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[translations lightly adapted from Godley 1920]

1. Herodotus 1.152.2-3

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὔ κως ἐσήκουον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ τιμωρέειν Ἰωσι. οι μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρας, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέει, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης. [3] ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὖτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔπεμπον ἐς Σάρδις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λακρίνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, ὡς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοψομένων.

2. Herodotus 1.153.1-2

ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κῦρον ἐπειρέσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων τινες ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσοι πλῆθος ταῦτα ἑωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι: πυνθανόμενον δέ μιν εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσοι 'οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστι χῶρος ἐν μέση τῆ πόλι ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὀμνύντες ἐξαπατῶσι: τοῖσι, ἢν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἔσται ἔλλεσχα ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήια.' [2] ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κῦρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς στησάμενοι ὡνῆ τε καὶ πρήσι χρέωνται: αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῆσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασι χρᾶσθαι, οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή.

3. Herodotus 5.73.1-3

οὖτοι μέν νυν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Κλεισθένεα καὶ τὰ ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια τὰ διωχθέντα ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος μεταπεμψάμενοι πέμπουσι άγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις, συμμαχίην βουλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Πέρσας: ἠπιστέατο γὰρ σφίσι Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Κλεομένεα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι. [2] ἀπικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐς τὰς Σάρδις καὶ λεγόντων τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ὑστάσπεος Σαρδίων ὕπαρχος ἐπειρώτα τίνες ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ κοῦ γῆς οἰκημένοι δεοίατο Περσέων σύμμαχοι γενέσθαι, πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀγγέλων άπεκορύφου σφι τάδε: εί μὲν διδοῦσι βασιλέι Δαρείω Άθηναῖοι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ συμμαχίην σφι συνετίθετο, εί δὲ μὴ διδοῦσι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς έκέλευε. [3] οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι διδόναι ἔφασαν, βουλόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίην ποιήσασθαι. οὖτοι μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν αἰτίας μεγάλας εἶχον.

But the Lacedaemonians would not listen to him and refused to help the Ionians. So the Ionians departed; but the Lacedaemonians, though they had rejected the Ionians' envoys, did nevertheless send men in a ship of fifty oars (so it seems to me) as spies of the situation with Cyrus and Ionia. [3] These, after coming to Phocaea, sent Lacrines, who was the most esteemed among them, to Sardis, to repeat there to Cyrus a proclamation of the Lacedaemonians, that he was to destroy no city on Greek territory, since they would not allow it.

When the herald had proclaimed this, Cyrus is said to have asked the Greeks who were present who and how many in number these Lacedaemonians were who made this declaration. When he learned who they were and how many, he said, "I never yet feared the sort of men who set apart a place in the middle of their city where, gathering together, they makes oaths and deceive each other. They, if I keep my health, shall talk of their own misfortunes, not those of the Ionians." [2] Cyrus uttered these words against all the Greeks, because they have markets and buy and sell there; for the Persians themselves were not used to resorting to markets at all, nor do they even have a market of any kind.

These men, then, were bound and put to death. After these things, the Athenians sent to bring back Cleisthenes and the seven hundred households banished by Cleomenes. Then, desiring to make an alliance with the Persians, they dispatched envoys to Sardis, for they knew that they had provoked the Lacedaemonians and Cleomenes to war. [2] When the envoys came to Sardis and spoke as they had been bidden, Artaphrenes son of Hystaspes, governor of Sardis, asked them, "Who are you and where do you live, who desire alliance with the Persians?" When he had received the information he wanted from the envoys, he gave them the summary answer that if the Athenians gave king Darius earth and water, then he would make an alliance with them, but if not, his command was that they should depart. [3] The envoys consulted together, and in their desire to make the alliance, they consented to give this. They then returned to their own country and were there greatly blamed.

4. Herodotus 5.96.2

Ίππίης τε δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσε, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα πέμπουσι ἐς Σάρδις ἀγγέλους, οὐκ ἐῶντες τοὺς Πέρσας πείθεσθαι Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι φυγάσι. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ἐκέλευε σφέας, εἰ βουλοίατο σόοι εἶναι, καταδέκεσθαι ὀπίσω Ἰππίην. οὔκων δὴ ἐνεδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους ἀποφερομένους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι: οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοισι δέ σφι ἐδέδοκτο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖσι Πέρσησι πολεμίους εἶναι.

