

GREEK SERIES • VOLUME 18

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE WAR

POLYBIUS & THUCYDIDES

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

The Constitution and the War

Polybius on the Roman Constitution, with Thucydides Book I

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order

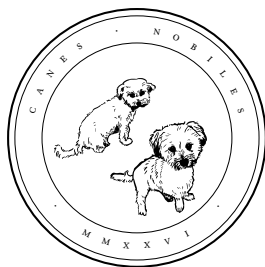


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Volume 18 of the Canes Nobiles Greek interlinear texts

The Greek text follows Büttner-Wobst's Teubner
Polybius and Jones's Oxford Thucydides

Set from the Perseus Digital Library, with corrections

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POLYBIUS

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Histories VI



Polybius expects readers to wonder why he breaks off his narrative. He promised from the start to show how, and under what constitution, Rome brought almost the whole inhabited world under one rule in under fifty-three years. A man is best tested in reversals of fortune, a constitution too, and no change in his time was greater than Rome's. Two excerpts follow: the study of causes delights and profits, and a constitution's structure, the spring of every plan, is the chief cause of success and failure; and the impossible alone among falsehoods leaves no excuse.

οὐκ ἄγνοῶ	μὲν	οὖν	διότι	τινὲς	διαπορήσουσι	πῶς	2.1
not	I-am-unaware	indeed	therefore	that	some	will-be-at-a-loss	how
ἀφέμενοι	τοῦ	συνάπτειν	καὶ	προστιθέναι	τὸ	συνεχὲς	
having-left-off	—	joining	and	to-add	the	continuous(-part)	
τῆς	διηγρήσεως,	εἰς	τοῦτον	ἀπεθέμεθα	τὸν	καιρὸν	τὸν
of-the	narrative	to	this	we-have-put-off	—	moment	the
ὑπὲρ	τῆς	προειρημένης	πολιτείας	ἀπολογισμὸν			
about	the	aforesaid	constitution	account			
ἐμοὶ	δ'	ὅτι	μὲν	ἦν	ἐξ	ἀρχῆς	ἐν
for-me	and	that	indeed	it-was	from	(the)-beginning	one
ἀναγκαίων	καὶ	τοῦτο	τὸ	μέρος	τῆς	ὅλης	προθέσεως,
necessary(-things)	also	this	—	part	of-the	whole	plan
πολλοῖς	οἶμαι	δῆλον	αὐτὸ	πεποιηκέναι,			in
many(-places)	I-think	clear	it	to-have-made			
μάλιστα	δ'	ἐν	τῇ	καταβολῇ	καὶ	προεκθέσει	τῆς
most-of-all	and	in	the	foundation	and	preliminary-statement	of-the
ἱστορίας,	ἐν	ᾗ	τοῦτο	κάλλιστον	ἔφαμεν,	ἅμα	
history	in	which	this	finest	we-said	at-the-same-time	
δ'	ὠφελιμώτατον	εἶναι	τῆς	ἡμετέρας	ἐπιβολῆς	τοῖς	
and	most-useful	to-be	—	of-our	design	for-those	
ἐντυγχάνουσι	τῇ	πραγματείᾳ	τὸ	γινῶναι	καὶ	μαθεῖν	πῶς
reading	the	work	—	knowing	and	to-learn	how

καὶ τίνι γένει πολιτείας ἐπικρατηθέντα σχεδὸν πάντα
 and by-what kind of-constitution overpowered almost all
 τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν οὐδ' ὅλοις πεντήκοντα
 the(-things) throughout the inhabited-world in not-even whole fifty
 καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἔπεσεν,
 and three years under one rule that of-Romans fell
 ὃ πρότερον οὐχ εὑρίσκεται γεγονός.

which before not is-found having-happened

- 2.4 κεκριμένου δὲ τούτου καιρὸν οὐχ ἑώρων ἐπιτηδειότερον
 having-been-decided and this a-moment not I-saw more-suitable
 εἰς ἐπίστασιν καὶ δοκιμασίαν τῶν λέγεσθαι μελλόντων
 for attention and testing of-the(-things) to-be-said about-to
 ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ νῦν ἐνεστῶτος.

about the constitution than-the now present

- 2.5 καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ τῶν φαύλων ἢ τῶν
 just-as for those in private about the base or the
 σπουδαίων ἀνδρῶν ποιούμενοι τὰς διαλήψεις, ἐπειδὰν
 good men making the judgments whenever
 ἀληθῶς πρόθωνται δοκιμάζειν, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀπεριστατού
 truly they-propose to-test not from the untroubled
 ῥαστώνης κατὰ τὸν βίον ποιοῦνται τὰς ἐπισκέψεις, ἀλλ'
 ease in the life make the examinations but
 ἐκ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀτυχίαις περιπετειῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς
 from the in the misfortunes reversals and the in the
 ἐπιτυχίαις κατορθωμάτων,

successes achievements

- 2.6 μόνον νομίζοντες εἶναι ταύτην ἀνδρὸς τελείου βάσανον
 alone considering to-be this of-a-man complete (the)-test
 τὸ τὰς ὀλοσχερεῖς μεταβολὰς τῆς τύχης μεγαλοψύχως
 — the complete changes of-the fortune magnanimously

δύνασθαι καὶ γενναίως ὑποφέρειν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
to-be-able and nobly to-endure in-the same way

χρὴ θεωρεῖν καὶ πολιτείαν.

one-must to-view also a-constitution

διόπερ οὐχ ὁρῶν ποῖαν ἂν τις ὀξυτέραν ἢ μείζονα λάβοι 2.7

wherefore not seeing what-kind — one sharper or greater could-find

μεταβολὴν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τῆς γε Ῥωμαίοις συμβάσης,
change of-those in our-time than-the at-least to-Romans having-befallen

εἰς τοῦτον ἀπεθέμην τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν προειρημένων
to this I-put-off — moment the about the aforesaid

ἀπολογισμὸν· γνοίη δ' ἂν τις τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μεταβολῆς
account could-learn and — one the magnitude of-the change

ἐκ τούτων. (Ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ στρατηγίας.)

from these look in the(-excerpt) on generalsbip

ὅτι τὸ ψυχαγωγοῦν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν 2.8

(note)-that the(-thing) delighting at-once and the benefit

ἐπιφέρων τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἡ τῶν αἰτιῶν
bringing to-those loving-learning this is the of-the causes

θεωρία καὶ τοῦ βελτίονος ἐν ἐκάστοις αἵρεσις.

study and of-the better in each-case choice

μεγίστην δ' αἰτίαν ἡγητέον ἐν ᾧ παντὶ πράγματι 2.9

greatest and cause one-must-consider in every matter

καὶ πρὸς ἐπιτυχίαν καὶ τούναντίον τὴν τῆς πολιτείας
both toward success and the-opposite the of-the constitution

σύστασιν·

structure

ἐκ γὰρ ταύτης ἥπερ ἐκ πηγῆς οὐ μόνον ἀναφέρεσθαι 2.10

from for this as from a-spring not only to-arise

συμβαίνει πάσας τὰς ἐπινοίας καὶ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῶν
it-happens all the conceptions and the plans of-the

ἔργων, ἀλλὰ καὶ συντέλειαν λαμβάνειν.

deeds but also completion to-receive

- 2.11 τὸ γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἐν τῷ ψεύδει μόνον οὐδ' ἀπολογίαν
the for impossible in the falsehood alone not-even excuse
 ἐπιδέχεται τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν.
admits for-those erring

II • THE SIX FORMS

Greek constitutions are easy to explain and forecast; Rome's is hard, for its complexity and unfamiliar customs. Writers name kingship, aristocracy, and democracy, but the best combines all three, as Lycurgus' Sparta proved. Kingship rules the willing by judgment, not fear, aristocracy is rule by the most just and prudent, and democracy majority rule among a people revering gods, parents, elders, and laws. Their degenerate kin are monarchy, oligarchy, and mob-rule; the six follow one another by nature, and Rome's constitution grew by nature.

- 3.1 τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνικῶν πολιτευμάτων ὅσα πολλάκις
of-the indeed for Greek polities as-many-as often
 μὲν ᾗξεται, πολλάκις δὲ τῆς εἰς τὰναντία μεταβολῆς
indeed have-grown often and of-the to the-opposite change
 ὁλοσχερῶς πείραν εἴληφε, ῥαδίαν εἶναι συμβαίνει καὶ
completely trial have-taken easy to-be it-happens both
 τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν προγεγονότων ἐξήγησιν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
the about the past(-events) account and the about the
 μέλλοντος ἀπόφασιν·
future declaration
- 3.2 τό τε γὰρ ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὰ γνωσκόμενα ῥάδιον, τό
 — *both for to-report the(-things) known (is)-easy —*
 τε προειπεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος στοχαζόμενον ἐκ τῶν
and to-foretell about the future conjecturing from the
 ἤδη γεγονότων εὐμαρές.
already having-happened(-things) (is)-simple

περὶ δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων οὐδ' ὅλως εὐχερὲς οὔτε περὶ 3.3
about and that of-Romans not-even at-all (it-is)-easy either about
 τῶν παρόντων ἐξηγήσασθαι διὰ τὴν ποικιλίαν τῆς
the present(-things) to-explain because-of the complexity of-the
 πολιτείας, οὔτε περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος προειπεῖν διὰ τὴν
constitution or about the future to-foretell because-of the
 ἄγνοιαν τῶν προγεγονότων περὶ αὐτοὺς ἰδιωμάτων καὶ
ignorance of-the previous among them peculiarities both
 κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν.

in-public and in private
 διόπερ οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἐπιστάσεως προσδεῖται καὶ 3.4
wherefore not of-the ordinary attention it-needs and
 θεωρίας, εἰ μέλλοι τις τὰ διαφέροντα καθαρῶς ἐν
study if should-intend one the distinctive(-features) clearly in
 αὐτῇ συνόψεσθαι.

it to-survey
 συμβαίνει δὴ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν βουλομένων 3.5
it-happens indeed the most of-those wishing
 διδασκαλικῶς ἡμῖν ὑποδεικνύειν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τρία
didactically to-us to-point-out about the such(-matters) three
 γένη λέγειν πολιτειῶν, ὧν τὸ μὲν καλοῦσι βασιλείαν,
kinds to-speak-of of-constitutions of-which the-one indeed they-call kingship
 τὸ δ' ἀριστοκρατίαν, τὸ δὲ τρίτον δημοκρατίαν.

the-other and aristocracy the and third democracy
 δοκεῖ δέ μοι πάνυ τις εἰκότως ἂν ἐπαπορηῇσαι πρὸς 3.6
it-seems and to-me quite one reasonably — would-raise-the-question to
 αὐτούς, πότερον ὥς μόνας ταύτας ἢ καὶ νῆ Δι' ὥς
them whether as only these or also by Zeus as
 ἀρίστας ἡμῖν εἰσηγοῦνται τῶν πολιτειῶν.
best to-us they-introduce of-the constitutions

3.7 κατ' ἀμφοτέρα γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν μοι δοκοῦσι. δῆλον γὰρ
in both(-respects) for to-be-ignorant to-me they-seem (it-is)-clear for
 ὡς ἀρίστην μὲν ἡγητέον πολιτείαν τὴν ἐκ πάντων
that best indeed one-must-consider constitution the(-one) from all
 τῶν προειρημένων ἰδιωμάτων συνεστῶσαν·
the aforesaid peculiarities composed

3.8 τούτου γὰρ τοῦ μέρους οὐ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πείραν
of-this for — part not in-word only but in-deed proof
 εἰλήφαμεν, Λυκούργου συστήσαντος πρώτου κατὰ τοῦτον
we-have-taken Lyscurgus having-organized first in this
 τὸν τρόπον τὸ Λακεδαμονίων πολίτευμα.
— way the of-Lacedaemonians polity

3.9 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὡς μόνας ταύτας προσδεκτέον· καὶ γὰρ
and indeed not-even as only these one-must-accept also for
 μοναρχικὰς καὶ τυραννικὰς ἤδη τινὰς τεθεάμεθα πολιτείας,
monarchic and tyrannic already some we-have-seen constitutions
 αἱ πλείστον διαφέρουσαι βασιλείας παραπλήσιον ἔχειν
which very-much differing from-kingship similar to-have
 τι ταύτῃ δοκοῦσιν·
something to-it seem

3.10 ἥ καὶ συμφεύδονται καὶ συγχρῶνται πάντες οἱ
in-which-respect both join-in-the-lie and make-joint-use all the
 μόναρχοι καθ' ὅσον οἰοί τ' εἰσὶ τῷ τῆς βασιλείας
monarchs in so-far-as able — they-are the of-the kingship
 ὀνόματι.
name

3.11 καὶ μὴν ὀλιγαρχικὰ πολιτεύματα καὶ πλείω γέγονε,
and indeed oligarchic polities also more have-arisen
 δοκοῦντα παρόμοιον ἔχειν τι τοῖς ἀριστοκρατικοῖς,
seeming similar to-have something to-the aristocratic(-ones)
 ἃ πλείστον ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν διεστᾶσιν.
which most as a-word to-say stand-apart

ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ δημοκρατίας. 3.12

the and same account (holds)-also about democracy

ὅτι δ' ἀληθές ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον ἐκ τούτων συμφανές. 4.1

that and true is the(-thing) said from these (is)-evident

οὔτε γὰρ πᾶσαν δῆπου μοναρχίαν εὐθέως βασιλείαν 4.2

neither for every surely monarchy straightway kingship

ρήτέον, ἀλλὰ μόνην τὴν ἐξ ἐκόντων συγχωρουμένην

one-must-call but only the(-one) by willing(-subjects) conceded

καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ καὶ βίᾳ κυβερνωμένην·

and by-the judgment the more than by-fear and by-force governed

οὐδὲ μὴν πᾶσαν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἀριστοκρατίαν νομιστέον, 4.3

nor indeed every oligarchy aristocracy one-must-consider

ἀλλὰ ταύτην, ἣτις ἂν κατ' ἐκλογὴν ὑπὸ τῶν δικαιοτάτων

but this which-ever — by selection by the most-just

καὶ φρονιμωτάτων ἀνδρῶν βραβεύηται.

and most-prudent men is-directed

παραπλησίως οὐδὲ δημοκρατίαν, ἐν ᾗ πᾶν πλῆθος 4.4

similarly nor democracy in which every multitude

κύριόν ἐστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν αὐτὸ βουληθῇ καὶ

sovereign is to-do what thing ever — it wishes and

πρόθῃται

proposes

παρὰ δ' ᾧ πάτριόν ἐστι καὶ σύνηθες θεοὺς σέβεσθαι, 4.5

among but which ancestral it-is and customary gods to-revere

γονεῖς θεραπεύειν, πρεσβυτέρους αἰδεῖσθαι, νόμοις πείθεσθαι,

parents to-tend elders to-respect laws to-obey

παρὰ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις συστήμασιν ὅταν τὸ τοῖς πλείοσι

among the such communities whenever the(-view) to-the majority

δόξαν νικᾷ, τοῦτο καλεῖν δεῖ δημοκρατίαν.

having-seemed(-good) prevails this to-call one-must democracy

διὸ καὶ γένη μὲν ἕξ εἶναι ρήτέον πολιτειῶν,

wherefore also kinds indeed six to-be one-must-say of-constitutions

4.6 τρία μὲν ἄ πάντες θρυλοῦσι καὶ νῦν προεῖρηται, τρία
three indeed which all harp-on and now has-been-stated three
 δὲ τὰ τούτοις συμφυῇ, λέγω δὲ μοναρχίαν, ὀλιγαρχίαν,
and the(-ones) to-these congenital I-mean and monarchy oligarchy
 ὀχλοκρατίαν.

mob-rule

4.7 πρώτη μὲν οὖν ἀκατασκεύως καὶ φυσικῶς συνίσταται
first indeed therefore without-artifice and naturally arises
 μοναρχία, ταύτῃ δ' ἔπεται καὶ ἐκ ταύτης γεννᾶται μετὰ
monarchy this and follows and from this is-born with
 κατασκευῆς καὶ διορθώσεως βασιλεία.

construction and correction kingship

4.8 μεταβαλλούσης δὲ ταύτης εἰς τὰ συμφυῇ κακά, λέγω
changing and this into the congenital evils I-mean
 δ' εἰς τυραννίδ', αὗθις ἐκ τῆς τούτων καταλύσεως
and into tyranny again from the of-these dissolution
 ἀριστοκρατία φύεται.

aristocracy grows

4.9 καὶ μὴν ταύτης εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐκτραπείσης κατὰ φύσιν,
and indeed this into oligarchy having-degenerated according-to nature
 τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ὀργῇ μετελθόντος τὰς τῶν προεστώτων
the and multitude with-anger having-avenged the of-the leaders
 ἀδικίας, γεννᾶται δῆμος.

injustices is-born (the-rule-of-the)-people

4.10 ἐκ δὲ τῆς τούτου πάλιν ὕβρεως καὶ παρανομίας
from and the of-this again insolence and lawlessness
 ἀποπληροῦται σὺν χρόνοις ὀχλοκρατία.

is-completed with times mob-rule

γνοίῃ δ' ἂν τις σαφέστατα περὶ τούτων ὡς ἀληθῶς 4.11
could-know and — one most-clearly about these that truly

ἐστὶν οἷα δὴ νῦν εἶπον, ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκάστων κατὰ
(it)-is such-as indeed now I-said to the of-each according-to
 φύσιν ἀρχὰς καὶ γενέσεις καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐπιστήσας.
nature beginnings and births and changes having-attended

ὁ γὰρ συνιδὼν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὡς φύεται, μόνος ἂν 4.12
the(-man) for having-seen each of-them how it-grows alone —
 οὗτος δύναιτο συνιδεῖν καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν
he would-be-able to-see both the growth and the prime
 καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐκάστων καὶ τὸ τέλος, πότε καὶ πῶς
and the change of-each and the end when and how
 καὶ ποῦ καταντήσῃ πάλιν.
and where it-will-end-up again

μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας τοῦτον 4.13
most and in-the-case-of the of-Romans constitution this
 ἀρμόσει τὸν τρόπον ὑπέληφα τῆς ἐξηγήσεως διὰ
to-suit — way I-have-supposed of-the explanation because-of
 τὸ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰληφέναι τὴν τε
— according-to nature it from (the)-beginning to-have-taken the both
 σύστασιν καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν.
structure and the growth

Plato and other philosophers give a subtler account; Polybius offers a summary fit for pragmatic history. When floods, plagues, or famines ravage mankind, the survivors herd like animals under the strongest and boldest, and this is monarchy. With time come notions of the noble and the just: men resent the son who repays his parents' care with injury and the man who harms his rescuer, and they honor the one who stands before the rest in danger. A ruler who upholds these notions is obeyed from judgment, not fear, and the monarch becomes a king.

- 5.1 ἀκριβέστερον μὲν οὖν ἴσως ὁ περὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν
more-precisely indeed therefore perhaps the about the according-to nature
 μεταβολῆς τῶν πολιτειῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας διευκρινεῖται λόγος
change of-the constitutions into one-another is-set-out account
 παρὰ Πλάτῳ καὶ τισιν ἑτέροις τῶν φιλοσόφων· ποικίλος
in Plato and some other of-the philosophers intricate
 δ' ὧν καὶ διὰ πλειόνων λεγόμενος ὀλίγοις ἐφικτός ἐστιν.
but being and through more(-words) told to-few attainable it-is
- 5.2 διόπερ ὅσον ἀνήκειν ὑπολαμβάνομεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν
wherefore as-much-as to-pertain we-suppose of-it to the
 πραγματικὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐπίνοιαν, τοῦτο
pragmatic history and the common understanding this
 πειρασόμεθα κεφαλαιωδῶς διελθεῖν·
we-shall-try summarily to-go-through
- 5.3 καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἐλλείπειν τι δόξῃ διὰ τῆς καθολικῆς
and for if to-be-lacking something it-seems through the general
 ἐμφάσεως, ὁ κατὰ μέρος λόγος τῶν ἐξῆς ῥηθησομένων
presentation the in detail account of-the next to-be-said(-things)
 ἱκανὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν ποιήσει τῶν νῦν ἐπαπορηθέντων.
sufficient compensation will-make of-the now questioned(-points)

ποίας οὖν ἀρχὰς λέγω καὶ πόθεν φημὶ φύεσθαι τὰς 5.4
what-sort therefore beginnings I-mean and whence I-say to-arise the
 πολιτείας πρώτων;

constitutions first

ὅταν ἢ διὰ κατακλυσμοὺς ἢ διὰ λοιμικὰς 5.5
whenever either because-of floods or because-of pestilential

περιστάσεις ἢ δι' ἀφορίας καρπῶν ἢ δι' ἄλλας
circumstances or because-of failures of-crops or because-of other

τοιαύτας αἰτίας φθορὰ γένηται τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
such causes destruction happens of-the — of-men

γένους, οἷας ἤδη γεγονέναι παρειλήφαμεν καὶ πάλιν
race such-as already to-have-happened we-have-received and again

πολλάκις ἔσεσθ' ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ,

often (they)-will-be the reason proves

τότε δὴ συμφθειρομένων πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ 5.6
then indeed perishing-together all the pursuits and

τεχνῶν, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν περιλειφθέντων οἶον εἰ σπερμάτων
arts when from the survivors as if from-seeds

αὖθις αὐξηθῇ σὺν χρόνῳ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, τότε δήπου,
again grows with time a-multitude of-men then surely

καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, καὶ ἐπὶ 5.7
just-as in-the-case-of the other animals also in-the-case-of

τούτων συναθροιζομένων — ὅπερ εἰκός, καὶ τούτους εἰς
these gathering-together which (is)-likely also these into

τὸ ὁμόφυλον συναγελάζεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως
the same-kind to-herd because-of the of-the nature

ἀσθένειαν — ἀνάγκη τὸν τῇ σωματικῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ
weakness (it-is)-necessary the(-one) in-the bodily strength and in-the

ψυχικῇ τόλμῃ διαφέροντα, τοῦτον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν,
spiritual daring excelling this(-one) to-lead and to-rule

5.8 καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν ἀδοξοποιήτων
just-as also in-the-case-of the other kinds of-unreasoning
 ζώων θεωρούμενον τοῦτο χρὴ φύσεως ἔργον ἀληθινώτατον
animals being-observed this one-must of-nature (a)-work most-genuine
 νομίζειν, παρ' οἷς ὁμολογουμένως τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους
to-consider among whom admittedly the strongest
 ὀρώμεν ἡγουμένους, λέγω δὲ ταύρους, κάπρους,
we-see leading I-mean and bulls boars
 ἀλεκτρονάς, τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια.
cocks the(-creatures) to-these similar

5.9 τὰς μὲν οὖν ἀρχὰς εἰκὸς τοιούτους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς
at-the indeed therefore beginnings (it-is)-likely such to-be also the
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίους, ζωηδὸν συναθροιζομένων καὶ τοῖς
of-the men lives like-animals gathering-together and the
 ἀλκιμωτάτοις καὶ δυναμικωτάτοις ἐπομένων· οἷς ὅρος
bravest and most-powerful following for-whom (the)-limit
 μέν ἐστι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἰσχύς, ὄνομα δ' ἂν εἴποι τις
indeed is of-the rule strength name and — would-call one
 μοναρχίαν.
monarchy

5.10 ἐπειδὰν δὲ τοῖς συστήμασι διὰ τὸν χρόνον ὑπογένηται
whenever and in-the communities because-of the time springs-up
 συντροφία καὶ συνήθεια, τοῦτ' ἀρχὴ βασιλείας φύεται,
fellowship and familiarity this (the)-beginning of-kingship grows
 καὶ τότε πρώτως ἔννοια γίνεται τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου
and then first (a)-notion arises of-the noble and just
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις.
to-the men likewise and also of-the opposites to-these

6.1 ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς γενέσεως τῶν εἰρημένων
the and manner of-the beginning and of-the origin of-the (things)-mentioned
 τοιόσδε.
(is)-this

- πάντων γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας ὁρμώντων κατὰ 6.2
all for toward the unions being-drawn according-to
 φύσιν, ἐκ δὲ τούτων παιδοποιίας ἀποτελουμένης, ὅποτε
nature from and these child-bearing being-accomplished whenever
 τις τῶν ἐκτραφέντων εἰς ἡλικίαν ἰκόμενος μὴ νέμοι
one of-those reared to maturity having-come not should-render
 χάριν μηδ' ἀμύναι τούτοις οἷς ἐκτρέφοιτ', ἀλλὰ που
gratitude nor defend these by-whom he-was-reared but somehow
 τάναντία κακῶς λέγειν ἢ δρᾶν τούτους ἐγχειροῖν,
the-opposite ill to-speak or to-do (to)-these should-attempt
 δῆλον ὡς δυσαρρεστὴν καὶ προσκόπτειν εἰκὸς τοὺς 6.3
(it-is)-clear that to-be-displeased and to-take-offense (it-is)-likely the(-ones)
 συνόντας καὶ συνιδόντας τὴν γεγεννημένην ἐκ τῶν
present and having-seen the having-come from the
 γεννησάντων ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κακοπάθειαν περὶ τὰ τέκνα
parents care and hardship about the children
 καὶ τὴν τούτων θεραπείαν καὶ τροφήν.
and the of-these tending and rearing
 τοῦ γὰρ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταύτῃ διαφέροντος τῶν 6.4
the for race of-the men in-this differing from-the
 ἄλλων ζώων, ἣ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μέτεστι νοῦ καὶ
other animals in-that alone to-them there-is-a-share of-mind and
 λογισμοῦ, φανερόν ὡς οὐκ εἰκὸς παρατρέχειν αὐτοὺς τὴν
reason (it-is)-evident that not (it-is)-likely to-pass-over them the
 προειρημένην διαφορὰν, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων,
aforesaid difference as in-the-case-of the other animals
 ἀλλ' ἐπισημαίνεσθαι τὸ γινόμενον καὶ δυσαρρεστεῖσθαι 6.5
but to-take-note-of the(-thing) happening and to-be-displeased
 τοῖς παροῦσι, προορωμένους τὸ μέλλον καὶ
with-the present(-things) foreseeing the future and

συλλογιζομένους ὅτι τὸ παραπλήσιον ἐκάστοις αὐτῶν
reckoning that the similar(-thing) to-each of-them

συγκυρήσει.

will-befall

- 6.6 καὶ μὴν ὅταν πού πάλιν ἄτερος ὑπὸ θατέρου τυχὼν
and indeed whenever somehow again the-one from the-other having-obtained
ἐπικουρίας ἢ βοηθείας ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς μὴ νέμῃ τῷ
aid or help in the dangers not renders to-the
σώσαντι χάριν, ἀλλὰ ποτε καὶ βλάπτειν ἐγχειρῇ
(one)-having-saved(-him) gratitude but sometimes even to-harm attempts
τοῦτον, φανερόν ὥς εἰκὸς τῷ τοιούτῳ δυσαρεστεῖσθαι
him (it-is)-evident that (it-is)-likely with-the such(-man) to-be-displeased
καὶ προσκόπτειν τοὺς εἰδότας, συναγανακτοῦντας μὲν
and to-take-offense the(-ones) knowing sharing-indignation indeed
τῷ πέλας, ἀναφέροντας δ' ἐφ' αὐτοὺς τὸ παραπλήσιον.
with-the neighbor referring and to themselves the similar(-case)

- 6.7 ἐξ ὧν ὑπογίνεται τις ἔννοια παρ' ἐκάστῳ τῆς τοῦ
from which springs-up some notion in each of-the of-the
καθήκοντος δυνάμεως καὶ θεωρίας· ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ
fitting meaning and theory which is (the)-beginning
καὶ τέλος δικαιοσύνης.
and end of-justice

- 6.8 ὁμοίως πάλιν ὅταν ἀμύνη μὲν τις πρὸ πάντων ἐν
likewise again whenever defends indeed one before all in
τοῖς δεινοῖς, ὑφίστηται δὲ καὶ μένη τὰς ἐπιφορὰς τῶν
the dangers withstands and and awaits the onsets of-the
ἀλκμωτάτων ζώων, εἰκὸς μὲν τὸν τοιοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ
fiercest beasts (it-is)-likely indeed the such(-man) from the
πλήθους ἐπισημασίας τυγχάνειν εὐνοϊκῆς καὶ προστατικῆς,
multitude notice to-obtain friendly and of-precedence

τὸν δὲ τάναντία τούτῳ πράττοντα καταγνώσεως καὶ
the(-one) and the-opposite to-this doing of-condemnation and
 προσκοπῆς.

offense

ἐξ οὗ πάλιν εὐλογον ὑπογίνεσθαι τινα θεωρίαν παρὰ 6.9

from which again (it-is)-reasonable to-spring-up some understanding among

τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰσχροῦ καὶ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς τούτων πρὸς

the many of-base and noble and of-the of-these toward

ἄλληλα διαφορᾶς, καὶ τὸ μὲν ζήλου καὶ μιμήσεως

one-another difference and the-one indeed emulation and imitation

τυγχάνειν διὰ τὸ συμφέρον, τὸ δὲ φυγῆς.

to-obtain because-of the advantage the-other and avoidance

ἐν οἷς ὅταν ὁ προεστὼς καὶ τὴν μεγίστην δύναμιν 6.10

in which whenever the leader and the greatest power

ἔχων ἀεὶ συνεπισχύη τοῖς προειρημένοις κατὰ τὰς

having always supports the aforesaid(-principles) according-to the

τῶν πολλῶν διαλήψεις, καὶ δόξῃ τοῖς ὑποταττομένοις

of-the many opinions and seems to-the subjects

διανεμητικὸς εἶναι τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστοις,

a-distributor to-be of-the according-to merit to-each

οὐκέτι τὴν βίαν δεδιότες, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ τὸ πλεῖον 6.11

no-longer the force fearing by-the but judgment the more

εὐδοκοῦντες, ὑποτάττονται καὶ συσώζουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν

approving they-submit and help-preserve the rule

αὐτοῦ, κἂν ὅλως ἢ γηραιός, ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπαμύνοντες

of-him even-if altogether he-be aged with-one accord defending

καὶ διαγωνιζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιβουλευόντας αὐτοῦ τῇ

and fighting against those plotting of-him against-the

δυναστείᾳ.

power

- 6.12 καὶ δὴ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ βασιλεὺς ἐκ μονάρχου
and indeed in-the such way king from monarch
 λανθάνει γενόμενος, ὅταν παρὰ τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος
escapes-notice having-become whenever from the spirit and the strength
 μεταλάβῃ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ λογισμός.
takes-over the leadership — reason

IV · FROM KINGSHIP TO OLIGARCHY

The people keep power in the king's line, and when displeased they choose kings for judgment rather than strength. The early kings fortify places, win land, and live like their subjects, beyond envy. Their heirs, finding security and plenty ready, want outlandish dress, food, and pleasures, and envy and hatred turn kingship into tyranny. The noblest men overthrow the tyrants, and the grateful people give them rule: aristocracy. Their sons, raised in privilege and ignorant of equality, fall to greed, drink, and outrage, and their oligarchy ends as the tyranny did.

- 7.1 αὕτη καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου πρώτη παρ' ἀνθρώποις κατὰ
this of-noble and just (is)-the-first among men according-to
 φύσιν ἔννοια καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις, αὕτη βασιλείας
nature notion and of-the opposites to-these this of-kingship
 ἀληθινῆς ἀρχῇ καὶ γένεσις.
true (is)-the-beginning and origin
- 7.2 οὐ γὰρ μόνον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων οἱ
not for only for-them but also for-those from these the
 πολλοὶ διαφυλάττουσι τὰς ἀρχάς, πεπεισμένοι τοὺς
many preserve the offices persuaded the(-ones)
 ἐκ τοιούτων γεγονότας καὶ τραφέντας ὑπὸ τοιούτοις
from such(-men) born and reared under such
 παραπλησίους ἔξιν καὶ τὰς προαιρέσεις.
similar to-be-going-to-have also the principles

ἐὰν δέ ποτε τοῖς ἐγγόνοις δυσαρεστήσωσι, ποιοῦνται μετὰ 7.3
if and ever with-the descendants they-are-displeased they-make after
 ταῦτα τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ βασιλέων οὐκέτι
these(-things) the choice of-the rulers and kings no-longer
 κατὰ τὰς σωματικὰς καὶ θυμικὰς δυνάμεις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ
according-to the bodily and spirited powers but according-to
 τὰς τῆς γνώμης καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ διαφοράς, πείραν
the of-the judgment and of-the reason differences trial
 εἰληφότες ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν παραλλαγῆς.
having-taken on the-very — deeds of-the from both difference
 τὸ μὲν οὖν παλαιὸν ἐνεγέρασκον ταῖς βασιλείαις οἱ 7.4
— indeed therefore of-old they-grew-old in-the kingships those
 κριθέντες ἅπαξ καὶ τυχόντες τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης, τόπους
chosen once and having-obtained the power this places
 τε διαφέροντας ὀχυρούμενοι καὶ τειχίζοντες καὶ χώραν
both excellent fortifying and walling and land
 κατακτώμενοι, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀσφαλείας χάριν, τὸ δὲ
acquiring partly indeed of-the security for-the-sake partly and
 τῆς δαψιλείας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις·
of-the abundance of-the necessities for-the subjects
 ἅμα δὲ περὶ ταῦτα σπουδάζοντες ἐκτὸς ἦσαν πάσης 7.5
at-the-same-time and about these being-busy beyond they-were all
 διαβολῆς καὶ φθόνου διὰ τὸ μήτε περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα
slander and envy because-of — neither in the dress
 μεγάλας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παραλλαγὰς μήτε περὶ τὴν βρώσιν
great to-make the differences nor in the food
 καὶ πόσιν, ἀλλὰ παραπλήσιον ἔχειν τὴν βιοτείαν τοῖς
and drink but similar to-have the manner-of-life to-the
 ἄλλοις, ὁμοσε ποιοῦμενοι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀεὶ τὴν δίαιταν.
others in-common making with-the many always the living

- 7.6 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ διαδοχῆς καὶ κατὰ γένος τὰς ἀρχὰς
when and by succession and according-to descent the offices
 παραλαμβάνοντες ἔτοιμα μὲν εἶχον ἤδη τὰ πρὸς
receiving ready indeed they-had already the(-things) for
 τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἔτοιμα δὲ καὶ πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν τὰ
the security ready and also more than-the sufficient the(-things)
 πρὸς τὴν τροφήν,
for the sustenance
- 7.7 τότε δὴ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐπόμενοι διὰ τὴν περιουσίαν
then indeed the desires following because-of the abundance
 ἐξάλλους μὲν ἐσθήτας ὑπέλαβον δεῖν ἔχειν τοὺς
outlandish indeed clothes they-supposed to-be-needful to-have the
 ἡγουμένους τῶν ὑποταττομένων, ἐξάλλους δὲ καὶ
rulers from-the subjects outlandish and and
 ποικίλας τὰς περὶ τὴν τροφήν ἀπολαύσεις καὶ παρασκευάς,
varied the about the food enjoyments and preparations
 ἀναντιρρήτους δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων τὰς
unchallenged and also from those not proper the
 τῶν ἀφροδισίων χρείας καὶ συνουσίας.
of-the sexual uses and intercourse
- 7.8 ἐφ' οἷς μὲν φθόνου γενομένου καὶ προσκοπῆς, ἐφ' οἷς
at which indeed envy arising and offense at which
 δὲ μίσους ἐκκαιομένου καὶ δυσμενικῆς ὀργῆς, ἐγένετο
and hatred being-kindled and hostile anger there-came-about
 μὲν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας τυραννίς, ἀρχὴ δὲ καταλύσεως
indeed from the kingship tyranny (a)-beginning and of-overthrow
 ἐγεννᾶτο καὶ σύστασις ἐπιβουλῆς τοῖς ἡγουμένοις·
was-born and (a)-formation of-conspiracy against-the rulers
- 7.9 ἦν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν χειρίστων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν γενναιοτάτων
which not from the worst but from the noblest
 καὶ μεγαλοψυχотάτων, ἔτι δὲ θαρραλεωτάτων ἀνδρῶν
and most-high-minded further and boldest men

συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς τοιούτους ἥκιστα

it-happened to-arise because-of — the such(-men) least

δύνασθαι φέρειν τὰς τῶν ἐφεστώτων ὕβρεις.

to-be-able to-bear the of-the (men)-in-charge insolences

τοῦ δὲ πλήθους, ὅτε λάβοι προστάτας, συνεπισχύοντος κατὰ 8.1

the and multitude when it-got leaders joining-in-support against

τῶν ἡγουμένων διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας, τὸ μὲν

the rulers because-of the aforesaid causes the indeed

τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μοναρχίας εἶδος ἄρδην ἀνιηρέτο, τὸ

of-the kingship and monarchy form utterly was-destroyed the(-form)

δὲ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας αὐθις ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανε καὶ γένεσιν.

and of-the aristocracy again beginning took and origin

τοῖς γὰρ καταλύσασι τοὺς μονάρχους οἷον εἰ χάριν ἐκ 8.2

those for having-overthrown the monarchs as if gratitude out-of

χειρὸς ἀποδιδόντες οἱ πολλοὶ τούτοις ἐχρῶντο προστάταις

hand repaying the many these used-as leaders

καὶ τούτοις ἐπέτρεπον περὶ σφῶν.

and to-these they-entrusted about themselves

οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀσμενίζοντες τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν οὐδὲν 8.3

they and — indeed at-first welcoming the trust nothing

προυργιαίτερον ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος, καὶ

more-important they-made than-the in-common advantage and

κηδεμονικῶς καὶ φυλακτικῶς ἕκαστα χειρίζοντες καὶ

solicitously and watchfully each(-thing) handling both

τὰ κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ πλήθους.

the(-affairs) in private and the public of-the multitude

ὅτε δὲ διαδέξαιντο πάλιν παῖδες παρὰ πατέρων τὴν τοιαύτην 8.4

when and succeeded again sons from fathers the such

ἐξουσίαν, ἄπειροι μὲν ὄντες κακῶν, ἄπειροι δὲ καθόλου

power inexperienced indeed being of-ills inexperienced and wholly

- πολιτικῆς ἰσότητος καὶ παρρησίας, τεθραμμένοι δ' ἐξ
of-civic equality and free-speech having-been-reared and from
 ἀρχῆς ἐν ταῖς τῶν πατέρων ἐξουσίαις καὶ προαγωγαῖς,
(the)-beginning in the of-the fathers powers and eminences
- 8.5 ὀρμήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλαργυρίαν ἄδικον,
having-rushed some indeed to greed and love-of-money unjust
 οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μέθας καὶ τὰς ἅμα ταύταις ἀπλήστους
others and to drinking-bouts and the with these insatiable
 εὐωχίας, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ὕβρεις καὶ παίδων
feasts others and to the of-the women outrages and of-boys
 ἀρπαγὰς, μετέστησαν μὲν τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν,
abductions they-changed indeed the aristocracy into oligarchy
- 8.6 ταχὺ δὲ κατεσκεύασαν ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσι πάλιν τὰ
quickly and they-produced in the multitudes again the(-feelings)
 παραπλήσια τοῖς ἄρτι ρηθεῖσι· διὸ καὶ παραπλήσιον
similar to-the(-things) just said wherefore also similar
 συνέβαινε τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι τῆς καταστροφῆς τοῖς
it-happened the end of-them to-be of-the catastrophe to-the
 περὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἀτυχήμασιν.
about the tyrants misfortunes

The people kill or banish the oligarchs and take the state themselves. While any who knew oligarchy survive, they prize equality and free speech; their grandsons seek more than the many, bribe the people, and bring on force, slaughter, exile, and redistribution, until the mob finds a master. This is the cycle: its student may misjudge the time but rarely the stage, and Rome, grown by nature, will change by nature. Lycurgus, seeing every simple form decay as iron rusts, combined kings, elders, and people; Rome reached that end through struggle.

