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vocabulary ἀγνωμοσύνη senselessness, ignorance, folly αἰδέομαι respect, be ashamed αἴρεσις -εως (f) choice, plan ἀλεωρή defence; shrinking from ἀμαχητί without a fight ἀναβάλλω delay; lift up ∼ballistic ἀνδάνω please ~hedonism ἄνευ away from; not having; not needing \sim Sp. sin ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet ἀντιάζω meet, fight, join ἀντιάω meet, fight, join ἀντιόω meet, fight, join ἀπάτη trick, fraud, deceit ~apatosaurus ἀπεῖπον refuse, renounce, declare ἀπονοστέω go home ἀποπέμπω send away \sim pomp ἀποτειχίζω wall off ἀποφαίνω display, declare ἄρθμιος allied, friendly \sim harmony ἀρρωδίη terror ἀσινής unharmed βούλευμα -τος (n, 3) resolution, purpose διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διαχελεύομαι give orders to, encourage διαπορθμεύω ferry, bring across διίστημι stand apart ~stand δόλος trick, bait δολόω trick, trap, disguise δυναστεύω have power ~δύναμαι εἰσαχούω hearken ~acoustic έκάς afar, far off ἑκάστοτε each time ἐκμανθάνω know by heart ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear έκών willingly, on purpose; giving in too easily

"Ελλην Greek ένθεῦτεν thence ἐνστάζω instill in ἔξοδος (f) leaving, way out ἔξωθεν from outside ἐπάγω drive game; induce belief ~demagogue ἔπαλξις -ος (f) a breastwork of planks? ἐπιστρατηίη march against ἐπιτηδέως usefully, conveniently ἐρῆμος empty ἐφοράω look upon ~panorama ἔφορος fair wind; guardian; hill θόρυβος noise, clamor θώραξ -ηχος (m) breastplate \sim thorax ἵζω to seat ∼sit ἴμερος (t) desire, inclination (+gen) καίπερ even if καρτερέω be patient καρτερός strong, staunch καταινέω agree, promise, grant καταλαμβάνω seize, understand, catch, overtake; (mp) happen ~epilepsy καταλεύω stone to death καταπροδίδωμι betray completely κατάστασις -εως (f) establishment καταστρέφω overturn, subdue \sim catastrophe κερδαλέος clever, wily λεύσσω see, look μέμφομαι blame; reject μεταβάλλω alter, transform μεταμέλομαι (impers.+dat.) cause regret to; (mp) regret μηνίω be enraged at νέμω to allot, to pasture ∼nemesis ὁμοφουέω sympathize, agree ὀρρωδία terror δρτάζω celebrate

οὐδαμός not anyone οὔκω no longer παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn παρήκω lie along; of time: to be παρίημι dangle; pass over, allow πάρος before, in the past πεντακισχίλιοι 5,000 πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive; attain ∼genus περιίστημι be around; turn out \sim station περίοιδα have great, greater skill περιοράω look around; watch; permit Πέρσης Persian πορσύνω (ō) prepare (the marital bed) προδίδωμι betray προεῖπον foretell, proclaim, order before προέχω be ahead, jut forward; mid: have before one προσδέκομαι await, expect; suppose προσδοχάω expect προτεραίος previous to προφέρω bring forth \sim bear π υρσός signal fire \sim pyre

σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark

 \sim semaphore σπουδή zeal; (dat) with difficulty, hastily ~repudiate στασιώτης -ου (m, 1) partisan στρατιά army \sim strategy στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult ∼volunteer συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis σφάλμα stumble σχολαῖος slow, leisurely τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed \sim tachometer τειχέω build τειχίζω build τιμωρέω (ī) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked τοιόσδε such ὑπέχω promise; hold out one's hand; submit to ὑποκρίνομαι (ī) answer; pretend ὑπόκρισις -εως (f) answer; acting, hypocrisy ὑστέρα womb; ovary ὑστεραῖος the next; later ύφίημι lower; admit; slack off ~jet φίλιος friendly φρόνημα -τος (n, 3) mind, spirit χῶρος place \sim heir

9

9.1

Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὥς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ ἀθηναίων ἐσήμηνε, ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἦγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῃ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀθήνας. ὅκου δὲ ἑκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἡγεομένοισι οὖτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν πολλῷ τε μᾶλλον ἐπῆγον τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ συμπροέπεμψέ τε Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισαῖος Ξέρξην φεύγοντα καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρῆκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

9.2

έπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ εἴη χῶρος ἐπιτηδεότερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνου, οὐδὲ ἔων ἰέναι ἑκαστέρω, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἰζόμενον ποιέειν ὅκως ἀμαχητὶ¹ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψεται. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἑλληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας,² οἴ περ καὶ πάρος ταὐτὰ ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἄπασι ἀνθρώποισι· «εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἡμεῖς παραινέομεν,» ἔφασαν λέγοντες, «ἔξεις ἀπόνως πάντα τὰ ἐκείνων ἰσχυρὰ βουλεύματα·³ πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ά ἄνδρας ἐν τῆσι πόλισι, πέμπων δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ἡηιδίως μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων καταστρέψεαι.»

9.3

οἳ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἀλλά οἱ δεινὸς ἐνέστακτο ἵμερος τὰς ᾿Αθήνας δεύτερα έλεῖν, ἄμα μὲν ὑπ᾽ ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὅ ἄμα δὲ πυρσοῖσι⁶ διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλέι δηλώσειν ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι ᾿Αθήνας: ὁς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν ᾿Αττικὴν εὖρε τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους, ἀλλ᾽ ἔν τε Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι ἔν τε τῆσι νηυσί, αἰρέει τε ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ. ἡ

without a fight
sympathize, agree
resolution, purpose
have power
senselessness, ignorance, folly
signal fire

δὲ βασιλέος αἵρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστέρην⁷ τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατηίην δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.

9.4

έπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πέμπει ἐς Σαλαμῖνα Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διεπόρθμευσε. ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, ἐλπίζων δὲ σφέας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὡς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης τῆς ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ ἐούσης ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ.

9.5

τούτων μὲν εἴνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην ὡς ἐδόκεε ἄμεινον εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον, τόν σφι Μουρυχίδης προφέρει, ἐξενεῖκαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε καὶ ταῦτά οἱ ἑάνδανε· ᾿Αθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι οἵ τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περιστάντες Λυκίδην κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδην ἀπέπεμψαν ἀσινέα. γενομένου δὲ θορύβου ἐν τῆ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὸν Λυκίδην, πυνθάνονται τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικὶ καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Λυκίδεω οἰκίην ἤισαν αὐτοκελέες, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

9.6

ές δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὧδε. ἔως μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἥξειν τιμωρήσοντά σφι, οῖ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῆ ἀττικῆ· ἐπεὶ δὲ οῖ μὲν μακρότερα καὶ σχολαίτερα⁸ ἐποίεον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιὼν καὶ δὴ ἐν τῆ Βοιωτίη ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐς Λακεδαίμονά τε

⁷ womb; ovary ⁸ slow, leisurely

ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἄμα μὲν μεμψομένους τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιεῖδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν ἀττικὴν ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ σφέων ἠντίασαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην, ἄμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν, προεῖπαί τε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμυνεῦσι ἀθηναίοισι, ὡς καὶ αὐτοί τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὐρήσονται.

9.7

οί γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅρταζόν¹⁰ τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καί σφι ἦν Ύακίνθια, περὶ πλείστου δ' ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν. 11 ἄμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχός σφι, τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐτείχεον, καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε. ώς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, ἄμα άγόμενοι έκ τε Μεγάρων άγγέλους καὶ έκ Πλαταιέων, έλεγον τάδε έπελθόντες έπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους.[] «ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοντες ότι ήμιν βασιλεύς ὁ Μήδων τοῦτο μεν τὴν χώρην ἀποδιδοί, τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἐθέλει ἐπ' ἴση τε καὶ ὁμοίη ποιήσασθαι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἐθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώρην πρὸς τῆ ἡμετέρη διδόναι, την αν αυτοι έλωμεθα. ημείς δε Δία τε Έλληνιον αιδεσθέντες καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ καταινέσαμεν ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι, έπιστάμενοί τε ὅτι κερδαλεώτερον¹² ἐστὶ ὁμολογέειν τῷ Πέρση μᾶλλον ή περ πολεμέειν οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν έκόντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ελληνας:[] ύμεις δε ες πασαν αρρωδίην τότε απικόμενοι μη όμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρση, ἐπείτε ἐξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ προδώσομεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διότι τεῖχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ έλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλεϊ ἐστί, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε, συνθέμενοί τε ήμιν τον Πέρσην αντιώσεσθαι ές την Βοιωτίην προδεδώκατε, περιείδετέ τε προεσβαλόντα ές τὴν Άττικὴν τὸν βάρβαρον, ές μέν νυν τὸ παρεὸν Άθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μηνίουσι. 13 οὐ γὰρ έποιήσατε έπιτηδέως. νῦν δὲ ὅτι τάχος στρατιὴν ἄμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ύμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ὡς ἂν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῆ ἀττικῆ ἐπειδὴ

⁹ defence; shrinking from ¹⁰ celebrate ¹¹ prepare (the marital bed) ¹² clever, wily ¹³ be enraged at

γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτίης, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεότατον ἐστὶ μαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον.»

9.8

ώς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῷ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς τὴν ἑτέρην' τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίεον, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι, καί σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλεϊ. οὐδ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αἴτιον διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν ᾿Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐς ᾿Αθήνας σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο μὴ μηδίσαι ᾿Αθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὤρην ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἰσθμός σφι ἐτετείχιστο καὶ ἐδόκεον ᾿Αθηναίων ἔτι δεῖσθαι οὐδέν' ὅτε δὲ ᾿Αλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν ᾿Αττικήν, οὕκω ἀπετετείχιστο, ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως καταρρωδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

9.9

τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιόσδε. τῆ προτεραίη τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσιος μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι Χίλεος ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέγιστον ξείνων, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἄρα σφι τάδε. «οὕτω ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἔφοροι Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἐόντων μὴ ἀρθμίων τῷ δὲ βαρβάρω συμμάχων, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτέαται ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρση. ἀλλ' ἐσακούσατε, πρίν τι ἄλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῆ Ἑλλάδι.»

9.10

ο μέν σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευε· οῖ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπιγμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τάξαντες τῶν εἰλώτων, Παυσανίη τῷ Κλεομβρότου

when Alexander had returned back and had signified to him that which was said by the Athenians, set forth from Thessaly and began to lead his army with all diligence towards Athens: and to whatever land he came, he took up with him the people of that land. The leaders of Thessaly meanwhile did not repent of all that which had been done already, but on the contrary they urged on the Persian yet much more; and Thorax of Larissa had joined in escorting Xerxes in his flight and at this time he openly offered Mardonios passage to invade Hellas..

9.2

Then when the army in its march came to Boeotia, the Thebans endeavoured to detain Mardonios, and counselled him saying that there was no region more convenient for him to have his encampment than that; and they urged him not to advance further, but to sit down there and endeavour to subdue to himself the whole of Hellas without fighting: for to overcome the Hellenes by open force when they were united, as at the former time they were of one accord together, was a difficult task even for the whole world combined, "but," they proceeded, "if thou wilt do that which we advise, with little labour thou wilt have in thy power all their plans of resistance. Send money to the men who have power in their cities, and thus sending thou wilt divide Hellas into two parties: after that thou wilt with ease subdue by the help of thy party those who are not inclined to thy side.".

9.3

Thus they advised, but he did not follow their counsel; for there had instilled itself into him a great desire to take Athens for the second time, partly from obstinacy and partly because he meant to signify to the king in Sardis that he was in possession of Athens by beacon-fires through the islands. However he did not even at this time find the Athenians there when he came to Attica; but he was informed that the greater number were either in Salamis or in the ships, and he captured the city finding it deserted. Now the capture of the city by the king had taken place ten months before the later expedition of Mardonios against it.

9.4

When Mardonios had come to Athens, he sent to Salamis Morychides a man of the Hellespont, bearing the same proposals as Alexander the Macedonian had brought over to the Athenians. These he sent for the second time, being aware beforehand that the dispositions of the Athenians were not friendly, but hoping that they would give way and leave their obstinacy, since the Attic land had been captured by the enemy and was in his power..

9.5

For this reason he sent Morychides to Salamis; and he came before the Council and reported the words of Mardonios. Then one of the Councillors, Lykidas, expressed the opinion that it was better to receive the proposal which Morychides brought before them and refer it to the assembly of the people. He, I say, uttered this opinion, whether because he had received money from Mardonios, or because this was his own inclination: however the Athenians forthwith, both those of the Council and those outside, when they heard of it, were very indignant, and they came about Lykidas and stoned him to death; but the Hellespontian Morychides they dismissed unhurt. Then when there had arisen much uproar in Salamis about Lykidas, the women of the Athenians heard of that which was being done, and one woman passing the word to another and one taking another with her, they went of their own accord to the house of Lykidas and stoned his wife and his children to death.

9.6

The Athenians had passed over to Salamis as follows:— So long as they were looking that an army should come from the Peloponnese to help them, they remained in Attica; but as those in Peloponnesus acted very slowly and with much delay, while the invader was said to be already in Boeotia, they accordingly removed everything out of danger, and themselves passed over to Salamis; and at the same time they sent envoys to Lacedemon to reproach the Lacedemonians for having permitted the Barbarian to invade Attica and for not having gone to Boeotia to meet him in company with them, and also to remind them how many things the Persian had promised to give the Athenians if they changed sides; bidding the envoys warn them that if they did not help the Athenians, the Athenians would find some shelter for themselves..

9.7

For the Lacedemonians in fact were keeping a feast during this time, and celebrating the Hyakinthia; and they held it of the greatest consequence to provide for the things which concerned the god, while at the same time their wall which they had been building at the Isthmus was just at this moment being completed with battlements. And when the envoys from the Athenians came to Lacedemon, bringing with them also envoys from Megara and Plataia, they came in before the Ephors and said as follows: "The Athenians sent us saying that the king of the Medes not only offers to give us back our land, but also desires to make us his allies on fair and equal terms without deceit or treachery, and is desirous moreover to give us another land in addition to our own, whichsoever we shall ourselves choose. We however, having respect

for Zeus of the Hellenes and disdaining to be traitors to Hellas, did not agree but refused, although we were unjustly dealt with by the other Hellenes and left to destruction, and although we knew that it was more profitable to make a treaty with the Persian than to carry on war: nor shall we make a treaty at any future time, if we have our own will. Thus sincerely is our duty done towards the Hellenes: but as for you, after having come then to great dread lest we should make a treaty with the Persian, so soon as ye learnt certainly what our spirit was, namely that we should never betray Hellas, and because your wall across the Isthmus is all but finished, now ye make no account of the Athenians, but having agreed with us to come to Boeotia to oppose the Persian, ye have now deserted us, and ye permitted the Barbarian moreover to make invasion of Attica. For the present then the Athenians have anger against you, for ye did not do as was fitting to be done: and now they bid you with all speed send out an army together with us, in order that we may receive the Barbarian in the land of Attica; for since we failed of Boeotia, the most suitable place to fight in our land is the Thriasian plain.".

9.8

When the Ephors heard this they deferred their reply to the next day, and then on the next day to the succeeding one; and this they did even for ten days, deferring the matter from day to day, while during this time the whole body of the Peloponnesians were building the wall over the Isthmus with great diligence and were just about to complete it. Now I am not able to say why, when Alexander the Macedonian had come to Athens, they were so very anxious lest the Athenians should take the side of the Medes, whereas now they had no care about it, except indeed that their wall over the Isthmus had now been built, and they thought they had no need of the Athenians any more; whereas when Alexander came to Attica the wall had not yet been completed, but they were working at it in great dread of the Persians..

9.9

At last however the answer was given and the going forth of the Spartans took place in the following manner:— on the day before that which was appointed for the last hearing of the envoys, Chileos a man of Tegea, who of all strangers had most influence in Lacedemon, heard from the Ephors all that which the Athenians were saying; and he, it seems, said to them these words: "Thus the matter stands, Ephors:— if the Athenians are not friendly with us but are allies of the Barbarian, then though a strong wall may have been built across the Isthmus, yet a wide door has been opened for the Persian into Peloponnesus. Listen to their request, however, before the Athenians resolve upon something else tending to the fall of Hellas.".

9.10

Thus he counselled them, and they forthwith took his words to heart; and saying nothing to the envoys who had come from the cities, while yet it was night they sent out five thousand Spartans, with no less than seven of the Helots set to attend upon each man of them, appointing Pausanias the son of Cleombrotos to lead

vocabulary ἀγγελία message, news ~angel αἴνη story, praise αἰσχρός shameful άλής crowded; all together ἀμήχανος helpless, impossible \sim mechanism ἀναγκαίη of necessity, by force ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery ἀνακωχεύω hold back, still ἀνευρίσκω discover ἀνεψιός cousin ~nepotism ἀπάγω lead away, back ~demagogue ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἄπιξις arrival ἀποτρέπω divert from ∼trophy βιός bow, bow-string βιόω live; (mp) make a living ~biology γ λ $\tilde{\omega}$ σσα tongue, language \sim glossary δαίνυμι (ō) give a feast, feast on \sim demon δέμω build \sim domicile διαβάλλω throw across; slander ~ballistic διεξέρχομαι go through διέρχομαι pierce, traverse δόχιμος trustworthy; excellent εἰκάζω liken; conjecture εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic έκαστάτω afar, far off ἐκβαίνω come forth, disembark \sim basis ἐκμανθάνω know by heart έκών willingly, on purpose; giving in too easily "Ελλην Greek ἐμπίμπhoημι burn up \sim pyre ἐμπρήθω burn up

ἐναυλίζω live, stay at

ἐνδέω tie to, entangle; lack ένθαῦτα there, here ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ∼elastic ἐξηγέομαι lead forth; set out, describe ∼hegemony ἐξίημι send forth, allow forth ~jet ἔξοδος (f) leaving, way out έπαναχωρέω retreat, return \sim heir ἐπείγω weigh upon, drive; (mid) ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask ἐπίλοιπος remaining ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near ἐπίτροπος agent, officer ἔρυμα -τος (n, 3) protection \sim serve ἐύς good, brave, noble ἔφορος fair wind; guardian; hill ἔχθος -εος (n, 3) hatred \sim external ἡγεμονία authority, rule **θύω** (\bar{v}) rush; sacrifice \sim θύω $\theta \tilde{\omega} \mu \alpha$ a wonder, feeling of surprise \sim theater ἵζω to seat ∼sit ίππάσιμος fit for horses or riding ἴσχω restrain, hold back ∼ischemia καίπερ even if καταβάλλω throw down, cast off ~ballistic κατακοντίζω shoot down καταπροδίδωμι betray completely κατατείνω stretch out **κείρω** shave, sever, raze; devour, use **κλίνη** (τ) bed, couch ∼clinic **κλίνω** (t̄) lean, recline ∼incline κρησφύγετον refuge κυκλόω circle, encircle λογάς -δος (m, 3) picked, chosen λόγιμος notable

μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off \sim jet μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon \sim pomp μέτειμι be among, go, follow ~ion μέτωπον forehead, front μνημόσυνον memorial μόρος portion, lot in life νεότης -τος (f, 3) youth \sim neon ξείνιος of hospitality ὀδύνη pain, emotional anguish \sim anodyne οἴχημα -τος (n, 3) room ὁμοτράπεζος messmate ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὁποδαπός of what country ὁποῖος whatever kind οὐδαμός not anyone οὔτις nobody, nothing π αίζω play \sim pediatrician παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn παρήκω lie along; of time: to be past παρίημι dangle; pass over, allow πεντακισχίλιοι 5,000 περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive; attain ∼genus περίειμι be superior to; be left over; περίοιχος dwelling around Πέρσης Persian πρόδρομος running ahead προέρχομαι proceed, come out $\pi \rho \dot{\theta} \theta \nu \mu \sigma \varsigma$ ($\bar{\upsilon}$) willing, eager \sim fume πρόοιδα foresee πρόσχωρος neighboring

δάπτω sew σίνομαι (τ) rob, damage στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στείχω go, march ∼stair στρατιά army ~strategy στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up station ∼strategy στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy στρατόω be on a campaign \sim strategy συγχό ω cover with dirt συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ∼ballistic συμφέρω bring together; be expedient; agree; (mp) happen συστρατεύω join in an expedition συχνός long; many; extensive τοιόσδε such ὑποδείχνυμι (υΘ) show, trace out ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer \sim doctrine ὑποκρίνομαι (ī) answer; pretend ὑποστρέφω turn around, go back \sim atrophy ὑστεραῖος the next; later φήμη speech, rumor \sim fame φίλιος friendly **χῆτος** -εος (n, 3) lack **χίλιοι** (t) thousand ~kiloχωρίς separately; except, other than \sim heir χῶρος place \sim heir

ἐπιτάξαντες ἐξάγειν. ἐγίνετο μὲν ἡ ἡγεμονίη Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἡν ἔτι παῖς, ὁ δὲ τούτου ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεόμβροτος γὰρ ὁ Παυσανίεω μὲν πατὴρ Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περιῆν, ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν¹ μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τινὰ βιοὺς ἀπέθανε. ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε· θυομένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρση ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. προσαιρέεται δὲ ἑωυτῷ Παυσανίης Εὐρυάνακτα τὸν Δωριέος, ἄνδρα οἰκής ἐόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.

9.11

οῦ μὲν δὴ σὺν Παυσανίη ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω Σπάρτης οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ώς ήμέρη έγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν νόω δὴ ἔχοντες ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ την έωυτοῦ ἔκαστος ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον τάδε. «ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τῆδε μένοντες Ύακίνθιά τε ἄγετε καὶ παίζετε, καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους 'Αθηναῖοι δὲ ώς ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ύμέων χήτεϊ² τε συμμάχων καταλύσονται τῶ Πέρση οὕτω ὅκως ἄν δύνωνται καταλυσάμενοι δέ, δηλα γὰρ ὅτι σύμμαχοι βασιλέος γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα έπ' ην αν έκεινοι έξηγέωνται. ύμεις δε τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν μαθήσεσθε ὁκοῖον ἄν τι ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνη.» ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ' ὅρκου καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὀρεσθείω στείχοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους. ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τους βαρβάρους. οι δε ώς ουκ ειδότες επειρώτων το λεγόμενον, έπειρόμενοι δὲ ἐξέμαθον πᾶν τὸ ἐόν, ὤστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι έπορεύοντο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες σὺν δέ σφι τῶν περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες πεντακισχίλιοι όπλιται τώυτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεον.

9.12

οἳ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἠπείγοντο· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεω ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι κήρυκα τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν,

¹ build ² lack ³ go, march

πρότερον αὐτοὶ Μαρδονίω ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξιέναι· ὃς ἐπείτε ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔλεγε τάδε. «Μαρδόνιε, ἔπεμψάν με Ἀργεῖοι φράσοντά τοι ὅτι ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἐξελήλυθε ἡ νεότης, ⁴ καὶ ὡς οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἔχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξιέναι. πρὸς ταῦτα τύγχανε εὖ βουλευόμενος.»

9.13

ο μὲν δὴ εἴπας ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμος ἢν μένειν ἐν τῇ ἀττικῇ, ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μέν νυν ἢ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε, θέλων εἰδέναι τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοιόν τι ποιήσουσι, καὶ οὕτε ἐπήμαινε οὕτε ἐσίνετο τὴν τὴν ἀττικήν, ἐλπίζων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ὁμολογήσειν σφέας ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, πυθόμενος πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεω ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἢν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας. ἐξήλαυνε δὲ τῶνδε εἴνεκεν, ὅτι οὕτε ἱππασίμη τη κατὰ στεινόν, ὥστε ὀλίγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἴσχειν. ἐβουλεύετο ὧν ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θήβας συμβαλεῖν πρὸς πόλι τε φιλίη καὶ χώρη ἱππασίμω.

9.14

Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἤδη δὲ ἐν τῆ ὁδῷ ἐόντι αὐτῷ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἥκειν ἐς Μέγαρα, Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο θέλων εἴ κως τούτους πρῶτον ἔλοι. ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ἦγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα ἡ δὲ ἵππος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώρην τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἑκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ ἀπίκετο.

9.15

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίω ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς άλέες τέιησαν οἱ Ἑλληνες

 $^{^{4}}$ youth 5 rob, damage 6 fit for horses or riding 7 crowded; all together

έν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. οὕτω δὴ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελέης οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἰσωπίων, οὕτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν ἐν Τανάγρη δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλισάμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῆ ὑστεραίη ἐς Σκῶλον ἐν γῆ τῆ Θηβαίων ἢν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καίπερ μηδιζόντων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὕτι κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος ἔρυμά⁸ τε τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἢν συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνῃ ὁκοιόν τι ἐθέλοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποιέετο. παρῆκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων παρὰ Ὑσιάς, κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, παρὰ τὸν Ἰσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον. οὐ μέντοι τό γε τεῖχος τοσοῦτο ἐποιέετο, άλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστά κῃ μέτωπον ἕκαστον.

9.16

έχόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τοῦτον τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀτταγίνος ὁ Φρύνωνος ανήρ Θηβαίος παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως έκάλεε έπὶ ξείνια αὐτόν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ οὖτοι εἴποντο ἢν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ποιεύμενον ἐν Θήβησι. τάδε δὲ ἤδη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἤκουον Θερσάνδρου ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ ές τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ. ἔφη δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς ύπὸ ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο, κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα, καί σφεων οὐ χωρὶς έκατέρους κλίναι, ἀλλὰ Πέρσην τε καὶ Θηβαῖον ἐν κλίνῃ ἑκάστῃ. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὁμόκλινον Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ίέντα εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν όποδαπός 10 έστι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ώς εἴη 'Ορχομένιος. τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν «ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτράπεζός 11 τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνά¹² τοι γνώμης της έμης καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδώς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωυτοῦ βουλεύεσθαι ἔχης τὰ συμφέροντα. ὁρậς τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῶ ποταμῶ στρατοπεδευόμενον τούτων πάντων ὄψεαι ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος ολίγους τινάς τους περιγενομένους.» ταῦτα ἄμα τε τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων. αὐτὸς δὲ

⁸ protection 9 refuge 10 of what country 11 messmate memorial

θωμάσας τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν «οὐκῶν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεόν ἐστι λέγειν καὶ τοῖσι μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐν αἴνη 13 ἐοῦσι Περσέων;» τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν «ξεῖνε, ὅ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπῳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι οὐδείς. ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἑπόμεθα ἀναγκαίη ἐνδεδεμένοι, ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν.» ταῦτα μὲν Ὀρχομενίου Θερσάνδρου ἤκουον, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοισι, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταιῆσι τὴν μάχην.

9.17

Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῆ Βοιωτίη στρατοπεδευομένου οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρείχοντο ἄπαντες στρατιὴν καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας, ὅσοι περ ἐμήδιζον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, μοῦνοι δὲ Φωκέες οὐ συνεσέβαλον ἐμήδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὖτοι οὐκ ἑκόντες ἀλλ' ὑπ' άναγκαίης. ἡμέρησι δὲ οὐ πολλῆσι μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν τὴν ἐς Θήβας ύστερον ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὁπλῖται χίλιοι, ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς Άρμοκύδης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκατο καὶ οὖτοι ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ίππέας ἐκέλευσε σφέας ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἵζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρῆν ἵππος ἡ ἄπασα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διεξηλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων ἐόντος φήμη¹⁴ ώς κατακοντιεῖ σφεας, διεξήλθε δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Φωκέων τώυτὸ τοῦτο. ἔνθα δή σφι ὁ στρατηγὸς Άρμοκύδης παραίνες λέγων τοιάδε. «ὧ Φωκέες, πρόδηλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οῧτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι μέλλουσι προόπτω θανάτω δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ύπὸ Θεσσαλών, ώς έγω εἰκάζω· νῦν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρεόν ἐστι γενέσθαι άγαθόν κρέσσον γὰρ ποιεῦντάς τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτῆσαι τὸν αἰῶνα ἤ περ παρέχοντας διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχίστω μόρω. ἀλλὰ μαθέτω τις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ' Ἑλλησι ἀνδράσι φόνον ἔρραψαν.»

9.18

δ μὲν ταῦτα παραίνεε· οἱ δὲ ἱππέες ἐπεί σφεας ἐκυκλώσαντο,

¹³ story, praise ¹⁴ speech, rumor

them forth. Now the leadership belonged to Pleistarchos the son of Leonidas; but he was yet a boy, and the other was his guardian and cousin: for Cleombrotos, the father of Pausanias and son of Anaxandrides, was no longer alive, but when he had led home from the Isthmus the army which had built the wall, no long time after this he died. Now the reason why Cleombrotos led home the army from the Isthmus was this:— as he was offering sacrifice for fighting against the Persian, the sun was darkened in the heaven. And Pausanias chose as commander in addition to himself Euryanax the son of Dorieos, a man of the same house..

9.11

So Pausanias with his army had gone forth out of Sparta; and the envoys, when day had come, not knowing anything of this going forth, came in before the Ephors meaning to depart also, each to his own State: and when they had come in before them they said these words: "Ye, O Lacedemonians, are remaining here and celebrating this Hyakinthia and disporting yourselves, having left your allies to destruction; and the Athenians being wronged by you and for want of allies will make peace with the Persians on such terms as they can: and having made peace, evidently we become allies of the king, and therefore we shall join with him in expeditions against any land to which the Persians may lead us; and ye will learn then what shall be the issue for you of this matter." When the envoys spoke these words, the Ephors said and confirmed it with an oath, that they supposed by this time the men were at Orestheion on their way against the strangers: for they used to call the Barbarians "strangers." So they, not knowing of the matter, asked the meaning of these words, and asking they learnt all the truth; so that they were struck with amazement and set forth as quickly as possible in pursuit; and together with them five thousand chosen hoplites of the Lacedemonian "dwellers in the country round" did the same thing also.

9.12

They then, I say, were hastening towards the Isthmus; and the Argives so soon as they heard that Pausanias with his army had gone forth from Sparta, sent as a herald to Attica the best whom they could find of the long-distance runners, because they had before of their own motion engaged for Mardonios that they would stop the Spartans from going forth: and the herald when he came to Athens spoke as follows: "Mardonios, the Argives sent me to tell thee that the young men have gone forth from Lacedemon, and that the Argives are not able to stop them from going forth: with regard to this therefore may it be thy fortune to take measures well." 13.

9.13

He having spoken thus departed and went back; and Mardonios was by no means anxious any more to remain in Attica when he heard this message. Before he was informed of this he had been waiting, because he desired to know the news from the Athenians as to what they were about to do; and he had not been injuring or laying waste the land of Attica, because he hoped always that they would make a treaty with him; but as he did not persuade them, being now informed of everything he began to retire out of the country before the force of Pausanias arrived at the Isthmus, having first set fire to Athens and cast down and destroyed whatever was left standing of the walls, houses or temples. Now he marched away for this cause, namely first because Attica was not a land where horsemen could act freely, and also because, if he should be defeated in a battle in Attica, there was no way of retreat except by a narrow pass, so that a few men could stop them. He intended therefore to retreat to Thebes, and engage battle near to a friendly city and to a country where horsemen could act freely.

9.14

Mardonios then was retiring out of the way, and when he was already upon a road a message came to him saying that another body of troops in advance of the rest had come to Megara, consisting of a thousand Lacedemonians. Being thus informed he took counsel with himself, desiring if possible first to capture these. Therefore he turned back and proceeded to lead his army towards Megara, and the cavalry going in advance of the rest overran the Megaran land: this was the furthest land in Europe towards the sun-setting to which this Persian army came..

9.15

After this a message came to Mardonios that the Hellenes were assembled at the Isthmus; therefore he marched back by Dekeleia, for the chiefs of Boeotia had sent for those of the Asopians who dwelt near the line of march, and these were his guides along the road to Sphendaleis and thence to Tanagra. So having encamped for the night at Tanagra and on the next day having directed his march to Scolos, he was within the land of the Thebans. Then he proceeded to cut down the trees in the lands of the Thebans, although they were on the side of the Medes, moved not at all by enmity to them, but pressed by urgent necessity both to make a defence for his camp, and also he was making it for a refuge, in case that when he engaged battle things should not turn out for him as he desired. Now the encampment of his army extended from Erythrai along by Hysiai and reached the river Asopos: he was not however making the wall to extend so far as this, but with each face

measuring somewhere about ten furlongs.

