

## Aristofane

*Cavalieri*, vv. 812-19 (Venditore di salsicce)

σὺ Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἀντιφερίζεις;  
ὃς ἐποίησεν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν μεστήν εὐρῶν ἐπιχειλῆ,  
καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀριστώσῃ τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαξεν,  
ἀφελῶν τ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἰχθῦς καινοὺς παρέθηκεν:  
σὺ δ' Ἀθηναίους ἐζήτησας μικροπολίτας ἀποφῆναι  
διατειχίζων καὶ χρησιμῶδων, ὁ Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἀντιφερίζων.  
κάκεϊνος μὲν φεύγει τὴν γῆν σὺ δ' Ἀχιλλείων ἀπομάττει.

You dare to compare yourself to Themistocles, who found our city half empty and left it full to overflowing, who one day gave us the Piraeus for dinner, and added fresh fish to all our usual meals. You, on the contrary, you, who compare yourself with Themistocles, have only sought to reduce our city in size, to shut it within its walls, to chant oracles to us. And Themistocles goes into exile, while you clean your fingers with refined bread.

## Diodoro, *Biblioteca storica*, Libro XI

2 - [5] οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες πυθόμενοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν Περσῶν δυνάμεως, ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς Θετταλίαν μυρίους ὀπλίτας τοὺς καταληψομένους τὰς περὶ τὰ Τέμπη παρόδους: ἠγεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων Συνετός, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων Θεμιστοκλῆς. οὗτοι δὲ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστείλαντες ἠξίου ἀποστέλλειν στρατιώτας τοὺς κοινῇ φυλάζοντας τὰς παρόδους: ἔσπευδον γὰρ ἀπάσας τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις διαλαβεῖν ταῖς προφυλακαῖς καὶ κοινοποιήσασθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας πόλεμον. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν πλησιοχώρων ταῖς παρόδοις ἔδωκαν οἱ πλείους ὕδωρ τε καὶ γῆν τοῖς ἀφιγμένοις ἀγγέλοις ἀπὸ Ξέρξου, ἀπογνόντες τὴν περὶ τὰ Τέμπη φυλακὴν ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν.

2 - [5] And the Greeks, when they learned of the great size of the Persian armaments, dispatched ten thousand hoplites into Thessaly to seize the passes of Tempe; Syntetus commanded the Lacedaemonians and Themistocles the Athenians. These commanders dispatched ambassadors to the states and asked them to send soldiers to join in the common defence of the passes; for they eagerly desired that all the Greek states should each have a share in the defence and make common cause in the war against the Persians. [6] But since the larger number of the Thessalians and other Greeks who dwelt near the passes had given the water and earth to the envoys of Xerxes when they arrived, the two generals despaired of the defence at Tempe and returned to their own soil.

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12 - [4] οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ὤρμουν μὲν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας, εἶχον δὲ τὰς πάσας τριῆρεις διακοσίας καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα: καὶ τούτων ἦσαν τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἑκατὸν καὶ τετραράκοντα, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. τούτων δὲ ναύαρχος μὲν ἦν

Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, διώκει δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν στόλον Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος: οὗτος γὰρ διὰ σύνεσιν καὶ στρατηγίαν μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανεν οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Εὐρυβιάδῃ, καὶ πάντες τούτῳ προσέχοντες προθύμως ὑπήκουον. [5] προτεθείσης δὲ βουλῆς ἐν τοῖς τῶν νεῶν ἡγεμόσι περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔκριναν ἔχειν καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν πολεμίων ἀναδέχεσθαι, μόνος δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀπεφήνατο γνώμην, διδάσκων ὅτι συμφέρει παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ συντεταγμένῳ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους: οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς πλεονεκτήσῃν ἀθρόαις ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιπλέοντας τοῖς διὰ τὴν ταραχὴν διεσπασμένην ἔχουσι τὴν τάξιν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ διεστηκόντων λιμένων ἐκπλέουσι. τέλος δὲ κατὰ τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους κρίσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπέπλευσαν. [6] τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐκ πολλῶν λιμένων ἀναγομένων, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ περὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα διεσπαρμένοις τοῖς Πέρσας συμπλεκόμενοι πολλὰς μὲν ναῦς κατέδυσαν, οὐκ ὀλίγας δὲ φυγεῖν ἀναγκάσαντες μέχρι τῆς γῆς κατεδίωξαν: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παντὸς τοῦ στόλου συναχθέντος καὶ γενομένης ναυμαχίας ἰσχυρᾶς, μῆρι μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἑκάτεροι ἐπροτέρησαν, οὐδέτεροι δὲ ὀλοσχερεῖ νίκη πλεονεκτήσαντες νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης διελύθησαν.

12 - ... [4] The Greeks were stationed at Artemisium in Euboea and had in all two hundred and eighty triremes; of these ships one hundred and forty were Athenian and the remainder were furnished by the rest of the Greeks. Their admiral was Eurybiades the Spartan, and Themistocles the Athenian supervised the affairs of the fleet; for the latter, by reason of his sagacity and skill as a general, enjoyed great favour not only with the Greeks throughout the fleet but also with Eurybiades himself, and all men looked to him and harkened to him eagerly. [5] And when a meeting of the commanders of the ships was held to discuss the engagement, the rest of them all favoured waiting to receive the advance of the enemy; but Themistocles alone expressed the opposite opinion, showing them that it was to their advantage to sail against the enemy with the whole fleet in one array; for in this way, he declared, they would have the upper hand, attacking as they would with their ships in a single body an enemy whose formation was broken by disorder, as it must be, for they would be issuing out of many harbours at some distance apart. In the end the Greeks followed the opinion of Themistocles and sailed against the enemy with the entire fleet. [6] And since the barbarians put out from many harbours, at the outset Themistocles, engaging with the scattered Persians, sank many ships and not a few he forced to turn in flight and pursued as far as the land; but later, when the whole fleet had gathered and a fierce battle ensued, each side gained the superiority in one part of the line but neither won a complete victory, and at nightfall the engagement was broken off.

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16 - [1] τέλος δὲ κοινῷ δόγματος γενομένου περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχεῖν, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες παρεσκευάζοντο τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον. ὁ δ' οὖν Εὐρυβιάδης παραλαβὼν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρακαλεῖν ἐπεχείρει τὰ πλήθη καὶ προτρέπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον κίνδυνον. οὐ μὴν τὸ πλῆθος ὑπήκουεν, ἀλλὰ πάντων καταπεπληγμένων τὸ μέγεθος τῶν Περσικῶν δυνάμεων οὐδεὶς προσεῖχε τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς Σαλαμίνοσ ἐκπλεῖν ἔσπευδεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. [2] οὐδὲν δ' ἦττον καὶ τὸ πεζὸν στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐδεδῆει

τὰς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις, ἢ τε τῶν περὶ Θερμοπύλας ἀπώλεια τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων ἀνδρῶν παρείχετο κατάπληξιν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν συμπτώματα πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὄντα πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἐνεποίει τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. [3] οἱ δὲ συνέδροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρῶντες τὴν τῶν ὄχλων ταραχὴν καὶ τὴν ὅλην ἔκπληξιν, ἐψηφίσαντο διατειχίζειν τὸν Ἴσθμόν. καὶ ταχὺ τῶν ἔργων συντελεσθέντων διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐργαζομένων, οἱ μὲν Πελοποννήσιοι ὠχύρουν τὸ τεῖχος, διατεῖνον ἐπὶ σταδίουσ τετταράκοντα ἀπὸ Λεχαιῶν μέχρι Κεγχρεῶν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι διατρίβοντες μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στόλου κατεπλάγησαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε μηκέτι πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν.

