GREEK SERIES · VOLUME 27

Histories

Herodotus

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Histories

Part Three: Books VI.71–IX

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with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



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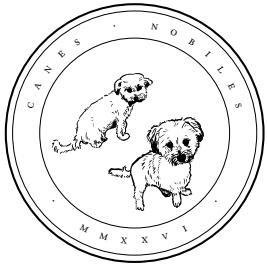

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The Greek text follows Godley's text of Herodotus

Set from the Perseus Digital Library, with corrections

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∗∗∗ marks a gap in the text.

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VIII · THE FALL OF LEUTYCHIDES AND CLEOMENES

Leutychides, made king in Demaratus' place, is caught taking a bribe in Thessaly and dies an exile in Tegea. He and Cleomenes leave ten Aeginetan hostages with Athens. Cleomenes, his plot against Demaratus exposed, flees to Arcadia, is recalled, and goes mad. At Argos he defeats the Argives, who copy his herald's signals, burns the grove of Argus, and is acquitted at Sparta. He dies slashing himself; the Argives blame the grove, the Spartans Scythian wine.

Λευτυχίδης δὲ ὁ Μενάρεος Δημαρήτου καταπαυσθέντος 71
Leotychides and the (son)-of-Menares Demaratus having-been-deposed
διεδέξατο τὴν βασιληίην, καί οἱ γίνεται παῖς Ζευξίδημος,
succeeded-to the kingship and to-him is-born a-son Zeuxidemus
τὸν δὴ Κυνίσκον μετεξέτεροι Σπαρτιητέων ἐκάλεον. οὗτος
whom indeed Cyniscus some of-Spartans called this
ὁ Ζευξίδημος οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε Σπάρτης· πρὸ Λευτυχίδεω
— Zeuxidemus not was-king of-Sparta before Leotychides
γὰρ τελευτᾷ, λιπὼν παῖδα Ἀρχίδημον. Λευτυχίδης
for he-dies having-left a-son Archidamus Leotychides
δὲ στερηθεὶς Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει δευτέρην γυναῖκα
and having-been-deprived of-Zeuxidemus marries a-second wife
Εὐρυδάμην τὴν ἐοῦσαν Μενίου ἀδελφεὴν Διακτορίδεω δὲ
Eurydame the being of-Menius sister of-Diactorides and
θυγατέρα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἔρσεν μὲν γίνεται οὐδέν, θυγάτηρ
daughter from whom to-him male indeed is-born none a-daughter
δὲ Λαμπιτώ, τὴν Ἀρχίδημος ὁ Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει
but Lampito whom Archidamus the (son)-of-Zeuxidemus marries
δόντος αὐτῷ Λευτυχίδεω.
having-given(-her) to-him Leotychides

72 Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ Λευτυχίδης κατεγήρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀλλὰ
not indeed not-even Leotychides grew-old in Sparta but
τίσιν τοιήνδε τινὰ Δημαρήτῳ ἐξέτισε. ἐστρατήγησε
a-penalty such a-kind for-Demaratus he-paid he-commanded
Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐς Θεσσαλίην, παρεὸν δέ οἱ πάντα
for-Lacedaemonians into Thessaly being-possible and to-him all
ὑποχείρια ποιήσασθαι ἐδωροδόκησε ἀργύριον πολλόν·
subject to-make he-took-bribes silver much
ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ δὲ ἁλοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ,
in the-act and caught there in the camp
ἐπικατήμενος χειρίδι πλέῃ ἀργυρίου, ἔφυγε ἐκ Σπάρτης
sitting-on a-glove full of-silver he-fled from Sparta
ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ὑπαχθείς, καὶ τὰ οἰκία οἱ κατεσκάφη·
before a-court brought and the house his was-razed
ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν ταύτῃ.
fled and to Tegea and died in it

73 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο χρόνῳ ὕστερον· τότε δὲ ὡς τῷ
these indeed then happened in-time later then but when —
Κλεομένεϊ ὡδώθη τὸ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον πρῆγμα,
for-Cleomenes had-been-furthered the against — Demaratus matter
αὐτίκα παραλαβὼν Λευτυχίδεα ἤιε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγινήτας,
at-once taking-with(-him) Leotychides he-went against the Aeginetans
δεινόν τινά σφι ἔγκοτον διὰ τὸν προπηλακισμὸν
terrible some against-them grudge on-account-of the insult
ἔχων. οὕτω δὴ οὔτε οἱ Αἰγινῆται, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν
having thus indeed neither the Aeginetans both the
βασιλέων ἡκόντων ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, ἐδικαίευν ἔτι ἀντιβαίνειν,
kings having-come against them thought-it-right still to-resist
ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἄνδρας δέκα Αἰγινητέων τοὺς
they and having-picked men ten of-Aeginetans the
πλείστου ἀξίους καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γένεϊ ἦγον καὶ ἄλλους
of-most worth both in-wealth and in-birth they-led both others

καὶ δὴ καὶ Κριόν τε τὸν Πολυκρίτου καὶ Κάσαμβον τὸν
and indeed also Crius both the (son)-of-Polycritus and Casambus the
Ἀριστοκράτεος, οἵ περ εἶχον μέγιστον κράτος· ἀγαγόντες
(son)-of-Aristocrates who indeed had greatest power having-led
δὲ σφέας ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν παραθήκην παρατίθενται
and them into land the Attic as-a-deposit they-place
ἐς τοὺς ἐχθίστους Αἰγινήτῃσι Ἀθηναίους.
with the most-hostile to-Aeginetans Athenians
Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κλεομένεα ἐπάιστον γενόμενον 74
after and this Cleomenes known having-become
κακοτεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάρητον δεῖμα ἔλαβε Σπαρτιητέων,
having-plotted-evil against Demaratus fear seized of-Spartans
καὶ ὑπεξέσχε ἐς Θεσσαλίην. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς
and he-withdrew-secretly to Thessaly thence and having-come to
τὴν Ἀρκαδίην νεώτερα ἔπρησσε πρήγματα, συνιστὰς τοὺς
— Arcadia newer he-was-doing things combining the
Ἀρκάδας ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ἄλλους τε ὅρκους προσάγων
Arcadians against — Sparta other both oaths applying
σφι ἦ μὲν ἕψεσθαι σφέας αὐτῷ τῇ ἂν ἐξηγέηται, καὶ
to-them truly indeed to-follow them him wherever — he-might-lead and
δὴ καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμος ἦν τῶν Ἀρκάδων
indeed also to Nonacris city eager he-was of-the Arcadians
τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἀγινέων ἐξορκοῦν τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ.
the leading-men bringing to-make-swear-by the of-Styx water
ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι λέγεται εἶναι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τὸ
in and this the city is-said to-be by the Arcadians the
Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔστι τοιόνδε τι· ὕδωρ ὀλίγον
of-Styx water and indeed also it-is such something water little
φαινόμενον ἐκ πέτρης στάζει ἐς ἄγκος, τὸ δὲ ἄγκος
appearing from a-rock drips into a-ravine the and ravine

αἱμασιῆς τις περιθέει κύκλος. ἡ δὲ Νώνακρις, ἐν τῇ ἡ πηγὴ
of-a-wall some runs-round circle — and Nonacris in which the spring
αὕτη τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα, πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίης πρὸς Φενεῷ.
this happens being a-city is — of-Arcadia near Pheneus
75 Μαθόντες δὲ Κλεομένεα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα,
having-learned and Cleomenes Lacedaemonians these doing
κατῆγον αὐτὸν δείσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι ἐς Σπάρτην
brought-back him having-feared on the same(-terms) to Sparta
τοῖσι καὶ πρότερον ἦρχε. κατελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα
on-which also before he-ruled having-returned and him at-once
ὑπέλαβε μανίη νοῦσος, ἐόντα καὶ πρότερον ὑπομαργότερον·
seized madness a-disease being even before rather-mad
ὅκως γὰρ τεῷ ἐντύχοι Σπαρτιητέων, ἐνέχραυε ἐς τὸ
whenever for any(-one) he-met of-Spartans he-thrust into the
πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον. ποιέοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα καὶ
face the scepter doing and him these and
παραφρονήσαντα ἔδησαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλῳ· ὁ δὲ
having-gone-mad bound the kinsmen in stocks he and
δεθεὶς τὸν φύλακον μουνωθέντα ἰδὼν τῶν ἄλλων αἰτέει
bound the guard left-alone having-seen of-the others asks-for
μάχαιραν· οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ φυλάκου
a-knife not wishing and at-the first the guard
διδόναι ἀπείλεε τά μιν αὖτις ποιήσει, ἐς ὃ δείσας
to-give he-threatened what him later he-will-do up-to which having-feared
τὰς ἀπειλὰς ὁ φύλακος (ἦν γὰρ τῶν τις εἱλωτέων)
the threats the guard was for of-the one helots
διδοῖ οἱ μάχαιραν. Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν σίδηρον
gives him a-knife Cleomenes and having-taken the iron
ἄρχετο ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἑωυτὸν λωβώμενος· ἐπιτάμνων
began from the shins himself mutilating cutting-up
γὰρ κατὰ μῆκος τὰς σάρκας προέβαινε ἐκ τῶν κνημέων
for along length the flesh he-advanced from the shins

ἐς τοὺς μηρούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἔς τε τὰ ἰσχία καὶ
to the thighs from and the thighs to both the hips and
τὰς λαπάρας, ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα ἀπίκετο, καὶ ταύτην
the flanks up-to which to the belly he-came and this
καταχορδεύων ἀπέθανε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ
slicing-into-strips he-died in-manner such as indeed the most
λέγουσι Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι τὴν Πυθίην ἀνέγνωσε τὰ
say of-Greeks because the Pythia he-persuaded the(-things)
περὶ Δημαρήτου λέγειν γενόμενα, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μοῦνοι
about Demaratus to-say having-happened as but Athenians alone
λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα ἐσβαλὼν ἔκειρε τὸ τέμενος
say because into Eleusis having-invaded he-ravaged the precinct
τῶν θεῶν, ὡς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ὅτι ἐξ ἱροῦ αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἄργου
of-the goddesses as but Argives because from temple their — of-Argus
Ἀργείων τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καταγινέων
Argives the having-fled-for-refuge from the battle bringing-down
κατέκοπτε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλσος ἐν ἀλογίῃ ἔχων ἐνέπρησε.
he-cut-down and itself the grove in disregard holding burned
Κλεομένεϊ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐχρήσθη Ἄργος 76
to-Cleomenes for consulting-the-oracle at Delphi it-was-prophesied Argos
αἱρήσειν· ἐπείτε δὲ Σπαρτιήτας ἄγων ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν
he-would-take when but Spartans leading he-came to river
Ἐρασῖνον, ὃς λέγεται ῥέειν ἐκ τῆς Στυμφαλίδος λίμνης·
Erasinus which is-said to-flow from the Stymphalian lake
τὴν γὰρ δὴ λίμνην ταύτην ἐς χάσμα ἀφανὲς ἐκδιδοῦσαν
the for indeed lake this into a-chasm unseen issuing
ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἐν Ἄργεϊ, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἤδη
to-reappear in Argos the thence and the water now
τοῦτο ὑπ᾽ Ἀργείων Ἐρασῖνον καλέεσθαι· ἀπικόμενος δ᾽
this by Argives Erasinus to-be-called having-arrived and
ὧν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐσφαγιάζετο
then — Cleomenes at the river this sacrificed

αὐτῷ· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐκαλλιέρεε οὐδαμῶς διαβαίνειν
to-it and not for the-omens-were-favorable in-no-way to-cross
μιν, ἄγασθαι μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἐρασίνου οὐ προδιδόντος
him to-admire indeed he-said the Erasinus not betraying
τοὺς πολιήτας, Ἀργείους μέντοι οὐδ' ὡς χαιρήσειν.
the citizens Argives however not-even so would-go-unpunished
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαναχωρήσας τὴν στρατιὴν κατήγαγε ἐς
after and these having-withdrawn the army he-led-down to
Θυρέην, σφαγιασάμενος δὲ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταῦρον πλοίοισι
Thyrea having-sacrificed and to-the sea a-bull in-boats
σφέας ἤγαγε ἔς τε τὴν Τιρυνθίην χώρην καὶ Ναυπλίην.
them he-brought to both the Tirynthian land and Nauplia
77 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐβοήθεον πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν·
Argives and came-to-help learning these to sea
ὡς δὲ ἀγχοῦ μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῆς Τίρυνθος, χώρῳ δὲ ἐν
when and near indeed they-were — of-Tiryns at-place and in
τούτῳ τῷ κέεται Ἡσίπεια οὔνομα, μεταίχμιον οὐ μέγα
this which lies Hesipeia by-name a-space-between not great
ἀπολιπόντες ἵζοντο ἀντίοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. ἐνθαῦτα
having-left they-sat opposite to-the Lacedaemonians then
δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχην οὐκ
indeed the Argives the indeed from the open battle not
ἐφοβέοντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ δόλῳ αἱρεθέωσι·
feared but lest by-guile they-might-be-taken

καὶ γὰρ δή σφι ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα εἶχε τὸ
also for indeed to-them to this the matter pertained the
χρηστήριον τὸ ἐπίκοινα ἔχρησε ἡ Πυθίη τούτοισί τε καὶ
oracle which in-common prophesied the Pythia to-these both and
Μιλησίοισι, λέγον ὧδε.
to-Milesians saying thus

ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενα νικήσασα
but when the female the male having-conquered
ἐξελάσῃ καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρηται,
drives-out and glory among Argives wins
πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφέας τότε θήσει.
many of-Argives tearing-both-cheeks then she-will-make
ὣς ποτέ τις ἐρέει καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἀνθρώπων
thus once someone will-say even of-those-to-come men
“Δεινὸς ὄφις τριέλικτος ἀπώλετο δουρὶ δαμασθείς.”
terrible snake thrice-coiled perished by-spear subdued

ταῦτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι φόβον
these indeed all coming-together for-the Argives fear
παρεῖχε. καὶ δή σφι πρὸς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τῷ
caused and indeed to-them in-view-of these it-seemed(-best) the
κήρυκι τῶν πολεμίων χρᾶσθαι, δόξαν δέ σφι ἐποίεον
herald of-the enemy to-use having-resolved and to-them they-did
τοιόνδε· ὅκως ὁ Σπαρτιήτης κῆρυξ προσημαίνοι τι
such whenever the Spartan herald signaled anything
Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐποίευν καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὠυτὸ τοῦτο.
to-Lacedaemonians did also the Argives the-same this
Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ποιεῦντας τοὺς Ἀργείους ὁκοῖόν 78
having-learned and — Cleomenes doing the Argives what-sort-of
τι ὁ σφέτερος κῆρυξ σημήνειε, παραγγέλλει σφι, ὅταν
thing the their-own herald signaled orders them when

σημήνῃ ὁ κῆρυξ ποιέεσθαι ἄριστον, τότε ἀναλαβόντας
signals the herald to-make breakfast then having-taken-up
τὰ ὅπλα χωρέειν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο
the arms to-go against the Argives these also were
ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ἄριστον γὰρ ποιευμένοισι
accomplished by the Lacedaemonians breakfast for making
τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπεκέατο, καὶ πολλοὺς
the Argives from the proclamation they-fell-on(-them) and many
μὲν ἐφόνευσαν αὐτῶν, πολλῷ δέ τι πλεῦνας ἐς τὸ
indeed they-slew of-them by-far but somewhat more into the
ἄλσος τοῦ Ἄργου καταφυγόντας περιζόμενοι ἐφύλασσον.
grove — of-Argus having-fled sitting-round(-it) they-guarded
79 Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐποίεε τοιόνδε. ἔχων αὐτομόλους
thence and — Cleomenes did such having deserters
ἄνδρας καὶ πυνθανόμενος τούτων, ἐξεκάλεε πέμπων
men and inquiring from-these he-called-out sending
κήρυκα ὀνομαστὶ λέγων τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ
a-herald by-name calling of-the Argives those in the temple
ἀπεργμένους, ἐξεκάλεε δὲ φὰς αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὰ ἄποινα.
shut-up called-out and saying of-them to-have the ransoms
ἄποινα δὲ ἐστὶ Πελοποννησίοισι δύο μνέαι τεταγμέναι
ransom and is for-Peloponnesians two minae fixed
κατ᾽ ἄνδρα αἰχμάλωτον ἐκτίνειν. κατὰ πεντήκοντα δὴ
for man captive to-pay by fifty indeed
ὧν τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς ἑκάστους ἐκκαλεύμενος ὁ Κλεομένης
then of-the Argives as each calling-out — Cleomenes
ἔκτεινε. ταῦτα δέ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς
killed these and somehow happening had-escaped-the-notice-of the
λοιποὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ τεμένεϊ· ἅτε γὰρ πυκνοῦ ἐόντος τοῦ
remaining the in the precinct as for thick being the
ἄλσεος, οὐκ ὥρων οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ὅ τι ἔπρησσον,
grove not saw those within those without what ever they-were-doing

πρίν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ δένδρον κατεῖδε
before at-least indeed of-them someone having-climbed onto a-tree saw
τὸ ποιεύμενον. οὔκων δὴ ἔτι καλεόμενοι ἐξήισαν.
the being-done not-then indeed still being-called they-came-out
Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκέλευε πάντα τινὰ τῶν 80
then indeed — Cleomenes bade every one of-the
εἰλωτέων περινέειν ὕλῃ τὸ ἄλσος, τῶν δὲ πειθομένων
helots to-heap-round with-wood the grove of-the and obeying
ἐνέπρησε τὸ ἄλσος. καιομένου δὲ ἤδη ἐπείρετο τῶν τινα
he-burned the grove burning and already he-asked of-the one
αὐτομόλων τίνος εἴη θεῶν τὸ ἄλσος· ὁ δὲ ἔφη Ἄργου
deserters of-which might-be of-gods the grove he and said of-Argus
εἶναι. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε, ἀναστενάξας μέγα εἶπε “ Ὦ Ἄπολλον
to-be he and when he-heard having-groaned greatly said O Apollo
χρηστήριε, ἦ μεγάλως με ἠπάτηκας φάμενος Ἄργος
of-oracles truly greatly me you-have-deceived saying Argos
αἱρήσειν· συμβάλλομαι δ’ ἐξήκειν μοι τὸ χρηστήριον.”
I-would-take I-conjecture and to-have-been-fulfilled for-me the oracle
Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν μὲν πλέω στρατιὴν ἀπῆκε 81
after and these — Cleomenes the indeed greater army let-go
ἀπιέναι ἐς Σπάρτην, χιλίους δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τοὺς ἀριστέας
to-go-away to Sparta a-thousand and himself having-taken the best
ἤιε ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον θύσων· βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν θύειν
went to the Heraeum to-sacrifice wishing and him to-sacrifice
ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ ἱρεὺς ἀπηγόρευε, φὰς οὐκ ὅσιον εἶναι
on the altar the priest forbade saying not holy to-be
ξείνῳ αὐτόθι θύειν. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης τὸν ἱρέα ἐκέλευε
for-a-stranger there to-sacrifice — but Cleomenes the priest ordered
τοὺς εἵλωτας ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀπάγοντας μαστιγῶσαι, καὶ
the helots from the altar leading-away to-scourge and
αὐτὸς ἔθυσε· ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἀπήιε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην.
himself sacrificed having-done and these he-went-away to — Sparta

82 Νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ὑπῆγον οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐφόρους,
having-returned and him brought the enemies before the ephors
φάμενοί μιν δωροδοκήσαντα οὐκ ἑλεῖν τὸ Ἄργος,
saying him having-taken-bribes not to-have-taken — Argos
παρεὸν εὐπετέως μιν ἑλεῖν. ὁ δέ σφι ἔλεξε, οὔτε εἰ
it-being-possible easily it to-take he and to-them said neither whether
ψευδόμενος οὔτε εἰ ἀληθέα λέγων, ἔχω σαφηνέως εἶπαι,
lying nor whether true(-things) saying I-can clearly say
ἔλεξε δ' ὧν φάμενος, ἐπείτε δὴ τὸ τοῦ Ἄργου ἱρὸν εἶλον,
he-said but then saying since indeed the — of-Argus temple he-had-taken
δοκέειν οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμόν· πρὸς ὧν
to-seem to-him to-have-been-fulfilled the of-the god oracle in-view-of then
ταῦτα οὐ δικαιοῦν πειρᾶν τῆς πόλιος, πρίν γε δὴ
these not he-thought-it-right to-make-trial of-the city before at-least indeed
ἱροῖσι χρήσηται καὶ μάθῃ εἴτε οἱ ὁ θεὸς παραδιδοῖ
with-sacrifices he-should-consult and learn whether to-him the god hands-over(-it)
εἴτε ἐμποδὼν ἕστηκε· καλλιερευμένῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ
or in-the-way stands sacrificing-with-good-omens and in the Heraeum
ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς ἐκλάμψαι,
from the image of-the breast a-flame of-fire to-have-flashed-out
μαθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς οὕτω τὴν ἀτρεκείην, ὅτι οὐκ αἱρέει
to-have-learned and himself thus the truth that not he-takes
τὸ Ἄργος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος
— Argos if indeed for from the head of-the image
ἐξέλαμψε, αἱρέειν ἂν κατ' ἄκρης τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ τῶν
it-had-flashed-out he-would-take — from top the city from the
στηθέων δὲ λάμψαντος πᾶν οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ὅσον ὁ θεὸς
breast but having-flashed all to-him to-have-been-done as-much-as the god
ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι. ταῦτα λέγων πιστά τε καὶ οἰκότα ἐδόκεε
wished to-happen these-things saying credible both and reasonable he-seemed
Σπαρτιήτῃσι λέγειν, καὶ διέφυγε πολλὸν τοὺς διώκοντας.
to-Spartans to-say and he-escaped by-far the prosecutors

Ἄργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχηρώθη οὕτω ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν 83
Argos and of-men was-bereft so that the slaves of-them
ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντές τε καὶ διέποντες, ἐς
held all the affairs ruling both and managing up-to
ὃ ἐπήβησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες· ἔπειτα σφέας
which grew-up the of-the having-perished sons then them
οὗτοι ἀνακτώμενοι ὀπίσω ἐς ἑωυτοὺς τὸ Ἄργος ἐξέβαλον·
these recovering back to themselves — Argos threw-out
ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχῃ ἔσχον Τίρυνθα. τέως μὲν
being-thrust-out and the slaves by-battle held Tiryns for-a-while indeed
δή σφι ἦν ἄρθμια ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς
then to-them it-was friendly toward each-other then but to the
δούλους ἦλθε ἀνὴρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἐὼν Φιγαλεὺς
slaves came a-man seer Cleander by-race being Phigalean
ἀπ᾽ Ἀρκαδίης· οὗτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι
from Arcadia this(-man) the slaves persuaded to-attack the
δεσπότῃσι. ἐκ τούτου δὴ πόλεμός σφι ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνον
masters from this indeed war to-them was for time
συχνόν, ἐς ὃ δὴ μόγις οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν.
long up-to which indeed with-difficulty the Argives prevailed
Ἀργεῖοι μέν νυν διὰ ταῦτα Κλεομένεα φασὶ μανέντα 84
Argives indeed then on-account-of these Cleomenes say having-gone-mad
ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σπαρτιῆται φασὶ ἐκ δαιμονίου
to-have-perished miserably themselves but Spartans say from divine-power
μὲν οὐδενὸς μανῆναι Κλεομένεα, Σκύθῃσι δὲ ὁμιλήσαντά
indeed no to-have-gone-mad Cleomenes with-Scythians but having-consorted
μιν ἀκρητοπότην γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆναι.
him a-drinker-of-unmixed-wine to-have-become and from this to-have-gone-mad
Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπείτε σφι Δαρεῖον ἐμβαλεῖν
Scythians for the nomads when to-them Darius to-have-invaded
ἐς τὴν χώρην, μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονέναι μιν τίσασθαι,
into the land after these to-have-been-eager him to-punish

πέμψαντας δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην συμμαχίην τε ποιέεσθαι καὶ
having-sent and to Sparta an-alliance both to-make and
συντίθεσθαι ὡς χρεὸν εἴη αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ
to-agree that necessary it-was themselves indeed the Scythians along
Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν πειρᾶν ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσβάλλειν, σφέας
Phasis river to-try into the Median(-land) to-invade them
δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας κελεύειν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὁρμωμένους
and the Spartans to-bid from Ephesus setting-out
ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὠυτὸ ἀπαντᾶν. Κλεομένεα δὲ
to-march-up and then to the-same(-place) to-meet Cleomenes and
λέγουσι ἡκόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὁμιλέειν σφι
they-say having-come the Scythians for these to-consort with-them
μεζόνως, ὁμιλέοντα δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἱκνεομένου μαθεῖν τὴν
more-greatly consorting and more than-the fitting to-learn the
ἀκρητοποσίην παρ' αὐτῶν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανῆναί μιν
drinking-of-unmixed-wine from them from this and to-have-gone-mad him
νομίζουσι Σπαρτιῆται. ἔκ τε τόσου, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι,
believe Spartans from both that(-time) as themselves say
ἐπεὰν ζωρότερον βούλωνται πιεῖν, "Ἐπισκύθισον" λέγουσι.
whenever stronger they-wish to-drink "Scythianize" they-say
οὕτω δὴ Σπαρτιῆται τὰ περὶ Κλεομένεα λέγουσι· ἐμοὶ
thus indeed Spartans the(-things) about Cleomenes say to-me
δὲ δοκέει τίσιν ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρήτῳ ἐκτῖσαι.
but seems penalty this — Cleomenes for-Demaratus to-have-paid

IX · GLAUCUS AND THE WAR WITH AEGINA

After Cleomenes' death the Aeginetans demand their hostages, and Leutychides goes with them to Athens. When the Athenians refuse, he tells the tale of Glaucus, who asked Delphi whether he might perjure himself over a deposit and whose house was

rooted out for the asking. The Aeginetans seize the Athenian sacred ship at Sunium; Nicodromus' plot to betray Aegina fails, its democrats are slaughtered, and the two cities fight at sea, where Athens wins, and Argos refuses official help to Aegina.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ὡς ἐπύθοντο Αἰγινῆται, 85
having-died and Cleomenes when learned Aeginetans
ἔπεμπον ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους καταβωσομένους Λευτυχίδεω
they-sent to Sparta messengers to-cry-out-against Leotychides
περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ὁμήρων ἐχομένων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ
about the at Athens hostages held Lacedaemonians and
δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες ἔγνωσαν περιυβρίσθαι Αἰγινήτας
a-court having-gathered judged to-have-been-outraged Aeginetans
ὑπὸ Λευτυχίδεω, καί μιν κατέκριναν ἔκδοτον ἄγεσθαι ἐς
by Leotychides and him condemned handed-over to-be-led to
Αἴγιναν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐχομένων ἀνδρῶν.
Aegina in-exchange-for the at Athens held men
μελλόντων δὲ ἄγειν τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν Λευτυχίδεα, εἶπέ
being-about and to-lead the Aeginetans — Leotychides said
σφι Θεασίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεος, ἐὼν ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος
to-them Theasides the (son)-of-Leoprepes being in Sparta esteemed
ἀνήρ, "Τί βουλεύεσθε ποιέειν, ἄνδρες Αἰγινῆται; τὸν
a-man what plan-you to-do men Aeginetans the
βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἔκδοτον γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν
king of-the Spartans handed-over having-been by the
πολιητέων ἄγειν; εἰ νῦν ὀργῇ χρεώμενοι ἔγνωσαν οὕτω
citizens to-lead if now anger using judged thus
Σπαρτιῆται, ὅκως ἐξ ὑστέρης μή τι ὑμῖν, ἢν ταῦτα
Spartans beware from later lest some for-you if these
πρήσσητε, πανώλεθρον κακὸν ἐς τὴν χώρην ἐμβάλωσι."
you-do utterly-destructive evil into the land they-throw
ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἔσχοντο τῆς ἀγωγῆς,
these having-heard the Aeginetans refrained from-the leading-away

ὁμολογίῃ δὲ ἐχρήσαντο τοιῇδε, ἐπισπόμενον Λευτυχίδεα
an-agreement and they-made such following Leotychides
ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀποδοῦναι Αἰγινήτῃσι τοὺς ἄνδρας.
to Athens to-give-back to-Aeginetans the men

86 Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος Λευτυχίδης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαίτεε
when and having-come Leotychides to — Athens demanded-back
τὴν παραθήκην, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι προφάσιας εἵλκον οὐ
the deposit the but Athenians pretexts drew-out not
βουλόμενοι ἀποδοῦναι, φάντες δύο σφέας ἐόντας βασιλέας
wishing to-give-back saying two them being kings
παραθέσθαι καὶ οὐ δικαιοῦν τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἄνευ τοῦ
to-have-deposited(-them) and not to-think-it-right to-the one without the
ἑτέρου ἀποδιδόναι· οὐ φαμένων δὲ ἀποδώσειν τῶν
other to-give-back not saying and they-would-give-back the
Ἀθηναίων, ἔλεξέ σφι Λευτυχίδης τάδε. "Ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι,
Athenians said to-them Leotychides this O Athenians
ποιέετε μὲν ὁκότερα βούλεσθε αὐτοί· καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδόντες
do indeed whichever you-wish yourselves both for giving-back
ποιέετε ὅσια, καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες τὰ ἐναντία τούτων·
you-do holy(-things) and not giving-back the opposite of-these
ὁκοῖον μέντοι τι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι
what-sort-of however thing in — Sparta happened to-come-about
περὶ παρακαταθήκης, βούλομαι ὑμῖν εἶπαι. λέγομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ
about a-deposit I-wish to-you to-tell we-say we the
Σπαρτιῆται γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι κατὰ τρίτην γενεὴν
Spartans to-have-been in — Lacedaemon in third generation
τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο Γλαῦκον Ἐπικύδεος παῖδα· τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα
the from me Glaucus of-Epicydes son this the man
φαμὲν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ
we-say in-the both other(-things) all to-attain the first(-place) and indeed
καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι πάντων ὅσοι
also to-hear(-of-himself) best of-justice about of-all as-many-as

τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἴκεον. συνενειχθῆναι
— Lacedaemon this the time inhabited to-have-happened
δέ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἱκνευμένῳ τάδε λέγομεν. ἄνδρα Μιλήσιον
and to-him in time coming this we-say a-man Milesian
ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σπάρτην βούλεσθαί οἱ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους
having-come to Sparta to-wish to-him to-come into talk
προϊσχόμενον τοιάδε. Ἐὶμὶ μὲν Μιλήσιος, ἥκω δὲ τῆς
putting-forward such I-am indeed Milesian I-have-come and of-the
σῆς Γλαῦκε βουλόμενος δικαιοσύνης ἀπολαῦσαι. ὡς γὰρ
your Glaucus wishing justice to-enjoy since for
δὴ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ
indeed throughout all indeed the other Greece among and also
περὶ Ἰωνίην τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἦν λόγος πολλός,
about Ionia of-the your justice there-was talk much
ἐμεωυτῷ λόγους ἐδίδουν καὶ ὅτι ἐπικίνδυνος ἐστὶ αἰεί
to-myself reasons I-gave also that dangerous is always
κοτε ἡ Ἰωνίη, ἡ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἀσφαλέως ἱδρυμένη,
ever — Ionia — but Peloponnese safely settled
καὶ διότι χρήματα οὐδαμὰ τοὺς αὐτούς ἐστι ὁρᾶν ἔχοντας.
and because money never the same is to-see having
ταῦτά τε ὧν ἐπιλεγομένῳ καὶ βουλευομένῳ ἔδοξέ
these both then reckoning and deliberating it-seemed(-good)
μοι τὰ ἡμίσεα πάσης τῆς οὐσίης ἐξαργυρώσαντα θέσθαι
to-me the halves of-all the property having-turned-into-silver to-deposit
παρὰ σέ, εὖ ἐξεπισταμένῳ ὥς μοι κείμενα ἔσται παρὰ
with you well knowing that for-me lying(-there) it-will-be with
σοὶ σόα. σὺ δή μοι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δέξαι καὶ τάδε τὰ
you safe you indeed for-me both the money receive and these the
σύμβολα σῶζε λαβών· ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων ταῦτα ἀπαιτέῃ,
tokens keep having-taken whoever and — having these demands-back
τούτῳ ἀποδοῦναι.' ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἥκων ξεῖνος
to-him to-give-back the indeed then from Miletus having-come guest

τοσαῦτα ἔλεξε, Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐδέξατο τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἐπὶ
so-much said Glaucus and received the deposit on
τῷ εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ. χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἦλθον ἐς
the stated terms time and much having-passed came to
Σπάρτην τούτου τοῦ παραθεμένου τὰ χρήματα οἱ παῖδες,
Sparta of-this the having-deposited the money the sons
ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς λόγους τῷ Γλαύκῳ καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες
having-come and into talk — with-Glaucus and showing
τὰ σύμβολα ἀπαίτεον τὰ χρήματα· ὁ δὲ διωθέετο
the tokens demanded-back the money he but thrust(-them)-off
ἀντυποκρινόμενος τοιάδε. Οὔτε μέμνημαι τὸ πρῆγμα οὔτε
answering such neither I-remember the matter nor
με περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ὑμεῖς λέγετε,
me brings-round anything to-know of-these which you say
βούλομαί τε ἀναμνησθεὶς ποιέειν πᾶν τὸ δίκαιον· καὶ γὰρ
I-wish and having-recollected to-do all the just also for
εἰ ἔλαβον, ὀρθῶς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ εἴ γε ἀρχὴν μὴ ἔλαβον,
if I-took(-it) rightly to-give-back and if at-least at-all not I-took(-it)
νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων χρήσομαι ἐς ὑμέας. ταῦτα ὦν
the-laws the of-Greeks I-shall-use toward you these then
ὑμῖν ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦδε.'
for-you I-put-off to-settle to fourth month from this
οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο
the indeed then Milesians a-misfortune having-reckoned(-it) departed
ὡς ἀπεστερημένοι τῶν χρημάτων, Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο
as deprived of-the money Glaucus and journeyed
ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ. ἐπειρωτῶντα δὲ
to Delphi to-consult the oracle asking and

αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὅρκῳ τὰ χρήματα λήίσηται,
him the oracle whether by-oath the money he-should-plunder
ἡ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι.
the Pythia assails(-him) with-these the verses

Γλαῦκ' Ἐπικυδείδη, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτω
Glaucus son-of-Epicydes the indeed immediately more-profitable thus
ὅρκῳ νικῆσαι καὶ χρήματα λήίσασθαι.
by-oath to-prevail and money to-plunder
ὄμνυ, ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε καὶ εὔορκον μένει ἄνδρα.
swear since death at-least even the-true-swearing awaits man
ἀλλ' ὅρκου πάις ἐστίν, ἀνώνυμος, οὐδ' ἔπι χεῖρες
but of-oath a-son there-is nameless nor are-on(-him) hands
οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰς ὅ κε πᾶσαν
nor feet swift but he-pursues up-to which — all
συμμάρψας ὀλέσῃ γενεὴν καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα.
having-seized he-destroys the-race and house whole
ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.
of-man but true-swearing the-race hereafter better

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαῦκος συγγνώμην τὸν θεὸν παραιτέετο
these having-heard — Glaucus pardon the god begged
αὐτῷ ἴσχειν τῶν ῥηθέντων. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔφη
for-himself to-have for-the(-things) spoken the but Pythia said
τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἴσον δύνασθαι.
the to-tempt the god and the to-do equal to-be-worth
Γλαῦκος μὲν δὴ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μιλησίους ξείνους
Glaucus indeed then having-sent-for the Milesian guests
ἀποδιδοῖ σφι τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα ὁ λόγος ὅδε
gives-back to-them the money of-what and for-the-sake the story this
ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁρμήθη λέγεσθαι ἐς ὑμέας, εἰρήσεται· Γλαύκου
O Athenians was-started to-be-told to you it-will-be-said of-Glaucus

νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονον ἐστὶ οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἱστίη οὐδεμία
now neither any descendant is at-all nor hearth any
νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκου, ἐκτέτριπταί τε πρόρριζος
considered to-be of-Glaucus be-has-been-rubbed-out and root-and-branch
ἐκ Σπάρτης. οὕτω ἀγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοέεσθαι περὶ
from Sparta thus good not-even to-think about
παρακαταθήκης ἄλλο γε ἢ ἀπαιτεόντων ἀποδιδόναι."
a-deposit other at-least than when-they-demand(-it) to-give-back
87 Λευτυχίδης μὲν εἴπας ταῦτα, ὡς οἱ οὐδὲ οὕτω
Leotychides indeed having-said these when to-him not-even thus
ἐσήκουον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσετο· οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται,
listened the Athenians departed the but Aeginetans
πρὶν τῶν πρότερον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐς
before for-the former wrongs to-pay penalty which against
Ἀθηναίους ὕβρισαν Θηβαίοισι χαριζόμενοι, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε.
Athenians they-outraged to-Thebans doing-a-favor did such
μεμφόμενοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ ἀξιοῦντες ἀδικέεσθαι,
blaming the Athenians and thinking-themselves to-be-wronged
ὡς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρεσκευάζοντο· καὶ
as to-punish the Athenians they-prepared and
ἦν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι πεντετηρὶς ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ,
there-was for indeed for-the Athenians a-five-yearly-festival at Sunium
λοχήσαντες ὧν τὴν θεωρίδα νέα εἷλον πλήρεα ἀνδρῶν
having-ambushed then the sacred-envoys' ship they-took full of-men
τῶν πρώτων Ἀθηναίων, λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔδησαν.
of-the first Athenians having-taken and the men they-bound
88 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ παθόντες ταῦτα πρὸς Αἰγινητέων οὐκέτι
Athenians and having-suffered these from Aeginetans no-longer
ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι ἐπ' Αἰγινήτῃσι.
delayed lest not the all to-contrive against Aeginetans
καὶ ἦν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κνοίθου καλεόμενος ἐν
and there-was for Nicodromus (son)-of-Cnoethus called in

τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, οὗτος μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖσι
— *Aegina a-man esteemed this(-man) blaming indeed the*
Αἰγινήτῃσι προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου,
Aeginetans for-former his-own expulsion from the island
μαθὼν δὲ τότε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀναρτημένους ἔρδειν
having-learned and then the Athenians bent-on to-do
Αἰγινήτας κακῶς, συντίθεται Ἀθηναίοισι προδοσίην Αἰγίνης,
Aeginetans harm agrees with-Athenians a-betrayal of-Aegina
φράσας ἐν τῇ τε ἡμέρῃ ἐπιχειρήσει καὶ ἐκείνους ἐς
having-told on which both day he-will-attempt(-it) and they on
τὴν ἥκειν δεήσει βοηθέοντας.
which to-come it-will-be-necessary helping
Μετὰ ταῦτα καταλαμβάνει μὲν κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο 89
after these seizes indeed according-to what he-had-agreed
Ἀθηναίοισι ὁ Νικόδρομος τὴν παλαιὴν καλεομένην πόλιν,
with-Athenians — Nicodromus the old called city
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐ παραγίνονται ἐς δέον· οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον
Athenians but not arrive at need not for happened
ἐοῦσαι νέες σφι ἀξιόμαχοι τῇσι Αἰγινητέων συμβαλεῖν.
being ships to-them fit-to-fight with-the of-Aeginetans to-engage
ἐν ᾧ ὧν Κορινθίων ἐδέοντο χρῆσαι σφίσι νέας, ἐν
in which then of-Corinthians they-were-asking to-lend to-them ships in
τούτῳ διεφθάρη τὰ πρήγματα. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἦσαν γάρ
this were-ruined the affairs the and Corinthians were for
σφι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Ἀθηναίοισι
to-them this the time friends to the most to-Athenians
διδοῦσι δεομένοισι εἴκοσι νέας, διδοῦσι δὲ πενταδράχμους
give asking twenty ships give and at-five-drachmas
ἀποδόμενοι· δωρεὴν γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ ἐξῆν δοῦναι.
having-sold(-them) as-a-gift for in the law not it-was-allowed to-give
ταύτας τε δὴ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὰς σφετέρας,
these both indeed having-taken the Athenians and the their-own

πληρώσαντες ἑβδομήκοντα νέας τὰς ἁπάσας, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ
having-manned seventy ships the all they-sailed against
τὴν Αἴγιναν καὶ ὑστέρησαν ἡμέρῃ μιῇ τῆς συγκειμένης.
— Aegina and were-late by-day one than-the agreed(-day)
90 Νικόδρομος δέ, ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν καιρὸν οὐ
Nicodromus and when the Athenians at the right-time not
παρεγίνοντο, ἐς πλοῖον ἐσβὰς ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τῆς
arrived into a-boat having-embarked escapes from —
Αἰγίνης· σὺν δέ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων εἵποντο,
Aegina with and him also others of the Aeginetans followed
τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι Σούνιον οἰκῆσαι ἔδοσαν. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὗτοι
to-whom Athenians Sunium to-inhabit gave thence and these
ὁρμώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Αἰγινήτας.
setting-out plundered both and carried-off the in the island Aeginetans
91 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὕστερον ἐγίνετο. Αἰγινητέων δὲ οἱ
these indeed then later happened of-Aeginetans and the
παχέες ἐπαναστάντος τοῦ δήμου σφι ἅμα
men-of-substance having-risen-against the people them together-with
Νικοδρόμῳ ἐπεκράτησαν, καὶ ἔπειτα σφέας χειρωσάμενοι
Nicodromus prevailed and then them having-subdued
ἐξῆγον ἀπολέοντες. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφι ἐγένετο,
led-out to-destroy(-them) from this and also a-curse for-them arose
τὸ ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἷοί τε ἐγένοντο ἐπιμηχανώμενοι, ἀλλ'
which to-expiate not able — they-were contriving but
ἔφθησαν ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἢ σφι
they-got-ahead having-been-thrown-out before from the island than for-them
ἵλεον γενέσθαι τὴν θεόν. ἑπτακοσίους γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου
gracious to-become the goddess seven-hundred for indeed of-the people
ζωγρήσαντες ἐξῆγον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, εἷς δέ τις τούτων
having-taken-alive they-led-out as to-destroy(-them) one but some(-one) of-these
ἐκφυγὼν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Δήμητρος
having-escaped the bonds flees to the-porch of-Demeter

θεσμοφόρου, ἐπιλαμβανόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἶχετο·
lawgiver laying-hold and of-the door-handles held-on
οἳ δὲ ἐπείτε μιν ἀποσπάσαι οὐκ οἷοί τε ἀπέλκοντες
they and when him to-tear-away not able — dragging
ἐγίνοντο, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἦγον οὕτω, αἱ
they-were having-cut-off his the hands led(-him) thus the
χεῖρες δὲ ἐκεῖναι ἐμπεφυκυῖαι ἦσαν τοῖσι ἐπισπάστροισι.
hands and those clinging were to-the door-handles
Ταῦτα μέν νυν σφέας αὐτοὺς οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἐργάσαντο, 92
these indeed then them themselves the Aeginetans wrought
Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἥκουσι ἐναυμάχησαν νηυσὶ ἑβδομήκοντα,
with-Athenians and having-come they-fought-at-sea with-ships seventy
ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς
worsted and in-the sea-fight they-called-in the same(-ones)
καὶ πρότερον, Ἀργείους. καὶ δή σφι οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι
also before Argives and indeed to-them these indeed no-longer
βοηθέουσι, μεμφόμενοι ὅτι Αἰγιναῖαι νέες ἀνάγκῃ λαμφθεῖσαι
help blaming(-them) that Aeginetan ships by-force seized
ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος ἔσχον τε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώρην καὶ
by Cleomenes put-in both to the Argolid land and
συναπέβησαν Λακεδαιμονίοισι, συναπέβησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ
landed-with Lacedaemonians landed-with and also from
Σικυωνιέων νεῶν ἄνδρες τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἐσβολῇ· καί σφι
Sicyonian ships men in-the same this invasion and on-them
ὑπ' Ἀργείων ἐπεβλήθη ζημίη χίλια τάλαντα ἐκτῖσαι,
by Argives was-imposed a-penalty a-thousand talents to-pay
πεντακόσια ἑκατέρους. Σικυώνιοι μέν νυν συγγνόντες
five-hundred each Sicyonians indeed then having-acknowledged
ἀδικῆσαι ὡμολόγησαν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκτίσαντες
to-have-done-wrong agreed a-hundred talents having-paid
ἀζήμιοι εἶναι, Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὔτε συνεγινώσκοντο ἦσάν τε
unpunished to-be Aeginetans but neither acknowledged(-it) were and

αὐθαδέστεροι. διὰ δὴ ὧν σφι ταῦτα δεομένοισι ἀπὸ
more-stubborn on-account-of indeed then to-them these asking from
μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδεὶς Ἀργείων ἔτι ἐβοήθεε, ἐθελονταὶ
indeed the public(-treasury) no-one of-Argives any-longer helped volunteers
δὲ ἐς χιλίους· ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὔνομα
but up-to a-thousand led and them (as)-general a-man to-whom name
Εὐρυβάτης, ἀνὴρ πεντάεθλον ἐπασκήσας. τούτων οἱ πλεῦνες
Eurybates a-man the-pentathlon having-practiced of-these the most
οὐκ ἀπενόστησαν ὀπίσω, ἀλλ᾽ ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων
not returned back but died by Athenians
ἐν Αἰγίνῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς Εὐρυβάτης μουνομαχίην
in Aegina himself and the general Eurybates single-combat
ἐπασκέων τρεῖς μὲν ἄνδρας τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ κτείνει, ὑπὸ
practicing three indeed men in-manner such kills by
δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου Σωφάνεος τοῦ Δεκελέος ἀποθνήσκει.
but the fourth Sophanes the Decelean dies
93 Αἰγινῆται δὲ ἐοῦσι ἀτάκτοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι συμβαλόντες
Aeginetans and being in-disorder the Athenians having-engaged
τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐνίκησαν, καί σφεων νέας τέσσερας αὐτοῖσι
with-the ships conquered and of-them ships four with-the-very
τοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἷλον.
the men took

X · DATIS AND ARTAPHRENES TAKE ERETRIA

Darius dismisses Mardonius and sends Datis and Artaphrenes with six hundred triremes against Eretria and Athens. They sail by Samos and Icaria to Naxos, burn the city, spare holy Delos and honor its god, and an earthquake strikes the island. Carystus yields after a siege. At divided Eretria, Aeschines urges the Athenian helpers to leave; on the seventh day of assault two leading men betray the city, its temples are burned, and its people enslaved.

Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνῆπτο πρὸς Αἰγινήτας. 94
for-Athenians indeed then war had-been-joined with Aeginetans
ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἑωυτοῦ ἐποίεε, ὥστε ἀναμιμνήσκοντός
the but Persian the his-own did so-that reminding
τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμνῆσθαί μιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων,
both always the attendant to-remember him the Athenians
καὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων προσκατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων
and Pisistratidae sitting-by and slandering
Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ταύτης ἐχόμενος
Athenians at-once and wishing — Darius this holding-to
τῆς προφάσιος καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ
the pretext to-subdue — of-Greece those not
δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Μαρδόνιον μὲν δὴ
having-given to-him earth both and water Mardonius indeed then
φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίης,
badly having-fared in-the expedition he-releases from-the command
ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ τε
other and generals having-appointed he-sent-off against both
Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας, Δᾶτίν τε ἐόντα Μῆδον γένος καὶ
Eretria and Athens Datis both being Mede by-race and
Ἀρταφρένεα τὸν Ἀρταφρένεος παῖδα, ἀδελφιδέον ἑωυτοῦ·
Artaphrenes the of-Artaphrenes son nephew his-own
ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε ἐξανδραποδίσαντας Ἀθήνας
having-enjoined and he-sent(-them)-off having-enslaved Athens
καὶ Ἐρέτριαν ἀνάγειν ἑωυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα.
and Eretria to-bring-up to-himself into sight the slaves
Ὡς δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἀποδεχθέντες πορευόμενοι 95
when and the generals these the appointed journeying
παρὰ βασιλέος ἀπίκοντο τῆς Κιλικίης ἐς τὸ Ἀλήιον
from king arrived — of-Cilicia at the Aleian
πεδίον, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι πεζὸν στρατὸν πολλόν τε καὶ εὖ
plain together leading land army great both and well

ἐσκευασμένον, ἐνθαῦτα στρατοπεδευομένοισι ἐπῆλθε μὲν ὁ
equipped there camping came-up indeed the
ναυτικὸς πᾶς στρατὸς ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς ἑκάστοισι, παρεγένοντο
naval all army the assigned to-each arrived
δὲ καὶ αἱ ἱππαγωγοὶ νέες, τὰς τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ προεῖπε
and also the horse-transport ships which in-the previous year he-ordered
τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ δασμοφόροισι Δαρεῖος ἑτοιμάζειν. ἐσβαλόμενοι
to-the his-own tributaries Darius to-make-ready having-loaded
δὲ τοὺς ἵππους ἐς ταύτας καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν
and the horses into these and the land army
ἐσβιβάσαντες ἐς τὰς νέας, ἔπλεον ἑξακοσίῃσι τριήρεσι ἐς
having-embarked into the ships they-sailed with-six-hundred triremes to
τὴν Ἰωνίην. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἤπειρον εἶχον τὰς
— Ionia thence but not along the mainland held the
νέας ἰθὺ τοῦ τε Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἀλλ' ἐκ
ships straight-for the both Hellespont and — of-Thrace but from
Σάμου ὁρμώμενοι παρά τε Ἰκάριον καὶ διὰ νήσων τὸν
Samos setting-out along both the-Icarian(-sea) and through islands the
πλόον ἐποιεῦντο, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, δείσαντες μάλιστα
voyage they-made as indeed to-me to-seem having-feared most
τὸν περίπλοον τοῦ Ἄθω, ὅτι τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ ποιεύμενοι
the sailing-round — of-Athos because in-the previous year making
ταύτῃ τὴν κομιδὴν μεγάλως προσέπταισαν· πρὸς δὲ
there the passage greatly they-had-come-to-grief in-addition and
καὶ ἡ Νάξος σφέας ἠνάγκαζε πρότερον οὐκ ἁλοῦσα.
also — Naxos them compelled before not having-been-taken

96 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πελάγεος προσφερόμενοι
when and from the Icarian sea borne-along
προσέμιξαν τῇ Νάξῳ, ἐπὶ ταύτην γὰρ δὴ πρώτην
they-approached — Naxos against this for indeed first
ἐπεῖχον στρατεύεσθαι οἱ Πέρσαι μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον
intended to-march the Persians remembering the earlier(-things)

οἱ Νάξιοι πρὸς τὰ ὄρεα οἴχοντο φεύγοντες οὐδὲ
the Naxians to the mountains went fleeing nor
ὑπέμειναν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι τοὺς
awaited(-them) the but Persians having-enslaved those-whom
κατέλαβον αὐτῶν, ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν.
they-caught of-them burned both the temples and the city
ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀνήγοντο.
these and having-done against the other islands they-put-out
Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐποίευν, οἱ Δήλιοι ἐκλιπόντες καὶ 97
in which and these these did the Delians having-left also
αὐτοὶ τὴν Δῆλον οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐς Τῆνον. τῆς δὲ
themselves — Delos went fleeing to Tenos the and
στρατιῆς καταπλεούσης ὁ Δᾶτις προπλώσας οὐκ ἔα
army sailing-in — Datis having-sailed-ahead not allowed
τὰς νέας πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον προσορμίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέρην
the ships at — Delos to-anchor but across
ἐν τῇ Ῥηναίῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος ἵνα ἦσαν οἱ Δήλιοι,
in — Rhenaea himself and having-learned where were the Delians
πέμπων κήρυκα ἠγόρευέ σφι τάδε. “Ἄνδρες ἱροί, τί
sending a-herald proclaimed to-them this men holy why
φεύγοντες οἴχεσθε, οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα καταγνόντες κατ᾽ ἐμεῦ;
fleeing are-you-gone not suitable(-things) having-judged against me
ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε φρονέω καί μοι
I for also myself to so-much at-least think and to-me
ἐκ βασιλέος ὧδε ἐπέσταλται, ἐν τῇ χώρῃ οἱ δύο
from king thus it-has-been-enjoined in which land the two
θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, ταύτην μηδὲν σίνεσθαι, μήτε αὐτὴν τὴν
gods were-born this nothing to-harm neither itself the
χώρην μήτε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς. νῦν ὦν καὶ ἄπιτε
land nor the inhabitants of-it now then also go-back
ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νῆσον νέμεσθε.” ταῦτα
to the yours of-yourselves and the island inhabit these-things

μὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τοῖσι Δηλίοισι, μετὰ δὲ λιβανωτοῦ
indeed he-proclaimed to-the Delians after and of-frankincense
τριηκόσια τάλαντα κατανήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐθυμίησε.
three-hundred talents having-heaped on the altar he-burned(-it)
98 Δᾶτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἔπλεε ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ
Datis indeed then these having-done sailed with the army
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν πρῶτα, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας
against — Eretria first together bringing also Ionians
καὶ Αἰολέας. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐνθεῦτεν ἐξαναχθέντα Δῆλος
and Aeolians after and him thence having-put-out Delos
ἐκινήθη, ὡς ἔλεγον Δήλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα μέχρι
was-shaken as said Delians both first and last up-to
ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα. καὶ τοῦτο μέν κου τέρας ἀνθρώποισι
me having-been-shaken and this indeed perhaps a-portent to-men
τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν ἔφαινε ὁ θεός. ἐπὶ
of-the about-to be evils showed the god in-the-time
γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος καὶ Ξέρξεω τοῦ Δαρείου
for of-Darius the (son)-of-Hystaspes and of-Xerxes the (son)-of-Darius
καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξεω τοῦ Ξέρξεω, τριῶν τουτέων ἐπεξῆς
and of-Artaxerxes the (son)-of-Xerxes three these in-succession
γενεέων, ἐγένετο πλέω κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι
generations there-came-to-be more evils — for-Greece than in twenty
ἄλλας γενεὰς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας, τὰ μὲν
other generations the before Darius having-been the(-ones) indeed
ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων αὐτῇ γενόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν
from the Persians to-it having-come the(-others) but from themselves
τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμεόντων.
the leading-men about the rule warring

οὕτω οὐδὲν ἦν ἀεικὲς κινηθῆναι Δῆλον τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν
thus nothing was strange to-be-shaken Delos the before being
ἀκίνητον. καὶ ἐν χρησμῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον περὶ αὐτῆς ὧδε.
unshaken and in an-oracle was written about it thus

κινήσω καὶ Δῆλον ἀκίνητόν περ ἐοῦσαν.
I-shall-shake even Delos unshaken though being

δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ταῦτα τὰ οὐνόματα,
mean and in Greek tongue these the names
Δαρεῖος ἐρξείης, Ξέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἀρτοξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος.
Darius doer Xerxes warrior Artaxerxes great warrior
τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας ὧδε ἂν ὀρθῶς κατὰ
these indeed then the kings thus — rightly in
γλῶσσαν τὴν σφετέρην Ἕλληνες καλέοιεν.
tongue the their-own Greeks would-call
Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπήειραν ἐκ τῆς Δήλου, προσῖσχον 99
the and barbarians when they-put-out from — Delos put-in
πρὸς τὰς νήσους, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ στρατιήν τε παρελάμβανον
at the islands thence and army both they-took-along
καὶ ὁμήρους τῶν νησιωτέων παῖδας ἐλάμβανον. ὡς δὲ
and as-hostages of-the islanders children took when and
περιπλέοντες τὰς νήσους προσέσχον καὶ ἐς Κάρυστον, οὐ
sailing-round the islands they-put-in also at Carystus not
γὰρ δή σφι οἱ Καρύστιοι οὔτε ὁμήρους ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε
for indeed to-them the Carystians neither hostages gave nor
ἔφασαν ἐπὶ πόλιας ἀστυγείτονας στρατεύεσθαι, λέγοντες
said against cities neighboring to-march meaning
Ἐρέτριάν τε καὶ Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα τούτους ἐπολιόρκεόν
Eretria both and Athens then these they-besieged

τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σφεων ἔκειρον, ἐς ὃ καὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι
both and the land of-them ravaged up-to which also the Carystians
παρέστησαν ἐς τῶν Περσέων τὴν γνώμην.
came-over to of-the Persians the mind
100 Ἐρετριέες δὲ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Περσικὴν
Eretrians and learning the army the Persian
ἐπὶ σφέας ἐπιπλέουσαν Ἀθηναίων ἐδεήθησαν σφίσι βοηθοὺς
against them sailing of-Athenians asked for-them helpers
γενέσθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπείπαντο τὴν ἐπικουρίην, ἀλλὰ
to-become Athenians and not refused the help but
τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους τοὺς κληρουχέοντας τῶν ἱπποβοτέων
the four-thousand the holding-allotments of-the horse-breeding
Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώρην, τούτους σφι διδοῦσι τιμωρούς. τῶν
Chalcidians the land these to-them they-give as-helpers of-the
δὲ Ἐρετριέων ἦν ἄρα οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς βούλευμα, οἳ μετεπέμποντο
but Eretrians was then no sound plan who sent-for
μὲν Ἀθηναίους, ἐφρόνεον δὲ διφασίας ἰδέας. οἳ μὲν γὰρ
indeed Athenians thought but two-fold ideas they indeed for
αὐτῶν ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς
of-them planned to-leave the city to the heights —
Εὐβοίης, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἴδια κέρδεα προσδεκόμενοι παρὰ
of-Euboea others but of-them private gains expecting from
τοῦ Πέρσεω οἴσεσθαι προδοσίην ἐσκευάζοντο. μαθὼν δὲ
the Persian to-win betrayal were-preparing having-learned and
τούτων ἑκάτερα ὡς εἶχε Αἰσχίνης ὁ Νόθωνος, ἐὼν τῶν
of-these both as stood Aeschines the (son)-of-Nothon being of-the
Ἐρετριέων τὰ πρῶτα, φράζει τοῖσι ἥκουσι Ἀθηναίων πάντα
Eretrians the first tells to-the having-come of-Athenians all
τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, προσεδέετό τε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι
the present to-them affairs begged and to-depart

σφέας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην, ἵνα μὴ προσαπόλωνται. οἱ δὲ
them to the their-own(-land) so-that not they-might-perish-too the but
Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα Αἰσχίνῃ συμβουλεύσαντι πείθονται.
Athenians these to-Aeschines having-advised obey
Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διαβάντες ἐς Ὠρωπὸν ἔσωζον σφέας 101
and these indeed having-crossed to Oropus saved them
αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς
themselves the and Persians sailing put-in the ships of-the
Ἐρετρικῆς χώρης κατὰ Τέμενος καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλεα,
Eretrian land at Temenos and Choereae and Aegilia
κατασχόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία αὐτίκα ἵππους τε
having-put-in and these the places at-once horses both
ἐξεβάλλοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς προσοισόμενοι τοῖσι
they-unloaded and prepared as about-to-attack the
ἐχθροῖσι. οἱ δὲ Ἐρετριέες ἐπεξελθεῖν μὲν καὶ μαχέσασθαι
enemies the but Eretrians to-go-out indeed and to-fight
οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλήν, εἴ κως δὲ διαφυλάξαιεν τὰ τείχεα,
not made plan if somehow but they-might-guard the walls
τούτου σφι πέρι ἔμελε, ἐπείτε ἐνίκα μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν
of-this for-them about was-a-concern since it-prevailed not to-leave
τὴν πόλιν. προσβολῆς δὲ γινομένης καρτερῆς πρὸς τὸ
the city an-assault and taking-place strong against the
τεῖχος ἔπιπτον ἐπὶ ἓξ ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων·
wall fell for six days many indeed of-both
τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ Εὔφορβός τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχου καὶ Φίλαγρος
on-the and seventh Euphorbus both the (son)-of-Alcimachus and Philagrus
ὁ Κυνέου ἄνδρες τῶν ἀστῶν δόκιμοι προδιδοῦσι τοῖσι
the (son)-of-Cyneas men of-the townsmen esteemed betray(-the-city) to-the
Πέρσῃσι. οἳ δὲ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο μὲν
Persians they and having-entered into the city this indeed
τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἀποτινύμενοι τῶν ἐν
the temples having-plundered burned avenging the in

Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
Sardis burned temples this and the people
ἠνδραποδίσαντο κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολάς.
enslaved according-to the of-Darius commands

XI · THE ATHENIANS AT MARATHON

Hippias guides the Persians to Marathon. The Athenians march out under ten generals, Miltiades among them, whose father Cimon won three Olympic chariot races and was murdered by the Pisistratids. Pheidippides runs to Sparta and meets Pan on the way; the Spartans will come after the full moon. Hippias dreams of lying with his mother and loses a tooth in the sand. The Plataeans join the Athenians, and Miltiades persuades the polemarch Callimachus to vote for battle, then waits for his own day of command.

102 Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας
having-subdued and — Eretria and having-waited a-few
ἡμέρας ἔπλεον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, κατέργοντές τε
days they-sailed to land the Attic pressing-hard both
πολλὸν καὶ δοκέοντες ταὐτὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν
much and thinking the-same the Athenians to-do-to
τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριέας ἐποίησαν. καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ
what also the Eretrians they-had-done(-to) and was for —
Μαραθὼν ἐπιτηδεότατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι
Marathon most-suitable place — of-Attica to-ride-over
καὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἐρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο
and nearest — of-Eretria to this them guided
Ἱππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου.
Hippias the (son)-of-Pisistratus

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθεον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς 103
Athenians and when they-learned these came-to-help also themselves to
τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἦγον δὲ σφέας στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν
— Marathon led and them generals ten of-whom
ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης· τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Κίμωνα τὸν
the tenth was Miltiades of-whom the father Cimon the
Στησαγόρεω κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Πεισίστρατον
(son)-of-Stesagoras it-befell to-flee from Athens Pisistratus
τὸν Ἱπποκράτεος. καὶ αὐτῷ φεύγοντι Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελέσθαι
the (son)-of-Hippocrates and to-him in-exile an-Olympic-victory to-win
τεθρίππῳ συνέβη, καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νίκην ἀνελόμενόν
with-four-horse-chariot it-happened and this indeed the victory having-won
μιν τὠυτὸ ἐξενείκασθαι τῷ ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδελφεῷ Μιλτιάδῃ·
him the-same to-have-carried-off as-the by-the-same-mother brother Miltiades
μετὰ δὲ τῇ ὑστέρῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι νικῶν
after and in-the next Olympiad with-the same mares winning
παραδιδοῖ Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν
he-hands-over(-the-victory) to-Pisistratus to-be-proclaimed and the
νίκην παρεὶς τούτῳ κατῆλθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ ὑπόσπονδος.
victory having-yielded to-him he-returned to the his-own under-truce
καί μιν ἀνελόμενον τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι ἄλλην Ὀλυμπιάδα
and him having-won with-the same mares another Olympiad
κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων, οὐκέτι
it-befell to-die by the of-Pisistratus sons no-longer
περιεόντος αὐτοῦ Πεισιστράτου· κτείνουσι δὲ οὗτοί μιν
surviving himself Pisistratus they-kill and these him
κατὰ τὸ πρυτανήιον νυκτὸς ὑπείσαντες ἄνδρας. τέθαπται
by the town-hall by-night having-set-in-ambush men is-buried
δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, πέρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης
and Cimon before the town beyond the through Hollow
καλεομένης ὁδοῦ· καταντίον δ' αὐτοῦ αἱ ἵπποι τεθάφαται
called road opposite and him the mares are-buried

αὗται αἱ τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνελόμεναι. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ
these the three Olympiads having-won did and also
ἄλλαι ἵπποι ἤδη τὠυτὸ τοῦτο Εὐαγόρεω Λάκωνος, πλέω
other mares already the-same this of-Euagoras the-Laconian more
δὲ τουτέων οὐδαμαί. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρεσβύτερος τῶν παίδων
but than-these none the indeed then elder of-the sons
τῷ Κίμωνι Στησαγόρης ἦν τηνικαῦτα παρὰ τῷ πάτρῳ
— to-Cimon Stesagoras was at-that-time with the uncle
Μιλτιάδῃ τρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ Χερσονήσῳ, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος
Miltiades being-reared in — Chersonese the but younger
παρ᾽ αὐτῷ Κίμωνι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι, οὔνομα ἔχων ἀπὸ τοῦ
with himself Cimon in Athens name having from the
οἰκιστέω τῆς Χερσονήσου Μιλτιάδεω Μιλτιάδης.
founder — of-Chersonese Miltiades Miltiades
104 Οὗτος δὴ ὢν τότε ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἥκων ἐκ τῆς
this indeed then then — Miltiades having-come from —
Χερσονήσου καὶ ἐκπεφευγὼς διπλόον θάνατον ἐστρατήγεε
Chersonese and having-escaped twofold death was-general
Ἀθηναίων. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες αὐτὸν οἱ
of-Athenians at-once indeed for the Phoenicians him who
ἐπιδιώξαντες μέχρι Ἴμβρου περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῦντο λαβεῖν
having-pursued(-him) as-far-as Imbros of much made to-take
τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα· ἅμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε
both and to-bring-up to king at-once and having-escaped both
τούτους καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ δοκέοντά τε εἶναι
these and having-arrived at the his-own(-land) thinking both to-be
ἐν σωτηρίῃ ἤδη, τὸ ἐνθεῦτέν μιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑποδεξάμενοι
in safety already the thence him the enemies having-waited-for(-him)
ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς
before a-court him having-brought prosecuted for-tyranny the

ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους στρατηγὸς
in Chersonese having-been-acquitted and also these general
οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.
thus of-Athenians was-appointed having-been-chosen by the people
Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐόντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ οἱ στρατηγοὶ 105
and first indeed being still in the town the generals
ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην Ἀθηναῖον
send-off to Sparta a-herald Pheidippides an-Athenian
μὲν ἄνδρα, ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμην τε καὶ τοῦτο
indeed man otherwise and a-day-runner both and this
μελετῶντα· τῷ δή, ὡς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ
practicing to-whom indeed as himself both said Pheidippides and
Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε, περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ
to-Athenians reported about the Parthenian mountain the above
Τεγέης ὁ Πὰν περιπίπτει· βώσαντα δὲ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ
Tegea — Pan falls-in-with(-him) having-shouted and the name —
Φειδιππίδεω τὸν Πᾶνα Ἀθηναίοισι κελεῦσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι,
of-Pheidippides — Pan to-Athenians to-have-bidden to-announce
δι' ὅ τι ἑωυτοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμελείην ποιεῦνται
on-account-of what ever of-himself no care they-make
ἐόντος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ πολλαχῇ γενομένου σφι
being well-disposed to-Athenians and many-times having-been to-them
ἤδη χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐσομένου. καὶ
already useful in-the-future and still also going-to-be and
ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφι εὖ ἤδη τῶν
these indeed Athenians having-been-settled for-them well already the
πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα ἱδρύσαντο ὑπὸ
affairs believing to-be true(-things) set-up under
τῇ ἀκροπόλι Πανὸς ἱρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς
the acropolis of-Pan a-temple and him from this the
ἀγγελίης θυσίῃσι ἐπετείοισι καὶ λαμπάδι ἱλάσκονται.
message with-sacrifices yearly and with-a-torch(-race) propitiate

106 Τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος,
then and having-been-sent by the generals — Pheidippides this
ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραῖος
when indeed to-him he-said also — Pan to-have-appeared on-the-second-day
ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ
from the of-Athenians town was in Sparta having-come and before
τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε "Ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμέων
the magistrates said O Lacedaemonians Athenians of-you
δέονται σφίσι βοηθῆσαι καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην
ask them to-help and not to-look-on-at a-city most-ancient
ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δουλοσύνῃ περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς
among the Greeks into-slavery fallen at-the-hands-of
ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἐρέτριά τε ἠνδραπόδισται
men barbarian for now Eretria both has-been-enslaved
καὶ πόλι λογίμῳ ἡ Ἑλλὰς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρη." ὁ μὲν
and by-a-city notable — Greece has-become weaker he indeed
δή σφι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε, τοῖσι δὲ ἔαδε μὲν
then to-them the enjoined(-things) reported to-them but it-pleased indeed
βοηθέειν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δέ σφι ἦν τὸ παραυτίκα
to-help Athenians impossible but for-them it-was the immediately
ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον· ἦν γὰρ
to-do these not wishing to-break the law it-was for
ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, εἰνάτῃ δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι
of-the-beginning the month the-ninth on-the-ninth and not they-would-go-out
ἔφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἐόντος τοῦ κύκλου.
they-said — not full being the circle

107 Οὗτοι μέν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον. τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι
these indeed then the full-moon awaited for-the and barbarians
κατηγέετο Ἱππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τῆς
guided Hippias the (son)-of-Pisistratus to — Marathon in-the
παροιχομένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἰδὼν τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἱππίης
past night a-vision having-seen such seemed — Hippias

τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνευνηθῆναι. συνεβάλετο ὧν ἐκ τοῦ
with-the mother the his-own to-lie he-inferred then from the
ὀνείρου κατελθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν
dream having-returned to — Athens and having-recovered the
ἀρχὴν τελευτήσειν ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γηραιός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς
rule to-die in the his-own(-land) old from indeed then the
ὄψιος συνεβάλετο ταῦτα, τότε δὲ κατηγεόμενος τοῦτο μὲν
vision he-inferred these then but guiding this indeed
τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἐρετρίης ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν
the slaves the from Eretria he-put-ashore on the island the
Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγλείην, τοῦτο δὲ καταγομένας
of-Styreans called and Aegilia this and putting-in
ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὅρμιζε οὗτος, ἐκβάντας τε
at — Marathon the ships moored he having-disembarked and
ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. καί οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι
onto land the barbarians he-drew-up and to-him these managing
ἐπῆλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὡς ἐώθεε·
came-on to-sneeze both and to-cough more-violently than as he-was-wont
οἷα δέ οἱ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐόντι τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλεῦνες
as and to-him older being of-the teeth the most
ἐσείοντο· τούτων ὧν ἕνα τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίης
were-loose of-these then one of-the teeth he-throws-out by force
βήξας· ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ ἐποιέετο
having-coughed having-fallen and into the sand it he-made
σπουδὴν πολλὴν ἐξευρεῖν. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετό οἱ ὁ ὀδών,
effort much to-find when but not appeared to-him the tooth
ἀναστενάξας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας "Ἡ γῆ ἥδε οὐκ
having-groaned he-said to the bystanders the land this not
ἡμετέρη ἐστί, οὐδέ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι·
ours is nor it we-shall-be-able subject to-make
ὁκόσον δέ τι μοι μέρος μετῆν, ὁ ὀδὼν μετέχει."
as-much and any to-me share belonged the tooth holds

108 Ἱππίης μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ τὴν ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι.
Hippias indeed then in-this-way the vision inferred to-have-been-fulfilled
Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένεϊ Ἡρακλέος ἐπῆλθον
to-Athenians and drawn-up in precinct of-Heracles came
βοηθέοντες Πλαταιέες πανδημεί. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσαν
helping Plataeans in-full-force also for also had-given
σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιέες, καὶ πόνους
them themselves to-the Athenians the Plataeans and toils
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς ἤδη ἀναραιρέατο· ἔδοσαν
for them the Athenians many already had-undertaken they-gave
δὲ ὧδε. πιεζεύμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐδίδοσαν
and thus being-pressed by Thebans the Plataeans gave
πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεομένεΐ τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδεω καὶ
first happening-by to-Cleomenes both the (son)-of-Anaxandrides and
Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας αὐτούς. οἳ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλεγόν
Lacedaemonians them themselves they and not accepting said
σφι τάδε. "Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἑκαστέρω τε οἰκέομεν, καὶ ὑμῖν
to-them this we indeed farther-off both dwell and to-you
τοιήδε τις γίνοιτ' ἂν ἐπικουρίη ψυχρή· φθαίητε γὰρ
such some would-be — help cold you-would-be-beforehand for
ἂν πολλάκις ἐξανδραποδισθέντες ἢ τινα πυθέσθαι ἡμέων.
— often enslaved than any(-one) to-learn of-us
συμβουλεύομεν δὲ ὑμῖν δοῦναι ὑμέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι,
we-advise and you to-give you themselves to-Athenians
πλησιοχώροισι τε ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρέειν ἐοῦσι οὐ κακοῖσι."
neighboring both men and to-help being not bad
ταῦτα συνεβούλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ κατὰ τὴν εὐνοίην
these advised the Lacedaemonians not according-to the goodwill
οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων ὡς βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν
so of-the Plataeans as wishing the Athenians to-have
πόνους συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέν νυν
toils joined-against Boeotians Lacedaemonians indeed then

Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, οἳ δὲ οὐκ ἠπίστησαν, ἀλλ᾽
to-Plataeans these advised they and not disbelieved but
Ἀθηναίων ἱρὰ ποιεύντων τοῖσι δυώδεκα θεοῖσι ἱκέται
Athenians sacrifices making to-the twelve gods as-suppliants
ἵζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς. Θηβαῖοι
sitting at the altar gave them themselves Thebans
δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας,
and having-learned these marched against the Plataeans
Ἀθηναῖοι δέ σφι ἐβοήθεον. μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην
Athenians and them helped being-about and to-join battle
Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιεῖδον, παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες
Corinthians not allowed(-it) happening-by and also having-reconciled(-them)
ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφοτέρων οὗρισαν τὴν χώρην ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε,
entrusting(-it-to-them) both bounded the land on these(-terms)
ἐᾶν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς
to-let Thebans of-Boeotians those not wishing among Boeotians
τελέειν. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο,
to-be-reckoned Corinthians indeed then these having-decided departed
Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἀπιοῦσι ἐπεθήκαντο Βοιωτοί, ἐπιθέμενοι
Athenians but going-away attacked Boeotians having-attacked
δὲ ἐσσώθησαν τῇ μάχῃ. ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
but they-were-worsted in-the battle having-crossed and the Athenians
τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὔρους,
those-which the Corinthians set for-Plataeans to-be boundaries
τούτους ὑπερβάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποιήσαντο οὖρον
these having-crossed the Asopus itself made boundary
Θηβαίοισι πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιάς. ἔδοσαν μὲν
for-Thebans toward Plataeans to-be and Hysiae gave indeed
δὴ οἱ Πλαταιέες σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόπῳ τῷ
then the Plataeans them themselves to-Athenians in-manner the
εἰρημένῳ, ἦκον δὲ τότε ἐς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες.
said came and then to Marathon helping

109 Τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γνῶμαι,
to-the and of-Athenians generals were divided the opinions
τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐώντων συμβαλεῖν (ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι
those indeed not allowing to-engage few for to-be
στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων συμβάλλειν) τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδεω
with-army the of-Medes to-engage those but also Miltiades
κελευόντων. ὡς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐνίκα ἡ χείρων
urging when and divided both they-were and prevailed the worse
τῶν γνωμέων, ἐνθαῦτα, ἦν γὰρ ἑνδέκατος ψηφιδοφόρος
of-the opinions then was for eleventh voter
ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχέειν (τὸ
the by-the bean having-been-allotted of-Athenians to-be-polemarch in-the
παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεῦντο
old(-time) for Athenians of-equal-vote the polemarch made
τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι), ἦν δὲ τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος
with-the generals was and then polemarch Callimachus
Ἀφιδναῖος· πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε.
of-Aphidnae to him having-come Miltiades said this
“ Ἐν σοὶ νῦν Καλλίμαχε ἐστὶ ἢ καταδουλῶσαι Ἀθήνας ἢ
with you now Callimachus it-is either to-enslave Athens or
ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα
free having-made(-it) memorials to-leave for the all
ἀνθρώπων βίον οἷα οὐδὲ Ἁρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων
of-men life such-as not-even Harmodius both and Aristogeiton
λείπουσι. νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς
leave now for indeed from which they-came-to-be Athenians into
κίνδυνον ἥκουσι μέγιστον, καὶ ἢν μέν γε ὑποκύψωσι
danger they-have-come greatest and if indeed at-least they-bow
τοῖσι Μήδοισι, δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι
to-the Medes it-is-decided what they-will-suffer handed-over
Ἱππίῃ, ἢν δὲ περιγένηται αὕτη ἡ πόλις, οἵη τε ἐστὶ πρώτη
to-Hippias if but survives this the city able — it-is first

τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων γενέσθαι. κῶς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἷά
of-the Greek cities to-become how then indeed these possible
τε ἐστὶ γενέσθαι, καὶ κῶς ἐς σέ τοι τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν
— it-is to-happen and how to you you-know of-these comes of-the
πρηγμάτων τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσων. ἡμέων
affairs the authority to-have now I-come to-tell(-you) of-us
τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐόντων δέκα δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνῶμαι,
the generals being ten divided are the opinions
τῶν μὲν κελευόντων τῶν δὲ οὔ συμβάλλειν. ἢν μέν νυν
some indeed urging others but not to-engage if indeed then
μὴ συμβάλωμεν, ἔλπομαι τινὰ στάσιν μεγάλην διασείσειν
not we-engage I-expect some faction great to-shake
ἐμπεσοῦσαν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα ὥστε μηδίσαι·
having-fallen-upon(-them) the of-Athenians minds so-as to-medize
ἢν δὲ συμβάλωμεν πρίν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων
if but we-engage before anything also unsound of-Athenians
μετεξετέροισι ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων οἷοί τε
to-some to-arise gods the equal(-things) dealing able —
εἰμὲν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σὲ νῦν
we-are to-prevail in-the engagement these then all on you now
τείνει καὶ ἐκ σέο ἤρτηται. ἢν γὰρ σὺ γνώμῃ τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ,
hang and from you depend if for you to-opinion the my add(-yourself)
ἔστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη καὶ πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ
there-is for-you fatherland both free and city first of-the in —
Ἑλλάδι· ἢν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἕλῃ,
Greece if but the of-the hastening-away-from the engagement you-choose
ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία."
there-will-be for-you of-the(-goods) I listed goods the opposites
Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾶται τὸν Καλλίμαχον· 110
these saying — Miltiades wins-over — Callimachus
προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου τῆς γνώμης ἐκεκύρωτο
having-been-added and of-the polemarch the vote it-had-been-ratified

συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε
to-engage after and the generals of-whom the opinion tended
συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο πρυτανηίη τῆς
to-engage as of-each of-them came presidency of-the
ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδῃ παρεδίδοσαν· ὃ δὲ δεκόμενος οὔτι κω
day to-Miltiades handed(-it)-over he and accepting not-at-all yet
συμβολὴν ἐποιέετο, πρίν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανηίη ἐγένετο.
an-engagement made before at-least indeed his-own presidency came

XII · THE BATTLE OF MARATHON

The Athenians form a line as long as the Persians', weak in the center and strong on the wings, and charge at a run. The Persian center breaks through, but both Greek wings win, close on the center, and pursue the fleeing army to the sea, taking seven ships. Callimachus and Cynegirus die, and Epizelus goes blind unwounded. The Persians round Sunium to reach the city first, but the Athenians get there before them; the Alcmaeonidae are blamed for holding up a shield to signal the Persians. Six thousand four hundred Persians and 192 Athenians fall.

111 Ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε
when and to him it-came-round then indeed were-drawn-up thus
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμβαλέοντες· τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος
the Athenians as about-to-engage of-the indeed right wing
ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε
led the polemarch Callimachus the for law then
εἶχε οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας
held thus for-the Athenians the polemarch to-have wing
τὸ δεξιόν· ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου ἐξεδέκοντο ὡς ἀριθμέοντο
the right leading and him followed as were-numbered
αἱ φυλαὶ ἐχόμεναι ἀλληλέων, τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο
the tribes holding-to each-other last and were-drawn-up

ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας Πλαταιέες. ἀπὸ ταύτης σφι
holding the left wing Plataeans from this for-them
τῆς μάχης, Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριας
the battle Athenians sacrifices offering at the festivals
τὰς ἐν τῇσι πεντετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ
the in the five-yearly(-feasts) happening prays the herald the
Ἀθηναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ
Athenian together both for-Athenians saying to-come the good(-things)
καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι. τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν
and for-Plataeans then and being-drawn-up the Athenians at
τῷ Μαραθῶνι ἐγίνετο τοιόνδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον
— Marathon came-about such something the army
ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον
being-made-equal to-the Median army the indeed of-it middle
ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τάξιας ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον
was in ranks few and there was weakest
τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἑκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθεϊ.
the army the and wing each was-strong in-numbers
Ὡς δέ σφι διετέτακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλά, 112
when and to-them it-had-been-drawn-up and the sacrifices were favorable
ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἀπείθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δρόμῳ ἴεντο ἐς τοὺς
then when they-were-let-go the Athenians at-a-run charged against the
βαρβάρους. ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον
barbarians were and stades not fewer the space-between
αὐτῶν ἢ ὀκτώ. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὁρέοντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας
of-them than eight the and Persians seeing at-a-run coming-on
παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι, μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι
prepared as to-receive(-them) madness both on-the Athenians
ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὁρέοντες αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ
they-imputed and utterly destructive seeing them few and
τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους, οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφι
these at-a-run hastening neither cavalry being-at-hand to-them

οὔτε τοξευμάτων. ταῦτα μέν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατείκαζον·
nor archery these indeed then the barbarians conjectured
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείτε ἀθρόοι προσέμιξαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι,
Athenians but when in-a-body they-engaged with-the barbarians
ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων
fought worthily of-account first indeed for of-Greeks all
τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο,
of-whom we know at-a-run against enemies used(-it)
πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὁρέοντες καὶ
first and endured dress both Median seeing and
τοὺς ἄνδρας ταύτην ἐσθημένους· τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι
the men in-this dressed for-a-while and was for-the
Ἕλλησι καὶ τὸ οὔνομα τὸ Μήδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι.
Greeks even the name the of-Medes a-terror to-hear
113 Μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγίνετο πολλός,
fighting and at — Marathon time was long
καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι,
and the indeed middle of-the army conquered the barbarians
τῇ Πέρσαι τε αὐτοὶ καὶ Σάκαι ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο
where Persians both themselves and Sacae had-been-drawn-up at this
μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον
indeed then conquered the barbarians and having-broken-through pursued
ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἑκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοί
into the inland the and wing each conquered Athenians
τε καὶ Πλαταιέες· νικῶντες δὲ τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον
both and Plataeans conquering and the indeed routed
τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων, τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι
of-the barbarians to-flee they-let to-those but the middle having-broken
αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρεα ἀμφότερα ἐμάχοντο, καὶ
of-them having-brought-together the wings both they-fought and
ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι εἵποντο
conquered Athenians fleeing and the Persians they-followed

κόπτοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ
cutting(-them)-down up-to which to the sea having-come fire
τε αἴτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.
both they-called-for and laid-hold-of the ships
Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος 114
and this indeed in this the struggle the polemarch
διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε τῶν
is-killed a-man having-been brave from and died of-the
στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεω· τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέγειρος
generals Stesilaus the (son)-of-Thrasylaus this and Cynegirus
ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἐνθαῦτα ἐπιλαμβανόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων
the (son)-of-Euphorion there laying-hold-of the stern-ornaments
νεός, τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεὶς πελέκεϊ πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ
of-a-ship the hand having-been-cut-off with-an-axe falls this and
ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίων πολλοί τε καὶ ὀνομαστοί.
others of-Athenians many both and renowned
Ἑπτὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε 115
seven indeed then of-the ships they-mastered in-manner such
Ἀθηναῖοι· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι,
Athenians with-the but remaining the barbarians having-backed-water
καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐν τῇ ἔλιπον τὰ
and having-taken-up from the island on which they-had-left the
ἐξ Ἐρετρίης ἀνδράποδα, περιέπλεον Σούνιον βουλόμενοι
from Eretria slaves sailed-round Sunium wishing
φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. αἰτίην
to-get-ahead-of the Athenians having-arrived at the town blame
δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμεωνιδέων μηχανῆς
and arose among Athenians from of-Alcmaeonids design
αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τούτους γὰρ συνθεμένους τοῖσι
them these to-have-been-planned these for having-agreed with-the
Πέρσῃσι ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα ἐοῦσι ἤδη ἐν τῇσι νηυσί.
Persians to-have-held-up a-shield to-them-being already in the ships

116 Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλεον Σούνιον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς
these indeed then sailed-round Sunium Athenians but as
ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθεον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ ἔφθησάν
of-feet they-had fastest came-to-help to the town and got-there-first
τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἥκειν, καὶ
both having-arrived before than the barbarians to-come and
ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν
encamped having-come from the-Heracleum the at
Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργεϊ. οἱ
Marathon in another Heracleum the in Cynosarges the
δὲ βάρβαροι τῇσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου,
and barbarians with-the ships having-lain-off Phalerum
τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὲρ τούτου
this for was the-port then of-the Athenians above this
ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.
having-held-up the ships sailed-away back to — Asia
117 Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν βαρβάρων
in this the at Marathon battle died of-the barbarians
κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας, Ἀθηναίων δὲ
about six-thousand and four-hundred men of-Athenians and
ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο. ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμφοτέρων
a-hundred and ninety and two fell indeed of-both
τοσοῦτοι. συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτόθι θῶμα γενέσθαι τοιόνδε,
so-many happened and there a-marvel to-come-about such
Ἀθηναῖον ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κουφαγόρεω ἐν τῇ συστάσι
an-Athenian man Epizelus the (son)-of-Cuphagoras in the melee
μαχόμενόν τε καὶ ἄνδρα γινόμενον ἀγαθὸν τῶν ὀμμάτων
fighting both and man becoming brave of-the eyes
στερηθῆναι οὔτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε
to-be-deprived neither struck in-no-part of-the body nor
βληθέντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζόης διατελέειν ἀπὸ τούτου
hit and the rest of-the life to-continue from this

τοῦ χρόνου ἐόντα τυφλόν. λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ πάθεος
the time being blind to-say and him about the affliction
ἤκουσα τοιόνδε τινὰ λόγον, ἄνδρα οἱ δοκέειν ὁπλίτην
I-heard such some story a-man to-him to-seem hoplite
ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν, τοῦ τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν
to-stand-against great whose the beard the shield all
σκιάζειν· τὸ δὲ φάσμα τοῦτο ἑωυτὸν μὲν παρεξελθεῖν,
overshadowed the and phantom this himself indeed to-pass-by
τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτεῖναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ
the but his-own comrade-beside to-kill these indeed then
Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν.
Epizelus I-learned to-say

XIII · AFTER MARATHON

Datis leaves a gilded Apollo from Delium at Delos, and the Thebans recover it twenty years later. Darius settles the Eretrian captives at Ardericca. Two thousand Spartans arrive late, view the Persian dead, and praise the Athenians. Herodotus rejects the charge that the Alcmaeonidae raised the shield, since they hated tyrants, though someone did raise it.

Δᾶτις δὲ πορευόμενος ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἐπείτε 118
Datis and journeying with the army to — Asia when
ἐγένετο ἐν Μυκόνῳ, εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ. καὶ ἥτις μὲν
he-was in Myconos saw a-vision in the sleep and what indeed
ἦν ἡ ὄψις, οὐ λέγεται· ὁ δέ, ὡς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐπέλαμψε,
was the vision not is-told he but as day soonest shone
ζήτησιν ἐποιέετο τῶν νεῶν, εὑρὼν δὲ ἐν νηὶ Φοινίσσῃ
a-search made of-the ships having-found and in a-ship Phoenician
ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχρυσωμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν
an-image of-Apollo gilded he-inquired whence

σεσυλημένον εἴη, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐξ οὗ ἦν ἱροῦ, ἔπλεε
plundered it-was having-learned and from which it-was temple he-sailed
τῇ ἑωυτοῦ νηὶ ἐς Δῆλον· καὶ ἀπίκατο γὰρ τηνικαῦτα οἱ
in-the his-own ship to Delos and had-come for at-that-time the
Δήλιοι ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν νῆσον, κατατίθεταί τε ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ
Delians back to the island he-deposits both in the temple the
ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐντέλλεται τοῖσι Δηλίοισι ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ ἄγαλμα
image and enjoins the Delians to-carry-back the image
ἐς Δήλιον τὸ Θηβαίων· τὸ δ' ἔστι ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ Χαλκίδος
to Delium the of-Thebans it and is on sea of-Chalcis
καταντίον. Δᾶτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἀπέπλεε, τὸν δὲ
opposite Datis indeed then these having-enjoined sailed-away the but
ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον Δήλιοι οὐκ ἀπήγαγον, ἀλλά μιν δι' ἐτέων
statue this Delians not carried-back but it after years
εἴκοσι Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ Δήλιον.
twenty Thebans themselves from an-oracle brought to Delium
119 Τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀνδραποδισμένους Δᾶτίς τε καὶ
the and of-the Eretrians enslaved Datis both and
Ἀρταφρένης, ὡς προσέσχον πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην πλέοντες,
Artaphrenes when they-put-in at — Asia sailing
ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ Δαρεῖος, πρὶν μὲν
brought-up to Susa king and Darius before indeed
αἰχμαλώτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἐρετριέας, ἐνεῖχέ σφι δεινὸν
captives to-become the Eretrians held-against them terrible
χόλον, οἷα ἀρξάντων ἀδικίης προτέρων τῶν Ἐρετριέων·
wrath as having-begun wrong first the Eretrians
ἐπείτε δὲ εἶδε σφέας ἀπαχθέντας παρ' ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἑωυτῷ
when but he-saw them led-away to himself and to-himself
ὑποχειρίους ἐόντας, ἐποίησε κακὸν ἄλλο οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σφέας
subject being did evil other none but them
τῆς Κισσίης χώρης κατοίκισε ἐν σταθμῷ ἑωυτοῦ τῷ οὔνομα
of-the Cissian land he-settled at station his-own whose name

ἐστὶ Ἀρδέρικκα, ἀπὸ μὲν Σούσων δέκα καὶ διηκοσίους
is Ardericca from indeed Susa ten and two-hundred
σταδίους ἀπέχοντι, τεσσεράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ
stades being-distant forty and from the well which
παρέχεται τριφασίας ἰδέας· καὶ γὰρ ἄσφαλτον καὶ ἅλας καὶ
yields three-fold forms also for asphalt and salt and
ἔλαιον ἀρύσσονται ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἀντλέεται μὲν
oil they-draw from it in-manner such it-is-drawn indeed
κηλωνηίῳ, ἀντὶ δὲ γαυλοῦ ἥμισυ ἀσκοῦ οἱ προσδέδεται·
with-a-swing-beam instead-of and a-bucket half of-a-skin to-it is-tied
ὑποτύψας δὲ τούτῳ ἀντλέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐγχέει ἐς δεξαμενήν·
having-dipped and with-this one-draws and then pours into a-cistern
ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς ἄλλο διαχεόμενον τρέπεται τριφασίας
from and this into another poured-through it-is-turned three-fold
ὁδούς. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄσφαλτος καὶ οἱ ἅλες πήγνυνται
ways and the indeed asphalt and the salt solidify
παραυτίκα· τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι τοῦτο
immediately the and oil the Persians call this
ῥαδινάκην, ἔστι δὲ μέλαν καὶ ὀδμὴν παρεχόμενον βαρέαν.
rhadinace it-is and black and smell yielding heavy
ἐνθαῦτα τοὺς Ἐρετριέας κατοίκισε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, οἳ
there the Eretrians settled king Darius who
καὶ μέχρι ἐμέο εἶχον τὴν χώρην ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν
even up-to me held the land this keeping the
ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἐρετριέας ἔσχε οὕτω.
ancient tongue the(-things) indeed then about Eretrians stood thus
Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἦκον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχίλιοι μετὰ τὴν 120
of-Lacedaemonians and came to — Athens two-thousand after the
πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν, οὕτω
full-moon having haste much to-overtake(-it) so
ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.
that on-the-third-day from Sparta they-were in — Attica

ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς ἱμείροντο ὅμως
later and having-come than-the engagement they-longed nevertheless
θεήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα
to-view the Medes having-come and to — Marathon
ἐθεήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον
they-viewed(-them) after and praising Athenians and the deed
αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.
of-them departed back

121 Θῶμα δέ μοι καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον Ἀλκμεωνίδας
a-wonder and to-me and not I-accept the story Alcmaeonids
ἄν κοτε ἀναδέξαι Πέρσῃσι ἐκ συνθήματος ἀσπίδα,
— ever to-have-held-up to-Persians by agreement a-shield
βουλομένους ὑπὸ βαρβάροισί τε εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὑπὸ
wishing under barbarians both to-be Athenians and under
Ἱππίῃ· οἵτινες μᾶλλον ἢ ὁμοίως Καλλίῃ τῷ Φαινίππου,
Hippias who more than equally with-Callias the (son)-of-Phaenippus
Ἱππονίκου δὲ πατρί, φαίνονται μισοτύραννοι ἐόντες.
of-Hipponicus and father appear haters-of-tyrants being
Καλλίης τε γὰρ μοῦνος Ἀθηναίων ἁπάντων ἐτόλμα, ὅκως
Callias both for alone of-Athenians all dared whenever
Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, τὰ χρήματα
Pisistratus was-driven-out from — Athens the property
αὐτοῦ κηρυσσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου ὠνέεσθαι, καὶ τἆλλα
his being-auctioned by the public(-crier) to-buy and the-other
τὰ ἔχθιστα ἐς αὐτὸν πάντα ἐμηχανᾶτο.
the most-hostile(-things) against him all devised

123 Καὶ οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ὁμοίως ἢ οὐδὲν ἧσσον τούτου
and the Alcmaeonids equally or nothing less than-this(-man)
ἦσαν μισοτύραννοι. θῶμα ὦν μοι καὶ οὐ προσίεμαι τὴν
were haters-of-tyrants a-wonder then to-me and not I-admit the
διαβολὴν τούτους γε ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα, οἵτινες ἔφευγόν
slander these at-least to-have-held-up a-shield who fled

τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς τυράννους, ἐκ μηχανῆς τε τῆς
both the whole time the tyrants from design both the
τούτων ἐξέλιπον Πεισιστρατίδαι τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ οὕτω
of-these left Pisistratidae the tyranny and thus
τὰς Ἀθήνας οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλευθερώσαντες πολλῷ μᾶλλον
— Athens these were the having-freed(-it) by-much more
ἤ περ Ἁρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω.
than indeed Harmodius both and Aristogeiton as I judge
οἳ μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγρίωσαν τοὺς ὑπολοίπους Πεισιστρατιδέων
they indeed for exasperated the remaining of-Pisistratidae
Ἵππαρχον ἀποκτείναντες, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἔπαυσαν
Hipparchus having-killed nor at-all more stopped
τοὺς λοιποὺς τυραννεύοντας· Ἀλκμεωνίδαι δὲ ἐμφανέως
the rest being-tyrants Alcmaeonids but manifestly
ἠλευθέρωσαν, εἰ δὴ οὗτοί γε ἀληθέως ἦσαν οἱ
freed(-it) if indeed these at-least truly were the(-ones)
τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπείσαντες προσημαίνειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι
the Pythia having-persuaded to-signify to-Lacedaemonians
ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται.
to-free — Athens as by-me before has-been-shown
Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ 124
but for perhaps something blaming of-Athenians the people
προεδίδοσαν τὴν πατρίδα. οὐ μὲν ὦν ἦσαν σφέων ἄλλοι
they-were-betraying the fatherland not indeed then were than-them others
δοκιμώτεροι ἔν γε Ἀθηναίοισι ἄνδρες οὐδ' οἳ μᾶλλον
more-esteemed among at-least Athenians men nor who more
ἐτετιμέατο. οὕτω οὐδὲ λόγος αἱρέει ἀναδεχθῆναι ἔκ γε
had-been-honored thus not-even reason allows to-have-been-held-up from at-least
ἂν τούτων ἀσπίδα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ. ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ
— these a-shield on such account was-held-up indeed for

ἀσπίς, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν· ἐγένετο γάρ· ὃς
a-shield and this not is-possible otherwise to-say it-happened for who
μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας, οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρω εἰπεῖν τούτων.
however was the having-held-up(-it) not I-can further say than-these

XIV · THE WEALTH OF THE ALCMAEONIDS

Alcmaeon, allowed by Croesus to take as much gold as he could carry, stuffs his clothes, boots, and mouth. Cleisthenes of Sicyon holds a year-long trial of suitors for his daughter Agariste. Hippocleides of Athens leads until, drunk, he dances on his head at the wedding feast and is told he has danced his marriage away, to which he answers that he does not care. Cleisthenes betroths her to Megacles; their descendants include Cleisthenes the Athenian lawgiver and Pericles.

125 Οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν
the and Alcmaeonids were indeed even the(-things) from-the-beginning
λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἀθήνῃσι, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος καὶ αὖτις
illustrious in — Athens from and Alcmaeon and again
Μεγακλέος ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροί. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ
Megacles they-became even very illustrious this indeed for
Ἀλκμέων ὁ Μεγακλέος τοῖσι ἐκ Σαρδίων Λυδοῖσι παρὰ
Alcmaeon the (son)-of-Megacles to-the from Sardis Lydians from
Κροίσου ἀπικνεομένοισι ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι
Croesus coming to the oracle the at Delphi
συμπρήκτωρ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ συνελάμβανε προθύμως, καί
helper both became and assisted zealously and
μιν Κροῖσος πυθόμενος τῶν Λυδῶν τῶν ἐς τὰ χρηστήρια
him Croesus having-learned from-the Lydians the to the oracles
φοιτεόντων ἑωυτὸν εὖ ποιέειν μεταπέμπεται ἐς Σάρδις,
going himself well to-treat sends-for to Sardis
ἀπικόμενον δὲ δωρέεται χρυσῷ τὸν ἂν δύνηται τῷ
having-come and he-presents with-gold whatever — he-can on-the

ἑωυτοῦ σώματι ἐξενείκασθαι ἐσάπαξ. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμέων
his-own body to-carry-out at-once — and Alcmaeon
πρὸς τὴν δωρεὴν ἐοῦσαν τοιαύτην τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας
toward the gift being such such(-a-plan) having-devised
προσέφερε· ἐνδὺς κιθῶνα μέγαν καὶ κόλπον βαθὺν
applied having-put-on a-tunic large and a-fold deep
καταλιπόμενος τοῦ κιθῶνος, κοθόρνους τε τοὺς εὕρισκε
having-left of-the tunic boots and which he-found
εὐρυτάτους ἐόντας ὑποδησάμενος, ἤιε ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν
widest being having-put-on he-went into the treasury
ἐς τόν οἱ κατηγέοντο. ἐσπεσὼν δὲ ἐς σωρὸν ψήγματος
to which to-him they-led having-fallen and into a-heap of-gold-dust
πρῶτα μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς κνήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ
first indeed he-packed along the shins of-the gold
ὅσον ἐχώρεον οἱ κόθορνοι, μετὰ δὲ τὸν κόλπον πάντα
as-much-as held the boots after and the fold all
πλησάμενος τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς
having-filled with-the gold and into the hairs of-the head
διαπάσας τοῦ ψήγματος καὶ ἄλλο λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα,
having-sprinkled of-the dust and other having-taken into the mouth
ἐξήιε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἕλκων μὲν μόγις τοὺς
he-came-out from the treasury dragging indeed with-difficulty the
κοθόρνους, παντὶ δὲ τεῷ οἰκὼς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ·
boots to-anything but to-something like more than a-man
τοῦ τό τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγκωτο. ἰδόντα
whose the both mouth was-stuffed and all was-swollen having-seen(-him)
δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον γέλως ἐσῆλθε, καί οἱ πάντα τε ἐκεῖνα
and — Croesus laughter came-on and to-him all both those
διδοῖ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερα δωρέεται οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκείνων. οὕτω
gives and besides others presents not less than-those thus

μὲν ἐπλούτησε ἡ οἰκίη αὕτη μεγάλως, καὶ ὁ Ἀλκμέων
indeed grew-rich the house this greatly and — Alcmaeon
οὗτος οὕτω τεθριπποτροφήσας Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναιρέεται.
this thus having-kept-a-four-horse-team an-Olympic-victory wins
126 Μετὰ δὲ γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστερον Κλεισθένης αὐτὴν ὁ
after and in-generation second later Cleisthenes it the
Σικυώνιος τύραννος ἐξήειρε, ὥστε πολλῷ ὀνομαστοτέρην
Sicyonian tyrant raised so-that by-much more-renowned
γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἢ πρότερον ἦν. Κλεισθένεϊ
to-become among the Greeks than before it-was to-Cleisthenes
γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστωνύμου τοῦ Μύρωνος τοῦ Ἀνδρέω γίνεται
for the (son)-of-Aristonymus the (son)-of-Myron the (son)-of-Andreas is-born
θυγάτηρ τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀγαρίστη. ταύτην ἠθέλησε,
a-daughter whose name was Agariste her he-wished
Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων ἐξευρὼν τὸν ἄριστον, τούτῳ γυναῖκα
of-Greeks all having-found the best to-him as-wife
προσθεῖναι. Ὀλυμπίων ὢν ἐόντων καὶ νικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖσι
to-give Olympic(-games) then being and winning at them
τεθρίππῳ ὁ Κλεισθένης κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ὅστις
with-four-horse-chariot — Cleisthenes a-proclamation made whoever
Ἑλλήνων ἑωυτὸν ἀξιοῖ Κλεισθένεος γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι,
of-Greeks himself thinks-worthy of-Cleisthenes son-in-law to-become
ἥκειν ἐς ἑξηκοστὴν ἡμέρην ἢ καὶ πρότερον ἐς Σικυῶνα, ὡς
to-come by the-sixtieth day or even before to Sicyon as
κυρώσοντος Κλεισθένεος τὸν γάμον ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς
going-to-ratify Cleisthenes the marriage within a-year from the
ἑξηκοστῆς ἀρξαμένου ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι
sixtieth beginning day then of-Greeks as-many-as
σφίσι τε αὐτοῖσι ἦσαν καὶ πάτρῃ ἐξωγκωμένοι,
in-themselves both themselves were and in-fatherland puffed-up

ἐφοίτεον μνηστῆρες· τοῖσι Κλεισθένης καὶ δρόμον καὶ
came suitors for-whom Cleisthenes both a-running-track and
παλαίστρην ποιησάμενος ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τούτῳ εἶχε.
wrestling-ground having-made for very this kept(-them)
Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλίης ἦλθε Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἱπποκράτεος 127
from indeed then Italy came Smindyrides the (son)-of-Hippocrates
Συβαρίτης, ὃς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἷς ἀνὴρ ἀπίκετο (ἡ
a-Sybarite who to farthest indeed of-luxury one man reached —
δὲ Σύβαρις ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα), καὶ Σιρίτης
and Sybaris flourished this the time most and a-Sirite
Δάμασος Ἀμύριος τοῦ σοφοῦ λεγομένου παῖς. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ
Damasus of-Amyris the wise called son these indeed from
Ἰταλίης ἦλθον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου Ἀμφίμνηστος
Italy came from and the gulf the Ionian Amphimnestus
Ἐπιστρόφου Ἐπιδάμνιος· οὗτος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου.
(son)-of-Epistrophus an-Epidamnian this(-one) and from the Ionian gulf
Αἰτωλὸς δὲ ἦλθε Τιτόρμου τοῦ ὑπερφύντος τε Ἕλληνας
an-Aetolian and came of-Titormus the having-surpassed both Greeks
ἰσχύι καὶ φυγόντος ἀνθρώπους ἐς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς
in-strength and having-fled men to the extremities of-the
Αἰτωλίδος χώρης, τούτου τοῦ Τιτόρμου ἀδελφεὸς Μάλης.
Aetolian land of-this — Titormus brother Males
ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννήσου Φείδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου
from and Peloponnese of-Pheidon the of-Argives tyrant
παῖς Λεωκήδης, Φείδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος
son Leocedes of-Pheidon and the(-one) the measures having-made
Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων
for-Peloponnesians and having-outraged most indeed of-Greeks
πάντων, ὃς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἠλείων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τὸν
all who having-removed the of-Eleans umpires himself the
ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τούτου τε δὴ παῖς καὶ Ἀμίαντος
at Olympia contest held of-this both indeed son and Amiantus

Λυκούργου Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ Ἀζὴν ἐκ Παίου
(son)-of-Lycurgus an-Arcadian from Trapezus and an-Azanian from Paeus
πόλιος Λαφάνης Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ δεξαμένου τε, ὡς λόγος ἐν
city Laphanes (son)-of-Euphorion the having-received both as story in
Ἀρκαδίῃ λέγεται, τοὺς Διοσκούρους οἰκίοισι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου
Arcadia is-told the Dioscuri in-his-house and from this
ξεινοδοκέοντος πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ Ἠλεῖος Ὀνόμαστος
entertaining all men and an-Elean Onomastus
Ἀγαίου. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦλθον, ἐκ
(son)-of-Agaeus these indeed then from itself Peloponnese came from
δὲ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκοντο Μεγακλέης τε ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος τούτου
and Athens arrived Megacles both the (son)-of-Alcmaeon this
τοῦ παρὰ Κροῖσον ἀπικομένου, καὶ ἄλλος Ἱπποκλείδης
the to Croesus having-come and another Hippoclides
Τισάνδρου, πλούτῳ καὶ εἴδεϊ προφέρων Ἀθηναίων. ἀπὸ δὲ
(son)-of-Tisander in-wealth and in-looks surpassing of-Athenians from and
Ἐρετρίης ἀνθεύσης τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λυσανίης· οὗτος δὲ
Eretria flourishing this the time Lysanias this and
ἀπ᾽ Εὐβοίης μοῦνος. ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἦλθε τῶν Σκοπαδέων
from Euboea alone from and Thessaly came of-the Scopadae
Διακτορίδης Κραννώνιος, ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἄλκων.
Diactorides a-Crannonian from and Molossians Alcon
128 Τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἐγένοντο οἱ μνηστῆρες. ἀπικομένων δὲ τούτων
so-many indeed were the suitors having-come and these
ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέρην, ὁ Κλεισθένης πρῶτα μὲν τὰς
by the before-named day — Cleisthenes first indeed the
πάτρας τε αὐτῶν ἀνεπύθετο καὶ γένος ἑκάστου, μετὰ δὲ
fatherlands both of-them inquired and race of-each after and
κατέχων ἐνιαυτὸν διεπειρᾶτο αὐτῶν τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίης καὶ
keeping(-them) a-year he-tested of-them the both manliness and
τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ παιδεύσιός τε καὶ τρόπου, καὶ ἐνὶ ἑκάστῳ ἰὼν
the temper and education both and manner both to-one each going

ἐς συνουσίην καὶ συνάπασι, καὶ ἐς γυμνάσιά τε ἐξαγινέων
into converse and to-all-together and into gymnasia both bringing(-them)
ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν νεώτεροι, καὶ τό γε μέγιστον, ἐν
as-many-as were of-them younger and the at-least greatest in
τῇ συνεστίῃ διεπειρᾶτο· ὅσον γὰρ κατεῖχε χρόνον αὐτούς,
the banquet he-tested(-them) as-long for kept time them
τοῦτον πάντα ἐποίεε καὶ ἅμα ἐξείνιζε μεγαλοπρεπέως.
this all he-did and at-once entertained magnificently
καὶ δή κου μάλιστα τῶν μνηστήρων ἠρέσκοντο οἱ ἀπ᾽
and indeed perhaps most of-the suitors pleased the from
Ἀθηνέων ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον Ἱπποκλείδης ὁ
Athens having-come and of-these more Hippoclides the
Τισάνδρου καὶ κατ᾽ ἀνδραγαθίην ἐκρίνετο καὶ ὅτι τὸ
(son)-of-Tisander both by manliness was-judged and because the
ἀνέκαθεν τοῖσι ἐν Κορίνθῳ Κυψελίδῃσι ἦν προσήκων.
from-the-beginning to-the in Corinth Cypselids he-was related
Ὡς δὲ ἡ κυρίη ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμερέων τῆς τε κατακλίσιος 129
when and the appointed came of-the days of-the both feast
τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ Κλεισθένεος τὸν κρίνοι ἐκ
of-the marriage and declaration himself of-Cleisthenes whom he-chose from
πάντων, θύσας βοῦς ἑκατὸν ὁ Κλεισθένης εὐώχεε αὐτούς
all having-sacrificed oxen a-hundred — Cleisthenes feasted themselves
τε τοὺς μνηστῆρας καὶ Σικυωνίους πάντας. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ
both the suitors and Sicyonians all when and from
δείπνου ἐγίνοντο, οἱ μνηστῆρες ἔριν εἶχον ἀμφί τε μουσικῇ
dinner they-were the suitors a-contest held about both music
καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. προϊούσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος
and the spoken into the midst advancing and the drinking
κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους ὁ Ἱπποκλείδης ἐκέλευσέ
prevailing-over much the others — Hippoclides bade
οἱ τὸν αὐλητὴν αὐλῆσαι ἐμμελείην, πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ
for-him the flute-player to-play a-dance-tune obeying and the

αὐλητέω ὀρχήσατο. καί κως ἑωυτῷ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὀρχέετο,
flute-player he-danced and somehow to-himself indeed pleasingly he-danced
ὁ Κλεισθένης δὲ ὁρέων ὅλον τὸ πρῆγμα ὑπώπτευε. μετὰ δὲ
— Cleisthenes but seeing whole the matter grew-suspicious after and
ἐπισχὼν ὁ Ἱπποκλείδης χρόνον ἐκέλευσε τινὰ τράπεζαν
having-paused — Hippoclides a-while bade someone a-table
ἐσενεῖκαι, ἐσελθούσης δὲ τῆς τραπέζης πρῶτα μὲν ἐπ᾽
to-bring-in having-come-in and the table first indeed on
αὐτῆς ὀρχήσατο Λακωνικὰ σχημάτια, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλα Ἀττικά,
it he-danced Laconian figures after and others Attic
τὸ τρίτον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρείσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν
the third and the head having-planted on the table
τοῖσι σκέλεσι ἐχειρονόμησε. Κλεισθένης δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα
with-the legs he-gestured Cleisthenes and the indeed first
καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ὀρχεομένου, ἀποστυγέων γαμβρὸν ἄν οἱ
and the second(-dances) him-dancing loathing son-in-law — to-him
ἔτι γενέσθαι Ἱπποκλείδεα διὰ τήν τε ὄρχησιν καὶ
any-longer to-become Hippoclides on-account-of the both dancing and
τὴν ἀναιδείην, κατεῖχε ἑωυτόν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγῆναι ἐς
the shamelessness restrained himself not wishing to-burst-out at
αὐτόν· ὡς δὲ εἶδε τοῖσι σκέλεσι χειρονομήσαντα, οὐκέτι
him when but he-saw with-the legs gesturing no-longer
κατέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε "Ὦ παῖ Τισάνδρου, ἀπορχήσαό
to-restrain being-able he-said O son of-Tisander you-have-danced-away
γε μὲν τὸν γάμον." ὁ δὲ Ἱπποκλείδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε "Οὐ
at-least indeed the marriage — and Hippoclides answering said not
φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ." ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται.
care to-Hippoclides from this indeed this is-said
130 Κλεισθένης δὲ σιγὴν ποιησάμενος ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον τάδε.
Cleisthenes and silence having-made said into the-midst this
"Ἄνδρες παιδὸς τῆς ἐμῆς μνηστῆρες, ἐγὼ καὶ πάντας
men of-daughter the my suitors I both all

ὑμέας ἐπαινέω καὶ πᾶσι ὑμῖν, εἰ οἷόν τε εἴη, χαριζοίμην
you praise and to-all you if possible — it-were I-would-show-favor
ἄν, μήτ᾽ ἕνα ὑμέων ἐξαίρετον ἀποκρίνων μήτε τοὺς
— neither one of-you chosen-out selecting nor the
λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων. ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γὰρ οἷά τε ἐστὶ μιῆς
rest rejecting but not for possible — it-is one
πέρι παρθένου βουλεύοντα πᾶσι κατὰ νόον ποιέειν, τοῖσι
about maiden deliberating to-all according-to mind to-act to-those
μὲν ὑμέων ἀπελαυνομένοισι τοῦδε τοῦ γάμου τάλαντον
indeed of-you being-driven-from this the marriage a-talent
ἀργυρίου ἑκάστῳ δωρεὴν δίδωμι τῆς ἀξιώσιος εἵνεκα
of-silver to-each as-a-gift I-give of-the honor for-the-sake
τῆς ἐξ ἐμεῦ γῆμαι καὶ τῆς ἐξ οἴκου ἀποδημίης, τῷ δὲ
the from me to-marry and of-the from home absence to-the but
Ἀλκμέωνος Μεγακλέι ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην
(son)-of-Alcmaeon Megacles I-betroth daughter the my Agariste
νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων.” φαμένου δὲ ἐγγυᾶσθαι
by-laws the of-Athenians saying and he-accepted-the-betrothal
Μεγακλέος ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Κλεισθένεϊ.
Megacles had-been-ratified the marriage for-Cleisthenes
Ἀμφὶ μὲν κρίσιος τῶν μνηστήρων τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο 131
about indeed judging of-the suitors so-much happened
καὶ οὕτω Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἐβώσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
and thus Alcmaeonids were-celebrated throughout — Greece
τούτων δὲ συνοικησάντων γίνεται Κλεισθένης τε ὁ
of-these and living-together is-born Cleisthenes both the
τὰς φυλὰς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίην Ἀθηναίοισι καταστήσας,
the tribes and the democracy for-Athenians having-established
ἔχων τὸ οὔνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ Σικυωνίου·
having the name from the mother's-father the Sicyonian
οὗτός τε δὴ γίνεται Μεγακλέϊ καὶ Ἱπποκράτης, ἐκ δὲ
this both indeed is-born to-Megacles and Hippocrates from and

Ἱπποκράτεος Μεγακλέης τε ἄλλος καὶ Ἀγαρίστη ἄλλη
Hippocrates Megacles both another and Agariste another
ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεισθένεος Ἀγαρίστης ἔχουσα τὸ οὔνομα· ἣ
from the of-Cleisthenes Agariste having the name who
συνοικήσασά τε Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Ἀρίφρονος καὶ ἔγκυος
having-married both Xanthippus the (son)-of-Ariphron and pregnant
ἐοῦσα εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ἐδόκεε δὲ λέοντα τεκεῖν,
being saw a-vision in the sleep she-seemed and a-lion to-bear
καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τίκτει Περικλέα Ξανθίππῳ.
and after a-few days she-bears Pericles to-Xanthippus

XV · MILTIADES AT PAROS AND LEMNOS

After Marathon Miltiades leads seventy ships against Paros on a pretext and a private grudge and besieges it for money. The priestess Timo guides him into Demeter's precinct, where he hurts his thigh; he returns, is tried for deceiving the people, fined fifty talents, and dies of gangrene, Cimon paying the fine. Herodotus tells how Miltiades took Lemnos: the Pelasgians, expelled from Attica, had murdered their Athenian wives and children, and a condition they thought impossible was met.

