

(854) ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΚΑΚΟΗΘΕΙΑΣ

1. Πολλούς μὲν, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, τοῦ Ἡροδότου καὶ ἡ λέξις ὡς ἀφελῆς καὶ δίχα πόνου καὶ ραδίως ἐπιτρέχουσα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξηπάτηκε· πλείονες δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ ἦθος αὐτοῦ πεπόνθασιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων, τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀδικίας μὴ ὄντα δοκεῖν εἶναι δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακοηθείας ἄκρας ἔργον εὐκολίαν μιμούμενον καὶ ἀπλότητα δυσφώρατον² εἶναι. ***³ μάλιστα πρὸς τε Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους κέχρηται μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τινὸς ἀπειρημένος, οἶμαι προσήκειν ἡμῖν,⁴ ἀμυνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῶν προγόνων ἅμα καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, κατ' αὐτὸ⁵ τοῦτο τῆς γραφῆς τὸ μέρος· ἐπεὶ τὰ γ' ἄλλα ψεύσματα καὶ πλάσματα βουλομένοις ἐπεξιέναι πολλῶν ἂν βιβλίων δεήσειεν. ἀλλὰ

δεινὸν τὸ τᾶς Πειθοῦς πρόσωπον,

¹ πολλούς μὲν, ὦ Ἀ., τοῦ Ἡροδότου L. P.: τοῦ Ἡροδότου (lacuna of 12 letters) πολλούς μὲν, ὦ Ἀ. Editors either ignore lacuna or supply τοῦ λογογράφου or τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ, following Turnebus.

² δυσφώρατον E: δυσφορώτατον B.

³ Lacuna of about 160 letters in mss. Possible supplement: ὅπερ φιλεῖ ποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, τοῖς μὲν αἰσχίστη τῇ κολακείᾳ χαριζόμενος, τοὺς δὲ διαβάλλων καὶ συκοφαντῶν. νῦν δ' ὡς οὐδεὶς τετόλμηκεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψευδολογίαν ἐξελέγχειν, ἦ . . .

⁴ Bernardakis would add ἐλέγχειν, not necessary with proposed supplement.

⁵ κατ' αὐτὸ B: καταυτὸ E.

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1. MANY people, my dear Alexander,^a have been deceived by the style of Herodotus, which is apparently so simple and effortless, slipping easily from one subject to another; but more people still have suffered a similar delusion with regard to his moral character. Not only is it the height of injustice (as Plato puts it) "to seem just when one is not so,"^b but it is an act of supreme malice to put on a false show of good humour and frankness which baffles detection. And^c this is exactly what Herodotus does, flattering some people in the basest possible manner, while he slanders and maligns others. Hitherto no one has dared to expose him as a liar. Since his principal victims are the Boeotians and the Corinthians, though he spares no one, I think it is proper that I should now stand up for the cause of my ancestors and the cause of truth and show how dishonest this part of his work is; it would, of course, take many books if one wanted to describe all his other lies and fabrications. None the less

Persuasion by her glance doth quell us,

^a Possibly, but not necessarily, the same as Alexander the Epicurean in *Mor.* 635 F.

^b Plato, *Republic*, ii. 361 A. Cf. *Mor.* 613 F—614 A.

^c The loss of several lines is indicated in the mss. at this point. The two sentences that follow are based on a conjectural restoration (see critical note); but the general line of argument is clear.

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855 ὡς φησιν ὁ Σοφοκλῆς, μάλιστα δ' ὅταν ἐν λόγῳ χάριν ἔχοντι καὶ δύναμιν τοσαύτην ἐγγένηται τὰς τ' ἄλλας ἀτοπίας καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἀποκρύπτειν τοῦ συγγραφέως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Φίλιππος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς ἀφισταμένους "Ἐλληνας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Τίτῳ προστιθεμένων, ὅτι λειότερον μὲν μακρότερον δὲ κλοιὸν μεταλαμβάνουσιν· ἢ δ' Ἡροδότου κακοήθεια λειότερα μὲν ἐστὶν ἀμέλει καὶ μαλακωτέρα τῆς Θεοπόμπου, καθάπτεται δὲ καὶ λυπεῖ μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ οἱ κρύφα διὰ στενοῦ παραπνέοντες ἄνεμοι τῶν διακεχυμένων.

Δοκεῖ δέ¹ μοι βέλτιον εἶναι τύπῳ τινὶ λαβόντας Β ὅσα κοινῇ μὴ καθαρᾶς μῆδ' εὐμενοῦς ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ κακοήθους οἷον ἔχνη καὶ γνωρίσματα διηγήσεως, εἰς ταῦτα τῶν ἐξεταζομένων ἕκαστον, ἂν ἐναρμόττη, τίθεσθαι.

2. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὁ τοῖς δυσχερεστάτοις ὀνόμασι καὶ ῥήμασιν, ἐπιεικεστέρων παρόντων, ἐν τῷ λέγειν τὰ πεπραγμένα χρώμενος (ὥσπερ εἰ θειασμῷ προσκείμενον ἄγαν ἐξὸν εἰπεῖν τὸν Νικίαν ὁ δὲ θεόληπτον προσείποι, ἢ θρασύτητα καὶ μανίαν Κλέωνος μᾶλλον ἢ κουφολογίαν) οὐκ εὐμενῆς ἐστίν,

¹ δέ editors: δή.

^a Jebb-Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*, iii, fr. 865.

^b Philip V of Macedon, from whom the Greek states were liberated by the Roman army of Titus Quinctius Flamininus (197 B.C.).

^c Recalcitrant slaves, especially runaway slaves, were burdened with wooden or iron collars; a pun is probably intended here; the new collar would be longer-lasting, and

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as Sophocles says ^a; and this is particularly true when a style so attractive and so effective enables a writer to conceal his moral character as well as the errors in his statements. Philip ^b used to tell the Greeks who were abandoning their allegiance to him and throwing in their lot with Titus Flamininus that they were merely accepting a new collar of servitude; it might chafe less than the old one, but they would wear it longer. ^c So the malice of Herodotus, no doubt, is of a smoother and softer variety than that of Theopompus, ^d but its effect is more penetrating and more painful—just as winds can create more discomfort by seeping through a narrow crack than when they spend their force out in the open.

I think, however, that I had better make some kind of outline, and list, in general terms, the indications by which we can determine whether a narrative is written with malice or with honesty and good will; then the individual passages examined can be classified under the different headings, if they fit the pattern.

2. First, then, the man who in his narrative of events uses the severest words and phrases when gentler terms will serve; if, for example, when he might have called Nicias "too much addicted to pious practices," he called him "a fanatical bigot"; or if he spoke of Cleon's "rashness and insanity" instead of his "unwise speech" ^e—such a writer is clearly

also longer, larger, and heavier. In *Life of Flamininus*, chap. x, this remark is attributed to the Aetolians.

^d Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii B, no. 115, T. 25. This fourth-century historian was famous for his violent brand of character-assassination.

^e The "gentler" terms are those of Thucydides (vii. 50. 4; iv. 28. 5), who nevertheless speaks of Cleon making "a madman's promise" to take Sphacteria (iv. 39. 3). Cf. *Life of Nicias*, chap. vii and *Mor.* 169 A.

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(855) ἀλλ' οἷον ἀπολαύων τῷ ἴσοφῶς¹ διηγείσθαι τοῦ πράγματος.

C 3. Δεύτερον, ὅτῳ κακὸν πρόσεστιν ἄλλως τῇ δ' ἱστορία μὴ προσήκον, ὃ δὲ συγγραφεὺς ἐπιδράττειται τούτου καὶ παρεμβάλλει τοῖς πράγμασιν οὐδὲν δεομένοις, ἀλλὰ τὴν διήγησιν ἐπεξάγων καὶ κυκλούμενος, ὅπως ἐμπεριλάβῃ ἀτύχημά τινος² ἢ πράξιν ἀτοπον καὶ οὐ χρηστήν, δηλὸς ἐστὶν ἡδόμενος τῷ κακολογεῖν. ὅθεν ὁ Θουκυδίδης οὐδὲ τῶν Κλέωνος ἀμαρτημάτων ἀφθόνων ὄντων ἐποίησατο σαφῆ διήγησιν,³ Ὑπερβόλου τε τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ θιγῶν ἐνὶ⁴ ῥήματι καὶ μοθηρὸν ἀνθρωπον προσειπὼν ἀφῆκε. Φίλιστος⁵ δὲ καὶ Διονυσίου τῶν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀδικιῶν ὅσαι μὴ συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς D Ἑλληνικοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπάσας παρέλιπεν· αἱ γὰρ ἐκβολαὶ καὶ παρατροπαὶ τῆς ἱστορίας μάλιστα τοῖς μύθοις δίδονται καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαιολογίαις, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαίνους⁶. ὃ δὲ παρενθήκη λόγου τὸ βλασφημεῖν καὶ ψέγειν ποιούμενος εἰσὶν τὴν τραγικὴν

¹ τῷ σοφῶς] τῷ σοφιστικῶς Post: τῷ φῶς Aldine edition: πῶς τῷ Stephanus: σαφῶς τῷ Wytttenbach: τῷ σαφῶς Bernardakis. σοφῶς is clearly corrupt, but none of the emendations is satisfactory.

² ἀτύχημά τινος] τινὸς ἀτύχημα Benseler.

³ διήγησιν E: τὴν διήγησιν B.

⁴ θιγῶν ἐνὶ Xylander: θήγων ἐν E: θίγων ἐν B.

⁵ Φίλιστος Basel edition: Φιλίστου.

⁶ Something may be lost in the text here: Reiske suggests εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι.

^a Text and precise meaning uncertain here. For similar but clearer language and possibly similar thought see *Mor.* 630 F, where it is pointed out that when men describe their own successes or the failures of their enemies they seem, as it were, "to be experiencing the pleasure of the incident itself

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lacking in good will; he is apparently deriving pleasure out of another man's misfortune by making a clever story out of it."

3. Secondly, when something is discreditable to a character, but not relevant to the issue, and the historian grasps at it and thrusts it into his account where there is no place for it, drawing out his story and making a detour so as to include someone's ill-success or foolish unworthy act, there is no doubt that he delights in speaking ill of people. Thus Thucydides, even in writing about Cleon, never gave any specific account of his misdeeds, numerous though they were, and he was content with a single adjective to deal with Hyperbolus, the demagogue, calling him "a bad character"^b and letting him go with that. Likewise Philistus^c omitted all the crimes of Dionysius against the barbarians which were not tied up with the story of Greek events. The fact is that the digressions and excursuses in his history^d are mostly devoted to myths and tales of early times, or else to praise of his characters. The writer who inserts abuse and fault-finding parenthetically seems to be expos-

as they talk." Post would translate rather, "they derive pleasure from the adventure in the telling," and the present passage with his emendation, "he seems to take pleasure in narrating the fact with sophistic colouring."

^b Thucydides, viii. 73. 3. Plutarch's own language is not so restrained in *Life of Nicias*, chap. xi.

^c Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii B, no. 556, T. 13 b.

^d Or "of history" in general. Jacoby evidently takes this to be the meaning, as he does not include this sentence in the *Testimonium* of Philistus. Plutarch might be thinking of the digressions in Thucydides devoted to mythology and early times, which include praise of Theseus (ii. 15. 2) and Themistocles (i. 138. 3); but Philistus is said to have modelled himself on Thucydides.

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(855) ἐμπίπτειν κατάραν,

θνητῶν ἐκλέγων τὰς συμφοράς.

4. Καὶ μὴν τό γ' ἀντίστροφον τούτῳ παντὶ δῆλον ὡς καλοῦ τινος κἀγαθοῦ παράλειψίς ἐστιν, ἀνυπεύθυνον δοκοῦν πρᾶγμα εἶναι, γινόμενον δὲ κακοήθως, ἔνπερ ἐμπίπτῃ τὸ παραλειφθὲν εἰς τόπον προσήκοντα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ· τὸ γὰρ ἀπροθύμως ἐπαινεῖν τοῦ ψέγοντα χαίρειν οὐκ ἐπιεικέστερον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῷ μὴ ἐπιεικέστερον ἴσως καὶ χεῖρον.

5. Τέταρτον τοίνυν τίθεμαι σημεῖον οὐκ εὐμενοῦς ἐν ἱστορίᾳ τρόπου τὸ δυοῖν¹ ἢ πλειόνων περὶ ταῦτοῦ λόγων ὄντων τῷ χεῖρονι προσιθῆσθαι. τοῖς γὰρ σοφισταῖς ἐφεῖται πρὸς ἐργασίαν ἢ δόξαν ἔστιν ὅτε τῶν λόγων κοσμεῖν τὸν ἥττονα παραλαμβάνοντας· οὐ γὰρ ἐμποιοῦσι πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος οὐδ' ἀρνοῦνται πολλάκις εἰς τὸ παράδοξον ἐπιχειρεῖν² ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπίστων. ὁ δ' ἱστορίαν γράφων ἂ μὲν οἶδεν ἀληθῆ λέγων³ δίκαιός ἐστι, τῶν δ' ἀδήλων τὰ βελτίονα δοκεῖν ἀληθῶς λέγεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ χεῖρονα. πολλοὶ δ' ὅλως τὰ χεῖρονα παραλείπουσιν· ὡσπερ ἀμέλει περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους Ἐφορος μὲν, εἰπὼν ὅτι τὴν Πausανίου προδοσίαν ἔγνω⁴ καὶ τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγούς, "ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπίσθη," φησὶν, "οὐδὲ προσεδέξατο κοινουμένου καὶ παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰς⁵

¹ δυοῖν] δυεῖν Bernardakis.

² ἐπιχειρεῖν Stephanus: ἐπιχαίρειν.

³ λέγων Reiske: λέγειν.

⁴ ἔγνω Wyttenbach: ἀνέγνω.

⁵ τὰς] τὰς αὐτὰς Reiske.

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ing himself to the curse of the tragedy,

Be damned, compiler of men's miseries.^a

4. The reverse of this behaviour, as anyone can see, is the omission of what is good and creditable; such behaviour may seem immune from criticism, but it is prompted by malice if the omitted material has a proper place in the narrative. In fact, to begrudge praise is no less unfair than to take delight in censure; and one might add that it is really more objectionable.

5. My fourth sign of ill will in history-writing is a preference for the less creditable version, when two or more accounts of the same incident are current. Sophists are permitted, on occasion, to adopt the worse cause and make the best of it; but this is for practice or display; they are not really inducing any firm belief in their cause and they may even admit that they are trying to startle people by a defence of the incredible. The historian, on the other hand, if he is to be fair, declares as true what he knows to be the case and, when the facts are not clear, says that the more creditable appears to be the true account rather than the less creditable.^b Many omit the less creditable version altogether. For example, Ephorus^c in writing about Themistocles says that he knew of the treachery of Pausanias and his negotiations with the king's generals; "but," he says, "when Pausanias told him about it and invited him to share in the expected rewards, he was not per-

^a Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 913. Cf. *Mor.* 520 v.

^b This is in sharp contrast with the expressed view of Herodotus: "I am obliged to set down what is recorded, but not to believe in it absolutely" (vii. 152. 3, cf. ii. 123. 1).

^c Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii A, no. 70, F. 189.

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(855) ἐλπίδας". Θουκυδίδης δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὡς κατεγνωκῶς παρήκεν.

6. "Ἐπι¹ τοίνυν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων πεπραχθαι, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ἀφ' ἧς πέπρακται καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐχόντων ἄδηλον, ὃ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον εἰκάζων δυσμενῆς ἐστὶ καὶ κακοήθης· ὥσπερ οἱ κωμικοὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους ἐκκεκαῦσθαι δι' Ἀσπασίαν ἢ διὰ Φειδίαν ἀποφαίνοντες, οὐ φιλοτιμία τι καὶ φιλοεικία μᾶλλον στορέσαι² τὸ φρόνημα Πελοποννησίων καὶ μηδενὸς ὑφείσθαι Λακεδαιμονίους³ ἐβελήσαντος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τις⁴ εὐδοκιμοῦσιν ἔργοις καὶ πράγμασιν ἐπαινουμένους αἰτίαν φαύλην ὑποτίθησι καὶ κατάγεται ταῖς διαβολαῖς εἰς ὑποψίας ἀτόπους περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀφανεί προαιρέσεως τοῦ πράξαντος, αὐτὸ⁵ τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐμφανῶς οὐ δυνάμενος ψέγειν (ὥσπερ οἱ τὸν ὑπὸ Θήβης⁶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τυράννου φόνον οὐ μεγαλοίας οὐδὲ μισοπονηρίας, ζήλου δὲ τινος ἔργον Β καὶ πάθους γυναικείου τιθέμενοι· καὶ Κάτωνα λέγοντες ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν δείσαντα τὸν μετ' αἰκίας θάνατον ὑπὸ Καίσαρος), εὐδῆλον ὅτι φθόνου καὶ κακοθείας ὑπερβολὴν οὐ λέλοιπε.

7. Δέχεται δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ἔργου διήγησις ἱστορικὴ κακοήθειαν, ἂν χρήμασι φάσκη

¹ ἐπι Wyttenbach: εἰ.

² στορέσαι Turnebus: ἱστορήσαι: εἰς τὸ ρῆξαι Stephanus.

³ Λακεδαιμονίους Madvig: Λακεδαιμονίων.

⁴ τις Wyttenbach: τοῖς.

⁵ αὐτὸ Reiske: αὐτοῦ.

⁶ Θήβης Xylander: Θήβας. ⁷ δέ] omitted in B.

^a For the methods of Herodotus in assigning intentions and motives see L. Pearson, *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* lxxii (1941), pp. 348-355.

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sueded to accept the offer." Thucydides, on the other hand, has tacitly condemned the story by leaving it out altogether.

6. Again, when there is agreement about what was actually done but the cause and intention of the deed are in doubt,^a the writer who tends towards the less creditable explanation is uncharitable and malicious—like the comic poets who represented the spark of war as set off by Pericles on account of Aspasia or Pheidias,^b not because of a contentious ambition to check Peloponnesian arrogance and because he was unwilling to make any concessions to the Spartans. It may happen that a writer invents a discreditable reason for worthy deeds and actions which have won the praise of the world, and that his slanderous fabrications lead him on to unworthy suspicions concerning the secret purpose of the doer, though he cannot openly find fault with what was actually done—as with the writers who claim that the assassination of the tyrant Alexander by Thebê^c was not prompted by a noble spirit and a hatred of evil, but was an act of jealousy and womanly passion, and those who say that Cato committed suicide because he feared the horrible death which Caesar planned for him^d; envy and malice can certainly go no further than this.

7. Furthermore, with respect to the way in which a deed is accomplished, a historian's narrative is open to the charge of malice if it asserts that the success

^b Cf. *Life of Pericles*, chaps. xxiv, xxx-xxxii (where he does not specifically refute the charges).

^c Alexander of Pherae, killed by his wife Thebê in 359 B.C. Cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chaps. xxviii, xxxv, and *Mor.* 256 A, and for a different version *Mor.* 768 F.

^d Plutarch himself thinks that Caesar would have spared Cato (*Life of Cato*, chap. lxxii).

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(856) μὴ δι' ἀρετῆς κατειργάσθαι τὴν πράξιν, ὡς Φίλιππον ἔνιοι φάσκουσιν· ἂν σὺν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ καὶ ραδίως, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον· ἂν μὴ φρονίμως ἀλλ' εὐτυχῶς, ὡς Τιμόθεον οἱ ἐχθροί, γράφοντες ἐν¹ πίναξιν εἰς κύρτον τινὰ τὰς πόλεις αὐτάς, ἐκείνου καθεύδοντος, ὑποδουμένας. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τῶν C πράξεων ἐλαττοῦσι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος οἱ τὸ γενναίως καὶ φιλοπόνως καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἀφαιροῦντες.

8. "Ἔστι² τοίνυν τοῖς ἀπ' εὐθείας οὗς³ βούλονται κακῶς λέγουσι δυσκολίαν ἐπικαλεῖν καὶ θρασύτητα καὶ μανίαν, ἐὰν μὴ μετριάξωσιν· οἱ δὲ πλαγίως οἶον ἐξ ἀφανοῦς βέλεσι χρώμενοι ταῖς διαβολαῖς, εἴτα περιόντες ὀπίσω καὶ ἀναδυόμενοι, τῷ φάσκεν ἀπιστεῖν ἅ πάνυ πιστεῦεσθαι θέλουσιν, ἀρνούμενοι κακοήθειαν ἀνελευθερίαν τῇ κακοηθείᾳ προσοφλισκάνουσιν.

9. Ἐγγὺς δὲ τούτων εἰσὶν οἱ τοῖς ψόγοις ἐπαίνους τινὰς παρατιθέντες, ὡς ἐπὶ Σωκράτους Ἀριστόξενος, ἀπαίδευτον καὶ ἀμαθῆ καὶ ἀκόλαστον D εἰπών, ἐπήνεγκεν "ἀδικία δ' οὐ προσῆν." ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ σὺν τινι τέχνῃ καὶ δεινότητι κολακεύοντες ἔστιν ὅτε πολλοῖς καὶ μακροῖς ἐπαίνοις ψόγους παραμιγνύουσιν ἐλαφροῦς, οἶον ἦδυσμα τῇ κολακείᾳ

¹ ἐν (or ἐπι) added by Reiske, not in mss.

² ἔστι Meziriacus: ἔτι.

³ οὗς Meziriacus: οὐ.

^a Cf. *Mor.* 187 B-C and, for slightly different detail, *Life of Sulla*, chap. vi. Timotheüs played a vigorous part in the

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was won not by valour but by money (as some say of Philip), or easily and without any trouble (as they say of Alexander), or not by intelligence but by good luck (as the enemies of Timotheüs claimed, when they painted pictures showing the cities entering of their own accord into a kind of lobster-trap while Timotheüs slept).^a It is evident that writers detract from the greatness and virtue of deeds when they deny that they were done in a noble spirit or by hard work or by valour or by a man's own effort.

8. Now men who openly abuse the persons whom they want to attack can be charged with ill-temper and lack of restraint, and lack of sanity if they go beyond reasonable bounds; but if they do it indirectly, if they shoot their slanderous shafts from under cover, as it were, and then turn round and withdraw from the fight by saying that they do not believe the charges which they certainly want other people to believe,^b by their denial of malicious intent they show themselves guilty of a mean spirit as well as a malicious one.

9. Similar to these writers are those who qualify their fault-finding with some expressions of praise, as Aristoxenus^c did in his verdict on Socrates, calling him an uneducated, ignorant sensualist, and adding "but there was no real harm in him." Just as men who flatter with some degree of skill and finesse sometimes mingle expressions of gentle criticism with their catalogue of praises, introducing the element of frank-

Athenian resurgence of the fourth century, which led to the formation of the Second Athenian Confederacy.

^b Plutarch is thinking in particular of Herodotus, viii. 94, the story that the Corinthian admiral took flight at Salamis. Cf. below, 870 B-D.

^c F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, ii, frag. 55.

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(856) τὴν παρρησίαν ἐμβάλλοντες, οὕτω τὸ κακόηθες εἰς πίστιν ὧν ψέγει προϋποτίθεται¹ τὸν ἔπαινον.

10. Ἦν δὲ καὶ πλείονας καταριθμείσθαι τῶν χαρακτήρων· ἀρκοῦσι δ' οὗτοι κατανόησιν τὰνθρώπου τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ τοῦ τρόπου παρασχέιν.

11. Πρῶτα δὴ πάντων ὡσπερ ἀφ' ἐστίας ἀρξάμενος Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἰνάχου θυγατρὸς, ἣν πάντες Ἕλληνες ἐκτεθειώσθαι νομίζουσι ταῖς τιμαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ καταλιπεῖν ὄνομα πολλαῖς μὲν θαλάτταις, πορθμῶν δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀφ' αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν δόξαν, ἀρχὴν δὲ καὶ πηγὴν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ βασιλικωτάτων γενῶν παρασχέιν· ταύτην ὁ γενναῖος ἐπιδοῦναι φησιν ἑαυτὴν Φοίνιξι φορτηγοῖς, ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυκλήρου διαφθαρεῖσαν ἐκουσίως καὶ φοβουμένην μὴ κύουσα φανερά γένηται. καὶ καταψεύδεται Φοινίκων ὡς ταῦτα περὶ αὐτῆς² λεγόντων. Περσῶν δὲ τοὺς λογίους³ μαρτυρεῖν φήσας, ὅτι τὴν Ἰοῦν⁴ μετ' ἄλλων γυναικῶν οἱ Φοίνικες ἀφαρπάσειαν, εὐθὺς ἀποφαίνεται γνώμην τὸ κάλλιστον ἔργον καὶ μέγιστον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀβελτερίᾳ⁵ τὸν Τρωικὸν πόλεμον γενέσθαι διὰ γυναῖκα φαύλην. “δῆλον γάρ,” φησὶν, “ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ⁶ ἐβούλοντο,

¹ προϋποτίθεται Abresch: προαποτίθεται.

² αὐτῆς E: αὐτὴν B.

³ λογίους Wyttenbach: λόγους.

⁴ τὴν Ἰοῦν Stephanus: lacuna of 8 letters in mss.

⁵ ἀβελτερίᾳ Bernardakis: ἀβελτηρίᾳ (so also in 859 D).

⁶ αὐταὶ Emperius: αὐται.

^a Cf. Plutarch, *Quomodo Adul. ab Amico Internosc.*, esp. 51 c-d.

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ness as a sort of seasoning to their flattery,^a so malice offers some preliminary praise to make its accusations seem convincing.

10. One might enumerate more characteristics of this kind; but these are enough to convey an idea of the man's purpose and method.

11. At the very beginning, then, starting from his own hearth, as it were, with Io the daughter of Inachus, whom all Greeks suppose to have received divine honours at the hands of the barbarians^b and to have won such fame that many seas and the most famous straits were named after her^c and to be the source from which the most notable royal families sprang^d—our worthy Herodotus^e says that she handed herself over to some Phoenician traders after she had let herself be seduced by the skipper, because she was pregnant and was afraid of being discovered; and he falsely represents the Phoenicians as telling this tale about her. And after naming the learned men among the Persians as witnesses for the story that the Phoenicians carried off Io together with some other women, he goes right on to say that the greatest and noblest exploit of Hellas, the Trojan War, was in his opinion an act of folly, entered upon for the sake of a worthless woman; “for it is clear,” he says, “that they would not have been carried off unless they them-

^b As a cow-goddess Io was commonly identified with Isis, especially since her wanderings ended in Egypt.

^c The Ionian Sea to the West of Greece and the Bosphorus or “Cow-ford,” whether the Cimmerian or the Thracian, were supposed to be named after Io, because she passed that way on her wanderings when transformed into a cow. Cf. Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 732-734, 839-841; Apollodorus, *The Library*, ii. 1. 3.

^d The kings of Egypt and Argos (Aesch. *Prom.* 853-869; Apollodorus, ii. 1. 4).

^e i. 5. 2-3.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(856) οὐκ ἂν ἠρπάζοντο." καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τοίνυν ἀβέλ-
 τερα ποιεῖν λέγωμεν,¹ ὑπὲρ τῶν Λεύκτρον² θυγα-
 τέρων βιασθεισῶν μνημόντας Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ
 κολάζοντας Αἴαντα διὰ τὴν Κασάνδρας ὕβριν· δῆλα
 γὰρ δὴ καθ' Ἡρόδοτον ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ³ ἐβούλοντο,⁴
 οὐκ ἂν ὑβρίζοντο. καίτοι καὶ Ἀριστομένη⁵ φησὶν
 αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ζῶντα συναρπασθῆναι,
 καὶ Φιλοποίμην ὕστερον ὁ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγὸς
 857 ταὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἔπαθε, καὶ Ῥηγοῦλλον ἐχειρώσαντο
 Καρχηδόνιοι τὸν⁶ Ῥωμαίων ἕπατον· ὧν ἔργον
 εὐρέιν μαχιμωτέρους καὶ πολεμικωτέρους ἀνδρας.
 ἀλλὰ θαυμάζειν οὐκ ἄξιον, ὅπου καὶ παρδάλεις
 ζώσας καὶ τίγρεις συναρπάζουσιν ἀνθρωποι· Ἡρό-
 δοτος δὲ κατηγορεῖ τῶν βιασθεισῶν γυναικῶν,
 ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρπασάντων.

12. Οὕτω δὲ φιλοβάρβαρος ἐστίν, ὥστε Βούσιριν
 ἀπολύσας τῆς λεγομένης ἀνθρωποθυσίας καὶ ξενο-
 κτονίας, καὶ πᾶσιν Αἰγυπτίοις ὀσιότητα⁷ πολλήν

¹ λέγωμεν Stephanus : λέγομεν (ο is a mere smudge in E).
² Λεύκτρον] Λευκτρίου suggested by Bernardakis, Σκεδάσου
 added by Xylander. ³ αὐταὶ Emperius : αὐταί.

⁴ ἐβούλοντο Basel edition, Emperius : ἐβουλεύοντο E : ἐβου-
 λέατο B.

⁵ Ἀριστομένη Basel edition, Turnebus : Ἀριστογένη.
⁶ τὸν Reiske : τῶν. ⁷ ὀσιότητα Cobet : θειότητα.

^a i. 4. 2. Herodotus offers this verdict as the opinion of the
 Persians, not as his own.

^b The story was that some girls of Leuctra were raped by
 some Spartan envoys and killed themselves ; and the Spartan
 defeat at Leuctra, where their tomb was shown, was said to
 be the result of divine anger. Plutarch in *Mor.* 773 B—
 774 D calls them daughters of Scedasus (*cf. Life of Pelopidas*,
 chap. xx, Pausanias, ix. 13. 5-6), but Diodorus, xv. 54, says
 "daughters of Scedasus and Leuctrus." See also Xenophon,
Hell. vi. 4. 7.

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selves had wanted it." ^a Let us say, then, that the
 gods commit folly when they are angry with the Spar-
 tans because of the rape of the daughters of Leuctrus ^b
 and when they punish Ajax for outraging Cassandra,
 because, by Herodotean standards, "it is clear that
 if they had not themselves wanted it they would not
 have been outraged." Yet he says himself that
 Aristomenes was carried off alive by the Spartans, ^c
 and in later days the Achaean general Philopoemen
 suffered the same fate ^d and the Roman consul
 Regulus was captured by the Carthaginians ^e ; and
 it would be hard to find more valiant warriors than
 these men. Nor need we be surprised at such things,
 since even leopards and tigers are carried off alive by
 men ; but Herodotus makes these outraged women
 the object of an accusation and pleads in defence of
 the men who carried them off. ^f

12. He is also such a pro-barbarian that he acquits
 Busiris of the charge of human sacrifice and murder
 of strangers. ^g He bears witness to the strict piety
 and justice of all Egyptians ^h and turns this charge of

^a A false quotation. Aristomenes, heroic leader of the
 Messenians in the struggle with Sparta, is not mentioned by
 Herodotus ; the story of his capture (on three separate occa-
 sions) is found only in later writers. *Cf.* Polyaeus,
Strategemata, ii. 31, Pausanias, iv. 17. 1 and 18. 4.

