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rev. December 31, 2025

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vocabulary

ἀέκων unwilling
 ἄμιλλα conflict
 ἀναπειθῶ (aor, plupf) seduce,
 persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust,
 obey, be confident in
 ἀντιβαίνω resist
 ἀπαντάω encounter, come upon
 ἄπειρος untested; infinite
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ō) show, point out;
 appoint; (mid) declare
 ἀπονοστέω go home
 ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp
 ἀποπλέω sail away ~float
 ἀργύριον small coin
 ἀριθμός number
 ἀσθενής weak
 ἀσπαίρω writhe ~spur
 ἀτρεκής precise, certain
 αὐλίζομαι live, lodge at
 αὐτομολέω desert
 ἀφαιρέω take away ~heresy
 δάω learn ~didactic
 δείλη afternoon ~diem
 δῆθεν strong form of δῆ
 διαδέχομαι be next, succeed
 ~doctrine
 διέκπλοος passage, breaking
 through
 διεξέρχομαι go through
 δρησμός running away
 ἐβδομήκοντα 70
 εἵκελος like, resembling (+dative)
 ἐκφεύγω flee from, escape ~fugitive
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἑμφυλός (ō) of the same tribe
 ~phylum
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence
 ἔξωθεν from outside
 ἐπαναπλέω sail back
 ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail
 ἐπιβοηθέω come to aid

ἐπιπλέω sail on, over ~float
 ἐπίσχω aim; restrain
 ἐπιτρέπω entrust, decide, allow
 ~trophy
 ἐπιφέρω bestow, impute ~bear
 ἐπιχειρέω do, try, attack ~chiral
 ἐπόμενυμι (ō) swear by
 εὖνοος kindly; favorable
 εὐπετής coming out well; (adv)
 fortunately
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 εὐφρόνη euphemism for night
 ἐφέπω drive, meet, follow ~sequel
 ἡγεμονεύω lead ~hegemony
 ἡγεμονία authority, rule
 ἡδομαι be pleased, enjoy
 ~hedonism
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος
 κατάγω lead down/home; land
 ~demagogue
 καταδοκέω suspect, be prejudiced
 καταλαμβάνω seize, understand,
 catch, overtake; (mp) happen
 ~epilepsy
 καταμένω stay; not change
 καταρρωδέω fear, dread
 καταφρονέω scorn; think of
 κερδαίνω profit, take advantage
 κυκλέω carry on wheels ~cycle
 κυκλώω circle, encircle
 μανία madness, passion
 μεταβαίνω change the subject
 ~basis
 μεταδίδωμι give part of ~donate
 μεταλαμβάνω share in; swap
 μετέπειτα afterward, next
 μηχανάομαι build, contrive
 ~mechanism
 μίν him, her, it
 μισθός reward, wages
 μισθώω rent out; (pass) be hired
 ναυηγία shipwreck

ναυλοχέω lie in wait in a harbor
 ναυμαχία naval warfare
 ὀγδῶκοντα eighty
 οἰκέτης -ου (m, 1) household; house
 slave
 ὀκτώ eight ~octopus
 ὀκτωκαίδεκα 18
 ὁμοφρονέω sympathize, agree
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit
 ὄψιος late, in evening
 πάγῃ entirely
 παραμένω stay with ~remain
 πάρεξ alongside, diverging from;
 (+ῃ or gen) except; (+acc) beyond,
 alongside
 πείρω pierce, run through ~pierce
 πεντηκόντερος (f) ship with 50 oars
 περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on
 clothing ~ballistic
 περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive;
 attain ~genus
 περίειμι be superior to; be left over;
 still exist
 περιέχω (mid) protect
 περιλαμβάνω surround, include
 περιπέμπω send on a circuit
 περιπλέω sail around ~float
 Πέρσης Persian
 πολλαπλήσιος many times more
 προθυμία (ō) zeal, alacrity ~fume
 πρόθυμος (ō) willing, eager ~fume
 προῖσχω be ahead, jut forward; mid:

have before one
 προσμένω await, cleave to
 προσπλέω sail toward, against
 πρόσφαις -εως (f) pretext; motive;
 prediction ~fame
 σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark
 ~semaphore
 στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc)
 στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;
 (pl noun) 200 meters
 στασιάζω revolt, be divided
 στάσις -εως (f) placing; faction
 στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army
 ~strategy
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
 συμμαχία alliance
 συμφορά collecting; accident,
 misfortune
 σύνθημα -τος (n, 3) agreed signal
 τάλαντον scale, a unit of weight
 ~talent
 ὕβρις -εως (f) pride, insolence,
 outrage
 φράσσω fence in, protect
 φυγή flight, means of escape
 ~fugitive
 ψευδής lying, false ~pseudo-
 ὠθέω push

8

8.1

οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἷδε, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιέες ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐόντες συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι. καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας, Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα,¹ Σικυνῶνιοι δὲ δυοκαίδεκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ, Ἐρετριέες δὲ ἑπτὰ, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο, καὶ Κήιοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο· Λοκροὶ δὲ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθειον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτὰ.

8.2

ἦσαν μὲν ὧν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισῶν νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, διηκόσια καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ μία. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται Εὐρυβιάδην Εὐρυκλείδew· οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἦν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ, Ἀθηναίοισι ἔψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα.

8.3

ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὸν εἶη ἐπιτρέπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσούτῳ κάκιον ἐστὶ ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι ὧν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντέτεινον ἀλλ' εἶκον, μέχρι ὅσου κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὡς διέδεξαν· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὠσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην

¹ 18

περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Πανσανίῳ ὕβριον προῖσχύμενοι ἀπειλόντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

8.4

τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι ὥς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατιῆς ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὥς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκειον, καταρρωδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. γνόντες δὲ σφέας οἱ Εὐβοέες ταῦτα βουλευομένους ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδῳ προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα ταλάντοισι, ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην.

8.5

ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὧδε ποιέει· Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοῖ πέντε τάλαντα ὥς παρ' ἐωντοῦ δῆθεν διδούς. ὥς δέ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, Ἀδεύμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἤσπαιρε² μῦθος, φάμενος ἀποπλεύσεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμενέειν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπομόσας «οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἂν τοι ὁ Μήδων πέμψῃε ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους.» ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἡγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδεύμαντος τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία· οὗτοί τε δὴ πάντες δάωροι ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο, αὐτὸς τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδην, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἠπιστάτο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

² writhe

8.6

οὕτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν, ἐγένετο δὲ ὦδε. ἐπεῖτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δειλὴν πρωΐην γινομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν³ νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρέειν, εἴ πως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλέειν οὐ κώ σφι ἐδόκεε τῶνδε εἵνεκα, μὴ πως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλέοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμήσειαν φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλαμβάνη· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι.

8.7

πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν τάδε ἐμηχανῶντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου, ὥς ἂν μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλέουσαι Εὐβοίαν κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν Εὐριπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν ὁδόν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίας. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλεόντων ὥς ἠκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφέτῃσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

8.8

ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίῃ τῇ κατὰ Πήλιον γενομένη πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο· οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ οἱ παρέσχε ὥς τότε. ὅτεω μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἔτι ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως, θωμάζω δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐστὶ ἀληθέα·

³ lie in wait in a harbor

λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἐξ Ἀφετείων δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστα κη τούτους ἐς ὀγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διεξελθών. λέγεται μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι⁴ εἴκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα· περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω πλοίῳ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμηνε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὴν τε ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὐβοίαν.

8.9

τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδουσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκεῖνην αὐτοῦ μέναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας,⁵ μετέπειτα νύκτα μέσσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλεούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλεε, δέιλῃν ὀψίην γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐπανεπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου.

8.10

ὁρῶντες δὲ σφέας οἳ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξεω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλέοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι, πάγχυ σφι μανίην⁶ ἐπενείκαντες ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐλπίσαντες σφέας εὐπετέως αἰρήσειν, οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες, τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἐωυτῶν πλήθει⁷ τε πολλαπλησίας⁷ καὶ ἄμεινον πλεούσας. καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὐνοοὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορὴν τε ἐποיעῖντο μεγάλην ὁρῶντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἄμυλλαν ἐποיעῖντο ὅκως αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἐλὼν παρὰ βασιλέος δῶρα λάμβεται· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλείστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

⁴ lying, false ⁵ live, lodge at ⁶ madness, passion ⁷ many times more

8

8.1

Those of the Hellenes who had been appointed to serve in the fleet were these:— the Athenians furnished a hundred and twenty-seven ships, and the Plataians moved by valour and zeal for the service, although they had had no practice in seamanship, yet joined with the Athenians in manning their ships. The Corinthians furnished forty ships, the Megarians twenty; the Chalkidians manned twenty ships with which the Athenians furnished them; the Eginetans furnished eighteen ships, the Sikyonians twelve, the Lacedemonians ten, the Epidaurians eight, the Eretrians seven, the Troizenians five, the Styrians two, the Keians two ships and two fifty-oared galleys, while the Locrians of Opus came also to the assistance of the rest with seven fifty-oared galleys.

8.2

These were those who joined in the expedition to Artemision, and I have mentioned them according to the number of the ships which they severally supplied: so the number of the ships which were assembled at Artemision was (apart from the fifty-oared galleys) two hundred and seventy-one: and the commander who had the supreme power was furnished by the Spartans, namely Eurybiades son of Eurycleides, since the allies said that they would not follow the lead of the Athenians, but unless a Lacedemonian were leader they would break up the expedition which was to be made:

8.3

For it had come to be said at first, even before they sent to Sicily to obtain allies, that the fleet ought to be placed in the charge of the Athenians. So as the allies opposed this, the Athenians yielded, having it much at heart that Hellas should be saved, and perceiving that if they should have disagreement with one another about the leadership, Hellas would perish: and herein they judged rightly, for disagreement between those of the same race is worse than war undertaken with one consent by as much as war is worse than peace. Being assured then of this truth, they did not contend, but gave way for so long time as they were urgently in need of the allies; and that this was so their conduct proved; for when, after repelling the Persian from themselves, they were now contending for his land and no longer for their own, they alleged the insolence of Pausanias as a pretext and took away the leadership from the Lacedemonians. This however took place afterwards.

8.4

But at this time these Hellenes also who had come to Artemision, when they

saw that a great number of ships had put in to Aphetai and that everything was filled with their armament, were struck with fear, because the fortunes of the Barbarians had different issue from that which they expected, and they deliberated about retreating from Artemision to the inner parts of Hellas. And the Euboeans perceiving that they were so deliberating, asked Eurybiades to stay there by them for a short time, until they should have removed out of their land their children, and their households; and as they did not persuade him, they went elsewhere and persuaded Themistocles the commander of the Athenians by a payment of thirty talents, the condition being that the fleet should stay and fight the sea-battle in front of Euboea.

8.5

Themistocles then caused the Hellenes to stay in the following manner:— to Eurybiades he imparted five talents of the sum with the pretence that he was giving it from himself; and when Eurybiades had been persuaded by him to change his resolution, Adeimantos son of Okytos, the Corinthian commander, was the only one of all the others who still made a struggle, saying that he would sail away from Artemision and would not stay with the others: to him therefore Themistocles said with an oath: “Thou at least shalt not leave us, for I will give thee greater gifts than the king of the Medes would send to thee, if thou shouldest desert thy allies.” Thus he spoke, and at the same time he sent to the ship of Adeimantos three talents of silver. So these all had been persuaded by gifts to change their resolution, and at the same time the request of the Euboeans had been gratified and Themistocles himself gained money; and it was not known that he had the rest of the money, but those who received a share of this money were fully persuaded that it had come from the Athenian State for this purpose.

8.6

Thus they remained in Euboea and fought a sea-battle; and it came to pass as follows:— when the Barbarians had arrived at Aphetai about the beginning of the afternoon, having been informed even before they came that a few ships of the Hellenes were stationed about Artemision and now seeing them for themselves, they were eager to attack them, to see if they could capture them. Now they did not think it good yet to sail against them directly for this reason,— for fear namely that the Hellenes, when they saw them sailing against them, should set forth to take flight and darkness should come upon them in their flight; and so they were likely (thought the Persians) to get away; whereas it was right, according to their calculation, that not even the fire-bearer should escape and save his life.

8.7

With a view to this then they contrived as follows:— of the whole number of their ships they parted off two hundred and sent them round to sail by Caphereus and round Geriastos to the Euripos, going outside Skiathos so that they might not be sighted by the enemy as they sailed round Euboea: and their purpose was that with these coming up by that way, and blocking the enemies' retreat, and themselves advancing against them directly, they might surround them on all sides. Having formed this plan they proceeded to send off the ships which were appointed for this, and they themselves had no design of attacking the Hellenes on that day nor until the signal agreed upon should be displayed to them by those who were sailing round, to show that they had arrived. These ships, I say, they were sending round, and meanwhile they were numbering the rest at Aphetai.

8.8

During this time, while these were numbering their ships, it happened thus:— there was in that camp a man of Skione named Skyllias, as a diver the best of all the men of that time, who also in the shipwreck which took place by Pelion had saved for the Persians many of their goods and many of them also he had acquired for himself: this Skyllias it appears had had an intention even before this of deserting to the side of the Hellenes, but it had not been possible for him to do so then. In what manner after this attempt he did actually come to the Hellenes, I am not able to say with certainty, but I marvel if the tale is true which is reported; for it is said that he dived into the sea at Aphetai and did not come up till he reached Artemision, having traversed here somewhere about eighty furlongs through the sea. Now there are told about this man several other tales which seem likely to be false, but some also which are true: about this matter however let it be stated as my opinion that he came to Artemision in a boat. Then when he had come, he forthwith informed the commanders about the shipwreck, how it had come to pass, and of the ships which had been sent away to go round Euboea.

8.9

Hearing this the Hellenes considered the matter with one another; and after many things had been spoken, the prevailing opinion was that they should remain there that day and encamp on shore, and then, when midnight was past, they should set forth and go to meet those ships which were sailing round. After this however, as no one sailed out to attack them, they waited for the coming of the late hours of the afternoon and sailed out themselves to attack the Barbarians, desiring to make a trial both of their manner of fighting and of the trick of breaking their line.

8.10

And seeing them sailing thus against them with few ships, not only the others in the army of Xerxes but also their commanders judged them to be moved by mere madness, and they themselves also put out their ships to sea, supposing that they would easily capture them: and their expectation was reasonable enough, since they saw that the ships of the Hellenes were few, while theirs were many times as numerous and sailed better. Setting their mind then on this, they came round and enclosed them in the middle. Then so many of the Ionians as were kindly disposed to the Hellenes and were serving in the expedition against their will, counted it a matter of great grief to themselves when they saw them being surrounded and felt assured that not one of them would return home, so feeble did they think the power of the Hellenes to be; while those to whom that which was happening was a source of pleasure, were vying with one another, each one endeavouring to be the first to take an Athenian ship and receive gifts from the king: for in their camps there was more report of the Athenians than of any others.

vocabulary

ἄγγελία message, news ~angel
ἄγγέλλω carry a message, announce
 ~angel
ἄγριος wild, savage ~agriculture
ἀγωνίζομαι contend, exert oneself
ἄημι blow
αἶξ αἰγός (m) goat
ἀνακαίω light (a fire) ~caustic
ἀναμένω wait for ~remain
ἀναπνέω catch one's breath ~apnea
ἀντέχω hold up as protection
 against ~ischemia
ἀντίπρωρος with the prow toward
ἀπαλλαξείω wish to get rid of
ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be
 freed, depart
ἄπλετος boundless, immense,
 abundant
ἀποδείκνυμι (ō) show, point out;
 appoint; (mid) declare
ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine
ἀπολαμβάνω receive, recover, take
 aside, cut off ~epilepsy
ἀποπλέω sail away ~float
ἀπορρήγνυμι (ō) break off, apart
ἀποχράω suffice; abuse
ἀποχρέω suffice; abuse
ἀρέσκω please, satisfy; make
 amends
ἀριστεύω be the best ~aristocrat
ἀσινής unharmed
ἀτρέμας unmovingly, still ~tremble
αὐτομολέω desert
αὐτως just so, merely; in vain ~after
ἀφαιρέω take away ~heresy
ἄχαρις -δος (f) ungracious
ἄω aor: to sate ~sate
βαρβαρόφωνος foreign-sounding
βροντή thunder ~brontosaurus
βύβλινος made of papyrus
δαπάνη cost, funds, extravagance

δειμαίνω be afraid
διακρίνω (ιι) separate, sort ~critic
διαλύω break up; relax, weaken
διίστημι stand apart ~stand
δροσμός running away
εἰλέω put in sun
εἰσβολή -ωβόλης invasion, an
 entrance ~ballistic
ἐκκομίζω remove; bury a corpse
ἐκπίπτω fall out of ~petal
Ἑλλήν Greek
ἐνθαῦτα there, here
ἐνθεῦτεν thence
ἐξισόω equalize
ἐπαναπλέω sail back
ἐπείγω weigh upon, drive; (mid)
 hurry
ἐπιβοηθέω come to aid
ἐπιγίγνομαι succeed, come after
 ~genus
ἐπικρατέω rule over
ἐπιλάμπω shine in response to
 ~lamp
ἐπιπίπτω fall upon, attack
ἐπιπλέω sail on, over ~float
ἐρέσσω to row ~row
ἐτεραλκής turning the tide
ἐτοιῖμος ready; fulfilled
εὖς good, brave, noble
εὐφρόνη euphemism for night
ζυγόν yoke, a joined pair ~zygote
ζυγός yoke, a joined pair ~zygote
ἡδομαι be pleased, enjoy
 ~hedonism
ἥκιστος least; above all
ἡσυχία peace and quiet
θέρος -εος (n, 3) summer ~thermos
καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall,
 arrive; be proper
καρτερός strong, staunch
καταθύω sacrifice, offer
καταίρω swoop; land

κατάσκοπος spy, inspector
κατύπερθεν above, from above
κοῖλος hollow ~hollow
κομιδή care, tending, providing for
κυκλέω carry on wheels ~cycle
κυκλόω circle, encircle
κώπη handle; oar ~capture
λάβρος blustering, torrential
λόγιμος notable
λυμαίνομαι (ῥ) abuse, violate, desecrate
μηνοειδής crescent-shaped
ναυηγία shipwreck
ναυήγιον wreckage
ναυμαχία naval warfare
ὄμβρος storm
ὄον οὖ type of fruit
ὄρμος cord, chain, anchorage
πάγχυ entirely
παλάμη palm, handiwork
παραγυμνός expose, disclose
παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn
παρακελεύομαι recommend, encourage
παραπλήσιος similar to
παραχράομαι abuse, treat contemptuously
παρίημι dangle; pass over, allow ~jet
πεζομαχία land fighting
πέλαγος -ους (n, 3) the open sea ~pelagic
περιέπω treat, handle
περιλαμβάνω surround, include
περιπίπτω embrace; fall in with
περιπλέω sail around ~float
πίμπρημι inflate, spurt; burn up ~pyre
πόρος way, bridge ~fare

πόρω aor. give, pf. be fated
πρόβατον cattle, flocks, herds
προεῖπον foretell, proclaim, order before
προσδόκιμος expected
πρύμνα stern
πρῶρα bow, prow ~prolog
ῥεῦμα -τος (n, 3) flow
σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore
σκληρός hard
στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army ~strategy
στρατιά army ~strategy
στρατός common people/soldiers ~strategy
συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix
συμπίπτω fall together, happen
συμφορά collecting; accident, misfortune
ταράσσω mess things up ~trachea
ταρσός basket?; top of the foot? ~metatarsal
τιτρώσκω wound, bring to grief ~trauma
τραχύς (ᾱ) rough ~trachea
ὑπολαμβάνω take under one's support, seize; speak up; imagine ~epilepsy
φυγή flight, means of escape ~fugitive
φῦλον race, tribe, class ~phylum
χειμών -ος (m, 3) winter, storm
χρησμός oracular response
χωρίς separately; except, other than ~heir
χώρος place ~heir

8.11

τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ὥς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον, δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος ἔργου εἶχοντο ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἰρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸν Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον¹ ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης Αἰσχυραίου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήιον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκέως² ἀγωνιζομένους νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλεον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμιος μῦθος τῶν σὺν βασιλείῃ Ἑλλήνων ἐόντων αὐτομολεῖ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χώρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

8.12

ὥς δὲ εὐφρόνῃ ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφέποντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πύργους τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο³ καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς⁴ τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἦκον. πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι σφέας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίῃ καρτερή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὄμβρος τε λάβρος⁵ καὶ ρεύματα⁶ ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὀρμημένα βρονταὶ τε σκληραί.

8.13

καὶ τούτοισι μὲν τοιαύτῃ ἢ νύξ ἐγίνετο, τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλέειν Εὐβοίαν ἢ αὐτὴ περ ἐοῦσα νύξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρῃ,

¹ notable ² turning the tide ³ put in sun ⁴ basket?; top of the foot? ⁵ blustering, torrential ⁶ flow

τοσούτω ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγει φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφί ἐγίνετο ἄχαρι.⁷ ὥς γὰρ δὴ πλέουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο ἐοῦσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας· ἐποιέετό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅκως ἂν ἐξισωθεῖν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν μηδὲ πολλῶ πλέον εἶη.

8.14

οὔτοι μὲν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης διεφθείροντο· οἱ δ' ἐν Ἀφέτῃσι βάρβαροι, ὥς σφί ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρῃ ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας καὶ σφί ἀπεχρᾶτο κακῶς πρήσουσι⁸ ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ἐπεβοήθειον νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικάι. αὐταί τε δὴ σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι καὶ ἅμα ἀγγελίῃ ἐλθοῦσα, ὥς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλέοντες τὴν Εὐβοίαν πάντες εἶσαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλάξαντες δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλέοντες ἐπέπεσον νηυσὶ Κιλίσσησι· ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὥς εὐφρόνῃ ἐγίνετο, ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.

8.15

τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφί ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι,⁹ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω δειμαίνοντες,¹⁰ οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνήγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὥστε τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τὰς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας¹¹ τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι. ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεκελεύοντο ὅκως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δ' ὅκως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. ὥς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλεον, οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ

⁷ ungracious ⁸ inflate, spurt; burn up ⁹ abuse, violate, desecrate

¹⁰ be afraid ¹¹ land fighting

δὲ βάρβαροι μηνοειδὲς¹² ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκυκλοῦντο, ὥς περιλάβουεν αὐτούς.

8.16

ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπανέπλεόν τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάλθους τε καὶ πλήθους αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐωυτοῦ ἔπιπτε, ταρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὅμως μέντοι ἀντείχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῦντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλιγέων ἐς φυγὴν τρέπεσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες, οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἐκάτεροι.

8.17

ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ξέρξεω στρατιωτέων ἠρίστευσαν, οἱ ἄλλα τε μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ νέας αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἶλον Ἑλληνίδας πέντε. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Κλεινίης ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδew, ὃς δαπάνην οἰκήρην παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοις καὶ οὐκῆρῃ νηί.

8.18

ὥς δὲ διέστησαν, ἄσμενοι ἐκάτεροι ἐς ὄρμον¹³ ἠπείγοντο. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὥς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων ἐπεκράτεον, τρηχέως δὲ περιεφθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἤκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἰ ἡμίσεαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι¹⁴ ἦσαν, δρησμον δὴ ἐβούλευον ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

8.19

νόῳ δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ὥς εἰ ἀπορραγείῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τό τε Ἰωνικὸν φῦλον καὶ τὸ Καρικόν, οἱοί τε εἶησαν ἂν τῶν λοιπῶν

¹² crescent-shaped ¹³ cord, chain, anchorage ¹⁴ wound, bring to grief

κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν Εὐβοέων πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην, συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγέ σφι ὡς δοκοίεν ἔχειν τινὰ παλάμην, τῇ ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέος συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀρίστους. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι τάδε ποιητέα σφι εἶναι ἔλεγε, τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταθύειν ὅσα τις ἐθέλοι· κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατιὴν ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους· παραίνεέ τε προειπεῖν τοῖσι ἐωντῶν ἐκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν· κομιδῆς δὲ πέρι τὴν ὥρην αὐτῶ μελήσειν, ὥστε ἀσινέας¹⁵ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἤρεσέ σφι ποιεῖν, καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαυσάμενοι ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα.

8.20

οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοέες, παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Βάκιδος χρησμόν¹⁶ ὡς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὔτε τι ἐξεκομίσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προσεσάξαντο ὡς παρεσομένον σφι πολέμον, περιπετέα τε ἐποίησαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὰ πρήγματα. Βάκιδι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμός.

Φράζω, βαρβαρόφωνος¹⁷ ὅταν ζυγὸν εἰς ἄλλα βάλλῃ βύβλινον,¹⁸ Εὐβοίης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας αἶγας.

Τούτοισι οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἔπεισι χρησαμένοισι ἐν τοῖσι τότε παρεούσι τε καὶ προσδοκίμοισι κακοῖσι παρῆν σφι συμφορῇ χρᾶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

8.21

οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσαν, παρῆν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεὺς, τῷ προσετέτακτο, καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατῆρες ἔτοιμον, εἰ παλήσειε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι· ὡς δ' αὐτως ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἔτοιμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐοῦσι ἀγγέλλειν τριηκοντέρῳ, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζόν. οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικόμενός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδην καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο

¹⁵ unharmed ¹⁶ oracular response ¹⁷ foreign-sounding ¹⁸ made of papyrus

8.11

The Hellenes meanwhile, when the signal was given, first set themselves with prows facing the Barbarians and drew the sterns of their ships together in the middle; and when the signal was given a second time, although shut off in a small space and prow against prow, they set to work vigorously; and they captured thirty ships of the Barbarians and also Philaon the son of Chersis, the brother of Gorgos kind of the Salaminians, who was a man of great repute in the army. Now the first of the Hellenes who captured a ship of the enemy was an Athenian, Lycomedes the son of Aischraios, and he received the prize for valour. So these, as they were contending in this sea-fight with doubtful result, were parted from one another by the coming on of night. The Hellenes accordingly sailed away to Artemision and the Barbarians to Aphetai, the contest having been widely different from their expectation. In this sea-fight Antidoros of Lemnos alone of the Hellenes who were with the king deserted to the side of the Hellenes, and the Athenians on account of this deed gave him a piece of land in Salamis.

8.12

When the darkness had come on, although the season was the middle of summer, yet there came on very abundant rain, which lasted through the whole of the night, with crashing thunder from Mount Pelion; and the dead bodies and pieces of wreck were cast up at Aphetai and became entangled round the prows of the ships and struck against the blades of the oars: and the men of the army who were there, hearing these things became afraid, expecting that they would certainly perish, to such troubles had they come; for before they had had even breathing space after the shipwreck and the storm which had arisen off Mount Pelion, there had come upon them a hard sea-fight, and after the sea-fight a violent storm of rain and strong streams rushing to the sea and crashing thunder.

8.13

These then had such a night as I have said; and meanwhile those of them who had been appointed to sail round Euboea experienced the very same night, but against them it raged much more fiercely, inasmuch as it fell upon them while they were making their course in the open sea. And the end of it proved distressful to them; for when the storm and the rain together came upon them as they sailed, being then off the "Hollows" of Euboea, they were borne by the wind not knowing by what way they were carried, and were cast away upon the rocks. And all this was being brought about by God in order that the Persian force might be made more equal to that of the Hellenes and might not be by very much the larger.

8.14

These then, I say, were perishing about the Hollows of Euboea, and meanwhile the Barbarians at Aphetai, when day had dawned upon them, of which they were glad, were keeping their ships quiet, and were satisfied in their evil plight to remain still for the present time; but to the Hellenes there came as a reinforcement three and fifty Athenian ships. The coming of these gave them more courage, and at the same time they were encouraged also by a report that those of the Barbarians who had been sailing round Euboea had all been destroyed by the storm that had taken place. They waited then for the same time of day as before, and then they sailed and fell upon some Kilikian ships; and having destroyed these, they sailed away when the darkness came on, and returned to Artemision.

8.15

On the third day the commanders of the Barbarians, being exceedingly indignant that so small a number of ships should thus do them damage, and fearing what Xerxes might do, did not wait this time for the Hellenes to begin the fight, but passed the word of command and put out their ships to sea about the middle of the day. Now it so happened that these battles at sea and the battles on land at Thermopylai took place on the same days; and for those who fought by sea the whole aim of the fighting was concerned with the channel of Euripos, just as the aim of Leonidas and of his band was to guard the pass: the Hellenes accordingly exhorted one another not to let the Barbarians go by into Hellas; while these cheered one another on to destroy the fleet of the Hellenes and to get possession of the straits.

8.16

Now while the forces of Xerxes were sailing in order towards them, the Hellenes kept quiet at Artemision; and the Barbarians, having made a crescent of their ships that they might enclose them, were endeavouring to surround them. Then the Hellenes put out to sea and engaged with them; and in this battle the two sides were nearly equal to one another; for the fleet of Xerxes by reason of its great size and numbers suffered damage from itself, since the ships were thrown into confusion and ran into one another: nevertheless it stood out and did not give way, for they disdained to be turned to flight by so few ships. Many ships therefore of the Hellenes were destroyed and many men perished, but many more ships and men of the Barbarians. Thus contending they parted and went each to their own place.

8.17

In this sea-fight the Egyptians did best of the men who fought for Xerxes;

and these, besides other great deeds which they displayed, captured five ships of the Hellenes together with their crews: while of the Hellenes those who did best on this day were the Athenians, and of the Athenians Cleinias the son of Alkibiades, who was serving with two hundred man and a ship of his own, furnishing the expense at his own proper cost.

8.18

Having parted, both sides gladly hastened to their moorings; and after they had separated and got away out of the sea-fight, although the Hellenes had possession of the bodies of the dead and of the wrecks of the ships, yet having suffered severely (and especially the Athenians, of whose ships half had been disabled), they were deliberating now about retreating to the inner parts of Hellas.

8.19

Themistocles however had conceived that if there should be detached from the force of the Barbarians the Ionian and Carian nations, they would be able to overcome the rest; and when the people of Euboea were driving their flocks down to that sea, he assembled the generals and said to them that he thought he had a device by which he hoped to cause the best of the king's allies to leave him. This matter he revealed to that extent only; and with regard to their present circumstances, he said that they must do as follows:— every one must slaughter of the flocks of the Euboeans as many as he wanted, for it was better that their army should have them than the enemy; moreover he advised that each one should command his own men to kindle a fire: and as for the time of their departure he would see to it in such wise that they should come safe to Hellas. This they were content to do, and forthwith when they had kindled a fire they turned their attention to the flocks.

8.20

For in fact the Euboeans, neglecting the oracle of Bakis as if it had no meaning at all, had neither carried away anything from their land nor laid in any store of provisions with a view to war coming upon them, and by their conduct moreover they had brought trouble upon themselves. For the oracle uttered by Bakis about these matters runs as follows:

“Mark, when a man, a Barbarian, shall yoke the Sea with papyrus, Then do thou plan to remove the loud-bleating goats from Euboea.”

In the evils which at this time were either upon them or soon to be expected they might feel not a little sorry that they had paid no attention to these lines.