132 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρῶμα γενόμενον Μιλτιάδης,
after and the at Marathon blow having-happened Miltiades
καὶ πρότερον εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Ἀθηναίοισι, τότε μᾶλλον
even before esteemed among Athenians then more
αὔξετο. αἰτήσας δὲ νέας ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ στρατιήν
grew having-asked and ships seventy and army
τε καὶ χρήματα Ἀθηναίους, οὐ φράσας σφι ἐπ' ἣν
both and money Athenians not having-told them against which
ἐπιστρατεύσεται χώρην, ἀλλὰ φὰς αὐτοὺς καταπλουτιεῖν ἢν
he-will-march land but saying them to-enrich if
οἱ ἕπωνται· ἐπὶ γὰρ χώρην τοιαύτην δή τινα ἄξειν ὅθεν
him they-follow to for a-land such indeed some to-lead whence

χρυσὸν εὐπετέως ἄφθονον οἴσονται· λέγων τοιαῦτα αἴτεε
gold easily abundant they-will-carry saying such(-things) he-asked-for
τὰς νέας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τούτοισι ἐπαερθέντες παρέδοσαν.
the ships Athenians and by-these elated handed(-them)-over
Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης τὴν στρατιὴν ἔπλεε ἐπὶ 133
having-taken and — Miltiades the army sailed against
Πάρον, πρόφασιν ἔχων ὡς οἱ Πάριοι ὑπῆρξαν πρότεροι
Paros a-pretext having that the Parians began first
στρατευόμενοι τριήρεσι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ.
campaigning with-triremes to Marathon together-with the Persian
τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα λόγων ἦν, ἀτάρ τινα καὶ ἔγκοτον
this indeed then a-pretext of-words was but some also grudge
εἶχε τοῖσι Παρίοισι διὰ Λυσαγόρεα τὸν Τισίεω,
he-had against-the Parians on-account-of Lysagoras the (son)-of-Tisias
ἐόντα γένος Πάριον, διαβαλόντα μιν πρὸς Ὑδάρνεα τὸν
being by-race Parian having-slandered him to Hydarnes the
Πέρσην. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἣν ἔπλεε ὁ Μιλτιάδης τῇ
Persian having-arrived and at which he-sailed — Miltiades with-the
στρατιῇ ἐπολιόρκεε Παρίους κατειλημένους ἐντὸς τείχεος,
army besieged Parians shut-up within wall
καὶ ἐσπέμπων κήρυκα αἴτεε ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, φάς, ἢν μιν
and sending-in a-herald demanded a-hundred talents saying if him
οὐ δῶσι, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσειν τὴν στρατιὴν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλῃ
not they-give not to-return the army before than he-takes
σφέας. οἱ δὲ Πάριοι ὅκως μέν τι δώσουσι Μιλτιάδῃ
them the but Parians how indeed any they-should-give to-Miltiades
ἀργύριον οὐδὲ διενοεῦντο, οἳ δὲ ὅκως διαφυλάξουσι τὴν
silver not-even considered they but how they-would-guard the
πόλιν τοῦτο ἐμηχανῶντο, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενοι καὶ τῇ
city this contrived others both devising and where

μάλιστα ἔσκε ἑκάστοτε ἐπίμαχον τοῦ τείχεος, τοῦτο ἅμα
most was each-time open-to-attack of-the wall this at-once
νυκτὶ ἐξηείρετο διπλήσιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου.
by-night was-raised double than-the old

134 Ἐς μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες λέγουσι,
to indeed then so-far of-the story the all Greeks say
τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτοὶ Πάριοι γενέσθαι ὧδε λέγουσι.
the thereafter but themselves Parians to-have-happened thus say
Μιλτιάδῃ ἀπορέοντι ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους αἰχμάλωτον
to-Miltiades being-at-a-loss to-have-come into talk a-captive
γυναῖκα, ἐοῦσαν μὲν Παρίην γένος, οὔνομα δέ οἱ εἶναι
woman being indeed Parian by-race name and to-her to-be
Τιμοῦν, εἶναι δὲ ὑποζάκορον τῶν χθονίων θεῶν· ταύτην
Timo to-be and under-priestess of-the nether goddesses her
ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς ὄψιν Μιλτιάδεω συμβουλεῦσαι, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ
having-come into sight of-Miltiades to-advise if of much
ποιέεται Πάρον ἑλεῖν, τὰ ἂν αὐτὴ ὑποθῆται, ταῦτα
he-reckons Paros to-take what — she-herself suggests these
ποιέειν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μὲν ὑποθέσθαι, τὸν δὲ διερχόμενον ἐπὶ
to-do after and her indeed to-have-suggested him but going to
τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐόντα ἕρκος θεσμοφόρου
the hill the before the city being the-fence of-lawgiver
Δήμητρος ὑπερθορεῖν, οὐ δυνάμενον τὰς θύρας ἀνοῖξαι,
Demeter to-leap-over not being-able the doors to-open
ὑπερθορόντα δὲ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὅ τι δὴ ποιήσοντα
having-leapt-over and to-go to the hall what ever indeed to-do
ἐντός, εἴτε κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων εἴτε ὅ
inside whether to-move something of-the unmovable(-things) or what
τι δή κοτε πρήξοντα· πρὸς τῇσι θύρῃσί τε γενέσθαι
ever indeed ever to-do at the doors both to-have-come
καὶ πρόκατε φρίκης αὐτὸν ὑπελθούσης ὀπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν
and immediately shuddering him having-come-over back the same

ὁδὸν ἴεσθαι, καταθρώσκοντα δὲ τὴν αἰμασιὴν τὸν μηρὸν
way to-rush leaping-down and the wall the thigh
σπασθῆναι· οἳ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ γόνυ προσπταῖσαι λέγουσι.
to-have-been-wrenched they but him the knee to-have-struck say
Μιλτιάδης μέν νυν φλαύρως ἔχων ἀπέπλεε ὀπίσω, οὔτε 135
Miltiades indeed then badly being sailed-away back neither
χρήματα Ἀθηναίοισι ἄγων οὔτε Πάρον προσκτησάμενος,
money for-Athenians bringing nor Paros having-won
ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέρας καὶ δηιώσας
but having-besieged(-it) both six and twenty days and having-ravaged
τὴν νῆσον. Πάριοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ὡς ἡ ὑποζάκορος τῶν
the island Parians and having-learned that the under-priestess of-the
θεῶν Τιμὼ Μιλτιάδῃ κατηγήσατο, βουλόμενοί μιν ἀντὶ
goddesses Timo to-Miltiades guided wishing her in-return-for
τούτων τιμωρήσασθαι, θεοπρόπους πέμπουσι ἐς Δελφούς
these to-punish envoys send to Delphi
ὥς σφεας ἡσυχίη τῆς πολιορκίης ἔσχε· ἔπεμπον δὲ
when them respite from-the siege held they-sent and
ἐπειρησομένους εἰ καταχρήσωνται τὴν ὑποζάκορον τῶν
to-ask whether they-should-put-to-death the under-priestess of-the
θεῶν τὴν ἐξηγησαμένην τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι τῆς πατρίδος
goddesses the having-shown to-the enemies of-the fatherland
ἅλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρσενα γόνον ἄρρητα ἱρὰ ἐκφήνασαν
capture and the to male offspring unspeakable rites having-revealed
Μιλτιάδῃ. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα, φᾶσα οὐ Τιμοῦν
to-Miltiades the but Pythia not allowed(-it) saying not Timo
εἶναι τὴν αἰτίην τούτων, ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα
to-be the cause of-these but to-be-needful for Miltiades
τελευτᾶν μὴ εὖ, φανῆναί οἱ τῶν κακῶν κατηγεμόνα.
to-end not well to-have-appeared to-him of-the evils as-guide

136 Παρίοισι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ
to-Parians indeed then these the Pythia prophesied Athenians and
ἐκ Πάρου Μιλτιάδεα ἀπονοστήσαντα ἔσχον ἐν στόμασι
from Paros Miltiades having-returned had in mouths
οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ μάλιστα Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος, ὃς
the both others and most Xanthippus the (son)-of-Ariphron who
θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον Μιλτιάδεα ἐδίωκε
on-a-capital-charge having-brought(-him) before the people Miltiades prosecuted
τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτης εἵνεκεν. Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν
for-the of-Athenians deceit for-the-sake Miltiades and himself indeed
παρεὼν οὐκ ἀπελογέετο· ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὥστε σηπομένου
being-present not defended-himself was for unable so-that rotting
τοῦ μηροῦ· προκειμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίνῃ ὑπεραπελογέοντο
the thigh lying and him on a-couch defended(-him)
οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης
the friends of-the battle both the at Marathon having-happened
πολλὰ ἐπιμεμνημένοι καὶ τὴν Λήμνου αἵρεσιν, ὡς ἑλὼν
much mentioning and the of-Lemnos taking how having-taken
Λῆμνόν τε καὶ τισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρέδωκε
Lemnos both and having-punished the Pelasgians he-handed(-it)-over
Ἀθηναίοισι. προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ
to-Athenians having-come-over and the people to-him as-regards
τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου, ζημιώσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν
the acquittal of-the death having-fined and as-regards the
ἀδικίην πεντήκοντα ταλάντοισι, Μιλτιάδης μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα
wrong with-fifty talents Miltiades indeed after these
σφακελίσαντός τε τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ σαπέντος τελευτᾷ, τὰ
having-become-gangrenous both the thigh and having-rotted dies the
δὲ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἐξέτισε ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Κίμων.
and fifty talents paid the son his Cimon

Λῆμνον δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ὧδε ἔσχε. Πελασγοὶ 137
Lemnos and Miltiades the (son)-of-Cimon thus took Pelasgians
ἐπείτε ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν, εἴτε
when from — Attica by Athenians were-thrown-out whether
ὧν δὴ δικαίως εἴτε ἀδίκως· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι,
then indeed justly or unjustly this for not I-can tell
πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὅτι Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Ἡγησάνδρου
except the(-things) said that Hecataeus indeed the (son)-of-Hegesander
ἔφησε ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι λέγων ἀδίκως· ἐπείτε γὰρ ἰδεῖν
said in the histories saying unjustly when for to-have-seen
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώρην, τὴν σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὑπὸ τὸν
the Athenians the land which to-them themselves under —
Ὑμησσὸν ἐοῦσαν ἔδοσαν Πελασγοῖσι οἰκῆσαι μισθὸν
Hymettus being they-had-given to-Pelasgians to-inhabit as-payment
τοῦ τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κοτὲ ἐληλαμένου,
for-the wall the about the acropolis once built
ταύτην ὡς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εὖ, τὴν
this when to-have-seen the Athenians worked well which
πρότερον εἶναι κακήν τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίην, λαβεῖν
before to-be bad both and of-the nothing worthy to-have-taken
φθόνον τε καὶ ἵμερον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτω ἐξελαύνειν αὐτοὺς
envy both and desire of-the land and thus to-drive-out them
οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην πρόφασιν προϊσχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.
no other pretext putting-forward the Athenians
ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, δικαίως ἐξελάσαι.
as but themselves Athenians say justly to-have-driven(-them)-out
κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησσῷ,
settled for the Pelasgians under — Hymettus
ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμωμένους ἀδικέειν τάδε. φοιτᾶν γὰρ αἰεὶ
thence setting-out to-have-done-wrong as-follows to-go for always
τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπ᾽ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ
the their-own daughters both and the boys for water to

τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφίσι κω
— *Enneacrunus not for to-be this the time to-them yet*
οὐδὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι οἰκέτας· ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὖται,
nor to-the other Greeks servants whenever and came these
τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίης βιᾶσθαι σφέας.
the Pelasgians from insolence both and contempt to-violate them
καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφι οὐκ ἀποχρᾶν ποιέειν, ἀλλὰ τέλος
and these however to-them not to-be-enough to-do but in-the-end
καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπιχείρησιν φανῆναι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ.
even plotting an-attack to-have-appeared in the-act
ἑωυτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσούτῳ ἐκείνων ἄνδρας ἀμείνονας,
themselves and to-have-been so-much than-those men better
ὅσῳ, παρεὸν ἑωυτοῖσι ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγούς,
by-as-much-as it-being-possible for-themselves to-kill the Pelasgians
ἐπεί σφεας ἔλαβον ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλά
when them they-caught plotting not to-have-wished(-it) but
σφι προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξιέναι. τοὺς δὲ οὕτω δὴ
to-them to-have-ordered from the land to-go-out them and thus indeed
ἐκχωρήσαντας ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον.
having-withdrawn other both to-have-taken places and indeed also Lemnos
ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ Ἑκαταῖος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι.
those indeed then Hecataeus said these but Athenians say

138 Οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι Λῆμνον τότε νεμόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι
the and Pelasgians these Lemnos then inhabiting and wishing
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι, εὖ τε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς
the Athenians to-punish well and knowing the
Ἀθηναίων ὁρτάς, πεντηκοντέρους κτησάμενοι ἐλόχησαν
of-Athenians festivals fifty-oared-ships having-got ambushed
Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρῶνι ἀγούσας ὁρτὴν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων
for-Artemis at Brauron celebrating a-festival the of-the Athenians
γυναῖκας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἁρπάσαντες τουτέων πολλὰς οἴχοντο
women thence and having-seized of-these many went

ἀποπλέοντες, καί σφεας ἐς Λῆμνον ἀγαγόντες παλλακὰς
sailing-off and them to Lemnos having-brought as-concubines
εἶχον. ὡς δὲ τέκνων αὗται αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπεπλήσθησαν,
kept when and with-children these the women were-filled
γλῶσσάν τε τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τρόπους τοὺς Ἀθηναίων
tongue both the Attic and manners the of-Athenians
ἐδίδασκον τοὺς παῖδας. οἱ δὲ οὔτε συμμίσγεσθαι τοῖσι ἐκ
they-taught the boys they and neither to-mix with-the from
τῶν Πελασγίδων γυναικῶν παισὶ ἤθελον, εἴ τε τύπτοιτό
the Pelasgian women boys wished if and was-struck
τις αὐτῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων τινός, ἐβοήθεόν τε πάντες καὶ
any(-one) of-them by those anyone they-helped both all and
ἐτιμώρεον ἀλλήλοισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν τε τῶν παίδων
avenged each-other and indeed also to-rule both the boys
οἱ παῖδες ἐδικαίευν καὶ πολλῷ ἐπεκράτεον. μαθόντες δὲ
the boys thought-it-right and by-far prevailed having-learned and
ταῦτα οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐωυτοῖσι λόγους ἐδίδοσαν· καί σφι
these the Pelasgians with-themselves counsels took and to-them
βουλευομένοισι δεινόν τι ἐσέδυνε, εἰ δὴ διαγινώσκοιεν
deliberating terrible something entered if indeed they-were-resolved
σφίσι τε βοηθέειν οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τῶν κουριδιέων γυναικῶν
each-other both to-help the boys against the lawful wives'
τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τούτων αὐτίκα ἄρχειν πειρώατο, τί δὴ
the boys and these at-once to-rule tried what indeed
ἀνδρωθέντες δῆθεν ποιήσουσι. ἐνθαῦτα ἔδοξέ σφι
having-grown-to-manhood forsooth they-will-do then it-seemed(-best) to-them
κτείνειν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀττικέων γυναικῶν.
to-kill the boys the of the Attic women
ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα, προσαπολλύουσι δὲ σφέων καὶ τὰς
they-do indeed these destroy and of-them also the
μητέρας. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τοῦ προτέρου
mothers from this and the deed and the earlier

τούτων, τὸ ἐργάσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἅμα Θόαντι
than-these which wrought the women the with Thoas
ἄνδρας σφετέρους ἀποκτείνασαι, νενόμισται ἀνὰ τὴν
husbands their-own having-killed it-is-customary throughout —
Ἑλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα Λήμνια καλέεσθαι.
Greece the cruel deeds all Lemnian to-be-called
139 Ἀποκτείνασι δὲ τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι τοὺς σφετέρους παῖδάς τε
having-killed and the Pelasgians the their-own children both
καὶ γυναῖκας οὔτε γῆ καρπὸν ἔφερε οὔτε γυναῖκές τε καὶ
and wives neither earth fruit bore nor women both and
ποῖμναι ὁμοίως ἔτικτον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ. πιεζόμενοι δὲ λιμῷ
flocks alike bore as before this pressed and by-famine
καὶ ἀπαιδίῃ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον λύσιν τινὰ αἰτησόμενοι τῶν
and childlessness to Delphi they-sent release some to-ask-for of-the
παρεόντων κακῶν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε Ἀθηναίοισι
present evils the and Pythia them bade to-Athenians
δίκας διδόναι ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δικάσωσι.
justice to-give these which — themselves Athenians should-judge
ἦλθόν τε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ Πελασγοὶ καὶ δίκας
came both indeed to — Athens the Pelasgians and justice
ἐπαγγέλλοντο βουλόμενοι διδόναι παντὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος.
offered wishing to-give for-every the wrong
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρυτανηίῳ κλίνην στρώσαντες ὡς
Athenians and in the town-hall a-couch having-spread as
εἶχον κάλλιστα καὶ τράπεζαν ἐπιπλέην ἀγαθῶν πάντων
they-could finest and a-table full of-good-things all
παραθέντες, ἐκέλευον τοὺς Πελασγοὺς τὴν χώρην σφίσι
having-set-beside bade the Pelasgians the land to-them
παραδιδόναι οὕτω ἔχουσαν. οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ὑπολαβόντες
to-hand-over thus being the and Pelasgians answering
εἶπαν “Ἐπεὰν βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ αὐτημερὸν ἐξανύσῃ
said when with-north wind on-the-same-day accomplishes(-the-voyage)

νηῦς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, τότε παραδώσομεν,"
a-ship from the yours to the ours then we-shall-hand(-it)-over
ἐπιστάμενοι τοῦτο εἶναι ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ
knowing this to-be impossible to-happen — for Attica
πρὸς νότον κέεται πολλὸν τῆς Λήμνου.
to south lies much — of-Lemnos
Τότε μὲν τοιαῦτα· ἔτεσι δὲ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον 140
then indeed such(-things) in-years but very many later
τούτων, ὡς ἡ Χερσόνησος ἡ ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐγένετο
than-these when — Chersonese the on Hellespont came
ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίοισι, Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων
under Athenians Miltiades the (son)-of-Cimon the-etesian winds
κατεστηκότων νηὶ κατανύσας ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος
having-set-in in-a-ship having-accomplished(-the-voyage) from Elaeus
τοῦ ἐν Χερσονήσῳ ἐς Λῆμνον προηγόρευε ἐξιέναι ἐκ
the in Chersonese to Lemnos proclaimed to-go-out from
τῆς νήσου τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι, ἀναμιμνήσκων σφέας τὸ
the island to-the Pelasgians reminding them the
χρηστήριον, τὸ οὐδαμὰ ἤλπισαν σφίσι οἱ Πελασγοὶ
oracle which never expected for-themselves the Pelasgians
ἐπιτελέεσθαι. Ἡφαιστιέες μέν νυν ἐπείθοντο, Μυριναῖοι
to-be-fulfilled Hephaestians indeed then obeyed Myrinaeans
δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τὴν Χερσόνησον Ἀττικὴν
but not acknowledging to-be — Chersonese Attic
ἐπολιορκέοντο, ἐς ὃ καὶ οὗτοι παρέστησαν. οὕτω δὴ
were-besieged up-to which also these surrendered thus indeed
τὴν Λῆμνον ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Μιλτιάδης.
— Lemnos took Athenians both and Miltiades

BOOK VII

I · XERXES BECOMES KING

News of Marathon makes Darius more eager to attack Greece, and Asia spends three years in preparation; Egypt then revolts. Before marching Darius must name an heir. Artobazanes, eldest son of his first wife, claims as eldest; Xerxes, son of Atossa, is advised by the exiled Demaratus to argue that he was born to a reigning king. Darius names Xerxes, and dies before he can punish Egypt or Athens.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγελίη ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι 1
when and the-news came about the battle the at Marathon
γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν
having-happened to king Darius the (son)-of-Hystaspes even before
μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν
greatly having-been-embittered against-the Athenians on-account-of the
ἐς Σάρδις ἐσβολήν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῷ τε δεινότερα
into Sardis invasion and indeed also then by-far both more-terribly
ἐποίεε καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν
he-took(-it) and more was-eager to-march against —
Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους
Greece and at-once indeed he-sent-orders sending messengers
κατὰ πόλις ἑτοιμάζειν στρατιήν, πολλῷ πλέω ἐπιτάσσων
according-to cities to-prepare an-army by-far more imposing
ἑκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρέχειν, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους
on-each than before to-furnish and ships both and horses
καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων ἡ Ἀσίη
and grain and boats these and being-proclaimed-round — Asia
ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς
was-shaken for three years being-enrolled both the best as
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευομένων καὶ παρασκευαζομένων.
against — Greece marching and preparing

τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω δουλωθέντες
in-the-fourth and year Egyptians by Cambyses enslaved
ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον
revolted from Persians then indeed even more
ὥρμητο καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.
he-was-eager also against both to-march

2 Στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ᾽ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν
preparing and Darius against Egypt and Athens of-the
παίδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης,
sons his strife arose great about the leadership
ὡς δεῖ μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων
since it-is-necessary him having-appointed a-king according-to the of-Persians
νόμον οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρείῳ καὶ πρότερον
law thus to-march there-were for to-Darius even before
ἢ βασιλεῦσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες ἐκ τῆς προτέρης
than to-become-king born three sons from the former
γυναικός, Γοβρύεω θυγατρός, καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀτόσσης
wife of-Gobryas daughter and having-become-king from Atossa
τῆς Κύρου ἕτεροι τέσσερες. τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων
the (daughter)-of-Cyrus other four of-the indeed then earlier
ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρτοβαζάνης, τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ξέρξης.
was-eldest Artobazanes of-the and later-born Xerxes
ἐόντες δὲ μητρὸς οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστασίαζον, ὁ μὲν
being and of-mother not the same they-strove — indeed
Ἀρτοβαζάνης κατότι πρεσβύτατός τε εἴη παντὸς τοῦ
Artobazanes because eldest both he-was of-all the
γόνου καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενον εἴη πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων
offspring and that customary it-was among all men
τὸν πρεσβύτατον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς Ἀτόσσης
the eldest the rule to-have Xerxes but that of-Atossa

τε παῖς εἴη τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς καὶ ὅτι Κῦρος εἴη
both son he-was the of-Cyrus daughter and that Cyrus was
ὁ κτησάμενος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τὴν ἐλευθερίην.
the having-won for-the Persians the freedom
Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνυμένου κω γνώμην, ἐτύγχανε κατὰ 3
Darius and not declaring yet opinion he-happened at
τὠυτὸ τούτοισι καὶ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἀναβεβηκὼς
the-same(-time) with-these also Demaratus the (son)-of-Ariston having-gone-up
ἐς Σοῦσα, ἐστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληίης καὶ
to Susa deprived both of-the in Sparta kingship and
φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἑωυτῷ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος. οὗτος ὠνὴρ
exile having-imposed on-himself from Lacedaemon this the-man
πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου παίδων τὴν διαφορήν, ἐλθών,
having-learned of-the of-Darius sons the quarrel having-come
ὡς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει, Ξέρξῃ συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς
as the report him holds to-Xerxes advised to-say in-addition-to
τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεσι, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρείῳ ἤδη
the(-words) he-was-saying words that himself indeed was-born to-Darius already
βασιλεύοντι καὶ ἔχοντι τὸ Περσέων κράτος, Ἀρτοβαζάνης
being-king and holding the of-Persians power Artobazanes
δὲ ἔτι ἰδιώτῃ ἐόντι Δαρείῳ· οὔκων οὔτε οἰκὸς εἴη οὔτε
but still private-man being to-Darius not-then neither reasonable it-was nor
δίκαιον ἄλλον τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἑωυτοῦ· ἐπεί
just another any(-one) the prerogative to-have before himself since
γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἔφη ὁ Δημάρητος ὑποτιθέμενος οὕτω
at-least also in Sparta said — Demaratus advising thus
νομίζεσθαι, ἢν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν
to-be-customary if they indeed born-before are before than the
πατέρα σφέων βασιλεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεύοντι ὀψίγονος
father their to-become-king the(-one) but to-him-being-king late-born
ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομένου τὴν ἔκδεξιν τῆς βασιληίης
is-born-after of-the later-born the succession of-the kingship

γίνεσθαι. χρησαμένου δὲ Ξέρξεω τῇ Δημαρήτου ὑποθήκῃ,
to-be having-used and Xerxes the of-Demaratus advice
γνοὺς ὁ Δαρεῖος ὡς λέγοι δίκαια βασιλέα μιν ἀπέδεξε.
having-recognized — Darius that he-spoke just(-things) king him appointed
δοκέειν δέ μοι, καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης βασιλεῦσαι
to-seem and to-me even without this the advice would-have-become-king
ἂν Ξέρξης· ἡ γὰρ Ἄτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος.
— Xerxes — for Atossa held the all power
4 Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Ξέρξεα Δαρεῖος ὁρμᾶτο
having-appointed and king for-Persians Xerxes Darius was-eager
στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου
to-march but for after these both and of-Egypt
ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτεϊ παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε
revolt in-the following year preparing it-happened
αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἕξ τε καὶ
him Darius having-reigned in-the all six both and
τριήκοντα ἔτεα, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς
thirty years to-die nor to-him was-it-granted neither the
ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι.
having-revolted Egyptians nor Athenians to-punish

II · THE COUNCIL AND THE DREAMS

Mardonius urges Xerxes to punish Athens. Xerxes subdues Egypt and calls a council; he proposes to bridge the Hellespont and conquer Europe, Mardonius flatters him, and Artabanus warns against it. Xerxes angrily resolves to go, then relents, until a tall phantom in a dream rebukes him twice. Artabanus, in the king's robes, sees it too and yields, and the army gathers.

Ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιληίη ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν 5
having-died and Darius the kingship passed to the
παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξην. ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν
son the his Xerxes the now Xerxes against indeed —
Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι,
Greece in-no-way eager was at beginnings to-march
ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν. παρεὼν δὲ
against but Egypt made of-an-army a-gathering being-present and
καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος ὁ
also having-power with him most of-Persians Mardonius the
Γοβρύεω, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξῃ μὲν ἀνεψιὸς Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφεῆς
(son)-of-Gobryas who was to-Xerxes indeed cousin of-Darius and sister's
παῖς, τοιούτου λόγου εἴχετο, λέγων "Δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκός
son such argument held saying master not reasonable
ἐστι Ἀθηναίους ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ
it-is Athenians having-done many indeed evils Persians —
οὐ δοῦναι δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα
not to-pay justice for-what they-did but if the indeed then these
πρήσσοις τά περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἴγυπτον
you-should-do which indeed in hands you-have having-tamed and Egypt
τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἵνα
the having-grown-insolent march against — Athens so-that
λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθός, καί τις
report both you may-hold among men good and anyone
ὕστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι."
later may-beware against land the your to-march
οὗτος μέν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός· τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ λόγου
this indeed to-him the argument was vengeful of-this and the argument
παρενθήκην ποιεέσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς
an-addition he-kept-making this that — Europe very-fair

εἴη χώρη, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἥμερα, ἀρετήν
was land and trees all-kinds bears the cultivated in-excellence
τε ἄκρη, βασιλέι τε μούνῳ θνητῶν ἀξίη ἐκτῆσθαι.
both supreme king and alone of-mortals worthy to-possess
6 Ταῦτα ἔλεγε οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητὴς ἐὼν καὶ
these he-said as of-newer deeds desirous being and
θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὕπαρχος εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ
wishing himself — of-Greece governor to-be in-time and
κατεργάσατό τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα Ξέρξην·
he-accomplished both and persuaded so-that to-do these Xerxes
συνέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα οἱ σύμμαχα γενόμενα ἐς
helped for also other(-things) to-him allies having-become toward
τὸ πείθεσθαι Ξέρξην. τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίης
the to-be-persuaded Xerxes this indeed from — Thessaly
παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδέων ἀπιγμένοι ἄγγελοι ἐπεκαλέοντο
from the Aleuadae having-come messengers invited
βασιλέα πᾶσαν προθυμίην παρεχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα·
king all eagerness offering against — Greece
οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὗτοι ἦσαν Θεσσαλίης βασιλέες. τοῦτο
the and Aleuadae these were of-Thessaly kings this
δὲ Πεισιστρατιδέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα, τῶν τε
and of-Pisistratidae those having-gone-up to Susa the both
αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι, καὶ δή
same arguments holding which also the Aleuadae and indeed
τι πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι πλέον προσωρέγοντό οἱ·
something in-addition-to these still more they-offered to-him
ἔχοντες Ὀνομάκριτον ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον, χρησμολόγον τε
having Onomacritus a-man Athenian oracle-monger both
καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου, ἀναβεβήκεσαν, τὴν
and arranger of-oracles the of-Musaeus they-had-come-up the
ἔχθρην προκαταλυσάμενοι. ἐξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἱππάρχου
enmity having-first-dissolved was-banished for by Hipparchus

τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, ἐπ᾽
the (son)-of-Pisistratus — Onomacritus from Athens in
αὐτοφώρῳ ἁλοὺς ὑπὸ Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέος ἐμποιέων ἐς
the-act caught by Lasus the of-Hermione inserting into
τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμόν, ὡς αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνῳ ἐπικείμεναι
the of-Musaeus(-oracles) an-oracle that the off Lemnos lying
νῆσοι ἀφανιζοίατο κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης. διὸ ἐξήλασέ μιν
islands would-disappear under the sea wherefore banished him
ὁ Ἵππαρχος, πρότερον χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα. τότε δὲ
— Hipparchus before using(-him) the most then and
συναναβὰς ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος,
having-gone-up-with(-them) whenever he-came into sight the king's
λεγόντων τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνοὺς λόγους,
saying the Pisistratidae about him solemn words
κατέλεγε τῶν χρησμῶν· εἰ μέν τι ἐνέοι σφάλμα φέρον
he-recited from-the oracles if indeed any contained a-stumble bearing
τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδέν, ὁ δὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα
for-the barbarian of-these indeed he-said nothing he but the most-fortunate
ἐκλεγόμενος ἔλεγε τόν τε Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς ζευχθῆναι
choosing said the both Hellespont that to-be-yoked
χρεὸν εἴη ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, τήν τε ἔλασιν ἐξηγεόμενος.
necessary it-was by a-man Persian the both march expounding
οὗτός τε δὴ χρησμῳδέων προσεφέρετο καὶ οἵ τε
this-one both indeed chanting-oracles kept-at(-him) and the both
Πεισιστρατίδαι καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενοι.
Pisistratidae and the Aleuadae opinions declaring
Ὡς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, 7
when and was-persuaded Xerxes to-march against — Greece
ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτεϊ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν
then in-the-second indeed year after the death the
Δαρείου πρῶτα στρατηίην ποιέεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας.
of-Darius first an-expedition makes against the having-revolted

τούτους μέν νυν καταστρεψάμενος καὶ Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν
these indeed then having-subdued and Egypt all
πολλὸν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν,
much more-enslaved having-made than in-the-time-of Darius it-was
ἐπιτράπει Ἀχαιμένεϊ ἀδελφεῷ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ, Δαρείου δὲ
he-entrusts(-it) to-Achaemenes brother indeed his-own of-Darius and
παιδί. Ἀχαιμένεα μέν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ
son Achaemenes indeed then governing Egypt in-time
μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσε Ἰνάρως ὁ Ψαμμητίχου ἀνὴρ Λίβυς.
afterward slew Inaros the (son)-of-Psammetichus a-man Libyan

8 Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἅλωσιν ὡς ἔμελλε ἐς χεῖρας
Xerxes and after of-Egypt capture when he-was-about into hands
ἄξεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον
to-take the expedition the against — Athens an-assembly
ἐπίκλητον Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποιέετο, ἵνα γνώμας
specially-called of-Persians of-the best made so-that opinions
τε πύθηται σφέων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πᾶσι εἴπῃ τὰ
both he-might-learn of-them and himself among all might-say what
θέλει. ὡς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε.
he-wishes when and they-were-gathered said Xerxes this

8A "Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὔτ' αὐτὸς κατηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδε
men Persians neither myself shall-I-introduce law this
ἐν ὑμῖν τιθείς, παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι. ὡς
among you setting(-it) having-received both it I-shall-use as
γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὐδαμά κω
for I learn from-the elders never yet
ἠτρεμίσαμεν, ἐπείτε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε
we-have-kept-still since we-took-over the leadership this
παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου κατελόντος Ἀστυάγεα· ἀλλὰ θεός τε
from Medes Cyrus having-overthrown Astyages but god both
οὕτω ἄγει καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι συμφέρεται
thus leads and to-ourselves us many(-things) following turns-out

ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον. τὰ μέν νυν Κῦρός τε καὶ Καμβύσης
for the better the(-things) indeed then Cyrus both and Cambyses
πατήρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρεῖος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκτήσαντο
father both my Darius accomplished and won-in-addition
ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὖ οὐκ ἄν τις λέγοι.
nations to-those-knowing well not — anyone would-tell
ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπείτε παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον, ἐφρόντιζον
I and since I-took-over the throne this I-considered
ὅκως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε
how not I-shall-fall-short-of the earlier having-been in honor this
μηδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκτήσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι· φροντίζων
nor less I-shall-add power for-Persians considering
δὲ εὑρίσκω ἅμα μὲν κῦδος τε ἡμῖν προσγινόμενον
and I-find at-once indeed glory both for-us accruing
χώρην τε τῆς νῦν ἐκτήμεθα οὐκ ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ
land both than-that-which now we-possess not less nor
φλαυροτέρην παμφορωτέρην τε, ἅμα δὲ τιμωρίην τε καὶ
poorer more-fertile and at-once and vengeance both and
τίσιν γινομένην. διὸ ὑμέας νῦν ἐγὼ συνέλεξα, ἵνα
retribution coming-about wherefore you now I gathered so-that
τὸ νοέω πρήσσειν ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν·
what I-intend to-do I-may-communicate to-you
μέλλω ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς 8B
I-intend having-yoked the Hellespont to-drive an-army through —
Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσωμαι
Europe against — Greece so-that Athenians I-may-punish
ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν.
for-all-that indeed they-have-done to-Persians both and father the my
ὡρᾶτε μέν νυν καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν Δαρεῖον ἰθύοντα
you-saw indeed then also father the my Darius intent
στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους. ἀλλ᾽ ὃ μὲν
to-march against the men these but he indeed

τετελεύτηκε καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ τιμωρήσασθαι· ἐγὼ
has-died and not it-was-granted to-him to-punish(-them) I
δὲ ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων οὐ πρότερον
but for both him and the other Persians not before
παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἕλω τε καὶ πυρώσω τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἵ
I-shall-stop before than I-take both and burn — Athens who
γε ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα ποιεῦντες.
at-least me and father the my began unjust(-things) doing
πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδις ἐλθόντες, ἅμα Ἀριστα γόρῃ τῷ
first indeed to Sardis having-come with Aristagoras the
Μιλησίῳ δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἐνέπρησαν τά τε
Milesian slave and our having-arrived they-burned the both
ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά· δεύτερα δὲ ἡμέας οἷα ἔρξαν ἐς
groves and the temples second and us what-things they-did on
τὴν σφετέρην ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δᾶτίς τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης
the their-own(-land) having-landed when Datis both and Artaphrenes
ἐστρατήγεον, τὰ ἐπίστασθέ κου πάντες.
commanded which you-know perhaps all
8C τούτων μὲν τοίνυν εἵνεκα ἀνάρτημαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς
of-these indeed now for-the-sake I-am-bent on them
στρατεύεσθαι, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοσάδε ἀνευρίσκω
to-march goods and in them so-many I-find
λογιζόμενος· εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοισι πλησιοχώρους
reckoning if these both and the to-these neighbors
καταστρεψόμεθα, οἳ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώρην,
we-subdue who of-Pelops the Phrygian inhabit land
γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμουρέουσαν.
the-land the Persian we-shall-show to-the of-Zeus sky bordering

οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ἥλιος ὅμουρον
not for indeed land at-least no will-look-down-on sun bordering
ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλὰ σφέας πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν
being on-the ours but them all I together-with you
μίαν χώρην θήσω, διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης.
one land shall-make through all having-gone — of-Europe
πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχειν, οὔτε τινὰ πόλιν ἀνδρῶν
I-learn for thus to-stand neither any city of-men
οὐδεμίαν οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ
any nor nation any of-men to-be-left which
ἡμῖν οἷόν τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων τῶν
to-us able — will-be to-come into battle these the(-ones)
κατέλεξα ὑπεξαραιρημένων. οὕτω οἵ τε ἡμῖν αἴτιοι ἕξουσι
I-listed having-been-removed thus the both to-us guilty will-have
δούλιον ζυγὸν οἵ τε ἀναίτιοι.
slave's yoke the and innocent
ὑμεῖς δ' ἄν μοι τάδε ποιέοντες χαρίζοισθε· ἐπεὰν ὑμῖν 8D
you and — me these doing would-please when to-you
σημήνω τὸν χρόνον ἐς τὸν ἥκειν δεῖ, προθύμως
I-signal the time at which to-come it-is-necessary eagerly
πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρήσει παρεῖναι. ὃς ἂν δὲ ἔχων
every one of-you it-will-be-needful to-be-present whoever — and having
ἥκῃ παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω οἱ
comes an-equipped army finest I-shall-give to-him
δῶρα τὰ τιμιώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου.
gifts which most-honored are-considered to-be in our(-country)
ποιητέα μέν νυν ταῦτα ἐστὶ οὕτω· ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἰδιοβουλεύειν
to-be-done indeed then these are thus so-that but not to-plan-alone
ὑμῖν δοκέω, τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων
to-you I-may-seem I-put the matter into the-midst opinion bidding

ὑμέων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι.” ταῦτα εἴπας
of-you the wishing(-one) to-declare these having-said
ἐπαύετο.
he-ceased

9 Μετ᾽ αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε “Ὦ δέσποτα, οὐ
after him and Mardonius said O master not
μοῦνον εἷς τῶν γενομένων Περσέων ἄριστος ἀλλὰ καὶ
only you-are of-the having-been Persians best but also
τῶν ἐσομένων, ὃς τά τε ἄλλα λέγων ἐπίκεο
of-the to-be who the both other(-things) saying you-have-hit-upon
ἄριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα, καὶ Ἴωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ
best and truest and Ionians the in — Europe
κατοικημένους οὐκ ἐάσεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν ἐόντας
settled not you-will-allow to-mock us being
ἀναξίους. καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας
unworthy(-to) also for terrible — it-would-be a-thing if Sacae
μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἄλλα τε
indeed and Indians and Ethiopians both and Assyrians others both
ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ
nations many and great having-wronged Persians in-nothing but
δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεψάμενοι δούλους
power to-add wishing having-subdued as-slaves
ἔχομεν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα·
we-hold Greeks but having-begun wrong not we-shall-punish
9A τί δείσαντες; κοίην πλήθεος συστροφήν; κοίην δὲ
what having-feared what of-numbers gathering what and
χρημάτων δύναμιν; τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην,
of-money power of-whom we-know indeed the fighting
ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα· ἔχομεν δὲ
we-know and the power being weak we-hold and

αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεψάμενοι, τούτους οἳ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ
of-them children having-subdued(-them) these who in the our(-land)
κατοικημένοι Ἴωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Δωριέες καλέονται.
settled Ionians both and Aeolians and Dorians are-called
ἐπειρήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας
I-made-trial and also myself already marching against the men
τούτους ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθείς, καί μοι μέχρι
these by father the your bidden and to-me as-far-as
Μακεδονίης ἐλάσαντι καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς
Macedonia having-marched and little lacking to itself
Ἀθήνας ἀπικέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἠντιώθη ἐς μάχην.
Athens to-arrive no-one came-against(-me) into battle
καίτοι γε ἐώθασι Ἕλληνες, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, ἀβουλότατα 9B
and-yet at-least are-wont Greeks as I-learn most-senselessly
πολέμους ἵστασθαι ὑπό τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιότητος.
wars to-set-up from both folly and stupidity
ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι πόλεμον προείπωσι, ἐξευρόντες τὸ
when for on-each-other war they-declare having-found the
κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς τοῦτο κατιόντες
fairest place and smoothest to this going-down
μάχονται, ὥστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶντες
they-fight so-that with harm great the conquerors
ἀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσσουμένων οὐδὲ λέγω
depart about and the worsted not-even I-speak
ἀρχήν· ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται·
at-all utterly-destroyed for indeed they-become
τοὺς χρῆν ἐόντας ὁμογλώσσους κήρυξί τε
whom it-was-necessary being of-one-tongue heralds both
διαχρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς
using and messengers to-settle the differences
καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχῃσι· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδεε
and by-every(-means) rather than by-battles if but altogether it-was-necessary

πολεμέειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρῆν τῇ ἑκάτεροι
to-war against each-other to-find it-was-necessary where each
εἰσὶ δυσχειρωτότατοι καὶ ταύτῃ πειρᾶν. τρόπῳ τοίνυν
are hardest-to-subdue and there to-try in-manner now
οὐ χρηστῷ Ἕλληνες διαχρεώμενοι, ἐμέο ἐλάσαντος μέχρι
not good Greeks using(-it) me having-marched as-far-as
Μακεδονίης γῆς, οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς τούτου λόγον ὥστε μάχεσθαι.
of-Macedonia land not came to this account so-as to-fight
9C σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τίς ὦ βασιλεῦ ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον
to-you but indeed is-about who O king to-oppose war
προφέρων, ἄγοντι καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ νέας
bringing to-you-leading both the-host the from — Asia and ships
τὰς ἁπάσας; ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο θράσεος
the all as indeed I think not to this of-boldness
ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα· εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἔγωγε ψευσθείην
reach the of-Greeks affairs if but then I-indeed should-be-deceived
γνώμῃ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπαερθέντες ἀβουλίῃ ἔλθοιεν ἡμῖν ἐς
in-judgment and they elated by-folly should-come to-us into
μάχην, μάθοιεν ἂν ὡς εἰμὲν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ
battle they-would-learn — that we-are of-men best in-the
πολέμια. ἔστω δ' ὧν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ
war(-things) let-it-be but then nothing untried by-itself for
οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι."
nothing but from trial all(-things) for-men is-wont to-come
10 Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλεήνας τὴν Ξέρξεω γνώμην
Mardonius indeed so-much having-smoothed the of-Xerxes opinion
ἐπέπαυτο· σιωπώντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων καὶ οὐ
ceased being-silent and the other Persians and not
τολμώντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ,
daring an-opinion to-declare opposed to-the proposed

Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ
Artabanus the (son)-of-Hystaspes uncle being to-Xerxes on-which indeed
καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν ἔλεγε τάδε.
also relying being said this
“ Ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ λεχθεισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων 10A
O king not having-been-spoken indeed opinions opposed
ἀλλήλῃσι οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἱρεόμενον ἑλέσθαι,
to-each-other not it-is-possible the better choosing to-choose
ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ εἰρημένῃ χρᾶσθαι, λεχθεισέων δὲ
but it-is-necessary the spoken(-one) to-use having-been-spoken but
ἔστι, ὥσπερ τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ’
it-is-possible just-as the gold the pure itself indeed by
ἑωυτοῦ οὐ διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλῳ
itself not we-distinguish when but we-rub(-it)-beside other
χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνω.
gold we-distinguish the better
ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ Δαρείῳ
I and also father the your brother and my Darius
ἠγόρευον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἄνδρας οὐδαμόθι
told not to-march against Scythians men nowhere
γῆς ἄστυ νέμοντας. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας
on-earth a-town inhabiting he but hoping Scythians the nomads
καταστρέψεσθαι ἐμοί τε οὐκ ἐπείθετο, στρατευσάμενός τε
to-subdue me both not obeyed having-marched and
πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε.
many and good of-the army having-lost came-back
σὺ δὲ ὦ βασιλεῦ μέλλεις ἐπ’ ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι
you and O king intend against men to-march
πολλὸν ἀμείνονας ἢ Σκύθας, οἳ κατὰ θάλασσάν τε
by-far better than Scythians who by sea both

ἄριστοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι
best and by land are-said to-be what but in-them
ἔνεστι δεινόν, ἐμὲ σοὶ δίκαιον ἐστὶ φράζειν.
is terrible me to-you right it-is to-tell
10B ζεύξας φῂς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς
having-yoked you-say the Hellespont to-drive an-army through —
Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικέ σε ἤτοι
Europe to — Greece and indeed also it-happened you either
κατὰ γῆν ἢ καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐσσωθῆναι, ἢ καὶ κατ᾽
by land or also by sea to-be-worsted or even on
ἀμφότερα· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκιμοι, πάρεστι
both the for men are-said to-be valiant it-is-possible
δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιήν γε τοσαύτην σὺν
and also to-estimate if army at-least so-great with
Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφρένεϊ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώρην
Datis and Artaphrenes having-come to the Attic land
μοῦνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν.
alone Athenians destroyed
οὔκων ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε. ἀλλ᾽ ἢν τῇσι νηυσὶ
not-then in-both-ways for-them it-succeeded but if with-the ships
ἐμβάλωσι καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι ἐς τὸν
they-attack and having-conquered in-a-sea-fight sail to the
Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τοῦτο δὴ
Hellespont and then break the bridge this indeed
βασιλεῦ γίνεται δεινόν.
king becomes terrible
10C ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδεμιῇ σοφίῃ οἰκηίῃ αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι,
I and by-no wisdom of-my-own myself these conjecture
ἀλλ᾽ οἷον κοτὲ ἡμέας ὀλίγου ἐδέησε καταλαβεῖν πάθος,
but what-sort-of once us by-little it-lacked to-overtake disaster
ὅτε πατὴρ σὸς ζεύξας Βόσπορον τὸν Θρηίκιον, γεφυρώσας
when father your having-yoked Bosporus the Thracian having-bridged

δὲ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας. τότε παντοῖοι
and river Ister crossed against Scythians then of-every-sort
ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λῦσαι τὸν πόρον,
became Scythians begging Ionians to-break-up the passage
τοῖσι ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἴστρου.
to-whom had-been-entrusted the guard of-the bridges of-the Ister
καὶ τότε γε Ἱστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο τῶν
and then at-least Histiaeus the of-Miletus tyrant if had-followed of-the
ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ μηδὲ ἠναντιώθη, διέργαστο
other tyrants the opinion and-not had-opposed(-it) would-have-been-ruined
ἂν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα. καίτοι καὶ λόγῳ ἀκοῦσαι δεινόν,
— the of-Persians affairs and-yet even in-word to-hear terrible
ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρί γε ἑνὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι.
on man at-least one all the king's affairs to-have-come-to-be
σὺ ὦν μὴ βούλευ ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι 10D
you then not resolve into danger any such to-come
μηδεμιῆς ἀνάγκης ἐούσης, ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ πείθευ. νῦν μὲν
no necessity being but me obey now indeed
τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὖτις δέ, ὅταν τοι δοκέῃ,
the assembly this dissolve again and when to-you it-seems
προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωυτοῦ προαγόρευε τά τοι δοκέει
having-considered by yourself proclaim what to-you seems
εἶναι ἄριστα.
to-be best
τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλεύεσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὑρίσκω ἐόν· εἰ
the for well to-plan gain greatest I-find being if
γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναί τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν
for even to-go-against(-it) anything wishes it-has-been-planned indeed nothing
ἧσσον εὖ, ἔσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα·
less well has-been-worsted and by the fortune the plan

ὁ δὲ βουλευσάμενος αἰσχρῶς, εἴ οἱ ἡ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο,
he but having-planned shamefully if to-him the fortune should-attend
εὕρημα εὕρηκε, ἧσσον δὲ οὐδέν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευται.
a-windfall has-found less but nothing to-him badly it-has-been-planned
10E ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῷα ὡς κεραυνοῖ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ
you-see the overtopping creatures how strikes-with-lightning the god nor
ἐᾷ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδέν μιν κνίζει· ὁρᾷς δὲ
allows to-make-a-show the but small nothing him irks you-see and
ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα
how on buildings the greatest always and trees the such(-ones)
ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα· φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα
he-hurls the bolts is-wont for the god the overtopping(-things)
πάντα κολούειν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου
all to-cut-down thus and also an-army great by small
διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιόνδε· ἐπεάν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας
is-destroyed in such(-a-way) whenever on-them the god having-grown-jealous
φόβον ἐμβάλῃ ἢ βροντήν, δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν ἀναξίως
fear casts or thunder through which they-were-destroyed unworthily
ἑωυτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν.
of-themselves not for allows to-think big the god another than himself
10F ἐπειχθῆναι μέν νυν πᾶν πρῆγμα τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ
to-hasten indeed then every matter breeds failures from
τῶν ζημίαι μεγάλαι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν
which losses great are-wont to-come in but the holding-back
ἔνεστι ἀγαθά, εἰ μὴ παραυτίκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ
are-in goods if not immediately seeming to-be but in
χρόνον ἐξεύροι τις ἄν.
time would-find someone —
10G σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὦ βασιλεῦ συμβουλεύω· σὺ δέ, ὦ παῖ
to-you indeed then these O king I-advise you but O son
Γοβρύεω Μαρδόνιε, παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ
of-Gobryas Mardonius stop saying words vain about

Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐόντων ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν. Ἕλληνας
Greeks not being worthy badly to-be-spoken-of Greeks
γὰρ διαβάλλων ἐπαείρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι·
for slandering you-excite himself king to-march
αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην
of-itself and this for-the-sake you-seem to-me all eagerness
ἐκτείνειν. μή νυν οὕτω γένηται.
to-strain not now so may-it-happen
διαβολὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ δεινότατον· ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰσὶ
slander for is most-terrible in which two indeed are
οἱ ἀδικέοντες, εἷς δὲ ὁ ἀδικεόμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
the wrongdoers one and the wronged the indeed for
διαβάλλων ἀδικέει οὐ παρεόντι κατηγορέων, ὁ δὲ ἀδικέει
slandering does-wrong not present accusing the and does-wrong
ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ· ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν
being-persuaded before than exactly he-learns the but indeed absent
τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικέεται, διαβληθείς τε
from-the speech thus among them is-wronged slandered both
ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου κακὸς εἶναι.
by the one and thought by the other bad to-be
ἀλλ᾽ εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους 10H
but if indeed it-is-necessary at-least wholly against the men these
στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἤθεσι τοῖσι
to-march come king indeed himself in abodes the
Περσέων μενέτω, ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων
of-Persians let-him-stay of-us and both staking
τὰ τέκνα, στρατηλάτεε αὐτὸς σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενός τε ἄνδρας
the children lead-the-army yourself you having-chosen both men
τοὺς ἐθέλεις καὶ λαβὼν στρατιὴν ὁκόσην τινὰ βούλεαι.
whom you-wish and having-taken an-army as-great any you-wish

καὶ ἢν μὲν τῇ σὺ λέγεις ἀναβαίνῃ βασιλέι τὰ πρήγματα,
and if indeed where you say go king the affairs
κτεινέσθων οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἐγώ· ἢν
let-be-killed the my sons besides and them also I if
δὲ τῇ ἐγὼ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων, σὺν δέ
but where I foretell the yours these let-suffer with and
σφι καὶ σύ, ἢν ἀπονοστήσῃς.
them also you if you-return
εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνειν οὐκ ἐθελήσεις, σὺ δὲ πάντως
if but these indeed to-undergo not you-will-wish you but wholly
στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀκούσεσθαι τινὰ
an-army will-lead against — Greece to-hear someone
φημὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τῇδε ὑπολειπομένων Μαρδόνιον, μέγα
I-say of-those here here left-behind Mardonius great
τι κακὸν ἐξεργασάμενον Πέρσας, ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ
some evil having-wrought Persians by dogs both and
ὀρνίθων διαφορεύμενον ἤ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων
birds torn-apart either somewhere in land the of-Athenians
ἢ σέ γε ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρότερον
or you at-least in the of-Lacedaemonians if not then even before
κατ' ὁδόν, γνόντα ἐπ' οἵους ἄνδρας ἀναγινώσκεις
on the-road having-learned against what-sort men you-persuade
στρατεύεσθαι βασιλέα."
to-march king

11 Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς ἀμείβεται
Artabanus indeed these said Xerxes but angered answers
τοῖσιδε. "Ἀρτάβανε, πατρὸς εἷς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφεός· τοῦτό
with-these Artabanus of-father you-are the my brother this
σε ῥύσεται μηδένα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων ματαίων.
you will-save no worthy wage to-receive for-words vain
καί τοι ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίην προστίθημι ἐόντι κακῷ καὶ
and to-you this the dishonor I-attach being cowardly and

ἀθύμῳ, μήτε συστρατεύεσθαι ἔμοιγε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
spiritless neither to-march-with me against — Greece
αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἅμα τῇσι γυναιξί· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ σέο
here both to-stay with the women I but even without you
ὅσα περ εἶπα ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω. μὴ γὰρ εἴην ἐκ
as-much-as indeed I-said accomplished shall-make not for may-I-be from
Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω
Darius the (son)-of-Hystaspes the (son)-of-Arsames the (son)-of-Ariaramnes
τοῦ Τεΐσπεος τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Τεΐσπεος
the (son)-of-Teispes the (son)-of-Cyrus the (son)-of-Cambyses the (son)-of-Teispes
τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονώς, μὴ τιμωρησάμενος Ἀθηναίους, εὖ
the (son)-of-Achaemenes born not having-punished Athenians well
ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι,
knowing that if we quiet keep yet not they
ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, εἰ
but even very-much will-march against the ours if
χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων,
it-is-necessary to-judge by-the(-things) begun by them
οἳ Σάρδις τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ ἤλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. οὔκων
who Sardis both burned and marched into — Asia not-then
ἐξαναχωρέειν οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιέειν ἢ
to-withdraw for-neither possibly is but to-do or
παθεῖν πρόκειται ἀγών, ἵνα ἢ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ Ἕλλησι
to-suffer lies-before the-contest so-that either these all under Greeks
ἢ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι γένηται· τὸ γὰρ μέσον
or those all under Persians may-come the for middle
οὐδὲν τῆς ἔχθρης ἐστί. καλὸν ὦν προπεπονθότας ἡμέας
none of-the enmity is fair then having-suffered-first us
τιμωρέειν ἤδη γίνεται, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι
to-avenge now becomes so-that also the terrible(-thing) which I-shall-suffer
τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας ἐπ᾽ ἄνδρας τούτους, τούς γε
this I-may-learn having-marched against men these whom at-least

καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ Φρύξ, ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος,
even Pelops the Phrygian being of-fathers the my slave
κατεστρέψατο οὕτω ὡς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοί τε ὦνθρωποι καὶ
subdued so that even to this themselves both the-people and
ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεψαμένου καλέονται."
the land of-them named-after the subduer are-called
12 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο· μετὰ δὲ εὐφρόνη τε ἐγίνετο
these indeed to so-far were-said after and night both came
καὶ Ξέρξην ἔκνιζε ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη· νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν
and Xerxes stung the of-Artabanus opinion by-night and counsel
διδοὺς πάγχυ εὕρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρῆγμα εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι
taking altogether he-found to-him not matter to-be to-march
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. δεδογμένων δέ οἱ αὖτις τούτων
against — Greece having-resolved and to-him again these
κατύπνωσε, καὶ δή κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε,
he-fell-asleep and indeed perhaps in the night he-saw a-vision such
ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἄνδρα οἱ
as is-said by Persians seemed — Xerxes a-man to-him
ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδέα εἰπεῖν "Μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεαι,
standing-over great both and handsome to-say change indeed do-you-plan
ὦ Πέρσα, στράτευμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προείπας
O Persian an-army not to-lead against — Greece having-proclaimed
ἁλίζειν Πέρσας στρατόν; οὔτε ὢν μεταβουλευόμενος ποιέεις
to-gather Persians an-army neither then changing-your-mind you-do
εὖ οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς
well nor the one-who-will-pardon to-you is-present but just-as in-the
ἡμέρης ἐβουλεύσαο ποιέειν, ταύτην ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν."
day you-planned to-do this go of-the ways
13 Τὸν μὲν ταῦτα εἰπόντα ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτάσθαι,
him indeed these having-said seemed — Xerxes to-fly-away
ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης ὀνείρου μὲν τούτου λόγον οὐδένα

ἐποιέετο, ὁ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον
he-made he but of-Persians having-gathered those-whom also before
συνέλεξε, ἔλεξέ σφι τάδε. “Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην
he-had-gathered said to-them this men Persians pardon
μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλεύομαι· φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς
me have that quick-turning(-plans) I-make of-wits both for to
τὰ ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὔκω ἀνήκω, καὶ οἱ παρηγορεόμενοι
the my-own first(-height) not-yet I-have-come and those urging
ἐκεῖνα ποιέειν οὐδένα χρόνον μευ ἀπέχονται. ἀκούσαντι
those(-things) to-do no time from-me hold-off having-heard
μέντοι μοι τῆς Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης παραυτίκα μὲν ἡ
however me the of-Artabanus opinion immediately indeed the
νεότης ἐπέζεσε, ὥστε ἀεικέστερα ἀπορρῖψαι ἔπεα ἐς
youth boiled-over so-that more-unseemly to-throw-out words at
ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον ἢ χρεόν· νῦν μέντοι συγγνοὺς
a-man older than necessary now however having-acknowledged(-it)
χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ. ὡς ὦν μεταδεδογμένον μοι
I-shall-use the his opinion since then changed-my-mind me
μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥσυχοι ἔστε.”
not to-march against — Greece quiet be
Πέρσαι μὲν ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες προσεκύνεον. 14
Persians indeed when they-heard these rejoicing did-obeisance
νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης αὖτις τὠυτὸ ὄνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ
by-night and having-come again the-same dream — to-Xerxes
κατυπνωμένῳ ἔλεγε ἐπιστάν “Ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ
asleep said standing-over O son of-Darius and indeed
φαίνεαι ἐν Πέρσῃσί τε ἀπειπάμενος τὴν στρατηλασίην
you-appear among Persians both having-renounced the expedition
καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπεα ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιησάμενος λόγῳ ὡς παρ’
and the my words in nothing having-made account as from
οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας; εὖ νυν τόδ’ ἴσθι· ἤν περ μὴ αὐτίκα
no-one having-heard well now this know if indeed not at-once

στρατηλατέῃς, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασχήσει· ὡς καὶ
you-lead-the-army this to-you from them will-rise as both
μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ
great and much you-became in little time so also
ταπεινὸς ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἔσεαι."
low back with speed you-will-be
Ξέρξης μὲν περιδεὴς γενόμενος τῇ ὄψι ἀνά τε ἔδραμε ἐκ
Xerxes indeed very-afraid having-become at-the vision up both ran from
τῆς κοίτης καὶ πέμπει ἄγγελον ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον καλέοντα·
the bed and sends a-messenger for Artabanus calling(-him)
ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε. "Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ
having-come and to-him said Xerxes this Artabanus I the
παραυτίκα μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνεον εἴπας ἐς σὲ μάταια ἔπεα
at-the-moment indeed not was-sound-of-mind having-said to you vain words
χρηστῆς εἵνεκα συμβουλίης· μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον
for-good for-the-sake counsel after however not much time
μετέγνων, ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτα μοι ποιητέα ἐόντα τὰ
I-repented I-recognized and these-things for-me to-be-done being which
σὺ ὑπεθήκαο. οὔκων δυνατός τοι εἰμὶ ταῦτα βουλόμενος
you advised not-then able for-you I-am these wishing
ποιέειν· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνωκότι
to-do turned for indeed and having-changed-my-mind
ἐπιφοιτέον ὄνειρον φαντάζεταί μοι οὐδαμῶς συνεπαινέον
visiting a-dream appears to-me in-no-way approving
ποιέειν με ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλῆσαν οἴχεται. εἰ ὦν
to-do me these now and also having-threatened it-is-gone if then
θεός ἐστι ὁ ἐπιπέμπων καί οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι
a-god it-is the sending(-it) and to-him wholly in pleasure it-is
γενέσθαι στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ Ἑλλάδα, ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ
to-happen an-expedition against Greece will-fly-to also
σοὶ τωὐτὸ τοῦτο ὄνειρον, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον.
you the-same this dream likewise also me enjoining

εὑρίσκω δὲ ὧδ᾽ ἂν γινόμενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν
I-find and thus — happening these if you-were-to-take the my
σκευὴν πᾶσαν καὶ ἐνδὺς μετὰ τοῦτο ἵζοιο ἐς τὸν
dress all and having-put-on(-it) after this you-were-to-sit on the
ἐμὸν θρόνον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπνώσειας.”
my throne and then in bed the my you-were-to-sleep
Ξέρξης μὲν ταῦτά οἱ ἔλεγε· Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ πρώτῳ 16
Xerxes indeed these to-him said Artabanus but not at-the-first
κελεύσματι πειθόμενος, οἷα οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν
command obeying as not thinking-himself-worthy on the
βασιλήιον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι, τέλος ὡς ἠναγκάζετο εἶπας
royal throne to-sit at-last when he-was-compelled having-said
τάδε ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον.
this did the commanded
“ Ἴσον ἐκεῖνο ὦ βασιλεῦ παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ κέκριται, φρονέειν 16A
equal that O king with me is-judged to-think
τε εὖ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι·
both well and the(-one) saying good(-things) to-be-willing to-obey
τά σε καὶ ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν
which you also both attaining of-men bad
ὁμιλίαι σφάλλουσι, κατά περ τὴν πάντων χρησιμωτάτην
associations trip(-up) as indeed the of-all most-useful
ἀνθρώποισι θάλασσαν πνεύματα φασὶ ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα
to-men sea blasts they-say of-winds falling-on(-it)
οὐ περιορᾶν φύσι τῇ ἑωυτῆς χρᾶσθαι.
not to-allow nature the its-own to-use
ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτο ἔδακε
me and having-heard from you badly(-spoken-of) not so-much bit
λύπη ὅσον γνωμέων δύο προκειμενέων Πέρσῃσι, τῆς μὲν
grief as-much-as opinions two lying-before Persians the(-one) indeed
ὕβριν αὐξανούσης, τῆς δὲ καταπανούσης καὶ λεγούσης ὡς
insolence increasing the(-other) and checking(-it) and saying that

κακὸν εἴη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι δίζησθαι αἰεὶ
bad it-was to-teach the soul more something to-seek always
ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντος, τοιουτέων προκειμενέων γνωμέων
to-have than-the present such lying-before opinions
ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτέρην σεωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι ἀναιρέο.
that the more-dangerous for-yourself both and for-Persians you-chose
16B νῦν ὦν, ἐπειδὴ τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω, φῄς τοι
now then since you-have-turned to the better you-say to-you
μετιέντι τὸν ἐπ᾽ Ἕλληνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτᾶν ὄνειρον θεοῦ
giving-up the against Greeks expedition visits a-dream of-god
τινος πομπῇ, οὐκ ἐῶντά σε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον.
some by-sending not allowing you to-break-up the expedition
ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐστι, ὦ παῖ, θεῖα. ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς
but not-even these are O son divine dreams for the among
ἀνθρώπους πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτα ἐστὶ οἷά σε ἐγὼ διδάξω,
men wandering such are as you I will-teach
ἔτεσι σεῦ πολλοῖσι πρεσβύτερος ἐών· πεπλανῆσθαι αὖται
by-years than-you many older being to-wander these
μάλιστα ἐώθασι αἱ ὄψιες τῶν ὀνειράτων, τά τις ἡμέρης
most are-wont the visions of-the dreams what one by-day
φροντίζει. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἡμέρας ταύτην τὴν
ponders we and the before this days this the
στρατηλασίην καὶ τὸ κάρτα εἴχομεν μετὰ χεῖρας.
expedition even the very-much had in hands
16C εἰ δὲ ἄρα μή ἐστι τοῦτο τοιοῦτο οἷον ἐγὼ διαιρέω, ἀλλά
if but then not is this such as I distinguish but
τι τοῦ θείου μετέχον, σὺ πᾶν αὐτὸ συλλαβὼν εἴρηκας·
something of-the divine having-a-share you all it summing-up have-said
φανήτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ ὡς καὶ σοὶ διακελευόμενον.
let-it-appear for indeed also to-me as also to-you commanding
φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλόν μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν ἐσθῆτα
to-appear but nothing more to-me ought(-it) having the dress

ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμήν, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ
than not also the mine nor anything more in bed the
σῇ ἀναπαυομένῳ ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ, εἴ πέρ γε
yours resting than not also in the mine if indeed at-least
καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανῆναι.
even otherwise it-wishes to-appear
οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτό γε εὐηθείης ἀνήκει τοῦτο, ὅ τι
not for indeed to so-much at-least of-silliness reaches this what ever
δή κοτε ἐστί, τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενόν τοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ὥστε
indeed ever it-is the appearing to-you in the sleep so-that
δόξει ἐμὲ ὁρῶν σὲ εἶναι, τῇ σῇ ἐσθῆτι τεκμαιρόμενον.
it-will-think me seeing you to-be by-the your dress judging
εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιήσεται οὐδὲ ἀξιώσει
if but me indeed in no account it-will-make nor deem-worthy
ἐπιφανῆναι, οὔτε ἢν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔχω οὔτε ἢν τὴν σήν,
to-appear(-to) neither if the my dress I-have nor if the yours
οὐδὲ ἐπιφοιτήσει, τοῦτο ἤδη μαθητέον ἔσται. εἰ γὰρ δὴ
nor will-visit(-me) this now to-be-learned will-be if for indeed
ἐπιφοιτήσει γε συνεχέως, φαίην ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θεῖον εἶναι.
it-visits at-least continually I-would-say — also myself divine to-be(-it)
εἰ δέ τοι οὕτω δεδόκηται γίνεσθαι καὶ οὐκ οἷά τε
if but to-you thus it-has-been-resolved to-happen and not possible —
αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη δεῖ ἐμὲ ἐν κοίτῃ σῇ
it to-avert but now it-is-necessary me in bed your
κατυπνῶσαι, φέρε, τούτων ἐξ ἐμεῦ ἐπιτελευμένων φανήτω
to-sleep come these by me being-accomplished let-it-appear
καὶ ἐμοί. μέχρι δὲ τούτου τῇ παρεούσῃ γνώμῃ χρήσομαι."
also to-me until but this the present opinion I-shall-use
Τοσαῦτα εἴπας Ἀρτάβανος, ἐλπίζων Ξέρξην ἀποδέξειν 17
so-much having-said Artabanus expecting Xerxes to-show
λέγοντα οὐδέν, ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον. ἐνδὺς δὲ τὴν
saying nothing did the commanded having-put-on and the

Ξέρξεω ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἱζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ὡς
of-Xerxes dress and sitting on the royal throne when
μετὰ ταῦτα κοῖτον ἐποιέετο, ἦλθέ οἱ κατυπνωμένῳ τὠυτὸ
after these bed he-made came to-him asleep the-same
ὄνειρον τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ξέρξην ἐφοίτα, ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ
dream which also to Xerxes used-to-visit having-stood-over and —
Ἀρταβάνου εἶπε· "Ἆρα σὺ δὴ κεῖνος εἶς ὁ ἀποσπεύδων
of-Artabanus it-said are you indeed that-one you-are the hastening-away
Ξέρξην στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος
Xerxes to-march against — Greece as indeed caring-for
αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα οὔτε ἐς τὸ παραυτίκα νῦν
him but neither for the hereafter nor for the immediate now
καταπροΐξεαι ἀποτράπων τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ
will-you-escape-unpunished averting the fated to-happen Xerxes and
τὰ δεῖ ἀνηκουστέοντα παθεῖν, αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ δεδήλωται."
what he-must disobeying to-suffer to-himself him has-been-shown
18 Ταῦτά τε ἐδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ ὄνειρον ἀπειλέειν καὶ
these both seemed Artabanus the dream to-threaten and
θερμοῖσι σιδηρίοισι ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.
with-hot irons to-burn-out his to-be-about the eyes
καὶ ὃς ἀμβώσας μέγα ἀναθρώσκει, καὶ παριζόμενος Ξέρξῃ,
and he having-shouted greatly leaps-up and sitting-beside Xerxes
ὡς τὴν ὄψιν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξῆλθε ἀπηγεόμενος,
when the vision to-him of-the dream he-had-gone-through relating
δεύτερά οἱ λέγει τάδε. "Ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἷά
second to-him says this I indeed O king as
ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν ἤδη πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα
a-man having-seen already many both and great fallen
πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἡσσόνων, οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίῃ
affairs by lesser not allowed you the all(-things) to-the youth
εἴκειν, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακὸν εἴη τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμέειν,
to-yield knowing that bad it-was the many(-things) to-desire

μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς
remembering indeed the against Massagetae of-Cyrus expedition how
ἔπρηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ᾽ Αἰθίοπας τὸν Καμβύσεω,
it-fared remembering and also the against Ethiopians the of-Cambyses
συστρατευόμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας. ἐπιστάμενος
campaigning-with and also with-Darius against Scythians knowing
ταῦτα γνώμην εἶχον ἀτρεμίζοντά σε μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς
these opinion I-had keeping-quiet you blessed to-be by
πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ δαιμονίη τις γίνεται ὁρμή, καὶ
all men since but divine some comes impulse and
Ἕλληνας, ὡς οἶκε, καταλαμβάνει τις φθορὴ θεήλατος, ἐγὼ
Greeks as it-seems overtakes some destruction god-driven I
μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τρέπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι, σὺ
indeed also myself turn and the opinion change you
δὲ σήμηνον μὲν Πέρσῃσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα,
but signify indeed to-Persians the(-things) from the god sent
χρᾶσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖσι ἐκ σέο πρώτοισι προειρημένοισι ἐς
to-use and bid(-them) the by you first proclaimed for
τὴν παρασκευήν, ποίεε δὲ οὕτω ὅκως τοῦ θεοῦ παραδιδόντος
the preparation act and so that the god handing(-it)-over
τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μηδέν.” τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνθαῦτα
of-the your(-part) will-be-lacking nothing these and having-been-said then
ἐπαερθέντες τῇ ὄψι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ξέρξης τε
elated by-the vision when day came soonest Xerxes both
ὑπερετίθετο ταῦτα Πέρσῃσι, καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, ὃς πρότερον
communicated these to-Persians and Artabanus who before
ἀποσπεύδων μοῦνος ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπισπεύδων φανερὸς ἦν.
hastening-away alone appeared then hastening-on manifest was
Ὁρμημένῳ δὲ Ξέρξῃ στρατηλατέειν μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτῃ 19
set-out and to-Xerxes to-lead-the-army after these a-third
ὄψις ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐγένετο, τὴν οἱ Μάγοι ἔκριναν
vision in the sleep came which the Magi judged

ἀκούσαντες φέρειν τε ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν δουλεύσειν τέ οἱ
having-heard to-refer both to all earth will-be-slaves and to-him
πάντας ἀνθρώπους. ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἦν ἥδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης
all men the and vision was this seemed — Xerxes
ἐστεφανῶσθαι ἐλαίης θαλλῷ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίης τοὺς
to-have-been-crowned of-olive with-a-shoot from and the olive the
κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεῖν, μετὰ δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ
branches earth all to-cover after and to-vanish about
τῇ κεφαλῇ κείμενον τὸν στέφανον. κρινάντων δὲ ταῦτα
the head lying the crown having-judged and these
τῶν Μάγων, Περσέων τε τῶν συλλεχθέντων αὐτίκα πᾶς
the Magi of-Persians both the gathered at-once every
ἀνὴρ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἀπελάσας εἶχε προθυμίην
man to the province his-own having-ridden-off had eagerness
πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι, θέλων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τὰ
all for the(-things) spoken wishing himself each the
προκείμενα δῶρα λαβεῖν, καὶ Ξέρξης τοῦ στρατοῦ οὕτω
offered gifts to-receive and Xerxes of-the army thus
ἐπάγερσιν ποιέεται, χῶρον πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς ἠπείρου.
a-gathering makes place every searching of-the continent

III · THE PREPARATIONS

For four years after Egypt Xerxes gathers the greatest army ever known, beyond Darius' against the Scythians and the Greeks' against Troy. Because the earlier fleet was wrecked off Athos, he has a canal dug through the isthmus by gangs under the lash, the Phoenicians alone cutting their trench wisely. He has cables of papyrus and white flax made for the bridges, and food stored at stations along the coast of Thrace and Macedonia.

Ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου ἁλώσιος ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα 20
from for of-Egypt capture for indeed four years full
παραρτέετο στρατιήν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ
he-prepared army both and the(-things) useful for-the
στρατιῇ, πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτεε χειρὶ
army in-the-fifth and year being-completed he-led-the-army with-hand
μεγάλῃ πλήθεος. στόλων γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν πολλῷ
great of-multitude of-expeditions for of-those-which we know by-much
δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο, ὥστε μήτε τὸν Δαρείου
indeed greatest this was so-that neither the of-Darius
τὸν ἐπὶ Σκύθας παρὰ τοῦτον μηδένα φαίνεσθαι, μήτε
the against Scythians beside this no-one to-appear nor
τὸν Σκυθικόν, ὅτε Σκύθαι Κιμμερίους διώκοντες ἐς τὴν
the Scythian when Scythians Cimmerians pursuing into the
Μηδικὴν χώρην ἐσβαλόντες σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ ἄνω τῆς
Median land having-invaded nearly all the upper(-parts) —
Ἀσίης καταστρεψάμενοι ἐνέμοντο, τῶν εἵνεκεν ὕστερον
of-Asia having-subdued occupied of-which for-the-sake later
Δαρεῖος ἐτιμωρέετο, μήτε κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα τὸν
Darius took-vengeance nor according-to the(-things) told the
Ἀτρειδέων ἐς Ἴλιον, μήτε τὸν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν
of-the-Atreidae to Ilium nor the of-Mysians both and Teucrians
τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενον, οἳ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν
the before the Trojan(-war) having-happened who having-crossed into —
Εὐρώπην κατὰ Βόσπορον τούς τε Θρήικας κατεστρέψαντο
Europe by Bosporus the both Thracians subdued
πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον πόντον κατέβησαν, μέχρι τε
all and to the Ionian sea came-down as-far-as and
Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ πρὸς μεσαμβρίης ἤλασαν.
Peneus river the toward south they-drove

21 Αὗται αἱ πᾶσαι οὐδ' εἰ ἕτεραι πρὸς ταύτῃσι
these the all not-even if others in-addition-to these
προσγενόμεναι στρατηλασίαι μιῆς τῆσδε οὐκ ἄξιαι. τί γὰρ
added expeditions of-one this not worthy what for
οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης;
not led from — Asia nation against — Greece Xerxes
κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν
what and being-drunk him water not failed except the
μεγάλων ποταμῶν; οἳ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρείχοντο, οἳ δὲ
great rivers they indeed for ships furnished they and
ἐς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππος προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι
in infantry were-ranked to-those and cavalry was-assigned to-those
δὲ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ἅμα στρατευομένοισι, τοῖσι δὲ ἐς τὰς
and horse-transport boats together campaigning to-those and for the
γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ σῖτά τε καὶ νέας.
bridges long ships to-furnish to-those and food both and ships
22 Καὶ τοῦτο μέν, ὡς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων
and this indeed since having-come-to-grief the first
περιπλεόντων περὶ τὸν Ἄθων προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν
sailing-round about — Athos was-prepared for three
ἐτέων κου μάλιστα τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἄθων. ἐν γὰρ
years perhaps mostly the(-works) at — Athos at for
Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὅρμεον τριήρεες· ἐνθεῦτεν
Elaeus — of-Chersonese lay triremes thence
δὲ ὁρμώμενοι ὤρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποὶ τῆς
and setting-out dug under whips all-kinds of-the
στρατιῆς, διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτεον· ὤρυσσον δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ
army in-relays and came dug and also those about
τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι. Βουβάρης δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάζου καὶ
— Athos dwelling Bubares and the (son)-of-Megabazus and
Ἀρταχαίης ὁ Ἀρταίου ἄνδρες Πέρσαι ἐπέστασαν τοῦ
Artachaees the (son)-of-Artaeus men Persian stood-over the

ἔργου. ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ ὄρος μέγα τε καὶ ὀνομαστόν,
work — for Athos is a-mountain great both and renowned
ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆκον, οἰκημένον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. τῇ
to sea reaching inhabited by men where
δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον τὸ ὄρος, χερσονησοειδές τε
and ends at the mainland the mountain peninsula-shaped both
ἐστὶ καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὡς δυώδεκα σταδίων· πεδίον δὲ τοῦτο
it-is and an-isthmus about twelve stades plain and this
καὶ κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίων ἐπὶ
and hills not great from sea the of-Acanthians to
θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ,
sea the opposite Torone in and the isthmus this
ἐς τὸν τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἄθως, Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλὰς οἴκηται, αἳ
at which ends — Athos Sane city Greek is-inhabited those
δὲ ἐκτὸς Σάνης, ἔσω δὲ τοῦ Ἄθω οἰκημέναι, τὰς τότε
but outside Sane within but — of-Athos inhabited which then
ὁ Πέρσης νησιώτιδας ἀντὶ ἠπειρωτίδων ὥρμητο ποιέειν·
the Persian islands instead-of mainland(-towns) was-eager to-make
εἰσὶ δὲ αἵδε, Δῖον Ὀλόφυξος Ἀκρόθωον Θύσσος Κλεωναί.
are and these Dium Olophyxus Acrothoum Thyssus Cleonae
Πόλιες μὲν αὗται αἳ τὸν Ἄθων νέμονται, ὤρυσσον δὲ 23
cities indeed these which — Athos inhabit dug and
ὧδε δασάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα· κατὰ
thus having-divided the place the barbarians by nations at
Σάνην πόλιν σχοινοτενὲς ποιησάμενοι, ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο βαθέα
Sane city a-straight-line having-made when became deep
ἡ διῶρυξ, οἳ μὲν κατώτατα ἑστεῶτες ὤρυσσον, ἕτεροι
the trench they indeed lowest standing dug others
δὲ παρεδίδοσαν τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἄλλοισι
and handed-on the always being-dug-out earth to-others
κατύπερθε ἑστεῶσι ἐπὶ βάθρων, οἳ δ' αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι
above standing on steps they and again receiving(-it)

ἑτέροισι, ἕως ἀπίκοντο ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω· οὗτοι δὲ
to-others until they-came to those highest these and
ἐξεφόρεόν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. τοῖσι μέν νυν ἄλλοισι πλὴν
carried-out both and threw-out for-the indeed then others except
Φοινίκων καταρρηγνύμενοι οἱ κρημνοὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος πόνον
Phoenicians breaking-down the cliffs of-the cutting toil
διπλήσιον παρεῖχον· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ
double caused as for of-the both upper mouth and of-the
κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιευμένων, ἔμελλέ σφι τοιοῦτο
lower the same measures making it-was-going for-them such
ἀποβήσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες σοφίην ἔν τε τοῖσι ἄλλοισι
to-result the but Phoenicians skill in both the other
ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ. ἀπολαχόντες
works display and indeed also in that having-obtained-by-lot
γὰρ μόριον ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε, ὤρυσσον τὸ μὲν
for a-portion as-much-as to-them fell they-dug the indeed
ἄνω στόμα τῆς διώρυχος ποιεῦντες διπλήσιον ἢ ὅσον
upper mouth of-the trench making double than as-much-as
ἔδεε αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα γενέσθαι, προβαίνοντος
it-was-necessary itself the trench to-be advancing
δὲ τοῦ ἔργου συνῆγον αἰεί· κάτω τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ
and the work they-narrowed always below both indeed it-became and
ἐξισοῦτο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι τὸ ἔργον. ἐνθαῦτα λειμών ἐστι,
was-equal to-the others the work there a-meadow is
ἵνα σφι ἀγορή τε ἐγίνετο καὶ πρητήριον· σῖτος δέ
where for-them a-market both was and a-bazaar grain and
σφι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀληλεσμένος.
to-them much came from — Asia ground

24 Ὡς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὑρίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης
as indeed me reckoning to-find of-pride
εἵνεκεν αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν
for-the-sake it Xerxes to-dig ordered wishing both power

ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρεὸν γὰρ
to-display and memorials to-leave it-being-possible for
μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι,
no toil having-taken the isthmus the ships to-drag-across
ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσσῃ εὖρος ὡς δύο
to-dig he-ordered a-canal to-the sea in-breadth so-that two
τριήρεας πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρεομένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι
triremes to-sail together being-rowed to-the and same
τούτοισι, τοῖσί περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ
these to-whom indeed also the cutting it-had-been-assigned also
τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρῶσαι.
the Strymon river having-yoked to-bridge
Ταῦτα μέν νυν οὕτω ἐποίεε, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὅπλα 25
these indeed then thus he-did prepared and also cables
ἐς τὰς γεφύρας βύβλινά τε καὶ λευκολίνου, ἐπιτάξας
for the bridges of-papyrus both and of-white-flax having-assigned(-it)
Φοίνιξί τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι, καὶ σιτία τῇ στρατιῇ
to-Phoenicians both and to-Egyptians and provisions for-the army
καταβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ λιμήνειε ἡ στρατιὴ μηδὲ τὰ ὑποζύγια
to-store so-that not might-starve the army nor the beasts-of-burden
ἐλαυνόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἀναπυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς χώρους
being-driven against — Greece having-inquired and the places
καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε ἵνα ἐπιτηδεότατον εἴη, ἄλλα
to-store he-bade where most-suitable it-might-be different-things
ἄλλῃ ἀγινέοντας ὁλκάσι τε καὶ πορθμηίοισι ἐκ
in-different-places bringing in-merchantmen both and ferries from
τῆς Ἀσίης πανταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ὧν πλεῖστον ἐς Λευκὴν
— Asia from-everywhere the and then most to White
ἀκτὴν καλεομένην τῆς Θρηίκης ἀγίνεον, οἳ δὲ ἐς Τυρόδιζαν
shore called — of-Thrace they-brought they and to Tyrodiza

τὴν Περινθίων, οἳ δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον, οἳ δὲ ἐς Ἠιόνα τὴν
the of-Perinthians they and to Doriscus they and to Eion the
ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, οἳ δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίην διατεταγμένοι.
on Strymon they and to Macedonia having-been-assigned

IV · PYTHIUS AND THE MARCH TO SARDIS

The army gathers at Critalla in Cappadocia and marches across the Halys into Phrygia. At Celaenae the Lydian Pythius, who once gave Darius a golden plane tree and vine, entertains the whole host and offers his fortune to the war; Xerxes refuses it, makes him a guest-friend, and completes his sum. The army marches by Colossae and Cydrara to Sardis, from which heralds are sent for earth and water to all Greece except Athens and Sparta.

26 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ
in which and these the assigned toil were-working in this
ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας συλλελεγμένος ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἐπορεύετο
the land-army all gathered together-with Xerxes journeyed
ἐς Σάρδις, ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὁρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίῃ·
to Sardis from Critalla having-set-out the in Cappadocia
ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἴρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ᾽
there for it-had-been-ordered to-gather all the by
ἤπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορεύεσθαι στρατόν.
mainland about-to together-with himself Xerxes to-journey army
ὃς μέν νυν τῶν ὑπάρχων στρατὸν κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένον
who indeed then of-the governors army finest equipped
ἀγαγὼν τὰ προκείμενα παρὰ βασιλέος ἔλαβε δῶρα, οὐκ
having-brought the offered from king received gifts not
ἔχω φράσαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐς κρίσιν τούτου πέρι
I-can tell not-even for at-all to judgment of-this about
ἐλθόντας οἶδα. οἳ δὲ ἐπείτε διαβάντες τὸν Ἅλυν ποταμὸν
having-come I-know they and when having-crossed the Halys river

ὡμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίῃ, δι᾽ αὐτῆς πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς
they-came-into — to-Phrygia through it journeying they-arrived at
Κελαινάς, ἵνα πηγαὶ ἀναδιδοῦσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ
Celaenae where springs rise of-Maeander river and
ἑτέρου οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢ Μαιάνδρου, τῷ οὔνομα τυγχάνει
of-another not less than Maeander whose name happens
ἐὸν Καταρρήκτης, ὃς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς τῆς Κελαινέων
being Catarrhactes which from itself the market-place the of-Celaenae
ἀνατέλλων ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδοῖ· ἐν τῇ καὶ ὁ τοῦ
rising into the Maeander issues in which also the —
Σιληνοῦ Μαρσύεω ἀσκὸς ἀνακρέμαται, τὸν ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν
of-Silenus Marsyas skin hangs which by Phrygians
λόγος ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκδαρέντα ἀνακρεμασθῆναι.
story holds by Apollo flayed to-have-been-hung-up
Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι ὑποκατήμενος Πύθιος ὁ Ἄτυος ἀνὴρ 27
in this the city waiting Pythius the (son)-of-Atys a-man
Λυδὸς ἐξείνισε τὴν βασιλέος στρατιὴν πᾶσαν ξεινίοισι
Lydian entertained the king's army all with-entertainment
μεγίστοισι καὶ αὐτὸν Ξέρξην, χρήματά τε ἐπαγγέλλετο
greatest and himself Xerxes money and offered
βουλόμενος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρέχειν. ἐπαγγελλομένου δὲ
wishing for the war to-furnish offering and
χρήματα Πυθίου, εἴρετο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας
money Pythius asked Xerxes of-Persians those present
τίς τε ἐὼν ἀνδρῶν Πύθιος καὶ κόσα χρήματα ἐκτημένος
who both being of-men Pythius and how-much money having-acquired
ἐπαγγέλλοιτο ταῦτα. οἳ δὲ εἶπαν "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὗτος ἐστὶ
he-offered these they and said O king this is
ὅς τοι τὸν πατέρα Δαρεῖον ἐδωρήσατο τῇ πλατανίστῳ
who to-you the father Darius presented with-the plane-tree

τῇ χρυσέῃ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ· ὃς καὶ νῦν ἐστι πρῶτος
the golden and the vine who also now is first
ἀνθρώπων πλούτῳ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν μετὰ σέ."
of-men in-wealth of-those-whom we know after you

28 Θωμάσας δὲ τῶν ἐπέων τὸ τελευταῖον Ξέρξης αὐτὸς
having-marveled and at-the words the last Xerxes himself
δεύτερα εἴρετο Πύθιον ὁκόσα οἱ εἴη χρήματα. ὁ δὲ εἶπε
a-second-time asked Pythius how-much to-him might-be money he and said
"Ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε σε ἀποκρύψω οὔτε σκήψομαι τὸ μὴ
O king neither from-you will-I-hide nor I-shall-pretend the not
εἰδέναι τὴν ἐμεωυτοῦ οὐσίην, ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενός τοι ἀτρεκέως
to-know the my-own property but knowing to-you exactly
καταλέξω. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστά σε ἐπυθόμην ἐπὶ θάλασσαν
I-shall-list when for soonest you I-learned to sea
καταβαίνοντα τὴν Ἑλληνίδα, βουλόμενός τοι δοῦναι ἐς
coming-down the Greek wishing to-you to-give for
τὸν πόλεμον χρήματα ἐξεμάνθανον, καὶ εὗρον λογιζόμενος
the war money I-inquired and I-found reckoning
ἀργυρίου μὲν δύο χιλιάδας ἑούσας μοι ταλάντων, χρυσίου
of-silver indeed two thousands being to-me of-talents of-gold
δὲ τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων Δαρεικῶν ἐπιδεούσας
and four-hundred ten-thousands of-staters Daric lacking
ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων. καὶ τούτοισί σε ἐγὼ δωρέομαι, αὐτῷ δέ
seven thousands and with-these you I present to-myself and
μοι ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ γεωπέδων ἀρκέων ἐστὶ βίος."
to-me from slaves both and estates sufficient is living

29 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Ξέρξης δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι εἶπε
he indeed these said Xerxes but pleased at-the spoken(-words) said
"Ξεῖνε Λυδέ, ἐγὼ ἐπείτε ἐξῆλθον τὴν Περσίδα χώρην, οὐδενὶ
stranger Lydian I since I-left the Persian land with-no
ἀνδρὶ συνέμιξα ἐς τόδε ὅστις ἠθέλησε ξείνια προθεῖναι
man I-have-met to this who was-willing hospitality to-offer

στρατῷ τῷ ἐμῷ, οὐδὲ ὅστις ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐμὴν καταστὰς
to-army the my nor who into sight the my having-come
αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμοὶ ἠθέλησε συμβαλέσθαι
of-his-own-accord to the war to-me was-willing to-contribute
χρήματα, ἔξω σεῦ. σὺ δὲ καὶ ἐξείνισας μεγάλως στρατὸν
money except you you but both have-entertained greatly army
τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπαγγέλλεαι. σοὶ ὦν ἐγὼ
the my and money great offer to-you then I
ἀντὶ αὐτῶν γέρεα τοιάδε δίδωμι· ξεῖνόν τέ σε ποιεῦμαι
in-return-for them privileges such give guest-friend both you I-make
ἐμὸν καὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας μυριάδας τοι τῶν στατήρων
my and the four-hundred ten-thousands for-you of-the staters
ἀποπλήσω παρ᾽ ἐμεωυτοῦ δοὺς τὰς ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας, ἵνα μή
I-shall-fill-up from myself giving the seven thousands so-that not
τοι ἐπιδεέες ἔωσι αἱ τετρακόσιαι μυριάδες ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων,
to-you lacking be the four-hundred ten-thousands seven thousands
ἀλλὰ ᾖ τοι ἀπαρτιλογίη ὑπ᾽ ἐμέο πεπληρωμένη.
but may-be for-you a-round-sum by me completed
ἔκτησό τε αὐτὸς τά περ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσαο, ἐπίστασό τε
possess both yourself what indeed yourself acquired know and
εἶναι αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γάρ τοι ταῦτα ποιεῦντι οὔτε ἐς
to-be always such not for to-you these doing neither for
τὸ παρεὸν οὔτε ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει.”
the present nor for time will-it-be-regretted
Ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας καὶ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας ἐπορεύετο 30
these and having-said and accomplished having-made(-them) he-journeyed
τὸ πρόσω αἰεί. Ἄναυα δὲ καλεομένην Φρυγῶν πόλιν
the forward always Anaua and called of-Phrygians city
παραμειβόμενος καὶ λίμνην ἐκ τῆς ἅλες γίνονται, ἀπίκετο
passing and a-lake from which salt comes be-arrived
ἐς Κολοσσὰς πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίης· ἐν τῇ Λύκος
at Colossae a-city great of-Phrygia in which Lycus

ποταμὸς ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται, ἔπειτα διὰ
river into a-chasm of-earth plunging disappears then after
σταδίων ὡς πέντε μάλιστά κῃ ἀναφαινόμενος ἐκδιδοῖ
stades about five mostly somehow reappearing issues
καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον. ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσέων ὁ στρατὸς
also this into the Maeander from and Colossae the army
ὁρμώμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς οὔρους τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν ἀπίκετο
setting-out to the boundaries of-the Phrygians and Lydians arrived
ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν, ἔνθα στήλη καταπεπηγυῖα, σταθεῖσα
at Cydrara city where a-pillar fixed set-up
δὲ ὑπὸ Κροίσου, καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὔρους.
and by Croesus shows by letters the boundaries
31 Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην,
when and from — Phrygia he-entered into — Lydia
σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερὴν ἐπὶ
dividing the road and the(-branch) indeed to left toward
Καρίης φερούσης τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὴν ἐς Σάρδις, τῇ
Caria leading the(-other) but to right to Sardis by-which
καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα
also for-one-journeying to-cross the Maeander river every
ἀνάγκη γίνεται καὶ ἰέναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβον πόλιν, ἐν
necessity is and to-go by Callatebus city in
τῇ ἄνδρες δημιοεργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ
which men craftsmen honey from tamarisk both and wheat
ποιεῦσι, ταύτην ἰὼν ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν ὁδὸν εὗρε πλατάνιστον,
make this going — Xerxes the road found a-plane-tree
τὴν κάλλεος εἵνεκα δωρησάμενος κόσμῳ χρυσέῳ καὶ
which for-beauty for-the-sake having-presented with-adornment golden and
μελεδωνῷ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ
to-a-guardian immortal man having-entrusted(-it) on-the-second day
ἀπίκετο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ.
he-arrived at of-the Lydians the town

Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδις πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς 32
having-arrived and at Sardis first indeed he-sent-off heralds to
τὴν Ἑλλάδα αἰτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ προερέοντας
— Greece to-demand earth both and water and to-order-beforehand
δεῖπνα βασιλέι παρασκευάζειν· πλὴν οὔτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὔτε
dinners king to-prepare except neither to Athens nor
ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ
to Lacedaemon he-sent for earth demanding to-the but other
πάντῃ. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ
everywhere of-these and for-the-sake the second(-time) he-sent for
γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὅσοι πρότερον οὐκ ἔδοσαν Δαρείῳ
earth both and water as-many-as before not gave to-Darius
πέμψαντι, τούτους πάγχυ ἐδόκεε τότε δείσαντας δώσειν·
having-sent these altogether he-thought then having-feared would-give
βουλόμενος ὢν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκμαθεῖν ἀκριβέως ἔπεμπε.
wishing then very this to-learn exactly he-sent

V · THE BRIDGES AND PYTHIUS' SON

Bridges are built from Abydos to the opposite headland, and when a storm breaks them Xerxes has the Hellespont given three hundred lashes and its overseers beheaded. New bridges are built on anchored ships. The army sets out from Sardis under an eclipse, which the Magi read as a sign for the Greeks. Pythius asks that his eldest son be spared service; Xerxes has the son cut in two and the army march between the halves, then passes Troy and sacrifices to Athena.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλῶν ἐς Ἄβυδον. 33
after and these he-prepared as to-march to Abydos
οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐζεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς
they and in this(-time) the Hellespont were-yoking from —
Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς
Asia to — Europe there-is and — of-Chersonese the

ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου,
on Hellespont of-Sestus both city between and Madytus
ἀκτὴ παχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον·
a-headland broad into sea reaching Abydos opposite
ἔνθα μετὰ ταῦτα, χρόνῳ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ, ἐπὶ
there after these in-time later not much in-the-time-of
Ξανθίππου τοῦ Ἀρίφρονος στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναίοι Ἀρταΰκτην
Xanthippus the (son)-of-Ariphron general Athenians Artayctes
ἄνδρα Πέρσην λαβόντες Σηστοῦ ὕπαρχον ζῶντα πρὸς
a-man Persian having-taken of-Sestus governor alive to
σανίδα διεπασσάλευσαν, ὃς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω τὸ
a-plank nailed who also into the of-Protesilaus the
ἱρὸν ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα ἀγινεόμενος γυναῖκας ἀθέμιστα ἔρδεσκε.
temple at Elaeus bringing women lawless(-things) used-to-do

34 Ἐς ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὁρμώμενοι ἐγεφύρουν
to this then the headland from Abydos setting-out they-bridged
τοῖσι προσέκειτο, τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου Φοίνικες, τὴν δ'
to-whom it-was-assigned the(-one) indeed of-white-flax Phoenicians the but
ἑτέρην τὴν βυβλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ
other the of-papyrus Egyptians it-is and seven stades from
Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον. καὶ δὴ ἐζευγμένου τοῦ πόρου
Abydos to the opposite(-shore) and indeed having-been-yoked the strait
ἐπιγενόμενος χειμὼν μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ
having-come-on a-storm great broke-up both those all and
διέλυσε.
dissolved(-them)

35 Ὡς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος τὸν
when and learned Xerxes terrible(-things) thinking(-it) the
Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευσε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι
Hellespont he-ordered three-hundred to-lay-on with-a-whip
πληγὰς καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεῦγος. ἤδη
lashes and to-let-down into the sea of-fetters a-pair already

δὲ ἤκουσα ὡς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε
and I-heard that also branders together-with these he-sent-off
στίξοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐνετέλλετο δὲ ὧν ῥαπίζοντας
to-brand the Hellespont he-enjoined and then flogging
λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα· “Ὦ πικρὸν ὕδωρ,
to-say barbarous both and wicked(-things) O bitter water
δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἠδίκησας
master to-you penalty lays-on this because him you-wronged
οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν
nothing from him unjust having-suffered and king indeed
Ξέρξης διαβήσεταί σε, ἤν τε σύ γε βούλῃ ἤν τε μή·
Xerxes will-cross you if both you at-least wish if both not
σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει ὡς
to-you but according-to justice then no-one of-men sacrifices as
ἐόντι καὶ θολερῷ καὶ ἁλμυρῷ ποταμῷ.” τήν τε δὴ
being both muddy and briny a-river the both indeed
θάλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ζημιοῦν καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων
sea he-enjoined with-these to-punish and of-the standing-over
τῇ ζεύξι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλάς.
the yoking of-the Hellespont to-cut-off the heads
Καὶ οἳ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίεον, τοῖσι προσέκειτο αὖτη ἡ ἄχαρις 36
and they indeed these did to-whom was-assigned this the thankless
τιμή, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐζεύγνυσαν. ἐζεύγνυσαν
office the(-bridges) and other master-builders yoked they-yoked
δὲ ὧδε, πεντηκοντέρους καὶ τριήρεας συνθέντες, ὑπὸ
and thus fifty-oared-ships and triremes having-put-together under
μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου ἑξήκοντά τε
indeed the(-one) toward the Euxine sea sixty both
καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑτέρην τεσσερεσκαίδεκα
and three-hundred under and the other fourteen
καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας τοῦ δὲ
and three-hundred of-the indeed Pontus at-an-angle of-the but

Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥόον, ἵνα ἀνακωχεύῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν
Hellespont along current so-that it-might-hold-up the strain of-the
ὅπλων· συνθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατῆκαν περιμήκεας,
cables having-put-together and anchors they-let-down very-long
τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἑτέρης τῶν ἀνέμων
the(-ones) indeed toward the Pontus of-the one(-bridge) of-the winds
εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἑτέρης πρὸς
for-the-sake the from-within blowing-out of-the but other toward
ἑσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου ζεφύρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκα.
evening both and the Aegean of-west-wind both and south-wind for-the-sake
διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπόφαυσιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ
a-passage and an-opening they-left of-the fifty-oared-ships and
τριηρέων, ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔχῃ ὁ βουλόμενος
triremes so-that both into the Pontus might-be-able the wishing
πλέειν πλοίοισι λεπτοῖσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω. ταῦτα
to-sail with-boats small and from the Pontus out these
δὲ ποιήσαντες κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισι
and having-done they-stretched from land twisting with-capstans
ξυλίνοισι τὰ ὅπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἑκάτερα τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ
wooden the cables no-longer separately each having-arranged but
δύο μὲν λευκολίνου δασάμενοι ἐς ἑκατέρην, τέσσερα δὲ
two indeed of-white-flax having-divided to each four but
τῶν βυβλίνων. παχύτης μὲν ἦν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλονή, κατὰ
of-the papyrus(-ones) thickness indeed was the same and beauty in
λόγον δὲ ἐμβριθέστερα ἦν τὰ λίνεα, τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ
proportion but heavier were the flaxen(-ones) of-which a-talent the
πῆχυς εἶλκε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κορμοὺς ξύλων
cubit weighed when and was-bridged the strait logs of-wood
καταπρίσαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες ἴσους τῆς σχεδίης τῷ
having-sawn and having-made equal of-the raft to-the
εὐρεϊ κόσμῳ ἐτίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὅπλων τοῦ τόνου,
breadth in-order they-laid above the cables of-the strain

θέντες δὲ ἐπεξῆς ἐνθαῦτα αὖτις ἐπεζεύγνυον· ποιήσαντες
having-laid and in-succession there again they-fastened(-them) having-done
δὲ ταῦτα ὕλην ἐπεφόρησαν, κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν
and these brushwood they-brought-on in-order and having-laid also the
ὕλην γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν, κατανάξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν
brushwood earth they-brought-on having-stamped-down and also the earth
φραγμὸν παρείρυσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβέηται
a-fence they-drew-along on-this-side and on-that so-that not might-fear
τὰ ὑποζύγια τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπερορῶντα καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.
the beasts-of-burden the sea looking-over and the horses
Ὡς δὲ τά τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκεύαστο καὶ τὰ 37
when and the(-works) both of-the bridges had-been-finished and the(-works)
περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἵ τε χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος,
about — Athos the both breakwaters about the mouths of-the canal
οἳ τῆς ῥηχίης εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ πίμπληται τὰ
which of-the surf for-the-sake were-made so-that not might-be-filled the
στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διῶρυξ παντελέως
mouths of-the cutting and itself the canal completely
πεποιημένη ἀγγέλλετο, ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι
made was-reported then having-wintered with the spring
παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὁρμᾶτο ἐλῶν
prepared the army from — Sardis set-out to-march
ἐς Ἄβυδον· ὁρμημένῳ δέ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
to Abydos having-set-out and to-him the sun having-left the in the
οὐρανοῦ ἕδρην ἀφανὴς ἦν οὔτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων αἰθρίης τε
heaven seat unseen was neither clouds being clear-sky and
τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νὺξ ἐγένετο. ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ
the most instead-of day and night came having-seen(-it) and also
μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο, καὶ εἴρετο τοὺς
having-learned this — to-Xerxes concern arose and he-asked the
Μάγους τὸ θέλει προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα. οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὡς
Magi what means to-portend the apparition they and said that

Ἕλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἔκλειψιν τῶν πολίων, λέγοντες
to-Greeks foreshows the god an-eclipse of-the cities saying
ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. ταῦτα
sun to-be of-Greeks foreshower moon and of-them these
πυθόμενος ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἐὼν ἐποιέετο τὴν ἔλασιν.
having-learned — Xerxes very-glad being made the march
38 Ὡς δ' ἐξήλαυνε τὴν στρατιήν, Πύθιος ὁ Λυδὸς
when and he-was-marching-out the army Pythius the Lydian
καταρρωδήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα ἐπαερθείς τε τοῖσι
having-feared the from the heaven apparition elated and by-the
δωρήμασι, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Ξέρξην ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὦ δέσποτα,
gifts having-come to Xerxes said this O master
χρηίσας ἄν τι σεῦ βουλοίμην τυχεῖν, τὸ σοὶ μὲν
having-need — something from-you I-would-wish to-obtain which for-you indeed
ἐλαφρὸν τυγχάνει ἐὸν ὑπουργῆσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον."
light happens being to-grant to-me but great having-become
Ξέρξης δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων μιν χρηίσειν ἢ τὸ
Xerxes but everything rather thinking him would-ask than what
ἐδεήθη, ἔφη τε ὑπουργήσειν καὶ δὴ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευε
he-asked said both he-would-grant and indeed to-speak bade
ὅτευ δέοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε ταῦτα ἤκουσε, ἔλεγε θαρσήσας
what he-needed he and when these he-heard said having-taken-courage
τάδε. "Ὦ δέσποτα, τυγχάνουσί μοι παῖδες ἐόντες πέντε,
this O master happen to-me sons being five
καί σφεας καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἅμα σοὶ στρατεύεσθαι
and them it-befalls all with you to-march
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. σὺ δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ἐς τόδε ἡλικίης
against — Greece you but O king me to this of-age
ἥκοντα οἰκτείρας τῶν μοι παίδων ἕνα παράλυσον τῆς
having-come having-pitied of-the my sons one release from-the
στρατηίης τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τε ἐμεῦ καὶ τῶν
campaign the eldest so-that of-myself both me and of-the

χρημάτων ᾖ μελεδωνός· τοὺς δὲ τέσσερας ἄγευ ἅμα
property he-may-be caretaker the and four take with
σεωυτῷ, καὶ πρήξας τὰ νοέεις νοστήσειας ὀπίσω."
yourself and having-done what you-intend may-you-return back
Κάρτα τε ἐθυμώθη ὁ Ξέρξης καὶ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. 39
very both was-angered — Xerxes and answered with-these
"Ὦ κακὲ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ ἐτόλμησας, ἐμεῦ στρατευομένου
O base man you dared me marching
αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἄγοντος παῖδας ἐμοὺς καὶ
myself against — Greece and leading sons my and
ἀδελφεοὺς καὶ οἰκηίους καὶ φίλους, μνήσασθαι περὶ σέο
brothers and kinsmen and friends to-make-mention about your
παιδός, ἐὼν ἐμὸς δοῦλος, τὸν χρῆν πανοικίῃ αὐτῇ τῇ
son being my slave who ought with-all-your-household herself the
γυναικὶ συνέπεσθαι; εὖ νυν τόδ' ἐξεπίστασο, ὡς ἐν τοῖσι
wife to-follow well now this know that in the
ὠσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκέει ὁ θυμός, ὃς χρηστὰ μὲν
ears of-the men dwells the spirit which good(-things) indeed
ἀκούσας τέρψιος ἐμπιπλεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεναντία δὲ τούτοισι
having-heard with-delight fills the body opposite and to-these
ἀκούσας ἀνοιδέει. ὅτε μέν νυν χρηστὰ ποιήσας ἕτερα
having-heard swells when indeed then good(-things) having-done others
τοιαῦτα ἐπηγγέλλεο, εὐεργεσίῃσι βασιλέα οὐ καυχήσεαι
such you-offered in-benefactions king not you-will-boast
ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναιδέστερον ἐτράπευ, τὴν
to-have-surpassed since and to the more-shameless you-turned the
μὲν ἀξίην οὐ λάμψεαι, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς ἀξίης. σὲ μὲν
indeed due not you-shall-receive less but than-the due you indeed
γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσερας τῶν παίδων ῥύεται τὰ ξείνια· τοῦ δὲ
for and the four of-the sons saves the hospitality of-the but
ἑνός, τοῦ περιέχεαι μάλιστα, τῇ ψυχῇ ζημιώσεαι." ὡς
one whom you-cling-to most with-the life you-will-be-punished when

δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε τοῖσι προσετέτακτο
and these he-answered at-once he-ordered to-whom it-was-assigned
ταῦτα πρήσσειν, τῶν Πυθίου παίδων ἐξευρόντας τὸν
these to-do of-the of-Pythius sons having-found the
πρεσβύτατον μέσον διαταμεῖν, διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ
eldest in-the-middle to-cut-in-two having-cut-in-two and the
ἡμίτομα διαθεῖναι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ δ' ἐπ'
halves to-set the indeed on right of-the road the other on
ἀριστερά, καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατόν.
left and this-way to-pass-through the army
40 Ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξήιε ὁ
having-done and these this after these passed-through the
στρατός. ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ
army led and first indeed the baggage-carriers both and the
ὑποζύγια, μετὰ δὲ τούτους σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων
beasts-of-burden after and these a-mixed army of-all-kinds-of
ἐθνέων ἀναμίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι· τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεες ἦσαν,
nations mingled not separated where and more-than-half were
ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο, καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλέι.
there a-gap-had-been-left and not came-into-contact these with-king
προηγεῦντο μὲν δὴ ἱππόται χίλιοι, ἐκ Περσέων πάντων
went-before indeed then horsemen a-thousand from Persians all
ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ
picked after and spearmen a-thousand also these from
πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν
all picked the spears down to the earth
τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ ἱροὶ Νησαῖοι καλεόμενοι ἵπποι δέκα
having-turned after and sacred Nesaean called horses ten
κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. Νησαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι
adorned as finest(-possible) Nesaean and are-called horses
ἐπὶ τοῦδε· ἔστι πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς τῷ οὔνομα
for this(-reason) there-is a-plain great of-the Median(-land) whose name

ἐστὶ Νήσαιον· τοὺς ὦν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει
is Nesaean the then indeed horses the great bears
τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο. ὄπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἅρμα
the plain this behind and these the ten horses a-chariot
Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἵλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτώ,
of-Zeus sacred was-placed which horses indeed drew white eight
ὄπισθε δὲ αὖ τῶν ἵππων εἵπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος ἐχόμενος
behind and again the horses followed on-foot a-charioteer holding
τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον
the reins no-one for indeed onto this the seat
ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβαίνει. τούτου δὲ ὄπισθε αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ'
of-men mounts this and behind himself Xerxes on
ἅρματος ἵππων Νησαίων· παραβεβήκεε δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος
a-chariot of-horses Nesaean stood-beside and to-him a-charioteer
τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὀτάνεω ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω παῖς.
whose name was Patiramphes of-Otanes of-a-man of-Persian son
Ἐξήλασε μὲν οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης, μετεκβαίνεσκε δέ, 41
marched-out indeed thus from Sardis Xerxes used-to-change and
ὅκως μιν λόγος αἱρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἅρματος ἐς ἁρμάμαξαν.
whenever him notion took from the chariot into a-covered-carriage
αὐτοῦ δὲ ὄπισθε αἰχμοφόροι Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ
him and behind spearmen of-Persians the best both and
γενναιότατοι χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες, μετὰ
noblest a-thousand according-to custom the spears holding after
δὲ ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη, μετὰ δὲ
and cavalry another thousand from Persians picked after and
τὴν ἵππον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι.
the cavalry from the remaining Persians picked ten-thousand
οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν· καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι
this infantry was and of-these a-thousand indeed on the spears
ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ῥοιὰς εἶχον χρυσέας καὶ πέριξ
instead-of the butt-spikes pomegranates had golden and round

συνεκλήιον τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων
enclosed the others the and nine-thousand within these
ἐόντες ἀργυρέας ῥοιὰς εἶχον· εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ῥοιὰς
being silver pomegranates had had and golden pomegranates
καὶ οἱ ἐς τὴν γῆν τράποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα
also those toward the earth turning the spears and apples
οἱ ἄγχιστα ἑπόμενοι Ξέρξῃ. τοῖσι δὲ μυρίοισι ἐπετέτακτο
those nearest following Xerxes to-the and ten-thousand was-assigned
ἵππος Περσέων μυρίη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διέλειπε
cavalry of-Persians ten-thousand after and the cavalry there-was-a-gap
καὶ δύο σταδίους, καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ λοιπὸς ὅμιλος ἤιε ἀναμίξ.
even two stades and then the remaining throng went mingled
42 Ἐποιέετο δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Λυδίης ὁ στρατὸς ἐπί
made and the way from — Lydia the army to
τε ποταμὸν Κάικον καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, ἀπὸ δὲ Καΐκου
both river Caicus and land the Mysian from and Caicus
ὁρμώμενος, Κάνης ὄρος ἔχων ἐν ἀριστερῇ, διὰ τοῦ
setting-out Cane mountain having on left through —
Ἀταρνέος ἐς Καρήνην πόλιν· ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Θήβης
Atarneus to Carene city from and this through of-Thebe
πεδίου ἐπορεύετο, Ἀδραμύττειόν τε πόλιν καὶ Ἄνταν δρον
plain it-journeyed Adramyttium both city and Antandrus
τὴν Πελασγίδα παραμειβόμενος. τὴν Ἴδην δὲ λαβὼν
the Pelasgian passing — Ida and having-taken
ἐς ἀριστερὴν χεῖρα ἤιε ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα γῆν. καὶ πρῶτα
on left hand it-went into the Ilian land and first
μέν οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἴδῃ νύκτα ἀναμείναντι βρονταί τε καὶ
indeed to-it under — Ida night having-waited thunders both and
πρηστῆρες ἐπεσπίπτουσι καί τινα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συχνὸν
fiery-whirlwinds fall-upon(-it) and some on-the-spot there many
ὅμιλον διέφθειραν.
throng destroyed

Ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Σκάμανδρον, 43
having-arrived and the army at river Scamander
ὃς πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπείτε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὁρμηθέντες
which first of-rivers since from Sardis having-set-out
ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ῥέεθρον οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ
they-took-on the road failed the stream nor sufficed for-the
στρατιῇ τε καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ
army both and the beasts being-drunk to this indeed
τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον
the river when arrived Xerxes to the of-Priam Pergamum
ἀνέβη ἵμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι· θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ
he-went-up desire having to-view(-it) having-viewed(-it) and also
πυθόμενος ἐκείνων ἕκαστα τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσε
having-learned of-those each(-thing) — to-Athena the Ilian he-sacrificed
βοῦς χιλίας, χοὰς δὲ οἱ Μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο. ταῦτα
oxen a-thousand libations and the Magi to-the heroes poured these
δὲ ποιησαμένοισι νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε.
and having-done by-night fear into the camp fell
ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεῦτεν, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἀπέργων
with day and it-journeyed thence on left indeed keeping-off
Ῥοίτιον πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρύνειον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἥ περ
Rhoeteum city and Ophryneum and Dardanus which indeed
δὴ Ἀβύδῳ ὅμουρος ἐστί, ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ Γέργιθας Τευκρούς.
indeed to-Abydos bordering is on right and Gergithae Teucrians

VI · XERXES AT ABYDOS

From a throne at Abydos Xerxes watches his army and fleet and, having called himself happy, weeps that none of them will be alive in a hundred years. Artabanus answers that life holds worse griefs than its brevity, and warns that land and sea

are both his enemies. Xerxes sends Artabanus back to Susa, exhorts the Persians, and pours libations into the Hellespont at sunrise; the army crosses for seven days and nights under the lash.

44 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ μέσῃ, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης ἰδέσθαι
when and he-was in Abydos middle wished Xerxes to-see
πάντα τὸν στρατόν· καὶ προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ
all the army and had-been-made-beforehand for on a-hill
ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐποίησαν
on-purpose for-him there a-seat of-stone white had-made(-it)
δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέος, ἐνθαῦτα
and Abydenes having-enjoined(-it) before king there
ὡς ἵζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἠιόνος ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν
when he-sat looking-down on the shore he-viewed both the infantry
καὶ τὰς νέας, θηεύμενος δὲ ἱμέρθη τῶν νεῶν ἅμιλλαν
and the ships viewing and he-desired of-the ships a-race
γινομένην ἰδέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες
happening to-see when and it-happened both and won Phoenicians
Σιδώνιοι, ἥσθη τε τῇ ἁμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.
Sidonian he-was-pleased both with-the race and with-the army
45 Ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν
when and he-saw all indeed the Hellespont by the ships
ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν
hidden all and the shores and the of-Abydenes
πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης ἑωυτὸν
plains full of-men then — Xerxes himself
ἐμακάρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε.
called-blessed after and this he-wept
46 Μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτρως, ὃς τὸ πρῶτον
having-learned and him Artabanus the uncle who the first
γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμβουλεύων Ξέρξῃ
opinion declared freely not advising Xerxes

στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὗτος ὠνὴρ φρασθεὶς
to-march against — Greece this the-man having-noticed
Ξέρξην δακρύσαντα εἴρετο τάδε. “Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολλὸν
Xerxes having-wept asked this O king how much
ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσαο νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ
from-each-other separated(-things) you-have-done now both and a-little
πρότερον· μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωυτὸν δακρύεις.” ὁ δὲ
before having-called-blessed for yourself you-weep he and
εἶπε “Ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὡς
said came for me having-reckoned to-pity how
βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων γε
short might-be the whole human life if of-these at-least
ἐόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται.”
being so-many no-one to hundredth year will-survive
ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “Ἕτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζόην
he and answered saying others than-this in the life
πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα. ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχέι βίῳ οὐδεὶς
we-have-suffered more-pitiable in for so short life no-one
οὕτω ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε οὔτε τούτων οὔτε
so man being happy is-born neither of-these nor
τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκὶ ἅπαξ
of-the others to-whom not it-will-occur often and not once
τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζώειν. αἵ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ
to-be-dead to-wish rather than to-live the both for misfortunes
προσπίπτουσαι καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσαι καὶ βραχὺν
falling-upon(-him) and the diseases troubling even short
ἐόντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον. οὕτω ὁ μὲν
being long to-seem to-be make the life so the indeed
θάνατος μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζόης καταφυγὴ αἱρετωτάτη
death wretched being the life refuge most-choiceworthy

τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε, ὁ δὲ θεὸς γλυκὺν γεύσας
for-the man has-become the but god sweet having-given-a-taste-of
τὸν αἰῶνα φθονερὸς ἐν αὐτῷ εὑρίσκεται ἐών."
the time jealous in it is-found being

47 Ξέρξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων "Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μέν νυν
Xerxes and answered saying Artabanus of-life indeed then
ἀνθρωπηίης πέρι, ἐούσης τοιαύτης οἵην περ σὺ διαιρέαι
human about being such as indeed you define
εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνώμεθα χρηστὰ ἔχοντες
to-be let-us-stop nor of-evils let-us-be-mindful good having
πρήγματα ἐν χερσί, φράσον δέ μοι τόδε· εἴ τοι ἡ ὄψις
affairs in hands tell and me this if to-you the vision
τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργὴς οὕτω ἐφάνη, εἶχες ἂν
of-the dream not vivid thus had-appeared would-you-have-had —
τὴν ἀρχαίην γνώμην, οὐκ ἐῶν με στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ
the original opinion not allowing me to-march against
τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢ μετέστης ἄν; φέρε τοῦτό μοι
— Greece or would-you-have-changed — come this to-me
ἀτρεκέως εἰπέ." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὄψις
exactly tell he and answered saying O king the-vision
μὲν ἡ ἐπιφανεῖσα τοῦ ὀνείρου ὡς βουλόμεθα ἀμφότεροι
indeed the having-appeared of-the dream as we-wish both
τελευτήσειε, ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε δείματος εἰμὶ ὑπόπλεος
may-it-end I but still even to this of-fear am full
οὐδ' ἐντὸς ἐμεωυτοῦ, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ δὴ
nor within myself others both many considering and indeed
καὶ ὁρῶν τοι δύο τὰ μέγιστα πάντων ἐόντα πολεμιώτατα."
also seeing to-you two the greatest of-all being most-hostile

48 Ξέρξης δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "Δαιμόνιε
Xerxes and to these answered with-these strange-one
ἀνδρῶν, κοῖα ταῦτα λέγεις εἶναι δύο μοι πολεμιώτατα;
of-men what these do-you-say to-be two to-me most-hostile

κότερά τοι ὁ πεζὸς μεμπτὸς κατὰ πλῆθος ἐστὶ καὶ
whether to-you the infantry blameworthy in number is and
τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα φαίνεται πολλαπλήσιον ἔσεσθαι
the Greek army appears many-times-greater to-be
τοῦ ἡμετέρου, ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον λείψεσθαι τοῦ
than-the ours or the fleet the ours will-fall-short of-the
ἐκείνων, ἢ καὶ συναμφότερα ταῦτα; εἰ γάρ τοι ταύτῃ
theirs or even both-together these if for to-you in-this-way
φαίνεται ἐνδεέστερα εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα πρήγματα, στρατοῦ
appear more-deficient to-be the our affairs of-army
ἂν ἄλλου τις τὴν ταχίστην ἄγερσιν ποιέοιτο."
— another someone the quickest gathering would-make
Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο λέγων "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε στρατὸν τοῦτον, 49
he and answered saying O king neither army this
ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, μέμφοιτ' ἂν οὔτε τῶν νεῶν τὸ
whoever at-least sense has would-blame — nor of-the ships the
πλῆθος· ἢν δὲ πλεῦνας συλλέξῃς, τὰ δύο τοι τὰ λέγω
number if but more you-gather the two to-you which I-mean
πολλῷ ἔτι πολεμιώτερα γίνεται. τὰ δὲ δύο ταῦτα ἐστὶ
by-far still more-hostile become the and two these are
γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα. οὔτε γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶ λιμὴν
land both and sea neither for of-the sea is harbor
τοσοῦτος οὐδαμόθι, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω, ὅστις ἐγειρομένου
so-great anywhere as I conjecture which arising
χειμῶνος δεξάμενός σευ τοῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν φερέγγυος
storm having-received your this the fleet sure
ἔσται διασῶσαι τὰς νέας. καίτοι οὐκὶ ἕνα αὐτὸν δεῖ εἶναι
will-be to-save the ships and-yet not one itself must to-be
τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἤπειρον παρ' ἣν δὴ
the harbor but along all the mainland along which indeed
κομίζεαι. οὔκων δὴ ἐόντων τοι λιμένων ὑποδεξίων, μάθε
you-travel not-then indeed being for-you harbors able-to-receive learn

ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσι καὶ οὐκὶ ὥνθρωποι
that the chances the men rule and not the-men
τῶν συμφορέων. καὶ δὴ τῶν δύο τοι τοῦ ἑτέρου
the chances and indeed of-the two to-you the one
εἰρημένου τὸ ἕτερον ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. γῆ δὲ πολεμίη τῇδέ
having-been-told the other I-come to-tell land and hostile thus
τοι κατίσταται· εἰ θέλει τοι μηδὲν ἀντίξοον καταστῆναι,
to-you becomes if it-wishes to-you nothing opposed to-stand-in-the-way
τοσούτῳ τοι γίνεται πολεμιωτέρη ὅσῳ ἂν προβαίνῃς
so-much to-you it-becomes more-hostile as-much-as — you-advance
ἑκαστέρω, τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος· εὐπρηξίης δὲ
farther the forward always deceived of-success and
οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμία πληθώρη. καὶ δή τοι, ὡς
not is for-men any satiety and indeed to-you as
οὐδενὸς ἐναντιευμένου, λέγω τὴν χώρην πλεῦνα ἐν πλέονι
nobody opposing I-say the land more in more
χρόνῳ γινομένην λιμὸν τέξεσθαι. ἀνὴρ δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη
time becoming famine will-bear a-man and thus — would-be
ἄριστος, εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν ἀρρωδέοι, πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος
best if planning indeed he-should-fear every considering
πείσεσθαι χρῆμα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ θρασὺς εἴη."
to-suffer thing in but the deed bold should-be
50 Ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοῖσιδε. "Ἀρτάβανε, οἰκότως μὲν σύ
answers Xerxes with-these Artabanus reasonably indeed you
γε τούτων ἕκαστα διαιρέαι· ἀτὰρ μήτε πάντα φοβέο
at-least of-these each define but neither all fear
μήτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεο. εἰ γὰρ δὴ βούλοιο ἐπὶ τῷ
nor everything alike consider if for indeed you-should-wish on the
αἰεὶ ἐπεσφερομένῳ πρήγματι τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι,
always coming-up matter the everything alike to-consider
ποιήσειας ἂν οὐδαμὰ οὐδέν· κρέσσον δὲ πάντα θαρσέοντα
you-would-do — never anything better and all being-bold

ἥμισυ τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον ἢ πᾶν χρῆμα
half of-the terrors to-suffer rather than every thing
προδειμαίνοντα μηδαμὰ μηδὲν παθεῖν. εἰ δὲ ἐρίξων πρὸς
fearing-beforehand never anything to-suffer if but contending against
πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον μὴ τὸ βέβαιον ἀποδέξεις, σφάλλεσθαι
all the said not the certain you-will-show to-fail
ὀφείλεις ἐν αὐτοῖσι ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τούτοισι λέξας.
you-must in them equally also he opposite to-these having-said
τοῦτο μέν νυν ἐπ᾽ ἴσης ἔχει· εἰδέναι δὲ ἄνθρωπον
this indeed then on equal(-terms) stands to-know and a-man
ἐόντα κῶς χρὴ τὸ βέβαιον; δοκέω μὲν οὐδαμῶς. τοῖσι
being how must the certain I-think indeed in-no-way to-the
τοίνυν βουλομένοισι ποιέειν ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ
now wishing to-act as the whole is-wont to-come the
κέρδεα, τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγομένοισί τε πάντα καὶ ὀκνέουσι οὐ
gains to-the but considering both everything and hesitating not
μάλα ἐθέλει. ὁρᾷς τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα ἐς ὃ δυνάμιος
very-much is-wont you-see the of-Persians affairs to what of-power
προκεχώρηκε. εἰ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεῦ γενόμενοι βασιλέες
it-has-advanced if now those the before me having-been kings
γνώμῃσι ἐχρέωντο ὁμοίῃσι καὶ σύ, ἢ μὴ χρεώμενοι γνώμῃσι
opinions used like also you or not using opinions
τοιαύτῃσι ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον τοιούτους, οὐκ ἄν κοτε
such other counselors had such not — ever
εἶδες αὐτὰ ἐς τοῦτο προελθόντα· νῦν δὲ κινδύνους
you-would-have-seen them to this advanced now but dangers
ἀναρριπτέοντες ἐς τοῦτο σφέα προηγάγοντο. μεγάλα γὰρ
running-risks to this them led-on great for
πρήγματα μεγάλοισι κινδύνοισι ἐθέλει καταιρέεσθαι. ἡμεῖς
affairs by-great dangers are-wont to-be-won we
τοίνυν ὁμοιεύμενοι ἐκείνοισι ὥρην τε τοῦ ἔτεος καλλίστην
now being-like those season both of-the year fairest

πορευόμεθα, καὶ καταστρεψάμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν Εὐρώπην
we-march and having-subdued all — Europe
νοστήσομεν ὀπίσω, οὔτε λιμῷ ἐντυχόντες οὐδαμόθι οὔτε
we-shall-return back neither famine having-met anywhere nor
ἄλλο ἄχαρι οὐδὲν παθόντες. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ πολλὴν
other unpleasant nothing having-suffered this indeed for ourselves much
φορβὴν φερόμενοι πορευόμεθα, τοῦτο δέ, τῶν ἄν κου
fodder carrying we-march this and of-whose — perhaps
ἐπιβέωμεν γῆν καὶ ἔθνος, τούτων τὸν σῖτον ἕξομεν· ἐπ᾽
we-come-upon land and nation of-these the grain we-shall-have against
ἀροτῆρας δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατευόμεθα ἄνδρας."
plowmen but and not nomads we-march men
51 Λέγει Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ ταῦτα " Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπείτε ἀρρωδέειν
says Artabanus after these O king since to-fear
οὐδὲν ἐᾷς πρῆγμα, σὺ δέ μευ συμβουλίην ἔνδεξαι·
no you-allow thing you but my counsel accept
ἀναγκαίως γὰρ ἔχει περὶ πολλῶν πρηγμάτων πλεῦνα λόγον
necessarily for it-is about many affairs longer speech
ἐκτεῖναι. Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω Ἰωνίην πᾶσαν πλὴν Ἀθηναίων
to-extend Cyrus the (son)-of-Cambyses Ionia all except Athenians
κατεστρέψατο δασμοφόρον εἶναι Πέρσῃσι. τούτους ὦν τοὺς
subdued tributary to-be to-Persians these then the
ἄνδρας συμβουλεύω τοι μηδεμιῇ μηχανῇ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς
men I-advise to-you by-no means to-lead against the
πατέρας· καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἷοί τε εἰμὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν
fathers also for without these able — we-are of-the enemies
κατυπέρτεροι γίνεσθαι. ἢ γὰρ σφέας, ἢν ἕπωνται, δεῖ
superior to-become either for them if they-follow it-is-necessary
ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι καταδουλουμένους τὴν μητρόπολιν,
most-unjust to-become enslaving the mother-city
ἢ δικαιοτάτους συνελευθεροῦντας. ἀδικώτατοι μέν νυν
or most-just helping-to-free(-it) most-unjust indeed then

γινόμενοι οὐδὲν κέρδος μέγα ἡμῖν προσβάλλουσι, δικαιότατοι
becoming nothing gain great to-us they-add most-just
δὲ γινόμενοι οἷοί τε δηλήσασθαι μεγάλως τὴν σὴν στρατιὴν
but becoming able — to-harm greatly the your army
γίνονται. ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βάλευ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος ὡς εὖ
they-become into mind then put also the old saying how well
εἴρηται, τὸ μὴ ἅμα ἀρχῇ πᾶν τέλος καταφαίνεσθαι.”
it-has-been-said the not together-with beginning all end to-appear
Ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης “Ἀρτάβανε, τῶν ἀπεφήναο 52
answers to these Xerxes Artabanus of-the you-declared
γνωμέων σφάλλεαι κατὰ ταύτην δὴ μάλιστα, ὃς Ἴωνας
opinions you-are-wrong in this indeed most who Ionians
φοβέαι μὴ μεταβάλωσι, τῶν ἔχομεν γνῶμα μέγιστον, τῶν
you-fear lest they-change of-whom we-have proof greatest of-whom
σύ τε μάρτυς γίνεαι καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι Δαρείῳ ἄλλοι
you both witness are and the having-campaigned with-Darius others
ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτοισι ἡ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατιὴ
against Scythians that on these the whole Persian army
ἐγένετο διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι, οἳ δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ
was to-destroy and to-save they and justice and
πιστότητα ἐνέδωκαν, ἄχαρι δὲ οὐδέν. πάρεξ δὲ τούτου,
faith rendered unpleasant and nothing besides and this
ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ καταλιπόντας τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ
in the our(-land) having-left children and wives and
χρήματα οὐδ’ ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερόν τι ποιήσειν.
property not-even to-think must newer anything they-will-do
οὕτω μηδὲ τοῦτο φοβέο, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων ἀγαθὸν σῷζε
thus not-even this fear but spirit having good keep
οἰκόν τε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἐμήν· σοὶ γὰρ
house both the my and sovereignty the my to-you for
ἐγὼ μούνῳ ἐκ πάντων σκῆπτρα τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτράπω.”
I alone of all scepters the my I-entrust

53 Ταῦτα εἴπας καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας ἐς Σοῦσα δεύτερα
these having-said and Artabanus having-sent-off to Susa second
μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δέ
sent-for Xerxes of-Persians the most-esteemed when and
οἱ παρῆσαν, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. "Ὦ Πέρσαι, τῶνδ' ἐγὼ
to-him they-were-present he-said to-them this O Persians of-this I
ὑμέων χρηίζων συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γενέσθαι ἀγαθοὺς καὶ
of-you having-need gathered(-you) men both to-be brave and
μὴ καταισχύνειν τὰ πρόσθε ἐργασμένα Πέρσῃσι, ἐόντα
not to-disgrace the before accomplished(-things) by-Persians being
μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, ἀλλ' εἷς τε ἕκαστος καὶ οἱ
great both and of-much worth but one both each and the
σύμπαντες προθυμίην ἔχωμεν· ξυνὸν γὰρ πᾶσι τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν
all-together eagerness let-us-have common for to-all this good
σπεύδεται. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ
is-pursued of-this and for-the-sake I-proclaim to-hold-fast to-the
πολέμου ἐντεταμένως· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπ'
war strenuously as for I learn against
ἄνδρας στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθούς, τῶν ἢν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ μή
men we-march brave whom if we-conquer not —
τις ἡμῖν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἀνθρώπων. νῦν δὲ
any us other army will-withstand ever of-men now and
διαβαίνωμεν ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι οἳ Πέρσας λελόγχασι."
let-us-cross having-prayed to-the gods who Persians have-as-their-lot

54 Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν·
this indeed the day they-prepared for the crossing
τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι
on-the and next-day they-waited-for the sun wishing to-see(-it)
ἀνίσχοντα, θυμιήματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων
rising incenses both of-all-kinds on the bridges
καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίνῃσι στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν. ὡς
burning and with-myrtles strewing the road when

δ᾽ ἐπανέτελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσέης φιάλης
and rose the sun pouring-a-libation from golden bowl
Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μηδεμίαν
Xerxes into the sea prayed to the sun no
οἱ συντυχίην τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἥ μιν παύσει
to-him chance such to-happen which him will-stop
καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι
to-subdue — Europe before than at boundaries
τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται. εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην
the its he-comes having-prayed and he-threw the bowl
ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσεον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν
into the Hellespont and a-golden mixing-bowl and a-Persian
ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως
sword which akinakes they-call these not I-can exactly
διακρῖναι οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατῆκε ἐς
decide neither whether to-the sun dedicating(-them) he-let(-them)-down into
τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον
the sea nor whether it-repented him the Hellespont
μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο.
having-whipped and in-return-for these the sea he-presented
Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἑτέρην 55
when and these to-him had-been-done they-crossed by indeed the one
τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζός τε καὶ ἡ
of-the bridges the toward the Pontus the infantry both and the
ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια
cavalry all by and the(-one) toward the Aegean the beasts-of-burden
καὶ ἡ θεραπηίη. ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι,
and the servants led and first indeed the ten-thousand Persians
ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος
garlanded all after and these the mixed
στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι, τῇ
army of-all-kinds-of nations this indeed the day these on-the

δὲ ὑστεραίῃ πρῶτοι μὲν οἵ τε ἱππόται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας
and next-day first indeed the both horsemen and those the spears
κάτω τράποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι. μετὰ δὲ οἵ τε
down turning had-been-garlanded and also these after and the both
ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἅρμα τὸ ἱρόν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτός τε Ξέρξης
horses the sacred and the chariot the sacred after and himself both Xerxes
καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι καὶ οἱ ἱππόται οἱ χίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοισι ὁ
and the spearmen and the horsemen the thousand after and these the
ἄλλος στρατός. καὶ αἱ νέες ἅμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον.
other army and the ships together put-out to the opposite(-shore)
ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων.
already and I-heard also last to-have-crossed king of-all
56 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθηεῖτο τὸν
Xerxes and when he-crossed to — Europe viewed the
στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα· διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς
army under whips crossing crossed and the army
αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρῃσι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνῃσι, ἐλινύσας
his in seven days and in seven nights having-rested
οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρξεω ἤδη διαβεβηκότος
no time then is-said Xerxes already having-crossed
τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον “Ὦ Ζεῦ,
the Hellespont a-man to-have-said of-the-Hellespont O Zeus
τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ οὔνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς
why indeed to-a-man likening(-yourself) Persian and name instead-of Zeus
Ξέρξην θέμενος ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα θέλεις ποιῆσαι,
Xerxes having-taken laid-waste — Greece do-you-wish to-make
ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῆν
leading all men also for without these it-was-possible
τοι ποιέειν ταῦτα.”
for-you to-do these

Two portents appear: a mare foals a hare, and a mule is born with male and female parts, but Xerxes disregards them. The army marches through the Chersonese and along the coast to Doriscus on the Hebrus, where the fleet is beached. There the land army is counted by packing ten thousand men into a space, walling it, and filling it repeatedly: the infantry numbers 1,700,000.