ἐπειδὴν γάρ τις συνθεασάμενος τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὸ μῖσος 9.1
 whenever for one having-observed the envy and the hatred
 κατ' αὐτῶν τὸ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὑπάρχον, κᾶπειτα
 against them the(-feeling) among the citizens existing and-then
 θαρρήσῃ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν τι κατὰ τῶν προεστώτων,
 dares to-say or to-do something against the leaders
 πᾶν ἔτοιμον καὶ συνεργὸν λαμβάνει τὸ πλῆθος.
 all ready and cooperating he-finds the multitude
 λοιπὸν οὓς μὲν φονεύσαντες, οὓς δὲ φυγαδεύσαντες, 9.2
 then some indeed having-killed others and having-banished
 οὔτε βασιλέα προΐστασθαι τολμῶσιν, ἔτι δεδιότες τὴν τῶν
 neither a-king to-set-up they-dare still fearing the of-the
 πρότερον ἀδικίαν, οὔτε πλείοσιν ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ κοινὰ
 former(-kings) injustice nor to-several to-entrust the common(-affairs)
 θαρροῦσι, παρὰ πόδας αὐτοῖς οὔσης τῆς πρότερον ἀγνοίας,
 they-venture at (their)-feet to-them being the former ignorance
 μόνης δὲ σφίσι καταλειπομένης ἐλπίδος ἀκεραίου τῆς ἐν 9.3
 alone and to-them being-left hope unimpaired the(-one) in
 αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ταύτην καταφέρονται, καὶ τὴν μὲν πολιτείαν
 themselves to this they-turn and the indeed constitution

ἐξ ὀλιγαρχικῆς δημοκρατίαν ἐποίησαν, τὴν δὲ τῶν
 from oligarchic democracy they-made the and of-the
 κοινῶν πρόνοιαν καὶ πίστιν εἰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀνέλαβον.

common(-affairs) care and trust into them selves they-took-up

- 9.4 καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἂν ἔτι σῶζονται τινες τῶν ὑπεροχῆς καὶ
 and as-long-as indeed — still survive some of-those of-superiority and
 δυναστείας πείραν εἰληφότων, ἀσμενίζοντες τῇ παρουσίᾳ
 power trial having-had welcoming the present
 καταστάσει περὶ πλείστου ποιοῦνται τὴν ἰσηγορίαν καὶ
 settlement of most-account they-make the equality-of-speech and
 τὴν παρρησίαν.

the free-speech

- 9.5 ὅταν δ' ἐπιγένωνται νέοι καὶ παισὶ παίδων πάλιν ἡ
 whenever and arise young(-men) and to-sons of-sons again the
 δημοκρατία παραδοθῇ, τότε οὐκέτι διὰ τὸ σύνηθες ἐν
 democracy is-banded-down then no-longer because-of the familiarity in
 μεγάλῳ τιθέμενοι τὸ τῆς ἰσηγορίας καὶ παρρησίας
 great(-account) placing the(-right) of-the equality-of-speech and free-speech
 ζητοῦσι πλέον ἔχειν τῶν πολλῶν· μάλιστα δ' εἰς τοῦτ'
 they-seek more to-have than-the many most-of-all and into this
 ἐμπίπτουσιν οἱ ταῖς οὐσίαις ὑπερέχοντες.

full those in-the properties excelling

- 9.6 λοιπὸν ὅταν ὀρμήσωσιν ἐπὶ τὸ φιλαρχεῖν καὶ μὴ δύνωνται
 then when they-rush to the love-of-office and not are-able
 δι' αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς τυγχάνειν τούτων,
 through themselves and through the own virtue to-obtain these
 διαφθείρουσι τὰς οὐσίας, δελεάζοντες καὶ λυμαίνόμενοι τὰ
 they-ruin the properties luring and corrupting the
 πλήθη κατὰ πάντα τρόπον.

multitudes in every way

- ἐξ ὧν ὅταν ἅπαξ δωροδόκους καὶ δωροφάγους 9.7
from which when once bribe-takers and gift-eaters
 κατασκευάσωσι τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὴν ἄφρονα δοξοφαγίαν,
they-make the many because-of the senseless hunger-for-glory
 τότε ἤδη πάλιν τὸ μὲν τῆς δημοκρατίας καταλύεται,
then already again the(-form) indeed of-the democracy is-dissolved
 μεθίσταται δ' εἰς βίαν καὶ χειροκρατίαν ἢ δημοκρατία.
changes and into force and rule-of-the-fist the democracy
 συνειθισμένον γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος ἐσθίειν τὰ ἀλλότρια καὶ 9.8
having-grown-used for the multitude to-eat the(-goods) of-others and
 τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν τοῦ ζῆν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν πέλας, ὅταν
the hopes to-have of-the living on the(-goods) of-the neighbors when
 λάβῃ προστάτην μεγαλόφρονα καὶ τολμηρόν, ἐκκλειόμενον
it-gets a-leader ambitious and daring shut-out
 δὲ διὰ πενίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τιμίων, τότε δὴ
and because-of poverty from-the in the constitution honors then indeed
 χειροκρατίαν ἀποτελεῖ,
rule-of-the-fist it-brings-about
 καὶ τότε συναθροίζομενον ποιῇ σφαγὰς, φυγὰς, γῆς 9.9
and then gathering-together it-makes slaughters banishments of-land
 ἀναδασμούς, ἕως ἂν ἀποτεθριωμένον πάλιν εὖρῃ δεσπότῃν
redistributions until — having-become-savage again it-finds a-master
 καὶ μόναρχον.
and monarch
 αὕτη πολιτειῶν ἀνακύκλωσις, αὕτη φύσεως οἰκονομία, 9.10
this(-is) of-constitutions (the)-cycle this(-is) of-nature (the)-order
 καθ' ἣν μεταβάλλει καὶ μεθίσταται καὶ πάλιν εἰς
according-to which change and shift and again into
 αὐτὰ καταντᾶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας.
themselves return the(-things) regarding the constitutions

- 9.11 ταῦτά τις σαφῶς ἐπεγνωκὼς χρόνοις μὲν ἴσως
these one clearly having-understood as-to-times indeed perhaps
 διαμαρτήσεται λέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος περὶ
will-err speaking about the future concerning
 πολιτείας, τὸ δὲ ποῦ τῆς αὐξήσεως ἕκαστόν ἐστιν ἢ
a-constitution the(-question) but where of-the growth each is or
 τῆς φθορᾶς ἢ ποῦ μεταστήσεται σπανίως ἂν διασφάλλοιτο,
of-the decay or where it-will-change rarely — would-be-mistaken
 χωρὶς ὀργῆς ἢ φθόνου ποιούμενος τὴν ἀπόφασιν.
without anger or envy making the pronouncement
- 9.12 καὶ μὴν περὶ γε τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας κατὰ ταύτην
and indeed about at-least the of-Romans constitution by this
 τὴν ἐπίστασιν μάλιστ' ἂν ἔλθοιμεν εἰς γνῶσιν καὶ τῆς
— method best — we-would-come to knowledge both of-the
 συστάσεως καὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς, ὁμοίως δὲ
formation and of-the growth and of-the prime likewise and
 καὶ τῆς εἰς τοῦμπαλιν ἐσομένης ἐκ τούτων μεταβολῆς·
also of-the to the-reverse going-to-be from these change
- 9.13 εἰ γάρ τινα καὶ ἑτέραν πολιτείαν, ὥς ἄρτίως εἶπα, καὶ
if for any also other constitution as just-now I-said also
 ταύτην συμβαίνει, κατὰ φύσιν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔχουσιν
this it-happens according-to nature from (the)-beginning having
 τὴν σύστασιν καὶ τὴν αὐξήσιν, κατὰ φύσιν ἔξιν
the formation and the growth according-to nature to-be-going-to-have
 καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰναντία μεταβολήν.
also the to the-opposite change
- 9.14 σκοπεῖν δ' ἐξέσται διὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα
to-consider and it-will-be-possible through the after these(-things)
 ῥηθησομένων.
to-be-said(-things)

νῦν δ' ἐπὶ βραχὺ ποιησόμεθα μνήμην ὑπὲρ τῆς 10.1
 now and for a-short(-while) we-shall-make mention about the

Λυκούργου νομοθεσίας· ἔστι γὰρ οὐκ ἀνοίκειος ὁ λόγος
 of-Lycurgus legislation is for not unrelated the account
 τῆς προθέσεως.

to-the purpose

ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἕκαστα τῶν προειρημένων συννοήσας 10.2
 he for each of-the aforesaid(-things) having-understood

ἀναγκαίως καὶ φυσικῶς ἐπιτελούμενα καὶ συλλογισάμενος
 necessarily and naturally being-accomplished and having-reasoned

ὅτι πᾶν εἶδος πολιτείας ἀπλοῦν καὶ κατὰ μίαν συνεστηκὸς
 that every form of-constitution simple and on one founded

δύναμιν ἐπισφαλὲς γίνεται διὰ τὸ ταχέως εἰς τὴν
 power precarious becomes because-of — quickly into the

οἰκείαν καὶ φύσει παρεπομένην ἐκτρέπεσθαι κακίαν·
 proper and by-nature attendant to-degenerate vice

καθάπερ γὰρ σιδήρῳ μὲν ἰός, ξύλοις δὲ θρίπες καὶ 10.3
 just-as for to-iron indeed rust to-timbers and worms and

τερηδόνες συμφυεῖς εἰσι λῦμαι, δι' ὧν, κἂν πάσας τὰς
 borers congenital are banes through which even-if all the

ἔξωθεν διαφύγῳσι βλάβας, ὑπ' αὐτῶν φθείρονται
 from-outside they-escape harms by the-very(-things) they-are-destroyed

τῶν συγγενομένων,

— born-with(-them)

τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν συγγενῶνται κατὰ 10.4
 in-the same way also of-the constitutions is-born-with according-to

φύσιν ἕκαστη καὶ παρέπεται τις κακία, βασιλεία μὲν ὁ
 nature each and follows some vice to-kingship indeed the

μοναρχικὸς λεγόμενος τρόπος, ἀριστοκρατία δ' ὁ

monarchic so-called manner to-aristocracy and the(-manner)

τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας,

of-the oligarchy

- 10.5 δημοκρατία δ' ὁ θηριώδης καὶ χειροκρατικός, εἰς οὓς
to-democracy and the savage and fist-ruling(-kind) into which
 οὐχ οἶόν τε μὴ οὐ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα σὺν χρόνῳ
not possible — — not all the aforesaid(-constitutions) with time
 ποιεῖσθαι τὰς μεταστάσεις κατὰ τὸν ἄρτι λόγον.
to-make the transitions according-to the just(-given) account
- 10.6 ἃ προϊδόμενος Λυκούργος οὐχ ἀπλὴν οὐδὲ μονοειδῆ
which foreseeing Lycurgus not simple nor uniform
 συνεστήσατο τὴν πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ πάσας ὁμοῦ συνήθροιζε
organized the constitution but all together be-gathered
 τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς ιδιότητας τῶν ἀρίστων πολιτευμάτων,
the virtues and the peculiarities of-the best polities
- 10.7 ἵνα μὴδὲν αὐξανόμενον ὑπὲρ τὸ δέον εἰς τὰς συμφύεις
so-that nothing growing beyond the needful into the congenital
 ἐκτρέπεται κακίας, ἀντισπωμένης δὲ τῆς ἐκάστου δυνάμεως
should-degenerate vices being-counterbalanced and the of-each power
 ὑπ' ἀλλήλων μηδαμοῦ νεύη μὴδ' ἐπὶ πολὺ καταρρέπη
by one-another nowhere should-incline nor by much should-sink
 μὴδὲν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἰσορροποῦν καὶ ζυγостаτούμενον ἐπὶ
any of-them but balanced and poised for
 πολὺ διαμένῃ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀντιπλοίας λόγον αἰεὶ
long should-remain according-to the of-the counter-sailing principle always
 τὸ πολίτευμα,
the polity
- 10.8 τῆς μὲν βασιλείας κωλυομένης ὑπερηφανεῖν διὰ τὸν
the indeed kingship being-prevented to-be-arrogant because-of the
 ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου φόβον, δεδομένης καὶ τούτῳ μερίδος
from the people fear given also to-it a-share
 ἱκανῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ,
sufficient in the constitution

τοῦ δὲ δήμου πάλιν μὴ θαρροῦντος καταφρονεῖν τῶν 10.9

the and people again not daring to-despise the
 βασιλέων διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γερόντων φόβον, οἱ κατ'
kings because-of the from the elders fear who by
 ἐκλογὴν ἀριστίνδην κεκριμένοι πάντες ἔμελλον ἀεὶ τῷ
selection by-merit chosen all were-bound always to-the
 δικαίῳ προσνέμειν ἑαυτούς,

just to-attach themselves

ὥστε τὴν τῶν ἐλαττουμένων μερίδα διὰ τὸ τοῖς 10.10

so-that the of-the (ones)-at-a-disadvantage part because-of — the
 ἔθεσιν ἐμμένειν, ταύτην ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι μείζω καὶ βαρυτέραν
customs to-abide-by this always to-become greater and weightier
 τῇ τῶν γερόντων προσκλίσει καὶ ῥοπῇ.

by-the of-the elders support and weight

τοιγαροῦν οὕτως συστησάμενος πλείστον ὦν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν 10.11

therefore thus having-organized (the)-longest of-which we know

χρόνον διεφύλαξε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

time he-preserved for-the Lacedaemonians the freedom

ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν λόγῳ τινὶ προιδόμενος πόθεν ἕκαστα 10.12

he indeed therefore by-reasoning some foreseeing whence each(-thing)

καὶ πῶς πέφυκε συμβαίνειν, ἀβλαβῶς συνεστήσατο τὴν

and how is-wont to-happen without-harm organized the

προειρημένην πολιτείαν·

aforesaid constitution

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν τέλος ταῦτο πεποιήνται τῆς ἐν τῇ 10.13

Romans and the indeed end the-same have-made of-the in the

πατρίδι καταστάσεως,

fatherland settlement

οὐ μὲν διὰ λόγου, διὰ δὲ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ 10.14

not however through reasoning through but many struggles and

πραγμάτων, ἔξ αὐτῆς ἀεὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς περιπετείαις

affairs from the-very always — in the reversals

ἐπιγνώσεως αἰρούμενοι τὸ βέλτιον, οὕτως ἦλθον ἐπὶ
 knowledge choosing the better thus they-came to
 ταὐτὸ μὲν Λυκούργῳ τέλος, κάλλιστον δὲ σύστημα τῶν
 the-same indeed as-Lycurgus end (the)-finest and system of-the
 καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτειῶν.
 in our-time constitutions

VI · THREE PARTS IN BALANCE

Rome's constitution was at its finest and most complete in Hannibal's time, when the Romans were beaten at Cannae. Romans, Polybius knows, will fault his omissions, but a good judge measures a writer by what he says: falsehood there shows that the omissions were ignorance, and truth that they were judgment. An excerpt adds that every matter must be judged in its context. Three parts controlled the state so evenly that not even a native could say whether it was aristocratic, democratic, or monarchic: the consuls looked kingly, the senate aristocratic, and the people democratic.

11.1 ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 (note)-that from the of-Xerxes crossing into — Greece
 *** καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν
 (lacuna) and thirty years later from these —
 καιρῶν ἀεὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος προδιευκρινουμένων ἦν καὶ
 times always of-the in detail being-perfected(-elements) it-was both
 κάλλιστον καὶ τέλειον ἐν τοῖς Ἀννιβιακοῖς καιροῖς, ἀφ'
 finest and complete in the Hannibalic times from
 ὧν ἡμεῖς εἰς ταῦτα τὴν ἐκτροπὴν ἐποιησάμεθα.
 which we to these the digression made

11.2 διὸ καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς συστάσεως αὐτοῦ λόγον
 wherefore also the about the formation of-it account
 ἀποδεδωκότες πειρασόμεθα νῦν ἤδη διασαφεῖν ὁποῖόν
 having-rendered we-shall-try now at-length to-make-clear of-what-sort

τι κατ' ἐκείνους ὑπῆρχε τοὺς καιροὺς, ἐν οἷς λειφθέντες
a-thing in those it-was the times in which defeated
 τῇ περὶ Κάνναν μάχῃ τοῖς ὅλοις ἔπταισαν πράγμασιν.
in-the at Cannae battle in-the whole they-stumbled affairs
 οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ διότι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πολιτείας 11.3
not I-am-unaware and that to-those from the-very — constitution
 ὀρμωμένοις ἐλλιπεστέραν φανησόμεθα ποιεῖσθαι τὴν
coming more-deficient we-shall-appear to-make the
 ἐξήγησιν, ἔνια παραλιπόντες τῶν κατὰ μέρος·
account some(-things) having-omitted of-the in detail
 πᾶν γὰρ ἐπιγινώσκοντες καὶ παντὸς πείραν εἰληφότες 11.4
everything for knowing and of-everything experience having-bad
 διὰ τὴν ἐκ παιδίων τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ νομίμοις
because-of the from childhood with-the customs and usages
 συντροφίαν οὐ τὸ λεγόμενον θαυμάσουσιν ἀλλὰ τὸ
upbringing not the(-thing) said they-will-admire but the(-thing)
 παραλειπόμενον ἐπιζητήσουσιν,
omitted they-will-look-for
 οὐδὲ κατὰ πρόθεσιν ὑπολήψονται τὸν γράφοντα παραλιπεῖν 11.5
nor by design they-will-suppose the writer to-have-omitted
 τὰς μικρὰς διαφοράς, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἄγνοιαν παρασιωπᾶν
the small differences but through ignorance to-pass-over
 τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ συνέχοντα τῶν πραγμάτων.
the beginnings and the (things)-holding-together of-the affairs
 καὶ ῥηθέντα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐθαύμαζον ὥς ὄντα μικρὰ 11.6
and said indeed not — would-they-admire(-them) as being small
 καὶ πάρεργα, παραλειπόμενα δ' ἐπιζητοῦσιν ὥς ἀναγκαῖα,
and incidental omitted but they-look-for(-them) as necessary
 βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν αὐτοὶ πλέον εἶδέναι τῶν συγγραφέων.
wishing to-seem themselves more to-know than-the writers

- 11.7 δέῃ δὲ τὸν ἀγαθὸν κριτὴν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παραλειπομένων
it-is-necessary and the good judge not from the omitted(-things)
δοκιμάζειν τοὺς γράφοντας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων,
to-assess the writers but from the (things)-said
- 11.8 κὰν μὲν ἐν τούτοις τι λαμβάνῃ ψεῦδος, εἰδέναι
and-if indeed in these some he-catches falsehood to-know
διότι κακεῖνα παραλείπεται δι' ἄγνοιαν, ἐὰν δὲ πᾶν
that those-too are-omitted through ignorance if but all
τὸ λεγόμενον ἀληθὲς ᾗ, συγχωρεῖν διότι κακεῖνα
the(-thing) said true be to-grant that those-too
παρασιωπᾶται κατὰ κρίσιν, οὐ κατ' ἄγνοιαν.
are-passed-over by judgment not through ignorance
- 11.9 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω μοι πρὸς τοὺς φιλοτιμότερον
these indeed therefore let-be-said by-me to those more-contentiously
ἢ δικαιοτέρον ἐπιτιμῶντας τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν.
than more-justly censuring the writers
- 11.10 ὅτι πᾶν πρᾶγμα σὺν καιρῷ θεωρούμενον ὑγιεῖς
(note)-that every matter with (its)-occasion viewed sound
λαμβάνει καὶ τὰς συγκαταθέσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις·
receives both the assents and the censures
μεταπεσόντος δὲ τούτου καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας περιστάσεις
having-changed but this and against the other circumstances
συγκρινόμενον οὐχ οἷον αἰρετόν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀνεκτόν
compared not so-much-as acceptable but not-even tolerable
ἂν φανείη τὸ κράτιστα καὶ ἀληθινώτατα πολλάκις
— would-appear the(-thing) most-excellently and most-truly often
ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραφέων εἰρημένον.
by the writers said
- 11.11 ἦν μὲν δὴ τρία μέρη τὰ κρατοῦντα τῆς πολιτείας,
there-were indeed then three parts the(-ones) controlling of-the constitution
ἅπερ εἶπα πρότερον ἅπαντα· οὕτως δὲ πάντα κατὰ
which I-said before all(-three) so and all(-things) in

μέρος ἴσως καὶ πρεπόντως συνετέτακτο καὶ διακείτο διὰ
detail equally and fittingly were-arranged and administered through
 τούτων ὥστε μηδένα ποτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι βεβαίως
these that no-one ever — to-say would-be-able with-certainty
 μηδὲ τῶν ἐγχωρίων πότερ' ἀριστοκρατικὸν τὸ πολίτευμα
not-even of-the natives whether aristocratic the polity
 σύμπαν ἢ δημοκρατικὸν ἢ μοναρχικόν.

whole(-was) or democratic or monarchic

καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκὸς ἦν πάσχειν. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν 11.12
and this likely it-was to-experience when indeed for at the of-the
 ὑπάτων ἀτενίσαιμεν ἐξουσίαν, τελείως μοναρχικὸν ἐφαίνεται
consuls we-gazed power completely monarchic it-appeared
 εἶναι καὶ βασιλικόν, ὅτε δ' εἰς τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου, πάλιν
to-be and kingly when and at that of-the senate again
 ἀριστοκρατικόν· καὶ μὴν εἰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἐξουσίαν
aristocratic and indeed if the of-the many power
 θεωροῖ τις, ἐδόκει σαφῶς εἶναι δημοκρατικόν.

should-view one it-seemed clearly to-be democratic

ὧν δ' ἕκαστον εἶδος μερῶν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπεκράτει, 11.13
over-which and each kind of-parts of-the constitution held-sway
 καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἔτι πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν ταῦτ' ἐστίν.
both then and now still except a-few things these are

In Rome, before they lead out the legions, the consuls are masters of public business: every magistrate but the tribunes obeys them, they bring embassies before the senate, convene the assemblies, and carry out decrees, and in the field their power over allies, officers, levy, punishment, and spending is nearly absolute. Seen from this part alone, the state looks simply monarchic. The senate controls the treasury, including the censors' great five-yearly outlay on public works, investigates crimes such as treason and poisoning in Italy, and handles every embassy, so that with no consul present the state looks wholly aristocratic.

- 12.1 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὕπατοι πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἐξάγειν τὰ στρατόπεδα
the indeed for consuls before — indeed leading-out the legions
 παρόντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ πασῶν εἰσι κύριοι τῶν δημοσίων
being-present in Rome of-all are masters of-the public
 πράξεων.

affairs

- 12.2 οἷ τε γὰρ ἄρχοντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ὑποτάττονται καὶ
the both for magistrates the remaining all are-subordinate and
 πειθαρχοῦσι τούτοις πλὴν τῶν δημάρχων, εἷς τε τὴν
obey these except the tribunes into and the
 σύγκλητον οὗτοι τὰς πρεσβείας ἄγουσι.

senate these the embassies lead

- 12.3 πρὸς δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις οὗτοι τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν
besides and the aforesaid these the urgent(-matters) of-the
 διαβουλίῶν ἀναδιδώσιν, οὗτοι τὸν ὅλον χειρισμὸν τῶν
deliberations refer these the whole handling of-the
 δογμάτων ἐπιτελοῦσι.

decrees carry-out

- 12.4 καὶ μὴν ὅσα δεῖ διὰ τοῦ δήμου συντελεῖσθαι τῶν
and indeed as-many-as must through the people to-be-accomplished of-the(-things)
 πρὸς τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις ἀνηκόντων, τούτοις καθήκει
to the common affairs pertaining to-these it-belongs

φροντίζειν καὶ συνάγειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, τούτοις εἰσφέρειν
to-attend-to and to-convene the assemblies to-these to-propose
 τὰ δόγματα, τούτοις βραβεύειν τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς πλείοσι.
the decrees to-these to-preside-over the (things)-resolved by-the majority
 καὶ μὴν περὶ πολέμου κατασκευῆς καὶ καθόλου τῆς ἐν 12.5
and indeed about of-war preparation and generally the in
 ὑπαίθροις οἰκονομίας σχεδὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὴν ἐξουσίαν
(the)-field management almost absolute the power
 ἔχουσι.

they-have
 καὶ γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς συμμαχικοῖς τὸ δοκοῦν, 12.6
and for to-impose on-the allied(-states) the(-thing) resolved
 καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους καθιστάναι, καὶ διαγράφειν τοὺς
and the military-tribunes to-appoint and to-enroll the
 στρατιώτας, καὶ διαλέγειν τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τούτοις
soldiers and to-select the fit to-these
 ἔξεστι.

it-is-permitted
 πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ζημῶσαι τῶν ὑποταττομένων 12.7
besides and the (things)-mentioned to-punish of-those serving
 ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις ὃν ἂν βουληθῶσι κύριοι καθεστᾶσιν.
in the field whomever — they-wish masters they-are-established
 ἐξουσίαν δ' ἔχουσι καὶ δαπανᾶν τῶν δημοσίων ὅσα 12.8
power and they-have also to-spend of-the public(-funds) as-much-as
 προθεῖντο, παρεπομένου ταμίου καὶ πᾶν τὸ προσταχθὲν
they-propose accompanying a-quaestor and all the(-thing) ordered
 ἐτόίμως ποιοῦντος.
readily doing

- 12.9 ὥστ' εἰκότως εἰπεῖν ἄν, ὅτε τις εἰς ταύτην ἀποβλέψει
so-that reasonably (one)-would-say — when one at this should-look
 τὴν μερίδα, διότι μοναρχικὸν ἀπλῶς καὶ βασιλικὸν ἐστὶ
the part that monarchic simply and kingly is
 τὸ πολίτευμα.
the polity
- 12.10 εἰ δέ τινα τούτων ἢ τῶν λέγεσθαι μελλόντων λήψεται
if and any of-these or of-the to-be-said (things)-about-to will-undergo
 μετάρθῃσιν ἢ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἢ μετὰ τινα χρόνον, οὐδὲν
change either at the present or after some time nothing
 ἂν εἴη πρὸς τὴν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγομένην ἀπόφασιν.
— it-would-be against the now by us being-made declaration
- 13.1 καὶ μὴν ἡ σύγκλητος πρῶτον μὲν ἔχει τὴν τοῦ ταμείου
and indeed the senate first indeed has the of-the treasury
 κυρίαν. καὶ γὰρ τῆς εἰσόδου πάσης αὕτη κρατεῖ καὶ τῆς
control and for of-the income all this controls and of-the
 ἐξόδου παραπλησίως.
expenditure similarly
- 13.2 οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὰς κατὰ μέρος χρείας οὐδεμίαν ποιεῖν
neither for for the in detail needs any to-make
 ἐξοδὸν οἱ ταμίαι δύνανται χωρὶς τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου
expenditure the quaestors can without the of-the senate
 δογμάτων πλὴν τὴν εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους·
decrees except the(-expenditure) for the consuls
- 13.3 τῆς τε παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλοσχερεστάτης
the and by far than-the others most-comprehensive
 καὶ μεγίστης δαπάνης, ἣν οἱ τιμηταὶ ποιοῦσιν εἰς
and greatest expenditure which the censors make for
 τὰς ἐπισκευὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς τῶν δημοσίων κατὰ
the repairs and constructions of-the public(-works) every

πενταετηρίδα, ταύτης ἡ σύγκλητός ἐστι κυρία, καὶ διὰ
five-years of-this the senate is master and through

ταύτης γίνεταί τὸ συγχώρημα τοῖς τιμηταῖς.

this comes the grant to-the censors

ὁμοίως ὅσα τῶν ἀδικημάτων τῶν κατ' Ἰταλίαν 13.4

likewise as-many-as of-the crimes the(-ones) in Italy

προσδεῖται δημοσίας ἐπισκέψεως, λέγω δ' οἷον προδοσίας,

require public investigation I-mean and such-as treason

συνωμοσίας, φαρμακείας, δολοφονίας, τῇ συγκλήτῳ

conspiracy poisoning assassination to-the senate

μέλει περὶ τούτων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις,

it-is-a-concern about these besides and these

εἴ τις ιδιώτης ἢ πόλις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν 13.5

if any private(-person) or city of-the(-ones) in — Italy

διαλύσεως ἢ καὶ νῇ Δι' ἐπιτιμήσεως ἢ βοηθείας ἢ φυλακῆς

of-arbitration or even by Zeus of-censure or of-help or of-protection

προσδεῖται, τούτων πάντων ἐπιμελές ἐστι τῇ συγκλήτῳ.

needs of-these all a-care it-is to-the senate

καὶ μὲν εἰ τῶν ἐκτὸς Ἰταλίας πρὸς τινὰς ἐξαποστέλλειν 13.6

and indeed if of-the(-peoples) outside Italy to some to-send-out

δέοι πρεσβείαν τιν' ἢ διαλύσουσάν τινὰς ἢ

it-should-be-necessary an-embassy of-some-kind either to-reconcile some or

παρακαλέουσιν ἢ καὶ νῇ Δι' ἐπιτάξουσιν ἢ παραληψομένην

to-appeal-to or even by Zeus to-command or to-receive-submission

ἢ πόλεμον ἐπαγγέλλουσιν. αὕτη ποιεῖται τὴν πρόνοιαν.

or war to-declare this makes the provision

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν παραγενομένων εἰς Ῥώμην πρεσβειῶν 13.7

likewise and also of-the arriving at Rome embassies

ὥς δέον ἐστὶν ἐκάστοις χρῆσθαι καὶ ὥς δέον ἀποκριθῆναι,

how needful it-is each to-treat and how needful to-answer

πάντα ταῦτα χειρίζεται διὰ τῆς συγκλήτου. πρὸς δὲ
all these is-handled through the senate to and
τὸν δῆμον καθάπαξ οὐδέν ἐστι τῶν προειρημένων.

the people absolutely nothing is of-the aforesaid(-matters)

13.8 ἐξ ὧν πάλιν ὁπότε τις ἐπιδημήσαι μὴ παρόντος
from which again when one should-visit(-Rome) not being-present
ὑπάτου, τελείως ἀριστοκρατικὴ φαίνεται ἡ πολιτεία.

a-consul completely aristocratic appears the constitution

13.9 ὁ δὲ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν
which indeed also many of-the Greeks likewise and also of-the
βασιλέων, πεπεισμένοι τυγχάνουσι, διὰ τὸ τὰ σφῶν
kings persuaded happen(-to-be) because-of — the their
πράγματα σχεδὸν πάντα τὴν σύγκλητον κυροῦν.

affairs almost all the senate to-ratify

VIII • THE SHARE OF THE PEOPLE

What is left for the people? The weightiest share of all, honor and punishment, which alone hold states and all human life together. The people judge cases that carry heavy fines and, alone, capital cases; a man on trial for his life may depart openly into exile before the last tribe votes, and find refuge at Naples, Praeneste, or Tibur. The people give offices to the worthy, approve laws, decide peace and war, and confirm or reject alliances and treaties, so the state may also be called democratic.

14.1 ἐκ δὲ τούτων τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιζητήσκει ποία καὶ
from and these who not — reasonably would-ask what-sort and
τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν ἡ τῷ δήμῳ καταλειπομένη μερὶς ἐν τῷ
what ever is the to-the people left share in the
πολιτεύματι,

polity

τῆς μὲν συγκλήτου τῶν κατὰ μέρος ὧν εἰρήκαμεν 14.2

the indeed senate of-the in detail(-matters) which we-have-mentioned

κυρίας ὑπαρχούσης, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς

master being the and greatest(-point) by it both of-the

εἰσόδου καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου χειριζομένης ἀπάσης, τῶν δὲ

income and of-the expenditure being-handled all the and

στρατηγῶν ὑπάτων πάλιν αὐτοκράτορα μὲν ἐχόντων

generals consuls again absolute indeed having

δύναμιν περὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευάς, αὐτοκράτορα

power about the of-the war preparations absolute

δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις ἐξουσίαν;

and the in the field authority

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καταλείπεται μερὶς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ 14.3

not however but there-is-left a-share also to-the people and

καταλείπεται γε βαρυτάτη.

there-is-left indeed a-most-weighty(-one)

τιμῆς γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ τιμωρίας ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μόνος ὁ 14.4

of-honor for is and of-punishment in the constitution alone the

δῆμος κύριος, οἷς συνέχονται μόνοις καὶ δυναστεῖαι καὶ

people master by-which are-held-together alone both dominions and

πολιτεῖαι καὶ συλλήβδην πᾶς ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος.

constitutions and in-a-word all the — of-men life

παρ' οἷς γὰρ ἢ μὴ γνωσκέσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν τοιαύτην 14.5

among whom for either not to-be-recognized it-happens the such

διαφορὰν ἢ γνωσκομένην χειρίζεσθαι κακῶς, παρὰ τούτοις

distinction or being-recognized to-be-handled badly among these

οὐδὲν οἶόν τε κατὰ λόγον διοικεῖσθαι τῶν ὑφ' ἐστῶτων·

nothing possible — according-to reason to-be-administered of-the existing(-things)

πῶς γὰρ εἰκὸς ἐν ἴσῃ τιμῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς κακοῖς;

how for (is-it)-likely in equal honor the good(-men) with-the bad

- 14.6 κρίνει μὲν οὖν ὁ δῆμος καὶ διαφόρου πολλάκις, ὅταν
judges indeed therefore the people also of-money often when
 ἀξιοχρεῶν ἢ τὸ τίμημα τῆς ἀδικίας, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς
considerable be the penalty of-the offense and especially those
 τὰς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐσχηκότας ἀρχάς. θανάτου δὲ κρίνει μόνος.
the distinguished having-held offices of-death and judges alone
- 14.7 καὶ γίνεται τι περὶ ταύτην τὴν χρεῖαν παρ' αὐτοῖς
and there-happens something about this — practice among them
 ἄξιον ἐπαίνου καὶ μνήμης. τοῖς γὰρ θανάτου κρινομένοις,
worthy of-praise and of-memory to-those for of-death being-tried
 ἐπὰν καταδικάζωνται, δίδωσι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς
when they-are-being-condemned gives the liberty the among them
 ἔθος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι φανερώς, κἂν ἔτι μία λείπηται φυλὴ
custom to-depart openly even-if still one remains tribe
 τῶν ἐπικυρουσῶν τὴν κρίσιν ἀψηφοφόρητος, ἐκούσιον
of-those ratifying the verdict unvoted voluntary
 ἑαυτοῦ καταγνόντα φυγαδεῖαν.
himself having-sentenced(-to) exile
- 14.8 ἔστι δ' ἀσφάλεια τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἔν τε τῇ Νεαπολιτῶν
there-is and safety for-the exiles in both the of-Neapolitans
 καὶ Πραινεστίνων, ἔτι δὲ Τιβουρίνων πόλει, καὶ ταῖς
and of-Praenestines further and of-Tiburtones city and the
 ἄλλαις, πρὸς ἃς ἔχουσιν ὄρκια.
others with which they-have treaties
- 14.9 καὶ μὴν τὰς ἀρχὰς ὁ δῆμος δίδωσι τοῖς ἀξίοις· ὅπερ
and indeed the offices the people gives to-the worthy which
 ἐστὶ κάλλιστον ἄθλον ἐν πολιτείᾳ καλοκαγαθίας.
is (the)-finest prize in a-state of-nobility

ἔχει δὲ τὴν κυρίαν καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νόμων δοκιμασίας, 14.10
it-has and the authority also about the of-the laws approval
 καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης οὗτος βουλευέται καὶ
and the greatest(-point) about peace this deliberates and
 πολέμου.

war

καὶ μὴν περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ διαλύσεως καὶ συνθηκῶν 14.11
and indeed about alliance and reconciliation and treaties
 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βεβαιῶν ἕκαστα τούτων καὶ κύρια
this is the(-one) confirming each of-these and valid
 ποιῶν ἢ τοῦναντίον.

making or the-opposite

ὥστε πάλιν ἐκ τούτων εἰκότως ἂν τιν' εἰπεῖν ὅτι 14.12
so-that again from these reasonably — one would-say that
 μεγίστην ὁ δῆμος ἔχει μερίδα καὶ δημοκρατικόν ἐστι τὸ
greatest the people has share and democratic is the
 πολίτευμα.

polity

Each part can work against the others or with them. The consul in the field seems absolute, but without the senate his legions get no grain, clothing, or pay; it can replace him after his year, and it can grant or refuse his triumph. The people ratify his treaties, and when he lays down office he must give them his accounts. The senate in turn must heed the people, who confirm its capital trials and pass the laws touching its powers, and a single tribune's veto can stop it from even meeting.

- 15.1 τίνα μὲν οὖν τρόπον διήρηται τὰ τῆς πολιτείας
in-what indeed therefore way has-been-divided the(-powers) of-the constitution
 εἰς ἕκαστον εἶδος εἴρηται· τίνα δὲ τρόπον ἀντιπράττειν
into each form has-been-said in-what and way to-work-against
 βουλευθέντα καὶ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοις πάλιν ἕκαστα τῶν
having-wished and to-cooperate with-one-another again each of-the
 μερῶν δύναται νῦν ῥηθήσεται.
parts is-able now will-be-said
- 15.2 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑπάτος, ἐπειδὰν τυχὼν τῆς προειρημένης
the indeed for consul when having-obtained the aforesaid
 ἐξουσίας ὀρμήσῃ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, δοκεῖ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ
power he-sets-out with the force seems indeed absolute
 εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων συντέλειαν,
to-be for the of-the (things)-proposed accomplishment
- 15.3 προσδεῖται δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου, καὶ χωρὶς
he-needs but the people and the senate and without
 τούτων ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγειν τὰς πράξεις οὐχ ἰκανός ἐστι.
these to (an)-end to-bring the undertakings not able he-is
- 15.4 δηλον γὰρ ὡς δεῖ μὲν ἐπιτέμπεσθαι τοῖς
(it-is)-clear for that it-is-necessary indeed to-be-sent to-the
 στρατοπέδοις αἰεὶ τὰς χορηγίας· ἄνευ δὲ τοῦ τῆς
legions always the supplies without but the of-the

συγκλήτου βουλήματος οὔτε σίτος οὔθ' ἱματισμός οὔτ'
senate will neither grain nor clothing nor

ὁψώνια δύναται χορηγεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις,

pay can be-supplied to-the legions

ὥστ' ἀπράκτους γίνεσθαι τὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῶν ἡγουμένων, 15.5

so-that ineffective to-become the designs of-the commanders

ἐθελοκακεῖν καὶ κωλυσιεργεῖν προθεμένης τῆς συγκλήτου.

to-be-willfully-negligent and to-obstruct having-resolved the senate

καὶ μὴν τό γ' ἐπιτελεῖς ἢ μὴ γίνεσθαι τὰς ἐπινοίας 15.6

and indeed the at-least fulfilled or not to-become the plans

καὶ προθέσεις τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ κείται·

and purposes of-the generals in the senate lies

τοῦ γὰρ ἐπαποστεῖλαι στρατηγὸν ἕτερον, ἐπειδὰν ἐνιαύσιος

of-the for sending-out general another when (the)-yearly

διέλθῃ χρόνος, ἢ τὸν ὑπάρχοντα ποιεῖν ἐπίμονον, ἔχει

passes time or the existing(-one) to-make continuing has

τὴν κυρίαν αὐτή.

the authority this

καὶ μὴν τὰς ἐπιτυχίας τῶν ἡγουμένων ἐκτραγωδεῖν 15.7

and indeed the successes of-the commanders to-dramatize

καὶ συναυξῆσαι καὶ πάλιν ἀμαυρῶσαι καὶ ταπεινῶσαι τὸ

and to-magnify and again to-obscure and to-belittle the

συνέδριον ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν·

council has the power

τοὺς γὰρ προσαγορευομένους παρ' αὐτοῖς θριάμβους, 15.8

the for so-called among them triumphs

δι' ὧν ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν ἄγεται τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὸ τῶν

through which under the sight is-brought to-the citizens by the

στρατηγῶν ἢ τῶν κατειργασμένων πραγμάτων ἐνάργεια,

generals the of-the accomplished deeds vividness

τούτους οὐ δύνανται χειρίζειν, ὥς πρέπει, ποτὲ δὲ

these not they-can conduct as is-fitting sometimes and

τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ συντελεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ συνέδριον
— at-all not-even to-hold if not the council

συγκατάθεται καὶ δῶ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην.

consents and grants the for these expense

15.9 τοῦ γε μὴν δήμου στοχάζεσθαι καὶ λίαν αὐτοῖς ἀναγκαῖόν
of-the at-least indeed people to-take-account also very to-them necessary

ἔστι, κἂν ὅλως ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας τύχῳσι πολὺν τόπον
it-is even-if altogether from the home they-happen a-great space

ἀφεστῶτες· ὁ γὰρ τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ συνθήκας ἀκύρους
being-distant the(-one) for the reconciliations and treaties invalid

καὶ κυρίας ποιῶν, ὡς ἐπάνω προεῖπον, οὗτός ἐστιν.

and valid making as above I-said-before this is

15.10 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἀποτιθεμένους τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τούτῳ
the and greatest(-point) laying-down the office before this

δεῖ τὰς εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν τῶν πεπραγμένων.

they-must the accounts to-submit of-the (things)-done

15.11 ὥστε κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς
so-that in no way safe to-be for-the generals

ὀλιγωρεῖν μήτε τῆς συγκλήτου μήτε τῆς τοῦ πλήθους

to-neglect either the senate or the of-the multitude

εὐνοίας.

goodwill

16.1 ἥ γε μὴν σύγκλητος πάλιν, ἡ τηλικαύτην
the at-least indeed senate again the(-one) so-great

ἔχουσα δύναμιν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασιν
having power first indeed in the public affairs

ἀναγκάζεται προσέχειν τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ στοχάζεσθαι τοῦ
is-compelled to-attend to-the many and to-take-account-of the

δήμου,

people

τὰς δ' ὀλοσχερεστάτας καὶ μεγίστας ζητήσεις καὶ 16.2
the and most-comprehensive and greatest inquiries and
 διορθώσεις τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων κατὰ τῆς πολιτείας, οἷς
corrections of-the offenses against the constitution for-which
 θάνατος ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ πρόστιμον, οὐ δύναται συντελεῖν,
death follows (as)-the penalty not it-can carry-out
 ἂν μὴ συνεπικυρώσῃ τὸ προβεβουλευμένον ὁ δῆμος.
if not confirms the (measure)-deliberated-beforehand the people
 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς ταύτην ἀνηκόντων· ἔαν 16.3
likewise and also about the(-matters) to this(-body) pertaining if
 γάρ τις εἰσφέρει νόμον, ἢ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφαιρούμενός
for anyone brings-in a-law either of-the power taking-away
 τι τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τῇ συγκλήτῳ κατὰ τοὺς
some(-part) the(-power) belonging to-the senate according-to the
 ἔθισμούς ἢ τὰς προεδρίας καὶ τιμὰς καταλύων αὐτῶν ἢ
customs or the precedences and honors abolishing of-them or
 καὶ νῆ Δία ποιῶν ἐλαττώματα περὶ τοὺς βίους. πάντων
even by Zeus making reductions about the livelihoods of-all
 ὁ δῆμος γίνεται τῶν τοιούτων καὶ θεῖναι καὶ μὴ κύριος.
the people becomes of-the such(-measures) both to-pass and not master
 τὸ δὲ συνέχον, ἔαν εἰς ἐνίστηται τῶν δημάρχων, οὐχ οἶον 16.4
the and chief(-point) if one opposes of-the tribunes not only
 ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγειν τι δύναται τῶν διαβουλίῳ ἢ σύγκλητος,
to (an)-end to-bring anything is-able of-the deliberations the senate
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ συνεδρεῖν ἢ συμπορεύεσθαι τὸ παράπαν —
but not-even to-sit or to-meet — at-all
 ὀφείλουσι δ' αἰεὶ ποιεῖν οἱ δήμαρχοι τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ 16.5
are-bound and always to-do the tribunes the(-thing) seeming(-good) to-the
 δήμῳ καὶ μάλιστα στοχάζεσθαι τῆς τούτου βουλήσεως —
people and above-all to-take-account-of the of-it will

διὸ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων χάριν δέδιδε τοὺς
wherefore of-all the aforesaid(-reasons) for-the-sake fears the
 πολλοὺς καὶ προσέχει τῷ δήμῳ τὸν νοῦν ἢ σύγκλητος.
many and turns to-the people the mind the senate

X • THE BALANCE HOLDS

The people depend on the senate too. Nearly everyone shares in the censors' contracts for public works across Italy and for rivers, harbors, mines, and lands, as buyer, partner, or surety, which the senate can extend, lighten, or cancel, and senators judge the weightiest suits. So all are wary of obstructing the senate, or the consuls who will command them. No better constitution exists: in danger it is irresistible, and in prosperity no part can swell unchecked. The dictator, unlike the consuls, is absolute, and all offices but the tribunes lapse on his appointment.

