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vocabulary

ἀγγελία message, news ~angel
 ἄγερσις gathering, mustering
 ἀδελφεή sister
 ἄκρα at the edge, extreme ~acute
 ἄκρη at the edge, extreme
 ἄκρις -ός (f) hilltop ~acute
 ἀλίσκομαι be captured ~helix
 ἄλλομαι to jump ~sally
 ἄλωσις -τος (f) being conquered
 ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read, understand, persuade
 ἀναπείθω (aor, plupf) seduce, persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust, obey, be confident in
 ἀναχωρέω return, retreat ~heir
 ἄνευ away from; not having; not needing ~Sp. sin
 ἀνεψιός cousin ~nepotism
 ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet
 ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order, promise ~angel
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ῶ) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine
 ἀτρεμίζω not be restless
 αὐτόφωρος notoriously, manifestly
 ἀφανίζω do away with, make off with; (pass) disappear
 βασιλεύω be king
 γέρας -ως (n, 3) reward, honor
 γόνος offspring ~genus
 δένδρεον -οῦ tree
 δένδρον tree
 δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot
 διαφορά disagreement
 δονέω shake, agitate
 δουλόω enslave
 ἐγγίγνομαι live in ~genus
 εἰσβολή -ωβόλης invasion, an entrance ~ballistic

ἐκγίγνομαι be born; be by birth ~genus
 ἐκλέγω pick, single out
 ἔλασις -εως (f) driving out
 ἐλευθερία freedom
 ἐμποιέω make inside of ~poet
 ἐνείμι be in ~ion
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here
 ἕξ six ~hexagon
 ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic
 ἐξηγέομαι lead forth; set out, describe ~hegemony
 ἐξυβρίζω have a violent breakout
 ἐπιβάλλω throw upon, head for ~ballistic
 ἐπιγίγνομαι succeed, come after ~genus
 ἐπικαλέω call upon
 ἐπικεῖμαι impose; shut a door
 ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near
 ἐπιτρέπω entrust, decide, allow ~trophy
 ἐπιτροπεύω administrate
 ἐτοιμάζω get ready
 εὐτυχής fortunate
 ἐρέπω drive, meet, follow ~sequel
 ἐφικνέομαι reach, bear on
 ἔχθρη hate
 ζεύγνυμι (ῶ) yoke, join ~zygote
 ἡγεμονία authority, rule
 ἥμερος gentle; (animals) domesticated
 ἡμερώω tame
 ἰδιώτης -ου (m, 1) private; a layman
 καθαιρέω take down, close ~heresy
 καθηγέομαι lead
 καταλέγω relate in detail, choose; enroll ~legion
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue ~catastrophe
 κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate; get; kill

κτάομαι acquire, possess
κῦδος -εος (n, 3) glory, renown
 ~kudos
μετέπειτα afterward, next
μίν him, her, it
οὐδαμός not anyone
οὐκω no longer
ὀψίγονος posterity; late-born
 ~epitaph
ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view
 ~thanatopsis
παντοῖος all kinds of
παραδείκνυμι (ὁ) receive, admit
παρενθήκη an aside, addition
 ~parentheses
περιαγγέλλω send orders, messages
 around
περικαλλής very beautiful
Πέρσης Persian
πρεσβεύω be the elder, be an
 ambassador
προγίγνομαι precede, preexist
 ~genus
προθυμία (ὁ) zeal, alacrity ~fume
πρόθυμος (ὁ) willing, eager ~fume
προσγίγνομαι become ally to
προσδοκάω expect
προσκτάομαι get, win as well
σεμνός revered, holy
σοῦσον lily
στασιάζω revolt, be divided
στάσις -εως (f) placing; faction
στέλλω prepare, send, furl ~apostle
στερέω steal, take
στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army
 ~strategy

στρατηγή expedition, campaign
στρατηλατέω lead an army
στρατιά army ~strategy
στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
συλλαμβάνω seize, capture;
 understand ~epilepsy
συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
σύλλογος meeting
συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid)
 consult ~volunteer
συμφέρω bring together; be
 expedient; agree; (mp) happen
 ~bear
συναναβαίνω go up with ~basis
σφάλμα stumble
τέταρτος fourth ~trapezoid
τιμωρέω (ι) (+dat) take vengeance,
 punish; aid one who has been
 attacked
τιμωρία (ι) vengeance, punishment
τιμωρός (ι) avenging
ὑπαρχος subordinate
ὑπερτίθμι hand over; excel; defer
ὑποθήκη advice, warning; deposit
ὑποτίθμι suggest, advise
 ~hypothesis
φάτις -τος (f) report, rumor ~fame
φλαῦρος trifling
φονεύω kill
φροντίζω consider, ponder
φυγή flight, means of escape
 ~fugitive
χρησιμολόγος prophesying
χρησμός oracular response

7

7.1

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγελίῃ ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐσβολήν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῶ τε δεινότερα ἐποίεε καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλιν ἐτοιμάζειν στρατὴν, πολλῶ πλέω ἐπιτάσσων ἐκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρέχειν, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων ἡ Ἀσίῃ ἐδονέετο¹ ἐπὶ τρία ἔτα, καταλεγόμενων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευομένων καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεια δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.

7.2

στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς δεῖ μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρεῖω καὶ πρότερον ἢ βασιλεῦσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες ἐκ τῆς προτέρης γυναικός, Γοβρύνεω θυγατρός, καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἐξ' Ἀτόσης τῆς Κύρου ἕτεροι τέσσερες. τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρτοβαζάνης, τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ξέρξης. ἐόντες δὲ μητρὸς οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστασίαζον, ὁ μὲν Ἀρτοβαζάνης κατότι πρεσβύτατός τε εἶη παντὸς τοῦ γόνου καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενον εἶη πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸν πρεσβύτατον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς Ἀτόσης τε παῖς εἶη τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός καὶ ὅτι Κῦρος εἶη ὁ κτησάμενος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τὴν ἐλευθερίην.

7.3

Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνυμένου κω γνώμην, ἐτύγχανε κατὰ τῶντὸ

¹ shake, agitate

τούτοισι καὶ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐς Σοῦσα, ἐστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληΐης καὶ φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἑωυτῷ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος. οὗτος ὦνῆρ πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου παίδων τὴν διαφορὴν, ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἡ φάτις² μιν ἔχει, Ξέρξῃ συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεσι, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρείῳ ἤδη βασιλεύοντι καὶ ἔχοντι τὸ Περσέων κράτος, Ἀρτοβαζάνης δὲ ἔτι ιδιώτῃ ἐόντι Δαρείῳ· οὐκὼν οὔτε οἶκός εἴη οὔτε δίκαιον ἄλλον τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἑωυτοῦ· ἐπεὶ γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἔφη ὁ Δημάρητος ὑποτιθέμενος οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, ἣν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεύοντι ὀψίγονος³ ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομένου τὴν ἐκδεξιν τῆς βασιληΐης γίνεσθαι. χρησαμένου δὲ Ξέρξῃ τῇ Δημαρήτου ὑποθήκῃ, γνοὺς ὁ Δαρεῖος ὡς λέγοι δίκαια βασιλέα μιν ἀπέδεξε. δοκέειν δέ μοι, καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης βασιλεύσαι ἂν Ξέρξης· ἡ γὰρ Ἄτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος.

7.4

ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Ξέρξης Δαρεῖος ὁρμᾶτο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταυτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεκε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα ἔτα, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι.

7.5

ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιληΐη ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξην. ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν.⁴ παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύεω, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξῃ μὲν ἀνεψιὸς Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, τοιούτου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων «δέσποτα, οὐκ οἶκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τά περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας⁵ δὲ Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεε

² report, rumor ³ posterity; late-born ⁴ gathering, mustering

⁵ tame

ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἵνα λόγος τέ σε ἔχη πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθός, καὶ τις ὕστερον φυλάσσεται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι.» οὗτος μὲν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός·⁶ τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκην ποιέσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς εἴη χώρα, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἡμέρα,⁷ ἀρετὴν τε ἄκρη, βασιλεί τε μούνῳ θνητῶν ἀξίη ἐκτῆσθαι.

7.6

ταῦτα ἔλεγε οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητῆς ἐὼν καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὕπαρχος εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατό τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα Ξέρξην· συνέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα οἱ σύμμαχα γεγόμενα ἐς τὸ πείθεσθαι Ξέρξην. τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίας παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδέων ἀπιγμένοι ἄγγελοι ἐπεκαλέοντο βασιλέα πᾶσαν προθυμίην παρεχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὗτοι ἦσαν Θεσσαλίας βασιλεῖς. τοῦτο δὲ Πεισιστρατιδῶν οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα, τῶν τε αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι, καὶ δὴ τι πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι πλέον προσωρέγοντό οἱ· ἔχοντες Ὀνομάκριτον ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον, χρησμολόγον⁸ τε καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν⁹ τῶν Μουσαίου, ἀναβεβήκεσαν, τὴν ἔχθρην προκαταλυσάμενοι. ἐξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἀλοὺς ὑπὸ Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέος ἐμποιέων ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμόν, ὡς αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνῳ ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφανίζοίαιτο κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης. διὸ ἐξήλασέ μιν ὁ Ἰππαρχος, πρότερον χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα. τότε δὲ συναναβὰς ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως, λεγόντων τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνοῦς¹⁰ λόγους, κατέλεγε τῶν χρησμῶν· εἰ μὲν τι ἐνέοι σφάλμα φέρον τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδέν, ὁ δὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα¹¹ ἐκλεγόμενος ἔλεγε τὸν τε Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς ζευχθῆναι χρεὸν εἶη ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω,¹² τὴν τε ἔλασιν¹³ ἐξηγεόμενος. οὗτός τε δὴ χρησμοδῶν προσεφέρετο καὶ οἱ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

⁶ avenging ⁷ gentle; (animals) domesticated ⁸ prophesying

⁹ oracular response ¹⁰ revered, holy ¹¹ fortunate ¹² Persian

¹³ driving out

7.7

ὥς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου πρῶτα στρατηγὴν ποιέεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας. τούτους μὲν νυν καταστρεψάμενος καὶ Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν πολλὸν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν, ἐπιτράπει Ἀχαιμένει ἀδελφεῷ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ, Δαρείου δὲ παιδί. Ἀχαιμένα μὲν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσε Ἰνάρως ὁ Ψαμμητίχου ἀνὴρ Λίβυς.

7.8

Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἄλωσιν ὥς ἔμελλε ἐς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον ἐπίκητον Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποιέετο, ἵνα γνώμας τε πύθηται σφέων καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν πᾶσι εἴπῃ τὰ θέλει. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἔλεξεν Ξέρξης τάδε.

«ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὐτ' αὐτοὺς κατηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεῖς, παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι. ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὐδαμὰ κω ἡτρεμίσαμεν, ἐπεῖτε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου κατελόντος Ἀστυάγεα· ἀλλὰ θεός τε οὕτω ἄγει καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον. τὰ μὲν νυν Κῦρός τε καὶ Καμβύσης πατήρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρεῖος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκτήσαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὖ οὐκ ἂν τις λέγοι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον, ἐφρόντιζον ὅπως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε μηδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκτήσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι· φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκω ἅμα μὲν κῦδος τε ἡμῖν προσγινόμενον χώρην τε τῆς νῦν ἐκτίμεθα οὐκ ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ φλαυροτέρην παμφορωτέρην τε, ἅμα δὲ τιμωρίην τε καὶ τίσιν γινομένην. διὸ ὑμέας νῦν ἐγὼ συνέλεξα, ἵνα τὸ νοέω πρήσσειν ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν·

Μέλλω ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσωμαι ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν. ὠρᾶτε μὲν νυν καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν

7

7.1

Now when the report came to Dareios the son of Hystaspes of the battle which was fought at Marathon, the king, who even before this had been greatly exasperated with the Athenians on account of the attack made upon Sardis, then far more than before displayed indignation, and was far more desirous of making a march against Hellas. Accordingly at once he sent messengers to the various cities and ordered that they should get ready a force, appointing to each people to supply much more than at the former time, and not only ships of war, but also horses and provisions and transport vessels; and when these commands were carried round, all Asia was moved for three years, for all the best men were being enlisted for the expedition against Hellas, and were making preparations. In the fourth year however the Egyptians, who had been reduced to subjection by Cambyses, revolted from the Persians; and then he was even more desirous of marching against both these nations.

7.2

While Dareios was thus preparing to set out against Egypt and against Athens, there arose a great strife among his sons about the supreme power; and they said that he must not make his expeditions until he had designated one of them to be king, according to the custom of the Persians. For to Dareios already before he became king three sons had been born of his former wife the daughter of Gobryas, and after he became king four other sons of Atossa the daughter of Cyrus: of the first the eldest was Artobazanes, and of those who had been born later, Xerxes. These being not of the same mother were at strife with one another, Artobazanes contending that he was the eldest of all the sons, and that it was a custom maintained by all men that the eldest should have the rule, and Xerxes arguing that he was the son of Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, and that Cyrus was he who had won for the Persians their freedom.

7.3

Now while Dareios did not as yet declare his judgment, it chanced that Demaratos also, the son of Ariston, had come up to Susa at this very same time, having been deprived of the kingdom in Sparta and having laid upon himself a sentence of exile from Lacedemon. This man, hearing of the difference between the sons of Dareios, came (as it is reported of him) and counselled Xerxes to say in addition to those things which he was wont to say, that he had been born to Dareios at the time when he was already reigning as king and was holding the supreme power over the Persians, while Artobazanes had been born while Dareios was still in a private station: it was not fitting

therefore nor just that another should have the honour before him; for even in Sparta, suggested Demaratos, this was the custom, that is to say, if some of the sons had been born first, before their father began to reign, and another came after, born later while he was reigning, the succession of the kingdom belonged to him who had been born later. Xerxes accordingly made use of the suggestion of Demaratos; and Dareios perceiving that he spoke that which was just, designated him to be king. It is my opinion however that even without this suggestion Xerxes would have become king, for Atossa was all-powerful.

7.4

Then having designated Xerxes to the Persians as their king, Dareios wished to go on his expeditions. However in the next year after this and after the revolt of Egypt, it came to pass that Dareios himself died, having been king in all six and thirty years; and thus he did not succeed in taking vengeance either upon the revolted Egyptians or upon the Athenians.

7.5

Dareios being dead the kingdom passed to his son Xerxes. Now Xerxes at the first was by no means anxious to make a march against Hellas, but against Egypt he continued to gather a force. Mardonios however, the son of Gobryas, who was a cousin of Xerxes, being sister's son to Dareios, was ever at his side, and having power with him more than any other of the Persians, he kept continually to such discourse as this which follows, saying: "Master, it is not fitting that the Athenians, after having done to the Persians very great evil, should not pay the penalty for that which they have done. What if thou shouldest at this present time do that which thou hast in thy hands to do; and when thou hast tamed the land of Egypt, which has broken out insolently against us, then do thou march an army against Athens, that a good report may be made of thee by men, and that in future every one may beware of making expeditions against thy land." Thus far his speech had to do with vengeance, and to this he would make addition as follows, saying that Europe was a very fair land and bore all kinds of trees that are cultivated for fruit, and was of excellent fertility, and such that the king alone of all mortals was worthy to possess it.

7.6

These things he was wont to say, since he was one who had a desire for perilous enterprise and wished to be himself the governor of Hellas under the king. So in time he prevailed upon Xerxes and persuaded him to do this; for other things also assisted him and proved helpful to him in persuading Xerxes. In the first place there had come from Thessaly messengers sent by

the Aleuadai, who were inviting the king to come against Hellas and were showing great zeal in his cause, (now these Aleuadai were kings of Thessaly): and then secondly those of the sons of Peisistratos who had come up to Susa were inviting him also, holding to the same arguments as the Aleuadai; and moreover they offered him yet more inducement in addition to these; for there was one Onomacritos an Athenian, who both uttered oracles and also had collected and arranged the oracles of Musaios; and with this man they had come up, after they had first reconciled the enmity between them. For Onomacritos had been driven forth from Athens by Hipparchos the son of Peisistratos, having been caught by Lasos of Hermion interpolating in the works of Musaios an oracle to the effect that the islands which lie off Lemnos should disappear under the sea. For this reason Hipparchos drove him forth, having before this time been very much wont to consult him. Now however he had gone up with them; and when he had come into the presence of the king, the sons of Peisistratos spoke of him in magnificent terms, and he repeated some of the oracles; and if there was in them anything which imported disaster to the Barbarians, of this he said nothing; but choosing out of them the most fortunate things he told how it was destined that the Hellespont should be yoked with a bridge by a Persian, and he set forth the manner of the march. He then thus urged Xerxes with oracles, while the sons of Peisistratos and the Aleuadai pressed him with their advice.

7.7

So when Xerxes had been persuaded to make an expedition against Hellas, then in the next year after the death of Dareios he made a march first against those who had revolted. Having subdued these and having reduced all Egypt to slavery much greater than it had suffered in the reign of Dareios, he entrusted the government of it to Achaimenes his own brother, a son of Dareios. Now this Achaimenes being a governor of Egypt was slain afterwards by Inaros the son of Psammetichos, a Libyan.

7.8

Xerxes then after the conquest of Egypt, being about to take in hand the expedition against Athens, summoned a chosen assembly of the best men among the Persians, that he might both learn their opinions and himself in the presence of all declare that which he intended to do; and when they were assembled, Xerxes spoke to them as follows: (a) "Persians, I shall not be the first to establish this custom in your nation, but having received it from others I shall follow it: for as I am informed by those who are older than myself, we never yet have kept quiet since we received this supremacy in succession to the Medes, when Cyrus overthrew Astyages; but God thus leads us, and for ourselves tends to good that we are busied about many

things. Now about the nations which Cyrus and Cambyses and my father Dareios subdued and added to their possessions there is no need for me to speak, since ye know well: and as for me, from the day when I received by inheritance this throne upon which I sit I carefully considered always how in this honourable place I might not fall short of those who have been before me, nor add less power to the dominion of the Persians: and thus carefully considering I find a way by which not only glory may be won by us, together with a land not less in extent nor worse than that which we now possess, (and indeed more varied in its productions), but also vengeance and retribution may be brought about. Wherefore I have assembled you together now, in order that I may communicate to you that which I have it in my mind to do. (b) I design to yoke the Hellespont with a bridge, and to march an army through Europe against Hellas, in order that I may take vengeance on the Athenians for all the things which they have done both to the Persians and to my father. Ye saw how my father Dareios also

vocabulary

ἀβουλία ill-advisedness
ἄβουλος ill-advised
ἄγνωμοσύνη senselessness, ignorance, folly
ἀδικία injustice, offence
αιθήρ ether, air, sky ~ether
ἀκήρατος unharmed, pure
ἄλκιμος brave; sturdily made
 ~Alexander
ἄλσος -εος (n, 3) grove, sacred place
ἀναίτιος blameless ~etiology
ἀνάξιος unworthy, undeserved
ἀνάρτημαι attach to, make dependent upon
ἀνευρίσκω discover
ἀνήγω reach up to; belong
ἀντιόω meet, fight, join
ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart
ἀπείρητος untried, unattempted, unskilled ~pierce
ἀποβάλλω throw away, lose
ἀποδείκνυμι (ῶ) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare
ἀποσκήπτω hurl from above; fall suddenly
ἀποφαίνω display, declare
ἀσθενής weak
αὐτόματος self-willed, accidental
 ~after
βούλευμα -τος (n, 3) resolution, purpose
βροντή thunder ~brontosaurus
γέφυρα (ῶ) dam, dike; bridge
γεφυρώω (ῶ) dam, move earth
δένδρεον -οῦ tree
δένδρον tree
δένδρος tree
δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot
διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis
διαβάλλω throw across; slander

~ballistic
διαγινώσκω discern, decide
διαλύω break up; relax, weaken
διαχρέομαι use habitually; lend out; reveal
διεξέρχομαι go through
διεργάζομαι cultivate; kill, end
δούλιος of a slave
ἐγγίγνομαι live in ~genus
ἐκγίγνομαι be born; be by birth
 ~genus
Ἑλλήν Greek
ἐμπύμπρημι burn up ~pyre
ἐμπρήθω burn up
ἐναντιόομαι oppose, contradict
ἐνεμι be in ~ion
ἐξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka
ἐπασείρω raise, place on ~aorta
ἐπείγω weigh upon, drive; (mid) hurry
ἐπελαύνω beat out ~elastic
ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail
ἐπίσχω aim; restrain
ἐσσόομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat
εὕρημα invention; windfall
εὖς good, brave, noble
ἐφέπω drive, meet, follow ~sequel
ἐφίημι (ι) send at, let fly; mp: rush at, spring upon ~jet
ἐφικνέομαι reach, bear on
ἔωθα be accustomed, in the habit
ζεύγνυμι (ῶ) yoke, join ~zygote
ζημία loss, penalty ~zeal
ζυγόν yoke, a joined pair ~zygote
ζυγός yoke, a joined pair ~zygote
ζῶον being, animal; picture
ἡσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat
θράσος -ους (n, 3) boldness, over-boldness
ἰθύω (ι) charge at, head for ~justice

καθοράω look down ~panorama
καίτοι and yet; and in fact; although
καταγελάω laugh at, deride
καταλέγω relate in detail, choose; enroll ~legion
καταστρέφω overturn, subdue ~catastrophe
κάτειμι go down, disembark ~ion
κέρδος -ους (n, 3) advantage, cunning
κνίζω scratch, gash; tickle
κολούω skimp, fail
λεῖος smooth
λογίζομαι reckon, consider
μάταιος vain, empty
μίν him, her, it
ναυμαχία naval warfare
νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing
οἷκημα -τος (n, 3) room
ὁμόγλωσσος speaking the same language
ὁμouρέω be next to
ὄμouρος bordering
ὄον οὐ type of fruit
πάθος -ους (n, 3) an experience, passion, condition
παντοῖος all kinds of
πάντως by all means
παρατρίβω (ι) rub beside, against
παραντίκα immediately
πάτρων -ος (m, 3) patron
πεῖρα an attempt
πείρω pierce, run through ~pierce
Πέρσης Persian
Περσίς Persian (language)
πίσυνος trusting in, relying on (+dat)
πλησιόχωρος adjacent
πόρος way, bridge ~fare
πόρω aor. give, pf. be fated

προαγορεύω declare, predict, order
προεῖπον foretell, proclaim, order before
πρόκειμαι be placed by; be devoted to
προσκτάομαι get, win as well
προφέρω bring forth ~bear
πυρόω burn something
σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore
σιωπάω be silent
σκαιότης -τος (f, 3) awkwardness
σοφία skill; wisdom ~sophistry
σταθμόομαι judge, conclude
στρατηγέω be a general
στρατιά army ~strategy
στρατός common people/soldiers ~strategy
σύλλογος meeting
συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic
συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult ~volunteer
σφάλμα stumble
τίμιος honored, precious
τιμωρέω (ι) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked
τοσόσδε this much
τύραννος tyrant
τύχη fortune, act of a god
ὑπερέχω be over; protect
ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a person behind ~eclipse
φαντάζω make visible; imagine
φθείρω destroy, ruin
φθονέω envy
φλαυρός trifling
χρυσόω (υ) make golden, gild

Δαρείον ἰθύοντα¹ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τετελεύτηκε καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ τιμωρήσασθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἔλω τε καὶ πυρώσω² τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἳ γε ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν ὑπήρξαν ἄδικα ποιεῖντες. πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδις ἐλθόντες, ἅμα Ἀρισταγόρῃ τῷ Μιλησίῳ δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἐνέπρησαν τὰ τε ἄλσεα³ καὶ τὰ ἱρά· δεύτερα δὲ ἡμέας οἶα ἔρξαν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δατίς τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης ἐστρατήγεον, τὰ ἐπίστασθέ κου πάντες.

Τούτων μὲν τοίνυν εἵνεκα ἀνάρτημαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοσαύτε ἀνευρίσκω λογιζόμενος· εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοισι πλησιοχώρους⁴ καταστρεψόμεθα, οἱ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώραν, γῆν τὴν Περσιῶδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμυρέουσιν.⁵ οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώραν γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ἥλιος ὁμυρον⁶ εὐῶσαν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλὰ σφέας πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν χώραν θήσω, διὰ πάσης διεξεληθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης. πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχειν, οὔτε τινὰ πόλιν ἀνδρῶν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ ἡμῖν οἷόν τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων τῶν κατέλεξα ὑπεξαριρημένων. οὕτω οἳ τε ἡμῖν αἴτιοι ἔξουσι δούλιον⁷ ζυγὸν οἳ τε ἀναίτιοι.

Ὑμεῖς δ' ἂν μοι τάδε ποιοῦντες χαρίζοισθε· ἐπεὰν ὑμῖν σημήνω τὸν χρόνον ἐς τὸν ἥκειν δεῖ, προθύμως πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρήσει παρῆναι. ὅς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἥκη παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω οἱ δῶρα τὰ τιμώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου. ποιητέα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἐστὶ οὕτω· ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἰδιοβουλεύειν ὑμῖν δοκέω, τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων ὑμέων τὸν βουλούμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι.» ταῦτα εἶπας ἐπαύετο.

7.9

μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε «ὦ δέσποτα, οὐ μόνον εἰς τῶν γενομένων Περσέων ἄριστος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, ὅς τά τε ἄλλα

¹ charge at, head for ² burn something ³ grove, sacred place

⁴ adjacent ⁵ be next to ⁶ bordering ⁷ of a slave

λέγων ἐπίκειο ἄριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα, καὶ Ἰωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους οὐκ ἔασεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῶν ἐόντας ἀναξίους. καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεψάμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα·

Τί δείσαντες; κοῖνῃ πλήθους συστροφῇ; κοῖνῃ δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα· ἔχομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεψάμενοι, τούτους οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατοικημένοι Ἰωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Δωριέες καλέονται. ἐπειρήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἥδη ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθεῖς, καί μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίης ἐλάσαντι καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπικέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἠντιώθη ἐς μάχην.

Καίτοι γε ἐώθασι Ἕλληνες, ὥς πυνθάνομαι, ἀβουλότατα⁸ πολέμους ἵστασθαι ὑπὸ τε ἀγνωμοσύνης⁹ καὶ σκαιότητος.¹⁰ ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι πόλεμον προείπωσι, ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον,¹¹ ἐς τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται, ὥστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσσομένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχήν· ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται· τοὺς χρῆν ἐόντας ὁμογλώσσους¹² κήρυξι τε διαχρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχῃσι· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδεε πολεμέειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρῆν τῇ ἐκάτεροι εἰσὶ δυσχειρωτότατοι καὶ ταύτῃ πειρᾶν. τρόπῳ τοίνυν οὐ χρηστῷ Ἕλληνες διαχρεώμενοι, ἐμέο ἐλάσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίης γῆς, οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς τούτου λόγον ὥστε μάχεσθαι.

Σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τίς ὦ βασιλεῦ ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον προφέρων, ἄγοντι καὶ πληθὸς τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας; ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο θράσεος ἀνῆκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα· εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἔγωγε ψευθεῖν γνῶμη καὶ ἐκείνοι ἐπαερθέντες ἀβουλίῃ¹³

⁸ ill-advised ⁹ senselessness, ignorance, folly ¹⁰ awkwardness
¹¹ smooth ¹² speaking the same language ¹³ ill-advisedness

ἔλθοιεν ἡμῶν ἐς μάχην, μάθοιεν ἂν ὡς εἰμὲν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολέμια. ἔστω δ' ὦν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι.»

7.10

Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλεήνας τὴν Ξέρξῳ γνώμην ἐπέπαντο· σιωπώντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων καὶ οὐ τολμώντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ, Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, πατρως¹⁴ ἔων Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος¹⁵ ἔων ἔλεγε τάδε.

«ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ λεχθεισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλησι οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἰρεόμενον ἐλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ εἰρημένῃ χρᾶσθαι, λεχθεισέων δὲ ἔστι, ὥσπερ τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον¹⁶ αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἐώντοῦ οὐ διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλω χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνω. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ Δαρείῳ ἡγόρευον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἄνδρας οὐδαμῶθι γῆς ἄστυ νέμοντας. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας¹⁷ καταστρέψεσθαι ἐμοί τε οὐκ ἐπείθετο, στρατευσάμενός τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε. σὺ δὲ ὦ βασιλεῦ μέλλεις ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλὸν ἀμείονας ἢ Σκύθας, οἱ κατὰ θάλασσαν τε ἄριστοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινόν, ἐμὲ σοὶ δίκαιον ἐστὶ φράζειν.

Ζεύξας φῆς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεκέ σε ἤτοι κατὰ γῆν ἢ καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐσσωθῆναι, ἢ καὶ κατ' ἀμφοτέρω· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκιμοι, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιὴν γε τοσαύτην σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφρένῃ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν μούνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν. οὐκ ὦν ἀμφοτέρῃ σφί ἐχώρησε. ἀλλ' ἦν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τοῦτο δὴ βασιλεῦ γίνεται δεινόν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδεμιῇ σοφίῃ οἰκίῃ αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ' οἶον

¹⁴ patron ¹⁵ trusting in, relying on (+dat) ¹⁶ unharmed, pure

¹⁷ roaming, grazing

κοτὲ ἡμέας ὀλίγον ἐδέησε καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατὴρ σὸς ζεύξας Βόσπορον τὸν Θρηϊκίον, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἰστρου διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας. τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λῦσαι τὸν πόρον, τοῖσι ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἰστρου. καὶ τότε γε Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ μηδὲ ἡναντιώθῃ, διέργαστο ἂν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα. καίτοι καὶ λόγῳ ἀκοῦσαι δεινόν, ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ γε ἐνὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι.

Σὺ δὲ μὴ βούλευε ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι μηδεμιῆς ἀνάγκης ἐούσης, ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ πείθευ. νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὗτις δέ, ὅταν τοι δοκῇ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωντοῦ προαγόρευε τά τοι δοκῇ εἶναι ἄριστα. τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλευέσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω ἓόν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῇναί τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἦσσαν εὖ, ἔσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα.¹⁸ ὁ δὲ βουλευσάμενος αἰσχροῶς, εἴ οἱ ἡ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο, εὖρημα¹⁹ εὖρηκε, ἦσσαν δὲ οὐδέν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευται.

Ὅρῳς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐὰ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδέν μιν κνίξει· ὅρῳς δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα²⁰ τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα· φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολοῦειν.²¹ οὕτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιόνδε· ἐπεὶ σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλῃ ἢ βροντήν, δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν ἀναξίως ἑωυτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐὰ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν.

Ἐπειχθῆναι μὲν νυν πᾶν πρῆγμα τίκτει σφάλματα,²² ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι μεγάλαι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθὰ, εἰ μὴ παρὰ τὰ δοκούντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι τις ἄν.

Σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὦ βασιλεῦ συμβουλεύω· σὺ δέ, ὦ παῖ Γοβρύεω Μαρδόνιε, παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐόντων ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν. Ἕλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν

¹⁸ resolution, purpose ¹⁹ invention; windfall ²⁰ room ²¹ skimp, fail ²² stumble

was purposing to make an expedition against these men; but he has ended his life and did not succeed in taking vengeance upon them. I however, on behalf of him and also of the other Persians, will not cease until I have conquered Athens and burnt it with fire; seeing that they did wrong unprovoked to me and to my father. First they went to Sardis, having come with Aristagoras the Milesian our slave, and they set fire to the sacred groves and the temples; and then secondly, what things they did to us when we disembarked in their land, at the time when Datis and Artaphrenes were commanders of our army, ye all know well, as I think. (c) For these reasons I have resolved to make an expedition against them, and reckoning I find in the matter so many good things as ye shall hear: — if we shall subdue these and the neighbours of these, who dwell in the land of Pelops the Phrygian, we shall cause the Persian land to have the same boundaries as the heaven of Zeus; since in truth upon no land will the sun look down which borders ours, but I with your help shall make all the lands into one land, having passed through the whole extent of Europe. For I am informed that things are so, namely that there is no city of men nor any race of human beings remaining, which will be able to come to a contest with us, when those whom I just now mentioned have been removed out of the way. Thus both those who have committed wrong against us will have the yoke of slavery, and also those who have not committed wrong. (d) And ye will please me best if ye do this: — whensoever I shall signify to you the time at which ye ought to come, ye must appear every one of you with zeal for the service; and whosoever shall come with a force best equipped, to him I will give gifts such as are accounted in our land to be the most honourable. Thus must these things be done: but that I may not seem to you to be following my own counsel alone, I propose the matter for discussion, bidding any one of you who desires it, declare his opinion.”

7.9

Having thus spoken he ceased; and after him Mardonios said: “Master, thou dost surpass not only all the Persians who were before thee, but also those who shall come after, since thou didst not only attain in thy words to that which is best and truest as regards other matters, but also thou wilt not permit the Ionians who dwell in Europe to make a mock of us, having no just right to do so: for a strange thing it would be if, when we have subdued and kept as our servants Sacans, Indians, Ethiopians, Assyrians, and other nations many in number and great, who have done no wrong to the Persians, because we desired to add to our dominions, we should not take vengeance on the Hellenes who committed wrong against us unprovoked. (a) Of what should we be afraid? — what gathering of numbers, or what resources of money? for their manner of fight we know, and as for their resources, we know that they are feeble; and we have moreover subdued already their sons,

those I mean who are settled in our land and are called Ionians, Aiolians, and Dorians. Moreover I myself formerly made trial of marching against these men, being commanded thereto by thy father; and although I marched as far as Macedonia, and fell but little short of coming to Athens itself, no man came to oppose me in fight. (b) And yet it is true that the Hellenes make wars, but (as I am informed) very much without wise consideration, by reason of obstinacy and want of skill: for when they have proclaimed war upon one another, they find out first the fairest and smoothest place, and to this they come down and fight; so that even the victors depart from the fight with great loss, and as to the vanquished, of them I make no mention at all, for they are utterly destroyed. They ought however, being men who speak the same language, to make use of heralds and messengers and so to take up their differences and settle them in any way rather than by battles; but if they must absolutely war with one another, they ought to find out each of them that place in which they themselves are hardest to overcome, and here to make their trial. Therefore the Hellenes, since they use no good way, when I had marched as far as the land of Macedonia, did not come to the resolution of fighting with me. (c) Who then is likely to set himself against thee, O king, offering war, when thou art leading both all the multitudes of Asia and the whole number of the ships? I for my part am of opinion that the power of the Hellenes has not attained to such a pitch of boldness: but if after all I should prove to be deceived in my judgment, and they stirred up by inconsiderate folly should come to battle with us, they would learn that we are the best of all men in the matters of war. However that may be, let not anything be left untried; for nothing comes of itself, but from trial all things are wont to come to men."

7.10

Mardonios having thus smoothed over the resolution expressed by Xerxes had ceased speaking: and when the other Persians were silent and did not venture to declare an opinion contrary to that which had been proposed, then Artabanos the son of Hystaspes, being father's brother to Xerxes and having reliance upon that, spoke as follows: (a) "O king, if opinions opposed to one another be not spoken, it is not possible to select the better in making the choice, but one must accept that which has been spoken; if however opposite opinions be uttered, this is possible; just as we do not distinguish the gold which is free from alloy when it is alone by itself, but when we rub it on the touchstone in comparison with other gold, then we distinguish that which is the better. Now I gave advice to thy father Dareios also, who was my brother, not to march against the Scythians, men who occupied no abiding city in any part of the earth. He however, expecting that he would subdue the Scythians who were nomads, did not listen to me; but he made a march

and came back from it with the loss of many good men of his army. But thou, O king, art intending to march against men who are much better than the Scythians, men who are reported to be excellent both by sea and on land: and the thing which is to be feared in this matter it is right that I should declare to thee. (b) Thou sayest that thou wilt yoke the Hellespont with a bridge and march an army through Europe to Hellas. Now supposing it chance that we are worsted either by land or by sea, or even both, for the men are reported to be valiant in fight, (and we may judge for ourselves that it is so, since the Athenians by themselves destroyed that great army which came with Datis and Artaphrenes to the Attic land),—suppose however that they do not succeed in both, yet if they shall attack with their ships and conquer in a sea-fight, and then sail to the Hellespont and break up the bridge, this of itself, O king, will prove to be a great peril. (c) Not however by any native wisdom of my own do I conjecture that this might happen: I am conjecturing only such a misfortune as all but came upon us at the former time, when thy father, having yoked the Bosphorus of Thracia and made a bridge over the river Ister, had crossed over to go against the Scythians. At that time the Scythians used every means of entreaty to persuade the Ionians to break up the passage, to whom it had been entrusted to guard the bridges of the Ister. At that time, if Histiaios the despot of Miletos had followed the opinion of the other despots and had not made opposition to them, the power of the Persians would have been brought to an end. Yet it is a fearful thing even to hear it reported that the whole power of the king had come to depend upon one human creature. (d) Do not thou therefore propose to go into any such danger when there is no need, but do as I say:—at the present time dissolve this assembly; and afterwards at whatever time it shall seem good to thee, when thou hast considered prudently with thyself, proclaim that which seems to thee best: for good counsel I hold to be a very great gain; since even if anything shall prove adverse, the counsel which has been taken is no less good, though it has been defeated by fortune; while he who took counsel badly at first, if good fortune should go with him has lighted on a prize by chance, but none the less for that his counsel was bad. (e) Thou seest how God strikes with thunderbolts the creatures which stand above the rest and suffers them not to make a proud show; while those which are small do not provoke him to jealousy: thou seest also how he hurls his darts ever at those buildings which are the highest and those trees likewise; for God is wont to cut short all those things which stand out above the rest. Thus also a numerous army is destroyed by one of few men in some such manner as this, namely when God having become jealous of them casts upon them panic or thundering from heaven, then they are destroyed utterly and not as their worth deserves; for God suffers not any other to have high thoughts save only himself. (f) Moreover the hastening of any matter breeds disasters, whence

great losses are wont to be produced; but in waiting there are many good things contained, as to which, if they do not appear to be good at first, yet one will find them to be so in course of time. (g) To thee, O king, I give this counsel: but thou son of Gobryas, Mardonios, cease speaking foolish words about the Hellenes, since they in no way deserve to be spoken of with slight; for by uttering slander against the Hellenes thou

vocabulary

αεικῆς shameful, unseemly ~icon
 ἄθυμος (ῶ) having low morale
 ~fume
 ἀλίζω gather, assemble
 ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read,
 understand, persuade
 ἀναπαύω cause to cease ~pause
 ἀναπείθω (aor, plupf) seduce,
 persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust,
 obey, be confident in
 ἄνευ away from; not having; not
 needing ~Sp. sin
 ἀνήκω reach up to; belong
 ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet
 ἀπείπον refuse, renounce, declare
 ἀπονοστέω go home
 ἀποπέτομαι fly away ~petal
 ἀπορρίπτω cast away
 ἀτιμία (τι) dishonor
 ἀτρεκής precise, certain
 βασιλείος kingly
 βασιλήιος kingly
 δάκνω bite
 διαβάλλω throw across; slander
 ~ballistic
 διαβολή slander
 διαιρέω divide, distinguish,
 distribute
 διακελεύομαι give orders to,
 encourage
 διαπειλέω threaten violently
 δίζημαι seek ~zeal
 ἐκμανθάνω know by heart
 ἐκτείνω stretch out ~tend
 Ἑλλην Greek
 ἐμπίμπρημι burn up ~pyre
 ἐμπίπτω fall into; attack ~petal
 ἐμπρήθω burn up
 ἐνδύω go into, put on
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command
 ἐνύπνιος seen in dreams

ἐξαναχωρέω retreat, withdraw
 ἐξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo;
 destroy someone
 ἐπιλάμπω shine in response to
 ~lamp
 ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose;
 (mid) think over
 ἐπιπέμπω send after, again, to,
 besides
 ἐπιπέτομαι fly at ~petal
 ἐπιτελής accomplished
 ἐπιφαίνω display ~photon
 ἐπιφοιτάω come habitually
 ἐπιφοιτέω come habitually
 ἐπώνυμος named for a reason
 ~name
 ἐσθῆς clothes ~vest
 εὐειδής good-looking ~wit
 εὐήθεια goodheartedness, silliness
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 εὐφρόνη euphemism for night
 ἔχθρη hate
 ἔωθα be accustomed, in the habit
 ἡδονή pleasure
 ἥθος ἥθεος (n, 3) habit, habitat
 ~ethos
 ἡσυχία peace and quiet
 ἡσυχος quiet
 θυμός (ῶ) anger
 ἵζω to seat ~sit
 καθυπνών fall asleep
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος
 καταπαύω stop, restrain ~pause
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue
 ~catastrophe
 κέλευθος (f) way, path
 κνίζω scratch, gash; tickle
 κοίτη rest, resting place, sleepiness
 λύπη distress
 μάταιος vain, empty
 μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off
 ~jet

μεταβουλεύω change one's mind
 ~volunteer
 μεταγινώσκω change one's mind
 ~gnostic
 μεταδοκέω change one's mind
 μετέχω partake of
 μισθός reward, wages
 νεότης -τος (f, 3) youth ~neon
 ὁμιλία (τι) intercourse, company
 ὄνειρον dream
 ὄνειρος dream
 ὄον οὗ type of fruit
 ὅπόσος as many as, how many, how
 great
 ὄρνις -θος (ι, f) bird ~ornithology
 οὐδαμὸς not anyone
 οὐδέτερος neither
 ὀφείλω owe, should, if only
 ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view
 ~thanatopsis
 πάγχι entirely
 πάντως by all means
 παραβάλλω put at risk ~ballistic
 παραινέω immediately
 παρηγορέω console, advise
 πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder
 περιδεής very timid
 περιοράω look around; watch;
 permit
 Πέρσης Persian
 πλανάω lead astray; (mp) wander
 ~plankton
 πομπή a sending, expedition ~pomp
 προείπον foretell, proclaim, order
 before
 προθυμία (ο) zeal, alacrity ~fume
 πρόκειμαι be placed by; be devoted
 to
 προλέγω prophecy, proclaim;
 preselect ~legion
 προσδοκάω expect

σκευή equipment
 σταθμόομαι judge, conclude
 στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army
 ~strategy
 στρατηλασίη expedition, campaign
 στρατηλατέω lead an army
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 συγγινώσκω acknowledge; pardon
 συγγνώμη sympathy, leniency
 συλλαμβάνω seize, capture;
 understand ~epilepsy
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
 συμβουλή advice; consultation
 συναλίζω collect; eat with
 συστρατεύω join in an expedition
 σφαλερός slippery; tottering
 σφάλλω overthrow, balk, stagger
 ταπεινός low
 τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ~tachometer
 τιμωρέω (ι) (+dat) take vengeance,
 punish; aid one who has been
 attacked
 τοιόσδε such
 τρέχω run, spin
 ὕβρις -εως (f) pride, insolence,
 outrage
 ὑποδύνω (mp) get under; play a
 character
 ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a
 person behind ~eclipse
 ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise
 ~hypothesis
 φαντάζω make visible; imagine
 φροντίζω consider, ponder
 φύσις -εως (f) nature (of a thing)
 ~physics
 φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics
 χρήσιμος useful
 χρηστός useful; brave, worthy

βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν. μή νυν οὕτω γένηται. διαβολή γὰρ ἐστὶ δεινότατον· ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰσὶ οἱ ἀδικέοντες, εἷς δὲ ὁ ἀδικεόμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἀδικεῖ οὐ παρεόντι κατηγορέων, ὁ δὲ ἀδικεῖ ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ· ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικέεται, διαβληθεὶς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἐτέρου κακὸς εἶναι.

Ἄλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἡθεσι τοῖσι Περσέων μενέτω, ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα, στρατηλάτее αὐτὸς σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενός τε ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐθέλεις καὶ λαβὼν στρατιὴν ὁκόσῃν τινὰ βούλει. καὶ ἦν μὲν τῇ σὺ λέγεις ἀναβαίνειν βασιλεί τὰ πρήγματα, κτενέσθων οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἐγώ· ἦν δὲ τῇ ἐγὼ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων, σὺν δέ σφι καὶ σύ, ἦν ἀπονοστήσης. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνειν οὐκ ἐθέλῃσεις, σὺ δὲ πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀκούσεσθαι τινὰ φημὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τῇδε ὑπολειπομένων Μαρδόνιον, μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασάμενον Πέρσας, ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων διαφορεύμενον ἢ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἢ σέ γε ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρότερον κατ' ὁδόν, γνόντα ἐπ' οἴους ἄνδρας ἀναγινώσκεις στρατεύεσθαι βασιλέα.»

7.11

Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. «Ἀρτάβανε, πατὴρ εἷς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφεός· τοῦτό σε ρύσεται μηδένα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων ματαίων. καὶ τοι αὐτήν τὴν ἀτιμίην¹ προστίθιμι ἐόντι κακῷ καὶ ἀθύμῳ,² μήτε συστρατεύεσθαι ἔμοιγε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἅμα τῇσι γυναιξί· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ σέο ὅσα περ εἶπα ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω. μή γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω τοῦ Τεῖσπεος τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Τεῖσπεος τοῦ Ἀχαμένεος γεγονώς, μὴ τιμωρησάμενος Ἀθηναίους, εἶ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύονται ἐπὶ τὴν

¹ dishonor ² having low morale

ἡμετέρην, εἰ χρή σταθμώσασθαι τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων, οἳ Σάρδεις τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ ἤλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. οὐκὼν ἐξαναχωρεῖν οὐδετέροις³ δυνατῶς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιέειν ἢ παθεῖν πρόκειται ἀγών, ἵνα ἢ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήσι ἢ ἐκείνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσησι γένηται· τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἔχθρης ἐστί. καλὸν ὦν προπεπονηότας ἡμέας τιμωρέειν ἥδη γίνεται, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας ἐπ' ἄνδρας τούτους, τοὺς γε καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ Φρύξ, ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος, κατεστρέψατο οὕτω ὥς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοί τε ὠνθρωποι καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώννυμοι τοῦ καταστρεψαμένου καλέονται.»

7.12

ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο. μετὰ δὲ εὐφρόνη⁴ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Ξέρξην ἔκνιζε ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη· νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδοὺς πάγχυ εὕρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρῆγμα εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. δεδογμένων δέ οἱ αὖτις τούτων κατύπνωσε, καὶ δὴ κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε, ὥς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐεϊδέα⁵ εἰπεῖν «μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεαι, ὦ Πέρσα, στράτευμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προείπας ἀλίζειν⁶ Πέρσας στρατόν· οὔτε ὦν μεταβουλευόμενος ποιέεις εὖ οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβουλεύσαο ποιέειν, ταύτην ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν.»

7.13

τὸν μὲν ταῦτα εἰπόντα ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτάσθαι, ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης ὀνείρου μὲν τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιέετο, ὁ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἐλεξέ σφι τάδε. «ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλεύομαι· φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμεωντοῦ πρῶτα οὐκῶ ἀνήκω, καὶ οἱ παρηγορεόμενοι ἐκείνα ποιέειν οὐδένα χρόνον μεν ἀπέχονται. ἀκούσαντι μέντοι μοι τῆς Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης παραυτίκα μὲν ἡ νεότης⁷ ἐπέξεσε, ὥστε αἰεκέστερα ἀπορρῶψαι ἔπεα ἐς ἄνδρα

³ neither ⁴ euphemism for night ⁵ good-looking ⁶ gather, assemble ⁷ youth

πρεσβύτερον ἢ χρεόν· νῦν μέντοι συγγνοὺς χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ. ὥς ὦν μεταδεδογμένον μοι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥσυχοι⁸ ἔστε.»

7.14

Πέρσαι μὲν ὥς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες προσεκύνεον. νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης αὖτις τῶντ' ὄνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ κατυπνωμένῳ ἔλεγε ἐπιστάν «ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνεαι ἐν Πέρσῃσί τε ἀπειπάμενος τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπεα ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιησάμενος λόγῳ ὥς παρ' οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας; εὖ νυν τόδ' ἴσθι· ἦν περ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατηλατῆς, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασχῆσαι· ὥς καὶ μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς⁹ ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἔσσει.»

7.15

Ξέρξης μὲν περιδεὴς γενόμενος τῇ ὄψι ἀνά τε ἔδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοίτης καὶ πέμπει ἄγγελον ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον καλέοντα· ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε. «Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ παραντίκα μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνεον εἵπας ἐς σὲ μάταια ἔπεα χρηστῆς εἵνεκα συμβουλίας· μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων, ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτα μοι ποιητέα ἔόντα τὰ σὺν ὑπεθήκαο. οὐκὼν δυνατός τοι εἰμὶ ταῦτα βουλόμενος ποιέειν· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνωκότι ἐπιφοιτέον ὄνειρον φαντάζεται μοι οὐδαμῶς συνεπαινέον ποιέειν με ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλήσαν οἴχεται. εἰ ὦν θεὸς ἐστὶ ὁ ἐπιπέμπων καὶ οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστὶ γενέσθαι στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ Ἑλλάδα, ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τῶντ' οὗτο ὄνειρον, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον. εὐρίσκω δὲ ὧδ' αἶν γινόμενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν¹⁰ πᾶσαν καὶ ἐνδὺς μετὰ τοῦτο ἵζοιο ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπνώσεις.»

7.16

Ξέρξης μὲν ταῦτά οἱ ἔλεγε· Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ πρῶτῳ κελεύσματι

⁸ quiet ⁹ low ¹⁰ equipment

πειθόμενος, οἷα οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι, τέλος ὡς ἡναγκάζετο εἶπας τάδε ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον.

«ἴσον ἐκείνο ᾧ βασιλεῦ παρ' ἐμοὶ κέκριται, φρονέειν τε εὖ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι· τά σε καὶ ἀμφοτέρα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλίαι¹¹ σφάλλουσι, κατὰ περ τὴν πάντων χρησιμωτάτην ἀνθρώποισι θάλασσαν πνεύματα φασὶ ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα οὐ περιορᾶν φύσι τῇ ἐωυτῆς χρᾶσθαι. ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτο ἔδακε¹² λύπη ὅσον γνωμέων δύο προκειμενέων Πέρσῃσι, τῆς μὲν ὕβριν αὐξανούσης, τῆς δὲ καταπαυούσης καὶ λεγούσης ὡς κακὸν εἶη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι δίζησθαι¹³ αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντος, τοιουτέων προκειμενέων γνωμέων ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτέραν¹⁴ σεωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι ἀναιρέο.

Νῦν ὦν, ἐπειδὴ τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω, φῆς τοι μετιέντι τὸν ἐπ' Ἑλληνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτᾶν ὄνειρον θεοῦ τινος πομπῇ, οὐκ ἐώντά σε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐστὶ, ᾧ παῖ, θεία. ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς ἀνθρώπους πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτα ἐστὶ οἷά σε ἐγὼ διδάξω, ἔτεσι σεῦ πολλοῖσι πρεσβύτερος ἐών· πεπλανῆσθαι αὐταὶ μάλιστα ἐώθασι αἱ ὄψεις τῶν ὄνειράτων, τά τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἡμέρας ταύτην τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὸ κάρτα εἴχομεν μετὰ χεῖρας.

Εἰ δὲ ἄρα μὴ ἐστὶ τοῦτο τοιοῦτο οἷον ἐγὼ διαιρέω, ἀλλὰ τι τοῦ θείου μετέχον, σὺ πᾶν αὐτὸ συλλαβὼν εἴρηκας· φανήτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ ὡς καὶ σοὶ διακελευόμενον. φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυομένῳ ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ, εἴ πέρ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανῆναι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτό γε εὐηθείης¹⁵ ἀνήκει τοῦτο, ὅ τι δὴ κοτε ἐστί, τὸ ἐπιφανόμενόν τοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ὥστε δόξει ἐμὲ ὁρῶν σὲ εἶναι, τῇ

¹¹ intercourse, company ¹² bite ¹³ seek ¹⁴ slippery; tottering
¹⁵ goodheartedness, silliness

art stirring the king himself to make an expedition, and it is to this very end that I think thou art straining all thy endeavour. Let not this be so; for slander is a most grievous thing; in it the wrongdoers are two, and the person who suffers wrong is one. The slanderer does a wrong in that he speaks against one who is not present, the other in that he is persuaded of the thing before he gets certain knowledge of it, and he who is not present when the words are spoken suffers wrong in the matter thus, —both because he has been slandered by the one and because he has been believed to be bad by the other. (h) However, if it be absolutely needful to make an expedition against these men, come, let the king himself remain behind in the abodes of the Persians, and let us both set to the wage our sons; and then do thou lead an army by thyself, choosing for thyself the men whom thou desirest, and taking an army as large as thou thinkest good: and if matters turn out for the king as thou sayest, let my sons be slain and let me also be slain in addition to them; but if in the way which I predict, let thy sons suffer this, and with them thyself also, if thou shalt return back. But if thou art not willing to undergo this proof, but wilt by all means lead an army against Hellas, then I say that those who are left behind in this land will hear that Mardonios, after having done a great mischief to the Persians, is torn by dogs and birds, either in the land of the Athenians, or else perchance thou wilt be in the land of the Lacedaemonians (unless indeed this should have come to pass even before that upon the way), and that thou hast at length been made aware against what kind of men thou art persuading the king to march.”

7.11

Artabanos thus spoke; and Xerxes enraged by it made answer as follows: “Artabanos, thou art my father’s brother, and this shall save thee from receiving any recompense such as thy foolish words deserve. Yet I attach to thee this dishonour, seeing that thou art a coward and spiritless, namely that thou do not march with me against Hellas, but remain here together with the women; and I, even without thy help, will accomplish all the things which I said: for I would I might not be descended from Dareios, the son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames, the son of Ariaramnes, the son of Teispes, or from Cyrus, the son of Cambyzes, the son of Teispes, the son of Achaemenes, if I take not vengeance on the Athenians; since I know well that if we shall keep quiet, yet they will not do so, but will again march against our land, if we may judge by the deeds which have been done by them to begin with, since they both set fire to Sardis and marched upon Asia. It is not possible therefore that either side should retire from the quarrel, but the question before us is whether we shall do or whether we shall suffer; whether all these regions shall come to be under the Hellenes or all those under the Persians: for in our hostility there is no middle course. It follows then now that it is well

for us, having suffered wrong first, to take revenge, that I may find out also what is this terrible thing which I shall suffer if I lead an army against these men,—men whom Pelops the Phrygian, who was the slave of my forefathers, so subdued that even to the present day both the men themselves and their land are called after the name of him who subdued them.”

7.12

Thus far was it spoken then; but afterwards when darkness came on, the opinion of Artabanos tormented Xerxes continually; and making night his counsellor he found that it was by no means to his advantage to make the march against Hellas. So when he had thus made a new resolve, he fell asleep, and in the night he saw, as is reported by the Persians, a vision as follows:—Xerxes thought that a man tall and comely of shape came and stood by him and said: “Art thou indeed changing thy counsel, O Persian, of leading an expedition against Hellas, now that thou hast made proclamation that the Persians shall collect an army? Thou dost not well in changing thy counsel, nor will he who is here present with thee excuse thee from it; but as thou didst take counsel in the day to do, by that way go.”

7.13

After he had said this, Xerxes thought that he who had spoken flew away; and when day had dawned he made no account of this dream, but gathered together the Persians whom he had assembled also the former time and said to them these words: “Persians, pardon me that I make quick changes in my counsel; for in judgment not yet am I come to my prime, and they who advise me to do the things which I said, do not for any long time leave me to myself. However, although at first when I heard the opinion of Artabanos my youthful impulses burst out, so that I cast out unseemly words against a man older than myself; yet now I acknowledge that he is right, and I shall follow his opinion. Consider then I have changed my resolve to march against Hellas, and do ye remain still.”

7.14

The Persians accordingly when they heard this were rejoiced and made obeisance: but when night had come on, the same dream again came and stood by Xerxes as he lay asleep and said: “Son of Dareios, it is manifest then that thou hast resigned this expedition before the assembly of the Persians, and that thou hast made no account of my words, as if thou hadst heard them from no one at all. Now therefore be well assured of this:—if thou do not make thy march forthwith, there shall thence spring up for thee this result, namely that, as thou didst in short time become great and mighty, so also thou shalt speedily be again brought low.”

7.15

Xerxes then, being very greatly disturbed by fear of the vision, started up from his bed and sent a messenger to summon Artabanos; to whom when he came Xerxes spoke thus: "Artabanos, at the first I was not discreet, when I spoke to thee foolish words on account of thy good counsel; but after no long time I changed my mind and perceived that I ought to do these things which thou didst suggest to me. I am not able however to do them, although I desire it; for indeed, now that I have turned about and changed my mind, a dream appears haunting me and by no means approving that I should do so; and just now it has left me even with a threat. If therefore it is God who sends it to me, and it is his absolute will and pleasure that an army should go against Hellas, this same dream will fly to thee also, laying upon thee a charge such as it has laid upon me; and it occurs to my mind that this might happen thus, namely if thou shouldst take all my attire and put it on, and then seat thyself on my throne, and after that lie down to sleep in my bed."

7.16

Xerxes spoke to him thus; and Artabanos was not willing to obey the command at first, since he did not think himself worthy to sit upon the royal throne; but at last being urged further he did that which was commanded, first having spoken these words: (a) "It is equally good in my judgment, O king, whether a man has wisdom himself or is willing to follow the counsel of him who speaks well: and thou, who hast attained to both these good things, art caused to err by the communications of evil men; just as they say that the Sea, which is of all things the most useful to men, is by blasts of winds falling upon it prevented from doing according to its own nature. I however, when I was evil spoken of by thee, was not so much stung with pain for this, as because, when two opinions were laid before the Persians, the one tending to increase wanton insolence and the other tending to check it and saying that it was a bad thing to teach the soul to endeavour always to have something more than the present possession,—because, I say, when such opinions as these were laid before us, thou didst choose that one which was the more dangerous both for thyself and for the Persians. (b) And now that thou hast turned to the better counsel, thou sayest that when thou art disposed to let go the expedition against the Hellenes, a dream haunts thee sent by some god, which forbids thee to abandon thy enterprise. Nay, but here too thou dost err, my son, since this is not of the Deity; for the dreams of sleep which come roaming about to men, are of such nature as I shall inform thee, being by many years older than thou. The visions of dreams are wont to hover above us in such form for the most part as the things of which we were thinking during the day; and we in the days preceding were very much occupied with this campaign. (c) If however after all this is not such a thing as I interpret

it to be, but is something which is concerned with God, thou hast summed the matter up in that which thou hast said: let it appear, as thou sayest, to me also, as to thee, and give commands. But supposing that it desires to appear to me at all, it is not bound to appear to me any the more if I have thy garments on me than if I have my own, nor any more if I take my rest in thy bed than if I am in thy own; for assuredly this thing, whatever it may be, which appears to thee in thy sleep, is not so foolish as to suppose, when it sees me, that it is thou, judging so because the garments are thine. That however which

vocabulary

ἄλέω grind
 ἄλωσις -τος (f) being conquered
 ἀναπυθάνομαι study closely
 ἀνηκουστέω ignore, disobey
 ~acoustic
 ἀνώτατος topmost
 ἀπειλέω vow, threaten, boast
 ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off;
 (intrans) ride away
 ἀπηγέομαι lead; tell, relate
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ῶ) show, point out;
 appoint; (mid) declare
 ἀπολαγχάνω get by lot
 ἀποσπεύδω push hard against
 ἀποτρέπω divert from ~trophy
 ἄτε as if; since
 ἀτρεμίζω not be restless
 ἀφανίζω do away with, make off
 with; (pass) disappear
 βάθρον step, base, bench
 βαθύς high, deep ~bathysphere
 βασιλείος kingly
 βασιλήιος kingly
 βύβλινος made of papyrus
 γέφυρα (ῶ) dam, dike; bridge
 γεφυρώω (ῶ) dam, move earth
 δαιμόνιος voc: you crazy guy
 δατέομαι divide into portions
 ~demon
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis
 διάδοχος being successor
 διεξέρχομαι go through
 διπλήσιος twofold, double
 διῶρυξ -χος (f) ditch, canal
 εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic
 ἐκδέχομαι receive; succeed to a
 position
 ἐκκαίω set on fire
 ἐκτός outside
 ἐκφορέω carry out ~bear
 ἐλαία olive, olive tree ~olive

Ἑλλην Greek

ἐνδέω tie to, entangle; lack
 ἐνδύω go into, put on
 ἐνύπνιος seen in dreams
 ἐξισόω equalize
 ἐξορύσσω dig out
 ἐπαιρίζω raise, place on ~aorta
 ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail
 ἐπιλείπω fail, not work ~eclipse
 ἐπισπεύδω urge on
 ἐπίσχω aim; restrain
 ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near
 ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious
 duty
 ἐπιφαίνω display ~photon
 ἐρευνάω hunt for
 ἐσθής clothes ~vest
 εὖρος -εος (n, 3) width; (caps) the
 east wind
 ζεύγνυμι (ῶ) yoke, join ~zygote
 ἡπειρώτης -ιδος (f) landsman
 θαλλός green stuff, fodder ~thallium
 θερμός warm, hot ~thermos
 ἵππαγωγός carrying horses
 ἱσθμός narrow neck
 καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall,
 arrive; be proper
 καθίημι (ιι) speed down upon; take
 down ~jet
 καθυπνών fall asleep
 καταπροΐξομαι escape unpunished
 καταρρήγνυμι (ῶ) break down
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue
 ~catastrophe
 κατὑπερθεν above, from above
 κατώτατος lowest
 κήδω distress, hurt; mp: care about
 (+gen) ~heinous
 κλάδος branch, shoot
 κοίτη rest, resting place, sleepiness
 κοῖτος rest, resting place, sleepiness
 κολωνός hill, mound

κρημνός riverside cliff
 λειμών -ος (m, 3) meadow ~limnic
 λευκόλινον flax fiber
 μακαριστός deemed happy
 μάστιξ -γος (f) whip
 μεσαμβρία midday; the south
 μετατίθημι set or cause among
 ~thesis
 μετέπειτα afterward, next
 μέτρον measure ~metric
 μίν him, her, it
 μνημόσυνον memorial
 μόριον piece, member; part of
 speech
 ὁμός same ~homoerotic
 ὁμώ unite ~homoerotic
 ὄνειρον dream
 ὄνειρος dream
 ὀνομαστός named ~name
 ὀρμέω be anchored
 ὀρμή pressure, assault, order
 ~hormone
 ὄρυγμα -τος (n, 3) trench, tunnel
 ὀρύσσω dig
 ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view
 ~thanatopsis
 παντοδαπός of every kind, manifold
 παραρτέομαι get something ready
 παρατρέπω turn aside ~trophy
 παραντίκα immediately
 παρίζω sit beside ~sit
 πέμπτος fifth ~pentagon
 πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder
 περιπλέω sail around ~float
 Πέρσης Persian

πλήρης full, complete; (+gen) full of
 ~plethora
 προβαίνω surpass, continue ~basis
 προθυμία (ῥ) zeal, alacrity ~fume
 πρόκειμαι be placed by; be devoted
 to
 προσγίγνομαι become ally to
 προσδοκάω expect
 προσπταίω batter; be set back
 σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark
 ~semaphore
 σιδήριον iron tool
 σοφία skill; wisdom ~sophistry
 σταδίη (adj) standing upright, firm;
 (pl noun) 200 meters
 στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;
 (pl noun) 200 meters
 στέφανος ring
 στεφανώ crown
 στρατηλασίη expedition, campaign
 στρατηλατέω lead an army
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
 συστρατεύω join in an expedition
 σχινοτενής stretched straight
 τεκμαίρομαι conclude, declare from
 evidence
 ὑπερτίθημι hand over; excel; defer
 ὑποζύγιον beast of burden ~zygote
 φθορά ruin, rape
 χοῦς jar, jug; loose dirt
 χόω heap up
 χώρος place ~heir

σῇ ἐσθῆτι τεκμαιρόμενον. εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιήσεται οὐδὲ ἀξιώσει ἐπιφανῆναι, οὔτε ἦν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔχω οὔτε ἦν τὴν σῇν, οὐδὲ ἐπιφοιτήσῃ, τοῦτο ἤδη μαθητέον ἔσται. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσῃ γε συνεχέως, φαίην ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θεῖον εἶναι. εἰ δέ τοι οὕτω δεδοκῆται γίνεσθαι καὶ οὐκ οἶά τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη δεῖ ἐμὲ ἐν κοίτῃ σῇ κατυπνώσαι, φέρε, τούτων ἐξ ἐμεῦ ἐπιτελεσμένων φανήτω καὶ ἐμοί. μέχρι δὲ τούτου τῇ παρεούσῃ γνώμῃ χρήσομαι.»