9.16

While the Barbarians were engaged upon this work, Attaginos the son of Phyrnon, a Theban, having made magnificent preparations invited to an entertainment Mardonios himself and fifty of the Persians who were of most account; and these being invited came; and the dinner was given at Thebes. Now this which follows I heard from Thersander, an Orchomenian and a man of very high repute in Orchomenos. This Thersander said that he too was invited by Attaginos to this dinner, and there were invited also fifty men of the Thebans, and their host did not place them to recline separately each nation by themselves, but a Persian and a Theban upon every couch. Then when dinner was over, as they were drinking pledges to one another, the Persian who shared a couch with him speaking in the Hellenic tongue asked him of what place he was, and he answered that he was of Orchomenos. The other said: "Since now thou hast become my table-companion and the sharer of my libation, I desire to leave behind with thee a memorial of my opinion, in order that thou thyself also mayest know beforehand and be able to take such counsels for thyself as may be profitable. Dost thou see these Persians who are feasting here, and the army which we left behind encamped upon the river? Of all these, when a little time has gone by, thou shalt see but very few surviving." While the Persian said these words he shed many tears, as Thersander reported; and he marvelling at his speech said to him: "Surely then it is right to tell Mardonios and to those of the Persians who after him are held in regard." He upon this said: "Friend, that which is destined to come from God, it is impossible for a man to avert; for no man is willing to follow counsel, even when one speaks that which is reasonable. And these things which I say many of us Persians know well; yet we go with the rest being bound in the bonds of necessity: and the most hateful grief of all human griefs is this, to have knowledge of the truth but no power over the event." These things I heard from Thersander of Orchomenos, and in addition to them this also, namely that he told them to various persons forthwith, before the battle took place at Plataia.

9.17

Mardonios then being encamped in Boeotia, the rest of the Hellenes who lived in these parts and took the side of the Medes were all supplying troops and had joined in the invasion of Attica, but the Phokians alone had not joined in the invasion,— the Phokians, I say, for these too were now actively taking the side of the Medes, not of their own will however, but by compulsion. Not many days however after the arrival of Mardonios at Thebes, there came of them a thousand hoplites, and their leader was Harmokydes, the man who

was of most repute among their citizens. When these too came to Thebes, Mardonios sent horsemen and bade the Phokians take up their position by themselves in the plain. After they had so done, forthwith the whole cavalry appeared; and upon this there went a rumour through the army of Hellenes which was with the Medes that the cavalry was about to shoot them down with javelins, and this same report went through the Phokians themselves also. Then their commander Harmokydes exhorted them, speaking as follows: "Phokians, it is manifest that these men are meaning to deliver us to a death which we may plainly foresee, because we have been falsely accused by the Thessalians, as I conjecture: now therefore it is right that every one of you prove himself a good man; for it is better to bring our lives to an end doing deeds of valour and defending ourselves, than to be destroyed by a dishonourable death offering ourselves for the slaughter. Let each man of them learn that they are Barbarians and that we, against whom they contrived murder, are Hellenes."

9.18

While he was thus exhorting them, the horsemen having encompassed them round were riding towards them as if

vocabulary $\dot{\alpha}$ λγέω suffer \sim analgesic ἀλκή prowess, defense, victory \sim Alexander ἄμαξα wagon ἀναχινδυνεύω (Ū) run a risk, more risk ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover, ἀναρχία lawlessness ἀνδάνω please ~hedonism ἀντέχω hold up as protection against ∼ischemia ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order, promise ∼angel ἀπάγω lead away, back ~demagogue ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away ἄπλετος boundless, immense, abundant ἀποκαλέω call back; call a name ἀποπειράομαι try, try out ἀτρεχής precise, certain βέλος -εος (n, 3) missile \sim ballistic διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διάδοχος being successor διάχειμαι be in a condition διαχελεύομαι give orders to, encourage διατάσσω arrange, array διατείνω extend; (mp) try hard ἐγγίγνομαι live in ~genus ἐθελοντής -οῦ (m, 1) a volunteer εἰστίθημι put in ἐκβοηθέω sally, go to help ἐκγίγνομαι be born; be by birth \sim genus ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over "Ελλην Greek

ἔμπαλιν backwards, on the contrary ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἐνσκευάζω get ready, dress in ἐντέλλω (mp) command ἐντός within ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion ἔξοδος (f) leaving, way out ἐπελαύνω beat out ~elastic ἐπιβοάω call to for help ἐπιβοηθέω come to aid ἐπίκειμαι impose; shut a door ἐπίμαχος easily attacked έσσόομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome: (active) defeat εὐδοχιμέω be esteemed εὐεργεσία good deed, public service ~ergonomics ἐύς good, brave, noble εὔυδρος well watered $\theta \alpha \rho \sigma \dot{\epsilon} \omega$ be of good heart $\theta \acute{\epsilon} \alpha$ ($\bar{\alpha}$) seeing, sight, viewpoint θεάομαι look at, behold, consider \sim theater θώραξ -ηκος (m) breastplate \sim thorax ἵζω to seat ∼sit ίππότης -ου (m, 1) horseman ~hippo καινός new, fresh, strange καίπερ even if καλλιερέω have good signs κάλλος -εος (n, 3) beauty ~kaleidoscope κάτειμι go down, disembark ~ion κάτοδος descent, return, cycle κατύπερθεν above, from above **κείρω** shave, sever, raze; devour, use **κοσμέω** marshal, array ∼cosmos κρήνη well, spring λεπιδωτός scaly ~lepidoptera λογάς -δος (m, 3) picked, chosen

λόγιμος notable μέγαθος tall, big (person) μετέχω partake of μίν him, her, it οἰμωγή wailing ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄρχιον oath ∼orc ὄχθος bank, hill παίω hit πάντη everywhere παραφέρω serve; carry past; outdo πατρώιος of the father(s), ancestral \sim paternal **πατρῷος** of the father(s), ancestral πένθος -εος (n, 3) grief, misfortune \sim Nepenthe Πέρσης Persian πιέζω press, squeeze ∼piezoelectric πλευρά rib, side \sim pleurisy πλευρόν rib, side \sim pleurisy ποθέω miss, long for, notice an absence; lose ∼bid προέχω be ahead, jut forward; mid: have before one πρόθυμος (\bar{v}) willing, eager ∼fume προσαπόλλυμι (ō) destroy, lose as well προσβάλλω hit, attack, approach; attach, offer ∼ballistic προσελαύνω go to, approach \sim elastic πρόσοδος (f) approach, procession; πρόσω forward, in the future; far πυχνόω thicken, close στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στάσις -εως (f) placing; faction

στρατιά army ∼strategy στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up station ∼strategy στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy στρατόω be on a campaign \sim strategy συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ∼ballistic συμμίγνυμι mix with \sim mix συντυχίη event, accident συστρέφω get together; condense σφέτερος their τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common τέμνω cut, sacrifice, solemnize \sim tonsure τοιόσδε such τόξευμα -τος (n, 3) arrow τοξότης -ου (m, 1) archer \sim toxic τριηχόσιοι three hundred τύπτω beat, smite \sim stupid ὕπειμι be under ὑποδείχνυμι (ῡυ) show, trace out ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer \sim doctrine ὑποζύγιον beast of burden ∼zygote ὑπομένω stay behind, await \sim remain ὑποστρέφω turn around, go back \sim atrophy φοινίχεος (τ) purple, red φοιτάω go back and forth χουσοχάλινος (ο̄t) gold-bridled χῶρος place \sim heir ἀθέω push ώθισμός thrusting, jostling ὧρος year

επήλαυνον ώς ἀπολέοντες, καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ώς ἀπήσοντες, καὶ κού τις καὶ ἀπῆκε. καὶ οῖ ἀντίοι ἔστησαν πάντη συστρέψαντες έωντοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες ώς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἱππόται ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω. οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν οὕτε εἰ ἢλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρων πρὸς ἀλέξησιν τραπομένους, δείσαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρώματα, οὕτω δὴ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω ὡς γάρ σφι ἐνετείλατο Μαρδόνιος οὕτ εἰ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἡθέλησε εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. ὡς δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. «θαρσέετε ὡ Φωκέες ἀνδρες γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἐόντες ἀγαθοί, οὐκ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην. καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον εὐεργεσίησι γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε οὕτ ὧν ἐμὲ οὕτε βασιλέα.» τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

9.19

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἢλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἑάνδανε, οῖ δὲ καὶ ὁρῶντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιήτας, οὐκ ἐδικαίευν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καλλιερησάντων τῶν ἱρῶν ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἐλευσῦνα· ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἱρά, ὥς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἄμα αὐτοῖσι, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, συμμιγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσῦνι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς Βοιωτίης ἐς Ἐρυθράς, ἔμαθόν τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευομένους, φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος.

9.20

Μαρδόνιος δέ, ώς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ ελληνες ἐς τὸ πεδίον, πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον, τῆς ἱππάρχες Μασίστιος εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Πέρσησι, τὸν Ελληνες Μακίστιον καλέουσι, ἵππον ἔχων Νησαῖον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς. ἐνθαῦτα

thicken, close ² year ³ gold-bridled

ώς προσήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται πρὸς τοὺς Ἔλληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα, προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο καὶ γυναῖκας σφέας ἀπεκάλεον.

9.21

κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέες ἔτυχον ταχθέντες τῆ τε ἐπιμαχώτατον ἢν τοῦ χωρίου παντός, καὶ πρόσοδος μάλιστα ταύτη ἐγίνετο τῆ ἵππω. προσβαλλούσης ὧν τῆς ἵππου οἱ Μεγαρέες πιεζόμενοι ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκα, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. «Μεγαρέες λέγουσι ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοί εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων ἵππον δέκεσθαι μοῦνοι, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔστημεν ἀρχήν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τόδε λιπαρίη τε καὶ ἀρετῆ ἀντέχομεν καίπερ πιεζόμενοι. νῦν τε εἰ μή τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς τάξιος, ἴστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοντας τὴν τάξιν.» ὁ μὲν δή σφι ταῦτα ἀπήγγελλε, Παυσανίης δὲ ἀποπειρᾶτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινες ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοι ἐθελονταὶ ἰέναι τε ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καὶ τάσσεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεῦσι. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες, τῶν ἐλοχήγεε Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος.

9.22

οὖτοι ἦσαν οἵ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελόμενοι. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ χρόνον τέλος τοιόνδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης. προσβαλλούσης τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα, ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά, ἀλγήσας δὲ ἴσταταί τε ὀρθὸς καὶ ἀποσείεται τὸν Μασίστιον πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο. τόν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐνεσκεύαστο γὰρ οὕτω ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσεον λεπιδωτόν, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον δε ἐνεδεδύκεε. τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἐποίευν οὐδέν, πρίν γε δὴ μαθών τις τὸ ποιεύμενον παίει μιν ἐς

⁴ suffer ⁵ scaly ⁶ purple, red

τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. οὕτω δὴ ἔπεσέ τε καὶ ἀπέθανε. ταῦτα δέ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας οὕτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου οὕτε ἀποθνήσκοντα, ἀναχωρήσιός τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἔστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν, ὥς σφεας οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ τάσσων μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός, διακελευσάμενοι ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, ὡς ἂν τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελοίατο.

9.23

ιδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνοντας τοὺς ἱππέας ἀλλὰ πάντας, τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἐπεβώσαντο. ἐν ῷ δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἄπας ἐβοήθεε, ἐν τούτῳ μάχη ὀξέα περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἔως μέν νυν μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ τριηκόσιοι, ἑσσοῦντό τε πολλὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέλειπον ὡς δέ σφι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησε, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἱππόται ὑπέμενον οὐδέ σφι ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνῳ ἄλλους προσαπώλεσαν τῶν ἱππέων. ἀποστήσαντες ὧν ὅσον τε δύο στάδια ἐβουλεύοντο ὅ τι χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν ἐδόκεε δέ σφι ἀναρχίης ἐούσης ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρδόνιον.

9.24

ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πένθος ἐποιήσαντο Μασιστίου πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια οἰμωγῆ⁷ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτω. ἄπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτίην κατεῖχε ἠχὼ ώς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετά γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου παρά τε Πέρσησι καὶ βασιλέι.

9.25

οί μέν νυν βάρβαροι τρόπω τῷ σφετέρω ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ὡς τὴν ἵππον ἐδέξαντο προσβάλλουσαν καὶ δεξάμενοι ὤσαντο, ἐθάρσησάν τε πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἄμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ

⁷ wailing

νεκρὸς ἢν θέης δάξιος μεγάθεος εἴνεκα καὶ κάλλεος, τῶν δὴ εἴνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίευν· ἐκλείποντες τὰς τάξις ἐφοίτων θεησόμενοι Μασίστιον. μετὰ δὲ ἔδοξέ σφι ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χῶρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῷ ἐὼν ἐπιτηδεότερός σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταιικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐυδρότερος. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ ἐοῦσαν ἔδοξέ σφι χρεὸν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἤισαν διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρὰ Ὑσιὰς ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἰρωος, διὰ ὅχθων τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χώρου.

9.26

ένθαῦτα ἐν τῆ διατάξι ἐγένετο λόγων πολλῶν ώθισμὸς 10 Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐδικαίευν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἔτερον κέρας, καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα. τοῦτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε. «ἡμεῖς αἰεί κοτε ἀξιεύμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων άπάντων, όσαι ήδη έξοδοι κοιναὶ έγένοντο Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπείτε Ἡρακλεῖδαι έπειρώντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον τότε εύρόμεθα τοῦτο διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἐπεὶ μετὰ Άχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσω ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ιζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοῖσι κατιοῦσι, τότε ὧν λόγος "Υλλον άγορεύσασθαι ώς χρεὸν εἴη τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τῶ στρατῶ μὴ άνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα, έκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου τὸν ἂν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνωσι εἶναι ἄριστον, τοῦτόν οἱ μουνομαχῆσαι έπὶ διακειμένοισι. ἔδοξέ τε τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοισι ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητέα καὶ ἔταμον ὅρκιον ἐπὶ λόγω τοιῶδε, ἢν μὲν Ὑλλος νικήση τὸν Πελοποννησίων ήγεμόνα, κατιέναι Ήρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια, ἢν δὲ νικηθῆ, τὰ ἔμπαλιν Ἡρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιήν έκατόν τε έτέων μή ζητήσαι κάτοδον ές Πελοπόννησον.

⁸ seeing, sight, viewpoint ⁹ well watered ¹⁰ thrusting, jostling

to destroy them; and they were already aiming their missiles as if about to discharge them, nay some perhaps did discharge them: and meanwhile the Phokians stood facing them gathered together and with their ranks closed as much as possible every way. Then the horsemen turned and rode away back. Now I am not able to say for certain whether they came to destroy the Phokians at the request of the Thessalians, and then when they saw them turn to defence they feared lest they also might suffer some loss, and therefore rode away back, for so Mardonios had commanded them; or whether on the other hand he desired to make trial of them and to see if they had in them any warlike spirit. Then, when the horsemen had ridden away back, Mardonios sent a herald and spoke to them as follows: "Be of good courage, Phokians, for ye proved yourselves good men, and not as I was informed. Now therefore carry on this way with zeal, for ye will not surpass in benefits either myself or the king." Thus far it happened as regards the Phokians.

9.19

When the Lacedemonians came to the Isthmus they encamped upon it, and hearing this the rest of the Peloponnesians who favoured the better cause, and some also because they saw the Spartans going out, did not think it right to be behind the Lacedemonians in their going forth. So from the Isthmus, when the sacrifices had proved favourable, they marched all together and came to Eleusis; and having performed sacrifices there also, when the signs were favourable they marched onwards, and the Athenians together with them, who had passed over from Salamis and had joined them at Eleusis. And then they had come to Erythrai in Boeotia, then they learnt that the Barbarians were encamping on the Asopos, and having perceived this they ranged themselves over against them on the lower slopes of Kithairon..

9.20

Then Mardonios, as the Hellenes did not descend into the plain, sent towards them all his cavalry, of which the commander was Masistios (by the Hellenes called Makistios), a man of reputation among the Persians, who had a Nesaian horse with a bridle of gold and in other respects finely caparisoned. So when the horsemen had ridden up to the Hellenes they attacked them by squadrons, and attacking they did them much mischief, and moreover in contempt they called them women..

9.21

Now it happened by chance that the Megarians were posted in the place which was the most assailable of the whole position and to which the cavalry could best approach: so as the cavalry were making their attacks, the Megarians being hard pressed sent a herald to the commanders of the Hellenes, and

the herald having come spoke these words: "The Megarians say:— we, O allies, are not able by ourselves to sustain the attacks of the Persian cavalry, keeping this position where we took post at the first; nay, even hitherto by endurance and valour alone have we held out against them, hard pressed as we are: and now unless ye shall send some others to take up our position in succession to us, know that we shall leave the position in which we now are." The herald brought report to them thus; and upon this Pausanias made trial of the Hellenes, whether any others would voluntarily offer to go to this place and post themselves there in succession to the Megarians: and when the rest were not desirous to go, the Athenians undertook the task, and of the Athenians those three hundred picked men of whom Olympidoros the son of Lampon was captain.

9.22

These they were who undertook the task and were posted at Erythrai in advance of the other Hellenes who ere there present, having chosen to go with them the bow-men also. For some time then they fought, and at last an end was set to the fighting in the following manner:— while the cavalry was attacking by squadrons, the horse of Masistios, going in advance of the rest, was struck in the side by an arrow, and feeling pain he reared upright and threw Masistios off; and when he had fallen, the Athenians forthwith pressed upon him; and his horse they took and himself, as he made resistance, they slew, though at first they could not, for his equipment was of this kind,— he wore a cuirass of gold scales underneath, and over the cuirass he had put on a crimson tunic. So as they struck upon the cuirass they could effect nothing, until some one, perceiving what the matter was, thrust into his eye. Then at length he fell and died; and by some means the other men of the cavalry had not observed this take place, for they neither saw him when he had fallen from his horse nor when he was being slain, and while the retreat and the turn were being made, they did not perceive that which was happening; but when they had stopped their horses, then at once they missed him, since there was no one to command them; and when they perceived what had happened, they passed the word to one another and all rode together, that they might if possible recover the body..

9.23

The Athenians upon that, seeing that the cavalry were riding to attack them no longer by squadrons but all together, shouted to the rest of the army to help them. Then while the whole number of those on foot were coming to their help, there arose a sharp fight for the body; and so long as the three hundred were alone they had much the worse and were about to abandon the body, but when the mass of the army came to their help, then the horsemen

no longer sustained the fight, nor did they succeed in recovering the body; and besides him they lost others of their number also. Then they drew off about two furlongs away and deliberated what they should do; and it seemed good to them, as they had no commander, to ride back to Mardonios..

9.24

When the cavalry arrived at the camp, the whole army and also Mardonios made great mourning for Masistios, cutting off their own hair and that of their horses and baggage-animals and giving way to lamentation without stint; for all Boeotia was filled with the sound of it, because one had perished who after Mardonios was of the most account with the Persians and with the king..

9.25

The Barbarians then were paying honours in their own manner to Masistios slain: but the Hellenes, when they had sustained the attack of the cavalry and having sustained it had driven them back, were much more encouraged; and first they put the dead body in a cart and conveyed it along their ranks; and the body was a sight worth seeing for its size and beauty, wherefore also the men left their places in the ranks and went one after the other to gaze upon Masistios. After this they resolved to come down further towards Plataia; for the region of Plataia was seen to be much more convenient for them to encamp in than that of Erythrai, both for other reasons and because it is better watered. To this region then and to the spring Gargaphia, which is in this region, they resolved that they must come, and encamp in their several posts. So they took up their arms and went by the lower slopes of Kithairon past Hysiai to the Plataian land; and having there arrived they posted themselves according to their several nations near the spring Gargaphia and the sacred enclosure of Androcrates the hero, over low hills or level ground.

9.26

Then in the arranging of the several posts there arose a contention of much argument between the Tegeans and the Athenians; for they each claimed to occupy the other wing of the army themselves, alleging deeds both new and old. The Tegeans on the one hand said as follows: "We have been always judged worthy of this post by the whole body of allies in all the common expeditions which the Peloponnesians have made before this, whether in old times or but lately, ever since that time when the sons of Heracles endeavoured after the death of Eurystheus to return to the Peloponnese. This honour we gained at that time by reason of the following event:— When with the Achaians and the Ionians who were then in Peloponnesus we had come out to the Isthmus to give assistance and were encamped opposite those who desired to return, then it is said that Hyllos made a speech saying that it was

not right that the one army should risk its safety by engaging battle with the other, and urging that that man of the army of the Peloponnesians whom they should judge to be the best of them should fight in single combat with himself on terms concerted between them. The Peloponnesians then resolved that this should be done; and they made oath with one another on this condition,— that if Hyllos should conquer the leader of the Peloponnesians, then the sons of Heracles should return to their father's heritage; but he should be conquered, then on the other hand the sons of Heracles should depart and lead away their army, and not within a hundred years attempt to return to the Peloponnese. There was

vocabulary αἴρεσις -εως (f) choice, plan ἄλις in plenty; enough ~helix ἀναβοάω shout out ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery ἀναμίγνυμι mix ~mix άξιόνικος (ιξ) worthy of winning ἀποδείκνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀπολέγω pick; decline ἀριθμός number ἄρτιος suitable ἀσθενής weak ἄταφος unburied ἀφηγέομαι lead; tell, relate γέρας -ως (n, 3) reward, honor διαχόσιοι (ā) two hundred διατελέω accomplish; keep doing \sim apostle δουλοσύνη slavery ἐθελοντής -οῦ (m, 1) a volunteer εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic έκατοντάς 100 ἐκπληρόω fill, fulfill "Ελλην Greek ἕνδεκα eleven ∼decimal ἔνειμι be in \sim ion ένθεῦτεν thence ἐννέα nine ξ six \sim hexagon έξακόσιοι 600 ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ∼elastic ἐξηγέομαι lead forth; set out, describe ~hegemony ἔξοδος (f) leaving, way out ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail ἐπιμιμνήσχομαι remember, speak about ∼mnemonic ἐπιφανής coming to view; conspicuous ἐπιφοιτάω come habitually ἐπιχειρέω do, try, attack ∼chiral

ἐύς good, brave, noble εὐώνυμος honored; left-hand ήγεμονεύω lead ~hegemony θάπτω bury ∼epitaph καθαιρέω take down, close ∼heresy καινός new, fresh, strange καταδέω tie up; fall short κατειλέω coop up κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate; get; kill κοσμέω marshal, array ∼cosmos μάχιμος warlike μήδομαι plan ~meditate μυριάς -δος (ō, f, 3) countless, myriad **μυρίος** (ō) 10,000 ~myriad όκτακόσιοι 800 ὀκτώ eight ∼octopus ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὁπότερος which of two, either of two οὐδαμός not anyone πάντη everywhere παραρτέομαι get something ready παρατάσσω place beside παρίημι dangle; pass over, allow πατρώιος of the father(s), ancestral \sim paternal πεντακισχίλιοι 5,000 πενταχόσιοι 500 πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive; attain ∼genus περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist Πέρσης Persian πρέπω be conspicuous, preeminent \sim refurbish προέχω be ahead, jut forward; mid: have before one προσεχής close προτίθημι prefer, set out \sim thesis

ὁέω flow ~rheostat στασιάζω revolt, be divided στρατηγέω be a general στρατιά army ∼strategy στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up station ∼strategy συλλέγω collect, assemble \sim legion σύμπας (ā) all together συνέρχομαι come together σύνοδος meeting, conjunction τελευταῖος last, final τετραχισχίλιοι 4000 ~kiloτετρακόσιοι 400 τοιόσδε such τριηχόσιοι three hundred τρισμύριοι (δ) 30,000

τρισχίλιοι 3000 ~kiloὕβρις -εως (f) pride, insolence, outrage ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond; delay ~ballistic ὑποδείκνυμι (υῦ) show, trace out ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer ~doctrine ὑποκρίνομαι (t) answer; pretend φλαῦρος trifling χιλιάς -δος (τι, f, 3) 1000 χίλιοι (τι) thousand ~kiloχρηστός useful; brave, worthy χωρίς separately; except, other than ~heir ψιλός (t) naked, bare ~epsilon προσκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων ἐθελοντὴς Ἔχεμος ὁ Ἡερόπου τοῦ Φηγέος στρατηγός τε ἐῶν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος, καὶ ἐμουνομάχησέ τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ὑλλον. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὐρόμεθα ἐν Πελοποννησίοισί γε τοῖσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἐτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης. ὑμῖν μέν νυν ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ διδόντες αἵρεσιν ὁκοτέρου βούλεσθε κέρεος ἄρχειν παρίεμεν' τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου φαμὲν ἡμέας ἰκνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν κατά περ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρίς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγημένου ἔργου ἀξιονικότεροί εἰμεν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίδαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους. οὕτω ὧν δίκαιον ἡμέας ἔχειν τὸ ἔτερον κέρας ἡ περ Ἀθηναίους' οὐ γάρ σφι ἐστὶ ἔργα οἶά περ ἡμῖν κατεργασμένα, οὕτ' ὧν καινὰ οὕτε παλαιά.»

9.27

οἳ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. «ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τήνδε μάχης εἵνεκα συλλεγῆναι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεήτης προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καινὰ λέγειν τὰ έκατέροισι ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασται χρηστά, άναγκαίως ήμιν έχει δηλώσαι πρὸς ύμέας ὅθεν ήμιν πατρώιον ἐστὶ *ἐοῦσι χρηστοῖσι αἰεὶ πρώτοισι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι. Ἡρακλείδας*, τῶν οὖτοι φασὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτο μὲν τούτους, πρότερον έξελαυνομένους ύπὸ πάντων Έλλήνων ές τοὺς ἀπικοίατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μοῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐρυσθέος ὕβριν κατείλομεν, σὺν ἐκείνοισι μάχη νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε έχοντας Πελοπόννησον. τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Θήβας έλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτάφους κειμένους. στρατευσάμενοι έπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φαμὲν καὶ θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Άμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν ἀττικήν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι Τρωικοῖσι πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν ἐλειπόμεθα.

¹ unburied

ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμνῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ αν χρηστοὶ τότε ἐόντες ώυτοὶ νῦν αν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε ἐόντες φλαῦροι νῦν αν εἶεν ἀμείνονες. παλαιῶν μέν νυν ἔργων ἄλις ἔστω· ἡμῦν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντα εἰ τεοῖσι καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοι εἰμὲν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτω, οἴτινες μοῦνοι Ἑλλήνων δὴ μουνομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρση καὶ ἔργω τοσούτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ ἐνικήσαμεν ἔθνεα ἔξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. ἄρ' οὐ δίκαιοι εἰμὲν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τούτου μούνου τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τάξιος εἴνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοι εἰμὲν πείθεσθαι ὑμῦν ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκέει ἐπιτηδεότατον ἡμέας εἶναι ἐστάναι καὶ κατ' οὕστινας πάντῃ γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί. ἐξηγέεσθε δὲ ὡς πεισομένων,»

9.28

οί μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἄπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Άθηναίους άξιονικοτέρους είναι έχειν τὸ κέρας ή περ ούτω δη έσχον οἱ Άθηναῖοι καὶ ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Άρκάδας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε Τεγεήτας. καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαιμονίων μύριοι τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἐόντας Σπαρτιήτας ἐφύλασσον ψιλοὶ τῶν είλώτων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἔκαστον ἐπτὰ τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δὲ σφίσι είλοντο έστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς είνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς τούτων δ' ἦσαν ὁπλῖται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἵσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ σφίσι εύροντο παρὰ Παυσανίεω έστάναι Ποτιδαιητέων τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης τους παρεόντας τριηκοσίους. τούτων δε έχόμενοι ισταντο Άρκάδες 'Ορχομένιοι έξακόσιοι, τούτων δε Σικυώνιοι τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ εἴχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους Τροιζηνίων έτάσσοντο χίλιοι, Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Λεπρεητέων διηκόσιοι,

 $[\]frac{1}{2}$ 600

τούτων δὲ Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Φλειάσιοι χίλιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἔστησαν Ἑρμιονέες τριηκόσιοι. Ἑρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἐρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων έξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ᾿Αμπρακιητέων πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Λευκαδίων καὶ ᾿Ανακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι ἔστησαν, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλέες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλληνίης διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Αἰγινητέων πεντακόσιοι ἐτάχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτάσσοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἴχοντο δὲ τούτων Πλαταιέες έξακόσιοι. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι ᾿Αθηναῖοι ἐτάσσοντο, κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὀκτακισχίλιοι ἐστρατήγεε δ᾽ αὐτῶν ᾿Αριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου.

9.29

οὖτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτὰ περὶ ἔκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτησι, ἦσαν ὁπλῖται, σύμπαντες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὰ χιλιάδες καὶ ἐκατοντάδες³ ἐπτά. ὁπλῖται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι, ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τόδε, τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς τάξιος πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς ἐόντων ἑπτὰ περὶ ἔκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρτητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψιλοί, ὡς εἶς περὶ ἔκαστον ἐων ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι⁴ καὶ τρισμύριοι ἦσαν.

9.30

ψιλών μὲν δὴ τών ἀπάντων τών μαχίμων ἢν τὸ πλῆθος ἔξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἐκατοντάδες πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιὰς σύν τε ὁπλίτησι καὶ ψιλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχίμοισι ἔνδεκα⁵ μυριάδες ἢσαν, μιῆς χιλιάδος, πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρών καταδέουσαι. σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἔνδεκα μυριάδες παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιέων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιεόντες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὖτοι εἶχον. οὖτοι μέν νυν ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῶ ᾿Ασωπῶ

 $^{^{3}}$ 100 4 4000 5 eleven

έστρατοπεδεύοντο.

9.31

οί δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ώς ἀπεκήδευσαν Μασίστιον, παρήσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς "Ελληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιῆσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ έπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτη ρέοντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσοντο ώδε ύπὸ Μαρδονίου, κατὰ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας, καὶ δή πολλὸν γὰρ περιήσαν πλήθεϊ οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπί τε τάξις πλεῦνας έκεκοσμέατο καὶ ἐπεῖχον τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἔταξε δὲ οὕτω· ὅ τι μὲν ην αὐτῶν δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας ἔστησε ἀντίον Λακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἐχομένους έταξε Μήδους οὖτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτιδαιήτας καὶ 'Ορχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυωνίους. Μήδων δὲ έχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους οὖτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐπιδαυρίους τε καὶ Τροιζηνίους καὶ Λεπρεήτας τε καὶ Τιρυνθίους καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλειασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδούς: οὖτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἑρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἐρετριέας καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε, οἱ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακιήτας τε καὶ Ἀνακτορίους καὶ Λευκαδίους καὶ Παλέας καὶ Αἰγινήτας. σακέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε άντία Άθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτούς τε καὶ Λοκρούς καὶ Μηλιέας τε καὶ Θεσσαλούς καὶ Φωκέων τούς χιλίους: οὐ γὰρ ὧν ἄπαντες οἱ Φωκέες ἐμήδισαν, ἀλλὰ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ηὖξον περὶ τὸν Παρνησσὸν κατειλημένοι, καὶ ἐνθεῦτεν όρμώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τήν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐόντας Ἑλλήνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

9.32

ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ μέγιστα ἀνόμασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τά περ ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἢν καὶ λόγου πλείστου ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων ἄνδρες ἀναμεμιγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Θρηίκων καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων

selected then of all the allies, he himself making a voluntary offer, Echemos the son of Aëropos, the son of Phegeus, who was our commander and king: and he fought a single combat and slew Hyllos. By reason of this deed we obtained among the Peloponnesians of that time, besides many other great privileges which we still possess, this also of always leading the other wing of the army, when a common expedition is made. To you, Lacedemonians, we make no opposition, but we give you freedom of choice, and allow you to command whichever wing ye desire; but of the other we say that it belongs to us to be the leaders as in former time: and apart from this deed which has been related, we are more worthy than the Athenians to have this post; for in many glorious contests have we contended against you, O Spartans, and in many also against others. Therefore it is just that we have the other wing rather than the Athenians; for they have not achieved deeds such as ours, either new or old."

