρὰ τὸ καθεστῆκός ἐδουλώθη Thuc. I 98, 4).

[The reading in § and F^a, instead of Νάξω, is Θάσω—which island was also a member of the confederacy of Delos, but revolted B.C. 465, and did not surrender to the Athenians till after a protracted siege of two years. It is certainly not a mere corruption, and is adopted in his Text by Fuhr.]

13. τότε with πολιορκουμένην.

14. τῷ ναυκλήρῳ, 'the owner of the vessel,' the shipmaster who generally acted as skipper also.

§ 2 l. 15. τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ, 'partly . . . partly.'

16. κατηγορήσοι: the fut. opt. is used in indirect discourse to represent a fut. ind. of the direct form. G. *MT*. § 128.

18. χρήμασι πεισθέντες: Thuc. I 137, 2 εἰ μὴ σώσει αὐτόν, ἐφη εἶπεν ὅτι χρήμασι πεισθεὶς αὐτὸν ἄγει. ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλάβοιεν, 'had taken him on board in the first instance.' Cp. *Act. Titul.* c. 26, 1 λανθάνει πως Ὀροπόδην τινὰ Κρήτην λέμβον ἔχοντα συμπίπτας μετὰ χρημάτων ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτόν, *Antion.* c. 67, 1 προσερχθεὶς οὕτω καὶ ἀναληφθεὶς.

19. οὕτως: c. 24, 3. ἀναγκάσει is coupled to ἀναδείξειεν. παραπλεῖσαι, *parapleisti*, 'to sail past (Naxos),' 'to hold on their course.' λαβῆσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας, 'to lay hold of' 'reach the shore of Asia.' For this local meaning of the simple verb, cp. *Cic.* c. 31, 5 διὰ Λευκαίας ἐπορεύετο λαβῆσθαι Σικαρίας βουλόμενος, Thuc. VIII 80, 2 αἰ τῶν Ἡελοποννησίων ἤγει ἀπάρασαι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος— . . . χειμασθεῖσαι καὶ αἰ μὲν Δήλου λαβόμεναι, III c. 24, 2 λαβόμενοι τῶν ὀρῶν διαφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, c. 106, 3 λαβόμενοι τοῦ Θανάμου ἔρου ἐχώρου δι' αὐτοῦ. The compound ἀντιλαβῆσθαι is also used in the same sense by Thuc., III 22, 5, cp. IV 128, 2, VII c. 60, 2; c. 77, 6.

21. ἑπακλαπέντα, *clam et furtim subrepta*, 'stealthily and secretly conveyed away.' The property of a citizen guilty of high treason was liable to confiscation. Themistocles had, as it appears, provided for such a contingency, Thuc. I 137, 3 ἦλθε γὰρ αὐτῷ (χρήματα) ὑστερον ἐκ τε Ἀθηναίων παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ἐξ Ἀργείων ἃ ὑπεξέκειτο.

22. *ἔπλει*: the simple verb is rarely used of things, as in Thuc. III 114, 1 τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων (σκύλα) πλέοντα (in navigation) ἔδλω. But the compounds *ἐστπλεῖν* and *ἐκπλεῖν* are frequently used of imports and exports, as Thuc. II 93, 4, III 51, 2, IV 27, 1, VIII 90, 6, Dem. *adv. Lept.* § 31. [My proposed emendation of *εἰσπλεῖ* for *ἔπλει* *Timol.* c. 18, 1 is not necessary, though probable.] τῶν φανερῶν γενομένων, 'that which was brought to light.'

24. τὸ δημόσιον, 'the public treasury.' ἑκατὸν τάλαντα: the talent was not a coin but a sum of money = about £230.

25. Θεόφραστος: Theophrastus, born at Eresus in Lesbos, succeeded Aristotle as president of the Lyceum at Athens. His chief works are the 'XXX Characters' and the 'History of Plants.'

26. οὐκ ἄν τριῶν, 'not so much as three.' Such is the statement of Critias also, Aelian *Var. Hist.* x 17 λέγει Κριτίας Θεμιστοκλέα τῶν Νεοκλέου, πρὶν ἢ ἐρξασθαι πολιτεῦσθαι, τρία τάλαντα ἔχειν τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν πατρῶν. ἐκεῖ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν πρόσθε, εἶτα ἐφόγε καὶ ἐδημεύθη αὐτοῦ ἡ οὐσία, κατεφωράθη ἑκατὸν τάλαντων πλείω οὐσίαν ἔχων. Plutarch elsewhere (*Cp. Arist.* c. *Cat. ma.* c. 1, 4) gives the sum as 3 or 5 (πέντε γὰρ ἢ τριῶν τάλαντων οὐσίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσι, ὅτε πρῶτον ἤπτετο τῆς πολιτείας). The poverty of Aristides, says Grote, at the end of his life presents an impressive contrast to the enrichment of his rival. And so does that of Pericles, who (*Per.* 15, 4) μὴ δραχμῇ μείζονα τὴν οὐσίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἢ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ κατέλιπε.

27. ἄπτεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας: c. 3, 1.

CHAPTER XXVI

§ 1. 1. κατέλευσεν, *arrulit*.

According to Strabo *Geogr.* XIII 3, 6 Gyne (called also Phiriconis because founded by a colony of Phocians from Mt Phricus) was the largest and noblest of the cities in Aeolis (μάλιστα τῶν Αἰολικῶν καὶ ἐπίσημη Κῶμη καὶ σχεδὸν μαγρόπολις αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ Δέσφος τῶν ἑλλήνων πόλεων πρὶν τῆς ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀρῆμῶν). It stood on a bay named after it (Cymaenus (Eoliticus) sinus) opposite the southern coast of Lesbos. It was the birthplace of Ephorus the historian and of Hesiod the poet, and the mother city of Cumae in Campania. It has some historical associations with the Ionian revolt, when it joined Aristagoras, but was soon recovered by the Persians (Herod. v 88, 122). The remnant of Xerxes' fleet which escaped from Salamis wintered there (Herod. VIII 180). Thucydides (I 187, 3) says that Themistocles went to Ephesus, which was much nearer to Naxos.

2. τῶν ἐπι θαλάττῃ, 'of the inhabitants of the coast.'

3. παραφυλάττοντας αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, 'that they were watching for an opportunity to capture him,' *Euem.* c. 13, 6 *αἰσθόμενοι δ' ὃ Εὐμένης αὐτὸν παραφυλάττοντας ἀνελεῖν εἰ γένοιτο καιρὸς* (which passage is a sufficient answer to Cobet's objection to λαβεῖν), *Xen. de Rep. Lac.* IV 4 *παραφυλάττουσιν ἀλλήλους, εἰν τι παρὰ τὰ κακὰ βadiουργῶσι*, *Polyb.* I 36, 9 *παραφύλαττον τὸν ἐπίπλου τῶν ἰπταντιῶν*, VII 3, 9 *παραφύλαττον ὡς πολέμων*, *Timol.* c. 19, 2 *δεδιώτες τὰς τμήσεις αἱ παραφύλαττον αὐτοῦ*. The middle is also sometimes found in this sense as in *Timol.* c. 7, 4 and freq. in Polybius.

4. τοὺς περὶ Ἐργασίῃ i. q. Ἐργασίῃ, see n. to c. 7, 3.

6. κερδαίναν ἀπὸ παντός, 'to make gain by any means,' honourable or dishonourable. See note to c. 21, 1 and cp. *Soph. Ant.* 312 οὐκ ἐξ ἀπατος χρῆ τὸ κερδαίνειν φιλεῖν.

7. ἐπικεκηρυγμένων αὐτῷ, 'having been offered as a price for his head,' c. 29, 1.

Cp. *Herod.* VII 218 *καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγῶν ἀργύριον ἐπακηρύχθη*, 214 *οἱ Πυλαγῶσι ἐπακηρύξαν ἀργύριον ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτῃ τῷ Τριχαινίῳ*, *Dem. de f. l.* § 211 *διὰ ταῦτα χρημὰς ἑαυτῷ τοῖς Θυβαίοις ἐπικεκηρυχθεῖσιν*, *Diod. Sic.* XIII c. 6 *τῷ ἀνελευτῷ Διαγορῶν ἀργύριον τέλειον ἐπακηρύχθαι*, XIV 8, *Appian bell. civ.* v 118 *χρημὰτα τῷ κτεῖναισι καὶ ἀνελευτῶσι ἐπακηρύχθαι*. More fully in *Lys.* c. *Andoc.* § 18 *ἐπακηρύχθοντες τέλειον ἀργύριον δώσειν τῷ ἀγαγόντι ἢ ἀποκτείναντι*. The verbs *ἐπακτείνω* (*Thuc.* VI 60, 9) and *ἐπακαγορεύω* (*Arist. An.* 1072) are used in a similar sense.

9. Αἰγῆς: there were three towns named Aegae in Europe viz. in Achaia, Emathia and Euboea, and two in Asia, one on the coast of Cilicia and the other in Acolis near Cyme, *Herod.* I 149, *Xenoph. Hell.* IV VIII 5.

11. According to *Diod. Sic.* XI 56, 4 f., whose account otherwise tallies with that of *Plutarch*, the name of his host was *Lysithides*, who ἐτύγχανε φίλος ὢν Ξέρξου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ Ξέρξου τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Περσῶν ἀπασαν εἰστικῶς διόπερ συνήθειαν μὲν ἔχων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, τὸν δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα διὰ τὸν ἔλεον σώσαι βουλόμενος ἐπηγγείλατο αὐτῷ πάντα συμπεράσαι.

12. τοῖς ἐνὶ οὐνοῖς, 'the great men of the interior' i. e. at the Persian court, c. 6, 1.

13. παρὰ τοῦτο: c. 5, 2. κρυπτόμενος . . . διέτριψεν, supplementary participle with verb signifying to continue, *G. MT.* § 879, 1. Cp. *Xen. Cyr.* I II 12 *αἱ ἄλλαι φύλαι διατριβουσι μελετώσαι ἃ παῖδες ὄντες ἐμαθοῦσιν*.

14. μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκ θυρίας, 'after the feast which followed a sacrifice,' c. 5, 1.

15. παθιαγωγός: c. 12, 2. ἔκφρων is often applied to religious and prophetic frenzy, *Plato Ion* p. 534 *β ἐνθάδε τε . . . καὶ ἔκφρων*.

16. θεοφόρητος, 'possessed,' 'god-rapt,' *Mor.* 54 ο δὲ ἐκείνος (ἦ) δεισιδαίμων, (φῆσιν αὐτὸν εἶναι) θεοφόρητον, *Sull.* c. 27, 6 φῆσιν οὐκ ἔτι Περσίου θεοφόρητον ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ λέγοντα παρὰ τῆς Ἐννοῦς κράτος νίκην ἀπαγγέλλειν, *Aesch. Agam.* 1067 φρεσυμαρῆ τις εἰ θεοφόρητος. ἀνοφάνησεν, 'lift up his voice and cried.'

18. νυκτὶ . . . ἴδῃον, a trochaic tetrameter catalectic. The sentiment often recurs e.g. in Menander ἐν νυκτὶ βουλὴ τοῖς σοφοῖσι γίγνεται. So here: 'Commit everything to night, voice, counsel, victory' i.e. believe everything night tells thee, it speaks (by dreams), gives thee counsel and victory. Cp. Epicharmus ap. Cornut. *de nat. decur.* c. 14 αἴτε τι ζατεῖ σοφὸν τις, νυκτὸς ἐνθυμητέον and πάντα τὰ σπουδαῖα νυκτὸς μᾶλλον ἐξευρίσκειται, and the story told about Pisistratus by Herodotus i 62.

§ 2 l. 20. ὄναρ, adverbially 'in a dream' ἄναρ. Cp. *Philop.* c. 18, 5 οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐν ποτε παθεῖν . . ταῦτα προσδοκῆσαντος, *Timol.* c. 8, 1 ὄναρ ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν τὰς θεάς.

ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν, *sibi visus est videre*, 'fancied that he saw.'

Where the subject of δοκεῖν and its dependent clause is not the same, (1) either δοκεῖ, ἔδοξε etc. are joined with the nominative of the vision dreamed and the dative of the dreamer, or (2) the nominative of the dreamer followed by the accusative of the thing dreamed with the infinitive. Thus (1) Xen. *Anab.* iii iv 11 ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκιητὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν (and then with a change of construction to) (2) καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πάσαν, *Pyrrh.* c. 11, 2 ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνου οὐδ' Ἀλεξάνδρον καλεῖσθαι, *Arist.* c. 11, 6 Ἀριμνηστὸς ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνου ἐπερωτώμενον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν (where we have an instance of the accusative with the infinitive though the subject of the whole clause is one and the same), *Demetr.* c. 29, 1 Δημήτριος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνου Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπλοσμήνον λαμπρῶς ἐρωτᾶν, *Pomp.* c. 68, 2 ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνου Πομπήιος εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσίδοντας αὐτοῦ κροτεῖν τὸν ὄμιον, *Sull.* c. 9, 2, *Pyrrh.* c. 29, 1, *Cleom.* c. 7, 3, *Arist.* c. 19, 1, *Cic.* c. 44, 2, *Timol.* c. 8, 3 ἔδοξεν μαγίαν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκχεῖν τῆρ.

κατὰ τῆς γαστρῆς: cp. c. 9, 1 κατὰ τῶν λίθων.

22. ὡς ἤψατο . . ὀδόν, 'as soon as it had reached his face, it was turned into an eagle, and spreading, folding, its wings about him lifted him from off the earth and carried him (imperf. inf.) a long way.' The metamorphosis of the serpent into an eagle foreboded a sudden change in the critical position of Themistocles. The eagle was the field-badge of the king (Xen. *Cyr.* vii i 4. *Anab.* i x 12); the herald's wand was the symbol of peace and security. Cp. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* xxix 3, 12.

25. κηρυκείου, *caducei*, 'a herald's staff' with two serpents wound about it. Schol. in Thucyd. i 53, 1 ἔστι ξίφος ἔρπον ἔχει ἐκατέρωθεν δύο ὄφεις περιπελεγμένον καὶ ἀντικρουσάμενον πᾶσι δὲ ἀλλήλοισι κινέμενον. στήθεα, 'set him.'

27. 8' εἴν, resumptive, 'anyhow,' 'whether the story be true or not,' c. 27, 1.

28. τι τοῖόνδε: more usually τοῖόνδε τι.

29. τὸ Περσικόν α. γένος, or the neuter in a collective sense for οἱ Πέρσαι; see my n. to Thuc. VII 43, 7. εἰς ζηλοντίας τῆς περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, 'in respect of jealousy about their women.' Cp. *Artox.* c. 27, 1 δὲσφάλα γὰρ τὰ βαρβαρικά δεινῶς περὶ τὸ εὐδαστων, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὸν προσελθόντα καὶ θιγόντα παλλακῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐν πορείᾳ προσελθόντα καὶ διελάσαντα τὰς ἀμάξας ἐφ' αἷς κομίζονται, θανάτῳ κολλάζεσθαι. εἰς, 'in respect to,' c. 2, 2.

30. ἄγρον φέρον καὶ χαλεπὸν, 'naturally harsh and cruel.' Cp. *Hom. Od.* I 198 χαλεποὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἔχουσιν, ἄγριοι, VIII 575 ἤμιν ὄσοι χαλεποὶ τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι.

§ 3 l. 32. τὰς ἀργυρονήτους, *mancipia argenteo matata* (*Liv.* XLI 6).

Greek εἰα ναα were either δοκίμοι (captivi), ἀργυρόνητοι, or αἰσθηταί (vernae). The second class increased in proportion as the first became rare: they would naturally be treated with less consideration than those born in the house. Cp. *Inscr. Plat.* § 18 οὐδὲν ἦεν τῶν ἀργυρονήτων δουλείουσι, *Platop.* § 123 τοῖς σώμασι δευτέρου πάσχουσι τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν ἀργυρονήτων, *Eur. Alc.* 676 Ἄνδρ' ἢ Φρήγα... ἀργυρονήτων οὐδεν, *Herod.* IV 72 ἀργυρόνητοι δὲ οὐκ εἰσι θράκοιτες, *Diod. Sic.* I 70, 2 περὶ τὴν θράκην αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐτ' ἀργυρόνητος οὐτ' αἰσθητῆς δοῦλος.

παλλακνομένας (pass.), 'in the position of concubines.'

33. ἰσχυρῶς, *vehementer*, 'closely,' 'strictly.' *Xen. An.* vi iiii 11 τοῦτοις ἐφύλαττεν ἰσχυρῶς, *Cyr.* I iv 14 λυποῖμενον ἰσχυρῶς, VII iv 15 ἰσχυρῶς ὠφελούσι, *Hell.* v i 29 ἰσχυρῶς ἐπεθίμου τῆς εἰρήνης. It is also joined with adjectives as *Xen. Oecon.* c. 4, 4 δυνατοῦ ἰσχυρῶς, and substantives as *Apol.* § 28 ἐπιθυμητῆς ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῦ. παραφυλάττουσιν: c. 30, 2. ὡς, for ὥστε, c. 5, 4.

34. τῶν ἐκτός, 'strangers')(members of the family.

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Cp. Mor. 142 D τὴν φωνὴν αἰδέσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός, 503 c, *Fad. Maz.* c. 1, 3 τὸ εὐκολοῖ (αὐτοῦ) πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις ἀδελφίους τοὺς ἐπίκουρον εἶχε πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός, *Dem.* c. 8, 1 τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός ἐπιτείθει, *Cic.* c. 82, 8 ἂν μὴ τις εὖ μάλα φυλακτῆμενος οὕτω συμφίρῃται τοῖς ἐκτός, *Dion.* c. 19, 3 διαφορὰ λαυθάουσαι τοὺς ἐκτός, and frequently in Polybius.

36. σκηναῖς, 'hoods,' 'tilts' or 'awnings.' Cp. *Xen. Cyr.* VI iv 11 ἀπήγαγον αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν καὶ κατακλίναςτες κατεκάλυψαν τῇ σκηνῇ, which *Julius Pollux* 10, 52 explains as τὸ ἐστεγασμένον μέρος τῆς ἀμάξης. Xerxes used on his expedition besides his war-chariot (ἄρμα) also an ἀρμάμαξα, *Herod.* VII 41 μεταβαλεσκε δέ, ὅπως μιν λόγος αἰρεῖται, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος εἰς ἀρμάμαξαν. The use of these comfortable *caravans* (σκαβὰ) is

ridiculed by Aristophanes *Ach.* 69 where the ambassadors from Persia talk of travelling *έσκηνημένοι, έφ' άρμαμαξών μαλθακώς κατακείμενοι*; Aeschylus *Pers.* 100 calls them *έσκηvai τροχήλατοι*. According to Rich *Comp. to Gr. Dict.*, no authentic representation of one remains. *κύκλω περιπεφραγμέναις*, 'with curtains drawn all round them.' Cp. *Artax.* c. 5, 3 where we are told that Queen Stateira made herself very popular by appearing in an *άριμάξα γυμνή τών παρατετασμάτων*, Diod. Sic. xi 56, 8 *παρασκευασμένοι τήν άπήνη πολυτέλει παρατετάμασι κεκοσμημένην*.

38. *καταδός*, 'lying hid,' 'ensconced.' So Plat. *rep.* p. 579 B (of a despot) *καταδεδυκώς εν τή οικία τά πολλά ώς γυνή τή Soph.* p. 239 C *εις άπορον τόπον καταδέδυκεν*, Polyb. xv 30, 3 *οί δέ καταδύοντο διαδιδράσκοντες εις άνυποσφρους οικίας και τόπους*, Diphilus ap. Athenae. ii 67 *υ δεικνεί δέ καταδός* i.e. in *γυργυστιόλο ευο αδαίτις*. Cp. *κατάδουσις*, 'a lurking-place,' *Tib. Gr.* c. 9, 4.

39. *άει τοίς έντηγχάνουσι*, 'from time to time to those who met them and asked questions.' For the position of *άει*, referring as it does equally to both participles, cp. Xen. *Cyr.* vii 1 *1 μερεθίδου άει τώ μάλιστα δεομένην*, *Hell.* ii 14 *άει ό άκούων δεδωίς*, Plato *legg.* vii p. 794 B *κολάζουσα άει τών άδικώντα*.

40. *γύναιον, mulierculam*, 'a poor woman' (not a true diminutive but an adjectival form) in a contemptuous or commiserative sense: *Pyrrh.* c. 2, 1 *έφευγον οικέτας όλιγους και γύναια τιθηρούμενα τώ παιδίον έφελκόμενοι*, c. 13, 3 *τό γύναιον (sc. τήν αλητηρίδα) αλλείν κάκείνον άδειν έκλεπον*, *Pelop.* c. 9, 2 *γύναια τών υπάνδρων*, Dem. *Aristog.* i § 57 *γυναιου πράγμ' έτοιεί*, *Audoc. de myst.* § 130 *παρά τοίς παιδαρίοις και τοίς γυναιόις κληθών εν άπάση τή πόλει κάτερχεσθαι*.

41. *Ίωνίαις*: to a Persian that would mean the whole of the west coast. *πρός τινα τών επί θύραις β.*, 'to one of the court officers.' From the Eastern custom of receiving petitions at the gate, *αι βασιλέως θύραι* came to mean 'the Royal Palace,' 'the Sublime Porte.' Cp. Theopomp. *Phil.* xviii fr. 135. (Müller *F.H.G.* i p. 301) *Νικόστρατος καθ' έκάστην ήμέραν όπότε μέλλου δεικνείν, τράπεζαν παρεθήει χωρίς όνομάζων τώ δαίμονι του βασιλέως, έμπλήσας σίτου και τών άλλων επιτηδείων, άκούων τούτο ποιείν και τών Περσών τουί περι τας θύρας διατρίβοντα*, Xen. *Cyr.* iii iii 13 *παρήσαν οι επικαίριοι επί θύραις*, vi i 1, viii i 8, iv 27, *An.* i ix 3 *πάντες οι τών άριστων Περσών παιδες επί ταις βασιλέως θύραις παιδείοντα*, ii i 8 *ίοντα επί ταις βασιλέως θύραις*, *Hell.* i vi 7 *άχθεσθείς ταις επί ταις θύραις φαυτέωσθαι*, *Herod.* iii 119 *φαιτέωσα επί ταις θύραις του βασιλέως*.

CHAPTER XXVII

§ 1 l. 1. **Θουκυδίδης**: i 137, 3 *ἐπέμτα γράμματα ὡς βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα* i.e. Artaxerxes I. (surnamed *μαχράχειρ*, *lougimachis*), the Ahasuerus of Scripture, who was king from B.C. 466 (the year after Xerxes was murdered) to A.C. 425. **Χάρον**: Charon, a native of Lampsacus, a Milesian colony, in Mysia, on the coast of the Hellespont (c. 29, 4), was one of the early Greek chroniclers, born about B.C. 502. He continued the researches of Hecataeus into eastern ethnography and wrote (as was the custom of these old historians) separate works upon different countries, as a complete history of Persia (*Περσικά*) in two books, on Hellas (*Ἑλληνικά*) in four books, Libya (*Αἰθιοπικά* or *Αἰθικά*), and one in four books called *ἑροι* *Λακεδαιμονίων* 'annals of Sparta,' and another entitled *ἑροι* (?) *Λαμψακηνῶν* or 'annals of Lampsacus.' The present statement may have been taken from the *Περσικά* or *Ἑλληνικά*. See Müller *F.H.G.* i p. xvi-p. xi.

2. **ἱστοροῦσι**: c. 1, 3.

3. *πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν . . . Ἰντεῦξιν*, 'that it was his son between whom and Themistocles the interview took place.'

5. Ephorus was born at Cyme (c. 26, 1, Strabo *Geogr.* XIII c. 3, 6) between B.C. 388 and B.C. 378. See *Introduction* iv. Dinon wrote a history of Persia, which Nepos (*Conon* c. 5) refers to as the most trustworthy authority on the subject. He is quoted by Plutarch elsewhere, as in *Artax.* c. 6, 9, 10, 13, 22, *Alex.* c. 36. Clitarchus, son of the former (Plin. *H.N.* x 49), accompanied Alexander the Great in his Expedition to the East and wrote a history of it, which appears to have been of little value (Cic. *de legg.* i 2, 7).

6. **Ἡρακλείδης**: there are several historians of this name, besides the present, who was a native of Cyme and author of a history of Persia (*Περσικά*) in five books (Athenae. iv p. 145 a, *F.H.G.* ii 96). 'The best known was the one surnamed *Ποντικός*, because he was born at Heraclea in Pontus, the author of a treatise *περὶ πολιτικῶν*, and of some counterfeit tragedies, ascribed by the author to Thespis (Bentley *Phalaris* p. 239). Another, a native of Egypt who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, was author of a great work entitled *Ἱστορίαι*, and of a book called *Λεμβεντικός λόγος* from which he was nicknamed *ὁ Λεμβός*. A fourth was of Magnesia, author of *Μισθιακά*. *ἔτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες*, 'several others also beside them.'

7. *τοῖς χρονικοῖς* sc. *κατὰ* (Sol. c. 27, 1) or *βιβλίων*.

8. συμφέρεσθαι . . . συντεταραγμένους, 'to agree with the chronology of the period, although it too has been confused in no slight degree.' Fuhr reads with the two best MSS *αὐτὸς συντεταραγμένος*, 'although he is not either himself an incontestable authority.' For *ἀτρεμα*, cp. c. 29, 1, *Mor.* 1062 c *τῶν ἀτρεμα λευκῶν καὶ μέσων*, 'things slightly or moderately white'; and for another meaning of *συμφέρεσθαι* in Plutarch, *Timol.* c. 15, 1.

10. 8' οὖν: c. 26, 2. The narrative is continued from Phanias. γενόμενος παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον, 'when he was come to the actual critical moment.' On this use of *παρὰ*, cp. c. 8, 1, *Pelop.* c. 9, 4 *θαρρεῖν παρὰ τὰ θεῖα*, *Dem. Mid.* § 59 b *παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα ἐργάσαι ἔχοντες ἐφάισεσθε*, and for *γίγνεσθαι* with *prepos.*, c. 2, 1, c. 19, 1, c. 28, 1, and *Xen. Cyr.* VII i 39 *ὡς ἐγένετο παρὰ τὰς μηχανάς*. See Field's *Notes, etc. on Greek Test.* p. 43.

11. ἐντυγχάνει, *κοινωνεῖ*, 'has an audience of.' *Aelian Var. Hist.* i 21 *ἐβούλετο αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἦκεν ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Πέρσῃ*. See *Lex. to Timol.* p. 223^b.

12. Ἀραβάνης: this was probably the same who murdered Xerxes at a later period, of whom Diod. xi 69, 1 *δυνατός πλείστον παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀφηγοῦμενος*.

τῷ χιλιάρχῳ, 'the visir,' the chief officer of the Persian and later of the Macedonian court (*Diod. Sic.* XVIII c. 48 fin.), whose office it was *τὰς ἀγγελίας εἰσκομίζειν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοὺς δεομένους εἰσάγειν*, hence he was called *εἰσαγωγεὺς* (*Aelian Var. Hist.* i 21). Nepos has the same story about Conon (c. 3), evidently borrowed from this:—*Conon primum more Persarum ad chiliarchum, qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat, Tithraustem, accessit seque ostendit cum rege colloqui velle, nemo enim sine hoc admittitur*.

The whole of the story in Plutarch is unhistorical. 'According to Thucyldes, the eminent exile does not seem to have been exposed to the least danger in Persia. He presented himself as a deserter from Greece, and was accepted as such: moreover—what is more strange, though it seems true—he was received as an actual benefactor of the Persian king, and a sufferer from the Greeks on account of such dispositions—in consequence of his communications made to Xerxes respecting the intended retreat of the Greeks from Salamis, and respecting the contemplated destruction of the Hellespontine bridge. He was conducted by some Persians on the coast up to Susa, where he addressed a letter to the king couched in the following terms, such as probably no modern European king would tolerate except from a Quaker: "I Themistocles am come to thee, having done to thy house more mischief than any other Greek, as long as I was compelled in my own defence to resist the attack of thy father—but having also done him yet greater good, when I could do so with safety to myself, and when his retreat was endangered. Reward is yet owing to me for my past service: moreover, I am now here, chased away by the Greeks in consequence of my attachment to thee, but able

still to serve thee with great effect. I wish to wait a year, and then to come before thee in person to explain my views (*βούλημαι δ' ἐπιεικῶς ἐπισημῶν αὐτοῖς σοι περὶ ὧν ἤκου ἠγλάσαι*, I 187, 4).'' *οσοτε Hist. Gr.* vol. v p. 383 f.

14. πρὸς ἃ . . . σπουδάζων, 'in which he (the king) is especially interested.' Cp. Dem. *Androt.* § 76 πρὸς χρημάτων κτήσων οὐδὲ πώποτε ὁ δῆμος ἐσπούδασεν.

§ 2 l. 16. διαφέρουσιν, 'differ' i.e. 'are not the same,' hence ἄλλα δέ. See n. to c. 11, 2.

17. ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοις κτλ., 'but some hold one thing honour-⁴² able, others another (each community has its own standard of propriety): yet it is proper for all to honour and uphold the customs of their country.' Cp. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 43 ἄλλα δ' ἄλλαχού καλά.

18. κοσμεῖν, *colere*, 'to pay honour to.'

19. θαυμάζειν, 'respect,' 'reverence.'

20. λόγος κ. ἐστὶ, 'there is a report.'

21. προσκυνεῖν, 'to do homage by throwing oneself on one's face and kissing the ground before,' 'to prostrate oneself before.'

22. ὡς εἰκόνα κ. ὄντα. τοῦ τὰ πάντα σφύζοντος, 'the preserver of all things.'

23. ἐπιαινῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα, 'approving, conforming to, our customs.'

24. ἔστι, 'it is possible.'

25. εἰ ἄλλο τι φρονεῖς, 'if you are otherwise minded.' ἄγγελοις, predicative, 'you must employ others (not me) to communicate with him.' G. § 137 note 4.

26. οὐ πάτριον κ. ἐστὶ, 'it is not in accordance with ancient custom.'

Cp. Arist. *Ecol.* 778 οὐ γὰρ πάτριον τοῦτ' ἐστίν, Dem. *de cor.* § 208 οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς εἶπε, τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτά, Aesch. *Cles.* § 20 οὐκ ἀρα στεφανωθήσεται ἢ βουλή; οὐδὲ γὰρ πάτριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, Thuc. I 123, I πάτριον ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι, IV 92, 2.

27. μὴ προσκυνήσαντος = ἐὰν μὴ προσκυνήσῃ. Cp. Aelian *Var. Hist.* I 21 νόμος ἐστὶν ἐπιχώριος Πέρσαις τὸν ἐς ὀφθαλμοῦς ἐλθόντα βασιλέως μὴ πρότερον λόγου μεταλαγχάνειν πρὶν ἢ προσκυνήσαι αὐτόν, where a story is told of Ismenias of Thebes, that he would not condescend to observe the customary obeisance, but made a pretence of doing so by dropping his ring and stooping to pick it up, when in the presence of the Shah.

29. φήμην, 'reputation,' 'glory.'

30. αἰξήτων: c. 4, 2, c. 7, 1, c. 12, 1. πείσομαι: this compliance is in obedience to the deity who has exalted the Persians and placed him in their power. The Spartan deputies Spertians and Bulis refused to fall down and worship the king according to the story told by Herodotus (VII 136).

31. θεῷ τῷ μεγαλύνοντι, 'to the deity who exalts.' This is the third attributive position of the article, in which the emphatic word is placed first; the second position is τῷ θεῷ τῷ μεγαλύνοντι.

32. τῶν νῦν sc. προσκυνοῦντων.

33. ὡστε, 'accordingly,' 'and so.' μηδέν, adv. 'not at all.'

§ 3 l. 35. τίνα Ἑλλήνων, predicative.

36. φῶμεν, 'are we to say?' interrogative subj., G. *MT*. § 287. Ἰδιώτη, here ἧ σοφῷ, as is seen by the expression τῆν γράμην: ἰδιώτης is an 'ordinary man' in contradistinction to one who is distinguished by the possession of some professional acquirement, as that of soldier, orator, physician, athlete, or by his office.

38. οὐκέτι, non iam, 'no further' than what has been told you. πρότερος βασιλεύς: G. § 175, 1 Note 1.

39. Φανίας: c. 1, 2; c. 7, 4; c. 13, 2. See *Introduction* IV.

40. Ἐρατοσθένης: Eratosthenes of Cyrene was born B.C. 276, and flourished in the reigns of the third, fourth and fifth Ptolemias.

He is said to have been summoned by Ptolemy Energetes from Athens to Alexandria, where he succeeded the poet Callimachus, and was himself succeeded by the poet Apollonius Rhodius, as head of the famous library. He was the 'Admirable Crichton' of ancient learning; and used to be called the second Plato, and was the first to be honoured with the name of 'philologist'; and certainly no one except Aristotle could compare with him in the compass and accuracy of his learning (Bernhardy *Eratosthenica* Berol. 1822 pp. XIII f.) The two sciences of astronomical geography and chronology were founded by him, as also the historical criticism of the primitive Greek history. He was also an observer and collector of facts, and an inductive philosopher, but his reputation rests chiefly on his discoveries, his literary labours being represented by only a few fragments. Besides geographical and mathematical treatises he wrote an astronomical poem *Hermes*, a treatise on the old comedy in twelve books, and another on moral philosophy (*περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν*), of which that on 'riches and poverty' (*περὶ πλουτίων καὶ πενίας*), to which Plutarch here refers, may have been a part. The most important of his purely literary works were the chronographies. The great achievement of his three books of γεωγραφία was the discovery of a correct method of determining the magnitude of the earth.

ἐν τοῖς: c. 25, 1 note. προσετιθέμεν, 'adds the statement.'

41. Ἐρετριᾶς, of Eretria in Euboea, c. 11, 4. ἦν . . . ἄρχη, 'whom he had to wife.' Cp. *Ti. Gr.* c. 4, 4, Thuc. II 29, 1 οὗ εἶχε τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σαρδάκη, Xen. *rep. Lac.* I §§ 7, 8, *Cyr.* I v 4.

43. εἰσάσσειν, 'introduction,' 'recommendation,' from *σω-σάναίαι*, *commendare*. Cp. *Pyrrh.* c. 5, 4 τὸν ἀρχιουεχέον τῷ Γέλωτι συνέστησεν, Plato *Theag.* 127 Α ὅτι ἂν βούλη συστήσομέν σε, 123 Α οὐκ ἐθέλει με οὐδενὶ συστήσαι, Xen. *Anab.* III i 8 Σενοφῶν συνεστήθη τῷ Κόρυ.

CHAPTER XXVIII

§ 1 l. 1. 8' οὖν: c. 26, 2 nota. The speech of Themistocles is 43 the same in substance with the letter given by Thucydides I 137, 4. Cp. *Nepos Them.* c. 9.