8.21

While these were thus engaged, there came to them the scout from Trachis: for there was at Artemision a scout named Polyas, by birth of Antikyra, to whom it had been appointed, if the fleet should be disabled, to signify this to those at Thermopylai, and he had a vessel equipped and ready for this purpose; and similarly there was with Leonidas Abronichos son of Lysicles, an Athenian, ready to carry news to those at Artemision with a thirty-oared galley, if any disaster should happen to the land-army. This Abronichos then had arrived, and he proceeded to signify to them that which had come to pass about Leonidas and his army; and then when they were informed

vocabulary

ἀγγέλλω carry a message, announce
~angel

ἀγωνίζομαι contend, exert oneself

ἄθλον ἀέθλου prize ~athlete

ἄθλος ἀέθλου contest, trial ~athlete

ἅλης crowded; all together

ἀμφορεύς -ος (m) amphora

ἀναβολή mound; delay

ἀναγκαίη of necessity, by force

ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery

ἀνάκειμαι be dedicated, be put up

ἀναρπάζω carry off ~harpoon

ἀνατίθηναι consecrate, lay on,
impute; (mp) reproach

ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear

ἀνδάνω please ~hedonism

ἀνδραποδίζω enslave

ἀνδριάς -ντος (m, 3) portrait, statue

ἀνήκεστος not to be cured, soothed,
appeased

ἀνόητος foolish

ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order,
promise ~angel

ἀπέχω ward off, drive off, refrain, be
at some distance

ἀπιστία disbelief, distrust

ἄπιστος not trusting, not
trustworthy ~stand

ἀποπλέω sail away ~float

ἀποτρέπω divert from ~trophy

ἀργύριον small coin

ἀρχῆθεν since forever

ἄτε as if; since

αὐτόμολος deserting, defecting

γέλοιος laughable; joking

γενναῖος noble, sincere ~genesis

γνωσιμαχέω submit; admit a
mistake

γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter

γυμνικός of gymnastics

γυψώω plaster with gypsum

δειλία cowardice

δέκατος tenth ~decimal

διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis

διαβάλλω throw across; slander
~ballistic

διαπεραιώω carry across

διέξιμι pass through; recount ~ion

δροσμός running away

ἐγγράφω engrave, enroll

ἔγκοτος spiteful

ἐθελοκακέω wimp out; act
maliciously

εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic

εἰσβολή -ωβόλης invasion, an
entrance ~ballistic

εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in

ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over

ἐκὼν willingly, on purpose; giving
in too easily

ἐλαία olive, olive tree ~olive

Ἑλλήν Greek

ἐνθαῦτα there, here

ἐντάμνω engrave, cut up

ἐξακόσιοι 600

ἐπαμάω collect

ἐπέρομαι ask as well; ask then

ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail

ἐπιβάλλω throw upon, head for
~ballistic

ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose;
(mid) think over

ἐπιπλέω sail on, over ~float

ἐπιτρέχω run at, after

ἐπιφορέω pile on

ἐτοιμάζω get ready

εὖς good, brave, noble

ἔχθος -εος (n, 3) hatred ~external

ἔχθρη hate

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

θάπτω bury ~epitaph

θέα (ᾱ) seeing, sight, viewpoint

θεάομαι look at, behold, consider
 ~theater
 θηέομαι look at, behold, consider
 ~theater
 ἵππικός of horses ~hippo
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος
 καταδουλόω enslave
 κατατίθην put down, deposit, lay
 aside ~thesis
 κατειλέω coop up
 μάντις -ος (m) seer ~mantis
 μεταβάλλω alter, transform
 μηδέτερος neither
 μνησικακέω hold a grudge
 μυριάς -δος (ū, f, 3) countless,
 myriad
 ναυμαχία naval warfare
 νηέω pile up, load a ship
 νηός temple, shrine
 ὁμοιόω assimilate, liken
 ~homoerotic
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit
 ὀρύσσω dig
 ὀφλισκάνω lose; incur debt
 ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view
 ~thanatopsis
 πανστρατιῇ with the whole army
 παραθαλάσσιος by the sea
 πείρω pierce, run through ~pierce
 περιέπω treat, handle
 Πέρσης Persian
 προδότης -ου (m, 1) traitor,
 abandoner
 προείπον foretell, proclaim, order
 before
 σιγά silence
 σιγάω (ī) be silent
 σκέλος -εος (n, 3) leg ~scoliosis
 σκίδνῃμι spread something, be

spread
 σοφίζω be clever, tricky
 σπάνιος rare, scanty
 στέρεω steal, take
 στέφανος ring
 στρατηλασίη expedition, campaign
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 συγκομίζω gather
 σύλλογος meeting
 συμβάλλω pit against; compare;
 mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic
 συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix
 τάλαντον scale, a unit of weight
 ~talent
 τάφρος (f) ditch, trench ~epitaph
 τέρας -ως (n, 3) omen, fetish
 τετρακισχίλιοι 4000 ~kilo-
 τοιόσδε such
 τραχύς (ᾱ) rough ~trachea
 τρίπους three-legged cauldron
 ~pedal
 ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond;
 delay ~ballistic
 ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer
 ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a
 person behind ~eclipse
 ὕστεραίος the next; later
 φώκη seal (animal) ~Fr. phoque
 χιλιάς -δος (ī, f, 3) 1000
 χίλιοι (ī) thousand ~kilo-
 χόλος gall, anger, wrath, bitterness
 ~choler
 χοῦς jar, jug; loose dirt
 χόω heap up
 χώρος place ~heir

ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

8.22

Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοις γράμματα. τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε. «ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιεέτε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιέειν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον¹ τούτων οἶόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέζευχθε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίσταςθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε² μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ' ἡμέων γεγόνετε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν³ ἢ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε.» Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραφε, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα νοέων, ἵνα ἢ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἴωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωυτῶν, ἢ ἐπεῖτε ἀνενειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχη.

8.23

Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε· τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροις αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοίῳ ἦλθε ἀνὴρ Ἰστιαεὺς ἀγγέλλων τὸν δρησμον τὸν ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀπιστίας τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νέας δὲ ταχέας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοίφομενας· ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἅμα ἡλίῳ σκιδναμένῳ⁴ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπέπλεε ἀλῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον τῶν Ἰστιαίων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίης μοίρης γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος τὰς παραθαλασσίας χώρας

¹ neither ² wimp out; act maliciously ³ since forever ⁴ spread something, be spread

πάσας ἐπέδραμον.

8.24

ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἐόντων, Ξέρξης ἐτοιμασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἔπεμπε ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα, προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἦσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες, ὑπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς τάφρους ὀρυζάμενος ἔθαιψε, φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμυσάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ. ὡς δὲ διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἰσθμίδα ὁ κῆρυξ, σύλλογον ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγε τάδε. «ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμέων παραδίδωσι ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θεήσασθαι ὅπως μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἳ ἤλπισαν τὴν βασιλείας δύναμιν ὑπερβαλέεσθαι.»

8.25

ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλαμένου, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πλοίων σπανιώτερον· οὕτω πολλοὶ ἤθελον θεήσασθαι. διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθήεντο διεξιόντες τοὺς νεκρούς· πάντες δὲ ἠπιστάτο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπίεας, ὁρῶντες καὶ τοὺς εἰλωτας. οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρήξας περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἦν· τῶν μὲν χίλιοι ἐφαίνοντο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἳ δὲ πάντες ἐκέατο ἀλῆες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ χωρίον, τέσσερες χιλιάδες. αὐτὴν μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πρὸς θέην⁵ ἐτράποντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἳ μὲν ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ἰσθμίδα ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, οἳ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐς ὁδὸν ὁρμέατο.

8.26

ἦκον δὲ σφί αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας ὀλίγοι τινές, βίου τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι. ἄγοντες δὲ τούτους ἐς οἶμιν τὴν βασιλείας ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τί ποιεοίεν· εἷς δὲ τις πρὸ πάντων ἦν ὁ εἰρωτῶν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα. οἳ δὲ σφί ἔλεγον

⁵ seeing, sight, viewpoint

ὥς Ὀλύμπια ἄγουσι καὶ θεωροῖεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν⁶ καὶ ἵππικόν. ὁ δὲ ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τὸ ἄεθλον εἴη σφί κείμενον περὶ ὅτε ἀγωνίζονται· οἱ δ' εἶπον τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. ἐνθαῦτα εἶπας γνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου δειλίην ὦφλε⁷ πρὸς βασιλέος. πυνθανόμενος γὰρ τὸ ἄεθλον ἐὸν στέφανον ἀλλ' οὐ χρήματα, οὔτε ἡνέσχετο σιγῶν εἶπέ τε ἐς πάντας τάδε. «παπαὶ Μαρδόνιε, κοίους ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἤγαγες μαχησομένους ἡμέας, οἱ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῖνται ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς.» τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἶρητο.

8.27

ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπεῖτε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τρώμα ἐγγέγονε, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἅτε σφί ἔχοντες αἰεὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὑστάτου τρώματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα. ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστρατιῇ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας, οὐ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς βασιλέος στρατηλασίης,⁸ ἐσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ περιέφθησαν τρηχέως. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ κατελήθησαν ἐς τὸν Παρνησὸν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες μάντιν Τελλίην τὸν Ἥλειον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης οὗτος σοφίζεται⁹ αὐτοῖσι τοιόνδε. γυνώσας¹⁰ ἄνδρας ἐξακοσίου¹¹ τῶν Φωκέων τοὺς, ἀρίστους, αὐτοὺς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖσι, προείπας αὐτοῖσι, τὸν ἂν μὴ λευκανθίζοντα ἴδωνται, τοῦτον κτείνειν. τούτους ὦν αἱ τε φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἰδοῦσαι ἐφοβήθησαν, δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτῇ ἢ στρατιῇ οὕτω ὥστε τετρακισχιλίων¹² κρατῆσαι νεκρῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας, τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισείας ἐς Ἄβας ἀνέθεσαν τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφούς· ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες¹³ οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστέωτες ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι ἐν Ἀβῇσι ἀνακέαται.

⁶ of gymnastics ⁷ lose; incur debt ⁸ expedition, campaign ⁹ be clever, tricky ¹⁰ plaster with gypsum ¹¹ 600 ¹² 4000 ¹³ portrait, statue

8.28

ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες πολιορκέοντας ἑαυτούς· ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἵππων αὐτῶν ἐλυμήναντο ἀνηκέστως. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ ἥ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ὑάμπολιν, ἐν ταύτῃ τάφρον μεγάλην ὀρύξαντες ἀμφορέας κενεοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κατέθηκαν, χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὁμοιώσαντες¹⁴ τῷ ἄλλῳ χώρῳ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπποι τὰ σκέλεα¹⁵ διεφθάρησαν.

8.29

τούτων δὴ σφι ἀμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἡγόρευον τάδε. «ὦ Φωκέες, ἤδη τι μᾶλλον γνωσιμαχέετ¹⁶ μὴ εἶναι ὅμοιοι ἡμῖν. πρόσθε τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, ὅσον χρόνον ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν ἦνδανε, πλέον αἰεὶ κοτε ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα· νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσοῦτο δυνάμεθα ὥστε ἐπ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστερηθῆναι¹⁷ καὶ πρὸς ἡνδραποδίσθαι¹⁸ ὑμέας. ἡμεῖς μέντοι τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακέομεν,¹⁹ ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γενέσθω ἀντ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑποδεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἀποτρέψειν.»

8.30

ταῦτά σφι ἐπαγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μῶνοι τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμήδιζον, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος²⁰ τὸ Θεσσαλῶν· εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἠῶξον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐμήδιζον ἂν οἱ Φωκέες. ταῦτα ἐπαγγελιομένων Θεσσαλῶν, οὔτε δώσειν ἔφασαν χρήματα, παρέχειν τε σφίσι Θεσσαλοῖσι ὁμοίως μῆδιζειν, εἰ ἄλλως βουλοίατο· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσεσθαι ἐκόντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

¹⁴ assimilate, liken ¹⁵ leg ¹⁶ submit; admit a mistake ¹⁷ steal, take ¹⁸ enslave ¹⁹ hold a grudge ²⁰ hatred

of it no longer put off their retreat, but set forth in the order in which they were severally posted, the Corinthians first and the Athenians last.

8.22

Themistocles however selected those ships of the Athenians which sailed best, and went round to the springs of drinking-water, cutting inscriptions on the stones there, which the Ionians read when they came to Artemision on the following day. These inscriptions ran thus: "Ionians, ye act not rightly in making expedition against the fathers of your race and endeavouring to enslave Hellas. Best of all were it that ye should come and be on our side; but if that may not be done by you, stand aside even now from the combat against us and ask the Carians to do the same as ye. If however neither of these two things is possible to be done, and ye are bound down by too strong compulsion to be able to make revolt, then in the action, when we engage battle, be purposely slack, remember that ye are descended from us and that our quarrel with the Barbarian took its rise at the first from you." Themistocles wrote thus, having, as I suppose, two things together in his mind, namely that either the inscriptions might elude the notice of the king and cause the Ionians to change and come over to the side on which he was, or that having been reported and denounced to Xerxes they might cause the Ionians to be distrusted by him, and so he might keep them apart from the sea-fights.

8.23

Themistocles then had set these inscriptions: and to the Barbarians there came immediately after these things a man of Histaia in a boat bringing word of the retreat of the Hellenes from Artemision. They however, not believing it, kept the messenger under guard and sent swift-sailing ships to look on before. Then these having reported the facts, at last as daylight was spreading over the sky, the whole armament sailed in a body to Artemision; and having stayed at this place till mid-day, after this they sailed to Histaia, and there arrived they took possession of the city of Histaia and overran all the villages which lie along the coast in the region of Ellopia, which is the land of Histaia.

8.24

While they were there, Xerxes, after he had made his dispositions with regard to the bodies of the dead, sent a herald to the fleet: and the dispositions which he made beforehand were as follows:— for all those of his army who were lying dead at Thermopylai, (and there were as many as twenty thousand in all), with the exception of about a thousand whom he left, he dug trenches and buried them, laying over them leaves and heaping earth upon them, that they might not be seen by the men of the fleet. Then when the herald had

gone over to Histaia, he gathered an assembly of the whole force and spoke these words: "Allies, king Xerxes grants permission to any one of you who desires it, to leave his post and to come and see how he fights against those most senseless men who looked to overcome the power of the king."

8.25

When the herald had proclaimed this, then boats were of all things most in request, so many were they who desired to see this sight; and when they had passed over they went through the dead bodies and looked at them: and every one supposed that those who were lying there were all Lacedemonians or Thespians, though the Helots also were among those that they saw: however, they who had passed over did not fail to perceive that Xerxes had done that which I mentioned about the bodies of his own dead; for in truth it was a thing to cause laughter even: on the one side there were seen a thousand dead bodies lying, while the others lay all gathered together in the same place, four thousand of them. During this day then they busied themselves with looking, and on the day after this they sailed back to the ships at Histaia, while Xerxes and his army set forth upon their march.

8.26

There had come also to them a few deserters from Arcadia, men in want of livelihood and desiring to be employed. These the Persians brought into the king's presence and inquired about the Hellenes, what they were doing; and one man it was who asked them this for all the rest. They told them that the Hellenes were keeping the Olympic festival and were looking on at a contest of athletics and horsemanship. He then inquired again, what was the prize proposed to them, for the sake of which they contended; and they told them of the wreath of olive which is given. Then Tigranes the son of Artabanos uttered a thought which was most noble, though thereby he incurred from the king the reproach of cowardice: for hearing that the prize was a wreath and not money, he could not endure to keep silence, but in the presence of all he spoke these words: "Ah! Mardonios, what kind of men are these against whom thou hast brought us to fight, who make their contest not for money but for honour!" Thus was it spoken by this man.

8.27

In the meantime, so soon as the disaster at Thermopylai had come about, the Thessalians sent a herald forthwith to the Phokians, against whom they had a grudge always, but especially because of the latest disaster which they had suffered: for when both the Thessalians themselves and their allies had invaded the Phokian land not many years before this expedition of the king, they had been defeated by the Phokians and handled by them roughly. For

the Phokians had been shut up in Mount Parnassos having with them a soothsayer, Tellias the Eleian; and this Tellias contrived for them a device of the following kind:— he took six hundred men, the best of the Phokians, and whitened them over with chalk, both themselves and their armour, and then he attacked the Thessalians by night, telling the Phokians beforehand to slay every man whom they should see not coloured over with white. So not only the sentinels of the Thessalians, who saw these first, were terrified by them, supposing it to be something portentous and other than it was, but also after the sentinels the main body of their army; so that the Phokians remained in possession of four thousand bodies of slain men and shields; of which last they dedicated half at Abai and half at Delphi; and from the tithe of booty got by this battle were made the large statues which are contending for the tripod in front of the temple at Delphi, and others similar to these are dedicated as an offering at Abai.

8.28

Thus had the Phokians done to the Thessalian footmen, when they were besieged by them; and they had done irreparable hurt to their cavalry also, when this had invaded their land: for in the pass which is by Hyampolis they had dug a great trench and laid down in it empty wine-jars; and then having carried earth and laid it on the top and made it like the rest of the ground, they waited for the Thessalians to invade their land. These supposing that they would make short work with the Phokians, riding in full course fell upon the wine-jars; and there the legs of their horses were utterly crippled.

8.29

Bearing then a grudge for both of these things, the Thessalians sent a herald and addressed them thus: “Phokians, we advise you to be more disposed now to change your minds and to admit that ye are not on a level with us: for in former times among the Hellenes, so long as it pleased us to be on that side, we always had the preference over you, and now we have such great power with the Barbarian that it rests with us to cause you to be deprived of your land and to be sold into slavery also. We however, though we have all the power in our hands, do not bear malice, but let there be paid to us fifty talents of silver in return for this, and we will engage to avert the dangers which threaten to come upon your land.”

8.30

Thus the Thessalians proposed to them; for the Phokians alone of all the people in those parts were not taking the side of the Medes, and this for no other reason, as I conjecture, but only because of their enmity with the Thessalians; and if the Thessalians had supported the cause of the Hellenes,

I am of opinion that the Phokians would have been on the side of the Medes. When the Thessalians proposed this, they said that they would not give the money, and that it was open to them to take the Median side just as much as the Thessalians, if they desired it for other reasons; but they would not with their own will be traitors to Hellas.

vocabulary

ἄγχοῦ near, nigh; like ~angina
 ἀκήρατος unharmed, pure
 ἄκρα at the edge, extreme ~acute
 ἄκρη at the edge, extreme
 ἄκρις -ός (f) hilltop ~acute
 ἄκρον crest, extremity ~acute
 ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part
 of a city ~acute
 ἀλαλαγμός shouting, noise
 ἀνάθημα -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift
 ~thesis
 ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear
 ἄντρον cave
 ἀπαλλαγὴ relief, escape
 ἄπιξις arrival
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine
 ἀποέργω exclude; divide; confine
 ἀπονοστέω go home
 ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp
 ἀπορρήγνυμι (ῶ) break off, apart
 ἀποσχίζω sever
 ἄρειος warlike
 ἄρρωδίη terror
 αὐτόθι on the spot
 αὐτόματος self-willed, accidental
 ~after
 βοά din, a shout
 βοεύς βοῦος (m) leather rope
 ~bovine
 δεῖμα -τος (n, 3) fear
 δηιώ be inimical, hurt, tear, kill
 διακρίνω (ι) separate, sort ~critic
 διαπέμπω send out/over
 διατάσσω arrange, array
 δρυμός (ῶ) thickets, a bunch ~druid
 εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic
 ἐκκομίζω remove; bury a corpse
 ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over
 ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἐμπίμπρημι burn up ~pyre

ἐμπίπτω fall into; attack ~petal
 ἐμπρήθω burn up
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence
 ἐνίημι put in; motivate ~jet
 ἐνσκήπτω throw, fall at
 ἐξήκοντα sixty
 ἐπείγω weigh upon, drive; (mid)
 hurry
 ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail
 ἐπιγίγνομαι succeed, come after
 ~genus
 ἐπίσταμαι know how, understand
 ~station
 ἐπιτρέχω run at, after
 ἐπιφλέγω burn through ~flame
 ἐπιχώριος native
 εὖρος -εος (n, 3) width; (caps) the
 east wind
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 ἥκιστος least; above all
 θησαυρός treasury ~treasure
 θῶμα a wonder, feeling of surprise
 ~theater
 καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall,
 arrive; be proper
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος
 καταβάλλω throw down, cast off
 ~ballistic
 κατασκευάζω equip, build
 κατατείνω stretch out
 κατίσχω control, keep; land
 ~ischemia
 κατορύσσω bury
 κατύπερθε above, from above
 κείρω shave, sever, raze; devour, use
 up
 κεραυνός lightning strike,
 thunderbolt
 κήρυγμα -τος (n, 3) proclamation
 κορυφή peak, crown
 μαντεύομαι to divine ~mantis

μεταξύ between	(pl noun) 200 meters
μητρόπολις -εως (f) mother city	στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc)
νηέω pile up, load a ship	στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;
νήος temple, shrine	(pl noun) 200 meters
οικήτης -ου (m, f) household; house	στρατιά army ~strategy
slave	στρατός common people/soldiers
οίκιον abode, nest ~economics	~strategy
ὄμιλος (f) crowd, throng ~homily	στρατόω be on a campaign
ὄον οὖ type of fruit	~strategy
ὅπόσος as many as, how many, how	συλάω (f) take off, despoil ~asylum
great	συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix
ὄρρωδία terror	συχνός long; many; extensive
ὄφεις ὄφεως (m) serpent ~ophidian	σχίζω split ~schism
πανδημεί the masses	τειχέω build
παραμείβω pass by ~amoeba	τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common
παραποτάμιος by a river	land
πάταγος chatter, cracking, splash	τέρας -ως (n, 3) omen, fetish
πέλας near, close	ὑπεξάγω lead to safety
πέραν (α) on the other side, across	~demagogue
περίειμι be superior to; be left over;	ὑπεξέρχομαι get out, escape
still exist	ὑπηρετέω serve
προκαθέζομαι preside; besiege	φάσμα phantom, apparition
προκάθημαι sit before; preside	φροντίζω consider, ponder
πρόκειμαι be placed by; be devoted	φύλαξ -χος (m) guard; sentry
to	~phylactery
προσδέω bind also; need also	φύσις -εως (f) nature (of a thing)
σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark	~physics
~semaphore	φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics
σιναμωρέω ravage	χαράδρα torrent, gorge
σίνομαι (f) rob, damage	χολώω anger, provoke ~choler
σόος safe, alive	χρηστήριον oracle, response
σπύδω 'push on,' get going, hurry	ψεύδω be false, deceive; (mid) to lie
~repudiate	~pseudo-
σταδίη (adj) standing upright, firm;	ᾠρος year

8.31

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοῖσι Φωκεῦσι ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον· τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρας ποδεὼν στενωὸς ταύτη κατατείνει, ὥς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κη εὖρος,¹ κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ Φωκίδος χώρας, ἥ περ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις² Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὦν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο³ ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμῆδιζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι.

8.32

ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἰρέουσι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέη δέξασθαι ὄμιλον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἢ κορυφή, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κεκμένη ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς· Τιθορέα οὖνομα αὐτῇ· ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀνηνείκαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν. οἱ δὲ πλευνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς Ἀμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκημένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἦγον τὸν στρατόν· ὁκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά.

8.33

πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτη παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν ποταμὸν ἐδηρίουν πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκανσαν Δρυμὸν⁴ πόλιν κατὰ δὲ Χαράδραν⁵ καὶ Ἐρωχον καὶ Τεθρώνιον καὶ Ἀμφίκαιαν καὶ Νέωνα καὶ Πεδιέας καὶ Τριτέας καὶ Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Ὑάμπολιν καὶ Παραποταμίους καὶ Ἄβας, ἔνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυροῖσί τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖσι κατεσκευασμένον· ἦν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρηστήριον αὐτόθι. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν. καὶ τινας

¹ width; (caps) the east wind ² mother city ³ rob, damage

⁴ thickets, a bunch ⁵ torrent, gorge

διώκοντες εἶλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖσι ὄρεσι, καὶ γυναῖκας τινὰς διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ πλήθους.

8.34

παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Πανοπέας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤδη διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο.⁶ τὸ μὲν πλείστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτούς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλήθος ἐμῆδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες· ἔσωζον δὲ τῇδε, δῆλον βουλόμενοι ποιέειν Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν.

8.35

οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὀρμέατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησὸν ἀπέργοντες, ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσιναμύρεον.⁷ καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλιῶν καὶ Αἰολιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως συλήσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλείᾳ Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἡπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἅμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοις ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

8.36

οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπύκατο, ἐν δείματι⁸ δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες ἐμαντεύοντο⁹ περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώραν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φὰς αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἐωντοῦ προκατῆσθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μὲν νυν καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαΐην

⁶ split ⁷ ravage ⁸ fear ⁹ to divine

διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησοῦ τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἀνηνείκαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἄμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπέξηλθον. πάντες δὲ ὦν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω.

8.37

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος,¹⁰ ὁρᾷ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὅπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξηννευμένα ἱρά, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἄπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἦε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεοῦσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπιεγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρόν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται σφι τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστί, ὅπλα ἀρήια αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων¹¹ ἄξια θωμάσαι μάλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρόν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ¹² ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέβαλον συχνοὺς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς¹³ ἐγίνετο.

8.38

συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντας σφέας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πληθὸς τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὥς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα ὥρων θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας μέζοντας ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας ἔπεσθαι σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας.

¹⁰ unharmed, pure ¹¹ phantom, apparition ¹² chatter, cracking, splash ¹³ shouting, noise

8.39

τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας, Φυλάκόν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεα¹⁴ ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλίας ὑπὸ τῇ Ὑαμπεΐῃ κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σόοι, ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μὲν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.

8.40

ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσασθαι ὡς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εἶρον οὐδὲν ἐόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπνιθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, ὡς τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιευμένους περιεῖναι καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ἀπιέναι. ταῦτα πνιθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησαν σφέων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα.

8.41

οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑωντῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπιξιν κήρυγμα¹⁵ ἐποίησαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροίζην ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἤκιστα. λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδιατᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ· λέγουσί τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ὡς

¹⁴ non-common land ¹⁵ proclamation

8.31

When these words were reported, then the Thessalians, moved with anger against the Phokians, became guides to the Barbarian to show him the way: and from the land of Trachis they entered Doris; for a narrow strip of the Dorian territory extends this way, about thirty furlongs in breadth, lying between Malis and Phokis, the region which was in ancient time called Dryopis; this land is the mother-country of the Dorians in Peloponnese. Now the Barbarians did not lay waste this land of Doris when they entered it, for the people of it were taking the side of the Medes, and also the Thessalians did not desire it.

8.32

When however from Doris they entered Phokis, they did not indeed capture the Phokians themselves; for some of them had gone up to the heights of Parnassos,— and that summit of Parnassos is very convenient to receive a large number, which lies by itself near the city of Neon, the name of it being Tithorea,— to this, I say, some of them had carried up their goods and gone up themselves; but most of them had conveyed their goods out to the Ozolian Locrians, to the city of Amphissa, which is situated above the Crissaian plain. The Barbarians however overran the whole land of Phokis, for so the Thessalians led their army, and all that they came to as they marched they burned or cut down, and delivered to the flames both the cities and the temples:

8.33

For they laid everything waste, proceeding this way by the river Kephisos, and they destroyed the city of Drymos by fire, and also the following, namely Charadra, Erochos, Tethronion, Amphikaia, Neon, Pedieis, Triteis, Elateia, Hyampolis, Parapotamioi and Abai, at which last-named place there was a temple of Apollo, wealthy and furnished with treasures and votive offerings in abundance; and there was then, as there is even now, the seat of an Oracle there: this temple they plundered and burnt. Some also of the Phokians they pursued and captured upon the mountains, and some women they did to death by repeated outrage.

8.34

Passing by Parapotamioi the Barbarians came to Panopeus, and from this point onwards their army was separated and went different ways. The largest and strongest part of the army, proceeding with Xerxes himself against Athens, entered the land of the Boeotians, coming into the territory of Orchomenos. Now the general body of the Boeotians was taking the side of the Medes,

and their cities were being kept by Macedonians appointed for each, who had been sent by Alexander; and they were keeping them this aim, namely in order to make it plain to Xerxes that the Boeotians were disposed to be on the side of the Medes.

8.35

These, I say, of the Barbarians took their way in this direction; but others of them with guides had set forth to go to the temple at Delphi, keeping Parnassos on their right hand: and all the parts of Phokis over which these marched they ravaged; for they set fire to the towns of Panopeus and Daulis and Aiolis. And for this reason they marched in that direction, parted off from the rest of the army, namely in order that they might plunder the temple at Delphi and deliver over the treasures there to king Xerxes: and Xerxes was well acquainted with all that there was in it of any account, better, I am told, than with the things which he had left in his own house at home, seeing that many constantly reported of them, and especially of the votive offerings of Croesus the son of Alyattes.

8.36

Meanwhile the Delphians, having been informed of this, had been brought to extreme fear; and being in great terror they consulted the Oracle about the sacred things, whether they should bury them in the earth or carry them forth to another land; but the god forbade them to meddle with these, saying that he was able by himself to take care of his own. Hearing this they began to take thought for themselves, and they sent their children and women over to Achaia on the other side of the sea, while most of the men themselves ascended up towards the summits of Parnassos and carried their property to the Corykian cave, while others departed for refuge to Amphissa of the Locrians. In short the Delphians had all left the town excepting sixty men and the prophet of the Oracle.

8.37

When the Barbarians had come near and could see the temple, then the prophet, whose name was Akeratos, saw before the cell arms lying laid out, having been brought forth out of the sanctuary, which were sacred and on which it was not permitted to any man to lay hands. He then was going to announce the portent to those of the Delphians who were still there, but when the Barbarians pressing onwards came opposite the temple of Athene Pronaia, there happened to them in addition portents yet greater than that which had come to pass before: for though that too was a marvel, that arms of war should appear of themselves laid forth outside the cell, yet this, which happened straightway after that, is worthy of marvel even beyond all other

prodigies. When the Barbarians in their approach were opposite the temple of Athene Pronaia, at this point of time from the heaven there fell thunderbolts upon them, and from Parnassos two crags were broken away and rushed down upon them with a great crashing noise falling upon many of them, while from the temple of Pronaia there was heard a shout, and a battle-cry was raised.

8.38

All these things having come together, there fell fear upon the Barbarians; and the Delphians having perceived that they were flying, came down after them and slew a great number of them; and those who survived fled straight to Boeotia. These who returned of the Barbarians reported, as I am informed, that in addition to this which we have said they saw also other miraculous things; for two men (they said) in full armour and of stature more than human followed them slaying and pursuing.

8.39

These two the Delphians say were the native heroes Phylacos and Autonoös, whose sacred enclosures are about the temple, that of Phylacos being close by the side of the road above the temple of Pronaia and that of Autonoös near Castalia under the peak called Hyampeia. Moreover the rocks which fell from Parnassos were still preserved even to my time, lying in the sacred enclosure of Athene Pronaia, into which they fell when they rushed through the ranks of the Barbarians. Such departure had these men from the temple.

8.40

Meanwhile the fleet of the Hellenes after leaving Artemision put in to land at Salamis at the request of the Athenians: and for this reason the Athenians requested them to put in to Salamis, namely in order that they might remove out of Attica to a place of safety their children and their wives, and also deliberate what they would have to do; for in their present case they meant to take counsel afresh, because they had been deceived in their expectation. For they had thought to find the Peloponnesians in full force waiting for the Barbarians in Boeotia; they found however nothing of this, but they were informed on the contrary that the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus with a wall, valuing above all things the safety of the Peloponnese and keeping this in guard; and that they were disposed to let all else go. Being informed of this, the Athenians therefore made request of them to put in to Salamis.

8.41

The others then put in their ships to land at Salamis, but the Athenians went over to their own land; and after their coming they made a proclamation

that every one of the Athenians should endeavour to save his children and household as best he could. So the greater number sent them to Troizen, but others to Egina, and others to Salamis, and they were urgent to put these out of danger, both because they desired to obey the oracle and also especially for another reason, which was this:— the Athenians say that a great serpent lives in the temple and guards the Acropolis; and they not only say this, but also they set forth for it monthly

vocabulary

ἀγγέλλω carry a message, announce
 ~angel
 ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part
 of a city ~acute
 ἀλογέω ignore ~legion
 ἀναισιμώ spend, use up
 ἀνάλωτος impregnable
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be
 freed, depart
 ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp
 ἀπορία difficulty, bottleneck ~pierce
 ἄπορος impassable, difficult
 ἀποφαίνω display, declare
 ἀριθμός number
 ἀσθένεια weakness
 βασιλῆις kingly
 δηῖω be inimical, hurt, tear, kill
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis
 διάβασις -εως (f) crossing, passage
 ~basis
 διατρίβω (ι) wear down, delay
 ~tribology
 δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent
 ἐβδομήκοντα 70
 ἐγκρατής firm, powerful
 ἐκδέχομαι receive; succeed to a
 position
 ἐκκαίδεκα 16
 ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over
 ἐκτός outside
 ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear
 ἐκχωρέω depart, back off, cede
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἐμπύμπρημι burn up ~pyre
 ἐμπρήθω burn up
 ἐνδέχομαι accept, admit, be possible
 ἐνέχω hold inside
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here
 ἐνθεν thence, whence
 ἐντίθημι load; mp: take to heart
 ~thesis

ἐντολή order
 ἐντός within
 ἐξανίστημι raise, bring/send out
 ἐξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka
 ἔξοδος (f) leaving, way out
 ἐπιβοηθέω come to aid
 ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose;
 (mid) think over
 ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious
 duty
 ἐπιτέλλω order ~apostle
 ἐπιφαίνω display ~photon
 ἐρήμιος empty
 ἐσχατάω be at the edge
 ἔσχατος farthest, last
 ἡπειρος (f) mainland, continent
 ἵζω to seat ~sit
 ἱρεΐη priestess
 καίπερ even if
 καταντίον facing, across from
 κρησφύγετον refuge
 μακεδνός tall, high
 μαντεῖον prophetic warning
 ~mantis
 μετονομάζω rename
 ναύαρχος admiral
 ναυμαχία naval warfare
 νησιώτης -ου (m, 1) insular
 ξύλινος wooden
 ὀγδῶκοντα eighty
 οἰκέτης -ου (m, 1) household; house
 slave
 οἰνώνης -ου (m, 1) wine merchant
 οἷστός arrow
 ὀκτώ eight ~octopus
 ὀλοίτροχος boulder
 ὁμολογίη agreement, consent
 ὁμouρέω be next to
 ὄχθος bank, hill
 πάγος frost; crag ~fang
 πάρεξ alongside, diverging from;
 (+ῆ or gen) except; (+acc) beyond,

alongside

πένης -τος (m) poor

πεντεκαίδεκα 15

πεντηκόντερος (f) ship with 50 oars

περιτίθηναι put around, endow with

~thesis

Πέρσης Persian

πλήρωμα -τος (n, 3) fullness

προδίδωμι betray

πρόθυμος (ō) willing, eager ~fume

πρόσειμι approach, draw near; add

~ion

προσίηναι be allowed near

προτίθηναι prefer, set out ~thesis

πυρπολέω tend a fire ~pole

πώγων -ος (m, 3) beard

σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark

~semaphore

σπεύδω 'push on,' get going, hurry

~repudiate

στρατός common people/soldiers

~strategy

συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion

συναμφότεροι both together

συνεκπίπτω be removed together

συνέρομαι come together

συρρέω flow together

συχνός long; many; extensive

ταμία (ᾱα) housekeeper ~tonsure

ταμίας -ως (m, 3) manager,

quartermaster

τιμωρία (ιι) vengeance, punishment

τοιόσδε such

τοξεύω shoot an arrow at ~toxic

τριηραρχέω command a trireme

τρίς 3 times

ὑπέκκειμαι be brought to safety

φράσσω fence in, protect

χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat)

~heir

χώρος place ~heir

ὡσαύτως in the same way

έοντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες· τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσα ἐστί. αὕτη δὴ ἡ μελιτόεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰὲ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη τότε ἦν ἄβυσσος. σημερινῆς δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης,¹ μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὥς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυῖς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὥς δέ σφι πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο, ἔπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

8.42

ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρει καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροίζηνος· ἐς γὰρ Πάγωνα² τὸν Τροιζηνίων λιμένα προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῷ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχουν καὶ ἀπὸ πολλίων πλεύνων. ναύαρχος μὲν νυν ἐπὶν ὧντος ὅς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδew ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιῆτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεος τοῦ βασιλείου ἑών· νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι.