7.17

τοσαῦτα εἶπας Ἀρτάβανος, ἐλπίζων Ξέρξην ἀποδέξιν λέγοντα οὐδέν, ἐποίεε τὸ κελεύόμενον. ἐνδὺς δὲ τὴν Ξέρξῃ ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἱζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κοῖτον¹ ἐποίεετο, ἡλθέ οἱ κατυπνωμένῳ τῶντ' ὄνειρον τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ξέρξην ἐφοίτα, ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου εἶπε· «ἄρα σὺ δὴ κείνος εἰς ὃ ἀποσπείδων Ξέρξην στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρῑτικά νῦν καταπροΐξαι ἀποτρέπων τὸ χρεὼν γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ τὰ δεῖ ἀνηκουστέοντα παθεῖν, αὐτῷ ἐκεῖν' ἀδεήλωται.»

7.18

ταῦτά τε ἐδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ ὄνειρον ἀπειλέειν καὶ θερμοῖσι² σιδηροῖσι³ ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. καὶ ὃς ἀμβώσας μέγα ἀναθρώσκει, καὶ παριζόμενος Ξέρξῃ, ὡς τὴν ὄψιν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξῆλθε ἀπηγεόμενος, δεύτερά οἱ λέγει τάδε. «ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἶα ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν ἤδη πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἡσσόνων, οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακὸν εἴη τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμείν, μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίопας τὸν Καμβύσῃ, συστρατευόμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας. ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα γνώμην εἶχον ἀτρεμίζοντά σε μακαριστὸν⁴ εἶναι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ δαμιονή τις γίνεται ὁρμή, καὶ Ἑλλήνας, ὡς οἴκε, καταλαμβάνει τις φθορὴ θεήλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τρέπομαι καὶ

¹ rest, resting place, sleepiness ² warm, hot ³ iron tool ⁴ deemed happy

τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι, σὺ δὲ σήμνηνον μὲν Πέρσῃσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χρᾶσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖσι ἐκ σέο πρώτοισι προειρημένοισι ἐς τὴν παρασκευὴν, ποίεε δὲ οὕτω ὅπως τοῦ θεοῦ παραδιδόντος τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μηδέν.» τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπαερθέντες τῇ ὄψι, ὥς ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ξέρξης τε ὑπερετίθετο ταῦτα Πέρσῃσι, καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, ὃς πρότερον ἀποσπεύδων μόνος ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπισπεύδων φανερὸς ἦν.

7.19

ὀρμημένων δὲ Ξέρξῃ στρατηλατείει μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτῃ ὄψι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐγένετο, τὴν οἱ Μάγοι ἔκριναν ἀκούσαντες φέρειν τε ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν δουλεύσειν τέ οἱ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἦν ἥδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἐστεφανῶσθαι ἐλαίῃς θαλλῶ,⁵ ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίῃς τοὺς κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεῖν, μετὰ δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κείμενον τὸν στέφανον. κρινάντων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Μάγων, Περσέων τε τῶν συλλεχθέντων αὐτίκα πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἀπελάσας εἶχε προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι, θέλων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα λαβεῖν, καὶ Ξέρξης τοῦ στρατοῦ οὕτω ἐπάγερσιν ποιέεται, χάρον πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς ἡπίερος.

7.20

ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου ἀλώσιος⁶ ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεια παραρτέετο στρατιὴν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ, πέμπτω δὲ ἔτεϊ ἀνομένων ἐστρατηλάτее χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος. στόλων γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν πολλῶ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο, ὥστε μήτε τὸν Δαρείου τὸν ἐπὶ Σκύθας παρὰ τοῦτον μηδένα φαίνεσθαι, μήτε τὸν Σκυθικόν, ὅτε Σκύθαι Κιμμερίους διώκοντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώρην ἐσβαλόντες σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ ἄνω τῆς Ἀσίας καταστρεψάμενοι ἐνέμοντο, τῶν εἵνεκεν ὕστερον Δαρεῖος ἐτμωρέετο, μήτε κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα τὸν Ἀτρειδέων ἐς Ἴλιον, μήτε τὸν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενον, οἱ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κατὰ Βόσπορον τοὺς τε Θρήκας κατεστρέψαντο πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον πόντον

⁵ green stuff, fodder ⁶ being conquered

κατέβησαν, μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ πρὸς μεσαμβρίας⁷ ἤλασαν.

7.21

αὗται αἱ πᾶσαι οὐδ' εἰ ἕτεραι πρὸς ταύτησι προσγενόμεναι στρατηλασίαι μῆς τῆσδε οὐκ ἄξιαί. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης; κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρείχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππος προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἰππαγωγὰ⁸ πλοῖα ἅμα στρατευομένοισι, τοῖσι δὲ ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ σῖτά τε καὶ νέας.

7.22

καὶ τοῦτο μέν, ὥς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλεόντων περὶ τὸν Ἄθων προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κου μάλιστα τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἄθων. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὄρμεον τριήρεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμύμενοι ὥρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς, διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτεον· ὥρυσσον δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι. Βουβάρης δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάζου καὶ Ἀρταχαίης ὁ Ἀρταίου ἄνδρες Πέρσαι ἐπέστασαν τοῦ ἔργου. ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ ὄρος μέγα τε καὶ ὀνομαστόν,⁹ ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆκον, οἰκημένον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. τῇ δὲ τελευτῇ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὸ ὄρος, χερσονησοειδὲς τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὥς δυώδεκα σταδίων· πεδίον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ, ἐς τὸν τελευτῇ ὁ Ἄθως, Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλὰς οἰκῆται, αἱ δὲ ἐκτὸς Σάνης, ἔσω δὲ τοῦ Ἄθω οἰκημέναι, τὰς τότε ὁ Πέρσης νησιωτίδας ἀντὶ ἡπειρωτίδων¹⁰ ὄρμητο ποιέειν· εἰς δὲ αἶδε, Δίον Ὀλόφυξος Ἀκρόθων Θύσσοις Κλεωναί.

7.23

πόλιες μὲν αὗται αἱ τὸν Ἄθων νέμονται, ὥρυσσον δὲ ὧδε δασάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα· κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν σχινοτενὲς¹¹

⁷ midday; the south ⁸ carrying horses ⁹ named ¹⁰ landsman

¹¹ stretched straight

ποιησάμενοι, ἐπεὶτε ἐγένετο βαθέα ἢ διῶρυξ, οἱ μὲν κατώτατα ἐστεῶτες ὥρυσσον, ἕτεροι δὲ παρεδίδοσαν τὸν αἰὲ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἄλλοισι κατ' ὑπερθε ἐστεῶσι ἐπὶ βάθρων,¹² οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι ἐτέροισι, ἕως ἀπίκοντο ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω· οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεόν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι πλὴν Φοινίκων καταρρηγνύμενοι οἱ κρημνοὶ¹³ τοῦ ὀρύγματος πόνον διπλήσιον¹⁴ παρέιχον· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιευμένων, ἔμελλε σφί τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες σοφίην ἔν τε τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ. ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μόριον ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε, ὥρυσσον τὸ μὲν ἄνω στόμα τῆς διῶρυχος ποιεῦντες διπλήσιον ἢ ὅσον ἔδεε αὐτὴν τὴν διῶρυχα γενέσθαι, προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου συνήγον αἰεὶ· κάτω τε δὴ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐξισοῦτο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι τὸ ἔργον. ἐνθαῦτα λειμών ἐστι, ἵνα σφί ἀγορή τε ἐγένετο καὶ πρητήριον· σῖτος δὲ σφί πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀληλεσμένος.¹⁵

7.24

ὥς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὕρισκεν, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκεν αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα¹⁶ λιπέσθαι· παρεὼν γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διῶρυχα τῇ θαλάσῃ εὖρος ὥς δύο τριήρεας πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρομένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοισι, τοῖσι περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρῶσαι.

7.25

ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐποίεε, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὄπλα ἐς τὰς γεφύρας βύβλιν τε καὶ λευκολίνου, ἐπιτάξας Φοίνιξί τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι, καὶ σιτία τῇ στρατιῇ καταβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ λιμῆνιε ἢ στρατιῇ μηδὲ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐλαυνόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἀναπυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς χώρους καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε

¹² step, base, bench ¹³ riverside cliff ¹⁴ twofold, double ¹⁵ grind
¹⁶ memorial

we must find out now is this, namely if it will hold me in no account, and not think fit to appear to me, whether I have my own garments or whether I have thine, but continue still to haunt thee; for if it shall indeed haunt thee perpetually, I shall myself also be disposed to say that it is of the Deity. But if thou hast resolved that it shall be so, and it is not possible to turn aside this thy resolution, but I must go to sleep in thy bed, then let it appear to me also, when I perform these things: but until then I shall hold to the opinion which I now have.”

7.17

Having thus said Artabanos, expecting that he would prove that Xerxes was speaking folly, did that which was commanded him; and having put on the garments of Xerxes and seated himself in the royal throne, he afterwards went to bed: and when he had fallen asleep, the same dream came to him which used to come to Xerxes, and standing over Artabanos spoke these words: “Art thou indeed he who endeavours to dissuade Xerxes from making a march against Hellas, pretending to have a care of him? However, neither in the future nor now at the present shalt thou escape unpunished for trying to turn away that which is destined to come to pass: and as for Xerxes, that which he must suffer if he disobeys, hath been shown already to the man himself.”

7.18

Thus it seemed to Artabanos that the dream threatened him, and at the same time was just about to burn out his eyes with hot irons; and with a loud cry he started up from his bed, and sitting down beside Xerxes he related to him throughout the vision of the dream, and then said to him as follows: “I, O king, as one who has seen before now many great things brought to their fall by things less, urged thee not to yield in all things to the inclination of thy youth, since I knew that it was evil to have desire after many things; remembering on the one hand the march of Cyrus against the Massagetai, what fortune it had, and also that of Cambyses against the Ethiopians; and being myself one who took part with Dareios in the campaign against the Scythians. Knowing these things I had the opinion that thou wert to be envied of all men, so long as thou shouldest keep still. Since however there comes a divine impulse, and, as it seems, a destruction sent by heaven is taking hold of the Hellenes, I for my part am both changed in myself and also I reverse my opinions; and do thou signify to the Persians the message which is sent to thee from God, bidding them follow the commands which were given by thee at first with regard to the preparations to be made; and endeavour that on thy side nothing may be wanting, since God delivers the matter into thy hands.” These things having been said, both were excited to

confidence by the vision, and so soon as it became day, Xerxes communicated the matter to the Persians, and Artabanos, who before was the only man who came forward to dissuade him, now came forward to urge on the design.

7.19

Xerxes being thus desirous to make the expedition, there came to him after this a third vision in his sleep, which the Magians, when they heard it, explained to have reference to the dominion of the whole Earth and to mean that all men should be subject to him; and the vision was this:—Xerxes thought that he had been crowned with a wreath of an olive-branch and that the shoots growing from the olive-tree covered the whole Earth; and after that, the wreath, placed as it was about his head, disappeared. When the Magians had thus interpreted the vision, forthwith every man of the Persians who had been assembled together departed to his own province and was zealous by all means to perform the commands, desiring each one to receive for himself the gifts which had been proposed: and thus Xerxes was gathering his army together, searching every region of the continent.

7.20

During four full years from the conquest of Egypt he was preparing the army and the things that were of service for the army, and in the course of the fifth year he began his campaign with a host of great multitude. For of all the armies of which we have knowledge this proved to be by far the greatest; so that neither that led by Dareios against the Scythians appears anything as compared with it, nor the Scythian host, when the Scythians pursuing the Kimmerians made invasion of the Median land and subdued and occupied nearly all the upper parts of Asia, for which invasion afterwards Dareios attempted to take vengeance, nor that led by the sons of Atreus to Ilion, to judge by that which is reported of their expedition, nor that of the Mysians and Teucrians, before the Trojan war, who passed over into Europe by the Bosphorus and not only subdued all the Thracians, but came down also as far as the Ionian Sea and marched southwards to the river Peneios.

7.21

All these expeditions put together, with others, if there be any, added to them, are not equal to this one alone. For what nation did Xerxes not lead out of Asia against Hellas? and what water was not exhausted, being drunk by his host, except only the great rivers? For some supplied ships, and others were appointed to serve in the land-army; to some it was appointed to furnish cavalry, and to others vessels to carry horses, while they served in the expedition themselves also; others were ordered to furnish ships of war for the bridges, and others again ships with provisions.

7.22

Then in the first place, since the former fleet had suffered disaster in sailing round Athos, preparations had been going on for about three years past with regard to Athos: for triremes lay at anchor at Elaius in the Chersonese, and with this for their starting point men of all nations belonging to the army worked at digging, compelled by the lash; and the men went to the work regularly in succession: moreover those who dwelt round about Athos worked also at the digging: and Bubares the son of Megabazos and Artachaies the son of Artaios, Persians both, were set over the work. Now Athos is a mountain great and famous, running down to the sea and inhabited by men: and where the mountain ends on the side of the mainland the place is like a peninsula with an isthmus about twelve furlongs across. Here it is plain land or hills of no great size, extending from the sea of the Acanthians to that which lies off Torone; and on this isthmus, where Athos ends, is situated a Hellenic city called Sane: moreover there are others beyond Sane and within the peninsula of Athos, all which at this time the Persian had resolved to make into cities of an island and no longer of the mainland; these are, Dion, Olophyxos, Acrothoon, Thyssos, Cleonai.

7.23

These are the cities which occupy Athos: and they dug as follows, the country being divided among the Barbarians by nations for the work:— at the city of Sane they drew a straight line across the isthmus, and when the channel became deep, those who stood lowest dug, while others delivered the earth as it was dug out to other men who stood above, as upon steps, and they again to others when it was received, until they came to those that were highest; and these bore it away and cast it forth. Now the others except the Phenicians had double toil by the breaking down of the steep edges of their excavation; for since they endeavoured to make the opening at the top and that at the bottom both of the same measure, some such thing was likely to result, as they worked: but the Phenicians, who are apt to show ability in their works generally, did so in this work also; for when they had had assigned to them by lot so much as fell to their share, they proceeded to dig, making the opening of the excavation at the top twice as wide as the channel itself was to be; and as the work went forward, they kept contracting the width; so that, when they came to the bottom, their work was made of equal width with that of the others. Now there is a meadow there, in which there was made for them a market and a place for buying and selling; and great quantities of corn came for them regularly from Asia, ready ground.

7.24

It seems to me, making conjecture of this work, that Xerxes when he ordered this to be dug was moved by a love of magnificence and by a desire to make a display of his power and to leave a memorial behind him; for though they might have drawn the ships across the isthmus with no great labour, he bade them dig a channel for the sea of such breadth that two triremes might sail through, propelled side by side. To these same men to whom the digging had been appointed, it was appointed also to make a bridge over the river Strymon, yoking together the banks.

7.25

These things were being done by Xerxes thus; and meanwhile he caused ropes also to be prepared for the bridges, made of papyrus and of white flax, appointing this to the Phenicians and Egyptians; and also he was making preparations to store provisions for his army on the way, that neither the army itself nor the baggage animals might suffer from scarcity, as they made their march against Hellas. Accordingly, when he had learnt

vocabulary

ἄατος (αᾶ) insatiate of
ἄθემιστος lawless, unworthy of law
αἵτησις -εως (f) request, demand
ἀκριβής (ι) exact
ἄκτῃ beach; cereal grain
ἄλμυρός salty
ἄμπελος (f) vine
ἀναδίδωμι yield; give out
ἀνακρεμάννυμι (υ) get snagged on
ἀνακωχεύω hold back, still
ἀνατέλλω cause to grow ~apostle
ἀναφαίνω reveal, shine
 ~phenomenon
ἀνδράποδον -ς slave ~androgynous
ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order,
 promise ~angel
ἀποκρύπτω hide away ~cryptic
ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ~tonsure
ἀργύριον small coin
ἀριστερός left-hand
ἀρκέω satisfy; ward off, defend;
 suffice
ἄρκυς net
ἀρχιτέκτων -τος (m, 3) master,
 architect
ἄσχος wine skin, leather bag
ἀτάσθαλος reckless, wanton
ἀτρεκής precise, certain
ἀφανίζω do away with, make off
 with; (pass) disappear
ἄχαρις -δος (f) ungracious
βύβλινος made of papyrus
γεφυρόω (υ) dam, move earth
γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter
γραμματεὺς -ος (m) clerk,
 schoolmaster
δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot
δημιουργός public worker
διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis
διαλύω break up; relax, weaken
διατάσσω arrange, array

δωρέω give ~donate
εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic
ἐκδέρω to skin ~dermatology
ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate
ἐκμανθάνω know by heart
ἐντέλλω (mp) command
ἐπιγίγνομαι succeed, come after
 ~genus
ἐπιδεής in need of
ἐπιδέω fasten; lack
ἐπικάρσιος running headlong
ἐπιτελής accomplished
ἔρδω do, perform ~ergonomics
εύς good, brave, noble
ἐφικνέομαι reach, bear on
ζεύγνυμι (υ) yoke, join ~zygote
ζεῦγος -ους (n, 3) team of animals
 ~zygote
ζημιώω fine, punish
ἡδομαι be pleased, enjoy
 ~hedonism
ἡπειρος (f) mainland, continent
θύος θύεος (n, 3) sacrifice
καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall,
 arrive; be proper
κάλλος -εος (n, 3) beauty
 ~kaleidoscope
καταλέγω relate in detail, choose;
 enroll ~legion
καταμηνύω point out, make known
καταντίον facing, across from
κάτειμι go down, disembark ~ion
κελαινός black, dark, swarthy,
 murky
κόσος how many, much, far?
λευκόλινον flax fiber
λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea
 ~limnic
λογίζομαι reckon, consider
μάστιξ -γος (f) whip
μελεδωνός agent, steward
μέλι honey, a sweet

μεταμέλομαι (impers.+dat.) cause
 regret to; (mp) regret
 μίν him, her, it
 μυριάς -δος (ὑ, f, 3) countless,
 myriad
 μυρίκη tamarisk
 ξεινίζω be host, treat as a guest
 ξείνιος of hospitality
 ὀλκάς -δος (f, 3) towed merchant
 ship
 ὀμιλέω (ι) associate with ~homily
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit
 ὀπόσος as many as, how many, how
 great
 οὐσία property; essence
 ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view
 ~thanatopsis
 πάγχυ entirely
 πάντη everywhere
 παραμείβω pass by ~amoeba
 παχύς thick, stout, clotted
 ~pachyderm
 πεδάω impede, chain ~impede
 πέδη shackles ~pedal
 πέδον ground ~pedal
 πέλαγος -ους (n, 3) the open sea
 ~pelagic
 πεντηκόντερος (f) ship with 50 oars
 Πέρσης Persian
 Περσίς Persian (language)
 πηγός stout, mighty
 πικρός sharp, bitter ~picric
 πλατάνιστος (f) plane tree
 πληγή a hit ~plectrum
 πόρος way, bridge ~fare
 πόρω aor. give, pf. be fated
 πρόκειμαι be placed by; be devoted
 to
 πρόσω forward, in the future; far

προτίθημι prefer, set out ~thesis
 πυρός (ὑ) wheat
 πυρόω burn something
 ραπίζω thrash, slap, beat
 ῥόος ῥοῦ stream, flow, current
 ~rheostat
 σανίς -δος (f) board, panel
 σκήπτω prop up; (mp) feign
 ~scepter
 σταδίη (adj) standing upright, firm;
 (pl noun) 200 meters
 στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc)
 στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;
 (pl noun) 200 meters
 στατήρ -ος (m) pound; type of coin
 στέλλω prepare, send, furl ~apostle
 στήλη post, column
 στίζω tattoo
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 συγκόπτω chop up; beat up
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
 συμβάλλω pit against; compare;
 mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic
 συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix
 συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis
 σχίζω split ~schism
 τάλαντον scale, a unit of weight
 ~talent
 τελευταῖος last, final
 τετρακόσιοι 400
 τόνος pitch, stretching
 χάσμα -τος (n, 3) chasm, gaping
 opening
 χιλιάς -δος (ι, f, 3) 1000
 χρυσίον (ὑ) gold coin

ἵνα ἐπιτηδεότατον εἴη, ἄλλα ἄλλη ἀγνέοντας ὁλκάσι¹ τε καὶ πορθμηίοισι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας πανταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ὦν πλείστον ἐς Λευκὴν ἀκτὴν καλεομένην τῆς Θρηίκης ἀγίνεον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Τυρόδιζαν τὴν Περυνθίων, οἱ δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, οἱ δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίην διατεταγμένοι.

7.26

ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας συλλελεγμένος ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐκ ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὀρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίῃ· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἴρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ' ἥπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. ὃς μὲν νυν τῶν ὑπάρχων στρατὸν κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένον ἀγαγὼν τὰ προκείμενα παρὰ βασιλέος ἔλαβε δῶρα, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐς κρίσιν τούτου πέρι ἐλθόντας οἶδα. οἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε διαβάντες τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὠμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίῃ, δι' αὐτῆς πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Κελαινάς,² ἵνα πηγαὶ ἀναδιδούσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐτέρου οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢ Μαιάνδρου, τῷ οὖνομα τυγχάνει ἐὼν Καταρρήκτης, ὃς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς τῆς Κελαιέων ἀνατέλλων ἐς τὸν Μαιάνδρον ἐκδιδοῖ· ἐν τῇ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ Μαρσύεω ἀσκὸς ἀνακρέμαται, τὸν ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λόγος ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκδαρέντα ἀνακρεμασθῆναι.

7.27

ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ὑποκατήμενος Πύθιος ὁ Ἄτους ἀνὴρ Λυδὸς ἐξείνισε τὴν βασιλέος στρατιὴν πᾶσαν ξεινίοισι μεγίστοισι καὶ αὐτὸν Ξέρξην, χρήματά τε ἐπαγγέλλετο βουλόμενος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρέχειν. ἐπαγγελλομένου δὲ χρήματα Πυθίου, εἶρετο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας τίς τε ἐὼν ἀνδρῶν Πύθιος καὶ κόσα χρήματα ἐκτημένος ἐπαγγέλλοιτο ταῦτα. οἱ δὲ εἶπαν «ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὗτος ἐστὶ ὅς τοι τὸν πατέρα Δαρεῖον ἐδωρήσατο τῇ πλατανίστῳ τῇ χρυσῇ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ· ὃς καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων πλούτῳ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν μετὰ σέ.»

¹ towed merchant ship ² black, dark, swarthy, murky

7.28

θωμάσας δὲ τῶν ἐπέων τὸ τελευταῖον Ξέρξης αὐτὸς δεύτερα εἶρετο Πύθιον ὁκόσα οἱ εἴη χρήματα. ὁ δὲ εἶπε «ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε σε ἀποκρύψω οὔτε σκῆψομαι³ τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι τὴν ἐμεωντοῦ οὐσίην,⁴ ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενός τοι ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα σε ἐπυθόμην ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβαίνοντα τὴν Ἑλληνίδα, βουλόμενός τοι δοῦναι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρήματα ἐξεμάνθανον, καὶ εὔρον λογιζόμενος ἀργυρίου μὲν δύο χιλιάδας εὔσας μοι ταλάντων, χρυσίου δὲ τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων⁵ Δαρεικῶν ἐπιδεούσας ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων. καὶ τούτοισί σε ἐγὼ δωρέομαι, αὐτῷ δέ μοι ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων⁶ τε καὶ γεωπέδων ἀρκέων ἐστὶ βίος.»

7.29

ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Ξέρξης δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι εἶπε «ξεῖνε Λυδέ, ἐγὼ ἐπεῖτε ἐξήλθον τὴν Περσίδα χώραν, οὐδενὶ ἀνδρὶ συνέμιξα ἐς τόδε ὅστις ἠθέλησε ξείνια προθεῖναι στρατῷ τῷ ἐμῷ, οὐδὲ ὅστις ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐμὴν καταστάς αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμοὶ ἠθέλησε συμβαλέσθαι χρήματα, ἔξω σεῦ. σὺ δὲ καὶ ἐξείνισας μεγάλως στρατὸν τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπαγγέλλεαι. σοὶ ὦν ἐγὼ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν γέρεα τοιαῦτα δίδωμι· ξεινόν τέ σε ποιεῦμαι ἐμὸν καὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας μυριάδας τοι τῶν στατήρων ἀποπλήσω παρ' ἐμεωντοῦ δοὺς τὰς ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας, ἵνα μὴ τοι ἐπιδέεες ἔωσι αἱ τετρακόσαι μυριάδες ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων, ἀλλὰ ἦ τοι ἀπαρτιλογίῃ ὑπ' ἐμέο πεπληρωμένη. ἔκτησό τε αὐτὸς τά περ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσαιο, ἐπίστασό τε εἶναι αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γάρ τοι ταῦτα ποιεῦντι οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρεὸν οὔτε ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει.»

7.30

ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας ἐπορεύετο τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ. Ἄνανα δὲ καλεομένην Φρυγῶν πόλιν παραμειβόμενος καὶ λίμνην ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης γίνονται, ἀπῖκετο ἐς Κολοσσὰς πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίης· ἐν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται, ἔπειτα διὰ

³ prop up; (mp) feign ⁴ property; essence ⁵ pound; type of coin

⁶ slave

σταδίων ὡς πέντε μάλιστα κη ἀναφαινόμενος ἐκδιδοί καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον. ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσέων ὁ στρατὸς ὁρμώμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν ἀπίκητο ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν, ἔνθα στήλη καταπεπηγυῖα, σταθείσα δὲ ὑπὸ Κροίσου, καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὖρους.

7.31

ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, σχιζομένης⁷ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερὴν ἐπὶ Καρίης φερούσης τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὴν ἐς Σάρδεις, τῇ καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται καὶ ἵεναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβον πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἄνδρες δημοεργοὶ⁸ μέλι ἐκ μυρικής⁹ τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῦσι, ταύτην ἰὼν ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν ὁδὸν εὔρε πλατάνιστον, τὴν κάλλεος εἵνεκα δωρησάμενος κόσμῳ χρυσέῳ καὶ μελεδωνῷ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπίκητο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ.

7.32

ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδεις πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αἰτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ προερέοντας δεῖπνα βασιλεῖ παρασκευάζειν· πλὴν οὔτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὔτε ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν,¹⁰ τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ πάντῃ. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὅσοι πρότερον οὐκ ἔδοσαν Δαρείῳ πέμψαντι, τούτους πάγχυ ἐδόκεε τότε δείσαντας δώσειν· βουλόμενος ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκμαθεῖν ἀκριβέως ἔπεμπε.

7.33

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλῶν ἐς Ἄβυδον. οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐξεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ παχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον· ἔνθα μετὰ ταῦτα, χρόνῳ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ, ἐπὶ Ξανθίππου τοῦ Ἀρίφρονος στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἀρταύκτην ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν λαβόντες

⁷ split ⁸ public worker ⁹ tamarisk ¹⁰ request, demand

Σηστοῦ ὕπαρχον ζῶντα πρὸς σανίδα¹¹ διεπασσάλευσαν, ὃς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω τὸ ἶρὸν ἐς Ἑλαιοῦντα ἀγνεόμενος γυναῖκας ἀθέμιστα¹² ἔρδεσκε.

7.34

ἐς ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὁρμώμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσέκειτο, τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου Φοίνικες, τὴν δ' ἐτέρην τὴν βυβλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον. καὶ δὴ ἐξυγμένου τοῦ πόρου ἐπιγενόμενος χειμὼν μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκείνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε.

7.35

ὥς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιούμενος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευσε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεύγος.¹³ ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα ὥς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε στίζοντας¹⁴ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐνετέλλετο δὲ ὦν ραπίζοντας¹⁵ λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα· «ὦ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἡδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεται σε, ἦν τε σύ γε βούλη ἦν τε μή· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει ὥς ἐόντι καὶ θολερῷ καὶ ἀλμυρῷ ποταμῷ». τὴν τε δὴ θάλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ζημιοῦν καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῇ ζεύξει τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς.

7.36

καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίεον, τοῖσι προσέκειτο αὕτη ἡ ἄχαρις τιμή, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκτονες¹⁶ ἐξεύγνυσαν. ἐξεύγνυσαν δὲ ὦδε, πεντηκοντέρους¹⁷ καὶ τριήρας συνθέντες, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐτέρην τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ρόον, ἵνα ἀνακωχέῃ τὸν τόνον¹⁸ τῶν ὀπλων·

¹¹ board, panel ¹² lawless, unworthy of law ¹³ team of animals

¹⁴ tattoo ¹⁵ thrash, slap, beat ¹⁶ master, architect ¹⁷ ship with 50 oars ¹⁸ pitch, stretching

by inquiry of the various places, he bade them make stores where it was most convenient, carrying supplies to different parts by merchant ships and ferry-boats from all the countries of Asia. So they conveyed the greater part of the corn to the place which is called Leuke Acte in Thrace, while others conveyed stores to Tyrodiza of the Perinthians, others to Doriscos, others to Eïon on the Strymon, and others to Macedonia, the work being distributed between them.

7.26

During the time that these were working at the task which had been proposed to them, the whole land-army had been assembled together and was marching with Xerxes to Sardis, setting forth from Critalla in Cappadokia; for there it had been ordered that the whole army should assemble, which was to go with Xerxes himself by the land: but which of the governors of provinces brought the best equipped force and received from the king the gifts proposed, I am not able to say, for I do not know that they even came to a competition in this matter. Then after they had crossed the river Halys and had entered Phrygia, marching through this land they came to Kelainai, where the springs of the river Maiander come up, and also those of another river not less than the Maiander, whose name is Catarractes; this rises in the market-place itself of Kelainai and runs into the Maiander: and here also is hanging up in the city the skin of Marsyas the Silenos, which is said by the Phrygians to have been flayed off and hung up by Apollo.

7.27

In this city Pythios the son of Atys, a Lydian, was waiting for the king and entertained his whole army, as well as Xerxes himself, with the most magnificent hospitality: moreover he professed himself ready to supply money for the war. So when Pythios offered money, Xerxes asked those of the Persians who were present, who Pythios was and how much money he possessed, that he made this offer. They said: "O king, this is he who presented thy father Dareios with the golden plane-tree and the golden vine; and even now he is in wealth the first of all men of whom we know, excepting thee only."

7.28

Marvelling at the conclusion of these words Xerxes himself asked of Pythios then, how much money he had; and he said: "O king, I will not conceal the truth from thee, nor will I allege as an excuse that I do not know my own substance, but I will enumerate it to thee exactly, since I know the truth: for as soon as I heard that thou wert coming down to the Sea of Hellas, desiring to give thee money for the war I ascertained the truth, and calculating I found

that I had of silver two thousand talents, and of gold four hundred myriads of daric staters all but seven thousand: and with this money I present thee. For myself I have sufficient livelihood from my slaves and from my estates of land.”

7.29

Thus he said; and Xerxes was pleased by the things which he had spoken, and replied: “Lydian host, ever since I went forth from the Persian land I have encountered no man up to this time who was desirous to entertain my army, or who came into my presence and made offer of his own free will to contribute money to me for the war, except only thee: and thou not only didst entertain my army magnificently, but also now dost make offer of great sums of money. To thee therefore in return I give these rewards, — I make thee my guest-friend, and I will complete for thee the four hundred myriads of staters by giving from myself the seven thousand, in order that thy four hundred myriads may not fall short by seven thousand, but thou mayest have a full sum in thy reckoning, completed thus by me. Keep possession of that which thou hast got for thyself, and be sure to act always thus; for if thou doest so, thou wilt have no cause to repent either at the time or afterwards.”

7.30

Having thus said and having accomplished his promise, he continued his march onwards; and passing by a city of the Phrygians called Anaua and a lake whence salt is obtained, he came to Colossai, a great city of Phrygia, where the river Lycos falls into an opening of the earth and disappears from view, and then after an interval of about five furlongs it comes up to view again, and this river also flows into the Maiander. Setting forth from Colossai towards the boundaries of the Phrygians and Lydians, the army arrived at the city of Kydrara, where a pillar is fixed, set up by Croesus, which declares by an inscription that the boundaries are there.

7.31

From Phrygia then he entered Lydia; and here the road parts into two, and that which goes to the left leads towards Caria, while that which goes to the right leads to Sardis; and travelling by this latter road one must needs cross the river Maiander and pass by the city of Callatebos, where men live whose trade it is to make honey of the tamarisk-tree and of wheat-flour. By this road went Xerxes and found a plane-tree, to which for its beauty he gave an adornment of gold, and appointed that some one should have charge of it always in undying succession; and on the next day he came to the city of the Lydians.

7.32

Having come to Sardis he proceeded first to send heralds to Hellas, to ask for earth and water, and also to give notice beforehand to prepare meals for the king; except that he sent neither to Athens nor Lacedemon to ask for earth, but to all the other States: and the reason why he sent the second time to ask for earth and water was this,—as many as had not given at the former time to Dareios when he sent, these he thought would certainly give now by reason of their fear: this matter it was about which he desired to have certain knowledge, and he sent accordingly.

7.33

After this he made his preparations intending to march to Abydos: and meanwhile they were bridging over the Hellespont from Asia to Europe. Now there is in the Chersonese of the Hellespont between the city of Sestos and Madytos, a broad foreland running down into the sea right opposite Abydos; this is the place where no long time afterwards the Athenians under the command of Xanthippos the son of Ariphron, having taken Artaÿctes a Persian, who was the governor of Sestos, nailed him alive to a board with hands and feet extended (he was the man who was wont to take women with him to the temple of Protesilaos at Elaius and to do things there which are not lawful).

7.34

To this foreland they on whom this work was laid were making their bridges, starting from Abydos, the Phenicians constructing the one with ropes of white flax, and the Egyptians the other, which was made with papyrus rope. Now from Abydos to the opposite shore is a distance of seven furlongs. But when the strait had been bridged over, a great storm came on and dashed together all the work that had been made and broke it up. Then when Xerxes heard it he was exceedingly enraged, and bade them scourge the Hellespont with three hundred strokes of the lash and let down into the sea a pair of fetters. Nay, I have heard further that he sent branders also with them to brand the Hellespont. However this may be, he enjoined them, as they were beating, to say Barbarian and presumptuous words as follows: “Thou bitter water, thy master lays upon thee this penalty, because thou didst wrong him not having suffered any wrong from him: and Xerxes the king will pass over thee whether thou be willing or no; but with right, as it seems, no man doeth sacrifice to thee, seeing that thou art a treacherous and briny stream.” The sea he enjoined them to chastise thus, and also he bade them cut off the heads of those who were appointed to have charge over the bridging of the Hellespont.

7.36

Thus then the men did, to whom this ungracious office belonged; and meanwhile other chief-constructors proceeded to make the bridges; and thus they made them:— They put together fifty-oared galleys and triremes, three hundred and sixty to be under the bridge towards the Euxine Sea, and three hundred and fourteen to be under the other, the vessels lying in the direction of the stream of the Hellespont (though crosswise in respect to the Pontus), to support the tension of the ropes. They placed

vocabulary

ἀγγέλλω carry a message, announce

~angel

ἄγκυρα (ῥ) anchor

αἰθρία clear air

αἰχμοφόρος spearman

ἀναιδής shameless, ruthless

ἀναμένω wait for ~remain

ἀναμίξ indiscriminately

ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order,

promise ~angel

ἄπεργος idle; obsolete

ἀπολέγω pick; decline

ἀποχρᾶω suffice; abuse

ἀποχρέω suffice; abuse

ἀριστερός left-hand

ἀρμάμαξα Persian carriage

ἀφανής unseen, occult, obscure

βροντή thunder ~brontosaurus

βύβλινος made of papyrus

γενναῖος noble, sincere ~genesis

γέφυρα (ῥ) dam, dike; bridge

γεφυρόω (ῥ) dam, move earth

δατέομαι divide into portions

~demon

δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot

διακρίνω (ιι) separate, sort ~critic

διαλείπω leave a gap, space apart

διατέμνω cut apart

διατίθημι arrange; set out goods for

sale ~thesis

διέκπλοος passage, breaking

through

διέξιμι pass through; recount ~ion

διώρυξ -χος (f) ditch, canal

δραίνω be minded to

ἔαρ -ος (n) spring (season)

ἔδρα (ᾱ) seat, seated group

~polyhedron

ἔκλειψις -δος (f) abandonment;

eclipse

ἐλασις -εως (f) driving out

ἐλαφρός nimble, light on one's feet;

light, bearable ~elevator

Ἑλλήν Greek

ἐμπίπτω fall into; attack ~petal

ἐνθεν thence, whence

ἐντίθημι load; mp: take to heart

~thesis

ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic

ἐξεπίσταμαι know well

ἐξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka

ἐπαιρίζω raise, place on ~aorta

ἐπέξιμι attack, prosecute

ἐπιλείπω fail, not work ~eclipse

ἐπιμελής careful, cared for

ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near

ἐπιτηδές enough; purposely

ἐπιφορέω pile on

ἐσπέρα evening, west

εὐεργεσία good deed, public service

~ergonomics

εὖρος -εος (n, 3) width; (caps) the

east wind

εὖς good, brave, noble

ἐφεξῆς in order, in a row

ζέφυρος the west wind ~zephyr

ζημιώω fine, punish

ἡμίτομος cut in two

ἡνίοχος rein holder

θυμώω (ῥ) anger

ἵμερος (ι) desire, inclination (+gen)

ἱππότης -ου (m, 1) horseman

~hippo

κάρτα very much ~κράτος

καταρρωδέω fear, dread

κατασκευάζω equip, build

κατατείνω stretch out

κατύπερθεν above, from above

κολωνός hill, mound

κορμός log, trunk

κοσμέω marshal, array ~cosmos

λεπτός thin

λευκόλινον flax fiber

λίνεος	linen	ῥεῖθρον	stream ~rheostat
λόγχη	spear point; lot	ῥηχίη	flood tide, breakers; rocky beach
μελεδωνός	agent, steward	ῥοιά	pomegranate
μίν	him, her, it	σαυρωτήρ -ος (m)	spike at the butt of a spear
νοστέω	go home	σκευοφόρος	pack animal, porter
νότος	south, south wind	στάδιος (adj)	standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters
ξείνιος	of hospitality	στρατιά	army ~strategy
ξύλινος	wooden	στρατώω	be on a campaign ~strategy
οἰκτείρω	pity	συμμίγνυμι	mix with ~mix
ὄμουρος	bordering	σύμμικτος	commingled, promiscuous
ὄνος (f)	donkey ~onager	συνέπομαι	go along with ~sequel
ὄον οὖ	type of fruit	συντίθημι	hearken, mark ~thesis
ὀπισθεν	behind, hereafter	συχνός	long; many; extensive
ὄρυγμα -τος (n, 3)	trench, tunnel	σχεδία	raft
πανοικία	whole household	σχεδίην	at close quarters ~ischemia
παντελής	complete, absolute	τόνος	pitch, stretching
παντοῖος	all kinds of	ὑπερβάλλω	cause to go beyond; delay ~ballistic
παραλύω	detach, disable	ὑπερήμισυς	mostly
παραμείβω	pass by ~amoeba	ὑποζύγιον	beast of burden ~zygote
παχύτης -τος (f, 3)	thickness	ὑποκρίνομαι (ἱ)	answer; pretend
πεντηκόντερος (f)	ship with 50 oars	ὑπουργέω	serve, help
περιέχω (mid)	protect	φάσμα	phantom, apparition
περιμήκης	very long, high	χαλινός (ἱ)	bit for a horse
πέριξ	all around	χειμερίζω	overwinter
περιχαρής	very glad	χοή χώς	libation
Πέρσης	Persian	χρηστός	useful; brave, worthy
πῆχυς	forearm, cubit	χυτός	poured, piled, shed
πόρος	way, bridge ~fare		
προδείκνυμι (ὁ)	show by example; foreshadow		
προηγέομαι	go first		
προποιέω	do beforehand		
προφαίνω	show; pass: appear ~photon		

συνθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας¹ κατήκαν περιμήκεις, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρης τῶν ἀνέμων εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσθθεν ἐκπνεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου ζεφύρου² τε καὶ νότου³ εἵνεκα. διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπόφασιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριηρέων, ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔχῃ ὁ βουλόμενος πλέειν πλοίοισι λεπτοῖσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισι ξυλίνοισι τὰ ὄπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἐκάτερα τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκολίνου δασάμενοι ἐς ἐκατέρην, τέσσερα δὲ τῶν βυβλίνων. παχύτης⁴ μὲν ἦν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλονή, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἐμβριθέστερα ἦν τὰ λίνεα, τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πῆχυς εἴλκε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κορμούς⁵ ξύλων καταπρίσαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες ἴσους τῆς σχεδὴς τῷ εὐρεῖ κόσμῳ ἐτίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὄπλων τοῦ τόνου, θέντες δὲ ἐπεξῆς ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὶς ἐπεξεύγνυνον· ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ὕλην ἐπεφόρησαν, κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν ὕλην γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν, κατανάξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν φραγμὸν παρείρυσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβέηται τὰ ὑποζύγια τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπερορῶντα καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.

7.37

ὥς δὲ τά τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκευάστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἳ τε χυτοὶ⁶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος, οἳ τῆς ῥήχης⁷ εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ πῖμπληται τὰ στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελέως⁸ πεποιημένη ἀγγέλλετο, ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας⁹ ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὀρμᾶτο ἐλὼν ἐς Ἄβυδον· ὀρμημένῳ δὲ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην ἀφανῆς ἦν οὐτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων αἰθρίης¹⁰ τε τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νυξ ἐγένετο. ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο, καὶ εἵρετο τοὺς Μάγους τὸ θέλει προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα.¹¹ οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὥς Ἑλλήσι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἐκλειψῆναι τῶν πολίων, λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. ταῦτα

¹ anchor ² the west wind ³ south, south wind ⁴ thickness
⁵ log, trunk ⁶ poured, piled, shed ⁷ flood tide, breakers; rocky beach
⁸ complete, absolute ⁹ overwinter ¹⁰ clear air ¹¹ phantom, apparition

πυθόμενος ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἔων ἐποιέετο τὴν ἔλασιν.¹²

7.38

ὥς δ' ἐξήλανε τὴν στρατιήν, Πύθιος ὁ Λυδὸς καταρρωδήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα ἐπαερθεὶς τε τοῖσι δωρήμασι, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Ξέρξην ἔλεγε τάδε. «ὦ δέσποτα, χρηίσας ἄν τι σεῦ βουλοίμην τυχεῖν, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἐλαφρόν¹³ τυγχάνει ἐὼν ὑπουργήσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον.» Ξέρξης δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων μιν χρήσειν ἢ τὸ ἐδεήθη, ἔφη τε ὑπουργήσειν καὶ διη ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευε ὅτευ δέοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ταῦτα ἤκουσε, ἔλεγε θαρσύνων τάδε. «ὦ δέσποτα, τυγχάνουσί μοι παῖδες ἔοντες πέντε, καὶ σφεας καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἅμα σοὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. σὺν δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ἐς τόδε ἡλικίης ἤκοντα οἰκτεῖρας¹⁴ τῶν μοι παίδων ἕνα παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγίας τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τε ἐμεῦ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἢ μελεδωνός· τοὺς δὲ τέσσερας ἄγευ ἅμα σεωντῶ, καὶ πρήξας τὰ νοεῖς νοστήσεις ὁπίσω.»

7.39

κάρτα τε ἐθυμώθη ὁ Ξέρξης καὶ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. «ὦ κακὲ ἄνθρωπε, σὺν ἐτόλμησας, ἐμεῦ στρατευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἄγοντος παῖδας ἐμούς καὶ ἀδελφεοὺς καὶ οἰκηίους καὶ φίλους, μνήσασθαι περὶ σέο παιδός, ἔων ἐμὸς δοῦλος, τὸν χρῆν πανοικίῃ¹⁵ αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικὶ συνέπεσθαι; εἴ νυν τόδ' ἐξεπίστασο, ὥς ἐν τοῖσι ὡσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκέει ὁ θυμός, ὃς χρηστὰ μὲν ἀκούσας τέριψιος ἐμπιπλεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεναντία δὲ τούτοις ἀκούσας ἀνοιδέει. ὅτε μὲν νυν χρηστὰ ποιήσας ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἐπηγγέλλεο, εὐεργεσίῃσι βασιλέα οὐ καυχῆσαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναιδέστερον ἐτράπευ, τὴν μὲν ἀξίην οὐ λάμβψαι, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς ἀξίης. σὲ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσερας τῶν παίδων ῥύεται τὰ ξείνια· τοῦ δὲ ἑνός, τοῦ περιέχει μάλιστα, τῇ ψυχῇ ζημιώσεται.» ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε τοῖσι προσετέτακτο ταῦτα πρήσσειν, τῶν Πυθίου παίδων

¹² driving out ¹³ nimble, light on one's feet; light, bearable ¹⁴ pity

¹⁵ whole household

ἐξευρόντας τὸν πρεσβύτατον μέσον διαταμεῖν, διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ ἡμίτομα¹⁶ διαθεῖναι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά, καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατόν.

7.40

ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξίημε ὁ στρατός. ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι¹⁷ τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, μετὰ δὲ τούτους σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι· τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεες ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο, καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὔτοι βασιλεί. προηγέυντο μὲν δὴ ἵπποται χίλιοι, ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι καὶ οὔτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ ἱροὶ Νησαῖοι καλεόμενοι ἵπποι δέκα κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. νησαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· ἔστι πεδῖον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς τῷ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Νήσαιον· τοὺς ὧν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδῖον τοῦτο. ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἄρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἰλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτώ, ὅπισθε δὲ αὐτῶν ἵππων εἶπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβαίνει. τούτου δὲ ὅπισθε αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ' ἄρματος ἵππων Νησαίων· παραβεβήκεε δὲ οἱ ἡνίοχος τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὀτάνεω ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω¹⁸ παῖς.

7.41

ἐξήλασε μὲν οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης, μετεκβαίνεσκε δέ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς ἀρμάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὅπισθε αἰχμοφόροι Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ γενναιότατοι χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες, μετὰ δὲ ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν· καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων¹⁹ ροιὰς εἶχον χρυσέας καὶ πέριξ²⁰ συνεκλήμιον τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἐόντες

¹⁶ cut in two ¹⁷ pack animal, porter ¹⁸ Persian ¹⁹ spike at the butt of a spear ²⁰ all around

ἀργυρέας ροῖας εἶχον· εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ροῖας καὶ οἱ ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιστα ἐπόμενοι Ξέρξη. τοῖσι δὲ μυρίοισι ἐπετέτακτο ἵππος Περσέων μυρίη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διέλειπε καὶ δύο σταδίους, καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος ἦε ἀναμίξ.

7.42

ἐποιέετο δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Λυδίας ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν Κάικον καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, ἀπὸ δὲ Καϊκου ὀρμώμενος, Κάνης ὄρος ἔχων ἐν ἀριστερῇ, διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ἐς Καρήνην πόλιν· ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Θήβης πεδίου ἐπορεύετο, Ἀδραμύττειόν τε πόλιν καὶ Ἀντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα παραμβιβόμενος. τὴν Ἰδην δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἀριστερὴν χεῖρα ἦε ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα γῆν. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῇ νύκτα ἀναμείναντι βρονταί τε καὶ πρηστήρες ἐπεσπίπτουσι καὶ τινα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συχνὸν ὄμιλον διέφθειραν.

7.43

ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπεῖτε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὀρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ρέεθρον οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τε καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀπίκητο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη ἵμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι· θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκείνων ἕκαστα τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσε βοῦς χιλίας, χοᾶς²¹ δὲ οἱ Μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε. ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεῦτεν, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἀπέργων Ροίτιον πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρύνειον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἣ περ δὴ Ἀβύδω ὄμιυρος²² ἐστί, ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ Γέργιθας Τευκρούς.

7.44

ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀβύδω μέση, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης ιδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν· καὶ προεπεποιήτο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ

²¹ libation ²² bordering

them together thus, and let down very large anchors, those on the one side towards the Pontus because of the winds which blow from within outwards, and on the other side, towards the West and the Egean, because of the South-East and South Winds. They left also an opening for a passage through, so that any who wished might be able to sail into the Pontus with small vessels, and also from the Pontus outwards. Having thus done, they proceeded to stretch tight the ropes, straining them with wooden windlasses, not now appointing the two kinds of rope to be used apart from one another, but assigning to each bridge two ropes of white flax and four of the papyrus ropes. The thickness and beauty of make was the same for both, but the flaxen ropes were heavier in proportion, and of this rope a cubit weighed one talent. When the passage was bridged over, they sawed up logs of wood, and making them equal in length to the breadth of the bridge they laid them above the stretched ropes, and having set them thus in order they again fastened them above. When this was done, they carried on brushwood, and having set the brushwood also in place, they carried on to it earth; and when they had stamped down the earth firmly, they built a barrier along on each side, so that the baggage-animals and horses might not be frightened by looking out over the sea.

7.37

When the construction of the bridges had been finished, and the works about Athos, both the embankments about the mouths of the channel, which were made because of the breaking of the sea upon the beach, that the mouths of it might not be filled up, and the channel itself, were reported to be fully completed, then, after they had passed the winter at Sardis, the army set forth from thence fully equipped, at the beginning of spring, to march to Abydos; and when it had just set forth, the Sun left his place in the heaven and was invisible, though there was no gathering of clouds and the sky was perfectly clear; and instead of day it became night. When Xerxes saw and perceived this, it became a matter of concern to him; and he asked the Magians what the appearance meant to portend. These declared that the god was foreshowing to the Hellenes a leaving of their cities, saying that the Sun was the foreshower of events for the Hellenes, but the Moon for the Persians. Having been thus informed, Xerxes proceeded on the march with very great joy.

7.38

Then as he was leading forth his army on its march, Pythios the Lydian, being alarmed by the appearance in the heavens and elated by the gifts which he had received, came to Xerxes, and said as follows: "Master, I would desire to receive from thee a certain thing at my request, which, as it chances, is for thee an easy thing to grant, but a great thing for me, if I obtain it." Then Xerxes,

thinking that his request would be for anything rather than that which he actually asked, said that he would grant it, and bade him speak and say what he desired. He then, when he heard this, was encouraged, and spoke these words: "Master, I have, as it chances, five sons, and it is their fortune to be all going together with thee on the march against Hellas. Do thou, therefore, O king, have compassion upon me, who have come to so great an age, and release from serving in the expedition one of my sons, the eldest, in order that he may be caretaker both of myself and of my wealth: but the other four take with thyself, and after thou hast accomplished that which thou hast in thy mind, mayest thou have a safe return home."

7.39

Then Xerxes was exceedingly angry and made answer with these words: "Thou wretched man, dost thou dare, when I am going on a march myself against Hellas, and am taking my sons and my brothers and my relations and friends, dost thou dare to make any mention of a son of thine, seeing that thou art my slave, who ought to have been accompanying me thyself with thy whole household and thy wife as well? Now therefore be assured of this, that the passionate spirit of man dwells within the ears; and when it has heard good things, it fills the body with delight, but when it has heard the opposite things to this, it swells up with anger. As then thou canst not boast of having surpassed the king in conferring benefits formerly, when thou didst to us good deeds and madest offer to do more of the same kind, so now that thou hast turned to shamelessness, thou shalt receive not thy desert but less than thou deservest: for thy gifts of hospitality shall rescue from death thyself and the four others of thy sons, but thou shalt pay the penalty with the life of the one to whom thou dost cling most." Having answered thus, he forthwith commanded those to whom it was appointed to do these things, to find out the eldest of the sons of Pythios and to cut him in two in the middle; and having cut him in two, to dispose the halves, one on the right hand of the road and the other on the left, and that the army should pass between them by this way.

7.40

When these had so done, the army proceeded to pass between; and first the baggage-bearers led the way together with their horses, and after these the host composed of all kinds of nations mingled together without distinction: and when more than the half had gone by, an interval was left and these were separated from the king. For before him went first a thousand horsemen, chosen out of all the Persians; and after them a thousand spearmen chosen also from all the Persians, having the points of their spears turned down to the ground; and then ten sacred horses, called "Nesaian," with the fairest

possible trappings. Now the horses are called Nesaian for this reason: — there is a wide plain in the land of Media which is called the Nesaian plain, and this plain produces the great horses of which I speak. Behind these ten horses the sacred chariot of Zeus was appointed to go, which was drawn by eight white horses; and behind the horses again followed on foot a charioteer holding the reins, for no human creature mounts upon the seat of that chariot. Then behind this came Xerxes himself in a chariot drawn by Nesaian horses, and by the side of him rode a charioteer, whose name was Patiramphes, son of Otanes a Persian.

7.41

Thus did Xerxes march forth out of Sardis; and he used to change, whenever he was so disposed, from the chariot to a carriage. And behind him went spearmen, the best and most noble of the Persians, a thousand in number, holding their spear-points in the customary way; and after them another thousand horsemen chosen out from the Persians; and after the horsemen ten thousand men chosen out from the remainder of the Persians. This body went on foot; and of these a thousand had upon their spears pomegranates of gold instead of the spikes at the butt-end, and these enclosed the others round, while the remaining nine thousand were within these and had silver pomegranates. And those also had golden pomegranates who had their spear-points turned towards the earth, while those who followed next after Xerxes had golden apples. Then to follow the ten thousand there was appointed a body of ten thousand Persian cavalry; and after the cavalry there was an interval of as much as two furlongs. Then the rest of the host came marching without distinction.

7.42

So the army proceeded on its march from Lydia to the river Caïcos and the land of Mysia; and then setting forth from the Caïcos and keeping the mountain of Cane on the left hand, it marched through the region of Atarneus to the city of Carene. From this it went through the plain of Thebe, passing by the cities of Adramytteion and Antandros of the Pelasgians; and taking mount Ida on the left hand, it came on to the land of Ilion. And first, when it had stopped for the night close under mount Ida, thunder and bolts of lightning fell upon it, and destroyed here in this place a very large number of men.

7.43

Then when the army had come to the river Scamander, — which of all rivers to which they had come, since they set forth from Sardis and undertook their march, was the first of which the stream failed and was not sufficient for the

drinking of the army and of the animals with it,—when, I say, Xerxes had come to this river, he went up to the Citadel of Priam, having a desire to see it; and having seen it and learnt by inquiry of all those matters severally, he sacrificed a thousand heifers to Athene of Ilion, and the Magians poured libations in honour of the heroes: and after they had done this, a fear fell upon the army in the night. Then at break of day he set forth from thence, keeping on his left hand the cities of Rhoition and Ophryneion and Dardanos, which last borders upon Abydos, and having on the right hand the Gergith Teucrians.

7.44

When Xerxes had come into the midst of Abydos, he had a desire to see all the army; and there had been made purposely for him beforehand upon a hill in this place a

vocabulary

ἄγερσις gathering, mustering
 αἰρετός takeable, desirable ~heresy
 ἄκτῃ beach; cereal grain
 ἄμιλλα conflict
 ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery
 ἄνευ away from; not having; not
 needing ~Sp. sin
 ἀνθρωπῆιος human
 ἀνθρώπινος human
 ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet
 ἀντίξοος opposed to
 ἅπαξ once
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ὁ) show, point out;
 appoint; (mid) declare
 ἀπόδεξις acceptance; (Ion) showing
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine
 ἀποκρύπτω hide away ~cryptic
 ἀποφαίνω display, declare
 ἄροτῆρ -ος (m) plowman ~arable
 ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning
 ~oligarch
 ἀτρεκής precise, certain
 ἄχαρις -δος (f) ungracious
 βέβαιος steadfast; sure
 γεύω taste ~gusto
 γλυκύς sweet, pleasant ~glycerine
 δαιμόνιος voc: you crazy guy
 δακρῶ weep
 δασυμόρφος tributary
 δεῖμα -τος (n, 3) fear
 δηλέομαι hurt, spoil, steal ~delenda
 διασώζω preserve through
 εἰκάζω liken; conjecture
 ἐκάς afar, far off
 ἑκατοστός hundredth
 ἐκτείνω stretch out ~tend
 ἐλεύθερος not enslaved
 ἐναργής visible, clear ~Argentina
 ἐνδεής inadequate
 ἐνδείκνυμι (ὁ) address, consider
 ἐνδέχομαι accept, admit, be possible

ἐνδίδωμι hand over, lend, show,
 allow
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command
 ἐντός within
 ἐνύπνιος seen in dreams
 ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose;
 (mid) think over
 ἐπίπαν =ἐπί
 ἐπίπλεος very full
 ἐπιφαίνω display ~photon
 εὐδαίμων blessed with a good
 genius
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 ἡδομαι be pleased, enjoy
 ~hedonism
 ἡίων beach
 ἡμισυς half ~hemisphere
 ἡπειρος (f) mainland, continent
 θάλλω bloom, flourish, abound
 ~thallium
 θηέομαι look at, behold, consider
 ~theater
 θρασύς brave, strong
 ἵζω to seat ~sit
 καθοράω look down ~panorama
 καίτοι and yet; and in fact; although
 καταδουλώ enslave
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue
 ~catastrophe
 καταφαίνω declare, make visible
 καταφυγή refuge, escape
 κατυπέρτερος having the upper
 hand
 κέρδος -ους (n, 3) advantage,
 cunning
 κλέπτω steal
 κότερος which, whichever of two
 κύρος -εος (n, 3) authority; validity
 κῶας κῶως (n, 3) fleece
 λογίζομαι reckon, consider
 μακαρίζω congratulate ~macarism
 μεθίστημι change, substitute;

withdraw; change sides; (mid) send
 away ~station
 μεμπτός blameworthy
 μέφομαι blame; reject
 μεταβάλλω alter, transform
 μηδαμός no one
 μητρόπολις -εως (f) mother city
 μηχανή machine; mechanism, way
 μίν him, her, it
 νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing
 νόσος (f) plague, pestilence
 ~noisome
 νοστέω go home
 νοῦσος (f) plague, pestilence
 ~noisome
 οἰκτρός pitiable
 ὀκνέω shrink from, hesitate; worry
 ὄνειρον dream
 ὄνειρος dream
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit
 ὀρρωδέω dread, shrink from
 οὐδαμός not anyone
 οὐκί intensified 'not'
 ὀφείλω owe, should, if only
 ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view
 ~thanatopsis
 πάρεξ alongside, diverging from;
 (+ῆ or gen) except; (+acc) beyond,
 alongside
 πάτρων -ος (m, 3) patron
 περίειμι be superior to; be left over;
 still exist
 περιστήμι be around; turn out
 ~station
 περιποιέω preserve; obtain
 Πέρσης Persian
 πολλαπλήσιος many times more
 προάγω lead forward, advance

προβαίνω surpass, continue ~basis
 προέρχομαι proceed, come out
 προσβάλλω hit, attack, approach;
 attach, offer ~ballistic
 προσδοκάω expect
 προσπίπτω attack; befall; kow-tow
 πρόσω forward, in the future; far
 προχωρέω proceed, come forward
 σκήπτρον scepter, staff ~scepter
 στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army
 ~strategy
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 στρατώ be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
 συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid)
 consult ~volunteer
 συμβουλίη advice; consultation
 σύμβουλος adviser
 συμφορά collecting; accident,
 misfortune
 σύμφορος accompanying; suitable
 συναμφοτέροι both together
 συνελευθερόω join in freeing from
 σύνεσις -εως (f) confluence ~jet
 συνταράσσω mess up
 συστρατεύω join in an expedition
 σφάλλω overthrow, balk, stagger
 τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny
 φθονερός jealous
 φορβή food, pasture ~euphorbia
 φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics
 χρηστός useful; brave, worthy
 χωρίζω divide; distinguish, pull
 down

ταύτη προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέως, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἕζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμόνος ἐθηείτο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας, θηεύμενος δὲ ἡμέρθη τῶν νεῶν ἄμυλλαν γινομένην ιδέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἦσθη τε τῇ ἀμύλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.

7.45

ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης ἐωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε,¹ μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε.

7.46

μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτριος,² ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμβουλεύων Ξέρξῃ στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὗτος ὠνήρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξην δακρύσαντα εἶρετο τάδε. «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολλὸν ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσαιο νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγω πρότερον· μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωυτὸν δακρύεις.» ὁ δὲ εἶπε «ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων γε ἐόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν³ ἔτος περιέσται.» ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων «ἕτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζόην πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα.⁴ ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχεί βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων⁵ πέφυκε οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκὶ ἅπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. αἵ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσαι καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσαι καὶ βραχὺν ἐόντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιῶσι τὸν βίον. οὕτω ὁ μὲν θάνατος μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζόης καταφυγὴ αἰρετωτάτη⁶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε, ὁ δὲ θεὸς γλυκὺν γέυσας⁷ τὸν αἰῶνα φθονερός⁸ ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἐών.»

¹ congratulate ² patron ³ hundredth ⁴ pitiable ⁵ blessed with a good genius ⁶ takeable, desirable ⁷ taste ⁸ jealous

7.47

Ξέρξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων «Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μὲν νυν ἀνθρωπηΐης πέρι, εὐούσης τοιαύτης οἴην περ σὺ διαιρέαι εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνώμεθα χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσί, φράσον δέ μοι τόδε· εἴ τοι ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργῆς οὕτω ἐφάνη, εἶχες ἂν τὴν ἀρχαίην γνώμην, οὐκ ἔων με στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢ μετέστης ἄν; φέρε τοῦτό μοι ἀτρεκέως εἰπέ.» ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὅψις μὲν ἡ ἐπιφανείσα τοῦ οὐνείρου ὡς βουλόμεθα ἀμφότεροι τελευτήσκει, ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε δείματος⁹ εἰμὶ ὑπόπλεος οὐδ' ἐντὸς ἐμεωυτοῦ, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁρῶν τοι δύο τὰ μέγιστα πάντων ἐόντα πολεμώτατα.»

7.48

Ξέρξης δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. «δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, κοῖα ταῦτα λέγεις εἶναι δύο μοι πολεμώτατα; κότερά τοι ὁ πεζὸς μεμπτός¹⁰ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα φαίνεται πολλαπλήσιον¹¹ ἔσεσθαι τοῦ ἡμετέρου, ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον λείψεσθαι τοῦ ἐκείνων, ἢ καὶ συναμφότερα ταῦτα; εἰ γάρ τοι ταύτη φαίνεται ἐνδεέστερα εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα πρήγματα, στρατοῦ ἂν ἄλλου τις τὴν ταχίστην ἄγερσιν¹² ποιέοιτο.»