5. Herodotus 5.105.1-2

βασιλέι δὲ Δαρείῳ ὡς ἐξαγγέλθη Σάρδις ἀλούσας ἐμπεπρῆσθαι ὑπό τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι τῆς συλλογῆς ὥστε ταῦτα συνυφανθῆναι τὸν Μιλήσιον Ἀρισταγόρην, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτόν, ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εὖ εἰδότα ὡς οὖτοί γε οὐ καταπροϊξονται ἀποστάντες, εἰρέσθαι σἴτινες εἶεν οἰ Ἀθηναῖοι, μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αἰτῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα δὲ ὀιστὸν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπεῖναι, καί μιν ἐς τὸν ἡέρα βάλλοντα εἰπεῖν [2] 'ὧ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι,' εἴπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι ἑνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων δείπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ ἐς τρὶς ἑκάστοτε εἰπεῖν 'δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων.'

6. Herodotus 7.9A. 1. Mardonius Speaks ΄τί δείσαντες; κοίην πλήθεος συστροφήν; κοίην δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα: ἔχομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεψάμενοι, τούτους οἳ ἐν τῆ ἡμετέρη κατοικημένοι Ἰωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Δωριέες καλέονται. ΄

7. Herodotus 7.9B.1-2. Mardonius, cont. 'καίτοι γε ἐώθασι Έλληνες, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, άβουλότατα πολέμους ἵστασθαι ὑπό τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιότητος. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι πόλεμον προείπωσι, έξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται, ὥστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλω οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται: περὶ δὲ τῶν έσσουμένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχήν: ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται: [2] τοὺς χρῆν ἐόντας ὁμογλώσσους κήρυξί τε διαχρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφοράς καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχησι: εἰ δὲ πάντως έδεε πολεμέειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, έξευρίσκειν χρῆν τῆ έκάτεροι είσὶ δυσχειρωτότατοι καὶ ταύτη πειρᾶν. τρόπω τοίνυν οὐ χρηστῷ Ἑλληνες διαχρεώμενοι, ἐμέο έλάσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίης γῆς, οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς τούτου λόγον ὥστε μάχεσθαι.'

While Hippias was doing these things, the Athenians learned of it and sent messengers to Sardis, asking that the Persians allow themselves to listen to banished Athenians. Artaphrenes, however, bade them receive Hippias back, if they wanted to be safe. When his words were brought back to the Athenians, they would not consent to them, and since they would not consent, it was resolved that they should be openly at war with the Persians.

When it was reported to Darius that Sardis had been taken and burnt by the Athenians and Ionians and that Aristagoras the Milesian had been leader of the conspiracy for putting these things together, at first, it is said that he took no account of the Ionians since he was sure that they would not go unpunished for their rebellion. It is said that he did, however, ask **who the**Athenians were, and after learning this, he called for his bow. This he took and, placing an arrow on it, and shot it into the sky; as he sent it into the air he said, [2] "O Zeus, may it be allowed to me to get revenge on the Athenians." Then he ordered one of his servants to say to him three times whenever dinner was set before him, "Master, remember the Athenians."

What have we to fear? What sort of great mass of population, what sort of power from wealth? We know their manner of fighting and we know that their power is weak; we have conquered and hold their sons, those who dwell in our land and are called Ionians and Aeolians and Dorians.

Yet the Greeks are accustomed to wage wars, as I learn, and they do it most senselessly because of their ignorance and awkwardness. When they have declared war against each other, they come down to the fairest and most level ground that they can find and fight there, so that the victors come off with great harm; of the vanquished I say not so much as a word, for they are utterly destroyed. [2] Since they speak the same language, they should take on their disputes with heralds or messengers, or by any way rather than fighting; if they must make war upon each other, they should each discover where they are in the strongest position and make the attempt there. The Greeks do not employ good practice; and when I marched as far as the land of Macedonia, it had not come into their minds to fight.