9.27

Thus they spoke, and the Athenians replied as follows: "Though we know that this gathering was assembled for battle with the Barbarian and not for speech, yet since the Tegean has proposed to us as a task to speak of things both old and new, the deeds of merit namely which by each of our two nations have been achieved in all time, it is necessary for us to point out to you whence it comes that to us, who have been brave men always, it belongs as a heritage rather than to the Arcadians to have the chief place. First as to the sons of Heracles, whose leader they say that they slew at the Isthmus, these in the former time, when they were driven away by all the Hellenes to whom they came flying from slavery under those of Mykene, we alone received; and joining with them we subdued the insolence of Eurystheus, having conquered in fight those who then dwelt in Peloponnesus. Again when the Argives who with Polyneikes marched against Thebes, had been slain and were lying unburied, we declare that we marched an army against the Cadmeians and recovered the dead bodies and gave them burial in our own land at Eleusis. We have moreover another glorious deed performed against the Amazons who invaded once the Attic land, coming from the river Thermodon: and in the toils of Troy we were not inferior to any. But it is of no profit to make mention of these things; for on the one hand, though we were brave men in those times, we might now have become worthless, and on the other hand even though we were then worthless, yet now we might be better. Let it suffice therefore about ancient deeds; but if by us no other deed has been displayed (as many there have been and glorious, not less than by any other people of the Hellenes), yet even by reason of the deed wrought at Marathon alone we are worthy to have this privilege and others besides this, seeing that we alone of all the Hellenes fought in single combat with the

Persian, and having undertaken so great a deed we overcame and conquered six and forty nations. Are we not worthy then to have this post by reason of that deed alone? However, since at such a time as this it is not fitting to contend for post, we are ready to follow your saying, O Lacedemonians, as to where ye think it most convenient that we should stand and opposite to whom; for wheresoever we are posted, we shall endeavour to be brave men. Prescribe to us therefore and we shall obey." They made answer thus; and the whole body of the Lacedemonians shouted aloud that the Athenians were more worthy to occupy the wing than the Arcadians. Thus the Athenians obtained the wing, and overcame the Tegeans.

9.28

After this the Hellenes were ranged as follows, both those of them who came in continually afterwards and those who had come at the first. The right wing was held by ten thousand Lacedemonians; and of these the five thousand who were Spartans were attended by thirty-five thousand Helots serving as light-armed troops, seven of them appointed for each man. To stand next to themselves the Spartans chose the Tegeans, both to do them honour and also because of their valour; and of these there were one thousand five hundred hoplites. After these were stationed five thousand Corinthians, and they had obtained permission from Pausanias that the three hundred who were present of the men of Potidaia in Pallene should stand by their side. Next to these were stationed six hundred Arcadians of Orchomenos; and to these three thousand Sikyonians. Next after these were eight hundred Epidaurians: by the side of these were ranged a thousand Troizenians: next to the Troizenians two hundred Lepreates: next to these four hundred of the men of Mikene and Tiryns; and then a thousand Phliasians. By the side of these stood three hundred Hermionians; and next to the Hermionians were stationed six hundred Eretrians and Styrians; next to these four hundred Chalkidians; and to these five hundred men of Amprakia. After these stood eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians; and next to them two hundred from Pale in Kephallenia. After these were ranged five hundred Eginetans; by their side three thousand Megarians; and next to these six hundred Plataians. Last, or if you will first, were ranged the Athenians, occupying the left wing, eight thousand in number, and the commander of them was Aristeides the son of Lysimachos..

9.29

These all, excepting those who were appointed to attend the Spartans, seven for each man, were hoplites, being in number altogether three myriads eight thousand and seven hundred. This was the whole number of hoplites who were assembled against the Barbarian; and the number of the light-armed

was as follows:— of the Spartan division thirty-five thousand men, reckoning at the rate of seven for each man, and of these every one was equipped for fighting; and the light-armed troops of the rest of the Lacedemonians and of the other Hellenes, being about one for each man, amounted to thirty-four thousand five hundred..

9.30

Of the light-armed fighting men the whole number then was six myriads nine thousand and five hundred; and of the whole Hellenic force which assembled at Plataia the number (including both the hoplites and the light-armed fighting men) was eleven myriads all but one thousand eight hundred men; and with the Thespians who were present the number of eleven myriads was fully made up; for there were present also in the army those of the Thespians who survived, being in number about one thousand eight hundred, and these too were without heavy arms. These then having been ranged in order were encamped on the river Asopos.

9.31

Meanwhile the Barbarians with Mardonios, when they had sufficiently mourned for Masistios, being informed that the Hellenes were at Plataia came themselves also to that part of the Asopos which flows there; and having arrived there, they were ranged against the enemy by Mardonios thus:against the Lacedemonians he stationed the Persians; and since the Persians were much superior in numbers, they were arrayed in deeper ranks than those, and notwithstanding this they extended in front of the Tegeans also: and he ranged them in this manner,— all the strongest part of that body he selected from the rest and stationed it opposite to the Lacedemonians, but the weaker part he ranged by their side opposite to the Tegeans. This he did on the information and suggestion of the Thebans. Then next to the Persians he ranged the Medes; and these extended in front of the Corinthians, Potidaians, Orchomenians and Sikyonians. Next to the Medes he ranged the Bactrians; and these extended in front of the Epidaurians, Troizenians, Lepreates, Tirynthians, Mykenians and Phliasians. After the Bactrians he stationed the Indians; and these extended in front of the Hermionians, Eretrians, Styrians and Chalkidians. Next to the Indians he ranged the Sacans, who extended in front of the men of Amprakia, the Anactorians, Leucadians, Palians and Eginetans. Next to the Sacans and opposite to the Athenians, Plataians and Megarians, he ranged the Boeotians, Locrians, Malians, Thessalians, and the thousand men of the Phokians: for not all the Phokians had taken the side of the Medes, but some of them were even supporting the cause of the Hellenes, being shut up in Parnassos; and setting out from thence they plundered from the army of Mardonios and from those of the Hellenes who were with him.

He ranged the Macedonians also and those who dwell about the borders of Thessaly opposite to the Athenians..

9.32

These which have been named were the greatest of the nations who were arrayed in order by Mardonios, those, I mean, which were the most renowned and of greatest consideration: but there were in his army also men of several other nations mingled together, of the Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Paionians, and the rest; and among them also

vocabulary ἄγρα hunting, prey ἄδην to satiety; enough ἀνάρσιος hostile, harmful \sim harmony ἀντικάθημαι oppose, stand opposite to ἀπειλέω vow, threaten, boast ἀποβιβάζω put ashore, put off ἀποδιδράσκω escape ἀπολάμπω shine forth \sim lamp ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ∼tonsure ἄρειος warlike ἄρθμιος allied, friendly \sim harmony ἀριθμέω to count ~arithmetic ἀριθμός number ἀρχέω satisfy; ward off, defend; suffice ἀσκέω work on ἀσκός wine skin, leather bag ἄτε as if; since αὐλίζομαι live, lodge at ἀφειδής unsparing, cruel ~aphid γόνος offspring ∼genus γυμνάσιον exercise; school γυμνικός of gymnastics δεῖμα -τος (n, 3) fear διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διατρίβω (ιῖ) wear down, delay \sim tribology διαφεύγω escape, survive δίζημαι seek ~zeal διορύσσω dig through; undermine δρῦς -ός (f) tree, oak, lumber \sim druid εἰκάζω liken; conjecture εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic εἰσφέρω carry into, carry along \sim bear ἐκβολή throwing out "Ελλην Greek ἐνέχω hold inside

ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἐπιβάτης -ου (m, 1) marine, passenger ἐπιρρέω flow over ~rheostat ἐπορέγω reach towards to strike \sim reach ἐύς good, brave, noble εὐφρόνη euphemism for night ἔχθος -εος (n, 3) hatred \sim external ζεῦγος -ους (n, 3) team of animals \sim zygote ημισυς half ∼hemisphere ἡμίτομος cut in two θύω (\bar{v}) rush: sacrifice \sim θύω θ $\tilde{\omega}$ μ α a wonder, feeling of surprise \sim theater iππότης -ου (m, 1) horseman \sim hippo καθηγέομαι lead καλλιερέω have good signs καταδύω enter, sink καταινέω agree, promise, grant καταφεύγω resort to, flee to, appeal to ∼fugitive κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate; **κέρδος** -ους (n, 3) advantage, cunning λόγιμος notable λυγρός pitiful; woe-bringing \sim lugubrious λυπέω (ō) annoy, distress μαίνομαι be berserk ~maenad μαντεῖον prophetic warning \sim mantis μαντεύομαι to divine ~mantis μάντις -ος (m) seer \sim mantis μάτην in vain, randomly μάχιμος warlike μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off \sim jet μεταδίδωμι give part of ~donate

μέτειμι be among, go, follow ~ion μηχανάομαι build, contrive \sim mechanism μιμέομαι (ī) imitate, represent μίν him, her, it μισθός reward, wages μισθόω rent out; (pass) be hired μυριάς -δος (ō, f, 3) countless, myriad νόσος (f) plague, pestilence \sim noisome νοῦσος (f) plague, pestilence \sim noisome ξύλινος wooden ὀκτώ eight ∼octopus ὄον οὖ type of fruit οὐδέτερος neither πάλαισμα bout, struggle πανδημεί the masses πάντως by all means παραίνεσις -εως (f) speech; advice παράπαν completely παρατάσσω place beside πεντάεθλος pentathlete; generalist πενταχόσιοι 500 περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on clothing ∼ballistic Πέρσης Persian προθυμέομαι (ō) be eager $\pi \rho \dot{\theta} \theta \nu \mu o \varsigma$ ($\bar{\upsilon}$) willing, eager \sim fume πρόκειμαι be placed by; be devoted προσποιέω give over to; pretend \sim poet προτείνω hold out, offer

σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark

 \sim semaphore σιδήριον iron tool σταθμάομαι judge, conclude στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army \sim strategy συγκυρέω meet or happen by chance συγχωρέω accede, concede συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult ∼volunteer συμφέρω bring together; be expedient; agree; (mp) happen \sim bear συχνός long; many; extensive σφέτερος their ταρσός basket?; top of the foot? \sim metatarsal τοῖχος wall of a house τόλμη courage τρέχω run, spin τριτημόριος 1/3 ύγιής sound, profitable ~hygiene ὑποζύγιον beast of burden ~zygote ὑφίστημι promise, undertake \sim station φείδομαι spare, not use/harm \sim aphid φονεύω kill φυλαχός guard; sentry φύλαξ -κος (m) guard; sentry \sim phylactery χρηστήριον oracle, response χωρίς separately; except, other than \sim heir

τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἴ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι μαχαιροφόροι, οἴ περ εἰσὶ Αἰγυπτίων μοῦνοι μάχιμοι. τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἐὼν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο ἐόντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἄμα Ξέρξη ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἶδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμόν· οὐ γὰρ ὧν ἠριθμήθησαν· ὑς δὲ ἐπεικάσαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγῆναι εἰκάζω. οὖτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὸς ἐτέτακτο.

9.33

ώς δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῆ δευτέρη ἐθύοντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Έλλησι μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ην ο θυόμενος οὖτος γὰρ δη εἴπετο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις τὸν ἐόντα Ἡλεῖον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων Κλυτιάδην Λακεδαιμόνιοι έποιήσαντο λεωσφέτερον. Τισαμενώ γὰρ μαντευομένω ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου² ἀνείλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε. δ μεν δή άμαρτων τοῦ χρηστηρίου προσείχε γυμνασίοισι ώς άναιρησόμενος γυμνικοὺς 3 άγῶνας, ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάεθλον 4 παρὰ εν πάλαισμα⁵ ἔδραμε νικᾶν 'Ολυμπιάδα, Ίερωνύμω τῷ 'Ανδρίω ἐλθὼν ές έριν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δε μαθόντες οὐκ ές γυμνικοὺς ἀλλ' ές ἀρηίους άγῶνας φέρον τὸ Τισαμενοῦ μαντήιον, μισθῷ ἐπειρῶντο πείσαντες Τισαμενὸν ποιέεσθαι ἄμα Ἡρακλειδέων τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων. ὁ δὲ ὁρέων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένους Σπαρτιήτας φίλον αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι, μαθών τοῦτο ἀνετίμα, σημαίνων σφι ώς ην μιν πολιήτην σφέτερον ποιήσωνται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες, ποιήσει ταῦτα, ἐπ' ἄλλω μισθώ δ' οὔ. Σπαρτιῆται δὲ πρώτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιεῦντο καὶ μετίεσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης τὸ παράπαν, τέλος δὲ δείματος μεγάλου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ τούτου στρατεύματος καταίνεον μετιόντες. ὁ δὲ γνοὺς τετραμμένους σφέας οὐδ' οὕτω ἔτι ἔφη ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοισι μούνοισι, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἔτι

¹ to count ² offspring ³ of gymnastics ⁴ pentathlete; generalist ⁵ bout, struggle ⁶ prophetic warning ⁷ fear

τὸν ἀδελφεὸν έωυτοῦ Ἡγίην γίνεσθαι Σπαρτιήτην ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται.

9.34

ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὖτος ἐμιμέετο⁸ Μελάμποδα, ὡς εἰκάσαι βασιληίην τε καὶ πολιτηίην αἰτεομένους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάμπους τῶν ἐν Ἄργεϊ γυναικῶν μανεισέων, ὡς μιν οἱ Ἡργεῖοι ἐμισθοῦντο ἐκ Πύλου παῦσαι τὰς σφετέρας γυναῖκας τῆς νούσου, μισθὸν προετείνατο τῆς βασιληίης τὸ ἤμισυ. οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἡργείων ἀλλὶ ἀπιόντων, ὡς ἐμαίνοντο πλεῦνες τῶν γυναικῶν, οὕτω δὴ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μελάμπους προετείνατο ἤισαν δώσοντές οἱ ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπορέγεται ὁρέων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φάς, ἢν μὴ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Βίαντι μεταδῶσι τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς βασιληίης, οὐ ποιήσειν τὰ βούλονται. οἱ δὲ Ἡργεῖοι ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν καταινέουσι καὶ ταῦτα.

9.35

ῶς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντως συνεχώρεόν οἱ. συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, οὕτω δὴ πέντε σφι μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἡλεῖος, γενόμενος Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταιρέει. μοῦνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο οὖτοι Σπαρτιήτησι πολιῆται. οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγῶνες οἵδε ἐγένοντο, εἶς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος οὖτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῆσι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἡργείους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι πρὸς Ἡρκάδας πάντας πλὴν Μαντινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἡθώμῃ, ὕστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἡθηναίους τε καὶ Ἡργείους γενόμενος・οὖτος δὲ ὕστατος κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.

9.36

οὖτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι Ἔλλησι ὁ Τισαμενός, ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῆ Πλαταιίδι. τοῖσι μέν νυν Ἕλλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ

⁸ imitate, represent 9 1/3

ίρὰ ἀμυνομένοισι, διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὔ.

9.37

Μαρδονίω δὲ προθυμεομένω μάχης ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ίρα, αμυνομένω δὲ καὶ τούτω καλά. καὶ γὰρ οὖτος Έλληνικοῖσι ίροῖσι ἐχρᾶτο, μάντιν ἔχων Ἡγησίστρατον ἄνδρα Ἡλεῖόν τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἐόντα λογιμώτατον, τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιήται λαβόντες έδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτω ώς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτω τῶ κακῶ ἐχόμενος, ώστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρό τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργον ἐργάσατο μέζον λόγου. δη εδέδετο εν ξύλω σιδηροδέτω, εσενειχθέντος κως σιδηρίου¹⁰ έκράτησε, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο ἀνδρηιότατον ἔργον πάντων τῶν ήμεις ἴδμεν· σταθμησάμενος 11 γαρ ὅκως έξελεύσεται οι τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδός, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν 12 έωυτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὡς φυλασσόμενος ύπὸ φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος, 13 οὕτω ώς Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεί 14 διζημένων τρίτη εὐφρόνη γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέη, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θώματι μεγάλω ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, όρῶντας τὸ ἡμίτομον¹⁵ τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κἀκεῖνον οὐ δυναμένους εύρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγών Λακεδαιμονίους καταφεύγει ές Τεγέην έοῦσαν οὐκ ἀρθμίην Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑγιὴς 16 δὲ γενόμενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα κατεστήκεε έκ τῆς ἰθέης Λακεδαιμονίοισι πολέμιος. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τέλος οἱ συνήνεικε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρημένον ήλω γὰρ μαντευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθω ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε.

9.38

ό μέντοι θάνατος ό Ήγησιστράτου ὕστερον ἐγένετο τῶν Πλαταικῶν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ μεμισθωμένος οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐθύετό τε καὶ προεθυμέετο κατά τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κατὰ

io iron tool if judge, conclude in basket?; top of the foot? is live, lodge at if the masses is cut in two if sound, profitable

τὸ κέρδος. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὥστε μάχεσθαι οὕτε αὐτοῖσι Πέρσησι οὕτε τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνων ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων εἶχον γὰρ καὶ οὖτοι ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μάντιν Ἱππόμαχον Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα, ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύνων, Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἔρπυος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίω τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φυλάξαι, λέγων ὡς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην καὶ ὡς ἀπολάμψοιτο συχνούς.

9.39

ήμέραι δέ σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἤδη ἐγεγόνεσαν ὀκτώ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὖ ἔχουσαν, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας αῖ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι, τὰς Βοιωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, ᾿Αθηναῖοι δὲ Δρυὸς κεφαλάς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱππόται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκοντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνουσι ὑποζύγιά τε πεντακόσια, σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οῖ εἴποντο τοῖσι ζεύγεσι. ¹⁷ ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἄγρην ¹⁸ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφόνευον, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὕτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδενὸς οὕτε ἀνθρώπου. ὡς δὲ ἄδην ¹⁹ εἶχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἤλαυνον περιβαλόμενοι παρά τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

9.40

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι²⁰ βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ᾿Ασωποῦ ἐπήισαν οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἡ μέντοι ἵππος ἡ Μαρδονίου αἰεὶ προσέκειτό τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς Ἔλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἄτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ αἰεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μάλα ἔσκον οἱ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς.

 $^{^{17}}$ team of animals $^{18}$ hunting, prey $^{19}$ to satiety; enough 20 neither

some Ethiopians, and of the Egyptians those called Hermotybians and Calasirians, carrying knives, who of all the Egyptians are the only warriors. These men, while he was yet at Phaleron, he had caused to disembark from the ships in which they served as fighting-men; for the Egyptians had not been appointed to serve in the land-army which came with Xerxes to Athens. Of the Barbarians then there were thirty myriads, as has been declared before; but of the Hellenes who were allies of Mardonios no man knows what the number was, for they were not numbered; but by conjecture I judge that these were assembled to the number of five myriads. These who were placed in array side by side were on foot; and the cavalry was ranged apart from them in a separate body.

9.33

When all had been drawn up by nations and by divisions, then on the next day they offered sacrifice on both sides. For the Hellenes Tisamenos the son of Antiochos was he who offered sacrifice, for he it was who accompanied this army as diviner. This man the Lacedemonians had made to be one of their own people, being an Eleian and of the race of the Iamidai: for when Tisamenos was seeking divination at Delphi concerning issue, the Pythian prophetess made answer to him that he should win five of the greatest contests. He accordingly, missing the meaning of the oracle, began to attend to athletic games, supposing that he should win contests of athletics; and he practised for the "five contests" and came within one fall of winning a victory at the Olympic games, being set to contend with Hieronymos of Andros. The Lacedemonians however perceived that the oracle given to Tisamenos had reference not to athletic but to martial contests, and they endeavoured to persuade Tisamenos by payment of money, and to make him a leader in their wars together with the kings of the race of Heracles. He then, seeing that the Spartans set much store on gaining him over as a friend, having perceived this, I say, he raised his price and signified to them that he would do as they desired, if they would make him a citizen of their State and give him full rights, but for no other payment. The Spartans at first when they heard this displayed indignation and altogether gave up their request, but at last, when great terror was hanging over them of this Persian armament, they gave way and consented. He then perceiving that they had changed their minds, said that he could not now be satisfied even so, nor with these terms alone; but it was necessary that his brother Hegias also should be made a Spartan citizen on the same terms as he himself became one..

9.34

By saying this he followed the example of Melampus in his request, if one may compare royal power with mere citizenship; for Melampus on his part, when the women in Argos had been seized by madness, and the Argives endeavoured to hire him to come from Pylos and to cause their women to cease from the malady, proposed as payment for himself the half of the royal power; and the Argives did not suffer this, but departed: and afterwards, when more of their women became mad, at length they accepted that which Melampus had proposed, and went to offer him this: but he then seeing that they had changed their minds, increased his demand, and said that he would not do that which they desired unless they gave to his brother Bias also the third share in the royal power. And the Argives, being driven into straits, consented to this also.

9.35

Just so the Spartans also, being very much in need of Tisamenos, agreed with him on any terms which he desired: and when the Spartans had agreed to this demand also, then Tisamenos the Eleian, having become a Spartan, had part with them in winning five of the greatest contests as their diviner: and these were the only men who ever were made fellow-citizens of the Spartans. Now the five contests were these: one and the first of them was this at Plataia; and after this the contest at Tegea, which took place with the Tegeans and the Argives; then that at Dipaieis against all the Arcadians except the Mantineians; after that the contest with the Messenians at Ithome; and last of all that which took place at Tanagra against the Athenians and Argives. This, I say, was accomplished last of the five contests.

9.36

This Tisamenos was acting now as diviner for the Hellenes in the Plataian land, being brought by the Spartans. Now to the Hellenes the sacrifices were of good omen if they defended themselves only, but not if they crossed the Asopos and began a battle;.

9.37

And Mardonios too, who was eager to begin a battle, found the sacrifices not favourable to this design, but they were of good omen to him also if he defended himself only; for he too used the Hellenic manner of sacrifice, having as diviner Hegesistratos an Eleian and the most famous of the Telliadai, whom before these events the Spartans had taken and bound, in order to put him to death, because they had suffered much mischief from him. He then being in this evil case, seeing that he was running a course for his life and was likely moreover to suffer much torment before his death, had done a deed such as may hardly be believed. Being made fast on a block bound with iron, he obtained an iron tool, which in some way had been brought in, and contrived forthwith a deed the most courageous of any that we know: for

having first calculated how the remaining portion of his foot might be got out of the block, he cut away the flat of his own foot, and after that, since he was guarded still by warders, he broke through the wall and so ran away to Tegea, travelling during the nights and in the daytime entering a wood and resting there; so that, though the Lacedemonians searched for him in full force, he arrived at Tegea on the third night; and the Lacedemonians were possessed by great wonder both at his courage, when they saw the piece of the foot that was cut off lying there, and also because they were not able to find him. So he at that time having thus escaped them took refuge at Tegea, which then was not friendly with the Lacedemonians; and when he was healed and had procured for himself a wooden foot, he became an open enemy of the Lacedemonians. However in the end the enmity into which he had fallen with the Lacedemonians was not to his advantage; for he was caught by them while practising divination in Zakynthos, and was put to death.

9.38

However the death of Hegesistratos took place later than the events at Plataia, and he was now at the Asopos, having been hired by Mardonions for no mean sum, sacrificing and displaying zeal for his cause both on account of his enmity with the Lacedemonians and on account of the gain which he got: but as the sacrifices were not favourable for a battle either for the Persians themselves or for those Hellenes who were with them (for these also had a diviner for themselves, Hippomachos a Leucadian), and as the Hellenes had men constantly flowing in and were becoming more in number, Timagenides the son of Herpys, a Theban, counselled Mardonios to set a guard on the pass of Kithairon, saying that the Hellenes were constantly flowing in every day and that he would thus cut off large numbers..

9.39

Eight days had now passed while they had been sitting opposite to one another, when he gave this counsel to Mardonios; and Mardonios, perceiving that the advice was good, sent the cavalry when night came on to the pass of Kithairon leading towards Plataia, which the Boeotians call the "Three Heads" and the Athenians the "Oak Heads." Having been thus sent, the cavalry did not come without effect, for they caught five hundred baggage-animals coming out into the plain, which were bearing provisions from Peloponnesus to the army, and also the men who accompanied the carts: and having taken this prize the Persians proceeded to slaughter them without sparing either beast or man; and when they were satiated with killing they surrounded the rest and drove them into the camp to Mardonios.

9.40

After this deed they spent two days more, neither side wishing to begin a battle; for the Barbarians advanced as far as the Asopos to make trial of the Hellenes, but neither side would cross the river. However the cavalry of Mardonios made attacks continually and did damage to the Hellenes; for the Thebans, being very strong on the side of the Medes, carried on the war with vigour, and always directed them up to the moment of fighting; and after this the Persians and Medes took up the work and were they who displayed valour in their turn.

vocabulary ἀγνώμων headstrong, unfeeling ἀδαής not knowing how to ἄδεια amnesty, impunity αἴσιμος just, fitting, destined \sim etiology ἀναζεύγνυμι (ō) yoke again ἀναχινδυνεύω (Ū) run a risk, more ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover, resume ἀνδάνω please ~hedonism ἀντικάθημαι oppose, stand opposite to ἀντιλέγω contradict, oppose ἄπειρος untested; infinite ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away ἀπόρρητος forbidden, secret ἄργυρος silver, money ~Argentina ἀρέσκω please, satisfy; make amends ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning \sim oligarch ἄσημος not marked; unclear βαρβαρόφωνος foreign-sounding βιάζω use force on, violate διαλλάσσω exchange; differ; reconcile διάνοια a thought; intelligence διαπέμπω send out/over διαπράσσω travel over, accomplish \sim practice διαρπάζω make prey of ~harpoon διαφαίνω seem, show through \sim photon διαφώσχω (the sun) to dawn δίζημαι seek ~zeal δικαιόω demand/make justice δόχιμος trustworthy; excellent

δουλόω enslave

ἔγχελυς eel

ἔδρα (ā) seat, seated group \sim polyhedron εἰκάζω liken; conjecture ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over ἐκπαγλέομαι be amazed ἔκπωμα -τος (n, 3) drinking cup έλευθερία freedom ἐλεύθερος not enslaved ελλην Greek ἔμπειρος experienced ένδέκατος eleventh ~decimal ἐνθαῦτα there, here **ἐξαγορεύω** declare, tell ∼agora ἐξαίφνης suddenly ἐπίκλητος summoned, appointed ἐπιπίπτω fall upon, attack ἐπίσημον mark, badge ἐπίσημος marked, significant ἐπιχειρέω do, try, attack ∼chiral έτοιμάζω get ready έτοῖμος ready; fulfilled εὔνοος kindly; favorable ἐύς good, brave, noble εὐώνυμος honored; left-hand ἥδομαι be pleased, enjoy \sim hedonism ήδύς sweet, pleasant \sim hedonism ἡσυχία peace and quiet θέω run, run for ἵζω to seat ∼sit καταθύμιος (ō) heart-oppressing καταρρωδέω fear, dread **χήδω** distress, hurt; mp: care about (+gen) ∼heinous κλέος κλοῦς (n, 3) fame ~Euclid λάχος lot λεχεποίη meadowy \sim lie λιπαρέω (ī) persist λόγιος learned, eloquent; oracle μεθίστημι change, substitute; withdraw; change sides; (mid) send away ∼station μεταξύ between μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon \sim pomp μόρος portion, lot in life ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὀρρωδέω dread, shrink from οὐδαμός not anyone **πάλαι** long ago ∼paleo παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas πάλη wrestling \sim Pallas πάλλω shake, brandish \sim Pallas παραγυμνόω expose, disclose παράγω deflect; bring forward παραθήκη deposit; hostage παραίνεσις -εως (f) speech; advice παραπλήσιος similar to παραρτέομαι get something ready περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist περιημεχτέω be aggrieved περιοράω look around; watch; permit Πέρσης Persian προελαύνω ride on **προθυμία** (ō) zeal, alacrity ∼fume προίστημι put forward; (+gen) be head of, guard ∼station προκαλέω challenge, call out ~gallo πρόοιδα foresee προσδέχομαι await, expect; suppose προσελαύνω go to, approach \sim elastic $\pi \rho \acute{o} \sigma \omega$ forward, in the future; far $\pi \rho o \phi \dot{\epsilon} \rho \omega$ bring forth \sim bear

 $\dot{\rho}$ **έω** flow ~rheostat σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore σιγάω (ī) be silent στάσις -εως (f) placing; faction στρατιά army ~strategy στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy συγγιγνώσκω acknowledge; pardon συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ∼ballistic συμβολή encounter; contribution συνάπας (αα) all together σύνοδος meeting, conjunction σφάγιον victim, sacrifice σφέτερος their ταξίαρχος military rank τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case τοξοφόρος (f) archer \sim toxic ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond; delay ∼ballistic ὑποζύγιον beast of burden ∼zygote φείδομαι spare, not use/harm \sim aphid φθάνω (ā) do first, outstrip φυλαχός guard; sentry φύλαξ -κος (m) guard; sentry \sim phylactery **χόρτος** barn, corral; fodder χρησμός oracular response χουσός (υ) gold ψεύδω be false, deceive; (mid) to lie \sim pseudo-

9.41

μέχρι μέν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐγίνετο τούτων ώς δὲ ἐνδεκάτη ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρη ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῆσι, οἴ τε δὴ Έλληνες πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιημέκτες τῆ ἔδρη, ενθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γοβρύεω καὶ Άρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ὃς ἐν ὀλίγοισι Περσέων ἢν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξη. βουλευομένων δὲ αἴδε ἦσαν αἱ γνῶμαι, ἡ μὲν Ἀρταβάζου ώς χρεον είη ἀναζεύξαντας την ταχίστην πάντα τον στρατον ιέναι ές τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαίων, ἔθα σῖτόν τέ σφι ἐσενηνεῖχθαι πολλὸν καὶ χόρτον τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι, κατ' ἡσυχίην τε ίζομένους διαπρήσσεσθαι ποιεῦντας τάδε έχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ ἄργυρόν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα τούτων φειδομένους μηδενὸς διαπέμπειν ές τοὺς Έλληνας, Έλλήνων δὲ μάλιστα ές τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἐν τῆσι πόλισι, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίην μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας. τούτου μεν ή αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων γνώμη, ὡς προειδότος πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου, Μαρδονίου δὲ ἰσχυροτέρη τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρη³ καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένη δοκέειν τε γὰρ πολλῷ κρέσσονα εἶναι την σφετέρην στρατιήν της Έλληνικης, συμβάλλειν τε την ταχίστην μηδέ περιοράν συλλεγομένους ἔτι πλεῦνας τῶν συλλελεγμένων, τά τε σφάγια τὰ Ἡγησιστράτου ἐᾶν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμω τῷ Περσέων χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν.

9.42

τούτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιεῦντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδείς, ὥστε ἐκράτεε τῆ γνώμη τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὖτος ἐκ βασιλέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ᾿Αρτάβαζος. μεταπεμψάμενος ὧν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ' έωυτοῦ ἐόντων Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰρώτα εἴ τι εἰδεῖεν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων ὡς διαφθερέονται ἐν τῆ Ἑλλάδι. σιγώντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδότων τοὺς χρησμούς, ⁴ τῶν δὲ εἰδότων μὲν ἐν ἀδείη δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς

 $^{^{1}\,}$ eleventh $^{-2}\,$ seat, seated group $^{-3}\,$ headstrong, unfeeling $^{-4}\,$ oracular response

Μαρδόνιος έλεγε «ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς εὖ ἐπιστάμενος ἔστι λόγιον ὡς χρεόν ἐστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάσαι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι οὕτε ἴμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν, ταύτης τε εἵνεκα τῆς αἰτίης οὐκ ἀπολεόμεθα. ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι εὔνοοι⁵ ἐόντες Πέρσησι, ἤδεσθε τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων.» ταῦτά σφι εἴπας δεύτερα ἐσήμαινε παραρτέεσθαί τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα ποιέεσθαι ὡς ἄμα ἡμέρη τῆ ἐπιούση συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

9.43

τοῦτον δ' ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμόν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριούς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγχελέων στρατὸν οἶδα πεποιημένον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐστὶ πεποιημένα, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι καὶ ᾿Ασωπῷ λεχεποίῃ ⁶ Ἑλλήνων σύνοδον καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ⁷ ἰνγήν, τἢ πολλοὶ πεσέονται ὑπὲρ λάχεσίν ⁸ τε μόρον τε τοξοφόρων ⁹ Μήδων, ὅταν αἴσιμον ἢμαρ ἐπέλθῃ, ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοισι ἄλλα Μουσαίῳ ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων ποταμὸς ῥέει μεταξὺ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλίσαντος.

9.44

μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραίνεσιν τὴν ἐκ Μαρδονίου νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο. ὡς δὲ πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προελήλατο καὶ ἡσυχίη ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἐν ὕπνῳ, τηνικαῦτα ¹⁰ προσελάσας ἵππῳ πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς τὰς ᾿Αθηναίων ᾿Αλέξανδρος ὁ Ἅμύντεω, στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, ἐδίζητο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες παρέμενον, οἳ δ᾽ ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἥκοι ἐπ᾽ ἵππου ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Μήδων, ὃς ἄλλο

⁵ kindly; favorable ⁶ meadowy ⁷ foreign-sounding ⁸ lot ⁹ archer ¹⁰ at that time, in that case

μὲν οὐδὲν παραγυμνοῖ ἔπος, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ὀνομάζων ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.