16 – [1] When at last a decision was reached by all to fight the sea-battle at Salamis, the Greeks set about making the preparations necessary to meet the Persians and the peril of battle. Accordingly Eurybiades, accompanied by Themistocles, undertook to encourage the crews and incite them to face the impending struggle. However, the crews would not heed them, but since they were one and all dismayed at the magnitude of the Persian forces, not a man of them paid any attention to his commander, every one being intent upon sailing from Salamis to the Peloponnesus. [2] And the army of the Greeks on land was no whit less terrified by the armament of the enemy, and not only the loss at Thermopylae of their most illustrious warriors caused them dismay, but also the disasters which were taking place in Attica before their very eyes were filling the Greeks with utter despair. [3] Meanwhile the members of the congress of the Greeks, observing the unrest of the masses and the dismay prevailing everywhere, voted to build a wall across the Isthmus. The works were completed speedily because of the enthusiasm and the multitude of those engaged in the task; but while the Peloponnesians were strengthening the wall, which extended a distance of forty stades, from Lechaeum to Cenchreae, the forces which were inactive at Salamis, together with the entire fleet, were so terror-stricken that they no longer obeyed the orders of their commanders.

17 – [1] ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὀρῶν τὸν μὲν ναύαρχον Εὐρυβιάδην μὴ δυνάμενον περιγενέσθαι τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ὀρμῆς, τὰς δὲ περὶ Σαλαμίνα δυσχωρίας δύνασθαι πολλὰ συμβαλέσθαι πρὸς τὴν νίκην, ἐμηχανήσατό τι τοιοῦτον: ἔπεισέ τινα πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην αὐτομολῆσαι καὶ διαβεβαιώσασθαι, διότι μέλλουσιν αἱ κατὰ Σαλαμίνα νῆες ἀποδιδράσκειν ἐκ τῶν τόπων καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμόν ἀθροίζεσθαι. [2] διόπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τὴν πιθανότητα τῶν προσαγγελθέντων πιστεύσας, ἔσπευδε κωλύσαι τὰς ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῖς πεζοῖς στρατοπέδοις πλησιάζειν. εὐθύς οὖν τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ναυτικὸν ἐξέπεμψε, προστάξας ἐμφράττειν τὸν μεταξὺ πόρον τῆς τε Σαλαμίνοσ καὶ τῆς Μεγαρίδοσ χώρασ. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα, προστάξας ἐξάπτεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ναυμαχία κρίνειν τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἦσαν δὲ αἱ τριήρεις διατεταγμέναι κατὰ ἔθνος ἐξῆσ, ἵνα διὰ τὴν ὁμοφωνίαν καὶ γνῶσιν προθύμως ἀλλήλοισ βοηθῶσιν. [3] οὕτω δὲ ταχθέντοσ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στόλου, τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρασ ἐπέιχον Φοίνικεσ, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον οἱ μετὰ τῶν Περσῶν ὄντεσ Ἕλληνεσ. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἴωνων ἡγεμόνεσ ἀπέστειλαν ἄνδρα Σάμιον πρὸσ τοὺσ Ἕλληνασ τὸν διασαφήσοντα περὶ τῶν δεδογμένων τῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ περὶ τῆσ ὅλησ ἐκτάξεωσ, καὶ διότι κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀποστήσοντα τῶν βαρβάρων.

17 – [1] Themistocles, perceiving that the admiral, Eurybiades, was unable to overcome the mood of his forces, and yet recognizing that the narrow quarters at Salamis could be a great aid in achieving the victory, contrived the following ruse: He induced a certain man to desert to Xerxes and to assure him that the ships at Salamis were going to slip away from that region and assemble at the Isthmus. [2] Accordingly the king, believing the man because what he reported was in itself plausible, made haste to prevent the naval forces of the Greeks from making contact with their armies on land. Therefore he at once dispatched the Egyptian fleet with orders to block the strait which separates Salamis from the territory of Megaris.<sup>1</sup> The main body of his ships he dispatched to Salamis, ordering it to establish contact with the enemy and by fighting there decide the issue. The triremes were drawn up by peoples one after another, in order that, speaking the same language and knowing one another, the several contingents might assist each other with alacrity. [3] When the fleet had been drawn up in this manner, the right wing was held by the Phoenicians and the left by the Greeks who were associated with the Persians.

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19 - [5] Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ δόξας αἴτιος γενέσθαι τῆς νίκης, ἕτερον οὐκ ἔλαττον τούτου στρατήγημα ἐπενόησε. φοβουμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πεζῆ διαγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τσαύτας μυριάδας, ἔταπείνωσε πολὺ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν πεζῶν στρατοπέδων τοιῶδέ τινα τρόπον. τὸν παιδαγωγὸν τῶν ἰδίων υἱῶν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην δηλώσοντα, διότι μέλλουσιν οἱ Ἕλληες πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ζευῆμα λύειν τὴν γέφυραν. [6] διόπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς πιστεύσας τοῖς λόγοις διὰ τὴν πιθανότητα, περίφοβος ἐγένετο μὴ τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπανόδου στερηθῆ, τῶν Ἑλλήνων θαλαττοκρατούντων, ἔγνω δὲ τὴν ταχίστην διαβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, καταλιπὼν Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἰππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, ὧν ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς ὑπῆρχεν οὐκ ἐλάττων τῶν τετραράκοντα μυριάδων. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν οὖν δυοῖσιν στρατηγήμασι χρησάμενος μεγάλων προτερημάτων αἴτιος ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἕλλησι. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πραχθέντα ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

19 - ... [5] But Themistocles, who was credited for having brought about the victory, devised another stratagem no less clever than the one we have described. For, since the Greeks were afraid to battle on land against so many myriads of Persians, he greatly reduced the number of the Persian troops in the following manner: he sent to Xerxes the attendant of his own sons to inform him that the Greeks were about to sail to the bridge of boats<sup>1</sup> and to destroy it. [6] Accordingly the king, believing the report because it was plausible, became fearful lest he should be cut off from the route whereby he could get back to Asia, now that the Greeks controlled the sea, and decided to cross over in all possible haste from Europe into Asia, leaving Mardonius behind in Greece with picked cavalry and infantry, the total number of whom was not less than four hundred thousand. Thus Themistocles by the use of two stratagems brought about signal advantages for the Greeks.