7.49

ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο λέγων «ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε στρατὸν τοῦτον, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, μέμφουτ' ἂν οὔτε τῶν νεῶν τὸ πλῆθος· ἦν δὲ πλεῦνας συλλέξης, τὰ δύο τοι τὰ λέγω πολλῶ ἔτι πολεμώτερα γίνεται. τὰ δὲ δύο ταῦτα ἐστὶ γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα. οὔτε γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶ λιμὴν τοσοῦτος οὐδαμόθι, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω, ὅστις ἐγειρομένου χειμῶνος δεξάμενός σευ τοῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν φερέγγυος ἔσται διασῶσαι τὰς νέας. καίτοι οὐκ ἔνα αὐτὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡπειρον παρ' ἣν δὴ κομίζεαι. οὐκὼν δὴ ἐόντων τοι λιμένων ὑποδεξίων, μάθε ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσι καὶ οὐκ

⁹ fear ¹⁰ blameworthy ¹¹ many times more ¹² gathering, mustering

ἄνθρωποι τῶν συμφορέων. καὶ δὴ τῶν δύο τοι τοῦ ἐτέρου εἰρημένου
τὸ ἕτερον ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. γῇ δὲ πολεμὴ τῇδὲ τοι κατίσταται· εἰ θέλει
τοι μηδὲν ἀντίξουν καταστῆναι, τοσούτῳ τοι γίνεται πολεμωτέρη
ὅσῳ ἂν προβαίνης ἐκαστέρῳ, τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος· εὐπρηξίης
δὲ οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμία πληθώρη. καὶ δὴ τοι, ὥς οὐδενὸς
ἐναντιευμένου, λέγω τὴν χώραν πλεῦνα ἐν πλέονι χρόνῳ γινομένην
λιμὸν τέξεσθαι. ἀνὴρ δὲ οὕτῳ ἂν εἴη ἄριστος, εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν
ἀρρωδέοι, πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος πείσεσθαι χρήμα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ θρασὺς
εἴη.»

7.50

ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοῖσιδε. «Ἄρτάβανε, οἰκότως μὲν σύ γε τούτων
ἕκαστα διαιρέαι· ἀτὰρ μήτε πάντα φοβέο μήτε πᾶν ὁμοίως
ἐπιλέγο. εἰ γὰρ δὴ βούλοιο ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπεσφερομένῳ πρήγματι
τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ποιήσεις ἂν οὐδαμὰ οὐδέν· κρέσσον δὲ
πάντα θαρσέοντα ἡμῖν τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον ἢ πᾶν χρήμα
προδειμαίνοντα μηδαμὰ¹³ μηδὲν παθεῖν. εἰ δὲ ἐρίζων πρὸς πᾶν
τὸ λεγόμενον μὴ τὸ βέβαιον ἀποδέξεις, σφάλλεσθαι ὀφείλεις ἐν
αὐτοῖσι ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τούτοις λέξας. τοῦτο μὲν νυν ἐπ’
ἴσης ἔχει· εἰδέναι δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἐόντα κῶς χρή τὸ βέβαιον; δοκέω
μὲν οὐδαμῶς. τοῖσι τοίνυν βουλομένοις ποιέειν ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν
φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα, τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενοισί τε πάντα καὶ
ὀκνέουσι¹⁴ οὐ μάλα ἐθέλει. ὅρῳ τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα ἐς ὃ δυνάμις
προκεχώρηκε. εἰ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεῦ γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς
γνώμησι ἐχρέωντο ὁμοίῃσι καὶ σύ, ἢ μὴ χρεώμενοι γνώμησι τοιαύτησι
ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον τοιούτους, οὐκ ἂν κοτε εἶδες αὐτὰ ἐς
τοῦτο προελθόντα· νῦν δὲ κινδύνους ἀναρριπτέοντες ἐς τοῦτο σφέα
προηγάγοντο. μεγάλα γὰρ πρήγματα μέγαλοισι κινδύνουσι ἐθέλει
καταιρέεσθαι. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ὁμοιούμενοι ἐκείνοισι ὥρην τε τοῦ ἔτεος
καλλίστην πορευόμεθα, καὶ καταστρεφάμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν Εὐρώπην
νοστήσομεν ὀπίσω, οὔτε λιμῷ ἐντυχόντες οὐδαμόθι οὔτε ἄλλο ἄχαρι
οὐδὲν παθόντες. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ πολλὴν φορβὴν¹⁵ φερόμενοι

¹³ no one ¹⁴ shrink from, hesitate; worry ¹⁵ food, pasture

πορευόμεθα, τοῦτο δέ, τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἐπιβέωμεν γῆν καὶ ἔθνος, τούτων τὸν σῆμα ἔξομεν· ἐπὶ ἀροτῆρας¹⁶ δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατευόμεθα ἄνδρας.»

7.51

λέγει Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ ταῦτα «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεὶτε ἀρρωδέειν οὐδὲν ἔῃς πρῆγμα, σὺ δέ με συμβουλίην ἔνδεξαι· ἀναγκαίως γὰρ ἔχει περὶ πολλῶν πραγμάτων πλεῖνα λόγον ἐκτείνειν. Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω Ἰωνίην πᾶσαν πλὴν Ἀθηναίων κατεστρέψατο δασμοφόρον¹⁷ εἶναι Πέρσῃσι. τούτους ὦν τοὺς ἄνδρας συμβουλεύω τοι μηδεμίῃ μηχανῇ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας· καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἳ τε εἰμὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατυπέρτεροι γίνεσθαι. ἢ γὰρ σφέας, ἣν ἔπωνται, δεῖ ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι καταδουλουμένους τὴν μητρόπολιν,¹⁸ ἢ δικαιοτάτους συνελευθεροῦντας. ἀδικώτατοι μὲν νυν γινόμενοι οὐδὲν κέρδος μέγα ἡμῖν προσβάλλουσι, δικαιοτάτοι δὲ γινόμενοι οἳ τε δηλήσασθαι¹⁹ μεγάλως τὴν σὴν στρατιὴν γίνονται. ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βάλεν καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος ὡς εὖ εἴρηται, τὸ μὴ ἅμα ἀρχῇ πᾶν τέλος καταφαίνεσθαι.»

7.52

ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης «Ἀρτάβανε, τῶν ἀπεφῆναι γινώμεων σφάλλει κατὰ ταύτην δὴ μάλιστα, ὃς Ἴωνας φοβέαι μὴ μεταβάλωσι, τῶν ἔχομεν γνώμα μέγιστον, τῶν σύ τε μάρτυς γίνεαι καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι Δαρείῳ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτοις ἢ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατιὴ ἐγένετο διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι, οἳ δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πιστότητα ἐνέδωκαν, ἄχαρι δὲ οὐδέν. πάρεξ δὲ τούτου, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ καταλιπόντας τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ χρήματα οὐδ' ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερόν τι ποιήσῃν. οὕτω μὴδὲ τοῦτο φοβεό, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων ἀγαθὸν σῶζε οἰκόν τε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἐμήν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μούνῳ ἐκ πάντων σκῆπτρα τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτράπω.»

¹⁶ plowman ¹⁷ tributary ¹⁸ mother city ¹⁹ hurt, spoil, steal

raised seat of white stone, which the people of Abydos had built at the command of the king given beforehand. There he took his seat, and looking down upon the shore he gazed both upon the land-army and the ships; and gazing upon them he had a longing to see a contest take place between the ships; and when it had taken place and the Phenicians of Sidon were victorious, he was delighted both with the contest and with the whole armament.

7.45

And seeing all the Hellespont covered over with the ships, and all the shores and the plains of Abydos full of men, then Xerxes pronounced himself a happy man, and after that he fell to weeping.

7.46

Artabanos his uncle therefore perceiving him,—the same who at first boldly declared his opinion advising Xerxes not to march against Hellas,—this man, I say, having observed that Xerxes wept, asked as follows: “O king, how far different from one another are the things which thou hast done now and a short while before now! for having pronounced thyself a happy man, thou art now shedding tears.” He said: “Yea, for after I had reckoned up, it came into my mind to feel pity at the thought how brief was the whole life of man, seeing that of these multitudes not one will be alive when a hundred years have gone by.” He then made answer and said: “To another evil more pitiful than this we are made subject in the course of our life; for in the period of life, short as it is, no man, either of these here or of others, is made by nature so happy, that there will not come to him many times, and not once only, the desire to be dead rather than to live; for misfortunes falling upon us and diseases disturbing our happiness make the time of life, though short indeed, seem long; thus, since life is full of trouble, death has become the most acceptable refuge for man; and God, having given him to taste of the sweetness of life, is discovered in this matter to be full of jealousy.”

7.47

Xerxes made answer saying: “Artabanos, of human life, which is such as thou dost define it to be, let us cease to speak, and do not remember evils when we have good things in hand: but do thou declare to me this:—If the vision of the dream had not appeared with so much evidence, wouldest thou still be holding thy former opinion, endeavouring to prevent me from marching against Hellas, or wouldest thou have changed from it? Come, tell me this exactly.” He answered saying: “O king, may the vision of the dream which appeared have such fulfilment as we both desire! but I am even to this moment full of apprehension and cannot contain myself, taking into account

many things besides, and also seeing that two things, which are the greatest things of all, are utterly hostile to thee.”

7.48

To this Xerxes made answer in these words: “Thou strangest of men, of what nature are these two things which thou sayest are utterly hostile to me? Is it that the land-army is to be found fault with in the matter of numbers, and that the army of the Hellenes appears to thee likely to be many times as large as ours? or dost thou think that our fleet will fall short of theirs? or even that both of these things together will prove true? For if thou thinkest that in these respects our power is deficient, one might make gathering at once of another force.”

7.49

Then he made answer and said: “O king, neither with this army would any one who has understanding find fault, nor with the number of the ships; and indeed if thou shalt assemble more, the two things of which I speak will be made thereby yet more hostile: and these two things are—the land and the sea. For neither in the sea is there, as I suppose, a harbour anywhere large enough to receive this fleet of thine, if a storm should arise, and to ensure the safety of the ships till it be over; and yet not one alone ought this harbour to be, but there should be such harbours along the whole coast of the continent by which thou sailest; and if there are not harbours to receive thy ships, know that accidents will rule men and not men the accidents. Now having told thee of one of the two things, I am about to tell thee of the other. The land, I say, becomes hostile to thee in this way:—if nothing shall come to oppose thee, the land is hostile to thee by so much the more in proportion as thou shalt advance more, ever stealing on further and further, for there is no satiety of good fortune felt by men: and this I say, that with no one to stand against thee the country traversed, growing more and more as time goes on, will produce for thee famine. Man, however, will be in the best condition, if when he is taking counsel he feels fear, reckoning to suffer everything that can possibly come, but in doing the deed he is bold.”

7.50

Xerxes made answer in these words: “Artabanos, reasonably dost thou set forth these matters; but do not thou fear everything nor reckon equally for everything: for if thou shouldst set thyself with regard to all matters which come on at any time, to reckon for everything equally, thou wouldest never perform any deed. It is better to have good courage about everything and to suffer half the evils which threaten, than to have fear beforehand about everything and not to suffer any evil at all: and if, while contending against

everything which is said, thou omit to declare the course which is safe, thou dost incur in these matters the reproach of failure equally with him who says the opposite to this. This then, I say, is evenly balanced: but how should one who is but man know the course which is safe? I think, in no way. To those then who choose to act, for the most part gain is wont to come; but to those who reckon for everything and shrink back, it is not much wont to come. Thou seest the power of the Persians, to what great might it has advanced: if then those who came to be kings before me had had opinions like to thine, or, though not having such opinions, had had such counsellors as thou, thou wouldest never have seen it brought forward to this point. As it is however, by running risks they conducted it on to this: for great power is in general gained by running great risks. We therefore, following their example, are making our march now during the fairest season of the year; and after we have subdued all Europe we shall return back home, neither having met with famine anywhere nor having suffered any other thing which is unpleasant. For first we march bearing with us ourselves great store of food, and secondly we shall possess the corn-crops of all the peoples to whose land and nation we come; and we are making a march now against men who plough the soil, and not against nomad tribes.”

7.51

After this Artabanos said: “O king, since thou dost urge us not to have fear of anything, do thou I pray thee accept a counsel from me; for when speaking of many things it is necessary to extend speech to a greater length. Cyrus the son of Cambyses subdued all Ionia except the Athenians, so that it was tributary to the Persians. These men therefore I counsel thee by no means to lead against their parent stock, seeing that even without these we are able to get the advantage over our enemies. For supposing that they go with us, either they must prove themselves doers of great wrong, if they join in reducing their mother city to slavery, or doers of great right, if they join in freeing her: now if they show themselves doers of great wrong, they bring us no very large gain in addition; but if they show themselves doers of great right, they are able then to cause much damage to thy army. Therefore lay to heart also the ancient saying, how well it has been said that at the first beginning of things the end does not completely appear.”

7.52

To this Xerxes made answer: “Artabanos, of all the opinions which thou hast uttered, thou art mistaken most of all in this; seeing that thou fearest lest the Ionians should change side, about whom we have a most sure proof, of which thou art a witness thyself and also the rest are witnesses who went with Dareios on his march against the Scythians,—namely this, that the whole

Persian army then came to be dependent upon these men, whether they would destroy or whether they would save it, and they displayed righteous dealing and trustworthiness, and nought at all that was unfriendly. Besides this, seeing that they have left children and wives and wealth in our land, we must not even imagine that they will make any rebellion. Fear not then this thing either, but have a good heart and keep safe my house and my government; for to thee of all men I entrust my sceptre of rule.”

vocabulary

αἰγιαλός beach, shore
 αἰδοῖον genitals
 αἰμασιά wall of dry stones?
 αἰχμή spear point ~acute
 αἰχμοφόρος spearman
 ἀκινάκης -ου (m, 1) Persian short sword
 ἄκρις -ός (f) hilltop ~acute
 ἀναξυρίδες Persian pants
 ἀνατίθηναι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach
 ἀνατολή a rising in the sky ~apostle
 ἀναψύχω (ἰ) cool, refresh, soothe ~psychology
 ἀνέλκω draw up, back
 ἀνήκω reach up to; belong
 ἀνθίστημι face, make a stand ~station
 ἀντέχω hold up as protection against ~ischemia
 ἄπιξις arrival
 ἀριθμέω to count ~arithmetic
 ἀριστερός left-hand
 ἀτρεκής precise, certain
 βασιλείος kingly
 γέρον wicker object
 γέφυρα (ἰ) dam, dike; bridge
 γεφυρώ (ἰ) dam, move earth
 γόνος offspring ~genus
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis
 διάβασις -εως (f) crossing, passage ~basis
 διακρίνω (ι) separate, sort ~critic
 διατάσσω arrange, array
 διξός double
 δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent
 δωρέω give ~donate
 ἐγχειρίδιος handle, hand tool, dagger
 εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic
 εἰσβιβάζω put aboard

ἐλινύω (ι) rest
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἔμπαλιν backwards, on the contrary
 ἐντεταμένως vehemently
 ἐξαριθμέω count up; recount
 ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion
 ἔξωθεν from outside
 ἐπανατέλλω raise, rise
 ἐπεύχομαι exult (over); pray ~vow
 ἐπιλείπω fail, not work ~eclipse
 ἐπωνύμιος called, named
 ἐσπέρα evening, west
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 εὐφρόνη euphemism for night
 ζώνη girdle; waist, loins ~zone
 ἡμίονος (f) mule ~hemisphere
 θυμίαμα incense
 ἵππότης -ου (m, 1) horseman ~hippo
 καίπερ even if
 καλάμινος of reed
 κάμπτω bend, bend in exhaustion
 καταγίζω devote, dedicate
 καταισχύνω (ἰ) act disgracefully
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue ~catastrophe
 κατύπερθεν above, from above
 κόλπος bosom, lap-fold; gulf
 κρεμάννυμι (ἰ) hang
 κρητήρ -ος (m) mixing bowl for wine
 κύκλος circle, wheel ~cycle
 λαγός hare ~lagomorph
 λαγχάνω be allotted; (esp. λελα- forms) allot; receive
 λαγών -όνος (f, 3) flank
 λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea ~limnic
 λόγχη spear point; lot
 μαστιγώ (ι) whip
 μάστιξ -γος (f) whip
 μεγαλοπρεπής befitting greatness

μεταβάλλω alter, transform
 μεταμέλομαι (impers.+dat.) cause
 regret to; (mp) regret
 μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon
 ~pomp
 μηρός thigh, femur
 μίν him, her, it
 μυριάς -δος (ῥ, f, 3) countless,
 myriad
 μυρίος (ῥ) 10,000 ~myriad
 μύρσινος myrtle
 ναύαρχος admiral
 ξυνός (ῥ) common, shared
 ὀιστός arrow
 ὀμφαλός navel, nub ~umbilicus
 ὀνομαστός named ~name
 ὄον οὔ type of fruit
 οὐδαμός not anyone
 ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view
 ~thanatopsis
 παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas
 πάλη wrestling ~Pallas
 πάλλω shake, brandish ~Pallas
 παντοῖος all kinds of
 παρέξιμι pass by; transgress
 περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on
 clothing ~ballistic
 περιγράφω trace, circumscribe
 περιμένω wait for
 περίοικος dwelling around
 Πέρσης Persian
 πῖλος felt
 ποικίλος ornamented; various
 πολίζω build a wall, city
 ~Minneapolis

προαγορεύω declare, predict, order
 προθυμία (ῥ) zeal, alacrity ~fume
 προσδοκάω expect
 προσεχής close
 ῥεῖθρον stream ~rheostat
 σκέλος -εος (n, 3) leg ~scoliosis
 σκευάζω prepare, collect
 σκευή equipment
 σοῦσον lily
 σπένδω libate; (mid) make a treaty
 ~spontaneous
 στέλλω prepare, send, furl ~apostle
 στεφανώω crown
 στόρνυμι (ῥ) smooth out
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
 σύμμικτος commingled,
 promiscuous
 συντυχίη event, accident
 τάφος (m) funeral, grave; (n)
 astonishment
 τέρας -ως (n, 3) omen, fetish
 τέρμα -τος (n, 3) mark, turn-around
 point
 τρέχω run, spin
 ὑποζύγιον beast of burden ~zygote
 ὑστεραίος the next; later
 ὕψος ὕψους (n, 3) height, summit
 φαρετρεών quiver
 φιάλη jar ~vial
 φρουρά guard duty, a watch
 χρῆζω need ~chresard
 χῶρος place ~heir

7.53

ταῦτα εἶπας καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας ἐς Σοῦσα¹ δεύτερα μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους·² ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ παρήσαν, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. «ὦ Πέρσαι, τῶνδ' ἐγὼ ὑμέων χρηρίζων συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γενέσθαι ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μὴ καταισχύνειν τὰ πρόσθε ἐργασμένα Πέρσῃσι, ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, ἀλλ' εἰς τε ἕκαστος καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμίην ἔχωμεν· ξυνὸν γὰρ πᾶσι τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν σπεύδεται. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐντεταμένως· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθοὺς, τῶν ἦν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ μὴ τις ἡμῶν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἀνθρώπων. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι οἱ Πέρσας λελόγχασι».

7.54

ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμῆματά³ τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίνησι⁴ στορνύντες⁵ τὴν ὁδόν. ὥς δ' ἐπανέτελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἥ μιν παύσει καταστρέφασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι⁶ τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται. εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσειον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατήκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἔδωρέετο.

7.55

ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζὸς τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπῆή. ἡγέοντο δὲ

¹ lily ² trustworthy; excellent ³ incense ⁴ myrtle ⁵ smooth out

⁶ mark, turn-around point

πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι, ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὔτοι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ πρῶτοι μὲν οἷ τε ἵππόται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τρέποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὔτοι. μετὰ δὲ οἷ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἱρόν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτός τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι καὶ οἱ ἵππόται οἱ χίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ἄλλος στρατός. καὶ αἱ νέες ἅμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων.

7.56

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθηίτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα· διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνησι,⁷ ἐλυνύσας⁸ οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρξῳ ἤδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον «ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ οὖνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξην θέμενος ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα θέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῇν τοι ποιέειν ταῦτα.»

7.57

ὥς δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς ὁδὸν ὀρμημένοισι τέρας σφί ἐφάνη μέγα, τὸ Ξέρξης ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο καίπερ εὐσύμβλητον ἐόν· ἵππος γὰρ ἔτεκε λαγόν. εὐσύμβλητον ὦν τῇδε τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἔμελλε μὲν ἐλᾶν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης ἀγανρότατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα,⁹ ὀπίσω δὲ περὶ ἐωυτοῦ τρέχων ἦξειν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ τέρας ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι· ἡμίονος γὰρ ἔτεκε ἡμίονον διξὰ ἔχουσαν αἰδοῖα, τὰ μὲν ἔρσενος τὰ δὲ θηλέης· κατύπερθε δὲ ἦν τὰ τοῦ ἔρσενος. τῶν ἀμφοτέρων λόγον οὐδένα ποιησάμενος τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο, σὺν δὲ οἱ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός.

7.58

ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσσων τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔπλεε, ἐπὶ

⁷ euphemism for night ⁸ rest ⁹ befitting greatness

Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης ποιούμενος τὴν ἄπιξιν, ἐς τὴν αὐτῷ προείρητο ἀπικομένῳ περιμένειν· ὁ δὲ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατὸς πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐποιέετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχων τὸν Ἑλλης τάφον τῆς Ἀθάμαντος, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ Καρδίην πόλιν, διὰ μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος πόλιος τῇ οὐνομα τυγχάνει ἐὼν Ἀγορή. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κάμπτων¹⁰ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Μέλανα καλεόμενον καὶ Μέλανα ποταμόν, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀλλ' ἐπιλιπόντα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς, ἐπ' οὗ καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, ἥτε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, Αἰνόν τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα λίμνην παρεξιών, ἐς ὃ ἀπύκετο ἐς Δορίσκον.

7.59

ὁ δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρηίκης αἰγιαλός τε καὶ πεδίων μέγα, διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας Ἑβρος· ἐν τῷ τείχός τε ἐδέδμητο βασιλῆιον τοῦτο τὸ δὴ Δορίσκος κέκληται, καὶ Περσέων φρουρῇ¹¹ ἐν αὐτῷ κατεστήκει ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεῖτε ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐστρατεύετο. ἔδοξε ὦν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χώρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ ἐκόμισαν, ἐν τῷ Σάλλῃ τε Σαμοθηρικῇ πεπόλισται πόλις καὶ Ζώνη, τελευταῖα δὲ αὐτοῦ Σέρρειον ἄκρη ὀνομαστή. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Κικόνων. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποιέετο.

7.60

ὅσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρείχον πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμόν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. ἐξηρίθμυσαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· συνήγαγόν τε ἐς ἓνα χώρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ὥς

¹⁰ bend, bend in exhaustion¹¹ guard duty, a watch

μάλιστα είχαν περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλον· περιγράψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους αἵμασι¹² περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὕψος¹³ ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλόν·¹⁴ ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον¹⁵ ἐς τὸ περιουικοδομημένον, μέχρι οὗ πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν. ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασσαν.

7.61

οἱ δὲ στρατεούμενοι οἷδε ἦσαν, Πέρσαι μὲν ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τιάρας καλεομένους πύλους ἀπαγέας, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους,..... λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὄψιν ἰχθυοειδέος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα·¹⁶ ὑπὸ δὲ φαρετρεῶνες¹⁷ ἐκρέμαντο·¹⁸ αἰχμὰς δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα δὲ μεγάλα, ὀιστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνους, πρὸς δὲ ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρεύμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης.¹⁹ καὶ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ὅτάνεα τὸν Ἀμήστριος πατέρα τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Κηφῆνες, ὑπὸ μέντοι σφέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Ἀρταῖοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς ἀπύκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βήλου καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς τῷ οὐνομα ἔθετο Πέρσην, τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπει· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἅπαις ἐὼν ὁ Κηφεὺς ἔρσεινος γόνου.²⁰ ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔσχον.

7.62

Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο· Μηδικὴ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ Περσικὴ. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι ἄρχοντα μὲν παρείχοντο Τιγράνην ἄνδρα Ἀχαμενίδην, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι, ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους μετέβαλον καὶ οὔτοι τὸ οὐνομα. αὐτοὶ περὶ σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. Κίσσιοι δὲ στρατεούμενοι τὰ

¹² wall of dry stones? ¹³ height, summit ¹⁴ navel, nub ¹⁵ put aboard ¹⁶ wicker object ¹⁷ quiver ¹⁸ hang ¹⁹ girdle; waist, loins ²⁰ offspring

7.53

Having thus spoken and having sent Artabanos back to Susa, next Xerxes summoned to his presence the men of most repute among the Persians, and when they were come before him, he spoke to them as follows: "Persians, I assembled you together desiring this of you, that ye should show yourselves good men and should not disgrace the deeds done in former times by the Persians, which are great and glorious; but let us each one of us by himself, and all together also, be zealous in our enterprise; for this which we labour for is a common good for all. And I exhort you that ye preserve in the war without relaxing your efforts, because, as I am informed, we are marching against good men, and if we shall overcome them, there will not be any other army of men which will ever stand against us. Now therefore let us begin the crossing, after having made prayer to those gods who have the Persians for their allotted charge."

7.54

During this day then they were making preparation to cross over; and on the next day they waited for the Sun, desiring to see him rise, and in the meantime they offered all kinds of incense upon the bridges and strewed the way with branches of myrtle. Then, as the Sun was rising, Xerxes made libation from a golden cup into the sea, and prayed to the Sun, that no accident might befall him such as should cause him to cease from subduing Europe, until he had come to its furthest limits. After having thus prayed he threw the cup into the Hellespont and with it a golden mixing-bowl and a Persian sword, which they call akinakes: but whether he cast them into the sea as an offering dedicated to the Sun, or whether he had repented of his scourging of the Hellespont and desired to present a gift to the sea as amends for this, I cannot for certain say.

7.55

When Xerxes had done this, they proceeded to cross over, the whole army both the footmen and the horsemen going by one bridge, namely that which was on the side of the Pontus, while the baggage-animals and the attendants went over the other, which was towards the Egean. First the ten thousand Persians led the way, all with wreaths, and after them came the mixed body of the army made up of all kinds of nations: these on that day; and on the next day, first the horsemen and those who had their spear-points turned downwards, these also wearing wreaths; and after them the sacred horses and the sacred chariot, and then Xerxes himself and the spear-bearers and the thousand horsemen; and after them the rest of the army. In the meantime the ships also put out from shore and went over to the opposite side. I have

heard however another account which says that the king crossed over the very last of all.

7.56

When Xerxes had crossed over into Europe, he gazed upon the army crossing under the lash; and his army crossed over in seven days and seven nights, going on continuously without any pause. Then, it is said, after Xerxes had now crossed over the Hellespont, a man of that coast exclaimed: "Why, O Zeus, in the likeness of a Persian man and taking for thyself the name of Xerxes instead of Zeus, art thou proposing to lay waste Hellas, taking with thee all the nations of men? for it was possible for thee to do so even without the help of these."

7.57

When all had crossed over, after they had set forth on their way a great portent appeared to them, of which Xerxes made no account, although it was easy to conjecture its meaning,—a mare gave birth to a hare. Now the meaning of this was easy to conjecture in this way, namely that Xerxes was about to march an army against Hellas very proudly and magnificently, but would come back again to the place whence he came, running for his life. There happened also a portent of another kind while he was still at Sardis,—a mule brought forth young and gave birth to a mule which had organs of generation of two kinds, both those of the male and those of the female, and those of the male were above. Xerxes however made no account of either of these portents, but proceeded on his way, and with him the land-army.

7.58

The fleet meanwhile was sailing out of the Hellespont and coasting along, going in the opposite direction to the land-army; for the fleet was sailing towards the West, making for the promontory of Sarpedon, to which it had been ordered beforehand to go, and there wait for the army; but the land-army meanwhile was making its march towards the East and the sunrising, through the Chersonese, keeping on its right the tomb of Helle the daughter of Athamas, and on its left the city of Cardia, and marching through the midst of a town the name of which is Agora. Thence bending round the gulf called Melas and having crossed over the river Melas, the stream of which did not suffice at this time for the army but failed,—having crossed, I say, this river, from which the gulf also has its name, it went on Westwards, passing by Ainos a city of the Aiolians, and by the lake Stentoris, until at last it came to Doriscos.

7.59

Now Doriscos is a sea-beach and plain of great extent in Thrace, and through it flows the great river Hebros: here a royal fortress had been built, the same which is now called Doriscos, and a garrison of Persians had been established in it by Dareios, ever since the time when he went on his march against the Scythians. It seemed then to Xerxes that the place was convenient to order his army and to number it throughout, and so he proceeded to do. The commanders of the ships at the bidding of Xerxes had brought all their ships, when they arrived at Doriscos, up to the sea-beach which adjoins Doriscos, on which there is situated both Sale a city of the Samothrakians, and also Zone, and of which the extreme point is the promontory of Serreion, which is well known; and the region belonged in ancient time to the Kikonians. To this beach then they had brought in their ships, and having drawn them up on land they were letting them get dry: and during this time he proceeded to number the army at Doriscos.

7.60

Now of the number which each separate nation supplied I am not able to give certain information, for this is not reported by any persons; but of the whole land-army taken together the number proved to be one hundred and seventy myriads: and they numbered them throughout in the following manner:—they gathered together in one place a body of ten thousand men, and packing them together as closely as they could, they drew a circle round outside: and thus having drawn a circle round and having let the ten thousand men go from it, they built a wall of rough stones round the circumference of the circle, rising to the height of a man's navel. Having made this, they caused others to go into the space which had been built round, until they had in this manner numbered them all throughout: and after they had numbered them, they ordered them separately by nations.

7.61

Now those who served were as follows:—The Persians with this equipment:—about their heads they had soft felt caps called tiaras, and about their body tunics of various colours with sleeves, presenting the appearance of iron scales like those of a fish, and about the legs trousers; and instead of the ordinary shields they had shields of wicker-work, under which hung quivers; and they had short spears and large bows and arrows of reed, and moreover daggers hanging by the right thigh from the girdle: and they acknowledged as their commander Otanes the father of Amestris the wife of Xerxes. Now these were called by the Hellenes in ancient time Kephenes; by themselves however and by their neighbours they were called Artaians: but when Perseus, the

son of Danae and Zeus, came to Kepheus the son of Belos and took to wife his daughter Andromeda, there was born to them a son to whom he gave the name Perses, and this son he left behind there, for it chanced that Kepheus had no male offspring: after him therefore this race was named.

7.62

The Medes served in the expedition equipped in precisely the same manner; for this equipment is in fact Median and not Persian: and the Medes acknowledged as their commander Tigranes an Achaimenid. These in ancient time used to be generally called Arians; but when Medea the Colchian came from Athens to these Arians, they also changed their name. Thus the Medes themselves report about themselves. The Kissians served with equipment in other respects like that of the

vocabulary

ἄατος (αᾶ) insatiate of
ἀγχοτάτω nearest
ἄζω dry up ~ash
αἰχμή spear point ~acute
ἀκινάκης -ου (m, 1) Persian short sword
ἀκόντιον diminutive of javelin
ἄλωπεκῇ fox skin
ἀναξυρίδες Persian pants
ἀνατείνω lift, reach out, threaten
ἀνατολή a rising in the sky ~apostle
ἄξινη (i) war-axe
ἄποικος abroad, colonizing
ἄω aor: to sate ~sate
βάπτω submerge ~baptize
γέρανος (f) crane (bird)
γλύφω carve ~glyph
διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis
διαλλάσσω exchange; differ; reconcile
διξός double
δορά hide, flaying
ἐγχειρίδιος handle, hand tool, dagger
εἶδος -ους (n, 3) appearance, form ~-oid
εἶμα -τος (n, 3) garment ~vest
εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic
ἐκδέρω to skin ~dermatology
Ἑλλην Greek
ἐνάπτω clad, bind; set on fire
ἐνδύω go into, put on
ἐξάνιστημι raise, bring/send out
ἐπιτροπεύω administrate
ἐπιχώριος native
ἐπωνύμιος called, named
ζειρά girded coat
ἦθος ἦθεος (n, 3) habit, habitat ~ethos
ἥμισυς half ~hemisphere
θεάομαι look at, behold, consider

~theater
θώραξ -ηκος (m) breastplate
 ~thorax
καλάμινος of reed
καταχράομαι (mp) abuse, use up; (act) be enough
κνήμη lower leg
κράνος -εος (n, 3) helmet; ship's ram
λίνεος linen
λόγχη spear point; lot
λοφιά bristly back
λόφος neck, crest on a helmet, hilltop
μεταβαίνω change the subject
 ~basis
μεταβάλλω alter, transform
μεταξύ between
νεβρός (f) fawn
οἷστός arrow
οὔς οὔατος (n) ear
πάλαι long ago ~paleo
παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas
πάλη wrestling ~Pallas
παλίντονος bent back
πάλλω shake, brandish ~Pallas
παραλλάσσω change, differ
παραπλήσιος similar to
παρατίθημι put near, put at risk
 ~thesis
παρδαλέα leopard skin
πέδιλον (i) sandals ~pedal
πέλτη shield, spear ~pelt
πέλτης -ου (m, 1) type of river fish
 ~pelt
περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on clothing ~ballistic
Πέρσης Persian
πήγνυμι (ō) stick, set, build ~fang
πίλος felt
πλέκω braid ~complex
ποικίλλω make elaborately

ποικίλος ornamented; various
 πρόβολος thing sticking out
 ~ballistic
 προμετωπίδιος on the forehead
 προστάσσω post at, attach to,
 command
 ῥόπαλον club, staff
 σάττω pack, compress
 σίδηρος iron ~siderite
 σκευάζω prepare, collect
 σκευή equipment

σκύτινος (ῥ) of leather
 στέλλω prepare, send, furl ~apostle
 στέργω love; be content
 συναμφότεροι both together
 σύνοικος fellow inhabitant
 συστρατεύω join in an expedition
 τετράπηγος four cubits tall
 ὑποζώννυμι (υῶ) undergird
 φοῖνιξ -κος (m) red or purple dye
 or color; bay (horse); palm tree
 φρύγω (ῥ) roast, parch

μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσκενάδατο, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πύλων¹ μιτρηφόροι ἦσαν. Κισσίων δὲ ἦρχε Ἀνάφης ὁ Ὀτάνεω. Ὑρκάνιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσεσάχατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγάπανον τὸν Βαβυλῶνος ὕστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπέυσαντα.

7.63

Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον χάλκεά τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπήγητον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια παραπλήσια τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι εἶχον, πρὸς δὲ ρόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρω, καὶ λινέους θώρηκας. οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων καλέονται Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν. τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ Χαλδαῖοι. ἦρχε δὲ σφέων Ὀτάσπης ὁ Ἀρταχαίεω.

7.64

Βάκτριοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀγχότατα τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, τόξα δὲ καλάμυνα ἐπιχώρια καὶ αἰχμὰς βραχέας. Σάakai δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὅξυν ἀπηγμένας ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγυίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν, τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀξίνας² σαγάρεις εἶχον. τούτους δὲ ἐόντας Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους Σάκας ἐκάλεον· οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας. Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ Σακέων ἦρχε Ὑστάσπης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου.

7.65

Ἴνδοι δὲ εἴματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα, τόξα δὲ καλάμυνα εἶχον καὶ οἰστοὺς καλαμίνοιν· ἐπὶ δὲ σίδηρος ἦν. ἐσταλμένοι μὲν δὴ ἦσαν οὕτω Ἴνδοί, προσετετάχατο δὲ συστρατεύόμενοι Φαρναζάθρη τῷ Ἀρταβάτew.

7.66

ἄριοι δὲ τόξοισι μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ

¹ felt ² war-axe

περ Βάκτριοι. Ἀρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι τὴν αὐτὴν σκευὴν ἔχοντες τὴν καὶ Βάκτριοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἶδε. Πάρθων μὲν καὶ Χορασμίων Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, Σόγδων δὲ Ἀζάνης ὁ Ἀρταίου, Γανδαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων Ἀρτύφιος ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.

7.67

Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρνας τε ἐνδευκότες καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμυνα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκινάκας ἐστρατεύοντο. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐσκευάδατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν, Σαράγγαι δὲ εἴματα μὲν βεβαμμένα³ ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες, πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς Μηδικάς. Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου. Πάκτυες δὲ σισυρνοφόροι τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια εἶχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυες δὲ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ἀρταῦντην τὸν Ἰθαμίτρεω.

7.68

Οὔτιοι δὲ καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ περ Πάκτυες. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἶδε, Οὔτιων μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρείου, Παρικανίων δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Οἰοβάζου.

7.69

Ἀράβιοι δὲ ζειράς ὑπέζωσμένοι ἦσαν, τόξα δὲ παλίντονα⁴ εἶχον πρὸς δεξιὰ, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος⁵ σπάθης πεποιημένα, μακρά, τετραπηχέων⁶ οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ἐπὶ δὲ καλαμίνους ὀιστοὺς μικρούς· ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὴν λίθος ὅξυς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι.⁷ πρὸς δὲ αἰχμὰς εἶχον, ἐπὶ δὲ κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὴν ὅξυ πεποιημένον τρόπον λόγχης· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ῥόπαλα τυλωτά. τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο γύψῳ ἰόντες ἐς μάχην, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἥμισυ μίλτω. Ἀραβίων

³ submerge ⁴ bent back ⁵ red or purple dye or color; bay (horse); palm tree ⁶ four cubits tall ⁷ carve

δὲ καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκημένων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνης τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός, τὴν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν γυναικῶν Δαρείως εἰκὼ χρυσέην σφυρήλατον ἐποιήσατο.

7.70

τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ Ἀραβίων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων Αἰθίοπες διξοὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο προσετετάχατο τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι, διαλλάσσοντες εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἐτέροισι, φωνὴν δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα μῶνον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἡλίου Αἰθίοπες ἰθύτριχες εἰσί, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα ἔχουσι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Αἰθίοπες τὰ μὲν πλέω κατὰ περ Ἰνδοὶ ἐσεσάχατο, προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἶχον ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι σύν τε τοῖσι ὥσιν ἐκδεδαρμένα καὶ τῇ λοφιῇ· καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν λόφου ἢ λοφιῇ⁸ κατέχρα, τὰ δὲ ὦτα τῶν ἵππων ὀρθὰ πεπηγότα εἶχον· προβλήματα δὲ ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ἐποιεῦντο γεράνων⁹ δοράς.¹⁰

7.71

Λίβυες δὲ σκευὴν μὲν σκυτίνην¹¹ ἦσαν ἔχοντες, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐπικαύτοισι χρεώμενοι, ἄρχοντα δὲ παρείχοντο Μασσάγην τὸν Ὀαρίζου.

7.72

Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα πεπλεγμένα ἔχοντες, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικρὰς αἰχμὰς τε οὐ μεγάλας, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας πέδιλα ἐπιχώρια ἐς μέσσην κνήμην ἀνατείνοντα. Λίγυες δὲ καὶ Ματιηνοὶ καὶ Μαριανδυνοὶ τε καὶ Σύριοι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες Παφλαγόσι ἐστρατεύοντο. οἱ δὲ Σύριοι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδόκαι καλέονται. Παφλαγόνων μὲν νυν καὶ Ματιηνῶν Δῶτος ὁ Μεγασίδρου ἦρχε, Μαριανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Λιγύνων καὶ Συριῶν Γοβρύης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνης.

⁸ bristly back ⁹ crane (bird) ¹⁰ hide, flaying ¹¹ of leather

7.73

φρύγες¹² δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευὴν εἶχον, ὀλίγον παραλλάσσοντες. οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπαϊοὶ ἐόντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίην ἅμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον εἰς Φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἐόντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων συναμφοτέρων ἦρχε Ἀρτόχμης Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα.

7.74

Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὄπλα. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μήιονες ἐκαλεῖντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτους ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὖνομα. Μυσοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικράς, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαύτοισι. οὗτοι δὲ εἰς Λυδῶν ἄποικοι, ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου δὲ ὄρεος καλέονται Ὀλυμπιηνοί. Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἦρχε Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ἀρταφρένεος ὃς εἰς Μαραθῶνα ἐσέβαλε ἅμα Δάτι.

7.75

Θρήκες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀλωπεκέας¹³ ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειρὰς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν,¹⁴ πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντιά τε καὶ πέλτας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια μικρά. οὗτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί, τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστῆναι δὲ φασὶ ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. Θρηίκων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἦρχε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.

7.76

..... ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοῦνας εἶχον σμικράς, καὶ προβόλους δύο λυκιοεργέας ἕκαστος εἶχε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χάλκεα· πρὸς

¹² roast, parch ¹³ fox skin ¹⁴ fawn

Persians, but instead of the felt caps they wore fillets: 59and of the Kissians Anaphes the son of Otanes was commander. The Hyrcanians were armed like the Persians, acknowledging as their leader Megapanos, the same who after these events became governor of Babylon.

7.63

The Assyrians served with helmets about their heads made of bronze or plaited in a Barbarian style which it is not easy to describe; and they had shields and spears, and daggers like the Egyptian knives, and moreover they had wooden clubs with knobs of iron, and corslets of linen. These are by the Hellenes called Syrians, but by the Barbarians they have been called always Assyrians: [among these were the Chaldeans]: and the commander of them was Otaspes the son of Artachaies.

7.64

The Bactrians served wearing about their heads nearly the same covering as the Medes, and having native bows of reed and short spears. The Scaran Scythians had about their heads caps which were carried up to a point and set upright and stiff; and they wore trousers, and carried native bows and daggers, and besides this axes of the kind called sagaris. These were called Amyrgian Sacans, being in fact Scythians; for the Persians call all the Scythians Sacans: and of the Bactrians and Sacans the commander was Hystaspes, the son of Dareios and of Atossa the daughter of Cyrus.

7.65

The Indians wore garments made of tree-wool, and they had bows of reed and arrows of reed with iron points. Thus were the Indians equipped; and serving with the rest they had been assigned to Pharnazathres the son of Artabates.

7.66

The Arians were equipped with Median bows, and in other respects like the Bactrians: and of the Arians Sisamnes the son of Hydarnes was in command. The Parthians and Chorasmians and Sogdians and Gandarians and Dadicans served with the same equipment as the Bactrians. Of these the commanders were, Artabazos the son of Pharnakes of the Parthians and Chorasmians, Azanes the son of Artaios of the Sogdians, and Artyphios the son of Artabanos of the Gandarians and Dadicans. The Caspians served wearing coats of skin and having native bows of reed and short swords: thus were these equipped; and they acknowledged as their leader Ariomardos the brother of Artyphios. The Sarangians were conspicuous among the rest by wearing dyed garments; and they had boots reaching up to the knee, and

Median bows and spears: of these the commander was Pherendates the son of Megabazos. The Pactyans were wearers of skin coats and had native bows and daggers: these acknowledged as their commander Artayntes the son of Ithamitres.

7.68

The Utians and Mycans and Paricanians were equipped like the Pactyans: of these the commanders were, Arsamenes the son of Dareios of the Utians and Mycans, and of the Paricanians Siromitres the son of Oiobazos.

7.69

The Arabians wore loose mantles girt up, and they carried at their right side bows that bent backward of great length. The Ethiopians had skins of leopards and lions tied upon them, and bows made of a slip of palm-wood, which were of great length, not less than four cubits, and for them small arrows of reed with a sharpened stone at the head instead of iron, the same stone with which they engrave seals: in addition to this they had spears, and on them was the sharpened horn of a gazelle by way of a spear-head, and they had also clubs with knobs upon them. Of their body they used to smear over half with white, when they went into battle, and the other half with red. Of the Arabians and the Ethiopians who dwelt above Egypt the commander was Arsames, the son of Dareios and of Artystone, the daughter of Cyrus, whom Dareios loved most of all his wives, and had an image made of her of beaten gold.

7.70

Of the Ethiopians above Egypt and of the Arabians the commander, I say, was Arsames; but the Ethiopians from the direction of the sunrising (for the Ethiopians were in two bodies) had been appointed to serve with the Indians, being in no way different from the other Ethiopians, but in their language and in the nature of their hair only; for the Ethiopians from the East are straight-haired, but those of Libya have hair more thick and woolly than that of any other men. These Ethiopians from Asia were armed for the most part like the Indians, but they had upon their heads the skin of a horse's forehead flayed off with the ears and the mane, and the mane served instead of a crest, while they had the ears of the horse set up straight and stiff: and instead of shields they used to make defences to hold before themselves of the skins of cranes.

7.71

The Libyans went with equipments of leather, and they used javelins burnt at the point. These acknowledged as their commander Massages the son of

Oarizos.

7.72

The Paphlagonians served with plaited helmets upon their heads, small shields, and spears of no great size, and also javelins and daggers; and about their feet native boots reaching up to the middle of the shin. The Ligyans and Matienians and Mariandynoi and Syrians served with the same equipment as the Paphlagonians: these Syrians are called by the Persians Cappadokians. Of the Paphlagonians and Matienians the commander was Dotos the son of Megasidros, and of the Mariandynoi and Lygians and Syrians, Gobryas, who was the son of Dareios and Artystone.

7.73

The Phrygians had an equipment very like that of the Paphlagonians with some slight difference. Now the Phrygians, as the Macedonians say, used to be called Brigians during the time that they were natives of Europe and dwelt with the Macedonians; but after they had changed into Asia, with their country they changed also their name and were called Phrygians. The Armenians were armed just like the Phrygians, being settlers from the Phrygians. Of these two together the commander was Artochmes, who was married to a daughter of Dareios.

7.74

The Lydians had arms very closely resembling those of the Hellenes. Now the Lydians were in old time called Medonians, and they were named again after Lydos the son of Atys, changing their former name. The Mysians had upon their heads native helmets, and they bore small shields and used javelins burnt at the point. These are settlers from the Lydians, and from mount Olympos they are called Olympienoi. Of the Lydians and Mysians the commander was Artaphrenes the son of Artaphrenes, he who invaded Marathon together with Datis.

7.75

The Thracians served having fox-skins upon their heads and tunics about their body, with loose mantles of various colours thrown round over them; and about their feet and lower part of the leg they wore boots of deer-skin; and besides this they had javelins and round bucklers and small daggers. These when they had crossed over into Asia came to be called Bithynians, but formerly they were called, as they themselves report, Strymonians, since they dwelt upon the river Strymon; and they say that they were driven out of their abode by the Teucrians and Mysians. Of the Thracians who lived in Asia the commander was Bassakes the son of Artabanos.

76.... and they had small shields of raw ox-hide, and each man carried two hunting-spears of Lykian workmanship. On their heads they wore helmets of bronze, and to

vocabulary

ἄγριος wild, savage ~agriculture

ἀγχοτάτω nearest

αἰχμή spear point ~acute

ἄκόντιον diminutive of javelin

ἄκρον crest, extremity ~acute

ἄκρος at the edge, extreme ~acute

ἀνεθέλητος unwelcome

ἀνεψιός cousin ~nepotism

ἀπάγω lead away, back

~demagogue

ἀποδείκνυμι (ὁ) show, point out;
appoint; (mid) declare

ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine

ἀπολέγω pick; decline

ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ~tonsure

ἀριθμός number

ἄρμα -τος (n, 3) chariot

ἀρμάμαξα Persian carriage

ἄτε as if; since

αὐτως just so, merely; in vain ~after

ἄφθονος ungrudging, plentiful

βρόχος rope, noose

δερμάτινος made of leather

~dermatology

δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot

διατάσσω arrange, array

διέξειμι pass through; recount ~ion

διφθέρα leather

ἐγχειρίδιος handle, hand tool,

dagger

εἶμα -τος (n, 3) garment ~vest

ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over

ἐμέω vomit ~emetic

ἐνδύω go into, put on

ἐνθεῦτεν thence

ἐνιοι some

ἐξαριθμέω count up; recount

ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic

ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near

ἐπιχώριος native

ἐρκος -εος (n, 3) bulwark ~oath

ἐσθής clothes ~vest

ἔσχατος farthest, last

εὖς good, brave, noble

ἡγεμονία authority, rule

ἡπειρος (f) mainland, continent

θεραπήη service, tending

θώραξ -ηκος (m) breastplate

~thorax

θωρηκοφόρος wearing a breastplate

ἱμάς -ντος (ī, m, 3) strap

ἱππεύω ride

ἱππικός of horses ~hippo

ἵψος rim

κάμηλος (f) camel

καταβάλλω throw down, cast off

~ballistic

κατοικίζω colonize

κέλης -τος (m, 3) fast riding horse

κνήμη lower leg

κοῖλος hollow ~hollow

κράνος -εος (n, 3) helmet; ship's
ram

κυνέα -ης helmet ~hound

κύνεος doglike, shameless ~hound

λίνεος linen

λόγχη spear point; lot

λόφος neck, crest on a helmet,

hilltop

μάκρων -ος (m, 3) longhead (ethnic
term)

μάχαιρα knife, dagger

μεταξύ between

μετεξέτεροι (+gen) some ones of

μόσχος calf (animal)

μυριάς -δος (ī, f, 3) countless,
myriad

μυρίος (ī) 10,000 ~myriad

ναύμαχος sea-fighting

νησιώτης -ου (m, 1) insular

νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing

νοσέω be sick, be mad, suffer

νόσος (f) plague, pestilence

~noisome
νοῦσος (f) plague, pestilence
 ~noisome
ξύλινος wooden
οἰκέτης -ου (m, 1) household; house
 slave
ὀκτώ eight ~octopus
ὄνος (f) donkey ~onager
ὄον οὓ type of fruit
ὀπλίζω prepare, arm ~hoplite
οὐδαμός not anyone
οὖς οὔατος (n) ear
οὔτις nobody, nothing
παλλακή sex slave
παραλύω detach, disable
πάρεξ alongside, diverging from;
 (+ῥ or gen) except; (+acc) beyond,
 alongside
περιέρχομαι go around; come next
 to
περιπίπτω embrace; fall in with
Πέρσης Persian
πίσυνος trusting in, relying on
 (+dat)
πλεκτός braided, woven ~plait
πλέκω braid ~complex
ποίημα -τος (n, 3) work, deed
πρόοιδα foresee
προοράω see before oneself
πρόσειμι approach, draw near; add
 ~ion
ῥάκος -ους (n, 3) rag
σάττω pack, compress
σειρά cord, rope
σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark

~semaphore
σημάντωρ commander, driver,
 herder ~semaphore
σιδήρεος of iron ~siderite
σκέλος -εος (n, 3) leg ~scoliosis
σκευάζω prepare, collect
σκευή equipment
στρατηγέω be a general
στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix
σύμπας (ᾱ) all together
συμφορά collecting; accident,
 misfortune
συντάσσω gather, assemble ~syntax
ταχυτής speed, hastiness
 ~tachometer
τοσόσδε this much
τριηκόσιοι three hundred
ὑπείμι be under
ὑπερβαίνω pass, transgress ~basis
ὑποζύγιον beast of burden ~zygote
ὑποτρέχω run in under
ὑφάω weave
φοινίκεος (ι) purple, red
χίλιοι (ιι) thousand ~kilo-
χρηστήριον oracle, response
χρυσός (υ) gold
χωρίς separately; except, other than
 ~heir
χώρος place ~heir
ὠσαύτως in the same way

δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι ὧτά τε καὶ κέρα προσῆν βοὸς χάλκεα, ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι· τὰς δὲ κνήμας ῥάκεσι¹ φοινικέοισι² κατειλίχματο. ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι Ἄρεος ἐστὶ χρηστήριον.

7.77

Καβηλλᾶες δὲ οἱ Μηρίονες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλούμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν Κίλιξι εἶχον σκευήν, τὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεὰν κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίων τάξιν διεξιῶν γένωμαι, τότε σημανέω. Μιλύαι δὲ αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας εἶχον καὶ εἴματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο· εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα μετεξέτεροι Λύκια, περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἐκ διφθερέων³ πεποιημένας κυνέας. τούτων πάντων ἦρχε Βάδρης ὁ Ὑστάνεος.

7.78

μόσχοι⁴ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας ξυλίνας εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς μικράς· λόγχοι δὲ ἐπῆσαν μεγάλοι. Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες⁵ καὶ Μοσσύνιοι κατὰ περ Μόσχοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτους δὲ συνέτασσον ἄρχοντες οἶδε, Μόσχους μὲν καὶ Τιβαρηνούς Ἀριόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ Πάρμος τῆς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, Μάκρωνας δὲ καὶ Μοσσυνοίκους Ἀρταύκτης ὁ Χεράσμος, ὃς Σηστὸν τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐπετρόπευε.

7.79

Μᾶρες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτὰ εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματίνας⁶ μικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια. Κόλχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ξύλινα, ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοῖνας μικρὰς αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας, πρὸς δὲ μαχαίρας εἶχον. Μαρώων δὲ καὶ Κόλχων ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιος. Ἀλαρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες κατὰ περ Κόλχοι ὠπλισμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρομίτρεω ἦρχε.

¹ rag ² purple, red ³ leather ⁴ calf (animal) ⁵ longhead (ethnic term) ⁶ made of leather

7.80

τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνεα τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα, νήσων δὲ ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεὺς, ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Μηδικῶν εἶχον ἐσθῆτά τε καὶ ὄπλα. τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτέων ἦρχε Μαρδόντης ὁ Βαγαίου, ὃς ἐν Μυκάλλῃ στρατηγέων δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ τούτων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

7.81

ταῦτα ἦν τὰ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατευόμενά τε ἔθνεα καὶ τεταγμένα ἐς τὸν πεζόν. τούτου ὦν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦρχον μὲν οὗτοι οἱ περ εἰρέαται, καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἐξαριθμήσαντες οὗτοι ἦσαν καὶ χιλιάρχας τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες, ἑκατοντάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες.⁷

7.82

ἦσαν μὲν δὴ οὗτοι οἱ περ εἰρέαται ἄρχοντες, ἐστρατήγεον δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδόνιος τε ὁ Γοβρυέω καὶ Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Ἑλλάδα καὶ Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω, Δαρείου ἀμφότεροι οὗτοι ἀδελφεῶν παῖδες, Ξέρξη δὲ ἐγίνοντο ἀνεψιοί, καὶ Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παῖς καὶ Γέργις ὁ Ἀριάζου καὶ Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου.

7.83

οὗτοι ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος πεζοῦ χωρὶς τῶν μυρίων· τῶν δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσέων τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγεε μὲν Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ ἀθάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἢ θανάτῳ βιηθεὶς ἢ νόσῳ, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀραίρητο, καὶ ἐγίνοντο οὐδαμὰ οὔτε πλεῦνες μυρίων οὔτε ἐλάσσονες. κόσμον δὲ πλείστον παρείχοντο διὰ πάντων Πέρσαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν· σκευὴν μὲν τοιαύτην εἶχον ἢ περ εἴρηται, χωρὶς δὲ χρυσόν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον, ἄρμαμάξας τε ἅμα ἤγοντο, ἐν δὲ παλλακὰς καὶ θεραπήϊν πολλὰν τε καὶ εὖ

⁷ commander, driver, herder

ἐσκευασμένην· σῖτα δέ σφι, χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτέων, κάμηλοί τε καὶ ὑποζύγια ἦγον.

7.84

ἱππεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα· πλὴν οὐ πάντα παρείχετο ἵππον, ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μοῦνα, Πέρσαι μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτῶν· πλὴν ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον ἔνιοι αὐτῶν καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα.⁸

7.85

εἰσὶ δὲ τινὲς νομάδες ἄνθρωποι Σαγάρτιοι καλεόμενοι, ἔθνος μὲν Περσικὸν καὶ φωνῇ, σκευὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς· οἱ παρείχοντο μὲν ἵππον ὀκτακισχιλίην, ὅπλα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι ἔχειν οὔτε χάλκεα οὔτε σιδήρεα ἔξω ἐγχειριδίων, χρέωνται δὲ σειρῇσι πεπλεγμένῃσι ἐξ ἱμάντων· ταύτῃσι πίσυνοι⁹ ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦδε· ἐπεὰν συμμίσγῃσι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι, βάλλουσι τὰς σειράς¹⁰ ἐπ' ἄκρῳ βρόχους ἐχούσας· ὅτε δ' ἂν τύχῃ, ἦν τε ἵππου ἦν τε ἀνθρώπου, ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν ἔλκει· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἔρκεσι ἐμπαλασσόμενοι διαφθείρονται.

7.86

τούτων μὲν αὕτη ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας· Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευήν, καὶ Κίσσιοι ὡσαύτως. Ἴνδοι δὲ σκευὴ μὲν ἐσεσάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἦλαννον δὲ κέλγας¹¹ καὶ ἄρματα· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖσι ἄρμασι ὑπῆσαν ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι ἄγριοι. Βάκτριοι δὲ ἐσκευάδατο ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως. Λίβυες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἦλαννον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἄρματα. ὥς δ' αὕτως Κάσπιοι καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσεσάχατο ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ. Ἀράβιοι δὲ σκευὴν μὲν εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἦλαννον δὲ πάντες καμήλους ταχυτήτα¹² οὐ λειπομένας ἵππων.

⁸ work, deed ⁹ trusting in, relying on (+dat) ¹⁰ cord, rope ¹¹ fast riding horse ¹² speed, hastiness

7.87

ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα μούνα ἱππεύει. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐγένετο ὀκτὼ μυριάδες, παρέξ τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἱππῆες ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τέλεα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἐπετετάχατο· ἅτε γὰρ τῶν ἵππων οὔτι ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους, ὕστεροι ἐτετάχατο, ἵνα μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ ἱππικόν.

7.88

ππαρχοὶ δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρμαμίθρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος Δάτιος παῖδες. ὁ δὲ τρίτος σφι συνίππαρχος Φαρνούχης κατελέλειπτο ἐν Σάρδισι νοσῶν. ὥς γὰρ ὀρμώντο ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἐπὶ συμφορὴν περιέπεσε ἀνεθέλητον· ἐλαύνοντι γὰρ οἱ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἵππου ὑπέδραμε κύων, καὶ ὁ ἵππος οὐ προιδὼν ἐφοβήθη τε καὶ στὰς ὀρθὸς ἀπεσεῖσατο τὸν Φαρνούχεια, πεσὼν δὲ αἰμά τε ἤμεε¹³ καὶ ἐς φθίσιν περιῆλθε ἡ νοῦσος. τὸν δὲ ἵππον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐποίησαν ὥς ἐκέλευε· ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ οἰκέται ἐς τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ περ κατέβαλε τὸν δεσπότην, ἐν τοῖσι γούνασι ἀπέταμον τὰ σκέλεα. Φαρνούχης μὲν οὕτω παρελύθη τῆς ἡγεμονίης.

7.89

τῶν δὲ τριηρέων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκόσιαι καὶ χίλιναι, παρείχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς οἶδε, Φοίνικες μὲν σὺν Σύροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τριηκοσίας, ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας εἶχον ἀγχοτάτω πεποιημένας τρόπον τὸν Ἑλληνικόν, ἐνδεδυκότες δὲ θώρηκας λινέους, ἀσπίδας δὲ ἵτυς¹⁴ οὐκ ἐχούσας εἶχον καὶ ἀκόντια. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τὸ παλαιὸν οἶκεον, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπερβάντες τῆς Συρίας οἰκέουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν· τῆς δὲ Συρίας τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου πᾶν Παλαιστίνῃ καλέεται. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας παρείχοντο διηκοσίας. οὗτοι δὲ εἶχον περὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χηλευτά, ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας, τὰς ἵτους μεγάλας ἐχούσας, καὶ δόρατά τε ναύμαχα¹⁵ καὶ τύχους μεγάλους. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν θωρηκοφόροι

¹³ vomit ¹⁴ rim ¹⁵ sea-fighting

the helmets the ears and horns of an ox were attached, in bronze, and upon them also there were crests; and the lower part of their legs was wrapped round with red-coloured strips of cloth. Among these men there is an Oracle of Ares.

7.77

The Meonian Cabelians, who are called Lasonians, had the same equipment as the Kilikians, and what this was I shall explain when in the course of the catalogue I come to the array of the Kilikians. The Milyans had short spears, and their garments were fastened on with buckles; some of them had Lykian bows, and about their heads they had caps made of leather. Of all these Badres the son of Hystanes was in command.

7.78

The Moschoi had wooden caps upon their heads, and shields and small spears, on which long points were set. The Tibarenians and Macronians and Mossynoicoi served with equipment like that of the Moschoi, and these were arrayed together under the following commanders,—the Moschoi and Tibarenians under Ariomardos, who was the son of Dareios and of Parmys, the daughter of Smerdis son of Cyrus; the Macronians and Mossynoicoi under Artayctes the son of Cherasmis, who was governor of Sestos on the Hellespont.

7.79

The Mares wore on their heads native helmets of plaited work, and had small shields of hide and javelins; and the Colchians wore wooden helmets about their heads, and had small shields of raw ox-hide and short spears, and also knives. Of the Mares and Colchians the commander was Pharandates the son of Teaspis. The Alarodians and Saspeirians served armed like the Colchians; and of these the commander was Masistios the son of Siromitres.

7.80

The island tribes which came with the army from the Erythraian Sea, belonging to the islands in which the king settles those who are called the “Removed,” had clothing and arms very like those of the Medes. Of these islanders the commander was Mardontes the son of Bagaïos, who in the year after these events was a commander of the army at Mykale and lost his life in the battle.

7.81

These were the nations which served in the campaign by land and had been appointed to be among the foot-soldiers. Of this army those who have been

mentioned were commanders; and they were the men who sit it in order by divisions and numbered it and appointed commanders of thousands and commanders of tens of thousands, but the commanders of hundreds and of tens were appointed by the commanders of ten thousands; and there were others who were leaders of divisions and nations.

7.82

These, I say, who have been mentioned were commanders of the army; and over these and over the whole army together that went on foot there were in command Mardonios the son of Gobryas, Tritantaichmes the son of that Artabanos who gave the opinion that they should not make the march against Hellas, Smerdomenes the son of Otanes (both these being sons of brothers of Dareios and so cousins of Xerxes), Masistes the son of Dareios and Atossa, Gergis the son of Ariazos, and Megabyzos the son of Zopyros.

7.83

These were generals of the whole together that went on foot, excepting the ten thousand; and of these ten thousand chosen Persians the general was Hydarnes the son of Hydarnes; and these Persians were called "Immortals," because, if any one of them made the number incomplete, being overcome either by death or disease, another man was chosen to his place, and they were never either more or fewer than ten thousand. Now of all the nations, the Persians showed the greatest splendour of ornament and were themselves the best men. They had equipment such as has been mentioned, and besides this they were conspicuous among the rest for great quantity of gold freely used; and they took with them carriages, and in them concubines and a multitude of attendants well furnished; and provisions for them apart from the soldiers were borne by camels and beasts of burden.

7.84

The nations who serve as cavalry are these; not all however supplied cavalry, but only as many as here follow: — the Persians equipped in the same manner as their foot-soldiers, except that upon their heads some of them had beaten-work of metal, either bronze or iron.

7.85

There are also certain nomads called Sagartians, Persian in race and in language and having a dress which is midway between that of the Persians and that of the Pactyans. These furnished eight thousand horse, and they are not accustomed to have any arms either of bronze or of iron excepting daggers, but they use ropes twisted of thongs, and trust to these when they go into war: and the manner of fighting of these men is as follows: — when

they come to conflict with the enemy, they throw the ropes with nooses at the end of them, and whatsoever the man catches by the throw, whether horse or man, he draws to himself, and they being entangled in toils are thus destroyed.

7.86

This is the manner of fighting of these men, and they were arrayed next to the Persians. The Medes had the same equipment as their men on foot, and the Kissians likewise. The Indians were armed in the same manner as those of them who served on foot, and they both rode horses and drove chariots, in which were harnessed horses or wild asses. The Bactrians were equipped in the same way as those who served on foot, and the Caspians likewise. The Libyans too were equipped like those who served on foot, and these also all drove chariots. So too the Caspians and Paricanians were equipped like those who served on foot, and they all rode on camels, which in swiftness were not inferior to horses.

7.87

These nations alone served as cavalry, and the number of the cavalry proved to be eight myriads, apart from the camels and the chariots. Now the rest of the cavalry was arrayed in squadrons, but the Arabians were placed after them and last of all, for the horses could not endure the camels, and therefore they were placed last, in order that the horses might not be frightened.