2. σιωπῇ, dat. of manner, *IIA.* § 776, *Ruth.* § 168.

4. τίς ἐστὶ, the indicative of the direct question is retained after a secondary tense, *G. MT.* § 669, 2.

6. ἦκω σοι says more than the ἦκω παρὰ σε of the letter as given by Thuc.

8. ὀφείλουσι, 'are indebted for.' κωλύσαντι, causal.

9. τὴν δέξιον: c. 16, 3. ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γεγονημένης, 'having been placid in a state of security.'

10. παρέσχε, 'gave me the opportunity.' τὰ οἰκεία σφύζομενα, 'the affairs of my own country being safe,' 'the immunity of my own country from danger' (*σφύζομενα* = *σά βρα*). χαρῆσασθαι καὶ καλ' ἔμην, 'to do you also a favour' i.e. as I have done my own country.

11. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν, 'as far, then, as concerns myself.' The dative belongs to the whole sentence, *G.* § 184, 5. πάντα . . . συμφοραῖς, 'anything suits my present fallen fortunes' i.e. in my present position I am prepared for the worst.

13. χάριν, 'thanks' for my services.

14. εὐμενῶς, 'graciously,' with *καλλωπιόμενον* sc. σοῦ, *Per.* c. 29, 1. παρατρέσθαι, *deprecari*, 'to avert by entreaty.'

§ 2 l. 15. τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μάρτυρας θέμενος, 'taking my enemies as witnesses,' 'accepting their testimony'; *δικωόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν εἰς φιλίαν* Thuc. I 137, 4. Cp. *Eur. Supp.* 261 *Διόκταρα θέμεναι μάρτυρ' ἄλλου τε φύς. ἂν εὐαργέτησα = τούτων δ' εὐαργέτησα.*

17. ἀπέχρησαι, 'make full use of.' See note on c. 4, 2.

18. ἀρετῆς, in its restricted sense, 'the power of doing good,' δύναμις εὐεργετικῆ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ πάντων περὶ πάντα Arist. *Rhet.* I 9, 4. Cp. Xen. *An.* I iv 8 ἀπολήφονται (τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας) τῆς πρόσθεν ἔνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς. ἀποπλήρωσιν, 'satisfying.' *Mor.* 132 A οὐ δὲ χρῆσθαι κρεωφαγίας πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν ἀρέων, ὡσπερ λύκουσ ἢ λέοντασ, 1135 A.

19. σῶμασ μὲν . . . γινόμενον, 'in saving my life, you will be saving one who throws himself on your feet as an humble suppliant (and therefore it is your duty to help him); by putting me to death, you will be losing an enemy to Greece.'

21. ἐπιθείασε τῷ λόγῳ, 'brought forward supernatural signs in support of his words.'

Its ordinary meaning is *deus adstanti tamquam testes u. ultores*. Cp. *Plat.* *Crat.* c. 18, I τῶν ἱερών οἱ καλούμενοι Φηλαίεσ ἔφηρον ἐπιθειάζοντεσ. So in *Thuc.* II 75, I (cp. ἐπιθειασμῶν VII 76, 4), or 'to call on in the name of the gods,' as VIII 53, 2 ἐπιθειάζόντων μὴ κατάγειν. *deprecantes eius restitutionem*. In *Mor.* 579 F οἱ δὲ, ὡσ θεοφιλεῖσ τιτεσ εἶνα δοκοῖτε, ἐπιθειάζουσι τὰσ πράξεισ ὀνειράτα καὶ φάσματα προϊστάμενοι τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖν ἰστών, it means 'ascribe to divine influence,' cp. *Com.* c. 81, 4 ὀνομασθήσουσα τῶν ἁγίων, οὐτε Ῥωμαῖοσ ἢ Νομάσ ἢ τεσ ἄλλοσ αὐτοῖσ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιθειάσασ παρέδοκεν. It is also used by *Plutarch* with the dative in the sense of 'to inspire,' *Mor.* 580 D αὐτῷ συνεφέγγετο τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπιθειάζων ταισ αὐτοῦ προαιρέσει, 589 D οἱ πολλοὶ κατακαρθούσιν οἰονταὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνθρώποισ ἐπιθειάζειν.

προσδιελθόν, 'by going through besides,' 'adding an account of.' Cp. *Mor.* 362 E οὖν δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆσ ἐν χερσὶ δόξῆσ προσδιελθόμεν.

22. ἐν Νικογένουσ sc. οἰκίῳ, 'in the house of Nicogenes,' c. 26, 1.

Mor. 686 D τῶν παραθέτων ἐν Καλλίου καὶ Ἀγάθωνοσ ὄφων, *Plat.* *Prot.* 320 A ἐν Ἀριφρονοσ ἐπαίδευεν, *Theaet.* 206 A ἐν καθαριστοῦ μαμαθραίου, *Charm.* 155 D οὐκέτ' ἐν ἱμαντοῦ, *Xen. Mem.* III xlii 3 ἐν Ἀσκληπίου sc. τῆσ.

The μάντευμα is not mentioned elsewhere; the word is poetical (c. 13, 2) and not used in classical prose.

τοῦ Δωδωναίου Διόσ, 'Zeus of Dodona,' or Zeus Νείοσ 'aqueous,' according to the special attribute by which he was known in conjunction with Dione.

The vexed question about the site of the ancient temple at Dodona has been finally set at rest by the discovery of a number of inscriptions recording dedications to these deities, which has verified the prediction of the venerable Bishop of Lincoln made some fifty-five years since that it would be found at Dramisus, a place about seven miles from Iannina (*Greece* p. 247 ed. 1, p. 324 ed. 2). These inscriptions were published in the splendid volume of Constantin Carapanos in 1878 entitled *Dodone et ses ruines*, which contains besides a list of an immense quantity of relics and works of art brought to light in the course of the excavations. An interesting detailed account of the oracle inscriptions is given in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* I p. 223 by Dr. E. S. Roberts: they are engraved

more or less legibly upon one or both sides of thin leaden plates (*sortes*, Cic. *de dir.* 1 § 76), which contain the questions addressed or prayers offered to the deity by his votaries, whether individuals or communities, the consultant being in every case required to put his question or prayer into writing. 'The examination of them' he says 'has established a new proof of the considerable part which the consultation of the oracle played in the public and private life of the ancient Greek. In circumstances of importance or embarrassment he had recourse to the omniscient deity, and sought from him the means of succeeding in an enterprise or grappling with a difficulty in much the same way as we now consult a lawyer or a physician. The inscriptions which we possess range over a long period of time, from perhaps the fifth century B.C. to the date of the final destruction of the temple in A.C. 88 or even later.'

24. τοῦ θεοῦ *sc.* Διός. For ὁμῶνυμος as subst., cp. Plato *Soph.* 218 B τὸν Σωκράτους ὁμῶνυμον, *Prot.* 311 B παρὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ ὁμῶνυμον ἔλθω, *Theaet.* 147 C τῷ σὺ ὁμῶνυμῳ Σωκράτει.

συμφορήσας, 'made up his mind that,' 'came to the conclusion that, it must be to him that he was directed to go up.'

The verb *συμφορεῖν* is peculiar to late Greek. It bears two meanings, according as an external or internal process is denoted, (1) *idem sentire, consensire*, 'to be of one mind,' 'to assent to,' hence *conspirare*, 'to agree together' or 'conspire,' *Mor.* 343 F *συμφορήσασαι* κατέφλεξαν τὰ πλοῖα, *Thea.* c. 36, 2, *Republic.* c. 23, 3 αἱ γυναικὲς ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸς *συμφορήσασαι* διακρίσαντες ἑαυτὸν ἕλον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, *Col. ma.* c. 16, 4 *συμφορήσαντες* καὶ παρασκευάσαντες ἐπὶ πατρὸν ἀντιπάλου τῷ Κάτωι, *Philop.* c. 21, 1, *Mar.* c. 44, 6 αἱ περὶ Κίωνα καὶ Σερτυρίων *συμφορήσαντες* ἐπέθετο κομμάτιον αὐτοῖς, *Alex.* c. 11, 3 Θυβίλους ἀφίστανται πειθόμενοι καὶ *συμφορεῖν* αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίους, and frequently in Polybius, or (2) *intellegere, discernere*, 'to find out,' 'perceive,' or 'to collect one's thoughts,' 'to reflect,' 'make up one's mind after due consideration,' in which sense it is commonly employed by Plutarch, either (a) absol. as *Mor.* 593 C τὸν θεῶν αὐτῶν διαλογισμῶν συνίστους καὶ *συμφοροῦντας*, *Thea.* c. 36, 1, *Demetr.* c. 8, 4 ἐφί *συμφορήσαντες* ἴβανον οἱ στρατηγοί, c. 49, 2 μεταβαλέσθαι παρακαλῶν τῆν πρὸν *συμφορήσαντας*, *Pyrrh.* c. 11, 5 ἔνυχεν ἀφρημένους τὸ κρίνειν, ἄρα οὐ πάλιν *συμφορήσας* καὶ περιβίοντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἀλόφῳ διακρίσαντες, *Alex.* c. 9, 6 οὕτω δὲ *συμφορήσας* ὁ Φίλιππος παύσατο τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, c. 71, 4; (b) followed by an objective accusative, *Ti. Gr.* c. 11, 2 τοῦ δὲ τὸ μέλλον *συμφοροῦντος*, *Nic.* c. 19, 7 ὅτε τὸν Νικίαν *συμφοροῦντα* τὴν τὸν πραγμάτων μεταβολὴν ἀνομίᾳ, *Evst.* c. 9, 5 τοῦ δὲ Μενέλαου ταχὺ *συμφορήσαντος* τὸν αἰώνου, *Acm. Publ.* c. 23, 4 οὐ πρὸν *συμφοροῦντα* τὸν κατωὶ τὸ μέγιστον διὰ τὴν ηλικίαν, *Romp.* c. 78, 5 προσηλαίει τὸν Περικλίον τῆν *συμφορον* τῷ σχήματι τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, *Aulon.* c. 40, 5 τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἐπιτελεσθὴ καὶ *συμφορήσας* τὴν αἰτία, *Cass.* c. 28, 5 *συμφορήσαντες* οἱ περὶ Κάτωου πειθόμενοι τὴν γερουσίαν, *Sert.* c. 20, 5 τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν τῆν θρασυτείᾳ τῆν λαλίαν *συμφορήσας*, *Bru.* c. 10, 2 ταῦτα *συμφορήσας* ἐπέτυχεν βροῦτην πρότερον, *Cass.* c. 36, 6 δὲ δὴ *συμφορήσας* μετήγαγεν ἐξὸς πύλης τὸν δικαστήριον, *Sert.* c. 18, 5 δὲ δὴ μὲν ἄλλα *συμφορήσας* ἐπιχειροῦν μὲν οὐκ ἔθερον αἰσίστου δόξουσι κτλ.; (c) by a participle, *Nic.* c. 23, 1 τοῦ φίλου τὴν περὶ τὴν τραπέζην ἐπιστάτην ἀμοσγίτης τῆν *συμφορόντων* γερουσίαν οὐδὲ τῆν σάβηρον; (d) by an infinitive, as here; (e) by a relative clause, *Alex.* c. 69, 8 οὕτω δὲ *συμφορήσαντα* τὸν Πάρον, ὡς αὐτὸς εἰς διαβεβητίαν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπίσταται μετὰ πάσης τῆς δουλείας, *Cor.* c. 18, 6 *συμφορήσαντες* . . . ὡς ἄντι φέου πολλοῦ τὸν πατριῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξαργυρίῳ τὸν Μάρτυον, *Lxx.* c. 21, 1 *συμφορήσαντες* ὅτι ταῖς ἐπιταίαις τὰς πόλεις ἀπέχων δὲδ σπυδὸς ἄρχη,

Aristot. c. 20, 3 τούτων γενομένων συμφρονήσας ἐν τρόπῳ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ πολυμύτης, *Mor.* 150 B συμφρονήσας ὡς οὐνοῦ νῆος εἶη, 590 B οὐ μάλ᾽ ἀποφρονοῦν ἐπιφροῦς εἶν' ἐγγύστερον εἶν' ὀνειρεπόλει, *Dionys. Hal. A.R.* 1 61 συμφρονήσαυτες ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὸς βέβαιον πάντας ἐστὶν ἢ περιουσία γῆ, 21 26 εἰ δ' ἄρα συμφρονήσαντες ὡς ἀμαχὸν εἶη πράγμα; (f) 'to recollect oneself,' 'to come to one's senses', *Alex. c.* 73, 4 πολλὸν χρόνον ἀναυδὸς ἦν, μάλιστα δὲ συμφρονήσας Διονύσιος ἐφη καλεῖσθαι, *Mor.* 248 C τὴν δὲ συμφρονήσαντα (causa mali intellecta) διακόψαι τοῦ ἀρμητοῦ τὸ λεύτατον, 265 A τὸν οὖν Ἀριστοῦτον συμφρονήσαντα (oraculo probe intellecto) παρασχέιν αὐτὸν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀγαλακταῖς, *Cal. m. c.* 70, 6 ὡς ἀνήγερχεν ὁ Κλέων καὶ συνεφρόνησε, *Cam. c.* 29, 4 συμφρονήσας ὁ Βρόντος ἀπήγαγε τοὺς Κλέωνος εἰς τὸ στρατιώτεον.

For ἀναπέμπεσθαι, cp. c. 6, 1; c. 26, 1.

26. εἶναι τε καὶ λέγεσθαι, the interpretation suited the reality as well as the name.

- 44 § 1. 28. θαυμάσιος: *Thuc.* 1 138, 1 βασιλεὺς δέ, ὡς λέγεται, εἰθαύμασεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν. τὸ φρόνημα, *animi magnitudinem*, 'his spirit,' 'self-confidence,' its usual meaning in *Thuc.* as 1 81, 2, II c. 43, 3; c. 62, 5, IV 80, 2, V c. 40, 3; c. 43, 2, VI 18, 4. In *Herodotus* and elsewhere its meaning is 'sentiment,' 'disposition.'

29. μακαρίσιος ἐαυτὸν ὡς ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ μεγίστῃ, 'congratulating himself on the ground of what he thought a piece of very great good luck.'

30. κατευξάμενος, *precatus* (not *imprecatus*). Cp. *Mor.* 277 A διὰ τί κατεύχονται μηδένα χρηστὸν ἀποβῆναι τῶν οἰκογενῶν;

31. τὸν Ἀρεμάνιον, *Angramainjus* (*Ahriman*), the Persian god, who was the author or personification of evil in opp. to *Ορομάσδης* (*Ahuramazda*, *Ormuzd*) the author or personification of good. See *Rawlinson's Essay on the Persian Religion*, *Herodotus* I p. 426 ff.

34. διὰ μέσων τῶν ὕπνων, 'in the middle of his sleep,' *Pyrrh.* c. 11, 2, *Lys.* c. 20, 5, *Sull.* c. 9, 4; c. 28, 4; c. 37, 2, *Arist.* c. 11, 6 κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους, *Pomp.* c. 32, 3 ἐν ὕπνοις, *Cicero.* c. 63, 5 δευαφείς φωνὰς ἀναπέμπουσαν ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων, *Plato rep.* 330 A ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων ἐγχερόμενος, *Soph.* 266 B τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις φαντάσματα.

CHAPTER XXIX

§ 1. 3. ἐξ ὧν εἶρα, 'from what he saw, that' etc., for ἐκ τούτων & εἶρα (εἶρα δὲ) διακεμένους. τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις: c. 26, 3.

4. παρεόντος, 'as he was going in.' Cp. *Theocr. Id.* xv 60 παρενθεῖν εἰμαρῆς;

5. *λέγοντας* *sc. αὐτόν*. *ἔτι δέ*, 'moreover,' as a further indication of the repugnance with which he was looked on by the assembled court officers.

6. *ὁ χιλιάρχος*, here used in its military sense, 'the commander of a thousand men,' *Xen. Anab.* VIII i 9, *Cyr.* II i 23. *κατ' αὐτόν ἦν*, 'was, as he was advancing to the presence of the king, close to him.'

8. *ἀτρεμέ στενάξας*, 'with a subdued sigh,' c. 27, 1.

9. *ἕφει* 'Ἑλλην is appositive predicate to *σύ* understood. For 'Ἑλλων as an adjective in prose, cp. *Thuc.* II 36, 4 'Ἑλληνα (?) πόλεμον, VII 42, 1, *Xen. An.* I x 7 τοῦς Ἑλληνας πελαστάς, VI v 28 αἱ Ἑλληνες ἰππεῖς. It is frequently so used in poetry, cp. 'Ἑλληνα φάτω Aesch. *Ag.* 1263, *στολήν Ἑλληνα Eur. Heracl.* 131, 'Ἑλλων φώνος *Met.* 1331, 'Ἑλληνες ἐκ γῆς *Ipil. Taur.* 334. *πικροῦς*, 'subtle.' *δαίμων*: according to the religious ideas of the Persians (c. 28, 3) there were numberless good and bad spirits sent by the good and evil god respectively.

10. *οὐ μὴν ἀλλά*, 'however,' lit. 'his fears however (*μὴν*) were not justified but' etc. See c. 3, 2; c. 5, 4; c. 23, 3.

12. *ἤδη*, 'already,' with *ὀφείλων*, c. 12, 2.

13. *κομίσαντα αὐτόν*, 'since he had brought himself.'

14. *ἀπολήψεσθαι δικαίως*, 'he would be entitled to receive, as his due.' *Xen. An.* VII vii 14 *ἀπολαβεῖν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῶν ὀφειλόμενον μισθόν*, 21, 25, *Symp.* c. 6, 1 τὰ νικητήρια φιλήματα ἀπολαμβάνειν τὸν Κριτόβουλον ἐκέλευον, *sc. iudicio addicta*, *Andoc.* 3 § 15 τὰ ἔγκτήματα καὶ τὰ χρέα ἵνα ἀπολάβωμεν, *Arist. Nub.* 1273 τὰ χρήματ' ἀπολαβεῖν, *id.* 1283 τὸ ἐπικηρυχθέν, 'the price offered for his head to the man who should bring it.'

17. *ἔδδου*, 'gave him leave.' & *βούλοιο*: G. § 247.

§ 1. 18. τὸν λόγον . . . διαφθεῖραι, 'that human speech 45 resembled embroidered tapestry'; for as the latter, when spread out, shows off its figures, so the former, but when folded up keeps them from view and spoils them.'

For instances of *καί* in apodosis, answering to *ὥς* in protasis, and assuming the relation, which *οὕτως* would have expressed, in addition to its proper meaning, cp. *Nym.* c. 8, 4 *μέγα γὰρ ἦν μέρος, ὥς ἑαυτοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας, καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῆς πολιτείας ἢ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀγνοεῖα καὶ διατριβή*, *Mor.* 153 D *ὥς οὐδ' ἔγινοντο τότε, καὶ γὰρ τὸν διηγέσσομαι τὰς ἀποκρίσεις*, *Xen. Mem.* II ii 2, IV iv 7 *ὡππερ σὺ, καὶ ἐγὼ αἶτι τὰ αὐτὰ λόγῳ*, *Thuc.* II 93, 4 *ὥς δὲ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐχρήσθη οὕτως*, IV 8, 7; VII c. 43, 1 *ὥς ἐπυρέε, καὶ τὴν ἐπιχρήσθη τὸν Ἐπιπρόλον ἐπυρέε*, c. 60, 3; VIII c. 1, 6; c. 8, 3; c. 27, 5 *ὥς δ' αὖτε καὶ ἔθεσαν ταῦτα*, *Herod.* I 79, 2 *ὥς δὲ αἱ ταῦτα ἔθεκε, καὶ ἔπειτα*, VII 123, 2, *Ev. Matth.* vi 10 *γενήσῃ τὸ θέλημα σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν γῆ*.

22. διαφθεῖραν, by making them unrecognisable. So it will be, he means, with his own statement when imperfectly rendered by an interpreter: therefore he declines for the present to avail himself of the proffered leave to speak. ἴδεν: c. 2, 2. χρόνου δεῖν i.e. to learn how ἐκείναις ὡς στρώματα λόγων τὸν Περσικόν.

23. τῇ εἰκασίᾳ, 'the simile,' *Mor.* 109 E τὸ τρίτον ἦν τοῦτο τῆς Σακρατικῆς εἰκασίας, 765 E λέγοντες πρὸς τὸ ποικίλον τοῦ πάθους καὶ τὸ ἀσθηρὸν γεγοῦσθαι τῆς εἰκασίας. The figurative manner of speaking in use among Eastern nations pleased the king.

24. λαμβάναν sc. χρόνον.

ἐνιαυτόν, '(one) year.' Cp. *Xen. Cyr.* I v 1 ἡμέραν, 'one day,' vi ii 34, μήνα, 'one month' vii v 13. So *Thuc.* I 137, 4 βούλομαι δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχῶν αὐτὸς σοι περὶ ὧν ἦκα δηλώσαι.

Philostratus (Imag. II 31) after describing a portrait of Them., adds:—*Θεμιστοκλέα γὰρ, οἶμαι, ἀκούεις, τὸν τοῦ Νεοκλέους, Ἀθηγένον ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἦεν μετὰ τὴν Σαλαμίνα τὴν θεῖαν ἀπορούνητα ὄντι σωθῆσθαι ποτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ διαλέγεσθαι βασιλεὶ περὶ ὧν στρατηγούτος αὐτοῦ ὁ Κέρξης ὄντη. ἰακλήθη καὶ ἐκ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν τῶν Μήδικων, ἀλλὰ τεταρασκέν οἷον καθέστως ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμεδαποῦ τρόπου μνήζων ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἐξέπνευσεν γὰρ ἐκεῖ τοῦτο.*

25. ἀποχρῶντως, 'sufficiently.' *Thuc.* I 138, 1 ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ἐπέσχε τῆς Περσίδος γλώσσης ὅσα ἠδύνατο κατενόησε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς χώρας, *Nepos Them.* c. 10 *litteris sermoneque Persarum se dedit, quibus adeo eruditus est, ut nullo commodius dicatur apud regem verba fecisse quam ii poterant qui in Perside erant natii*, but this is clearly an exaggerated statement.

26. ἐνετύχχανε: c. 27, 1. δὲ αὐτῶ) (δὲ ἐμνηστέω. τοῖς ἄλλοις) τοῖς δυναταῖς, those who did not belong to the court: cp. c. 26, 3.

27. δόξαν παρέσχε, 'gave occasion to fancy about him,' 'made them suppose.' Cp. c. 4, 3; c. 10, 5.

28. διαλέχθαι, 'that he had conversed.' πολλῶν καινοτομομένων περὶ τὴν αἴλην, 'as many innovations were being introduced by the king about his court and his favourites at that time.' See n. to c. 3, 2.

30. φθόνον ἔσχε, 'incurred their dislike,' 'was a subject of their jealousy,' like ἔλεον ἔχειν c. 10, 5. Cp. *Isocr. Phil.* § 68 τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων φθόνον ἔχει καὶ δυσμένειαν, *Pind. Pyth.* XI 45 (29) ἔσχει δόλος οὐ μείζονα φθόνον. It also means 'to feel jealousy' as in *Aesch. Pr.* V. 859, just as *εὐγγνώμων ἔχειν* bears the double meaning of 'forgiving' and 'being forgiven.' *παρὰ, ἀπαρ.*

31. ὡς: c. 4, 3. κατ' ἐκείνων, 'to their prejudice.' *παρηγορία* χρῆσθαι = *παρηγοριάζεσθαι*, as in *Cor.* c. 18, 3, *Lys.* c. 22, 1, *Esop.* c. 2, 1, *Rompr.* c. 44, 1, *Mor.* 47 A, 66 A, 69 E, 70 E, 71 D, 190 F, 229 C, 716 B. The phrase *παρηγορίαν ἔχειν* sometimes takes its place.

32. ἀποτετολημμένος, 'for having had the great presumption,' stronger than *τετολημμένος*.

§ 3 1. 32. εἰδὲ γὰρ introduces a further reason for their dislike of him. Cp. *Thucyd.* i 138, 2 ἀφικόμενος γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας καὶ θεοὶ εἰδὲς πῶς Ἑλλήνων διὰ τε τῆν προὔπαρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπιτάδα ἤν ὑπερβίη αὐτῷ δουλώσων, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πείραν ἰδοῦς ξυμερὸς φαίνεσθαι. αἱ τιμαί, 'the honours conferred on him.'

33. *κυνηγεσίων* is from *κυνηγέσιον*, *venatio*. Cp. *Pelop.* c. 4, 1 *καλαίστρας καὶ κυνηγέσια*, *Sull.* c. 5, 1 *κυνηγέσια λαμπρά*, *Sert.* c. 13, 1 *πλάτους χρόματος ἀεὶ καὶ κυνηγεσίαις*, *Artax.* c. 6, 2, *Rompr.* c. 51, 1 *ἐν θήραις καὶ κυνηγεσίαις*, *Alex.* c. 40, 3 *ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίαις*, *Isocr. Areop.* § 45 *περὶ τὰ . . . κυνηγέσια διατρέβων*, *Xen. Cyr.* c. 3, 11 *τοῦ ἐπιθυμιότατος κυνηγεσίων*, c. 1, 12 *τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς ἐκ τῶν κυνηγεσίων*, c. 2, 2 *εἰθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιπέδωμα τὸ τῶν κυνηγεσίων*. The form *κυνηγέσια* is not used by Xenophon or Plutarch. Hunting was a very favourite amusement with the Persian kings, and preparations were often made for it on a large scale, as we know from *Xen. Cyr.* i iv 14 ff.

34. τῶν οἰκοῦ διατρέβων, 'his indoor pastimes and pursuits.' See n. to c. 2, 3.

36. διακοδοῦσαι: c. 2, 3. τῶν μαγικῶν λόγων, 'the religious doctrines of the Magians.' The ancient and venerable Magian religion was the worship of the elements, in which there were no temples, images or altars, but only sacrifice on the high mountains (*Herod.* i 181, *Strabo Geogr.* xv c. 3 § 13, *Diog. Laert. Prooem.* §§ 6-9). This, however, was not the original religion of the Persians, whose most ancient belief was pure dualism. *Rawlinson's Herodotus Vol. I Essay v p. 426 ff.*

37. The following story comes from *Phylarchus (Müller F.H.G. i 239) ap. Suid. s.v. Τιάρια*. Demaratus was king of Sparta from about B.C. 510 to B.C. 491, when Cleomenes, his colleague, obtained his deposition by bribing the Delphic oracle. He thereupon went to the Persian court where he was favourably received by Darius. He accompanied Xerxes in his expedition to Greece, where he performed the part of the unheeded counsellor, *Herod.* vi 61-70, vii 101-105, 209, 234-5.

39. τὴν κίταριν. . . ἐπαυρόμενος = ὀρθῇ τῇ κίταρα (τίταρας l. 42), 'wearing his tiara upright, as the kings do.' The upright κίταρις (or κίταρις) was the symbol of royal dignity. Cp. Xen. An. II v 23 τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τίταραν βασιλεῖ μόνω ἐξέστιν ὀρθῶν ἔχειν, Cyr. VIII iii 13. Hence the joke in Arist. Av. 487 where it is said of the cock that ἔχειν, ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας, διαβάσκει ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆν κυρβασίαν τῶν ὀρθῶν μόνος ὀρθῶν. The royal bonnet worn by the kings of Persia, Armenia and Parthia differed from the ordinary tiara in being not flexible but tall, stiff and straight, like the crown of a hat. It was encircled by a blue diadem ornamented with white spots (Quint. Curt. III 3). These particulars, with the exception of the colour, are distinctly visible in the illustration from a Syrian medal representing Tigranes king of Armenia, given in A. Rich's *Illustrated Comp. to Gr. and Lat. Dict.* pp. 158^b, 661^b.

40. ἐσελάσαι εἰς Σάρδεων, 'to drive into and through Sardia.'

41. Μίθροπαύστης μὲν κτλ. answers to l. 45 ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως.

43. αὐτῇ μὲν . . . κεραυόν: the tiara would want brains under it, and outward marks of distinction alone do not make the king.

46 44. ὅν ἐπικαλύψει, *quod legit*; fut. ind. in a relative clause, expressing purpose, like a final clause, G. *MT.* § 565. Cp. Xen. Cyr. IV i 21, v ii 3, Thuc. VII 25, 1.

§ 4 l. 45. ἀπωσαμένου, 'giving him a repulse.'

46. ἔργῳ, 'angrily,' dat. of manner, as c. 12, 3 θυμῷ, c. 28, 1 σωπῇ.

47. ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχων πρὸς αὐτόν, 'to be inexorable towards him,' c. 2, 6, Polyb. XXI 14, 15 (XXI 31, 15 ed. Hultsch) πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔχειν ἀπαραιτήτως, εἰεῖν δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς.

48. δεηθεὶς . . . διήλλαξε, 'by his intercessions prevailed on the king and reconciled him to the offender.'

49. ἐφ' ὧν . . . ἀνεκράθησαν, 'in whose time Persian affairs were more mixed up with those of Greece.' The time meant is that subsequent to the Peloponnesian war, when the Persians so often entered into relations with the individual states of Greece.

51. δόακις δεηθεῖεν: G. *MT.* § 532, Ruth. § 297.

52. γράφειν <πρὸς> ἕκαστον: such is the conjectural emendation of Reiske (adopted by Blass, but not by Fuhr) for the reading of the MSS γράφειν ἕκαστον, where ἕκαστος is to be

be taken as a collective singular in partitive apposition with the plural βασιλείς. ὡς ἔσονται, 'that he would be.' The fut. opt. is not so frequently used as the fut. ind. in indirect discourse after past tenses. *G. M.T.* § 128.

53. παρ' αὐτῷ, *apud* α.

55. λαμπρῆς τραπέζης παραθέσσης, 'when a magnificent banquet had been served to him.' For τράπεζα, *cibi mensae appositae*, cp. Herod. i 162 τὸν Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ ἐδαισε, Eur. *Alc.* 2 θῆσαν τράπεζαν αἰτίου.

57. ἀπολέσθαι ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, 'we should have been undone, but for our undoing.' He meant that exile had proved their salvation. Sintenis compares the saying of Demochares about the demagogue Stratocles 'μαίρωτο μέντ' ἐν, εἰ μὴ μαίρωτο' (*Demetr.* c. 24, 5) i.e. because his gross flattery, amounting to madness, was a source of gain to him. The story is repeated *Mor.* 185 F, 328 F, 602 A.

58. εἰ πλείστοι, as Thucydides (i 138, 5) ταύτης γὰρ ἦρχε τῆς χώρας (Μαγνησίας), διότις βασιλείω αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτου, ἢ προσέφερε πενήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, Λάμψακον δὲ οἶνου, ἐδόκει γὰρ πολυούτατον τῶν τότε εἶναι, Μυῖοντα δὲ ὄψου, *Diod. Sic.* xi 57, 7 ἐδωρήσατο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πόλεις τρεῖς πρὸς διατροφὴν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν εὐθέτου, Μαγνησίαν μὲν τῆν ἐπὶ τῷ Μαϊάνδρῳ, πλείστον τῶν κατὰ τῆν Ἀσίαν πόλεων ἔχουσαν οἶνον, εἰς ἄρτους, Μυῖοντα δὲ εἰς ὄψον, ἔχουσαν θάλατταν εὐχθον, Λάμψακον δὲ, ἀμπελόφυτον ἔχουσαν χώραν πολλήν, εἰς οἶνον, *Athenaeus* i c. 54.

It was the custom of the eastern monarchs, instead of pensions to their favourites, to assign them cities and provinces, that is, in each case the portion of regal revenue or tribute levied in these districts was given up to them by the king. Cp. *Xen. Anab.* i iv 9 αἰ κῶμαι ἐν αἷς ἐσκήρουν Παρυστίδος ἦσαν, εἰς ζωγν δεδομένα. *Plato (Alcib.* i c. 40) tells us that many places were appropriated for the queen's wardrobe, one for her girdle, another for her head-dress etc., and that each place bore the name of that part of the dress which it was to furnish.

60. ὄψον: bread being regarded as the main nourishment, any articles of condiment as meat, fish or vegetables were included under the common name of ὄψον, *Xen. Oecon.* c. 5, 3 (ἢ γῆ) ὄψα πολλὰ τὰ μὲν φέει τὰ δὲ τρέφει. In later writers the word was applied particularly to fish, and so *Diodorus* l.c. understands it here, for he observes that Myus was chosen to provide ὄψον, because it had near it θάλασσαν εὐχθον. Magnesia, in the rich and fertile plain of the Maeander, the residence of Themistocles, was originally an Aeolian city, founded by Magnesians from Europe. It was destroyed in B.C. 726 and reoccupied by the Milesians.

61. *Lampsacus* in Mysia was one of the most famous Greek settlements on the Hellespont. It lay near the mouth of the

Propontis, nearly opp. to Callipolis (*Gallipoli*) on the Thracian coast ; it was named Pityusa before the Milesians settled there. During the Ionian revolt it fell into the hands of the Persians (Herod. v 117). After the battle of Mycale in B.C. 479 it sided with Athens, but revolted from her after the failure of the Sicilian expedition ; being however unfortified, it was easily retaken by Strombichides. Several distinguished men were born there, Charon the historian (c. 27, 1), Anaximenes the orator, and Metrodorus, the disciple of Epicurus. It was the chief seat of the worship of Priapus, hence called by Virgil (*Georg.* iv 111) *Hellespontiaca*. Myus was the smallest among the twelve Ionian cities. It was situated in Caria on the southern bank, about four miles from the mouth, of the Maeander. In the days of Strabo the population was so reduced that they abandoned their town and became incorporated with Miletus. Both Myus and Lampsacus, at least since the battle of Eurymelon (B.C. 466), belonged to the Athenian confederation : so that the assignment of their revenues to Them. could only have been nominal.

62. Νεάνθησ καὶ Φανίας : c. 1, 2. See also *Introduction*.

63. Percote (*Bergaz*) was on the S. side of the Hellespont between Abydos and Lampsacus (Strabo xiii 1, 20). It is mentioned by Homer *Il.* ii 835. Palaescopsis was the chief town in the interior of Mysia. In subsequent times Scepsis was the seat of a school of philosophy ; and it was here that the library of Aristotle was buried in a cellar after the death of Neleus, who inherited it from Theophrastus. See my n. to *Sull.* c. 26, 1. εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ ἀμπερόνην, 'for bedding and clothing.'

CHAPTER XXX

§ 1 l. 1. καταβαίνοντι πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις, 'as he was on his way to the sea-coast for the purpose of transacting some business relating (to the promised submission of) Hellas,' c. 29, 4.

3. τῆς ἀνω Φρυγίας i. q. τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας (τῆς κατ' Ἑλλησπόντου, 'inland' or Phrygia Maior, as it was called, to distinguish it from Phrygia Minor in Mysia on the Hellespont ; it formed the central plateau of Asia Minor westward of the river Halys (Herod. v 52), comprising the upper valley of the Maeander. See Xen. *Cyr.* i i 4 with my note.