^b *Life of Philopoemen*, chap. xviii.

^c In the First Punic War.

^f No one claimed that Helen was "outraged" or followed
 Paris to Troy against her will. Plutarch, in the heat of
 argument, appears to forget this.

^g The story was that the Egyptians tried to sacrifice
 Heracles but he turned on his captors and slew them (*cf.*
 the famous vase painting in Vienna, Pfuhl-Beazley, *Masterpieces*
of Greek Drawing and Painting, no. 7). Herodotus, ii. 45,
 rejects the tale as showing ignorance of Egyptian customs (he
 does not mention Busiris by name). ^h *e.g.* ii. 37. 1.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(857) καὶ δικαιοσύνην μαρτυρήσας, ἐφ' ἑλληνας ἀναστρέφει τὸ μῦθος¹ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν μαιφονίαν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ B δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ Μενελάου φησι παρὰ Πρωτέως ἀπολαβόντα τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ τιμηθέντα δωρεαῖς μεγάλας ἀδικώτατον ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι καὶ κάκιστον· ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀπλοίας συνεχόμενον "ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι πρᾶγμα οὐχ ὄσιον, καὶ λαβόντα δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐντομά σφρα² ποιῆσαι· μισηθέντα δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ διωκόμενον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα τῆσι νηυσὶν³ ἐπὶ Λιβύης." τοῦτον δὲ τὸν λόγον οὐκ οἶδ' ὅστις Αἰγυπτίων εἴρηκεν· ἀλλὰ τάναντία πολλὰ μὲν Ἑλένης πολλὰ δὲ Μενελάου τιμαὶ διαφυλάττονται παρ' αὐτοῖς.

13. Ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς ἐπιμένων Πέρσας μὲν φησι C παισὶ⁴ μίγεσθαι⁵ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντας. καίτοι πῶς Ἑλλῆσι Πέρσαι διδασκάλια ταύτης ὀφείλουσι τῆς ἀκολασίας, παρ' οἷς ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑπὸ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται⁶ παῖδας ἐκτετμήσθαι, πρὶν Ἑλληνικὴν ἰδεῖν θάλασσαν; Ἑλλῆνας δὲ μαθεῖν παρ' Αἰγυπτίων πομπὰς καὶ πανηγύρεις, καὶ τὸ τοὺς⁷ δώδεκα θεοὺς σέβασθαι· Διονύσου δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα παρ' Αἰγυπτίων Μελάμποδα μαθεῖν καὶ διδάξαι τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλῆνας· μυστήρια δὲ καὶ τὰς περὶ Δήμητρα⁸ τελετὰς ὑπὸ τῶν Δαναοῦ θυγατέρων ἐξ

¹ μῦθος B: μῖθος E.

² ἐντομά σφρα Wesseling (as in Herodotus): ἐντομάς . . . (lacuna of 5 letters).

³ τῆσι νηυσὶν L. P. (as in Herodotus): νηυσὶν Bernardakis: νηυσὶν ἦεν E: νηυσὶν ἰθὺ B.

⁴ παισὶ supplied in Basel edition: omitted in mss.

⁵ μίγεσθαι B: μίγεσθαι E.

⁶ ὁμολογεῖται Stephanus: ὁμολογεῖσθαι.

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abominable butchery back against the Greeks. His story, in his second book,^a is that Menelaüs after recovering Helen from Proteus and being honoured with rich presents behaved like the most shocking criminal; prevented from sailing by bad weather, "he devised an unholy deed, seizing two boys from the native population and cutting them up as sacrificial victims; this roused a storm of hatred against him and he escaped his pursuers by sailing away towards Libya." I do not know what Egyptian may have told this story; but it is contradicted by the numerous honours still paid both to Helen and to Menelaüs in Egypt.^b

13. But the historian sticks to his theme. He says that the Persians learnt the practice of pederasty from the Greeks.^c Yet how is it possible that the Persians owe their lessons in this sensual practice to the Greeks, when almost everyone admits that they had practised the castration of boys before they ever saw the Greek sea? He says that the Greeks learnt about processions and national festivals from the Egyptians, as well as the worship of the twelve gods^d; the very name of Dionysus, he says, was learnt from the Egyptians by Melampus, and he taught the rest of the Greeks^e; and the mysteries and secret rituals connected with Demeter were brought from Egypt by the daughters of Danaüs.^f

^a ii. 119. He says it is the story told him by the Egyptian priests (120. 1).

^b There is in fact no evidence that they were honoured by Egyptians.

^c i. 135.

^d ii. 4. 2; 58.

^e ii. 49. 1.

^f ii. 171. 2-3.

⁷ τὸ τοὺς Kronenberg: τοὺς Reiske: τοὺτους τοὺς Bernardakis: τοὺτους.

⁸ Δήμητρα Bernardakis: Δήμητραν (cf. Mor. 367 c).

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(857) Αἰγύπτου κομισθῆναι. καὶ τύπτεσθαι μὲν Αἰγυπτίους φησὶ καὶ πενθεῖν, ὃν δὲ θεὸν¹ οὐ βούλεσθαι αὐτὸς² ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλ' εὐστόμως³ κείσθαι περὶ τῶν θεῶν. Ἡρακλέα δὲ καὶ Διόνυσον οὓς μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, παλαιούς ἀποφαίνων ὄντας θεούς, οὓς Ἕλληνες δέ, ἀνθρώπους⁴ καταγεγηρακότας, οὐδαμοῦ ταύτην προύθετο τὴν εὐλάβειαν. καίτοι καὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Ἡρακλέα τῶν δευτέρων θεῶν γενέσθαι λέγει καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τῶν τρίτων, ὡς ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκότας γενέσεως καὶ οὐκ ὄντας ἀδίους· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκείνους μὲν ἀποφαίνει θεούς, τούτοις δ' ὡς φθιτοῖς καὶ ἥρωσιν ἐναγίζειν οἴεται δεῖν⁵ ἀλλὰ μὴ θύειν ὡς θεοῖς. ταῦτά καὶ περὶ Πανὸς εἶρηκε, **E** ταῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἀλαζονείαις καὶ μυθολογίαις τὰ σεμνότατα καὶ ἀγνότατα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱερῶν ἀνατρέπων.

14. Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο⁶ δεινόν· ἀλλ' ἀναγαγὼν εἰς Περσέα τὸ Ἡρακλέους γένος Περσέα μὲν Ἀσσύριον γεγονέναι λέγει κατὰ τὸν Περσῶν λόγον· “οἱ δὲ Δωριέων,” φησὶν, “ἡγεμόνες φαίνονται” ἂν Αἰ-

¹ ὃν δὲ θεὸν (or ὃν δὲ) L. P. (cf. Herodotus, ii. 61 τὸν δὲ τύπτονται): οὓς δὲ Reiske: τίνας δὲ Duebner: διὰ τί δὲ Turnebus: lacuna of 5-8 letters at end of line in mss.

² αὐτὸς Reiske: αὐτοῦς.

³ εὐστόμως] εὐστομά οἱ Madvig.

⁴ οὓς μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, παλαιούς ἀποφαίνων ὄντας θεούς, οὓς Ἕλληνες δέ, ἀνθρώπους Madvig (παλαιούς added by L. P.): οὓς μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται ἀποφανόμενος θεούς, οὓς δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀνθρώπους Reiske: οὐ μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀποφαίνων ὄντας θεούς, οὐ δ' Ἕλληνες, ἀνθρώπους Bernardakis: οὓς μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι ἀποφαίνονται θεούς, Ἕλληνες δὲ ἀνθρώπους.

⁵ οἴεται δεῖν E: δεῖν οἴεται B.

⁶ τοῦτο] τοῦτό πω Bernardakis.

^a ii. 61. 1: cf. 171. 2.

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He says that the Egyptians beat their breasts and lament, but that he will not actually name the god for whom they mourn because “he will not break silence in holy matters.”^a Nevertheless in his treatment of Heracles and Dionysus he never showed any such reserve. He represents the Heracles and Dionysus whom the Egyptians worship as ancient gods, but those worshipped by the Greeks as men who grew old as men.^b He does say, however, that the Egyptian Heracles was one of the second group of gods and Dionysus one of the third, so that they had a beginning to their existence and had not existed eternally^c; but even so he represents them as gods, while to the others he thinks it proper to “make offerings” as to heroized mortal men but not to “make sacrifice” as to gods.^d He has said the same thing about Pan also, using worthless Egyptian stories to overthrow the most solemn and sacred truths of Greek religion.^e

14. Nor is this the worst. He traces the ancestry of Heracles to Perseus and says that Perseus, according to the Persian account, was an Assyrian; “and the chiefs of the Dorians,” he says, “would be estab-

^b The precise Greek text is uncertain, but the argument is clear. Herodotus could not accept the identity of the Egyptian Heracles and Dionysus with the Greek gods of this name, because they were said to be “ancient gods” who existed many thousand years before the dates generally accepted for the birth of their Greek counterparts (ii. 43-44, 145). Since Heracles was supposed to have been born and to have grown old as a man in Greece, Herodotus suggested that he and Dionysus might have been men who took the names of the old Egyptian gods (ii. 146). To Plutarch this argument seems impious.

^c ii. 43; 145-146.

^d ii. 44. 5.

^e ii. 46. 1; 145. 1 (not exactly as Plutarch reports).

(857) γύπτιοι ἰθαγενέες ἐόντες, καταλέγοντι¹ τοὺς ἄνω Δανάης καὶ Ἀκρισίου² πατέρας." τὸν γὰρ Ἐπαφὸν καὶ τὴν Ἴω καὶ τὸν Ἴασον καὶ τὸν Ἄργον³ ὅλως ἀφήκε, φιλοτιμούμενος μὴ μόνον ἄλλους Ἡρακλεῖς Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Φοίνικας ἀποφαίνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον, ὃν αὐτὸς τρίτον γεγονέναι φησίν, εἰς βαρβάρους ἀποξενῶσαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος. καίτοι τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ λογίων ἀνδρῶν οὐχ Ὅμηρος οὐχ Ἡσίοδος οὐκ Ἀρχίλοχος οὐ Πείσανδρος οὐ Στησίχορος οὐκ Ἀλκμάν οὐ Πίνδαρος Αἰγυπτίου ἔσχον λόγον⁴ Ἡρακλέους ἢ Φοίνικος, ἀλλ' ἓνα τοῦτον ἴσασι πάντες Ἡρακλέα τὸν Βοιώτιον ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀργεῖον.

15. Καὶ μὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν, οὓς αὐτὸς σοφιστὰς προσεῖπε, τὸν μὲν Θάλητα Φοίνικα τῷ γένει τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀποφαίνεται βάρβαρον· τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς λοιδορούμενος ἐν τῷ Σόλωνος προσωπίῳ⁵ ταῦτ' εἶρηκεν· "ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν 858 ἐὼν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπῶν πραγμάτων περὶ"⁶. ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐφρόνει περὶ τῶν θεῶν τῷ Σόλωνι προστριβόμενος κακοθήθειαν τῇ βλασφημίᾳ προστίθησι. Πιττακῷ τοίνυν

¹ καταλέγοντι Meziriacus (as in Herodotus, vi. 53): καταλέγοντες.

² ἄνω Δανάης καὶ Ἀκρισίου] ἄνω ἀπὸ Δανάης τῆς Ἀ. Meziriacus (cf. Herodotus).

³ τὸν Ἄργον B: τὸ Ἄργος E.

⁴ ἔσχον λόγον] λόγον ἔσχον Benseler.

⁵ προσωπίῳ] προσώπω Cobet.

⁶ πραγμάτων περὶ L. P. (as in Herodotus, i. 32): περὶ πραγμάτων B: πράγματα E.

^a vi. 53-54.

l
ished as pure-blooded Egyptians, if we counted their ancestry back beyond Danaë and Acrisius." ^a The fact is that he has completely abandoned Epaphus and Io and Iasus and Argus ^b; not only is he anxious to establish an Egyptian and a Phoenician Heracles; he says that our own Heracles was born after the other two, and he wants to remove him from Greece and make a foreigner out of him. Yet of the learned men of old neither Homer nor Hesiod nor Archilochus nor Peisander nor Stesichorus nor Aleman nor Pindar ever mentioned an Egyptian or a Phoenician Heracles, but all of them know only one, our own Heracles who is both Boeotian and Argive.

15. Then again among the Seven Sages (whom he calls "sophists") ^c he represents Thales as a Phoenician by origin, of barbarian descent. ^d He has used Solon as a mouthpiece to revile the gods when he makes him say: "Croesus, when you question me about affairs of men, you are questioning a man who knows how utterly envious the divine nature is and how ready to confound us." ^e By thrusting upon Solon his own ideas about the gods he is combining blasphemy with malice. ^f He cites Pittacus for minor

^b Danaüs, the "Egyptian" great-grandfather of Acrisius, is a Greek if descended from Epaphus, son of Io; Iasus and Argus, according to one version, were father and grandfather of Io.

^c The word "sophist" in early Greek writers simply means "wise man" (cf. Herodotus, i. 29 with the note of Legrand, Budé edition) and Plutarch must have known this. Cf. *Mor.* 478 c with Helmbold's note in L.C.L., vol. vi.

^d i. 170. 3. According to the account in Diogenes Laertius i. 22 he was Phoenician because descended from Cadmus.

^e i. 32. 1.

^f In fact Solon's attitude towards the gods is not unusual and appears constantly in Greek literature.

(858) εἰς μικρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου χρησάμενος, ὃ μέγιστόν ἐστι τῶν πεπραγμένων τάνδρῃ καὶ κάλλιστον, ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι γενόμενος,¹ παρήκε. πολεμούντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μυτιληναίων² περὶ Σιγείου καὶ Φρύωνος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προκαλεσαμένου³ τὸν βουλόμενον εἰς μονομαχίαν, ἀπήντησεν ὁ Πιττακὸς καὶ δικτύῳ περιβαλὼν⁴ τὸν ἄνδρα ῥωμαλέον ὄντα καὶ μέγαν ἀπέκτεινε· τῶν δὲ Μυτιληναίων δωρεὰς αὐτῷ μεγάλας διδόντων, ἀκοντίσας τὸ δόρυ τοῦτο μόνον τὸ χωρίον ἠξίωσεν ὅσον ἐπέσχευ ἢ αἰχμῇ· καλεῖται μέχρι νῦν Πιττάκειον.⁵ τί οὖν ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, κατὰ τὸν τόπον γενόμενος τοῦτον; ἀντὶ τῆς Πιττακοῦ ἀριστείας⁶ τὴν Ἀλκαίου διηγῆσατο τοῦ ποιητοῦ φυγὴν⁷ ἐκ τῆς μάχης, τὰ ὅπλα ρίψαντος· τῷ τὰ μὲν χρηστὰ μὴ γράφει τὰ δ' αἰσχρὰ μὴ παραλιπεῖν μαρτυρήσας τοῖς ἀπὸ μιᾶς⁸ κακίας καὶ τὸν φθόνον φύεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπιχαιρεκακίαν λέγουσι.

16. Μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀλκμεωνίδας,⁹ ἄνδρας¹⁰ γενόμενους καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τῆς τυραννίδος ἐλευθερώσαντας, εἰς αἰτίαν ἐμβαλὼν προδοσίας δέξασθαι φησι τὸν Πεισίστρατον ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καὶ συγκαταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ τῆς Μεγακλέους θυγατρὸς· τὴν δὲ παῖδα πρὸς τὴν μητέρα φράσαι τὴν ἑαυτῆς ὅτι “ὦ μαμμίδιον, ὄρᾳς; οὐ μίγνυται

¹ γενόμενος Reiske (who adds αὐτοῦ before πράξεω): γενόμενον.

² Μυτιληναίων Bernardakis: Μιτυληναίων (so also below).

³ προκαλεσαμένου Pletho, Stephanus: προσκαλεσαμένου.

⁴ περιβαλὼν B: περιλαβὼν E.

⁵ Πιττάκειον Pletho, Cobet: Πιττάκιον.

details not worth mentioning,^a but ignores the man's greatest and finest deed, though he had occasion to describe it. The Athenians and Mytilenians were at war over Sigeum and the Athenian general Phrynon challenged anyone who would come forward to single combat; whereupon Pittacus came forward, trapped the man in a net and killed him, big strong man though he was. And when the Mytilenians offered him handsome rewards, he threw his spear and asked only for that extent of ground which it covered in its flight; and to this day this piece of land is called Pittaceum. What does Herodotus do, then, when he comes to this point in his story? Instead of the heroic exploit of Pittacus he describes how the poet Alcaeus fled from the battle, throwing away his arms.^b By omitting the good and failing to omit the bad he gives support to the view that envy and delight in the misery of others are products of the same vice.^c

16. Later on he attacks the Alcmaeonids, who proved themselves brave men in freeing their country from tyranny; he charges them with treachery, saying that they received back Peisistratus from exile and restored him to power on condition that he marry the daughter of Megacles. Then his story is that the girl said to her mother, “Look, mamma; Peisistratus

^a i. 27. 2-4.

^b v. 94-95.

^c They are called “brothers” in *Mor.* 518 c.

⁶ Πιττακοῦ ἀριστείας] ἀριστείας Πιττακοῦ Benseler.

⁷ φυγὴν Stephanus, Xylander: φύσιν.

⁸ μιᾶς] καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς added by Reiske.

⁹ Ἀλκμεωνίδας Herwerden: Ἀλκμαιωνίδας (so also below, p. 32).

¹⁰ ἄνδρας] ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς Herwerden.

(858) μοι κατὰ νόμον Πεισίστρατος." ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ τοὺς Ἀλκμεωνίδας τῷ παρανομήματι σχετλιάσαντας ἐξέλασαι τὸν τύραννον.

17. Ἴνα τοίνυν μὴδ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔλαττον ἔχωσι τῆς κακοηθείας, τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς μάλιστα θαυμαζόμενον καὶ τιμώμενον ὄρα πῶς διαλελύμανται, τὸν Ὀθρυάδαν. "τὸν δὲ ἕνα," φησί, "τὸν περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων αἰσχυνόμενον ἀπονοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην, τῶν συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῆσι Θυρέησι¹ καταχρήσασθαι² ἕωτόν." ἄνω μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις ἐπίδικον εἶναι τὸ νίκημά φησιν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῇ αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ Ὀθρυάδου τὴν³ ἦταν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεμαρτύρησεν. ἠττηθέντα μὲν γὰρ ζῆν αἰσχρὸν ἦν, περιγενέσθαι δὲ νικῶντα κάλλιστον.

18. Ἐὼ⁴ τοίνυν ὅτι τὸν Κροῖσον ἀμαθῆ καὶ ἀλαζόνα καὶ γελοῖον φήσας ἐν πᾶσιν, ὑπὸ τούτου φησίν, αἰχμαλώτου γενομένου, καὶ παιδαγωγείσθαι καὶ νουτεῖσθαι τὸν Κῦρον, ὃς φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ μεγαλονοίᾳ πολὺ πάντων δοκεῖ πεπρωτέυκεναι τῶν βασιλέων. τῷ δὲ Κροῖσῳ μὴδὲν ἄλλο καλὸν ἢ τὸ τιμῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις μαρτυρήσας, αὐτὸ τοῦτο πάντων ἀσεβέστατον ἀποδείκνυσιν ἔργον. ἀδελφὸν γὰρ αὐτοῦ⁵ Πανταλέοντα⁶

¹ ἐν τῆσι Θυρέησι Bernardakis, following Xylander's ἐν ταῖσι Θυρέαισι (as in Herodotus, i. 82): ἐν ταῖσι θυρέησι E: ἐν τοῖσι θυρέησι B.

² καταχρήσασθαι Reiske (as in Herodotus): καταχώσασθαι.

³ τὴν added by Benseler, not in mss.

⁴ ἕω Stephanus: ἐγώ. ⁵ αὐτοῦ Herwerden: αὐτῷ.

⁶ Πανταλέοντα Bernardakis (as in Herodotus): Παντολέοντα (so also below).

^a i. 59-61. Herodotus does in fact describe the part played

does not have intercourse with me in the normal way," whereupon the Alcmaeonids, enraged at such behaviour, drove out the tyrant.^a

17. {He is determined, however, that the Spartans shall suffer from his malice just as much as the Athenians. Notice how roughly he has handled Othryadas, whom they particularly admired and honoured. "The one man of the three hundred who survived," he says, "was ashamed to return to Sparta when his companions in battle were killed, and he committed suicide on the spot at Thyraeae."^b The fact is that earlier he represented the victory as claimed by both sides, but here he presents the shame of Othryadas as evidence of the Spartan defeat, because it would be a disgrace to live on after defeat, but a high honour to survive after victory.}

18. I will pass over the way in which he first represents Croesus as an ignorant braggart and a completely ludicrous figure,^c and then, after he has been taken prisoner, shows him as the mentor and counsellor of Cyrus,^d though Cyrus is supposed to be by far the greatest of all monarchs in intelligence and valour and nobility of character. The only virtue he allows to Croesus is that he honoured the gods with many great gifts; and even this he represents as the most ungodly behaviour imaginable. He says that

by the Alcmaeonids in finally freeing Athens from the tyranny (v. 62-63); and he is at pains to refute the charge that they tried to betray Athens at Marathon (vi. 121-124).

^b i. 82. 8. 300 Spartans fought with 300 Argives to decide who should have the area of Thyraeae.

^c Cf. the stories in i. 27; 30-33; 53-56; 71; 75.

^d i. 88-91. In *Life of Solon*, chap. xxvii, Plutarch tells the story of Solon's interview with Croesus, rejecting the argument that it is chronologically impossible and declaring it appropriate to Solon's character.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(858) περὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν¹ διαφέρεσθαι, ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ πατρός· τὸν οὖν Κροῖσον, ὡς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατέστη, τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ φίλων τοῦ Πανταλέοντος F ἕνα τῶν γνωρίμων ἐπὶ κνάφου² διαφθεῖραι καταξαι- νόμενον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενον ἀναθήματα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποστεῖλαι. Δηϊόκην δὲ τὸν Μῆδον ἀρετῇ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ κτησάμενον τὴν ἡγε- μονίαν οὐ φύσει γενέσθαι φησὶ³ τοιοῦτον, ἐρασθέντα δὲ τυραννίδος ἐπιθέσθαι προσποιήματι δικαιοσύνης.

19. Ἄλλ' ἀφήμι τὰ τῶν⁴ βαρβάρων ἀφθονίαν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς πεποίηκεν. Ἀθη- ναίους τοίνυν καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἄλλων Ἴωνων ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ, μὴ βουλομένους ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας Ἴωνας κεκληθῆσθαι, τοὺς δὲ νομί- ζοντας αὐτῶν γενναιοτάτους⁵ εἶναι καὶ ὀρμηθέντας ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανίου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ βαρβάρων παιδοποιήσασθαι γυναικῶν, πατέρας αὐτῶν καὶ ἄν- δρας⁶ καὶ παῖδας φονεύσαντας· διὸ τὰς γυναικας νόμον θέσθαι καὶ⁷ ὄρκους ἐπελάσαι καὶ παραδοῦναι ταῖς θυγατράσι, μήποτε ὀμοσιτῆσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι μηδ' ὀνομαστὶ βοῆσαι τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα· καὶ τοὺς 859 νῦν ὄντας Μιλησίους ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγενῆσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν. ὑπειπὼν δὲ καθαρῶς Ἴωνας γεγενῆσθαι

¹ αὐτῶν] omitted in Basel edition.

² ἐπὶ κνάφου Salmasius (as in Herodotus): ἐπινάφου E:

³ ἐπὶ κνάφου B: ἐπὶ κνάφου Aldine edition.

⁴ φησὶ B: φησὶ E.

⁵ τὰ τῶν (των) B: τῶν E.

⁶ γενναιοτάτους B: γενναϊότατον E.

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his brother Pantaleon disputed the kingship with him when their father was still alive; and that when Croesus became king he killed one of the nobles, who was a friend and supporter of Pantaleon, by stripping his skin from him on a carding comb, and turned his property into gifts which he sent off to the gods.^a He also says that Deïoces the Mede, whose high character and justice won him the kingship, was not naturally such a person, but that when he conceived a desire for absolute power he set out to win a reputation for justice.^b

19. But never mind his treatment of barbarians; he has been only too generous with examples on the Greek side. He says that the Athenians and most of the other Ionians are ashamed of the Ionian name, that they do not wish to be called Ionians, but shun the title; and that those who came from the Prytaneum of Athens and considered themselves the noblest Ionians fathered children by barbarian women, whose fathers and husbands and children they had slaughtered; and that for this reason those women established a law and bound themselves by oaths, which they passed on to their daughters, never to take a meal with their husbands or to call them by name; and he says that the Milesians of to-day are descendants of these women.^c He adds that the true Ionians are those who celebrate the Apaturia festi-

^a Cf. i. 92 (but this is not the only source of Croesus' offerings).

^b A slight distortion of i. 96.

^c An unskilful (or deliberately misleading) summary and combination of two sentences in Herodotus, i. 143. 3 and 146. 2-3.

⁶ καὶ ἄνδρας added by Reiske, not in mss.

⁷ καὶ added by Bernardakis, not in mss.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(859) τοὺς Ἀπατούρια ἄγοντας¹ ἑορτήν, “ ἄγουσι δὲ πάν-
τες,” φησί, “ πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων.”
τούτους μὲν² οὕτως ἐκκέκλεικε τῆς εὐγενείας.

20. Πακτύην δ' ἀποστάντα Κύρου φησὶ³ Κυ-
μαίους καὶ Μυτιληναίους ἐκδιδόναι παρασκευάζε-
σθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον “ ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσω δὴ,⁴ οὐ γὰρ
ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ” (εἰδὲ τὸ μὴ διαβεβαιουῖσθαι
πόσος ἦν ὁ μισθός, τηλικούτο δ' Ἑλληνίδι πόλει
προσβαλεῖν ὄνειδος, ὡς δὴ σαφῶς εἰδόμενα). Χίους
B μέντοι τὸν Πακτύην κομισθέντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξ
ἱεροῦ Ἀθηναίης πολιοῦχου ἐκδοῦναι, καὶ ταῦτα
ποιῆσαι τοὺς Χίους τὸν Ἀταρνεά μισθὸν λαβόντας.
καίτοι Χάρων ὁ Λαμφακηνός, ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος,⁵ ἐν
τοῖς περὶ Πακτύην λόγοις γενόμενος, τοιοῦτον
οὐδὲν οὔτε Μυτιληναίοις οὔτε Χίους ἄγος προσέ-
τριπται· ταυτὶ δὲ κατὰ λέξιν γέγραφε, “ Πακτύης
δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο προσελαύνοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν
Περσικὸν ὄψετο φεύγων ἄρτι μὲν εἰς Μυτιλήνην,
ἔπειτα δὲ εἰς Χίον· καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκράτησε Κύρος.”

21. Ἐν δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν βιβλίων⁶ διηγούμενος
τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ Πολυκράτη⁷ τὸν τύραννον
C στρατείαν, αὐτοὺς⁸ μὲν οἶεσθαι φησι καὶ λέγειν
Σαμίοις, ὡς χάριν ἐκτίνοντες αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐπὶ Μεσ-

¹ τοὺς Ἀπατούρια ἄγοντας] Bernardakis suggests τοὺς ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν γεγονότας καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγοντας.

² μὲν] μὲν οὖν Bernardakis.

³ Bernardakis would amplify φησὶν εἰς Κύμην φυγεῖν Κυ-
μαίους δ' ἐκπέμψαι πρὸς Μυτιληναίους, καὶ Μυτιληναίους . . .

⁴ ὅσω δὴ Reiske, as in Herodotus: short lacuna at end of
line in mss.

⁵ πρεσβύτερος] Ἡροδότου πρεσβύτερος Reiske.

⁶ δὲ] omitted in E.

⁷ βιβλίων Xylander: κύκλων.

⁸ Πολυκράτη E: Πολυκράτην B.

ON THE MALICE OF HERODOTUS, 859

val; “ and all celebrate it,” he says, “ except the
Ephesians and Colophonians.”^a This is the way,
then, in which he denies these people their claim to
noble lineage.

20. He says that when Pactyas revolted against
Cyrus the people of Cymê and Mytilenê made arrange-
ments to surrender the man “ for a certain price,
though I cannot state the exact amount ”^b (a fine
thing this, to refuse to state what the price was, and
yet to brand a Greek city with this mark of infamy,
as though he were sure of his facts). “ But the people
of Chios,” he says, “ when Pactyas came to their
country, removed him from the temple of Athena
Poliuchus and handed him over; and they did so in
return for the territory of Atarneus which they re-
ceived as a reward.”^c The fact is, however, that
Charon of Lampsacus, an older writer, in his account
of Pactyas, has not dishonoured the Mytilenians or
the Chians with any such taint of guilt; his actual
words are: “ When Pactyas learnt that the Persian
army was approaching, he took flight, going first to
Mytilenê, then to Chios; and Cyrus captured him.”^d

21. In his third book when he describes the Spartan
expedition against the tyrant Polycrates, he says that,
according to what the Samians themselves think and
say, the Spartans made the expedition in gratitude for

^a i. 147. 1-2 (again not quite a fair report).

^b A highly compressed and somewhat misleading account
of i. 157-160; but there may be something missing in the
text (see critical note).

^c i. 160. 4. Atarneus is on the mainland facing Chios.

^d Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii A, no. 262, F. 9. Jacoby dis-
putes the statement that Charon is an older writer than
Herodotus.

⁹ αὐτοὺς Amyot, Xylander (*cf.* Herodotus, iii. 47): αὐτός.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(859) σηνίους¹ βοηθείας στρατεύσειαν, τούς τε φεύγοντας κατάγοντες τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῷ τυράνῳ πολεμοῦντες· ἀρνεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ λέγειν ὡς οὐ βοηθοῦντες οὐδ' ἐλευθεροῦντες ἀλλὰ τιμωρούμενοι Σαμίους στρατεύσαντο, κρατῆρά τινα πεμπόμενον Κροίσῳ παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ θώρακα πάλιν παρ' Ἀμάσιδος κομιζόμενον αὐτοῖς ἀφελομένους. καίτοι πόλιν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις² οὔτε φιλότιμον οὔτως οὔτε μισοτύραννον ἴσμεν ὡς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων γενομένην· ποίου γὰρ ἔνεκα θώρακος ἢ τίνος κρατῆρος ἐτέρου Κυψελίδας μὲν D ἐξέβαλον ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ Ἀμπράκίας ἐκ δὲ Νάξου³ Λύγδαμιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν δὲ τοῖς Πεισιστράτου παῖδας ἐκ δὲ Σικυῶνος Αἰσχίνην ἐκ Θάσου δὲ Σύμμαχον ἐκ δὲ Φωκέων Ἀδλιν ἐκ Μιλήτου δ' Ἀριστογένην, τὴν δ' ἐν Θετταλοῖς δυναστείαν ἔπαυσαν, Ἀριστομήδη καὶ Ἀγέλαον⁴ καταλύσαντες διὰ Λεωτυχίδου τοῦ βασιλέως; περὶ ὧν ἐν ἄλλοις ἀκριβέστερον γέγραπται. κατὰ δ' Ἡρόδοτον οὔτε κακίας οὔτ'

¹ Μεσσηνίους Bernardakis (as in Herodotus): Μεσσήνης.