7.88

The commanders of the cavalry were Harmamithras and Tithaios sons of Datis, but the third, Pharnuches, who was in command of the horse with them, had been left behind at Sardis sick: for as they were setting forth from Sardis, an accident befell him of an unwished-for kind,—as he was riding, a dog ran up under his horse's feet, and the horse not having seen it beforehand was frightened, and rearing up he threw Pharnuches off his back, who falling vomited blood, and his sickness turned to a consumption. To the horse however they forthwith at the first did as he commanded, that is to say, the servants led him away to the place where he had thrown his master and cut off his legs at the knees. Thus was Pharnuches removed from his command.

7.89

Of the triremes the number proved to be one thousand two hundred and seven, and these were they who furnished them:—the Phenicians, together with the Syrians who dwell in Palestine furnished three hundred; and they were equipped thus, that is to say, they had about their heads leathern caps

made very nearly in the Hellenic fashion, and they wore corslets of linen, and had shields without rims and javelins. These Phenicians dwelt in ancient time, as they themselves report, upon the Erythraian Sea, and thence they passed over and dwell in the country along the sea coast of Syria; and this part of Syria and all as far as Egypt is called Palestine. The Egyptians furnished two hundred ships: these men had about their heads helmets of plaited work, and they had hollow shields with the rims large, and spears for sea-fighting, and large axes: the greater number of them wore

vocabulary

ἀγχοτάτω nearest
 αἰγιαλός beach, shore
 αἶξ αἰγός (m) goat
 αἰωρέω lift; (mp) hang
 ἀκόντιον diminutive of javelin
 ἀναγκαίη of necessity, by force
 ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery
 ἀνακωχεύω hold back, still
 ἀνδρηΐη courage
 ἀνδρήιος of a man, manly
 ἀνταείρω raise against
 ἀνταίρω raise against
 ἀξιόμαχος well matched for war
 ἀπογράφω copy, register
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ῶ) show, point out;
 appoint; (mid) declare
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine
 ἄποικος abroad, colonizing
 ἀποσκεδάννυμι (ῶ) dismiss; scatter
 ἀποφαίνω display, declare
 ἄπτερος wingless; winged
 ~archeopteryx
 ἀριθμέω to count ~arithmetic
 ἀριθμός number
 ἄρμα -τος (n, 3) chariot
 ἀσθενής weak
 γέφυρα (ῶ) dam, dike; bridge
 γεφυρώω (ῶ) dam, move earth
 γραμματιστής -οῦ (m, 1) clerk,
 schoolmaster
 δέρμα -τος (n, 3) skin, hide
 ~dermatology
 διατάσσω arrange, array
 διεξελαύνω drive through
 δρέπανον sickle ~dermatology
 ἐβδομήκοντα 70
 ἐγχειρίδιος handle, hand tool,
 dagger
 ἐκβαίνω come forth, disembark
 ~basis
 ἐλάχιστος smallest, shortest, fewest

Ἑλλην Greek

ἐνδύω go into, put on
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here
 ἐντός within
 ἐξέργω shut out; prevent; force to
 ἐξήκοντα sixty
 ἐξοπλίζω prepare, arm ~hoplite
 ἐπᾶξις worthy of
 ἐπειρωτέω consult, ask
 ἐπιβατεύω move into, go aboard
 ἐπιβάτης -ου (m, 1) marine,
 passenger
 ἐπιπλέω sail on, over ~float
 ἐπιχώριος native
 ἐπτακαίδεκα 17
 ἐπωνύμιος called, named
 ἐσπέρα evening, west
 ἐσχατάω be at the edge
 ἔσχατος farthest, last
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 ἡγεμονεύω lead ~hegemony
 ἡδύς sweet, pleasant ~hedonism
 θεάομαι look at, behold, consider
 ~theater
 θηέομαι look at, behold, consider
 ~theater
 θῶμα a wonder, feeling of surprise
 ~theater
 θωρηκοφόρος wearing a breastplate
 ἵζω to seat ~sit
 ἵππαγωγός carrying horses
 ἱστορία science, history
 καθέλκω launch; carry down
 καλάμιος of reed
 καταλέγω relate in detail, choose;
 enroll ~legion
 κράνος -εος (n, 3) helmet; ship's
 ram
 λαισήιον hide shield
 λῆμα will, desire, purpose; courage,
 insolence
 μάχαιρα knife, dagger

μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon

~pomp

μητρόθεν from the mother

μίτρα metal waist guard

ναύαρχος admiral

νεηνίης young person

νησιώτης -ου (m, 1) insular

ξίφος -εος (n, 3) sword

οϊστός arrow

ὀνομαστός named ~name

ὄον οὔ type of fruit

ὀπλίζω prepare, arm ~hoplite

πάλαι long ago ~paleo

παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas

πάλη wrestling ~Pallas

πάλλω shake, brandish ~Pallas

παραπλέω sail past ~float

πεντηκόντερος (f) ship with 50 oars

περιστεφανώ enwreath

Πέρσης Persian

πίλος felt

πλέθρον 30 meters or its square

~plethora

προστάσσω post at, attach to,

command

πρῶρα bow, prow ~prolog

πτερόν feather, wing ~pterodactyl

σκευάζω prepare, collect

σκηνέω camp

σκηνή tent; stage

στέλλω prepare, send, furl ~apostle

στρατηγέω be a general

στρατιά army ~strategy

στρατός common people/soldiers

~strategy

συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion

συνάπας (αἶ) all together

συνέρχομαι come together

συστρατεύω join in an expedition

ταξίαρχος military rank

τοσόσδε this much

τρισχίλιοι 3000 ~kilo-

τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny

ὑπομένω stay behind, await

~remain

φύλαξ -κος (m) guard; sentry

~phylactery

ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας εἶχον.

7.90

οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐστάλατο, Κύπριοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ἐσκευασμένοι ὧδε· τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς εἰλίχατο μίτρησι¹ οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἶχον κιθῶνας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περ Ἑλληνες. τούτων δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεα εἰσί, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων, οἱ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθνου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι.

7.91

Κίλικες δὲ ἑκατόν παρείχοντο νέας. οὗτοι δ' αὖ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, λαισήια² δὲ εἶχον ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ὠμοβοέης πεποιημένα, καὶ κιθῶνας εἰρυνέους ἐνδεδυκότες· δύο δὲ ἀκόντια ἕκαστος καὶ ξίφος εἶχον, ἀγχοτάτω τῇσι Αἰγυπτίησι μαχαίρησι πεποιημένα. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν Ὑπαχαιοὶ ἐκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Κίλικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Πάμφυλοι δὲ τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας Ἑλληνικοῖσι ὅπλοισι ἐσκευασμένοι. οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὗτοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀποσκεδασθέντων ἅμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ Κάλχαντι.

7.92

λύκιοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα θωρηκοφόροι τε εἶντες καὶ κνημιδοφόροι, εἶχον δὲ τόξα κρανείνα καὶ ὀιστοὺς καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια, ἐπὶ δὲ αἰγὸς δέρμα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους αἰωρεύμενον,³ περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι πῖλους πετροῖσι περιεστεφανωμένους· ἐγχειρίδια δὲ καὶ δρέπανα εἶχον. Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες, ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίδιονος ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.

7.93

Δωριέες δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, ἔχοντές

¹ metal waist guard ² hide shield ³ lift; (mp) hang

τε Ἑλληνικὰ ὄπλα καὶ γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. Κᾶρες δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνες ἐσταλμένοι, εἶχον δὲ καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. οὗτοι δὲ οἵτινες πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι τῶν λόγων εἴρηται.

7.94

Ἴωνες δὲ ἑκατὸν νέας παρείχοντο ἐσκευασμένοι ὡς Ἑλλήνες. Ἴωνες δὲ ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἶκεον τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαΐην, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δαναόν τε καὶ Ἰοῦθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς Ἑλλήνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνος τοῦ Ἰούθου Ἴωνες.

7.95

νησιῶται δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα⁴ παρείχοντο νέας, ὠπλισμένοι ὡς Ἑλλήνες, καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος; ὕστερον δὲ Ἴωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ οἱ δυωδεκαπόλιες Ἴωνες οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων. Αἰολέες δὲ ἐξήκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὡς Ἑλλήνες καὶ τὸ πάλαι καλεόμενοι Πελασγοί, ὡς Ἑλλήνων λόγος. Ἑλλησπόντιοι δὲ πλὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν Ἀβυδηνοῖσι γὰρ προσετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέος κατὰ χώραν μένουσι φύλακας εἶναι τῶν γεφυρέων οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου στρατευόμενοι παρείχοντο μὲν ἑκατὸν νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦσαν ὡς Ἑλλήνες. οὗτοι δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ Δωριέων ἄποικοι.

7.96

ἐπεβάτευον δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σαάκαι. τούτων δὲ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο νέας Φοίνικες καὶ Φοινίκων Σιδωνῖοι. τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ τοῖσι ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοις αὐτῶν ἐπῆσαν ἐκάστοις ἐπιχώριοι ἡγεμόνες, τῶν ἐγώ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίη ἐξέργομαι ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον, οὐ παραμένειν. οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἐκάστου ἐπάξιον ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἐν τε ἔθνει ἐκάστῳ ὅσαι περ πόλιες τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, εἵποντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοὶ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι· ἐπεὶ στρατηγοὶ γε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες

⁴ 17

κράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνέων ἐκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι, εἰρέαται μοι.

7.97

τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατήγεον Ἀριαβίγνης τε ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Πρηξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω καὶ Μεγάβαζος ὁ Μεγαβάτεω καὶ Ἀχαιμένης ὁ Δαρείου, τῆς μὲν Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρατιῆς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γοβρύεω θυγατρός· Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ἀχαιμένης Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεός, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιῆς ἐστρατήγεον οἱ δύο. τριηκόντεροι δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντεροι⁵ καὶ κέρκουροι καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ⁶ πλοῖα μακρὰ συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐφάνη τρισχίλια.

7.98

τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλεόντων μετὰ γε τοὺς στρατηγούς οἶδε ἦσαν ὀνομαστότατοι,⁷ Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου, καὶ Τύριος Ματτὴν Σιρώμου, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος Ἀγβάλου, καὶ Κίλιξ Συνένεσις Ὀρομέδοντος, καὶ Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα, καὶ Κύπριοι Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσιος καὶ Τιμώναξ ὁ Τιμαγόρεω, καὶ Καρῶν Ἰστιαῖός τε ὁ Τύμνεω καὶ Πίγρης ὁ Ὑσσελδώμου, καὶ Δαμασίθυμος ὁ Κανδαύλεω.

7.99

τῶν μὲν νυν ἄλλων οὐ παραμένειν ταξιάρχων⁸ ὥς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενοι, Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ τῆς μάλιστα θῶμα ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης γυναικός· ἥτις ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῇ τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίεω⁹ ὑπὸ λήματός¹⁰ τε καὶ ἀνδρηίης ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμῆς οἱ εἰσῆς ἀναγκαίης. οὐνομα μὲν δὴ ἦν αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Λυγδάμιος, γένος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ τὰ πρὸς πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν¹¹ δὲ Κρήσσα. ἡγεμόνευε δὲ Ἀλικαρνησέων τε καὶ Κῶων καὶ Νισυρίων

⁵ ship with 50 oars ⁶ carrying horses ⁷ named ⁸ military rank

⁹ young person ¹⁰ will, desire, purpose; courage, insolence ¹¹ from the mother

τε καὶ Καλυδνίων, πέντε νέας παρεχομένη. καὶ συναπάσης τῆς στρατιῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδωνίων, νέας εὐδοξοτάτας παρείχετο, πάντων τε τῶν συμμάχων γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλεί ἀπεδέξατο. τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πολλίων ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτήν, τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφαίνω πᾶν ἐὼν Δωρικόν, Ἀλικαρνησσίας μὲν Τροιζηνίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίους. ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς εἴρηται.

7.100

Ξέρξης δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατός, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτός σφεας διεξέλασας θεήσασθαι· μετὰ δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἑκάστον ἐπυνθάνετο. καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί, ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπίκετο καὶ τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποίητο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεισέων ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης μετεκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην ἕζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῇ χρυσῇ καὶ παρέπλεε παρὰ τὰς πύρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα¹² ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχουν, τὰς πύρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδόν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὥς ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δ' ἐντὸς τῶν πρῶτων πλέων ἐθελίτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

7.101

ὥς δὲ καὶ ταύτας διεξέπλωσε καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ τῆς νεός, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος συστρατευόμενον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καλέσας δ' αὐτὸν εἶρετο τάδε. «Δημάρητε, νῦν μοι σὲ ἡδύ τι ἐστὶ εἰρέσθαι τὰ θέλω. σὺ εἰς Ἑλλήν τε, καὶ ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι σεῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικνεομένων, πόλιος οὐτ' ἐλαχίστης οὐτ' ἀσθενεστάτης. νῦν ὦν μοι τόδε φράσον, εἰ Ἑλληνες ὑπομενέουσι χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταειρόμενοι. οὐ γάρ, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέρης οἰκέοντες ἄνθρωποι συλληχθεῖσαν, οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι εἰσὶ ἐμὲ ἐπιόντα ὑπομεῖναι,

¹² 30 meters or its square

corslets, and they had large knives.

7.90

These men were thus equipped; and the Cyprians furnished a hundred and fifty ships, being themselves equipped as follows,— their kings had their heads wound round with fillets, and the rest had tunics, but in other respects they were like the Hellenes. Among these there are various races as follows,— some of them are from Salamis and Athens, others from Arcadia, others from Kythnos, others again from Phenicia and others from Ethiopia, as the Cyprians themselves report.

7.91

The Kilikians furnished a hundred ships; and these again had about their heads native helmets, and for shields they carried targets made of raw ox-hide: they wore tunics of wool and each man had two javelins and a sword, this last being made very like the Egyptian knives. These in old time were called Hypachaians, and they got their later name from Kilix the son of Agenor, a Phenician. The Pamphylians furnished thirty ships and were equipped in Hellenic arms. These Pamphylians are of those who were dispersed from Troy together with Amphilochos and Calchas.

7.92

The Lykians furnished fifty ships; and they were wearers of corslets and greaves, and had bows of cornel-wood and arrows of reeds without feathers and javelins and a goat-skin hanging over their shoulders, and about their heads felt caps wreathed round with feathers; also they had daggers and falchions. The Lykians were formerly called Termilai, being originally of Crete, and they got their later name from Lycos the son of Pandion, an Athenian.

7.93

The Dorians of Asia furnished thirty ships; and these had Hellenic arms and were originally from the Peloponnese. The Carians supplied seventy ships; and they were equipped in other respects like Hellenes but they had also falchions and daggers. What was the former name of these has been told in the first part of the history.

7.94

The Ionians furnished a hundred ships, and were equipped like Hellenes. Now the Ionians, so long time as they dwelt in the Peloponnese, in the land which is now called Achaia, and before the time when Danaos and Xuthos

came to the Peloponnese, were called, as the Hellenes report, Pelasgians of the Coast-land, and then Ionians after Ion the son of Xuthos.

7.95

The islanders furnished seventeen ships, and were armed like Hellenes, this also being a Pelasgian race, though afterwards it came to be called Ionian by the same rule as the Ionians of the twelve cities, who came from Athens. The Aiolians supplied sixty ships; and these were equipped like Hellenes and used to be called Pelasgians in the old time, as the Hellenes report. The Hellespontians, excepting those of Abydos (for the men of Abydos had been appointed by the king to stay in their place and be guards of the bridges), the rest, I say, of those who served in the expedition from the Pontus furnished a hundred ships, and were equipped like Hellenes: these are colonists of the Ionians and Dorians.

7.96

In all the ships there served as fighting-men Persians, Medes, or Sacans; and of the ships, those which sailed best were furnished by the Phenicians, and of the Phenicians the best by the men of Sidon. Over all these men and also over those of them who were appointed to serve in the land-army, there were for each tribe native chieftains, of whom, since I am not compelled by the course of the inquiry, I make no mention by the way; for in the first place the chieftains of each separate nation were not persons worthy of mention, and then moreover within each nation there were as many chieftains as there were cities. These went with the expedition too not as commanders, but like the others serving as slaves; for the generals who had the absolute power and commanded the various nations, that is to say those who were Persians, having already been mentioned by me.

7.97

Of the naval force the following were commanders,—Ariabignes the son of Dareios, Prexaspes the son of Aspathines, Megabazos the son of Megabates, and Achaimenes the son of Dareios; that is to say, of the Ionian and Carian force Ariabignes, who was the son of Dareios and of the daughter of Gobryas; of the Egyptians Achaimenes was commander, being brother of Xerxes by both parents; and of the rest of the armament the other two were in command: and galleys of thirty oars and of fifty oars, and light vessels, and long ships to carry horses had been assembled together, as it proved, to the number of three thousand.

7.98

Of those who sailed in the ships the men of most note after the commanders

were these,—of Sidon, Tetramnestos son of Anysos; of Tyre, Matten son of Siromos; or Arados, Merbalos son of Agbalos; of Kilikia, Syennesis son of Oromedon; of Lykia, Kyberniscos son of Sicas; of Cyprus, Gorgos son of Chersis and Timonax son of Timagoras; of Caria, Histiaios son of Tymnes, Pigres son of Hysseldomos, and Damasithymos son of Candaules.

7.99

Of the rest of the officers I make no mention by the way (since I am not bound to do so), but only of Artemisia, at whom I marvel most that she joined the expedition against Hellas, being a woman; for after her husband died, she holding the power herself, although she had a son who was a young man, went on the expedition impelled by high spirit and manly courage, no necessity being laid upon her. Now her name, as I said, was Artemisia and she was the daughter of Lygdamis, and by descent she was of Halicarnassos on the side of her father, but of Crete by her mother. She was ruler of the men of Halicarnassos and Cos and Nisyros and Calydna, furnishing five ships; and she furnished ships which were of all the fleet reputed the best after those of the Sidonians, and of all his allies she set forth the best counsels to the king. Of the States of which I said that she was leader I declare the people to be all of Dorian race, those of Halicarnassos being Troizenians, and the rest Epidaurians. So far then I have spoken of the naval force.

7.100

Then when Xerxes had numbered the army, and it had been arranged in divisions, he had a mind to drive through it himself and inspect it: and afterwards he proceeded so to do; and driving through in a chariot by each nation, he inquired about them and his scribes wrote down the names, until he had gone from end to end both of the horse and of the foot. When he had done this, the ships were drawn down into the sea, and Xerxes changing from his chariot to a ship of Sidon sat down under a golden canopy and sailed along by the prows of the ships, asking of all just as he had done with the land-army, and having the answers written down. And the captains had taken their ships out to a distance of about four hundred feet from the beach and were staying them there, all having turned the prows of the ships towards the shore in an even line and having armed all the fighting-men as for war; and he inspected them sailing within, between the prows of the ships and the beach.

7.101

Now when he had sailed through these and had disembarked from his ship, he sent for Demaratos the son of Ariston, who was marching with him against Hellas; and having called him he asked as follows: “Demaratos, now it is my

pleasure to ask thee somewhat which I desire to know. Thou art not only a Hellene, but also, as I am informed both by thee and by the other Hellenes who come to speech with me, of a city which is neither the least nor the feeblest of Hellas. Now therefore declare to me this, namely whether the Hellenes will endure to raise hands against me: for, as I suppose, even if all the Hellenes and the remaining nations who dwell towards the West should be gathered together, they are not strong enough in fight to endure

vocabulary

ἀηδής unpleasant
 αἰνέω praise, assent, acquiesce in
 αἶνος story, praise
 αἰχμοφόρος spearman
 ἄλης crowded; all together
 ἀναγκαίη of necessity, by force
 ἀνθίστημι face, make a stand
 ~station
 ἀντάξιος worth just as much as
 ~axiom
 ἀντέχω hold up as protection
 against ~ischemia
 ἀντιόω meet, fight, join
 ἀντιτάσσω set against
 ἄπειρος untested; infinite
 ἀποξηραίνω dry up
 ἄργυρος silver, money ~Argentina
 ἄρθμιος allied, friendly ~harmony
 ἀριθμέω to count ~arithmetic
 ἀριθμός number
 ἀριστεύω be the best ~aristocrat
 ἀρχῆθεν since forever
 αὐχέω boast
 γελάω laugh, smile, laugh at
 γέλως laughter
 δασυμόρφος tributary
 δειλία cowardice
 δειμαίνω be afraid
 δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis
 διαιρέω divide, distinguish,
 distribute
 διακαρτερέω endure, stand by
 διαρρέω flow through
 διαχρέομαι use habitually; lend out;
 reveal
 δίζημαι seek ~zeal
 διπλήσιος twofold, double
 διωθέω tear, rend
 δουλοσύνη slavery
 δουλόω enslave

εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic
 εἰσίστημι (mid) speed to ~jet
 ἔκγονος offspring, descendant
 ~genus
 ἐκστρατεύω march out; (mp) take
 the field
 ἐκὼν willingly, on purpose; giving
 in too easily
 ἔλασις -εως (f) driving out
 ἐλεύθερος not enslaved
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἐμποδών getting in the way
 ἔνειμι be in ~ion
 ἐξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate;
 destroy ~heresy
 ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic
 ἐξεπίσταμαι know well
 ἐπικρατέω rule over
 ἐπιλείπω fail, not work ~eclipse
 ἐποτρύνω (ῥ) urge, stir, dispatch
 ἑσπέρα evening, west
 εὖνοια good will, gift
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 ἡδέως pleasantly ~hedonism
 ἡδονή pleasure
 ἥπιος kind (adj)
 καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall,
 arrive; be proper
 καίτοι and yet; and in fact; although
 καταπαύω stop, restrain ~pause
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue
 ~catastrophe
 κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate;
 get; kill
 κόμπος noise, racket
 κότερος which, whichever of two
 κῶας κῶως (n, 3) fleece
 λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea
 ~limnic
 μάστιξ -γος (f) whip
 μάτην in vain, randomly
 μεσαμβρίη midday; the south

μίν him, her, it
 μυρίος (ῥ) 10,000 ~myriad
 νοστέω go home
 οἰκέτης -ου (m, 1) household; house
 slave
 ὁμός same ~homoerotic
 ὁμοῦ together
 ὁμόω unite ~homoerotic
 ὀνομαστός named ~name
 ὄον οὔ type of fruit
 ὅποῖος whatever kind
 ὀρθόω stand up
 οὐδαμὸς not anyone
 οὐδέτερος neither
 παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas
 πάλη wrestling ~Pallas
 παλλακή sex slave
 πάλλω shake, brandish ~Pallas
 πανταχῇ everywhere
 πάντως by all means
 παραμείβω pass by ~amoeba
 παρέξιμι pass by; transgress
 πατρώιος of the father(s), ancestral
 ~paternal
 πατρῷος of the father(s), ancestral
 πενία poverty ~osteopenia
 πεντακισμύριοι (ῥ) 50,000
 περίεμι be superior to; be left over;
 still exist
 Πέρσης Persian
 πολίζω build a wall, city
 ~Minneapolis
 πρέπω be conspicuous, preeminent
 ~refurbish
 πυρά pyre ~pyre
 ῥεῖθρον stream ~rheostat
 σιγάω (ι) be silent

σοφία skill; wisdom ~sophistry
 σπάνιος rare, scanty
 στέργω love; be content
 στρατηλασίη expedition, campaign
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 συννέω swim together; pile together
 σύντροφος fellow; habitual
 συστρατεύω join in an expedition
 σφάζω cut the throat
 σώφρων sensible, prudent ~frenzy
 τοσόσδε this much
 ὑπαρχος subordinate
 ὑποδείκνυμι (υῶ) show, trace out
 ὑποδειμαίνω cower before
 ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer
 ~doctrine
 ὑπολαμβάνω take under one's
 support, seize; speak up; imagine
 ~epilepsy
 ὑπόσπονδος under truce
 φθέγγομαι make a sound, utter
 ~diphthong
 φλυηρέω talk foolishly
 φοιτάω go back and forth
 φορβή food, pasture ~euphorbia
 φυγάς -δος (m, 3) exile, refugee
 ~fugitive
 φύσις -εως (f) nature (of a thing)
 ~physics
 χιλιάς -δος (ι, f, 3) 1000
 χίλιοι (ι) thousand ~kilo-
 χώρος place ~heir

μὴ ἐόντες ἄρθμοι.¹ θέλω μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὁκοῖόν τι λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν, πυθέσθαι.» ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰρώτα, ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη «βασιλεῦ, κότερα ἀληθείη χρήσωμαι πρὸς σέ ἢ ἡδονῇ;» ὁ δέ μιν ἀληθείη χρήσασθαι ἐκέλευε, φὰς οὐδέν οἱ ἀηδέστερον² ἔσεσθαι ἢ πρότερον ἦν.

7.102

ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε Δημάρητος, ἔλεγε τάδε. «βασιλεῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἀληθείη διαχρήσασθαι πάντως κελεύεις ταῦτα λέγοντα τὰ μὴ ψευδόμενός τις ὕστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ ἀλώσεται, τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενίη μὲν αἰεὶ κοτε σύντροφος ἐστί, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἔπακτος ἐστί, ἀπὸ τε σοφίης κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμου ἰσχυροῦ· τῇ διαχρεωμένη ἢ Ἑλλὰς τήν τε πενίην ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην. αἰνέω μὲν νυν πάντας Ἑλληνας τοὺς περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς Δωρικοὺς χώρους οἰκημένους, ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων οὐ περὶ πάντων τούσδε τοὺς λόγους ἀλλὰ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μούνων, πρῶτα μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως κοτὲ σοὺς δέξονται λόγους δουλοσύνην φέροντας τῇ Ἑλλάδι, αὗτις δὲ ὡς ἀντιώσσονται τοι ἐς μάχην καὶ ἦν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι. ἀριθμοῦ δὲ πέρι, μὴ πύθη ὅσοι τινὲς ἐόντες ταῦτα ποιέειν οἶοί τε εἰσί· ἦν τε γὰρ τύχῳσι ἐξεστρατευμένοι χίλιοι, οὗτοι μαχήσονται τοι, ἦν τε ἐλάσσονες τούτων ἦν τε καὶ πλευνες.»

7.103

ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης γελάσας ἔφη «Δημάρητε, οἷον ἐφθέγξαιο ἔπος, ἄνδρας χιλίους στρατιῇ τοσῇδε μαχήσεσθαι. ἄγε εἰπέ μοι· σὺ φῆς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς γενέσθαι· σὺ ὦν ἐθελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι; καίτοι εἰ τὸ πολιτικὸν ὑμῶν πᾶν ἐστί τοιοῦτον οἷον σὺ διαιρέεις, σέ γε τὸν κείνων βασιλέα πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον³ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους. εἰ γὰρ κείνων ἕκαστος δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀντάξιος ἐστί, σὲ δέ γε δίζημαι εἴκοσι εἶναι ἀντάξιον, καὶ οὕτω μὲν ὀρθοῖτ'⁴ ἂν ὁ λόγος ὁ παρὰ σέο λεγόμενος· εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτοί τε ἐόντες καὶ μεγάθεια

¹ allied, friendly ² unpleasant ³ twofold, double ⁴ stand up

τοσοῦτοι, ὅσοι σύ τε καὶ οἱ παρ' ἐμὲ φοιτῶσι Ἑλλήνων ἐς λόγους αὐχέετε⁵ τοσοῦτον, ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος⁶ ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος ᾗ. ἐπεὶ φέρε ἴδω παντὶ τῷ οἰκότη· κῶς ἂν δυναίαιο χίλιοι ἢ καὶ μύριοι ἢ καὶ πεντακισμύριοι,⁷ ἐόντες γε ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι, στρατῷ τοσῶδε ἀντιστῆναι; ἐπεὶ τοι πλεῦνες περὶ ἓνα ἕκαστον γινόμεθα ἢ χίλιοι, ἐόντων ἐκείνων πέντε χιλιάδων. ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἡμέτερον γενοίατ' ἂν, δειμαίνοντες⁸ τοῦτον, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐωυτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες, καὶ ἴοιεν ἀναγκαζόμενοι μάστιγι ἐς πλεῦνας ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες· ἀνειμένοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐλεύθερον οὐκ ἂν ποίειεν τούτων οὐδέτερα.⁹ δοκέω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἀνισωθέντας πληθεῖ χαλεπῶς ἂν Ἑλλήνας Πέρσῃσι μύνουσι μάχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν μύνουσι τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σὺ λέγεις, ἔστι γε μὲν οὐ πολλὸν ἀλλὰ σπάνιον.¹⁰ εἰσὶ γὰρ Περσέων τῶν ἐμῶν αἰχμοφόρων οἱ ἐθελήσουσι Ἑλλήνων ἀνδράσι τρισὶ ὁμοῦ μάχεσθαι· τῶν σὺ ἐὼν ἅπειρος πολλὰ φλυηρέεις.»

7.104

πρὸς ταῦτα Δημάρητος λέγει «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀρχῆθεν¹¹ ἠπιστάμην ὅτι ἀληθείῃ χρεώμενος σὺ φίλα τοι ἐρέω· σὺ δ' ἐπεὶ ἠνάγκασας λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιύτῃσι. καίτοι ὡς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε ἐστοργῶς ἐκείνους, αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐξεπίστεαι, οἳ με τιμὴν τε καὶ γέρεα ἀπελόμενοι πατρώια ἄπολιν τε καὶ φυγάδα¹² πεποιήκασιν, πατὴρ δὲ σὸς ὑποδεξάμενος βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἶκον ἔδωκε. οὐκὼν οἶκός ἐστι ἄνδρα τὸν σῶφρονα εὐνοίην φαινομένην διωθέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν μάλιστα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε δέκα ἀνδράσι ὑπίσχομαι οἷός τε εἶναι μάχεσθαι οὔτε δυοῖσι, ἐκῶν τε εἶναι οὐδ' ἂν μονομαχείοιμι. εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαίῃ εἴῃ ἢ μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἀγών, μαχοίμην ἂν πάντων ἥδιστα ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἕκαστος φησὶ τριῶν ἄξιός εἶναι. ὡς δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ μὲν ἓνα μαχόμενοι οὐδαμῶν εἰσι κακίονες ἀνδρῶν, ἀλέες¹³ δὲ ἄριστοι ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων. ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἐόντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροι

⁵ boast ⁶ noise, racket ⁷ 50,000 ⁸ be afraid ⁹ neither ¹⁰ rare, scanty ¹¹ since forever ¹² exile, refugee ¹³ crowded; all together

εἰσί· ἔπεστι γάρ σφι δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑποδευμαίνουσι πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ σοὶ σέ. ποιεύσι γῶν τὰ ἄν ἐκείνος ἀνώγη· ἀνώγει δὲ τὰντὸ αἰεί, οὐκ ἑῶν φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξιν ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι. σοὶ δὲ εἰ φαίνομαι ταῦτα λέγων φλυηρέειν, τᾶλλα σιγᾶν θέλω τὸ λοιπόν· νῦν τε ἀναγκασθεὶς ἔλεξα. γένοιτο μέντοι κατὰ νόον τοι, βασιλεῦ.»

7.105

ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀμείψατο, Ξέρξης δὲ ἐς γέλωτά τε ἔτρεψε καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησατο ὀργὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ἡπίως αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. τοῦτῃ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν Ξέρξης, καὶ ὑπαρχον ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτῃ καταστήσας Μασκάμην τὸν Μεγαδόστω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου σταθέντα καταπαύσας, ἐξήλανε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

7.106

κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τοιόνδε Μασκάμην γενόμενον, τῷ μούνῳ Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε ὡς ἀριστεύοντι πάντων ὅσους αὐτὸς κατέστησε ἢ Δαρείῳ ὑπάρχουσιν, πέμπεσκε δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἄρτοξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξεω τοῖσι Μασκαμείοισι ἐκγόνοισι. κατέστασαν γὰρ ἔτι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς ἐλάσιος ὑπαρχοὶ ἐν τῇ Θρηίκῃ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πανταχῇ.¹⁴ οὗτοι ὦν πάντες οἳ τε ἐκ Θρηίκης καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, πλὴν τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον ταύτης τῆς στρατηλασίης ἐξαιρέθησαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ Μασκάμην οὐδαμοὶ κω ἐδυνάστησαν ἐξελεῖν πολλῶν πειρησαμένων. διὰ τοῦτο δὴ οἱ τὰ δῶρα πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρσῃσι.

7.107

τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης ἐνόμισε εἶναι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἰ μὴ Βόγην μουνον τὸν ἐξ Ἱόνος, τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ τοὺς περιέοντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι παῖδας ἐτίμα μάλιστα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιος αἴνου¹⁵ μεγάλου ἐγένετο Βόγης· ὃς

¹⁴ everywhere ¹⁵ story, praise

ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδεω, παρεὼν αὐτῷ ὑπόσπονδον ἐξελθεῖν καὶ νοστήσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ ἠθέλησε, μὴ δειλίῃ δόξειε περιεῖναι βασιλεί, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρεε ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον. ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνῆν ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἔσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν χρυσοὺν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἔσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐωυτὸν ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὗτος δικαίως αἰνέεται ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε ὑπὸ Περσέων.

7.108

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδὼν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε· ἐδεδούλωτο γάρ, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, ἢ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας πᾶσα καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος,¹⁶ Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεφάμενου καὶ ὕστερον Μαρδονίου. παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενος ἐκ Δορίσκου πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρηκία τείχεα, τῶν ἐσχάτη πεπόλισται πρὸς ἐσπέρης πόλις τῇ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Μεσαμβρίη. ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Θασίων πόλις Στρῦμη, διὰ δὲ σφέων τοῦ μέσου Λίσος ποταμὸς διαρρέει, ὃς τότε οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ ὕδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ξέρξει στρατῷ ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε. ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέετο Γαλλαϊκή, νῦν δὲ Βριαντική· ἐστὶ μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ αὕτη Κικόνων.

7.109

διαβὰς δὲ τοῦ Λίσου ποταμοῦ τὸ ρέεθρον ἀπεξηρασμένον πόλιας Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε παραμείβετο, Μαρώνειαν Δίκαιαν Ἀβδηρα. ταύτας τε δὴ παρεξήμει καὶ κατὰ ταύτας λίμνας ὀνομαστὰς τάσδε, Μαρωνείης μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρῦμης κειμένην Ἰσμαρίδα, κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν Βιστονίδα, ἐς τὴν ποταμοὶ δύο ἐσιεῖσι τὸ ὕδωρ, Τραῦός τε καὶ Κόμφαντος. κατὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα λίμνην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐοῦσαν ὀνομαστήν παραμείψατο Ξέρξης, ποταμὸν δὲ Νέστον ρέοντα ἐς θάλασσαν. μετὰ

¹⁶ tributary

my attack, supposing them to be my enemies. I desire however to be informed also of thy opinion, what thou sayest about these matters.” He inquired thus, and the other made answer and said: “O king, shall I utter the truth in speaking to thee, or that which will give pleasure?” and he bade him utter the truth, saying that he should suffer nothing unpleasant in consequence of this, any more than he suffered before.

7.102

When Demaratos heard this, he spoke as follows: “O king, since thou biddest me by all means utter the truth, and so speak as one who shall not be afterwards convicted by thee of having spoken falsely, I say this: — with Hellas poverty is ever an inbred growth, while valour is one that has been brought in, being acquired by intelligence and the force of law; and of it Hellas makes use ever to avert from herself not only poverty but also servitude to a master. Now I commend all the Hellenes who are settled in those Dorian lands, but this which I am about to say has regard not to all, but to the Lacedemonians alone: of these I say, first that it is not possible that they will ever accept thy terms, which carry with them servitude for Hellas; and next I say that they will stand against thee in fight, even if all the other Hellenes shall be of thy party: and as for numbers, ask now how many they are, that they are able to do this; for whether it chances that a thousand of them have come out into the field, these will fight with thee, or if there be less than this, or again if there be more.”

7.103

Xerxes hearing this laughed, and said: “Demaratos, what a speech is this which thou hast uttered, saying that a thousand men will fight with this vast army! Come tell me this: — thou sayest that thou wert thyself king of these men; wilt thou therefore consent forthwith to fight with ten men? and yet if your State is such throughout as thou dost describe it, thou their king ought by your laws to stand in array against double as many as another man; that is to say, if each of them is a match for ten men of my army, I expect of thee that thou shouldest be a match for twenty. Thus would be confirmed the report which is made by thee: but if ye, who boast thus greatly are such men and in size so great only as the Hellenes who come commonly to speech with me, thyself included, then beware lest this which has been spoken prove but an empty vaunt. For come, let me examine it by all that is probable: how could a thousand or ten thousand or even fifty thousand, at least if they were all equally free and were not ruled by one man, stand against so great an army? since, as thou knowest, we shall be more than a thousand coming about each one of them, supposing them to be in number five thousand. If indeed they were ruled by one man after our fashion, they might perhaps from fear of

him become braver than it was their nature to be, or they might go compelled by the lash to fight with greater numbers, being themselves fewer in number; but if left at liberty, they would do neither of these things: and I for my part suppose that, even if equally matched in numbers, the Hellenes would hardly dare to fight with the Persians taken alone. With us however this of which thou speakest is found in single men, not indeed often, but rarely; for there are Persians of my spearmen who will consent to fight with three men of the Hellenes at once: but thou hast had no experience of these things and therefore thou speakest very much at random."

7.104

To this Demaratos replied: "O king, from the first I was sure that if I uttered the truth I should not speak that which was pleasing to thee; since however thou didst compel me to speak the very truth, I told thee of the matters which concern the Spartans. And yet how I am at this present time attached to them by affection thou knowest better than any; seeing that first they took away from me the rank and privileges which came to me from my fathers, and then also they have caused me to be without native land and an exile; but thy father took me up and gave me livelihood and a house to dwell in. Surely it is not to be supposed likely that the prudent man will thrust aside friendliness which is offered to him, but rather that he will accept it with full contentment. And I do not profess that I am able to fight either with ten men or with two, nay, if I had my will, I would not even fight with one; but if there were necessity or if the cause which urged me to the combat were a great one, I would fight most willingly with one of these men who says that he is a match for three of the Hellenes. So also the Lacedemonians are not inferior to any men when fighting one by one, and they are the best of all men when fighting in a body: for though free, yet they are not free in all things, for over them is set Law as a master, whom they fear much more even than thy people fear thee. It is certain at least that they do whatsoever that master commands; and he commands ever the same thing, that is to say, he bids them not flee out of battle from any multitude of men, but stay in their post and win the victory or lose their life. But if when I say these things I seem to thee to be speaking at random, of other things for the future I prefer to be silent; and at this time I spake only because I was compelled. May it come to pass however according to thy mind, O king."

7.105

He thus made answer, and Xerxes turned the matter to laughter and felt no anger, but dismissed him with kindness. Then after he had conversed with him, and had appointed Mascames son of Megadostes to be governor at this place Doriscos, removing the governor who had been appointed by Dareios,

Xerxes marched forth his army through Thrace to invade Hellas.

7.106

And Mascames, whom he left behind here, proved to be a man of such qualities that to him alone Xerxes used to send gifts, considering him the best of all the men whom either he himself or Dareios had appointed to be governors,—he used to send him gifts, I say, every year, and so also did Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes to the descendants of Mascames. For even before this march governors had been appointed in Thrace and everywhere about the Hellespont; and these all, both those in Thrace and in the Hellespont, were conquered by the Hellenes after this expedition, except only the one who was at Doriscos; but Mascames at Doriscos none were ever able to conquer, though many tried. For this reason the gifts are sent continually for him from the king who reigns over the Persians.

7.107

Of those however who were conquered by the Hellenes Xerxes did not consider any to be a good man except only Boges, who was at Eïon: him he never ceased commending, and he honoured very highly his children who survived him in the land of Persia. For in truth Boges proved himself worthy of great commendation, seeing that when he was besieged by the Athenians under Kimon the son of Miltiades, though he might have gone forth under a truce and so returned home to Asia, he preferred not to do this, for fear that the king should that it was by cowardice that he survived; and he continued to hold out till the last. Then when there was no longer any supply of provisions within the wall, he heaped together a great pyre, and he cut the throats of his children, his wife, his concubines and his servants, and threw them into the fire; and after this he scattered all the gold and silver in the city from the wall into the river Strymon, and having so done he threw himself into the fire. Thus he is justly commended even to this present time by the Persians.

7.108

Xerxes from Doriscos was proceeding onwards to invade Hellas; and as he went he compelled those who successively came in his way, to join his march: for the whole country as far as Thessaly had been reduced to subjection, as has been set forth by me before, and was tributary under the king, having been subdued by Megabazos and afterwards by Mardonios. And he passed in his march from Doriscos first by the Samothrakian strongholds, of which that which is situated furthest towards the West is a city called Mesambria. Next to this follows Stryme, a city of the Thasians, and midway between them flows the river Lisos, which at this time did not suffice when supplying its water to the army of Xerxes, but the stream failed. This country was in old

time called Gallaïke, but now Briantike; however by strict justice this also belongs to the Kikonians.

7.109

Having crossed over the bed of the river Lisos after it had been dried up, he passed by these Hellenic cities, namely Maroneia, Dicaia and Abdera. These I say he passed by, and also the following lakes of note lying near them,— the Ismarian lake, lying between Maroneia and Stryme; the Bistonian lake near Dicaia, into which two rivers pour their waters, the Trauos and the Compsantos; and at Abdera no lake indeed of any note was passed by Xerxes, but the river Nestos, which flows there into the sea. Then after passing these

vocabulary

αἰγιαλός beach, shore
 ἄλευρον flour
 ἄλμυρός salty
 ἄλφιτον barley meal
 ἀνασπάω draw again ~spatula
 ἀνάστατος driven out, ruined
 ἄπεργος idle; obsolete
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ὁ) show, point out;
 appoint; (mid) declare
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine
 ἀργύρεος silver ~Argentina
 ἀργύριον small coin
 ἄρδω give water
 ἀριστερός left-hand
 ἀστός townsman; citizen
 βασιλείος kingly
 βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind
 γέφυρα (ῥ) dam, dike; bridge
 γηράσκω grow old ~geriatric
 δάκτυλος finger, toe
 διατέομαι divide into portions
 ~demon
 δειπνίζω host at a meal
 διατελέω accomplish; keep doing
 ~apostle
 διατρίβω (ῡ) wear down, delay
 ~tribology
 δῖς twice
 διῶρυξ -χος (f) ditch, canal
 δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent
 δυσμή sunset
 δωρέω give ~donate
 ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate
 ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear
 ἐλεύθερος not enslaved
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἐνείμι be in ~ion
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command
 ἐξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka
 ἐπιπλά -τος (n, 2) stuff, possessions

ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near
 ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious
 duty
 ἐπιφανής coming to view;
 conspicuous
 ἐπιχώριος native
 ἐπονομάζω to name
 ἐσθής clothes ~vest
 ἐσπέρα evening, west
 ἐτοῖμος ready; fulfilled
 εὐώνυμος honored; left-hand
 ζεύγνυμι (ῥ) yoke, join ~zygote
 ζῶς alive ~zoo
 ἥμισυς half ~hemisphere
 ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent
 ἡπειρώτης -ιδος (f) landsman
 θεοπρόπιον prophecy ~theology
 ἵζω to seat ~sit
 ἱκέτης -ου (m, 1) suppliant, refugee
 καλλιερέω have good signs
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος
 καταλέγω relate in detail, choose;
 enroll ~legion
 καταμένω stay; not change
 κατατείνω stretch out
 κατορύσσω bury
 κατύπερθεν above, from above
 κόλπος bosom, lap-fold; gulf
 κρητήρ -ος (m) mixing bowl for
 wine
 κτήνος -ους (n, 3) herd animal
 λάκκος pond, tank
 λιμναῖος of a marsh
 λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea
 ~limnic
 μαντεῖον prophetic warning
 ~mantis
 μεσαμβρία midday; the south
 μεσόγαια inland
 μέταλλον mine; mineral
 νόσος (f) plague, pestilence
 ~noisome

νοῦσος (f) plague, pestilence
 ~noisome
 ξείνιος of hospitality
 οἶκημα -τος (n, 3) room
 ὄρυγμα -τος (n, 3) trench, tunnel
 πανδημεί the masses
 παντοῖος all kinds of
 παραθαλάσσιος by the sea
 παραιτέομαι entreat; beg for;
 decline
 παραμείβω pass by ~amoeba
 παραπλήσιος similar to
 παρέξιμι pass by; transgress
 παρθένος (f) girl, virgin ~Parthenon
 παροίχομαι pass, keep going
 περιαγγέλλω send orders, messages
 around
 περίοδος picket, circuit
 Πέρσης Persian
 πῆχυς forearm, cubit
 πιέζω press, squeeze ~piezoelectric
 ποικίλος ornamented; various
 ποτήριον cup
 προαγορεύω declare, predict, order
 προείπον foretell, proclaim, order
 before
 προλέγω prophecy, proclaim;
 preselect ~legion
 πρόμαντις prophet
 προφητεύω prophecy
 σέβομαι feel shame, awe
 σκηνή tent; stage
 σταδίη (adj) standing upright, firm;
 (pl noun) 200 meters
 στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc)
 στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;

(pl noun) 200 meters
 σταθμός cottage; post
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 συγχέω entangle, destroy, confound
 συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid)
 consult ~volunteer
 συμφέρω bring together; be
 expedient; agree; (mp) happen
 ~bear
 συμφορά collecting; accident,
 misfortune
 συνηρεφής shaded; covering
 συχνός long; many; extensive
 σφάζω cut the throat
 τάλαντον scale, a unit of weight
 ~talent
 τείνω stretch, tend ~tense
 τετρακόσιοι 400
 τοσόσδε this much
 τράπεζα a table ~trapezoid
 ὑπαίθριος in open air
 ὑπερoικέω dwell above or beyond
 ὑπήκοος heeding, subject
 ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer
 ὑποδοχή reception, admission
 ὑποζύγιον beast of burden ~zygote
 ὕστεραίος the next; later
 φορβή food, pasture ~euphoria
 χερσαῖος of dry land
 χιών χιόνος (f, 3) snow
 χώρος place ~heir
 ὥσει as if

δὲ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἰὼν τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας¹ πόλιν παρήιε, τῶν ἐν μιῇ λίμνῃ ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει ὥσεί τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κη τὴν περίοδον, ἰχθυώδης τε καὶ κάρτα² ἀλμυρή·³ ταύτην τὰ ὑποζύγια μούνα ἀρδόμενα⁴ ἀνεξήρηνε. τῇ δὲ πόλι ταύτῃ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Πίστυρος.

7.110

ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς πόλιν τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἑλληνίδας ἐξ εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἀπέργων παρεξήιε· ἔθνεα δὲ Θρηίκων δι' ὧν τῆς χώρας ὁδὸν ἐποίετο τοσάδε, Παῖτοι Κίκονες Βίστονες Σαπαῖοι Δερσαῖοι Ἥδωνοὶ Σάτραι. τούτων οἱ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν κατοικημένοι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ εἵποντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν μεσόγαιαν οἰκέοντες καταλεχθέντες τε ὑπ' ἐμεῦ, πλὴν Σατρέων, οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες περὶ ἀνακαζόμενοι εἵποντο.

7.111

σάτραι δὲ οὐδενὸς κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἀλλὰ διατελευσι τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἐόντες ἐλεύθεροι μόνοι Θρηίκων· οἰκεύσιν τε γὰρ ὄρεα ὑψηλά, ἴδηςί τε παντοίησι καὶ χιόνι⁵ συνηρεφέα, καὶ εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι. οὗτοι οἱ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήιον εἰσὶ ἐκτημένοι· τὸ δὲ μαντήιον τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων, Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέωσα κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον.

7.112

παραμειβάμενος δὲ ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν εἰρημένην, δεύτερα τούτων παραμείβετο τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων, τῶν ἐνὶ Φάγρης ἐστὶ οὖνομα καὶ ἑτέρω Πέργαμος. ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τείχεα τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποίετο, ἐκ δεξιῆς χειρὸς τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος ἀπέργων, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ὑψηλόν, ἐν τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἐνι μέταλλα, τὰ νέμονται Πιέρεις τε καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι.

¹ landsman ² very much ³ salty ⁴ give water ⁵ snow

7.113

ὑπερουκίοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγγαιον πρὸς βορέῳ ἀνέμου Παίονας Δόβηράς τε καὶ Παιόπлас παρεξιὼν ἦε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμόν τε Στρυμόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἡίονα, τῆς ἔτι ζωὸς ἔων ἦρχε Βόγης τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων λόγον ἐποιεύμην. ἡ δὲ γῆ αὕτη ἡ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καλεῖται Φυλλίς, κατατείνουσα τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἀγγίτην ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τείνουσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα· ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιερόντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοῦς.

7.114

φαρμακεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοισι ἐν Ἑννέα ὁδοῖσι τῇσι Ἡδωνῶν ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, τὸν Στρυμόνα εὐρόντες ἐξευγμένον. ἐννέα δὲ ὁδοὺς πυνθανόμενοι τὸν χώρον τοῦτον καλέεσθαι, τοσούτους ἐν αὐτῷ παιδὰς τε καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζῶοντας κατάρυσσον. Περσικὸν δὲ τὸ ζῶοντας κατορύσσειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀμηστριν τὴν Ξέρξεω γυναῖκα πυνθάνομαι γηράσασαν δις ἐπτά Περσέων παῖδας ἑόντων ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῆς τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι κατορύσσουσιν.

7.115

ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατός, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων ἐστὶ αἰγιαλὸς ἐν τῷ οἰκημένην Ἀργίλον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παρεξίη· αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε ταύτης καλεῖται Βισαλτή. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσιδηίου ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔχων ἦε διὰ Συλέος πεδίου καλεομένου, Στάγειρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παραμειβόμενος, καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς Ἀκανθον, ἅμα ἀγόμενος τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν ἔθνέων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος οἰκούντων, ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχων οἰκημένους ἐκ νηυσὶ στρατευομένους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης πεζῇ ἐπομένους. τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τὸν

στρατὸν ἤλασε, οὔτε συγχέουσι Θρήικες οὔτ' ἐπισπείρουσι σέβονται⁶
τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ.

7.116

ὥς δὲ ἄρα ἐς τὴν Ἀκανθὸν ἀπίκετο, ξεινίην τε ὁ Ξέρξης τοῖσι
Ἀκανθίοισι προείπε καὶ ἐδωρήσατο⁷ σφέας ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ ἐπαίνειέ τε,
ὀρέων καὶ αὐτοὺς προθύμους ἐόντας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα⁸
ἀκούων.

7.117

ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ δὲ ἐόντος Ξέρξεω συνήνεικε ὑπὸ νούσου ἀποθανεῖν τὸν
ἐπεστεῶτα τῆς διώρυχος Ἀρταχαίην, δόκιμον ἔοντα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ καὶ
γένος Ἀχαιμενίδην, μεγάθει τε μέγιστον ἔοντα Περσέων ἀπὸ γὰρ
πέντε πηχέων βασιλείων ἀπέλειπε τέσσερας δακτύλους⁹ φωνέοντά τε
μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε Ξέρξην συμφορὴν ποιησάμενον μεγάλην
ἐξενεῖκαί τε αὐτὸν κάλλιστα καὶ θάψαι· ἐτυμβοχόεε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ
στρατιή. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχαίῃ θύουσι Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεοπροπίου¹⁰
ὥς ἥρωι, ἐπονομάζοντες τὸ οὔνομα.

7.118

βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἀπολομένου Ἀρταχαίῃ ἐποιέετο συμφορὴν.
οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίζοντες¹¹ Ξέρξην
ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπικάτο, οὔτῳ ὥστε ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἴκων ἐγίνοντο·
ὅκου Θασίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολλῶν τῶν σφετερέων
δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίσασι Ἀντίπατρος ὁ
Ὀργέος ἀραιρημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὅμοια τῷ μάλιστα,
ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα.

7.119

ὥς δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι πόλιν οἱ ἐπεστεῶτες
ἀπεδείκνυσαν τὸν λόγον. τὸ γὰρ δεῖπνον τοιόνδε τι ἐγίνετο, οἷα ἐκ

⁶ feel shame, awe ⁷ give ⁸ trench, tunnel ⁹ finger, toe

¹⁰ prophecy ¹¹ host at a meal

πολλοῦ χρόνου προειρημένον καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένων· τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιαγγελλόντων, δασάμενοι σῖτον ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι οἱ ἀστοὶ¹² ἄλευρά¹³ τε καὶ ἄλφιτα¹⁴ ἐποίουν πάντες ἐπὶ μῆνας συχνούς· τοῦτο δὲ κτήνεα ἐσίτευον ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμῆς τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔτρεφόν τε ὄρνιθας χερσαίους¹⁵ καὶ λιμναίους¹⁶ ἐν τε οἰκίμασι¹⁷ καὶ λάκκοις,¹⁸ ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ποτήριά τε καὶ κρητῆρας ἐποιεῦντο καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τιθέαται πάντα. ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖσι ὁμοσίτοισι μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπεποιήτο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ τὰ ἐς φορβὴν μόννα τασσόμενα. ὅκως δὲ ἀπίκοιτο ἡ στρατιῇ, σκηνὴ μὲν ἔσκε πεπηγυῖα ἐτοίμη ἐς τὴν αὐτὸς σταθμὸν ποιέεσκετο Ξέρξης, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιῇ ἔσκε ὑπαίθριος. ὡς δὲ δείπνου ἐγένετο ὥρη, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἔχεσκον πόνον, οἱ δὲ ὅκως πλησθέντες νύκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγάγοιεν, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τὴν τε σκηνὴν ἀνασπάσαντες καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλα πάντα λαβόντες οὕτω ἀπελεύεσκον, λείποντες οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ φερόμενοι.

7.120

ἐνθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτew ἔπος εἶ ἐιρημένον ἐγένετο, ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτῃσι πανδημεί, αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἱρὰ ἵζεσθαι ἰκέτας τῶν θεῶν παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σφι ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα, τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν σφι μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμιζε σῖτον αἰρέεσθαι· παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτῃσι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προείρητο ὅμοια τῷ δείπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ξέρξην ἐπιόντα ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβῆναι.

7.121

οἱ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὅμως τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ

¹² townsman; citizen ¹³ flour ¹⁴ barley meal ¹⁵ of dry land ¹⁶ of a marsh ¹⁷ room ¹⁸ pond, tank

places he went by the cities of the mainland, near one of which there is, as it chances, a lake of somewhere about thirty furlongs in circumference, abounding in fish and very brackish; this the baggage-animals alone dried up, being watered at it: and the name of this city is Pistyros.

7.110

These cities, I say, lying by the sea coast and belonging to Hellenes, he passed by, leaving them on the left hand; and the tribes of Thracians through whose country he marched were as follows, namely the Paitians, Kikonians, Bistonians, Sapaians, Dersaians, Edonians, Satrians. Of these they who were settled along the sea coast accompanied him with their ships, and those of them who dwelt inland and have been enumerated by me, were compelled to accompany him on land, except the Satrians:

7.111

The Satrians however never yet became obedient to any man, so far as we know, but they remain up to my time still free, alone of all the Thracians; for they dwell in lofty mountains, which are covered with forest of all kinds and with snow, and also they are very skilful in war. These are they who possess the Oracle of Dionysos; which Oracle is on their most lofty mountains. Of the Satrians those who act as prophets of the temple are the Bessians; it is a prophetess who utters the oracles, as at Delphi; and beyond this there is nothing further of a remarkable character.

7.112

Xerxes having passed over the land which has been spoken of, next after this passed the strongholds of the Pierians, of which the name of the one is Phagres and of the other Pergamos. By this way, I say, he made his march, going close by the walls of these, and keeping Mount Pangaion on the right hand, which is both great and lofty and in which are mines both of gold and of silver possessed by the Pierians and Odomantians, and especially by the Satrians.

7.113

Thus passing by the Paionians, Doberians and Paioplians, who dwell beyond Pangaion towards the North Wind, he went on Westwards, until at last he came to the river Strymon and the city of Eïon, of which, so long as he lived, Boges was commander, the same about whom I was speaking a short time back. This country about Mount Pangaion is called Phyllis, and it extends Westwards to the river Angites, which flows into the Strymon, and Southwards it stretches to the Strymon itself; and at this river the Magians sacrificed for good omens, slaying white horses.

7.114

Having done this and many other things in addition to this, as charms for the river, at the Nine Ways in the land of the Edonians, they proceeded by the bridges, for they had found the Strymon already yoked with bridges; and being informed that this place was called the Nine Ways, they buried alive in it that number of boys and maidens, children of the natives of the place. Now burying alive is a Persian custom; for I am informed that Amestris also, the wife of Xerxes, when she had grown old, made return for her own life to the god who is said to be beneath the earth by burying twice seven children of Persians who were men of renown.

7.115

As the army proceeded on its march from the Strymon, it found after this a sea-beach stretching towards the setting of the sun, and passed by the Hellenic city, Argilos, which was there placed. This region and that which lies above it is called Bisaltia. Thence, keeping on the left hand the gulf which lies of Posideion, he went through the plain which is called the plain of Syleus, passing by Stageiros a Hellenic city, and so came to Acanthos, taking with him as he went each one of these tribes and also of those who dwell about Mount Pangaion, just as he did those whom I enumerated before, having the men who dwelt along the sea coast to serve in the ships and those who dwelt inland to accompany him on foot. This road by which Xerxes the king marched his army, the Thracians do not disturb nor sow crops over, but pay very great reverence to it down to my own time.

7.116

Then when he had come to Acanthos, Xerxes proclaimed a guest-friendship with the people of Acanthos and also presented them with the Median dress and commended them, perceiving that they were zealous to serve him in the war and hearing of that which had been dug.

7.117

And while Xerxes was in Acanthos, it happened that he who had been set over the making of the channel, Artachaies by name, died of sickness, a man who was highly esteemed by Xerxes and belonged to the Achaimenid family; also he was in stature the tallest of all the Persians, falling short by only four fingers of being five royal cubits in height, and he had a voice the loudest of all men; so that Xerxes was greatly grieved at the loss of him, and carried him forth and buried him with great honour, and the whole army joined in throwing up a mound for him. To this Artachaies the Acanthians by the bidding of an oracle do sacrifice as a hero, calling upon his name in worship.

7.118

King Xerxes, I say, was greatly grieved at the loss of Artachaies: and meanwhile the Hellenes who were entertaining his army and providing Xerxes with dinners had been brought to utter ruin, so that they were being driven from house and home; seeing that when the Thasians, for example, entertained the army of Xerxes and provided him with a dinner on behalf of their towns upon the mainland, Antipater the son of Orgeus, who had been appointed for this purpose, a man of repute among the citizens equal to the best, reported that four hundred talents of silver had been spent upon the dinner.

7.119

Just so or nearly so in the other cities also those who were set over the business reported the reckoning to be: for the dinner was given as follows, having been ordered a long time beforehand, and being counted by them a matter of great importance:—In the first place, so soon as they heard of it from the heralds who carried round the proclamation, the citizens in the various cities distributed corn among their several households, and all continued to make wheat and barley meal for many months; then they fed cattle, finding out and obtaining the finest animals for a high price; and they kept birds both of the land and of the water, in cages or in pools, all for the entertainment of the army. Then again they had drinking-cups and mixing-bowls made of gold and of silver, and all the other things which are placed upon the table: these were made for the king himself and for those who ate at his table; but for the rest of the army only the things appointed for food were provided. Then whenever the army came to any place, there was a tent pitched ready wherein Xerxes himself made his stay, while the rest of the army remained out in the open air; and when it came to be time for dinner, then the entertainers had labour; but the others, after they had been satiated with food and had spent the night there, on the next day tore up the tent and taking with them all the movable furniture proceeded on their march, leaving nothing, but carrying all away with them.

7.120

Then was uttered a word well spoken by Megacreon, a man of Abdera, who advised those of Abdera to go in a body, both themselves and their wives, to their temples, and to sit down as suppliants of the gods, entreating them that for the future also they would ward off from them the half of the evils which threatened; and he bade them feel great thankfulness to the gods for the past events, because king Xerxes had not thought good to take food twice in each day; for if it had been ordered to them beforehand to prepare breakfast also

in like manner as the dinner, it would have remained for the men of Abdera either not to await the coming of Xerxes, or if they stayed, to be crushed by misfortune more than any other men upon the Earth.

7.121

They then, I say, though hard put to it, yet were performing that which was appointed to them; and from Acanthos Xerxes, after having commanded the generals to wait for the fleet

vocabulary

ἄγριος wild, savage ~agriculture
 ἄημι blow
 ἄκρα at the edge, extreme ~acute
 ἄμπελος (f) vine
 ἀναδέχομαι catch, receive ~doctrine
 ἄνω (ᾱ) accomplish, pass, waste;
 upwards, out to sea
 ἀνώνυμος nameless ~name
 ἀπέχω ward off, drive off, refrain, be
 at some distance
 ἀποκλῆίω shut out; close up
 ἀτρεκής precise, certain
 αὐλῶν canyon, strait, canal
 ἄω aor: to sate ~sate
 βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind
 γνωσιμαχέω submit; admit a
 mistake
 δατέομαι divide into portions
 ~demon
 διέχω pass through; be apart
 διίστημι stand apart ~stand
 διῶρυξ -χος (f) ditch, canal
 δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent
 εἰσβαίνω enter, board ~basis
 εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic
 ἐκβολή throwing out
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἔλος ἔλεος (n, 3) marsh
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence
 ἐξεπίσταμαι know well
 ἐξήλυσις exit
 ἐξίημι send forth, allow forth ~jet
 ἔξοδος (f) leaving, way out
 ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail
 ἐπιλείπω fail, not work ~eclipse
 ἐπίλοιπος remaining
 ἐπωνύμιος called, named
 ἐσπέρα evening, west
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 ἦθος ἦθεος (n, 3) habit, habitat
 ~ethos

ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent
 θεάομαι look at, behold, consider
 ~theater
 θερμαίνω heat ~thermos
 θῶμα a wonder, feeling of surprise
 ~theater
 ἱδρύω establish
 καθηγμένων leader, guide
 καθηγέομαι lead
 καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall,
 arrive; be proper
 κάμηλος (f) camel
 κάμπτω bend, bend in exhaustion
 καταλέγω relate in detail, choose;
 enroll ~legion
 κατύπερθεν above, from above
 κεραίζω slay, ravage ~caries
 κοῖλος hollow ~hollow
 κόλπος bosom, lap-fold; gulf
 λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea
 ~limnic
 μέγαθος tall, big (person)
 μεσαμβρία midday; the south
 μεσόγαια inland
 μεταξύ between
 νέμω to allot, to pasture ~nemesis
 νότος south, south wind
 ὁμός same ~homoerotic
 ὁμοῦ together
 ὁμouρέω be next to
 ὁμός unite ~homoerotic
 ὄον οὐ type of fruit
 οὐρίζω divide; ordain, define
 πάντοθεν from all directions
 παραμείβω pass by ~amoeba
 παραπλέω sail past ~float
 παράπλοος -υ coasting
 παρατρέπω turn aside ~trophy
 πέλαγος -ους (n, 3) the open sea
 ~pelagic
 περικλῆίω enclose, confine
 περιμένω wait for

περιστεφανώ enwreathe
 πλόος -ῶ course, voyage ~float
 προσδοκάω expect
 ῥεῖθρον stream ~rheostat
 ῥέω flow ~rheostat
 ῥοά pl: waters of a river ~rheostat
 ῥόος ῥοῦ stream, flow, current
 ~rheostat
 σεισμός shaking
 σεῖω shake ~seismic
 σιτοφόρος (ῖ) carrying, producing
 grain
 σοφός skilled, clever, wise
 στρατηγέω be a general
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up
 station ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy

στρατώ be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 συγχλείω hem in, connect, conclude
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
 συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix
 σύντομος truncated, concise
 συχνός long; many; extensive
 σφέτερος their
 τέμνω cut, sacrifice, solemnize
 ~tonsure
 τοσόσδε this much
 τριτημορίς 1/3
 ὑπερμήκης too long, very long
 ὑποζύγιον beast of burden ~zygote
 ὑπομένω stay behind, await
 ~remain
 ὑπώρεια foothills ~hormone
 φοιτέω go back and forth

στρατοῦ ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ πορεύεσθαι τὰς νέας, Θέρμῃ δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ οἰκημένη, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάνθου ὧδε τεταγμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο· τρεῖς μοῖρας ὁ Ξέρξης δασάμενος πάντα τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, μίαν αὐτέων ἔταξε παρὰ θάλασσαν ἵεναι ὁμοῦ τῷ ναυτικῷ· ταύτης μὲν δὴ ἐστρατήγεον Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Μασίστης, ἑτέρῃ δὲ τεταγμένη ἦε τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορις τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῆς ἐστρατήγεον Τριτανταίχμης τε καὶ Γέργις· ἡ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν μοιρέων, μετ' ἧς ἐπορεύετο αὐτὸς Ξέρξης, ἦε μὲν τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν, στρατηγούς δὲ παρείχετο Σμερδομένεά τε καὶ Μεγάβυζον.