4. παρεσκευάσας, 'having procured,' 'suborned.' *Cat. ma.* c. 15, 1 ἀπὸς δούκουσιν ἑτέροις συνηγεσάτο καὶ παρεσκευάσεν δλασ δούκουσιν. For other instances of this meaning see my n. to *Timol.* c. 16, 3.

5. ἔκταλαι = ἐκ ταλαιῶ, ἰσὺν ἐκτάειν, 'for a long time back.'

Πηρυγίχης (ed. Lobbeck p. 45) may ἀνάταλαι, ἔκταλαι, ἀμφὸν δουχραμαῖ· ἐκ ταλαιῶ γὰρ καὶ λέγεται. Εἰς is used in a prepositional meaning; with adverbs of time, in the Attic period, as εἰσόντες, εἰς τότε, ἐς τότε, ἐς ἄρα, ἐς ἄφ' εἰσάναξ, εἰς αὐθιγὰς, ἐς ἕπειτα, ἐς αὐτίκα, ἐς ἕστερον, ἐς τῆμας, εἰς αὐριον. But ἕστερον did not come into use until after the Attic period, though ἕξιν is found in Aristoph. *Av.* 334. Similarly ἔκταλαι is only found in such writers as Arrian, Apollonius, Josephus, Appollodorus. Plutarch uses it several times, *Artax.* c. 17, 1 ἔκταλαι πρὸς τὴν μάχην σπαργίαν, *Nic.* c. 9, 3 ἔκταλαι τῆς αἰρήτης ἀργυρομίτης, *Demetr.* c. 32, 2 τούτων τὸν βίον ἔκταλαι τοῦτον, *Timol.* c. 10, 4 ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς ἔκταλαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων, *comp. Scipior.* c. *Herod.* c. 1, 2 οἱ μὲν ἔκταλαι Τυρραίων ἔβουλον.

Πισιδίαι, Pisidians, inhabitants of the mountain district between Phrygia and Pamphylia, who were men of predatory habits. ἀνεκνωσόντας, future participle of purpose, c. 23, 3.

6. ἔταν . . . κατακεφαλῆ, 'whenever he should arrive at the so-called village of Leontocephalon and take up his quarters there.' For γίνεσθαι with προσα., cp. c. 2, 1 and see my *lex.* to *Xen. Cyr.* Vol. III p. 232^b. Λεοντοκέφαλον, 'Lion's Head,' is mentioned also by Arrian *Mithr.* c. 19 ἐς Λεόντων κεφαλῆ, ὀχυρώτατων χωρίων Φρυγίας.

8. μεσημβρίας, 'at noon.' τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν, Magna mater, Rhea, Cybele or Cybèle, the mountain goddess, the great centre of whose worship was at Pessinus in Phrygia, under the shadow of Mount Dindymon (hence her name Dindymene), on which was a cave containing what was believed to be the oldest of her sanctuaries. *Strab.* c. 26, 2. *Cobet sur. loc.* p. 525.

9. ἕστερον, 'be too late for,' 'miss,' an intentionally ambiguous expression for 'avoid.'

10. μὴ παραπέσῃς, 'lest you should fall into the jaws of,' c. 15, 2. ἀπὸ τούτου, 'in return for this warning.'

11. εὐαί κενὸν . . . Μηνουτοπόλεμον, 'I require of you Mneupolema (one of his daughters, c. 32, 1) for a handmaid.' The first of the two following participles is causal, the second temporal.

13. τὴν λαοφόρον sc. ὁδὸν (λαός, φέρω), 'the highway' to the coast. ἀπέχε, οὐκ ἴσθι, 'gave up.' Cp. *Thucyd.* viii 41, 1 εὐθὺς ἀπέχε τὸ ἐς τὴν Σίον ἔπειτα ἐς τὴν Καίανον. *ἐπέχε* sc. ὁδὸν.

14. παραλλάξας, 'passing by,' properly, 'changing one's position relatively to another object.'

Cp. *Pelop.* c. 23, 4 ἡ πέλαγξ ἐπιφραμένη μόνος ἑκείνους καὶ παραλλάσσουσα τοῖς ἄλλοις, *Pyrrh.* c. 7, 3 γενόμενος δὲ διαμαρτίας κατ' ὅσον ἀλλήλους παραλλάξας, *Agm.* c. 24, 3 μνηστὴρ ἕλκετο παραλλάξας τὸν Ἀργεῖον.

ἔμπροσθεν ἐξείλετο καταλαβῆναι τὴν πόλιν, *Cim. c. 1, 2* ἄρτι τὴν ναυτικὴν ἤλικίαν παραλλαχῶς, *Alcib. c. 7, 1* τὴν ναυτικὴν ἤλικίαν παραλλάσσων, *Xen. Hell. v i 12* ἐπεὶ παραλλάξαν οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν ἐπιβάν, *Polyb. v 80, 4* παραλλάξαν τὴν πόλιν, *XV 2, 8* εὖν παραλλάξουσιν τὸν Μακάρον ποταμὸν. For the meaning of the perf. pass. partic., see note on c. 24, 2.

§ 2 l. 15. τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἐνός, *unum ex iumentis*, the numeral adjective being almost equivalent to the indefinite pronoun—an usage not uncommon with the partitive genitive, but without it, peculiar to later Greek. Cp. *Aral. c. 5* ἦν δὲ τῶν φρυγῶδων ἐνός, *Ξενοκλέους, ἀδελφός, Cleom. c. 7, 2* τῶν ἐφόρων ἕνα, *Thuc. i 85, 3* εἰς τῶν ἐφόρων τότε ὢν, *Isaeus iii 57* ἕξιας φεύγων ὑπὸ ἐνός τῶν φρατῶρων.

16. σκηπῆν, the 'tent' under which he passed the night, which would be taken down in the morning and carried with the rest of the baggage by the sumpter-beasts (*ὑποζύγια*). τὸν ποταμὸν, 'the river of the place.'

18. ἐκπετάσαντες ἀνέψυχον, 'had spread them out and were drying them.' *Syll. c. 29, 3* διαλιπὼν δσον ἀναψύξαι τὸν ἰδῶτα τῶν ἱππων.

19. τὰ βίβη λαβόντες, 'with their swords drawn.' ἐν τούτῳ, 'at that moment.'

20. προσεφέροντο, *accurrebant*, 'were coming to attack them,' c. 14, 2; c. 15, 2. τὰ ψυχόμενα, 'what was left to dry.'

πρὸς τὴν σελήην, 'by moonlight,' with ἰδόντες.

Cp. *Mor. 298 B* πρὸς ἥλιον ὀπῶσι τὰ κρέα, *Xen. Hell. v i 9* ναυμαχίας πρὸς τὴν σελήην γενομένης, *Menander (Fr. Com. Gr. ed. Kock iii 105)* πρὸς τὴν σελήην ἔρχετο τὴν σκιάν ἰδίων, where the ed. wrongly conjectures τῆς σελήνης, *Xen. Oecon. c. 16, 13* ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, *Arist. I'esp. 804* ἐνώσας πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, *Nub. 632*, *Luke xxii 56*, *Mark xiv 54* πρὸς τὸ φῶς, *Ruc. 1131* πρὸς τὴν διάλειον, *Herod. ii 92, 4* ταῦτα τὰ κρέια αἰαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον, *Timocl. Philod. fr. 1* (Kock ii p. 465) τῶν πρὸς εἰλην ἰχθίων ὀπτημένων.

23. ἀναπανόμενον, 'taking his rest.' τὴν ἀδελαν ἀνίσταλον, 'were drawing back (or raising) the curtain.'

24. οἱ παραφυλάσσοντες: c. 26, 1.

25. συλλαμβάνουσι: c. 6, 2.

26. τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ, 'the manifestation' of the presence of the goddess in aid of her worshipper.

Diod. Sic. i c. 25, 2 φασὶ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν Ἴσιν . . . κατὰ τοὺς ἕνους τοῖς ἀξίους δίδουσι βοήθηματα φανερῶς ἐπιδεικνυμένην τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιφάνειαν (*πρασεπίσταν suam declarare*, *Cic. de nat. d. 2, 2, 6*), 4 διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς θρησκείαις ἐπιφάνειαν, *Dion. Halic. ii 68, 1* πάντων δ' ἀξίων καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἰστοροῦσι τῆς θεᾶς, ἣν ἐπιδειξάτω ταῖς ἀξίους ἐγκληθείσας παρθένους. The same writer ib. censures the atheistic philosophers ἀπίστας διαστρόφους ('disparaging') τὰς ἐπιφάνειας τῶν θεῶν τὰς παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἢ βαρβάρων γενομένας as human inventions, ὡς οὐδεὶ θεῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδέτινα.

27. τῆς θεοῦ: c. 21, 2. κατασκευάσαν, 'built.' Cp. c. 21, 1.

5. λέγοντας *sc.* αὐτόν. *ἐτι* δέ, 'moreover,' as a further indication of the repugnance with which he was looked on by the assembled court officers.

6. ὁ χιλιάρχος, here used in its military sense, 'the commander of a thousand men,' Xen. *Anab.* viii i 9, *Cyr.* ii i 23. κατ' αὐτόν ἦν, 'was, as he was advancing to the presence of the king, close to him.'

8. ἀτράμα στενάξας, 'with a subdued sigh,' c. 27, 1.

9. ὄφιος Ἑλλησ is appositive predicate to εὖ understood. For Ἑλλησ as an adjective in prose, cp. Thuc. ii 36, 4 Ἑλλησ (!) πόλεμον, vii 42, 1, Xen. *An.* i x 7 τοὺς Ἑλλησας πελαστάς, vi v 28 οἱ Ἑλλησες ἱππεῖς. It is frequently so used in poetry, cp. Ἑλλησ φάτω Aesch. *Ag.* 1263, στελλῶ Ἑλλησ Eur. *Herac.* 131, Ἑλλησ φόνος *Med.* 1331, Ἑλλησες ἐκ γῆς *Iph. Taur.* 334. ποικίλος, 'subtle.' δαίμων: according to the religious ideas of the Persians (c. 28, 3) there were numberless good and bad spirits sent by the good and evil god respectively.

10. εὐ μὴν ἀλλά, 'however,' lit. 'his fears however (μὴν) were not justified but' etc. See c. 3, 2; c. 5, 4; c. 23, 3.

12. ἤδη, 'already,' with ὀφείλειν, c. 12, 2.

13. κομισάμενα αὐτόν, 'since he had brought himself.'

14. ἀπολήψασθαι δικαίως, 'he would be entitled to receive, as his due.' Xen. *An.* vii vii 14 ἀπολαβεῖν τῇ στρατιῇ τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθόν, 21, 25, *Symp.* c. 6, 1 τὰ νικητήρια φιλήματα ἀπολαμβάνειν τὸν Κροτόβουλον ἐκείνου, *sc.* iudicio addicti, *Andoc.* 3 § 15 τὰ ἐγκτήματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀπολάβωμεν, *Arist. Nub.* 1273 τὰ χρήματα ἀπολαβεῖν, *ib.* 1283 τὸ ἐπικηρυχθέν, 'the price offered for his head to the man who should bring it.'

17. ἔδδου, 'gave him leave.' & βούλοιο: G. § 247.

§ 21. 18. τὸν λόγον . . . διαφθεῖρειν, 'that human speech 45 resembled embroidered tapestry; for as the latter, when spread out, shows off its figures, so the former, but when folded up keeps them from view and spoils them.'

For instances of καί in apodosis, answering to ὡς in protasis, and assuming the relation, which οὕτως would have expressed, in addition to its proper meaning, cp. Num. c. 8, 4 μέγα γὰρ ἦν μέρος, ὡς ἐκείνη τῆς φιλοσοφίας, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς πολιτείας ἢ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἔγνωσα καὶ διατριβή, *Nor.* 153 D ὡς οὖν ἔγνωστο τότε, καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἀπηγγέσμαι τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, Xen. *Mem.* ii li 2, iv iv 7 ὡσπερ σὺ, καὶ ἐγὼ αἶ το αὐτὰ λέγω, Thuc. ii 98, 4 ὡς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐχώρουν εὐθύς, iv 8, 7; vii a. 48, 1 ὡς ἐπέσπε, καὶ τὴν ἐπιχειρήσασιν τὸν Ἑσπολλαν ἐποσκεῖτο, c. 60, 3; viii c. 1, 5; c. 8, 2; c. 21, 5 ὡς ἔπειτα καὶ ἔθεσαν ταῦτα, Herod. i 79, 2 ὡς δὲ οὐ ταῦτα ἔθεξ, καὶ ἵπποις, vii 126, 2, *En. Nestor.* vi 10 γρηθήτω τὸ θέλημα σου ὡς ἐν ὄρασι καὶ ἐν γῆ.

22. διαφθέραν, by making them unrecognisable. So it will be, he means, with his own statement when imperfectly rendered by an interpreter: therefore he declines for the present to avail himself of the proffered leave to speak. *ἔθεν*: c. 2, 2. *χρόνου δεῖν* i.e. to learn how *ἐκτελεῖν ὡς στρώματα λόγων τῶν Περσικῶν*.

23. τῇ εἰκασίᾳ, 'the simile,' *Mor.* 109 Ε τὸ τρίτον ἦν τοῦτο τῆς Σωκρατικῆς εἰκασίας, 765 Ε λέγοντες πρὸς τὸ ποικίλον τοῦ πάθους καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γυγνέσθαι τὴν εἰκασίαν. The figurative manner of speaking in use among Eastern nations pleased the king.

24. λαμβάνειν sc. χρόνον.

ἐνιαυτὸν, '(one) year.' Cp. Xen. *Cyr.* I v 1 ἡμέρας, 'one day,' VI ii 34, μήνα, 'one month' VII v 13. So Thuc. I 137, 4 βούλομαι δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχῶν αὐτὸς σοι περὶ ὧν ἦκω δηλώσαι.

Philostratus (*Imag.* II 31) after describing a portrait of Them. adds:—Θεμιστοκλῆς γὰρ, οἶμαι, ἀκούεις, τὴν τοῦ Νεοκλέους, Ἀθήνηθεν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἦεν μετὰ τὴν Σαλαμίαν τὴν θείαν ἀπορούνη ὅσοι συνήσθηται ποτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ διαλέγεσθαι βασιλεῖ περὶ ὧν στρατηγούσης αὐτοῦ ὁ Πέρσης ὤνετο. ἐκλήθηται δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τῶν Μηδικῶν, ἀλλὰ τεθάρσεναν ὅλον καθύπερθε ἐπὶ τοῦ Λίδου, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμεδαυτοῦ τρόπου μηδὲν ἢ Θεμιστοκλή, ἰξέπότης γὰρ ἐκεῖ τοῦτο.

25. ἀποχρόντως, 'sufficiently.' Thuc. I 138, 1 ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ἐπέσχε τῆς Περσίδος γλώσσης ὅσα ἠδύνατο κατενόησε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς χώρας, Nepos *Them.* c. 10 *litteris sermonibus Persarum sc. dedit, quibus adeo cruditus est, ut multo commodius dicatur apud regem verba fecisse quam ii poterant qui in Perside erant nati*, but this is clearly an exaggerated statement.

26. ἐνετίγγανε: c. 27, 1. δι' αὐτοῦ) (δι' ἐρμηνέως. τοῖς ἑτέροις X τοῖς δυνατοῖς, those who did not belong to the court: cp. c. 26, 3.

27. δόξαν παρέσχε, 'gave occasion to fancy about him,' 'made them suppose.' Cp. c. 4, 3; c. 10, 5.

28. διαλέχθαι, 'that he had conversed.' πολλῶν καινοτομουμένων περὶ τὴν αὐλήν, 'as many innovations were being introduced by the king about his court and his favourites at that time.' See n. to c. 3, 2.

30. φθόνον ἔσχε, 'incurred their dislike,' 'was a subject of their jealousy,' like *ἔλεος ἔχειν* c. 10, 5. Cp. Isocr. *Phil.* § 68 τὰ ταυῦτα τῶν ἔργων φθόνον ἔχει καὶ δυσμένειαν, Pind. *Pyth.* XI 45 (29) ἔσχει δλοσ οὐ μείωρα φθόνον. It also means 'to feel jealousy' as in Aesch. *Pr.* V. 859, just as *συγγνώμην ἔχειν* bears the double meaning of 'forgiving' and 'being forgiven.' *παρὰ, apud.*

31. ὄφ: c. 4, 3. κατ' ἐκείνων, 'to their prejudice.' *παρηρησία* χρῆσθαι = *παρηρησίζεσθαι*, as in *Cor.* c. 18, 3, *Lys.* c. 22, 1, *Euseb.* c. 2, 1, *Pomp.* c. 44, 1, *Mor.* 47 A, 66 A, 69 E, 70 E, 71 D, 190 F, 229 C, 716 E. The phrase *παρηρησίαν ἀγαθῶν* sometimes takes its place.

32. ἀποτεταλημένος, 'for having had the great presumption,' stronger than *τεταλημένος*.

§ 3 l. 32. οὐδὲ γὰρ introduces a further reason for their dislike of him. Cp. *Thucyd.* i 138, 2 ἀφικόμενος γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας καὶ θεοὶ οὐδέτις πω Ἑλλήνων διὰ τε τὴν προὔπαρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα ἦν ὑπερθεῖν αὐτῷ δουλώσειν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πείραν διδοῦς ζυγετὸς φαίνεσθαι. αἱ τιμαὶ, 'the honours conferred on him.'

33. *κυνηγέσιον* is from *κυνηγέσιον*, *venatio*. Cp. *Pelop.* c. 4, 1 *παλαίστρας καὶ κυνηγέσια*, *Sull.* c. 5, 1 *κυνηγέσια λαμπρά*, *Sert.* c. 13, 1 *πλάσιος χρόμενος ἀεὶ καὶ κυνηγέσιοις*, *Artax.* c. 6, 2, *Pomp.* c. 51, 1 *ἐν θήραις καὶ κυνηγέσιοις*, *Alex.* c. 40, 3 *ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς κυνηγέσιοις*, *Isocr. Areop.* § 45 *περὶ τὰ . . . κυνηγέσια διατρίβειν*, *Xen. Cym.* c. 3, 11 *τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας κυνηγέσιον*, c. 1, 12 *τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς ἐκ τῶν κυνηγέσιον*, c. 2, 2 *ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ τῶν κυνηγέσιον*. The form *κυνηγέσια* is not used by Xenophon or Plutarch. Hunting was a very favourite amusement with the Persian kings, and preparations were often made for it on a large scale, as we know from *Xen. Cyr.* i iv 14 ff.

34. τῶν οἴκοι διατρίβων, 'his indoor pastimes and pursuits.' See n. to c. 2, 3.

36. διακοσμοί: c. 2, 3. τῶν μαγικῶν λόγων, 'the religious doctrines of the Magians.' The ancient and venerable Magian religion was the worship of the elements, in which there were no temples, images or altars, but only sacrifices on the high mountains (*Herod.* i 131, *Strabo Geogr.* xv c. 3 § 13, *Diog. Laert. Prooem.* §§ 6-9). This, however, was not the original religion of the Persians, whose most ancient belief was pure dualism. Rawlinson's *Herodotus Vol. i Essey* v p. 426 ff.

37. The following story comes from Phylarchus (*Müller F.H.G.* i 239) ap. *Suid. s.v. Τυάρτα*. Demaratus was king of Sparta from about B.C. 510 to B.C. 491, when Cleomenes, his colleague, obtained his deposition by bribing the Delphic oracle. He thereupon went to the Persian court where he was favourably received by Darius. He accompanied Xerxes in his expedition to Greece, where he performed the part of the unheeded counsellor, *Herod.* vi 61-70, vii 101-105, xvii, 234-5.

39. τὴν κίταριν. . . ἐπαυρόμενος = ὀρθῇ τῇ κίταρα (τίραρα l. 42), 'wearing his tiara upright, as the kings do.' The upright κίταρις (or κίταρις) was the symbol of royal dignity. Cp. Xen. An. II v 23 τῆρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τίραρα βασιλεῖ μόνω ἐξέστιν ὀρθῆρ ἔχειν, Cyr. VIII iii 13. Hence the joke in Arist. Av. 487 where it is said of the cock that ἔχειν, ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας, διαβάσκει ἐπὶ τῆρ κεφαλῆρ τῆρ κυρβασίαν τῶν ὀρθίθων μόνος ὀρθῆρ. The royal bonnet worn by the kings of Persia, Armenia and Parthia differed from the ordinary tiara in being not flexible but tall, stiff and straight, like the crown of a hat. It was encircled by a blue diadem ornamented with white spots (Quint. Curt. III 3). These particulars, with the exception of the colour, are distinctly visible in the illustration from a Syrian medal representing Tigranes king of Armenia, given in A. Rich's *Illustrated Comp. to Gr. and Lat. Dict.* pp. 158^b, 661^b.

40. εἰσελάσαι. διὰ Σάρδεων, 'to drive into and through Sardia.'

41. Μισροπαύστῃ μὲν κτλ. answers to l. 45 ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέωρ.

43. αὐτῇ μὲν . . . κεραυόν: the tiara would want brains under it, and outward marks of distinction alone do not make the king.

46 44. ὅν ἐπικαλέσῃ, *quod legit*; fut. ind. in a relative clause, expressing purpose, like a final clause, G. *MT.* § 565. Cp. Xen. Cyr. IV i 21, v ii 3, Thuc. VII 25, 1.

§ 4 l. 45. ἀπωσαμένου, 'giving him a repulse.'

46. ὀργῆ, 'angrily,' dat. of manner, as c. 12, 3 θυμῶ, c. 28, 1 σιωπῆ.

47. ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχειν πρὸρ αὐτόν, 'to be inexorable towards him,' c. 2, 6, Polyb. XXII 14, 15 (XXI 31, 15 ed. Hultsch) πρὸρ ἐκείνωρ ἔχειν ἀπαραιτήτωρ, ἔλειν δὲ τοῦρ πολλούρ.

48. θεηθεῖρ . . . συνέλλαξε, 'by his intercessions prevailed on the king and reconciled him to the offender.'

49. ἐφ' ὅν . . . ἀνεκράθησαν, 'in whose time Persian affairs were more mixed up with those of Greece.' The time meant is that subsequent to the Peloponnesian war, when the Persians so often entered into relations with the individual states of Greece.

51. ὁράκωρ θεηθεῖων: G. *MT.* § 532, Ruth. § 297.

52. γράφωρ <πρὸρ> ἕκαστω: such is the conjectural emendation of Reiske (adopted by Blass, but not by Fuhr) for the reading of the MSS γράφωρ ἕκαστω, where ἕκαστω is to

be taken as a collective singular in partitive apposition with the plural βασιλείς. *ὅς ἔσονται*, 'that he would be.' The fut. opt. is not so frequently used as the fut. ind. in indirect discourse after past tenses. G. *MT.* § 128.

53. *καρ' αὐτῷ, ἀρὰ δὲ.*

55. *λαμπρῶς τραπέζης παραθέσεως*, 'when a magnificent banquet had been served to him.' For *τράπεζα*, *cibi mensae appositi*, cp. Herod. i 162 τὸν Ἀστυάγη ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ εἰδασε, Eur. *Alc.* 2 θῆσαν τράπεζαν αἰέσαι.

57. ἀπολύμεθα ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἀπολύμεθα, 'we should have been undone, but for our undoing.' He meant that exile had proved their salvation. Siuteus compares the saying of Demochares about the demagogue Stratocles 'μαίνοιο μὲντᾶν, εἰ μὴ μαίνοιο' (*Demetr.* c. 24, 5) i.e. because his gross flattery, amounting to madness, was a source of gain to him. The story is repeated *Mor.* 185 F, 328 F, 602 A.

58. οἱ πλείστοι, as Thucydides (i 138, 5) ταύτης γὰρ ἤρχε τῆς χώρας (Μαγνησίας), δόντος βασιλέως αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον, ἣ προσέφερε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, λάμβανον δὲ οἶνον, ἐδόκει γὰρ πολυονότατον τῶν τότε εἶναι, Μιούρτα δὲ ὄψον, Diod. Sic. XI 57, 7 ἐδαρῆσατο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πόλεις τρεῖς πρὸς διατροφὴν καὶ ἀπόδανσιν εὐθέτους, Μαγνησίαν μὲν τῆν ἐπὶ τῷ Μαϊάνδρῳ, πλείστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πόλεων ἔχουσαν σίτον, εἰς ἄρτους, Μιούρτα δὲ εἰς ὄψον, ἔχουσαν θάλατταν εὐχθον, Λάμβανον δὲ, ἀμπελόφυτον ἔχουσαν χώραν πολλήν, εἰς οἶνον, Athenaeus i c. 54.

It was the custom of the eastern monarchs, instead of pensions to their favourites, to assign them cities and provinces, that is, in each case the portion of regal revenue or tribute levied in these districts was given up to them by the king. Cp. Xen. *Anab.* i iv θ αἰ κωμαί ἐν εἰς ἰσκήτρων Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν, εἰς ζώνην δεδομένηαι. Plato (*Alcib.* i c. 40) tells us that many places were appropriated for the queen's wardrobe, one for her girdle, another for her head-dress etc., and that each place bore the name of that part of the dress which it was to furnish.

60. ὄψον: bread being regarded as the main nourishment, any articles of condiment as meat, fish or vegetables were included under the common name of ὄψον, Xen. *Oecon.* c. 5, 3 (ἢ γῆ) ὄψα πολλὰ τὰ μὲν φῖαι τὰ δὲ τρέφει. In later writers the word was applied particularly to fish, and so Diodorus i.c. understands it here, for he observes that Myus was chosen to provide ὄψον, because it had near it θάλασσαν εὐχθον. Magnesia, in the rich and fertile plain of the Maeander, the residence of Themistocles, was originally an Aeolian city, founded by Magnesians from Europe. It was destroyed in a.c. 726 and reoccupied by the Milesians.

61. Lampsacus in Mysia was one of the most famous Greek settlements on the Hellespont. It lay near the mouth of the

Propontis, nearly opp. to Callipolis (*Gallipoli*) on the Thracian coast; it was named Pityusa before the Milesians settled there. During the Ionian revolt it fell into the hands of the Persians (Herod. v 117). After the battle of Mycale in a.c. 479 it sided with Athens, but revolted from her after the failure of the Sicilian expedition; being however unfortified, it was easily retaken by Strombichides. Several distinguished men were born there, Charon the historian (c. 27, 1), Anaximenes the orator, and Metrodorus, the disciple of Epicurus. It was the chief seat of the worship of Priapus, hence called by Virgil (*Georg.* iv 111) *Hellespontiacus*. Myus was the smallest among the twelve Ionian cities. It was situated in Caria on the southern bank, about four miles from the mouth, of the Maeander. In the days of Strabo the population was so reduced that they abandoned their town and became incorporated with Miletus. Both Myus and Lampsacus, at least since the battle of Eurymelon (a.c. 466), belonged to the Athenian confederation: so that the assignment of their revenues to Them. could only have been nominal.

62. Νεάνθησ καὶ Φαυλάσ : c. 1, 2. See also *Introduction*.

63. Percote (*Bergaz*) was on the S. side of the Hellespont between Abydos and Lampsacus (Strabo XIII 1, 20). It is mentioned by Homer *I.* II 835. Palaescepsis was the chief town in the interior of Mysia. In subsequent times Scepsis was the seat of a school of philosophy; and it was here that the library of Aristotle was buried in a cellar after the death of Neleus, who inherited it from Theophrastus. See my n. to *Sull.* c. 26, 1. εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ ἀμπερόνην, 'for bedding and clothing.'

CHAPTER XXX

§ 1 l. 1. καταβαίνοντι πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεισ, 'as he was on his way to the sea-coast for the purpose of transacting some business relating (to the promised submission of) Hellas,' c. 29, 4.

3. τῆσ ἄνω Φρυγίασ i.e. τῆσ μεγάλησ Φρυγίασ (ἢ τῆσ παρ' Ἑλλάσποντον, 'inland' or Phrygia Maior, as it was called, to distinguish it from Phrygia Minor in Mysia on the Hellespont; it formed the central plateau of Asia Minor westward of the river Halys (Herod. v 52), comprising the upper valley of the Maeander. See Xen. *Cyr.* i i 4 with my note.

4. παρεσκευάσθε, 'having procured,' 'suborned.' *Cat. ma.* c. 15, 1 ἀδρὲσ δάκτυλοσ ἑτέροσ συνηγώλασθε καὶ παρεσκευάσθεσ δασ δάκτυλοσ. For other instances of this meaning see my n. to *Timol.* c. 16, 3.

5. ἑκαταίαι = ἐκ παλαιού, *ιαμ dudum*, 'for a long time back.'

Phrynichus (ed. Lobeck p. 45) says ἐκπαλαι, ἑκαταίαι, ἀμφὸν δευχράται· ἐκ παλαιού γὰρ καὶ λέγει. Eis is used in a prepositional meaning with adverbs of time, in the Attic period, as εἰσέντε, εἰς τότε, εἰς πότε, εἰς δεύ, εἰς ἄφ' ἑ, εἰσάναξ, εἰς ἀθήε, εἰς ἔπειτα, εἰς αὐτίκα, εἰς ἕστερον, εἰς τόμας, εἰς ἄβριον. But ἔστερον did not come into use until after the Attic period, though ἔστερον is found in Aristoph. *Av.* 834. Similarly ἑκαταίαι is only found in such writers as Arrian, Apollonius, Josephus, Apollodorus. Plutarch uses it several times, *Arif.* c. 17, 1 ἑκαταίαι πρὸς τὴν μάχην σταγῶν, *Nic.* c. 9, 3 ἑκαταίαι τῆς εἰρήνης ἡρεσμῶν, *Demetr.* c. 59, 2 τούτων τὸν βίον ἑκαταίαι πούδων, *Timol.* c. 10, 4 καλοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἑκαταίαι προθύμως Ἀδραμάχου, *comp. Scitor.* c. Εὐκα. c. 1, 2 οἱ μὲν ἑκαταίαι Ῥωμαῖοι ἰδοῦσαν.

Ἰπώδες, Pisidians, inhabitants of the mountain district between Phrygia and Pamphylia, who were men of predatory habits. ἀποκτενοῦντας, future participle of purpose, c. 23, 3.

6. ὅταν . . . καταυλισθῆ, 'whenever he should arrive at the 47 so-called village of Leontocephalon and take up his quarters there.' For γίνεσθαι with prepos., cp. c. 2, 1 and see my *Lex.* to *Xen. Cyr.* Vol. III p. 232^b. Λεοντοκέφαλον, 'Lion's Head,' is mentioned also by Appian *Mithr.* c. 19 ἐς Λεόντων κεφαλῆς, ὀχυρώτατον χωρίον Φρυγίας.

8. μεσημβρίας, 'at noon.' τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν, Magna mater, Rhea, Cybele or Cybēbe, the mountain goddess, the great centre of whose worship was at Pessinus in Phrygia, under the shadow of Mount Dindymon (hence her name Dindymene), on which was a cave containing what was believed to be the oldest of her sanctuaries. *θεαρ.* c. 26, 2. *Cobet ear.* *lect.* p. 525.

9. ὥσπερ, 'be too late for,' 'miss,' an intentionally ambiguous expression for 'avoid.'

10. μὴ περιπέσῃς, 'lest you should fall into the jaws of,' c. 15, 2. ἀντὶ τούτου, 'in return for this warning.'

11. εὖ αἰτῶ . . . Μνηστωτόλιμαν, 'I require of you Mnesiptolema (one of his daughters, c. 32, 1) for a handmaid.' The first of the two following participles is causal, the second temporal.

13. τὴν λεωφόρον κ. ὁδόν (λεώς, φέρω), 'the highway' to the coast. ἀφήκε, *omisit*, 'gave up.' Cp. *Thucyd.* VIII 41, 1 εὐθὺς ἀφ' εἰς τὸ ἐς τὴν Χίον ἔπειτα ἐς τὴν Καῦνον. ἑτέρω κ. ὁδῷ.

14. παραλλάξας, 'passing by,' properly, 'changing one's position relatively to another object.'

Op. Pelop. c. 23, 4 ἡ φάλαγξ ἀπεφορμίσθη μόνους ἑκείνους καὶ παραλλάξουσα τοὺς ἄλλους, *Egypt.* c. 7, 3 μετακίσησθε εἰς διαμεγείρας καὶ ἴδον ἄλλήλους παραλλάξαν, *Arca.* c. 31, 3 κωφὸν ἰδοῦντος παραλλάξας τὸν Ἀγγελῆσαν

ἔπιον ἐξείσθη καταλαβὴν τὴν πόλιν, Cism. c. 1, 2 ἔπει τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παραλλαχότος, Alcib. c. 7, 1 τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παραλλέσσων, Xen. Hell. v 1 15 ἐπει παρήλλαξαν οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν ἐπίδραν, Polyb. v 80, 4 παραλλέξας τὴν πόλιν, XV 2, 8 εἰς παραλλέξωσι τὸν Μακάραν ποταμὸν. For the meaning of the perf. pass. partic., see note on c. 24, 2.

§ 2 l. 15. τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἐνός, *unum ex iumentis*, the numeral adjective being almost equivalent to the indefinite pronoun—an usage not uncommon with the partitive genitive, but without it, peculiar to later Greek. Cp. *Aral.* c. 5 ἦν δὲ τῶν φουγάδων ἐνός, Ζενοκλέου, ἀδελφός, Cleom. c. 7, 2 τῶν ἐφόρων ἓνα, Thuc. I 85, 3 εἰς τῶν ἐφόρων τότε ὧν, Isaeus III 57 ξενίας φεύγων ὑπὸ ἐνός τῶν φρατόρων.

16. σκηρῆν, the 'tent' under which he passed the night, which would be taken down in the morning and carried with the rest of the baggage by the sumpter-beasts (ὑποζύγια). τὸν ποταμὸν, 'the river of the place.'

18. ἐκπετάσαντες ἀνέψυχον, 'had spread them out and were drying them.' *Sull.* c. 29, 3 διαλιπὼν ὅσον ἀναψύξει τὸν ἰδρώτα τῶν ἱππῶν.

19. τὰ ξίφη λαβόντες, 'with their swords drawn.' ἐν τούτῳ, 'at that moment.'

20. προσεφέροντο, *accurrebant*, 'were coming to attack them,' c. 14, 2; c. 15, 2. τὰ ψυχόμενα, 'what was left to dry.'

πρὸς τὴν σελήνην, 'by moonlight,' with ἰδόντες.