8.43

ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οἷδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἑκκαίδεκα³ νέας παρεχόμενοι, Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Σικυνῶνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα, Τροιζῆνιοι δὲ πέντε, Ἑρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς, ἐόντες οὗτοι πλὴν Ἑρμιονέων Δωρικὸν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν⁴ ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἑρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες, ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλίων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρας ἐξαναστάντες.

8.44

οὗτοι μὲν νυν Πελοποννησίων ἐστρατεύοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἡπείρου, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νέας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, μοῦνοι· ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ οὐ συνεναυμάχησαν Πλαταιέες Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τοιόνδε τι πρῆγμα· ἀπαλλασσομένων

¹ priestess ² beard ³ 16 ⁴ tall, high

τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, ὡς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα, οἱ Πλαταιεὺς ἀποβάντες ἐς τὴν περαίην τῆς Βοιωτίας χώρας πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν ἐτράποντο τῶν οἰκετέων. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τούτους σώζοντες ἐλείφθησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί, ὀνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέος ἐκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθέος τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχου γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἴωνες.

8.45

Μεγαρές δὲ τῶντὸ πλήρωμα παρείχοντο καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Ἀμπρακιῶται δὲ ἐπτὰ νέας ἔχοντες ἐπεβοήθησαν, Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς, ἔθνος ἐόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου.

8.46

νησιωτέων δὲ Αἰγινῆται τριήκοντα παρείχοντο. ἦσαν μὲν σφι καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμένοι νέες, ἀλλὰ τῇσι μὲν τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἐφύλασσον, τριήκοντα δὲ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐναυμάχῃσαν. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εἰσὶ Δωριεὺς ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου· τῇ δὲ νήσῳ πρότερον οὖνομα ἦν Οἰνώνη.⁵ μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινῆτας Χαλκιδεὺς τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ εἴκοσι παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἐρετριεὺς τὰς ἐπτὰ· οὗτοι δὲ Ἴωνες εἰσὶ. μετὰ δὲ Κήιοι τὰς αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος ἐὼν Ἴωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων. Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσαρας, ἀποπεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτέων κατὰ περ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες⁶ δὲ τῶν ἐντολέων ἀπίκατο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας Δημοκρίτου σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου καὶ τότε τριηραρχέοντος.⁷ Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσὶ Ἴωνες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. Στυρέες δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νέας τὰς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Κύθιοι δὲ μίαν καὶ πεντηκόντερον, ἐόντες συναμφοτέροι οὗτοι Δρύοπες. καὶ Σερίφιοί τε καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔδοσαν μόνου νησιωτέων τῷ βαρβάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

⁵ wine merchant ⁶ ignore ⁷ command a trireme

8.47

οὔτοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο· Θεσπρωτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ ὁμouρέοντες⁸ Ἀμπρακιώτησι καὶ Λευκαδίοισι, οἳ ἐξ ἐσχατέων χωρέων ἐστρατεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων Κροτωνιῆται μῦνονοι ἦσαν οἳ ἐβοήθησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ μιῇ νηί, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ τρις πυθιονίκης Φάυλλος· Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί.

8.48

οἳ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι τριήρεας παρεχόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, Μήλιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Σερίφιοι πεντηκοντέρους· Μήλιοι μὲν γένος ἔοντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος δύο παρείχοντο, Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ Σερίφιοι Ἴωνες ἔοντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων μίαν ἑκάτεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκόσiai καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ.

8.49

ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημενέων πολίων, ἐβουλεύοντο, προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδew γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅκου δοκέει ἐπιτηδεότατον εἶναι ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοὶ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσί· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττική ἀπείτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων πέρι προετίθεε. αἱ γνώμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλείους συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχεῖν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὥς εἰ νικηθέωσι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἔοντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφί τιμωρή σὺδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ἐξοίσονται.

8.50

ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἦκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι.⁹ ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν

⁸ be next to ⁹ tend a fire

ἐκλελοιπότεων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἥκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδηίου. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον.

8.51

ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἓνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἐτέροισι μῆσι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἰρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινες ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἐόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμίνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον¹⁰ τὸ ἢ Πυθίῃ σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον¹¹ κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.

8.52

οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον,¹² τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρήιον πάγον,¹³ ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιοῦνδε· ὅκως στυππεῖον περὶ τοὺς οἰστοὺς περιθέντες αἴψαιαν, ἐτόξουν ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὅμως ἡμύνοντο, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος· οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμυχανῶντο καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλιγοτρόχους¹⁴ ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ξέρξην ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορήσει ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενον σφέας ελεῖν.

8.53

χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις ἔξοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε

¹⁰ prophetic warning¹¹ refuge¹² bank, hill¹³ frost; crag¹⁴ boulder

offerings, as if it were really there; and the offering consists of a honey-cake. This honey-cake, which before used always to be consumed, was at this time left untouched. When the priestess had signified this, the Athenians left the city much more and with greater eagerness than before, seeing that the goddess also had (as they supposed) left the Acropolis. Then when all their belongings had been removed out of danger, they sailed to the encampment of the fleet.

8.42

When those who came from Artemision had put their ships in to land at Salamis, the remainder of the naval force of the Hellenes, being informed of this, came over gradually to join them from Troizen: for they had been ordered beforehand to assemble at Pogon, which is the harbour of the Troizenians. There were assembled accordingly now many more ships than those which were in the sea-fight at Artemision, and from more cities. Over the whole was set as admiral the same man as at Artemision, namely Eurybiades the son of Eurycleides, a Spartan but not of the royal house; the Athenians however supplied by far the greatest number of ships and those which sailed the best.

8.43

The following were those who joined the muster:— From Peloponnese the Lacedemonians furnishing sixteen ships, the Corinthians furnishing the same complement as at Artemision, the Sikyonians furnishing fifteen ships, the Epidaurians ten, the Troizenians five, the men of Hermion three, these all, except the Hermionians, being of Doric and Makednian race and having made their last migration from Erineos and Pindos and the land of Dryopis; but the people of Hermion are Dryopians, driven out by Heracles and the Malians from the land which is now called Doris.

8.44

These were the Peloponnesians who joined the fleet, and those of the mainland outside the Peloponnese were as follows:— the Athenians, furnishing a number larger than all the rest, namely one hundred and eighty ships, and serving alone, since the Plataians did not take part with the Athenians in the sea-fight at Salamis, because when the Hellenes were departing from Artemision and come near Chalkis, the Plataians disembarked on the opposite shore of Boeotia and proceeded to the removal of their households. So being engaged in saving these, they had been left behind. As for the Athenians, in the time when the Pelasgians occupied that which is now called Hellas, they were Pelasgians, being named Cranaoi, and in the time of king Kecrops they came to be called Kecropidai; then when Erechtheus had succeeded to his

power, they had their name changed to Athenians; and after Ion the son of Xuthos became commander of the Athenians, they got the name from him of Ionians.

8.45

The Megarians furnished the same complement as at Artermision; the Amprakiots came to the assistance of the rest with seven ships, and the Leucadians with three, these being by race Dorians from Corinth.

8.46

Of the islanders the Eginetans furnished thirty; these had also other ships manned, but with them they were guarding their own land, while with the thirty which sailed best they joined in the sea-fight at Salamis. Now the Eginetans are Dorians from Epidauros, and their island had formerly the name of Oinone. After the Eginetans came the Chalkidians with the twenty ships which were at Artemision, and the Eretrians with their seven: these are Ionians. Next the Keians, furnishing the same as before and being by race Ionians from Athens. The Naxians furnished four ships, they having been sent out by the citizens of their State to join the Persians, like the other islanders; but neglecting these commands they had come to the Hellenes, urged thereto by Democritos, a man of repute among the citizens and at that time commander of a trireme. Now the Naxians are Ionians coming originally from Athens. The Styrians furnished the same ships as at Artemision, and the men of Kythnos one ship and one fifty-oared galley, these both being Dryopians. Also the Seriphians, the Siphnians and the Melians served with the rest; for they alone of the islanders had not given earth and water to the Barbarian.

8.47

These all who have been named dwelt inside the land of the Thesprotians and the river Acheron; for the Thesprotians border upon the land of the Amprakiots and Leucadians, and these were they who came from the greatest distance to serve: but of those who dwell outside these limits the men of Croton were the only people who came to the assistance of Hellas in her danger; and these sent one ship, of whom the commander was Phaÿlos, a man who had three times won victories at the Pythian games. Now the men of Croton are by descent Achaians.

8.48

All the rest who served in the fleet furnished triremes, but the Melians, Siphnian and Seriphians fifty-oared galleys: the Melians, who are by descent from Lacedemon, furnished two, the Siphnians and Seriphians, who are

Ionians from Athens, each one. And the whole number of the ships, apart from the fifty-oared galleys, was three hundred and seventy-eight.

8.49

When the commanders had assembled at Salamis from the States which have been mentioned, they began to deliberate, Eurybiades having proposed that any one who desired it should declare his opinion as to where he thought it most convenient to fight a sea-battle in those regions of which they had command; for Attica had already been let go, and he was now proposing the question about the other regions. And the opinions of the speakers for the most part agreed that they should sail to the Isthmus and there fight a sea-battle in defence of the Peloponnese, arguing that if they should be defeated in the sea-battle, supposing them to be at Salamis they would be blockaded in an island, where no help would come to them, but at the Isthmus they would be able to land where their own men were.

8.50

While the commanders from the Peloponnese argued thus, an Athenian had come in reporting that the Barbarians were arrived in Attica and that all the land was being laid waste with fire. For the army which directed its march through Boeotia in company with Xerxes, after it had burnt the city of the Thespians (the inhabitants having left it and gone to the Peloponnese) and that of the Plataians likewise, had now come to Athens and was laying waste everything in those regions. Now he had burnt Thespiei and Plataia because he was informed by the Thebans that these were not taking the side of the Medes.

8.51

So in three months from the crossing of the Hellespont, whence the Barbarians began their march, after having stayed there one month while they crossed over into Europe, they had reached Attica, in the year when Calliades was archon of the Athenians. And they took the lower city, which was deserted, and then they found that there were still a few Athenians left in the temple, either stewards of the temple or needy persons, who had barred the entrance to the Acropolis with doors and with a palisade of timber and endeavoured to defend themselves against the attacks of the enemy, being men who had not gone out to Salamis partly because of their poverty, and also because they thought that they alone had discovered the meaning of the oracle which the Pythian prophetess had uttered to them, namely that the “bulwark of wood” should be impregnable, and supposed that this was in fact the safe refuge according to the oracle, and not the ships.

8.52

So the Persians taking their post upon the rising ground opposite the Acropolis, which the Athenians call the Hill of Ares, proceeded to besiege them in this fashion, that is they put tow round about their arrows and lighted it, and then shot them against the palisade. The Athenians who were besieged continued to defend themselves nevertheless, although they had come to the extremity of distress and their palisade had played them false; nor would they accept proposals for surrender, when the sons of Peisistratos brought them forward: but endeavouring to defend themselves they contrived several contrivances against the enemy, and among the rest they rolled down large stones when the Barbarians approached the gates; so that for a long time Xerxes was in a difficulty, not being able to capture them.

8.53

In time however there appeared for the Barbarians a way of approach after their difficulties, since by the oracle it

vocabulary

ἀβουλία ill-advisedness
 ἀγγέλλω carry a message, announce
 ~angel
 ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part
 of a city ~acute
 ἀλίσκομαι be captured ~helix
 ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read,
 understand, persuade
 ἀναδιδάσκω teach, teach better
 ἀναζεύγνυμι (ῶ) yoke again
 ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover,
 resume
 ἀνατρέπω defeat, thwart ~trophie
 ἀνατρέχω run/extend up/away
 ἀνθρωπῆιος human
 ἄνοδος impassable; ascent
 ἀνοίγνυμι (ῶ) open
 ἀντιτίθην oppose, balance
 ἀξιόμαχος well matched for war
 ἀπαείρω depart ~aorta
 ἀπόκρημνος sheer, precipitous
 ἀποκρούω drive away
 ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp
 ἀρέσκω please, satisfy; make
 amends
 ἀριθμός number
 βαρύς heavy ~baritone
 βλαστάνω bud, sprout
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis
 διαδιδράσκω escape
 διαλύω break up; relax, weaken
 διασχεδάννυμι (ῶ) scatter, disperse
 διαχέω scatter
 εἰσβαίνω enter, board ~basis
 εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in
 ἐκὰς afar, far off
 ἐκβαίνω come forth, disembark
 ~basis
 ἐλαία olive, olive tree ~olive
 Ἑλλην Greek
 ἐμπύμπρημι burn up ~pyre

ἐμπρήθω burn up
 ἔνειμι be in ~ion
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here
 ἐνθύμιος (ῶ) taken to heart ~fume
 ἔνιοι some
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command
 ἐνύπνιος seen in dreams
 ἐξαγγέλλω bring news out ~angel
 ἐπιμιμνήσκομαι remember, speak
 about ~mnemonic
 ἐπίπαν =ἐπί
 ἐπιστρέφω turn towards ~atrophy
 ἐπιφέρω bestow, impute ~bear
 ἐπιψηφίζω put to a vote
 ἐρέσσω to row ~row
 ἐρίζω struggle, contend
 ἐστία hearth ~Hestia
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 εὐτυχέω be lucky, prosper, succeed
 ἥκιστος least; above all
 ἡπειρος (f) mainland, continent
 ἡπιος kind (adj)
 θάλλω bloom, flourish, abound
 ~thallium
 θεοπρόπιον prophecy ~theology
 θόρυβος noise, clamor
 θύω (ῶ) rush; sacrifice ~θύω
 ἱκέτης -ου (m, 1) suppliant, refugee
 ἱστῖον sail ~stand
 καίτοι and yet; and in fact; although
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος
 καταλαμβάνω seize, understand,
 catch, overtake; (mp) happen
 ~epilepsy
 καταλέγω relate in detail, choose;
 enroll ~legion
 καταφεύγω resort to, flee to, appeal
 to ~fugitive
 κατύπερθε above, from above
 κερδαίνω profit, take advantage
 κτίζω found, populate ~oxytocin
 κυρόω (ῶ) confirm, sanction

λόγιος learned, eloquent; oracle
μαρτύριον testimony, proof
μεταβουλεύω change one's mind
 ~volunteer
μηχανή machine; mechanism, way
ναυμαχία naval warfare
οικήτης -ου (m, 1) household; house
 slave
ὄον οὖ type of fruit
ὀπισθεν behind, hereafter
ὀρρωδέω dread, shrink from
οὐδαμὸς not anyone
ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view
 ~thanatopsis
παντελής complete, absolute
παρίζω sit beside ~sit
πέλαγος -ους (n, 3) the open sea
 ~pelagic
περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive;
 attain ~genus
περίειμι be superior to; be left over;
 still exist
περιέχω (mid) protect
Πέρσης Persian
πηχυαῖος a cubit long
προβαίνω surpass, continue ~basis
πρόκειμαι be placed by; be devoted
 to
προσχωρέω go to, join, support
προτίθημι prefer, set out ~thesis
προφέρω bring forth ~bear

ράπιζω thrash, slap, beat
ρίπτέω hurl
σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark
 ~semaphore
σιγάω (ι) be silent
σοῦσον lily
στεφανώ crown
στρατιά army ~strategy
στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
συγκαλέω call together ~gallo
συλάω (υ) take off, despoil ~asylum
συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
συμβάλλω pit against; compare;
 mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic
σύμφορος accompanying; suitable
συνέδριον council
σφέτερος their
τοιόσδε such
τοσόσδε this much
ὑπέκκειμαι be brought to safety
ὑποθήκη advice, warning; deposit
ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a
 person behind ~eclipse
φονεύω kill
φυγάς -δος (m, 3) exile, refugee
 ~fugitive
χρῆζω need ~chresard
χρηστός useful; brave, worthy
χώρος place ~heir
ὥρος year

γάρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον¹ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. ἔμπροσθε ὦν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μὴ κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίῃ ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησαν τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὥς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐφόνεον· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφί πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

8.54

σχὼν δὲ παντελέως² τὰς Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα³ ἄγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνῳ ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφιν εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας,⁴ ἑωυτῷ δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρὰ ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἴτε δὴ ὦν ὄψιν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρόν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

8.55

τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἐνι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὥς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, ὥρων βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον⁵ ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

¹ prophecy ² complete, absolute ³ lily ⁴ exile, refugee ⁵ a cubit long

8.56

οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὥς σφι ἐξηγγέλθη ὡς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο ὥς ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἰστία αἰείροντο ὥς ἀποθυσόμενοι· τοιοῖ τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχέειν. νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας.

8.57

ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἶρετο Μνησίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ὃ τι σφι εἴη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε «οὔτ' ἄρα, ἦν ἀπαείρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις· κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἕκαστοι τρέψονται, καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ὥστε μὴ οὐ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιήν· ἀπολέεται τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλίῃσι. ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, ἴθι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνη ἀναγνώσαι Εὐρυβιάδην μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ μένειν.»

8.58

κάρτα τε τῷ Θεμιστοκλεί ἤρεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἦγε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἐθέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμῖξαι· ὃ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νέα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἴ τι θέλει. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς παριζόμενός οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνά τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἑωυτοῦ ποιούμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθείς, ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρηζῶν ἐκ τε τῆς νεὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον.

8.59

ὥς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι οἶα κάρτα δεόμενος· λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος

στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε «ὦ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ραπίζονται.»⁶ ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη «οἱ δέ γε ἐγκαταλείπόμενοι οὐ στεφανοῦνται.»

8.60

τότε μὲν ἡπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν ἔτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὥς ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρῳσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος διαδρήσονται· παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορέειν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων τάδε.. «ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λόγοισι ἀναζεύξης πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγῃ ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφορον ἐστὶ νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας· τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγιναν, ἣν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν.⁷ ἅμα δὲ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔψεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός, καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι.. ἣν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσης, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εὐρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στενωῷ συμβάλλοντες νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι πρὸς πολλὰς, ἣν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνῃ, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν στενωῷ ναυμαχέειν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστὶ, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων. αὐτὶς δὲ Σαλαμῖς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὲν καὶ τόδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα· ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῳ, οὐδὲ σφέας, εἴ περ εὖ φρονέεις, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.. ἣν δέ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσί, οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε προβήσονται ἐκαστέρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίασί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι καὶ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μὲν νυν

⁶ thrash, slap, beat ⁷ be lucky, prosper, succeed

βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπίας γνώμας.»

8.61

ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὖτις ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἐστὶ πατρὶς καὶ Εὐρυβιάδην οὐκ ἔων ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρί· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δέ οἱ προσέφερε ὅτι ἡλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθηναί. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς κείνόν τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε, ἑωυτοῖσι τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἴη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῇ μέζων ἢ περ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ' ἂν διηκόσαιο νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμέναι· οὐδαμῶς⁸ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούεσθαι.

8.62

σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδην, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα. «σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσσει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεο. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσης, ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς ἔχομεν ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας κομειύμεθα ἐς Σίρην τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἣ περ ἡμετέρη τε ἐστὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ' ἡμέων αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων.»

8.63

ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης· δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μὴ σφεας ἀπολίπωσι, ἣν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγάγη τὰς νέας· ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι⁹ οἱ λοιποί. ταύτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαναυμαχέειν.

⁸ not anyone ⁹ well matched for war

was destined that all of Attica which is on the mainland should come to be under the Persians. Thus then it happened that on the front side of the Acropolis behind the gates and the way up to the entrance, in a place where no one was keeping guard, nor would one have supposed that any man could ascend by this way, here men ascended by the temple of Aglauros the daughter of Kecrops, although indeed the place is precipitous: and when the Athenians saw that they had ascended up to the Acropolis, some of them threw themselves down from the wall and perished, while others took refuge in the sanctuary of the temple. Then those of the Persians who had ascended went first to the gates, and after opening these they proceeded to kill the suppliants; and when all had been slain by them, they plundered the temple and set fire to the whole of the Acropolis.

8.54

Then Xerxes, having fully taken possession of Athens, sent to Susa a mounted messenger to report to Artabanos the good success which they had. And on the next day after sending the herald he called together the exiles of the Athenians who were accompanying him, and bade them go up to the Acropolis and sacrifice the victims after their own manner; whether it was that he had seen some vision of a dream which caused him to give this command, or whether perchance he had a scruple in his mind because he had set fire to the temple. The Athenian exiles did accordingly that which was commanded them:

8.55

And the reason why I made mention of this I will here declare:— there is in this Acropolis a temple of Erechtheus, who is said to have been born of the Earth, and in this there is an olive-tree and a sea, which (according to the story told by the Athenians) Poseidon and Athene, when they contended for the land, set as witnesses of themselves. Now it happened to this olive-tree to be set on fire with the rest of the temple by the Barbarians; and on the next day after the conflagration those of the Athenians who were commanded by the king to offer sacrifice, saw when they had gone up to the temple that a shoot had run up from the stock of the tree about a cubit in length. These then made report of this.

8.56

The Hellenes meanwhile at Salamis, when it was announced to them how it had been as regards the Acropolis of the Athenians, were disturbed so greatly that some of the commanders did not even wait for the question to be decided which had been proposed, but began to go hastily to their ships and to put up their sails, meaning to make off with speed; and by those of

them who remained behind it was finally decided to fight at sea in defence of the Isthmus. So night came on, and they having been dismissed from the council were going to their ships:

8.57

And when Themistocles had come to his ship, Mnesiphilos an Athenian asked him what they had resolved; and being informed by him that it had been determined to take out the ships to the Isthmus and fight a battle by sea in defence of the Peloponnese, he said: "Then, if they set sail with the ships from Salamis, thou wilt not fight any more sea-battles at all for the fatherland, for they will all take their way to their several cities and neither Eurybiades nor any other man will be able to detain them or to prevent the fleet from being dispersed: and Hellas will perish by reason of evil counsels. But if there by any means, go thou and try to unsettle that which has been resolved, if perchance thou mayest persuade Eurybiades to change his plans, so as to stay here."

8.58

This advice very much commended itself to Themistocles; and without making any answer he went to the ship of Eurybiades. Having come thither he said that he desired to communicate to him a matter which concerned the common good; and Eurybiades bade him come into his ship and speak, if he desired to say anything. Then Themistocles sitting down beside him repeated to him all those things which he had heard Mnesiphilos say, making as if they were his own thoughts, and adding to them many others; until at last by urgent request he persuaded him to come out of his ship and gather the commanders to the council.

8.59

So when they were gathered together, before Eurybiades proposed the discussion of the things for which he had assembled the commanders, Themistocles spoke with much vehemence being very eager to gain his end; and as he was speaking, the Corinthian commander, Adeimantos the son of Okytos, said: "Themistocles, at the games those who stand forth for the contest before the due time are beaten with rods." He justifying himself said: "Yes, but those who remain behind are not crowned."

8.60

At that time he made answer mildly to the Corinthian; and to Eurybiades he said not now any of those things which he had said before, to the effect that if they should set sail from Salamis they would disperse in different directions; for it was not seemly for him to bring charges against the allies

in their presence: but he held to another way of reasoning, saying: "Now it is in thy power to save Hellas, if thou wilt follow my advice, which is to stay here and here to fight a sea-battle, and if thou wilt not follow the advice of those among these men who bid thee remove the ships to the Isthmus. For hear both ways, and then set them in comparison. If thou engage battle at the Isthmus, thou wilt fight in an open sea, into which it is by no means convenient for us that we go to fight, seeing that we have ships which are heavier and fewer in number than those of the enemy. Then secondly thou wilt give up to destruction Salamis and Megara and Egina, even if we have success in all else; for with their fleet will come also the land-army, and thus thou wilt thyself lead them to the Peloponnese and wilt risk the safety of all Hellas. If however thou shalt do as I say, thou wilt find therein all the advantages which I shall tell thee of:— in the first place by engaging in a narrow place with few ships against many, if the fighting has that issue which it is reasonable to expect, we shall have very much the better; for to fight a sea-fight in a narrow space is for our advantage, but to fight in a wide open space is for theirs. Then again Salamis will be preserved, whither our children and our wives have been removed for safety; and moreover there is this also secured thereby, to which ye are most of all attached, namely that by remaining here thou wilt fight in defence of the Peloponnese as much as if the fight were at the Isthmus; and thou wilt not lead the enemy to Peloponnese, if thou art wise. Then if that which I expect come to pass and we gain a victory with our ships, the Barbarians will not come to you at the Isthmus nor will they advance further than Attica, but they will retire in disorder; and we shall be the gainers by the preservation of Megara and Egina and Salamis, at which place too an oracle tells us that we shall get the victory over our enemies. Now when men take counsel reasonably for themselves, reasonable issues are wont as a rule to come, but if they do not take counsel reasonably, then God is not wont generally to attach himself to the judgment of men."

8.61

When Themistocles thus spoke, the Corinthian Adeimantos inveighed against him for the second time, bidding him to be silent because he had no native land, and urging Eurybiades not to put to the vote the proposal of one who was a citizen of no city; for he said that Themistocles might bring opinions before the council if he could show a city belonging to him, but otherwise not. This objection he made against him because Athens had been taken and was held by the enemy. Then Themistocles said many evil things of him and of the Corinthians both, and declared also that he himself and his countrymen had in truth a city and a land larger than that of the Corinthians, so long as they had two hundred ships fully manned; for none of the Hellenes would be able to repel the Athenians if they came to fight against them.

8.62

Signifying this he turned then to Eurybiades and spoke yet more urgently: “If thou wilt remain here, and remaining here wilt show thyself a good man, well; but if not, thou wilt bring about the overthrow of Hellas, for upon the ships depends all our power in the war. Nay, but do as I advise. If, however, thou shalt not do so, we shall forthwith take up our households and voyage to Siris in Italy, which is ours already of old and the oracles say that it is destined to be colonised by us; and ye, when ye are left alone and deprived of allies such as we are, will remember my words.”

8.63

When Themistocles thus spoke, Eurybiades was persuaded to change his mind; and, as I think, he changed his mind chiefly from fear lest the Athenians should depart and leave them, if he should take the ships to the Isthmus; for if the Athenians left them and departed, the rest would be no longer able to fight with the enemy. He chose then this counsel, to stay in that place and decide matters there by a sea-fight.

vocabulary

ἀγαίομαι wonder, admire; resent, begrudge
 ἀδαήμων ignorant of ~didactic
 αἰνέω praise, assent, acquiesce in
 ἀκροβολίζομαι fight with missiles
 ἀνακινδυνεύω (υ) run a risk, more risk
 ἀνάκρισις -εως (f) examination
 ἀναπλέω sail up, through
 ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear
 ἄνειμι go up, inland, to, back ~ion
 ἀνθίστημι face, make a stand
 ~station
 ἀντέχω hold up as protection
 against ~ischemia
 ἀντιθέω run against
 ἀντιτίθην oppose, balance
 ἀπαλλαξείω wish to get rid of
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart
 ἀποβάλλω throw away, lose
 ἀποδείκνυμι (υ) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine
 ἀπολαμβάνω receive, recover, take aside, cut off ~epilepsy
 ἀποπειράομαι try, try out
 ἀριθμός number
 ἄρρωδίη terror
 ἅτε as if; since
 ἀτρεμίζω not be restless
 αὐτόθεν from that place
 ἀφύλακτος unguarded ~phylactery
 δειμαίνω be afraid
 δέος fear ~Deimos
 δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis
 διασχεδάννυμι (υ) scatter, disperse
 διατάσσω arrange, array
 ἐθελοκακέω wimp out; act maliciously

εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic
 ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear
 ἐλάχιστος smallest, shortest, fewest
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἐμποδών getting in the way
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here
 ἐπέξειμι attack, prosecute
 ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail
 ἐπιγίγνομαι succeed, come after
 ~genus
 ἐπικαλέω call upon
 ἐπιμιμνήσκομαι remember, speak about ~mnemonic
 ἐπιπλέω sail on, over ~float
 ἐρήμιος empty
 ἐρημιώω raze, bereave; desert, isolate
 εὖνοος kindly; favorable
 εὐπετής coming out well; (adv) fortunately
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 ἐφεξῆς in order, in a row
 ἡδομαι be pleased, enjoy
 ~hedonism
 ἥκιστος least; above all
 ἡπειρος (f) mainland, continent
 ἡσυχία peace and quiet
 ἡσυχος quiet
 θεάομαι look at, behold, consider
 ~theater
 ἵζω to seat ~sit
 καίτοι and yet; and in fact; although
 κακώ harm, disfigure ~cacophony
 κάος (n, 3) flammable thing
 καταδοκέω (ᾱ) wait for the outcome of
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος
 καταδοκέω suspect, be prejudiced
 κατασκήπτω fall upon
 κείρω shave, sever, raze; devour, use up
 κονιορτός cloud of dust
 λόγιμος notable

μάρτυρος witness	σπουδαῖος quick, active; excellent
μάρτυς witness	στρατιά army ~strategy
μετάπεμπτος sent for	στρατός common people/soldiers ~strategy
μηχανάομαι build, contrive ~mechanism	στρατώ be on a campaign ~strategy
μυέω initiate into	συμφορά collecting; accident, misfortune
μυστικός mystical	συντρέχω rush together
ναυμαχία naval warfare	σφέτερος their
νέφος -εος (n, 3) cloud ~nebula	ταξίαρχος military rank
νησιώτης -ου (m, 1) insular	τιμωρία (ιι) vengeance, punishment
ὄον οὖ type of fruit	τρισμύριοι (ιδ) 30,000
ὀρρωδέω dread, shrink from	τύραννος tyrant
ὀρρωδία terror	ὕπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a person behind ~eclipse
ὀρτή holiday, feast	ὕστεραίος the next; later
οὐκω no longer	φείδομαι spare, not use/harm ~aphid
ὄφελος -εος (n, 3) a use, a help	φθέγγομαι make a sound, utter ~diphthong
πανστρατιῇ with the whole army	φθονέω envy
πάντως by all means	φυγὰς -δος (m, 3) exile, refugee ~fugitive
παραγγέλλω transmit; order, summon, recommend, encourage	φυγή flight, means of escape ~fugitive
παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn	χειμών -ος (m, 3) winter, storm
πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder	χρηστός useful; brave, worthy
περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist	χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat) ~heir
Πέρσης Persian	
πρέπω be conspicuous, preeminent ~refurbish	
προβαίνω surpass, continue ~basis	
προκαίω burn before	
σεισμός shaking	
σιγάω (ι) be silent	

8.64

οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισάμενοι,¹ ἐπεῖτε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἡμέρῃ τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμός ἐγένετο ἔν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ἔδοξε δέ σφι εὐξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους. ὡς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίουν ταῦτα· εὐξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν.

8.65

ἔφη δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος φυγὰς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγμος² γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπεῖτε ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω ἐοῦσα ἔρημος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἔων ἅμα Δημαρήτῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, ἰδεῖν δὲ κονιορτὸν³ χωρέοντα ἀπ' Ἐλευσίνος ὡς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστά κη τρισυρῶν,⁴ ἀποθωμάζειν τε σφέας τὸν κονιορτὸν ὅτεων κοτὲ εἴη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν⁵ ἱακχον. εἶναι δ' ἀδαήμονα⁶ τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι γνωμένων τὸν Δημάρητον, εἰρέσθαι τε αὐτὸν ὃ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἴη τοῦτο. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰπεῖν «Δημάρητε, οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέος στρατιῇ· τὰδε γὰρ ἀρίδηλα, ἐρήμου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπ' Ἐλευσίνος ἰὸν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισι. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλείῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔσται, ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν δὲ ὀρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυεῖται.⁷ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀκούεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῇ ἱακχάζουσι.» πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρητον «σίγα τε καὶ μηδενί

¹ fight with missiles ² notable ³ cloud of dust ⁴ 30,000

⁵ mystical ⁶ ignorant of ⁷ initiate into

ἄλλω τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἴπῃς· ἦν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνενεχθῆ τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ σε οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ρύσασθαι οὔτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἷς. ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἥσυχος,⁸ περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε θεοῖσι μελήσει.» τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραινέειν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κοινορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὕτω δὴ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξῳ ἀπολέεσθαι μέλλοι. ταῦτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

8.66

οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξῳ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχίνος θεησάμενοι τὸ τρώμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλεον δι' Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῃσι τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, κατὰ τε ἡπειρον καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ ἀπικόμενοι, ἢ ἐπὶ τε Σηπιάδα ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας· ἀντιθῆσω γὰρ τοῖσί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶν ἀπολομένοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι καὶ τῇσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίῃσι τούσδε τοὺς τότε οὐκῶ ἐπομένους βασιλεί, Μηλιάς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ Δοκροῦς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατιῇ ἐπομένους πλὴν Θεσπείων καὶ Πλαταιέων, καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Τηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νησιώτας πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολίων τῶν ἐπεμνήσθημεν πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα. ὅσῳ γὰρ δὴ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσούτῳ πλέω ἔθνεά οἱ εἶπετο.