7.122

ὁ μὲν νυν ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὡς ἀπείθῃ ὑπὸ Ξέρξῳ καὶ διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ γενομένην, διέχουσιν δὲ ἐς κόλπον ἐν τῷ Ἄσσῳ τε πόλιν καὶ Πίλωρος καὶ Σίγγος καὶ Σάρτη οἰκνῆται, ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολίων στρατιὴν παρέλαβε, ἔπλεε ἀπιέμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον, κάμπτων¹ δὲ Ἄμπελον τὴν Τωρωναίην ἄκρην παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας γε τάσδε πόλιν, ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε, Τωρώνην Γαληψὸν Σερμύλῃν Μηκύβερναν Ὀλυνθον.

7.123

ἡ μὲν νυν χώρα αὕτη Σιθωνίη καλεέται, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Ξέρξῳ συντάμων ἀπ' Ἀμπέλου ἄκρης ἐπὶ Καναστραίην ἄκρην, τὸ δὴ πάρης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει μάλιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε ἐκ Ποτιδαίης καὶ Ἀφύτιος καὶ Νέης πόλιν καὶ Αἰγῆς καὶ Θεράμβω καὶ Σκιώνης καὶ Μένδης καὶ Σάνης· αὗται γὰρ εἰσὶ αἱ τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην πρότερον δὲ Φλέγρην καλεομένην νεμόμεναι. παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔπλεε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατιὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πολίων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμουρεουσέων² δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῇσι

¹ bend, bend in exhaustion ² be next to

οὐνόματα ἐστὶ τάδε, Λίπαξος Κώμβρεια Αἶσα Γίγωνος Κάμψα Σμίλα Αἴνεια· ἡ δὲ τουτέων χώρα Κροσσαίη ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε καλέεται. ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰνείης, ἐς τὴν ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τὰς πόλεις, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη ἐς αὐτόν τε τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον ἐγένετο τῷ ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυγδονίην, πλέων δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Σίνδον τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄξιον ποταμόν, ὃς οὐρίζει χώραν τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαύδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν στενὸν χωρίον πόλεις Ἰχναι τε καὶ Πέλλα.

7.124

ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἄξιον ποταμόν καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς μεταξὺ πόλεις τούτων περιμένων Βασιλέα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου τὴν μεσόγειαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ, βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπικέσθαι· ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιονικῆς καὶ Κρηστωνικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χεῖδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ἀρξάμενος ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρας καὶ ἐξίει παρὰ τὸ ἔλος³ τὸ ἐπ' Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ.

7.125

πορευομένῳ δὲ ταύτῃ λέοντες οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο τῇσι σιτοφόροις⁴ καμήλοισι. καταφοιτέοντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας καὶ λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἦθρα ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄπτοντο οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὔτε ἀνθρώπου, οἱ δὲ τὰς καμήλους ἐκεράζον⁵ μούνας. θαμάζω δὲ τὸ αἴτιον, ὃ τι κοτὲ ἦν τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπεχομένους τοὺς λέοντας τῇσι καμήλοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τὸ μῆτε πρότερον ὁπώπεσαν θηρίον μῆτ' ἐπεπειρέατο αὐτοῦ.

7.126

εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες πολλοὶ καὶ βόες ἄγριοι, τῶν τὰ κέρεια ὑπερμεγάλεια ἐστὶ τὰ ἐς Ἑλλήνας φοιτέοντα. οὗρος δὲ τοῖσι λέουσι ἐστὶ ὃ τε δι' Ἀβδήρων ῥέων ποταμὸς Νέστος καὶ ὁ δι' Ἀκαρνανίης ῥέων Ἀχελῶος· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τοῦ Νέστου

³ marsh ⁴ carrying, producing grain ⁵ slay, ravage

οὐδαμόθι πάσης τῆς ἔμπροσθε Εὐρώπης ἴδοι τις ἂν λέοντα, οὔτε πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Ἀχελώου ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίπῳ ἡπείρῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται.

7.127

ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπίκετο ὁ Ξέρξης, ἵδρυσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιήν. ἐπέσχε δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευόμενος τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν χώραν τοσσηνδε, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίης μέχρι Λυδιέῳ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀλιάκμονος, οἱ οὐρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βοττιαΐδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα, ἐς τὸντὸ ρέειρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοισι οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ καταλεχθέντων τούτων ποταμῶν ἐκ Κρησωναίων ῥέων Χειδωρος μούνος οὐκ ἀντέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ πινόμενος ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε.

7.128

Ξέρξης δὲ ὁρέων ἐκ τῆς Θέρμης ὄρεα τὰ Θεσσαλικά, τὸν τε Ὀλυμπον καὶ τὴν Ὅσσαν, μεγάλῃ τε ὑπερμήκειά ἐόντα, διὰ μέσου τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶνα στεινὸν πυνθανόμενος εἶναι δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειός, ἀκούων τε ταύτῃ εἶναι ὁδὸν ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσιν, ἐπεθύμησε πλώσας θεήσασθαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν ἔμελλε ἐλᾶν διὰ Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε οἰκημένων ἔστε Περραιβοὺς παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι. ὥς δὲ ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα· ἐσβὰς ἐς Σιδωνίην νέα, ἐς τὴν περ ἐσέβαινε αἰεὶ ὅπως τι ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀνέδεξε σημήμιον καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνάγεσθαι, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ ἐθεήσατο Ξέρξης τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέσχετο, καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ εἴρετο εἰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐστὶ παρατρέψαντα ἐτέρῃ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγεῖν.

7.129

τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι λίμνην, ὥστε γε

συγκεκλημένην πάντοθεν⁶ ὑπερμήκεσι ὄρεσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἔχοντα τό τε Πήλιον ὄρος καὶ ἡ Ὑσσα ἀποκληθεὶς συμμίσγοντα τὰς ὑπωρείας ἀλλήλοισι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου Ὀλυμπος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Πίνδος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ ἀνεμον νότον⁷ ἡ Ὕθρυσ· τὸ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν λεχθέντων ὁρέων ἡ Θεσσαλίη ἐστὶ ἐοῦσα κοίλῃ. ὥστε ὧν ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα τῶνδε, Πηνειοῦ καὶ Ἀπιδανοῦ καὶ Ὀνοχώνου καὶ Ἐνιπέος καὶ Παμίσου, οἱ μὲν νῦν ἐς τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν ὁρέων τῶν περικληόντων τὴν Θεσσαλίην ὀνομαζόμενοι δι' ἐνὸς αὐλῶνος καὶ τούτου στεينوῦ ἔκρουν ἔχουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, προσυμμίσγοντες τὸ ὕδωρ πάντες ἐς τὸ αὐτό· ἐπεὰν δὲ συμμιχθῶσι τάχιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ὁ Πηνειὸς τῷ οὐνόματι κατακρατέων ἀνωνύμους τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι ποιεῖ. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν λέγεται, οὐκ ἐόντος κω τοῦ αὐλῶνος καὶ διεκρόου τούτου, τοὺς ποταμοὺς τούτους, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι τούτοισι τὴν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην, οὔτε ὀνομάζεσθαι κατὰ περ νῦν ῥέειν τε οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἢ νῦν, ῥέοντας δὲ ποιεῖν τὴν Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν πέλαγος. αὐτοὶ μὲν νῦν Θεσσαλοὶ φασὶ Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειός, οἰκότα λέγοντες· ὅστις γὰρ νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα τὴν γῆν σείειν καὶ τὰ διεστέωτα ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν φαίη Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι· ἔστι γὰρ σεισμοῦ ἔργον, ὥς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται εἶναι, ἡ διάστασις τῶν ὁρέων.

7.130

οἱ δὲ κατηγεόμενοι, εἰρομένου Ξέρξεω εἰ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξοδος ἐς θάλασσαν τῷ Πηνειῷ, ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἀτρεκέως εἶπον «βασιλεῦ, ποταμῷ τούτῳ οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξήλυσις ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα, ἀλλ' ἦδε αὐτή· ὄρεσι γὰρ περιεστεφάνωται πᾶσα Θεσσαλίη.» Ξέρξην δὲ λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα «σοφοὶ ἄνδρες εἰσὶ Θεσσαλοί. ταῦτ' ἄρα πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐφυλάξαντο γνωσιμαχέοντες⁸ καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι χώραν ἄρα εἶχον εὐαίρετόν τε καὶ ταχυάλωτον. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πρήγμα

⁶ from all directions ⁷ south, south wind ⁸ submit; admit a mistake

at Therma, let the ships take their course apart from himself, (now this Therma is that which is situated on the Thermaic gulf, from which also this gulf has its name); and thus he did because he was informed that this was the shortest way: for from Doriscos as far as Acanthos the army had been making its march thus:—Xerxes had divided the whole land-army into three divisions, and one of them he had set to go along the sea accompanying the fleet, of which division Mardonios and Masistes were commanders; another third of the army had been appointed to go by the inland way, and of this the generals in command were Tritantaichmes and Gergis; and meanwhile the third of the subdivisions, with which Xerxes himself went, marched in the middle between them, and acknowledged as its commanders Smerdomenes and Megabyzos.

7.122

The fleet, when it was let go by Xerxes and had sailed right through the channel made in Athos (which went across to the gulf on which are situated the cities of Assa, Piloros, Singos and Sarte), having taken up a contingent from these cities also, sailed thence with a free course to the Thermaic gulf, and turning round Ampelos the headland of Torone, it left on one side the following Hellenic cities, from which it took up contingents of ships and men, namely Torone, Galepsos, Sermyle, Mekyberna, Olynthos: this region is called Sithonia.

7.123

And the fleet of Xerxes, cutting across from the headland of Ampelos to that of Canastron, which runs out furthest to sea of all Pallene, took up there contingents of ships and men from Potidaia, Aphytis, Neapolis, Aige, Therambo, Skione, Mende and Sane, for these are the cities which occupy the region which now is called Pallene, but was formerly called Phlegra. Then sailing along the coast of this country also the fleet continued its course towards the place which has been mentioned before, taking up contingents also from the cities which come next after Pallene and border upon the Thermaic gulf; and the names of them are these,—Lipaxos, Combreaia, Lisai, Gigonos, Campsa, Smila, Aineia; and the region in which these cities are is called even to the present day Crossaia. Then sailing from Aineia, with which name I brought to an end the list of the cities, at once the fleet came into the Thermaic gulf and to the region of Mygdonia, and so it arrived at the aforesaid Therma and at the cities of Sindos and Chalestra upon the river Axios. This river is the boundary between the land of Mygdonia and Bottiaia, of which district the narrow region which lies on the sea coast is occupied by the cities of Ichnai and Pella.

7.124

Now while his naval force was encamped about the river Axios and the city of Therma and the cities which lie between these two, waiting for the coming of the king, Xerxes and the land-army were proceeding from Acanthos, cutting through the middle by the shortest way with a view to reaching Therma: and he was proceeding through Paionia and Crestonia to the river Cheidoros, which beginning from the land of the Crestonians, runs through the region of Mygdonia and comes out alongside of the marsh which is by the river Axios.

7.125

As he was proceeding by this way, lions attacked the camels which carried his provisions; for the lions used to come down regularly by night, leaving their own haunts, but they touched nothing else, neither beast of burden nor man, but killed the camels only: and I marvel what was the cause, and what was it that impelled the lions to abstain from all else and to attack the camels only, creatures which they had never seen before, and of which they had had no experience.

7.126

Now there are in these parts both many lions and also wild oxen, those that have the very large horns which are often brought into Hellas: and the limit within which these lions are found is on the one side the river Nestos, which flows through Abdera, and on the other the Achelos, which flows through Acarnania; for neither do the East of the Nestos, in any part of Europe before you come to this, would you see a lion, nor again in the remaining part of the continent to the West of the Acheloos, but they are produced in the middle space between these rivers.

7.127

When Xerxes had reached Therma he established the army there; and his army encamping there occupied of the land along by the sea no less than this,—beginning from the city of Therma and from Mygdonia it extended as far as the river Lydias and the Haliacmon, which form the boundary between the lands of Bottiaia and Macedonia, mingling their waters together in one and the same stream. The Barbarians, I say, were encamped in these regions; and of the rivers which have been enumerated, only the river Cheidoros flowing from the Crestonian land was insufficient for the drinking of the army and failed in its stream.

7.128

Then Xerxes seeing from Therma the mountains of Thessaly, Olympus and

Ossa, that they were of very great height, and being informed that in the midst between them there was a narrow channel, through which flows the Peneios, and hearing also that by this way there was a good road leading to Thessaly, formed a desire to sail thither and look at the outlet of the Peneios, because he was meaning to march by the upper road, through the land of the Macedonians who dwell inland, until he came to the Perraiians, passing by the city of Gonnoi; for by this way he was informed that it was safest to go. And having formed this desire, so also he proceeded to do; that is, he embarked in a Sidonian ship, the same in which he used always to embark when he wished to do anything of this kind, and he displayed a signal for the others to put out to sea also, leaving there the land-army. Then when Xerxes had looked at the outlet of the Peneios, he was possessed by great wonder, and summoning his guides he asked them whether it was possible to turn the river aside and bring it out to the sea by another way.

7.129

Now it is said that Thessaly was in old time a lake, being enclosed on all sides by very lofty mountains: for the parts of it which lie towards the East are shut in by the ranges of Pelion and Ossa, which join one another in their lower slopes, the parts towards the North Wind by Olympos, those towards the West by Pindos and those towards the mid-day and the South Wind by Othrys; and the region in the midst, between these mountains which have been named, is Thessaly, forming as it were a hollow. Whereas then many rivers flow into it and among them these five of most note, namely Peneios, Apidanos, Onochonos, Enipeus and Pamisos, these, which collect their waters from the mountains that enclose Thessaly round, and flow into this plain, with names separate each one, having their outflow into the sea by one channel and that a narrow one, first mingling their waters all together in one and the same stream; and so soon as they are mingled together, from that point onwards the Peneios prevails with its name over the rest and causes the others to lose their separate names. And it is said that in ancient time, there not being yet this channel and outflow between the mountains, these rivers, and besides these rivers the lake Boibēis also, had no names as they have now, but by their waters they made Thessaly to be all sea. The Thessalians themselves say that Poseidon made the channel through which the Peneios flows; and reasonably they report it thus, because whosoever believes that it is Poseidon who shakes the Earth and that the partings asunder produced by earthquake are the work of this god, would say, if he saw this, that it was made by Poseidon; for the parting asunder of the mountains is the work of an earthquake, as is evident to me.

7.130

So the guides, when Xerxes asked whether there was any other possible outlet to the sea for the Peneios, said with exact knowledge of the truth: “O king, for this river there is no other outgoing which extends to the sea, but this alone; for all Thessaly is circled about with mountains as with a crown.” To this Xerxes is said to have replied: “The Thessalians then are prudent men. This it appears was that which they desired to guard against in good time when they changed their counsel, reflecting on this especially besides other things, namely that they had a country which, it appears, is easy to

vocabulary

αἵτησις -εως (f) request, demand
 ἄλιος of the sea; fruitless
 ἀλίσκομαι be captured ~helix
 ἀναγκαίη of necessity, by force
 ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery
 ἀνεθέλητος unwelcome
 ἀνήκω reach up to; belong
 ἀντάπτομαι grapple, seize
 ἀντιόω meet, fight, join
 ἀξιόμαχος well matched for war
 ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order,
 promise ~angel
 ἀπάγω lead away, back
 ~demagogue
 ἄπειρος untested; infinite
 ἀποβλέπω stare at, adore
 ἀπόγονος descended from
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ῶ) show, point out;
 appoint; (mid) declare
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine
 ἀπομάχομαι fight off
 ἀπονοστέω go home
 ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp
 ἀποπλέω sail away ~float
 ἀριθμός number
 ἄτε as if; since
 αὐλῶν canyon, strait, canal
 ἄχαρις -δος (f) ungracious
 ἄχθομαι be burdened with
 βάραθρον gulf, pit ~voracious
 γενναῖος noble, sincere ~genesis
 γέρας -ως (n, 3) reward, honor
 γλυκύς sweet, pleasant ~glycerine
 δαῖμα -τος (n, 3) fear
 δεκατεύω take a tenth
 δηρώ be inimical, hurt, tear, kill
 διατρίβω (ι) wear down, delay
 ~tribology
 διέξιμι pass through; recount ~ion
 δοξώ (mp) have the character of
 δορυφόρος spear-brearing

ἐθελοντής -οῦ (m, 1) a volunteer
 ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over
 ἐκὼν willingly, on purpose; giving
 in too easily
 ἐλευθερία freedom
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence
 ἐξεπίσταμαι know well
 ἐξέργω shut out; prevent; force to
 ἐπάνειμι return
 ἐπεγείρω wake up
 ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail
 ἐπιπλήσσω attack, chide ~plectrum
 ἐπίφθονος jealous
 ἐστία hearth ~Hestia
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 ἥλωω sharpen
 ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent
 θάρσος boldness, over-boldness
 θεάομαι look at, behold, consider
 ~theater
 θερμαίνω heat ~thermos
 θύω (ῶ) rush; sacrifice ~θύω
 θῶμα a wonder, feeling of surprise
 ~theater
 ἱστῖον sail ~stand
 καθαπλῶω spread over
 καθίημι (ι) speed down upon; take
 down ~jet
 καίπερ even if
 καλλιερῶ have good signs
 καταπλῶω land
 καταρρωδέω fear, dread
 κατασκήπτω fall upon
 κείρω shave, sever, raze; devour, use
 up
 κενός empty, vain
 κήρυγμα -τος (n, 3) proclamation
 μετέπειτα afterward, next
 μῆνις -ος (f) rage
 νόμιμος customary, legal, natural

ξεινίζω be host, treat as a guest
 ξείνιος of hospitality
 ὀλκάς -δος (f, 3) towed merchant
 ship
 ὁμολογίη agreement, consent
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit
 ὄρκιον oath ~orc
 οὐδαμός not anyone
 οὐκω no longer
 ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view
 ~thanatopsis
 παραθαλάσσιος by the sea
 παρατρέπω turn aside ~trophy
 παραινίκα immediately
 πέλεκυς ax (for war or woodcutting)
 πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder
 Πέρσης Persian
 πλήρης full, complete; (+gen) full of
 ~plethora
 ποινή blood-price ~penalty
 προδίδωμι betray
 πρόθυμος (ō) willing, eager ~fume
 προσκυνέω kow tow to; kiss
 προσπίπτω attack; befall; kow-tow
 προτίθημι prefer, set out ~thesis
 ῥεῖθρον stream ~rheostat
 ῥέω flow ~rheostat
 σοῦσον lily
 στρατηλασίη expedition, campaign
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 στρατώ be on a campaign
 ~strategy

συγχέω entangle, destroy, confound
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
 συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid)
 consult ~volunteer
 συμβουλίη advice; consultation
 συμπίτνω fall together, happen
 συμφέρω bring together; be
 expedient; agree; (mp) happen
 ~bear
 συμφορά collecting; accident,
 misfortune
 συχνός long; many; extensive
 σφέτερος their
 τείνω stretch, tend ~tense
 τέμνω cut, sacrifice, solemnize
 ~tonsure
 τίνω (ι) pay, atone for; (mp) punish
 τίω value, honor; mp: exact
 recompense for
 τοιόσδε such
 τριτημορίς 1/3
 ὑπόβρυχα submerged
 ὑποδύω (mp) get under; play a
 character
 ὑποκρίνομαι (ι) answer; pretend
 φίλιος friendly
 φρέαρ well
 φύσις -εως (f) nature (of a thing)
 ~physics
 φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics
 χῶμα -τος (n, 3) mound of dirt
 ὠθέω push
 ὠφέλεια -ίας profit

ἂν ἦν μόνον ἐπεῖναι σφέων ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, χώματι¹ ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἐκβιβάσαντα καὶ παρατρέψαντα δι' ὧν νῦν ῥέει ῥέεθρων, ὥστε Θεσσαλὴν πᾶσαν ἔξω τῶν ὀρέων ὑπόβρυχα γενέσθαι.» ταῦτα δὲ ἔχοντα ἔλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεύεω παῖδας, ὅτι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἔοντες Θεσσαλοὶ ἔδοσαν ἑωυτοὺς βασιλεί, δοκέων ὁ Ξέρξης ἀπὸ παντός σφεας τοῦ ἔθνεος ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι φιλίην. εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ θεησάμενος ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὴν Θέρμην.

7.131

ὁ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς· τὸ γὰρ δὴ ὄρος τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἔκειρε τῆς στρατιῆς τριτημορίς, ἵνα ταύτη διεξίῃ ἅπασα ἢ στρατιὴ ἐς Περραιβούς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν² ἀπίκατο οἱ μὲν κεινοί, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

7.132

τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οἷδε, Θεσσαλοὶ Δόλοπες Ἐνιήνες Περραιβοὶ Λοκροὶ Μάγνητες Μηλιέες Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιώται καὶ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἑλλήνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι· τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε, ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἑλλήνες ἔοντες μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφι εἰς τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι³ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι.

7.133

ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκα· πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον οἱ δ' ἐς φρέαρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας· ὅ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεκε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ

¹ mound of dirt ² request, demand ³ take a tenth

ἔχω εἰπαί τι, πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηιώθη. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι.

7.134

τοῖσι δὲ ὧν Λακεδαιμονίοισι μῆνις κατέσκηψε Ταλθυβίου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κήρυκος. ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρόν, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβιάδαι καλεόμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ κηρυκῆαι αἱ ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σπαρτιῆται καλλιερεῖσαι θυομένοισι οὐκ ἐδύνατο· τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἦν σφι. ἀχθομένων δὲ καὶ συμφορῇ χρεωμένων Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλὴς τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης καὶ κήρυγμα⁴ τοιόνδε ποιουμένων, εἴ τις βούλοιο Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν, Σπερθίης τε ὁ Ἀνηρίστου καὶ Βοῦλις ὁ Νικόλεω, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται φύσι τε γεγονότες εὖ καὶ χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα, ἐθέλονται⁵ ὑπέδυσαν πωινὴν τίσαι Ξέρξῃ τῶν Δαρείου κηρύκων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων. οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται τούτους ὡς ἀποθανευμένους ἐς Μήδους ἀπέπεμψαν.

7.135

αὕτη τε ἡ τόλμα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν θώματος ἀξίη καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοις τὰ ἔπεα. πορευόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπικνέονται παρὰ Ὑδάρνεα· ὁ δὲ Ὑδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρσης, στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· ὃς σφεας ξείνια προθέμενος ἰστία, ξεινίζων δὲ εἵρετο τάδε. «ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τί δὴ φεύγετε βασιλεῖ φίλοι γενέσθαι; ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὡς ἐπίσταται βασιλεὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν, ἐς ἐμέ τε καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πρήγματα ἀποβλέποντες. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰ δοίητε ὑμέας αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖ, δεδοξασθε⁶ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄνδρες εἶναι ἀγαθοί, ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμέων ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος δόντος βασιλέος.» πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. «Ὑδαρνες, οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γίνεται ἡ συμβουλή ἢ ἐς ὑμέας τείνουσα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πεπειρημένος συμβουλευεῖς, τοῦ δὲ ἄπειρος ἑὼν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δούλος εἶναι ἐξεπίσται, ἐλευθερίας δὲ οὐκ ἔπειρήθης, οὗτ' εἰ ἔστι

⁴ proclamation ⁵ a volunteer ⁶ (mp) have the character of

γλυκὺ οὐτ' εἰ μή. εἰ γὰρ αὐτῆς πειρήσαιο, οὐκ ἂν δόρασι συμβουλεύοις ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτῆς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελέκεσι.»⁷

7.136

ταῦτα μὲν Ὑδάρνεα ἀμείψαντο. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὥς ἀνέβησαν ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐς οἶψιν ἦλθον, πρῶτα μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων κελευόντων καὶ ἀνάγκην σφί προσφερόντων προσκυνέειν βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας, οὐκ ἔφασαν ὠθεόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ποιήσῃν ταῦτα οὐδαμὰ· οὔτε γὰρ σφίσι ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον προσκυνέειν οὔτε κατὰ ταῦτα ἤκειν. ὥς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τοῦτο, δευτέρᾳ σφί λέγουσι τάδε καὶ λόγου τοιοῦδε ἐχόμενα «ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων κηρύκων ποιῆν ἐκείνων τίσοντας,» λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐκ ἔφη ὅμοιος ἔσεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· κείνους μὲν γὰρ συγχέαι τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα ἀποκτείναντας κήρυκας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνοισι ἐπιπλήσσει ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσῃν, οὐδὲ ἀνταποκτείνας ἐκείνους ἀπολύσειν Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς αἰτίας.

7.137

οὕτω ἡ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις καὶ ταῦτα ποιησάντων Σπαρτιητέων ἐπαύσατο τὸ παραυτίκα, καίπερ ἀπονοσθησάντων ἐς Σπάρτην Σπερθιέω τε καὶ Βούλιος. χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα πολλῷ ἐπηγέρθη κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον, ὥς λέγουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τοῦτο μοι ἐν τοῖσι θειότατον φαίνεται γενέσθαι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κατέσκηψε ἐς ἀγγέλους ἡ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἢ ἐξῆλθε, τὸ δίκαιον οὕτω ἔφερε· τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν ἐς τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων τῶν ἀναβάντων πρὸς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν μῆνιν, ἐς Νικόλαν τε τὸν Βούλιος καὶ ἐς Ἀνήριστον τὸν Σπερθιέω, ὃς εἶλε Ἀλίας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὀλκάδι⁸ καταπλώσας πλήρεϊ ἀνδρῶν, δῆλον ὦν μοι ὅτι θεῖον ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐκ τῆς μήνιος· οἱ γὰρ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρηκίων βασιλέος καὶ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Πύθew

⁷ ax (for war or woodcutting) ⁸ towed merchant ship

ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτew, ἥλωσαν⁹ κατὰ Βισάνθην τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδειμάντου Κορίνθιος ἀνὴρ. ταῦτα μὲν νυν πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέος στόλου, ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

7.138

ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίῃ ἡ βασιλέος οὐνομα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θάρσος ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι¹⁰ πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιομάχων δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδιζόντων δὲ προθύμους.

7.139

ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δὲ τῇ γέ μοι φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἐπισχῆσω. εἰ Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἢ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μέιναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιοῦμενοι βασιλεί. εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἡντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν ἡπειρον τοιάδε ἐγένετο· εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοις, προδοθέντες ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐκόντων ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης, κατὰ πόλιν ἀλίσκομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμουνώθησαν, μουνωθέντες δὲ ἂν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως. ἢ ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ὀρώντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας μηδιζοντας ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξην. καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. τὴν γὰρ ὠφελίην τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ

⁹ sharpen ¹⁰ ungracious

conquer and may quickly be taken: for it would have been necessary only to let the river flow over their land by making an embankment to keep it from going through the narrow channel and so diverting the course by which now it flows, in order to put all Thessaly under water except the mountains.” This he said in reference to the sons of Aleuas, because they, being Thessalians, were the first of the Hellenes who gave themselves over to the king; for Xerxes thought that they offered him friendship on behalf of their whole nation. Having said thus and having looked at the place, he sailed back to Therma.

7.131

He then was staying in the region of Pieria many days, for the road over the mountains of Macedonia was being cut meanwhile by a third part of his army, that all the host might pass over by this way into the land of the Perraiians: and now the heralds returned who had been sent to Hellas to demand the gift of earth, some empty-handed and others bearing earth and water.

7.132

And among those who gave that which was demanded were the following, namely the Thessalians, Dolopians, Enianians, Perraiians, Locrians, Megnesians, Malians, Achaians of Phthiotis, and Thebans, with the rest of the Boeotians also excepting the Thespians and Plataians. Against these the Hellenes who took up war with the Barbarian made an oath; and the oath was this,—that whosoever being Hellenes had given themselves over to the Persian, not being compelled, these, if their own affairs should come to a good conclusion, they would dedicate as an offering to the god at Delphi.

7.133

Thus ran the oath which was taken by the Hellenes: Xerxes however had not sent to Athens or to Sparta heralds to demand the gift of earth, and for this reason, namely because at the former time when Dareios had sent for this very purpose, the one people threw the men who made the demand into the pit and the others into a well, and bade them take from thence earth and water and bear them to the king. For this reason Xerxes did not send men to make this demand. And what evil thing came upon the Athenians for having done this to the heralds, I am not able to say, except indeed that their land and city were laid waste; but I do not think that this happened for that cause:

7.134

On the Lacedaemonians however the wrath fell of Talthybios, the herald of Agamemnon; for in Sparta there is a temple of Talthybios, and there are also descendants of Talthybios called Talthybiads, to whom have been given as a right all the missions of heralds which go from Sparta; and after this

event it was not possible for the Spartans when they sacrificed to obtain favourable omens. This was the case with them for a long time; and as the Lacedemonians were grieved and regarded it as a great misfortune, and general assemblies were repeatedly gathered together and proclamation made, asking if any one of the Lacedemonians was willing to die for Sparta, at length Sperthias the son of Aneristos and Bulis the son of Nicolaos, Spartans of noble birth and in wealth attaining to the first rank, voluntarily submitted to pay the penalty to Xerxes for the heralds of Dareios which had perished at Sparta. Thus the Spartans sent these to the Medes to be put to death.

7.135

And not only the courage then shown by these men is worthy of admiration, but also the following sayings in addition: for as they were on their way to Susa they came to Hydarnes (now Hydarnes was a Persian by race and commander of those who dwelt on the sea coasts of Asia), and he offered them hospitality and entertained them; and while they were his guests he asked them as follows: "Lacedemonians, why is it that ye flee from becoming friends to the king? for ye may see that the king knows how to honour good men, when ye look at me and at my fortunes. So also ye, Lacedemonians, if ye gave yourselves to the king, since ye have the reputation with him already of being good men, would have rule each one of you over Hellenic land by the gift of the king." To this they made answer thus: "Hydarnes, thy counsel with regard to us is not equally balanced, for thou givest counsel having made trial indeed of the one thing, but being without experience of the other: thou knowest well what it is to be a slave, but thou hast never yet made trial of freedom, whether it is pleasant to the taste or no; for if thou shouldst make trial of it, thou wouldest then counsel us to fight for it not with spears only but also with axes."

7.136

Thus they answered Hydarnes; and then, after they had gone up to Susa and had come into the presence of the king, first when the spearmen of the guard commanded them and endeavoured to compel them by force to do obeisance to the king by falling down before him, they said that they would not do any such deed, though they should be pushed down by them head foremost; for it was not their custom to do obeisance to a man, and it was not for this that they had come. Then when they had resisted this, next they spoke these words or words to this effect: "O king of the Medes, the Lacedemonians sent us in place of the heralds who were slain in Sparta, to pay the penalty for their lives." When they said this, Xerxes moved by a spirit of magnanimity replied that he would not be like the Lacedemonians; for they had violated the rules which prevailed among all men by slaying heralds, but he would

not do that himself which he blamed them for having done, nor would he free the Lacedemonians from their guilt by slaying these in return.

7.137

Thus the wrath of Talthybios ceased for the time being, even though the Spartans had done no more than this and although Sperthias and Bulis returned back to Sparta; but a long time after this it was roused again during the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, as the Lacedemonians report. This I perceive to have been most evidently the act of the Deity: for in that the wrath of Talthybios fell upon messengers and did not cease until it had been fully satisfied, so much was but in accordance with justice; but that it happened to come upon the sons of these men who went up to the king on account of the wrath, namely upon Nicolaos the son of Bulis and Aneristos the son of Sperthias (the same who conquered the men of Halieis, who came from Tiryns, by sailing into their harbour with a merchant ship filled with fighting men),—by this it is evident to me that the matter came to pass by the act of the Deity caused by this wrath. For these men, sent by the Lacedemonians as envoys to Asia, having been betrayed by Sitalkes the son of Teres king of the Thracians and by Nymphodoros the son of Pythes a man of Abdera, were captured at Bisanthe on the Hellespont; and then having been carried away to Attica they were put to death by the Athenians, and with them also Aristetas the son of Adeimantos the Corinthian. These things happened many years after the expedition of the king; and I return now to the former narrative.

7.138

Now the march of the king's army was in name against Athens, but in fact it was going against all Hellas: and the Hellenes being informed of this long before were not all equally affected by it; for some of them having given earth and water to the Persian had confidence, supposing that they would suffer no hurt from the Barbarian; while others not having given were in great terror, seeing that there were not ships existing in Hellas which were capable as regards number of receiving the invader in fight, and seeing that the greater part of the States were not willing to take up the war, but adopted readily the side of the Medes.

7.139

And here I am compelled by necessity to declare an opinion which in the eyes of most men would seem to be invidious, but nevertheless I will not abstain from saying that which I see evidently to be the truth. If the Athenians had been seized with fear of the danger which threatened them and had left their land, or again, without leaving their land, had stayed and given themselves

up to Xerxes, none would have made any attempt by sea to oppose the king. If then none had opposed Xerxes by sea, it would have happened on the land somewhat thus:—even if many tunics of walls had been thrown across the Isthmus by the Peloponnesians, the Lacedemonians would have been deserted by their allies, not voluntarily but of necessity, since these would have been conquered city after city by the naval force of the Barbarian, and so they would have been left alone: and having been left alone and having displayed great deeds of valour, they would have met their death nobly. Either they would have suffered this fate, or before this, seeing the other Hellenes also taking the side of the Medes, they would have made an agreement with Xerxes; and thus in either case Hellas would have come to be under the rule of the Persians: for as to the good to be got from the walls thrown across the Isthmus, I am unable to

vocabulary

ἄδυτον inner sanctum
αἰδέομαι respect, be ashamed
αἰρετός takeable, desirable ~heresy
ἄκρις -ός (f) hilltop ~acute
ἄκρον crest, extremity ~acute
ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ~acute
ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read, understand, persuade
ἀνταίρω raise against
ἀνωθέω put out to sea
ἀπάγω lead away, back
 ~demagogue
ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart
ἀπόρρητος not pillaged
ἀποφαίνω display, declare
ἀριστεύω be the best ~aristocrat
ἄρος ἄρεος (n, 3) bane, harm; prayer
ἀρτέομαι be ready
βασανίζω interrogate, test, torture
δεῖμα -τος (n, 3) fear
δέμω build ~domicile
δίζημαι seek ~zeal
δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent
δορυφόρος spear-bearing
δραχμή drachma
ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over
ἐλεύθερος not enslaved
Ἑλλην Greek
ἔμπεδος solid, constant, (pl) one after another ~pedal
ἐντέλλω (mp) command
ἐντός within
ἐξιλάσχομαι propitiate, atone
ἐπάιστος heard of, perceived
ἐπεγείρω wake up
ἐπικίδνημι spread over
ἐπικρατέω rule over
ἐπιστρέφω turn towards ~atroph

ἐρείπω pull down; fall ~reap
ἐσχατάω be at the edge
ἔσχατος farthest, last
έτοιμος ready; fulfilled
εὐρύοπα far-sounding
εύς good, brave, noble
ἔχθρη hate
ζάθεος holy
ἡπειρος (f) mainland, continent
ἡπιος kind (adj)
ἡσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat
ἥσυχος quiet
θαλάσσιος marine, maritime
θεοπρόπος seer ~theology
ιδρώς sweat ~exude
ἵζω to seat ~sit
ικετήριος of a supplication
ικέτης -ου (m, 1) suppliant, refugee
ἵπποσύνη horsemanship ~hippo
κακότης -τος (f, 3) badness
 ~cacophony
κάρηνον head, top, mountaintop, citadel ~cranium
κατακρίνω sentence, condemn
καταλλάσσω exchange; make up with
καταμανθάνω examine, observe
καταμένω stay; not change
κατάσκοπος spy, inspector
κευθμών -ος (m, 3) innermost part
 ~cuticle
λαγχάνω be allotted; (esp. λελα-
 forms) allot; receive
λίσσομαι beg, beseech ~litany
μαλερός raging, devouring
μαντεῖον prophetic warning
 ~mantis
μέλεος vain, idle, useless
μέμφομαι blame; reject
μεταλλάω interrogate, ask about
μέταλλον mine; mineral

μετεξέτεροι (+gen) some ones of
 μίν him, her, it
 ναυμαχία naval warfare
 νέατος lowest, outermost
 νηός temple, shrine
 νῶτον back of the body; rear of an
 army; top of a box
 νῶτος back of the body; rear of an
 army; top of a box
 ξύλινος wooden
 οἰκήτωρ inhabitant
 οἰκίζω colonize, settle
 ὀνέω help, please, be available
 ὄνησις -ος (f) benefit
 ὀνίνημι help, please, be available
 ὀνομαι blame ~name
 ὄον οὔ type of fruit
 ὀπότερος which of two, either of two
 ὄροφος thatching
 οὐδαμός not anyone
 πάλαι long ago ~paleo
 παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas
 πάλη wrestling ~Pallas
 πάλλω shake, brandish ~Pallas
 πανδημεί the masses
 παραρτέομαι get something ready
 πελάζω bring/come to, near, into
 contact with
 περίειμι be superior to; be left over;
 still exist
 Πέρσης Persian
 πότε when?
 προβάλλω throw before; propose;
 (mp) pretend, abandon, nominate
 ~ballistic
 πρόμαντις prophet
 πρόοιδα foresee
 προποιέω do beforehand

ῥέπω incline or sink downwards
 σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark
 ~semaphore
 σκίδνημι spread something, be
 spread
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 συγγράφω write down
 συγκύπτω go in a huddle
 συγχέω entangle, destroy, confound
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
 συμβάλλω pit against; compare;
 mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic
 συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid)
 consult ~volunteer
 σύμπας (ᾱ) all together
 συμφορά collecting; accident,
 misfortune
 σύνειμι be with; have sex ~ion
 συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis
 σφάλλω overthrow, balk, stagger
 σχέτιλος tough, sound, stubborn,
 cruel ~ischemia
 σωτήρ -ος (m) savior
 τελέθω turn out, come around
 ~apostle
 τελευταῖος last, final
 τροχοειδής round, circular
 ὑποχωρέω recoil ~heir
 φοβερός frightful, afraid
 φράσσω fence in, protect
 χρησμιολόγος prophesying
 χρηστηριάζω prophesy
 χρηστήριον oracle, response

ἐληλαμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἂν ἦν, βασιλέος ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης. νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἂν τις λέγων σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τὸ ἀληθές. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ὁκότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ῥέψειν¹ ἔμελλε· ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπόν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι. οὐδὲ σφέας χρηστήρια φοβερά ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δέϊμα βαλόντα ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες ἀνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δέξασθαι.

7.140

πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους χρηστηριάζεσθαι² ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι· καὶ σφι ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἶρόν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὥς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἔζοντο, χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀριστονίκη, τάδε.

ὦ μέλειοι,³ τί κάθησθε; λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος⁴ ἄκρα ἀρήνηα. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον οὔτε τὸ σῶμα, οὔτε πόδες νέατοι⁵ οὔτ' ὦν χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἄζηλα πέλει· κατὰ γάρ μιν ἐρείπει πῦρ τε καὶ ὄξυς Ἄρης, Συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων.

πολλὰ δὲ κἄλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα κου' τὸ σὸν οἶον, πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῶ⁶ πυρὶ δώσει, οἳ που νῦν ἰδρῶτι ρεούμενοι ἐστήκασι, δέϊματι παλλόμενοι, κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισι⁷ αἷμα μέλαν κέχυται, προῖδὸν κακότητος ἀνάγκας. ἀλλ' ἔτον ἐξ ἀδύτιοι, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.

7.141

ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι συμφορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωντο. προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ κεκηρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου, τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος

¹ incline or sink downwards ² prophesy ³ vain, idle, useless

⁴ round, circular ⁵ lowest, outermost ⁶ raging, devouring

⁷ thatching

ὅμοια τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευέ σφι ἱκετηρίην λαβοῦσι δεύτερα αὖτις ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἰκέτας. πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ λέγουσι «ὦναξ, χρήσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε τὰς τοι ἤκομεν φέροντες, ἢ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν,» ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἢ πρόμαντις χρᾶ δεύτερα τάδε.

οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ. σοὶ δὲ τόδ' αὖτις ἔπος ἐρέω ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας. τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλισκομένων ὅσα Κέκροπος οὖρος ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμών⁸ τε Κιθαιρῶνος ζαθέοιο, τείχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοὶ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς μῶνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν,⁹ τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.

μηδὲ σύ γ' ἵπποσύνην¹⁰ τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἰόντα πολλὸν ἀπ' ἡπείρου στρατὸν ἵσυχος,¹¹ ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοι ποτε κἀντίος ἔσση. ὦ θεΐη Σαλαμὶς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἢ που σκιδναμένης¹² Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

7.142

ταῦτα σφι ἡπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι, συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γινώμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ γίνονται διζημένων τὸ μαντήιον καὶ αἶδε συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα. τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι δοκέειν σφίσι τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρήσαι περιέσεσθαι. ἢ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ῥήχῳ ἐπέφρακτο.¹³ οἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τείχος εἶναι, οἱ δ' αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὦν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τείχος ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης, ὦ θεΐη Σαλαμὶς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

⁸ innermost part ⁹ turn out, come around ¹⁰ horsemanship

¹¹ quiet ¹² spread something, be spread ¹³ fence in, protect

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν φαμένων τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι¹⁴ ταύτη ταῦτα ἐλάμβανον, ὥς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμῖνα δεῖ σφεας ἐσσωθῆναι ναυμαχίην παρασκευασαμένους.

7.143

ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριών, τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλῆος ἐκαλέετο. οὗτος ὦν ἦρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιάδε· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ἐόντως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἡπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὧδε «ὦ σχετλίη Σαλαμῖς» ἀντὶ τοῦ «ὦ θεΐη Σαλαμῖς,» εἴ πέρ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσῃ· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρῆσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους· παρασκευάζεσθαι ὦν αὐτοὺς ὥς ναυμαχῆσοντας συνεβούλευε, ὥς τούτου ἐόντος τοῦ ξυλίνου τεύχεος. ταύτη Θεμιστοκλῆος ἀποφαινομένου Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα σφίσι ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα¹⁵ εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οἳ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι,¹⁶ τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταείρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώρην τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν.

7.144

ἐτέρη τε Θεμιστοκλέϊ γνώμη ἔμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἠρίστευσε, ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετᾶλλων σφί προσήλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἔμελλον λάξεσθαι ὀρχηδὸν ἕκαστος δέκα δραχμᾶς.¹⁷ τότε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους τῆς διαρέσιος ταύτης παυσασμένους νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος συστάς ἔσωσε ἐς τὸ τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους¹⁸ γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους. αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιήθησαν οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν, ἐς δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο.

¹⁴ prophesying ¹⁵ takeable, desirable ¹⁶ be ready ¹⁷ drachma

¹⁸ marine, maritime

αὐταί τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι προποιοθεῖσαι ὑπῆρχον, ἐτέρας τε ἔδεε προσναυπηγέεσθαι. ἔδοξέ τέ σφι μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημεί, τῷ θεῷ πειθομένους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι.

7.145

τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγγέγονε. συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἑλλήνων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντων καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἔδοκε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τὰς τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλους ἐόντας πολέμους· ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεκρημένοι, ὁ δὲ ὦν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Αἰγινήτησι. μετὰ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι Ξέρξην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέος πρηγμάτων, ἐς Ἄρος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαιχμὴν συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος ἕς τε Κέρκυραν κελεύσοντας βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους, φρονήσαντες εἴ πως ἔν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τὸ αὐτὸ πρήσσοιεν πάντες, ὥς δειῶν ἐπιόντων ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἑλλήσι. τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέζω.

7.146

ὥς δὲ ταῦτα σφι ἔδοξε, καταλυσάμενοι τὰς ἔχθρας πρῶτα μὲν κατασκόπους πέμπουσι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἄνδρας τρεῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοί τε ἐς Ξάρδεις καὶ καταμαθόντες τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν, ὥς ἐπάιστοι ἐγένοντο, βασανισθέντες¹⁹ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπήγοντο ὥς ἀπολεόμενοι. καὶ τοῖσι μὲν κατεκέκριτο θάνατος, Ξέρξης δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, μεμφθεὶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν γνώμην πέμπει τῶν τινας δορυφόρων, ἐντειλάμενος, ἥν καταλάβωσι τοὺς

¹⁹ interrogate, test, torture

discover what it would have been, when the king had command of the sea. As it is however, if a man should say that the Athenians proved to be the saviours of Hellas, he would not fail to hit the truth; for to whichever side these turned, to that the balance was likely to incline: and these were they who, preferring that Hellas should continue to exist in freedom, roused up all of Hellas which remained, so much, that is, as had not gone over to the Medes, and (after the gods at least) these were they who repelled the king. Nor did fearful oracles, which came from Delphi and cast them into dread, induce them to leave Hellas, but they stayed behind and endured to receive the invader of their land.

7.140

For the Athenians had sent men to Delphi to inquire and were preparing to consult the Oracle; and after these had performed the usual rites in the sacred precincts, when they had entered the sanctuary and were sitting down there, the Pythian prophetess, whose name was Aristonike, uttered to them this oracle:

“Why do ye sit, O ye wretched? Flee thou to the uttermost limits, Leaving thy home and the heights of the wheel-round city behind thee! Lo, there remaineth now nor the head nor the body in safety,—Neither the feet below nor the hands nor the middle are left thee,—All are destroyed together; for fire and the passionate War-god, Urging the Syrian car to speed, doth hurl them to ruin. Not thine alone, he shall cause many more great strongholds to perish, Yes, many temples of gods to the ravening fire shall deliver,—Temples which stand now surely with sweat of their terror down-streaming, Quaking with dread; and lo! from the topmost roof to the pavement Dark blood trickles, forecasting the dire unavoidable evil. Forth with you, forth from the shrine, and steep your soul in the sorrow!”

7.141

Hearing this the men who had been sent by the Athenians to consult the Oracle were very greatly distressed; and as they were despairing by reason of the evil which had been prophesied to them, Timon the son of Androbulos, a man of the Delphians in reputation equal to the first, counselled them to take a suppliant's bough and to approach the second time and consult the Oracle as suppliants. The Athenians did as he advised and said: “Lord, we pray thee utter to us some better oracle about our native land, having respect to these suppliant boughs which we have come to thee bearing; otherwise surely we will not depart away from the sanctuary, but will remain here where we are now, even until we bring our lives to an end.” When they spoke these words, the prophetess gave them a second oracle as follows:

“Pallas cannot prevail to appease great Zeus in Olympos, Though she with words very many and wiles close-woven entreat him. But I will tell thee this more, and will clench it with steel adamantine: Then when all else shall be taken, whatever the boundary of Kecrops Holdeth within, and the dark ravines of divinest Kithairon, A bulwark of wood at the last Zeus grants to the Triton-born goddess Sole to remain unwasted, which thee and thy children shall profit. Stay thou not there for the horsemen to come and the footmen unnumbered; Stay thou not still for the host from the mainland to come, but retire thee, Turning thy back to the foe, for yet thou shalt face him hereafter. Salamis, thou the divine, thou shalt cause sons of women to perish, Or when the grain is scattered or when it is gathered together.”

7.142

This seemed to them to be (as in truth it was) a milder utterance than the former one; therefore they had it written down and departed with it to Athens: and when the messengers after their return made report to the people, many various opinions were expressed by persons inquiring into the meaning of the oracle, and among them these, standing most in opposition to one another: — some of the elder men said they thought that the god had prophesied to them that the Acropolis should survive; for the Acropolis of the Athenians was in old time fenced with a thorn hedge; and they conjectured accordingly that this saying about the “bulwark of wood” referred to the fence: others on the contrary said that the god meant by this their ships, and they advised to leave all else and get ready these. Now they who said that the ships were the bulwark of wood were shaken in their interpretation by the two last verses which the prophetess uttered:

“Salamis, thou the divine, thou shalt cause sons of women to perish, Or when the grain is scattered or when it is gathered together.”

In reference to these verses the opinions of those who said that the ships were the bulwark of wood were disturbed; for the interpreters of oracles took these to mean that it was fated for them, having got ready for a sea-fight, to suffer defeat round about Salamis.

7.143

Now there was one man of the Athenians who had lately been coming forward to take a place among the first, whose name was Themistocles, called son of Neocles. This man said that the interpreters of oracles did not make right conjecture of the whole, and he spoke as follows, saying that if these words that had been uttered referred really to the Athenians, he did not think it would have been so mildly expressed in the oracle, but rather thus, “Salamis, thou the merciless,” instead of “Salamis, thou the divine,” at least

if its settlers were destined to perish round about it: but in truth the oracle had been spoken by the god with reference to the enemy, if one understood it rightly, and not to the Athenians: therefore he counselled them to get ready to fight a battle by sea, for in this was their bulwark of wood. When Themistocles declared his opinion thus, the Athenians judged that this was to be preferred by them rather than the advice of the interpreters of oracles, who bade them not make ready for a sea-fight, nor in short raise their hands at all in opposition, but leave the land of Attica and settle in some other.

7.144

Another opinion too of Themistocles before this one proved the best at the right moment, when the Athenians, having got large sums of money in the public treasury, which had come in to them from the mines which are at Laureion, were intending to share it among themselves, taking each in turn the sum of ten drachmas. Then Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to give up this plan of division and to make for themselves with this money two hundred ships for the war, meaning by that the war with the Eginetans: for this war having arisen proved in fact the salvation of Hellas at that time, by compelling the Athenians to become a naval power. And the ships, not having been used for the purpose for which they had been made, thus proved of service at need to Hellas. These ships then, I say, the Athenians had already, having built them beforehand, and it was necessary in addition to these to construct others. They resolved then, when they took counsel after the oracle was given, to receive the Barbarian invading Hellas with their ships in full force, following the commands of the god, in combination with those of the Hellenes who were willing to join them.

7.145

These oracles had been given before to the Athenians: and when those Hellenes who had the better mind about Hellas came together to one place, and considered their affairs and interchanged assurances with one another, then deliberating together they thought it well first of all things to reconcile the enmities and bring to an end the wars which they had with one another. Now there were wars engaged between others also, and especially between the Athenians and the Eginetans. After this, being informed that Xerxes was with his army at Sardis, they determined to send spies to Asia to make observation of the power of the king; and moreover they resolved to send envoys to Argos to form an alliance against the Persian, and to send others to Sicily to Gelon the son of Deinomenes and also to Corcyra, to urge them to come to the assistance of Hellas, and others again to Crete; for they made it their aim that if possible the Hellenic race might unite in one, and that they might join all together and act towards the same end, since dangers were threatening all the

Hellenes equally. Now the power of Gelon was said to be great, far greater than any other Hellenic power.

7.146

When they had thus resolved, they reconciled their enmities and then sent first three men as spies to Asia. These having come to Sardis and having got knowledge about the king's army, were discovered, and after having been examined by the generals of the land-army were being led off to die. For these men, I say, death had been determined; but Xerxes, being informed of this, found fault with the decision of the generals and sent some of the spearmen of his guard, enjoining them, if they should find the spies yet alive, to bring them to

vocabulary

αἰσχρός shameful
αἰχμή spear point ~acute
ἀλλάσσω trade, transform
ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear
ἀντίξοος opposed to
ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order,
 promise ~angel
ἀπαγορεύω forbid; fail, be worn out
ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be
 freed, depart
ἀπόγονος descended from
ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp
ἀποφαίνω display, declare
ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back
 ~bear
ἀποχράω suffice; abuse
ἀσινής unharmed
ἀσπάσιος gladly, with glad welcome
ἀτρεκής precise, certain
βουλευτήριον council chamber
δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot
δῆτα emphatic δῆ
διατελέω accomplish; keep doing
 ~apostle
δορυφόρος spear-bearer
εἰσφέρω carry into, carry along
 ~bear
ἐκχύπτω peep out
ἐλευθερία freedom
Ἑλλην Greek
ἐμμένω stay put, be faithful, fixed
ἐνθεῦτεν thence
ἐντέλλω (mp) command
ἑξακισχίλιοι 6000
ἐξαρτύω (ῥ) train, equip
ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then
ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask
ἐπειρωτέω consult, ask
ἐπιδείκνυμι (ῥ) display, exhibit
ἐπικαλέω call upon
ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose;

(mid) think over
ἐτοῖμος ready; fulfilled
εὖς good, brave, noble
ἡγεμονία authority, rule
ἡμισυς half ~hemisphere
ἡσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be
 overcome; (active) defeat
ἡσυχία peace and quiet
θεάομαι look at, behold, consider
 ~theater
θεοπρόπος seer ~theology
θῆομαι look at, behold, consider
 ~theater
θῶμα a wonder, feeling of surprise
 ~theater
καίπερ even if
καίτοι and yet; and in fact; although
κάρα (αἶ) head (n) ~cranium
κατάγω lead down/home; land
 ~demagogue
καταλαμβάνω seize, understand,
 catch, overtake; (mp) happen
 ~epilepsy
κατάσκοπος spy, inspector
κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate;
 get; kill
κείρω shave, sever, raze; devour, use
 up
κτάομαι acquire, possess
κτίζω found, populate ~oxytocin
λύπη distress
μεταδίδωμι give part of ~donate
μεταιτέω demand one's share; beg
 from
νοστέω go home
ὄον οὔ type of fruit
ὅπη wherever, however
οὐδαμὸς not anyone
οὐδέτερος neither
οὐκω no longer
ὀφείλω owe, should, if only
ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view

~thanatopsis

παντάπασιν altogether; yes, certainly

παραγγέλλω transmit; order, summon, recommend, encourage

παραχρήμα on the spot

πάρεδρος assessor

πέλας near, close

περιάγω lead around

περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist

περιέπω treat, handle

Πέρσης Persian

πίσυνος trusting in, relying on (+dat)

πλήρης full, complete; (+gen) full of ~plethora

πρόγονος elder, ancestor ~genus

προείπον foretell, proclaim, order before

προπυθάνομαι learn in advance

πρόφασις -εως (f) pretext; motive; prediction ~fame

ρόδον rose

σίνομαι (i) rob, damage

σιταγωγός (i) grain-carrying

σοῦσον lily

σπένδω libate; (mid) make a treaty ~spontaneous

σπονδή libation, treaty

~spontaneous

σπουδή zeal; (dat) with difficulty, hastily ~repudiate

στάσις -εως (f) placing; faction

στρατηλατέω lead an army

στρατός common people/soldiers ~strategy

συμμαχία alliance

συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix

συμπίτνω fall together, happen

συμφέρω bring together; be expedient; agree; (mp) happen

~bear

συνωμότης -ου (m, 1) confederate

σφέτερος their

τιμωρέω (i) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked

τοιόσδε such

ὕπείκω yield, withdraw ~victor

ὕπήκοος heeding, subject

ὕποκρίνομαι (i) answer; pretend

ὕπολαμβάνω take under one's support, seize; speak up; imagine

~epilepsy

φίλιος friendly

χρηστήριον oracle, response

κατασκόπους ζώντας, ἄγειν παρ' ἐωυτόν. ὥς δὲ ἔτι περιέοντας αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον καὶ ἦγον ἐς ὧν τὴν βασιλέως, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος ἐπ' οἷσι ἦλθον, ἐκέλευε σφέας τοὺς δορυφόρους περιάγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον, ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα θεύμενοι ἔωσι πλήρεις, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐθέλωσι χώραν ἀσινέας.¹

7.147

ἐπιλέγων δὲ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, ὥς εἰ μὲν ἀπώλονται οἱ κατάσκοποι, οὗτ' ἂν τὰ ἐωυτοῦ πρήγματα προεπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔοντα λόγου μέζω, οὗτ' ἂν τι τοὺς πολεμίους μέγα εἰνάντο,² ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπολέσαντες· νοστησάντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα δοκέειν ἔφη ἀκούσαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ἐωυτοῦ πρήγματα πρὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ γινομένου παραδώσειν σφέας τὴν ἰδίην ἐλευθερίην, καὶ οὕτω οὐδὲ δεήσειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατηλατέοντας πρήγματα ἔχειν. οἷκε δὲ αὐτοῦ αὕτη ἢ γνώμη τῇ γε ἄλλῃ. ἐὼν γὰρ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὁ Ξέρξης εἶδε πλοῖα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγὰ³ διεκπλώνοντα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔς τε Αἴγιναν καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομζόμενα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ ὥς ἐπύθοντο πολέμια εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα, ἔτομοι ἦσαν αἰρέειν αὐτά, ἐσβλέποντες ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ὁκοτε παραγγέλει. ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης εἶρετο αὐτοὺς ὅκῃ πλείοιεν· οἱ δὲ εἶπαν «ἐς τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους, ὧ δέσποτα, σίτον ἄγοντες.» ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη «οὐκῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν ἔνθα περ οὗτοι, τοῖσί τε ἄλλοισι ἐξηρτυμένοι καὶ σίτω; τί δῆτα⁴ ἀδικέουσι οὗτοι ἡμῖν σιτία παρακομίζοντες;»

7.148

οἱ μὲν νυν κατάσκοποι οὕτω θεισάμενοί τε καὶ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐνόστησαν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, οἱ δὲ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν τῶν κατασκόπων δεύτερα ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἄργος ἀγγέλους. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ λέγουσι τὰ κατ' ἐωυτοὺς γενέσθαι ὧδε. πυθέσθαι γὰρ αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πυθόμενοι δέ, καὶ μαθόντες ὥς σφέας

¹ unharmed ² rob, damage ³ grain-carrying ⁴ emphatic δῆ

οἱ Ἕλληνες πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν, πέμψαι θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους ὥς σφι μέλλει ἄριστον ποιεῖν γενέσθαι· νεωστὶ γὰρ σφέων τεθνάναι ἑξακισχιλίους ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κλεομένους τοῦ Ἀναξανδριδεῶ· τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα πέμπειν. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην ἐπειρωτῶσι αὐτοῖσι ἀνελεῖν τάδε.

Ἐχθρὲ περικτιόνεσσι, φύλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, εἴσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχων πεφυλαγμένος ἦσο καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο· κάρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα σαώσῃ.

Ταῦτα μὲν τὴν Πυθίην χρῆσαι πρότερον· μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος, ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς ἔτοιμοι εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, τριήκοντα ἔτεα εἰρήνην σπεισάμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ ἡγεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίης. καίτοι κατὰ γε τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἐωυτῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως σφίσι ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ ἡγεομένοισι.

7.149

ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι τὴν βουλὴν ὑποκρίνασθαι, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντός σφι τοῦ χρηστηρίου μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας συμμαχίην· σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχειν σπονδὰς γενέσθαι τριηκοντοετίδας καίπερ τὸ χρηστήριον φοβερόμενοι, ἵνα δὴ σφι οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρωθέωσι ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι ἔτεσι· μὴ δὲ σπονδέων ἐουσέων ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἣν ἄρα σφέας καταλάβῃ πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἄλλο πταῖσμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃν, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκοοι. τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς τὰ ῥηθέντα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσιδε· περὶ μὲν σπονδέων ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας, περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίης αὐτοῖσι ἐντετάλλαι ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ δὴ λέγειν, σφίσι μὲν εἶναι δύο βασιλέας, Ἀργείοισι δὲ ἓνα· οὐκ ὄντως δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον⁵ παῦσαι τῆς ἡγεμονίης, μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὁμόψηφον τὸν Ἀργεῖον εἶναι κωλύειν οὐδέν. οὕτω δὲ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι φασὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων τὴν πλεονεξίην, ἀλλ' ἐλέσθαι

⁵ neither

μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχεσθαι ἢ τι ὑπεῖξαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, προειπεῖν τε τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείων χώρας, εἰ δὲ μή, περιέψεσθαι ὥς πολεμίους.

7.150

αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι τοσαῦτα τούτων πέρι λέγουσι· ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὥς Ξέρξης ἔπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος πρότερον ἢ περ ὀρμῆσαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἐλθόντα δὲ τοῦτον λέγεται εἰπεῖν «ἄνδρες Ἀργεῖοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τάδε ὑμῖν λέγει. ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσῃν εἶναι ἀπ' οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν παῖδα Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέος θυγατρὸς Ἄνδρομέδης. οὕτω ἂν ὦν εἴημεν ὑμέτεροι ἀπόγονοι. οὔτε ὦν ἡμέας οἶκος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους στρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε ὑμέας ἄλλοισι τιμωρέοντας ἡμῖν ἀντιξόους γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖσι ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι. ἦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ γένηται κατὰ νόον, οὐδαμὸς μέζοντας ὑμέων ἄξω.» ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας Ἀργεῖους λέγεται πρήγμα ποιήσασθαι, καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μετατίτειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὕτω δὴ ἐπισταμένους ὅτι οὐ μεταδώσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετατίτειν, ἵνα ἐπὶ προφάσιος ἡσυχίην ἄγῃσι.

7.151

συμπεσεῖν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον λέγουσι τινὲς Ἑλλήνων πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον γενόμενον τούτων. τυχεῖν ἐν Σούσοις τοῖσι Μεμνονίοις ἐόντας ἑτέρου πρήγματος εἵνεκα ἀγγέλους Ἀθηναίων Καλλίην τε τὸν Ἰππονίκου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτου ἀναβάντας, Ἀργεῖους δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον πέμψαντας καὶ τούτους ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγέλους εἰρωτᾶν Ἀρτοξέρξεα τὸν Ξέρξεω εἰ σφί ἔτι ἐμμένει ἐθέλουσι τὴν πρὸς Ξέρξην φιλίην συνεκεράσαντο, ἢ νομιζοίατο πρὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι πολέμιοι· βασιλεία δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξεα μάλιστα ἐμμένειν φάναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν νομίζειν πόλιν Ἄργεος φιλιωτέρην.⁶

⁶ friendly

7.152

εἰ μὲν νυν Ξέρξης τε ἀπέπεμψε ταῦτα λέγοντα κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος καὶ Ἀργείων ἄγγελοι ἀναβάντες ἐς Σοῦσα ἐπειρώτων Ἄρτοξέρξεα περὶ φιλίας, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, οὐδέ τινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνομαι ἄλλην γε ἢ τὴν περ αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι· ἐπίσταμαι δὲ τοσοῦτο ὅτι εἰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὰ οἰκία κακὰ ἐς μέσον συνενεῖκαιεν ἀλλάξασθαι⁷ βουλόμενοι τοῖσι πλησίοισι, ἐγκύψαντες ἂν ἐς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ ἀσπασίως ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἀποφεροῖατο ὀπίσω τὰ ἐσενεκαῖατο. οὕτω δὲ οὐδ' Ἀργεῖοισι αἰσχιστα πεποίηται. ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὲν οὐ παντάπασι ὀφείλω, καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα λόγον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται, ὥς ἄρα Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπειδὴ σφι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κακῶς ἢ αἰχμὴ ἐστήκεε, πᾶν δὴ βουλόμενοι σφίσι εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παρεούσης λύπης.