9.45

οὶ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἴποντο ἐς τὰς φυλακάς. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε Ἀλέξανδρος τάδε. «ἄνδρες Άθηναῖοι, παραθήκην ύμιν τὰ ἔπεα τάδε τίθεμαι, ἀπόρρητα ποιεύμενος πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἢ Παυσανίην, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. αὐτός τε γὰρ Έλλην γένος εἰμὶ τώρχαῖον καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ὁρᾶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λέγω δὲ ὧν ὅτι Μαρδονίω τε καὶ τῆ στρατιῆ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε. νῦν δέ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια έᾶν χαίρειν, ἄμ' ἡμέρη δὲ διαφωσκούση συμβολὴν ποιέεσθαι: καταρρώδηκε γὰρ μὴ πλεῦνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα έτοιμάζεσθε. ἢν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάληται τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιέηται, λιπαρέετε 11 μένοντες ολιγέων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. ἢν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήση, μνησθήναι τινὰ χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, δς Ἑλλήνων είνεκα ούτω ἔργον παράβολον ἔργασμαι ὑπὸ προθυμίης, ἐθέλων ύμιν δηλώσαι την διάνοιαν την Μαρδονίου, ίνα μη ἐπιπέσωσι ὑμιν έξαίφνης οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοισί κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών.» δ μεν ταῦτα εἴπας ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν έωυτοῦ τάξιν.

9.46

οί δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔλεγον Παυσανίῃ τά περ ἤκουσαν ἀλλεξάνδρου. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας ἔλεγε τάδε. «ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐς ἠῶ ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεόν ἐστι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στῆναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βοιωτούς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ' ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἑλλήνων, τῶνδε εἴνεκα' ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μήδους

¹¹ persist

καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄπειροί τε εἰμὲν καὶ ἀδαέες 12 τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν Σπαρτιητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπείρηται Μήδων ἡμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροι εἰμέν. ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χρεόν ἐστι ἰέναι ὑμέας ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρας, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον.» πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι τάδε. «καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐπείτε εἴδομεν κατ' ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν νόῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τά περ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε ἀλλὰ ἀρρωδέομεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἡδέες γένωνται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεὶ δ' ὧν αὐτοὶ ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἔτοιμοι εἰμὲν ποιέειν ταῦτα.»

9.47

ώς δ' ἤρεσκε ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα, ἠώς τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξις. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδονίῳ. ὃ δ' ἐπείτε ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γινόμενον ὁ Παυσανίης, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει, ὀπίσω ἦγε τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ὡς δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.

9.48

ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξις, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἔλεγε τάδε. «ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνδρες ἄριστοι ὑπὸ τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαγλεομένων ὡς οὕτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὕτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἢ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἢν οὐδὲν ἀληθές· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ συμμῖξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἴδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοισί τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους αὐτούς τε ἀντία δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους. ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα, ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐψεύσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὡς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ἡμέας κήρυκα προκαλεύμενοι

¹² not knowing how to

9.41

For ten days then nothing more was done than this; but when the eleventh day had come, while they still sat opposite to one another at Plataia, the Hellenes having by this time grown much more numerous and Mardonios being greatly vexed at the delay of action, then Mardonios the son of Gobryas and Artabazos the son of Pharnakes, who was esteemed by Xerxes as few of the Persians were besides, came to speech with one another; and as they conferred, the opinions they expressed were these,— that of Artabazos, that they must put the whole army in motion as soon as possible and go to the walls of the Thebans, whither great stores of corn had been brought in for them and fodder for their beasts; and that they should settle there quietly and get their business done as follows:— they had, he said, great quantities of gold, both coined and uncoined, and also of silver and of drinking-cups; and these he advised they should send about to the Hellenes without stint, more especially to those of the Hellenes who were leaders in their several cities; and these, he said, would speedily deliver up their freedom: and he advised that they should not run the risk of a battle. His opinion then was the same as that of the Thebans, for he as well as they had some true foresight: but the opinion of Mardonios was more vehement and more obstinate, and he was by no means disposed to yield; for he said that he thought their army far superior to that of the Hellenes, and he gave as his opinion that they should engage battle as quickly as possible and not allow them to assemble in still greater numbers than were already assembled; and as for the sacrifices of Hegesistratos, they should leave them alone and not endeavour to force a good sign, but follow the custom of the Persians and engage battle..

9.42

When he so expressed his judgment, none opposed him, and thus his opinion prevailed; for he and not Artabazos had the command of the army given him by the king. He summoned therefore the commanders of the divisions and the generals of those Hellenes who were with him, and asked whether they knew of any oracle regarding the Persians, which said that they should be destroyed in Hellas; and when those summoned to council were silent, some not knowing the oracles and others knowing them but not esteeming it safe to speak, Mardonios himself said: "Since then ye either know nothing or do not venture to speak, I will tell you, since I know very well. There is an oracle saying that the Persians are destined when they come to Hellas to plunder the temple at Delphi, and having plundered it to perish every one of them. We therefore, just because we know this, will not go to that temple nor will we attempt to plunder it; and for this cause we shall not perish. So many of you therefore as chance to wish well to the Persians, have joy so far as regards this matter, and be assured that we shall overcome the Hellenes." Having

spoken to them thus, he next commanded to prepare everything and to set all in order, since at dawn of the next day a battle would be fought.

9.43

Now this oracle, which Mardonios said referred to the Persians, I know for my part was composed with reference with the Illyrians and the army of the Enchelians, and not with reference to the Persians at all. However, the oracle which was composed by Bakis with reference to this battle, "The gathering of Hellenes together and cry of Barbarian voices, Where the Thermodon flows, by the banks of grassy Asopos; Here very many shall fall ere destiny gave them to perish, Medes bow-bearing in fight, when the fatal day shall approach them,"—

These sayings, and others like them composed by Musaios, I know had reference to the Persians. Now the river Thermodon flows between Tanagra and Glisas.

9.44

After the inquiry about the oracles and the exhortation given by Mardonios night came on and the guards were set: and when night was far advanced, and it seemed that there was quiet everywhere in the camps, and that the men were in their deepest sleep, then Alexander the son of Amyntas, commander and king of the Macedonians, rode his horse up to the guard-posts of the Athenians and requested that he might have speech with their generals. So while the greater number of the guards stayed at their posts, some ran to the generals, and when they reached them they said that a man had come riding on a horse out of the camp of the Medes, who discovered nothing further, but only named the generals and said that he desired to have speech with them.

9.45

Having heard this, forthwith they accompanied the men to the guard-posts, and when they had arrived there, Alexander thus spoke to them: "Athenians, I lay up these words of mine as a trust to you, charging you to keep them secret and tell them to no one except only to Pausanias, lest ye bring me to ruin: for I should not utter them if I did not care greatly for the general safety of Hellas, seeing that I am a Hellene myself by original descent and I should not wish to see Hellas enslaved instead of free. I say then that Mardonios and his army cannot get the offerings to be according to their mind, for otherwise ye would long ago have fought. Now however he has resolved to let the offerings alone and to bring on a battle at dawn of day; for, as I conjecture, he fears lest ye should assemble in greater numbers. Therefore prepare yourselves; and if after all Mardonios should put off the battle and not bring it on, stay

where ye are and hold out patiently; for they have provisions only for a few days remaining. And if this way shall have its issue according to your mind, then each one of you ought to remember me also concerning liberation, since I have done for the sake of the Hellenes so hazardous a deed by reason of my zeal for you, desiring to show you the design of Mardonios, in order that the Barbarians may not fall upon you when ye are not as yet expecting them: and I am Alexander the Macedonian." Thus having spoken he rode away back to the camp and to his own position.

9.46

Then the generals of the Athenians came to the right wing and told Pausanias that which they had heard from Alexander. Upon this saying he being struck with fear of the Persians spoke as follows: "Since then at dawn the battle comes on, it is right that ye, Athenians, should take your stand opposite to the Persians, and we opposite to the Boeotians and those Hellenes who are now posted against you; and for this reason, namely because ye are acquainted with the Medes and with their manner of fighting, having fought with them at Marathon, whereas we have had no experience of these men and are without knowledge of them; for not one of the Spartans has made trial of the Medes in fight, but of the Boeotians and Thessalians we have had experience. It is right therefore that ye should take up your arms and come to this wing of the army, and that we should go to the left wing." In answer to this the Athenians spoke as follows: "To ourselves also long ago at the very first, when we saw that the Persians were being ranged opposite to you, it occurred to us to say these very things, which ye now bring forward before we have uttered them; but we feared lest these words might not be pleasing to you. Since however ye yourselves have made mention of this, know that your words have caused us pleasure, and that we are ready to do this which ye say.".

9.47

Both then were content to do this, and as dawn appeared they began to change their positions with one another: and the Boeotians perceiving that which was being done reported it to Mardonios, who, when he heard it, forthwith himself also endeavoured to change positions, bringing the Persians along so as to be against the Lacedemonians: and when Pausanias learnt that this was being done, he perceived that he was not unobserved, and he led the Spartans back again to the right wing; and just so also did Mardonios upon his left.

9.48

When they had been thus brought to their former positions, Mardonios sent a herald to the Spartans and said as follows: "Lacedemonians, ye are said forsooth by those who are here to be very good men, and they have admiration

for you because ye do not flee in war nor leave your post, but stay there and either destroy your enemies or perish yourselves. In this however, as it now appears, there is no truth; for before we engaged battle and came to hand to hand conflict we saw you already flee and leave your station, desiring to make the trial with the Athenians first, while ye ranged yourselves opposite to our slaves. These are not at all the deeds of good men in war, but we were deceived in you very greatly; for we expected by reason of your renown that ye would send a herald to us, challenging us

vocabulary ἀγχοῦ near, nigh; like \sim angina αἰσχύνω (ō) spoil, disgrace, disfigure, mar ἀναίνομαι refuse, reject ἀναχρίνω interrogate, examine ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover, resume ἀντέχω hold up as protection against ∼ischemia ἄνωθεν from above, the beginning ἀπάγω lead away, back ~demagogue ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀπέχω ward off, drive off, refrain, be at some distance ἀποκλείω shut out; (+acc) close ἀπολαμβάνω receive, recover, take aside, cut off \sim epilepsy ἀποπέμπω send away ∼pomp ἄπορος impassable, difficult ἀποστείχω go away, go home ∼stair ἀποχράω suffice; abuse ἀριθμός number ἄρτιος suitable ἄτε as if; since ἀτρέμας unmovingly, still ~tremble ἄφθονος ungrudging, plentiful βάδην step by step \sim basis διαμάχομαι fight hard, contend διανοέω have in mind διέχω pass through; be apart δοξόω (mp) have the character of εἰσακοντίζω shoot ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over έκών willingly, on purpose; giving in too easily "Ελλην Greek ἔμπαλιν backwards, on the contrary ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἐντέλλω (mp) command

ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion ἐξορμάω veer off course ∼hormone ἐπαείρω raise, place on \sim aorta ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask ἐπελαύνω beat out ~elastic ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail ἐπισιτίζομαι (ιῖι) take supplies ἐπιχειρέω do, try, attack ~chiral ἐπιχώριος native **ἐρύχω** (ō) hold back ∼serve ἐύς good, brave, noble έφέζομαι sit on; bring aboard ~sit ἐφίημι (τι) send at, let fly; mp: rush at, spring upon \sim jet ἥδομαι be pleased, enjoy \sim hedonism ήμισυς half \sim hemisphere ἤπειρος (f) mainland, continent ίδρύω establish iππότης -ου (m, 1) horseman \sim hippo καταδοκέω suspect, be prejudiced καταλαμβάνω seize, understand, catch, overtake; (mp) happen ~epilepsy κενός empty, vain κολώνη hill, mound κρήνη well, spring λήγω cease, (+gen+ppl) cause to cease \sim lax λογίζομαι reckon, consider λόχος ambush, band, childbirth \sim lie λυπέω (ō) annoy, distress μαίνομαι be berserk ~maenad μεταχινέω (ī) move; change μετέπειτα afterward, next μίν him, her, it νεικέω revile, quarrel, scold νεῖκος -εος (n, 3) quarrel, battle νίχη (τ) victory ∼Nike ὄον οὖ type of fruit

ὁπότερος which of two, either of two οὐδαμός not anyone ὄχθος bank, hill παραγγέλλω transmit; order, summon, recommend, encourage παραγίγνομαι be beside, attend \sim genus παράπαν completely παρηγορέω console, advise περιέχω (mid) protect περισχίζω split around περιχαρής very glad Πέρσης Persian πέτρος rock ~petrified πρόειμι to have been before, earlier πρόχειμαι be placed by; be devoted προσχωρέω go to, join, support πρόσω forward, in the future; far πτώσσω to duck, cringe ~pudendum ῥεῖθρον stream ∼rheostat δέω flow ~rheostat σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore σίνομαι (τ) rob, damage στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στερέω steal, take στῖφος -εος (n, 3) close array στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army \sim strategy στρατιά army ∼strategy στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up

station ∼strategy σύγκειμαι be composed of, agreed συγχόω cover with dirt συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion συμβολή encounter; contribution συμμίγνυμι mix with \sim mix συμπίπτω fall together, happen συνταράσσω mess up συντίθημι hearken, mark \sim thesis σχίζω split ∼schism ταξίαρχος military rank ταράσσω mess things up ∼trachea τέχνη craft, art, plan, contrivance \sim technology τοιόσδε such τόξευμα -τος (n, 3) arrow τοξεύω shoot an arrow at ∼toxic ύδρεύω draw water ~hydrogen ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond; delay ∼ballistic ὑποκρίνομαι (ī) answer; pretend ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a person behind ∼eclipse φοιτάω go back and forth φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry ∼bear φρενήρης of sound mind φρόνημα -τος (n, 3) mind, spirit χῶρος place \sim heir ψηφίζω count, vote ψῆφος (f) pebble, vote, decree, sentence ψυχρός (v) cold ~psychology ώθέω push

καὶ βουλόμενοι μούνοισι Πέρσησι μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι ἐόντες ποιέειν ταῦτα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὕρομεν ἀλλὰ πτώσσοντας μαλλον. νῦν ὧν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἤρξατε τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρχομεν. τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπείτε δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἀριθμὸν ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἢν μὲν δοκέη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὧν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὕστεροι εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοι ἀλλ' ἡμέας μούνους ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσώμεθα ὁκότεροι δ' αν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῷ ἄπαντι στρατοπέδω νικᾶν.»

9.49

δ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας τε καὶ ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνατο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα. ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαερθεὶς ψυχρῆ νίκη ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἔλληνας. ὡς δὲ ἐπήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται, ἐσίνοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοντίζοντές τε καὶ τοξεύοντες ὥστε ἱπποτοξόται τε ἐόντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι τήν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην, ἀπ᾽ ἦς ὑδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἦσαν μὲν ὧν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μοῦνοι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι ἡ μὲν κρήνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἔκαστοι ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ δὲ ᾿Ασωπὸς ἀγχοῦ· ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ τοῦ ᾿Ασωποῦ οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην ἐφοίτων· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γάρ σφι οὐκ ἐξῆν ὕδωρ φορέεσθαι ὑπό τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοξευμάτων.

9.50

τούτου δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, ἄτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης³ τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ταρασσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἐλθόντες παρὰ Παυσανίην ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας. ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων τοιούτων ἐόντων μᾶλλον σφέας ἐλύπεε οὕτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἔτι, οἵ τε σφέων ὀπέωνες ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὡς ἐπισιτιεύμενοι ἀπεκεκληίατο

 $[\]frac{1}{1}$ to duck, cringe $\frac{1}{2}$ (mp) have the character of $\frac{1}{2}$ steal, take

ύπὸ τῆς ἵππου, οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

9.51

βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἔδοξε, ἢν ὑπερβάλωνται ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι συμβολὴν ποιεύμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἰέναι. ή δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, έπ' ή έστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος. νησος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἠπείρω σχιζόμενος 4 ό ποταμὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ῥέει κάτω ἐς τὸ πεδίον, διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα ὅσον περ τρία στάδια, καὶ ἔπειτα συμμίσγει ές τώυτό. οὔνομα δέ οἱ Ὠερόη θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι είναι Άσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστήναι, ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνω καὶ οἱ ἱππέες σφέας μη σινοίατο ὥσπερ κατιθὺ ἐόντων μετακινέεσθαί τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ δευτέρη φυλακή, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο οί Πέρσαι έξορμωμένους καί σφεας έπόμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἱππόται. άπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον, τὸν δὴ ἡ ᾿Ασωπὶς ᾿Ωερόη περισχίζεται ρέουσα έκ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ὡς άναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὀπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία οἰχομένους: ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῶ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι.

9.52

ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι κείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν προσκειμένης τῆς ἵππου εἶχον πόνον ἄτρυτον ὡς δὲ ἥ τε ἡμέρη ἔληγε καὶ οἱ ἱππέες ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γινομένης καὶ ἐούσης τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν συνέκειτό σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χῶρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκινήθησαν ἔφευγον ἄσμενοι τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραιον τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐστὶ τῆς Πλαταιέων, εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἀπέχον ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὅπλα.

⁴ split

9.53

καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ "Ηραιον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, Παυσανίης δὲ ὁρῶν σφεας ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρήγγελλε καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα ἰέναι κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προϊόντας, νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἰέναι ἐς τὸν συνεθήκαντο. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἢσαν τῶν ταξιάρχων πείθεσθαι Παυσανίη, 'Αμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεω λοχηγέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι οὐδὲ ἐκὼν εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐθώμαζέ τε ὁρέων τὸ ποιεύμενον ἄτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίης τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρυάναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκεῖνον σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι, κείνου ταῦτ' ἀναινομένου, ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανήτην, μὴ ἢν ἀπολίπωσι ποιεῦντες τὰ συνεθήκαντο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλησι, ἀπόληται ὑπολειφθεὶς αὐτός τε 'Αμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας δείχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Λακωνικόν, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μιν ὡς οὐ χρεὸν εἴη ταῦτα ποιέειν.

9.54

καὶ οῖ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἰμομφάρετον μοῦνον Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεητέων λελειμμένον, Ἰθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίευν τοιάδε εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων ὡς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπεμπον σφέων ἱππέα ὀψόμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειρέοιεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεῦνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι τε Παυσανίην τὸ χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν.

9.55

ώς δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ κῆρυξ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τε σφέας κατὰ χώρην τεταγμένους καὶ ἐς νείκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους. ὡς γὰρ δὴ παρηγορέοντο τὸν ἀμομφάρετον ὅ τε Εὐρυάναξ καὶ ὁ Παυσανίης μὴ κινδυνεύειν μένοντας μούνους Λακεδαιμονίων, οὔ κως ἔπειθον, ἐς ὃ ἐς νείκεά τε συμπεσόντες ἀπίκατο καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τῶν

⁵ unmovingly, still

'Αθηναίων παρίστατό σφι ἀπιγμένος. νεικέων δὲ ὁ ᾿Αμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ⁶ ἀμφοτέρησι τῆσι χερσὶ καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Παυσανίεω ταύτη τῆ ψήφω ψηφίζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους, λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὁ δὲ μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα ⁷ καλέων ἐκεῖνον, πρὸς τε τὸν ᾿Αθηναῖον κήρυκα ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Παυσανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, ἐχρήιζέ τε τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων προσχωρῆσαί τε πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς καὶ ποιέειν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τά περ ἂν καὶ σφεῖς.

9.56

καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς ἠὼς κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Παυσανίης, οὐ δοκέων τὸν ἸΑμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημήνας ἀπῆγε διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας εἴποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεῆται. Ἡθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἤισαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οῦ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον, Ἡθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον.

9.57

Άμομφάρετος δὲ ἀρχήν γε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Παυσανίην τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν, περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν: προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Παυσανίῃ, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰθέῃ τέχνῃ ἀπολείπειν αὐτόν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν λόχον τὰ ὅπλα ἢγε βάδην⁸ πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στῖφος: τὸ δὲ ἀπελθὸν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε τὸν ᾿Αμομφαρέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα ἱδρυμένον ᾿Αργιόπιόν τε χῶρον καλεόμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἣσται. ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἴνεκα, ἵνα ἢν μὴ ἀπολείπῃ τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο ὁ ᾿Αμομφάρετός τε καὶ ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθέοι ὀπίσω παρ᾽ ἐκείνους. καὶ οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν ᾿Αμομφάρετός παρεγίνοντό σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα. οἱ γὰρ ἱππόται ἐποίευν οἷον καὶ ἐώθεσαν ποιέειν αἰεί, ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κεινὸν

⁶ rock ⁷ of sound mind ⁸ step by step

and desiring to fight with the Persians alone; but though we on our part were ready to do this, we did not find that ye said anything of this kind, but rather that ye cowered with fear. Now therefore since ye were not the first to say this, we are the first. Why do we not forthwith fight, ye on behalf of the Hellenes, since ye have the reputation of being the best, and we on behalf of the Barbarians, with equal numbers on both sides? and if we think it good that the others should fight also, then let them fight afterwards; and if on the other hand we should not think it good, but think it sufficient that we alone should fight, then let us fight it out to the end, and whichsoever of us shall be the victors, let these be counted as victorious with their whole army.".

9.49

The herald having thus spoken waited for some time, and then, as no one made him any answer, he departed and went back; and having returned he signified to Mardonios that which had happened to him. Mardonios then being greatly rejoiced and elated by his empty victory, sent the cavalry to attack the Hellenes: and when the horsemen had ridden to attack them, they did damage to the whole army of the Hellenes by hurling javelins against them and shooting with bows, being mounted archers and hard therefore to fight against: and they disturbed and choked up the spring Gargaphia, from which the whole army of the Hellenes was drawing its water. Now the Lacedemonians alone were posted near this spring, and it was at some distance from the rest of the Hellenes, according as they chanced to be posted, while the Asopos was near at hand; but when they were kept away from the Asopos, then they used to go backwards and forwards to this spring; for they were not permitted by the horsemen and archers to fetch water from the river.

9.50

Such then being the condition of things, the generals of the Hellenes, since the army had been cut off from its water and was being harassed by the cavalry, assembled to consult about these and other things, coming to Pausanias upon the right wing: for other things too troubled them yet more than these of which we have spoken, since they no longer had provisions, and their attendants who had been sent to Peloponnese for the purpose of getting them had been cut off by the cavalry and were not able to reach the camp..

9.51

It was resolved then by the generals in council with one another, that if the Persians put off the battle for that day, they would go to the Island. This is distant ten furlongs from the Asopos and the spring Gargaphia, where they were then encamped, and is in front of the city of the Plataians: and if it be

asked how there can be an island on the mainland, thus it is 55:— the river parts in two above, as it flows from Kithairon down to the plain, keeping a distance of about three furlongs between its streams, and after that it joins again in one stream; and the name of it is Oëroe, said by the natives of the country to be the daughter of Asopos. To this place of which I speak they determined to remove, in order that they might be able to get an abundant supply of water and that the cavalry might not do them damage, as now when they were right opposite. And they proposed to remove when the second watch of the night should have come, so that the Persians might not see them set forth and harass them with the cavalry pursuing. They proposed also, after they had arrived at this place, round which, as I say, Oëroe the daughter of Asopos flows, parting into two streams as she runs from Kithairon, to send half the army to Kithairon during this same night, in order to take up their attendants who had gone to get the supplies of provisions; for these were cut off from them in Kithairon.

9.52

Having thus resolved, during the whole of that day they had trouble unceasingly, while the cavalry pressed upon them; but when the day drew to a close and the attacks of the cavalry had ceased, then as it was becoming night and the time had arrived at which it had been agreed that they should retire from their place, the greater number of them set forth and began to retire, not however keeping it in mind to go to the place which had been agreed upon; but on the contrary, when they had begun to move, they readily took occasion to flee from the cavalry towards the city of the Plataians, and in their flight they came as far as the temple of Hera, which temple is in front of the city of the Plataians at a distance of twenty furlongs from the spring Gargaphia; and when they had there arrived they halted in front of the temple.

9.53

These then were encamping about the temple of Hera; and Pausanias, seeing that they were retiring from the camp, gave the word to the Lacedemonians also to take up their arms and go after the others who were preceding them, supposing that these were going to the place to which they had agreed to go. Then, when all the other commanders were ready to obey Pausanias, Amompharetos the son of Poliades, the commander of the Pitanate division, said that he would not flee from the strangers, nor with his own will would he disgrace Sparta; and he expressed wonder at seeing that which was being done, not having been present at the former discussion. And Pausanias and Euryanax were greatly disturbed that he did not obey them and still more that they should be compelled to leave the Pitanate division behind, since he thus refused; for they feared that if they should leave it in order to do that which

they had agreed with the other Hellenes, both Amompharetos himself would perish being left behind and also the men with him. With this thought they kept the Lacedemonian force from moving, and meanwhile they endeavoured to persuade him that it was not right for him to do so..

9.54

They then were exhorting Amompharetos, who had been left behind alone of the Lacedemonians and Tegeans; and meanwhile the Athenians were keeping themselves quiet in the place where they had been posted, knowing the spirit of the Lacedemonians, that they were apt to say otherwise than they really meant; and when the army began to move, they sent a horseman from their own body to see whether the Spartans were attempting to set forth, or whether they had in truth no design at all to retire; and they bade him ask Pausanias what they ought to do.

9.55

So when the herald came to the Lacedemonians, he saw that they were still in their place and that the chiefs of them had come to strife with one another: for when Euryanax and Pausanias both exhorted Amompharetos not to run the risk of remaining behind with his men, alone of all the Lacedemonians, they did not at all persuade him, and at last they had come to downright strife; and meanwhile the herald of the Athenians had arrived and was standing by them. And Amompharetos in his contention took a piece of rock in both his hands and placed it at the feet of Pausanias, saying that with this pebble he gave his vote not to fly from the strangers, meaning the Barbarians. Pausanias then, calling him a madman and one who was not in his right senses, bade tell the state of their affairs to the Athenian herald, who was asking that which he had been charged to ask; and at the same time he requested the Athenians to come towards the Lacedemonians and to do in regard to the retreat the same as they did..

9.56

He then went away back to the Athenians; and as the dawn of day found them yet disputing with one another, Pausanias, who had remained still throughout all this time, gave the signal, and led away all the rest over the low hills, supposing that Amonpharetos would not stay behind when the other Lacedemonians departed (in which he was in fact right); and with them also went the Tegeans. Meanwhile the Athenians, following the commands which were given them, were going in the direction opposite to that of the Lacedemonians; for these were clinging to the hills and the lower slope of Kithairon from fear of the cavalry, while the Athenians were marching below in the direction of the plain.

9.57

As for Amonpharetos, he did not at first believe that Pausanias would ever venture to leave him and his men behind, and he stuck to it that they should stay there and not leave their post; but when Pausanias and his troops were well in front, then he perceived that they had actually left him behind, and he made his division take up their arms and led them slowly towards the main body. This, when it had got away about ten furlongs, stayed for the division of Amompharetos, halting at the river Moloeis and the place called Argiopion, where also there stands a temple of the Eleusinian Demeter: and it stayed there for this reason, namely in order that of Amonpharetos and his division should not leave the place where they had been posted, but should remain there, it might be able to come back to their assistance. So Amompharetos and his men were coming up to join them, and the cavalry also of the Barbarians was at the same time beginning to attack them in full force: for the horsemen did on this day as they had been wont to do every day; and seeing the

vocabulary ἀδύνατος unable; impossible ἄλσος -εος (n, 3) grove, sacred place ἀναζεύγνυμι (ō) yoke again ἀναρπάζω carry off ~harpoon ἀνεπιστήμων ignorant, unskilled ἄνοπλος unarmed ἀντέχω hold up as protection against ∼ischemia ἀντιτάσσω set against ἀνύω accomplish, pass over, complete ἀπαγορεύω forbid; fail, be worn out ἄπειρος untested; infinite ἀποβλέπω stare at, adore ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine ἀποίχομαι be gone, (+gen) hold aloof from ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp ἀποσχίζω sever ἀρέσκω please, satisfy; make amends ἀριθμός number ἀφειδής unsparing, cruel ~aphid ἀψευδής truthful βαρβαριχός non-Greek γέρρον wicker object γυμνής light infantry; serf δειλός wretched, poor, cowardly \sim Deimos δηλέομαι hurt, spoil, steal ∼delenda διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διαδέχομαι be next, succeed \sim doctrine διαδιδράσκω escape διακρίνω (ῑι) separate, sort ~critic δουλόω enslave δρόμος running, racing ground ~hippodrome

εἰσαχούω hearken ~acoustic

εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in ἐλεύθερος not enslaved Έλλην Greek ἐμπίμπρημι burn up ∼pyre ἐμπρήθω burn up ἐνθαῦτα there, here ένθεῦτεν thence έξεπίσταμαι know well ἐξηγέομαι lead forth; set out, describe ~hegemony ἐπαινέω concur, praise, advise ἐπαμύνω defend, rescue ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail ἐπικαλέω call upon ἐπιλαμβάνω take, attack, seize ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty ἐπιτρέπω entrust, decide, allow ~trophy έρημος empty ἐσθής clothes ∼vest έτέρωθι opposite, elsewhere, anywhere ∼other ἐύς good, brave, noble **εὐχή** prayer; vow ~vow θύω (\bar{v}) rush; sacrifice \sim θύω θω̃μα a wonder, feeling of surprise \sim theater θώραξ - ηχος (m) breastplate καταβάλλω throw down, cast off ~ballistic κατακλάω break off, break short \sim iconoclast καταλαμβάνω seize, understand, catch, overtake; (mp) happen ~epilepsy κατάρα curse καταρρωδέω fear, dread κατύπερθεν above, from above **κοσμέω** marshal, array ∼cosmos λημα will, desire, purpose; courage, insolence λογάς -δος (m, 3) picked, chosen λόγιμος notable λυπέω (ō) annoy, distress μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off μεθίστημι change, substitute; withdraw; change sides; (mid) send away ∼station μηδαμός no one μηκέτι no more μυριάς -δος (ō, f, 3) countless, myriad νίκη (τ) victory ∼Nike ξύλινος wooden ὄμιλος ($\bar{\iota}$) crowd, throng \sim homily ὄον οὖ type of fruit οὐδαμός not anyone ὄχθος bank, hill παραγγέλλω transmit; order, summon, recommend, encourage παροίχομαι pass, keep going πενταχισμύριοι (δ) 50,000 πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist περιστέλλω lay out Πέρσης Persian πιέζω press, squeeze ∼piezoelectric πλησιόχωρος adjacent $\pi \rho$ όγονος elder, ancestor \sim genus προδίδωμι betray $\pi \rho \dot{\theta} \theta \nu \mu \sigma \varsigma$ ($\bar{\upsilon}$) willing, eager \sim fume πρόχειμαι be placed by; be devoted πρόσω forward, in the future; far

δώμη strength, might

σοφία skill; wisdom ∼sophistry σπουδή zeal; (dat) with difficulty, hastily ~repudiate στείχω go, march ∼stair στίβος trail στρατηγέω be a general στρατιά army ~strategy συγγνώμη sympathy, leniency συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ∼ballistic συμβολή encounter; contribution σύνοιδα know about someone; think proper συνορά ω be able to see \sim panorama συστρέφω get together; condense σφαγιάζομαι sacrifice an animal σφάγιον victim, sacrifice τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common τοιόσδε such τόξευμα -τος (n, 3) arrow τοξότης -ου (m, 1) archer \sim toxic τριηχόσιοι three hundred τρισχίλιοι 3000 ~kiloφράσσω fence in, protect **χίλιοι** (ιι) thousand ~kiloχρήζω need ∼chresard χρηστήριον oracle, response χρηστός useful; brave, worthy χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat) \sim heir χῶρος place \sim heir ψεύδω be false, deceive; (mid) to lie \sim pseudoψιλός ($\bar{\iota}$) naked, bare ~epsilon ώθισμός thrusting, jostling

έν τῷ ἐτετάχατο οἱ Ἕλληνες τῆσι προτέρησι ἡμέρησι, ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἄμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατό σφι.