² Bernardakis would add οὐδεμίαν.

³ Νάξου Turnebus, Xylander: ξενάγου.

⁴ Ἀγέλαον Hubert: Ἀγελλον E: Ἀγγελον B.

^a iii. 47.

^b The Cypselid tyrants controlled their colonies in the N.W. through members of their family. It is hard to see how Sparta could have interfered actively in Ambracia, and according to Aristotle, *Politics*, v. 1304 a, the tyrant there was dethroned by a democratic uprising; cf. H. R. W. Smith, *Univ. of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, i, p. 263. In Corinth the Corinthians probably expelled their tyrants without external help. Cf. Nicolaüs of Damascus, *Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii A, no. 90, F. 60, with Jacoby's commentary; but see also D. E. W. Wormell, *Hermathena*, lxvi (1945), p. 18.

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Samian help against the Messenians, restoring the citizens who had been exiled and making war against the tyrant. But he says the Spartans deny this explanation and claim to have made the expedition, not with any intent to help or liberate the Samians, but to punish them for appropriating a mixing bowl that they were sending to Croesus and also a breastplate which was on the way to them from Amasis.^a | Nevertheless we know of no city at that date which was so ambitious for honour or so hostile to tyrants as Sparta. | Was it for some such breastplate or mixing bowl that they expelled the Cypselids from Corinth and Ambracia,^b Lygdamis from Naxos,^c the sons of Peisistratus from Athens, Aeschines from Sicyon,^d Symmachus from Thasos, Aulis from Phocis, and Aristogenes from Miletus,^e and put down the power of the Thessalian overlords when King Leotyichides deposed Aristomedes and Agelaüs?^f These are events which have been described more fully in other authors. But according to Herodotus the Spartans sank to the

^a A protégé of Peisistratus. No other author says that the Spartans expelled him; they *might* have done so at the time of the Samian expedition.

^b Cf. the unknown author of *Rylands Papyri*, i, no. 18 (*Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii A, no. 105, F. 1); Aeschines is not mentioned elsewhere. See also T. Lenschau, *Philologus*, xci (1936), pp. 183-184.

^c Even the names and dates of these tyrants are unknown; and Spartan interference in Thasos and Miletus is hard to believe. For tyrants at Miletus cf. Tod, *Gk. Historical Inscriptions*, i, no. 35.

^f The names of these Thessalians are unfamiliar; but when Leotyichides led a Spartan force to Thessaly to punish the powerful Aleuadae for their medism in the Persian Wars, Herodotus says that they bribed him to leave them in power and that he was exiled from Sparta in consequence (vi. 72; cf. Pausanias, iii. 7. 9).

(859) ἀβελτερίας ὑπερβολὴν λελοίπασιν, εἰ τὴν καλλίστην καὶ δικαιοτάτην τῆς στρατείας ἀρνούμενοι πρόφασιν ὠμολόγουν διὰ μνησικακίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν ἐπιτίθεσθαι δυστυχοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ κακῶς πράττουσιν.

Ε 22. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν ἀμωσγέπως¹ ὑποπεσόντας αὐτοῦ τῷ γραφείῳ προσέχρωσε· τὴν δὲ Κορινθίων πόλιν, ἐκτὸς δρόμου κατὰ τοῦτον οὖσαν τὸν τόπον, ὅμως προσπεριλαβὼν ὁδοῦ, φασί,² παρέργον ἀνέπλησεν³ αἰτίας δεινῆς καὶ μοχθηροτάτης διαβολῆς. “συνεπελάβοντο γάρ,” φησί, “τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμιον⁴ ὥστε γενέσθαι

Κορινθίοι προθύμως,⁵ ὑβρίσματος εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Σαμίων πρότερον ὑπάρξαντος. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτο· Κερκυραίων παῖδας τριακοσίους τῶν πρώτων⁶ Περίανδρος ὁ Κορίνθου τύραννος ἐπ’ ἐκτομῇ παρ’ Ἀλυάττην⁷ ἔπεμπε· τούτους ἀποβάντας εἰς τὴν νῆσον οἱ Σάμιοι διδάξαντες ἐν ἱερῷ Ἀρτέμιδος ἰκέτας καθίξασθαι καὶ τρωκτὰ προτιθέντες⁸ αὐτοῖς ὁσημέραι σησάμου καὶ μέλιτος περιποιήσαν.” τοῦθ’ ὑβρισμα Σαμίων εἰς Κορινθίους ὁ συγγραφεὺς προσαγορεύει καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φησι συμπαροξύναι Λακεδαιμονίους κατ’ αὐτῶν ἔτεσιν οὐκ ὀλίγοις ὕστερον, ἐγκλημα ποιησαμένους ὅτι τριακοσίους παῖδας Ἑλλήνων ἐφύλαξαν ἀνδρας. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο Κορινθίους προστριβόμενος τοῦνευδος ἀποφαίνει τοῦ τυράννου μοχθηροτέραν

¹ ἀμωσγέπως Reiske: ἄλλως γέ πως.

² φασί Xylander: φησί.

³ ἀνέπλησεν E: ἐνέπλησεν B.

⁴ τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμιον Reiske (as in Herodotus): ἐπὶ Σάμω.

⁵ καὶ Κορινθίοι προθύμως Stephanus (as in Herodotus)

Κορινθίοι προθύμου E: Κορινθίοι προθύμου B.

lowest depths of baseness and stupidity, if they denied the most honourable and just explanation for their campaign and admitted a petty vindictiveness as their reason for attacking men in misery and misfortune.

22. Still it must be admitted that the Spartans were, after a fashion, proper subjects for his pen when he blackened their character like this. The city of the Corinthians was not directly in his path at all on this occasion; but even so he seized the opportunity of a diversion, as the saying is, and made them the objects of a shocking accusation and a monstrous slander. “The Corinthians,” he says, “were vigorous supporters of the expedition against Samos, as an affront had previously been offered to them by the Samians. What happened was this. Periander was sending three hundred boys from the leading families in Corcyra to Alyattes to be made eunuchs; and when they went ashore on the island, the Samians instructed them to sit down as suppliants in the temple of Artemis, provided them daily with cakes of sesame and honey, and saved them from their fate.”^a This is what the historian calls the “Samian affront to the Corinthians” and this is the reason, he says, why many years later they abetted the Spartans in their quarrel—making it a ground for complaint that the Samians preserved the manhood of three hundred Greek boys! A writer who foists this shameful act on the Corinthians is representing the city as worse

^a An inaccurate summary of iii. 48.

⁶ τῶν πρώτων] ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Herodotus.

⁷ Ἀλυάττην editors: Ἀλυάττη B: Ἀλυάττη E. The text of Herodotus is παρ’ Ἀλυάττεα ἐπ’ ἐκτομῇ.

⁸ προτιθέντες E: περιτιθέντες B.

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(859) τὴν πόλιν· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γε¹ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ² Κερκυραίους ἀνελόντας³ ἠμύνατο, Κορίνθιοι δὲ τί παθόντες ἐτιμωροῦντο Σαμίους ἐμποδῶν σάντας ὠμότητι καὶ παρανομία τοσαύτη, καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ τρεῖς γενεὰς ὀργὴν καὶ μνησικακίαν ἀναφέροντες ὑπὲρ τυραννίδος, ἧς καταλυθείσης πᾶν τε⁴ μνήμα καὶ πᾶν ἔχνος ἐξαλείφοντες καὶ ἀφανίζοντες οὐκ ἐπαύοντο, χαλεπῆς καὶ βαρείας αὐτοῖς γενομένης;

860 Ἄλλὰ δὴ τὸ μὲν ὕβρισμα τοιοῦτον⁵ ἦν τὸ Σαμίων εἰς Κορινθίους· τὸ δὲ τιμώρημα ποῖόν τι τὸ Κορινθίων εἰς Σαμίους; εἰ γὰρ ὄντως ὠργίζοντο Σαμίους, οὐ παροξύνειν, ἀποτρέπειν δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἦν προσήκον Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ Πολυκράτη Β στρατευομένους, ὅπως μὴ⁶ τοῦ τυράννου καταλυθέντος ἐλεύθεροι Σάμιοι γένοιτο καὶ παύσαιτο δουλεύοντες. ὃ δὲ μέγιστόν ἐστι, τί δήποτε Κορίνθιοι Σαμίους μὲν ὠργίζοντο βουλευθείσι σῶσαι καὶ μὴ δυνηθείσι Κερκυραίων⁷ παῖδας, Κνιδίους δὲ τοῖς σῶσασι καὶ ἀποδοῦσιν⁸ οὐκ ἐνεκάλουν; καίτοι Κερκυραῖοι Σαμίων μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ λόγον οὐ πολλὸν ἔχουσι, Κνιδίων δὲ μέμνηται καὶ Κνιδίους εἰσὶ τι-

¹ γε] γὰρ Meziriacus.

² αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ Stephanus.

³ ἀνελόντας Meziriacus, Reiske: ἀνελόντα.

⁴ τε Reiske: τὸ. ⁵ τοιοῦτον B: τοιοῦτο E.

⁶ μὴ E: μὴδὲ B.

⁷ Κερκυραίων] τοῖς Κερκυραίων early editors.

⁸ ἀποδοῦσιν E: ἀποδοῦσιν B.

^a iii. 53. 7.

^b In the third generation, according to the Greek way of counting. It is only one generation later according to

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than the tyrant; he struck at the Corcyreans for the murder of his son^a; but what happened to the Corinthians that they should want to punish the Samians for standing in the way of such criminal savagery? And, furthermore, that they should still be angry and bear a grudge two generations later^b in the cause of a tyranny, every memory and every trace of which, after its fall, they never ceased trying to obliterate and destroy, since it had been a severe and oppressive régime.^c

Or suppose we grant this "affront" to the Corinthians by the Samians. What sort of punishment is this that the Corinthians inflict on them? If they were really angry with the Samians, they ought not to have abetted the Spartans, but to have deterred them from the expedition against Polycrates; in this way the tyrant would not be deposed, the Samians would not win freedom, and their slavery would continue. But here is the biggest difficulty: how did it happen that the Corinthians were angry with the Samians for wanting to save the boys and failing to do so, but made no complaint against the Cnidians who did save them and return them to Corcyra?^d The Corcyreans, in fact, do not pay much attention to the Samians' part in this affair; it is the Cnidians whom they remember and who are honoured in Cor-

Herodotus iii. 48. 1, if the traditional text is correct (but cf. the emendation and note of Legrand in the Budé edition). For discussion of the chronological problem (the dating of the Corinthian tyrants) see T. Lenschau, *Philologus*, xci (1936), pp. 278-283 and H. R. W. Smith, *Univ. of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, i, pp. 254-266.

^c Cf. the speech of the Corinthians in v. 92. On this story see R. L. Beaumont, *J.H.S.* lvi (1936), pp. 173-174.

^d But according to Herodotus, iii. 48. 4, the Samians were successful in getting the boys back to Corcyra.

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(860) μαι καὶ ἀτέλειαι καὶ ψηφίσματα παρ' αὐτοῖς· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς Περιανδρου φύλακας, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς παῖδας εἰς Κέρκυραν διεκόμισαν, ὡς Ἀντήνωρ ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς¹ ἰστόρηκε καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν ταῖς Κτίσεσιν.

“Ὅτι δ' οὐ τιμωρούμενοι Σαμίους ἀλλ' ἐλευθεροῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τυράννου καὶ σώζοντες ἐστράτευσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Σαμίους αὐτοῖς ἔστι χηρῶν μάρτυσιν. Ἀρχία γὰρ ἀνδρὶ Σπαρτιάτῃ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισαμένῳ τότε καὶ πεσόντι τάφον εἶναι δημοσίᾳ κατεσκευασμένον ἐν Σάμῳ καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν λέγουσι· διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους τάνδρὸς αἰεὶ διατελεῖν Σαμίους οἰκειῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως προσφερομένους, ὡς αὐτὸς Ἡρόδοτος ταῦτα γοῦν ἀπομεμαρτύρηκεν.

23. Ἐν δὲ τῇ πέμπτῃ, τῶν ἀρίστων Ἀθήνησι καὶ πρώτων ἀνδρῶν Κλεισθένη μὲν ἀναπέισαί φησι τὴν Πυθίαν ψευδόμαντιν γενέσθαι, προφέρουσαν αἰεὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλευθεροῦν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων² τὰς Ἀθήνας, καλλίστῳ μὲν ἔργῳ καὶ δικαιοτάτῳ προσάπτων ἀσεβήματος διαβολὴν τηλικούτου καὶ ῥαδιουργήματος, ἀφαιρούμενος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείαν καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν καὶ τῆς λεγομένης συμψηφιστείας Θέμιδος ἀξίαν. Ἰσαγόραν δὲ τῆς γαμετῆς ὑφίσταται Κλεομένει φοιτῶντι παρ' αὐτῆν· ὡς δ' εἰώθει, παραμιγνύς πίστεως ἔνεκα τοῖς ψόγοις ἐπαίεσθαι τινάς, “Ἰσαγόρης δέ,” φησὶν, “ὁ Τισάνδρου

¹ ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς Kaltwasser : τε ὁ Κρητικὸς.
² τυράννων : MSS. add αἰεὶ.

^a No inscriptions survive from Corcyra recording any such resolutions.
^b *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii B, no. 463, F. 2.

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cyra with grants of special privileges and resolutions commending them^a—because they were the ones who sailed in and drove Periander's guards away from the temple; and they picked up the boys and brought them back to Corcyra, as is described by Antenor in his *History of Crete*^b and by Dionysius the Chalcidian in his *Foundings of Cities*.^c

On the other hand, we have the evidence of the Samians themselves that the Spartans made this expedition not to punish the Samians but to save them and free them from their tyrant. They say that a Spartan called Archias fought and died heroically on that occasion and that they, at public expense, built a tomb for him which they hold in honour; and that in consequence the descendants of Archias still have close ties of friendship with the Samians; and these are details to which Herodotus himself bears witness.^d

23. In the fifth book he says that Cleisthenes, a member of one of the leading noble families in Athens, persuaded the Delphic prophetess to deliver counterfeit responses, when she continually told the Spartans to free Athens from its tyrants.^e Thus he attaches the charge of grave impiety and fraud to a noble upright action and he denies all credit to the god for a noble and honourable response, worthy of Themis who is said to have a part in these responses. He says also that Isagoras connived at the attentions paid by Cleomenes to his wife^f; and, in his usual way, so as to appear convincing, he mingles some expressions of praise with his fault-finding: “Isagoras,” he says, “the son of Tisander, came of a

^c Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iv, p. 396, fr. 13.

^a iii. 55.

^b v. 63. 1.

^f v. 70. 1 (recorded as rumour, not as fact).

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(860) οικήης μὲν ἦν δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ·" εὐρυθμός γε¹ καὶ πολιτικός ὁ μυκτῆρ τοῦ συγγραφέως, εἰς Κάρας ὥσπερ εἰς κόρακας ἀποδιοπομπουμένου τὸν Ἰσαγόραν. Ἀριστογείτονα μέντοι οὐκέτι κύκλω καὶ κακῶς,² ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς διὰ πυλῶν εἰς Φοινίκην ἐξελαύνει, Γεφυραῖον γεγονέναι λέγων ἀνέκαθεν· τοὺς δὲ Γεφυραῖους οὐκ ἀπ' Εὐβοίας οὐδ'³ Ἐρετριεῖς,⁴ ὥσπερ οἴονταί τινες, ἀλλὰ Φοινίκας εἶναι φησιν, αὐτὸς οὕτω πεπυσμένος.⁵ Ἀφελέσθαι τοίνυν Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ δυνάμενος τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐλευθέρωσιν⁶ ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων αἰσχίστῳ πάθει κάλλιστον ἔργον οἶός τ' ἐστὶν ἀφανίζειν καὶ καταισχύνειν. ταχὺ γὰρ μετανοῆσαι φησιν αὐτούς, ὡς οὐ ποιήσαντας ὀρθῶς, ὅτι "κιβδήλοισι⁷ μαντηίοισιν ἐπαρθέντες ἄνδρας ξείνους ὄντας αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὑποσχομένους ὑποχειρίας παρέξεν τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τοὺς τυράννους⁸ καὶ δῆμῳ ἀχαρίστῳ παρέδωκαν τὴν πόλιν." εἶτα μεταπεμφαμένους Ἰππῖαν ἀπὸ Σιγείου κατάγειν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας· ἀντιστῆναι δὲ 861 Κορινθίους αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀποτρέψαι,⁹ Σωκλέους¹⁰ διελθόντος ὅσα Κύβελος καὶ Περιάνδρος κακὰ¹¹ τὴν

¹ γε Reiske: τε.

² καὶ κακῶς E: κακῶς B: πως Wytttenbach: πλαγίως Kronenberg.

³ οὐδ' Reiske would delete. ⁴ Ἐρετριεῖς] Bernardakis suggests Ἐρετρίας (Herodotus has ἐξ Ἐρετρίης).

⁵ πεπυσμένος Reiske: πεπεισμένος (Herodotus has ἀναπυθάνομενος).

⁶ ἐλευθέρωσιν E and in margin of B: ἐλευθερίαν B.

⁷ κιβδήλοισι B: κιβδήλοισι E.

⁸ τοὺς τυράννους] Cobet would delete.

⁹ ἀποτρέψαι Cobet: ἀποστρέψαι.

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distinguished family, but I know nothing of its more remote origin, except that his kinsmen sacrifice to Carian Zeus." ^a Our historian certainly knows how to sneer gracefully like a gentleman, getting rid of Isagoras by consigning him "to the carrion heap of Caria," as it were ^b; but with Aristogeiton he uses no such cowardly circuitous methods; he drives him straight out through the gate to Phoenicia, saying he was a Gephyraean by descent, "and the Gephyraeans are not Eretrians from Euboea, as some people think, but—as I have discovered for myself—are Phoenicians." ^c

[Now he cannot deny that the Spartans freed Athens from its tyrants; but he does succeed in belittling and denigrating their glorious deed by attributing a most unworthy reaction to them. He says that they soon repented, deciding that they had made a mistake and had been carried away by counterfeit oracles; they considered that in driving out the tyrants from the country they had driven out their own friends, who had promised to make Athens subject to them, and so had put the city into the hands of an ungrateful democracy.] Accordingly he has them send for Hippias from Sigeum and try to bring him back to power in Athens, only to find the Corinthians resisting them and dissuading them; and he makes Socles describe all the harm that Cypselus and Periander did to the

^a v. 66. 1.

^b As though he were an unclean thing, a scapegoat, who is generally driven out through a gate of the city (cf. *Mor.* 518 v), like Aristogeiton in the next sentence. For the language cf. Plato, *Cratylus*, 396 ε. ^c v. 55; 57. 1.

¹⁰ Σωκλέους] Σωσικλέους anonymous early corrector.

¹¹ κακὰ Wytttenbach: κατὰ.

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(861) Κορινθίων πόλιν εἰργάσαντο τυραννοῦντες. καίτοι Περιάνδρου σχετλιώτερον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὠμότερον ἔργον ἱστορεῖται¹ τῆς ἐκπομπῆς² τῶν τριακοσίων ἐκείνων, οὓς ἐξαρπάσασι καὶ διακωλύσασι παθεῖν ταῦτα Σαμίους ὀργίζεσθαι φησι καὶ μνησικακεῖν Κορινθίους ὥσπερ ὕβρισθέντας. τοσαύτης ἀναπίμπλησι ταραχῆς καὶ διαφωνίας τὸ κακὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον,³ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆ διηγήσει προφάσεως ὑποδύμενον.

24. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐφεξῆς τὰ περὶ Σάρδεις διηγουμένους, ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα διέλυσε καὶ διελυμήνατο τὴν πράξιν, ἃς μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ναῦς ἐξέπεμψαν Ἰωσι τιμωροὺς ἀποστᾶσι βασιλέως ἀρχεκάκους τολμησας προσειπεῖν, ὅτι τοσαύτας πόλεις καὶ τηλικαύτας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλευθεροῦν ἐπεχείρησαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἐρετριέων δὲ κομιδῆ μνησθεῖς ἐν παρέργῳ καὶ παρασιωπήσας μέγα κατόρθωμα καὶ αἰδοῖμον. ἤδη γὰρ ὡς τῶν⁴ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν συγκεχυμένων⁵ καὶ στόλου βασιλικοῦ προσπλέοντος, ἀπαντήσαντες ἔξω Κυπρίους ἐν τῷ Παμφυλίῳ πελάγει κατεναμάχησαν⁶. εἴτ' ἀναστρέψαντες ὀπίσω καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καταλιπόντες ἐπέθεντο Σάρδεσι καὶ Ἀρταφέρην ἐπολιόρκουν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καταφυγόντα, βουλόμενοι τὴν Μιλήτου λῦσαι πολιορκίαν· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐπραξαν καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους

¹ ἱστορεῖται E: ἐστορεῖται B: ἐστὶν εἰπας Aldine edition: εἰπας Basel edition.

² ἐκπομπῆς] ἐκτομῆς Leonicus, Stephanus.

³ τὸν λόγον E: τῶν λόγων B.

⁴ τῶν Wyttenbach: lacuna of 5 letters in mss.: more elaborate supplements by early editors.

⁵ συγκεχυμένων Wyttenbach: συγκεχυμένων E: συγκεχυμένων B.

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city of the Corinthians when they were tyrants.^a The fact is, however, that no more brutal and savage deed is recorded of Periander than his sending off of the three hundred boys; but when the Samians seized them and rescued them from their fate, he says that the Corinthians were angry and resentful, as though they were "affronted." Thus we see how his malice, which creeps into his narrative on any excuse at all, fills his history with confusion and inconsistency.

24. Later on, in describing the attack on Sardis, he does all he can to misrepresent and disparage the exploit. He has the impertinence to say that the ships which the Athenians sent to support the Ionians in their revolt against the king were "the beginning of disaster,"^b because they attempted to free all these great Greek cities from the Barbarian; and he mentions the Eretrians only quite casually and passes over their great epic achievement in silence.^c The facts are that when confusion had already struck in Ionia^d and the king's fleet was on the way, they went out to meet it and won a naval victory over the Cyprians in the Pamphylian Sea; then they turned back, left their ships at Ephesus, and attacked Sardis and kept up the siege of the acropolis where Artaphernes had taken refuge. Their intention was to raise the siege of Miletus; and they succeeded in doing this, causing the enemy troops to withdraw in

^a v. 91-92 (in some mss. of Herodotus the name is given as Sosicles).

^b v. 97. 3.

^c v. 99; 102. 3.

^d Something may be missing from the text here.

^e A different text is implied in Pletho's paraphrase: στόλῳ βασιλικῷ ἐκ Κύπρου τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ προσπλέοντι ἔξω ἐν τῷ Παμφυλίῳ πελάγει ἀπαντήσαντες κατεναμάχησαν.

(861) ἀνέστησαν ἐκείθεν, ἐν φόβῳ θαυμαστῷ γενομένους· πλήθους δ' ἐπιχυθέντος αὐτοῖς ἀπεχώρησαν. ταῦτα δ' ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λυσανίας ὁ Μαλλώτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἐρετρίας εἶρηκε· καὶ καλῶς εἶχεν, εἰ καὶ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τῇ γοῦν ἀλώσει καὶ φθορᾷ τῆς πόλεως ἐπειπεῖν τὸ ἀνδραγάθημα τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἀριστείαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ κρατηθέντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων φησὶν εἰς τὰς ναῦς καταδιωχθῆναι, μηδὲν τοιοῦτο τοῦ Λαμφακηνοῦ Χάρωνος ἱστοροῦντος, ἀλλὰ ταυτὶ γράφοντος κατὰ λέξιν. "Ἀθηναῖοι δ' εἴκοσι τριή-
D ρεσιν ἐπλευσαν ἐπικουρήσοντες τοῖς Ἴωσι, καὶ εἰς Σάρδεῖς ἐστρατεύσαντο καὶ εἶλον τὰ περὶ Σάρδεῖς ἅπαντα χωρὶς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ βασιλείου· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπαναχωροῦσιν εἰς Μίλητον."

25. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἕκτη διηγησάμενος περὶ Πλαταιέων, ὡς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐδίδοσαν Σπαρτιάταις, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκέλευσαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τρέπεσθαι "πλησιοχώρους ἔοντας αὐτοῖς² καὶ τιμωρέειν οὐ κακοῦς," προστίθησιν οὐ καθ' ὑπόνοιαν οὐδὲ δόξαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενος, ὅτι "ταῦτα συνέβουλενον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ κατ' εὐνοιαν οὕτω³ τῶν Πλαταιέων, ὡς βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
E ἔχειν πόνους⁴ συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖς." οὐκοῦν εἰ μὴ κακοήθης Ἡρόδοτος, ἐπίβουλοι μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κακοήθεις,⁵ ἀναίσθητοι δ' Ἀθηναῖοι παρακρουσθέντες, Πλαταιεῖς δ' οὐ κατ' εὐνοιαν οὐδὲ τιμὴν ἀλλὰ πολέμου πρόφασις εἰς μέσον ἐρρίψησαν.

¹ εἶχεν εἰ καὶ E: εἶχε καὶ B.

² ἔοντας αὐτοῖς E: ὄντας ἑαυτοῖς B.

³ οὕτω (as in Herodotus) added by Xylander: omitted in MSS.

⁴ πόνους (as in Herodotus) Bernardakis: πόνον.

a remarkable state of alarm; then, when attacked by superior numbers, they retreated. Various writers have described these events, including Lysanias of Mallus in his *History of Eretria*.^a And, even if for no other reason, it would have been a fine epitaph on Miletus, after its capture and destruction, to describe this magnificent exploit. But he says that they were actually defeated by the barbarians and driven back to their ships.^b Nothing of this sort is to be found in Charon of Lampsacus. His actual words are: "The Athenians with twenty triremes sailed to help the Ionians, advanced to Sardis, and occupied the whole of Sardis except the royal fortress; and after this they withdrew to Miletus."^c

25. In Book VI he describes how the Plataeans offered themselves to the Spartans, who urged them rather to turn to the Athenians, as "near neighbours of theirs who were no mean helpers"; and he adds—not as a suspicion of his own or a mere opinion, but as though he were sure of the facts—that "the Spartans gave this advice not so much out of goodwill towards the Plataeans as because they wanted to make trouble for the Athenians by involving them with the Boeotians."^a Thus, unless Herodotus is a malicious liar, the Spartans were malicious plotters, the Athenians were tricked like simpletons, and the Plataeans, far from being treated with goodwill and respect, were thrown down between the two parties as a possible pretext for war.

^a *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii B, no. 426.

^b v. 102. 2.

^c *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii A, no. 262, F. 10.

^a vi. 108. 1-3.

⁵ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κακοήθεις E: καὶ κακοήθεις Λακ. B.

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(861) 26. Καὶ μὴν τὴν πανσέληνον ἤδη σαφῶς ἐξελή-
 λεγκται¹ Λακεδαιμονίων καταψευδόμενος, ἦν φησι
 περιμένοντας αὐτοὺς εἰς Μαραθῶνα μὴ βοηθῆσαι
 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἄλλας μυρίας ἐξόδους
 καὶ μάχας πεποίηται μηνὸς ἱσταμένου, μὴ περι-
 μείναντες τὴν πανσέληνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης τῆς
 μάχης, ἕκτη² Βοηδρομιῶνος ἱσταμένου γενομένης,
 ὀλίγον ἀπελείφθησαν, ὥστε καὶ θεάσασθαι τοὺς
 νεκροὺς ἐπελθόντες³ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον. ἀλλ' ὅμως
 ταῦτα περὶ τῆς πανσελήνου γέγραφεν, "ἀδύνατα δέ
 σφι τὸ παραντικά⁴ ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι
 λύειν τὸν νόμον· ἦν γὰρ ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς ἐνάτη⁵.
 ἐνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν, οὐ⁶ πλήρεις
 ἐόντος τοῦ κύκλου. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τὴν πανσέληνον
 ἔμενον."

Σὺ δὲ⁷ μεταφέρεις τὴν πανσέληνον εἰς ἀρχὴν
 μηνὸς ἐκ διχομηρίας,⁸ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς
 ἡμέρας καὶ πάντα πράγματα συνταράσσεις. καὶ
 862 τὰ⁹ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπαγγελόμενος γράφειν ὡς μὴ

¹ ἐξελήλεγκται E: ἐξελήλεκται B.

² ἕκτη Reiske: ἕκτης.

³ ἐπελθόντες Abresch: ἐπελθόντας (letter blotted in E).

⁴ σφι τὸ παραντικά E: σφιν τοπαραντικά B.

⁵ ἐνάτη added by Xylander (cf. Herodotus, vi. 106):
 omitted in mss.

⁶ οὐ] μὴ οὐ Herodotus.

⁷ δὲ B: lacuna of 4 letters in E.

⁸ ἐκ διχομηρίας Wyttenbach: διχομηρίας (but E may have
 short lacuna before δ.): διχομηρίας οὐσης Leonicus: διχομηρίας
 οὔσαν Reiske: οὔσαν διχομηρίας Bernardakis.

⁹ τὰ] ταῦτα τὰ Wyttenbach.

^a vi. 106. 3.

^b The ban on leaving before the full moon perhaps applied
 only in this particular month, the Spartan month Carneius

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26. [Again, it has been shown clearly that he is
 maligning the Spartans when he says that they were
 waiting for the full moon and that this was why they
 did not go to the help of the Athenians at Marathon.^a
 Not only have the Spartans gone out and fought
 battles in the first part of the month on countless
 other occasions without waiting for the full moon,^b
 but they narrowly escaped being in time for this
 battle, which took place on the sixth day of the month
 Boëdromion, so narrowly in fact that they saw the
 dead unburied when they reached the battlefield! Even so,
 this is what he has written about the full moon:
 "It was impossible for them to do so immediately,
 as they did not want to violate the law; it was early
 in the month, the ninth day,^c and they said they
 would not go out on the ninth day, the moon not
 being full. The Spartans, therefore, were waiting for
 the full moon."^d

But what are *you* doing? You shift the full moon
 from the middle of the month to the beginning, turn-
 ing the heavens and the calendar and everything else
 upside down; and this when you claim to be writing
 the history of Greece so that it shall not lack fame!