Ὡς δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς ὁδὸν ὁρμημένοισι τέρας σφι 57
when and had-crossed all on road having-set-out a-portent to-them
ἐφάνη μέγα, τὸ Ξέρξης ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο καίπερ
appeared great which Xerxes in no account made although
εὐσύμβλητον ἐόν· ἵππος γὰρ ἔτεκε λαγόν. εὐσύμβλητον ὦν
easy-to-interpret being a-mare for bore a-hare easy-to-interpret then
τῇδε τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἔμελλε μὲν ἐλᾶν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ
in-this-way this was that was-about indeed to-drive an-army against
τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης ἀγαυρότατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα,
— Greece Xerxes most-proudly and most-magnificently
ὀπίσω δὲ περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων ἥξειν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον.
back but for himself running to-come to the same place
ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ τέρας ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι·
happened and also another to-him portent being in Sardis
ἡμίονος γὰρ ἔτεκε ἡμίονον διξὰ ἔχουσαν αἰδοῖα, τὰ
a-mule for bore a-mule twofold having parts the(-ones)
μὲν ἔρσενος τὰ δὲ θηλέης· κατύπερθε δὲ ἦν τὰ
indeed of-male the(-others) but of-female above and were the(-parts)
τοῦ ἔρσενος. τῶν ἀμφοτέρων λόγον οὐδένα ποιησάμενος
of-the male of-the both account none having-made
τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο, σὺν δέ οἱ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός.
the forward he-journeyed with and him the land army

58 Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων παρὰ γῆν
the and naval outside the Hellespont sailing along land
ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσσων τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὃ μὲν γὰρ
traveled the opposite doing to-the land(-army) it indeed for
πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἔπλεε, ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης ποιεύμενος
toward evening sailed to Sarpedon's headland making
τὴν ἄπιξιν, ἐς τὴν αὐτῷ προείρητο ἀπικομένῳ περιμένειν·
the arrival at which for-it it-had-been-ordered having-arrived to-wait
ὁ δὲ κατ' ἤπειρον στρατὸς πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου
the but by mainland army toward dawn both and of-sun
ἀνατολὰς ἐποιέετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἐν
risings made the road through — Chersonese on
δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχων τὸν Ἕλλης τάφον τῆς Ἀθάμαντος, ἐν
right indeed having the of-Helle tomb the (daughter)-of-Athamas on
ἀριστερῇ δὲ Καρδίην πόλιν, διὰ μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος
left and Cardia city through middle and journeying
πόλιος τῇ οὔνομα τυγχάνει ἐὸν Ἀγορή. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ
of-a-city whose name happens being Agora thence and
κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον τὸν Μέλανα καλεόμενον καὶ Μέλανα
rounding the gulf the Black called and Black
ποταμόν, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον
river not holding-out then for-the army the stream
ἀλλ' ἐπιλιπόντα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς, ἐπ' οὗ
but having-failed this the river having-crossed from which
καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, ἦιε πρὸς
also the gulf this the name has it-went toward
ἑσπέρην, Αἶνόν τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα λίμνην
evening Aenus both city Aeolian and Stentoris lake
παρεξιών, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκετο ἐς Δορίσκον.
passing-by up-to which it-arrived at Doriscus

Ὁ δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρηίκης αἰγιαλός τε καὶ πεδίον 59
— and Doriscus is — of-Thrace a-beach both and plain
μέγα, διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας Ἔβρος· ἐν τῷ
great through and it flows a-river great Hebrus in which
τείχός τε ἐδέδμητο βασιλήιον τοῦτο τὸ δὴ Δορίσκος
a-fort both had-been-built royal this which indeed Doriscus
κέκληται, καὶ Περσέων φρουρὴ ἐν αὐτῷ κατεστήκεε ὑπὸ
has-been-called and of-Persians a-garrison in it had-been-set-up by
Δαρείου ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπείτε ἐπὶ Σκύθας
Darius from that the time since against Scythians
ἐστρατεύετο. ἔδοξε ὧν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χῶρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος
he-marched it-seemed then — to-Xerxes the place to-be suitable
ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἐποίεε
to-array both and to-number the army and he-did
ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας ἀπικομένας ἐς
these the indeed then ships the all having-arrived at
Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν
Doriscus the admirals having-ordered Xerxes to the beach
τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ ἐκόμισαν, ἐν τῷ Σάλη τε
the adjoining Doriscus brought in which Sale both
Σαμοθρηικίη πεπόλισται πόλις καὶ Ζώνη, τελευτᾷ δὲ
Samothracian is-built city and Zone ends and
αὐτοῦ Σέρρειον ἄκρη ὀνομαστή. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος τὸ
it Serreum headland renowned the and place this the
παλαιὸν ἦν Κικόνων. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες
of-old was of-Cicones to this the beach having-put-in
τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ
the ships they-dried(-them) having-hauled(-them)-up he and in — Doriscus
τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποιέετο.
this the time of-the army a-numbering made

60 Ὅσον μέν νυν ἕκαστοι παρεῖχον πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμόν,
how-much indeed then each furnished number to the-count
οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς
not I-can say the exact not for it-is-told by
οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ
any men of-all and the army the
πεζοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐφάνη ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες.
land the number appeared seventy and a-hundred ten-thousands
ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· συνήγαγόν τε
they-numbered and this the way they-brought-together both
ἐς ἕνα χῶρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες
into one place ten-thousand of-men and having-packed
ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλον·
this as most they-could they-drew-round outside a-circle
περιγράψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους αἱμασιὴν
having-drawn-round and also having-let-go the ten-thousand a-wall
περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς
they-put-round along the circle in-height reaching for-a-man to
τὸν ὀμφαλόν· ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς
the navel this and having-made others they-brought-in into
τὸ περιοικοδομημένον, μέχρι οὗ πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ
the walled-around(-space) until which all in-this the way
ἐξηρίθμησαν. ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασσον.
they-numbered having-numbered and by nations they-arrayed(-them)

VIII · THE NATIONS OF THE ARMY

Herodotus lists the nations of the infantry with their dress and arms, beginning with the Persians in felt caps and scale armor under Otanes. He goes on to the Medes, Cissians, Hyrcanians, Assyrians, Bactrians, Sacae, Indians, Arabians, Ethiopians, Libyans, Paphlagonians, Phrygians, Lydians, Thracians, and many others, ending with the island peoples of the Red Sea, each with its commander.

Οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἵδε ἦσαν, Πέρσαι μὲν ὧδε 61
the and campaigning these were Persians indeed thus
ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τιάρας
equipped about indeed the heads they-had tiaras
καλεομένους πίλους ἀπαγέας, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας
called felt-caps unstiffened about and the body tunics
χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους, ∗∗∗ λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὄψιν
sleeved embroidered (lacuna) of-scale iron the-look
ἰχθυοειδέος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ
fish-like about and the legs trousers instead-of and
ἀσπίδων γέρρα· ὑπὸ δὲ φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο· αἰχμὰς
shields wicker-shields under and quivers hung spears
δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα δὲ μεγάλα, ὀιστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνους,
and short they-had bows and great arrows and of-reed
πρὸς δὲ ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρεύμενα
besides and daggers by the right thigh hanging
ἐκ τῆς ζώνης. καὶ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ὀτάνεα τὸν
from the belt and as-commander they-furnished Otanes the
Ἀμήστριος πατέρα τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ
of-Amestris father of-the of-Xerxes wife were-called and
πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Κηφῆνες, ὑπὸ μέντοι σφέων
of-old by indeed Greeks Cephenes by however themselves
αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Ἀρταῖοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ
themselves and the neighbors Artaei when and Perseus the
Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς ἀπίκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βήλου
(son)-of-Danae both and of-Zeus came to Cepheus the (son)-of-Belus
καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ
and took his the daughter Andromeda is-born to-him
παῖς τῷ οὔνομα ἔθετο Πέρσην, τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῦ
a-son to-whom name he-gave Perses this-one and there

καταλείπει· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἄπαις ἐὼν ὁ Κηφεὺς ἔρσενος
he-leaves happened for childless being — Cepheus of-male
γόνου. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔσχον.
offspring from this indeed the name they-had

62 Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο·
Medes and the same this equipped campaigned
Μηδικὴ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ σκευή ἐστι καὶ οὐ Περσική. οἱ
Median for this the equipment is and not Persian the
δὲ Μῆδοι ἄρχοντα μὲν παρείχοντο Τιγράνην ἄνδρα
and Medes as-commander indeed furnished Tigranes a-man
Ἀχαιμενίδην, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι,
Achaemenid were-called and of-old by all Arians
ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς
having-come and Medea the Colchian from Athens to the
Ἀρίους τούτους μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὔνομα. αὐτοὶ
Arians these changed also these the name themselves
περὶ σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. Κίσσιοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι
about themselves thus say Medes Cissians and campaigning
τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατά περ Πέρσαι ἐσκευάδατο, ἀντὶ
in-the indeed other(-things) as indeed Persians were-equipped instead-of
δὲ τῶν πίλων μιτρηφόροι ἦσαν. Κισσίων δὲ ἦρχε Ἀνάφης
but the felt-caps turban-wearing were of-Cissians and ruled Anaphes
ὁ Ὀτάνεω. Ὑρκάνιοι δὲ κατά περ Πέρσαι ἐσεσάχατο,
the (son)-of-Otanes Hyrcanians and as indeed Persians were-armed
ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγάπανον τὸν Βαβυλῶνος ὕστερον
as-leader furnishing Megapanus the of-Babylon later
τούτων ἐπιτροπεύσαντα.
than-these having-governed

63 Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι
Assyrians and campaigning about indeed the heads
εἶχον χάλκεά τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ
had of-bronze both helmets and plaited in-manner some

βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπήγητον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς καὶ
barbarous not easy-to-describe shields and also spears and
ἐγχειρίδια παραπλήσια τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι εἶχον, πρὸς δὲ
daggers like to-the Egyptian they-had besides and
ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ, καὶ λινέους θώρηκας.
clubs of-wood studded with-iron and linen corslets
οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων καλέονται Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ
these and by indeed Greeks are-called Syrians by but
τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν. τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ
the barbarians Assyrians were-called of-these and among
Χαλδαῖοι. Ἦρχε δὲ σφέων Ὀτάσπης ὁ Ἀρταχαίεω.
Chaldaeans ruled and them Otaspes the (son)-of-Artachaees
Βάκτριοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀγχότατα τῶν Μηδικῶν 64
Bactrians and about indeed the heads nearest to-the Median(-ones)
ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα ἐπιχώρια καὶ
having campaigned bows and of-reed native and
αἰχμὰς βραχέας. Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι
spears short Sacae and the Scythians about indeed the heads
κυρβασίας ἐς ὀξὺ ἀπηγμένας ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγυίας,
caps to a-point drawn upright had stiff
ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν, τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια,
trousers and they-had-put-on bows and native and daggers
πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀξίνας σαγάρις εἶχον. τούτους δὲ ἐόντας Σκύθας
besides and also axes sagaris had these but being Scythians
Ἀμυργίους Σάκας ἐκάλεον· οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς
Amyrgian Sacae they-called the for Persians all the
Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας. Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ Σακέων ἦρχε
Scythians call Sacae of-Bactrians and also of-Sacae ruled
Ὑστάσπης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου.
Hystaspes the (son)-of-Darius both and of-Atossa the (daughter)-of-Cyrus

65 Ἰνδοὶ δὲ εἵματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα,
Indians and garments indeed wearing from trees made
τόξα δὲ καλάμινα εἶχον καὶ ὀιστοὺς καλαμίνους· ἐπὶ
bows and of-reed had and arrows of-reed on(-them)
δὲ σίδηρος ἦν. ἐσταλμένοι μὲν δὴ ἦσαν οὕτω Ἰνδοί,
and iron was equipped indeed then were thus Indians
προσετετάχατο δὲ συστρατευόμενοι Φαρναζάθρῃ τῷ
were-assigned and campaigning to-Pharnazathres the
Ἀρταβάτεω.
(son)-of-Artabates

66 Ἄριοι δὲ τόξοισι μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδικοῖσι, τὰ
Arians and with-bows indeed equipped were Median in-the
δὲ ἄλλα κατά περ Βάκτριοι. Ἀρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμνης
but other(-things) as indeed Bactrians of-Arians and ruled Sisamnes
ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε
the (son)-of-Hydarnes Parthians and also Chorasmians and Sogdians both
καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι τὴν αὐτὴν σκευὴν ἔχοντες
and Gandarians and Dadicae the same equipment having
τὴν καὶ Βάκτριοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἵδε.
which also Bactrians campaigned of-these and ruled these
Πάρθων μὲν καὶ Χορασμίων Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος,
of-Parthians indeed and Chorasmians Artabazus the (son)-of-Pharnaces
Σόγδων δὲ Ἀζάνης ὁ Ἀρταίου, Γανδαρίων δὲ καὶ
of-Sogdians and Azanes the (son)-of-Artaeus of-Gandarians and also
Δαδικέων Ἀρτύφιος ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.
of-Dadicae Artyphius the (son)-of-Artabanus

67 Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια
Caspians and cloaks-of-skin both wearing and bows native
καλάμινα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκινάκας ἐστρατεύοντο. οὗτοι μὲν
of-reed having and akinakes campaigned these indeed
οὕτω ἐσκευάδατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν
thus were-equipped as-leader furnishing Ariomardus the

Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν, Σαράγγαι δὲ εἵματα μὲν βεβαμμένα
of-Artyphius brother Sarangae and garments indeed dyed
ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες, πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον,
conspicuous having boots and to knee reaching had
τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς Μηδικάς. Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε
bows and also spears Median of-Sarangae and ruled
Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου. Πάκτυες δὲ σισυρνοφόροι τε
Pherendates the (son)-of-Megabazus Pactyes and cloak-of-skin-wearers both
ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια εἶχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυες
were and bows native had and daggers Pactyes
δὲ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ἀρταΰντην τὸν Ἰθαμίτρεω.
and as-commander furnished Artayntes the (son)-of-Ithamitres
Οὔτιοι δὲ καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι 68
Utians and also Myci both and Paricanians equipped
ἦσαν κατά περ Πάκτυες. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἵδε, Οὐτίων
were as indeed Pactyes of-these and ruled these of-Utians
μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρείου, Παρικανίων δὲ
indeed and Myci Arsamenes the (son)-of-Darius of-Paricanians and
Σιρομίτρης ὁ Οἰοβάζου.
Siromitres the (son)-of-Oeobazus
Ἀράβιοι δὲ ζειρὰς ὑπεζωσμένοι ἦσαν, τόξα δὲ παλίντονα 69
Arabians and long-cloaks girt-up were bows and back-bent
εἶχον πρὸς δεξιά, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ
had at right long Ethiopians and leopard-skins both and
λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος σπάθης
lion-skins having-fastened-on bows and had from palm stem
πεποιημένα, μακρά, τετραπηχέων οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ἐπὶ δὲ
made long four-cubit not less on(-them) and
καλαμίνους ὀιστοὺς μικρούς· ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἐπῆν λίθος
of-reed arrows small instead-of and iron was-on a-stone
ὀξὺς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγῖδας γλύφουσι·
sharp made with-which also the seals they-engrave

πρὸς δὲ αἰχμὰς εἶχον, ἐπὶ δὲ κέρας δορκάδος ἐπῆν
besides and spears had on(-them) and a-horn of-gazelle was-on
ὀξὺ πεποιημένον τρόπον λόγχης· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ῥόπαλα
sharp made in-manner of-a-spear-point had and also clubs
τυλωτά. τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο
studded of-the and body the indeed half they-smeared-themselves
γύψῳ ἰόντες ἐς μάχην, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἥμισυ μίλτῳ.
with-chalk going into battle the and other half with-vermilion
Ἀραβίων δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τῶν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκημένων
of-Arabians and also Ethiopians the above Egypt dwelling
ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτυστώνης τῆς Κύρου
ruled Arsames the (son)-of-Darius and of-Artystone the of-Cyrus
θυγατρός, τὴν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν γυναικῶν Δαρεῖος
daughter whom most having-loved of-the wives Darius
εἰκὼ χρυσέην σφυρήλατον ἐποιήσατο.
an-image golden of-beaten(-gold) made
70 Τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Αἰθιόπων καὶ Ἀραβίων ἦρχε
of-the indeed then above Egypt Ethiopians and Arabians ruled
Ἀρσάμης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων Αἰθίοπες (διξοὶ
Arsames the but from sun risings Ethiopians twofold
γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο) προσετετάχατο τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι,
for indeed they-campaigned were-assigned to-the Indians
διαλλάσσοντες εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἑτέροισι, φωνὴν δὲ καὶ
differing in-form indeed nothing from-the others in-speech but and
τρίχωμα μοῦνον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἡλίου Αἰθίοπες ἰθύτριχες
hair only the indeed for from sun Ethiopians straight-haired
εἰσί, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα ἔχουσι
are the but from — Libya woolliest hair have
πάντων ἀνθρώπων. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης Αἰθίοπες τὰ
of-all men these and the from — Asia Ethiopians in-the
μὲν πλέω κατά περ Ἰνδοὶ ἐσεσάχατο, προμετωπίδια
indeed most(-things) as indeed Indians were-armed frontlets

δὲ ἵππων εἶχον ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι σύν τε τοῖσι ὠσὶ
and of-horses they-had on the heads with both the ears
ἐκδεδαρμένα καὶ τῇ λοφιῇ· καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν λόφου ἡ λοφιὴ
flayed and the mane and instead-of indeed crest the mane
κατέχρα, τὰ δὲ ὦτα τῶν ἵππων ὀρθὰ πεπηγότα εἶχον·
served the and ears of-the horses upright fixed they-had
προβλήματα δὲ ἀντ᾽ ἀσπίδων ἐποιεῦντο γεράνων δοράς.
as-defenses and instead-of shields they-made of-cranes skins
Λίβυες δὲ σκευὴν μὲν σκυτίνην ἤισαν ἔχοντες, ἀκοντίοισι 71
Libyans and equipment indeed of-leather went having javelins
δὲ ἐπικαύτοισι χρεώμενοι, ἄρχοντα δὲ παρείχοντο
and fire-hardened using as-commander and they-furnished
Μασσάγην τὸν Ὀαρίζου.
Massages the (son)-of-Oarizus
Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα 72
Paphlagonians and campaigned on indeed the heads helmets
πεπλεγμένα ἔχοντες, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικρὰς αἰχμάς τε οὐ
plaited having shields and small spears both not
μεγάλας, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας
great besides and javelins and daggers about and the feet
πέδιλα ἐπιχώρια ἐς μέσην κνήμην ἀνατείνοντα. Λίγυες δὲ καὶ
boots native to middle shin reaching Ligyes and also
Ματιηνοὶ καὶ Μαριανδυνοί τε καὶ Σύριοι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες
Matieni and Mariandyni both and Syrians the same having
Παφλαγόσι ἐστρατεύοντο. οἱ δὲ Σύριοι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων
as-Paphlagonians campaigned the and Syrians these by Persians
Καππαδόκαι καλέονται. Παφλαγόνων μέν νυν καὶ Ματιηνῶν
Cappadocians are-called of-Paphlagonians indeed then and Matieni
Δῶτος ὁ Μεγασίδρου ἦρχε, Μαριανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Λιγύων
Dotus the (son)-of-Megasidrus ruled of-Mariandyni and also Ligyes
καὶ Συρίων Γοβρύης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυστώνης.
and Syrians Gobryas the (son)-of-Darius both and of-Artystone

73 Φρύγες δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευὴν εἶχον, ὀλίγον
Phrygians and nearest to-the Paphlagonian equipment had a-little
παραλλάσσοντες. οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι,
differing the and Phrygians as Macedonians say
ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπήιοι ἐόντες σύνοικοι
were-called Briges time as-long-as Europeans being fellow-dwellers
ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἅμα τῇ
they-were with-Macedonians having-crossed and to — Asia together-with the
χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατά
land also the name changed to Phrygians Armenians and as
περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἐόντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων
indeed Phrygians were-armed being of-Phrygians colonists of-these
συναμφοτέρων ἦρχε Ἀρτόχμης Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα.
both-together ruled Artochmes of-Darius having a-daughter

74 Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὅπλα. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ
Lydians and nearest to-the Greek had arms the and Lydians
Μηίονες ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος
Meiones were-called the of-old from and Lydus the (son)-of-Atys
ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὔνομα. Μυσοὶ δὲ
they-got the name having-changed the name Mysians and
ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας
on indeed the heads had helmets native shields
δὲ μικράς, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαύτοισι. οὗτοι δὲ
and small javelins and used fire-hardened these and
εἰσὶ Λυδῶν ἄποικοι, ἀπ᾽ Ὀλύμπου δὲ ὄρεος καλέονται
are of-Lydians colonists from Olympus and mountain are-called
Ὀλυμπιηνοί. Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἦρχε Ἀρταφρένης ὁ
Olympieni of-Lydians and also Mysians ruled Artaphrenes the
Ἀρταφρένεος ὃς ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἐσέβαλε ἅμα Δάτι.
(son)-of-Artaphrenes who into Marathon invaded with Datis

Θρήικες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀλωπεκέας ἔχοντες 75
Thracians and on indeed the heads fox-skins having
ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειρὰς
campaigned about and the body tunics over and long-cloaks
περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς
having-thrown-round embroidered about and the feet both and the
κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντιά τε καὶ πέλτας
shins boots of-fawnskin besides and javelins both and light-shields
καὶ ἐγχειρίδια μικρά. οὗτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην
and daggers small these and having-crossed indeed to — Asia
ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί, τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ
were-called Bithynians the but before were-called as themselves
λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστῆναι
say Strymonians dwelling on Strymon to-have-been-driven-out
δὲ φασὶ ἐξ ἠθέων ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. Θρηίκων
and they-say from abodes by Teucrians both and Mysians of-Thracians
δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἦρχε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.
and the in — Asia ruled Bassaces the (son)-of-Artabanus
*** ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοΐνας εἶχον σμικράς, καὶ προβόλους 76
(lacuna) shields and of-raw-oxhide had small and hunting-spears
δύο λυκιοεργέας ἕκαστος εἶχε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι
two Lycian-made each had on and the heads
κράνεα χάλκεα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι ὦτά τε καὶ κέρεα
helmets of-bronze besides and the helmets ears both and horns
προσῆν βοὸς χάλκεα, ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι· τὰς δὲ
were-attached of-an-ox of-bronze were-on and also crests the and
κνήμας ῥάκεσι φοινικέοισι κατειλίχατο. ἐν τούτοισι
shins with-strips-of-cloth purple they-had-wrapped among these
τοῖσι ἀνδράσι Ἄρεος ἐστὶ χρηστήριον.
the men of-Ares is an-oracle

77 Καβηλέες δὲ οἱ Μηίονες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλεύμενοι, τὴν
Cabalians and the Meiones Lasonians and called the
αὐτὴν Κίλιξι εἶχον σκευήν, τὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεὰν κατὰ τὴν
same as-Cilicians had equipment which I when at the
Κιλίκων τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι, τότε σημανέω. Μιλύαι
of-Cilicians division going-through I-come then I-shall-show Milyans
δὲ αἰχμάς τε βραχέας εἶχον καὶ εἵματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο·
and spears both short had and garments were-fastened-with-brooches
εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα μετεξέτεροι Λύκια, περὶ δὲ τῇσι
had and of-them bows some Lycian about and the
κεφαλῇσι ἐκ διφθερέων πεποιημένας κυνέας. τούτων
heads of leather made caps of-these
πάντων ἦρχε Βάδρης ὁ Ὑστάνεος.
all ruled Badres the (son)-of-Hystanes

78 Μόσχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας ξυλίνας εἶχον,
Moschi and about indeed the heads caps wooden had
ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς σμικράς· λόγχαι δὲ ἐπῆσαν μεγάλαι.
shields and also spears small points but were-on great
Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσσύνοικοι κατά περ
Tibareni and also Macrones and Mossynoeci as indeed
Μόσχοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτους δὲ συνέτασσον
Moschi equipped campaigned these and arrayed
ἄρχοντες οἵδε, Μόσχους μὲν καὶ Τιβαρηνοὺς Ἀριόμαρδος
commanders these Moschi indeed and Tibareni Ariomardus
ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ Πάρμυος τῆς Σμέρδιος τοῦ
the of-Darius both son and of-Parmys the (daughter)-of-Smerdis the
Κύρου, Μάκρωνας δὲ καὶ Μοσσυνοίκους Ἀρταΰκτης ὁ
(son)-of-Cyrus Macrones and also Mossynoeci Artayctes the
Χεράσμιος, ὃς Σηστὸν τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐπετρόπευε.
(son)-of-Cherasmis who Sestus the on Hellespont governed

Μᾶρες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτὰ 79
Mares and on indeed the heads helmets native plaited
εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματίνας μικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια. Κόλχοι
had shields and leather small and javelins Colchians
δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ξύλινα, ἀσπίδας δὲ
and about indeed the heads helmets wooden shields and
ὠμοβοΐνας μικρὰς αἰχμάς τε βραχέας, πρὸς δὲ μαχαίρας
of-raw-oxhide small spears both short besides and swords
εἶχον. Μαρῶν δὲ καὶ Κόλχων ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιος.
had of-Mares and also Colchians ruled Pharandates the (son)-of-Teaspis
Ἀλαρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες κατά περ Κόλχοι ὡπλισμένοι
Alarodians and also Saspires as indeed Colchians armed
ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρομίτρεω ἦρχε.
campaigned of-these and Masistius the (son)-of-Siromitres ruled
Τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνεα τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης 80
the and island nations the from the Red sea
ἑπόμενα, νήσων δὲ ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους
following of-islands and in which the removed called
κατοικίζει βασιλεύς, ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Μηδικῶν εἶχον ἐσθῆτά
settles king nearest to-the Median(-ones) had dress
τε καὶ ὅπλα. τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτέων ἦρχε Μαρδόντης
both and arms of-these and the islanders ruled Mardontes
ὁ Βαγαίου, ὃς ἐν Μυκάλῃ στρατηγέων δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ
the (son)-of-Bagaeus who at Mycale commanding in-the-second year
τούτων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.
after-these died in the battle

Six generals command the whole infantry, with the Ten Thousand Immortals under Hydarnes. The cavalry nations follow, among them the Sagartian lasso-men and the Arabian camel riders. The fleet numbers 1,207 triremes, Phoenicians and Syrians first, with their arms and the origins of each people. Herodotus names the admirals, and above all Artemisia of Halicarnassus, who rules for her young son, joins the campaign unforced, and gives Xerxes the best counsel of all his allies.

81 Ταῦτα ἦν τὰ κατ᾽ ἤπειρον στρατευόμενά τε ἔθνεα καὶ
these were the by mainland campaigning both nations and
τεταγμένα ἐς τὸν πεζόν. τούτου ὦν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦρχον
ranked in the infantry of-this then the army ruled
μὲν οὗτοι οἵ περ εἰρέαται, καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ
indeed these who indeed have-been-mentioned and those having-arrayed and
ἐξαριθμήσαντες οὗτοι ἦσαν καὶ χιλιάρχας τε καὶ
having-numbered(-them) these were and commanders-of-a-thousand both and
μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες, ἑκατοντάρχας δὲ καὶ
commanders-of-ten-thousand having-appointed commanders-of-a-hundred and also
δεκάρχας οἱ μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων
commanders-of-ten the commanders-of-ten-thousand of-companies and also nations
ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες.
were others leaders

82 Ἦσαν μὲν δὴ οὗτοι οἵ περ εἰρέαται ἄρχοντες,
were indeed then these who indeed have-been-mentioned commanders
ἐστρατήγεον δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ
were-generals and of-these both and of-the whole army
τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γοβρύεω καὶ Τριτανταίχμης
the infantry Mardonius both the (son)-of-Gobryas and Tritantaechmes
ὁ Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ
the (son)-of-Artabanus the opinion having-given not to-march against
Ἑλλάδα καὶ Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω, Δαρείου ἀμφότεροι
Greece and Smerdomenes the (son)-of-Otanes of-Darius both

οὗτοι ἀδελφεῶν παῖδες, Ξέρξῃ δὲ ἐγίνοντο ἀνεψιοί, καὶ
these of-brothers sons to-Xerxes and they-were cousins and
Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παῖς καὶ Γέργις
Masistes the (son)-of-Darius both and of-Atossa son and Gergis
ὁ Ἀριάζου καὶ Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου.
the (son)-of-Ariazus and Megabyzus the (son)-of-Zopyrus
Οὗτοι ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος πεζοῦ χωρὶς 83
these were generals of-the whole infantry apart-from
τῶν μυρίων· τῶν δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσέων τῶν
the ten-thousand of-the and ten-thousand these Persians the
ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγεε μὲν Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος,
picked was-general indeed Hydarnes the (son)-of-Hydarnes
ἐκαλέοντο δὲ ἀθάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· εἴ
were-called and immortals the Persians these for this(-reason) if
τις αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἢ θανάτῳ βιηθεὶς ἢ
any(-one) of-them left the number either by-death forced or
νούσῳ, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀραίρητο, καὶ ἐγίνοντο οὐδαμὰ οὔτε
by-disease another man had-been-chosen and they-were never neither
πλεῦνες μυρίων οὔτε ἐλάσσονες. κόσμον δὲ πλεῖστον
more than-ten-thousand nor fewer adornment and most
παρείχοντο διὰ πάντων Πέρσαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν·
furnished through all Persians and themselves best were
σκευὴν μὲν τοιαύτην εἶχον ἥ περ εἴρηται, χωρὶς δὲ χρυσόν
equipment indeed such they-had as indeed has-been-said apart and gold
τε πολλὸν καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον, ἁρμαμάξας
both much and abundant having they-were-conspicuous covered-carriages
τε ἅμα ἤγοντο, ἐν δὲ παλλακὰς καὶ θεραπηίην
both together they-brought in(-them) and concubines and servants
πολλήν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένην· σῖτα δέ σφι, χωρὶς
many both and well equipped food and to-them apart-from
τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτέων, κάμηλοί τε καὶ ὑποζύγια ἦγον.
the other soldiers camels both and beasts-of-burden brought

84 Ἱππεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα· πλὴν οὐ πάντα παρείχετο ἵππον,
ride and these the nations except not all furnished cavalry
ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μοῦνα, Πέρσαι μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι
but so-many only Persians indeed the same equipped
καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτῶν· πλὴν ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον ἔνιοι
as-also the infantry of-them except on the heads had some
αὐτῶν καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα.
of-them both bronze and iron hammered pieces-of-work
85 Εἰσὶ δὲ τινὲς νομάδες ἄνθρωποι Σαγάρτιοι καλεόμενοι,
there-are and some nomad people Sagartians called
ἔθνος μὲν Περσικὸν καὶ φωνῇ, σκευὴν δὲ μεταξὺ
a-nation indeed Persian also in-speech equipment and between
ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς·
they-have made of-the both Persian and the Pactyan
οἳ παρείχοντο μὲν ἵππον ὀκτακισχιλίην, ὅπλα δὲ οὐ
who furnished indeed cavalry eight-thousand arms and not
νομίζουσι ἔχειν οὔτε χάλκεα οὔτε σιδήρεα ἔξω ἐγχειριδίων,
are-wont to-have neither bronze nor iron except daggers
χρέωνται δὲ σειρῇσι πεπλεγμένῃσι ἐξ ἱμάντων· ταύτῃσι
they-use and ropes plaited from thongs on-these
πίσυνοι ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν
relying they-go into war the and fighting of-these the
ἀνδρῶν ἥδε· ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωσι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι, βάλλουσι
men this whenever they-engage with-the enemy they-throw
τὰς σειρὰς ἐπ᾽ ἄκρῳ βρόχους ἐχούσας· ὅτευ δ᾽ ἂν τύχῃ,
the ropes at end nooses having whatever and — it-hits
ἤν τε ἵππου ἤν τε ἀνθρώπου, ἐπ᾽ ἑωυτὸν ἕλκει· οἳ
whether — horse or — man to himself he-drags they
δὲ ἐν ἕρκεσι ἐμπαλασσόμενοι διαφθείρονται.
and in coils entangled are-destroyed

Τούτων μὲν αὕτη ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς 86
of-these indeed this the fighting and they-were-posted to the
Πέρσας· Μῆδοι δὲ τήν περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευήν, καὶ
Persians Medes and which indeed in the infantry they-had equipment and
Κίσσιοι ὡσαύτως. Ἰνδοὶ δὲ σκευῇ μὲν ἐσεσάχατο τῇ
Cissians likewise Indians and in-equipment indeed were-armed in-the
αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἤλαυνον δὲ κέλητας καὶ ἅρματα· ὑπὸ
same as-also in the infantry drove and riding-horses and chariots under
δὲ τοῖσι ἅρμασι ὑπῆσαν ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι ἄγριοι. Βάκτριοι δὲ
and the chariots were-yoked horses and asses wild Bactrians and
ἐσκευάδατο ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως.
were-equipped likewise as-also in the infantry and Caspians alike
Λίβυες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατά περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἤλαυνον
Libyans and also themselves as indeed in the infantry drove
δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἅρματα. ὡς δ' αὕτως Κάσπιοι καὶ
and also these all chariots thus and likewise Caspians and
Παρικάνιοι ἐσεσάχατο ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ. Ἀράβιοι
Paricanians were-armed alike as-also in the infantry Arabians
δὲ σκευὴν μὲν εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἤλαυνον
and equipment indeed had the same as-also in the infantry rode
δὲ πάντες καμήλους ταχυτῆτα οὐ λειπομένας ἵππων.
and all camels in-speed not falling-short-of horses
Ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα μοῦνα ἱππεύει. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ἵππου 87
these the nations alone ride number and of-the cavalry
ἐγένετο ὀκτὼ μυριάδες, πάρεξ τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν
was eight ten-thousands apart-from the camels and the
ἁρμάτων. οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι ἱππέες ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τέλεα,
chariots the indeed then other horsemen were-ranked by squadrons
Ἀράβιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἐπετετάχατο· ἅτε γὰρ τῶν ἵππων
Arabians and last were-posted as for the horses

οὔτι ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους, ὕστεροι ἐτετάχατο, ἵνα
not-at-all enduring the camels later they-were-ranked so-that
μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ ἱππικόν.
not might-be-frightened the cavalry

88 Ἵπαρχοι δὲ ἦσαν Ἁρμαμίθρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος Δάτιος
cavalry-commanders and were Harmamithres both and Tithaeus of-Datis
παῖδες. ὁ δὲ τρίτος σφι συνίπαρχος Φαρνούχης
sons the and third their fellow-cavalry-commander Pharnuches
κατελέλειπτο ἐν Σάρδισι νοσέων. ὡς γὰρ ὁρμῶντο ἐκ
had-been-left in Sardis being-sick when for they-were-setting-out from
Σαρδίων, ἐπὶ συμφορὴν περιέπεσε ἀνεθέλητον· ἐλαύνοντι γάρ
Sardis on a-mishap he-fell unwished riding for
οἱ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἵππου ὑπέδραμε κύων, καὶ ὁ ἵππος
to-him under the feet of-the horse ran a-dog and the horse
οὐ προϊδὼν ἐφοβήθη τε καὶ στὰς ὀρθὸς ἀπεσείσατο
not having-seen(-it)-before was-frightened both and having-stood upright threw-off
τὸν Φαρνούχεα, πεσὼν δὲ αἱμά τε ἤμεε καὶ ἐς φθίσιν
— *Pharnuches having-fallen and blood both he-vomited and into consumption*
περιῆλθε ἡ νοῦσος. τὸν δὲ ἵππον αὐτίκα κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς
turned the illness the and horse at-once at beginnings
ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευε· ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ οἰκέται ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἐν
they-treated as he-bade having-led(-it)-away the servants to the place in
τῷ περ κατέβαλε τὸν δεσπότην, ἐν τοῖσι γούνασι ἀπέταμον
which indeed it-threw-down the master at the knees they-cut-off
τὰ σκέλεα. Φαρνούχης μὲν οὕτω παρελύθη τῆς ἡγεμονίης.
the legs Pharnuches indeed thus was-released from-the command

89 Τῶν δὲ τριηρέων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκόσιαι
of-the and triremes number indeed was seven and two-hundred
καὶ χίλιαι, παρείχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς οἵδε, Φοίνικες μὲν
and a-thousand furnished and them these Phoenicians indeed
σὺν Σύροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τριηκοσίας, ὧδε
with Syrians the in the Palestine three-hundred thus

ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας εἶχον
equipped about indeed the heads helmets they-had
ἀγχοτάτω πεποιημένας τρόπον τὸν Ἑλληνικόν, ἐνδεδυκότες
nearest made to-the-manner the Greek wearing
δὲ θώρηκας λινέους, ἀσπίδας δὲ ἴτυς οὐκ ἐχούσας εἶχον
and corslets linen shields and rims not having they-had
καὶ ἀκόντια. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τὸ παλαιὸν οἴκεον,
and javelins these and the Phoenicians the of-old dwelt
ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ
as themselves say by the Red sea thence and
ὑπερβάντες τῆς Συρίης οἰκέουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν·
having-crossed — of-Syria they-inhabit the(-part) along sea
τῆς δὲ Συρίης τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου
— and-of-Syria this the place and the(-part) as-far-as Egypt
πᾶν Παλαιστίνη καλέεται. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας παρείχοντο
all Palestine is-called Egyptians and ships furnished
διηκοσίας. οὗτοι δὲ εἶχον περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα
two-hundred these and had about indeed the heads helmets
χηλευτά, ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας, τὰς ἴτυς μεγάλας ἐχούσας, καὶ
plaited shields and hollow the rims great having and
δόρατά τε ναύμαχα καὶ τύχους μεγάλους. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος
spears both for-sea-fighting and axes great the and majority
αὐτῶν θωρηκοφόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας εἶχον.
of-them corslet-wearers were swords and great they-had
Οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐστάλατο, Κύπριοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας 90
these indeed thus were-equipped Cyprians and furnished ships
πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ἐσκευασμένοι ὧδε· τὰς μὲν
fifty and a-hundred equipped thus the indeed
κεφαλὰς εἰλίχατο μίτρῃσι οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι
heads had-wrapped with-turbans the kings of-them the and others
εἶχον κιθῶνας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατά περ Ἕλληνες. τούτων
had tunics the and other(-things) as indeed Greeks of-these

δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεα εἰσί, οἳ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων,
and so-many nations are they indeed from Salamis and Athens
οἳ δὲ ἀπ᾽ Ἀρκαδίης, οἳ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθνου, οἳ δὲ ἀπὸ
they and from Arcadia they and from Cythnus they and from
Φοινίκης, οἳ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίης, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι.
Phoenicia they and from Ethiopia as themselves Cyprians say
91 Κίλικες δὲ ἑκατὸν παρείχοντο νέας. οὗτοι δ᾽ αὖ
Cilicians and a-hundred furnished ships these and again
περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, λαισήια δὲ
about indeed the heads helmets native shields-of-hide and
εἶχον ἀντ᾽ ἀσπίδων ὠμοβοέης πεποιημένα, καὶ κιθῶνας
had instead-of shields of-raw-oxhide made and tunics
εἰρινέους ἐνδεδυκότες· δύο δὲ ἀκόντια ἕκαστος καὶ ξίφος
woolen wearing two and javelins each and a-sword
εἶχον, ἀγχοτάτω τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι μαχαίρῃσι πεποιημένα.
had nearest to-the Egyptian swords made
οὗτοι δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν Ὑπαχαιοὶ ἐκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Κίλικος
these and the of-old Hypachaei were-called from and Cilix
τοῦ Ἀγήνορος ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.
the (son)-of-Agenor a-man Phoenician they-got the name
Πάμφυλοι δὲ τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας Ἑλληνικοῖσι
Pamphylians and thirty furnished ships with-Greek
ὅπλοισι ἐσκευασμένοι. οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὗτοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκ
arms equipped the and Pamphylians these are of-those from
Τροίης ἀποσκεδασθέντων ἅμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ Κάλχαντι.
Troy scattered with Amphilochus and Calchas
92 Λύκιοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα θωρηκοφόροι
Lycians and furnished ships fifty corslet-wearers
τε ἐόντες καὶ κνημιδοφόροι, εἶχον δὲ τόξα κρανέινα
both being and greave-wearers had and bows of-cornel
καὶ ὀιστοὺς καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια, ἐπὶ δὲ
and arrows of-reed featherless and javelins over and

αἰγὸς δέρμα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους αἰωρεύμενον, περὶ δὲ τῇσι
of-a-goat skin about the shoulders hanging about and the
κεφαλῇσι πίλους πτεροῖσι περιεστεφανωμένους· ἐγχειρίδια
heads felt-caps with-feathers crowned daggers
δὲ καὶ δρέπανα εἶχον. Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο ἐκ
and also sickles had Lycians and Termilae were-called from
Κρήτης γεγονότες, ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίονος ἀνδρὸς
Crete born from and Lycus the (son)-of-Pandion a-man
Ἀθηναίου ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.
Athenian they-got the name
Δωριέες δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τριήκοντα παρείχοντο 93
Dorians and those from — Asia thirty furnished
νέας, ἔχοντές τε Ἑλληνικὰ ὅπλα καὶ γεγονότες ἀπὸ
ships having both Greek arms and descended from
Πελοποννήσου. Κᾶρες δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας,
Peloponnese Carians and seventy furnished ships
τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατά περ Ἕλληνες ἐσταλμένοι, εἶχον
in-the indeed other(-things) as indeed Greeks equipped had
δὲ καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. οὗτοι δὲ οἵτινες πρότερον
and also sickles and daggers these and who before
ἐκαλέοντο, ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι τῶν λόγων εἴρηται.
they-were-called in the first of-the histories has-been-said
Ἴωνες δὲ ἑκατὸν νέας παρείχοντο ἐσκευασμένοι ὡς Ἕλληνες. 94
Ionians and a-hundred ships furnished equipped as Greeks
Ἴωνες δὲ ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον τὴν
Ionians and as-long-as indeed time in Peloponnese they-inhabited the
νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαιίην, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δαναόν τε καὶ Ξοῦθον
now called Achaea and before than Danaus both and Xuthus
ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο
came to Peloponnese as Greeks say were-called
Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνος τοῦ Ξούθου Ἴωνες.
Pelasgians Aegialees from and Ion the (son)-of-Xuthus Ionians

95 Νησιῶται δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, ὡπλισμένοι ὡς
islanders and seventeen furnished ships armed as
Ἕλληνες, καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ὕστερον δὲ Ἰωνικὸν
Greeks also this a-Pelasgian nation later and Ionian
ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ οἱ δυωδεκαπόλιες Ἴωνες
was-called by the same reason as-also the twelve-city Ionians
οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων. Αἰολέες δὲ ἑξήκοντα νέας παρείχοντο,
the from Athens Aeolians and sixty ships furnished
ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὡς Ἕλληνες καὶ τὸ πάλαι καλεόμενοι
equipped both as Greeks and the of-old called
Πελασγοί, ὡς Ἑλλήνων λόγος. Ἑλλησπόντιοι δὲ πλὴν
Pelasgians as of-Greeks the-story Hellespontines and except
Ἀβυδηνῶν (Ἀβυδηνοῖσι γὰρ προσετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέος
Abydenes to-Abydenes for it-had-been-assigned by king
κατὰ χώρην μένουσι φύλακας εἶναι τῶν γεφυρέων) οἱ
in place staying guards to-be of-the bridges the
δὲ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου στρατευόμενοι παρείχοντο
and rest those from the Pontus campaigning furnished
μὲν ἑκατὸν νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦσαν ὡς Ἕλληνες.
indeed a-hundred ships equipped and were as Greeks
οὗτοι δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ Δωριέων ἄποικοι.
these and of-Ionians and of-Dorians colonists

96 Ἐπεβάτευον δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι
served-as-marines and on all the ships Persians and Medes
καὶ Σάκαι. τούτων δὲ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο νέας
and Sacae of-these and best sailing furnished ships
Φοίνικες καὶ Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι. τούτοισι πᾶσι καὶ τοῖσι ἐς
Phoenicians and of-Phoenicians Sidonians to-these all and to-the in
τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοισι αὐτῶν ἐπῆσαν ἑκάστοισι ἐπιχώριοι
the infantry ranked of-them were-over each native
ἡγεμόνες, τῶν ἐγώ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι ἐς ἱστορίης
leaders whom I not for by-necessity am-constrained for of-the-inquiry

λόγον, οὐ παραμέμνημαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἑκάστου ἐπάξιοι
account not have-mentioned neither for of-nation each worthy
ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἔν τε ἔθνεϊ ἑκάστῳ ὅσαι περ πόλιες
were the leaders in both nation each as-many-as indeed cities
τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, εἵποντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοὶ
so-many also leaders were followed and as not generals
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι· ἐπεὶ στρατηγοί
but like the other campaigning slaves since generals
γε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνέων
at-least those the whole having power and commanders of-the nations
ἑκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι, εἰρέαταί μοι.
each as-many-as of-them were Persians have-been-told by-me
Τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατήγεον Ἀριαβίγνης τε ὁ Δαρείου 97
of-the and fleet were-generals Ariabignes both the (son)-of-Darius
καὶ Πρηξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω καὶ Μεγάβαζος ὁ
and Prexaspes the (son)-of-Aspathines and Megabazus the
Μεγαβάτεω καὶ Ἀχαιμένης ὁ Δαρείου, τῆς μὲν Ἰάδος
(son)-of-Megabates and Achaemenes the (son)-of-Darius of-the indeed Ionian
τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρατιῆς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς
both and Carian army Ariabignes the of-Darius both son
καὶ τῆς Γοβρύεω θυγατρός· Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε
and of-the of-Gobryas daughter of-Egyptians and was-general
Ἀχαιμένης Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεός, τῆς δὲ
Achaemenes of-Xerxes being from both(-parents) brother of-the and
ἄλλης στρατιῆς ἐστρατήγεον οἱ δύο. τριηκόντεροι δὲ καὶ
other army were-generals the two thirty-oared-ships and also
πεντηκόντεροι καὶ κέρκουροι καὶ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα μακρὰ
fifty-oared-ships and light-boats and horse-transport boats long
συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐφάνη τρισχίλια.
having-come-together to the number appeared three-thousand

98 Τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλεόντων μετά γε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οἵδε
of-the and sailing-on-board after at-least the generals these
ἦσαν ὀνομαστότατοι, Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου, καὶ
were most-renowned Sidonian Tetramnestus (son)-of-Anysus and
Τύριος Ματτὴν Σιρώμου, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος Ἀγβάλου,
Tyrian Matten (son)-of-Siromus and Aradian Merbalus (son)-of-Agbalus
καὶ Κίλιξ Συέννεσις Ὡρομέδοντος, καὶ Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος
and Cilician Syennesis (son)-of-Oromedon and Lycian Cyberniscus
Σίκα, καὶ Κύπριοι Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσιος καὶ Τιμῶναξ
(son)-of-Sicas and Cyprians Gorgus both the (son)-of-Chersis and Timonax
ὁ Τιμαγόρεω, καὶ Καρῶν Ἱστιαῖός τε ὁ Τύμνεω καὶ
the (son)-of-Timagoras and of-Carians Histiaeus both the (son)-of-Tymnes and
Πίγρης ὁ Ὑσσελδώμου, καὶ Δαμασίθυμος ὁ Κανδαύλεω.
Pigres the (son)-of-Hysseldomus and Damasithymus the (son)-of-Candaules
99 Τῶν μέν νυν ἄλλων οὐ παραμέμνημαι ταξιάρχων ὡς
of-the indeed then other not I-have-mentioned captains as
οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος, Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ τῆς μάλιστα θῶμα
not being-compelled Artemisia but of-the most wonder
ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης γυναικός· ἥτις
I-make against — Greece having-campaigned woman who
ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτή τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ
having-died the husband herself both holding the tyranny and
παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίεω ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηίης
son being young from spirit both and manliness
ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς οἱ ἐούσης ἀναγκαίης. οὔνομα μὲν
campaigned no to-her being necessity name indeed
δὴ ἦν αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Λυγδάμιος, γένος
then was to-her Artemisia daughter and was of-Lygdamis by-race
δὲ ἐξ Ἁλικαρνησσοῦ τὰ πρὸς πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ
and from Halicarnassus the on father's-side the from-mother but
Κρῆσσα. ἡγεμόνευε δὲ Ἁλικαρνησσέων τε καὶ Κῴων καὶ
Cretan she-led and of-Halicarnassians both and Coans and

Νισυρίων τε καὶ Καλυδνίων, πέντε νέας παρεχομένη. καὶ
Nisyrians both and Calydnians five ships furnishing and
συναπάσης τῆς στρατιῆς, μετά γε τὰς Σιδωνίων,
of-all-together the army after at-least the(-ships) of-Sidonians
νέας εὐδοξοτάτας παρείχετο, πάντων τε τῶν συμμάχων
ships most-renowned she-furnished of-all both the allies
γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλέι ἀπεδέξατο. τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα
opinions best king declared of-the and I-listed
πολίων ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτήν, τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφαίνω πᾶν ἐὸν
cities to-lead her the nation I-declare all being
Δωρικόν, Ἁλικαρνησσέας μὲν Τροιζηνίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους
Dorian Halicarnassians indeed Troezenians the but others
Ἐπιδαυρίους. ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς εἴρηται.
Epidaurians to indeed so-far the naval army has-been-told

X · XERXES AND DEMARATUS

Xerxes reviews his army by chariot and his fleet by ship, scribes writing down each nation. He asks Demaratus, son of Ariston, whether the Greeks will dare resist. Demaratus answers that poverty and virtue keep Greece free, and that the Lacedaemonians will fight whether a thousand take the field or fewer or more. Xerxes laughs and argues that free men without a master cannot face such numbers. Demaratus replies that law is the Spartans' master, and they fear it more than Xerxes' men fear him. Xerxes dismisses him kindly and leaves Mascames as governor at Doriscus.

Ξέρξης δέ, ἐπεὶ ἠριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατός, 100
Xerxes and when had-been-numbered both and had-been-arrayed the army
ἐπεθύμησε αὐτός σφεας διεξελάσας θεήσασθαι· μετὰ δὲ
desired himself them having-driven-through to-view after and
ἐποίεε ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἅρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἓν
he-did these and driving-through on a-chariot by nation one

ἕκαστον ἐπυνθάνετο. καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί, ἕως
each he-inquired and wrote-down the scribes until
ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπίκετο καὶ τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ.
from ends to ends he-came both of-the cavalry and of-the infantry
ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποίητο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεισέων
when and these to-him had-been-done the ships having-been-launched
ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης μετεκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἅρματος
into sea then — Xerxes having-changed from the chariot
ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην ἵζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῇ χρυσέῃ καὶ παρέπλεε
into a-ship Sidonian sat under an-awning golden and sailed-along
παρὰ τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἑκάστας
by the prows of-the ships questioning both each
ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ
alike as-also the infantry and writing(-it)-down the and ships the
ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ
admirals having-put-out as-much-as — four plethra from the
αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχευον, τὰς πρώρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες
beach held-at-anchor the prows to land having-turned all
μετωπηδόν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλεμον.
in-a-line and having-armed the marines as for war
ὃ δ' ἐντὸς τῶν πρωρέων πλέων ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.
he and inside the prows sailing viewed(-them) and the beach
101 Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτας διεξέπλωσε καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ τῆς νεός,
when and also these he-had-sailed-through and disembarked from the ship
μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος συστρατευόμενον
he-sent-for Demaratus the (son)-of-Ariston campaigning-with
αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καλέσας δ' αὐτὸν εἴρετο τάδε.
him against — Greece having-called and him he-asked this
"Δημάρητε, νῦν μοι σὲ ἡδύ τι ἐστὶ εἰρέσθαι τὰ θέλω.
Demaratus now to-me you pleasant something it-is to-ask what I-wish
σὺ εἶς Ἕλλην τε, καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι σεῦ τε καὶ
you are Greek both and as I learn from-you both and

τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικνεομένων,
from-the other Greeks those with-me into talk coming
πόλιος οὔτ' ἐλαχίστης οὔτ' ἀσθενεστάτης. νῦν ὦν μοι
of-a-city neither least nor weakest now then to-me
τόδε φράσον, εἰ Ἕλληνες ὑπομενέουσι χεῖρας ἐμοὶ
this tell whether Greeks will-await hands against-me
ἀνταειρόμενοι. οὐ γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες
raising not for as I think not-even if all
Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἑσπέρης οἰκέοντες ἄνθρωποι
Greeks and the rest the toward west dwelling men
συλλεχθείησαν, οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι εἰσὶ ἐμὲ ἐπιόντα ὑπομεῖναι,
should-be-gathered not fit-to-fight are me attacking to-await
μὴ ἑόντες ἄρθμιοι. θέλω μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὁκοῖόν
not being united I-wish however also the from you what-sort-of
τι λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν, πυθέσθαι." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰρώτα,
anything you-say about them to-learn he indeed these asked
ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη "Βασιλεῦ, κότερα ἀληθείῃ χρήσωμαι
he and answering said king whether truth am-I-to-use
πρὸς σὲ ἢ ἡδονῇ;" ὁ δέ μιν ἀληθείῃ χρήσασθαι ἐκέλευε,
toward you or pleasure he and him truth to-use bade
φὰς οὐδέν οἱ ἀηδέστερον ἔσεσθαι ἢ πρότερον ἦν.
saying nothing to-him more-unpleasant to-be than before he-was
Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε Δημάρητος, ἔλεγε τάδε. "Βασιλεῦ, 102
when and these heard Demaratus said this king
ἐπειδὴ ἀληθείῃ διαχρήσασθαι πάντως κελεύεις ταῦτα
since truth to-use wholly you-bid these
λέγοντα τὰ μὴ ψευδόμενός τις ὕστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ
saying which not lying someone later by you
ἁλώσεται, τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενίη μὲν αἰεί κοτε σύντροφος
will-be-convicted — for-Greece poverty indeed always ever foster-sister
ἐστί, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἔπακτος ἐστί, ἀπό τε σοφίης κατεργασμένη
is excellence and acquired is from both wisdom achieved

καὶ νόμου ἰσχυροῦ· τῇ διαχρεωμένη ἡ Ἑλλὰς τήν τε
and law strong which using — Greece the both
πενίην ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην. αἰνέω μέν νυν
poverty wards-off and the despotism I-praise indeed then
πάντας Ἕλληνας τοὺς περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς Δωρικοὺς χώρους
all Greeks the about those the Dorian lands
οἰκημένους, ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων οὐ περὶ πάντων τούσδε τοὺς
dwelling I-come and to-speak not about all these the
λόγους ἀλλὰ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μούνων, πρῶτα μὲν ὅτι
words but about Lacedaemonians alone first indeed that
οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως κοτὲ σοὺς δέξονται λόγους δουλοσύνην
not it-is-possible that ever your they-will-accept words slavery
φέροντας τῇ Ἑλλάδι, αὖτις δὲ ὡς ἀντιώσονταί τοι ἐς μάχην
bringing — for-Greece then and that they-will-oppose you into battle
καὶ ἢν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι. ἀριθμοῦ
even if the other Greeks all the yours think of-number
δὲ πέρι, μή πύθῃ ὅσοι τινὲς ἐόντες ταῦτα ποιέειν οἷοί
and about not inquire how-many some being these to-do able
τε εἰσί· ἤν τε γὰρ τύχωσι ἐξεστρατευμένοι χίλιοι, οὗτοι
— they-are if both for happen having-taken-the-field a-thousand these
μαχήσονταί τοι, ἤν τε ἐλάσσονες τούτων ἤν τε καὶ πλεῦνες."
will-fight you if and fewer than-these if and also more

103 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης γελάσας ἔφη "Δημάρητε, οἷον
these having-heard Xerxes having-laughed said Demaratus what
ἐφθέγξαο ἔπος, ἄνδρας χιλίους στρατιῇ τοσῇδε μαχήσεσθαι.
you-uttered word men a-thousand with-an-army so-great will-fight
ἄγε εἰπέ μοι· σὺ φῂς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς
come tell me you say of-these the men king yourself
γενέσθαι· σὺ ὦν ἐθελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα
to-have-been you then will-be-willing at-once very against men ten
μάχεσθαι; καίτοι εἰ τὸ πολιτικὸν ὑμῖν πᾶν ἐστι τοιοῦτον
to-fight and-yet if the citizen-body to-you all is such

οἷον σὺ διαιρέεις, σέ γε τὸν κείνων βασιλέα πρέπει πρὸς
as you describe you at-least the their king it-befits against
τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους.
the double to-be-ranged-against according-to laws the your
εἰ γὰρ κείνων ἕκαστος δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐμῆς
if for of-them each ten men of-the army the my
ἀντάξιος ἐστί, σὲ δέ γε δίζημαι εἴκοσι εἶναι ἀντάξιον, καὶ
equal is you but at-least I-require twenty to-be equal and
οὕτω μὲν ὀρθοῖτ᾽ ἂν ὁ λόγος ὁ παρὰ σέο λεγόμενος·
thus indeed would-be-right — the argument the by you spoken
εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτοί τε ἐόντες καὶ μεγάθεα τοσοῦτοι, ὅσοι σύ
if but such both being and in-size so-great as-many-as you
τε καὶ οἳ παρ᾽ ἐμὲ φοιτῶσι Ἑλλήνων ἐς λόγους αὐχέετε
both and those to me come of-Greeks into talk you-boast
τοσοῦτον, ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος
so-much see lest in-vain boast the word this spoken
ᾖ. ἐπεὶ φέρε ἴδω παντὶ τῷ οἰκότι· κῶς ἂν δυναίατο
be since come let-me-see by-all the likelihood how — could
χίλιοι ἢ καὶ μύριοι ἢ καὶ πεντακισμύριοι, ἐόντες γε
a-thousand or even ten-thousand or even fifty-thousand being at-least
ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ ὑπ᾽ ἑνὸς ἀρχόμενοι,
free all alike and not by one ruled
στρατῷ τοσῷδε ἀντιστῆναι; ἐπεί τοι πλεῦνες περὶ ἕνα
an-army so-great withstand since you more about one
ἕκαστον γινόμεθα ἢ χίλιοι, ἐόντων ἐκείνων πέντε
each we-are than a-thousand being they five
χιλιάδων. ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἑνὸς ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τρόπον τὸν
thousands by indeed for one ruled after manner the
ἡμέτερον γενοίατ᾽ ἄν, δειμαίνοντες τοῦτον, καὶ παρὰ
ours they-might-become — fearing him even beyond
τὴν ἑωυτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες, καὶ ἴοιεν ἀναγκαζόμενοι
the their-own nature better and might-go compelled

μάστιγι ἐς πλεῦνας ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες· ἀνειμένοι δὲ ἐς
by-whip against more fewer being let-loose but into
τὸ ἐλεύθερον οὐκ ἂν ποιέοιεν τούτων οὐδέτερα. δοκέω
the free not — they-would-do of-these neither I-think
δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἀνισωθέντας πλήθεϊ χαλεπῶς ἂν Ἕλληνας
and I even made-equal in-numbers with-difficulty — Greeks
Πέρσῃσι μούνοισι μάχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν μούνοισι
with-Persians alone to-fight but with us indeed alone
τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σὺ λέγεις, ἔστι γε μὲν οὐ πολλὸν ἀλλὰ
this is which you say it-is at-least indeed not much but
σπάνιον· εἰσὶ γὰρ Περσέων τῶν ἐμῶν αἰχμοφόρων οἳ
rare there-are for of-Persians the my spearmen who
ἐθελήσουσι Ἑλλήνων ἀνδράσι τρισὶ ὁμοῦ μάχεσθαι· τῶν
will-be-willing of-Greeks with-men three at-once to-fight of-whom
σὺ ἐὼν ἄπειρος πολλὰ φλυηρέεις."
you being inexperienced many(-things) babble

104 Πρὸς ταῦτα Δημάρητος λέγει "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀρχῆθεν
to these Demaratus says O king from-the-beginning
ἠπιστάμην ὅτι ἀληθείῃ χρεώμενος οὐ φίλα τοι
I-knew that truth using not pleasing(-things) to-you
ἐρέω· σὺ δ' ἐπεὶ ἠνάγκασας λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς
I-shall-say you but since you-compelled to-say of-the words the
ἀληθεστάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιήτῃσι.
truest I-said the(-things) belonging to-Spartans
καίτοι ὡς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε ἐστοργὼς ἐκείνους,
and-yet how I happen the now these having-loved them
αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐξεπίστεαι, οἵ με τιμήν τε καὶ γέρεα
yourself best know who me honor both and privileges
ἀπελόμενοι πατρώια ἄπολίν τε καὶ φυγάδα πεποιήκασι,
having-taken-away ancestral cityless both and exile have-made
πατὴρ δὲ σὸς ὑποδεξάμενος βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἶκον ἔδωκε.
father but your having-received(-me) livelihood both to-me and house gave

οὔκων οἰκός ἐστι ἄνδρα τὸν σώφρονα εὐνοίην φαινομένην
not-then reasonable it-is a-man the sensible goodwill appearing
διωθέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν μάλιστα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε δέκα
to-thrust-away but to-love(-it) most I but neither with-ten
ἀνδράσι ὑπίσχομαι οἷός τε εἶναι μάχεσθαι οὔτε δυοῖσι,
men promise able — to-be to-fight nor with-two
ἑκών τε εἶναι οὐδ' ἂν μουνομαχέοιμι. εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαίη
willing and to-be not-even — I-would-fight-singly if but necessity
εἴη ἢ μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἀγών, μαχοίμην ἂν
there-were or great some the urging contest I-would-fight —
πάντων ἥδιστα ἑνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἳ Ἑλλήνων
of-all most-gladly with-one of-these the men who of-Greeks
ἕκαστος φησὶ τριῶν ἄξιος εἶναι. ὡς δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
each says of-three worthy to-be so and also Lacedaemonians
κατὰ μὲν ἕνα μαχόμενοι οὐδαμῶν εἰσι κακίονες ἀνδρῶν,
by indeed one fighting than-none are worse of-men
ἁλέες δὲ ἄριστοι ἀνδρῶν ἁπάντων. ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἐόντες
together but best of-men all free for being
οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροι εἰσί· ἔπεστι γάρ σφι δεσπότης νόμος,
not all free are is-over for them a-master law
τὸν ὑποδειμαίνουσι πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ σοὶ σέ.
whom they-fear by-much still more than the yours you
ποιεῦσι γῶν τὰ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἀνώγῃ· ἀνώγει δὲ τώυτὸ
they-do at-any-rate what — he bids bids and the-same
αἰεί, οὐκ ἐῶν φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης,
always not allowing to-flee any multitude of-men from battle
ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξι ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι. σοὶ
but staying in the rank to-prevail or to-perish to-you
δὲ εἰ φαίνομαι ταῦτα λέγων φλυηρέειν, τἆλλα σιγᾶν
but if I-appear these saying to-babble the-rest to-be-silent

θέλω τὸ λοιπόν· νῦν τε ἀναγκασθεὶς ἔλεξα. γένοιτο
I-wish the remainder now and having-been-compelled I-spoke may-it-be
μέντοι κατὰ νόον τοι, βασιλεῦ."
however according-to mind for-you king

105 Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀμείψατο, Ξέρξης δὲ ἐς γέλωτά τε
he indeed then these answered Xerxes but into laughter both
ἔτρεψε καὶ οὐκ ἐποιήσατο ὀργὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ἠπίως αὐτὸν
turned(-it) and not made anger any but gently him
ἀπεπέμψατο. τούτῳ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν Ξέρξης, καὶ
sent-away with-this and into talk having-come Xerxes and
ὕπαρχον ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ καταστήσας Μασκάμην τὸν
governor in — Doriscus this having-appointed Mascames the
Μεγαδόστεω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου σταθέντα καταπαύσας,
(son)-of-Megadostes the but by Darius appointed having-removed
ἐξήλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
marched the army through — Thrace toward — Greece

XI · THE MARCH THROUGH THRACE

Mascames holds Doriscus against every attempt to remove him, while Xerxes praises only Boges, who burned his household and himself rather than surrender Eion. The army marches west through Thrace, past a river and a lake drunk dry, the Satrae with their oracle of Dionysus, and Pangaeum, and at the Nine Ways buries local boys and girls alive; Amestris did the same in old age. At Acanthus Artachaees dies and is honored as a hero. Feeding Xerxes ruins the Thasians and other cities, and Megacreon tells the Abderites to thank the gods he eats but once a day.

106 Κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τοιόνδε Μασκάμην γενόμενον, τῷ
he-left and a-man such Mascames having-been to-whom
μούνῳ Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε ὡς ἀριστεύοντι πάντων
alone Xerxes gifts used-to-send as being-best of-all

ὅσους αὐτὸς κατέστησε ἢ Δαρεῖος ὑπάρχους, πέμπεσκε δὲ
as-many-as himself appointed or Darius governors used-to-send and
ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξεω τοῖσι
through every year thus and also Artaxerxes the (son)-of-Xerxes to-the
Μασκαμείοισι ἐκγόνοισι. κατέστασαν γὰρ ἔτι πρότερον
Mascamean descendants had-been-appointed for still before
ταύτης τῆς ἐλάσιος ὕπαρχοι ἐν τῇ Θρηίκῃ καὶ τοῦ
this the march governors in — Thrace and the
Ἑλλησπόντου πανταχῇ. οὗτοι ὦν πάντες οἵ τε ἐκ Θρηίκης
Hellespont everywhere these then all the both from Thrace
καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, πλὴν τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ
and the Hellespont except the(-one) in Doriscus by
Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον ταύτης τῆς στρατηλασίης ἐξαιρέθησαν·
Greeks after this the expedition were-removed
τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ Μασκάμην οὐδαμοί κω ἐδυνάσθησαν
the but in Doriscus Mascames none yet were-able
ἐξελεῖν πολλῶν πειρησαμένων. διὰ τοῦτο δή οἱ τὰ
to-remove many having-tried on-account-of this indeed to-him the
δῶρα πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρσῃσι.
gifts are-sent by the reigning(-king) always among Persians
Τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης 107
of-the and removed by Greeks no-one king Xerxes
ἐνόμισε εἶναι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἰ μὴ Βόγην μοῦνον τὸν ἐξ
considered to-be a-man good if not Boges alone the from
Ἠιόνος, τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ τοὺς περιεόντας
Eion him and praising not he-ceased and the surviving
αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι παῖδας ἐτίμα μάλιστα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιος
his among Persians sons he-honored most since also worthy
αἴνου μεγάλου ἐγένετο Βόγης· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ
of-praise great was Boges who when he-was-besieged by
Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδεω, παρεὸν αὐτῷ
Athenians and Cimon the (son)-of-Miltiades it-being-possible for-him

ὑπόσπονδον ἐξελθεῖν καὶ νοστῆσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ ἠθέλησε,
under-truce to-go-out and to-return to — Asia not wished
μὴ δειλίῃ δόξειε περιεῖναι βασιλέι, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρεε
lest from-cowardice he-should-seem to-survive king but held-out
ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνῆν ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ,
to the last when and nothing any-longer of-food was-in in the wall
συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἔσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα
having-heaped a-pyre great he-slaughtered the children and the wife
καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ
and the concubines and the servants and then threw(-them) into the
πῦρ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος
fire after and these the gold all the from the town
καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἔσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα,
and the silver he-scattered from the wall into the Strymon
ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἑωυτὸν ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν
having-done and these himself he-threw into the fire thus indeed
οὗτος δικαίως αἰνέεται ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε ὑπὸ Περσέων.
this(-man) justly is-praised still even to this by Persians

108 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
Xerxes and from — Doriscus journeyed toward — Greece
τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδὼν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε·
the and always coming in-his-way to-campaign-with(-him) he-compelled
ἐδεδούλωτο γάρ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, ἡ
had-been-enslaved for as also before by-me has-been-shown the(-land)
μέχρι Θεσσαλίης πᾶσα καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος,
as-far-as Thessaly all and was under king tribute-paying
Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕστερον Μαρδονίου.
Megabazus both having-subdued(-it) and later Mardonius
παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενος ἐκ Δορίσκου πρῶτα μὲν
passed and journeying from Doriscus first indeed
τὰ Σαμοθρηίκια τείχεα, τῶν ἐσχάτη πεπόλισται πρὸς
the Samothracian forts of-which last is-built toward

ἑσπέρης πόλις τῇ οὔνομα ἐστὶ Μεσαμβρίη. ἔχεται δὲ
evening a-city whose name is Mesambria adjoins and
ταύτης Θασίων πόλις Στρύμη, διὰ δὲ σφέων τοῦ μέσου
this of-Thasians city Stryme through and of-them the middle
Λίσος ποταμὸς διαρρέει, ὃς τότε οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ ὕδωρ
Lisus river flows-through which then not held-out the water
παρέχων τῷ Ξέρξεω στρατῷ ἀλλ᾽ ἐπέλιπε. ἡ δὲ χώρη
furnishing to-the of-Xerxes army but failed the and land
αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέετο Γαλλαϊκή, νῦν δὲ Βριαντική·
this of-old indeed was-called Gallaic now but Briantic
ἔστι μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων καί αὕτη Κικόνων.
is however by-the justest of-the accounts also this of-Cicones
Διαβὰς δὲ τοῦ Λίσου ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀπεξηρασμένον 109
having-crossed and of-the Lisus river the bed dried-up
πόλιας Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε παραμείβετο, Μαρώνειαν Δίκαιαν
cities Greek these he-passed Maronea Dicaea
Ἄβδηρα. ταύτας τε δὴ παρεξήιε καὶ κατὰ ταύτας λίμνας
Abdera these both indeed he-passed-by and by these lakes
ὀνομαστὰς τάσδε, Μαρωνείης μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρύμης
renowned these of-Maronea indeed between and Stryme
κειμένην Ἰσμαρίδα, κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν Βιστονίδα, ἐς τὴν
lying Ismaris by and Dicaea Bistonis into which
ποταμοὶ δύο ἐσιεῖσι τὸ ὕδωρ, Τραῦός τε καὶ Κόμψαντος.
rivers two pour the water Travus both and Compsantus
κατὰ δὲ Ἄβδηρα λίμνην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐοῦσαν ὀνομαστὴν
by and Abdera lake indeed no being renowned
παραμείψατο Ξέρξης, ποταμὸν δὲ Νέστον ῥέοντα ἐς
passed Xerxes river but Nestus flowing into
θάλασσαν. μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἰὼν τὰς ἠπειρώτιδας
sea after and these the lands going the mainland
πόλις παρήιε, τῶν ἐν μιῇ λίμνη ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει ὡσεὶ
cities he-passed of-which in one a-lake being happens about

τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κῃ τὴν περίοδον, ἰχθυώδης
thirty stades mostly somehow the circuit full-of-fish
τε καὶ κάρτα ἁλμυρή· ταύτην τὰ ὑποζύγια μοῦνα ἀρδόμενα
both and very salt this the beasts-of-burden alone being-watered
ἀνεξήρηνε. τῇ δὲ πόλι ταύτῃ οὔνομα ἐστὶ Πίστυρος.
dried-up to-the and city this name is Pistyrus
110 Ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε
these indeed then the cities the coastal both
καὶ Ἑλληνίδας ἐξ εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἀπέργων παρεξήιε·
and Greek on left hand keeping-off he-passed
ἔθνεα δὲ Θρηίκων δι' ὧν τῆς χώρης ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο
nations and of-Thracians through whose the land road he-made
τοσάδε, Παῖτοι Κίκονες Βίστονες Σαπαῖοι Δερσαῖοι Ἠδωνοὶ
so-many Paeti Cicones Bistones Sapaei Dersaei Edoni
Σάτραι. τούτων οἱ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν κατοικημένοι ἐν
Satrae of-these those indeed by sea dwelling in
τῇσι νηυσὶ εἵποντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν μεσόγαιαν οἰκέοντες
the ships followed those but of-them the inland inhabiting
καταλεχθέντες τε ὑπ' ἐμεῦ, πλὴν Σατρέων, οἱ ἄλλοι
listed both by me except Satrae the others
πάντες πεζῇ ἀναγκαζόμενοι εἵποντο.
all on-foot being-compelled followed
111 Σάτραι δὲ οὐδενός κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο, ὅσον
Satrae and to-no-one yet of-men subject were as-far-as
ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἀλλὰ διατελεῦσι τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ
we know but they-continue the(-time) up-to me always
ἐόντες ἐλεύθεροι μοῦνοι Θρηίκων· οἰκέουσί τε γὰρ ὄρεα
being free alone of-Thracians they-inhabit both for mountains
ὑψηλά, ἴδῃσί τε παντοίῃσι καὶ χιόνι συνηρεφέα, καὶ
high with-forests both of-all-kinds and with-snow covered and
εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι. οὗτοι οἱ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήιον
are in-the war(-things) excellent these the of-Dionysus the oracle

εἰσὶ ἐκτημένοι· τὸ δὲ μαντήιον τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν
are having-possessed the and oracle this is indeed on the
ὀρέων τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων, Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ
mountains the highest Bessi and of-the Satrae are
οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέωσα
the interpreters of-the temple prophetess and the(-one) uttering
κατά περ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον.
as indeed at Delphi and nothing more-complicated
Παραμειψάμενος δὲ ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν εἰρημένην, δεύτερα 112
having-passed and — Xerxes the said(-land) second
τούτων παραμείβετο τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων, τῶν ἐνὶ Φάγρης
after-these passed forts the of-Pierians of-which to-one Phagres
ἐστὶ οὔνομα καὶ ἑτέρῳ Πέργαμος. ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ παρ᾽
is name and to-the-other Pergamus there indeed then by
αὐτὰ τὰ τείχεα τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο, ἐκ δεξιῆς χειρὸς τὸ
themselves the forts the road he-made on right hand —
Πάγγαιον ὄρος ἀπέργων, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ὑψηλόν, ἐν
Pangaeum mountain keeping-off being great both and high in
τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἔνι μέταλλα, τὰ νέμονται
which gold both and silver are-in mines which work
Πίερές τε καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι.
Pierians both and Odomanti and most Satrae
Ὑπεροικέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγγαιον πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου Παίονας 113
dwelling-beyond and — Pangaeum toward north wind Paeonians
Δόβηράς τε καὶ Παιόπλας παρεξιὼν ἤιε πρὸς ἑσπέρην,
Doberes both and Paeoplae passing-by he-went toward evening
ἐς ὃ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμόν τε Στρυμόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἠιόνα,
up-to which he-arrived at river both Strymon and city Eion
τῆς ἔτι ζωὸς ἐὼν ἦρχε Βόγης τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον
of-which still alive being ruled Boges of-whom indeed a-little before
τούτων λόγον ἐποιεύμην. ἡ δὲ γῆ αὕτη ἡ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον
these account I-was-making the and land this the about — Pangaeum

ὄρος καλέεται Φυλλίς, κατατείνουσα τὰ μὲν πρὸς
mountain is-called Phyllis stretching the(-parts) indeed toward
ἑσπέρην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἀγγίτην ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα,
evening to river Angites issuing into the Strymon
τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τείνουσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα·
the(-parts) and toward south stretching to itself the Strymon
ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιερέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκούς.
into which the Magi sacrificed-with-good-omens slaying horses white
114 Φαρμακεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἄλλα
having-worked-spells and these into the river and other(-rites)
πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοισι ἐν Ἐννέα ὁδοῖσι τῇσι Ἠδωνῶν
many in-addition-to these at nine ways the of-Edoni
ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, τὸν Στρυμόνα εὑρόντες
they-journeyed by the bridges the Strymon having-found
ἐζευγμένον. Ἐννέα δὲ ὁδοὺς πυνθανόμενοι τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον
bridged nine and ways learning the place this
καλέεσθαι, τοσούτους ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδάς τε καὶ παρθένους
to-be-called so-many in it boys both and maidens
ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζώοντας κατώρυσσον. Περσικὸν δὲ
of-men the native alive they-buried Persian and
τὸ ζώοντας κατορύσσειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἄμηστριν τὴν Ξέρξεω
the alive to-bury since also Amestris the of-Xerxes
γυναῖκα πυνθάνομαι γηράσασαν δὶς ἑπτὰ Περσέων παῖδας
wife I-learn having-grown-old twice seven of-Persians children
ἐόντων ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῆς τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν
being of-distinguished men for herself to-the under earth
λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι κατορύσσουσαν.
said to-be god to-make-return burying
115 Ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατός, ἐνθαῦτα
when and from the Strymon journeyed the army there
πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων ἐστὶ αἰγιαλὸς ἐν τῷ οἰκημένην Ἄργιλον
toward of-sun settings is a-beach on which inhabited Argilus

πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παρεξήιε· αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε
city Greek he-passed this and also the(-land) above
ταύτης καλέεται Βισαλτίη. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ
this is-called Bisaltia thence and gulf the off
Ποσιδηίου ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔχων ἤιε διὰ Συλέος πεδίου
Posideium on left hand having he-went through of-Syleus plain
καλεομένου, Στάγειρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παραμειβόμενος, καὶ
called Stagirus city Greek passing and
ἀπίκετο ἐς Ἄκανθον, ἅμα ἀγόμενος τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν
arrived at Acanthus together bringing of-these each of-the
ἐθνέων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος οἰκεόντων,
nations and of-those about — Pangaeum mountain dwelling
ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ
likewise also of-those-whom before I-listed those indeed by
θάλασσαν ἔχων οἰκημένους ἐκ νηυσὶ στρατευομένους, τοὺς δ'
sea having dwelling in ships campaigning those but
ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης πεζῇ ἑπομένους. τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν ταύτην, τῇ
above sea on-foot following the and road this by-which
βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τὸν στρατὸν ἤλασε, οὔτε συγχέουσι Θρήικες
king Xerxes the army drove neither plow-up Thracians
οὔτ' ἐπισπείρουσι σέβονταί τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ.
nor sow revere and greatly the(-time) up-to me
Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἐς τὴν Ἄκανθον ἀπίκετο, ξεινίην τε ὁ 116
when and then to — Acanthus he-arrived guest-friendship both —
Ξέρξης τοῖσι Ἀκανθίοισι προεῖπε καὶ ἐδωρήσατο σφέας
Xerxes to-the Acanthians proclaimed and presented them
ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ ἐπαίνεέ τε, ὁρέων καὶ αὐτοὺς προθύμους
with-dress Median praised and seeing also them eager
ἐόντας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων.
being for the war and the cutting hearing(-of)

117 Ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ δὲ ἐόντος Ξέρξεω συνήνεικε ὑπὸ νούσου
at Acanthus and being Xerxes it-happened by disease
ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἐπεστεῶτα τῆς διώρυχος Ἀρταχαίην,
to-die the having-been-set-over the canal Artachaees
δόκιμον ἐόντα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ καὶ γένος Ἀχαιμενίδην, μεγάθεΐ
esteemed being with Xerxes and by-race Achaemenid in-size
τε μέγιστον ἐόντα Περσέων (ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε πηχέων
both greatest being of-Persians from for five cubits
βασιληίων ἀπέλειπε τέσσερας δακτύλους) φωνέοντά τε
royal he-lacked four fingers speaking and
μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε Ξέρξην συμφορὴν ποιησάμενον
loudest of-men so-that Xerxes a-misfortune having-made(-it)
μεγάλην ἐξενεῖκαί τε αὐτὸν κάλλιστα καὶ θάψαι· ἐτυμβοχόεε
great to-carry-out both him most-finely and to-bury raised-a-mound
δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιή. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχαίῃ θύουσι
and all the army to-this and — Artachaees sacrifice
Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὡς ἥρωι, ἐπονομάζοντες τὸ οὔνομα.
Acanthians from an-oracle as to-a-hero calling-on the name

118 Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἀπολομένου Ἀρταχαίεω ἐποιέετο
king indeed then Xerxes having-perished Artachaees made
συμφορήν. οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ
a-misfortune those and receiving of-Greeks the army and
δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξην ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο, οὕτω ὥστε
entertaining Xerxes to all of-evil came so that
ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἴκων ἐγίνοντο· ὅκου Θασίοισι ὑπὲρ
uprooted from the houses they-became where for-Thasians on-behalf-of
τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πολίων τῶν σφετερέων δεξαμένοισι
the on the mainland cities the their-own having-received
τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίσασι Ἀντίπατρος ὁ
the of-Xerxes army and having-entertained(-it) Antipater the
Ὀργέος ἀραιρημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὅμοια
(son)-of-Orgeus chosen of-the townsmen a-man esteemed like

τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα
the most showed for the dinner four-hundred talents
ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα.
of-silver spent
Ὡς δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι πόλισι οἱ 119
so and similarly also in the other cities those
ἐπεστεῶτες ἀπεδείκνυσαν τὸν λόγον. τὸ γὰρ δεῖπνον τοιόνδε
set-over showed the account the for dinner such
τι ἐγίνετο, οἷα ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου προειρημένον καὶ περὶ
something was as from long time ordered-beforehand and of
πολλοῦ ποιευμένων· τοῦτο μέν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα τῶν
much making(-it) this indeed when they-heard soonest from-the
κηρύκων τῶν περιαγγελλόντων, δασάμενοι σῖτον ἐν τῇσι
heralds the announcing-round having-divided grain in the
πόλισι οἱ ἀστοὶ ἄλευρά τε καὶ ἄλφιτα ἐποίευν πάντες ἐπὶ
cities the townsmen wheat-flour both and barley-meal made all for
μῆνας συχνούς· τοῦτο δὲ κτήνεα ἐσίτευον ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμῆς
months many this and cattle they-fattened finding of-price
τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔτρεφόν τε ὄρνιθας χερσαίους καὶ λιμναίους
the finest reared and birds land(-birds) and water(-birds)
ἔν τε οἰκήμασι καὶ λάκκοισι, ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ·
in both buildings and ponds for receptions of-the army
τοῦτο δὲ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ποτήριά τε καὶ κρητῆρας
this and of-gold both and of-silver cups both and mixing-bowls
ἐποιεῦντο καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τιθέαται πάντα.
they-made and the-other as-many-as on table are-set all
ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ τε βασιλέι καὶ τοῖσι ὁμοσίτοισι μετ᾽
these indeed for-himself both king and the table-companions with
ἐκείνου ἐπεποίητο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ τὰ ἐς φορβὴν
him had-been-made to-the but other army the(-things) for food
μοῦνα τασσόμενα. ὅκως δὲ ἀπίκοιτο ἡ στρατιή, σκηνὴ
only assigned whenever and arrived the army a-tent

μὲν ἔσκε πεπηγυῖα ἑτοίμη ἐς τὴν αὐτὸς σταθμὸν ποιεέσκετο
indeed was pitched ready in which himself halt made
Ξέρξης, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὴ ἔσκε ὑπαίθριος. ὡς δὲ δείπνου
Xerxes the but other army was in-the-open when and of-dinner
ἐγίνετο ὥρη, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἔχεσκον πόνον, οἳ δὲ
came the-hour those indeed receiving had toil they and
ὅκως πλησθέντες νύκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγάγοιεν, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τήν
when having-been-filled night there they-had-passed on-the next-day the
τε σκηνὴν ἀνασπάσαντες καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα πάντα λαβόντες
both tent having-pulled-up and the furniture all having-taken
οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον, λείποντες οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ φερόμενοι.
thus marched-off leaving nothing but carrying(-it)
120 Ἔνθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω ἔπος εὖ
there indeed of-Megacreon a-man of-Abdera a-word well
εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτῃσι πανδημεί,
spoken was who advised Abderites in-full-force
αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἱρὰ ἵζεσθαι
themselves and wives having-gone to the their-own temples to-sit
ἱκέτας τῶν θεῶν παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπόν σφι
as-suppliants of-the gods begging also the rest for-them
ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα, τῶν τε
to-ward-off of-the coming evils the halves of-the both
παροιχομένων ἔχειν σφι μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης
past(-ones) to-have to-them great gratitude that king Xerxes
οὐ δὶς ἑκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμισε σῖτον αἱρέεσθαι· παρέχειν
not twice each day thought-fit food to-take to-be-possible
γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτῃσι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προείρητο ὅμοια τῷ
for — for-Abderites if also breakfast had-been-ordered like to-the
δείπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ξέρξην ἐπιόντα
dinner to-prepare either not to-await Xerxes coming
ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβῆναι.
or having-stayed most-miserably of-all men to-be-ground-down

Xerxes sends the fleet through the Athos canal to Therma, and on the inland march lions attack only the camels. From Therma he sails to view the mouth of the Peneus; the guides say the river has no other outlet, and he remarks that a dam would drown Thessaly. His heralds bring earth and water from many Greeks, but he sends none to Athens or Sparta, which threw Darius' heralds into a pit and a well. To atone for Talthybius' wrath, the Spartans send Sperthias and Bulis to Xerxes, who refuses to kill them; the wrath later falls on their sons.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὅμως τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον. 121
they indeed then pressed nevertheless the commanded performed
Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι
Xerxes and from — Acanthus having-enjoined the generals
τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ
of-the naval army to-wait at Therma let-go from himself
πορεύεσθαι τὰς νέας, Θέρμῃ δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ
to-journey the ships to-Therma and the in the Thermaic gulf
οἰκημένῃ, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει·
situated from which also the gulf this the name has
ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ
this-way for he-learned shortest to-be as-far-as indeed for
Ἀκάνθου ὧδε τεταγμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τὴν
Acanthus thus arranged the army from Doriscus the
ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο· τρεῖς μοίρας ὁ Ξέρξης δασάμενος πάντα
road made three divisions — Xerxes having-divided all
τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, μίαν αὐτέων ἔταξε παρὰ θάλασσαν
the land army one of-them he-ordered along sea
ἰέναι ὁμοῦ τῷ ναυτικῷ· ταύτης μὲν δὴ ἐστρατήγεον
to-go together-with the fleet of-this indeed then were-generals
Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Μασίστης, ἑτέρη δὲ τεταγμένη ἤιε
Mardonius both and Masistes another and arranged went

τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορὶς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῆς ἐστρατήγεον
of-the army third-part the inland of-which were-generals
Τριτανταίχμης τε καὶ Γέργις· ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν μοιρέων,
Tritantaechmes both and Gergis the and third of-the divisions
μετ᾽ ἧς ἐπορεύετο αὐτὸς Ξέρξης, ἦιε μὲν τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν,
with which journeyed himself Xerxes went indeed the middle of-them
στρατηγοὺς δὲ παρείχετο Σμερδομένεά τε καὶ Μεγάβυζον.
generals and it-furnished Smerdomenes both and Megabyzus

122 Ὁ μέν νυν ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὡς ἀπείθη ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω
the indeed then naval army when it-was-let-go by Xerxes
καὶ διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ γενομένην,
and sailed-through the canal the in — Athos made
διέχουσαν δὲ ἐς κόλπον ἐν τῷ Ἄσσα τε πόλις καὶ
reaching and to a-gulf in which Assa both city and
Πίλωρος καὶ Σίγγος καὶ Σάρτη οἴκηνται, ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς
Pilorus and Singus and Sarte are-inhabited thence when
καὶ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολίων στρατιὴν παρέλαβε, ἔπλεε
also from these the cities an-army it-took-on it-sailed
ἀπιέμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον, κάμπτων δὲ Ἄμπελον
being-let-go to the Thermaic gulf rounding and Ampelus
τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας γε τάσδε
the Toronaean headland it-passed Greek at-least these
πόλις, ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε,
cities from which ships both and army it-took-on
Τορώνην Γαληψὸν Σερμύλην Μηκύβερναν Ὄλυνθον.
Torone Galepsus Sermyle Mecyberna Olynthus

123 Ἡ μέν νυν χώρη αὕτη Σιθωνίη καλέεται, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς
the indeed then land this Sithonia is-called the and naval
στρατὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω συντάμνων ἀπ᾽ Ἀμπέλου ἄκρης ἐπὶ
army the of-Xerxes cutting-across from Ampelus headland to
Καναστραίην ἄκρην, τὸ δὴ πάρης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει
Canastraean headland which indeed of-all — of-Pallene juts-out

μάλιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε
most thence ships both and army it-took-on
ἐκ Ποτιδαίης καὶ Ἀφύτιος καὶ Νέης πόλιος καὶ Αἰγῆς
from Potidaea and Aphytis and Neapolis city and Aege
καὶ Θεράμβω καὶ Σκιώνης καὶ Μένδης καὶ Σάνης· αὗται
and Therambus and Scione and Mende and Sane these
γὰρ εἰσὶ αἱ τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην πρότερον δὲ Φλέγρην
for are the(-cities) — now Pallene before but Phlegra
καλεομένην νεμόμεναι. παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν
called inhabiting sailing-past and also this the
χώρην ἔπλεε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατιὴν
land it-sailed to the before-named(-place) taking-on army
καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πολίων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμουρεουσέων
also from the adjoining cities — to-Pallene bordering
δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῇσι οὐνόματα ἐστὶ τάδε,
and the Thermaic gulf to-which names are these
Λίπαξος Κώμβρεια Αἶσα Γίγωνος Κάμψα Σμίλα Αἴνεια· ἡ
Lipaxus Combrea Aesa Gigonus Campsa Smila Aenea the
δε τουτέων χώρη Κροσσαίη ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε καλέεται. ἀπὸ
and of-these land Crossaea still even to this is-called from
δὲ Αἰνείης, ἐς τὴν ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τὰς πόλις, ἀπὸ
and Aenea at which I-ended listing the cities from
ταύτης ἤδη ἐς αὐτόν τε τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον ἐγίνετο τῷ
this already to itself both the Thermaic gulf was for-the
ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυγδονίην, πλέων
naval army the voyage and land the Mygdonian sailing
δὲ ἀπίκετο ἔς τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Σίνδον τε
and it-arrived at both the before-named Therma and Sindus both
πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄξιον ποταμόν, ὃς οὐρίζει
city and Chalestra on the Axius river which bounds

χώρην τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαιίδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ
land the Mygdonian both and Bottiaean of-which hold the
παρὰ θάλασσαν στεινὸν χωρίον πόλιες Ἴχναι τε καὶ Πέλλα.
along sea narrow place cities Ichnae both and Pella
124 Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἄξιον ποταμὸν
the indeed then naval army there about Axius river
καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς μεταξὺ πόλιας τούτων περιμένων
and city Therma and the between cities these waiting-for
βασιλέα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς
king encamped Xerxes and also the land army
ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ,
journeyed from — Acanthus the inland cutting of-the road
βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπικέσθαι· ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ
wishing to — Therma to-arrive journeyed and through
τῆς Παιονικῆς καὶ Κρηστωνικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χείδωρον,
the Paeonian and Crestonian to river Echeidorus
ὃς ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ἀρξάμενος ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης
which from Crestonaeans beginning flows through Mygdonian
χώρης καὶ ἐξιεῖ παρὰ τὸ ἕλος τὸ ἐπ' Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ.
land and issues by the marsh the on Axius river
125 Πορευομένῳ δὲ ταύτῃ λέοντές οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο τῇσι
journeying and this-way lions him attacked the
σιτοφόροισι καμήλοισι. καταφοιτέοντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες
grain-carrying camels coming-down for the lions
τὰς νύκτας καὶ λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἤθεα ἄλλου μὲν
the nights and leaving the their-own haunts other indeed
οὐδενὸς ἅπτοντο οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὔτε ἀνθρώπου, οἳ δὲ
nothing touched neither beast-of-burden nor man they but
τὰς καμήλους ἐκεράιζον μούνας. θωμάζω δὲ τὸ αἴτιον, ὅ
the camels destroyed alone I-wonder-at and the cause what
τι κοτὲ ἦν τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπεχομένους τοὺς
ever then was of-the others the compelling refraining the

λέοντας τῇσι καμήλοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τὸ μήτε πρότερον
lions the camels to-attack which neither before
ὀπώπεσαν θηρίον μήτ' ἐπεπειρέατο αὐτοῦ.
they-had-seen beast nor had-made-trial of-it
Εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες πολλοὶ 126
there-are and in these the places both lions many
καὶ βόες ἄγριοι, τῶν τὰ κέρεα ὑπερμεγάθεα ἐστὶ τὰ
and oxen wild whose the horns huge are the(-ones)
ἐς Ἕλληνας φοιτέοντα. οὖρος δὲ τοῖσι λέουσι ἐστὶ ὅ
to Greeks going boundary and to-the lions is the
τε δι' Ἀβδήρων ῥέων ποταμὸς Νέστος καὶ ὁ δι'
both through Abdera flowing river Nestus and the through
Ἀκαρνανίης ῥέων Ἀχελῷος· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν
Acarnania flowing Achelous neither for to-the(-part) toward the
ἠὼ τοῦ Νέστου οὐδαμόθι πάσης τῆς ἔμπροσθε Εὐρώπης
dawn of-the Nestus anywhere in-all the front(-part) of-Europe
ἴδοι τις ἂν λέοντα, οὔτε πρὸς ἑσπέρης τοῦ Ἀχελῴου
would-see anyone — a-lion nor toward evening of-the Achelous
ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίπῳ ἠπείρῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ τούτων
in the remaining mainland but in the(-land) between these
τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται.
the rivers they-are-found
Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπίκετο ὁ Ξέρξης, ἵδρυσε 127
when and to — Therma arrived — Xerxes he-settled
αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιήν. ἐπέσχε δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ
there the army occupied and the army there
στρατοπεδευόμενος τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν χώρην τοσήνδε,
encamped the along sea land so-much
ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίης μέχρι
beginning from Therma city and the Mygdonian as-far-as
Λυδίεώ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἁλιάκμονος, οἳ οὐρίζουσι γῆν
Lydias both river and Haliacmon which bound land

τὴν Βοττιαιίδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα, ἐς τὠυτὸ ῥέεθρον τὸ
the Bottiaean both and Macedonian into the-same stream the
ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοισι
water mingling encamped indeed then in these
τοῖσι χωρίοισι οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ καταλεχθέντων τούτων
the places the barbarians of-the and listed these
ποταμῶν ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ῥέων Χείδωρος μοῦνος οὐκ
rivers from Crestonaeans flowing Echeidorus alone not
ἀντέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ πινόμενος ἀλλ᾽ ἐπέλιπε.
sufficed for-the army being-drunk but failed
128 Ξέρξης δὲ ὁρέων ἐκ τῆς Θέρμης ὄρεα τὰ Θεσσαλικά,
Xerxes and seeing from — Therma mountains the Thessalian
τόν τε Ὄλυμπον καὶ τὴν Ὄσσαν, μεγάθεΐ τε ὑπερμήκεα
— both Olympus and — Ossa in-size both very-tall
ἐόντα, διὰ μέσου τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶνα στεινὸν πυνθανόμενος
being through middle and them a-glen narrow learning
εἶναι δι᾽ οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειός, ἀκούων τε ταύτῃ
to-be through which flows the Peneus hearing both this-way
εἶναι ὁδὸν ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσαν, ἐπεθύμησε πλώσας
to-be a-road into Thessaly leading desired having-sailed
θεήσασθαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἄνω
to-view the outlet of-the Peneus because the upper
ὁδὸν ἔμελλε ἐλᾶν διὰ Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε
road he-was-about to-march through Macedonians the above
οἰκημένων ἔστε Περραιβοὺς παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν· ταύτῃ
dwelling as-far-as Perrhaebians by Gonnus city this-way
γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι. ὡς δὲ ἐπεθύμησε,
for safest he-learned to-be when and he-desired
καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα· ἐσβὰς ἐς Σιδωνίην νέα, ἐς τήν περ
also he-did these having-embarked on a-Sidonian ship on which indeed
ἐσέβαινε αἰεὶ ὅκως τι ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀνέδεξε
he-embarked always whenever anything he-wished such to-do he-raised

σημήιον καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνάγεσθαι, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν
a-signal also to-the others to-put-out having-left there the
πεζὸν στρατόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ ἐθεήσατο Ξέρξης τὴν
land army when and he-arrived and viewed Xerxes the
ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέσχετο, καλέσας
outlet of-the Peneus in wonder great was-held having-called
δὲ τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ εἴρετο εἰ τὸν ποταμὸν
and the guides of-the road he-asked whether the river
ἐστὶ παρατρέψαντα ἑτέρῃ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγεῖν.
it-is-possible having-turned-aside another-way into sea to-lead-out
Τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι λίμνην, 129
— and Thessaly story is the of-old to-be a-lake
ὥστε γε συγκεκλημένην πάντοθεν ὑπερμήκεσι ὄρεσι.
so-that at-least shut-in on-all-sides by-very-tall mountains
τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ ἔχοντα τό τε Πήλιον
the(-parts) indeed for of-it toward the dawn lying — both Pelion
ὄρος καὶ ἡ Ὄσσα ἀποκληίει συμμίσγοντα τὰς ὑπωρείας
mountain and — Ossa shut-off mingling the foothills
ἀλλήλοισι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου Ὄλυμπος, τὰ
with-each-other the(-parts) and toward north wind Olympus the(-parts)
δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέρην Πίνδος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε
and toward evening Pindus the(-parts) and toward south both
καὶ ἄνεμον νότον ἡ Ὄθρυς· τὸ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν
and wind south — Othrys the middle and of-these the
λεχθέντων ὀρέων ἡ Θεσσαλίη ἐστὶ ἐοῦσα κοίλη. ὥστε
said mountains — Thessaly is being hollow since
ὦν ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν ἐσβαλλόντων,
then rivers into it also other many pouring
πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα τῶνδε, Πηνειοῦ καὶ
five but of-the esteemed most these Peneus and
Ἀπιδανοῦ καὶ Ὀνοχώνου καὶ Ἐνιπέος καὶ Παμίσου, οἳ
Apidanus and Onochonus and Enipeus and Pamisus they

μέν νυν ἐς τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν
indeed then into the plain this gathering from the
ὀρέων τῶν περικληιόντων τὴν Θεσσαλίην ὀνομαζόμενοι
mountains the shutting-in — Thessaly being-named
δι᾽ ἑνὸς αὐλῶνος καὶ τούτου στεινοῦ ἔκροον ἔχουσι ἐς
through one glen and this narrow outflow have into
θάλασσαν, προσυμμίσγοντες τὸ ὕδωρ πάντες ἐς τὠυτό·
sea mingling the water all into the-same
ἐπεὰν δὲ συμμιχθέωσι τάχιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ὁ Πηνειὸς
when but they-are-mingled soonest thence now the Peneus
τῷ οὐνόματι κατακρατέων ἀνωνύμους τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι
by-the name prevailing nameless the others to-be
ποιέει. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν λέγεται, οὐκ ἐόντος κω τοῦ
makes the but of-old it-is-said not being yet the
αὐλῶνος καὶ διεκρόου τούτου, τοὺς ποταμοὺς τούτους, καὶ
glen and outflow this the rivers these and
πρὸς τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι τούτοισι τὴν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην, οὔτε
besides the rivers these the Boebean lake neither
ὀνομάζεσθαι κατά περ νῦν ῥέειν τε οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἢ νῦν,
to-be-named as indeed now to-flow and nothing less than now
ῥέοντας δὲ ποιέειν τὴν Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν πέλαγος. αὐτοὶ
flowing and to-make — Thessaly all a-sea themselves
μέν νυν Θεσσαλοί φασι Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα
indeed then Thessalians say Poseidon to-have-made the glen
δι᾽ οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειός, οἰκότα λέγοντες· ὅστις γὰρ
through which flows the Peneus reasonable(-things) saying whoever for
νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα τὴν γῆν σείειν καὶ τὰ διεστεῶτα
believes Poseidon the earth to-shake and the(-things) split-apart
ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι, κἂν ἐκεῖνο
by earthquake of-the god this works to-be even-would that

ἰδὼν φαίη Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι· ἔστι γὰρ σεισμοῦ
having-seen say Poseidon to-have-made(-it) is for of-earthquake
ἔργον, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται εἶναι, ἡ διάστασις τῶν ὀρέων.
work as to-me appears to-be the splitting of-the mountains
Οἱ δὲ κατηγεόμενοι, εἰρομένου Ξέρξεω εἰ ἔστι ἄλλη 130
the and guides having-asked Xerxes whether there-is another
ἔξοδος ἐς θάλασσαν τῷ Πηνειῷ, ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἀτρεκέως
outlet into sea for-the Peneus knowing exactly
εἶπον "Βασιλεῦ, ποταμῷ τούτῳ οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξήλυσις
said king for-river this not is another way-out
ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα, ἀλλ' ἥδε αὐτή· ὄρεσι γὰρ
to sea reaching but this itself by-mountains for
περιεστεφάνωται πᾶσα Θεσσαλίη." Ξέρξην δὲ λέγεται
is-encircled all Thessaly Xerxes and is-said
εἰπεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα "Σοφοὶ ἄνδρες εἰσὶ Θεσσαλοί. ταῦτ'
to-have-said to this wise men are Thessalians these
ἄρα πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐφυλάξαντο γνωσιμαχέοντες καὶ τἆλλα
then before much they-guarded-against changing-their-minds both other(-things)
καὶ ὅτι χώρην ἄρα εἶχον εὐαίρετόν τε καὶ ταχυάλωτον.
and that land then they-had easy-to-take both and quickly-captured
τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πρῆγμα ἂν ἦν μοῦνον ἐπεῖναι σφέων
the for river a-matter — it-would-be only to-let-loose of-them
ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, χώματι ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἐκβιβάσαντα καὶ
on the land with-a-dam from the glen having-led-out and
παρατρέψαντα δι' ὧν νῦν ῥέει ῥεέθρων, ὥστε Θεσσαλίην
having-turned-aside through which now it-flows channels so-that Thessaly
πᾶσαν ἔξω τῶν ὀρέων ὑπόβρυχα γενέσθαι." ταῦτα δὲ
all outside the mountains under-water to-become these and
ἔχοντα ἔλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεύεω παῖδας, ὅτι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων
referring he-said to the of-Aleuas sons that first of-Greeks
ἐόντες Θεσσαλοὶ ἔδοσαν ἑωυτοὺς βασιλέι, δοκέων ὁ Ξέρξης
being Thessalians gave themselves king thinking — Xerxes

ἀπὸ παντός σφεας τοῦ ἔθνεος ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι φιλίην.
from all them the nation to-offer friendship
εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ θεησάμενος ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὴν Θέρμην.
having-said and these and having-viewed(-it) he-sailed-back to — Therma
131 Ὁ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς· τὸ
he indeed then about Pieria spent days many the
γὰρ δὴ ὄρος τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἔκειρε τῆς στρατιῆς
for indeed mountain the Macedonian cleared of-the army
τριτημορίς, ἵνα ταύτῃ διεξίῃ ἅπασα ἡ στρατιὴ
a-third-part so-that this-way might-pass-through all the army
ἐς Περραιβούς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς
to Perrhaebians the and indeed heralds the sent-off to
τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν ἀπίκατο οἳ μὲν κεινοί,
— Greece for earth demanding had-arrived some indeed empty
οἳ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.
others but bringing earth both and water
132 Τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οἵδε, Θεσσαλοὶ Δόλοπες
of-the and having-given these were these Thessalians Dolopes
Ἐνιῆνες Περραιβοὶ Λοκροὶ Μάγνητες Μηλιέες Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ
Enienes Perrhaebians Locrians Magnesians Malians Achaeans the
Φθιῶται καὶ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων
of-Phthia and Thebans and the other Boeotians except Thespians
τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. ἐπὶ τούτοισι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον
both and Plataeans against these the Greeks cut
ὅρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι· τὸ δὲ
an-oath who against-the barbarian war having-raised the and
ὅρκιον ὧδε εἶχε, ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς
oath thus held as-many-as to-the Persian gave them themselves
Ἕλληνες ἐόντες μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφι
Greeks being not compelled having-been-settled for-them

εὖ τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι
well the affairs these to-tithe for-the at Delphi
θεῷ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὅρκιον ὧδε εἶχε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.
god the indeed then oath thus held for-the Greeks
Ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ 133
to and Athens and Sparta not sent Xerxes for
γῆς αἴτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκα· πρότερον Δαρείου
earth demanding heralds of-this for-the-sake before Darius
πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἳ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας
having-sent for very this they indeed of-them the demanding
ἐς τὸ βάραθρον οἳ δ' ἐς φρέαρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐκέλευον γῆν
into the pit they and into a-well having-thrown bade earth
τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. τούτων
both and water from these to-carry to king of-these
μὲν εἵνεκα οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας· ὅ
indeed for-the-sake not sent Xerxes the(-men) to-demand(-it) what
τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας
ever and to-the Athenians these having-done to-the heralds
συνήνεικε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπαί τι, πλὴν
happened unwished to-come-about not I-can say anything except
ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρη καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηιώθη. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
that their the land and the city was-ravaged but this
οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι.
not on-account-of this the cause I-think to-have-happened
Τοῖσι δὲ ὦν Λακεδαιμονίοισι μῆνις κατέσκηψε Ταλθυβίου 134
on-the and then Lacedaemonians wrath fell of-Talthybius
τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κήρυκος. ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου
the of-Agamemnon herald in for Sparta is of-Talthybius
ἱρόν, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβιάδαι καλεόμενοι, τοῖσι
a-temple are and also descendants Talthybiadae called to-whom
αἱ κηρυκηίαι αἱ ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται.
the heraldships the from Sparta all as-privilege have-been-given

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι καλλιερῆσαι θυομένοισι
after and these to-the Spartans to-get-good-omens sacrificing
οὐκ ἐδύνατο· τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἦν σφι.
not it-was-possible this and for time long was for-them
ἀχθομένων δὲ καὶ συμφορῇ χρεωμένων Λακεδαιμονίων,
being-vexed and also misfortune considering(-it) Lacedaemonians
ἁλίης τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης καὶ κήρυγμα τοιόνδε
an-assembly both often being-gathered and proclamation such
ποιευμένων, εἴ τις βούλοιτο Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς
making if any(-one) wished of-Lacedaemonians for —
Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν, Σπερθίης τε ὁ Ἀνηρίστου καὶ
Sparta to-die Sperthias both the (son)-of-Aneristus and
Βοῦλις ὁ Νικόλεω, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται φύσι τε
Bulis the (son)-of-Nicolaus men Spartan by-nature both
γεγονότες εὖ καὶ χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα,
born well and in-wealth reaching to the first
ἐθελονταὶ ὑπέδυσαν ποινὴν τῖσαι Ξέρξῃ τῶν Δαρείου
volunteers undertook penalty to-pay to-Xerxes for-the of-Darius
κηρύκων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων. οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται
heralds the in Sparta having-perished thus Spartans
τούτους ὡς ἀποθανευμένους ἐς Μήδους ἀπέπεμψαν.
these as about-to-die to Medes sent-off
135 Αὕτη τε ἡ τόλμα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν θώματος ἀξίη καὶ
this both the daring of-these the men of-wonder worthy and
τάδε πρὸς τούτοισι τὰ ἔπεα. πορευόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα
these in-addition-to these the words journeying for to Susa
ἀπικνέονται παρὰ Ὑδάρνεα· ὁ δὲ Ὑδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος
they-come to Hydarnes — and Hydarnes was indeed by-race
Πέρσης, στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν
Persian general and of-the coastal people the
ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· ὅς σφεας ξείνια προθέμενος ἱστία, ξεινίζων
in — Asia who them hospitality having-set-before entertained entertaining

δὲ εἴρετο τάδε. “Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τί δὴ φεύγετε
and asked this men Lacedaemonians why indeed do-you-avoid
βασιλέι φίλοι γενέσθαι; ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὡς ἐπίσταται βασιλεὺς
king friends to-become you-see for how knows king
ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν, ἐς ἐμέ τε καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πρήγματα
men good to-honor to me both and the my affairs
ἀποβλέποντες. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰ δοίητε ὑμέας αὐτοὺς
looking thus and also you if you-gave you yourselves
βασιλέι, δεδόξωσθε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄνδρες εἶναι ἀγαθοί,
king you-have-been-thought for by him men to-be good
ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμέων ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος δόντος βασιλέος.”
each — of-you would-rule land of-Greece giving(-it) king
πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. “Ὑδαρνες, οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου
to these they-answered this Hydarnes not from equal(-footing)
γίνεται ἡ συμβουλίη ἡ ἐς ἡμέας τείνουσα. τοῦ
comes the advice the toward us tending of-the(-one)
μὲν γὰρ πεπειρημένος συμβουλεύεις, τοῦ δὲ ἄπειρος ἐών·
indeed for having-tried you-advise of-the but inexperienced being
τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος εἶναι ἐξεπίστεαι, ἐλευθερίης δὲ οὔκω
the indeed for slave to-be you-know of-freedom but not-yet
ἐπειρήθης, οὔτ’ εἰ ἔστι γλυκὺ οὔτ’ εἰ μή. εἰ γὰρ
you-made-trial neither whether it-is sweet nor whether not if for
αὐτῆς πειρήσαιο, οὐκ ἂν δόρασι συμβουλεύοις ἡμῖν περὶ
of-it you-made-trial not — with-spears you-would-advise us for
αὐτῆς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελέκεσι.”
it to-fight but even with-axes
Ταῦτα μὲν Ὑδάρνεα ἀμείψαντο. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὡς ἀνέβησαν 136
these indeed to-Hydarnes they-answered thence and when they-went-up
ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ βασιλέι ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθον, πρῶτα μὲν τῶν
to Susa and king into sight came first indeed the
δορυφόρων κελευόντων καὶ ἀνάγκην σφι προσφερόντων
bodyguards bidding and force to-them applying

προσκυνέειν βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας, οὐκ ἔφασαν ὠθεόμενοι
to-do-obeisance king falling-down not they-said being-pushed
ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ποιήσειν ταῦτα οὐδαμά· οὔτε
by them on head they-would-do this ever neither
γὰρ σφίσι ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον προσκυνέειν οὔτε
for for-them in custom to-be a-man to-do-obeisance-to nor
κατὰ ταῦτα ἥκειν. ὡς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τοῦτο,
for this to-have-come when and they-bad-fought-off this
δεύτερά σφι λέγουσι τάδε καὶ λόγου τοιοῦδε ἐχόμενα
secondly to-them they-say this and of-argument such holding
“Ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι
O king of-Medes sent us Lacedaemonians
ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων κηρύκων ποινὴν
in-return-for the in Sparta having-perished heralds penalty
ἐκείνων τίσοντας,” λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὑπὸ
for-them to-pay saying and to-them these Xerxes from
μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐκ ἔφη ὅμοιος ἔσεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι·
magnanimity not said like he-would-be to-Lacedaemonians
κείνους μὲν γὰρ συγχέαι τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
they indeed for to-have-confounded the of-all men
νόμιμα ἀποκτείναντας κήρυκας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνοισι
customs having-killed heralds himself but what them
ἐπιπλήσσει ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσειν, οὐδὲ ἀνταποκτείνας ἐκείνους
he-reproaches-for these not would-do nor having-killed-in-return them
ἀπολύσειν Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς αἰτίης.
would-free Lacedaemonians from-the charge

137 Οὕτω ἡ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις καὶ ταῦτα ποιησάντων
thus the of-Talthybius wrath even these having-done
Σπαρτιητέων ἐπαύσατο τὸ παραυτίκα, καίπερ
Spartans ceased the for-the-moment although
ἀπονοστησάντων ἐς Σπάρτην Σπερθιεώ τε καὶ
having-returned to Sparta Sperthias both and

Βούλιος. χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα πολλῷ ἐπηγέρθη κατὰ
Bulis in-time and afterward long it-was-roused in
τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον, ὡς λέγουσι
the of-Peloponnesians and Athenians war as say
Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τοῦτό μοι ἐν τοῖσι θειότατον φαίνεται
Lacedaemonians this to-me among the most-divine appears
γενέσθαι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κατέσκηψε ἐς ἀγγέλους ἡ
to-have-happened that indeed for fell on messengers the
Ταλθυβίου μῆνις οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἢ ἐξῆλθε, τὸ
of-Talthybius wrath nor ceased before than it-was-fulfilled the
δίκαιον οὕτω ἔφερε· τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν ἐς τοὺς παῖδας
justice thus brought(-it) the but to-fall on the sons
τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων τῶν ἀναβάντων πρὸς βασιλέα
of-the men these the having-gone-up to king
διὰ τὴν μῆνιν, ἐς Νικόλαν τε τὸν Βούλιος καὶ
on-account-of the wrath on Nicolas both the (son)-of-Bulis and
ἐς Ἀνήριστον τὸν Σπερθίεω, ὃς εἷλε Ἁλιέας τοὺς ἐκ
on Aneristus the (son)-of-Sperthias who took Halieis the from
Τίρυνθος ὁλκάδι καταπλώσας πλήρεϊ ἀνδρῶν, δῆλον
Tiryns with-a-merchantman having-sailed-in full of-men clear
ὧν μοι ὅτι θεῖον ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐκ τῆς μήνιος·
then to-me that divine was the matter from the wrath
οἳ γὰρ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὴν
they for sent by Lacedaemonians messengers to —
Ἀσίην, προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω
Asia betrayed and by Sitalces the (son)-of-Teres
Θρηίκων βασιλέος καὶ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Πύθεω ἀνδρὸς
of-Thracians king and Nymphodorus the (son)-of-Pytheas a-man
Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἥλωσαν κατὰ Βισάνθην τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ,
of-Abdera were-taken at Bisanthe the on Hellespont
καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων,
and led-away to — Attica died by Athenians

μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδειμάντου Κορίνθιος
with and them also Aristeas the (son)-of-Adeimantus Corinthian
ἀνήρ. ταῦτα μέν νυν πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον ἐγένετο τοῦ
man these indeed then by-many years later happened than-the
βασιλέος στόλου, ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.
king's expedition I-go-back and to the former account

XIII · ATHENS AND THE WOODEN WALL

Herodotus declares that the Athenians saved Greece: had they fled or submitted, the Peloponnesians' wall at the Isthmus would have been useless. Their envoys at Delphi hear an oracle of ruin, then a second promising that a wooden wall alone will not be taken and that divine Salamis will destroy sons of women. Some elders take the wall for the Acropolis hedge. Themistocles argues that the wall is the fleet and that "divine" Salamis means the enemy will die there; he had earlier persuaded Athens to build the fleet from the Laurium silver.