8.67

ἐπεὶ ὦν ἀπίκато ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πάντες οὗτοι πλὴν Παρίων Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐν Κύθνῳ ἐκαρὰδόκεον⁹ τὸν πόλεμον κῆ¹⁰ ἀποβήσεται, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὡς ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον, ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ἐθέλων σφι συμμῖζαί τε καὶ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων τὰς γνώμας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενος προΐζετο, παρήσαν

⁸ quiet ⁹ wait for the outcome of ¹⁰ flammable thing

μετάπεμπτοι οἱ τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ ταξίαρχοι¹¹ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ ἕζοντο ὥς σφι βασιλεὺς ἐκάστω τιμὴν ἐδεδώκεε, πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς, μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὄλλοι. ὥς δὲ κόσμῳ ἐπεξῆς ἕζοντο, πέμψας Ξέρξης Μαρδόνιον εἰρώτα ἀποπειρώμενος ἐκάστου εἰ ναυμαχίην ποίειτο.

8.68

ἐπεὶ δὲ περιῶν εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδωνίου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τὸντὸ γνῶμην ἐξεφέροντο κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην ποιεέσθαι, Ἀρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἔφη.. «εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ὥς ἐγὼ τάδε λέγω, οὔτε κακίστη γενομένη ἐν τῇσι ναυμαχίῃσι τῇσι πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμένη. δέσποτα, τὴν δὲ εὐοσαν γνῶμην με δίκαιον ἐστὶ ἀποδείκνυσθαι, τὰ τυγχάνω φρονέουσα ἄριστα ἐς πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ τοι τάδε λέγω, φείδεο τῶν νεῶν μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποίεο. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσονες τοσοῦτο εἰσὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τί δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμαχίῃσι ἀνακινδυνεύειν; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν περ εἵνεκα ὀρμήθης στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδὼν δέ τοι ἴσταται οὐδεὶς· οἱ δέ τοι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπήλλαξαν οὕτω ὥς κείνους ἔπρεπε.. τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀποβήσεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων πρήγματα, τοῦτο φράσω. ἦν μὲν μὴ ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχίην ποιεύμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ ἔχῃς πρὸς γῇ μένων ἢ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὐπετέως¹² τοι δέσποτα χωρήσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας. οὐ γὰρ οἶοί τε πολλὸν χρόνον εἰσὶ τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ σφέας διασκεδᾶς, κατὰ πόλιν δὲ ἕκαστοι φεύγονται. οὔτε γὰρ σῖτος πάρα σφι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, οὔτε αὐτοὺς οἰκός, ἦν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνῃς τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, ἀτρεμεῖν¹³ τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἦκοντας, οὐδέ σφι μελήσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ναυμαχεῖν.. ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχῆσαι, δαιμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικός στρατὸς κακῶθῃς τὸν πεζὸν προσδηλήσῃται. πρὸς δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βάλεν, ὥς τοῖσι μὲν χρηστοῖσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοῖσι δὲ κακοῖσι

¹¹ military rank ¹² coming out well; (adv) fortunately ¹³ not be restless

χρηστοί. σοὶ δὲ ἔόντι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ δοῦλοι εἰσί, οἳ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι ἔοντες Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὄφελος ἐστὶ οὐδέν.»

8.69

ταῦτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν εὖνοοι¹⁴ τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο τοὺς λόγους ὡς κακόν τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔα ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι· οἳ δὲ ἀγαιόμενοί τε καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἅτε ἐν πρώτοισι τετιμημένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἐτέρποντο τῇ ἀνακρίσει ὡς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν αἱ γνώμαι ἐς Ξέρξην, κάρτα τε ἦσθη τῇ γνώμῃ τῇ Ἀρτεμισίης, καὶ νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαίην¹⁵ εἶναι τότε πολλῶ μᾶλλον αἶνεε. ὅμως δὲ τοῖσι πλέοσι πείθεσθαι ἐκέλευε, τάδε καταδόξας, πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοίῃ σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν ὡς οὐ παρεόντος αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκευάστο θεήσασθαι ναυμαχέοντας.

8.70

ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλέειν, ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἡσυχίην. τότε μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι· νύξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο· οἳ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἀρρωδίη, οὐκ ἦκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου· ἀρρώδεον δὲ ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμνοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παροῦσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

8.71

καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο ὅκως κατ' ἡπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὥς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔζοντο, καὶ σφι ἐπὶ στρατηγὸς

¹⁴ kindly; favorable ¹⁵ quick, active; excellent

8.64

Thus those at Salamis, after having skirmished with one another in speech, were making preparations for a sea-fight there, since Eurybiades had so determined: and as day was coming on, at the same time when the sun rose there was an earthquake felt both on the land and on the sea: and they determined to pray to the gods and to call upon the sons of Aiacos to be their helpers. And as they had determined, so also they did; for when they had prayed to all the gods, they called Ajax and Telamon to their help from Salamis, where the fleet was, and sent a ship to Egina to bring Aiacos himself and the rest of the sons of Aiacos.

8.65

Moreover Dicaeos the son of Theokydes, an Athenian, who was an exile and had become of great repute among the Medes at this time, declared that when the Attic land was being ravaged by the land-army of Xerxes, having been deserted by the Athenians, he happened then to be in company with Demaratos the Lacedemonian in the Thriasian plain; and he saw a cloud of dust going up from Eleusis, as if made by a company of about thirty thousand men, and they wondered at the cloud of dust, by what men it was caused. Then forthwith they heard a sound of voices, and Dicaeos perceived that the sound was the mystic cry Iacchos; but Demaratos, having no knowledge of the sacred rites which are done at Eleusis, asked him what this was that uttered the sound, and he said: "Demaratos, it cannot be but that some great destruction is about to come to the army of the king: for as to this, it is very manifest, seeing that Attica is deserted, that this which utters the sound is of the gods, and that it is going from Eleusis to help the Athenians and their allies: if then it shall come down in the Peloponnese, there is danger for the king himself and for the army which is upon the mainland, but if it shall direct its course towards the ships which are at Salamis, the king will be in danger of losing his fleet. This feast the Athenians celebrate every year to the Mother and the Daughter; and he that desires it, both of them and of the other Hellenes, is initiated in the mysteries; and the sound of voices which thou hearest is the cry Iacchos which they utter at this feast." To this Demaratos said: "Keep silence and tell not this tale to any other man; for if these words of thine be reported to the king, thou wilt surely lose thy head, and neither I nor any other man upon earth will be able to save thee: but keep thou quiet, and about this expedition the gods will provide." He then thus advised, and after the cloud of dust and the sound of voices there came a mist which was borne aloft and carried towards Salamis to the camp of the Hellenes: and thus they learnt (said he) that the fleet of Xerxes was destined to be destroyed. Such was the report made by Dicaeos the son of Theodykes, appealing to Demaratos and others also as witnesses.

8.66

Meanwhile those who were appointed to serve in the fleet of Xerxes, having gazed in Trachis upon the disaster of the Lacedemonians and having passed over from thence to Histiaia, after staying three days sailed through Euripos, and in other three days they had reached Phaleron. And, as I suppose, they made their attack upon Athens not fewer in number both by land and sea than when they had arrived at Sepias and at Thermopylai: for against those of them who perished by reason of the storm and those who were slain at Thermopylai and in the sea-fights at Artemision, I will set those who at that time were not yet accompanying the king, the Malians, Dorians, Locrians, and Boeotians (who accompanied him in a body, except the Thespians and Plataians), and moreover those of Carystos, Andros, and Tenos, with all the other islanders except the five cities of which I mentioned the names before; for the more the Persian advanced towards the centre of Hellas, the more nations accompanied him.

8.67

So then, when all these had come to Athens except the Parians (now the Parians had remained behind at Kythnos waiting to see how the war would turn out),— when all the rest, I say, had come to Phaleron, then Xerxes himself came down to the ships desiring to visit them and to learn the opinions of those who sailed in them: and when he had come and was set in a conspicuous place, then those who were despots of their own nations or commanders of divisions being sent for came before him from their ships, and took their seats as the king had assigned rank to each one, first the king of Sidon, then he of Tyre, and after them the rest: and when they were seated in due order, Xerxes sent Mardonios and inquired, making trial of each one, whether he should fight a battle by sea.

8.68

So when Mardonios went round asking them, beginning with the king of Sidon, the others gave their opinions all to the same effect, advising him to fight a battle by sea, but Artemisia spoke these words:— (a) “Tell the king I pray thee, Mardonios, that I, who have proved myself not to be the worst in the sea-fights which have been fought near Euboea, and have displayed deeds not inferior to those of others, speak to him thus: Master, it is right that I set forth the opinion which I really have, and say that which I happen to think best for thy cause: and this I say,— spare thy ships and do not make a sea-fight; for the men are as much stronger than thy men by sea, as men are stronger than women. And why must thou needs run the risk of sea-battles? Hast thou not Athens in thy possession, for the sake of which thou didst set

forth on thy march, and also the rest of Hellas? and no man stands in thy way to resist, but those who did stand against thee came off as it was fitting that they should. (b) Now the manner in which I think the affairs of thy adversaries will have their issue, I will declare. If thou do not hasten to make a sea-fight, but keep thy ships here by the land, either remaining here thyself or even advancing on to the Peloponnese, that which thou hast come to do, O master, will easily be effected; for the Hellenes are not able to hold out against thee for any long time, but thou wilt soon disperse them and they will take flight to their several cities: since neither have they provisions with them in this island, as I am informed, nor is it probable that if thou shalt march thy land-army against the Peloponnese, they who have come from thence will remain still; for these will have no care to fight a battle in defence of Athens. (c) If however thou hasten to fight forthwith, I fear that damage done to the fleet may ruin the land-army also. Moreover, O king, consider also this, that the servants of good men are apt to grow bad, but those of bad men good; and thou, who art of all men the best, hast bad servants, namely those who are reckoned as allies, Egyptians and Cyprians and Kilikians and Pamphyliaus, in whom there is no profit."

8.69

When she thus spoke to Mardonios, those who were friendly to Artemisia were grieved at her words, supposing that she would suffer some evil from the king because she urged him not to fight at sea; while those who had envy and jealousy of her, because she had been honoured above all the allies, were rejoiced at the opposition, supposing that she would now be ruined. When however the opinions were reported to Xerxes, he was greatly pleased with the opinion of Artemisia; and whereas even before this he thought her excellent, he commended her now yet more. Nevertheless he gave orders to follow the advice of the greater number, thinking that when they fought by Euboea they were purposely slack, because he was not himself present with them, whereas now he had made himself ready to look on while they fought a sea-battle.

8.70

So when they passed the word to put out to sea, they brought their ships out to Salamis and quietly ranged themselves along the shore in their several positions. At that time the daylight was not sufficient for them to engage battle, for night had come on; but they made their preparations to fight on the following day. Meanwhile the Hellenes were possessed by fear and dismay, especially those who were from Peloponnese: and these were dismayed because remaining in Salamis they were to fight a battle on behalf of the land of the Athenians, and being defeated they would be cut off from escape

and blockaded in an island, leaving their own land unguarded. And indeed the land-army of the Barbarians was marching forward during that very night towards the Peloponnese.

8.71

Yet every means had been taken that the Barbarians might not be able to enter Peloponnesus by land: for as soon as the Peloponnesians heard that Leonidas and his company had perished at Thermopylai, they came together quickly from the cities and took post at the Isthmus, and over them

vocabulary

ἀβουλία ill-advisedness
 ἀγγέλλω carry a message, announce
 ~angel
 ἀγώνισμα -τος (n, 3) contest, feat
 ἀέκων unwilling
 ἀκτή beach; cereal grain
 ἀλλότριος someone else's; alien
 ~alien
 ἀνθίστημι face, make a stand
 ~station
 ἀντιλέγω contradict, oppose
 ἀντιλογία argument
 ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order,
 promise ~angel
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be
 freed, depart
 ἀποβιβάζω put ashore, put off
 ἀπολαμβάνω receive, recover, take
 aside, cut off ~epilepsy
 ἀποπλέω sail away ~float
 ἀπόπλους sailing away
 ἄτε as if; since
 αὐτόπτης -ου (m, 1) eyewitness
 αὐτόχθων native
 γεφυρόω (ū) dam, move earth
 δειμαίνω be afraid
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis
 διαδιδράσκω escape
 διακελεύομαι give orders to,
 encourage
 δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent
 δρησμός running away
 δρόμος running, racing ground
 ~hippodrome
 εἰνάλιος inhabiting the sea
 ~halogen
 εἰσφέρω carry into, carry along
 ~bear
 ἐκκαλέω call forth ~gallo
 ἐκπλέω sail away ~float
 ἐκποδών out of the way

ἐκρήγνυμι (ū) break off
 ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear
 ἐκχωρέω depart, back off, cede
 ἐκών willingly, on purpose; giving
 in too easily
 ἐλεύθερος not enslaved
 ἐλινύω (i) rest
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἐνάλιος of the sea ~halogen
 ἐναργής visible, clear ~Argentina
 ἐνδέχομαι accept, admit, be possible
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command
 ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion
 ἐξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo;
 destroy someone
 ἐπάγω drive game; induce belief
 ~demagogue
 ἑπῆλυς strange, foreign
 ἑσπέρα evening, west
 ἑσσομαι (pass) be weaker, be
 overcome; (active) defeat
 εὐρύοπα far-sounding
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 ἡπειρος (f) mainland, continent
 θέω run, run for
 θῶμα a wonder, feeling of surprise
 ~theater
 ἰδρύω establish
 ἵζω to seat ~sit
 καθίημι (ti) speed down upon; take
 down ~jet
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος
 καταβάλλω throw down, cast off
 ~ballistic
 καταλέγω relate in detail, choose;
 enroll ~legion
 κατύπερθε above, from above
 κοῦρος κόρου young man; satiety
 ~cereal
 κυκλέω carry on wheels ~cycle

κύκλος circle, wheel ~cycle
κυκλώ circle, encircle
λάθρα secretly
λάω grip, pin?
λήθη forgetting ~Lethe
λιπαρός anointed, shining ~lipid
μαίνομαι be berserk ~maenad
μέγαθος tall, big (person)
μεταξύ between
μυριάς -δος (ῥ, f, 3) countless, myriad
ναυήγιον wreckage
ναυμαχία naval warfare
νησίς (ἷ) islet
οἰκέτης -ου (m, 1) household; house slave
οἰκοδομέω build, build a house
ὄλβιος happy, wealthy
ὁμοφρονέω sympathize, agree
ὄον οὖ type of fruit
ὁπότερος which of two, either of two
ὀρρωδέω dread, shrink from
οὐκω no longer
πάλαι long ago ~paleo
παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas
πάλη wrestling ~Pallas
πάλλω shake, brandish ~Pallas
πανδημεί the masses
παραρτέομαι get something ready
πάρεξ alongside, diverging from; (+ῃ or gen) except; (+acc) beyond, alongside
πελάζω bring/come to, near, into contact with
πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder
περιέχω (mid) protect

περικυκλώ encircle
περίοιδα have great, greater skill
περίοικος dwelling around
περιοράω look around; watch; permit
περιποιέω preserve; obtain
Πέρσης Persian
πίμπλημι fill (+gen.) ~plenum
πλάσσω form ~plaster
πλήρης full, complete; (+gen) full of ~plethora
πλίνθος (f) brick, block
πορθμός canal, straits ~pierce
πόρος way, bridge ~fare
προακούω hear beforehand
σβέννυμι (ῥ) extinguish, go out
σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore
σιγά silence
σιγάω (ἷ) be silent
σπεύδω 'push on,' get going, hurry ~repudiate
στασιάζω revolt, be divided
συγχώω cover with dirt
σύλλογος meeting
συνέδριον council
τοιόσδε such
ὔβρις -εως (f) pride, insolence, outrage
φορμός bushel
χρησμός oracular response
χρηστός useful; brave, worthy
χρυσάορος (ῥα) with golden sword
φάμμος (f) sand
ῥθισμός thrusting, jostling
ῥρος year

Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew, Λεωνίδew δὲ ἀδελφεός. ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὥς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τείχος. ἄτε δὲ ἐουσέων μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἦνετο τὸ ἔργον· καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι¹ καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ² ψάμμου³ πλήρεις ἐσεφέροντο, καὶ ἐλύνον⁴ οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.

8.72

οἱ δὲ βοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πανδημεὶ οἶδε ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες πάντες καὶ Ἡλείοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Φλιασίοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Ἑρμιονέες. οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ὑπεραρρωδέοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ· τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἔμελε οὐδέν. Ὀλύμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρνεια παροιχώκεε ἤδη.

8.73

οἰκέει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα ἑπτὰ. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα ἑόντα κατὰ χώραν ἱδρυταὶ νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἶκεον, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνourioi· ἐν δὲ ἔθνος τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἐωυτῶν, οἰκέει δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίην. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνεα τῶν ἑπτὰ τέσσερα ἐπήλυδα ἐστί, Δωριέες τε καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Λήμνιοι. Δωριέων μὲν πολλαὶ τε καὶ δόκιμοι⁵ πόλεις, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἥλις μούνη, Δρυόπων δὲ Ἑρμιῶν τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἢ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ, Λημνίων δὲ Παρωρεῖται πάντες. οἱ δὲ Κυνourioi αὐτόχθονες⁶ ἑόντες δοκέουσι μούνοι εἶναι Ἴωνες, ἐκδεδωριέυνται δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἑόντες Ὀρνεῖται καὶ οἱ περίοικοι. τούτων ὦν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐθνέων αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ κατήμμενοι ἐμῆδιζον.

¹ brick, block ² bushel ³ sand ⁴ rest ⁵ trustworthy; excellent

⁶ native

8.74

οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἅτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμου θέοντες καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὅμως ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὡς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστὰς σιγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιούμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδew ἀβουλίην· τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγένετο καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο τῶν αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεὼν εἶη ἀποπλέειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν μηδὲ πρὸ χώρας δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.

8.75

ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλῆς ὡς ἐσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πλοῖω ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παιδων· τὸν δὴ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεσπία τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιάες πολυήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον. ὃς τότε πλοῖω ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε. «ἔπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάβρη τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα φράσσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βουλευόμενοι καταρρωδηκότες, καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργων ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἢ μὴ περιύδῃτε διαδράντας αὐτούς. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι⁷ οὔτε ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἐωυτούς τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μή.»

8.76

ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ

⁷ sympathize, agree

ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβιβάσαντο· τοῦτο δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχον τε μέχρι Μουνυχῆς πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῆσι νηυσί. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι μὴδὲ φυγεῖν ἐξῇ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων.⁸ ἐς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὥς ἐπεὰν γίνηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναηγίων ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος, ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιέωσι τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρωσι. ἐποίουν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πυνθανοῖατο οἱ ἐναντίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρτέοντο.

8.77

χρησιμοῖσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἀληθείες, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργέως λέγοντας πειρᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἐς τοιάδε πρήγματα ἐσβλέψας.

Ἄλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρου⁹ ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν νηυσὶ γεφυρώσωσι¹⁰ καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν ἐλπιδὶ μαινομένη, λιπαρὰς πέρσαντες Ἀθήνας, διὰ δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν κόρον, ὕβριος υἷόν, δεινὸν μαიმῶντα, δοκεῖντ' ἀνὰ πάντα πίεσθαι.

χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίζεται, αἷματι δ' Ἄρης πόντον φοινίζει. τότε ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἡμαρ εὐρύσπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότνια Νίκη.

Ἐς τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγοντι Βάκιδι ἀντιλογίης χρησιμῶν πέρι οὔτε αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμῶ οὔτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέκομαι.

⁸ contest, feat ⁹ with golden sword ¹⁰ dam, move earth

8.78

τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγένετο ὠθισμὸς¹¹ λόγων πολλός· ἤδεσαν δὲ οὐκ ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλοῦντο τῇσι νηυσὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρων αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώραν εἶναι.

8.79

συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐξ Αἰγίνης διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· τὸν ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ δικαιοτάτον. οὗτος ὠνὴρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα, ἔοντα μὲν ἐν τῷ οὐ φίλον ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάλῃ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιούμενος ἐξεκαλέετο, θέλων αὐτῷ συμμῖξαι· προακηκόεε δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμόν. ὥς δὲ ἐξῆλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε. «ἡμέας στασιάξιν χρεόν ἐστι ἐν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε περὶ τοῦ ὁκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται. λέγω δέ τοι ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλοῦ τοῦ ἐνθευτεν Πελοποννησίοισι. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης¹² τοι λέγω γενόμενος ὅτι νῦν οὐδ' ἦν θέλωσι Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης οἰοί τε ἔσονται ἐκπλώσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σφὶ ταῦτα σήμνηνον.» ὃ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε.

8.80

«κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἡγγεϊλας· τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἦκεις. ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων· ἔδεε γάρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἐκόντες ἦθελον ἐς μάχην κατίσταςθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ περ ἦκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφὶ ἡγγεῖλον. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πείσω, ὥς οὐ ποιούντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ σφὶ σήμνηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὥς ἔχει. ἐπεῖαν

¹¹ thrusting, jostling ¹² eyewitness

was set as commander Cleombrotos, the son of Anaxandrides and brother of Leonidas. These being posted at the Isthmus had destroyed the Skironian way, and after this (having so determined in counsel with one another) they began to build a wall across the Isthmus; and as they were many myriads and every man joined in the work, the work proceeded fast; for stones and bricks and pieces of timber and baskets full of sand were carried to it continually, and they who had thus come to help paused not at all in their work either by night or by day.

8.72

Now those of the Hellenes who came in full force to the Isthmus to help their country were these,— the Lacedemonians, the Arcadians of every division, the Eleians, Corinthians, Sikyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Troizenians and Hermionians. These were they who came to the help of Hellas in her danger and who had apprehension for her, while the rest of the Peloponnesians showed no care: and the Olympic and Carneian festivals had by this time gone by.

8.73

Now Peloponnesus is inhabited by seven races; and of these, two are natives of the soil and are settled now in the place where they dwelt of old, namely the Arcadians and the Kynurians; and one race, that of the Achaians, though it did not remove from the Peloponnese, yet removed in former time from its own land and dwells now in that which was not its own. The remaining races, four in number, have come in from without, namely the Dorians, Aitolians, Dryopians and Lemnians. Of the Dorians there are many cities and of great renown; of the Aitolians, Elis alone; of the Dryopians, Hermion and Asine, which latter is opposite Cardamyle in the Laconian land; and of the Lemnians, all the Paroreatai. The Kynurians, who are natives of the soil, seem alone to be Ionians, but they have become Dorians completely because they are subject to the Argives and by lapse of time, being originally citizens of Orneai or the dwellers in the country round Orneai. Of these seven nations the remaining cities, except those which I enumerated just now, stood aside and did nothing; and if one may be allowed to speak freely, in thus standing aside they were in fact taking the side of the Medes.

8.74

Those at the Isthmus were struggling with the labour which I have said, since now they were running a course in which their very being was at stake, and they did not look to have any brilliant success with their ships: while those who were at Salamis, though informed of this work, were yet dismayed, not fearing so much for themselves as for Peloponnesus. For some time then

they spoke of it in private, one man standing by another, and they marvelled at the ill-counsel of Eurybiades; but at last it broke out publicly. A meeting accordingly was held, and much was spoken about the same points as before, some saying that they ought to sail away to Peloponnesus and run the risk in defence of that, and not stay and fight for a land which had been captured by the enemy, while the Athenians, Eginetans and Megarians urged that they should stay there and defend themselves.

8.75

Then Themistocles, when his opinion was like to be defeated by the Peloponnesians, secretly went forth from the assembly, and having gone out he sent a man to the encampment of the Medes in a boat, charging him with that which he must say: this man's name was Sikinnos, and he was a servant of Themistocles and tutor to his children; and after these events Themistocles entered him as a Thespian citizen, when the Thespians were admitting new citizens, and made him a wealthy man. He at this time came with a boat and said to the commanders of the Barbarians these words: "The commander of the Athenians sent me privately without the knowledge of the other Hellenes (for, as it chanced, he is disposed to the cause of the king, and desires rather that your side should gain the victory than that of the Hellenes), to inform you that the Hellenes are planning to take flight, having been struck with dismay; and now it is possible for you to execute a most noble work, if ye do not permit them to flee away: for they are not of one mind with one another and they will not stand against you in fight, but ye shall see them fighting a battle by sea with one another, those who are disposed to your side against those who are not."

8.76

He then having signified to them this, departed out of the way; and they, thinking that the message deserved credit, landed first a large number of Persians in the small island of Psyttaleia, which lies between Salamis and the mainland; and then, as midnight came on, they put out the Western wing of their fleet to sea, circling round towards Salamis, and also those stationed about Keos and Kynosura put out their ships to sea; and they occupied all the passage with their ships as far as Munychia. And for this reason they put out their ships, namely in order that the Hellenes might not even be permitted to get away, but being cut off in Salamis might pay the penalty for the contests at Artemision: and they disembarked men of the Persians on the small island called Psyttaleia for this reason, namely that when the fight should take place, these might save the men of one side and destroy those of the other, since there especially it was likely that the men and the wrecks of ships would be cast up on shore, for the island lay in the way of the sea-fight

which was to be. These things they did in silence, that the enemy might not have information of them.

8.77

They then were making their preparations thus in the night without having taken any sleep at all: and with regard to oracles, I am not able to make objections against them that they are not true, for I do not desire to attempt to overthrow the credit of them when they speak clearly, looking at such matters as these which here follow:

“But when with ships they shall join the sacred strand of the goddess, Artemis golden sword girded, and thee, wave-washed Kynosura, Urged by a maddening hope, having given rich Athens to plunder, Then shall Justice divine quell Riot, of Insolence first-born, Longing to overthrow all things and terribly panting for bloodshed: Brass shall encounter with brass, and Ares the sea shall empurple, Tinging its waves with the blood: then a day of freedom for Hellas Cometh from wide-seeing Zeus and from Victory, lady and mother.” Looking to such things as this, and when Bakis speaks so clearly, I do not venture myself to make any objections about oracles, nor can I admit them from others.

8.78

Now between the commanders that were at Salamis there came to be great contention of speech and they did not yet know that the Barbarians were surrounding them with their ships, but they thought that they were still in their place as they saw them disposed in the day.

8.79

Then while the commanders were engaged in strife, there came over from Egina Aristides the son of Lysimachos, an Athenian who had been ostracised by the people, a man whom I hold (according to that which I hear of his character) to have been the best and most upright of all Athenians. This man came into the council and called forth Themistocles, who was to him not a friend, but an enemy to the last degree; but because of the greatness of the present troubles he let those matters be forgotten and called him forth, desiring to communicate with him. Now he had heard beforehand that the Peloponnesians were pressing to take the ships away to the Isthmus. So when Themistocles came forth to him, Aristides spoke these words: “Both at other times when occasion arises, and also especially at this time we ought to carry on rivalry as to which of us shall do more service to our country. And I tell thee now that it is indifferent whether the Peloponnesians say many words or few about sailing away from hence; for having been myself an eye-witness I

tell thee that now not even if the Corinthians and Eurybiades himself desire to sail out, will they be able; for we are encompassed round by the enemy. Go thou in then, and signify this to them.”

8.80

He made answer as follows: “Thou advisest very well, and also the news which thou hast brought is good, since thou art come having witnessed with thine own eyes that which I desired might come to pass: for know that this which is being done by the Medes is of my suggestion; because, when the Hellenes would not come to a battle of their own will, it was necessary to bring them over to us against their will. Do thou however, since thou art come bearing good news, thyself report it to them; for if I say these things, I shall be thought to speak that which I have myself invented, and I shall not persuade them, but they will think that the Barbarians are not doing so. Do thou thyself however come forward to speak, and declare to them how things are; and when thou hast declared this,

vocabulary

ἀγωνίζομαι contend, exert oneself
 αἰτιάομαι blame ~etiology
 ἀκοντιστής -οῦ (m, 1) spearman
 ~acute
 ἀλέξω ward off; aid
 ἀμφισβασίη dispute, controversy
 ἀναγράφω publish, record
 ἀνακρούω push back; (mp) back up
 ἀντιτίθηναι oppose, balance
 ἀπαλλαξείω wish to get rid of
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be
 freed, depart
 ἀπαράσσω sever
 ἀπιστέω disbelieve ~stand
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ῶ) show, point out;
 appoint; (mid) declare
 ἀποδημέω be absent, abroad
 ἀποστρέφω turn back, turn off
 course ~atrophy
 ἀποσώζω save from
 ἀριθμός number
 ἅτε as if; since
 ἀτρεκής precise, certain
 αὐτομολέω desert
 δαιμόνιος voc: you crazy guy
 δειμαίνω be afraid
 δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot
 διαβάλλω throw across; slander
 ~ballistic
 διαδιδράσκω escape
 διακελεύομαι give orders to,
 encourage
 διαφαίνω seem, show through
 ~photon
 διαφεύγω escape, survive
 δωρέω give ~donate
 ἐγγίγνομαι live in ~genus
 ἐγγράφω engrave, enroll
 ἐθελοκακέω wimp out; act
 maliciously
 εἰσβαίνω enter, board ~basis

ἐκγίγνομαι be born; be by birth
 ~genus
 ἐκπλέω sail away ~float
 ἐκπληρώω fill, fulfill
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here
 ἐντολή order
 ἐξανάγω (mp) set sail
 ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then
 ἐπιβάτης -ου (m, 1) marine,
 passenger
 ἐπικεῖμαι impose; shut a door
 ἐπιπλέω sail on, over ~float
 ἐπίσημον mark, badge
 ἐπίσημος marked, significant
 ἐπιφέρω bestow, impute ~bear
 ἑσπέρα evening, west
 εὐδοκιμέω be esteemed
 εὐεργέτης -ου (m, 1) benefactor
 εὖς good, brave, noble
 εὐτυχία good luck, success
 ἐφορμέω be anchored, blockade
 θεάομαι look at, behold, consider
 ~theater
 θηξέομαι look at, behold, consider
 ~theater
 θόρυβος noise, clamor
 καθαιρέω take down, close ~heresy
 καίτοι and yet; and in fact; although
 καταδέω tie up; fall short
 καταδύω enter, sink
 καταλέγω relate in detail, choose;
 enroll ~legion
 καταπλέκω entwine, braid
 κατάστασις -εως (f) establishment
 κατήγορος accuser
 κεραίζω slay, ravage ~caries
 κόσος how many, much, far?
 μεθίστημι change, substitute;
 withdraw; change sides; (mid) send
 away ~station
 μετεξέτεροι (+gen) some ones of

μίν him, her, it	~semaphore
μισθός reward, wages	συγκυρέω meet or happen by chance
μόγισ with difficulty, barely	σύλλογος meeting
ναυμαχία naval warfare	συμβουλευώ give advice; (mid) consult ~volunteer
νεῖκος -εος (n, 3) quarrel, battle	συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix
νέω spin; swim ~neuro	συμπλέκω twine together
ὀγδῶκοντα eighty	συμφέρω bring together; be expedient; agree; (mp) happen ~bear
ὀκέλλω run aground	συχνός long; many; extensive
ὀνειδίζω upbraid, reproach	σφέτερος their
ὀνομαστός named ~name	τοιόσδε such
ὄον οὔ type of fruit	τριηκόσιοι three hundred
ὀπισθεν behind, hereafter	τριήραρχος captain of a trireme
παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn	τρίπους three-legged cauldron ~pedal
παραπίπτω fall in the way; go stray	τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler
παραρτέομαι get something ready	τύχη fortune, act of a god
παρίημι dangle; pass over, allow ~jet	φάσμα phantom, apparition
περιέχω (mid) protect	φίλιος friendly
περιπίπτω embrace; fall in with	φυγή flight, means of escape ~fugitive
Πέρσης Persian	φύσις -εως (f) nature (of a thing) ~physics
προαγορεύω declare, predict, order	φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics
προδίδωμι betray	
προθυμέομαι (ῶ) be eager	
πρόνοια foresight, providence	
πρύμνα stern	
ῥῆσις -ος (f) conversation, talk ~rhetoric	
σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark	

δὲ σημήνης, ἣν μὲν πείθονται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα, ἣν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὅμοιον ἡμῖν ἔσται· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἴ περ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὡς σὺ λέγεις.»

8.81

ἐνθαῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἔξ Αἰγίνης τε ἦκειν καὶ μόγισ ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω· παραρτέεσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὡς ἀλεξισομένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας μετεστήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὖτις ἐγένετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίη· οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπέειθοντο τὰ ἐσαγγελθέντα.

8.82

ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων ἦκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος, ἣ περ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθείην πᾶσαν. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι. σὺν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Δημνίῃ ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἐς τὰς ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας· δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν.

8.83

τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἡὼς τε διέφαινε καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλῆς, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα, ὅσα δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει καὶ καταστάσει ἐγγίνεται· παραινέσας δὲ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν,¹ ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἦκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἣ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε.