(cf. the notes of Legrand and of How and Wells on Hero-
 dotus).

^c Plutarch appears to believe that the Spartans are talking
 in terms of the Athenian month Boëdromion instead of their
 month Carneius. Since each state adjusted the errors of its
 calendar independently, it does not follow that the two
 months corresponded and we can never be sure of the pre-
 cise relation between the day of the month and the state of
 the moon.

^d vi. 106. 3. Plutarch would prefer the more edifying
 account of Marathon given by Isocrates, *Panegyric*, 86-87,
 according to which the Spartans set out in haste but were still
 not in time for the battle.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(862) ἀκλεᾶ γένηται,¹ ἐσπουδακῶς δὲ περὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας διαφερόντως, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς Ἀγρας πομπὴν ἰστορήκας, ἣν πέμπουσιν ἔτι νῦν τῇ ἕκτῃ² χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης ἐορτάζοντες.

Ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε βοηθεῖ τῷ Ἡροδότῳ πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν διαβολὴν ἣν ἔχει, κολακεύσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀργύριον πολὺ λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν. εἰ γὰρ ἀνέγνω ταῦτ' Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἂν εἴασαν οὐδὲ περιεῖδον ἐνάτῃ³ τὸν Φιλιππίδην παρακαλοῦντα Λακεδαιμόνιους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἐκ τῆς μάχης γεγενημένον, καὶ ταῦτα δευτεραίον εἰς Σπάρτην ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν, ἀφινγμένον· εἰ μὴ μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι τοὺς πολεμίους Ἀθηναῖοι μετεπέμποντο τοὺς συμμάχους. ὅτι μέντοι δέκα τάλαντα δωρεὰν ἔλαβεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Ἀνύτου⁴ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, οὗ τῶν παρημελημένων ἐν ἰστορίᾳ, Δίλλος εἴρηκεν.

Ἀπαγγείλας δὲ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ὁ Ἡρόδοτος ***⁵ ὡς μὲν οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι, καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν τῷ ἀριθμῷ καθεῖλε τοῦργον. εὐξαμένους

¹ ὡς μὴ ἀκλεᾶ γένηται L. P. (from Herodotus, proem) : lacuna of 18-22 letters in mss. : τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπαίρεις τῷ λόγῳ Turnebus.

² ἕκτῃ Valckenaer : Ἑκάτῃ.

³ ἐνάτῃ Wyttenbach : ἐναγῆ.

⁴ Ἀνύτου Basel edition, Turnebus : ἀντὶ τοῦ.

⁵ No lacuna is marked in mss. but something is evidently missing, e.g. ἀναριθμήτων βαρβάρων φονευθέντων.

^a The mss. read "to Hecatê" but the change is easy (see critical note). The annual sacrifice in thanksgiving for Marathon was made to Artemis Agrotera on the 6th of Boëdromion (cf. *Mor.* 349 E and Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 58. 1). Plutarch takes this to be the actual date of the battle; but the date is not reconcilable with the story as

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And despite your special concern for Athens you have not even mentioned the procession to Agrae, which they still celebrate on the sixth^a as a festival of thanksgiving for their victory.

Here, at least, is a point which supports Herodotus against the charge that he received a large sum of money from the Athenians in return for his flattery of them. If he had read this account to the Athenians, they would not have let it pass and would not have tolerated his story of Philippides summoning the Spartans to battle on the ninth (when the battle was over), especially since, as he says himself, Philippides reached Sparta the day after he had left Athens^b— unless indeed the Athenians waited until the victory was won before they sent for their allies. And yet the story that he received a gift of ten talents from Athens, on the proposal of Anytus, comes from an Athenian, Diyllus, who is quite a well-known historian.^c

At the end of his account of the battle of Marathon Herodotus further detracts from the victory when he gives the numbers of the dead. According to the usual version the barbarians killed were beyond

told by Herodotus, unless the calendar is so badly out of order that the calendar month bears no relation to the lunar month. Cf. W. P. Wallace, *J.H.S.* lxxiv (1954), p. 35. The usual solution is to suppose that this day was made the conventional day of commemoration because the sixth day of each month was sacred to Artemis, and that the battle took place in the middle of the preceding month or even earlier. The matter has been much discussed. See, e.g., Hauvette, *Hérodote*, pp. 104-105, 269-270; Jacoby, *J.H.S.* lxiv (1944), p. 62.

^b vi. 105-106. Philippides, as given in the mss., not Pheidippides, is almost certainly the correct form of the name.

^c *Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii A, no. 73, F. 3.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(862) γάρ φασι¹ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ θύσειν
 χιμάρους ὅσους ἂν τῶν βαρβάρων καταβάλωσιν,
 C εἶτα μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ἀναρίθμου πλήθους τῶν νε-
 κρῶν ἀναφανέντος, παραιτεῖσθαι ψηφίσματι τὴν
 θεόν, ὅπως καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποθύωσι πεντα-
 κοσίας τῶν χιμάρων.

27. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' ἔασαντες ἴδωμεν τὰ² μετὰ
 τὴν μάχην. "τῆσι δὲ λοιπῆσι," φησίν,³ "οἱ βάρ-
 βαροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς
 νήσου ἐν τῇ⁴ ἔλιπον τὰ ἐξ Ἐρετρίης ἀνδράποδα,
 περιέπλεον Σούνιον, βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθη-
 ναίους ἀφικόμενοι⁵ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ· αἰτίη δὲ ἔσχεν⁶
 Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμεωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοῦς
 ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τοὺτους γὰρ συνθεμένους τοῖσι
 Πέρσῃσιν ἀναδείξαι ἀσπίδα ἐοῦσιν ἤδη ἐν τῆσι
 νηυσί· οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλεον Σούνιον." ἐνταῦθα
 D τὸ μὲν τοὺς Ἐρετριέας ἀνδράποδα προσειπεῖν, οὔτε
 τόλμαν Ἑλλήνων οὐδενὸς οὔτε φιλοτιμίαν ἐνδεε-
 στέραν παρασχομένους καὶ παθόντας ἀνάξια τῆς
 ἀρετῆς, ἀφείσθω· διαβεβλημένων δὲ τῶν Ἀλκμεω-
 νιδῶν,⁸ ἐν οἷς οἱ μέγιστοί τε τῶν οἴκων καὶ δοκιμώ-

¹ φασι Meziriacus: φησι.

² τὰ added by Turnebus, not in mss.

³ λοιπῆσι, φησίν Bernardakis: λοιπῆσιν.

⁴ τῇ Turnebus: αὐτῇ.

⁵ ἀφικόμενοι Reiske: ἀφικομενο. (without accent) E: ἀφ-
 ικομένους B.

⁶ αἰτίη δὲ ἔσχεν Turnebus (mss. of Herodotus vary between
 αἰτίη δὲ ἔσχε(ν) and αἰτίην δὲ ἔσχεν ἐν): αἰτίην δὲ ἔσχον.

⁷ ἐοῦσιν . . . νηυσί B: ἐοῦσι . . . ναυσίν E.

⁸ Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν E: Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν B.

^a This translation assumes that something is lost from the
 text (see critical note). The reading of the mss. would have
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counting^a; and they say that the Athenians pro-
 mised Artemis Agrotera that they would sacrifice a
 goat to her for every barbarian killed; and then, after
 the battle, when the immense number of the dead
 became apparent, they passed a resolution asking the
 goddess to release them from their vow on condition
 that they sacrificed five hundred goats every year.^b

27. However, suppose we let this pass and see what
 comes after the battle: "With their remaining
 ships," he says, "the barbarians put to sea, and taking
 on board the slaves from Eretria from the island
 where they had left them they sailed round Sunium
 with the intention of reaching the city before the
 Athenians. And the accusation was current in
 Athens that this move was planned as the result of an
 intrigue with the Alcmaeonids. They are supposed
 to have reached an understanding with the Persians
 and to have flashed a shield signal to them after they
 had boarded their ships. And so the Persians sailed
 round Sunium."^c Now I will let it pass that he calls
 the Eretrians slaves, though they had shown as much
 bravery and patriotism as any of the Greeks and had
 suffered a fate worse than their courage deserved;
 and his slander of the Alcmaeonids, whose number in-
 cluded the greatest families and the most distinguished

to mean "as most people agree, Herodotus has spoiled the
 story by what he says," which implies that there was an ex-
 tensive critical literature on Herodotus; and this can hardly
 be right. Herodotus says that 6400 barbarians were killed
 (vi. 117). This is apparently not enough to satisfy Plutarch;
 later authors gave much higher figures—200,000 according
 to Justin (ii. 9. 20).

^b This story appears, with slight variations, in Xenophon,
Anabasis, iii. 2. 12, Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Knights*, 660,
 and Aelian, *Varia Hist.* ii. 25.

^c vi. 115.

(862) τατοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦσαν, ἐλάττων λόγος· ἀνατέ-
 τραπται δὲ τῆς νίκης τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ τέλος εἰς
 οὐδὲν ἦκει τοῦ περιβοήτου κατορθώματος, οὐδ'
 ἀγῶν τις ἔοικεν οὐδ' ἔργον γεγονέναι τοσοῦτον,
 ἀλλὰ πρόσκρουσμα¹ βραχὺ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπο-
 βᾶσιν (ὡσπερ οἱ διασύροντες καὶ βασκαίνοντες
 λέγουσιν), εἰ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οὐ φεύγουσι κόψαντες
 E τὰ πείσματα τῶν νεῶν, τῷ φέροντι προσωτάτω τῆς
 Ἀττικῆς ἀνέμῳ παραδόντες αὐτούς, ἀλλ' αἴρεται
 μὲν ἀσπίς αὐτοῖς προδοσίας σημεῖον, ἐπιπλέουσι
 δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐλπίζοντες αἰρήσειν, καὶ καθ'
 ἡσυχίαν Σούνιον κάμψαντες ὑπεραιωροῦνται Φαλή-
 ρων² οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι καὶ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 προδιδόασιν³ ἀπεγνωκότες τὴν πόλιν. καὶ γὰρ ἀπο-
 λύων ὕστερον Ἀλκμεωνίδας⁴ ἐτέροις τὴν προδοσίαν
 ἀνατίθησιν· “ἀνεδείχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσπίς, καὶ τοῦτο
 F οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως⁵ εἰπεῖν,” φησὶν αὐτὸς⁶ ἰδῶν. τοῦτο
 δ' ἀμήχανον μὲν ἦν γενέσθαι, νενικηκότες κατὰ
 κράτος⁷ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· γενόμενον δ' οὐκ ἂν ὑπὸ
 τῶν βαρβάρων συνώφθη, φυγῇ καὶ πόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ
 τραύμασι καὶ βέλεσιν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐλαυνομένων καὶ
 ἀπολιπόντων τὸ χωρίον, ὡς ἕκαστος τάχους εἶχεν.
 ἀλλ' ὅταν γε πάλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν ἀπο-

¹ πρόσκρουσμα] πρόσκρουμα Bernardakis.

² Φαλήρων] Φαλήρου in Herodotus.

³ προδιδόασιν Amyot, Reiske: lacuna of about 10 letters
in MSS.

⁴ Ἀλκμε- E: Ἀλκμαι- B. This is the usual variation;
subsequent examples will not be noted.

⁵ ἄλλως Stephanus: ἀλλ' ὡς.

⁶ αὐτός] ὡς αὐτός suggested by Wytttenbach.

⁷ κατὰ κράτος Aldine edition: κατακράτος.

men, is a minor matter; but the great edifice of
 victory collapses and the point of the famous exploit
 comes to nothing, indeed it seems not to be a battle
 at all or an action of any great importance, but a brief
 clash with the barbarians as they landed—just as the
 carping critics, who belittle the action, say^a—when
 he denies that they take flight after the battle, cut-
 ting their ships' cables and entrusting themselves to
 the wind which will carry them as far as possible
 from Attica, when he says that a shield is raised as a
 traitor's signal to them and they set course for Athens
 expecting to capture it,^b and that after rounding
 Sunium at their ease they lie in wait off Phalerum
 while the most distinguished leaders in Athens are
 prepared to betray the city in despair. Even later on,
 when he is acquitting the Alcmaeonids of treason, he
 charges others with it; because “a shield signal was
 given,” he says, “and there is no way of denying
 it”^c (no doubt he saw it himself!). Yet it is impos-
 sible that such a thing could have happened, if the
 Athenians had won a decisive victory; and if the
 signal had been given, it would not have been seen
 by the barbarians as they were driven in flight to the
 ships in great distress under a rain of blows and
 missiles, each man doing his best to get away as fast
 as he could. Elsewhere, however, he makes a pre-
 tence of defending the Alcmaeonids, dropping these

^a Perhaps the most famous of these was Theopompus, who
 complained that Athenian propaganda had exaggerated the
 achievement of Marathon (*Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii B, no. 115,
 F. 153).

^b Plutarch maintained that the Persian ships were forced
 in the direction of Athens by the wind (*Life of Aristeides*,
 chap. v).

^c vi. 124. 2.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(862) λογεῖσθαι προσποιῆται, μεθεῖς¹ ἂ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἐπενήροχεν ἐγκλήματα, καὶ εἶπη² “ θῶμα δέ μοι³ καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέχομαι τὸν λόγον, Ἀλκμεωνίδας ἂν ποτε ἀναδείξαι Πέρσησι ἐκ συνθήματος ἀσπίδα, βουλομένους ὑπο βαρβάροισι τε εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ⁴ ὑπὸ Ἰππίη,” κόμματός τινος ἀναμνησκόμαι παροιμιακοῦ.

μένε, καρκίνε, καὶ σε μεθήσω.

τί γὰρ ἐσπούδακας καταλαβεῖν, εἰ καταλαβὼν μεθ-
863 ἰέναι μέλλεις; καὶ σὺ κατηγορεῖς, εἴτ' ἀπολογῆ·
καὶ γράφεις κατ' ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν διαβολάς, ἃς
πάλιν ἀναιρεῖς, ἀπιστῶν δέ⁵ σεαυτῷ δηλονότι·
σεαυτοῦ γὰρ ἀκήκοας λέγοντος Ἀλκμεωνίδας ἀνα-
σχεῖν ἀσπίδα νενικημένοις καὶ φεύγουσι τοῖς βαρ-
βάροις. καὶ μὴν ἐν οἷς περὶ Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν ἀπολογῆ
σεαυτὸν ἀποφαίνεις συκοφάντην· εἰ γὰρ “ μᾶλλον ἢ
ὁμοίως Καλλίη τῷ Φαινίππου, Ἰππονίκου δὲ πατρί
φαίνονται μισοτύραννοι ἐόντες,” ὡς ἐνταῦθα γρά-
φεις, Ἀλκμεωνίδαι, ποῦ θήσεις αὐτῶν ἐκείνην τὴν
συνωμοσίαν ἢ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις γέγραφας; ὡς ἐπι-
B γαμίαν ποιησόμενοι Πεισιστράτῳ κατήγαγον αὐτὸν
ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ οὐκ ἂν⁶ ἐξήλα-

¹ προσποιῆται, μεθεῖς L. P.: προσποιῆται Turnebus: προσ-
ποιούμενος Stephanus: προσποιώμεθα.

² καὶ εἶπη (or εἶπη δέ) L. P.: εἶπη Wyttenbach: εἶη.
³ θῶμα (or θῶμα) δέ μοι Turnebus (as in Herodotus):
acuna of 10 letters in mss.

⁴ βουλομένους ὑπο βαρβάροισι τε εἶναι Ἀθ. καὶ Turnebus (as in
Herodotus): βουλομένους γε εἶναι Ἀθ.

⁵ δέ] γε Wyttenbach: δὴ suggested by Bernardakis:
τίν δέ; Reiske.

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charges—which he was the very first man to bring against them—and he says: “It is amazing to me, and I cannot accept the story, that the Alcmaeonids would ever have made a pre-arranged shield signal to the Persians, with the intention that the Athenians should be made subject to the barbarians and to Hippias.”^a Here I am reminded of a paroemiac verse:

Just wait, crab, and I'll let you go free.^b

Why are you so anxious to make a catch, if you intend to let go once you have caught hold? This is what you are doing: you make a charge, and then you speak in their defence; you spread slanders against distinguished men which you subsequently withdraw. It must be because you don't trust yourself—because it is your own voice that you have heard saying that the Alcmaeonids raised a signal to the defeated and fleeing barbarians. Yes, when you defend the Alcmaeonids you reveal yourself as a malicious accuser; because, if they are “clearly enemies of tyranny, just as much as (or more than) Callias, the son of Phaenippus and father of Hipponicus,” as you write in this passage, how will you interpret that conspiracy of theirs which you described the first time you mentioned them? You said that they reinstated Peisistratus in his tyranny after his exile, so as to establish a marriage connection with him, and would not have

^a vi. 121. 1.

^b “Paroemiac” may refer to the metre (the tag end of a hexameter) or it may mean “proverbial,” i.e. the verse may be a traditional saying attributed to some animal—possibly “what the snake said to the crab.” For scraps of verse relating to the fable of the crab and the snake see Diehl, *Anth. Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 184.

⁶ ἂν] Reiske would delete or else change εὖς to εἰ μὴ.

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(863) σαν αἰθις, ἕως διεβλήθη παρανόμως τῇ γυναικὶ μιννύμενος.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαύτας ἔχει ταραχάς· ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ¹ τῆς Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν διαβολῆς καὶ ὑπονοίας τοῖς Καλλίου τοῦ Φαινίππου χρησάμενος ἐπαίνοισι καὶ προσάψας αὐτῷ τὸν υἱὸν Ἴππονικον, ὃς ἦν καθ' Ἡρόδοτον ἐν τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις Ἀθηναίων, ὡμολόγησεν ὅτι μηδὲν τῶν πραγμάτων δεομένων, ἀλλὰ θεραπεία καὶ χάριτι τοῦ Ἴππονίκου τὸν Καλλίαν παρενέβαλεν.²

28. Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀργείους ἅπαντες ἴσασι οὐκ ἀπειπαμένους τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἠγείσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἡμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας³ ἀξιώσαντας, C ὡς ἂν μὴ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐχθίστοις καὶ πολεμικωτάτοις οὖσι ποιοῦντες αἰεὶ τὸ προστασόμενον ἔπωνται, καὶ τοῦτ' ἄλλως οὐκ ἦν, αἰτίαν κακοθεστάτην ὑποβάλλεται, γράφων, "ἐπεὶ δὲ σφεας παραλαμβάνειν⁴ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὕτω⁵ δὴ ἐπισταμένους, ὅτι οὐ μεταδώσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, μεταίτεειν, ἵνα ἐπὶ προφάσεως ἡσυχίαν ἄγωσι." τούτων δ' ὕστερον ἀναμνήσαι φησιν Ἀρταξέρξην⁶ ἀναβάντας εἰς Σούσα πρέσβεις Ἀργείων, κάκεινον εἰπεῖν ὡς "οὐδεμίαν νομίζοι πόλιν Ἀργεος φιλιωτέραν". εἶθ' ὑπειπὼν, ὥσπερ εἴωθε, καὶ ἀναδυόμενος οὐκ εἰδέναι φησὶ περὶ τούτων

¹ ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ L. P.: μεταξὺ δὲ Bernardakis: lacuna of about 12 letters in E: lacuna of 8 letters after Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν in B.

² παρενέβαλεν Reiske: παρέβαλεν.

³ ἠγείσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἡμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας (or: Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ τριακοντοῦτον εἰρήνην σπεισαμένους ἠγείσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἡμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας) added by Bernardakis, following Reiske: no lacuna marked in mss.

⁴ παραλαμβάνειν Reiske (as in Herodotus): καταλαμβάνει.

ON THE MALICE OF HERODOTUS, 863

driven him out again, until the charge came up that he was having abnormal sexual relations with his wife.^a

Thus we see how his story is full of inconsistencies; he suspects and slanders the Alcmaeonids, and follows this with praise of Callias, the son of Phaenippus; and he adds the name of Callias' son Hipponicus, who was one of the wealthiest men in Athens in the time of Herodotus^b—a clear admission that he introduced Callias not because he had any place in the story, but simply to please and flatter Hipponicus.

28. Again, everyone knows that the Argives did not refuse to fight on the Greek side, but were prepared to do so if the Spartans would grant them a half-share in the command^c; they did not want to be subordinate to the Spartans, their bitterest enemies, and continually subject to their orders. There was no way of denying this, but he trumps up a thoroughly malicious explanation of their conduct. He writes: "When the Greeks asked their help, they made this request for a share in the command knowing perfectly well that the Spartans would not grant it, so as to have a pretext for remaining aloof."^d And he says that in later years some Argive emissaries to Susa reminded Artaxerxes of their behaviour and he told them "he regarded no city as a firmer friend than Argos."^e Then he adds—drawing in his usual fashion—that he has no certain knowledge in these

^a i. 60-61 (cf. 858 c above).

^b One of the generals in 427-426 B.C. (Thuc. iii. 91. 4). See also Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 7658.

^c The text here has been reconstructed on the basis of Herodotus, vii. 148. 4. ^d vii. 150. 3. ^e vii. 151.

⁵ οὕτω Turnebus: αὐτῷ.

⁶ Ἀρταξέρξην] Ἀροξέρξην Herodotus mss.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(863) ἀτρεκέως, εἰδέναι δ' ὅτι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶν
 D ἐγκλήματα, "καὶ οὐκ Ἀργείοισιν αἰσχίστα πεποιή-
 ται.¹ ἐγὼ δὲ λέγειν ὀφείλω² τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθε-
 σθαί γε μὴν οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω,³ καὶ μοι τὸ ἔπος
 τοῦτο ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν λόγον. ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα
 λέγεται, ὡς ἄρα Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι
 τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπειδὴ σφιν πρὸς
 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κακῶς ἢ αἰχμὴ ἐστήκεε, πᾶν⁴
 δὴ βουλόμενοι σφίσι εἶναι πρὸ⁵ τῆς παρουσίας
 λύπης."

Ἄρ' οὖν οὐχ, ὅπερ αὐτὸς τὸν Αἰθίοπα φησι πρὸς
 E τὰ μῦρα⁶ καὶ τὴν πορφύραν εἰπεῖν, ὡς δολερὰ μὲν
 τὰ χρίματα⁷ δολερὰ δὲ τὰ εἴματα τῶν Περσέων
 ἐστί, τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἴποι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς δολερὰ μὲν
 τὰ ῥήματα δολερὰ δὲ τὰ σχήματα τῶν Ἡροδότου
 λόγων,

ἐλικτὰ κούδεν ὑγιές ἀλλὰ πᾶν περίξ,

ὥσπερ οἱ ζωγράφοι τὰ λαμπρὰ τῇ σκιᾷ τρανότερα
 ποιῶσιν, οὕτω ταῖς ἀρνήσεσι τὰς διαβολὰς ἐπιτεί-
 νοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ὑπονοίας ταῖς ἀμφιβολίας
 βαθυτέρας ποιῶντος; Ἀργεῖοι δ' ὅτι μὲν οὐ συν-
 ἀράμενοι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
 F καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς Λακεδαιμονίους⁸ ἐκστάντες, κατή-

¹ πεποιήται Stephanus (as in Herodotus): πεποίηται.

² λέγειν ὀφείλω] ὀφείλω λέγειν Herodotus.

³ τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαί γε μὴν οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω, added
 by Stephanus (as in Herodotus): no lacuna marked in mss.

⁴ ἐστήκεε, πᾶν Stephanus (as in Herodotus): ἐστήκεν εἰ . . .
 (lacuna of 4 letters).

⁵ σφίσι (or: σφι) εἶναι πρὸ Reiske (as in Herodotus): σφι
 προεἶναι Wyttenbach: σφίσι προσεἶναι.

⁶ μῦρα B: μῦρα E.

⁷ χρίματα Hadzidakis, Naber (cf. Clement of Alexandria,

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matters, but he does know that complaints can be
 made against everyone and "the Argives are not the
 worst offenders; and for my own part I am bound to
 report the current accounts, but not to believe in
 them absolutely; and this statement of mine must be
 considered as applying to all my history. Indeed
 there is another version which represents the Argives
 as inviting the Persian king into Greece, because their
 man-power had been sorely depleted in war with the
 Spartans and they supposedly preferred any alterna-
 tive to their present unhappy state." ^a

Might one not suitably apply to Herodotus himself
 the remark that he puts in the mouth of the Ethio-
 pian? In reply to the offerings of perfume and purple
 clothing Herodotus makes him say: "Full of guile are
 the unguents and full of guile are the Persian gar-
 ments." ^b So one might say of him: "Full of guile
 are the statements and full of guile the whole treat-
 ment of history in Herodotus,

All twisted, no health anywhere, twining all about." ^c

Just as painters set off the highlights by contrast with
 shadow, so he intensifies the violence of his slanders
 by denials and, by casting doubt on them, he deepens
 the suspicions which he arouses. Now it is impossible
 to deny that the Argives brought shame on Heracles
 and their noble ancestry when they refused to co-

^a vii. 152. 3.

^b iii. 20-22. The retort is slightly elaborated by Plutarch,
 as on the other occasions when he quotes it (*Mor.* 270 E and
 646 B). ^c Euripides, *Andromachē*, 448.

Stromateis, p. 344): χρίματα (but in *Mor.* 270 E and 646 B
 mss. have χρώματα): ἀλείμματα Turnebus.

⁸ Λακεδαιμονίους E: Λακεδαιμόνιοι B.

(863) σχυναν¹ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὴν εὐγένειαν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν.² ὑπὸ³ Σιφνίοις γὰρ ἦν καὶ Κυθνίοις⁴ ἄμεινον ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἢ Σπαρτιάταις φιλονεικοῦντας ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοσοῦτους καὶ τοιούτους ἀγῶνας. εἰ δ' αὐτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διὰ τὴν κακῶς ἐστῶσαν αὐτοῖς αἰχμὴν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, πῶς οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον ἀναφανδὸν ἤκοντος οὐδ', εἰ μὴ συστρατεύειν ἐβούλοντο βασιλεῖ, τὴν γοῦν Λακωνικὴν ὑπολειπόμενοι κακῶς ἐποίουν, ἢ Θυρέας ἤπτοντο πάλιν ἢ τρόπον ἄλλον ἀντελαμβάνοντο καὶ 864 παρηνώχλουν Λακεδαιμονίους, μέγα βλάψαι δυνάμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰ⁵ μὴ παρήκαν εἰς Πλαταιὰς ἐκείνους ἐκστρατεύσαι τοσοῦτοις ὀπλίταις;

29. Ἄλλ' Ἀθηναίους γε μεγάλους ἐνταῦθα τῷ λόγῳ πεποίηκε καὶ σωτήρας ἀνηγόρευκε τῆς Ἑλλάδος· ὀρθῶς γε ποιῶν καὶ δικαίως, εἰ μὴ πολλὰ καὶ βλάσφημα προσῆν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις. νῦν δὲ προδοθῆναι μὲν ἂν λέγων ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμονίους, “μονωθέντας δ' ἂν καὶ ἀποδεξαμένους⁶ ἔργα μεγάλα ἀποθανεῖν γενναίως, ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὀρώντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους” Ἕλληνας μῆδιζοντας ὁμολογίῃ⁷ ἂν χρήσασθαι πρὸς Ξέρξεα,“ δηλὸς ἔστιν οὐ τοῦτο⁸ λέγων εἰς τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἔπαινον, ἀλλ'

¹ κατήσχυναν Reiske: κατήσχυναν ἂν.

² οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν E: οὐδ' ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν (before κατήσχυναν) B.

³ ὑπὸ added by Wyttienbach: σὺν Meziriacus.

⁴ Κυθνίοις B: Κυνθίοις E.

⁵ εἰ Bernardakis: ἢ.

⁶ ἀποδεξαμένους Wesseling, following Reiske (as in Herodotus): ὑποδεξαμένους.

⁷ τοὺς ἄλλους Reiske (as in Herodotus): τοὺς.

⁸ ὁμολογίῃ B: ὁμολογίῃ E.

⁹ τοῦτο Turnebus: τοῦτους.

operate with the Greeks, letting the Spartans take from them their title to valour since they insisted on taking the lead. It would have been better to win Greek freedom following the lead of Siphnians and Cythnians,^a than to default in such great struggles because of their quarrel with the Spartans over the command. But if it was they who actually invited the Persian invader into Greece because their army had been crippled in their war with the Spartans, why did they not medize openly when he came? And, if they did not want to serve in the king's army, why did they not at least plunder Laconia when they stayed behind or seize Thyrea again^b or do something else to harass the Spartans and impede their operations? They could have done great damage to the Greek cause, if they had prevented the Spartans from marching out to Plataea with such a large number of hoplites.

29. But, it will be said, at least he has glorified the Athenians in his narrative at this point, and he calls them the saviours of Greece. Yes, he does, and rightly and properly so, except that he qualifies his expressions of praise with many slanderous statements. He says that, "as the situation was," the Spartans would have been betrayed by the rest of the Greeks and "left alone they would have performed great deeds of valour and died heroically, or else they would have come to terms with Xerxes before that, when they saw all the other Greeks medizing."^c Now it is evident that he does not speak like this in order to praise the Athenians, but rather he praises

^a Typically insignificant Greek cities (small island states in the Aegean).

^b Border territory, constantly in dispute between the Argives and the Spartans.

^c vii. 139.

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B Ἀθηναίους ἐπαινῶν ἵνα κακῶς εἴπῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας. τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἔτι δυσχεραῖνοι,¹ Θηβαίους αἰεὶ καὶ Φωκίας πικρῶς αὐτοῦ καὶ κατακόρως ἐξονειδίζοντος, ὅπου καὶ τῶν προκινδυνευσάντων ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν γενομένην μὲν οὐ, γενομένην δ' ἂν,² ὡς αὐτὸς εἰκάξει,³ καταψηφίζεται προδοσίαν; αὐτοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐν ἀδήλω θέμενος, ἐπηπόρησεν εἴτ' ἔπεσον ἂν μαχόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις εἴτε παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς, μικροῖς γε νῆ Δία τεκμηρίοις αὐτῶν ἀπιστήσας⁴ τοῖς περὶ Θερμοπύλας.

C 30. Διηγούμενος δὲ συμπεσοῦσαν ναυαγίαν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ναυσὶ καὶ ὅτι "πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐκπεσόντων, Ἀμεινοκλῆς ὁ Κρητινεὺς⁵ Μάγνης ἀνὴρ ὠφελήθη μεγάλως, χρυσία ἄφατα καὶ χρήματα⁶ περιβαλόμενος," οὐδὲ τοῦτον⁷ ἀδηκτον παρήκεν. "ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τᾶλλα," φησὶν, "οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γὰρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορῇ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος."⁸ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν παντὶ⁹ δῆλον, ὅτι τὰ χρυσὰ χρήματα¹⁰ καὶ τὰ εὐρήματα καὶ τὸν ἐκβρασσόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης πλοῦτον ἐπεισήγαγε τῇ ἱστορίᾳ χώραν καὶ τόπον ποιῶν, ἐν ᾧ θήσεται τὴν Ἀμεινοκλέους παιδοφονίαν.