- 17.1 ὁμοίως γε μὴν πάλιν ὁ δῆμος ὑπόχρεός ἐστι τῇ
likewise at-least indeed again the people dependent is on-the
 συγκλήτῳ, καὶ στοχάζεσθαι ταύτης ὀφείλει καὶ κοινῇ καὶ
senate and to-take-account-of it must both in-public and
 κατ' ἰδίαν.
in private

- 17.2 πολλῶν γὰρ ἔργων ὄντων τῶν ἐκδιδομένων ὑπὸ τῶν
many for works being the(-ones) let-out by the
 τιμητῶν διὰ πάσης Ἰταλίας εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς καὶ
censors through all Italy for the repairs and
 κατασκευὰς τῶν δημοσίων, ἃ τις οὐκ ἂν ἐξαριθμήσαιτο
constructions of-the public(-works) which one not — could-count
 ῥαδίως, πολλῶν δὲ ποταμῶν, λιμένων, κηπίων, μετάλλων,
easily many and rivers harbors gardens mines

χώρας, συλλήβδην ὅσα πέπτωκεν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων
lands in-a-word as-many-as have-fallen under the of-Romans
δυναστείαν,

dominion

πάντα χειρίζεσθαι συμβαίνει τὰ προειρημένα διὰ τοῦ 17.3

all to-be-managed it-happens the aforesaid(-things) through the
πλήθους, καὶ σχεδὸν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πάντας ἐνδεδέσθαι
multitude and almost as a-word to-say all to-be-bound-up
ταῖς ὠναῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐργασίαις ταῖς ἐκ τούτων·

with-the purchases and the workings the(-ones) from these

οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγοράζουσι παρὰ τῶν τιμητῶν αὐτοὶ τὰς 17.4

some indeed for buy from the censors themselves the
ἐκδόσεις, οἱ δὲ κοινωνοῦσι τούτοις, οἱ δ' ἐγγυνῶνται
contracts others and are-partners with-these others and stand-surety-for
τοὺς ἡγορακότας, οἱ δὲ τὰς οὐσίας διδόασιν περὶ τούτων
those having-bought others and the properties give on these
εἰς τὸ δημόσιον.

to the treasury

ἔχει δὲ περὶ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων τὴν κυρίαν τὸ 17.5

has and about all the aforesaid(-matters) the authority the
συνέδριον· καὶ γὰρ χρόνον δύναται δοῦναι καὶ συμπτώματος
council and for time it-can give and an-accident
γενομένου κουφίσαι καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀδυνάτου τινὸς
having-occurred to-lighten and — altogether impossible something
συμβάντος ἀπολῦσαι τῆς ἐργωνίας.

having-happened to-release from-the contract

καὶ πολλὰ δὴ τιν' ἐστίν, ἐν οἷς καὶ βλάπτει 17.6

and many indeed some(-things) there-are in which both harms
μεγάλα καὶ πάλιν ὠφελεῖ τοὺς τὰ δημόσια χειρίζοντας
greatly and again benefits those the public(-contracts) managing

ἡ σύγκλητος· ἡ γὰρ ἀναφορὰ τῶν προειρημένων γίνεται
the senate the for referral of-the aforesaid(-matters) is
 πρὸς ταύτην.

to this

17.7 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐκ ταύτης ἀποδίδονται κριταὶ τῶν
the and greatest(-point) from this are-given judges of-the
 πλείστων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν
most both of-the public and of-the private
 συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα μέγεθος ἔχει τῶν ἐγκλημάτων.
contracts as-many-as magnitude have of-the charges

17.8 διὸ πάντες εἰς τὴν ταύτης πίστιν ἐνδεδεμένοι, καὶ δεδιότες
wherefore all into the of-this protection bound and fearing
 τὸ τῆς χρείας ἀδηλον, εὐλαβῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὰς ἐνστάσεις
the of-the need uncertainty cautiously are toward the obstructions
 καὶ τὰς ἀντιπράξεις τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου βουλημάτων.
and the oppositions of-the of-the senate wishes

17.9 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπιβολὰς δυσχερῶς
likewise and also toward the of-the consuls designs reluctantly
 ἀντιπράττουσι διὰ τὸ κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ κοινῇ πάντας
they-work-against because-of — in private and in-public all
 ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις ὑπὸ τὴν ἐκείνων πίπτειν ἐξουσίαν.
in the field under the of-those to-fall authority

18.1 τοιαύτης δ' οὔσης τῆς ἐκάστου τῶν μερῶν δυνάμεως εἰς τὸ
such and being the of-each of-the parts power for —
 καὶ βλάπτειν καὶ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοις, πρὸς πάσας συμβαίνει
both to-harm and to-cooperate with-one-another in all it-happens
 τὰς περιστάσεις δεόντως ἔχειν τὴν ἀρμογὴν αὐτῶν, ὥστε
the circumstances duly to-have the fitting-together of-them so-that
 μὴ οἷόν τ' εἶναι ταύτης εὐρεῖν ἀμείνω πολιτείας σύστασιν.
not possible — to-be than-this to-find better of-constitution structure

ὅταν μὲν γάρ τις ἔξωθεν κοινὸς φόβος ἐπιστὰς 18.2

whenever indeed for some from-outside common fear coming-on
 ἀναγκάσῃ σφᾶς συμφρονεῖν καὶ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοις,
compels them to-agree and to-cooperate with-one-another
 τηλικαύτην καὶ τοιαύτην συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν
so-great and such it-happens to-become the power
 τοῦ πολιτεύματος

of-the polity

ὥστε μήτε παραλείπεσθαι τῶν δεόντων μηδέν, ἅτε 18.3

that neither to-be-neglected of-the needful(-things) anything since
 περὶ τὸ προσπεσὸν ἀεὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἐπινοαῖς
about the (thing)-occurring always all together with-the plans

ἀμιλλωμένων, μήτε τὸ κριθέν ὑστερεῖν τοῦ καιροῦ,

vying nor the(-thing) decided to-be-too-late for-the occasion

κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστου συνεργούντος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ

in-public and in private each cooperating toward the of-the

προκειμένου συντέλειαν.

proposed(-task) accomplishment

διόπερ ἀνυπόστατον συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι καὶ παντὸς 18.4

wherefore irresistible it-happens to-become and everything

ἐφικνεῖσθαι τοῦ κριθέντος τὴν ιδιότητα τοῦ πολιτεύματος.

to-attain of-the (thing)-decided the peculiarity of-the polity

ὅταν γε μὴν πάλιν ἀπολυθέντες τῶν ἐκτὸς φόβων 18.5

whenever at-least indeed again released from-the external fears

ἐνδιατρίβωσι ταῖς εὐτυχίαις καὶ περιουσίαις ταῖς ἐκ

they-linger in-the good-fortunes and abundances the(-ones) from

τῶν κατορθωμάτων, ἀπολαμβάνοντες τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, καὶ

the successes enjoying the prosperity and

ὑποκολακευόμενοι καὶ ῥαθυμοῦντες τρέπωνται πρὸς ὕβριν

being-flattered and growing-idle they-turn to insolence

καὶ πρὸς ὑπερηφανίαν, ὃ δὴ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι,

and to arrogance which indeed is-wont to-happen

- 18.6 τότε καὶ μάλιστα συνιδεῖν ἔστιν αὐτὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ
then also especially to-see it-is-possible itself from itself
 ποριζόμενον τὸ πολίτευμα τὴν βοήθειαν.
supplying the polity the remedy
- 18.7 ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐξοιδούν τι τῶν μερῶν φιλονεικῇ
when for swelling some(-one) of-the parts contends
 καὶ πλεόν τοῦ δέοντος ἐπικρατῇ, δῆλον ὡς οὐδενὸς
and more than-the needful prevails (it-is)-clear that none
 αὐτοτελοῦς ὄντος κατὰ τὸν ἄρτι λόγον, ἀντισπᾶσθαι
self-sufficient being according-to the just(-given) account to-be-drawn-back
 δὲ καὶ παραποδίζεσθαι δυναμένης τῆς ἐκάστου προθέσεως
but and to-be-hampered being-able the of-each purpose
 ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, οὐδὲν ἐξοιδεῖ τῶν μερῶν οὐδ' ὑπερφρονεῖ.
by one-another none swells of-the parts nor grows-contemptuous
- 18.8 πάντα γὰρ ἐμμένει τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις τὰ μὲν
all for abide-by the established(-arrangements) some indeed
 κωλυόμενα τῆς ὀρμῆς, τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεδιότα τὴν
checked in-the impulse others and from (the)-beginning fearing the
 ἐκ τοῦ πέλας ἐπίστασιν.
from the neighbor interference
- 18.9 ὁ δὲ δικτάτωρ ταύτην ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν ὑπάτων·
the and dictator this has the difference from-the consuls
 τῶν μὲν γὰρ ὑπάτων ἐκατέρῳ δώδεκα πελέκεις ἀκολουθοῦσι,
of-the indeed for consuls each twelve axes follow
 τούτῳ δ' εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρες, κακείνοι μὲν ἐν πολλοῖς
him and twenty and four and-those indeed in many(-matters)
 προσδέονται τῆς συγκλήτου πρὸς τὸ συντελεῖν τὰς ἐπιβολάς,
need the senate for — accomplishing the designs
 οὗτος δ' ἔστιν αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγός, οὗ κατασταθέντος
this(-man) but is absolute general who having-been-appointed
 παραχρῆμα διαλύεσθαι συμβαίνει πάσας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐν τῇ
immediately to-be-dissolved it-happens all the offices in —

Ῥώμη πλὴν τῶν δημάρχων. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων

Rome except the tribunes not however but about indeed these

ἐν ἄλλοις ἀκριβεστέραν ποιησόμεθα τὴν διαστολήν.

in other(-places) more-precise we-shall-make the distinction

XI • THE LEVY

After the consuls, the people elect fourteen military tribunes of five years' service and ten of ten. The infantry serve sixteen campaigns before the age of forty-six, the cavalry ten, and no one holds civil office without ten. On the appointed day the men of military age gather on the Capitol, the tribunes are shared among four legions, and four men at a time are picked in rotation until each has 4,200, or 5,000 in danger. The cavalry are chosen by wealth. All swear the oath, the allies are summoned, and the men are sorted by age and wealth into light-armed, hastati, principes, and triarii.

ἐπειδὴν ἀποδείξωσι τοὺς ὑπάτους, μετὰ ταῦτα

19.1

when they-have-appointed the consuls after these(-things)

χιλιάρχους καθιστᾶσι, τετταρασκαίδεκα μὲν ἐκ τῶν πέντ'

military-tribunes they-appoint fourteen indeed from those five

ἐνιαυσίους ἐχόντων ἤδη στρατείας, δέκα δ' ἄλλους σὺν

yearly having already campaigns ten and others with

τούτοις ἐκ τῶν δέκα.

these from those (with)-ten

τῶν λοιπῶν τοὺς μὲν ἵππεῖς δέκα, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς ἕξ

19.2

of-the remaining the indeed cavalry ten the and infantry six

καὶ δέκα δεῖ στρατείας τελεῖν κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐν τοῖς

and ten must campaigns to-serve by necessity in the

τετταράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσι ἀπὸ γενεᾶς πλὴν τῶν ὑπὸ

forty and six years from birth except those under

τὰς τετρακοσίας δραχμὰς τετιμημένων·

the four-hundred drachmas assessed

- 19.3 τούτους δὲ παρῑσι πάντας εἰς τὴν ναυτικὴν χρεῖαν. ἐὰν
these and they-leave all for the naval service if
 δέ ποτε κατεπείγῃ τὰ τῆς περιστάσεως, ὀφείλουσιν
and ever presses the(-need) of-the circumstance are-bound
 οἱ πεζοὶ στρατεύειν εἴκοσι στρατείας ἐνιαυσίους.
the infantry to-serve twenty campaigns yearly
- 19.4 πολιτικὴν δὲ λαβεῖν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἔξεστιν οὐδενὶ πρότερον,
civil and to-take office not it-is-permitted to-anyone before
 ἐὰν μὴ δέκα στρατείας ἐνιαυσίους ἢ τετελεκώς.
if not ten campaigns yearly he-has completed
- 19.5 ἐὰν δὲ μέλλωσι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν καταγραφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν
if and they-intend to-make the enrollment of-the soldiers
 οἱ τὰς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες ἀρχάς, προλέγουσιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ
those the consular holding offices announce in the people
 τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ δεήσει παραγενέσθαι τοὺς ἐν
the day on which it-will-be-necessary to-attend the(-men) of
 ταῖς ἡλικίαις Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας. ποιοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο καθ'
— military-age Romans all they-do and this in
 ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν.
each year
- 19.6 τῆς δ' ἡμέρας ἐπελθούσης καὶ τῶν στρατευσίμων
the and day having-come and of-the (men)-liable-to-serve
 παραγενομένων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ'
having-arrived at — Rome and after this
 ἄθροισθέντων εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον, διέλυν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς
having-been-gathered at the Capitol divided them selves
 οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν χιλιάρχων,
the younger of-the military-tribunes

καθάπερ ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατασταθῶσιν ἢ τῶν στρατηγῶν, 19.7
as — by the people they-are-appointed or by-the generals

εἰς τέτταρα μέρη διὰ τὸ τέτταρα παρ' αὐτοῖς στρατόπεδα
into four parts because-of — four among them legions

τὴν ὅλοσχερῇ καὶ πρώτην διαίρεσιν τῶν δυνάμεων ποιείσθαι.
the whole and first division of-the forces to-make

καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρώτους κατασταθέντας τέτταρας εἰς τὸ 19.8
and the indeed first appointed four to the

πρῶτον καλούμενον στρατόπεδον ἔνειμαν, τοὺς δ' ἐξῆς
first called legion they-assigned the and next

τρεις εἰς τὸ δεύτερον, τοὺς δ' ἐπομένους τούτοις τέτταρας
three to the second the and following these four

εἰς τὸ τρίτον, τρεῖς δὲ τοὺς τελευταίους εἰς τὸ τέταρτον.
to the third three and the last to the fourth

τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων δύο μὲν τοὺς πρώτους εἰς τὸ 19.9
of-the and elder two indeed the first to the

πρῶτον, τρεῖς δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους εἰς τὸ δεύτερον τιθέασι
first three and the second to the second they-place

στρατόπεδον, δύο δὲ τοὺς ἐξῆς εἰς τὸ τρίτον, τρεῖς δὲ
legion two and the next to the third three and

τοὺς τελευταίους εἰς τὸ τέταρτον.
the last to the fourth

γενομένης δὲ τῆς διαιρέσεως καὶ καταστάσεως τῶν 20.1
having-been-made and the division and appointment of-the

χιλιάρχων τοιαύτης ὥστε πάντα τὰ στρατόπεδα τοὺς
military-tribunes such so-that all the legions the

ἴσους ἔχειν ἄρχοντας,
equal(-number) have officers

- 20.2 μετὰ ταῦτα καθίσαντες χωρὶς ἀλλήλων κατὰ
after these(-things) seated apart from-one-another by
 στρατόπεδον κληροῦσι τὰς φυλὰς κατὰ μίαν καὶ
legion they-draw-lots-for the tribes one-by one and
 προσκαλοῦνται τὴν αἰὲ λαχοῦσαν.
they-summon the each-time drawn(-one)
- 20.3 ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐκλέγουσι τῶν νεανίσκων τέτταρας ἐπιεικῶς
from and this they-select of-the young-men four fairly
 τοὺς παραπλησίους ταῖς ἡλικίαις καὶ ταῖς ἕξεσι.
the(-ones) similar in-the ages and the physiques
- 20.4 προσαχθέντων δὲ τούτων λαμβάνουσι πρῶτοι τὴν
having-been-brought-forward and these take first the
 ἐκλογὴν οἱ τοῦ πρώτου στρατοπέδου, δεύτεροι δ' οἱ
choice those of-the first legion second and those
 τοῦ δευτέρου, τρίτοι δ' οἱ τοῦ τρίτου, τελευταῖοι δ'
of-the second third and those of-the third last and
 οἱ τοῦ τετάρτου.
those of-the fourth
- 20.5 πάλιν δ' ἄλλων τεττάρων προσαχθέντων λαμβάνουσι
again and other four having-been-brought-forward take
 πρῶτοι τὴν αἵρεσιν οἱ τοῦ δευτέρου στρατοπέδου καὶ
first the choice those of-the second legion and
 ἐξῆς οὕτως, τελευταῖοι δ' οἱ τοῦ πρώτου.
next thus last and those of-the first
- 20.6 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἄλλων τεττάρων προσαχθέντων
after and this again other four having-been-brought-forward
 πρῶτοι λαμβάνουσιν οἱ τοῦ τρίτου στρατοπέδου, τελευταῖοι
first take those of-the third legion last
 δ' οἱ τοῦ δευτέρου.
and those of-the second

αἰεὶ κατὰ λόγον οὕτως ἐκ περιόδου τῆς ἐκλογῆς γινομένης 20.7

always in order thus in rotation the choice being-made

παραπλησίους συμβαίνει λαμβάνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς

similar it-happens to-be-taken the men for

ἕκαστον τῶν στρατοπέδων.

each of-the legions

ὅταν δ' ἐκλέξωσι τὸ προκείμενον πλήθος — τοῦτο 20.8

when and they-have-chosen the prescribed number this

δ' ἔστιν ὅτε μὲν εἰς ἕκαστον στρατόπεδον πεζοὶ

and is sometimes indeed for each legion foot-soldiers

τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ διακόσιοι, ποτὲ δὲ πεντακισχίλιοι,

four-thousand and two-hundred sometimes and five-thousand

ἐπειδὰν μείζων τις αὐτοῖς προφαίνεται κίνδυνος —

when greater some to-them appears danger

μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἱππεῖς τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑστέρους 20.9

after these(-things) the cavalry — indeed of-old last

εἰώθεσαν δοκιμάζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς τετρακισχιλίοις διακοσίοις,

they-were-accustomed to-examine after the four-thousand two-hundred

νῦν δὲ προτέρους, πλουτύνδην αὐτῶν γεγενημένης ὑπὸ

now and first by-wealth of-them having-been-made by

τοῦ τιμητοῦ τῆς ἐκλογῆς· καὶ ποιοῦσι τριακοσίους εἰς

the censor the selection and they-make three-hundred for

ἕκαστον στρατόπεδον.

each legion

ἐπιτελεσθείσης δὲ τῆς καταγραφῆς τὸν προειρημένον 21.1

having-been-completed and the enrollment in-the aforesaid

τρόπον, ἀθροίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιλεγμένους οἱ προσήκοντες

way having-assembled those chosen the (ones)-concerned

τῶν χιλιάρχων καθ' ἕκαστον στρατόπεδον, καὶ λαβόντες

of-the military-tribunes for each legion and having-taken

ἐκ πάντων ἓνα τὸν ἐπιτηδεϊότατον,

from all one the most-suitable

- 21.2 ἐξορκίζουσιν ἡ μὴν πειθαρχήσῃν καὶ ποιήσῃν τὸ
they-make-swear truly indeed to-obey and to-do the(-thing)
 προσταττόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων κατὰ δύναμιν.
commanded by the officers according-to ability
- 21.3 οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ὁμνύουσι καθ' ἓνα προπορευόμενοι,
the and remaining all swear one-by one coming-forward
 τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δηλοῦντες ὅτι ποιήσουσι πάντα καθάπερ ὁ
this very declaring that they-will-do everything as the
 πρῶτος.
first(-man)
- 21.4 κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς οἱ τὰς ὑπάτους ἀρχὰς
at and the same times those the consular offices
 ἔχοντες παραγγέλλουσι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν
holding give-orders to-the magistrates those from the
 συμμαχίδων πόλεων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐξ ὧν ἂν
allied cities those in — Italy from which —
 βούλωνται συστρατεύειν τοὺς συμμάχους, διασαφoῦντες
they-wish to-serve-with(-them) the allies making-clear
 τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὸν τόπον, εἰς ὃν
the number and the day and the place to which
 δεήσει παρεῖναι τοὺς κεκρυμένους.
it-will-be-necessary to-be-present those chosen
- 21.5 αἱ δὲ πόλεις παραπλησίαν ποιησάμεναι τῇ προειρημένῃ
the and cities similar having-made to-the aforesaid
 τὴν ἐκλογὴν καὶ τὸν ὄρκον ἐκπέμπουσιν, ἄρχοντα
the selection and the oath send-out a-commander
 συστήσασαι καὶ μισθοδότην.
having-appointed and paymaster
- 21.6 οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ χιλίαρχοι μετὰ τὸν ἐξορκισμόν
the and in — Rome military-tribunes after the administering-of-the-oath
 παραγγείλαντες ἡμέραν ἐκάστῳ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τόπον,
having-appointed a-day for-each legion and a-place

εἰς ὃν δεήσει παρεῖναι χωρὶς τῶν ὀπλων, τότε
 to which it-will-be-necessary to-be-present without the arms then
 μὲν ἀφῆκαν.

indeed they-dismissed(-them)

παραγενομένων δ' εἰς τὴν ταχθεῖσαν ἡμέραν διαλέγουσι 21.7
 having-arrived and on the appointed day they-sort

τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς μὲν νεωτάτους καὶ πενιχροτάτους εἰς
 of-the men the indeed youngest and poorest into

τοὺς γροσφομάχους, τοὺς δ' ἐξῆς τούτοις εἰς τοὺς ἀστάτους
 the light-armed the and next to-these into the bastati

καλουμένους, τοὺς δ' ἀκμαιοτάτους ταῖς ἡλικίαις εἰς τοὺς
 so-called the and most-vigorous in-the ages into the

πρίγκιπας, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτάτους εἰς τοὺς τριαρίους.

principes the and oldest into the triarii

αὗται γάρ εἰσι καὶ τοσαῦται διαφοραὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις 21.8
 these for are and so-many differences among Romans

καὶ τῶν ὀνομασιῶν καὶ τῶν ἡλικιῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν
 both of-the names and of-the ages further and of-the

καθοπλισμῶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ στρατοπέδῳ.

equipments in each legion

διαιροῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὥστ' εἶναι 21.9
 they-divide and them in-the way this so-that there-are

τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτάτους καὶ τριαρίους προσαγορευομένους
 the indeed oldest and triarii called

ἑξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ πρίγκιπας χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους,

six-hundred the and principes a-thousand and two-hundred

ἴσους δὲ τούτοις τοὺς ἀστάτους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καὶ
 equal and to-these the bastati the and rest and

νεωτάτους γροσφοφόρους.

youngest javelin-bearers

- 21.10 ἐὰν δὲ πλείους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων ὦσι, κατὰ λόγον
 if and more than-the four-thousand there-are in proportion
 ποιοῦνται τὴν διαίρεσιν πλὴν τῶν τριαρίων. τούτους αἰεὶ
 they-make the division except the triarii these always
 τοὺς ἴσους.
 the equal(-number)

XII · THE ARMS OF THE LEGION

The youngest carry a sword, javelins, and a round shield three feet across, with a plain helmet and a wolf skin to mark them to their officers; the javelin's thin point bends on impact, so it cannot be thrown back. The hastati wear full armor: a convex shield of glued planking, covered in linen and calfskin and edged with iron; the Iberian sword, good for thrust and cut; two pila, their barbed heads riveted halfway down the shaft; a bronze helmet crested with three purple or black feathers; a greave; and a bronze heart guard, or mail for the rich. The principes and triarii are armed alike, except that the triarii carry spears instead of pila.

- 22.1 καὶ τοῖς μὲν νεωτάτοις παρήγγειλαν μάχαιραν φορεῖν καὶ
 and the indeed youngest they-ordered a-sword to-carry and
 γρόσφους καὶ πάρμην.
 javelins and a-round-shield
- 22.2 ἡ δὲ πάρμη καὶ δύναμιν ἔχει τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ
 the and round-shield both strength has in-the construction and
 μέγεθος ἀρκοῦν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν· περιφερὴς γὰρ οὖσα τῷ
 size sufficient for protection circular for being in-the
 σχήματι τρίπεδον ἔχει τὴν διάμετρον.
 shape three-foot it-has the diameter
- 22.3 προσεπικοσμεῖται δὲ καὶ λιτῷ περικεφαλαίῳ· ποτὲ
 he-is-further-adorned and also with-a-plain helmet sometimes
 δὲ λυκείαν ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιτίθεται, σκέπη
 and a-wolf-skin or some(-thing) of-the such(-kind) is-put-on of-covering

ἄμα καὶ σημείου χάριν, ἵνα τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἡγεμόσι
at-once and of-a-sign for-the-sake so-that to-the of (each)-unit officers
 προκινδυνεύοντες ἔρρωμένως καὶ μὴ διάδηλοι γίνωνται.
fighting-in-front bravely and not(-so) conspicuous they-may-be
 τὸ δὲ τῶν γρόσφων βέλος ἔχει τῷ μὲν μήκει τὸ ξύλον ὥς 22.4
the and of-the javelins missile has in-the indeed length the wood as
 ἐπίπαν δίπηχυ, τῷ δὲ πάχει δακτυλιαῖον, τὸ δὲ κέντρον
a-rule two-cubits in-the and thickness a-finger's(-breadth) the and point
 σπιθαμιαῖον, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ λεπτόν ἐξεληλασμένον καὶ
a-span(-long) to such-a-degree to thin hammered-out and
 συνωξυσμένον ὥστε κατ' ἀνάγκην εὐθέως ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης
sharpened so-that of necessity immediately from the first
 ἐμβολῆς κάμπτεσθαι καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους
impact to-bend and not to-be-able the enemy
 ἀντιβάλλειν· εἰ δὲ μή, κοινὸν γίνεται τὸ βέλος.
to-throw-back if but not common becomes the missile
 τοῖς γε μὴν δευτέροις μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀστάτοις 23.1
to-the at-least indeed second indeed in the age hastati
 δὲ προσαγορευομένοις, παρήγγειλαν φέρειν πανοπλίαν.
and called they-ordered to-carry full-armor
 ἔστι δ' ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ πανοπλία πρῶτον μὲν θυρεός — 23.2
is and the Roman full-armor first indeed a-shield
 οὗ τὸ μὲν πλάτος ἐστὶ τῆς κυρτῆς ἐπιφανείας πένθ'
of-which the indeed breadth is of-the convex surface five
 ἡμιποδίων, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ποδῶν τεττάρων, τὸ δ' ἐπ'
half-feet the and length feet four the and at
 ἵτους πάχος ἔτι καὶ παλαιστιαῖον —
(the)-rim thickness further also a-palm(-broad)

- 23.3 ἐκ διπλοῦ σανιδώματος ταυροκόλλη πεπηγώς, ὀθονίῳ,
from double planking with-bull-glue fastened with-linen
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μοσχέϊω δέρματι περιέλιγται τὴν ἐκτὸς
after and these with-calf skin it-is-wrapped the outer
 ἐπιφάνειαν.
surface
- 23.4 ἔχει δὲ περὶ τὴν ἴτυν ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν καὶ κάτωθεν
it-has and about the rim on the upper and lower
 μερῶν σιδηροῦν σιάλωμα, δι' οὗ τὰς τε καταφορὰς τῶν
parts an-iron edging by which the both downward-blows of-the
 μαχαίρων ἀσφαλίζεται καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐξερείσεις.
swords it-guards-against and the against the ground restings
- 23.5 προσήρμους δ' αὐτῷ καὶ σιδηρᾷ κόγχος, ἣ τὰς
is-fitted and to-it also an-iron boss which the
 ὀλοσχερεῖς ἀποστέγει πληγὰς λίθων καὶ σαρισῶν καὶ
heavy wards-off blows of-stones and of-pikes and
 καθόλου βιαίων βελῶν.
generally of-violent missiles
- 23.6 ἄμα δὲ τῷ θυρεῷ μάχαιρα· ταύτην δὲ περὶ τὸν δεξιὸν
along and with-the shield a-sword this and on the right
 φέρει μηρόν, καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἰβηρικὴν.
he-carries thigh they-call and it Iberian
- 23.7 ἔχει δ' αὕτη κέντημα διάφορον καὶ καταφορὰν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν
it-has and this a-thrust excellent and a-cut from both
 τοῖν μεροῖν βίαιον διὰ τὸ τὸν ὀβελίσκον αὐτῆς ἰσχυρὸν
the edges violent because-of — the blade of-it strong
 καὶ μόνιμον εἶναι.
and firm to-be

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὕσσοι δύο καὶ περικεφαλαία χαλκῇ καὶ 23.8
besides and these pila two and a-helmet bronze and
προκνημῖς. τῶν δ' ὕσσων εἰσιν οἱ μὲν παχεῖς, οἱ δὲ
a-greave of-the and pila are some indeed thick others and
λεπτοί.

thin

τῶν δὲ στερεωτέρων οἱ μὲν στρογγύλοι παλαιστιαίαν 23.9
of-the and stouter some indeed round a-palm's(-breadth)
ἔχουσι τὴν διάμετρον, οἱ δὲ τετράγωνοι τὴν πλευράν.
have the diameter others and square the side
οἱ γε μὴν λεπτοὶ σιβυνίοις ἐοίκασι συμμέτροις, οὓς
the at-least indeed thin to-hunting-spears are-like moderate which
φοροῦσι μετὰ τῶν προειρημένων.

they-carry with the aforesaid(-ones)

ἀπάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦ ξύλου τὸ μῆκος ἐστὶν ὡς 23.10
of-all and these of-the wood the length is about
τρεῖς πήχεις. προσήρμοσται δ' ἐκάστοις βέλος σιδηροῦν
three cubits is-fitted and to-each a-head iron
ἀγκιστρωτόν, ἴσον ἔχον τὸ μῆκος τοῖς ξύλοις·

barbed equal having the length to-the shafts

οὗ τὴν ἔνδεσιν καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν οὕτως ἀσφαλίζονται 23.11

of-which the fastening and the use thus they-secure

βεβαίως, ἕως μέσων τῶν ξύλων ἐνδιδέντες καὶ πυκναῖς

firmly as-far-as (the)-middle of-the shafts binding-it-in and with-close

ταῖς λαβίσι καταπερονῶντες, ὥστε πρότερον ἢ τὸν

the clamps riveting so-that sooner than the

δεσμὸν ἐν ταῖς χρεαῖς ἀναχαλασθῆναι τὸν σίδηρον

binding in the uses to-come-loose the iron

θραύεσθαι, καίπερ ὄντα τὸ πάχος ἐν τῷ πυθμένι καὶ τῇ

to-break although being the thickness at the base and at-the

πρὸς τὸ ξύλον συναφῇ τριῶν ἡμιδακτυλίων· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον
to the wood joining of-three half-fingers to such-a-degree

καὶ τοιαύτην πρόνοιαν ποιοῦνται τῆς ἐνδέσεως.

and such care they-take of-the fastening

23.12 ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις προσεπικοσμοῦνται πτερίνῳ στεφάνῳ

on and all these they-are-adorned-besides with-a-feathered crown

καὶ πτεροῖς φοινικοῖς ἢ μέλασιν ὀρθοῖς τρισίν,

and with-feathers purple or black upright three

23.13 ὥς πηχυαίοις τὸ μέγεθος, ὧν προστεθέντων κατὰ

about a-cubit-long the size which being-added on

κορυφὴν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅπλοις ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ

(the)-crown together-with the other arms the indeed man

φαίνεται διπλάσιος ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἡ δ' ὄψις

appears double himself in — size the and look

καλὴ καὶ καταπληκτικὴ τοῖς ἐναντίοις.

handsome and terrifying to-the enemy

23.14 οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ προσλαβόντες χάλκωμα σπιθαμιαῖον

the indeed therefore many having-taken-in-addition a-bronze-plate a-span(-square)

πάντῃ πάντως, ὃ προστίθενται μὲν πρὸ τῶν στέρνων,

every-way entirely which they-put-on indeed before the chest

καλοῦσι δὲ καρδιοφύλακα, τελείαν ἔχουσι τὴν καθόπλιν·

they-call and heart-guard complete they-have the equipment

23.15 οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ τὰς μυριάς τιμώμενοι δραχμὰς ἀντὶ τοῦ

those and above the ten-thousand assessed drachmas instead-of the

καρδιοφύλακος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλυσιδωτοὺς περιτίθενται

heart-guard with the other(-arms) chain-mail they-put-on

θώρακας.

breastplates

ὁ δ' αὐτὸς τρόπος τῆς καθοπλίσεώς ἐστι καὶ περὶ 23.16
the and same manner of-the armament is also among
 τοὺς πρίγκιπας καὶ τριαρίους, πλὴν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑσσῶν οἱ
the principes and triarii except instead-of the pila the
 τριάριοι δόρατα φοροῦσιν.
triarii spears carry

XIII · CENTURIONS, CAVALRY, AND ALLIES

From each class but the youngest the tribunes pick twenty centurions by merit, who choose as many rear-rank officers, and each class is divided into ten maniples with two centurions each, so that no maniple is ever leaderless; centurions should be steady, ready to stand and die, rather than daring. The cavalry form ten squadrons. Roman cavalry once fought without breastplates, with flimsy lances and oxhide shields, but soon took up Greek arms, for Romans readily copy what is better. The men assemble on the day sworn, twelve prefects appointed by the consuls organize the allies and pick the extraordinarii, and the tribunes encamp on the one plan the Romans use everywhere.

ἐξ ἐκάστου δὲ τῶν προειρημένων γενῶν πλὴν τῶν 24.1
from each and of-the aforesaid classes except the
 νεωτάτων ἐξέλεξαν ταξιάρχους ἀριστίνδην δέκα. μετὰ δὲ
youngest they-chose centurions by-merit ten after and
 τούτους ἑτέραν ἐκλογὴν ἄλλων δέκα ποιοῦνται.
these another selection of-others ten they-make

καὶ τούτους μὲν ἅπαντας προσηγόρευσαν ταξιάρχους, ὧν 24.2
and these indeed all they-called centurions of-whom
 ὁ πρῶτος αἰρεθεὶς καὶ συνεδρίου κοινωνεῖ· προσεκλέγονται
the first chosen also of-the-council is-a-member choose-in-addition
 δ' οὗτοι πάλιν αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἴσους οὐραγούς.
and these again themselves the equal(-number) rear-rank-officers

- 24.3 ἑξῆς δὲ τούτοις μετὰ τῶν ταξιάρχων διείλον τὰς ἡλικίας,
next and to-these with the centurions they-divided the age-classes
 ἐκάστην εἰς δέκα μέρη, πλὴν τῶν γροσφομάχων· καὶ
each into ten parts except the light-armed and
 προσένειμαν ἐκάστῳ μέρει τῶν ἐκλεχθέντων ἀνδρῶν δύο
they-assigned to-each part of-the chosen men two
 ἡγεμόνας καὶ δύο οὐραγούς.
leaders and two rear-rank-officers
- 24.4 τῶν δὲ γροσφομάχων τοὺς ἐπιβάλλοντας κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος
of-the and light-armed the (ones)-falling-to(-them) by the number
 ἴσους ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ μέρη διένειμαν.
equally to all the parts they-distributed
- 24.5 καὶ τὸ μὲν μέρος ἕκαστον ἐκάλεσαν καὶ τάγμα καὶ
and the indeed part each they-called both unit and
 σπεῖραν καὶ σημαίαν, τοὺς δ' ἡγεμόνας κεντυρίωνας καὶ
company and maniple the and leaders centurions and
 ταξιάρχους.
captains
- 24.6 οὗτοι δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην σπεῖραν ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων
these and for each company from the remaining(-men)
 ἐξέλεξαν αὐτοὶ δύο τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους καὶ γενναιοτάτους
chose themselves two the most-vigorous and noblest
 ἀνδρας σημαφόρους.
men standard-bearers
- 24.7 δύο δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον τάγμα ποιοῦσιν ἡγεμόνας εἰκότως·
two and for each unit they-make leaders reasonably
 ἀδύλου γὰρ ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῦ παθεῖν τι
uncertain for being both — doing and — suffering something
 τὸν ἡγεμόνα, τῆς πολεμικῆς χρείας οὐκ ἐπιδεχομένης
the leader the of-war practice not admitting

πρόφασιν, οὐδέποτε βούλονται τὴν σπεῖραν χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος
excuse never they-wish the company without a-leader
εἶναι καὶ προστάτου.

to-be and a-chief

παρόντων μὲν οὖν ἀμφοτέρων ὁ μὲν πρῶτος αἰρεθεὶς 24.8
being-present indeed therefore both the indeed first chosen

ἡγείται τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους τῆς σπέρας, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος
leads the right part of-the company the and second

τῶν εὐωνύμων ἀνδρῶν τῆς σημαίας ἔχει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν·
of-the left men of-the manipule has the command

μὴ παρόντων δ' ὁ καταλειπόμενος ἡγείται πάντων.
not being-present and the (one)-remaining leads all

βούλονται δ' εἶναι τοὺς ταξιάρχους οὐχ οὕτως θρασεῖς καὶ 24.9
they-wish and to-be the centurions not so bold and

φιλοκινδύνους ὥς ἡγεμονικοὺς καὶ στασίμους καὶ βαθεῖς
danger-loving as able-to-command and steady and deep

μᾶλλον ταῖς ψυχαῖς, οὐδ' ἐξ ἀκεραίου προσπίπτειν
rather in-the souls nor from (an)-intact(-state) to-charge

ἢ κατάρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης, ἐπικρατουμένους δὲ καὶ
or to-begin the battle being-overpowered but and

πιεζομένους ὑπομένειν καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας.
being-pressed to-stand-fast and to-die for the country

παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς εἰς ἵλας δέκα διειλόν, 25.1
similarly and also the cavalry into squadrons ten they-divided

ἐξ ἐκάστης δὲ τρεῖς προκρίνουσιν ἰλάρχας, οὗτοι δ'
from each and three they-select squadron-leaders these and

αὐτοὶ τρεῖς προσέλαβον οὐραγούς.
themselves three took-besides rear-rank-officers

ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος αἰρεθεὶς ἰλάρχης ἡγείται τῆς 25.2
the indeed therefore first chosen squadron-leader commands the

ἵλης, οἱ δὲ δύο δεκαδάρχων ἔχουσι τάξιν, καλοῦνται δὲ
squadron the and two of-decurions have (the)-rank are-called and

πάντες δεκουρίωνες. μὴ παρόντος δὲ τοῦ πρώτου πάλιν
all decurions not being-present and the first again

ὁ δεύτερος ἰλάρχου λαμβάνει τάξιν.

the second of-squadron-leader takes (the)-rank

25.3 ὁ δὲ καθοπλισμὸς τῶν ἰππέων νῦν μὲν ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος

the and armament of-the cavalry now indeed is similar

τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν πρῶτον θώρακας οὐκ

to-that of-the Greeks — but of-old first breastplates not

εἶχον,

they-had

25.4 ἀλλ' ἐν περιζώμασιν ἐκινδύνουν, ἐξ οὗ πρὸς μὲν τὸ

but in loincloths they-fought from which for indeed —

καταβαίνειν καὶ ταχέως ἀναπηδᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐτόίμως

dismounting and quickly leaping-up onto the horses readily

διέκειντο καὶ πρακτικῶς, πρὸς δὲ τὰς συμπλοκάς

they-were-disposed and effectively for but the close-fights

ἐπισφαλῶς εἶχον διὰ τὸ γυμνοὶ κινδυνεύειν.

dangerously they-fared because-of — naked to-fight

25.5 τὰ δὲ δόρατα κατὰ δύο τρόπους ἄπρακτ' ἦν αὐτοῖς, καθ'

the and spears in two ways useless were to-them in

ᾧ μὲν ἦ λεπτὰ καὶ κλαδάρὰ ποιοῦντες οὔτε τοῦ

which indeed in-that thin and pliant making(-them) neither the

προτεθέντος ἡδύναντο σκοποῦ στοχάζεσθαι, πρὸ τοῦ τε

set they-could target to-aim-at before — and

τὴν ἐπιδορατιδα πρὸς τι προσερεῖσαι, κραδαινόμενα δι'

the spear-head against something to-plant being-brandished by

αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν ἵππων κινήσεως τὰ πλείστα συνετρίβετο·

the-very — of-the horses motion the most were-shattered

25.6 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄνευ σαυρωτήρων κατασκευάζοντες μιᾷ

besides and these without butt-spikes making(-them) with-one

τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ τῆς ἐπιδορατιδος ἐχρῶντο πληγῇ, μετὰ

the first by the spear-head they-used blow after

δὲ ταῦτα κλασθέντων λοιπὸν ἦν ἄπρακτ' αὐτοῖς καὶ
but these broken thereafter they-were useless to-them and
 μάταια. τὸν γε μὴν θυρεὸν εἶχον ἐκ βοείου δέρματος,
vain the at-least indeed shield they-had from ox hide
 τοῖς ὀμφαλωτοῖς ποπάνοις παραπλήσιον τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς 25.7
to-the bossed cakes similar the(-ones) on the
 θυσίας ἐπιτιθεμένοις· οἷς οὔτε πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβολὰς ἦν
sacrifices placed which neither for the attacks was
 χρησθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ στάσιν ἔχειν, ὑπὸ τε τῶν
(it-possible)-to-use because-of — not firmness to-have by and the
 ὀμβρῶν ἀποδερματούμενοι καὶ μυδῶντες δύσχρηστοι καὶ
rains peeling and rotting unserviceable both
 πρότερον ἦσαν καὶ νῦν ἔτι γίνονται παντελῶς. διόπερ
formerly they-were and now still become wholly wherefore
 ἀδοκίμου τῆς χρείας οὔσης,
unsatisfactory the use being
 ταχέως μετέλαβον τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ὅπλων, 25.8
quickly they-adopted the Greek fashion of-the arms
 ἐν ἧ τῶν μὲν δοράτων τὴν πρώτην εὐθέως τῆς 25.9
in which of-the indeed spears the first immediately of-the
 ἐπιδορατίδος πληγὴν εὖστοχον ἅμα καὶ πρακτικὴν
spear-head blow well-aimed at-once and effective
 γίνεσθαι συμβαίνει, διὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν ἀτρεμοῦς καὶ
to-be it-happens because-of the construction steady and
 στασίμου τοῦ δόρατος ὑπάρχοντος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ
firm the spear being likewise and also the from
 μεταλήψεως τοῦ σαυρωτήρος χρεῖαν μόνιμον καὶ βίαιον.
reversal of-the butt-spike use steady and violent

25.10 ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τῶν θυρεῶν· καὶ γὰρ
the and same account (holds)-also about the shields and for
 πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθέσεις ἐστηκυῖαν καὶ
toward the attacks and toward the assaults firm and
 τεταγμένην ἔχουσι τὴν χρεῖαν.

steady they-have the use

25.11 ἃ συνιδόντες ἐμμήσαντο ταχέως· ἀγαθοὶ γάρ, εἰ καὶ
which having-perceived they-imitated quickly good for if also
 τινες ἕτεροι, μεταλαβεῖν ἔθη καὶ ζηλωσαι τὸ βέλτιον
some others to-adopt customs and to-emulate the better
 καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι.

(are)-also Romans

26.1 τοιαύτην δὲ ποιησάμενοι τὴν διαίρεσιν οἱ χιλιάρχοι, καὶ
such and having-made the division the military-tribunes and
 ταῦτα παραγγέλαντες περὶ τῶν ὅπλων, τότε μὲν ἀπέλυσαν
these having-given-orders about the arms then indeed they-dismissed
 τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν· παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας,
the men to — home having-come and the day

26.2 εἰς ἣν ὥμοσαν ἀθροισθῆναι πάντες ὁμοίως εἰς τὸν
on which they-swore to-assemble all likewise at the
 ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων —

appointed place by the consuls

26.3 τάττει δ' ὥς ἐπίπαν ἑκάτερος χωρὶς τὸν τόπον τοῖς
appoints and as a-rule each separately the place for-the
 αὐτοῦ στρατοπέδους· ἑκατέρῳ γὰρ δίδεται τὸ μέρος τῶν
of-himself legions to-each for is-given the part of-the
 συμμάχων καὶ δύο τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων —

allies and two of-the Roman legions

παραγίνονται δὲ πάντες ἀδιαπτώτως οἱ καταγραφέντες, 26.4
come and all without-fail those enrolled

ὥς ἂν μηδεμιᾶς ἄλλης συγχωρουμένης προφάσεως τοῖς
as — no other being-allowed excuse to-those
 ἐξορκισθεῖσι πλὴν ὀρνιθείας καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων.
sworn except bird-omens and — impossibilities

ἀθροισθέντων δὲ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὁμοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, 26.5
having-assembled and also the allies together-with the Romans

τὴν μὲν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τὸν χειρισμὸν ποιοῦνται τούτων
the indeed ordering and the management make of-these

αὐτῶν οἱ καθεσταμένοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἄρχοντες,
themselves the(-officers) appointed indeed by the consuls commanders

προσαγορευόμενοι δὲ प्राईफεκτοι, δώδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες.
called and prefects twelve — (in)-number being

οἱ πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς ὑπάτοις τοὺς ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους πρὸς 26.6
who first indeed for-the consuls the most-suitable for

τὴν ἀληθινὴν χρεῖαν ἐκ πάντων τῶν παραγεγονότων
the real service from all the arrived

συμμάχων ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς ἐκλέγουσι, τοὺς καλουμένους
allies cavalry and infantry select those called

ἐκτραορδιναρίους, ὃ μεθερμηνευόμενον ἐπιλέκτους δηλοῖ.
extraordinarii which translated picked-men means

τὸ δὲ πλῆθος γίνεταί τὸ πᾶν τῶν συμμάχων, τὸ μὲν 26.7
the and number becomes — in-all of-the allies the indeed

τῶν πεζῶν πᾶρισον τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς στρατοπέδοις ὥς τὸ
of-the infantry nearly-equal to-the Roman legions as —

πολύ, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τριπλάσιον·

(a)-rule the and of-the cavalry triple

- 26.8 ἐκ δὲ τούτων λαμβάνουσι τῶν μὲν ἱππέων εἰς τοὺς
from and these they-take of-the indeed cavalry for the
 ἐπιλέκτους ἐπιεικῶς τὸ τρίτον μέρος, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τὸ
picked-men about the third part of-the and infantry the
 πέμπτον. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς διεῖλον εἰς δύο μέρη,
fifth the and rest they-divided into two parts
- 26.9 καὶ καλοῦσι τὸ μὲν δεξιόν, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον κέρας.
and they-call the-one indeed right the-other and left wing
- 26.10 τούτων δ' εὐτρεπῶν γενομένων παραλαβόντες οἱ
these and ready having-become having-taken-over the
 χιλίαρχοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους
military-tribunes the Romans together and the allies
 κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ἑνὸς ὑπάρχοντος παρ' αὐτοῖς
encamped one being among them
 θεωρήματος ἀπλοῦ περὶ τὰς παρεμβολάς, ᾧ χρῶνται
plan simple for the camps which they-use
 πρὸς πάντα καιρὸν καὶ τόπον.
for every occasion and place
- 26.11 διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ μοι πρέπειν τῷ καιρῷ τὸ πειραθῆναι,
wherefore also it-seems to-me to-befit the occasion — trying
 καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε τῷ λόγῳ, τοὺς ἀκούοντας εἰς ἔννοιαν
in so-far-as possible — by-the account the hearers to (a)-notion
 ἀγαγεῖν τοῦ κατὰ τὰς πορείας καὶ στρατοπεδείας καὶ
to-bring of-the in the marches and encampments and
 παρατάξεις χειρισμοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων.
battle-lines handling of-the forces
- 26.12 τίς γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀπεικῶς πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα
who for so is averse to the fine and serious
 τῶν ἔργων, ὃς οὐκ ἂν βουλευθείη μικρὸν ἐπιμελέστερον
of-the deeds who not — would-wish a-little more-carefully
 ἐπιστῆσαι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἅπαξ ἀκούσας
to-attend about the such(-matters) about which once having-heard

ἐπιστήμων ἔσται πράγματος ἑνὸς τῶν ἀξίων λόγου
 knowing be-will-be of-a-thing one of-the (things)-worthy of-account
 καὶ γνώσεως;
 and of-knowledge

XIV • THE CAMP

Around the general's tent and standard lies a square, each side a hundred feet out. The twelve military tribunes' tents stand in a line fifty feet beyond one side, facing the front. A hundred feet further, the legions encamp in maniples and squadrons along streets fifty feet wide: the cavalry in the middle, the triarii back to back with them, the principes facing the triarii across a street, the hastati back to back with the principes, and the allied cavalry and infantry beyond. A cross street, named for the fifth maniples, cuts through them all.