7.153

τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀργείων εἴρηται· ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίην ἄλλοι τε ἀπίκατο ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων συμμίζοντες Γέλωνι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Σύναργος. τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος τούτου πρόγονος, οἰκίτωρ ὁ ἐν Γέλλῃ, ἦν ἐκ νήσου Τήλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τριοπίῳ κειμένης· ὃς κτιζομένης Γέλλης ὑπὸ Λινδίων τε τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου⁸ καὶ Ἀντιφήμεου οὐκ ἐλείφθη. ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπόγονοι γενόμενοι ἱροφάνται τῶν χθονίων θεῶν διετέλεον ἐόντες, Τηλίνεω ἐνός τευ τῶν προγόνων κτησαμένου τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. ἐς Μακτώριον πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ Γέλλης οἰκημένην ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γελῶν στάσι ἐσσωθέντες· τούτους ὦν ὁ Τηλίνης κατήγαγε ἐς Γέλλην, ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν ἀλλὰ ἱρὰ τούτων τῶν θεῶν· ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· τούτοισι δ' ὦν πίσυνος⁹ ἔων κατήγαγε, ἐπ' ᾧ τε οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ἱροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. θωμά μοι ὦν καὶ τοῦτο γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνομαι, κατεργάσασθαι Τηλίνην ἔργον τοσοῦτον· τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς νενόμκα γίνεσθαι,

⁷ trade, transform ⁸ rose ⁹ trusting in, relying on (+dat)

his presence. So having found them yet surviving they brought them into the presence of the king; and upon that Xerxes, being informed for what purpose they had come, commanded the spearmen to lead them round and to show them the whole army both foot and horse, and when they should have had their fill of looking at these things, to let them go unhurt to whatsoever land they desired.

7.147

Such was the command which he gave, adding at the same time this saying, namely that if the spies had been put to death, the Hellenes would not have been informed beforehand of his power, how far beyond description it was; while on the other hand by putting to death three men they would not very greatly have damaged the enemy; but when these returned back to Hellas, he thought it likely that the Hellenes, hearing of his power, would deliver up their freedom to him themselves, before the expedition took place which was being set in motion; and thus there would be no need for them to have the labour of marching an army against them. This opinion of his is like his manner of thinking at other times; for when Xerxes was in Abydos, he saw vessels which carried corn from the Pontus sailing out through the Hellespont on their way to Egina and the Peloponnese. Those then who sat by his side, being informed that the ships belonged to the enemy, were prepared to capture them, and were looking to the king to see when he would give the word; but Xerxes asked about them whither the men were sailing, and they replied: "Master, to thy foes, conveying to them corn": he then made answer and said: "Are we not also sailing to the same place as these men, furnished with corn as well as with other things necessary? How then do these wrong us, since they are conveying provisions for our use?"

7.148

The spies then, having thus looked at everything and after that having been dismissed, returned back to Europe: and meanwhile those of the Hellenes who had sworn alliance against the Persian, after the sending forth of the spies proceeded to send envoys next to Argos. Now the Argives report that the matters concerning themselves took place as follows:—They were informed, they say, at the very first of the movement which was being set on foot by the Barbarian against Hellas; and having been informed of this and perceiving that the Hellenes would endeavour to get their alliance against the Persians, they had sent messengers to inquire of the god at Delphi, and to ask how they should act in order that it might be best for themselves: because lately there had been slain of them six thousand men by the Lacedemonians and by Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides, and this in fact was the reason that they were sending to inquire: and when they inquired, the Pythian prophetess

made answer to them as follows:

“Thou to thy neighbours a foe, by the gods immortal beloved, Keep thou thy spear within bounds, and sit well-guarded behind it: Guard well the head, and the head shall preserve the limbs and the body.”

Thus, they say, the Pythian prophetess had replied to them before this; and afterwards when the messengers of the Hellenes came, as I said, to Argos, they entered the Council-chamber and spoke that which had been enjoined to them; and to that which was said the Council replied that the Argives were ready to do as they were requested, on condition that they got peace made with the Lacedemonians for thirty years and that they had half the leadership of the whole confederacy: and yet by strict right (they said) the whole leadership fell to their share, but nevertheless it was sufficient for them to have half.

7.149

Thus they report that the Council made answer, although the oracle forbade them to make the alliance with the Hellenes; and they were anxious, they say, that a truce from hostilities for thirty years should be made, although they feared the oracle, in order, as they allege, that their sons might grow to manhood in these years; whereas if a truce did not exist, they had fear that, supposing another disaster should come upon them in fighting against the Persian in addition to that which had befallen them already, they might be for all future time subject to the Lacedemonians. To that which was spoken by the Council those of the envoys who were of Sparta replied, that as to the truce they would refer the matter to their public assembly, but as to the leadership they had themselves been commissioned to make reply, and did in fact say this, namely that they had two kings, while the Argives had one; and it was not possible to remove either of the two who were of Sparta from the leadership, but there was nothing to prevent the Argive king from having an equal vote with each of their two. Then, say the Argives, they could not endure the grasping selfishness of the Spartans, but chose to be ruled by the Barbarians rather than to yield at all to the Lacedemonians; and they gave notice to the envoys to depart out of the territory of the Argives before sunset, or, if not, they would be dealt with as enemies.

7.150

The Argives themselves report so much about these matters: but there is another story reported in Hellas to the effect that Xerxes sent a herald to Argos before he set forth to make an expedition against Hellas, and this herald, they say, when he had come, spoke as follows: “Men of Argos, king Xerxes says to you these things:—We hold that Perses, from whom we are

descended, was the son of Perseus, the son of Danae, and was born of the daughter of Kepheus, Andromeda; and according to this it would seem that we are descended from you. It is not fitting then that we should go forth on an expedition against those from whom we trace our descent, nor that ye should set yourselves in opposition to us by rendering assistance to others; but it is fitting that ye keep still and remain by yourselves: for if things happen according to my mind, I shall not esteem any people to be of greater consequence than you.” Having heard this the Argives, it is said, considered it a great matter; and therefore at first they made no offer of help nor did they ask for any share; but afterwards, when the Hellenes tried to get them on their side, then, since they knew well that the Lacedemonians would not give them a share in the command, they asked for this merely in order that they might have a pretext for remaining still.

7.151

Also some of the Hellenes report that the following event, in agreement with this account, came to pass many years after these things:—there happened, they say, to be in Susa the city of Memnon envoys of the Athenians come about some other matter, namely Callias the son of Hipponicos and the others who went up with him; and the Argives at that very time had also sent envoys to Susa, and these asked Artoxerxes the son of Xerxes, whether the friendship which they had formed with Xerxes still remained unbroken, if they themselves desired to maintain it, or whether they were esteemed by him to be enemies; and king Artoxerxes said that it most certainly remained unbroken, and that there was no city which he considered to be more his friend than Argos.

7.152

Now whether Xerxes did indeed send a herald to Argos saying that which has been reported, and whether envoys of the Argives who had gone up to Susa inquired of Artoxerxes concerning friendship, I am not able to say for certain; nor do I declare any opinion about the matters in question other than that which the Argives themselves report: but I know this much, that if all the nations of men should bring together into one place the evils which they have suffered themselves, desiring to make exchange with their neighbours, each people of them, when they had examined closely the evils suffered by their fellows, would gladly carry away back with them those which they had brought. Thus it is not the Argives who have acted most basely of all. I however am bound to report that which is reported, though I am not bound altogether to believe it; and let this saying be considered to hold good as regards every narrative in the history: for I must add that this also is reported, namely that the Argives were actually those who invited the Persian to invade

Hellas, because their war with the Lacedemonians had had an evil issue, being willing to suffer anything whatever rather than the trouble which was then upon them.

7.153

That which concerns the Argives has now been said: and meanwhile envoys had come to Sicily from the allies, to confer with Gelon, among whom was also Syagros from the Lacedemonians. Now the ancestor of this Gelon, he who was at Gela as a settler, was a native of the island of Telos, which lies off Triopion; and when Gela was founded by the Lindians of Rhodes and by Antiphemos, he was not left behind. Then in course of time his descendants became and continued to be priests of the mysteries of the Earth goddesses, an office which was acquired by Telines one of their ancestors in the following manner: — certain of the men of Gela, being worsted in a party struggle, had fled to Mactorion, the city which stands above Gela; these men Telines brought back to Gela from exile with no force of men but only with the sacred rites of these goddesses; but from whom he received them, or whether he obtained them for himself, this I am not able to say; trusting in these however, he brought the men back from exile, on the condition that his descendants should be priests of the mysteries of the goddesses. To me it has caused wonder also that Telines should have been able to perform so great a deed, considering that which I am told; for such deeds, I think, are not apt to proceed from

vocabulary

ἀλής crowded; all together
 ἀμοιβή requital, compensation
 ~amoeba
 ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover,
 resume
 ἀνδρηίη courage
 ἀνδρήιος of a man, manly
 ἀξιόμαχος well matched for war
 ἀπόγονος descended from
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ὁ) show, point out;
 appoint; (mid) declare
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine
 ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp
 ἀποστερέω despoil, defraud
 ἀποστρέφω turn back, turn off
 course ~atrophy
 ἀρέσκω please, satisfy; make
 amends
 ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning
 ~oligarch
 ἀσχήμων ugly, shameful
 ἀτιμία (τι) dishonor
 ἀφαιρέω take away ~heresy
 βαρβαρικός non-Greek
 βλαστάνω bud, sprout
 γελάω laugh, smile, laugh at
 γέρας -ως (n, 3) reward, honor
 γλίχομαι cling to, long for
 διακρίνω (τι) separate, sort ~critic
 διαπολεμέω carry a war through
 διαφεύγω escape, survive
 δικαίω demand/make justice
 δισμύριοι (ὁ) 20,000
 δισχιλίοι 2000 ~kilo-
 δορυφόρος spear-bearing
 δουλοσύνη slavery
 ἔγκειμαι lie wrapped in
 ἐκπίπτω fall out of ~petal
 ἐκφαίνω bring to light ~photon
 ἐλάχιστος smallest, shortest, fewest
 ἐλευθερώ set free

Ἑλλήν Greek

ἐμπόριον immigrant, metic, trading
 post
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here
 ἐξαγωγή going out, export
 ἐπάγω drive game; induce belief
 ~demagogue
 ἐπανάγω sit up, bring up; retreat;
 set sail
 ἐπιγίγνομαι succeed, come after
 ~genus
 ἐπικεράννυμι (ὁ) mix ~crater
 ἐπικρατέω rule over
 ἐπικρατής overpoweringly, strongly
 ~democracy
 ἐπίπαν =ἐπί
 ἐπισκήπτω lay something on
 ἐπιτρέπω entrust, decide, allow
 ~trophy
 ἐρήμιος empty
 ἐρημώω raze, bereave; desert, isolate
 ἐτοῖμος ready; fulfilled
 εὕρημα invention; windfall
 ζεύγνυμι (ὁ) yoke, join ~zygote
 ἡγεμονεύω lead ~hegemony
 ἡγεμονία authority, rule
 ἡδονή pleasure
 ἵππαρχος horse-ruling (epithet of
 Poseidon) ~hippo
 ἵππόδρομος race track ~hippo
 Καρχηδόνιος Carthaginian
 κατάγω lead down/home; land
 ~demagogue
 καταλαμβάνω seize, understand,
 catch, overtake; (mp) happen
 ~epilepsy
 καταλλάσσω exchange; make up
 with
 καταπροδίδωμι betray completely
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue
 ~catastrophe
 κάτειμι go down, disembark ~ion

κατήκοος hearing; obedient
κρατύνω strengthen
κτάομαι acquire, possess
κυρέω come upon, come up against;
 obtain
λαμπρός brilliant ~lamp
μαλακός soft
μεταίτιος accessory
μηκέτι no more
μίν him, her, it
μνήστις -δος (f) thought,
 mindfulness ~mnemonic
μουναρχία monarchy
νείκος -εος (n, 3) quarrel, battle
νέμω to allot, to pasture ~nemesis
οικήτωρ inhabitant
οιμώζω wail
ὁμοιόω assimilate, liken
 ~homoerotic
ὁμολογία agreement, consent
ὄνειδος -εος (n, 3) blame; insult
οὐκί intensified 'not'
πάντως by all means
παραιτίκα immediately
παχύς thick, stout, clotted
 ~pachyderm
πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder
περιέρχομαι go around; come next
 to
περιέχω (mid) protect
Πέρσης Persian
πολλαπλήσιος many times more
προσδέχομαι await, expect; suppose
προσδοκάω expect
πρόσχημα -τος (n, 3) screen, pretext,
 appearance, ornament
προσχωρέω go to, join, support
προτείνω hold out, offer
προφαίνω show; pass: appear
 ~photon

ρόμη strength, might
στρατηγέω be a general
στρατηλατέω lead an army
στρατιά army ~strategy
στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
συνάπτω join, partake; adjoin;
 consult; fight ~haptic
συνελευθερόω join in freeing from
συχνός long; many; extensive
σφενδονήτης -ου (m, 1) slinger
σφέτερος their
τελευταίος last, final
τελευτή conclusion, fulfilment
 ~apostle
τιμωρέω (i) (+dat) take vengeance,
 punish; aid one who has been
 attacked
τοιόσδε such
τοξότης -ου (m, 1) archer ~toxic
τρέχω run, spin
τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler
τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny
τύραννος tyrant
ὑβρισμα -τος (n, 3) outrage,
 insolence
ὕγιαίνω be healthy
ὕπερήμιος mostly
ὕπισχομαι promise, agree to do
ὕποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer
ὕποείχω yield, withdraw
φθάζω do first, outstrip
φθάνω (ā) do first, outstrip
φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics
χρηστός useful; brave, worthy
φιλός (i) naked, bare ~epsilon
ὠφέλεια -ίας profit

ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ρώμης ἀνδρηίης· ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων πεφυκέναι θηλυδριῆς τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ.

7.154

οὗτος μὲν νυν ἐκτίησατο τοῦτο τὸ γέρας· Κλεάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Παντάρεος τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, ὃς ἐτυράννευσε¹ μὲν Γέλῃς ἑπτὰ ἔτα, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου ἀνδρὸς Γελώου, ἐνθαῦτα ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μουναρχίην² Ἴπποκράτης Κλεάνδρου ἐὼν ἀδελφεός. ἔχοντας δὲ Ἴπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα, ὁ Γέλων ἐὼν Τηλίνεω τοῦ ἱροφάντεω ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταίκου... ὃς ἦν δορυφόρος Ἴπποκράτεος. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς ἵππου εἶναι ἵππαρχος.³ πολιορκέοντος γὰρ Ἴπποκράτεος Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίνους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκοσίους τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων συχνούς, ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι πολέμοισι ἐὼν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος. τῶν δὲ εἶπον πολίων τουτέων πλὴν Συρηκουσέων οὐδεμία διέφυγε δουλοσύνην πρὸς Ἴπποκράτεος· Συρηκοσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Κερκυραῖοι ἐρρύσαντο μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἑλώρῳ, ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε καταλλάξαντες, ἐπ' ᾧ τε Ἴπποκράτει Καμάρινα Συρηκοσίους παραδοῦναι. Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

7.155

ὥς δὲ καὶ Ἴπποκράτεια τυραννεύσαντα ἴσα ἔτα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Κλεάνδρῳ κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλει Ὑβλῇ στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς, οὕτω δὲ ὁ Γέλων τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρέων τοῖσι Ἴπποκράτεος παισὶ Εὐκλείδῃ τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐ βουλομένων τῶν πολιητέων κατηκόων ἔτι εἶναι, τῷ ἔργῳ, ὥς ἐπεκράτησε μάχῃ τῶν Γελώων, ἤρχε αὐτὸς ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Ἴπποκράτεος παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ εὔρημα τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων, καλεομένων

¹ be an absolute ruler ² monarchy ³ horse-ruling (epithet of Poseidon)

δὲ Κυλλυρίων, ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτους ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἔσχε καὶ ταύτας· ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐπιόντι Γέλωνι παραδιδοῖ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἑωυτόν.

7.156

ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας, Γέλῃς μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὴν Ἰέρωνι ἀδελφεῷ ἑωυτοῦ, ὁ δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυνε,⁴ καὶ ἦσάν οἱ πάντα αἱ Συρήκουσαι· αἱ δὲ παραντίκα ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἔβλαστον.⁵ τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Καμαριναίους ἅπαντας ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀγαγὼν πολιήτας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἄστυ κατέσκαψε, τοῦτο δὲ Γελῶν ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν τῶντὸ τοῖσι Καμαριναίοισι ἐποίησε· Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς πολιορκεόμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκῶντας ἀπολέεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολιήτας ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρέων οὐκ ἐόντα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου οὐδὲ προσδεκόμενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγὼν καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ ἐκ Σικελίης. τῶντὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε διακρίνας. ἐποίεε δὲ ταῦτα τούτους ἀμφοτέρους νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι συνοίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον.

7.157

τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ τύραννος ἐγεγόνεε μέγας ὁ Γέλων· τότε δ' ὡς οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἐλθόντες αὐτῷ ἐς λόγους ἔλεγον τάδε. «ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι παραλαμφομένους σε πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον· τὸν γὰρ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάντως κου πυνθάνεαι, ὅτι Πέρσης ἀνὴρ μέλλει, ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλησποντον καὶ ἐπάγων πάντα τὸν ἡῶν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, στρατηλατήσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρόσχημα μὲν ποιεύμενος ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, ἐν νόῳ δὲ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός τε γὰρ ἦκεις μεγάλως καὶ μοιρά τοι τῆς

⁴ strengthen ⁵ bud, sprout

Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μέτα ἄρχοντί γε Σικελίης, βοήθεέ τε τοῖσι ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συνελευθέρου. ἀλῆς⁶ μὲν γὰρ γενομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς χεῖρ μεγάλη συνάγεται, καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι γινόμεθα τοῖσι ἐπιούσι· ἦν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡμέων καταπροδιδῶσι οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλωσι τιμωρέειν, τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖνον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ ὀλίγον, τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ πέση πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς. μὴ γὰρ ἐλπίσης, ἦν ἡμέας καταστρέφῃται ὁ Πέρσης μάχη κρατήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἤξει παρὰ σέ γε, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτου φύλαξαι· βοηθέων γὰρ ἡμῖν σεωντῶ τιμωρέεις. τῷ δὲ εὖ βουλευθέντι πρήγματι τελευτῇ ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν χρηστὴ ἐθέλει ἐπιγίνεσθαι.»

7.158

οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Γέλων δὲ πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο λέγων τοιαύδε. «ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, λόγον ἔχοντες πλεονέκτην ἐτολμήσατε ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον παρακαλέοντες ἐλθεῖν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐμεῦ πρότερον δεηθέντος βαρβαρικοῦ⁷ στρατοῦ συνεπάφασθαι, ὅτε μοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους νέικος συνῆπτο, ἐπισκῆπτοντός τε τὸν Δωριέος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδου πρὸς Ἑγεσταίων φόνον ἐκπρήξασθαι, ὑποτείνοντός τε τὰ ἐμπόρια συνελευθεροῦν ἀπ' ὧν ὑμῖν μεγάλα ὠφελία τε καὶ ἐπαυρέσιες γεγόνασι, οὔτε ἐμεῦ εἵνεκα ἤλθετε βοηθήσοντες οὔτε τὸν Δωριέος φόνον ἐκπρηξόμενοι, τό τε κατ' ὑμέας τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροις νέμεται. ἀλλὰ εὖ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον κατέστη. νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ περιελήλυθε ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπῖκται ἐς ὑμέας, οὕτω δὴ Γέλωνος μνήστις⁸ γέγονε. ἀτιμίας⁹ δὲ πρὸς ὑμέων κυρήσας¹⁰ οὐκ ὁμοιώσομαι¹¹ ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἔτοιμος εἰμὶ βοηθέειν παρεχόμενος διηκοσίας τε τριήρας καὶ δισμυρίους ὀπλίτας καὶ δισχιλίην ἵππον καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας καὶ δισχιλίους σφενδονήτας¹² καὶ δισχιλίους ἵπποδρόμους¹³ ψιλοῦς· σῖτόν τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλήνων στρατιῇ, ἔστ' ἂν διαπολεμήσωμεν, ὑποδέκομαι παρέξειν. ἐπὶ δὲ λόγῳ τοιῷδε τάδε ὑπίσχομαι, ἐπ' ᾧ στρατηγός τε καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔσομαι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον. ἐπ' ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγῳ οὗτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθοιμι οὗτ' ἂν ἄλλους πέμψαιμι.»

⁶ crowded; all together ⁷ non-Greek ⁸ thought, mindfulness

⁹ dishonor ¹⁰ come upon, come up against; obtain ¹¹ assimilate, liken ¹² slinger ¹³ race track

7.159

ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὔτε ἠνέσχετο ὁ Σύναγρος εἰπέ τε τάδε. «ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξει¹⁴ ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων πυθόμενος Σπαρτιήτας τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἀπαραιρῆσθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκοσίων. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τοῦ λόγου μηκέτι μνησθῆς, ὅπως τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοι παραδώσομεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν βούλει βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἴσθι ἀρξόμενος ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ δίκαιοις ἄρχεσθαι, σὺ δὲ μηδὲ βοήθειε.»

7.160

πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Σύναγρου, τὸν τελευταῖόν σφι τόνδε ἐξέφαινε λόγον. «ὦ ξέινε Σπαρτιῆτα, ὀνειδεα κατιόντα ἀνθρώπων φιλέει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν· σὺ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος ὑβρίσματα¹⁵ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὗ με πείσεις ἀσχήμονα¹⁶ ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ¹⁷ γενέσθαι. ὅκου δὲ ὑμεῖς οὕτω περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίης, οἶκος καὶ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὑμέων περιέχεσθαι, στρατιῆς τε ἐόντα πολλαπλησίης¹⁸ ἡγεμόνα καὶ νεῶν πολλὸν πλεύνων. ἀλλ' ἐπεῖτε ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος οὕτω προσάντης κατίσταται, ἡμεῖς τι ὑπείξομεν τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου· εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ ὑμεῖς ἡγήοισθε, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐγώ. εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἡδονὴ τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἡγεμονεύειν, τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐγὼ θέλω. καὶ ἢ τοῦτοισι ὑμέας χρεὸν ἐστὶ ἀρέσκεσθαι ἢ ἀπιέναι συμμάχων τοιῶνδε ἐρήμους.»

7.161

Γέλων μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προοτεινέτο, φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἄγγελος τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμείβετό μιν τοῖσιδε. «ὦ βασιλεῦ Συρηκοσίων, οὐκ ἡγεμόνος δεομένη ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπέπεμψε ἡμέας πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ στρατιῆς. σὺ δὲ ὅπως μὲν στρατιὴν πέμψεις μὴ ἡγεύμενος τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ προφαίνεις, ὥς δὲ στρατηγήσεις αὐτῆς γλίχαι.¹⁹ ὅσον

¹⁴ wail ¹⁵ outrage, insolence ¹⁶ ugly, shameful ¹⁷ requital, compensation ¹⁸ many times more ¹⁹ cling to, long for

every man, but from one who has a brave spirit and manly vigour, whereas Telines is said by the dwellers in Sicily to have been on the contrary a man of effeminate character and rather poor spirit.

7.154

He then had thus obtained the privilege of which I speak: and when Cleander the son of Pantares brought his life to an end, having been despot of Gela for seven years and being killed at last by Sabyllus a man of Gela, then Hippocrates succeeded to the monarchy, who was brother of Cleander. And while Hippocrates was despot, Gelon, who was a descendant of Telines the priest of the mysteries, was spearman of the guard to Hippocrates with many others and among them Ainesidemos the son of Pataicos. Then after no long time he was appointed by reason of valour to be commander of the whole cavalry; for when Hippocrates besieged successively the cities of Callipolis, Naxos, Zancle, Leontini, and also Syracuse and many towns of the Barbarians, in these wars Gelon showed himself a most brilliant warrior; and of the cities which I just now mentioned, not one except Syracuse escaped being reduced to subjection by Hippocrates: the Syracusans however, after they had been defeated in battle at the river Eloros, were rescued by the Corinthians and Corcyreans; these rescued them and brought the quarrel to a settlement on this condition, namely that the Syracusans should deliver up Camarina to Hippocrates. Now Camarina used in ancient time to belong to the men of Syracuse.

7.155

Then when it was the fate of Hippocrates also, after having been despot for the same number of years as his brother Cleander, to be killed at the city of Hybla, whither he had gone on an expedition against the Sikelians, then Gelon made a pretence of helping the sons of Hippocrates, Eucleides and Cleander, when the citizens were no longer willing to submit; but actually, when he had been victorious in a battle over the men of Gela, he robbed the sons of Hippocrates of the power and was ruler himself. After this stroke of fortune Gelon restored those of the Syracusans who were called "land-holders," after they had been driven into exile by the common people and by their own slaves, who were called Kyllyrans, these, I say, he restored from the city of Casmene to Syracuse, and so got possession of this last city also, for the common people of Syracuse, when Gelon came against them, delivered up to him their city and themselves.

7.156

So after he had received Syracuse into his power, he made less account of Gela, of which he was ruler also in addition, and he gave it in charge to Hieron his

brother, while he proceeded to strengthen Syracuse. So forthwith that city rose and shot up to prosperity; for in the first place he brought all those of Camarina to Syracuse and made them citizens, and razed to the ground the city of Camarina; then secondly he did the same to more than half of the men of Gela, as he had done to those of Camarina: and as regards the Megarians of Sicily, when they were besieged and had surrendered by capitulation, the well to do men of them, though they had stirred up war with him and expected to be put to death for this reason, he brought to Syracuse and made them citizens, but the common people of the Megarians, who had no share in the guilt of this war and did not expect that they would suffer any evil, these also he brought to Syracuse and sold them as slaves to be carried away from Sicily: and the same thing he did moreover to the men of Euboia in Sicily, making a distinction between them: and he dealt thus with these two cities because he thought that a body of commons was a most unpleasant element in the State.

7.157

In the manner then which has been described Gelon had become a powerful despot; and at this time when the envoys of the Hellenes had arrived at Syracuse, they came to speech with him and said as follows: "The Lacedemonians and their allies sent us to get thee to be on our side against the Barbarian; for we suppose that thou art certainly informed of him who is about to invade Hellas, namely that a Persian is designing to bridge over the Hellespont, and to make an expedition against Hellas, leading against us out of Asia all the armies of the East, under colour of marching upon Athens, but in fact meaning to bring all Hellas to subjection under him. Do thou therefore, seeing that thou hast attained to a great power and hast no small portion of Hellas for thy share, being the ruler of Sicily, come to the assistance of those who are endeavouring to free Hellas, and join in making her free; for if all Hellas be gathered together in one, it forms a great body, and we are made a match in fight for those who are coming against us; but if some of us go over to the enemy and others are not willing to help, and the sound portion of Hellas is consequently small, there is at once in this a danger that all Hellas may fall to ruin. For do not thou hope that if the Persian shall overcome us in battle he will not come to thee, but guard thyself against this beforehand; for in coming to our assistance thou art helping thyself; and the matter which is wisely planned has for the most part a good issue afterwards."

7.158

The envoys spoke thus; and Gelon was very vehement with them, speaking to them as follows: "Hellenes, a selfish speech is this, with which ye have ventured to come and invite me to be your ally against the Barbarian; whereas

ye yourselves, when I in former time requested of you to join with me in fighting against an army of Barbarians, contention having arisen between me and the Carthaginians, and when I charged you to exact vengeance of the men of Egesta for the death of Dorieos the son of Anaxandrides, while at the same time I offered to help in setting free the trading-places, from which great advantages and gains have been reaped by you, — ye, I say, then neither for my own sake came to my assistance, nor in order to exact vengeance for the death of Dorieos; and, so far as ye are concerned, all these parts are even now under the rule of Barbarians. But since it turned out well for us and came to a better issue, now that the war has come round and reached you, there has at last arisen in your minds a recollection of Gelon. However, though I have met with contempt at your hands, I will not act like you; but I am prepared to come to your assistance, supplying two hundred triremes and twenty thousand hoplites, with two thousand horsemen, two thousand bowmen, two thousand slingers and two thousand light-armed men to run beside the horsemen; and moreover I will undertake to supply corn for the whole army of the Hellenes, until we have finished the war. These things I engage to supply on this condition, namely that I shall be commander and leader of the Hellenes against the Barbarian; but on any other condition I will neither come myself nor will I send others.”

7.159

Hearing this Syagros could not contain himself but spoke these words: “Deeply, I trow, would Agamemnon son of Pelops lament, if he heard that the Spartans had had the leadership taken away from them by Gelon and by the Syracusans. Nay, but make thou no further mention of this condition, namely that we should deliver the leadership to thee; but if thou art desirous to come to the assistance of Hellas, know that thou wilt be under the command of the Lacedemonians; and if thou dost indeed claim not to be under command, come not thou to our help at all.”

7.160

To this Gelon, seeing that the speech of Syagros was adverse, set forth to them his last proposal thus: “Stranger from Sparta, reproaches sinking into the heart of a man are wont to rouse his spirit in anger against them; thou however, though thou hast uttered insults against me in thy speech, wilt not bring me to show myself unseemly in my reply. But whereas ye so strongly lay claim to the leadership, it were fitting that I should lay claim to it more than ye, seeing that I am the leader of an army many times as large and of ships many more. Since however this condition is so distasteful to you, we will recede somewhat from our former proposal. Suppose that ye should be leaders of the land-army and I of the fleet; or if it pleases you to lead the

sea-forces, I am willing to be leader of those on land; and either ye must be contented with these terms or go away without the alliance which I have to give.”

7.161

Gelon, I say, made these offers, and the envoy of the Athenians, answering before that of the Lacedemonians, replied to him as follows: “O king of the Syracusans, it was not of a leader that Hellas was in want when it sent us to thee, but of an army. Thou however dost not set before us the hope that thou wilt send an army, except thou have the leadership of Hellas; and thou art striving how

vocabulary

ἀγγέλλω carry a message, announce

~angel

ἀελπτέω to despair ~voluptuary

αἰτιάομαι blame ~etiology

ἀμελέω disregard; (impers.) of course

ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read, understand, persuade

ἀνακωχεύω hold back, still

ἀνασχετός durable

ἀνδραγαθία bravery

ἀντιτείνω resist

ἀπάγω lead away, back

~demagogue

ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart

ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away

ἀποθύμιος (ῶ) unpleasant ~fume

ἀπολογέομαι defend one's conduct

ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp

ἀποπλέω sail away ~float

ἀρπάζω carry off, seize ~harpoon

ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning ~oligarch

ἀφανίζω do away with, make off with; (pass) disappear

βασιλεύω be king

δείλη afternoon ~diem

διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis

διακοσμέω marshal ~cosmos

διακρούω (mp) evade

δίζημαι seek ~zeal

δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent

δουλεύω serve, be a slave

ἔαρ -ος (n) spring (season)

εἰκάζω liken; conjecture

ἐκὼν willingly, on purpose; giving in too easily

ἐλάχιστος smallest, shortest, fewest

Ἑλληγν Greek

ἐναντιόομαι oppose, contradict

ἐξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate;

destroy ~heresy

ἐξαρκέω be enough; be satisfied

ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic

ἐξήκοντα sixty

ἐπάγω drive game; induce belief

~demagogue

ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask

ἐπεξέρχομαι sally

ἐπικρατέω rule over

ἐπιμέμφομαι blame

ἐπισπένδω pour over

ἐπιτηδές enough; purposely

ἐπιτρέπω entrust, decide, allow

~trophy

ἐποποιός epic poet

ἐσσόομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat

εὖς good, brave, noble

ἐφίημι (ιι) send at, let fly; mp: rush at, spring upon ~jet

ἡγεμονία authority, rule

ἡσυχία peace and quiet

θεοπρόπος seer ~theology

θύω (ῶ) rush; sacrifice ~θύω

κακότης -τος (f, 3) badness

~cacophony

καλλιερέω have good signs

καραδοκέω (ᾱ) wait for the outcome of

Καρχηδόνιος Carthaginian

καταγίζω devote, dedicate

κατακαίω burn down ~caustic

κατατίθηναι put down, deposit, lay aside ~thesis

μάτην in vain, randomly

μεταβάλλω alter, transform

μετανάστης -ου (m, 1) outcast

~nostalgia

μηνιάω be enraged at

μῆνις -ος (f) rage

μὴνίω be enraged at
 μητρόθεν from the mother
 μνήμα -τος (n, 3) reminder,
 memorial ~mnemonic
 μόγεις with difficulty, barely
 μούναρχος monarch
 μυριάς -δος (ῥ, f, 3) countless,
 myriad
 ναυαρχέω be admiral
 ναυμαχία naval warfare
 ξείνιος of hospitality
 ὄμηρος insurance, hostage
 ὄνειδος -εος (n, 3) blame; insult
 ὄον οὔ type of fruit
 οὐδαμοῦ nowhere
 οὖς οὔατος (n) ear
 ὄψιος late, in evening
 παραδείκνυμι (ῥ) receive, admit
 παράλος seaside
 παραλύω detach, disable
 παραιντῖα immediately
 πάσσω sprinkle; insert in a web
 πενθερός father in law ~Nepenthe
 πεντηκόντερος (f) ship with 50 oars
 περιοράω look around; watch;
 permit
 Πέρσης Persian
 προθυμία (ῥ) zeal, alacrity ~fume
 προσμύγνυμι reach out to, approach
 πυρά pyre ~pyre

σκῆψις excuse
 στέρεω steal, take
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 συγχωρέω accede, concede
 συμβολή encounter; contribution
 συμμαχία alliance
 σύνοιδα know about someone;
 think proper
 σφάλλω overthrow, balk, stagger
 τιμωρέω (ι) (+dat) take vengeance,
 punish; aid one who has been
 attacked
 τοιόσδε such
 τροπή rout, turning of an enemy
 ~trophy
 τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny
 τύραννος tyrant
 ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond;
 delay ~ballistic
 ὑπίσχομαι promise, agree to do
 ὑποκρίνομαι (ι) answer; pretend
 ὑφίημι lower; admit; slack off ~jet
 φθάνω (ᾱ) do first, outstrip
 φίλιος friendly
 ὠθέω push

μέν νυν παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλλήνων στρατοῦ ἐδέεο ἡγέεσθαι, ἐξήρκεε ἡμῖν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἐπισταμένοισι ὡς ὁ Λάκων ἰκανός τοι ἔμελλε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπολογεύμενος· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπάσης ἀπελυνόμενος δέεαι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἄρχειν, οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐδ' ἦν ὁ Λάκων ἐπιῆ τοι ἄρχειν αὐτῆς, ἡμεῖς ἐπήσομεν· ἡμετέρη γὰρ ἐστὶ αὕτη γε, μὴ αὐτῶν βουλομένων Λακεδαιμονίων. τούτοισι μὲν ὦν ἡγέεσθαι βουλομένοισι οὐκ ἀντιτείνομεν, ἄλλω δὲ παρήσομεν οὐδενὶ ναυαρχέειν.¹ μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὦδε πάραλον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν πλείστον εἵμιεν ἐκτημένοι, εἰ Συρηκοσίοισι ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι συγχωρήσομεν τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι, μῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων· τῶν καὶ Ὅμηρος ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἄνδρα ἄριστον ἔφησε ἐς Ἴλιον ἀπικέσθαι τάξαι τε καὶ διακοσμήσαι στρατόν. οὕτω οὐκ ὄνειδος οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐστι λέγειν ταῦτα.»

7.162

ἀμείβετο Γέλων τοῖσιδε. «ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ὑμεῖς οἶκατε τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρξομένους οὐκ ἔξειν. ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν οὐδὲν ὑπιέντες ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν ἐθέλετε, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἀπαλλασσόμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαερίρηται.» οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόος τοῦ ῥήματος τὸ ἐθέλει λέγειν· δηλα γὰρ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔαρ δοκιμώτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ στρατιήν· στερισκομένην² ὦν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς ἐωυτοῦ συμμαχίης εἵκαζε ὡς εἰ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξαεραρημένον εἴη.

7.163

οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄγγελοι τοιαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέπλεον· Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα δείσας μὲν περὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι μὴ οὐ δύνωνται τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέλησε, ὁ δὲ ἄλλης εἶχετο. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσην διαβεβηκότα τὸν

¹ be admiral ² steal, take

Ἑλλήσποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέροισι τρισὶ Κάδμον τὸν Σκύθεω ἄνδρα Κῶν ἐς Δελφούς, ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιλίους λόγους, καραδοκῆσοντα τὴν μάχην τῇ πεσέεται, καὶ ἦν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾷ, τά τε χρήματα αὐτῷ διδόναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων, ἦν δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὀπίσω ἀπάγειν.

7.164

ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος πρότερον τούτων παραδεξάμενος παρὰ πατρὸς τυραννίδα Κῶν εὖ βεβηκυῖαν, ἐκῶν τε εἶναι καὶ δεινοῦ ἐπιόντος οὐδενὸς ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης ἐς μέσον Κῶοισι καταθεῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν οἶχετο ἐς Σικελίην, ἔνθα παρὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ οὖνομα. τοῦτον δὴ ὁ Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἀπικόμενον διὰ δικαιοσύνην, τὴν οἱ αὐτὸς ἄλλην συνήδεε εἶναι, ἔπεμπε· ὃς ἐπὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δικαίοις τοῖσι ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ ἐργασμένοις καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων ἐλίπετο. κρατήσας γὰρ μεγάλων χρημάτων τῶν οἱ Γέλων ἐπετράπετο, παρεὼν κατασχέσθαι οὐκ ἠθέλησε, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ καὶ Ξέρξης οἰχώκεε ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπύκετο ἐς τὴν Σικελίην ἀπὸ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἄγων.

7.165

λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ οἰκημένων, ὥς ὅμως καὶ μέλλων ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Γέλων ἐβοήθησε ἂν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου Ἀκραγαντίνων μουνάρχου³ ἐξελασθεὶς ἐξ Ἰμέρης Τήριλλος ὁ Κρινίππου τύραννος ἐὼν Ἰμέρης ἐπῆγε ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Φοινίκων καὶ Λιβύων καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Ἐλισύκων καὶ Σαρδονίων καὶ Κυρνίων τριῇκοντα μυριάδας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Ἄννωνος, Καρχηδονίων ἐόντα βασιλέα, κατὰ ξεινίην τε τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ὁ Τήριλλος ἀναγνώσας καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀναξίλειω τοῦ Κρητίνεω προθυμίην, ὃς Ῥηγίου ἐὼν τύραννος τὰ ἑωυτοῦ τέκνα δοὺς ὁμήρους Ἀμίλκα ἐπῆγε ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίην τιμωρέων τῷ πενθερῷ·⁴ Τηριλλοῦ γὰρ εἶχε

³ monarch ⁴ father in law

θυγατέρα Ἀναξίλειος, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Κυδίππη. οὕτω δὲ οὐκ οἶόν τε γενόμενον βοηθέειν τὸν Γέλωνα τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἀποπέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς τὰ χρήματα.

7.166

πρὸς δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγουσι, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης ἔν τε τῇ Σικελίῃ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τὸν Πέρσην. τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιον ἐόντα πρὸς πατρός, μητρόθεν⁵ δὲ Συρηκόσιον, βασιλεύσαντά τε κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην⁶ Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἢ συμβολή τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ⁷ γῆς· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν διζήμενον Γέλωνα.

7.167

ἔστι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος, οἰκότητι χρωσμένων, ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἡοῦς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δειλῆς ὀψίης ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται ἐλκύσαι τὴν σύστασιν, ὃ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο καὶ ἐκαλλιερέετο ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγιζών, ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἐωυτοῦ γινομένην, ὡς ἔτυχε ἐπισπένδων τοῖσι ἱροῖσι, ὥσε ἐωυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω δὲ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι. ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκᾳ τρόπῳ εἴτε τοιούτῳ ὡς Φοίνικες λέγουσι, εἴτε ἐτέρῳ ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Συρηκόσιοι, τοῦτο μὲν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσῃσι τῇσι πόλιν τῶν ἀποικίδων, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνι.

7.168

τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίης τοσαῦτα. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τάδε ὑποκρινάμενοι τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοιαύδε ἐποίησαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτους παρελάμβανον οἱ αὐτοὶ οἱ περ ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκοντο, λέγοντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ πρὸς Γέλωνα ἔλεγον. οἱ δὲ παραυτίκα μὲν ὑπίσχοντο πέμψειν τε καὶ ἀμυνεῖν, φράζοντες ὡς οὐ σφί περιοπτέη ἐστὶ

⁵ from the mother ⁶ bravery ⁷ nowhere

ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀπολλυμένη· ἦν γὰρ σφαλῇ, σφεῖς γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δουλεύουσιν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερέων· ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέον εἶη ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον. ὑπεκρίναντο μὲν οὕτω εὐπρόσωπα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει βοηθεῖν, ἄλλα νοέοντες ἐπλήρωσαν νέας ἐξήκοντα, μόγισ δὲ ἀναχθέντες προσέμειξαν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ περὶ Πύλον καὶ Ταίναρον γῆς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνεκώχουν τὰς νέας, караδοκέοντες καὶ οὗτοι τὸν πόλεμον τῇ πεσέεται, ἀελπτέοντες⁸ μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπερβαλέεσθαι, δοκέοντες δὲ τὸν Πέρσῃν κατακρατήσαντα πολλὸν ἄρξειν πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐποίουν ὦν ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἔχῃσι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃν λέγειν τοιαύδε. «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡμεῖς, παραλαμβάνοντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίστας παρασχόντες ἂν ἀλλὰ πλείστας μετὰ γε Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν τοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι οὐδέ τι ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι.» τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἡλπίζον πλεόν τι τῶν ἄλλων οἴσεσθαι· τά περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέει. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας σφί σκήψις⁹ ἐπεποίητο, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήσαντο. αἰτωμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι οὐκ ἐβοήθεον, ἔφασαν πληρῶσαι μὲν ἐξήκοντα τριήρεις, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων ὑπερβαλεῖν Μαλέην οὐκ οἰοί τε γενέσθαι· οὕτω οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ οὐδεμὴ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίης.

7.169

οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω διεκρούσαντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Κρήτες δέ, ἐπεῖτε σφέας παρελάμβανον οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· πέμψαντες κοινῇ θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρώτων εἰ σφί ἄμεινον τιμωρέουσι γίνεται τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίναντο «ὦ νήπιοι, ἐπιμέμφεσθε ὅσα ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν Μενελάου τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἔπεμψε μηνίων δακρύματα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμικῷ θάνατον γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνοισι τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀρπασθεῖσαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς βαρβάρου γυναικα.» ταῦτα οἱ Κρήτες ὥς

⁸ to despair ⁹ excuse

thou mayest become commander of the armies of Hellas. So long then as it was thy demand to be leader of the whole army of the Hellenes, it was sufficient for us Athenians to keep silence, knowing that the Lacedemonian would be able to make defence even for us both; but now, since being repulsed from the demand for the whole thou art requesting to be commander of the naval force, we tell that thus it is: — not even if the Lacedemonian shall permit thee to be commander of it, will we permit thee; for this at least is our own, if the Lacedemonians do not themselves desire to have it. With these, if they desire to be the leaders, we do not contend; but none others beside ourselves shall we permit to be in command of the ships: for then to no purpose should we be possessors of a sea-force larger than any other which belongs to the Hellenes, if, being Athenians, we should yield the leadership to Syracusans, we who boast of a race which is the most ancient of all and who are of all the Hellenes the only people who have not changed from one land to another; to whom also belonged a man whom Homer the Epic poet said was the best of all who came to Ilion in drawing up an army and setting it in array. Thus we are not justly to be reproached if we say these things.”

7.162

To this Gelon made answer thus: “Stranger of Athens, it would seem that ye have the commanders, but that ye will not have the men to be commanded. Since then ye will not at all give way, but desire to have the whole, it were well that ye should depart home as quickly as possible and report to the Hellenes that the spring has been taken out of their year.” Now this is the meaning of the saying:—evidently the spring is the noblest part of the year; and so he meant to say that his army was the noblest part of the army of the Hellenes: for Hellas therefore, deprived of his alliance, it was, he said, as if the spring had been taken out of the year.

7.163

The envoys of the Hellenes, having thus had conference with Gelon, sailed away; and Gelon upon this, fearing on the one hand about the Hellenes, lest they should not be able to overcome the Barbarian, and on the other hand considering it monstrous and not to be endured that he should come to Peloponnesus and be under the command of the Lacedemonians, seeing that he was despot of Sicily, gave up the thought of this way and followed another: for so soon as he was informed that the Persian had crossed over the Hellespont, he sent Cadmos the son of Skythes, a man of Cos, with three fifty-oared galleys to Delphi, bearing large sums of money and friendly proposals, to wait there and see how the battle would fall out: and if the Barbarian should be victorious, he was to give him the money and also to offer him earth and water from those over whom Gelon had rule; but if the Hellenes

should be victorious, he was bidden to bring it back.

7.164

Now this Cadmos before these events, having received from his father in a prosperous state the government of the people of Cos, had voluntarily and with no danger threatening, but moved merely by uprightness of nature, placed the government in the hands of the people of Cos and had departed to Sicily, where he took from the Samians and newly colonised the city of Zancle, which had changed its name to Messene. This same Cadmos, having come thither in such manner as I have said, Gelon was now sending, having selected him on account of the integrity which in other matters he had himself found to be in him; and this man, in addition to the other upright acts which had been done by him, left also this to be remembered, which was not the least of them: for having got into his hands that great sum of money which Gelon entrusted to his charge, though he might have taken possession of it himself he did not choose to do so; but when the Hellenes had got the better in the sea-fight and Xerxes had marched away and departed, he also returned to Sicily bringing back with him the whole sum of money.

7.165

The story which here follows is also reported by those who dwell in Sicily, namely that, even though he was to be under the command of the Lacedemonians, Gelon would have come to the assistance of the Hellenes, but that Terillos, the son of Crinippos and despot of Himera, having been driven out of Himera by Theron the son of Ainesidemus the ruler of the Agrigentines, was just at this very time bringing in an army of Phenicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligurians, Elisycans, Sardinians and Corsicans, to the number of thirty myriads, with Amilcas the son of Annon king of the Carthaginians as their commander, whom Terillos had persuaded partly by reason of his own guest-friendship, and especially by the zealous assistance of Anaxilaos the son of Cretines, who was despot of Rhegion, and who to help his father in law endeavoured to bring in Amilcas to Sicily, and had given him his sons as hostages; for Anaxilaos was married to the daughter of Terillos, whose name was Kydippe. Thus it was, they say, that Gelon was not able to come to the assistance of the Hellenes, and sent therefore the money to Delphi.

7.166

In addition to this they report also that, as it happened, Gelon and Theron were victorious over Amilcas the Carthaginian on the very same day when the Hellenes were victorious at Salamis over the Persian. And this Amilcas, who was a Carthaginian on the father's side but on the mother's Syracusan, and who had become king of the Carthaginians by merit, when the engagement

took place and he was being worsted in the battle, disappeared, as I am informed; for neither alive nor dead did he appear again anywhere upon the earth, though Gelon used all diligence in the search for him.

7.167

Moreover there is also this story reported by the Carthaginians themselves, who therein relate that which is probable in itself, namely that while the Barbarians fought with the Hellenes in Sicily from the early morning till late in the afternoon (for to such a length the combat is said to have been protracted), during this time Amilcas was remaining in the camp and was making sacrifices to get good omens of success, offering whole bodies of victims upon a great pyre: and when he saw that there was a rout of his own army, he being then, as it chanced, in the act of pouring a libation over the victims, threw himself into the fire, and thus he was burnt up and disappeared. Amilcas then having disappeared, whether it was in such a manner as this, as it is reported by the Phenicians, or in some other way, the Carthaginians both offer sacrifices to him now, and also they made memorials of him then in all the cities of their colonies, and the greatest in Carthage itself.

7.168

So far of the affairs of Sicily: and as for the Corcyreans, they made answer to the envoys as follows, afterwards acting as I shall tell: for the same men who had gone to Sicily endeavoured also to obtain the help of these, saying the same things which they said to Gelon; and the Corcyreans at the time engaged to send a force and to help in the defence, declaring that they must not permit Hellas to be ruined without an effort on their part, for if it should suffer disaster, they would be reduced to subjection from the very first day; but they must give assistance so far as lay in their power. Thus speciously they made reply; but when the time came to send help, they manned sixty ships, having other intentions in their minds, and after making much difficulty they put out to sea and reached Peloponnese; and then near Pylos and Tainaron in the land of the Lacedaemonians they kept their ships at anchor, waiting, as Gelon did, to see how the war would turn out: for they did not expect that the Hellenes would overcome, but thought that the Persian would gain the victory over them with ease and be ruler of all Hellas. Accordingly they were acting of set purpose, in order that they might be able to say to the Persian some such words as these: "O king, when the Hellenes endeavoured to obtain our help for this war, we, who have a power which is not the smallest of all, and could have supplied a contingent of ships in number not the smallest, but after the Athenians the largest, did not choose to oppose thee or to do anything which was not to thy mind." By speaking thus they hoped that they would obtain some advantage over the rest, and so it would have happened, as

I am of opinion: while they had for the Hellenes an excuse ready made, that namely of which they actually made use: for when the Hellenes reproached them because they did not come to help, they said that they had manned sixty triremes, but had not been able to get past Malea owing to the Etesian Winds; therefore it was that they had not come to Salamis, nor was it by any want of courage on their part that they had been left of the sea-fight.

7.169

These then evaded the request of the Hellenes thus: but the Cretans, when those of the Hellenes who had been appointed to deal with these endeavoured to obtain their help, did thus, that is to say, they joined together and sent men to inquire of the god at Delphi whether it would be better for them if they gave assistance to Hellas: and the Pythian prophetess answered: “Ye fools, do ye think those woes too few, which Minos sent upon you in his wrath, because of the assistance that ye gave to Menelaos? seeing that, whereas they did not join with you in taking vengeance for his death in Camicos, ye nevertheless joined with them in taking vengeance for the woman who by a Barbarian was carried off from Sparta.” When the Cretans heard this answer

vocabulary

ἄβατος untrodden; impassable
 ἀγχοτάτω nearest
 ἀγχοῦ near, nigh; like ~angina
 ἀδυνασία inability, weakness
 αἰγιαλός beach, shore
 ἀλίζω gather, assemble
 ἀλίσκομαι be captured ~helix
 ἀμαξιτός road
 ἀναγκαίη of necessity, by force
 ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery
 ἀνατείνω lift, reach out, threaten
 ἀνατίθηναι consecrate, lay on,
 impute; (mp) reproach
 ἀνδάν please ~hedonism
 ἀνδριάς -ντος (m, 3) portrait, statue
 ἄνω (ἄ) accomplish, pass, waste;
 upwards, out to sea
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be
 freed, depart
 ἀπόκρημνος sheer, precipitous
 ἀπονοστέω go home
 ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back
 ~bear
 ἀριθμός number
 ἄρρωδίη terror
 ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning
 ~oligarch
 ἄτε as if; since
 ἀτραπός ἀταρπιτοῦ (f) trail
 βασιλείος kingly
 βίαιος by force
 βωμός altar; stand, pedestal
 δέμω build ~domicile
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis
 διαδέχομαι be next, succeed
 ~doctrine
 εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic
 εἰσβολή -ωβόλης invasion, an
 entrance ~ballistic
 εἰσοικίζω settle
 ἐκπίπτω fall out of ~petal

Ἑλλην Greek

ἐνθαῦτα there, here
 ἐξανίστημι raise, bring/send out
 ἐπισιτίζομαι (ιτι) take supplies
 ἐπίτροπος agent, officer
 ἐπιχώριος native
 ἐποτρύνω (υ) urge, stir, dispatch
 ἐρημώω raze, bereave; desert, isolate
 ἔσοδος entrance
 ἑσπέρα evening, west
 ἐτοῖμος ready; fulfilled
 εὖνοος kindly; favorable
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 ἐφέζομαι sit on; bring aboard ~sit
 ἐφίηναι (ιι) send at, let fly; mp: rush
 at, spring upon ~jet
 ζητήσις -εως (f) search, inquiry
 ἡλόω sharpen
 ἡμίπλεθρον 15 meters
 ἡπειρος (f) mainland, continent
 ἡπειρώτης -ιδος (f) landsman
 θάλλω bloom, flourish, abound
 ~thallium
 θερμός warm, hot ~thermos
 ἰδρύω establish
 κάρηνον head, top, mountaintop,
 citadel ~cranium
 καταμένω stay; not change
 καταπατέω trample
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue
 ~catastrophe
 κομιδή care, tending, providing for
 κτίζω found, populate ~oxytocin
 κώμη village
 λιμός (ι, f) famine
 λογίζομαι reckon, consider
 λοιμός plague
 λουτρόν bathing water
 μεταβάλλω alter, transform
 μεταξύ between
 μηχανάομαι build, contrive
 ~mechanism

μυρίος (ἑ) 10,000 ~myriad
 νέμω to allot, to pasture ~nemesis
 νησιώτης -ου (m, 1) insular
 οἰκέτης -ου (m, 1) household; house
 slave
 οἰκίζω colonize, settle
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit
 ὀπισθεν behind, hereafter
 ὀρθόω stand up
 ὀρρωδία terror
 οὐδαμός not anyone
 παραμένω stay with ~remain
 παρενθήκη an aside, addition
 ~parentheses
 παρίημι dangle; pass over, allow
 ~jet
 πέλαγος -ους (n, 3) the open sea
 ~pelagic
 Πέρσης Persian
 πολέμαρχος chief
 πόρος way, bridge ~fare
 πόρω aor. give, pf. be fated
 πρόβατον cattle, flocks, herds
 πρόθυμος (ῶ) willing, eager ~fume
 προκαθέζομαι preside; besiege
 προκάθημαι sit before; preside
 προσδοκάω expect
 πρόσειμι approach, draw near; add
 ~ion
 προσπταίω batter; be set back
 προφυλάσσω guard the front
 σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark
 ~semaphore
 σκέπας -ως (n) shelter
 σκέπη shelter, protection
 σκέπω cover, seal
 στρατηγέω be a general

στρατιή expedition, campaign
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up
 station ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
 συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid)
 consult ~volunteer
 σύμπας (ἅ) all together
 συναράσσω smash together
 σωτηρία saving, preservation
 τέναγος -εος (n, 3) shoal, shallows
 τιμωρέω (ι) (+dat) take vengeance,
 punish; aid one who has been
 attacked
 τιμωρία (τι) vengeance, punishment
 τιμωρός (ι) avenging
 τρισχίλιοι 3000 ~kilo-
 ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer
 ὑπολαμβάνω take under one's
 support, seize; speak up; imagine
 ~epilepsy
 ὑπόλοιπος left over
 ὑπομνήσκω remind of
 ~mnemonic
 φλαῦρος trifling
 φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics
 χαραδρόομαι be full of gullies
 χειμών -ος (m, 3) winter, storm
 χοῖρος young fattened pig
 χρήσιμος useful
 χρηστός useful; brave, worthy
 χώρος place ~heir

ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν, ἔσχοντο τῆς τιμωρίας.

7.170

λέγεται γὰρ Μίνων κατὰ ζήτησιν¹ Δαιδάλου ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σικανίην τὴν νῦν Σικελίην καλυμένην ἀποθανεῖν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ. ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρήτας, θεοῦ σφι ἐποτρύναντος, πάντας πλὴν Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισίων ἀπικομένους στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίην πολιορκέειν ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε πόλιν Καμικόν, τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνέμοντο· τέλος δὲ οὐ δυναμένους οὔτε ἐλεῖν οὔτε παραμένειν λιμῷ συνεστεώτας, ἀπολιπόντας οἴχεσθαι. ὥς δὲ κατὰ Ἱηπυγίην γενέσθαι πλέοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χειμῶνα μέγαν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν· συναραχθέντων δὲ τῶν πλοίων, οὐδεμίαν γάρ σφι ἔτι κομιδὴν² ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα Ὑρίην πόλιν κτίσαντας καταμεῖναί τε καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἱήπυγας Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι νησιώτας³ ἡπειρώτας.⁴ ἀπὸ δὲ Ὑρίης πόλις τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι, τὰς δὲ Ταραντῖνοι χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῶ ἔξανιστάντες προσέπαισαν μεγάλως, ὥστε φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος δὴ ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραντίνων καὶ Ῥηγίνων, οἱ ὑπὸ Μικύθου τοῦ Χοίρου⁵ ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ ἀπικόμενοι τιμωροὶ⁶ Ταραντῖνοισι ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὕτω· αὐτῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων οὐκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμός. ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος οἰκέτης ἐὼν Ἀναξίλειω ἐπίτροπος Ῥηγίου καταλέλειπτο, οὗτος ὅς περ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας ἀνέθηκε ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας.⁷

7.171

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ῥηγίνοὺς τε καὶ Ταραντίνους τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη γέγονε· ἐς δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐρημωθεῖσαν, ὥς λέγουσι Πραῖσιοι, ἐσοικίζεσθαι ἄλλους τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα Ἕλληνας, τρίτῃ δὲ γενεῇ μετὰ Μίνων τελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωικά, ἐν τοῖσι οὐ φλαυροτάτους φαίνεσθαι ἐόντας Κρήτας τιμωροὺς

¹ search, inquiry ² care, tending, providing for ³ insular

⁴ landsman ⁵ young fattened pig ⁶ avenging ⁷ portrait, statue

Μενέλεω. ἀπὸ τούτων δέ σφι ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροίης λιμόν τε καὶ λοιμὸν⁸ γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι προβάτοισι, ἔστε τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσης Κρήτης μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. ἡ μὲν δὴ Πυθίη ὑπομνήσασα ταῦτα ἔσχε βουλομένους τιμωρεῖν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι.

7.172

Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης τὸ πρῶτον ἐμήδισαν, ὥς διέδεξαν, ὅτι οὐ σφι ἦνδανε τὰ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι ἐμηχανῶντο. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα μέλλοντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, πέμπουσι ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀγγέλους· ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῳ ἦσαν ἀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, δεῖ φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν, ἵνα Θεσσαλίη τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασα ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. ἡμεῖς μὲν νῦν ἔτοιμοι εἰμὲν συμφυλάσσειν, πέμπειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν πολλήν, ὥς, εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ· οὐ γάρ τι προκατημένους τοσοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος μούρους πρὸ ὑμέων δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι. βοηθέειν δὲ οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀναγκαίην ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν οἰοί τε ἔστε προσφέρειν· οὐδαμὰ γὰρ ἀδυνασίης⁹ ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἔφν. ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα αὐτοῖσι τινα σωτηρίην μηχανώμενοι.»

7.173

ταῦτα ἔλεγον οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐς Θεσσαλίην πέμπειν κατὰ θάλασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν φυλάξοντα τὴν ἐσβολὴν. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη ὁ στρατός, ἔπλεε δι' Εὐρίπουν· ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιΐης ἐς Ἄλωνα, ἀποβὰς ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην, τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, καὶ ἀπύκετο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἣ περ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ ποταμὸν Πηνειόν, μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀλύμπου τε ὄρεος ἑόντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ μυρίους ὀπίλας συλλεγόντες,

⁸ plague ⁹ inability, weakness

καί σφι προσῆν ἡ Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος· ἐστρατήγεε δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Εὐαίνετος ὁ Καρήνου ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων¹⁰ ἀραιορημένος, γένεος μέντοι ἐὼν οὐ τοῦ βασιλείου, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Νεοκλέος. ἔμειναν δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐνθαῦτα· ἀπικόμενοι γὰρ ἄγγελοι παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντεω ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνος συνεβούλευόν σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μὴδὲ μένοντας ἐν τῇ ἐσβολῇ καταπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἐπιόντος, σημαίνοντες τὸ πλῆθος τε τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ τὰς νέας. ὥς δὲ οὗτοί σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκεον συμβουλεύειν καὶ σφι εὖνοος¹¹ ἐφαίνετο ἐὼν ὁ Μακεδών, ἐπείθοντο. δοκέειν δὲ μοι, ἀρρωδίῃ ἦν τὸ πείθον, ὥς ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἄλλην ἐοῦσαν ἐσβολὴν ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην διὰ Περραιβῶν κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐσέβαλε ἡ στρατιὴ ἡ Ξέρξεω. καταβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὰς νέας ὀπίσω ἐπορεύοντο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν.

7.174

αὕτη ἐγένετο ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίην στρατιήν, βασιλέος τε μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ ἐόντος ἤδη ἐν Ἀβύδῳ. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ἐρμηωθέντες συμμάχων οὕτω δὴ ἐμῆδισαν προθύμως οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς, ὥστε ἐν τοῖσι πρήγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλείᾳ ἄνδρες ἐόντες χρησιμώτατοι.

7.175

οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπείτε ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν, ἐβουλεύοντο πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν οἷσι χώροις. ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι· στενωτέρῃ γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ἐοῦσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην καὶ ἅμα ἀγχοτέρῃ τῆς ἐωυτῶν· τὴν δὲ ἀτραπόν, δι' ἣλωσαν¹² οἱ ἀλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ἤδεσαν ἐοῦσαν πρότερον ἢ περ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπύθοντο Τρηχινίων. ταύτην ὦν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν μὴ παρίεναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον, τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰσθμιαῖωτιδος

¹⁰ chief ¹¹ kindly; favorable ¹² sharpen

ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἑκατέρους ἐόντα, οἳ τε χώροι οὕτω ἔχουσι.

7.176

τοῦτο μὲν τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον· ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηκίου ἐξ εὐρέος συνάγεται ἐς στενὸν ἐόντα τὸν πόρον τὸν μεταξὺ νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου Μαγνησίας· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στενοῦ τῆς Εὐβοῆς ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλός, ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱόν. ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ τῇ στενωτάτῃ ἡμίπλεθρον.¹³ οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτο γε ἐστὶ τὸ στενωτάτον τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθε τε Θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὀπισθε, κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνοὺς ὀπισθε ἐόντας ἐοῦσα ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη, καὶ ἔμπροσθε κατὰ Φοίνικα ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθήλης πόλιος ἄλλη ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη. τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρης ὅρος ἀβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλόν, ἀνατείνον ἐς τὴν Οἶτην· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ τενάγεια.¹⁴ ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ¹⁵ λουτρά,¹⁶ τὰ Χύτρους καλέουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἵδρυται Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι. ἐδέδμητο δὲ τείχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολάς, καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπῆσαν. ἔδειμαν¹⁷ δὲ Φωκέες τὸ τείχος δείσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν νῦν ἐκτέαται. αἶτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεσθαι σφέας, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπῆκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὡς ἂν χαραδρωθεῖ¹⁸ ὁ χώρος, πᾶν μηχανώμενοι ὅκως μὴ σφὶ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν. τὸ μὲν νυν τείχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο καὶ τὸ πλεον αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἔκειτο· τοῖσι δὲ αὖτις ὀρθώσασι¹⁹ ἔδοξε ταύτῃ ἀπαμύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δὲ ἐστὶ ἀγχοτάτῳ²⁰ τῆς ὁδοῦ Ἀλπηνοὶ οὖνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες.