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39 – [1] κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς νίκην μετεκόμισαν ἐκ Τροιζῆνος καὶ Σαλαμῖνος τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, εὐθύς δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπεχείρησαν τειχίζειν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν

ἀνηκόντων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιούντο. [2] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ὀρώντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐν ταῖς ναυτικαῖς δυνάμεσι περιπεποιημένους δόξαν μεγάλην, ὑπώπτευσαν αὐτῶν τὴν αὐξήσιν, καὶ διέγνωσαν κωλύειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνοικοδομεῖν τὰ τεῖχη. [3] εὐθύς οὖν πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας τοὺς λόγῳ μὲν συμβουλευσοντας κατὰ τὸ παρὸν μὴ τειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ μὴ συμφέρειν κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησι: τὸν γὰρ Ξέρξην, εἰ πάλιν παραγενηθείη μετὰ μειζόνων δυνάμεων, ἕξιν ἐτοίμους πόλεις τετειχισμένας ἐκτὸς Πελοποννήσου, ἐξ ὧν ὀρμώμενον ῥαδίως καταπολεμήσειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. οὐ πειθομένων δ' αὐτῶν, οἱ πρέσβεις προσιόντες τοῖς οἰκοδομοῦσι προσέταττον ἀφίστασθαι τῶν ἔργων τὴν ταχίστην. [4] ἀπορουμένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅτι χρὴ πράττειν, Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἀποδοχῆς τότε παρ' αὐτοῖς τυγχάνων τῆς μεγίστης, συνεβούλευεν ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν: ἐὰν γὰρ βιάζωνται, ῥαδίως τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύσαντας κωλύσειν αὐτοὺς τειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν. [5] ἐν ἀπορρήτοις δὲ τῇ βουλῇ προεῖπεν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν μετὰ τινων ἄλλων πορεύσεται πρεσβευτῆς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, διδάξων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ τοῦ τειχισμοῦ, τοῖς δὲ ἄρχουσι παρήγγειλεν, ὅταν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἔλθωσι πρέσβεις εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, παρακατέχειν αὐτούς, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀνακάμψῃ, ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ πανδημεῖ τειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ κρατήσῃν αὐτοὺς ἀπεφαίνετο τῆς προθέσεως.

39 – [1] In Greece the Athenians after the victory at Plataea brought their children and wives back to Athens from Troezen and Salamis, and at once set to work fortifying the city and were giving their attention to every other means which made for its safety. [2] But the Lacedaemonians, observing that the Athenians had gained for themselves great glory by the actions in which their navy had been engaged, looked with suspicion upon their growing power and decided to prevent the Athenians from rebuilding their walls. [3] They at once, therefore, dispatched ambassadors to Athens who would ostensibly advise them not at present to fortify the city, as not being of advantage to the general interests of the Greeks; for, they pointed out, if Xerxes should return with larger armaments than before he would have walled cities ready to hand outside the Peloponnesus which he would use as bases and thus easily subjugate the Greeks. And when no attention was paid to their advice, the ambassadors approached the men who were building the wall and ordered them to stop work immediately. [4] While the Athenians were at a loss what they should do, Themistocles, who enjoyed at that time the highest favour among them, advised them to take no action; for he warned them that if they had recourse to force, the Lacedaemonians could easily march up against them together with the Peloponnesians and prevent them from fortifying the city. [5] But he told the Council in confidence that he and certain others would go as ambassadors to Lacedaemon to explain the matter of the wall to the Lacedaemonians; and he instructed the magistrates, when ambassadors should come from Lacedaemon to Athens, to detain them until he himself should return from Lacedaemon, and in the meantime to put the whole population to work fortifying the city. In this manner, he declared to them, they would achieve their purpose.

40 - [1] ὑπακουσάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα πρέσβεις προήγον εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μετὰ μεγάλης σπουδῆς ἠκοδόμουν τὰ τεῖχη, οὐτ' οἰκίας οὔτε τάφου φειδόμενοι. συναλαμβάνοντο δὲ τῶν ἔργων οἱ τε παῖδες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ καθόλου πᾶς ξένος καὶ δούλος, οὐδενὸς ἀπολειπομένου



τῆς προθυμίας. [2] παραδόξως δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἀννομένων διὰ τε τὰς πολυχειρίας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀπάντων προθυμίας, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνακληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐπιτιμηθεὶς περὶ τῆς τειχοποιίας ἠρνήσατο τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, καὶ παρεκάλεσε τοὺς ἄρχοντας μὴ πιστεύειν κεναῖς φήμαις, ἀλλ' ἀποστέλλειν πρέσβεις ἀξιόπιστους εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας: διὰ γὰρ τούτων εἶσεσθαι τὰληθές: καὶ τούτων ἐγγυητὴν ἑαυτὸν παρείδου καὶ τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συμπρεσβεύοντας. [3] πεισθέντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεφύλαττον, εἰς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέστειλαν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους κατασκευομένους, περὶ ὧν ἦν χρεία πολυπραγμονῆσαι. τοῦ δὲ χρόνου διεξεληθόντος, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ τεῖχος ἔφθασαν ἐφ' ἰκανὸν κατεσκευακότες, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις ἐλθόντας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ μετ' ἀνατάσεων καὶ ἀπειλῶν ἐπιτιμῶντας παρέδωκαν εἰς φυλακὴν, φήσαντες τότε ἀφήσειν, ὅταν κἀκεῖνοι τοὺς περὶ Θεμιστοκλέα πρέσβεις ἀπολύσωσι. [4] τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ καταστρατηγηθέντες οἱ Λάκωνες ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀπολύσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, ἵνα τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπολάβωσιν. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοιοῦτῳ στρατηγήματι τειχίσας τὴν πατρίδα συντόμως καὶ ἀκινδύνως, μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχε παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις. [5] ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Αἰκολανούς καὶ τοὺς τὸ Τοῦσκλον κατοικοῦντας συνέστη πόλεμος, καὶ πρὸς μὲν Αἰκολανούς μάχην συνάψαντες ἐνίκησαν καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀνείλον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸ Τοῦσκλον ἐξεπολιόρησαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Αἰκολανῶν πόλιν ἐχειρώσαντο.

40 – [1] After the Athenians had accepted the plan of Themistocles, he and the ambassadors set out for Sparta, and the Athenians began with great enthusiasm to build the walls, sparing neither houses nor tombs. And everyone joined in the task, both children and women and, in a word, every alien and slave, no one of them showing any lack of zeal. [2] And when the work was being accomplished with amazing speed both because of the many workmen and the enthusiasm of them all, Themistocles was summoned by the chief magistrates<sup>2</sup> and upbraided for the building of the walls; but he denied that there was any construction, and urged the magistrates not to believe empty rumours but to dispatch to Athens trustworthy ambassadors, from whom, he assured them, they would learn the truth; and as surety for them he offered himself and the ambassadors who had accompanied him. [3] The Lacedaemonians, following the advice of Themistocles, put him and his companions under guard and dispatched to Athens their most important men who were to spy out whatever matter should arouse their curiosity. But time had passed, and the Athenians had already got so far along with the construction that, when the Lacedaemonian ambassadors arrived in Athens and with denunciations and threats of violence upbraided them, the Athenians took them into custody, saying that they would release them only when the Lacedaemonians in turn should release the ambassadors who accompanied Themistocles. [4] In this manner the Laconians were outgeneralled and compelled to release the Athenian ambassadors in order to get back their own. And Themistocles, having by means of so clever a stratagem fortified his native land speedily and without danger, enjoyed high favour among his fellow citizens. ...