138 Ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίη ἡ βασιλέος οὔνομα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ'
the and expedition the king's name indeed had as against
Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
Athens it-marches was-directed but against all — Greece
πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἐν
learning and these before much the Greeks not in
ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν καὶ
like(-way) all took(-it) they indeed for of-them having-given earth and
ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θάρσος ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι
water to-the Persian had confidence as nothing about-to-suffer unpleasant
πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ
from the barbarian they but not having-given in fear great
κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν
were as neither ships being in — Greece in-number

ἀξιομάχων δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν
fit-to-fight to-receive the attacker nor wishing the
πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδιζόντων δὲ προθύμως.
many to-take-hold-of the war medizing but eagerly
Ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι 139
here by-necessity I-am-constrained an-opinion to-declare
ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δὲ
invidious indeed among the most men nevertheless but
τῇ γέ μοι φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἐπισχήσω. εἰ
where at-least to-me it-appears to-be true not I-shall-hold-back if
Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον
Athenians having-feared the coming danger had-left
τὴν σφετέρην, ἢ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μείναντες
the their-own or even not having-left but having-stayed
ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ
had-given them themselves to-Xerxes by the sea none
ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιούμενοι βασιλέι. εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν
— would-have-tried opposing king if now by the
θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἠντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατά γε ἂν τὴν ἤπειρον
sea no-one had-opposed Xerxes by at-least — the mainland
τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἦσαν
such would-have-happened if even many of-walls coats had-been
ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοισι, προδοθέντες
built across the Isthmus for-Peloponnesians betrayed
ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἑκόντων ἀλλ'
— Lacedaemonians by the allies not willingly but
ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης, κατὰ πόλις ἁλισκομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ
from necessity by city being-taken by the naval
στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμουνώθησαν, μουνωθέντες δὲ
army of-the barbarian would-have-been-left-alone having-been-left-alone and
ἂν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως. ἢ
— even having-displayed deeds great would-have-died nobly either

ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ὁρῶντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς
these — they-would-have-suffered or before this seeing — also the
ἄλλους Ἕλληνας μηδίζοντας ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο
other Greeks medizing in-agreement — they-would-have-used
πρὸς Ξέρξην. καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἡ Ἑλλὰς
with Xerxes and thus — in both(-ways) — Greece
ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. τὴν γὰρ ὠφελίην τὴν τῶν τειχέων
would-have-come under Persians the for use the of-the walls
τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι
the across the Isthmus built not I-am-able to-learn
ἥτις ἂν ἦν, βασιλέος ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης.
what — it-would-have-been king mastering the sea
νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἄν τις λέγων σωτῆρας γενέσθαι τῆς
now but Athenians — anyone saying saviors to-have-been —
Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοι τὸ ἀληθές. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ
of-Greece not — would-miss the truth these for to
ὁκότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ῥέψειν
whichever of-the sides they-turned this(-side) to-weigh-down
ἔμελλε· ἑλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην,
was-likely having-chosen and — Greece to-survive free
τοῦτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπόν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε,
this the Greek all the remaining as-much-as not medized
αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες καὶ βασιλέα μετά γε
themselves these were the having-roused and king after at-least
θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι. οὐδὲ σφέας χρηστήρια φοβερὰ ἐλθόντα
gods having-repelled not-even them oracles frightening having-come
ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δεῖμα βαλόντα ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν
from Delphi and into fear having-cast(-them) persuaded to-leave —
Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες ἀνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ
Greece but having-stayed they-endured the attacker against
τὴν χώρην δέξασθαι.
the land to-receive

Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους 140
having-sent for the Athenians to Delphi envoys
χρηστηριάζεσθαι ἦσαν ἕτοιμοι· καί σφι ποιήσασι περὶ
to-consult-the-oracle were ready and for-them having-done about
τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὡς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες
the temple the customary(-rites) when into the hall having-entered
ἵζοντο, χρᾷ ἡ Πυθίη, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀριστονίκη, τάδε.
they-sat prophesies the Pythia whose name was Aristonice this

ὦ μέλεοι, τί κάθησθε; λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης
O wretched-ones why do-you-sit having-left flee farthest of-earth
δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κάρηνα.
homes and of-city wheel-shaped high peaks
οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,
neither for the head remains firm nor the body
οὔτε πόδες νέατοι οὔτ' ὦν χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης
nor feet lowest nor then hands nor anything of-the-middle
λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἄζηλα πέλει· κατὰ γάρ μιν ἐρείπει
is-left but unenviable it-is down for it throws
πῦρ τε καὶ ὀξὺς Ἄρης, Συριηγενὲς ἅρμα διώκων.
fire both and keen Ares Syrian-born chariot driving

πολλὰ δὲ κἄλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα κοὐ τὸ σὸν οἶον,
many and also-other will-destroy towers and-not the your only
πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῷ πυρὶ δώσει,
many and of-immortals temples to-raging fire will-give
οἵ που νῦν ἱδρῶτι ῥεούμενοι ἑστήκασι,
which somewhere now with-sweat streaming stand

δείματι παλλόμενοι, κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισι
with-fear quivering down and on-highest roofs
αἷμα μέλαν κέχυται, προϊδὸν κακότητος ἀνάγκας.
blood black is-poured foreseeing of-evil the-necessities
ἀλλ' ἴτον ἐξ ἀδύτοιο, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.
but go-you-two out-of the-sanctuary on-evils and spread courage

141 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι συμφορῇ τῇ
these having-heard the of-the Athenians envoys misfortune the
μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωντο. προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ
greatest considered(-it) casting-down and them themselves on-account-of
τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ κεχρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου, τῶν
the evil the prophesied Timon the (son)-of-Androbulus of-the
Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὅμοια τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευέ σφι
Delphians a-man esteemed like the most advised them
ἱκετηρίην λαβοῦσι δεύτερα αὖτις ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι
a-suppliant's-branch having-taken a-second-time again having-come to-consult
τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἱκέτας. πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι
the oracle as suppliants obeying and these the
Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ λέγουσι "Ὦναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι
Athenians and saying O-lord prophesy to-us better something
περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε τάς τοι
about the fatherland respecting the suppliant-branches these which to-you
ἥκομεν φέροντες, ἢ οὔ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου,
we-have-come bringing or not surely we-shall-go-away from the sanctuary

ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν ἔστ᾽ ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν,᾽᾽
but there here we-shall-stay until — even we-die
ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἡ πρόμαντις χρᾷ δεύτερα τάδε.
these-things and to-them-saying the prophetess prophesies second this

οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δῖ᾽ Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι
not is-able Pallas Zeus Olympian to-propitiate
λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ.
entreating with-many words and with-counsel shrewd
σοὶ δὲ τόδ᾽ αὖτις ἔπος ἐρέω ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας.
to-you and this again word I-shall-speak to-adamant having-brought(-it)-near
τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἁλισκομένων ὅσα Κέκροπος οὖρος
of-the others for being-taken as-much-as of-Cecrops boundary
ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμών τε Κιθαιρῶνος ζαθέοιο,
within holds the-hollow and of-Cithaeron holy
τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεύς
wall to-the-Trito-born wooden grants wide-seeing Zeus
μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ᾽ ὀνήσει.
alone unsacked to-be which you children and will-help

μηδὲ σύ γ᾽ ἱπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἰόντα
nor you at-least cavalry both to-await and infantry coming
πολλὸν ἀπ᾽ ἠπείρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ᾽ ὑποχωρεῖν
great from mainland army quietly but withdraw
νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοι ποτε καὐτίος ἔσσῃ.
back having-turned still to-you sometime even-face-to-face you-will-be
ὦ θείη Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν
O divine Salamis will-destroy and you children of-women
ἤ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.
either somewhere being-scattered of-Demeter or coming-together

142 Ταῦτά σφι ἠπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ
these to-them milder for than-the former both was and
ἐδόκεε εἶναι, συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὰς
seemed to-be having-written(-them)-down they-departed to —
Ἀθήνας. ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς
Athens when and having-gone-away the envoys reported to
τὸν δῆμον, γνῶμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ γίνονται διζημένων τὸ
the people opinions both other many arise seeking the
μαντήιον καὶ αἵδε συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα. τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
oracle and these standing-out most of-the elders
ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι δοκέειν σφίσι τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν
said some to-seem to-them the god the acropolis
χρῆσαι περιέσεσθαι. ἡ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν
to-have-prophesied would-survive the for acropolis the of-old of-the
Ἀθηναίων ῥηχῷ ἐπέφρακτο.
Athenians with-a-thorn-hedge had-been-fenced
οἳ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ
they indeed then by the fence conjectured this the
ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι, οἳ δ' αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν
wooden wall to-be they and again said the ships to-signify
τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα
the god and these to-make-ready bade the other(-things)
ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὦν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον
having-let-go those then indeed the ships saying to-be the wooden
τεῖχος ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης,
wall tripped the two the last spoken by the Pythia

ὦ θείη Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν
O divine Salamis will-destroy and you children of-women
ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.
either somewhere being-scattered of-Demeter or coming-together

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν φαμένων
over these the verses were-confounded the opinions of-those saying
τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι
the ships the wooden wall to-be the for oracle-interpreters
ταύτῃ ταῦτα ἐλάμβανον, ὡς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμῖνα δεῖ
this-way these took that about Salamis it-is-necessary
σφεας ἐσσωθῆναι ναυμαχίην παρασκευασαμένους.
them to-be-worsted a-sea-fight having-prepared
Ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ 143
there-was and of-the some Athenians a-man to first(-rank) newly
παριών, τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλέης, παῖς δὲ
coming-forward whose name indeed was Themistocles son and
Νεοκλέος ἐκαλέετο. οὗτος ὡνὴρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς
of-Neocles he-was-called this the-man not said all rightly the
χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιάδε· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους
oracle-interpreters to-conjecture saying such if to Athenians
εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ἐόντως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν
referred the word spoken truly not — so it to-seem
ἠπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὦδε "ὦ σχετλίη Σαλαμίς" ἀντὶ
mildly to-have-been-prophesied but thus O cruel Salamis instead-of
τοῦ "ὦ θείη Σαλαμίς," εἴ πέρ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες
the O divine Salamis if indeed at-least were-about the inhabitants
ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσειν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ
about it to-die but for to the enemies by-the
θεῷ εἰρῆσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ
god to-have-been-spoken the oracle for-one-taking(-it) according-to
τὸ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους· παρασκευάζεσθαι ὦν
the right but not to Athenians to-prepare then
αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχήσοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτου ἐόντος
them as going-to-fight-at-sea he-advised as this being
τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος. ταύτῃ Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου
the wooden wall this-way Themistocles declaring

Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα σφίσι ἔγνωσαν αἱρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον
Athenians these for-themselves judged more-choiceworthy to-be rather
ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οἳ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην
than the(-things) of-the oracle-interpreters who not allowed a-sea-fight
ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταείρεσθαι,
to-prepare the and whole to-say not-even hands to-raise-against(-them)
ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώρην τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν.
but having-left land the Attic another some to-settle
144 Ἑτέρη τε Θεμιστοκλέι γνώμη ἔμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν
another both to-Themistocles opinion before this at the-right-time
ἠρίστευσε, ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων
prevailed when for-Athenians having-come money great
ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων σφι προσῆλθε
in the treasury which from the mines to-them came
τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἔμελλον λάξεσθαι ὀρχηδὸν ἕκαστος
of-the from Laurium they-were-about to-get man-by-man each
δέκα δραχμάς· τότε Θεμιστοκλέης ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους
ten drachmas then Themistocles persuaded Athenians
τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσαμένους νέας τούτων τῶν
from-the distribution this having-stopped ships of-these the
χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν
money to-make two-hundred for the war the
πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος συστὰς
against Aeginetans meaning this for the war having-broken-out
ἔσωσε ἐς τὸ τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους
saved for the then — Greece having-compelled seafaring
γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους. αἳ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιήθησαν οὐκ
to-become Athenians they and for which indeed they-were-made not
ἐχρήσθησαν, ἐς δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. αὗταί
were-used in need but thus — for-Greece they-came-to-be these
τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι προποιηθεῖσαι ὑπῆρχον,
both indeed the ships for-the Athenians made-beforehand were-at-hand

ἑτέρας τε ἔδεε προσναυπηγέεσθαι. ἔδοξέ τέ σφι
others and it-was-necessary to-build-in-addition it-seemed and to-them
μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν
after the oracle deliberating coming against —
Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημεί, τῷ
Greece the barbarian to-receive with-the ships in-full-force the
θεῷ πειθομένους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι.
god obeying together-with of-Greeks those willing

XIV · THE EMBASSIES OF THE GREEKS

The loyal Greeks pledge themselves, end their feuds, and send spies to Sardis, whom Xerxes shows his army and releases. Argos asks half the command, is offered only a vote beside Sparta's two kings, and refuses. Gelon of Syracuse, whose rise Herodotus tells, offers huge forces for the command; Syagrus and the Athenian envoy refuse, and he sends Cadmus with treasure to Delphi to give Xerxes if he wins. Sicilians say a Carthaginian invasion kept him home. Corcyra promises help but waits off Pylos, and Crete is forbidden by an oracle recalling Minos.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγεγόνεε. 145
the indeed then oracles these to-the Athenians had-come
συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τὠυτὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
gathering and into the-same(-place) the about — Greece
Ἑλλήνων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεόντων καὶ διδόντων σφίσι
Greeks those the better thinking and giving to-each-other
λόγον καὶ πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἐδόκεε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι
word and pledge then it-seemed(-best) deliberating to-them
πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τάς
first indeed of-things all to-reconcile the
τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς κατ᾽ ἀλλήλους ἐόντας πολέμους·
both enmities and the against each-other being wars

ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεκρημένοι, ὁ δὲ
were and against some also others embroiled the but
ὢν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Αἰγινήτῃσι. μετὰ δὲ
then greatest for-Athenians both and Aeginetans after and
πυνθανόμενοι Ξέρξην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι,
learning Xerxes with the army to-be at Sardis
ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν
they-resolved spies to-send to — Asia of-the
βασιλέος πρηγμάτων, ἐς Ἄργος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαιχμίην
king's affairs to Argos both messengers an-alliance
συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους
to-make against the Persian and to Sicily others
πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος ἔς τε Κέρκυραν
to-send to Gelon the (son)-of-Deinomenes to both Corcyra
κελεύσοντας βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους,
to-bid to-help — to-Greece and to Crete others
φρονήσαντες εἴ κως ἕν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ εἰ
having-in-mind if somehow one both might-become the Greek(-world) and if
συγκύψαντες τὠυτὸ πρήσσοιεν πάντες, ὡς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων
putting-heads-together the-same they-might-do all as terrors coming
ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἕλλησι. τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα
alike on-all Greeks the and of-Gelon affairs great
ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέζω.
were-said to-be than-no Greek the not by-much greater
146 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα σφι ἔδοξε, καταλυσάμενοι τὰς ἔχθρας
when and these to-them seemed(-good) having-ended the enmities
πρῶτα μὲν κατασκόπους πέμπουσι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἄνδρας
first indeed spies they-send to — Asia men
τρεῖς. οἳ δὲ ἀπικόμενοί τε ἐς Σάρδις καὶ καταμαθόντες τὴν
three they and having-arrived both at Sardis and having-learned the
βασιλέος στρατιήν, ὡς ἐπάιστοι ἐγένοντο, βασανισθέντες
king's army when detected they-were having-been-tortured

ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπήγοντο ὡς
by the generals of-the land army were-led-away as
ἀπολεόμενοι. καὶ τοῖσι μὲν κατεκέκριτο θάνατος, Ξέρξης
to-be-put-to-death and to-them indeed had-been-adjudged death Xerxes
δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, μεμφθεὶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν
but when he-learned these having-blamed of-the generals the
γνώμην πέμπει τῶν τινας δορυφόρων, ἐντειλάμενος, ἢν
judgment sends of-the some bodyguards having-enjoined if
καταλάβωσι τοὺς κατασκόπους ζῶντας, ἄγειν παρ᾽
they-catch the spies alive to-bring(-them) to
ἑωυτόν. ὡς δὲ ἔτι περιεόντας αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον καὶ
himself when and still surviving them they-caught and
ἦγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος ἐπ᾽
brought(-them) into sight the king's the thereafter having-learned for
οἷσι ἦλθον, ἐκέλευε σφέας τοὺς δορυφόρους περιάγοντας
what they-came he-bade them the bodyguards leading-round
ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον,
to-show all both the land army and the cavalry
ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα θηεύμενοι ἔωσι πλήρεες, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς
when and these viewing they-are full to-send-away to
τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐθέλωσι χώρην ἀσινέας.
whatever — themselves wish land unharmed
Ἐπιλέγων δὲ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, ὡς 147
adding and the argument this these he-enjoined that
εἰ μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ κατάσκοποι, οὔτ᾽ ἂν τὰ ἑωυτοῦ
if indeed perished the spies neither — the his-own
πρήγματα προεπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐόντα λόγου
affairs would-have-learned-beforehand the Greeks being than-report
μέζω, οὔτ᾽ ἄν τι τοὺς πολεμίους μέγα ἐσίναντο,
greater nor — anything the enemy greatly they-would-harm
ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπολέσαντες· νοστησάντων δὲ τούτων ἐς
men three having-killed having-returned but these to

τὴν Ἑλλάδα δοκέειν ἔφη ἀκούσαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας
— Greece to-think he-said having-heard the Greeks
τὰ ἑωυτοῦ πρήγματα πρὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ γινομένου
the his-own affairs before the expedition the happening
παραδώσειν σφέας τὴν ἰδίην ἐλευθερίην, καὶ οὕτω οὐδὲ
would-surrender them the own freedom and thus not-even
δεήσειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς στρατηλατέοντας πρήγματα
it-would-be-necessary against them marching troubles
ἔχειν. οἷκε δὲ αὐτοῦ αὕτη ἡ γνώμη τῇ γε ἄλλῃ.
to-have is-like and his this the opinion to-the at-least other
ἐὼν γὰρ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὁ Ξέρξης εἶδε πλοῖα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου
being for at Abydos — Xerxes saw boats from the Pontus
σιταγωγὰ διεκπλώοντα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔς τε Αἴγιναν
grain-carrying sailing-through the Hellespont to both Aegina
καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ
and Peloponnese being-conveyed the indeed then assessors his
ὡς ἐπύθοντο πολέμια εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα, ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν αἱρέειν
when they-learned hostile to-be the boats ready were to-take
αὐτά, ἐσβλέποντες ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ὁκότε παραγγελέει.
them looking to the king when he-would-give-orders
ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης εἴρετο αὐτοὺς ὅκῃ πλέοιεν· οἳ δὲ εἶπαν
— but Xerxes asked them where they-were-sailing they and said
“Ἐς τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους, ὦ δέσποτα, σῖτον ἄγοντες.”
to the your enemies O master grain carrying
ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη “Οὐκῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν ἔνθα
he and answering said not-then also we there sail where
περ οὗτοι, τοῖσί τε ἄλλοισι ἐξηρτυμένοι καὶ σίτῳ; τί
indeed these with-the both other(-things) equipped and with-grain what
δῆτα ἀδικέουσι οὗτοι ἡμῖν σιτία παρακομίζοντες;”
then do-wrong these to-us provisions conveying

Οἱ μέν νυν κατάσκοποι οὕτω θεησάμενοί τε καὶ 148
the indeed then spies thus having-viewed both and
ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐνόστησαν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, οἱ δὲ
having-been-sent-away returned to — Europe the and
συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν
sworn-allies of-Greeks against the Persian after the sending-away
τῶν κατασκόπων δεύτερα ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἄργος ἀγγέλους.
of-the spies second sent to Argos messengers
Ἀργεῖοι δὲ λέγουσι τὰ κατ᾽ ἑωυτοὺς γενέσθαι ὧδε.
Argives and say the(-things) concerning themselves to-have-happened thus
πυθέσθαι γὰρ αὐτίκα κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου
to-have-learned for at-once at beginnings the(-things) from the barbarian
ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πυθόμενοι δέ, καὶ μαθόντες
rousing against — Greece having-learned and also having-understood
ὡς σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνες πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ
that them the Greeks will-try to-take-in against
τὸν Πέρσην, πέμψαι θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν
the Persian to-have-sent envoys to Delphi the god
ἐπειρησομένους ὅς σφι μέλλει ἄριστον ποιέουσι γενέσθαι·
to-ask how to-them it-is-likely best doing to-turn-out
νεωστὶ γὰρ σφέων τεθνάναι ἑξακισχιλίους ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων
recently for of-them to-have-died six-thousand by Lacedaemonians
καὶ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω· τῶν δὴ εἵνεκα πέμπειν.
and Cleomenes the (son)-of-Anaxandrides of-these indeed for-the-sake to-send

τὴν δὲ Πυθίην ἐπειρωτῶσι αὐτοῖσι ἀνελεῖν τάδε.
the and Pythia asking to-them to-answer this

ἐχθρὲ περικτιόνεσσι, φίλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν,
hated by-dwellers-around dear to-the-immortal gods
εἴσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχων πεφυλαγμένος ἧσο
within the spear having on-guard sit
καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο· κάρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα σαώσει.
and head guard head and the body will-save

ταῦτα μὲν τὴν Πυθίην χρῆσαι πρότερον· μετὰ δὲ ὡς
these indeed the Pythia to-have-prophesied before after and when
ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος, ἐπελθεῖν
to-have-come the messengers to indeed — Argos to-have-come-forward
ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.
to the council-house and to-say the enjoined(-things)
τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς ἕτοιμοι εἰσὶ
them and to the said(-things) to-have-answered that ready are
Ἀργεῖοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, τριήκοντα ἔτεα εἰρήνην σπεισάμενοι
Argives to-do these thirty years peace having-made-a-truce
Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ ἡγεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς
with-Lacedaemonians and leading by the half of-all the
συμμαχίης. καίτοι κατά γε τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν
alliance and-yet by at-least the just to-be the
ἡγεμονίην ἑωυτῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως σφίσι ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ
leadership their-own but nevertheless to-them to-suffice by the
ἥμισυ ἡγεομένοισι.
half leading

149 Ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι τὴν βουλὴν ὑποκρίνασθαι, καίπερ
these indeed they-say the council to-have-answered although
ἀπαγορεύοντός σφι τοῦ χρηστηρίου μὴ ποιέεσθαι τὴν πρὸς
forbidding them the oracle not to-make the with

τοὺς Ἕλληνας συμμαχίην· σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχειν σπονδὰς
the Greeks alliance eagerness and to-have truce
γενέσθαι τριηκοντοέτιδας καίπερ τὸ χρηστήριον φοβεόμενοι,
to-be-made thirty-year although the oracle fearing
ἵνα δή σφι οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρωθέωσι ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι
so-that indeed to-them the sons might-grow-up in these the
ἔτεσι· μὴ δὲ σπονδέων ἐουσέων ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἢν ἄρα σφέας
years not but truce being to-consider if then them
καταλάβῃ πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἄλλο πταῖσμα πρὸς
should-befall in-addition-to the having-happened evil another stumble against
τὸν Πέρσην, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκοοι. τῶν
the Persian lest the rest they-be of-Lacedaemonians subjects of-the
δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς τὰ ῥηθέντα
and messengers those from — Sparta to the(-things) spoken
ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσιδε· περὶ μὲν σπονδέων
by the council to-have-answered with-these about indeed truce
ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας, περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίης αὐτοῖσι
they-would-refer to the majority about but leadership to-them
ἐντετάλθαι ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ δὴ λέγειν, σφίσι μὲν εἶναι
to-have-been-enjoined to-answer and indeed to-say to-them indeed to-be
δύο βασιλέας, Ἀργείοισι δὲ ἕνα· οὔκων δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν
two kings to-Argives but one not-then possible to-be of-those
ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον παῦσαι τῆς ἡγεμονίης, μετὰ δὲ δύο
from Sparta neither to-stop from-the leadership with but two
τῶν σφετέρων ὁμόψηφον τὸν Ἀργεῖον εἶναι κωλύειν οὐδέν.
of-the theirs having-an-equal-vote the Argive to-be to-prevent nothing
οὕτω δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι φασὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων
thus indeed the Argives say not to-have-endured of-the Spartans
τὴν πλεονεξίην, ἀλλ' ἑλέσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων
the greed but to-have-chosen rather by the barbarians
ἄρχεσθαι ἤ τι ὑπεῖξαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, προειπεῖν τε
to-be-ruled than anything to-yield to-Lacedaemonians to-have-ordered and

τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς
the messengers before setting sun to-depart from the
Ἀργείων χώρης, εἰ δὲ μή, περιέψεσθαι ὡς πολεμίους.
of-Argives land if but not they-would-be-treated as enemies
150 Αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι τοσαῦτα τούτων πέρι λέγουσι· ἔστι
themselves indeed Argives so-much of-these about say there-is
δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς Ξέρξης
and another story told throughout — Greece that Xerxes
ἔπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος πρότερον ἤ περ ὁρμῆσαι
sent a-herald to Argos before than indeed to-set-out
στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἐλθόντα δὲ τοῦτον λέγεται
to-march against — Greece having-come and him is-said
εἰπεῖν "Ἄνδρες Ἀργεῖοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τάδε ὑμῖν λέγει.
to-have-said men Argives king Xerxes this to-you says
ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσην εἶναι ἀπ' οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν παῖδα
we believe Perses to-be from whom we are-descended son
Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέος θυγατρὸς
of-Perseus the (son)-of-Danae born from the of-Cepheus daughter
Ἀνδρομέδης. οὕτω ἂν ὢν εἴημεν ὑμέτεροι ἀπόγονοι. οὔτε ὢν
Andromeda thus — then we-would-be your descendants neither then
ἡμέας οἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους στρατεύεσθαι,
us reasonable against the our ancestors to-march
οὔτε ὑμέας ἄλλοισι τιμωρέοντας ἡμῖν ἀντιξόους γίνεσθαι,
nor you for-others avenging to-us opposed to-become
ἀλλὰ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖσι ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι. ἦν γὰρ
but by you yourselves quiet keeping to-sit if for
ἐμοὶ γένηται κατὰ νόον, οὐδαμοὺς μέζονας ὑμέων ἄξω."
to-me it-turns-out according-to mind none greater than-you I-shall-bold
ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας Ἀργείους λέγεται πρῆγμα ποιήσασθαι,
these having-heard Argives is-said a-matter to-have-made(-of-it)
καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταιτέειν,
and immediately indeed nothing offering to-demand-a-share

ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὕτω δὴ
when and them to-take-in the Greeks thus indeed
ἐπισταμένους ὅτι οὐ μεταδώσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι
knowing that not they-will-give-a-share of-the command Lacedaemonians
μεταιτέειν, ἵνα ἐπὶ προφάσιος ἡσυχίην ἄγωσι.
to-demand-a-share so-that on pretext quiet they-might-keep
Συμπεσεῖν δὲ τούτοισι καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον λέγουσι τινὲς 151
to-coincide and with-these also this the story say some
Ἑλλήνων πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον γενόμενον τούτων. τυχεῖν
of-Greeks by-many years later having-happened than-these to-happen
ἐν Σούσοισι τοῖσι Μεμνονίοισι ἐόντας ἑτέρου πρήγματος
in Susa the Memnonian being on-another business
εἵνεκα ἀγγέλους Ἀθηναίων Καλλίην τε τὸν Ἱππονίκου καὶ
for-the-sake messengers of-Athenians Callias both the (son)-of-Hipponicus and
τοὺς μετὰ τούτου ἀναβάντας, Ἀργείους δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον
those with him having-gone-up Argives and the same this
χρόνον πέμψαντας καὶ τούτους ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγέλους εἰρωτᾶν
time having-sent also these to Susa messengers to-ask
Ἀρτοξέρξεα τὸν Ξέρξεω εἴ σφι ἔτι ἐμμένει ἐθέλουσι τὴν
Artaxerxes the (son)-of-Xerxes whether to-them still remains wishing the
πρὸς Ξέρξην φιλίην συνεκεράσαντο, ἢ νομιζοίατο πρὸς αὐτοῦ
with Xerxes friendship they-had-mixed or they-were-thought by him
εἶναι πολέμιοι· βασιλέα δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξεα μάλιστα ἐμμένειν
to-be enemies king and Artaxerxes most-certainly to-remain
φάναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν νομίζειν πόλιν Ἄργεος φιλιωτέρην.
to-have-said and no to-think city than-Argos more-friendly
Εἰ μέν νυν Ξέρξης τε ἀπέπεμψε ταῦτα λέγοντα κήρυκα 152
if indeed then Xerxes both sent these saying a-herald
ἐς Ἄργος καὶ Ἀργείων ἄγγελοι ἀναβάντες ἐς Σοῦσα
to Argos and of-Argives messengers having-gone-up to Susa
ἐπειρώτων Ἀρτοξέρξεα περὶ φιλίης, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως
asked Artaxerxes about friendship not I-can exactly

εἰπεῖν, οὐδέ τινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνομαι ἄλλην
say nor any opinion about them do-I-declare other
γε ἢ τήν περ αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι· ἐπίσταμαι
at-least than the(-one) indeed themselves Argives say I-know
δὲ τοσοῦτο ὅτι εἰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὰ οἰκήια κακὰ ἐς
but so-much that if all men the own evils into
μέσον συνενείκαιεν ἀλλάξασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῖσι πλησίοισι,
the-midst should-bring to-exchange wishing with-the neighbors
ἐγκύψαντες ἂν ἐς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ ἀσπασίως ἕκαστοι
having-peeped — into the of-the neighbors evils gladly each
αὐτῶν ἀποφεροίατο ὀπίσω τὰ ἐσενεικαίατο. οὕτω δὲ
of-them would-carry back what they-had-brought thus and
οὐδ' Ἀργείοισι αἴσχιστα πεποίηται. ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω
not-even by-Argives most-shamefully it-has-been-done I but ought
λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαί γε μὲν οὐ παντάπασι
to-say the(-things) said to-believe at-least indeed not altogether
ὀφείλω, καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα λόγον· ἐπεὶ
ought and for-me this the word let-it-hold for every account since
καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται, ὡς ἄρα Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι
also this is-said that then Argives were the having-invited
τὸν Πέρσην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπειδή σφι πρὸς τοὺς
the Persian against — Greece since for-them against the
Λακεδαιμονίους κακῶς ἡ αἰχμὴ ἑστήκεε, πᾶν δὴ
Lacedaemonians badly the spear had-stood everything indeed
βουλόμενοι σφίσι εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παρεούσης λύπης.
wishing for-themselves to-be rather-than the present grief

153 Τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀργείων εἴρηται· ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίην
the(-things) indeed about Argives have-been-told to and — Sicily
ἄλλοι τε ἀπίκατο ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων συμμίξοντες
others both had-come messengers from the allies to-confer
Γέλωνι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Σύαγρος. τοῦ δὲ
with-Gelon and indeed also from Lacedaemonians Syagrus — and

Γέλωνος τούτου πρόγονος, οἰκήτωρ ὁ ἐν Γέλῃ, ἦν ἐκ νήσου
of-Gelon this ancestor the-settler the at Gela was from island
Τήλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τριοπίῳ κειμένης· ὃς κτιζομένης Γέλης ὑπὸ
Telos the off Triopium lying who being-founded Gela by
Λινδίων τε τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμου οὐκ ἐλείφθη.
Lindians both the from Rhodes and Antiphemus not was-left-behind
ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπόγονοι γενόμενοι ἱροφάνται
in time and his the descendants having-become hierophants
τῶν χθονίων θεῶν διετέλεον ἐόντες, Τηλίνεω ἑνός τευ τῶν
of-the nether goddesses continued being Telines one some of-the
προγόνων κτησαμένου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐς Μακτώριον πόλιν
ancestors having-acquired(-it) in-manner such to Mactorium city
τὴν ὑπὲρ Γέλης οἰκημένην ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γελῴων στάσι
the above Gela situated fled men of-Geloans in-faction
ἐσσωθέντες· τούτους ὦν ὁ Τηλίνης κατήγαγε ἐς Γέλην, ἔχων
worsted these then — Telines brought-back to Gela having
οὐδεμίαν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν ἀλλὰ ἱρὰ τούτων τῶν θεῶν· ὅθεν
no of-men force but rites of-these the goddesses whence
δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν·
and them he-took or himself acquired this but not I-can say
τούτοισι δ' ὦν πίσυνος ἐὼν κατήγαγε, ἐπ' ᾧ
on-these and then relying being he-brought(-them)-back on (condition)-that
τε οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ἱροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται.
— the descendants his hierophants of-the goddesses will-be
θῶμά μοι ὦν καὶ τοῦτο γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνομαι,
a-wonder to-me then also this is in-view-of what I-learn
κατεργάσασθαι Τηλίνην ἔργον τοσοῦτον· τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ
to-have-accomplished Telines deed so-great the such for
ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς νενόμικα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ
deeds not by the every man I-have-thought to-be-done but
πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ῥώμης ἀνδρηίης· ὁ δὲ λέγεται
by soul both good and strength manly he but is-said

πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων
by the of-Sicily of-the inhabitants the opposite of-these
πεφυκέναι θηλυδρίης τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ.
to-have-been-by-nature effeminate both and softer man
154 Οὗτος μέν νυν ἐκτήσατο τοῦτο τὸ γέρας· Κλεάνδρου δὲ
this(-man) indeed then acquired this the privilege of-Cleander and
τοῦ Παντάρεος τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, ὃς ἐτυράννευσε
the (son)-of-Pantares having-ended the life who was-tyrant
μὲν Γέλης ἑπτὰ ἔτεα, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου ἀνδρὸς
indeed of-Gela seven years died and by Sabyllus a-man
Γελῴου, ἐνθαῦτα ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μουναρχίην Ἱπποκράτης
Geloan then takes-over the sole-rule Hippocrates
Κλεάνδρου ἐὼν ἀδελφεός. ἔχοντος δὲ Ἱπποκράτεος
of-Cleander being brother holding and Hippocrates
τὴν τυραννίδα, ὁ Γέλων ἐὼν Τηλίνεω τοῦ ἱροφάντεω
the tyranny — Gelon being of-Telines the hierophant
ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν μετ᾽ ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ
descendant many with others and of-Aenesidemus the
Παταίκου *** ὃς ἦν δορυφόρος Ἱπποκράτεος. μετὰ δὲ
(son)-of-Pataecus (lacuna) who was bodyguard of-Hippocrates after and
οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον δι᾽ ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς
not much time on-account-of excellence he-was-appointed of-all the
ἵππου εἶναι ἵππαρχος· πολιορκέοντος γὰρ Ἱπποκράτεος
cavalry to-be commander besieging for Hippocrates
Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ
Callipolitans both and Naxians and Zanclaeans both and
Λεοντίνους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκοσίους τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων
Leontines and against Syracusans both and of-the barbarians
συχνούς, ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι πολέμοισι
many a-man appeared in these the wars
ἐὼν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος. τῶν δὲ εἶπον πολίων
being — Gelon most-brilliant of-the and I-named cities

τουτέων πλὴν Συρηκουσέων οὐδεμία διέφυγε δουλοσύνην
these except Syracusans none escaped slavery
πρὸς Ἱπποκράτεος· Συρηκοσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοί τε
at-the-hands-of Hippocrates Syracusans but Corinthians both
καὶ Κερκυραῖοι ἐρρύσαντο μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ
and Corcyraeans rescued in-battle worsted at river
Ἐλώρῳ, ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε καταλλάξαντες,
Elorus rescued and these on these(-terms) having-reconciled(-them)
ἐπ' ᾧ τε Ἱπποκράτεϊ Καμάριναν Συρηκοσίους
on (condition)-that — to-Hippocrates Camarina Syracusans
παραδοῦναι. Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον.
to-hand-over of-Syracusans and was Camarina the of-old
Ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἱπποκράτεα τυραννεύσαντα ἴσα ἔτεα τῷ 155
when and also Hippocrates having-been-tyrant equal years as-the
ἀδελφεῷ Κλεάνδρῳ κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλι Ὕβλῃ
brother Cleander befell to-die by city Hybla
στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Γέλων τῷ
having-marched against the Sicels thus indeed — Gelon in-the
λόγῳ τιμωρέων τοῖσι Ἱπποκράτεος παισὶ Εὐκλείδῃ τε καὶ
word avenging the of-Hippocrates sons Eucleides both and
Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐ βουλομένων τῶν πολιητέων κατηκόων ἔτι
Cleander not wishing the citizens subjects any-longer
εἶναι, τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε μάχῃ τῶν Γελῴων, ἦρχε
to-be in-the deed when he-had-prevailed in-battle over-the Geloans ruled
αὐτὸς ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Ἱπποκράτεος παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο
himself having-deprived the of-Hippocrates sons after and this
τὸ εὕρημα τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους τῶν Συρηκοσίων
the windfall the landowners called of-the Syracusans
ἐκπεσόντας ὑπό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων
having-been-thrown-out by both the people and the their-own
δούλων, καλεομένων δὲ Κυλλυρίων, ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν
slaves called and Cyllyrians — Gelon having-brought-back

τούτους ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἔσχε
these from Casmene city to — Syracuse took
καὶ ταύτας· ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐπιόντι
also this the for people the of-the Syracusans to-the-approaching
Γέλωνι παραδιδοῖ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἑωυτόν.
Gelon hands-over the city and itself

156 Ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας, Γέλης μὲν
he and when he-took-over — Syracuse of-Gela indeed
ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὴν Ἱέρωνι
being-master account less made having-entrusted it to-Hieron
ἀδελφεῷ ἑωυτοῦ, ὁ δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυνε, καὶ ἦσάν
brother his-own he but — Syracuse strengthened and were
οἱ πάντα αἱ Συρήκουσαι· αἳ δὲ παραυτίκα ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον
to-him everything — Syracuse it and at-once up both ran
καὶ ἔβλαστον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Καμαριναίους ἅπαντας ἐς
and sprouted this indeed for Camarinaeans all to
τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀγαγὼν πολιήτας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης
— Syracuse having-brought citizens he-made of-Camarina
δὲ τὸ ἄστυ κατέσκαψε, τοῦτο δὲ Γελῴων ὑπερημίσεας
and the town he-razed this and of-Geloans more-than-half
τῶν ἀστῶν τωὐτὸ τοῖσι Καμαριναίοισι ἐποίησε· Μεγαρέας
of-the townsmen the-same as-to-the Camarinaeans he-did Megarians
τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς πολιορκεόμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην
both the in Sicily when besieged into agreement
προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε
they-came the indeed of-them men-of-substance having-raised both
πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκῶντας ἀπολέεσθαι διὰ
war against-him and expecting to-perish on-account-of
τοῦτο, ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολιήτας ἐποίησε·
this having-brought to — Syracuse citizens he-made
τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρέων οὐκ ἐόντα μεταίτιον τοῦ
the but people of-the Megarians not being jointly-responsible for-the

πολέμου τούτου οὐδὲ προσδεκόμενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι,
war this nor expecting evil any to-suffer
ἀγαγὼν καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀπέδοτο ἐπ᾽
having-brought also these to — Syracuse he-sold for
ἐξαγωγῇ ἐκ Σικελίης. τὠυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν
export from Sicily the-same and this also Euboeans the in
Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε διακρίνας. ἐποίεε δὲ ταῦτα τούτους
Sicily he-did having-distinguished(-them) he-did and these these
ἀμφοτέρους νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι συνοίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον.
both believing a-people to-be a-cohabitation most-unpleasant
Τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ τύραννος ἐγεγόνεε μέγας ὁ Γέλων· 157
in-such indeed manner tyrant had-become great — Gelon
τότε δ᾽ ὡς οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς
then and when the messengers of-the Greeks had-arrived at —
Συρηκούσας, ἐλθόντες αὐτῷ ἐς λόγους ἔλεγον τάδε.
Syracuse having-come to-him into talk they-said this
“ Ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι
sent us Lacedaemonians and the their allies
παραλαμψομένους σε πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον· τὸν γὰρ ἐπιόντα
to-take-in you against the barbarian the for coming
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάντως κου πυνθάνεαι, ὅτι Πέρσης
against — Greece wholly perhaps you-learn that a-Persian
ἀνὴρ μέλλει, ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἐπάγων πάντα
man intends having-yoked the Hellespont and leading all
τὸν ἠῷον στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, στρατηλατήσειν ἐπὶ
the eastern army from — Asia to-lead-an-army against
τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρόσχημα μὲν ποιεύμενος ὡς ἐπ᾽ Ἀθήνας
— Greece pretext indeed making that against Athens
ἐλαύνει, ἐν νόῳ δὲ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπ᾽ ἑωυτῷ
he-marches in mind but having all — Greece under himself
ποιήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός τε γὰρ ἥκεις μεγάλως καὶ
to-make you and of-power both for have-come greatly and

μοῖρά τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μέτα ἄρχοντί γε
a-share to-you — of-Greece not least belongs ruling at-least
Σικελίης, βοήθεέ τε τοῖσι ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ
Sicily help both those freeing — Greece and
συνελευθέρου. ἁλὴς μὲν γὰρ γενομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς χεὶρ
help-to-free(-it) gathered indeed for having-become all — Greece a-hand
μεγάλη συνάγεται, καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι γινόμεθα τοῖσι ἐπιοῦσι·
great is-brought-together and fit-to-fight we-become against-the attackers
ἢν δὲ οἳ μὲν ἡμέων καταπροδιδῶσι οἳ δὲ μὴ θέλωσι
if but some indeed of-us betray others and not wish
τιμωρέειν, τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖνον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦ ὀλίγον, τοῦτο δὲ
to-help the and sound(-part) — of-Greece be small this and
ἤδη δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ πέσῃ πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς. μὴ γὰρ ἐλπίσῃς,
then terrible becomes lest fall all — Greece not for hope
ἢν ἡμέας καταστρέψηται ὁ Πέρσης μάχῃ κρατήσας, ὡς
if us subdues the Persian in-battle having-prevailed that
οὐκὶ ἥξει παρὰ σέ γε, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτου φύλαξαι·
not he-will-come to you at-least but before this guard(-yourself)
βοηθέων γὰρ ἡμῖν σεωυτῷ τιμωρέεις. τῷ δὲ εὖ βουλευθέντι
helping for us yourself you-help to-the and well planned
πρήγματι τελευτὴ ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν χρηστὴ ἐθέλει ἐπιγίνεσθαι."
matter end as the whole good is-wont to-follow
158 Οἳ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Γέλων δὲ πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο λέγων
they indeed these said Gelon but much pressed-on saying
τοιάδε. "Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, λόγον ἔχοντες πλεονέκτην
such men Greeks argument having greedy
ἐτολμήσατε ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον παρακαλέοντες
you-dared me as-ally against the barbarian summoning
ἐλθεῖν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐμεῦ πρότερον δεηθέντος βαρβαρικοῦ
to-come yourselves and me before having-asked a-barbarian
στρατοῦ συνεπάψασθαι, ὅτε μοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους νεῖκος
army to-attack-with(-me) when for-me with Carthaginians a-quarrel

συνῆπτο, ἐπισκήπτοντός τε τὸν Δωριέος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω
had-been-joined enjoining both the of-Dorieus the (son)-of-Anaxandrides
πρὸς Ἐγεσταίων φόνον ἐκπρήξασθαι, ὑποτείνοντός τε τὰ
by Egestaeans murder to-exact-vengeance-for offering both the
ἐμπόρια συνελευθεροῦν ἀπ᾽ ὧν ὑμῖν μεγάλαι ὠφελίαι τε καὶ
trading-posts to-help-free from which to-you great benefits both and
ἐπαυρέσιες γεγόνασι, οὔτε ἐμεῦ εἵνεκα ἦλθετε βοηθήσοντες
profits have-come neither for-my for-the-sake came-you to-help
οὔτε τὸν Δωριέος φόνον ἐκπρηξόμενοι, τό τε κατ᾽
nor the of-Dorieus murder to-avenge the both as-far-as-concerns
ὑμέας τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροισι νέμεται. ἀλλὰ εὖ γὰρ
you these all under barbarians is-held but well for
ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον κατέστη. νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ περιελήλυθε
for-us and to the better it-turned-out now and since has-come-round
ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπῖκται ἐς ὑμέας, οὕτω δὴ Γέλωνος μνῆστις
the war and has-arrived to you thus indeed of-Gelon remembrance
γέγονε. ἀτιμίης δὲ πρὸς ὑμέων κυρήσας οὐκ ὁμοιώσομαι
has-come dishonor and from you having-met not I-shall-be-like
ὑμῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἕτοιμος εἰμὶ βοηθέειν παρεχόμενος διηκοσίας τε
you but ready I-am to-help furnishing two-hundred both
τριήρεας καὶ δισμυρίους ὁπλίτας καὶ δισχιλίην ἵππον καὶ
triremes and twenty-thousand hoplites and two-thousand cavalry and
δισχιλίους τοξότας καὶ δισχιλίους σφενδονήτας καὶ δισχιλίους
two-thousand archers and two-thousand slingers and two-thousand
ἱπποδρόμους ψιλούς· σῖτόν τε ἁπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλήνων στρατιῇ,
horse-runners light-armed grain both for-all the of-Greeks army
ἔστ᾽ ἂν διαπολεμήσωμεν, ὑποδέκομαι παρέξειν. ἐπὶ δὲ λόγῳ
until — we-finish-the-war I-undertake to-furnish on and condition
τοιῷδε τάδε ὑπίσχομαι, ἐπ᾽ ᾧ στρατηγός τε καὶ
such these I-promise on (condition)-that general both and

ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔσομαι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον. ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ
leader of-the Greeks I-shall-be against the barbarian on other
δὲ λόγῳ οὔτ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθοιμι οὔτ᾽ ἂν ἄλλους πέμψαιμι.”
but condition neither — myself would-I-come nor — others would-I-send
159 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὔτε ἠνέσχετο ὁ Σύαγρος εἶπέ τε τάδε.
these having-heard neither endured — Syagrus said and this
“Ἦ κε μέγ᾽ οἰμώξειε ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων πυθόμενος
truly — greatly would-groan the son-of-Pelops Agamemnon having-learned
Σπαρτιήτας τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἀπαραιρῆσθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνός
Spartans the leadership to-have-been-deprived-of by Gelon
τε καὶ Συρηκοσίων. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τοῦ λόγου μηκέτι
both and Syracusans but of-this indeed the word no-longer
μνησθῇς, ὅκως τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοι παραδώσομεν, ἀλλ᾽
make-mention that the leadership to-you we-shall-hand-over but
εἰ μὲν βούλεαι βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἴσθι ἀρξόμενος ὑπὸ
if indeed you-wish to-help — to-Greece know you-will-be-ruled by
Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ᾽ ἄρα μὴ δικαιοῖς ἄρχεσθαι, σὺ
Lacedaemonians if but then not you-think-it-right to-be-ruled you
δὲ μηδὲ βοήθεε.”
but not-even help
160 Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς
to these — Gelon since he-saw hostile the
λόγους τοῦ Συάγρου, τὸν τελευταῖόν σφι τόνδε ἐξέφαινε
words — of-Syagrus the last to-them this declared
λόγον. “Ὦ ξεῖνε Σπαρτιῆτα, ὀνείδεα κατιόντα ἀνθρώπῳ
word O stranger Spartan reproaches coming-down on-a-man
φιλέει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν· σὺ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος
are-wont to-rouse the anger you however having-displayed
ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὔ με πείσεις ἀσχήμονα ἐν
insults in the speech not me you-will-persuade unseemly in
τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι. ὅκου δὲ ὑμεῖς οὕτω περιέχεσθε τῆς
the answer to-become where and you so cling-to of-the

ἡγεμονίης, οἰκὸς καὶ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὑμέων περιέχεσθαι,
leadership reasonable also me more than-you to-cling
στρατιῆς τε ἐόντα πολλαπλησίης ἡγεμόνα καὶ νεῶν πολλὸν
of-an-army both being many-times-greater leader and of-ships by-far
πλεύνων. ἀλλ' ἐπείτε ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος οὕτω προσάντης
more but since to-you the word so hostile
κατίσταται, ἡμεῖς τι ὑπείξομεν τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου·
stands we something will-yield from-the original proposal
εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ ὑμεῖς ἡγέοισθε, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ
if of-the indeed land(-army) you should-lead of-the and fleet
ἐγώ. εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἡδονὴ τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἡγεμονεύειν,
I if and to-you pleasure the at sea to-lead
τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐγὼ θέλω. καὶ ἢ τούτοισι ὑμέας χρεόν
of-the land(-army) I wish and either with-these you necessary
ἐστι ἀρέσκεσθαι ἢ ἀπιέναι συμμάχων τοιῶνδε ἐρήμους."
it-is to-be-content or to-depart of-allies such bereft
Γέλων μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προετείνετο, φθάσας δὲ ὁ 161
Gelon indeed then these proposed having-anticipated and the
Ἀθηναίων ἄγγελος τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμείβετό μιν τοῖσιδε.
of-Athenians messenger the of-Lacedaemonians answered him with-these
"Ὦ βασιλεῦ Συρηκοσίων, οὐκ ἡγεμόνος δεομένη ἡ Ἑλλὰς
O king of-Syracusans not of-a-leader in-need — Greece
ἀπέπεμψε ἡμέας πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ στρατιῆς. σὺ δὲ ὅκως
sent us to you but of-an-army you but that
μὲν στρατιὴν πέμψεις μὴ ἡγεύμενος τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ
indeed an-army you-will-send not leading — of-Greece not
προφαίνεις, ὡς δὲ στρατηγήσεις αὐτῆς γλίχεαι. ὅσον μὲν
reveal as but you-will-command it you-long as-long indeed
νυν παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλλήνων στρατοῦ ἐδέεο ἡγέεσθαι, ἐξήρκεε
then of-all the of-Greeks army you-asked to-lead it-sufficed
ἡμῖν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἐπισταμένοισι ὡς ὁ
for-us the Athenians quiet to-keep knowing that the

Λάκων ἱκανός τοι ἔμελλε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων
Laconian sufficient to-you was-going to-be even for both
ἀπολογεύμενος· ἐπείτε δὲ ἁπάσης ἀπελαυνόμενος δέεαι τῆς
answering since but of-all(-of-it) being-driven-away you-ask the
ναυτικῆς ἄρχειν, οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐδ' ἢν ὁ Λάκων ἐπιῇ
naval to-command thus it-stands for-you not-even if the Laconian allows
τοι ἄρχειν αὐτῆς, ἡμεῖς ἐπήσομεν· ἡμετέρη γὰρ ἐστὶ αὕτη
you to-command it we will-allow ours for is this
γε, μὴ αὐτῶν βουλομένων Λακεδαιμονίων. τούτοισι μὲν ὦν
at-least not themselves wishing Lacedaemonians to-these indeed then
ἡγέεσθαι βουλομένοισι οὐκ ἀντιτείνομεν, ἄλλῳ δὲ παρήσομεν
to-lead wishing not we-oppose(-it) to-another but we-shall-allow
οὐδενὶ ναυαρχέειν. μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὧδε πάραλον Ἑλλήνων
no-one to-be-admiral in-vain for — thus coast(-dwelling) of-Greeks
στρατὸν πλεῖστον εἴημεν ἐκτημένοι, εἰ Συρηκοσίοισι
army greatest we-would-be having-acquired if to-Syracusans
ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι συγχωρήσομεν τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ἀρχαιότατον
being Athenians we-yield of-the leadership most-ancient
μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι, μοῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται
indeed nation furnishing alone and being not migrants
Ἑλλήνων· τῶν καὶ Ὅμηρος ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἄνδρα ἄριστον
of-Greeks of-whom also Homer the epic-poet a-man best
ἔφησε ἐς Ἴλιον ἀπικέσθαι τάξαι τε καὶ διακοσμῆσαι
said to Ilium to-have-come to-marshal both and to-order
στρατόν. οὕτω οὐκ ὄνειδος οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐστι λέγειν ταῦτα."
an-army thus not reproach any to-us is to-say these
162 Ἀμείβετο Γέλων τοῖσιδε. "Ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ὑμεῖς οἵκατε τοὺς
answered Gelon with-these stranger Athenian you seem the
μὲν ἄρχοντας ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρξομένους οὐκ ἔξειν.
indeed rulers to-have the but to-be-ruled not to-be-going-to-have
ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐδὲν ὑπιέντες ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν ἐθέλετε, οὐκ ἂν
since now nothing yielding to-have the whole you-wish not —

φθάνοιτε τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἀπαλλασσόμενοι καὶ
you-would-be-too-quick the quickest back departing and
ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ
announcing — to-Greece that from the year the spring for-it
ἐξαραίρηται." οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόος τοῦ ῥήματος τὸ ἐθέλει
has-been-taken-away this and the meaning of-the saying what it-wishes
λέγειν· δῆλα γὰρ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔαρ δοκιμώτατον,
to-say clear for that in the year is the spring most-esteemed
τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ στρατιήν·
of-the and of-the Greeks army the his-own army
στερισκομένην ὧν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς ἑωυτοῦ συμμαχίης
being-deprived then — Greece of-the his-own alliance
εἴκαζε ὡς εἰ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξαραιρημένον εἴη.
he-likened as if the spring from the year taken-away were
Οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄγγελοι τοιαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι 163
the indeed then of-the Greeks messengers such — with-Gelon
χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέπλεον· Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα δείσας
having-negotiated sailed-away Gelon and in-view-of these having-feared
μὲν περὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μὴ οὐ δύνωνται τὸν βάρβαρον
indeed for the Greeks lest not they-might-be-able the barbarian
ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ποιησάμενος
to-overcome terrible and also not endurable thinking(-it)
ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων
having-come to Peloponnese to-be-ruled by Lacedaemonians
ἐὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἠμέλησε, ὁ
being of-Sicily tyrant this indeed the road he-neglected he
δὲ ἄλλης εἴχετο. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσην
but another held-to when for soonest he-learned the Persian
διαβεβηκότα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέροισι
having-crossed the Hellespont he-sends with-fifty-oared-ships
τρισὶ Κάδμον τὸν Σκύθεω ἄνδρα Κῷον ἐς Δελφούς,
three Cadmus the (son)-of-Scythes a-man Coan to Delphi

ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιλίους λόγους, καραδοκήσοντα
having money much and friendly words to-watch
τὴν μάχην τῇ πεσέεται, καὶ ἢν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾷ,
the battle how it-will-fall and if indeed the barbarian conquers
τά τε χρήματα αὐτῷ διδόναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν
the both money to-him to-give and earth both and water of-what
ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων, ἢν δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὀπίσω ἀπάγειν.
rules — Gelon if but the Greeks back to-bring(-it)

164 Ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος πρότερον τούτων παραδεξάμενος
— and Cadmus this before these having-received
παρὰ πατρὸς τυραννίδα Κῴων εὖ βεβηκυῖαν, ἑκών τε
from father a-tyranny of-Coans well established willing both
εἶναι καὶ δεινοῦ ἐπιόντος οὐδενὸς ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης
being and terror threatening none but from justice
ἐς μέσον Κῴοισι καταθεὶς τὴν ἀρχὴν οἴχετο ἐς Σικελίην,
into the-midst for-Coans having-put the rule went to Sicily
ἔνθα παρὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην
where from Samians he-took both and settled a-city Zancle
τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ οὔνομα. τοῦτον δὴ
the to Messene having-changed the name him indeed
ὁ Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἀπικόμενον
— Gelon — Cadmus and in-such manner having-come
διὰ δικαιοσύνην, τήν οἱ αὐτὸς ἄλλην συνήδεε
on-account-of justice which to-him himself otherwise he-knew
ἐοῦσαν, ἔπεμπε· ὃς ἐπὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δικαίοισι τοῖσι
being sent who in-addition-to the other just(-deeds) the
ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ ἐργασμένοισι καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων
by himself done also this not least of-these
ἐλίπετο. κρατήσας γὰρ μεγάλων χρημάτων τῶν οἱ
left having-become-master-of for great money which to-him
Γέλων ἐπετράπετο, παρεὸν κατασχέσθαι οὐκ ἠθέλησε,
Gelon entrusted it-being-possible to-keep(-it) not he-wished

ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ καὶ
but when the Greeks prevailed in-the sea-fight and
Ξέρξης οἰχώκεε ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπίκετο
Xerxes was-gone marching-off and indeed also he came
ἐς τὴν Σικελίην ἀπὸ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἄγων.
to — Sicily back all the money bringing
Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ οἰκημένων, 165
is-said and also this by those in — Sicily dwelling
ὡς ὅμως καὶ μέλλων ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ
that nevertheless even about to-be-ruled by Lacedaemonians —
Γέλων ἐβοήθησε ἂν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θήρωνος
Gelon would-have-helped — the Greeks if not by Theron
τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου Ἀκραγαντίνων μουνάρχου ἐξελασθεὶς ἐξ
the (son)-of-Aenesidemus of-Agrigentines sole-ruler driven-out from
Ἱμέρης Τήριλλος ὁ Κρινίππου τύραννος ἐὼν Ἱμέρης
Himera Terillus the (son)-of-Crinippus tyrant being of-Himera
ἐπῆγε ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Φοινίκων καὶ Λιβύων
was-bringing at very the time this of-Phoenicians and Libyans
καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Ἐλισύκων καὶ Σαρδονίων
and Iberians and Ligyes and Elisyci and Sardinians
καὶ Κυρνίων τριήκοντα μυριάδας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν
and Corsicans thirty ten-thousands and general of-them
Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Ἄννωνος, Καρχηδονίων ἐόντα βασιλέα, κατὰ
Hamilcar the (son)-of-Hanno of-Carthaginians being king by
ξεινίην τε τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ὁ Τήριλλος ἀναγνώσας καὶ
guest-friendship both the his-own — Terillus having-persuaded(-him) and
μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀναξίλεω τοῦ Κρητίνεω προθυμίην,
most on-account-of the of-Anaxilaus the (son)-of-Cretines eagerness
ὃς Ῥηγίου ἐὼν τύραννος τὰ ἑωυτοῦ τέκνα δοὺς ὁμήρους
who of-Rhegium being tyrant the his-own children having-given as-hostages
Ἀμίλκᾳ ἐπῆγε ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίην τιμωρέων τῷ πενθερῷ·
to-Hamilcar brought(-him) against — Sicily avenging the father-in-law

Τηρίλλου γὰρ εἶχε θυγατέρα Ἀναξίλεως, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν
of-Terillus for had daughter Anaxilaus whose name was
Κυδίππη. οὕτω δὴ οὐκ οἷόν τε γενόμενον βοηθέειν τὸν
Cydippe thus indeed not possible — having-become to-help —
Γέλωνα τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἀποπέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς τὰ χρήματα.
Gelon the Greeks to-send to Delphi the money
166 Πρὸς δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγουσι, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς
in-addition and also this they-say that it-happened on-the same
ἡμέρης ἔν τε τῇ Σικελίῃ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν
day in both — Sicily Gelon and Theron to-conquer
Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας
Hamilcar the Carthaginian and at Salamis the Greeks
τὸν Πέρσην. τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιον ἐόντα πρὸς
the Persian — and Hamilcar Carthaginian being on
πατρός, μητρόθεν δὲ Συρηκόσιον, βασιλεύσαντά τε κατ᾽
father's-side on-mother's-side and Syracusan having-become-king both by
ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε ἐγίνετο
manly-merit of-Carthaginians when the engagement both was-happening
καὶ ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι·
and when he-was-being-worsted in-the battle to-have-vanished I-learn
οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ
neither for alive nor dead to-have-appeared anywhere
γῆς· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν διζήμενον Γέλωνα.
of-earth the whole for to-have-gone-over seeking(-him) Gelon
167 Ἔστι δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος,
there-is and by themselves Carthaginians this story told
οἰκότι χρεωμένων, ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖσι
reasonable(-account) using that the indeed barbarians with-the
Ἕλλησι ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἠοῦς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι
Greeks in — Sicily fought from dawn having-begun until
δείλης ὀψίης (ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται ἑλκύσαι τὴν
evening late to so-much for is-said to-have-dragged-out the

σύστασιν), ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων
fighting — but Hamilcar in this the time staying
ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο καὶ ἐκαλλιερέετο ἐπὶ πυρῆς
in the camp sacrificed and got-good-omens on a-pyre
μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων, ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν
great bodies whole burning having-seen and a-rout of-the
ἑωυτοῦ γινομένην, ὡς ἔτυχε ἐπισπένδων τοῖσι ἱροῖσι, ὦσε
his-own happening as he-happened pouring-libations on-the sacrifices pushed
ἑωυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω δὴ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι.
himself into the fire thus indeed having-been-burned to-have-vanished
ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκᾳ τρόπῳ εἴτε τοιούτῳ ὡς Φοίνικες
having-vanished and to-Hamilcar in-a-manner either such as Phoenicians
λέγουσι, εἴτε ἑτέρῳ ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Συρηκόσιοι, τοῦτο
say or other as Carthaginians and Syracusans this
μέν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσῃσι
indeed to-him they-sacrifice this and memorials they-made in all
τῇσι πόλισι τῶν ἀποικίδων, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνι.
the cities of-the colonies in itself both greatest Carthage
Τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίης τοσαῦτα. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τάδε 168
the(-things) indeed from Sicily so-much Corcyraeans and this
ὑποκρινάμενοι τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοιάδε ἐποίησαν· καὶ γὰρ
having-answered to-the messengers such did also for
τούτους παρελάμβανον οἱ αὐτοὶ οἵ περ ἐς Σικελίην
these took-in the same(-men) who indeed to Sicily
ἀπίκοντο, λέγοντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ πρὸς
came saying the same words which also to
Γέλωνα ἔλεγον. οἳ δὲ παραυτίκα μὲν ὑπίσχοντο πέμψειν
Gelon they-said they and immediately indeed promised to-send
τε καὶ ἀμυνέειν, φράζοντες ὡς οὔ σφι περιοπτέη ἐστὶ ἡ
both and to-defend(-them) declaring that not for-them to-be-overlooked is —
Ἑλλὰς ἀπολλυμένη· ἢν γὰρ σφαλῇ, σφεῖς γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο
Greece perishing if for it-falls they at-least nothing other

ἢ δουλεύσουσι τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερέων· ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέον
than will-be-slaves on-the first of-the days but to-be-helped
εἴη ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον. ὑπεκρίναντο μὲν οὕτω εὐπρόσωπα·
it-was to the utmost answered indeed so fair-seemingly
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει βοηθέειν, ἄλλα νοέοντες ἐπλήρωσαν
when but it-was-necessary to-help other(-things) intending they-manned
νέας ἑξήκοντα, μόγις δὲ ἀναχθέντες προσέμιξαν τῇ —
ships sixty with-difficulty and having-put-out approached —
Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ περὶ Πύλον καὶ Ταίναρον γῆς
to-Peloponnese and about Pylos and Taenarum of-the-land
τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνεκώχευον τὰς νέας, καραδοκέοντες
the of-Lacedaemonians held-at-anchor the ships watching
καὶ οὗτοι τὸν πόλεμον τῇ πεσέεται, ἀελπτέοντες μὲν
also these the war how it-will-fall despairing indeed
τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπερβαλέεσθαι, δοκέοντες δὲ τὸν Πέρσην
the Greeks to-prevail thinking but the Persian
κατακρατήσαντα πολλὸν ἄρξειν πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐποίευν
having-conquered by-far to-rule all — of-Greece they-did
ὧν ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἔχωσι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν
then on-purpose so-that they-might-be-able to the Persian to-say
τοιάδε. “Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡμεῖς, παραλαμβανόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων
such O king we taking-in the Greeks
ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην
us into the war this having power not least
οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίστας παρασχόντες ἂν ἀλλὰ πλείστας μετά
nor ships fewest having-furnished — but most after
γε Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἠθελήσαμέν τοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι οὐδέ τι
at-least Athenians not wished you to-oppose nor anything
ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι.” τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἤλπιζον πλέον τι
displeasing to-do such saying they-hoped more something
τῶν ἄλλων οἴσεσθαι· τά περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς
than-the others to-get which indeed — also would-have-happened as

ἐμοὶ δοκέει. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνάς σφι σκῆψις ἐπεποίητο,
to-me seems toward and the Greeks for-them an-excuse had-been-made
τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήσαντο. αἰτιωμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
which indeed then also they-used blaming for the Greeks
ὅτι οὐκ ἐβοήθεον, ἔφασαν πληρῶσαι μὲν ἑξήκοντα
that not they-helped they-said to-have-manned indeed sixty
τριήρεας, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων ὑπερβαλεῖν Μαλέην
triremes by but the-etesian winds to-round Malea
οὐκ οἷοί τε γενέσθαι· οὕτω οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Σαλαμῖνα,
not able — to-have-been thus not to-have-arrived at Salamis
καὶ οὐδεμιῇ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίης.
and by-no cowardice to-have-been-left-out of-the sea-fight
Οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω διεκρούσαντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Κρῆτες δέ, 169
these indeed thus put-off the Greeks Cretans but
ἐπείτε σφέας παρελάμβανον οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοισι ταχθέντες
when them took-in those for these appointed
Ἑλλήνων, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· πέμψαντες κοινῇ θεοπρόπους
of-Greeks did such having-sent jointly envoys
ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρώτων εἴ σφι ἄμεινον
to Delphi the god asked whether for-them better
τιμωρέουσι γίνεται τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο
helping it-becomes — to-Greece the and Pythia answered
“ Ὦ νήπιοι, ἐπιμέμφεσθε ὅσα ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν Μενελάου
O fools you-complain-of as-many-as to-you from the of-Menelaus
τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἔπεμψε μηνίων δακρύματα, ὅτι
helpings Minos sent being-wrathful tears because
οἱ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμικῷ θάνατον
they indeed not helped-avenge for-him the at Camicus death
γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνοισι τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἁρπασθεῖσαν
having-happened you but them the from Sparta carried-off

ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς βαρβάρου γυναῖκα.” ταῦτα οἱ Κρῆτες ὡς
by a-man barbarian woman these the Cretans when
ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν, ἔσχοντο τῆς τιμωρίης.
reported heard refrained from-the helping
170 Λέγεται γὰρ Μίνων κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπικόμενον ἐς
is-said for Minos in search of-Daedalus having-come to
Σικανίην τὴν νῦν Σικελίην καλευμένην ἀποθανεῖν βιαίῳ
Sicania — now Sicily called to-have-died by-violent
θανάτῳ. ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρῆτας, θεοῦ σφι ἐποτρύναντος,
death in and time Cretans god them having-urged
πάντας πλὴν Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισίων ἀπικομένους
all except Polichnites both and Praesians having-come
στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίην πολιορκέειν ἐπ᾽ ἔτεα πέντε
with-expedition great to Sicania to-have-besieged for years five
πόλιν Καμικόν, τὴν κατ᾽ ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνέμοντο·
city Camicus which in-the-time-of me Agrigentines inhabited
τέλος δὲ οὐ δυναμένους οὔτε ἑλεῖν οὔτε παραμένειν
at-last and not being-able neither to-take(-it) nor to-stay
λιμῷ συνεστεῶτας, ἀπολιπόντας οἴχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ κατὰ
with-famine beset having-left(-it) to-have-gone when and off
Ἰηπυγίην γενέσθαι πλέοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χειμῶνα
Iapygia to-have-been sailing seizing them a-storm
μέγαν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν· συναραχθέντων δὲ τῶν
great to-have-cast(-them) on the land having-been-broken and the
πλοίων, οὐδεμίαν γάρ σφι ἔτι κομιδὴν ἐς Κρήτην
boats no for to-them any-longer conveyance to Crete
φαίνεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα Ὑρίην πόλιν κτίσαντας καταμεῖναί τε
to-appear there Hyria city having-founded to-have-stayed both
καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰήπυγας
and having-changed instead-of indeed Cretans to-have-become Iapygians
Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι νησιώτας ἠπειρώτας. ἀπὸ δὲ
Messapian instead-of and to-be islanders mainlanders from and

Ὑρίης πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι, τὰς δὴ Ταραντῖνοι
Hyria city the other(-cities) to-have-founded which indeed Tarentines
χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐξανιστάντες προσέπταισαν μεγάλως,
in-time later much driving-out came-to-grief greatly
ὥστε φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος δὴ ἐγένετο πάντων
so-that slaughter Greek greatest this indeed happened of-all
τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραντίνων καὶ Ῥηγίνων, οἳ
which we know of-themselves both Tarentines and Rhegines who
ὑπὸ Μικύθου τοῦ Χοίρου ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ
by Micythus the (son)-of-Choerus being-compelled of-the townsmen and
ἀπικόμενοι τιμωροὶ Ταραντίνοισι ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὕτω·
having-come as-helpers to-Tarentines died three-thousand thus
αὐτῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων οὐκ ἐπῆν ἀριθμός. ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος
of-themselves and Tarentines not was a-count — and Micythus
οἰκέτης ἐὼν Ἀναξίλεω ἐπίτροπος Ῥηγίου καταλέλειπτο, οὗτος
servant being of-Anaxilaus steward of-Rhegium had-been-left this
ὅς περ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων
who indeed having-been-thrown-out from Rhegium and Tegea the of-Arcadians
οἰκήσας ἀνέθηκε ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας.
having-inhabited dedicated at Olympia the many statues
Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ῥηγίνους τε καὶ Ταραντίνους 171
but the(-things) indeed about Rhegines both and Tarentines
τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη γέγονε· ἐς δὲ τὴν Κρήτην
of-the history for-me a-digression has-become into but — Crete
ἐρημωθεῖσαν, ὡς λέγουσι Πραίσιοι, ἐσοικίζεσθαι ἄλλους
deserted as say Praesians to-settle others
τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα Ἕλληνας, τρίτῃ δὲ γενεῇ
both men and most Greeks in-the-third and generation
μετὰ Μίνων τελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωικά, ἐν
after Minos having-died to-have-happened the Trojan(-war) in
τοῖσι οὐ φλαυροτάτους φαίνεσθαι ἐόντας Κρῆτας τιμωροὺς
which not worst to-appear being Cretans as-helpers

Μενέλεῳ. ἀπὸ τούτων δέ σφι ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροίης
to-Menelaus from these and for-them having-returned from Troy
λιμόν τε καὶ λοιμὸν γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι
famine both and pestilence to-have-come both for-themselves and for-the
προβάτοισι, ἔστε τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσης Κρήτης μετὰ
flocks until the second(-time) deserted Crete with
τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρῆτας.
the remaining third it now to-inhabit Cretans
ἡ μὲν δὴ Πυθίη ὑπομνήσασα ταῦτα ἔσχε
the indeed then Pythia having-reminded(-them-of) these checked(-them)
βουλομένους τιμωρέειν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.
wishing to-help the Greeks

XV · TEMPE, THERMOPYLAE, AND ARTEMISIUM

The Thessalians ask the Greeks to guard the Olympic pass, and ten thousand hoplites go to Tempe, but Alexander warns them of the Persian numbers and, fearing another pass, they withdraw; Thessaly medizes. The Greeks choose to hold Thermopylae and Artemisium. The Delphians are told to pray to the winds. Ten Persian ships take two of three Greek guard ships off Sciathus, sacrificing the handsome marine Leon and honoring the wounded Pytheas; the third runs aground at the Peneus and its crew escapes. The Greek fleet withdraws to Chalcis, and the Persians, who lose three ships on the Myrmex reef, reach Sepias.

172 Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης τὸ πρῶτον ἐμήδισαν, ὡς
Thessalians but under necessity the first medized as
διέδεξαν, ὅτι οὔ σφι ἤνδανε τὰ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι ἐμηχανῶντο.
they-showed because not to-them was-pleasing what the Aleuadae were-contriving
ἐπείτε γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα μέλλοντα διαβαίνειν τὸν
when for they-learned soonest about-to to-cross the
Πέρσην ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, πέμπουσι ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν
Persian into — Europe they-send to the Isthmus

ἀγγέλους· ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἦσαν ἀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς
messengers at and the Isthmus were gathered deputies —
Ἑλλάδος ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω
of-Greece chosen from the cities the the(-things) better
φρονεουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους
thinking about — Greece having-arrived and to these
τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον “Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες,
of-the Thessalians the messengers said men Greeks
δεῖ φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Ὀλυμπικήν, ἵνα
it-is-needful to-guard the pass the Olympic so-that
Θεσσαλίη τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασα ᾖ Ἑλλὰς ἐν σκέπῃ
Thessaly both and the whole may-be Greece in shelter
τοῦ πολέμου. ἡμεῖς μέν νυν ἕτοιμοι εἰμὲν συμφυλάσσειν,
from-the war we indeed then ready are to-guard-with(-you)
πέμπειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν πολλήν, ὡς, εἰ
to-send but it-is-needful also you an-army great that if
μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ·
not you-will-send know-ye us to-come-to-terms with-the Persian
οὐ γάρ τι προκατημένους τοσοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης
not for at-all posted-in-front so-far before the other
Ἑλλάδος μούνους πρὸ ὑμέων δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι. βοηθέειν
Greece alone before you it-is-needful to-perish to-help
δὲ οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀναγκαίην ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν οἷοί τε ἐστὲ
but not wishing compulsion to-us none able — are
προσφέρειν· οὐδαμὰ γὰρ ἀδυνασίης ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἔφυ.
to-bring-to-bear never for than-inability necessity stronger was
ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα αὐτοί τινα σωτηρίην μηχανώμενοι.”
we but shall-try ourselves some deliverance contriving
Ταῦτα ἔλεγον οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα 173
these-things said the Thessalians the and Greeks in-answer-to these-things
ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐς Θεσσαλίην πέμπειν κατὰ θάλασσαν
resolved into Thessaly to-send by sea

πεζὸν στρατὸν φυλάξοντα τὴν ἐσβολήν. ὡς δὲ συνελέχθη
foot army to-guard the pass when and was-gathered
ὁ στρατός, ἔπλεε δι᾽ Εὐρίπου· ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς
the army it-sailed through Euripus having-arrived and —
Ἀχαιίης ἐς Ἄλον, ἀποβὰς ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην,
of-Achaea at Alus having-disembarked it-marched into Thessaly
τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ καταλιπών, καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα
the ships there having-left and arrived at — Tempe
ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἥ περ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω
at the pass which indeed from Macedonia the lower
ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ ποταμὸν Πηνειόν, μεταξὺ δὲ
into Thessaly leads along river Peneus between and
Ὀλύμπου τε ὄρεος ἐόντα καὶ τῆς Ὄσσης. ἐνθαῦτα
Olympus both mountain being and — of-Ossa there
ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ μυρίους ὁπλίτας
encamped of-the Greeks about ten-thousand hoplites
συλλεγέντες, καί σφι προσῆν ἡ Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος·
gathered and to-them was-added the of-Thessalians cavalry
ἐστρατήγεε δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Εὐαίνετος ὁ Καρήνου
commanded and of-Lacedaemonians indeed Euaenetus the (son)-of-Carenus
ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀραιρημένος, γένεος μέντοι ἐὼν οὐ
from the polemarchs chosen of-family however being not
τοῦ βασιληίου, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Νεοκλέος.
the royal of-Athenians and Themistocles the (son)-of-Neocles
ἔμειναν δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐνθαῦτα· ἀπικόμενοι γὰρ ἄγγελοι
they-stayed but few days there having-come for messengers
παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντεω ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνος
from Alexander the (son)-of-Amyntas a-man Macedonian
συνεβούλευόν σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μηδὲ μένοντας ἐν τῇ
advised them to-depart nor staying in the
ἐσβολῇ καταπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἐπιόντος,
pass to-be-trampled-down by the army the advancing

σημαίνοντες τὸ πλῆθός τε τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ τὰς νέας. ὡς
showing the multitude both of-the army and the ships when
δὲ οὗτοί σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκεον
and these them these-things advised good for they-seemed
συμβουλεύειν καί σφι εὔνοος ἐφαίνετο ἐὼν ὁ Μακεδών,
to-advise and to-them well-disposed appeared being the Macedonian
ἐπείθοντο. δοκέειν δὲ μοι, ἀρρωδίη ἦν τὸ πεῖθον, ὡς
they-obeyed to-seem but to-me fear was the(-thing) persuading since
ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἄλλην ἐοῦσαν ἐσβολὴν ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς κατὰ τὴν
they-learned also another being pass into Thessalians through the
ἄνω Μακεδονίην διὰ Περραιβῶν κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν, τῇ
upper Macedonia through Perrhaebians by Gonnus city by-which
περ δὴ καὶ ἐσέβαλε ἡ στρατιὴ ἡ Ξέρξεω. καταβάντες δὲ
indeed indeed also invaded the army the of-Xerxes having-gone-down and
οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὰς νέας ὀπίσω ἐπορεύοντο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν.
the Greeks to the ships back they-went to the Isthmus
Αὕτη ἐγένετο ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίην στρατηίη, βασιλέος τε 174
this was the into Thessaly expedition king both
μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης
being-about to-cross into — Europe from — Asia
καὶ ἐόντος ἤδη ἐν Ἀβύδῳ. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ἐρημωθέντες
and being already at Abydus Thessalians and bereft
συμμάχων οὕτω δὴ ἐμήδισαν προθύμως οὐδ' ἔτι
of-allies so indeed medized zealously nor any-longer
ἐνδοιαστῶς, ὥστε ἐν τοῖσι πρήγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλέι
doubtfully so-that in the affairs they-appeared to-king
ἄνδρες ἐόντες χρησιμώτατοι.
men being most-useful
Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπείτε ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν, ἐβουλεύοντο 175
the and Greeks when they-had-come to the Isthmus deliberated
πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ τε στήσονται
in-view-of the(-things) said by Alexander where both they-will-set

τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν οἵοισι χώροισι. ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη
the war and in what places the prevailing and opinion
ἐγίνετο τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι· στεινοτέρη
was the at Thermopylae pass to-guard narrower
γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ἐοῦσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην καὶ ἅμα ἀγχοτέρη
for it-appeared being than-the into Thessaly and at-once nearer
τῆς ἑωυτῶν· τὴν δὲ ἀτραπόν, δι᾽ ἣν ἥλωσαν οἱ ἁλόντες
to-the of-themselves the but path through which were-taken the taken
Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ᾔδεσαν ἐοῦσαν πρότερον
of-Greeks at Thermopylae not-even they-knew being before
ἤ περ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπύθοντο Τρηχινίων.
than indeed having-arrived at Thermopylae they-learned from-Trachinians
ταύτην ὦν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν μὴ
this then they-resolved guarding the pass not
παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον, τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν
to-let-pass into — Greece the barbarian the and naval
στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον.
host to-sail of-land the Histiaean to Artemisium
ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι
these for near both each-other are so-that to-learn
τὰ κατὰ ἑκατέρους ἐόντα, οἵ τε χῶροι οὕτω ἔχουσι.
the(-things) concerning each being the and places so are
176 Τοῦτο μὲν τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον· ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηικίου
this indeed — Artemisium out-of the sea the Thracian
ἐξ εὐρέος συνάγεται ἐς στεινὸν ἐόντα τὸν πόρον τὸν
from wide it-draws-together into narrow being the strait the
μεταξὺ νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἠπείρου Μαγνησίης· ἐκ
between island both Sciathus and mainland Magnesia from
δὲ τοῦ στεινοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίης ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται
and the narrow — of-Euboea next — Artemisium receives
αἰγιαλός, ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱρόν. ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχῖνος
beach in(-it) and of-Artemis a-temple the and again through Trachis

ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ τῇ στεινοτάτη ἡμίπλεθρον.
entrance into — Greece is where narrowest half-a-plethrum
οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γε ἐστὶ τὸ στεινότατον τῆς χώρης
not however at this at-least is the narrowest of-the land
τῆς ἄλλης, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθέ τε Θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὄπισθε,
the rest but in-front both of-Thermopylae and behind
κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνοὺς ὄπισθε ἐόντας ἐοῦσα ἁμαξιτὸς μούνη,
at both Alpeni behind being being a-cart-road single
καὶ ἔμπροσθε κατὰ Φοίνικα ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθήλης
and in-front at Phoenix river near Anthele
πόλιος ἄλλη ἁμαξιτὸς μούνη. τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν
city another cart-road single of-the and Thermopylae the indeed
πρὸς ἑσπέρης ὄρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλόν,
toward evening a-mountain impassable both and precipitous high
ἀνατεῖνον ἐς τὴν Οἴτην· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ
stretching-up to — Oeta the and toward the dawn of-the road
θάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ τενάγεα. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ
sea receives and shallows there-are and in the entrance
ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά, τὰ Χύτρους καλέουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι,
this hot baths which Pots call the natives
καὶ βωμὸς ἵδρυται Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι. ἐδέδμητο δὲ
and an-altar is-set-up of-Heracles by them had-been-built and
τεῖχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολάς, καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν
a-wall at these the passes and in-the at-least olden(-time)
πύλαι ἐπῆσαν. ἔδειμαν δὲ Φωκέες τὸ τεῖχος δείσαντες, ἐπεὶ
gates were-on(-it) built and Phocians the wall having-feared when
Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα
Thessalians came from Thesprotians to-settle land the Aeolian
τήν περ νῦν ἐκτέαται. ἅτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν
which indeed now they-possess as indeed trying the Thessalians
καταστρέφεσθαι σφέας, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες,
to-subdue them this guarded-against-beforehand the Phocians

καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπῆκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον,
and the water the hot then they-let-in onto the entrance
ὡς ἂν χαραδρωθείη ὁ χῶρος, πᾶν μηχανώμενοι
so-that — might-be-gullied the place every(-thing) contriving
ὅκως μή σφι ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην. τὸ
how not on-them might-invade the Thessalians onto the land the
μέν νυν τεῖχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο καὶ
indeed then wall the ancient from of-old both had-been-built and
τὸ πλέον αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἔκειτο· τοῖσι δὲ αὖτις
the more of-it already through time lay-fallen to-those and again
ὀρθώσασι ἔδοξε ταύτῃ ἀπαμύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
having-set-it-up it-seemed-good there to-ward-off from — Greece
τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δὲ ἐστὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ Ἀλπηνοὶ
the barbarian a-village and is nearest to-the road Alpeni
οὔνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες.
by-name from this and to-get-provisions reckoned the Greeks
177 Οἱ μέν νυν χῶροι οὗτοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο
the indeed then places these to-the Greeks to-be appeared
ἐπιτήδεοι· πάντα γὰρ προσκεψάμενοι καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες
suitable all for having-considered and having-reckoned
ὅτι οὔτε πλήθεϊ ἔξουσι χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ,
that neither multitude will-be-able to-use the barbarians nor cavalry
ταύτῃ σφι ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν
there to-them it-seemed-good to-receive the advancing(-one) upon —
Ἑλλάδα. ὡς δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρσην ἐόντα ἐν Πιερίῃ,
Greece when and they-learned the Persian being in Pieria
διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἳ μὲν ἐς
having-broken-up from the Isthmus marched of-them some indeed to
Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμίσιον.
Thermopylae on-foot others and by sea to Artemisium

Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθεον διαταχθέντες, 178
the indeed then Greeks with speed went-to-help having-been-posted
Δελφοὶ δ᾽ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐχρηστηριάζοντο τῷ θεῷ
Delphians and in this the time consulted the god
ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῶν καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταρρωδηκότες, καί
on-behalf-of themselves and — of-Greece having-taken-fright and
σφι ἐχρήσθη ἀνέμοισι εὔχεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους
to-them it-was-oracled to-the-winds to-pray great for these
ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμμάχους. Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὸ
to-be — to-Greece allies Delphians and having-received the
μαντήιον πρῶτα μὲν Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι
oracle first indeed of-Greeks to-those wishing to-be
ἐλευθέροισι ἐξήγγειλαν τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτοῖσι, καί σφι
free reported the(-things) oracled to-them and to-them
δεινῶς καταρρωδέουσι τὸν βάρβαρον ἐξαγγείλαντες χάριν
terribly dreading the barbarian having-reported gratitude
ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖσι
undying they-laid-up after and these-things the Delphians to-the
ἀνέμοισι βωμόν τε ἀπέδεξαν ἐν Θυίῃ, τῇ περ τῆς Κηφισοῦ
winds an-altar both displayed at Thyia where indeed of-the of-Cephisus
θυγατρὸς Θυίης τὸ τέμενος ἐστί, ἐπ᾽ ἧς καὶ ὁ χῶρος
daughter of-Thyia the precinct is from whom also the place
οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, καὶ θυσίῃσι σφέας μετήισαν.
this the name has and with-sacrifices them they-sought
Δελφοὶ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν 179
Delphians indeed then according-to the oracle still even now
τοὺς ἀνέμους ἱλάσκονται. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ξέρξεω στρατὸς
the winds propitiate the but naval of-Xerxes host
ὁρμώμενος ἐκ Θέρμης πόλιος παρέβαλε νηυσὶ τῇσι
setting-out from Therma city crossed with-ships the
ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα ἰθὺ Σκιάθου, ἔνθα ἦσαν
best sailing ten straight-for Sciathus where were

προφυλάσσουσαι νέες τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδες, Τροιζηνίη τε καὶ
keeping-guard ships three Greek Troezenian both and
Αἰγιναίη καὶ Ἀττική. προϊδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς νέας
Aeginetan and Attic having-seen-beforehand and these the ships
τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν.
of-the barbarians to flight rushed
180 Τὴν μὲν δὴ Τροιζηνίην, τῆς ἦρχε Πρηξῖνος, αὐτίκα
the indeed then Troezenian which commanded Prexinus at-once
αἱρέουσι ἐπισπόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἔπειτα τῶν ἐπιβατέων
take having-pursued the barbarians and then of-the marines
αὐτῆς τὸν καλλιστεύοντα ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πρώρης τῆς νεὸς
of-it the fairest having-led onto the prow of-the ship
ἔσφαξαν, διαδέξιον ποιεύμενοι τὸν εἷλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων
slaughtered a-lucky-omen making the(-one) they-took of-the Greeks
πρῶτον καὶ κάλλιστον. τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι τούτῳ οὔνομα
first and fairest to-the and sacrificed this name
ἦν Λέων· τάχα δ' ἄν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύροιτο.
was Leon perhaps and — something also of-the name he-might-enjoy
181 Ἡ δὲ Αἰγιναίη, τῆς ἐτριηράρχεε Ἀσωνίδης, καὶ τινά σφι
the but Aeginetan which commanded Asonides also some to-them
θόρυβον παρέσχε, Πυθέω τοῦ Ἰσχενόου ἐπιβατεύοντος,
trouble gave Pytheas the (son)-of-Ischenous serving-as-marine
ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην· ὃς ἐπειδὴ
a-man best having-proved this the day who when
ἡ νηῦς ἡλίσκετο ἐς τοῦτο ἀντεῖχε μαχόμενος ἐς ὃ
the ship was-being-taken to this held-out fighting up-to which
κατεκρεουργήθη ἅπας. ὡς δὲ πεσὼν οὐκ ἀπέθανε ἀλλ'
he-was-backed-to-pieces whole when and having-fallen not he-died but
ἦν ἔμπνοος, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἵ περ ἐπεβάτευον ἐπὶ τῶν
was alive the Persians who indeed served-as-marines on the
νεῶν, δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιῆσαί μιν περὶ
ships for valor the of-that(-man) to-save him of

πλείστου ἐποιήσαντο, σμύρνῃσί τε ἰώμενοι τὰ ἕλκεα καὶ
most made with-myrrh both healing the wounds and
σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατειλίσσοντες· καί μιν, ὡς
of-linen fine with-bandages wrapping and him when
ὀπίσω ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἑωυτῶν στρατόπεδον, ἐπεδείκνυσαν
back they-came to the of-themselves camp they-displayed
ἐκπαγλεόμενοι πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ περιέποντες εὖ. τοὺς δὲ
marveling to-all the army treating(-him) well the but
ἄλλους τοὺς ἔλαβον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ταύτῃ περιεῖπον ὡς ἀνδράποδα.
others whom they-took in the ship this they-treated as slaves
Αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν νεῶν οὕτω ἐχειρώθησαν· ἡ δὲ τρίτη, 182
the indeed then two of-the ships so were-overpowered the but third
τῆς ἐτριηράρχεε Φόρμος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φεύγουσα ἐξοκέλλει
which commanded Phormus a-man Athenian fleeing runs-aground
ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σκάφεος
at the mouths of-the Peneus and the indeed hull
ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὔ· ὡς γὰρ
mastered the barbarians the but men not when for
δὴ τάχιστα ἐπώκειλαν τὴν νέα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποθορόντες
indeed soonest ran-aground the ship the Athenians having-leapt-off
κατὰ Θεσσαλίην πορευόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας.
through Thessaly journeying were-conveyed to Athens
Ταῦτα οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ στρατοπεδευόμενοι 183
these-things the Greeks the at Artemisium encamped
πυνθάνονται παρὰ πυρσῶν ἐκ Σκιάθου· πυθόμενοι δὲ
learn from beacons from Sciathus having-learned and
καὶ καταρρωδήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετορμίζοντο
also having-taken-fright from — Artemisium they-moved-anchorage
ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάξοντες μὲν τὸν Εὔριπον, λείποντες
to Chalcis to-guard indeed the Euripus leaving
δὲ ἡμεροσκόπους περὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς Εὐβοίης. τῶν δὲ
and day-watchers about the heights — of-Euboea of-the and

δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς ἐπήλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα
ten ships of-the barbarians three drove onto the reef
τὸ μεταξὺ ἐὸν Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίης, καλεόμενον
the between being Sciathus both and Magnesia called
δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ στήλην λίθου
and Myrmex there the barbarians when a-pillar of-stone
ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὁρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ
set having-brought onto the reef having-set-out themselves
ἐκ Θέρμης, ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρόν,
from Therma when for-them the in-the-way had-become clear
ἐπέπλεον πάσῃσι τῇσι νηυσί, ἕνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες
sailed-on with-all the ships eleven days having-let-pass
μετὰ τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. τὸ δὲ ἔρμα
after the king's marching-out from Therma the and reef
σφι κατηγήσατο ἐὸν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα Πάμμων Σκύριος.
to-them pointed-out being in strait most Pammon of-Scyros
πανημερὸν δὲ πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανύουσι τῆς
all-day and sailing the barbarians reach of-the
Μαγνησίης χώρης ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν
Magnesian land to Sepias both and the beach the
μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς.
between Casthanaea both city being and Sepias headland

XVI · THE COUNT OF THE HOST AND THE STORM

Herodotus reckons Xerxes' whole force at Thermopylae and Sepias, with the European levies and camp followers, at over five million men, and wonders that food sufficed. The fleet anchors off Sepias in rows, and a three-day east wind wrecks at least four hundred ships; the Athenians pray to Boreas, the Magi chant to the wind. The Greeks return to Artemisium, and fifteen stray Persian ships, among them Sandoces', sail into them and are taken.

Μέχρι μέν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλέων ἀπαθής 184
up-to indeed then this the place and Thermopylae unharmed
τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατός, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν τηνικαῦτα
both by-evils was the host and the-multitude was at-that-time
ἔτι, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὑρίσκω, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν
still as I reckoning find of-those indeed from the
νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, ἑουσέων ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκοσιέων
ships the from — Asia being seven and two-hundred
καὶ χιλιέων, τὸν μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἑκάστων τῶν ἐθνέων ἑόντα
and a-thousand the indeed original of-each the nations being
ὅμιλον τέσσερας καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδα τε
company four and twenty ten-thousands and besides a-thousand both
καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὡς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας λογιζομένοισι
and four-hundred as at two-hundred men for-those-reckoning
ἐν ἑκάστῃ νηί. ἐπεβάτευον δὲ ἐπὶ τουτέων τῶν νεῶν,
in each ship served-as-marines and on these the ships
χωρὶς ἑκάστων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐπιβατέων, Περσέων
apart-from each the native marines of-Persians
τε καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σακέων τριήκοντα ἄνδρες. οὗτος
both and of-Medes and of-Sacae thirty men this
ἄλλος ὅμιλος γίνεται τρισμύριοι καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ πρὸς
another company becomes thirty-thousand and six-thousand and besides
διηκόσιοί τε καὶ δέκα. προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτῳ καὶ τῷ
two-hundred both and ten I-shall-add and still to-this and to-the
προτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ποιήσας,
former number those from the fifty-oared(-ships) making
ὅ τι πλέον ἦν αὐτῶν ἢ ἔλασσον, ἀν' ὀγδώκοντα ἄνδρας
what ever more was of-them or less at eighty men
ἐνεῖναι. συνελέχθη δὲ ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα, ὡς καὶ πρότερον
to-be-in(-each) were-gathered and these the vessels as also before
εἰρέθη, τρισχίλια. ἤδη ὧν ἄνδρες ἂν εἶεν ἐν αὐτοῖσι
was-said three-thousand already then men — would-be in them

τέσσερες μυριάδες καὶ εἴκοσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τό ἐκ
four ten-thousands and twenty this indeed then the from
τῆς Ἀσίης ναυτικὸν ἦν, σύμπαν ἐὸν πεντήκοντα μυριάδες
— Asia navy was all being fifty ten-thousands
καὶ μία, χιλιάδες δὲ ἔπεισι ἐπὶ ταύτῃσι ἑπτὰ καὶ πρὸς
and one thousands and are-added to these seven and besides
ἑκατοντάδες ἓξ καὶ δεκάς. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ
hundreds six and a-ten of-the and foot seventy and
ἑκατὸν μυριάδες ἐγένοντο, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὀκτὼ μυριάδες.
a-hundred ten-thousands were of-the and horsemen eight ten-thousands
προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτοισι τὰς καμήλους τοὺς ἐλαύνοντας
I-shall-add and still to-these the camels those driving
Ἀραβίους καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἅρματα Λίβυας, πλῆθος ποιήσας
Arabians and those the chariots Libyans a-multitude making
δισμυρίους ἄνδρας. καὶ δὴ τό τε ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ
twenty-thousand men and indeed the both from the ships and of-the
πεζοῦ πλῆθος συντιθέμενον γίνεται διηκόσιαί τε μυριάδες καὶ
foot multitude put-together becomes two-hundred both ten-thousands and
τριήκοντα καὶ μία, καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑκατοντάδες
thirty and one and besides thousands seven and hundreds
ἓξ καὶ δεκάς. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀσίης στράτευμα
six and a-ten this indeed the from itself — of-Asia army
ἐξαναχθὲν εἴρηται, ἄνευ τε τῆς θεραπηίης τῆς ἑπομένης
brought-out has-been-told without both the service the following
καὶ τῶν σιταγωγῶν πλοίων καὶ ὅσοι ἐνέπλεον τούτοισι.
and the grain-carrying vessels and as-many-as sailed-in these
185 Τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀγόμενον στράτευμα ἔτι
the but indeed from — Europe brought army still
προσλογιστέα τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ ἐξηριθμημένῳ· δόκησιν δὲ
must-be-added to-this all the counted guess but
δεῖ λέγειν. νέας μέν νυν οἱ ἀπὸ Θρηίκης Ἕλληνες
it-is-needful to-speak ships indeed then the from Thrace Greeks

καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐπικειμενέων τῇ Θρηίκῃ
and those from the islands the lying-off — to-Thrace
παρείχοντο εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· ἐκ μέν νυν τουτέων τῶν
furnished twenty and a-hundred from indeed then these the
νεῶν ἄνδρες τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ δισμύριοι γίνονται. πεζοῦ
ships men four-thousand and twenty-thousand come-to of-foot
δὲ τὸν Θρήικες παρείχοντο καὶ Παίονες καὶ Ἐορδοὶ καὶ
and which Thracians furnished and Paeonians and Eordi and
Βοττιαῖοι καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος καὶ Βρύγοι καὶ Πίερες
Bottiaeans and the Chalcidian race and Brygi and Pierians
καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ Περραιβοὶ καὶ Ἐνιῆνες καὶ Δόλοπες
and Macedonians and Perrhaebi and Enienes and Dolopes
καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Θρηίκης τὴν
and Magnetes and Achaeans and as-many-as — of-Thrace the
παραλίην νέμονται, τούτων τῶν ἐθνέων τριήκοντα μυριάδας
coast inhabit of-these the nations thirty ten-thousands
δοκέω γενέσθαι. αὗται ὦν αἱ μυριάδες ἐκείνῃσι προστεθεῖσαι
I-think to-have-been these then the ten-thousands to-those added
τῇσι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι
the from — Asia become the all of-men the fighting
μυριάδες διηκόσιαι καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τέσσερες, ἔπεισι δὲ
ten-thousands two-hundred and sixty and four are-added and
ταύτῃσι ἑκατοντάδες ἑκκαίδεκα καὶ δεκάς.
to-these hundreds sixteen and a-ten
Τοῦ μαχίμου δὲ τούτου ἐόντος ἀριθμὸν τοσούτου, τὴν 186
the fighting and this being in-number so-great the
θεραπηίην τὴν ἑπομένην τούτοισι καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖσι
service the following these and those in the
σιταγωγοῖσι ἀκάτοισι ἐόντας καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι
grain-carrying boats being and moreover in the other
πλοίοισι τοῖσι ἅμα πλέουσι τῇ στρατιῇ, τούτους τῶν
vessels the together sailing with-the army these than-the

μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν οὐ δοκέω εἶναι ἐλάσσονας ἀλλὰ πλεῦνας.
fighting men not I-think to-be fewer but more
καὶ δή σφεας ποιέω ἴσους ἐκείνοισι εἶναι καὶ οὔτε
and indeed them I-make equal to-those to-be and neither
πλεῦνας οὔτε ἐλάσσονας οὐδέν· ἐξισούμενοι δὲ οὗτοι τῷ
more nor fewer at-all equaled and these to-the
μαχίμῳ ἐκπληροῦσι τὰς ἴσας μυριάδας ἐκείνοισι. οὕτω
fighting fill-up the equal ten-thousands to-those thus
πεντακοσίας τε μυριάδας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ χιλιάδας
five-hundred both ten-thousands and twenty and eight and thousands
τρεῖς καὶ ἑκατοντάδας δύο καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν ἤγαγε
three and hundreds two and tens two of-men led
Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου μέχρι Σηπιάδος καὶ Θερμοπυλέων.
Xerxes the (son)-of-Darius up-to Sepias and Thermopylae
187 Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ Ξέρξεω στρατεύματος
this indeed then of-the whole the of-Xerxes army
ἀριθμός, γυναικῶν δὲ σιτοποιῶν καὶ παλλακέων καὶ
number of-women and bread-making and concubines and
εὐνούχων οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀτρεκέα ἀριθμόν· οὐδ' αὖ
eunuchs no-one — could-tell exact number nor again
ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτηνέων τῶν ἀχθοφόρων
of-yoke-beasts both and of-the other beasts the burden-bearing
καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἑπομένων, οὐδ' ἂν τούτων ὑπὸ
and dogs Indian the following nor — of-these for
πλήθεος οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀριθμόν. ὥστε οὐδέν μοι θῶμα
multitude no-one — could-tell number so-that nothing to-me wonder
παρίσταται προδοῦναι τὰ ῥέεθρα τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι
comes-to-mind to-have-failed the streams of-the rivers there-are
ὧν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅκως τὰ σιτία ἀντέχρησε θῶμά μοι
of-which but rather how the provisions held-out a-wonder to-me
μυριάσι τοσαύτῃσι. εὑρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ
for-ten-thousands so-many I-find for reckoning if

χοίνικα πυρῶν ἕκαστος τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν
a-choenix of-wheat each per-the day took and nothing
πλέον, ἕνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελεομένας ἐπ᾽ ἡμέρῃ
more eleven ten-thousands of-medimni used-up on day
ἑκάστῃ καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίους τε ἄλλους μεδίμνους καὶ
each and besides three-hundred both other medimni and
τεσσεράκοντα· γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ εὐνούχοισι καὶ ὑποζυγίοισι
forty for-women and also eunuchs and yoke-beasts
καὶ κυσὶ οὐ λογίζομαι. ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἐουσέων τοσουτέων
and dogs not I-reckon of-men and being so-many
μυριάδων, κάλλεός τε εἵνεκα καὶ μεγάθεος οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν
ten-thousands of-beauty both for-the-sake and of-stature none of-them
ἀξιονικότερος ἦν αὐτοῦ Ξέρξεω ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος.
more-worthy was than-himself Xerxes to-hold this the power
Ὁ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐπείτε ὁρμηθεὶς ἔπλεε καὶ 188
the but indeed naval host when having-set-out it-sailed and
κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ
put-in of-the Magnesian land at the beach the between
Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ μὲν
Casthanaea both city being and Sepias headland the indeed
δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὅρμεον πρὸς γῇ, ἄλλαι δ᾽ ἐπ᾽
then first of-the ships were-moored to land others and behind
ἐκείνῃσι ἐπ᾽ ἀγκυρέων· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ
those at anchor as for the beach being not
μεγάλου, πρόκροσσαι ὁρμέοντο ἐς πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ
great in-rows they-were-moored to sea and up-to eight
νέας. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω, ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρῳ ἐξ
ships that indeed the night so at-once and with-daybreak out-of
αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμίης τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης ἐπέπεσέ σφι
clear-sky both and calm the sea having-boiled fell-upon them
χειμών τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ
a-storm both great and much wind east which indeed

Ἑλλησποντίην καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι.
Hellespontian call those about these the places dwelling
ὅσοι μέν νυν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον
as-many-as indeed then of-them rising learned the wind
καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὅρμου, οἳ δ' ἔφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα
and those so was mooring they and anticipated the storm
ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοί τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες
having-hauled-up the ships both themselves and survived and the ships
αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν
of-them as-many-as but of-the ships out-at-sea it-caught these indeed
ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἶπνους καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς
it-carried to Ipni called the at Pelion these and to
τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αἳ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον,
the beach some and about itself the Sepias were-wrecked
αἳ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἳ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην
some and at Meliboea city some and at Casthanaea
ἐξεβράσσοντο· ἦν τε τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον.
were-cast-ashore was and of-the storm a-thing unbearable
189 Λέγεται δὲ λόγος ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορέην ἐκ θεοπροπίου
is-told and a-story that Athenians — Boreas from an-oracle
ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφι ἄλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν
called-upon having-come to-them another oracle the
γαμβρὸν ἐπίκουρον καλέσασθαι. Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν
son-in-law as-helper to-call-on Boreas and according-to the
Ἑλλήνων λόγον ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικήν, Ὠρειθυίην τὴν
of-Greeks story has a-wife Attic Orithyia the
Ἐρεχθέος. κατὰ δὴ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι,
(daughter)-of-Erechtheus by indeed the marriage-tie this the Athenians
ὡς φάτις ὥρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοι σφίσι τὸν Βορέην
as report has-started reckoning to-them — Boreas
γαμβρὸν εἶναι, ναυλοχέοντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν Χαλκίδι ὡς
son-in-law to-be lying-at-anchor — of-Euboea at Chalcis when

ἔμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐθύοντό
they-learned rising the storm or even before this sacrificed
τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τόν τε Βορέην καὶ τὴν Ὠρειθυίην
both and called-upon — both Boreas and — Orithyia
τιμωρῆσαι σφίσι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας,
to-help them and to-destroy of-the barbarians the ships
ὡς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἄθων. εἰ μέν νυν διὰ ταῦτα
as also before about Athos whether indeed then for these-things
τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ὁρμέουσι Βορέης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν·
on-the barbarians at-anchor Boreas fell not I-can say
οἱ δ' ὦν Ἀθηναῖοι σφίσι λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν
the but at-any-rate Athenians to-them say having-helped —
Βορέην πρότερον καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ
Boreas before and then those(-things) to-have-wrought and
ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέῳ ἱδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν.
a-temple having-gone-back of-Boreas they-founded by river Ilissus
Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἱ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι 190
in this the trouble ships those fewest say
διαφθαρῆναι τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, ἄνδρας τε
to-have-been-destroyed than-four-hundred not fewer men both
ἀναριθμήτους χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἄφθονον. ὥστε
countless of-goods and a-multitude abundant so-that
Ἀμεινοκλέι τῷ Κρητίνεω ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι γηοχέοντι περὶ
to-Ameinocles the (son)-of-Cretines a-man Magnesian holding-land about
Σηπιάδα μεγάλως ἡ ναυηγίη αὕτη ἐγένετο χρηστή· ὃς πολλὰ
Sepias greatly the shipwreck this was useful who many
μὲν χρύσεα ποτήρια ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο
indeed golden cups at-a-later time washed-ashore picked-up
πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα, θησαυρούς τε τῶν Περσέων εὗρε, ἄλλα
many and silver treasures both of-the Persians found other
τε ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλετο. ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν τἆλλα
and untold goods acquired but he indeed in-other-respects

οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὑρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ
not fortunate by-finds greatly rich became there-was for
τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος.
some also this(-man) graceless misfortune grieving child-slaying
191 Σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὁλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων
of-grain-carrying and merchant-ships and of-the other vessels
διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπῆν ἀριθμός. ὥστε δείσαντες οἱ
destroyed not there-was number so-that having-feared the
στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ μή σφι κεκακωμένοισι
generals of-the naval host lest them having-been-damaged
ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοί, ἕρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων
might-attack the Thessalians a-fence high from the wreckage
περιεβάλοντο· ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς. τέλος δὲ
they-threw-around days for indeed it-stormed three at-last and
ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ καταείδοντες γόησι οἱ Μάγοι
victims both making and charming-down with-wizardry the Magi
τῷ ἀνέμῳ, πρός τε τούτοισι καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇσι
the wind to both these and — to-Thetis and to-the
Νηρηίσι θύοντες, ἔπαυσαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ, ἢ ἄλλως
Nereids sacrificing they-stopped(-it) on-the-fourth day or otherwise
κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθυον
somehow itself willing it-abated — and to-Thetis they-sacrificed
πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον. ὡς ἐκ τοῦ
having-learned from the Ionians the story that from the
χώρου τούτου ἁρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἅπασα ἡ
place this she-was-carried-off by Peleus was and all the
ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπιὰς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων Νηρηίδων.
headland the Sepian of-her both and of-the other Nereids
192 Ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυτο· τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι οἱ
it indeed then on-the-fourth day had-ceased to-the and Greeks the
ἡμεροσκόποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες
day-watchers from the heights the Euboean having-run-down

δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ᾽ ἧς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο,
on-the-second day from which the storm the first happened
ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην.
signified all the(-things) having-happened about the shipwreck
οἳ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι καὶ
they and when they-learned to-Poseidon savior having-prayed and
σπονδὰς προχέαντες τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἠπείγοντο ἐπὶ
libations having-poured-out the quickest back hastened to
τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινάς σφι ἀντιξόους
— Artemisium hoping few some to-them opposing
ἔσεσθαι νέας.
to-be ships
Οἳ μὲν δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον 193
they indeed then the second-time having-come about — Artemisium
ἐναυλόχεον, Ποσειδέωνος σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου
lay-at-anchor of-Poseidon savior the-title from this
ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε νομίζοντες. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὡς ἐπαύσατό
still even to this(-day) observing the and barbarians when ceased
τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κῦμα ἔστρωτο, κατασπάσαντες τὰς
both the wind and the wave had-been-laid having-launched the
νέας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἤπειρον, κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην
ships sailed along the mainland having-rounded and the headland
τῆς Μαγνησίης ἰθέαν ἔπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ
— of-Magnesia straight sailed into the gulf the to
Παγασέων φέροντα. ἔστι δὲ χῶρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ
Pagasae leading there-is and a-place in the gulf this
τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἔνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι
— of-Magnesia where is-said — Heracles to-have-been-left
ὑπὸ Ἰήσονος τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς
by Jason both and the comrades from the Argo
ἐπ᾽ ὕδωρ πεμφθέντα, εὖτ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἶαν
for water sent when for the fleece they-sailed to Aea

τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς
the Colchian from-there for they-were-about having-drawn-water into
τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσειν. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ οὔνομα
the open-sea to-put-out from this and to-the place name
γέγονε Ἀφέται. ἐν τούτῳ ὦν ὅρμον οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐποιεῦντο.
has-become Aphetae in this then anchorage the of-Xerxes made
194 Πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νεῶν τουτέων ἔτυχόν τε ὕσταται
fifteen but of-the ships these happened both last
πολλὸν ἐξαναχθεῖσαι καί κως κατείδον τὰς ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ
by-far having-put-out and somehow caught-sight-of the at Artemisium
τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέας. ἔδοξάν τε δὴ τὰς σφετέρας εἶναι οἱ
of-the Greeks ships thought and indeed the their-own to-be the
βάρβαροι καὶ πλέοντες ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· τῶν
barbarians and sailing fell among the enemy of-whom
ἐστρατήγεε ὁ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὕπαρχος Σανδώκης
commanded the from Cyme the Aeolian viceroy Sandoces
ὁ Θαμασίου τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος
the (son)-of-Thamasius whom indeed before this king Darius
ἐπ᾽ αἰτίῃ τοιῇδε λαβὼν ἀνεσταύρωσε ἐόντα τῶν βασιληίων
on charge such-as-this having-seized crucified being of-the royal
δικαστέων. ὁ Σανδώκης ἐπὶ χρήμασι ἄδικον δίκην ἐδίκασε.
judges — Sandoces for money unjust judgment judged
ἀνακρεμασθέντος ὦν αὐτοῦ, λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος εὗρέ
having-been-hung-up then he reckoning — Darius found
οἱ πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα ἐς
to-him more good(-deeds) than-the offenses done for
οἶκον τὸν βασιλήιον· εὑρὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρεῖος, καὶ
house the royal having-found and this — Darius and
γνοὺς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ σοφώτερα ἐργασμένος
having-recognized that more-hastily he than more-wisely having-acted
εἴη, ἔλυσε. βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρεῖον οὕτω διαφυγὼν μὴ
had-been released(-him) king indeed then Darius so having-escaped not

ἀπολέσθαι περιῆν, τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καταπλώσας
to-perish he-survived then but among the Greeks having-sailed-down
ἔμελλε οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγὼν ἔσεσθαι· ὡς γὰρ σφέας
he-was-about not the second-time escaped to-be when for them
εἶδον προσπλέοντας οἱ Ἕλληνες, μαθόντες αὐτῶν τὴν
saw sailing-toward(-them) the Greeks having-learned their the
γινομένην ἁμαρτάδα, ἐπαναχθέντες εὐπετέως σφέας εἷλον.
occurring mistake having-put-out easily them they-took
Ἐν τουτέων μιῇ Ἀρίδωλις πλέων ἥλω, τύραννος
in these one Aridolis sailing was-taken tyrant
Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίῃ, ἐν ἑτέρῃ δὲ ὁ Πάφιος
of-Alabanda the in Caria in another and the Paphian
στρατηγὸς Πενθύλος ὁ Δημονόου, ὃς ἦγε μὲν δυώδεκα
general Penthylus the (son)-of-Demonous who brought indeed twelve
νέας ἐκ Πάφου, ἀποβαλὼν δὲ σφέων τὰς ἕνδεκα τῷ
ships from Paphos having-lost but of-them the eleven in-the
χειμῶνι τῷ γενομένῳ κατὰ Σηπιάδα, μιῇ τῇ περιγενομένῃ
storm the having-happened off Sepias with-one the surviving
καταπλέων ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἥλω. τούτους οἱ Ἕλληνες
sailing-down to Artemisium was-taken these the Greeks
ἐξιστορήσαντες τὰ ἐβούλοντο πυθέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξεω
having-questioned-out the(-things) they-wished to-learn about the of-Xerxes
στρατιῆς, ἀποπέμπουσι δεδεμένους ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμόν.
army send-away bound to the of-Corinthians isthmus

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XVII · THESSALY, HALUS, AND THE PASS

Xerxes races his horses against the Thessalian cavalry's, which are left far behind. At Halus his guides tell of the Laphystian Zeus and the descendants of Athamas who may not enter the town hall; he spares their precinct. Herodotus describes the Malian gulf, Trachis, the rivers and the Asopus gorge, and the narrow pass of Thermopylae, where Xerxes camps on the Trachinian side and the Greeks hold the passage.