Cp. *Hor.* 298 B πρὸς ἥλιον ἄνωγει τὰ κρέα, Xen. *Hell.* v 1 9 ναυμαχίας πρὸς τὴν σελήνην γενομένης, Menander (*Fr. Com. Gr.* ed. Kock III 105) πρὸς τὴν σελήνην ἔρχετὶ τὴν σκιάν ἰδίων, where the ed. wrongly conjectures τῆς σελήνης, Xen. *Occid.* c. 16, 13 ἐπὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, Arist. *Gen.* 804 ἐσθῶσα πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, *Nub.* 632, Luke XIII 56, Mark XIV 54 πρὸς τὸ φῶς, *Poc.* 1181 πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, Herod. II 92, 4 ταῦτα τὰ κρέια αἰκίνουσιν πρὸς ἥλιον, *Timocl. Philo.* fr. 1 (Kock II p. 465) τῶν πρὸς εἰλην ἰχθίων ἄσπρητων.

23. ἀναπανόμενον, 'taking his rest.' τὴν αὐλαίαν ἀνίσταλλον, 'were drawing back (or raising) the curtain.'

24. οἱ παραφυλάσσοντες: c. 26, 1.

25. συλλαμβάνουσι: c. 6, 2.

26. τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ, 'the manifestation' of the presence of the goddess in aid of her worshipper.

Diod. Sic. I c. 25, 2 φασὶ δ' Αἰγύπτῳ τὴν Ἴσιον . . . κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους τοῖς ἐξέσθαι δίδουσι βοηθήματα φανεράς ἐπιδεικνυμένην τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιφάνειαν (προσεσπίσιαν σημα docetate, Cic. *de nat. d.* 2, 2, 6), 4 διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς θεραπείαις ἐπιφάνειαν, Dion. *Halic.* II 68, 1 πᾶν δ' ἔστιν καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἰστορησῆαι τῆς θεᾶς, ἣν ἐπεδείξατο ταῖς ἀδικίαις ἐμληθησῆσαι παρθένους. The same writer id. censures the atheistic philosophers ἀπίστας διαστρόφους ('disparaging') τὰς ἐπιφανείας τῶν θεῶν τὰς παρ' ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων γενομένας as human inventions, ὡς οὐδεὶς θεῶν μίλλον ἀνθρώπων οὐδέσιν.

27. τῆς θεοῦ: c. 21, 2. κατασκευάσαν, 'built.' Cp. c. 21, 1.

28. For *Δυσφορήτης*, see n. to l. 8.

29. *ἴρασαν ἀπέδειξεν*, 'appointed (her) its priestess.' Herod. III 63 τὸν Καμβύσην ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδειξε, Xen. *Anab.* I i 2 στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων θεοῖ κτλ.

CHAPTER XXXI

§ 1 l. 1. *ὡς ἦλθεν . . . καὶ ἰδεῖτο*, 'when he had arrived and was viewing leisurely.'

2. *τὴν κατασκευὴν*, 'the (beautiful) architecture of the temple.'

κατασκευή is applied by Thucyd. (I 10, 2) to public and private edifices, with their internal arrangements, of a city (εἰ ἢ πόλις ἐρημοθεῖα λειψομένη δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ εἰδῆ). Cp. comp. *Per. c. Fab. c. 2, 4 κατασκευαῖς οἰκοδομημάτων*, *Alc. c. 86, 2 ἐνεκάλου αὐτῆ καὶ τῆρ τῶν τοιῶν κατασκευῆ*, *Arist. c. 24, 4 κατασκευὰς ἀγαλμάτων καὶ ἱερῶν*, *Lucull. c. 39, 1 οἰκοδομὰς πολυτελεῖς καὶ κατασκευὰς περικατῶν καὶ Λουτρίων*, *Ages. c. 19, 5 οἰκίας κατασκευῆ*, *Mor. 409 A, 785 F κατασκευὰς οἰκοδομημάτων νεοκρησῆς*.

3. *ἀναθημάτων*, 'votive offerings,' c. 5, 3 ; c. 15, 2.

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4. *τὴν καλομένην ἰδροφορὸν*, 'the so-called water-carrier,' a work of art known by that name. It may have been one of those which were taken by Xerxes from Athens and returned by Alexander the Great, together with the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the work of Praxiteles (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* XXXIV c. 8, 19, 70).

5. *μέγεθος δέπηχυν*, 'two cubits in height.'

6. *ἰδάτων ἐπιστάτης*, 'warden of the water-supply.' It is not certain whether this officer was one of the regular commissioners of the public works (*ἐπιστάται τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων*, *assistentibus, praefecti operum*) at Athens or not. A similar officer was appointed for the care of the roads (*ὁδοποιῆς*) Aeschin. *Clea.* § 25. The water wardenship was a very important office in a country like Attica, where the supply was deficient. One of his chief duties would be to superintend the public supply of water from the Cephissus and other small streams and conduits, and see that no one drew off (*ὕφαιρῆσθαι*) more than he was entitled to, or diverted their course (*παροχετεύειν*).

For 'Αθήνησι, cp. c. 1, 1.

7. *δῶν*, 'convicting,' a regular Attic law-term, like *φύγων*, *ἀποφύγων*, *διώκων*. *παροχετεύοντας*: cp. *Cal. ma. c. 19, 1 ἀποκόπτων ὄχετόν*, οἷς τὸ παραρτὸν δημῶσιν ὕδαρ ἔκτολαμβάνοντας ἀπήγγον εἰς οἰκίας ἰδίας καὶ κήπων.

8. ἀνέθηκεν ἐκ τῆς ζημίας ποιησάμενος, 'had got made out of the fines (of those who had paid their forfeits) and dedicated.' So, as we are told by Pausanias (v 21, 2), the Eleans had certain statues of Zeus made in bronze with the fines paid by athletes (ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἐπιβληθείσης ἀθληταῖς ζημίας ὑβρίσασιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα). For ποιησάμενος, cp. c. 5, 4; for ἐκ τῆς ζημίας, c. 4, 1 ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων κατασκευάσασθαι τρηφείς, and for ἀνέθηκεν, c. 5, 2; c. 15, 4.

ἔτε δὴ παθὼν τι πρὸς, 'whether it was because his feelings were touched at,' 'he was affected by.'

Cp. Dem. c. 10, 3 τούτο μὲν ἀθλον εἶπε πρὸς τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶπε πρὸς τὸν βίον ἐπεκόθει, Sol. c. 37, 3 οὐτ' ἐπαθεν οὐδὲν οὐτ' εἶπε πρὸς τὴν ὕψιν, ὣν ὁ Κροίσος προσέβηκεν, Lys. c. 2, 1 βούλονται γὰρ εὐθὺς εἰς ἀρχῆς πάσχειν τι τοῖς παιδαῖς αὐτῶν πρὸς δόξαν, Mor. 682 B καλῶς ἐαυτῷ φανῆσι καὶ παθῶν τι πρὸς τὴν ὕψιν, 749 D ἐπαθὲ τι πρὸς τὸ μειράκιον αὐτῷ.

12. λόγον . . . προσήνεγκεν, 'addressed a proposal.' Cp. Arist. c. 16, 1 Πανσωνίας Ἀριστείδη προσέφερε λόγον, ἀξίων τοῦς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν μετατάξαι.

14. χαλεπαίνοντος: c. 19, 1.

§ 2 l. 16. εἰς τὴν γυναικωνίτιν κατέφυγε, 'had recourse to the satrap's harem' to intercede for him. Artox. c. 28, 1 τοῦ μὲν ἀδελφοῦ διὰ τῆς γυναικωνιτιδος ἐνδυομένου τοῖς πράγμασιν.

18. ἐκείνον κατεπράυνε τῆς ὀργῆς, constr. like ναύειν. Fuhr reads κατέπραυσε cl. Philop. c. 16, 1. He also suggests the omission of τῆς ὀργῆς.

19. παρέσχεν ἑαυτὸν εὐλαβέστερον, 'showed himself more circumspect,' c. 5, 4.

20. καὶ τὸν φθόνον . . . δεδοικῆς, not 'the jealousy as well as the enmity' (Reiske), for καὶ belongs to the whole sentence and not to φθόνον only. εὐ γάρ belongs to the participial clause, not to διῆγε, 'for he did not travel about Asia (because of their jealousy) but lived quietly at Magnesia.'

21. Θεότομος: See Introduction.

22. ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ οὐκῶν: To the period of his rule in Magnesia a most interesting numismatic monument belongs, of which two specimens only have been preserved—that in the British Museum is plated, the other is silver. The coin represents on the obverse Apollo with only a chlamys over his shoulders, leaning on a long staff in his left hand, from which a branch of laurel springs, with the inscription ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΣ engraved in characters of the middle of the fifth century, and on the reverse a raven, the bird of augury, with extended wings, and the letters MA below. A specimen of the coin is engraved in Waddington Mélanges de Numismatique

Pl. I, 2 and *Revue Numismatique* p. 47 ff., which is reproduced in Baumcister *Denkmäler* III p. 1762^b. *καρπούμενος δωρεάς*, 'in the enjoyment of presents (from the king),' c. 32, 4. Diod. XI 58, 1 ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατεβίωσε πάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν εὐπορούμενος.

23. *ὁμοία*, 'in like manner.'

Cr. Cat. ma. c. 11, 4 ὁμοία τοῖς πρώτοις ἀπομένους πολιτείας, Galb. c. 1, 4 τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ὁμοία τοῖς Λαγκηνοῖς Τριτακοῖς πάθει . . . καταλαμβάνει, *Artor.* c. 27, 5 εὐήμερον ὁμοία τοῖς πρώτοις, Thuc. I 24, 4 χρημάτων ὁμοίαι ὄντες ὁμοία τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις, VII 29, 4 τὸ γένος τῶν Θρακῶν ὁμοία τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ φοιησιωτῶν ἔστι, Herod. III 57, 2 ὁμοία τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις.

24. τοῖς ἀρίστοις, 'the chief men,' 'nobles,' c. 19, 3. ἀδεῶς, 'quietly,' 'unmolested,' partly in opp. to *πλανώμενος*, partly to what follows. οὐ πάντ' τι: c. 4, 2.

26. προσέχοντος: c. 2, 4. ἐπ' ἀσχολιῶν περὶ τὰς ἀνω πρῶτας, 'owing to his engagements about affairs in the interior,' above all the rising in Bactria. For *ἀσχολιῶν*, cp. c. 18, 3.

§ 3 l. 27. Αἰγυπτῶς ἀφισταμένη, 'the revolt of Egypt,' which happened in B.C. 460 under the leadership of Inarros the Libyan, who, acc. to Herod. (VII 7, 6), began his insurrection with the assassination of the Persian governor Achaemenes, the brother of Xerxes, who had been sent there after the suppression of the revolt of B.C. 486. Thuc. I 104 says that the Athenians sent ships from Cyprus to his assistance.

30. ἀναπλέουσαι: c. 16, 2.

31. ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὸν ἀντεπιχειρεῖν, 'caused him (the king) 49 to direct, withdrew, his attention to making a counter attack on the Greeks.'

Cr. *Γομφ.* c. 25, 1 τοῦτο δὴ μάλιστα Ῥωμαῖους ἐπέστρεψε θλιβομένους τῆ ἀγορᾷ . . . ἐκπεψαί: Πομπηίων ἀφαιρησόμενον τῶν κειρατῶν τῆν θάλασσαν. Lexicographers ignore this meaning of the verb. It corresponds to the use of the middle with the meaning 'to pay regard to,' (1) with the gen., Soph. Phil. 509, Plut. *Mor.* 432 c τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπιστρέφόμεναι, 831 b τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησαν ἐπιστρέφόμενον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, Theognis v. 440 τῶν ἰδίων οὐδὲν ἐπιστρέφεταί, Philostr. *Jun. imagr.* c. 6 οὐδὲν ἐπιστρέφόμενος τοῦ πικροῦ πλησίον ὄντος; (2) absolutely, Dem. c. *Aristocr.* § 136. In [Dem.] Phil. iv § 9 the reading is doubtful.

32. κωλύειν ἀξιασμένους: cp. Thucyd. I 26, 2 μὴ κωλύονται ἐπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν περιαιρούμενοι, Dion. Halic. *Ant. Rom.* VII 25, 3 εἰ μὴ κωλύσειαν αὐτὸν πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάγοντα. Hence Blass' conjectural reading *κολούει* is need. less. ἐπ' αὐτόν, 'against him,' with *ἀξιασμένους*.

33. συνάμεις ἐκινούοντο, 'forces were in movement.'

34. διαπέμποντο, 'were being despatched hither and thither,' cp. διαφέρεσθαι c. 14, 3. κατέβαινον: c. 26, 1.

36. τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξάπτουθα, 'to tackle Hellenic affairs in earnest.' Cp. Diod. Sic. XIII c. 10 ἐξήπταντο τῆς μάχης.

37. οὔτε δὲ ὀργὴν τινα κτλ., the beginning of the conclusion to the sentence commencing ὡς δ' Ἀλγυπτος l. 27.

39. πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον may be taken either with ἐπαρθεὶς or with δυνάμει. Sintenis suggests that πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων would form a better antithesis to κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν.

40. ἴσως μὲν answers τὸ δὲ πλείστον. οὐδ' ἐφικτόν, 'not so much as attainable, feasible,' even if he had wished. ἡγούμενος, causal, answering to αἰδοῖ. Thucydides also refers to the same cause I 138, 2 γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας . . . διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπιβία ἢν ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ (sc. βασιλεῖ) δουλώσειν . . . νοστήσας δὲ τελευτᾶ τὸν βίον. λέγουσι δὲ τινες καὶ ἐκούσιον φαρμάκῃ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν, ἀδύνατον νομίσαντα εἶναι ἐπιτελεῖσαι βασιλεῖ ἃ ὑπέσχετο, Cim. c. 18, Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἡκιστα λέγεται τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις ἀπογοῦς, ὡς οὐκ ἂν υπερβαλόμενος τῆν Κίμωνος εὐτυχίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν, ἐκὼν τελευτήσῃαι.

§ 4 l. 42. στρατηγούς, Pericles, Myronides, Tolmidas, Leocrates.

ἐπερφεύς εὐημεροῦντος, 'being marvellously successful.'

Plutarch is very fond of the verb εὐημερεῖν. Dem. c. 5, 3 εὐημερέσσαντος τοῦ Καλλιστράτου καὶ θαναμασθέντος ὑπερφεύς, Fab. c. 25, 3, Alc. c. 16, 4; c. 34, 1, comp. Alc. et Cor c. 3, 3, Arist. c. 25, where εὐνοστοῦντος . . . εὐημεροῦντι are opposed, comp. Cim. et Luc. c. 2, 4, Craes. c. 7, 1 ἡνία Παμπύσιος αὐτὸν εὐημερῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίαις, Eum. c. 1, 1, Alex. c. 29, 4 Δικαιῶνος εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τῷ θεατρῷ, Cal. mī. c. 46, 4, Cic. c. 25, 2; c. 35, 3 φιλοτιμομένους Ὀργήσιον υπερβαλεῖν εὐημερήσαντα, Demetr. c. 27, 2 εὐημεροῦσα καὶ στεργόμενῃ, Dion. c. 52, 2, Brut. c. 21, 3 εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τοῖς θεατροῖς, c. 39, 4 ἐν ταῖς ἀφίμαχίαις εὐημεροῦντας, Artox. c. 27, 5 τὸν μὲν εὐημερῶν ἡμῶν τοῖς πρώτοις, τὸν δὲ προσκρούων, Arul. c. 30, 1; c. 35, 3.

44. αἰδοῖ, corresponding to the previous participial clause, 'out of regard for,' because he would not tarnish his glory, and disgrace the great trophies he had won.

45. ἀριστα βουλευσάμενος, 'determining as his best course.'

46. πρόπουσαν, predicative.

47. δεξιωσάμενος, 'after shaking hands with, taking leave of,' c. 13, 2.

48. ὡς ὁ πολλὸς λόγος sc. ἐστὶ, c. 27, 2, 'as the common story goes,' referred to by Aristophanes (Eq. 83 where one slave of Demos says to his fellow-slave:—

βέλτιστον ἡμῖν αἶμα ταύρειον πιεῖν,
ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ θάνατος αἰρετώτερον

and vouched for by Clitarchus and Stratocles, although Cicero *Brut.* § 43 professes to disbelieve the story, and 'puts into the mouth of his fellow-dialogist Atticus a just rebuke of the facility with which historical truth was sacrificed to rhetorical purpose' (*Grote*): — *nam quem Thucydides (i 138) tantum mortuum scripsit et in Attica clam humatum, addidit fuisse suspicionem veneno sibi consecivisse mortem, hunc isti (Clitarchus et Stratocles) aiunt, cum taurum immolavisset, excepiisse sanguinem palera et eo polo mortuum concidisse.*

Cp. Diod. xi 58, 8, Val. Max. v 6 ext. 8 on the fatal effects of drinking bull's blood, and cp. Schol. Nicandr. *Alexiph.* 312 τὸ ταύρειον αἷμα φασὶ Πραξαγόρας κινόμενον ἀγγυροῦσθαι ἐν τῷ στήθει καὶ θραυβοῦσθαι, ἔπειτα συσχεμαίνων τὸν πνεῦν θρησκεῖν τοιαῖ, Arist. *Hist. An.* iii 19 τάχατα δὲ πηγύεται τὸ τοῦ ταύρου αἷμα πάντων, Dioscorides *Alexiph.* c. 25. Plutarch (*Flaminia*. c. 20, 5) says that the death of Hannibal, like that of Midas, king of Phrygia (Strabo *Geogr.* i 3, 22), was attributed by some authorities to the swallowing of bull's blood; Herodotus (iii 15) relates that Cambyses compelled Psammenitus to drink it, and that it presently caused his death, and Ctesias (*Persica* c. 10), that Tanaxares, the brother of Cambyses, was similarly dealt with. Cp. also Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xi 90, 221 (*taurorum sanguis*) *celerime coit alius durecit, ideo pestifer potu maxime.*

49. ἔνοιαι sc. λέγουσιν, implied in λόγος. φάρμακον ἄφ' ἡμερον, *venenum praesentaneum* (Aul. Gel. *Noct. Att.* vi 4), 'some quickly-operating poison,' 'one that kills on the same day.' προσενεγκάμενος, *ori suo admovens, sumens*, 'taking.' Xen. *Cyr.* iv ii 41 τοσοῦτον σίτον προσφέρεισθαι δαῖν ἡμῶν, *Symp.* iv 41 πολλὸ πλείον διαφέρει πρὸς ἡδονήν, ἔταν ἀναμείνας τὸ δεηθῆναι προσφέρωμαι, Aesch. *Tim.* § 145 πάντων αὐτὸν κελυθῶτα λούσασθαι καὶ σίτον προσενέγκασθαι.

50. κατέστρεψε sc. τὸν βίον, 'ended his life.' *Ti. Gr.* c. 21, 3, *Thest.* c. 19, 4 etc. Nepos *Them.* c. 10, 4:—*de* (Themistocles) *morte multis modis apud plerosque scriptum est, sed nos eundem potissimum Thucydidem auctorem probamus, qui illum ait Magnessiae morbo mortuum neque negari fuisse fatam, venenum sua sponte sumpsisse, cum se, quae regi de Graecia opprimenda pollicitus esset, praestare posse desperaret.*

51. πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα: for the use of the article, see HA. *Gr.* § 664 b.

52. ἐν πολιταῖσι καὶ ἡγεμονίαισι, 'in the discharge of civil and military functions.'

56. χρόμενον διατελεῖν φιλανθρώπως, 'continued to treat them with friendly kindness.'

CHAPTER XXXII

50 § 1 l. 1. *παῖδας*, 'sons,' predicative. *ἐκ μὲν Ἀρχιπαιῶν*: *ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης* should have followed, but the construction is altered.

3. Ἀλωπεκίδης, of Alopeke, a deme in the phyle Antiochia.

4. Πλάτων: *Μενοι* 93 D ἢ οὐκ ἀκούεις ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς Κλεόφαντος τὸν υἱὸν ἰππέα μὲν ἐδιδάξατο ἀγαθὸν; ἐπέμενε γοῦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰππῶν ὁρθεῖς ἐστηκὼς καὶ ἠκόντιζεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰππῶν ὁρθεῖς.—'Ἀπῆκου—τί δαι τόδε; ἵτε Κλεόφαντος ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀπὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ σοφὸς ἐγένετο ἅπερ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ, ἤδη του ἀπῆκου ἢ νεωτέρου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου;—Οὐ δῆτα. There is a worthless anecdote told in Plutarch *de ex. liber.* c. 2 (*Mor.* 1 c) about a son of Them., where we should probably read Cleophrantus for Diophrantus:—*Διόφραντος γοῦν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέους πολλὰς λέγουσι φάσαι καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς ὡς ὅτι ἂν αὐτὸς βούληται, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ δήμῳ συνδοκεῖ τῷ τῶν Ἀθηναίων' ἂ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ' ἂ δ' ἂν ἡ μήτηρ, καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς' ἂ δ' ἂν Θεμιστοκλῆς, καὶ πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι.*

7. Νεοκλῆς: Neocles, being the eldest, bore the name of his paternal grandfather.

8. Λύσανδρος ὁ πάππος υἱὸν ἐποιήσατο, 'Lysander, his (maternal) grandfather, adopted.' *Sol.* c. 7, 2 *παῖδα θετὸν ἐσχε ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς.*

9. πλείους, 'several.'

10. *ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης*, 'by his second wife.' *Ἐπιγαμῆν* is 'to marry besides' i.e. 'to take a second wife,' in reference to the children by the first, as appears from *Cal. ma.* c. 27, 5 *ἀπέλυτε γενεὰν ἓνα μὲν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης*, c. 24, 5 *ἐπιγῆματα τοῖς ἐνηλικίως* ('of age') *παισι τῆν Ἀργολίδα Τιμώνασσαν*, *Arist. c. Cal. com.* c. 6, 1 *ἐνηλικίω παιδί*: . . *ἐπιγῆμαι κέρην ὑπέρτερου πατρός*, *Eur. Alc.* 305 *μή πικρήμης τοῖσδε μητρικῶν τέκνοις*. *Diod. Sic.* xi 57 says that the king of Persia gave him a wife *Περσίδα εὐγενεῖα τε καὶ κάλλιε διαφέρουσαν ἐτι δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐπαινουμένην*. But she could not have been the mother of Mnesiptolema (c. 30, 2).

11. οὐκ ἂν ὁμομήτριος: *Nep. Cim.* c. 1 *Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natis uocare dicere.*

14. ἀδελφεοῦς, 'nephew.'

16. ἀδελφῶν, who after their father's death became their sisters' legal guardians (κύριοι).

17. ἔθρεψε, 'brought up.' The subject is Phrasicles, not, as Reiske understands, Themistocles.

§ 21. 18. τάφον: Thuc. I 138, 5 *μημίον αὐτοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀσιαῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ*. Founders and otherwise distinguished men were sometimes buried in the market-place of their town; as Brasidas at Amphipolis (Thuc. V c. 11), Timoleon at Syracuse (*Timol.* c. 39, 4).

19. *παρὶ τῶν λαφάνων κτλ.*: Thucydides (I 138, 6) τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ φασὶ κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οἰκαδε κελύσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι κρύφα Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν θάπτειν ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ φεύγοντος. Nepos gives the statement as if Thuc. had himself affirmed it.

20. οὕτε corresponds to δ τε Φύλαρχοι. προσέχων: c. 31, 2.

21. ἄξιον sc. ἐστὶ, 'it is fitting.'

ἐν τῷ sc. λόγῳ, 'in his political pamphlet addressed to the associates' i.e. members of the oligarchical clubs.

'Ruhken, with whom Sauppe agrees, thought that this Address (no longer extant) was a letter written by Andocides, then in exile, to the fellow-conspirators of Peisandros in a.c. 411. But the breach of Andocides with the oligarchical party, after his informations in 415 a.c., was decisive and final: when he returned to Athens in 411, he was at once denounced by Peisandros and imprisoned. It seems better, then, with Kirchhoff and Blass to refer this Address to an earlier time than 415: perhaps to the years 420-418, a period of keen struggle between the oligarchical and popular party at Athens. Cp. *Plut. Alc.* c. 12.' Prof. Jebb *Athic Orators* Vol. I p. 130 f.

24. *παροξύνων*, 'meaning to exasperate,' c. 7, 4; c. 23, 1.

25. ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ: c. 10, 1. Notice the omission of the prepos. before τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, which, in similes where it is wished to bring the objects compared into the closest possible union, is very idiomatic.

Cp. *Tim.* c. 1, 1 ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσώτρῳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ πειρώμενον ἀμοσγέπως κομῆναι καὶ ἀφομοῖον πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετὰς τὸν βίον, *Anon.* c. 9, 5 ἐλύπουσιν χροσὶν ἐκτωμάτων ὥσπερ ἐν πομπαῖς ταῖς ἀποδημίαις διαφερομένην, *Atal.* c. 28, 8 καθάπερ ἐν δισχῆ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῷ μὲν ἀντιδικῶν διατελεῖ, τῷ δὲ συναγορευμένῳ, c. 41, 2 ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ναυαγίου τῆς πατρίδος ἐν τοσούτῳ σάλῳ διαφερόμενος, *Mor.* 606 D ὡς ἐπὶ σχεδίας διαφέρονται τῆς ἐλπίδος, *Plut.* c. 51, 1 ὥσπερ ἐν θήραις καὶ κνηγεσίῳ τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀγῶσι γυμνάσιον, *Sull.* c. 22, 1 πολλοὶ τὴν τυραννίδα φεύγοντες ὥσπερ εἰς λιμένα τοῦ Σύλλα τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεφέρουσι, *Artian Anab.* 3, 3, 7 οὐδὲ ἴσθιν εἰδέναι ἵνα χρή πορεύσθαι καθάπερ ἐν τελαγῆ τῆ ψάμμῳ, *Plato rep.* 545 E ὡς πρὸς παῖδας ἡμᾶς παιζούσας, *Tim.* 79 A εἶν ὥσπερ δι' αὐλῶνος τοῦ σώματος τὰ τῶν φλεβῶν ποιεῖ ῥεύματα, 91 D κάρπον ὄφραγτες ὡς εἰς ἀρουραν τῆς μήτρας, *Xen. Cyr.* I vi 4, VIII ii 12, *Diodor. Sic.* XVIII 32 καθάπερ πρὸς τείχος ἄχυρον τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγα κατέχυον, *Lucian de all.* c. 81 ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπρῳ τῷ ὄρχηστῇ αὐτὸν βλάτη.

μονονό, *tantum non*, 'all but.'

26. μηχανὴν ἔρας, 'lifting a machine' i.e. employing stage machinery, c. 10, 1. Cp. *Mor.* 345 F:—οὐ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἱστορί-

καί, Κλειτόδημοι Δίλυοι Φιλόχορος Φύλαρχος ἄλλοτριων γεγῶσαι ἔργων ὅσπερ δραμάτων ὑποκρίται, τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέων πράξεις διατιθέμενοι καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὑποδυόμενοι μῆμαις ἴσ' ὡς ἀγῆς τῶσι καὶ φωτὸς μετέσχωσι. This judgment on Phylarchus, as is pointed out by Bauer *Theat. u. s. w.* p. 142 n. 2, does not proceed from Plutarch himself, but he follows herein Polybius, who (II 56, 8) incidentally avails himself of the opportunity of giving his opinion of Phylarchus, in defining the difference between Tragedy and History; Phylarchus, he says, is fond of introducing stirring scenes, *ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο παρ' ἄλλῃ τῆν ἱστορίαν περὶ ἑκάστου δεικνύει πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθέναι τὰ δεικνύει προαγαγόν*, 'bringing forward on the stage.' *τινὰ, necio quem*, ironically.

51. 27. ἀγῶνα κινεῖν καὶ πάθος, 'to excite a struggle of feeling and emotion' (in the spectators), 'to make a moving scene.' Cp. *Sol. c. 7*, 4 τοῦ μέλλουτος ὄδους δεικνύει καὶ τρέμουσι καὶ ἀγῶνας, αἱ στερήσονται, παρέχοντες αὐτοῖς, Thucyd. VII c. 71, 1.

28. οὐδ' . . . ὁ τυχεύς, 'not even an ordinary person.'

29. πέπλασται α. ταῦτα.

§ 3 l. 29. Διόδωρος ὁ περιηγητής, 'Diodorus the topographer,' an Athenian, of whom we know only that he wrote before B.C. 308, at the time when Athens had only twelve phylae, (1) *περὶ δήμων*, (2) *περὶ μνημάτων*, 'on monuments'; the latter work is quoted in the *X orr. vii.* 849 c. He is quoted again in *Thea. c. 36*, 3, *Cim. c. 16*, 1, *Athenae. XIII* 591 e. Diogen. Laert. IV 2 quotes from the first book of the *ἀπομνημονεύματα* of one Diodorus, but, as there are five writers of that name mentioned by Athenaeus, it is impossible to identify him with any one in particular of them.

30. ὡς ἔποςθεν μάλλον, 'rather in the form of a surmise,' 'from conjecture.'

31. τὸν μέγαν λιμένα, the Piraeus proper, or largest of the three harbours (Pausanias I 1, 2) of the Piraeic peninsula, called by the Italians *Porto Leone* and by the modern Greeks themselves *Drako*, the other two being *Munychia (Phanari)* and *Zea (Stratiotiki or Paschalimni)*. Its northern and largest portion called the *Emporium* was appropriated to commerce; the southern was used for the Athenian navy and was named *Cantharus (Arist. Pax* 145).

32. ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἄλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίου, 'from the headland opposite (c. 14, 2) Alcimus,' which must have been *Ætioneia*, or the narrow tongue of land which projects into

the sea on the western side of the harbour (Thuc. VIII 90, 3) and towards which the headland called Alcimus projected from the opposite shore, both of them being prolonged by moles, called *χῆλαι* (Thuc. VIII 90, 4). It is supposed that Alcimus was the name given to the colossal lion of white marble (whence also its modern name), which lay on the beach till it was carried to Venice after the capture of Athens by the Venetians in A. D. 1687.

33. *πρόκειται*, 'juts out.' *εἶον ἄγκών*, 'as it were an elbow.'

34. *κάμψαντι τοῦτον* sc. *ἀγκῶνα*, 'after doubling this foreland'; dative of relation, belonging to the whole sentence, frequent in local designations, G. § 184, 5, HA. § 771 b. Cp. *Mor.* 862 *ε καθ' ἕσυχίαν Σοίνιον κάμψαντες*, 967 *β ἀνεμῶδες τι μέλλουσαι κάμπτειν ἀκρωτήριον*, Herod. IV 43 *κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον*, VII 122, 193, Polyb. I 25, 8 *κάμψαντες τὸν Πάχυνον ὑπερήραν*, 39, 6 *κάμψαντες τὸ Λιδύβαιον*, but in *Arist. Ach.* 96 *περὶ ἀκρῶν κάμπτων. ἧ τὸ ὑπεδῖον* sc. *ἐστὶ*, 'where the still water is.'

35. *κρητὶς ἐμμεγέθης*, 'a good-sized foundation,' c. 8, 2.

τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βεμοειδές, 'the altar-shaped elevation on it.' From the manner in which Plutarch in the description of Themistocles' tomb refers to other writers, Leake infers that there were no remains of it even in his (Plutarch's) day.

Aristotle also (*Hist. An.* VI p. 560^b, 12) speaks of a *Θεμιστοκλειον* at Athens. The account of Pausanias (I 1, 2) is that in his day there existed *πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους* 'φασὶ γὰρ μεταμῆσαι τὸν ἐκ Θεμιστοκλείᾳ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὡς οὐ προσήκοντες τὰ ποτὴ κομισαίην ἐκ Μαγνησίας ἀνελόντες. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ καταλόγοντες καὶ γραφῆν ἐν τὸν Παρθένου ἀναβήτες, ἐν ᾗ Θεμιστοκλής ἐστὶ γεγραμμένος.'

36. *οἶεται*, 'he (Diodorus) supposes.' Plutarch lays stress on the fact that the application of Plato's lines to Themistocles is only a conjecture.

37. Plato, one of the chief and best poets of the old Athenian comedy, flourished from B. C. 428 to B. C. 389. His *Cleophon* gained the third prize in B. C. 405 when Aristophanes was first with the *Frogs*. *αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν*, 'is a witness in his favour.' *ἐν τοῦτοις*, 'in the following lines,' of which Themistocles is assumed to be the subject.

39. *ἐν καλῷ*, 'in a good place,' because it was so full of life and animation. According to Greek notions, the more beautiful and conspicuous the site, the more honourable the mb. Cp. *Per.* c. 30, 2 on that of Anthemocritus at Dipylum, see it was seen by Pausanias. Cp. Alciphr. *Ep.* III 20 *ἀγχι*

μέ τις λαβὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον καθίσας ἐν καλῷ, Philostr. *Heroic*. p. 10 βέλτιον δὲ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τοῦ χωρίου ἰσῆσαι, Aelian *var. hist.* II 13 καὶ γὰρ τοὶ καὶ παρῆν (Socrates) οὐκ ἄλλως οὐδὲ ἐκ τύχης, εἶδεν δὲ ὅτι κωμφοδοῦσαν αὐτὸν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐκάθητο, Arist. *Theom.* 292.

τοῦ ποῦ καθίζωμ' ἐν καλῷ, τῶν ρητόρων
ἐ' ἔξακούω;

40. πρόσρησις, 'an (object of) greeting.' πανταχοῦ, because visible on all sides.

42. χόπεσταν ἀμῶν sc. ῥ, 'whenever there is a race' between galleys, which, we know, was a part of the Panathenaic festival. See an interesting article on the subject of boat-races among the Greeks by Prof. Percy Gardner in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* Vol. II p. 90 ff. 1881. Cp. Herod. VII 44. θεῶσται sc. αὐτῶν.

§ 4 l. 43. τοῖς ἀπὸ γένους for τοῖς ἀπογόνουσι.

44. φυλαττέμεναι, 'maintained,' 'kept up.'

Cp. Pausan. I 37, 1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Κερκισιοῦ τὸ μῦθον τέθειται μὲν Ἠλείοις Ἄλις... τέθειται δὲ Θεμιστοκλέῳ Πολιάρχου, τρίτος ἀπόγονος Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦ Ἡρότου καὶ Μάβου ἑταίρου ναυμαχίας. From a recently discovered inscription we learn that the people of Lampsacus also kept an annual festival in honour of Themistocles, and that Cleophantus and his descendants received marks of honour from them.

46. ἡμέτερος συνήθεια, *noster familiaris*, an adjective used substantively, as *iniquus*, *invidus*, *intimus* in Latin; see my N. to Cic. *or. p. Plancio* c. 1, 1.

47. παρ' Ἀμμωνίᾳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, 'in the school of Ammonius' the Peripatetic philosopher of Alexandria, who was Plutarch's instructor at Athens. See *Introduction*.

INDICES

I INDEX DICTIONIS

II INDEX RERUM ET NOMINUM

III INDEX AUCTORUM

The References are by Chapter and Section.