ἔστι δὴ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς στρατοπεδείας τοιόνδε. 27.1
 is indeed the kind of-them of-the encampment this
 τοῦ κριθέντος αἰεὶ τόπου πρὸς στρατοπεδείαν, τούτου
 of-the chosen always place for encampment of-this
 τὸν ἐπιτηδείοτατον εἰς σύνοψιν ἅμα καὶ παραγγελίαν ἢ
 the most-suitable for overview at-once and giving-orders the
 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σκηνὴ καταλαμβάνει. τεθείσης δὲ τῆς
 of-the general tent occupies having-been-planted and the
 σημαίας,
 standard

οὗ μέλλουσι πηγνῦναι ταύτην, ἀπομετρεῖται περίξ τῆς 27.2
 where they-intend to-pitch this is-measured-off around the
 σημαίας τετράγωνος τόπος, ὥστε πάσας τὰς πλευρὰς
 standard a-square area so-that all the sides

ἑκατὸν ἀπέχει πόδας τῆς σημαίας, τὸ δ' ἐμβαδὸν
a-hundred to-be-distant feet from-the standard the and area
 γίνεσθαι τετράπλεθρον.

to-be four-plethra

- 27.3 τούτου δὲ τοῦ σχήματος αἰὲ παρὰ μίαν ἐπιφάνειαν
of-this and — figure always along one face
 καὶ πλευράν, ἥτις ἂν ἐπιτηδειοτάτη φανῇ πρὸς τε
and side whichever — most-suitable appears for both
 τὰς ὑδρείας καὶ προνομάς, παραβάλλεται τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ
the watering and foraging are-placed the Roman
 στρατόπεδα τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

legions in-the manner this

- 27.4 ἕξ ὑπαρχόντων χιλιάρχων ἐν ἐκάστω στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ
six being military-tribunes in each legion according-to
 τὸν ἄρτι λόγον, δεῦν δὲ στρατοπέδων ὄντων τῶν
the just(-given) account two and legions being the
 Ῥωμαϊκῶν αἰὲ μεθ' ἑκατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων, φανερόν ὅτι
Roman always with each of-the consuls (it-is)-evident that
 δώδεκα χιλιάρχους ἀνάγκη συστρατεύειν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν
twelve military-tribunes must serve-with each of-the
 ὑπάτων.

consuls

- 27.5 τιθέασι δὴ τὰς τούτων σκηναὶς ἐπὶ μίαν εὐθείαν
they-place indeed the of-these tents on one straight(-line)
 ἀπάσας, ἥτις ἐστὶ παράλληλος τῇ τοῦ τετραγώνου
all which is parallel to-the of-the square
 προκριθείσῃ πλευρᾷ, πενήκοντα δ' ἀπέχει πόδας ἀπ'
chosen side fifty and it-is-distant feet from
 αὐτῆς, ὥς ἥ τοῖς ἵπποις, ἅμα δ' ὑποζυγίοις καὶ
it so-that there-may-be for-the horses at-once and for-pack-animals and
 τῇ λοιπῇ τῶν χιλιάρχων ἀποσκευῇ τόπος.
for-the rest of-the military-tribunes baggage room

αἱ δὲ σκηναὶ τοῦ προειρημένου σχήματος εἰς τοῦμπαλιν 27.6

the and tents from-the aforesaid figure to the-reverse

ἀπεστραμμέναι πῆγνυνται πρὸς τὴν ἐκτὸς ἐπιφάνειαν,

turned are-pitched toward the outer face

ἣ νοεῖσθω καὶ καλείσθω δὲ καθάπαξ ἡμῖν ἀεὶ τοῦ

which let-be-understood and let-be-called and once-for-all by-us always of-the

παντὸς σχήματος κατὰ πρόσωπον.

whole figure in front

ἀφεστᾶσι δ' ἀλλήλων μὲν ἴσον αἱ τῶν χιλιάρχων 27.7

are-distant and from-one-another indeed equally the of-the military-tribunes

σκηναί, τοσοῦτον δὲ τόπον ὥστε παρ' ὅλον τὸ πλάτος

tents so-much and room so-that along all the breadth

ἀεὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων παρήκειν.

always of-the Roman legions to-extend

ἀπομετρηθέντων δὲ πάλιν ἑκατὸν ποδῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν 28.1

having-been-measured-off and again a-hundred feet to the front

κατὰ πάσας τὰς σκηνάς, λοιπὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦτο τὸ πλάτος

along all the tents thereafter from the this — breadth

ὀριζούσης εὐθείας, ἣτις γίνεται παράλληλος ταῖς τῶν

bounding straight(-line) which becomes parallel to-the of-the

χιλιάρχων σκηναῖς, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄρχονται ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τῶν

military-tribunes tents from this they-begin to-make the of-the

στρατοπέδων παρεμβολάς, χειρίζοντες τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

legions encampments managing(-it) in-the manner this

διχοτομήσαντες τὴν προειρημένην εὐθείαν, ἀπὸ τούτου 28.2

having-bisected the aforesaid straight(-line) from this

τοῦ σημείου πρὸς ὀρθὰς τῇ γραμμῇ τοὺς ἵππεῖς

— point at right(-angles) to-the line the cavalry

ἀντίους αὐτοῖς ἐκατέρου τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρεμβάλλουσι,

facing each-other of-each — legion they-encamp

πεντήκοντα διέχοντας πόδας ἀλλήλων, μέσῃν ποιοῦντες
 fifty being-apart feet from-one-another middle making
 τὴν τομὴν τοῦ διαστήματος.

the division of-the space

- 28.3 ἔστι δ' ἡ τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν πεζῶν σκηνοποιία
 is and the both of-the cavalry and of-the infantry tent-arrangement
 παραπλήσιος· γίνεται γὰρ τὸ ὅλον σχῆμα καὶ τῆς σημαίας
 similar becomes for the whole figure both of-the maniple
 καὶ τῶν οὐλαμῶν τετράγωνον.

and of-the troops square

- 28.4 τοῦτο δὲ βλέπει μὲν εἰς τὰς διόδους, ἔχει δὲ τὸ μὲν
 this and faces indeed onto the passages it-has and the indeed
 μῆκος ὠρισμένον τὸ παρὰ τὴν διόδον — ἔστι γὰρ
 length fixed the(-length) along the passage it-is for
 ἑκατὸν ποδῶν — ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ βάθος
 a-hundred feet as but for the most(-part) also the depth
 ἴσον πειρῶνται ποιεῖν πλὴν τῶν συμμάχων.

equal they-try to-make except (in-the-case-of)-the allies

- 28.5 ὅταν δὲ τοῖς μείζουσι στρατοπέδοις χρῶνται, τὸ κατὰ
 whenever and — larger legions they-use the(-share) in
 λόγον καὶ τῷ μήκει καὶ τῷ βάθει προστιθέασι.

proportion both to-the length and to-the depth they-add

- 29.1 γενομένης δὲ τῆς τῶν ἱππέων παρεμβολῆς κατὰ
 having-been-made and the of-the cavalry encampment along
 μέσας τὰς τῶν χιλιάρχων σκηναὶς οἶον εἰ ρύμης τινὸς
 (the)-middle the of-the military-tribunes tents as if of-a-street some
 ἐπικαρσίου πρὸς τὴν ἄρτι ῥηθείσαν εὐθείαν καὶ τὸν πρὸ
 transverse to the just mentioned straight(-line) and the before
 τῶν χιλιάρχων τόπον —

the military-tribunes space

τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ρύμαις παραπλήσιον ἀποτελεῖται τὸ τῶν 29.2
in-the for reality to-streets similar is-made the of-the

διόδων σχῆμα πασῶν, ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους
passages figure of-all as — on each — side
 αἷς μὲν ταγμάτων, αἷς δ' οὐλαμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μήκος
along-some indeed of-units along-others and of-troops on the length
 παρεμβεβληκότων —

having-encamped

πλὴν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἵππεῦσι κατόπιν τοὺς ἐξ 29.3
however the aforesaid cavalry behind the(-ones) from
 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων τριαρίους, κατ' οὐλαμὸν
both of-the legions triarii by troop

ἐκάστην σημαίαν, ἐν ὁμοίῳ σχήματι τιθέασι, συμψανόντων
each maniple in similar figure they-place touching
 μὲν τῶν σχημάτων ἀλλήλοις, βλεπόντων δ' ἔμπαλιν
indeed the figures one-another facing and the-other-way
 πρὸς τὰς ἐναντίας τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν ἐπιφανείας,
toward the opposite to-the cavalry faces

ἥμισυ ποιοῦντες τὸ βάθος τοῦ μήκους ἐκάστης σημαίας 29.4
half making the depth of-the length of-each maniple

τῷ καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἡμίσεις ὡς ἐπίπαν εἶναι τούτους
because also in — number half as a-rule to-be these
 τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν.

of-the other parts

διότιπερ ἀνίσων ὄντων πολλάκις τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἰσάζειν αἰὲν 29.5
wherefore unequal being often the men to-be-equal always

συμβαίνει πάντα τὰ μέρη κατὰ τὸ μήκος διὰ τὴν τοῦ
it-happens all the parts in — length because-of the of-the
 βάθους διαφοράν.

depth difference

29.6 αὖθις δὲ πεντήκοντα πόδας ἀφ' ἑκατέρων τούτων
 again and fifty feet from each these
 ἀποστήσαντες, ἀντίους παρεμβάλλουσι τοῖς τριαρίοις τοὺς
 leaving-a-space facing they-encamp to-the triarii the
 πρίγκιπας.

principes

29.7 νεύοντων δὲ καὶ τούτων εἰς τὰ προειρημένα διαστήματα
 facing and also these toward the aforesaid intervals
 δὺ' αὗται πάλιν ἀποτελοῦνται ῥύμαι, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ
 two these again are-made streets the indeed beginnings from
 τῆς αὐτῆς εὐθείας λαμβάνουσαι καὶ τὰς εἰσβολάς, ὁμοίως
 the same straight(-line) taking and the entrances likewise
 τοῖς ἵππεύσιν, ἐκ τοῦ πρὸ τῶν χιλιάρχων ἑκατομπέδου
 to-the cavalry from the before the military-tribunes hundred-foot
 διαστήματος, λήγουσαι δὲ πρὸς τὴν καταντικρὺ τῶν
 space ending and toward the opposite the
 χιλιάρχων πλευρὰν τοῦ χάρακος, ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 military-tribunes side of-the palisade which from (the)-beginning
 ὑπεθέμεθα κατὰ πρόσωπον εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς σχήματος.
 we-assumed in front to-be of-the whole figure

29.8 μετὰ δὲ τοὺς πρίγκιπας, ὀπισθεν τούτων ὁμοίως ἔμπαλιν
 after and the principes behind these likewise the-other-way
 βλέποντα, συμφαύοντα δὲ τὰ σχήματα τιθέντες, τοὺς
 facing touching and the figures placing the
 ἀστάτους παρεμβάλλουσι.

bastati they-encamp

29.9 δέκα δὲ σημαίας ἔχοντων ἀπάντων τῶν μερῶν κατὰ
 ten and maniples having all the parts according-to
 τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διαίρεσιν, πάσας ἴσας συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι
 the from (the)-beginning division all equal it-happens to-become
 τὰς ῥύμας καὶ κατὰ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὰς ἀποτομὰς ἰσάζειν
 the streets both in — length and the ends to-be-level

αὐτῶν τὰς πρὸς τῇ κατὰ τὸ πρόσωπον πλευρᾷ
of-them the(-ones) at the along the front side
 τοῦ χάρακος· πρὸς ἣν καὶ τὰς τελευταίας σημαίας
of-the palisade toward which also the last maniples
 ἐπιστρέφοντες στρατοπεδεύουσιν.

turning they-encamp
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστάτων πεντήκοντα πάλιν διαλείποντες πόδας 30.1
from the hastati fifty again leaving-a-space feet
 τοὺς τῶν συμμάχων ἵππεις ἀντίους παρεμβάλλουσι
the of-the allies cavalry facing they-encamp
 τούτοις, ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς εὐθείας
to-these making the beginning from the same straight(-line)
 καὶ λήγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτήν.

and ending at the same
 ἔστι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συμμάχων, ὥς ἐπάνω προείπα, 30.2
is and the number of-the allies as above I-said-before
 τὸ μὲν τῶν πεζῶν ἀρίστον τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς στρατοπέδοις,
the indeed of-the infantry nearly-equal to-the Roman legions
 λείπον τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἵππέων διπλάσιον,
less-by the picked-men the and of-the cavalry double
 ἀφηρημένου καὶ τούτων τοῦ τρίτου μέρους εἰς τοὺς
subtracted also from-these the third part for the
 ἐπιλέκτους.

picked-men
 διὸ καὶ τὸ βάθος αὐξοντες τούτοις πρὸς λόγον ἐν 30.3
wherefore also the depth increasing for-these in proportion in
 τοῖς στρατοπεδευτικοῖς σχήμασι, πειρῶνται κατὰ τὸ μῆκος
the encampment figures they-try in — length
 ἐξισοῦν τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδοις.
to-make-equal to-the of-the Romans legions

- 30.4 ἀποτελεσθειςῶν δὲ τῶν ἀπασῶν πέντε διόδων, αὖθις εἰς
having-been-completed and the all five passages again to
 τοῦμπαλιν ἀπεστραμμένας ὁμοίως τοῖς ἵππευσι τιθέασι
the-reverse turned likewise to-the cavalry they-place
 τὰς τῶν συμμαχικῶν πεζῶν σημαίας, αὔξοντες τὸ βάθος
the of-the allied infantry maniples increasing the depth
 πρὸς λόγον, βλεπούσας δὲ πρὸς τὸν χάρακα καὶ πρὸς
in proportion facing and toward the palisade and toward
 τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ἐπιφανείας ἐκατέρας.
the on the flanks faces each
- 30.5 καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ σημαίαν τὰς πρώτας ἀφ' ἑκατέρου τοῦ
in each and maniple the first from each —
 μέρους σκηναὶς οἱ ταξίαρχοι λαμβάνουσιν. ἅμα δὲ τὸν
side tents the centurions take at-the-same-time and in-the
 προειρημένον τρόπον παρεμβάλλοντες καθ' ἕκαστον μέρος
aforesaid manner encamping in each part
 τὸν ἕκτον οὐλαμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου πεντήκοντα πόδας
the sixth troop from the fifth fifty feet
 ἀφιστᾶσι, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν πεζῶν τάξεις,
they-set-apart similarly and also the of-the infantry ranks
- 30.6 ὥστε γίνεσθαι καὶ ταύτην ἄλλην διὰ μέσων τῶν
so-that there-becomes also this another through (the)-middle of-the
 στρατοπέδων διόδον, ἐπικάρσιον μὲν πρὸς τὰς ῥύμας,
legions passage transverse indeed to the streets
 παράλληλον δὲ ταῖς τῶν χιλιάρχων σκηναῖς, ἣν καλοῦσι
parallel and to-the of-the military-tribunes tents which they-call
 πέμπτῃν διὰ τὸ παρὰ τὰ πέμπτα τάγματα παρήκειν.
fifth because-of — along the fifth units to-extend

Behind the tribunes' tents, beside the general's, lie the market and the quaestor's stores, flanked by the picked cavalry and volunteers attending the consul. Across a hundred-foot street, the allies' picked horse face the headquarters and their picked foot, back to back with them, the rear rampart; the flanks go to foreigners and late-arriving allies. The whole is a square, laid out like a city. A two-hundred-foot space inside the rampart eases marching in and out, holds cattle and booty, and keeps the tents nearly out of range at night. Two consular armies camp back to back in an oblong; apart, each sets its headquarters between its legions.

ὁ δ' ὑπὸ τὰς τῶν χιλιάρχων σκηνὰς ὀπισθεν τόπος 31.1

the and behind the of-the military-tribunes tents at-the-back space

ὑποπεπτωκώς, ἐξ ἑκατέρου δὲ τοῦ μέρους τῆς τοῦ
lying-below on each and — side of-the of-the

στρατηγίου περιστάσεως παρακείμενος, ὁ μὲν εἰς
general's-tent area adjoining the-one indeed for

ἀγορὰν γίνεται τόπος, ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῷ τε ταμείῳ καὶ
market becomes space the and other for-the both quaestorium and

ταῖς ἅμα τούτῳ χορηγαίαις.

for-the together-with it supplies

ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τελευταίας τῶν χιλιάρχων σκηνῆς 31.2

from and the on each-side last of-the military-tribunes tent

κατόπιν οἶον ἐπικάμπιον ἔχοντες τάξιν πρὸς τὰς σκηνάς,
behind as-it-were a-bent-back having position toward the tents

οἱ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἰππέων ἀπόλεκτοι καὶ τινες τῶν ἐθελουτῆν
the of-the picked cavalry selected(-men) and some of-those voluntarily

στρατευομένων τῇ τῶν ὑπάτων χάριτι, πάντες οὗτοι
serving for-the of-the consuls favor all these

στρατοπεδεύουσι παρὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων τοῦ χάρακος
encamp along the on the flanks of-the palisade

- ἐπιφανείας, βλέποντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ταμείου
 faces facing some indeed toward the of-the quaestorium
 παρασκευάς, οἱ δ' ἐκ θατέρου μέρους εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν.
 stores others and on the-other side toward the market
- 31.3 ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ συμβαίνει τούτοις μὴ μόνον
 as and for the most(-part) it-happens to-these not only
 στρατοπεδεύειν σύνεγγυς τῶν ὑπάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς
 to-encamp near the consuls but also on the
 πορείας καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας χρείας περὶ τὸν ὕπατον καὶ
 marches and on the other occasions about the consul and
 τὸν ταμίαν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ὅλην διατριβήν.
 the quaestor to-render the attendance and the whole service
- 31.4 ἀντίκεινται δὲ τούτοις ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα βλέποντες οἱ τὴν
 lie-opposite and to-these toward the palisade facing those the
 παραπλήσιον χρείαν παρεχόμενοι πεζοὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις
 similar service rendering infantry to-the aforesaid
 ἱππεῦσιν.
 cavalry
- 31.5 ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις δίοδος ἀπολείπεται πλάτος ποδῶν ἑκατόν,
 next and to-these a-passage is-left breadth of-feet a-hundred
 παράλληλος μὲν ταῖς τῶν χιλιάρχων σκηναῖς, ἐπὶ θάτερα
 parallel indeed to-the of-the military-tribunes tents on the-other-side
 δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ στρατηγίου καὶ ταμείου παρατείνουσα
 and of-the market and general's-tent and quaestorium extending
 παρὰ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα μέρη τοῦ χάρακος.
 along all the aforesaid parts of-the palisade
- 31.6 παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνωτέρω πλευρὰν ταύτης οἱ τῶν συμμάχων
 along and the upper side of-this the of-the allies
 ἱππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι στρατοπεδεύουσι, βλέποντες ἐπὶ τε τὴν
 cavalry picked encamp facing toward both the
 ἀγοράν ἅμα καὶ τὸ στρατήγιον καὶ τὸ ταμεῖον.
 market at-once and the general's-tent and the quaestorium

- κατὰ μέσῃν δὲ τὴν τούτων τῶν ἱππέων παρεμβολὴν 31.7
 along (the)-middle and the of-these — cavalry encampment
 καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ στρατηγίου περίστασιν δίοδος
 and along the-very the of-the general's-tent area a-passage
 ἀπολείπεται πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, φέρουσα μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν
 is-left of-fifty feet leading indeed to the
 ὀπισθε πλευρὰν τῆς στρατοπεδείας, τῇ δὲ τάξει πρὸς
 rear side of-the encampment in-the and position at
 ὀρθὰς κειμένη τῇ προειρημένη πλατείᾳ.
 right(-angles) lying to-the aforesaid street
 τοῖς δ' ἱππεῦσι τούτοις ἀντίτυποι τίθενται πάλιν οἱ τῶν 31.8
 to-the and cavalry these back-to-back are-placed again the of-the
 συμμάχων ἐπίλεκτοι πεζοί, βλέποντες πρὸς τὸν χάρακα
 allies picked infantry facing toward the palisade
 καὶ τὴν ὀπισθεν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς ὅλης στρατοπεδείας.
 and the rear face of-the whole encampment
 τὸ δ' ἀπολειπόμενον ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους τούτων κένωμα 31.9
 the and remaining on each — side of-these empty-space
 παρὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων πλευρὰς δίδεται τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις
 along the on the flanks sides is-given to-the foreigners
 καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ προσγινομένοις συμμάχοις.
 and to-the from the occasion joining allies
 τούτων δ' οὕτως ἔχόντων τὸ μὲν σύμπαν σχῆμα γίνεται 31.10
 these and thus being the indeed whole figure becomes
 τῆς στρατοπεδείας τετράγωνον ἰσόπλευρον, τὰ δὲ κατὰ
 of-the encampment a-square equilateral the and in
 μέρος ἤδη τῆς τε ῥυμοτομίας ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης
 detail now of-the both street-plan in it and of-the other
 οἰκονομίας πόλει παραπλησίαν ἔχει τὴν διάθεσιν.
 arrangement to-a-city similar it-has the disposition

31.11 τὸν δὲ χάρακα τῶν σκηνῶν ἀφιστᾶσι κατὰ πάσας τὰς
the and palisade from-the tents they-set-apart on all the
 ἐπιφανείας διακοσίου πόδας. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ κένωμα πολλὰς
faces two-hundred feet this and the empty-space many
 καὶ δοκίμους αὐτοῖς παρέχεται χρείας.
and excellent to-them provides uses

31.12 πρὸς τε γὰρ τὰς εἰσαγωγὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξαγωγὰς τῶν
with-regard-to both for the marchings-in and the marchings-out of-the
 στρατοπέδων εὐφυῶς ἔχει καὶ δεόντως ἕκαστοι γὰρ κατὰ
legions well it-is and duly each for by
 τὰς ἑαυτῶν ῥύμας εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κένωμα ποιοῦνται τὴν
the of-themselves streets into this the empty-space make the
 ἔξοδον, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς μίαν συμπίπτοντες ἀνατρέπουσι καὶ
exit but not into one falling-together they-upset and
 συμπατοῦσιν ἀλλήλους·
trample one-another

31.13 τὰς τε τῶν παρεισαγομένων θρεμμάτων καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν
the both of-the brought-in cattle and the from the
 πολεμίων λείας εἰς τοῦτο παράγοντες ἀσφαλῶς τηροῦσι
enemy booty into this bringing safely they-guard
 τὰς νύκτας.
the nights

31.14 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθέσει ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς οὔτε πῦρ
the and greatest(-point) in the attacks the nocturnal neither fire
 οὔτε βέλος ἐξικνέεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς πλὴν τελείως ὀλίγων·
nor missile reaches to them except entirely few
 γίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα σχεδὸν ἀβλαβῇ διὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος
are and even these almost harmless because-of both the size
 τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν σκηνῶν περίστασιν.
of-the distance and because-of the of-the tents surrounding(-space)

δεδομένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων 32.1

being-given and the number both of-the infantry and of-the cavalry

καθ' ἑκατέραν τὴν πρόθεσιν, ἂν τε τετρακισχιλίου

on each the plan whether — four-thousand

ἂν τε πεντακισχιλίου εἰς ἕκαστον στρατόπεδον ποιῶσι,

or — five-thousand for each legion they-make

παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τῶν σημαιῶν τοῦ τε βάθους καὶ

similarly and also of-the maniples of-the both depth and

τοῦ μήκους καὶ τοῦ πλήθους δεδομένου, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις

of-the length and of-the number given besides and these

τῶν κατὰ τὰς διόδους καὶ πλατείας διαστημάτων, ὁμοίως

of-the along the passages and streets intervals likewise

δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων δεδομένου,

and also of-the other all being-given

συμβαίνει τοῖς βουλομένοις συνεφιστάνειν νοεῖν καὶ τοῦ 32.2

it-is-possible for-those wishing to-attend to-conceive both of-the

χωρίου τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ὅλην περίμετρον τῆς παρεμβολῆς.

area the size and the whole perimeter of-the camp

εἰάν δέ ποτε πλεονάζῃ τὸ τῶν συμμάχων πλήθος,

if and ever exceeds the of-the allies number

ἢ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συστρατευομένων ἢ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ 32.3

either of-those from (the)-beginning serving or of-those from the

καιροῦ προσγινομένων,

occasion joining

τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ πρὸς τοῖς προειρημένοις καὶ 32.4

for-those indeed from the occasion besides the aforesaid(-places) also

τοὺς παρὰ τὸ στρατήγιον ἀναπληροῦσι τόπους, τὴν

the beside the general's-tent they-fill-up spaces the

ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ ταμεῖον συναγαγόντες εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν

market and the quaestorium having-contracted into just the

κατεπείγοντα πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν τόπον.

pressing for the use space

- 32.5 τοῖς δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνεκπορευομένοις, ἐὰν ᾗ
for-those and from (the)-beginning setting-out-with(-them) if there-be
 πλήθος ἰκανώτερον, ῥύμην μίαν ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους
a-number larger street one on each — side
 τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσας
of-the Roman legions besides the existing(-ones)
 παρὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ἐπιφανείας παρατιθέασι.
along the on the flanks faces they-add
- 32.6 πάντων δὲ τῶν τεττάρων στρατοπέδων καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων
all and the four legions and the consuls
 ἀμφοτέρων εἰς ἓνα χάρακα συναθροισθέντων, οὐδὲν
both into one palisade having-been-gathered nothing
 ἕτερον δεῖ νοεῖν πλὴν δύο στρατιὰς κατὰ τὸν
else one-must to-conceive except two armies according-to the
 ἄρτι λόγον παρεμβεβληκυίας ἀντεστραμμένας αὐταῖς
just(-given) account encamped turned-opposite to-each-other
 συνηρμόσθαι, συναπτούσας κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἐπιλέκτων
joined meeting along the of-the picked(-men)
 ἑκατέρου τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρεμβολάς, οὓς ἐποιούμεεν εἰς
of-each — camp encampments whom we-made toward
 τὴν ὀπίσω βλέποντας ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς ὅλης παρεμβολῆς,
the rear facing face of-the whole camp
- 32.7 ὅτε δὴ συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὸ μὲν σχῆμα παράμηνες,
when indeed it-happens to-become the indeed figure oblong
 τὸ δὲ χωρίον διπλάσιον τοῦ πρόσθεν, τὴν δὲ περίμετρον
the and area double of-the former the and perimeter
 ἡμιόλιον.
half-as-large-again
- 32.8 ὅταν μὲν οὖν συμβαίνει τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους ὁμοῦ
whenever indeed therefore it-happens the consuls both together
 στρατοπεδεύειν, οὕτως αἰὲν χρῶνται ταῖς στρατοπεδείαις·
to-encamp thus always they-use the encampments

ὅταν δὲ χωρίς, τᾶλλα μὲν ὡσαύτως, τὴν δ' ἀγορὰν
when but apart the-rest indeed in-the-same-way the but market
 καὶ τὸ ταμειῖον καὶ τὸ στρατήγιον μέσον τιθέασι τῶν
and the quaestorium and the general's-tent between they-place of-the
 δυεῖν στρατοπέδων.
two legions

XVI · OATHS, FATIGUES, AND THE WATCHWORD

In camp, every man, slave or free, swears to steal nothing and to bring the tribunes whatever he finds. Two maniples from each legion keep the street before the tribunes' tents watered and swept; the other eighteen serve the tribunes three apiece; the triarii guard the cavalry's horses; one maniples sleeps by the general. The allies fortify two sides, the Romans two, and the tribunes command in pairs for two months each. The watchword tablet passes from the tenth maniples to the first and back to the tribune by daylight; whoever delays one is punished.

μετὰ δὲ τὴν στρατοπεδείαν συναθροισθέντες οἱ χιλιάρχοι 33.1
after and the encampment having-been-gathered the military-tribunes
 τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάντας ἐλευθέρους ὁμοῦ καὶ
the(-men) from the camp all free together and
 δούλους ὀρκίζουσι, καθ' ἓνα ποιούμενοι τὸν ὀρκισμόν.
slaves they-put-to-oath one-by one making the swearing
 ὁ δ' ὅρκος ἐστὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς κλέψειν, 33.2
the and oath is nothing from the camp to-steal
 ἀλλὰ κὰν εὔρη τι, τοῦτ' ἀνοίσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους.
but and-if he-find something this to-bring to the military-tribunes

- 33.3 ἑξῆς δὲ τούτοις διέταξαν τὰς σημαίας ἐξ ἑκάστου
next and to-these they-assigned the maniples from each
 στρατοπέδου τῶν πριγκίπων καὶ τῶν ἀσάτων, δύο μὲν
legion of-the principes and of-the hastati two indeed
 εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ τόπου τοῦ πρὸ τῶν χιλιάρχων·
to the care of-the space the(-one) before the military-tribunes
- 33.4 τὴν γὰρ διατριβὴν ἐν ταῖς καθημερείαις οἱ πλείστοι τῶν
the for time-spending in the daily(-life) the most of-the
 Ῥωμαίων ἐν ταύτῃ ποιοῦνται τῇ πλατείᾳ· διόπερ αἰεὶ
Romans in this make — street wherefore always
 σπουδάζουσι περὶ ταύτης, ὥς ῥαίνεται καὶ καλλύνηται
they-take-pains about this that it-be-watered and swept
 σφίσιν ἐπιμελῶς.
for-them carefully
- 33.5 τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα τρεῖς ἕκαστος τῶν χιλιάρχων
of-the and remaining eighteen three each of-the military-tribunes
 διαλαγχάνει· τοσαῦται γὰρ εἰσι τῶν ἀσάτων καὶ
gets-by-lot so-many for are of-the hastati and
 πριγκίπων ἐν ἑκάστῳ στρατοπέδῳ σημαῖα κατὰ τὴν
principes in each legion maniples according-to the
 ἄρτι ῥηθεῖσαν διαίρεσιν, χιλιάρχοι δ' ἕξ.
just mentioned division military-tribunes and six
- 33.6 τῶν δὲ τριῶν σημαιῶν ἀνὰ μέρος ἑκάστη τῷ
of-the and three maniples in turn each for-the
 χιλιάρχῳ λειτουργεῖ λειτουργίαν τοιαύτην. ἐπειδὴν
military-tribune performs service such when
 καταστρατοπεδεύουσι, τὴν σκηνὴν ἱστᾶσιν οὗτοι καὶ τὸν
they-have-encamped the tent they-set-up these and the
 περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τόπον ἡδάφισαν. καὶν τι περιφράξαι
about the tent space they-level and-if some(-part) to-fence-round
 δέη τῶν σκευῶν ἀσφαλείας χάριν, οὗτοι φροντίζουσι.
be-needed of-the baggage security for-the-sake these see-to(-it)

διδόασι δὲ καὶ φυλακεῖα δύο — τὸ δὲ φυλακεῖόν ἐστιν ἐκ 33.7
they-furnish and also guards two the and guard is of
 τεττάρων ἀνδρῶν — ὧν οἱ μὲν πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, οἱ
four men of-whom some indeed before the tent others
 δὲ κατόπιν παρὰ τοὺς ἵππους ποιοῦνται τὴν φυλακὴν.
and behind beside the horses make the watch
 οὐσῶν δὲ σημαιῶν ἐκάστῳ χιλιάρχῳ τριῶν, ἐν ἐκάστῃ δὲ 33.8
being and maniples for-each military-tribune three in each and
 τούτων ἀνδρῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑκατὸν χωρὶς τῶν
of-these men being over the hundred apart-from the
 τριαρίων καὶ γροσφομάχων — οὗτοι γὰρ οὐ λειτουργοῦσι —
triarii and light-armed these for not do-service
 τὸ μὲν ἔργον γίνεται κοῦφον διὰ τὸ παρὰ τετάρτην 33.9
the indeed work becomes light because-of — at-intervals-of the-fourth
 ἡμέραν ἐκάστῃ σημαίᾳ καθήκειν τὴν λειτουργίαν, τοῖς
day to-each maniples to-fall the service to-the
 δὲ χιλιάρχοις ἅμα μὲν τὸ τῆς εὐχρηστίας
and military-tribunes at-once indeed the(-requirement) of-the convenience
 ἀναγκαῖον, ἅμα δὲ τὸ τῆς τιμῆς διὰ τῶν
needful at-once and the(-dignity) of-the honor through the
 προειρημένων ἀποτελεῖται σεμνὸν καὶ προστατικόν.
aforesaid(-means) is-achieved statelly and commanding
 αἱ δὲ τῶν τριαρίων σημαῖαι τῆς μὲν τῶν χιλιάρχων 33.10
the and of-the triarii maniples of-the indeed of-the military-tribunes
 παραλύονται λειτουργίας, εἰς δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἱππέων
are-released-from service to and the of-the cavalry
 οὐλαμοὺς ἐκάστῃ σημαίᾳ καθ' ἡμέραν δίδωσι φυλακεῖον
troops each maniples each day provides a-guard
 ἀεὶ τῷ γειννιῶντι κατόπιν τῶν οὐλαμῶν.
always to-the (troop)-neighboring behind the troops

33.11 οἷτινες τηροῦσι μὲν καὶ τᾶλλα, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἵππους,
who watch indeed also the-rest especially and the horses
 ἵνα μήτ' ἐμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς δέμασι βλάπτωνται πρὸς
so-that neither entangled in-the tethers they-be-harmed for
 χρεῖαν μήτε λυόμενοι καὶ προσπίπτοντες ἄλλοις ἵπποις
use nor getting-loose and falling-upon other horses
 ταραχὰς καὶ θορύβους ἐμποιῶσι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ.

confusions and disturbances they-cause in-the camp

33.12 μία δ' ἐξ ἀпасῶν καθ' ἡμέραν σημαία ἀνὰ μέρος
one and from all each day manipule in turn
 τῷ στρατηγῷ παρακοιτεῖ ἥτις ἅμα μὲν ἀσφάλειαν
by-the general sleeps which at-once indeed security
 παρασκευάζει τῷ στρατηγῷ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς, ἅμα
provides for-the general against the plots at-once
 δὲ κοσμεῖ τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἀρχῆς.
and adorns the dignity of-the office

34.1 τῆς δὲ ταφρείας καὶ χαρακοποιίας δύο μὲν ἐπιβάλλουσι
of-the and trenching and palisading two indeed fall
 πλευραὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις, παρ' ἧς καὶ στρατοπεδεύει τὸ
sides to-the allies along which also encamps the
 κέρας αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον, δύο δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἐκατέρῳ
wing of-them each two and to-the Romans to-each
 τῷ στρατοπέδῳ μία.

— *legion one*

34.2 διαιρεθείσης δὲ τῆς πλευρᾶς ἐκάστης κατὰ σημαίαν, τὴν μὲν
having-been-divided and the side each by manipule the indeed
 κατὰ μέρος ἐπιμέλειαν οἱ ταξίαρχοι ποιοῦνται παρεστῶτες,
in detail supervision the centurions make standing-by
 τὴν δὲ καθόλου δοκιμασίαν τῆς πλευρᾶς δύο τῶν χιλιάρχων.
the and general testing of-the side two of-the military-tribunes

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον 34.3
likewise and also the remaining the in the camp

ἐπιμέλειαν οὗτοι ποιοῦνται κατὰ δύο γὰρ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς
supervision these make by twos for them selves
διελόντες ἀνὰ μέρος τῆς ἐκμήνου τὴν δίμηνον ἄρχουσι,
having-divided in turn of-the six-months the two-months they-command
καὶ πάσης οἱ λαχόντες τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις προΐστανται
and all those chosen-by-lot the in the field direct
χρείας.
service

ὁ δ' αὐτὸς τρόπος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν πραιφέκτων 34.4
the and same manner of-the command is also of-the prefects
περὶ τοὺς συμμαχοὺς.
among the allies

οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς καὶ ταξίαρχοι πάντες ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ 34.5
the and cavalry-officers and centurions all at-once with-the light
παραγίνονται πρὸς τὰς τῶν χιλιάρχων σκηνάς, οἱ δὲ
come to the of-the military-tribunes tents the and
χιλιάρχοι πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον.
military-tribunes to the consul

κάκεϊνος μὲν τὸ κατεπεῖγον ἀεὶ παραγγέλλει τοῖς 34.6
and-be indeed the(-thing) pressing always orders to-the
χιλιάρχοις, οἱ δὲ χιλιάρχοι τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ ταξίαρχοις,
military-tribunes the and military-tribunes to-the cavalry-officers and centurions
οὗτοι δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὅταν ἐκάστων ὁ καιρὸς ᾗ.
these and to-the many whenever for-each the time be

τὴν δὲ τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ συνθήματος παράδοσιν ἀσφαλιζονται 34.7
the and of-the nocturnal watchword transmission they-secure
τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.
in-the way this

34.8 καθ' ἕκαστον γένος καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἐκ
from each class both of-the cavalry and of-the infantry from
 τῆς δεκάτης σημαίας καὶ τελευταίας στρατοπεδευούσης
the tenth manipule and last encamping
 κατὰ τὰς ῥύμας, ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἐκάστης ἀνὴρ λαμβάνεται
along the streets from these one of-each man is-taken
 κατ' ἐκλογὴν, ὃς τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὰς φυλακὰς λειτουργιῶν
by selection who from-the indeed on the watches duties
 ἀπολύεται, παραγίνεται δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν δύνοντος ἡλίου
is-released comes and each day setting sun
 πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χιλιάρχου σκηνήν, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ
to the of-the military-tribune tent and having-received the
 σύνθημα — τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ πλατεῖον ἐπιγεγραμμένον —
watchword this and is a-tablet inscribed
 ἀπαλλάττεται πάλιν.

departs back

34.9 ἀναχωρήσας δ' ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σημαίαν τό τε ξυλήφιον
having-returned and to the of-himself manipule the both tablet
 παρέδωκε καὶ τὸ σύνθημα μετὰ μαρτύρων τῷ τῆς
be-handed-over and the watchword with witnesses to-the of-the
 ἐχομένης σημαίας ἡγεμόνι, παραπλησίως δὲ πάλιν οὗτος
next manipule commander similarly and again this(-man)
 τῷ τῆς ἐχομένης.

to-the(-commander) of-the next

34.10 τὸ δ' ὅμοιον ἐξῆς ποιούσι πάντες, ἕως ἂν ἐπὶ τὰς
the and same next do all until — to the
 πρώτας καὶ συνεγγυς τοῖς χιλιάρχοις στρατοπεδευούσας
first and near to-the military-tribunes encamping
 σημαίας ἐξικνῆται. τούτους δὲ δεῖ τὸ πλατεῖον ἔτι φωτὸς
maniples it-arrives these and must the tablet still light
 ὄντος ἀναφέρειν πρὸς τοὺς χιλιάρχους.
being to-bring-back to the military-tribunes

κὰν μὲν ἀνενεχθῇ πάντα τὰ δοθέντα, γινώσκει 34.11

and-if indeed are-brought-back all the(-tablets) given be-knows
διότι δέδοται τὸ σύνθημα πᾶσι καὶ διὰ πάντων εἰς
that has-been-given the watchword to-all and through all to
αὐτὸν ἵκει·

him it-comes

ἐὰν δ' ἐλλείπη τι, παρὰ πόδας ζητεῖ τὸ 34.12

if but be-missing something at once be-investigates the(-thing)
γεγονός, εἰδὼς ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἐκ ποίου μέρους
having-happened knowing from the inscription from what-sort-of part

οὐχ ἵκει τὸ πλατεῖον. οὐδ' ἂν εὔρεθῇ τὸ
not comes the tablet (be)-with-whom and — be-found the

κώλυμα, τυγχάνει τῆς καθηκούσης ζημίας.

hindrance meets-with the due penalty

XVII • THE NIGHT WATCHES

The maniples guard the general, the tribunes, the cavalry, the quaestor, and the legates; the light-armed keep the rampart and gates. Each first-watch sentry receives a marked tablet. Four young cavalrymen draw lots for the watches; at each trumpet call one visits every post, taking the tablet from a man awake and calling witnesses against one asleep. At dawn a missing tablet shows which post failed.

τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς νυκτερινὰς φυλακὰς οὕτως 35.1

the(-arrangements) and about the night watches thus

οἰκονομεῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς.

are-managed among them

τὸν μὲν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὴν τούτου σκηνὴν ἢ παρακοιτοῦσα 35.2

the indeed general and the of-him tent the sleeping-beside

σημαία φυλάττει, τὰς δὲ τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ τοὺς τῶν

maniple guards the(-tents) and of-the military-tribunes and the of-the

ἱππέων οὐλαμοὺς οἱ διατεταγμένοι κατὰ τὸν ἄρτι
cavalry troops those assigned according-to the just(-given)

λόγον ἐξ ἐκάστης σημαίας.

account from each manipule

35.3 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ παρ' ἑκαστον τάγμα πάντες ἐξ ἑαυτῶν

likewise and also beside each order all from themselves

τιθέασι φυλακὴν· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ὁ στρατηγὸς

they-post a-guard the and remaining(-guards) the general

ἀποτάττει.

assigns

35.4 γίνονται δ' ὥς ἐπίπαν τρεῖς φυλακαὶ παρὰ τὸν ταμίαν,

there-are and as a-rule three guards beside the quaestor

καὶ παρ' ἑκαστον τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ συμβούλων δύο.

and beside each of-the legates and councilors two

35.5 τὴν δ' ἐκτὸς ἐπιφάνειαν οἱ γροσφομάχοι πληροῦσι, παρ'

the and outer face the light-armed fill along

ὅλον καθ' ἡμέραν τὸν χάρακα παρακοιτοῦντες — αὕτη γὰρ

whole each day the palisade keeping-watch this for

ἐπιτέτακται τούτοις ἡ λειτουργία — ἐπὶ τε τῶν εἰσόδων

is-imposed on-these the service at and the entrances

ἀνὰ δέκα ποιοῦνται τούτων αὐτῶν τὰς προκοιτίας.

by ten they-make of-these themselves the outposts

35.6 τῶν δ' εἰς τὰς φυλακὰς ἀποταχθέντων ἀφ' ἑκάστου

of-those and to the watches assigned from each

φυλακείου τὸν τὴν πρώτην μέλλοντα τηρεῖν εἰς ἐξ

guard the(-man) the first about-to keep one from

ἐκάστης σημαίας οὐραγὸς ἄγει πρὸς τὸν χιλιάρχον

each manipule rear-rank-officer leads to the military-tribune

ἐσπέρας·

in-the-evening

ὁ δὲ δίδωσι τούτοις πᾶσι ξυλήφια κατὰ φυλακὴν, βραχεία 35.7

he and gives to-these all tablets by watch small

τελέως, ἔχοντα χαρακτῆρα. λαβόντες δ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ

entirely having a-mark having-received and these indeed to

τοὺς ἀποδεδειγμένους ἀπαλλάττονται τόπους.

the appointed depart places

ἡ δὲ τῆς ἐφοδείας πίστις εἰς τοὺς ἵππεις ἀνατίθεται. 35.8

the and of-the inspection trust to the cavalry is-committed

δεῖ γὰρ τὸν πρῶτον ἰλάρχην καθ' ἕκαστον

it-is-necessary for the first squadron-leader in each

στρατόπεδον ἐνὶ τῶν οὐραγῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ παραγγέλλαι

legion to-one of-the rear-rank-officers of-the of-himself to-give

πρῶ παράγγελμα τοιοῦτον, ἵνα τέτταρσιν οὗτος ἐμφανίσῃ

early an-order such that to-four he may-announce

νεανίσκοις τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας ἱλῆς πρὸ ἀρίστου τοῖς

young-men of-those from the own squadron before breakfast to-those

μέλλουσιν ἐφοδεύειν.

about to-inspect

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῷ τῆς ἐχομένης ἱλῆς ἡγεμόνι δεῖ 35.9

after and these to-the of-the next squadron commander it-is-necessary

τὸν αὐτὸν ἀφ' ἑσπέρας παραγγέλλαι διότι τούτῳ καθήκει

the same from evening to-give-notice that to-him it-falls

τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐφοδείας φροντίζειν εἰς τὴν αὔριον.

the(-care) about the inspection to-see-to for the morrow

τοῦτον δ' ἀκούσαντα παραπλησίως ταῦτά δεῖ ποιεῖν τοῖς 35.10

he and having-beard similarly the-same must to-do as-the

προειρημένοις εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ

aforesaid(-men) for the following day likewise and also

τοὺς ἐξῆς.

the next(-ones)

- 35.11 οἱ δὲ προκριθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν οὐραγῶν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης
the and (men)-selected by the rear-rank-officers from the first
 ἱλῆς τέτταρες, ἐπειδὴν διαλάχωσι τὰς φυλακάς,
squadron four when they-have-drawn-lots-for the watches
 πορεύονται πρὸς τὸν χιλίαρχον, καὶ γραφὴν λαμβάνουσι
go to the military-tribune and in-writing receive
 πόσου καὶ πόσας ἐφοδεῦσαι δεῖ φυλακάς.
of-what-part and how-many to-inspect they-must watches
- 35.12 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρακοιτοῦσιν οἱ τέτταρες παρὰ τὴν
after and these sleep the four beside the
 πρώτην σημαίαν τῶν τριαρίων· ὁ γὰρ ταύτης ταξίαρχος
first manipule of-the triarii the for of-this centurion
 τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖται τοῦ κατὰ φυλακὴν βουκανᾶν.
the care makes of-the at-each watch sounding-the-trumpet
- 36.1 συνάψαντος δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν πρώτην ἐφοδεύει φυλακὴν
having-come and the time the first inspects watch
 ὁ ταύτην λαχών, ἔχων μεθ' αὐτοῦ μάρτυρας τῶν
the(-man) this having-drawn having with himself (as)-witnesses of-the
 φίλων.
friends
- 36.2 ἐπιπορεύεται δὲ τοὺς ῥηθέντας τόπους, οὐ μόνον τοὺς
he-visits and the mentioned places not only the(-ones)
 περὶ τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ
about the palisade and the entrances but also the(-ones) by
 σημαίαν ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς κατ' οὐλαμόν·
maniple all and the(-ones) by troop
- 36.3 καὶν μὲν εὔρη τοὺς φυλάττοντας τὴν πρώτην ἐγρηγορότας,
and-if indeed he-finds those guarding the first(-watch) awake
 λαμβάνει παρὰ τούτων τὸ κάρφος· ἐὰν δ' εὔρη κοιμώμενον
he-takes from these the tablet if but he-finds asleep

ἢ λελοιπότα τινὰ τὸν τόπον, ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοὺς
or having-left any(-man) the place having-called-to-witness the(-men)
 σύνεγγυς ἀπαλλάττεται.

near be-departs

τὸ δὲ παραπλήσιον γίνεται καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰς ἐξῆς 36.4
the and similar(-thing) happens also by those the next
 φυλακὰς ἐφοδεύοντων.

watches inspecting

τὴν δ' ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ κατὰ φυλακὴν βουκανᾶν, ὥς 36.5
the and care of-the at-each watch sounding-the-trumpet as
 ἀρτίως εἶπον, ἵνα σύμφωνον ἦ τοῖς ἐφοδεύουσι πρὸς

just-now I-said so-that simultaneous it-be for-those inspecting with

τοὺς φυλάττοντας, οἱ τῆς πρώτης σημαίας τῶν
those guarding the(-centurions) of-the first maniple of-the

τριάριων ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ στρατοπέδου ταξίαρχοι καθ'
triarii from each — legion centurions each

ἡμέραν ποιοῦνται.

day make

τῶν δ' ἐφόδων ἕκαστος ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ πρὸς τὸν 36.6
of-the and inspectors each at-once with-the light to the

χιλίαρχον ἀναφέρει τὸ σύνθημα. καὶ μὲν ἦ πάντα
military-tribune brings-back the token and-if indeed there-be all

δεδομένα, χωρὶς ἐγκλήματος ἀπαλλάττονται πάλιν· ἂν δέ
given without charge they-depart again if but

τις ἐλάττω φέρῃ τοῦ πλείους τῶν φυλακείων,

anyone fewer bring than-the number of-the guards

ζητοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτηῖρος ποῖον ἐκ τῶν φυλακείων 36.7
they-seek from the mark which of the guards

λέλοιπε.

has-failed

- 36.8 τούτου δὲ γνωσθέντος καλεῖ τὸν ταξίαρχον· οὗτος δ' ἄγει
this and having-been-learned he-calls the centurion he and brings
 τοὺς ἀποταχθέντας εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν· οὗτοι δὲ συγκρίνονται
those assigned to the watch these and are-confronted
 πρὸς τὸν ἑφοδον. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς φύλαξι ἢ τὸ κακόν,
with the inspector if indeed therefore in the guards be the fault
 36.9 εὐθέως δηλὸς ἐστὶν ὁ τὴν ἐφοδεῖαν ἔχων
at-once clear is the(-man) the inspection holding
 ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοὺς σύνεγγυς· ὀφείλει γὰρ τοῦτο
having-called-to-witness the(-men) near he-is-bound for this
 ποιεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲν ἢ τοιοῦτο γεγονός, εἰς τὸν ἑφοδον
to-do if but nothing be such having-happened upon the inspector
 ἀναχωρεῖ τοῦγκλημα.
returns the-charge

XVIII • PUNISHMENT AND DECIMATION

A man found at fault on watch is tried by the tribunes and, if condemned, cudgeled by the whole camp, usually to death. Thieves, perjurers, and men fined three times are cudgeled too; leaving a post or throwing away arms counts as cowardice, so men die at their posts rather than face the penalty. When maniples break, a tenth chosen by lot are cudgeled, the rest put on barley.

- 37.1 καθίσαντος δὲ παραχρῆμα συνεδρίου τῶν χιλιάρχων
having-sat and at-once a-council of-the military-tribunes
 κρίνεται, κὰν καταδικασθῇ, ξυλοκοπεῖται.
he-is-tried and-if he-be-condemned he-is-cudgeled
 37.2 τὸ δὲ τῆς ξυλοκοπίας ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον. λαβὼν ξύλον ὁ
the and of-the cudgeling is such taking a-cudgel the
 χιλιάρχος τούτῳ τοῦ κατακριθέντος οἶον ἥψατο μόνον,
military-tribune with-this the condemned(-man) as-it-were touched only

- οὗ γενομένου πάντες οἱ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τύπτοντες 37.3
which having-happened all those of-the camp beating
- τοῖς ξύλοις καὶ τοῖς λίθοις τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἐν
with-the cudgels and with-the stones the indeed most in
 αὐτῇ τῇ στρατοπεδείᾳ καταβάλλουσι,
the-very — encampment strike-down
- τοῖς δ' ἐκπεσεῖν δυναμένοις οὐδ' ὥς ὑπάρχει σωτηρία· 37.4
for-those and to-escape able not-even so there-is safety
- πῶς γάρ; οἷς οὐτ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἑαυτῶν
how(-could-it-be) for for-whom neither to the fatherland the own
 ἐπανελθεῖν ἔξεστιν οὔτε τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐδεὶς ἂν
to-return it-is-permitted nor of-the relatives anyone —
 οἰκίᾳ τολμήσειε δέξασθαι τὸν τοιοῦτον. διὸ τελείως
into-the-house would-dare to-receive the such(-man) wherefore utterly
 οἱ περιπεσόντες ἅπαξ τοιαύτῃ συμφορᾷ καταφθείρονται.
those having-fallen once into-such misfortune are-destroyed
- τὸ δ' αὐτὸ πάσχειν ὀφείλει τοῖς προειρημένοις ὃ τ' 37.5
the and same to-suffer are-liable as-the aforesaid the both
 οὐραγὸς καὶ τῆς ἱλῆς ἡγεμών, ἐὰν μὴ παραγγείλωσιν,
rear-rank-officer and of-the squadron commander if not they-give-the-order
 ὁ μὲν τοῖς ἐφόδοις, ὁ δὲ τῷ τῆς ἐχομένης
the-one indeed to-the inspectors the-other and to-the of-the next
 ἱλῆς ἡγεμόνι, τὸ δέον ἐν τῷ καθήκοντι καιρῷ.
squadron commander the(-thing) needful at the fitting time
- διόπερ οὕτως ἰσχυρᾶς οὔσης καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου τῆς 37.6
wherefore so severe being and inexorable the
 τιμωρίας ἀδιάπτωτα γίνεται παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ κατὰ
punishment unfailing becomes among them the(-duties) of
 τὰς νυκτερινὰς φυλακάς.
the night watches

- 37.7 δέῃ δὲ προσέχειν τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας τοῖς
it-is-necessary and to-attend the indeed soldiers to-the
 χιλιάρχοις, τούτους δ' ἔτι τοῖς ὑπάτοις.
military-tribunes these and further to-the consuls
- 37.8 κύριος δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ζημῶν ὁ χιλιάρχος καὶ ἐνεχυράζων
authorized and is both fining the military-tribune and distraining
 καὶ μαστιγῶν, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους οἱ πραίφεκτοι.
and flogging the and allies the prefects
- 37.9 ξυλοκοπεῖται δὲ καὶ πᾶς ὁ κλέψας τι τῶν
is-cudgeled and also everyone the(-man) having-stolen some(-thing) of-the(-things)
 ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ μὴν ὁ μαρτυρήσας ψευδῇ
from the camp and indeed the(-man) having-borne-witness falsely
 παραπλησίως, ἄν τις τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ παραχρησάμενος
likewise and-if any of-those in (their)-prime having-misused
 εὔρεθῇ τῷ σώματι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὁ τρίς περὶ
be-found the body besides and these the(-man) three-times for
 τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας ζημωθεῖς.
the same cause fined
- 37.10 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὥς ἀδικήματα κολάζουσιν· εἰς δ'
these indeed therefore as crimes they-punish to and
 ἀνανδρίαν τιθέασι καὶ στρατιωτικὴν αἰσχύνην τὰ τοιαῦτα
cowardice they-set and military disgrace the such
 τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἔάν τις ψευδῇ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνδραγαθίαν
of-the charges if some false about themselves bravery
 ἀπαγγέλωσι τοῖς χιλιάρχοις ἔνεκεν τοῦ τιμᾶς λαβεῖν,
report to-the military-tribunes for-the-sake-of — honors to-get
- 37.11 ὁμοίως ἂν τις εἰς ἐφεδρείαν ταχθέντες φόβου χάριν
likewise if some into reserve posted of-fear for-the-sake
 λίσσῃ τὸν δοθέντα τόπον, παραπλησίως ἔάν τις ἀπορρήψῃ
leave the given place similarly if one throws-away
 τι τῶν ὅπλων κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον διὰ φόβον.
some(-one) of-the arms in the-very — danger because-of fear

- διὸ καί τινες μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐφεδρείαις προδήλως 37.12
wherefore also some indeed in the reserves manifestly
 ἀπολλυνται, πολλαπλασίῳ αὐτοῖς ἐπιγινομένων οὐ
perish many-times-as-many upon-them coming not
 θέλοντες λιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν, δεδιότες τὴν οἰκείαν τιμωρίαν·
wishing to-leave the post fearing the home punishment
 ἔνιοι δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκβαλόντες θυρεὸν 37.13
some and in the-very — danger having-lost a-shield
 ἢ μάχαιραν ἢ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλων παραλόγως
or a-sword or some(-one) of-the other arms recklessly
 ῥίπτουσιν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἢ κυριεύειν
throw themselves on the enemy either to-recover
 ἐλπίζοντες ὧν ἀπέβαλον ἢ παθόντες τι τὴν πρόδηλον
hoping what they-lost or having-suffered something the manifest
 αἰσχύνην διαφεύξεσθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ὕβριν.
disgrace to-escape and the of-the relatives insult
 ἐὰν δέ ποτε ταῦτα ταῦτα περὶ πλείους συμβῇ 38.1
if and ever the-same these(-things) about more happen
 γενέσθαι καὶ σημαίας τινὰς ὀλοσχερῶς πιεσθείσας λιπεῖν
to-happen and maniples some utterly having-been-pressed to-leave
 τοὺς τόπους, τὸ μὲν ἅπαντας ξυλοκοπεῖν ἢ φονεύειν
the positions the indeed all to-cudgel or to-put-to-death
 ἀποδοκιμάζουσι, λύσιν δὲ τοῦ πράγματος εὐρίσκονται
they-reject (a)-solution and of-the matter they-find
 συμφέρουσιν ἅμα καὶ καταπληκτικὴν.
expedient at-once and terrifying
 συναθροίσας γὰρ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὁ χιλιάρχος καὶ 38.2
having-assembled for the legion the military-tribune and
 προαγαγὼν εἰς μέσον τοὺς λελοιπότας, κατηγορεῖ
having-brought-forward into (the)-middle those having-left accuses
 πικρῶς, καὶ τὸ τέλος ποτὲ μὲν πέντε, ποτὲ δ'
bitterly and at-the end sometimes indeed five sometimes and

ὀκτώ, ποτὲ δ' εἴκοσι, τὸ δ' ὅλον πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος
eight sometimes and twenty — and in-general to the number
 αἰεὶ στοχαζόμενος, ὥστε δέκατον μάλιστα γίνεσθαι
always aiming so-that the-tenth-part as-nearly-as-possible be
 τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων, τοσούτους ἐκ πάντων κληροῦται
of-those having-erred so-many from all draws-by-lot
 τῶν ἀποδεδειλιακότων,
of-those having-shown-cowardice

38.3 καὶ τοὺς μὲν λαχόντας ξυλοκοπεῖ κατὰ τὸν ἄρτι
and those indeed drawn be-cudgels according-to the just
 ῥηθέντα λόγον ἀπαραιτήτως, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὸ μέτρημα
mentioned way inexorably to-the and rest the ration
 κριθὰς δούς ἀντὶ πυρῶν ἔξω κελεύει τοῦ χάρακος καὶ
barley giving instead-of wheat outside he-orders the palisade and
 τῆς ἀσφαλείας ποιεῖσθαι τὴν παρεμβολήν.
the security to-make the camp

38.4 λοιπὸν τοῦ μὲν κινδύνου καὶ φόβου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν
thereafter the indeed danger and fear the(-one) by the
 κλήρον ἐπ' ἴσον ἐπικρεμαμένου πᾶσιν, ὥς ἂν ἀδήλου
lot on equal(-terms) hanging-over all as — uncertain
 τοῦ συμπτώματος ὑπάρχοντος, τοῦ δὲ παραδειγματισμοῦ
the misfortune being the and example
 τοῦ κατὰ τὴν κριθοφαγίαν ὁμοίως συμβαίνοντος περὶ
the(-one) by the barley-eating likewise happening to
 πάντας, τὸ δυνατόν ἐκ τῶν ἐθισμῶν εἴληπται καὶ
all the possible(-means) from the customs has-been-taken both
 πρὸς κατάπληξιν καὶ διόρθωσιν τῶν συμπτωμάτων.
for terror and correction of-the mishaps

After an action the general praises the brave before the army and rewards danger sought by choice: a spear for wounding an enemy, a cup or horse trappings for stripping one. The first man over a wall gets a golden crown; a man saved crowns his savior and honors him as a father. Infantry earn two obols a day, centurions double, and cavalry a drachma; Romans pay for grain, clothing, and arms.

καλῶς δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους ἐκκαλοῦνται πρὸς τὸ 39.1
well and also the young(-men) they-call-forth to —
κινδυνεύειν.

face-danger

ἐπειδὴν γὰρ γένηται τις χρεία καὶ τινες αὐτῶν 39.2
when for there-happens some action and some of-them

ἀνδραγαθήσωσι, συναγαγὼν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ
show-bravery having-assembled the general an-assembly of-the
στρατοπέδου, καὶ παραστησάμενος τοὺς δόξαντάς τι
army and having-set-beside(-him) those having-seemed something

πεπραχέναι διαφέρον, πρῶτον μὲν ἐγκώμιον ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου
to-have-done outstanding first indeed a-eulogy for each

λέγει περὶ τε τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶν τι κατὰ τὸν
he-speaks about both the bravery and-if anything in the
βίον αὐτοῖς ἄλλο συνυπάρχει τῆς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ μνήμης ἄξιον,
life to-them other exists-besides of-the for good memory worthy

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῷ μὲν τρώσαντι πολέμιον γαῖσον 39.3
after and these to-the indeed (man)-having-wounded an-enemy a-spear

δωρεῖται, τῷ δὲ καταβαλόντι καὶ σκυλεύσαντι,
he-gives to-the and (man)-having-struck-down and having-stripped(-him)

τῷ μὲν πεζῷ φιάλην, τῷ δ' ἵππῃ φάλαρ', ἐξ
to-the indeed infantryman a-cup to-the and cavalryman horse-trappings from
ἀρχῆς δὲ γαῖσον μόνον.

(the)-beginning and a-spear only

- 39.4 τυγχάνει δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἔαν ἐν παρατάξει τις ἢ πόλεως
obtains and these not if in a-battle-line one or of-a-city
 καταλήψει τρώσῃ τινὰς ἢ σκυλεύσῃ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλ' ἔαν
capture wounds some or strips of-the enemy but if
 ἐν ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις τοιούτοις καιροῖς, ἐν οἷς
in skirmishes or some other such occasions in which
 μηδεμῆς ἀνάγκης οὔσης κατ' ἄνδρα κινδυνεύειν αὐτοί
no necessity being in single-combat to-face-danger themselves
 τινες ἐκούσιως καὶ κατὰ προαίρεσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τοῦτο διδῶσι.
some voluntarily and by choice themselves to this give
- 39.5 τοῖς δὲ πόλεως καταλαμβανομένης πρώτοις ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος
to-those and a-city being-captured first on the wall
 ἀναβᾶσι χρυσοῦν δίδωσι στέφανον.
having-climbed a-golden he-gives crown
- 39.6 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπερασπίσαντας καὶ σώσαντάς τινας
likewise and also those having-shielded and having-saved some
 τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ συμμάχων ὃ τε στρατηγὸς ἐπισημαίνεται
of-the citizens or allies the both general distinguishes
 δώροις, οἳ τε χιλίαρχοι τοὺς σωθέντας, ἔαν μὲν
with-gifts the and military-tribunes those saved if indeed
 ἐκόντες ποιήσωσιν, εἰ δὲ μή, κρίναντες συναναγκάζουσι
willingly they-do(-it) if but not having-judged compel
 τὸν σώσαντα στεφανοῦν.
the (man)-having-saved to-crown
- 39.7 σέβεται δὲ τοῦτον καὶ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον ὁ σωθεὶς
reveres and him also through all the life the (man)-saved
 ὡς πατέρα, καὶ πάντα δεῖ τούτῳ ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς τῷ
as a-father and everything he-must for-him to-do himself as for-the
 γονεῖ.
parent

ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης παρορμήσεως οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀκούοντας 39.8

from and the such encouragement not only the(-ones) bearing

καὶ παρόντας ἐκκαλοῦνται πρὸς τὴν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις

and present they-call-forth to the in the dangers

ἄμιλλαν καὶ ζῆλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ μένοντας·

rivalry and emulation but also those at home remaining

οἱ γὰρ τυχόντες τῶν τοιούτων δωρεῶν χωρὶς τῆς ἐν 39.9

those for having-obtained the such gifts apart-from the in

τοῖς στρατοπέδοις εὐκλείας καὶ τῆς ἐν οἴκῳ παραχρῆμα

the legions glory and the at home immediate

φήμης καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον τὴν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα

fame also after the return the to the fatherland

τάς τε πομπὰς ἐπισήμως πομπεύουσι διὰ τὸ μόνοις

the both processions conspicuously they-march-in because-of — alone

ἐξεῖναι περιτίθεσθαι κόσμον τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν

to-be-permitted to-wear decoration to-those by the generals

ἐπ' ἀνδραγαθία τετιμημένοις,

for bravery honored

ἐν τε ταῖς οἰκίαις κατὰ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τόπους 39.10

in and the houses in the most-conspicuous places

τιθέασι τὰ σκῦλα, σημεῖα ποιούμενοι καὶ μαρτύρια τῆς

they-place the spoils signs making and testimonies of-the

ἐαυτῶν ἀρετῆς.

own valor

τοιαύτης δ' ἐπιμελείας οὔσης καὶ σπουδῆς περί τε τὰς 39.11

such and care being and zeal about both the

τιμὰς καὶ τιμωρίας τὰς ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις, εἰκότως

honors and punishments the(-ones) in the legions reasonably

καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν πολεμικῶν πράξεων ἐπιτυχῇ καὶ

also the outcomes of-the military undertakings successful and

λαμπρὰ γίνεται δι' αὐτῶν.

brilliant become through them

- 39.12 ὀψώνιον δ' οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ λαμβάνουσι τῆς ἡμέρας δύο
 pay and the indeed infantry receive of-the day two
 ὀβολούς, οἱ δὲ ταξίαρχοι διπλοῦν, οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς δραχμὴν.
 obols the and centurions double the and cavalry a-drachma
- 39.13 σιτομετροῦνται δ' οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ πυρῶν Ἀττικοῦ μεδίμνου
 receive-a-ration and the indeed infantry of-wheat of-an-Attic medimnus
 δύο μέρη μάλιστά πως, οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς κριθῶν μὲν ἑπτὰ
 two parts about somewhat the and cavalry of-barley indeed seven
 μεδίμνους εἰς τὸν μῆνα, πυρῶν δὲ δύο,
 medimni for the month of-wheat and two
- 39.14 τῶν δὲ συμμάχων οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ τὸ ἴσον, οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς
 of-the and allies the indeed infantry the equal(-ration) the and cavalry
 πυρῶν μὲν μέδιμνον ἕνα καὶ τρίτον μέρος, κριθῶν δὲ
 of-wheat indeed medimnus one and a-third part of-barley and
 πέντε.
 five
- 39.15 δίδεται δὲ τοῖς μὲν συμμάχοις τοῦτ' ἐν δωρεᾷ· τοῖς δὲ
 is-given and to-the indeed allies this as a-gift to-the and
 Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῆς ἐσθήτος, κἂν τινος ὅπλου
 Romans of-the both grain and of-the clothing and-if some arm
 προσδεθῶσι, πάντων τούτων ὁ ταμίας τὴν τεταγμένην
 they-need of-all these the quaestor the fixed
 τιμὴν ἐκ τῶν ὀψωνίων ὑπολογίζεται.
 price from the pay deducts

At the first trumpet the tents are struck, at the second the baggage is loaded, at the third the column moves. Picked men lead, then the allies' right wing, the legions, and the allies' left, the order reversing every other day. Officers go ahead and flag out the camp, so each man finds his street as in his own city. Greeks follow the ground; Romans dig to keep one familiar camp.

τὰς δ' ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἀναστρατοπεδείας ποιοῦνται 40.1

the and from the camp breakings-of-camp they-make

τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

in-the manner this

ὅταν τὸ πρῶτον σημήνη, καταλύουσι τὰς σκηναὶς καὶ 40.2

when the first(-signal) it-sounds they-take-down the tents and

συντιθέασιν τὰ φορτία πάντες· οὔτε δὲ καθελεῖν ἔξεστιν

pack-up the loads all neither and to-take-down it-is-permitted

οὔτ' ἀναστήσαι πρότερον οὐδένα τῆς τῶν χιλιάρχων

nor to-set-up before anyone(-else) the of-the military-tribunes

καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σκηνῆς.

and of-the general tent

ὅταν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατιθέασιν τὰ σκευοφόρα τοῖς 40.3

when and the second(-signal) they-load the baggage on-the

ὑπόζυγιοις. ἐπὰν δὲ τὸ τρίτον σημήνη, προάγειν δεῖ τοὺς

pack-animals when and the third it-sounds to-advance must the

πρώτους καὶ κινεῖν τὴν ὅλην παρεμβολήν.

first and to-move the whole camp

εἰς μὲν οὖν τὴν πρωτοπορείαν ὡς ἐπίπαν τάττουσι τοὺς 40.4

in indeed therefore the van as a-rule they-place the

ἐπιλέκτους· τούτοις δὲ τὸ τῶν συμμάχων δεξιὸν ἐπιβάλλει

picked-men to-these and the of-the allies right comes-next

κέρας· ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἔπεται τὰ τῶν προειρημένων
 wing next and to-these follows the of-the aforesaid
 ὑποζύγια.

pack-animals

40.5 τῇ δὲ τούτων πορεία τὸ πρῶτον τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἀκολουθεῖ
 the and of-these march the first of-the Roman follows
 στρατόπεδον, ἔχον ὀπισθεν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποσκευήν.

legion having behind the own baggage

40.6 κᾶπειτα κατακολουθεῖ τὸ δεύτερον στρατόπεδον, ἐπομένων
 and-then follows the second legion following
 αὐτῷ τῶν ἰδίων ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῆς τῶν συμμάχων
 it the own pack-animals and the of-the allies

ἀποσκευῆς τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας τεταγμένων τελευταῖον γὰρ
 baggage of-those in the rear posted last for
 ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τάττεται τὸ τῶν συμμάχων εὐώνυμον κέρας.
 in the march is-placed the of-the allies left wing

40.7 οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς ποτὲ μὲν ἀπουραγοῦσι τοῖς αὐτῶν
 the and cavalry sometimes indeed bring-up-the-rear to-the of-themselves
 ἕκαστοι μέρεσι, ποτὲ δὲ παρὰ τὰ ὑποζύγια πλάγιοι
 each parts sometimes and beside the pack-animals on-the-flanks
 παραπορεύονται, συνέχοντες ταῦτα καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν
 march-alongside keeping-together these and the safety
 τούτοις παρασκευάζοντες.

for-these providing

40.8 προσδοκίας δ' οὔσης κατὰ τὴν οὐραγίαν τὰ μὲν
 expectation and being on the rear the indeed
 ἄλλα παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει τρόπον, αὐτοὶ δ'
 rest among them the same has manner themselves and
 οἱ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπίλεκτοι τὴν οὐραγίαν ἀντὶ τῆς
 the of-the allies picked-men the rear instead-of the
 πρωτοπορείας μεταλαμβάνουσι.

van

take-over

παρὰ δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν τὰ μὲν ἡγείται τῶν στρατοπέδων 40.9
every and other day the(-units) indeed lead of-the legions

καὶ κεράτων, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πάλιν ἔπεται ταῦτα κατόπιν,
and wings the(-ones) and same again follow these behind

ἵνα τῆς περὶ τὰς ὑδρείας καὶ σιτολογίας ἀκεραιότητος
so-that of-the about the watering and foraging freshness

πάντες ἐπ' ἴσον κοινωνῶσι, μεταλαμβάνοντες ἀεὶ
all on equal(-terms) may-share taking-in-turn always

τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς πρωτοπορείας ἐναλλάξ τάξιν.
the in the van alternate position

χρῶνται δὲ καὶ ἐτέρῳ γένει πορείας ἐν τοῖς ἐπισφαλέσι 40.10
they-use and also another kind of-march in the dangerous

τῶν καιρῶν, ἐὰν ἀναπεπταμένους ἔχωσι τόπους·
of-the times if open they-have places

ἄγουσι γὰρ τριφαλαγγίαν παράλληλον τῶν ἀστάτων καὶ 40.11
they-lead for a-triple-column parallel of-the hastati and

πριγκίπων καὶ τριαρίων, τάττοντες τὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων
principes and triarii placing the of-the leading

σημαιῶν ὑποζύγια πρὸ πάντων, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς πρώταις
maniples pack-animals before all behind and the first

σημαίαις τὰ τῶν δευτέρων, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς δευτέραις
maniples the(-animals) of-the second behind and the second(-maniples)

τὰ τῶν τρίτων, καὶ κατὰ λόγον οὕτως ἐναλλάξ
the(-animals) of-the third and in proportion thus alternately

ἀεὶ τιθέντες τὰ ὑποζύγια ταῖς σημαίαις.
always placing the pack-animals with-the maniples

οὕτω δὲ συντάξαντες τὴν πορείαν, ἐπειδὰν προσπίπτῃ 40.12
thus and having-arranged the march whenever falls-upon(-them)

τι τῶν δεινῶν, ποτὲ μὲν παρ' ἀσπίδα κλίναντες,
some(-one) of-the dangers sometimes indeed toward (the)-shield turning

ποτὲ δ' ἐπὶ δόρυ, προάγουσι τὰς σημαίας ἐκ τῶν
sometimes and toward (the)-spear they-lead-forward the maniples from the
ὑποζυγίων πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιφάνειαν.

pack-animals toward the of-the enemy appearance

40.13 λοιπὸν ἐν βραχεὶ χρόνῳ καὶ μιᾷ κινήσει τὸ μὲν τῶν
thereafter in short time and with-one movement the indeed of-the
όπλιτῶν σύστημα λαμβάνει παρατάξεως διάθεσιν, ἐὰν μὴ
heavy-infantry body takes of-battle-line formation if not
ποτε προσεξελίξαι δέη τοὺς ἀστάτους,

ever to-deploy-besides be-needful the hastati

40.14 τὸ δὲ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν παρεπομένων τούτοις
the and of-the pack-animals and of-those following these
πληθός, ὑπὸ τοὺς παρατεταγμένους ὑπεσταλκός, ἔχει τὴν
multitude under the (men)-drawn-up withdrawn has the
καθήκουσαν χώραν πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον.

fitting place for the danger

41.1 ὅταν δὲ κατὰ τὰς πορείας ἐγγίξωσι στρατοπεδεύειν,
when and on the marches they-draw-near to-encamping
προπορεύονται χιλίαρχος καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων οἱ πρὸς
go-ahead a-military-tribune and of-the centurions those for
τοῦτο τὸ μέρος αἰὲν προχειρισθέντες,

this — part always appointed

41.2 οἷτινες ἐπειδὰν συνθεάσωνται τὸν ὅλον τόπον, οὗ δεῖ
who when they-have-surveyed the whole place where one-must
στρατοπεδεύειν, ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ πρῶτον μὲν διέλαβον τὴν
to-encamp in it this first indeed they-marked-out the
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σκηνὴν οὗ δεήσει θεῖναι κατὰ τὸν
of-the general tent where it-will-be-necessary to-place(-it) according-to the
ἄρτι λόγον, καὶ παρὰ ποίαν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ πλευρὰν τῆς
just(-given) account and along what-sort-of face and side of-the
περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν περιστάσεως παρεμβαλεῖν τὰ στρατόπεδα·
about the tent area to-encamp the legions

τούτων δὲ προκριθέντων διαμετροῦνται τὴν περίστασιν τῆς 41.3
these and having-been-decided they-measure-out the area of-the

σκηνῆς, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν εὐθείαν, ἐφ' ἧς αἱ σκηναὶ
tent after and these the straight(-line) on which the tents
 τίθενται τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἐξῆς δὲ τὴν ταύτης παράλληλον,
are-placed of-the military-tribunes next and the to-this parallel
 ἀφ' ἧς ἄρχεται τὰ στρατόπεδα παρεμβάλλειν.

from which begin the legions to-encamp
 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τῆς σκηνῆς 41.4
likewise and also the on the-other parts of-the tent

κατεμετρήσαντο γραμμαῖς, περὶ ὧν ὑπεδείξαμεν ἄρτι
they-measured-out with-lines about which we-showed just-now
 διὰ πλειόνων κατὰ μέρος.

through more(-words) in detail
 γενομένων δὲ τούτων ἐν βραχεὶ χρόνῳ διὰ τὸ ῥαδίαν 41.5
having-been-done and these in short time because-of — easy

εἶναι τὴν καταμέτρησιν, ὡς ἀπάντων ὠρισμένων καὶ
to-be the measurement as all being-fixed and
 συνήθων ὄντων διαστημάτων,

customary being intervals
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σημαῖαν ἔπηξαν μίαν μὲν καὶ πρώτην, 41.6
after and these a-flag they-planted one indeed and first

ἐν ᾧ δεῖ τόπῳ τίθεσθαι τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
in which it-is-necessary place to-be-placed the of-the general
 σκηνὴν, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς προκριθείσης πλευρᾶς,
tent (the)-second and the(-one) on the chosen side

τρίτην ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς γραμμῆς ἐφ' ἧς οἱ χιλιάρχοι
(a)-third on (the)-middle of-the line on which the military-tribunes
 σκηνοῦσι, τετάρτην, παρ' ἣν τίθενται τὰ στρατόπεδα.

are-quartered (a)-fourth along which are-placed the legions

καὶ ταύτας μὲν ποιοῦσι φοινικίᾳς,

and these indeed they-make crimson

41.7 τὴν δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ λευκὴν. τὰ δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα
the(-one) and of-the general white the(-parts) and on the-other(-side)
 ποτὲ μὲν ψιλὰ δόρατα πηγνύουσι, ποτὲ δὲ σημαίας
sometimes indeed bare spears they-fix sometimes and flags
 ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων χρωμάτων.
of the other colors

41.8 γενομένων δὲ τούτων ἐξῆς τὰς ῥύμας διεμέτρησαν καὶ
having-been-done and these next the streets they-measured-out and
 δόρατα κατέπηξαν ἐφ' ἐκάστης ῥύμης.
spears they-fixed on each street

41.9 ἐξ ὧν εἰκότως, ὅταν ἐγγίῃ τὰ στρατόπεδα κατὰ τὰς
from which reasonably whenever draw-near the legions on the
 πορείας καὶ γένητ' εὐσύνοπτος ὁ τόπος τῆς παρεμβολῆς,
marches and becomes easily-seen the place of-the camp
 εὐθέως ἅπαντα γίνεται πᾶσι γνώριμα, τεκμαιρομένοις καὶ
at-once everything becomes to-all known judging and
 συλλογιζομένοις ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σημαίας.
reckoning from the of-the general flag

41.10 λοιπὸν ἐκάστου σαφῶς γινώσκοντος ἐν ποίᾳ ῥύμῃ καὶ
thereafter each clearly knowing in what-sort-of street and
 ποίῳ τόπῳ τῆς ῥύμης σκηνοῖ διὰ τὸ πάντας ἀεὶ
what-sort-of place of-the street he-is-quartered because-of — all always
 τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπέχειν τῆς στρατοπεδείας, γίνεταί τι
the same to-occupy(-place) of-the encampment there-happens something
 παραπλήσιον, οἷον ὅταν εἰς πόλιν εἰσὴ στρατόπεδον
similar as when into (a)-city enters (an)-army
 ἐγχώριον.
native

41.11 καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ διακλίναντες ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν εὐθέως ἕκαστοι
and for there turning-aside from the gates at-once each
 προάγουσι καὶ παραγίνονται πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας οἰκήσεις
go-forward and arrive at the own dwellings

ἀδιαπτότως, διὰ τὸ καθόλου καὶ κατὰ μέρος γινώσκειν
without-fail because-of — generally and in particular to-know
 ποῦ τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἢ κατάλυσις.

where of-the city is for-them the lodging

τὸ δὲ παραπλήσιον τούτοις καὶ περὶ τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς 41.12
the(-thing) and similar to-these also about the Roman

συμβαίνει στρατοπεδείας.

happens encampments

ἣ δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι καταδιώκοντες τὴν ἐν τούτοις 42.1
in-which-respect seem Romans pursuing the in these

εὐχέρειαν τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν πορεύεσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κατὰ
convenience the opposite road to-go to-the Greeks in
 τοῦτο τὸ μέρος.

this — part

οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ στρατοπεδεύειν ἡγοῦνται 42.2
the indeed for Greeks in the encamping consider

κυριώτατον τὸ κατακολουθεῖν ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν τόπων
most-important — following the from the-very — places

ὀχυρότησιν, ἅμα μὲν ἐκκλίνοντες τὴν περὶ τὰς ταφρείας
strongholds at-once indeed avoiding the about the trenchings

ταλαιπωρίαν, ἅμα δὲ νομίζοντες οὐχ ὁμοίας εἶναι τὰς
toil at-once and thinking not similar to-be the

χειροποιήτους ἀσφαλείας ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ
handmade securities to-the from the-very — nature on

τῶν τόπων ὑπαρχούσαις ὀχυρότησι.

the places existing strongholds

διὸ καὶ κατὰ τε τὴν τῆς ὅλης παρεμβολῆς θέσιν πᾶν 42.3
wherefore also in both the of-the whole camp placing every

ἀναγκάζονται σχῆμα μεταλαμβάνειν, ἐπόμενοι τοῖς τόποις,
they-are-compelled shape to-adopt following the places

τά τε μέρη μεταλλάττειν ἄλλοτε πρὸς ἄλλους καὶ
the both parts to-change at-different-times to other and
 ἀκαταλλήλους τόπους·

unsuitable places

42.4 ἐξ ὧν ἄστατον ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει καὶ τὸν κατ' ἰδίαν
from which unstable to-be it-happens both the in private
 καὶ τὸν κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστω τόπον τῆς στρατοπεδείας.

and the by unit to-each place of-the encampment

42.5 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὴν περὶ τὰς τάφρους ταλαιπωρίαν καὶ
Romans and the about the trenches toil and
 τᾶλλα τὰ παρεπόμενα τούτοις ὑπομένειν αἰροῦνται

the-rest the(-things) attending these to-endure choose

χάριν τῆς εὐχερείας καὶ τοῦ γνώριμον καὶ μίαν ἔχειν
for-the-sake-of the convenience and of-the familiar and one to-have
 καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰεὶ παρεμβολήν.

and the same always camp

42.6 τὰ μὲν οὖν ὁλοσχερέστερα μέρη τῆς περὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα
the indeed therefore more-general parts of-the about the legions
 θεωρίας, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὰς παρεμβολάς, ταῦτ' ἔστιν.

theory and especially about the camps these are

Some historians praise Athens and Thebes, but Polybius passes over them: each flourished for a moment and changed abruptly. Thebes rose and fell with Epaminondas and Pelopidas, so its cause was the men and not the constitution. Athens is like the crew of a ship with no owner aboard: of one mind in a storm, quarreling once confident, and so often wrecked in harbor. In both the mob handles everything by impulse.

σχεδὸν δὴ πάντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν τῶν 43.1
 almost indeed all the historians about these to-us of-the
 πολιτευμάτων παραδεδώκασιν τὴν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ φήμην, περί
 politics have-handed-down the for virtue reputation about
 τε τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κρητῶν καὶ Μαντινέων, ἔτι
 both the of-Lacedaemonians and of-Cretans and of-Mantineans further
 δὲ Καρχηδονίων· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ
 and of-Carthaginians some and also about the of-Athenians and
 Θηβαίων πολιτείας πεποίηται μνήμην.
 of-Thebans constitution have-made mention

ἐγὼ δὲ ταύτας μὲν ἐώ, τὴν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θηβαίων 43.2
 I and these indeed pass-over the for of-Athenians and of-Thebans
 οὐ πᾶν τι πολλοῦ προσδεῖσθαι πέπεισμαι λόγου διὰ
 not very at-all of-much to-need I-am-persuaded account because-of
 τὸ μήτε τὰς αὐξήσεις ἐσχηκέναι κατὰ λόγον μήτε τὰς
 — neither the growths to-have-had in proportion nor the
 ἀκμὰς ἐπιμόνους, μήτε τὰς μεταβολὰς ἐνλλαχέναι μετρίως,
 prime lasting nor the changes to-have-undergone moderately
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ προσπαίου τινὸς τύχης σὺν καιρῷ 43.3
 but as-if by unexpected some chance with (the)-occasion
 λάμβαντας, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἔτι δοκοῦντας ἀκμὴν
 having-shone-forth the(-thing) indeed said still seeming prime

καὶ μέλλοντας εὐτυχεῖν, τῆς ἐναντίας πείραν εἰληφέναι
and about to-prosper of-the opposite trial to-have-taken
 μεταβολῆς.

change

- 43.4 Θηβαῖοι μὲν γὰρ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ
Thebans indeed for by-the of-Lacedaemonians ignorance and by-the
 τῶν συμμάχων πρὸς αὐτοὺς μίσει συνεπιθέμενοι, διὰ
of-the allies toward them hatred joining-in-the-attack because-of
 τὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ καὶ δευτέρου, τῶν
the of-one man virtue or also of-a-second of-the(-men)
 τὰ προειρημένα συνιδόντων, περιεποίησαντο παρὰ τοῖς
the aforesaid(-things) having-perceived won among the
 Ἕλλησι τὴν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ φήμην.