¹ ἔτι δυσχεραῖνοι Reiske: ἐπιδυσχεραῖνη.

² γενομένην μὲν οὐ, γενομένην δ' ἂν L. P.: οὐ γεγενημένην μὲν, γενομένην δ' ἂν Meziriacus: οὐ γενομένην δ' ἂν.

³ εἰκάξει Reiske: εἰκάξοι.

⁴ ἀπιστήσας E: ἀποστήσας B.

⁵ Κρητινεὺς Herodotus mss.: Κρησινεὺς.

⁶ χρυσία ἄφατα καὶ χρήματα] Herodotus mss. vary between χρύσεια χρήματα and χρύσεια ἄφατα χρήματα.

the Athenians in order to find fault with all the others. One can scarcely complain of his constant bitter and violent abuse of the Thebans and Phocians, when he attacks even those who stood in the forefront of battle for Greece, condemning them for an act of betrayal which they never perpetrated, but which he imagines they would have perpetrated. And he leaves it in doubt what the Spartans themselves would have done, wondering whether they would have fallen in battle with the enemy or given themselves up. Presumably he did not trust the indications of character which they gave at Thermopylae (were they so slight?).

30. When he describes the shipwreck which the king's fleet suffered, he says that many objects were cast up on the shore and that Ameinocles, son of Cretines, a man from Magnesia, profited greatly by acquiring a great quantity of gold and other articles. Even this man he has not allowed to escape the sharp point of his pen. "His finds made him very rich," he says, "but in other respects he was an unfortunate man; he was afflicted with the terrible calamity of killing his own child." ^a Anyone can see why Herodotus brought up these details—the objects of gold and their discovery and how these riches were cast up by the sea; it was simply in order to make a suitable place in his narrative to point out that Ameinocles killed his own son.

^a vii. 190.

⁷ τοῦτον Meziriacus: τοῦτο.

⁸ ἦν γὰρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορῇ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος Stephanus (as in Herodotus): τὴν γὰρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμ. . . . (lacuna of 16 letters) E: τὴν γὰρ αἰτίαν καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμ. . . . B.

⁹ παντὶ Stephanus: πάντῃ.

¹⁰ χρήματα Stephanus: ῥήματα.

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D 31. Ἀριστοφάνους δὲ τοῦ Βοιωτοῦ γράψαντος ὅτι χρήματα μὲν αἰτήσας οὐκ ἔλαβε παρὰ Θεβαίων,¹ ἐπιχειρῶν δὲ τοῖς νέοις διαλέγεσθαι καὶ συσχολάζειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκωλύθη δι' ἀγροικίαν αὐτῶν καὶ μισολογίαν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τεκμήριον· ὁ δ' Ἡρόδοτος τῷ Ἀριστοφάνει μεμαρτύρηκε, δι' ὧν τὰ μὲν ψευδῶς, τὰ δὲ διὰ κολακείαν,² τὰ δὲ ὡς μισῶν καὶ διαφερόμενος τοῖς Θεβαίοις ἐγκέκληκε.

Θεσσαλοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἀποφαίνεται
E μηδίσαι τὸ πρῶτον, ἀληθῆ λέγων· καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μαντευόμενος ὡς προδόντων ἂν Λακεδαιμονίους ὑπέειπεν ὡς “ οὐχ ἐκόντων ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἀλισκομένων κατὰ πόλεις.” Θεβαίοις δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνάγκης οὐ δίδωσι τὴν αὐτὴν συγγνώμην. καίτοι πεντακοσίους μὲν εἰς τὰ Τέμπη καὶ Μναμίαν στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψαν, εἰς δὲ Θερμοπύλας ὄσους ἤτησε Λεωνίδας, οἳ καὶ μόνοι σὺν Θεσπιεῦσι παρέμειναν αὐτῷ, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολιπόντων μετὰ τὴν κύκλωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν παρόδων κρατήσας ὁ βάρ-
F βαρος ἐν τοῖς ὄροις ἦν καὶ Δημάρατος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης

¹ παρὰ Θεβαίων Pletho (in paraphrase), Meziriacus: παρ' Ἀθηναίων.

² διὰ κολακείαν Turnebus: δι' ἄγνοιαν Meziriacus: διαβόλως Cobet: διαβάλλων Bernardakis: διὰ . . . (lacuna of about 8 letters).

^a Frag. Gr. Hist. iii B, no. 379, F. 5.

^b Text defective at this point (see critical note).

^c vii. 172. 1.

^d vii. 139. 3.

31. Aristophanes the Boeotian has written that Herodotus was unsuccessful in asking the Thebans for money and that, when he tried to have conversations and discussions with their young men, he was prevented by their magistrates, because of their boorishness and hatred of learning.^a Now there is no other evidence to support this statement of Aristophanes, except for the corroboration that Herodotus himself gives by his charges against the Thebans, which are full of lies and partiality for others,^b showing his hatred and bitterness towards the Thebans.

He maintains that the Thessalians, from the beginning, had no choice except to medize,^c and here he is quite right; and when he surmises that all the other Greeks would have betrayed the Spartans, he adds: “not willingly, but inevitably, as one city after another fell victim.”^d The same inevitable necessity faced the Thebans, but he does not show them the same consideration. The fact is, however, that they sent five hundred men, with Mnamias in command, to Tempê^e and all the men that Leonidas requested to Thermopylae^f; and furthermore these were the only men, beside the Thespians, who stayed with Leonidas after the pass was turned, when all the others had left. When the Persians had gained control of the passes and were on their borders, and the Spartan Demaratus,^g who was on terms of friendship

^e No Theban contingent at Tempê is mentioned by Herodotus, but only Thessalian cavalry in addition to Spartan and Athenian hoplites (vii. 173. 2). Cf. Cloché, *Thèbes de Béotie*, p. 37.

^f Four hundred, according to Herodotus (vii. 202; 205. 2).

^g Exiled Spartan king, who accompanied Xerxes as counsellor.

(864) διὰ ξενίας εὐνοῦς ὧν Ἀτταγίνῳ¹ τῷ προεστῶτι τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας διεπράξατο φίλον βασιλέως γενέσθαι καὶ ξένον, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἦσαν, πέζῃ δ' οὐδεὶς προσήλαυνεν, οὕτω προσεδέξαντο τὰς διαλύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς μεγάλης ἀνάγκης ἐγκαταληφθέντες.² οὔτε γὰρ θάλασσα καὶ νῆες αὐτοῖς παρήσαν ὡς Ἀθηναίοις, οὔτ' ἀπωτάτω κατώκουν ὡς Σπαρτιαῖται τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν μυχῶ, μίας δ' ἡμέρας ὁδὸν³ καὶ ἡμισείας ἀπέχοντι τῷ Μήδῳ συστάντες ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν καὶ διαγωνισάμενοι μετὰ μόνων Σπαρτια-
865 τῶν καὶ Θεσπιέων ἠτύχησαν. ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς οὕτως ἐστὶ δίκαιος, ὥστε "Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν μωροθέντας καὶ γενομένους συμμάχων ἐρήμους τυχόν ἄν," φησιν, "ὁμολογίῃ χρήσασθαι⁴ πρὸς Ξέρξεα". Θεβαίους δὲ ταῦτό διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνάγκην παθοῦσι λαιδορεῖται. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστόν ἔργον ἀνελεῖν μὴ δυνηθεῖς ὡς οὐ πραχθὲν αὐτοῖς, αἰτία⁵ φαύλη καὶ ὑπονοία διαλυμαίνόμενος ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν. "οἱ μὲν νυν ξύμμαχοι⁶ ἀποπεμπόμενοι ὄχοντό τε ἀπιόντες καὶ ἐπέιθοντο Λεωνίδῃ. Θεσπιέες⁷ δὲ καὶ Θεβαῖοι κατέμειναν μῦνοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι. Β τούτων δὲ Θεβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι κατεῖχε γὰρ σφεας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων⁸ λόγῳ ποιούμενος. Θεσπιέες δὲ ἐκόντες μά-

¹ Ἀτταγίνῳ Pletho, Reiske (as in Herodotus): Ἀπαγίνῳ.
² ἐγκαταληφθέντες Wytttenbach: ἐγκαταλειφθέντες.

with their oligarchic leader Attaginus^a as a former guest, had arranged for him to become the king's friend and guest—when the Greeks were in their ships and no land force was on the way—only then, under the stress of dire necessity, did the Thebans accept the king's terms. They had no sea and no ships in which to take refuge, like the Athenians, nor did they live far away in a remote corner of Hellas like the Spartans; the king was only one and a half days' journey away when they rallied at Thermopylae and fought and fell with only the Spartans and Thespians for companions. And yet, though our historian is fair enough to admit that if the Spartans had been left alone and deserted by their allies they might have come to terms with Xerxes, when the Thebans, equally inevitably, face the same fate, he insults them. He could not undo their great and glorious deed or pretend that it never happened, but by implying that their motive was discreditable he took all the good out of it. These are his words: "So the allies, who were dismissed, went their way in obedience to Leonidas. Only the Thespians and the Thebans remained with the Spartans; and of these the Thebans remained reluctantly; they did not want to stay, but were retained by Leonidas who regarded them as hostages; the Thespians, on the other hand, were

^a Herodotus describes how Attaginus entertained Mardonius and fifty prominent Persians to dinner with fifty Thebans in 479 B.C. (ix. 15. 4-16. 5).

³ ὁδὸν E: ὁδῶ B.

⁴ χρήσασθαι Cobet: χρήσθαι.

⁵ αἰτία Wytttenbach tentatively: αἰτίη.

⁶ Reiske adds οἱ as in some mss. of Herodotus.

⁷ Θεσπιέες Basel edition: Θεσπιεῖς.

⁸ ὁμήρων Stephanus: ὁμήρου.

(865) λιστα, οἱ οὐδαμᾶ¹ ἔφασαν ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην²
καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτου³ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι."⁴

Εἶπ' οὐ δῆλός ἐστιν ἰδίαν τιὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους
ἔχων ὀργὴν καὶ δυσμένειαν, ὑφ' ἧς οὐ μόνον δι-
έβαλε⁵ ψευδῶς καὶ ἀδίκως τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦ
πιθανοῦ τῆς διαβολῆς ἐφρόντισεν, οὐδ' ὅπως αὐτὸς
ἑαυτῷ τὰναντία λέγων παρ' ὀλίγους ἀνθρώπους⁶ οὐ
φανεῖται συνειδῶς; προειπὼν γὰρ ὡς "ὁ Λεω-
C νίδης, ἐπεὶ τ' ἦσθετο τοὺς συμμαχοὺς ἐόντας ἀπρο-
θύμους καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συγκινδυνεύειν,⁷ κελύσαι⁸
σφέας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι," πάλιν μετ' ὀλίγον λέγει
τοὺς Θηβαίους ἄκοντας αὐτὸν κατασχεῖν, οὓς εἰκὸς
ἦν ἀπελάσαι⁹ καὶ¹⁰ βουλομένους παραμένειν, εἰ μη-
δίξειν αἰτίαν εἶχον. ὅπου γὰρ οὐκ εἶδετο τῶν μὴ
προθύμων, τί χρήσιμον ἦν ἀναμεμίχθαι μαχομένοις
ἀνθρώπους ὑπόπτους; οὐ γὰρ δὴ φρένας εἶχε
τοιαύτας ὁ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ τῆς
'Ελλάδος ἡγεμῶν, ὥστε "κατέχειν ἐν ὀμήρων¹¹
λόγω" τοῖς τριακοσίοις τοὺς τετρακοσίους ὄπλ'
ἔχοντας καὶ προσκειμένους ἔμπροσθεν ἤδη καὶ ὅπι-
σθεν ἅμα τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ γὰρ εἰ πρότερον ἐν
D ὀμήρων λόγῳ ποιούμενος ἦγεν αὐτούς, ἐν γε τοῖς
ἐσχάτοις εἰκὸς ἦν καιροῖς ἐκείνους τε Λεωνίδα μη-

¹ οὐδαμᾶ] οὐ Herodotus mss.

² Λεωνίδην Stephanus (as in Herodotus mss.): Λεωνίδη.

³ μετὰ τούτου] μετ' αὐτοῦ Herodotus mss.

⁴ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι Stephanus: ἀπαλλάξασθαι.

⁵ διέβαλε Stephanus: διέβλαψε.

⁶ παρ' ὀλίγους ἀνθρώπους]. Perhaps παρ' ὀλίγοις ἀνθρώποις.

Other emendations assume different syntax, e.g. παρ' ὀλίγους
στίχους Amyot: πᾶσι παρ' ὀλίγους ἀνθρώποις Herwerden:
παρὰ πᾶσιν ὀλίγοις ἀνθρώποις Wyttenbach.

⁷ συγκινδυνεύειν (as in Suda)] συνδιακινδυνεύειν or διακινδυ-
νεύειν mss. of Herodotus.

most willing to remain and said that they would
never withdraw or desert Leonidas and his men." ^a

Now it is clear—isn't it?—that he has some perso-
nal grievance and spite against the Thebans. And,
in consequence, not only has he made wicked false
accusations against their city, but he has not even
taken the trouble to make his charges convincing;
nor has he realized that few men will fail to see how
he is contradicting himself. He begins by saying that
Leonidas, "when he recognized the lack of en-
thusiasm among the allies and their reluctance to
share the danger with him," ^b ordered them to with-
draw"; then a little later he says that Leonidas re-
tained the Thebans against their will ^c—though it
might be expected that he would drive them away,
even though they wanted to remain, if they were
suspected of medism. After all, when he needed only
willing helpers, what was the use of having persons of
doubtful loyalty mixed in with the fighters? The
mentality of the Spartan king and commander-in-
chief of the Greeks was not such that he would retain
these four hundred armed men "as hostages" among
the three hundred, when the enemy was already
attacking them from in front and from behind at the
same time. In fact, even if at an earlier stage he took
them along with him "as hostages," in the final ex-
tremity it was likely that they would try to escape

^a vii. 222 (cf. 205. 3, which Plutarch might well have
quoted). ^b vii. 220. 2. ^c vii. 222.

⁸ κελύσαι Reiske: κελύσας.

⁹ ἀπελάσαι E: ἀπελάσαι B: ἀπελάσθαι Aldine edition (cf.
869 b).

¹⁰ καὶ Basel edition: καὶ μὴ.

¹¹ ὀμήρων E: ὀμήρων B (so also below).

(865) δὲν φροντίσαντας ἀπαλλαγῆναι καὶ Λεωνίδα δέισαι
 τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων κύκλωσιν.
 Ἄνευ δὲ τούτων, πῶς οὐ γελοῖος ὁ Λεωνίδας,
 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Ἑλληνας ἀπιέναι¹ κελεύων ὡς
 αὐτίκα μάλα τεθνηξομένους,² Θηβαίους δὲ κωλύων
 ὡς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φυλάττοιτο τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀποθνή-
 σκειν μέλλοντος; εἰ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν ὁμήρων
 λόγῳ, μᾶλλον δ' ἀνδραπόδων, περιῆγε τοὺς ἀνδρας,
 οὐ κατέχειν ὄφειλεν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἀπολου-
 μένων,³ ἀλλὰ παραδοῦναι τοῖς ἀπιοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλή-
 νων. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸν ἦν τῶν αἰτίων εἰπεῖν, "ἴσως δὲ
 ἀπολουμένους⁴ κατέχε," καὶ τοῦτ' ἀνήρηκεν ὁ συγ-
 γραφεύς, οἷς περὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας τοῦ Λεωνίδου
 κατὰ λέξιν εἴρηκε⁵. "ταῦτα δὲ⁶ δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον
 Λεωνίδα⁷ καὶ βουλόμενον καταθέσθαι κλέος μού-
 νων⁸ Σπαρτιητέων ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς συμμάχους μάλ-
 λον ἢ τῆσι γνώμησι⁹ διενεχθέντας." ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ
 εὐθειας ἦν, ἥς ἀπήλαυε δόξης τοὺς συμμάχους
 F κατέχειν μεθέξοντας τοὺς πολεμίους. ὅτι τοίνυν
 οὐ διεβέβλητο τοῖς Θηβαίοις ὁ Λεωνίδας, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 φίλους ἐνόμιζε βεβαίους, ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων δῆ-

¹ ἀπιέναι Reiske: ἀπειναι.

² τεθνηξομένους] τεθνηξόμενος Turnebus, Leonicus.

³ ἀπολουμένων Reiske: ἀπολλυμένων.

⁴ ἀπολουμένους Turnebus: ἀπολουμένων.

⁵ εἴρηκε Xylander: lacuna of 6-8 letters in mss.

⁶ δέ] τε Reiske (as in Herodotus).

⁷ Λεωνίδα] Λεωνίδην mss. of Herodotus.

⁸ μούνων] μόνων all mss. of Herodotus except one.

⁹ τῆσι γνώμησι] γνώμη mss. of Herodotus.

^a vii. 220. 4.

^b Plutarch does not mention the possibility that the 400

without a thought for Leonidas and that Leonidas would be more frightened of being cut off by them than by the barbarians.

Apart from this, however, it is surely absurd to make Leonidas send the other Greeks away, because they will face certain death if they stay, but prevent the Thebans from leaving, so that he—who is going to be killed—can keep an eye on them for the Greeks. If he were really dragging these men round as hostages, or rather as slaves, he ought not to have retained them with the troops that faced certain death, but to have handed them over to the Greeks who left. The only other possible explanation—that he perhaps kept them so that they would be killed—has also been eliminated by the historian; this is what he says of the patriotic ambition of Leonidas: "These were the ideas in the mind of Leonidas; it was because he wanted the Spartans alone to have the glory that he sent the allies away, not because of any disagreement that they had with him."^a Stupidity could go no farther than to keep his enemies to share in the glory which he was denying to his allies. No; the facts make it clear that Leonidas was not at odds with the Thebans, but regarded them as firm friends.^b Indeed,

Thebans were loyalist volunteers (Diodorus, xi. 4. 7, calls them "members of the opposing faction"), in which case they could not hope for any mercy at home if Thermopylae fell. Nor does he consider whether Thebes might be playing a double game, making a token contribution to the force of Leonidas in case the defence of Thermopylae might be, for a time at least, successful. But it is certainly true that bitter feelings at Athens in the early years of the Peloponnesian War have made Herodotus less than fair to the Thebans. The true story is by no means clear; cf., e.g., the notes of Legrand and of How & Wells on vii. 222, and Cloché, *Thèbes de Béotie*, pp. 37-40.

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(865) λόν ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ παρήλθεν εἰς Θήβας ἄγων τὸ στρατεύμα καὶ δεηθεὶς ἔτυχεν οὐ μὴδὲ εἰς ἄλλος, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατακοιμηθῆναι τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἣν εἶδεν ὄναρ¹ ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς Θηβαίοις. ἔδοξε γὰρ ἐν θαλάσῃ πολλὴν ἐχούσῃ καὶ τραχὺν κλύδωνα τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας καὶ μεγίστας πόλεις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνωμάλως διαφέρεσθαι καὶ σαλεύειν, τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων ὑπερέχειν τε πασῶν καὶ μετέωρον ἀρθῆναι πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἴτ' ἐξαίφνης ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν ὅμοια τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνῳ πολλῷ συμπεσοῦσι περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

866 32. Ὁ δ' Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ διηγῆσει τῆς μάχης καὶ τοῦ Λεωνίδου τὴν μεγίστην ἡμαύρωκε πράξιν, αὐτοῦ πεσεῖν πάντας εἰπὼν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς περὶ τὸν Κολωνόν. ἐπράχθη δ' ἄλλως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐπύθοντο νύκτωρ τὴν περίοδον τῶν πολεμίων, ἀναστάντες ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν σκηπὴν ὀλίγου δεῖν² βασιλέως, ὡς ἐκείνον αὐτὸν ἀποκτενοῦντες καὶ περὶ ἐκείνῳ τεθνηξόμενοι. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τῆς σκηπῆς αἰεὶ τὸν ἐμποδῶν φονεύοντες, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τρεπόμενοι προῆλθον. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐχ εὕρισκετο Ξέρξης, Β ζητοῦντες ἐν μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀχανεῖ στρατεύματι καὶ πλανώμενοι μόλις ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πανταχόθεν περιχυθέντων διεφθάρησαν. ὅσα δ' ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ τολμήματα καὶ ῥήματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν παραλέλοιπεν,³ ἐν τῷ Λεωνίδου βίῳ γραφήσεται.

¹ ὄναρ] Ἡραν Aldine edition.

² ὀλίγου δεῖν] Reiske would omit.

³ παραλέλοιπεν Wyttenbach: καταλέλοιπεν.

^a The rise of Thebes under Epameinondas and its brief hegemony of Greece (371-362 B.C.) and its destruction by Alexander of Macedon in 335. The dream clearly belongs to a later tradition, presumably a Theban one.

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he had entered Thebes at the head of his army and, at his request, received a privilege granted to no one else—permission to sleep in the temple of Heracles; and he told the Thebans of the vision which he saw in his sleep, in which the greatest and most notable cities of Greece appeared to be tossed and thrown in disorder on a rough and stormy sea, and the city of Thebes towered high above them all and was lifted right up to the sky and then suddenly disappeared. This vision was indeed very similar to the fate which befell the city long afterwards.^a

32. In his description of the battle Herodotus has also dimmed the glory of Leonidas' most heroic deed. He says that all fell right in the narrows, by the Hill.^b But this is not true, because when they heard in the night that the barbarians were coming round by the other pass, they pushed forward and reached the Persian camp, almost as far as the king's own tent, intending to kill him and give their lives in return for his; and they advanced right up to the tent, killing anyone who blocked their path and forcing everyone else to withdraw; then, when Xerxes was not to be found, they searched for him in that huge sprawling army and, losing their bearings, they were finally surrounded by the barbarians on every side and killed.^c I shall describe in my *Life of Leonidas* all the other brave deeds and sayings of the Spartans that Herodotus has omitted^d; but it will not be amiss to men-

^b vii. 225. 2-3.

^c This version, which appears in Diodorus, xi. 9. 4-10. 4, is presumably taken from Ephorus.

^d Cf. the collection of Leonidas' sayings in *Mor.* 225 A-E. The *Life of Leonidas* has not survived, if indeed it was ever written.

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(866) μικρὰ δ' οὐ χεῖρόν ἐστι καὶ νῦν διελθεῖν. ἀγῶνα μὲν γὰρ ἐπιτάφιον αὐτῶν¹ ἠγωνίσαντο πρὸ τῆς ἐξόδου καὶ τοῦτον ἐθεῶντο πατέρες αὐτῶν καὶ μητέρες· αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Λεωνίδας πρὸς μὲν τὸν εἰπόντα παντελῶς ὀλίγους ἐξάγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην "πολλοὺς μὲν,"² ἔφη, "τεθνηξομένους"· πρὸς δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα, πυνθανομένην ἐξιόντος εἶ τι λέγοι, μεταστραφεὶς εἶπεν· "ἀγαθοῖς γαμείσθαι κάγαθὰ τίκτεν." ἐν δὲ Θερμοπύλαις μετὰ τὴν κύκλωσιν δύο τῶν ἀπὸ γένους ὑπεξέλεσθαι βουλόμενος ἐπιστολὴν ἐδίδου τῷ ἐτέρῳ³ καὶ ἔπεμπεν· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐδέξατο φήσας μετ' ὀργῆς· "μαχατὰς τοι, οὐκ ἀγγελιαφόρος, εἰπόμαν"· τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐκέλευεν εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τὰ τέλη τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν· ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, <"κρείσσων ἐγὼ μένων καὶ κρείσσον' ἐμοῦ μένοντος> τὰ πράγματα,"⁴ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα λαβὼν εἰς τὰξιν κατέστη.

Ταῦτ' οὐκ ἂν τις ἐπετίμησεν ἄλλου παραλιπόντος· ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀμάσιδος ἀποψόφῃσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄνων τοῦ κλέπτου προσέλασιν⁵ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀσκῶν ἐπίδοσιν καὶ πόλλ' ἄλλα⁶ τοιαῦτα συναγαγῶν καὶ

¹ αὐτῶν Leonicus, Turnebus: αὐτῶ.

² μὲν] μὲν οὖν Pletho, Cobet.

³ τῷ ἐτέρῳ Wyttenbach: θατέρῳ Reiske: ἐτέρῳ.

⁴ ἀπεκρίνατο, <"κρείσσων ἐγὼ μένων καὶ κρείσσον' ἐμοῦ μένοντος> τὰ πράγματα" L. P. (cf. *Mor.* 225 E): ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ πράγματι Wyttenbach: ἀπεκρίνοντος (sic) τὰ πράγματα Aldine edition: ἀπεκρίνατο τὰ πράγματα.

⁵ προσέλασιν Stephanus: προσέλευσιν.

⁶ πόλλ' ἄλλα Bernardakis: ἄλλα πολλὰ Reiske: πολλὰ.

^a Cf. *Mor.* 225 A and Diodorus, xi. 4. 3-4.

^b Plutarch tells this same story in *Mor.* 225 A and 240 E. The question always comes from Leonidas' wife, Gorgo, but since the message is meant for Spartan womanhood in

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tion a few of them now. They celebrated their own funeral games before leaving Sparta, with their fathers and mothers among the spectators. And there is the reply of Leonidas himself, when someone said to him that he was taking very few men out to battle, and he answered: "Many enough to take to their death."^a And to his wife, who asked him as he was leaving if he had a message to give, he turned and said: "Marry good husbands and bear good children."^b And at Thermopylae, after the encirclement, wishing to save two men of noble family, he gave one a dispatch to carry and sent him off, but the man refused, saying angrily: "I came with you to fight, not to carry messages"^c; and when he ordered the other man to take a message to the Spartan authorities, he answered: "I shall do my duty better if I stay here, and the news will be better if I stay here"; and he picked up his shield and took his place in the ranks.^d

One could let these omissions pass without criticism in another author,^e but in an author who describes the vulgar retort of Amasis^f and how the thief brought along the donkeys and made the guards drunk^g and who has collected and recorded many other stories of

general, the story in its original form perhaps made the question come from a nameless Spartan woman. Ambiguity between "the woman who asked him" and "his wife asking him" would be easy in Greek.

^c Cf. *Mor.* 221 D, 225 E.

^d The Greek text is corrupt and the man's reply is supplied by a conjectural restoration; in *Mor.* 225 E, where the same story is told, he says: "I shall be a better man if I stay here."

^e Herodotus has in fact several stories of this type in vii. 221, 229-232.

^f ii. 162. 3.

^g ii. 121, in the story of Rhampsinitus.

(866)

D διαμνημονεύων, οὐκ ἀμελεία δόξειεν ἂν καὶ ὑπερ-
οψία προῖεσθαι καλὰ μὲν ἔργα καλὰς δὲ φωνάς, ἀλλ'
οὐκ εὐμενῆς ὦν πρὸς ἐπίους οὐδὲ δίκαιος.

33. Τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους πρῶτον¹ μὲν φησι “ μετὰ
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐόντας μάχεσθαι ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης ἐχομέ-
νους ”· οὐ γὰρ μόνον Ξέρξης, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
Λεωνίδα μαστιγοφόρους εἶχεν ἐπομένους, ὑφ’ ὧν
οἱ Θηβαῖοι παρὰ γνώμην ἠναγκάζοντο μαστιγού-
μενοι μάχεσθαι. καὶ τίς ἂν ὠμότερος τούτου γέ-
νοιτο συκοφάντης, ὃς μάχεσθαι μὲν ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης
φησὶ τοὺς ἀπελθεῖν καὶ φεύγειν² δυναμένους, μη-
δίσαι δ’ ἐκόντας οἷς οὐδεὶς παρῆν βοηθῶν; ἐξῆς
δὲ τούτοις γέγραφεν ὅτι “ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπειγομένων

E ἐπὶ τὸν Κολωνὸν ἀποσχισθέντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι χειράς
τε προέτειναν καὶ ἦσαν³ ἄσπον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέ-
γοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, ὡς μηδίσειαν⁴
καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἔδοσαν⁵ βασιλεῖ, ὑπὸ δ’ ἀν-
άγκης ἐχόμενοι εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικέατο⁶ καὶ
ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ γενομένου βασιλεῖ·
ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγένοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσ-
σαλοὺς τούτων τῶν λόγων μάρτυρας.” ὅρα διὰ
τοσούτων ἐν βαρβάρους κραυγαῖς καὶ παμμυγέσι
θορύβοις καὶ φυγαῖς καὶ διώξεσιν ἀκουομένην
δικαιολογίαν καὶ μαρτύρων ἀνάκρισιν καὶ Θεσσα-
λοὺς μεταξὺ τῶν φονευομένων καὶ πατουμένων ὑπ’
F ἄλλήλων παρὰ τὰ⁸ στενὰ Θηβαίους συνδικοῦντας,
ὅτι τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτοὺς κρατοῦντας ἄχρι Θεσπιέων

¹ πρῶτον Basel edition: πρῶτος: τέως Reiske (as in Herodotus).

² φεύγειν] φυγεῖν Herwerden.

³ προέτειναν καὶ ἦσαν] προέτεινον καὶ ἦσαν mss. of Herodotus.

⁴ μηδίσειαν] μηδίσοισι Turnebus (as in Herodotus).

⁵ ἔδοσαν] ἔδοσαν ἂν Reiske.

⁶ ἀπικέατο] ἀπικόιατο Turnebus (as in Herodotus).

this kind, one can hardly think that he omits noble actions and noble sayings because he is careless of detail or thinks them beneath his notice; it must be because he is hostile and prejudiced towards certain parties.

33. “For a time,” he says, “the Thebans fought along with the Greeks, as they had no alternative.”^a It seems, then, that Leonidas, like Xerxes, had men with whips in his army, under whose blows the Thebans were forced to fight against their will. How could calumny be more cruel than this? He says that men who could have run away and escaped fought because they had no alternative, and that men who had no one to support them were glad to medize. Then he goes on: “When the rest of the Greeks were pushing towards the Hill, the Thebans broke away and went towards the barbarians holding out their hands in entreaty, saying—with perfect truth—that they had medized and given earth and water to the king, that they had come to Thermopylae under compulsion and were innocent of the blow which the king had suffered; and these words saved their lives, because they had Thessalians as witnesses to their statement.”^b Just imagine such a plea being heard in such a situation, amid the barbarians’ shrieks and the confused shouting of the flight and pursuit! And imagine the witnesses being questioned. With men being killed and trampled underfoot all around them in the narrow pass, the Thessalians support the Thebans’ plea by saying: “Until recently we controlled Greece as far as Thespieae, but they defeated us in

^a vii. 233. 1.