41 – [1] τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦν ἀρχῶν Ἀδείμαντος, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ κατεστάθησαν ὑπάτοι Μάρκος Φάβιος Οὐίβλανός καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Πόπλιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Θεμιστοκλῆς διὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ ἀγχίνουσαν

ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχεν οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι. [2] διὸ καὶ μετεωριζόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ πολὺ μείζουσιν ἄλλαις ἐπιβολαῖς ἐχρήσατο πρὸς αὐξήσιν ἡγεμονίας ἀνηκούσαις τῇ πατρίδι. τοῦ γὰρ καλουμένου Πειραιῶς οὐκ ὄντος λιμένος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ἀλλ' ἐπινείω χρωμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ Φαληρικῷ, μικρῷ παντελῶς ὄντι, ἐπενόησε τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατασκευάζειν λιμένα, μικρᾶς μὲν προσδεόμενον κατασκευῆς, δυνάμενον δὲ γενέσθαι λιμένα κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. [3] ἤλπιζεν οὖν τούτου προσγενομένου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δυνήσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἀντιποιήσασθαι τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεμονίας: τριήρεις γὰρ τότε πλείστας ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν ναυμαχιῶν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ δόξαν μεγάλην τῶν ναυτικῶν ἀγῶνων περιεπεποίηντο. [4] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοὺς μὲν Ἴωνας ὑπελάμβανε διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ἰδίους ἔξειν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἑλληνας δι' ἐκείνους ἐλευθερώσειν, ἀποκλινεῖν τε ταῖς εὐνοίαις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, τοὺς δὲ νησιώτας ἅπαντας καταπεπληγμένους τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ἐτοίμως ταχθήσεσθαι μετὰ τῶν δυναμένων καὶ βλάπτειν καὶ ὠφελεῖν τὰ μέγιστα. [5] τοὺς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους ἑώρα περὶ μὲν τὰς πεζὰς δυνάμεις εὖ κατεσκευασμένους, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀγῶνας ἀφυστάτους.

41 – [1] At the close of the year the archon in Athens was Adeimantus, and in Rome the consuls elected were Marcus Fabius Vibulanus and Lucius Valerius Publius. At this time Themistocles, because of his skill as a general and his sagacity, was held in esteem not only by his fellow citizens but by all Greeks. [2] He was, therefore, elated over his fame and had recourse to many other far more ambitious undertakings which would serve to increase the dominant position of his native state. Thus the Peiraeus, as it is called, was not at that time a harbour, but the Athenians were using as their ship-yard the bay called Phaleric, which was quite small; and so Themistocles conceived the plan of making the Peiraeus into a harbour, since it would require only a small amount of construction and could be made into a harbour, the best and largest in Greece. [3] He also hoped that when this improvement had been added to what the Athenians possessed, the city would be able to compete for the hegemony at sea; for the Athenians possessed at that time the largest number of triremes and through an unbroken succession of battles at sea which the city had waged had gained experience and renown in naval conflicts. [4] Furthermore, he reasoned that they would have the Ionians on their side because they were kinsmen, and that with their aid the Athenians would liberate the other Greeks of Asia, who would then turn in goodwill to the Athenians because of this benefaction, and that all the Greeks of the islands, being immensely impressed by the magnitude of their naval strength, would readily align themselves with the people which had the power both to inflict the greatest injury and to bestow the greatest advantages. [5] For he saw that the Lacedaemonians, though excellently equipped so far as their land forces were concerned, had no natural talent for fighting on ships.

42 – [1] ταῦτ' οὖν διαλογισάμενος ἔκρινε φανερῶς μὲν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν μὴ λέγειν, ἀκριβῶς γινώσκων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κωλύσοντας, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ διελέχθη τοῖς πολίταις ὅτι μεγάλων πραγμάτων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει βούλεται γενέσθαι σύμβουλός τε καὶ εἰσηγητής, ταῦτα δὲ φανερῶς μὲν λέγειν μὴ συμφέρειν, δι' ὀλίγων δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιτελεῖν προσηκείν: διόπερ ἠξίου τὸν δῆμον δύο

ἄνδρα προχειρισάμενον οἷς ἂν μάλιστα πιστεύσει, τούτοις ἐπιτρέπειν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος. [2] πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους, ὁ δῆμος εἴλετο δύο ἄνδρας, Ἀριστείδην καὶ Ξάνθιππον, οὐ μόνον κατ' ἀρετὴν προκρίνας αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τούτους ὁρῶν ἀμιλλωμένους περὶ δόξης καὶ πρωτείων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας πρὸς αὐτόν. [3] οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ἰδίαν ἀκούσαντες τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους τὴν ἐπιβολήν, ἐδήλωσαν τῷ δήμῳ διότι καὶ μεγάλα καὶ συμφέροντα τῇ πόλει καὶ δυνατὰ καθέστηκεν τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. [4] τοῦδὲ δήμου θαυμάσαντος ἅμα τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ὑποπτέυσαντος μήποτε τυραννίδα τινὰ κατασκευασόμενος ἑαυτῷ τηλικαύταις καὶ τοιαύταις ἐπιβολαῖς ἐγχειρῆ, φανερῶς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὰ δεδογμένα. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἔφησε μὴ συμφέρειν τῷ δήμῳ φανερῶς δηλοῦσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπινοηθέντων. [5] πολλῶν δὲ μᾶλλον θαυμάσαντος τοῦ δήμου τὴν δεινότητα καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην τάνδρός, ἐκέλευον ἐν ἀπορρήτοις εἰπεῖν τῇ βουλῇ τὰ δεδογμένα: κὰν αὕτη κρίνη τὰ δυνατὰ λέγειν καὶ συμφέροντα, τότε ὡς ἂν συμβουλεύσει πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἄξειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβολήν. [6] διόπερ τῆς βουλῆς πυθομένης τὰ κατὰ μέρος, καὶ κρίνάσης λέγειν αὐτὸν τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πόλει καὶ δυνατὰ, τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ δήμου μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβε τὴν ἐξουσίαν πράττειν ὅ,τι βούλεται. ἕκαστος δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐχωρίζετο θαυμάζων μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν τάνδρός, μετέωρος δ' ὦν καὶ καραδοκῶν τὸ τέλος τῆς ἐπιβολῆς.