Greeks the for virtue reputation

- 43.5 ὅτι γὰρ οὐχ ἡ τῆς πολιτείας σύστασις αἰτία τότε ἐγένετο
that for not the of-the constitution structure (the)-cause then was
 Θηβαίοις τῶν εὐτυχημάτων, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν προεστώτων ἀνδρῶν
to-Thebans of-the successes but the of-the leading men
 ἀρετῇ, παρὰ πόδας ἡ τύχη τοῦτο πᾶσι ἐποίησε δῆλον·
virtue at once — fortune this to-all made clear

- 43.6 καὶ γὰρ συνηξήθη καὶ συνήκμασε καὶ συγκατελύθη τὰ
and for grew-together and flourished-together and was-dissolved-together the
 Θηβαίων ἔργα τῷ τ' Ἐπαμινώνδου καὶ τῷ Πελοπίδου
of-Thebans deeds with-the both of-Epaminondas and the of-Pelopidas
 βίῳ προφανῶς.

life manifestly

- 43.7 ἐξ ὧν οὐ τὴν πολιτείαν αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνδρας
from which not the constitution cause but the men
 ἡγήτεον τῆς τότε γενομένης περὶ τὴν Θηβαίων πόλιν
one-must-consider of-the then having-occurred about the of-Thebans city
 ἐπιφανείας.

brilliance

τὸ δὲ παραπλήσιον καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας 44.1
the and similar also about the of-Athenians constitution

διαληπτέον.

one-must-conclude

καὶ γὰρ αὕτη πλεονάκις μὲν ἴσως, ἐκφανέστατα δὲ 44.2
and for this more-often indeed perhaps most-conspicuously but

τῇ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀρετῇ συνανθήσασα ταχέως τῆς
with-the of-Themistocles virtue having-flowered-together quickly of-the
 ἐναντίας μεταβολῆς ἔλαβε πείραν διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν
opposite change took trial because-of the irregularity
 τῆς φύσεως.

of-the nature

ἀεὶ γὰρ ποτε τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον παραπλήσιον 44.3
always for ever the of-the Athenians people similar

εἶναι συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀδεσπότοις σκάφεσι.

to-be it-happens to-the masterless vessels

καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνων, ὅταν μὲν ἢ διὰ πελαγῶν 44.4
and for in-the-case-of those whenever indeed either because-of of-the-seas

φόβον ἢ διὰ περιστάσιν χειμῶνος ὀρμὴ παραστῇ
fear or because-of pressure of-a-storm an-impulse comes

τοῖς ἐπιβάταις συμφρονεῖν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τῷ
to-the passengers to-agree and to-attend — mind to-the
 κυβερνήτῃ, γίνεται τὸ δέον ἐξ αὐτῶν διαφερόντως·
helmsman is-done the(-tbing) needful by them excellently

ὅταν δὲ θαρρήσαντες ἄρξωνται καταφρονεῖν τῶν 44.5
when but having-grown-confident they-begin to-despise the

προεστώτων καὶ στασιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διὰ τὸ
leaders and to-quarrel with one-another because-of —

μηκέτι δοκεῖν πᾶσι ταυτά,

no-longer to-seem to-all the-same

44.6 τότε δὴ τῶν μὲν ἔτι πλεῖν προαιρουμένων, τῶν
 then indeed some indeed still to-sail choosing others
 δὲ κατεπειγόντων ὀρμίζειν τὸν κυβερνήτην, καὶ τῶν
 and urging to-anchor the helmsman and some
 μὲν ἐκσειόντων τοὺς κάλους, τῶν δ' ἐπιλαμβανομένων
 indeed letting-out the ropes others and seizing(-them)
 καὶ στέλλεσθαι παρακελευομένων, αἰσχρὰ μὲν πρόσοις
 and to-furl ordering shameful indeed (a)-sight
 γίνεται τοῖς ἔξωθεν θεωμένοις διὰ τὴν ἐν ἀλλήλοις
 becomes to-those from-outside watching because-of the among each-other
 διαφορὰν καὶ στάσιν, ἐπισφαλὴς δ' ἡ διάθεσις τοῖς
 discord and faction precarious and the condition for-those
 μετασχοῦσι καὶ κοινωνήσασι τοῦ πλοῦ·
 having-taken-part and having-shared the voyage

44.7 διὸ καὶ πολλάκις διαφυγόντες τὰ μέγιστα πελάγη καὶ
 wherefore also often having-escaped the greatest seas and
 τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους χειμῶνας ἐν τοῖς λιμέσι καὶ πρὸς
 the most-severe storms in the harbors and at
 τῇ γῇ ναυαγούσιν.
 the land they-are-shipwrecked

44.8 ὁ δὴ καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία πλεονάκεις
 which indeed also to-the of-the Athenians constitution more-often
 ἤδη συμβέβηκε· διωσαμένη γὰρ ἐνίοτε τὰς μεγίστας καὶ
 already has-happened having-pushed-off for sometimes the greatest and
 δεινотάτας περιστάσεις διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὴν
 most-terrible circumstances because-of both the of-the people and the
 τῶν προεστώτων ἀρετὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπεριστάτοις ῥαστώναις
 of-the leaders virtue in the untroubled ease
 εἰκῇ πως καὶ ἀλόγως ἐνίοτε σφάλλεται.
 at-random somehow and unreasonably sometimes it-fails

διὸ καὶ περὶ μὲν ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς τῶν 44.9
wherefore also about indeed this both and the(-constitution) of-the
 Θηβαίων οὐδὲν δεῖ πλείω λέγειν, ἐν αἷς ὄχλος
Thebans nothing it-is-necessary more to-say in which a-mob
 χειρίζει τὰ ὅλα κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὁρμήν, ὃ μὲν
handles the whole(-affairs) according-to the own impulse the-one indeed
 ὀξύτητι καὶ πικρία διαφέρων, ὃ δὲ βία καὶ θυμῷ
in-sharpness and bitterness excelling the-other and by-violence and by-passion
 συμπεπαιδευμένος.
trained

XXII · CRETE AND PLATO'S REPUBLIC

Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, and Plato say Crete's constitution is like Sparta's and praiseworthy; Polybius denies both. Sparta has equal land, despises money, and keeps kings and elders for life; Crete lets men acquire land without limit, prizes money so highly that no gain is shameful, and elects magistrates annually. Customs and laws make a state good or bad, and few peoples, privately or publicly, are more treacherous than the Cretans. Plato's constitution cannot enter the contest until it has shown some work; to compare it with Sparta, Rome, or Carthage is to set a statue beside living men.

ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Κρηταιῶν μεταβάντας ἄξιον 45.1
to and the(-constitution) of-Cretans passing-over worth-while
 ἐπιστῆσαι κατὰ δύο τρόπους πῶς οἱ λογιώτατοι τῶν
to-attend in two ways how the most-learned of-the
 ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων, Ἐφορος, Ξενοφών, Καλλισθένης,
ancient historians Ephorus Xenophon Callisthenes
 Πλάτων, πρῶτον μὲν ὁμοίαν εἶναί φασι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν
Plato first indeed similar to-be they-say and the same

τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων, δεύτερον δ' ἐπαινετὴν ὑπάρχουσαν
 to-the(-one) of-Lacedaemonians second and praiseworthy being
 ἀποφαίνουσιν·
 they-declare(-it)

45.2 ὧν οὐδέτερον ἀληθές εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ.
 of-which neither true to-be to-me seems

45.3 σκοπεῖν δ' ἐκ τούτων πάρεστι. καὶ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς
 to-consider and from these it-is-possible and first about the
 ἀνομοιότητος διέξιμεν. τῆς μὲν δὴ Λακεδαιμονίων
 dissimilarity we-shall-go-through of-the indeed then of-Lacedaemonians
 πολιτείας ἴδιον εἶναί φασι πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ
 constitution peculiar to-be they-say first indeed the(-arrangements) about
 τὰς ἐγγαίους κτήσεις, ὧν οὐδενὶ μέτεστι πλεῖον, ἀλλὰ
 the landed possessions of-which to-no-one there-is-a-share more but
 πάντας τοὺς πολίτας ἴσον ἔχειν δεῖ τῆς πολιτικῆς χώρας,
 all the citizens equal to-have must of-the civic land

45.4 δεύτερον τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ διαφόρου κτήσιν, ἧς
 second the(-arrangements) about the of-the money acquisition which
 εἰς τέλος ἀδοκίμου παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχούσης ἄρδην ἐκ
 to (the)-end discredited among them being utterly from
 τῆς πολιτείας ἀνηρῆσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν περὶ τὸ πλεῖον
 the constitution to-have-been-removed it-happens the about the more
 καὶ τοῦλαττον φιλοτιμίαν.
 and the-less rivalry

45.5 τρίτον παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις οἱ μὲν βασιλεῖς αἰῶδιον ἔχουσι
 third among Lacedaemonians the indeed kings perpetual have
 τὴν ἀρχήν, οἱ δὲ προσαγορευόμενοι γέροντες διὰ βίου,
 the office the and so-called elders for life
 δι' ὧν καὶ μεθ' ὧν πάντα χειρίζεται τὰ κατὰ
 through whom and with whom all(-affairs) is-handled the(-things) regarding
 τὴν πολιτείαν.
 the constitution

παρὰ δὲ Κρηταιεῦσι πάντα τούτοις ὑπάρχει τάναντία· 46.1

among and Cretans all to-these exist the-opposite(-things)

τὴν τε γὰρ χώραν κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ἐφιάσιν οἱ

the both for land according-to power to-them allow the

νόμοι, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον,

laws the(-thing) indeed said

εἰς ἄπειρον κτᾶσθαι, τό τε διάφορον ἐκτετίμηται παρ' 46.2

without limit to-acquire the and money is-esteemed among

αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἀναγκαίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ

them to such-a-degree that not only necessary but also

καλλίστην εἶναι δοκεῖν τὴν τούτου κτῆσιν.

finest to-be to-seem the of-this acquisition

καθόλου θ' ὁ περὶ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν 46.3

generally and the about the sordid-gain and greed

τρόπος οὕτως ἐπιχωριάζει παρ' αὐτοῖς ὥστε παρὰ μόνοις

manner so is-native among them that among alone

Κρηταιεῦσι τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν

Cretans of-the all men no base

νομίζεσθαι κέρδος.

to-be-considered gain

καὶ μὴν τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπέτεια παρ' 46.4

and indeed the(-arrangements) regarding the magistracies annual among

αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ δημοκρατικὴν ἔχει διάθεσιν.

them are and democratic have character

ὥστε πολλάκις διαπορεῖν πῶς ἡμῖν περὶ τῶν τὴν 46.5

so-that often to-be-at-a-loss how to-us about the(-constitutions) the

ἐναντίαν φύσιν ἐχόντων ὡς οἰκείων καὶ συγγενῶν ὄντων

opposite nature having as akin and related being

ἀλλήλοις ἐξηγγέλκασιν.

to-one-another they-have-reported

- 46.6 καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ παραβλέπειν τὰς τηλικαύτας διαφορὰς
and apart-from — overlooking the so-great differences
καὶ πολλὸν δὴ τινα λόγον ἐν ἐπιμέτρῳ διατίθενται,
also much indeed some discourse in addition they-spend
φάσκοντες τὸν Λυκοῦργον μόνον τῶν γεγονότων τὰ
saying — Lycurgus alone of-those having-been the
συνέχοντα τεθεωρηκέναι·
essentials to-have-perceived
- 46.7 δυεῖν γὰρ ὄντων, δι' ὧν σώζεται πολίτευμα πᾶν,
two for being(-things) through which is-preserved polity every
τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς σφᾶς
the toward the enemy courage and the toward them
αὐτοὺς ὁμονοίας, ἀνηρηκότα τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἅμα ταύτῃ
selves concord having-removed the greed at-once with-this
συνανηρηκέναι πᾶσαν ἐμφύλιον διαφορὰν καὶ στάσιν·
to-have-removed-together all civil discord and faction
- 46.8 ἥ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐκτὸς ὄντας τῶν κακῶν
wherefore also Lacedaemonians outside being of-the evils
τούτων, κάλλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πρὸς σφᾶς
these best of-the Greeks the(-affairs) among them
αὐτοὺς πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ συμφρονεῖν ταυτά·
selves to-govern and to-be-of-one-mind the-same(-things)
- 46.9 ταῦτα δ' ἀποφηνάμενοι, καὶ θεωροῦντες ἐκ παραθέσεως
these and having-declared and observing by comparison
Κρηταιεῖς διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον σφίσι πλεονεξίαν ἐν πλείστοις
Cretans because-of the inborn to-them greed in very-many
ιδίᾳ καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν στάσεσι καὶ φόνοις καὶ πολέμοις
in-private and in public factions and murders and wars
ἐμφυλίοις ἀναστρεφόμενους, οὐδὲν οἴονται πρὸς σφᾶς εἶναι,
civil being-engaged nothing they-think to them to-be
θαρροῦσι δὲ λέγειν ὡς ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν πολιτευμάτων.
they-dare and to-say that similar being the polities

- ὁ δ' Ἐφορος χωρὶς τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ταῖς λέξεσι 46.10
 — and Ephorus apart-from the names also the expressions
 κέχρηται ταῖς αὐταῖς, ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρας ποιούμενος τῆς
 uses the same about each making of-the
 πολιτείας ἐξήγησιν, ὥστ', εἴ τις μὴ τοῖς κυρίοις ὀνόμασι
 constitution (an)-account so-that if one not to-the proper names
 προσέχοι, κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἂν δύνασθαι διαγνῶναι
 attend in no way — would-be-able to-distinguish
 περὶ ὁποτέρας ποιεῖται τὴν διήγησιν.
 about which-of-the-two be-is-making the narrative
 ἥ μὲν οὖν μοι δοκοῦσι διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων, 46.11
 in-what-respects indeed therefore to-me they-seem to-differ from-one-another
 ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἥ δὲ πάλιν οὐτ' ἐπαινετὴν οὔτε ζηλωτὴν
 these are in-what-respects and again neither praiseworthy nor envious
 ἡγούμεθ' εἶναι τὴν Κρητικὴν πολιτείαν, νῦν ἤδη διέξιμεν.
 we-consider to-be the Cretan constitution now already we-shall-go-through
 ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶμαι δὴ ἀρχὰς εἶναι πάσης πολιτείας, δι' ὧν 47.1
 I for think two principles to-be of-every constitution through which
 αἰρετὰς ἢ φευκτὰς συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὰς τε δυνάμεις
 desirable or to-be-avoided it-happens to-become the both powers
 αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς συστάσεις· αὗται δ' εἰσὶν ἔθνη καὶ νόμοι·
 of-them and the structures these and are customs and laws
 ὧν τὰ μὲν αἰρετὰ τοὺς τε κατ' ἰδίαν βίους τῶν 47.2
 of-which the indeed desirable(-ones) the both in private lives —
 ἀνθρώπων ὁσίους ἀποτελεῖ καὶ σώφρονας τό τε κοινὸν
 of-men holy make and temperate the and common
 ἥθος τῆς πόλεως ἡμέρον ἀπεργάζεται καὶ δίκαιον, τὰ
 character of-the city gentle produce and just the
 δὲ φευκτὰ τοῦναντίον.
 and to-be-avoided(-ones) the-opposite

- 47.3 ὥσπερ οὖν, ὅταν τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς καὶ νόμους κατιδῶμεν παρὰ
just-as therefore when the customs and laws we-observe among
 τισι σπουδαίους ὑπάρχοντας, θαρροῦντες ἀποφαινόμεθα
some good being confidently we-declare
 καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκ τούτων ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὴν
also the men from these to-be-going-to-be(-good) and the
 τούτων πολιτείαν σπουδαίαν,
of-these constitution good
- 47.4 οὕτως, ὅταν τοὺς τε κατ' ἰδίαν βίους τινῶν πλεονεκτικούς
so when the both in private lives of-some grasping
 τάς τε κοινὰς πράξεις ἀδίκους θεωρήσωμεν, δῆλον ὡς
the and public actions unjust we-see (it-is)-clear that
 εἰκὸς λέγειν καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος
(it-is)-reasonable to-say both the laws and the in detail
 ἥθη καὶ τὴν ὅλην πολιτείαν αὐτῶν εἶναι φανύλην.
customs and the whole constitution of-them to-be bad
- 47.5 καὶ μὴν οὔτε κατ' ἰδίαν ἥθη δολιώτερα Κρηταίων
and indeed neither in private customs more-treacherous than-Cretans
 εὔροι τις ἂν πλὴν τελείως ὀλίγων οὔτε κατὰ κοινὸν
could-find one — except entirely few nor in public
 ἐπιβολὰς ἀδικωτέρας.
designs more-unjust
- 47.6 διόπερ οὐθ' ὁμοίαν αὐτὴν ἡγούμενοι τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων
wherefore neither similar it considering to-the(-one) of-Lacedaemonians
 οὔτε μὴν ἄλλως αἰρετὴν οὔτε ζηλωτὴν ἀποδοκιμάζομεν
nor indeed otherwise desirable nor enviable we-reject(-it)
 ἐκ τῆς προειρημένης συγκρίσεως.
from the aforesaid comparison

καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν Πλάτωνος πολιτείαν δίκαιον 47.7
and indeed not-even the of-Plato constitution (is-it)-just
 παρεισαγαγεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταύτην τινὲς τῶν φιλοσόφων
to-bring-in since also this some of-the philosophers
 ἐξυμνοῦσιν.

extol

ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἢ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τοὺς 47.8
just-as for not-even of-the artists or of-the athletes those
 γε μὴ νενεμημένους ἢ σεσωμασκηκότας παρίεμεν εἰς
at-least not registered or having-trained we-admit into
 τοὺς ἀθλητικούς ἀγῶνας, οὕτως οὐδὲ ταύτην χρή
the athletic contests so not-even this(-one) one-must
 παρεισαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν πρωτείων ἄμιλλαν, ἐὰν μὴ
to-bring-in into the for-the first-prizes contest if not
 πρότερον ἐπιδείξεται τι τῶν ἐαυτῆς ἔργων ἀληθινῶς.
first it-show some(-one) of-the of-itself works genuinely

μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν παραπλήσιος ἂν ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς φανείη 47.9
until and — now similar — the about it would-appear
 λόγος, ἀγομένης εἰς σύγκρισιν πρὸς τὴν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ
account being-brought into comparison with the of-Spartans and
 Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων πολιτείαν, ὥς ἂν εἰ τῶν
of-Romans and of-Carthaginians constitution as — if of-the
 ἀγαλμάτων τις ἓν προθέμενος τοῦτο συγκρίνοι τοῖς ζῶσι
statues one one having-set-forth this should-compare with-the living
 καὶ πεπνυμένους ἀνδράσι.

and breathing men

καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὅλως ἐπαινετὸν ὑπάρχει κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, 47.10
and for if wholly praiseworthy it-be according-to the art
 τὴν γε σύγκρισιν τῶν ἀψύχων τοῖς ἐμψύχοις ἐνδεῇ καὶ
the at-least comparison of-the lifeless with-the living deficient and
 τελείως ἀπεμφαίνουσιν εἰκὸς προσπίπτειν τοῖς θεωμένοις.
wholly incongruous (it-is)-likely to-strike the beholders

Lycurgus' laws, with equal property, simple living, and training in hardship, kept Sparta united, safe, and free. But he gave the city no restraint toward its neighbors: frugal at home, it was the most grasping of Greek states abroad, selling out the Greek cities in Antalcidas' peace for Persian money. For safety and freedom nothing surpasses Sparta; for dominion Rome's structure is stronger.

- 48.1 διόπερ ἀφέμενοι τούτων ἐπὶ τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐπάνιμεν
wherefore letting-go these to the Laconian we-return
 πολιτείαν.
constitution
- 48.2 δοκεῖ δὴ μοι Λυκοῦργος πρὸς μὲν τὸ σφίσιν
seems indeed to-me Lycurgus for indeed — among-themselves
 ὁμονοεῖν τοὺς πολίτας καὶ πρὸς τὸ τὴν Λακωνικὴν
to-be-of-one-mind the citizens and for — the Laconian(-land)
 τηρεῖν ἀσφαλῶς, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν διαφυλάττειν τῇ
to-keep safely further and the freedom to-preserve —
 Σπάρτῃ βεβαίως, οὕτως νενομοθετηκέναι καὶ προνενοῆσθαι
for-Sparta firmly so to-have-legislated and to-have-provided
 καλῶς ὥστε θειοτέραν τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον
well that more-divine the conception than according-to (a)-man
 αὐτοῦ νομίζειν.
of-him to-consider
- 48.3 ἡ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἰσότης καὶ περὶ τὴν δαίταν
the indeed for about the possessions equality and about the living
 ἀφέλεια καὶ κοινότης σώφρονας μὲν ἔμελλε τοὺς κατ' ἰδίαν
simplicity and communal(-life) temperate indeed was-going the in private
 βίους παρασκευάζειν, ἀστασίαστον δὲ τὴν κοινὴν παρέξεσθαι
lives to-make free-from-faction and the common to-render

πολιτείαν, ἣ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους καὶ πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ τῶν
constitution the and to the toils and to the dangers of-the
 ἔργων ἄσκησις ἀλκίμους καὶ γενναίους ἀποτελέσειν ἀνδρας.
deeds training brave and noble to-produce men
 ἑκατέρων δὲ τούτων ὁμοῦ συνδραμόντων εἰς μίαν ψυχὴν 48.4
both and these together having-concurred into one soul
 ἢ πόλιν, ἀνδρείας καὶ σωφροσύνης, οὐτ' ἐξ αὐτῶν φῦναι
or city of-courage and of-temperance neither from them to-arise
 κακίαν εὐμαρὲς οὔθ' ὑπὸ τῶν πέλας χειρωθῆναι ῥάδιον.
vice (is)-easy nor by the neighbors to-be-subdued (is)-simple
 διόπερ οὕτως καὶ διὰ τούτων συστησάμενος τὴν πολιτείαν, 48.5
wherefore thus and through these having-organized the constitution
 βεβαίαν μὲν τῇ συμπάσῃ Λακωνικῇ παρεσκεύασε τὴν
secure indeed to-the whole Laconian(-land) he-provided the
 ἀσφάλειαν, πολυχρόνιον δὲ τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις αὐτοῖς
safety long-lasting and to-the Spartans themselves
 ἀπέλιπε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.
he-left the freedom
 πρὸς μέντοι γε τὴν τῶν πέλας κατάκτησιν καὶ πρὸς 48.6
toward however at-least the of-the neighbors conquest and toward
 ἡγεμονίαν καὶ καθόλου πρὸς πραγμάτων ἀμφισβήτησιν
leadership and generally toward of-affairs contention
 οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις δοκεῖ
neither in the in detail(-matters) nor in the whole he-seems
 μοι προνοηθῆναι καθάπαξ οὐδέν.
to-me to-have-provided absolutely anything
 λοιπὸν ἦν τοιαύτην τινὰ παρεισαγαγεῖν τοῖς πολίταις 48.7
remaining(-thing) it-was such a to-introduce to-the citizens
 ἀνάγκην ἢ πρόθεσιν, δι' ἧς ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τοὺς κατ'
necessity or purpose through which just-as also about the in
 ἰδίαν βίους αὐτάρκεις αὐτοὺς παρεσκεύασε καὶ λιτοὺς,
private lives self-sufficient them he-made and frugal

οὕτως καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος τῆς πόλεως αὐταρκες ἔμελλε
so also the common custom of-the city self-sufficient should
 γίνεσθαι καὶ σῶφρον.
become and temperate

48.8 νῦν δ' ἀφιλοτιμοτάτους καὶ νουνεχεστάτους ποιήσας
now and least-ambitious and most-sensible having-made(-them)
 περί τε τοὺς ἰδίους βίους καὶ τὰ τῆς σφετέρας πόλεως
about both the own lives and the of-the own city
 νόμιμα, πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας φιλοτιμοτάτους καὶ
usages toward the other Greeks most-ambitious and
 φιλαρχοτάτους καὶ πλεονεκτικωτάτους ἀπέλιπε.
most-desirous-of-rule and most-grasping he-left(-them)

49.1 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τίς οὐκ οἶδε διότι πρῶτοι σχεδὸν τῶν
this indeed for who not knows that first almost of-the
 Ἑλλήνων ἐπιθυμήσαντες τῆς τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων χώρας
Greeks having-coveted the of-the neighbors land
 διὰ πλεονεξίαν ἐπ' ἐξανδραποδισμῷ Μεσσηνίοις πόλεμον
because-of greed for enslavement against-Messenians war
 ἐξήνεγκαν;
they-brought

49.2 τοῦτο δὲ τίς οὐχ ἰστόρηκεν ὥς διὰ φιλονεικίαν ἐνόρκους
this and who not has-learned that because-of contentiousness bound-by-oath
 σφᾶς ἐποίησαν μὴ πρόσθεν λύσειν τὴν πολιορκίαν πρὶν
themselves they-made not before to-break-off the siege before
 ἢ κατὰ κράτος εἰλεῖν τὴν Μεσσήνην;
— by force to-take — Messene

49.3 καὶ μὴν τοῦτο γνώριμον ὑπάρχει πᾶσιν, ὥς διὰ τὴν
and indeed this known is to-all that because-of the
 ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι φιλαρχίαν, οὓς ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι,
among the Greeks love-of-rule those-whom they-defeated fighting
 τούτοις αὖτις ὑπέμειναν ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον.
to-these in-turn they-submitted to-do the(-thing) commanded

ἐπιπορευομένους μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐνίκων 49.4
advancing indeed for the Persians they-defeated

διαγωνιζόμενοι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας·

contending for the of-the Greeks freedom 49.5
 ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ καὶ φυγοῦσι προύδωκαν ἐκδότους

to-(them)-having-withdrawn and and having-fled they-betrayed surrendered

τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις κατὰ τὴν ἐπ' Ἄνταλκίδου

the Greek cities in the in-the-time-of Antalcidas

γενομένην εἰρήνην χάριν τοῦ χρημάτων εὐπορῆσαι

made peace for-the-sake of-the with-money to-be-well-supplied

πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δυναστείαν,

toward the over the Greeks domination

ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὸ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐλλίπες συνώφθη παρ' 49.6

when indeed also the of-the legislation deficiency was-seen among

αὐτοῖς.

them

ἕως μὲν γὰρ τῆς τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, ἔτι δὲ τῆς 49.7

as-long-as indeed for the of-the neighbors further and the

Πελοποννησίων αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς ἐφίεντο, συνεξεποιοῦντο

of-Peloponnesians themselves rule they-aimed-at they-were-sufficient

ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρκείαις καὶ χορηγίαις,

with-the from the Laconian(-land) itself resources and supplies

προχείρους μὲν ἔχοντες τὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρασκευάς,

ready indeed having the of-the provisions supplies

ταχείας δὲ ποιούμενοι τὰς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανόδους καὶ

swift and making the to the home returns and

παρακομιδάς.

conveyances

ἐπεὶ δὲ στόλους μὲν ἐπεβάλλοντο κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκπέμπειν, 49.8

when and expeditions indeed they-undertook by sea to-send-out

στρατεύειν δὲ πεζικοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἔξω Πελοποννήσου,

to-campaign and with-infantry armies outside Peloponnese

- δῆλον ὡς οὔτε τὸ νόμισμα τὸ σιδηροῦν οὔθ' ἡ τῶν
(it-is)-clear that neither the coinage the iron nor the of-the
 ἐπετείων καρπῶν ἀλλαγὴ πρὸς τὰ λείποντα τῆς χρείας
annual crops exchange for the (things)-lacking of-the need
 ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς ἔξαρκεῖν κατὰ τὴν Λυκούργου νομοθεσίαν·
was-going to-them to-suffice according-to the of-Lycurgus legislation
 49.9 προσεδεῖτο γὰρ τὰ πράγματα κοινοῦ νομίσματος καὶ
needed for the affairs common coinage and
 ξενικῆς παρασκευῆς.
foreign supplies
 49.10 ὅθεν ἠναγκάσθησαν ἐπὶ θύρας μὲν πορεύεσθαι τὰς Περσῶν,
whence they-were-compelled to doors indeed to-go the of-Persians
 φόρους δὲ τοῖς νησιώταις ἐπιτάττειν, ἀργυρολογεῖν δὲ
tributes and on-the islanders to-impose to-levy-money and
 πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, γνόντες ὡς οὐχ οἶόν τε κατὰ
all the Greeks having-recognized that not possible — according-to
 τὴν Λυκούργου νομοθεσίαν οὐχ ὅτι τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
the of-Lycurgus legislation not only of-the of-the Greeks
 ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πραγμάτων ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τὸ παράπαν.
leadership but not-even affairs to-lay-claim-to — at-all
 50.1 τίνος οὖν χάριν εἰς ταῦτα παρεξέβην; ἵνα γένηται
of-what therefore for-the-sake into these did-I-digress so-that it-might-become
 δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων συμφανὲς ὅτι πρὸς μὲν τὸ
through the-very — facts evident that for indeed —
 τὰ σφέτερα βεβαίως διαφυλάττειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τὴν
the(-possessions) own securely to-preserve and for — the
 ἐλευθερίαν τηρεῖν αὐτάρκης ἐστὶν ἡ Λυκούργου νομοθεσία,
freedom to-keep sufficient is the of-Lycurgus legislation
 50.2 καὶ τοῖς γε τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἀποδεχομένους τῆς
and to-those at-least this the end accepting of-the
 πολιτείας συγχωρητέον ὡς οὐτ' ἔστιν οὔτε γέγονεν
constitution one-must-grant that neither there-is nor has-been

οὐδὲν αἰρετώτερον τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ καταστήματος καὶ
 anything more-desirable than-the Laconian system and
 συντάγματος.

organization

εἰ δέ τις μειζόνων ἐφίεται, κακείνου κάλλιον καὶ 50.3

if but one greater(-things) aims-at and-than-that finer and

σεμνότερον εἶναι νομίζει τὸ πολλῶν μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι,

nobler to-be thinks the(-thing) many indeed to-lead

πολλῶν δ' ἐπικρατεῖν καὶ δεσπόζειν, πάντας δ' εἰς αὐτόν

many and to-rule and to-lord-over all and to him

ἀποβλέπειν καὶ νεύειν πρὸς αὐτόν,

to-look and to-incline toward him

τῇδέ πη συγχωρητέον τὸ μὲν Λακωνικὸν ἐνδεὲς εἶναι 50.4

in-this somehow one-must-grant the indeed Laconian deficient to-be

πολίτευμα, τὸ δὲ Ῥωμαίων διαφέρειν καὶ δυναμικωτέραν

polity the(-one) and of-Romans to-excel and more-powerful

ἔχειν τὴν σύστασιν.

to-have the structure

δῆλον δὲ τοῦτ' ἐξ αὐτῶν γέγονε τῶν πραγμάτων. 50.5

clear and this from the-very has-become — facts

Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ ὀρμήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ κατακτᾶσθαι

Lacedaemonians indeed for having-set-out to — acquiring

τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν, ταχέως ἐκινδύνευσαν καὶ

the of-the Greeks leadership quickly were-in-danger also

περὶ τῆς σφετέρας ἐλευθερίας.

about the own freedom

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῆς Ἰταλιωτῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιλαβόμενοι δυναστείας, 50.6

Romans and the of-Italians themselves having-grasped domination

ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐποίησαντο τὴν

in little time all under themselves they-made the

οἰκουμένην, οὐ μικρὰ πρὸς τὸ καθικέσθαι τῆς πράξεως

inhabited-world not little toward — accomplishing the undertaking

ταύτης συμβαλλομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς εὐπορίας καὶ τῆς
this contributing to-them the abundance and the
 ἐτοιμότητος τῆς κατὰ τὰς χορηγίας.
readiness of-the in the supplies

XXIV • CARTHAGE AND ROME

Carthage's constitution of kings, elders, and people was once well mixed like Rome's, but by the Hannibalic War Carthage was past its prime and Rome at its height: the Carthaginian people already led deliberation, the Roman senate still did, so Rome's counsel prevailed and, though beaten, it won. Carthage is better at sea but neglects its infantry and hires mercenaries; Romans, fighting with citizens and allies for country and children, never give up, so even at sea courage wins. Italians surpass Phoenicians and Libyans in strength and daring, and Roman customs train the young in bravery.

- 51.1 τὸ δὲ Καρχηδονίων πολίτευμα τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν μοι δοκεῖ
the and of-Carthaginians polity — indeed originally to-me seems
 καλῶς κατὰ γε τὰς ὀλοσχερεῖς διαφορὰς συνεστάσθαι.
well in at-least the general distinctions to-have-been-constituted
- 51.2 καὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἦσαν παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ γερόντιον εἶχε
and for kings there-were among them and the council-of-elders had
 τὴν ἀριστοκρατικὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἦν κύριον τῶν
the aristocratic power and the multitude was master of-the
 καθηκόντων αὐτῷ· καθόλου δὲ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρμογὴν
(things)-belonging to-it on-the-whole and the of-the whole fitting-together
 εἶχε παραπλησίαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων.
it-had similar to-the(-one) of-Romans and of-Lacedaemonians

κατά γε μὴν τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους, καθ' οὓς εἰς 51.3
at at-least indeed the times these in which into

τὸν Ἀννιβιακὸν ἐνέβαινε πόλεμον, χεῖρον ἦν τὸ
the Hannibalic it-entered war worse was the(-polity)

Καρχηδονίων, ἄμεινον δὲ τὸ Ῥωμαίων.

of-Carthaginians better and the(-one) of-Romans

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παντὸς καὶ σώματος καὶ πολιτείας καὶ 51.4
since for of-every both body and constitution and

πράξεώς ἐστὶ τις αὔξῃσις κατὰ φύσιν, μετὰ δὲ ταύτην
action there-is some growth according-to nature after and this

ἀκμή, κάπειτα φθίσις, κράτιστα δ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶ πάντα
(a)-prime and-then decay strongest and of-them are all

τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν, παρὰ τοῦτο καὶ τότε διέφερεν
the(-things) at the prime owing-to this also then differed

ἀλλήλων τὰ πολιτεύματα.

from-one-another the polities

καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἡ Καρχηδονίων πρότερον ἴσχυε καὶ 51.5
by as-much for the of-Carthaginians earlier was-strong and

πρότερον εὐτύχει τῆς Ῥωμαίων, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἢ μὲν
earlier prospered than-the(-one) of-Romans by so-much — indeed

Καρχηδὼν ἤδη τότε παρήκμαζεν, ἢ δὲ Ῥώμη μάλιστα
Carthage already then was-past-its-prime — and Rome most

τότ' εἶχε τὴν ἀκμὴν κατὰ γε τὴν τῆς πολιτείας σύστασιν.
then had the prime in at-least the of-the constitution structure

διὸ καὶ τὴν πλείστην δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς διαβουλίαις παρὰ 51.6
wherefore also the most power in the deliberations among

μὲν Καρχηδονίοις ὁ δῆμος ἤδη μετεωλῆφει, παρὰ δὲ
indeed Carthaginians the people already had-taken among and

Ῥωμαίοις ἀκμὴν εἶχεν ἢ σύγκλητος.

Romans still had the senate

51.7 ὅθεν παρ' οἷς μὲν τῶν πολλῶν βουλευομένων, παρ' οἷς
whence among whom indeed the many deliberating among whom
 δὲ τῶν ἀρίστων, κατίσχυε τὰ Ῥωμαίων διαβούλια περὶ
and the best prevailed the of-Romans deliberations in
 τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις.

the public affairs

51.8 ἥ καὶ πταίσαντες τοῖς ὅλοις τῷ βουλευέσθαι καλῶς
in-which-way also having-stumbled in-the whole by-the deliberating well
 τέλος ἐπεκράτησαν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων.
in-the-end they-prevailed in-the war over-the Carthaginians

52.1 τά γε μὴν κατὰ μέρος, οἷον εὐθέως τὰ
the(-matters) at-least indeed in detail such-as to-begin-with the(-matters)
 πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας, τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὰς
regarding the military needs the(-part) indeed for the(-needs)
 κατὰ θάλατταν, ὅπερ εἰκός, ἄμεινον ἀσκοῦσι καὶ
at sea which (is)-likely better train and
 παρασκευάζονται Καρχηδόνιοι διὰ τὸ καὶ πάτριον
equip-themselves Carthaginians because-of — also ancestral
 αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ταύτην καὶ
to-them to-be from of-old the experience this and
 θαλαττουργεῖν μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων,

to-deal-with-the-sea most of-all men

52.2 τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς πεζικὰς χρείας πολὺν δὴ τι
the(-part) and about the infantry needs much indeed some(-way)
 Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἀσκοῦσι Καρχηδονίων.

Romans to the better train than-Carthaginians

52.3 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ὅλην περὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦνται σπουδὴν,
they indeed for the whole about this make zeal
 Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τῶν μὲν πεζικῶν εἰς τέλος ὀλιγωροῦσι,
Carthaginians and of-the indeed infantry to (the)-end neglect
 τῶν δ' ἵππικων βραχεῖαν τινα ποιοῦνται πρόνοιαν.
of-the and cavalry slight some make provision

αἷτιον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ὅτι ξενικαῖς καὶ μισθοφόροις 52.4

(the)-cause and of-these is that foreign and mercenary

χρῶνται δυνάμεσι, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐγχωρίοις καὶ πολιτικαῖς.

they-use forces Romans and native and civic

ἥ καὶ περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν 52.5

in-which-respect also about this — part this — constitution

ἀποδεκτέον ἐκείνης μᾶλλον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς

one-must-approve than-that rather the(-one) indeed for in the

τῶν μισθοφόρων εὐψυχίαις ἔχει τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀεὶ τῆς

of-the mercenaries courage has the hopes always of-the

ἐλευθερίας, ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐν ταῖς σφετέραις ἀρεταῖς

freedom the(-one) and of-Romans in the own virtues

καὶ ταῖς τῶν συμμάχων ἐπαρκείαις.

and the of-the allies aid

διὸ καὶν ποτε πταίσωσι κατὰ τὰς ἀρχάς, Ῥωμαῖοι 52.6

wherefore even-if ever they-stumble at the beginnings Romans

μὲν ἀναμάχονται τοῖς ὅλοις, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τούναντίον.

indeed renew-the-fight in-the whole Carthaginians and the-opposite

ἐκείνοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ πατρίδος ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ τέκνων 52.7

they for for fatherland contending and children

οὐδέποτε δύνανται λῆξαι τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλὰ μένουσι

never can cease from-the anger but remain

ψυχομαχοῦντες, ἕως ἂν περιγένωνται τῶν ἐχθρῶν.

fighting-desperately until — they-overcome the enemies

διὸ καὶ περὶ τὰς ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις πολὺ τι 52.8

wherefore also in the naval forces much some(-way)

λειπόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, ὥς προεῖπον ἐπάνω,

falling-short Romans in the experience as I-said above

τοῖς ὅλοις ἐπικρατοῦσι διὰ τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετάς·

in-the whole prevail because-of the of-the men virtues

- 52.9 καίπερ γὰρ οὐ μικρὰ συμβαλλομένης εἰς τοὺς κατὰ
although for not little contributing to the at
 θάλατταν κινδύνους τῆς ναυτικῆς χρείας, ὅμως ἡ τῶν
sea dangers the naval skill nevertheless the of-the
 ἐπιβατῶν εὐψυχία πλείστην παρέχεται ῥοπήν εἰς τὸ νικᾶν.
marines courage the-greatest provides weight toward — winning
- 52.10 διαφέρουσι μὲν οὖν καὶ φύσει πάντες Ἰταλιῶται
differ indeed therefore also by-nature all Italians
 Φοινίκων καὶ Λιβύων τῇ τε σωματικῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς
from-Phoenicians and Libyans in-the both bodily strength and in-the
 ψυχικαῖς τόλμαις· μεγάλην δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔθισμῶν
spiritual daring great and also through the customs
 πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ποιοῦνται τῶν νέων παρόρμησιν.
toward this — part they-make of-the young(-men) encouragement
- 52.11 ἐν δὲ ῥηθὲν ἱκανὸν ἔσται σημεῖον τῆς τοῦ πολιτεύματος
one and (thing)-said sufficient will-be (a)-sign of-the of-the polity
 σπουδῆς, ἣν ποιεῖται περὶ τὸ τοιούτους ἀποτελεῖν ἄνδρας
zeal which it-makes about — such to-produce men
 ὥστε πᾶν ὑπομένειν χάριν τοῦ τυχεῖν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι
so-that everything to-endure for-the-sake-of — obtaining in the fatherland
 τῆς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ φήμης.
the for virtue reputation

When a distinguished Roman dies, his son or a kinsman praises his deeds from the rostra before the people, so the loss seems common to all. His lifelike mask, kept in a household shrine, is worn at family funerals by a man of his build, robed by rank, on an ivory chair. The speaker recounts every ancestor's deeds, renewing their fame and spurring the young to endure anything for glory. So Romans choose death for their country, some magistrates kill their sons, and Horatius Cocles held the Tiber bridge until it was torn down, then leaped armed into the river.

