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MICHAEL A. FLOWER

Franklin & Marshall College

AND
JOHN MARINCOLA

New York University



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CONTENTS

<i>List of maps and figures</i>	<i>page</i> viii
<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xiii
Introduction	I
1 <i>Life and times</i>	I
2 <i>Narrative manner and technique</i>	4
3 <i>Characterisation</i>	9
4 <i>Historical methods and sources</i>	16
5 <i>The battles of Plataea and Mycale</i>	20
6 <i>Themes</i>	35
7 <i>Dialect</i>	44
8 <i>Manuscripts</i>	48
 ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Ι	 51
 Commentary	 101
Appendixes	315
A <i>Simonides' poem on Plataea</i>	315
B <i>Dedication of the seer Teisamenus?</i>	320
C <i>The 'Oath of Plataea'</i>	323
D <i>Battle Lines of the Greek and Persian armies at Plataea</i>	326
<i>Bibliography</i>	327
<i>Indexes</i>	346

APPENDIX A: SIMONIDES' POEM ON PLATAEA

Texts: Parsons 1992; West, *IEG*² FF 11–17; Sider, in Boedeleker and Sider 2001: 13–29. The text reproduced below is that of Sider (see p. xii) with minor corrections of typographical errors. The translations are our own.

Discussions: (select): Aloni 1997; Boedeker 2001a (orig. 1996), 2001b (orig. 1998); Schachter 1998; Shaw 2001.

F 11 *Death of Achilles, sack of Troy, invocation of the Muse, marching out of the Spartan army?* (POxy 2327 fr. 5 + 6 + 27 col. i + 3965 fr. 1 + 2)

πφ[ί[...]]ς.[ἦ πίτυν ἐν βήσ[σαις] ὕλοτόμοι τάμ[νωσι] πολλὸν δ' ἤρῳσ[]ος λαὸν [Πατρ[όκλου σα[σ' ἐδ]άμασσεν ἐφ[ἀλλ' ὑπ' Ἀπόλλ]ωνος χειρὶ[]σεουσαςπ.[.....(.)]στ[--ϖ-- Πρjάμου παισὶ χ[....]ομ[-- ~ Ἀλεξά]νδροιο κακόφρ[ονο]ς, ὥς ... [--ϖ--]. θείης ἄρμα καθεῖλε δίκ[ης]. --ϖ--]ν πέρσαντες αἰδοῖμον [- ~ j]κοντο --ϖ--]ωνω ἀγέμαχοι Δαναοί[οἷσιν ἐπ' ἅθᾱ]γατον κέχυται κλέος ἀν[δρός] ἔκητι ὃς παρ' ἰοπ]λοκάμων δέξατο Πιερίδ[ων --ϖ--]θειν καὶ ἐπώνυμον ὅπ[λότερ]οισιν --ϖ-- ἡμ]ιθέων ὠκύμορον γενεή[ν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲ]ν νῦν χαῖρε, θεᾶς ἐρικυ[δέος υἱέ	stru[ck] ... or a pine tree in the gla[des] ... woodcutters should fe[l]l] ... and much ... 5 ... the army Patr[oclus'] ... [sub]dued [by Apoll]o's hand 10 ... with the children of [Pr]iam ... of evil-minded [Alexa]nder. the chariot of divine justice destroyed. having sacked ... famous in song, came ... [best of her]oes, the valiant Danaans,[15 [on whom im]mortal glory has been poured, by the aid of a man [who] received [from the violet]-tressed Muses of Pieria [the entire tru]th and [made] famous to later men the quickly-dying race of [dem]igods. ... now farewell, [son of] the very famous divine
---	---