^b vii. 233. 1-2.

⁷ καὶ B: omitted in E.

⁸ παρὰ τὰ] πάντα γὰρ Aldine and Basel eds.

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(866) ἔναγχος ἐξήλασαν μάχῃ περιγεγόμενοι¹ καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Λατταμίαν² ἀποκτείναντες. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπῆρχε Βοιωτοῖς τότε καὶ Θεσσαλοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐπιεικὲς δὲ καὶ φιλόφρων οὐδέν.

Ἄλλὰ δὴ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν μαρτυρούντων, πῶς περιεγέγοντο Θηβαῖοι; “ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ βάρβαροι προσιόντας,” ὡς αὐτὸς εἶρηκε, “ τοὺς δὲ³ πλεῦνας, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω, ἔστιξαν στίγματα βασιλῆα, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ 867 Λεωντιάδew.” ἀλλ’ οὔτε⁴ Λεωντιάδης ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἦν στρατηγός, ἀλλ’ Ἀνάξανδρος, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐκ τῶν κατ’ ἀρχοντας ὑπομνημάτων ἱστόρησε καὶ Νίκανδρος ὁ Κολοφώνιος· οὔτε γινώσκει τις ἀνθρώπων⁵ πρὸ Ἡροδότου στιχθέντας ὑπὸ Ξέρξου Θηβαίους. ἐπεὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἀπολόγημα τῆς διαβολῆς καὶ καλῶς εἶχε τὴν πόλιν ἀγάλλεσθαι τοῖς στίγμασιν ἐκείνοις, ὡς Ξέρξου δικάσαντος ἐχθίστοις χρήσασθαι Λεωνίδῃ καὶ Λεωντιάδῃ· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἠκίστατο πεπτωκότος τὸ σῶμα, τοῦ δὲ ζῶντος ἔστιξεν. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν εἰς Λεωνίδαν ὠμό-

¹ περιγεγόμενοι Meziriacus: παραγεγόμενοι.

² Λατταμίαν E: Λατταμίαν B.

³ δὲ Bernardakis: δέ τι E: δ’ ἔτι B.

⁴ ἀλλ’ οὔτε Reiske: οὔτε.

⁵ ἀνθρώπων Stephanus: ἀνθρώπους.

^a Cf. *Life of Camillus*, chap. xix, where this victory is dated “ more than 200 years before Leuctra,” i.e. 571 B.C. at latest, in which case it is hardly relevant to the present situation; Beloch, therefore, is disposed to date it towards the end of the 6th century (*Griechische Geschichte*, i. 2. 205). The battle is not mentioned by any author except Plutarch; perhaps he is still following the Boeotian historian Aristophanes.

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battle and drove us back, killing our commander Lattamyas.”^a That was how Boeotians and Thessalians stood towards one another at the time; there was nothing warm or friendly in their relationship.

However, suppose the Thessalians did bear witness—how did the Thebans save themselves? “ Some of them the barbarians killed as they came forward ” (this is what he says himself), “ but most of them, at Xerxes’ command, they branded with the royal brand-marks, beginning with the general, Leontiadas.”^b But the general at Thermopylae was not Leontiadas but Anaxander, as Aristophanes tells us, on the basis of the *Register of Magistrates*,^c and Nicander of Colophon^d; nor is anyone aware, until Herodotus writes, that Xerxes branded any Thebans. Indeed, it would have been the strongest defence in reply to charges against them and the city might well have prided itself on these brand-marks, if they could claim that Xerxes gave orders to treat both Leonidas and Leontiadas as his bitterest enemies, mutilating the body of the Spartan leader in death and branding Leontiadas while still living.^e Herodotus, however,

^b vii. 233. 2.

^c *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii B, no. 379, F. 6.

^d *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii A, no. 271-272, F. 35.

^e Eurymachus, the son of Leontiadas, was instrumental in planning the Theban attack on Plataea in 431 B.C. which opened the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides, ii. 2. 3; Herodotus, vii. 233. 2, says he was killed when commanding the Theban force, perhaps incorrectly). Whatever official positions were held by father and son, Athenian ill-feeling against the family is easy to understand. The branding story may not be true; but Plutarch seems deliberately perverse in failing to see the point of it—that the king branded the Theban captives as *untrustworthy slaves* who had turned against him; thus the story, if true, is in fact proof that Thebes had formally medized.

(867) **B** τητα δήλωμα ποιούμενος, ὅτι μάλιστα δὴ ἀνδρῶν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ, Θηβαίους δὲ καὶ μηδίζοντας λέγων ἐν Θερμοπύλαις στιχθῆναι καὶ στιχθέντας αὐθις ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μηδίξειν προθύμως δοκεῖ μοι, καθάπερ Ἴπποκλείδης ὁ τοῖς σκέλεσι χειρονομῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, εἰπεῖν ἂν ἐξορχούμενος¹ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. “οὐ φροντὶς Ἡροδότῳ.”

34. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀγδόῃ τοὺς Ἕλληνας φησι καταδειλιάσαντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου² δρησμὸν βουλεύεσθαι ἕσω εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τῶν Εὐβοέων δεομένων ὀλίγον ἐπιμεῖναι χρόνον, ὅπως ὑπεκθούντο γενεὰς καὶ τὸ οἰκετικόν, ἀλιγῶρεῖν, ἄχρι³ οὐ **C** Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀργύριον λαβὼν Εὐρυβιάδῃ τε μετέδωκε καὶ Ἀδεϊμάντῳ τῷ Κορινθίων στρατηγῷ. τότε δὲ μείναι καὶ διαναναμαχῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὁ μὲν Πίνδαρος, οὐκ ἂν συμμάχου πόλεως ἀλλὰ μηδίξειν αἰτίαν ἐχούσης, ὅμως τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μνησθεὶς ἐπιπεφώνηκεν.

ὅθι⁴ παῖδες Ἀθηναίων⁵ ἐβάλλοντο⁶ φαεινὰν κρηπίδ⁷ ἐλευθερίας.

Ἡρόδοτος δέ, ὅφ' οὐ κεκοσμησθαί τινας ἀξιοῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, δωροδοκίας καὶ κλοπῆς ἔργον ἀποφαίνει τὴν νίκην ἐκείνην γενομένην καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀκουσίως ἀγωνισαμένους, ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐξ-

¹ ἐξορχούμενος] ἀπορχούμενος Herwerden (cf. Herodotus, vi. 129). ² Ἀρτεμισίου B: Ἀρτεμεισίου E (so also below).

³ ἄχρι E: ἄχρισ B.

⁴ ὅθι B: ὡς οἱ E: ὅτι Aldine edition.

⁵ Ἀθηναίων Boeckh: Ἀθηναίων.

⁶ ἐβάλλοντο Stephanus: ἐβάλλοντο.

⁷ φαεινὰν κρηπίδ' E: φαεινὰν κρηπίδ' B.

offers the savagery of Xerxes towards Leonidas as a proof that the barbarian hated no one so much in life as Leonidas; but he shows the Thebans being branded at Thermopylae, even though they medized, and then, despite the branding, he shows them just as eager to medize at Plataea. It looks to me as though, like Hippocleides standing on his head on the table and waving his legs in the air, Herodotus would “dance away the truth” and say: “Herodotus doesn't care.”^a

34. In Book VIII he says that the Greeks took fright at Artemisium and planned to run away into the straits to Greek territory, and when the Euboeans begged them to wait for a little time, so that they could remove their families and their slaves to safety, they paid no attention until Themistocles was given money and shared it with Eurybiadas and the Corinthian commander Adeimantus; only then did they remain to face the barbarians in battle at sea.^b Pindar comes from a city which was not an ally, but was accused of medism; none the less he has a word of praise for Artemisium, as the place

Where sons of Athens laid for Freedom
A gleaming white foundation-stone.^c

But Herodotus, whom some people regard as the panegyrist of Greece, represents that victory as the fruit of bribery and deceit, and shows the Greeks fighting reluctantly, tricked by their corrupt com-

^a For the story of Hippocleides, the suitor who “danced away his marriage,” see Herodotus, vi. 127-129.

^b viii. 4. 1-2. Cf. *Life of Themistocles*, chap. vii, where Plutarch makes no protest against the story.

^c Frag. 77 (Bergk-Schroeder-Snell), 65 (Bowra), quoted also in *Life of Themistocles*, chap. viii and *Mor.* 350 A, 552 B.

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(867) απατηθέντας ἀργύριον λαβόντων. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ
 D πέρασ¹ οὐ γέγονεν αὐτῷ τῆς κακοηθείας· ἀλλὰ
 πάντες μὲν ἄνθρωποι σχεδὸν ὁμολογοῦσι ταῖς ναυ-
 μαχίαις αὐτόθι κρατούντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὅμως
 ὑφέσθαι τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου τοῖς βαρβάροις, τὰ περὶ
 Θερμοπύλας ἀκούσαντας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ὄφελος
 ἐνταῦθα καθημένους φρουρεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐντὸς
 Πυλῶν τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότος καὶ Ξέρξου τῶν
 παρόδων κρατούντος. Ἡρόδοτος δέ, πρὶν ἀπαγ-
 γελῆναι τὸν Λεωνίδου θάνατον, ἤδη ποιεῖ τοὺς
 Ἕλληνας βουλευομένους ἀποδιδράσκειν· λέγει δ'
 οὕτως· “ τρηχέως² δὲ περιεφθέντες,³ καὶ οὐχ ἡκιστα
 E Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αἰ ἡμίσειαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι
 ἦσαν, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευον⁴ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.”
 καίτοι τὴν πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀναχώρησιν οὕτως
 ὀνομάσαι, μᾶλλον δ' ὀνειδίσαι, δεδόσθω· ὁ δὲ καὶ
 πρότερον δρασμὸν εἶπεν καὶ νῦν δρασμὸν ὀνομάζει
 καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον πάλιν ἐρεῖ δρασμὸν· οὕτω πικρῶς⁵
 τῷ ῥήματι προσπέφυκε. “ τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροισιν
 αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοῖω ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ Ἔστιαεὺς,⁶
 ἀγγέλλων τὸν δρησμὸν τὸν ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ⁸ ἀπιστίας τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα
 εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νέας δὲ ταχείας ἀπέστειλαν προ-
 κατοψομένας.”⁹
 Τί σὺ λέγεις; ἀποδιδράσκειν ὡς κεκρατημένους,

¹ τὸ πέρασ E: πέρασ B.

² τρηχέως E: τριχέως B.

³ περιεφθέντες Reiske (as in Herodotus): περιερχθέντες E:
 περιενεχθέντες B.

⁴ ἐβούλευον E: ἐβουλεύοντο B. Herwerden adds ἔσω as in
 Herodotus.

⁵ πικρῶς] γλίγρωσ Wyttenbach.

⁶ Ἔστιαεὺς] Ἰστιαεὺς mss. of Herodotus.

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manders. Nor does his malice stop at this point. Almost everyone agrees that though the Greeks had the upper hand in the battles at sea here, they nevertheless yielded Artemisium to the barbarians when they heard of the fate of Thermopylae, because there was no point in sitting there keeping guard at sea once the war came past Thermopylae and Xerxes was in control of the passes.^a Herodotus, however, shows the Greeks planning to run away even before the death of Leonidas is reported. These are his words: “ They had suffered severely, especially the Athenians, of whose ships half the number had been damaged, and they planned to run away to Greece.”^b Now he may be permitted to talk of running away and to use such a term of reproach in speaking of retreat before the battle; but he talks of “ running away ” now just as on the former occasion, and a little later on again he will speak of “ running away ”—so fierce is his attachment to this expression: “ Immediately after this a man from Histiaea arrived by ship telling the barbarians that the Greeks had run away from Artemisium; but not believing this messenger they kept him under guard and sent out fast ships to see for themselves.”^c

What do you mean? That they are “ running

^a Modern critics would agree on this point. It is a weakness of the narrative of Herodotus that the combined strategy by land and sea is not made clear (*cf.*, *e.g.*, How and Wells, *Commentary*, vol. ii, pp. 371-372).

^b viii. 18.

^c viii. 23. 1.

⁷ τὸν ἀπ' Ἀ. τῶν Duebner (as in most mss. of Herodotus): τὸν Ἀ. τὸν τῶν E: τὸν Ἀ. τὸν τὸν B.

⁸ ὑπὸ B (as in Herodotus): ἀπὸ E.

⁹ προκατοψομένας B: προσκατοψομένας E.

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Φ οὓς οἱ πολέμοι μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπιστοῦσι φεύγειν ὡς πολὺ κρατοῦντας; εἶτα πιστεύειν ἄξιον τούτῳ γράφοντι περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἢ πόλεως μιᾶς, ὅς ἐνὶ ῥήματι τὸ νίκημα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ τὸ τρόπαιον καθαιρεῖ καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφάς, ἃς ἔθεντο παρὰ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Προσηῶ,¹ κόμπων ἀποφαίνει καὶ ἀλαζονείαν; ἔχει δ' οὕτω τοῦπίγραμμα·

παντοδαπῶν ἀνδρῶν γενεᾶς Ἀσίας ἀπὸ χώρας
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων τῶδέ ποτ' ἐν πελάγει
ναυμαχία δαμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ στρατὸς ὤλετο Μή-
δων,

σήματα ταῦτ' ἔθεσαν παρθένῳ Ἀρτέμιδι.

868 ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς μάχαις οὐκ ἔταξε τοὺς Ἑλληνας οὐδ' ἐδήλωσεν ἣν ἐκάστη πόλις ἔχουσα χώραν ἐναυμάχησε, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἀπόπλουν, ὃν αὐτὸς δρασμὸν προσαγορεύει, πρῶτους φησὶ Κορινθίους πλεῖν ὑστάτους δ' Ἀθηναίους.

35. Ἐδει μὲν οὖν μηδὲ τοῖς μηδίσασι Ἑλλήνων ἄγαν ἐπεμβαίνειν, καὶ ταῦτα Θούριον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων νομιζόμενον² αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλικαρνασέων περιεχόμενον, οἱ Δωριεῖς ὄντες μετὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐστράτευσαν.

Ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀποδεί τοῦ πραότερον³ ὀνομάζειν

¹ Προσηῶ Xylander (cf. *Life of Themistocles*, viii):
pros . . . (lacuna of 5-7 letters).

² νομιζόμενον] ὀνομαζόμενον Cobet.

³ πραότερον Emperius: πρότερον.

^a "Artemis who looks towards the east." It was this temple which gave the promontory of Artemisium its name. For the site see Lolling, *Mitteilungen des deutschen arch. Inst. in Athen*, viii (1883), pp. 7-23.

^b Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 104.

^c viii. 21. 2.

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away" like beaten men? The enemy regard them as definitely victorious and cannot believe that they are taking flight after the battle. Can we believe what such a man writes about any individual or any city? With a single phrase he wipes out the Greek victory, pulls down the trophy, and makes empty bombast out of the inscriptions which they set up in the temple of Artemis Proseōa.^a This is the verse that stands there:

With men of every race from Asia's land
The sons of Athens fought once in these waters;
The victory won, the Persian host destroyed,
These gifts to maiden Artemis they offered.^b

So also, in his account of the battles he did not describe the Greek arrangements or tell what station each city occupied with its ships, but in the withdrawal—"running away" as he calls it—he says the Corinthians went first and the Athenians last.^c

35. He had no right to be so very severe even towards the Greeks who medized. After all, though some regard him as a citizen of Thurii, his attachment is really to the Halicarnassians,^d those Dorians who took their harem with them on the expedition against Greece.^e

He certainly fails to use fair terms in describing the

^a Herodotus was a native of Halicarnassus, but took part in the settlement of Thurii in Italy, a colonial enterprise of Athens, in 444 B.C. In the opening words of his history, as preserved in the manuscripts, he called himself "the Halicarnassian;" but, as appears from Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, iii. 1409 a and Plutarch, *Mor.* 604 f, some ancient copies read "the Thurian." See Legrand, *Hérodote*, Introduction, pp. 12-14.

^e The Halicarnassian forces were commanded by a woman, Artemisia. Cf. 869 f below.

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B τὰς τῶν μηδισάντων ἀνάγκας, ὥστε περὶ Θεσσαλῶν διηγησάμενος ὅτι Φωκεῦσιν, ἐχθροῖς καὶ πολεμίους οὔσι, προσέπεμψαν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἀβλαβῆ διαφυλάξειν, εἰ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα μισθὸν λάβοιεν, ταῦτα περὶ Φωκῆων γέγραφεν αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν· “οἱ γὰρ Φωκεῖς μόνου τῶν ταύτη ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμήδιζον, κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς¹ ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος² τὸ Θεσσαλῶν· εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἠῶξον,³ ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,⁴ ἐμήδιζον ἂν οἱ Φωκεῖς.” καίτοι μετὰ μικρὸν αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ τρισκαίδεκα πόλεις τῶν Φωκῆων ὑπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου κατακεκαῦσθαι, δι-
C εφθάρθαι τὴν χώραν, ἐμπεπρήσθαι τὸ ἐν Ἄβαις⁵ ἱερόν, ἀνδρας ἀπολωλέναι καὶ γυναῖκας, ὅσοι μὴ διαφυγόντες ἐφθῆσαν εἰς τὸν Παρνασσόν. ἀλλ’ ὅμως τοὺς τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ προέσθαι τὸ καλὸν ὑπομείναντας εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔθετο κακίαν τοῖς προθυμότερα μηδίσασιν· καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ψέξαι μὴ δυνηθεῖς, αἰτίας ἐκάθητο φαύλας καὶ ὑπονοίας ἐπὶ τοῦ γραφείου⁶ συντιθεῖς κατ’ αὐτῶν καὶ κελεύων⁷ οὐκ ἀφ’ ὧν ἔπραξαν, ἀλλ’ ἀφ’ ὧν ἔπραξαν ἂν⁸ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα Θεσσαλοῖς ἔδοξε, κρίνεσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ χώρας ἀν-
D ειλημμένης⁹ ὑφ’ ἐτέρων τῆς προδοσίας ἀπολειφθέντας.

¹ κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν ὡς supplied from Herodotus : lacuna of about 20 letters in MSS.

² ἔχθος Stephanus (as in Herodotus) : ἄχθος.

³ ἠῶξον Bernardakis (as in Herodotus) : ἠῶξουν.

⁴ δοκεῖ] δοκέειν Herodotus.

⁵ Ἄβαις Basel edition : ἄμβραις.

plight of those who were forced to medize ; but his unfairness does not stop there ; in his story of the message sent by the Thessalians to their bitter enemies the Phocians, in which they offer to keep their land unharmed in return for the price of fifty talents, these are the actual words that he uses about the Phocians : “ The Phocians were the only people in this area who did not medize, for no other reason, as I conjecture, except their hatred of the Thessalians. I imagine that if the Thessalians had supported the Greek cause, the Phocians would have medized.”^a And yet, a little later, he will tell us himself that thirteen cities of the Phocians were burnt down by the barbarians, that their country was laid waste and the temple at Abae set on fire, and that all the men and women who did not escape to Mount Parnassus in time were killed.^b Despite the fact that they were prepared to endure anything rather than betray their honour, he ranked them no higher than the most enthusiastic medizers. Not being able to find fault with what they actually did, he sat with his pen inventing base motives and rousing our suspicions against them, inviting us to judge their intentions not by what they did, but what they would have done if the Thessalians had acted differently—as though they failed to be traitors only because the traitors’ place was already occupied by others.

^a viii. 30.

^b viii. 32-33.

⁶ ἐπὶ τοῦ γραφείου] ἀπίστους τῷ γραφείῳ Herwerden.

⁷ κελεύων E : κολουῶν B.

⁸ ἀλλ’ ἀφ’ ὧν ἔπραξαν ἂν added by Meziriacus : no lacuna marked in MSS.

⁹ ἀντειλημμένης] ἀντειλημμένοις Aldine edition.

(868) Εἰ τοίνυν Θεσσαλοὺς τις ἐπιχειρεῖ τοῦ μηδισμού
 παραιτεῖσθαι, λέγων ὡς οὐ ταῦτ' ἐβούλοντο, τῇ δὲ
 πρὸς Φωκέας διαφορᾷ τοῖς Ἑλλησι προστιθεμένους
 ὀρώντες αὐτοὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμήδισαν, ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν
 αἰσχιστα κολακεύειν ἔδοξε καὶ πρὸς ἐτέρων χάριν
 αἰτίας χρηστὰς ἐπὶ πράγμασι φαύλοις πορίζων δια-
 στρέφειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι. πῶς οὖν
 οὐ περιφανέστατα δόξει συκοφαντεῖν ὁ μὴ δι'
 ἀρετὴν τὰ βέλτιστα Φωκεῖς ἐλομένους ἀποφανό-
 μενος, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰναντία Θεσσαλοὺς ἔγνωσαν φρο-
 νοῦντας; οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς ἐτέρους, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν,
 ἀνάγει τὴν διαβολὴν ἀκηκοέναι λέγων ἀλλ' αὐτὸς
 εὐρίσκειν συμβαλλόμενος. εἰπεῖν οὖν ἔδει τὰ τεκ-
 μήρια, δι' ἧν ἐπίσθη τοὺς¹ ὅμοια πράττοντας τοῖς
 ἀρίστοις ταῦτὰ τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις διανοηθῆναι.

Τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἔχθρας γελοῖόν ἐστιν· οὔτε γὰρ Αἰγι-
 νήτας ἐκώλυσεν ἢ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους διαφορὰ καὶ
 Χαλκιδεῖς ἢ πρὸς Ἐρετριεὺς καὶ Κορινθίους ἢ² πρὸς
 Μεγαρέας τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμμαχεῖν· οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν
 Θεσσαλοὺς μηδίζοντες οἱ πολεμιώτατοι Μακεδόνες
 τῆς πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον φιλίας ἀπέστρεψαν. τὰς
 γὰρ ἰδίας ἀπεχθείας ὁ κοινὸς ἀπέκρυψε κίνδυνος,
 ὥστε τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν ἐκπεσόντας ἢ τῷ καλῷ δι'
 ἀρετὴν ἢ τῷ συμφέροντι δι' ἀνάγκην προστίθεσθαι
 τὴν γνώμην. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην

¹ τοὺς B : τοῖς E.

² ἢ Reiske : ἢ.

^a The Greek has a past tense, "obscured," but it is probably a gnomic aorist, used to express a general truth.

^b Strictly Plutarch should have said that the Phocians

Now suppose someone tried to excuse the medism of the Thessalians by saying that they did not want to medize, but did so against their will because of their quarrel with the Phocians, when they saw them supporting the Greeks. It would seem to us, wouldn't it, that he was whitewashing their conduct in the worst possible way and that he was distorting the truth if, in order to please one side, he invented worthy motives to explain their unworthy actions? I am sure it would. How, then, can a writer be thought anything else but a barefaced slanderer when he represents the Phocians as choosing the noblest course not because they were good men, but because they found that the Thessalians were opposed to it? He does not even refer the slander to other people, as he usually does, and say he has "heard it"; he says it is his own "conjecture." In that case he ought to have given the evidence which persuaded him that men who acted along with the best had the same intentions as the worst.

The motive of enmity is ridiculous. The Aeginetans were not stopped from fighting on the Greek side by their quarrel with the Athenians, nor the Chalcidians by their quarrel with the Eretrians, nor the Corinthians by their quarrel with the Megarians; nor, on the other hand, were the Thessalians deterred from making friends with the barbarian because their bitterest enemies the Macedonians medized. The truth is that a common danger obscures^a individual grievances; men forget all other feelings, and either honour makes them decide for the nobler course or necessity for the expedient one.^b Nor must it be for-

chose both alternatives, attempting honourable resistance first and then medizing out of sheer necessity.

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(868) ἐκείνην, ἣ κατελήφθησαν ὑπὸ Μήδοις γενέσθαι, πάλιν μετεβάλοντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ Λακράτης μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ Σπαρτιάτης ἀντικρὺς ἐμαρτύρησεν· αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Ἡρόδοτος ὡσπερ ἐκβιασθεῖς ἐν τοῖς Πλαταικοῖς ὁμολογεῖ καὶ Φωκίας παραγενέσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

36. Οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν εἰ τοῖς ἀτυχήσασιν ἔγκειται πικρῶς, ὅπου καὶ τοὺς παραγενομένους 869 καὶ συγκινδυνεύσαντας εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων μερίδα καὶ προδοτῶν μετατίθησι. “Νάξιοι γὰρ τρεῖς¹ ἐπεμψαν τριήρεις συμμάχους τοῖς βαρβάροις, εἰς δὲ τῶν τριηράρχων Δημόκριτος ἐπεισε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐλέσθαι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.” οὕτως οὐδ' ἐπαινεῖν ἀνευ τοῦ ψέγειν οἶδεν, ἀλλ' ἔν² εἰς ἀνὴρ ἐγκωμιασθῆ, πόλιν ὅλην δεῖ κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι καὶ δῆμον. μαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς³ τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων Ἑλλάνικος τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων Ἐφορος, ὁ μὲν ἕξ ὁ δὲ πέντε ναυσὶ τοὺς⁴ Ναξίους ἐλθεῖν τοῖς Ἕλλησι βοηθοῦντας ἱστορήσας. αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ παντάπασιν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ἡρόδοτος ἐξελέγχει ταῦτα πλαττόμενον. Β οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ναξίων ὠρογράφοι λέγουσι καὶ πρότερον Μεγαβάτην ἀπώσασθαι ναυσὶ διακοσίαις ἐπιπλεύσαντα τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ Δᾶτιν ἀθις τὸν στρατηγὸν

¹ τρεῖς] τέσσαρας Herodotus. ² ἔν' Turnebus: εἰ.

³ μαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς (or: ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτῷ) Reiske: μαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτῷ. ⁴ τοὺς Reiske: αὐτοῖς.

^a Lacrates is not known from any other source.

^b This is inaccurate. Herodotus, ix. 17-18, says that in the spring of 479 the Phocians (who did medize, however unwillingly) were slow in sending 1000 hoplites to join Mar-

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gotten that, after the passing of the necessity that made them submit to the Medes, these men changed back again to the Greek side; the Spartan Lacrates^a testified directly in their favour, and Herodotus himself, having no alternative, admits that Phocians were with the Greek forces in the campaign of Plataea.^b

36. There is no need to be surprised that he attacks luckless victims so savagely when even those who stood firm and took their share of the danger are ranked by him as enemies and traitors. “The Naxians,” he says, “sent three triremes to help the barbarians, but one of their captains, Democritus, persuaded the others to decide for the Greek cause.”^c This shows how he cannot praise without finding fault; in order that one man may be commended, the reputation of a whole city and people must suffer. Evidence in their favour comes from Hellenicus and Ephorus, to mention one older and one later writer. The former says that the Naxians sent six ships to help the Greeks, the latter that they sent five.^d And, as a matter of fact, Herodotus himself provides the proof that his story is a complete fabrication. The chroniclers of Naxos say that they previously drove off Megabates when he approached the island with two hundred ships,^e and subsequently repelled the Persian commander Datis, after he had burnt their

donius and that these were accepted by him only after a severe test of their bravery; in ix. 31. 5 he lists these thousand in the Persian line of battle, but adds that there were Phocian loyalists based on Parnassus making raids on the army of Mardonius.

^a A paraphrase, not an exact quotation, of viii. 46. 3.

^b *Frag. Gr. Hist.* i, no. 4, F. 183; ii A, no. 70, F. 187.

^c *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii B, no. 501, F. 3. Herodotus, v. 32-34, says Megabates withdrew after spending four months in an attempt to take the city by siege.

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(869) ἐξελάσαι¹ καταπρήσαντα <τὰ ἱερά, αὐτοὺς δὲ Ναξίους οὐδὲν ἐπιχειρήσαντα> ποιῆσαι κακόν.² εἰ δέ, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος εἶρηκεν ἀλλαχόθι, τὴν μὲν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐμπρήσαντες διέφθειραν, οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι καταφυγόντες εἰς τὰ ὄρη διεσώθησαν, ἦπου καλὴν αἰτίαν εἶχον τοῖς ἀπολέσασι τὴν πατρίδα πέμπειν βοήθειαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀμύνειν. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἐπαινέσαι βουλευθεὶς Δημοκρίτου, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ Ναξίων

συνέθηκε τὸ ψεῦδος, δῆλός ἐστι τῷ παραλιπεῖν ὅλως καὶ παρασιωπῆσαι τὸ Δημοκρίτου κατόρθωμα καὶ τὴν ἀριστείαν, ἣν³ ἐπιγράμματι Σιμωνίδης ἐδήλωσε·

Δημόκριτος τρίτος ἦρξε μάχης, ὅτε παρ Σαλαμίνα

Ἕλληνας Μήδοις σύμβalon ἐν πελάγει·
πέντε δὲ νῆας ἔλεν δῆϊων, ἕκτην δ' ὑπὸ χεῖρα
ρύσατο βαρβαρικῆν⁴ Δωρίδ' ἀλικομένην.

37. Ἀλλὰ τί ἂν τις ἀγανακτοίῃ περὶ Ναξίων; εἰ γάρ εἰσιν ἀντίποδες ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι λέγουσι, τῆς γῆς τὰ κάτω περιουκούντες, οἶμαι μὴδ' ἐκείνους ἀνηκόους εἶναι Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους βουλευμάτος, ὃ βουλεύσας τῇ Ἑλλάδι ναυμαχήσαι⁵ πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμίνας ἰδρύσατο ναὸν Ἀριστοβούλης⁶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν Μελίτῃ, τοῦ βαρβάρου

¹ ἐξελάσαι E: ἐξελάσαι B (cf. 865 c).
² καταπρήσαντα <τὰ ἱερά, αὐτοὺς δὲ Ναξίους οὐδὲν ἐπιχειρήσαντα> ποιῆσαι κακόν L. P. following Cobet: καταπρήσαντα ποιῆσαι κακόν: καταπλεύσαντα πλοίοις ἑκατόν Emperius (ναυσὶν ἑκατόν Wyttenbach).

³ Bernardakis would add ἐν.

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temples but did not attempt to do any actual harm to the people of Naxos.^a And if it is true, as Herodotus has described elsewhere,^b that the Persians burnt and demolished their city and the men saved themselves by taking refuge in the mountains, they certainly had a fine reason for sending help to the destroyers of their country and refusing to join those who resisted in the common cause of freedom!^c Herodotus evidently invented his story to discredit the Naxians and not because he wanted to praise Democritus; this is clear from his complete omission and suppression of the heroic exploit of Democritus, which is celebrated in an epigram of Simonides^d:

Democritus was third to offer battle
When Greek and Persian clashed at Salamis.
Five enemy ships he took; and, sixth, a Dorian,
Rescued from capture by barbarians.