ὅταν γὰρ μεταλλάξῃ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, 53.1

whenever for dies one among them of-the distinguished men

συντελουμένης τῆς ἐκφορᾶς κομίζεται μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ

being-performed the funeral he-is-carried with the other

κόσμου πρὸς τοὺς καλουμένους ἐμβόλους εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν

ceremony to the so-called rostra in the forum

ποτὲ μὲν ἐστὼς ἐναργής, σπανίως δὲ κατακεκλιμένος.

sometimes indeed standing conspicuous rarely and reclining

πέριξ δὲ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου στάντος, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς 53.2

around and all the people standing having-mounted on the

ἐμβόλους, ἂν μὲν υἱὸς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καταλείπεται καὶ τύχῃ

rostra if indeed a-son of age be-left and happen

παρῶν, οὗτος, εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τις ἀπὸ γένους

being-present he if but not of-the others if any of (the)-family

ὑπάρχει, λέγει περὶ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ

exists speaks about the (man)-having-died the virtues and

τὰς ἐπιτετευγμένας ἐν τῷ ζῆν πράξεις.

the achieved in the living deeds

δι' ᾧ συμβαίνει τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀναμνησκομένους καὶ 53.3

through which it-happens the many being-reminded and

λαμβάνοντας ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν τὰ γεγονότα, μὴ μόνον

taking under the sight the(-things) having-happened not only

τοὺς κεκοινωνηκότας τῶν ἔργων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκτός,
those having-shared of-the deeds but also those outside
 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γίνεσθαι συμπαθεῖς ὥστε μὴ τῶν κηδευόντων
to such-a-degree to-become sympathetic that not of-the mourners
 ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν τοῦ δήμου φαίνεσθαι τὸ σύμπτωμα.
private but common of-the people to-appear the loss

53.4 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θάψαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες τὰ νομιζόμενα
after and these having-buried and having-performed the customary(-rites)
 τιθέασι τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ μεταλλάξαντος εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον
they-place the image of-the (man)-having-died in the most-conspicuous
 τόπον τῆς οἰκίας, ξύλινα ναῖδια περιτιθέντες.
place of-the house wooden shrines putting-around(-it)

53.5 ἡ δ' εἰκὼν ἐστὶ πρόσωπον εἰς ὁμοιότητα διαφερόντως
the and image is a-mask to likeness exceptionally
 ἐξεργασμένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν πλάσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν
wrought both in the modeling and in the
 ὑπογραφὴν.
coloring

53.6 ταύτας δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας ἔν τε ταῖς δημοτελέσι θυσίαις
these indeed the images both in the public sacrifices
 ἀνοίγοντες κοσμοῦσι φιλοτίμως, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν οἰκείων
opening they-adorn zealously when and of-the relatives
 μεταλλάξῃ τις ἐπιφανής, ἄγουσιν εἰς τὴν ἐκφοράν,
dies one distinguished they-bring(-them) to the funeral
 περιτιθέντες ὡς ὁμοιοτάτοις εἶναι δοκοῦσι κατὰ τε τὸ
putting(-them)-on as on-(men)-most-similar to-be seeming both in the
 μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περικοπὴν.
size and the other bearing

53.7 οὗτοι δὲ προσαναλαμβάνουσιν ἐσθῆτας, εἰ μὲν ὕπατος ἢ
these and put-on-besides robes if indeed consul or
 στρατηγὸς ἢ γεγωνὼς, περιπορφύρους, εἰ δὲ τιμητής,
praetor he-be having-been purple-bordered if and censor

πορφυρᾶς, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τεθριαμβευκὼς ἢ τι τοιοῦτον
purple if and also having-triumped or something such
κατεργασμένος, διαχρύσους.

having-accomplished gold-embroidered

αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐφ' ἀρμάτων οὔτοι πορεύονται, ῥάβδοι 53.8
themselves indeed therefore on chariots these ride rods

δὲ καὶ πελέκεις καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰωθότα
and and axes and the-rest the(-things) the offices accustomed

συμπαρακεῖσθαι προηγείται κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστῳ τῆς
to-accompany go-before according-to the rank for-each of-the

γεγεννημένης κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προαγωγῆς
having-been in the life in the state advancement

ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους ἔλθωσι,

when and to the rostra they-come

καθέζονται πάντες ἐξῆς ἐπὶ δίφρων ἐλεφαντίνων. οὐ 53.9

they-sit all in-a-row on chairs ivory than-which

κάλλιον οὐκ εὐμαρὲς ἰδεῖν θέαμα νέῳ φιλοδοξῶ

finer not (is-it)-easy to-see (a)-sight for-a-young(-man) ambitious

καὶ φιλαγάθῳ·

and virtuous

τὸ γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ δεδοξασμένων ἀνδρῶν εἰκόνας 53.10

the for the of-the for virtue glorified men images

ἰδεῖν ὁμοῦ πάσας οἷον εἰ ζώσας καὶ πεπνυμένας τίν' οὐκ

to-see together all as if living and breathing whom not

ἂν παραστήσαι; τί δ' ἂν κάλλιον θέαμα τούτου φανείη;

— would-it-stir what and — finer sight than-this would-appear

πλὴν ὃ γε λέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ θάπτεσθαι μέλλοντος, 54.1

but the(-man) at-least speaking about the being-buried about-to(-be)

ἐπ' ἂν διέλθῃ τὸν περὶ τούτου λόγον, ἄρχεται τῶν

when he-goes-through the about this(-man) account he-begins of-the

ἄλλων ἀπὸ τοῦ προγενεστάτου τῶν παρόντων, καὶ λέγει
others from the most-ancient of-those present and tells
 τὰς ἐπιτυχίας ἐκάστου καὶ τὰς πράξεις.

the successes of-each and the deeds

- 54.2 ἐξ ὧν καινοποιοιμένης αἰὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς
from which being-renewed always of-the good men the
 ἐπ' ἀρετῇ φήμης ἀθανατίζεται μὲν ἢ τῶν καλόν τι
for virtue reputation is-immortalized indeed the of-those (a)-noble thing
 διαπραξαμένων εὐκλεια, γνώριμος δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ
having-achieved glory known and to-the many and
 παραδόσιμος τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἢ τῶν εὐεργετησάντων
handed-down to-those coming-after the of-those having-benefited
 τὴν πατρίδα γίνεται δόξα. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον,

the fatherland becomes fame the and greatest(-point)

- 54.3 οἱ νέοι παρορμῶνται πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ὑπομένειν
the young(-men) are-urged to — everything to-endure
 ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων χάριν τοῦ τυχεῖν τῆς
for the public affairs for-the-sake-of — obtaining the
 συνακολουθούσης τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν εὐκλείας.

accompanying the good of-the men glory

- 54.4 πίστιν δ' ἔχει τὸ λεγόμενον ἐκ τούτων. πολλοὶ μὲν
credibility and has the(-thing) said from these many indeed
 γὰρ ἐμονομάχησαν ἐκουσίως Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ὅλων
for fought-single-combat voluntarily of-Romans for the of-the whole
 κρίσεως, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ προδήλους εἶλοντο θανάτους, τινὲς
decision not few and manifest chose deaths some
 μὲν ἐν πολέμῳ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἕνεκεν σωτηρίας, τινὲς δ'
indeed in war of-the of-the others for-the-sake safety some and
 ἐν εἰρήνῃ χάριν τῆς τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἀσφαλείας.
in peace for-the-sake-of the of-the public affairs security

καὶ μὴν ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες ἔνιοι τοὺς ἰδίους υἱοὺς παρὰ 54.5
and indeed offices holding some the own sons contrary-to
 πᾶν ἔθος ἢ νόμον ἀπέκτειναν, περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενοι
every custom or law killed of more(-account) making
 τὸ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρον τῆς κατὰ φύσιν οἰκειότητος
the of-the fatherland advantage than-the by nature kinship
 πρὸς τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους.

toward the nearest

πολλὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἱστορεῖται 54.6
many indeed therefore such(-things) also about many are-recorded
 παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν δ' ἄρκουν ἔσται πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἐπ'
among Romans one but sufficient will-be for the present by
 ὀνόματος ῥῆθ' ἐν ὑποδείγματι καὶ πίστει ἔνεκεν.

name told of-example and of-proof for-the-sake

Κόκλην γὰρ λέγεται τὸν Ὠράτιον ἐπικληθέντα, 55.1
Cocles for is-said — Horatius surnamed

διαγωνιζόμενον πρὸς δύο τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἐπὶ τῷ
contending against two of-the enemies at the

καταντικρὺ τῆς γεφύρας πέρατι τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ
opposite of-the bridge end the(-bridge) over the

Τιβέριδος, ἣ κεῖται πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπεὶ πλῆθος
Tiber which lies before the city when a-multitude

ἐπιφερόμενον εἶδε τῶν βοηθούντων τοῖς πολεμίοις,
advancing he-saw of-those helping the enemy

δείσαντα μὴ βιασάμενοι παραπέσωσι εἰς τὴν
fearing lest having-forced(-their-way) they-burst into the

πόλιν, βοᾶν ἐπιστραφέντα τοῖς κατόπιν ὥς τάχος
city to-shout having-turned to-those behind as quickly(-as-possible)

ἀναχωρήσαντας διασπᾶν τὴν γέφυραν.

having-withdrawn to-tear-down the bridge

55.2 τῶν δὲ πειθαρχησάντων, ἕως μὲν οὗτοι διέσπων,
of-them and having-obeyed as-long-as indeed these were-tearing(-it)-down
 ὑπέμενε τραυμάτων πλήθος ἀναδεχόμενος καὶ διακατέσχε
he-stood-firm of-wounds a-multitude receiving and he-held-back
 τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὐχ οὕτως τὴν δύναμιν ὥς
the onset of-the enemies not so the power as
 τὴν ὑπόστασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τόλμαν καταπεπληγμένων τῶν
the steadfastness of-him and daring being-astounded the
 ὑπεναντίων·
enemies

55.3 διασπασθείσης δὲ τῆς γεφύρας, οἱ μὲν πολέμοι τῆς
having-been-torn-down and the bridge the indeed enemy in-the
 ὁρμῆς ἐκωλύθησαν, ὁ δὲ Κόκλῃς ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς
charge were-checked — and Cocles having-thrown himself into
 τὸν ποταμὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κατὰ προαίρεσιν μετήλλαξε
the river in the arms by choice he-ended
 τὸν βίον, περὶ πλείονος ποιησάμενος τὴν τῆς πατρίδος
the life of more(-account) having-made the of-the fatherland
 ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν ἐσομένην μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτὸν
safety and the going-to-be after these(-things) about him
 εὐκλειαν τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ καταλειπομένου βίου.
glory than-the present existence and the remaining life

55.4 τοιαύτη τις, ὥς ἔοικε, διὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθισμῶν
such some as it-seems through the among them customs
 ἐγγεννᾶται τοῖς νέοις ὁρμὴ καὶ φιλοτιμία πρὸς τὰ
is-engendered in-the young(-men) impulse and ambition toward the
 καλὰ τῶν ἔργων.
fine of-the deeds

At Carthage no gain is shameful and offices are bought openly; at Rome that is a capital crime. Rome's greatest superiority is its religion, staged so richly that it astonishes. Polybius thinks it serves the multitude, fickle and passionate, who must be held by unseen terrors. A Greek entrusted with a talent cannot keep faith under ten auditors; a Roman handling great sums keeps it by his oath.

καὶ μὴν τὰ περὶ τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς ἔθῃ καὶ νόμῳ 56.1

and indeed the about the money-making customs and usages

βελτίῳ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐστὶν ἢ παρὰ Καρχηδονίοις.

better among Romans are than among Carthaginians

παρ' οἷς μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν τῶν ἀνηκόντων πρὸς 56.2

among whom indeed for nothing (is)-shameful of-the (things)-leading to

κέρδος, παρ' οἷς δ' οὐδὲν αἰσχίον τοῦ δωροδοκεῖσθαι

profit among whom and nothing more-shameful than-the taking-bribes

καὶ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν μὴ καθηκόντων·

and — making-gain from the not proper(-sources)

καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἐν καλῷ τίθενται τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου 56.3

by as-much for in honor they-hold the from the best(-means)

χρηματισμόν, κατὰ τοσοῦτο πάλιν ἐν ὀνειδίῃ ποιοῦνται

money-making by so-much again in reproach they-make

τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀπειρημένων πλεονεξίαν.

the from the forbidden(-means) gain

σημεῖον δὲ τοῦτο· παρὰ μὲν Καρχηδονίοις δῶρα φανερώς 56.4

(a)-sign and (is)-this among indeed Carthaginians gifts openly

διδόντες λαμβάνουσι τὰς ἀρχάς, παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις

giving they-obtain the offices among and Romans

θάνατός ἐστι περὶ τοῦτο πρόστιμον.

death is for this (the)-penalty

- 56.5 ὅθεν τῶν ἄθλων τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐναντίων τιθεμένων παρ'
whence the prizes of-the virtue opposite being-set among
 ἀμφοῖν, εἰκὸς ἀνόμοιον εἶναι καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν
both (it-is)-likely unlike to-be also the preparation
 ἑκατέρων πρὸς ταῦτα.
of-each toward these
- 56.6 μεγίστην δέ μοι δοκεῖ διαφορὰν ἔχειν τὸ Ῥωμαίων
greatest and to-me seems difference to-have the of-Romans
 πολίτευμα πρὸς βέλτιον ἐν τῇ περὶ θεῶν διαλήψει.
polity toward better in the about gods conception
- 56.7 καί μοι δοκεῖ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις
and to-me seems the(-thing) among the other men
 ὀνειδιζόμενον, τοῦτο συνέχειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα,
reproached this to-hold-together the of-Romans affairs
 λέγω δὲ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν.
I-mean and the superstition
- 56.8 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐκτετραγώδηται καὶ παρεισῆκται τοῦτο
to such-a-degree for has-been-dramatized and has-been-introduced this
 τὸ μέρος παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τε τοὺς κατ' ἰδίαν βίους καὶ τὰ
— part among them into both the in private lives and the
 κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως ὥστε μὴ καταλιπεῖν ὑπερβολήν.
public(-affairs) of-the city that not to-leave (room-for)-surpassing
 ὃ καὶ δόξειεν ἂν πολλοῖς εἶναι θαυμάσιον.
which also would-seem — to-many to-be marvelous
- 56.9 ἐμοί γε μὴν δοκοῦσι τοῦ πλήθους χάριν τοῦτο
to-me at-least indeed they-seem of-the multitude for-the-sake this
 πεποιηκέσθαι.
to-have-done

εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν πολίτευμα 56.10
 if indeed for it-were(-possible) of-wise men a-polity
 συναγαγεῖν, ἴσως οὐδὲν ἦν ἀναγκαῖος ὁ τοιοῦτος
 to-gather perhaps not-at-all would-be necessary the such
 τρόπος·

way

ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος ἐστὶν ἐλαφρὸν καὶ πλήρες ἐπιθυμιῶν 56.11
 since but every multitude is fickle and full of-desires
 παρανόμων, ὀργῆς ἀλόγου, θυμοῦ βιαίτου, λείπεται τοῖς
 lawless of-anger unreasoning of-passion violent it-remains by-the
 ἀδύλοις φόβοις καὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τραγωδίᾳ τὰ πλήθη
 unseen terrors and by-the such pageantry the multitudes
 συνέχειν.

to-hold-together

διόπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ δοκοῦσί μοι τὰς περὶ θεῶν ἐννοίας 56.12
 wherefore the ancients seem to-me the about gods notions
 καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ᾗδου διαλήψεις οὐκ εἰκῇ καὶ
 and the about the(-things) in hades conceptions not at-random and
 ὥς ἔτυχεν εἰς τὰ πλήθη παρεισαγαγεῖν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον
 as it-chanced into the multitudes to-have-introduced much but rather
 οἱ νῦν εἰκῇ καὶ ἀλόγως ἐκβάλλειν αὐτά.

those now at-random and unreasonably to-cast-out them

τοιγαροῦν χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων οἱ τὰ κοινὰ χειρίζοντες 56.13
 therefore apart-from the other(-things) those the public(-affairs) handling
 παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ἐὰν ταλάντου μόνον πιστευθῶσιν,
 among indeed the Greeks if with-a-talent only they-be-entrusted
 ἀντιγραφεῖς ἔχοντες δέκα καὶ σφραγίδας τοσαύτας καὶ
 auditors having ten and seals so-many and
 μάρτυρας διπλασίους οὐ δύνανται τηρεῖν τὴν πίστιν·
 witnesses twice-as-many not can keep the faith

- 56.14 παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ πρεσβείας
among and Romans in both the offices and embassies
πολύ τι πλῆθος χρημάτων χειρίζοντες δι' αὐτῆς τῆς
much some amount of-money handling through the-very the
κατὰ τὸν ὄρκον πίστεως τηροῦσι τὸ καθήκον.
by the oath faith keep the(-thing) due
- 56.15 καὶ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις σπάνιόν ἐστιν εὑρεῖν ἀπεχόμενον
and among indeed the others rare it-is to-find abstaining
ἄνδρα τῶν δημοσίων καὶ καθαρεύοντα περὶ ταῦτα·
a-man from-the public(-funds) and clean about these
παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις σπάνιόν ἐστι τὸ λαβεῖν τινα
among and the Romans rare it-is — taking anyone
πεφωραμένον ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ πράξει.
detected in such (a)-deed

XXVII · DECAY, AND THE CAPTIVES OF CANNAE

Every constitution decays, from without or from within. When a state has won supremacy after great dangers, lives grow extravagant and men contentious; the people, feeling wronged by some and flattered by others, will demand everything, and the constitution takes the finest names, freedom and democracy, and the worst reality, mob-rule. As a sample of Rome at its height: after Cannae Hannibal sends ten sworn captives to ask ransom. The senate, seeing his aim, refuses, decrees that Romans conquer or die, and returns in chains the envoy who evaded his oath. Hannibal is dismayed.

- 57.1 ὅτι μὲν οὖν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπόκειται φθορὰ καὶ
that indeed therefore to-all the (things)-existing is-subject decay and
μεταβολὴ σχεδὸν οὐ προσδεῖ λόγων· ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἡ τῆς
change almost not there-is-need of-words sufficient for the of-the
φύσεως ἀνάγκη παραστήσαι τὴν τοιαύτην πίστιν.
nature necessity to-establish the such belief

δυεῖν δὲ τρόπων ὄντων, καθ' οὓς φθείρεσθαι πέφυκε πᾶν 57.2

two and ways being by which to-perish is-wont every

γένος πολιτείας, τοῦ μὲν ἔξωθεν, τοῦ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς

kind of-constitution the-one indeed from-outside the-other and in them

φυομένον, τὸν μὲν ἐκτὸς ἄστατον ἔχειν συμβαίνει τὴν

growing the(-one) indeed external unstable to-have it-happens the

θεωρίαν, τὸν δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τεταγμένην.

study the(-one) and from themselves ordered

τί μὲν δὴ πρῶτον φύεται γένος πολιτείας καὶ τί δεύτερον, 57.3

what indeed then first arises kind of-constitution and what second

καὶ πῶς εἰς ἄλληλα μεταπίπτουσιν, εἴρηται πρόσθεν ἡμῖν,

and how into one-another they-pass has-been-said before by-us

ὥστε τοὺς δυναμένους τὰς ἀρχὰς τῷ τέλει συνάπτειν 57.4

so-that those able the beginnings to-the end to-join

τῆς ἐνεστώσης ὑποθέσεως καὶ αὐτοὺς ἤδη προειπεῖν

of-the present subject would-even themselves already to-foretell

ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος. ἔστι δ', ὡς ἐγῶμαι, δῆλον.

about the future it-is and as I-think clear

ὅταν γὰρ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους διωσαμένη 57.5

when for many and great dangers having-repelled

πολιτεία μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς ὑπεροχὴν καὶ δυναστείαν

a-constitution after these(-things) to supremacy and power

ἀδῆριτον ἀφίκηται, φανερόν ὡς εἰσοικιζομένης εἰς αὐτὴν

uncontested arrives (it-is)-evident that settling into it

ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν βίους

for long the prosperity it-happens the indeed lives

γίνεσθαι πολυτελεστέρους, τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας φιλονεικοτέρους

to-become more-extravagant the and men more-contentious

τοῦ δέοντος περὶ τε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιβολάς.

than-the needful about both the offices and the other enterprises

- 57.6 ὧν προβαινόντων ἐπὶ πλέον ἄρξει μὲν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον
which advancing to more will-begin indeed the to the worse
 μεταβολῆς ἢ φιλαρχία καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀδοξίας ὄνειδος, πρὸς
change the love-of-office and the of-the obscurity reproach besides
 δὲ τούτοις ἢ περὶ τοὺς βίους ἀλαζονεία καὶ πολυτέλεια,
and these the about the lives ostentation and extravagance
- 57.7 λήψεται δὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς μεταβολῆς ὁ δῆμος, ὅταν
will-take and the name of-the change the people when
 ὑφ' ὧν μὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι δόξῃ διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ὑφ'
by some indeed to-be-wronged it-thinks because-of the greed by
 ὧν δὲ χαννωθῇ κολακευόμενος διὰ τὴν φιλαρχίαν.
others and it-is-puffed-up being-flattered because-of the love-of-office
- 57.8 τότε γὰρ ἐξοργισθεὶς καὶ θυμῷ πάντα βουλευόμενος
then for having-been-enraged and with-passion everything deliberating
 οὐκέτι θελήσει πειθαρχεῖν οὐδ' ἴσον ἔχειν τοῖς προεστῶσι,
no-longer it-will-wish to-obey nor equal to-have with-the leaders
 ἀλλὰ πᾶν καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτός.
but everything and the most(-share) itself
- 57.9 οὗ γενομένου τῶν μὲν ὀνομάτων τὸ κάλλιστον ἢ
which having-happened of-the indeed names the finest the
 πολιτεία μεταλήψεται, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν,
constitution will-take-on — freedom and democracy
 τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων τὸ χεῖριστον, τὴν ὀχλοκρατίαν.
of-the and realities the worst — mob-rule
- 57.10 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε σύστασιν καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν τῆς
we and since the both formation and the growth of-the
 πολιτείας, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν, πρὸς δὲ
constitution further and the prime and the condition besides and
 τούτοις τὴν διαφορὰν πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας τοῦ τε χείρονος
these the difference toward the others the both worse

ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ βελτίονος διεληλύθαμεν, τὸν μὲν περὶ τῆς
in it and better we-have-gone-through the indeed about the
πολιτείας λόγον ὧδέ πη καταστρέφομεν.

constitution account thus somehow we-bring-to-a-close

τῶν δὲ συναπτόντων μερῶν τῆς ἱστορίας τοῖς καιροῖς, 58.1
of-the and joining parts of-the history to-the times

ἀφ' ὧν παρεξέβημεν, παραλαβόντες ἐπὶ βραχὺ μίᾱς
from which we-digressed taking-up for a-short(-while) of-one

πράξεως ποιησόμεθα κεφαλαιώδη μνήμην, ἵνα μὴ τῷ
action we-shall-make summary mention so-that not in-the

λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοῦ
word only but also in-the deeds as of-a-good

τεχνίτου δεῖγμα τῶν ἔργων ἓν τι προενεγκάμενοι,
craftsman a-sample of-the works one some(-one) having-brought-forward

φανερὰν ποιήσωμεν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ δύναμιν,
clear we-may-make of-the constitution the prime and power

οἷα τις ἦν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους.

such-as some(-thing) it-was in those — times

Ἀννίβας γὰρ ἐπειδὴ τῇ περὶ Κάνναν μάχῃ περιγενόμενος 58.2

Hannibal for when in-the at Cannae battle having-prevailed

Ῥωμαίων ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο τῶν τὸν χάρακα φυλαττόντων

of-Romans master he-became of-those the palisade guarding

ὀκτακισχιλίων, ζωγρήσας ἅπαντας συνεχώρησε

eight-thousand having-taken-alive all he-allowed

διαπέμπεσθαι σφίσι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ περὶ λύτρων καὶ

to-send them to those at home about ransom and

σωτηρίας.

safety

- 58.3 τῶν δὲ προχειρισμένων δέκα τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους,
they and having-chosen ten the most-distinguished
 ὀρκίσας ἧ μὴν ἐπανήξειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐξέπεμψε
having-made-swear truly indeed to-return to him he-sent-off
 τούτους.
these
- 58.4 εἷς δὲ τῶν προχειρισθέντων ἐκπορευόμενος ἐκ τοῦ
one and of-those chosen going-out from the
 χάρακος ἤδη, καὶ τι φήσας ἐπιλελήσθαι, πάλιν
palisade already and something having-said to-have-forgotten again
 ἀνέκαμψε, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ καταλειφθὲν αὐθις ἀπελύετο,
turned-back and having-taken the(-thing) left-behind again departed
 νομίζων διὰ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως τετηρηκέαι τὴν πίστιν
thinking by the return to-have-kept the faith
 καὶ λευκέαι τὸν ὄρκον.
and to-have-discharged the oath
- 58.5 ὧν παραγενομένων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ δεομένων
who having-arrived at — Rome and begging
 καὶ παρακαλούντων τὴν σύγκλητον μὴ φθονῆσαι τοῖς
and entreating the senate not to-begrudge the
 ἐάλωκόσι τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐᾶσαι τρεῖς μνᾶς ἕκαστον
captives the safety but to-allow three minae each
 καταβαλόντα σωθῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀναγκαίους· τοῦτο γὰρ
having-paid to-be-saved to the relatives this for
 συγχωρεῖν ἔφασαν τὸν Ἀννίβαν·
to-allow they-said — Hannibal
- 58.6 εἶναι δ' ἀξίους σωτηρίας αὐτοὺς· οὔτε γὰρ ἀποδεδειλιακέαι
to-be and worthy of-safety themselves neither for to-have-shown-cowardice
 κατὰ τὴν μάχην οὔτ' ἀνάξιον οὐδὲν πεποιθέναι τῆς
in the battle nor unworthy anything to-have-done —
 Ῥώμης, ἀλλ' ἀπολειφθέντας τὸν χάρακα τηρεῖν, πάντων
of-Rome but left-behind the palisade to-guard all

ἀπολομένων τῶν ἄλλων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῷ καιρῷ

having-perished the others in the battle by-the occasion

περιληφθέντας ὑποχειρίους γενέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις.

caught in-the-power to-have-become of-the enemy

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μεγάλοι κατὰ τὰς μάχας περιπεπτωκότες 58.7

Romans and great in the battles having-met-with

ἐλαττώμασι, πάντων δ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐστερημένοι τότε

reverses of-all and as a-word to-say deprived then

τῶν συμμάχων, ὅσον οὐπω δὲ προσδοκῶντες τὸν περὶ

of-the allies all-but not-yet and expecting the about

τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῖς ἐκφέρεσθαι κίνδυνον,

the fatherland for-them to-be-brought-to-issue danger

διακούσαντες τῶν λεγομένων οὔτε τοῦ πρέποντος αὐτοῖς 58.8

having-heard-out the (things)-said neither the fitting for-themselves

εἰξαντες ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὠλιγόρησαν οὔτε τῶν δεόντων

yielding to-the misfortunes they-neglected nor of-the needful(-things)

οὐδὲν τοῖς λογισμοῖς παρείδον,

anything in-the reckonings they-overlooked

ἀλλὰ συνιδόντες τὴν Ἀννίβου πρόθεσιν, ὅτι βούλεται διὰ 58.9

but having-perceived the of-Hannibal purpose that he-wishes through

τῆς πράξεως ταύτης ἅμα μὲν εὐπορῆσαι χρημάτων,

the action this at-once indeed to-be-supplied with-money

ἅμα δὲ τὸ φιλότιμον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐξελέσθαι τῶν

at-once and the ambition in the battles to-take-away of-the

ἀντιταττομένων, ὑποδείξας ὅτι τοῖς ἡττημένοις ὅμως

opponents showing that to-the defeated nevertheless

ἐλπίς ἀπολείπεται σωτηρίας,

hope remains of-safety

- 58.10 τοσοῦτ' ἀπέσχον τοῦ ποιῆσαί τι τῶν ἀξιουμένων ὥστ'
so-far they-were-from — doing any of-the (things)-requested that
οὔτε τὸν τῶν οἰκείων ἔλεον οὔτε τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
neither the of-the relatives pity nor the from the men
ἐσομένας χρείας ἐποίησαντο περὶ πλείονος,
going-to-be services they-made of more(-account)
- 58.11 ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν Ἀννίβου λογισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις
but the indeed of-Hannibal calculations and the in these
ἐλπίδας ἀπέδειξαν κενάς, ἀπειπάμενοι τὴν διαλύτρωσιν
hopes they-showed empty refusing the ransom
τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοῖς δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐνομοθέτησαν ἢ
of-the men to-those and of themselves they-laid-down-by-law either
νικᾶν μαχομένους ἢ θνήσκειν, ὡς ἄλλης οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλπίδος
to-conquer fighting or to-die as other no hope
ὑπαρχούσης εἰς σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἡττωμένοις.
being for safety to-them being-defeated
- 58.12 διὸ καὶ ταῦτα προθέμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἐννέα τῶν
wherefore also these having-resolved the indeed nine of-the
πρεσβευτῶν ἐβελοντὴν κατὰ τὸν ὅρκον ἀναχωροῦντας
envoys voluntarily according-to the oath returning
ἐξέπεμψαν, τὸν δὲ σοφιστάμενον πρὸς τὸ λῦσαι τὸν
they-sent-off the and (one)-having-played-the-sophist toward — breaking the
ὅρκον δήσαντες ἀποκατέστησαν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους,
oath having-bound they-restored to the enemy
- 58.13 ὥστε τὸν Ἀννίβαν μὴ τοσοῦτον χαρῆναι νικήσαντα τῇ
so-that — Hannibal not so-much to-rejoice having-defeated in-the
μάχῃ Ῥωμαίους ὡς συντριβῆναι καταπλαγέντα τὸ στάσιμον
battle Romans as to-be-crushed being-amazed-at the steadfastness
καὶ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τοῖς διαβουλίαις.
and the high-mindedness of-the men in the deliberations

THUCYDIDES

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Α

Histories I



Thucydides the Athenian wrote the war of the Peloponnesians and Athenians from its outbreak, expecting it to be the greatest yet, since both sides were at their height and the rest of Greece took sides. Earlier events cannot be known clearly, but nothing in them was great. Ancient Greece was unsettled, its best land changing hands most, while poor Attica stayed stable and grew. Before Troy the Greeks did nothing in common, and the name Hellenes, from Hellen son of Deucalion, spread slowly; Homer has no single name for them.

Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν 1.1
 Thucydides (an)-Athenian wrote-up the war of-the
 Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὥς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς
 Peloponnesians and Athenians how they-warred against
 ἀλλήλους, ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου καὶ ἐλπίσας
 one-another having-begun at-once (as-it)-was-breaking-out and having-expected
 μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν
 great both to-be-going-to-be and most-noteworthy of-the(-wars)
 προγεγεννημένων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι ἀκμάζοντές τε ἦσαν
 having-been-before judging that at-their-peak both they-went
 εἰς αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέροι παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο
 into it both(-sides) in-preparation — full and the other
 Ἑλληνικὸν ὁρῶν ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἑκατέρους, τὸ
 Greek(-world) seeing taking-sides with each(-side) the(-part)
 μὲν εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον.
 indeed at-once the(-part) and also intending(-to)
 κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησι ἐγένετο 1.2
 (a)-movement for this greatest indeed for-the Greeks was
 καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥς δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ
 and for-part some of-the barbarians as and to-say even over
 πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων.
 (the)-greatest(-part) of-mankind

1.3 τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα σαφῶς
the(-events) for before them and the(-ones) still more-ancient clearly
 μὲν εὑρεῖν διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐκ δὲ
indeed to-discover because-of of-time length impossible was from but
 τεκμηρίων ὧν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι
evidences which to (the)-furthest(-point) examining to-me to-trust
 ξυμβαίνει οὐ μέγала νομίζω γενέσθαι οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς
it-happens not great I-think to-have-been either as-regards the
 πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα.
wars or in the other(-respects)

2.1 φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως
it-appears for the now Greece called not long-ago securely
 οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὔσαι τὰ πρότερα
inhabited but migrations both being the earlier(-times)
 καὶ ῥαδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες βιαζόμενοι
and readily each the own(-land) abandoning being-forced
 ὑπὸ τινων αἰεὶ πλείονων.
by some always more(-numerous)

2.2 τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδ' ἐπιμυγνύντες ἀδεῶς
the for trade not being nor mingling fearlessly
 ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοί
with-one-another either by land or over sea working
 τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περισυῖαν
and the(-land) of-themselves each as-much-as to-live-off and surplus
 χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἄδηλον
of-wealth not having nor land planting unclear
 ὃν ὁπότε τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα
being when someone having-come-against and unvalled at-the-same-time
 ὄντων ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου
being another will-take-away of-the and each day necessary
 τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν, οὐ χαλεπῶς
sustenance everywhere — thinking (they)-could-be-master not with-difficulty

ἀπανίσταντο, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἰσχυον
they-migrated and through this neither by-size of-cities were-strong
 οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ.

nor in-the other preparation

μάλιστα δὲ τῆς γῆς ἡ ἀρίστη αἰεὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν 2.3

most and of-the land the best always the changes of-the

οἰκητόρων εἶχεν, ἥ τε νῦν Θεσσαλία καλουμένη καὶ

inhabitants had the both now Thessaly called and

Βοιωτία Πελοποννήσου τε τὰ πολλὰ πλὴν Ἀρκαδίας,

Boeotia of-Peloponnese and the most(-part) except Arcadia

τῆς τε ἄλλης ὅσα ἦν κράτιστα.

of-the and rest as-much-as was best

διὰ γὰρ ἀρετὴν γῆς αἶ τε δυνάμεις τισὶ μείζους 2.4

because-of for goodness of-land the both powers for-some greater

ἐγγιγνόμεναι στάσεις ἐνεποίουν ἐξ ὧν ἐφθείροντο, καὶ

arising factions caused from which they-were-ruined and

ἅμα ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων μᾶλλον ἐπεβουλεύοντο.

at-the-same-time by foreigners more they-were-plotted-against

τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον διὰ 2.5

— *at-any-rate Attica from the(-time) to (the)-furthest(-back) because-of*

τὸ λεπτόγειον ἀστασίαστον οὔσαν ἄνθρωποι ὥκουν οἱ

the thin-soil free-from-faction being men inhabited the

αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ.

same always

καὶ παράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι διὰ 2.6

and example this of-the argument not (the)-least is because-of

τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως ἀνξηθῆναι· ἐκ γὰρ

the migrations in the other(-parts) not similarly to-have-grown from for

τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος οἱ πολέμῳ ἢ στάσει ἐκπίπτοντες παρ'

the rest-of Greece those by-war or by-faction being-expelled to

Ἀθηναίους οἱ δυνατώτατοι ὥς βέβαιον ὄν ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ

Athenians the most-powerful as secure being withdrew and

πολίται γιγνόμενοι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ μείζω ἔτι ἐποίησαν
 citizens becoming straightway from old greater still they-made
 πλήθει ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς Ἰωνίαν ὕστερον
 in-number of-men the city so-that also to Ionia later
 ὥς οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὔσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψαν.
 as not sufficient being — Attica colonies they-sent-out

- 3.1 δηλοῖ δέ μοι καὶ τόδε τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθένειαν οὐχ
 shows and to-me also this of-the ancients weakness not
 ἥκιστα· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωικῶν οὐδὲν φαίνεται πρότερον
 least before for the Trojan(-war) nothing appears earlier
 κοινῇ ἐργασαμένη ἢ Ἑλλάς·
 in-common having-accomplished — Greece

- 3.2 δοκεῖ δέ μοι, οὐδὲ τοῦνομα τοῦτο ξύμπασά πω εἶχεν,
 it-seems and to-me not-even the-name this (the)-whole yet had
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἑλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ
 but the(-times) indeed before Hellen the (son)-of-Deucalion even
 πάνυ οὐδὲ εἶναι ἢ ἐπὶ κλησὶς αὕτη, κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ
 at-all not-even to-have-existed the appellation this by peoples and
 ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν
 others both and the Pelasgian(-people) for most(-part) from themselves
 τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχεσθαι, Ἑλληνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων
 the name to-furnish Hellen and and of-the sons
 αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι ἰσχυσάντων, καὶ ἐπαγομένων
 of-him in — Phthiotis having-become-strong and calling-in
 αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, καθ' ἐκάστους
 them for help to the other cities in each(-case)
 μὲν ἤδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον καλεῖσθαι Ἑλλήνας, οὐ
 indeed already by-the intercourse rather to-be-called Hellenes not
 μέντοι πολλοῦ γε χρόνου καὶ ἅπασιν ἐκνικῆσαι.
 however of-long at-least time also over-all to-prevail

τεκμηριοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος· πολλῶ γὰρ ὕστερον ἔτι 3.3
gives-proof and most Homer much for later still
 καὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενος οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς ζύμπαντας
even than-the Trojan(-war) having-lived nowhere the whole(-people)
 ὠνόμασεν, οὐδ' ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς μετ' Ἀχιλλέως ἐκ τῆς
named(-so) nor others than those with Achilles from —
 Φθιώτιδος, οἵπερ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἕλληνες ἦσαν, Δαναοὺς δὲ
Phthiotis who-indeed also first Hellenes were Danaans and
 ἐν τοῖς ἔπεισι καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνακαλεῖ. οὐ μὲν
in the verses and Argives and Achaeans he-calls(-them) not indeed
 οὐδὲ βαρβάρους εἶρηκε διὰ τὸ μηδὲ Ἕλληνάς πω,
even barbarians he-has-spoken-of because-of — not-even Hellenes yet
 ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀντίπαλον ἐς ἐν ὄνομα ἀποκεκρίσθαι.
as to-me it-seems opposed into one name to-have-been-marked-off
 οἱ δ' οὖν ὥς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες κατὰ πόλεις τε 3.4
the and at-any-rate as severally Hellenes by cities both
 ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν καὶ ζύμπαντες ὕστερον κληθέντες
as-many-as one-another understood and all-together later called
 οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ ἀμειξίαν
nothing before the Trojan(-war) because-of weakness and lack-of-intercourse
 ἀλλήλων ἀθρόοι ἔπραξαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην τὴν
with-one-another in-a-body achieved but even this —
 στρατείαν θαλάσση ἥδη πλείω χρώμενοι ξυνεξήλθον.
expedition the-sea already more using they-went-out-together

Minos was the first known to build a navy; he ruled the Cyclades and cleared the sea of pirates. Before him Greeks and barbarians along the coasts lived by piracy without disgrace and went armed, as some still do; the Athenians were the first to lay aside their arms, and the Spartans the first to dress simply and strip for exercise. Old cities stood back from the sea. The graves opened at the purification of Delos showed that Carians once held the islands. Under Minos men grew rich and built walls, and the weak accepted the rule of the strong.

- 4.1 Μίνως γὰρ παλαιάτος ὢν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν ναυτικὸν
Minos for (the)-most-ancient of-whom by-hearsay we-know a-navy
 ἐκτήσατο καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλείστον
acquired and of-the now Greek sea over (the)-greatest(-part)
 ἐκράτησε καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἡρξέ τε καὶ
he-ruled and of-the Cyclades islands he-was-ruler both and
 οἰκιστὴς πρῶτος τῶν πλείστων ἐγένετο, Κᾶρας ἐξελάσας
founder first of-the most became Carians having-driven-out
 καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἡγεμόνας ἐγκαταστήσας· τό τε
and the his-own sons (as)-leaders having-installed the and
 ληστικόν, ὥς εἰκός, καθήρει ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐφ' ὅσον
piracy as (is)-likely he-cleared from the sea as-far as
 ἐδύνατο, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἰέναι αὐτῷ.
he-could for-the the revenues more to-come to-him
- 5.1 οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες τὸ πάλαι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ τε ἐν
the for Greeks — of-old and of-the barbarians those both on
 τῇ ἡπείρῳ παραθαλάσσιοι καὶ ὅσοι νήσους εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ
the mainland by-the-sea and as-many-as islands held when
 ἤρξαντο μᾶλλον περαιοῦσθαι ναυσὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, ἐτράποντο
they-began more to-cross-over by-ships to one-another turned
 πρὸς ληστείαν, ἡγουμένων ἀνδρῶν οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων
to piracy leading men not the least-powerful

κέρδους τοῦ σφετέρου αὐτῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι
of-profit the own of-themselves for-the-sake and for-the weak
 τροφῆς, καὶ προσπίπτοντες πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις καὶ κατὰ
of-sustenance and falling-upon cities unwallled and in
 κώμας οἰκουμέναις ἤρπαζον καὶ τὸν πλείστον τοῦ
villages inhabited they-plundered(-them) and the most of-the
 βίου ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιοῦντο, οὐκ ἔχοντός πω αἰσχύνῃ
livelihood from-there they-made not having yet shame
 τούτου τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δέ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον·
this — work bringing but something even of-glory rather
 δηλοῦσι δὲ τῶν τε ἡπειρωτῶν τινὲς ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἷς 5.2
show and of-the both mainlanders some still even now for-whom
 κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾶν, καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν
(it-is)-a-distinction well this to-do and the ancient of-the
 ποιητῶν τὰς πύσεις τῶν καταπλεόντων πανταχοῦ
poets the questions of-those sailing-in everywhere
 ὁμοίως ἐρωτῶντες εἰ λησταί εἰσιν, ὥς οὔτε ὧν
alike asking whether pirates they-are as neither those-whom
 πυνθάνονται ἀπαξιούντων τὸ ἔργον, οἷς τε ἐπιμελὲς
they-ask disowning the deed those-to-whom and a-care
 εἶη εἰδέναι οὐκ ὀνειδιζόντων.
it-might-be to-know not reproaching(-it)
 ἐλήζοντο δὲ καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον ἀλλήλους, καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε 5.3
they-plundered and also by land one-another and to this(-day)
 πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ νέμεται περὶ
much — of-Greece in-the old way lives around
 τε Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀζόλας καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Ἀκαρνανᾶς
both Locrians the Ozolian and Aetolians and Acarnanians
 καὶ τὴν ταύτην ἡπειρον. τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι τούτοις
and the there mainland the both carrying-of-arms for-these
 τοῖς ἡπειρώταις ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς ληστείας ἐμμεμένηκεν·
— mainlanders from the old piracy has-remained

- 6.1 πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐσιδηροφόρει διὰ τὰς ἀφάρκτους
all for — Greece carried-arms because-of the unfenced
 τε οἰκῆσεις καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφόδους,
both dwellings and not safe with one-another communications
 καὶ ξυνήθη τὴν δίαιταν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο ὥσπερ
and customary the living with arms they-made just-as
 οἱ βάρβαροι.
the barbarians
- 6.2 σημεῖον δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔτι οὕτω νεμόμενα
(a)-sign and are these — of-Greece still so living
 τῶν ποτὲ καὶ ἐς πάντας ὁμοίων διαιτημάτων.
of-the once also to all similar ways-of-living
- 6.3 ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν τε σίδηρον κατέθεντο
among the first and Athenians the both iron laid-down
 καὶ ἀνεμμένη τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν.
and with-a-relaxed — mode-of-life into the more-luxurious changed
 καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων διὰ τὸ
and the elder among-them of-the wealthy because-of the
 ἀβροδίατον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦς
delicate-living not long time since tunics both linen
 ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει
they-ceased wearing and of-golden grasshoppers with-a-fastening
 κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν· ἀφ'
a-knot tying-up of-the on the head hair from
 οὗ καὶ Ἰώνων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπὶ
which also of-Ionians the elders by the kinship for
 πολὺν αὖτις ἢ σκευὴ κατέσχευεν.
long this — fashion prevailed
- 6.4 μετρία δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρῶτοι
moderate and in-turn dress and in the present manner first
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς
Lacedaemonians used and in the other(-respects) toward the

πολλοὺς οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι ἰσοδίατοι
 many those the greater(-possessions) having-acquired living-on-equal-terms
 μάλιστα κατέστησαν.

most established-themselves

ἐγυμνώθησάν τε πρῶτοι καὶ ἐς τὸ φανερόν ἀποδύντες 6.5
 they-stripped both first and into the open having-undressed

λίπα μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι ἡλείβαντο· τὸ δὲ πάλαι
 with-oil with — exercising anointed-themselves — but of-old

καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπικῷ ἀγῶνι διαζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ
 even in the Olympic contest loin-cloths having about

τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἡγωνίζοντο, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη
 the private-parts the athletes contended and not many years

ἐπειδὴ πέπαυται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν
 since it-has-ceased further and also among the barbarians there-are

οἷς νῦν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς, πυγμῆς καὶ
 (some)-among-whom now and especially the Asiatics of-boxing and

πάλης ἄθλα τίθεται, καὶ διεζωμένοι τοῦτο δρῶσιν.
 of-wrestling prizes are-offered and girded this they-do

πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τις ἀποδείξειε τὸ παλαιὸν 6.6
 many and — also other(-things) one could-show the ancient

Ἑλληνικὸν ὁμοιότροπα τῷ νῦν βαρβαρικῷ διαιτώμενον.
 Greek(-world) in-like-manner to-the now barbarian(-world) living

τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα ᾠκίσθησαν καὶ 7.1
 of-the and cities as-many-as indeed most-recently were-founded and

ἤδη πλωμιωτέρων ὄντων, περιουσίας μᾶλλον ἔχουσαι
 already more-navigable being(-the-seas) surpluses rather having

χρημάτων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς τέχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο
 of-wealth on the-very — shores with-walls were-built

καὶ τοὺς ἰσθμούς ἀπελάμβανον ἐμπορίας τε ἔνεκα
 and the isthmuses they-cut-off of-trade both for-the-sake

καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἕκαστοι ἰσχύος· αἱ δὲ
 and of-the against the neighbors each strength the but

παλαιαὶ διὰ τὴν ληστείαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντίσχουσιν
ancient(-cities) because-of the piracy for long prevailing
 ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ὠκίσθησαν, αἱ τε ἐν ταῖς
away-from sea rather were-founded those both on the
 νήσοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις (ἔφερον γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε
islands and on the mainlands they-plundered for one-another both
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ὄντες οὐ θαλάσσιοι κάτω
and of-the others as-many-as being not seafaring (on-the)-coast
 ὥκουν), καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ἀνωκισμένοι εἰσίν.
lived and to this(-day) still inland-settled they-are

- 8.1 καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον λησταὶ ἦσαν οἱ νησιῶται, Κᾶρες τε ὄντες
and not less pirates were the islanders Carians both being
 καὶ Φοίνικες· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων
and Phoenicians these for indeed the most of-the islands
 ὥκῃσαν. μαρτύριον δέ· Δήλου γὰρ καθαιρομένης ὑπὸ
inhabited (a)-proof and Delos for being-purified by
 Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῶν θηκῶν ἀναιρεθεῖσων
Athenians in this — war and of-the graves having-been-taken-up
 ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ
as-many-as were of-the dead in the island over half
 Κᾶρες ἐφάνησαν, γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων
Carians appeared recognized by-the both equipment of-the arms
 ξυντεθαμμένη καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧ νῦν ἔτι θάπτουσιν.
buried-with(-them) and by-the manner in-which now still they-bury

- 8.2 καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ Μίνω ναυτικοῦ πλωμιώτερα ἐγένετο
having-been-established and the of-Minos navy more-navigable it-became
 παρ' ἀλλήλους (οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νήσων κακοῦργοι ἀνέστησαν
with one-another the for from the islands evildoers were-removed
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτεπερ καὶ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν κατώκιζε),
by him when-indeed also the most of-them he-was-colonizing

καὶ οἱ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ἤδη τὴν κτῆσιν 8.3

and the along (the)-sea men more already the acquisition

τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι βεβαιότερον ὥκουν, καί τινες καὶ

of-the wealth making more-securely lived and some even

τείχη περιεβάλλοντο ὡς πλουσιώτεροι ἑαυτῶν γιγνόμενοι·

walls put-around(-themselves) as richer than-themselves becoming

ἐφιέμενοι γὰρ τῶν κερδῶν οἳ τε ἥσσους ὑπέμενον τὴν

desiring for of-the gains the both weaker endured the

τῶν κρεισσόνων δουλείαν, οἳ τε δυνατώτεροι περιουσίας

of-the stronger slavery the and more-powerful surpluses

ἔχοντες προσεποιοῦντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσους πόλεις.

having made subject the lesser cities

καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἤδη ὄντες ὕστερον 8.4

and in this — way more already being later

χρόνῳ ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐστράτευσαν.

in-time against Troy they-campaigned

Agamemnon led the expedition against Troy by his power more than by the suitors' oath, heir to the wealth that Pelops brought from Asia, and in Homer he rules many islands and all Argos. Mycenae's smallness proves nothing; Sparta's ruins would belittle its power and Athens' would double it. The expedition was the greatest yet, but small beside the present war, since Homer's twelve hundred ships carried few men. The cause was poverty: short of supplies, the Greeks farmed and raided during the siege, which is why Troy held out ten years.