9.58

Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τοὺς ελληνας ἀποιχομένους ὑπὸ νύκτα είδε τε τὸν χῶρον ἔρημον, καλέσας τὸν Ληρισαῖον Θώρηκα καὶ τους άδελφεους αυτού Ευρύπυλον και Θρασυδήιον έλεγε «ὧ παίδες 'Αλεύεω, ἔτι τί λέξετε τάδε ὁρῶντες ἔρημα; ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι 1 έλέγετε Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας εἶναι τὰ πολέμια πρώτους τους πρότερόν τε μετισταμένους έκ τῆς τάξιος εἴδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁρῶμεν διαδράντας διέδεξάν τε, έπεί σφεας έδεε πρὸς τοὺς ἀψευδέως 2 άρίστους άνθρώπων μάχη διακριθήναι, ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἐόντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἐοῦσι Ἔλλησι ἐναπεδεικνύατο. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλή ἔκ γε ἐμεῦ ἐγίνετο συγγνώμη, ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσί τι καὶ συνηδέατε ᾿Αρταβάζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην τὸ καὶ καταρρωδησαι Λακεδαιμονίους καταρρωδησαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ώς χρεὸν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον ιέναι ές τὸ Θηβαίων ἄστυ πολιορκησομένους τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ βασιλεύς πεύσεται, καὶ τούτων μεν ετέρωθι³ έσται λόγος, νῦν δε έκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς δ καταλαμφθέντες δώσουσι ήμιν των δή ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας.»

9.59

ταῦτα εἴπας η̈γε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμω διαβάντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβον 4 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ώς δη ἀποδιδρησκόντων, ἐπεῖχέ τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεήτας μούνους Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχθων οὐ κατώρα. Πέρσας δὲ ὁρῶντες ὁρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἔλληνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν 5 τελέων ἄρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες η̆ειραν τὰ σημήια, καὶ

¹ adjacent ² truthful ³ opposite, elsewhere, anywhere ⁴ trail ⁵ non-Greek

έδίωκον ώς ποδών έκαστος εἶχον, οὔτε κόσμω οὖδενὶ κοσμηθέντες οὖτε τάξι.

9.60

καὶ οὖτοι μὲν βοῆ τε καὶ ὁμίλω ἐπήισαν ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Έλληνας: Παυσανίης δέ, ώς προσέκειτο ή ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱππέα λέγει τάδε. «ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου έλευθέρην είναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προδεδόμεθα ύπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς οί Άθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα διαδράντων. δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον ἡμῖν ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῆ δυνάμεθα άριστα περιστέλλειν άλλήλους. εἰ μέν νυν ἐς ὑμέας ὅρμησε ἀρχὴν ή ἵππος, χρην δη ήμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' ήμέων την Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας βοηθέειν ύμιν νύν δέ, ές ήμέας γαρ απασα κεχώρηκε, δίκαιοι ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων άμυνέοντες ίέναι. εί δ' άρα αὐτοὺς ὑμέας καταλελάβηκε άδύνατόν τι βοηθέειν, ύμεις δ' ήμιν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοισι, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακούειν.»

9.61

ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὁρμέατο βοηθέειν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν καὶ σφι ἤδη στείχουσι⁶ ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος γενομένων, ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενον σφέας ἐλύπεε. οὕτω δὴ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεῆται, ἐόντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οῦ μὲν πεντακισμύριοι Τεγεῆται δὲ τρισχίλιοι οὖτοι γὰρ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῆ στρατιῆ τῆ παρεούση. καὶ οὐ γάρ σφι ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά, ἔπιπτον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐτρωματίζοντο φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως, οὕτω ὥστε πιεζομένων

⁶ go, march ⁷ 50,000

τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Παυσανίην πρὸς τὸ Ἡραιον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν, χρηίζοντα μηδαμῶς ⁸ σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.

9.62

ταῦτα δ' ἔτι τούτου ἐπικαλεομένου προεξαναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῆται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Παυσανίεω ἐγίνετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρηστά ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἐχώρεον καὶ οὖτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. ἐγίνετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε, ἤδη ἐγίνετο ἡ μάχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἐς δὶ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ώθισμόν ¹⁰ τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λήματι ¹¹ μέν νυν καὶ ρώμη οὐκ ἥσσονες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἄνοπλοι δὲ ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίην, προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ κατ' ἔνα καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας καὶ διεφθείροντο.

9.63

τῆ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἐων Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ' ἵππου τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ ἔχων τε περὶ ἐωυτὸν λογάδας 12 Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους, ταύτη δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίεσαν. ὅσον μέν νυν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆν, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ώς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκεῖνον τεταγμένον ἐὸν ἰσχυρότατον ἔπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἶξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. πλεῖστον γὰρ σφέας ἐδηλέετο 13 ἡ ἐσθὴς ἔρημος ἐοῦσα ὅπλων πρὸς γὰρ ὁπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνῆτες 14 ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο.

⁸ no one ⁹ prayer; vow ¹⁰ thrusting, jostling ¹¹ will, desire, purpose; courage, insolence ¹² picked, chosen ¹³ hurt, spoil, steal ¹⁴ light infantry; serf

9.64

ἐνθαῦτα ἥ τε δίκη τοῦ Λεωνίδεω κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῦσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέετο, καὶ νίκην ἀναιρέεται καλλίστην ἀπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Παυσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ ἀναξανδρίδεω· τῶν δὲ κατύπερθέ οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται ἐς Λεωνίδην· ώυτοὶ γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἐόντες. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ ἀειμνήστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτη λογίμου, ὃς χρόνω ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἄνδρας τριηκοσίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ πολέμου ἐόντος Μεσσηνίοισι πᾶσι, καὶ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι.

9.65

έν δὲ Πλαταιῆσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔφευγον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἑωυτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον τὸ ἐποιήσαντο ἐν μοίρη τῆ Θηβαΐδι. θῶμα δέ μοι ὅκως παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλσος 15 μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἶς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὕτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὕτε ἐναποθανών, περί τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον. δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτή σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἀνάκτορον.

9.66

αὔτη μέν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο. ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἠρέσκετο κατ' ἀρχὰς λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἤνυε, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἐῶν' ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε ὡς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖσι πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοισι. τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ ἀρτάβαζος εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ έωυτόν, τούτους, ὅκως ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγίνετο, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἔμελλε ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἦγε κατηρτημένως, παραγγείλας κατὰ τὢυτὸ ἰέναι πάντας τῆ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγέηται, ὅκως ἂν αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα. ταῦτα παραγγείλας ὡς ἐς μάχην

¹⁵ grove, sacred place

place vacant in which the Hellenes had been posted on the former days, they rode their horses on continually further, and as soon as they came up with them they began to attack them.

9.58

Then Mardonios, when he was informed that the Hellenes had departed during the night, and when he saw their place deserted, called Thorax of Larissa and his brothers Eurypylos and Thrasydeios, and said: "Sons of Aleuas, will ye yet say anything, now that ye see these places deserted? For ye who dwell near them were wont to say that the Lacedemonians did not fly from a battle, but were men unsurpassed in war; and these men ye not only saw before this changing from their post, but now we all of us see that they have run away during the past night; and by this they showed clearly, when the time came for them to contend in battle with those who were in truth the best of all men, that after all they were men of no worth, who had been making a display of valour among Hellenes, a worthless race. As for you, since ye had had no experience of the Persians, I for my part was very ready to excuse you when ye praised these, of whom after all ye knew something good; but much more I marvelled at Artabazos that he should have been afraid of the Lacedemonians, and that having been afraid he should have uttered that most cowardly opinion, namely that we ought to move our army away and go to the city of the Thebans to be besieged there,— an opinion about which the king shall yet be informed by me. Of these things we will speak in another place; now however we must not allow them to act thus, but we must pursue them until they are caught and pay the penalty to us for all that they did to the Persians in time past.".

9.59

Thus having spoken he led on the Persians at a run, after they had crossed the Asopos, on the track of the Hellenes, supposing that these were running away from him; and he directed his attack upon the Lacedemonians and Tegeans only, for the Athenians, whose march was towards the plain, he did not see by reason of the hills. Then the rest of the commanders of the Barbarian divisions, seeing that the Persians had started to pursue the Hellenes, forthwith all raised the signals for battle and began to pursue, each as fast as they could, not arranged in any order or succession of post..

9.60

These then were coming on with shouting and confused numbers, thinking to make short work of the Hellenes; and Pausanias, when the cavalry began to attack, sent to the Athenians a horseman and said thus: "Athenians, now that the greatest contest is set before us, namely that which has for its issue

the freedom or the slavery of Hellas, we have been deserted by our allies, we Lacedemonians and ye Athenians, seeing that they have run away during the night that is past. Now therefore it is determined what we must do upon this, namely that we must defend ourselves and protect one another as best we may. If then the cavalry had set forth to attack you at the first, we and the Tegeans, who with us refuse to betray the cause of Hellas, should have been bound to go to your help; but as it is, since the whole body has come against us, it is right that ye should come to that portion of the army which is hardest pressed, to give aid. If however anything has happened to you which makes it impossible for you to come to our help, then do us a kindness by sending to us the archers; and we know that ye have been in the course of this present war by far the most zealous of all, so that ye will listen to our request in this matter also.".

9.61

When the Athenians heard this they were desirous to come to their help and to assist them as much as possible; and as they were already going, they were attacked by those of the Hellenes on the side of the king who had been ranged opposite to them, so that they were no longer able to come to the help of the Lacedemonians, for the force that was attacking them gave them much trouble. Thus the Lacedemonians and Tegeans were left alone, being in number, together with light-armed men, the former fifty thousand and the Tegeans three thousand; for these were not parted at all from the Lacedemonians: and they began to offer sacrifice, meaning to engage battle with Mardonios and the force which had come against them. Then since their offerings did not prove favourable, and many of them were being slain during this time and many more wounded,— for the Persians had made a palisade of their wicker-work shields and were discharging their arrows in great multitude and without sparing,— Pausanias, seeing that the Spartans were hard pressed and that the offerings did not prove favourable, fixed his gaze upon the temple of Hera of the Plataians and called upon the goddess to help, praying that they might by no means be cheated of their hope:.

9.62

And while he was yet calling upon her thus, the Tegeans started forward before them and advanced against the Barbarians, and forthwith after the prayer of Pausanias the offerings proved favourable for the Lacedemonians as they sacrificed. So when this at length came to pass, then they also advanced against the Persians; and the Persians put away their bows and came against them. Then first there was fighting about the wicker-work shields, and when these had been overturned, after that the fighting was fierce by the side of the temple of Demeter, and so continued for a long time, until at last they came to

justling; for the Barbarians would take hold of the spears and break them off. Now in courage and in strength the Persians were not inferior to the others, but they were without defensive armour, and moreover they were unversed in war and unequal to their opponents in skill; and they would dart out one at a time or in groups of about ten together, some more and some less, and fall upon the Spartans and perish..

9.63

In the place where Mardonios himself was, riding on a white horse and having about him the thousand best men of the Persians chosen out from the rest, here, I say, they pressed upon their opponents most of all: and so long as Mardonios survived, they held out against them, and defending themselves they cast down many of the Lacedemonians; but when Mardonios was slain and the men who were ranged about his person, which was the strongest portion of the whole army, had fallen, then the others too turned and gave way before the Lacedemonians; for their manner of dress, without defensive armour, was a very great cause of destruction to them, since in truth they were contending light-armed against hoplites..

9.64

Then the satisfaction for the murder of Leonidas was paid by Mardonios according to the oracle given to the Spartans, and the most famous victory of all those about which we have knowledge was gained by Pausanias the son of Cleombrotos, the son of Anaxandrides; of his ancestors above this the names have been given for Leonidas, since, as it happens, they are the same for both. Now Mardonios was slain by Arimnestos, a man of consideration in Sparta, who afterwards, when the Median wars were over, with three hundred men fought a battle against the whole army of the Messenians, then at war with the Lacedemonians, at Stenycleros, and both he was slain and also the three hundred..

9.65

When the Persians were turned to flight at Plataia by the Lacedemonians, they fled in disorder to their own camp and to the palisade which they had made in the Theban territory: and it is a marvel to me that, whereas they fought by the side of the sacred grove of Demeter, not one of the Persians was found to have entered the enclosure or to have been slain within it, but round about the temple in the unconsecrated ground fell the greater number of the slain. I suppose (if one ought to suppose anything about divine things) that the goddess herself refused to receive them, because they had set fire to the temple, that is to say the "palace" at Eleusis.

9.66

Thus far then had this battle proceeded: but Artabazos the son of Pharnakes had been displeased at the very first because Mardonios remained behind after the king was gone; and afterwards he had been bringing forward objections continually and doing nothing, but had urged them always not to fight a battle: and for himself he acted as follows, not being pleased with the things which were being done by Mardonios.— The men of whom Artabazos was commander (and he had with him no small force but one which was in number as much as four myriads of men), these, when the fighting began, being well aware what the issue of the battle would be, he led carefully, having first given orders that all should go by the way which he should lead them and at the same pace at which they should see him go. Having given these orders he led his troops on pretence of taking them into

vocabulary ἀγγέλλω carry a message, announce ἄγκυρα (ū) anchor ἄγχι near, nigh \sim angina άγχοῦ near, nigh; like \sim angina ἀλέα ἀλῆς an escape; warmth of the sun ∼swelter ἀλκή prowess, defense, victory \sim Alexander **ἄλυσις** -εως (f) chain ἀμφισβατέω dispute ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover, resume ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach ἄνω (ā) accomplish, pass, waste; upwards, out to sea ἀπέχω ward off, drive off, refrain, be at some distance ἀπογίγνομαι be taken away ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδέχομαι accept \sim doctrine ἀποέργω exclude; divide; confine ἀριστεύω be the best ~aristrocrat ἀρτάω hang something on ἀρτέομαι be ready ἀτέλεια incompleteness, imperfection; exemption ἀτιμία (τι) dishonor ἀτρεμίζω not be restless αὐτόχθων native ἀφοράω look away, at \sim panorama ἄχθομαι be burdened with δάω learn \sim didactic δειμαίνω be afraid δηθεν strong form of δή διαμάχομαι fight hard, contend διαρπάζω make prey of \sim harpoon διατελέω accomplish; keep doing \sim apostle

διξός double ἐθελοκακέω wimp out; act maliciously εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in εἰσφέρω carry into, carry along \sim bear εἰσχέω pour into έχχαίδεχα 16 ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over ἐκπίπτω fall out of ~petal ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear Έλλην Greek ἐνενήκοντα ninety ἐνθαῦτα there, here έξακόσιοι 600 ἐξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo; destroy someone ἐξηγέομαι lead forth; set out, describe ∼hegemony ἐπείγω weigh upon, drive; (mid) **ἐρείπω** pull down; fall ∼reap ἐρρωμένος vigorous, powerful εὐδοχιμέω be esteemed ζωστήρ -ος (m) belt ∼zone $\theta \acute{\epsilon} \alpha$ ($\bar{\alpha}$) seeing, sight, viewpoint θώραξ -ηχος (m) breastplate \sim thorax ίππότης -ου (m, 1) horseman \sim hippo καθηγέομαι lead **καίτοι** and yet; and in fact; although καταδέω tie up; fall short καταλέγω relate in detail, choose; enroll ∼legion καταπροδίδωμι betray completely καταστορέννυμι (ō) spread, cover καταφεύγω resort to, flee to, appeal to ∼fugitive κατειλέω coop up

κολώνη hill, mound **χομιδή** care, tending, providing for λαμπρός brilliant ~lamp λεῖος smooth λέσχη meeting hall; conversation μεταχινέω (ī) move; change μίν him, her, it μυριάς -δος (ō, f, 3) countless, myriad νηός temple, shrine ξύλινος wooden ὄμιλος ($\bar{\iota}$) crowd, throng \sim homily ὄνειδος -εος (n, 3) blame; insult ονομαστός named ∼name οὐδαμός not anyone πάλαι long ago ∼paleo παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas πάλη wrestling \sim Pallas πάλλω shake, brandish \sim Pallas παραγίγνομαι be beside, attend \sim genus πελάζω bring/come to, near, into contact with περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive; attain ∼genus περιθέω run around περικάθημαι be seated all around Πέρσης Persian **πλευρά** rib, side ∼pleurisy πλευρόν rib, side \sim pleurisy προεδρία pride of place προθυμέομαι (ō) be eager **προθυμία** (\bar{v}) zeal, alacrity \sim fume προσδοχάω expect πύργος ramparts, tower; line of

troops σίνομαι (τ) rob, damage σκηνή tent; stage στῖφος -εος (n, 3) close array στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy στρατόω be on a campaign \sim strategy συμβολή encounter; contribution συχνός long; many; extensive σφαγιάζομαι sacrifice an animal τίμιος honored, precious τόξευμα -τος (n, 3) arrow τριηχόσιοι three hundred τροχάζω run, spin ὕβρις -εως (f) pride, insolence, outrage ὑπέχχειμαι be brought to safety ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond; delay ~ballistic φάτνη manger, crib φθάνω (ā) do first, outstrip φθόνος malice, envy φίλιος friendly φονεύω kill φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry ∼bear φράσσω fence in, protect φυγή flight, means of escape ~fugitive χιλιάς -δος (τι, f, 3) 1000 χρήσιμος useful χῶρος place \sim heir ὧρος year

ηγε δηθεν τον στρατόν. προτερέων δὲ τῆς όδοῦ ὥρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι τον αὐτον κόσμον κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων οὕτε ἐς τὸ ξύλινον οὕτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῖχος ἀλλ' ἐς Φωκέας, ἐθέλων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπικέσθαι.

9.67

καὶ δὴ οὖτοι μὲν ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος ἐθελοκακεόντων Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν. οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, οὖτοι εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοί τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες, οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. ὡς δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὖτοι, ἔφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας, οὐ τῆ περ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὅμιλος, οὔτε διαμαχεσάμενος οὐδενὶ οὕτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος, ἔφευγον.

9.68

δηλοῖ τέ μοι ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὖτοι πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμμῖξαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι ἔφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὥρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἔφευγον πλὴν τῆς ἵππου τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίης αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεε τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἰεί τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄγχιστα ἐοῦσα ἀπέργουσά τε τοὺς φιλίους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

9.69

οἳ μὲν δὴ νικῶντες εἴποντο τοὺς Ξέρξεω διώκοντές τε καὶ φονεύοντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἔλλησι τοῖσι τεταγμένοισι περὶ τὸ Ἡραιον καὶ ἀπογενομένοισι τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ νικῷεν οἱ μετὰ Παυσανίεω· οἳ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσαν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλειασίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου

wimp out; act maliciously

τὴν λειοτάτην 2 τῶν ὁδῶν. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρέες καὶ Φλειάσιοι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππόται ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον ἤλαυνον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους, τῶν ἱππάρχεε ᾿Ασωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου, ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους, 3 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατήραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα.

9.70

οὖτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγω ἀπώλοντο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ομιλος, ώς κατέφυγον ές τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος, ἔφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους άναβάντες πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι, ἀναβάντες δὲ έφράξαντο ώς ήδυνέατο άριστα τὸ τεῖχος προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκεέ σφι τειχομαχίη έρρωμενεστέρη. ⁴ έως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ δ' ἠμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχέειν ὡς δέ σφι Άθηναῖοι προσῆλθον, οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο τειχομαχίη καὶ χρόνον έπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῆ τε καὶ λιπαρίη ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τείχεος καὶ ἤριπον τῆ δὴ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ Ελληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεήται ές τὸ τείχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οὖτοι ἦσαν οί διαρπάσαντες, τά τε άλλα έξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην 5 τῶν ἵππων έοῦσαν χαλκέην πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἀξίην. τὴν μέν νυν φάτνην ταύτην την Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ές τὸν νηὸν τῆς ἀλέης ὁ ἀθηναίης Τεγεῆται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τώυτό, ὅσα περ ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖσι Ελλησι. οί δὲ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἔτι στίφος ἐποιήσαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τείχεος, οὐδέ τις αὐτῶν ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο, ἀλύκταζόν τε οἶα ἐν ὀλίγω χώρω πεφοβημένοι τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλημέναι ἀνθρώπων παρῆν τε τοῖσι Έλλησι φονεύειν οὕτω ὤστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, καταδεουσέων τεσσέρων τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφευγε, τῶν λοιπέων μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῆ συμβολῆ εἶς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεητέων δὲ έκκαίδεκα, λθηναίων δε δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

 $^{^{2}}$ smooth 3 600 4 vigorous, powerful 5 manger, crib 6 an escape; warmth of the sun 7 16

9.71

ηρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζὸς μὲν ὁ Περσέων, ἵππος δὲ ή Σακέων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος Ἑλλήνων δέ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερεβάλοντο ἀρετῆ άλλω μεν οὐδενὶ έχω ἀποσημήνασθαι ἄπαντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι. γὰρ οὖτοι τοὺς κατ' έωυτοὺς ἐνίκων, ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον προσηνείχθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ Άριστόδημος κατά γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μοῦνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθεὶς εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίην. Εκτὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἢρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιός τε καὶ Φιλοκύων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος καίτοι γενομένης λέσχης⁹ δς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ό Σπαρτιήτης. άριστος, ἔγνωσαν οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημον μεν βουλόμενον φανερώς ἀποθανείν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αἰτίης, λυσσώντά τε καὶ ἐκλείποντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν: τοσούτω τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνω ἂν εἴποιεν' οὖτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο ᾿Αριστόδημος δὲ βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην οὐκ ἐτιμήθη.

9.72

οὖτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῆσι ὀνομαστότατοι¹⁰ ἐγένοντο. Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μοῦνον αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων' ὅς, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο Παυσανίης, κατήμενος ἐν τῆ τάξι ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά. καὶ δὴ οῦ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὁ δ᾽ ἐξενηνειγμένος ἐδυσθανάτε τε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς ᾿Αρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα οὐ μέλειν οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῆ χειρὶ καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστί οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον ἑωυτοῦ ἄξιον προθυμευμένου ἀποδέξασθαι.

⁸ dishonor ⁹ meeting hall; conversation ¹⁰ named

9.73

Άθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμῆσαι Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐτυχίδεω, ἐκ δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν κοτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτοὶ ᾿Αθηναῖοι λέγουσι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδὴν Τυνδαρίδαι ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν ᾿Αττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλήθεϊ καὶ ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἑλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οῖ δὲ αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἀχθόμενόν τε τῆ Θησέος ὕβρι καὶ δειμαίνοντα τερὶ πάση τῆ ᾿Αθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενόν σφι τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς ᾿Αφίδνας, τὰς δὴ Τιτακὸς ἐων αὐτόχθων το τοῦ τοῦσοι δὲ Δεκελεῦσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελείη τε καὶ προεδρίη διατελέει ἐς τόδε αἰεὶ ἔτι ἐοῦσα, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον ᾿Αθηναίοισί τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, σινομένων τὴν ἄλλην ᾿Αττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης ἀπέχεσθαι.

9.74

τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων διξοὺς ¹³ λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ζωστῆρος ¹⁴ τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρεε χαλκέῃ ἀλύσι ¹⁵ δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν ¹⁶ σιδηρέην, τὴν ὅκως πελάσειε ἀπικνεόμενος τοῖσι πολεμίοισι βαλλέσκετο, ἵνα δή μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινῆσαι μὴ δυναίατο γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναντίων δέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν. οὖτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ δ' ἔτερος τῶν λόγων τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ¹⁷ ἐφόρεε ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρέην.

9.75

έστι δὲ καὶ ἔτερον Σωφάνεϊ λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένον, ὅτι περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Αἴγιναν Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἄνδρα

 $^{^{11}}$ be a fraid 12 native 13 double 14 belt 15 chain 16 anchor

¹⁷ not be restless

battle; and when he was well on his way, he saw the Persians already taking flight. Then he no longer led his men in the same order as before, but set off at a run, taking flight by the quickest way not to the palisade nor yet to the wall of the Thebans, but towards Phokis, desiring as quickly as possible to reach the Hellespont..

9.67

These, I say, were thus directing their march: and in the meantime, while the other Hellenes who were on the side of the king were purposely slack in the fight, the Boeotians fought with the Athenians for a long space; for those of the Thebans who took the side of the Medes had no small zeal for the cause, and they fought and were not slack, so that three hundred of them, the first and best of all, fell there by the hands of the Athenians: and when these also turned to flight, they fled to Thebes, not to the same place as the Persians: and the main body of the other allies fled without having fought constantly with any one or displayed any deeds of valour..

9.68

And this is an additional proof to me that all the fortunes of the Barbarians depended upon the Persians, namely that at that time these men fled before they had even engaged with the enemy, because they saw the Persians doing so. Thus all were in flight except only the cavalry, including also that of the Boeotians; and this rendered service to the fugitives by constantly keeping close to the enemy and separating the fugitives of their own side from the Hellenes..

9.69

The victors then were coming after the troops of Xerxes, both pursuing them and slaughtering them; and during the time when this panic arose, the report was brought to the other Hellenes who had posted themselves about the temple of Hera and had been absent from the battle, that a battle had taken place and that the troops of Pausanias were gaining the victory. When they heard this, then without ranging themselves in any order the Corinthians and those near them turned to go by the skirts of the mountain and by the low hills along the way which led straight up to the temple of Demeter, while the Megarians and Phliasians and those near them went by the plain along the smoothest way. When however the Megarians and Phliasians came near to the enemy, the cavalry of the Thebans caught sight of them from a distance hurrying along without any order, and rode up to attack them, the commander of the cavalry being Asopodoros the son of Timander; and having fallen upon them they slew six hundred of them, and the rest they pursued and drove to Kithairon.

9.70

These then perished thus ingloriously; and meanwhile the Persians and the rest of the throng, having fled for refuge to the palisade, succeeded in getting up to the towers before the Lacedemonians came; and having got up they strengthened the wall of defence as best they could. Then when the Lacedemonians came up to attack it, there began between them a vigorous fight for the wall: for so long as the Athenians were away, they defended themselves and had much the advantage over the Lacedemonians, since these did not understand the art of fighting against walls; but when the Athenians came up to help them, then there was a fierce fight for the wall, lasting for a long time, and at length by valour and endurance the Athenians mounted up on the wall and made a breach in it, through which the Hellenes poured in. Now the Tegeans were the first who entered the wall, and these were they who plundered the tent of Mardonios, taking, besides the other things which were in it, also the manger of his horse, which was all of bronze and a sight worth seeing. This manger of Mardonios was dedicated by the Tegeans as an offering in the temple of Athene Alea, but all the other things which they took, they brought to the common stock of the Hellenes. The Barbarians however, after the wall had been captured, no longer formed themselves into any close body, nor did any of them think of making resistance, but they were utterly at a loss, as you might expect from men who were in a panic with many myriads of them shut up together in a small space: and the Hellenes were able to slaughter them so that out of an army of thirty myriads, if those four be subtracted which Artabazos took with him in his flight, of the remainder not three thousand men survived. Of the Lacedemonians from Sparta there were slain in the battle ninety-one in all, of the Tegeans sixteen, and of the Athenians two and fifty.

9.71

Among the Barbarians those who proved themselves the best men were, of those on foot the Persians, and of the cavalry the Sacans, and for a single man Mardonios it is said was the best. Of the Hellenes, though both the Tegeans and the Athenians proved themselves good men, yet the Lacedemonians surpassed them in valour. Of this I have no other proof (for all these were victorious over their opposites), but only this, that they fought against the strongest part of the enemy's force and overcame it. And the man who proved himself in my opinion by much the best was that Aristodemos who, having come back safe from Thermopylai alone of the three hundred, had reproach and dishonour attached to him. After him the best were Poseidonios and Philokyon and Amompharetos the Spartan. However, when there came to be conversation as to which of them had proved himself the best, the Spartans who were present gave it as their opinion that Aristodemos had

evidently wished to be slain in consequence of the charge which lay against him, and so, being as it were in a frenzy and leaving his place in the ranks, he had displayed great deeds, whereas Poseidonios had proved himself a good man although he did not desire to be slain; and so far he was the better man of the two. This however they perhaps said from ill-will; and all these whose names I mentioned among the men who were killed in this battle, were specially honoured, except Aristodemos; but Aristodemos, since he desired to be slain on account of the before-mentioned charge, was not honoured.

9.72

These obtained the most renown of those who fought at Plataia, for as for Callicrates, the most beautiful who came to the camp, not of the Lacedemonians alone, but also of all the Hellenes of his time, he was not killed in the battle itself; but when Pausanias was offering sacrifice, he was wounded by an arrow in the side, as he was sitting down in his place in the ranks; and while the others were fighting, he having been carried out of the ranks was dying a lingering death: and he said to Arimnestos a Plataian that it did not grieve him to die for Hellas, but it grieved him only that he had not proved his strength of hand, and that no deed of valour had been displayed by him worthy of the spirit which he had in him to perform great deeds.

9.73

Of the Athenians the man who gained most glory is said to have been Sophanes the son of Eutychides of the deme of Dekeleia,— a deme of which the inhabitants formerly did a deed that was of service to them for all time, as the Athenians themselves report. For when of old the sons of Tyndareus invaded the Attic land with a great host, in order to bring home Helen, and were laying waste the demes, not knowing to what place of hiding Helen had been removed, then they say that the men of Dekeleia, or as some say Dekelos himself, being aggrieved by the insolence of Theseus and fearing for all the land of the Athenians, told them the whole matter and led them to Aphidnai, which Titakos who was sprung from the soil delivered up by treachery to the sons of Tyndareus. In consequence of this deed the Dekeleians have had continually freedom from dues in Sparta and front seats at the games, privileges which exist still to this day; insomuch that even in the war which many years after these events arose between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, when the Lacedemonians laid waste all the rest of Attica, they abstained from injury to Dekeleia..

9.74

To this deme belonged Sophanes, who showed himself the best of all the Athenians in this battle; and of him there are two different stories told: one

that he carried an anchor of iron bound by chains of bronze to the belt of his corslet; and this he threw whensoever he came up with the enemy, in order, they say, that the enemy when they came forth out of their ranks might not be able to move him from his place; and when a flight of his opponents took place, his plan was to take up the anchor first and then pursue after them. This story is reported thus; but the other of the stories, disputing the truth of that which has been told above, is reported as follows, namely that upon his shield, which was ever moving about and never remaining still, he bore an anchor as a device, and not one of iron bound to his corslet.

9.75

There was another illustrious deed done too by Sophanes; for when the Athenians besieged Egina he challenged to a fight and slew Eurybates the Argive, one who had

distribute

vocabulary ἄγαμαι wonder, admire; resent, begrudge άκινάκης -ου (m, 1) Persian short sword ἄμαξα wagon ἀμφίπολος female servant \sim pole ἀναρίθμητος countless ἀνασκολοπίζω impale ἀνασταυρόω impale ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach ἀνδάνω please ~hedonism ἄνω (ā) accomplish, pass, waste; upwards, out to sea ἀπαθής unaffected, impassive ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἄπιξις arrival ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ∼tonsure ἀποχράω suffice; abuse ἄργυρος silver, money ~Argentina ἀρέσκω please, satisfy; make amends ἀριστεύω be the best ~aristrocrat ἄρμάμαξα Persian carriage ἀρτοχόπος baker ἀτάσθαλος reckless, wanton ἄτε as if; since αὐτόμολος deserting, defecting αὔτως just so, merely; in vain \sim after ἀφροσύνη folly ~frenzy βιόω live; (mp) make a living ~biology βωμός altar; stand, pedestal γέλως laughter γνάθος (f) lower jaw γομφίος molar δάω learn ∼didactic δέκατος tenth ∼decimal δηθεν strong form of δη

διαιρέω divide, distinguish,

δίαιτα way of life; home; arbitration διέπω manage, conduct δουλοσύνη slavery ἐγγίγνομαι live in \sim genus ἐκγίγνομαι be born; be by birth \sim genus ἐκπλήσσω panic, be knocked out \sim plectrum ἔκπωμα -τος (n, 3) drinking cup Έλλην Greek ἔνειμι be in ∼ion ἐνθεῦτεν thence έξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate; destroy ∼heresy έξεπίσταμαι know well ἐξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo; destroy someone ἔπαινος (noun) praise ἐπάργυρος overlaid with silver ἐπιφθονέω be reluctant to give ἐπίχουσος (ῦ) gilded ἑπτάπηχυς 7 cubits long ἐσθής clothes ∼vest ἐύς good, brave, noble **ἐφοράω** look upon ~panorama ἔφορος fair wind; guardian; hill ζημιόω fine, punish θοίνα meal, feast; food ίχέτις female suppliant κάλλος -εος (n, 3) beauty ~kaleidoscope κάμηλος (f) camel καταβάλλω throw down, cast off ~ballistic κατασκευάζω equip, build κατασκευή fixed assets; condition κήρυγμα -τος (n, 3) proclamation **κλέος** κλοῦς (n, 3) fame ∼Euclid κλέπτω steal **κλίνη** ($\bar{\iota}$) bed, couch ∼clinic **χλίνω** ($\bar{\iota}$) lean, recline \sim incline

κοσμέω marshal, array ∼cosmos **κρητήρ** -ος (m) mixing bowl for wine λέβης -τος (m, 3) kettle, basin ληίη booty λυμαίνομαι (ō) abuse, violate, descecrate μεγαλοπρεπής befitting greatness μεταλλάω interrogate, ask about μέταλλον mine; mineral μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon \sim pomp όδούς -ντος (m) tooth όδών όδόντος (m, 3) tooth ὀιζυρός miserable ὀνίνημι help, please, be available ὄον οὖ type of fruit δπις -δος (f) divine surveillance \sim panorama οὐδαμός not anyone ὄφις ὄφεως (m) serpent ∼ophidian παλλακή sex slave παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn πάτρα (α $\bar{\alpha}$) fatherland \sim paternal πάτρων -ος (m, 3) patron πεντάεθλος pentathlete; generalist πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder Πέρσης Persian ποιχίλος ornamented; various πρέπω be conspicuous, preeminent \sim refurbish πρόχειμαι be placed by; be devoted πρόχλησις challenge; invitation προοράω see before oneself προσδοχάω expect

πωλέω sell δάπτω sew ὁαφή seam σκηνή tent; stage σχίδνημι spread something, be spread στόρνυμι (ō) smooth out στρατηγέω be a general στρατιά army ~strategy στρεπτός pliant; type of necklace \sim strep throat συγχομίζω gather συμβολή encounter; contribution συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult ∼volunteer συμφορά collecting; accident, misfortune συμφορέω collect συνέρχομαι come together συχνός long; many; extensive τάλαντον scale, a unit of weight \sim talent τρίπος three-legged cauldron ὑπερφυής overgrown; gigantic ὑποζύγιον beast of burden ~zygote ὑψοῦ high, aloft ὑψόω lift, exalt φιάλη jar ~vial φονεύω kill φονή gore, bloodshed ~offend χρηστός useful; brave, worthy χουσόω (ō) make golden, gild χῶρος place \sim heir ψέλιον armlet, anklet ἀνέομαι buy ώσαύτως in the same way

πεντάεθλον έκ προκλήσιος έφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνω ὕστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἄνδρα γενόμενον ἀγαθόν, ᾿Αθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἄμα Λεάγρω τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡδωνῶν ἐν Δάτω περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον.