The small-type Numerals suffixed to words denote respectively:

- ¹ Words or forms of words peculiar to Plutarch and late Greek, and not used by the best Classical Prose Authors.
- ² Words used by Plutarch in a sense other than classical.
- ³ Poetical words.
- ⁴ Words found only once in Plutarch.
- ⁵ Ionic words.

and vouched for by Clitarchus and Stratocles, although Cicero *Brut.* § 43 professes to disbelieve the story, and 'puts into the mouth of his fellow-dialogist Atticus a just rebuke of the facility with which historical truth was sacrificed to rhetorical purpose' (*Græc.*):—*nam quem Thucydides (I 138) tantum mortuum scripsit et in Attica clam humatum, addidit fuisse suspicionem veneno sibi concivisse mortem, hunc isti (Clitarchus et Stratocles) aiunt, cum laurum immolavisset, exceperisse sanguinem palera et eo polo mortuum concidisse.*

Cp. Diod. xi 58, 3, Val. Max. v 6 ext. 3 on the fatal effects of drinking bull's blood, and cp. Schol. Nicandr. *Alexiph.* 312 τὸ ταύρειον αἷμα φασὶ Πραξίφρασι εὐρίπτεον πίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ στήθει καὶ θρομβοῦσθαι, ἐπειτα συνεκκρίσσει τὰν πικρὰν θέρμην τοιαύτην, Arist. *Hist. An.* iii 19 γέγονε δὲ σφύρασι τὸ τοῦ ταύρου αἷμα πίνων, Dioscorides *Alexiph.* c. 25. Ptolemy (*Strabon.* c. 20, 5) says that the death of Hannibal, like that of Midas, king of Phrygia (Strabo *Geogr.* i 3, 22), was attributed by some authorities to the swallowing of bull's blood; Herodotus (iii 15) relates that Cambyzes compelled Psammenitus to drink it, and that it presently caused his death, and Ctisias (*Persica* c. 10), that Tanaxares, the brother of Cambyzes, was similarly dealt with. Cp. also Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xi 90, 221 *taurorum (sanguis) caeterisne coit aliqne durescit, ideo pestifer potu maxime.*

49. ἔτιοι sc. λέγουσι, implied in λόγος. φάρμακον ἐφ' ἡμέραν, *venenum praesentaneum* (Aul. Gel. *Noct. Att.* vi 4), 'some quickly-operating poison,' 'one that kills on the same day.' προσενεγκάμενος, *ori suo admovens, sumens*, 'taking.' Xen. *Cyr.* iv ii 41 τοσοῦτον σίτον προσφέρεσθαι δὲν ἡμῖν, *Sympl.* iv 41 πᾶν πλείον διαφέρει πρὸς ἕδωκον, ἔταν ἀναμείνας τὸ δευτέρῳ προσφέρωμαι, *Aesch. Tim.* § 145 πάντων αὐτὸν κελυθέντων λούσασθαι καὶ σίτον προσενέγκασθαι.

50. κατέστρεψε sc. τὸν βίον, 'ended his life.' *Ti. Gr.* c. 21, 3, *Thest.* c. 19, 4 etc. Nepos *Them.* c. 10, 4:—*de (Themistoclis) morte nullis modis apud plerosque scriptum est, sed nos eundem potissimum Thucydidem auctorem probamus, qui illum aut Magnesia morbo mortuum neque negat fuisse famam, venenum sua fronte sumpsisse, cum se, quae regi de Graecia opprimenda pollicitus esset, praestare posse desperaret.*

51. πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα: for the use of the article, see *HA. Gr.* § 664 b.

52. ἐν πολιταῖσι καὶ ἡγεμονίαισι, 'in the discharge of civil and military functions.'

56. χράμενον διατελεῖν φιλανθρώπως, 'continued to treat them with friendly kindness.'

CHAPTER XXXII

50 § 1 l. 1. παῖδας, 'sons,' predicative. ἐκ μὲν Ἀρχίππης: ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης should have followed, but the construction is altered.

3. Ἀλωπεκήθεν, of Alopeke, a deme in the phyle Antiochia.

4. Πλάτων: *Μισση* 98 D ἢ οὐκ ἀκούεις ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς Κλεόφαντος τὸν υἱὸν ἰσπεία μὲν ἐδιδάξατο ἀγαθὸν; ἐπέμνε γοῦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰσπῶν ὀρθὸς ἐστῆκὼς καὶ ἠκόντιζεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσπῶν ὀρθός.— Ἀκήκοα—τί θαί τοῦδε; Ὡς Κλεόφαντος ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ σοφὸς ἐγένετο ἅπερ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, ἤδη τοῦ ἀκήκοας ἢ νεωτέρου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου;—Οὐ δῆτα. There is a worthless anecdote told in Plutarch *de ex. liber.* c. 2 (*Mor.* I c) about a son of Them., where we should probably read Cleopphantus for Diophantus:—Διόφαντος γοῦν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέους πολλὰκις λέγουσι φάσαι καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς ὡς δ τι αὐτὸς βούληται, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ δήμῳ συνδοκεῖ τῶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἃ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ· ἃ δ' ἂν ἡ μήτηρ, καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς· ἃ δ' ἂν Θεμιστοκλῆς, καὶ πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι.

7. Νεοκλῆς: Neocles, being the eldest, bore the name of his paternal grandfather.

8. Λύσανδρος ὁ πάππος υἱὸν ἐποιήσατο, 'Lysander, his (maternal) grandfather, adopted.' *Sol.* c. 7, 2 παῖδα θετὸν ἔσχε ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς.

9. πλείους, 'several.'

10. ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης, 'by his second wife.' Ἐπιγαμῆν is 'to marry besides' i.e. 'to take a second wife,' in reference to the children by the first, as appears from *Cal. ma.* c. 27, 5 ἀπέλιπε γενεὰν ἓνα μὲν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης, c. 24, 5 ἐπιγῆμαρτα τοῖς ἐτηλίοις ('of age') παισὶ τῆν Ἀργολίδα Τιμώρασσαν, *Arist.* c. *Cal. comp.* c. 6, I ἐτηλικῶν παιδῶν . . . ἐπιγῆμαι κέρην ὑπέρτερον πατρός, *Eur. Alc.* 305 μὴ 'πιγῆμης τοῖσδε μητρικῶν τέκνους. *Diod. Sic.* XI 57 says that the king of Persia gave him a wife Περσίδα εὐγενεῖα τε καὶ κάλλει διαφέρουσα ἐπὶ δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐκαινουμένην. But she could not have been the mother of Mnesiptolema (c. 30, 2).

11. οὐκ ἂν ἐμομήτριος: *Nep. Cim.* c. 1 *Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natis uxores ducere.*

14. ἀδελφεοῦς, 'nephew.'

16. ἀδελφῶν, who after their father's death became their sisters' legal guardians (κύριοι).

17. ἔφερε, 'brought up.' The subject is Phrasicles, not, as Reiske understands, Themistocles.

§ 21. 18. τάφον: Thuc. i 138, 5 *μημίον αὐτοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀσιαῷ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ*. Founders and otherwise distinguished men were sometimes buried in the market-place of their town; as Brasidas at Amphipolis (Thuc. v c. 11), Timoleon at Syracuse (*Timol.* c. 39, 4).

19. *παρὰ τῶν λευφάνων κτλ.*: Thucydides (i 138, 6) τὰ δὲ δευτέρᾳ φασὶ κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οὐκ αὖτε κελύσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι κρέβα Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἐξήν θάπτεται ὡς ἐστὶ πρόβασίς φεύγοντος. Nepos gives the statement as if Thuc. had himself affirmed it.

20. οὗτε corresponds to ἀτε Φύλαρχος. *προσέχων*: c. 31, 2.

21. ἔστιν sc. ἐστὶ, 'it is fitting.'

ἐν τῷ sc. λόγῳ, 'in his political pamphlet addressed to the associates' i.e. members of the oligarchical clubs.

'Ruhnken, with whom Sauppe agrees, thought that this Address (no longer extant) was a letter written by Andocides, then in exile, to the fellow-conspirators of Peisandros in a.c. 411. But the breach of Andocides with the oligarchical party, after his informations in 415 a.c., was decisive and final: when he returned to Athens in 411, he was at once denounced by Peisandros and imprisoned. It seems better, then, with Kirchhoff and Blass to refer this Address to an earlier time than 415: perhaps to the years 420-418, a period of keen struggle between the oligarchical and popular party at Athens. Cp. *Plut. Alc.* c. 13.' Prof. Jebb *Attic Orators* Vol. i p. 139 f.

24. *παροξύνων*, 'meaning to exasperate,' c. 7, 4; c. 23, 1.

25. ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ: c. 10, 1. Notice the omission of the prepos. before τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, which, in similes where it is wished to bring the objects compared into the closest possible union, is very idiomatic.

Cp. *Tim.* c. 1, 1 ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσπέρῳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ πειρώμενον ἀμοσγέτους αἰσμεῖν καὶ ἀφομοιοῦν πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνου ἀρετὰς τὸν βίον, *Anton.* c. 9, 5 ἐλύπουν χροσῶν ἐκπυμάτων ὥσπερ ἐν πομπαῖς ταῖς ἀποδημιαῖς διαφερομένην, *Lucil.* c. 38, 8 καθάπερ ἐν δίκῃ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῷ μὲν ἀντιδικῶν διατελεῖ, τῷ δὲ συναγορεύσειν, c. 41, 2 ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ναυαγίῳ τῆς πατρίδος ἐν τοσοῦτῳ σάλῳ διαφερομένης, *Mor.* 006 D ὡς ἐπὶ σχεδίας διαφέρονται τῆς ἐλπίδος, *Pomp.* c. 51, 1 ὥσπερ ἐν θήραις καὶ κνηγεσίῳ τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀγῶσι γυμνάσιον, *Sull.* c. 22, 1 πολλοὶ τὴν τυραννίδα φεύγοντες ὥσπερ εἰς λιμένα τοῦ Σύλλα τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεφύροσσι, *Attian.* *Anad.* 3, 3, 7 οὐδὲ ἐστὶν εἰδέναι ἵνα χρῆ πορεύεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει τῇ ψάμμῳ, *Plato* *rep.* 545 E ὡς πρὸς παῖδας ἡμᾶς παιζούσας, *Tim.* 79 A εἶπὶ ὥσπερ δὲ αὐλῶνος τοῦ σώματος τὰ των φλεβῶν ποιεῖ ρεύματα, 91 D κάρπον ἀρέφαντες ὡς εἰς ἀουραν τὴν μητρᾴν, *Xen. Cyr.* i vi 4, viii ii 12, *Diodor. Sic.* xviii 32 καθάπερ πρὸς τεῖχος ὄχυρον τὴν τῶν πεσῶν φάλαγγα κατέφυγον, *Lucian de sull.* c. 81 ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ τῷ ὀρχηστῇ ἑαυτὸν βλέπῃ.

μονονόθ, lanium non, 'all but.'

26. *μηχανὴν ἔρας*, 'lifting a machine' i.e. employing stage machinery, c. 10, 1. Cp. *Mor.* 845 F:—οἱ δ' ἄλλα πάντες ἱστορῶν.

καί, Κλειτόδημοι Διυλοὶ Φιλόχορος Φύλαρχος ἄλλοτρίων γεγονῶσιν ἔργων ὡσπερ δραμάτων ὑποκρίται, τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέων πράξεις διατιθέμενοι καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὑποδυόμενοι μνημαῖσι ἡ' ὡς ἀδῆς τῶσι καὶ φωτὸς μετάσχωσιν. This judgment on Phylarchus, as is pointed out by Bauer *Them. u. s. v.* p. 142 n. 2, does not proceed from Plutarch himself, but he follows herein Polybius, who (ii 56, 8) incidentally avails himself of the opportunity of giving his opinion of Phylarchus, in defining the difference between Tragedy and History; Phylarchus, he says, is fond of introducing stirring scenes, καὶ εἰ δὲ τοῦτο παρ' ἄλλῃ τῆν ἱστορίαν πειρώμενος ἐκάστους δεῖ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθέναι τὰ δευῖά. προαγαγόν, 'bringing forward on the stage.' τινά, *pecunia quæm*, ironically.

51 27. ἀγῶνα κινεῖν καὶ πάθος, 'to excite a struggle of feeling and emotion' (in the spectators), 'to make a moving scene.' Cp. *Sol. c. 7*, 4 τοῦ μέλλοντος ὄδους δεῖ καὶ τρώμεναι καὶ ἀγῶνας, εἰ στερήσονται, παρέχοντες αὐτοῖς, Thucyd. vii c. 71, 1.

28. οὐδ' . . . ὁ τυχάν, 'not even an ordinary person.'

29. πῆλασται κ. ταῦτα.

§ 3 l. 29. Διόδωρος ὁ περιηγητής, 'Diodorus the topographer,' an Athenian, of whom we know only that he wrote before B.C. 308, at the time when Athens had only twelve phylæ, (1) *περὶ δήμων*, (2) *περὶ μνημάτων*, 'on monuments'; the latter work is quoted in the *X orr. vii.* 849 c. He is quoted again in *Thes. c. 36*, 3, *Cim. c. 16*, 1, Athenæ. xiii 591 e. Diogen. Laert. iv 2 quotes from the first book of the *ἀπομνημονεύματα* of one Diodorus, but, as there are five writers of that name mentioned by Athenæus, it is impossible to identify him with any one in particular of them.

30. ὡς ἔποςθεν μᾶλλον, 'rather in the form of a surmise,' 'from conjecture.'

31. τὸν μέγαν λιμένα, the Piræus proper, or largest of the three harbours (Pausanias i 1, 2) of the Piræic peninsula, called by the Italians *Porto Leone* and by the modern Greeks themselves *Drako*, the other two being *Munychia (Phanari)* and *Zea (Stratiotiki or Paschalimint)*. Its northern and largest portion called the *Emporium* was appropriated to commerce; the southern was used for the Athenian navy and was named *Cantharus (Arist. Pax 145)*.

32. ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἄλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίου, 'from the head-land opposite (c. 14, 2) Alcimus,' which must have been *Estioneia*, or the narrow tongue of land which projects into

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τοῦ τοῦ καθίζωμ' ἐν καλῷ, τῶν βητόρων
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the sea on the western side of the harbour (Thuc. VIII 90, 3) and towards which the headland called Alcimus projected from the opposite shore, both of them being prolonged by moles, called *χῆλαι* (Thuc. VIII 90, 4). It is supposed that Alcimus was the name given to the colossal lion of white marble (whence also its modern name), which lay on the beach till it was carried to Venice after the capture of Athens by the Venetians in A. D. 1687.

33. *πρόκειται*, 'juts out.' *οἷον ἀγκών*, 'as it were an elbow.'

34. *κάμψαντι τοῦτον* sc. *ἀγκώνα*, 'after doubling this foreland'; dative of relation, belonging to the whole sentence, frequent in local designations, G. § 184, 5, HA. § 771 b. Cp. *Mor.* 862 B καθ' ἰσχυρίαν Σαΐνιον κάμψαντες, 967 B ἀνερωδῆς τι μέλλουσαι κάμπτειν ἀκρωτήριον, Herod. IV 43 κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον, VII 122, 193, Polyb. I 25, 8 κάμψαντες τὸν Πάχυνον ὑπερήσαν, 39, 5 κάμψαντες τὸ Δολύβαιον, but in *Arist. Ach.* 96 περὶ ἀκρὰν κάμπτων. ἧ τὸ ὑπεῖδιον sc. *ἔστι*, 'where the still water is.'

35. *κρηπίς εὐμεγέθης*, 'a good-sized foundation,' c. 8, 2.

τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βωμοειδές, 'the altar-shaped elevation on it.' From the manner in which Plutarch in the description of Themistocles' tomb refers to other writers, Leake infers that there were no remains of it even in his (Plutarch's) day.

Aristotle also (*Hist. An.* VI p. 569b, 12) speaks of a *Θεμιστοκλείον* at Athens. The account of Pausanias (I 1, 2) is that in his day there existed πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους: φασὶ γὰρ μεταμῆσαι τὸν ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὡς οἱ προσήκοντες τὰ ὄστα κομισαίην ἐκ Μαγνησίας ἀνελάοντες. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ καταλόβοντες καὶ γραφῆν ἐς τὸν Παρθενῶνα ἀναβάντες, ἐν ᾗ Θεμιστοκλής ἴσθι γεγραμμένος.

36. *οἴεται*, 'he (Diodorus) supposes.' Plutarch lays stress on the fact that the application of Plato's lines to Themistocles is only a conjecture.

37. Plato, one of the chief and best poets of the old Athenian comedy, flourished from B.C. 428 to B.C. 389. His *Cleophon* gained the third prize in B.C. 405 when Aristophanes was first with the *Frogs*. *αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν*, 'is a witness in his favour.' *ἐν τούτοις*, 'in the following lines,' of which Themistocles is assumed to be the subject.

39. *ἐν καλῷ*, 'in a good place,' because it was so full of life and animation. According to Greek notions, the more beautiful and conspicuous the site, the more honourable the tomb. Cp. *Pet.* c. 30, 2 on that of Anthemocritus at Dipylum, where it was seen by Pausanias. Cp. *Alciph.* *Ep.* III 20 *ἀγει*

μέ τις λαβὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον καθίσει ἐν καλῷ, Philostr. *Heroic*. p. 10 βέλτιον δὲ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τοῦ χωρίου ἰσῆσαι, Aelian *var. hist.* II 13 καὶ γὰρ τοὶ καὶ παρῆν (Socrates) οὐκ ἄλλως οὐδὲ ἐκ τύχης, εἰδὼς δὲ ὅτι κωμικοῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐκάθητο, Arist. *Thest.* 292.

τοῦ τοῦ καθίζωμ' ἐν καλῷ, τῶν ρητόρων
ἢ' ἐξακοῶν;

40. πρόσρησις, 'an (object of) greeting.' πανταχοῦ, because visible on all sides.

42. χεπέταν ἀμῶν sc. ῥ, 'whenever there is a race' between galleys, which, we know, was a part of the Panathenaic festival. See an interesting article on the subject of boat-races among the Greeks by Prof. Percy Gardner in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* Vol. II p. 90 ff. 1881. Cp. Herod. VII 44. θεῶσται sc. αὐτῶν.

§ 4 l. 43. τοῖς ἀπὸ γένους for τοῖς ἀπογόνοις.

44. φυλαττέμεναι, 'maintained,' 'kept up.'

Cp. Pausan. I 37, 1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Κερκισοῦρου τὸ μῦθον τίθειται μὲν Ἠλιαῶνες Ἄλις... τίθειται δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης Πολιάρχου, τρίτος ἀπὸ γένους Θεμιστοκλέου τοῦ Ἡρόου καὶ Μάδου ἑταίρου ναυμαχίσαντος. From a recently discovered inscription we learn that the people of Lampsacus also kept an annual festival in honour of Themistocles, and that Cleophantus and his descendants received marks of honour from them.

46. ἡμέτερος συνήθης, *noster familiaris*, an adjective used substantively, as *iniquus*, *invidus*, *intimus* in Latin; see my n. to Cic. *or. p. Plancio* c. 1, 1.

47. παρ' Ἀμμαονίᾳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, 'in the school of Ammonius' the Peripatetic philosopher of Alexandria, who was Plutarch's instructor at Athens. See *Introduction*.

INDICES

- I INDEX DITIONIS*
- II INDEX RERUM ET NOMINUM*
- III INDEX AUCTORUM*

The References are by Chapter and Section.

The small-type Numerals suffixed to words denote respectively :

- ¹ Words or forms of words peculiar to Plutarch and late Greek, and not used by the best Classical Prose Authors.**
- ² Words used by Plutarch in a sense other than classical.**
- ³ Poetical words.**
- ⁴ Words found only once in Plutarch.**
- ⁵ Ionic words.**

Pl. I, 2 and *Recue Numismatique* p. 47 ff., which is reproduced in Baumeister *Denkmäler* III p. 1762^b. καρπούμενος δωροῦς, 'in the enjoyment of presents (from the king),' c. 32, 4. Diod. XI 58, 1 ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατεβίωσε πάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀπὸ λαυσιν ἀγαθῶν εὐπορούμενος.

23. ὁμοία, 'in like manner.'

Cp. *Crit. ma.* c. 11, 4 ὁμοία τοῖς πρῶτον ἀποτέμνους πολιτείας, *Galb.* c. 1, 4 τῆν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ὁμοία τοῖς Λαγώνοις Τετακοῖσι πόθεσι . . . καταλαμβάνει, *Artar.* c. 27, 5 σύμμερον ὁμοία τοῖς πρῶτοις, *Thuc.* I 24, 4 χρημάτων ἰσόμενοι ἔντες ὁμοία τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις, VII 29, 4 τὸ γένος τῶν Θρακῶν ὁμοία τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ φοιησιωτῶν ἴσται, *Herod.* III 57, 2 ὁμοία τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις.

24. τοῖς ἀρίστοις, 'the chief men,' 'nobles,' c. 19, 3. ἀδεῶς, 'quietly,' 'unmolested,' partly in opp. to πλανώμενος, partly to what follows. εὐ πάντι: c. 4, 2.

26. προσέχοντος: c. 2, 4. ἐπ' ἀσχολιῶν περὶ τὰς ἀνω πόρεις, 'owing to his engagements about affairs in the interior,' above all the rising in Bactria. For ἀσχολιῶν, cp. c. 18, 3.

§ 3 l. 27. Αἰγυπτῶς ἀφισταμένη, 'the revolt of Egypt,' which happened in B.C. 460 under the leadership of Inarôs the Libyan, who, acc. to *Herod.* (VII 7, 6), began his insurrection with the assassination of the Persian governor Achaemenes, the brother of Xerxes, who had been sent there after the suppression of the revolt of B.C. 486. *Thuc.* I 104 says that the Athenians sent ships from Cyprus to his assistance.

30. ἀναπλόουσαι: c. 16, 2.

31. ἐπιστρέψεν αὐτὸν ἀντεπιχειρεῖν, 'caused him (the king) 49 to direct, withdrew, his attention to making a counter attack on the Greeks.'

Cp. *Comp.* c. 25, 1 τοῦτο δὴ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστρέψε θλιβομένους τῇ ἀγορᾷ . . . ἐκπέψαι Πομπηίων ἀφαιρησόμενον τῶν περαιῶν τῆν θάλασσαν. Lexicographers ignore this meaning of the verb. It corresponds to the use of the middle with the meaning 'to pay regard to,' (1) with the gen., *Soph. Phil.* 519, *Plut. Mor.* 432 c τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπιστρέφόμεναί, 881 b τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησαν ἐπιστρέφόμενον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, *Theognis* v. 440 τῶν ἰδίων οὐδὲν ἐπιστρέφεται, *Philolatr. Jun. imago.* c. 6 οὐδὲν ἐπιστρέφόμενος τοῦ πτωχοῦ πλησιον ὄντος; (2) absolutely, *Dem.* c. *Aristocr.* § 136. In [*Dem.*] *Phil.* IV § 9 the reading is doubtful.

32. κωλύειν ἀξανομένους: cp. *Thucyd.* I 26, 2 μὴ κωλύονται ἐπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν περαιούμενοι, *Dion. Halic. Ant. Rom.* VII 25, 3 εἰ μὴ κωλύσειαν αὐτὸν πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάγοντα. Hence Blass' conjectural reading κολούει is needless. ἐπ' αὐτόν, 'against him,' with ἀξανομένους.

33. δυνάμεις ἐκινούντο, 'forces were in movement.'

34. διεπέμποντο, 'were being despatched hither and thither,' cp. διαφέρεσθαι c. 14, 3. καθέβαινον: c. 26, 1.

36. τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξέπρωσθαι, 'to tackle Hellenic affairs in earnest.' Cp. Diod. Sic. XIII c. 10 ἐξήπρωτο τῆς μάχης.

37. οὗτε δὲ ὀργήν τινα κτλ., the beginning of the conclusion to the sentence commencing ὡς δ' Ἀθῆναι l. 27.

39. πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον may be taken either with ἐπαρθεῖς or with διδάμει. Sintenis suggests that πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων would form a better antithesis to κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν.

40. ὥσως μὲν answers τὸ δὲ πλείστον. οὐδ' ἐφικτόν, 'not so much as attainable, feasible,' even if he had wished. ἡγούμενος, causal, answering to αἰδοῖ. Thucydides also refers to the same cause I 138, 2 γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας . . . διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπιβία ἢν ὑπερθεῖαι αὐτῷ (sc. βασιλεῖ) δουλώσειν . . . νοστήσας δὲ τελευτῆ τῶν βίων. λέγουσι δὲ τινας καὶ ἐκούσιον φαρμάκῳ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν, ἀδύνατον νομίσαντα εἶναι ἐπιτελέσαι βασιλεῖ & ὑπέσχετο, Cim. c. 18, Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἡκιστα λέγεται τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις ἀπογοῦν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ὑπερβαλλόμενος τῆ Κίμωνος εὐτυχίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν, ἐκὼν τελευτήσαι.

§ 4 l. 42. στρατηγούς, Pericles, Myronides, Tolmidas, Leocrates.

ὑπερφῶς εὐημεροῦντος, 'being marvellously successful.'

Plutarch is very fond of the verb εὐημερεῖν. Dem. c. 5, 3 εὐημερήσαντες τοῦ Καλλιστράτου καὶ θαυμασθίτως ὑπερφῶς, Fab. c. 25, 3, Alc. c. 16, 4; c. 34, 1, comp. Alc. et Cor c. 3, 2, Arist. c. 25, where εὐνοηχοῦντος . . . εὐημεροῦντι are opposed, comp. Cim. et Luc. c. 2, 4, Crana. c. 1, 1 ἡρία Παρκίως αὐτὸν εὐημερῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίαις, Eum. c. 1, 1, Alex. c. 29, 4 Δίονος εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τῷ θαλάτῃ, Gal. m. c. 46, 4, Cic. c. 25, 2; c. 35, 3 φιλοπονησάντων Ὀρτήσιον ὑπερβαλὼν εὐημερήσαντα, Demetr. c. 27, 2 εὐημεροῦσα καὶ στρατηγῶν, Dion. c. 52, 2, Brut. c. 21, 3 εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τοῖς θαλάτῃς, c. 39, 4 ἐν ταῖς ἀμφιμαχίαις εὐημεροῦντας, Arist. c. 27, 5 τὸν μὲν συμπαρῶν ὅμοια τοῖς πρώτοις, τὸν δὲ προσπαρῶν, Arist. c. 30, 1; c. 35, 3.

44. αἰδοῖ, corresponding to the previous participial clause, 'out of regard for,' because he would not tarnish his glory, and disgrace the great trophies he had won.

45. ἀριστα βουλευσάμενος, 'determining as his best course.'

46. πρέπουσαν, predicative.

47. Σεξίωσάμενος, 'after shaking hands with, taking leave of,' c. 13, 2.

48. ὡς ὁ πολλὸς λόγος sc. ἐστὶ, c. 27, 2, 'as the common story goes,' referred to by Aristophanes (Eq. 83 where one slave of Demos says to his fellow-slave :—

βέλτιστον ἡμῶν αἶμα ταύρειον πικρὸν,
ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ θάνατος αἰκνότερον)

and vouched for by Clitarchus and Stratocles, although Cicero *Brut.* § 43 professes to disbelieve the story, and 'puts into the mouth of his fellow-dialogist Atticus a just rebuke of the facility with which historical truth was sacrificed to rhetorical purpose' (*Gros*):—*nam quem Thucydides (I 138) tantum mortuum scripsit et in Attica clam humatum, addidit fuisse suscipulum veneno sibi concocivisse mortem, hunc isti (Clitarchus et Stratocles) aiunt, cum laurum immolavissent, exceperisse sanguinem patra et eo potu mortuum incidisse.*

Cp. Diod. xi 58, 8, Val. Max. v 6 ext. 3 on the fatal effects of drinking bull's blood, and cp. Schol. Nicandr. *Alexipr.* 812 τὸ ταύρειον αἷμα φησι Πραξαγόρας πιόμενον πύγνυσαι ἐν τῷ στήθει καὶ θραμβοῖσθαι, ἔπειτα συνεχομένον τῶν πνοῶν θήσκειν ποιεῖ, Arist. *Hist. An.* iii 19 τὰ γίγνεται δὲ πύγνυται τὸ τοῦ ταύρου αἷμα πάντων, Diodorides *Alexipr.* c. 23. Plutarch (*Flamin.* c. 20, 5) says that the death of Hannibal, like that of Midas, king of Phrygia (Strabo *Geogr.* i 3, 23), was attributed by some authorities to the swallowing of bull's blood; Herodotus (iii 15) relates that Cambyses compelled Psammenitus to drink it, and that it presently caused his death, and Ctesias (*Persica* c. 10), that Tanaxares, the brother of Cambyses, was similarly dealt with. Cp. also Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xi 90, 221 laurorum (sanguis) caeterum coit atque duracit, ideo pestifer potu maxime.

49. ἔνιοι κ. λέγουσι, implied in λόγος. φάρμακον ἐφ' ἡμᾶρον, *venenum praesentaneum* (Aul. Gel. *Noct. Att.* vi 4), 'some quickly-operating poison,' 'one that kills on the same day.' προσαναγκάμενος, *ori suo admovens, sumens*, 'taking.' Xen. *Cyr.* iv ii 41 τοσοῦτον εἶτον προσφέρεισθαι δαῖν ἡμῖς, *Symp.* iv 41 πολλὸν πλέον διαφέρει πρὸς ἡδονήν, ὅταν ἀναμείνῃς τὸ δεηθῆναι προσφέρωμαι, Aesch. *Tim.* § 145 πάντων αὐτῶν κελυδῶντων λούσασθαι καὶ εἶτον προσενέγκασθαι.

50. κατέστρεψε κ. τὸν βίον, 'ended his life.' *Ti. Gr.* c. 21, 3, *Thest.* c. 19, 4 etc. Nepos *Thest.* c. 10, 4:—*de* (Themistoclis) *morte multis modis apud plerosque scriptum est, sed nos eundem potissimum Thucydidem auctorem probamus, qui illum ait Magnesia morbo mortuum neque negat fuisse famam, venenum sui sponte sumpsisse, cum sc, quae regi de Graecia opprimenda pollicitus esset, praestare posse desperaret.*

51. πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα: for the use of the article, see *HA. Gr.* § 664 b.

52. ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις, 'in the discharge of civil and military functions.'

56. χρέμενον διατελεῖν φιλανθρώπως, 'continued to treat them with friendly kindness.'

CHAPTER XXXII

50 § 1. 1. παῖδας, 'sons,' predicative. ἐκ μὲν Ἀρχίππης: ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης should have followed, but the construction is altered.

3. Ἀλωπεκίθην, of Alopeke, a deme in the phyle Antiochia.

4. Πλάτων: Μενον 93 D ἢ οὐκ ἀκούεις ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς Κλεόφαντος τὸν υἱὸν ἰσπία μὲν εἰδίδεξαστο ἀγαθὸν; ἐπέμενε γοῦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰσπῶν ὄρθος ἐστηκὸς καὶ ἠκόντιζεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσπῶν ὄρθος.— Ἀκῆκοα—τί θαί τόδε; ὡς Κλεόφαντος ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀπὸ ἀγαθὸς καὶ σοφὸς ἐγένετο ἅπερ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, ἦδη του ἀκῆκοας ἢ νεωτέρου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου;—Οὐ δῆτα. There is a worthless anecdote told in Plutarch *de ex. liber.* c. 2 (*Mor.* I c) about a son of Them., where we should probably read Cleophantus for Diophantus:—Διόφαντος γοῦν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέους πολλὰκις λέγουσι φάσαι καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς ὡς ὅτι ἂν αὐτὸς βολῆται, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ δήμῳ συνοκεῖ τῷ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ· εἰ δ' ἂν ἡ μήτηρ, καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς· εἰ δ' ἂν Θεμιστοκλῆς, καὶ πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι.

7. Νεοκλῆς: Neocles, being the eldest, bore the name of his paternal grandfather.

8. Λύσανδρος ὁ πάππος υἱὸν ἐποίησατο, 'Lysander, his (maternal) grandfather, adopted.' *Sol.* c. 7, 2 παῖδα θετὸν ἐσχε ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς.

9. πλείους, 'several.'

10. ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης, 'by his second wife.' Ἐπιγαμεῖν is 'to marry besides' i.e. 'to take a second wife,' in reference to the children by the first, as appears from *Cal. ma.* c. 27, 5 ἀπέλιπε γενεὰν ἓνα μὲν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης, c. 24, 5 ἐπιγῆμαντα τοῖς ἐνηλικίως ('of age') παισὶ τῆν Ἀργολίδα Τιμώρασσαν, *Arist.* c. *Cal. comp.* c. 6, 1 ἐνηλικίω παιδί: . . ἐπιγῆμαι κόρην ὀνηρέτου πατρός, *Eur. Alc.* 305 μή 'πιγῆμης τοῖσδε μητρῶν τέκνοις. *Diod. Sic.* XI 57 says that the king of Persia gave him a wife Περσίδα εὐγενεῖα τε καὶ κάλλει διαφέρουσαν ἐπὶ δὲ κατ' ἀρετῆν ἐπαινουμένην. But she could not have been the mother of Mnesiptolema (c. 30, 2).

11. οὐκ ἂν ἑμμήτριος: *Nep. Cim.* c. 1 *Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natis uxorcs ducere.*

14. ἀδελφεός, 'nephew.'

16. ἀδελφόν, who after their father's death became their sisters' legal guardians (κύριοι).

17. ἔθρεψε, 'brought up.' The subject is Phrasicles, not, as Reiske understands, Themistocles.

§ 21. 18. τάφον: Thuc. I 138, 5 *μημίον αὐτοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῆ Ἀσιαῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ*. Founders and otherwise distinguished men were sometimes buried in the market-place of their town; as Brasidas at Amphipolis (Thuc. V c. 11), Timoleon at Syracuse (*Timol.* c. 39, 4).

19. *πρὸς τῶν λαφάνων κτλ.*: Thucydides (I 138, 6) τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ φασὶ κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οἰκαδε κελύσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι κρύφα Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν θάπτειν ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ φεύγοντος. Nepos gives the statement as if Thuc. had himself affirmed it.

20. οὗτε corresponds to *ἄτε Φύλαρχοι*. *προσέχων*: c. 31, 2.

21. ἔξιν *sc. ἐστὶ*, 'it is fitting.'

ἐν τῷ *sc. λόγῳ*, 'in his political pamphlet addressed to the ἄστυν i.e. members of the oligarchical clubs.