42 – [1] Now as Themistocles pondered these matters, he decided that he should not make public announcement of his plan, knowing with certainty that the Lacedaemonians would endeavour to stop it; and so he announced to the citizens in Assembly that he wished both to advise upon and to introduce important matters which were also to the advantage of the city. But what these matters were, he added, it was not in the public interest to state openly, but it was fitting that a few men should be charged with putting them into effect; and he therefore asked the people to select two men in whom they had the greatest confidence and to entrust to them to pass upon the matter in question. [2] The people acceded to his advice, and the Assembly chose two men, Aristides and Xanthippus, selecting them not only because of their upright character, but also because they saw that these men were in active rivalry with Themistocles for glory and leadership and were therefore opposed to him. [3] These men heard privately from Themistocles about his plan and then declared to the Assembly that what Themistocles had disclosed to them was of great importance, was to the advantage of the state, and was feasible. [4] The people admired the man and at the same time harboured suspicions of him, lest it should be with the purpose of preparing some sort of tyranny for himself that he was embarking upon plans of such magnitude and importance, and they urged him to declare openly what he had decided upon. But he made the same reply, that it was not to the interests of the state that there should be a public disclosure of his intentions. [5] Thereupon the people were far the more amazed at the man's shrewdness and greatness of mind, and they urged him to disclose his ideas secretly to the Council, assuring him that, if that body decided that what he said was feasible and advantageous, then they would advise it to carry his plan to completion. [6] Consequently, when the Council learned all the details and decided that what he said was for the advantage of the state and was feasible, the people, without more ado, agreed with the Council, and Themistocles received



authority to do whatever he wished. And every man departed from the Assembly in admiration of the high character of the man, being also elated in spirit and expectant of the outcome of the plan.

43 – [1] ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς λαβὼν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πράττειν, καὶ πᾶσαν ὑπουργίαν ἔχων ἐτοίμην τοῖς ἐγχειρουμένοις, πάλιν ἐπενόησε καταστρατηγήσαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους: ἦδει γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως τειχισμοῦ διεκώλυσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ λιμένος ἐγχειρήσουσι διακόπτειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς ἐπιβολάς. [2] ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πρέσβεις ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς διδάξοντας συμφέρειν τοῖς κοινοῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος πράγμασιν ἔχειν ἀξιόχρεων λιμένα πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἐσομένην στρατείαν. διὰ δὲ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἀμβλυτέρους ποιήσας πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν, αὐτὸς εἶχετο τῶν ἔργων, καὶ τῶν πάντων συμφιλοτιμουμένων ταχέως συνέβη γενέσθαι καὶ παραδόξως κατασκευασθῆναι τὸν λιμένα. [3] ἔπεισε δὲ τὸν δῆμον καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις ναυσὶν εἴκοσι τριῆρεις προσκατασκευάζειν, καὶ τοὺς μετοίκους καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας ἀτελεῖς ποιῆσαι, ὅπως ὄχλος πολὺς πανταχόθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατέλθῃ καὶ πλείους τέχνας κατασκευάσωσιν εὐχερῶς: ἀμφότερα γὰρ ταῦτα χρησιμώτατα πρὸς τὰς τῶν ναυτικῶν δυνάμεων κατασκευὰς ὑπάρχειν ἔκρινεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ταῦτα ἡσχολοῦντο.

43 – [1] Themistocles, having received authority to proceed and enjoying every assistance ready at hand for his undertakings, again conceived a way to deceive the Lacedaemonians by a stratagem; for he was fully assured that just as the Lacedaemonians had interfered with the building of the wall about the city, they would in the same manner endeavour to obstruct the plans of the Athenians in the case of the making of the harbour. [2] Accordingly he decided to dispatch ambassadors to the Lacedaemonians to show them how it was to the advantage of the common interests of Greece that it should possess a first-rate harbour in view of the expedition which was to be expected on the part of the Persians. When he had in this way somewhat dulled the impulse of the Spartans to interfere, he devoted himself to that work, and since everybody enthusiastically co-operated it was speedily done and the harbour was finished before anyone expected. [3] And Themistocles persuaded the people each year to construct and add twenty triremes to the fleet they already possessed, and also to remove the tax upon metics and artisans, in order that great crowds of people might stream into the city from every quarter and that the Athenians might easily procure labour for a greater number of crafts. Both these policies he considered to be most useful in building up the city's naval forces. The Athenians, therefore, were busy over the matters we have described.

...

54 – [1] ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Πραξιέργου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Αὔλον Οὐεργίνιον Τρίκοστον καὶ Γάιον Σερουίλιον Στροῦκτον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἡλεῖοι μὲν πλείους καὶ μικρὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντες εἰς μίαν συνωκίσθησαν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἡλιν. [2] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὀρώντες τὴν μὲν Σπάρτην διὰ τὴν Πausaniou τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προδοσίαν ταπεινῶς πράττουσαν, τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους εὐδοκιμοῦντας διὰ τὸ μηδένα παρ' αὐτοῖς πολίτην ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ κατεγνώσθαι, ἔσπευδον τὰς Ἀθήνας ταῖς ὁμοίαις περιβαλεῖν διαβολαῖς. [3] διόπερ εὐδοκιμοῦντος

παρ' αὐτοῖς Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ μεγάλην δόξαν ἔχοντος ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, κατηγόρησαν προδοσίαν αὐτοῦ, φάσκοντες φίλον γενέσθαι τοῦ Πausανίου μέγιστον, καὶ μετὰ τούτου συντεθεῖσθαι κοινῇ προδοῦναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῷ Ξέρξῃ. [4] διελέγοντο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, παροξύνοντες αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν, καὶ χρήματα ἔδοσαν, διδάσκοντες ὅτι Πausανίας μὲν κρίνας προδιδόναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐδήλωσε τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιβολὴν Θεμιστοκλεῖ καὶ παρεκάλεσε κοινωνεῖν τῆς προθέσεως, ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς οὔτε προσεδέξατο τὴν ἔντευξιν οὔτε διαβάλλειν ἔκρινε δεῖν ἄνδρα φίλον. [5] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κατηγορηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τότε μὲν ἀπέφυγε τὴν τῆς προδοσίας κρίσιν. διὸ καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν μέγας ἦν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις: ἡγάπων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις διαφερόντως οἱ πολῖται: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν φοβηθέντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, οἱ δὲ φθονήσαντες τῇ δόξῃ, τῶν μὲν εὐεργεσιῶν ἐπελάθοντο, τὴν δ' ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ταπεινοῦν ἔσπευδον.