8. Herodotus 7.10G.1. Artabanus Speaks. 'σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὧ βασιλεῦ συμβουλεύω: σὺ δέ, ὧ παῖ Γοβρύεω Μαρδόνιε, παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐόντων ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν. Ἔλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων ἐπαείρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι: αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἴνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν. μή νυν οὕτω γένηται. '

This, O king, is my advice to you. But you, Mardonius son of Gobryas, cease your foolish words about the Greeks, for they do not deserve to be maligned. By slandering the Greeks you incite the king to send this expedition; that is the end to which you press with all eagerness, it seems to me. Let it not be so.

9. A. Herodotus 7.8.C1. Xerxes on why they should invade Greece.
΄τούτων μὲν τοίνυν εἴνεκα ἀνάρτημαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς For thes
στρατεύεσθαι, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοσάδε ἀνευρίσκω them; aι
λογιζόμενος: εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοισι benefits
πλησιοχώρους καταστρεψόμεθα, οἳ Πέλοπος τοῦ neighbo
Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώρην, γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν we will \mathbf{r} \mathbf{r} \mathbf{u} \mathbf

For these reasons I am resolved to send an army against them; and I calculate that we will find the following benefits among them: if we subdue those men and their neighbors, who dwell in the land of Pelops the Phrygian, we will make the borders of Persian territory and of the firmament of heaven be the same.

B. Herodotus 7.11.4. Xerxes' sums up the first assembly. καλὸν ὧν προπεπονθότας ἡμέας τιμωρέειν ἤδη γίνεται, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας ἐπ' ἄνδρας τούτους, τούς γε καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ Φρύξ, ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος, κατεστρέψατο οὕτω ὡς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοί τε ὥνθρωποι καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεψαμένου καλέονται.'

It is good, then, that we avenge ourselves for what has been done to us; thus will I learn what terrible thing will befall me when I march against these men; men indeed that even Pelops the Phrygian, the slave of my ancestors, did so subdue that to this day they and their country are called by the name of their conqueror."

10. Herodotus 7.150.1-2

αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι τοσαῦτα τούτων πέρι λέγουσι: ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς Ξέρξης ἔπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος πρότερον ἤ περ ὀρμῆσαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα: [2] ἐλθόντα δὲ τοῦτον λέγεται εἰπεῖν 'ἄνδρες Ἀργεῖοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τάδε ὑμῖν λέγει. ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσην εἶναι ἀπ' οὖ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν παῖδα Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέος θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης. οὕτω ἂν ὧν εἴημεν ὑμέτεροι ἀπόγονοι. οὔτε ὧν ἡμέας οἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους στρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε ὑμέας ἄλλοισι τιμωρέοντας ἡμῖν ἀντιξόους γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖσι ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι. ἢν γὰρ ἑμοὶ γένηται κατὰ νόον, οὐδαμοὺς μέζονας ὑμέων ἄξω.'

Such is the Argives' account of this matter, but there is another story told in Hellas, namely that before Xerxes set forth on his march against Hellas, he sent a herald to Argos, who said on his coming (so the story goes), [2] "Men of Argos, this is the message to you from King Xerxes. Perses our forefather had, as we believe, Perseus son of Danae for his father, and Andromeda daughter of Cepheus for his mother; if that is so, then we are descended from your nation. In all right and reason we should therefore neither march against the land of our forefathers, nor should you become our enemies by aiding others or do anything but abide by yourselves in peace. If all goes as I desire, I will hold none in higher esteem than you."

11. Herodotus 7.151.1

συμπεσεῖν δὲ τούτοισι καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον λέγουσι τινὲς Ἑλλήνων πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον γενόμενον τούτων. τυχεῖν ἐν Σούσοισι τοῖσι Μεμνονίοισι ἐόντας ἐτέρου πρήγματος εἴνεκα ἀγγέλους Ἀθηναίων Καλλίην τε τὸν Ἰππονίκου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτου ἀναβάντας, Ἀργείους δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον πέμψαντας καὶ τούτους ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγέλους εἰρωτᾶν Ἀρτοξέρξεα τὸν Ξέρξεω εἴ σφι ἔτι ἐμμένει ἐθέλουσι τὴν πρὸς Ξέρξην φιλίην συνεκεράσαντο, ἢ νομιζοίατο πρὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι πολέμιοι: βασιλέα δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξεα μάλιστα ἐμμένειν φάναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν νομίζειν πόλιν Ἄργεος φιλιωτέρην.