¹³ 15 meters ¹⁴ shoal, shallows ¹⁵ warm, hot ¹⁶ bathing water

¹⁷ build ¹⁸ be full of gullies ¹⁹ stand up ²⁰ nearest

reported, they abstained from the giving of assistance.

7.170

For the story goes that Minos, having come to Sicania, which is now called Sicily, in search of Daidalos, died there by a violent death; and after a time the Cretans, urged thereto by a god, all except the men of Polichne and Praisos, came with a great armament to Sicania and besieged for seven years the city of Camicos, which in my time was occupied by the Agrigentines; and at last not being able either to capture it or to remain before it, because they were hard pressed by famine, they departed and went away. And when, as they sailed, they came to be off the coast of Iapygia, a great storm seized them and cast them away upon the coast; and their vessels being dashed to pieces, they, since they saw no longer any way of coming to Crete, founded there the city of Hyria; and there they stayed and were changed so that they became instead of Cretans, Messapians of Iapygia, and instead of islanders, dwellers on the mainland: then from the city of Hyria they founded those other settlements which the Tarentines long afterwards endeavoured to destroy and suffer great disaster in that enterprise, so that this in fact proved to be the greatest slaughter of Hellenes that is known to us, and not only of the Tarentines themselves but of those citizens of Rhegion who were compelled by Mikythos the son of Choiros to go to the assistance of the Tarentines, and of whom there were slain in this manner three thousand men: of the Tarentines themselves however, who were slain there, there was no numbering made. This Mikythos, who was a servant of Anaxilaos, had been left by him in charge of Rhegion; and he it was who after being driven out of Rhegion took up his abode at Tegea of the Arcadians and dedicated those many statues at Olympia.

7.171

This of the men of Rhegion and of the Tarentines has been an episode in my narrative: in Crete however, as the men of Praisos report, after it had been thus stripped of inhabitants, settlements were made by various nations, but especially by Hellenes; and in the next generation but one after the death of Minos came the Trojan war, in which the Cretans proved not the most contemptible of those who came to assist Menelaos. Then after this, when they had returned home from Troy, famine and pestilence came upon both the men and their cattle, until at last Crete was stripped of its inhabitants for the second time, and a third population of Cretans now occupy it together with those which were left of the former inhabitants. The Pythian prophetess, I say, by calling these things to their minds stopped them from giving assistance to the Hellenes, though they desired to do so.

7.172

As for the Thessalians, they at first had taken the side of the Persians against their will, and they gave proof that they were not pleased by that which the Aleuadai were designing; for so soon as they heard that the Persian was about to cross over into Europe, they sent envoys to the Isthmus: now at the Isthmus were assembled representatives of Hellas chosen by the cities which had the better mind about Hellas: having come then to these, the envoys of the Thessalians said: "Hellenes, ye must guard the pass by Olympos, in order that both Thessaly and the whole of Hellas may be sheltered from the war. We are prepared to join with you in guarding it, but ye must send a large force as well as we; for if ye shall not send, be assured that we shall make agreement with the Persian; since it is not right that we, standing as outposts so far in advance of the rest of Hellas, should perish alone in your defence: and not being willing to come to our help, ye cannot apply to us any force to compel inability; but we shall endeavour to devise some means of safety for ourselves."

7.173

Thus spoke the Thessalians; and the Hellenes upon this resolved to send to Thessaly by sea an army of men on foot to guard the pass: and when the army was assembled it set sail through Euripos, and having come to Alos in the Achaian land, it disembarked there and marched into Thessaly leaving the ships behind at Alos, and arrived at Tempe, the pass which leads from lower Macedonia into Thessaly by the river Peneios, going between the mountains of Olympos and Ossa. There the Hellenes encamped, being assembled to the number of about ten thousand hoplites, and to them was added the cavalry of the Thessalians; and the commander of the Lacedemonians was Euainetos the son of Carenos, who had been chosen from the polemarchs, not being of the royal house, and of the Athenians Themistocles the son of Neocles. They remained however but few days here, for envoys came from Alexander the son of Amyntas the Macedonian, who advised them to depart thence and not to remain in the pass and be trodden under foot by the invading host, signifying to them at the same time both the great numbers of the army and the ships which they had. When these gave them this counsel, they followed the advice, for they thought that the counsel was good, and the Macedonian was evidently well-disposed towards them. Also, as I think, it was fear that persuaded them to it, when they were informed that there was another pass besides this to the Thessalian land by upper Macedonia through the Perraiibians and by the city of Gonnos, the way by which the army of Xerxes did in fact make its entrance. So the Hellenes went down to their ships again and made their way back to the Isthmus.

7.174

Such was the expedition to Thessaly, which took place when the king was about to cross over from Asia to Europe and was already at Abydos. So the Thessalians, being stripped of allies, upon this took the side of the Medes with a good will and no longer half-heartedly, so that in the course of events they proved very serviceable to the king.

7.175

When the Hellenes had returned to the Isthmus, they deliberated, having regard to that which had been said by Alexander, where and in what regions they should set the war on foot: and the opinion which prevailed was to guard the pass at Thermopylai; for it was seen to be narrower than that leading into Thessaly, and at the same time it was single, and nearer also to their own land; and as for the path by means of which were taken those of the Hellenes who were taken by the enemy at Thermopylai, they did not even know of its existence until they were informed by the people of Trachis after they had come to Thermopylai. This pass then they resolved to guard, and not permit the Barbarian to go by into Hellas; and they resolved that the fleet should sail to Artemision in the territory of Histiaia: for these points are near to one another, so that each division of their forces could have information of what was happening to the other. And the places are so situated as I shall describe.

7.176

As to Artemision first, coming out of the Thracian Sea the space is contracted from great width to that narrow channel which lies between the island of Skiathos and the mainland of Magnesia; and after the strait there follows at once in Euboea the sea-beach called Artemision, upon which there is a temple of Artemis. Then secondly the passage into Hellas by Trechis is, where it is narrowest, but fifty feet wide: it is not here however that the narrowest part of this whole region lies, but in front of Thermopylai and also behind it, consisting of a single wheel-track only both by Alpenoi, which lies behind Thermopylai and again by the river Phoinix near the town of Anthela there is no space but a single wheel-track only: and on the West of Thermopylai there is a mountain which is impassable and precipitous, rising up to a great height and extending towards the range of Oite, while on the East of the road the sea with swampy pools succeeds at once. In this passage there are hot springs, which the natives of the place call the "Pots," and an altar of Heracles is set up near them. Moreover a wall had once been built at this pass, and in old times there was a gate set in it; which wall was built by the Phokians, who were struck with fear because the Thessalians had come from the land

of the Thesprotians to settle in the Aiolian land, the same which they now possess. Since then the Thessalians, as they supposed, were attempting to subdue them, the Phokians guarded themselves against this beforehand; and at that time they let the water of the hot springs run over the passage, that the place might be converted into a ravine, and devised every means that the Thessalians might not make invasion of their land. Now the ancient wall had been built long before, and the greater part of it was by that time in ruins from lapse of time; the Hellenes however resolved to set it up again, and at this spot to repel the Barbarian from Hellas: and very near the road there is a village called Alpenoi, from which the Hellenes counted on getting supplies.

vocabulary

αἰγιαλός beach, shore
 ἄκατος (f) boat
 ἄκτῃ beach; cereal grain
 ἀλίσκομαι be captured ~helix
 ἀνδράποδον -ς slave ~androgynous
 ἄνευ away from; not having; not
 needing ~Sp. sin
 ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet
 ἀντέχω hold up as protection
 against ~ischemia
 ἀπαθής unaffected, impassive
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ὁ) show, point out;
 appoint; (mid) declare
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine
 ἀποθρόσκω jump off of
 ἀριθμός number
 ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning
 ~oligarch
 βύσσινος of linen; bandage
 βωμός altar; stand, pedestal
 δεκάς -δος (f, 3) decade, group of
 ten ~decimal
 διαλύω break up; relax, weaken
 διατάσσω arrange, array
 δισμύριοι (ὁ) 20,000
 ἐβδομήκοντα 70
 ἑκατοντάς 100
 ἐκβολή throwing out
 ἐκκαίδεκα 16
 ἐκπαγλέομαι be amazed
 ἐκπληρόω fill, fulfill
 ἐλεύθερος not enslaved
 ἔλκος -εος (n, 3) wound ~ulcer
 Ἑλλην Greek
 ἐμπλέω sail in
 ἐμποδών getting in the way
 ἑνδεκα eleven ~decimal
 ἐνείμι be in ~ion
 ἕξ six ~hexagon
 ἐξαγγέλλω bring news out ~angel
 ἑξακισχίλιοι 6000

ἐξανάγω (mp) set sail
 ἐξανύω bring to pass; slay
 ἐξαριθμέω count up; recount
 ἐξέλασις expulsion; expedition
 ἐξήκοντα sixty
 ἐξισόω equalize
 ἐπαυρέω touch, get one's hands on,
 incur ~eureka
 ἐπελαύνω beat out ~elastic
 ἐπιβατεύω move into, go aboard
 ἐπιδείκνυμι (ὁ) display, exhibit
 ἐπικεῖμαι impose; shut a door
 ἐπιπλέω sail on, over ~float
 ἐπιχώριος native
 ἐπωνύμιος called, named
 ἔρμα -τος (n, 3) prop; earring
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 ἐρέπω drive, meet, follow ~sequel
 ἡμεροσκόπος watching by day
 θεραπῆτι service, tending
 θερμαίνω heat ~thermos
 θόρυβος noise, clamor
 θυσία sacrifice
 ἰάομαι (ι) cure ~pediatrician
 ἰλάσκομαι appease
 καθαρός clean, pure
 καθελίσσω wrap around and
 around
 καθηγέομαι lead
 καλλιστεύω be the best
 κάμηλος (f) camel
 καταρρωδέω fear, dread
 κατατίθηνι put down, deposit, lay
 aside ~thesis
 λογίζομαι reckon, consider
 μαντεῖον prophetic warning
 ~mantis
 μάχιμος warlike
 μεθορμίζω move anchorage
 μεταίσσω jump on, rush after
 μεταξύ between
 μετατίθηνι set or cause among

~thesis

μέτεμι be among, go, follow ~ion

μίν him, her, it

μυριάς -δος (ὑ, f, 3) countless,
myriad

μύρμηξ ant

ὀγδώκοντα eighty

ὀκτώ eight ~octopus

ὄμιλος (ἰ) crowd, throng ~homily

ὄον οὖ type of fruit

παραβάλλω put at risk ~ballistic

παράλιος seaside

πάσσω sprinkle; insert in a web

πείρω pierce, run through ~pierce

πεντακόσιοι 500

πεντηκόντερος (f) ship with 50 oars

περιέπω treat, handle

περιποιέω preserve; obtain

Πέρσης Persian

πόρος way, bridge ~fare

πρόοιδα foresee

προοράω see before oneself

προσδοκάω expect

προσλογίζομαι include, count as
well

προφυλάσσω guard the front

πῶρα bow, prow ~prolog

πυρρός signal fire ~pyre

σινδών -όνος (f, 3) linen

σιταγωγός (ἰ) grain-carrying

σκάφος (τό) hull, ship; (ό) digging

σμήρνα myrrh

στήλη post, column

στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army

~strategy

στρατιά army ~strategy

στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up
station ~strategy

στρατός common people/soldiers
~strategy

συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion

συμβάλλω pit against; compare;
mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic

σύμπας (ἄ) all together

συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis

σφαγιάζομαι sacrifice an animal

σφάζω cut the throat

τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ~tachometer

τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common
land

τετρακισχίλιοι 4000 ~kilo-

τετρακόσιοι 400

τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case

τριηραρχέω command a trireme

τρισμύριοι (ὑ) 30,000

τρισχίλιοι 3000 ~kilo-

φυγή flight, means of escape
~fugitive

χειρόω dominate, subdue

χιλιάς -δος (ἰ, f, 3) 1000

χίλιοι (ἰ) thousand ~kilo-

χρηστηριάζω prophesy

χρηστήριον oracle, response

χωρίς separately; except, other than
~heir

χώρος place ~heir

7.177

οἱ μὲν νυν χώροι οὗτοι τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδευοι· πάντα γὰρ προσκειψάμενοι καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι οὔτε πλήθει ἔξουσι χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτῃ σφι ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὥς δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐόντα ἐν Πιερίῃ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον.

7.178

οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθειον διαταχθέντες, Δελφοὶ δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐχρηστηριάζοντο¹ τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ ἐωυτῶν καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταρρωδηκότες, καὶ σφι ἐχρήσθη ἀνέμοισι εὔχεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμμάχους. Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὸ μαντήιον² πρῶτα μὲν Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐξήγγειλαν τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτοῖσι, καὶ σφι δεινῶς καταρρωδέουσι τὸν βάρβαρον ἐξαγγείλαντες χάριν ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖσι ἀνέμοισι βωμόν τε ἀπέδεξαν ἐν Θυίῃ, τῇ περ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς Θυίης τὸ τέμενος ἐστί, ἐπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ χώρος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, καὶ θυσίησι σφέας μετήισαν.

7.179

Δελφοὶ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἰλάσκονται.³ ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὀρμώμενος ἐκ Θέρμης πόλιος παρέβαλε νηυσὶ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα ἰθὺ Σκιάθου, ἔνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσουσαι νέες τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδες, Τροϊζηνίη τε καὶ Αἰγιναιή καὶ Ἀττική. προϊδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμησαν.

7.180

τὴν μὲν δὴ Τροϊζηνίην, τῆς ἡρχε Πρηξίνος, αὐτίκα αἰρέουσι

¹ prophesy ² prophetic warning ³ appease

ἐπισπόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἔπειτα τῶν ἐπιβατέων αὐτῆς τὸν καλλιστεύοντα⁴ ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πρώρης τῆς νεὸς ἔσφαξαν, διαδέξιον ποιούμενοι τὸν εἶλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον καὶ κάλλιστον. τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι⁵ τούτῳ οὖνομα ἦν Λέων· τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύροιο.

7.181

ἡ δὲ Αἰγιναιή, τῆς ἐτρηιράρχε⁶ Ἀσωνίδης, καὶ τινά σφι θόρυβον παρέσχε, Πυθέω τοῦ Ἰσχενοῦ ἐπιβατεύοντος, ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἡ νηὺς ἡλίσκετο ἐς τοῦτο ἀντείχε μαχόμενος ἐς ὃ κατεκρεουργήθη ἅπας. ὥς δὲ πεσὼν οὐκ ἀπέθανε ἀλλ' ἦν ἔμπνοος, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἳ περ ἐπεβάτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιῆσαί μιν περὶ πλείστου ἐποιήσαντο, σμύρνησι⁷ τε ἰώμενοι τὰ ἔλκεα καὶ συνδόνο⁸ βυσσίνης⁹ τελαμῶσι κατελίσσοντες· καὶ μιν, ὥς ὀπίσω ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἐωυτῶν στρατόπεδον, ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐκπαγλεόμενοι πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ περιέποντες εὖ. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς ἔλαβον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ταύτῃ περιείπον ὥς ἀνδράποδα.¹⁰

7.182

αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν νεῶν οὕτω ἐχειρώθησαν· ἡ δὲ τρίτη, τῆς ἐτρηιράρχεε Φόρμος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φεύγουσα ἐξοκέλλει ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Πηγνεῖο, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σκάφους ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐ· ὥς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐπώκειλαν τὴν νέα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποθορόντες κατὰ Θεσσαλίην πορευόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας.

7.183

ταῦτα οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ στρατοπεδεύόμενοι πυνθάνονται παρὰ πυρσῶν¹¹ ἐκ Σκιάθου· πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ καταρρωδήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετορμίζοντο ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάζοντες μὲν τὸν Εὐριπον, λείποντες δὲ ἡμεροσκόπους περὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς Εὐβοίας.

⁴ be the best ⁵ sacrifice an animal ⁶ command a trireme ⁷ myrrh
⁸ linen ⁹ of linen; bandage ¹⁰ slave ¹¹ signal fire

τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς ἐπήλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα¹² τὸ μεταξὺ ἐὸν Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίης, καλεόμενον δὲ Μύρμηκα.¹³ ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ στήλην λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὀρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγγόνεε καθαρὸν, ἐπέπλεον πάσῃσι τῇσι νηυσί, ἔνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι κατηγήσατο ἐὸν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα Πάμμων Σκύριος. πανημερὸν δὲ πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἑόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς.

7.184

μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλέων ἀπαθῆς τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατός, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν τηνικαῦτα ἔτι, ὥς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, εὐσέων ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκοσίων καὶ χιλίων, τὸν μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκάστων τῶν ἐθνέων ἑόντα ὅμιλον τέσσερας καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδα τε καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὥς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας λογιζόμενοι ἐν ἐκάστη νηί. ἐπεβάτεον δὲ ἐπὶ τουτέων τῶν νεῶν, χωρὶς ἐκάστων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐπιβατέων, Περσέων τε καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σακέων τριήκοντα ἄνδρες. οὗτος ἄλλος ὅμιλος γίνεται τρισμύριοι¹⁴ καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ πρὸς διηκόσιοι τε καὶ δέκα. προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτῳ καὶ τῷ προτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ποιήσας, ὅτι πλέον ἦν αὐτῶν ἢ ἔλασσον, ἀν' ὀγδώκοντα ἄνδρας ἐνεῖναι. συνελέχθη δὲ ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, τρισχίλια. ἤδη ὦν ἄνδρες ἂν εἶεν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τέσσερες μυριάδες καὶ εἴκοσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τό ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ναυτικὸν ἦν, σύμπαν ἐὸν πεντήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ μία, χιλιάδες δὲ ἔπεισι ἐπὶ ταύτῃσι ἑπτὰ καὶ πρὸς ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ καὶ δεκάς. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες ἐγένοντο, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὀκτὼ μυριάδες. προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτοις τὰς καμήλους τοὺς ἐλαύνοντας Ἀραβίους καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἄρματα Λίβυας, πλῆθος ποιήσας δισμύριους ἄνδρας. καὶ δὴ τό τε ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ πλῆθος συντιθέμενον

¹² prop; earring ¹³ ant ¹⁴ 30,000

γίνεται διηκόσιαί τε μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ μία, καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ καὶ δεκάς. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀσίης στράτευμα ἐξαναχθὲν εἴρηται, ἄνευ τε τῆς θεραπήϊς τῆς ἐπομένης καὶ τῶν σιταγωγῶν πλοίων καὶ ὅσοι ἐνέπλεον τούτοις.

7.185

τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀγόμενον στράτευμα ἔτι προσλογιστέα τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ ἐξηριθμημένῳ· δόκησιν δὲ δεῖ λέγειν. νέας μὲν νυν οἱ ἀπὸ Θρηίκης Ἑλλήνες καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐπικειμενέων τῇ Θρηίκῃ παρείχοντο εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· ἐκ μὲν νυν τουτέων τῶν νεῶν ἄνδρες τετρακισχίλιοι¹⁵ καὶ δισμύριοι γίνονται. πεζοῦ δὲ τὸν Θρήικες παρείχοντο καὶ Παίονες καὶ Ἑορδοὶ καὶ Βοττιαῖοι καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος καὶ Βρύγοι καὶ Πίερες καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ Περραιβοὶ καὶ Ἐνιῆνες καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Θρηίκης τὴν παραλίην νέμονται, τούτων τῶν ἐθνέων τριήκοντα μυριάδας δοκέω γενέσθαι. αὗται ὧν αἱ μυριάδες ἐκείνησι προστεθείσαι τῇσι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι μυριάδες διηκόσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τέσσερες, ἔπεισι δὲ ταύτῃσι ἑκατοντάδες ἑκαῖδεκα¹⁶ καὶ δεκάς.

7.186

τοῦ μαχίμου δὲ τούτου ἑόντος ἀριθμὸν τοσούτου, τὴν θεραπήϊν τὴν ἐπομένην τούτοις καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖσι σιταγωγοῖσι¹⁷ ἀκάτοις¹⁸ ἑόντας καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοις πλοίοις τοῖσι ἅμα πλέουσι τῇ στρατιῇ, τούτους τῶν μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν οὐ δοκέω εἶναι ἐλάσσονας ἀλλὰ πλεῦνας. καὶ δὴ σφεας ποιέω ἴσους ἐκείνοις εἶναι καὶ οὔτε πλεῦνας οὔτε ἐλάσσονας οὐδέν· ἐξισούμενοι δὲ οὗτοι τῷ μαχίμῳ ἐκπληροῦσι τὰς ἴσας μυριάδας ἐκείνοις. οὕτω πεντακοσίας τε μυριάδας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ ἑκατοντάδας δύο καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν ἡγαγε Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου μέχρι Σηπιάδος καὶ Θερμοπυλέων.

¹⁵ 4000 ¹⁶ 16 ¹⁷ grain-carrying ¹⁸ boat

7.177

These places then the Hellenes perceived to be such as their purpose required; for they considered everything beforehand and calculated that the Barbarians would not be able to take advantage either of superior numbers or of cavalry, and therefore they resolved here to receive the invader of Hellas: and when they were informed that the Persian was in Pieria, they broke up from the Isthmus and set forth for the campaign, some going to Thermopylai by land, and others making for Artemision by sea.

7.178

The Hellenes, I say, were coming to the rescue with speed, having been appointed to their several places: and meanwhile the men of Delphi consulted the Oracle of the god on behalf of themselves and on behalf of Hellas, being struck with dread; and a reply was given them that they should pray to the Winds, for these would be powerful helpers of Hellas in fight. So the Delphians, having accepted the oracle, first reported the answer which had been given them to those of the Hellenes who desired to be free; and having reported this to them at a time when they were in great dread of the Barbarian, they laid up for themselves an immortal store of gratitude: then after this the men of Delphi established an altar for the Winds in Thuia, where is the sacred enclosure of Thuia the daughter of Kephisos, after whom moreover this place has its name; and also they approached them with sacrifices.

7.179

The Delphians then according to the oracle even to this day make propitiary offerings to the Winds: and meanwhile the fleet of Xerxes setting forth from the city of Therma had passed over with ten of its ships, which were those that sailed best, straight towards Skiathos, where three Hellenic ships, a Troizenian, an Eginetan and an Athenian, were keeping watch in advance. When the crews of these caught sight of the ships of the Barbarians, they set off to make their escape:

7.180

And the ship of Troizen, of which Prexinos was in command, was pursued and captured at once by the Barbarians; who upon that took the man who was most distinguished by beauty among the fighting-men on board of her, and cut his throat at the prow of the ship, making a good omen for themselves of the first of the Hellenes whom they had captured who was pre-eminent for beauty. The name of this man who was sacrificed was Leon, and perhaps he had also his name to thank in some degree for what befell him.

7.181

The ship of Egina however, of which Asonides was master, even gave them some trouble to capture it, seeing that Pytheas the son of Ischenoös served as a fighting-man on board of her, who proved himself a most valiant man on this day; for when the ship was being taken, he held out fighting until he was hacked all to pieces: and as when he had fallen he did not die, but had still breath in him, the Persians who served as fighting-men on board the ships, because of his valour used all diligence to save his life, both applying unguents of myrrh to heal his wounds and also wrapping him up in bands of the finest linen; and when they came back to their own main body, they showed him to all the army, making a marvel of him and giving him good treatment; but the rest whom they had taken in this ship they treated as slaves.

7.182

Two of the three ships, I say, were captured thus; but the third, of which Phormos an Athenian was master, ran ashore in its flight at the mouth of the river Peneios; and the Barbarians got possession of the vessel but not of the crew; for so soon as the Athenians had run the ship ashore, they leapt out of her, and passing through Thessaly made their way to Athens.

7.183

Of these things the Hellenes who were stationed at Artemision were informed by fire-signals from Skiathos; and being informed of them and being struck with fear, they removed their place of anchorage from Atermision to Chalkis, intending to guard the Euripos, but leaving at the same time watchers by day on the heights of Euboea. Of the ten ships of the Barbarians three sailed up to the reef called Myrmex, which lies between Skiathos and Magnesia; and when the Barbarians had there erected a stone pillar, which for that purpose they brought to the reef, they set forth with their main body from Therma, the difficulties of the passage having now been cleared away, and sailed thither with all their ships, having let eleven days go by since the king set forth on his march from Therma. Now of this reef lying exactly in the middle of the fairway they were informed by Pammon of Skyros. Sailing then throughout the day the Barbarians accomplished the voyage to Sepias in Magnesia and to the sea-beach which is between the city of Casthanaia and the headland of Sepias.

7.184

So far as this place and so far as Thermopylai the army was exempt from calamity; and the number was then still, as I find by computation, this:—

Of the ships which came from Asia, which were one thousand two hundred and seven, the original number of the crews supplied by the several nations I find to have been twenty-four myriads and also in addition to them one thousand four hundred, if one reckons at the rate of two hundred men to each ship: and on board of each of these ships there served as fighting-men, besides the fighting-men belonging to its own nation in each case, thirty men who were Persians, Medes, or Sacans; and this amounts to three myriads six thousand two hundred and ten in addition to the others. I will add also to this and to the former number the crews of the fifty-oared galleys, assuming that there were eighty men, more or less, in each one. Of these vessels there were gathered together, as was before said, three thousand: it would follow therefore that there were in them four and twenty myriads of men. This was the naval force which came from Asia, amounting in all to fifty-one myriads and also seven thousand six hundred and ten in addition. Then of the footmen there had been found to be a hundred and seventy myriads, and of the horsemen eight myriads: and I will add also to these the Arabian camel-drivers and the Libyan drivers of chariots, assuming them to amount to twenty thousand men. The result is then that the number of the ships' crews combined with that of the land-army amounts to two hundred and thirty-one myriads and also in addition seven thousand six hundred and ten. This is the statement of the Army which was brought up out of Asia itself, without counting the attendants which accompanied it or the corn-transporters and the men who sailed in these.

7.185

There is still to be reckoned, in addition to all this which has been summed up, the force which was being led from Europe; and of this we must give a probable estimate. The Hellenes of Thrace and of the islands which lie off the coast of Thrace supplied a hundred and twenty ships; from which ships there results a sum of twenty-four thousand men: and as regards the land-force which was supplied by the Thracians, Paionians, Eordians, Bottiaians, the race which inhabits Chalkidike, the Brygians, Pierians, Macedonians, Perraibians, Enianians, Dolopians, Magnesians, Achaians, and all those who dwell in the coast-region of Thrace, of these various nations I estimate that there were thirty myriads. These myriads then added to those from Asia make a total sum of two hundred and sixty-four myriads of fighting men and in addition to these sixteen hundred and ten.

7.186

Such being the number of this body of fighting-men, the attendants who went with these and the men who were in the small vessels which carried corn, and again in the other vessels which sailed with the army, these I suppose

were not less in number but more than the fighting men. I assume them to be equal in number with these, and neither at all more nor less; and so, being supposed equal in number with the fighting body, they make up the same number of myriads as they. Thus five hundred and twenty-eight myriads three thousand two hundred and twenty was the number of men whom Xerxes son of Dareios led as far as Sepias and Thermopylai.

vocabulary

ἄγκυρα (ῥ) anchor
 αἰγιαλός beach, shore
 αἰθρία clear air
 ἄκρον crest, extremity ~acute
 ἄκτῃ beach; cereal grain
 ἀμάρτημα -τος (n, 3) failure, fault
 ἄμιλλα conflict
 ἀνακρεμάννυμι (ῥ) get snagged on
 ἀναρίθμητος countless
 ἀνασπάω draw again ~spatula
 ἀνασταυρόω impale
 ἀντίξοος opposed to
 ἀξιόνικος (τι) worthy of winning
 ἀπηνιότης -ου (m, 1) east wind
 ἀποβάλλω throw away, lose
 ἀποπειράομαι try, try out
 ἀποχράω suffice; abuse
 ἀποχρέω suffice; abuse
 ἀριθμός number
 ἀρπάζω carry off, seize ~harpoon
 ἄτε as if; since
 ἀτρεκής precise, certain
 ἀφηνιότης -ου (m, 1) east wind
 ἄφθονος ungrudging, plentiful
 ἀφόρητος unendurable; irresistible
 ἄχαρις -δος (f) ungracious
 βασίλειος kingly
 βασιλῆις kingly
 βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind
 γαμβρός son-in-law, brother-in-law
 ~bigamy
 διαφεύγω escape, survive
 εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic
 εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in
 ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear
 ἐλάχιστος smallest, shortest, fewest
 Ἑλλην Greek
 ἑνδεκα eleven ~decimal
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence
 ἔντομος cut up; (pl) sacrificial
 victims

ἐξανάγω (mp) set sail
 ἐπανάγω sit up, bring up; retreat;
 set sail
 ἐπείγω weigh upon, drive; (mid)
 hurry
 ἐπίκουρος ally; mercenary ~cereal
 ἐπιπίπτω fall upon, attack
 ἐπωνύμιος called, named
 ἔρκος -εος (n, 3) bulwark ~oath
 εὐνοῦχος eunuch
 εὐπετής coming out well; (adv)
 fortunately
 εὕρημα invention; windfall
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 εὕτε when, as, since
 εὕτυχής fortunate
 εὐφρόνη euphemism for night
 ζέω boil ~eczema
 ἡμεροσκόπος watching by day
 θεοπρόπιον prophecy ~theology
 θησαυρός treasury ~treasure
 θῶμα a wonder, feeling of surprise
 ~theater
 ἰδρύω establish
 ἰσθμός narrow neck
 καθαπλώ spread over
 καθοράω look down ~panorama
 κακώ harm, disfigure ~cacophony
 κάλλος -εος (n, 3) beauty
 ~kaleidoscope
 κάμπτω bend, bend in exhaustion
 καταπλέω land ~float
 καταπλώω land
 κατασπάω pull down
 κατατρέχω overrun; trash talk
 κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate;
 get; kill
 κῆδος -εος (n, 3) sorrow ~heinous
 κόλπος bosom, lap-fold; gulf
 κῶας κῶως (n, 3) fleece
 λογίζομαι reckon, consider
 λυπέω (ῥ) annoy, distress

μέδιμνος bushel
 μυριάς -δος (ῥ, f, 3) countless,
 myriad
 ναυηγίη shipwreck
 ναυήγιον wreckage
 ναυλοχέω lie in wait in a harbor
 νηέμιος still, windless
 ~anemometer
 ὀκτώ eight ~octopus
 ὀλκάς -δος (f, 3) towed merchant
 ship
 ὄον οῦ type of fruit
 ὄρθρος dawn
 ὀρμέω be anchored
 ὄρμος cord, chain, anchorage
 παιδοφόνος child killer
 παλλακή sex slave
 πάρεξ alongside, diverging from;
 (+ῃ or gen) except; (+acc) beyond,
 alongside
 πέλαγος -ους (n, 3) the open sea
 ~pelagic
 πεντεκαίδεκα 15
 περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on
 clothing ~ballistic
 περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive;
 attain ~genus
 περίειμι be superior to; be left over;
 still exist
 περιπίπτω embrace; fall in with
 Πέρσης Persian
 ποτήριον cup
 προδίδωμι betray
 πρόχροσσοι row after row
 προσπλέω sail toward, against

προχέω stream toward; pour out
 πυρά pyre ~pyre
 πυρός (ῥ) wheat
 πυρόω burn something
 ῥεῖθρον stream ~rheostat
 σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark
 ~semaphore
 σιταγωγός (ι) grain-carrying
 σοφός skilled, clever, wise
 στόρνυμι (ῥ) smooth out
 στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army
 ~strategy
 στρατηγέω be a general
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 συμφορά collecting; accident,
 misfortune
 σωτήρ -ος (m) savior
 τετρακόσιοι 400
 τριταῖος on the third day
 τύραννος tyrant
 ὑδρεύω draw water ~hydrogen
 ὑπαρχος subordinate
 ὑποζύγιον beast of burden ~zygote
 φάτις -τος (f) report, rumor ~fame
 φθάνω (ᾱ) do first, outstrip
 χειμάζω overwinter
 χοῖνιξ -χος (f) liter; shackle
 χρηστήριον oracle, response
 χρηστός useful; brave, worthy
 χώρος place ~heir

7.187

οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ Ξέρξεω στρατεύματος ἀριθμός, γυναικῶν δὲ σιτοποιῶν καὶ παλλακέων καὶ εὐνούχων¹ οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀτρεκέα ἀριθμόν· οὐδ' αὖ ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτηνέων τῶν ἀχθοφόρων καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἐπομένων, οὐδ' ἂν τούτων ὑπὸ πλήθεος οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀριθμόν. ὥστε οὐδέν μοι θῶμα παρίσταται προδοῦναι τὰ ῥέεθρα τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι ὦν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅκως τὰ σιτία ἀντέχρησε θῶμά μοι μυριάσι τοσαύτησι. εὐρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ χοίνικα² πυρῶν ἕκαστος τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλέον, ἔνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων³ τελομένης ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίους τε ἄλλους μεδίμνους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ εὐνούχοις καὶ ὑποζυγίοις καὶ κυσὶ οὐ λογιζομαι. ἀνδρῶν δὲ εὐσεύων τοσουτέων μυριάδων, κάλλεός τε εἵνεκα καὶ μεγάλθους οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀξιονικότερος⁴ ἦν αὐτοῦ Ξέρξεω ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος.

7.188

ὁ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐπεῖτε ὀρμηθεὶς ἔπλεε καὶ κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὄρμεον πρὸς γῇ, ἄλλαι δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνησι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων⁵ ἄτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρόκροσσαι ὀρμέοντο ἐς πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ νέας. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην⁶ οὕτω, ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρω⁷ ἐξ αἰθρίης⁸ τε καὶ νηνεμῆς τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης⁹ ἐπέπεσέ σφι χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντίνην καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. ὅσοι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν αἰχόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμου, οἱ δ' ἔφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἴπνους καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αἱ δὲ περὶ

¹ eunuch ² liter; shackle ³ bushel ⁴ worthy of winning

⁵ anchor ⁶ euphemism for night ⁷ dawn ⁸ clear air ⁹ boil

αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο· ἦν τε τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον.

7.189

λέγεται δὲ λόγος ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορέην ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφί ἄλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπίκουρον καλέσασθαι. Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον ἔχει γυναικα Ἀττικὴν, Ὁρειθυίην τὴν Ἐρεχθέος. κατὰ δὴ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς φάτις¹⁰ ὄρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοι σφίσι τὸν Βορέην γαμβρὸν εἶναι, ναυλοχέοντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν Χαλκίδι ὡς ἔμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐθύοντό τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τὸν τε Βορέην καὶ τὴν Ὁρειθυίην τιμωρῆσαι σφίσι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἀθων. εἰ μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ὀρμέουσι Βορέης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· οἱ δ' ὦν Ἀθηναῖοι σφίσι λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορέην πρότερον καὶ τότε ἐκείνα κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέω ἰδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἴλισσόν.

7.190

ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἱ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἄφθονον. ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλεί τῷ Κρητίνεω ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα μεγάλως ἢ ναυηγίῃ αὕτη ἐγένετο χρηστή· ὅς πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεια ποτήρια ὑστέρω χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα, θησαυρούς τε τῶν Περσέων εἶρε, ἅλλα τε ἄφата χρήματα περιεβάλετο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τᾶλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις¹¹ συμφορὴ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος.¹²

7.191

σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων¹³ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμός. ὥστε δείσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ

¹⁰ report, rumor ¹¹ ungracious ¹² child killer ¹³ towed merchant ship

μή σφι κεκακωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοί, ἔρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων περιεβάλοντο· ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχειμάζε¹⁴ τρεῖς. τέλος δὲ ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ καταειδόντες γόησι οἱ Μάγοι τῷ ἀνέμῳ, πρὸς τε τούτοισι καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇσι Νηρηίσι θύοντες, ἔπαυσαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ, ἣ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθνον πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον. ὥς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἅπασα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπιάς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων Νηρηίδων.

7.192

ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυτο· τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμῶν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην. οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἡπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινὰς σφι ἀντιζῶους εἶσεσθαι νέας.

7.193

οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχουν, Ποσειδέωνος σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τότε νομίζοντες. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὥς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κύμα ἔστρωτο, κατασπάσαντες τὰς νέας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, κάμψαντες¹⁵ δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης ἰθέαν ἔπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἔστι δὲ χώρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἐνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονος τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπ' ὕδωρ πεμφθέντα, εὐτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας¹⁶ ἔπλεον ἐς Αἶαν τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσειν. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ οὖνομα γέγονε Ἀφέται. ἐν τούτῳ ὦν ὄρμον οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐποιεῖντο.

7.194

πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νεῶν τουτέων ἔτυχόν τε ὕσταται πολλὸν

¹⁴ overwinter ¹⁵ bend, bend in exhaustion ¹⁶ fleece

ἐξαναχθεῖσαι καί κως κατεΐδον τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέας. ἔδοξάν τε δὴ τὰς σφετέρας εἶναι οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ πλέοντες ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὕπαρχος Σανδώκης ὁ Θαμασίου τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἐπ' αἰτίῃ τοιγδε λαβὼν ἀνεσταύρωσε ἐόντα τῶν βασιλῆϊων δικαστέων. ὁ Σανδώκης ἐπὶ χρήμασι ἄδικον δίκην ἐδίκασε. ἀνακρεμασθέντος ὦν αὐτοῦ, λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος εὖρέ οἱ πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλῆϊον· εὐρὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρεῖος, καὶ γνοὺς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ σοφώτερα ἐργασμένος εἶη, ἔλυσε. βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρεῖον οὕτω διαφυγὼν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι περιῆν, τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καταπλώσας ἔμελλε οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγὼν ἔσεσθαι· ὥς γὰρ σφέας εἶδον προσπλέοντας οἱ Ἕλληνες, μαθόντες αὐτῶν τὴν γνωμένην ἀμαρτάδα, ἐπαναχθέντες εὐπετέως σφέας εἶλον.

7.195

ἐν τουτέων μὴ Ἀριδωλῖς πλέων ἦλω, τύραννος Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίῃ, ἐν ἐτέρῃ δὲ ὁ Πάφιος στρατηγὸς Πευθύλος ὁ Δημιονόου, ὃς ἦγε μὲν δυνάδεκα νέας ἐκ Πάφου, ἀποβαλὼν δὲ σφέων τὰς ἔνδεκα τῷ χειμῶνι τῷ γενομένῳ κατὰ Σηπιάδα, μὴ τῇ περιγενομένη καταπλέων ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίον ἦλω. τούτους οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐξιστορήσαντες τὰ ἐβούλοντο πυθέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατιῆς, ἀποπέμπουσι δεδεμένους ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμόν.

7.196

ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατός, παρέξ τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα νεῶν τῶν εἶπον Σανδώκεα στρατηγέειν, ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἀφέτας. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς πορευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ἀχαΐης ἐσβεβληκῶς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος¹⁷ ἐς Μηλιέας, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ μὲν ἄμιλλαν ποιησάμενος ἵππων τῶν τε ἑωυτοῦ ἀποπειρώμενος καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη εἶη τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι· ἔνθα δὴ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι ἐλείποντο πολλόν. τῶν μὲν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ποταμῶν Ὀνόχωνος μούνος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ρέεθρον πινόμενος· τῶν δὲ ἐν

¹⁷ on the third day

7.187

This is the number of the whole army of Xerxes; but of the women who made bread for it, and of the concubines and eunuchs no man can state any exact number, nor again of the draught-animals and other beasts of burden or of the Indian hounds, which accompanied it, could any one state the number by reason of their multitude: so that it does not occur to me to wonder that the streams of some rivers should have failed them, but I wonder rather how the provisions were sufficient to feed so many myriads; for I find on computation that if each man received a quart of wheat every day and nothing more, there would be expended every day eleven myriads of medimnoi and three hundred and forty medimnoi besides: and here I am not reckoning anything for the women, eunuchs, baggage-animals, or dogs. Of all these men, amounting to so many myriads, not one was for beauty and stature more worthy than Xerxes himself to possess this power.

7.188

The fleet, I say, set forth and sailed: and when it had put in to land in the region of Magnesia at the beach which is between the city of Casthanaia and the headland of Sepias, the first of the ships which came lay moored by the land and the others rode at anchor behind them; for, as the beach was not large in extent, they lay at anchor with prows projecting towards the sea in an order which was eight ships deep. For that night they lay thus; but at early dawn, after clear sky and windless calm, the sea began to be violently agitated and a great storm fell upon them with a strong East Wind, that wind which they who dwell about those parts call Hellespontias. Now as many of them as perceived that the wind was rising and who were so moored that it was possible for them to do so, drew up their ships on land before the storm came, and both they and their ships escaped; but as for those of the ships which it caught out at sea, some it cast away at the place called Ipnoi in Pelion and others on the beach, while some were wrecked on the headland of Sepias itself, others at the city of Meliboia, and others were thrown up on shore at Casthanaia: and the violence of the storm could not be resisted.

7.189

There is a story reported that the Athenians had called upon Boreas to aid them, by suggestion of an oracle, because there had come to them another utterance of the god bidding them call upon their brother by marriage to be their helper. Now according to the story of the Hellenes Boreas has a wife who is of Attica, Oreithuia the daughter of Erechththeus. By reason of this affinity, I say, the Athenians, according to the tale which has gone abroad, conjectured that their “brother by marriage” was Boreas, and when they perceived the

wind rising, as they lay with their ships at Chalkis in Euboea, or even before that, they offered sacrifices and called upon Boreas and Oreithuia to assist them and to destroy the ships of the Barbarians, as they had done before round about mount Athos. Whether it was for this reason that the wind Boreas fell upon the Barbarians while they lay at anchor, I am not able to say; but however that may be, the Athenians report that Boreas had come to their help in former times, and that at this time he accomplished those things for them of which I speak; and when they had returned home they set up a temple dedicated to Boreas by the river Ilissos.

7.190

In this disaster the number of the ships which were lost was not less than four hundred, according to the report of those who state the number which is lowest, with men innumerable and an immense quantity of valuable things; insomuch that to Ameinocles the son of Cretines, a Magnesian who held lands about Sepias, this shipwreck proved very gainful; for he picked up many cups of gold which were thrown up afterwards on the shore, and many also of silver, and found treasure-chests which had belonged to the Persians, and made acquisition of other things of gold more than can be described. This man however, though he became very wealthy by the things which he found, yet in other respects was not fortunate; for he too suffered misfortune, being troubled by the slaying of a child.

7.191

Of the corn-transports and other vessels which perished there was no numbering made; and so great was the loss that the commanders of the fleet, being struck with fear lest the Thessalians should attack them now that they had been brought into an evil plight, threw round their camp a lofty palisade built of the fragments of wreck. For the storm continued during three days; but at last the Magians, making sacrifice of victims and singing incantations to appease the Wind by enchantments, and in addition to this, offering to Thetis and the Nereïds, caused it to cease on the fourth day, or else for some other reason it abated of its own will. Now they offered sacrifice to Thetis, being informed by the Ionians of the story that she was carried off from the place by Peleus, and that the whole headland of Sepias belonged to her and to the other Nereïds.

7.192

The storm then had ceased on the fourth day; and meanwhile the day-watchers had run down from the heights of Euboea on the day after the first storm began, and were keeping the Hellenes informed of all that had happened as regards the shipwreck. They then, being informed of it, prayed

first to Poseidon the Saviour and poured libations, and then they hastened to go back to Artemision, expecting that there would be but a very few ships of the enemy left to come against them.

7.193

They, I say, came for the second time and lay with their ships about Artemision: and from that time even to this they preserve the use of the surname "Saviour" for Poseidon. Meanwhile the Barbarians, when the wind had ceased and the swell of the sea had calmed down, drew their ships into the sea and sailed on along the shore of the mainland, and having rounded the extremity of Magnesia they sailed straight into the gulf which leads towards Pagasai. In this gulf of Magnesia there is a place where it is said that Heracles was left behind by Jason and his comrades, having been sent from the Argo to fetch water, at the time when they were sailing for the fleece to Aia in the land of Colchis: for from that place they designed, when they had taken in water, to loose their ship into the open sea; and from this the place has come to have the name Aphetai. Here then the fleet of Xerxes took up its moorings.

7.194

Now it chanced that fifteen of these ships put out to sea a good deal later than the rest, and they happened to catch sight of the ships of the Hellenes at Artemision. These ships the Barbarians supposed to be their own, and they sailed thither accordingly and fell among the enemy. Of these the commander was Sandokes the son of Thamasios, the governor of Kyme in Aiolia, whom before this time king Dareios had taken and crucified (he being one of the Royal Judges) for this reason, namely that Sandokes had pronounced judgment unjustly for money. So then after he was hung up, Dareios reckoned and found that more good services had been done by him to the royal house than were equal to his offences; and having found this, and perceived that he had himself acted with more haste than wisdom, he let him go. Thus he escaped from king Dareios, and did not perish but survived; now, however, when he sailed in toward the Hellenes, he was destined not to escape the second time; for when the Hellenes saw them sailing up, perceiving the mistake which was being made they put out against them and captured them without difficulty.

7.195

Sailing in one of these ships Aridolis was captured, the despot of Alabanda in Caria, and in another the Paphian commander Penthyllos son of Demonoo's, who brought twelve ships from Paphos, but had lost eleven of them in the storm which had come on by Sepias, and now was captured sailing in towards Artemision with the one which had escaped. These men the Hellenes sent

away in bonds to the Isthmus of the Corinthians, after having inquired of them that which they desired to learn of the army of Xerxes.

7.196

The fleet of the Barbarians then, except the fifteen ships of which I said that Sandokes was in command, had arrived at Aphetai; and Xerxes meanwhile with the land-army, having marched through Thessalia and Achaia, had already entered the land of the Malians two days before, after having held in Thessaly a contest for his own horses, making trial also of the Thessalian cavalry, because he was informed that it was the best of all among the Hellenes; and in this trial the horses of Hellas were far surpassed by the others. Now of the rivers in Thessalia the Onochonos alone failed to suffice by its stream for the drinking of the army; but of the

vocabulary

ἄβατος untrodden; impassable
 ἄθλος ἀέθλου contest, trial ~athlete
 αἶα land ~geography
 ἀλίσκομαι be captured ~helix
 ἄλλοφρονέω dazed, crushed
 ~frenzy
 ἄλλος -εος (n, 3) grove, sacred place
 ἀμαξιτός road
 ἄμπωτις -εως (f) ebbing
 ἀναφαίνω reveal, shine
 ~phenomenon
 ἀντέχω hold up as protection
 against ~ischemia
 ἄπαις childless
 ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off;
 (intrans) ride away
 ἀπέχω ward off, drive off, refrain, be
 at some distance
 ἀπόγονος descended from
 ἀποδιδράσκω escape
 ἀπολέγω pick; decline
 ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp
 ἀπουρέω urinate
 ἀπροσδόκητος unexpected; unaware
 ἀριθμός number
 βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind
 γόνος offspring ~genus
 διακόσιοι (ἄ) two hundred
 διακρίνω (ιι) separate, sort ~critic
 διξός double
 δίοδος (f) passage, pass
 δισμύριοι (ὅ) 20,000
 δισχίλιοι 2000 ~kilo-
 ἔδρα (ἄ) seat, seated group
 ~polyhedron
 ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἐμποδών getting in the way
 ἐμφανής visible
 ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion
 ἐξηγέομαι lead forth; set out,

describe ~hegemony
 ἐπελαύνω beat out ~elastic
 ἐπιγίγνομαι succeed, come after
 ~genus
 ἐπικαλέω call upon
 ἐπικλητός summoned, appointed
 ἐπικρατέω rule over
 ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose;
 (mid) think over
 ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near
 ἐπιχώριος native
 ἐπτακόσιοι 700
 ἔργω bound, fend off; do
 ~ergonomics
 ἔρσην male
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 ἥμισυς half ~hemisphere
 ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent
 θάλλω bloom, flourish, abound
 ~thallium
 θεοπρόπιον prophecy ~theology
 θύω (ὅ) rush; sacrifice ~θύω
 ἱδρύω establish
 καθαριμός cleansing, purification
 καθηγμένων leader, guide
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος
 κατέρχομαι come down, out from
 κόλπος bosom, lap-fold; gulf
 κτάομαι acquire, possess
 κώμη village
 λογίζομαι reckon, consider
 μεσαμβρίη midday; the south
 μεταξύ between
 μετέπειτα afterward, next
 μῆνις -ος (f) rage
 μηχανάομαι build, contrive
 ~mechanism
 μιν him, her, it
 μέρος portion, lot in life
 νότος south, south wind
 ὀγδῶκοντα eighty
 ὄον οὗ type of fruit

ὀρτάζω celebrate
 οὐκω no longer
 ὀφείλω owe, should, if only
 πανδημεί the masses
 πανστρατιῇ with the whole army
 παραγγέλλω transmit; order,
 summon, recommend, encourage
 παραρρέω flow past, slip by
 πεδινός flat
 πεντεκαίδεκα 15
 περικλῆναι enclose, confine
 περίοικος dwelling around
 Πέρσης Persian
 πλέθρον 30 meters or its square
 ~plethora
 πολίζω build a wall, city
 ~Minneapolis
 πομπή a sending, expedition ~pomp
 πρόδρομος running ahead
 πρόειμι to have been before, earlier
 ~ion
 προσδόκιμος expected
 προτίθημι prefer, set out ~thesis
 πρυτανήιον town hall, law court
 πυκάζω cover
 ῥέω flow ~rheostat
 ῥηγή flood tide, breakers; rocky
 beach
 ῥοά pl: waters of a river ~rheostat
 ῥόος ῥοῦ stream, flow, current
 ~rheostat
 σέβομαι feel shame, awe
 σπουδῇ zeal; (dat) with difficulty,
 hastily ~repudiate

σταδίη (adj) standing upright, firm;
 (pl noun) 200 meters
 στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc)
 στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;
 (pl noun) 200 meters
 στέλλω prepare, send, furl ~apostle
 στέμμα -τος (n, 3) headband or
 wreath
 στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army
 ~strategy
 στρατηγέω be a general
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up
 station ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 συμμαχία alliance
 συμπέμψω send with ~pomp
 συμπίπτω fall together, happen
 τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ~tachometer
 τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common
 land
 τετρακόσιοι 400
 τοιόσδε such
 τριηκόσιοι three hundred
 ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond;
 delay ~ballistic
 ὑπομένω stay behind, await
 ~remain
 φλαῦρος trifling
 φροντίς -τος (f) thought, care
 φρουρέω keep watch
 χίλιοι (ii) thousand ~kilo-
 χώρος place ~heir

Ἀχαιίη ποταμῶν ρεόντων οὐδὲ ὅστις μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστι Ἡπιδανός, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε εἰ μὴ φλαύρως.

7.197

ἐς Ἄλον δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιίης ἀπικομένῳ Ξέρξῃ οἱ κατηγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ βουλόμενοι τὸ πᾶν ἐξηγγέσθαι ἔλεγόν οἱ ἐπιχώριον λόγον, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἶρόν τοῦ Λαφυστίου Διός, ὡς Ἀθάμας ὁ Αἰόλου ἐμηχανήσατο Φρίξῳ μόρον σὺν Ἴνοϊ βουλεύσας, μετέπειτα δὲ ὡς ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀχαιοὶ προτιθεῖσι τοῖσι ἐκείνου ἀπογόνουσι ἀέθλους τοιούσδε· ὃς ἂν ἦ τοῦ γένεος τούτου πρεσβύτατος, τούτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι τοῦ λήιτου αὐτοὶ φυλακὰς ἔχουσι. λήιτον δὲ καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανήιον¹ οἱ Ἀχαιοί. ἦν δὲ ἐσέλθῃ, οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως ἕξεισι πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι μέλλῃ· ὥς τ' ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις πολλοὶ ἤδη τούτων τῶν μελλόντων θύσεσθαι δείσαντες οἴχοντο ἀποδράντες ἐς ἄλλην χώραν, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ὀπίσω κατελθόντες ἦν ἀλίσκωνται ἐστέλλοντο ἐς τὸ πρυτανήιον· ὡς θύεται τε ἐξηγέοντο στέμμασι² πᾶς πυκασθεὶς καὶ ὡς σὺν πομπῇ ἐξαχθείς. ταῦτα δὲ πάσχουσι οἱ Κυττισσώρου τοῦ Φρίξου παιδὸς ἀπόγονοι, διότι καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρας ποιευμένων Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀθάμαντα τὸν Αἰόλου καὶ μελλόντων μιν θύειν ἀπικόμενος οὗτος ὁ Κυττίσσωρος ἐξ Αἴης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐρρύσατο, ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο τοῖσι ἐπιγενομένοις ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε. Ξέρξης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὡς κατὰ τὸ ἄλσος³ ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς τε ἔργετο αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ πάσῃ παρήγγειλε, τῶν τε Ἀθάμαντος ἀπογόνων τὴν οἰκίην ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐσέβετο.⁴

7.198

ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἦτε ἐς τὴν Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπον θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ ἄμπωτίς⁵ τε καὶ ῥήχῃ⁶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτον ἐστὶ χώρος πεδινός,⁷ τῇ μὲν εὐρὺς τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα στεινός· περὶ δὲ τὸν χώρον ὄρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικληίει πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν,

¹ town hall, law court ² headband or wreath ³ grove, sacred place

⁴ feel shame, awe ⁵ ebbing ⁶ flood tide, breakers; rocky beach

⁷ flat

Τρηχίναι πέτραι καλεόμεναι. πρώτη μὲν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἰόντι ἀπὸ Ἀχαιΐης Ἀντικύρη, παρ' ἣν Σπερχειὸς ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιήνων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου διὰ εἴκοσιν σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς τῷ οὐνομα κείται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθέοντα τῷ Ἡρακλεί καιομένῳ λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανήναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δι' ἄλλων εἴκοσι σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐστὶ ὃς καλεῖται Μέλας.

7.199

Τρηχὺς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἃ Τρηχὺς πεπόλισται.⁸ δισχιλία τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα⁹ τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί. τοῦ δὲ ὄρεος τὸ περικληΐει τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην ἐστὶ διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην¹⁰ Τρηχίνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρείαν τοῦ ὄρεος.

7.200

ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ῥέων ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοί. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν στενωτάτον ἐστὶ ἁμαξιτὸς γὰρ μούνη δέδμηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλέων κώμῃ τε ἐστὶ τῇ οὐνομα Ἀνθήλῃ κείται, παρ' ἣν δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί, καὶ χώρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρύς, ἐν τῷ Δήμητρος τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἱδρυται καὶ ἔδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος ἱρόν.

7.201

βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλεῖται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοις

⁸ build a wall, city ⁹ 30 meters or its square ¹⁰ midday; the south

τοῖσι χωρίοισι, ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορέην¹¹ ἄνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον¹² καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου.

7.202

ἦσαν δὲ οἷδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, Σπαρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὀπλίται καὶ Τεγεστηέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἐκατέρων, ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἴκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι· τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλειοῦντος διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδῶκοντα. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρήσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν Θεσπιδέων τε ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι.

7.203

πρὸς τούτοισι ἐπὶ κλητοὶ ἐγένοντο Λοκροὶ τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ¹³ καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ὥς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἦκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην, ἢ θάλασσά τέ σφι εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρομένη καὶ Αἰγινητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἴη δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον, εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἔσεσθαι τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη, τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοισι αὐτῶν μέγιστα. ὁφείλειεν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ὥς ἐόντα θνητόν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν αἶν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβοήθηον ἐς τὴν Τρηχίνα.

7.204

τούτοισι ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιος ἐκάστων, ὁ δὲ θαυμάζομενος μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεόμενος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδῃ τοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδῃ τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυκράτεος τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμέεος τοῦ Τηλέκλου τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Δορύσσου

¹¹ north, north wind ¹² south, south wind ¹³ with the whole army

τοῦ Λεωβώτew τοῦ Ἐχσotράτου τοῦ Ἥγιος τοῦ Εὐρυσθέneος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησάμενος τὴν βασιληίην ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου.

7.205

διζῶν γάρ οἱ ἐόντων πρεσβυτέρων ἀδελφεῶν, Κλεομένεός τε καὶ Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φροντίδος¹⁴ περὶ τῆς βασιληίης. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ἄπαιδος ἔρσηνος γόνου,¹⁵ Δωριέος τε οὐκέτι ἐόντος ἀλλὰ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ, οὕτω δὴ ἐς Λεωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιληίη, καὶ διότι πρότερος ἐγγεγόνεε Κλεομβρότου· οὗτος γάρ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδew παῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. ὃς τότε ἦε ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκοσίους καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύχανον παῖδες ἐόντες· παραλαβὼν δὲ ἀπύκετο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος εἶπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούρους Ἑλλήνων παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο μηδίξειν· παρεκάλεε ὦν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, θέλων εἰδέναι εἴτε συμπέμψουσιν εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίην. οἱ δὲ ἀλλοφρονέοντες¹⁶ ἔπεμπον.

7.206

τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρῶτους ἀπέπεμψαν Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὀρώντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύωνται μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἦν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνωνται ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δέ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδῶν, ἐμελλον ὀρτάσαντες¹⁷ καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ κατὰ τάχος βοηθέειν πανδημεῖ.¹⁸ ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνένωντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσων· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τῶντὸ Ὀλυμπιάς τούτοις τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα· οὐκὼν δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθῆσεσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι πόλεμον ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους.

¹⁴ thought, care

¹⁵ offspring

¹⁶ dazed, crushed

¹⁷ celebrate

¹⁸ the masses

rivers which flow in Achaia even that which is the largest of them, namely Epidanos, even this, I say, held out but barely.

7.197

When Xerxes had reached Alos of Achaia, the guides who gave him information of the way, wishing to inform him fully of everything, reported to him a legend of the place, the things, namely, which have to do with the temple of Zeus Laphystios; how Athamas the son of Aiolos contrived death for Phrixos, having taken counsel with Ino, and after this how by command of an oracle the Achaians propose to his descendants the following tasks to be performed:—whosoever is the eldest of this race, on him they lay an injunction that he is forbidden to enter the City Hall, and they themselves keep watch; now the City Hall is called by the Achaians the “Hall of the People”; and if he enter it, it may not be that he shall come forth until he is about to be sacrificed. They related moreover in addition to this, that many of these who were about to be sacrificed had before now run away and departed to another land, because they were afraid; and if afterwards in course of time they returned to their own land and were caught, they were placed in the City Hall: and they told how the man is sacrificed all thickly covered with wreaths, and with what form of procession he is brought forth to the sacrifice. This is done to the descendants of Kytissoros the son of Phrixos, because, when the Achaians were making of Athamas the son of Aiolos a victim to purge the sins of the land according to the command of an oracle, and were just about to sacrifice him, this Kytissoros coming from Aia of the Colchians rescued him; and having done so he brought the wrath of the gods upon his own descendants. Having heard these things, Xerxes, when he came to the sacred grove, both abstained from entering it himself, and gave the command to his whole army to so likewise; and he paid reverence both to the house and to the sacred enclosure of the descendants of Athamas.

7.198

These then are the things which happened in Thessalia and in Achaia; and from these regions he proceeded to the Malian land, going along by a gulf of the sea, in which there is an ebb and flow of the tide every day. Round about this gulf there is a level space, which in parts is broad but in other parts very narrow; and mountains lofty and inaccessible surrounding this place enclose the whole land of Malis and are called the rocks of Trachis. The first city upon this gulf as one goes from Achaia is Antikyra, by which the river Spercheios flowing from the land of the Enianians runs out into the sea. At a distance of twenty furlongs or thereabouts from this river there is another, of which the name is Dyras; this is said to have appeared that it might bring assistance to Heracles when he was burning: then again at a distance of twenty furlongs

from this there is another river called Melas.

7.199

From this river Melas the city of Trachis is distant five furlongs; and here, in the parts where Trachis is situated, is even the widest portion of all this district, as regards the space from the mountains to the sea; for the plain has an extent of twenty-two thousand plethra. In the mountain-range which encloses the land of Trachis there is a cleft to the South of Trachis itself; and through this cleft the river Asopos flows, and runs along by the foot of the mountain.

7.200

There is also another river called Phoinix, to the South of the Asopos, of no great size, which flowing from these mountains runs out into the Asopos; and at the river Phoinix is the narrowest place, for here has been constructed a road with a single wheel-track only. Then from the river Phoinix it is a distance of fifteen furlongs to Thermopylai; and in the space between the river Phoinix and Thermopylai there is a village called Anthela, by which the river Asopos flows, and so runs out into the sea; and about this village there is a wide space in which is set up a temple dedicated to Demeter of the Amphictyons, and there are seats for the Amphictyonic councillors and a temple dedicated to Amphictyon himself.

7.201

King Xerxes, I say, was encamped within the region of Trachis in the land of the Malians, and the Hellenes within the pass. This place is called by the Hellenes in general Thermopylai, but by the natives of the place and those who dwell in the country round it is called Pylai. Both sides then were encamped hereabout, and the one had command of all that lies beyond Trachis in the direction of the North Wind, and the others of that which tends towards the South Wind and the mid-day on this side of the continent.

7.202

These were the Hellenes who awaited the attack of the Persian in this place:—of the Spartans three hundred hoplites; of the men of Tegea and Mantinea a thousand, half from each place, from Orchomenos in Arcadia a hundred and twenty, and from the rest of Arcadia a thousand,—of the Arcadians so many; from Corinth four hundred, from Phlius two hundred, and of the men of Mykene eighty: these were they who came from the Peloponnese; and from the Boeotians seven hundred of the Thespians, and of the Thebans four hundred.

7.203

In addition to these the Locrians of Opus had been summoned to come in their full force, and of the Phokians a thousand: for the Hellenes had of themselves sent a summons to them, saying by messengers that they had come as forerunners of the others, that the rest of the allies were to be expected every day, that their sea was safely guarded, being watched by the Athenians and the Eginetans and by those who had been appointed to serve in the fleet, and that they need fear nothing: for he was not a god, they said, who was coming to attack Hellas, but a man; and there was no mortal, nor would be any, with those fortunes evil had not been mingled at his very birth, and the greatest evils for the greatest men; therefore he also who was marching against them, being mortal, would be destined to fail of his expectation. They accordingly, hearing this, came to the assistance of the others at Trachis.

7.204

Of these troops, although there were other commanders also according to the State to which each belonged, yet he who was most held in regard and who was leader of the whole army was the Lacedemonian Leonidas son of Anaxandrides, son of Leon, son of Eurycratides, son of Anaxander, son of Eurycrates, son of Polydoros, son of Alcamenes, son of Teleclos, son of Archelaos, son of Hegesilaos, son of Doryssos, son of Leobotes, son of Echestratos, son of Agis, son of Eurysthenes, son of Aristodemos, son of Aristomachos, son of Cleodaios, son of Hyllos, son of Heracles; who had obtained the kingdom of Sparta contrary to expectation.

7.205

For as he had two brothers each older than himself, namely Cleomenes and Dorieos, he had been far removed from the thought of becoming king. Since however Cleomenes had died without male child, and Dorieos was then no longer alive, but he also had brought his life to an end in Sicily, thus the kingdom came to Leonidas, both because was of elder birth than Cleombrotos (for Cleombrotos was the youngest of the sons of Anaxandrides) and also because he had in marriage the daughter of Cleomenes. He then at this time went to Thermopylai, having chosen the three hundred who were appointed by law and men who chanced to have sons; and he took with him besides, before he arrived, those Thebans whom I mentioned when I reckoned them in the number of the troops, of whom the commander was Leontiades the son of Eurymachos: and for this reason Leonidas was anxious to take up these with him of all the Hellenes, namely because accusations had been strongly brought against them that they were taking the side of the Medes; therefore he summoned them to the war, desiring to know whether they would send

troops with them or whether they would openly renounce the alliance of the Hellenes; and they sent men, having other thoughts in their mind the while.