κούρης εἰν]αλίου Νηρέος· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ [	20	[daughter] of Nereus of the sea. But I
κικλήισκω] σ' ἐπικούρου ἐμοί, π[~ ~]ε		[invoke] you as my helper,
Μοῦσα,		i[l]lustriou[s] Muse,
εἴ περ γ' ἀν]θρώπων εὐχομένω[ν μέλει·		[if you have a care?] for men who pray,
ἐντυνο]ν καὶ τόνδ[ε μελ]ίφρονα κ[όσμον		[prepare] also this pleasing
ἀο]ιδῆς		a[r]ray of our song,
ἡμετ]έρης, ἵνα τις [μνή]σεται ὕ[~ ~]		in order that someone shall remember . . .
ἀνδρῶ]ν, οἱ Σπάρτ[ηι ~ ~] δούλιον ἤμ]αρ	25	me]n who for Sparta . . . da[y of slavery]
] ἀμυν[]..[]ω[		. . . defend[ing] . . .
οὐδ' ἄρε]τῆς ἐλάθ]οντο ~ ~] ν οὐρανομ[ήκ]ης		[nor] were they forgetful of [val]our . . . reaching to heaven,
καὶ κλέος ἀ]νθρώπων [ἔσσει]ται		[and the fame] of men [shall] be immortal.
ἀθάνατο<ν>.		
~ ~] Εὐ]ρώταν κα[ὶ Σπάρτη]ς ἄστὺ λιπόντ[ες]		[They], leaving behind the [Eur]otas and the city of [Sparta],
~ ~] Ζηνὸς παισὶ σὺν ἵπποδάμοις	30	[set out] with the horse-taming sons of Zeus
Τυνδαρίδα]ις ἦρωσι καὶ εὐρυβίηι Μενελάω[ι]		[the Tyndarid] heroes and mighty Menelaus,
~ ~] πατ]ρώϊης ἡγεμόνες π[ό]λεος,		. . . leaders of their ancestral city,
τοὺς δ' υἱὸς θείοιο Κλεο]μβ[ρ]ότου ἕξ[α] γ'		[those whom the son of excellent Cleo]mbrotus led out, the best man,
ἄριστ[ος]		..Pausanias.
] αγ. Πausανίας.		
~ ~ ~ ~] . καὶ ἐπικλέα ξ[ε]ργα Κορίν[θ]ου	35	and the famous deeds of Corinth
~ ~ ~ ~] Τ]ανταλίδεω Πέλοπος		. . . of Pelops the son of Tantalus
~ ~ ~ ~] Ν]ίσου πόλιν, ἔνθα περ ὦ[λλοι		..city of [N]isus, where indeed the o[thers]
~ ~ ~ ~] φῦλα περικτιόνων		. . . tribes of neighbours
~ ~ ~ ~] σσι πεποιθότες, οἱ δὲ συν[		. . . trusting in the [porte]nts [of the gods], they who with . . .
~ ~ ~ ~] ρατὸν πεδίο	40	. . . [lo]vely (?) plain
~ ~ ~ ~] Παν]δίονος ἔξε[λάσας]ντες		. . . of Pan]dion having sallied forth (or having driven out)
~ ~ ~ ~] Κέρ[ρ]οπος ἀντιθέου[		. . . of godlike [Cecr]ops . . .
] .ς δαμάσαντ[		. . . they (or having) subdued . . .

When this, the longest fragment, begins, the poet is speaking of the death of Achilles (5–7). He mentions Homer and the fame conferred on the heroes

of Troy (15–18). At line 19, he bids farewell to Achilles, and turns to his own theme, which begins with the departure of the Spartans from home for Plataea. The poet most likely means to equate the heroes of the Trojan War with the recent 'heroes' of the Persian wars (Parsons 1992: 32). This scenario, even in its fragmentary state, seems a far cry from H.'s account (6–11). Simon. presents a glorious departure, with the Tyndaridae and Menelaus accompanying Pausanias (25–34; most likely the army carried carved images of them; Parker 1988: 147). In H., by contrast, the Spartans march out at night after a protracted campaign of delay by the ephors, who kept putting off the ambassadors from Athens, Plataea, and Megara (8.1–2), and send out the army only when persuaded by the Tegean Chileus (9). It is also striking that at lines 30–31 both of the Tyndaridae are said to accompany Pausanias to Plataea, since according to H. (5.75) the Spartans passed a law that one of the Tyndaridae had always to remain in Sparta with one of the kings whenever the other king went on campaign; this was in reaction to the dissension between the kings Cleomenes and Demaratus during their abortive invasion of Attica in c. 506. For further discussion see Hornblower 2001: 140–2, who suggests that Simon. was portraying the Dioscuri not as images, but rather as being present to the Spartans through a religious epiphany.

Lines 35–41 may relate to the arrival of the Spartan army at the Isthmus (36), at Megara (37), and at Eleusis (40). Line 41 possibly refers to the Athenians joining up with the Peloponnesians at Eleusis, or (alternatively) the Spartans driving the Persians from the land of Pandion, i.e. Attica. Line 42 in particular has been the subject of much speculation. West reads $\mu\alpha\nu\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$, and sees this as a reference to Teisamenus, relating it to the sacrifices mentioned by H. at 19.2 (although Teisamenus is first mentioned by H. at 33). Parsons, however, and most other editors read $\text{K}\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\text{]} \omicron\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ and refer this to the Spartan rescue of Athens (the land of Cecrops). It must be stressed, however, that since these lines have been heavily restored on the basis of H., the danger of circularity is extremely great.

F 13 *Spartans take up position on the Asopus? (POxy 2327 fr. 27 col. ii)*

$\text{'}\theta\phi\rho'\text{'}\alpha\pi\omicron\theta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \text{M}\acute{\eta}\delta[\omega\nu$	so that from the Med[es]
$\kappa\alpha\iota\ \text{P}\epsilon\rho\sigma\omega\nu,\ \Delta\acute{o}\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \delta[\epsilon$	and Persians, and to/for Doros'
$\text{p}\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \text{'H}\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\rho\varsigma\ [\text{10}$	and Heracles' children . . .
$\omicron\text{]} \ \delta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \text{p}\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\ [\text{11}$	who, when they [went?] into the plain . . .
$\epsilon\iota]\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\iota\ \delta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi[\alpha]\nu\epsilon\nu[\text{12}$	and [the Medes?] appeared in sight of . . .