'Ruhken, with whom Sauppe agrees, thought that this Address (no longer extant) was a letter written by Andocides, then in exile, to the fellow-conspirators of Peisandros in a.c. 411. But the breach of Andocides with the oligarchical party, after his informations in 415 a.c., was decisive and final: when he returned to Athens in 411, he was at once denounced by Peisandros and imprisoned. It seems better, then, with Kirchhoff and Blass to refer this Address to an earlier time than 415: perhaps to the years 420-418, a period of keen struggle between the oligarchical and popular party at Athens. Cp. *Plut. Alc.* c. 12.' Prof. Jebb *Attic Orators* Vol. I p. 139 f.

24. *παροξύνων*, 'meaning to exasperate,' c. 7, 4; c. 23, 1.

25. ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ: c. 10, 1. Notice the omission of the prepos. before τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, which, in similes where it is wished to bring the objects compared into the closest possible union, is very idiomatic.

Cp. *Tim.* c. 1, 1 ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσώτρῳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ πειρώμενον ἀμοσγέπως κοσμεῖν καὶ ἀφομοῖον πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετὰς τὸν βίον, *Antip.* c. 9, 5 ἔλαττον χρυσὸν ἐκτωμάτων ὥσπερ ἐν ποικαῖς ταῖς ἀποδομίαις διαφερομένης, *Atal.* c. 28, 8 καθάπερ ἐν δίκῃ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῷ μὲν ἀντιδικῶν διατελεῖ, τῷ δὲ συναγορευμένης, c. 41, 2 ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ναυαγίου τῆς πατρίδος ἐν τοσούτῳ σάλῳ διαφερομένης, *Mor.* 606 D ὡς ἐπὶ σχεδίας διαφέρονται τῆς ἐλπίδος, *Plut.* c. 51, 1 ὥσπερ ἐν θῆραϊ καὶ κνηγεσίῳ τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀγῶσι γυμνάσιον, *Sull.* c. 22, 1 πολλοὶ τὴν τυραννίδα φεύγοντες ὥσπερ εἰς λιμένα τοῦ Σύλλα τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεφέρουσι, *Artian Anab.* 3, 3, 7 οὐδὲ ἐστὶν εἰδέναι ἵνα χρῆ πορεύσθαι καθάπερ ἐν τελαίῳ τῆ ψάμμῳ, *Plato rep.* 545 ε ὡς πρὸς παιδὰς ἡμᾶς παιζούσας, *Tim.* 79 A βεῖν ὥσπερ εἰς αὐλῶνος τοῦ σώματος τὰ τῶν φλεβῶν τοιαῖα ῥέματα, 91 D κάρπον ὄφθαλτος ὡς εἰς ἀρουραν τῆς μήτρας, *Xen. Cyr.* I vi 4, VIII II 12, *Diodor. Sic.* XVIII 32 καθάπερ πρὸς τείχος ὄχληρον τῆν τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγα κατέδυσον, *Lucian de salt.* c. 81 ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐν κατότρῳ τῷ ὀρηστῇ αὐτὸν βλάπτῃ.

μονοῦ, tantum non, 'all but.'

26. *μηχανὴν ἔρας*, 'lifting a machine' i.e. employing stage machinery, c. 10, 1. Cp. *Mor.* 345 F:—οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἱστορο-

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the sea on the western side of the harbour (Thuc. VIII 90, 3) and towards which the headland called Alcimus projected from the opposite shore, both of them being prolonged by moles, called *χῆλαι* (Thuc. VIII 90, 4). It is supposed that Alcimus was the name given to the colossal lion of white marble (whence also its modern name), which lay on the beach till it was carried to Venice after the capture of Athens by the Venetians in A.D. 1687.

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τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βωμοειδές, 'the altar-shaped elevation on it.' From the manner in which Plutarch in the description of Themistocles' tomb refers to other writers, Leake infers that there were no remains of it even in his (Plutarch's) day.

Aristotle also (*Hist. An.* VI p. 569^b, 12) speaks of a *Θεμιστοκλείων* at Athens. The account of Pausanias (I 1, 2) is that in his day there existed *πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους*. *φασὶ γὰρ μεταμελήσαι τὸν ἐς Θεμιστοκλεία Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὡς οἱ προσήκοιτες τὰ δοτὰ κομισαίεν ἐκ Μαγνησίας ἀνελόντες. φαίνοινται δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ καταθῶντες καὶ γραφῆρ ἐς τὸν Παρθενῶνα ἀναθέντες, ἐν ἧ Θεμιστοκλής ἐστὶ γεγραμμένος.*

36. *οἰεται*, 'he (Diodorus) supposes.' Plutarch lays stress on the fact that the application of Plato's lines to Themistocles is only a conjecture.

37. Plato, one of the chief and best poets of the old Athenian comedy, flourished from B.C. 428 to B.C. 389. His *Cleophon* gained the third prize in B.C. 405 when Aristophanes was first with the *Frogs*. *αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν*, 'is a witness in his favour.' *ἐν τούτοις*, 'in the following lines,' of which Themistocles is assumed to be the subject.

39. *ἐν καλῷ*, 'in a good place,' because it was so full of life and animation. According to Greek notions, the more beautiful and conspicuous the site, the more honourable the tomb. Cp. *Per.* c. 30, 2 on that of Anthemocritus at Dipylum, where it was seen by Pausanias. Cp. *Alciph.* *Ep.* III 20 *ἀγες*

μέ τις λαβὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον καθίσει ἐν καλῷ, Philostr. *Heroic*. p. 10 βέλτιον δὲ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τοῦ χωρίου ἰῆσαι, Aelian *var. hist.* II 13 καὶ γὰρ τοὶ καὶ παρὴν (Socrates) οὐκ ἄλλως οὐδὲ ἐκ τύχης, εἰδὼς δὲ ὅτι κωμφοῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐκάθητο, Arist. *Theom.* 292.

τοῦ τοῦ καθίζωμ' ἐν καλῷ, τῶν ρητόρων
ἐ' ἐξακοῶς ;

40. πρόσρησις, 'an (object of) greeting.' πανταχοῦ, because visible on all sides.

42. χεῖρότερον ἀμύλλ' sc. ῆ, 'whenever there is a race' between galleys, which, we know, was a part of the Panathenaic festival. See an interesting article on the subject of boat-races among the Greeks by Prof. Percy Gardner in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* Vol. II p. 90 ff. 1881. Cp. Herod. VII 44. θεώσεται sc. αὐτήν.

§ 4 l. 43. τοῖς ἀπὸ γένους for τοῖς ἀπογόνους.

44. φυλαττέμεθα, 'maintained,' 'kept up.'

Cp. Pausan. I 37, 1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Κερειοκόρου τὸ μῦθος τέθειται μὲν Ἑλλιάδου, Ἄλκι... τέθειται δὲ Θεμιστοκλέους Πολιάρχου, τρίτος ἀπόγονος Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦ Πέρη καὶ Μήδου ἑταῖρα ναυμαχίσαντες. From a recently discovered inscription we learn that the people of Lampsacus also kept an annual festival in honour of Themistocles, and that Cleophantus and his descendants received marks of honour from them.

46. ἡμέτερος συνήθεος, *nosler familiaris*, an adjective used substantively, as *iniquus*, *invidus*, *intimus* in Latin ; see my n. to Cic. *or. p. Plancio* c. 1, 1.

47. παρ' Ἀμμαονίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, 'in the school of Ammonius' the Peripatetic philosopher of Alexandria, who was Plutarch's instructor at Athens. See *Introduction*.

INDICES

- I INDEX DITIONIS*
- II INDEX RERUM ET NOMINUM*
- III INDEX AUCTORUM*

The References are by Chapter and Section.

The small-type Numerals suffixed to words denote respectively :

- ¹ Words or forms of words peculiar to Plutarch and late Greek, and not used by the best Classical Prose Authors.
- ² Words used by Plutarch in a sense other than classical.
- ³ Poetical words.
- ⁴ Words found only once in Plutarch.
- ⁵ Ionic words.

and vouched for by Clitarchus and Stratocles, although Cicero *Brut.* § 43 professes to disbelieve the story, and 'puts into the mouth of his fellow-dialogist Atticus a just rebuke of the facility with which historical truth was sacrificed to rhetorical purpose' (*Grote*): — *nam quem Thucydides (i 138) tantum mortuum scripsit et in Attica clam humatum, addidit fuisse suspitionem veneno sibi concivisse mortem, hunc isti (Clitarchus et Stratocles) aiunt, cum laurum immolavisset, exceperisse sanguinem palera et eo potu mortuum concivisse.*

Cp. Diod. xi 58, 3, Val. Max. v 6 ext. 3 on the fatal effects of drinking bull's blood, and cp. Schol. Nicandr. *Alexiph.* 812 τὸ ταύρειον αἷμα φασὶ Πραξαγόρας πινόμενον πηγνύσθαι ἐν τῷ στήθει καὶ θραμβεύσθαι, ἔπειτα συνερχόμενον τῶν πνοῶν θύραται ποιεῖ, Arist. *Hist. An.* iii 19 τάχιστα δὲ πηγνύται τὸ τοῦ ταύρου αἷμα πάντων, Dioscorides *Alexiph.* c. 25. Plutarch (*Flamin.* c. 20, 5) says that the death of Hannibal, like that of Midas, king of Phrygia (Strabo *Geogr.* i 3, 23), was attributed by some authorities to the swallowing of bull's blood; Herodotus (iii 15) relates that Cambyses compelled Psammennus to drink it, and that it presently caused his death, and Ctesias (*Persica* c. 10), that Tanaxares, the brother of Cambyses, was similarly dealt with. Cp. also Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xi 90, 221 (*taurorum (sanguis) caeterime coit atque durecit, ideo pestifer potu maxime.*

49. ἔτιοι sc. λέγουσι, implied in λόγος. φάρμακον ἄφ-
ημερον, *venenum praesentaneum* (Aul. Gel. *Noct. Att.* vi 4),
'some quickly-operating poison,' 'one that kills on the same
day.' προσανεγκάμενος, *ori suo admovens, sumens*, 'taking.'
Xen. *Cyr.* iv ii 41 τοσοῦτον σίτον προσφέρεσθαι δὲν ἡμῶν,
Symp. iv 41 πολλὸ πλείον διαφέρει πρὸς ἡδονήν, ὅταν ἀναμείνας τὸ
δεσθῆναι προσφέρωμαι, Aesch. *Tim.* § 145 πάντων αὐτῶν κελυ-
βῶτων λούσασθαι καὶ σίτον προσενέγκασθαι.

50. κατίστρεψε sc. τὸν βίον, 'ended his life.' *Ti. Gr.* c. 21,
3, *Thest.* c. 19, 4 etc. Nepos *Them.* c. 10, 4:—*de* (Themistocles)
*morte multis modis apud plerisque scriptum est, sed nos eundem
potissimum Thucydidem auctorem probamus, qui illum aut Mag-
nesiae morbo mortuum neque negat fuisse jamam, venenum sua
epote sumpsisse, cum sc, quae regi de Graecia opprimenda
pollicitus esset, praestare posse desperaret.*

51. πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα: for the use of the article, see *HA. Gr.* § 664 b.

52. ἐν πολιταῖσι καὶ ἡγεμονίαισι, 'in the discharge of civil
and military functions.'

56. χρόμενον διατελεῖν φιλανθρώπως, 'continued to treat
them with friendly kindness.'

CHAPTER XXXII

50 § 1 l. 1. παιδας, 'sons,' predicative. ἐκ μὲν Ἀρχιπικῆς: ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης should have followed, but the construction is altered.

3. Ἀλωπεκήθεν, of Alopeke, a deme in the phyle Antiochia.

4. Πλάτων: *Μερον* 93 D ἢ οὐκ ἀκούεις ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς Κλεόφαντον τὸν υἱὸν Ἰππέα μὲν ἐβιβάξατο ἀγαθὸν; ἐπέμενε γούνην ἐπὶ τῶν ἰππῶν ὀρθὸς ἐστῆκώς καὶ ἠκόντιζεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰππῶν ὀρθός.—'Ἀκήκω—τί δαί τόδε; ὅτι Κλεόφαντος ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀπὸρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ σοφὸς ἐγένετο ἀπὸρ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, ἦδῃ του ἀκήκω ἢ νεωτέρου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου;—Οὐ δῆτα. There is a worthless anecdote told in Plutarch *de ad. liber.* c. 2 (*Mor.* 1 c) about a son of Them., where we should probably read Cleophantus for Diophantus:—Διόφαντον γούνην τὸν Θεμιστοκλέους πολλάκις λέγουσι φάσαι καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς ὡς ὅτι ἂν αὐτὸς βούληται, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ δήμῳ συνδοκεῖ τῷ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ· εἰ δ' ἂν ἡ μήτηρ, καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς· εἰ δ' ἂν Θεμιστοκλῆς, καὶ πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι.

7. Νεοκλῆς: Neocles, being the eldest, bore the name of his paternal grandfather.

8. Λύσανδρος ὁ πάππος υἱὸν ἐποιήσατο, 'Lysander, his (maternal) grandfather, adopted.' *Sol.* c. 7, 2 παῖδα θετὸν ἔσχε ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς.

9. πλείους, 'several.'

10. ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης, 'by his second wife.' Ἐπιγαμῆν is 'to marry besides' i.e. 'to take a second wife,' in reference to the children by the first, as appears from *Cal. ma.* c. 27, 5 ἀπέλιπε γενεὰν ἓνα μὲν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης, c. 24, 5 ἐπιγήμεναι τοῖς ἐνηλικίους ('of age') παῖσι τὴν Ἀργολίδα Τιμώναςσαν, *Atid.* c. *Cal. comp.* c. 6, 1 ἐνηλικίω παιδί: . . . ἐπιγήμεαι κόρην ὑπέρτερου πατρός, *Eur. Alc.* 305 μὴ πικρήμης τοῖσδε μητρικῶν τέκνοις. *Diod. Sic.* xi 57 says that the king of Persia gave him a wife Περσίδα εὐγενεῖα τε καὶ κάλλει διαφέρουσαν ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ ἀρετῇ ἐπαινουμένην. But she could not have been the mother of Mnesiptolema (c. 30, 2).

11. οὐκ ὦν ὁμομήτριος: *Nep. Cim.* c. 1 *Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natis uxores ducere.*

14. ἀδελφεός, 'nephew.'

16. ἀδελφῶν, who after their father's death became their sisters' legal guardians (κύριοι).

17. ἔφερε, 'brought up.' The subject is Phrasicles, not, as Reiske understands, Themistocles.

§ 1. 18. τάφον: Thuc. i 138, 5 *μημίον αὐτοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῆ Ἀσιαῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ*. Founders and otherwise distinguished men were sometimes buried in the market-place of their town; as Brasidas at Amphipolis (Thuc. v c. 11), Timoleon at Syracuse (*Timol.* c. 39, 4).

19. *πρὸς τῶν λαφάνων κτλ.*: Thucydides (i 138, 6) τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ φασι κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οἰκαδε κελύεσσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι κρύφα Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν θάπτεσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ φεύγοντος. Nepos gives the statement as if Thuc. had himself affirmed it.

20. οὗτοι corresponds to εἰτε Φύλαρχοι. προσέχων: c. 31, 2.

21. ἄξιον *sc. ἐστὶ*, 'it is fitting.'

ἐν τῷ *sc. λόγῳ*, 'in his political pamphlet addressed to the associates' i.e. members of the oligarchical clubs.

'Ruhken, with whom Sauppe agrees, thought that this Address (no longer extant) was a letter written by Andocides, then in exile, to the fellow-conspirators of Peisandros in a.c. 411. But the breach of Andocides with the oligarchical party, after his informations in 415 a.c., was decisive and final: when he returned to Athens in 411, he was at once denounced by Peisandros and imprisoned. It seems better, then, with Kirchhoff and Blass to refer this Address to an earlier time than 418: perhaps to the years 420-418, a period of keen struggle between the oligarchical and popular party at Athens. Cp. *Plut. Alc.* c. 13.' Prof. Jebb *Athie Orators* Vol. i p. 130 f.

24. παροξύνων, 'meaning to exasperate,' c. 7, 4; c. 23, 1.

25. ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ: c. 10, 1. Notice the omission of the prepos. before τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, which, in similes where it is wished to bring the objects compared into the closest possible union, is very idiomatic.

Cp. *Tim.* c. 1, 1 ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσθρατῇ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ πειρώμενον ἀμωσγίῳτος ἀσπρῖν καὶ ἀφομοῖον πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνου ἀρετὰς τὸν βίον, *Anton.* c. 9, 5 εὐθύπου χρυσὸν ἐκτωμάτων ὥσπερ ἐν πομπαῖς ταῖς ἀποδημίαις διαφερομένου, *Atal.* c. 38, 8 καθάπερ ἐν διατῇ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῷ μὲν ἀντιδικῶν διατελεῖ, τῷ δὲ συναγομένου, c. 41, 2 ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ναυαγίῳ τῆς πατρίδος ἐν τοσούτῳ σάλῳ διαφερομένου, *Mor.* 606 D ὡς ἐπὶ σχεδίας διαφέρονται τῆς ἐλπίδος, *Pomp.* c. 51, 1 ὥσπερ ἐν θήραις καὶ κνηγεσίαις τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀγῶσι γυμνάσιον, *Sull.* c. 22, 1 πολλοὶ τὴν τυραννίδα φεύγοντες ὥσπερ εἰς λιμένα τοῦ Χύλλα τὸ στρατόπεδον καταφέρουσι, *Artian Anab.* 3, 3, 7 οὐδὲ ἔστιν εἰδέναι ἵνα χρῆ πορεύεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν τελαίῳ τῇ ψάμμῳ, *Plato rep.* 645 E ὡς πρὸς παιδὰς ἡμᾶς καιζούσας, *Tim.* 79 A εἶν ὥσπερ εἰς αὐλῶνος τοῦ σώματος τὰ τῶν φλεβῶν ποιεῖ βήματα, 91 D κάρπον ἄρβαντες ὡς εἰς ἄρουραν τῆς μήτρας, *Xen. Cyr.* i vi 4, viii ii 12, *Diodor. Sic.* xviii 82 καθάπερ πρὸς τείχος ἔχυρον τῆν τῶν περὶν φάλαγγα κατήγοντο, *Lucian de call.* c. 81 ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπρῳ τῷ ἄρχστῇ διατὸν βλάπῃ.

μονονού, *tantum non*, 'all but.'

26. μηχανὴν ἔρας, 'lifting a machine' i.e. employing stage machinery, c. 10, 1. Cp. *Mor.* 345 F:—οὐ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἱστορίᾳ

καί, Κλειτόδημοι Δίλυοι Φιλόχορος Φύλαρχος ἄλλοτρῶν γεγῶσασιν ἔργων ὥσπερ δραμάτων ὑποκριταί, τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέων πράξεις διατιθέμενοι καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὑποδυόμενοι μῆμαις· ὡς ἀόητος τις καὶ φωτὸς μετέσχωσιν. This judgment on Phylarchus, as is pointed out by Bauer *Them. u. s. w.* p. 142 n. 2, does not proceed from Plutarch himself, but he follows herein Polybius, who (ii 56, 8) incidentally avails himself of the opportunity of giving his opinion of Phylarchus, in defining the difference between Tragedy and History; Phylarchus, he says, is fond of introducing stirring scenes, καὶ οὗτοῦτο παρ' ἄλλῃ τῆς ἱστορίας πειρώμενος ἐκάστοις ἀεὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθέναι τὰ θεῶν· προαγαγόν, 'bringing forward on the stage.' τινὲ, *nescio quem*, ironically.

51. 27. ἀγῶνα κινεῖν καὶ πάθος, 'to excite a struggle of feeling and emotion' (in the spectators), 'to make a moving scene.' Cp. *Sol.* c. 7, 4 τοῦ μέλλοντος ὄψιν ἀεὶ καὶ τρέμονι καὶ ἀγῶνας, αὐτὸ στερήσονται, παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς, Thucyd. vii c. 71, 1.

28. εἶδ' . . . ὁ τυχόν, 'not even an ordinary person.'

29. πέπλασται α. ταῦτα.

§ 3 l. 29. Διόδωρος ὁ περιηγητής, 'Diodorus the topographer, an Athenian, of whom we know only that he wrote before B.C. 308, at the time when Athens had only twelve phylae, (1) *περὶ δήμων*, (2) *περὶ μνημάτων*, 'on monuments'; the latter work is quoted in the *X orr. vii.* 849 c. He is quoted again in *Thea.* c. 36, 3, *Cim.* c. 16, 1, Athenaei. XIII 591 e. Diogen. Laert. iv 2 quotes from the first book of the *ἄπομνημονεύματα* of one Diodorus, but, as there are five writers of that name mentioned by Athenaeus, it is impossible to identify him with any one in particular of them.

30. ὡς ἔπινοῦν μᾶλλον, 'rather in the form of a surmise,' 'from conjecture.'

31. τὸν μέγαν λιμένα, the Piraeus proper, or largest of the three harbours (Pausanias i 1, 2) of the Piraeic peninsula, called by the Italians *Porto Leone* and by the modern Greeks themselves *Dráko*, the other two being Munychia (*Phanari*) and Zea (*Stratiotiki* or *Puschalimíni*). Its northern and largest portion called the Emporium was appropriated to commerce; the southern was used for the Athenian navy and was named Cantharus (Arist. *Pax* 145).

32. ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἄλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίον, 'from the head-land opposite (c. 14, 2) Alcimus,' which must have been *Estioneia*, or the narrow tongue of land which projects into

the sea on the western side of the harbour (Thuc. VIII 90, 3) and towards which the headland called Alcimus projected from the opposite shore, both of them being prolonged by moles, called *χῆλαι* (Thuc. VIII 90, 4). It is supposed that Alcimus was the name given to the colossal lion of white marble (whence also its modern name), which lay on the beach till it was carried to Venice after the capture of Athens by the Venetians in A. D. 1687.

33. *πρόκειται*, 'juts out.' *οἶον ἀγκῶν*, 'as it were an elbow.'

34. *κάμψαντι τοῦτον* *sc. ἀγκῶνα*, 'after doubling this foreland'; dative of relation, belonging to the whole sentence, frequent in local designations, G. § 184, 5, HA. § 771 b. Cp. *Μορ.* 862 *ε καθ' ἥσυχίαν Σοῦνιον κάμψαντες*, 967 *β ἀνεμῶδες τε μέλλουσαι κάμπτειν ἀκρωτήριον*, Herod. IV 43 *κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον*, VII 122, 193, Polyb. I 25, 8 *κάμψαντες τὸν Πάχυνον ὑπερήραν*, 39, 5 *κάμψαντες τὸ Λαύβαιον*, but in *Arist. Ach.* 96 *περὶ ἀκρῶν κάμπτων. ἢ τὸ ὑπεῖδιον* *sc. ἐστὶ*, 'where the still water is.'

35. *κρητὶς εὐμεγέθης*, 'a good-sized foundation,' c. 8, 2.

τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βωμοειδές, 'the altar-shaped elevation on it.' From the manner in which Plutarch in the description of Themistocles' tomb refers to other writers, Leake infers that there were no remains of it even in his (Plutarch's) day.

Aristotle also (*Hist. An.* VI p. 560^b, 12) speaks of a *Θεμιστοκλείων* at Athens. The account of Pausanias (I 1, 2) is that in his day there existed *πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους*: *φασὶ γὰρ μεταμῆσθαι τὸν ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὡς οἱ προσήκοντες τὰ ὄστα κομισαῖεν ἐκ Μαγνησίας ἀνελάοντες. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ καταθῆσθαι καὶ γραφῆν ἐς τὸν Παρθενῶνα ἀναβάντες, ἐν ἧ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐστὶ γεγραμμένος.*

36. *οἴεται*, 'he (Diodorus) supposes.' Plutarch lays stress on the fact that the application of Plato's lines to Themistocles is only a conjecture.

37. Plato, one of the chief and best poets of the old Athenian comedy, flourished from B.C. 428 to B.C. 389. His *Cleophon* gained the third prize in B.C. 405 when Aristophanes was first with the *Frogs*. *αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν*, 'is a witness in his favour.' *ἐν τοῖσιν*, 'in the following lines,' of which Themistocles is assumed to be the subject.

39. *ἐν καλῷ*, 'in a good place,' because it was so full of life and animation. According to Greek notions, the more beautiful and conspicuous the site, the more honourable the tomb. Cp. *Per.* c. 30, 2 on that of Anthemocritus at Dipylum, where it was seen by Pausanias. Cp. *Alciph.* *Ep.* III 20 *ἀγει*

μέ τις λαβὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον καθίσας ἐν καλῷ, Philostr. *Heroic*. p. 10 βέλτιον δὲ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τοῦ χωρίου ἰῆσαι, Aelian *var. hist.* II 13 καὶ γὰρ τοὶ καὶ παρῆν (Socrates) οὐκ ἄλλως οὐδὲ ἐκ τόχης, εἰδὼς δὲ ὅτι κωμικοῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐπέθρη, Arist. *Theom.* 292.

τοῦ ποῦ καθίσωμ' ἐν καλῷ, τῶν ρητόρων
ἐ' ἔξακούω ;

40. πρόσρηται, 'an (object of) greeting.' πανταχῶς, because visible on all sides.

42. χεπέταν ἀμιλλ' sc. ῖ, 'whenever there is a race' between galleys, which, we know, was a part of the Panathenaic festival. See an interesting article on the subject of boat-races among the Greeks by Prof. Percy Gardner in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* Vol. II p. 90 ff. 1881. Cp. Herod. VII 44. θεάσεται sc. αὐτήρ.

§ 4 l. 43. τοὶς ἀπὸ γένους for τοῖς ἀπογόνοις.

44. φιλαττέμεναί, 'maintained,' 'kept up.'

Cp. Pausan. I 37, 1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Κυραιοῦσιν τὸ μνημεῖον τέθειται μὲν Ἠλείοις Ἄλις... τέθειται δὲ Θερμοπυλαῖς Πολιάρχου, τρίτος ἀπόγονος Θερμοπυλαίου τοῦ Ἡρότου καὶ Μήδου ἀναγνίσκασθαι. From a recently discovered inscription we learn that the people of Lampsacus also kept an annual festival in honour of Themistocles, and that Cleophantus and his descendants received marks of honour from them.

46. ἡμέτερος συνθήκη, *nostra familiaris*, an adjective used substantively, as *iniquus*, *invidus*, *intimus* in Latin; see my n. to Cic. *or. p. Plancio* c. 1, 1.

47. παρ' Ἀμμωνίᾳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, 'in the school of Ammonius' the Peripatetic philosopher of Alexandria, who was Plutarch's instructor at Athens. See *Introduction*.

INDICES

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The References are by Chapter and Section.

The small-type Numerals suffixed to words denote respectively :

- 1** Words or forms of words peculiar to Plutarch and late Greek, and not used by the best Classical Prose Authors.
- 2** Words used by Plutarch in a sense other than classical.
- 3** Poetical words.
- 4** Words found only once in Plutarch.
- 5** Ionic words.

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 διανέμειν 4 1
 διανοεῖσθαι 9 3, 20 1
 διανομή 4 1
 διατρέπεσθαι¹ (PASS.) 31 3
 διαπερᾶν² 10 5, 24 1
 διαπέτεσθαι w. gen. 12 1
 διαπράττεσθαι (MED.) w. inf. 21 2; διαπερᾶσθαι τι χρήσιμον 18 3
 διαπρεπῶς 13 2
 διαπράσαι 25 1
 διαρρίπτειν¹ 32 2
 διασφίξειν 2 4
 διαταράσσειν, *perturbari* 30 1
 διαταχίζειν 9 2
 διατελεῖν w. participle 3 2, 31 4
 διατιθέναι, *componere* 24 3
 διατριβεῖν, *componari* 23 1, 26 1
 διατριβή, *moras* 19 1; διατριβὰς ἐμποικῶν 16 3.—ἀστέρας διατριβαί 2 3; αἱ οἰκίαι διατριβαί 29 3
 διαφέρεσθαι² (PASS.), *iaculari*, *huc illuc ferri* 14 3
 διαφείγειν τῶν κινδύνων 30 2
 διαφθείρειν 12 2, 29 2.—PASS. 6 1
 διαφορὰν ἔχειν πρὸς τινα 24 1
 διαχειμάζειν 20 1
 ἐγγλωττός,² ἐ, *interpres qui duas linguas callet* 6 1
 διδάσκων *fabulam* 5 3

δίδόναι λέγειν 29 1
 διελθεῖν (διαλέγεσθαι) 29 2
 διέρρηγεσθαι (PASS.) w. gen. 13 1
 διερευνᾶσθαι (MED.), 'to ransack' 10 4
 διηγήματα¹ πλάττειν 2 6
 δικανικαὶ τέχναι 2 4
 δίκαι ταραττειν 5 1
 διὸ καὶ 7 2, 10 2, 12 1, 19 3, 20 2
 διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν 1 3
 διπηχεῖν 31 1
 δίφρος χρυσοῦς 13 1
 δίκαις 28 1
 δοκεῖν, *videri*, de somniorum visis 15 1, 26 2; 'to be thought' 2 6, 5 3, 7 1, 8 3, 10 1; τὸ δοκοῦν, *sententia* 20 2; *sibi videri* 2 3, 18 3
 δοκιμάζειν, 'to approve' 20 1
 δόξα 31 4; δόξαν ἔχειν 18 2; δόξαν παρέχειν w. inf. 29 2; πρὸς δόξαν 1 1, 3 2
 δουλοῦσθαι, *subicere sibi* 4 5
 δοῦρειος ἵππος 5 1
 δράκων Athenis 10 1
 δραστήριος σύνεσις 2 4
 δύναμις: πλείστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων δύνασθαι 18 4
 δύναμις, *copiae*: ἰσχυρὰ δ. 12 2, 20 1.—PL. τηλικούτων δ. 16 1; δυνάμει ἐκουόντο 31 3
 δυνατός: ὡς δυνατὸν 10 2; τοῖς ἀνδ. 26 1, 29 2
 δύσθυμια² 9 2
 δυσμένειαν ἀποκνεῖν εἰς τι 22 2
 δυσχεραίνειν (absol.) 16 1, 22 1; w. dat. 19 3

E

εἶν, *sincere, intactum relinquere* 4 1; οὐκ εἶν, *velare* 3 4
 εἶδα εἰς ὄλεθρον 21 3
 ἐγγράφειν εἰς τοῦ ἀτίμου 6 2
 ἐγκαλεῖν 19 1; ἐγ. τῶι 19 3

ἐγκαταλείπειν³ 11 3
 ἐγκέφαλος, ὁ 29 3
 ἐγκλημα συγγενιῶν 5 1
 ἐγγράφειν¹ γράμματα κατὰ τῶν λίθων 9 1
 ἐδώκεν, τὰ 5 1
 ἔθω: ἔθωα w. inf. 4 1
 ἔθω: εἰώθα 2 2; εἰωθῆα ἄρα 14 2
 εἰ after verbs of indignation 12 1, 20 2
 εἰ δὲ τεκμαίρεσθαι 17 2
 εἶδος, ἵματιο: τὰ εἶδη 29 2
 εἰκασία³ 29 2
 εἰκόσιον,¹ 'a statuette' 22 2
 εἰκόσι: οὐκ εἰκόσι ἐστί 25 1
 εἰκόσι 5 4; εἰ. θεοῦ 27 2
 εἶναι χ λέγεσθαι 28 2
 εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι 21 1; 'to move a resolution' 6 2.—PASS. εἰρητο, praecceptum erat 23 3
 εἰς w. superlatives 21 2
 εἰς ὄλεθρον 21 3; εἰς χεῖρας ἵναί, manus conscrere 8 1.—εἰν, 'on,' 'concerning' 21 4; 'in respect to' 2 2, 8 1, 26 2.—Of time: εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ 7 2
 εἰσάγειν 29 1.—PASS. εἰσήχθη πρὸς βασιλέα 28 1
 εἰσασθαι³ 22 1
 εἰσελαύνειν 29 3
 εἰσηγήσθαι ὅπως, auctorem esse ut 20 2 (unclassical)
 εἰσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος 7 3, 9 1
 ἐκ: ἐκθῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς 3 1; ἐκ θωσίας 26 1; ἐκ τοῦτου, post hoc 3 2, 4 3, 19 2; προμτ hoc 20 2; ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων, 'with the money' 4 1; ἐκ τῆς ζημίας 31 1; ἐκ διαδοχῆς 2 4; ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων ἐπαίρεσθαι 5 3; ἐξ ὧν = ἐκ τούτων ἔτι 29 1.—Proleptic use of: τὸν ἐκ Μήδων χρυσὸν ἐκόμισε 6 2

ἐκβοῆσαι 28 3
 ἐκδιδόναι 24 3
 ἐκδιώκων 21 3
 ἐκκλέπτειν, clam subducere 24 3
 ἐκλάμψαι³ 15 1
 ἐκλιπαρεῖν¹ w. inf. 5 2
 ἐκμωθάνειν 2 2, 29 2
 ἐκόσιος θάνατος 2 6
 ἐκκαλαί¹ 30 1
 ἐκπεραννόναι³ τὰς ἀδελφάς 30 2
 ἐκπίπτειν, 'to be washed ashore' 10 5, 18 1; ἐκπίπτειν (εἰς) τῆς πόλεως 23 1; ἐκπετωκῆτα τῆς πολιτείας 23 2
 ἐκπλήττεσθαι: ἐκπλαγῆναι τι 7 3, 13 2; ἐκπεπληγμένους τὸν κίνδυνον 6 1
 ἐκρεῖν w. gen.: ἐξεργήσων³ οἱ λόγοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων 12 1
 ἐκσπονδος, ecclesius a fodere 20 2
 ἐκτελεῖν λόγον 12 2.—PASS. ἐκτελεσθαι³)(συστέλλεσθαι 29 2
 ἐκτός, οἱ 26 3, 29 2
 ἐκφέρειν, efferre 22 1; ἐ. τι πρὸς τινα, vulgare 23 2; ('to promulgate') τέλος 12 2
 ἐκφρων 26 1
 ἐλεγείον 8 3
 ἔλεον ἔχειν 10 5
 ἐλευθέριος 2 2; ἐ. διατριβαί 2 3
 ἐλευθερίτης 5 1
 Ἐλευσιώδεν 15 1
 Ἐλληγ as adj. 29 1 4
 Ἐλληνίς φωνή 6 2
 ἐμβαινεῖν, 'to embark' 10 2 5
 ἐμβάλλειν εἰς, inuadere 9 2.—ἐ. τινα εἰς ὑποψίαν 23 3; ἐμβάλλειν χρῆσον τινί 19 1
 ἐμβιβάζειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις 7 1
 ἐμπιπλάσαι τινα θράσους 19 3
 ἐμπιπράσαι: ἐμπρήσαι 20 1.—PASS. ἐμπρησθέν 1 3
 ἐμπύπτειν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν 30 2; ³εἰς τινα, 'to denoulo uppon' 6 1