¹ conversation, talk

8.84

ἐνθαῦτα ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἀπάσας Ἕλληνες, ἀναγομένοισι δέ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπέκεατο οἱ βάρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὤκελλον² τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβάλλει· συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νεὸς καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίῃ βοηθέοντες συνέμωγον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, Αἰγινήται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἴγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα³ σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανείσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι ὥστε καὶ ἅπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε, «ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε;»

8.85

κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες οὗτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἑλευσίνος τε καὶ ἐσπέρης κέρας, κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἴωνες· οὗτοι δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα. ἐβελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμστοκλέος ἐντολὰς ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες οὐ. ἔχω μὲν νυν συχῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξει τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλόντων, χρῆσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορος τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσέ⁴ καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρῃ ἐδωρήθη⁵ πολλῇ. οἱ δ' εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται περσιστί.

8.86

περὶ μὲν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκεραῖζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἱ δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγινήτων. ἅτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὔτε τεταγμένων ἔτι οὔτε σὺν νόῳ ποιεόντων οὐδέν,

² run aground ³ phantom, apparition ⁴ be an absolute ruler

⁵ give

ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἷόν περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἦσαν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῶ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ, πᾶς τις προθυμώμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην, ἐδόκεε τε ἕκαστος ἑωυτὸν θεήσασθαι βασιλέα.

8.87

κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὥς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλεί. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπύκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νῆς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλιαι,⁶ ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα, ἔδοξε οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεκε ποιησάσῃ. διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλήν ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου. εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νείκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἑόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηὺς. ὥς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ⁷ χρησαμένη διπλᾶ ἑωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο. ὃ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τρυήραρχος ὥς εἶδε μιν ἐμβάλλουσιν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι ἢ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο.

8.88

τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεκε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκίμησαι παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δὴ τινα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεόντων «δέσποτα, ὅρῳς Ἀρτεμισίην ὥς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε;» καὶ τὸν ἐπειρέσθαι εἰ ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης

⁶ friendly ⁷ good luck, success

τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἠπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίνην. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα «οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες.» ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἰπεῖν.

8.89

ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξῃ ἐὼν ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ⁸ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινὲς καὶ Ἑλλήνων· ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένειον. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ διεφθάρησαν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλείους διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὅπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοι τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλεί, τῇσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ φευγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον.

8.90

ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ. τῶν τινες Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρησαν, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοῖατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδόντων. συνήνεικε ὦν οὕτω ὥστε Ἴωνων τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν. ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηκίῃ νηῦς. ἥ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγιναιὴ νηῦς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηκίων τὴν νέα. ἅτε δὲ ἐόντες ἀκοντισταὶ⁹ οἱ Σαμοθρήκες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλλοντες ἀπήραξαν καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὡς γὰρ εἶδε σφέας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας οἱ αὐτὸν ὑπερλυπεόμενός τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενος, καὶ σφεων ἐκέλευσε τὰς

⁸ named ⁹ spearman

if they are persuaded, that will be the best thing, but if this is not credible to them, it will be the same thing so far as concerns us, for they will no longer be able to take to flight, if we are encompassed on all sides, as thou sayest.”

8.81

Aristeides accordingly came forward and told them this, saying that he had come from Egina and had with difficulty escaped without being perceived by those who were blockading them; for the whole encampment of the Hellenes was encompassed by the ships of Xerxes; and he counselled them to get ready to defend themselves. He then having thus spoken retired, and among them again there arose dispute, for the greater number of the commanders did not believe that which was reported to them:

8.82

And while these were doubting, there came a trireme manned by Tenians, deserting from the enemy, of which the commander was Panaitios the son of Sosimenes, which brought them the whole truth. For this deed the Tenians were inscribed at Delphi on the tripod among those who had conquered the Barbarians. With the ship which deserted at Salamis and the Lemnian ship which deserted before and came to Artemision, the naval force of the Hellenes was completed to the number of three hundred and eighty ships, for before this two ships were yet wanting to make up this number.

8.83

The Hellenes then, since they believed that which was said by the Tenians, were preparing for a sea-fight: and as the dawn appeared, they made an assembly of those who fought on board the ships and addressed them, Themistocles making a speech which was eloquent beyond the rest; and the substance of it was to set forth all that is better as opposed to that which is worse, of the several things which arise in the nature and constitution of man; and having exhorted them to choose the better, and thus having wound up his speech, he bade them embark in their ships. These then proceeded to embark, and there came in meanwhile the trireme from Egina which had gone away to bring the sons of Aiacos.

8.84

Then the Hellenes put out all their ships, and while they were putting out from shore, the Barbarians attacked them forthwith. Now the other Hellenes began backing their ships and were about to run them aground, but Ameinias of Pallene, an Athenian, put forth with his ship and charged one of the enemy; and his ship being entangled in combat and the men not being able to get away, the others joined in the fight to assist Ameinias. The Athenians say

that the beginning of the battle was made thus, but the Eginetans say that the ship which went away to Egina to bring the sons of Aiacos was that which began the fight. It is also reported that an apparition of a woman was seen by them, and that having appeared she encouraged them to the fight so that the whole of the army of the Hellenes heard it, first having reproached them in these words: "Madmen, how far will ye yet back your ships?"

8.85

Opposite the Athenians had been ranged the Phenicians, for these occupied the wing towards Eleusis and the West, and opposite the Lacedemonians were the Ionians, who occupied the wing which extended to the East and to Piraeus. Of them however a few were purposely slack in the fight according to the injunctions of Themistocles, but the greater number were not so. I might mention now the names of many captains of ships who destroyed ships of the Hellenes, but I will make no use of their names except in the case of Theomestor, the son of Androdamas and Phylacos the son of Histiaios, of Samos both: and for this reason I make mention of these and not of the rest, because Theomestor on account of this deed became despot of Samos, appointed by the Persians, and Phylacos was recorded as a benefactor of the king and received much land as a reward. Now the benefactors of the king are called in the Persian tongue orosangai.

8.86

Thus it was with these; but the greater number of their ships were disabled at Salamis, being destroyed some by the Athenians and others by the Eginetans: for since the Hellenes fought in order and ranged in their places, while the Barbarians were no longer ranged in order nor did anything with design, it was likely that there would be some such result as in fact followed. Yet on this day they surpassed themselves much more than when they fought by Euboea, every one being eager and fearing Xerxes, and each man thinking that the king was looking especially at him.

8.87

As regards the rest I cannot speak of them separately, or say precisely how the Barbarians or the Hellenes individually contended in the fight; but with regard to Artemisia that which happened was this, whence she gained yet more esteem than before from the king.— When the affairs of the king had come to great confusion, at this crisis a ship of Artemisia was being pursued by an Athenian ship; and as she was not able to escape, for in front of her were other ships of her own side, while her ship, as it chanced, was furthest advanced towards the enemy, she resolved what she would do, and it proved also much to her advantage to have done so. While she was being

pursued by the Athenian ship she charged with full career against a ship of her own side manned by Calyndians and in which the king of the Calyndians Damasithymos was embarked. Now, even though it be true that she had had some strife with him before, while they were still about the Hellespont, yet I am not able to say whether she did this by intention, or whether the Calyndian ship happened by chance to fall in her way. Having charged against it however and sunk it, she enjoyed good fortune and got for herself good in two ways; for first the captain of the Athenian ship, when he saw her charge against a ship manned by Barbarians, turned away and went after others, supposing that the ship of Artemisia was either a Hellenic ship or was deserting from the Barbarians and fighting for the Hellenes, 88,— first, I say, it was her fortune to have this, namely to escape and not suffer destruction; and then secondly it happened that though she had done mischief, she yet gained great reputation by this thing with Xerxes. For it is said that the king looking on at the fight perceived that her ship had charged the other; and one of those present said: “Master, dost thou see Artemisia, how well she is fighting, and how she sank even now a ship of the enemy?” He asked whether this was in truth the deed of Artemisia, and they said that it was; for (they declared) they knew very well the sign of her ship: and that which was destroyed they thought surely was one of the enemy; for besides other things which happened fortunately for her, as I have said, there was this also, namely that not one of the crew of the Calyndian ship survived to become her accuser. And Xerxes in answer to that which was said to him is reported to have uttered these words: “My men have become women, and my women men.” Thus it is said that Xerxes spoke.

8.89

And meanwhile in this struggle there was slain the commander Ariabignes, son of Dareios and brother of Xerxes, and there were slain too many others of note of the Persians and Medes and also of the allies; and of the Hellenes on their part a few; for since they knew how to swim, those whose ships were destroyed and who were not slain in hand to hand conflict swam over to Salamis; but of the Barbarians the greater number perished in the sea, not being able to swim. And when the first ships turned to flight, then it was that the largest number perished, for those who were stationed behind, while endeavouring to pass with their ships to the front in order that they also might display some deed of valour for the king to see, ran into the ships of their own side as they fled.

8.90

It happened also in the course of this confusion that some of the Phenicians, whose ships had been destroyed, came to the king and accused the Ionians,

saying that by means of them their ships had been lost, and that they had been traitors to the cause. Now it so came about that not only the commanders of the Ionians did not lose their lives, but the Phenicians who accused them received a reward such as I shall tell. While these men were yet speaking thus, a Samothrakian ship charged against an Athenian ship: and as the Athenian ship was being sunk by it, an Eginetan ship came up against the Samothrakian vessel and ran it down. Then the Samothrakians, being skilful javelin-throwers, by hurling cleared off the fighting-men from the ship which had wrecked theirs and then embarked upon it and took possession of it. This event saved the Ionians from punishment; for when Xerxes saw that they had performed a great exploit, he turned to the Phenicians (for he was exceedingly vexed and disposed to find fault with

vocabulary

ἀγγελία message, news ~angel
 ἀγγέλλω carry a message, announce
 ~angel
 ἀγχοῦ near, nigh; like ~angina
 ἀδείμαντος fearless
 ἄθλον ἀέθλου prize ~athlete
 ἄθλος ἀέθλου contest, trial ~athlete
 ἀκτή beach; cereal grain
 ἀναγράφω publish, record
 ἀναπυθάνομαι study closely
 ἀνθίστημι face, make a stand
 ~station
 ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off;
 (intrans) ride away
 ἀπιστέω disbelieve ~stand
 ἄπλετος boundless, immense,
 abundant
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ῶ) show, point out;
 appoint; (mid) declare
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine
 ἀπολαμβάνω receive, recover, take
 aside, cut off ~epilepsy
 ἀποπύμπλημι satisfy, fulfill, appease
 ἀπορρίπτω cast away
 ἀποστρέφω turn back, turn off
 course ~atrophy
 ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ~tonsure
 ἀράομαι (ᾶα) pray, vow, invoke
 ἀράω wear something out
 ἀρτέομαι be ready
 ἄχθομαι be burdened with
 γέφυρα (ῶ) dam, dike; bridge
 γραμματιστής -οῦ (m, 1) clerk,
 schoolmaster
 δειμαίνω be afraid
 διαβάλλω throw across; slander
 ~ballistic
 διαλύω break up; relax, weaken
 διαφεύγω escape, survive
 διαχέω scatter
 διεξέρχομαι go through

διίστημι stand apart ~stand
 δραχμή drachma
 δροσμός running away
 δρόμος running, racing ground
 ~hippodrome
 εἰσοράω look at, see; treat with
 respect ~panorama
 εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in
 ἐκπαγλέομαι be amazed
 ἐκπλέω sail away ~float
 ἐκπλήσσω panic, be knocked out
 ~plectrum
 ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἔμπειρος experienced
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command
 ἐξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo;
 destroy someone
 ἐξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka
 ἐπείσχομαι come in also
 ἐπίδηλος clear; clearly impending
 ἐπιδιώκω chase after
 ἐπικερτομέω mock
 ἐπικρατέω rule over
 ἐπιμνήσχομαι remember, speak
 about ~mnemonic
 ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious
 duty
 ἐπιτέλλω order ~apostle
 ἐράω desire sexually
 ἐρετμός rowing
 ἐστία hearth ~Hestia
 εὐπάθεια comfort
 ζέφυρος the west wind ~zephyr
 ἡίων beach
 θόρυβος noise, clamor
 θυμιάω (ῶ) burn for smoke
 θυμίσμα incense
 θυσία sacrifice
 ἱστίον sail ~stand
 κατακόπτω cut down, shatter

κατανύω accomplish,
 arrive,perpetrate
 καταπροδίδωμι betray completely
 καταρρήγνυμι (ῥ) break down
 καταφονεύω slaughter
 καῦμα -τος (n, 3) heat ~caustic
 κέλης -τος (m, 3) fast riding horse
 κεραίζω slay, ravage ~carries
 κριός (ῖ) ram
 μίν him, her, it
 μύρσινος myrtle
 ναυήγιον wreckage
 ναυμαχία naval warfare
 νησίς (ῖ) islet
 νιφετός snow
 οἰμωγή wailing
 ὄμβρος storm
 ὄμηρος insurance, hostage
 ὀνειδίζω upbraid, reproach
 πάθος -ους (n, 3) an experience,
 passion, condition
 παραγίγνομαι be beside, attend
 ~genus
 παρακελεύομαι recommend,
 encourage
 παρατάσσω place beside
 πατρόθεν by the name of one's
 father ~paternal
 πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder
 περιάγω lead around
 περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive;
 attain ~genus
 περιπίπτω embrace; fall in with
 Πέρσης Persian
 πλέος full
 πομπή a sending, expedition ~pomp
 πορθμός canal, straits ~pierce
 πρόκειμαι be placed by; be devoted
 to

προσβάλλω hit, attack, approach;
 attach, offer ~ballistic
 προφυλάσσω guard the front
 σοῦσον lily
 στέρομαι lack, lose
 στορέννυμι (ῥ) smooth out
 στόρνυμι (ῥ) smooth out
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 συγκυρέω meet or happen by
 chance
 συγχέω entangle, destroy, confound
 συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix
 συμφορά collecting; accident,
 misfortune
 συνδέω bind together
 σχεδία raft
 σχεδίην at close quarters ~ischemia
 τρέχω run, spin
 τριήραρχος captain of a trireme
 ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a
 person behind ~eclipse
 ὑποπτέω guess, observe, be
 suspicious of
 ὑποτίθην suggest, advise
 ~hypothesis
 ὑφίστημι promise, undertake
 ~station
 φάτις -τος (f) report, rumor ~fame
 φοινικήιος of palm trees
 φροντίζω consider, ponder
 φρύγω (ῥ) roast, parch
 φυγή flight, means of escape
 ~fugitive
 χρησμιολόγος prophesying
 χρησμός oracular response
 χῶμα -τος (n, 3) mound of dirt
 ὡσαύτως in the same way

κεφαλὰς ἀποταμῆν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. ὅκως γάρ τινα ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρεϊ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμῖνος τὸ καλέεται Αἰγάλεως, ἀνεπυνθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν¹ τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φίλος ἐὼν Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρεὼν τούτου τοῦ Φοινικηίου πάθεος. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο.

8.91

τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλεόντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Αἰγινῆται ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου ἄξια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκεραίζον τὰς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλεούσας· ὅκως δὲ τινὲς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας.

8.92

ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νέες ἢ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα νέα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κριοῦ² ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινήτεω νηὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίῃ, ἢ περ εἶλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγιναιήν, ἐπ' ἧς ἔπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχενόου, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἵνεκα εἶχον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι· τὸν δὴ περιάγουσα ἅμα τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἤλω ἢ νηὺς ἢ Σιδωνίῃ, ὥστε Πυθέην οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἶγιναν. ὥς δὲ ἐσείδε τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημήμιον ἰδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν νηὶ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῶν αἰ νέες περιεγένοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν.

¹ by the name of one's father ² ram

8.93

ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγινῆται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτός τε ὁ Αἰγινήτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινίης Παλληνεύς, ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ μὲν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέοι Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἰλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦλω. τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρεκεκέλευστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄεθλον ἔκειτο μύρια δραχμαί,³ ὃς ἂν μιν ζωὴν ἔλῃ· δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῖντο γυναιῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δὴ, ὥς πρότερον εἴρηται, διέφυγε· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγεγόνεσαν, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.

8.94

Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχάς, ὥς συνέμισγον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα, τὰ ἱστία ἀειράμενον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν ὡσαύτως οἴχεσθαι. ὥς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμινίης κατὰ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος, περιπίπτειν σφί κέλῃτα⁴ θεῇ πομπῇ, τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι. τῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἶναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα. ὥς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλῃτος λέγειν τάδε. «Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἡρώωντο ἐπικρατήσαντες τῶν ἐχθρῶν.» ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀπιστεύει γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὐτὶς τὰδε λέγειν, ὥς αὐτοὶ οἰοί τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὄμηροι ἀποθνήσκεν, ἣν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνονται οἱ Ἕλληνες. οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις⁵ ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοις σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ σφί καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς.

³ drachma ⁴ fast riding horse ⁵ report, rumor

8.95

Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίηε· παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτέων οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινίης χώρας, γένος ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

8.96

ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ ἐτύγχανε ἔτι ἐόντα, ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιεούσησι νηυσὶ ἔτι χρῆσεσθαι βασιλείᾳ. τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος ζέφυρος⁶ ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡίονα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· ὥστε ἀποπλησθῆναι τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτῃ ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Λυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ,⁷ τὸ ἐλελήθαι πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναικες ἐρετμοῖσι⁸ φρύξουσι⁹ τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.

8.97

Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δείσας μή τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθήται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε. θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπιδηλὸς εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χώμα¹⁰ ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν, γαύλους τε Φοινικίους συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντὶ τε σχεδὴς ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετό¹¹ τε ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. ὁρῶντες δὲ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα εὖ ἠπιστάτο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκευάσται μένων πολεμῆσειν· Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν

⁶ the west wind ⁷ prophesying ⁸ rowing ⁹ roast, parch

¹⁰ mound of dirt ¹¹ be ready

τούτων ἐλάνθανε ὡς μάλιστα ἔμπειρον ἔοντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανοΐης.

8.98

ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρευούσαν σφι συμφορὴν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστὶ οὐδὲν ὃ τι θᾶσσον παραγίνεταιι θνητὸν ἔόν· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐξεύρηται τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς ὁσέων ἂν ἡμερέων ἦ ἡ πᾶσα ὁδός, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἐκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὔτε νιφετός,¹² οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα,¹³ οὐ νύξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ καταλύσαι τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδοὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ἤδη κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατὰ περ ἐν Ἑλλήσι ἡ λαμπαδηφορὴ τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι. τοῦτο τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήιον.

8.99

ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σοῦσα¹⁴ ἀγγελίη ἀπικομένη, ὡς ἔχοι Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ὡς τάς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίνῃ¹⁵ πάσας ἐστόρεσαν καὶ ἐθυμίῳ¹⁶ θυμῷ¹⁷ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσι τε καὶ εὐπαθείῃσι.¹⁸ ἡ δὲ δευτέρῃ σφι ἀγγελίῃ ἐπεσελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρήξαντο πάντες, βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ¹⁹ ἐχρέωντο ἀπλέρῳ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίουν ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες.

8.100

καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνον γενόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὁρῶν μὲν Ξέρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ποιούμενον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ αὐτὸν δρησμὸν βουλεύειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, φροντίσας

¹² snow ¹³ heat ¹⁴ lily ¹⁵ myrtle ¹⁶ burn for smoke ¹⁷ incense
¹⁸ comfort ¹⁹ wailing

all) and bade cut off their heads, in order that they might not, after having been cowards themselves, accuse others who were better men than they. For whensoever Xerxes (sitting just under the mountain opposite Salamis, which is called Aigaleos) saw any one of his own side display a deed of valour in the sea-fight, he inquired about him who had done it, and the scribes recorded the name of the ship's captain with that of his father and the city from whence he came. Moreover also Ariaramnes, a Persian who was present, shared the fate of the Phenicians, being their friend. They then proceeded to deal with the Phenicians.

8.91

In the meantime, as the Barbarians turned to flight and were sailing out towards Phaleron, the Eginetans waited for them in the passage and displayed memorable actions: for while the Athenians in the confused tumult were disabling both those ships which resisted and those which were fleeing, the Eginetans were destroying those which attempted to sail away; and whenever any escaped the Athenians, they went in full course and fell among the Eginetans.

8.92

Then there met one another the ship of Themistocles, which was pursuing a ship of the enemy, and that of Polycritos the son of Crios the Eginetan. This last had charged against a ship of Sidon, the same that had taken the Eginetan vessel which was keeping watch in advance at Skiathos, and in which sailed Pytheas the son of Ischenoös, whom the Persians kept in their ship, all cut to pieces as he was, making a marvel of his valour. The Sidonian ship then was captured bearing with it this man as well as the Persians of whom I spoke, so that Pytheas thus came safe to Egina. Now when Polycritos looked at the Athenian vessel he recognised when he saw it the sign of the admiral's ship, and shouting out he addressed Themistocles with mockery about the accusation brought against the Eginetans of taking the side of the Medes, and reproached him. This taunt Polycritos threw out against Themistocles after he had charged against the ship of Sidon. And meanwhile those Barbarians whose ships had escaped destruction fled and came to Phaleron to be under cover of the land-army.

8.93

In this sea-fight the Eginetans were of all the Hellenes the best reported of, and next to them the Athenians; and of the individual men the Eginetan Polycritos and the Athenians Eumenes of Anagyrus and Ameinias of Pallene, the man who had pursued after Artemisia. Now if he had known that Artemisia was sailing in this ship, he would not have ceased until either he had taken her or

had been taken himself; for orders had been given to the Athenian captains, and moreover a prize was offered of ten thousand drachmas for the man who should take her alive; since they thought it intolerable that a woman should make an expedition against Athens. She then, as has been said before, had made her escape; and the others also, whose ships had escaped destruction, were at Phaleron.

8.94

As regards Adeimantos the commander of the Corinthians, the Athenians say that forthwith at the beginning when the ships were engaging in the fight, being struck with panic and terror he put up his sails and fled away; and the Corinthians, when they saw the admiral's ship fleeing, departed likewise: and after this, as the story goes, when they came in their flight opposite to the temple of Athene Skiras in the land of Salamis, there fell in with them by divine guidance a light vessel, which no one was ever found to have sent, and which approached the Corinthians at a time when they knew nothing of that which was happening with the fleet. And by this it is conjectured that the matter was of the Deity; for when they came near to the ships, the men in the light vessel said these words: "Adeimantos, thou hast turned thy ships away and hast set forth to flee, deserting the cause of the Hellenes, while they are in truth gaining a victory and getting the better of their foes as much as they desired." When they said this, since Adeimantos doubted of it, they spoke a second time and said that they might be taken as hostages and slain, if the Hellenes should prove not to be gaining the victory. Then he turned his ship back, he and the others with him, and they reached the camp when the work was finished. Such is the report spread by the Athenians against these: the Corinthians however do not allow this to be so, but hold that they were among the first in the sea-fight; and the rest of Hellas also bears witness on their side.

8.95

Aristeides moreover the son of Lysimachos, the Athenian, of whom I made mention also shortly before this as a very good man, he in this tumult which had arisen about Salamis did as follows:— taking with him a number of the hoplites of Athenian race who had been ranged along the shore of the land of Salamis, with them he disembarked on the island of Psyttaleia; and these slew all the Persians who were in this islet.

8.96

When the sea-fight had been broken off, the Hellenes towed in to Salamis so many of the wrecks as chanced to be still about there, and held themselves ready for another sea-fight, expecting that the king would yet make use of

the ships which remained unhurt; but many of the wrecks were taken by the West Wind and borne to that strand in Attica which is called Colias; so as to fulfil not only all that other oracle which was spoken about this sea-fight by Bakis and Musaios, but also especially, with reference to the wrecks cast up here, that which had been spoken in an oracle many years before these events by Lysistratos, an Athenian who uttered oracles, and which had not been observed by any of the Hellenes:

“Then shall the Colian women with firewood of oars roast barley.” This was destined to come to pass after the king had marched away.

8.97

When Xerxes perceived the disaster which had come upon him, he feared lest some one of the Ionians should suggest to the Hellenes, or they should themselves form the idea, to sail to the Hellespont and break up the bridges; and so he might be cut off in Europe and run the risk of perishing utterly: therefore he began to consider about taking flight. He desired however that his intention should not be perceived either by the Hellenes or by those of his own side; therefore he attempted to construct a mole going across to Salamis, and he bound together Phenician merchant vessels in order that they might serve him both for a bridge and a wall, and made preparations for fighting as if he were going to have another battle by sea. Seeing him do so, all the rest made sure that he had got himself ready in earnest and intended to stay and fight; but Mardonios did not fail to perceive the true meaning of all these things, being by experience very well versed in his way of thinking.

8.98

While Xerxes was doing thus, he sent a messenger to the Persians, to announce the calamity which had come upon them. Now there is nothing mortal which accomplishes a journey with more speed than these messengers, so skilfully has this been invented by the Persians: for they say that according to the number of days of which the entire journey consists, so many horses and men are set at intervals, each man and horse appointed for a day's journey. These neither snow nor rain nor heat nor darkness of night prevents from accomplishing each one the task proposed to him, with the very utmost speed. The first then rides and delivers the message with which he is charged to the second, and the second to the third; and after that it goes through them handed from one to the other, as in the torch-race among the Hellenes, which they perform for Hephaistos. This kind of running of their horses the Persians call angareion.

8.99

The first message then which came to Susa, announcing that Xerxes had Athens in his possession, so greatly rejoiced the Persians who had been left behind, that they strewed all the ways with myrtle boughs and offered incense perpetually, and themselves continued in sacrifices and feasting. The second message however, which came to them after this, so greatly disturbed them that they all tore their garments and gave themselves up to crying and lamentation without stint, laying the blame upon Mardonios: and this the Persians did not so much because they were grieved about the ships, as because they feared for Xerxes himself.

8.100

As regards the Persians this went on for all the time which intervened, until the coming of Xerxes himself caused them to cease: and Mardonios seeing that Xerxes was greatly troubled by reason of the sea-fight, and suspecting that he was meaning to take flight from Athens, considered

vocabulary

ἀγχοῦ near, nigh; like ~angina
αἰδοῖον genitals
αἰδοῖος modest, honored
αἰωρέω lift; (mp) hang
ἄκρα at the edge, extreme ~acute
ἀλέξω ward off; aid
ἀλίσκομαι be captured ~helix
ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read, understand, persuade
ἀνακινδυνεύω (ῥ) run a risk, more risk
ἀνατείνω lift, reach out, threaten
ἀνόσιος unholy
ἀντιόω meet, fight, join
ἀπάγω lead away, back
 ~demagogue
ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away
ἀπόδεξις acceptance; (Ion) showing
ἀπολέγω pick; decline
ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ~tonsure
ἄτε as if; since
αὐτόθι on the spot
δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot
δηλέομαι hurt, spoil, steal ~delenda
διαλέγω go through, debate ~legion
διαφυλάσσω guard, observe
δῖς twice
δορυφόρος spear-bearing
δουλόω enslave
δυστυχέω be unlucky
εἶδος -ους (n, 3) appearance, form
 ~oid
ἐκτάμνω cut out, fell
Ἑλλήν Greek
ἐνθαῦτα there, here
ἐντός within
ἐπαινέω concur, praise, advise
ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail
ἐπιγιγνώσκω look upon, recognize
 ~gnostic

ἐπιδιώκω chase after
ἐπικλητός summoned, appointed
ἐπίσχω aim; restrain
ἐπιτρέπω entrust, decide, allow
 ~trophy
ἐπιτυγχάνω meet, attain
εὐνοῦχος eunuch
εὺς good, brave, noble
ἐφάπτω fasten upon ~haptic
ἐφοράω look upon ~panorama
ζωστήρ -ος (m) belt ~zone
ἡδομαι be pleased, enjoy
 ~hedonism
ἥθος ἥθεος (n, 3) habit, habitat
 ~ethos
ἡπειρος (f) mainland, continent
ἱρεΐη priestess
καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall, arrive; be proper
καταλέγω relate in detail, choose; enroll ~legion
καταστρέφω overturn, subdue
 ~catastrophe
κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate; get; kill
κτάομαι acquire, possess
λεπτός thin
λογίζομαι reckon, consider
μεθίστημι change, substitute; withdraw; change sides; (mid) send away ~station
μέμφομαι blame; reject
μεταίτιος accessory
μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon
 ~pomp
μηχανάομαι build, contrive
 ~mechanism
μίν him, her, it
μυριάς -δος (ῥ, f, 3) countless, myriad
ναυμαχία naval warfare
νέμω to allot, to pasture ~nemesis

νόθος	bastard	στρατόω	be on a campaign ~strategy
οἰκέτης -ου (m, 1)	household; house slave	συλλέγω	collect, assemble ~legion
ὀνειδίζω	upbraid, reproach	συμβουλευέω	give advice; (mid) consult ~volunteer
ὄον οὖ	type of fruit	συμβουλίη	advice; consultation
ὅπότερος	which of two, either of two	σύμβουλος	adviser
ὄψις ὄψεως (f)	sight, view ~thanatopsis	συμπέμπω	send with ~pomp
πάθος -ους (n, 3)	an experience, passion, condition	συμφέρω	bring together; be expedient; agree; (mp) happen ~bear
πανοικία	whole household	συμφορά	collecting; accident, misfortune
παραμένω	stay with ~remain	συνέπομαι	go along with ~sequel
παραρτέομαι	get something ready	σχεδία	raft
περίειμι	be superior to; be left over; still exist	σχεδίην	at close quarters ~ischemia
περιέρχομαι	go around; come next to	τάχος -ους (n, 3)	speed ~tachometer
περιλαμβάνω	surround, include	τίμιος	honored, precious
Πέρσης	Persian	τίσις -τος (f)	payment, vengeance
πρόγονος	elder, ancestor ~genus	τοιόσδε	such
πρόειμι	to have been before, earlier ~ion	τρέχω	run, spin
προσήκω	belong to, it beseems	ὕπάγω	lead under the yoke, lead away from ~demagogue
προχωρέω	proceed, come forward	ὕπισχνέομαι	promise, agree to do ~ischemia
πυρόω	burn something	ὕποδείκνυμι (υῶ)	show, trace out
πώγων -ος (m, 3)	beard	ὕποδέχομαι	welcome, accept, suffer
πωλόμαι	go back and forth	ὕποδέχομαι	welcome, accept, suffer ~doctrine
πωλέω	sell	ὕποκρίνομαι (ῖ)	answer; pretend
στράτευμα -τος (n, 3)	army ~strategy	φίλιος	friendly
στρατιά	army ~strategy	φύω	produce, beget; clasp ~physics
στρατός	common people/soldiers ~strategy	ὠνέομαι	buy

πρὸς ἑωυτὸν ὥς δώσει δίκην ἀναγνώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οἱ κρέσσον εἴη ἀνακινδυνεύσαι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἢ αὐτὸν καλῶς τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα.¹ πλέον μέντοι ἔφερε οἱ ἡ γνώμη κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα· λογισάμενος ὦν ταῦτα προσέφερε τὸν λόγον τόνδε. «δέσποτα, μήτε λυπέο μήτε συμφορὴν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην ποιεῖ τοῦδε τοῦ γεγονότος ἔνεκα πρήγματος. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγὼν ὁ τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἐστὶ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. σοὶ δὲ οὔτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν σφίσι ἤδη δοκούντων κατεργάσθαι ἀποβὰς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται ἀντιωθῆναι οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου τῆσδε· οἱ τε ἡμῖν ἡντιώθησαν, ἔδοσαν δίκας. εἰ μὲν νυν δοκέει, αὐτίκα πειρώμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου· εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκέει ἐπισχεῖν, παρέχει ποιέειν ταῦτα. μηδὲ δυσθύμει· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι Ἑλλήσι οὐδεμία ἔκδυσις μὴ οὐ δόντας λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον εἶναι σοὺς δούλους. μάλιστα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ποίει· εἰ δ' ἄρα τοι βεβούλευται αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιήν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε βουλήν. σὺ Πέρσας, βασιλεῦ, μὴ ποιήσης καταγελάστους γενέσθαι Ἑλλήσι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν Πέρσῃσί τοί τι δεδήληται² τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὐδ' ἐρέεις ὅκου ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοί. εἰ δὲ Φοίνικες τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοί τε καὶ Κίλικες κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος. ἤδη ὦν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοι αἵτιοι εἰσί, ἐμοὶ πείθεο· εἴ τοι δέδοκται μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐς ἥθεα τὰ σεωντοῦ ἀπέλανε τῆς στρατῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν, ἐμὲ δὲ σοὶ χρή τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον.»

8.101

ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης ὥς ἐκ κακῶν ἐχάρη τε καὶ ἤσθη, πρὸς Μαρδόνιον τε βουλευσάμενος ἔφη ὑποκρινέεσθαι ὁκότερον ποιήσει τούτων. ὥς δὲ ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπικλήτοισι, ἔδοξέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐς συμβουλίην μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτι πρότερον ἐφαίνετο μούνη νοέουσα τὰ ποιητέα ἦν. ὥς δὲ ἀπύκετο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη, μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς

¹ lift; (mp) hang ² hurt, spoil, steal

δορυφόρους,³ ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε. «κελεύει με Μαρδόνιος μένοντα αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, λέγων ὥς μοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς οὐδενὸς μεταίτιοι πάθεος εἰσὶ, ἀλλὰ βουλομένοισι σφι γένοιτ' ἂν ἀποδέξεις. ἐμὲ ὦν ἢ ταῦτα κελεύει ποιεῖν, ἢ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην, αὐτὸν δέ με κελεύει ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐς ἡῖθα τὰ ἐμά. σὺ ὦν ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης εἶδὼς συνεβούλευσας τῆς γενομένης οὐκ ἔωσα ποιέεσθαι, νῦν τε συμβούλευσον ὁκότερα ποιέων ἐπιτύχω εἶδὼς βουλευσάμενος.»