9.76

ώς δὲ τοῖσι Έλλησι ἐν Πλαταιῆσι κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐνθαῦτά σφι ἐπῆλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος ἡ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθε ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικώντας τοὺς Έλληνας, ἐοῦσα παλλακή Φαρανδάτεος τοῦ Τεάσπιος ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, ² κοσμησαμένη χρυσῶ πολλῶ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἀμφίπολοι καὶ ἐσθῆτι τῆ καλλίστη τῶν παρεουσέων, καταβᾶσα ἐκ τῆς ἁρμαμάξης 3 ἐχώρεε ἐς τοὺς Λ ακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῆσι φονῆσι 4 έόντας, όρωσα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα διέποντα Παυσανίην, πρότερόν τε τὸ οὔνομα έξεπισταμένη καὶ τὴν πάτρην ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, έγνω τε τὸν Παυσανίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων ἔλεγε τάδε. «ὧ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης, ρῦσαί με τὴν ἱκέτιν αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τόδε ὤνησας, τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὅπιν⁶ ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κώη, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ ἀνταγόρεω· βίη δέ με λαβὼν ἐν Κῷ εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης.» ὁ δὲ άμείβεται τοῖσιδε. «γύναι, θάρσεε καὶ ώς ίκέτις καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τούτω τυγχάνεις άληθέα λέγουσα καὶ εἶς θυγάτηρ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Κώου, δς έμοι ξείνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει έων των περί έκείνους τους χώρους οἰκημένων.» ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἐφόρων τοίσι παρεούσι, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἴγιναν, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴ ἤθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

9.77

μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν τῆς γυναικός, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο Μαντινέες ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὕστεροι ἥκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ἄξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου

¹ pentathlete; generalist ² Persian ³ Persian carriage ⁴ gore, bloodshed ⁵ female suppliant ⁶ divine surveillance

φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίης · Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οἰκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν. οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἦκον Ἡλεῖοι, καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τοῖσι Μαντινεῦσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο · ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὖτοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδίωξαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἡλείους τοσαῦτα.

9.78

ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῆσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἢν Λάμπων Πυθέω, Αἰγινητέων ἐὼν τὰ πρῶτα· ὃς ἀνοσιώτατον ἔχων λόγον ἵετο πρὸς Παυσανίην, ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδῆ ἔλεγε τάδε. «ὧ παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασταί τοι ὑπερφυὲς μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος, καί τοι θεὸς παρέδωκε ρυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλέος καταθέσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. σὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοισι ποίησον, ὅκως λόγος τε σὲ ἔχῃ ἔτι μέζων καί τις ὕστερον ψυλάσσηται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὰς ἕλληνας. Λεωνίδεω γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλησι Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν· τῷ σὰ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδοὰς ἔπαινον ἔξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων, αὖτις δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας τετιμωρήσεαι ἐς πάτρων⁷ τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδην.»

9.79

δ μὲν δοκέων χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε, δ δ' ἀνταμείβετο τοῖσιδε. «ὧ ξεῖνε Αἰγινῆτα, τὸ μὲν εὐνοέειν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἄγαμαί σευ, γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς: ἐξαείρας γάρ με ὑψοῦ καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρῷ λυμαίνεσθαι, ⁸ καὶ ἢν ταῦτα ποιέω, φὰς ἄμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι· τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάροισι ποιέειν ἤ περ Ἔλλησι· καὶ ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὧν τούτου εἴνεκα μήτε Αἰγινήτησι ἄδοιμι μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται, ἀποχρᾳ δέ μοι Σπαρτιήτησι ἀρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν ποιέειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν. Λεωνίδη δέ, τῷ με κελεύεις

⁷ patron ⁸ abuse, violate, descecrate

τιμωρήσαι, φημὶ μεγάλως τετιμωρήσθαι, ψυχήσί τε τήσι τῶνδε ἀναριθμήτοισι τετίμηται αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλησι τελευτήσαντες. σὰ μέντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μήτε προσέλθης ἔμοιγε μήτε συμβουλεύσης, χάριν τε ἴσθι ἐὼν ἀπαθής.»

9.80

ο μεν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο. Παυσανίης δε κήρυγμα⁹ ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἄπτεσθαι τῆς ληίης, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἴλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οῦ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι¹⁰ εὕρισκον σκηνὰς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆράς τε χρυσέους καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα· σάκκους τε ἐπ' ἁμαξέων εὕρισκον, ἐν τοῦσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεόντες χρύσεοί τε καὶ ἀργύρεοι· ἀπό τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψέλιά¹¹ τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς¹² καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἐόντας χρυσέους, ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδείς. ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας οἱ εἴλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κρύψαι· ὥστε Αἰγινήτησι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένοντο, οῦ τὸν χρυσὸν ἄτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν παρὰ τῶν είλώτων ωνέοντο.

9.81

συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ' ἡς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου όφιος τοῦ χαλκέου ἐπεστεὼς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν 'Ολυμπίη θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἡς δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν 'Ισθμῷ θεῷ, ἀπ' ἡς ἐπτάπηχυς ¹³ χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἔκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἡσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσέων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποζύγια. ὅσα μέν νυν ἐξαίρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῆσι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τούτοισι δοθῆναι· Παυσανίη· δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη,

 ⁹ proclamation
¹⁰ spread something, be spread
¹¹ armlet, anklet
¹² pliant; type of necklace
¹³ 7 cubits long

γυναϊκες ἵπποι τάλαντα κάμηλοι, ώς δὲ αὕτως καὶ τἆλλα χρήματα.

9.82

λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ώς Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Έλλάδος Μαρδονίω την κατασκευήν καταλίποι την έωυτοῦ· Παυσανίην ὧν ὁρῶντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῶ τε καὶ άργύρω καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοισι κατεσκευασμένην, κελεῦσαι τούς τε ἀρτοκόπους 14 καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιοὺς κατὰ ταὐτὰ καθώς Μαρδονίω δείπνον παρασκευάζειν. ώς δὲ κελευόμενοι οὖτοι ἐποίευν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Παυσανίην ἰδόντα κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ άργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένας καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ κελεῦσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικον δείπνον. ώς δε της θοίνης 16 ποιηθείσης ην πολλον το μέσον, τον Παυσανίην γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς, συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων εἰπεῖν τὸν Παυσανίην, δεικνύντα ές έκατέρην τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευήν, «ἄνδρες Έλληνες, τῶνδε εἴνεκα ἐγὰ ὑμέας συνήγαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦδε τοῦ Μήδων ήγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην 17 δέξαι, δς τοιήνδε δίαιταν έχων ηλθε ε'ς ημέας οὕτω διζυρην 18 έχοντας απαιρησόμενος.» ταῦτα μεν Παυσανίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

9.83

ύστέρω μέντοι χρόνω μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων εὖρον συχνοὶ θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τόδε ὕστερον τούτων ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν περιψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐς ἔνα χῶρον εὐρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀλλ' ἐξ ένὸς ἐοῦσα ὀστέου, ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ γνάθος ¹⁹ κατὰ τὸ ἄνω τῆς γνάθου ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μουνοφυέας ἐξ ένὸς ὀστέου πάντας τούς τε προσθίους καὶ γομφίους. ²⁰ καὶ

baker
befitting greatness
meal, feast; food
folly
miserable
lower jaw
molar

been victor in the five contests at the games. To Sophanes himself it happened after these events that when he was general of the Athenians together with Leagros the son of Glaucon, he was slain after proving himself a good man by the Edonians at Daton, fighting for the gold mines.

9.76

When the Barbarians had been laid low by the Hellenes at Plataia, there approached to these a woman, the concubine of Pharandates the son of Teaspis a Persian, coming over of her own free will from the enemy, who when she perceived that the Persians had been destroyed and that the Hellenes were the victors, descended from her carriage and came up to the Lacedemonians while they were yet engaged in the slaughter. This woman had adorned herself with many ornaments of gold, and her attendants likewise, and she had put on the fairest robe of those which she had; and when she saw that Pausanias was directing everything there, being well acquainted before with his name and with his lineage, because she had heard it often, she recognised Pausanias and taking hold of his knees she said these words: "O king of Sparta, deliver me thy suppliant from the slavery of the captive: for thou hast also done me service hitherto in destroying these, who have regard neither for demigods nor yet for gods. I am by race of Cos, the daughter of Hegetorides the son of Antagoras; and the Persian took me by force in Cos and kept me a prisoner." He made answer in these words: "Woman, be of good courage, both because thou art a suppliant, and also if in addition to this it chances that thou art speaking the truth and art the daughter of Hegetorides the Coan, who is bound to me as a guest-friend more than any other of the men who dwell in those parts." Having thus spoken, for that time her gave her in charge to those Ephors who were present, and afterwards he sent her away to Egina, whither she herself desired to go.

9.77

After the arrival of the woman, forthwith upon this arrived the Mantineians, when all was over; and having learnt that they had come too late for the battle, they were greatly grieved, and said that they deserved to be punished: and being informed that the Medes with Artabazos were in flight, they pursued after them as far as Thessaly, though the Lacedemonians endeavoured to prevent them from pursuing after fugitives. Then returning back to their own country they sent the leaders of their army into exile from the land. After the Mantineians came the Eleians; and they, like the Mantineians, were greatly grieved by it and so departed home; and these also when they had returned sent their leaders into exile. So much of the Mantineians and Eleians.

9.78

At Plataia among the troops of the Eginetans was Lampon the son of Pytheas, one of the leading men of the Eginetans, who was moved to go to Pausanias with a most impious proposal, and when he had come with haste, he said as follows: "Son of Cleombrotos, a deed has been done by thee which is of marvellous greatness and glory, and to thee God has permitted by rescuing Hellas to lay up for thyself the greatest renown of all the Hellenes about whom we have any knowledge. Do thou then perform also that which remains to do after these things, in order that yet greater reputation may attach to thee, and also that in future every one of the Barbarians may beware of being the beginner of presumptuous deeds towards the Hellenes. For when Leonidas was slain at Thermopylai, Mardonios and Xerxes cut off his head and crucified him: to him therefore do thou repay like with like, and thou shalt have praise first from all the Spartans and then secondly from the other Hellenes also; for if thou impale the body of Mardonios, thou wilt then have taken vengeance for Leonidas thy father's brother.".

9.79

He said this thinking to give pleasure; but the other made him answer in these words: "Stranger of Egina, I admire thy friendly spirit and thy forethought for me, but thou hast failed of a good opinion nevertheless: for having exalted me on high and my family and my deed, thou didst then cast me down to nought by advising me to do outrage to a dead body, and by saying that if I do this I shall be better reported of. These things it is more fitting for Barbarians to do than for Hellenes; and even with them we find fault for doing so. However that may be, I do not desire in any such manner as this to please either Eginetans or others who like such things; but it is enough for me that I should keep from unholy deeds, yea and from unholy speech also, and so please the Spartans. As for Leonidas, whom thou biddest me avenge, I declare that he has been greatly avenged already, and by the unnumbered lives which have been taken of these men he has been honoured, and not he only but also the rest who brought their lives to an end at Thermopylai. As for thee however, come not again to me with such a proposal, nor give me such advice; and be thankful moreover that thou hast no punishment for it now."

9.80

He having heard this went his way; and Pausanias made a proclamation that none should lay hands upon the spoil, and he ordered the Helots to collect the things together. They accordingly dispersed themselves about the camp and found tents furnished with gold and silver, and beds overlaid with gold and overlaid with silver, and mixing-bowls of gold, and cups and other drinking vessels. They found also sacks laid upon waggons, in which there proved to be caldrons both of gold and of silver; and from the dead bodies which lay there they stripped bracelets and collars, and also their swords if they were of gold, for as to embroidered raiment, there was no account made of it. Then the Helots stole many of the things and sold them to the Eginetans, but many things also they delivered up, as many of them as they could not conceal; so that the great wealth of the Eginetans first came from this, that they bought the gold from the Helots making pretence that it was brass..

9.81

Then having brought the things together, and having set apart a tithe for the god of Delphi, with which the offering was dedicated of the golden tripod which rests upon the three-headed serpent of bronze and stands close by the altar, and also for the god at Olympia, with which they dedicated the offering of a bronze statue of Zeus ten cubits high, and finally for the god at the Isthmus, with which was made a bronze statue of Poseidon seven cubits high,—having set apart these things, they divided the rest, and each took that which they ought to have, including the concubines of the Persians and the gold and the silver and the other things, and also the beasts of burden. How much was set apart and given to those of them who had proved themselves the best men at Plataia is not reported by any, though for my part I suppose that gifts were made to these also; Pausanias however had ten of each thing set apart and given to him, that is women, horses, talents, camels, and so also of the other things.

9.82

It is said moreover that this was done which here follows, namely that Xerxes in his flight from Hellas had left to Mardonios the furniture of his own tent, and Pausanias accordingly seeing the furniture of Mardonios furnished with gold and silver and hangings of different colours ordered the bakers and the cooks to prepare a meal as they were used to do for Mardonios. Then when they did this as they had been commanded, it is said that Pausanias seeing the couches of gold and of silver with luxurious coverings, and the tables of gold and silver, and the magnificent apparatus of the feast, was astonished at the good things set before him, and for sport he ordered his own servants to prepare a Laconian meal; and as, when the banquet was served, the difference between the two was great, Pausanias laughed and sent for the commanders of the Hellenes; and when these had come together, Pausanias said, pointing to the preparation of the two meals severally: "Hellenes, for this reason I assembled you together, because I desired to show you the senselessness of this leader of the Medes, who having such fare as this, came to us who have

such sorry fare as ye see here, in order to take it away from us." Thus it is said that Pausanias spoke to the commanders of the Hellenes.

9.83

However, in later time after these events many of the Plataians also found chests of gold and of silver and of other treasures; and moreover afterwards this which follows was seen in the case of the dead bodies here, after the flesh had been stripped off from the bones; for the Plataians brought together the bones all to one place:— there was found, I say, a skull with no suture but all of one bone, and there was seen also a jaw-bone, that is to say the upper part of the jaw, which had teeth joined together and all of one bone, both the teeth that bite and those that grind; and the bones were seen also

vocabulary ἄγρα hunting, prey άλής crowded; all together ἀνακαλέω call, summon, recall ἀναπίμπλημι fulfill, endure \sim plethora ἀναπλέω sail up, through ἀνερωτάω question ἀντιλογία argument ἀξιόμαχος well matched for war ἀπάγω lead away, back ~demagogue ἀπανίστημι make to get up and go ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away ἀπονοστέω go home ἀποπλέω sail away ∼float ἀτρεχής precise, certain αὐτόθι on the spot ἀφανίζω do away with, make off with; (pass) disappear βόσχω feed, tend \sim bovine διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διαιρέω divide, distinguish, distribute διωθέω tear, rend δόχιμος trustworthy; excellent δόλος trick, bait δουλοσύνη slavery εἰχοστός twentieth ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐκλογίζομαι compute, reckon Έλλην Greek ένδέκατος eleventh ~decimal **ἐξαγορεύω** declare, tell ∼agora ἐξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate; destroy ∼heresy ἐξαιτέω demand ∼etiology ἐξάλλομαι break away from ~sally ἐπαισχύνομαι be ashamed of ἐπείγω weigh upon, drive; (mid) hurry

ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail ἐπιγίγνομαι succeed, come after \sim genus ἐπικηρυκεύω send a herald, ambassador ἐπίλοιπος remaining έτοῖμος ready; fulfilled εὐπετής coming out well; (adv) fortunately ἐύς good, brave, noble θάπτω bury ∼epitaph καθίημι (τι) speed down upon; take down ∼jet καλλιερέω have good signs κάματος exhaustion, toil, product κάρτα very much ~κράτος κατακόπτω cut down, shatter καταλαμβάνω seize, understand, catch, overtake; (mp) happen ~epilepsy κενός empty, vain κληδών -ηδόνος (f, 3) news, omen \sim gallo κόλπος bosom, lap-fold; gulf κυρέω come upon, come up against; obtain λάθοα secretly ληίη booty λιμός (ī, f) famine λίσσομαι beg, beseech ~litany μαντεύομαι to divine ~mantis μεσόγαια inland μεταίτιος accessory μεταμέλομαι (impers.+dat.) cause regret to; (mp) regret μίν him, her, it ξεινίζω be host, treat as a guest ξείνιος of hospitality οἰωνός vulture, large bird, bird of prey; omen ∼avis ὄμηρος insurance, hostage **ὁμός** same ∼homoerotic

ὁμοῦ together ομόω unite ~homoerotic ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄρχιον oath ∼orc ὀστέον bone ∼osteoporosis παντοδαπής of every kind, manifold παντοδαπός of every kind, manifold παντοῖος all kinds of Πέρσης Persian πλήρης full, complete; (+gen) full of \sim plethora προάγω lead forward, advance πρόβατον cattle, flocks, herds $\pi \rho \dot{\theta} \theta \nu \mu o \varsigma$ ($\bar{\upsilon}$) willing, eager \sim fume πρόξεινος public/foreign agent, patron $\pi \rho o \sigma \dot{\alpha} \gamma \omega$ bring to a place ~demagogue προσβάλλω hit, attack, approach; attach, offer ~ballistic προσδόχιμος expected πρόσχημα -τος (n, 3) screen, pretext, appearance, ornament πρόσω forward, in the future; far προτρέπω prompt, urge, compel; (mp) go, flee to ∼trophy ῥέω flow ∼rheostat σίνομαι (ī) rob, damage σπουδή zeal; (dat) with difficulty, hastily ~repudiate στρατιά army ~strategy στρατός common people/soldiers

 \sim strategy στρατόω be on a campaign \sim strategy συγκυρέω meet or happen by chance συμβολή encounter; contribution συμμαχία alliance συντυχίη event, accident συχνός long; many; extensive τάφος (m) funeral, grave; (n) astonishment τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ∼tachometer τέθηπα be confused τέμνω cut, sacrifice, solemnize \sim tonsure τοιόσδε such τριξός threefold τύραννος tyrant ὑπομένω stay behind, await \sim remain ὑπονοέω suspect, surmise ὑποπτεύω guess, observe, be suspicious of ὑστεραῖος the next; later ὑφαιρέω take from under; filch **φάτις** -τος (f) report, rumor ∼fame **χόω** heap up χρήζω need ∼chresard χῶμα -τος (n, 3) mound of dirt χώομαι be troubled, angered χωρίς separately; except, other than

πενταπήχεος ἀνδρὸς ὀστέα ἐφάνη.

9.84

ἐπείτε δὲ Μαρδονίου δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο, ὑπὸ ὅτευ μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀτρεκὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἤδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἤκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ ἀρτόντεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον' ὅστις μέντοι ἢν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδονίου, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἔχει δὲ τινὰ φάτιν¹ καὶ Διονυσοφάνης ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τρόπω τοιούτω ἐτάφη.

9.85

οί δὲ Ἔλληνες ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῆσι τὴν ληίην διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἐωυτῶν χωρὶς ἔκαστοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριξὰς² ἐποιήσαντο θήκας· ἔνθα μὲν τοὺς ἰρένας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ ᾿Αμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἰρένες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἴλωτες. οὖτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον, Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας ἀλέας, καὶ ᾿Αθηναῖοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ὁμοῦ, καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας. τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεες ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῆσι ἐόντες τάφοι, τούτους δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπαισχυνομένους τῆ ἀπεστοῖ τῆς μάχης ἑκάστους χώματα³ χῶσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων εἴνεκεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἰγινητέων ἐστὶ αὐτόθι καλεόμενος τάφος, τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα δεηθέντων τῶν Αἰγινητέων χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόξεινον ἐόντα αὐτῶν.

9.86

ώς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῆσι οἱ ελληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισί σφι ἐδόκεε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας καὶ ἐξαιτέειν

report, rumor ² threefold ³ mound of dirt

αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμηγενίδην καὶ ἀταγῖνον, οῦ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους ἦσαν' ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι. ὡς δέ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θηβαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας' οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι, τήν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος.

9.87

καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύοντο σινόμενοι, εἰκοστῆ ἡμέρη ἔλεξε τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι Τιμηγενίδης τάδε. «ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι Ἔλλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι πολιορκέοντας ἢ ἐξέλωσι Θήβας ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, νῦν ὧν ἡμέων εἴνεκα γῆ ἡ Βοιωτίη πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήση, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηίζοντες πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἐξαιτέονται, χρήματά σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν οὐδὲ μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς, εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθέως δεόμενοι πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην παρέξομεν.» κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ λέγειν καὶ ἐς καιρόν, αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Παυσανίην οἱ Θηβαῖοι θέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

9.88

ώς δὲ ὡμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοισι, ἀτταγίνος μὲν ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, παίδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Παυσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίης, φὰς τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παίδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταιτίους. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οῖ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης τε κυρήσειν καὶ δὴ χρήμασι ἐπεποίθεσαν διωθέεσθαι ὁ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοέων τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἄπασαν ἀπῆκε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῆσι καὶ Θήβησι γενόμενα.

9.89

Άρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων καὶ δὴ πρόσω ἐγίνετο. ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπί τε

ξείνια ἐκάλεον καὶ ἀνειρώτων περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης, οὐδὲν έπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῆσι γενομένων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνοὺς ότι εὶ ἐθέλει σφι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτός τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατός ἐπιθήσεσθαι γάρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἴετο πυνθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα. ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος οὖτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξηγόρευε οὐδὲν πρός τε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς έλεγε τάδε. «έγω μεν ω ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί, ως δρατε, ἐπείγομαί τε κατὰ τάχος ἐλῶν ἐς Θρηίκην καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω, πεμφθεὶς κατά τι πρήγμα έκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶνδε αὐτὸς δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, οὖτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμος έστί. τοῦτον καὶ ξεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ές χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῦσι μεταμελήσει.» ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας ἀπήλαυνε σπουδή την στρατιήν διὰ Θεσσαλίης τε καὶ Μακεδονίης ἰθὺ τῆς Θρηίκης, ώς άληθέως ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς όδοῦ, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον, καταλιπών τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ έωυτοῦ συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηίκων κατακοπέντας κατ' όδὸν καὶ λιμῷ συστάντας καὶ καμάτω· ἐκ Βυζαντίου δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι. οὖτος μὲν ούτω ἀπενόστησε ές τὴν Ἀσίην.

9.90

της δὲ αὐτης ἡμέρης της περ ἐν Πλαταιησι τὸ τρῶμα ἐγένετο, συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάλη της Ἰωνίης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῆ Δήλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἑλληνες οἱ ἐν τῆσι νηυσὶ ἄμα Λευτυχίδη τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἡλθόν σφι ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Λάμπων τε Θρασυκλέος καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεω καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρεω, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάθρη τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομήστορος τοῦ ἀνδροδάμαντος, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι. ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε Ἡγησίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα, ὡς ἢν μοῦνον ἴδωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἰωνες ἀποστήσονται ἀπὸ Περσέων, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οἰκ ὑπομενέουσι ἢν δὲ καὶ ἃρα ὑπομείνωσι, οἰκ ἑτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην εὐρεῖν ἃν αὐτούς θεούς τε κοινοὺς ἀνακαλέων

⁴ secretly ⁵ hunting, prey

προέτραπε αὐτοὺς ρύσασθαι ἄνδρας Έλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμῦναι τὸν βάρβαρον εὐπετές τε αὐτοῖσι ἔφη ταῦτα γίνεσθαι τάς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιομάχους κείνοισι εἶναι. αὐτοί τε, εἴ τι ὑποπτεύουσι μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν, ἔτοιμοι εἶναι ἐν τῆσι νηυοὶ τῆσι ἐκείνων ἀγόμενοι ὅμηροι εἶναι.

9.91

ώς δὲ πολλὸς ἢν λισσόμενος ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἴρετο Λευτυχίδης, εἴτε κληδόνος εἴνεκεν θέλων πυθέσθαι εἴτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ ποιεῦντος, «ὧ ξεῖνε Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ οὔνομα;» ὁ δὲ εἶπε «Ἡγησίστρατος.» ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον, εἴ τινα ὅρμητο λέγειν ὁ Ἡγησίστρατος, εἶπε «δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν τὸν Ἡγησιστράτου, ὧ ξεῖνε Σάμιε. σὰ δὲ ἡμῖν ποίεε ὅκως αὐτός τε δοὺς πίστιν ἀποπλεύσεαι καὶ οἱ σὰν σοὶ ἐόντες οἴδε, ἢ μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προθύμους ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους.»

9.92

ταῦτά τε ἄμα ἢγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὅρκια ἐποιεῦντο συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἔλληνας. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες οἳ μὲν ἀπέπλεον μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον, οἰωνὸν τὸ οὔνομα ποιεύμενος.

9.93

οί δὲ Ἔλληνες ἐπισχόντες ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην τῆ ὑστεραίη ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαντευομένου σφι Δηιφόνου τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιήτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίω κόλπω. τούτου τὸν πατέρα Εὐήνιον κατέλαβε πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἔστι ἐν τῆ Ἀπολλωνίη ταύτη ἱρὰ ἡλίου πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ Χῶνα ποταμόν, ὃς ἐκ Λάκμονος ὅρεος ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρης ἐς θάλασσαν παρ' Ὠρικον λιμένα, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιρημένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλούτω τε καὶ γένεϊ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὖτοι ψυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἔκαστος περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται Ἀπολλωνιῆται τὰ

⁶ well matched for war ⁷ trustworthy; excellent

of a man five cubits high..

9.84

The body of Mardonios however had disappeared on the day after the battle, taken by whom I am not able with certainty to say, but I have heard the names of many men of various cities who are said to have buried Mardonios, and I know that many received gifts from Artontes the son of Mardonios for having done this: who he was however who took up and buried the body of Mardonios I am not able for certain to discover, but Dionysophanes an Ephesian is reported with some show of reason to have been he who buried Mardonios..

9.85

He then was buried in some such manner as this: and the Hellenes when they had divided the spoil at Plataia proceeded to bury their dead, each nation apart by themselves. The Spartans made for themselves three several burialplaces, one in which they buried the younger Spartans, of whom also were Poseidonios, Amompharetos, Philokyon and Callicrates,— in one of the graves, I say, were laid the younger men, in the second the rest of the Spartans, and in the third the Helots. These then thus buried their dead; but the Tegeans buried theirs all together in a place apart from these, and the Athenians theirs together; and the Megarians and Phliasians those who had been slain by the cavalry. Of all these the burial-places had bodies laid in them, but as to the burial-places of other States which are to be seen at Plataia, these, as I am informed, are all mere mounds of earth without any bodies in them, raised by the several peoples on account of posterity, because they were ashamed of their absence from the fight; for among others there is one there called the burial-place of the Eginetans, which I hear was raised at the request of the Eginetans by Cleades the son of Autodicos, a man of Plataia who was their public guest-friend, no less than ten years after these events.

9.86

When the Hellenes had buried their dead at Plataia, forthwith they determined in common council to march upon Thebes and to ask the Thebans to surrender those who had taken the side of the Medes, and among the first of them Timagenides and Attaginos, who were leaders equal to the first; and if the Thebans did not give them up, they determined not to retire from the city until they had taken it. Having thus resolved, they came accordingly on the eleventh day after the battle and began to besiege the Thebans, bidding them give the men up: and as the Thebans refused to give them up, they began to lay waste their land and also to attack their wall..

9.87

So then, as they did not cease their ravages, on the twentieth day Timagenides spoke as follows to the Thebans: "Thebans, since it has been resolved by the Hellenes not to retire from the siege until either they have taken Thebes or ye have delivered us up to them, now therefore let not the land of Boeotia suffer any more for our sakes, but if they desire to have money and are demanding our surrender as a colour for this, let us give them money taken out of the treasury of the State; for we took the side of the Medes together with the State and not by ourselves alone: but if they are making the siege truly in order to get us into their hands, then we will give ourselves up for trial." In this it was thought that he spoke very well and seasonably, and the Thebans forthwith sent a herald to Pausanias offering to deliver up the men..

9.88

After they had made an agreement on these terms, Attaginos escaped out of the city; and when his sons were delivered up to Pausanias, he released them from the charge, saying that the sons had no share in the guilt of taking the side of the Medes. As to the other men whom the Thebans delivered up, they supposed that they would get a trial, and they trusted moreover to be able to repel the danger by payment of money; but Pausanias, when he had received them, suspecting this very thing, first dismissed the whole army of allies, and then took the men to Corinth and put them to death there. These were the things which happened at Plataia and at Thebes.

9.89

Artabazos meanwhile, the son of Pharnakes, in his flight from Plataia was by this time getting forward on his way: and the Thessalians, when he came to them, offered him hospitality and inquired concerning the rest of the army, not knowing anything of that which had happened at Plataia; and Artabazos knowing that if he should tell them the whole truth about the fighting, he would run the risk of being destroyed, both himself and the whole army which was with him, (for he thought that they would all set upon him if they were informed of that which had happened),— reflecting, I say, upon this he had told nothing of it to the Phokians, and now to the Thessalians he spoke as follows: "I, as you see, Thessalians, am earnest to march by the shortest way to Thracia; and I am in great haste, having been sent with these men for a certain business from the army; moreover Mardonios himself and his army are shortly to be looked for here, marching close after me. To him give entertainment and show yourselves serviceable, for ye will not in the end repent of so doing." Having thus said he continued to march his army with haste through Thessaly and Macedonia straight for Thracia, being in truth

earnest to proceed and going through the land by the shortest possible way: and so he came to Byzantion, having left behind him great numbers of his army, who had either been cut down by the Thracians on the way or had been overcome by hunger and fatigue; and from Byzantion he passed over in ships. He himself then thus made his return back to Asia.

9.90

Now on the same day on which the defeat took place at Plataia, another took place also, as fortune would have it, at Mycale in Ionia. For when the Hellenes who had come in the ships with Leotychides the Lacedemonian, were lying at Delos, there came to them as envoys from Samos Lampon the son of Thrasycles and Athenagoras the son of Archestratides and Hegesistratos the son of Aristagoras, who had been sent by the people of Samos without the knowledge either of the Persians or of the despot Theomestor the son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had set up to be despot of Samos. When these had been introduced before the commanders, Hegesistratos spoke at great length using arguments of all kinds, and saying that so soon as the Ionians should see them they would at once revolt from the Persians, and that the Barbarians would not wait for their attack; and if after all they did so, then the Hellenes would take a prize such as they would never take again hereafter; and appealing to the gods worshipped in common he endeavoured to persuade them to rescue from slavery men who were Hellenes and to drive away the Barbarian: and this he said was easy for them to do, for the ships of the enemy sailed badly and were no match for them in fight. Moreover if the Hellenes suspected that they were endeavouring to bring them on by fraud, they were ready to be taken as hostages in their ships..