196 Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατός, πάρεξ
the indeed then naval the of-the barbarians host except-for
τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα νεῶν τῶν εἶπον Σανδώκεα στρατηγέειν,
the fifteen ships which I-said Sandoces to-command
ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἀφέτας. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς πορευθεὶς
arrived at Aphetae Xerxes and also the foot having-journeyed
διὰ Θεσσαλίης καὶ Ἀχαιίης ἐσβεβληκὼς ἦν καὶ δὴ
through Thessaly and Achaea having-entered was and indeed
τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιέας, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ μὲν ἄμιλλαν
on-the-third-day into Malians in Thessaly indeed a-race
ποιησάμενος ἵππων τῶν τε ἑωυτοῦ ἀποπειρώμενος καὶ
having-held of-horses the both of-himself testing and
τῆς Θεσσαλίης ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη εἴη τῶν ἐν
of-the Thessalian cavalry having-learned that best it-was of-the among
Ἕλλησι· ἔνθα δὴ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι ἐλείποντο πολλόν.
Greeks there indeed the Greek horses were-left-behind far
τῶν μέν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ποταμῶν Ὀνόχωνος μοῦνος
of-the indeed then in Thessaly rivers Onochonus alone
οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον πινόμενος· τῶν δὲ
not sufficed for-the army the stream being-drunk of-the and
ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ ποταμῶν ῥεόντων οὐδὲ ὅστις μέγιστος αὐτῶν
in Achaea rivers flowing not-even which greatest of-them
ἐστι Ἠπιδανός, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε εἰ μὴ φλαύρως.
is Apidanus not-even this held-out if not poorly

197 Ἐς Ἅλον δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιίης ἀπικομένῳ Ξέρξῃ οἱ κατηγεμόνες
at Alus and — of-Achaea having-arrived to-Xerxes the guides
τῆς ὁδοῦ βουλόμενοι τὸ πᾶν ἐξηγέεσθαι ἔλεγόν οἱ
of-the road wishing the all to-explain told him
ἐπιχώριον λόγον, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Λαφυστίου
a-local story the(-things) about the temple of-the Laphystian
Διός, ὡς Ἀθάμας ὁ Αἰόλου ἐμηχανήσατο Φρίξῳ μόρον
Zeus how Athamas the (son)-of-Aeolus contrived for-Phrixus death

σὺν Ἰνοῖ βουλεύσας, μετέπειτα δὲ ὡς ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀχαιοὶ
with Ino having-plotted afterward and how from an-oracle Achaeans
προτιθεῖσι τοῖσι ἐκείνου ἀπογόνοισι ἀέθλους τοιούσδε·
set-before the of-that(-man) descendants contests such-as-these
ὃς ἂν ᾖ τοῦ γένεος τούτου πρεσβύτατος, τούτῳ
who-ever — is of-the family this eldest to-this(-man)
ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι τοῦ λητου αὐτοὶ φυλακὰς ἔχουσι.
having-ordered to-keep-out-of the leitos themselves guards keep
λήιτον δὲ καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανήιον οἱ Ἀχαιοί. ἢν δὲ ἐσέλθῃ,
leitos and call the town-hall the Achaeans if but he-enter
οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως ἔξεισι πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι μέλλῃ· ὥς
not it-is how he-will-come-out before than to-be-sacrificed he-is-about so-that
τ᾽ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοισι πολλοὶ ἤδη τούτων τῶν μελλόντων
and still besides these many already of-these the about-to
θύσεσθαι δείσαντες οἴχοντο ἀποδράντες ἐς ἄλλην χώρην,
to-be-sacrificed having-feared were-gone having-run-away to another land
χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ὀπίσω κατελθόντες ἢν ἁλίσκωνται
of-time and advancing back having-returned if they-are-caught
ἐστέλλοντο ἐς τὸ πρυτανήιον· ὡς θύεταί τε ἐξηγέοντο
they-were-sent into the town-hall how is-sacrificed both they-explained
στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεὶς καὶ ὡς σὺν πομπῇ ἐξαχθείς.
with-garlands all covered and how with procession led-out
ταῦτα δὲ πάσχουσι οἱ Κυτισσώρου τοῦ Φρίξου παιδὸς
these-things and suffer the of-Cytissorus the of-Phrixus son
ἀπόγονοι, διότι καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρης ποιευμένων Ἀχαιῶν
descendants because a-purification of-the land making Achaeans
ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀθάμαντα τὸν Αἰόλου καὶ μελλόντων
from an-oracle Athamas the (son)-of-Aeolus and being-about
μιν θύειν ἀπικόμενος οὗτος ὁ Κυτίσσωρος ἐξ Αἴης τῆς
him to-sacrifice having-come this — Cytissorus from Aea the
Κολχίδος ἐρρύσατο, ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο τοῖσι ἐπιγενομένοισι
Colchian rescued(-him) having-done but this on-those born-after

ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε. Ξέρξης δὲ ταῦτα
from himself wrath of-the god he-cast Xerxes and these-things
ἀκούσας ὡς κατὰ τὸ ἄλσος ἐγίνετο, αὐτός τε ἔργετο αὐτοῦ
having-heard when at the grove he-was himself both kept-out-of it
καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ πάσῃ παρήγγειλε, τῶν τε Ἀθάμαντος
and to-the army all ordered of-the both of-Athamas
ἀπογόνων τὴν οἰκίην ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐσέβετο.
descendants the house alike and the precinct he-revered
198 Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ·
these-things indeed the(-things) in Thessaly and the(-things) in Achaea
ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἤιε ἐς τὴν Μηλίδα παρὰ
from and these the places he-went into the Malian(-land) along
κόλπον θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ ἄμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥηχίη ἀνὰ
a-gulf of-sea in which ebb both and flow through
πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτον ἐστὶ
all day happens about and the gulf this is
χῶρος πεδινός, τῇ μὲν εὐρὺς τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα
a-place level in-one-part indeed broad in-another and also very
στεινός· περὶ δὲ τὸν χῶρον ὄρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα
narrow about and the place mountains high and impassable
περικληίει πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχίνιαι πέτραι
shut-in all the Malian land Trachinian cliffs
καλεόμεναι. πρώτη μέν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ
called first indeed then city is on the gulf
ἰόντι ἀπὸ Ἀχαιίης Ἀντικύρη, παρ' ἣν Σπερχειὸς
for-one-going from Achaea Anticyra by which Spercheus
ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιήνων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ. ἀπὸ
river flowing from Enienes into sea empties from
δὲ τούτου διὰ εἴκοσί κου σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς τῷ
and this at twenty about stades another river to-which
οὔνομα κεῖται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθέοντα τῷ Ἡρακλέι καιομένῳ
name is-given Dyras which helping — to-Heracles burning

λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δι᾽ ἄλλων εἴκοσι
a-story is to-have-appeared from and this at other twenty
σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμός ἐστι ὃς καλέεται Μέλας.
stades another river is which is-called Melas
Τρηχὶς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ 199
Trachis and city from the Melas this river
πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατον ἐστὶ πάσης
five stades is-distant here and also widest is of-all
τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ᾽
the land this from the mountains to sea at
ἃ Τρηχὶς πεπόλισται· δισχίλιά τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια
which Trachis has-been-built two-thousand both for and twenty-thousand
πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί. τοῦ δὲ ὄρεος τὸ περικληίει
plethra of-the plain are of-the and mountain which shuts-in
τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην ἐστὶ διασφὰξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην
the land the Trachinian there-is a-ravine toward south
Τρηχῖνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει
of-Trachis through and the ravine Asopus river flows
παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην τοῦ ὄρεος.
along the foot of-the mountain
Ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην 200
there-is and another Phoenix river not great to south
τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ῥέων ἐς τὸν
of-the Asopus which from the mountains these flowing into the
Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοῖ. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοίνικα ποταμὸν στεινότατον
Asopus empties at and the Phoenix river narrowest(-it)
ἐστί· ἁμαξιτὸς γὰρ μούνη δέδμηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος
is a-cart-road for single has-been-built from and the Phoenix
ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ἐν δὲ
river fifteen stades it-is to Thermopylae in and
τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλέων κώμη τε
the between Phoenix river and Thermopylae a-village both

ἐστὶ τῇ οὔνομα Ἀνθήλη κεῖται, παρ᾽ ἣν δὴ παραρρέων
is to-which name Anthele is-given by which indeed flowing-past
ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, καὶ χῶρος περὶ αὐτὴν
the Asopus into sea empties and a-place about it
εὐρύς, ἐν τῷ Δήμητρός τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἵδρυται καὶ
wide in which of-Demeter both a-temple Amphictyonid is-founded and
ἕδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος ἱρόν.
seats are for-Amphictyons and of-himself — Amphictyon a-temple
201 Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν
king indeed then Xerxes encamped — of-Malis in
τῇ Τρηχινίῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλέεται
the Trachinian(-land) the but indeed Greeks in the passage is-called
δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων
and the place this by indeed the most Greeks
Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι.
Thermopylae by and the natives and neighbors Pylae
ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μέν νυν ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι
encamped indeed then both-sides in these the
χωρίοισι, ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὦ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον
places held-power-over and he indeed of-the(-lands) toward north wind
ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχῖνος, οἳ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον
lying of-all up-to Trachis they and of-those toward south
καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἠπείρου.
and midday tending the(-parts) on this the mainland

XVIII · THE FIRST DAYS AT THERMOPYLAE

At Thermopylae the Greek contingents are listed city by city, with the Opuntian Locrians and a thousand Phocians called in, and Leonidas brings his three hundred Spartans and the suspect Thebans. The Peloponnesians would retreat, but the

Greeks stay and send for help. A Persian scout sees the Spartans combing their hair, and Demaratus explains it. After four days the Medes and Cissians attack, then the Immortals; both fail in the narrows.

ἦσαν δὲ οἵδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσην ἐν τούτῳ 202
were and these of-Greeks the awaiting the Persian in this
τῷ χώρῳ, Σπαρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὁπλῖται καὶ Τεγεητέων
the place of-Spartans both three-hundred hoplites and of-Tegeans
καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων, ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ
and of-Mantineans a-thousand half of-each from Orchomenus
τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίης εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς
and — of-Arcadia twenty and a-hundred and from the rest-of
Ἀρκαδίης χίλιοι· τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου
Arcadia a-thousand so-many indeed of-Arcadians from and Corinth
τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλειοῦντος διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων
four-hundred and from Phlius two-hundred and of-Mycenaeans
ὀγδώκοντα. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρῆσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ
eighty these indeed from Peloponnese were-present from and
Βοιωτῶν Θεσπιέων τε ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι.
Boeotians of-Thespians both seven-hundred and of-Thebans four-hundred
Πρὸς τούτοισι ἐπίκλητοι ἐγένοντο Λοκροί τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι 203
besides these summoned were Locrians both the Opuntians
πανστρατιῇ καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφέας οἱ
in-full-force and of-Phocians a-thousand themselves for them the
Ἕλληνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ὡς αὐτοὶ
Greeks called-in saying through messengers that they
μὲν ἥκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν
indeed had-come forerunners of-the others the and rest of-the
συμμάχων προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην, ἡ θάλασσά τέ
allies expected every were day the sea and
σφι εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρεομένη καὶ
for-them was on guard by Athenians both watched and

Αἰγινητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων,
Aeginetans and those to the naval host appointed
καί σφι εἴη δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα
and to-them was terrible nothing not for a-god to-be the(-one) advancing
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀλλ᾽ ἄνθρωπον, εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα οὐδὲ
upon — Greece but a-man to-be and mortal none nor
ἔσεσθαι τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη,
to-be to-whom evil from the-beginning being-born not was-mingled
τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοισι αὐτῶν μέγιστα. ὀφείλειν ὦν καὶ τὸν
to-the and greatest of-them greatest(-evils) ought then also the(-one)
ἐπελαύνοντα, ὡς ἐόντα θνητόν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν
marching-against(-them) as being mortal from the glory to-fall
ἄν. οἳ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβοήθεον ἐς τὴν Τρηχῖνα.
— they and these-things learning went-to-help to — Trachis
204 Τούτοισι ἦσαν μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ
to-these were indeed then also other generals by
πόλιας ἑκάστων, ὁ δὲ θωμαζόμενος μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς
cities of-each the but admired most and of-all
τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεόμενος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης
the army leading Lacedaemonian was Leonidas
ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω τοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδεω τοῦ
the (son)-of-Anaxandrides the (son)-of-Leon the (son)-of-Eurycratides the
Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυκράτεος τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ
(son)-of-Anaxandrus the (son)-of-Eurycrates the (son)-of-Polydorus the
Ἀλκαμένεος τοῦ Τηλέκλου τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω
(son)-of-Alcamenes the (son)-of-Teleclus the (son)-of-Archelaus the (son)-of-Hegesilaus
τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λεωβώτεω τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἥγιος
the (son)-of-Doryssus the (son)-of-Leobotes the (son)-of-Echestratus the (son)-of-Agis
τοῦ Εὐρυσθένεος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ
the (son)-of-Eurysthenes the (son)-of-Aristodemus the (son)-of-Aristomachus the

Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὕλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησάμενος τὴν
(son)-of-Cleodaeus the (son)-of-Hyllus the (son)-of-Heracles having-gained the
βασιληίην ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου.
kingship in Sparta from unexpected(-quarter)
Διξῶν γάρ οἱ ἐόντων πρεσβυτέρων ἀδελφεῶν, Κλεομένεός 205
two for to-him being elder brothers Cleomenes
τε καὶ Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φροντίδος περὶ τῆς
both and Dorieus he-had-been-driven-away from-the thought about the
βασιληίης. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ἄπαιδος ἔρσενος
kingship having-died but Cleomenes childless male
γόνου, Δωριέος τε οὐκέτι ἐόντος ἀλλὰ τελευτήσαντος καὶ
offspring Dorieus and no-longer being but having-ended also
τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ, οὕτω δὴ ἐς Λεωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ
this(-one) in Sicily so indeed to Leonidas went-up the
βασιληίη, καὶ διότι πρότερος ἐγεγόνεε Κλεομβρότου
kingship and because earlier he-had-been-born than-Cleombrotus
(οὗτος γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδεω παῖς) καὶ δὴ καὶ
this(-one) for was youngest of-Anaxandrides son and indeed also
εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. ὃς τότε ἤιε ἐς Θερμοπύλας
he-had of-Cleomenes daughter who then went to Thermopylae
ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκοσίους καὶ
having-chosen men both the established three-hundred and
τοῖσι ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἐόντες· παραλαβὼν δὲ ἀπίκετο
to-whom happened sons being having-taken-along and he-arrived
καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος εἶπον,
also of-Thebans those into the number having-reckoned I-said
τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. τοῦδε δὲ
whom commanded Leontiades the (son)-of-Eurymachus of-this and
εἵνεκα τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούνους
for-the-sake these eagerness made Leonidas alone
Ἑλλήνων παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο
of-Greeks to-take-along because them greatly it-had-been-charged

μηδίζειν· παρεκάλεε ὧν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, θέλων εἰδέναι
to-medize he-summoned(-them) then to the war wishing to-know
εἴτε συμπέμψουσι εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος
whether they-will-send-with(-him) or also will-renounce in the open
τὴν Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίην. οἳ δὲ ἀλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον.
the of-Greeks alliance they and thinking-otherwise sent
206 Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρώτους ἀπέπεμψαν
these indeed the about Leonidas first sent-off
Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὁρῶντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι
Spartans so-that these seeing the other allies
στρατεύωνται μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἢν αὐτοὺς
might-march nor also these might-medize if them
πυνθάνωνται ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δέ, Κάρνεια γάρ
they-learn delaying after(-that) but Carnea for
σφι ἦν ἐμποδών, ἔμελλον ὁρτάσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς
to-them was in-the-way they-were-about having-kept-the-feast and guards
λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ κατὰ τάχος βοηθέειν πανδημεί.
having-left in — Sparta with speed to-help in-full-force
ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνένωντο καὶ αὐτοὶ
so and also the rest of-the allies intended also themselves
ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσειν· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὠυτὸ Ὀλυμπιὰς
other such(-things) to-do was for at the-same(-time) Olympiad
τούτοισι τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα· οὔκων δοκέοντες
with-these the affairs coinciding not-then thinking
κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθήσεσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι
with speed so to-be-decided the at Thermopylae
πόλεμον ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους.
war they-sent the forerunners
207 Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενένωντο ποιήσειν· οἱ δὲ ἐν
these indeed then so intended to-do the but at
Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς
Thermopylae Greeks when near came to-the pass

ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωδέοντες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς.
the Persian dreading deliberated about departure
τοῖσι μέν νυν ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἐδόκεε ἐλθοῦσι ἐς
to-the indeed then other Peloponnesians it-seemed having-gone to
Πελοπόννησον τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης
Peloponnese the Isthmus to-hold under guard Leonidas
δέ, Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχεόντων τῇ γνώμῃ
but of-Phocians and of-Locrians being-indignant at-the opinion
ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψηφίζετο πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους
this there both to-stay voted to-send and messengers
ἐς τὰς πόλιας κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθέειν, ὡς ἐόντων
to the cities bidding them to-come-to-help since being
αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τὸν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι.
they few army the of-Medes to-ward-off
Ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατάσκοπον 208
these-things deliberating they sent Xerxes a-spy
ἱππέα ἰδέσθαι ὁκόσοι εἰσὶ καὶ ὅ τι ποιέοιεν. ἀκηκόεε
horseman to-see how-many they-are and what ever they-were-doing he-had-heard
δὲ ἔτι ἐὼν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ὡς ἁλισμένη εἴη ταύτῃ στρατιὴ
and still being in Thessaly that gathered was there an-army
ὀλίγη, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὡς εἴησαν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ
small and the leaders that were Lacedaemonians both and
Λεωνίδης ἐὼν γένος Ἡρακλείδης. ὡς δὲ προσήλασε ὁ ἱππεὺς
Leonidas being by-race a-Heraclid when and rode-up the horseman
πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηεῖτό τε καὶ κατώρα πᾶν μὲν οὔ
to the camp he-viewed both and looked-over all indeed not
τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος,
the camp those for inside posted of-the wall
τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἷά τε ἦν
which having-set-up they-held under guard not possible — was
κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε, τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος
to-see-clearly he but those outside learned to-whom before the wall

τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειτο· ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι
the arms lay happened and this the time Lacedaemonians
ἔξω τεταγμένοι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν
outside posted those indeed then he-saw exercising of-the
ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενιζομένους. ταῦτα δὴ
men those and the hair combing these-things indeed
θεώμενος ἐθώμαζε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ
beholding he-marveled and the number learned having-learned and
πάντα ἀτρεκέως ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω κατ᾽ ἡσυχίην· οὔτε γάρ
all exactly he-rode-away back at leisure neither for
τις ἐδίωκε ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς· ἀπελθών τε
anyone pursued neglect and he-met-with great having-gone-back and
ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξην τά περ ὀπώπεε πάντα.
he-told to Xerxes what indeed he-had-seen all
209 Ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐόν,
hearing but Xerxes not could guess the being(-truth)
ὅτι παρασκευάζοιντο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοί τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες
that they-were-preparing as about-to-perish both and to-destroy
κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ᾽ αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο
to-the-utmost ability but to-him laughable for they-appeared
ποιέειν, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος ἐόντα
to-do he-sent-for Demaratus the (son)-of-Ariston being
ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης
in the camp having-come and him asked Xerxes
ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιεύμενον πρὸς τῶν
each of-these wishing to-learn the being-done by the
Λακεδαιμονίων. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Ἤκουσας μὲν καὶ πρότερόν
Lacedaemonians he and said you-heard indeed also before
μευ, εὖτε ὁρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
me when we-were-setting-out against — Greece about the men
τούτων, ἀκούσας δὲ γέλωτά με ἔθευ λέγοντα τῇ περ
these having-heard and laughter me you-made saying how indeed

ὥρων ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα· ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείην
I-saw would-turn-out affairs these for-me for the truth
ἀσκέειν ἀντία σεῦ βασιλεῦ ἀγὼν μέγιστος ἐστί. ἄκουσον δὲ
to-practice before you king a-contest greatest is hear but
καὶ νῦν· οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπίκαται μαχησόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς
also now the men these have-come to-fight us for the
ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γάρ σφι ἔχων
entrance and these-things they-are-preparing a-custom for to-them holding
οὕτω ἐστί· ἐπεὰν μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς
so is when they-are-about to-risk the life then the
κεφαλὰς κοσμέονται. ἐπίστασο δέ, εἰ τούτους γε καὶ τὸ
heads they-adorn know but if these at-least and the(-part)
ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψεαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος
remaining in Sparta you-will-subdue there-is no other nation
ἀνθρώπων τὸ σὲ βασιλεῦ ὑπομενέει χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον·
of-men which you king will-await hands raising-against(-you)
νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιληίην τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν
now for against a-kingdom both and fairest city of-those among
Ἕλλησι προσφέρεαι καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους." κάρτα τε δὴ
Greeks you-are-advancing and men best very and indeed
Ξέρξῃ ἄπιστα ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα
to-Xerxes incredible appeared the(-things) said to-be and a-second-time
ἐπειρώτα ὅντινα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι ἐόντες τῇ ἑωυτοῦ
he-asked in-what way so-many being with-the of-himself
στρατιῇ μαχήσονται. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς
army they-will-fight he and said O king me treat as
ἀνδρὶ ψεύστῃ, ἢν μὴ ταῦτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω."
a-man liar if not these-things to-you so turn-out as I say
Ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξην. τέσσερας μὲν
these-things saying not he-persuaded — Xerxes four indeed
δὴ παρεξῆκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεί σφεας ἀποδρήσεσθαι·
then he-let-pass days expecting always them to-run-away

πέμπτῃ δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἀλλά οἱ ἐφαίνοντο
on-the-fifth but since not they-departed but to-him appeared
ἀναιδείῃ τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπ᾽
by-shamelessness both and folly using to-stay he-sends against
αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθείς, ἐντειλάμενος
them Medes both and Cissians angered having-ordered
σφέας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. ὡς δ᾽
them having-taken-alive to-bring into sight the of-himself when and
ἐσέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἔπιπτον
fell charging upon the Greeks the Medes fell
πολλοί, ἄλλοι δ᾽ ἐπεσήισαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπηλαύνοντο, καίπερ
many others and came-on and not were-driven-off though
μεγάλως προσπταίοντες. δῆλον δ᾽ ἐποίευν παντί τεῳ καὶ
greatly stumbling clear and they-made to-every one and
οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλέι, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν,
not least to-himself king that many indeed persons there-were
ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι᾽ ἡμέρης.
few but men was and the engagement through day
211 Ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιείποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν
when but the Medes roughly were-handled there these indeed
ὑπεξήισαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήισαν, τοὺς ἀθανάτους
withdrew the and Persians having-taken-over came-on whom immortals
ἐκάλεε βασιλεύς, τῶν ἦρχε Ὑδάρνης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε
called king whom commanded Hydarnes as indeed these at-least
εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι. ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον
easily going-to-finish(-it) when but also these engaged
τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς
with-the Greeks nothing more they-won than-the army the
Μηδικῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἅτε ἐν στεινοπόρῳ τε χώρῳ
Median but the same(-things) as in narrow-passage both place
μαχόμενοι καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεώμενοι ἤ περ οἱ
fighting and spears shorter using than indeed the

Ἕλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθεϊ χρήσασθαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι
Greeks and not being-able multitude to-use Lacedaemonians
δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ
but fought worthily of-account other both displaying among not
ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν
knowing-how to-fight knowing-well and whenever they-turned
τὰ νῶτα, ἁλέες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι
the backs in-a-body they-would-flee seemingly the and barbarians
ὁρῶντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήισαν, οἳ
seeing(-them) fleeing with-shout both and din came-on they
δ' ἂν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι
and — being-overtaken turned-round facing to-be the
βαρβάροισι, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθεϊ
barbarians turning-about and they-struck-down in-multitude
ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων· ἔπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν
countless of-the Persians fell and also of-themselves
τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνέατο
the Spartans there few when but nothing could
παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου πειρώμενοι καὶ κατὰ
gain the Persians of-the entrance trying both by
τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω.
companies and in-every-way attacking they-marched-away back
Ἐν ταύτῃσι τῇσι προσόδοισι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα 212
in these the assaults of-the battle is-said king
θηεύμενον τρὶς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου δείσαντα
watching thrice to-have-leapt-up from the throne having-feared
περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. τότε μὲν οὕτω ἠγωνίσαντο, τῇ δ'
for the army then indeed so they-contended on-the and
ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον. ἅτε γὰρ
next-day the barbarians nothing better contended as for
ὀλίγων ἐόντων, ἐλπίσαντες σφέας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε
few being having-hoped them to-be-disabled-by-wounds both

καὶ οὐκ οἵους τε ἔσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι
and not able — to-be any-longer hands to-raise-against(-them)
συνέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξις τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα
they-engaged the but Greeks by ranks both and by nations
κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρεϊ ἕκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν
marshaled were and in turn each fought except
Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλάξοντες τὴν
Phocians these and on the mountain were-posted to-guard the
ἀτραπόν. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν εὕρισκον ἀλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι
path when and nothing found different the Persians
ἢ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνώρων, ἀπήλαυνον.
than on-the day-before they-saw they-marched-away

XIX · THE PATH AND THE LAST STAND

Ephialtes of Malis shows Xerxes the mountain path, and Hydarnes leads his troops over it by night; fearing the Phocian guard are Spartans, he learns they are not, and the Phocians, thinking themselves the target, flee to the summit while the Persians pass them by. Warned by the seer Megistias and by deserters, most of the allies leave; Leonidas, remembering an oracle that a king must die or Sparta fall, stays with his Spartans and the Thespians, and keeps the unwilling Thebans. In the final battle the Spartans fight with swords and hands, Leonidas falls, and they make a last stand on the hillock.

213 Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὅ τι χρήσηται τῷ παρεόντι
being-at-a-loss and king what ever he-should-do-with the present
πρήγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεὺς
affair Ephialtes the (son)-of-Eurydemus a-man Malian
ἦλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους· ὃς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος
came to-him into speech who great something from king
δοκέων οἴσεσθαι ἔφρασέ τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ
thinking to-win told both the path the through

τοῦ ὄρεος φέρουσαν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς
the mountain leading to Thermopylae and destroyed those
ταύτῃ ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων. ὕστερον δὲ δείσας
there having-stood-their-ground of-Greeks later and having-feared
Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καί οἱ φυγόντι
Lacedaemonians he-fled to Thessaly and for-him having-fled
ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην
by the Pylagori of-the Amphictyons into the Pylaea
συλλεγομένων ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον,
gathering silver was-proclaimed in-time and later
κατῆλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντικύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω ἀνδρὸς
he-came-back for to Anticyra he-died by Athenades a-man
Τρηχινίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλτεα
Trachinian — and Athenades this killed indeed Ephialtes
δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὄπισθε λόγοισι
for another cause which I in the later accounts
σημανέω, ἐτιμήθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν ἧσσον.
will-signify was-honored however by Lacedaemonians nothing less
Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε, ἔστι δὲ 214
Ephialtes indeed so later than-these died there-is and
ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὡς Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω ἀνὴρ
another told story that Onetes both the (son)-of-Phanagoras a-man
Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδαλλὸς Ἀντικυρεὺς εἰσὶ οἱ εἴπαντες πρὸς
Carystian and Corydallus an-Anticyrean are those having-spoken to
βασιλέα τούτους τοὺς λόγους καὶ περιηγησάμενοι τὸ ὄρος
king these the words and having-guided-around the mountain
τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστός. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ
the Persians in-no-way to-me-at-least credible this indeed for
τῷδε χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγόροι
by-this it-is-needful to-judge that the of-the Greeks Pylagori
ἐπεκήρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὀνήτῃ τε καὶ Κορυδαλλῷ ἀργύριον ἀλλ'
proclaimed not on Onetes both and Corydallus silver but

ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτῃ τῷ Τρηχινίῳ, πάντως κου τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον
on Ephialtes the Trachinian altogether perhaps the most-exact
πυθόμενοι· τοῦτο δὲ φεύγοντα Ἐπιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην
having-learned this and fleeing Ephialtes this the charge
οἴδαμεν. εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐὼν μὴ Μηλιεὺς ταύτην
we-know might-know indeed for — even being not a-Malian this
τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὡμιληκὼς
the path Onetes if with-the land much having-consorted
εἴη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιάλτης γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ περιηγησάμενος τὸ
were but Ephialtes for is the(-one) having-guided-around the
ὄρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπόν, τοῦτον αἴτιον γράφω.
mountain by the path this(-man) guilty I-write
215 Ξέρξης δέ, ἐπεὶ ἤρεσε τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Ἐπιάλτης
Xerxes and since pleased(-him) what undertook — Ephialtes
κατεργάσασθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἔπεμπε Ὑδάρνεα
to-accomplish at-once overjoyed becoming sent Hydarnes
καὶ τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ὑδάρνης· ὁρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχνων
and those-whom commanded Hydarnes they-set-out and about of-lamps
ἁφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεῦρον
lighting from the camp the and path this discovered
μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλιέες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσι
indeed the native Malians having-discovered and to-Thessalians
κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας, τότε ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες φράξαντες
they-guided(-it) against Phocians then when the Phocians having-fenced
τείχεϊ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου· ἔκ τε
with-a-wall the pass were in shelter from-the war from and
τόσου δὴ κατεδέδεκτο ἐοῦσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιεῦσι.
so-long indeed it-had-been-shown-to-be being nothing useful to-Malians
216 Ἔχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὕτη· ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ
is and thus the path this begins indeed from the Asopus
ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγος ῥέοντος, οὔνομα δὲ τῷ
river the through the ravine flowing name and to-the

ὄρεϊ τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τὠυτὸ κεῖται, Ἀνόπαια· τείνει
mountain this and to-the path the-same is-given Anopaea stretches
δὲ ἡ Ἀνόπαια αὕτη κατὰ ῥάχιν τοῦ ὄρεος, λήγει δὲ κατά
and the Anopaea this along the-ridge of-the mountain ends and at
τε Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν, πρώτην ἐοῦσαν τῶν Λοκρίδων πρὸς
both Alpenus city first being of-the Locrian(-towns) toward
τῶν Μηλιέων, καὶ κατὰ Μελαμπύγου τε καλεόμενον λίθον
the Malians and at of-Melampygus both called rock
καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἕδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ στεινότατον ἐστί.
and at of-Cercopes seats where also the narrowest(-part) is
Κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσαν οἱ 217
by this indeed the path and so being the
Πέρσαι, τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες, ἐπορεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν
Persians the Asopus having-crossed journeyed all the
νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες ὄρεα τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν
night on right indeed having mountains the of-Oetaeans on
ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ Τρηχινίων. ἠώς τε δὴ διέφαινε
left and the(-mountains) of-Trachinians dawn and indeed was-appearing
καὶ οἳ ἐγένοντο ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ ὄρεος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο
and they came on the-summit of-the mountain at and this
τοῦ ὄρεος ἐφύλασσον, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται,
of-the mountain were-guarding as also before by-me has-been-said
Φωκέων χίλιοι ὁπλῖται, ῥυόμενοί τε τὴν σφετέρην χώρην
of-Phocians a-thousand hoplites protecting both the their-own land
καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν ἀτραπόν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κάτω ἐσβολὴ
and watching the path the indeed for lower pass
ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἴρηται· τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὄρεος
was-guarded by those it-has-been-said the but through the mountain
ἀτραπὸν ἐθελονταὶ Φωκέες ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφύλασσον.
path volunteers Phocians having-undertaken to-Leonidas guarded

218 Ἔμαθον δὲ σφέας οἱ Φωκέες ὧδε ἀναβεβηκότας·
learned and them the Phocians thus having-come-up
ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ ὄρος πᾶν ἐὸν
going-up for were-unseen the Persians the mountain all being
δρυῶν ἐπίπλεον. ἦν μὲν δὴ νηνεμίη, ψόφου δὲ γινομένου
with-oaks full was indeed then calm noise and arising
πολλοῦ, ὡς οἰκὸς ἦν φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι
great as likely was of-leaves strewn under the
ποσί, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὅπλα,
feet up both ran the Phocians and put-on the arms
καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρῆσαν. ὡς δὲ εἶδον ἄνδρας
and at-once the barbarians were-at-hand when and they-saw men
ἐνδυομένους ὅπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδένα
putting-on arms in wonder they-were expecting for no-one
σφι φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξοον ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῷ. ἐνθαῦτα
to-them to-appear opposing they-met-with an-army there
Ὑδάρνης καταρρωδήσας μὴ οἱ Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
Hydarnes having-taken-fright lest the Phocians be Lacedaemonians
εἴρετο Ἐπιάλτην ὁποδαπὸς εἴη ὁ στρατός, πυθόμενος δὲ
asked Ephialtes of-what-country was the army having-learned and
ἀτρεκέως διέτασσε τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ Φωκέες
exactly he-drew-up the Persians as for battle the and Phocians
ὡς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι,
when they-were-struck by-the arrows many both and thick
οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι
were-gone fleeing to of-the mountain the peak knowing
ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὁρμήθησαν ἀρχήν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο
that against them they-had-set-out in-the-first-place and they-had-prepared
ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ
as about-to-perish these indeed then these-things thought the but

ἀμφὶ Ἐπιάλτην καὶ Ὑδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα
about Ephialtes and Hydarnes Persians of-Phocians indeed no
λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἳ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ ὄρος κατὰ τάχος.
account made they and went-down the mountain with speed
Τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον μὲν 219
to-the and at Thermopylae being of-Greeks first indeed
ὁ μάντις Μεγιστίης ἐσιδὼν ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἔφρασε τὸν
the seer Megistias having-looked into the sacrifices told the
μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι ἅμα ἠοῖ σφι θάνατον, ἐπὶ
about to-be at-the-same(-time)-as dawn for-them death after(-him)
δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν Περσέων
and also deserters were those having-reported of-the Persians
τὴν περίοδον. οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν, τρίτοι
the circuit these indeed still by-night signified third
δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἤδη
and the day-watchers having-run-down from the heights already
διαφαινούσης ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες,
appearing day there deliberated the Greeks
καί σφεων ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γνῶμαι· οἳ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔων
and of-them were-divided the opinions some indeed for not allowed
τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἳ δὲ ἀντέτεινον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο
the post to-leave others but argued-against after and this
διακριθέντες οἳ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδασθέντες
having-separated some indeed departed and having-scattered
κατὰ πόλις ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα
by cities each turned others and of-them together-with
Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο.
Leonidas to-stay there prepared
Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτός σφεας ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, 220
is-said and also that himself them sent-away Leonidas
μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων
lest they-perish caring for-himself but also of-Spartans

τοῖσι παρεοῦσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν
those present not to-be honorably to-leave the post
ἐς τὴν ἦλθον φυλάξοντες ἀρχήν. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον
to which they-came to-guard in-the-first-place this-way also rather
τὴν γνώμην πλεῖστος εἰμί, Λεωνίδην, ἐπείτε ᾔσθετο
in-the opinion most I-am Leonidas when he-perceived
τοὺς συμμάχους ἐόντας ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας
the allies being unwilling and not wishing
συνδιακινδυνεύειν, κελεῦσαι σφέας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ
to-run-the-risk-with(-him) to-have-bidden them to-depart for-himself
δὲ ἀπιέναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν· μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος
but to-go-away not well to-be staying and there fame
μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίη οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο.
great was-left and the of-Sparta prosperity not was-blotted-out
ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι
it-had-been-oracled for by the Pythia to-the Spartans
χρεωμένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς
consulting about the war this at-once at beginning
ἐγειρομένου, ἢ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ
rising either Lacedaemon laid-waste to-become by

τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τὴν βασιλέα σφέων ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα
the barbarians or the king of-them to-perish these-things
δέ σφι ἐν ἔπεσι ἑξαμέτροισι χρᾷ λέγοντα ὧδε.
and to-them in verses hexameter it-oracles saying thus

ὑμῖν δ', ὦ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχόροιο,
for-you but O of-Sparta dwellers of-wide-spaces
ἢ μέγα ἄστυ ἐρικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσείδῃσι
either great town glorious by men Perseid
πέρθεται, ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐχί, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους δὲ γενέθλης
is-sacked or it indeed not from Heracles but race
πενθήσει βασιλῆ φθίμενον Λακεδαίμονος οὖρος.
will-mourn a-king perished of-Lacedaemon the-boundary
οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων
not for him of-bulls will-check the-might nor of-lions
ἀντιβίην· Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδέ ἑ φημί
in-fight of-Zeus for he-has the-might nor him I-say
σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσηται.
will-be-checked before of-these one through all he-tears(-asunder)

ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον
these-things both indeed considering Leonidas and wishing
κλέος καταθέσθαι μούνων Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς
glory to-lay-up alone of-Spartans to-have-sent-away the
συμμάχους μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ διενειχθέντας οὕτω ἀκόσμως
allies rather than in-opinion having-differed so disorderly
οἴχεσθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους.
to-be-gone those going
Μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου 221
evidence and to-me also this not least of-this
πέρι γέγονε, ὅτι καὶ τὸν μάντιν ὃς εἵπετο τῇ στρατιῇ
about has-been that also the seer who followed the army

ταύτῃ, Μεγιστίην τὸν Ἀκαρνῆνα, λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ
this Megistias the Acarnanian said to-be the(-things)
ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τοῦτον εἴπαντα ἐκ τῶν
of-old from Melampus this(-man) having-told from the
ἱρῶν τὰ μέλλοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν, φανερός ἐστι
sacrifices the(-things) about to-them to-befall clear is
Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων, ἵνα μὴ συναπόληταί σφι. ὁ δὲ
Leonidas sending-away so-that not he-perish-with them he but
ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέλιπε, τὸν δὲ παῖδα
being-sent-away himself indeed not left the but son
συστρατευόμενον, ἐόντα οἱ μουνογενέα, ἀπέπεμψε.
serving-with(-him) being to-him only-begotten he-sent-away

222 Οἱ μέν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποπεμπόμενοι οἴχοντό τε
the indeed then allies the being-sent-away were-gone both
ἀπιόντες καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ, Θεσπιέες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι
departing and obeyed Leonidas Thespians but and Thebans
κατέμειναν μοῦνοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι. τούτων δὲ
remained alone with Lacedaemonians of-these and
Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι· κατεῖχε
Thebans indeed unwilling stayed and not wishing held
γὰρ σφέας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος· Θεσπιέες
for them Leonidas in of-hostages account keeping Thespians
δὲ ἑκόντες μάλιστα, οἳ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην
but willing most who not said having-left Leonidas
καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες
and those with him to-depart but having-remained
συναπέθανον. ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω.
died-with(-them) commanded and them Demophilus (son)-of-Diadromes

223 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδὰς ἐποιήσατο,
Xerxes and when the-sun having-risen libations made
ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθώρην
having-waited time until of-market perhaps most filling

πρόσοδον ἐποιέετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω οὕτω·
an-approach made also for it-had-been-enjoined by Ephialtes so
ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὄρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρη τε ἐστὶ καὶ
from for the mountain the descent shorter both is and
βραχύτερος ὁ χῶρος πολλὸν ἢ περ ἡ περίοδός τε καὶ
briefer the distance by-much than indeed the circuit both and
ἀνάβασις. οἵ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην προσήισαν,
ascent the both indeed barbarians the about Xerxes came-on
καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον
and the about Leonidas Greeks as the to death going-out
ποιεύμενοι, ἤδη πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήισαν
making already much more than at beginning sallied-forth
ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος
into the wider(-part) of-the neck the indeed for defense of-the wall
ἐφυλάσσετο, οἳ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες
was-guarded they and through the former days withdrawing
ἐς τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν
into the narrows fought then but engaging outside the
στεινῶν ἔπιπτον πλήθεϊ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὄπισθε
narrows fell in-multitude many of-the barbarians behind
γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστιγας ἐρράπιζον
for the leaders of-the companies having whips flogged
πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν
every man always to the front urging-on many indeed
δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο,
then fell-in of-them into the sea and were-destroyed
πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες κατεπατέοντο ζωοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων·
by-much and yet more were-trampled-down alive by each-other
ἦν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἅτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι
was and account none of-the perishing as for knowing
τὸν μέλλοντα σφίσι ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιιόντων
the about to-them to-be death from those going-round

τὸ ὄρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον
the mountain they-displayed of-strength as-much-as they-had greatest
ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρεώμενοί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες.
against the barbarians reckless both and frenzied
224 Δόρατα μέν νυν τοῖσι πλέοσι αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα ἤδη ἐτύγχανε
spears indeed then to-the most of-them at-that-time already happened
κατεηγότα, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας.
broken they and with-the swords dispatched the Persians
καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενόμενος
and Leonidas both in this the toil falls a-man having-proved
ἄριστος καὶ ἕτεροι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων,
best and others with him famous of-Spartans
τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ
of-whom I as of-men worthy having-proved learned the
οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἁπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων.
names I-learned and also of-all the three-hundred
καὶ δὴ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ
and indeed of-Persians fall there others both many and
ὀνομαστοί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες Ἀβροκόμης
famous among and indeed also of-Darius two sons Abrocomes
τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης
both and Hyperanthes from the of-Artanes daughter Phrataguna
γεγονότες Δαρείῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέος
born to-Darius — and Artanes of-Darius indeed of-the king
ἦν ἀδελφεός, Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος παῖς· ὃς καὶ
was brother of-Hystaspes and the (son)-of-Arsames son who also
ἐκδιδοὺς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείῳ τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν
giving-in-marriage the daughter to-Darius the house all the
ἑωυτοῦ ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μούνης οἱ ἐούσης ταύτης τέκνου.
of-himself gave-with(-her) as only to-him being this child

Ξέρξεώ τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφεοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχόμενοι, 225
of-Xerxes and indeed two brothers there fall fighting
καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω Περσέων τε καὶ
and over the corpse the of-Leonidas of-Persians both and
Λακεδαιμονίων ὠθισμὸς ἐγίνετο πολλός, ἐς ὃ τοῦτόν
of-Lacedaemonians a-pushing was great up-to which this(-one)
τε ἀρετῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς
both by-valor the Greeks dragged-away and routed the
ἐναντίους τετράκις. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὗ οἱ
opponents four-times this and lasted until which those
σὺν Ἐπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὡς δὲ τούτους ἤκειν
with Ephialtes came-up when and these to-have-come
ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος·
learned the Greeks from-then already was-altered the struggle
ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ στεινὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ
into both for the narrow(-part) of-the road they-withdrew back and
παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐλθόντες ἵζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν
having-passed the wall having-come they-sat on the hillock
πάντες ἁλέες οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνὸς
all in-a-body the others except Thebans the and hillock
ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἕστηκε
is in the entrance where now the stone lion stands
ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους
for Leonidas in this them the place defending-themselves
μαχαίρῃσι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ
with-daggers which of-them happened still surviving and
χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες,
with-hands and with-mouths buried the barbarians shooting
οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίης ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος
some indeed from in-front having-followed and the defense of-the wall
συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθεν περισταδόν.
having-thrown-down others but having-gone-around from-all-sides standing-around

Dieneces says they will fight in the shade of the Persian arrows. Epitaphs mark the dead and the seer Megistias. Aristodemus, sent away with eye disease, returns to disgrace, and Pantites hangs himself. The Thebans surrender and are branded. Demaratus advises seizing Cythera, but Achaemenes objects and Xerxes agrees with him. Xerxes has Leonidas' head impaled, and Herodotus tells how Demaratus first warned Sparta with a message hidden beneath the wax of a tablet.

226 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιέων τοιούτων γενομένων ὅμως
Lacedaemonians and also Thespians such having-proved nevertheless
λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἄριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης· τὸν
is-said a-man best to-have-been Spartan Dieneces him
τόδε φασὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι σφέας τοῖσι
this they-say to-have-said the word before than to-engage them with-the
Μήδοισι, πυθόμενον πρός τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὡς ἐπεὰν οἱ
Medes having-learned from one of-the Trachinians that when the
βάρβαροι ἀπιέωσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθεος
barbarians let-fly the arrows the sun by the multitude
τῶν ὀιστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι· τοσοῦτο πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἶναι. τὸν
of-the arrows they-hide so-great a-multitude of-them to-be he
δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοισι εἰπεῖν ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιεύμενον
and not dismayed at-these to-have-said in disregard holding
τὸ Μήδων πλῆθος, ὡς πάντα σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος
the of-Medes multitude that all to-them good(-news) the Trachinian
ξεῖνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον
stranger brought if hiding the Medes the sun
ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ.
in shade would-be against them the battle and not in sun
227 Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἔπεα φασὶ Διηνέκεα
these-things indeed and other of-such-kind words they-say Dieneces
τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον
the Lacedaemonian to-have-left as-memorials after and this(-man)

ἀριστεῦσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφεοί, Ἀλφεός
to-have-excelled are-said Lacedaemonians two brothers Alpheus
τε καὶ Μάρων Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμεε
both and Maron of-Orsiphantus sons of-Thespians but was-renowned
μάλιστα τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἁρματίδεω.
most to-whom name was Dithyrambus (son)-of-Harmatides
Θαφθεῖσι δέ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ ἔπεσον, καὶ τοῖσι 228
buried and to-them there in-the-place where indeed they-fell and to-those
πρότερον τελευτήσασι ἢ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω ἀποπεμφθέντας
before having-ended than by Leonidas sent-away
οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε.
to-be-gone has-been-inscribed writing saying this

μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο
with-ten-thousands once here three-hundred fought
ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.
from Peloponnese thousands four

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖσι δὲ
this indeed then for-the all has-been-inscribed for-the and
Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἰδίῃ.
Spartans separately

ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
O stranger to-tell to-Lacedaemonians that here
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.
we-lie to-the of-those words obeying

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε.
for-Lacedaemonians indeed then this for-the and seer this

μνῆμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστίη, ὅν ποτε Μῆδοι
memorial this of-famous Megistias whom once Medes
Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,
Spercheus river killed having-crossed
μάντιος, ὃς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδώς
of-a-seer who then the-dooms coming clearly knowing
οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνα προλιπεῖν.
not endured of-Sparta the-leader to-forsake

ἐπιγράμμασι μέν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος
with-epitaphs indeed then and pillars except than the of-the seer
ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύονες εἰσὶ σφέας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες·
epitaph Amphictyons are them those having-honored
τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίεω Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεος
the but of-the seer Megistias Simonides the (son)-of-Leoprepes
ἐστὶ κατὰ ξεινίην ὁ ἐπιγράψας.
is by guest-friendship the(-one) having-inscribed(-it)

229 Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται Εὔρυτόν τε
two and of-these the three-hundred is-said Eurytus both
καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρεὸν αὐτοῖσι ἀμφοτέροισι κοινῷ
and Aristodemus it-being-possible for-them both common
λόγῳ χρησαμένοισι ἢ ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην,
counsel using either to-be-saved together to Sparta
ὡς μεμετιμένοι γε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ
as dismissed at-least they-were from the camp by
Λεωνίδεω καὶ κατεκέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὀφθαλμιῶντες ἐς
Leonidas and were-lying at Alpeni with-eye-disease to
τὸ ἔσχατον, ἢ εἴ γε μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστῆσαι, ἀποθανεῖν
the utmost or if at-least not they-wished to-return to-die

ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι, παρεόν σφι τούτων τὰ
together-with the others it-being-possible for-them of-these the
ἕτερα ποιέειν οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι ὁμοφρονέειν, ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ
one-or-other to-do not to-have-wished to-agree but in-opinion
διενειχθέντας Εὔρυτον μέν, πυθόμενον τῶν Περσέων τὴν
having-differed Eurytus indeed having-learned of-the Persians the
περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐνδύντα ἄγειν
circuit having-asked-for both the arms and having-put-them-on to-lead
ἑωυτὸν κελεῦσαι τὸν εἵλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους, ὅκως δὲ
himself to-have-bidden the helot to the fighting(-men) when and
αὐτὸν ἤγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν
him he-led the indeed having-led(-him) to-be-gone fleeing the
δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν ὅμιλον διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀριστόδημον
and having-fallen-in into the throng to-have-been-killed Aristodemus
δὲ λιποψυχέοντα λειφθῆναι. εἰ μέν νυν ἢ μοῦνον
but losing-heart to-have-been-left-behind if indeed then either alone
Ἀριστόδημον ἀλγήσαντα ἀπονοστῆσαι ἐς Σπάρτην ἢ καὶ
Aristodemus being-ill to-have-returned to Sparta or also
ὁμοῦ σφεων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι, δοκέειν
together of-them both the return to-have-happened to-seem
ἐμοί, οὐκ ἄν σφι Σπαρτιήτας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι·
to-me not — to-them Spartans wrath any would-have-laid
νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς
now but the indeed of-them having-perished the but the indeed same
ἐχομένου προφάσιος οὐκ ἐθελήσαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν,
having excuse not having-wished but to-die
ἀναγκαίως σφι ἔχειν μηνῖσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ.
necessarily to-them to-be to-be-wroth greatly with-Aristodemus
Οἱ μέν νυν οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι Ἀριστόδημον 230
some indeed then thus to-have-been-saved say Aristodemus
ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιήνδε, οἱ δὲ
to Sparta and through excuse such-as-this others but

ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐξεὸν αὐτῷ
a-messenger having-been-sent from the camp it-being-possible for-him
καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλ᾽
to-overtake the battle happening not to-have-wished but
ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον
having-waited on the road to-have-survived the but fellow-messenger
αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν.
of-him having-arrived at the battle to-have-died

231 Ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος εἶχε
having-returned and to Lacedaemon — Aristodemus had
ὄνειδός τε καὶ ἀτιμίην· πάσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἠτίμωτο·
reproach both and dishonor suffering and such(-things) he-was-dishonored
οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔναυε Σπαρτιητέων οὔτε διελέγετο.
neither for-him fire anyone kindled of-Spartans nor talked(-with-him)
ὄνειδος δὲ εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλεόμενος.
reproach and he-had the trembler Aristodemus being-called

232 Ἀλλ᾽ ὃ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν
but he indeed in the at Plataea battle retrieved all the
ἐπενειχθεῖσαν αἰτίην· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα
brought-against(-him) charge is-said and also another sent
ἄγγελον ἐς Θεσσαλίην τῶν τριηκοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι,
messenger to Thessaly of-the three-hundred these to-have-survived
τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Παντίτην· νοστήσαντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐς
to-whom name to-be Pantites having-returned and this(-man) to
Σπάρτην, ὡς ἠτίμωτο, ἀπάγξασθαι.
Sparta since he-was-dishonored to-have-hanged-himself

233 Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐστρατήγεε, τέως
the but Thebans of-whom — Leontiades commanded for-a-time
μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ᾽ ἀναγκαίης
indeed with the Greeks being fought by necessity
ἐχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον
held against the king's army when but they-saw

κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων γινόμενα τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω
uppermost of-the Persians becoming the affairs so
δή, τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλλήνων ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν
indeed the with Leonidas Greeks hastening to the
κολωνόν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων χεῖράς τε προέτεινον καὶ
hillock having-split-off from-these hands both they-stretched-out and
ἤισαν ἂσσον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον
went nearer the barbarians saying the truest
τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν
of-the words that both they-medize and earth both and water among
πρώτοισι ἔδοσαν βασιλέι, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς
the-first they-gave king by but necessity held to
Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοίατο καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ
Thermopylae they-had-come and guiltless were of-the hurt the
γεγονότος βασιλέι. ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγίνοντο·
having-befallen king so-that these-things saying they-survived
εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τούτων τῶν λόγων μάρτυρας·
they-had for also Thessalians of-these the words as-witnesses
οὐ μέντοι τά γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὡς γὰρ
not however the(-things) at-least all they-were-fortunate when for
αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ
them took the barbarians having-come some indeed certain even
ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῦνας αὐτῶν κελεύσαντος
they-killed approaching the but more of-them having-ordered
Ξέρξεω ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλήια, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ
Xerxes they-branded with-brands royal having-begun from the
στρατηγοῦ Λεοντιάδεω· τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ
general Leontiades whose the son Eurymachus in-time
μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιέες στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν
afterward slew Plataeans having-commanded men
Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων.
Theban four-hundred and having-seized the town the of-Plataeans

234 Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἠγωνίσαντο,
the indeed then about Thermopylae Greeks so contended
Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρητον εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε.
Xerxes and having-called Demaratus asked having-begun from-here
"Δημάρητε, ἀνὴρ εἶς ἀγαθός. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείῃ·
Demaratus a-man you-are good I-judge and by-the truth
ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω. νῦν δέ μοι εἰπέ,
as-much-as for you-said all turned-out so now but to-me tell
κόσοι τινὲς εἰσὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων
how-many some are the remaining Lacedaemonians and of-these
ὁκόσοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια εἴτε καὶ ἅπαντες." ὁ
how-many such in-the(-things) of-war or even all he
δ' εἶπε "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλῆθος μὲν πολλὸν πάντων τῶν
and said O king the-multitude indeed great of-all the
Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πόλιες πολλαί· τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν,
Lacedaemonians and cities many what but you-wish to-learn
εἰδήσεις. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη πόλις ἀνδρῶν
you-will-know there-is in — Lacedaemon Sparta a-city of-men
ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι
eight-thousand about and these all are equal to-those
ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἵ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι
here having-fought the at-least indeed other Lacedaemonians
τούτοισι μὲν οὐκ ὅμοιοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ." εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα
to-these indeed not equal good but said to these-things
Ξέρξης "Δημάρητε, τέῳ τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν
Xerxes Demaratus in-what way with-least-toil the men
τούτων ἐπικρατήσομεν; ἴθι ἐξηγέο· σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν
these shall-we-overcome come explain you for have of-them
τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων οἷα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος."
the ways-through of-the counsels as king having-been

Ὁ δ᾽ ἀμείβετο “ Ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὲν δὴ συμβουλεύεαί μοι 235
he and answered O king if indeed then you-take-counsel with-me
προθύμως, δίκαιόν με σοί ἐστι φράζειν τὸ ἄριστον· εἰ τῆς
heartily right me for-you it-is to-tell the best if of-the
ναυτικῆς στρατιῆς νέας τριηκοσίας ἀποστείλειας ἐπὶ τὴν
naval army ships three-hundred you-were-to-send-off to the
Λάκαιναν χώρην. ἔστι δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ νῆσος ἐπικειμένη τῇ
Laconian land there-is and off it an-island lying to-which
οὔνομα ἐστὶ Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων ἀνὴρ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν σοφώτατος
name is Cythera which Chilon a-man among us wisest
γενόμενος κέρδος μέζον ἂν ἔφη εἶναι Σπαρτιήτῃσι κατὰ
having-been gain greater — said to-be for-Spartans under
τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν, αἰεί
the sea to-have-sunk rather than to-stand-above(-it) always
τι προσδοκῶν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔσεσθαι οἷόν τοι ἐγὼ
something expecting from it such to-be as to-you I
ἐξηγέομαι, οὔτι τὸν σὸν στόλον προειδώς, ἀλλὰ πάντα
explain not-at-all the your expedition foreseeing but every
ὁμοίως φοβεόμενος ἀνδρῶν στόλον. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νήσου
alike fearing of-men expedition from this the island
ὁρμώμενοι φοβεόντων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. παροίκου δὲ
setting-out let-them-frighten the Lacedaemonians neighboring and
πολέμου σφι ἐόντος οἰκηίου, οὐδὲν δεινοὶ ἔσονταί τοι μὴ
war to-them being at-home not-at-all dangerous they-will-be to-you lest
τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἁλισκομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθέωσι
the other Greece being-taken by the foot they-come-to-help
ταύτῃ. καταδουλωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀσθενὲς
there enslaved and the other Greece weak
ἤδη τὸ Λακωνικὸν μοῦνον λείπεται. ἢν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ
already the Laconian(-part) alone is-left if but these-things not
ποιέῃς, τάδε τοι προσδόκα ἔσεσθαι. ἔστι τῆς Πελοποννήσου
you-do this to-you expect to-be there-is — of-Peloponnese

ἰσθμὸς στεινός· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ πάντων Πελοποννησίων
an-isthmus narrow in this the place all Peloponnesians
συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοὶ μάχας ἰσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν
having-sworn-together against you battles stronger other than-the
γενομενέων προσδέκεο ἔσεσθαί τοι. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ποιήσαντι
having-happened expect to-be for-you that but for-you-having-done
ἀμαχητὶ ὅ τε ἰσθμὸς οὗτος καὶ αἱ πόλιες προσχωρήσουσι."
without-battle the both isthmus this and the cities will-come-over
236 Λέγει μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀχαιμένης, ἀδελφεός τε ἐὼν Ξέρξεω
speaks after this(-one) Achaemenes brother both being of-Xerxes
καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγός, παρατυχών τε τῷ
and of-the naval host general having-been-present both at-the
λόγῳ καὶ δείσας μὴ ἀναγνωσθῇ Ξέρξης ποιέειν ταῦτα,
speech and having-feared lest be-persuaded Xerxes to-do these-things
"Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὁρῶ σε ἀνδρὸς ἐνδεκόμενον λόγους ὃς
O king I-see you of-a-man accepting words who
φθονέει τοι εὖ πρήσσοντι ἢ καὶ προδιδοῖ πρήγματα τὰ σά.
envies you well faring or even betrays affairs the yours
καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρεώμενοι Ἕλληνες
and for indeed also with-ways such-as-these using Greeks
χαίρουσι· τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν φθονέουσι καὶ τὸ κρέσσον
rejoice the both to-prosper they-envy and the stronger
στυγέουσι. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τῇσι παρεούσῃσι τύχῃσι, τῶν νέες
they-hate if but upon the present misfortunes of-which ships
νεναυηγήκασι τετρακόσιαι, ἄλλας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
have-been-wrecked four-hundred others from the camp
τριηκοσίας ἀποπέμψεις περιπλέειν Πελοπόννησον, ἀξιόμαχοί
three-hundred you-will-send-off to-sail-around Peloponnese a-match
τοι γίνονται οἱ ἀντίπαλοι· ἁλὴς δὲ ἐὼν ὁ ναυτικὸς
for-you become the opponents gathered but being the naval
στρατὸς δυσμεταχείριστός τε αὐτοῖσι γίνεται, καὶ ἀρχὴν οὐκ
host hard-to-handle both for-them becomes and at-all not

ἀξιόμαχοί τοι ἔσονται, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ναυτικὸς τῷ πεζῷ
a-match for-you they-will-be and all the navy the land(-army)
ἀρήξει καὶ ὁ πεζὸς τῷ ναυτικῷ ὁμοῦ πορευόμενος· εἰ δὲ
will-aid and the land(-army) the navy together marching if but
διασπάσεις, οὔτε σὺ ἔσεαι ἐκείνοισι χρήσιμος οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι
you-will-tear-apart neither you will-be for-those useful nor those
σοί. τὰ σεωτοῦ δὲ τιθέμενον εὖ γνώμην ἔχω τὰ τῶν
for-you the(-things) of-yourself but setting well opinion I-have the(-things) of-the
ἀντιπολέμων μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρήγματα, τῇ τε στήσονται
enemies not to-consider affairs where both they-will-set
τὸν πόλεμον τά τε ποιήσουσι ὅσοι τε πλῆθος εἰσί.
the war what both they-will-do how-many both in-number they-are
ἱκανοὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοί γε αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν πέρι φροντίζειν εἰσί,
able for those at-least themselves about themselves to-think are
ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέων ὡσαύτως. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἢν ἴωσι
we and about-ourselves likewise Lacedaemonians and if they-come
ἀντία Πέρσῃσι ἐς μάχην, οὐδὲν τὸ παρεὸν τρῶμα ἀκεῦνται."
against Persians to battle nothing the present hurt they-will-heal
Ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοῖσιδε. " Ἀχαίμενες, εὖ τε μοι δοκέεις 237
answers Xerxes with-these Achaemenes well both to-me you-seem
λέγειν καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα. Δημάρητος δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ
to-speak and I-shall-do these-things Demaratus and says indeed the(-things)
ἄριστα ἔλπεται εἶναι ἐμοί, γνώμῃ μέντοι ἐσσοῦται ὑπὸ σεῦ.
best he-expects to-be for-me in-opinion however is-worsted by you
οὐ γὰρ δὴ κεῖνό γε ἐνδέξομαι ὅκως οὐκ εὐνοέει
not for indeed that at-least I-shall-accept that not he-is-well-disposed
τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι, τοῖσί τε λεγομένοισι πρότερον
to-the my affairs by-the both said before
ἐκ τούτου σταθμώμενος καὶ τῷ ἐόντι, ὅτι πολιήτης
from this(-man) judging and by-the being(-fact) that a-citizen
μὲν πολιήτῃ εὖ πρήσσοντι φθονέει καὶ ἔστι δυσμενὴς
indeed a-citizen well faring envies and is hostile

τῇ σιγῇ, οὐδ' ἂν συμβουλευομένου τοῦ ἀστοῦ πολιήτης
in-the silence nor — taking-counsel the townsman a-citizen
ἀνὴρ τὰ ἄριστά οἱ δοκέοντα εἶναι ὑποθέοιτο, εἰ μὴ
man the(-things) best to-him seeming to-be would-suggest if not
πρόσω ἀρετῆς ἀνήκοι· σπάνιοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι· ξεῖνος
far-on of-virtue he-had-come rare and are the such(-men) a-stranger
δὲ ξείνῳ εὖ πρήσσοντι ἐστὶ εὐμενέστατον πάντων,
but to-a-stranger well faring is most-well-disposed of-all
συμβουλευομένου τε ἂν συμβουλεύσειε τὰ ἄριστα.
taking-counsel and — would-advise the(-things) best
οὕτω ὦν κακολογίης τῆς ἐς Δημάρητον, ἐόντος ἐμοὶ
so then from-evil-speaking the against Demaratus being to-me
ξείνου πέρι, ἔχεσθαι τινὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ κελεύω."
a-stranger about to-abstain everyone for-the future I-bid
238 Ταῦτα εἴπας Ξέρξης διεξήιε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ
these-things having-said Xerxes went-through among the corpses and
Λεωνίδεω, ἀκηκοὼς ὅτι βασιλεύς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς
of-Leonidas having-heard that king both he-was and general
Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν
of-Lacedaemonians he-ordered having-cut-off the head
ἀνασταυρῶσαι. δῆλά μοι πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι
to-impale(-it) clear to-me by-many indeed also other
τεκμηρίοισι, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἥκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι
proofs among and also by-this not least it-has-become that
βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη
king Xerxes of-all indeed most men was-angered
ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἄν κοτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα
with-living Leonidas not for — ever against the corpse these-things
παρενόμησε, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ
he-would-have-outraged since to-honor most are-accustomed of-the I

οἶδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια.
know men Persians men good in-the(-things) of-war
οἳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίευν, τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ποιέειν.
they indeed then these-things did to-whom it-had-been-assigned to-do
Ἄνειμι δὲ ἐκεῖσε τοῦ λόγου τῇ μοι τὸ πρότερον 239
I-shall-go-back and there of-the story where to-me the earlier
ἐξέλιπε. ἐπύθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο
it-left-off learned Lacedaemonians that king was-setting-out
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτοι, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον
against — Greece first and so indeed to the oracle
τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἔνθα δή σφι ἐχρήσθη τὰ
the at Delphi they-sent where indeed to-them was-oracled what
ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἶπον· ἐπύθοντο δὲ τρόπῳ θωμασίῳ.
a-little earlier I-said they-learned and in-a-way wonderful
Δημάρητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος φυγὼν ἐς Μήδους, ὡς μὲν
Demaratus for the (son)-of-Ariston having-fled to Medes as indeed
ἐγὼ δοκέω καὶ τὸ οἰκὸς ἐμοὶ συμμάχεται, οὐκ ἦν εὔνοος
I think and the likelihood with-me fights-alongside not was well-disposed
Λακεδαιμονίοισι, πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν εἴτε εὐνοίῃ ταῦτα
to-Lacedaemonians it-is-possible but to-guess whether from-goodwill these-things
ἐποίησε εἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων. ἐπείτε γὰρ Ξέρξῃ ἔδοξε
he-did or also exulting when for to-Xerxes it-seemed-good
στρατηλατέειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοισι ὁ
to-lead-an-army against — Greece being at Susa —
Δημάρητος καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἠθέλησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι
Demaratus and having-learned these-things wished to-Lacedaemonians
ἐξαγγεῖλαι. ἄλλως μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἶχε σημῆναι· ἐπικίνδυνον
to-report otherwise indeed then not could signify dangerous
γὰρ ἦν μὴ λαμφθείη· ὁ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· δελτίον
for it-was lest he-be-caught he but contrives such(-things) a-tablet
δίπτυχον λαβὼν τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκνησε, καὶ ἔπειτα
folding having-taken the wax of-it he-scraped-off and then

ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλέος γνώμην,
on the wood of-the tablet he-wrote the king's purpose
ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ὀπίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ
having-done and these-things back he-melted the wax over the
γράμματα, ἵνα φερόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν
letters so-that carried empty the tablet no
πρῆγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν ὁδοφυλάκων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
trouble might-give from the road-guards when and also
ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ
it-arrived at — Lacedaemon not could guess the
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρίν γε δή σφι, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι,
Lacedaemonians before at-least indeed to-them as I learn
Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Λεωνίδεω δὲ γυνὴ Γοργὼ
of-Cleomenes indeed the-daughter of-Leonidas and wife Gorgo
ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτή, τὸν κηρὸν κνᾶν κελεύουσα,
suggested having-perceived(-it) herself the wax to-scrape bidding
καὶ εὑρήσειν σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ. πειθόμενοι δὲ
and to-find they letters on the wood obeying and
εὗρον καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι
they-found and read then and to-the other Greeks
ἐπέστειλαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.
they-sent-word these-things indeed then so are-said to-have-happened

BOOK VIII

I · THE FIRST FIGHTS AT ARTEMISIUM

Herodotus lists the Greek ships at Artemisium, commanded by the Spartan Eurybiades because the allies would not follow Athenians. Seeing the Persian fleet, the Greeks would flee, but the Euboeans pay Themistocles thirty talents to keep them, and he bribes Eurybiades and Adeimantus. The Persians send two hundred ships around Euboea to trap the Greeks. Scyllias the diver brings word, and the Greeks attack in the evening and take thirty ships.

Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν 1
the and of-Greeks to the naval host appointed were
οἵδε, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ
these Athenians indeed ships furnishing a-hundred and twenty and
ἑπτά· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίης Πλαταιέες ἄπειροι
seven from and valor both and zeal Plataeans unskilled
τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐόντες συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας.
in-the seamanship being helped-man for-the Athenians the ships
Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρέες δὲ
Corinthians and forty ships furnished Megarians and
εἴκοσι. καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι
twenty and Chalcidians manned twenty of-Athenians for-them
παρεχόντων τὰς νέας, Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυώνιοι
furnishing the ships Aeginetans and eighteen Sicyonians
δὲ δυοκαίδεκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ,
and twelve Lacedaemonians and ten Epidaurians and eight
Ἐρετριέες δὲ ἑπτά, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο,
Eretrians and seven Troezenians and five Styreans and two
καὶ Κήιοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο· Λοκροὶ δέ
and Ceans two both ships and fifty-oared(-ships) two Locrians and
σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτά.
to-them the Opuntians came-to-help fifty-oared(-ships) having seven

2 Ἦσαν μὲν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἴρηται
were indeed these the campaigning at Artemisium has-been-told
δέ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο.
and by-me also how the multitude each of-the ships furnished
ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισέων νεῶν ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν,
number and of-the gathered ships at Artemisium was
πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, διηκόσιαι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα
except-for the fifty-oared(-ships) two-hundred and seventy
καὶ μία. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος
and one the and general the the greatest power
ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται Εὐρυβιάδην Εὐρυκλείδεω·
having furnished Spartans Eurybiades (son)-of-Eurycleides
οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἢν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ,
the for allies not said if not the Laconian lead
Ἀθηναίοισι ἕψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον
to-Athenians to-follow leading but to-break-up the about
ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα.
to-be army

3 Ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην
there-was for at beginning talk before than even to Sicily
πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὸν
to-send for alliance that the navy to-Athenians right
εἴη ἐπιτράπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἶκον
were to-entrust having-opposed and the allies yielded
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα
the Athenians great having-made-it to-survive — Greece
καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης,
and having-recognized if they-will-quarrel about the leadership
ὡς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες· στάσις γὰρ
that will-perish — Greece rightly thinking strife for
ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσούτῳ κάκιον ἐστὶ
internal than-war united by-so-much worse is

ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ
as war than-peace knowing then itself this not
ἀντέτεινον ἀλλ᾽ εἶκον, μέχρι ὅσου κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν,
they-resisted but yielded until as-long-as greatly they-needed them
ὡς διέδεξαν· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὠσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην περὶ
as they-showed when for indeed having-thrust-back the Persian about
τῆς ἐκείνου ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν
the of-that(-man) now the struggle they-were-making a-pretext the
Παυσανίεω ὕβριν προϊσχόμενοι ἀπείλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην
of-Pausanias insolence putting-forward they-took-away the leadership
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.
the Lacedaemonians but these-things indeed later happened
Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι 4
then but these the also at Artemisium of-Greeks having-arrived
ὡς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας
when they-saw ships both many brought-to-land at — Aphetae
καὶ στρατιῆς ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν
and of-army all full since to-them contrary-to expectation
τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ
the affairs of-the barbarians turned-out than as they
κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ
had-supposed having-taken-fright flight they-planned from
τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. γνόντες δὲ σφέας
— Artemisium inward into — Greece having-recognized and them
οἱ Εὐβοέες ταῦτα βουλευομένους ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδεω
the Euboeans these-things planning begged Eurybiades
προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ᾽ ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ
to-wait time little until — they children both and
τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ὡς δ᾽ οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες
the servants should-remove when but not they-persuaded having-gone-over
τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ
the of-Athenians general persuade Themistocles for a-fee

τριήκοντα ταλάντοισι, ἐπ᾽ ᾧ τε καταμείναντες
thirty talents on (condition)-that — having-stayed
πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην.
before — Euboea they-will-make the sea-fight
Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὧδε ποιέει·
— but Themistocles the Greeks to-hold-back thus makes
Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοῖ πέντε
to-Eurybiades of-these the moneys he-gives-a-share five
τάλαντα ὡς πάρ᾽ ἑωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδούς. ὡς δέ οἱ
talents as from himself seemingly giving when and to-him
οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου ὁ
this(-one) had-been-won-over Adeimantus for the (son)-of-Ocytus the
Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἤσπαιρε μοῦνος, φάμενος
Corinthian general of-the rest struggled alone saying
ἀποπλεύσεσθαί τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμενέειν,
he-would-sail-away both from — Artemisium and not stay
πρὸς δὴ τοῦτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπομόσας "Οὐ
to indeed this(-man) said — Themistocles having-sworn not
σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεί τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα
you at-least us will-desert since to-you I greater gifts
δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἄν τοι ὁ Μήδων πέμψειε ἀπολιπόντι
shall-give than king — to-you the of-Medes would-send having-deserted
τοὺς συμμάχους." ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ πέμπει
the allies these-things both at-once he-said and sends
ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδειμάντου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία.
to the ship the of-Adeimantus talents of-silver three
οὗτοί τε δὴ πάντες δώροισι ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν καὶ
these both indeed all by-gifts won-over were and
τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο, αὐτός τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης
to-the Euboeans it-had-been-made-a-favor himself and — Themistocles
ἐκέρδηνε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων, ἀλλ᾽ ἠπιστέατο οἱ
gained was-unseen and the rest having but knew those

μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων
having-shared of-these the moneys from — Athens
ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.
to-have-come for the purpose this the moneys
Οὕτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν, 6
so indeed they-stayed both at — Euboea and fought-at-sea
ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε. ἐπείτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δείλην
it-happened and thus when indeed at — Aphetae about afternoon
πρωίην γινομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν
early becoming arrived the barbarians having-learned indeed
ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας
still also before about — Artemisium to-lie-at-anchor ships
Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι
Greek few then but themselves having-seen eager
ἦσαν ἐπιχειρέειν, εἴ κως ἕλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ
they-were to-attack if somehow they-might-take them from indeed then
τῆς ἀντίης προσπλέειν οὔ κώ σφι ἐδόκεε τῶνδε
the opposite(-side) to-sail-against(-them) not yet to-them it-seemed of-these
εἵνεκα, μή κως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλέοντας ἐς
for-the-sake lest somehow having-seen the Greeks sailing-against(-them) to
φυγὴν ὁρμήσειαν φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλαμβάνῃ· καὶ
flight they-might-rush fleeing and night overtake and
ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον
they-were-about seemingly to-escape it-was-needful but not-even a-fire-bearer
τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι.
by-the of-those account having-escaped to-survive
Πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν τάδε ἐμηχανῶντο· τῶν νεῶν ἁπασέων 7
in-view-of these-things then this they-contrived of-the ships all
ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου,
having-separated two-hundred they-sent-around outside Sciathus
ὡς ἂν μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλέουσαι
so-that — not they-might-be-seen by the enemy sailing-around

Εὔβοιαν κατά τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν
Euboea by both Caphereus and around Geraestus to the
Εὔριπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν οἵ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι
Euripus so-that indeed they-might-surround some indeed there having-arrived
καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν ὁδόν, σφεῖς δὲ
and having-blocked their the back leading road they and
ἐπισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίης. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον
following from in-front these-things having-planned they-sent-off
τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης
of-the ships the appointed themselves not in mind having this
τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον
the day the Greeks to-attack nor before
ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν
than the signal to-them was-about to-appear from those
περιπλεόντων ὡς ἡκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον,
sailing-around as having-come these indeed then they-sent-around
τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφέτῃσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.
of-the and remaining ships at — Aphetae they-made a-count
8 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο
in and this the time in which these a-count made
τῶν νεῶν, ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης
of-the ships there-was for in the camp this Scyllias
Σκιωναῖος δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ
of-Scione a-diver of-the then men best who also in the
ναυηγίῃ τῇ κατὰ Πήλιον γενομένῃ πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν
shipwreck the off Pelion having-happened many indeed saved of-the
χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο·
goods for-the Persians many and also himself acquired
οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον
this — Scyllias in mind indeed had it-seems also before
αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γάρ οἱ παρέσχε
to-desert to the Greeks but not for to-him it-had-offered

ὡς τότε. ὅτεῳ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἔτι ἀπίκετο ἐς
as then by-what indeed then way the from-there still he-came to
τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως, θωμάζω δὲ εἰ
the Greeks not I-can say exactly I-wonder but whether
τὰ λεγόμενα ἐστὶ ἀληθέα· λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἐξ Ἀφετέων
the(-things) said are true is-said for that from Aphetae
δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ
having-dived into the sea not before he-came-up before than
ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστά κῃ τούτους
he-arrived at — Artemisium stades about somewhere these
ἐς ὀγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διεξελθών. λέγεται μέν
to eighty through the sea having-gone-through are-said indeed
νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι εἴκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου,
then also other(-things) to-lies like about the man this
τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα· περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι
the but some true about however this opinion by-me
ἀποδεδέχθω πλοίῳ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὡς δὲ
let-be-declared by-boat him to-have-come to — Artemisium when and
ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμηνε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τήν τε ναυηγίην
he-arrived at-once he-signified to-the generals the both shipwreck
ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὔβοιαν.
how it-happened and the sent-around of-the ships around Euboea
Τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι 9
this and having-heard the Greeks counsel to-them themselves
ἐδίδοσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκα τὴν ἡμέρην
gave many and said prevailed the day
ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτα
that there having-stayed both and having-bivouacked afterward
νύκτα μέσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι
night mid having-let-pass to-go and to-meet the
περιπλεούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς οὐδείς σφι
sailing-around of-the ships after but this since no-one them

ἐπέπλεε, δείλην ὀψίην γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες
sailed-against afternoon late becoming of-the day having-watched-for
αὐτοὶ ἐπανέπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν
themselves sailed-out against the barbarians a-trial of-them
ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου.
to-make wishing of-the both fighting and of-the breaking-through
Ὁρῶντες δὲ σφέας οἵ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξεω
seeing and them the both other soldiers the of-Xerxes
καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλέοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγῃσι, πάγχυ
and the generals sailing-against(-them) with-ships few utterly
σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας,
them madness having-charged-with put-out also themselves the ships
ἐλπίσαντες σφέας εὐπετέως αἱρήσειν, οἰκότα κάρτα
hoping them easily to-take likely(-things) very
ἐλπίσαντες, τὰς μέν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶντες ὀλίγας
hoping the indeed at-least of-the Greeks seeing few
νέας, τὰς δὲ ἑωυτῶν πλήθεϊ τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἄμεινον
ships the but of-themselves in-number both many-times-as-many and better
πλεούσας. καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς
sailing having-despised these-things they-encircled them
ἐς μέσον. ὅσοι μέν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὔνοοι
into the-middle as-many-as indeed then of-the Ionians were well-disposed
τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορήν τε
to-the Greeks unwilling both served calamity and
ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην ὁρῶντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ
made great seeing surrounded them and
ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα
knowing that none of-them will-return so weak
σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. ὅσοισι
to-them appeared to-be the of-the Greeks affairs to-as-many-as
δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἄμιλλαν ἐποιεῦντο
but also pleased was the happening a-rivalry they-made

ὅκως αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἑλὼν παρὰ
how himself each first ship Attic having-taken from
βασιλέος δῶρα λάμψεται· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος
king gifts will-receive of-Athenians for among-them account
ἦν πλεῖστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.
was most throughout the camps
Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρωροι 11
to-the and Greeks when it-signaled first indeed prows-facing
τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας
the barbarians having-become into the middle the sterns
συνήγαγον, δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος ἔργου εἴχοντο ἐν
drew-together second and having-signaled to-work they-held in
ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα
small though shut-in and at the-front there
τριήκοντα νέας αἱρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργου
thirty ships take of-the barbarians and the of-Gorgus
τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸν Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος,
the of-Salaminians king brother Philaon the (son)-of-Chersis
λόγιμον ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ
notable being in the camp man first and
Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἷλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης
of-Greeks a-ship of-the enemy took a-man Athenian Lycomedes
Αἰσχραίου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήιον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ
(son)-of-Aeschraeus and the prize-of-valor took this(-man) them and in the
ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζομένους νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα
sea-fight this with-doubtful-victory contending night having-come-on
διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλεον,
parted the indeed then Greeks to — Artemisium sailed-away
οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν
the and barbarians to — Aphetae far contrary-to expectation
ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος
having-fought in this the sea-fight Antidorus a-Lemnian

μοῦνος τῶν σὺν βασιλέι Ἑλλήνων ἐόντων αὐτομολέει
alone of-the with king Greeks being deserts
ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον
to the Greeks and the Athenians for this the deed
ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.
gave him land in Salamis

II · STORM AND RETREAT FROM ARTEMISIUM

A night of thunder and rain wrecks the squadron sent around Euboea on the Hollows. Fifty-three Attic ships join the Greeks, who destroy some Cilician ships. On the third day the whole Persian fleet attacks, and both sides suffer heavily. Themistocles has the Euboean flocks slaughtered and plans to detach the Ionians. News of Thermopylae arrives, and the Greeks retreat, Themistocles leaving messages cut in the rocks urging the Ionians to join them or fight badly. The Persians, told of the flight, occupy Histiaea.

12 Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον
when and night had-come was indeed of-the season mid
θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς
summer there-came and rain both immense through all the
νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ
night and harsh thunders from — Pelion the and
νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφέροντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ
corpses and the wreckage were-carried-out to — Aphetae and
περί τε τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν εἱλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον
about both the prows of-the ships were-rolled and fouled
τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ
the blades of-the oars the and soldiers the there
ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ
hearing these-things into fear were-set expecting utterly

ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἥκον. πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ
to-perish into what evils they-had-come before for than even
ἀναπνεῦσαι σφέας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος
to-take-breath them from both the shipwreck and the storm
τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίη καρτερή,
the having-happened off Pelion followed a-sea-fight fierce
ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὄμβρος τε λάβρος καὶ ῥεύματα
after and the sea-fight rain both violent and streams
ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὁρμημένα βρονταί τε σκληραί.
strong to sea rushing thunders both harsh
Καὶ τούτοισι μὲν τοιαύτη ἡ νὺξ ἐγίνετο, τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι 13
and to-these indeed such the night was to-those but appointed
αὐτῶν περιπλέειν Εὔβοιαν ἡ αὐτή περ ἐοῦσα νὺξ πολλὸν
of-them to-sail-around Euboea the same though being night much
ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρη, τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγεϊ φερομένοισι
was yet wilder by-so-much as in open-sea being-carried
ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγίνετο ἄχαρι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ
it-fell-upon(-them) and the end to-them was graceless when for indeed
πλέουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμών τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο ἐοῦσι
sailing to-them storm both and the rain came-on being
κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ
off the Hollows — of-Euboea carried by-the wind and
οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας·
not knowing where they-were-carried they-were-cast-ashore against the rocks
ἐποιέετό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅκως ἂν ἐξισωθείη
was-done and all by the god so-that — might-be-made-equal
τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἴη.
to-the Greek the Persian(-force) nor much greater might-be
Οὗτοι μέν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης διεφθείροντο· 14
these indeed then about the Hollows — of-Euboea were-destroyed
οἱ δ' ἐν Ἀφέτῃσι βάρβαροι, ὥς σφι ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρη
the but at Aphetae barbarians when to-them glad day

ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας καί σφι ἀπεχρᾶτο
shone-forth quiet both kept the ships and to-them it-sufficed
κακῶς πρήσσουσι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῖσι δὲ
badly faring quiet to-keep in the present to-the and
Ἕλλησι ἐπεβοήθεον νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικαί.
Greeks came-to-help ships three and fifty Attic
αὗταί τε δή σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι καὶ ἅμα
these both indeed them encouraged having-arrived and at-once
ἀγγελίη ἐλθοῦσα, ὡς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλέοντες τὴν
news having-come that of-the barbarians those sailing-around —
Εὔβοιαν πάντες εἴησαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου
Euboea all were destroyed by the having-happened
χειμῶνος. φυλάξαντες δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλέοντες
storm having-watched-for indeed the same hour sailing
ἐπέπεσον νηυσὶ Κιλίσσῃσι· ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὡς
they-fell-upon ships Cilician these and having-destroyed when
εὐφρόνη ἐγίνετο, ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.
night came they-sailed-away back to — Artemisium
15 Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ
on-the-third and day terrible something having-thought the generals
τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφι ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ
of-the barbarians ships so to-them few to-do-harm and
τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω δειμαίνοντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς
the from Xerxes fearing not they-waited any-longer the
Ἕλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ
Greeks battle to-begin but having-exhorted(-one-another) about
μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὥστε
mid day they-put-out the ships it-coincided and so-that
τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τάς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας
the same days the both sea-fights to-happen these
καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι. ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ
and the land-fights the at Thermopylae was and all the

ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ
struggle for-those by sea about the Euripus as
τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἳ μὲν
for-those about Leonidas the pass to-guard they indeed
δὴ παρεκελεύοντο ὅκως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
then exhorted how not they-will-let-pass into — Greece
τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἳ δ' ὅκως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα
the barbarians they but how the Greek army
διαφθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. ὡς δὲ ταξάμενοι
having-destroyed of-the strait they-will-be-masters when and having-drawn-up
οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλεον, οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς
the of-Xerxes sailed-on the Greeks quiet kept at
τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μηνοειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν
— Artemisium the but barbarians crescent having-made of-the
νεῶν ἐκυκλοῦντο, ὡς περιλάβοιεν αὐτούς.
ships encircled(-them) so-that they-might-surround them
Ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπανέπλεόν τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν 16
thereupon the Greeks sailed-out both and engaged in
ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο. ὁ
this the sea-fight equal to-each-other they-were the
γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάθεός τε καὶ πλήθεος αὐτὸς
for of-Xerxes host through size both and multitude itself
ὑπ' ἑωυτοῦ ἔπιπτε, ταρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ
by itself fell being-thrown-into-disorder both the ships and
περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὅμως μέντοι ἀντεῖχε καὶ
colliding with each-other nevertheless however it-held-out and
οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῦντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλιγέων
not yielded terrible for thing they-thought by ships few
ἐς φυγὴν τράπεσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες
to flight to-be-turned many indeed then of-the Greeks ships
διεφθείροντο πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες
were-destroyed many and men by-much and yet more

νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι
ships both of-the barbarians and men so and contending
διέστησαν χωρὶς ἑκάτεροι.
they-parted apart each-side

17 Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ξέρξεω
in this the sea-fight Egyptians indeed of-the of-Xerxes
στρατιωτέων ἠρίστευσαν, οἳ ἄλλα τε μεγάλα ἔργα
soldiers excelled who other both great deeds
ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ νέας αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἵλον Ἑλληνίδας
displayed and ships with-themselves the-men took Greek
πέντε. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην
five of-the but Greeks on this the day
ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Κλεινίης ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδεω,
excelled Athenians and of-Athenians Cleinias the (son)-of-Alcibiades
ὃς δαπάνην οἰκηίην παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε
who expense private furnishing served with-men both
διηκοσίοισι καὶ οἰκηίῃ νηί.
two-hundred and his-own ship

18 Ὡς δὲ διέστησαν, ἄσμενοι ἑκάτεροι ἐς ὅρμον ἠπείγοντο.
when and they-parted glad each-side to anchorage hastened
οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης
the but Greeks when having-separated from the sea-fight
ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων
they-were-released the indeed corpses and the wreckage
ἐπεκράτεον, τρηχέως δὲ περιεφθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα
held roughly but handled and not least
Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἱ ἡμίσεαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν,
Athenians of-whom the half of-the ships damaged were
δρησμὸν δὴ ἐβούλευον ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
flight indeed they-planned inward into — Greece

Νόῳ δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ὡς εἰ ἀπορραγείη ἀπὸ 19
in-mind and having-taken — Themistocles that if were-broken-off from
τοῦ βαρβάρου τό τε Ἰωνικὸν φῦλον καὶ τὸ Καρικόν, οἷοί τε
the barbarian the both Ionian race and the Carian able —
εἴησαν ἂν τῶν λοιπῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν
would-be — than-the rest superior to-become driving the
Εὐβοέων πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην, συλλέξας τοὺς
Euboeans flocks to the sea this having-gathered the
στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγέ σφι ὡς δοκέοι ἔχειν τινὰ παλάμην, τῇ
generals he-said to-them that he-thought to-have some device by-which
ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέος συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀρίστους.
he-hoped of-the king allies to-detach the best
ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι
these-things indeed then to such-a-point he-bared on and the
κατήκουσι πρήγμασι τάδε ποιητέα σφι εἶναι ἔλεγε, τῶν
present affairs these-things to-be-done for-them to-be he-said of-the
τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταθύειν ὅσα τις ἐθέλοι·
both flocks the Euboean to-slaughter as-many-as anyone wished
κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατιὴν ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους·
better for to-be the army to-have than the enemy
παραίνεέ τε προειπεῖν τοῖσι ἑωυτῶν ἑκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν·
he-advised and to-give-notice to-the of-themselves each fire to-kindle
κομιδῆς δὲ πέρι τὴν ὥρην αὐτῷ μελήσειν, ὥστε ἀσινέας
of-the-return and about the time to-him it-will-be-a-care so-that unharmed
ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἤρεσέ σφι ποιέειν, καὶ
to-arrive into — Greece these-things pleased them to-do and
αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαυσάμενοι ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα.
at-once fire having-kindled they-turned to the flocks
Οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοέες, παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Βάκιδος χρησμὸν 20
the for Euboeans having-disregarded the of-Bacis oracle
ὡς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὔτε τι ἐξεκομίσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε
as nothing saying neither anything carried-out at-all nor

προσεσάξαντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφι πολέμου, περιπετέα
brought-in as about-to-be-upon them war fallen-into-ruin
τε ἐποιήσαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὰ πρήγματα.
both they-made for-them themselves the affairs
Βάκιδι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμός.
for-Bacis for thus is about these the oracle

φράζεο, βαρβαρόφωνος ὅταν ζυγὸν εἰς ἅλα βάλλῃ
consider barbarian-tongued when a-yoke into the-sea he-casts
βύβλινον, Εὐβοίης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας αἶγας.
of-papyrus of-Euboea to-keep-away the-much-bleating goats

τούτοισι οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἔπεσι χρησαμένοισι ἐν τοῖσι τότε
these not-at-all the verses having-used in the then
παρεοῦσί τε καὶ προσδοκίμοισι κακοῖσι παρῆν σφι συμφορῇ
present both and expected evils it-befell them misfortune
χρᾶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.
to-meet-with to the greatest(-degree)
21 Οἳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσον, παρῆν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχῖνος
they indeed then these-things were-doing came and the from Trachis
κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος
spy was indeed for at Artemisium a-spy
Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεύς, τῷ προσετέτακτο, καὶ
Polyas by-race an-Anticyrean to-whom it-had-been-appointed and
εἶχε πλοῖον κατῆρες ἕτοιμον, εἰ παλήσειε ὁ ναυτικὸς
he-had a-boat oared ready if should-be-worsted the naval
στρατός, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι· ὡς δ'
host to-signify to-those at Thermopylae being just and
αὕτως ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ
so was Abronichus the (son)-of-Lysicles an-Athenian also with
Λεωνίδῃ ἕτοιμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐοῦσι ἀγγέλλειν
Leonidas ready to-those at Artemisium being to-report

τριηκοντέρῳ, ἤν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν
with-a-thirty-oared(-ship) if anything should-befall new the
πεζόν. οὗτος ὢν ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικόμενός σφι ἐσήμαινε
army this then — Abronichus having-arrived to-them signified
τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδην καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ.
the(-things) having-happened about Leonidas and the army of-him
οἳ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῦντο
they and when they-learned these-things no-longer to delays made
τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν,
the withdrawal they-went and as each were-posted
Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.
Corinthians first last and Athenians
Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας ἐπιλεξάμενος 22
of-Athenians and ships the best sailing having-chosen
Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων
Themistocles went about the drinkable waters cutting
ἐν τοῖσι λίθοισι γράμματα, τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ
on the stones letters which Ionians having-come on-the
ὑστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ
next day to — Artemisium read the and
γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε. “Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιέετε δίκαια
letters this said men Ionians not you-do right(-things)
ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
against the fathers campaigning and — Greece
καταδουλούμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε·
enslaving but most indeed on our-side be
εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι
if but to-you it-is this not possible to-do you but still
καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἕζεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν
even now from the middle for-us sit both yourselves and the
Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιέειν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον
Carians ask the same(-things) as-you to-do if but neither

τούτων οἷόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέζονος
of-these possible — to-happen but by necessity greater
κατέζευχθε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ,
you-have-been-yoked than so-as to-revolt you but in the action
ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ'
when we-engage be-cowards-on-purpose remembering that from
ἡμέων γεγόνατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν
us you-are-born and that from-the-beginning the enmity toward the
βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε." Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ ταῦτα
barbarian from you for-us has-arisen Themistocles and these-things
ἔγραφε, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα νοέων, ἵνα
wrote to-seem to-me with-a-view-to both(-ends) intending so-that
ἢ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἴωνας ποιήσῃ
either having-escaped-notice the letters king Ionians it-might-make
μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωυτῶν, ἢ ἐπείτε
to-change and to-become on of-themselves(-side) or when
ἀνενειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ
it-be-reported and denounced to Xerxes untrustworthy it-might-make
τοὺς Ἴωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιέων αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχῃ.
the Ionians and from-the sea-fights them keep-away

23 Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε· τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι
Themistocles indeed these-things inscribed to-the and barbarians
αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοίῳ ἦλθε ἀνὴρ Ἱστιαιεὺς ἀγγέλλων
at-once after these-things by-boat came a-man Histiaean reporting
τὸν δρησμὸν τὸν ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ δ'
the flight the from Artemisium of-the Greeks they and
ὑπ' ἀπιστίης τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νέας
from distrust the indeed reporting(-man) kept under guard ships
δὲ ταχέας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοψομένας· ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ
and swift sent-off to-look-out-in-advance having-reported and
τούτων τὰ ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἅμα ἡλίῳ σκιδναμένῳ
these the(-things) that-were so indeed with sun scattering

πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπέπλεε ἁλὴς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.
all the army sailed-on in-a-body to — Artemisium
ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης, τὸ
having-waited and in this the place until mid day the
ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπλεον ἐς Ἱστιαίην· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν
from this(-time) they-sailed to Histiaea having-arrived and the city
ἔσχον τῶν Ἱστιαιέων. καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίης μοίρης γῆς δὲ τῆς
held of-the Histiaeans and of-the Ellopian part of-land and the
Ἱστιαιώτιδος τὰς παραθαλασσίας χώρας πάσας ἐπέδραμον.
Histiaean the seaboard districts all overran

III · THE PHOCIANS AND DELPHI

Xerxes hides most of his dead and invites the fleet to view Thermopylae. Arcadian deserters tell him the Greeks are contending for an olive crown. The Thessalians, old enemies of the Phocians, guide the army through Phocis, which is burned. Xerxes marches on toward Athens through Boeotia, while part of the army goes to Delphi, but the god forbids the treasures to be moved; thunderbolts, falling rocks, and two giant warriors, the local heroes, rout the attackers.

Ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἐόντων, Ξέρξης ἑτοιμασάμενος τὰ 24
there and these being Xerxes having-prepared the(-things)
περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἔπεμπε ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν
about the corpses sent to the naval host
κήρυκα, προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ
a-herald he-had-prepared-beforehand and this as-many-as of-the army
τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι (ἦσαν δὲ καὶ δύο
the of-himself were corpses at Thermopylae were and even two
μυριάδες), ὑπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς
ten-thousands having-left of-these about a-thousand the rest
τάφρους ὀρυξάμενος ἔθαψε, φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ
trenches having-dug he-buried leaves both having-thrown-on and

γῆν ἐπαμησάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ
earth having-heaped-on so-that not they-might-be-seen by the naval
στρατοῦ. ὡς δὲ διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην ὁ κῆρυξ, σύλλογον
host when and crossed to — Histiaea the herald an-assembly
ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἄνδρες
having-made of-all the camp he-said this men
σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμέων
allies king Xerxes to-the(-one) wishing of-you
παραδίδωσι ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θεήσασθαι
grants having-left the post and having-come to-view
ὅκως μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἳ
how he-fights against the senseless of-the men who
ἤλπισαν τὴν βασιλέος δύναμιν ὑπερβαλέεσθαι."
hoped the king's power to-overcome
Ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλαμένου, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο
these-things having-proclaimed after these-things nothing was
πλοίων σπανιώτερον· οὕτω πολλοὶ ἤθελον θεήσασθαι.
than-boats scarcer so many wished to-view
διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθηεῦντο διεξιόντες τοὺς νεκρούς· πάντες
having-crossed and they-viewed going-through the corpses all
δὲ ἠπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους
and knew those lying to-be all Lacedaemonians
καὶ Θεσπιέας, ὁρῶντες καὶ τοὺς εἵλωτας. οὐ μὲν οὐδ'
and Thespians seeing also the helots not indeed not-even
ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρήξας
it-was-unnoticed-by those having-crossed Xerxes these-things having-done
περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοῖον
about the corpses the of-himself and for indeed also laughable
ἦν· τῶν μὲν χίλιοι ἐφαίνοντο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἳ δὲ
it-was of-the indeed a-thousand appeared corpses lying they and
πάντες ἐκέατο ἁλέες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τὠυτὸ χωρίον,
all lay in-a-heap brought-together into the-same place

τέσσερες χιλιάδες. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πρὸς θέην
four thousands this indeed the day to sight
ἐτράποντο, τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίῃ οἳ μὲν ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ἱστιαίην
they-turned on-the and next-day some indeed sailed-away to Histiaea
ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐς ὁδὸν ὁρμέατο.
to the ships those and about Xerxes on road set-out
Ἦκον δέ σφι αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ᾽ Ἀρκαδίης ὀλίγοι τινές, 26
came and to-them deserters men from Arcadia few some
βίου τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι. ἄγοντες
of-livelihood both in-need and active wishing to-be bringing
δὲ τούτους ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι
and these into sight the king's inquired the Persians
περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τί ποιέοιεν· εἷς δέ τις πρὸ πάντων
about the Greeks what they-were-doing one and someone before all
ἦν ὁ εἰρωτῶν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα. οἳ δέ σφι ἔλεγον ὡς
was the(-one) asking them these-things they and to-them said that
Ὀλύμπια ἄγουσι καὶ θεωρέοιεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικόν.
Olympia they-keep and were-viewing a-contest athletic and equestrian
ὁ δὲ ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τὸ ἆεθλον εἴη σφι κείμενον περὶ
he and asked what ever the prize was for-them set about
ὅτευ ἀγωνίζονται· οἳ δ᾽ εἶπον τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον
what they-contend they and said of-the olive the given
στέφανον. ἐνθαῦτα εἶπας γνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τιγράνης
crown there having-uttered an-opinion most-noble Tigranes
ὁ Ἀρταβάνου δειλίην ὤφλε πρὸς βασιλέος. πυνθανόμενος
the (son)-of-Artabanus cowardice incurred from king learning
γὰρ τὸ ἆεθλον ἐὸν στέφανον ἀλλ᾽ οὐ χρήματα, οὔτε
for the prize being a-crown but not money neither
ἠνέσχετο σιγῶν εἶπέ τε ἐς πάντας τάδε. "Παπαῖ
did-he-endure keeping-silent said and before all this oh
Μαρδόνιε, κοίους ἐπ᾽ ἄνδρας ἤγαγες μαχησομένους
Mardonius what-sort against men you-have-led to-fight

ἡμέας, οἳ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῦνται ἀλλὰ
us who not for money the contest make but
περὶ ἀρετῆς." τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἴρητο.
for virtue by-this-one indeed then these-things had-been-said

27 Ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπείτε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι
in and the in between time when the at Thermopylae
τρῶμα ἐγεγόνεε, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς
disaster had-happened at-once Thessalians send a-herald to
Φωκέας, ἅτε σφι ἔχοντες αἰεὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ
Phocians as for-them holding always anger from and the
ὑστάτου τρώματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα. ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ
last disaster also the very(-more) having-invaded for
πανστρατιῇ αὐτοί τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν
in-full-force themselves both the Thessalians and the allies of-them
ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας, οὐ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς
into the Phocians not many years before this the
βασιλέος στρατηλασίης, ἐσσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ
king's expedition they-were-worsted by the Phocians and
περιέφθησαν τρηχέως. ἐπείτε γὰρ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸν
were-handled roughly when for were-shut-up into —
Παρνησὸν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες μάντιν Τελλίην τὸν Ἠλεῖον,
Parnassus the Phocians having a-seer Tellias the Elean
ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης οὗτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖσι τοιόνδε.
there — Tellias this devises for-them such-a-thing
γυψώσας ἄνδρας ἑξακοσίους τῶν Φωκέων τοὺς
having-whitened-with-chalk men six-hundred of-the Phocians the
ἀρίστους, αὐτούς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς
best themselves both these and the arms of-them by-night
ἐπεθήκατο τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖσι, προείπας αὐτοῖσι, τὸν
he-attacked the Thessalians having-told-beforehand them whom-ever
ἂν μὴ λευκανθίζοντα ἴδωνται, τοῦτον κτείνειν. τούτους ὦν
— not white-looking they-see this(-one) to-kill these then

αἵ τε φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἰδοῦσαι ἐφοβήθησαν,
the both guards of-the Thessalians first having-seen were-terrified
δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς
having-thought other something to-be a-portent and after the guards
αὐτὴ ἡ στρατιὴ οὕτω ὥστε τετρακισχιλίων κρατῆσαι
itself the army so that of-four-thousand to-be-masters
νεκρῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας, τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισέας ἐς
corpses and shields Phocians of-which the indeed half at
Ἄβας ἀνέθεσαν τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφούς· ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο
Abae they-dedicated the and at Delphi the and tenth was
τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες
of-the spoils from this the battle the great statues
οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστεῶτες ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ τοῦ
the about the tripod standing-together in-front-of the temple the
ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι ἐν Ἄβῃσι ἀνακέαται.
at Delphi and others such at Abae are-dedicated
Ταῦτα μέν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν 28
these-things indeed then the foot wrought of-the Thessalians
οἱ Φωκέες πολιορκέοντας ἑωυτούς· ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς
the Phocians besieging themselves invading and into
τὴν χώρην τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ἐλυμήναντο ἀνηκέστως.
the land the cavalry of-them they-maltreated incurably
ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ ἥ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ὑάμπολιν, ἐν ταύτῃ
in for the pass which is at Hyampolis in this
τάφρον μεγάλην ὀρύξαντες ἀμφορέας κενεοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν
a-trench great having-dug jars empty into it
κατέθηκαν, χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὁμοιώσαντες τῷ
they-put earth and having-heaped-over and having-made-like to-the
ἄλλῳ χώρῳ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας. οἱ δὲ
other ground they-awaited the Thessalians invading they and

ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἐς
as about-to-carry-off the Phocians charging fell into
τοὺς ἀμφορέας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπποι τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν.
the jars there the horses the legs were-ruined
29 Τούτων δή σφι ἀμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον οἱ
for-these indeed against-them both bearing grudge the
Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἠγόρευον τάδε. "Ὦ Φωκέες,
Thessalians having-sent a-herald proclaimed this O Phocians
ἤδη τι μᾶλλον γνωσιμαχέετε μὴ εἶναι ὅμοιοι ἡμῖν.
now somewhat more acknowledge not to-be equal to-us
πρόσθε τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ὅσον χρόνον ἐκεῖνα
before both for among the Greeks as-long time those(-things)
ἡμῖν ἤνδανε, πλέον αἰεί κοτε ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα· νῦν τε
us pleased more always ever than-you we-won now and
παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσοῦτο δυνάμεθα ὥστε ἐπ' ἡμῖν ἐστι
with the barbarian so-much we-are-powerful that in us it-lies
τῆς γῆς ἐστερῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἠνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας. ἡμεῖς
of-the land to-have-been-deprived and besides to-have-been-enslaved you we
μέντοι τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακέομεν, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γενέσθω
however the all having not bear-grudges but to-us let-there-be
ἀντ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὑμῖν
in-return-for them fifty talents of-silver and to-you
ὑποδεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην ἀποτρέψειν."
we-undertake the(-things) coming upon the land to-turn-away
30 Ταῦτά σφι ἐπαγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες
these-things to-them proclaimed the Thessalians the for Phocians
μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμήδιζον, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν
alone of-the there men not medized for other(-reason) indeed
οὐδέν, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὑρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ
none as I reckoning find but for the hatred the
Θεσσαλῶν· εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ηὖξον, ὡς ἐμοὶ
of-Thessalians if but Thessalians the(-cause) of-Greeks had-furthered as to-me

δοκέειν, ἐμήδιζον ἂν οἱ Φωκέες. ταῦτα ἐπαγγελλομένων
to-seem would-have-medized — the Phocians these-things proclaiming
Θεσσαλῶν, οὔτε δώσειν ἔφασαν χρήματα, παρέχειν τε
Thessalians neither to-give they-said money to-be-possible and
σφίσι Θεσσαλοῖσι ὁμοίως μηδίζειν, εἰ ἄλλως βουλοίατο·
for-them like-Thessalians equally to-medize if otherwise they-wished
ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι ἑκόντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος.
but not to-be willingly to-be betrayers — of-Greece
Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ 31
when and were-reported these the words so indeed the
Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοῖσι Φωκεῦσι ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες
Thessalians angered with-the Phocians became guides
τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς
to-the barbarian of-the road from indeed then the Trachinian(-land) into
τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον· τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρης ποδεὼν
— Doris they-invaded of-the for Dorian land a-strip
στεινὸς ταύτῃ κατατείνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά
narrow there stretches about thirty stades most
κῃ εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ Φωκίδος
somewhere in-breadth lying between the both Malian and Phocian
χώρης, ἥ περ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρη
land which indeed was in-the olden(-time) Dryopis the and land
αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ.
this is mother-city of-Dorians of-those in Peloponnese
ταύτην ὦν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ
this then the Dorian land not harmed having-invaded the
βάρβαροι· ἐμήδιζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι.
barbarians they-medized both for and not it-seemed(-good) to-Thessalians
Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς 32
when and from — Doris into — Phocis they-invaded themselves
μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἱρέουσι. οἳ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων
indeed the Phocians not they-take some indeed for of-the Phocians

ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέη
to the heights — of-Parnassus went-up is and also suitable
δέξασθαι ὅμιλον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἡ κορυφή, κατὰ Νέωνα
to-receive a-multitude — of-Parnassus the peak by Neon
πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς· Τιθορέα οὔνομα αὐτῇ· ἐς τὴν δὴ
city lying by itself Tithorea name to-it to which indeed
ἀνηνείκαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν. οἳ δὲ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν
they-carried-up(-their-goods) and themselves went-up the but more of-them
ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς Ἄμφισσαν πόλιν
to the Ozolian Locrians removed to Amphissa city
τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκημένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν
the above the Crisaean plain built the and barbarians the
χώρην πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω
land all overran the Phocian Thessalians for so
ἦγον τὸν στρατόν· ὁκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον
led the army as-much-as and they-reached all they-burned
καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά.
and laid-waste and into the cities setting fire and into the temples
33 Πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτῃ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν ποταμὸν
marching for there along the Cephisus river
ἐδηίουν πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν Δρυμὸν πόλιν κατὰ
they-ravaged everything and down indeed burned Drymus city down
δὲ Χαράδραν καὶ Ἔρωχον καὶ Τεθρώνιον καὶ Ἀμφίκαιαν
and Charadra and Erochus and Tethronium and Amphicaea
καὶ Νέωνα καὶ Πεδιέας καὶ Τριτέας καὶ Ἐλάτειαν καὶ
and Neon and Pedieis and Triteis and Elatea and
Ὑάμπολιν καὶ Παραποταμίους καὶ Ἄβας, ἔνθα ἦν ἱρὸν
Hyampolis and Parapotamii and Abae where was a-temple
Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυροῖσί τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι
of-Apollo rich with-treasuries both and offerings
πολλοῖσι κατεσκευασμένον· ἦν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἔτι
many furnished there-was and both then and now still

χρηστήριον αὐτόθι. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν.
an-oracle there and this the temple having-plundered they-burned
καί τινας διώκοντες εἷλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖσι ὄρεσι,
and some pursuing they-took of-the Phocians near the mountains
καὶ γυναῖκας τινὰς διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ πλήθεος.
and women some they-killed ravishing through numbers
Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίκοντο 34
Parapotamii and passing-by the barbarians came
ἐς Πανοπέας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤδη διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ
to Panopeis from-there and now separating the army
αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ
of-them was-divided the indeed greatest and most-powerful(-part) of-the
στρατοῦ ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ᾽ Ἀθήνας
army with himself Xerxes marching against Athens
ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτούς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν
invaded into Boeotians into land the of-Orchomenians of-Boeotians
δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν
and all the multitude medized the and cities of-them
ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου
men Macedonian distributed saved by Alexander
ἀποπεμφθέντες· ἔσωζον δὲ τῇδε, δῆλον βουλόμενοι ποιέειν
sent they-saved and thus clear wishing to-make
Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν.
to-Xerxes that the(-cause) of-Medes Boeotians favored
Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι 35
these indeed then of-the barbarians there turned others
δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὁρμέατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν
and of-them guides having set-out for the temple the at
Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησὸν ἀπέργοντες. ὅσα δὲ
Delphi on right — Parnassus keeping-off as-much-as and
καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσιναμώρεον· καὶ
also these reached — of-Phocis all they-ravaged and

γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων
for of-the Panopeans the city they-burned and of-Daulians
καὶ Αἰολιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς
and of-Aeolidae they-marched and there split-off from-the
ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως συλήσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν
rest-of army of-these-things for-the-sake so-that having-plundered the temple
τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλέι Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα.
the at Delphi to-king Xerxes they-might-show the treasures
πάντα δ᾽ ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου
all and knew the(-things) in the temple as-many-as of-account
ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ
were worthy Xerxes as I learn better than the(-things)
ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ
in the houses he-had-left many always telling(-of-them) and
μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.
most the of-Croesus the (son)-of-Alyattes offerings
36 Οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην
the Delphians and learning these-things into all terror
ἀπίκατο, ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες ἐμαντεύοντο
came in fear and great established they-consulted-the-oracle
περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι
about the sacred treasures whether them under earth they-should-bury
εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώρην. ὁ δὲ θεός σφεας
or carry-out to another land the but god them
οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φὰς αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἑωυτοῦ
not allowed to-move saying himself able to-be of-the of-himself
προκατῆσθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν
to-protect Delphians and these-things having-heard of-them themselves
πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μέν νυν καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς
about took-thought children indeed then and women across to
τὴν Ἀχαιίην διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι
— Achaea they-sent of-themselves and the indeed most

ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησοῦ τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ
went-up to — Parnassus the peaks and into the
Κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἀνηνείκαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἄμφισσαν
Corycian cave carried-up(-their-goods) others and to Amphissa
τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον. πάντες δὲ ὧν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον
the Locrian withdrew all and then the Delphians left
τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἑξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω.
the city except sixty men and the prophet
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρων τὸ 37
when and near were the barbarians advancing and could-see the
ἱρόν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὁρᾷ
temple in this the prophet whose name was Aceratus sees
πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὅπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου
before the shrine arms lying-in-front from-within out-of the hall
ἐξενηνειγμένα ἱρά, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἅπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων
brought-out sacred which not lawful was to-touch for-men
οὐδενί. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἤιε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεοῦσι σημανέων
anyone he indeed then went of-Delphians to-those present to-signify
τὸ τέρας· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι
the portent the but barbarians when they-were hastening
κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεταί σφι
by the temple of-the Pronaea Athena befall them
τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα
portents still greater than-the before having-happened portent a-wonder
μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστί, ὅπλα ἀρήια αὐτόματα
indeed for also this very is arms of-war of-their-own-accord
φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ
to-appear outside lying-in-front of-the shrine the(-things) but indeed upon
τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων
this second having-happened even among all portents
ἄξια θωμάσαι μάλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ
worthy to-wonder-at most when for indeed were advancing the

βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ
barbarians by the temple of-the Pronaea Athena at this(-time)
ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ
from indeed the sky thunderbolts on-them fell from and
τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ
— of-Parnassus broken-off two peaks were-borne with-much
πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέβαλον συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ
crash upon them and struck-down many of-them from and
τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο.
the temple of-the Pronaea a-shout both and war-cry arose

38 Συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι
combining and these all fear on-the barbarians
ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντας σφέας,
had-fallen having-learned and the Delphians fleeing them
ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πλῆθός τι αὐτῶν. οἱ
having-come-down-on(-them) killed a-multitude some of-them the
δὲ περιεόντες ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ
and survivors straight-for Boeotians fled said and the
ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι,
having-returned these of-the barbarians as I learn
ὡς πρὸς τούτοισι καὶ ἄλλα ὥρων θεῖα· δύο γὰρ
that besides these also other(-things) they-saw divine two for
ὁπλίτας μέζονας ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας
hoplites greater than in-accord-with of-men nature being
ἕπεσθαί σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας.
to-follow them killing and pursuing

39 Τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους
these and the two Delphians say to-be local
ἥρωας, Φύλακόν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεα
heroes Phylacus both and Autonous whose the precincts
ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν
are about the temple of-Phylacus indeed by itself the road

κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας
above the temple of-the Pronaea of-Autonous and near
τῆς Κασταλίης ὑπὸ τῇ Ὑαμπείῃ κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες
— Castalia under the Hyampean peak the and having-fallen
ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σόοι,
from — Parnassus rocks still even to us were safe
ἐν τῷ τεμένεϊ τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ
in the precinct of-the Pronaea Athena lying into which
ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μέν
they-crashed through the barbarians borne of-these indeed
νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.
then the men this from the temple departure happens

IV · THE FLEET AT SALAMIS

At the Athenians' request the fleet puts in at Salamis, so that they can remove their families from Attica. Most are sent to Troezen, Aegina, or Salamis, and the honey cake of the acropolis serpent lies uneaten, a sign that the goddess has left; the Athenians sail to the fleet. At Pogon the fleet gathers under Eurybiades, larger than at Artemisium. Herodotus lists every contingent and its origins, in all three hundred and seventy-eight ships.

Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου 40
the and of-Greeks naval host from — Artemisium
Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας.
Athenians having-asked at Salamis puts-in the ships
τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς
of-this and for-the-sake they-asked them to-put-in at
Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας
Salamis Athenians so-that themselves children both and women
ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλεύσωνται
they-might-remove from — Attica besides and also they-might-deliberate

τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι
what to-be-done for-them will-be on for the present
πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσασθαι ὡς ἐψευσμένοι
affairs counsel they-were-about to-hold as having-been-deceived
γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εὑρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ
in-judgment thinking for to-find Peloponnesians in-full-force
ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν
in — Boeotia lying-in-wait-for the barbarian of-these indeed
εὗρον οὐδὲν ἐόν, οἳ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς
they-found nothing being they but learned the Isthmus them
τειχέοντας, ὡς τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε
walling as — Peloponnese of most both
ποιευμένους περιεῖναι καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ,
making to-survive and this keeping under guard
τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ἀπιέναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ
the(-things) other and to-let-go these-things learning so indeed
προσεδεήθησαν σφέων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα.
they-asked them to-put-in at — Salamis

41 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς
the indeed then others put-in at — Salamis Athenians and at
τὴν ἑωυτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο,
the of-themselves(-land) after and the arrival a-proclamation they-made
Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς
of-Athenians how anyone can to-save children both and the
οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς Τροίζηνα ἀπέστειλαν,
servants there the indeed most to Troezen sent
οἳ δὲ ἐς Αἴγιναν, οἳ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα
some and to Aegina some and to Salamis they-bastened and these-things
ὑπεκθέσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετέειν καὶ
to-remove to-the oracle both wishing to-be-obedient and
δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἥκιστα. λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν
indeed also of-this for-the-sake not least say Athenians a-serpent

μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ·
great guardian of-the acropolis to-live in the temple
λέγουσί τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ὡς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι
they-say both these-things and indeed as being monthly-offerings they-perform
προτιθέντες· τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσα ἐστί. αὕτη δὴ
setting-before(-it) the and monthly-offerings a-honey-cake is this indeed
ἡ μελιτόεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη
the honey-cake in the before always time being-consumed
τότε ἦν ἄψαυστος. σημηνάσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης,
then was untouched having-signified and these-things the priestess
μᾶλλόν τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν
more somewhat the Athenians and more-eagerly left the
πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυίης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὡς
city as also the goddess having-forsaken the acropolis when
δέ σφι πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο, ἔπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.
and to-them all had-been-removed they-sailed to the camp
Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατέσχον 42
when and those from Artemisium at Salamis put-in
τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθανόμενος ὁ
the ships flowed-together also the rest learning the
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροίζηνος· ἐς γὰρ
of-the Greeks naval host from Troezen at for
Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζηνίων λιμένα προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι.
Pogon the of-Troezenians harbor it-had-been-ordered to-gather
συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῷ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ'
were-gathered both indeed by-far more ships than at
Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον καὶ ἀπὸ πολίων πλεύνων. ναύαρχος
Artemisium fought and from cities more admiral
μέν νυν ἐπῆν ὠυτὸς ὅς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης
indeed then was the-same who indeed at Artemisium Eurybiades
ὁ Εὐρυκλείδεω ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεος τοῦ
the (son)-of-Eurycleides a-man Spartan not however of-family the

βασιληίου ἐών· νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα
royal being ships but by-far most both and best
πλεούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι.
sailing furnished Athenians

43 Ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οἵδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου Λακεδαιμόνιοι
served and these from indeed Peloponnese Lacedaemonians
ἑκκαίδεκα νέας παρεχόμενοι, Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ
sixteen ships furnishing Corinthians and the same
πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι καὶ ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Σικυώνιοι
complement furnishing also at Artemisium Sicyonians
δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα,
and fifteen furnished ships Epidaurians and ten
Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Ἑρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς, ἐόντες οὗτοι πλὴν
Troezenians and five Hermionians and three being these except
Ἑρμιονέων Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ
Hermionians Dorian both and Macednian race from Erineus
τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὁρμηθέντες. οἱ
both and Pindus and — Dryopis last having-set-out the
δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες, ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλιέων
and Hermionians are Dryopes by Heracles both and Malians
ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρης ἐξαναστάντες.
from — now Doris called land driven-out

44 Οὗτοι μέν νυν Πελοποννησίων ἐστρατεύοντο, οἱ δὲ
these indeed then of-Peloponnesians served those and
ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἠπείρου, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς
from the outer mainland Athenians indeed beyond all the
ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νέας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, μοῦνοι·
others furnishing ships eighty and a-hundred alone
ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ οὐ συνεναυμάχησαν Πλαταιέες Ἀθηναίοισι
at Salamis for not fought-along Plataeans with-Athenians
διὰ τοιόνδε τι πρῆγμα· ἀπαλλασσομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων
through such some affair departing the Greeks

ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, ὡς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα, οἱ
from — Artemisium when they-were off Chalcis the
Πλαταιέες ἀποβάντες ἐς τὴν περαίην τῆς Βοιωτίης
Plataeans having-disembarked on the opposite-coast of-the Boeotian
χώρης πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν ἐτράποντο τῶν οἰκετέων. οὗτοι μέν
land to removal turned of-the servants these indeed
νυν τούτους σώζοντες ἐλείφθησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ
then these saving were-left-behind Athenians and in-the-time
μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἦσαν
indeed of-Pelasgians holding — now Greece called were
Πελασγοί, ὀνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος
Pelasgians named Cranai in-the-time and of-Cecrops
βασιλέος ἐκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθέος
king they-were-called Cecropidae having-succeeded and Erechtheus
τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ
the rule Athenians they-were-renamed Ion and the
Ξούθου στρατάρχεω γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι ἐκλήθησαν
(son)-of-Xuthus commander having-become for-Athenians they-were-called
ἀπὸ τούτου Ἴωνες.
from this(-man) Ionians
Μεγαρέες δὲ τὠυτὸ πλήρωμα παρείχοντο καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, 45
Megarians and the-same complement furnished also at Artemisium
Ἀμπρακιῶται δὲ ἑπτὰ νέας ἔχοντες ἐπεβοήθησαν, Λευκάδιοι
Ambraciots and seven ships having came-to-help Leucadians
δὲ τρεῖς, ἔθνος ἐόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου.
and three race being these Dorian from Corinth
Νησιωτέων δὲ Αἰγινῆται τριήκοντα παρείχοντο. ἦσαν μέν 46
of-islanders and Aeginetans thirty furnished were indeed
σφι καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμέναι νέες, ἀλλὰ τῇσι μὲν
to-them also other manned ships but with-these indeed
τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἐφύλασσον, τριήκοντα δὲ τῇσι ἄριστα
the of-themselves(-land) they-guarded thirty and with-the best

πλεούσῃσι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐναυμάχησαν. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εἰσὶ
sailing at Salamis they-fought Aeginetans and are
Δωριέες ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου· τῇ δὲ νήσῳ πρότερον οὔνομα ἦν
Dorians from Epidaurus to-the and island formerly name was
Οἰνώνη. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτας Χαλκιδέες τὰς ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ
Oenone after and Aeginetans Chalcidians the at Artemisium
εἴκοσι παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἐρετριέες τὰς ἑπτά· οὗτοι δὲ
twenty furnishing and Eretrians the seven these and
Ἴωνες εἰσί. μετὰ δὲ Κήιοι τὰς αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος
Ionians are after and Ceans the same furnishing race
ἐὸν Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων. Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσερας,
being Ionian from Athens Naxians and furnished four
ἀποπεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιητέων
sent indeed to the Medes by the citizens
κατά περ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολέων
as indeed the other islanders having-disregarded but the orders
ἀπίκατο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας Δημοκρίτου σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς
came to the Greeks Democritus having-urged-it a-man
τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου καὶ τότε τριηραρχέοντος. Νάξιοι δὲ
of-the townsmen notable and then commanding-a-trireme Naxians and
εἰσὶ Ἴωνες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. Στυρέες δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς
are Ionians from Athens sprung Styreans and the same
παρείχοντο νέας τάς περ ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Κύθνιοι δὲ μίαν
furnished ships which indeed at Artemisium Cythnians and one
καὶ πεντηκόντερον, ἐόντες συναμφότεροι οὗτοι Δρύοπες. καὶ
and a-fifty-oared(-ship) being both-together these Dryopes and
Σερίφιοί τε καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι γὰρ
Seriphians both and Siphnians and Melians served these for
οὐκ ἔδοσαν μοῦνοι νησιωτέων τῷ βαρβάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.
not gave alone of-islanders to-the barbarian earth both and water

Οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ 47
these indeed all within dwelling of-Thesprotians and
Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο· Θεσπρωτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ
Acheron river served Thesprotians for are
ὁμουρέοντες Ἀμπρακιώτῃσι καὶ Λευκαδίοισι, οἳ ἐξ
bordering on-Ambraciots and Leucadians who from
ἐσχατέων χωρέων ἐστρατεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων
farthest lands served of-the and outside these
οἰκημένων Κροτωνιῆται μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἳ ἐβοήθησαν τῇ
dwelling Crotoniats alone were who helped —
Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ μιῇ νηί, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ τρὶς
to-Greece in-danger with-one ship which commanded a-man thrice
πυθιονίκης Φάυλλος· Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί.
Pythian-victor Phayllus Crotoniats and by-race are Achaeans
Οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι τριήρεας παρεχόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, 48
the indeed then others triremes furnishing served
Μήλιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Σερίφιοι πεντηκοντέρους· Μήλιοι
Melians and also Siphnians and Seriphians fifty-oared(-ships) Melians
μὲν γένος ἐόντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος δύο παρείχοντο,
indeed by-race being from Lacedaemon two furnished
Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ Σερίφιοι Ἴωνες ἐόντες ἀπ᾽ Ἀθηνέων μίαν
Siphnians and also Seriphians Ionians being from Athens one
ἑκάτεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν
each the-number and was the whole of-the ships except the
πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκόσιαι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ.
fifty-oared(-ships) three-hundred and seventy and eight

Most of the commanders want to sail to the Isthmus and fight before the Peloponnese. News comes that Attica is burning; the Persians take the acropolis by climbing near the shrine of Aglaurus and kill its defenders. The sacred olive sprouts again. Panic grips the fleet. Mnesiphilus warns Themistocles that a withdrawal will scatter the fleet; Themistocles persuades Eurybiades to fight in the strait and threatens to take the Athenians to Siris, and the Greeks stay.