8.102

ὁ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβουλεύετο, ἡ δὲ λέγει τάδε. «βασιλεῦ, χαλεπὸν μὲν ἐστὶ συμβουλευομένῳ τυχεῖν τὰ ἄριστα εἶπασαν, ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι δοκέει μοι αὐτὸν μὲν σε ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιον δέ, εἰ ἐθέλει τε καὶ ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιήσῃν, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν σὺν τοῖσι ἐθέλει. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἦν καταστρέφεται τὰ φησὶ θέλειν καὶ οἱ προχωρήσῃ τὰ νοέων λέγει, σὸν τὸ ἔργον ὦ δέσποτα γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δοῦλοι κατεργάσαντο. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδονίου γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία συμφορὴ μεγάλη ἔσται σέο τε περιόντος καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἶκον τὸν σόν· ἦν γὰρ σύ τε περιῆς καὶ οἶκος ὁ σός, πολλοὺς πολλακὶς ἀγῶνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Μαρδονίου δέ, ἦν τι πάθῃ, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται, οὐδέ τι νικῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶσι, δοῦλον σὸν ἀπολέσαντες· σὺ δέ, τῶν εἵνεκα τὸν στόλον ἐποίησας⁴ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπελᾶς.»

8.103

ἦσθη τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλίᾳ Ξέρξης· λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύγχανε τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἐνόεε. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ μένειν, ἔμενε ἂν δοκέειν ἐμοί· οὕτω καταρρωδήκεε. ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίην, ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἄγουσαν αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἐς Ἑφεσον· νόθοι⁵ γὰρ τινὲς παῖδές οἱ συνέσποντο.

³ spear-brearing ⁴ burn something ⁵ bastard

8.104

συνέπεμπε δὲ τοῖσι παισὶ φύλακον Ἑρμότιμον, γένος μὲν εὐντα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνούχων⁶ παρὰ βασιλεί· οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ· ἐν δὲ τοῖσι Πηδάσοισι τούτοις τοιόνδε συμφέρεται πρῆγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὰν τοῖσι ἀμφικτυόσι πᾶσι τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπὸν, τότε ἡ ἱρεὶς⁷ αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πώγονα⁸ μέγαν. τοῦτο δὲ σφι δις ἤδη ἐγένετο.

8.105

ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἦν τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἤδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πωλεόμενον ὠνέεται⁹ Πανιώνιος ἀνὴρ Χίος, ὃς τὴν ζόην κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων· ὅκως γὰρ κτήσαιο παῖδας εἵδεος ἐπαμμένους, ἐκτάμνων ἀγνέων ἐπώλεε ἐς Σάρδεις τε καὶ Ἐφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμώτεροι εἰσὶ οἱ εὐνούχοι πίστιος εἵνεκα τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχίων. ἄλλους τε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἐξέταμε πολλούς, ἅτε ποιούμενος ἐκ τούτου τὴν ζόην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον. καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδυστύχεε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος, ἀπικνέεται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα μετ' ἄλλων δώρων, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος πάντων τῶν εὐνούχων ἐτιμήθη μάλιστα παρὰ Ξέρξη.

8.106

ὥς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὄρμα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐὼν ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβὰς κατὰ δὴ τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χίῳ μὲν νέμονται Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέεται, εὐρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὺς καὶ φίλους λόγους, πρῶτα μὲν οἱ καταλέγων ὅσα αὐτὸς δι' ἐκείνον ἔχοι ἀγαθὰ, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ ὑπισχνεύμενος ἀντὶ τούτων ὅσα μιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσει ἢν κομίσας τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκὴ ἐκείνη, ὥστε ὑποδεξάμενον ἄσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα

⁶ eunuch ⁷ priestess ⁸ beard ⁹ buy

καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. ὥς δὲ ἄρα πανοικίῃ¹⁰ μιν περιέλαβε, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος τάδε. «ὦ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἤδη μάλιστα ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τί σε ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τίς σε προγόνων ἐργάσατο, ἢ σὲ ἢ τῶν σῶν τινα, ὅτι με ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι; ἐδόκεές τε θεοὺς λήσειν οἷα ἐμηχανῶ τότε· οἱ σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια, νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεώμενοι, ὑπήγαγον ἐς χεῖρας τὰς ἐμάς, ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο τοι ἐσομένην δίκην.» ὥς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ὠνείδισε, ἀχθέντων τῶν παίδων ἐς οἶμιν ἠναγκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν ἐωυτοῦ παίδων τεσσέρων ἐόντων τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτάμνειν, ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὥς ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παῖδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώνιον μὲν νυν οὕτω περιῆλθε ἢ τε τίσις καὶ Ἑρμότιμος.

8.107

Ξέρξης δὲ ὥς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέτρεψε Ἀρτεμισίῃ ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἑφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιέειν τοῖσι λόγοισι τὰ ἔργα πειρώμενον ὅμοια. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κελεύσαντος βασιλέος τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπήγον ὀπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὥς τάχεος εἶχε ἕκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλεί. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστήρης¹¹ πλείοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι λεπταὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης, ἔδοξάν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἔφευγον ἐπὶ πολλόν· χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες εἶεν ἀλλ' ἄκραι, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.

8.108

ὥς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγίνετο, ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώρην μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν ἡλπίζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκούν τε ναυμαχίῃσιν σφέας παραρτέοντό τε ὥς ἀλεξησόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξεω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπέιδον

¹⁰ whole household ¹¹ belt

with regard to himself that he would have to suffer punishment for having persuaded the king to make an expedition against Hellas, and that it was better for him to run the risk of either subduing Hellas or ending his own life honourably, placing his safety in suspense for a great end, though his opinion was rather that he would subdue Hellas;— he reckoned up these things, I say, and addressed his speech to the king as follows: “Master, be not thou grieved, nor feel great trouble on account of this thing which has come to pass; for it is not upon a contest of timbers that all our fortunes depend, but of men and of horses: and none of these who suppose now that all has been achieved by them will attempt to disembark from the ships and stand against thee, nor will any in this mainland do so; but those who did stand against us paid the penalty. If therefore thou thinkest this good to do, let us forthwith attempt the Peloponnese, or if thou thinkest good to hold back, we may do that. Do not despond however, for there is no way of escape for the Hellenes to avoid being thy slaves, after they have first given an account of that which they did to thee both now and at former times. Thus it were best to do; but if thou hast indeed resolved to retire thyself and to withdraw thy army, I have another counsel to offer for that case too. Do not thou, O king, let the Persians be an object of laughter to the Hellenes; for none of thy affairs have suffered by means of the Persians, nor wilt thou be able to mention any place where we proved ourselves cowards: but if Phenicians or Egyptians or Cyprians or Kilikians proved themselves cowards, the calamity which followed does not belong to the Persians in any way. Now therefore, since it is not the Persians who are guilty towards thee, follow my counsel. If thou hast determined not to remain here, retire thou to thine own abode, taking with thee the main body of the army, and it must then be for me to deliver over to thee Hellas reduced to subjection, choosing for this purpose thirty myriads from the army.”

8.101

Hearing this Xerxes was rejoiced and delighted so far as he might be after his misfortunes, and to Mardonios he said that when he had taken counsel he would reply and say which of these two things he would do. So when he was taking counsel with those of the Persians who were called to be his advisers, it seemed good to him to send for Artemisia also to give him counsel, because at the former time she alone had showed herself to have perception of that which ought to be done. So when Artemisia had come, Xerxes removed from him all the rest, both the Persian councillors and also the spearmen of the guard and spoke to her thus: “Mardonios bids me stay here and make an attempt on the Peloponnese, saying that the Persians and the land-army are not guilty of any share in my calamity, and that they would gladly give me proof of this. He bids me therefore either do this or, if not, he desires

himself to choose thirty myriads from the army and to deliver over to me Hellas reduced to subjection; and he bids me withdraw with the rest of the army to my own abode. Do thou therefore, as thou didst well advise about the sea-fight which was fought, urging that we should not bring it on, so also now advise me which of these things I shall do, that I may succeed in determining well."

8.102

He thus consulted her, and she spoke these words: "O king, it is hard for me to succeed in saying the best things when one asks me for counsel; yet it seems good to me at the present that thou shouldest retire back and leave Mardonios here, if he desires it and undertakes to do this, together with those whom he desires to have: for on the one hand if he subdue those whom he says that he desires to subdue, and if those matters succeed well which he has in mind when he thus speaks, the deed will after all be thine, master, seeing that thy slaves achieved it: and on the other hand if the opposite shall come to pass of that which Mardonios intends, it will be no great misfortune, seeing that thou wilt thyself remain safe, and also the power in those parts which concerns thy house: for if thou shalt remain safe with thy house, many contests many times over repeated will the Hellenes have to pass through for their own existence. Of Mardonios however, if he suffer any disaster, no account will be made; and if the Hellenes conquer they gain a victory which is no victory, having destroyed one who is but thy slave. Thou however wilt retire having done that for which thou didst make thy march, that is to say, having delivered Athens to the fire."

8.103

With this advice Xerxes was greatly delighted, since she succeeded in saying that very thing which he himself was meaning to do: for not even if all the men and all the women in the world had been counselling him to remain, would he have done so, as I think, so much had he been struck with terror. He commended Artemisia therefore and sent her away to conduct his sons to Ephesos, for there were certain bastard sons of his which accompanied him.

8.104

With these sons he sent Hermotimos to have charge of them, who was by race of Pedasa and was in the estimation of the king second to none of the eunuchs. [Now the Pedasians dwell above Halicarnassos, and at this Pedasa a thing happens as follows:— whenever to the whole number of those who dwell about this city some trouble is about to come within a certain time, then the priestess of Athene in that place gets a long beard; and this has happened to them twice before now.

8.105

Of these Pedasians was Hermotimos.] And this man of all persons whom we know up to this time obtained the greatest revenge for a wrong done to him. For he had been captured by enemies and was being sold, and Panionios a man of Chios bought him, one who had set himself to gain his livelihood by the most impious practices; for whenever he obtained boys who possessed some beauty, he would make eunuchs of them, and then taking them to Sardis or Ephesos sold them for large sums of money, since with the Barbarians eunuchs are held to be of more value for all matters of trust than those who are not eunuchs. Panionios then, I say, made eunuchs of many others, since by this he got his livelihood, and also of this man about whom I speak: and Hermotimos, being not in everything unfortunate, was sent from Sardis to the king with other gifts, and as time went on he came to be honoured more than all the other eunuchs in the sight of Xerxes.

8.106

And when the king, being at that time in Sardis, was setting the Persian army in motion to march against Athens, then Hermotimos, having gone down for some business to that part of Mysia which the Chians occupy and which is called Atarneus, found there Panionios: and having recognised him he spoke to him many friendly words, first recounting to him all the good things which he had by his means, and next making promises in return for this, and saying how many good things he would do for him, if he would bring his household and dwell in that land; so that Panionios gladly accepting his proposals brought his children and his wife. Then, when he had caught him together with his whole house, Hermotimos spoke as follows: "O thou, who of all men that ever lived up to this time didst gain thy substance by the most impious deeds, what evil did either I myself or any of my forefathers do either to thee or to any of thine, that thou didst make me to be that which is nought instead of a man? Didst thou suppose that thou wouldest escape the notice of the gods for such things as then thou didst devise? They however following the rule of justice delivered thee into my hands, since thou hadst done impious deeds; so that thou shalt not have reason to find fault with the penalty which shall be inflicted upon thee by me." When he had thus reproached him, the man's sons were brought into his presence and Panionios was compelled to make eunuchs of his own sons, who were four in number, and being compelled he did so; and then when he had so done, the sons were compelled to do the same thing to him. Thus vengeance by the hands of Hermotimos overtook Panionios.

8.107

When Xerxes had entrusted his sons to Artemisia to carry them back to Ephesos, he called Mardonios and bade him choose of the army whom he would, and make his deeds, if possible, correspond to his words. During this day then things went so far; and in the night on the command of the king the leaders of the fleet began to withdraw their ships from Phaleron to the Hellespont, as quickly as they might each one, to guard the bridges for the king to pass over. And when the Barbarians were near Zoster as they sailed, then seeing the small points of rock which stretch out to sea from this part of the mainland, they thought that these were ships and fled for a good distance. In time however, perceiving that they were not ships but points of rock, they assembled together again and continued on their voyage.

8.108

When day dawned, the Hellenes, seeing that the land-army was staying still in its place, supposed that the ships also were about Phaleron; and thinking that they would fight another sea-battle, they made preparations to repel them. When however they were informed that the ships had departed, forthwith upon this they thought it good to pursue after them. They pursued therefore as far as Andros, but did not get a sight of the fleet of Xerxes; and when they had come to Andros,

vocabulary

ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, statue

ἀδυναμία inability, weakness

αἴνη story, praise

ἁλίσκομαι be captured ~helix

ἀμηχανία helplessness ~mechanism

ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read, understand, persuade

ἀναγκαίη of necessity, by force

ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery

ἀνακῶς carefully

ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover, resume

ἀναμάχομαι retry a fight

ἀναπλάσσω remodel

ἀνήκω reach up to; belong

ἀνόσιος unholy

ἀνωθέω put out to sea

ἀπάγω lead away, back

~demagogue

ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart

ἀπειλέω vow, threaten, boast

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

ἀποδοκέω decide against

ἀπομαστιγώω (t) scourge severely

ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp

ἀποπλέω sail away ~float

ἀποστροφή turning back, away

ἀτάσθαλος reckless, wanton

ἄφαιρέω take away ~heresy

ἄχρηστος useless, unprofitable

βάσανος (f) trial, torture

βασιλεύω be king

γελάω laugh, smile, laugh at

γέφυρα (v) dam, dike; bridge

γεωπείνης -ου (m, 1) poor in land

διαβάλλω throw across; slander

~ballistic

διάβασις -εως (f) crossing, passage

~basis

διακρίνω (u) separate, sort ~critic

διαλέγω go through, debate ~legion

διαφεύγω escape, survive

ἔαρ -ος (n) spring (season)

εἶδος -ους (n, 3) appearance, form

~-oid

εἰσπέμπω send in

ἐκλέγω pick, single out

ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over

ἐκφεύγω flee from, escape ~fugitive

Ἑλλήν Greek

ἐνθαῦτα there, here

ἐνθεῦτεν thence

ἐντέλλω (mp) command

ἐξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate;

destroy ~heresy

ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic

ἐπάγω drive game; induce belief

~demagogue

ἐπέτειος of one year

ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail

ἐπήβολος having available ~ballistic

ἐπιδιώκω chase after

ἐπιμελέομαι take care of, oversee

ἐπιχειρέω do, try, attack ~chiral

έτοιμος ready; fulfilled

εὐβουλος prudent, wise

εὐδαίμων blessed with a good

genius

εὕρημα invention; windfall

εὖς good, brave, noble

ἐφέτειος of one year

ἡσυχία peace and quiet

ἦτοι truly; either, or

θωρηκοφόρος wearing a breastplate

ἱλάσκομαι appease

καθίμι (u) speed down upon; take

down ~jet

καίτοι and yet; and in fact; although

κακότης -τος (f, 3) badness

~cacophony

κάρτα very much ~κράτος
καταβάλλω throw down, cast off
 ~ballistic
καταλαμβάνω seize, understand,
 catch, overtake; (mp) happen
 ~epilepsy
καταμένω stay; not change
καταπλέω land ~float
κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate;
 get; kill
κομιδή care, tending, providing for
λάθρα secretly
λιμός (ι, f) famine
μεταβάλλω alter, transform
μίν him, her, it
μυριάς -δος (ῥ, f, 3) countless,
 myriad
ναυμαχία naval warfare
νέφος -εος (n, 3) cloud ~nebula
νησιώτης -ου (m, 1) insular
οἰκέτης -ου (m, 1) household; house
 slave
ὄον οὖ type of fruit
ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view
 ~thanatopsis
πάθος -ους (n, 3) an experience,
 passion, condition
παντελής complete, absolute
πάντως by all means
πεδάω impede, chain ~impede
πέδη shackles ~pedal
πειθός persuasive
πενία poverty ~osteopenia
πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder
περιημεκτέω be aggrieved
Πέρσης Persian
πλεονεκτέω be greedy, take
 advantage

πόρος way, bridge ~fare
πόρω aor. give, pf. be fated
πρέπω be conspicuous, preeminent
 ~refurbish
προΐσχω be ahead, jut forward; mid:
 have before one
προπέμπω send, send ahead
 ~pomp
προσχωρέω go to, join, support
προσώτρω farther
προχωρέω proceed, come forward
ῥώμη strength, might
σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark
 ~semaphore
σιγάω (ι) be silent
σοφός skilled, clever, wise
σπόρος sowing, seed
στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army
 ~strategy
στρατιά army ~strategy
συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
σύμπας (ᾱ) all together
σύνοιδα know about someone;
 think proper
σχεδία raft
σχεδίην at close quarters ~ischemia
τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ~tachometer
τοιγάρ therefore
τοιόσδε such
τροφή food, upkeep ~atrophy
ὑπερβολή mountain pass; excess
ὑποκρίνομαι (ι) answer; pretend
ὑπουργέω serve, help
φθονέω envy
χειμερίζω overwinter
χίλιοι (ιι) thousand ~kilo-
χρηστήριον oracle, response
χρηστός useful; brave, worthy

διώξαντες μέχρι Ἄνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἄνδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας πλέειν ἰθέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας· Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτῃ γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὡς εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἂν μέγιστον πάντων σφι κακῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρῶτο ἂν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν, ὡς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἡσυχίην οὔτε τι προχωρεῖν οἶόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων οὔτε τις κομιδὴ¹ τὰ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῶ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθερέεται, ἐπιχειροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἐχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπῃν οἶά τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα, ἥτοι ἀλικομένων γε ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὁμολογεόντων τροφὴν τε ἔξειν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπὸν. ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσῃ· ἐατέον ὦν εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐς ὃ ἔλθοι φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἶχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.

8.109

ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγότες περιημέκτεον, ὁρμέατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ βουλοίατο ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. «καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμεν καὶ πολλῶ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι, ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νενικημένους ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέραν κακότητα. ἡμεῖς δέ, εὖρημα² γὰρ εὐρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι, μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας. τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἳ ἐφθόνησαν ἄνδρα ἓνα τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῦσαι ἐόντα ἀνόσιόν τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον· ὃς τὰ τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο, ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· ὃς

¹ care, tending, providing for ² invention; windfall

καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατήκε. ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμείναντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων, καὶ τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ σπόρου³ ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω, παντελέως⁴ ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης.» ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσασθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσην, ἵνα ἦν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος ἔχῃ ἀποστροφὴν· τὰ περ ὧν καὶ ἐγένετο.

8.110

Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφὸς ἐφάνη ἐὼν ἀληθῶς σοφός τε καὶ εὐβουλος,⁵ πάντως ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὡς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγᾶν ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον⁶ ἀπικνεομένοισι τὰ αὐτὸς ἐντεῖλατο βασιλεῖ φράσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτὶς ἐγένετο· οἱ ἐπεῖτε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβάς παρὰ Ξέρξην ἔλεγε τάδε. «ἔπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσσοντά τοι ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργέειν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύνειν. καὶ νῦν κατ' ἡσυχίαν πολλὴν κομίζω.» οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημήναντες ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω.

8.111

οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεῖτε σφί ἀπέδοξε μήτ' ἐπιδιώκειν ἔτι προσωτέρω τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας μήτε πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον λύσοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἄνδρον περικατέατο ἐξελεῖν ἐθέλοντες. πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἄνδριοι νησιωτέων αἰτηθέντες πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέος χρήματα οὐκ ἔδοσαν, ἀλλὰ προϊσχομένου Θεμιστοκλέος λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἦκοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἐωυτοὺς ἔχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, πειθῶ τε καὶ

³ sowing, seed ⁴ complete, absolute ⁵ prudent, wise ⁶ trial, torture

ἀναγκαίην, οὕτω τέ σφι κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίναντο πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἄρα αἱ Ἀθηναὶ μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες,⁷ αἱ καὶ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἤκοιεν εὖ, ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι γεωπείνας⁸ ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, καὶ θεοὺς δύο ἀχρήστους οὐκ ἐκλείπειν σφέων τὴν νῆσον ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φιλοχωρέειν, πενήν τε καὶ ἀμηχανίην,⁹ καὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπηβόλους ἐόντας Ἀνδρίους οὐ δώσειν χρήματα· οὐδέκοτε γὰρ τῆς ἐωυτῶν ἀδυναμίας¹⁰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσω.

8.112

οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποκρινάμενοι καὶ οὐ δόντες τὰ χρήματα ἐπολιορκέοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέμπων ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀπειλητηρίους λόγους αἵτεε χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ἐχρήσατο, λέγων ὡς εἰ μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἐξαίρησει. λέγων ταῦτα συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων τε καὶ Παρίων, οἱ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν τε Ἄνδρον ὡς πολιορκέοιτο διότι ἐμήδισε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα ὡς εἴη ἐν αἴνῃ¹¹ μεγίστη τῶν στρατηγῶν, δείσαντες ταῦτα ἔπεμπον χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι ἔδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι καὶ οὐ τούτους μούρους. καίτοι Καρυστίοισί γε οὐδὲν τούτου εἵνεκα τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ ἐγένετο· Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἱλασάμενοι¹² διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν ἐξ Ἄνδρου ὀρμώμενος χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτᾶτο λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν.

8.113

οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην ἐξήλαυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν. ἔδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ ἀνωρίη εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν, χειμερίσαι τε ἄμεινον εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι

⁷ blessed with a good genius ⁸ poor in land ⁹ helplessness

¹⁰ inability, weakness ¹¹ story, praise ¹² appease

πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρώτους μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ὑδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους¹³ καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλὴν, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδούς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἵλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμαχῶν ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους, τοῖσι εἶδεά τε ὑπῆρχε διαλέγων καὶ εἰ τεοῖσι τι χρηστὸν συνήδее πεπονημένον· ἐν δὲ πλείστον ἔθνος Πέρσας αἰρέετο, ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων, ῥώμῃ δὲ ἴσσοι. ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεῦσι.

8.114

ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδονίῳ τε τὴν στρατιὴν διέκρινε καὶ Ξέρξης ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐληλύθει ἐκ Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι, Ξέρξην αἰτέειν δίκας τοῦ Λεωνίδεω φόνου καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι. πέμπουσι δὴ κήρυκα τὴν ταχίστην Σπαρτιῇται, ὃς ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε ἐοῦσαν ἔτι πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν Ξέρξεω ἔλεγε τάδε. «ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τέ σε καὶ Ἡρακλείδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης αἰτέουσι φόνου δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτεινας ῥυόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα.» ὁ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρεστῶς Μαρδόνιος, δεικνὺς ἐς τοῦτον εἶπε «τοιγὰρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὅδε δίκας δώσει τοιαύτας οἷας ἐκείνοισι πρέπει.»

8.115

ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥήθην ἀπαλλάσσετο, Ξέρξης δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρησι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὡς εἰπεῖν. ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοίατο καὶ κατ' οὐστίας ἀνθρώπους,

¹³ wearing a breastplate

they deliberated what they should do. Themistocles then declared as his opinion that they should take their course through the islands and pursue after the ships, and afterwards sail straight to the Hellespont to break up the bridges; but Eurybiades expressed the opposite opinion to this, saying that if they should break up the floating-bridges, they would therein do the greatest possible evil to Hellas: for if the Persian should be cut off and compelled to remain in Europe, he would endeavour not to remain still, since if he remained still, neither could any of his affairs go forward, nor would any way of returning home appear; but his army would perish of hunger: whereas if he made the attempt and persevered in it, all Europe might be brought over to him, city by city and nation by nation, the inhabitants being either conquered or surrendering on terms before they were conquered: moreover they would have for food the crops of the Hellenes which grew year by year. He thought however that conquered in the sea-fight the Persian would not stay in Europe, and therefore he might be allowed to flee until in his flight he came to his own land. Then after that they might begin the contest for the land which belonged to the Persian. To this opinion the commanders of the other Peloponnesians adhered also.

8.109

When Themistocles perceived that he would not be able to persuade them, or at least the greater number of them, to sail to the Hellespont, he changed his counsel and turning to the Athenians (for these were grieved most at the escape of the enemy and were anxious to sail to the Hellespont even by themselves alone, if the others were not willing) to them he spoke as follows: "I myself also have been present before now on many occasions, and have heard of many more, on which something of this kind came to pass, namely that men who were forced into great straits, after they had been defeated fought again and repaired their former disaster: and as for us, since we have won as a prize from fortune the existence of ourselves and of Hellas by repelling from our land so great a cloud of men, let us not pursue enemies who flee from us: for of these things not we were the doors, but the gods and heroes, who grudged that one man should become king of both Asia and of Europe, and he a man unholy and presumptuous, one who made no difference between things sacred and things profane, burning and casting down the images of the gods, and who also scourged the Sea and let down into it fetters. But as things are at present, it is well that we should now remain in Hellas and look after ourselves and our households; and let each man repair his house, and have a care for sowing his land, after he has completely driven away the Barbarian: and then at the beginning of the spring let us sail down towards the Hellespont and Ionia." Thus he spoke, intending to lay up for himself a store of gratitude with the Persian, in order that if after all any evil

should come upon him at the hands of the Athenians, he might have a place of refuge: and this was in fact that which came to pass.

8.110

Themistocles then speaking thus endeavoured to deceive them, and the Athenians followed his advice: for he had had the reputation even in former times of being a man of ability and he had now proved himself to be in truth both able and of good judgment; therefore they were ready in every way to follow his advice when he spoke. So when these had been persuaded by him, forthwith after this Themistocles sent men with a vessel, whom he trusted to keep silence, to whatever test they might be brought, of that which he himself charged them to tell the king; and of them Sikinnos his servant again was one. When these came to Attica, the rest stayed behind in the ship, while Sikinnos went up to Xerxes and spoke these words: "Themistocles the son of Neocles sent me, who is commander of the Athenians, and of all the allies the best and ablest man, to tell thee that Themistocles the Athenian, desiring to be of service to thee, held back the Hellenes when they were desirous to pursue after thy ships and to destroy the bridges on the Hellespont. Now therefore thou mayest make thy way home quite undisturbed." They having signified this sailed away again.

8.111

The Hellenes meanwhile, having resolved not to pursue after the ships of the Barbarians further, nor to sail to the Hellespont to break up the passage, were investing Andros intending to take it: for the Andrians were the first of the islanders who, being asked by Themistocles for money, refused to give it: and when Themistocles made proposals to them and said that the Athenians had come having on their side two great deities, Persuasion and Compulsion, and therefore they must by all means give them money, they replied to this that not without reason, as it now appeared, was Athens great and prosperous, since the Athenians were well supplied with serviceable deities; but as for the Andrians, they were poor, having in this respect attained to the greatest eminence, and there were two unprofitable deities which never left their island but always remained attached to the place, Poverty, namely, and Helplessness: and the Andrians being possessed of these deities would not give money; for never could the power of the Athenians get the better of their inability.

8.112

These, I say, having thus made answer and having refused to give the money, were being besieged: and Themistocles not ceasing in his desire for gain sent threatening messages to the other islands and asked them for money by the same envoys, employing those whom he had before sent to the king; and he

said that if they did not give that which was demanded of them, he would bring the fleet of the Hellenes against them to besiege and take them. Thus saying he collected great sums of money from the Carystians and the Parians, who being informed how Andros was being besieged, because it had taken the side of the Medes, and how Themistocles was held in more regard than any of the other commanders, sent money for fear of this. Whether any others of the islanders also gave money I am not able to say, but I think that some others gave and not these alone. Yet to the Carystians at least there was no respite from the evil on this account, but the Parians escaped the attack, because they propitiated Themistocles with money. Thus Themistocles with Andros as his starting-point was acquiring sums of money for himself from the men of the islands without the knowledge of the other commanders.

8.113

Xerxes meanwhile with his army stayed for a few days after the sea-fight, and then they all began to march forth towards Boeotia by the same way by which they had come: for Mardonios thought both that it was well for him to escort the king on his way, and also that it was now too late in the year to carry on the war; it was better, he thought, to winter in Thessaly and then at the beginning of spring to attempt the Peloponnese. When he came to Thessaly, then Mardonios chose out for himself first all those Persians who are called “Immortals,” except only their commander Hydarnes (for Hydarnes said that he would not be left behind by the king), and after them of the other Persians those who wore cuirasses, and the body of a thousand horse: also the Medes, Sacans, Bactrians and Indians, foot and horsemen both. These nations he chose in the mass, but from the other allies he selected by few at a time, choosing those who had fine appearance of those of whom he knew that they had done good service. From the Persians he chose more than from any other single nation, and these wore collars of twisted metal and bracelets; and after them came the Medes, who in fact were not inferior in number to the Persians, but only in bodily strength. The result was that there were thirty myriads in all, including cavalry.

8.114

During this time, while Mardonios was selecting his army and Xerxes was in Thessaly, there had come an oracle from Delphi to the Lacedemonians, bidding them ask satisfaction from Xerxes for the murder of Leonidas and accept that which should be given by him. The Spartans therefore sent a herald as quickly as possible, who having found the whole army still in Thessaly came into the presence of Xerxes and spoke these words: “O king of the Medes, the Lacedemonians and the sons of Heracles of Sparta demand of thee satisfaction for murder, because thou didst kill their king, fighting in

defence of Hellas.” He laughed and then kept silence some time, and after that pointing to Mardonios, who happened to be standing by him, he said: “Then Mardonios here shall give them satisfaction, such as is fitting for them to have.”

8.115

The herald accordingly accepted the utterance and departed; and Xerxes leaving Mardonios in Thessaly went on himself in haste to the Hellespont and arrived at the passage where the crossing was in five and thirty days, bringing back next to nothing, as one may say, of his army: and whithersoever they came on the

vocabulary

ἄγριος wild, savage ~agriculture
 ἀγχοτάτω nearest
 ἄδεια amnesty, impunity
 αἰνέω praise, assent, acquiesce in
 ἀκινάκης -ου (m, 1) Persian short sword
 ἄκριτος indiscriminate, endless
 ~critic
 ἀκροθίνιον first-fruit sacrifice; the best
 ἀκρωτήριον cape, extremity
 ἄλογέω ignore ~legion
 ἀνατίθηναι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach
 ἀναφύω grow back
 ἀνδριάς -ντος (m, 3) portrait, statue
 ἀντίξοος opposed to
 ἄνω (ἄ) accomplish, pass, waste; upwards, out to sea
 ἀπαγορεύω forbid; fail, be worn out
 ἀπαιτέω demand to have returned
 ἀπαλλαγή relief, escape
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart
 ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away
 ἄπιξις arrival
 ἀπολαμβάνω receive, recover, take aside, cut off ~epilepsy
 ἀπονοστέω go home
 ἀποσώζω save from
 ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ~tonsure
 ἀρεστός satisfactory, pleasing
 ἀρπάζω carry off, seize ~harpoon
 ἀσινής unharmed
 βωμός altar; stand, pedestal
 γέμω be full of
 γωνία corner, angle
 δεῖμα -τος (n, 3) fear
 δέμω build ~domicile
 δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot

δευτερεῖος second-best
 δημῶ be inimical, hurt, tear, kill
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis
 διαδέχομαι be next, succeed
 ~doctrine
 διαλύω break up; relax, weaken
 διανέμω distribute, divide
 διαχράομαι use habitually; lend out; reveal
 διαχραύω use; kill
 διαχρέομαι use habitually; lend out; reveal
 δοξῶ (mp) have the character of
 δουλεύω serve, be a slave
 δωρέω give ~donate
 ἐκάστοτε each time
 ἐκβαίνω come forth, disembark
 ~basis
 ἐκπηδάω sally, leave
 ἐκὼν willingly, on purpose; giving in too easily
 ἐλαία olive, olive tree ~olive
 Ἑλλήν Greek
 ἐμπίμπλημι fill with
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence
 ἐνίημι put in; motivate ~jet
 ἐντείνω tauten ~tend
 ἕξ six ~hexagon
 ἐξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate; destroy ~heresy
 ἐξορύσσω dig out
 ἐπείγω weigh upon, drive; (mid) hurry
 ἐπικουφίζω lighten a load
 ἐπιλαμβάνω take, attack, seize
 ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near
 ἐπιτρέπω entrust, decide, allow
 ~trophy
 ἐπιφανής coming to view; conspicuous
 ἐρέτης -ου (m, 1) oarsman, oar
 ~row

ζώνη girdle; waist, loins ~zone
 ἥμερος gentle; (animals)
 domesticated
 ἰδρύω establish
 ἱστός mast, loom ~stand
 καλλιστεύω be the best
 καταβιβάζω bring down
 κατάστρωμα -τος (n, 3) ship's deck
 κατεσθίω devour ~eat
 κήδω distress, hurt; mp: care about
 (+gen) ~heinous
 κοιμή care, tending, providing for
 κρητήρ -ος (m) mixing bowl for
 wine
 κυβερνήτης -ου (m, 1) steersman,
 governor ~govern
 κυματίζει storm-tossed
 λαγχάνω be allotted; (esp. λελα-
 forms) allot; receive
 λήϊη booty
 λογάς -δος (m, 3) picked, chosen
 λοιμός plague
 μαρτύριον testimony, proof
 μεταβάλλω alter, transform
 μίν him, her, it
 ναυμαχία naval warfare
 νεικέω revile, quarrel, scold
 νοσέω be sick, be mad, suffer
 νόστος homecoming ~nostalgia
 ξείνιος of hospitality
 ὁδοιπορία walking
 ὄρεύς -ος (m) mule ~hormone
 ὄρος boundary marker ~horizon
 οὐδαμὸς not anyone
 οὖρον boundary stone; unit of
 distance; limit
 οὖρος fair wind; guardian; hill
 ὄχος pl: carrying thing, chariot,
 holding place ~wagon
 πάθος -ους (n, 3) an experience,
 passion, condition
 περιείμι be superior to; be left over;

still exist
 Πέρσης Persian
 πηγός stout, mighty
 πήχυς forearm, cubit
 πλήρης full, complete; (+gen) full of
 ~plethora
 πόρος way, bridge ~fare
 προπέμω send, send ahead
 ~pomp
 προσδοκάω expect
 προφέρω bring forth ~bear
 σιτέομαι (ι) eat ~parasite
 σοφία skill; wisdom ~sophistry
 στεφάνη circlet, helmet, brow of a
 hill
 στέφανος ring
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 συνεκπίπτω be removed together
 συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis
 συχνός long; many; extensive
 σχεδία raft
 σχεδίνη at close quarters ~ischemia
 σωτηρία saving, preservation
 ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond;
 delay ~ballistic
 ὑπερφυής overgrown; gigantic
 ὑποδείκνυμι (υῶ) show, trace out
 ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer
 ~doctrine
 ὑπολαμβάνω take under one's
 support, seize; speak up; imagine
 ~epilepsy
 φθείρω destroy, ruin
 φθόνος malice, envy
 φλοιός tree bark
 φύλλον leaf
 ψῆφος (f) pebble, vote, decree,
 sentence

τὸν τούτων καρπὸν ἀρπάζοντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὖροιεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ποίην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δεινδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν¹ περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρωι² καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεον ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός³ τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερὴ κατ' ὁδὸν ἔφθειρε. τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσέοντας⁴ αὐτῶν κατέλειπε, ἐπιτάσσωσι τῇσι πόλιν, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ τε τινὰς καὶ ἐν Σίρῳ τῆς Παιονίης καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ. ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἶρὸν ἄρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διὸς, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλανε, ἀπιὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε, ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Παῖονες τοῖσι Θρήξι ἀπαιτέοντος Ξέρξῳ ἔφασαν νεμομένας ἀρπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρηίκων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων.