ἐμποδῶν εἶναι τι *τινος* 4 5 ; ἔ.
τοῖς λόγοις 27 2

ἐμποικεῖν διατριβάς *τινι* 16 3

ἐμπορος : τοῖς ἐμποροῖς 32

3

ἐμφράττειν 16 1

ἐμφύσαι² ταῖς ναυσὶν 9 3

ἐν Νικογένους, 'in the house
of' 28 2 ; ἐν τούτῳ, *interea*
12 2, 15 1 ; ἐν ᾧ, *cum* 12 2 ;
ἐν τούτῳ, 'at this moment'
30 2 ; ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος
δωτος 15 1 ; ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, *co-*
ram populo 22 1 ; ἐν τοῖς
Ἑλλήσι 23 3, 29 1.—ἐν μέτρῳ
26 1

ἐναλέσθαι 10 5

ἐνάλιον¹² ἔργον 15 2

ἐναντίος : τὴν ἐναντίαν 3 1 ;

τοῦναντίον 2 6, 5 1

ἐναριώττειν² (*placere*) *τινι* 5 4

ἐνδείξασθαι, *declarare* *re* 31 1

ἐνδοξος (*δόξος*) 2 3, 18 2

ἐντέχεσθαι (*PASS.*) *ἰσχυρί* : αἱ νῆες
τοῖς χαλκώμασι *ἐνεσχέθησαν*

14 3 ; ἐνείχετο *νοστέα* 1 2

ἐνθα δὴ 10 1, 12 1

ἐπίστασθαι (*MED.*), *obsistere* 7 1 ;
τινι πρὸς τι, *resistere alicui* *ne*
quid habeat 3 2

ἐπνοια 11 4

ἐποπλος² 15 1

ἐπτεύξις, *adulus* 27 1 3

ἐπὶ ἰδοριε *pro eis* 21 4

ἐπός, *abs.* 32 3 ; *w. gen.* 9 2

ἐπυρῶν¹ τῇ μητρὶ (of a spoiled
child) 18 4

ἐπυγχάδων, 'to have an inter-
view with' 27 1, 29 1 2 ; ἐπ-
τυχεῖν *τινι* *περὶ* *τινος* 27 1 ;
τοῖς ἐπυγχάδουσι 26 3

ἐξαγγέλλειν 10 1, 12 2

ἐξάγειν στρατιῶν 7 1 ; τὸν μυστι-
κὸν ἔ. 'Ἰακχον 15 1

ἐξαιρεῖν² 26 2

ἐξέπτειν τί *τινος* 19 3.—*MED.*

ἐξέπτεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν 31

3

ἐξαρτᾶν² τί *τινος* 2 6

ἐξεργήσασθαι² : *v. s.* ἐκρεῖν

ἐξῆς 17 2

ἐξισοῦσθαι (*PASS.*) τὸ πλῆθος 15 2

ἐξιστάναι : ἐκστῆναι τῆς στρα-
τηγίας 6 1 ; ἐξίστασθαι πρὸς
τὸ χεῖρον, 'to degenerate' 2 5

ἐξοστρακίζεσθαι (*PASS.*) : ἐξο-
στρακιστο 11 1 ; ἐξοστρακισ-
μένος 12 3 ; ἐξοστρακισθέντα
5 4

ἐξοστρακισμῶν¹ ποιέσθαι *κατὰ*
τινος 22 2

ἐξω *w. gen.* for ἐκτός 1 2

ἐξωνεῖσθαι¹ χρήμασι τὴν φιλοτι-
μιαν *παρὰ* *τινος* 6 1

ἐοικα, *similis enim* 27 3, 29 2 ;
ἐοικυῖα 29 3 ; ἐοικε, *fertur* 3
2 ; ὡς ἐοικός 21 4

ἐοργή 18 3

ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, *polliceri* 29 4

ἐπάγειν μηχανῆν 10 1 ; τὸ περὶ
τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν 15 1

ἐπαίρεσθαι (*MED.*) τὴν βακτηρίαν
11 3.—*PASS.* ἐπαίρομενος τὴν

κίταρον 29 3 ; ἐπαίρεσθαι *παρ'*
ἀξίαν 5 3 ; ἐπαρθεῖς *τιμῇ* 31 3

ἐπακτός στρατός 16 1

ἐπ-ανα-βάλλεσθαι⁵ 18 1

ἐπ-αν-ορθοῦσθαι (*MED.*) τὰ παρ-
εμένα 16 2

ἐπαχθῆς *τινι* 21 1

ἐπει, *nam* 2 2

ἐπεσθαι 18 1 ; ἔ. *q.* *πειθεσθαι* 7 2

ἐπέχειν τὰς χεῖρας 15 1

ἐπὶ *τινος* *w. Gen.* 'in the case
of,' 'concerning' 8 2, 22 2 ;
'in the time of' 29 4 ; ἐφ'
ἡσυχίας 16 2.—with *Dat.*
'because of' 2 6, 7 4, 24 3,
28 3 ; ἐπὶ μηδισμῶ *φυγεῖν* 21
4 ; ἐπὶ ('after') *πάσι* *τετάχθαι*
9 1 ; 'at the mercy of' 20 2 ;
'on condition of' ἔ. *χρήματος*

- 21 2; ἐ. χρόνῳ 11 1.—with
 Acc. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω 2 5; ἐ.
 πολλὰ κενὴν τινα 3 2; 'for
 the purpose of' ἐπ' ἀγῶνας
 φέικεν ἑαυτὸν 3 3, 4 1 2.—
 temporal ἐπὶ πολλῶν χρόνων
 31 2
- ἐπιγαμίσθαι¹ (PASS.) 32 1
 ἐπιγράφεσθαι (MED.) ὄνομα 19 1
 ἐπιγραφῆ 5 3
 ἐπιδεικνύμαι, *digilo monstare*
 2 6, 17 2, 29 2.—MED. 23 2
 ἐπίδειξις ἀρετῆς 28 2
 ἐπίδειξος, 'expected' not 'ex-
 pecting' 6 1
 ἐπιεικῆς 18 4; ἐπιεικῶς 29 2
 ἐπιέναι, ὀδίρε 12 3
 ἐπιθιάζειν² 28 2
 ἐπικαθίζειν (intrans.) 12 1
 ἐπικαλύπτειν 29 3
 ἐπικαλύπτεσθαι (PASS.) τιμὸς ἐπὶ
 τινι 26 1; τὸ ἐπικηρυχθέν 29 1
 ἐπικλᾶν¹ 10 5
 ἐπικλησις 8 2
 ἐπικρατεῖν τῶν ψήφων 20 2
 ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, ὀλίγις 24 3
 ἐπιμεληθῆναι 7 4
 ἐπικίπτειν τινι 30 2
 ἐπικλιεῖν εἰς 16 1
 ἐπισείειν^{1, 2} 4 2
 ἐπίσημον, *insigne* 8 1
 ἐπισκευάζειν 1 3
 ἐπισκήπτειν 9 1
 ἐπισκοπεῖν 4 4, 18 1
 ἐπισκώπτειν 5 4
 ἐπιστάτης τῶν ὕδατων 31 1
 ἐπιστολή 31 2.—PL. 23 3
 ἐπιστρέφειν² τὸν λόγον 11 3;
 ἐπιστρέφειν τινα w. inf. 31 3
 ἐπιτάττειν 18 4
 ἐπιτήδεις 19 1
 ἐπιτήδευμά τι ποιέσθαι 2 4
 ἐπιτιθέναι: ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ βίῳ
 τελευτήρ 31 4.—MED. *aggredi*
 12 2
 ἐπιτρέπειν, *instigare* 31 3
- ἐπιφάνεια¹ τῆς θεοῦ 30 2
 ἐπιφανείς, *ol, illustri loco nati*;
 de re: ἐ. γράμματα 9 1
 ἐπιφέρειν, *inferre*: ἐπ. καινωτο-
 μίας 3 2; ἐ. αἰτίαν τινι 31 1.
 —MED. *adoriri, invadere* 14 2
 ἐπωπτεύειν² τὸν στόλον 18 1
 ἐπώνυμος, *qui dat nomen* 10 2
 ἐρασθαι (DEP.): ἠράσθησαν 3 2
 ἐραστής πράξεων μεγάλων 3 3
 ἔργον, *pinus* 13 1
 ἐρίζειν τιμὴ 18 3; περί τινος 14
 2, 19 2
 ἐρμηεύς 6 2, 28 1
 ἐσθῆτι (ἐσθή, *vestis*) 13 2
 ἐσσι, *licet* 27 2
 ἐτι, *praeserea* 6 2, 10 3, 20 2,
 27 1, 29 1; *adhuc* 2 1, 3 3 4,
 5 2, 12 3, 22 2, 31 4, 32 1; w.
 comp. ἐτι μᾶλλον 7 4
 εὐ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τινος 22 1; εὐ
 γεγονέναι 1 2
 εὐγνωμοσύνη² 7 2
 εὐδία 18 2
 εὐεργεσία ἐστὶ τιμὴ πρὸς τινα 24 1
 εὐημερεῖν¹ 31 4
 εὐκαιρῶς 4 2
 εὐλογος (παράλογος 18 2
 εὐμεγέθης 32 3
 εὐμενῶς διαλλάττεσθαι 28 1
 εὐνοῦχος βασιλικός 16 2
 εὐπορεῖν (*panisci*) ἐφοδίων 10 4
 εὐρίσκειν with partic. 30 2.—
 PASS. 2 1
 εὐφύτα¹ τῶν λιμένων 19 2
 ἐφεξῆς 17 2
 ἐφήμερον² φάρμακον 31 4
 ἐφίεσθαι w. gen. 6 1; w. gen.
 of art. inf. 3 1
 ἐφικτός,¹ 'attainable' 31 3
 ἐφόδια 10 4
 ἐφοροί, *ol* 19 1
 ἐχειν, *in matrimonio habere* 27
 3.—ἐ. αἰτίαν 21 4; ἐσχῆκε
 ὄδον 18 2; ἐθεε 4 1; ἔλεον
 105; πίετω 12 3; σκαυθή

5 3; φθόνον 29 2; φιλοτιμίαν 5 3; ὄργη ἔχει τινα 9 2; ἐνοικα καὶ δεῖς ἔσχειν αὐτῶν 11 4; ἔχων, 'with' 14 2.—*prose* 7 4.—*intrans.* with modal adverb: ἔ. ὁμοίως πρὸς τινα 26; ἔ. ἀπαραιτήτως 29 4
 ἐχθραν λύειν 24 1; τὰς ἔ. ἀναβάλλεσθαι 6 2; ἔ. πρὸς τινα 3 1

Z

ζεύγμα 16 1 2
 ζήλοσφία¹ 26 2
 ζήλωτης, imitator 2 4
 ζήμια, nulla 31 1

H

ἡ γὰρ 11 4
 ἡγεμονία 6 1; ἡ τῶν νεῶν 11 2.
 —*PL* 31 4
 ἡγεμῶν: τοὺς ἡ. τῶν νεῶν 12 2
 ἡδέσθαι: ἡσθη 12 2, 17 2, 29 2
 ἡθοσφιδῶν¹ παιδευσεὺς 2 2
 ἡ καὶ ῥῆσιν 4 2
 ἡλικία: οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ 10 2; παρ' ἡλικίαν 2 2
 ἡμέρα μεθ' ἡμέραν 7 4
 ἡμεροσ, μακροσφιδῶν 10 5
 ἡρῶν³ 9 3
 ἡρωϊκῶσ² τῆσ ψυχῆσ 22 2
 ἡσυχία: ἐφ' ἡσυχίας 16 2; καθ' ἡσυχίαν 12 2
 ἡττα 3 3, 4 5
 ἡττων χροσφιδῶν 6 1; ἡττων 14 2, 19 3
 ἡγχοσφοντῶ 21 3
 ἡχθαρῶ 21 3
 ἡχος καὶ φωνῆ 15 1

Θ

θαλάσφιος, nauticus 4 3
 θαλασφκρατεῖν 31 3
 θαλλῶσ: θαλλῶσ στέφανω 17 2

θανατοῦν 24 3.—*PASS.* τῶν θανατοσφιδῶν 22 1; θανατοσφιδῶν 23 3
 θαρσεῖν *w. inf.* 23 2
 θαυμάσφωσ, οδοσφταρε 17 2, 27 2
 θεῶσ, ἡ 10 4, 21 2, 30 2
 θεοσφδότησ^{1 3} 26 1
 θεράπαινα 30 1
 θεραπεία 18 2; χροσφιδῶν 31 2.
 —*PASS.* θ. ὑπὸ πολλῶν 29 4
 θήρα λωσιτελής 26 1
 θισ 8 3
 θιστήσ 1 2
 θράσος 19 3
 θρασυνοσφθαί πρὸς τινα 18 3
 θροσφτα 1 2
 ΘΡΗΣΙΣΑ 1 1
 θυμοσφαχεῖσ³ 16 1
 θυμῶσ: θυμῶ 12 3
 θύρα: οἱ ἐπὶ θύραισ 26 3, 29 1
 θυρία 13 2

I

Ἰακχοσ ὁ μυστικός 15 1
 ἰδέσθαι^{1 3} 13 2
 ἰδιος: τὰ ἰ. 18 1.—*ιδιόστροπος*, peculiaris 18 4, 24 2
 ἰδιώτης (σοφῶσ) 27 2
 ἰέρεια 30 2
 ἰερός: ἡ ἰερά ναὺσ 7 4; ἰεράσν ἸΑΘΑΝῶΝ 21 2
 ἰκείσφια 24 2
 ἰκτένευμα 24 3
 ἰκτεὺσ ἀριστος 32 1
 ἰκταὶ ἀγωνισταὶ 25 1
 ἰκποσφρόφος 5 1
 ἸΣΘΜΟῖ 21 2 (*ex Timocreon*)
 ἰσότησ 27 2; ἰ. δημοκρατική 22 2
 ἰστάναι (λίθων) 9 1; (σαγήφω) 25 1; στήσαι βεβαλῶσ 26 2
 ἰστορεῖν²: 'to record': ἰστορεῖ 4 4, 19 1, 24 3, 25 1; ἰστοροῦσθαι 27 1; ἰστόρηκεν 1 3, 3 2, 7 3.—*PASS.* 10 5
 ἰστορία² 32 2

ιστορικά² γράμματα 18 2
 ισχυρός, *vehementer* 26 3
 ἰταμῶς 3 1

K

καθαίρεσθαι, *suspensum demit*
 22 1
 καθάπερ 2 1, 11 4
 καθάπτεσθαι τιος 21 2
 καθαρῶς: τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτεῦ-
 ματος 4 4
 καθήμενος 16 2; καθήσοτο 13 1
 καθιερεῖν 13 2
 καθίζεν: καθῆσαι 24 3
 καθίσταται τιὰ εἰς ἀναγκήν 16
 1; τιὰ ἀντίπαλόν τι 20 2.
 —PASS. ἰκετὴς καταστῆς 24 2;
 εἰς κινδύνον κατέστησαν 16 3
 καθορᾶ, *cernere* 15 1; τοὺς
 κατοφόμενους 19 1
 καὶ introducing a statement
 emphatically 4 1; διὰ καὶ
 7 2, 10 2; ἢ καὶ 4 2; καὶ con-
 necting genus with species
 7 2.—intensive, καὶ μάλιστα
 12 1; καὶ γάρ, *elenim* 18 1
 καίεν: καῖσαι 8 3
 καινοτομεῖσθαι 29 2
 καινοτομία ἐπιφέρειν 3 2
 ΚΑΙΝΩΝ³ 21 3
 καίτοι, *quamquam*, 'and yet'
 2 3, 3 1 3, 10 5
 κακοῦ³ τὸ βαρβαρικόν 9 1
 κάλλος 3 2
 καλοκαγαθία 12 3
 καλοκαγαθικό¹ τὸν τρόπον 3 2
 καλόι: ἐν κάλλῳ, *loco oppor-*
tuino 32 3
 κάμπτεν ἀκρωτήριον 32 3
 κάν for καὶ ἐάν 20 1, 29 3
 καρδία 11 4
 ΚΑΡΙΝΗ, 'a Carian woman' 1 2
 καρπούσθαι δωρεὰς 31 2; τιμὰς
 32 4
 κάρχησιον³³ 12 1

κατὰ w. Gen. γράμματα κ. τῶν
 λίθων 9 1; κ. τῆς γαστρὸς 26
 1.—w. Acc. κ. θάλατταν 7 1,
 9 2; *e regione*, 'opposite'
 14 2, 32 3; κ. στόμα 7 3;
 κ. τῶα εἶναι 29 1.—distribu-
 tive, κ. μέρος, 'in detach-
 ments' 15 2, 18 1; κ. πόλεις
 12 1; καθ' αὐτήν 2 5; κ.
 μικρὸν, 'little by little' 4 3,
 15 1; καθ' ἑσυχίαν 12 2.—
 de tempore: καθ' ἡμᾶς, *postea*
caetera 22 2
 κατάβαλεν εἰς τὸ Κνωσάργεγ
 1 2; ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα 6 1;
 κατέβαινον ἀγγελλία 31 3
 καταβάλλειν (de solvenda pec-
 cunia) 24 1
 καταβιάζειν 4 3
 καταβοᾶν ('to denounce') τιμὸς
 23 3; τιμὸς πρὸς τινα 7 5
 κατάγειν, 'to bring from the
 sea' 14 2; exulem 14 2, 17
 2, 21 2
 καταδικη 21 4
 καταδύναι 26 3
 καταίρειν (ἀπαίρειν 20 1
 κατακαλεῖσθαι² (MED.) 13 2
 κατακλείειν 16 1.—PASS. κατα-
 κλειμένας 26 3
 κατακοιμηθεῖς 26 2
 καταλείπειν 11 3
 καταλύσαι τοὺς Ἑ. πολέμους 6 2
 καταμηνύειν³⁵ τι 23 2
 κατανοεῖν τι 19 2
 καταπλεῖν 26 1
 καταπραῖνεν τινα 7 2; τιὰ τῆς
 ὀργῆς 31 2
 κатарσεῖς ἀναγκαῖαι 9 2
 κатарσῆσις¹ 2 5
 κатарχεσθαι τῶν νεαρῶσκων 13 2
 κατασκευάζειν τὸν Πειραιῶν 19 2;
 ἱερὸν 22 1; ναὸν 30 2.—MED.
 κατασκευάσασθαι τρήρεις 4
 1.—PASS. κατασκευασμένην
 πολυτελεῖα σκεπτήν 25 1

- κατασκευή τῶν ἰερῶν 31 I
 κατασκήπτειν (of a cloud) 15 I
 καταστασιάζειν¹ 5 4.—PASS. 11 I
 καταστρέφειν, *vilam finire* 31 4
 καταστρωμα 11 4, 14 1.—PL.
 14 2
 καταυλίζεσθαι² 30 I bis
 καταφανής γίνεσθαι 23 2
 καταφέρεισθαι πνεύματι 25 I
 καταφεύγειν εἰς 31 2
 καταψεύδεσθαι τινας πρὸς τινα
 25 2.—PASS. καταψεύσθαι 2 6
 κατεύχεσθαι w. acc. et inf. 28 3
 κατέχει, *rotiri, tenere*: τὴν
 θάλασσαν ναυτὶ 4 I; φωνῇ
 κατέχει τὸ πῆδῶν 15 I
 κατηγορεῖν 23 3; τί τινας 5 I;
 οἱ κ. 23 3; κατηγορήσει 25 I
 κατηγορία 2 I.—PL. 23 3
 κατήφεια² 9 2
 κατένειμι (de exulibus) 11 I, 21 2
 κατόνημονος: v.s. καθορῶν
 Κάτος 3 2
 κᾶσθαι as p.p. of τῶθέναι 18 I,
 22 1.—de interfectis: cp.
 Thuc. VII 75, 3, Xen. An.
 VI v 6
 κελωστής, 'a boatswain' 19 3
 Κέρατα, τὰ 13 I
 κεραυνοί 29 3
 κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ παντός 26 I
 Κεφαλὴ λέωντων 30 I
 ΚΕΧΩΣΜΕΝΟΣ (χωσύναι) 32 3
 κῆδεσθαι w. gen. *cuiusdam gerens*
 16 3
 κηρύκειον, τὸ 26 2
 κηραριστής 5 2
 κενὸν ἐπὶ πολλὰ τὸν δῆμον 3 2;
 κ. ἀγῶνα καὶ πάθος 32 2;
 κ. δυνάμεις 31 3
 κίσση³ 7 4
 κίσσας,¹ ἡ 29 3
 κίχρημι, *ueniam do*: χρήσαι
 φωνῶν Ἑλληνίδα βαρβάρους
 προστάγμασιν 6 2
 κλέος 21 4

κοιμᾶσθαι (PASS.) 26 2
 κοινός: τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν 2 6;
 κοινῇ φωνῇ 13 2; ἀνδρεία καὶ
 προθυμία κοινῇ 15 2; κοινῇ
 24 I
 κοινωνία τῶν πραττομένων 23 2
 κόλασις 22 2
 κολούειν 18 2.—met. 22 2,
 [31 3!]
 ΚΟΛΟΥΡΙΣ 21 4
 κομίζεσθαι (*transportari*) εἰς
 μέσσην 10 3; *ulcr facere* 7 3,
 26 3
 κομπώδης 8 I
 κόποις τεφρώδης 8 3
 κοπιᾶν¹ 22 I
 κοπιώδης¹ 18 3
 κοσμεῖν γραφαῖς 1 3.—PASS. 13 2
 κόσμοι ἐπισήμων 8 I
 κουφισμός¹ φθόνου 22 2
 κρατεῖν τῶν παρόδων 9 I; κρ. τῇ
 γνώμῃ 10 2; κρ. τῇ χειροτονίᾳ
 6 I; τῷ ναυτικῷ 16 2.—aba.
 3 I, 6 I
 κραυγαῖς² 8 I
 κρέα 21 2 (ex Timocreonte):
 δειπνον κρεῶν 7 4
 κρηπίς εὐμεγέθης 32 3; ΚΡΗΠΙΔ'
 ἘΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΔΟΣ 8 2
 κρίνειν, 'to give a decision' 24
 1; *reum petagere* 24 3.—
 PASS. κριθησόμενον 23 3
 κρίσις, *momentum, discernen* 8
 I
 κριτής, *arbiter*, 'a referee' 5 4,
 24 I
 κροκίζειν¹ 8 2
 κροτεῖν 17 2
 κρόφα 7 3, 12 2
 ΚΥΒΑΛΙΚΟΪΣ ἈΡΓΥΡΟΪΣΙ 21 3
 κυβερνήτης 12 1, 19 3, 25 I
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 κυνηγέσιον 29 3
 κύριος τηλεκούτων δυνάμεων 16 I
 κυροῦσθαι (PASS.): *κυροδέστος*
 τοῦ ψήφισματος 19 3

κωλύειν w. inf. 25 1; w. participle 31 3.—PASS. 20 1
 κομικός, ὁ 19 3
 κόπη 4 3

Λ

λαμβάνειν: ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν 3 2; λ. σημεῖον 10 1; λ. τῆς ὀπώρας 10 3.—MED. λαβέσθαι (γῆς), 'to reach (shore)' 25 2
 λαμπρός: λαμπρὸν ἔργον 15 2; (ἐρπενδίδις) ἐν ταῖς δαπάναις 5 1; λαμπρὰ τράπεζα 29 4; λαμπρὸς τάφος 32 2.—vehementis, λαμπρὸν πνεῦμα 14 2
 λαμπρότης, ἐρπενδορ: λαμπρότητες ἐπισήμων 8 1.—magnificencia 5 2
 λείψανα, τὰ, reliquias 32 2
 Λεοντοκέφαλος 30 1
 λεώφορος, ἡ 30 1
 λιποθυμεῖν 10 5
 λογισμός: σὺν οἰδεῖν λογισμῷ 23 2; ἀνθρώπωνι λ. 10 1
 λόγον δίδομαι 10 1; λ. διαδίδομαι 19 2; ὁ πολὺς λ. 31 4; λόγον προσφέρειν 30 1; λόγου ἐκφέρειν 23 2; λόγοι μαγικοί 29 3.—ratio 12 5, 14 1
 λαιδορεῖν 5 4
 λίνειν τὸ ζεῦγμα 16 1 3; λίνειν τῆν ἐχθραν 24 1
 λιπηρός, molestus 22 1
 λύρα ἀρμόσασθαι 2 3
 λυσitelής 26 1; λυσitelésteroς 20 1
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Μ

μαγικοί λόγοι 29 3
 μαθήματα 2 1
 μακαρίζειν ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τινα ἐπ' εὐτυχία 28 3
 μακρός: μακρὰν 4 2

μαλακὸς τῇ ψυχῇ 6 1; μ. περὶ τῶν κινδύων 11 2
 μάντευμα¹ 13 2, 28 2
 ἐν Μαραθῶνι 3 3
 μάρτυρά τινα θέσθαι 28 2
 μαρτυρεῖν 4 4; μ. τι 32 3
 μάχαιρα² τευθίδος 11 4
 μέγα φρονεῖν τι 101 ἐπὶ τῶν 9 1
 μεγαλοπράγμων 2 1
 μεγαλύνειν 27 2
 μέγθος 31 1
 μεγίστη ἰκεσία 24 3
 ΜΕΛΕΟΥCΗ 10 2
 μεθιστάμαι (of temporary banishment) 5 4; ad defectionem compellere 9 1.—PASS. τοῖς μεθεστῶσι 10 5
 μεθορία 13 1
 μεϊρακίον 18 2
 μεϊρακιδῶδης 3 2
 μελετᾶν λόγου 2 1; (de cithar- oedo) 5 2
 μέλλειν: τὸ μέλλον 3 3
 μελλήσεις ἐμποιεῖν τι πρὸς τι 16 3
 μελοποιός 21 2
 μέλος 5 4
 μὲν . . . δέ, 'both . . . and' 15 1
 μὲν οὖν, 'in conclusion' 2 4, 7 4, 9 3, 12 3, 17 1, 18 4, 20 1
 μέντοι 1 3, 3 1; μὲν . . . μέντοι 1 1
 μέρος: κατὰ μέρος 15 2, 18 1
 μεσημβρίας 30 1
 μεστὸς φορᾶς 2 1
 μετὰ w. Gen. ινα cum 1 2, 23 3; πέμπεται μετὰ νεῶν 7 1, 12 1; Πελάγοντα μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν πέμψαντες 7 3; μ. τῆς ἀνάγκης 12 3; μετ' ὀσφαι- λείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης 3 2; μετ' ὀρυγῆς 10 5.—w. Acc. post 4 5, 17 1, 21 4, 26 1; μεθ' ἡμέραν 7 4
 μετάγειν¹ ἀπὸ τινος ἐπὶ τι 2 4

μέταλλον : τῶν ἀργυρέων μ. 4 1
 μετατάξασθαι πρὸς τινα 9 1
 μεταπιθέναι τὰς γνώμας 20 2
 μεταχειρίσασθαι ψαλτήριον 2 3
 μετέχειν γένους 1 3 ; μ. τοῦ
 πολέμου 20 2 ; μ. τῶς τι
 29 2
 μέτροι, 'reasonable' 5 4
 ἐν μέτρῳ ἀναφωνεῖν 26 1
 μέχοι οὐ w. opt. 25 1 ; μ. δειλῆς
 15 2 ; μ. τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων
 32 4 ; μ. Βοιωτίας 7 1
 μέχοι, ² 'whilat' 16 3
 μή for οὐ 9 2 3, 23 3
 μηδεὶς for οὐδεὶς with participle
 not expressing condition 9 2 ;
 μηδέν, adv. 27 2
 μηδίζεν 7 1, 21 4
 μηδισμός 21 3
 Μῆδος, ὁ, the king of Media
 (Persia) 6 1
 μήτις for οὐτις 5 3
 μήτε . . . μήτε for οὐτε . . . οὐτε
 9 3
 Μητρός ἱερῶν 31 1
 μηχανάσθαι τι 26 2 ; μ. ὄψεως
 16 2
 μηχανή (τραγική) 10 1, 32 2
 μηχανήμι : μείζαντες 2 4
 μικρολογία, ² 'meanness' 5 1
 μῦθος 18 4
 μῦθημα 32 3
 μνημονεύειν w. gen. *memorare*
 22 1, 32 1.—FABS. τὰ μνημο-
 νεύμενα 11 2
 μνησικακεῖν 28 1
 μόνιμοι ὀπλίται 4 3
 μονοῦ 32 2
 μονοῦσθαι : μεμονωμένοι 9 2
 μόνωσις ἀπὸ του 10 5
 μορία, ἡ 19 2
 Μοῦσα τοῦδε τοῦ μέλεος
 21 4
 μοχθηρός : ὁ μοχθηρὸς 10 3
 μορῆς 9 3
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N

ναί 11 2
 ναυάγια 8 3, 14 3
 ναυαρχεῖν 12 3
 ναυαρχίς¹ τριήρης 13 2
 ναύαρχος 14 2, 18 1
 ναυβάτης² 4 3
 ναυκλήρος 25 1
 ναυδόχια,¹ τὰ 9 1
 ναυμαχεῖν 12 2 ; πρὸς τινα 4 2
 ναυτὶ ἱερὰ 7 4
 ναύτης 19 3
 νεανικῶς 3 1
 νεανίσκος 1 2
 νεκρὸς 8 3
 νέμειν ('to possess') κοινῇ 24 1
 νεότης 2 5
 νεώριον 20 1
 νησιώτης 4 1
 νικᾶν 19 2
 νοθεῖα 1 2
 νόθος, 'a half-alien' 1 1 ; Ἢ
 γνήσιος 1 3
 νοῦν ἔχειν 5 4, 18 2
 νόξ : ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή 26 1 ; τὰς ν.
 3 3

Ξ

ξίφη, τὰ 30 2
 ξόλινον τείχος 10 2

O

ὁ : τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δὲ 25 2
 ὀδοιπορία 26 3
 ὄθεν, *quapropter* 2 2, 19 2, 29 2
 ὄθι, 'where' 8 2
 ὀλεσθαι δεῖν 5 3
 οἰκείος 5 1, 31 4 ; τὰ οἰκεία 27 2,
 28 1
 οἰκία, *familia* : ἀπ' οἰκίας μεγάλ-
 ης εἶναι 5 3
 οἰκία 28 3

ελκούρης 10 1
 εμωγή³ 10 5
 εὖ 32 3; εὖ 21 1
 ἐκνηρῶς 2 2
 ἐλεθρον: ἔβα εἰς ἐλεθρον
 21 2
 ἐλιγαρχία 19 3
 ἐλιγαρχικοί, οἱ 32 2
 ἐλκός 25 1
 εὖ 17 2; τὰ εὖ 8 1, 16 2 3
 ἐμμεῖν τι 18 1
 εἴματα w. dat., παρὶς 31 2
 ἐμολογεῖν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους 2 5,
 17 2.—PASS. ἐμολογεῖσθαι 2 1
 ἐμομήτριος 32 1
 ἐμορος 4 3
 ἐμοῦ (χωρίς, simul) 12 1, 14 3,
 15 1, 18 1 2; ἐμοῦ τι, prope-
 modum, 'pretty nearly' 7 2
 ἐμψυμῶς τιος (subst.) 28 2
 εὐαρ. adv. 26 2, 30 1
 εὐρηγμῶς: μέγιστα εὐρηγμῶς 8 1
 εὐτως, 'really,' in reference to
 a quotation 8 2
 εὐφως, acriter 14 2
 εὐφώρα, fructus autumnales 10 3
 ἐργή ἔχει τινα 9 2; ὁ βασιλική
 24 2; δι' ἐργῆς ἔχει τινα 24
 2; ἐργῆ 29 4
 ἐρέγεσθαι τιος πράγματος 23 2
 ἘΡΚΙΑΤΟΜΕΙΝ 21 4
 ἐρμή ἢ πρὸς δόξαν 3 1; ἐρμαι
 νεότητος 2 5
 ἐρμῆσαι (ἐρμῶν) intrans. 12 3
 εἶ: ἦ καὶ ῥῶν 4 2
 εἶ for οἶτος 12 2
 ἐσάκτις, quotiens 29 4
 ἐσμή 8 2
 εἶτε for τότε 11 2
 εὖ=εὖ 22 1
 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά 3 2, 5 4, 23 3, 29 1.
 οὐ πάνυ 4 2, 31 2
 οὐκ ἀξιούν, nolle 7 2, 11 3
 οὐκ ἄρα 21 3
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 (parenthetically) 24 3

οὐκέτι, non iam 27 2
 οὐτως giving greater effect to
 the causal relation of the
 participle which it follows
 24 3, 25 2; οὐτως δὲ 23 3
 ὀφείλει 28 1, 29 1
 ὀφθῆναι 12 1
 ὀχέεισθαι, velle 26 3
 ὀψέ 18 2
 ὄψις, species oris: αἰσχροῦ τῆς
 ὄψις 5 4, 22 2; κάλλιστος τῆς
 ὄ. 13 2.—ἐλθεῖν εἰς ὄψιν τι 1
 29 3
 ὄψων 29 4

II

πάθος, 'emotion' 32 2
 παῖν 8 1
 παιδαγωγός 12 2, 26 1
 παιδεία: ἀνεν λόγου καὶ παιδείας
 2 5; π. καὶ καταρτύσεως 2 5
 παιδεύεσθαι: οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι
 δοκοῦντες 2 3
 παιδεύεσθαι for παιδεύω 2 2
 παῖζειν 2 1
 παῖς, puer 2 1, 32 1; παῖδες,
 liberi 2 1; filii 32 1; παιδῶ-
 δες ἈΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ (ex Pin-
 daro) 8 2
 παλαιὰ ἐργή 24 2; π. τριῆρης
 2 6
 παλλακεύεσθαι (PASS.) 26 3
 παλλᾶσι 31 2
 ΠΑΝΔΟΚΕΥΣ (ex Timocreonte)
 21 3
 πανούργως, vafre 1 3
 παντάπασι 3 1, 6 1, 7 3, 20 2
 παντελῶς³ 20 2
 παντοδαπός: ΠΑΝΤΟΔΑΠΤΩΝ
 ἈΝΔΡῶΝ 8 3; π. ἀνθρώποις
 18 1
 πάντως 2 2
 πάνυ: οὐ πάνυ 4 2; οὐ πάνυ τι
 31 2
 παπταίνω³ πρὸς τινα 12 1