9.91

Then as the stranger of Samos was urgent in his prayer, Leotychides inquired thus, either desiring to hear for the sake of the omen or perhaps by a chance which Providence brought about: "Stranger of Samos, what is thy name?" He said "Hegesistratos." The other cut short the rest of the speech, stopping all that Hegesistratos had intended to say further, and said: "I accept the augury given in Hegesistratos, stranger of Samos. Do thou on thy part see that thou give us assurance, thou and the men who are with thee, that the Samians will without fail be our zealous allies, and after that sail away home."

9.92

Thus he spoke and to the words he added the deed; for forthwith the Samians gave assurance and made oaths of alliance with the Hellenes, and having so done the others sailed away home, but Hegesistratos he bade sail with the Hellenes, considering the name to be an augury of good success. Then the

Hellenes after staying still that day made sacrifices for success on the next day, their diviner being Deïphonos the son of Euenios an Apolloniate, of that Apollonia which lies in the Ionian gulf10201.

9.93

To this man's father Euenios it happened as follows:— There are at this place Apollonia sheep sacred to the Sun, which during the day feed by a river running from Mount Lacmon through the land of Apollonia to the sea by the haven of Oricos; and by night they are watched by men chosen for this purpose, who are the most highly considered of the citizens for wealth and noble birth, each man having charge of them for a year; for the people of Apollonia set great store on these

vocabulary ἀγχοῦ near, nigh; like \sim angina αἰγιαλός beach, shore ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear ἀνειρύω bring up ἀνερύω bring up ἀντικαθίστημι replace; set against ἄντρον cave ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀποβάθοα gangway ἀπορία difficulty, bottleneck ∼pierce ἀπόρρητος forbidden, secret ἀποχοάω suffice; abuse αὐλίζομαι live, lodge at ἄχθομαι be burdened with γέρρον wicker object δάω learn \sim didactic **δείλη** afternoon ∼diem δένδρεον -οῦ tree δηθεν strong form of δηδιαπράσσω travel over, accomplish \sim practice δικαιόω demand/make justice δικαστήριον court δίοδος (f) passage, pass δόσις -εως (f) gift, loan \sim donate ἐγχρίμπτω to near, bring near to είσαφιχνέομαι arrive at εἰσπέτομαι fly into ~petal έκάς afar, far off ἐκκόπτω cut out, down, off ἐκτίνω pay off; (mp) exact full payment ἐκτός outside ἐκφεύγω flee from, escape ~fugitive έλευθερία freedom Έλλην Greek ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἐντέλλω (mp) command ἕξ six ∼hexagon **ἐξαπατάω** trick, cheat ∼apatosaurus

ἐπαΐω (ā) listen to, perceive ἐπαχούω hear, listen to ~acoustic ἐπανάγω sit up, bring up; retreat; set sail ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask ἐπήβολος having available ~ballistic ἐπιβατεύω move into, go aboard ἐπιλαμβάνω take, attack, seize ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose; (mid) think over έρχος -εος (n, 3) bulwark \sim oath ἔρυμα -τος (n, 3) protection \sim serve ἐύς good, brave, noble ἐφέπω drive, meet, follow \sim sequel **ἐφορμέω** be anchored, blockade ἔχθω (mp) be hated \sim external ἥχιστος least; above all ημερος gentle; (animals) domesticated θᾶχος seat, session of assembly θεοπρόπιον prophecy ~theology ίδρύω establish καλλιερέω have good signs κάλλος -εος (n, 3) beauty ~kaleidoscope καταδοκέω suspect, be prejudiced κατακοιμάω pass: go to sleep; have κατακρίνω sentence, condemn καταμένω stay; not change καταπήγνυμι (ō) to stick, plant καταπλέω land ∼float καταφεύγω resort to, flee to, appeal to ∼fugitive κλῆρος lot; farm, inheritance; clergy \sim clergy κληρόω cast lots, assign κορυφή peak, crown κρησφύγετον refuge λύκος wolf ∼lycanthropy μαχαρίζω congratulate ∼macarism

μαντεύομαι to divine ~mantis μαντικός prophetic μηδέτερος neither μίν him, her, it μυριάς -δος (ō, f, 3) countless, myriad ναυμαχία naval warfare οἴχησις -εως (f) habitation ονομαστός named ∼name ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὁρμίζω anchor, beach ὄψιος late, in evening ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view \sim thanatopsis πάθος -ους (n, 3) an experience, passion, condition πάντως by all means παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn π αραπλέω sail past \sim float παράπλοος -υ coasting πάρεδρος assessor π αρίζω sit beside \sim sit πενταχόσιοι 500 περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on clothing ∼ballistic Πέρσης Persian πότνια lady ~potent πρίαμαι buy προαγορεύω declare, predict, order προθέω run from, lead to the fray πρόσειμι approach, draw near; add προσπλέω sail toward, against προτίθημι prefer, set out \sim thesis προφυλάσσω guard the front σιγά silence

σιγάω (ī) be silent σκόλοψ -πος (m) palisade, stake στερέω steal, take στρατηγέω be a general στρατιά army ~strategy στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy στρατόω be on a campaign \sim strategy συμβολή encounter; contribution συμμίγνυμι mix with \sim mix συμπίπτω fall together, happen συμπίτνω fall together, happen συμφορέω collect σύνθημα -τος (n, 3) agreed signal τεμμήριον sign; proof τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common land τιμωρέω (ī) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked ὑπερφέρω carry over; surpass ὑπολαμβάνω take under one's support, seize; speak up; imagine ~epilepsy ὑπονοέω suspect, surmise ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise ~hypothesis ὑποψία suspicion ~panorama ὑφίστημι promise, undertake \sim station φήμη speech, rumor \sim fame χρηστήριον oracle, response ἀνέομαι buy ὧρος year ώσαύτως in the same way

πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός ἐν δὲ ἄντρω αὐλίζονται απὸ τῆς πόλιος έκάς. ένθα δη τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὖτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε. καὶ κοτὲ αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος φυλακὴν παρελθόντες λύκοι² ἐς τὸ άντρον διέφθειραν των προβάτων ως έξήκοντα. ὁ δὲ ως ἐπήισε, εἶχε σιγῆ καὶ ἔφραζε οὐδενί, ἐν νόω ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πριάμενος, καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γενόμενα, άλλ' ώς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν, ώς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμήσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος στερηθῆναι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῆ ἔφερε ὁμοίως καρπόν. πρόφαντα δέ σφι ἔν τε Δωδώνη καὶ έν Δελφοῖσι ἐγίνετο, ἐπείτε ἐπειρώτων τοὺς προφήτας τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ίρων προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστέρησαν αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμῆσαι τους λύκους, ου πρότερον τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες έκείνω πριν η δίκας δώσι τών ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτὸς ἔληται καὶ δικαιοῖ: τούτων δὲ τελεομένων αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐηνίφ δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν πολλούς μιν μακαριεῖν άνθρώπων ἔχοντα.

9.94

τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτά σφι ἐχρήσθη, οἱ δὲ Ἀπολλωνιῆται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι προέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρῆξαι. οἳ δέ σφι διέπρηξαν ὧδε· κατημένου Εὐηνίου ἐν θώκῳ⁵ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῦντο, ἐς δ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθεϊ· ταύτη δὲ ὑπάγοντες εἰρώτων τίνα δίκην ἂν ἔλοιτο, εἰ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιῆται δίκας ὑποστῆναι δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀκηκοὼς τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἴλετο εἴπας εἴ τις οἱ δοίη ἀγρούς, τῶν ἀστῶν ὀνομάσας τοῖσι ἠπίστατο εἶναι καλλίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῆ Ἀπολλωνίη, καὶ οἴκησιν⁶ πρὸς τούτοισι τὴν ἤδεε καλλίστην ἐοῦσαν τῶν ἐν πόλι· τούτων δὲ ἔφη ἐπήβολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀμήνιτος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχρᾶν γενομένην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, οῖ δὲ πάρεδροι εἶπαν ὑπολαβόντες «Εὐήνιε, ταύτην

¹ live, lodge at ² wolf ³ steal, take ⁴ congratulate ⁵ seat, session of assembly ⁶ habitation

δίκην ἀπολλωνιῆται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα.» ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα δεινὰ ἐποίεε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς ἐξαπατηθείς οῦ δὲ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων διδοῦσί οἱ τὰ εἴλετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἔμφυτον μαντικὴν είχε, ὥστε καὶ ὀνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.

9.95

τούτου δὴ ὁ Δηίφονος ἐὼν παῖς τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀγόντων Κορινθίων ἐμαντεύετο τῇ στρατιῇ. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τόδε ἤκουσα, ὡς ὁ Δηίφονος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου οὐνόματος ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἐὼν Εὐηνίου παῖς.

9.96

τοῖσι δὲ Ἔλλησι ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμίης πρὸς Καλαμίσοισι, οῦ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὁρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἡραιον τὸ ταύτῃ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίην, οῦ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι σφέας προσπλέειν ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν. βουλευομένοισι γάρ σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίην μὴ ποιέεσθαι οὐ γὰρ ὧν ἐδόκεον ὅμοιοι εἶναι. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπέπλεον, ὅκως ἔωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον ἐόντα ἐν τῆ Μυκάλη, ὃς κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ Ἰωνίην ἐφύλασσε· τοῦ πλῆθος μὲν ἦν εξ μυριάδες, ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης κάλλεϊ καὶ μεγάθεϊ ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοὶ ἀνειρύσαι τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἔρκος ἔρυμά⁸ τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον.9

9.97

ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνήγοντο. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτνιέων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαίσωνά τε καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῆ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρόν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἱδρύσατο

⁷ prophetic ⁸ protection ⁹ refuge

Νείλεω τῷ Κόδρου ἐπισπόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστύν, ἐνθαῦτα τὰς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαν καὶ περιεβάλοντο ἔρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρεα ἐκκόψαντες ἥμερα, 10 καὶ σκόλοπας 11 περὶ τὸ ἔρκος κατέπηξαν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες, ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο,

9.98

οί δὲ Ελληνες ώς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκότας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν ηπειρον, ηχθοντο ώς έκπεφευγότων ἀπορίη τε είχοντο ὅ τι ποιέωσι, είτε ἀπαλλάσσωνται ὀπίσω είτε καταπλέωσι ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου. τέλος δὲ ἔδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα¹² ποιέειν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἤπειρον. παρασκευασάμενοι ὧν ές ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε έγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, άλλ' ὥρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρά τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῆ νηὶ παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμψας τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ύπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι Ἰωσι λέγων «ἄνδρες Ἰωνες, οῖ ύμέων τυγχάνουσι ἐπακούοντες, μάθετε τὰ λέγω πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνήσουσι Πέρσαι των έγω ύμιν έντέλλομαι. έπεαν συμμίσγωμεν, μεμνήσθαι τινὰ χρὴ ἐλευθερίης μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος ήβης. καὶ τάδε ἴστω καὶ ὁ μὴ ἀκούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἀκούσαντος.» ώυτὸς δὲ οὖτος ἐὼν τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίω: ἢ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔμελλε τοὺς Ἰωνας πείσειν, ἢ ἔπειτα ἀνενειχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιήσειν ἀπίστους τοῖσι Έλλησι.

9.99

Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίευν οἱ Ἦληνες προσσχόντες τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. καὶ οὖτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς Ἦληνας παρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖσι Ἰωσι παραινέσαντας, τοῦτο

gentle; (animals) domesticated 11 palisade, stake 12 neither

μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σαμίους τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονέειν ἀπαιρέονται τὰ ὅπλα. οἱ γὰρ ὧν Σάμιοι ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῆσι νηυσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους οἱ Ξέρξεω, τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς Ἀθήνας τῶν εἴνεκεν οὐκ ἥκιστα ὑποψίην εἶχον, πεντακοσίας κεφαλὰς τῶν Ξέρξεω πολεμίων λυσάμενοι. τοῦτο δὲ τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης φερούσας προστάσσουσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι φυλάσσειν ὡς ἐπισταμένοισι δῆθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώρην. ἐποίευν δὲ τοῦτο τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔωσι. τούτους μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον νεοχμὸν ἄν τι ποιέειν δυνάμιος ἐπιλαβομένοισι, τρόποισι τοιούτοισι προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἔρκος εἶναι σφίσι.

9.100

ώς δὲ ἄρα παρεσκευάδατο τοῖσι Ἔλλησι, προσήισαν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἰοῦσι δέ σφι φήμη¹³ τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πᾶν καὶ κηρυκήιον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματωγῆς κείμενον ἡ δὲ φήμη διῆλθέ σφι ὧδε, ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν νικῷεν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι. δῆλα δὴ πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοισι ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμπιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῆσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάλῃ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι τρώματος, φήμη τοῖσι Ἕλλησι τοῖσι ταύτῃ ἐσαπίκετο, ὥστε θαρσῆσαί τε τὴν στρατιὴν πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐθέλειν προθυμότερον κινδυνεύειν.

9.101

καὶ τόδε ἔτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, Δήμητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσινίης παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι παρ᾽ αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγίνετο, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἔμελλε ὡσαύτως ἔσεσθαι. γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Παυσανίεω Ἑλλήνων ὀρθῶς σφι ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῆσι πρωὶ ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγίνετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ δείλην· ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι μηνός τε τοῦ

¹³ speech, rumor

sheep by reason of an oracle: and they are folded in a cave at some distance from the city. Here at the time of which I speak this man Euenios was keeping watch over them, having been chosen for that purpose; and it happened one night that he fell asleep during his watch, and wolves came by into the cave and killed about sixty of the sheep. When he perceived this, he kept it secret and told no one, meaning to buy others and substitute them in the place of those that were killed. It was discovered however by the people of Apollonia that this had happened; and when they were informed of it, they brought him up before a court and condemned him to be deprived of his eyesight for having fallen asleep during his watch. But when they had blinded Euenios, forthwith after this their flocks ceased to bring forth young and their land to bear crops as before. Then prophesyings were uttered to them both at Dodona and also at Delphi, when they asked the prophets the cause of the evil which they were suffering, and they told them that they had done unjustly in depriving of his sight Euenios the watcher of the sacred sheep; for the gods of whom they inquired had themselves sent the wolves to attack the sheep; and they would not cease to take vengeance for him till the men of Apollonia should have paid to Euenios such satisfaction as he himself should choose and deem sufficient; and this being fulfilled, the gods would give to Euenios a gift of such a kind that many men would think him happy in that he possessed it..

9.94

These oracles then were uttered to them, and the people of Apollonia, making a secret of it, proposed to certain men of the citizens to manage the affair; and they managed it for them thus:— when Euenios was sitting on a seat in public, they came and sat by him, and conversed about other matters, and at last they came to sympathising with him in his misfortune; and thus leading him on they asked what satisfaction he should choose, if the people of Apollonia should undertake to give him satisfaction for that which they had done. He then, not having heard the oracle, made choice and said that if there should be given him the lands belonging to certain citizens, naming those whom he knew to possess the two best lots of land in Apollonia, and a dwelling-house also with these, which he knew to be the best house in the city,— if he became the possessor of these, he said, he would have no anger against them for the future, and this satisfaction would be sufficient for him if it should be given. Then as he was thus speaking, the men who sat by him said interrupting him: "Euenios, this satisfaction the Apolloniates pay to thee for thy blinding in accordance with the oracles which have been given to them." Upon this he was angry, being thus informed of the whole matter and considering that he had been deceived; and they bought the property from those who possessed it and gave him that which he had chosen. And

forthwith after this he had a natural gift of divination, so that he became very famous..

9.95

Of this Euenios, I say, Deïphonos was the son, and he was acting as diviner for the army, being brought by the Corinthians. I have heard however also that Deïphonos wrongly made use of the name of Euenios, and undertook work of this kind about Hellas, not being really the son of Euenios.

9.96

Now when the sacrifices were favourable to the Hellenes, they put their ships to sea from Delos to go to Samos; and having arrived off Calamisa in Samos, they moored their ships there opposite the temple of Hera which is at this place, and made preparations for a sea-fight; but the Persians, being informed that they were sailing thither, put out to sea also and went over to the mainland with their remaining ships, (those of the Phenicians having been already sent away to sail home): for deliberating of the matter they thought it good not to fight a battle by sea, since they did not think that they were a match for the enemy. And they sailed away to the mainland in order that they might be under the protection of their land-army which was in Mycale, a body which had stayed behind the rest of the army by command of Xerxes and was keeping watch over Ionia: of this the number was six myriads and the commander of it was Tigranes, who in beauty and stature excelled the other Persians. The commanders of the fleet then had determined to take refuge under the protection of this army, and to draw up their ships on shore and put an enclosure round as a protection for the ships and a refuge for themselves..

9.97

Having thus determined they began to put out to sea; and they came along by the temple of the "Revered goddesses" to the Gaison and to Scolopoeis in Mycale, where there is a temple of the Eleusinian Demeter, which Philistos the son of Pasicles erected when he had accompanied Neileus the son of Codros for the founding of Miletos; and there they drew up their ships on shore and put an enclosure round them of stones and timber, cutting down fruit-trees for this purpose, and they fixed stakes round the enclosure and made their preparations either for being besieged or for gaining a victory, for in making their preparations they reckoned for both chances.

9.98

The Hellenes however, when they were informed that the Barbarians had gone away to the mainland, were vexed because they thought that they had escaped; and they were in a difficulty what they should do, whether they

should go back home, or sail down towards the Hellespont. At last they resolved to do neither of these two things, but to sail on to the mainland. Therefore when they had prepared as for a sea-fight both boarding-bridges and all other things that were required, they sailed towards Mycale; and when they came near to the camp and no one was seen to put out against them, but they perceived ships drawn up within the wall and a large land-army ranged along the shore, then first Leotychides, sailing along in his ship and coming as near to the shore as he could, made proclamation by a herald to the Ionians, saying: "Ionians, those of you who chance to be within hearing of me, attend to this which I say: for the Persians will not understand anything at all of that which I enjoin to you. When we join battle, each one of you must remember first the freedom of all, and then the watchword 'Hebe'; and this let him also who has not heard know from him who has heard." The design in this act was the same as that of Themistocles at Artemision; for it was meant that either the words uttered should escape the knowledge of the Barbarians and persuade the Ionians, or that they should be reported to the Barbarians and make them distrustful of the Hellenes.

9.99

After Leotychides had thus suggested, then next the Hellenes proceeded to bring their ships up to land, and they disembarked upon the shore. These then were ranging themselves for fight; and the Persians, when they saw the Hellenes preparing for battle and also that they had given exhortation to the Ionians, in the first place deprived the Samians of their arms, suspecting that they were inclined to the side of the Hellenes; for when the Athenian prisoners, the men whom the army of Xerxes had found left behind in Attica, had come in the ships of the Barbarians, the Samians had ransomed these and sent them back to Athens, supplying them with means for their journey; and for this reason especially they were suspected, since they had ransomed five hundred persons of the enemies of Xerxes. Then secondly the Persians appointed the Milesians to guard the passes which lead to the summits of Mycale, on the pretext that they knew the country best, but their true reason for doing this was that they might be out of the camp. Against these of the Ionians, who, as they suspected, would make some hostile move if they found the occasion, the Persians sought to secure themselves in the manner mentioned; and they themselves then brought together their wicker-work shields to serve them as a fence.

9.100

Then when the Hellenes had made all their preparations, they proceeded to the attack of the Barbarians; and as they went, a rumour came suddenly to their whole army, and at the same time a herald's staff was found lying upon the beach; and the rumour went through their army to this effect, namely that the Hellenes were fighting in Boeotia and conquering the army of Mardonios. Now by many signs is the divine power seen in earthly things, and by this among others, namely that now, when the day of the defeat at Plataia and of that which was about to take place at Mycale happened to be the same, a rumour came to the Hellenes here, so that the army was encouraged much more and was more eagerly desirous to face the danger..

9.101

Moreover this other thing by coincidence happened besides, namely that there was a sacred enclosure of the Eleusinian Demeter close by the side of both the battle-fields; for not only in the Plataian land did the fight take place close by the side of the temple of Demeter, as I have before said, but also in Mycale it was to be so likewise. And whereas the rumour which came to them said that a victory had been already gained by the Hellenes with Pausanias, this proved to be a true report; for that which was done at Plataia came about while it was yet early morning, but the fighting at Mycale took place in the afternoon; and that it happened on the same day of the same month

vocabulary ἀδεής (ā) fearless ∼Deimos ἀδύνατος unable; impossible $\dot{\alpha}\theta$ λον $\dot{\alpha}$ έθλου prize \sim athlete αἰγιαλός beach, shore άκινάκης -ου (m, 1) Persian short sword ἄκρα at the edge, extreme \sim acute ἄκρη at the edge, extreme ἄχρις -ός (f) hilltop \sim acute ἄκρον crest, extremity ~acute άλής crowded; all together ἀλκή prowess, defense, victory \sim Alexander ἀνάπυστος discovered, revealed \sim buddha άντιτείνω resist ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἄπεδος level, flat ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away ἀποικία colony ἀποιχίζω send away, resettle \sim economics ἀποπλέω sail away \sim float ἀποφεύγω avoid, escape, go free ἀράζω snarl ἀράομαι (āα) pray, vow, invoke ἀράω wear something out ἀριστεύω be the best ~aristrocrat άρμόζω fit together; be well fitted to \sim harmony άρπάζω carry off, seize ∼harpoon άρρωδίη terror ἀφαιρέω take away \sim heresy βιόω live; (mp) make a living ~biology γάμος wedding, sex ∼bigamy γέρρον wicker object γέφυρα (ō) dam, dike; bridge

δίοδος (f) passage, pass

διωθέω tear, rend δορυφόρος spear-brearing ἐγκρατής firm, powerful εἰσαφικνέομαι arrive at εἰσπέτομαι fly into ~petal εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in Έλλην Greek ἐμμένω stay put, be faithful, fixed ἐμπίμπρημι burn up \sim pyre ἐμπρήθω burn up ένθαῦτα there, here ένθεῦτεν thence ένοιχέω dwell in έντείνω tauten ~tend ἐξανίστημι raise, bring/send out ἐξυφαίνω weave; add finishing touches ἐπασκέω finish, complete; do habitually ἐπέξειμι attack, prosecute **ἐράω** desire sexually ἔργω bound, fend off; do ~ergonomics $\xi \rho \delta \omega$ do, perform \sim ergonomics έτεραλκής turning the tide έτεροιόω alter έφεξῆς in order, in a row ηδομαι be pleased, enjoy \sim hedonism ημισυς half ∼hemisphere $\theta \acute{\epsilon} \alpha$ ($\bar{\alpha}$) seeing, sight, viewpoint θησαυρός treasury ~treasure καθηγέομαι lead **κακόω** harm, disfigure ∼cacophony καταλαμβάνω seize, understand, catch, overtake; (mp) happen ~epilepsy κατειλέω coop up κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate; get; kill κατοικίζω colonize κληδών -ηδόνος (f, 3) news, omen

 \sim gallo to **κομιδή** care, tending, providing for προμηθέομαι be careful; show χορυφή peak, crown respect λάμπω shine \sim lamp προσεχής close ληίη booty πρόσοδος (f) approach, procession; μίν him, her, it προσπταίω batter; be set back ναυμαχία naval warfare νησιώτης -ου (m, 1) insular προστάσσω post at, attach to, őπη wherever, however command ὄπισθεν behind, hereafter πταίω (act) stumble, fall; (pass) be ὄρχιον oath ∼orc missed πωλέω sell ὀρρωδία terror οὕτις nobody, nothing σοῦσον lily παγκράτιον 'all-in' contest σπάω draw, pull out, pluck πάθος -ους (n, 3) an experience, \sim spatula passion, condition σπεύδω 'push on,' get going, hurry παίω hit \sim repudiate πανοικία whole household στρατηγέω be a general παντοῖος all kinds of στρατός common people/soldiers παραχελεύομαι recommend, \sim strategy encourage συνεισπίπτω rush in with παρατυγχάνω happen to be present συστρατεύω join in an expedition περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on συχνός long; many; extensive clothing ∼ballistic σφέτερος their περίειμι be superior to; be left over; σωτηρία saving, preservation τοιόσδε such still exist Πέρσης Persian ὑπισχνέομαι promise, agree to do ποιχίλος ornamented; various \sim ischemia ὑπουργέω serve, help πρόειμι to have been before, earlier φ**αρος** -εος (n, 3) mantle; web \sim ion φήμη speech, rumor \sim fame $\pi \rho \dot{\theta} \theta \nu \mu o \varsigma$ ($\bar{\upsilon}$) willing, eager \sim fume προίστημι put forward; (+gen) be φρουρέω keep watch head of, guard ∼station φυγή flight, means of escape προχαθέζομαι preside; besiege \sim fugitive προκάθημαι sit before; preside χαράδρα torrent, gorge πρόχειμαι be placed by; be devoted χῶρος place \sim heir

αὐτοῦ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ σφι ὕστερον δῆλα ἀναμανθάνουσι ἐγίνετο. ἢν δὲ ἀρρωδίη σφι, πρὶν τὴν φήμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὔτι περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὕτω ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίση¹ ἡ Ἑλλάς. ὡς μέντοι ἡ κληδὼν αὕτη σφι ἐσέπτατο, μᾶλλόν, τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἔλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσπευδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὡς σφι καί αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο.

9.102

τοῖσι μέν νυν Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι, μέχρι κου τῶν ἡμισέων, ἡ όδὸς ἐγίνετο κατ' αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ἄπεδον χώρον, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπεξῆς τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι κατά τε χαράδρα v^2 καὶ όρεα. ἐν ὧ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιήισαν, οὖτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ κέρεϊ ἔτι καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. έως μέν νυν τοῖσι Πέρσησι ὀρθὰ ἢν τὰ γέρρα, ἢμύνοντό τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἶχον τῆ μάχη: ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατός, ὅκως ἑωυτῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι έργου είχοντο προθυμότερον, ένθεῦτεν ἤδη έτεροιοῦτο³ τὸ πρῆγμα. διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὖτοι φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἁλέες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀμυνόμενοι τέλος ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν έπεξης τεταγμένοι συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπιπτον ές τὸ τεῖχος. ώς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίρητο, οὕτ' ἔτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο οί βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγήν τε όρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Περσέων οὖτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι ἐμάχοντο τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος έσπίπτουσι Έλλήνων, καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀποφεύγουσι, δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι ᾿Αρταΰντης μὲν καὶ Ἰθαμίτρης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες ἀποφεύγουσι, Μαρδόντης δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τιγράνης μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι.

9.103

έτι δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ μετ'

⁽act) stumble, fall; (pass) be missed 2 torrent, gorge 3 alter

αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχείριζον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συχνοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως· τῶν τε Σαμίων οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐόντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὅπλα, ὡς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἐτεραλκέα τὴν μάχην, ἔρδον ὅσον ἐδυνέατο προσωφελέειν ἐθέλοντες τοῖσι Ἑλλησι. Σαμίους δὲ ἰδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι Ἰωνες ἄρξαντας οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖσι βαρβάροισι.

9.104

Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὰς διόδους τηρέειν σωτηρίης εἴνεκά σφι, ὡς ἢν ἄρα σφέας καταλαμβάνη οἶά περ κατέλαβε, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας σώζωνται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐτάχθησαν μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι τούτου τε εἴνεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ παρεόντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι νεοχμὸν ποιέοιεν οἱ δὲ πᾶν τοὖναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίεον, ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοί σφι όδοὺς φεύγουσι, αὶ δὴ ἔφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοί σφι ἐγίνοντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

9.105

έν δὲ ταύτη τῆ μάχη Ἑλλήνων ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθοίνου, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον⁵ ἐπασκήσας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὕστερον τούτων, πολέμου ἐόντος Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι, ἐν Κύρνω τῆς Καρυστίης χώρης ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχη κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῷ. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἠρίστευσαν.

9.106

έπείτε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἑλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἄπαν, τὴν ληίην προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν

turning the tide ⁵ 'all-in' contest

αἰγιαλόν, καὶ θησαυρούς τινας χρημάτων εὖρον ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οί Έλληνες έβουλεύοντο περί άναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ ὅκη χρεὸν είη της Έλλάδος κατοικίσαι της αὐτοὶ έγκρατέες ήσαν, την δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπείναι τοίσι βαρβάροισι· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνετό σφι εἶναι έωυτούς τε Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας ⁶ τὸν πάντα χρόνον, καὶ έωυτῶν μή προκατημένων Ίωνας οὐδεμίαν έλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλεϊ *ἐοῦσι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπολαῖα* έξαναστήσαντας δοῦναι τὴν χώρην Ἰωσι ἐνοικῆσαι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι περί τῶν σφετερέων ἀποικιέων βουλεύειν ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως, είξαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἱ ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι Έλλησι, ές τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποιήσαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοισι ἐμμενέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι. τούτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὁρκίοισι ἔπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες ἔτι γαρ εδόκεον εντεταμένας εύρήσειν. οὖτοι μεν δη επ' Έλλησπόντου ἔπλεον.

9.107

τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Μυκάλης κατειληθέντων, ἐόντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐγίνετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδις. πορευομένων δὲ κατ' όδὸν Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχὼν τῷ πάθεῖ τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν ᾿Αρταΰντην ἔλεγε πολλά τε καὶ κακά, ἄλλα τε καὶ γυναικὸς κακίω φὰς αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα στρατηγήσαντα, καὶ ἄζιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον κακώσαντα. παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι γυναικὸς κακίω ἀκοῦσαι δέννος μέγιστος ἐστι. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἤκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος σπαται⁸ ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκην, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καί μιν ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Εειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεω ἀνὴρ Ἡλικαρνησσεὺς ὅπισθε ἑστεὼς αὐτοῦ ᾿Αρταΰντεω ἀρπάζει μέσον καὶ ἐζαείρας παίει ἐς τὴν γῆν' καὶ ἐν τούτω

⁶ keep watch ⁷ insular ⁸ draw, pull out, pluck

οί δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστεω προέστησαν. ὁ δὲ Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστη τιθέμενος καὶ Ξέρξη. ἐκσώζων τὸν ἀδελφεὸν τὸν ἐκείνου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίης πάσης ἦρξε δόντος βασιλέος. τῶν δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν πορευομένων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.

9.108

ἐν δὲ τῆσι Σάρδισι ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπείτε ἐξ ᾿Αθηνέων προσπταίσας τῆ ναυμαχίη φυγὼν ἀπίκετο. τότε δὴ ἐν τῆσι Σάρδισι ἐὼν ἄρα ἤρα τῆς Μασίστεω γυναικός, ἐούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα. ὡς δέ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσεφέρετο προμηθεόμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Μασίστην τώντὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα εὖ γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τευξομένη ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τῷ παιδὶ τῷ ἐωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ, θυγατέρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἢν ταῦτα ποιήση. ἀρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σοῦσα. ⁹ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἠγάγετο ἐς ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ τὴν γυναῖκα, οὕτω δὴ τῆς Μασίστεω μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, ὁ δὲ διαμειψάμενος ἤρα τε καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικὸς Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρός οὔνομα δὲ τῆ γυναικὶ ταύτη ἦν ᾿Αρταΰντη.

9.109

χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξυφήνασα Ἡμηστρις ἡ Ξέρξεω γυνὴ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον διδοῖ Ξέρξη. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς περιβάλλεταί τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν Ἡρταΰντην ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτη ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι ὅ τι βούλεταί οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν. τῆ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδεε πανοικίη ¹⁰ γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε Ξέρξη «δώσεις μοι τὸ ἄν σε αἰτήσω;» ὁ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτῆσαι ὑπισχνέετο καὶ ὤμοσε. ἡ δὲ ὡς ὤμοσε ἀδεῶς αἰτέει τὸ φᾶρος. Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι, κατ'

⁹ lily ¹⁰ whole household

as the other became evident to them not long afterwards, when they inquired into the matter. Now they had been afraid before the rumour arrived, not for themselves so much as for the Hellenes generally, lest Hellas should stumble and fall over Mardonios; but when this report had come suddenly to them, they advanced on the enemy much more vigorously and swiftly than before. The Hellenes then and the Barbarians were going with eagerness into the battle, since both the islands and the Hellespont were placed before them as prizes of the contest.