8.116

ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς Κρηστωνικῆς Θρηίξ ἔργον ὑπερφυῆς ἐργάσατο· ὃς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη τῷ Ξέρξῳ ἐκὼν εἶναι δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' οἶχετο ἄνω ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ῥοδόπην, τοῖσι τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἱ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες,⁵ ἢ ἄλλως σφί θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσυνέες πάντες ἕξ ἑόντες, ἐξώρυξε αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτίην ταύτην.

8.117

καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὥς ἐκ τῆς Θρηίκης πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τῇσι νηυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς Ἀβυδὸν· τὰς γὰρ σχεδιάς οὐκ εὗρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένας ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὁδὸν ἐλάγχανον, καὶ οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιέοντος πολλοί. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅμα Ξέρξῳ ἀπικνέονται

¹ tree bark ² gentle; (animals) domesticated ³ plague ⁴ be sick, be mad, suffer ⁵ ignore

ἐς Σάρδεις.

8.118

ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἀπύκετο ἐπ' Ἡίωνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὁδοιπορήσιν⁶ διεχράτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν Ὑδάρνει ἐπιτράπει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ νεὸς Φοινίσσης ἐπιβὰς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. πλέοντα δέ μιν ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίν.⁷ καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον γάρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι γεμούσης τῆς νεός, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συχνῶν Περσέων τῶν σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δέϊμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα εἰρέσθαι βώσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην εἴ τις ἐστί σφι σωτηρίη, καὶ τὸν εἶπαι «δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι οὐδεμία, εἰ μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴ τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων.» καὶ Ξέρξην λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἰπεῖν «ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασιλέος κηδόμενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἢ σωτηρίη.» τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ξέρξην, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχὴν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσέῃ στεφάνῃ⁸ τὸν κυβερνήτην, ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

8.119

οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεω πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἐν μυρήσι γνώμῃσι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξουν μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλην νέα ἔοντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δ' ἐρετέων⁹ ἔόντων Φοινίκων ὅκως οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλῆθος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ὁδῶ χρεώμενος ἄμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

⁶ walking ⁷ storm-tossed ⁸ circlet, helmet, brow of a hill

⁹ oarsman, oar

8.120

μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε μαρτύριον· φαίνεται γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Ἀβδηρα καὶ ξεινίην τέ σφι συνθέμενος καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκη¹⁰ τε χρυσέῳ καὶ τιρῇ χρυσοπάστω. καὶ ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἀβδηρίται, λέγοντες ἔμοιγε οὐδαμῶς πιστά, πρῶτον ἐλύσατο τὴν ζώνην¹¹ φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὀπίσω, ὥς ἐν ἀδείῃ ἑὸν. τὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα ἴδρυται πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἡϊόνος, ὅθεν δὴ μιν φασὶ ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα.

8.121

οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπέιτε οὐκ οἰοί τε ἐγίνοντο ἐξελεῖν τὴν Ἄνδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δηιώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἐξεῖλον ἀκροθίνια¹² ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἴσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἣ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἴαντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο τὴν λήϊν καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφούς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριάς¹³ ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον¹⁴ νεός, ἐὼν μέγαθος δυνάδεκα πηχέων· ἔστηκε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος.

8.122

πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροθίνια οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς Δελφούς ἐπειρώτων τὸν θεὸν κοινῇ εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀκροθίνια. ὁ δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησε ἔχειν, παρὰ Αἰγινητέων δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀριστήια τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίης. Αἰγινῆται δὲ πυθόμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χρυσοῦς, οἱ ἐπὶ ἰστοῦ χαλκέου ἐστᾶσι τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης,¹⁵ ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κροίσου κρητήρος.

8.123

μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς λήϊς ἔπλεον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν

¹⁰ Persian short sword ¹¹ girdle; waist, loins ¹² first-fruit sacrifice; the best ¹³ portrait, statue ¹⁴ cape, extremity ¹⁵ corner, angle

ἀριστήια δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον. ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διένεμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων, ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἑωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψήφον, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος γενέσθαι, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντες. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἔμουνούοντο, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ δευτερείοις¹⁶ ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν.

8.124

οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεόντων ἐκάστων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀκρίτων,¹⁷ ὅμως Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη¹⁸ εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπίκετο θέλων τιμηθῆναι· καὶ μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήια μὲν νυν ἔδοσαν. Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἐλαίης στέφανον, σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλέϊ καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης· ἔδωρῃσαντό τέ μιν ὅχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι.¹⁹ αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλὰ, προέπεμψαν ἀπιόντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οἳ περ ἱππῆες καλέονται, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Τεγεητικῶν. μῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν.

8.125

ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐὼν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνείκεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἄπιξιν προφέρων, ὥς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἑωυτόν. ὁ δέ, ἐπεῖτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο λέγων ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε «οὔτῳ ἔχει τοι· οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβινίτης ἐτιμήθην οὔτῳ πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὔτ'

¹⁶ second-best ¹⁷ indiscriminate, endless ¹⁸ (mp) have the character of ¹⁹ be the best

march and to whatever nation, they seized the crops of that people and used them for provisions; and if they found no crops, then they took the grass which was growing up from the earth, and stripped off the bark from the trees and plucked down the leaves and devoured them, alike of the cultivated trees and of those growing wild; and they left nothing behind them: thus they did by reason of famine. Then plague too seized upon the army and dysentery, which destroyed them by the way, and some of them also who were sick the king left behind, laying charge upon the cities where at the time he chanced to be in his march, to take care of them and support them: of these he left some in Thessaly, and some at Siris in Paionia, and some in Macedonia. In these parts too he had left behind him the sacred chariot of Zeus, when he was marching against Hellas; but on his return he did not receive it back: for the Paionians had given it to the Thracians, and when Xerxes asked for it again, they said that the mares while at pasture had been carried off by the Thracians of the upper country, who dwelt about the source of the Strymon.

8.116

Here also a Thracian, the king of the Bisaltians and of the Crestonian land, did a deed of surpassing horror; for he had said that he would not himself be subject to Xerxes with his own will and had gone away up to Mount Rhodope, and also he had forbidden his sons to go on the march against Hellas. They however, either because they cared not for his command, or else because a desire came upon them to see the war, went on the march with the Persian: and when they returned all unhurt, being six in number, their father plucked out their eyes for this cause.

8.117

They then received this reward: and as to the Persians, when passing on from Thrace they came to the passage, they crossed over the Hellespont in haste to Abydos by means of the ships, for they did not find the floating-bridges still stretched across but broken up by a storm. While staying there for a time they had distributed to them an allowance of food more abundant than they had had by the way, and from satisfying their hunger without restraint and also from the changes of water there died many of those in the army who had remained safe till then. The rest arrived with Xerxes at Sardis.

8.118

There is also another story reported as follows, namely that when Xerxes on his march away from Athens came to Eion on the Strymon, from that point he did not continue further to make marches by road, but delivered his army to Hydarnes to lead back to the Hellespont, while he himself embarked in a

Phenician ship and set forth for Asia; and as he sailed he was seized by a wind from the Strymon, violent and raising great waves; and since he was tossed by the storm more and more, the ship being heavily laden (for there were upon the deck great numbers of Persians, those namely who went with Xerxes), the king upon that falling into fear shouted aloud and asked the pilot whether there were for them any means of safety. He said: "Master, there are none, unless some way be found of freeing ourselves of the excessive number of passengers." Then it is said that Xerxes, when he heard this, spoke thus: "Persians, now let each one of you show that he has care for the king; for my safety, as it seems, depends upon you." He, they say, thus spoke, and they made obeisance to him and leapt out into the sea; and so the ship being lightened came safe to Asia. As soon as they had landed Xerxes, they say, first presented the pilot with a wreath of gold, because he had saved the life of the king, and then cut off his head, because he had caused the death of many of the Persians.

8.119

This other story, I say, is reported about the return of Xerxes, but I for my part can by no means believe it, either in other respects or as regards this which is said to have happened to the Persians; for if this which I have related had in truth been said by the pilot to Xerxes, not one person's opinion in ten thousand will differ from mine that the king would have done some such thing as this, that is to say, he would have caused those who were upon the deck to go down below into the hold, seeing that they were Persians of the highest rank among the Persians; and of the rowers, who were Phenicians, he would have thrown out into the sea a number equal to the number of those. In fact however, as I have said before, he made his return to Asia together with the rest of the army by road.

8.120

And this also which follows is a strong witness that it was so; for Xerxes is known to have come to Abdera on his way back, and to have made with them a guest-friendship and presented them with a Persian sword of gold and a gold-spangled tiara: and as the men of Abdera themselves say (though I for my part can by no means believe it), he loosed his girdle for the first time during his flight back from Athens, considering himself to be in security. Now Abdera is situated further towards the Hellespont than the river Strymon and Eion, from which place the story says that he embarked in the ship.

8.121

The Hellenes meanwhile, when it proved that they were not able to conquer Andros, turned towards Carystos, and having laid waste the land of that

people they departed and went to Salamis. First then for the gods they chose out first-fruits of the spoil, and among them three Persian triremes, one to be dedicated as an offering at the Isthmus, which remained there still up to my time, another at Sunion, and the third to Ajax in Salamis where they were. After this they divided the spoil among themselves and sent the first-fruits to Delphi, of which was made a statue holding in its hand the beak of a ship and in height measuring twelve cubits. This statue stood in the same place with the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian.

8.122

Then when the Hellenes had sent first-fruits to Delphi, they asked the god on behalf of all whether the first-fruits which he had received were fully sufficient and acceptable to him. He said that from the Hellenes he had received enough, but not from the Eginetans, and from them he demanded the offering of their prize of valour for the sea-fight at Salamis. Hearing this the Eginetans dedicated golden stars, three in number, upon a ship's mast of bronze, which are placed in the corner close to the mixing-bowl of Croesus.

8.123

After the division of the spoil the Hellenes sailed to the Isthmus, to give the prize of valour to him who of all the Hellenes had proved himself the most worthy during this war: and when they had come thither and the commanders distributed their votes at the altar of Poseidon, selecting from the whole number the first and the second in merit, then every one of them gave in his vote for himself, each man thinking that he himself had been the best; but for the second place the greater number of votes came out in agreement, assigning that to Themistocles. They then were left alone in their votes, while Themistocles in regard to the second place surpassed the rest by far:

8.124

And although the Hellenes would not give decision of this by reason of envy, but sailed away each to their own city without deciding, yet Themistocles was loudly reported of and was esteemed throughout Hellas to be the man who was the ablest by far of the Hellenes: and since he had not received honour from those who had fought at Salamis, although he was the first in the voting, he went forthwith after this to Lacedemon, desiring to receive honour there; and the Lacedemonians received him well and gave him great honours. As a prize of valour they gave to Eurybiades a wreath of olive; and for ability and skill they gave to Themistocles also a wreath of olive, and presented him besides with the chariot which was judged to be the best in Sparta. So having much commended him, they escorted him on his departure

with three hundred picked men of the Spartans, the same who are called the "horsemen," as far as the boundaries of Tegea: and he is the only man of all we know to whom the Spartans ever gave escort on his way.

8.125

When however he had come to Athens from Lacedemon, Timodemos of Aphidnai, one of the opponents of Themistocles, but in other respects not among the men of distinction, maddened by envy attacked him, bringing forward against him his going to Lacedemon, and saying that it was on account of Athens that he had those marks of honour which he had from the Lacedemonians, and not on his own account. Then, as Timodemos continued ceaselessly to repeat this, Themistocles said: "I tell thee thus it is:— if I had been a native of Belbina I should never have been thus honoured by the

vocabulary

ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, statue

ἄδελφιδέος -οῦ nephew

ἄμπωτις -εως (f) ebbing

ἄνω (ᾱ) accomplish, pass, waste; upwards, out to sea

ἀπάγω lead away, back

~demagogue

ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart

ἀπέχω ward off, drive off, refrain, be at some distance

ἀποπειράομαι try, try out

ἀποχράω suffice; abuse

ἀριθμός number

ἀσεβέω be impious

ἄτε as if; since

αὐτόθι on the spot

βυβλίον paper, book

γλυφίς -δος (f) arrow's notch

δέος fear ~Deimos

διαπορθμεύω ferry, bring across

διέρχομαι pierce, traverse

δικαιόω demand/make justice

ἔαρ -ος (n) spring (season)

ἐκλέγω pick, single out

ἐκμανθάνω know by heart

ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear

ἐλευθερόω set free

Ἑλλην Greek

ἐμπειρος experienced

ἐνθαῦτα there, here

ἐνθεῦτεν thence

ἐντέλλω (mp) command

ἐντεταμένως vehemently

ἕξ six ~hexagon

ἐξαίρέω pick, steal; dedicate;

destroy ~heresy

ἐξανδραποδίζω enslave

ἐξανίστημι raise, bring/send out

ἐπαίστος heard of, perceived

ἐπαναγκάζω compel, constrain

ἐπιβατεύω move into, go aboard

ἐπιβουλεύω plot, plan, harm

~volunteer

ἐπιδιώκω chase after

ἐπιλάμπω shine in response to

~lamp

ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose;

(mid) think over

ἐπιτροπεύω administrate

ἐπιχείρησις -τος (f) attack

ἐπιχώριος native

ἑσπέρα evening, west

εὖς good, brave, noble

ἡδομαι be pleased, enjoy

~hedonism

ἡσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be

overcome; (active) defeat

καθαπλῶω spread over

κατακοιμάω pass: go to sleep; have sex with

καταλέγω relate in detail, choose;

enroll ~legion

καταπλήσσω be struck with dismay

~plectrum

καταπλῶω land

κατασφάζω slaughter

κόλπος bosom, lap-fold; gulf

κολπῶω swell, fold

λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea

~limnic

λόγιμος notable

μετέπειτα afterward, next

μετέχω partake of

μίν him, her, it

μισθός reward, wages

μισθῶω rent out; (pass) be hired

μόγισ with difficulty, barely

μυριάς -δος (ῶ, f, 3) countless,

myriad

μῦς mouse

ναύαρχος admiral

νέω spin; swim ~neuro
 νηός temple, shrine
 ὄμιλος (ι) crowd, throng ~homily
 ὄον οὐ type of fruit
 ὅπη wherever, however
 οὐδαμός not anyone
 οὐκω no longer
 πάθος -ους (n, 3) an experience,
 passion, condition
 πανταχῇ everywhere
 περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive;
 attain ~genus
 περιτρέχω run about
 Πέρσης Persian
 πλήσσω hit ~plectrum
 πόντος way, bridge ~fare
 πόρω aor. give, pf. be fated
 προάγω lead forward, advance
 προάστειον suburb
 προδίδωμι betray
 προδοσία betrayal
 προδότης -ου (m, 1) traitor,
 abandoner
 πρόειμι to have been before, earlier
 ~ion
 πρόθυμος (ο) willing, eager ~fume
 προπέμπω send, send ahead
 ~pomp
 προσδέχομαι await, expect; suppose
 προσμύγνυμι reach out to, approach
 προσωτέρω farther
 πρῶιος early morning
 πτερόω give wings

ῥηχίη flood tide, breakers; rocky
 beach
 σταθμάομαι judge, conclude
 στασιώτης -ου (m, 1) partisan
 στήλη post, column
 στρατηγέω be a general
 στρατιά army ~strategy
 στρατός common people/soldiers
 ~strategy
 στρατόω be on a campaign
 ~strategy
 σύγκειμαι be composed of, agreed
 on
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion
 συμπίπτω fall together, happen
 συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis
 τέναγος -εος (n, 3) shoal, shallows
 τοιόσδε such
 τόξευμα -τος (n, 3) arrow
 τοξεύω shoot an arrow at ~toxic
 τριηκόσιοι three hundred
 τύραννος tyrant
 ὑπεξέχω withdraw secretly
 ὑπόλοιπος left over
 ὑποπτεύω guess, observe, be
 suspicious of
 χειμάζω overwinter
 χειμερίζω overwinter
 χρῆζω need ~chresard
 χρηστηριάζω prophesy
 χρηστήριον oracle, response
 χῶρος place ~heir

ἂν σὺν, ὦνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος.» ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

8.126

Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσῃσι λόγιμος καὶ πρόσθε ἑὼν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταικῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι γενόμενος, ἔχων ἕξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τοῦ Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέξατο, προέπεμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου. ὥς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Παλλήνην ἐγένετο, ἅτε Μαρδονίου τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην τε καὶ Μακεδονίην καὶ οὐδέν κω κατεπεύγοντος ἦκειν ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἔδικαίου ἐντυχὼν ἀπεστεῶσι Ποτιδαίησι μὴ οὐκ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. οἱ γὰρ Ποτιδαῖηται, ὥς βασιλεὺς παρεξεληλάκεε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οἰχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες.

8.127

ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτιδαίαν. ὑποπτεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας εἶλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδούῃ Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει, καὶ οὕτω Ὀλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον.

8.128

ἐξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος τῇ Ποτιδαίῃ ἐντεταμένως προσείχε· προσέχοντι δὲ οἱ προθύμως συντίθεται προδοσίην Τιμόξεινος ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρατηγός, ὄντινα μὲν τρόπον ἀρχήν, ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν οὐ γὰρ ὧν λέγεται, τέλος μέντοι τοιάδε ἐγένετο· ὅκως βυβλίον γράψαι ἢ Τιμόξεινος ἐθέλων παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζον πέμψαι ἢ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξεινον, τοξεύματος¹ παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας² περιελίξαντες καὶ πετρώσαντες³ τὸ βυβλίον ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκείμενον χωρίον. ἐπάσιτος δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ Τιμόξεινος προδιδούς τὴν Ποτιδαίαν· τοξεύων

¹ arrow ² arrow's notch ³ give wings

γὰρ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτιδαίητω τὸν ὦμον, τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὄμιλος, οἶα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ, οἱ αὐτίκα τὸ τόξευμα λαβόντες ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ βυβλίον, ἔφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· παρὴν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναίων συμμαχίν. τοῖσι δὲ στρατηγοῖσι ἐπιλεξαμένοισι τὸ βυβλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς προδοσίης ἔδοξε μὴ καταπλῆξαι Τιμόξεινον προδοσίῃ τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλιος εἵνεκα, μὴ νομιζοίατο εἶναι Σκιωναῖοι ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προδοταί.

8.129

ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπάιστος ἐγεγόνεε· Ἀρταβάζῳ δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολιορκέοντι ἐγεγόνεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἄμπωτις⁴ τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τέναγος⁵ γενόμενον παρήισαν ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην. ὡς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοίρας διοδοιοπήκεσαν, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χρὴν εἶναι ἔσω ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ἐπῆλθε πλημμυρίς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὅση οὐδαμά κω, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, πολλάκις γινομένη. οἱ μὲν δὴ νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεφθείροντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπισταμένους οἱ Ποτιδαῖηται ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοισι ἀπώλεσαν. αἴτιον δὲ λέγουσι Ποτιδαῖηται τῆς τε ῥήχης⁶ καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι τόδε, ὅτι τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἡσέβησαν οὗτοι τῶν Περσέων οἳ περ καὶ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· αἴτιον δὲ τοῦτο λέγοντες εὖ λέγειν ἔμοιγε δοκέουσι. τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους ἀπῆγε Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ προπέμψαντες βασιλέα οὕτω ἔπρηξαν.

8.130

ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγεγόμενος ὡς προσέμιξε τῇ Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθημυσε ἐς Ἀβυδον, ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῃ. ἔαρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος πρώϊος⁷ συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμον· αἱ δὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐχειμέρισαν αὐτοῦ·

⁴ ebbing ⁵ shoal, shallows ⁶ flood tide, breakers; rocky beach

⁷ early morning

Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων οἱ πλεῖνες ἐπεβάτεον. στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφι ἐπῆλθον Μαρδόντης τε ὁ Βαγαίου καὶ Ἀρταΰντης ὁ Ἀρταχάειω· συνῆρχε δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἀδελφιδέος⁸ αὐτοῦ Ἀρταΰντεω προσελομένου Ἰθαμίτρης. ἄτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προήσαν ἀνωτέρω τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης, οὐδ' ἐπηνάγκαζε οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατήμενοι ἐφύλασσον τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῇ, νέας ἔχοντες σὺν τῇσι Ἰάσι τριηκοσίας. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ προσεδέκοντο τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσειν σφι τὴν ἐωυτῶν φυλάσσειν, σταθμεύμενοι⁹ ὅτι σφέας οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀλλ' ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσσωμένοι ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ, πεζῇ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλῶν κρατήσιν τὸν Μαρδόνιον. ἐόντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ ἅμα μὲν ἐβουλευόντο εἴ τι δυναίητο κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ποιεῖν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὠτακούστεον ὅκη πεσέεται τὰ Μαρδονίου πράγματα.

8.131

τοὺς δὲ Ἑλληνας τό τε ἔαρ γινόμενον ἤγειρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ἐὼν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεζὸς οὐκω συνελέγετο, ὁ δὲ ναυτικός ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἴγιναν, νέες ἀριθμὸν δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν. στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ ναύαρχος ἦν Λευτυχίδης ὁ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἡγησίλειω τοῦ Ἱπποκρατίδew τοῦ Λευτυχίδew τοῦ Ἀναξίλειω τοῦ Ἀρχιδήμου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδew τοῦ Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλειω τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πολυδέκτεω τοῦ Πρυτάνιος τοῦ Εὐρυφώντος τοῦ Προκλέος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἐὼν τῆς ἐτέρης οἰκίης τῶν βασιλέων. οὗτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδew πρώτων καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης. Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος.

8.132

ὥς δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν πᾶσαι αἱ νέες, ἀπίκοντο Ἰώνων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην ὀλίγῳ

⁸ nephew ⁹ judge, conclude

πρότερον τούτων ἀπικόμενοι ἐδέοντο Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἰωνίην· τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιληίδεω ἦν· οἱ στασιῶται σφίσι γενόμενοι ἐπεβούλευον θάνατον Στράττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῳ, ἐόντες ἀρχὴν ἐπτά· ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ ὡς φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, ἐξενείκαντος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐνὸς τῶν μετεχόντων, οὕτω δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ ἔξ ἐόντες ὑπεξέσχον ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκοντο καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεόμενοι καταπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην· οἱ προήγαγον αὐτοὺς μόγισ μέχρι Δήλου. τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρω πᾶν δεινὸν ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι οὔτε τῶν χώρων ἐοῦσι ἐμπείροισι, στρατιῆς τε πάντα πλέα ἐδόκεε εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἐπιστέατο δόξῃ καὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἴσον ἀπέχειν. συνέπιπτε δὲ τοιοῦτο ὥστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀνωτέρω Σάμου μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι καταρρωδηκότας, τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνας, χρηζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ κατωτέρω Δήλου· οὕτω δέος τὸ μέσον ἐφύλασσε σφέων.

8.133

οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Δῆλον, Μαρδόνιος δὲ περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχείμαζε.¹⁰ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμώμενος ἔπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Μῦς,¹¹ ἐντειλάμενος πανταχῇ¹² μιν χρυσόμενον ἐλθεῖν, τῶν οἷά τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὅτι μὲν βουλόμενος ἐκμαθεῖν πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται· δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε περὶ τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πέρι πέμψαι.

8.134

οὗτος ὁ Μῦς ἔς τε Λεβάδειαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος καὶ μισθῷ πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρα καταβῆναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκητο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο· ἔστι δὲ κατὰ περ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἱροῖσι αὐτόθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι.¹³ τοῦτο δὲ ξεῖνον τινὰ καὶ οὐ Θηβαῖον χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω.

¹⁰ overwinter ¹¹ mouse ¹² everywhere ¹³ prophesy

Spartans; but neither wouldest thou, my friend, for all that thou art an Athenian.” So far then went these matters.

8.126

Artabazos meanwhile the son of Pharnakes, a man who was held in esteem among the Persians even before this and came to be so yet more after the events about Plataia, was escorting the king as far as the passage with six myriads of that army which Mardonios had selected for himself; and when the king was in Asia and Artabazos on his march back came near to Pallene, finding that Mardonios was wintering in Thessaly and Macedonia and was not at present urgent with him to come and join the rest of the army, he thought it not good to pass by without reducing the Potidaians to slavery, whom he had found in revolt: for the men of Potidaia, when the king had marched by them and when the fleet of the Persians had departed in flight from Salamis, had openly made revolt from the Barbarians; and so also had the others done who occupy Pallene.

8.127

So upon this Artabazos began to besiege Potidaia, and suspecting that the men of Olynthos also were intending revolt from the king, he began to besiege this city too, which was occupied by Bottiaians who had been driven away from the Thermaian gulf by the Macedonians. So when he had taken these men by siege, he brought them forth to a lake and slew them there; and the city he delivered to Critobulos of Torone to have in charge, and to the natives of Chalkidike; and thus it was that the Chalkidians got possession of Olynthos.

8.128

Having taken this city Artabazos set himself to attack Potidaia with vigour, and as he was setting himself earnestly to this work, Timoxeinos the commander of the troops from Skione concerted with him to give up the town by treachery. Now in what manner he did this at the first, I for my part am not able to say, for this is not reported; at last however it happened as follows. Whenever either Timoxeinos wrote a paper wishing to send it to Artabazos, or Artabazos wishing to send one to Timoxeinos, they wound it round by the finger-notches of an arrow, and then, putting feathers over the paper, they shot it to a place agreed upon between them. It came however to be found out that Timoxeinos was attempting by treachery to give up Potidaia; for Artabazos, shooting an arrow at the place agreed upon, missed this spot and struck a man of Potidaia in the shoulder; and when he was struck, a crowd came about him, as is apt to happen when there is fighting, and they forthwith took the arrow and having discovered the paper carried it to the commanders. Now there was present an allied force of the other men of Pallene also. Then when the commanders

had read the paper and discovered who was guilty of the treachery, they resolved not openly to convict Timoxeinos of treachery, for the sake of the city of Skione, lest the men of Skione should be esteemed traitors for all time to come.

8.129

He then in such a manner as this had been discovered; and when three months had gone by while Artabazos was besieging the town, there came to be a great ebb of the sea backwards, which lasted for a long time; and the Barbarians, seeing that shallow water had been produced, endeavoured to get by into the peninsula of Pallene, but when they had passed through two fifth-parts of the distance, and yet three-fifths remained, which they must pass through before they were within Pallene, then there came upon them a great flood-tide of the sea, higher than ever before, as the natives of the place say, though high tides come often. So those of them who could not swim perished, and those who could were slain by the men of Potidaia who put out to them in boats. The cause of the high tide and flood and of that which befell the Persians was this, as the Potidaians say, namely that these same Persians who perished by means of the sea had committed impiety towards the temple of Poseidon and his image in the suburb of their town; and in saying that this was the cause, in my opinion they say well. The survivors of his army Artabazos led away to Thessaly to join Mardonios. Thus it fared with these who escorted the king on his way.

8.130

The fleet of Xerxes, so much of it as remained, when it had touched Asia in its flight from Salamis, and had conveyed the king and his army over from the Chersonese to Abydos, passed the winter at Kyme: and when spring dawned upon it, it assembled early at Samos, where some of the ships had even passed the winter; and most of the Persians and Medes still served as fighting-men on board of them. To be commanders of them there came Mardontes the son of Bagaïos, and Artaÿntes the son of Artachaïes, and with them also Ithamitres was in joint command, who was brother's son to Artaÿntes and had been added by the choice of Artaÿntes himself. They then, since they had suffered a heavy blow, did not advance further up towards the West, nor did any one compel them to do so; but they remained still in Samos and kept watch over Ionia, lest it should revolt, having three hundred ships including those of the Ionians; and they did not expect that the Hellenes on their part would come to Ionia, but thought that it would satisfy them to guard their own land, judging from the fact that they had not pursued after them in their flight from Salamis but were well contented then to depart homewards. As regards the sea then their spirit was broken, but on land they thought

that Mardonios would get much the advantage. So they being at Samos were taking counsel to do some damage if they could to their enemies, and at the same time they were listening for news how the affairs of Mardonios would fall out.

8.131

The Hellenes on their part were roused both by the coming on of spring and by the presence of Mardonios in Thessaly. Their land-army had not yet begun to assemble, when the fleet arrived at Egina, in number one hundred and ten ships, and the commander and admiral was Leotychides, who was the son of Menares, the son of Hegesilaos, the son of Hippocratides, the son of Leotychides, the son of Anaxilaos, the son of Archidemos, the son of Anaxandrides, the son of Theopompos, the son of Nicander, the son of Charilaos, the son of Eunomos, the son of Polydectes, the son of Prytanis, the son of Euryphon, the son of Procles, the son of Aristodemos, the son of Aristomachos, the son of Cleodaios, the son of Hylllos, the son of Heracles, being of the other royal house. These all, except the two enumerated first after Leotychides, had been kings of Sparta. And of the Athenians the commander was Xanthippos the son of Ariphon.

8.132

When all the ships had arrived at Egina, there came Ionian envoys to the camp of the Hellenes, who also came a short time before this to Sparta and asked the Lacedemonians to set Ionia free; and of them one was Herodotus the son of Basileides. These had banded themselves together and had plotted to put to death Strattis the despot of Chios, being originally seven in number; but when one of those who took part with them gave information of it and they were discovered to be plotting against him, then the remaining six escaped from Chios and came both to Sparta and also at this time to Egina, asking the Hellenes to sail over to Ionia: but they with difficulty brought them forward as far as Delos; for the parts beyond this were all fearful to the Hellenes, since they were without experience of those regions and everything seemed to them to be filled with armed force, while their persuasion was that it was as long a voyage to Samos as to the Pillars of Heracles. Thus at the same time it so chanced that the Barbarians dared sail no further up towards the West than Samos, being smitten with fear, and the Hellenes no further down towards the East than Delos, when the Chians made request of them. So fear was guard of the space which lay between them.

8.133

The Hellenes, I say, sailed to Delos; and Mardonios meanwhile had been wintering in Thessaly. From thence he sent round a man, a native of Europolis,

whose name was Mys, to the various Oracles, charging him to go everywhere to consult, wherever they were permitted to make trial of the Oracles. What he desired to find out from the Oracles when he gave this charge, I am not able to say, for that is not reported; but I conceive for my part that he sent to consult about his present affairs and not about other things.