παρά: w. Dat. παρ' αὐτῷ, ἀγυῖα
 αε 5 2, 29 4, 32 4; π. τοῦτω
 κρυπτόμενος 26 1, 32 4.—
 w. Acc. παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ δευτὸν
 ἤγγεσθαι 27 1; π. τοῖς κυδύ-
 ροις 8 1.—*contra*, παρ' ἄξιαν
 5 3; παρὰ μέλος 5 4; παρὰ
 νόμον 5 4.—*praeter*, παρ' ἡλι-
 κίαν 2 2
 παράβολα¹ πράγματα 23 2
 παραγγέλλεται πλοῦς τινι 12 1
 παραδίδδωναι τὰς ναῦς πλαγίας
 14 2
 παραβαρύνειν 29 1
 παραιεῖσθαι τί τινος, *adimere*
alicui alicuius 4 3
 παραιεῖσθαι (*deprecari*) ὀργήν
 28 1; *recusare* 3 3
 παρακαλεῖν τινα ἐπὶ τι 23 2.—
 PASS. π. εὐχαίς 15 1
 παρακαταθέσθαι (MED.) 10 2
 παρακρούεσθαι, *certa dare, deci-*
perere 19 1
 παραλαβεῖν ('to succeed to') τὴν
 ἀρχήν 2 3, 7 1
 παραλλάττειν, *praeclerire* 30 1.
 — PASSIVE *παρηλλαγμένος*,
 'strange'¹ 24 2
 παράλογος¹ (εὐλογος 13 2
 παραμυθία² φθόνου 22 2
 παραπήσθαι^{1,2} w. dat. 10 5
 παραπλεῖν, 'to coast' 9 1; 'to
 sail past' 25 2
 παράσημον¹, *insigne navis* 8 1,
 15 2
 παρασκευάζειν τινα with fut.
 partic. 30 1
 παρασκευάζεσθαι (MED.) w. fut.
 partic. 12 1
 παρασκευή 4 2
 παράταξις 13 1
 παρατιθέναι τράπεζαν 29 4
 παράφορος¹ πρὸς δόξαν 3 3
 παραφύλαττειν 26 1 3, 30 2
 παρῆναι πᾶσι (πάρειμι) 16 2;
 ἐν τῷ παρόντι 7 4, 9 3

παρέχεσθαι, *praeclerire* 18 1;
prodire, *παρελθεῖν eis τὸ στά-*
dion 17 2; *eis τὸν δῆμον* 4 1;
 παρίοντος 29 1
 παρέχειν ἀφορμὰς κατὰ τιος 28
 1; π. δέος 4 2; π. πείραν ἐν
 τινι 16 3; π. διαβολὴν καθ'
 ἑαυτοῦ 4 3; π. δόξαν τινι π.
 inf. 29 2; π. οἰκτον, θαῦμα
 10 5.—*παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν (pra-*
estare se) κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ 5 4;
παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν εὐλαβέστερον
 31 2.—*reddere*: *παρέχειν τινα*
πειθόμενον 7 2
 παρῆναι: μὴ παρῆναι φυγεῖν
 αὐτοῖς 12 2; παρῆναι τὴν
 ἀρχήν τινι 7 2.—PASS. τὰ
παρῆμενα ἐπανορθοῦσθαι 16 2
 παρῆστασθαι 11 3, 13 1
 παροξύνειν τινα ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην
 12 3; *παροξύνειν τοὺς τριημίτας*
ἐπ' αὐτὸν 7 4; π. αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας 23 1; π. τοὺς
 διγαρχικούς ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον 32
 2.—PASS. *παροξυνθεὶς* κατὰ
 τῶν πολιτῶν 31 3
 παρορᾶσθαι (PASS.) 2 6
 παρουσία 12 3
 παροχετεύειν³ 31 1
 παρησία χρῆσθαι 29 2
 παρησιάζεσθαι 29 1
 πάσχειν: ἐδ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τιος
 22 1; πάσχειν τι πρὸς τι,
affici ab aliquo re 31 1
 πατάσσειν: *πάταξον* 11 3
 πατήρ: *πατὴρ εἶναι*, 'to be the
 son of' 1 1
 πάτριον 27 2
 πεζικὴ δύναμις 4 5
 πεζός: τὸ π. 11 2; οἱ π. 12 2;
 τὰ πεζά, *res pedestris* 4 3
 Πειθῶ 21 1
 πείρα 8 1
 πέλαγος 14 2; Πελάγει 8 3
 πέμπεσθαι (PASS.) 7 1; τὰ πεμ-
 πόμενα πωλεῖν 5 1

- Περία 21 1
 περαίνειν 20 1
 περαιούσθαι 16 3
 πέρας, ἴκνις 3 3
 περί, local: π. τὰ στενά 8 1 ;
 δένδρα περί αὐτὸν πέφυκε 8 2.
 —ή περί τὸν βίον μεταβολή 3
 3 ; ή περί τὸν Σικωνῶν βοήθεια
 12 1. —μαλακὸς περί τὸν κιν-
 δυνον 11 3. —οὐ περί Εὐρυβιά-
 δην, 'Eurybiades' 7 3
 περιβάλλειν τὰς πτέρυγας 26 2.
 —MED. τὸν πόρον περιβάλλο-
 θαι πάντα 12 2
 περιβοητός 15 2
 περιβολαί, ἀπρκευς 10 5
 περιγύρῃσθαι τινὸς τινι 7 2
 περιελίττεσθαι (PASS.) κατὰ τῆς
 γαστρὸς 26 2
 περιέρχεσθαι 30 1
 περιέρχεσθαι τινος 9 2
 περιέχῃσθαι (PASS. OF ΠΕΡΙΤΙΘΕΝΑΙ)
 ψέλιον 18 1
 περικόπτειν 15 2
 περιλυπτος 2 6
 περίξ 8 3, 12 1
 περιπίπτειν w. dat. 15 2, 30 1
 περιπλεῖν 7 3
 περιφανής 13 2
 περιφοβος 16 3
 περιφράττεσθαι (PASS.) 26 3
 Περσίς γλώσσα, ή 29 2
 πηγυρία: PASS. πεπήγασι 8 2
 πινάξ τῆς νίκης 5 3
 πικράσκειν χωρίον 18 4
 Πισίδαί 30 1
 πίστιν ἔχειν (PASSIVE) 12 3
 πλάγιος 14 2
 πλανᾶσθαι περί τὴν Ἄσiam 31 2
 πλάτανος 18 2
 πλάττειν διηγήματα 2 6. —PASS.
 πέπλαστοι 32 2
 πλεῖν, of things 25 2
 πλήθος χρημάτων 10 4, 25 2 ;
 πλήθει νεῶν 4 1 ; πλήθη νέων
 8 1
 πληροὺν ναῦς 12 2. —PASS. 10 3
 πλησιάζειν τινι 2 4
 πνεῦμα 25 1 ; π. λαμπρὸν 14 2
 ποιεῖν, 'to represent' 24 3 ;
 ποιεῖν τι εἰς τινα, 'to compose
 something about some one'
 21 3. —MED. faciendum cur-
 are, αὐτοῦ εἰκόνας 5 4, 31 1.
 —ἴσχυρε 10 4. —νίδν, 'to
 αἰολεῖ' 32 1. —in periphrases,
 π. γνώμην 18 1 ; π. τῆν ἀνα-
 χώρησιν 16 3 ; π. ἐπιτίθειμα
 2 4 ; π. μεταβολάς 2 5 ; π.
 ἐξοστρακισμὸν 22 1. —PASS.
 19 3 ; ἐποιήθησαν τρεῖς 4 2
 ποικίλος, ῥιχίς 29 2 ; τεσσάρους
 29 1
 πολεμικά, τὰ 31 3
 πολισμάτιον¹ 26 1
 πολιτεία: ἀπτεσθαι τῆς πολι-
 τείας 25 2 ; ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς π.
 23 2 ; ἀντίπαλον ἐν τῇ πολι-
 τεῖα καθιστάται 20 2 ; ἀκμά-
 ζειν ἐν τῇ π. 24 2. —PL. ἐν
 πολιτείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας 31 4
 πολιτεύεσθαι 2 5 ; π. πρὸς χάρον
 3 2 ; hinc πολιτεύμα 4 4
 πολιτικός 2 1 ; πολιτικὴ δεινότης
 2 4 ; τὰ π. πράγματα 3 1
 πολλοστημόριον w. gen. 16 3
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 Athenians, reputation of the 7 2; hopeless situation of, after the battle of Thermopylae 9 2; conduct of, on the approach of Xerxes 10 3; pathetic scene at their departure from Athens on the approach of Xerxes 10 5; number of their vessels at Salamis 14 1
 Athenian citizenship, birth-test of 1 1; seamen, justice not done to them by Plato 4 3
 Athens, saved by her navy 4 4; the ancient kings of 19 2
 Attica, division of population of, into ten local tribes 1 1

Περία 21 1
 περαίνω 20 1
 περαιούσθαι 16 3
 πέρας, *fnis* 3 3
 περί, local: π. τὰ στενά 8 1;
 — ἡ περί τὸν βίον μεταβολή 3
 3; ἡ περί τὸν Σικυνοῦ βοήθεια
 12 1.—μαλακὸς περί τὸν κιν-
 δυνῶν 11 3.—οἱ περί Εὐρυβιά-
 δην, 'Eurybiades' 7 3
 περιβάλλω τὰς πτέρυγας 26 2.
 —MED. τὸν πόρον περιβάλλε-
 θαι πάντα 12 2
 περιβοητός 15 2
 περιβολαί, *atpolecus* 10 5
 περιγίγνεσθαι τινοῦ τινι 7 2
 περιεπίττεσθαι (PASS.) κατὰ τῆς
 γαστροῦ 26 2
 περιέρχεσθαι 30 1
 περιέρχεσθαι τινοῦ 9 2
 περιεῖσθαι (PASS. OF ΠΕΡΙΤΙΘΕΝΑΙ)
 ψέλιον 18 1
 περικόπτειν 15 2
 περιλυτός 2 6
 περίξ 8 3, 12 1
 περιπίπτειν w. dat. 15 2, 30 1
 περιπλεῖν 7 3
 περιφανής 13 2
 περιφοβός 16 3
 περιφράττεσθαι (PASS.) 26 3
 Περσὶς γλώσσα, ἡ 29 2
 πηγύνηαι: PASS. πεπήγασι 8 2
 πινάξ τῆς νίκης 5 3
 πικράσκειν χωρίον 18 4
 Πισίδαί 30 1
 πίστιν ἔχειν (PASSIVO) 12 3
 πλάγιος 14 2
 πλανᾶσθαι περί τῆν 'Ασίαν 31 2
 πλάτανος 18 2
 πλάττειν διηγῆματα 2 6.—PASS.
 πέπλασται 32 2
 πλεῖν, of things 25 2
 πλῆθος χρημάτων 10 4, 25 2;
 πλῆθει νεῶν 4 1; πλῆθη νεῶν
 8 1

πληροῦν ναῦς 12 2.—PASS. 10 3
 πλησιάζειν τινι 2 4
 πνεῦμα 25 1; π. λαμπρόν 14 2
 ποιεῖν, 'to represent' 24 3;
 ποιεῖν τι εἰς τινα, 'to compose
 something about some one'
 21 3.—MED. *faciendum cur-
 ante*, αὐτοῦ εἰκόνας 5 4, 31 1.
 —*finger* 10 4.—*vid.* 'to
 ailopt' 32 1.—in periphrases,
 π. γνώμην 16 1; π. τῆν ἀνα-
 χώρησιν 16 3; π. ἐπιτήδευμα
 2 4; π. μεταβολάς 2 5; π.
 ἐξοστρακισμὸν 22 1.—PASS.
 19 3; ἐποιήθησαν τρήρεις 4 2
 ποικίλος, *ricius* 29 2; *versutus*
 29 1
 πολεμικά, τὰ 31 3
 πολιματίων' 26 1
 πολιτεία: ἀπτεσθαι τῆς πολι-
 τείας 25 2; ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς π.
 23 2; ἀντίπαλον ἐν τῇ πολι-
 τείᾳ καθιστάται 20 2; ἀκμά-
 ζειν ἐν τῇ π. 24 2.—PL. ἐν
 πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις 31 4
 πολιτεύεσθαι 2 5; π. πρὸς χάριν
 3 2; *hinc* πολιτεύμα 4 4
 πολιτικός 2 1; πολιτικὴ δευδότης
 2 4; τὰ π. πράγματα 3 1
 πολλοστημύριον w. gen. 16 3
 πολύς: ὁ π. λόγος 31 4; τὸ π.
 26 4; οἱ π. 21 6; τὰ π. 3 3;
 ἀρᾶσκειν τοῖς π. 5 4; ἀπέρ-
 ρητον πρὸς τοὺς π. 20 1
 πομπός 17 2
 πονεῖσθαι (an irregular passive),
 τῶν αὐτῶ πονηθέντων 17 2
 πορίζειν 10 3
 πόρος 12 2; τὸν διὰ μέσου π. 16
 1; βραχεῖ πόρῳ 13 1
 πόρρωθεν ἐτι 3 4
 πόσις 28 3
 πόσις 3 3
 που, *aicuidi* 5 4
 πράγμα: τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς π. 31
 2; τὰ π., *impertium* 6 1

- πραγμάτεια 12 1
 πραγματούεσθαι w. inf., *id agere ut* 19 2
 πράξις: πράξεις (X) λόγοι 2 4; π. Πελοικαί 29 4; π. Ἑλληνικαί 29 4, 30 1; π. μεγάλων 3 3.—'intrigue' 2 3
 πρᾶος φῶσι 3 2
 πρᾶττι 11 3
 πρᾶττεν τὰ κοινά = πολιτεύεσθαι 2 6.—'to intrigue' 23 2.—
 PASS. τὰ πραττόμενα 23 2
 πρέπει 31 4; πρέπειτά ἐστὶ 28 1
 πρῆ, 'in defence of' 9 2
 προάγειν, 'to bring on the stage' 32 2; 'to promote, prefer,' π. τινὰ ταῖς τιμαῖς (unclassical) 20 2; προαγαγεῖν² τινὰ εἰς δόξαν 7 2
 προαίρεσις 2 1
 προαισθάνεσθαι 24 1
 προβάλλων, προίεστε 22 1
 προδοσία 9 2, 23 1 2
 ΠΡΟΔΩΤΑΝ 21 3
 προεξανίστασθαι 11 2
 προέρχεσθαι 12 3; εἰς τὸν δῆμον 20 1
 προίεσθαι (MED.) *deserere* 7 3, 9 3; πρ. τινὰ δι' ἀργύριον 21 2; πρ. τὰς πατρίδας 11 3; πρ. βοήθειαν 12 1
 προκίεσθαι 32 3
 προκινῶνδεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ελευθερίας 9 1; πρ. τινὸς 7 1
 προκρίνειν τινὰ τινοσ 18 4
 προπικμειν, *absculctem comitari* 10 5
 προσηλακισθεῖς 24 2
 πρῶσι: w. Gen. πρὸς μητρός, 'on the mother's side' 1 1.—w. Dat. π. ἐαυτῷ 3 3; π. τῇ θαλάττῃ 2 6.—'in addition to' 31 4.—w. Acc. 'to,' φασὶν π. αὐτὸν 5 2; 'towards,' π. τὴν σελήνην 30 2;
- ἐξισταμένη π. τὸ χεῖρον 2 5; π. ἐαυτὸν λόγουσ συνταττόμενος 2 1; π. τὴν χώραν ἀποστρέφειν τὸ βῆμα 19 3.—*proprie* 10 5, 16 1.—*ad* in significando effectu 28 2; πολιτεύεσθαι π. χάριον 3 2; ἀμαυρότερα π. δόξαν 1 1; π. ἡδονῆν, χάριον 2 2, 6 2.—of personal relation 23 1, 27 1, 29 4
 προσάγειν τῷ βωμῷ 13 2.—MED. π. τὸ πλῆθος 10 1.—PASS. *ad duci*, προσήχθησαν 13 2
 προσαγορεύειν 22 1.—PASS. 2 6
 προσαμῖνειν³ 9 2
 προσ-αν-έρπειν¹⁴ 26 2
 προσγίγνεσθαι τινι 7 1
 προσδιέρχεσθαι¹ 28 2
 προσδοκᾶν 3 4
 ΠΡΟΣΕΜΑΞΕΝ 19 3
 προσέχειν τινι 2 4, 7 1, 14 2
 Προσηφῶσι 8 2
 προσίεσθαι ἡδέως διαβολῆν 22 1
 προσιστορεῖν¹ 27 3
 προσιών 29 1
 προσκατασκευάζειν 16 2
 προσκρούειν τινι 20 2
 προσκυνεῖν 27 2, 28 1, 29 1
 προσμάττειν 19 3, 28 1
 προσμίγειν, *percutire ad* 7 3
 πρόσσοδος ἡ Λαυρεωτικὴ 4 1
 προσοφλισκάνειν 5 3
 προσπεριβέλλεσθαι¹ 7 3
 προσπίπτειν πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν 24 2; (de vento) 14 2; προσπεσοῦσαι (de navibus) 14 3; τὸ προσπίπτον 18 1
 προσποιεῖσθαι 10 4
 ΠΡΟΣΡΗΜΙΣ 32 3
 πρόσταγμα 6 2
 προστάττειν 20 1, 28 1
 προστιθέναι τινι, 'to attribute to' 1 2; προστιθέναι ἐαυτὸν τινι 11 1.—MED. προσθέσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ 12 1

πρόφατος ἢ παλαῖς 24 2
 προσφέρειν λόγος τι 31 1.—
 MED. *congruē* 12 1, 14 2, 15
 2, 30 2; *ori adiuuare* 31 4
 (ὡς) προσώτων τῆς Ἑλλάδος 7 1
 πρότερος w. gen. 27 3
 προτίθεσθαι¹ τι, ἀρροῖς 10 1
 πρόμα, *rupris* 14 2
 πρωτεύω, τό 17 1
 πρωτεύω 3 1; ἀρμάτων τό
 πρωτεύω 17 2
 πταρμός ἐκ δεξίων 13 2
 Πυλαγόροι, οἱ 20 2
 πόλη: ἐξω πυλῶν 1 2
 πυρκαϊστός¹³ 8 3
 πυρπολεῖν, ἱγνί ναυαγε 9 2
 πῶλος 5 1; π. τραχότατοι 2 5

P

παθουμῆν 2 1
 παῖον 4 2
 παρίζειν⁵ 11 2
 παῖων 2 4
 πατεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐπιτάδα χα-
 λεπὰς 24 2.—PASS. ἐρριμ-
 μένος, *abiecius* 2 6

Σ

σατραπεύω w. gen. 30 1
 σηκός²³ ὁ 10 1
 σημαίνει, *omen edere* 13 2
 ΣΗΜΑΤΑ 8 3
 σημεία δαμνία 10 1
 σιωπῇ 28 1
 σκηπῆ 12 3, 25 1; σκηπῆ 5 2,
 26 3
 σκιάς ('canopy') χρυσῆ 16 2
 σοφία, 'science' 2 4
 σοφιστής 2 4
 σπουδαίω πρὸς τι 27 1; περὶ
 τινα 2 3.—PASS. 'to be seri-
 ously pursued' 2 2; *magis*
acutimari 5 2

σπουδῆν ἔχειν 5 3
 στάδιον 17 2
 στασιάζω περὶ τὰ δημόσια 3 2
 στενά, τὰ 7 1, 8 1, 12 1 3, 14 2
 στενάζω³ 29 1
 στόλος 7 3, 12 1, 20 1
 στόμα: ἀπὸ στόματος 5 4;
 'front' of an army or fleet
 7 3
 στρατεύεσθαι 10 3
 στρατηγεῖν 5 4
 στρατήγημα² (*de rebus non bel-
 licis*) 10 4
 στρατηγία 3 3, 6 4
 στρατηγός 6 1
 στρεπτός, *logicus* 18 1
 στρώματα 29 2
 στρωμνῆ, *cubile* 29 4
 συγγενής² φθόκος 24 2
 συγγενικά¹ ἐγκλήματα 5 1
 συγ-κατα-ψηφίζεσθαι¹ 21 4
 συγχωρεῖν τί τι 5 3
 συλλαμβάνειν 6 2, 23 3, 30 2
 συμβόλαια 5 4
 συμμαχεῖν κατὰ τινος 20 2
 συμπαραθεῖν 10 5
 συμπεθεῖν 4 2.—PASS. 23 3
 συμπίπτειν: τὰ συμπεσόντα 23 1
 συμπλέκεσθαι 8 1
 συμπροθυμείσθαι 12 3
 συμφέρεν 16 2.—MED. 27 1
 συμφρονεῖν¹ 28 2
 σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ 23 2
 συναγεῖν τὴν δύναμιν ἐντὸς Ἴσθ-
 μοῦ 9 2.—PASS. *χηρημάτων*
συναχθέντων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον
 25 2
 συναγωνισσασθαι 6 2
 συνδιατρίβειν abs. w. dat. 2 3
 συνέδριον Ἑλληνικόν 20 2
 συνεθίζω w. inf. 19 2
 σπειρεῖν w. dat. 20 2
 συνεκπέμπω 17 2
 συν-επ-αιτιάσθαι abs. 23 1
 συν-επ-λαμβάνεσθαι² 12 3
 συνερείδω¹ *intra* 14 3

σόνεσις 2 2 4
 σωετός 2 1
 σωηγορία 2 1
 σωήτης, *sollennis, consuetus* 3
 3; *amicus, familiaris* 29 3;
 as subst. 32 4
 σώνους¹ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ 3 3
 σωορᾶν, *considerare, intellegere*,
 'to see comprehensively'¹ 7 2,
 8 2, 14 2
 σωταράττειν 9 I.—PASS. σω-
 τεταραγμένοις 27 1
 σωτάττεσθαι¹ (MED.) aba., 'to
 compose'² 2 1
 σωτελεῖν εἰς (*pertinere ad*)
 Κνωσάργης 1 2.—PASS. *per-*
agi, ἐκέλευσε τὴν θυσίαν σω-
 τελεσθῆναι 13 2
 σωτιθέναι 12 1
 σύττος 5 1
 σωτραγωδεῖν¹ 24 3
 σωτρέχειν 7 4
 σωτροφα ζῆνα 10 5
 σόσταισι,¹ *conoculus* 27 3
 σωστέλλειν, *in artium contrahere*
 4 3.—PASS. 'to be folded' X
 ἐκτείνεσθαι 29 2
 σφαγιάζεσθαι (MED.) 13 2
 σφέλλειν (*de vento*) 14 2
 σφεῖς: σφᾶς 7 3, 11 4
 σχέτλιος 10 2
 σχολάζειν, *otiosi* 18 3
 σχολῆν ἄγειν 31 2; *σχολαί*,
 'leisure hours'² 2 1
 σψῆζεσθαι = ὡς εἶναι 11 3, 28 1

T

τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ, *partim . . .*
partim 25 2
 τάλαντον ἀργυρίου 7 4
 ταπεινοῖν τοῖς ὑπερέχοντα 22 2
 ταράττειν (*turbando excitare*)
 ἄκας 5 1
 ταραχῆ 26 2

ταύρειον αἶμα 31 4
 τάφος 10 5; 'monument'² 32 3
 τάχος: διὰ τάχους 16 2 3;
 τάχει 14 1
 ταχύ, *cilo* 3 1
 ταχύς: τὴν ταχίστην 7 3
 τε . . . τε 12 2
 τέθειμαι only as middle 18 1
 τειχισμός 19 1
 τεκμαίρεσθαι διὰ τῶος 18 1
 τελεῖν μισθοῦς 10 3
 τελεστήριον² 1 3
 τέλος² (*edictum*) ἐκφέρειν 12 2.
 —adv. *tandem* 5 4
 τευθῖς, ἡ 11 4
 τεφρώδης¹ 8 3
 τέχνηαι δικαιοκαί 2 4
 τίαρα, ἡ 29 3
 τίκτειν: MED. ΤΕΚΕΘΘΑΙ 1 1
 τίλλειν (*πλάττων*) 18 2
 τιμαί 29 2
 τιμωρεῖσθαι τινα 24 2
 τις restrictive w. adj. 22 2
 τοι 11 3
 τοιοῦτος 19 1; ref. to what fol-
 lows 5 3; τὰ τοιαῦτα 5 3
 τότε with article 12 3
 τοῦναντίον 5 1
 τοῦνομα 5 4
 τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ 5 4
 τραγωδία 10 1, 32 2
 τραγωδοῖς νικᾶν χορηγῶν 5 3
 τράχηλος 26 2
 τραχὺς πῶλος 2 5
 τρέπεσθαι πρὸς πῶσον 28 3;
 τρέψασθαι, *fugare* 15 2
 τριάκοντα, οἱ 19 3
 τριήραρχος 7 4
 τριηρίτης, *remex in triremi* 7 4
 τρίπαιον 3 3, 31 4
 τρόπος 3 2
 τροφεύς 10 5
 τρυφᾶν 16 1
 τυγχάνειν: ὁ τυχῶν 32 2
 ΤΥΜΒΟΣ 32 3
 τύπτειν τοῖς ὕδασι 14 3

Τ

ἰδρῆαι² 9 I
 ἰδρφόρος¹ κόρη, † 31 I
 ἰδρωρ 6 2; ἐπιστάτης ἰδῶτων 31 I
 ἰπάρχειν 4 3
 ἰπάρχειν 4 4, 19 I, 26 I
 ἰπ-εκ-κλέπτεσθαι 25 2
 ἰπ-εκ-τίθεσθαι, clam ablegare
 (in locum tutum) 10 3
 ἰπέρ: w. Gen. *supra* 7 3, 13 I;
 pro 3 3, 9 I, 10 3, 17 2; de
 16 2.—w. Acc. *supra*, 'be-
 yond' 8 2, 13 I
 ἰπερβάλλειν, *superare* 5 2, 7 2
 ἰπερχειν 22 2
 ἰπερηφανῶς χρῆσθαι τι 18 2
 ἰπέρκοποι τάχει 14 I
 ἰπερορᾶν 2 3
 ἰπεροχή¹ 22 2
 ἰπερφύως 31 3
 ἰπέσιον,¹ τό 32 3
 ἰπήκοος 24 3
 ἰπῆρῆσιον, τό 4 3
 ἰπποι, μέσοι οἱ 28 3
 ἰπό: w. Gen. *prae*, ὑπὸ δέους 16
 1; ἀκοντες ὑπὸ φθῶου 17 I;
 ἰπ' ἀσχολιῶν οὐ προσέχειν 31
 2; ὁ. χαρᾶς βοᾶν 28 3.—
 with gen. of personal agent
 after pass. verb 1 3, 11 I, 18
 1, 24 I, 25 I, 26 I, 28 I, 29
 3 4, 32 I; of things, ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἔργων διδαχθέντας 8 I; after
 neuter verb, ὁ. τῶν αὐτῶν εἶ
 πάσχειν 22 I; after verbal
 subst. 2 6
 ἰποδέχεσθαι 10 3
 ἰποδύγαι, τά 30 2
 ἰπονοεῖν χ γιγνώσκειν 32 3
 ἰπονοσεῖν,² *reverti* 15 I
 ἰπὸπλευός ἀργυροῦ (ex
 Timotheonte) 21 3
 ἰποπτότερος, 'more suspicious'
 9 I
 τόχισεν βεβαιοῦν 31 3

ἰποπιθέται: ὑποθεῖς κάτω 7 4;
 ἰπέθηκεν ἑαυτῶν τῇ βασιλικῇ
 ὀργῇ 24 I.—MED. *audientem*
consilii fieri: ὑποθέσθαι 24 3
 ἰποπρῆχειν πλατάνῳ 18 2
 ἰσπεραία 18 3
 ἰσπερεῖν (νίαιε) νιως 30 I
 ἰφαιρέσθαι (MED.) 31 I
 ἰφηγείσθαι τι 10 I
 ἰφίστασθαι ἀπεχθείας 3 I; ex-
 cipere, ὑποστήναι τινα 14 3
 ἰψήροφα^{3 4} καταστρώματα 14 2

Φ

ΦΑΞΕΝΝΑΝ 8 2
 φαίνομαι w. participle 23 2;
 without partic. 2 6
 φαυρός 25 2
 φαστάσματα^{2 3} καὶ εἰδωλα 15 I
 φάρμακον ἐφήμερον 31 4
 φέρειν βαρέως εἰ 12 I; φ. χαλε-
 πῶς 23 2.—φέρων studium
 indicat 24 2.—φέρεισθαι (*im-
 pecti sciti*) ἐπὶ τι 8 I
 φήμη 27 2
 ΦΗΜΑ 1 I; ἔφησεν 29 I
 φθῶνον ἔχειν (PASS.) 29 2
 φιλανθρώπως 31 4
 φιλοθύτης 5 I
 φιλονικία 4 2
 φιλοσοφώτερον 4 4
 φιλοτιμείσθαι w. acc. and inf. 5 2
 φιλοτιμία 3 3, 5 2 3
 φιλοτιμῶς ὑποδέχεσθαι 10 3
 φιλοφρόνως προσεῖπειν 29 I
 Φλυσιῶν 1 3, 15 2
 φατῶν πρὸς τινα 5 2
 φορά²: φορᾶς μεστός 2 I
 φορτικῶς: φορτικώτερον 2 3
 φρόνημα, 'high spirit' 28 3
 φρόνησις, *prudencia* 16 3
 φυγᾶς 21 I, 28 I
 φέεσθαι (PASS.) ἰ ἀρχεσθαι τε-
 φικῶς 23 3

φολάττειν, 'to guard' 7 1; 'to watch for' 14 2.—PASS. 'to be kept up' 32 4
 φυσικοί¹ φιλόσοφοι, οἱ 2 3
 φύσις: τῆ φύσει πιστεύειν 2 2;
 τῆ φ. καθ' αὐτὴν χρῆσθαι 2 5;
 τῆ φ. σωετός 2 1; τῆ φ. φιλο-
 τιμώτατος 18 1; πρῶτος φύσει
 3 2; ἀγριον φύσει 26 2
 φυτεύειν 19 2
 φύση κατέχει τὸ πεδίον 15 1; φ.
 Ἑλληνίς 6 2; ΝΥΚΤΙ ΦΩΝΗΝ
 ΔΙΔΟΥΣ 26 1
 φώραν 32 2

X

χαλεπαίνειν 12 1, 19 1, 31 2
 χαλεπός 13 2, 26 2; χ. ἐπίδες
 24 2
 χαλεπῶς ἀκούειν 9 3; χ. δια-
 κείσθαι 29 1; χ. φέρειν 23 2
 χαλκώματα²=ἐμβολοὶ 14 3
 χαρίζεσθαι τί τινι 28 1; χ. παρὰ
 νόμον 5 4
 χάρις ἐλευθέριος 2 2
 χεῖρ: εἰς χεῖρας ἵναται 8 1; τὰς
 χ. ἐπέχειν 15 1
 χεῖρον, τὸ 2 5; χ. χώραν 11 4
 χειρονομία 6 1
 χιλιάρχος 27 1 3, 29 1
 Ἰλιάς 14 1
 χλευάζεσθαι,¹ *ludibrio haberi*
 2 3;
 χορηγεῖν 5 3; χορηγεῖν² (met.)
 7 4. Cp. Aesch. *Cles.* § 240
 τῶν ἡδοναῖς ταῖς αὐτοῦ χορη-
 γαῖς
 χορηγία² 5 1
 χρημάτων ἦντων 6 1; χρημάτων
 πλῆθος 10 4, 25 2; ἐκ τῶν χ.
 4 1; χρημασιν ἐξωρίσασθαι
 6 1; χρήμασι πείσας 19 1;
 ἐπὶ χρήμασι κατελεθεῖν 20 2;
 θεραπεύειν χρήμασι 31 2
 χρηματίζω, 'to transact busi-

ness' 18 1.—MED. χρηματί-
 ζεσθαι ἀπὸ τινος, 'to make
 money by a person' 21 1
 χρηματιστής 5 1
 χρῆσαι, *commodare* 6 2
 χρῆσθαι τινι φιλανθρώπως 31 4 1;
 χ. τῆ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν 2 5
 χρησμοὶ 10 1
 χρηστός γέιτων 18 4
 χρῶα 8 2
 χροαικά,¹ τὰ 27 1
 χρόνοι, οἱ 2 3
 χῶμα: διὰ χωμάτων 16 1
 χωρίον 18 4
 χωρίς 12 2

Ψ

ψαλτήριον¹ 2 3
 ψέλια, *armillae* 18 1
 ΨΕΥΣΤΑΝ 21 2
 ψήφος 17 1, 20 2
 ψύχεσθαι² (PASS.) 30 2
 ΨΥΧΡΑ ΚΡΕΑ 21 3

Ω

ὦδ' ἔχει λόγος 14 1
 ὠμηστής^{1 2} Διόνυσος 13 2
 ὠησαι (ὠνήσιμ) 8 1
 ὦρα, *citra*: ΜΗ ὦΡΑΝ ΓΕΝΕ-
 ΘΑΙ 21 2; ὦρα (ἔστί) w. in-
 fin., *tempus est* 16 2
 ὠρκιατόμει 21 4
 ὠρυγή¹ 10 5
 ὦς ... καὶ 29 2; ὦς w. pres. or
 past part. 4 3, 7 4, 14 2, 22
 1; w. fut. partic. 10 2, 14 2.
 —i. q. *στι* prefixed to a direct
 quotation 2 2.—ὦς δὴ w. Gen.
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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

CH. II § 3 l. 23. It may or may not be a fanciful supposition, still it is held by some that Thucydides intentionally referred to Melissus and Anaxagoras and to Mnesiphilus respectively in I 138, 3 where he says of the natural cleverness of Them. *οικεία ξυψέει ουτε προμαθῶν ἐς ἀδῆν οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἐπιμαθῶν.*

CH. VII § 3 l. 43 *add*: Fink *de Themistoclis actate etc.* p. 42 proposes to substitute Κλειθμοι for Ἡρόδοτος, comparing c. 10, 4.

CH. IX § 3 l. 37. The statement of Diodorus (XI 15, 2) agrees with Plutarch's:—*οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα διατρίβοντες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεωροῦντες τὴν Ἀττικὴν περιπολουμένην καὶ τὸ τέμενος τῆς Ἀθηνῶν ἀκούοντες κατακίεσθαι, δεινῶς ἠθόμουν,* but Herodotus says nothing on the subject.

CH. XXI § 3 l. 24 *for* ΠΑΝΔΟΚΕΥΣ *read* ΠΑΝΔΟΚΕΥΣ.

CH. XXV § 3 l. 24 ff. Against these attempts to throw a slur on the selfishness of Themistocles we may place the testimony of Demosthenes *Aristocr.* § 207 *τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους μὲν οἰκίαν καὶ Μιλτιάδου καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν, εἰ τις ἄρα ὑμῶν οἶδεν ὅποια ποτ' ἐστίν, ὁρᾷ τῶν πολλῶν οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οἶσαν, and that of Ps.-Demosth. *Περὶ συντάξεως* § 29:—*ὥστε τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ τὴν Κίμωνος καὶ τὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν οἰκίαν, εἰ τις ἄρ' ὑμῶν οἶδεν ὅποια ποτ' ἐστίν, ὁρᾷ τῆς τοῦ γέγοντος οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οἶσαν.**





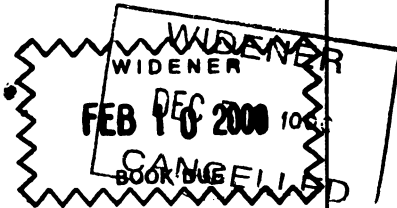


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