9.102

Now for the Athenians and those who were ranged next to them, to the number perhaps of half the whole army, the road lay along the sea-beach and over level ground, while the Lacedemonians and those ranged in order by these were compelled to go by a ravine and along the mountain side: so while the Lacedemonians were yet going round, those upon the other wing were already beginning the fight; and as long as the wicker-work shields of the Persians still remained upright, they continued to defend themselves and had rather the advantage in the fight; but when the troops of the Athenians and of those ranged next to them, desiring that the achievement should belong to them and not to the Lacedemonians, with exhortations to one another set themselves more vigorously to the work, then from that time forth the fortune of the fight was changed; for these pushed aside the wicker-work shields and fell upon the Persians with a rush all in one body, and the Persians sustained their first attack and continued to defend themselves for a long time, but at last they fled to the wall; and the Athenians, Corinthians, Sikyonians and Troizenians, for that was the order in which they were ranged, followed close after them and rushed in together with them to the space within the wall: and when the wall too had been captured, then the Barbarians no longer betook themselves to resistance, but began at once to take flight, excepting only the Persians, who formed into small groups and continued to fight with the Hellenes as they rushed in within the wall. Of the commanders of the Persians two made their escape and two were slain; Artaÿ ntes and Ithamitres commanders of the fleet escaped, while Mardontes and the commander of the land-army, Tigranes, were slain..

9.103

Now while the Persians were still fighting, the Lacedemonians and those with them arrived, and joined in carrying through the rest of the work; and of the Hellenes themselves many fell there and especially many of the Sikyonians, together with their commander Perilaos. And those of the Samians who were serving in the army, being in the camp of the Medes and having been deprived of their arms, when they saw that from the very first the battle began to be

doubtful, did as much as they could, endeavouring to give assistance to the Hellenes; and the other Ionians seeing that the Samians had set the example, themselves also upon that made revolt from the Persians and attacked the Barbarians..

9.104

The Milesians too had been appointed to watch the passes of the Persians in order to secure their safety, so that if that should after all come upon them which actually came, they might have guides and so get safe away to the summits of Mycale,— the Milesians, I say, had been appointed to do this, not only for that end but also for fear that, if they were present in the camp, they might make some hostile move: but they did in fact the opposite of that which they were appointed to do; for they not only directed them in the flight by other than the right paths, by paths indeed which led towards the enemy, but also at last they themselves became their worst foes and began to slay them. Thus then for the second time Ionia revolted from the Persians.

9.105

In this battle, of the Hellenes the Athenians were the best men, and of the Athenians Hermolycos the son of Euthoinos, a man who had trained for the pancration. This Hermolycos after these events, when there was war between the Athenians and the Carystians, was killed in battle at Kyrnos in the Carystian land near Geraistos, and there was buried. After the Athenians the Corinthians, Troizenians and Sikyonians were the best.

9.106

When the Hellenes had slain the greater number of the Barbarians, some in the battle and others in their flight, they set fire to the ships and to the whole of the wall, having first brought out the spoil to the sea-shore; and among the rest they found some stores of money. So having set fire to the wall and to the ships they sailed away; and when they came to Samos, the Hellenes deliberated about removing the inhabitants of Ionia, and considered where they ought to settle them in those parts of Hellas of which they had command, leaving Ionia to the Barbarians: for it was evident to them that it was impossible on the one hand for them to be always stationed as guards to protect the Ionians, and on the other hand, if they were not stationed to protect them, they had no hope that the Ionians would escape with impunity from the Persians. Therefore it seemed good to those of the Peloponnesians that were in authority that they should remove the inhabitants of the trading ports which belonged to those peoples of Hellas who had taken the side of the Medes, and give that land to the Ionians to dwell in; but the Athenians did not think it good that the inhabitants of Ionia should be removed at all, nor

that the Peloponnesians should consult about Athenian colonies; and as these vehemently resisted the proposal, the Peloponnesians gave way. So the end was that they joined as allies to their league the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and the other islanders who chanced to be serving with the Hellenes, binding them by assurance and by oaths to remain faithful and not withdraw from the league: and having bound these by oaths they sailed to break up the bridges, for they supposed they would find them still stretched over the straits.

These then were sailing towards the Hellespont;.

9.107

And meanwhile those Barbarians who had escaped and had been driven to the heights of Mycale, being not many in number, were making their way to Sardis: and as they went by the way, Masistes the son of Dareios, who had been present at the disaster which had befallen them, was saying many evil things of the commander Artaÿ ntes, and among other things he said that in respect of the generalship which he had shown he was worse than a woman, and that he deserved every kind of evil for having brought evil on the house of the king. Now with the Persians to be called worse than a woman is the greatest possible reproach. So he, after he had been much reviled, at length became angry and drew his sword upon Masistes, meaning to kill him; and as he was running upon him, Xeinagoras the son of Prexilaos, a man of Halicarnassos, perceived it, who was standing just behind Artaÿ ntes; and this man seized him by the middle and lifting him up dashed him upon the ground; and meanwhile the spearmen of Masistes came in front to protect him. Thus did Xeinagoras, and thus he laid up thanks for himself both with Masistes and also with Xerxes for saving the life of his brother; and for this deed Xeinagoras became ruler of all Kilikia by the gift of the king. Nothing further happened than this as they went on their way, but they arrived at Sardis.

Now at Sardis, as it chanced, king Xerxes had been staying ever since that time when he came thither in flight from Athens, after suffering defeat in the sea-fight..

9.108

At that time, while he was in Sardis, he had a passionate desire, as it seems, for the wife of Masistes, who was also there: and as she could not be bent to his will by his messages to her, and he did not wish to employ force because he had regard for his brother Masistes and the same consideration withheld the woman also, for she well knew that force would not be used towards her, then Xerxes abstained from all else, and endeavoured to bring about the marriage of his own son Dareios with the daughter of this woman and of

Masistes, supposing that if he should do so he would obtain her more easily. Then having made the betrothal and done all the customary rites, he went away to Susa; and when he had arrived there and had brought the woman into his own house for Dareios, then he ceased from attempting the wife of Masistes and changing his inclination he conceived a desire for the wife of Dareios, who was daughter of Masistes, and obtained her: now the name of this woman was Artaÿ nte..

9.109

However as time went on, this became known in the following manner:— Amestris the wife of Xerxes had woven a mantle, large and of various work and a sight worthy to be seen, and this she gave to Xerxes. He then being greatly pleased put it on and went to Artaÿ nte; and being greatly pleased with her too, he bade her ask what she would to be given to her in return for the favours which she had granted to him, for she should obtain, he said, whatsoever she asked: and she, since it was destined that she should perish miserably with her whole house, said to Xerxes upon this: "Wilt thou give me whatsoever I ask thee for?" and he, supposing that she would ask anything rather than that which she did, promised this and swore to it. Then when he had sworn, she boldly asked for the mantle; and Xerxes tried every means of persuasion, not being willing to give it to her, and that for no

vocabulary ἀγάλλω exalt; mp: exult in ἄδυτον inner sanctum ἀέκων unwilling ἀνάθημα -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift ἀναίτιος blameless ~etiology ἀναπείθω (aor, plupf) seduce, persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust, obey, be confident in ἀνάρσιος hostile, harmful \sim harmony ἀνοίγνυμι (ō) open ἀπάγω lead away, back ~demagogue ἄπαξ once ἄπλετος boundless, immense, abundant ἀποδημέω be absent, abroad ἀποδιδράσκω escape ἀπολαμβάνω receive, recover, take aside, cut off \sim epilepsy ἀποπέμπω send away ∼pomp ἀποπλέω sail away \sim float ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ∼tonsure ἀργύρεος silver ~Argentina ἀσχάλλω be distressed ἀτάσθαλος reckless, wanton ἀτυχέω be unlucky ἀφαιρέω take away ~heresy ἄφυχτος inevitable; caught ἄχρηστος useless, unprofitable βασίλειος kingly βασιλεύω be king βιάω use force against, overcome βιόω live; (mp) make a living ~biology γέφυρα (ō) dam, dike; bridge γεφυρόω (ō) dam, move earth γ λ $\tilde{\omega}$ σσα tongue, language \sim glossary δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis

διαβάλλω throw across; slander ~ballistic διαλέγω go through, debate \sim legion διαλύω break up; relax, weaken δορυφόρος spear-brearing δρόμος running, racing ground ~hippodrome δωρέω give ∼donate ἔγκοτος spiteful εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in ἐκτάμνω cut out, fell ἐκφεύγω flee from, escape ∼fugitive **ἐκφορέω** carry out ~bear "Ελλην Greek ἐνθαῦτα there, here ένθεῦτεν thence ἐντείνω tauten ~tend ἐξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate; destroy ∼heresy ἐξάλλομαι break away from ~sally ἐξαπατάω trick, cheat ~apatosaurus ἐξέργω shut out; prevent; force to ἐπιγίγνομαι succeed, come after \sim genus ἐπιπίπτω fall upon, attack ἐπιχώριος native ἕπω (mid) follow, accompany; (act, uncommon) handle, take care of ἐρῆμος empty ἐσθής clothes ∼vest εὐπετής coming out well; (adv) fortunately ἐφευρίσκω come upon ∼eureka ἕψω boil, be boiling ἥκιστος least; above all ἡσσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat ἡττάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat θυμόω (ō) anger θύω (\bar{v}) rush; sacrifice \sim θύω κάρτα very much ~κράτος

κατακτείνω kill, slay \sim semaphore κατανεύω nod σιτέομαι (ī) eat ~parasite **κλίνη** (t̄) bed, couch ∼clinic σπείρω sow ~diaspora **κλίνω** ($\bar{\iota}$) lean, recline \sim incline στέργω love; be content χυρέω come upon, come up against; στρατιά army ∼strategy obtain στρατός common people/soldiers λιπαρέω (ī) persist \sim strategy μαστός nipple, breast συλάω (\bar{v}) take off, despoil \sim asylum μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult ∼volunteer \sim jet μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon σύνειμι be with; have sex \sim ion \sim pomp συνέρχομαι come together μηδαμός no one συνίημι send together; hear, notice, μίν him, her, it understand ∼jet συνοιχέω live together νεηνίης young person νέμω to allot, to pasture ∼nemesis συχνός long; many; extensive τάφος (m) funeral, grave; (n) νομός home, district \sim nemesis ὄλεθρος ruin, destruction, death astonishment ὄμιλος ($\bar{\iota}$) crowd, throng \sim homily τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common ὄπισθεν behind, hereafter land τοιόσδε such ὁρμέω be anchored οὐδέτερος neither τόνος pitch, stretching οὖς οὔατος (n) ear τοσόσδε this much πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder τυχτός wrought, perfect περιοικίς -δος (f) neighboring, τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler suburban ὕπαρχος subordinate περιχαρής very glad ὑπομένω stay behind, await Πέρσης Persian \sim remain Περσίς Persian (language) ὑφαιρέω take from under; filch φ**αρος** -εος (n, 3) mantle; web πολιορχία siege φθάνω (ā) do first, outstrip προβάλλω throw before; propose; (mp) pretend, abandon, nominate φιάλη jar ~vial \sim ballistic φονεύω kill πρόχειμαι be placed by; be devoted φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry ∼bear **χεῖλος** -εος (n, 3) lip προσδέχομαι await, expect; suppose πύργος ramparts, tower; line of χρήζω need ∼chresard χουσός (v) gold troops δίς δινός (ī, f) nose, nostrils **χωρέω** withdraw, give way to (+dat) σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark \sim heir

άλλο μὲν οὐδέν, φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἄμηστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῆ πρήσσων ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἄπλετον καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἔμελλε οὐδεὶς ἄρξειν ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκείνη. Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοῦ τὸ φᾶρος. ἢ δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ δώρῳ ἐφόρεϵ τε καὶ ἀγάλλετο. 1

9.110

καὶ ἡ Ἄμηστρις πυνθάνεταί μιν ἔχουσαν· μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιεύμενον τῆ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτη οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον, ἢ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίην καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσσειν, τῆ Μασίστεω γυναικὶ ἐβούλευε ὅλεθρον. φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς Ξέρξην βασιλήιον δεῖπνον προτιθέμενον· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεται ἄπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμέρῃ τῆ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς. οὔνομα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ Περσιστὶ² μὲν τυκτά,³ κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν τέλειον· τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μοῦνον βασιλεὺς καὶ Πέρσας δωρέεται· ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα ἡ Ἡμηστρις χρηίζει τοῦ Ξέρξεω δοθῆναί οἱ τὴν Μασίστεω γυναῖκα. ὁ δὲ δεινόν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιέετο τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφεοῦ γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀναιτίην ἐοῦσαν τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· συνῆκε γὰρ τοῦ εἴνεκεν ἐδέετο.

9.111

τέλος μέντοι ἐκείνης τε λιπαρεούσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχῆσαι τον χρηίζοντα οὕ σφι δυνατόν ἐστι βασιληίου δείπνου προκειμένου, κάρτα δὴ ἀέκων κατανεύει, καὶ παραδοὺς ποιέει ὧδε· τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιέειν τὰ βούλεται, ὁ δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν λέγει τάδε. «Μασίστα, σὺ εἶς Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός, πρὸς δ' ἔτι τούτοισι καὶ εἶς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν συνοικέεις μὴ συνοίκεε, ἀλλά τοι ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἐγὰ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμήν. ταύτῃ συνοίκεε· τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκέει ἐμοί, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα.» ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε. «ὧ δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων

exalt; mp: exult in ² Persian (language) ³ wrought, perfect ⁴ give ⁵ persist ⁶ be unlucky ⁷ useless, unprofitable

με γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παῖδές τε νεηνίαι⁸ εἰσὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδὶ τῷ σεωυτοῦ ἠγάγεο γυναῖκα, αὐτή τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα ἐοῦσα· ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι; ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεῦ μεγάλα μὲν ποιεῦμαι ἀξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα.⁹ σὸ δὲ μηδαμῶς¹⁰ βιῶ πρήγματος τοιοῦδε δεόμενος· ἀλλὰ τῆ τε σῆ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἤσσων, ἐμέ τε ἔα γυναικὶ τῆ ἐμῆ συνοικέειν.» ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτοισι ἀμείβεται, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς¹¹ λέγει τάδε. «οὕτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται· οὕτε γὰρ ἄν τοι δοίην θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν γῆμαι, οὕτε ἐκείνῃ πλεῦνα χρόνον συνοικήσεις, ὡς μάθης τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι.» ὁ δὲ ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, εἴπας τοσόνδε ἐχώρεε ἔξω «δέσποτα, οὐ δὴ κώ με ἀπώλεσας.»

9.112

έν δὲ τούτῳ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Ξέρξης τῷ ἀδελφεῷ διελέγετο, ἡ Ἡμηστρις μεταπεμψαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ξέρξεω διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Μασίστεω· τούς τε μαζοὺς 12 ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε καὶ ῥῖνα 13 καὶ ὧτα καὶ χείλεα καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς οἶκόν μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμασμένην.

9.113

ό δὲ Μασίστης οὐδέν κω ἀκηκοὼς τούτων, ἐλπόμενος δέ τί οἱ κακὸν εἶναι, ἐσπίπτει δρόμῳ ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἰδὼν δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖσι παισὶ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σύν τε τοῖσι έωυτοῦ υἱοῖσι καὶ δή κου τισὶ καὶ ἄλλοισι ὡς ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα· τά περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, εἴ περ ἔφθη ἀναβὰς ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ τοὺς Σάκας· καὶ γὰρ ἔστεργόν μιν καὶ ἦν ὕπαρχος τῶν Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ξέρξης πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατιὴν ἐν τῆ ὁδῷ κατέκτεινε αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν ἐκείνου. κατὰ

⁸ young person 9 neither 10 no one 11 anger 12 nipple, breast 13 nose. nostrils

μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ξέρξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστεω θάνατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο.

9.114

οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὁρμηθέντες Ἔλληνες ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Λεκτὸν ὅρμεον, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἄβυδον καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὖρον διαλελυμένας, τὰς ἐδόκεον εὐρήσειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας, καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἥκιστα εἵνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπίκοντο. τοῖσι μέν νυν ἀμφὶ Λευτυχίδην Πελοποννησίοις ἔδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππω τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλεον, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον.

9.115

ές δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτη, συνῆλθον, ὡς ἤκουσαν παρείναι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔκ τε τῶν ἀλλέων τῶν περιοικίδων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος Οἰόβαζος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, ὃς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὅπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἢν κεκομικώς. εἶχον δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Αἰολέες, συνῆσαν δὲ Πέρσαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς ὅμιλος.

9.116

έτυράννευε¹⁴ δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὕπαρχος Ἀρταΰκτης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλεω τοῦ Ἰφίκλου χρήματα ἐξ Ἑλαιοῦντος ὑπελόμενος. ἐν γὰρ Ἑλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν, ἔνθα ἢν χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσεαι καὶ ἀργύρεαι καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθὴς καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ ᾿Αρταΰκτης ἐσύλησε βασιλέος δόντος. λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξην διεβάλετο. «δέσποτα, ἔστι οἶκος ἀνδρὸς Ἔλληνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν σὴν στρατευσάμενος δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανε·

¹⁴ be an absolute ruler

τούτου μοι δὸς τὸν οἶκον, ἵνα καί τις μάθη ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι.» ταῦτα λέγων εὐπετέως ἔμελλε ἀναπείσειν Ξέρξην δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον, οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐφρόνεε. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασιλέος στρατεύεσθαι Πρωτεσίλεων ἔλεγε νοέων τοιάδε· τὴν ᾿Ασίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἑωυτῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη, τὰ χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἔσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτός τε ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ἑλαιοῦντα ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγετο. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ ᾿Αθηναίων οὕτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορκίην οὕτε προσδεκόμενος τοὺς Ἔλληνας, ἀφύκτως δὲ κως αὐτῷ ἐπέπεσον.

9.117

ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοισί σφι φθινόπωρον ἐπεγίνετο, καὶ ἤσχαλλον¹⁵ οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι ἀπό τε τῆς ἑωυτῶν ἀποδημέοντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐξελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος, ἐδέοντό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅκως ἀπάγοιεν σφέας ὀπίσω, οῖ δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι ἢ τὸ ᾿Αθηναίων κοινόν σφεας μεταπέμψηται ˙ οὕτω δὴ ἔστεργον τὰ παρεόντα.

9.118

οί δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ ἐς πῶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι ἦσαν, οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς τόνους ἔψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι εἶχον, οὕτω δὴ ὑπὸ νύκτα οἴχοντο ἀποδράντες οἵ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ᾿Αρταΰκτης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὅπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάντες, τῇ ἦν ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονησῖται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖσι ᾿Αθηναίοισι τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ τὰς πύλας ἄνοιξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες ἐδίωκον, οἳ δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἶχον.

9.119

'Οιόβαζον μέν νυν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην Θρήικες 'Αψίνθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν 'Αρταΰκτην

be distressed

other reason but only because he feared Amestris, lest by her, who even before this had some inkling of the truth, he should thus be discovered in the act; and he offered her cities and gold in any quantity, and an army which no one else should command except herself. Now this of an army is a thoroughly Persian gift. Since however he did not persuade her, he gave her the mantle; and she being overjoyed by the gift wore it and prided herself upon it..

9.110

And Amestris was informed that she had it; and having learnt that which was being done, she was not angry with the woman, but supposing that her mother was the cause and that she was bringing this about, she planned destruction for the wife of Masistes. She waited then until her husband Xerxes had a royal feast set before him:— this feast is served up once in the year on the day on which the king was born, and the name of this feast is in Persian tycta, which in the tongue of the Hellenes means "complete"; also on this occasion alone the king washes his head, and he makes gifts then to the Persians:— Amestris, I say, waited for this day and then asked of Xerxes that the wife of Masistes might be given to her. And he considered it a strange and untoward thing to deliver over to her his brother's wife, especially since she was innocent of this matter; for he understood why she was making the request..

9.111

At last however as she continued to entreat urgently and he was compelled by the rule, namely that it is impossible among them that he who makes request when a royal feast is laid before the king should fail to obtain it, at last very much against his will consented; and in delivering her up he bade Amestris do as she desired, and meanwhile he sent for his brother and said these words: "Masistes, thou art the son of Dareios and my brother, and moreover in addition to this thou art a man of worth. I say to thee, live no longer with this wife with whom thou now livest, but I give thee instead of her my daughter; with her live as thy wife, but the wife whom thou now hast, do not keep; for it does not seem good to me that thou shouldest keep her." Masistes then, marvelling at that which was spoken, said these words: "Master, how unprofitable a speech is this which thou utterest to me, in that thou biddest me send away a wife by whom I have sons who are grown up to be young men, and daughters one of whom even thou thyself didst take as a wife for thy son, and who is herself, as it chances, very much to my mind, that thou biddest me, I say, send away her and take to wife thy daughter! I, O king, think it a very great matter that I am judged worthy of thy daughter, but nevertheless I will do neither of these things: and do not thou urge me by force to do such a thing as this: but for thy daughter another husband

will be found not in any wise inferior to me, and let me, I pray thee, live still with my own wife." He returned answer in some such words as these; and Xerxes being stirred with anger said as follows: "This then, Masistes, is thy case,— I will not give thee my daughter for thy wife, nor yet shalt thou live any longer with that one, in order that thou mayest learn to accept that which is offered thee." He then when he heard this went out, having first said these words: "Master, thou hast not surely brought ruin upon me?" 115.

9.112

During this interval of time, while Xerxes was conversing with his brother, Amestris had sent the spearmen of Xerxes to bring the wife of Masistes, and she was doing to her shameful outrage; for she cut away her breasts and threw them to dogs, and she cut off her nose and ears and lips and tongue, and sent her back home thus outraged.

9.113

Then Masistes, not yet having heard any of these things, but supposing that some evil had fallen upon him, came running to his house; and seeing his wife thus mutilated, forthwith upon this he took counsel with his sons and set forth to go to Bactria together with his sons and doubtless some others also, meaning to make the province of Bactria revolt and to do the greatest possible injury to the king: and this in fact would have come to pass, as I imagine, if he had got up to the land of the Bactrians and Sacans before he was overtaken, for they were much attached to him, and also he was the governor of the Bactrians: but Xerxes being informed that he was doing this, sent after him an army as he was on his way, and slew both him and his sons and his army. So far of that which happened about the passion of Xerxes and the death of Masistes.

9.114

Now the Hellenes who had set forth from Mycale to the Hellespont first moored their ships about Lecton, being stopped from their voyage by winds; and thence they came to Abydos and found that the bridges had been broken up, which they thought to find still stretched across, and on account of which especially they had come to the Hellespont. So the Peloponnesians which Leotychides resolved to sail back to Hellas, while the Athenians and Xanthippos their commander determined to stay behind there and to make an attempt upon the Chersonese. Those then sailed away, and the Athenians passed over from Abydos to the Chersonese and began to besiege Sestos..

9.115

To this town of Sestos, since it was the greatest stronghold of those in that

region, men had come together from the cities which lay round it, when they heard that the Hellenes had arrived at the Hellespont, and especially there had come from the city of Cardia Oiobazos a Persian, who had brought to Sestos the ropes of the bridges. The inhabitants of the city were Aiolians, natives of the country, but there were living with them a great number of Persians and also of their allies..

9.116

And of the province Artaÿ ctes was despot, as governor under Xerxes, a Persian, but a man of desperate and reckless character, who also had practised deception upon the king on his march against Athens, in taking away from Elaius the things belonging to Protesilaos the son of Iphiclos. For at Elaius in the Chersonese there is the tomb of Protesilaos with a sacred enclosure about it, where there were many treasures, with gold and silver cups and bronze and raiment and other offerings, which things Artaÿ ctes carried off as plunder, the king having granted them to him. And he deceived Xerxes by saying to him some such words as these: "Master, there is here the house of a man, a Hellene, who made an expedition against thy land and met with his deserts and was slain: this man's house I ask thee to give to me, that every one may learn not to make expeditions against thy land." By saying this it was likely that he would easily enough persuade Xerxes to give him a man's house, not suspecting what was in his mind: and when he said that Protesilaos had made expedition against the land of the king, it must be understood that the Persians consider all Asia to be theirs and to belong to their reigning king. So when the things had been given him, he brought them from Elaius to Sestos, and he sowed the sacred enclosure for crops and occupied it as his own; and he himself, whenever he came to Elaius, had commerce with women in the inner cell of the temple. And now he was being besieged by the Athenians, when he had not made any preparation for a siege nor had been expecting that the Hellenes would come; for they fell upon him, as one may say, inevitably. 117.

9.117

When however autumn came and the siege still went on, the Athenians began to be vexed at being absent from their own land and at the same time not able to conquer the fortress, and they requested their commanders to lead them away home; but these said that they would not do so, until either they had taken the town or the public authority of the Athenians sent for them home: and so they endured their present state.

9.118

Those however who were within the walls had now come to the greatest

misery, so that they boiled down the girths of their beds and used them for food; and when they no longer had even these, then the Persians and with them Artaÿ ctes and Oiobazos ran away and departed in the night, climbing down by the back part of the wall, where the place was left most unguarded by the enemy; and when day came, the men of the Chersonese signified to the Athenians from the towers concerning that which had happened, and opened the gates to them. So the greater number of them went in pursuit, and the rest occupied the city..

9.119

Now Oiobazos, as he was escaping into Thrace, was caught by the Apsinthian Thracians and sacrificed to their native god Pleistoros with their rites, and the rest who were with him they slaughtered in another manner: but Artaÿ ctes with his companions, who started on their flight

vocabulary ἀλέξω ward off; aid άνακρεμάννυμι (ō) get snagged on ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach ἀπάγω lead away, back ~demagogue ἄποινα -ου (n, 2) ransom, compensation ~penalty ἀποπλέω sail away ~float $ἀσπαίρω writhe <math>\sim$ spur ἀστυγείτων near a city γέφυρα (ō) dam, dike; bridge γεφυρόω (ō) dam, move earth δουλεύω serve, be a slave έκάς afar, far off "Ελλην Greek έμεωυτοῦ myself ἐξηγέομαι lead forth; set out, describe ~hegemony ἐύς good, brave, noble ἐφάλλομαι jump at or on ∼sally ζεύγνυμι (ō) yoke, join ∼zygote ἡγεμονία authority, rule ἡσσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat **καθαιρέω** take down, close ∼heresy καταλαμβάνω seize, understand, catch, overtake; (mp) happen ~epilepsy καταλεύω stone to death κατατίθημι put down, deposit, lay aside ∼thesis καταχράομαι (mp) abuse, use up; (act) be enough κολωνός hill, mound κοτέω hold a grudge against **κότος** grudge ∼shadow

κῦρος -εος (n, 3) authority; validity λάμπω shine \sim lamp λυπρός worthless, wretched μαλακός soft μίν him, her, it **ὄον** οὖ type of fruit όπτάω roast, bake πάλλω shake, brandish \sim Pallas παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive; attain ∼genus περιχέω shed, spread Πέρσης Persian **πόρος** way, bridge \sim fare πόρω aor. give, pf. be fated προσπασσαλεύω nail to, hang σανίς -δος (f) board, panel σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore σπείρω sow ∼diaspora συγγιγνώσκω acknowledge; pardon συνδέω bind together συχνός long; many; extensive τάλαντον scale, a unit of weight \sim talent τάριχος (ī) preserved flesh τέρας -ως (n, 3) omen, fetish τιμωρέω (t) (+dat) take vengeance, punish: aid one who has been attacked τίνω (t) pay, atone for; (mp) punish τοιόσδε such ὑπίσχομαι promise, agree to do ὑπολαμβάνω take under one's support, seize; speak up; imagine ~epilepsy φύω produce, beget; clasp \sim physics χῶρος place \sim heir

ὕστεροι ὁρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὡς κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγον ἐόντες ὑπὲρ Αἰγὸς ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν οῖ μὲν ἀπέθανον οῖ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλάμφθησαν. καὶ συνδήσαντες σφέας οἱ Ἑλληνες ἦγον ἐς Σηστόν, μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ ᾿Αρταΰκτην δεδεμένον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ.

9.120

καί τεω τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων ταρίχους¹ όπτῶντι τέρας γενέσθαι τοιόνδε οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἤσπαιρον² ὅκως περ ἰχθύες νεοάλωτοι. καὶ οῖ μὲν περιχυθέντες ἐθώμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρταΰκτης ὡς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοὺς ταρίχους ἔφη «ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο' οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Έλαιοῦντι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὼς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι. νῦν ὧν ἄποινά μοι τάδε έθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι, ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καταθείναι τῷ θεῷ, ἀντὶ δ' ἐμεωυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς άποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Άθηναίοισι περιγενόμενος.» ύπισχόμενος τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ γὰρ Ἐλαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ τιμωρέοντες ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρησθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτη νόος ἔφερε. ἀπαγαγόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Μαδύτου πόλιος, πρὸς σανίδας προσπασσαλεύσαντες ἀνεκρέμασαν τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι τοῦ Ἀρταΰκτεω κατέλευσαν.

9.121

ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἄγοντες καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν γεφυρέων ὡς ἀναθήσοντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά. καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.

9.122

τούτου δὲ Ἀρταΰκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρεμασθέντος προπάτωρ Ἀρτεμβάρης

¹ preserved flesh ² writhe ³ hill, mound ⁴ board, panel

έστὶ ὁ Πέρσησι ἐξηγησάμενος λόγον τὸν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπολαβόντες Κύρῳ προσήνεικαν λέγοντα τάδε. «ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς Πέρσησι ἡγεμονίην διδοῖ, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοὶ Κῦρε, κατελῶν ᾿Αστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα ὀλίγην καὶ ταὑτην τρηχέαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταὑτης ἄλλην σχῶμεν ἀμείνω. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀστυγείτονες πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκαστέρω, τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι. οἰκὸς δὲ ἄνδρας ἄρχοντας τοιαῦτα ποιέειν κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ἢ ὅτε γε ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς ᾿Ασίης;» Κῦρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον ἐκέλευε ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνεε κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας ἀλλ' ἀρξομένους φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι οὐ γὰρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπόν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. ὥστε συγγνόντες Πέρσαι οἴχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῆ γνώμη πρὸς Κύρου, ἄρχειν τε εἴλοντο λυπρὴν ⁶ οἰκέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.

⁵ near a city ⁶ worthless, wretched

later and were overtaken at a little distance above Aigospotamoi, defended themselves for a considerable time and were some of them killed and others taken alive: and the Hellenes had bound these and were bringing them to Sestos, and among them Artaÿ ctes also in bonds together with his son..

9.120

Then, it is said by the men of the Chersonese, as one of those who guarded them was frying dried fish, a portent occurred as follows,— the dried fish when laid upon the fire began to leap and struggle just as if they were fish newly caught: and the others gathered round and were marvelling at the portent, but Artaÿ ctes seeing it called to the man who was frying the fish and said: "Stranger of Athens, be not at all afraid of this portent, seeing that it has not appeared for thee but for me. Protesilaos who dwells at Elaius signifies thereby that though he is dead and his body is dried like those fish, yet he has power given him by the gods to exact vengeance from the man who does him wrong. Now therefore I desire to impose this penalty for him, 121 that in place of the things which I took from the temple I should pay down a hundred talents to the god, and moreover as ransom for myself and my son I will pay two hundred talents to the Athenians, if my life be spared." Thus he engaged to do, but he did not prevail upon the commander Xanthippos; for the people of Elaius desiring to take vengeance for Protesilaos asked that he might be put to death, and the inclination of the commander himself tended to the same conclusion. They brought him therefore to that headland to which Xerxes made the passage across, or as some say to the hill which is over the town of Madytos, and there they nailed him to boards and hung him up; and they stoned his son to death before the eyes of Artaÿ ctes himself..

9.121

Having so done, they sailed away to Hellas, taking with them, besides other things, the ropes also of the bridges, in order to dedicate them as offerings in the temples: and for that year nothing happened further than this.

9.122

Now a forefather of this Artaÿ ctes who was hung up, was that Artembares who set forth to the Persians a proposal which they took up and brought before Cyrus, being to this effect: "Seeing that Zeus grants to the Persians leadership, and of all men to thee, O Cyrus, by destroying Astyages, come, since the land we possess is small and also rugged, let us change from it and inhabit another which is better: and there are many near at hand, and many also at a greater distance, of which if we take one, we shall have greater reverence and from more men. It is reasonable too that men who are rulers should do such things; for when will there ever be a fairer occasion than

now, when we are rulers of many nations and of the whole of Asia?" Cyrus, hearing this and not being surprised at the proposal, bade them do so if they would; but he exhorted them and bade them prepare in that case to be no longer rulers but subjects; "For," said he, "from lands which are not rugged men who are not rugged are apt to come forth, since it does not belong to the same land to bring forth fruits of the earth which are admirable and also men who are good in war." So the Persians acknowledged that he was right and departed from his presence, having their opinion defeated by that of Cyrus; and they chose rather to dwell on poor land and be rulers, than to sow crops in a level plain and be slaves to others.