8.134

This Mys is known to have come to Lebadeia and to have persuaded by payment of money one of the natives of the place to go down to Trophonios, and also he came to the Oracle at Abai of the Phokians; and moreover when he came for the first time to Thebes, he not only consulted the Ismenian Apollo,— there one may consult just as at Olympia with victims,— but also by payment he persuaded a stranger who was not a Theban, and induced him to lie down to sleep in the temple of Amphiaraios.

vocabulary

ἄβατος untrodden; impassable
ἄγγελία message, news ~angel
ἀγχοτάτω nearest
ἀδελφεή sister
αἰρετός takeable, desirable ~heresy
ἄλκιμος brave; sturdily made
 ~Alexander
ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery
ἀναμνηστικῶς (+2 acc) remind
 someone ~mnemonic
ἄνευ away from; not having; not
 needing ~Sp. sin
ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet
ἀνορθόω rebuild, restore
ἀντέχω hold up as protection
 against ~ischemia
ἄνω (ἄ) accomplish, pass, waste;
 upwards, out to sea
ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be
 freed, depart
ἀπάτη trick, fraud, deceit
 ~apatosaurus
ἀπέχω ward off, drive off, refrain, be
 at some distance
ἀπόγονος descended from
ἀπογράφω copy, register
ἀπολαμβάνω receive, recover, take
 aside, cut off ~epilepsy
ἀρύω draw water
ἀσθενής weak
ἄτε as if; since
αὐτόθι on the spot
αὐτόματος self-willed, accidental
 ~after
αὐτόνομος autonomous
δειμαίνω be afraid
δέλτος writing tablet
διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis
διπλήσιος twofold, double
δόλος trick, bait
δολόω trick, trap, disguise

ἕβδομος seventh
ἔδαφος -ους (n, 3) ground, floor
 ~edifice
εἰσέχω stretch into
ἐκμανθάνω know by heart
ἐκπλήσσω panic, be knocked out
 ~plectrum
ἐλεύθερος not enslaved
Ἑλλήν Greek
ἐμπύρηνω burn up ~pyre
ἐμπρήθω burn up
ἐνθεῦτεν thence
ἐνοράω look at, notice something in
ἐντέλλω (mp) command
ἐξαρχάω snatch away ~harpoon
ἔξιμι go forth; is possible ~ion
ἑξήκοντα sixty
ἐξίημι send forth, allow forth ~jet
ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose;
 (mid) think over
εὐεργέτης -ου (m, 1) benefactor
εὐνοία good will, gift
εὐπετής coming out well; (adv)
 fortunately
εὖς good, brave, noble
ἐρίζω sit on ~sit
θεοβλαβής god-struck, infatuated
θεσπίζω prophecy
θέω run, run for
θής θητός (m) temporary worker?
θητεύω work
θῶμα a wonder, feeling of surprise
 ~theater
καταστρέφω overturn, subdue
 ~catastrophe
κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate;
 get; kill
κατύπερθε above, from above
κήπος garden, orchard
κόλπος bosom, lap-fold; gulf
λεπτός thin
λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea

~limnic

λογίζομαι reckon, consider

λόγιος learned, eloquent; oracle

μαίνομαι be berserk ~maenad

μαντεύομαι to divine ~mantis

μάντις -ος (m) seer ~mantis

μάχαιρα knife, dagger

μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off

~jet

μεταίχμιος disputed (of land)

μίν him, her, it

μισθός reward, wages

μισθόω rent out; (pass) be hired

μῦς mouse

ὁμολογίη agreement, consent

ὀξύων (ῶ) sharpen, goad

ὄον οὔ type of fruit

ὁπότερος which of two, either of two

ὀπτάω roast, bake

ὀσμὴ smell ~osmium, odor

πάθημα -τος (n, 3) suffering, condition

πάλαι long ago ~paleo

παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas

πάλη wrestling ~Pallas

πάλλω shake, brandish ~Pallas

πάρεδρος assessor

πέλας near, close

πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder

περιγράφω trace, circumscribe

Πέρσης Persian

πέσσω brood on; ripen ~peptic

πολλαπλήσιος many times more

προαγορεύω declare, predict, order

πρόβατον cattle, flocks, herds

προκαίω burn before

προλέγω prophecy, proclaim;

preselect ~legion

πρόμαντις prophet

πρόξενος public/foreign agent, patron

προσσίγνομαι become ally to

προσδοκάω expect

προσκηδής binding closely

προσκτάομαι get, win as well

προτείνω hold out, offer

ῥέω flow ~rheostat

ῥόδον rose

σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark

~semaphore

στέρομαι lack, lose

στρατηλασίη expedition, campaign

συγγράφω write down

συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid)

consult ~volunteer

συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis

συντυγχάνω fall in with; happen

σωτήρ -ος (m) savior

τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common land

τέρας -ως (n, 3) omen, fetish

τοιόσδε such

τρὶς 3 times

τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny

ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond; delay ~ballistic

ὑπερμήκης too long, very long

ὑπερφέρω carry over; surpass

φθείρω destroy, ruin

φύλλον leaf

φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics

χειμών -ος (m, 3) winter, storm

χρηστήριον oracle, response

Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι¹ αὐτόθι διὰ τόδε· ἐκέλευσε σφέας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιούμενος ὁκότερα βούλονται ἐλέσθαι τούτων, ἑωυτῷ ἢ ἄτε μάντι χρᾶσθαι ἢ ἄτε συμμάχῳ, τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀπεχομένους· οἳ δὲ σύμμαχόν μιν εἶλοντο εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστι Θηβαίων οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακοιμηθῆναι.

8.135

τότε δὲ θῶμά μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων· ἐλθεῖν ἄρα τὸν Εὐρωπέα Μῦν, περιστρωφόμενον πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πτώου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέεται μὲν Πτῶον, ἔστι δὲ Θηβαίων, κείται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς ὄρεϊ ἀγχοτάτῳ Ἀκραϊφίης πόλιος. ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐπεῖτε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλεόμενον τοῦτον Μῦν, ἔπεσθαι δέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν αἵρετους² ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὡς ἀπογραφόμενους τὰ θεσπιέειν³ ἔμελλε, καὶ πρόκατε τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσση χρᾶν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θῶματι ἔχεσθαι ἀκούοντας βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν ὃ τι χρήσονται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι· τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπέα Μῦν ἐξαρπάσαντα παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον,⁴ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτήν, φάναι δὲ Καρὴν μιν γλώσση χρᾶν, συγγραφάμενον δὲ οἴχεσθαι ἀπιόντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.

8.136

Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὃ τι δὴ λέγοντα ἦν τὰ χρηστήρια μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε ἄγγελον ἐς Ἀθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν· Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀδελφεὴν Γυγαίην, Ἀμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγγόνεε Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ἔχων τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὴ ἐκ βασιλείος τῆς Φρυγίης ἐδόθη Ἀλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι· ἅμα δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξενός τε εἷη καὶ εὐεργέτης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπεμπε· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους οὕτω ἐδόκεε μάλιστα προσκτῆσεσθαι, λεῶν τε πολλὸν ἄρα

¹ to divine ² takeable, desirable ³ prophecy ⁴ writing tablet

ἀκούων εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, τά τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι παθήματα⁵ κατεργασμένους μάλιστα Ἀθηναίους ἐπίστατο. τούτων δὲ προσγενομένων κατήλπιζε εὐπετέως⁶ τῆς θαλάσσης κρατήσῃν, τά περ ἂν καὶ ἦν, πεζῇ τε ἐδόκεε πολλῶ εἶναι κρέσσων, οὕτω τε ἐλογίζετο κατύπερθε οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ἔσεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταυτὰ οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλευόντα σύμμαχον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ποιέεσθαι· τοῖσι δὲ πειθόμενος ἔπεμπε.

8.137

τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἑβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξ Ἄργεος ἔφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τῶν Τημένου ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελφοί, Γαυάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην ἀπίκοντο ἐς Λεβαίην πόλιν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐθήτεον⁷ ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεί, ὃ μὲν ἵππους νέμων, ὁ δὲ βούς, ὁ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτά τῶν προβάτων. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῇ τὰ σιτία σφι ἔπεσσε· ἦσαν γὰρ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενέες χρήμασι, οὐ μῦνον ὁ δῆμος· ὅκως δὲ ὀπτῶν, ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ θητὸς⁸ Περδίκκew διπλήσις⁹ ἐγένετο αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς· τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα ἐσῆλθε αὐτίκα ὡς εἴη τέρας καὶ φέροι μέγα τι. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θήτας προηγόρευέ σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ. οἱ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες οὕτω ἐξίεναι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἀκούσας, ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέχων ὁ ἥλιος, εἶπε θεοβλαβής¹⁰ γενόμενος «μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνδε ἀποδίδωμι,» δέξας τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ μὲν δὲ Γαυάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀέροπος οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἔστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἶπας τάδε «δεκόμεθα ὦ βασιλεῦ τὰ διδοῖς,» περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος¹¹ τοῦ οἴκου τὸν

⁵ suffering, condition ⁶ coming out well; (adv) fortunately ⁷ work

⁸ temporary worker? ⁹ twofold, double ¹⁰ god-struck, infatuated

¹¹ ground, floor

ἥλιον, περιγράψας δέ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρὶς ἀρυσάμενος¹² τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνου.

8.138

οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπήσαν, τῷ δὲ βασιλεί σημαίνει τις τῶν παρέδρων οἶόν τι χρῆμα ποιήσῃε ὁ παῖς καὶ ὡς σὺν νόῳ κείνων ὁ νεώτατος λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ὀξυνθεὶς¹³ πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἱππέας ἀπολέοντας. ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' Ἄργεος ἀπόγονοι σωτῆρι· οὗτος, ἐπεὶ διεβήσαν οἱ Τημενίδαι, μέγας οὕτω ἐρρῦν ὥστε τοὺς ἱππέας μὴ οἴους τε γενέσθαι διαβῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης οἴκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων¹⁴ τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδίου, ἐν τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα ρόδα,¹⁵ ἐν ἑκάστον ἔχον ἐξήκοντα φύλλα, ὀδμῇ τε ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων. ἐν τούτοισι καὶ ὁ Σιληνὸς τοῖσι κήποισι ἦλω, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κήπων ὄρος κεῖται Βέρμιον οὖνομα, ἄβατον¹⁶ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμώμενοι, ὡς ταύτην ἔσχον, κατεστρέφοντο καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίην.

8.139

ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Περδίκκεω Ἀλέξανδρος ὧδε ἐγένετο· Ἀμύντεω παῖς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀμύντης δὲ Ἀλκέτεω, Ἀλκέτεω δὲ πατὴρ ἦν Ἀέροπος, τοῦ δὲ Φίλιππος, Φιλίππου δὲ Ἀργαῖος, τοῦ δὲ Περδίκκης ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν.

8.140

ἐγεγόνεε μὲν δὴ ὧδε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω· ὡς δὲ ἀπύκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου, ἔλεγε τάδε. «ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει. ἐμοὶ ἀγγελίη ἦκε παρὰ βασιλέος λέγουσα οὕτω.» Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς ἀμαρτάδας τὰς ἐς ἐμὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων γενομένας πάσας μετίμημι. νῦν τε ὧδε Μαρδόνιε ποίεε· τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν

¹² draw water ¹³ sharpen, goad ¹⁴ garden, orchard ¹⁵ rose

¹⁶ untrodden; impassable

σφι ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐλέσθων αὐτοί, ἦντινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι, ἐόντες αὐτόνομοι· ἰρά τε πάντα σφι, ἦν δὴ βούλωνται· γε ἐμοὶ ὁμολογέειν, ἀνόρθωσον, ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνέπρησα.» τούτων δὲ ἀπιγμένων ἀναγκαίως ἔχει μοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, ἦν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἴτιον γένηται. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τάδε. νῦν τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλεῖ ἀειρόμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβάλαισθε οὔτε οἰοί τε ἐστὲ ἀντέχειν τὸν πάντα χρόνον. εἶδετε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατηλασίης¹⁷ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, πυνθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ τὴν νῦν παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐούσαν δύναμιν· ὥστε καὶ ἦν ἡμέας ὑπερβάλησθε καὶ νικήσητε, τοῦ περ ὑμῖν οὐδεμία ἐλπίς εἴ περ εὖ φρονέετε, ἄλλη παρέσται πολλαπλήσῃ. μὴ ὦν βούλεσθε παρισύμενοι βασιλεῖ στέρεσθαι¹⁸ μὲν τῆς χώρας, θέειν δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθε· παρέχει δὲ ὑμῖν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι, βασιλέος ταύτῃ ὀρμημένου. ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἡμῖν ὁμαιχμίην συνθέμενοι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης.. Μαρδόνιος μὲν ταῦτα ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνετείλατό μοι εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμέας· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίης τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας ἐούσης ἐξ ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν λέξω, οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε, προσχρηίζω δὲ ὑμέων πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίῳ. ἐνορῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ οἰοίσι τε ἐσομένοισι τὸν πάντα χρόνον πολεμέειν Ξέρξῃ· εἰ γὰρ ἐνῶρων τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἂν κοτε ἐς ὑμέας ἦλθον ἔχων λόγους τούσδε· καὶ γὰρ δύναμις ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἢ βασιλέος ἐστὶ καὶ χεὶρ ὑπερμήκης. ἦν ὦν μὴ αὐτίκα ὁμολογήσητε, μεγάλα προτεινόντων ἐπ' οἷσι ὁμολογέειν ἐθέλουσι, δευμαίνω¹⁹ ὑπὲρ ὑμέων ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμμάχων πάντων αἰεὶ τε φθειρομένων μούνων, ἐξαίρετον μεταίχμιόν τε τὴν γῆν ἐκτημένων. ἀλλὰ πείθεσθε· πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεὺς γε ὁ μέγας μούνουσι ὑμῖν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἀμαρτάδας ἀπιεὶς ἐθέλει φίλος γενέσθαι.»

8.141

Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ἤκειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐς ὁμολογίην ἄξοντα τῷ βαρβάρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων ὥς σφεας χρεόν ἐστι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις

¹⁷ expedition, campaign ¹⁸ lack, lose ¹⁹ be afraid

In this temple no one of the Thebans is permitted to seek divination, and that for the following reason:— Amphiaraos dealing by oracles bade them choose which they would of these two things, either to have him as a diviner or else as an ally in war, abstaining from the other use; and they chose that he should be their ally in war: for this reason it is not permitted to any of the Thebans to lie down to sleep in that temple.

8.135

After this a thing which to me is a very great marvel is said by the Thebans to have come to pass:— it seems that this man Mys of Europos, as he journeyed round to all the Oracles, came also to the sacred enclosure of the Ptoan Apollo. This temple is called “Ptoon,” and belongs to the Thebans, and it lies above the lake Copaïs at the foot of the mountains, close to the town of Acraiphia. When the man called Mys came to this temple with three men chosen from the citizens in his company, who were sent by the public authority to write down that which the god should utter in his divination, forthwith it is said the prophet of the god began to give the oracle in a Barbarian tongue; and while those of the Thebans who accompanied him were full of wonder, hearing a Barbarian instead of the Hellenic tongue, and did not know what to make of the matter before them, it is said that the man of Europos, Mys, snatched from them the tablet which they bore and wrote upon it that which was being spoken by the prophet; and he said that the prophet was giving his answer in the Carian tongue: and then when he had written it, he went away and departed to Thessaly.

8.136

Mardonios having read that which the Oracles uttered, whatever that was, after this sent as an envoy to Athens Alexander the son of Amyntas, the Macedonian, both because the Persians were connected with him by marriage, (for Gygaia the sister of Alexander and daughter of Amyntas had been married to a Persian Bubares, and from her had been born to him that Amyntas who lived in Asia, having the name of his mother’s father, to whom the king gave Alabanda, a great city of Phrygia, to possess), and also Mardonios was sending him because he was informed that Alexander was a public guest-friend and benefactor of the Athenians; for by this means he thought that he would be most likely to gain over the Athenians to his side, about whom he heard that they were a numerous people and brave in war, and of whom he knew moreover that these were they who more than any others had brought about the disasters which had befallen the Persians by sea. Therefore if these should be added to him, he thought that he should easily have command of the sea (and this in fact would have been the case), while on land he supposed himself to be already much superior in force. Thus he

reckoned that his power would be much greater than that of the Hellenes. Perhaps also the Oracles told him this beforehand, counselling him to make the Athenian his ally, and so he was sending in obedience to their advice.

8.137

Now of this Alexander the seventh ancestor was that Perdiccas who first became despot of the Macedonians, and that in the manner which here follows:— From Argos there fled to the Illyrians three brothers of the descendents of Temenos, Gauanes, Aëropos, and Perdiccas; and passing over from the Illyrians into the upper parts of Macedonia they came to the city of Lebaia. There they became farm-servants for pay in the household of the king, one pasturing horses, the second oxen, and the youngest of them, namely Perdiccas, the smaller kinds of cattle; for in ancient times even those who were rulers over men were poor in money, and not the common people only; and the wife of the king cooked for them their food herself. And whenever she baked, the loaf of the boy their servant, namely Perdiccas, became double as large as by nature it should be. When this happened constantly in the same manner, she told it to her husband, and he when he heard it conceived forthwith that this was a portent and tended to something great. He summoned the farm-servants therefore, and gave notice to them to depart out of his land; and they said that it was right that before they went forth they should receive the wages which were due. Now it chanced that the sun was shining into the house down through the opening which received the smoke, and the king when he heard about the wages said, being infatuated by a divine power: “I pay you then this for wages, and it is such as ye deserve,” pointing to the sunlight. So then Gauanes and Aëropos the elder brothers stood struck with amazement when they heard this, but the boy, who happened to have in his hand a knife, said these words: “We accept, O king, that which thou dost give;” and he traced a line with his knife round the sunlight on the floor of the house, and having traced the line round he thrice drew of the sunlight into his bosom, and after that he departed both himself and his fellows.

8.138

They then were going away, and to the king one of those who sat by him at table told what manner of thing the boy had done, and how the youngest of them had taken that which was given with some design: and he hearing this and being moved with anger, sent after them horsemen to slay them. Now there is a river in this land to which the descendents of these men from Argos sacrifice as a saviour. This river, so soon as the sons of Temenos had passed over it, began to flow with such great volume of water that the horsemen became unable to pass over. So the brothers, having come to another region

of Macedonia, took up their dwelling near the so-called gardens of Midas the son of Gordias, where roses grow wild which have each one sixty petals and excel all others in perfume. In these gardens too Silenos was captured, as is reported by the Macedonians: and above the gardens is situated a mountain called Bermion, which is inaccessible by reason of the cold. Having taken possession of that region, they made this their starting-point, and proceeded to subdue also the rest of Macedonia.

8.139

From this Perdiccas the descent of Alexander was as follows:— Alexander was the son of Amyntas, Amyntas was the son of Alketes, the father of Alketes was Aëropos, of him Philip, of Philip Argaios, and of this last the father was Perdiccas, who first obtained the kingdom.

8.140

Thus then, I say, Alexander the son of Amyntas was descended; and when he came to Athens sent from Mardonios, he spoke as follows: (a) “Athenians, Mardonios speaks these words:— There has come to me a message from the king which speaks in this manner:— To the Athenians I remit all the offences which were committed against me: and now, Mardonios, thus do,— first give them back their own land; then let them choose for themselves another in addition to this, whichever they desire, remaining independent; and set up for them again all their temples, which I set on fire, provided that they consent to make a treaty with me. This message having come to me, it is necessary for me to do so, unless by your means I am prevented: and thus I speak to you now:— Why are ye so mad as to raise up war against the king? since neither will ye overcome him, nor are ye able to hold out against him for ever: for ye saw the multitude of the host of Xerxes and their deeds, and ye are informed also of the power which is with me at the present time; so that even if ye overcome and conquer us (of which ye can have no hope if ye are rightly minded), another power will come many times as large. Do not ye then desire to match yourselves with the king, and so to be both deprived of your land and for ever running a course for your own lives; but make peace with him: and ye have a most honourable occasion to make peace, since the king has himself set out upon this road: agree to a league with us then without fraud or deceit, and remain free. (b) These things Mardonios charged me to say to you, O Athenians; and as for me, I will say nothing of the goodwill towards you on my part, for ye would not learn that now for the first time; but I ask of you to do as Mardonios says, since I perceive that ye will not be able to war with Xerxes for ever,— if I perceived in you ability to do this, I should never have come to you speaking these words,— for the power of the king is above that of a man and his arm is very long. If therefore ye do not make an

agreement forthwith, when they offer you great things as the terms on which they are willing to make a treaty, I have fear on your behalf, seeing that ye dwell more upon the highway than any of your allies, and are exposed ever to destruction alone, the land which ye possess being parted off from the rest and lying between the armies which are contending together. Nay, but be persuaded, for this is a matter of great consequence to you, that to you alone of the Hellenes the great king remits the offences committed and desires to become a friend.”

8.141

Thus spoke Alexander; and the Lacedemonians having been informed that Alexander had come to Athens to bring the Athenians to make a treaty with the Barbarians, and remembering the oracles, who it was destined that they together with the other Dorians

vocabulary

ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, statue

ἄγαμαι wonder, admire; resent, begrudge

ἄγγελία message, news ~angel

ἄθεμιτος lawless, unworthy of law

αἰσχρός shameful

ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read, understand, persuade

ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery

ἀναπείθω (aor, plupf) seduce, persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust, obey, be confident in

ἀνασχετός endurable

ἀνθρωπῆμος human

ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order, promise ~angel

ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart

ἀρχῆθεν since forever

ἄχαρις -δος (f) ungracious

ἄχρηστος useless, unprofitable

γλίχομαι cling to, long for

διαδέχομαι be next, succeed ~doctrine

διατρίβω (ι) wear down, delay ~tribology

διξός double

δουλοσύνη slavery

εἰκάζω liken; conjecture

εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic

ἐκὰς afar, far off

ἐκπίπτω fall out of ~petal

ἐκπληρόω fill, fulfill

ἐλευθερία freedom

ἐλευθερόω set free

Ἑλλην Greek

ἐμπίμπρημι burn up ~pyre

ἐμπρήθω burn up

ἐνδείκνυμι (ὅ) address, consider

ἐνδέχομαι accept, admit, be possible

ἐξεπίσταμαι know well

ἐπέξειμι attack, prosecute

ἐπιτηδές enough; purposely

ἐπιτρέφω grow, support

ἐπιφαίνω display ~photon

ἔρδω do, perform ~ergonomics

εὖς good, brave, noble

ἥθος ἥθεος (n, 3) habit, habitat ~ethos

ἥκιστος least; above all

θυσία sacrifice

κάλλος -εος (n, 3) beauty

~kaleidoscope

κάρτα very much ~κράτος

καταδουλόω enslave

λιπαρέω (ι) persist

λυπέω (ὅ) annoy, distress

μηδαμὸς no one

μίν him, her, it

οἰκέτης -ου (m, 1) household; house slave

οἴκημα -τος (n, 3) room

οἰκοφθορέω lose one's fortune

ὅμαιμος related by blood

ὁμόγλωσσος speaking the same language

ὁμολογίη agreement, consent

ὁμός same ~homoerotic

ὁμότροπος of the same way, customs

ὁμοῦ together

ὁμόω unite ~homoerotic

ὄνειδίζω upbraid, reproach

ὄον οἶ type of fruit

ὄπις -δος (f) divine surveillance ~panorama

ὀρρωδέω dread, shrink from

οὐδαμὸς not anyone

πάλαι long ago ~paleo

παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas

πάλη wrestling ~Pallas

πάλλω shake, brandish ~Pallas

παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn
περίειμι be superior to; be left over;
 still exist
Πέρσης Persian
πίσυνος trusting in, relying on
 (+dat)
πολλαπλήσιος many times more
προδότης -ου (m, 1) traitor,
 abandoner
προεῖδον look toward, catch sight of
 ~wit
πρόνοια foresight, providence
πρόξεινος public/foreign agent,
 patron
πρόοιδα foresee
προοράω see before oneself
προσδέω bind also; need also

στερέω steal, take
στρατιά army ~strategy
συγκατεργάζομαι help to do
συγχώω cover with dirt
συμπίπτω fall together, happen
τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ~tachometer
τιμωρέω (ι) (+dat) take vengeance,
 punish; aid one who has been
 attacked
τοιόσδε such
τύραννος tyrant
ὑπερφέρω carry over; surpass
ὑποκρίνομαι (ι) answer; pretend
ὑπουργέω serve, help
φρόνημα -τος (n, 3) mind, spirit
χρηστός useful; brave, worthy
χρυσός (υ) gold

Δωριεῦσι ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, κάρτα τε ἔδεισαν μὴ ὁμολογήσωσι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτίκα τέ σφι ἔδοξε πέμπειν ἀγγέλους. καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὥστε ὁμοῦ σφεων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν· ἐπανεμειναν γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διατρίβοντες, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι ἔμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεύσεσθαι ἥκοντα παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἀγγελον ἐπ' ὁμολογίῃ, πυθόμενοι τε ἐμπύειν κατὰ τάχος ἀγγέλους. ἐπίτηδες ὦν ἐποίευν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι τὴν ἐωυτῶν γνώμην.

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ὥς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἄγγελοι «ἡμέας δὲ ἔπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεησομένους ὑμέων μήτε νεώτερον ποιέειν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μήτε λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου. οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι, ὑμῖν δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἥκιστα πολλῶν εἵνεκα. ἡγείρατε γὰρ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ἡμέων βουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῇθεν¹ ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγένετο, νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἄλλως τε τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι Ἀθηναίους οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν, οἵτινες αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. πιεζυμένοισι μέντοι ὑμῖν συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὅτι καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε² διζῶν ἤδη καὶ ὅτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν. ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναικᾶς τε καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἄχρηστα³ οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα πάντα ἐπιθρέψειν, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε συνεστήκη. μηδὲ ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἀναγνώσῃ, λείψας τὸν Μαρδονίου λόγον. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιητέα ἐστί· τύραννος γὰρ ἐὼν τυράννῳ συγκατεργάζεται· ὑμῖν δὲ οὐ ποιητέα, εἴ περ εἶ τυγχάνετε φρονέοντες, ἐπισταμένοισι ὥς βαρβάροισι ἐστὶ οὔτε πιστὸν οὔτε ἀληθὲς οὐδέν.» ταῦτα ἔλεξαν οἱ ἄγγελοι.

¹ since forever ² steal, take ³ useless, unprofitable

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Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. «καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστὶ τῷ Μῆδῳ δύναμις ἢ περ ἡμῖν, ὥστε οὐδὲν δέει τοῦτό γε ὀνειδίζειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐλευθερίας γλιχόμενοι⁴ ἀμυνέμεθα οὕτω ὅπως ἂν καὶ δυνώμεθα. ὁμολογήσαι δὲ τῷ βαρβάρῳ μήτε σὺ ἡμέας πειρῶ ἀναπείθειν οὔτε ἡμεῖς πεισόμεθα. νῦν τε ἀπάγγελλε Μαρδονίῳ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ ἥλιος τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἦι τῇ περ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεται, μήκοτε ὁμολογήσειν ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ· ἀλλὰ θεοῖσι τε συμμάχοισι πίσυνοί⁵ μιν ἐπέξιμεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῖσι ἥρωσι, τῶν ἐκείνος οὐδεμίαν ὅπῳ⁶ ἔχων ἐνέπηρσε τοὺς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. σύ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ λόγους ἔχων τοιούσδε μὴ ἐπιφαίνεο Ἀθηναίοισι, μηδὲ δοκέων χρηστὰ ὑπουργεῖν ἀθέμιστα⁷ ἔρδειν παραίνεε· οὐ γάρ σε βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἄχαρι⁸ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν ἐόντα πρόξενόν τε καὶ φίλον.»

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πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε. «τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπίνῳ⁹ ἦν· ἀτὰρ αἰσχροῦς γε οἶκατε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα ἀρρωδησαι, ὅτι οὔτε χρυσός ἐστι γῆς οὐδαμόθι τοσοῦτος οὔτε χώρα κάλλει καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλωμεν ἂν μηδίσαντες καταδουλώσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιέειν μηδ' ἦν ἐθέλωμεν, πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρέειν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἢ περ ὁμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ, αὖτις δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὼν ὁμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον¹⁰ καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἡθεὰ τε ὁμότροπα,¹¹ τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι. ἐπίστασθέ τε οὕτω, εἰ μὴ πρότερον

⁴ cling to, long for ⁵ trusting in, relying on (+dat) ⁶ divine surveillance ⁷ lawless, unworthy of law ⁸ ungracious ⁹ human
¹⁰ speaking the same language ¹¹ of the same way, customs

ἐτυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι, ἔστ' ἂν καὶ εἰς περιῇ Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμὰ¹² ὁμολογήσοντας ἡμέας Ξέρξη. ὑμέων μέντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν προνοίην τὴν πρὸς ἡμέας εὐῶσαν, ὅτι προεΐδετε ἡμέων οἰκοφθορημένων οὕτω ὥστε ἐπιθρέψαι ἐθέλειν ἡμέων τοὺς οἰκέτας. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται, ἡμεῖς μέντοι λιπαρήσομεν¹³ οὕτω ὅπως ἂν ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ὑμέας. νῦν δέ, ὥς οὕτω ἐχόντων, στρατιὴν ὥς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπετε. ὥς γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἐκὰς χρόνου παρέσται ὁ βάρβαρος ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα πύθηται τὴν ἀγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν τῶν ἐκείνος ἡμέων προσεδέετο. πρὶν ὧν παρεῖναι ἐκείνον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡμέας καιρός ἐστι προβοηθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην.» οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ὑποκριναμένων Ἀθηναίων ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.

¹² no one ¹³ persist

should be driven forth out of the Peloponnese by the Medes and the Athenians combined, had been very greatly afraid lest the Athenians should make a treaty with the Persians; and forthwith they had resolved to send envoys. It happened moreover that they were introduced at the same time with Alexander; for the Athenians had waited for them, protracting the time, because they were well assured that the Lacedemonians would hear that an envoy had come from the Barbarians to make a treaty, and that having heard it they would themselves send envoys with all speed. They acted therefore of set purpose, so as to let the Lacedemonians see their inclination.

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So when Alexander had ceased speaking, the envoys from Sparta followed him forthwith and said: "As for us, the Lacedemonians sent us to ask of you not to make any change in that which concerns Hellas, nor to accept proposals from the Barbarian; since this is not just in any way nor honourable for any of the Hellenes to do, but least of all for you, and that for many reasons. Ye were they who stirred up this war, when we by no means willed it; and the contest came about for your dominion, but now it extends even to the whole of Hellas. Besides this it is by no means to be endured that ye Athenians, who are the authors of all this, should prove to be the cause of slavery to the Hellenes, seeing that ye ever from ancient time also have been known as the liberators of many. We feel sympathy however with you for your sufferings and because ye were deprived of your crops twice and have had your substance ruined now for a long time. In compensation for this the Lacedemonians and their allies make offer to support your wives and all those of your households who are unfitted for war, so long as this war shall last: but let not Alexander the Macedonian persuade you, making smooth the speech of Mardonios; for these things are fitting for him to do, since being himself a despot he is working in league with a despot: for you however they are not fitting to do, if ye chance to be rightly minded; for ye know that in Barbarians there is neither faith nor truth at all."

Thus spoke the envoys:

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And to Alexander the Athenians made answer thus: "Even of ourselves we know so much, that the Mede has a power many times as numerous as ours; so that there is no need for thee to cast this up against us. Nevertheless because we long for liberty we shall defend ourselves as we may be able: and do not thou endeavour to persuade us to make a treaty with the Barbarian, for we on our part shall not be persuaded. And now report to Mardonios that the Athenians say thus:— So long as the Sun goes on the same course

by which he goes now, we will never make an agreement with Xerxes; but we will go forth to defend ourselves against him, trusting in the gods and the heroes as allies, for whom he had no respect when he set fire to their houses and to their sacred images. And in the future do not thou appear before the Athenians with any such proposals as these, nor think that thou art rendering them good service in advising them to do that which is not lawful; for we do not desire that thou shouldst suffer anything unpleasant at the hands of the Athenians, who art their public guest and friend.”

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To Alexander they thus made answer, but to the envoys from Sparta as follows: “That the Lacedemonians should be afraid lest we should make a treaty with the Barbarian was natural no doubt; but it seems to be an unworthy fear for men who know so well the spirit of the Athenians, namely that there is neither so great quantity of gold anywhere upon the earth, nor any land so much excelling in beauty and goodness, that we should be willing to accept it and enslave Hellas by taking the side of the Medes. For many and great are the reasons which hinder us from doing this, even though we should desire it; first and greatest the images and houses of the gods set on fire or reduced to ruin, which we must necessarily avenge to the very utmost rather than make an agreement with him who did these deeds; then secondly there is the bond of Hellenic race, by which we are of one blood and of one speech, the common temples of the gods and the common sacrifices, the manners of life which are the same for all; to these it would not be well that the Athenians should become traitors. And be assured of this, if by any chance ye were not assured of it before, that so long as one of the Athenians remains alive, we will never make an agreement with Xerxes. We admire however the forethought which ye had with regard to us, in that ye took thought for us who have had our substance destroyed, and are willing to support the members of our households; and so far as ye are concerned, the kindness has been fully performed: but we shall continue to endure as we may, and not be a trouble in any way to you. Now therefore, with full conviction this is so, send out an army as speedily as ye may: for, as we conjecture, the Barbarian will be here invading our land at no far distant time but so soon as he shall be informed of the message sent, namely that we shall do none of those things which he desired of us. Therefore before he arrives here in Attica, it is fitting that ye come to our rescue quickly in Boeotia.” Thus the Athenians made answer, and upon that the envoys went away back to Sparta.