F 14 *Prophecy of Teisamenus or of a divine speaker?* (POxy 3965 fr. 21)

αδον βάλλομε[ν	... throw ...
λ]έγω ποταμοῦ λα[	... I say of the river ...
ρ]ψαι πρῶτα β[ι]η[	... first of all ...
δεινὸν ἄμαι]μάκετόν τε κακ[όν	5 ... [irre]sistible evil ...
μνή]μην ἡματα πάντ[α	... for all time ...
ἐξ Ἀ]σί[η]ς ἐλάσει νεύσαντο[ς	... shall drive [out of A]si[a], having nodded in approval
ν]ην συμμα[χ]ήν φιλέω[ν	... favouring a n[ew] (or [commo]n) alliance

For the thesis that this fragment is part of the prophecy mentioned by H. (36) see West ap. *IEG*² F 14; 1993: 8–9. It is possible, however, that the prophecy in Simon. is not delivered by Teisamenus, but by a divine speaker (as suggested by Rutherford 2001: 48). At least as West restores it, the prophecy is too elaborate to be the result of divination by extispicy (the examination of entrails: see 33.1 nn., 36n.), though it is possible that Simon. had Teisamenus divine in some other, less prosaic manner. West 1993: 9 cites the example of Helenus, who somehow intuitively overhears the deliberations of the gods at *Il.* 7.44–53 (see Kirk 1990: 236–8). In H.’s account, by contrast, Teisamenus is only concerned with whether the Greeks should cross the Asopus river or not; and that is the standard type of question which a seer was competent to answer. Moreover, the fame of Teisamenus rested on his five victories, of which Plataea was the first. At the time when Simon. composed his poem Teisamenus’ role may not have seemed as significant as it did a generation or so later. See further Flower 2000: 67 n. 9.

FF 15–16 *The role of the Corinthians* (Plut. *Mal. Her.* 872d+ POxy 3965 F 5)

μέσσοις δ’ οἱ τ’ Ἐφύρην πολυπίδακα	and in the middle both those who dwell
ναϊετάοντες,	in many-fountained Ephyrā,
παντοίης ἀρετῆς ἰδριες ἐν πολέμῳ	men well versed in every sort of excellence in war,
οἱ τε πόλιν Γλαυκοῖο Κορίνθιον ἄστν	and those who inhabiting the
νέμοντες	Corinthian town, Glaukos’ city,
[— ∞] κάλλιστον μάρτυν	... established for themselves the fairest witness of their toils,
ἔθεντο πόνων	
χρυσοῦ τιμήντος ἐν αἰθέρι· καὶ σφιν	the precious gold in the sky, and it shall magnify for them
ἀέξει	
αὐτῶν τ’ εὐρεῖαν κληδόνα καὶ	both their own far-famed glory and that of their fathers.
πατέρων	

Whereas in H. the Corinthians are part of the group that disobeys Pausanias' order and misses the battle (52, 69.1 with nn.), in Simon. they seem to be given a prominent role in the battle: see Boedeker 2001a: 132. It is unclear, however, whether the words μέσσοις δ' οἱ τ' refer to the Corinthians being merely *stationed* in the middle of the battle line (as Luppe 1994 maintains) or actually fighting in that position. The latter interpretation, however, is supported by Plut.'s remark here, 'But as for the Corinthians and the position *in which they fought* the barbarians (τάξις ἣν ἐμάχοντο τοῖς βαρβάροις) and the consequence which the battle of Plataea had for them, it is possible to learn this from Simonides.' In addition, the remark that they 'established for themselves the fairest witness of their toils' (4) suggests that they actually took part in the pitched battle, rather than that they were simply stationed in the battle line. In any case, the praise which Simon. has heaped upon the Corinthians cannot be reconciled with their role in H., which is nothing more than to endure harassment by the Persian cavalry.

F 17 *Final battle near the sanctuary of Demeter?* (POxy 3965 fr. 19)

Δημητ[	Demet[rion] (or Demet[er])...
χ[ρ]ῆμα δ[	thing...
φῆ δὲ θυ[	says...
ἄγρετο σε [	?...
δηρὸν [	5 for a long time...
τοὺς α[	them
ῥύσιον [	reprisal (?)...

It has been claimed that this fragment refers to the battle near the temple of Demeter mentioned by H. at 62.2 and 65.2. See Parsons 1992: 40; West 1993: 9. Rutherford 2001: 49 and Boedeker 2001a: 130 suggest that ῥύσιον (7) might refer to reprisals taken by Demeter for the Persian violation of her temple; if so, Simon. was more explicit than H. as to the extent of the goddess' participation (see Intr. §6c).

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