54 – [1] When Praxiergus was archon in Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Aulus Verginius Tricostus and Gaius Servilius Structus. At this time the Eleians, who dwelt in many small cities, united to form one state which is known as Elis. [2] And the Lacedaemonians, seeing that Sparta was in a humbled state by reason of the treason of their general Pausanias, whereas the Athenians were in good repute because no one of their citizens had been found guilty of treason, were eager to involve Athens in similar discreditable charges. [3] Consequently, since Themistocles was greatly esteemed by the Athenians and enjoyed great fame for his high character, they accused him of treason, maintaining that he had been a close friend of Pausanias and had agreed with him that together they would betray Greece to Xerxes. [4] They also carried on conversations with the enemies of Themistocles, inciting them to lodge an accusation against him, and gave them money; and they explained that, when Pausanias decided to betray the Greeks, he disclosed the plan he had to Themistocles and urged him to participate in the project, and that Themistocles neither agreed to the request nor decided that it was his duty to accuse a man who was his friend. [5] At any rate a charge was brought against Themistocles, but at the time he was not found guilty of treason. Hence at first after he was absolved he stood high in the opinion of the Athenians; for his fellow citizens were exceedingly fond of him on account of his achievements. But afterwards those who feared the eminence he enjoyed, and others who were envious of his glory forgot his services to the state, and began to exert themselves to diminish his power and to lower his presumption.

55 – [1] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μετέστησαν, τοῦτον τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον ὄστρακισμὸν ἐπαγαγόντες αὐτῷ, ὃς ἐνομοθετήθη μὲν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν τυράννων τῶν περὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὁ δὲ νόμος ἐγένετο τοιοῦτος. [2] ἕκαστος τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς ὄστρακον ἔγραφε τοῦνομα τοῦ δοκοῦντος μάλιστα δύνασθαι καταλῦσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν: ᾧ δ' ἂν ὄστρακα πλείω γένηται, φεύγειν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐτέτακτο πενταετῇ χρόνον. [3] νομοθετήσαι δὲ ταῦτα δοκοῦσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐχ ἵνα τὴν κακίαν κολάζωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ὑπερεχόντων ταπεινότερα γένηται διὰ τὴν φυγὴν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ἐξοστρακισθεὶς ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος εἰς Ἄργος: [4] οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυθόμενοι περὶ τούτων, καὶ νομίσαντες παρὰ τῆς τύχης εἰληφέναι καιρὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ, πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας

ἔξαπέστειλαν πρέσβεις κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὅτι τῷ Πausανία κεκοινώνηκε τῆς προδοσίας, καὶ δεῖν ἔφασαν τῶν κοινῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀδικημάτων εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν οὐκ ἰδίᾳ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅπερ εἰώθει συνεδρεῦειν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον. [4] οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυθόμενοι περὶ τούτων, καὶ νομίσαντες παρὰ τῆς τύχης εὐληθέσαι καιρὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ, πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔξαπέστειλαν πρέσβεις κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὅτι τῷ Πausανία κεκοινώνηκε τῆς προδοσίας, καὶ δεῖν ἔφασαν τῶν κοινῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀδικημάτων εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν οὐκ ἰδίᾳ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅπερ εἰώθει συνεδρεῦειν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον. 6] τοῦτο δ' ἦδει τὰς κρίσεις οὐ δικαίας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς χάριν ποιούμενον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τεκμαιρόμενος ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἔξ ὧν ἐποίησατο περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων: οὕτω γὰρ οἱ κύριοι τῆς ψήφου φθονερώς διετέθησαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὥστε πλείους τριήρεις αὐτῶν παρεσχημένων ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες παρέσχοντο, οὐδὲν κρείττους αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαν τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. [7] διὰ ταῦτα δὴ συνέβη τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοῖς συνέδροις ἀπιστῆσαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς προγεγενημένης ἀπολογίας ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀφορμὰς εἶχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς τὴν ὕστερον γενομένην κατηγορίαν. [8] ὁ γὰρ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπολογούμενος ὠμολόγει μὲν τὸν Πausανίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὰς ἀπεσταλκένας παρακαλοῦντα μετασχεῖν τῆς προδοσίας, καὶ τούτῳ μεγίστῳ χρησάμενος τεκμηριῶ συνίστανεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν παρεκάλει Πausανίας αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἀντέλεγε.

55 – [1] First of all they removed Themistocles from Athens, employing against him what is called ostracism, an institution which was adopted in Athens after the overthrow of the tyranny of Peisistratus and his sons; and the law was as follows.<sup>1</sup> [2] Each citizen wrote on a piece of pottery (*ostrakon*) the name of the man who in his opinion had the greatest power to destroy the democracy; and the man who got the largest number of *ostraka* was obliged by the law to go into exile from his native land for a period of five years.<sup>2</sup> [3] The Athenians, it appears, passed such a law, not for the purpose of punishing wrongdoing, but in order to lower through exile the presumption of men who had risen too high. Now Themistocles, having been ostracized in the manner we have described, fled as an exile from his native city to Argos. [4] But the Lacedaemonians, learning of this and considering that Fortune had given them a favourable moment to attack Themistocles, again dispatched ambassadors to Athens. These accused Themistocles of complicity in the treason of Pausanias, and asserted that his trial, since their crimes affected all Greece, should not be held privately among the Athenians alone but rather before the General Congress of the Greeks which, according to custom, was to meet at that time.<sup>3</sup> [5] And Themistocles, seeing that the Lacedaemonians were bent upon defaming and humbling the Athenian state, and that the Athenians were anxious to clear themselves of the charge against them, assumed that he would be turned over to the General Congress. [6] This body, he knew, made its decisions, not on the basis of justice, but out of favour to the Lacedaemonians, inferring this not only from its other actions but also from what it had done in making the awards for valour.<sup>4</sup> For in that instance those who controlled the voting showed such jealousy of the Athenians that, although these had contributed more triremes than all the others who took part in the battle, they made

them out to be no whit better than the rest of the Greeks. [7] These, then, were the reasons why Themistocles distrusted the members of the Congress. Furthermore, it was from the speech in his own defence which Themistocles had made in Athens on the former occasion that the Lacedaemonians had got the basis for the accusation they afterwards made. [8] For in that defence Themistocles had acknowledged that Pausanias had sent letters to him, urging him to share in the act of treason, and using this as the strongest piece of evidence in his behalf, he had established that Pausanias would not have urged him, unless he had opposed his first request.