49 Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
when and to — Salamis came-together the generals from the
εἰρημενέων πολίων, ἐβουλεύοντο, προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδεω
mentioned cities they-deliberated having-proposed Eurybiades
γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅκου δοκέοι
opinion to-declare the(-one) wishing where he-thought
ἐπιτηδεότατον εἶναι ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοὶ χωρέων
most-suitable to-be a-sea-fight to-make of-the they places
ἐγκρατέες εἰσί· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπεῖτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ
masters are — for Attica was-given-up already of-the and
λοιπέων πέρι προετίθεε. αἱ γνῶμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων
rest about he-proposed the opinions and of-those speaking
αἱ πλεῖσται συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας
the most coincided to the Isthmus having-sailed
ναυμαχέειν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον
to-fight-at-sea before — Peloponnese adding the argument
τόνδε, ὡς εἰ νικηθέωσι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν
this that if they-be-defeated in-the sea-fight at Salamis indeed
ἐόντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίη οὐδεμία
being they-will-be-besieged in an-island where to-them help none
ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτῶν
will-appear at but the Isthmus to the of-themselves(-people)
ἐξοίσονται.
they-will-escape

Ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, 50
these-things the from Peloponnese generals adding
ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἥκειν τὸν βάρβαρον
had-come a-man Athenian reporting to-have-come the barbarian
ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ
into — Attica and all it to-be-wasted-by-fire the for
διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας
through Boeotians having-turned host with Xerxes having-burned
Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον,
of-Thespians the city they having-left for Peloponnese
καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἥκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας
and the of-Plataeans likewise came both to — Athens
καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδηίου. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπειάν τε καὶ
and all those(-parts) ravaged burned and Thespia both and
Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμήδιζον.
Plataea having-learned from-Thebans that not they-medized
Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι 51
from and the crossing of-the Hellespont whence to-march
ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα ἐν
began the barbarians one there having-spent month in
τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἑτέροισι μησὶ
which they-were-crossing into — Europe in three other months
ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι.
they-were in — Attica Calliades being-archon for-Athenians
καὶ αἱρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ, καί τινας ὀλίγους εὑρίσκουσι
and they-take deserted the town and some few find
τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἐόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱροῦ καὶ
of-the Athenians in the temple being stewards both of-the temple and
πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἳ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρῃσί
poor men who having-barricaded the acropolis with-doors
τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἠμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ᾽
both and timbers warded-off the attackers at-once indeed through

ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ
weakness of-livelihood not having-withdrawn to Salamis besides and
αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον τὸ ἡ Πυθίη σφι
themselves thinking to-have-discovered the oracle which the Pythia to-them
ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο
oracled the wooden wall impregnable to-be itself indeed this
εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.
to-be the refuge according-to the oracle and not the ships
52 Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἱζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος
the and Persians sitting on the opposite of-the acropolis
ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρήιον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον
hill which Athenians call of-Ares hill besieged(-it)
τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅκως στυππεῖον περὶ τοὺς ὀιστοὺς
in-a-way such-as-this whenever tow around the arrows
περιθέντες ἅψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων
having-put they-lit(-it) they-shot at the barricade there of-Athenians
οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὅμως ἠμύνοντο, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον
the besieged nevertheless defended-themselves although to the utmost
κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος· οὐδὲ
of-evil having-come and the barricade having-betrayed(-them) nor
λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης
proposals the Pisistratidae offering about terms
ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμηχανῶντο
they-accepted defending-themselves but other(-things) both they-contrived-against(-them)
καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας
and indeed also approaching the barbarians to the gates
ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ξέρξην ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν
boulders they-let-go so-that Xerxes for time long
ἀπορίῃσι ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενον σφέας ἑλεῖν.
in-perplexities to-be-held not being-able them to-take

Χρόνῳ δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δή τις ἔξοδος τοῖσι 53
in-time but out-of the difficulties appeared indeed some way-out for-the
βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν
barbarians it-was-needful for according-to the oracle all —
Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. ἔμπροσθε
Attica the on the mainland to-come under Persians in-front
ὧν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὄπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς
then before the acropolis behind and the gates and the
ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ᾽ ἂν ἤλπισε
ascent where indeed neither anyone was-guarding nor — would-have-expected
μή κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίη ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ
lest ever anyone by these(-places) should-go-up of-men there
ἀνέβησαν τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς
went-up some by the shrine of-the of-Cecrops daughter
Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου.
Aglaurus although indeed precipitous being the place
ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ
when and saw them having-come-up the Athenians onto
τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἳ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ
the acropolis some indeed hurled themselves from the
τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἳ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον
wall down and were-killed others and into the hall
κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον
fled of-the and Persians those having-come-up first
μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες
indeed turned to the gates these and having-opened
τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐφόνευον· ἐπεὶ δέ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο,
the suppliants they-slew when and to-them all had-been-laid-low
τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.
the temple having-plundered they-burned all the acropolis

54 Σχὼν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε
having-taken and entirely — Athens Xerxes sent-off
ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνῳ ἀγγελέοντα τὴν
to Susa a-messenger horseman to-Artabanus to-announce the
παρεοῦσάν σφι εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ
present to-them success from and the sending of-the
κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς
herald on-the-second day having-called-together of-Athenians the
φυγάδας, ἑωυτῷ δὲ ἑπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ
exiles to-himself and following he-bade in-way the their-own
θῦσαι τὰ ἱρὰ ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἴτε δὴ
to-offer the sacrifices having-gone-up to the acropolis whether indeed
ὧν ὄψιν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ
then vision some having-seen of-a-dream he-enjoined these-things or also
ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρόν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες
a-scruple to-him came having-burned the temple the and exiles
τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.
of-the Athenians did the(-things) enjoined

55 Τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ
of-what and for-the-sake these I-mentioned I-shall-tell there-is on the
ἀκροπόλι ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι
acropolis this of-Erechtheus the earth-born said to-be
νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίη τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι, τὰ λόγος
a-sbrine in which an-olive both and a-sea are-in(-it) which the-story
παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδεώνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας
among Athenians Poseidon both and Athena having-contended
περὶ τῆς χώρης μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην
about the land as-witnesses to-have-set this then the olive
ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν
together-with the other temple it-befell to-be-burned by the
βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος Ἀθηναίων
barbarians on-the-second and day from the burning of-Athenians

οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς
those to-sacrifice by king bidden when they-went-up to
τὸ ἱρόν, ὥρων βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε
the temple they-saw a-shoot from the stump as-much-as —
πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μέν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.
a-cubit-long having-run-up these indeed then these-things told
Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὥς σφι ἐξηγγέλθη ὡς ἔσχε 56
the and at Salamis Greeks when to-them it-was-reported how had
τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον
the(-things) about the of-Athenians acropolis into such confusion
ἀπίκοντο ὡς ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον
came that some of-the generals not-even to-be-ratified waited
τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ
the proposed matter but into both the ships they-rushed and
ἱστία ἀείροντο ὡς ἀποθευσόμενοι· τοῖσί τε ὑπολειπομένοισι
sails hoisted as about-to-run-away to-those both left-behind
αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχέειν. νύξ τε ἐγίνετο
of-them it-was-ratified before the Isthmus to-fight-at-sea night both came
καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας.
and they having-dispersed from the council went-on-board into the ships
Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἴρετο 57
there indeed Themistocles having-come to the ship asked
Μνησίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ὅ τι σφι εἴη βεβουλευμένον.
Mnesiphilus a-man Athenian what ever to-them was resolved
πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν
having-learned and from him that it-was decided to-put-out
τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου
the ships to the Isthmus and before — Peloponnese
ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε "Οὔτ' ἄρα, ἢν ἀπαείρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ
to-fight-at-sea he-said not then if they-take-away the ships from
Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις· κατὰ
Salamis for no longer fatherland you-will-fight-at-sea by

γὰρ πόλις ἕκαστοι τρέψονται, καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης
for cities each will-turn and neither them Eurybiades
κατέχειν δυνήσεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ὥστε μὴ
to-hold-back will-be-able nor any of-men other so-that not
οὐ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιήν· ἀπολέεταί τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς
not to-be-scattered the army will-perish and — Greece
ἀβουλίῃσι. ἀλλ᾽ εἴ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, ἴθι καὶ πειρῶ
through-ill-counsels but if any is a-means go and try
διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἤν κως δύνῃ ἀναγνῶσαι
to-upset the(-things) resolved if somehow you-can to-persuade
Εὐρυβιάδην μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ μένειν."
Eurybiades to-change-his-mind so-as there to-stay
58 Κάρτα τε τῷ Θεμιστοκλέι ἤρεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ
greatly both — to-Themistocles pleased the suggestion and
οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἤιε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα
nothing to these-things having-answered he-went to the ship
τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἐθέλειν οἱ
the of-Eurybiades having-arrived and he-said to-wish with-him
κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμῖξαι· ὃ δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νέα
common some matter to-share he and him into the ship
ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἴ τι θέλει. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ
bade having-come-aboard to-speak if anything he-wishes there —
Θεμιστοκλέης παριζόμενός οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνά τε πάντα
Themistocles sitting-beside him recounts those both all
τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἑωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα
which he-heard from-Mnesiphilus his-own making(-them) and other
πολλὰ προστιθείς, ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρηίζων ἔκ τε τῆς
many adding up-to which he-persuaded(-him) begging out both of-the
νεὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον.
ship to-go-out to-gather and the generals to the council

Ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην προθεῖναι 59
when and then they-were-gathered before than — Eurybiades set-forth
τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς
the matter of-which for-the-sake he-gathered the generals vehement
ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος·
was — Themistocles in the speeches as greatly entreating
λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος
speaking and him the Corinthian general Adeimantus
ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε "Ὦ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ
the (son)-of-Ocytus said O Themistocles in the contests those
προεξανιστάμενοι ῥαπίζονται." ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη "Οἱ
starting-too-soon are-beaten he and defending-himself said those
δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανοῦνται."
but at-least left-behind not are-crowned
Τότε μὲν ἠπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς 60
then indeed gently to the Corinthian he-answered to
δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν ἔτι οὐδὲν τῶν
but — Eurybiades he-said of-those indeed still nothing of-the
πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὡς ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος
before said that when they-put-off from Salamis
διαδρήσονται· παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερέ
they-will-run-away being-present for the allies not it-brought
οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορέειν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου
to-him seemliness any to-accuse he but to-another argument
εἴχετο, λέγων τάδε.
held saying this
"Ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ 60A
in you now it-is to-save — Greece if me you-obey
ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων
a-sea-fight there staying to-make nor obeying of-these
τοῖσι λόγοισι ἀναζεύξῃς πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας.
the words you-move to the Isthmus the ships

ἀντίθες γὰρ ἑκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ
set-against(-each-other) for each having-heard at indeed the
Ἰσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγεϊ ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις,
Isthmus engaging in sea open you-will-fight-at-sea
ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφορον ἐστὶ νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας
into which least for-us advantageous it-is ships having heavier
καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας· τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά
and in-number fewer this and you-will-lose Salamis
τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγιναν, ἤν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
both and Megara and Aegina if indeed even the(-things) other
εὐτυχήσωμεν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἕψεται
we-have-good-fortune-in together-with and the navy of-them will-follow
καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός, καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις
also the land army and so them yourself you-will-lead
ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἁπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι.
to — Peloponnese you-will-endanger and all — to-Greece
60B ἢν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσῃς, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι
if but what I say you-do so-many in them
χρηστὰ εὑρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες
advantages you-will-find first indeed in narrow(-space) engaging
νηυσὶ ὀλίγῃσι πρὸς πολλάς, ἢν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ
with-ships few against many if the likely(-things) from the
πολέμου ἐκβαίνῃ, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ
war turn-out greatly we-shall-prevail the for in narrow(-space)
ναυμαχέειν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστί, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων.
to-fight-at-sea on our(-side) is in wide-space but on theirs
αὖτις δὲ Σαλαμὶς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκκειται
again and Salamis survives in which for-us are-put-away
τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὲν καὶ τόδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι,
children both and women and indeed also this in them is-in(-it)
τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα· ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων
to-which also you-cling most equally there both staying

προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, οὐδὲ
you-will-fight-at-sea-for Peloponnese and at the Isthmus nor
σφέας, εἴ περ εὖ φρονέεις, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.
them if indeed well you-think you-will-lead to — Peloponnese
ἢν δέ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν 60C
if but at-least also what I hope happens and we-conquer
τῇσι νηυσί, οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ
with-the ships neither to-you to the Isthmus will-come the
βάρβαροι οὔτε προβήσονται ἑκαστέρω τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίασί
barbarians nor will-advance farther than Attica will-depart
τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι
and in-no order with-Megara and we-shall-gain surviving
καὶ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιον ἐστὶ
and Aegina and Salamis at which for-us also an-oracle is
τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μέν νυν
than-the enemies superior to-become likely(-things) indeed then
βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι·
planning to-men as the in-general is-wont to-happen
μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς
not and likely(-things) planning not is-wont not-even the god
προσχωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπηίας γνώμας."
to-come-over to the human counsels
Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὖτις ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος 61
these-things saying Themistocles again the Corinthian Adeimantus
ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἐστὶ πατρὶς καὶ
attacked(-him) to-be-silent both bidding to-whom not is a-fatherland and
Εὐρυβιάδην οὐκ ἐῶν ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρί· πόλιν
Eurybiades not allowing to-put-to-the-vote for-a-cityless man a-city
γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας
for — Themistocles furnishing so he-bade opinions
συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δέ οἱ προέφερε ὅτι ἡλώκεσάν τε
to-contribute these-things and to-him he-cast-up that had-been-taken both

καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης κεῖνόν
and were-held — Athens then indeed — Themistocles him
τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε, ἑωυτοῖσι
both and the Corinthians many both and bad(-things) said to-themselves
τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἴη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζων ἤ περ
both he-showed by-speech that there-was both a-city and a-land greater than indeed
ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ' ἂν διηκόσιαι νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμέναι·
to-those as-long-as — two-hundred ships to-them are manned
οὐδαμοὺς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι.
none for of-Greeks them attacking would-beat-them-off

62 Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδην,
signifying and these-things by-the speech he-passed to Eurybiades
λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα. "Σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ
saying more vehement(-words) you if you-will-stay here and
μένων ἔσεαι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν
staying you-will-be a-man good if but not you-will-overturn —
Ἑλλάδα· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἀλλ'
Greece the all for for-us of-the war carry the ships but
ἐμοὶ πείθεο. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσῃς, ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς ἔχομεν
me obey if but these-things not you-do we indeed as we-are
ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σῖριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ,
having-taken-up the households we-shall-convey to Siris the in Italy
ἥ περ ἡμετέρη τε ἐστὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει
which indeed ours both is from of-old still and the oracles say
ὑπ' ἡμέων αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων
by us it to-be-needful to-be-founded you and of-allies
τοιῶνδε μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων."
such bereft will-remember the my words

63 Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης·
these-things and Themistocles saying was-persuaded Eurybiades
δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
to-seem and to-me having-feared most the Athenians

ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μή σφεας ἀπολίπωσι, ἢν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν
he-was-persuaded lest them they-desert if to the Isthmus
ἀγάγῃ τὰς νέας· ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι
he-lead the ships having-deserted for Athenians no-longer
ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί. ταύτην δὲ αἱρέεται τὴν
were a-match the rest this and he-chooses the
γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαναυμαχέειν.
opinion there staying to-fight-it-out-at-sea
Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισάμενοι, 64
so indeed those about Salamis with-words having-skirmished
ἐπείτε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς
when to-Eurybiades it-seemed-good there prepared as
ναυμαχήσοντες. ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι
going-to-fight-at-sea day both came and with the sun rising
σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἔν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ἔδοξε δέ
an-earthquake happened on both the land and the sea it-seemed-good and
σφι εὔξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας
to-them to-pray to-the gods and to-call-on the Aeacids
συμμάχους. ὡς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίευν ταῦτα·
as-allies when and to-them it-seemed-good also they-did these-things
εὐξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος
having-prayed for to-all the gods from-there indeed from Salamis
Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν
Ajax both and Telamon they-called-on for and Aeacus
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν.
and the other Aeacids a-ship they-sent to Aegina

Dicaeus sees a dust cloud and hears the Iacchus cry from Eleusis, a sign of disaster for Xerxes' fleet. The Persian ships reach Phalerum, and Artemisia alone advises Xerxes not to fight; he praises her but follows the majority. While the Peloponnesians wall the Isthmus and the commanders quarrel, Themistocles sends Sicinnus to tell the Persians that the Greeks will flee. The Persians close the strait by night and land men on Psyttaleia. Aristides reports that the Greeks are surrounded, and a deserting Tenian ship confirms it.

65 Ἔφη δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος φυγάς τε καὶ
said and Dicaeus the (son)-of-Theocydes a-man Athenian an-exile both and
παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπείτε
among Medes notable having-become this the time when
ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ
was-being-laid-waste the Attic land by the land army the
Ξέρξεω ἐοῦσα ἔρημος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἐὼν ἅμα
of-Xerxes being empty of-Athenians to-have-happened then being with
Δημαρήτῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, ἰδεῖν
Demaratus the Lacedaemonian in the Thriasian plain to-have-seen
δὲ κονιορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπ' Ἐλευσῖνος ὡς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστά
and a-dust-cloud coming from Eleusis as of-men most
κῃ τρισμυρίων, ἀποθωμάζειν τε σφέας τὸν κονιορτὸν
somewhere thirty-thousand to-wonder-at both they the dust-cloud
ὅτεων κοτὲ εἴη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καί
of-what ever were men and suddenly a-voice to-hear and
οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἴακχον. εἶναι
to-him to-appear the voice to-be the mystic Iacchus(-cry) to-be
δ' ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι γινομένων τὸν
and unacquainted of-the rites the at Eleusis happening —
Δημάρητον, εἰρέσθαί τε αὐτὸν ὅ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον
Demaratus to-have-asked and him what ever the(-thing) uttering

εἴη τοῦτο. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰπεῖν "Δημάρητε, οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως
was this he-himself and to-have-said Demaratus not is(-it) how
οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέος στρατιῇ· τάδε γὰρ
not great some harm will-be to-the king's army this for
ἀρίδηλα, ἐρήμου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ
is-very-clear empty being — of-Attica that divine the(-thing)
φθεγγόμενον, ἀπ' Ἐλευσῖνος ἰὸν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισί τε
uttering from Eleusis going for vengeance for-Athenians both
καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισι. καὶ ἢν μέν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν
and for-the allies and if indeed at-least it-swoops upon —
Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλέι καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ
Peloponnese danger to-himself both king and to-the army
τῇ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἔσται, ἢν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τράπηται
the on the mainland there-will-be if but against the ships it-turn
τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς
the at Salamis the naval host will-risk king
ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν δὲ ὁρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ
to-lose the and festival this keep Athenians through
πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ
all years for-the mother and the Maid and of-them both the(-one)
βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυεῖται· καὶ τὴν
wishing and of-the other Greeks is-initiated and the
φωνὴν τῆς ἀκούεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁρτῇ ἰακχάζουσι." πρὸς
voice which you-hear in this the festival they-cry-Iacchus to
ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρητον "Σίγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ
these-things to-have-said Demaratus be-silent both and to-no-one other
τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἴπῃς· ἢν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνενειχθῇ
the word this say if for to-you to king be-reported
τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλήν, καί σε οὔτε ἐγὼ
the words these you-will-lose the head and you neither I
δυνήσομαι ῥύσασθαι οὔτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἷς. ἀλλ'
shall-be-able to-rescue nor other of-men not-even one but

ἔχ᾽ ἥσυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε θεοῖσι μελήσει.”
keep quiet about and army this to-the-gods it-will-be-a-care
τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραινέειν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ
he indeed then these-things to-advise from and the dust-cloud
καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι
and the voice to-have-come a-cloud and raised-aloft to-be-borne
ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
toward Salamis toward the camp the of-the Greeks
οὕτω δὴ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξεω
so indeed they to-have-learned that the fleet the of-Xerxes
ἀπολέεσθαι μέλλοι. ταῦτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος
to-perish was-about these-things indeed Dicaeus the (son)-of-Theocydes
ἔλεγε, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.
said of-Demaratus both and other witnesses appealing-to
66 Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ
the and to the of-Xerxes naval host appointed when from
Τρηχῖνος θεησάμενοι τὸ τρῶμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς
Trachis having-viewed the disaster the Laconian they-crossed to
τὴν Ἱστιαίην, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλεον δι᾽ Εὐρίπου,
— Histiaea having-waited days three sailed through Euripus
καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῃσι τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ὡς μὲν
and in other three days they-were at Phalerum as indeed
ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὰς
to-me to-seem not fewer being in-number they-invaded into —
Ἀθήνας, κατά τε ἤπειρον καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ ἀπικόμενοι, ἢ
Athens by both mainland and with-the ships having-come than
ἐπί τε Σηπιάδα ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας· ἀντιθήσω
to both Sepias they-came and to Thermopylae I-shall-set-against
γὰρ τοῖσί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶν ἀπολομένοισι καὶ
for those both by the storm of-them having-perished and
τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι καὶ τῇσι ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίῃσι
those at Thermopylae and in-the at Artemisium sea-fights

τούσδε τοὺς τότε οὔκω ἑπομένους βασιλέι, Μηλιέας καὶ
these the then not-yet following king Malians and
Δωριέας καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατιῇ ἑπομένους
Dorians and Locrians and Boeotians in-full-force following
πλὴν Θεσπιέων καὶ Πλαταιέων, καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους τε
except Thespians and Plataeans and moreover Carystians both
καὶ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Τηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νησιώτας
and Andrians and Tenians both and the remaining islanders
πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολίων τῶν ἐπεμνήσθημεν
all except the five cities of-which we-mentioned
πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα. ὅσῳ γὰρ δὴ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρω
before the names by-as-much for indeed advanced farther-into
τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσούτῳ πλέω ἔθνεά οἱ εἵπετο.
— of-Greece the Persian by-so-much more nations him followed
Ἐπεὶ ὦν ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πάντες οὗτοι πλὴν Παρίων 67
when then they-had-come to — Athens all these except Parians
(Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐν Κύθνῳ ἐκαραδόκεον τὸν πόλεμον
Parians and left-behind at Cythnus were-watching the war
κῇ ἀποβήσεται), οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὡς ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον,
how it-will-turn-out the and rest when they-came to — Phalerum
ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ἐθέλων σφι
there came-down himself Xerxes to the ships wishing with-them
συμμῖξαί τε καὶ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων τὰς γνώμας.
to-confer both and to-learn of-those sailing-with(-him) the opinions
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενος προΐζετο, παρῆσαν μετάπεμπτοι οἱ τῶν
when and having-arrived he-sat-in-front were-present summoned the of-the
ἐθνέων τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ ταξίαρχοι ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν,
nations the their-own tyrants and captains from the ships
καὶ ἵζοντο ὥς σφι βασιλεὺς ἑκάστῳ τιμὴν ἐδεδώκεε, πρῶτος
and they-sat as to-them king to-each honor had-given first
μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεύς, μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὦλλοι.
indeed the Sidonian king after and the Tyrian after and the-others

ὡς δὲ κόσμῳ ἐπεξῆς ἵζοντο, πέμψας Ξέρξης Μαρδόνιον
when and in-order in-a-row they-sat having-sent Xerxes Mardonius
εἰρώτα ἀποπειρώμενος ἑκάστου εἰ ναυμαχίην ποιέοιτο.
asked testing each whether a-sea-fight he-should-make

68 Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιιὼν εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ
when and going-round asked — Mardonius having-begun from the
Σιδωνίου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τὠυτὸ γνώμην ἐξεφέροντο
Sidonian the indeed others with the-same opinion declared
κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι, Ἀρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἔφη.
bidding a-sea-fight to-make Artemisia but this said

68A "Εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ὡς ἐγὼ τάδε
say for-me to king Mardonius that I this
λέγω, οὔτε κακίστη γενομένη ἐν τῇσι ναυμαχίῃσι τῇσι
say neither worst having-been in the sea-fights the
πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμένη. δέσποτα, τὴν
off Euboea nor least having-displayed master the
δὲ ἐοῦσαν γνώμην με δίκαιον ἐστὶ ἀποδείκνυσθαι, τὰ
but being opinion me right it-is to-declare what
τυγχάνω φρονέουσα ἄριστα ἐς πρήγματα τὰ σά. καί τοι
I-happen thinking best for affairs the yours and to-you
τάδε λέγω, φείδεο τῶν νεῶν μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποιέο. οἱ
this I-say spare the ships nor a-sea-fight make the
γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσονες τοσοῦτο εἰσὶ
for men than-the your men stronger so-much are
κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν.
by sea as men than-women
τί δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμαχίῃσι ἀνακινδυνεύειν; οὐκ ἔχεις
why and at-all must you in-sea-fights run-the-risk not do-you-hold
μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν περ εἵνεκα ὁρμήθης στρατεύεσθαι,
indeed — Athens of-which indeed for-the-sake you-set-out to-campaign

ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδὼν δέ τοι ἵσταται οὐδείς·
you-hold and the rest-of Greece in-the-way and to-you stands no-one
οἳ δέ τοι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπήλλαξαν οὕτω ὡς κείνους ἔπρεπε.
who and to-you stood-against(-you) came-off so as them it-befitted
τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀποβήσεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων 68B
how and I think to-turn-out the of-the enemies
πρήγματα, τοῦτο φράσω. ἢν μὲν μὴ ἐπειχθῇς ναυμαχίην
affairs this I-shall-tell if indeed not you-hasten a-sea-fight
ποιεύμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ ἔχῃς πρὸς γῇ μένων
making but the ships here you-keep near land staying
ἢ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὐπετέως τοι
or even advancing into — Peloponnese easily for-you
δέσποτα χωρήσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας.
master will-go the(-things) intending you-have-come
οὐ γὰρ οἷοί τε πολλὸν χρόνον εἰσί τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες,
not for able — long time are to-you to-hold-out the Greeks
ἀλλὰ σφέας διασκεδᾷς, κατὰ πόλις δὲ ἕκαστοι φεύξονται.
but them you-will-scatter to cities and each will-flee
οὔτε γὰρ σῖτος πάρα σφι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὡς ἐγὼ
neither for food is-at-hand for-them in the island this as I
πυνθάνομαι, οὔτε αὐτοὺς οἰκός, ἢν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον
learn nor for-them likely(-it-is) if you to — Peloponnese
ἐλαύνῃς τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, ἀτρεμιεῖν τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν
drive the land army to-keep-quiet those from-there of-them
ἥκοντας, οὐδέ σφι μελήσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ναυμαχέειν.
having-come nor to-them will-it-be-a-care before — Athens to-fight-at-sea
ἢν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῇς ναυμαχῆσαι, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ 68C
if but at-once you-hasten to-fight-at-sea I-fear lest the
ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεὶς τὸν πεζὸν προσδηλήσηται.
naval host having-been-worsted the land(-army) harm-besides
πρὸς δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βάλευ, ὡς τοῖσι
besides and O king also this into heart cast that to-the

μὲν χρηστοῖσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι
indeed good of-the men bad slaves are-wont
γίνεσθαι, τοῖσι δὲ κακοῖσι χρηστοί. σοὶ δὲ ἐόντι ἀρίστῳ
to-be to-the but bad good to-you and being best
ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ δοῦλοι εἰσί, οἳ ἐν συμμάχων
of-men all bad slaves there-are who in of-allies
λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ
account are-said to-be being Egyptians both and Cyprians and
Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὄφελος ἐστὶ οὐδέν."
Cilicians and Pamphylians of-whom use is none

69 Ταῦτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν εὖνοοι
these-things saying to Mardonius as-many-as indeed were well-disposed
τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο τοὺς λόγους ὡς κακόν
— to-Artemisia misfortune made the words as bad
τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔα ναυμαχίην
something about-to-suffer from king because not she-allowed a-sea-fight
ποιέεσθαι· οἳ δὲ ἀγεόμενοί τε καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἅτε
to-be-made they and resenting both and envying her as
ἐν πρώτοισι τετιμημένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων,
among first honored through all the allies
ἐτέρποντο τῇ ἀνακρίσι ὡς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ
rejoiced in-the questioning as about-to-perish her when and
ἀνηνείχθησαν αἱ γνῶμαι ἐς Ξέρξην, κάρτα τε ἤσθη
were-reported the opinions to Xerxes greatly both he-was-pleased
τῇ γνώμῃ τῇ Ἀρτεμισίης, καὶ νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον
with-the opinion the of-Artemisia and thinking even before
σπουδαίην εἶναι τότε πολλῷ μᾶλλον αἴνεε. ὅμως δὲ
excellent to-be then by-much more he-praised(-her) nevertheless but
τοῖσι πλέοσι πείθεσθαι ἐκέλευε, τάδε καταδόξας, πρὸς μὲν
the more to-obey he-bade this having-decided at indeed

Εὐβοίῃ σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν ὡς οὐ παρεόντος αὐτοῦ,
Euboea they to-have-been-cowards-on-purpose as not being-present himself
τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκεύαστο θεήσασθαι ναυμαχέοντας.
then but himself had-prepared to-view(-them) fighting-at-sea
Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλέειν, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν 70
when and they-gave-orders to-put-out they-put-out the ships to —
Σαλαμῖνα καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ᾽ ἡσυχίην.
Salamis and were-arrayed drawn-up at leisure
τότε μέν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην
then indeed then not sufficed for-them the day a-sea-fight
ποιήσασθαι· νὺξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο
to-make night for came-on they and prepared
ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε
for the next-day the and Greeks held fear both
καὶ ἀρρωδίη, οὐκ ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου·
and terror not least and those from Peloponnese
ἀρρώδεον δὲ ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι
they-feared and that themselves indeed at Salamis sitting
ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες
on-behalf-of land the of-Athenians to-fight-at-sea they-were-about defeated
τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν
and in an-island cut-off they-will-be-besieged having-left the
ἑωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ
of-themselves unguarded of-the and barbarians the land(-army) during
τὴν παρεοῦσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.
the present night marched to — Peloponnese
Καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο ὅκως κατ᾽ ἤπειρον 71
and-yet the possible(-things) all had-been-contrived so-that by mainland
μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὡς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα
not might-invade the barbarians when for they-learned soonest
Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι
Peloponnesians those about Leonidas at Thermopylae

τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν
to-have-ended having-run-together from the cities to the
Ἰσθμὸν ἵζοντο, καί σφι ἐπῆν στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ
Isthmus they-sat and to-them was general Cleombrotus the
Ἀναξανδρίδεω, Λεωνίδεω δὲ ἀδελφεός. ἱζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ
(son)-of-Anaxandrides of-Leonidas and brother sitting and at the
Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν, μετὰ τοῦτο
Isthmus and having-demolished the Scironian road after this
ὡς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ
as to-them it-seemed-good deliberating they-built across the
Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος. ἅτε δὲ ἐουσέων μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ
Isthmus a-wall as and being ten-thousands many and
παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἤνετο τὸ ἔργον· καὶ γὰρ
every man working was-finished the work and for
λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεες
stones and bricks and timbers and baskets of-sand full
ἐσεφέροντο, καὶ ἐλίνυον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες
were-brought-in and rested no time those having-come-to-help
ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.
working neither by-night nor by-day

72 Οἱ δὲ βοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πανδημεὶ οἵδε ἦσαν
the and having-come-to-help to the Isthmus in-full-force these were
Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες πάντες καὶ
of-Greeks Lacedaemonians both and Arcadians all and
Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ
Eleans and Corinthians and Epidaurians and Phliasians and
Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Ἑρμιονέες. οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες
Troezenians and Hermionians these indeed were those having-come-to-help
καὶ ὑπεραρρωδέοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ· τοῖσι δὲ
and fearing-greatly — for-Greece in-danger to-the but

ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἔμελε οὐδέν. Ὀλύμπια δὲ καὶ
other Peloponnesians it-was-a-care nothing Olympia and also
Κάρνεια παροιχώκεε ἤδη.
Carnea had-gone-by already
Οἰκέει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα ἑπτά. τούτων δὲ τὰ 73
inhabit and — Peloponnese nations seven of-these and the
μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα ἐόντα κατὰ χώρην ἵδρυται νῦν τε καὶ
indeed two native being in place are-settled now both and
τὸ πάλαι οἴκεον, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνούριοι· ἓν δὲ
the of-old(-place) they-inhabited Arcadians both and Cynurians one and
ἔθνος τὸ Ἀχαιϊκὸν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε,
nation the Achaean from indeed Peloponnese not departed
ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἑωυτῶν, οἰκέει δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίην. τὰ δὲ
from however the of-themselves(-land) inhabits and the foreign(-land) the and
λοιπὰ ἔθνεα τῶν ἑπτὰ τέσσερα ἐπήλυδα ἐστί, Δωριέες τε
remaining nations of-the seven four immigrant are Dorians both
καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Λήμνιοι. Δωριέων μὲν πολλαί
and Aetolians and Dryopes and Lemnians of-Dorians indeed many
τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλιες, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἦλις μούνη, Δρυόπων
both and notable cities of-Aetolians and Elis alone of-Dryopes
δὲ Ἑρμιών τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἡ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ,
and Hermione both and Asine the by Cardamyle the Laconian
Λημνίων δὲ Παρωρεῆται πάντες. οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι αὐτόχθονες
of-Lemnians and Paroreatae all the and Cynurians native
ἐόντες δοκέουσι μοῦνοι εἶναι Ἴωνες, ἐκδεδωρίευνται δὲ ὑπό
being seem alone to-be Ionians they-have-been-Dorized and by
τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐόντες Ὀρνεῆται
both Argives being-ruled and the time being Orneatae
καὶ οἱ περίοικοι. τούτων ὦν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐθνέων αἱ λοιπαὶ
and the dwellers-around of-these then the seven nations the remaining

πόλιες, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο· εἰ δὲ
cities except those I-listed in the middle sat if but
ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμήδιζον.
freely it-is-allowed to-say in the middle sitting(-still) they-medized
74 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἅτε
they indeed then at the Isthmus in-such toil were-engaged as
περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμου θέοντες καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ
for the whole already race running and with-the ships not
ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἳ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὅμως ταῦτα
expecting to-shine they but at Salamis nevertheless these-things
πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι
learning they-feared not so about them themselves
δειμαίνοντες ὡς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ
fearing as about — Peloponnese for-a-time indeed then
αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστὰς σιγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα
of-them man by-man standing in-silence talk made wonder
ποιεύμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω ἀβουλίην· τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη
making the of-Eurybiades folly at-last and it-burst-out
ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο
into the open an-assembly both indeed was-held and much was-said
περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, οἳ μὲν ὡς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον
about the same some indeed that to — Peloponnese
χρεὸν εἴη ἀποπλέειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν μηδὲ
right was to-sail-away and for that to-run-risk nor
πρὸ χώρης δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ
before a-land spear-won staying to-fight Athenians but
καὶ Αἰγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.
and Aeginetans and Megarians there staying to-defend-themselves
75 Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλέης ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ
then Themistocles when he-was-worsted in-the opinion by
τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου,
the Peloponnesians unseen goes-out from the council

ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων
having-gone-out and sends to the camp the of-Medes
ἄνδρα πλοίῳ ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν, τῷ
a-man by-boat having-instructed(-him) what to-say was-needful to-whom
οὔνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς
name indeed was Sicinnus servant and also tutor
ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων· τὸν δὴ ὕστερον τούτων
he-was of-the of-Themistocles children whom indeed later than-these
τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλέης Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὡς
the affairs Themistocles a-Thespian both made when
ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον. ὃς
were-admitting the Thespians citizens and in-money wealthy who
τότε πλοίῳ ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν
then by-boat having-arrived said to the generals of-the
βαρβάρων τάδε. “Ἔπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων
barbarians this sent me general the of-Athenians
λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ
secretly from-the other Greeks he-happens for favoring the
βασιλέος καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε
king's and wishing rather the your(-affairs) superior
γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσοντα
to-become than the(-affairs) of-the Greeks affairs to-tell
ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βουλεύονται καταρρωδηκότες, καὶ
that the Greeks flight are-planning having-taken-fright and
νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργων ἁπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι,
now it-is-possible most-glorious you of-deeds all to-accomplish
ἢν μὴ περιίδητε διαδράντας αὐτούς. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι
if not you-overlook having-run-away them neither for with-each-other
ὁμοφρονέουσι οὔτε ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑωυτούς
they-agree nor will-they-stand-against you against each-other

τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα
and them you-will-see fighting-at-sea those the(-things) your
φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μή."
favoring and those not

76 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο·
he indeed these-things to-them having-signified out-of-the-way departed
τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο
to-them but since credible were the(-things) reported this
μὲν ἐς τὴν νησῖδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός
indeed onto the islet — Psyttaleia between Salamis
τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων
both lying and the mainland many of-the Persians
ἀπεβιβάσαντο· τοῦτο δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες,
they-landed this and when came mid nights
ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἑσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς
they-put-out indeed the from evening wing circling toward
τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ
— Salamis put-out and those about — Ceos both and
τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης
— Cynosura posted they-held both up-to Munychia
πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα ἀνῆγον
all the strait with-the ships of-this and for-the-sake they-put-out
τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μηδὲ φυγεῖν ἐξῇ,
the ships so-that indeed to-the Greeks not-even to-flee might-be-possible
ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ'
but cut-off in — Salamis they-might-give requital for-the at
Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησῖδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν
Artemisium contests to and the islet — Psyttaleia
καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὡς
called they-landed of-the Persians of-this for-the-sake that
ἐπεὰν γίνηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων
when happens a-sea-fight there most to-be-carried-ashore

τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ
the both men and the wrecks in for indeed the-path
τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος),
of-the sea-fight the about to-be lay the island
ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιέωσι τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρωσι. ἐποίευν
so-that some indeed they-might-save others and destroy did
δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ πυνθανοίατο οἱ ἐναντίοι. οἱ μὲν
and in-silence these-things that not might-learn the opponents they indeed
δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παρατέοντο.
then these-things in-the night nothing having-slept prepared
Χρησμοῖσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἀληθέες, 77
To-oracles and not I-can speak-against that not are true
οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργέως λέγοντας πειρᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν,
not wishing clearly speaking to-try to-overthrow
ἐς τοιάδε πρήγματα ἐσβλέψας.
into such affairs having-looked

ἀλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρου ἱερὸν ἀκτήν
but when of-Artemis of-golden-sword holy shore
νηυσὶ γεφυρώσωσι καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν
with-ships they-bridge and sea-girt Cynosura
ἐλπίδι μαινομένῃ, λιπαρὰς πέρσαντες Ἀθήνας,
with-hope frenzied shining having-sacked Athens
δῖα δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν κόρον, ὕβριος υἱόν,
divine justice will-quench mighty surfeit of-insolence son
δεινὸν μαιμώοντα, δοκεῦντ' ἀνὰ πάντα πίεσθαι.
terribly raging thinking through all to-drink

χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίξεται, αἵματι δ' Ἄρης
bronze for with-bronze will-clash with-blood and Ares
πόντον φοινίξει. τότ' ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἦμαρ
the-sea will-redden then free of-Greece day
εὐρύοπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότνια Νίκη.
wide-seeing the-son-of-Cronus brings and queenly Victory

ἐς τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγοντι Βάκιδι
at such(-things) indeed and so clearly speaking Bacis
ἀντιλογίης χρησμῶν πέρι οὔτε αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμέω οὔτε
contradiction of-oracles about neither myself to-speak I-dare nor
παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέκομαι.
from others do-I-accept

78 Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο ὠθισμὸς λόγων
of-the and at Salamis generals there-was a-jostling of-words
πολλός· ἤδεσαν δὲ οὔκω ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλοῦντο τῇσι
great they-knew and not-yet that them were-encircling with-the
νηυσὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρων αὐτοὺς
ships the barbarians but as by-the day they-saw them
τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι.
posted they-thought in place to-be

79 Συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐξ Αἰγίνης
being-assembled and the generals from Aegina
διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν
crossed Aristides the (son)-of-Lysimachus a-man Athenian indeed
ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· τὸν ἐγὼ νενόμικα,
ostracized but by the people whom I have-come-to-believe
πυνθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν
learning of-him the character best man to-have-been in
Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ δικαιότατον. οὗτος ὠνὴρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον
Athens and most-just this the-man standing at the council

ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα, ἐόντα μὲν ἑωυτῷ οὐ φίλον
called-out Themistocles being indeed to-himself not a-friend
ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεόντων
an-enemy but the most from and the-greatness of-the present
κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιεύμενος ἐξεκαλέετο, θέλων
evils forgetfulness of-those making he-called-him-out wishing
αὐτῷ συμμῖξαι· προακηκόεε δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ
with-him to-confer he-had-heard-before and that were-eager those from
Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. ὡς δὲ
Peloponnese to-put-out the ships to the Isthmus when and
ἐξῆλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλέης, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε. "Ἡμέας
came-out to-him Themistocles said Aristides this us
στασιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι ἔν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ
to-be-rivals right it-is in both the other time and indeed also
ἐν τῷδε περὶ τοῦ ὁκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν
in this about the(-question) which-of-the-two of-us more good(-things) the
πατρίδα ἐργάσεται. λέγω δέ τοι ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ
fatherland will-do I-say and to-you that equal it-is much both and
ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν Πελοποννησίοισι.
little to-say about sailing-away the from-here for-Peloponnesians
ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος ὅτι νῦν οὐδ' ἢν
I for an-eyewitness to-you speak having-become that now not-even if
θέλωσι Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης οἱοί τε ἔσονται
they-wish Corinthians both and himself Eurybiades able — they-will-be
ἐκπλῶσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ'
to-sail-out we-are-surrounded for by the enemy in-a-circle but
ἐσελθών σφι ταῦτα σήμηνον." ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε.
having-gone-in to-them these-things signify he and answered with-these
"Κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἤγγειλας· τὰ γὰρ 80
very both useful(-things) you-urge and well you-have-reported what for
ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἥκεις.
I wanted to-happen yourself an-eyewitness having-become you-have-come

ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιεύμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων· ἔδεε
know for from me the(-things) being-done by Medes it-was-needful
γάρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἑκόντες ἤθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι
for since not willing they-wished into battle to-be-brought
οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεί περ
the Greeks unwilling to-bring(-them)-over you but since indeed
ἥκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτός σφι ἄγγειλον. ἢν
you-have-come good(-news) reporting yourself to-them report if
γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ
for I these-things say I-shall-seem having-invented to-speak and not
πείσω, ὡς οὐ ποιεύντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλά
I-shall-persuade as not doing the barbarians these-things but
σφι σήμηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὡς ἔχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ
to-them signify yourself having-come-forward how it-is when and
σημήνῃς, ἢν μὲν πείθωνται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα, ἢν δὲ
you-signify if indeed they-believe these-things indeed the best if but
αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὅμοιον ἡμῖν ἔσται· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι
to-them not credible it-be the-same to-us it-will-be not for any-longer
διαδρήσονται, εἴ περ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὡς σὺ λέγεις."
they-will-run-away if indeed we-are-surrounded on-all-sides as you say

81 Ἐνθαῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ
then spoke having-come-forward — Aristides saying from
Αἰγίνης τε ἥκειν καὶ μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν
Aegina both to-have-come and with-difficulty to-have-sailed-out escaping-the-notice-of
τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ
those blockading to-be-surrounded for all the camp the
Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω· παραρτέεσθαί τε
Greek by the ships the of-Xerxes to-prepare and
συνεβούλευε ὡς ἀλεξησομένους. καὶ ὃ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας
he-advised as about-to-defend-themselves and he indeed these-things having-said

μετεστήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὖτις ἐγίνετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίη· οἱ γὰρ
withdrew of-them and again arose of-words dispute the for
πλεῦνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐσαγγελθέντα.
most of-the generals not believed the(-things) reported
Ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων ἦκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων 82
disbelieving and these came a-trireme of-men Tenian
αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος,
deserting which commanded a-man Panaetius the (son)-of-Sosimenes
ἥ περ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθείην πᾶσαν. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο
which indeed indeed brought the truth whole for and this
τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα
the deed were-inscribed Tenians at Delphi on the tripod
ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι. σὺν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ
among those the barbarian having-overthrown with and then this
τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τῇ πρότερον
the ship the having-deserted to Salamis and the before
ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Λημνίῃ ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι
to Artemisium the Lemnian was-filled-up the navy for-the
Ἕλλησι ἐς τὰς ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας· δύο γὰρ
Greeks to the eighty and three-hundred ships two for
δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν.
indeed ships then it-lacked of the number

VII · THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS

Themistocles exhorts the Greeks, and Ameinias rams first. The Persians, fighting in disorder, are destroyed; Artemisia escapes by ramming a friendly ship, and Xerxes says his men have become women. His brother Ariabignes dies, and Phoenicians who accuse the Ionians are beheaded. The Aeginetans and the Athenians are named the best, Aristides lands hoplites on Psyttaleia, and wreckage drifts to Colias as an old oracle foretold.

83 Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν
to-the and Greeks since credible indeed the said were
τῶν Τηνίων ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες.
of-the Tenians words they-prepared as going-to-fight-at-sea
ἠώς τε διέφαινε καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων
dawn both was-appearing and they an-assembly of-the marines
ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων
having-made spoke-before(-them) well holding indeed of all
Θεμιστοκλέης, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι
Themistocles the and words were all the-better to-the
ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα, ὅσα δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ
worse set-against as-many-as indeed in of-man nature and
καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται· παραινέσας δὲ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω
condition arise having-exhorted and of-these the better
αἱρέεσθαι καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε
to-choose and having-wound-up the speech to-embark he-bade
ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἧκε ἡ
into the ships and these indeed then embarked and came the
ἀπ᾽ Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἣ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε.
from Aegina trireme which for the Aeacids had-gone-abroad
84 Ἐνθαῦτα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἁπάσας Ἕλληνες, ἀναγομένοισι
there put-out the ships all Greeks putting-out
δέ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι
and to-them at-once attacked the barbarians the indeed then other
Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νέας,
Greeks to stern backed-water and were-beaching the ships
Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ
Ameinias but of-Pallene a-man Athenian having-put-out a-ship
ἐμβάλλει· συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νεὸς καὶ οὐ δυναμένων
rams having-become-entangled and the ship and not being-able
ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίῃ βοηθέοντες
to-get-free so indeed the others Ameinias helping

συνέμισγον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίης
engaged Athenians indeed so say of-the sea-fight
γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, Αἰγινῆται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς
to-have-happened the beginning Aeginetans but the(-ship) for the
Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἴγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν
Aeacids having-gone-abroad to Aegina this to-be the(-one)
ἄρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα σφι γυναικὸς
having-begun is-said and also this that a-phantom to-them of-a-woman
ἐφάνη, φανεῖσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι ὥστε καὶ ἅπαν ἀκοῦσαι
appeared having-appeared and to-have-exhorted(-them) so-that even all to-hear
τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε,
the of-the Greeks camp having-reproached first this
“Ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε;”
O strange-ones until how-far still stern do-you-back-water
Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὗτοι γὰρ 85
against indeed then Athenians were-posted Phoenicians these for
εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνός τε καὶ ἑσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ
held the toward Eleusis both and evening wing against and
Λακεδαιμονίους Ἴωνες· οὗτοι δ’ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τε
Lacedaemonians Ionians these and held the toward the dawn both
καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα. ἐθελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ
and the Piraeus played-the-coward-on-purpose however of-them according-to
τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες οὔ. ἔχω
the of-Themistocles orders few the but more not I-can
μέν νυν συχνῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξαι τῶν
indeed then of-many the-names of-captains to-list of-those
νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἑλόντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν
ships Greek having-taken I-shall-use but them not-at-all except
Θεομήστορός τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ
Theomestor both the (son)-of-Androdamas and Phylacus the
Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα μέμνημαι
(son)-of-Histiaeus Samians both of-this and for-the-sake I-mention

τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον
these alone because Theomestor indeed for this the deed
Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος
of-Samos was-tyrant having-established(-him) the Persians Phylacus
δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρῃ ἐδωρήθη πολλῇ.
and benefactor of-the-king was-recorded and with-land was-presented much
οἱ δ' εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται περσιστί.
the and benefactors of-the-king orosangae are-called in-Persian
86 Περὶ μέν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν
about indeed then these so it-was the but multitude of-the
νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκεραΐζετο, αἳ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων
ships at — Salamis was-shattered some indeed by Athenians
διαφθειρόμεναι αἳ δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγινητέων. ἅτε γὰρ τῶν
destroyed others and by Aeginetans as for the
μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων καὶ κατὰ τάξιν,
indeed Greeks with order fighting-at-sea and by rank
τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὔτε τεταγμένων ἔτι οὔτε σὺν
the but barbarians neither drawn-up any-longer nor with
νόῳ ποιεόντων οὐδέν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι
sense doing anything was-likely such to-them to-befall
οἷόν περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἦσάν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην
as indeed turned-out and-yet they-were at-least and proved this
τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν ἢ πρὸς
the day by-far better themselves than-themselves than at
Εὐβοίῃ, πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην,
Euboea every one being-zealous and fearing Xerxes
ἐδόκεέ τε ἕκαστος ἑωυτὸν θεήσασθαι βασιλέα.
thought and each himself to-be-watched-by king
87 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν
as-to indeed then the others not I-can some say
ἀτρεκέως ὡς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
exactly how each of-the barbarians or of-the Greeks

ἠγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ᾽ ὧν
contended as-to but Artemisia this happened from which
εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλέι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς
she-was-esteemed more still with king when for into
θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ
confusion great had-come the king's affairs at this
τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νηῦς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς
the moment the ship the of-Artemisia was-pursued by a-ship
Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἣ οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ
Attic and she not being-able to-escape in-front for
αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλιαι, ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς
of-her were other ships friendly the(-ship) but of-her toward
τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα, ἔδοξέ οἱ τόδε
the enemy most happened being it-seemed to-her this
ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάσῃ. διωκομένη γὰρ
to-do which also it-happened her-having-done(-it) pursued for
ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλίῃ ἀνδρῶν
by the Attic(-ship) charging she-rammed a-ship friendly of-men
τε Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων
both Calyndian and himself sailing-on(-it) the of-Calyndians
βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου. εἰ μὲν καί τι νεῖκος πρὸς
king Damasithymus whether indeed even some quarrel with
αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἐόντων, οὐ μέντοι
him had-arisen still about Hellespont being not however
ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε,
I-can at-least say nor whether from forethought these-things she-did
οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην
nor whether chanced-in-the-way the of-the Calyndians by chance
παραπεσοῦσα νηῦς. ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε,
having-fallen-in-the-way ship when and she-rammed both and sank(-it)
εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη διπλᾶ ἑωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο. ὅ τε
good-fortune having-used double for-herself good(-things) she-wrought the both

γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριήραρχος ὡς εἶδέ μιν ἐμβάλλουσαν
for of-the Attic ship captain when he-saw her ramming
νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης
a-ship of-men barbarian having-thought the ship the of-Artemisia
ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι ἢ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ
either Greek to-be or to-be-deserting from the barbarians and
αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο.
them to-be-defending having-turned-away toward others turned
88 Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν
this indeed such to-her it-befell to-happen to-escape
τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν
both and not to-perish this and it-came-about that harm
ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι
having-done from these(-things) she most to-win-esteem
παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν
with Xerxes is-said for king watching to-have-noticed the
νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δή τινα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεόντων
ship ramming and indeed someone to-have-said of-those present
"Δέσποτα, ὁρᾷς Ἀρτεμισίην ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα
master you-see Artemisia how well she-contends and a-ship
τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε;" καὶ τὸν ἐπειρέσθαι εἰ ἀληθέως
of-the enemy she-sank and him to-have-asked whether truly
ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαφέως τὸ
is of-Artemisia the deed and them to-have-said clearly the
ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν
ensign of-the ship knowing the but destroyed(-ship)
ἠπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίην. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται,
they-supposed to-be hostile the both for other(-things) as has-been-said
αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς
to-her befell for good-fortune happening and the of-those from the
Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι.
Calyndian ship none having-been-saved an-accuser to-have-become

Ξέρξην δὲ εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα
Xerxes and to-have-said is-said to the(-things) told
“Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες
the indeed men have-become to-me women the and women
ἄνδρες.” ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἰπεῖν.
men these-things indeed Xerxes they-say to-have-said
Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς 89
in and the toil this — indeed died the general
Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ
Ariabignes the (son)-of-Darius of-Xerxes being brother — and
ἄλλοι πολλοί τε καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων
others many both and famous of-Persians and of-Medes
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινὲς καὶ Ἑλλήνων·
and of-the other allies few and some also of-Greeks
ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο,
as for to-swim knowing those-whose the ships were-destroyed
καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα
and not in of-hands law perishing to — Salamis
διένεον. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ
swam-across of-the but barbarians the many in the sea
διεφθάρησαν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς
were-destroyed to-swim not knowing when and the first to
φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλεῖσται διεφθείροντο· οἱ
flight turned there the most were-destroyed those
γὰρ ὄπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ παριέναι
for behind posted to the front with-the ships to-pass
πειρώμενοι ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλέι,
trying as about-to-display some also themselves deed king
τῇσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ φευγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον.
the their-own ships fleeing ran-foul-of

90 Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ. τῶν τινες
happened and also this in the confusion this of-the some
Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα
Phoenicians whose the ships had-been-destroyed having-come to king
διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοίατο αἱ νέες,
accused the Ionians that through them had-perished the ships
ὡς προδόντων. συνήνεικε ὦν οὕτω ὥστε Ἰώνων τε τοὺς
as having-betrayed(-them) it-befell then so that of-Ionians both the
στρατηγοὺς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας
generals not to-perish of-Phoenicians and those accusing
λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν. ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε
to-receive such-as-this reward still these these-things saying rammed
νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηικίη νηῦς. ἥ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο
a-ship Attic a-Samothracian ship she both indeed Attic(-ship) was-sinking
καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγιναίη νηῦς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηίκων
and bearing-down an-Aeginetan ship sank of-the Samothracians
τὴν νέα. ἅτε δὲ ἐόντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρήικες τοὺς
the ship as and being javelin-men the Samothracians the
ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλλοντες ἀπήραξαν
marines from the having-sunk(-them) ship hurling they-swept-off
καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. ταῦτα γενόμενα
and boarded both and seized it these-things having-happened
τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὡς γὰρ εἶδε σφέας Ξέρξης ἔργον
the Ionians rescued when for saw them Xerxes deed
μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας οἷα
great having-done he-turned to the Phoenicians as
ὑπερλυπεόμενός τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενος, καί σφεων
being-exceedingly-grieved both and all blaming and of-them
ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ
he-bade the heads to-cut-off so-that not themselves cowards
γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. ὅκως γάρ τινα
having-been the better-men they-might-accuse whenever for anyone

ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ
saw Xerxes of-the of-himself deed some displaying in the
ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρεϊ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμῖνος
sea-fight sitting below the mountain the opposite Salamis
τὸ καλέεται Αἰγάλεως, ἀνεπυνθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ
which is-called Aegaleos he-inquired the(-one) having-done(-it) and
οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον
the scribes wrote-down with-father's-name the captain
καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φίλος ἐὼν
and the city besides and somewhat also contributed a-friend being
Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρεὼν τούτου τοῦ Φοινικηίου
Ariaramnes a-man Persian present of-this the Phoenician
πάθεος. οἳ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο.
calamity they indeed then upon the Phoenicians turned
Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλεόντων 91
of-the and barbarians to flight turning and sailing-out
πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Αἰγινῆται ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ
toward — Phalerum Aeginetans lying-in-wait in the strait
ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου ἄξια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ
deeds displayed of-account worthy the indeed for Athenians in the
θορύβῳ ἐκεράιζον τάς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας
confusion shattered the both resisting and the fleeing
τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλεούσας· ὅκως δὲ
of-the ships the and Aeginetans the sailing-out(-ones) whenever and
τινὲς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς
some the Athenians escaped charging they-fell among
τοὺς Αἰγινήτας.
the Aeginetans
Ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νέες ἥ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα 92
there met ships the both of-Themistocles pursuing
νέα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κριοῦ ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινήτεω νηὶ
a-ship and the of-Polycritus the (son)-of-Crius of-a-man Aeginetan a-ship

ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίη, ἥ περ εἶλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ
having-rammed Sidonian which indeed took the keeping-guard off
Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγιναίην, ἐπ' ἧς ἔπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχενόου,
Sciathus the Aeginetan(-ship) on which sailed Pytheas the (son)-of-Ischenous
τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἵνεκα εἶχον ἐν
whom the Persians hacked-to-pieces valor for-the-sake kept in
τῇ νηὶ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι· τὸν δὴ περιάγουσα ἅμα
the ship marveling whom indeed carrying-about together-with
τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἥλω ἡ νηῦς ἡ Σιδωνίη, ὥστε Πυθέην
the Persians was-taken the ship the Sidonian so-that Pytheas
οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἴγιναν. ὡς δὲ ἐσεῖδε τὴν νέα τὴν
thus to-have-been-saved to Aegina when and saw the ship the
Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημήιον ἰδὼν τῆς
Attic — Polycritus he-recognized(-it) the ensign having-seen of-the
στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε
flagship and having-shouted — Themistocles he-jeered
ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων. ταῦτα μέν
at of-the Aeginetans the medism reproaching(-him) these-things indeed
νυν νηὶ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα·
then a-ship having-rammed — Polycritus flung at Themistocles
οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγένοντο, φεύγοντες
the and barbarians whose the ships survived fleeing
ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν.
came to Phalerum under-the-protection-of the land army
93 Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα
in and the sea-fight this were-spoken-of of-Greeks best
Αἰγινῆται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτός τε
Aeginetans after and Athenians of-men and Polycritus both
ὁ Αἰγινήτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος
the Aeginetan and Athenians Eumenes both the Anagyrasian
καὶ Ἀμεινίης Παλληνεύς, ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ
and Ameinias of-Pallene who also Artemisia pursued if

μέν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέοι Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἂν
indeed then he-had-learned that in this sailed Artemisia not —
ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἷλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἥλω.
he-would-have-stopped before than he-took her or even himself was-taken
τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρεκεκέλευστο, πρὸς
to-the for of-Athenians captains it-had-been-ordered besides
δὲ καὶ ἄεθλον ἔκειτο μύριαι δραχμαί, ὃς ἄν μιν
and also a-prize was-set ten-thousand drachmas whoever — her
ζωὴν ἕλῃ· δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῦντο γυναῖκα ἐπὶ
alive should-take terrible for something they-thought(-it) a-woman against
τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δή, ὡς πρότερον
— Athens to-make-war she indeed then as before
εἴρηται, διέφυγε· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἱ νέες
has-been-said escaped were and also the others whose the ships
περιεγεγόνεσαν, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.
had-survived in — Phalerum
Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι 94
Adeimantus and the Corinthian general say Athenians
αὐτίκα κατ᾽ ἀρχάς, ὡς συνέμισγον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε
at-once at beginning when engaged the ships panic-stricken both
καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα, τὰ ἱστία ἀειράμενον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα,
and exceedingly-afraid the sails having-hoisted to-be-gone fleeing
ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν
having-seen and the Corinthians the flagship fleeing
ὡσαύτως οἴχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς
likewise to-be-gone when and then fleeing to-be of-the
Σαλαμινίης κατὰ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος, περιπίπτειν
Salaminian(-land) by a-temple of-Athena Sciras to-meet
σφι κέλητα θείῃ πομπῇ, τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι
to-them a-boat by-divine sending which neither having-sent to-have-appeared
οὐδένα, οὔτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι
anyone nor anything of-the from the army knowing

προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι. τῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται
to-approach the Corinthians in-this-way and they-reckon
εἶναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα. ὡς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν,
to-be divine the affair when for near to-be of-the ships
τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος λέγειν τάδε. "Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν
those from the boat to-say this Adeimantus you indeed
ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς
having-turned-away the ships to flight have-rushed having-betrayed the
Ἕλληνας· οἳ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἠρῶντο
Greeks they but even indeed conquer as-much-as themselves prayed
ἐπικρατήσαντες τῶν ἐχθρῶν." ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀπιστέειν
having-overcome the enemy these-things saying to-disbelieve
γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὖτις τάδε λέγειν, ὡς αὐτοὶ οἷοί
for — Adeimantus again this to-say that themselves able
τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὅμηροι ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢν μὴ νικῶντες
— were being-taken as-hostages to-die if not victorious
φαίνωνται οἱ Ἕλληνες. οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα
appear the Greeks so indeed having-turned the ship
αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν
himself both and the others on things-accomplished to-have-come
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ
to the camp these indeed such report holds from
Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοί γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι,
Athenians not however themselves at-least Corinthians agree
ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι
but among first them themselves of-the sea-fight they-think
γενέσθαι· μαρτυρέει δέ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς.
to-have-been bears-witness and for-them also the rest-of Greece
95 Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ
Aristides and the (son)-of-Lysimachus a-man Athenian whom also
ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ὡς ἀνδρὸς
a-little somewhat before these I-mentioned as a-man

ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα
best this(-man) in the confusion this the about Salamis
γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίεε· παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὁπλιτέων
happening this did having-taken-along many of-the hoplites
οἳ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινίης
who had-been-posted along the shore of-the Salaminian
χώρης, γένος ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον
land by-race being Athenians onto — Psyttaleia island
ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἳ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι
he-landed(-them) leading(-them) who the Persians the on the islet
ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.
this slaughtered all
Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν 96
when and the sea-fight had-been-broken-off having-hauled to —
Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ
Salamis the Greeks of-the wrecks as-many-as there
ἐτύγχανε ἔτι ἐόντα, ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην,
happened still being ready were for another sea-fight
ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιεούσῃσι νηυσὶ ἔτι χρήσεσθαι βασιλέα.
expecting the surviving ships still to-use king
τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος ζέφυρος ἔφερε
of-the and wrecks many having-caught a-wind west carried
τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἠιόνα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· ὥστε
— of-Attica onto the beach the called Colias so-that
ἀποπλησθῆναι τὸν χρησμὸν τόν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ
to-be-fulfilled the oracle the both other all the about
τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ,
the sea-fight this spoken by-Bacis and Musaeus
καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτῃ ἐξενειχθέντα
and indeed also concerning the wrecks the there carried-ashore
τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν
the(-thing) spoken many years before these in

χρησμῷ Λυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ
an-oracle by-Lysistratus an-Athenian man oracle-monger which
ἐλελήθεε πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
had-escaped-the-notice-of all the Greeks

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύξουσι
Colian and women with-oars they-will-roast(-barley)

τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.
this and was-about having-marched-away king to-be

VIII · XERXES RESOLVES TO FLEE

Xerxes, fearing for the bridges, plans flight while pretending to build a mole. His mounted relay carries the news to Susa, where joy turns to mourning. Mardonius offers to stay with three hundred thousand picked men and conquer Greece; Artemisia advises Xerxes to go home and leave him. Xerxes sends his sons to Ephesus with the eunuch Hermotimus, whose revenge on the slave dealer Panionius Herodotus tells. The fleet sails for the Hellespont.

97 Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δείσας μή
Xerxes and when he-learned the having-happened disaster having-feared lest
τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῆται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι
someone of-the Ionians suggest to-the Greeks or themselves think-of
πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ
to-sail to the Hellespont to-break the bridges and
ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κινδυνεύσῃ ἀπολέσθαι, δρησμὸν
cut-off in — Europe he-be-in-danger to-perish flight
ἐβούλευε. θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι
planned wishing but not evident to-be neither to-the Greeks
μήτε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειρᾶτο διαχοῦν,
nor to-those of-himself to — Salamis a-mole he-tried to-heap-across

γαύλους τε Φοινικηίους συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδίης
merchant-ships both Phoenician he-bound-together so-that instead-of both a-raft
ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχίην
they-might-be and a-wall prepared and for war as a-sea-fight
ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. ὁρῶντες δέ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα
another going-to-make seeing and him all the others these-things
πρήσσοντα εὖ ἠπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκεύασται
doing well knew that with all mind he-had-prepared
μένων πολεμήσειν· Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε
staying to-make-war Mardonius but none of-these escaped
ὡς μάλιστα ἔμπειρον ἐόντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίης.
as most experienced being of-the of-that(-man) mind
Ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας 98
these-things both at-once Xerxes did and sent to Persians
ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι συμφορήν. τούτων δὲ τῶν
one-to-announce the present to-them misfortune of-these and the
ἀγγέλων ἐστὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι θᾶσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν
messengers there-is nothing what ever faster arrives mortal
ἐόν· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξεύρηται τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς
being so by-the Persians has-been-devised this they-say for that
ὁσέων ἂν ἡμερέων ᾖ ἡ πᾶσα ὁδός, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε
of-as-many — days be the whole road so-many horses both
καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἑκάστην ἵππος
and men stand-apart by day's road each horse
τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὔτε νιφετός, οὐκ ὄμβρος,
both and man posted whom neither snow not rain
οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νὺξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον
not heat not night hinders not not to-accomplish the set-before
αὐτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν
him course the quickest the indeed then first having-run
παραδιδοῖ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος
hands-over the(-things) enjoined to-the second the and second

τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη κατ᾽ ἄλλον καὶ
to-the third the(-thing) and from-there already through one and
ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατά περ ἐν Ἕλλησι
another passes being-handed-on as indeed among Greeks
ἡ λαμπαδηφορίη τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι. τοῦτο
the torch-race which — to-Hephaestus they-perform this
τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήιον.
the running of-the horses call Persians angareion
99 Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίη ἀπικομένη, ὡς ἔχοι
the indeed then first to Susa message having-arrived that held
Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δή τι Περσέων τοὺς
Athens Xerxes delighted so indeed somehow of-Persians those
ὑπολειφθέντας ὡς τάς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίνῃ πάσας ἐστόρεσαν
left-behind that the both roads with-myrtle all they-strewed
καὶ ἐθυμίων θυμιήματα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσί τε
and burned incense and themselves were in sacrifices both
καὶ εὐπαθείῃσι. ἡ δὲ δευτέρη σφι ἀγγελίη ἐπεσελθοῦσα
and feasting the but second to-them message having-come-after
συνέχεε οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρήξαντο πάντες,
confounded(-them) so that the tunics they-rent all
βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέωντο ἀπλέτῳ, Μαρδόνιον
with-shouting both and lamentation used boundless Mardonius
ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι
in blame putting not so but about the ships grieving
ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίευν ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες.
these-things the Persians did as about himself Xerxes fearing
100 Καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνον
and about Persians indeed were these-things the whole intervening time
γενόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτός σφεας ἀπικόμενος
happening until which Xerxes himself them having-arrived
ἔπαυσε. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὁρῶν μὲν Ξέρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλην
stopped Mardonius and seeing indeed Xerxes misfortune great

ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ποιεύμενον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ αὐτὸν δρησμὸν
from the sea-fight making suspecting and him flight
βουλεύειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἑωυτὸν ὡς
to-be-planning from — Athens having-considered with himself that
δώσει δίκην ἀναγνώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ
he-will-pay the-penalty having-persuaded king to-make-war against
τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καί οἱ κρέσσον εἴη ἀνακινδυνεῦσαι ἢ
— Greece and to-him better it-was to-run-the-risk either
κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἢ αὐτὸν καλῶς τελευτῆσαι
to-subdue — Greece or himself nobly to-end
τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα· πλέον μέντοι ἔφερέ
the life for great(-things) having-been-hazarded more however carried
οἱ ἡ γνώμη κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα· λογισάμενος
to-him the opinion to-subdue — Greece having-reckoned
ὧν ταῦτα προσέφερε τὸν λόγον τόνδε. "Δέσποτα, μήτε
then these-things he-brought-forward the speech this master neither
λυπέο μήτε συμφορὴν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην ποιεῦ τοῦδε τοῦ
grieve nor misfortune any great make of-this the
γεγονότος εἵνεκα πρήγματος. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγὼν ὁ τὸ
having-happened for-the-sake affair not for of-timbers contest the the
πᾶν φέρων ἐστὶ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. σοὶ
all bearing is for-us but of-men both and horses to-you
δὲ οὔτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν σφίσι ἤδη δοκεόντων
and neither anyone of-these the the all to-them already thinking
κατεργάσθαι ἀποβὰς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται
to-have-accomplished having-disembarked from the ships will-try
ἀντιωθῆναι οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου τῆσδε· οἵ τε ἡμῖν
to-oppose nor from the mainland this those both us
ἠντιώθησαν, ἔδοσαν δίκας. εἰ μέν νυν δοκέει, αὐτίκα
opposed paid the-penalty if indeed then it-seems(-good) at-once
πειρώμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου· εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκέει ἐπισχεῖν,
let-us-attempt — of-Peloponnese if but also it-seems(-good) to-wait

παρέχει ποιέειν ταῦτα. μηδὲ δυσθύμεε· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι Ἕλλησι
it-is-possible to-do these-things nor despond not for is for-Greeks
οὐδεμία ἔκδυσις μὴ οὐ δόντας λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν νῦν τε
any escape not not having-given account of-what they-did now both
καὶ πρότερον εἶναι σοὺς δούλους. μάλιστα μέν νυν ταῦτα
and before to-be your slaves most indeed then these-things
ποίεε· εἰ δ' ἄρα τοι βεβούλευται αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα
do if but then to-you it-has-been-resolved yourself marching-away
ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιήν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε βουλήν.
to-lead-off the army another I-have also from these(-things) counsel
σὺ Πέρσας, βασιλεῦ, μὴ ποιήσῃς καταγελάστους γενέσθαι
you Persians king do-not make laughingstocks to-become
Ἕλλησι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν Πέρσῃσί τοί τι δεδήληται
to-Greeks not-even for among Persians to-you anything has-been-harmed
τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὐδ' ἐρέεις ὅκου ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες
of-the affairs nor will-you-say where we-were men
κακοί. εἰ δὲ Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοί τε καὶ
cowardly if but Phoenicians both and Egyptians and Cyprians both and
Κίλικες κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει
Cilicians cowardly were nothing to Persians this belongs
τὸ πάθος. ἤδη ὦν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοι αἴτιοι εἰσί, ἐμοὶ
the disaster now then since not Persians to-you guilty are me
πείθεο· εἴ τοι δέδοκται μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐς ἤθεα
obey if to-you it-has-been-decided not to-remain you indeed to abodes
τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀπέλαυνε τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν,
the of-yourself march-away of-the army leading-off the greater(-part)
ἐμὲ δὲ σοὶ χρὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην,
me but for-you it-is-needful — Greece to-deliver enslaved
τριήκοντα μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον."
thirty ten-thousands of-the army having-chosen

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ἐχάρη τε καὶ ἥσθη, 101
these-things having-heard Xerxes as after evils rejoiced both and was-pleased
πρὸς Μαρδόνιόν τε βουλευσάμενος ἔφη ὑποκρινέεσθαι
to Mardonius and having-deliberated he-said he-would-answer
ὁκότερον ποιήσει τούτων. ὡς δὲ ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα Περσέων
which-of-the-two he-will-do of-these when and he-deliberated with of-Persians
τοῖσι ἐπικλήτοισι, ἔδοξέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐς
the summoned it-seemed-good to-him also Artemisia to
συμβουλίην μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτι πρότερον ἐφαίνετο μούνη
counsel to-send-for because before she-appeared alone
νοέουσα τὰ ποιητέα ἦν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη,
perceiving what to-be-done was when and came — Artemisia
μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους τούς τε συμβούλους Περσέων
having-sent-away the others the both counselors of-Persians
καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε. "Κελεύει με
and the spearmen said Xerxes this bids me
Μαρδόνιος μένοντα αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου,
Mardonius staying here to-attempt — of-Peloponnese
λέγων ὥς μοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς οὐδενὸς
saying that for-me Persians both and the land army of-no
μεταίτιοι πάθεος εἰσί, ἀλλὰ βουλομένοισί σφι γένοιτ'
partly-guilty disaster are but wishing to-them would-come
ἂν ἀπόδεξις. ἐμὲ ὦν ἢ ταῦτα κελεύει ποιέειν, ἢ αὐτὸς
— a-proof me then either these-things he-bids to-do or himself
ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ
he-wishes thirty ten-thousands having-chosen of-the army
παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην, αὐτὸν δέ με
to-deliver to-me — Greece enslaved myself and me
κελεύει ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐς ἤθεα τὰ ἐμά.
he-bids to-march-away with the rest army to abodes the my
σὺ ὦν ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης εὖ συνεβούλευσας
you then to-me for indeed about the sea-fight well you-advised

τῆς γενομένης οὐκ ἐῶσα ποιέεσθαι, νῦν τε συμβούλευσον
the having-happened not allowing to-be-made now both advise
ὁκότερα ποιέων ἐπιτύχω εὖ βουλευσάμενος."
which-of-the-two doing I-may-succeed well having-deliberated
102 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβουλεύετο, ἡ δὲ λέγει τάδε. "Βασιλεῦ,
he indeed these-things asked-counsel she and says this king
χαλεπὸν μὲν ἐστὶ συμβουλευομένῳ τυχεῖν τὰ ἄριστα
hard indeed it-is for-one-asking-counsel to-hit-on the best
εἴπασαν, ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι δοκέει μοι
having-spoken in however the present affairs it-seems to-me
αὐτὸν μέν σε ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιον δέ, εἰ ἐθέλει
yourself indeed you to-march-away back Mardonius but if he-wishes
τε καὶ ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιήσειν, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν σὺν
both and undertakes these-things to-do here to-leave with
τοῖσι ἐθέλει. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἢν καταστρέψηται τὰ φησὶ
those he-wishes this indeed for if he-subdue what he-says
θέλειν καί οἱ προχωρήσῃ τὰ νοέων λέγει, σὸν τὸ ἔργον
to-wish and to-him succeed what intending he-speaks yours the deed
ὦ δέσποτα γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δοῦλοι κατεργάσαντο. τοῦτο
O master becomes the for your slaves accomplished(-it) this
δὲ ἢν τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδονίου γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία
and if the opposite of-the of-Mardonius opinion happen no
συμφορὴ μεγάλη ἔσται σέο τε περιεόντος καὶ ἐκείνων
misfortune great will-there-be you both surviving and those
τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἶκον τὸν σόν· ἢν γὰρ σύ τε περιῇς
the affairs about house the yours if for you both survive
καὶ οἶκος ὁ σός, πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἀγῶνας δραμέονται
and house the yours many often contests will-run
περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Μαρδονίου δέ, ἤν τι
about them themselves the Greeks of-Mardonius but if anything
πάθῃ, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται, οὐδέ τι νικῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες
he-suffer account none arises nor at-all conquering the Greeks

νικῶσι, δοῦλον σὸν ἀπολέσαντες· σὺ δέ, τῶν εἵνεκα
conquer a-slave yours having-destroyed you but of-which for-the-sake
τὸν στόλον ἐποιήσαο, πυρώσας τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπελᾷς."
the expedition you-made having-burned — Athens will-march-away
Ἥσθη τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλίῃ Ξέρξης· λέγουσα γὰρ 103
was-pleased and indeed with-the counsel Xerxes speaking for
ἐπετύγχανε τά περ αὐτὸς ἐνόεε. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντες
she-hit-upon what indeed himself he-was-thinking not-even for if all-men
καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ μένειν, ἔμενε ἂν
and all-women advised him to-stay he-would-have-stayed —
δοκέειν ἐμοί· οὕτω καταρρωδήκεε. ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν
to-seem to-me so he-was-terrified having-praised and —
Ἀρτεμισίην, ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἄγουσαν αὐτοῦ παῖδας
Artemisia her indeed he-sends-off bringing his sons
ἐς Ἔφεσον· νόθοι γὰρ τινὲς παῖδές οἱ συνέσποντο.
to Ephesus bastard for some sons him accompanied
Συνέπεμπε δὲ τοῖσι παισὶ φύλακον Ἑρμότιμον, γένος 104
he-sent-with and the sons as-guardian Hermotimus by-race
μὲν ἐόντα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν
indeed being a-Pedasian holding but not the second(-place) of-the
εὐνούχων παρὰ βασιλέι·
eunuchs with king
Τῷ μεγίστη τίσις ἤδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων 105
to-whom greatest vengeance ever having-been-wronged came of-all
τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. ἁλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ
of-those we know taken for him by enemies and
πωλεόμενον ὠνέεται Πανιώνιος ἀνὴρ Χῖος, ὃς τὴν ζόην
being-sold buys Panionius a-man Chian who the livelihood
κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων· ὅκως γὰρ κτήσαιτο
had-established from deeds most-unholy whenever for he-acquired
παῖδας εἴδεος ἐπαμμένους, ἐκτάμνων ἀγινέων ἐπώλεε
boys of-beauty endowed castrating bringing(-them) he-sold(-them)

ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ Ἔφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων. παρὰ
to Sardis both and Ephesus for-money great among
γὰρ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμιώτεροι εἰσὶ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι πίστιος
for the barbarians more-valued are the eunuchs trust
εἵνεκα τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχίων. ἄλλους τε δὴ ὁ
for-the-sake the whole than-the uncastrated others both indeed —
Πανιώνιος ἐξέταμε πολλούς, ἅτε ποιεύμενος ἐκ τούτου τὴν
Panionius castrated many as making from this the
ζόην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον. καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα
livelihood and indeed also this(-one) and not for in-the(-things) all
ἐδυστύχεε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος, ἀπικνέεται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων
was-unfortunate — Hermotimus comes from — Sardis
παρὰ βασιλέα μετ᾽ ἄλλων δώρων, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος
to king with other gifts of-time and advancing
πάντων τῶν εὐνούχων ἐτιμήθη μάλιστα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ.
of-all the eunuchs he-was-honored most by Xerxes
106 Ὡς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὅρμα βασιλεὺς
when and the army the Persian was-setting-in-motion king
ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐὼν ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβὰς
against — Athens being at Sardis there having-gone-down
κατὰ δή τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην,
for indeed some business — Hermotimus to land the Mysian
τὴν Χῖοι μὲν νέμονται Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέεται, εὑρίσκει τὸν
which Chians indeed inhabit Atarneus and is-called finds —
Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν
Panionius there having-recognized(-him) and he-spoke to him
πολλοὺς καὶ φιλίους λόγους, πρῶτα μέν οἱ καταλέγων
many and friendly words first indeed to-him recounting
ὅσα αὐτὸς δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἔχοι ἀγαθά, δεύτερα δέ οἱ
how-many he through him had good(-things) second and to-him
ὑπισχνεύμενος ἀντὶ τούτων ὅσα μιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσει
promising in-return-for these how-many him good(-things) he-will-do

ἢν κομίσας τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκέῃ ἐκείνῃ, ὥστε ὑποδεξάμενον
if having-brought the household he-dwell there so-that having-accepted
ἄσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ
gladly the words — Panionius brought the children and
τὴν γυναῖκα. ὡς δὲ ἄρα πανοικίῃ μιν περιέλαβε, ἔλεγε
the wife when and then with-whole-household him he-had-caught said
ὁ Ἑρμότιμος τάδε. "Ὦ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἤδη μάλιστα ἀπ'
— Hermotimus this O of-all men ever most from
ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τί σε ἐγὼ κακὸν
deeds most-unholy the living having-gotten what you I harm
ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τίς σε προγόνων ἐργάσατο, ἢ σὲ
either myself or of-the my anyone you ancestors wrought or you
ἢ τῶν σῶν τινα, ὅτι με ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν
or of-the yours anyone that me instead-of a-man you-made the nothing
εἶναι; ἐδόκεές τε θεοὺς λήσειν οἷα ἐμηχανῶ τότε· οἳ
to-be you-thought and gods to-escape-the-notice-of what you-contrived then who
σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια, νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεώμενοι, ὑπήγαγον
you having-done unholy(-things) by-law just using have-brought
ἐς χεῖρας τὰς ἐμάς, ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο
into hands the my so-that you not to-blame the from me
τοι ἐσομένην δίκην." ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ὠνείδισε,
to-you about-to-be justice when and to-him these-things he-had-reproached
ἀχθέντων τῶν παίδων ἐς ὄψιν ἠναγκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος
having-been-brought the sons into sight was-compelled — Panionius
τῶν ἑωυτοῦ παίδων τεσσέρων ἐόντων τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτάμνειν,
of-the of-himself sons four being the privy-parts to-cut-off
ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὡς ταῦτα
being-compelled and he-did these-things of-himself and when these-things
ἐργάσατο, οἱ παῖδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώνιον
he-had-done the sons being-compelled cut-off Panionius
μέν νυν οὕτω περιῆλθε ἥ τε τίσις καὶ Ἑρμότιμος.
indeed then so overtook the both vengeance and Hermotimus

107 Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέτρεψε Ἀρτεμισίῃ ἀπάγειν
Xerxes and when the sons he-had-entrusted to-Artemisia to-take-away
ἐς Ἔφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατιῆς
to Ephesus having-called Mardonius bade him of-the army
διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιέειν τοῖσι λόγοισι τὰ ἔργα
to-choose-out those he-wishes and to-make to-the words the deeds
πειρώμενον ὅμοια. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο
trying equal this indeed the day to so-far
ἐγίνετο, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κελεύσαντος βασιλέος τὰς νέας
it-went in-the and night having-ordered king the ships
οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπῆγον ὀπίσω ἐς τὸν
the generals from — Phalerum led-away back to the
Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς τάχεος εἶχε ἕκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας
Hellespont as speed had each to-guard
τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλέι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν
the bridges to-be-crossed king when and near they-were
Ζωστῆρος πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι
Zoster sailing the barbarians stretch-out for headlands
λεπταὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης, ἔδοξάν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ
thin of-the mainland this they-thought both ships to-be and
ἔφευγον ἐπὶ πολλόν· χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες
fled for far in-time but having-learned that not ships
εἶεν ἀλλ᾽ ἄκραι, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.
they-were but headlands having-gathered they-went-on

IX · THE PURSUIT AND THE RETREAT

The Greeks pursue to Andros. Themistocles urges breaking the bridges, but Eurybiades prevails, and Themistocles sends Sicinnus to claim credit with Xerxes. The Greeks besiege Andros, and Themistocles extorts money from the islands. A Spartan

herald demands satisfaction for Leonidas, and Xerxes points to Mardonius, whom he leaves in Thessaly. Xerxes marches to the Hellespont through famine and plague. Herodotus rejects the tale that he crossed by ship and had Persians leap overboard.

Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγίνετο, ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώρην 108
when and day came seeing the Greeks in place
μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν ἤλπιζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι
remaining the army the land they-expected also the ships to-be
περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκεόν τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας παραρτέοντό
about Phalerum they-thought and to-fight-at-sea them prepared
τε ὡς ἀλεξησόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας
and as about-to-defend-themselves when and they-learned the ships
οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν
having-gone at-once after these-things it-seemed(-good) to-pursue the
μέν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξεω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπεῖδον
indeed then naval the of-Xerxes host not they-caught-sight-of
διώξαντες μέχρι Ἄνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἄνδρον ἀπικόμενοι
having-pursued as-far-as Andros to and — Andros having-arrived
ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλέης μέν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο
they-deliberated Themistocles indeed then opinion declared
διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας
through islands turning and having-pursued the ships
πλέειν ἰθέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας·
to-sail straight to the Hellespont to-break the bridges
Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτῃ γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων
Eurybiades but the opposite to-this opinion put-forward saying
ὡς εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ᾽ ἂν μέγιστον πάντων
that if they-will-break the rafts this — greatest of-all
σφι κακῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθείη
for-them evils — Greece would-do if for were-compelled
ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρῷτο ἂν ἡσυχίην μὴ
the Persian to-stay in — Europe he-would-try — quiet not

ἄγειν, ὡς ἄγοντι μέν οἱ ἡσυχίην οὔτε τι προχωρέειν
to-keep since keeping indeed to-him quiet neither anything to-advance
οἷόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὰ
possible — will-be of-the affairs nor any return the(-way)
ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῷ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθερέεται,
back will-appear by-famine and to-him the army will-perish
ἐπιχειρέοντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἐχομένῳ πάντα τὰ
attempting but to-him and work holding all the(-things)
κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἷά τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ
in — Europe possible — will-be to-come-over by
πόλις τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα, ἤτοι ἁλισκομένων γε ἢ
cities both and by nations either being-taken at-least or
πρὸ τούτου ὁμολογεόντων· τροφήν τε ἕξειν σφέας τὸν
before this coming-to-terms food both to-have they the
ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπόν. ἀλλὰ δοκέειν
yearly always the of-the Greeks harvest but to-seem
γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν
for defeated in-the sea-fight not to-stay in — Europe the
Πέρσην· ἐατέον ὧν εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐς ὃ ἔλθοι φεύγων
Persian to-be-allowed then to-be to-flee up-to which he-came fleeing
ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου
to the of-himself(-land) the from-then but about the of-that(-man)
ποιέεσθαι ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἴχοντο
to-make already the contest he-bade this and held
τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.
the opinion also of-Peloponnesians the other the generals

109 Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τούς γε πολλοὺς
when and he-learned that not he-will-persuade those at-least many
πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης, μεταβαλὼν
to-sail to the Hellespont — Themistocles having-changed
πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγότων
to the Athenians these for most having-escaped

περιημέκτεον, ὁρμεάτό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέειν καὶ
were-indignant were-eager and to the Hellespont to-sail even
ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ βουλοίατο)
by them themselves having-resolved if the others not should-wish
ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. “Καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμην
he-said to-them this and myself already at-many I-was-present
καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι, ἄνδρας ἐς
and of-many more I-have-heard such(-things) to-happen men into
ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νενικημένους ἀναμάχεσθαί τε καὶ
necessity shut-up defeated to-renew-the-fight both and
ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα. ἡμεῖς δέ, εὕρημα γὰρ
to-retrieve the former cowardice we and a-godsend for
εὑρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο
we-have-found us both themselves and — Greece a-cloud so-great
ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι, μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας.
of-men having-thrust-back let-us-not pursue men fleeing
τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοί τε καὶ
these-things for not we accomplished but gods both and
ἥρωες, οἳ ἐφθόνησαν ἄνδρα ἕνα τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς
heroes who grudged a-man one — both of-Asia and —
Εὐρώπης βασιλεῦσαι ἐόντα ἀνόσιόν τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον· ὃς
of-Europe to-be-king being unholy both and presumptuous who
τά τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο, ἐμπιπράς
the both sacred(-things) and the private in like(-regard) held burning
τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· ὃς καὶ τὴν
both and throwing-down of-the gods the images who also the
θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατῆκε. ἀλλ᾽ εὖ γὰρ ἔχει
sea scourged fetters both let-down but well for it-is
ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμείναντας
for the present for-us now indeed in — Greece having-stayed
ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων, καί τις
of-us both themselves to-take-care and of-the households and anyone

οἰκίην τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω,
house both let-him-build-again and of-sowing diligently let-him-take-care
παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι
completely having-driven-away the barbarian with and the spring
καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης.” ταῦτα
let-us-sail to Hellespont and Ionia these-things
ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσασθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσην, ἵνα
he-said a-deposit intending to-make with the Persian so-that
ἢν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος
if then anything him should-befall from Athenians suffering
ἔχῃ ἀποστροφήν· τά περ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο.
he-might-have a-refuge what indeed then also happened
110 Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ
Themistocles indeed these-things saying deceived(-them) Athenians and
ἐπείθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφὸς
obeyed since for also before reputed to-be wise
ἐφάνη ἐὼν ἀληθέως σοφός τε καὶ εὔβουλος, πάντως
he-appeared being truly wise both and well-counseling altogether
ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὡς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ
ready they-were him-speaking to-obey when and these by-him
ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης
persuaded were at-once after these-things — Themistocles
ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγᾶν
men sent-off having a-boat whom he-trusted to-keep-silent
ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο
to every torture coming what he enjoined
βασιλέι φράσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὖτις
king to-tell of-whom also Sicinnus the servant again
ἐγένετο· οἳ ἐπείτε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οἳ μὲν
was they when they-came to — Attica some indeed
κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ
stayed by the boat Sicinnus but having-gone-up to

Ξέρξην ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἔπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Νεοκλέος,
Xerxes said this sent me Themistocles the (son)-of-Neocles
στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων
general indeed of-Athenians man and of-the allies all
ἄριστος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσοντά τοι ὅτι Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ
best and wisest to-tell you that Themistocles the
Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργέειν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἕλληνας
Athenian you wishing to-serve held-back the Greeks
τὰς νέας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ
the ships wishing to-pursue and the in Hellespont
γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ νῦν κατ᾽ ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζεο.” οἳ
bridges to-break and now at leisure great convey-yourself they
μὲν ταῦτα σημήναντες ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω.
indeed these-things having-signified sailed-away back
Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπείτε σφι ἀπέδοξε μήτ᾽ ἐπιδιώκειν ἔτι 111
the but Greeks when to-them it-was-resolved neither to-pursue still
προσωτέρω τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας μήτε πλέειν ἐς τὸν
further of-the barbarians the ships nor to-sail to the
Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἄνδρον περικατέατο
Hellespont to-break the passage — Andros besieged
ἐξελεῖν ἐθέλοντες. πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἄνδριοι νησιωτέων αἰτηθέντες
to-take wishing first for Andrians of-islanders asked
πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέος χρήματα οὐκ ἔδοσαν, ἀλλὰ προϊσχομένου
by Themistocles money not gave but putting-forward
Θεμιστοκλέος λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἥκοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἑωυτοὺς
Themistocles argument this that had-come Athenians about themselves
ἔχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, πειθώ τε καὶ ἀναγκαίην,
having two gods great persuasion both and necessity
οὕτω τέ σφι κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίναντο
so both to-them very to-be-given to-be money they-answered
πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἄρα
to these-things saying that in-accord-with reason were then

αἱ Ἀθῆναι μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες, αἳ καὶ θεῶν
— *Athens great both and prosperous which also with-gods*
χρηστῶν ἤκοιεν εὖ, ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι γεωπείνας
useful had-come well since Andrians at-least to-be land-poor
ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, καὶ θεοὺς δύο ἀχρήστους οὐκ
to the utmost having-come and gods two useless not
ἐκλείπειν σφέων τὴν νῆσον ἀλλ᾽ αἰεὶ φιλοχωρέειν, πενίην
to-leave their the island but always to-love-the-place poverty
τε καὶ ἀμηχανίην, καὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπηβόλους
both and helplessness and these the gods possessing
ἐόντας Ἀνδρίους οὐ δώσειν χρήματα· οὐδέκοτε γὰρ τῆς
being Andrians not to-give money never for than-the
ἑωυτῶν ἀδυναμίης τὴν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσω.
of-themselves inability the of-Athenians power to-be stronger
112 Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποκρινάμενοι καὶ οὐ δόντες τὰ
these indeed then these-things having-answered and not having-given the
χρήματα ἐπολιορκέοντο. Θεμιστοκλέης δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο
money were-besieged Themistocles but not for he-ceased
πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέμπων ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀπειλητηρίους
being-grasping sending to the other islands threatening
λόγους αἴτεε χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος
words asked money through the same messengers using
τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ἐχρήσατο, λέγων ὡς εἰ μὴ
whom also to king he-used saying that if not
δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τὴν στρατιὴν
they-will-give the(-thing) asked he-will-bring-upon(-them) the army
τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἐξαιρήσει. λέγων ταῦτα
of-the Greeks and besieging will-take(-them) saying these-things
συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων τε καὶ
he-collected money great from Carystians both and
Παρίων, οἳ πυνθανόμενοι τήν τε Ἄνδρον ὡς πολιορκέοιτο
Parians who learning — both Andros that it-was-being-besieged

διότι ἐμήδισε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα ὡς εἴη ἐν αἴνῃ μεγίστῃ
because it-medized and Themistocles that he-was in esteem greatest
τῶν στρατηγῶν, δείσαντες ταῦτα ἔπεμπον χρήματα.
of-the generals having-feared these-things sent money
εἰ δὲ δὴ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι ἔδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ
whether but indeed some also others gave of-islanders not
ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι καὶ
I-can say I-think but some also others to-have-given and
οὐ τούτους μούνους. καίτοι Καρυστίοισί γε οὐδὲν
not these alone and-yet for-Carystians at-least not-at-all
τούτου εἵνεκα τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ ἐγένετο· Πάριοι δὲ
this for-the-sake the evil postponement came Parians but
Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἱλασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα.
Themistocles with-money having-propitiated escaped the army
Θεμιστοκλέης μέν νυν ἐξ Ἄνδρου ὁρμώμενος χρήματα
Themistocles indeed then from Andros setting-out money
παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτᾶτο λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν.
from islanders acquired secretly from-the other generals
Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν 113
those and about Xerxes having-waited few days after the
ναυμαχίην ἐξήλαυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν. ἔδοξε
sea-fight marched-out into Boeotians the same road it-seemed-good
γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ
for to-Mardonius at-once indeed to-escort king at-once and
ἀνωρίη εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν, χειμερίσαι τε ἄμεινον
unseasonable to-be of-the year to-make-war to-winter and better
εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς
to-be in Thessaly and then with the spring to-attempt —
Πελοποννήσου. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα
of-Peloponnese when and they-had-come into — Thessaly there
Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρώτους μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας πάντας
Mardonius chose first indeed the Persians all

τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ὑδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
those immortals called except Hydarnes the general
(οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος), μετὰ δὲ
this(-man) for not said he-would-be-left-behind from-king after and
τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἵππον
of-the other Persians the corslet-wearers and the cavalry
τὴν χιλίην, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε
the thousand-strong and Medes both and Sacae and Bactrians both
καὶ Ἰνδούς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον. ταῦτα μὲν
and Indians and the foot and the other cavalry these indeed
ἔθνεα ὅλα εἵλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο
nations whole he-took from and the other allies he-chose
κατ' ὀλίγους, τοῖσι εἴδεά τε ὑπῆρχε διαλέγων καὶ εἰ
by few those-to-whom fine-looks both belonged picking and if
τεοῖσι τι χρηστὸν συνήδεε πεποιημένον· ἓν δὲ πλεῖστον
to-some anything good he-knew done one and most-numerous
ἔθνος Πέρσας αἱρέετο, ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ
nation Persians he-took men necklace-wearing both and
ψελιοφόρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μὲν
bracelet-wearing after and Medes these and the number indeed
οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων, ῥώμῃ δὲ ἥσσονες.
not fewer were than-the Persians in-strength but weaker
ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεῦσι.
so-that all-together thirty ten-thousands to-have-been with horsemen
114 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδόνιός τε τὴν στρατιὴν
in and this the time in which Mardonius both the army
διέκρινε καὶ Ξέρξης ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐληλύθεε
was-sorting and Xerxes was about Thessaly an-oracle had-come
ἐκ Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι, Ξέρξην αἰτέειν δίκας τοῦ
from Delphi to-Lacedaemonians Xerxes to-ask satisfaction for-the
Λεωνίδεω φόνου καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι.
of-Leonidas murder and the(-thing) given by him to-accept

πέμπουσι δὴ κήρυκα τὴν ταχίστην Σπαρτιῆται, ὃς ἐπειδὴ
send indeed a-herald the quickest Spartans who when
κατέλαβε ἐοῦσαν ἔτι πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ,
he-found being still all the army in Thessaly
ἐλθὼν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν Ξέρξεω ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὦ βασιλεῦ
having-come into sight the of-Xerxes said this O king
Μήδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τέ σε καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδαι οἱ ἀπὸ
of-Medes Lacedaemonians both you and Heraclidae those from
Σπάρτης αἰτέουσι φόνου δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα
Sparta ask for-murder satisfaction because their the king
ἀπέκτεινας ῥυόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα." ὁ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ
you-killed protecting — Greece he and having-laughed both and
κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρεστεὼς
having-held(-back) long time as to-him happened standing-by
Μαρδόνιος, δεικνὺς ἐς τοῦτον εἶπε "Τοιγὰρ σφι Μαρδόνιος
Mardonius pointing to this(-man) he-said therefore to-them Mardonius
ὅδε δίκας δώσει τοιαύτας οἵας ἐκείνοισι πρέπει."
here satisfaction will-give such as to-those befits
Ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο, Ξέρξης δὲ 115
he indeed then having-accepted the(-thing) said departed Xerxes and
Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ
Mardonius in Thessaly having-left himself journeyed with
τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον
speed to the Hellespont and arrives to the strait
τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρῃσι, ἀπάγων
of-the crossing in five and forty days bringing-back
τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὡς εἰπεῖν. ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι
of-the army no part so-to speak where and marching
γινοίατο καὶ κατ' οὕστινας ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν
they-were and among whatever men the of-these harvest
ἁρπάζοντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὕροιεν, οἳ δὲ
seizing they-ate if but harvest none they-found they and

τὴν ποίην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δενδρέων
the grass the from the earth springing-up and of-the trees
τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες
the bark stripping and the leaves plucking
κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ
they-devoured alike of-the both cultivated and of-the wild and
ἔλειπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεον ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ
left nothing these-things and they-did through famine having-seized and
λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερίη κατ' ὁδὸν ἔφθειρε.
plague both the army and dysentery on the-way destroyed(-them)
τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλειπε, ἐπιτάσσων τῇσι
those and also sick of-them he-left-behind enjoining the
πόλισι, ἵνα ἑκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνειν τε καὶ
cities where at-each-time he-was marching to-care-for both and
τρέφειν, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ τε τινὰς καὶ ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίης καὶ
to-feed(-them) in Thessaly both some and in Siris — of-Paeonia and
ἐν Μακεδονίῃ. ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἅρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διός,
in Macedonia where also the sacred chariot having-left — of-Zeus
ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλαυνε, ἀπιὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε,
when against — Greece he-was-marching departing not he-received(-it)-back
ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Παίονες τοῖσι Θρήιξι ἀπαιτέοντος
but having-given(-it) the Paeonians to-the Thracians demanding
Ξέρξεω ἔφασαν νεμομένας ἁρπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω
Xerxes they-said grazing to-have-been-carried-off by the upper
Θρηίκων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων.
Thracians the about the springs of-the Strymon dwelling
116 Ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς
there also the of-the Bisaltae king of-land and the
Κρηστωνικῆς Θρῆιξ ἔργον ὑπερφυὲς ἐργάσατο· ὃς οὔτε
Crestonian a-Thracian deed monstrous wrought who neither
αὐτὸς ἔφη τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἑκὼν εἶναι δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ' οἴχετο
himself said — to-Xerxes willingly to-be would-be-slave but was-gone

ἄνω ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ῥοδόπην, τοῖσί τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε
up to the mountain — Rhodope to-the and sons forbade
μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἳ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες,
not to-campaign against — Greece they and having-disregarded(-him)
ἢ ἄλλως σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον,
or otherwise to-them desire arose to-see the war
ἐστρατεύοντο ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσινέες
campaigned with the Persian when and they-returned unharmed
πάντες ἓξ ἐόντες, ἐξώρυξε αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
all six being gouged-out their the father the eyes
διὰ τὴν αἰτίην ταύτην.
for the cause this
Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι 117
and these indeed this the reward received the and Persians
ὡς ἐκ τῆς Θρηίκης πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον,
when from — Thrace marching they-arrived at the strait
ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τῇσι νηυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς
hastening the Hellespont with-the ships crossed to
Ἄβυδον· τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὗρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένας ἀλλ᾽
Abydus the for rafts not they-found still stretched but
ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι σιτία
by storm broken-up there and being-held-up food
τε πλέω ἢ κατ᾽ ὁδὸν ἐλάγχανον, καὶ οὐδένα τε κόσμον
both more than on the-way they-got and in-no both order
ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ
filling-themselves and waters changing died of-the
στρατοῦ τοῦ περιεόντος πολλοί. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅμα Ξέρξῃ
army the surviving many the and rest with Xerxes
ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.
arrive to Sardis

118 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος, ὡς ἐπειδὴ
there-is and also another this story told that when
Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκετο ἐπ᾽ Ἠιόνα τὴν
Xerxes marching-away from Athens came to Eion the
ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὁδοιπορίῃσι διεχρᾶτο, ἀλλὰ
on Strymon from-there no-longer by-journeys he-traveled but
τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν Ὑδάρνεϊ ἐπιτράπει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν
the indeed army to-Hydarnes he-entrusts to-lead-away to the
Ἑλλήσποντον, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐπὶ νεὸς Φοινίσσης ἐπιβὰς
Hellespont himself and on a-ship Phoenician having-embarked
ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. πλέοντα δέ μιν ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην
was-carried to — Asia sailing and him a-wind Strymonian
ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίην. καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον γάρ
to-have-caught great and wave-raising and indeed more for
τι χειμαίνεσθαι γεμούσης τῆς νεός, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῦ
somewhat to-be-storm-tossed being-laden the ship so-that on the
καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συχνῶν Περσέων τῶν σὺν
deck being many Persians of-those with
Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα
Xerxes traveling there into fear having-fallen the king
εἰρέσθαι βώσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην εἴ τις ἐστί σφι
to-have-asked having-shouted the helmsman whether any is for-them
σωτηρίη, καὶ τὸν εἶπαι "Δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι οὐδεμία, εἰ
deliverance and him to-have-said master not is(-there) none if
μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγή τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων."
not of-these riddance some happen the many passengers
καὶ Ξέρξην λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἰπεῖν "Ἄνδρες
and Xerxes is-said having-heard these-things to-have-said men
Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασιλέος κηδόμενος· ἐν
Persians now someone let-him-show of-you king caring in
ὑμῖν γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἡ σωτηρίη." τὸν μὲν ταῦτα
you for it-seems to-be for-me the safety him indeed these-things

λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν,
to-say them and doing-obeisance to-leap-out into the sea
καὶ τὴν νέα ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς
and the ship lightened so indeed to-have-come-safe to
τὴν Ἀσίην. ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ξέρξην,
— Asia when and to-have-landed soonest on land — Xerxes
ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχήν,
to-have-done such-a-thing because indeed he-saved king the life
δωρήσασθαι χρυσέῃ στεφάνῃ τὸν κυβερνήτην, ὅτι δὲ
to-have-presented with-a-golden crown the helmsman because and
Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.
of-Persians many he-destroyed to-have-cut-off the head of-him
Οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νόστου, 119
this and other is-told story about the of-Xerxes return
οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων
in-no-way to-me-at-least credible neither otherwise nor the of-Persians
τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ
this disaster if for indeed these-things so were-said by the
κυβερνήτεω πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἐν μυρίῃσι γνώμῃσι μίαν
helmsman to Xerxes among ten-thousand opinions one
οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξοον μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε,
not I-have contrary not not — to-have-done king such-a-thing
τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλην
those indeed on the deck to-make-go-down into hollow
νέα ἐόντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δ᾽
ship being Persians and of-Persians the first of-the and
ἐρετέων ἐόντων Φοινίκων ὅκως οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλῆθος τοῖσι
rowers being Phoenicians that not — equal number to-the
Πέρσῃσι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μέν,
Persians he-would-have-thrown into the sea but he indeed

ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ὁδῷ χρεώμενος ἅμα τῷ
as also before by-me has-been-said by-road traveling with the
ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.
other army returned to — Asia

120 Μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε μαρτύριον· φαίνεται γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ
great and also this proof appears for Xerxes in the
ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Ἄβδηρα καὶ ξεινίην τέ
back journey having-come to Abdera and guest-friendship both
σφι συνθέμενος καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκῃ τε
with-them having-made and having-presented them with-a-scimitar both
χρυσέῳ καὶ τιήρῃ χρυσοπάστῳ. καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι
golden and a-tiara gold-spangled and as themselves say
Ἀβδηρῖται, λέγοντες ἔμοιγε οὐδαμῶς πιστά, πρῶτον
Abderites saying to-me-at-least in-no-way credible(-things) first
ἐλύσατο τὴν ζώνην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὀπίσω, ὡς ἐν
he-loosed the girdle fleeing from Athens back as in
ἀδείῃ ἐών. τὰ δὲ Ἄβδηρα ἵδρυται πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου
security being the and Abdera is-situated toward the Hellespont
μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἠιόνος, ὅθεν δή
more than the Strymon and — of-Eion whence indeed
μιν φασὶ ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα.
him they-say to-have-embarked onto the ship

X · PRIZES AND WINTER

The Greeks dedicate three captured triremes at the Isthmus, Sunium, and Salamis, and the Aeginetans add gold stars at Delphi. At the Isthmus each general votes himself first and most vote Themistocles second; the Spartans honor him with an olive crown and an escort. Timodemus says Athens, not he, earned the honor. Artabazus takes Olynthus and besieges Potidaea, where a flood tide drowns many of his men. The Persian fleet gathers at Samos, the Greeks at Aegina, and Ionian envoys lead them to Delos.