This is borne out, some of the Greeks say, by the tale of a thing which happened many years afterwards. It happened that while Athenian envoys, Callias son of Hipponicus, and the rest who had come up with him, were at Susa, called the Memnonian, about some other business,2 the Argives also had at this same time sent envoys to Susa, asking of Xerxes' son Artoxerxes whether the friendship which they had forged with Xerxes still held good, as they desired, or whether he considered them as his enemies. Artoxerxes responded to this that it did indeed hold good and that he believed no city to be a better friend to him than Argos."

12. Herodotus 8.136.1-3

Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὅ τι δὴ λέγοντα ἦν τὰ χρηστήρια μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε ἄγγελον ἐς Ἀθήνας Άλέξανδρον τὸν Άμύντεω ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἄμα μὲν ότι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν: Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ άδελφεὴν Γυγαίην, Άμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης άνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγεγόνεε Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῆ Άσίη, ἔχων τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὴ ἐκ βασιλέος τῆς Φρυγίης ἐδόθη Ἀλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι: ἄμα δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξεινός τε είη καὶ εὐεργέτης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπεμπε: [2] τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους οὕτω ἐδόκεε μάλιστα προσκτήσεσθαι, λεών τε πολλὸν ἄρα ἀκούων εἶναι καὶ άλκιμον, τά τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα Άθηναίους έπίστατο. [3] τούτων δὲ προσγενομένων κατήλπιζε εύπετέως τῆς θαλάσσης κρατήσειν, τά περ ἂν καὶ ἦν, πεζῆ τε ἐδόκεε πολλῷ εἶναι κρέσσων, οὕτω τε ἐλογίζετο κατύπερθέ οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ἔσεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτά οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλεύοντα σύμμαχον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ποιέεσθαι: τοῖσι δὴ πειθόμενος ἔπεμπε.

Mardonius read whatever was said in the oracles, and presently he sent a messenger to Athens, Alexander, a Macedonian, son of Amyntas. Him he sent, partly because the Persians were akin to him; Bubares, a Persian, had taken to wife Gygaea Alexander's sister and Amyntas' daughter, who had borne to him that Amyntas of Asia who was called by the name of his mother's father, and to whom the king gave Alabanda a great city in Phrygia for his dwelling. Partly too he sent him because he learned that Alexander was a protector and benefactor to the Athenians. [2] It was thus that he supposed he could best gain the Athenians for his allies, of whom he heard that they were a numerous and valiant people, and knew that they had been the chief authors of the calamities which had befallen the Persians at sea. [3] If he gained their friendship he thought he would easily become master of the seas, as truly he would have been. On land he supposed himself to be by much the stronger, and he accordingly reckoned that thus he would have the upper hand of the Greeks. This chanced to be the prediction of the oracles which counseled him to make the Athenians his ally. It was in obedience to this that he sent his messenger.

13. A. Herodotus 8.140A.2 [Alexander's report of Mardonius' report of Xerxes' message]

νῦν τε ὧδε Μαρδόνιε ποίεε: τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτη ἐλέσθων αὐτοί, ἤντινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι, ἐόντες αὐτόνομοι: ἰρά τε πάντα σφι, ἢν δὴ βούλωνταί γε ἐμοὶ ὁμολογέειν, ἀνόρθωσον, ὄσα ἐγὼ ἐνέπρησα.' τούτων δὲ ἀπιγμένων ἀναγκαίως ἔχει μοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, ἢν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἴτιον γένηται. '

B. Herodotus 8.140B.1 [Alexander Speaking for himself] 'Μαρδόνιος μὲν ταῦτα ὧ Άθηναῖοι ἐνετείλατό μοι εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμέας: ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίης τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας ἐούσης ἐξ ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν λέξω, οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε, προσχρηίζω δὲ ὑμέων πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίω.'

[Xerxes said:] and now, Mardonius, I bid you do this:— Give them back their territory and let them choose more for themselves besides, where ever they will, and dwell under their own laws. Rebuild all their temples which I burnt, if they will make a pact with me.' This is the message, and I must obey it [says Mardonius], unless you take it upon yourselves to hinder me.

This, Athenians, is the message which Mardonius charges me to give you. For my own part I will say nothing of the goodwill that I have towards you, for it would not be the first that you have learned of that. But I entreat you to follow Mardonius' counsel.

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