37. But why should one be upset over the Naxians? If there are antipodean peoples, as some say, who dwell on the under side of the world, I imagine that even they have heard of Themistocles and the Themistoclean plan—how he counselled the Greeks to fight for Salamis and subsequently set up a temple of Artemis of Good Counsel at Melitê, after the bar-

^a The Greek text is corrupt here, and this conjectural restoration is based on the account of Herodotus, vi. 96.

^b vi. 96.

^c The argument is quite absurd; as subjects of Persia the Naxians would have no choice in the matter.

^d *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 85.

⁴ ὑπὸ χεῖρα . . . βαρβαρικῆν] ἀπὸ χειρὸς . . . βαρβαρικῆς Turnebus: ἀπὸ χειρῶν . . . βαρβαρικῶν Reiske.

⁵ ναυμαχήσαι B: ναυμαχίας E.

⁶ Ἀριστοβούλης Xylander (cf. *Life of Themistocles*, xxii): βουλῆς.

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(869) καταπολεμηθέντος. τούτο μὲν τοῦ¹ Θεμιστοκλέους ὁ χαρίεις συγγραφεὺς ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ παραιρούμενος² καὶ τὴν δόξαν εἰς ἕτερον μεταφέρων ταῦτα γράφει κατὰ λέξιν. “ἐνταῦθα δὲ³ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀφικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἶρετο Μνησίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃ τι σφιν εἶη βεβουλευμένον· πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐστὶ δεδογμένον⁴ ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμόν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου⁵ ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε⁶. ‘οὐκ’ ἄρα, ἦν ἀπαίρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, οὐδὲ περὶ μιῆς⁷ ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχῆσεις· κατὰ γὰρ πόλεις ἕκαστοι τρέφονται.’”
 E (καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον) “ἀλλὰ εἴ τις ἔστι μηχανή, ἴθι τε καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως⁸ δύνῃ ἀναγνώσαι Εὐρυβιάδα μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ μενεῖν.”¹⁰ εἶθ’ ὑπειπὼν ὅτι “κάρτα τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἤρεσεν ἢ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην,” πάλιν αὐταῖς λέξεσι γέγραφεν. “ἐνταῦθα δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς παριζόμενος¹¹ οἱ¹² καταλέγει κεινὰ τε πάντα F ἄ¹³ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου ἐωυτοῦ ποιούμενος,¹⁴ καὶ

¹ τοῦ Valckenaer: τὸ.
² παραιρούμενος Valckenaer: παραιτούμενος.
³ δὲ] δὴ Herodotus mss.
⁴ ἐστὶ δεδογμένον Stephanus: ἐπίδεδογμένον: εἶη δεδογμένον Herodotus mss.
⁵ Πελοποννήσου B: Πελοποννήσου E (this variation is constant and will not be noted again).
⁶ εἶπε Stephanus (as in Herodotus): omitted in mss.
⁷ οὐκ] οὔτοι Herodotus.
⁸ οὐδὲ περὶ μιῆς (as in one ms. of Herodotus)] other mss. of Herodotus have περὶ οὐδὲ μιῆς or περὶ οὐδεμίας.
⁹ ἦν κως Stephanus (as in Herodotus): ἠλίκως.
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barians were defeated. But our clever historian does everything in his power to obscure the part played by Themistocles and to transfer the credit to another man. These are his actual words ^a: “Now when Themistocles came to his ship, an Athenian, Mnesiphilus by name, asked him what plan had been decided by them; and hearing from him that the decision was to withdraw the ships to the Isthmus and fight in defence of the Peloponnese, he said: ‘In that case, if they remove the ships from Salamis, you will no longer even have a single native land to fight for ^b; the men will all go off separately to their own cities.’” Then a moment later he says ^c: “‘But if there is any way possible, go and try to upset these plans; perhaps you can somehow persuade Eurybiadas to alter his decision and remain here.’” Then Herodotus adds that this suggestion pleased Themistocles greatly and without saying a word in reply he went to Eurybiadas. Again I quote his actual words: “And then Themistocles sat down beside him and told him everything he had heard from Mnesiphilus, with some additions, presenting it as his own opinion.” ^d

^a viii. 57. 1-2.
^b That is, the sense of fighting in defence of a united Greece will be lost; and that is the only thing that holds the forces together.
^c Plutarch is abbreviating; the speech is unbroken in Herodotus.
^d viii. 58. 1-2. On Mnesiphilus see *Life of Themistocles*, chap. ii.

¹⁰ μενεῖν] mss. of Herodotus have μενεῖν or μένειν.
¹¹ παριζόμενος (or: παρεζόμενος) mss. of Herodotus: lacuna of 7-9 letters . . . ζόμενος.
¹² οἱ Herodotus: omitted in mss.
¹³ πάντα ἄ E: ἄ B: πάντα τὰ Herodotus.
¹⁴ ποιούμενος E: ποιούμενος B.

(869) ἄλλα¹ προστιθείς." ὄρᾳς ὅτι κακοηθείας προστρίβεται τάνδρῳ δόξαν, ἴδιον αὐτοῦ βούλευμα ποιεῖσθαι τὸ τοῦ Μνησιφίλου λέγων;

38. Ἐτι δὲ μάλλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταγελῶν² Θεμιστοκλέα μὲν οὔτε φησὶ φρονῆσαι τὸ συμφέρον ἀλλὰ παριδεῖν, ὃς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπωνομάσθη διὰ τὴν φρόνησιν, Ἀρτεμισίαν³ δὲ τὴν Ἡροδότου πολίτην, μηδενὸς διδάξαντος, αὐτὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐπινοήσανσαν Ξέρξῃ προειπεῖν,⁴ ὡς "οὐχ οἰοί τε πολλὸν χρόνον ἔσσονται τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ σφεας διασκεδᾷς,⁵ κατὰ πόλεις δὲ ἕκαστοι φεύξονται· καὶ οὐκ εἰκὸς αὐτοῦς, ἣν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνης τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν, ἀτρεμήσειν,⁶ οὐδέ σφιν μελήσειν πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηνέων⁷ ναυμαχέειν· ἣν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχῆσαι, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεῖς καὶ⁸ τὸν πεζὸν⁹ προσδηλήσῃται."¹⁰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μέτρων ἐνδεί τῷ Ἡροδότῳ, Σίβυλλαν ἀποφῆναι¹¹ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίαν τὰ μέλλοντα προθεσπίζουσαν οὕτως ἀκριβῶς. διὸ καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτῇ παρέδωκε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἀπάγειν εἰς Ἐφεσον· ἐπελέληστο γὰρ ἐκ Σούσας, ὡς εἰκεν, ἄγειν γυναῖκας, εἰ γυναικειάς ἐδέοντο¹² παραπομπῆς οἱ παῖδες.

39. Ἄλλ' ὁ¹³ μὲν ἔψευσται, λόγος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς·

¹ ἄλλα] ἄλλα πολλὰ mss. of Herodotus.

² καταγελῶν B: κατεγελῶν E.

³ Ἀρτεμισίαν B: Ἀρτεμισίαν E (so also below).

⁴ προειπεῖν Stephanus: προειπεῖν.

⁵ διασκεδᾷς Stephanus (as in Herodotus): διασκεδιᾷ E: διασκεδιᾷν B.

⁶ ἀτρεμήσειν] mss. of Herodotus have ἀτρεμῆν or ἀτρεμῆεν.

⁷ Ἀθηνέων Bernardakis (with some Herodotus mss.): Ἀθηναίων (as in others).

You see how he contrives to make Themistocles look like a dishonest man, making him present the plan of Mnesiphilus as if it were his own.

38. His mockery of the Greeks goes even farther. Not content with saying that Themistocles never recognized what ought to be done and that it escaped his notice—this man who was nicknamed Odysseus for his cleverness—he makes his own fellow citizen Artemisia see it all by herself, with no one to prompt her, and warn Xerxes. "The Greeks will not be able to hold out for long against you," she says, "you will scatter them, they will take flight, each man to his own city; and if you advance your land forces against the Peloponnese, it is unlikely that they will remain where they are or be concerned at all to fight in defence of Athens; if, on the other hand, you are in a great hurry to fight a naval battle, my fear is that the navy, if it suffers defeat, will involve the land force in disaster also." ^a All that Herodotus needs here is verse to present Artemisia as a Sibyl—so accurately does she predict the future. And so Xerxes handed over his own sons to her to take back to Ephesus. ^b It seems that he had forgotten to bring any women from Susa—if the boys really needed a woman's protection on the journey.

39. However we are not concerned with the fact

^a viii. 68. β-γ.

^b viii. 103.

⁸ καὶ] not in Herodotus mss.

⁹ πεζὸν Stephanus, from Herodotus: not in mss.

¹⁰ προσδηλήσῃται editors of Herodotus: προδηλήσῃται (as in some mss. of Herodotus; others have προσδηλήσεται).

¹¹ ἀποφῆναι] ὡς ἀποφῆναι Reiske.

¹² ἐδέοντο] Perhaps δέοντο should be read.

¹³ ἄλλ' ὁ Stephanus: ἄλλ' & Bernardakis: ἄλλω: ἄλλ' ὡς, ἄλλ' ὅτι, or ἄλλως μὲν εἰ also possible.

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B ἃ δὲ γε κατέψευσται¹ μόνον ἐξετάζομεν. φησὶ τοίνυν Ἀθηναίους λέγειν, ὡς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Κορινθίων στρατηγός, ἐν χερσὶ τῶν πολεμίων γενομένων, ὑπερεκπλαγεὶς καὶ καταδείσας ἔφευγεν, οὐ πρύμναν κρουσάμενος οὐδὲ διαδὺς ἀτρέμα διὰ τῶν μαχομένων, ἀλλὰ λαμπρῶς ἐπαιρόμενος τὰ ἰστία καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀπάσας ἀποστρέψας· εἶτα μέντοι κέλῃς ἐλαυνόμενος αὐτῷ συνέτυχε περὶ τὰ λήγοντα τῆς Σαλαμίνιας, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κέλῃτος ἐφθέγγατό τις· “σὺ μὲν, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, φεύγεις καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι, καθάπερ ἠρώντο ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν.” ὁ δὲ κέλῃς οὗτος ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐρανοπετής· τί γὰρ ἔδει φεῖδεσθαι² μηχανῆς τραγικῆς, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπερπαίοντα τοὺς τραγωδοὺς ἀλαζονεία; πιστεύσας οὖν ὁ Ἀδείμαντος “ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπ’ ἐξειργασμένοις³· αὕτη φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· οὐ μέντοι Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ σφί καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς.”

Τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ἐν πολλοῖς ὁ ἄνθρωπος⁴. ἐτέρας καθ’ ἐτέρων διαβολὰς καὶ κατηγορίας κατατίθησιν,⁵ ὥστε μὴ διαμαρτεῖν τοῦ φανῆναι τινα πάντως πονηρόν· ὡσπερ ἐνταῦθα περίεστιν αὐτῷ, ἀπιστουμένους Ἀθηναίους,⁶ πιστευομένης δὲ⁷ τῆς διαβολῆς Κοριν-

¹ ἃ δὲ γε κατέψευσται Turnebus: ἃ δὲ τινων κατέψευσται Herwerden: ἃ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέψευσται Wyttenbach: ἀδερ . . . (lacuna of 4 letters) ψεῖσται.

² φεῖδεσθαι Emperius: τητᾶσθαι Valckenaer: ἀπέχεσθαι Wyttenbach: τίθεσθαι.

³ ἐπ’ ἐξειργασμένοις Turnebus: ἐπ’ ἐξειργασμένους^{οἰς} B: ἐπεξεργασμένους E.

that he tells lies; we are examining only his malicious lies. According to him the Athenians say that, when the enemy approached, the Corinthian commander, Adeimantus, was seized with abject terror and took to flight, not by backing water and slipping quietly through the ranks of the fighters, but openly raising sail and making all his ships turn with him; and then, at the far end of the island of Salamis, a speeding cutter caught up with him and someone from the cutter called out: “So you are running away, Adeimantus, and you have betrayed the Greeks basely; and yet the victory is already in their hands, the victory over the enemy that they prayed to win.” It seems that this cutter fell down from the skies—since he is more theatrical in every other respect than the writers of tragedy, why should he avoid using the machinery of the stage? And so Adeimantus believed what he was told and “returned to the camp to find that all was over; such is the Athenian story, though the Corinthians dispute it and maintain that they played a leading part in the battle; and the rest of Greece supports their contention.”^a

This is what the fellow does so frequently; he piles up different slanderous charges against different people, so that someone is bound to appear in a bad light in any event. And so here the result for him is that the Athenians are discredited if the charge is disbelieved, the Corinthians if it is believed. I don’t

^a viii. 94. 1-4.

⁴ ἐν πολλοῖς ὁ ἄνθρωπος B: ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν πολλοῖς E.

⁵ κατατίθησιν B: κ . . . τίθησιν E.

⁶ ἀπιστουμένους Ἀθηναίους transferred by L. P.: follows ἀδοξέειν in mss.: ἀπιστουμένης δέ, Ἀθηναίους Stephanus.

⁷ δέ] μὲν Stephanus.

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(870) θίους ἀδοξεῖν. οἶμαι δὲ <μήτ' Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι κακιζόντων Κορινθίους> μήτε¹ Κορινθίων Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλὰ τούτων² ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοῦ καταψεύδεσθαι. Θουκυδίδης γοῦν, ἀντιλέγοντα ποιῶν τῷ Κορινθίῳ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ πολ-
 λά περὶ τῶν Μηδικῶν λαμπρυνόμενον ἔργων καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας, οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν προδοσίας ἢ λιποταξίας³ ἐπενήνοχε Κορινθίοις· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν Ἀθηναίων⁴ ταῦτα βλασφημεῖν περὶ τῆς Κορινθίων πόλεως, ἣν τρίτην μὲν ἑώρα⁵ μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦς⁶ ἔγχαρπτο-
 Ε μένην τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀναθήμασιν. ἐν δὲ Σαλαμῖνι παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς θάψαι τε τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, ὡς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενομένους, καὶ ἔπιγράψαι τόδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον·

ὦ ξεῖν,⁷ εὐνδρόν ποτ' ἐναίομεν ἄστυ Κορίνθου,
 νῦν δ' ἄμ' Αἴαντος⁸ νᾶσος ἔχει Σαλαμῖς.
 ἐνθάδε Φοινίσσας νῆγας καὶ Πέρσας ἐλόντες
 καὶ Μήδους, ἱεράν Ἑλλάδα ῥυσάμεθα.¹⁰

¹ οἶμαι δὲ <μήτ' Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι κακιζόντων Κορινθίους> μήτε L. P. : ἦν οἶμαι μηδέ Wyttenbach : οἱ μὴδὲ E : ἢ οἱ μὴ δὲ B.

² τούτων] τούτων Turnebus.

³ λιποταξίας Bernardakis : λειποταξίας.

⁴ Ἀθηναίων L. P. : Ἀθηναίους Reiske : Ἀθηναίους.

⁵ ἑώρα] ἑώρων Xylander.

⁶ μετ' αὐτοῦς Turnebus : μετ' αὐτῶν E : μετ' αὐτοῦς (-οὺς ἢ -ῶν?) B.

⁷ καὶ Basel edition : omitted in mss.

⁸ ξεῖν Wilamowitz : ξένε.

⁹ δ' ἄμ' Αἴαντος Valckenaer, Bergk : δὲ μετ' Αἴαντος Dio Chrysostom, 37 :]ντος[IG i². 927 : δ' ἀνάματος.

¹⁰ ῥυσάμεθα Pletho, Jacobs : ῥυόμεθα.

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believe that he ever heard the Athenians making any such complaint against the Corinthians or the Corinthians complaining of the Athenians. I think he is libelling both parties at the same time. Thucydides represents an Athenian speaker at Sparta countering the speech of a Corinthian and making many fine claims about Athenian prowess in the Persian Wars, including the battle of Salamis^a; but he never introduces any charge of treachery or desertion against the Corinthians; nor is it likely that an Athenian would make such abusive remarks about Corinth, when he could see the name of that city inscribed third in order on the barbarian spoils offered to the gods, following the name of the Spartans and the Athenians^b; and on Salamis the Corinthians were permitted to bury their dead near the city, as men who had fought bravely, and to inscribe this verse over them:

Hail stranger! Once by Corinth's fairest springs we dwelt;
 Now Salamis, isle of Ajax, holds our dust.
 Phoenician ships we smote here, Medes and Persians felled,
 And kept the holy land of Hellas free.^c

^a i. 73-78, esp. 73. 2-74. 4.

^b Notably on the Serpent Column, the offering made to Apollo at Delphi (Herodotus, ix. 81. 1) which is now in Istanbul; for the text see Tod, *Gk. Hist. Inscr.* i, no. 19.

^c *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 93; a marble slab found on Salamis has a two-line inscription which appears to be the first couplet of this epitaph (Tod, *Gk. Hist. Inscr.* i, no. 19; J. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Fig. 2). But the lettering on the stone is more in keeping with a much earlier date (before 600 B.C.), and it may in fact commemorate the death of Corinthians in an earlier expedition to Salamis. Cf. R. Carpenter, *Am. Journ. Phil.* lxxxiv. (1963), pp. 81-83.

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(870) τὸ δ' ἐν Ἴσθμῷ κενοτάφιον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει ταύτην:

ἄκμᾶς ἑστακυῖαν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν
 ταῖς αὐτῶν¹ ψυχαῖς κείμεθα ῥυσάμενοι.

Διοδώρου δέ τινος τῶν Κορινθίων τριηράρχων ἐν
 ἱερῷ Λητοῦς ἀναθήμασι κειμένους καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπεγέ-
 γραπτο².

ταῦτ' ἀπὸ δυσμενέων Μήδων ναῦται³ Διοδώρου
 ὅπλ' ἀνέθεν⁴ Λατοῖ, μνάματα ναυμαχίας.⁵

αὐτός γε μὴν ὁ Ἀδεϊμάντος, ᾧ πλείστα λαιδοροῦ-
 μενος Ἡρόδοτος διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων, “ μόνον
 ἀσπαίρειν⁶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὡς φευξόμενον ἀπ'
 Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ μὴ περιμενοῦντα,” σκόπει τίνα
 δόξαν εἶχεν.

οὗτος Ἀδεϊμάντου κείνου τάφος, ὃν δία πᾶσα⁷
 Ἑλλάς⁸ ἐλευθερίας ἀμφέθετο⁹ στέφανον.

871 Οὔτε γὰρ τελευτήσαντι τοιαύτην εἰκὸς ἦν ἀνδρὶ
 δειλῷ καὶ προδότῃ γενέσθαι τιμῆν, οὔτ' ἂν ἐτόλ-
 μησε τῶν θυγατέρων ὄνομα θέσθαι τῇ μὲν Ναυσι-
 νίκῃ τῇ δ' Ἀκροθίνιον τῇ δ' Ἀλεξιβίαν, Ἀριστέα
 δὲ καλέσαι τὸν υἱόν, εἰ μὴ τις ἦν ἐπιφάνεια καὶ λαμ-
 πρότης περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἐκείνων. καὶ

¹ αὐτῶν Scholiast on Aristophanes: αὐτῶν.

² ἐπεγέγραπτο E: ἐπιγέγραπται B.

³ ναῦται Stephanus: αἱται.

⁴ ἀνέθεν Blomfield: ἀνέθεντο.

⁵ ναυμαχίας E: ναυμαχίης B.

⁶ ἀσπαίρειν Cobet (cf. Herodotus, viii. 5): ἀπαίρειν.

⁷ ὃν δία πᾶσα] οὗ διὰ βουλᾶς Dio Chrysostom, 37.

⁸ Ἑλλάς E: ἡ Ἑλλάς B.

⁹ ἐλευθερίας ἀμφέθετο Pletho, Basel edition: ἐλευθερίας
 ἀμφέθεντο B: ἐλευθερίαμφέθεντο E.

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And this is the inscription on the cenotaph at Isthmus ^a:

We lie here who, when on a razor's edge
 The life of Greece stood trembling, gave our own. ^b

And here is the inscription on the offerings in the temple of Leto made by one of the Corinthian captains, Diodorus:

The crew of Diodorus took
 These arms from Persian foes;
 To Leto here they offered them
 In memory of that fight. ^c

Or take Adeimantus himself, the man on whom Herodotus constantly loads insults, saying that “ he alone held out, saying he would flee and not stay at Artemisium ” ^d—consider the reputation he held:

Here buried Adeimantus lies, and thanks to him
 All Greece put Freedom's crown upon her head. ^e

It is not likely that a man would be given such honour as this after death if he had been a coward and traitor, nor would he have dared to call one of his daughters Nausinicê and another Acrothinion and another Alexibia, ^f and to call his son Aristeus, ^g unless his behaviour on that occasion had invested him with some fame and distinction. Furthermore, the Corin-

^a The precinct of Poseidon where the Isthmian Games were held.

^b *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 95, *Palatine Anth.* vii. 250; an expanded version in three couplets also exists.

^c *Palatine Anth.* vi. 215, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 103.

^d viii. 5. 1. Cf. above, 867 B—868 A.

^e *Palatine Anth.* vii. 347, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 95.

^f “ She who wins the day with ships,” “ First offerings of thanksgiving,” “ She who repels force.”

^g “ He who excels.”

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(871) μὴν ὅτι μόναι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων αἱ Κορίνθιαι γυναῖκες εὗξαντο τὴν καλὴν ἐκείνην καὶ δαιμόνιον εὐχὴν, ἔρωτα τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μάχης B ἐμβαλεῖν τῇ¹ θεόν, οὐχ ὅπως τοὺς² περὶ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἀγνοῆσαι πιθανόν ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν ἔσχατον Καρῶν· διεβοήθη γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐποίησεν ἐπίγραμμα, χαλκῶν εἰκόνων ἀνασταθεισῶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ³ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ὃν ἰδρύσασθαι Μήδειαν λέγουσιν, οἱ μὲν αὐτὴν παυσαμένην⁴ τὰνδρός, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἰάσονα τῆς Θέτιδος⁵ ἔρωντα παῦσαι τῇ⁶ θεόν. τὸ δ' ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτ' ἐστίν·

αἰδ' ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάνων τε καὶ ἰθυμάχων⁷ πολιητῶν⁸
ἔσταθεν⁹ εὐξάμεναι Κύπριδι δαιμόνιαι.¹⁰
οὐ γὰρ τοξοφόροισιν ἐμήδετο δι' Ἀφροδίτα¹¹
Μήδοις Ἑλλάνων ἀκρόπολιν προδόμεν.

C ταῦτ' ἔδει γράφειν καὶ τούτων μεμνησθαι μᾶλλον ἢ

¹ τὴν Pletho, Stephanus : τὸν.

² τοὺς added by Turnebus, not in mss.

³ ναῷ B : νῶ E.

⁴ παυσαμένην] Wyttenbach would add ἔρωσαν.

⁵ Θέτιδος] Κρεοντίδος Meziriacus.

⁶ τῇ Stephanus : τὸν.

⁷ ἰθυμάχων B : εἰθυμάχων E : εὐθυμάχων Athenaeus : ἀγχεμάχων Scholiast on Pindar.

⁸ πολιητῶν Pletho, Stephanus : πολιτῶν.

⁹ ἔσταθεν B : ἔσταθεν E : ἔστασαν Scholiast on Pindar.

¹⁰ δαιμόνιαι] δαιμόνια Bernardakis.

¹¹ δι' Ἀφροδίτα Pletho, Stephanus : δι' Ἀφροδίταν.

^a The typical "ignorant rustic" (cf. above, 860 E).

^b On the summit of Acrocorinth, with a statue of Aphroditê in armour. Cf. Pausanias, ii. 5. 1. The prayer of these women—the hetaerae, who are her sacred devotees—should be understood as a plea for her help in her warrior aspect ;

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thian women were the only women in Greece who offered that splendid inspired prayer that the goddess should fire their husbands with a passionate love for battle with the barbarian ; it is incredible that a man like Herodotus should be unaware of this ; even the remotest Carian^a must have heard of it, because the story was in everyone's mouth and Simonides wrote an epigram for the bronze statues that were set up in the temple of Aphroditê^b (the temple which Medea is supposed to have established, according to one version when she found herself no longer in love with her husband, according to another to thank the goddess for curing Jason of his love for Thetis^c). This is the epigram :

Here stand those ladies who to Cypris prayed
For Greece and for our stalwart fighting men.
The gods were with them ; Aphroditê vowed
Our stronghold should not fall to Persian bows.^d

Here is something that he should have recorded—
here is something worth remembering—instead of

she is the armed protectress of Corinth. Cf. E. Will, *Korinthiaka*, pp. 225-7.

^a It is usual to suppose that the name Thetis is a mistake (either of Plutarch himself or of a scribe) and that the reference is to Creon's daughter, Glaucê, the bride of Jason whom Medea murdered with the poisoned robe, as in Euripides' *Medea*. But it may not be a mistake. According to Athenodorus of Eretria (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iv, p. 345) Medea engaged in a beauty contest in Thessaly with Thetis and was judged the loser by Idomeneus ; this might mean that Jason fell in love with Thetis and Medea fell out of love with him, but that both were "cured" by Aphroditê before they came to Corinth.

^b *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 101. The story of the Corinthian women and the epigram was recorded by Theopompus and Timaeus (*Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii B, no. 115, F. 285 ; iii B, no. 566, F. 10).

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(871) τὴν Ἀμεινοκλέους ἐμβαλεῖν συμφορὰν καὶ¹ παιδοφονίαν.

40. Τῶν τοίνυν αἰτιῶν² τῶν κατὰ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀνέδην³ ἐμφορηθεῖς, ἐν οἷς κλέπτοντα καὶ πλεονεκτοῦντα λάθρα τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν οὐ φησι παύσασθαι περὶ τὰς νήσους, τέλος αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν στέφανον ἀφελόμενος Αἰγινήταις ἐπιτίθησι, γράφων ταῦτα: "πέμψαντες ἀκροθίνια οἱ Ἕλληνες εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπηρώτων τὸν θεὸν κοινῇ, εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ⁴ ἀκροθίνια· ὁ δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησεν ἔχειν, παρ' Αἰγινήτων δὲ οὐ, ἀλλ' ἀπαίτεε αὐτοῦς⁵ τὰ ἀριστεία τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας." οὐκέτι Σκύθαις οὐδὲ Πέρσαις οὐδ' Αἰγυπτίοις τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λόγους ἀνατίθησι πλάττων, ὥσπερ Αἴσωπος κόραξι καὶ πιθήκοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ Πυθίου προσώπῳ χρώμενος ἀπωθεῖ τῶν ἐν⁶ Σαλαμῖνι πρωτείων τὰς Ἀθήνας. Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ τῶν δευτερείων ἐν Ἰσθμῷ γενομένων διὰ τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἕκαστον αὐτῷ μὲν τὸ πρωτεῖον ἐκείνῳ δὲ τὸ δευτερεῖον ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ

¹ συμφορὰν καὶ L. P.: τῇ ἱστορίᾳ Bernardakis: lacuna of 12 letters in mss.

² αἰτιῶν Wyttenbach: αἰτίων.

³ ἀνέδην Wyttenbach: ἀναίδην.

⁴ τὰ added by Bernardakis (as in Herodotus): omitted in mss.

⁵ ἀπαίτεε αὐτοῦς Stephanus (as in Herodotus): ἀπήλθεν ἑαυτοῦς.

⁶ ἐν added by Wyttenbach: omitted in mss.

^a See above, 864 c.

^b viii. 112.

^c viii. 122. The Greek is ambiguous (perhaps deliberately). It could mean either that the god wants them to thank him because *they* have won the prize or that he wants them to award *him* the prize. Plutarch takes it the first way

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dragging in the sorry tale of Ameinocles killing his son.^a

40. After he has made the most of the accusations levelled against Themistocles, telling how he continually went the round of the islands dishonestly enriching himself unknown to the other generals,^b he finishes by turning against the Athenians themselves, takes the victor's crown from them and bestows it on the Aeginetans. This is what he writes: "After the Greeks had sent the first fruits of victory in thanksgiving to Delphi, they combined to ask the god if the first fruits he had received were full and satisfactory; and the god replied that he was satisfied with the offerings of all the Greeks except the Aeginetans; from them he demanded their prize for supreme valour in the battle of Salamis."^c Thus he no longer picks Scythians or Persians or Egyptians to utter the sayings which he invents himself—as Aesop picks crows and apes^d—but he uses the Pythian god as his mouthpiece to prevent the Athenians from receiving the first prize for valour at Salamis.^e According to Herodotus the second prize was given to Themistocles at Isthmus, when each of the commanders awarded himself the first prize and Themistocles the second

and Herodotus does say that the Aeginetans won the greatest renown of all Greeks in the battle, with the Athenians coming next (viii. 93. 1); but since they answer the god's demand by offering three golden stars on a bronze mast, they may be recognizing the part played by the god when he sent them a sign of victory (see How and Wells on viii. 122).

^a For Plutarch's interest in Aesop see *Septem Sapientium Convivium*.

^e Later tradition may have insisted that the first prize was in fact awarded to Athens (cf. Isocrates, *Panegyric*, 72). If so, Plutarch's anger is the more readily understood.

(871) τέλος τῆς κρίσεως μὴ λαβούσης, δέον αἰτιάσασθαι
 Ε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν στρατηγῶν, πάντας ἀποπλευσαί
 φησι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὸ φθόνου μὴ βουλευθέντας
 ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν ἄνδρα πρῶτον.

41. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ καὶ τελευταίᾳ τῶν βιβλίων,
 ὅσον ἦν ὑπόλοιπον ἐτι τῆς¹ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους
 αὐτῷ δυσμενείας² ἐκχέαι σπεύδων, τὸ παρ' αὐτὸν³
 ἀφείλετο τὴν αἰδίμον νίκην καὶ τὸ περιβόητον
 Πλαταιᾶσι κατόρθωμα τῆς πόλεως. γέγραφε γὰρ
 ὡς πρότερον μὲν ὠρρώδουν τοὺς⁴ Ἀθηναίους, μὴ
 πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐγκατα-
 λίπωσι,⁵ τοῦ δ' Ἰσθμοῦ τειχισθέντος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ
 θέμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἡμέλουν ἤδη τῶν ἄλλων
 καὶ περιεώρων, ἐορτάζοντες οἴκοι καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατειρωνευόμενοι καὶ διατρίβοντες.
 F πῶς οὖν ἐξῆλθον εἰς Πλαταιὰς⁶ πεντακισχίλιοι
 Σπαρτιᾶται, περὶ αὐτὸν⁷ ἔχων ἀνὴρ ἕκαστος ἐπτά
 εἰλωτας; ἢ πῶς κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι τοσοῦτον ἐκρά-
 τησαν καὶ κατέβαλον μυριάδας τοσαύτας; ἀκουσον
 αἰτίας⁸ πιθανῆς. "ἔτυχε," φησὶν, "ἐν Σπάρτῃ
 παρεπιδημῶν⁹ ἐκ Τεγέας ἀνὴρ ὄνομα Χείλεως, ὃ
 φίλοι τινὲς καὶ ξένοι τῶν ἐφόρων ἦσαν· οὗτος οὖν
 ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ἐκπέμψαι τὸ στράτευμα, λέγων ὅτι
 τοῦ διατειχίσματος οὐδὲν ὄφελός ἐστι Πελοποννη-
 σίοις, ἂν Ἀθηναῖοι Μαρδονίῳ προσγένωνται." 872
 τοῦτο Πausανίαν ἐξήγαγεν εἰς Πλαταιὰς μετὰ τῆς
 δυνάμεως· εἰ δέ τι κατέσχευεν οἰκείον ἐν Τεγέᾳ

¹ ἐτι τῆς Emperius: ἐν τῇ. ² δυσμενείας E: δυσμενεία B.