7.206

These with Leonidas the Spartans had sent out first, in order that seeing them the other allies might join in the campaign, and for fear that they also might take the side of the Medes, if they heard that the Spartans were putting off their action. Afterwards, however, when they had kept the festival, (for the festival of the Carneia stood in their way), they intended then to leave a garrison in Sparta and to come to help in full force with speed: and just so also the rest of the allies had thought of doing themselves; for it chanced that the Olympic festival fell at the same time as these events. Accordingly, since they did not suppose that the fighting in Thermopylai would so soon be decided, they sent only the forerunners of their force.

vocabulary

ἀβουλία ill-advisedness
 ἀγωνίζομαι contend, exert oneself
 ἀθλέω toil ~athlete
 ἀλέξω ward off; aid
 ἀλής crowded; all together
 ἀλίζω gather, assemble
 ἀλίσκομαι be captured ~helix
 ἀλλοῖος of another kind ~alien
 ἀλογίη disrespect, disregard;
 unreason
 ἀναίδεια shamelessness
 ἀναρίθμητος countless
 ἀνατρέχω run/extend up/away
 ἀνορθόω rebuild, restore
 ἀνταίρω raise against
 ἀνταίρω raise against
 ἀπαλλαγή relief, escape
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be
 freed, depart
 ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off;
 (intrans) ride away
 ἄπιστος not trusting, not
 trustworthy ~stand
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ō) show, point out;
 appoint; (mid) declare
 ἀπορέω be confused, distressed
 ἀργύριον small coin
 ἀρέσκω please, satisfy; make
 amends
 ἀσκέω work on
 ἅτε as if; since
 ἀτραπός ἀταρπιτοῦ (f) trail
 ἀτρεκῆς precise, certain
 γέλοιος laughable; joking
 γέλως laughter
 γυμνάζω exercise, do training
 δάω learn ~didactic
 δῆθεν strong form of δῆ
 διαχρέομαι use habitually; lend out;
 reveal
 εἰσβολή -ωβόλης invasion, an

entrance ~ballistic
 εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in
 ἐκβαίνω come forth, disembark
 ~basis
 ἐκδέχομαι receive; succeed to a
 position
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here
 ἐνοράω look at, notice something in
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command
 ἐντρέπω heed ~trophy
 ἐξεπίσταμαι know well
 ἐξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka
 ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask
 ἐπιάλτης nightmare
 ἐπιβοηθέω come to aid
 ἐπιχώριος native
 ἐρέσσω to row ~row
 ἔσοδος entrance
 εὐπετής coming out well; (adv)
 fortunately
 εὕτε when, as, since
 ζωγρέω capture, give quarter; revive
 ~zoo
 ἥκιστος least; above all
 ἡσυχία peace and quiet
 θεάομαι look at, behold, consider
 ~theater
 θηέομαι look at, behold, consider
 ~theater
 θυμώ (ō) anger
 καθηγέομαι lead
 καθοράω look down ~panorama
 καίπερ even if
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος
 καταβάλλω throw down, cast off
 ~ballistic
 καταδείκνυμι (ō) discover, make
 known
 καταλαμβάνω seize, understand,
 catch, overtake; (mp) happen
 ~epilepsy

κατάρρα curse
καταρρωδέω fear, dread
κατάσκοπος spy, inspector
καταστρέφω overturn, subdue
 ~catastrophe
κατατρωματίζω wound, cripple
κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate;
 get; kill
κατέρχομαι come down, out from
κομάω have long hair
κόμη hair ~comet
κοσμέω marshal, array ~cosmos
λύχνος lamp
μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon
 ~pomp
μεταστρέφω turn around, change
 one's mind ~atrophy
μίν him, her, it
νῶτον back of the body; rear of an
 army; top of a box
ὀμιλέω (i) associate with ~homily
ὀπισθεν behind, hereafter
ὀπόσος as many as, how many, how
 great
οὐδαμός not anyone
ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view
 ~thanatopsis
παντοῖος all kinds of
πάντως by all means
πάταγος chatter, cracking, splash
πέλας near, close
πέμπτος fifth ~pentagon
πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder
περιέπω treat, handle
περιχαρής very glad
Πέρσης Persian
προσβάλλω hit, attack, approach;
 attach, offer ~ballistic

προσελαύνω go to, approach
 ~elastic
πρόσοδος (f) approach, procession;
 a rent
προσπταίω batter; be set back
προτεραίος previous to
ρέω flow ~rheostat
σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark
 ~semaphore
σκέπας -ως (n) shelter
σκέπη shelter, protection
σκέπω cover, seal
σταθμόομαι judge, conclude
στρατηγέω be a general
στρατιά army ~strategy
στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
συμβάλλω pit against; compare;
 mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic
συμβολή encounter; contribution
συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix
τραχύς (ᾱ) rough ~trachea
τρίς 3 times
ὑπέξειμι withdraw; go out
ὑπέχω promise; hold out one's
 hand; submit to
ὑπομένω stay behind, await
 ~remain
ὑποστρέφω turn around, go back
 ~atrophy
ὑστεραίος the next; later
φράσσω fence in, protect
χρηστός useful; brave, worthy
χώρος place ~heir
ψεύστης -ου (m, 1) liar ~pseudo-
ψηφίζω count, vote
ᾠρος year

7.207

οὔτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενένωντο ποιήσων· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωδέοντες ἐβουλευόντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἐδόκεε ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δέ, Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχόντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψηφίζετο πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλεις κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθέειν, ὥς ἐόντων αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τὸν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι.

7.208

ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατάσκοπον ἵππεία ἰδέσθαι ὅκοσοι εἰσὶ καὶ ὅ τι ποιέοιεν. ἀκηκόεε δὲ ἔτι ἐὼν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ὥς ἀλισμένη εἶη ταύτῃ στρατιῇ ὀλίγῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὥς εἶσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Λεωνίδης ἐὼν γένος Ἡρακλείδης. ὥς δὲ προσήλασε ὁ ἵππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηεῖτό τε καὶ κατῶρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε, τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὄπλα ἔκειτο· ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγμένοι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενιζομένους. ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἐθώμαζε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως ἀπήλανε ὀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην· οὔτε γὰρ τις ἐδίωκε ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς· ἀπελθὼν τε ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξην τά περ ὁπώπее πάντα.

7.209

ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι παρασκευάζοντο ὥς ἀπολεόμενοί τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιέειν, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιούμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ὁ δὲ εἶπε «Ἦκουσας μὲν καὶ πρότερόν μεν, εὔτε ὀρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν

Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, ἀκούσας δὲ γέλωτά με ἔθεν λέγοντα τῇ περ ὥρων¹ ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα· ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείην ἀσκέειν ἀντὶ σέυ βασιλεῦ ἀγὼν μέγιστος ἐστί. ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν· οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπικάται μαχησόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γάρ σφι ἔχων οὕτω ἐστί· ἐπεὰν μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμέονται. ἐπίστασο δέ, εἰ τούτους γε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τὸ σὲ βασιλεῦ ὑπομενέει χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιλῆϊν τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι προσφέρειαι καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους.» κάρτα τε δὴ Ξέρξῃ ἄπιστα ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα ὄντινα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι ἐόντες τῇ ἑωυτοῦ στρατιῇ μαχήσονται. ὁ δὲ εἶπε «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστη,² ἢ μὴ ταυτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω.»

7.210

ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξην τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρεξῆκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρῆσεσθαι· πέμπτῃ δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδεῖν τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ³ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίουσ θυμωθεῖς, ἐντειλάμενος σφέας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. ὡς δ' ἐσέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἔπιπτον πολλοί, ἄλλοι δ' ἐπεσήσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπηλαύνοντο, καίπερ μέγας πρὸς προσπταίνοντες. δῆλον δ' ἐποίεν παντὶ τεφρῇ καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῶ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρωποὶ εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι' ἡμέρας.

7.211

ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιείποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήσαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήσαν, τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἡρχε Ὑδάρνης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι. ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, οὐδὲν

¹ year ² liar ³ ill-advisedness

πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἅτε ἐν στενωπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεώμενοι ἢ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθει χρήσασθαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὀρώντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ⁴ ἐπήσαν, οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθει ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων· ἔπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάετο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου πευρώμενοι καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλαννον ὀπίσω.

7.212

ἐν ταύτῃσι τῇσι προσόδοισι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θηγόμενον τρις ἀνδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου δείσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. τότε μὲν οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον.⁵ ἅτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐόντων, ἐλπίσαντες σφέας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἴους τε ἔσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι συνέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνηα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἕκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλάξοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν εὔρισκον ἀλλοιότερον⁶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνώρων, ἀπήλαννον.

7.213

ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεὺς ἦλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους· ὃς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων οἷσεσθαι ἔφρασε τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὄρεος φέρουσιν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτῃ ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων. ὕστερον δὲ δείσας Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλλεγομένων ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη. χρόνῳ δὲ

⁴ chatter, cracking, splash ⁵ toil ⁶ of another kind

ὕστερον, κατήλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντικύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλτεια δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι σημανέω, ἐτιμήθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν ἥσσον.

7.214

Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε, ἔστι δὲ ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὡς Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω ἀνὴρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδαλλὸς Ἀντικυρεὺς εἰσὶ οἱ εἶπαντες πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους τοὺς λόγους καὶ περιηγησάμενοι τὸ ὄρος τοῖσι Πέρσησι, οὐδαμῶς⁷ ἔμοιγε πιστός. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρή σταθμώσασθαι,⁸ ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγόροι ἐπεκήρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὀνήτῃ τε καὶ Κορυδαλλῷ ἀργύριον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτῃ τῷ Τρηχινίῳ, πάντως κου τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενοι· τοῦτο δὲ φεύγοντα Ἐπιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην οἶδαμεν. εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐὼν μὴ Μηλιεὺς ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὠμληκῶς εἶη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιάλτης γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ περιηγησάμενος τὸ ὄρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τοῦτον αἵτιον γράφω.

7.215

Ξέρξης δέ, ἐπεὶ ἤρесе τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Ἐπιάλτης κατεργάσασθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἔπεμπε Ὑδάρνεα καὶ τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ὑδάρνης· ὁρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεῦρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλιέες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσι κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας, τότε ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες φράζαντες τείχεϊ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου· ἐκ τε τόσοι δὴ κατεδέδεκτο ἐοῦσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιεῦσι.

7.216

ἔχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὕτη· ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγος ρέοντος, οὐνομα δὲ τῷ ὄρεϊ τούτῳ καὶ τῇ

⁷ not anyone ⁸ judge, conclude

7.207

These, I say, had intended to do thus: and meanwhile the Hellenes at Thermopylai, when the Persian had come near to the pass, were in dread, and deliberated about making retreat from their position. To the rest of the Peloponnesians then it seemed best that they should go to the Peloponnese and hold the Isthmus in guard; but Leonidas, when the Phokians and Locrians were indignant at this opinion, gave his vote for remaining there, and for sending at the same time messengers to the several States bidding them to come up to help them, since they were but few to repel the army of the Medes.

7.208

As they were thus deliberating, Xerxes sent a scout on horseback to see how many they were in number and what they were doing; for he had heard while he was yet in Thessaly that there had been assembled in this place a small force, and that the leaders of it were Lacedemonians together with Leonidas, who was of the race of Heracles. And when the horseman had ridden up towards their camp, he looked upon them and had a view not indeed of the whole of their army, for of those which were posted within the wall, which they had repaired and were keeping a guard, it was not possible to have a view, but he observed those who were outside, whose station was in front of the wall; and it chanced at that time that the Lacedemonians were they who were posted outside. So then he saw some of the men practising athletic exercises and some combing their long hair: and as he looked upon these things he marvelled, and at the same time he observed their number: and when he had observed all exactly, he rode back unmolested, for no one attempted to pursue him and he found himself treated with much indifference. And when he returned he reported to Xerxes all that which he had seen.

7.209

Hearing this Xerxes was not able to conjecture the truth about the matter, namely that they were preparing themselves to die and to deal death to the enemy so far as they might; but it seemed to him that they were acting in a manner merely ridiculous; and therefore he sent for Demaratos the son of Ariston, who was in his camp, and when he came, Xerxes asked him of these things severally, desiring to discover what this was which the Lacedemonians were doing: and he said: "Thou didst hear from my mouth at a former time, when we were setting forth to go against Hellas, the things concerning these men; and having heard them thou madest me an object of laughter, because I told thee of these things which I perceived would come to pass; for to me it is the greatest of all ends to speak the truth continually before thee, O king. Hear then now also: these men have come to fight with us for the passage,

and this is it that they are preparing to do; for they have a custom which is as follows;—whenever they are about to put their lives in peril, then they attend to the arrangement of their hair. Be assured however, that if thou shalt subdue these and the rest of them which remain behind in Sparta, there is no other race of men which will await thy onset, O king, or will raise hands against thee: for now thou art about to fight against the noblest kingdom and city of those which are among the Hellenes, and the best men.” To Xerxes that which was said seemed to be utterly incredible, and he asked again a second time in what manner being so few they would fight with his host. He said; “O king, deal with me as with a liar, if thou find not that these things come to pass as I say.”

7.210

Thus saying he did not convince Xerxes, who let four days go by, expecting always that they would take to flight; but on the fifth day, when they did not depart but remained, being obstinate, as he thought, in impudence and folly, he was enraged and sent against them the Medes and the Kissians, charging them to take the men alive and bring them into his presence. Then when the Medes moved forward and attacked the Hellenes, there fell many of them, and others kept coming up continually, and they were not driven back, though suffering great loss: and they made it evident to every man, and to the king himself not least of all, that human beings are many but men are few. This combat went on throughout the day:

7.211

And when the Medes were being roughly handled, then these retired from the battle, and the Persians, those namely whom the king called “Immortals,” of whom Hydarnes was commander, took their place and came to the attack, supposing that they at least would easily overcome the enemy. When however these also engaged in combat with the Hellenes, they gained no more success than the Median troops but the same as they, seeing that they were fighting in a place with a narrow passage, using shorter spears than the Hellenes, and not being able to take advantage of their superior numbers. The Lacedemonians meanwhile were fighting in a memorable fashion, and besides other things of which they made display, being men perfectly skilled in fighting opposed to men who were unskilled, they would turn their backs to the enemy and make a pretence of taking to flight; and the Barbarians, seeing them thus taking a flight, would follow after them with shouting and clashing of arms: then the Lacedemonians, when they were being caught up, turned and faced the Barbarians; and thus turning round they would slay innumerable multitudes of the Persians; and there fell also at these times a few of the Spartans themselves. So, as the Persians were not able to obtain any success by making

trial of the entrance and attacking it by divisions and every way, they retired back.

7.212

And during these onsets it is said that the king, looking on, three times leapt up from his seat, struck with fear for his army. Thus they contended then: and on the following day the Barbarians strove with no better success; for because the men opposed to them were few in number, they engaged in battle with the expectation that they would be found to be disabled and would not be capable any longer of raising their hands against them in fight. The Hellenes however were ordered by companies as well as by nations, and they fought successively each in turn, excepting the Phokians, for these were posted upon the mountain to guard the path. So the Persians, finding nothing different from that which they had seen on the former day, retired back from the fight.

7.213

Then when the king was in a strait as to what he should do in the matter before him, Epialtes the son of Eurydemus, a Malian, came to speech with him, supposing that he would win a very great reward from the king; and this man told him of the path which leads over the mountain to Thermopylai, and brought about the destruction of those Hellenes who remained in that place. Afterwards from fear of the Lacedemonians he fled to Thessaly, and when he had fled, a price was proclaimed for his life by the Deputies, when the Amphictyons met for their assembly at Pylai. Then some time afterwards having returned to Antikyra he was slain by Athenades a man of Trachis. Now this Athenades killed Epialtes for another cause, which I shall set forth in the following part of the history, but he was honoured for it none the less by the Lacedemonians.

7.214

Thus Epialtes after these events was slain: there is however another tale told, that Onetes the son of Phanagoras, a man of Carystos, and Corydallos of Antikyra were those who showed the Persians the way round the mountain; but this I can by no means accept: for first we must judge by this fact, namely that the Deputies of the Hellenes did not proclaim a price for the lives of Onetes and Corydallos, but for that of Epialtes the Trachinian, having surely obtained the most exact information of the matter; and secondly we know that Epialtes was an exile from his country to avoid this charge. True it is indeed that Onetes might know of this path, even though he were not a Malian, if he had had much intercourse with the country; but Epialtes it was who led them round the mountain by the path, and him therefore I write down as the guilty man.

7.215

Xerxes accordingly, being pleased by that which Epialtes engaged to accomplish, at once with great joy proceeded to send Hydarnes and the men of whom Hydarnes was commander; and they set forth from the camp about the time when the lamps are lit. This path of which we speak had been discovered by the Malians who dwell in that land, and having discovered it they led the Thessalians by it against the Phokians, at the time when the Phokians had fenced the pass with a wall and thus were sheltered from the attacks upon them: so long ago as this had the pass been proved by the Malians to be of no value. And this path lies as follows:—it begins from the river Asopos, which flows through the cleft, and the name of this mountain and

vocabulary

ἀέκων unwilling
ἄκρον crest, extremity ~acute
ἄκρος at the edge, extreme ~acute
ἄκρωτήριον cape, extremity
ἀνάβασις -τος (f) going up, mounting, going inland
ἀνατέλλω cause to grow ~apostle
ἀνέκαθεν from the start
ἀνοπαῖα upward? unseen?
ἀντιβίην face to face
ἀντίβιος hostile
ἀντίξοος opposed to
ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart
ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp
ἀπρόθυμος (ῶ) not eager
ἀριστερός left-hand
ἄτε as if; since
ἄτέω act rashly
ἀτραπός ἀταρπιτοῦ (f) trail
ἀτρεκής precise, certain
αὐτόμολος deserting, defecting
αὐχὴν -ένος (m, 3) neck
γενέθλα race, stock ~genus
δατέομαι divide into portions
 ~demon
διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis
διακρίνω (ι) separate, sort ~critic
διασχεδάννυμι (ῶ) scatter, disperse
διατάσσω arrange, array
διαφαίνω seem, show through
 ~photon
διεργάζομαι cultivate; kill, end
δρῦς -ός (f) tree, oak, lumber
 ~druid
ἔδρα (ᾱ) seat, seated group
 ~polyhedron
ἐθελοντής -οῦ (m, 1) a volunteer
εἰσβολή -ωβόλης invasion, an entrance ~ballistic
εἰσίδω look at, behold ~wit

εἰσοράω look at, see; treat with respect ~panorama
εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in
ἐκβαίνω come forth, disembark
 ~basis
ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate
ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over
ἐκών willingly, on purpose; giving in too easily
ἐλάχιστος smallest, shortest, fewest
 Ἑλλήν Greek
ἐνδύνω (ῶ) go into, put on
ἐνδύω go into, put on
ἐνθαῦτα there, here
ἐξαγγέλλω bring news out ~angel
ἐξάμετρος hexameter
ἔξοδος (f) leaving, way out
ἐπέξειμι attack, prosecute
ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail
ἐπιάλτης nightmare
ἐπιδίδωμι give, give with, give reciprocally ~donate
ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose; (mid) think over
ἐπίπλεος very full
ἐπιπλέω sail on, over ~float
ἐπιστέλλω send to, order
ἐποτρύνω (ῶ) urge, stir, dispatch
ἐρικυδής (ῶ) very famous
ἔρυμα -τος (n, 3) protection ~serve
εὐδαιμονία prosperity
εὐπρεπής comely, decent; specious
εὐρύχορος with broad dancing places
ζῶός alive ~zoo
ἡμεροσκόπος watching by day
θῶμα a wonder, feeling of surprise
 ~theater
κατάβασις -εως (f) way down
καταμένω stay; not change
καταπατέω trample
καταρρωδέω fear, dread

κατατίθημι put down, deposit, lay aside ~thesis
κατατρέχω overrun; trash talk
κῆδω distress, hurt; mp: care about (+gen) ~heinous
κλέος κλοῦς (n, 3) fame ~Euclid
κόρυμβος stern mast
λήγω cease, (+gen+ppl) cause to cease ~lax
μάντις -ος (m) seer ~mantis
μαρτύριον testimony, proof
μάστιξ -γος (f) whip
μονογενής unique, the only member
νηέμιος still, windless
 ~anemometer
ξίφος -εος (n, 3) sword
οικήτωρ inhabitant
ὄμηρος insurance, hostage
ὀνομαστός named ~name
ὀπισθεν behind, hereafter
ὀποδαπός of what country
πενθέω grieve ~Nepenthe
πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder
περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist
περίοδος picket, circuit
Πέρσης Persian
πρόσειμι approach, draw near; add ~ion
πρόσοδος (f) approach, procession; a rent
πρόσω forward, in the future; far
ῥαπίζω thrash, slap, beat
ῥάχis -τος (f) spine, lower back
ῥώμη strength, might
σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark

~semaphore
σπονδή libation, treaty
 ~spontaneous
στεῖνος -εος (n, 3) a narrows, pass
στρατηγέω be a general
στρατιά army ~strategy
στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix
συναποθνήσκω die along with
σύντομος truncated, concise
συστρατεύω join in an expedition
σφέτερος their
σχίζω split ~schism
ταῦρος bull ~steer
τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ~tachometer
τείνω stretch, tend ~tense
τετράκις four times ~trapezoid
τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case
τόξευμα -τος (n, 3) arrow
τρέχω run, spin
τριηκόσιοι three hundred
ὑπέξειμι withdraw; go out
ὑποδείκνυμι (υῶ) show, trace out
ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer
 ~doctrine
ὑποχέω spread under; (mp+dat) fill someone
φρουρέω keep watch
φύλλον leaf
χίλιοι (ιῶ) thousand ~kilo-
χώρος place ~heir
φόφος noise
ῶθισμός thrusting, jostling

ἀτραπῷ τῶντὸ κείται, Ἀνόπαια· τείνει δὲ ἡ Ἀνόπαια αὕτη κατὰ ῥάχιν¹ τοῦ ὄρεος, λήγει δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν, πρῶτην ἐοῦσαν τῶν Λοκριδῶν πρὸς τῶν Μηλιέων, καὶ κατὰ Μελαμπύγου τε καλεόμενον λίθον καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἔδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ στεινότατον ἐστί.

7.217

κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες, ἐπορεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες ὄρεα τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ Τρηχινίων. ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε καὶ οἱ ἐγένοντο ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ² τοῦ ὄρεος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ ὄρεος ἐφύλασσον, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, Φωκέων χίλιοι ὀπλῖται, ῥυόμενοί τε τὴν σφετέρην χώραν καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἴρηται· τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὄρεος ἀτραπὸν ἐβελονταί³ Φωκέες ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφύλασσον.

7.218

ἔμαθον δὲ σφέας οἱ Φωκέες ὧδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ ὄρος πᾶν ἐὼν δρυὼν ἐπίπλεον. ἦν μὲν δὴ νηνεμία, ψόφου⁴ δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ, ὥς οἶκος ἦν φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσί, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρήσαν. ὥς δὲ εἶδον ἄνδρας ἐνδυομένους ὄπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδένα σφί φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξουν ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῷ. ἐνθαῦτα Ὑδάρνης καταρρωδήσας μὴ οἱ Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἵρετο Ἐπιάλτην ὀποδαπὸς⁵ εἶη ὁ στρατός, πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως διέτασσε τοὺς Πέρσας ὥς ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ Φωκέες ὥς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι τοξέυμασι πολλοῖσι τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρεος τὸν κόρυμβον,⁶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς ἐπὶ σφέας ὁρμήθησαν ἀρχήν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὥς ἀπολεόμενοι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ

¹ spine, lower back ² cape, extremity ³ a volunteer ⁴ noise ⁵ of what country ⁶ stern mast

δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐπιάλτην καὶ Ὑδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἳ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ ὄρος κατὰ τάχος.

7.219

τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγιστίης ἐσιδὼν ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἔφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι ἅμα ἡοὶ σφί θάνατον, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐξαγγέλαντες τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον. οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκοποὶ καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἤδη διαφαινούσης ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ σφῶν ἐσχίζοντο⁷ αἱ γνώμαι· οἳ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἳ δὲ ἀντέτεινον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες οἳ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλιν ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο.

7.220

λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς σφῆας ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων τοῖσι παρῶσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως⁸ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἐς τὴν ἦλθον φυλάζοντες ἀρχήν. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην πλείστος εἰμί, Λεωνίδην, ἐπεῖτε ἦσθετο τοὺς συμμάχους ἔοντας ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινδυνεύειν, κελεῦσαι σφέας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπιέναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν· μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο. ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι χρεωμένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένου, ἢ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τὴν βασιλέα σφέων ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ σφί ἐν ἔπεισι ἐξαμέτροισι⁹ χρᾶ λέγοντα ᾦδε.

ὑμῖν δ', ὦ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχόροιο, ἢ μέγα ἄστρῳ ἐρικυδές¹⁰ ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσεΐδῃσι πέρθεται, ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐχί, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους δὲ γενέθλης¹¹ πενθήσει βασιλῇ φθίμενον Λακεδαίμονος οὖρος. οὐ γὰρ

⁷ split ⁸ comely, decent; specious ⁹ hexameter ¹⁰ very famous

¹¹ race, stock

τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων ἀντιβίην· Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδέ ἐ φημί σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσσηται.

Ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος καταθέσθαι μούνων Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς συμμάχους μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη διενειχθέντας οὕτω ἀκόσμως οἴχεσθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους.

7.221

μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου πέρι γέγονε, ὅτι καὶ τὸν μάντιν ὃς εἶπετο τῇ στρατιῇ ταύτῃ, Μεγιστίνῃ τὸν Ἀκαρνήνα, λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τοῦτον εἶπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν τὰ μέλλοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν, φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων, ἵνα μὴ συναπόληταί σφι. ὁ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέλιπε, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατευόμενον, ἔοντα οἱ μουνογενέα, ἀπέπεμψε.

7.222

οἱ μὲν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποπεμπόμενοι οἴχοντό τε ἀπιόντες καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ, Θεσπίες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μόνουι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι. τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμεινον καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι· κατεῖχε γὰρ σφέας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιούμενος· Θεσπίες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα, οἳ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον. ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω.

7.223

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδὰς ἐποιήσατο, ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθύνειν πρόσσοδον ἐποιέετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω οὕτω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὄρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρη τε ἐστὶ καὶ βραχύτερος ὁ χώρος πολλὸν ἢ περ ἡ περιόδός τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. οἳ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην προσήσαν, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἑλληνες, ὥς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον ποιούμενοι, ἦδη πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήσαν ἐς τὸ

εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στεινῶν¹² ἔπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὅπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστιγας ἐρράπιζον¹³ πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλευνες κατεπατέοντο ζωοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἄτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντα σφίσι ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιόντων τὸ ὅρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρεώμενοί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες.¹⁴

7.224

δόρατα μὲν νυν τοῖσι πλέοσι αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα ἤδη ἐτύγχανε κατεηγότα, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ¹⁵ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. καὶ δὴ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγονότες Δαρεῖω. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν ἀδελφεός, Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος παῖς· ὃς καὶ ἐκδιδούς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρεῖω τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μούνης οἱ ἐούσης ταύτης τέκνου.

7.225

Ξέρξεω τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὤθισμός¹⁶ ἐγένετο πολλός, ἐς ὃ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις.¹⁷ τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὡς δὲ τούτους ἦκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ

¹² a narrows, pass ¹³ thrash, slap, beat ¹⁴ act rashly ¹⁵ named
¹⁶ thrusting, jostling ¹⁷ four times

of the path is the same, namely Anopaia; and this Anopaia stretches over the ridge of the mountain and ends by the town of Alpenos, which is the first town of the Locrians towards Malis, and by the stone called Black Buttocks and the seats of the Kercopes, where is the very narrowest part.

7.217

By this path thus situated the Persians after crossing over the Asopos proceeded all through the night, having on their right hand the mountains of the Oitaians and on the left those of the Trachinians: and when dawn appeared, they had reached the summit of the mountain. In this part of the mountain there were, as I have before shown, a thousand hoplites of the Phokians keeping guard, to protect their own country and to keep the path: for while the pass below was guarded by those whom I have mentioned, the path over the mountain was guarded by the Phokians, who had undertaken the business for Leonidas by their own offer.

7.218

While the Persians were ascending they were concealed from these, since all the mountain was covered with oak-trees; and the Phokians became aware of them after they had made the ascent as follows:—the day was calm, and not a little noise was made by the Persians, as was likely when leaves were lying spread upon the ground under their feet; upon which the Phokians started up and began to put on their arms, and by this time the Barbarians were close upon them. These, when they saw men arming themselves, fell into wonder, for they were expecting that no one would appear to oppose them, and instead of that they had met with an armed force. Then Hydarnes, seized with fear lest the Phokians should be Lacedemonians, asked Epialtes of what people the force was; and being accurately informed he set the Persians in order for battle. The Phokians however, when they were hit by the arrows of the enemy, which flew thickly, fled and got away at once to the topmost peak of the mountain, fully assured that it was against them that the enemy had designed to come, and here they were ready to meet death. These, I say, were in this mind; but the Persians meanwhile with Epialtes and Hydarnes made no account of the Phokians, but descended the mountain with all speed.

7.219

To the Hellenes who were in Thermopylai first the soothsayer Megistias, after looking into the victims which were sacrificed, declared the death which was to come to them at dawn of day; and afterwards deserters brought the report of the Persians having gone round. These signified it to them while it was yet night, and thirdly came the day-watchers, who had run down from the heights when day was already dawning. Then the Hellenes deliberated, and

their opinions were divided; for some urged that they should not desert their post, while others opposed this counsel. After this they departed from their assembly, and some went away and dispersed each to their several cities, while others of them were ready to remain there together with Leonidas.

7.220

However it is reported also that Leonidas himself sent them away, having a care that they might not perish, but thinking that it was not seemly for himself and for the Spartans who were present to leave the post to which they had come at first to keep guard there. I am inclined rather to be of this latter opinion, namely that because Leonidas perceived that the allies were out of heart and did not desire to face the danger with him to the end, he ordered them to depart, but held that for himself to go away was not honourable, whereas if he remained, a great fame of him would be left behind, and the prosperity of Sparta would not be blotted out: for an oracle had been given by the Pythian prophetess to the Spartans, when they consulted about this war at the time when it was being first set on foot, to the effect that either Lacedemon must be destroyed by the Barbarians, or their king must lose his life. This reply the prophetess gave them in hexameter verses, and it ran thus:

“But as for you, ye men who in wide-spaced Sparta inhabit, Either your glorious city is sacked by the children of Perses, Or, if it be not so, then a king of the stock Heracleian Dead shall be mourned for by all in the boundaries of broad Lacedemon. Him nor the might of bulls nor the raging of lions shall hinder; For he hath might as of Zeus; and I say he shall not be restrained, Till one of the other of these he have utterly torn and divided.” I am of opinion that Leonidas considering these things and desiring to lay up for himself glory above all the other Spartans, dismissed the allies, rather than that those who departed did so in such disorderly fashion, because they were divided in opinion.

7.221

Of this the following has been to my mind a proof as convincing as any other, namely that Leonidas is known to have endeavoured to dismiss the soothsayer also who accompanied this army, Megistias the Acarnanian, who was said to be descended from Melampus, that he might not perish with them after he had declared from the victims that which was about to come to pass for them. He however when he was bidden to go would not himself depart, but sent away his son who was with him in the army, besides whom he had no other child.

7.222

The allies then who were dismissed departed and went away, obeying the word of Leonidas, and only the Thespians and the Thebans remained behind with the Lacedemonians. Of these the Thebans stayed against their will and not because they desired it, for Leonidas kept them, counting them as hostages; but the Thespians very willingly, for they said that they would not depart and leave Leonidas and those with him, but they stayed behind and died with them. The commander of these was Demophilos the son of Diadromes.

7.223

Xerxes meanwhile, having made libations at sunrise, stayed for some time, until about the hour when the market fills, and then made an advance upon them; for thus it had been enjoined by Epialtes, seeing that the descent of the mountain is shorter and the space to be passed over much less than the going round and the ascent. The Barbarians accordingly with Xerxes were advancing to the attack; and the Hellenes with Leonidas, feeling that they were going forth to death, now advanced out much further than at first into the broader part of the defile; for when the fence of the wall was being guarded, they on the former days fought retiring before the enemy into the narrow part of the pass; but now they engaged with them outside the narrows, and very many of the Barbarians fell: for behind them the leaders of the divisions with scourges in their hands were striking each man, ever urging them on to the front. Many of them then were driven into the sea and perished, and many more still were trodden down while yet alive by one another, and there was no reckoning of the number that perished: for knowing the death which was about to come upon them by reason of those who were going round the mountain, they displayed upon the Barbarians all the strength which they had, to its greatest extent, disregarding danger and acting as if possessed by a spirit of recklessness.

7.224

Now by this time the spears of the greater number of them were broken, so it chanced, in this combat, and they were slaying the Persians with their swords; and in this fighting fell Leonidas, having proved himself a very good man, and others also of the Spartans with him, men of note, of whose names I was informed as of men who had proved themselves worthy, and indeed I was told also the names of all the three hundred. Moreover of the Persians there fell here, besides many others of note, especially two sons of Dareios, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, born to Dareios of Phratagune the daughter of Artanes: now Artanes was the brother of king Dareios and the son of

Hystaspes, the son of Arsames; and he in giving his daughter in marriage to Dareios gave also with her all his substance, because she was his only child.

7.225

Two brothers of Xerxes, I say, fell here fighting; and meanwhile over the body of Leonidas there arose a great struggle between the Persians and the Lacedemonians, until the Hellenes by valour dragged this away from the enemy and turned their opponents to flight four times. This conflict continued until those who had gone with Epialtes came up; and when the Hellenes learnt that these had come, from that moment

vocabulary

ἀγγέλλω carry a message, announce

~angel

ἄγχι near, nigh ~angina

ἀγωνίζομαι contend, exert oneself

αἶσσω dart, glance

ἀλγέω suffer ~analgesic

ἀλέξω ward off; aid

ἅλῃς crowded; all together

ἄλογίη disrespect, disregard;

unreason

ἀναγκαίη of necessity, by force

ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery

ἀναίτιος blameless ~etiology

ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover,

resume

ἀναχωρέω return, retreat ~heir

ἀπάγχω throttle

ἀποκρύπτω hide away ~cryptic

ἀπόνητος without toil or trouble

ἀπονοστέω go home

ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp

ἀποσχίζω sever

ἀποσώζω save from

ἀριστεύω be the best ~aristocrat

ἄσσω dart, glance

ἀτιμία (τι) dishonor

ἀτιμός (τι) punish, dishonor

βασίλειος kingly

βούλευμα -τος (n, 3) resolution,

purpose

γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter

διαλέγω go through, debate ~legion

διέξοδος διαξόδου (f) outlet, path;

narrative

διθύραμβος (τι) dithyramb

εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in

ἐκμανθάνω know by heart

ἐκπλήσσω panic, be knocked out

~plectrum

Ἑλλην Greek

ἐνδύω go into, put on

ἐνθένδε hence

ἐνθεῦτεν thence

ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion

ἐξηγέομαι lead forth; set out,

describe ~hegemony

ἐπείγω weigh upon, drive; (mid)

hurry

ἐπίγραμμα -τος (n, 3) inscription,

title, maker's signature

ἐπιγράφω scratch, graze

~photograph

ἐπικεῖμαι impose; shut a door

ἐπικοσμέω decorate; celebrate

ἐπικρατέω rule over

ἐπιφέρω bestow, impute ~bear

ἔρυμα -τος (n, 3) protection ~serve

ἔσοδος entrance

ἔσχατος farthest, last

ἐτεροιοῶ alter

εὐδοχιμέω be esteemed

εὐτυχέω be lucky, prosper, succeed

ἐφέπω drive, meet, follow ~sequel

θάπτω bury ~epitaph

θέσπις -εως (m) divine, inspired

ἵζω to seat ~sit

καταδύω enter, sink

κατάκειμαι lie down

καταλαμβάνω seize, understand,

catch, overtake; (mp) happen

~epilepsy

καταχώννυμι (ι) bury

κατυπέρτερος having the upper

hand

κέρδος -ους (n, 3) advantage,

cunning

κῆρ doom, death, fate

κλεινός famous

κολωνός hill, mound

κομιδή care, tending, providing for

κόσος how many, much, far?

λίθινος made of stone

μάντις -ος (m) seer ~mantis

μάρτυς witness
μάχαιρα knife, dagger
μετέπειτα afterward, next
μῆνις -ος (f) rage
μηνίω be enraged at
μνήμα -τος (n, 3) reminder, memorial ~mnemonic
μνημόσυνον memorial
μυριάς -δος (f, 3) countless, myriad
ναύω flow
νεῖκος -εος (n, 3) quarrel, battle
νοστέω go home
ξείνιος of hospitality
οἰστός arrow
ὄμιλος (i) crowd, throng ~homily
ὁμός same ~homoerotic
ὁμοῦ together
ὁμοφρονέω sympathize, agree
ὁμόω unite ~homoerotic
ὄνειδος -εος (n, 3) blame; insult
ὅποσος as many as, how many, how great
οὔτις nobody, nothing
πάντοθεν from all directions
παρამεῖβω pass by ~amoeba
περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive; attain ~genus
περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist
περιέρχομαι go around; come next to
περίοδος picket, circuit
περισταδόν standing around ~station
Πέρσης Persian
πότε when?

προλείπω abandon, withdraw ~eclipse
πρόοιδα foresee
προσδοκάω expect
προσδοκέω be thought besides
πρόσεμι approach, draw near; add ~ion
προσίημι be allowed near
προτείνω hold out, offer
πρόφασις -εως (f) pretext; motive; prediction ~fame
σάφα with full understanding
σκιά shadow ~shadow
σοφός skilled, clever, wise
στήλη post, column
στίγμα -τος (n, 3) tattoo
στίζω tattoo
στρατηγέω be a general
στρατιά army ~strategy
συγχώω cover with dirt
συμβουλευέω give advice; (mid) consult ~volunteer
τεκμαίρομαι conclude, declare from evidence
τετρακόςιοι 400
τλάω take upon oneself ~talent
τοιόσδε such
τόξευμα -τος (n, 3) arrow
τρέω flee in fear ~tremor
τριηκόσιοι three hundred
ὑπερέχω be over; protect
ὑπομένω stay behind, await ~remain
φονεύω kill
χιλιάς -δος (i, f, 3) 1000
χίλιοι (i) thousand ~kilo-
χώρος place ~heir

Ἕλληνες, ἐνθεύτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο¹ τὸ νείκος· ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ στεινὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐλθόντες ἕζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι πλην Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνὸς ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος² λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τεύχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθεν³ περισταδόν.

7.226

Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιέων τοιούτων γενομένων ὁμῶς λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἄριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης· τὸν τόδε φασὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι σφέας τοῖσι Μήδοισι, πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὡς ἐπεὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίωσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὀιστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι· τοσοῦτο πλήθος αὐτῶν εἶναι. τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοις εἰπεῖν ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιούμενον τὸ Μήδων πλήθος, ὡς πάντα σφί ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξείνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ σκιῇ⁴ ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ.

7.227

ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιούτοτροπα ἔπεα φασὶ Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα.⁵ μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεύσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφεοί, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμειε μάλιστα τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος⁶ Ἀρματίδew.

7.228

θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφί αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ ἔπεσον, καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασιν ἢ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδew ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε.

¹ alter ² made of stone

³ from all directions

⁴ shadow

⁵ memorial ⁶ dithyramb

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρτιύτῃσι ἰδίῃ.

Ὡ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ρήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε.

Μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῖο⁷ Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν κτείναν ἀμειψάμενοι, μάντις, ὃς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένης σάφα εἰδὼς οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνα προλιπεῖν.

ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύονες εἰσὶ σφέας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες· τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίῳ Συμωνίδῃς ὁ Λεωπρέπεος ἐστὶ κατὰ ξεινίην ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

7.229

δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται Εὐρυτόν τε καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρεὼν αὐτοῖσι ἀμφοτέροισι κοινῶ λόγῳ χρησαμένοισι ἢ ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς μεμετιμένοι γε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω καὶ κατεκέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὀφθαλμῶντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον, ἢ εἴ γε μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστήσαι, ἀποθανεῖν ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις, παρεὼν σφι τούτων τὰ ἔτερα ποιέειν οὐκ ἐβελῆσαι ὁμοφρονέειν, ἀλλὰ γνώμη διενειχθέντας Εὐρυτον μὲν, πυθόμενον τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἐνδύντα ἄγειν ἑωυτὸν κελεῦσαι τὸν εἴλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους, ὅκως δὲ αὐτὸν ἦγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀριστόδημον δὲ λιποψυχέοντα λειφθῆναι. εἰ μὲν νυν ἢ μῶνον Ἀριστόδημον ἀλγήσαντα⁸ ἀπονοστήσαι ἐς Σπάρτην ἢ καὶ ὁμοῦ σφεων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι, δοκέειν ἐμοί, οὐκ ἂν σφι Σπαρτιύτας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσις οὐκ ἐβελήσαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀναγκαίως σφι ἔχειν μῆνισαι⁹ μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ.

⁷ famous ⁸ suffer ⁹ be enraged at

7.230

οἱ μὲν νυν οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι Ἀριστόδημον ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιήνδε, οἱ δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐξεὼν αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην οὐκ ἐβελῆσαι, ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν.

7.231

ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος εἶχε ὄνειδός τε καὶ ἀτιμίην.¹⁰ πάσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο.¹¹ οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδείς ἔνανε¹² Σπαρτιητέων οὔτε διελέγετο. ὄνειδος δὲ εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλεόμενος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενειχθεῖσαν αἰτίην·

7.232

λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἄγγελον ἐς Θεσσαλίην τῶν τριηκοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Παντίτην· νοστήσαντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἡτίμωτο, ἀπάγξασθαι.

7.233

οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐστρατήγεε, τέως μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν· ὥς δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων γινόμενα τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω δὴ, τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλλήνων ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνόν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων χεῖράς τε προέτεινον καὶ ἦσαν ἄσπον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν πρώτοισι ἔδοσαν βασιλεί, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοίατο καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλεί. ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγίνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τούτων τῶν λόγων μάρτυρας· οὐ μέντοι τά γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὡς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ

¹⁰ dishonor ¹¹ punish, dishonor ¹² flow

βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῖνας αὐτῶν κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω ἔστιζον¹³ στίγματα¹⁴ βασιλῆα, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεοντιάδεω· τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιέες στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων.

7.234

οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρητον εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε. «Δημάρητε, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀγαθός. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείῃ· ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω. νῦν δέ μοι εἰπέ, κόσσοι τινὲς εἰσὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὁκόσοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμα εἶτε καὶ ἅπαντες.» ὁ δ' εἶπε «ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλῆθος μὲν πολλὸν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πόλιες πολλαί· τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰδήσεις. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἳ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὅμοιοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ.» εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης «Δημάρητε, τέφω τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐπικρατήσομεν; ἴθι ἐξηγέο· σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων¹⁵ οἷα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος.»

7.235

ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο «ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὲν δὴ συμβουλεύεαί μοι προθύμως, δίκαιόν με σοί ἐστι φράζειν τὸ ἄριστον· εἰ τῆς ναυτικῆς στρατιῆς νέας τριηκοσίας ἀποστείλειαι ἐπὶ τὴν Λάκαιναν χώραν. ἔστι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ νῆσος ἐπικειμένη τῇ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων ἀνὴρ παρ' ἡμῖν σοφώτατος γενόμενος κέρδος μέζον ἂν ἔφη εἶναι Σπαρτιύτῃσι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν, αἰεί τι προσδοκῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔσεσθαι οἷόν τοι ἐγὼ ἐξηγέομαι, οὔτι τὸν σὸν στόλον προειδώς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως φοβεόμενος ἀνδρῶν στόλον. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νήσου ὀρμώμενοι φοβεόντων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.

¹³ tattoo ¹⁴ tattoo ¹⁵ resolution, purpose

the nature of the combat was changed; for they retired backwards to the narrow part of the way, and having passed by the wall they went and placed themselves upon the hillock, all in a body together except only the Thebans: now this hillock is in the entrance, where now the stone lion is placed for Leonidas. On this spot while defending themselves with daggers, that is those who still had them left, and also with hands and with teeth, they were overwhelmed by the missiles of the Barbarians, some of these having followed directly after them and destroyed the fence of the wall, while others had come round and stood about them on all sides.

7.226

Such were the proofs of valour given by the Lacedemonians and Thespians; yet the Spartan Dienekes is said to have proved himself the best man of all, the same who, as they report, uttered this saying before they engaged battle with the Medes:—being informed by one of the men of Trachis that when the Barbarians discharged their arrows they obscured the light of the sun by the multitude of the arrows, so great was the number of their host, he was not dismayed by this, but making small account of the number of the Medes, he said that their guest from Trachis brought them very good news, for if the Medes obscured the light of the sun, the battle against them would be in the shade and not in the sun.

7.227

This and other sayings of this kind they report that Dienekes the Lacedemonian left as memorials of himself; and after him the bravest they say of the Lacedemonians were two brothers Alpheos and Maron, sons of Orsiphantos. Of the Thespians the man who gained most honour was named Dithyrambos son of Harmatides.

7.228

The men were buried where they fell; and for these, as well as for those who were slain before being sent away by Leonidas, there is an inscription which runs thus:

“Here once, facing in fight three hundred myriads of foemen, Thousands four did contend, men of the Peloponnese.”

This is the inscription for the whole body; and for the Spartans separately there is this:

“Stranger, report this word, we pray, to the Spartans, that lying Here in this spot we remain, faithfully keeping their laws.” This, I say, for the Lacedemonians; and for the soothsayer as follows:

“This is the tomb of Megistias renowned, whom the Median foemen, Where Sperchios doth flow, slew when they forded the stream; Soothsayer he, who then knowing clearly the fates that were coming, Did not endure in the fray Sparta’s good leaders to leave.”

The Amphictyons it was who honoured them with inscriptions and memorial pillars, excepting only in the case of the inscription to the soothsayer; but that of the soothsayer Megistias was inscribed by Simonides the son of Leoprepes on account of guest-friendship.

7.229

Two of these three hundred, it is said, namely Eurystos and Aristodemos, who, if they had made agreement with one another, might either have come safe home to Sparta together (seeing that they had been dismissed from the camp by Leonidas and were lying at Alpenoi with disease of the eyes, suffering extremely), or again, if they had not wished to return home, they might have been slain together with the rest, — when they might, I say, have done either one of these two things, would not agree together; but the two being divided in opinion, Eurystos, it is said, when he was informed that the Persians had gone round, asked for his arms and having put them on ordered his Helot to lead him to those who were fighting; and after he had led him thither, the man who had led him ran away and departed, but Eurystos plunged into the thick of the fighting, and so lost his life: but Aristodemos was left behind fainting. Now if either Aristodemos had been ill alone, and so had returned home to Sparta, or the men had both of them come back together, I do not suppose that the Spartans would have displayed any anger against them; but in this case, as the one of them had lost his life and the other, clinging to an excuse which the first also might have used, had not been willing to die, it necessarily happened that the Spartans had great indignation against Aristodemos.

7.230

Some say that Aristodemos came safe to Sparta in this manner, and on a pretext such as I have said; but others, that he had been sent as a messenger from the camp, and when he might have come up in time to find the battle going on, was not willing to do so, but stayed upon the road and so saved his life, while his fellow-messenger reached the battle and was slain.

7.231

When Aristodemos, I say, had returned home to Lacedemon, he had reproach and dishonour; and that which he suffered by way of dishonour was this, — no one of the Spartans would either give him light for a fire or speak with

him, and he had reproach in that he was called Aristodemos the coward.

7.232

He however in the battle at Plataia repaired all the guilt that was charged against him: but it is reported that another man also survived of these three hundred, whose name was Pantites, having been sent as a messenger to Thessaly, and this man, when he returned back to Sparta and found himself dishonoured, is said to have strangled himself.

7.233

The Thebans however, of whom the commander was Leontiades, being with the Hellenes had continued for some time to fight against the king's army, constrained by necessity; but when they saw that the fortunes of the Persians were prevailing, then and not before, while the Hellenes with Leonidas were making their way with speed to the hillock, they separated from these and holding out their hands came near to the Barbarians, saying at the same time that which was most true, namely that they were on the side of the Medes and that they had been among the first to give earth and water to the king; and moreover that they had come to Thermopylai constrained by necessity, and were blameless for the loss which had been inflicted upon the king: so that thus saying they preserved their lives, for they had also the Thessalians to bear witness to these words. However, they did not altogether meet with good fortune, for some had even been slain as they had been approaching, and when they had come and the Barbarians had them in their power, the greater number of them were branded by command of Xerxes with the royal marks, beginning with their leader Leontiades, the same whose son Eurymachos was afterwards slain by the Plataians, when he had been made commander of four hundred Thebans and had seized the city of the Plataians.

7.234

Thus did the Hellenes at Thermopylai contend in fight; and Xerxes summoned Demaratos and inquired of him, having first said this: "Demaratos, thou art a good man; and this I conclude by the truth of thy words, for all that thou saidest turned out so as thou didst say. Now, however, tell me how many in number are the remaining Lacedemonians, and of them how many are like these in matters of war; or are they so even all of them?" He said: "O king, the number of all the Lacedemonians is great and their cities are many, but that which thou desirest to learn, thou shalt know. There is in Lacedemon the city of Sparta, having about eight thousand men; and these are all equal to those who fought here: the other Lacedemonians are not equal to these, but they are good men too." To this Xerxes said: "Demaratos, in what manner shall we with least labour get the better of these men? Come set forth to us

this; for thou knowest the courses of their counsels, seeing that thou wert once their king.”

7.235

He made answer: “O king, if thou dost in very earnest take counsel with me, it is right that I declare to thee the best thing. What if thou shouldest send three hundred ships from thy fleet to attack the Laconian land? Now there is lying near it an island named Kythera, about which Chilon, who was a very wise man among us, said that it would be a greater gain for the Spartans that it should be sunk under the sea than that it should remain above it; for he always anticipated that something would happen from it of such a kind as I am now setting forth to thee: not that he knew of thy armament beforehand, but that he feared equally every armament of men. Let thy forces then set forth from this island and keep the Lacedemonians in fear; and while they

vocabulary

ἀκέομαι heal, fix
 ἀλής crowded; all together
 ἀλίσκομαι be captured ~helix
 ἀμαχητί without a fight
 ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read, understand, persuade
 ἀνασταυρόω impale
 ἄνειμι go up, inland, to, back ~ion
 ἀνήκω reach up to; belong
 ἀντίπαλος rival; balanced
 ἀξιόμαχος well matched for war
 ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp
 ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ~tonsure
 ἀρήγω succor; prevent ~right
 ἀσθενής weak
 ἀστός townsman; citizen
 γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter
 δελτίον little tablet
 διασπᾶω tear apart ~spatula
 διέξειμι pass through; recount ~ion
 δίπτυχος twice-folded
 δυσμενής hostile, enemy
 εἰκάζω liken; conjecture
 ἐκεῖσε thither
 ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over
 Ἑλλην Greek
 ἐνδείκνυμι (ἵ) address, consider
 ἐνδέχομαι accept, admit, be possible
 ἐνδέχομαι accept, admit, be possible
 ἐξαγγέλλω bring news out ~angel
 ἐπικίνδυνος (ἵ) in danger, dangerous
 ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose; (mid) think over
 ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near
 ἐπιφράζω realize, think of ~frenzy
 ἐσσόομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat
 εὐμενής kind
 εὖνοια good will, gift
 εὖνοος kindly; favorable

εὖς good, brave, noble
 εὐτυχέω be lucky, prosper, succeed
 ἥκιστος least; above all
 θαυμάσιος wonderful
 θυμός (ἵ) anger
 ἰσθμός narrow neck
 καταδουλόω enslave
 καταχαίρω exult over, greatly
 κενός empty, vain
 κηρός wax
 λάμπω shine ~lamp
 μηχανάομαι build, contrive
 ~mechanism
 ναυηγέω be shipwrecked
 ὁμός same ~homoerotic
 ὁμοῦ together
 ὁμός unite ~homoerotic
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit
 παρατυγχάνω happen to be present
 πάροιχος neighboring; foreign
 περιπλέω sail around ~float
 Πέρσης Persian
 προδίδωμι betray
 προσδέχομαι await, expect; suppose
 προσδοκάω expect
 προσχωρέω go to, join, support
 πρόσω forward, in the future; far
 σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark
 ~semaphore
 σιγά silence
 σιγάω (ἵ) be silent
 σοῦσον lily
 σπάνιος rare, scanty
 σταθμάομαι judge, conclude
 στέλλω prepare, send, furl ~apostle
 στρατηλατέω lead an army
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 στυγέω dread, shrink from ~Styx
 συμβάλλω pit against; compare;

mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic
 συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid)
 consult ~volunteer
 συμμάχομαι fight with
 συνόμνυμι (υῷ) join in league
 τεκμήριον sign; proof
 τετρακόσιοι 400
 τοιόσδε such
 τριηκόσιοι three hundred

ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise
 ~hypothesis
 φθονέω envy
 φροντίζω consider, ponder
 χρήσιμος useful
 χρηστήριον oracle, response
 χώρος place ~heir
 ὡσαύτως in the same way

παροίκου δὲ πολέμου σφι ἐόντος οἰκίῳ, οὐδὲν δεινοὶ ἔσονται τοι μὴ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀλικομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθέωσι ταύτῃ. καταδουλωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀσθενὲς ἤδη τὸ Λακωνικὸν μῶνον λείπεται. ἦν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήης, τάδε τοι προσδόκα ἔσεσθαι. ἔστι τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἰσθμὸς στενός· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ πάντων Πελοποννησίων συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοὶ μάχας ἰσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν γενομένων προσδέκεο ἔσεσθαι τοι. ἐκείνο δὲ ποιήσαντι ἀμαχητὶ¹ ὅ τε ἰσθμὸς οὗτος καὶ αἱ πόλεις προσχωρήσουσι.»

7.236

λέγει μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀχαιμένης, ἀδελφεός τε ἐὼν Ξέρξῳ καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγός, παρατυχὼν τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ δέϊσας μὴ ἀναγνωσθῇ Ξέρξης ποίειν ταῦτα, «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὁρῶ σε ἀνδρὸς ἐνδεκόμενον λόγους ὃς φθονεῖ τοι εὖ πρήσσοντι ἢ καὶ προδιδῶι πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τρόποισι τοιούτοιςι χρεώμενοι Ἕλληνες χαίρουσι· τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν φθονέουσι καὶ τὸ κρέσσον στυγέουσι.² εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τῇσι παρεούσῃσι τύχησι, τῶν νέες νευαυγήκασι³ τετρακόσιαι, ἄλλας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τριηκοσίας ἀποπέμψεις περιπλέειν Πελοπόννησον, ἀξιόμαχοί⁴ τοι γίνονται οἱ ἀντίπαλοι· ἀλλῆς δὲ ἐὼν ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς δυσμεταχείριστός τε αὐτοῖσι γίνεται, καὶ ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί τοι ἔσονται, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ναυτικὸς τῷ πεζῷ ἀρήξει καὶ ὁ πεζὸς τῷ ναυτικῷ ὁμοῦ πορευόμενος· εἰ δὲ διασπάσεις, οὔτε σὺ ἔσαι ἐκείνοισι χρήσιμος οὔτε ἐκείνοι σοί. τὰ σεωτοῦ δὲ τιθέμενον εὖ γνῶμην ἔχω τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρήγματα, τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον τά τε ποιήσουσι ὅσοι τε πλῆθος εἰσί. ἱκανοὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοί γε αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν πέρι φροντίζειν εἰσί, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέων ὡσαύτως. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἦν ἴωσι ἀντὶ Πέρσης ἐς μάχην, οὐδὲν τὸ παρεὸν τρώμα ἀκεῦνται.»

7.237

ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοῖσιδε. «Ἀχαιμένες, εὖ τε μοι δοκέεις λέγειν

¹ without a fight ² dread, shrink from ³ be shipwrecked ⁴ well matched for war

καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα. Δημάρητος δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ ἄριστα ἔλπεται εἶναι ἐμοί, γνώμη μέντοι ἐσσοῦται ὑπὸ σεῦ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ κεινὸ γέ ἐνδέξομαι ὅπως οὐκ εὐνοέει τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι, τοῖσί τε λεγομένοισι πρότερον ἐκ τούτου σταθμώμενος⁵ καὶ τῷ ἐόντι, ὅτι πολίτης μὲν πολίτη εὖ πρήσσοντι φθονέει καὶ ἔστι δυσμενὴς τῇ σιγῇ, οὐδ' ἂν συμβουλευομένου τοῦ ἀστοῦ⁶ πολίτης ἀνὴρ τὰ ἄριστα οἱ δοκέοντα εἶναι ὑποθέοιτο, εἰ μὴ πρόσω ἀρετῆς ἀνήκοι· σπάνιοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι· ξείνος δὲ ξείνῳ εὖ πρήσσοντι ἐστὶ εὐμενέστατον⁷ πάντων, συμβουλευομένου τε ἂν συμβουλεύσειε τὰ ἄριστα. οὕτω ὦν κακολογίης τῆς ἐς Δημάρητον, ἐόντος ἐμοὶ ξείνου πέρι, ἔχεσθαι τινὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ κελεύω.»

7.238

ταῦτα εἶπας Ξέρξης διεξήιε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ Λεωνίδεω, ἀκηκοὺς ὅτι βασιλεὺς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρώσαι. δηλὰ μοι πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοις, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἥκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενόμησε, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμα. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ποιέειν.

7.239

ἄνεμι δὲ ἐκείσε τοῦ λόγου τῇ μοι τὸ πρότερον ἐξέλιπε. ἐπύθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτοι, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἔνθα δὴ σφι ἐχρήσθη τὰ ὀλίγω πρότερον εἶπον· ἐπύθοντο δὲ τρόπῳ θωμασίῳ. Δημάρητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος φυγῶν ἐς Μήδους, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω καὶ τὸ οἶκος ἐμοὶ συμμαχεται, οὐκ ἦν εὖνοος Λακεδαιμονίοις, πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν εἴτε εὐνοίῃ ταῦτα ἐποίησε εἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ Ξέρξη ἔδοξε στρατηλατέειν⁸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοις⁹ ὁ Δημάρητος καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα

⁵ judge, conclude ⁶ townsman; citizen ⁷ kind ⁸ lead an army
⁹ lily

ἠθέλησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐξαγγείλαι. ἄλλως μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἶχε σημήναι· ἐπικίνδυνον γὰρ ἦν μὴ λαμφθείη· ὁ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· δελτίον¹⁰ δίπτυχον¹¹ λαβὼν τὸν κηρὸν¹² αὐτοῦ ἐξέκνησε, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλέως γνώμην, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ὀπίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἵνα φερόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μὴδὲν πρῆγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν ὁδοφυλάκων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν γε δὴ σφί, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Λεωνίδεω δὲ γυνὴ Γοργῷ ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτή, τὸν κηρὸν κινᾶν κελεύουσα, καὶ εὐρήσειν σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ. πειθόμενοι δὲ εὖρον καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήσι ἐπέστειλαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

¹⁰ little tablet ¹¹ twice-folded ¹² wax

have a war of their own close at their doors, there will be no fear for thee from them that when the remainder of Hellas is being conquered by the land-army, they will come to the rescue there. Then after the remainder of Hellas has been reduced to subjection, from that moment the Lacedemonian power will be left alone and therefore feeble. If however thou shalt not do this, I will tell thee what thou must look for. There is a narrow isthmus leading to the Peloponnese, and in this place thou must look that other battles will be fought more severe than those which have taken place, seeing that all the Peloponnesians have sworn to a league against thee: but if thou shalt do the other thing of which I spoke, this isthmus and the cities within it will come over to thy side without a battle."

7.236

After him spoke Achaimenes, brother of Xerxes and also commander of the fleet, who chanced to have been present at this discourse and was afraid lest Xerxes should be persuaded to do this: "O king," he said, "I see that thou art admitting the speech of a man who envies thy good fortune, or is even a traitor to thy cause: for in truth the Hellenes delight in such a temper as this; they envy a man for his good luck, and they hate that which is stronger than themselves. And if, besides other misfortunes which we have upon us, seeing that four hundred of our ships have suffered wreck, thou shalt send away another three hundred from the station of the fleet to sail round Peloponnese, then thy antagonists become a match for thee in fight; whereas while it is all assembled together our fleet is hard for them to deal with, and they will not be at all a match for thee: and moreover the whole sea-force will support the land-force and be supported by it, if they proceed onwards together; but if thou shalt divide them, neither wilt thou be of service to them nor they to thee. My determination is rather to set thy affairs in good order and not to consider the affairs of the enemy, either where they will set on foot the war or what they will do or how many in number they are; for it is sufficient that they should themselves take thought for themselves, and we for ourselves likewise: and if the Lacedemonians come to stand against the Persians in fight, they will assuredly not heal the wound from which they are now suffering."

7.237

To him Xerxes made answer as follows: "Achaimenes, I think that thou speakest well, and so will I do; but Demaratos speaks that which he believes to be best for me, though his opinion is defeated by thine: for I will not certainly admit that which thou saidest, namely that he is not well-disposed to my cause, judging both by what was said by him before this, and also by that which is the truth, namely that though one citizen envies another for his good fortune and shows enmity to him by his silence, nor would a

citizen when a fellow-citizen consulted him suggest that which seemed to him the best, unless he had attained to a great height of virtue, and such men doubtless are few; yet guest-friend to guest-friend in prosperity is well-disposed as nothing else on earth, and if his friend should consult him, he would give him the best counsel. Thus then as regards the evil-speaking against Demaratos, that is to say about one who is my guest-friend, I bid every one abstain from it in the future."

7.238

Having thus said Xerxes passed in review the bodies of the dead; and as for Leonidas, hearing that he had been the king and commander of the Lacedemonians he bade them cut off his head and crucify him. And it has been made plain to me by many proofs besides, but by none more strongly than by this, that king Xerxes was enraged with Leonidas while alive more than with any other man on earth; for otherwise he would never have done this outrage to his corpse; since of all the men whom I know, the Persians are accustomed most to honour those who are good men in war. They then to whom it was appointed to do these things, proceeded to do so.

7.239

I will return now to that point of my narrative where it remained unfinished. The Lacedemonians had been informed before all others that the king was preparing an expedition against Hellas; and thus it happened that they sent to the Oracle at Delphi, where that reply was given them which I reported shortly before this. And they got this information in a strange manner; for Demaratos the son of Ariston after he had fled for refuge to the Medes was not friendly to the Lacedemonians, as I am of opinion and as likelihood suggests supporting my opinion; but it is open to any man to make conjecture whether he did this thing which follows in a friendly spirit or in malicious triumph over them. When Xerxes had resolved to make a campaign against Hellas, Demaratos, being in Susa and having been informed of this, had a desire to report it to the Lacedemonians. Now in no other way was he able to signify it, for there was danger that he should be discovered, but he contrived thus, that is to say, he took a folding tablet and scraped off the wax which was upon it, and then he wrote the design of the king upon the wood of the tablet, and having done so he melted the wax and poured it over the writing, so that the tablet (being carried without writing upon it) might not cause any trouble to be given by the keepers of the road. Then when it had arrived at Lacedemon, the Lacedemonians were not able to make conjecture of the matter; until at last, as I am informed, Gorgo, the daughter of Cleomenes and wife of Leonidas, suggested a plan of which she had herself thought, bidding them scrape the wax and they would find writing upon the wood; and doing

as she said they found the writing and read it, and after that they sent notice to the other Hellenes. These things are said to have come to pass in this manner.