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπείτε οὐκ οἷοί τε ἐγίνοντο ἐξελεῖν τὴν 121
the and Greeks when not able — were to-take —
Ἄνδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δηιώσαντες αὐτῶν
Andros having-turned to Carystus and having-ravaged their
τὴν χώρην ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. πρῶτα μέν νυν
the land departed to Salamis first indeed then
τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἐξεῖλον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας
for-the gods they-set-apart first-fruits other both and triremes
τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἰσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἥ περ
three Phoenician one indeed at Isthmus to-dedicate which indeed
ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ
still even to my(-time) was one and at Sunium one and —
Αἴαντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο
to-Ajax there at Salamis after and this they-divided
τὴν λείην καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφούς, ἐκ
the spoil and the first-fruits sent to Delphi from
τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριὰς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεός,
which was-made a-statue holding in the hand a-figurehead of-a-ship
ἐὼν μέγαθος δυώδεκα πηχέων· ἕστηκε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ
being in-size twelve cubits stands and this(-one) where indeed
ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος.
the Macedonian Alexander the golden
Πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροθίνια οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων 122
having-sent and first-fruits the Greeks to Delphi asked
τὸν θεὸν κοινῇ εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ
the god in-common whether he-had-received full and acceptable the
ἀκροθίνια. ὁ δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησε
first-fruits he and from Greeks indeed the others said
ἔχειν, παρὰ Αἰγινητέων δὲ οὔ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς τὰ
to-have(-them) from Aeginetans but not but he-demanded-of them the
ἀριστήια τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίης. Αἰγινῆται δὲ πυθόμενοι
prize-of-valor of-the at Salamis sea-fight Aeginetans and having-learned

ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χρυσέους, οἳ ἐπὶ ἵστοῦ χαλκέου ἑστᾶσι
dedicated stars golden which on a-mast bronze stand
τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κροίσου κρητῆρος.
three on the corner nearest the of-Croesus bowl
123 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς ληίης ἔπλεον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς
after and the division of-the spoil sailed the Greeks to
τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀριστήια δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ γενομένῳ
the Isthmus prizes going-to-give to-the most-worthy having-proved
Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ
of-Greeks through the war this when and having-arrived the
στρατηγοὶ διένεμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ
generals distributed the votes at the of-Poseidon the
βωμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων,
altar the first and the second judging from all
ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἑωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς
there every one of-them for-himself put the vote himself
ἕκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος γενέσθαι, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ
each thinking best to-have-been for-second and the many
συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντες. οἳ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνοῦντο,
coincided Themistocles judging they indeed then stood-alone
Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ δευτερείοισι ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν.
Themistocles and with-second-places surpassed by-far
124 Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ,
not wishing and these-things to-judge the Greeks through-envy
ἀλλ᾽ ἀποπλεόντων ἑκάστων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀκρίτων,
but sailing-away each to the of-themselves(-land) undecided
ὅμως Θεμιστοκλέης ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ
nevertheless Themistocles was-cried-up both and was-reputed to-be a-man
πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
by-far of-Greeks wisest throughout all — Greece
ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι
because but conquering not he-was-honored by those at Salamis

ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαίμονα
having-fought-at-sea at-once after these-things to Lacedaemon
ἀπίκετο θέλων τιμηθῆναι· καί μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς
he-came wishing to-be-honored and him Lacedaemonians nobly
μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήια μέν
indeed received greatly and honored prize-of-valor indeed
νυν ἔδοσαν ∗∗∗ Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἐλαίης στέφανον, σοφίης δὲ
then they-gave (lacuna) to-Eurybiades of-olive a-crown of-wisdom and
καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλέι καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης·
also cleverness to-Themistocles also to-this(-man) a-crown of-olive
ἐδωρήσαντό τέ μιν ὄχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι.
they-presented and him with-chariot the in Sparta finest
αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλά, προέπεμψαν ἀπιόντα τριηκόσιοι
having-praised(-him) and much escorted(-him) departing three-hundred
Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οἵ περ ἱππέες καλέονται,
of-Spartans picked-men these who indeed knights are-called
μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Τεγεητικῶν. μοῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων
up-to the-borders the Tegean alone indeed this(-man) of-all
ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν.
men of-whom we know Spartans escorted
Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα 125
when and from — Lacedaemon he-came to — Athens there
Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος
Timodemus of-Aphidnae of-the enemies indeed the of-Themistocles
ἐών, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ
being otherwise but not of-the notable men with-envy
καταμαργέων ἐνείκεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα
maddened reproached — Themistocles the to Lacedaemon
ἄπιξιν προφέρων, ὡς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ
visit casting-up that because-of — Athens he-had the honors the
παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δι᾽ ἑωυτόν. ὃ δέ, ἐπείτε
from Lacedaemonians but not because-of himself he and since

οὐκ ἐπαύετο λέγων ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε "Οὕτω ἔχει
not ceased saying these-things — Timodemus said so it-is
τοι· οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβινίτης ἐτιμήθην οὕτω
you-know neither — I being a-Belbinite would-have-been-honored so
πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὔτ' ἂν σὺ, ὦνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος."
by Spartans nor — you O-man being an-Athenian
ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.
these-things indeed then to so-far went

126 Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσῃσι λόγιμος
Artabazus and the (son)-of-Pharnaces a-man among Persians notable
καὶ πρόσθε ἐών, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταιικῶν καὶ μᾶλλον
also before being from and the Plataean(-affair) also more
ἔτι γενόμενος, ἔχων ἓξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τοῦ Μαρδόνιος
still having-become having six ten-thousands of-the-army which Mardonius
ἐξελέξατο, προέπεμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου. ὡς δὲ ὃ
chose escorted king up-to the strait when and he
μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ὃ δὲ ὀπίσω πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν
indeed was in — Asia he but back marching by —
Παλλήνην ἐγίνετο, ἅτε Μαρδονίου τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ
Pallene was as Mardonius both wintering about
Θεσσαλίην τε καὶ Μακεδονίην καὶ οὐδέν κω κατεπείγοντος
Thessaly both and Macedonia and not-at-all yet urging(-him)
ἥκειν ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδικαίου ἐντυχὼν
to-come to the other camp not he-thought-it-right having-met-with
ἀπεστεῶσι Ποτιδαιήτῃσι μὴ οὐκ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας.
revolted Potidaeans not not to-enslave them
οἱ γὰρ Ποτιδαιῆται, ὡς βασιλεὺς παρεξεληλάκεε καὶ ὁ
the for Potidaeans when king had-marched-past and the
ναυτικὸς τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οἰχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος,
navy for-the Persians had-gone fleeing from Salamis

ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὣς
from the open revolted from the barbarians likewise
δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες.
and also the others the — Pallene holding
Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. 127
there indeed Artabazus besieged — Potidaea
ὑποπτεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ
having-suspected and also the Olynthians to-be-revolting from
βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι
king also this(-city) he-besieged held and it Bottiaeans
ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων.
from the Thermaic gulf driven-out by Macedonians
ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας εἶλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν
when and them he-took besieging he-slaughtered(-them) having-led-out
ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδοῖ Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναίῳ
to a-lake the and city he-hands-over to-Critobulus of-Torone
ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένεϊ, καὶ οὕτω Ὄλυνθον
to-govern and to-the Chalcidian race and so Olynthus
Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον.
Chalcidians held
Ἐξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος τῇ Ποτιδαίῃ ἐντεταμένως 128
having-taken and this(-city) — Artabazus — to-Potidaea strenuously
προσεῖχε· προσέχοντι δέ οἱ προθύμως συντίθεται
applied-himself applying-himself and to-him zealously agrees-on
προδοσίην Τιμόξεινος ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρατηγός,
betrayal Timoxenus the of-the Scionaeans general
ὅντινα μὲν τρόπον ἀρχήν, ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὐ
in-what indeed way at-first I not can say not
γὰρ ὢν λέγεται), τέλος μέντοι τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· ὅκως
for then it-is-told at-last however such(-things) happened whenever
βυβλίον γράψειε ἢ Τιμόξεινος ἐθέλων παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζον
a-letter wrote either Timoxenus wishing to Artabazus

πέμψαι ἢ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξεινον, τοξεύματος παρὰ
to-send or Artabazus to Timoxenus of-an-arrow around
τὰς γλυφίδας περιειλίξαντες καὶ πτερώσαντες τὸ βυβλίον
the notches having-wrapped(-it) and having-feathered(-it) the letter
ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκείμενον χωρίον. ἐπάιστος δὲ ἐγένετο
they-shot(-it) to an-agreed place found-out and was
ὁ Τιμόξεινος προδιδοὺς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν· τοξεύων γὰρ
— Timoxenus betraying — Potidaea shooting for
ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χωρίου
— Artabazus at the agreed(-place) having-missed the place
τούτου βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτιδαιήτεω τὸν ὦμον, τὸν δὲ
this strikes of-a-man Potidaean the shoulder him and
βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὅμιλος, οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν
struck ran-around a-crowd as is-wont to-happen in
πολέμῳ, οἳ αὐτίκα τὸ τόξευμα λαβόντες ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ
war who at-once the arrow having-taken when they-learned the
βυβλίον, ἔφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· παρῆν δὲ καὶ
letter brought(-it) to the generals was-present and also
τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναίων συμμαχίη. τοῖσι δὲ στρατηγοῖσι
of-the other Pallenaeans the-allied-force to-the and generals
ἐπιλεξαμένοισι τὸ βυβλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς
having-read the letter and having-learned the(-man) guilty of-the
προδοσίης ἔδοξε μὴ καταπλῆξαι Τιμόξεινον προδοσίῃ
treason it-seemed-good not to-strike-down Timoxenus with-treason
τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλιος εἵνεκα, μὴ νομιζοίατο εἶναι
of-the of-Scionaeans city for-the-sake lest they-be-thought to-be
Σκιωναῖοι ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προδόται.
Scionaeans for the after time always traitors

129 Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπάιστος ἐγεγόνεε· Ἀρταβάζῳ δὲ
he indeed then in-such way found-out had-become to-Artabazus and
ἐπειδὴ πολιορκέοντι ἐγεγόνεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἄμπωτις
when besieging had-passed three months happens an-ebb

τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. ἰδόντες δὲ
of-the sea great and time for long having-seen and
οἱ βάρβαροι τέναγος γενόμενον παρήισαν ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην.
the barbarians a-shallow formed passed-along into — Pallene
ὡς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοίρας διοδοιπορήκεσαν, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς
when and the two indeed parts they-had-traversed still and three
ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χρὴν εἶναι ἔσω ἐν τῇ
remaining were which having-passed-through it-was-needful to-be inside in —
Παλλήνῃ, ἐπῆλθε πλημμυρὶς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὅση
Pallene came-on a-flood-tide of-the sea great as-great-as
οὐδαμά κω, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, πολλάκις γινομένη.
never yet as the natives say often happening
οἱ μὲν δὴ νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεφθείροντο, τοὺς
the indeed then to-swim of-them not knowing were-destroyed those
δὲ ἐπισταμένους οἱ Ποτιδαιῆται ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοισι
but knowing the Potidaeans having-sailed-against(-them) in-boats
ἀπώλεσαν. αἴτιον δὲ λέγουσι Ποτιδαιῆται τῆς τε ῥηχίης
destroyed cause and say Potidaeans of-the both flood
καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι
and of-the flood-tide and of-the Persian disaster to-have-been
τόδε, ὅτι τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ
this that — of-Poseidon toward the temple and the image the
ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἠσέβησαν οὗτοι τῶν Περσέων οἵ περ καὶ
in the suburb were-impious these of-the Persians who indeed also
διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· αἴτιον δὲ τοῦτο λέγοντες
were-destroyed by the sea cause and this saying
εὖ λέγειν ἔμοιγε δοκέουσι. τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους
well to-speak to-me-at-least they-seem those and surviving
ἀπῆγε Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. οὗτοι
led-away Artabazus to Thessaly to Mardonius these
μὲν οἱ προπέμψαντες βασιλέα οὕτω ἔπρηξαν.
indeed those having-escorted king so fared

130 Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγενόμενος ὡς προσέμιξε
the and navy the of-Xerxes having-survived when it-reached
τῇ Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ
— to-Asia fleeing from Salamis and king both and
τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμευσε ἐς Ἄβυδον,
the army from Chersonese had-ferried to Abydus
ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῃ. ἔαρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος πρώιος
wintered at Cyme spring and having-shone-forth early
συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμον· αἱ δὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐχειμέρισαν
it-gathered at Samos some and of-the ships also had-wintered
αὐτοῦ· Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων οἱ πλεῦνες ἐπεβάτευον.
there of-Persians and also of-Medes the most served-as-marines
στρατηγοὶ δέ σφι ἐπῆλθον Μαρδόντης τε ὁ Βαγαίου
generals and to-them came Mardontes both the (son)-of-Bagaeus
καὶ Ἀρταΰντης ὁ Ἀρταχαίεω· συνῆρχε δὲ τούτοισι καὶ
and Artayntes the (son)-of-Artachaees shared-command and with-these also
ἀδελφιδέος αὐτοῦ Ἀρταΰντεω προσελομένου Ἰθαμίτρης.
nephew of-himself Artayntes having-chosen-him-as-colleague Ithamitres
ἅτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προήισαν ἀνωτέρω τὸ
as and greatly stricken not they-advanced farther the(-way)
πρὸς ἑσπέρης, οὐδ' ἐπηνάγκαζε οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ
toward evening nor forced(-them) anyone but at — Samos
κατήμενοι ἐφύλασσον τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῇ, νέας ἔχοντες
sitting they-guarded — Ionia lest it-revolt ships having
σὺν τῇσι Ἰάσι τριηκοσίας. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ προσεδέκοντο
with the Ionian three-hundred not indeed not-even they-expected
τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσειν
the Greeks to-come into — Ionia but to-be-content
σφι τὴν ἑωυτῶν φυλάσσειν, σταθμεύμενοι ὅτι σφέας
them the of-themselves(-land) to-guard judging that them
οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀλλ' ἄσμενοι
not they-pursued fleeing from Salamis but gladly

ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μέν νυν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσσωμένοι
they-departed by indeed then the sea worsted
ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ, πεζῇ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλῷ κρατήσειν τὸν
they-were in-the spirit on-foot but they-thought by-far to-prevail —
Μαρδόνιον. ἐόντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ ἅμα μὲν ἐβουλεύοντο
Mardonius being and at Samos at-once indeed they-deliberated
εἴ τι δυναίατο κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ποιέειν, ἅμα δὲ
whether any they-could harm the enemy to-do at-once and
καὶ ὠτακούστεον ὅκῃ πεσέεται τὰ Μαρδονίου πρήγματα.
also listened-for where will-fall the of-Mardonius affairs
Τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας τό τε ἔαρ γινόμενον ἤγειρε καὶ 131
the and Greeks the both spring coming roused and
Μαρδόνιος ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ἐών. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεζὸς οὔκω
Mardonius in Thessaly being the indeed then land(-army) not-yet
συνελέγετο, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἴγιναν, νέες
was-gathered the but navy came to Aegina ships
ἀριθμὸν δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν. στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ ναύαρχος ἦν
in-number ten and a-hundred general and also admiral was
Λευτυχίδης ὁ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Ἱπποκρατίδεω
Leotychides the (son)-of-Menares the (son)-of-Hegesilaus the (son)-of-Hippocratides
τοῦ Λευτυχίδεω τοῦ Ἀναξίλεω τοῦ Ἀρχιδήμου τοῦ
the (son)-of-Leotychides the (son)-of-Anaxilaus the (son)-of-Archidemus the
Ἀναξανδρίδεω τοῦ Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ
(son)-of-Anaxandrides the (son)-of-Theopompus the (son)-of-Nicandrus the
Χαρίλεω τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πολυδέκτεω τοῦ Πρυτάνιος
(son)-of-Charilaus the (son)-of-Eunomus the (son)-of-Polydectes the (son)-of-Prytanis
τοῦ Εὐρυφῶντος τοῦ Προκλέος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ
the (son)-of-Euryphon the (son)-of-Procles the (son)-of-Aristodemus the
Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὕλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος,
(son)-of-Aristomachus the (son)-of-Cleodaeus the (son)-of-Hyllus the (son)-of-Heracles
ἐὼν τῆς ἑτέρης οἰκίης τῶν βασιλέων. οὗτοι πάντες, πλὴν
being of-the other house of-the kings these all except

τῶν ἑπτὰ τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδεα πρώτων καταλεχθέντων,
the seven those after Leotychides first listed
οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης. Ἀθηναίων δὲ
the others kings were of-Sparta of-Athenians and
ἐστρατήγεε Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος.
commanded Xanthippus the (son)-of-Ariphron
132 Ὡς δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν πᾶσαι αἱ νέες, ἀπίκοντο
when and had-come to — Aegina all the ships came
Ἰώνων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἳ καὶ
of-Ionians messengers to the camp of-the Greeks who also
ἐς Σπάρτην ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων ἀπικόμενοι ἐδέοντο
to Sparta a-little before this having-come asked
Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἰωνίην· τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος
Lacedaemonians to-free — Ionia of-whom also Herodotus
ὁ Βασιληίδεω ἦν· οἳ στασιῶται σφίσι γενόμενοι
the (son)-of-Basileides was who conspirators among-themselves having-become
ἐπεβούλευον θάνατον Στράττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῳ, ἐόντες
plotted death for-Strattis the of-Chios tyrant being
ἀρχὴν ἑπτά· ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ ὡς φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο,
at-first seven plotting and when discovered they-became
ἐξενείκαντος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἑνὸς τῶν μετεχόντων, οὕτω
having-revealed the attempt one of-those sharing(-it) so
δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ ἓξ ἐόντες ὑπεξέσχον ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ ἐς
indeed the remaining six being withdrew from — Chios and to
Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκοντο καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν, τῶν
Sparta both came and indeed also then to — Aegina the
Ἑλλήνων δεόμενοι καταπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην· οἳ προήγαγον
Greeks asking to-sail-down to — Ionia who led-on
αὐτοὺς μόγις μέχρι Δήλου. τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρω πᾶν δεινὸν
them with-difficulty as-far-as Delos the for further all terrible
ἦν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι οὔτε τῶν χώρων ἐοῦσι ἐμπείροισι, στρατιῆς
was to-the Greeks neither of-the places being experienced of-army

τε πάντα πλέα ἐδόκεε εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἐπιστέατο
and all full it-seemed to-be — and Samos they-thought
δόξῃ καὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἴσον ἀπέχειν. συνέπιπτε δὲ
in-opinion and Heracles pillars equally to-be-distant it-coincided and
τοιοῦτο ὥστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης
such so-that the indeed barbarians the(-way) toward evening
ἀνωτέρω Σάμου μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι καταρρωδηκότας,
beyond Samos not to-dare to-sail-down having-taken-fright
τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας, χρηιζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ
the and Greeks urging Chians the(-way) toward the dawn
κατωτέρω Δήλου· οὕτω δέος τὸ μέσον ἐφύλασσε σφέων.
below Delos so fear the middle guarded of-them

XI · MARDONIUS' OFFER TO ATHENS

Mardonius sends Mys to consult the oracles; at the Ptoan shrine the prophet speaks in a barbarian tongue that Mys calls Carian. He sends Alexander of Macedon, whose ancestor Perdiccas won a kingdom by taking the sun as wages, to offer Athens its land, self-government, rebuilt temples, and alliance. Alarmed Spartans send envoys. The Athenians tell Alexander they will never make terms with Xerxes while the sun keeps its course, and tell the Spartans that shared blood, tongue, gods, and customs forbid betraying Greece.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Δῆλον, Μαρδόνιος δὲ 133
the indeed then Greeks sailed to — Delos Mardonius and
περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχείμαζε. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμώμενος ἔπεμπε
about — Thessaly wintered from-there and setting-out he-sent
κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν
among the oracles a-man Europan by-race whose name was
Μῦς, ἐντειλάμενος πανταχῇ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν, τῶν

οἷά τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὅ τι μὲν βουλόμενος
possible — was for-them to-make-trial what ever indeed wishing
ἐκμαθεῖν πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, οὐκ
to-learn from the oracles these-things he-enjoined not
ἔχω φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται· δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε περὶ τῶν
I-can tell not for then it-is-told I-think but I about the
παρεόντων πρηγμάτων καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πέρι πέμψαι.
present affairs and not others about to-have-sent(-him)

134 Οὗτος ὁ Μῦς ἔς τε Λεβάδειαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος καὶ
this — Mys to both Lebadea appears having-come and
μισθῷ πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρα καταβῆναι παρὰ
for-a-fee having-persuaded of-the natives a-man to-go-down to
Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ
Trophonius and to Abae the of-Phocians having-come to the
χρηστήριον· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο,
oracle and indeed also to Thebes first when he-came
τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο· ἔστι δὲ κατά
this indeed the Ismenian Apollo he-consulted it-is and as
περ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἱροῖσι αὐτόθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ
indeed at Olympia by-sacrifices there to-consult-the-oracle this and
ξεῖνον τινὰ καὶ οὐ Θηβαῖον χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίμησε
a-stranger some and not a-Theban with-money having-persuaded he-made-sleep
ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι
in Amphiaraus's(-shrine) of-Thebans and to-none it-is-allowed to-divine
αὐτόθι διὰ τόδε· ἐκέλευσε σφέας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως διὰ
there for this bade them — Amphiaraus through
χρηστηρίων ποιεύμενος ὁκότερα βούλονται ἑλέσθαι τούτων,
oracles making which-of-the-two they-wish to-choose of-these
ἑωυτῷ ἢ ἄτε μάντι χρᾶσθαι ἢ ἄτε συμμάχῳ, τοῦ ἑτέρου
himself either as seer to-use or as ally the other

ἀπεχομένους· οἳ δὲ σύμμαχόν μιν εἵλοντο εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο
abstaining-from they and ally him chose to-be for this
μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστι Θηβαίων οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακοιμηθῆναι.
indeed not it-is-allowed of-Thebans to-none there to-sleep-in
Τότε δὲ θῶμά μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ 135
then and wonder to-me greatest to-have-happened is-told by
Θηβαίων· ἐλθεῖν ἄρα τὸν Εὐρωπέα Μῦν, περιστρωφώμενον
Thebans to-have-come then the Europan Mys going-round
πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πτῴου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ
all the oracles also to of-the Ptoan Apollo the
τέμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέεται μὲν Πτῷον, ἔστι
precinct this and the temple is-called indeed Ptoum is
δὲ Θηβαίων, κεῖται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς
and of-Thebans lies and above the Copaic lake by
ὄρεϊ ἀγχοτάτω Ἀκραιφίης πόλιος. ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν
a-mountain nearest Acraephia city into this the temple
ἐπείτε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλεόμενον τοῦτον Μῦν, ἕπεσθαι δέ
when to-have-entered the called this Mys to-follow and
οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν αἱρετοὺς ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ
him of-the townsmen chosen men three from the commonwealth
ὡς ἀπογραψομένους τὰ θεσπιέειν ἔμελλε, καὶ πρόκατε τὸν
as about-to-write-down what to-prophesy he-was-about and suddenly the
πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσσῃ χρᾶν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἑπομένους
prophet in-barbarian tongue to-prophesy and those indeed following
τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θώματι ἔχεσθαι ἀκούοντας βαρβάρου
of-the Thebans in wonder to-be-held hearing a-barbarian
γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν ὅ τι χρήσωνται τῷ
tongue instead-of Greek nor to-know what ever they-should-do-with the
παρεόντι πρήγματι· τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπέα Μῦν ἐξαρπάσαντα παρ᾽
present matter the but Europan Mys having-snatched from
αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ
them the they-were-carrying tablet the(-things) said by the

προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτήν, φάναι δὲ Καρίῃ μιν γλώσσῃ
prophet to-write on it to-have-said and in-Carian him tongue
χρᾶν, συγγραψάμενον δὲ οἴχεσθαι ἀπιόντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.
to-prophesy having-written-down and to-be-gone departing to Thessaly
136 Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὅ τι δὴ λέγοντα ἦν
Mardonius and having-read what ever indeed saying were
τὰ χρηστήρια μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε ἄγγελον ἐς Ἀθήνας
the oracles after these-things sent a-messenger to Athens
Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι
Alexander the (son)-of-Amyntas a-man Macedonian at-once indeed because
οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν· Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀδελφεὴν
to-him related-by-marriage the Persians were of-Alexander for sister
Γυγαίην, Ἀμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης
Gygaea of-Amyntas and daughter Bubares a-man Persian
ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγεγόνεε Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ἔχων
had(-to-wife) from whom to-him had-been-born Amyntas the in — Asia having
τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὴ ἐκ βασιλέος τῆς
the name of-the mother's-father to-whom indeed by king —
Φρυγίης ἐδόθη Ἀλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι· ἅμα δὲ
of-Phrygia was-given Alabanda city great to-hold at-once and
ὁ Μαρδόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξεινός τε εἴη καὶ εὐεργέτης
— Mardonius having-learned that proxenus both he-was and benefactor
ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπεμπε· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους οὕτω ἐδόκεε
— Alexander sent(-him) the for Athenians so he-thought
μάλιστα προσκτήσεσθαι, λεών τε πολλὸν ἄρα ἀκούων εἶναι
most to-win-over a-people both numerous indeed hearing to-be
καὶ ἄλκιμον, τά τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι
and valiant the both at the sea having-befallen to-them
παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα Ἀθηναίους ἐπίστατο.
disasters having-accomplished most Athenians he-knew
τούτων δὲ προσγενομένων κατήλπιζε εὐπετέως τῆς
these and having-joined he-hoped easily of-the

θαλάσσης κρατήσειν, τά περ ἂν καὶ ἦν, πεζῇ τε ἐδόκεε
sea to-be-master which indeed — also was by-land and he-thought
πολλῷ εἶναι κρέσσων, οὕτω τε ἐλογίζετο κατύπερθέ οἱ
by-much to-be stronger so and he-reckoned superior to-him
τὰ πρήγματα ἔσεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ
the affairs to-be than-the Greek perhaps and — also the
χρηστήρια ταῦτά οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλεύοντα σύμμαχον
oracles these to-him might-foretell advising ally
τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ποιέεσθαι· τοῖσι δὴ πειθόμενος ἔπεμπε.
the Athenian to-make whom indeed obeying he-sent
Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἕβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ 137
— and of-Alexander this seventh ancestor Perdiccas is
ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ
the(-one) having-won of-the Macedonians the sovereignty in-way
τοιῷδε. ἐξ Ἄργεος ἔφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τῶν Τημένου
such-as-this from Argos fled to Illyrians of-the of-Temenus
ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελφεοί, Γαυάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ
descendants three brothers Gauanes both and Aeropus and
Περδίκκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω
Perdiccas from and Illyrians having-crossed into the upper
Μακεδονίην ἀπίκοντο ἐς Λεβαίην πόλιν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐθήτευον
Macedonia they-came to Lebaea city there and they-served
ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλέι, ὁ μὲν ἵππους νέμων, ὁ
for wages with the king one indeed horses tending another
δὲ βοῦς, ὁ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ
and oxen the and youngest of-them Perdiccas the small(-beasts)
τῶν προβάτων. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέος αὐτὴ τὰ σιτία
of-the flocks the and wife of-the king herself the food
σφι ἔπεσσε· ἦσαν γὰρ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν
for-them baked were for in-the olden(-time) even the sovereignties of-the
ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενέες χρήμασι, οὐ μοῦνον ὁ δῆμος· ὅκως δὲ
men weak in-money not only the people whenever and

ὀπτᾷ, ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ θητὸς Περδίκκεω διπλήσιος
she-baked the loaf of-the boy the hired Perdiccas double
ἐγίνετο αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ἐγίνετο,
became itself than-itself when and always the-same this happened
εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς· τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα
she-told to the husband the of-herself him and having-heard
ἐσῆλθε αὐτίκα ὡς εἴη τέρας καὶ φέροι μέγα τι.
it-came-to(-mind) at-once that it-was a-portent and portended great something
καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θῆτας προηγόρευέ σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι
having-called and the hired-men he-ordered them to-depart
ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ. οἳ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι
from land the of-himself they and the wages they-said right to-be
ἀπολαβόντες οὕτω ἐξιέναι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ
having-received so to-go-out then the king of-the wages
πέρι ἀκούσας, ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον
about having-heard was for down the smoke-hole into the house
ἐσέχων ὁ ἥλιος, εἶπε θεοβλαβὴς γενόμενος "Μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν
shining the sun said god-struck having-become wages but to-you
ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνδε ἀποδίδωμι," δέξας τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ
I of-you worthy this pay-back having-shown the sun —
μὲν δὴ Γαυάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀέροπος οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἔστασαν
indeed then Gauanes both and — Aeropus the elder stood
ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγχανε
dumbfounded when they-heard these-things the but boy happened
γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἶπας τάδε "Δεκόμεθα ὦ βασιλεῦ τὰ
for having a-knife having-said this we-accept O king what
διδοῖς," περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου
you-give draws-around with-the knife on the floor of-the house
τὸν ἥλιον, περιγράψας δέ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρὶς ἀρυσάμενος
the sun having-drawn-around and into the bosom thrice having-drawn
τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνου.
of-the sun departed himself both and those with him

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπήισαν, τῷ δὲ βασιλέι σημαίνει τις τῶν 138
they indeed then departed to-the and king signifies someone of-the
παρέδρων οἷόν τι χρῆμα ποιήσειε ὁ παῖς καὶ ὡς
assessors what-sort-of some thing had-done the boy and how
σὺν νόῳ κείνων ὁ νεώτατος λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα.
with design of-them the youngest had-taken the(-things) given
ὃ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ὀξυνθεὶς πέμπει ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς
he and these-things having-heard and angered sends after them
ἱππέας ἀπολέοντας. ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ,
horsemen to-kill(-them) a-river and there-is in the land this
τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπ᾽ Ἄργεος ἀπόγονοι
to-which sacrifice the of-these the men from Argos descendants
σωτῆρι· οὗτος, ἐπείτε διέβησαν οἱ Τημενίδαι, μέγας οὕτω
as-savior this when had-crossed the Temenidae great so
ἐρρύη ὥστε τοὺς ἱππέας μὴ οἵους τε γενέσθαι διαβῆναι. οἳ
flowed so-that the horsemen not able — to-be to-cross they
δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης οἴκησαν πέλας
and having-come into another land — of-Macedonia dwelt near
τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδίεω, ἐν
the gardens the said to-be of-Midas the (son)-of-Gordias in
τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα ῥόδα, ἓν ἕκαστον ἔχον ἑξήκοντα
which grow of-themselves roses one each having sixty
φύλλα, ὀδμῇ τε ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων. ἐν τούτοισι
petals in-scent both surpassing the others in these
καὶ ὁ Σιληνὸς τοῖσι κήποισι ἥλω, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ
also — Silenus the gardens was-caught as is-said by
Μακεδόνων. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κήπων ὄρος κέεται Βέρμιον
Macedonians above and the gardens a-mountain lies Bermius
οὔνομα, ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμώμενοι, ὡς
by-name impassable by winter from-there and setting-out when
ταύτην ἔσχον, κατεστρέφοντο καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίην.
this they-held they-subdued also the rest-of Macedonia

139 Ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Περδίκκεω Ἀλέξανδρος ὧδε ἐγένετο·
from this indeed — Perdiccas Alexander thus was-descended
Ἀμύντεω παῖς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀμύντης δὲ Ἀλκέτεω,
of-Amyntas son was Alexander Amyntas and of-Alcetas
Ἀλκέτεω δὲ πατὴρ ἦν Ἀέροπος, τοῦ δὲ Φίλιππος, Φιλίππου
of-Alcetas and father was Aeropus of-him and Philip of-Philip
δὲ Ἀργαῖος, τοῦ δὲ Περδίκκης ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν.
and Argaeus of-him and Perdiccas the(-one) having-won the rule
140A Ἐγεγόνεε μὲν δὴ ὧδε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω· ὡς
had-been-descended indeed then thus — Alexander the (son)-of-Amyntas when
δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου,
and he-came to — Athens sent by Mardonius
ἔλεγε τάδε. “ Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει. ἐμοὶ
he-said this men Athenians Mardonius this says to-me
ἀγγελίη ἥκει παρὰ βασιλέος λέγουσα οὕτω. ‘Ἀθηναίοισι
a-message has-come from king saying thus to-Athenians
τὰς ἁμαρτάδας τὰς ἐς ἐμὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων γενομένας πάσας
the offenses the against me from them having-been all
μετίημι.
I-remit
νῦν τε ὧδε Μαρδόνιε ποίεε· τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι
now and thus Mardonius do this indeed the land to-them
ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἑλέσθων αὐτοί,
give-back this and another besides this let-them-choose themselves
ἥντινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι, ἐόντες αὐτόνομοι· ἱρά τε πάντα σφι,
whatever — they-wish being self-governing temples both all for-them
ἢν δὴ βούλωνταί γε ἐμοὶ ὁμολογέειν, ἀνόρθωσον,
if indeed they-wish at-least with-me to-come-to-terms set-up-again
ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνέπρησα.’ τούτων δὲ ἀπιγμένων ἀναγκαίως
as-many-as I burned these and having-come necessarily
ἔχει μοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, ἢν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἴτιον γένηται.
it-is for-me to-do these-things if not the your(-part) the-cause becomes

“Λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τάδε. νῦν τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλέι
I-say and to-you this now why are-you-mad war against-the-king
ἀειρόμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβάλοισθε οὔτε οἷοί τε ἐστὲ
raising neither for — would-you-overcome nor able — are
ἀντέχειν τὸν πάντα χρόνον. εἴδετε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ξέρξεω
to-hold-out the all time you-saw indeed for of-the of-Xerxes
στρατηλασίης τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, πυνθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ
expedition the multitude and the deeds you-learn and also
τὴν νῦν παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ ἐοῦσαν δύναμιν· ὥστε καὶ ἢν ἡμέας
the now with me being power so-that even if us
ὑπερβάλησθε καὶ νικήσητε, τοῦ περ ὑμῖν οὐδεμία ἐλπὶς
you-overcome and conquer of-which indeed to-you no hope
εἴ περ εὖ φρονέετε, ἄλλη παρέσται πολλαπλησίη.
if indeed well you-think another will-be-at-hand many-times-as-great
μὴ ὦν βούλεσθε παρισούμενοι βασιλέι στέρεσθαι μὲν
not then wish making-yourselves-equal king to-be-deprived indeed
τῆς χώρης, θέειν δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ
of-the land to-run but always for you themselves but
καταλύσασθε· παρέχει δὲ ὑμῖν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι,
make-terms it-is-possible and for-you most-honorably to-make-terms
βασιλέος ταύτῃ ὁρμημένου. ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἡμῖν ὁμαιχμίην
king this-way having-set-out be free with-us alliance
συνθέμενοι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης.
having-made without both guile and deceit
Μαρδόνιος μὲν ταῦτα ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνετείλατό μοι εἰπεῖν 140B
Mardonius indeed these-things O Athenians enjoined me to-say
πρὸς ὑμέας· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίης τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας
to you I and about indeed goodwill the toward you
ἐούσης ἐξ ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν λέξω, οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον
being from me nothing shall-say not for — now first
ἐκμάθοιτε, προσχρηίζω δὲ ὑμέων πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίῳ.
you-would-learn(-it) I-ask-besides and you to-obey Mardonius

ἐνορῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ οἵοισί τε ἐσομένοισι τὸν πάντα χρόνον
I-see for in-you not able — going-to-be the all time
πολεμέειν Ξέρξῃ· εἰ γὰρ ἐνώρων τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἄν
to-make-war-with Xerxes if for I-saw this in you not —
κοτε ἐς ὑμέας ἦλθον ἔχων λόγους τούσδε· καὶ γὰρ
ever to you I-would-have-come having words these and for
δύναμις ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἡ βασιλέος ἐστὶ καὶ χεὶρ ὑπερμήκης.
power beyond man the king's is and arm very-long
ἢν ὦν μὴ αὐτίκα ὁμολογήσητε, μεγάλα προτεινόντων ἐπ᾽
if then not at-once you-come-to-terms great(-things) offering on
οἷσι ὁμολογέειν ἐθέλουσι, δειμαίνω ὑπὲρ ὑμέων ἐν τρίβῳ
which to-come-to-terms they-wish I-fear for you in the-track
τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμμάχων πάντων αἰεί τε
both most dwelling of-the allies all always and
φθειρομένων μούνων, ἐξαίρετον μεταίχμιόν τε τὴν γῆν
being-destroyed alone chosen a-no-man's-land and the land
ἐκτημένων.
possessing
ἀλλὰ πείθεσθε· πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεύς
but obey of-much for to-you worth these-things if king
γε ὁ μέγας μούνοισι ὑμῖν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἁμαρτάδας
at-least the great to-you alone of-Greeks the offenses
ἀπιεὶς ἐθέλει φίλος γενέσθαι."
remitting wishes friend to-become

141 Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πυθόμενοι
Alexander indeed these-things said Lacedaemonians and having-learned
ἥκειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐς ὁμολογίην ἄξοντα
to-have-come Alexander to Athens to terms going-to-bring
τῷ βαρβάρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων ὥς
with-the barbarian Athenians having-remembered the oracles how
σφεας χρεόν ἐστι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Δωριεῦσι ἐκπίπτειν
them fated it-is with the other Dorians to-be-driven-out

ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, κάρτα
from Peloponnese by Medes both and Athenians greatly
τε ἔδεισαν μὴ ὁμολογήσωσι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναῖοι,
both feared lest should-come-to-terms with-the Persian Athenians
αὐτίκα τέ σφι ἔδοξε πέμπειν ἀγγέλους. καὶ δὴ
at-once and to-them it-seemed-good to-send messengers and indeed
συνέπιπτε ὥστε ὁμοῦ σφεων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν·
it-coincided so-that together their was the audience
ἐπανέμειναν γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διατρίβοντες, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι
waited for the Athenians delaying well knowing
ὅτι ἔμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεύσεσθαι ἥκοντα παρὰ τοῦ
that were-about Lacedaemonians to-learn having-come from the
βαρβάρου ἄγγελον ἐπ᾽ ὁμολογίῃ, πυθόμενοί τε πέμψειν
barbarian a-messenger for terms having-learned and to-send
κατὰ τάχος ἀγγέλους. ἐπίτηδες ὦν ἐποίευν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι
with speed messengers on-purpose then they-did showing
τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι τὴν ἑωυτῶν γνώμην.
to-the Lacedaemonians the of-themselves opinion
Ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ 142
when and ceased speaking Alexander taking-up(-the-word) said the
ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἄγγελοι “Ἡμέας δὲ ἔπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι
from Sparta messengers us and sent Lacedaemonians
δεησομένους ὑμέων μήτε νεώτερον ποιέειν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν
to-ask you neither new anything to-do concerning —
Ἑλλάδα μήτε λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου. οὔτε
Greece nor words to-accept from the barbarian neither
γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοισι
for just in-no-way nor seemliness bringing nor at-least for-other
Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι, ὑμῖν δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἥκιστα
Greeks any for-you but indeed also among all least
πολλῶν εἵνεκα. ἠγείρατε γὰρ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς
many(-things) for-the-sake stirred-up for this the war you

οὐδὲν ἡμέων βουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆθεν
nothing we wishing and about the your(-land) from-the-beginning
ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγένετο, νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα·
the contest was now but it-extends also to all — Greece
ἄλλως τε τούτων ἁπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης
otherwise and of-these all guilty to-be of-slavery
τοῖσι Ἕλλησι Ἀθηναίους οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν, οἵτινες
for-the Greeks Athenians in-no-way to-be-borne who
αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντες
always even in-the olden(-time) appear many having-freed
ἀνθρώπων. πιεζευμένοισι μέντοι ὑμῖν συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὅτι
of-men being-oppressed however with-you we-sympathize both that
καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε διξῶν ἤδη καὶ ὅτι οἰκοφθόρησθε
of-harvests you-were-deprived two already and that your-houses-have-been-ruined
χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν. ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοί
time now long in-return-for these and to-you Lacedaemonians
τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναῖκάς τε καὶ τὰ
both and the allies proclaim women both and the(-ones)
ἐς πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα πάντα ἐπιθρέψειν,
for war useless of-servants belonging all to-maintain
ἔστ᾽ ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε συνεστήκῃ. μηδὲ ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος
as-long-as — the war this lasts nor you Alexander
ὁ Μακεδὼν ἀναγνώσῃ, λεήνας τὸν Μαρδονίου λόγον.
the Macedonian persuade having-smoothed the of-Mardonius word
τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιητέα ἐστί· τύραννος γὰρ ἐὼν
to-this(-man) indeed for these-things to-be-done are a-tyrant for being
τυράννῳ συγκατεργάζεται· ὑμῖν δὲ οὐ ποιητέα, εἴ περ εὖ
with-a-tyrant works-together for-you but not to-be-done if indeed well
τυγχάνετε φρονέοντες, ἐπισταμένοισι ὡς βαρβάροισι ἐστὶ
you-happen thinking knowing that with-barbarians there-is
οὔτε πιστὸν οὔτε ἀληθὲς οὐδέν.” ταῦτα ἔλεξαν οἱ ἄγγελοι.
neither trust nor truth any these-things said the messengers

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. 143
Athenians and to indeed Alexander answered this
"Καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστὶ
also ourselves this at-least we-know that many-times-as-great is
τῷ Μήδῳ δύναμις ἤ περ ἡμῖν, ὥστε οὐδὲν δέει
to-the Mede power than indeed for-us so-that not-at-all it-is-needful
τοῦτό γε ὀνειδίζειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐλευθερίης γλιχόμενοι
this at-least to-cast-in-our-teeth but nevertheless for-freedom longing
ἀμυνεύμεθα οὕτω ὅκως ἂν καὶ δυνώμεθα. ὁμολογῆσαι
we-shall-defend-ourselves so as — even we-can to-come-to-terms
δὲ τῷ βαρβάρῳ μήτε σὺ ἡμέας πειρῶ ἀναπείθειν οὔτε
but with-the barbarian neither you us try to-persuade nor
ἡμεῖς πεισόμεθα. νῦν τε ἀπάγγελλε Μαρδονίῳ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι
we shall-obey now and report to-Mardonius that Athenians
λέγουσι, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ ἥλιος τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἴῃ τῇ
say as-long-as — the sun the same road goes where
περ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεται, μήκοτε ὁμολογήσειν ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ·
indeed also now it-goes never to-come-to-terms we with-Xerxes
ἀλλὰ θεοῖσί τε συμμάχοισι πίσυνοί μιν ἐπέξιμεν
but in-gods both allies trusting him we-shall-go-out-against
ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῖσι ἥρωσι, τῶν ἐκεῖνος οὐδεμίαν
defending-ourselves and in-the heroes of-whom he no
ὄπιν ἔχων ἐνέπρησε τούς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα.
regard having burned the both houses and the images
σύ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ λόγους ἔχων τοιούσδε μὴ ἐπιφαίνεο
you and for-the future words having such not appear
Ἀθηναίοισι, μηδὲ δοκέων χρηστὰ ὑπουργέειν ἀθέμιστα
to-Athenians nor thinking good(-things) to-serve unlawful(-things)
ἔρδειν παραίνεε· οὐ γάρ σε βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς
to-do advise not for you we-wish anything unpleasant from
Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν ἐόντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φίλον."
Athenians to-suffer being proxenus both and friend

144 Πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο, πρὸς δὲ
to indeed Alexander these-things they-answered to but
τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε. “Τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι
the from Sparta messengers this the indeed to-have-feared
Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα
Lacedaemonians lest we-come-to-terms with-the barbarian very
ἀνθρωπήιον ἦν· ἀτὰρ αἰσχρῶς γε οἴκατε ἐξεπιστάμενοι
human it-was but shamefully at-least you-seem knowing-well
τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα ἀρρωδῆσαι, ὅτι οὔτε χρυσός ἐστι
the of-Athenians spirit to-have-dreaded(-it) that neither gold is
γῆς οὐδαμόθι τοσοῦτος οὔτε χώρη κάλλεϊ καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα
of-earth anywhere so-much nor land in-beauty and excellence greatly
ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλοιμεν ἂν μηδίσαντες
surpassing which we having-taken would-wish — having-medized
καταδουλῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ
to-enslave — Greece many both for and great are
τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιέειν μηδ’ ἢν ἐθέλωμεν,
the(-things) hindering these-things not to-do not-even if we-wish
πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ
first indeed and greatest of-the gods the images and
τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖσι
the dwellings burned both and heaped-in-ruins whom
ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρέειν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἤ
us necessarily it-is to-avenge to the utmost rather than
περ ὁμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ, αὖτις δὲ
indeed to-come-to-terms with-the(-one) these-things having-wrought again and
τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν
the Greek(-race) being of-one-blood both and of-one-tongue and of-gods
ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα, τῶν
shrines both common and sacrifices customs both alike of-which
προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι. ἐπίστασθέ
betrayers to-become Athenians not — well would-be know

τε οὕτω, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐτυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι, ἔστ᾽
both thus if not before you-happened knowing as-long-as
ἂν καὶ εἷς περιῇ Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμὰ ὁμολογήσοντας ἡμέας
— even one survive of-Athenians never to-come-to-terms we
Ξέρξῃ. ὑμέων μέντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν προνοίην τὴν πρὸς
with-Xerxes of-you however we-admire the forethought the toward
ἡμέας ἐοῦσαν, ὅτι προείδετε ἡμέων οἰκοφθορημένων οὕτω
us being that you-provided-for us being-ruined-in-our-houses so
ὥστε ἐπιθρέψαι ἐθέλειν ἡμέων τοὺς οἰκέτας. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν
so-as to-maintain to-be-willing of-us the servants and on-you indeed
ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται, ἡμεῖς μέντοι λιπαρήσομεν οὕτω
the favor has-been-fulfilled we however shall-hold-out so
ὅκως ἂν ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ὑμέας. νῦν δέ, ὡς οὕτω
as — we-can nothing troubling you now but as so
ἐχόντων, στρατιὴν ὡς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπετε. ὡς γὰρ
being-the-case an-army as quickly-as-possible send-out as for
ἡμεῖς εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἑκὰς χρόνου παρέσται ὁ βάρβαρος
we conjecture not far-off in-time will-be-here the barbarian
ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα πύθηται
having-invaded into the our(-land) but when soonest he-learns
τὴν ἀγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἡμέων
the message that nothing we-shall-do of-what he of-us
προσεδέετο. πρὶν ὧν παρεῖναι ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἡμέας
asked before then to-be-present him into — Attica us
καιρός ἐστι προβοηθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην.” οἳ μὲν ταῦτα
the-time it-is to-come-to-help-first into — Boeotia they indeed these-things
ὑποκριναμένων Ἀθηναίων ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.
having-answered Athenians departed to Sparta

BOOK IX

I · ATHENS TAKEN AGAIN

Mardonius marches on Athens, rejecting the Thebans' advice to bribe the Greek leaders, and takes the empty city ten months after Xerxes. He sends Murychides to Salamis; Lycides, who proposes hearing him, is stoned, and so are his wife and children. The Athenians reproach the Spartans, who are keeping the Hyacinthia and delay for ten days, until Chileus of Tegea warns the ephors, and five thousand Spartans march out by night under Pausanias.

Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὡς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ 1
Mardonius but when to-him having-returned Alexander the(-things)
παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμηνε, ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἦγε τὴν
from Athenians signified having-set-out from Thessaly led the
στρατιὴν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὅκου δὲ ἑκάστοτε
army with-haste against — Athens wherever and at-each-time
γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίης
he-was these he-took-along to-the and of-Thessaly
ἡγεομένοισι οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετέμελε
leaders neither the(-things) before this done caused-regret
οὐδὲν πολλῷ τε μᾶλλον ἐπῆγον τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ
at-all by-much and more they-urged-on the Persian and
συμπροέπεμψέ τε Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισαῖος Ξέρξην φεύγοντα καὶ
escorted-forward both Thorax the Larissaean Xerxes fleeing and
τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρῆκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
then from the open let-pass Mardonius against — Greece
Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι, 2
when and marching comes the army among Boeotians
οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβούλευον
the Thebans tried-to-detain — Mardonius and advised
αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ εἴη χῶρος ἐπιτηδεότερος
him saying that not was a-place more-suitable

ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνου, οὐδὲ ἔων ἰέναι ἑκαστέρω,
to-encamp-in than-that nor allowed(-him) to-go farther
ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἱζόμενον ποιέειν ὅκως ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν
but there sitting to-act so-that without-battle the whole
Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψεται. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν
Greece he-will-subdue by indeed for the strong(-means)
Ἕλληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας, οἵ περ καὶ πάρος ταὐτὰ
Greeks agreeing who indeed also before the-same(-things)
ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι·
thought hard to-be to-overcome even for-all men
“Εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἡμεῖς παραινέομεν,” ἔφασαν λέγοντες,
if but you-do what we advise they-said saying
“ἕξεις ἀπόνως πάντα τὰ ἐκείνων ἰσχυρὰ βουλεύματα·
you-will-have without-toil all the of-those strong counsels
πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας ἐν τῇσι
send money to the powerful men in the
πόλισι, πέμπων δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθεῦτεν
cities sending and — Greece you-will-divide from-there
δὲ τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ῥηιδίως μετὰ τῶν
and those not the(-cause) your favoring easily with the
στασιωτέων καταστρέψεαι.”
partisans you-will-subdue

3 Οἳ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἀλλά οἱ
they indeed these-things advised he but not obeyed but in-him
δεινὸς ἐνέστακτο ἵμερος τὰς Ἀθήνας δεύτερα ἑλεῖν, ἅμα
a-terrible had-been-instilled desire — Athens a-second-time to-take at-once
μὲν ὑπ᾽ ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἅμα δὲ πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε
indeed through willfulness at-once and by-beacons through islands he-thought
βασιλέι δηλώσειν ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθήνας· ὃς οὐδὲ
king to-show being at Sardis that he-held Athens who not-even
τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εὗρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ᾽
then having-come into — Attica found the Athenians but

ἔν τε Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι ἔν τε τῇσι
at both Salamis the most he-learned to-be in and the
νηυσί, αἱρέει τε ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ. ἡ δὲ βασιλέος αἵρεσις ἐς
ships takes and empty the town the and king's taking to
τὴν ὑστέρην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατηίην δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.
the later the of-Mardonius invasion ten-months was
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πέμπει ἐς 4
when and in Athens was — Mardonius he-sends to
Σαλαμῖνα Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον φέροντα τοὺς
Salamis Murychides a-man Hellespontine bearing the
αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι
same words which also Alexander the Macedonian to-the
Ἀθηναίοισι διεπόρθμευσε. ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε
Athenians carried-across these-things and the second-time he-sent
προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, ἐλπίζων
knowing-beforehand indeed of-the Athenians not friendly opinions hoping
δὲ σφέας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὡς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης
but them to-give-up the willfulness as spear-won being
τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ ἐούσης ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ.
the Attic land and being under himself
Τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, 5
of-these indeed for-the-sake he-sent Murychides to Salamis
ὃ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ
he and having-come before the council told the(-things) from
Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην ὡς
Mardonius of-the and councilors Lycides gave opinion that
ἐδόκεε ἄμεινον εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον, τόν σφι
it-seemed better to-be having-accepted the proposal which to-them
Μουρυχίδης προφέρει, ἐξενεῖκαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον. ὃ μὲν
Murychides brings-forward to-bring-it-out to the people he indeed
δὴ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος
then this the opinion declared whether indeed having-received

χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε καὶ ταῦτά οἱ ἐάνδανε·
money from Mardonius or also these-things to-him pleased
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι οἵ τε ἐκ τῆς
Athenians and at-once terrible having-thought(-it) those both from the
βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περιστάντες Λυκίδην
council and those outside when they-learned standing-around Lycides
κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδην
stoned(-him) pelting the but Hellespontine Murychides
ἀπέπεμψαν ἀσινέα. γενομένου δὲ θορύβου ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι
they-sent-away unharmed having-arisen and an-uproar in — Salamis
περὶ τὸν Λυκίδην, πυνθάνονται τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναῖκες
about — Lycides learn the happening the women
τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικὶ καὶ
of-the Athenians having-exhorted and woman woman and
παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Λυκίδεω οἰκίην ἦισαν αὐτοκελέες, καὶ
having-taken-along to the of-Lycides house went of-their-own-accord and
κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.
down indeed stoned his the wife down and the children
6 Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὧδε. ἕως
to and — Salamis crossed the Athenians thus as-long-as
μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἥξειν
indeed they-expected from — Peloponnese an-army to-come
τιμωρήσοντά σφι, οἵ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἵ
to-help them they and stayed in — Attica when and they
μὲν μακρότερα καὶ σχολαίτερα ἐποίεον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιὼν καὶ δὴ
indeed longer and more-leisurely acted he but advancing even indeed
ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε
in — Boeotia was-said to-be so indeed they-carried-away both
πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐς Λακεδαίμονά
everything and themselves crossed to Salamis to Lacedaemon
τε ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἅμα μὲν μεμψομένους τοῖσι
and they-sent messengers at-once indeed to-reproach the

Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιεῖδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον
Lacedaemonians that they-had-overlooked having-invaded the barbarian
ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μετὰ σφέων ἠντίασαν ἐς τὴν
into — Attica but not with them met(-him) in —
Βοιωτίην, ἅμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ
Boeotia at-once and to-remind how-much to-them promised the
Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν, προεῖπαί τε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμυνεῦσι
Persian if-they-changed to-give to-forewarn and that if not they-defend
Ἀθηναίοισι, ὡς καὶ αὐτοί τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὑρήσονται.
Athenians that also themselves some refuge will-find
Οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅρταζόν τε τοῦτον τὸν 7
the for indeed Lacedaemonians were-keeping-festival both this the
χρόνον καί σφι ἦν Ὑακίνθια, περὶ πλείστου δ᾽ ἦγον
time and to-them was Hyacinthia of most and they-made
τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν· ἅμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχός σφι, τὸ
the(-things) of-the god to-provide at-once and the wall for-them which
ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐτείχεον, καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε.
at the Isthmus they-were-building also already battlements was-taking
ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ᾽
when and came to — Lacedaemon the messengers the from
Ἀθηνέων, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἔκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ
Athens together bringing from both Megara messengers and
ἐκ Πλαταιέων, ἔλεγον τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους.
from Plataeans they-said this having-come before the ephors
“ Ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς 7A
sent us Athenians saying that to-us king
ὁ Μήδων τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀποδιδοῖ, τοῦτο δὲ
the of-Medes this indeed the land gives-back this and
συμμάχους ἐθέλει ἐπ᾽ ἴσῃ τε καὶ ὁμοίῃ ποιήσασθαι
allies wishes on equal both and like(-terms) to-make

ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἐθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώρην
without both guile and deceit wishes and also other land
πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι, τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἑλώμεθα.
besides the ours to-give whichever — ourselves choose
ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες καὶ τὴν
we and Zeus both Hellenic reverencing and —
Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ καταινέσαμεν
Greece terrible holding to-betray not we-consented
ἀλλ᾽ ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπ᾽ Ἑλλήνων καὶ
but refused although being-wronged by Greeks and
καταπροδιδόμενοι, ἐπιστάμενοί τε ὅτι κερδαλεώτερον ἐστὶ
betrayed knowing both that more-profitable it-is
ὁμολογέειν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον ἤ περ πολεμέειν· οὐ
to-come-to-terms with-the Persian rather than indeed to-make-war not
μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν ἑκόντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν
indeed not-even we-shall-come-to-terms willingly to-be and the(-part) indeed
ἀπ᾽ ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας·
from us so unalloyed is-dealt to the Greeks
7B ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ
you but into all terror then having-come lest
ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπείτε ἐξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον
we-come-to-terms with-the Persian when you-learned-well the our
φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ προδώσομεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ
spirit clearly that never we-shall-betray — Greece and
διότι τεῖχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλεϊ ἐστί,
because wall for-you across the Isthmus being-driven in completion is
καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε, συνθέμενοί τε
even indeed account none of-the Athenians you-make having-agreed both
ἡμῖν τὸν Πέρσην ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην προδεδώκατε,
with-us the Persian to-oppose in — Boeotia you-have-betrayed(-us)
περιείδετέ τε προεσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρβαρον.
you-overlooked and having-invaded into — Attica the barbarian

ἐς μέν νυν τὸ παρεὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μηνίουσι· οὐ γὰρ
for indeed then the present Athenians with-you are-angry not for
ἐποιήσατε ἐπιτηδέως. νῦν δὲ ὅτι τάχος στρατιὴν
you-acted fittingly now but as quickly-as-possible an-army
ἅμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ὡς ἂν τὸν
with us they-bade you to-send-out so-that — the
βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν
barbarian we-may-receive in — Attica since for we-missed
τῆς Βοιωτίης, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεότατον ἐστὶ
— of-Boeotia of-the at-least our(-land) most-suitable it-is
μαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον."
to-fight-in the Thriasian plain
Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς 8
when and then heard the ephors these-things they-put-off to
τὴν ὑστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς τὴν
the next-day to-answer on-the and next-day to the
ἑτέρην· τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίεον, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς
other this even for ten days they-did from day to
ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν
day putting-off in and this the time the Isthmus
ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι,
they-were-walling eagerness having great all Peloponnesians
καί σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλεϊ. οὐδ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αἴτιον διότι
and to-them it-was near completion nor can-I say the cause why
ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐς Ἀθήνας
having-come indeed Alexander the Macedonian to Athens
σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ
eagerness great they-made not to-medize Athenians then but
ὥρην ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἰσθμός σφι
heed they-made none other at-least than that the Isthmus for-them
ἐτετείχιστο καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δεῖσθαι οὐδέν· ὅτε
had-been-walled and they-thought of-Athenians any-longer to-need nothing when

δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὔκω ἀπετετείχιστο,
but Alexander came to — Attica not-yet it-had-been-walled-off
ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως καταρρωδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας.
they-worked and greatly having-taken-fright-at the Persians
9 Τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων
the-end and of-the both answer and setting-out of-the Spartans
ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιόσδε. τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης
happened in-a-way such-as-this on-the day-before the last
καταστάσιος μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι Χίλεος ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης,
audience being-about to-be Chileus a-man Tegean
δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέγιστον ξείνων, τῶν ἐφόρων
being-powerful in Lacedaemon most of-strangers from-the ephors
ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον·
learned all the-speech which indeed the Athenians said
ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἄρα σφι τάδε. "Οὕτω ἔχει,
having-heard and — Chileus said then to-them this so it-is
ἄνδρες ἔφοροι· Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἐόντων μὴ ἀρθμίων τῷ
men ephors Athenians to-us being not friendly to-the
δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμάχων, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ
but barbarian allies though a-wall across the Isthmus
ἐληλαμένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτέαται ἐς
having-been-driven strong great doors stand-open into
τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ' ἐσακούσατε, πρίν τι
— Peloponnese for-the Persian but listen before some
ἄλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι."
other to-Athenians seem-good a-fall bringing — to-Greece
10 Ὁ μέν σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευε· οἳ δὲ φρενὶ
he indeed to-them these-things advised they and to-heart
λαβόντες τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοῖσι
having-taken the advice at-once having-told nothing to-the
ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπιγμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ἔτι
messengers the having-come from the cities by-night still

ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ
send-out five-thousand of-Spartans and seven about
ἕκαστον τάξαντες τῶν εἱλώτων, Παυσανίῃ τῷ Κλεομβρότου
each having-assigned of-the helots to-Pausanias the (son)-of-Cleombrotus
ἐπιτάξαντες ἐξάγειν. ἐγίνετο μὲν ἡ ἡγεμονίη Πλειστάρχου
having-assigned(-them) to-lead-out was indeed the command of-Pleistarchus
τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· ἀλλ᾽ ὃ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς, ὃ δὲ τούτου
the (son)-of-Leonidas but he indeed was still a-boy he and of-this(-one)
ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεόμβροτος γὰρ ὁ Παυσανίεω
guardian both and cousin Cleombrotus for the of-Pausanias
μὲν πατὴρ Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περιῆν, ἀλλ᾽
indeed father of-Anaxandrides and son no-longer survived but
ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος
having-led-back from the Isthmus the army the(-one) the wall
δείμασαν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τινὰ βιοὺς
having-built after these-things not long time some having-lived
ἀπέθανε. ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ
died led-back and the army — Cleombrotus from the
Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε· θυομένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ὁ ἥλιος
Isthmus for this sacrificing to-him against the Persian the sun
ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. προσαιρέεται δὲ ἑωυτῷ Παυσανίης
was-darkened in the sky chooses and for-himself Pausanias
Εὐρυάνακτα τὸν Δωριέος, ἄνδρα οἰκίης ἐόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.
Euryanax the (son)-of-Dorieus a-man of-house being the same
Οἱ μὲν δὴ σὺν Παυσανίῃ ἐξελελήλυθεσαν ἔξω Σπάρτης· 11
they indeed then with Pausanias had-gone-out outside Sparta
οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς
the but messengers when day had-come nothing knowing about the
ἐξόδου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες
setting-out came before the ephors in mind indeed having
ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος·
to-depart also themselves to the of-himself each

ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον τάδε. "Ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
having-come and they-said this you indeed O Lacedaemonians
αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένοντες Ὑακίνθιά τε ἄγετε καὶ παίζετε,
there here staying Hyacinthia both keep and sport
καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἀδικεόμενοι
having-betrayed the allies Athenians but as being-wronged
ὑπὸ ὑμέων χήτεΐ τε συμμάχων καταλύσονται τῷ Πέρσῃ
by you for-want both of-allies will-make-terms with-the Persian
οὕτω ὅκως ἂν δύνωνται· καταλυσάμενοι δέ, δῆλα γὰρ
so as — they-can having-made-terms and clear for
ὅτι σύμμαχοι βασιλέος γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα ἐπ'
that allies of-the-king we-become we-shall-march-with(-him) against
ἣν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγέωνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν
whatever(-land) — they lead you and the from-then
μαθήσεσθε ὁκοῖον ἄν τι ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνῃ."
will-learn what-sort — anything for-you from it turns-out
ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ' ὅρκου
these-things saying the messengers the ephors said on oath
καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὀρεσθείῳ στείχοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς
even indeed to-seem to-be at Orestheum marching against the
ξείνους. ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἳ δὲ ὡς
strangers strangers for they-called the barbarians they and as
οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτων τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ
not knowing asked the(-thing) said asking and
ἐξέμαθον πᾶν τὸ ἐόν, ὥστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι
they-learned-thoroughly all the being(-truth) so-that in wonder having-been
ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες· σὺν δέ σφι τῶν
they-journeyed the quickest pursuing with and them of-the
περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες πεντακισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται
perioeci of-Lacedaemonians picked five-thousand hoplites
τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεον.
the-same this did

Warned by the Argives, Mardonius burns Athens and withdraws to Boeotia, building a stockade by the Asopus. At Attaginus' banquet a Persian tells Thersander that few of them will survive. Mardonius tests the Phocians with his cavalry. The Greeks take position at Erythrae, and Masistius' cavalry presses the Megarians until three hundred Athenians relieve them; Masistius' horse is shot, he is killed, and the Persians mourn him.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἠπείγοντο· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐπείτε 12
they indeed then to the Isthmus hastened Argives but when
τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεω ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ
soonest they-learned those with Pausanias having-gone-out from
Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι κήρυκα τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων ἀνευρόντες
Sparta send a-herald of-the day-runners having-found-out
τὸν ἄριστον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, πρότερον αὐτοὶ Μαρδονίῳ
the best into — Attica before themselves to-Mardonius
ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξιέναι· ὃς ἐπείτε
having-undertaken to-hold-back the Spartan not to-go-out who when
ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔλεγε τάδε. "Μαρδόνιε, ἔπεμψάν
he-came to — Athens said this Mardonius sent
με Ἀργεῖοι φράσοντά τοι ὅτι ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἐξελήλυθε
me Argives to-tell you that from Lacedaemon has-gone-out
ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὡς οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἔχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι
the youth and that not able it to-hold-back are Argives
μὴ οὐκ ἐξιέναι. πρὸς ταῦτα τύγχανε εὖ βουλευόμενος."
not not to-go-out in-view-of these-things happen well taking-counsel
Ὁ μὲν δὴ εἴπας ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιος 13
he indeed then having-said these-things departed back Mardonius
δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς
but in-no-way any-longer eager was to-stay in — Attica when
ἤκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μέν νυν ἢ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε, θέλων
he-heard these-things before indeed then than to-learn he-was-holding-back wishing

εἰδέναι τὸ παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι,
to-know the(-course) from Athenians what-sort something they-will-do
καὶ οὔτε ἐπήμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἐλπίζων
and neither he-harmed nor damaged land the Attic hoping
διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ
through all the time to-come-to-terms them since but not
ἔπειθε, πυθόμενος πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ
he-persuaded(-them) having-learned all the-story before than those with
Παυσανίεω ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας
Pausanias into the Isthmus to-enter he-withdrew having-burned
τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων
both — Athens and if somewhere anything upright was of-the walls
ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ
or of-the dwellings or of-the temples all having-thrown-down and
συγχώσας. ἐξήλαυνε δὲ τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἱππασίμη
having-heaped-up he-marched-out and of-these for-the-sake because neither fit-for-horse
ἡ χώρη ἦν ἡ Ἀττική, εἴ τε νικῷτο συμβαλών, ἀπάλλαξις
the land was the Attic if and he-were-defeated having-engaged retreat
οὐκ ἦν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν, ὥστε ὀλίγους σφέας
not was except not through a-narrow(-pass) so-that few them
ἀνθρώπους ἴσχειν. ἐβουλεύετο ὦν ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς
men to-hold-back he-planned then having-withdrawn to —
Θήβας συμβαλεῖν πρὸς πόλι τε φιλίῃ καὶ χώρῃ ἱππασίμῳ.
Thebes to-engage near a-city both friendly and land fit-for-horse
14 Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἤδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐόντι
Mardonius indeed then withdrew already and on the road being
αὐτῷ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἥκειν
him came a-message advance another army to-have-come
ἐς Μέγαρα, Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα
to Megara of-Lacedaemonians a-thousand having-learned and these-things
ἐβουλεύετο θέλων εἴ κως τούτους πρῶτον ἕλοι.
he-deliberated wishing if somehow these first he-might-take

ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ἦγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· ἡ δὲ
having-turned and the army he-led to — Megara the and
ἵππος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώρην τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς
cavalry having-gone-ahead overran land the Megarian to
ταύτην δὴ ἑκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου
this indeed farthest — of-Europe the(-way) toward sun
δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ ἀπίκετο.
setting the Persian this army came
Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίῳ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς ἁλέες εἴησαν 15
after and these-things to-Mardonius came a-message that gathered were
οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. οὕτω δὴ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο
the Greeks at the Isthmus so indeed back he-marched
διὰ Δεκελέης· οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς
through Decelea the for boeotarchs sent-for the
προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο
neighbors of-the Asopians these and him the road guided
ἐς Σφενδαλέας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν· ἐν Τανάγρῃ
to Sphendaleis from-there and to Tanagra at Tanagra
δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλισάμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίῃ
and night having-bivouacked and having-turned on-the next-day
ἐς Σκῶλον ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν
to Scolus in land the of-Thebans he-was there and of-the
Θηβαίων καίπερ μηδιζόντων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὔτι
Thebans although medizing he-laid-waste the lands not-at-all
κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος
from hatred of-them but by necessity great being-held
ἔρυμά τε τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἢν συμβαλόντι
a-defense both for-the army to-make and if having-engaged
οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνῃ ὁκοῖόν τι ἐθέλοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο
to-him not turn-out what-sort something he-wished a-refuge this
ἐποιέετο. παρῆκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ
he-was-making extended and his the camp having-begun from

Ἐρυθρέων παρὰ Ὑσιάς, κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα
Erythrae past Hysiae stretched and to the Plataean
γῆν, παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον. οὐ μέντοι τό
land along the Asopus river drawn-up not however the
γε τεῖχος τοσοῦτο ἐποιέετο, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους
at-least wall so-great he-made but as about ten stades
μάλιστά κῃ μέτωπον ἕκαστον.
most somewhere front each

16 Ἐχόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τοῦτον τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἀτταγῖνος
having and the toil this the barbarians Attaginus
ὁ Φρύνωνος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως
the (son)-of-Phrynon a-man Theban having-prepared greatly
ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτόν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα
invited to a-banquet himself both Mardonius and fifty
Περσέων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι εἵποντο·
of-Persians the most-notable invited and these followed
ἦν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ποιεύμενον ἐν Θήβῃσι. τάδε δὲ ἤδη
was and the dinner being-held in Thebes this and now
τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἤκουον Θερσάνδρου ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ὀρχομενίου,
the rest I-heard from-Thersander a-man indeed Orchomenian
λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ. ἔφη δὲ ὁ
notable but among the first in Orchomenus said and —
Θέρσανδρος κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ
Thersander to-have-been-invited also himself by Attaginus to
τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο, κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας
the dinner this to-have-been-invited and also of-Thebans men
πεντήκοντα, καί σφεων οὐ χωρὶς ἑκατέρους κλῖναι, ἀλλὰ
fifty and them not apart each-side to-have-placed but
Πέρσην τε καὶ Θηβαῖον ἐν κλίνῃ ἑκάστῃ. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου
a-Persian both and a-Theban on couch each when and from dinner
ἦσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὁμόκλινον Ἑλλάδα
they-were drinking-together the Persian the couch-sharing Greek

γλῶσσαν ἱέντα εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν ὁποδαπός ἐστι, αὐτὸς δὲ
tongue uttering to-have-asked him whence he-is himself and
ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς εἴη Ὀρχομένιος. τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν "Ἐπεὶ
to-have-answered that he-was an-Orchomenian him and to-have-said since
νῦν ὁμοτράπεζός τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνά
now table-sharer both to-me and libation-sharer you-became memorials
τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ
to-you of-judgment the my to-leave I-wish so-that also
προειδὼς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωυτοῦ βουλεύεσθαι ἔχῃς τὰ
forewarned yourself about yourself to-plan you-may-be-able the(-things)
συμφέροντα. ὁρᾷς τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους Πέρσας καὶ τὸν
profitable you-see these the feasting Persians and the
στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδευόμενον·
army which we-left by the river encamped
τούτων πάντων ὄψεαι ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος
of-these all you-will-see a-little some time having-passed
ὀλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους." ταῦτα ἅμα τε τὸν
few some the surviving these-things at-once both the
Πέρσην λέγειν καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων. αὐτὸς
Persian to-say and to-let-fall many of-the tears himself
δὲ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν "Οὐκῶν
and having-wondered-at the speech to-have-said to him not-then
Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεόν ἐστι λέγειν καὶ τοῖσι μετ'
to-Mardonius both these-things right it-is to-say and to-those after
ἐκεῖνον ἐν αἴνῃ ἐοῦσι Περσέων;" τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα
him in esteem being of-Persians him and after these-things
εἰπεῖν "Ξεῖνε, ὅ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον
to-have-said stranger what ever must to-happen from the god impossible
ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπῳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει
to-turn-aside for-man not-even for credible(-things) to-those-saying wishes
πείθεσθαι οὐδείς. ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι
to-believe no-one these-things and of-Persians many knowing

ἑπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεμένοι, ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη ἐστὶ
we-follow by-necessity bound most-hateful and pain is
τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς
of-the(-pains) among men this much knowing over-nothing
κρατέειν." ταῦτα μὲν Ὀρχομενίου Θερσάνδρου ἤκουον, καὶ
to-have-power these-things indeed from-Orchomenian Thersander I-heard and
τάδε πρὸς τούτοισι, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγοι ταῦτα πρὸς
this besides these that himself at-once told these-things to
ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν μάχην.
men before than happened at Plataea the battle

17 Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ στρατοπεδευομένου οἱ μὲν
Mardonius and in — Boeotia encamped the indeed
ἄλλοι παρείχοντο ἅπαντες στρατιὴν καὶ συνεσέβαλον
others furnished all an-army and invaded-with(-him)
ἐς Ἀθήνας, ὅσοι περ ἐμήδιζον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ταύτῃ
into Athens as-many-as indeed medized of-Greeks of-those there
οἰκημένων, μοῦνοι δὲ Φωκέες οὐ συνεσέβαλον (ἐμήδιζον γὰρ
dwelling alone but Phocians not invaded-with(-him) they-medized for
δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὗτοι) οὐκ ἑκόντες ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης.
indeed eagerly also these not willing but by necessity
ἡμέρῃσι δὲ οὐ πολλῇσι μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν τὴν ἐς Θήβας
in-days but not many after the arrival the at Thebes
ὕστερον ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὁπλῖται χίλιοι, ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς
later came of-them hoplites a-thousand led and them
Ἁρμοκύδης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκατο
Harmocydes a-man of-the townsmen most-notable when and had-come
καὶ οὗτοι ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἱππέας ἐκέλευσε
also these to Thebes having-sent — Mardonius horsemen bade
σφέας ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἵζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν
them by themselves in the plain to-sit when and they-did
ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρῆν ἵππος ἡ ἅπασα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
these-things at-once was-at-hand cavalry the whole after and these-things

διεξῆλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ
went-through indeed through the camp the Greek the
μετὰ Μήδων ἐόντος φήμη ὡς κατακοντιεῖ σφεας, διεξῆλθε
with Medes being a-rumor that he-will-shoot-down them went-through
δὲ δι᾽ αὐτῶν Φωκέων τὠυτὸ τοῦτο. ἔνθα δή σφι
and through themselves Phocians the-same this there indeed to-them
ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἁρμοκύδης παραίνεε λέγων τοιάδε. “Ὦ
the general Harmocydes exhorted saying such(-things) O
Φωκέες, πρόδηλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι
Phocians very-clear for(-it-is) that us these the men
μέλλουσι προόπτῳ θανάτῳ δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ
are-about to-foreseen death to-give slandered by
Θεσσαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω· νῦν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων
Thessalians as I conjecture now man every some of-you
χρεόν ἐστι γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· κρέσσον γὰρ ποιεῦντάς τι
right it-is to-be good better for doing something
καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτῆσαι τὸν αἰῶνα ἤ περ παρέχοντας
and defending-ourselves to-end the life than indeed submitting
διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ. ἀλλὰ μαθέτω τις αὐτῶν
to-be-destroyed by-most-shameful death but let-learn someone of-them
ὅτι ἐόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ᾽ Ἕλλησι ἀνδράσι φόνον ἔρραψαν.”
that being barbarians against Greek men murder they-contrived
Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παραίνεε· οἱ δὲ ἱππέες ἐπεί σφεας 18
he indeed these-things exhorted the and horsemen when them
ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλαυνον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, καὶ δὴ
they-had-encircled rode-at(-them) as about-to-destroy(-them) and indeed
διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσοντες, καὶ κού τις
drew the missiles as about-to-let-fly and somewhere someone
καὶ ἀπῆκε. καὶ οἳ ἀντίοι ἔστησαν πάντῃ συστρέψαντες
even let-fly and they facing stood on-every-side having-drawn-together
ἑωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὡς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἱππόται
themselves and having-closed-up as most there the horsemen

ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω. οὐκ ἔχω δ᾽ ἀτρεκέως
turned-round and rode-away back not I-can and exactly
εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἦλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς Φωκέας
say neither whether they-came indeed to-destroy the Phocians
δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὧρων πρὸς ἀλέξησιν
asking Thessalians when but they-saw(-them) to defense
τραπομένους, δείσαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρώματα,
turned having-feared lest also to-themselves happen wounds
οὕτω δὴ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω· ὡς γάρ σφι ἐνετείλατο
so indeed they-rode-away back so for them enjoined
Μαρδόνιος· οὔτ᾽ εἰ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἠθέλησε εἴ τι
Mardonius nor whether them to-test he-wished whether any
ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. ὡς δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται,
courage they-share when and back rode-away the horsemen
πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. "Θαρσέετε ὦ
having-sent Mardonius a-herald said this take-heart O
Φωκέες· ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἐόντες ἀγαθοί, οὐκ ὡς
Phocians men for you-appeared being good not as
ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην. καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον
I heard and now eagerly bear the war
τοῦτον· εὐεργεσίῃσι γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε οὔτ᾽ ὦν ἐμὲ οὔτε
this in-benefits for not you-will-surpass neither then me nor
βασιλέα." τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.
king the(-things) about Phocians indeed to so-far went
19 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἦλθον, ἐν τούτῳ
Lacedaemonians and when to the Isthmus they-came in this(-place)
ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ
encamped learning and these-things the remaining
Πελοποννήσιοι τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἐάνδανε, οἳ δὲ καὶ
Peloponnesians to-whom the better(-cause) was-pleasing some and also
ὁρῶντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιήτας, οὐκ ἐδικαίευν λείπεσθαι
seeing going-out Spartans not thought-it-right to-be-left-behind

τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ
from-the going-out of-Lacedaemonians from indeed then the Isthmus
καλλιερησάντων τῶν ἱρῶν ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ
being-favorable the victims they-marched all and
ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα· ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἱρά,
arrive at Eleusis having-made and also there sacrifices
ὥς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναῖοι
since for-them they-were-favorable the(-way) forward they-marched Athenians
δὲ ἅμα αὐτοῖσι, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος,
and together-with them having-crossed indeed from Salamis
συμμιγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς
having-joined and at Eleusis when and then they-came —
Βοιωτίης ἐς Ἐρυθράς, ἔμαθόν τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους
of-Boeotia to Erythrae they-learned and indeed the barbarians
ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευομένους, φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο
at the Asopus encamped having-perceived and this
ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος.
they-drew-up-opposite on the foothill — of-Cithaeron
Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸ πεδίον, 20
Mardonius but since not came-down the Greeks into the plain
πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον, τῆς ἱππάρχεε
sends against them all the cavalry which commanded
Μασίστιος εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Πέρσῃσι, τὸν Ἕλληνες
Masistius well-esteemed among Persians whom Greeks
Μακίστιον καλέουσι, ἵππον ἔχων Νησαῖον χρυσοχάλινον
Macistius call a-horse having Nesaean golden-bridled
καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς προσήλασαν
and otherwise adorned finely there when rode-up
οἱ ἱππόται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα,
the horsemen to the Greeks they-attacked by squadrons

προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο καὶ γυναῖκας
attacking and harms great they-wrought and women
σφέας ἀπεκάλεον.
them they-called

21 Κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέες ἔτυχον ταχθέντες τῇ τε
by chance and Megarians happened posted where both
ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παντός, καὶ πρόσοδος μάλιστα
most-assailable was of-the place all and approach most
ταύτῃ ἐγίνετο τῇ ἵππῳ. προσβαλλούσης ὧν τῆς ἵππου οἱ
there was for-the cavalry attacking then the cavalry the
Μεγαρέες πιεζόμενοι ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν
Megarians being-hard-pressed sent to the generals of-the
Ἑλλήνων κήρυκα, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
Greeks a-herald having-come and the herald to them
ἔλεγε τάδε. "Μεγαρέες λέγουσι· ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ
said this Megarians say we men allies not
δυνατοί εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων ἵππον δέκεσθαι μοῦνοι, ἔχοντες
able are the of-Persians cavalry to-receive alone holding
στάσιν ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔστημεν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς
position this in which we-stood in-the-first-place but even up-to
τόδε λιπαρίῃ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ ἀντέχομεν καίπερ πιεζόμενοι.
this(-time) by-perseverance both and valor we-hold-out though being-hard-pressed
νῦν τε εἰ μή τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς τάξιος,
now and if not some others you-send successors of-the post
ἴστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοντας τὴν τάξιν." ὁ μὲν δή σφι ταῦτα
know us about-to-leave the post he indeed then to-them these-things
ἀπήγγελλε, Παυσανίης δὲ ἀποπειρᾶτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴ
reported Pausanias and sounded the Greeks whether
τινες ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοι ἐθελονταὶ ἰέναι τε ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον
some wished others volunteers to-go both into the place this
καὶ τάσσεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεῦσι. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν
and to-be-posted as-successors to-Megarians not wishing and the

ἄλλων Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριηκόσιοι
others Athenians undertook(-it) and of-Athenians the three-hundred
λογάδες, τῶν ἐλοχήγεε Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος.
picked-men whom led Olympiodorus the (son)-of-Lampon
Οὗτοι ἦσαν οἵ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων 22
these were those both having-undertaken(-it) and those before the others
τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς
the present Greeks at Erythrae posted the
τοξότας προσελόμενοι. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ χρόνον
archers having-taken-with(-them) fighting and they for a-time
τέλος τοιόνδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης. προσβαλλούσης τῆς
end such-as-this came of-the battle attacking the
ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα, ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων τῶν ἄλλων
cavalry by squadrons the of-Masistius being-ahead-of the others
ἵππος βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά, ἀλγήσας δὲ ἵσταταί
horse is-struck by-an-arrow in-the flank being-hurt and stands
τε ὀρθὸς καὶ ἀποσείεται τὸν Μασίστιον· πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ
both upright and shakes-off — Masistius having-fallen and him
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο. τόν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ
the Athenians at-once attacked the both indeed horse his
λαμβάνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς
they-take and him defending-himself they-kill at beginning
οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐνεσκεύαστο γὰρ οὕτω· ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἶχε
not being-able he-had-been-equipped for thus within a-corslet he-had
χρύσεον λεπιδωτόν, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα
golden scaled above and the corslet a-tunic
φοινίκεον ἐνεδεδύκεε. τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἐποίευν
purple he-had-put-on striking and at the corslet they-did
οὐδέν, πρίν γε δὴ μαθών τις τὸ ποιεύμενον
nothing before at-least indeed having-learned someone the(-thing) being-done
παίει μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. οὕτω δὴ ἔπεσέ τε καὶ
strikes him in the eye so indeed he-fell both and

ἀπέθανε. ταῦτα δέ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς
died these-things and somehow happening had-escaped-the-notice-of the
ἄλλους ἱππέας· οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ
other horsemen neither for having-fallen him they-saw from the
ἵππου οὔτε ἀποθνήσκοντα, ἀναχωρήσιός τε γινομένης καὶ
horse nor dying withdrawal both happening and
ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἔστησαν,
wheeling not they-learned the happening when but they-halted
αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν, ὡς σφεας οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ τάσσων·
at-once they-missed(-him) since them no-one was the(-one) marshaling
μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός, διακελευσάμενοι ἤλαυνον
having-learned and the having-happened having-exhorted(-one-another) they-drove
τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, ὡς ἂν τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελοίατο.
the horses all so-that — the corpse they-might-take-up
23 Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνοντας
having-seen and the Athenians no-longer by squadrons riding-at(-them)
τοὺς ἱππέας ἀλλὰ πάντας, τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἐπεβώσαντο.
the horsemen but all the other army they-called-to
ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας ἐβοήθεε, ἐν τούτῳ μάχη ὀξέα
in which and the foot all came-to-help in this a-battle sharp
περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἕως μέν νυν μοῦνοι ἦσαν
about the corpse happens as-long-as indeed then alone were
οἱ τριηκόσιοι, ἐσσοῦντό τε πολλὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν
the three-hundred they-were-worsted both by-far and the corpse
ἀπέλειπον· ὡς δέ σφι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησε, οὕτω δὴ
were-leaving when and to-them the multitude came-to-help so indeed
οὐκέτι οἱ ἱππόται ὑπέμενον οὐδέ σφι ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν
no-longer the horsemen held-out nor for-them was-it-possible the corpse
ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνῳ ἄλλους προσαπώλεσαν τῶν
to-take-up but besides that(-man) others they-lost-besides of-the
ἱππέων. ἀποστήσαντες ὦν ὅσον τε δύο στάδια ἐβουλεύοντο
horsemen having-withdrawn then about — two stades they-deliberated

ὅ τι χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν· ἐδόκεε δέ σφι ἀναρχίης
what ever right was to-do it-seemed-good and to-them leaderlessness
ἐούσης ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρδόνιον.
being to-ride-away to Mardonius
Ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πένθος 24
having-arrived and the cavalry at the camp mourning
ἐποιήσαντο Μασιστίου πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος
made for-Masistius all both the army and Mardonius
μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ
greatest them both themselves shearing and the horses and
τὰ ὑποζύγια οἰμωγῇ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτῳ· ἅπασαν γὰρ
the yoke-beasts lamentation and using boundless all for
τὴν Βοιωτίην κατεῖχε ἠχὼ ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετά
— Boeotia held the-echo as of-a-man having-perished after
γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου παρά τε Πέρσῃσι καὶ βασιλέι.
at-least Mardonius most-notable among both Persians and king

III · THE ARMIES AT PLATAEA

The Greeks parade Masistius' corpse, then move to Plataea near the spring of Gargaphia. The Tegeans and Athenians dispute the left wing, each citing old deeds; the Athenians cite the Heraclidae, the burial of the Seven, and Marathon, and the whole Spartan army shouts for them. Herodotus lists the Greek line, from the Spartans on the right to the Athenians on the left, about a hundred and ten thousand men. Mardonius draws up his Persians, Medes, and Greek allies opposite.

Οἱ μέν νυν βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα 25
the indeed then barbarians in-way the their-own having-died
ἐτίμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς τὴν ἵππον ἐδέξαντο
honored Masistius the but Greeks when the cavalry they-had-received
προσβάλλουσαν καὶ δεξάμενοι ὤσαντο, ἐθάρσησάν
attacking and having-received(-it) had-thrust(-it)-back took-heart

τε πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἅμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν
both by-much more and first indeed into a-wagon having-put the
νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θέης
corpse along the ranks they-carried(-it) the and corpse was of-sight
ἄξιος μεγάθεος εἵνεκα καὶ κάλλεος, τῶν δὴ εἵνεκα καὶ
worthy stature for-the-sake and beauty for-which indeed for-the-sake also
ταῦτα ἐποίευν· ἐκλείποντες τὰς τάξις ἐφοίτων θεησόμενοι
these-things they-did leaving the ranks they-came to-view
Μασίστιον. μετὰ δὲ ἔδοξέ σφι ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς
Masistius after and it-seemed-good to-them to-go-down to
Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χῶρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῷ ἐὼν ἐπιτηδεότερός
Plataea the for place appeared by-much being more-suitable
σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταιικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου
for-them to-encamp-in the Plataean than-the Erythraean
τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐυδρότερος. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον
in-the both other(-respects) and better-watered to this indeed the place
καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ
and to the spring the Gargaphian the in the place this
ἐοῦσαν ἔδοξέ σφι χρεὸν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ διαταχθέντας
being it-seemed to-them right to-be to-come and drawn-up
στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἤισαν διὰ τῆς
to-encamp having-taken-up and the arms they-went through the
ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρὰ Ὑσιὰς ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα
foothill — of-Cithaeron past Hysiae into the Plataean
γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε
land having-arrived and they-were-drawn-up by nations near the both
κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος
spring the Gargaphian and the precinct — of-Androcrates
τοῦ ἥρωος, διὰ ὄχθων τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χώρου.
the hero through hills both not high and level ground

Ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξι ἐγένετο λόγων πολλῶν ὠθισμὸς 26
there in the arraying arose of-words much jostling
Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων· ἐδικαίευν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι
of-Tegeans both and of-Athenians claimed for themselves each-side
ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες
to-hold the other wing both new and old bringing-forward
ἔργα. τοῦτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε. “Ἡμεῖς αἰεί κοτε
deeds this indeed the Tegeans said this we always ever
ἀξιεύμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἁπάντων,
are-deemed-worthy of-this the post by the allies all
ὅσαι ἤδη ἔξοδοι κοιναὶ ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοισι
as-many-as ever expeditions common were for-Peloponnesians
καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου
both the olden(-time) and the recent from that the time
ἐπείτε Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρῶντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον
when Heraclidae attempted after the of-Eurystheus death
κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον· τότε εὑρόμεθα τοῦτο διὰ
returning to Peloponnese then we-won this through
πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων τῶν τότε
an-affair such-as-this when with Achaeans and Ionians those then
ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν
being in Peloponnese having-gone-out-to-help to the Isthmus
ἱζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοῖσι κατιοῦσι, τότε ὦν λόγος Ὕλλον
we-sat facing those returning then then the-story Hyllus
ἀγορεύσασθαι ὡς χρεὸν εἴη τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ
to-have-proclaimed that right were the indeed army with-the army
μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου
not to-risk engaging from but the Peloponnesian
στρατοπέδου τὸν ἂν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνωσι εἶναι ἄριστον,
camp whomever — of-them themselves they-judge to-be best
τοῦτόν οἱ μουνομαχῆσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι. ἔδοξέ
this(-one) with-him to-fight-in-single-combat on terms-agreed it-seemed-good

τε τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοισι ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητέα καὶ ἔταμον
both to-the Peloponnesians these-things to-be to-be-done and they-cut
ὅρκιον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε, ἢν μὲν Ὕλλος νικήσῃ τὸν
an-oath on terms such-as-this if indeed Hyllus he-conquer the
Πελοποννησίων ἡγεμόνα, κατιέναι Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ
of-Peloponnesians leader to-return Heraclidae to the
πατρώια, ἢν δὲ νικηθῇ, τὰ ἔμπαλιν Ἡρακλείδας
ancestral(-lands) if but he-be-conquered in-the opposite(-way) Heraclidae
ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὴν ἑκατόν τε
to-depart and to-lead-away the army hundred and
ἐτέων μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. προσκρίθη
years not to-seek return to Peloponnese was-chosen
τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων ἐθελοντὴς Ἔχεμος ὁ
and indeed from all the allies volunteer Echemus the
Ἠρόπου τοῦ Φηγέος στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς
(son)-of-Aeropus the (son)-of-Phegeus general both being and king
ἡμέτερος, καὶ ἐμουνομάχησέ τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ὕλλον.
our and he-fought-in-single-combat both and killed Hyllus
ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὑρόμεθα ἐν Πελοποννησίοισί
from this the deed we-won among Peloponnesians
γε τοῖσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν
at-least those then also other honors great which we-continue
ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἑτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν
having and of-the wing the other always to-lead
κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης. ὑμῖν μέν νυν ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
common expedition happening to-you indeed then O Lacedaemonians
οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ διδόντες αἵρεσιν ὁκοτέρου βούλεσθε
not we-oppose but giving choice which-of-the-two you-wish
κέρεος ἄρχειν παρίεμεν· τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου φαμὲν ἡμέας
wing to-command we-yield of-the but other we-say us
ἱκνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν κατά περ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ.
to-come(-by-right) to-lead as indeed in the former time

χωρίς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγημένου ἔργου ἀξιονικότεροί
apart both from-this the related deed more-worthy
εἰμεν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ
we-are than-Athenians this the post to-hold many indeed for
καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται,
and well having against you for-us men Spartans
ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίδαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους. οὕτω ὦν
contests have-been-fought many and also against others so then
δίκαιον ἡμέας ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας ἤ περ Ἀθηναίους·
right(-it-is) us to-hold the other wing than indeed Athenians
οὐ γάρ σφι ἐστὶ ἔργα οἷά περ ἡμῖν κατεργασμένα,
not for to-them are deeds such as-indeed by-us accomplished
οὔτ' ὦν καινὰ οὔτε παλαιά."
neither then new nor old
Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα 27
they indeed these-things said Athenians but to these-things
ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. " Ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τήνδε μάχης
answered this we-know indeed assembly this of-battle
εἵνεκα συλλεγῆναι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων·
for-the-sake to-have-gathered against the barbarian but not of-speeches
ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεήτης προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καινὰ λέγειν
since but the Tegean proposed old and new to-tell
τὰ ἑκατέροισι ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασται
the(-things) by-each-side in the all time accomplished
χρηστά, ἀναγκαίως ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμέας ὅθεν
good necessarily for-us it-is to-show to you whence
ἡμῖν πατρώιον ἐστὶ ἐοῦσι χρηστοῖσι αἰεὶ πρώτοισι
to-us ancestral it-is being good always first
εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι. Ἡρακλείδας, τῶν οὗτοι φασὶ
to-be rather than Arcadians Heraclidae whose these say
ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτο μὲν τούτους,
to-have-killed the leader at Isthmus these indeed them

πρότερον ἐξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς
before being-driven-out by all Greeks to whom
ἀπικοίατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων,
they-came fleeing slavery at-the-hands-of Mycenaeans
μοῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐρυσθέος ὕβριν κατείλομεν,
alone having-received the of-Eurystheus insolence we-put-down
σὺν ἐκείνοισι μάχῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας
with them in-battle having-conquered those then holding
Πελοπόννησον. τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος
Peloponnese this and Argives those with Polynices
ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ
against Thebes having-marched having-ended the life and
ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους
unburied lying having-campaigned against the Cadmeans
ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φαμὲν καὶ θάψαι τῆς
to-have-taken-up both the corpses we-say and to-have-buried(-them) of-the
ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς
our(-land) at Eleusis there-is and to-us a-deed well holding also against
Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλούσας
Amazons the from Thermodon river having-invaded
κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι Τρωικοῖσι πόνοισι
once into land the Attic and in the Trojan toils
οὐδαμῶν ἐλειπόμεθα. ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων
by-none we-were-left-behind but not for at-all it-avails these
ἐπιμεμνῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε ἐόντες ὠυτοὶ νῦν
to-mention also for — good then being the-same now
ἂν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε ἐόντες φλαῦροι νῦν ἂν
— might-be worse and then being worthless now —
εἶεν ἀμείνονες. παλαιῶν μέν νυν ἔργων ἅλις ἔστω· ἡμῖν
might-be better of-old indeed then deeds enough let-there-be to-us
δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά

τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντα εἰ τεοῖσι καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ
both and well holding if for-any also others of-Greeks but
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοι εἰμὲν τοῦτο τὸ
even from the at Marathon deed worthy we-are this the
γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ, οἵτινες μοῦνοι Ἑλλήνων
prize to-hold and others besides this we-who alone of-Greeks
δὴ μουνομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ ἔργῳ τοσούτῳ
indeed having-fought-alone with-the Persian and deed so-great
ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ ἐνικήσαμεν ἔθνεα ἕξ τε καὶ
having-attempted survived and conquered nations six both and
τεσσεράκοντα. ἆρ᾽ οὐ δίκαιοι εἰμὲν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν
forty then not right are-we to-hold this the post
ἀπὸ τούτου μούνου τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε
from this alone the deed but not for in the such(-time)
τάξιος εἵνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοι εἰμὲν πείθεσθαι
post for-the-sake to-quarrel befits ready we-are to-obey
ὑμῖν ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκέει ἐπιτηδεότατον ἡμέας
you O Lacedaemonians where it-seems most-suitable us
εἶναι ἑστάναι καὶ κατ᾽ οὕστινας· πάντῃ γὰρ τεταγμένοι
to-be to-stand and against whomever everywhere for posted
πειρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί. ἐξηγέεσθε δὲ ὡς πεισομένων.”
we-shall-try to-be good lead and as obeying
Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε 28
they indeed these-things answered of-Lacedaemonians but shouted
ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιονικοτέρους εἶναι ἔχειν
all the camp Athenians more-worthy to-be to-hold
τὸ κέρας ἢ περ Ἀρκάδας. οὕτω δὴ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
the wing than indeed Arcadians so indeed held(-it) the Athenians
καὶ ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας.
and surpassed the Tegeans

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ
after and these-things were-drawn-up thus those arriving-later both and
οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον
those at-first having-come of-Greeks the indeed right wing held
Λακεδαιμονίων μύριοι· τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους
of-Lacedaemonians ten-thousand of-these and the five-thousand
ἐόντας Σπαρτιήτας ἐφύλασσον ψιλοὶ τῶν εἱλώτων
being Spartans guarded light-armed of-the helots
πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἑπτὰ
five-thousand and thirty-thousand about man each seven
τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δὲ σφίσι εἵλοντο ἑστάναι οἱ
posted next and to-them chose to-stand the
Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς εἵνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς·
Spartans the Tegeans both of-honor for-the-sake and of-valor
τούτων δ' ἦσαν ὁπλῖται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ
of-these and were hoplites a-thousand and five-hundred after and
τούτους ἵσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ σφίσι
these stood of-Corinthians five-thousand beside and them
εὕροντο παρὰ Παυσανίεω ἑστάναι Ποτιδαιητέων τῶν
they-obtained from Pausanias to-stand of-Potidaeans those
ἐκ Παλλήνης τοὺς παρεόντας τριηκοσίους. τούτων δὲ
from Pallene those present three-hundred of-these and
ἐχόμενοι ἵσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων
next stood Arcadians Orchomenian six-hundred of-these
δὲ Σικυώνιοι τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ εἴχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων
and Sicyonians three-thousand these and adjoined of-Epidaurians
ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι,
eight-hundred beside and these of-Troezenians were-drawn-up a-thousand
Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Λεπρεητέων διηκόσιοι, τούτων δὲ
Troezenians and next of-Lepreans two-hundred of-these and
Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι
of-Mycenaeans and Tirynthians four-hundred of-these and next

Φλειάσιοι χίλιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἔστησαν Ἑρμιονέες
Phliasians a-thousand beside and these stood Hermionians
τριηκόσιοι. Ἑρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἵσταντο Ἐρετριέων τε
three-hundred Hermionians and next stood of-Eretrians both
καὶ Στυρέων ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι,
and of-Styreans six-hundred of-these and Chalcidians four-hundred
τούτων δὲ Ἀμπρακιητέων πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους
of-these and of-Ambraciots five-hundred after and these
Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι ἔστησαν, τούτων
of-Leucadians and of-Anactorians eight-hundred stood of-these
δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλέες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλληνίης διηκόσιοι. μετὰ
and next Paleans those from Cephallenia two-hundred after
δὲ τούτους Αἰγινητέων πεντακόσιοι ἐτάχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ
and these of-Aeginetans five-hundred were-posted beside and
τούτους ἐτάσσοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἴχοντο δὲ τούτων
these were-drawn-up of-Megarians three-thousand adjoined and these
Πλαταιέες ἑξακόσιοι. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι
Plataeans six-hundred last and also first Athenians
ἐτάσσοντο, κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὀκτακισχίλιοι·
were-drawn-up wing holding the left eight-thousand
ἐστρατήγεε δ᾽ αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου.
commanded and them Aristides the (son)-of-Lysimachus
Οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τεταγμένων 29
these except the seven about each posted
Σπαρτιήτῃσι, ἦσαν ὁπλῖται, σύμπαντες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν
for-Spartans were hoplites all-together being in-number
τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἑπτά.
three both ten-thousands and eight thousands and hundreds seven
ὁπλῖται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον
hoplites indeed the all gathered against the barbarian
ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι, ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τόδε, τῆς μὲν
were so-many of-light-armed and the-number was this of-the indeed

Σπαρτιητικῆς τάξιος πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες,
Spartan division five-thousand and thirty-thousand men
ὡς ἑόντων ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις
as being seven about each man and of-these every one
παρήρτητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
was-equipped as for war those and of-the remaining Lacedaemonians
καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψιλοί, ὡς εἷς περὶ ἕκαστον ἐὼν ἄνδρα,
and Greeks light-armed as one about each being man
πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἦσαν.
five-hundred and four-thousand and thirty-thousand were
30 Ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἁπάντων τῶν μαχίμων ἦν τὸ
of-light-armed indeed then of-the all the fighting was the
πλῆθος ἕξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες
number six both ten-thousands and nine thousands and hundreds
πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος
five of-the and whole the Greek(-army) the having-come-together
ἐς Πλαταιὰς σύν τε ὁπλίτῃσι καὶ ψιλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχίμοισι
to Plataea with both hoplites and light-armed the fighting
ἕνδεκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μιῆς χιλιάδος, πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων
eleven ten-thousands were one thousand besides and eight-hundred
ἀνδρῶν καταδέουσαι. σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι
men falling-short-of with and of-Thespians those present
ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἕνδεκα μυριάδες· παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ
were-filled-up the eleven ten-thousands were-present for also
Θεσπιέων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιεόντες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς
of-Thespians in the camp the survivors in-number up-to
ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους· ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι εἶχον. οὗτοι
eight-hundred and a-thousand arms but not-even these had these
μέν νυν ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.
indeed then drawn-up by the Asopus encamped

Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπεκήδευσαν 31
the and about Mardonius barbarians when they-had-buried
Μασίστιον, παρῆσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν
Masistius were-at-hand having-learned the Greeks to-be at
Πλαταιῇσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτῃ ῥέοντα.
Plataea also themselves at the Asopus the there flowing
ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσοντο ὧδε ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου.
having-arrived and they-were-drawn-up-opposite thus by Mardonius
κατὰ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας. καὶ δὴ πολλὸν
against indeed Lacedaemonians he-set Persians and indeed by-far
γὰρ περιῆσαν πλήθεϊ οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπί τε τάξις πλεῦνας
for they-exceeded in-number the Persians in both ranks more
ἐκεκοσμέατο καὶ ἐπεῖχον τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἔταξε δὲ
they-had-been-marshaled and they-extended-over the Tegeans he-drew-up and
οὕτω· ὅ τι μὲν ἦν αὐτῶν δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας
thus what ever indeed was of-them most-powerful all having-chosen
ἔστησε ἀντίον Λακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε
he-set opposite Lacedaemonians the and weaker he-arrayed
κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε
against the Tegeans these-things and he-did telling both
καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε
and instructing Thebans Persians and next he-drew-up
Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτιδαιήτας
Medes these and faced Corinthians both and Potidaeans
καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυωνίους. Μήδων δὲ ἐχομένους
and Orchomenians both and Sicyonians Medes and next
ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐπιδαυρίους τε
he-drew-up Bactrians these and faced Epidaurians both
καὶ Τροιζηνίους καὶ Λεπρεήτας τε καὶ Τιρυνθίους καὶ
and Troezenians and Lepreans both and Tirynthians and
Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλειασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε
Mycenaeans both and Phliasians after and Bactrians he-set

Ἰνδούς· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἑρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἐρετριέας καὶ
Indians these and faced Hermionians both and Eretrians and
Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐχομένους Σάκας
Styreans both and Chalcidians Indians and next Sacae
ἔταξε, οἳ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακιήτας τε καὶ Ἀνακτορίους καὶ
he-drew-up who faced Ambraciots both and Anactorians and
Λευκαδίους καὶ Παλέας καὶ Αἰγινήτας. Σακέων δὲ ἐχομένους
Leucadians and Paleans and Aeginetans Sacae and next
ἔταξε ἀντία Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων
he-drew-up opposite Athenians both and Plataeans and Megarians
Βοιωτούς τε καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Μηλιέας τε καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς
Boeotians both and Locrians and Malians both and Thessalians
καὶ Φωκέων τοὺς χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ ὧν ἅπαντες οἱ Φωκέες
and of-Phocians the thousand not for then all the Phocians
ἐμήδισαν, ἀλλὰ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ηὔξον
medized but some of-them even the(-cause) of-Greeks furthered
περὶ τὸν Παρνησσὸν κατειλημένοι, καὶ ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμώμενοι
about — Parnassus shut-up and from-there setting-out
ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τήν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν καὶ τοὺς
they-plundered both and harried the both of-Mardonius army and those
μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐόντας Ἑλλήνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας τε
with him being of-Greeks he-drew-up and also Macedonians both
καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.
and those about Thessaly dwelling against the Athenians
32 Ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ μέγιστα ὠνόμασται τῶν ὑπὸ
these indeed of-the nations the greatest have-been-named of-those by
Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τά περ ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἦν καὶ
Mardonius drawn-up which indeed most-conspicuous both were and
λόγου πλείστου· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων ἄνδρες
of-account most were-in(-it) and also of-other nations men
ἀναμεμιγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Θρηίκων καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ
mingled of-Phrygians both and of-Thracians and of-Mysians both and

Παιόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ
of-Paeonians and of-the others among and also of-Ethiopians both and
Αἰγυπτίων οἵ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι
of-Egyptians the both Hermotybies and the Calasiries called
μαχαιροφόροι, οἵ περ εἰσὶ Αἰγυπτίων μοῦνοι μάχιμοι.
sword-bearers who indeed are of-Egyptians alone fighting-men
τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἐὼν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο
these and still at Phalerum being from the ships he-landed
ἐόντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν
being marines not for were-posted in the army the
ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν μὲν
with Xerxes having-come to Athens Egyptians of-the indeed
δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρότερον
then barbarians were thirty ten-thousands as also before
δεδήλωται· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων
has-been-shown of-the and Greeks the of-Mardonius allies
οἶδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμόν· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἠριθμήθησαν· ὡς δὲ
knows indeed no-one the-number not for then they-were-counted as but
ἐπεικάσαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγῆναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι
to-guess up-to five ten-thousands to-have-been-gathered I-guess these
οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο.
the drawn-up-alongside foot were the but cavalry apart had-been-posted

IV · THE SEERS AND THE SUPPLY TRAIN

The Spartans make Tisamenus of Elis and his brother Hegias citizens to gain his prophecy of victory in five contests. Both sides' sacrifices favor defense. Hegesistratus, Mardonius' seer, cut off his own foot to escape the Spartans. Persian cavalry seize a supply train at Oak's Heads. Mardonius rejects Artabazus' advice to withdraw to Thebes and bribe the Greeks, claims an oracle dooms the Persians only if they plunder Delphi, and resolves to attack; Alexander rides to the Athenian outposts by night to warn them.

33 Ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ
when and then all for-him had-been-drawn-up by nations and by
τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐθύοντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι.
companies there on-the second day sacrificed also both-sides
Ἕλλησι μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ἦν ὁ θυόμενος·
for-Greeks indeed Tisamenus (son)-of-Antiochus was the(-one) sacrificing
οὗτος γὰρ δὴ εἵπετο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις·
this(-man) for indeed followed the army this as-seer
τὸν ἐόντα Ἠλεῖον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων Λακεδαιμόνιοι
whom being an-Elean and of-family the of-Iamids Lacedaemonians
ἐποιήσαντο λεωσφέτερον. Τισαμενῷ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν
made one-of-their-people to-Tisamenus for consulting at
Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου ἀνεῖλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους
Delphi about offspring answered the Pythia contests the greatest
ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρηστηρίου
he-would-win five he indeed then having-mistaken the oracle
προσεῖχε γυμνασίοισι ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας,
applied-himself to-gymnastics as about-to-win athletic contests
ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάεθλον παρὰ ἓν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικᾶν
practicing and the-pentathlon by one wrestling-bout he-came-near to-win
Ὀλυμπιάδα, Ἱερωνύμῳ τῷ Ἀνδρίῳ ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν.
an-Olympiad with-Hieronymus the Andrian having-come into rivalry
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικοὺς ἀλλ᾽ ἐς ἀρηίους
Lacedaemonians but having-learned not to athletic but to martial
ἀγῶνας φέρον τὸ Τισαμενοῦ μαντήιον, μισθῷ ἐπειρῶντο
contests pointing the of-Tisamenus oracle with-a-fee tried
πείσαντες Τισαμενὸν ποιέεσθαι ἅμα Ἡρακλειδέων τοῖσι
having-persuaded Tisamenus to-make together-with of-Heraclidae the
βασιλεῦσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων. ὁ δὲ ὁρέων περὶ πολλοῦ
kings leader of-the wars he and seeing of much
ποιευμένους Σπαρτιήτας φίλον αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι, μαθὼν
making(-it) Spartans as-friend him to-win having-learned

τοῦτο ἀνετίμα, σημαίνων σφι ὡς ἤν μιν πολιήτην
this raised-his-price signifying to-them that if him a-citizen
σφέτερον ποιήσωνται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες, ποιήσει
their-own they-make of-the of-all sharing he-will-do
ταῦτα, ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ μισθῷ δ᾽ οὔ. Σπαρτιῆται δὲ πρῶτα μὲν
these-things for other fee but not Spartans and at-first indeed
ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιεῦντο καὶ μετίεσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης
having-heard terrible thought(-it) and gave-up the request
τὸ παράπαν, τέλος δὲ δείματος μεγάλου ἐπικρεμαμένου
the altogether at-last and fear great hanging-over(-them)
τοῦ Περσικοῦ τούτου στρατεύματος καταίνεον μετιόντες.
of-the Persian this army they-consented going-after(-him)
ὁ δὲ γνοὺς τετραμμένους σφέας οὐδ᾽ οὕτω ἔτι
he and having-recognized turned them not-even so any-longer
ἔφη ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοισι μούνοισι, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἔτι τὸν
said to-be-content with-these alone but it-is-needful besides the
ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ Ἡγίην γίνεσθαι Σπαρτιήτην ἐπὶ τοῖσι
brother of-himself Hegias to-become a-Spartan on the
αὐτοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται.
same terms on-which also himself becomes
Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὗτος ἐμιμέετο Μελάμποδα, ὡς εἰκάσαι 34
these-things and saying this(-man) imitated Melampus as to-compare
βασιληίην τε καὶ πολιτηίην αἰτεομένους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ
kingship both and citizenship asking-for and for indeed also
Μελάμπους τῶν ἐν Ἄργεϊ γυναικῶν μανεισέων, ὥς μιν
Melampus the at Argos women having-gone-mad when him
οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐμισθοῦντο ἐκ Πύλου παῦσαι τὰς σφετέρας
the Argives hired from Pylos to-stop the their-own
γυναῖκας τῆς νούσου, μισθὸν προετείνατο τῆς βασιληίης
women from-the disease as-fee demanded of-the kingship
τὸ ἥμισυ. οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἀλλ᾽ ἀπιόντων,
the half not having-endured(-it) and the Argives but going-away

ὡς ἐμαίνοντο πλεῦνες τῶν γυναικῶν, οὕτω δὴ ὑποστάντες
when were-mad more of-the women so indeed having-undertaken
τὰ ὁ Μελάμπους προετείνατο ἤισαν δώσοντές οἱ ταῦτα.
what — Melampus demanded they-went to-give him these-things
ὃ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπορέγεται ὁρέων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους,
he and then indeed reaches-for-more seeing them turned
φάς, ἢν μὴ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Βίαντι μεταδῶσι τὸ
saying if not also to-the brother Bias they-give-a-share the
τριτημόριον τῆς βασιληίης, οὐ ποιήσειν τὰ βούλονται. οἱ
third-part of-the kingship not to-do what they-wish the
δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν καταινέουσι καὶ ταῦτα.
and Argives hemmed-in into a-strait consent also these-things
35 Ὡς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ,
so and also Spartans needed for terribly — of-Tisamenus
πάντως συνεχώρεόν οἱ. συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα
altogether yielded to-him having-yielded and also these-things
τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, οὕτω δὴ πέντε σφι μαντευόμενος
the Spartans so indeed five for-them prophesying
ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἠλεῖος, γενόμενος
contests the greatest Tisamenus the Elean having-become
Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταιρέει. μοῦνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
a-Spartan helps-to-win alone and indeed of-all men
ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Σπαρτιήτῃσι πολιῆται. οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγῶνες
became these for-Spartans citizens the and five contests
οἵδε ἐγένοντο, εἷς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι,
these were one indeed and first this the at Plataea
ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους
after and the at Tegea against Tegeans both and Argives
γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας
happening after and the at Dipaea against Arcadians all
πλὴν Μαντινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰθώμῃ,
except Mantineans after and the of-Messenians the at Ithome

ὕστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργείους
last and the at Tanagra against Athenians both and Argives
γενόμενος· οὗτος δὲ ὕστατος κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.
happening this and last was-won of-the five contests
Οὗτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ὁ Τισαμενός, ἀγόντων 36
this(-man) indeed then for-the Greeks — Tisamenus leading(-him)
τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιΐδι. τοῖσι
the Spartans divined in the Plataean(-land) to-the
μέν νυν Ἕλλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένοισι,
indeed then Greeks favorable were the sacrifices defending-themselves
διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὔ.
having-crossed but the Asopus and of-battle beginning not
Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμεομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα 37
to-Mardonius and eager battle to-begin not suitable
ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά, ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ καλά. καὶ
were the sacrifices defending-himself but also to-him favorable also
γὰρ οὗτος Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι ἐχρᾶτο, μάντιν ἔχων
for this(-man) Greek sacrifices used a-seer having
Ἡγησίστρατον ἄνδρα Ἠλεῖόν τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων
Hegesistratus a-man Elean both and of-the Telliadae
ἐόντα λογιμώτατον, τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιῆται
being most-notable whom indeed before these Spartans
λαβόντες ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ
having-seized bound for death as having-suffered many both and
ἀνάρσια ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. ὃ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος,
outrageous(-things) from him he and in this the evil held
ὥστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρό τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος
so-that running for the life before both the death about-to-suffer
πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργον ἐργάσατο μέζον λόγου. ὡς
many both and grievous(-things) a-deed wrought greater than-words when
γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ, ἐσενειχθέντος κως
for indeed he-was-bound in a-stock iron-bound having-been-brought-in somehow

σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο ἀνδρηιότατον
an-iron(-tool) he-got-hold at-once and he-contrived most-courageous
ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· σταθμησάμενος γὰρ
deed of-all of-which we know having-measured for
ὅκως ἐξελεύσεταί οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδός, ἀπέταμε τὸν
how will-come-out to-him the rest of-the foot he-cut-off the
ταρσὸν ἑωυτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὡς φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ
instep of-himself these-things and having-done as being-guarded by
φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς
guards having-dug-through the wall he-ran-away to Tegea the
μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς
indeed nights journeying the and days hiding in
ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος, οὕτω ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεὶ
woodland and bivouacking so that Lacedaemonians in-full-force
διζημένων τρίτῃ εὐφρόνῃ γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ
searching on-the-third night he-was at Tegea them and
ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὁρῶντας
in wonder great to-be-held at-the both daring seeing
τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κἀκεῖνον οὐ δυναμένους
the half of-the foot lying and-him not being-able
εὑρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους καταφεύγει
to-find then indeed thus having-escaped Lacedaemonians he-flees-for-refuge
ἐς Τεγέην ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἀρθμίην Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον
to Tegea being not friendly to-Lacedaemonians at-this
τὸν χρόνον· ὑγιὴς δὲ γενόμενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος
the time healthy and having-become and having-procured-for-himself
ξύλινον πόδα κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης Λακεδαιμονίοισι
a-wooden foot he-had-become from the open to-Lacedaemonians
πολέμιος. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τέλος οἱ συνήνεικε τὸ
an-enemy not however to at-least the-end to-him profited the

ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρημένον· ἥλω
hatred the against Lacedaemonians conceived he-was-caught
γὰρ μαντευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε.
for divining at Zacynthus by them and died
Ὁ μέντοι θάνατος ὁ Ἡγησιστράτου ὕστερον ἐγένετο 38
the however death the of-Hegesistratus later happened
τῶν Πλαταικῶν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ
than-the Plataean(-affair) then but at the Asopus by-Mardonius
μεμισθωμένος οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐθύετό τε καὶ προεθυμέετο
hired not little he-sacrificed both and was-zealous
κατά τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κατὰ τὸ
because-of both the hatred the of-Lacedaemonians and because-of the
κέρδος. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὥστε μάχεσθαι οὔτε
gain when and not favorable(-were-the-sacrifices) so-as to-fight neither
αὐτοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οὔτε τοῖσι μετ᾽ ἐκείνων ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων
for-themselves Persians nor for-those with them being of-Greeks
(εἶχον γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπ᾽ ἑωυτῶν μάντιν Ἱππόμαχον
had for also these by themselves a-seer Hippomachus
Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα), ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ
a-Leucadian man flowing-in and the Greeks and
γινομένων πλεύνων, Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἔρπυος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος
becoming more Timegenides the (son)-of-Herpys a-man Theban
συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος
advised Mardonius the passes — of-Cithaeron
φυλάξαι, λέγων ὡς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ ἀνὰ
to-guard saying that flow-in the Greeks always through
πᾶσαν ἡμέρην καὶ ὡς ἀπολάμψοιτο συχνούς.
all day and that he-would-cut-off many
Ἡμέραι δέ σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἤδη ἐγεγόνεσαν ὀκτώ, ὅτε 39
days and for-them sitting-opposite already had-passed eight when
ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν
these-things he advised Mardonius he and having-learned the

παραίνεσιν εὖ ἔχουσαν, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν
advice good being when night came sends the
ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας αἳ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων
cavalry to the passes the Cithaeronian which to Plataea
φέρουσι, τὰς Βοιωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναῖοι
lead which Boeotians indeed three heads call Athenians
δὲ Δρυὸς κεφαλάς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱππόται οὐ μάτην
and Oak's heads having-been-sent and the horsemen not in-vain
ἀπίκοντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνουσι
arrived entering for into the plain they-take
ὑποζύγιά τε πεντακόσια, σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου
yoke-beasts both five-hundred food bringing from Peloponnese
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἳ εἵποντο τοῖσι ζεύγεσι.
to the camp and men who followed the teams
ἑλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφόνευον,
having-taken and this the prey the Persians unsparingly slaughtered
οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου.
not sparing neither yoke-beast any nor man
ὡς δὲ ἄδην εἶχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἤλαυνον
when and their-fill they-had killing the rest of-them they-drove
περιβαλόμενοι παρά τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.
having-surrounded(-them) to both Mardonius and to the camp
40 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἑτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν,
after and this the deed other two days they-spent
οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ
neither-side wishing battle to-begin as-far-as indeed for the
Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήισαν οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων,
Asopus came the barbarians testing the Greeks
διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἡ μέντοι ἵππος ἡ Μαρδονίου αἰεὶ
crossed but neither-side the however cavalry the of-Mardonius always
προσέκειτό τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι,
pressed both and harassed the Greeks the for Thebans

ἅτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον
as medizing greatly zealously bore the war
καὶ αἰεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου
and always led-the-way up-to battle the and from that(-point)
παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μάλα ἔσκον οἳ
taking-over Persians both and Medes very were(-the-ones) who
ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς.
displayed valor

Μέχρι μέν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐγίνετο 41
until indeed then the ten days nothing for more happened
τούτων· ὡς δὲ ἑνδεκάτη ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρη ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν
of-these when and eleventh had-come day for-them-sitting-opposite at
Πλαταιῇσι, οἵ τε δὴ Ἕλληνες πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐγεγόνεσαν
Plataea the both indeed Greeks by-much more had-become
καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιημέκτεε τῇ ἕδρῃ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους
and Mardonius was-vexed at-the sitting there into talk
ἦλθον Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γοβρύεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ
came Mardonius both the (son)-of-Gobryas and Artabazus the
Φαρνάκεος, ὃς ἐν ὀλίγοισι Περσέων ἦν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος
(son)-of-Pharnaces who among few of-Persians was a-man esteemed
παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. βουλευομένων δὲ αἵδε ἦσαν αἱ γνῶμαι, ἥ
by Xerxes deliberating and these were the opinions the
μὲν Ἀρταβάζου ὡς χρεὸν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας τὴν ταχίστην
indeed of-Artabazus that right were having-broken-camp the quickest
πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἰέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαίων,
all the army to-go into the walled-town the of-Thebans
ἔνθα σῖτόν τέ σφι ἐσενηνεῖχθαι πολλὸν καὶ χόρτον
where food both for-them to-have-been-brought-in much and fodder
τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι, κατ᾽ ἡσυχίην τε ἱζομένους διαπρήσσεσθαι
for-the yoke-beasts at leisure and sitting to-accomplish(-it)
ποιεῦντας τάδε· ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον
doing this to-have for gold much indeed coined

πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ ἄργυρόν τε καὶ
much and also uncoined much and silver both and
ἐκπώματα· τούτων φειδομένους μηδενὸς διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς
drinking-cups of-these sparing none to-send-about to the
Ἕλληνας, Ἑλλήνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστεῶτας
Greeks of-Greeks and most to those leading
ἐν τῇσι πόλισι, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδώσειν τὴν
in the cities and quickly them to-give-up the
ἐλευθερίην· μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας. τούτου μὲν
freedom nor to-run-the-risk engaging of-this indeed
ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων γνώμη, ὡς προειδότος
the same was also of-Thebans opinion as having-foreseen
πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου, Μαρδονίου δὲ ἰσχυροτέρη τε καὶ
more something also this(-man) of-Mardonius but stronger both and
ἀγνωμονεστέρη καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένη· δοκέειν τε
more-headstrong and in-no-way yielding to-think both
γὰρ πολλῷ κρέσσονα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὴν τῆς
for by-much stronger to-be the their-own army than-the
Ἑλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην μηδὲ περιορᾶν
Greek to-engage and the quickest nor to-overlook
συλλεγομένους ἔτι πλεῦνας τῶν συλλελεγμένων, τά τε
gathering still more than-those gathered the both
σφάγια τὰ Ἡγησιστράτου ἐᾶν χαίρειν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι,
sacrifices the of-Hegesistratus to-let go nor to-force(-them)
ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν.
but by-custom the of-Persians using to-engage

42 Τούτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιεῦντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδείς, ὥστε ἐκράτεε
this(-man) and so claiming spoke-against no-one so-that he-prevailed
τῇ γνώμῃ· τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὗτος
in-the opinion the for command held of-the army this(-man)
ἐκ βασιλέος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμψάμενος ὦν
from king but not Artabazus having-sent-for then

τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ᾽ ἑωυτοῦ ἐόντων
the captains of-the companies and of-the with himself being
Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰρώτα εἴ τι εἰδεῖεν λόγιον
Greeks the generals he-asked whether any they-knew oracle
περὶ Περσέων ὡς διαφθερέονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. σιγώντων
about Persians that they-will-be-destroyed in — Greece being-silent
δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδότων τοὺς χρησμούς,
and the summoned some indeed not knowing the oracles
τῶν δὲ εἰδότων μὲν ἐν ἀδείῃ δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ
others and knowing indeed in safety but not holding the
λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε “Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ
speaking himself Mardonius said since then you either
ἴστε οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς
know nothing or not dare to-speak but I will-tell as
εὖ ἐπιστάμενος· ἔστι λόγιον ὡς χρεόν ἐστι Πέρσας
well knowing there-is an-oracle that fated it-is Persians
ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάσαι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν
having-come into — Greece to-plunder the temple the at
Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας.
Delphi after and the plundering to-perish all
ἡμεῖς τοίνυν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι οὔτε ἴμεν ἐπὶ τὸ
we then itself this knowing neither go against the
ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὔτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν, ταύτης τε
temple this nor shall-we-attempt to-plunder(-it) this both
εἵνεκα τῆς αἰτίης οὐκ ἀπολεόμεθα. ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι
for-the-sake the cause not we-shall-perish so-that of-you as-many-as
τυγχάνουσι εὔνοοι ἐόντες Πέρσῃσι, ἥδεσθε τοῦδε εἵνεκα
happen well-disposed being to-Persians rejoice for-this for-the-sake
ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων.” ταῦτά σφι εἴπας
as about-to-prevail us over-Greeks these-things to-them having-said

δεύτερα ἐσήμαινε παραρτέεσθαί τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα
second he-signified to-prepare both all and in-good-order
ποιέεσθαι ὡς ἅμα ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.
to-make as at day the coming engagement going-to-be
43 Τοῦτον δ' ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμόν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς
this and I the oracle which Mardonius said to
Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριούς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγχελέων στρατὸν
Persians to-refer to Illyrians both and the of-Encheleis army
οἶδα πεποιημένον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν
I-know made but not to Persians but the(-verses) indeed
Βάκιδι ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐστὶ πεποιημένα,
by-Bacis on this the battle are made

τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῷ λεχεποίῃ
the and on Thermodon and Asopus grassy-bedded
Ἑλλήνων σύνοδον καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἰυγήν,
of-Greeks meeting and barbarian-tongued cry
τῇ πολλοὶ πεσέονται ὑπὲρ λάχεσίν τε μόρον τε
where many will-fall beyond lot both fate both
τοξοφόρων Μήδων, ὅταν αἴσιμον ἦμαρ ἐπέλθῃ,
of-bow-bearing of-Medes when the-fated day comes

ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοισι ἄλλα Μουσαίῳ
these-things indeed and like these others of-Musaeus
ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων ποταμὸς ῥέει
referring I-know to Persians the and Thermodon river flows
μεταξὺ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλίσαντος.
between Tanagra both and Glisas
44 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραίνεσιν τὴν
after and the questioning of-the oracles and exhortation the
ἐκ Μαρδονίου νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο.
from Mardonius night both came and to watches they-were-posted

ὡς δὲ πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προελήλατο καὶ ἡσυχίη ἐδόκεε
when and far-on the night had-advanced and quiet seemed
εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι
to-be through the camps and most the men to-be
ἐν ὕπνῳ, τηνικαῦτα προσελάσας ἵππῳ πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς
in sleep at-that-time having-ridden-up on-horse to the watches
τὰς Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγός τε ἐὼν
the of-Athenians Alexander the (son)-of-Amyntas general both being
καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, ἐδίζητο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἐς
and king of-Macedonians sought with-the generals into
λόγους ἐλθεῖν. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες παρέμενον,
talk to-come of-the and guards the indeed more stayed
οἱ δ' ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον
others and ran to the generals having-come and they-said
ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἥκοι ἐπ' ἵππου ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ
that a-man had-come on horse from the camp the
Μήδων, ὃς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγυμνοῖ ἔπος, στρατηγοὺς
of-Medes who other indeed no reveals word generals
δὲ ὀνομάζων ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.
but naming to-wish says into talk to-come
Οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἵποντο ἐς τὰς φυλακάς· 45
they and when these-things they-heard at-once followed to the watches
ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε Ἀλέξανδρος τάδε. "Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
having-arrived and said Alexander this men Athenians
παραθήκην ὑμῖν τὰ ἔπεα τάδε τίθεμαι, ἀπόρρητα ποιεύμενος
as-a-deposit with-you the words these I-place secret making(-them)
πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἢ Παυσανίην, μή με καὶ
to no-one to-tell you other than Pausanias lest me also
διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην
you-destroy not for — I-would-speak if not greatly I-cared-for
συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. αὐτός τε γὰρ Ἕλλην γένος εἰμὶ
the-whole — Greece myself both for a-Greek by-race am

τὠρχαῖον καὶ ἀντ᾽ ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι
of-old and instead-of free enslaved not — I-would-wish
ὁρᾶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λέγω δὲ ὧν ὅτι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ
to-see — Greece I-say and then that for-Mardonius both and for-the
στρατιῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι· πάλαι
host the sacrifices not can favorable become long-ago
γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε. νῦν δέ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν
for — you-would-have-fought now but to-him it-has-been-resolved the indeed
σφάγια ἐᾶν χαίρειν, ἅμ᾽ ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ συμβολὴν
sacrifices to-let go at day and dawning engagement
ποιέεσθαι· καταρρώδηκε γὰρ μὴ πλεῦνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὡς ἐγὼ
to-make he-has-taken-fright for lest more you-be-gathered as I
εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἑτοιμάζεσθε. ἢν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάληται
conjecture for these-things prepare if but then put-off
τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιέηται, λιπαρέετε
the engagement Mardonius and not make(-it) persevere
μένοντες· ὀλιγέων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. ἢν δὲ
staying of-few for to-them days is-left food if and
ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ, μνησθῆναι
for-you the war this according-to mind end to-remember
τινὰ χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὃς Ἑλλήνων
someone it-is-needful also me freedom about who of-Greeks
εἵνεκα οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον ἔργασμαι ὑπὸ προθυμίης,
for-the-sake so deed hazardous have-done through zeal
ἐθέλων ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἵνα μὴ
wishing to-you to-reveal the intention the of-Mardonius so-that not
ἐπιπέσωσι ὑμῖν ἐξαίφνης οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοισί
fall-upon you suddenly the barbarians not expecting(-them)
κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών.” ὃ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας
yet am and Alexander the Macedonian he indeed these-things having-said
ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τάξιν.
rode-away back to the camp and the of-himself post

Pausanias fears the Persians and asks the Athenians to face them in the Spartans' place, but Mardonius matches the move and challenges the Spartans to fight. His cavalry fouls the Gargaphian spring and cuts off supplies, and the Greeks plan a night move to the Island. Most of the army flees to the Heraeum, while Amompharetus refuses to retreat before the strangers. At dawn Pausanias leaves him, waits at Argiopius, and Amompharetus comes up.

Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας 46
the and generals of-the Athenians having-come to the right wing
ἔλεγον Παυσανίῃ τά περ ἤκουσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ
told Pausanias what indeed they-heard from-Alexander he and at-this
τῷ λόγῳ καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἐπεὶ
the word having-taken-fright-at the Persians said this since
τοίνυν ἐς ἠῶ ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεόν ἐστι τοὺς
then at dawn the engagement happens you indeed right it-is the
Ἀθηναίους στῆναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς
Athenians to-stand against the Persians us and against the
Βοιωτούς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ' ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἑλλήνων,
Boeotians both and those against you posted of-Greeks
τῶνδε εἵνεκα· ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τὴν μάχην
of-this for-the-sake you know the Medes and the fighting
αὐτῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄπειροί τε εἰμὲν
of-them at Marathon having-fought(-them) we but inexperienced both we-are
καὶ ἀδαέες τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν· Σπαρτιητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς
and ignorant of-these the men of-Spartans for no-one
πεπείρηται Μήδων· ἡμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροι
has-made-trial of-Medes we but of-Boeotians and of-Thessalians experienced
εἰμέν. ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χρεόν ἐστι ἰέναι ὑμέας
we-are but having-taken-up the arms right it-is to-go you
μὲν ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρας, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον." πρὸς δὲ
indeed to this the wing us and to the left to and

ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ'
these-things said the Athenians this also to-ourselves us long-ago from
ἀρχῆς, ἐπείτε εἴδομεν κατ' ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας,
the-beginning when we-saw against you being-drawn-up the Persians
ἐν νόῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τά περ ὑμεῖς φθάντες
in mind it-came to-say these-things which indeed you having-anticipated(-us)
προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ ἀρρωδέομεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἡδέες γένωνται
put-forward but we-fear lest to-you not pleasant become
οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεὶ δ' ὧν αὐτοὶ ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἡδομένοισι
the words since but then yourselves mentioned(-it) also pleased
ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἕτοιμοι εἰμὲν ποιέειν ταῦτα."
to-us the words have-been and ready we-are to-do these-things

47 Ὡς δ' ἤρεσκε ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα, ἠώς τε διέφαινε
when and pleased both these-things dawn both was-appearing
καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξις. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ
and they-exchanged the posts having-recognized and the Boeotians
τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδονίῳ. ὃ δ' ἐπείτε
the(-thing) being-done report-it to-Mardonius he and when
ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, παράγων
he-heard at-once to-change-places also himself tried bringing-across
τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε
the Persians against the Lacedaemonians when and learned
τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γινόμενον ὁ Παυσανίης, γνοὺς ὅτι
this such happening — Pausanias having-recognized that
οὐ λανθάνει, ὀπίσω ἦγε τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν
not it-escapes-notice back he-led the Spartans to the right
κέρας· ὡς δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.
wing so and likewise also — Mardonius to the left

48 Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξις, πέμψας ὁ
when and they-were-set into the original posts having-sent —
Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὦ
Mardonius a-herald to the Spartans said this O

Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνδρες ἄριστοι ὑπὸ
Lacedaemonians you indeed are-said to-be men best by
τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαγλεομένων ὡς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ
the here men marveling that neither you-flee from
πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἢ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς
war nor post leave staying and either you-destroy the
ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἦν οὐδὲν ἀληθές·
opponents or yourselves are-destroyed of-these but then was nothing true
πρὶν γὰρ ἢ συμμῖξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι,
before for than to-engage us into of-hands both law to-come
καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἴδομεν, ἐν
even indeed fleeing and post leaving you we-saw on
Ἀθηναίοισί τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους αὐτούς τε ἀντία
Athenians both the trial making yourselves both opposite
δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους. ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν
slaves the our posted these-things in-no-way of-men
ἀγαθῶν ἔργα, ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐψεύσθημεν.
good deeds but most indeed in you we-were-deceived
προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὡς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ἡμέας
expecting for according-to report that indeed you-will-send to us
κήρυκα προκαλεύμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μούνοισι Πέρσῃσι
a-herald challenging(-us) and wishing alone with-Persians
μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι ἐόντες ποιέειν ταῦτα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο
to-fight ready being to-do these-things nothing such
λέγοντας ὑμέας εὕρομεν ἀλλὰ πτώσσοντας μᾶλλον. νῦν
saying you we-found but cowering rather now
ὦν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἤρξατε τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς
then since not you began this the speech but we
ἄρχομεν. τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπείτε
begin why indeed not before indeed the Greeks you since
δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς
you-have-been-reputed to-be best before and the barbarians we

ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἀριθμὸν ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἢν μὲν δοκέῃ
equal against equal in-number do-we-fight and if indeed it-seem(-good)
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὦν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων
also the others to-fight they but then afterward let-them-fight
ὕστεροι· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοι ἀλλ' ἡμέας μούνους
later if but even not it-should-seem(-good) but us alone
ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσώμεθα· ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν
to-suffice we and let-us-fight-it-out whichever-of-the-two and —
ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῷ ἅπαντι στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν."
of-us conquer these with-the whole camp to-conquer
49 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας τε καὶ ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ὡς οἱ
he indeed these-things having-said both and having-waited a-time since to-him
οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνατο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, ἀπελθὼν δὲ
no-one nothing answered departed back having-gone-away and
ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα. ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς
he-signified to-Mardonius the(-things) having-befallen he and overjoyed
γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαερθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκῃ ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον
having-become and elated by-a-frigid victory sent-on the cavalry
ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὡς δὲ ἐπήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται, ἐσίνοντο
against the Greeks when and rode-at(-them) the horsemen they-harmed
πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοντίζοντές τε καὶ
all the army the Greek shooting-javelins both and
τοξεύοντες ὥστε ἱπποτοξόται τε ἐόντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι
shooting-arrows as mounted-archers both being and to-come-to-grips
ἄποροι· τήν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην, ἀπ' ἧς ὑδρεύετο
impossible the both spring the Gargaphian from which drew-water
πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, συνετάραξαν καὶ
all the army the Greek they-fouled and
συνέχωσαν. ἦσαν μὲν ὦν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι
choked(-it) were indeed then by the spring Lacedaemonians
τεταγμένοι μοῦνοι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι ἡ μὲν κρήνη
posted alone to-the but other Greeks the indeed spring

πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς
far was as each happened posted the but Asopus
ἀγχοῦ· ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν
near kept-off and from-the Asopus so indeed to the
κρήνην ἐφοίτων· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γάρ σφι οὐκ ἐξῆν
spring they-went from the river for to-them not it-was-possible
ὕδωρ φορέεσθαι ὑπό τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοξευμάτων.
water to-carry by both the horsemen and arrows
Τούτου δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, 50
this and such happening the of-the Greeks generals
ἅτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ
as of-the both water deprived the army and by
τῆς ἵππου ταρασσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε
the cavalry harassed gathered about them both
τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἐλθόντες παρὰ Παυσανίην ἐπὶ
these and other(-matters) having-come to Pausanias on
τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας. ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων τοιούτων ἐόντων
the right wing other(-things) for these such being
μᾶλλον σφέας ἐλύπεε· οὔτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἔτι, οἵ
more them distressed neither for food they-had any-longer the
τε σφέων ὀπέωνες ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὡς
and their attendants sent-off to Peloponnese as
ἐπισιτιεύμενοι ἀπεκεκλήατο ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου, οὐ δυνάμενοι
about-to-fetch-provisions had-been-shut-off by the cavalry not being-able
ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.
to-come to the camp
Βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἔδοξε, ἢν 51
deliberating and to-the generals it-seemed-good if
ὑπερβάλωνται ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι συμβολὴν
put-off that the day the Persians engagement
ποιεύμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἰέναι. ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ
making to the island to-go it and is from the Asopus

καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ᾽ ᾗ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο
and the spring the Gargaphian at which they-were-encamped
τότε, δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος.
then ten stades distant before the of-Plataeans city
νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἠπείρῳ· σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς
island and thus — it-would-be on mainland dividing the river
ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ῥέει κάτω ἐς τὸ πεδίον,
from-above from — Cithaeron flows down to the plain
διέχων ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα ὅσον περ τρία στάδια,
holding-apart from each-other the streams about indeed three stades
καὶ ἔπειτα συμμίσγει ἐς τὠυτό. οὔνομα δέ οἱ Ὠερόη·
and then joins into the-same name and to-it Oeroe
θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι.
daughter and this say to-be of-Asopus the natives
ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι,
to this indeed the place they-planned to-move
ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἱππέες
so-that both water they-may-be-able to-use abundant and the horsemen
σφέας μὴ σινοίατο ὥσπερ κατιθὺ ἐόντων· μετακινέεσθαί τε
them not might-harm as face-to-face being to-move and
ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ᾖ δευτέρη φυλακή, ὡς
it-seemed(-good) then when of-the night be the-second watch so-that
ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμωμένους καί σφεας ἑπόμενοι
— not might-see the Persians setting-out and them following
ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἱππόται. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χῶρον
harass the horsemen having-arrived and at the place
τοῦτον, τὸν δὴ ἡ Ἀσωπὶς Ὠερόη περισχίζεται ῥέουσα
this which indeed the Asopian Oeroe divides-around flowing
ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε
from — Cithaeron during the night this it-seemed(-good)
τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν
the half to-send-off of-the camp to —

Κιθαιρῶνα, ὡς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὀπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ
Cithaeron so-that they-might-take-up the attendants those for the
σιτία οἰχομένους· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι.
food gone were for in — Cithaeron cut-off
Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι κείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν 52
these-things having-planned that indeed the day all
προσκειμένης τῆς ἵππου εἶχον πόνον ἄτρυτον· ὡς δὲ
pressing the cavalry they-had toil unwearying when and
ἥ τε ἡμέρη ἔληγε καὶ οἱ ἱππέες ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς
the both day was-ending and the horsemen had-ceased night
δὴ γινομένης καὶ ἐούσης τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν συνέκειτό
indeed coming-on and being the hour at which it-had-been-agreed
σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ
for-them to-depart there having-set-out the many
ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χῶρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο οὐκ
departed to indeed the place to which it-had-been-agreed not
ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες, οἳ δὲ ὡς ἐκινήθησαν ἔφευγον ἄσμενοι
in mind having they but when they-moved fled gladly
τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ
the cavalry toward the of-Plataeans city fleeing and
ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἥραιον· τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐστὶ τῆς
they-arrive at the Heraeum it and before the city is the
Πλαταιέων, εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης
of-Plataeans twenty stades from the spring the Gargaphian
ἀπέχον· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὅπλα.
distant having-arrived and they-grounded before the temple the arms
Καὶ οἳ μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, Παυσανίης 53
and they indeed about the Heraeum encamped Pausanias
δὲ ὁρῶν σφεας ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
but seeing them departing from the camp
παρήγγελλε καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀναλαβόντας τὰ
ordered also the Lacedaemonians having-taken-up the

ὅπλα ἰέναι κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προϊόντας, νομίσας
arms to-go after the others the going-forward thinking
αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἰέναι ἐς τὸν συνεθήκαντο. ἐνθαῦτα
them to the place to-be-going to which they-had-agreed there
οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιάρχων πείθεσθαι
the indeed other ready were of-the captains to-obey
Παυσανίῃ, Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεω λοχηγέων τοῦ
Pausanias Amompharetus but the (son)-of-Poliades commanding the
Πιτανητέων λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι οὐδὲ
of-Pitana company not said the strangers he-would-flee nor
ἑκὼν εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐθώμαζέ τε ὁρέων
willingly at-least to-disgrace — Sparta he-wondered and seeing
τὸ ποιεύμενον ἅτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ
the(-thing) being-done as not having-been-present at-the former
λόγῳ. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίης τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρυάναξ δεινὸν μὲν
council — but Pausanias both and — Euryanax terrible indeed
ἐποιεῦντο τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκεῖνον σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ
thought the not to-obey him them more-terrible but
ἔτι, κείνου ταῦτ' ἀναινομένου, ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν
still him these-things refusing to-leave-behind the company the
Πιτανήτην, μὴ ἢν ἀπολίπωσι ποιεῦντες τὰ συνεθήκαντο
Pitanate lest if they-leave(-it) doing what they-had-agreed
τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι, ἀπόληται ὑπολειφθεὶς αὐτός τε
with-the other Greeks should-perish left-behind himself both
Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι
Amompharetus and those with him these-things reckoning
ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Λακωνικόν, καὶ
quiet they-kept the camp the Laconian and
ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μιν ὡς οὐ χρεὸν εἴη ταῦτα ποιέειν.
tried persuading him that not right were these-things to-do

Καὶ οἳ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἀμομφάρετον μοῦνον 54
and they indeed were-exhorting Amompharetus alone
Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεητέων λελειμμένον, Ἀθηναῖοι
of-Lacedaemonians both and of-Tegeans left-behind Athenians
δὲ ἐποίευν τοιάδε· εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα
but did such(-things) they-kept quiet them themselves where
ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα
they-had-been-posted knowing the of-Lacedaemonians dispositions
ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων· ὡς δὲ
as other(-things) thinking and other(-things) saying when and
ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπεμπον σφέων ἱππέα ὀψόμενόν
moved the camp they-sent of-them a-horseman to-see
τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειρέοιεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ
both whether to-march were-attempting the Spartans or even
τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεῦνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι
the altogether not intend to-depart to-ask
τε Παυσανίην τὸ χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν.
and Pausanias what right were to-do
Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ κῆρυξ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τε 55
when and arrived the herald at the Lacedaemonians he-saw both
σφέας κατὰ χώρην τεταγμένους καὶ ἐς νείκεα ἀπιγμένους
them in place posted and to quarrels having-come
αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους. ὡς γὰρ δὴ παρηγορέοντο τὸν
of-them the first when for indeed exhorted —
Ἀμομφάρετον ὅ τε Εὐρυάναξ καὶ ὁ Παυσανίης μὴ
Amompharetus — both Euryanax and — Pausanias not
κινδυνεύειν μένοντας μούνους Λακεδαιμονίων, οὔ κως
to-run-risk staying alone of-Lacedaemonians not at-all
ἔπειθον, ἐς ὃ ἐς νείκεά τε συμπεσόντες ἀπίκατο
they-persuaded(-him) up-to which into quarrels both having-fallen they-came
καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίστατό σφι ἀπιγμένος.
and the herald of-the Athenians stood-by them having-arrived

νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφοτέρῃσι
quarreling and — Amompharetus takes a-stone with-both
τῇσι χερσὶ καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Παυσανίεω ταύτῃ τῇ
the hands and setting(-it) before feet the of-Pausanias with-this the
ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους, λέγων τοὺς
pebble to-vote he-said not to-flee the strangers meaning the
βαρβάρους. ὁ δὲ μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων
barbarians he and mad and not in-his-right-mind calling
ἐκεῖνον, πρός τε τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κήρυκα ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ
him to both the Athenian herald asking what
ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Παυσανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι
had-been-enjoined to-say — Pausanias bade the present for-them
πρήγματα, ἐχρήιζέ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρῆσαί τε πρὸς
affairs he-begged both the Athenians to-come-over both to
ἑωυτοὺς καὶ ποιέειν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τά περ ἂν καὶ σφεῖς.
themselves and to-do about the withdrawal what indeed — also they(-did)
56 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τοὺς δὲ
and he indeed departed to the Athenians them and
ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς ἠὼς κατελάμβανε, ἐν
since disputing with themselves dawn overtook in
τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Παυσανίης, οὐ δοκέων
this the time sitting — Pausanias not thinking
τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων
— Amompharetus to-be-left-behind the other Lacedaemonians
ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημήνας ἀπῆγε
marching-off which indeed also happened having-given-the-signal led-off
διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εἵποντο δὲ καὶ
through the hillocks the rest all followed and also
Τεγεῆται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἤισαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ
Tegeans Athenians and drawn-up went the opposite(-way) than
Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἳ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο
Lacedaemonians they indeed for the both ridges kept-to

καὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον,
and the foothill — of-Cithaeron fearing the cavalry
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον.
Athenians but down turned into the plain
Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ἀρχήν γε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Παυσανίην 57
Amompharetus and at-all at-least never thinking Pausanias
τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν, περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας
would-dare them to-leave clung there staying
μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν· προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν
not to-leave the post going-ahead and those with
Παυσανίῃ, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰθέῃ τέχνῃ ἀπολείπειν αὐτόν,
Pausanias having-concluded them in-plain craft to-be-leaving him
ἀναλαβόντα τὸν λόχον τὰ ὅπλα ἦγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο
having-taken-up the company the arms he-led at-a-walk to the other
στῖφος· τὸ δὲ ἀπελθὸν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε τὸν
column it and having-gone-off about — ten stades waited-for the
Ἀμομφαρέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα ἱδρυμένον
of-Amompharetus company about river Moloeis having-settled
Ἀργιόπιόν τε χῶρον καλεόμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος
Argiopius and place called where also of-Demeter
Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἥσται. ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα ἢν
Eleusinian a-temple stands it-waited and of-this for-the-sake so-that if
μὴ ἀπολείπῃ τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμομφάρετός
not they-leave the place in which had-been-posted — Amompharetus
τε καὶ ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθέοι ὀπίσω παρ'
both and the company but there stay it-might-help back to
ἐκείνους. καὶ οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον παρεγίνοντό
them and those both about — Amompharetus came-up
σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα. οἱ
to-them and the cavalry the of-the barbarians pressed(-them) all the
γὰρ ἱππόται ἐποίευν οἷον καὶ ἐώθεσαν ποιέειν αἰεί,
for horsemen did as also they-were-accustomed to-do always

ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο οἱ Ἕλληνες
having-seen and the place empty in which had-been-posted the Greeks
τῇσι προτέρῃσι ἡμέρῃσι, ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ
on-the former days they-drove the horses always the(-way)
πρόσω καὶ ἅμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατό σφι.
forward and at-once having-overtaken(-them) pressed them

VI · THE BATTLE OF PLATAEA

Mardonius finds the Greek camp empty, taunts the Thessalian Aleuadae for praising the Spartans, and chases the Greeks as runaways. The Spartans and Tegeans wait until Pausanias prays to Hera and the sacrifices turn favorable; then they charge, and Mardonius dies to Aeimnestus. Artabazus flees with forty thousand. The Athenians breach the stockade where the Persians fled, and the Greeks slaughter them. Herodotus calls Aristodemus the best, though the Spartans withhold honor, and tells of Callicrates.

58 Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποιχομένους
Mardonius and when he-learned the Greeks gone-away
ὑπὸ νύκτα εἶδέ τε τὸν χῶρον ἔρημον, καλέσας τὸν
during night saw both the place deserted having-called the
Λῃρισαῖον Θώρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον
Larissaean Thorax and the brothers of-him Eurypylus
καὶ Θρασυδήιον ἔλεγε “Ὦ παῖδες Ἀλεύεω, ἔτι τί λέξετε
and Thrasydeius said O sons of-Aleuas still what will-you-say
τάδε ὁρῶντες ἔρημα; ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγετε
these(-places) seeing deserted you for the neighbors said
Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας εἶναι
Lacedaemonians not to-flee from battle but men to-be
τὰ πολέμια πρώτους· τοὺς πρότερόν τε μετισταμένους
in-the(-things) of-war first whom before both changing

ἐκ τῆς τάξιος εἴδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην
from the post you-saw now and during the past
νύκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁρῶμεν διαδράντας· διέδεξάν τε, ἐπεί
night also we all see having-run-away they-showed and since
σφεας ἔδεε πρὸς τοὺς ἀψευδέως ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων
them it-was-needful against the truly best of-men
μάχῃ διακριθῆναι, ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἐόντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι
in-battle to-be-tested that nobodies then being among nobodies
ἐοῦσι Ἕλλησι ἐναπεδεικνύατο. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἐοῦσι
being Greeks they-were-distinguishing-themselves and to-you indeed being
Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλὴ ἔκ γε ἐμεῦ ἐγίνετο συγγνώμη,
of-Persians inexperienced much from at-least me was pardon
ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσί τι καὶ συνῃδέατε·
praising these to-whom something also you-were-conscious(-of)
Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην τὸ
of-Artabazus but wonder also more I-made the(-fact)
καὶ καταρρωδῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους καταρρωδήσαντά τε
both to-have-feared Lacedaemonians having-feared and
ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὡς χρεὸν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας
to-have-declared opinion most-cowardly that right were having-broken-camp
τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰέναι ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων ἄστυ πολιορκησομένους·
the camp to-go to the of-Thebans town to-be-besieged
τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ βασιλεὺς πεύσεται. καὶ τούτων μὲν
which still from me king will-learn and of-these indeed
ἑτέρωθι ἔσται λόγος. νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ
elsewhere will-be account now but to-those these-things doing not
ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ καταλαμφθέντες
to-be-allowed is(-it) but to-be-pursued are up-to which overtaken
δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας.”
they-will-pay us for-what indeed they-did Persians all penalties

59 Ταῦτα εἴπας ἦγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ διαβάντας
these-things having-said he-led the Persians at-a-run having-crossed
τὸν Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς δὴ
the Asopus on the-track of-the Greeks as indeed
ἀποδιδρησκόντων, ἐπεῖχέ τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε
running-away he-made-for and against Lacedaemonians both
καὶ Τεγεήτας μούνους· Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς
and Tegeans alone Athenians for having-turned into
τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχθων οὐ κατώρα. Πέρσας δὲ
the plain by the ridges not he-saw Persians and
ὁρῶντες ὁρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ λοιποὶ
seeing having-set-out to-pursue the Greeks the remaining
τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων ἄρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες ἤειραν
of-the barbarian companies leaders at-once all raised
τὰ σημήια, καὶ ἐδίωκον ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστοι εἶχον, οὔτε
the standards and pursued as of-feet each had neither
κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες οὔτε τάξι.
with-order any ordered nor with-rank

60 Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν βοῇ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ ἐπήισαν ὡς
and these indeed with-shout both and throng came-on as
ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας· Παυσανίης δέ, ὡς
about-to-snatch-up the Greeks Pausanias and when
προσέκειτο ἡ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
pressed the cavalry having-sent to the Athenians
ἱππέα λέγει τάδε. “Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγῶνος μεγίστου
a-horseman says this men Athenians contest greatest
προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
lying-before free to-be or enslaved — Greece
προδεδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
we-have-been-betrayed by the allies we both the Lacedaemonians
καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα
and you the Athenians during the past night

διαδράντων. νῦν ὦν δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον
having-run-away now then it-has-been-resolved the from-now what to-be-done
ἡμῖν· ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἄριστα περιστέλλειν
for-us defending-ourselves for as we-can best to-protect
ἀλλήλους. εἰ μέν νυν ἐς ὑμέας ὥρμησε ἀρχὴν ἡ ἵππος,
each-other if indeed then against you had-rushed first the cavalry
χρῆν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα
it-was-needful indeed us both and those with us — Greece
οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας βοηθέειν ὑμῖν· νῦν δέ, ἐς
not betraying Tegeans to-help you now but against
ἡμέας γὰρ ἅπασα κεχώρηκε, δίκαιοι ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν
us for all has-come right are you to the
πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυνέοντες ἰέναι. εἰ
hard-pressed most of-the divisions about-to-defend(-it) to-go if
δ' ἄρα αὐτοὺς ὑμέας καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθέειν,
but then yourselves you has-befallen impossibility any to-help
ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε.
you but to-us the archers having-sent-off favor do
συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον
we-are-conscious and of-you during the present this war
ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοισι, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακούειν."
being by-far most-zealous so-that also these-things to-heed
Ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὁρμέατο βοηθέειν καὶ τὰ 61
these-things the Athenians when they-learned set-out to-help and the
μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν· καί σφι ἤδη στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται
most to-defend(-them) and on-them already marching attack
οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος γενομένων,
those drawn-up-opposite of-Greeks the with king having-been
ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενον
so-that no-longer to-be-able to-help the for pressing
σφέας ἐλύπεε. οὕτω δὴ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ
them distressed so indeed left-alone Lacedaemonians and

Τεγεῆται, ἐόντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οἳ μὲν πεντακισμύριοι
Tegeans being with light-armed in-number the indeed fifty-thousand
Τεγεῆται δὲ τρισχίλιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ
Tegeans and three-thousand these for never separated from
Λακεδαιμονίων), ἐσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίῳ
Lacedaemonians were-sacrificing as about-to-engage Mardonius
καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ παρεούσῃ. καὶ οὐ γάρ σφι ἐγίνετο τὰ
and the army the present and not for to-them were the
σφάγια χρηστά, ἔπιπτον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ
sacrifices favorable fell and of-them in this the time
πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐτρωματίζοντο· φράξαντες γὰρ
many and by-much more were-wounded having-fenced for
τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ
the wicker-shields the Persians let-fly of-the arrows many
ἀφειδέως, οὕτω ὥστε πιεζομένων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ
unsparingly so that being-hard-pressed the Spartans and
τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Παυσανίην
the sacrifices not coming(-right) having-looked — Pausanias
πρὸς τὸ Ἥραιον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν,
toward the Heraeum the of-Plataeans to-call-on the goddess
χρηίζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.
begging in-no-way them to-be-cheated of-the hope
62 Ταῦτα δ' ἔτι τούτου ἐπικαλεομένου προεξαναστάντες
these-things and still him calling-on having-risen-first
πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῆται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους,
first the Tegeans advanced against the barbarians
καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν
and to-the Lacedaemonians at-once after the prayer the
Παυσανίεω ἐγίνετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρηστά· ὡς δὲ
of-Pausanias came sacrificing the sacrifices favorable when and
χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἐχώρεον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας,
in-time at-last it-came advanced also these against the Persians

καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. ἐγίνετο δὲ
and the Persians facing(-them) the bows having-let-go happened and
πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε,
first about the wicker-shields a-fight when and these had-fallen
ἤδη ἐγίνετο ἡ μάχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ᾽ αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον
then was the battle fierce by itself the Demetrium
καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ὠθισμόν·
and time for long up-to which they-came to pushing
τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι.
the for spears seizing broke the barbarians
λήματι μέν νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἥσσονες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι,
in-spirit indeed then and strength not weaker were the Persians
ἄνοπλοι δὲ ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ
without-armor but being and besides unskilled were and not
ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίην, προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ κατ᾽ ἕνα
equal to-the opponents in-skill darting-out and by one
καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι,
and ten and more both and fewer gathering
ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας καὶ διεφθείροντο.
they-fell upon the Spartans and were-destroyed
Τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ᾽ ἵππου τε 63
where and happened himself being Mardonius from a-horse both
μαχόμενος λευκοῦ ἔχων τε περὶ ἑωυτὸν λογάδας Περσέων
fighting white having both about himself picked-men of-Persians
τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους
the best thousand there and also most the opponents
ἐπίεσαν. ὅσον μέν νυν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆν, οἳ
they-pressed as-long-as indeed then time Mardonius survived they
δὲ ἀντεῖχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν
and held-out and defending-themselves struck-down many of-the
Λακεδαιμονίων· ὡς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ
Lacedaemonians when and Mardonius died and the(-band)

περὶ ἐκεῖνον τεταγμένον ἐὸν ἰσχυρότατον ἔπεσε, οὕτω δὴ
about him posted being strongest fell so indeed
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἶξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι.
also the others turned and gave-way to-the Lacedaemonians
πλεῖστον γὰρ σφέας ἐδηλέετο ἡ ἐσθὴς ἔρημος ἐοῦσα ὅπλων·
most for them harmed the dress bare being of-armor
πρὸς γὰρ ὁπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνῆτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο.
against for hoplites being light-armed contest they-made
64 Ἐνθαῦτα ἥ τε δίκη τοῦ Λεωνίδεω κατὰ τὸ
there the both satisfaction — for-Leonidas according-to the
χρηστήριον τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέετο,
oracle to-the Spartans from Mardonius was-paid
καὶ νίκην ἀναιρέεται καλλίστην ἁπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς
and victory wins fairest of-all of-which we
ἴδμεν Παυσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω· τῶν
know Pausanias the (son)-of-Cleombrotus the (son)-of-Anaxandrides of-the
δὲ κατύπερθέ οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται ἐς
and higher his ancestors the names have-been-told for
Λεωνίδην· ὠυτοὶ γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἐόντες. ἀποθνήσκει
Leonidas the-same for to-them happen being dies
δὲ Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Ἀειμνήστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου,
and Mardonius by Aeimnestus a-man in Sparta notable
ὃς χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἄνδρας
who in-time later after the Median(-wars) having men
τριηκοσίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ πολέμου ἐόντος
three-hundred engaged at Stenyclerus war being
Μεσσηνίοισι πᾶσι, καὶ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι.
with-Messenians all and himself both died and the three-hundred
65 Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν
at and Plataea the Persians when they-were-routed by the
Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔφευγον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
Lacedaemonians fled in-no order to the camp

τὸ ἑωυτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον τὸ ἐποιήσαντο ἐν
the of-themselves and to the wall the wooden which they-had-made in
μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαΐδι. θῶμα δέ μοι ὅκως παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος
territory the Theban a-wonder and to-me how by — of-Demeter
τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἷς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε
the grove fighting not-even one appeared of-the Persians neither
ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανών, περί τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ
having-entered into the precinct nor having-died-in(-it) about and the temple the
πλεῖστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον. δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ
most in the unhallowed(-ground) fell I-think and if anything about
τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτή σφεας
the divine affairs to-think one-must the goddess herself them
οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἀνάκτορον.
not received having-burned the temple the at Eleusis shrine
Αὕτη μέν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ 66
this indeed then the battle to so-far went Artabazus and the
Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἠρέσκετο κατ' ἀρχὰς λειπομένου
(son)-of-Pharnaces at-once both not was-pleased at beginning being-left
Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν
Mardonius by king and then much dissuading nothing
ἤνυε, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἐῶν· ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε
he-accomplished to-engage not allowing he-did and himself such(-things)
ὡς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖσι πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου
as not being-pleased with-the affairs the by Mardonius
ποιευμένοισι. τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος (εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν
being-done whom commanded — Artabazus he-had and a-force
οὐκ ὀλίγην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων
not small but even up-to four ten-thousands of-men
περὶ ἑωυτόν), τούτους, ὅκως ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγίνετο, εὖ
about himself these when the engagement was-happening well
ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἔμελλε ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἦγε
knowing what was-about to-turn-out from the battle he-led

κατηρτημένως, παραγγείλας κατὰ τὠυτὸ ἰέναι πάντας
in-order having-ordered in the-same(-way) to-go all
τῇ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγέηται, ὅκως ἂν αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι σπουδῆς
where — he lead however — him they-see haste
ἔχοντα. ταῦτα παραγγείλας ὡς ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν
having these-things having-ordered as to battle he-led seemingly the
στρατόν. προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὥρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας
army being-ahead but on-the road he-saw also indeed fleeing
τοὺς Πέρσας· οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον
the Persians so indeed no-longer in-the same order
κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων οὔτε ἐς
led-the-way but the quickest he-ran fleeing neither to
τὸ ξύλινον οὔτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῖχος ἀλλ' ἐς Φωκέας,
the wooden(-wall) nor to the of-Thebans wall but to Phocians
ἐθέλων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπικέσθαι.
wishing as quickly-as-possible to the Hellespont to-arrive

67 Καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
and indeed these indeed there turned of-the and other
Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος ἐθελοκακεόντων Βοιωτοὶ
Greeks those with king playing-the-coward-on-purpose Boeotians
Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν. οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες
with-Athenians fought time for long the for medizing
τῶν Θηβαίων, οὗτοι εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοί
of-the Thebans these had eagerness not little fighting
τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες, οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν
both and not playing-the-coward-on-purpose so that three-hundred of-them
οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. ὡς
the first and best there fell by Athenians when
δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἔφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας, οὐ τῇ περ
and were-routed also these they-fled to — Thebes not where indeed

οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὅμιλος, οὔτε
the Persians and of-the other allies the whole throng neither
διαμαχεσάμενος οὐδενὶ οὔτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος, ἔφευγον.
having-fought-it-out with-anyone nor anything having-displayed fled
Δηλοῖ τέ μοι ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων 68
shows and to-me that all the affairs of-the barbarians
ἤρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗτοι πρὶν ἢ καὶ
had-hung on Persians if even then these before than even
συμμῖξαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι ἔφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας
to-engage with-the enemy fled because also the Persians
ὥρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἔφευγον πλὴν τῆς ἵππου τῆς τε
they-saw so and all fled except the cavalry the both
ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίης· αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεε
other and the Boeotian it and so-much helped
τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἰεί τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄγχιστα ἐοῦσα
the fleeing always both toward the enemy nearest being
ἀπέργουσά τε τοὺς φιλίους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
keeping-off and the friends fleeing from the Greeks
Οἱ μὲν δὴ νικῶντες εἵποντο τοὺς Ξέρξεω διώκοντές 69
they indeed then conquering followed the of-Xerxes pursuing
τε καὶ φονεύοντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ φόβῳ
both and slaughtering in and this the happening rout
ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι τοῖσι τεταγμένοισι περὶ
it-is-reported to-the other Greeks those posted about
τὸ Ἥραιον καὶ ἀπογενομένοισι τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη
the Heraeum and absent from-the battle that a-battle
τε γέγονε καὶ νικῷεν οἱ μετὰ Παυσανίεω· οἳ δὲ
both has-happened and were-conquering those with Pausanias they and
ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ
having-heard these-things in-no order drawn-up those indeed about
Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν
Corinthians turned through the foothill and the hillocks

τὴν φέρουσαν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος, οἱ
the(-road) leading up straight-to the temple — of-Demeter those
δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλειασίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου
and about Megarians both and Phliasians through the plain
τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων
the smoothest of-the roads when and near the enemy
ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρέες καὶ Φλειάσιοι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ
came the Megarians and Phliasians having-seen them the
τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππόται ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον ἤλαυνον
of-the Thebans horsemen hastening in-no order drove
ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους, τῶν ἱππάρχεε Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ
against them the horses whom commanded Asopodorus the
Τιμάνδρου, ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους,
(son)-of-Timander having-fallen-on and they-laid-low of-them six-hundred
τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατήραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα.
the and rest they-dashed pursuing into — Cithaeron
70 Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι
these indeed then in no account perished the and Persians
καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος, ὡς κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ ξύλινον
and the other throng when they-fled into the wooden
τεῖχος, ἔφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὶν ἢ
wall got-in-first onto the towers having-climbed before than
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι, ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφράξαντο
the Lacedaemonians to-arrive having-climbed and they-fenced
ὡς ἠδυνέατο ἄριστα τὸ τεῖχος· προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν
as they-could best the wall having-come-up and the
Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκεέ σφι τειχομαχίη ἐρρωμενεστέρη.
Lacedaemonians was-set for-them a-wall-fight more-vigorous
ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἳ δ᾽ ἠμύνοντο
as-long-as indeed for were-absent the Athenians they and defended-themselves
καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε
and by-much more had than-the Lacedaemonians as

οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχέειν· ὡς δέ σφι Ἀθηναῖοι
not knowing-how to-fight-at-walls when and to-them Athenians
προσῆλθον, οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο τειχομαχίη καὶ χρόνον
came-up so indeed fierce was the-wall-fight and time
ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ ἐπέβησαν
for long at-last and by-valor both and perseverance mounted
Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τείχεος καὶ ἤριπον· τῇ δὴ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ
Athenians the wall and breached(-it) where indeed poured-in the
Ἕλληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ
Greeks first and entered Tegeans into the wall and
τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ διαρπάσαντες,
the tent the of-Mardonius these were those having-plundered(-it)
τά τε ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵππων
the both other(-things) from it and the manger of-the horses
ἐοῦσαν χαλκέην πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἀξίην. τὴν μέν νυν φάτνην
being bronze all and of-sight worthy the indeed then manger
ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης
this the of-Mardonius dedicated in the temple of-the Alean
Ἀθηναίης Τεγεῆται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὠυτό, ὅσα
Athena Tegeans the and other(-things) to the-same(-place) as-many-as
περ ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι
indeed they-took they-brought for-the Greeks the and barbarians
οὐδὲν ἔτι στῖφος ἐποιήσαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τείχεος, οὐδέ
no longer close-body made having-fallen the wall nor
τις αὐτῶν ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο, ἀλύκταζόν τε οἷα ἐν ὀλίγῳ
anyone of-them of-courage was-mindful they-were-distraught both as in small
χώρῳ πεφοβημένοι τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλημέναι
space terrified both and many ten-thousands shut-up
ἀνθρώπων· παρῆν τε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι φονεύειν οὕτω ὥστε
of-men it-was-possible and for-the Greeks to-slaughter so that
τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, καταδεουσέων τεσσέρων
of-thirty ten-thousands army falling-short-by four

τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφευγε, τῶν λοιπέων μηδὲ τρεῖς
which having Artabazus fled of-the rest not-even three
χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης
thousands survived of-Lacedaemonians and those from Sparta
ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἷς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα,
died the all in the engagement one and ninety
Τεγεητέων δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.
of-Tegeans and sixteen of-Athenians and two and fifty
71 Ἠρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζὸς μὲν ὁ Περσέων, ἵππος
excelled and of-the barbarians foot indeed the of-Persians cavalry
δὲ ἡ Σακέων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος· Ἑλλήνων
and the of-Sacae man and is-said Mardonius of-Greeks
δέ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων,
and good having-proved both Tegeans and Athenians
ὑπερεβάλοντο ἀρετῇ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἄλλῳ μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω
surpassed in-valor Lacedaemonians by-other indeed nothing I-can
ἀποσημήνασθαι (ἅπαντες γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ᾽ ἑωυτοὺς
prove(-it) all for these those against themselves
ἐνίκων), ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον προσηνείχθησαν
conquered that but against the stronger(-part) they-were-brought
καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ
and these overcame and best was by-far
Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, ὃς ἐκ
Aristodemus according-to judgments the our who from
Θερμοπυλέων μοῦνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθεὶς εἶχε ὄνειδος
Thermopylae alone of-the three-hundred saved had reproach
καὶ ἀτιμίην. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἠρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιός τε
and dishonor after and this(-one) excelled Posidonius both
καὶ Φιλοκύων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπαρτιήτης. καίτοι
and Philocyon and Amompharetus the Spartan and-yet
γενομένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος, ἔγνωσαν οἱ
having-arisen talk who was of-them best judged those

παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον
present of-Spartans Aristodemus indeed wishing
φανερῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αἰτίης,
openly to-die because-of the present to-him charge
λυσσῶντά τε καὶ ἐκλείποντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι
raging both and leaving the post deeds to-have-displayed
μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρα
great Posidonius but not wishing to-die a-man
γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· τοσούτῳ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω. ἀλλὰ
to-have-proved good by-so-much this(-one) to-be better but
ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἂν εἴποιεν· οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς
these-things indeed even from-envy — they-might-say these and whom
κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν
I-listed all except Aristodemus of-the having-died in
ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο· Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βουλόμενος
this the battle honored were Aristodemus but wishing
ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην οὐκ ἐτιμήθη.
to-die because-of the before-mentioned charge not was-honored
Οὗτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο. 72
these indeed of-the at Plataea most-famous were
Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ
Callicrates for outside the battle died having-come a-man
κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ
fairest to the camp of-the then Greeks not
μοῦνον αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
only of-themselves Lacedaemonians but also of-the other
Ἑλλήνων· ὅς, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο Παυσανίης, κατήμενος
Greeks who when was-sacrificing Pausanias sitting
ἐν τῇ τάξι ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά. καὶ δὴ
in the post was-wounded by-an-arrow in-the flank and indeed
οἱ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὁ δ' ἐξενηνειγμένος ἐδυσθανάτεέ τε
they indeed fought he and carried-out died-hard both

καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα οὐ μέλειν
and said to Arimnestus a-man Plataean not to-matter
οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι οὐκ
to-him that for — Greece he-dies but that not
ἐχρήσατο τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστί οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον
he-used the hand and that nothing is by-him displayed
ἔργον ἑωυτοῦ ἄξιον προθυμευμένου ἀποδέξασθαι.
deed of-himself worthy being-eager to-display

73 Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμῆσαι Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐτυχίδεω,
of-Athenians and is-said to-have-won-renown Sophanes the (son)-of-Eutychides
ἐκ δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν κοτὲ ἐργασαμένων
from deme Decelea of-Deceleans and those once having-done
ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι
a-deed useful for the all time as themselves Athenians
λέγουσι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδὴν
say when for indeed in-the olden(-time) for of-Helen recovery
Τυνδαρίδαι ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ
Tyndarids invaded into land the Attic with of-army
πλήθεϊ καὶ ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα
a-multitude and drove-out the demes not knowing where
ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἑλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἳ
had-been-hidden — Helen then they-say the Deceleans others
δὲ αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἀχθόμενόν τε τῇ Θησέος ὕβρι καὶ
and himself Decelus vexed both at-the of-Theseus insolence and
δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενόν
fearing for all the of-Athenians land having-explained
σφι τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, τὰς
to-them the whole matter to-have-guided(-them) to the Aphidnae which
δὴ Τιτακὸς ἐὼν αὐτόχθων καταπροδιδοῖ Τυνδαρίδῃσι. τοῖσι
indeed Titacus being native betrays to-Tyndarids to-the
δὲ Δεκελεῦσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελείη τε
and Deceleans in Sparta from this the deed exemption both

καὶ προεδρίη διατελέει ἐς τόδε αἰεὶ ἔτι ἐοῦσα, οὕτω ὥστε
and front-seats continues to this(-day) always still being so that
καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων
even in the war the later many years than-these
γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, σινομένων
happening for-Athenians both and Peloponnesians harming
τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης ἀπέχεσθαι.
the rest-of Attica Lacedaemonians from-Decelea to-keep-off
Τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε 74
of-this the deme being — Sophanes and having-excelled then
Ἀθηναίων διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ
of-Athenians two stories told has the one that from the
ζωστῆρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρεε χαλκέῃ ἁλύσι δεδεμένην
belt of-the corslet he-wore with-a-bronze chain bound
ἄγκυραν σιδηρέην, τὴν ὅκως πελάσειε ἀπικνεόμενος τοῖσι
an-anchor iron which whenever he-drew-near arriving to-the
πολεμίοισι βαλλέσκετο, ἵνα δή μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες
enemy he-would-cast so-that indeed him the enemy sallying
ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινῆσαι μὴ δυναίατο· γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς
from the ranks to-move not might-be-able happening and flight
τῶν ἐναντίων δέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω
of-the opponents it-had-been-resolved the anchor having-taken-up so
διώκειν. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν λόγων
to-pursue this indeed so is-told the but other of-the stories
τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ'
with-the before told disagreeing is-told that on
ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ἐφόρεε
a-shield always running-round and never resting he-bore
ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρέην.
an-anchor and not from the corslet bound iron

75 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Σωφάνεϊ λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένον,
there-is and also another by-Sophanes brilliant deed accomplished
ὅτι περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Αἴγιναν Εὐρυβάτην τὸν
that besieging Athenians Aegina Eurybates the
Ἀργεῖον ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν
Argive man pentathlete from challenge he-slew him
δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνῳ ὕστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἄνδρα
and Sophanes in-time later than-these it-befell a-man
γενόμενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἅμα Λεάγρῳ
having-proved good of-Athenians commanding with Leagrus
τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἠδωνῶν ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ
the (son)-of-Glaucon to-die by Edonians at Datus about
τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον.
the mines the gold fighting

VII · AFTER THE VICTORY

A Coan concubine of a Persian begs Pausanias for protection, and he sends her to Aegina. Lampon urges him to impale Mardonius' body, and he refuses with scorn. The Greeks gather the spoils, dedicate a tenth to the gods, and bury their dead; Pausanias sets a Persian dinner beside a Spartan one to show Mardonius' folly. They besiege Thebes until the medizing leaders are surrendered and executed at Corinth, and Artabazus escapes to Byzantium.

76 Ὡς δὲ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι,
when and for-the Greeks at Plataea had-been-laid-low the barbarians
ἐνθαῦτά σφι ἐπῆλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος· ἣ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθε
there to-them came a-woman deserter she when she-learned
ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
having-perished the Persians and conquering the Greeks
ἐοῦσα παλλακὴ Φαρανδάτεος τοῦ Τεάσπιος ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω,
being concubine of-Pharandates the (son)-of-Teaspis a-man Persian

κοσμησαμένη χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἀμφίπολοι καὶ
having-adorned(-herself) with-gold much both herself and attendants and
ἐσθῆτι τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρεουσέων, καταβᾶσα ἐκ τῆς
with-dress the finest of-those present having-come-down from the
ἁρμαμάξης ἐχώρεε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι
carriage went to the Lacedaemonians still in the slaughter
ἐόντας, ὁρῶσα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα διέποντα Παυσανίην,
being seeing and all those(-things) directing Pausanias
πρότερόν τε τὸ οὔνομα ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ τὴν πάτρην
before both the name knowing-well and the fatherland
ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἔγνω τε τὸν Παυσανίην
as often having-heard(-it) she-recognized both — Pausanias
καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὦ βασιλεῦ
and having-clasped the knees said this O king
Σπάρτης, ῥῦσαί με τὴν ἱκέτιν αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης. σὺ
of-Sparta rescue me the suppliant from-captive slavery you
γὰρ καὶ ἐς τόδε ὤνησας, τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς
for also up-to this(-point) have-helped(-me) these having-destroyed who
οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὄπιν ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν
neither for-spirits nor for-gods regard have I-am and by-race indeed
Κῴη, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω· βίῃ δέ με
Coan daughter and of-Hegetorides the (son)-of-Antagoras by-force and me
λαβὼν ἐν Κῷ εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε.
having-taken in Cos held the Persian he and answers with-these
"Γύναι, θάρσεε καὶ ὡς ἱκέτις καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τούτῳ
woman take-heart both as suppliant and if indeed besides this
τυγχάνεις ἀληθέα λέγουσα καὶ εἶς θυγάτηρ Ἡγητορίδεω
you-happen true(-things) saying and you-are daughter of-Hegetorides
τοῦ Κῴου, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐὼν τῶν
the Coan who to-me guest-friend most happens being of-those
περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων." ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας
about those the places dwelling these-things and having-said

τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι, ὕστερον
then indeed he-entrusted(-her) of-the ephors to-those present later
δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἴγιναν, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴ ἤθελε ἀπικέσθαι.
and sent(-her) to Aegina to which she wished to-go

77 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν τῆς γυναικός, αὐτίκα μετὰ
after and the arrival of-the woman at-once after
ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο Μαντινέες ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι· μαθόντες
these-things came Mantineans on things-accomplished having-learned
δὲ ὅτι ὕστεροι ἥκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν
and that later they-had-come than-the engagement misfortune
ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ἄξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι.
they-made great worthy and they-said to-be themselves to-punish
πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου
learning and the Medes those with Artabazus
φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίης· Λακεδαιμόνιοι
fleeing these they-pursued as-far-as Thessaly Lacedaemonians
δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν. οἳ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς τὴν
but not allowed fleeing(-men) to-pursue they and having-returned to the
ἑωυτῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς
of-themselves(-land) the leaders of-the army banished from the
γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἦκον Ἠλεῖοι, καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ Ἠλεῖοι
land after and Mantineans came Eleans and likewise the Eleans
τοῖσι Μαντινεῦσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο·
to-the Mantineans misfortune having-made departed
ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδίωξαν. τὰ
having-gone-away and also these the leaders banished the(-things)
κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἠλείους τοσαῦτα.
concerning Mantineans indeed and Eleans so-much

78 Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἰγινητέων
at and Plataea in the camp of-the Aeginetans
ἦν Λάμπων Πυθέω, Αἰγινητέων ἐὼν τὰ πρῶτα·
was Lampon (son)-of-Pytheas of-Aeginetans being the first

ὃς ἀνοσιώτατον ἔχων λόγον ἵετο πρὸς Παυσανίην,
who most-unholy having proposal hastened to Pausanias
ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδῇ ἔλεγε τάδε. “ Ὦ παῖ Κλεομβρότου,
having-come and with-haste said this O son of-Cleombrotus
ἔργον ἔργασταί τοι ὑπερφυὲς μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος,
a-deed has-been-done by-you extraordinary in-greatness both and beauty
καί τοι θεὸς παρέδωκε ῥυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλέος
and to-you a-god has-granted having-rescued — Greece glory
καταθέσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. σὺ δὲ
to-lay-up greatest of-Greeks of-whom we know you and
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοισι ποίησον, ὅκως λόγος τε
also the rest the after these do so-that report both
σὲ ἔχῃ ἔτι μέζων καί τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται τῶν
you have still greater and anyone later beware of-the
βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὺς
barbarians not to-begin deeds presumptuous doing against the
Ἕλληνας. Λεωνίδεω γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι
Greeks of-Leonidas for having-died at Thermopylae
Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν
Mardonius both and Xerxes having-cut-off the head
ἀνεσταύρωσαν· τῷ σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδοὺς ἔπαινον
impaled(-it) to-whom you the like paying-back praise
ἕξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων, αὖτις δὲ καὶ
will-have first indeed from all Spartans again and also
πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας
from the other Greeks Mardonius for having-impaled
τετιμωρήσεαι ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδην.”
you-will-have-avenged for uncle the your Leonidas
Ὁ μὲν δοκέων χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε, ὁ δ’ ἀνταμείβετο 79
he indeed thinking to-please said this he but answered
τοῖσιδε. “ Ὦ ξεῖνε Αἰγινῆτα, τὸ μὲν εὐνοέειν τε καὶ
with-these O stranger Aeginetan the indeed being-well-disposed both and

προορᾶν ἄγαμαί σευ, γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς·
foreseeing I-admire of-you of-judgment however you-have-missed good
ἐξαείρας γάρ με ὑψοῦ καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον,
having-exalted for me on-high and the fatherland and the deed
ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρῷ λυμαίνεσθαι,
to the nothing you-cast-down advising a-corpse to-maltreat
καὶ ἢν ταῦτα ποιέω, φὰς ἄμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι· τὰ
and if these-things I-do saying better me to-be-spoken-of which
πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάροισι ποιέειν ἤ περ Ἕλλησι· καὶ
befits rather for-barbarians to-do than indeed for-Greeks even
ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὢν τούτου εἵνεκα
to-those and we-blame I but then of-this for-the-sake
μήτε Αἰγινήτῃσι ἄδοιμι μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται,
neither Aeginetans may-I-please nor those-whom these-things please
ἀποχρᾷ δέ μοι Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἀρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν
it-suffices and for-me Spartans pleasing holy(-things) indeed
ποιέειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν. Λεωνίδῃ δέ, τῷ με
to-do holy(-things) and also to-say Leonidas but whom me
κελεύεις τιμωρῆσαι, φημὶ μεγάλως τετιμωρῆσθαι, ψυχῇσί
you-bid to-avenge I-say greatly to-have-been-avenged by-lives
τε τῇσι τῶνδε ἀναριθμήτοισι τετίμηται αὐτός τε καὶ
both the of-these countless has-been-honored himself both and
οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τελευτήσαντες. σὺ μέντοι
the others the at Thermopylae having-ended you however
ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μήτε προσέλθῃς ἔμοιγε μήτε
still having proposal such neither come to-me nor
συμβουλεύσῃς, χάριν τε ἴσθι ἐὼν ἀπαθής."
advise thanks and know being unharmed
80 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο. Παυσανίης δὲ
he indeed these-things having-heard departed Pausanias and
κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἅπτεσθαι τῆς ληίης,
a-proclamation having-made no-one to-touch the spoil

συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἵλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οἳ δὲ
to-gather he-bade the helots the goods they and
ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι εὕρισκον σκηνὰς
throughout the camp scattering found tents
κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους
furnished with-gold and silver couches both gilded
καὶ ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆράς τε χρυσέους καὶ φιάλας τε
and silvered bowls both golden and saucers both
καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα· σάκκους τε ἐπ᾽ ἁμαξέων εὕρισκον,
and other drinking-cups sacks and on wagons they-found
ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεόντες χρύσεοί τε καὶ
in which cauldrons appeared being golden both and
ἀργύρεοι· ἀπό τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψέλιά
silver from and the lying corpses they-stripped bracelets
τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἐόντας χρυσέους,
both and necklaces and the scimitars being golden
ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδείς. ἐνθαῦτα
since of-dress at-least embroidered account was none there
πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας οἱ
many indeed stealing they-sold to the Aeginetans the
εἵλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐκ
helots many but also they-showed as-many-as of-them not
οἷά τε ἦν κρύψαι· ὥστε Αἰγινήτῃσι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι
possible — was to-hide so-that for-Aeginetans the great riches
ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένοντο, οἳ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν
beginning thence became who the gold as being bronze
δῆθεν παρὰ τῶν εἱλώτων ὠνέοντο.
seemingly from the helots bought
Συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες 81
having-brought-together and the goods and a-tenth having-set-apart
τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ᾽ ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος
for-the at Delphi god from which the tripod the golden

ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου ὄφιος τοῦ χαλκέου
was-dedicated the(-one) on the three-headed serpent the bronze
ἑπεστεὼς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῷ
standing nearest the altar and for-the at Olympia god
ἐξελόντες, ἀπ᾽ ἧς δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία ἀνέθηκαν,
having-set-apart(-a-tenth) from which ten-cubit bronze Zeus they-dedicated
καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῷ, ἀπ᾽ ἧς ἑπτάπηχυς χάλκεος
and for-the at Isthmus god from which seven-cubit bronze
Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο,
Poseidon was-made these having-set-apart the rest they-divided
καὶ ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς
and took each what worthy they-were and the concubines
τῶν Περσέων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἄλλα
of-the Persians and the gold and silver and other
χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποζύγια. ὅσα μέν νυν ἐξαίρετα
goods both and yoke-beasts how-much indeed then as-special-awards
τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται
to-those having-excelled of-them at Plataea was-given not is-told
πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκέω δ᾽ ἔγωγε καὶ τούτοισι δοθῆναι·
by any I-think but I also to-these to-have-been-given
Παυσανίῃ δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες
to-Pausanias and all ten were-set-apart both and were-given women
ἵπποι τάλαντα κάμηλοι, ὡς δὲ αὕτως καὶ τἆλλα χρήματα.
horses talents camels so and likewise also the-other goods
82 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ὡς Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ
is-told and also this to-have-happened that Xerxes fleeing from
τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν κατασκευὴν καταλίποι τὴν
— Greece to-Mardonius the equipment left the
ἑωυτοῦ· Παυσανίην ὦν ὁρῶντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν
of-himself Pausanias then seeing the of-Mardonius equipment
χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοισι
with-gold both and silver and hangings embroidered

κατεσκευασμένην, κελεῦσαι τούς τε ἀρτοκόπους καὶ
furnished to-have-bidden the both bakers and
τοὺς ὀψοποιοὺς κατὰ ταὐτὰ καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ δεῖπνον
the cooks in the-same(-way) as for-Mardonius dinner
παρασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ κελευόμενοι οὗτοι ἐποίευν ταῦτα,
to-prepare when and being-bidden these did these-things
ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Παυσανίην ἰδόντα κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ
there — Pausanias having-seen couches both golden and
ἀργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένας καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ
silver well spread and tables both golden and
ἀργυρέας καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου,
silver and preparation magnificent of-the dinner
ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ κελεῦσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι
amazed-at the(-things) set-before(-him) good to-have-bidden for laughter
τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον.
the of-himself servants to-prepare a-Laconian dinner
ὡς δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον,
when and the feast having-been-made was great the difference
τὸν Παυσανίην γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων
— Pausanias having-laughed to-have-sent-for of-the Greeks
τοὺς στρατηγούς, συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων εἰπεῖν τὸν
the generals having-come-together and these to-have-said —
Παυσανίην, δεικνύντα ἐς ἑκατέρην τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευήν,
Pausanias pointing to each of-the dinner preparation
“ Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνήγαγον,
men Greeks of-these for-the-sake I you gathered
βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦδε τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην
wishing to-you of-this the of-Medes leader the folly
δέξαι, ὃς τοιήνδε δίαιταν ἔχων ἦλθε ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω
to-show who such way-of-life having came against us so

ὀϊζυρὴν ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος.” ταῦτα μὲν Παυσανίην
wretched having to-rob(-us) these-things indeed Pausanias
λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
is-said to-have-said to the generals of-the Greeks

83 Ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων
at-later however time after these-things also of-the Plataeans
εὗρον συχνοὶ θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
found many chests of-gold and silver and of-the other
χρημάτων. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τόδε ὕστερον τούτων ἐπὶ τῶν
goods appeared and also this later than-these on the
νεκρῶν περιψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας· συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ
corpses having-been-stripped (of)-the flesh brought-together for the
ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐς ἕνα χῶρον· εὑρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ
bones the Plataeans into one place was-found a-skull not
ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐοῦσα ὀστέου, ἐφάνη
having suture any but of one being bone appeared
δὲ καὶ γνάθος κατὰ τὸ ἄνω τῆς γνάθου ἔχουσα ὀδόντας
and also a-jaw in the upper(-part) of-the jaw having teeth
μουνοφυέας ἐξ ἑνὸς ὀστέου πάντας τούς τε προσθίους
grown-in-one-piece from one bone all the both front
καὶ γομφίους, καὶ πενταπήχεος ἀνδρὸς ὀστέα ἐφάνη.
and molars and of-a-five-cubit man bones appeared

84 Ἐπείτε δὲ Μαρδονίου δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο,
when and of-Mardonius on-the-second day the corpse had-vanished
ὑπὸ ὅτευ μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀτρεκὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν,
by what indeed of-men the exact(-truth) not I-can say
πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἤδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἤκουσα θάψαι
many and some already and of-all-sorts I-have-heard to-have-buried
Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς
Mardonius and gifts great I-know having-received many
παρὰ Ἀρτόντεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον·
from Artontes the of-Mardonius son for this the deed

ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας
who however was of-them the(-one) having-taken-up both and having-buried
τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδονίου, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι,
the corpse the of-Mardonius not I-can exactly learn
ἔχει δὲ τινὰ φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος
has and some report also Dionysophanes a-man Ephesian
θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ᾽ ὃ μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτάφη.
to-have-buried Mardonius but he indeed in-way such was-buried
Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν ληίην διείλοντο, 85
the and Greeks when at Plataea the spoil had-divided
ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἑωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν
buried the of-themselves apart each Lacedaemonians indeed
τριξὰς ἐποιήσαντο θήκας· ἔνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρένας ἔθαψαν,
three made graves there indeed the irens they-buried
τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων
of-whom also Posidonius and Amompharetus were and Philocyon
τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἑνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ
both and Callicrates in indeed then one of-the graves were the
ἱρένες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ
irens in and the other the other Spartans in and the third
οἱ εἵλωτες. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον, Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς
the helots these indeed so buried Tegeans and apart
πάντας ἀλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ὁμοῦ, καὶ Μεγαρέες
all in-a-body and Athenians the of-themselves together and Megarians
τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας. τούτων
both and Phliasians those by the cavalry destroyed of-these
μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεες ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
indeed then all full became the graves of-the and others
ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐόντες τάφοι, τούτους
as-many-as also appear at Plataea being graves these
δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπαισχυνομένους τῇ ἀπεστοῖ τῆς
and as I learn ashamed at-the absence from-the

μάχης ἑκάστους χώματα χῶσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων
battle each mounds to-have-heaped empty of-the coming-after
εἵνεκεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἰγινητέων ἐστὶ αὐτόθι
for-the-sake men since also of-Aeginetans is there
καλεόμενος τάφος, τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ὕστερον
a-so-called grave which I hear even ten years later
μετὰ ταῦτα δεηθέντων τῶν Αἰγινητέων χῶσαι Κλεάδην
after these-things asking the Aeginetans to-have-heaped Cleades
τὸν Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόξεινον ἐόντα αὐτῶν.
the (son)-of-Autodicus a-man Plataean proxenus being of-them
86 Ὡς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι οἱ
when and then they-had-buried the corpses at Plataea the
Ἕλληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισί σφι ἐδόκεε στρατεύειν
Greeks at-once deliberating to-them it-seemed-good to-march
ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας καὶ ἐξαιτέειν αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν
against — Thebes and to-demand of-them those having-medized among
πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμηγενίδην καὶ Ἀτταγῖνον, οἳ ἀρχηγέται
first and of-them Timegenides and Attaginus who ringleaders
ἀνὰ πρώτους ἦσαν· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι
among the-first were if but not they-give-up not to-withdraw
ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι. ὡς δέ σφι ταῦτα
from the city before than they-take(-it) when and to-them these-things
ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς
seemed-good so indeed on-the-eleventh day from the engagement
ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θηβαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς
having-come they-besieged Thebans bidding(-them) to-give-up the
ἄνδρας· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι, τήν
men not wishing and the Thebans to-give-up the
τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος.
both land of-them they-laid-waste and attacked against the wall

Καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύοντο σινόμενοι, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε 87
and not for they-ceased harming on-the-twentieth day spoke
τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι Τιμηγενίδης τάδε. "Ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι,
to-the Thebans Timegenides this men Thebans
ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, μὴ πρότερον
since so it-has-been-resolved by-the Greeks not before
ἀπαναστῆναι πολιορκέοντας ἢ ἐξέλωσι Θήβας ἢ ἡμέας
to-withdraw besieging than they-take Thebes or us
αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, νῦν ὦν ἡμέων εἵνεκα γῆ ἡ Βοιωτίη
to-them you-give-up now then of-us for-the-sake land the Boeotian
πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηίζοντες
more not let-it-suffer but if indeed of-money wanting
πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἐξαιτέονται, χρήματά σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ
as-pretext us they-demand money to-them let-us-give from the
κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν οὐδὲ μοῦνοι
treasury with for the commonwealth also we-medized nor alone
ἡμεῖς), εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθέως δεόμενοι πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς
we if but us truly needing they-besiege we
ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην παρέξομεν." κάρτα τε ἔδοξε
us themselves for defense we-shall-offer very and it-seemed
εὖ λέγειν καὶ ἐς καιρόν, αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς
well to-speak and to the-purpose at-once and sent-heralds to
Παυσανίην οἱ Θηβαῖοι θέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας.
Pausanias the Thebans wishing to-give-up the men
Ὡς δὲ ὡμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοισι, Ἀτταγῖνος μὲν ἐκδιδρήσκει 88
when and they-agreed on these(-terms) Attaginus indeed runs-away
ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Παυσανίης
from the town sons and his led-off Pausanias
ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίης, φὰς τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παῖδας οὐδὲν
released from-the charge saying of-the medism sons not-at-all
εἶναι μεταιτίους. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν οἱ
to-be partly-guilty the but other men whom gave-up the

Θηβαῖοι, οἳ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης τε κυρήσειν καὶ δὴ
Thebans they indeed thought a-hearing both to-get and indeed
χρήμασι ἐπεποίθεσαν διωθέεσθαι· ὃ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ
in-money they-trusted to-get-off he but when he-received(-them) very
ταῦτα ὑπονοέων τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἅπασαν
these-things suspecting the army the of-the allies all
ἀπῆκε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε.
he-dismissed and them having-led to Corinth he-put-to-death
ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ Θήβῃσι γενόμενα.
these-things indeed the(-things) at Plataea and Thebes having-happened
89 Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων
Artabazus and the (son)-of-Pharnaces fleeing from Plataea
καὶ δὴ πρόσω ἐγίνετο. ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ
also indeed far-on was-getting having-arrived and him the Thessalians
παρὰ σφέας ἐπί τε ξείνια ἐκάλεον καὶ ἀνειρώτων περὶ
to them to both a-banquet invited and asked about
τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν
the army the other nothing knowing of-the(-things) at
Πλαταιῇσι γενομένων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνοὺς ὅτι
Plataea having-happened — but Artabazus having-recognized that
εἰ ἐθέλει σφι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν,
if he-is-willing to-them all the truth of-the contests to-tell
αὐτός τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ στρατός·
himself both will-be-in-danger to-perish and the with him army
ἐπιθήσεσθαι γάρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἴετο πυνθανόμενον
would-attack for him every one he-thought learning
τὰ γεγονότα. ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς
the(-things) having-happened these-things reckoning neither to the
Φωκέας ἐξηγόρευε οὐδὲν πρός τε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγε
Phocians revealed anything to and the Thessalians said
τάδε. “ Ἐγὼ μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ἐπείγομαί
this I indeed O men Thessalians as you-see hasten

τε κατὰ τάχος ἐλῶν ἐς Θρηίκην καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω,
both with speed marching into Thrace and haste have
πεμφθεὶς κατά τι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ
having-been-sent for some business from the camp with
τῶνδε· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ,
these himself and for-you Mardonius and the army of-him
οὗτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμος ἐστί.
this(-man) on heels mine marching expected is
τοῦτον καὶ ξεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γὰρ
this(-man) both entertain and well doing appear not for
ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῦσι μεταμελήσει." ταῦτα δὲ
to-you in time these-things doing it-will-cause-regret these-things and
εἴπας ἀπήλαυνε σπουδῇ τὴν στρατιὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίης
having-said he-marched-away with-haste the army through Thessaly
τε καὶ Μακεδονίης ἰθὺ τῆς Θρηίκης, ὡς ἀληθέως
both and Macedonia straight-for — of-Thrace as truly
ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ
hastening and the inland cutting of-the road and
ἀπικνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον, καταλιπὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ
arrives at Byzantium having-left of-the army the
ἑωυτοῦ συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηίκων κατακοπέντας κατ' ὁδὸν καὶ
of-himself many by Thracians cut-down on the-way and
λιμῷ συστάντας καὶ καμάτῳ· ἐκ Βυζαντίου δὲ διέβη
by-famine overcome and by-weariness from Byzantium and he-crossed
πλοίοισι. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.
in-boats this(-man) indeed so returned to — Asia

Samian envoys urge the Greek fleet at Delos to sail, and Hegesistratus' name is taken as an omen. The seer Deiphonus' father, Evenius, was blinded and recompensed by the Apolloniates. The Persians beach their ships at Mycale. Leutychides calls on the Ionians to remember freedom, and a rumor of Plataea runs through the Greek camp. The Greeks storm the stockade, the Samians and Milesians turn on the Persians, and Ionia revolts. The islanders join the alliance; on the march home Xenagoras throws Artayntes down when he rushes at Masistes.

90 Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆς περ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὸ τρῶμα
on-the and same day on-which indeed at Plataea the disaster
ἐγένετο, συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῆς Ἰωνίης.
happened it-chanced to-happen also at Mycale — of-Ionia
ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇσι
when for indeed at — Delos were-sitting the Greeks those in the
νηυσὶ ἅμα Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἦλθόν
ships with Leotychides the Lacedaemonian having-come came
σφι ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Λάμπων τε Θρασυκλέος καὶ
to-them messengers from Samos Lampon both (son)-of-Thrasycles and
Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεω καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρεω,
Athenagoras (son)-of-Archestratides and Hegesistratus (son)-of-Aristagoras
πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάθρῃ τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ
sent by Samians secretly from-the both Persians and the
τυράννου Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος, τὸν κατέστησαν
tyrant Theomestor the (son)-of-Androdamas whom had-set-up
Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι. ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ
of-Samos tyrant the Persians having-come and they before
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε Ἡγησίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα,
the generals said Hegesistratus much and of-all-sorts
ὡς ἢν μοῦνον ἴδωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἴωνες ἀποστήσονται ἀπὸ
that if only they-see them the Ionians they-will-revolt from

Περσέων, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι· ἢν δὲ καὶ ἄρα
Persians and that the barbarians not will-stand if but even then
ὑπομείνωσι, οὐκ ἑτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην εὑρεῖν ἂν αὐτούς·
they-stand not another prey such would-find — they
θεούς τε κοινοὺς ἀνακαλέων προέτραπε αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι
gods both common calling-on he-urged them to-rescue
ἄνδρας Ἕλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμῦναι τὸν βάρβαρον·
men Greek from slavery and to-ward-off the barbarian
εὐπετές τε αὐτοῖσι ἔφη ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τάς τε γὰρ νέας
easy both for-them he-said these-things to-be the both for ships
αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιομάχους κείνοισι εἶναι. αὐτοί
of-them badly sail and not a-match for-them to-be themselves
τε, εἴ τι ὑποπτεύουσι μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν, ἕτοιμοι
both if anything they-suspect lest by-guile them they-lead-on ready
εἶναι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῇσι ἐκείνων ἀγόμενοι ὅμηροι εἶναι.
to-be in the ships the of-those carried hostages to-be
Ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἴρετο 91
when and earnest was entreating the stranger the Samian asked
Λευτυχίδης, εἴτε κληδόνος εἵνεκεν θέλων πυθέσθαι εἴτε
Leotychides whether of-omen for-the-sake wishing to-learn or
καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ ποιεῦντος, "Ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε,
also by chance a-god doing(-it) O stranger Samian
τί τοι τὸ οὔνομα;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ἡγησίστρατος." ὁ
what to-you the name he and said Hegesistratus he
δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον, εἴ τινα ὥρμητο
and having-snatched-up the remaining speech if any he-had-begun
λέγειν ὁ Ἡγησίστρατος, εἶπε "Δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν τὸν
to-say — Hegesistratus said I-accept the omen the
Ἡγησιστράτου, ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε. σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποίεε ὅκως αὐτός
of-Hegesistratus O stranger Samian you but for-us do so-that yourself

τε δοὺς πίστιν ἀποπλεύσεαι καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἐόντες
both having-given pledge you-will-sail-away and those with you being
οἵδε, ἢ μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προθύμους ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους."
these truly indeed Samians for-us zealous to-be allies
92 Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε. αὐτίκα
these-things both at-once he-spoke and the deed brought-on at-once
γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὅρκια ἐποιεῦντο συμμαχίης
for the Samians pledge both and oaths made of-alliance
πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες οἳ
about with the Greeks these-things and having-done they
μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν
indeed sailed-away with them for he-bade to-sail —
Ἡγησίστρατον, οἰωνὸν τὸ οὔνομα ποιεύμενος.
Hegesistratus an-omen the name making
93 Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπισχόντες ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην τῇ ὑστεραίῃ
the and Greeks having-waited this the day on-the next-day
ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαντευομένου σφι Δηιφόνου τοῦ Εὐηνίου
obtained-good-omens divining for-them Deiphonus the (son)-of-Evenius
ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιήτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ
a-man Apolloniate of-Apollonia and the in the Ionian
κόλπῳ. τούτου τὸν πατέρα Εὐήνιον κατέλαβε πρῆγμα
gulf of-this-one the father Evenius befell an-affair
τοιόνδε. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἱρὰ ἡλίου πρόβατα,
such-as-this there-are in — Apollonia this sacred of-the-sun sheep
τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ Χῶνα ποταμόν, ὃς
which the indeed days graze by Chon river which
ἐκ Λάκμονος ὄρεος ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρης ἐς
from Lacmon mountain flows through the Apollonian land to
θάλασσαν παρ' Ὥρικον λιμένα, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιρημένοι
sea by Oricus harbor the but nights chosen
ἄνδρες οἱ πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένεϊ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν,
men those in-wealth both and birth most-notable of-the townsmen

οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ
these guard a-year each of much for indeed
ποιεῦνται Ἀπολλωνιῆται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπροπίου
make Apolloniates the sheep these from oracle
τινός· ἐν δὲ ἄντρῳ αὐλίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἑκάς. ἔνθα
some in and a-cave they-are-folded from the city far there
δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε. καὶ
indeed then — Evenius this chosen kept-guard and
κοτὲ αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος φυλακὴν παρελθόντες λύκοι
once him having-slept-through the-watch having-come-in wolves
ἐς τὸ ἄντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἑξήκοντα.
into the cave killed of-the sheep about sixty
ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπήισε, εἶχε σιγῇ καὶ ἔφραζε οὐδενί, ἐν νόῳ
he and when he-perceived kept(-it) in-silence and told no-one in mind
ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πριάμενος. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε
having to-replace(-them) others having-bought and not for escaped
τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γενόμενα, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐπύθοντο,
the Apolloniates these-things having-happened but when they-learned
ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν, ὡς τὴν
having-brought him before a-court they-condemned(-him) as the
φυλακὴν κατακοιμήσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος στερηθῆναι. ἐπείτε
watch having-slept-through of-the sight to-be-deprived when
δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε
and — Evenius they-blinded at-once after these-things neither
πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῆ ἔφερε ὁμοίως καρπόν.
flocks for-them bore nor land brought-forth alike fruit
πρόφαντα δέ σφι ἔν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγίνετο,
prophecies and to-them at both Dodona and at Delphi were-given
ἐπείτε ἐπειρώτων τοὺς προφήτας τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρεόντος
when they-asked the prophets the cause of-the present
κακοῦ, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον
evil they and them told that unjustly the guardian

τῶν ἱρῶν προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστέρησαν· αὐτοὶ
of-the sacred sheep Evenius of-the sight they-had-deprived themselves
γὰρ ἐπορμῆσαι τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι
for to-have-set-on the wolves not before and to-cease
τιμωρέοντες ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ δίκας δῶσι τῶν ἐποίησαν
avenging that(-man) before than satisfaction they-give for-what they-did
ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτὸς ἕληται καὶ δικαιοῖ· τούτων δὲ
these which — he choose and judge-right these and
τελεομένων αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐηνίῳ δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν
being-done themselves to-give to-Evenius gift such which
πολλούς μιν μακαριεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα.
many him would-call-blessed of-men having(-it)

94 Τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτά σφι ἐχρήσθη, οἱ δὲ Ἀπολλωνιῆται
the indeed oracles these to-them were-given the and Apolloniates
ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι προέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι
secret having-made(-them) charged of-the townsmen men
διαπρῆξαι. οἳ δέ σφι διέπρηξαν ὧδε· κατημένου Εὐηνίου
to-manage(-it) they and for-them managed thus sitting Evenius
ἐν θώκῳ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους
on a-seat having-come to-him they-sat-beside(-him) and talk other
ἐποιεῦντο, ἐς ὃ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθεϊ·
made up-to which they-came-down sympathizing with-the misfortune
ταύτῃ δὲ ὑπάγοντες εἰρώτων τίνα δίκην ἂν ἕλοιτο,
this-way and leading-on they-asked what satisfaction — he-would-choose
εἰ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιῆται δίκας ὑποστῆναι δώσειν τῶν
if were-willing Apolloniates satisfaction to-undertake to-give for-what
ἐποίησαν. ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἀκηκοὼς τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἵλετο εἴπας εἴ
they-did he and not having-heard the oracle chose having-said if
τις οἱ δοίη ἀγρούς, τῶν ἀστῶν ὀνομάσας τοῖσι ἠπίστατο
anyone to-him gave lands of-the townsmen having-named those he-knew
εἶναι καλλίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ, καὶ
to-be finest two estates of-those in — Apollonia and

οἴκησιν πρὸς τούτοισι τὴν ᾔδεε καλλίστην ἐοῦσαν τῶν
a-house besides these which he-knew finest being of-those
ἐν πόλι· τούτων δὲ ἔφη ἐπήβολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ
in the-city of-these and he-said possessed having-become for-the future
ἀμήνιτος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχρᾶν γενομένην.
free-of-wrath to-be and satisfaction to-him this to-suffice having-been-given
καὶ ὃ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, οἳ δὲ πάρεδροι εἶπαν ὑπολαβόντες
and he indeed these-things said those and sitting-beside said taking-up(-the-word)
"Εὐήνιε, ταύτην δίκην Ἀπολλωνιῆται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος
Evenius this satisfaction Apolloniates for-the blinding
ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα." ὃ μὲν
pay to-you according-to oracles the having-been-given he indeed
δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα δεινὰ ἐποίεε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος τὸν
then at these-things terrible thought(-it) the thereupon having-learned the
πάντα λόγον, ὡς ἐξαπατηθείς· οἳ δὲ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν
whole story as having-been-deceived they and having-bought from the
ἐκτημένων διδοῦσί οἱ τὰ εἵλετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα
possessors give to-him what he-chose and after these-things at-once
ἔμφυτον μαντικὴν εἶχε, ὥστε καὶ ὀνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.
inborn prophetic(-art) he-had so-that also famous to-become
Τούτου δὴ ὁ Δηίφονος ἐὼν παῖς τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀγόντων 95
of-this-one indeed — Deiphonus being son the of-Evenius leading(-him)
Κορινθίων ἐμαντεύετο τῇ στρατιῇ. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τόδε
Corinthians divined for-the army already and also this
ἤκουσα, ὡς ὁ Δηίφονος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου οὐνόματος
I-have-heard that — Deiphonus usurping the of-Evenius name
ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἐὼν Εὐηνίου παῖς.
undertook throughout — Greece works not being of-Evenius son
Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς 96
to-the and Greeks when it-was-favorable they-put-out the ships from —
Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμίης πρὸς
Delos toward — Samos when and they-were of-the Samian(-land) at

Καλαμίσοισι, οἳ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὁρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἥραιον
Calami they indeed there having-anchored by the Heraeum
τὸ ταύτῃ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίην, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι
the there prepared for sea-fight the and Persians
πυθόμενοι σφέας προσπλέειν ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς
having-learned them sailing-toward(-them) put-out also themselves toward
τὴν ἤπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκαν
the mainland the ships the others those but of-Phoenicians they-let
ἀποπλέειν. βουλευομένοισι γάρ σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίην
to-sail-away deliberating for to-them it-seemed(-good) a-sea-fight
μὴ ποιέεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἐδόκεον ὅμοιοι εἶναι. ἐς δὲ τὴν
not to-make not for then they-thought equal to-be to and the
ἤπειρον ἀπέπλεον, ὅκως ἔωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν
mainland they-sailed-away so-that they-might-be under the land army
τὸν σφέτερον ἐόντα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ, ὃς κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω
the their-own being at — Mycale which having-ordered Xerxes
καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ Ἰωνίην ἐφύλασσε·
left-behind from-the rest army Ionia guarded
τοῦ πλῆθος μὲν ἦν ἓξ μυριάδες, ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτοῦ
of-which number indeed was six ten-thousands commanded and it
Τιγράνης κάλλεϊ καὶ μεγάθεϊ ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ
Tigranes in-beauty and stature surpassing Persians under
τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ
this indeed then the army planned having-fled-for-refuge the
τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοὶ ἀνειρύσαι τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι
of-the navy generals to-haul-up the ships and to-throw-around
ἔρκος ἔρυμά τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον.
a-fence a-defense both of-the ships and of-them themselves a-refuge
97 Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνήγοντο. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ παρὰ
these-things having-planned they-put-to-sea having-come and by
τὸ τῶν Ποτνιέων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαίσωνά τε
the of-the Potniae temple — of-Mycale to Gaeson both

καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρόν, τὸ
and Scolopoeis where of-Demeter Eleusinian a-temple(-is) which
Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἱδρύσατο Νείλεῳ τῷ Κόδρου
Philistus the (son)-of-Pasicles founded Neileus the (son)-of-Codrus
ἐπισπόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστύν, ἐνθαῦτα τάς τε νέας
having-followed for of-Miletus founding there the both ships
ἀνείρυσαν καὶ περιεβάλοντο ἕρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων,
they-hauled-up and threw-around a-fence both of-stones and of-timbers
δένδρεα ἐκκόψαντες ἥμερα, καὶ σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἕρκος
trees having-cut-down cultivated and stakes about the fence
κατέπηξαν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς
fixed and they-had-prepared as about-to-be-besieged and as
νικήσοντες, ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο,
about-to-conquer for both(-chances) reckoning for they-prepared
Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκότας τοὺς βαρβάρους 98
the and Greeks when they-learned gone the barbarians
ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον, ἤχθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφευγότων ἀπορίῃ τε
to the mainland were-vexed as having-escaped by-perplexity and
εἴχοντο ὅ τι ποιέωσι, εἴτε ἀπαλλάσσωνται ὀπίσω εἴτε
were-held what ever they-should-do whether they-should-depart back or
καταπλέωσι ἐπ᾽ Ἑλλησπόντου. τέλος δὲ ἔδοξε τούτων
sail-down to Hellespont at-last and it-seemed-good of-these
μὲν μηδέτερα ποιέειν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἤπειρον.
indeed neither to-do to-sail-against and to the mainland
παρασκευασάμενοι ὦν ἐς ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ
having-prepared then for sea-fight both gangways and
ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐπεὶ δὲ
other(-things) as-many-as it-was-needful they-sailed to — Mycale when and
ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι
near both they-came to-the camp and no-one appeared to-them
ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὥρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ
putting-out-against(-them) but they-saw ships hauled-up within the

τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν,
wall much and foot drawn-up along the beach
ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηὶ παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμψας τῷ
there first indeed in the ship sailing-along having-come-close to-the
αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε
beach the most Leotychides by a-herald proclaimed
τοῖσι Ἴωσι λέγων "Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οἳ ὑμέων τυγχάνουσι
to-the Ionians saying men Ionians those of-you happen
ἐπακούοντες, μάθετε τὰ λέγω· πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνήσουσι
hearing learn what I-say altogether for nothing will-understand
Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐντέλλομαι. ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν,
Persians of-what I to-you enjoin when we-engage
μεμνῆσθαι τινὰ χρὴ ἐλευθερίης μὲν πάντων πρῶτον,
to-remember everyone it-is-needful of-freedom indeed of-all first
μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος Ἥβης. καὶ τάδε ἴστω καὶ ὁ
after and the watchword Hebe and this let-him-know also the(-one)
μὴ ἀκούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἀκούσαντος." ὡυτὸς δὲ οὗτος
not having-heard of-you from the(-one) having-heard the-same and this
ἐὼν τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος
being happens the-intent of-the action and the of-Themistocles
ὁ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ· ἢ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς
the at Artemisium either for indeed escaping-notice the words the
βαρβάρους ἔμελλε τοὺς Ἴωνας πείσειν, ἢ ἔπειτα ἀνενειχθέντα
barbarians were-about the Ionians to-persuade or then reported
ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιήσειν ἀπίστους τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.
to the barbarians to-make untrustworthy to-the Greeks
99 Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίευν
Leotychides and these-things having-suggested second indeed this did
οἱ Ἕλληνες· προσσχόντες τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν
the Greeks having-brought-to-land the ships they-disembarked onto the
αἰγιαλόν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον
beach and these indeed were-drawn-up the and Persians when they-saw

τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖσι Ἴωσι
the Greeks preparing for battle and the Ionians
παραινέσαντας, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σαμίους
having-exhorted this indeed having-suspected the Samians
τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονέειν ἀπαιρέονται τὰ ὅπλα. οἱ γὰρ ὦν
the(-cause) of-Greeks to-favor take-away the arms the for then
Σάμιοι ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῶν
Samians having-come Athenian captives in the ships of-the
βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους
barbarians whom took throughout — Attica left-behind
οἱ Ξέρξεω, τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι
those of-Xerxes these having-ransomed all send-off
ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς Ἀθήνας· τῶν εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἥκιστα
having-supplied-for-the-journey to Athens for-which for-the-sake not least
ὑποψίην εἶχον, πεντακοσίας κεφαλὰς τῶν Ξέρξεω πολεμίων
suspicion they-had five-hundred heads of-the of-Xerxes enemies
λυσάμενοι. τοῦτο δὲ τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς
having-ransomed this and the passes the to the peaks
τῆς Μυκάλης φερούσας προστάσσουσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι
— of-Mycale leading they-assign to-the Milesians
φυλάσσειν ὡς ἐπισταμένοισι δῆθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώρην.
to-guard as knowing seemingly best the land
ἐποίευν δὲ τοῦτο τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου
they-did and this of-this for-the-sake so-that outside the camp
ἔωσι. τούτους μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον
they-might-be these indeed of-Ionians whom also they-supposed
νεοχμὸν ἄν τι ποιέειν δυνάμιος ἐπιλαβομένοισι,
new(-thing) — something to-do power having-got
τρόποισι τοιούτοισι προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ
in-ways such guarded-against-beforehand the Persians themselves and
συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἕρκος εἶναι σφίσι.
brought-together the wicker-shields a-fence to-be for-themselves

100 Ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεσκευάδατο τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, προσήισαν
when and then it-had-been-prepared by-the Greeks they-advanced
πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἰοῦσι δέ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο
against the barbarians going and to-them a-rumor both flew
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πᾶν καὶ κηρυκήιον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς
into the camp all and a-herald's-staff appeared on the
κυματώγης κείμενον· ἡ δὲ φήμη διῆλθέ σφι ὧδε,
surf-line lying the and rumor went-through them thus
ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν νικῷεν ἐν
that the Greeks the of-Mardonius army were-conquering in
Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι. δῆλα δὴ πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοισι ἐστὶ
Boeotians fighting clear indeed by-many proofs are
τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε, τῆς αὐτῆς
the divine(-workings) of-the affairs if even then the same
ἡμέρης συμπιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν
day coinciding of-the both at Plataea and of-the at
Μυκάλῃ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι τρώματος, φήμη τοῖσι Ἕλλησι
Mycale about to-be disaster a-rumor to-the Greeks
τοῖσι ταύτῃ ἐσαπίκετο, ὥστε θαρσῆσαί τε τὴν στρατιὴν
the there arrived so-that to-take-heart both the army
πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐθέλειν προθυμότερον κινδυνεύειν.
by-much more and to-wish more-eagerly to-run-risk
101 Καὶ τόδε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, Δήμητρος τεμένεα
and this other coincided happening of-Demeter precincts
Ἐλευσινίης παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ
Eleusinian by both the engagements to-be and for
δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγίνετο, ὡς
indeed in the Plataean(-land) by itself the Demetrium happened as
καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἔμελλε
also before by-me has-been-said the battle and at Mycale was-about
ὡσαύτως ἔσεσθαι. γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Παυσανίεω
likewise to-be to-have-happened and victory of-the with Pausanias

Ἑλλήνων ὀρθῶς σφι ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ
Greeks rightly to-them the rumor turned-out having-come the(-battle)
μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι πρωὶ ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγίνετο, τὸ δὲ
indeed for at Plataea early still in-the day happened the and
ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ δείλην· ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε
at Mycale about afternoon that and on-the same day it-coincided
γίνεσθαι μηνός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ σφι
to-happen month and the same in-time not much to-them
ὕστερον δῆλα ἀναμανθάνουσι ἐγίνετο. ἦν δὲ ἀρρωδίη σφι,
later clear inquiring it-became was and fear to-them
πρὶν τὴν φήμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὔτι περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν
before the rumor to-arrive not-at-all about them themselves
οὕτω ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσῃ ἡ
so as for-the Greeks lest about Mardonius stumble —
Ἑλλάς. ὡς μέντοι ἡ κληδὼν αὕτη σφι ἐσέπτατο, μᾶλλόν
Greece when however the omen this to-them flew more
τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ
somewhat and faster the advance they-made the indeed then
Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσπευδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὥς
Greeks and the barbarians hastened to the battle since
σφι καί αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο.
to-them both the islands and the Hellespont as-prizes lay-before(-them)
Τοῖσι μέν νυν Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτοισι 102
to-the indeed then Athenians and to-those next to-these
τεταγμένοισι, μέχρι κου τῶν ἡμισέων, ἡ ὁδὸς ἐγίνετο κατ᾽
posted as-far-as about the half the way lay along
αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ἄπεδον χῶρον, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι
beach both and level ground for-the and Lacedaemonians
καὶ τοῖσι ἐπεξῆς τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι κατά τε χαράδραν
and those in-a-row with-these posted through both a-ravine
καὶ ὄρεα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιήισαν, οὗτοι
and mountains in which and the Lacedaemonians were-going-round these

οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἑτέρῳ κέρεϊ ἔτι καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἕως μέν
those on the other wing still even indeed were-fighting as-long-as indeed
νυν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὀρθὰ ἦν τὰ γέρρα, ἠμύνοντό τε
then for-the Persians upright were the wicker-shields they-defended-themselves both
καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἶχον τῇ μάχῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
and nothing less had in-the battle when but of-the Athenians
καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατός, ὅκως ἑωυτῶν γένηται τὸ
and of-those next the army so-that theirs might-be the
ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι ἔργου
deed and not of-Lacedaemonians having-exhorted(-one-another) to-the-work
εἴχοντο προθυμότερον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα.
held more-eagerly from-then already was-changed the affair
διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὗτοι φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον
having-pushed-through for the wicker-shields these charging fell
ἁλέες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἳ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνον
in-a-body upon the Persians they and having-received(-them) and time
συχνὸν ἀμυνόμενοι τέλος ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Ἀθηναῖοι
long defending-themselves at-last fled into the wall Athenians
δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι (οὕτω γὰρ
and also Corinthians and Sicyonians and Troezenians so for
ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπιπτον ἐς
were in-a-row posted following-together fell-in-with(-them) into
τὸ τεῖχος. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίρητο, οὔτ' ἔτι πρὸς
the wall when and also the wall had-been-taken neither any-longer to
ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγήν τε ὁρμέατο
courage turned the barbarians to flight and rushed
οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Περσέων· οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι
the others except Persians these and in few gathering
ἐμάχοντο τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσπίπτουσι Ἑλλήνων.
fought with-those always into the wall falling of-Greeks
καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀποφεύγουσι,
and of-the generals the Persian two indeed escape

δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι· Ἀρταΰντης μὲν καὶ Ἰθαμίτρης τοῦ
two and die Artayntes indeed and Ithamitres of-the
ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες ἀποφεύγουσι, Μαρδόντης δὲ καὶ
navy commanding escape Mardontes and also
ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τιγράνης μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι.
the of-the foot general Tigranes fighting die
Ἔτι δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι 103
still and fighting the Persians arrived Lacedaemonians
καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχείριζον. ἔπεσον
and those with them and the rest helped-to-finish fell
δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συχνοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε
and also of-themselves the Greeks many there others both
καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως· τῶν τε Σαμίων
and Sicyonians and general Perilaus of-the and Samians
οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐόντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ
those serving being both in the camp the
Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὅπλα, ὡς εἶδον αὐτίκα
Median and deprived-of the arms when they-saw at-once
κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἑτεραλκέα τὴν μάχην, ἔρδον ὅσον
at beginning becoming doubtful the battle did as-much-as
ἐδυνέατο προσωφελέειν ἐθέλοντες τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. Σαμίους
they-could to-help wishing the Greeks Samians
δὲ ἰδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες ἄρξαντας οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ
and having-seen the other Ionians having-begun so indeed also themselves
ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖσι βαρβάροισι.
having-revolted from Persians attacked the barbarians
Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὰς 104
to-Milesians and it-had-been-assigned indeed by the Persians the
διόδους τηρέειν σωτηρίης εἵνεκά σφι, ὡς ἢν ἄρα
passes to-watch safety for-the-sake for-them so-that if then
σφέας καταλαμβάνῃ οἷά περ κατέλαβε, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας
them should-befall such-as indeed befell having guides

σώζωνται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐτάχθησαν μέν
they-might-be-saved to the peaks — of-Mycale were-posted indeed
νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι τούτου τε εἵνεκεν
then on this the business the Milesians this both for-the-sake
καὶ ἵνα μὴ παρεόντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι νεοχμὸν
and so-that not being-present in the camp anything new
ποιέοιεν· οἳ δὲ πᾶν τοὐναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου
they-might-do they but all the-opposite of-the assigned
ἐποίεον, ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοί σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι, αἳ
did other both leading to-them roads fleeing which
δὴ ἔφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοί σφι
indeed led to the enemy and at-last themselves to-them
ἐγίνοντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον
became killing most-hostile so indeed the second-time
Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.
Ionia from Persians revolted

105 Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλλήνων ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι
in and this the battle of-Greeks excelled Athenians
καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθοίνου, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον
and of-Athenians Hermolycus the (son)-of-Euthoenus a-man the-pancratium
ἐπασκήσας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὕστερον
having-practiced this and — Hermolycus it-befell later
τούτων, πολέμου ἐόντος Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι,
than-these war being for-Athenians both and Carystians
ἐν Κύρνῳ τῆς Καρυστίης χώρης ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ
at Cyrnus of-the Carystian land having-died in battle
κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῷ. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ
to-lie at Geraestus after and Athenians Corinthians and
Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἠρίστευσαν.
Troezenians and Sicyonians excelled

Ἐπείτε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς 106
when and finished the Greeks the many those
μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων,
indeed fighting those and also fleeing of-the barbarians
τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἅπαν, τὴν ληίην
the ships they-burned and the wall all the spoil
προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ θησαυρούς τινας
having-brought-out-first to the beach and treasures some
χρημάτων εὗρον· ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς νέας
of-money they-found having-burned and the wall and the ships
ἀπέπλεον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο
they-sailed-away having-arrived and to Samos the Greeks deliberated
περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ ὅκῃ χρεὸν εἴη τῆς
about removal — of-Ionia and where right were —
Ἑλλάδος κατοικίσαι τῆς αὐτοὶ ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν, τὴν δὲ
of-Greece to-settle(-them) of-which themselves masters were — and
Ἰωνίην ἀπεῖναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνετό
Ionia to-give-up to-the barbarians impossible for it-appeared
σφι εἶναι ἑωυτούς τε Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας
to-them to-be themselves both Ionians to-protect guarding
τὸν πάντα χρόνον, καὶ ἑωυτῶν μὴ προκατημένων Ἴωνας
the all time and themselves not protecting(-them) Ionians
οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων
no hope they-had gladly from the Persians
ἀπαλλάξειν. πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι
would-get-off in-view-of these-things of-Peloponnesians indeed to-those
ἐν τέλεϊ ἐοῦσι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν
in authority being it-seemed(-good) of-the having-medized nations the
Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπολαῖα ἐξαναστήσαντας δοῦναι τὴν χώρην
Greek the trading-places having-removed(-them) to-give the land
Ἴωσι ἐνοικῆσαι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν
to-Ionians to-dwell-in to-Athenians but not it-seemed(-good) at-all

Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι περὶ τῶν
Ionia to-become depopulated nor for-Peloponnesians about the
σφετερέων ἀποικιέων βουλεύειν· ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων
their-own colonies to-deliberate opposing and these
προθύμως, εἶξαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίους
eagerly yielded the Peloponnesians and so indeed Samians
τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἳ
both and Chians and Lesbians and the other islanders who
ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν
happened serving-with the Greeks into the alliance
ἐποιήσαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοισι ἐμμενέειν
they-made(-them) by-pledge both having-bound(-them) and by-oaths to-abide
τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι. τούτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὁρκίοισι
both and not to-revolt these and having-bound by-oaths
ἔπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες· ἔτι γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένας
they-sailed the bridges to-break still for they-thought stretched
εὑρήσειν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐπ᾽ Ἑλλησπόντου ἔπλεον.
to-find(-them) these indeed then to Hellespont sailed

107 Τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Μυκάλης
of-the and having-escaped barbarians to the heights — of-Mycale
κατειληθέντων, ἐόντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐγίνετο κομιδὴ ἐς
shut-up being not many there-was a-return to
Σάρδις. πορευομένων δὲ κατ᾽ ὁδὸν Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου
Sardis marching and on the-way Masistes the (son)-of-Darius
παρατυχὼν τῷ πάθεϊ τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν
having-been-present at-the disaster the having-happened the general
Ἀρταΰντην ἔλεγε πολλά τε καὶ κακά, ἄλλα τε καὶ
Artayntes told many both and bad(-things) other both and
γυναικὸς κακίω φὰς αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα στρατηγήσαντα,
than-a-woman worse saying him to-be such(-things) having-generaled
καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον κακώσαντα.
and worthy to-be of-every evil the king's house having-harmed

παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι γυναικὸς κακίω ἀκοῦσαι δέννος
among and the Persians than-a-woman worse to-be-called reproach
μέγιστος ἐστι. ὃ δὲ ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἤκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος
greatest is he and when many(-things) he-heard terrible thinking(-it)
σπᾶται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκην, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων.
draws against — Masistes the scimitar to-kill(-him) wishing
καί μιν ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεω
and him rushing-at(-him) having-noticed Xenagoras the (son)-of-Praxilaus
ἀνὴρ Ἁλικαρνησσεὺς ὄπισθε ἑστεὼς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταΰντεω
a-man Halicarnassian behind standing him Artayntes
ἁρπάζει μέσον καὶ ἐξαείρας παίει ἐς τὴν γῆν· καὶ
seizes by-the-middle and having-lifted(-him) strikes(-him) to the ground and
ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστεω προέστησαν. ὁ δὲ
in this(-time) the spearmen the of-Masistes stood-before(-him) — and
Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστῃ
Xenagoras these-things wrought favor to-himself both to-Masistes
τιθέμενος καὶ Ξέρξῃ, ἐκσώζων τὸν ἀδελφεὸν τὸν ἐκείνου·
laying-up and to-Xerxes saving the brother the of-that(-man)
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίης πάσης ἦρξε
and for this the deed Xenagoras of-Cilicia all ruled
δόντος βασιλέος. τῶν δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν πορευομένων οὐδὲν
having-given(-it) king of-the and on the-way marching nothing
ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.
for more than-these happened but they-arrive to Sardis

IX · THE WIFE OF MASISTES

At Sardis Xerxes loves his brother Masistes' wife and, failing to win her, marries his son Darius to her daughter Artaynte, whom he then loves instead. Artaynte asks for a mantle that Queen Amestris wove, and Amestris, blaming the mother,

demands Masistes' wife at the royal feast. Xerxes bids Masistes give her up, and he refuses; meanwhile Amestris mutilates the woman. Masistes rides for Bactria to raise a revolt, and Xerxes' army kills him and his sons.

108 Ἐν δὲ τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ
in and — Sardis happened being king from that the
χρόνου, ἐπείτε ἐξ Ἀθηνέων προσπταίσας τῇ ναυμαχίῃ
time when from Athens having-stumbled in-the sea-fight
φυγὼν ἀπίκετο. τότε δὴ ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐὼν ἄρα ἤρα
having-fled he-came then indeed in — Sardis being then he-loved
τῆς Μασίστεω γυναικός, ἐούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα. ὡς
the of-Masistes wife being also she there when
δέ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ
but to-him sending not she-could to-be-won-over nor
βίην προσεφέρετο προμηθεόμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Μασίστην·
force did-he-apply having-regard-for the brother Masistes
τώυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· εὖ γὰρ ἐπίστατο
the-same and this was-so also the woman well for she-knew
βίης οὐ τευξομένη· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν
force not she-would-meet-with then indeed Xerxes kept-from the
ἄλλων πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τῷ παιδὶ τῷ ἑωυτοῦ
other(-means) arranges the marriage this for-the son the of-himself
Δαρείῳ, θυγατέρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω,
Darius the-daughter of-the woman this and of-Masistes
δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἢν ταῦτα ποιήσῃ.
thinking her more to-get if these-things he-did
ἁρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπήλαυνε
having-betrothed(-them) and also the customary(-rites) having-done he-marched-away
ἐς Σοῦσα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἠγάγετο ἐς
to Susa when and there both he-arrived and brought into
ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ τὴν γυναῖκα, οὕτω δὴ τῆς Μασίστεω
his-own(-house) for-Darius the wife so indeed from-the of-Masistes

μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, ὁ δὲ διαμειψάμενος ἤρα τε
indeed wife he-had-ceased he and having-changed loved both
καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικὸς Μασίστεω δὲ
and won the of-Darius indeed wife of-Masistes and
θυγατρός· οὔνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ ἦν Ἀρταΰντη.
daughter name and to-the woman this was Artaynte
Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. 109
of-time and advancing found-out it-becomes in-way such-as-this
ἐξυφήνασα Ἄμηστρις ἡ Ξέρξεω γυνὴ φᾶρος μέγα τε
having-woven Amestris the of-Xerxes wife a-mantle great both
καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον διδοῖ Ξέρξῃ. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς
and embroidered and of-sight worthy gives to-Xerxes he and pleased
περιβάλλεταί τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν Ἀρταΰντην· ἡσθεὶς
puts-it-on both and goes to — Artaynte pleased
δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι ὅ τι βούλεταί
and also with-her he-bade her to-ask what ever she-wishes
οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων· πάντα
for-her to-happen in-return-for the to-him services all
γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν. τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδεε
for to-obtain having-asked to-her and badly for it-was-fated
πανοικίῃ γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε Ξέρξῃ "Δώσεις
with-whole-house to-fare at these-things she-said to-Xerxes will-you-give
μοι τὸ ἄν σε αἰτήσω;" ὁ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων
me what — you I-shall-ask he and anything rather thinking
κείνην αἰτῆσαι ὑπισχνέετο καὶ ὤμοσε. ἡ δὲ ὡς ὤμοσε
her to-ask promised and swore she and when he-swore
ἀδεῶς αἰτέει τὸ φᾶρος. Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο οὐ
fearlessly asks-for the mantle Xerxes and of-every-kind became not
βουλόμενος δοῦναι, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, φοβεόμενος
wishing to-give for other(-reason) indeed nothing fearing
δὲ Ἄμηστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ τὰ γινόμενα
but Amestris lest even before by-her-suspecting the(-things) happening

οὕτω ἐπευρεθῇ πρήσσων· ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ
so he-might-be-found-out doing(-it) but cities both he-offered and
χρυσὸν ἄπλετον καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἔμελλε οὐδεὶς ἄρξειν
gold boundless and an-army of-which was-going none to-command
ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκείνη. Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον.
but than she Persian and very the army gift
ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοῖ τὸ φᾶρος. ἣ δὲ περιχαρὴς
but not for he-persuaded(-her) he-gives the mantle she and overjoyed
ἐοῦσα τῷ δώρῳ ἐφόρεέ τε καὶ ἀγάλλετο.
being at-the gift wore(-it) both and exulted
110 Καὶ ἡ Ἄμηστρις πυνθάνεταί μιν ἔχουσαν· μαθοῦσα δὲ
and — Amestris learns her having(-it) having-learned and
τὸ ποιεύμενον τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἶχε
the(-thing) being-done to-the indeed woman this not she-had
ἔγκοτον, ἣ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίην
grudge she but thinking the mother of-her to-be guilty
καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσσειν, τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικὶ
and these-things her to-be-doing for-the of-Masistes wife
ἐβούλευε ὄλεθρον. φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς
planned destruction having-waited-for and the husband the of-herself
Ξέρξην βασιλήιον δεῖπνον προτιθέμενον· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ
Xerxes a-royal dinner setting-forth this and the
δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεται ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμέρῃ τῇ
dinner is-prepared once in-the year day on-which
ἐγένετο βασιλεύς. οὔνομα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ περσιστὶ
he-became king name and to-the dinner this in-Persian
μὲν τυκτά, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν τέλειον·
indeed tykta in and the of-Greeks tongue perfect
τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μοῦνον βασιλεὺς καὶ
then also the head anoints alone king and
Πέρσας δωρέεται· ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα ἡ
Persians presents this indeed the day having-waited-for —

Ἄμηστρις χρηίζει τοῦ Ξέρξεω δοθῆναί οἱ τὴν Μασίστεω
Amestris asks — of-Xerxes to-be-given to-her the of-Masistes
γυναῖκα. ὃ δὲ δεινόν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιέετο τοῦτο μὲν
wife he but terrible both and monstrous he-considered this indeed
ἀδελφεοῦ γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀναιτίην ἐοῦσαν
of-a-brother the-wife to-hand-over this and innocent being
τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· συνῆκε γὰρ τοῦ εἵνεκεν ἐδέετο.
of-the matter this he-understood for of-what for-the-sake she-asked
Τέλος μέντοι ἐκείνης τε λιπαρεούσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου 111
at-last however she both persisting and by the custom
ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχῆσαι τὸν χρηίζοντα οὔ σφι
constrained that to-fail the(-one) asking not to-them
δυνατόν ἐστι βασιληίου δείπνου προκειμένου, κάρτα δὴ
possible it-is royal dinner being-set-forth very indeed
ἀέκων κατανεύει, καὶ παραδοὺς ποιέει ὧδε· τὴν
unwilling he-nods-assent and having-handed-over(-her) does thus her
μὲν κελεύει ποιέειν τὰ βούλεται, ὃ δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος
indeed he-bids to-do what she-wishes he and having-sent-for
τὸν ἀδελφεὸν λέγει τάδε. "Μασίστα, σὺ εἶς Δαρείου τε
the brother says this Masistes you are of-Darius both
παῖς καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός, πρὸς δ' ἔτι τούτοισι καὶ εἶς
son and my brother besides and still these also you-are
ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν συνοικέεις μὴ
a-man good with-woman indeed this whom now you-live-with do-not
συνοίκεε, ἀλλά τοι ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν
live-with(-her) but to-you instead-of her I give daughter the
ἐμήν. ταύτῃ συνοίκεε· τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκέει
my with-her live the but now you-have not for it-seems(-good)
ἐμοί, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα." ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμάσας
to-me do-not have as-wife — and Masistes having-wondered-at
τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε. "Ὦ δέσποτα, τίνα μοι
the(-things) said says this O master what to-me

λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων με γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι
word you-speak useless bidding me a-wife from whom to-me
παῖδές τε νεηνίαι εἰσὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν
sons both young are and daughters of-whom also you one
τῷ παιδὶ τῷ σεωυτοῦ ἠγάγεο γυναῖκα, αὐτή τέ μοι
for-the son the of-yourself took as-wife she and to-me
κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα ἐοῦσα· ταύτην με κελεύεις
according-to mind happens very being her me you-bid
μετέντα θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι; ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεῦ μεγάλα
having-let-go daughter the your to-marry I but O-king great(-honor)
μὲν ποιεῦμαι ἀξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω
indeed I-count being-deemed-worthy of-daughter the your I-shall-do
μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα. σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιῶ πρήγματος
however of-these neither you but in-no-way force(-me) matter
τοιοῦδε δεόμενος· ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος
such asking but for-the both your daughter a-husband other
φανήσεται ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἧσσων, ἐμέ τε ἔα γυναικὶ τῇ ἐμῇ
will-appear than-me nothing worse me and allow with-wife the my
συνοικέειν." ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτοισι ἀμείβεται, Ξέρξης δὲ
to-live he indeed then with-such(-words) answers Xerxes but
θυμωθεὶς λέγει τάδε. "Οὕτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται·
angered says this so to-you Masistes it-has-been-done
οὔτε γὰρ ἄν τοι δοίην θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν γῆμαι, οὔτε
neither for — to-you would-I-give daughter the my to-marry nor
ἐκείνῃ πλεῦνα χρόνον συνοικήσεις, ὡς μάθῃς τὰ
with-her longer time will-you-live so-that you-may-learn the(-things)
διδόμενα δέκεσθαι." ὁ δὲ ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, εἴπας
offered to-accept he and when these-things he-heard having-said
τοσόνδε ἐχώρεε ἔξω "Δέσποτα, οὐ δή κώ με ἀπώλεσας."
so-much went outside master not indeed yet me you-have-destroyed

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Ξέρξης τῷ 112
in and this the in between time in which Xerxes with-the
ἀδελφεῷ διελέγετο, ἡ Ἄμηστρις μεταπεμψαμένη τοὺς
brother was-talking — Amestris having-sent-for the
δορυφόρους τοῦ Ξέρξεω διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ
spearmen — of-Xerxes mutilates the wife —
Μασίστεω· τούς τε μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε
of-Masistes the both breasts having-cut-off to-dogs she-threw
καὶ ῥῖνα καὶ ὦτα καὶ χείλεα καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα
and nose and ears and lips and tongue having-cut-out
ἐς οἰκόν μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμασμένην.
to house her sends-away mutilated
Ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδέν κω ἀκηκοὼς τούτων, ἐλπόμενος 113
— and Masistes nothing yet having-heard of-these expecting
δέ τί οἱ κακὸν εἶναι, ἐσπίπτει δρόμῳ ἐς τὰ οἰκία.
but some for-him evil to-be rushes at-a-run into the house
ἰδὼν δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα
having-seen and ruined the wife at-once after these-things
συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖσι παισὶ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σύν
having-taken-counsel with-the sons he-journeyed to Bactra with
τε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ υἱοῖσι καὶ δή κου τισὶ καὶ ἄλλοισι ὡς
both the of-himself sons and indeed perhaps some also others as
ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα
to-cause-to-revolt province the Bactrian and to-do the greatest
κακῶν βασιλέα· τά περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ
of-evils king which indeed — also would-have-happened as to-me
δοκέειν, εἴ περ ἔφθη ἀναβὰς ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ
to-seem if indeed he-got-ahead having-gone-up to the Bactrians and
τοὺς Σάκας· καὶ γὰρ ἔστεργόν μιν καὶ ἦν ὕπαρχος τῶν
the Sacae and for they-loved him and he-was governor of-the
Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ξέρξης πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον
Bactrians but for Xerxes having-learned these-things him

πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατιὴν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ
doing having-sent against him an-army on the road
κατέκτεινε αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ
killed himself both him and the sons of-him and
τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν ἐκείνου. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν
the army the of-that(-man) concerning indeed the love the
Ξέρξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστεω θάνατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο.
of-Xerxes and the of-Masistes death so-much happened

X · SESTUS AND ARTAYCTES

The Greeks reach the Hellespont and find the bridges broken. The Peloponnesians sail home, while the Athenians besiege Sestus through the autumn until famine drives Artayctes, the plunderer of Protesilaus' shrine, to flee. He is caught, and when salted fish leap on the fire he offers ransom, but the Athenians nail him to planks and stone his son before him. Herodotus closes with Cyrus' answer to Artembares: soft lands breed soft men, and the Persians chose to rule a poor land.

114 Οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὁρμηθέντες Ἕλληνες ἐπ᾽ Ἑλλησπόντου
the and from Mycale having-set-out Greeks for Hellespont
πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Λεκτὸν ὅρμεον, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων
first indeed about Lectum anchored by winds
ἀπολαμφθέντες, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἄβυδον καὶ
shut-in from-there and they-came to Abydus and
τὰς γεφύρας εὗρον διαλελυμένας, τὰς ἐδόκεον εὑρήσειν
the bridges found broken-up which they-thought to-find
ἔτι ἐντεταμένας, καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἥκιστα εἵνεκεν ἐς τὸν
still stretched and of-these not least for-the-sake to the
Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπίκοντο. τοῖσι μέν νυν ἀμφὶ Λευτυχίδην
Hellespont they-had-come to-the indeed then about Leotychides
Πελοποννησίοισι ἔδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
Peloponnesians it-seemed-good to-sail-away to — Greece

Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ
to-Athenians but and Xanthippus the general there
ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου. οἳ μὲν δὴ
remaining to-attempt — of-Chersonese they indeed then
ἀπέπλεον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες ἐς τὴν
sailed-away Athenians and from — Abydus having-crossed into —
Χερσόνησον Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον.
Chersonese Sestus besieged
Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος 115
to and — Sestus this as being strongest wall
τῶν ταύτῃ, συνῆλθον, ὡς ἤκουσαν παρεῖναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας
of-those there came-together when they-heard to-be-present the Greeks
ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔκ τε τῶν ἀλλέων τῶν περιοικίδων,
at the Hellespont from both the other the neighboring(-towns)
καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος Οἰόβαζος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης,
and indeed also from Cardia city Oeobazus a-man Persian
ὃς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὅπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἦν κεκομικώς.
who the(-things) from the bridges gear there had brought
εἶχον δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Αἰολέες, συνῆσαν δὲ Πέρσαι
held and it natives Aeolians were-with(-them) and Persians
τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς ὅμιλος.
both and of-the other allies a-great throng
Ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὕπαρχος 116
was-tyrant and of-this the province of-Xerxes governor
Ἀρταΰκτης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος,
Artayctes a-man indeed Persian dreadful but and presumptuous
ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ᾽ Ἀθήνας ἐξηπάτησε, τὰ
who even king marching against Athens had-deceived the
Πρωτεσίλεω τοῦ Ἰφίκλου χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος
of-Protesilaus the (son)-of-Iphiclus goods from Elaeus
ὑπελόμενος. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ
having-stolen in for Elaeus — of-Chersonese is

Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν, ἔνθα ἦν
of-Protesilaus a-tomb both and a-precinct about it where were
χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσεαι καὶ ἀργύρεαι καὶ χαλκὸς
goods many and saucers golden and silver and bronze
καὶ ἐσθὴς καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ Ἀρταΰκτης ἐσύλησε
and dress and other offerings which Artayctes plundered
βασιλέος δόντος. λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξην διεβάλετο.
king having-given(-them) saying and such(-things) Xerxes he-deceived
"Δέσποτα, ἔστι οἶκος ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν
master there-is a-house of-a-man Greek here who against land
σὴν στρατευσάμενος δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανε· τούτου μοι
your having-campaigned justice having-met-with died of-this-one to-me
δὸς τὸν οἶκον, ἵνα καί τις μάθῃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ
give the house so-that also anyone may-learn against land the your not
στρατεύεσθαι." ταῦτα λέγων εὐπετέως ἔμελλε ἀναπείσειν
to-campaign these-things saying easily he-was-going to-persuade
Ξέρξην δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον, οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν
Xerxes to-give of-a-man the-house nothing suspecting of-what
ἐκεῖνος ἐφρόνεε. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασιλέος στρατεύεσθαι
he intended against land and the king's(-land) to-campaign
Πρωτεσίλεων ἔλεγε νοέων τοιάδε· τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν
Protesilaus he-said meaning such(-things) — Asia all
νομίζουσι ἑωυτῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος.
think their-own to-be Persians and of-the always reigning(-king)
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη, τὰ χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ἐς Σηστὸν
when and it-was-given the goods from Elaeus to Sestus
ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἔσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτός
he-carried-off and the precinct he-sowed and pastured himself
τε ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ
and whenever he-came to Elaeus in the inner-shrine with-women
ἐμίσγετο. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε
lay then but he-was-besieged by Athenians neither

παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορκίην οὔτε προσδεκόμενος τοὺς
prepared for siege nor expecting the
Ἕλληνας, ἀφύκτως δέ κως αὐτῷ ἐπέπεσον.
Greeks inescapably and somehow on-him they-fell
Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοισί σφι φθινόπωρον ἐπεγίνετο, 117
when and being-besieged for-them autumn came-on
καὶ ἤσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπό τε τῆς ἑωυτῶν
and were-impatient the Athenians from both the of-themselves(-land)
ἀποδημέοντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐξελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος, ἐδέοντό
being-abroad and not being-able to-take the wall they-asked
τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅκως ἀπάγοιεν σφέας ὀπίσω, οἳ δὲ οὐκ
and the generals that they-lead them back they but not
ἔφασαν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι ἢ τὸ Ἀθηναίων κοινόν σφεας
said before than they-take(-it) or the of-Athenians commonwealth them
μεταπέμψηται· οὕτω δὴ ἔστεργον τὰ παρεόντα.
recall so indeed they-were-content-with the present(-state)
Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ ἐς πᾶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι ἦσαν, 118
those and in the wall to all already of-evil having-come were
οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς τόνους ἕψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο.
so that the cords boiling of-the couches they-ate
ἐπείτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι εἶχον, οὕτω δὴ ὑπὸ νύκτα
when and not-even these any-longer they-had so indeed under night
οἴχοντο ἀποδράντες οἵ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταΰκτης
were-gone having-run-away the both Persians and — Artayctes
καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὄπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάντες, τῇ
and — Oeobazus behind the wall having-climbed-down where
ἦν ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ
was emptiest of-the enemy when and day came the
Χερσονησῖται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι
Chersonesians from the towers signaled to-the Athenians

τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ τὰς πύλας ἄνοιξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν
the having-happened and the gates opened of-them and the indeed
πλεῦνες ἐδίωκον, οἳ δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἶχον.
more pursued others and the city held

119 Οἰόβαζον μέν νυν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην Θρήικες
Oeobazus indeed then escaping into — Thrace Thracians
Ἀψίνθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ
Apsinthian having-caught sacrificed(-him) to-Pleistorus native god
τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ᾽ ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ
in-way the their-own those and with him in-other way
ἐφόνευσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταΰκτην ὕστεροι ὁρμηθέντες
they-slew those and about — Artayctes later having-started
φεύγειν, καὶ ὡς κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγον ἐόντες ὑπὲρ
to-flee and when they-were-overtaken a-little being above
Αἰγὸς ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν οἳ μὲν
Goat rivers defending-themselves time for long some indeed
ἀπέθανον οἳ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλάμφθησαν. καὶ συνδήσαντες
died others and alive were-taken and having-bound
σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἦγον ἐς Σηστόν, μετ᾽ αὐτῶν δὲ
them the Greeks brought(-them) to Sestus with them and
καὶ Ἀρταΰκτην δεδεμένον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ.
also Artayctes bound himself both and the son of-him

120 Καί τεῳ τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων
and to-one of-the guards is-said by Chersonesians
ταρίχους ὀπτῶντι τέρας γενέσθαι τοιόνδε· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ
salt-fish roasting a-portent to-have-happened such-as-this the salt-fish on
τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἤσπαιρον ὅκως περ
the fire lying leaped both and writhed as indeed
ἰχθύες νεοάλωτοι. καὶ οἳ μὲν περιχυθέντες ἐθώμαζον, ὁ
fish freshly-caught and they indeed gathering-round wondered —
δὲ Ἀρταΰκτης ὡς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὀπτῶντα
but Artayctes when he-saw the portent having-called the(-one) roasting

τοὺς ταρίχους ἔφη "Ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας
the salt-fish said stranger Athenian not-at-all fear the portent
τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν
this not for to-you it-has-appeared but to-me signifies the at
Ἐλαιοῦντι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὼς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν
Elaeus Protesilaus that even dead and dried being
δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι. νῦν ὦν
power from gods he-has the wrongdoer to-punish now then
ἄποινά μοι τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι, ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων
ransom for-me this I-wish to-lay-on instead-of indeed goods
τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῷ
which I-took from the temple a-hundred talents to-pay to-the
θεῷ, ἀντὶ δ' ἐμεωυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδώσω τάλαντα
god instead-of and myself and the son I-shall-pay talents
διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι περιγενόμενος." ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενος
two-hundred to-Athenians surviving these-things promising
τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ γὰρ Ἐλαιούσιοι
the general Xanthippus not he-persuaded the for Elaeusians
τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ τιμωρέοντες ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρησθῆναι,
— to-Protesilaus avenging asked him to-be-put-to-death
καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτῃ νόος ἔφερε. ἀπαγαγόντες
and of-himself the general this-way the-mind tended having-led
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔζευξε τὸν
and him to the shore to the(-place-where) Xerxes yoked the
πόρον, οἳ δὲ λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου
strait others and say to the hillock the above Madytus
πόλιος, πρὸς σανίδας προσπασσαλεύσαντες ἀνεκρέμασαν·
city to planks having-nailed(-him) they-hung(-him)-up
τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι τοῦ Ἀρταΰκτεω κατέλευσαν.
the and son before eyes — of-Artayctes they-stoned

121 Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τά
these-things and having-done they-sailed-away to — Greece the
τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἄγοντες καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν
both other goods bringing and indeed also the gear of-the
γεφυρέων ὡς ἀναθήσοντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά. καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος
bridges as about-to-dedicate(-it) in the temples and in the year
τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.
this nothing for more than-these happened

122 Τούτου δὲ Ἀρταΰκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρεμασθέντος προπάτωρ
of-this and Artayctes the hung-up forefather
Ἀρτεμβάρης ἐστὶ ὁ Πέρσῃσι ἐξηγησάμενος λόγον
Artembares is the(-one) to-Persians having-set-forth a-proposal
τὸν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπολαβόντες Κύρῳ προσήνεικαν λέγοντα τάδε.
which they having-taken-up to-Cyrus brought saying this
“ Ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς Πέρσῃσι ἡγεμονίην διδοῖ, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοὶ
since Zeus to-Persians leadership gives of-men and to-you
Κῦρε, κατελὼν Ἀστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα
Cyrus having-overthrown Astyages come land for we-possess
ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης
little and this rugged having-moved from this
ἄλλην σχῶμεν ἀμείνω. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀστυγείτονες
another let-us-hold better there-are and many indeed neighboring
πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἑκαστέρω, τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι
many and also farther of-which one having-taken to-more
ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι. οἰκὸς δὲ ἄνδρας ἄρχοντας τοιαῦτα
we-shall-be more-wondered-at fitting and men ruling such(-things)
ποιέειν· κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ἢ ὅτε γε
to-do when for indeed also will-it-offer more-fairly than when at-least
ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίης;”
of-men both many we-rule all both — of-Asia
Κῦρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον
Cyrus and these-things having-heard and not having-wondered-at the proposal

ἐκέλευε ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνεε κελεύων
bade to-do these-things so but them he-advised bidding
παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας ἀλλ᾽ ἀρξομένους·
to-prepare as no-longer going-to-rule but going-to-be-ruled
φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι·
to-be-wont for from the soft lands soft(-men) to-be-born
οὐ γάρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπόν τε θωμαστὸν
not for at-all of-the same land to-be fruit both wonderful
φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. ὥστε
to-grow and men good in-the(-things) of-war so-that
συγγνόντες Πέρσαι οἴχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῇ
having-agreed Persians were-gone having-departed worsted in-the
γνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρου, ἄρχειν τε εἵλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες
judgment by Cyrus to-rule both they-chose a-poor(-land) inhabiting
μᾶλλον ἢ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.
rather than a-plain sowing to-others to-be-slaves