³ αὐτὸν B: αὐτὸν E.

⁴ ὠρρώδουν τοὺς Reiske: ὄρρωδοῦντας.

⁵ ἐγκαταλίπωσι B: ἐγκαταλείπωσι E.

⁶ εἰς Πλαταιὰς Leonicus: ἐκ Πλαταιᾶς.

prize; and so no final decision was reached; but
 instead of censuring their selfish ambition Herodotus
 merely says that all the Greeks sailed away after
 envy had made them refuse him the first place.^a

41. In his ninth and last book he was anxious to
 vent all that was left of his venom against the Spar-
 tans and he did his best to deprive their city of its
 glorious victory and famous achievement at Plataea.
 This appears from his saying that previously they
 were afraid the Athenians might be persuaded by
 Mardonius and might abandon the Greek cause, but
 once the isthmus was fortified and they considered
 that the Peloponnese was safe, they no longer paid
 any attention to the rest but simply ignored them,
 keeping festival at home while they put off the
 Athenian envoys with empty words and wasted their
 time.^b How did it happen, then, that five thousand
 Spartan citizens marched out to Plataea, each man
 with seven helots to attend him? or that they
 accepted the great hazard, won the day, and slew so
 many thousands? Listen to his convincing explana-
 tion: "It happened," he says, "that a man called
 Cheileôs was in Sparta on a visit from Tegea, who was
 bound by ties of friendship and hospitality to some of
 the ephors; and it was he who persuaded them to
 send out their army, telling them that the wall across
 the isthmus would be useless to the Peloponnesians
 if the Athenians went over to Mardonius."^c This, it
 appears, is what brought Pausanias and his men out
 to Plataea; and if some private business or other had

^a viii. 123. 1-124. 1.

^b ix. 6-8.

^c ix. 9 (a paraphrase, not a quotation).

⁷ αὐτὸν B: αὐτὸν E.

⁸ αἰτίας Stephanus: αἴτια.

⁹ παρεπιδημῶν Turnebus: παρεπιδημῶν.

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(872) πρᾶγμα τὸν Χείλεων ἐκείνον, οὐκ ἂν ἢ Ἑλλάς περιεγένετο.

42. Πάλιν δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἔχων ὃ τι χρήσαιτο, ποτὲ μὲν αἶρει¹ ποτὲ δὲ καταβάλλει τὴν πόλιν ἄνω καὶ κάτω μεταφέρων, οὗς Τεγεάταις μὲν εἰς ἀγῶνα λέγει περὶ τῶν δευτερείων καταστάντας Ἡρακλειδῶν τε μεμνήσθαι καὶ τὰ πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας πραχθέντα προφέρειν ταφάς τε Πελοποννησίων τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ πεσόντων· καὶ τέλος εἰς τὸν Μαραθῶνα καταβαίνειν τῷ λόγῳ φιλοτιμουμένους καὶ ἀγαπῶντας ἡγεμονίας τυχεῖν τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ κέρως·
B ὀλίγον² δ' ὕστερον αὐτοῖς Πausανίαν καὶ Σπαρτιατίας τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὑφίσθαι, καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὅπως κατὰ Πέρσας ἀντιταχθῶσι τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας παραλαβόντες, αὐτοῖς δὲ παραδόντες τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὡς ἀθρεία τὴν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μάχην ἀπολεγόμενος.³ καίτοι γελοῖον, εἰ μὴ συνήθεις εἶεν οἱ πολέμοι, μάχεσθαι μὴ θέλειν.

Ἄλλὰ τοὺς γ' ἄλλους Ἑλληνας εἰς ἕτερον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀγομένους στρατόπεδον, "ὡς ἐκινήθησαν," φησί, "φεύγειν ἀσμένως τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν τῶν Πλαταιέων⁴ πόλιν, φεύγοντας δ' ἀφικέσθαι

¹ ποτὲ μὲν αἶρει added by Reiske: no lacuna marked in MSS.

² ὀλίγον E: ὀλίγῳ B.

³ ἀπολεγόμενος Wyttenbach: ἀπολογουμένους E: ἀπολογουμένου B.

⁴ τῶν Πλαταιέων B: ἐν Πλαταιέων E: Πλαταιέων MSS. of Herodotus.

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kept this man Cheileōs in Tegea, Greece would not have survived.

42. On the other hand he cannot decide how to treat the Athenians, but shifts them up and down, raising their city to the skies one moment and casting it down the next. He says that they disputed with the Tegeans the right to command on the left wing, a post which would put them next in honour to the Spartans and which would satisfy their ambition; and after beginning with a reference to the Heraclidae and Athenian exploits in the battle against the Amazons and pointing out how they gave burial to the Peloponnesians who fell at the foot of the Cadmeia, they finally came down to recent times with an appeal to Marathon.^a Then a little later, according to Herodotus, Pausanias and the Spartans relinquished their command to the Athenians, inviting them to take over the right wing, so that they would be opposite the Persians, and hand over the left wing to the Spartans.^b Thus the Spartans are supposed to disqualify themselves for fighting the barbarians because of their lack of experience. But it is absurd that they should be unwilling to face an enemy unless they had had previous experience with him.

As for the rest of the Greeks, however, he describes how their generals started to lead them to another camping ground, "and," he says, "when the move began they gladly seized the chance to run away from the enemy's cavalry into the city of Plataea, and their flight brought them to the temple of Hera."^c

^a ix. 26-27.

^b ix. 46. Plutarch has omitted to say that, according to Herodotus (ix. 28-29) the Spartans gave the Athenians preference over the Tegeans and put them on the left wing.

^c ix. 52.

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(872) πρὸς τὸ 'Ηραῖον'· ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀπείθειαν καὶ λιποταξίαν¹ καὶ προδοσίαν ὁμοῦ τι² πάντων κατηγορήσε. τέλος δὲ μόνους φησὶ τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Τεγεάτας τοῖς δὲ Θηβαίοις Ἀθηναίους συμπεσόντας διαγωνίσασθαι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας πόλεις ὁμαλῶς ἀπάσας τοῦ κατορθώματος ἀπεστέρηκεν· "οὐδένα³ συνεφάμασθαι τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀλλὰ καθημένους πάντας ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων ἐγγὺς καταλιπεῖν καὶ προδοῦναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μαχομένους· ὁψὲ δὲ Φλιασίους καὶ Μεγαρέας πυθομένους νικῶντα Πausανίαν, προσφερομένους καὶ ἐμπεσόντας εἰς τὸ Θηβαίων ἰππικόν, οὐδενὶ λόγῳ διαφθαρῆναι· Κορινθίους δὲ τῇ μὲν μάχῃ μὴ παραγενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην ἐπειγομένους διὰ τῶν λόφων, μὴ περιπέσειν⁴ τοῖς ἰππεύσι τῶν Θηβαίων"· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, τῆς τροπῆς γενομένης, προῖππεύοντες τῶν βαρβάρων προθύμως παρεβοήθουν φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς, δηλονότι τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις στιγμάτων χάριν ἀποδιδόντες.

⁵ Ἀλλὰ Κορινθίους γε⁵ καὶ τάξιν ἦν⁶ ἐμάχοντο τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ τέλος⁷ ἠλίκον ὑπήρξεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἀγῶνος ἕξεστι Σιμωνίδου πυθέσθαι γράφοντος ἐν τούτοις·

μέσσοι⁸ δ' οἱ τ' Ἐφυραν⁹ πολυπίδακα καιετάρωντες,
παντοίης ἀρετῆς ἴδριες ἐν πολέμῳ,

¹ λιποταξίαν Bernardakis: λειποταξίαν.

² τι E: τοι B.

³ Reiske would add λέγων, Wyttenbach γάρ.

⁴ περιπέσειν Turnebus: παραπεσειν.

⁵ γε Reiske: τε.

⁶ ἦν] ἦ or καθ' ἦν Wyttenbach, ἦν ἔχοντες Reiske.

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With these words he has contrived to accuse practically everyone of disobedience, desertion of their posts, and treachery. And in the end he says it was only the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans who grappled and fought with the barbarians, and the Athenians with the Thebans; all the other cities alike he deprives of their share in the victory. "None of them took any part in the battle, but all sat by their arms, deserting and betraying their comrades who were fighting for them near by, until at last the Phliasians and Megarians, hearing that Pausanias was winning the day, advanced and fell in with the Theban cavalry and were ignominiously cut to pieces; and the Corinthians were not in the battle at all, but after the victory they hastened forward through the foothills and avoided the Theban troopers." ^a It appears that the Thebans, once the rout started, formed a cavalry screen for the barbarians and did their best to cover the retreat—in gratitude, no doubt, for the brands that they received at Thermopylae. ^b

Now so far as the Corinthians are concerned, the post they occupied in fighting the barbarians and the honour that resulted for them from the battle of Plataea may be seen from the following lines of Simonides:

And in the centre men from Ephyræ's springs,
Brave warriors skilled in every branch of war,

^a ix. 69.

^b Cf. above, 866 F—867 B.

⁷ τέλος] κλέος Wyttenbach.

⁸ μέσσοι Stephanus, Turnebus: μέσσοισι (i.e. ἐν τούτοις μέσσοισι).

⁹ οἱ τ' Ἐφυραν Reiske (following Xylander), Schneidewin: οἱ γέφυραν E: οἱ γ' ἔφυραν B.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(872) οἱ τε πόλιν Γλαύκοιο, Κορίνθιον ἄστν, νέμοντες,
 E οἱ καὶ¹ κάλλιστον μάρτυν ἔθεντο πόνων
 χρυσοῦ τιμήντος ἐν αἰθέρι· καὶ σφιν ἀέξει
 αὐτῶν τ' εὐρείαν κληδόνα καὶ πατέρων.

ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ χορὸν² ἐν Κορίνθῳ διδάσκων οὐδ'
 ᾄσμα ποιῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλως³ δὲ τὰς πράξεις
 ἐκείνας ἐν ἐλεγείᾳ⁴ γράφων ἱστόρηκεν.

Ὁ δὲ προλαμβάνων τὸν ἔλεγχον τοῦ ψεύσματος
 F τῶν ἐρησομένων, " πόθεν οὖν πολυάνδρια καὶ θῆκαι
 τοσαῦται καὶ μνήματα νεκρῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐναγίζουσι
 ἄχρι νῦν Πλαταιεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμπαρόντων,"
 πρᾶγμα⁵ αἰσχίον, ὡς οἶμαι, τῆς προδοσίας τῶν
 γενεῶν κατηγορήκεν ἐν τούτοις· " τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
 ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῆσιν ἐόντες τάφοι,
 τούτους δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, αἰσχυνομένους⁶ τῇ
 ἀπεστοῖ⁷ τῆς μάχης ἐκάστους χώματα χῶσαι κεινὰ
 τῶν ἐπιγνομένων εἵνεκ' ἀνθρώπων." ταύτην τὴν
 ἀπεστοῶ⁸ τῆς μάχης προδοσίαν οὖσαν Ἡρόδοτος
 ἀνθρώπων μόνος ἀπάντων ἤκουσε, Πausανίαν δὲ
 873 καὶ Ἀριστείδην καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθη-
 ναίους ἔλαθον οἱ Ἕλληγες ἐγκαταλιπόντες τὸν κίν-
 δυνον· καὶ οὐτ' Αἰγινήτας Ἀθηναῖοι διαφόρους
 ὄντας εἶρξαν τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, οὔτε Κορινθίους ἤλεγ-

¹ οἱ καὶ Ursinus: οἵπερ Hiller: οἱοι Diehl: οἱ.

² οὐ χορὸν Herwerden: οὐχ ὁλον.

³ ἀλλως] Bernardakis suggests ἀπλῶς.

⁴ ἐν ἐλεγείᾳ Wilamowitz: ἐλεγεία.

⁵ πρᾶγμα L. P.: ὄνειδος Reiske: ἐγκλημα or κατηγορήμα
 Bernardakis: lacuna of 5-9 letters in mss.

⁶ αἰσχυνομένους] mss. of Herodotus have ἐπαισχυνομένους or
 ἀπαισχυνομένους.

⁷ ἀπεστοῖ Stephanus (as in Herodotus): ἀπο . . . (lacuna
 of 4-5 letters).

ON THE MALICE OF HERODOTUS, 872-873

The countrymen of Glaucus, hailed the sun,
 Shining like precious gold in the sky above,
 To bear true witness to the way they fought.
 So will their fame and fathers' fame increase.^a

And these lines are not meant to be sung by a chorus in Corinth nor are they from an ode in honour of the city; they come from an elegiac poem which simply tells the story of those events.

But Herodotus anticipated that people might expose his lies by asking: "How, then, do you explain these communal graves and all these tombs and monuments of the dead, at which the Plataeans make offerings to this day with the Greeks looking on?" His answer is to make a charge far more shocking than that of betraying their kinsmen. "As for the supposed graves of other men which are to be seen at Plataea," he says, "my information is that these were piled up by the men from the various cities who were ashamed of their absence from the battle; and they are empty mounds, intended to impress future generations." Now this treacherous absence from the battle is something that no one else ever heard of except Herodotus. Pausanias and Aristeides, Spartans and Athenians alike, were quite unaware that their fellow Greeks shirked the danger; and the Athenians did not bar the Aeginetans from being included in the inscription,^c despite their enmity, nor challenge the claim of the Corinthians, whom they

^a *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, pp. 84-85.

^b ix. 85. 3.

^c For the inscription on the serpent column see note on 870 D above.

⁸ ταύτην τὴν ἀπεστοῶ Reiske: ταύτην ἀπεστοῶ Stephanus: ταύτην ἀπο . . . (lacuna of 4-7 letters).

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(873) ξαν, οὓς πρότερον νικῶντες¹ φεύγειν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, ἀντιμαρτυρούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος. καίτοι Κλεάδας ἦν ὁ Πλαταιεύς, ὕστερον ἔτεσι δέκα² τῶν Μηδικῶν Αἰγινήταις χαριζόμενος, ὡς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος, ὃς³ ἐπάνυμον ἔχωσεν αὐτῶν πολυάνδριον.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τί παθόντες εὐθὺς τότε πρὸς μὲν ἀλλήλους ὀλίγον ἐδέησαν εἰς Β χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν περὶ τοῦ τροπαίου τῆς ἀναστάσεως, τοὺς δ' Ἑλληνας ἀποδειλιάσαντας καὶ ἀποδράντας⁴ οὐκ ἀπήλαυον τῶν ἀριστείων, ἀλλ' ἐνέγραφον τοῖς τρίποσι⁵ καὶ τοῖς κολοσσοῖς καὶ μετεδίδοσαν τῶν λαφύρων; τέλος δὲ τῷ βωμῷ τοῦπίγραμμα τοῦτο γράφοντες ἐνεχάραξαν·

τόνδε ποθ'⁶ Ἑλληνες Νίκης⁷ κράτει, ἔργω Ἄρηος,⁸ Πέρσας ἐξελάσαντες, ἐλευθέρᾳ Ἑλλάδι κοινὸν ἰδρύσαντο Διὸς βωμὸν Ἐλευθερίου.

μη καὶ τοῦτο Κλεάδας ἢ τις ἄλλος, ὃ Ἡρόδοτε, κολακεύων τὰς πόλεις ἐπέγραψε; τί οὖν ἐδέοντο τὴν γῆν ὀρύσσοντες διακενῆς ἔχειν πράγματα⁹ καὶ ῥαδιουργεῖν χώματα καὶ μνήματα τῶν ἐπιγιγνο-

¹ οὓς πρότερον νικῶντες] οὓς πρότερον εἶπον οἱ αὐτοὺς πρότερον εἰπόντες Turnebus: ὡς πρότερον εἰπόντες Wyttenbach.

² ἦν ὁ Πλαταιεύς, ὕστερον ἔτεσι δέκα L. P.: ἦν ὁ Πλαταιεύς, ὃς ἔτεσι δέκα ὕστερον Duebner: ὁ Πλαταιεύς ἔτεσι δέκα ὕστερον Stephanus: ἦν ὁ Πλαταιεύς ἔτεσι δέκα.

³ ὃς added by L. P.

⁴ ἀποδράντας Herwerden: ἀποδράσαντας.

⁵ τρίποσι Manton: στρ. π. σι Ε: τροπαίους B.

⁶ ποθ' Stephanus: μεθ'. ⁷ Νίκης Stephanus: νίκην.

⁸ In *Palatine Anthology*, vi. 50 a pentameter is inserted: εὐτόλμω ψυχῆς λήματι πειθόμενοι.

⁹ πράγματα Duebner: τὰ πράγματα.

ON THE MALICE OF HERODOTUS, 873

charged with running away from the previous victorious battle at Salamis (though Greece testified differently). And yet, so Herodotus tells us, it was Cleadas the Plataean, ten years after the Persian Wars, who, as a favour to the Aeginetans, piled up the communal burial mound which goes by their name.^a

How does it happen, then, that the Athenians and Spartans almost came to blows immediately over the matter of setting up a trophy,^b but instead of preventing the cowardly runaway Greeks from sharing in the honours they inscribed their names on the tripods and statues and gave them their share of the spoils? And, finally, these were the verses which they wrote and inscribed on the altar^c:

When Greeks by Victory's power and work of Ares' hand
Drove forth the Medes, this common altar here they raised
Of Zeus, the god of Freedom, for Free Greece.^d

Is it possible, Herodotus, that this inscription too was put up by Cleadas or someone else in flattery of the cities? What need, then, had they to undertake the useless labour of digging up the earth and piling up deceitful mounds and monuments for the sake of

^a ix. 85. 3.

^b Cf. *Life of Aristides*, chap. xx, where Aristides plays the part of peacemaker. The quarrel is not mentioned by Herodotus, and its historicity is very doubtful (cf. Hauvette, *Hérodote*, p. 482).

^c The altar of Zeus Eleutherios, centre of the Festival of Freedom which was celebrated at Plataea every four years.

^d *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 103, cf. *Life of Aristides*, chap. xix. *Palatine Anth.* vi. 50 gives a slightly different version and normalizes the form by inserting a pentameter after verse 1:

"In their own hearts' high courage trust reposing."

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(873) μένων ἔνεκ' ἀνθρώπων κατασκευάζοντες, ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις καὶ μεγίστοις ἀναθήμασι τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν καθιερουμένην ὀρώντες;

Καὶ μὴν Πausanίας, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἤδη τυραννικὰ φρονῶν ἐπέγραψεν ἐν Δελφοῖς·

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγός, ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων,
Πausanίας Φοῖβῳ¹ μνήμ' ἀνέθηκε τότε,

κοινούμενος² ἀμωσγέπως³ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὴν δόξαν ὧν ἑαυτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε ἡγεμόνα· τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἀνασχομένων ἀλλ' ἐγκαλούντων, πέμψαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦτο μὲν ἐξεκόλασαν (ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τὸ ἐλεγείον, πασῶν δ' ἀντεπέ-
D γραψαν)⁴ τὰ ὀνόματα⁵ τῶν πόλεων, ὥσπερ ἦν δίκαιον.⁶ καίτοι πῶς εἰκός ἐστιν ἢ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀγανακτεῖν τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς μὴ μετασχόντας, εἰ συνήδεσαν⁷ ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἀπεστῶ⁸ τῆς μάχης, ἢ Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐκχαράξαντας⁹ ἐπιγράψαι τοὺς ἐγκαταλιπόντας καὶ περιδόντας τὸν κίνδυνον; ὡς δεινότατόν ἐστιν, εἰ Σωφάνης μὲν καὶ Ἀείμνηστος¹⁰ καὶ πάντες οἱ διαπρεπῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην οὐδὲ
E Κυθνίων ἐπιγραφομένων τοῖς τροπαίοις οὐδὲ Μηλίων ἠχθέσθησαν,¹¹ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ τρισὶ μόναις

¹ Φοῖβῳ B: φόβῳ E.

² κοινούμενος E: lacuna of 9 letters in B.

³ ἀμωσγέπως Reiske: ἄλλως τε πῶς.

⁴ ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τὸ ἐλεγείον, πασῶν δὲ ἀντεπέγραψαν added by L. P., following Powell and Manton ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τὸ ἐλεγείον, τοῦτο δὲ ἐπέγραψαν: no lacuna marked in mss.

⁵ τὰ ὀνόματα E: τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα B.

⁶ ἐνεχάραξαν added in B.

⁷ συνήδεσαν B: συνήδεισαν E.

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future generations, if they saw their own good name consecrated on the most conspicuous and greatest monuments of all?

Furthermore, Pausanias, who already had thoughts of tyranny in his mind, so they say, put up this inscription at Delphi:

Commander of Greeks, who slew the Persian host, Pausanias to Phoebus raised this monument,^a

thus sharing, after a fashion, his glory with the Greeks by declaring himself their commander. And when the Greeks refused to accept this wording and raised complaints, the Spartans sent to Delphi and erased this dedication, inscribing instead the names of all the cities, as was proper.^b But can we believe that the Greeks would resent not being included in the inscription if their absence from the battle was on their conscience, or that the Spartans would strike out the name of their ruler and commander and substitute the names of men who shirked and ignored the contest? It is very strange that Sophanes and Aeimnestus^c and all the men who fought with distinction in that battle never objected when the Cythnians and Melians had their names engraved on the trophies,^d while Hero-

^a Cf. Thucydides, i. 132. *Palatine Anth.* vi. 197 gives the dedication in the first person and in the original Doric dialect.

^b Thucydides, i. 132. 3.

^c Herodotus, ix. 64, 73-75. Cf. *Life of Aristeides*, chap. xix, where the form Arimnestus is preferred.

^d Cythnians and Melians are mentioned on the serpent column (see note on 870 D above).

⁸ ἀπεστῶ (cf. 872 F): ἀπο . . . E: ἀπόλειψιν B.

⁹ ἐκχαράξαντας E: ἐγχαράξαντας B.

¹⁰ Σωφάνης μὲν καὶ Ἀείμνηστος Wesseling (cf. Herodotus, x. 64 and 73): Σωχάρης μὲν καὶ Δείπνιστος.

¹¹ ἠχθέσθησαν E: ἠδέσθησαν B.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(873) πόλεσιν ἀναθεῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐκχαράττει τῶν τροπαίων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν.

43. Τεσσάρων δ' ἀγῶνων τότε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένων, ἐκ μὲν Ἀρτεμισίου τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποδρᾶναί φησιν, ἐν δὲ Θερμοπύλαις, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ βασιλέως προκινδυνεύοντος,¹ οἰκουρεῖν καὶ ἀμελεῖν Ὀλύμπια καὶ Κάρνεια² πανηγυρίζοντας· τὰ δ' ἐν Σαλαμῖνι διηγούμενος τοσοῦτους περὶ Ἀρτεμισίας³ λόγους γέγραφεν, ὅσοις ὄλην τὴν ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἀπήγγελλε· τέλος δέ, καθημένους ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἀγνοῆσαι μέχρι τέλους τὸν ἀγῶνα τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὡς περ βατραχομαχίας⁴ γινομένης, ἣν⁵ Πίγρης ὁ Ἀρτεμισίας⁶ ἐν ἔπεισι⁷ παίζων καὶ φλυαρῶν ἔγραψε, σιωπῇ διαγωνίσασθαι συνθεμένων, ἵνα λάθωσι τοὺς ἄλλους· αὐτοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀνδρεία⁸ μὲν οὐδὲν κρείττονας γενέσθαι τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀνόπλοις⁹ δὲ καὶ γυμνοῖς μαχομένους κρατῆσαι. Ξέρξου μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ παρόντος, ὑπὸ μαστίγων μόλις ὀπισθεν ὠθούμενοι προσεφέροντο
874 τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἐν δὲ Πλαταιαῖς, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἑτέρας

¹ προκινδυνεύοντος B: προσκινδυνεύοντος E.

² Κάρνεια B: ἀκάρνια E.

³ Ἀρτεμισίας Basel edition: Ἀρτεμισίου B: Ἀρτεμισίου E.

⁴ βατραχομαχίας] βατραχομομαχίας Stephanus and subsequent editions.

⁵ ἣν added by Wyttenbach. Immisch would delete Πίγρης . . . ἔγραψε as gloss.

⁶ Ἀρτεμισίας] Perhaps πολίτης should be added (suggested by Wyttenbach).

⁷ ἐν ἔπεισι Basel edition: ἐπέπεσε B: ἐπέπαισε E.

⁸ ἀνδρεία Bernardakis: ἀνδρία.

⁹ ἀνόπλοις] But cf. ἀόπλοις in 874 A.

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dotus credits only three cities with taking part and strikes out the names of all the others from the trophies and the temples.

43. Thus, in the four battles that were fought with the barbarians at that time, he says that at Artemisium the Greeks ran away^a and that at Thermopylae, while their king and commander faced death in the front line, they paid no attention but stayed at home celebrating the Olympic and Carneian festivals^b; in his treatment of Salamis he has devoted more space to stories about Artemisia than to his entire account of the battle^c; and finally at Plataea he says that the Greeks sat idle knowing nothing of the battle till the end, as though it was like the battle of frogs and mice which Artemisia's fellow citizen, Pigres, described in his silly mock epic,^d and they had made an agreement to fight in silence so that the others would not know about it. As for the Spartans themselves, he says they were in no way superior to the barbarians in courage, but won because the enemy had no shields or body armour. It seems that when Xerxes himself was present the barbarians were pushed forward from behind with blows of the whip and could scarcely be made to face the Greeks,^e but at Plataea they acquired a different spirit,^f and in

^a See above, 867 B—868 A.

^b Not a fair account of vii. 206 (cf. viii. 72). Plutarch would hardly claim that a large Greek force fought at Thermopylae alongside the Spartans.

^c For these stories see viii. 68-69, 87-88, 93, 101-103.

^d For this poem see L.C.L. *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns, and Homeric*, with comment in Introduction, p. xli. Alexander the Great is said to have called Antipater's battle with the Spartans a "battle of mice"—i.e. a trifling incident in comparison with his conquests in Asia (*Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xv).

^e i.e. at Thermopylae (vii. 223. 2).

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(874) ψυχὰς μεταλαβόντες¹ “λήματι μὲν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἦσσονες ἦσαν, ἢ δὲ ἐσθῆς, ἔρημος εἶουσα² ὄπλων, πλείστον ἐδηλήσατό σφεας· πρὸς γὰρ ὀπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνήται³ ἀγῶνα ἐποιέοντο.”

Τί οὖν περίεστιν ἔνδοξον ἢ μέγα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀπ’ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀγῶνων, εἰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἀόπλοις ἐμάχοντο, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους ἢ μάχῃ παρόντας ἔλαθε, κενὰ δὲ πολυάνδρια τιμώμενα τοῖς ἐκάστου,⁴ ψευστῶν⁵ δὲ γραμμάτων μεστοὶ τρίποδες ἐστᾶσι καὶ βωμοὶ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς, μόνος δὲ τάληθές Ἡρόδοτος ἔγνω, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ὅσοι λόγον Ἑλλήνων ἔχουσιν, ἐξηπάτηκεν ἢ φήμῃ τῶν τότε κατορθωμάτων, ὡς ὑπερφυῶν γενομένων;

Τί δῆτα; γραφικὸς ἀνὴρ,⁶ καὶ ἡδὺς ὁ λόγος, καὶ χάρις ἐπεστι καὶ δεινότης καὶ ὦρα τοῖς διηγήμασι,

μῦθον δ’ ὡς ὅτ’ αἰοιδός, ἐπισταμένως

μὲν οὐ, λιγυρῶς δὲ καὶ γλαφυρῶς ἡγόρευκεν. ἀμέλει ταῦτα καὶ κηλεῖ καὶ προσάγεται πάντα, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἐν ῥόδοις δεῖ καθαρίδα φυλάττεσθαι τὴν βλασφημίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κακολογίαν,⁷ λείοις καὶ ἀπαλοῖς σχήμασιν ὑποδεδυκυῖαν, ἵνα μὴ λάθωμεν ἀτόπους καὶ ψευδεῖς περὶ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ μεγίστων τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων καὶ ἀνδρῶν δόξας λαβόντες.

¹ μεταλαβόντες B: μεταβαλόντες E.

² εἶουσα Bernardakis: οὔσα.

³ γυμνήται] γυμνήτες Bernardakis (as in Herodotus).

⁴ τιμώμενα τοῖς ἐκάστου] τιμώμενα τοῖς ἐκασταχοῦ Reiske: τιμώμεν ἐκάστου ἔτους Emperius: τιμώμεν ἔτους ἐκάστου Bernardakis. ⁵ ψευστῶν] ψευδῶν Basel edition.

⁶ ἀνὴρ Bernardakis: ἀνὴρ.

⁷ κακολογίαν E: μικρολογίαν B: πικρολογίαν Salmasius.

ON THE MALICE OF HERODOTUS, 874

courage and strength were equal,” “but the lack of protective armour in their equipment did them great harm; they were light-armed troops fighting with hoplites.”^a

Well, then, is there anything glorious or great left to the Greeks from these battles, if the Spartans fought with an unarmed enemy, and if the others were unaware that a battle was going on near by and the descendants of each man who was there pay honour to empty graves, and the tripods and altars that stand in the temples of the gods are filled with lying names, and only Herodotus knows the truth, while everybody else, everyone who has ever heard of the Greeks, has been deceived by the tradition which represents these events as magnificent achievements?

We must admit that Herodotus is an artist, that his history makes good reading, that there is charm and skill and grace in his narrative, and that he has told his story “as a bard tells a tale,”^b I mean not “with knowledge and wisdom,” but “with musical clear-flowing words.”^c To be sure, these writings charm and attract everyone, but we must be on our guard against his slanders and his ugly lies which, like the rose-beetle, lurk beneath a smooth and soft exterior; we must not be tricked into accepting unworthy and false notions about the greatest and best cities and men of Greece.

^a ix. 62. 3, 63. 2.

^b Homer, *Odyssey*, xi. 368. Alcinoüs is telling Odysseus that he has both grace of speech and regard for truth—unlike most travellers.

^c Thus Plutarch grants to Herodotus the virtues of a lying poet, but not those of an historian.