56 – [1] διὰ δὲ ταῦτα, καθάπερ προειρήκαμεν, ἔφυγεν ἐξ Ἄργους πρὸς Ἄδμητον τὸν Μολοττῶν βασιλέα: καταφυγῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν ἰκέτης ἐγένετο. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως καὶ παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐπηγγέλλετο φροντιεῖν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀσφαλείας: [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Σπαρτιατῶν πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἄδμητον ἐξήτουν αὐτὸν πρὸς τιμωρίαν, ἀποκαλοῦντες προδότην καὶ λυμεῶνα τῆς ὅλης Ἑλλάδος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μὴ παραδίδόντος αὐτὸν πολεμήσειν ἔφασαν μετὰ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸ τηλικαῦθ' ὁ βασιλεὺς φοβηθεὶς μὲν τὰς ἀπειλάς, ἐλεῶν δὲ τὸν ἰκέτην καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς παραδόσεως αἰσχύνην ἐκκλίνων, ἔπειθε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τὴν ταχίστην ἀπιέναι λάθρα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ χρυσοῦ πλῆθος ἐδωρήσατο αὐτῷ ἐφόδιον τῆς φυγῆς. [3] ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς πάντοθεν ἐλαυνόμενος καὶ τὸ χρυσίον δεξάμενος ἔφυγε νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς τῶν Μολοττῶν χώρας, συμπράττοντος αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ πρὸς φυγὴν τοῦ βασιλέως: εὐρῶν δὲ δύο νεανίσκους Λυγκηστὰς τὸ γένος, ἐμπορικαῖς δὲ ἐργασίαις χρωμένους, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ὁδῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχοντας, μετὰ τούτων ἔφυγε. [4] χρώμενος δὲ νυκτεριναῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ἔλαθε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν νεανίσκων εὐνοίας τε καὶ κακοπαθείας κατήντησεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν: ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔχων ἰδιόξενον, ὄνομα μὲν Λυσιθειδῆν, δόξη δὲ καὶ πλούτῳ θαυμαζόμενον, πρὸς τοῦτον κατέφυγεν. [5] ὁ δὲ Λυσιθειδῆς ἐτύγχανε φίλος ὢν Ξέρξου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ Ξέρξου τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Περσῶν ἄπασαν εἰστιακῶς. διόπερ συνήθειαν μὲν ἔχων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, τὸν δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα διὰ τὸν ἔλεον σῶσαι βουλόμενος, ἐπηγγείλατο αὐτῷ πάντα συμπράξειν. [6] ἀξιοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντεῖπεν, ἀποφαινόμενος ὅτι κολασθήσεται διὰ τὰς κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν αὐτῷ γεγενημένας πράξεις, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μαθὼν τὸ συμφέρον ὑπήκουσε, καὶ παραδόξως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς αὐτὸν διέσωσεν εἰς τὴν Περσίδα. [7] ἔθους γὰρ ὄντος παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσiais τὸν ἄγοντα παλλακὴν τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζειν ταύτην ἐπὶ ἀπήνης κεκρυμμένης, καὶ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων μηδένα πολυπραγμανεῖν μηδὲ κατ' ὄψιν ἀπαντῆσαι τῇ ἀγομένῃ, ἀφορμῇ ταύτῃ συνέβη χρήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τὸν Λυσιθειδῆν. [8] παρασκευασάμενος γὰρ τὴν ἀπήνην πολυτελέσι παραπετάσμασι κεκοσμημένην, εἰς ταύτην ἐνέθηκε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας διασώσας ἐνέτυχε τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ πεφυλαγμένως ὁμιλήσας ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτοῦ πίστις μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν τὸν ἄνδρα. εἰσαγαγὼν δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, κάκεινου δόντος τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ λόγον καὶ μαθόντος ὡς οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν, ἀπελύθη τῆς τιμωρίας.

56 – [1] It was for these reasons, as we have stated above, that Themistocles fled from Argos to Admetus, the king of the Molossians; and taking refuge at Admetus' hearth he became his suppliant. The king at first received him kindly, urged him to be of good

courage, and, in general, assured him that he would provide for his safety; [2] but when the Lacedaemonians dispatched some of the most distinguished Spartans as ambassadors to Admetus and demanded the person of Themistocles for punishment, stigmatizing him as the betrayer and destroyer of the whole Greek world, and when they went further and declared that, if Admetus would not turn him over to them, they together with all the Greeks would make war on him, then indeed the king, fearing on the one hand the threats and yet pitying the suppliant and seeking to avoid the disgrace of handing him over, persuaded Themistocles to make his escape with all speed without the knowledge of the Lacedaemonians and gave him a large sum of gold to meet his expenses on the flight. [3] And Themistocles, being persecuted as he was on every side, accepted the gold and fled by night out of the territory of the Molossians, the king furthering his flight in every way; and finding two young men, Lyncestians by birth, who were traders and therefore familiar with the roads, he made his escape in their company. [4] By travelling only at night he eluded the Lacedaemonians, and by virtue of the goodwill of the young men and the hardship they endured for him he made his way to Asia. Here Themistocles had a personal friend, Lysitheides by name, who was highly regarded for his fame and wealth, and to him he fled for refuge. [5] Now it so happened that Lysitheides was a friend of Xerxes the king and on the occasion of his passage through Asia Minor had entertained the entire Persian host.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, since he enjoyed an intimate acquaintance with the king and yet wished out of mercy to save Themistocles, he promised to co-operate with him in every way. [6] But when Themistocles asked that he lead him to Xerxes, at first he demurred, explaining that Themistocles would be punished because of his past activities against the Persians; later, however, when he realized that it was for the best, he acceded, and unexpectedly and without harm he got him through safe to Persia. [7] For it was a custom among the Persians that when one conducted a concubine to the king one brought her in a closed wagon, and no man who met it interfered or came face to face with the passenger; and it came about that Lysitheides availed himself of this means of carrying out his undertaking. [8] After preparing the wagon and embellishing it with costly hangings he put Themistocles in it; and when he had got him through in entire safety, he came into the presence of the king, and after he had conversed with him cautiously he received pledges from the king that he would do Themistocles no wrong. Then Lysitheides introduced him to the presence of the king, who, when he had allowed Themistocles to speak and learned that he had done the king no wrong, absolved him from punishment.

57 – [1] δόξας δὲ παραδόξως ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ διασεσῶσθαι, πάλιν εἰς μείζονας κινδύνους ἐνέπεσε διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας: Μανδάνη Δαρείου μὲν ἦν θυγάτηρ τοῦ φονεύσαντος τοὺς μάγους, ἀδελφή δὲ γνησία τοῦ Ξέρξου, μεγίστης δ' ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνουσα παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσiais. [2] αὕτη τῶν υἱῶν ἐστερημένη καθ' ὄν καιρὸν Θεμιστοκλῆς περὶ Σαλαμίνα κατεναυμάχησε τὸν στόλον τῶν Περσῶν, χαλεπῶς ἔφερε τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν τέκνων, καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς ἠλεεῖτο παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν. [3] αὕτη πυθομένη τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πενθίμην ἐσθῆτα λαβοῦσα, καὶ μετὰ δακρῶν ἰκέτευε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιθεῖναι τιμωρίαν τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ. ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτῇ, περιήει τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Περσῶν ἀξιούσα καὶ καθόλου τὰ πλήθη παροξύνουσα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ



Θεμιστοκλέους τιμωρίαν. [4] τοῦ δ' ὄχλου συνδραμόντος ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐξαιτοῦντος ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἀπεκρίνατο δικαστήριον καταστήσειν ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν, καὶ τὸ κριθὲν τεύξεσθαι συντελείας: [5] πάντων δὲ συνευδοκησάντων, καὶ δοθέντος ἱκανοῦ χρόνου εἰς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς κρίσεως, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς μαθὼν τὴν Περσίδα διάλεκτον, καὶ ταύτη χρησάμενος κατὰ τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἀπελύθη τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. [6] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τάνδρῳς μεγάλας αὐτὸν δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε: γυναῖκα γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν ἔζευξε Περσίδα, εὐγενεῖα τε καὶ κάλλει διαφέρουσαν, ἔτι δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐπαινουμένην, οἰκετῶν τε πλήθος ... πρὸς διακονίαν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἐκπωμάτων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χορηγίαν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τρυφήν ἀρμόζουσαν. [7] ἔδωρήσατο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πόλεις τρεῖς πρὸς διατροφήν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν εὐθέτους, Μαγνησίαν μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ, πλεῖστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πόλεων ἔχουσαν σίτον, εἰς ἄρτους, Μυοῦντα δὲ εἰς ὄψον, ἔχουσαν θάλατταν εὐίχθυν, Λάμψακον δέ, ἀμπελόφυτον ἔχουσαν χώραν πολλήν, εἰς οἶνον.

57 – [1] But when it seemed that the life of Themistocles had unexpectedly been saved by an enemy, he fell again into even greater dangers for the following reasons. Mandane was the daughter of the Darius who had slain the Magi and the full sister of Xerxes, and she enjoyed high esteem among the Persians. [2] She had lost her sons at the time Themistocles had defeated the Persian fleet in the sea-battle at Salamis and sorely grieved over the death of her children, and because of her great affliction she was the object of the pity of the people [3] When she learned of the presence of Themistocles, she went to the palace clad in raiment of mourning and with tears entreated her brother to wreak vengeance upon Themistocles. And when the king paid no heed to her, she visited in turn the noblest Persians with her request and, speaking generally, spurred on the people to vengeance upon Themistocles. [4] When the mob rushed to the palace and with loud shouts demanded the person of Themistocles for punishment, the king replied that he would form a jury of the noblest Persians and that its verdict would be carried out. [5] This decision was approved by all, and since a considerable time was given to make the preparations for the trial, Themistocles meanwhile learned the Persian language, and using it in his defence he was acquitted of the charges. [6] And the king was overjoyed that Themistocles had been saved and honoured him with great gifts; so, for example, he gave him in marriage a Persian woman, who was of outstanding birth and beauty and, besides, praised for her virtue, and [she brought as her dower] not only a multitude of household slaves for their service but also of drinking-cups of every kind and such other furnishings as comport with a life of pleasure and luxury.<sup>2</sup> [7] Furthermore, the king made him a present also of three cities which were well suited for his support and enjoyment, Magnesia upon the Maeander River, which had more grain than any city of Asia, for bread, Myus for meat, since the sea there abounded in fish, and Lampsacus, whose territory contained extensive vineyards, for wine.

58 – [1] Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν οὖν ἀπολυθεὶς τοῦ παρ' Ἑλλησι φόβου, καὶ παραδόξως ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν τὰ μέγιστα εὐεργετηθέντων φυγαδευθεὶς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τὰ δεινότατα παθόντων εὐεργετηθεὶς, ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατεβίωσε πάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν εὐπορούμενος, καὶ τελευτήσας ἐν τῇ Μαγνησίᾳ ταφῆς ἔτυχεν ἀξιολόγου καὶ μνημείου τοῦ ἔτι νῦν διαμένοντος. [2] ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν συγγραφέων

φασὶ τὸν Ξέρξην ἐπιθυμήσαντα πάλιν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρακαλεῖν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου, τὸν δὲ συγχωρήσαντα περὶ τούτων πίστεις λαβεῖν ἐνόρκους μὴ στρατεύσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἄνευ Θεμιστοκλέους. [3] σφαγιασθέντος δὲ ταύρου καὶ τῶν ὄρκων γενομένων, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα κύλικα τοῦ αἵματος πληρώσαντα ἐκπιεῖν καὶ παραχρῆμα τελευτῆσαι. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ξέρξην ἀποστήναι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ταύτης, τὸν δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα διὰ τῆς ἰδίας τελευτῆς ἀπολογία ἀπολιπεῖν καλλίστην ὅτι καλῶς ἐπολιτεύθη τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. [4] ἡμεῖς δὲ πάρεσμεν ἐπὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀνδρὸς μεγίστου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, περὶ οὗ πολλοὶ διαμφισβητοῦσι, πότερον οὗτος ἀδικήσας τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἔφυγεν εἰς Πέρσας, ἢ τοῦναντίον ἢ τε πόλις καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες εὐεργετηθέντες μεγάλα τῆς μὲν χάριτος ἐπελάθοντο, τὸν δ' εὐεργέτην ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἀδίκως εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους. [5] εἰ δέ τις χωρὶς φθόνου τὴν τε φύσιν τὰνδρὸς καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐξετάζοι μετ' ἀκριβείας, εὐρήσει πάντων ὧν μνημονεύομεν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς εἰρημένοις πεπρωτευκότα. διὸ καὶ θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις εἰκότως, εἰ στερεῆσαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀνδρὸς τοιοῦτου τὴν φύσιν ἠθέλησαν.

58 – [1] Themistocles, being now relieved of the fear which he had felt when among Greeks, the man who had unexpectedly, on the one hand, been driven into exile by those who had profited most by the benefits he had bestowed and, on the other, had received benefits from those who had suffered the most grievously at his hands, spent his life in the cities we have mentioned, being well supplied with all the good things that conduce to pleasure, and at his death he was given a notable funeral in Magnesia and a monument that stands even to this day. [2] Some historians say that Xerxes, desiring to lead a second expedition against Greece, invited Themistocles to take command of the war, and that he agreed to do so and received from the king guaranties under oath that he would not march against the Greeks without Themistocles. [3] And when a bull had been sacrificed and the oaths taken, Themistocles, filling a cup with its blood, drank it down and immediately died. They add that Xerxes thereupon relinquished that plan of his, and that Themistocles by his voluntary death left the best possible defence that he had played the part of a good citizen in all matters affecting the interests of Greece. [4] We have come to the death of one of the greatest of the Greeks, about whom many dispute whether it was because he had wronged his native city and the other Greeks that he fled to the Persians, or whether, on the contrary, his city and all the Greeks, after enjoying great benefits at his hands, forgot to be grateful for them but unjustly plunged him, their benefactor, into the uttermost perils. [5] But if any man, putting envy aside, will estimate closely not only the man's natural gifts but also his achievements, he will find that on both counts Themistocles holds first place among all of whom we have record. Therefore one may well be amazed that the Athenians were willing to rid themselves of a man of such genius.

## Pausania, *Descrizione della Grecia*, libro I

36 - [2] νῆσος δὲ πρὸ Σαλαμῖνός ἐστι καλουμένη Ψυττάλεια: ἐς ταύτην τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσον τετρακοσίους ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν, ἠττωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ξέρξου ναυτικοῦ καὶ τούτους ἀπολέσθαι φασὶν ἐπιδιαβάντων ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ σὺν τέχνῃ μὲν ἐστὶν οὐδέν, Πανὸς δὲ ὡς ἕκαστον ἔτυχε ξόανα πεποιημένα.

36 - ... [2] Before Salamis there is an island called Psyttalea. Here they say that about four hundred of the Persians landed, and when the fleet of Xerxes was defeated, these also were killed after the Greeks had crossed over to Psyttalea. The island has no artistic statue, only some roughly carved wooden images of Pan.