- 9.1 Ἀγαμέμνων τέ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν τότε δυνάμει προύχων
Agamemnon and to-me seems of-the (men)-then in-power excelling
 καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτον τοῖς Τυνδάρεω ὄρκους κατειλημμένους
and not so-much by-the of-Tyndareus oaths bound
 τοὺς Ἑλένης μνηστήρας ἄγων τὸν στόλον ἀγείραι.
the of-Helen suitors leading the expedition to-have-gathered
- 9.2 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων μνήμη
say and also those the clearest(-accounts) of-Peloponnesians by-memory
 παρὰ τῶν πρότερον δεδεγμένοι Πέλοπά τε πρῶτον πλήθει
from the earlier(-men) having-received Pelops both first by-abundance
 χρημάτων, ἃ ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχων ἐς ἀνθρώπους
of-wealth which he-came from — Asia having to men
 ἀπόρους, δύναμιν περιποιησάμενον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς
poor power having-acquired the name of-the
 χώρας ἔπηλυν ὄντα ὅμως σχεῖν, καὶ ὕστερον τοῖς
land an-immigrant being nevertheless to-have-got and later for-the
 ἐκγόνοις ἔτι μείζω ξυνεχθῆναι, Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ
descendants still greater(-things) to-have-come-about Eurystheus indeed in —
 Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποθανόντος, Ἀτρείως δὲ μητρὸς
Attica by (the)-Heraclidae having-been-killed Atreus and mother's
 ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως, ὅτ'
brother being to-him and having-entrusted(-them) Eurystheus when

ἐστράτευε, Μυκήνας τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον
he-campaigned Mycenae both and the rule because-of the kinship

Ἄτρει (τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ
to-Atreus to-happen(-to-be) and him fleeing the father because-of
 τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον), καὶ ὥς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν
the of-Chrysippus death and as no-longer returned

Εὐρυσθεὺς, βουλομένων καὶ τῶν Μυκηναίων φόβῳ τῶν
Eurystheus wishing also the Mycenaeans from-fear of-the
 Ἡρακλειδῶν καὶ ἅμα δυνατὸν δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ
Heraclidae and at-the-same-time powerful seeming to-be and the

πλῆθος τεθεραπευκότα τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὅσων
multitude having-courted of-the Mycenaeans both and of-as-many-as

Εὐρυσθεὺς ἦρχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρέα παραλαβεῖν, καὶ
Eurystheus ruled the kingship Atreus to-have-taken-over and
 τῶν Περσειδῶν τοὺς Πελοπίδας μείζους καταστήναι.

than-the Perseids the Pelopids greater to-have-become

ἃ μοι δοκεῖ Ἀγαμέμνων παραλαβὼν καὶ ναυτικῷ 9.3
which to-me seems Agamemnon having-taken-over and in-navy

ἅμα ἐπὶ πλεόν τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχύσας, τὴν
at-the-same-time to more than-the others having-been-strong the
 στρατείαν οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεόν ἢ φόβῳ ξυναγαγὼν
expedition not by-favor the more than by-fear having-gathered
 ποιήσασθαι.

to-have-made

φαίνεται γὰρ ναυσὶ τε πλείοσις αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος καὶ 9.4
he-appears for with-ships both most himself having-come and

Ἀρκάσι προσπαρασχών, ὥς Ὅμηρος τοῦτο δεδήλωκεν, εἴ
to-Arcadians having-furnished-besides as Homer this has-shown if

τω ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι. καὶ ἐν τοῦ σκήπτρου
to-anyone sufficient to-give-evidence and in(-the-passage) of-the scepter
 ἅμα τῇ παραδόσει εἶρηκεν αὐτὸν
along-with the handing-down he-has-said him

πολλῇσι νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν·
over-many islands and Argos all to-rule

οὐκ ἂν οὖν νήσων ἔξω τῶν περιουκίδων (αὐταὶ δὲ οὐκ
not — therefore of-islands beyond the neighboring(-ones) these but not
 ἂν πολλὰ εἶεν) ἡπειρώτης ὦν ἐκράτει, εἰ μὴ
— many would-they-be a-mainlander being would-be-have-ruled if not
 τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἶχεν. εἰκάζειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ
some also navy be-had to-infer and one-must also from-this —
 στρατείᾳ οἷα ἦν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς.
expedition of-what-sort were the(-ones) before it

10.1 καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν, ἢ εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα
and because indeed Mycenae small was or if any of-the then town
 νῦν μὴ ἀξιοχρεῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ ἂν τις σημείω
now not considerable seems to-be not exact — one sign
 χρώμενος ἀπιστοίῃ μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον
using would-disbelieve — to-have-been the expedition so-great
 ὅσον οἷ τε ποιηταὶ εἰρήκασιν καὶ ὁ λόγος κατέχει.
as-great-as the both poets have-said and the tradition holds

10.2 Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εἰ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθείη, λειφθείη δὲ τὰ
of-Lacedaemonians for if the city should-be-deserted should-be-left and the
 τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι
both temples and of-the buildings the foundations much — I-think
 ἀπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως προελθόντος πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῖς
disbelief of-the power having-passed much time for-those
 ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν εἶναι (καίτοι
afterward in-comparison-with the fame of-them (there-would)-be and-yet

Πελοποννήσου τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοίρας νέμονται, τῆς
of-Peloponnese of-the five the two parts they-occupy of-the
 τε ξυμπάσης ἡγούνται καὶ τῶν ἔξω ξυμμάχων πολλῶν·
both whole they-lead and of-the outside allies many
 ὅμως δὲ οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως οὔτε ἱεροῖς καὶ
nevertheless but neither concentrated (the)-city nor temples and
 κατασκευαῖς πολυτελεσί χρησαμένης, κατὰ κώμας δὲ τῶ
buildings costly having-used in villages but in-the
 παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης, φαίνουτ' ἂν
ancient — of-Greece manner settled it-would-appear —
 ὑποδεεστέρα), Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθόντων
inferior of-Athenians and the same this having-suffered
 διπλασίαν ἂν τὴν δύναμιν εἰκάζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς φανεράς
double — the power would-be-inferred from the evident
 ὄψεως τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἔστιν.

appearance of-the city than it-is
 οὐκουν ἀπιστεῖν εἰκός, οὐδὲ τὰς ὄψεις τῶν 10.3
not-therefore to-disbelieve (is-it)-reasonable nor the appearances of-the
 πόλεων μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰς δυνάμεις, νομίζειν δὲ
cities rather to-consider than the powers to-think but
 τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν
the expedition that greatest indeed to-have-been of-the(-ones)
 πρὸ αὐτῆς, λειπομένην δὲ τῶν νῦν, τῇ Ὀμήρου αὖ
before it falling-short but of-the(-ones) now to-the of-Homer again
 ποιήσει εἴ τι χρή κἀνταῦθα πιστεύειν, ἣν εἰκὸς
poetry if at-all one-must here-too to-trust which (it-is)-likely
 ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον μὲν ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσμήσαι, ὅμως δὲ
to the greater indeed a-poet being to-have-embellished nevertheless but
 φαίνεται καὶ οὕτως ἐνδεεστέρα.
it-appears even so more-deficient

- 10.4 πεποίηκε γὰρ χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων νεῶν τὰς μὲν
be-has-represented for of-a-thousand and two-hundred ships the(-ones) indeed
 Βοιωτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν, τὰς δὲ Φιλοκτῆτου
of-Boeotians twenty and a-hundred men the(-ones) and of-Philoctetes
 πεντήκοντα, δηλῶν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὰς μεγίστας καὶ
fifty showing as to-me it-seems the largest and
 ἐλαχίστας· ἄλλων γοῦν μεγέθους περί ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ
smallest of-others at-any-rate size about in (the)-ships' catalog
 οὐκ ἐμνήσθη. αὐτερέται δὲ ὅτι ἦσαν καὶ μάχιοι πάντες,
not be-made-mention rowers-themselves and that they-were and fighters all
 ἐν ταῖς Φιλοκτῆτου ναυσὶ δεδήλωκεν· τοξότας γὰρ πάντας
in the of-Philoctetes ships be-has-shown archers for all
 πεποίηκε τοὺς προσκώπους. περίνεως δὲ οὐκ εἰκὸς
be-has-represented the oarsmen supernumeraries and not (is-it)-likely
 πολλοὺς ξυμπλεῖν ἔξω τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐν
many to-sail-with except the kings and those most in
 τέλει, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλοντας πέλαγος περαιώσεσθαι μετὰ
office especially both and being-about sea to-cross with
 σκευῶν πολεμικῶν, οὐδ' αὖ τὰ πλοῖα κατάφαρκα ἔχοντας,
gear military nor again the vessels decked having
 ἀλλὰ τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ληστικώτερον παρεσκευασμένα.
but in-the ancient manner more-piratically equipped
- 10.5 πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας δ' οὖν καὶ ἐλαχίστας ναῦς τὸ
toward the largest and at-any-rate and smallest ships the
 μέσον σκοποῦντι οὐ πολλοὶ φαίνονται ἐλθόντες, ὡς ἀπὸ
mean to-one-considering not many appear having-come as from
 πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινῇ πεμπόμενοι.
all — Greece in-common being-sent
- 11.1 αἴτιον δ' ἦν οὐχ ἡ ὀλιγανθρωπία τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἡ
(the)-cause and was not the scarcity-of-men so-much as the
 ἀχρηματία. τῆς γὰρ τροφῆς ἀπορία τὸν τε στρατὸν
lack-of-money of-the for provisions through-want the both army

ἐλάσσω ἤγαγον καὶ ὅσον ἤλπιζον αὐτόθεν πολεμοῦντα
smaller they-led and as-large-as they-hoped there making-war
 βιοτεύσειν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν (δῆλον
to-live-off when but having-arrived in-battle they-prevailed (it-is)-clear
 δέ· τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐτειχίσαντο),
and the for fortification for-the camp not — would-they-have-built
 φαίνονται δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι,
they-appear but not-even there all the force having-used
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπόμενοι καὶ
but to farming of-the Chersonese having-turned and
 ληστείαν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορία. ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ
piracy of-the provisions through-want by-which also more the
 Τρῶες αὐτῶν διεσπαρμένων τὰ δέκα ἔτη ἀντείχον βία,
Trojans of-them scattered the ten years held-out by-force
 τοῖς αἰεὶ ὑπολειπομένοις ἀντίπαλοι ὄντες.

to-those always left-behind equal-in-strength being
 περιουσίαν δὲ εἰ ἦλθον ἔχοντες τροφῆς καὶ ὄντες 11.2
abundance but if they-had-come having of-provisions and being
 ἄθροοι ἄνευ ληστείας καὶ γεωργίας ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον
in-a-body without piracy and farming continuously the war
 διέφερον, ραδίως ἂν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες εἶλον,
had-carried-on easily — in-battle prevailing they-would-have-taken(-it)
 οἳ γε καὶ οὐχ ἄθροοι, ἀλλὰ μέρει τῷ αἰεὶ παρόντι
they at-least even not in-a-body but with-a-part the(-one) always present
 ἀντείχον, πολιορκία δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐν ἐλάσσονί
held-out by-siege and — sitting-down in less
 τε χρόνῳ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν Τροίαν εἶλον.

both time and with-less-toil — Troy they-would-have-taken
 ἀλλὰ δι' ἀχρηματίαν τά τε πρὸ τούτων ἀσθενῇ 11.3
but because-of lack-of-money the(-things) both before these weak
 ἦν καὶ αὐτά γε δὴ ταῦτα, ὀνομαστότατα τῶν
were and themselves at-least indeed these most-famous of-the(-things)

πρὶν γενόμενα, δηλοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδέεστερα ὄντα
before having-happened are-shown by-the deeds inferior being
 τῆς φήμης καὶ τοῦ νῦν περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς
to-the fame and the now about them through the poets
 λόγου κατεσχηκότος·
account having-prevailed

IV · AFTER TROY

Even after Troy Greece was unsettled: the Boeotians were driven from Arne in the sixtieth year and the Dorians took the Peloponnese in the eightieth; only after long unrest did colonies go out to Ionia, the islands, Italy, and Sicily. Wealth brought tyrannies and navies. Corinth built the first triremes, fought the oldest known sea battle, against Corcyra, and grew rich on trade; the Ionians, Polycrates, and the Phocaeans followed. Only Sicily's tyrants and Corcyra had many triremes before Xerxes, and Athens built its fleet late, at Themistocles' urging.

- 12.1 ἐπεὶ καὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἔτι μετανίστατό τε
since even after the Trojan(-war) — Greece still was-migrating both
 καὶ κατωκίζετο, ὥστε μὴ ἡσυχάσασαν αὐξηθῆναι.
and was-being-settled so-that not having-rested to-grow
- 12.2 ἣ τε γὰρ ἀναχώρησις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξ Ἰλίου χρονία
the both for return of-the Greeks from Ilium late
 γενομένη πολλὰ ἐνεόχμωσε, καὶ στάσεις ἐν ταῖς
having-taken-place many(-changes) caused and factions in the
 πόλεσιν ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγίνοντο, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκπίπτοντες
cities for the most(-part) arose from which being-expelled
 τὰς πόλεις ἔκτιζον.
the cities they-founded

Βοιωτοί τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου 12.3

Boeotians both for the now in-the-sixtieth year after of-Ilium

ἄλωσιν ἐξ Ἄρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν

(the)-capture from Arne having-been-driven-out by Thessalians the now

μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην

indeed Boeotia formerly and Cadmeian land called

ᾠκισαν (ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ

settled was and of-them also a-portion formerly in — land

ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν), Δωριῆς τε

this from which also to Ilium they-campaigned Dorians and

ὀγδοηκοστῷ ἔτει ξὺν Ἡρακλείδαις Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον.

in-the-eightieth year with (the)-Heraclidae Peloponnese occupied

μόλις τε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἡσυχάσασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς 12.4

with-difficulty and in much time having-rested — Greece

βεβαίως καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνισταμένη ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψε, καὶ

securely and no-longer being-uprooted colonies sent-out and

Ἴωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ νησιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ᾠκισαν,

Ionians indeed Athenians and of-islanders the most settled

Ἰταλίας δὲ καὶ Σικελίας τὸ πλεῖστον Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς

of-Italy and and of-Sicily the most(-part) Peloponnesians of-the

τε ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἔστιν ἃ χωρία. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα

and rest-of Greece some-of which places all and these

ὔστερον τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐκτίσθη.

later than-the Trojan(-war) were-founded

δυνατωτέρας δὲ γιγνομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν 13.1

more-powerful and becoming — Greece and of-the

χρημάτων τὴν κτῆσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ποιουμένης

money the acquisition still more than before making

τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίσταντο, τῶν

for-the most(-part) tyrannies in the cities were-established the

προσόδων μειζόνων γιγνομένων (πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ

revenues greater becoming formerly and there-were on

ρήτοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι), ναυτικά τε ἐξηρτύετο

fixed prerogatives hereditary kingships navies and fitted-out

ἡ Ἑλλάς, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντείχοντο.

— Greece and of-the sea more they-laid-hold

- 13.2 πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι λέγονται ἐγγύτατα τοῦ νῦν τρόπου

first and (the)-Corinthians are-said nearest to-the present manner

μεταχειρίσαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τριῖρεις ἐν

to-have-handled the(-matters) about the ships and triremes in

Κορίνθῳ πρῶτον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ναυπηγηθῆναι.

Corinth first — of-Greece to-have-been-built

- 13.3 φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμίοις Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγὸς

it-appears and also for-Samians Ameinocles (a)-Corinthian shipwright

ναῦς ποιήσας τέσσαρας· ἔτη δ' ἐστὶ μάλιστα τριακόσια

ships having-made four years and it-is about three-hundred

ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς

to the end of-this — war when Ameinocles

Σαμίοις ἦλθεν.

to-the-Samians came

- 13.4 ναυμαχία τε παλαιτάτη ὣν ἴσμεν γίγνεται Κορινθίων

(a)-sea-battle and most-ancient of-which we-know takes-place of-Corinthians

πρὸς Κερκυραίους· ἔτη δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ταύτῃ ἐξήκοντα

against Corcyraeans years and about also to-this sixty

καὶ διακόσιά ἐστι μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου.

and two-hundred it-is until the same time

- 13.5 οἰκοῦντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ

inhabiting for the city the Corinthians on the Isthmus

αἰεὶ δὴ ποτε ἐμπόριον εἶχον, τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ πάλαι

always indeed ever a-mart they-had the Greeks — of-old

κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τῶν τε ἐντὸς

by land the more than by sea those both within

Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν ἔξω, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων παρ'

Peloponnese and those outside through the of-them with

ἀλλήλους ἐπιμισγόντων, χρήμασί τε δυνατοὶ ἦσαν, ὥς καὶ
one-another mingling in-money and powerful they-were as also
 τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποιηταῖς δεδήλωται ἀφνειὸν γὰρ ἐπωνόμασαν
by-the ancient poets it-has-been-shown wealthy for they-named
 τὸ χωρίον. ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον ἔπλωζον, τὰς ναῦς
the place when and the Greeks more sailed the ships
 κτησάμενοι τὸ ληστικὸν καθήρουν, καὶ ἐμπόριον παρέχοντες
having-acquired the piracy they-put-down and a-mart providing
 ἀμφοτέρα δυνατὴν ἔσχον χρημάτων προσόδῳ τὴν πόλιν.
both(-ways) powerful they-had of-money by-revenue the city
 καὶ Ἴωσιν ὕστερον πολὺ γίγνεται ναυτικὸν ἐπὶ
and to-Ionians later much arises (a)-navy in-the-time-of
 Κύρου Περσῶν πρώτου βασιλεύοντος καὶ Καμβύσου τοῦ
Cyrus of-Persians first reigning and of-Cambyses the
 υἱέος αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς θαλάσσης Κύρω
son of-him of-the both along themselves sea against-Cyrus
 πολεμοῦντες ἐκράτησάν τινα χρόνον. καὶ Πολυκράτης
warring they-controlled some time and Polycrates
 Σάμου τυρανῶν ἐπὶ Καμβύσου ναυτικῶ ἰσχύων
of-Samos being-tyrant in-the-time-of Cambyses by-navy being-strong
 ἄλλας τε τῶν νήσων ὑπηκόους ἐποιήσατο καὶ Ῥήνειαν
others both of-the islands subject made and Rheneia
 ἐλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ. Φωκαῆς τε
having-taken dedicated(-it) — to-Apollo the Delian Phocaeans and
 Μασσαλίαν οἰκίζοντες Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες·
Massalia founding Carthaginians defeated fighting-at-sea
 δυνατώτατα γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν ναυτικῶν ἦν. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ
most-powerful for these of-the navies were it-appears and also
 ταῦτα πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερα γενόμενα τῶν Τρωικῶν
these many generations later having-come than-the Trojan(-war)

13.6

14.1

τριήρεσι μὲν ὀλίγαις χρώμενα, πεντηκοντόροις δ' ἔτι καὶ
triremes indeed few using with-penteconters and still and
 πλοίοις μακροῖς ἐξηρτυμένα ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα.

with-ships long equipped just-as those

- 14.2 ὀλίγον τε πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου,
a-little both before the Persian(-war) and the of-Darius death

ὃς μετὰ Καμβύσῃν Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσε, τριήρεις περί
who after Cambyses of-Persians reigned triremes about

τε Σικελίαν τοῖς τυράννοις ἐς πλῆθος ἐγένοντο καὶ
both Sicily to-the tyrants in number arose and

Κερκυραίοις· ταῦτα γὰρ τελευταῖα πρὸ τῆς Ξέρξου
to-Corcyraeans these for (the)-last before the of-Xerxes

στρατείας ναυτικά ἀξιόλογα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατέστη.
expedition navies considerable in — Greece were-established

- 14.3 Αἰγινῆται γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι, βραχέα
Aeginetans for and Athenians and if any others small(-navies)

ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ πεντηκοντόρους· ὁψέ
bad-acquired and of-these the most(-part) penteconters late

τε ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπεισεν Αἰγινῆταις
and from when Athenians Themistocles persuaded against-Aeginetans

πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου
warring and at-the-same-time the barbarian expected

ὄντος, τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι αἰσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν·
being the ships to-make with-which-indeed also they-fought-at-sea

καὶ αὗται οὐπω εἶχον διὰ πάσης καταστρώματα.
and these not-yet had through all decks

Navies brought the Greeks power, but no land war did: each city fought its neighbors, and only the old war of Chalcis and Eretria divided the rest of Greece. Persia subdued Ionia; the tyrants looked only to their own safety until Sparta, well governed and never under a tyrant, put them down. Ten years after Marathon the barbarian came again; Sparta led the Greeks, and the Athenians took to their ships. Then Greece split: Sparta ruled untaxed allies through oligarchies, Athens took its allies' ships and money, and both entered this war stronger than at the alliance's height.

τὰ μὲν οὖν ναυτικὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοιαῦτα ἦν, τὰ τε 15.1
the indeed therefore navies of-the Greeks such were the both
 παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ὕστερον γενόμενα. ἰσχὺν δὲ περιεποιήσαντο
ancient and the later having-arisen strength but they-acquired
 ὁμως οὐκ ἐλαχίστην οἱ προσσχόντες αὐτοῖς χρημάτων
nevertheless not (the)-least those having-applied to-them of-money
 τε προσόδῳ καὶ ἄλλων ἀρχῇ· ἐπιπλέοντες γὰρ τὰς νήσους
both by-revenue and of-others by-rule sailing-against for the islands
 κατεστρέφοντο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι μὴ διαρκῇ εἶχον χώραν.
they-subdued(-them) and especially as-many-as not sufficient had land
 κατὰ γῆν δὲ πόλεμος, ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παρεγένετο, 15.2
by land but war from-which any also power accrued
 οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη· πάντες δὲ ἦσαν, ὅσοι καὶ ἐγένοντο,
none arose all but were as-many-as also arose
 πρὸς ὁμόρους τοὺς σφετέρους ἐκάστοις, καὶ ἐκδήμους
against neighbors the own for-each(-people) and foreign
 στρατείας πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐπ' ἄλλων καταστροφῇ
expeditions far from the own(-land) for others' subjugation
 οὐκ ἐξῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες. οὐ γὰρ ξυνειστήκεσαν πρὸς
not went-out the Greeks not for had-combined with
 τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις ὑπήκοοι, οὐδ' αὖ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
the greatest cities (as)-subjects nor again themselves on —

ἴσης κοινὰς στρατείας ἐποιοῦντο, κατ' ἀλλήλους δὲ
equal(-terms) joint expeditions they-made against one-another but
 μᾶλλον ὥς ἕκαστοι οἱ ἀστυγείτονες ἐπολέμουν.

rather as severally the neighbors they-warred

- 15.3 μάλιστα δὲ ἐς τὸν πάλαι ποτὲ γενόμενον πόλεμον
most and for the long-ago once having-occurred war

Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ἑρετριῶν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ἐς
of-Chalcidians and of-Eretrians also the rest-of Greek(-world) for
 ζυμμαχίαν ἐκατέρων διέστη.

alliance with-each-side divided

- 16.1 ἐπεγένετο δὲ ἄλλοις τε ἄλλοθι κωλύματα μὴ αὐξηθῆναι,
arose and for-others both elsewhere hindrances — to-grow

καὶ Ἴωσι προχωρησάντων ἐπὶ μέγα τῶν πραγμάτων
and against-Ionians having-advanced to greatness the affairs

Κῦρος καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ βασιλεία Κροῖσον καθελοῦσα καὶ
Cyrus and the Persian kingship Croesus having-overthrown and

ὅσα ἐντὸς Ἑλίου ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἐπεστράτευσεν
as-much-as within (the)-Halys river toward (the)-sea attacked

καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλεις ἐδούλωσεν, Δαρείος τε
and the on the mainland cities enslaved Darius and

ὑστερον τῷ Φοινίκων ναυτικῷ κρατῶν καὶ τὰς νήσους.
later with-the of-Phoenicians navy controlling also the islands

- 17.1 τύραννοί τε ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσι,
tyrants and as-many-as were in the Greek cities

τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν μόνον προορώμενοι ἔς τε τὸ σῶμα
the(-interest) for themselves only looking-to to both the person

καὶ ἐς τὸ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον αὔξειν δι' ἀσφαλείας ὅσον
and to — the own house to-increase with safety as-much-as

ἐδύναντο μάλιστα τὰς πόλεις ᾤκουν, ἐπράχθη δὲ οὐδὲν
they-could most the cities governed was-done and nothing

ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔργον ἀξιόλογον, εἰ μὴ εἴ τι πρὸς
by them deed noteworthy if not if something against

περιοίκους τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάστοις· οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ
neighbors the of-themselves for-each those for in Sicily to
 πλείστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως. οὕτω πανταχόθεν ἢ
(the)-greatest(-degree) advanced of-power thus from-all-sides —
 Ἑλλὰς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον κατείχετο μήτε κοινῇ φανερόν
Greece for long time was-held-back neither in-common manifest
 μηδὲν κατεργάζεσθαι, κατὰ πόλεις τε ἀτολμοτέρα εἶναι.
anything to-achieve by cities and more-timid to-be
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ τε Ἀθηναίων τύραννοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης 18.1
when but the both of-Athenians tyrants and those from the rest-of
 Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ πρὶν τυραννεύσεως οἱ πλείστοι
Greece for long even before tyrannized the most
 καὶ τελευταῖοι πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων
and last except those in Sicily by Lacedaemonians
 κατελύθησαν (ἢ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τῶν
were-put-down — for Lacedaemon after the settlement of-the
 νῦν ἐνοικούντων αὐτὴν Δωριῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον ὧν
now inhabiting it Dorians for longest of-which
 ἴσμεν χρόνον στασιάσασα ὅμως ἐκ παλαιάτου
we-know time having-been-in-faction nevertheless from most-ancient(-times)
 καὶ ἡννομήθη καὶ αἰεὶ ἀτυράννευτος ἦν· ἔτη γὰρ ἔστι
both was-well-governed and always untyrannized was years for it-is
 μάλιστα τετρακόσια καὶ ὀλίγω πλείω ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν
about four-hundred and a-little more to the end
 τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἀφ' οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ
of-this — war from when Lacedaemonians the same constitution
 χρῶνται, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ δυνάμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς
use and because-of it being-powerful also the(-affairs) in the
 ἄλλαις πόλεσι καθίστασαν), μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν τυράννων
other cities they-settled after and the of-the tyrants

κατάλυσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον καὶ
overthrow from — Greece not many years later also

ἢ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ Μήδων πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐγένετο.

the at Marathon battle of-Medes against Athenians took-place

18.2 δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετ' αὐτὴν αὖθις ὁ βάρβαρος τῷ

in-the-tenth and year after it again the barbarian with-the

μεγάλῳ στόλῳ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δουλωσόμενος ἦλθεν. καὶ

great armament against — Greece to-enslave(-it) came and

μεγάλου κινδύνου ἐπικρεμασθέντος οἱ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν

great danger impending the both Lacedaemonians of-the

ξυμπολεμησάντων Ἑλλήνων ἡγήσαντο δυνάμει προύχοντες,

having-fought-together Greeks led in-power excelling

καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιόντων τῶν Μήδων διανοηθέντες ἐκλιπεῖν

and the Athenians advancing the Medes having-resolved to-abandon

τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀνασκευασάμενοι εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβάντες

the city and having-packed-up into the ships having-embarked

ναυτικοὶ ἐγένοντο. κοινῇ τε ἀπωσάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον,

seamen became in-common and having-repelled the barbarian

ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ διεκρίθησαν πρὸς τε Ἀθηναίους καὶ

later not much they-were-divided toward both Athenians and

Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ τε ἀποστάντες βασιλέως Ἑλλήνες καὶ

Lacedaemonians those both having-revolted from-(the)-king Greeks and

οἱ ξυμπολεμήσαντες. δυνάμει γὰρ ταῦτα μέγιστα διεφάνη·

those having-fought-together in-power for these greatest appeared

ἰσχυον γὰρ οἱ μὲν κατὰ γῆν, οἱ δὲ ναυσίν.

were-strong for the-one indeed by land the-other and in-ships

18.3 καὶ ὀλίγον μὲν χρόνον ξυνέμεινεν ἡ ὁμαιχμία, ἔπειτα

and little indeed time held-together the war-alliance then

διενεχθέντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπολέμησαν

having-quarreled the Lacedaemonians and Athenians warred

μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

with the allies against one-another and of-the other

Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινές που διασταίεν, πρὸς τούτους ἤδη
Greeks if any somewhere fell-out to these already
 ἐχώρουν. ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἐς τόνδε αἰεὶ τὸν
they-went so-that from the Persian(-war) to this continually the
 πόλεμον τὰ μὲν σπενδόμενοι, τὰ δὲ πολεμοῦντες
war at-times indeed making-treaties at-times and warring
 ἢ ἀλλήλοις ἢ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ξυμμάχοις ἀφισταμένοις
either with-one-another or with-the own allies revolting
 εὖ παρεσκευάσαντο τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἐμπειρότεροι
well they-prepared the(-things) of-war and more-experienced
 ἐγένοντο μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιούμενοι.
became with dangers the exercises making
 καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἔχοντες φόρου 19.1
and the indeed Lacedaemonians not subject having to-tribute
 τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἡγοῦντο, κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς
the allies led by oligarchy but for-them selves
 μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσουσι θεραπεύοντες,
only suitably how they-should-be-governed taking-care
 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ναὺς τε τῶν πόλεων τῷ χρόνῳ παραλαβόντες
Athenians and ships both of-the cities in-the time having-taken-over
 πλὴν Χίων καὶ Λεσβίων, καὶ χρήματα τοῖς πᾶσι τάξαντες
except Chians and Lesbians and money to-the all having-assessed
 φέρειν. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἢ
to-pay and was to-them for this the war the
 ἰδία παρασκευὴ μείζων ἢ ὥς τὰ κράτιστά ποτε μετὰ
own armament greater than when at-the strongest ever with
 ἀκραιφνοῦς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἤνθησαν.
intact the alliance they-flourished

Men accept traditions untested: Athenians think Hipparchus was tyrant when Harmodius and Aristogeiton killed him, though Hippias, the eldest, ruled. Thucydides' findings rest on evidence, surer than poets or chroniclers. The speeches give what each speaker would have had to say, close to the gist of what was said; the events come from his own witness or others', checked as accurately as possible. The work, lacking fable, may please less but is useful, a possession for all time. This war surpassed all in suffering. The truest cause, least spoken of, was that Athens' growth frightened Sparta into war.

- 20.1 τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα ἦϋρον, χαλεπὰ ὄντα
the indeed therefore ancient(-things) such I-found difficult being
 παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσαι. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰς
every in-turn piece-of-evidence to-trust the for men the
 ἀκοὰς τῶν προγεγεννημένων, καὶ ἢν ἐπιχώρια σφίσιν ἦ,
reports of-the (things)-that-happened-before even if native to-them be
 ὁμοίως ἀβασανίστως παρ' ἀλλήλων δέχονται.
alike without-testing from one-another they-accept
- 20.2 Ἀθηναίων γοῦν τὸ πλῆθος Ἱππαρχον οἴονται ὑφ'
of-Athenians at-any-rate the multitude Hipparchus think by
 Ἄρμοδιου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος τύραννον ὄντα ἀποθανεῖν,
Harmodius and Aristogeiton tyrant being to-have-been-killed
 καὶ οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι Ἱππίας μὲν πρεσβύτατος ὢν ἦρχε
and not they-know that Hippias indeed eldest being ruled
 τῶν Πεισιστράτου υἱέων, Ἱππαρχος δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλὸς
of-the of-Pisistratus sons Hipparchus but and Thessalus
 ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ὑποτοπήσαντες δέ τι ἐκείνῃ
brothers were of-him having-suspected but something on-that
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ παραχρῆμα Ἄρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων
— day and on-the-spot Harmodius and Aristogeiton
 ἐκ τῶν ξυνειδότην σφίσιν Ἱππία μεμνηῦσθαι τοῦ
from those in-the-secret with-them to-Hippias to-have-been-disclosed him

μὲν ἀπέσχοντο ὡς προειδότες, βουλόμενοι δὲ πρὶν
indeed they-kept-off-from as forewarned wishing but before
ξυλληφθῆναι δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι, τῷ
being-arrested having-done something and to-run-the-risk —
Ἱππάρχῳ περιτυχόντες περὶ τὸ Λεωκόρειον καλούμενον
Hipparchus having-fallen-in-with about the Leocorion called
τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπὴν διακοσμοῦντι ἀπέκτειναν.

the Panathenaic procession marshaling they-killed
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὄντα καὶ οὐ χρόνῳ 20.3
many and also other(-things) still even now being and not by-time
ἀμνηστούμενα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴονται,
forgotten also the other Greeks not rightly think
ὥσπερ τοὺς τε Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέας μὴ μιᾷ ψήφῳ
just-as the both of-Lacedaemonians kings not with-one vote
προστίθεσθαι ἑκάτερον, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν, καὶ τὸν Πιτανάτην
to-add each but with-two and the Pitonate
λόχον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὃς οὐδ' ἐγένετο πώποτε. οὕτως
company to-them to-be which not-even existed ever so
ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἢ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ
without-pains for-the many the search for-the truth and
ἐπὶ τὰ ἐτοῖμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται.

to the (things)-at-hand rather they-turn
ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὅμως τοιαῦτα ἂν τις 21.1
from but the mentioned evidences nevertheless such — one
νομίζων μάλιστα ἃ διήλθον οὐχ ἁμαρτάνοι, καὶ οὔτε
considering most which I-have-gone-through not would-err and neither
ὥς ποιηταὶ ὑμνῆκασιν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον κοσμοῦντες
as poets have-sung about them to the greater embellishing
μᾶλλον πιστεύων, οὔτε ὥς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ
rather trusting nor as prose-writers composed to
τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, ὄντα
the more-attractive to-the hearing than truer being

ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως
unverifiable and the most(-part) by time of-them untrustworthily
 ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνενικηκότα, ἡρῆσθαι δὲ ἡγησάμενος
to the fabulous having-won-their-way to-have-been-found but considering
 ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων ὥς παλαιὰ εἶναι
from the most-manifest signs as ancient(-things) to-be
 ἀποχρώντως.

sufficiently

- 21.2 καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος, καίπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ᾧ
and the war this although the men in which
 μὲν ἂν πολεμῶσι τὸν παρόντα αἰεὶ μέγιστον κρινόντων,
indeed — they-are-warring the present always greatest judging
 παυσαμένων δὲ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μᾶλλον θαυμαζόντων, ἀπ’
having-ceased and the ancient(-events) rather admiring from
 αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦσι δηλώσει ὅμως μείζων
the-very — deeds to-those-considering will-show nevertheless greater
 γεγεννημένους αὐτῶν.

having-been than-them

- 22.1 καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι ἢ μέλλοντες
and as-much-as indeed in-speech said each either being-about
 πολεμήσειν ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν
to-war or in it already being difficult the accuracy
 αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῦσαι ἦν ἐμοί τε
itself of-the (things)-spoken to-remember was for-me both
 ὧν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθεν ποθεν
(of-those)-which myself I-heard and for-the (ones)-from-elsewhere somewhere
 ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὥς δ’ ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἕκαστοι περὶ
to-me reporting as but — seemed to-me each about
 τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν,
the ever present(-circumstances) the (things)-needful most would-have-said

ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν
 holding as closely-as-possible to-the whole purport of-the
 ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται.

truly spoken(-words) so it-has-been-said

τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ 22.2

the but deeds of-the (things)-done in the war not from the
 παρατυχόντος πυνθανόμενος ἡξίωσα γράφειν, οὐδ' ὥς ἐμοὶ
 chance(-informant) learning I-thought-fit to-write nor as to-me

ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν καὶ παρὰ τῶν

it-seemed but (those)-at-which both myself I-was-present and from the
 ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατὸν ἀκριβεῖα περὶ ἐκάστου ἐπεξελθών.

others as-far-as possible with-accuracy about each having-gone-through

ἐπιπόνως δὲ ἡρίσκετο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις 22.3

laboriously and it-was-found because those present at-the deeds

ἐκάστοις οὐ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ'

each not the-same(-things) about the same(-things) said but

ὥς ἐκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι.

as for-either-side one of-goodwill or of-memory had

καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν 22.4

and for indeed bearing perhaps the not fabulous(-element) of-them

ἀτερπέστερον φανεῖται· ὅσοι δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν τε

less-delightful will-appear as-many-as but will-wish of-the both

γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων

having-happened(-events) the clear(-truth) to-consider and of-the (things)-about-to

ποτὲ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοιούτων καὶ

ever again according-to the human(-condition) such and

παραπλησίῳ ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως

similar to-be useful to-judge them sufficiently

ἔξει. κτημὰ τε ἐς αἰὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ

it-will-be a-possession and for always rather than a-prize-piece for the

παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται.

moment to-bear it-is-composed

- 23.1 τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μηδικόν,
of-the and former deeds greatest was-done the Persian(-war)
 καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως δυοῖν ναυμαχίαι καὶ πεζομαχίαι
and this nevertheless in-two sea-battles and land-battles
 ταχείαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχεν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκος
quick the decision had of-this but — war (the)-length
 τε μέγα προύβη, παθήματά τε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν
both great went-on sufferings and happened to-take-place in
 αὐτῷ τῇ Ἑλλάδι οἷα οὐχ ἕτερα ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ.
it — for-Greece such-as not others in equal time
- 23.2 οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις τοσαῖδε ληφθεῖσαι ἡρμώθησαν, αἱ μὲν
neither for cities so-many captured were-desolated some indeed
 ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, αἱ δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων
by barbarians others and by them selves warring-against(-each-other)
 (εἰσὶ δ' αἱ καὶ οἰκήτορας μετέβαλον ἀλισκόμεναι),
there-are and (some)-which also inhabitants changed being-captured
 οὔτε φυγαὶ τοσαῖδε ἀνθρώπων καὶ φόνος, ὁ μὲν
nor exiles so-many of-men and slaughter the(-one) indeed
 κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον, ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν.
in the-very — war the(-other) and because-of — being-in-faction
- 23.3 τά τε πρότερον ἀκοῇ μὲν λεγόμενα, ἔργῳ δὲ
the(-things) both formerly by-bearsay indeed told in-fact but
 σπανιώτερον βεβαιούμενα οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη, σεισμῶν
more-rarely confirmed not incredible became of-earthquakes
 τε πέρι, οἷ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἅμα μέρος γῆς καὶ
both about which over (the)-largest at-once part of-earth and
 ἰσχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπέσχον, ἡλίου τε ἐκλείψεις,
most-violent the same prevailed of-(the)-sun both eclipses
 αἱ πυκνότεραι παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου
which more-frequent compared-with the(-things) from the former time
 μνημονευόμενα ξυνέβησαν, αὐχμοὶ τε ἔστι παρ' οἷς
remembered occurred droughts both there-are among whom

μεγάλοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ ἡ οὐχ ἥκιστα
great and from them also famines and the not least
 βλάβισα καὶ μέρος τι φθείρασα ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος·
having-harmed and a-part some having-destroyed the pestilential disease
 ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μετὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἅμα ξυνεπέθετο.

these for all with this — war at-once attacked
 ἤρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι λύσαντες 23.4

began and it Athenians and Peloponnesians having-broken

τὰς τριακοντούτεις σπονδὰς αἱ αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μετὰ
the thirty-years treaty which to-them was-made after

Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν.

of-Euboea (the)-capture

διότι δ' ἔλυσαν, τὰς αἰτίας προύγραψα πρῶτον 23.5

why and they-broke(-it) the grievances I-have-written-beforehand first

καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μή τινα ζητῆσαί ποτε ἐξ ὅτου
and the differences for-the not anyone to-see ever from what

τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστη.

so-great war for-the Greeks arose

τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, 23.6

the indeed for truest cause least-evident but in-speech

τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον

the Athenians I-consider great becoming and fear

παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν·

causing to-the Lacedaemonians to-have-compelled to — warring

αἱ δ' ἐς τὸ φανερόν λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι αἰδ' ἦσαν ἐκατέρων,

the but in the open spoken grievances these were of-each-side

ἀφ' ὧν λύσαντες τὰς σπονδὰς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν.

from which having-broken the treaty into the war they-entered

Epidamnus, a colony of Corcyra founded by the Corinthian Phalius, grows great, then falls into faction and war with the barbarians. The people drive out the powerful, who join the barbarians and plunder the city. Corcyra refuses its colony's plea, so Epidamnus asks Delphi, which tells it to give itself to Corinth. Corinth accepts, from justice and from hatred of Corcyra, a rich naval power that slights its mother city, and sends settlers and a garrison overland. Corcyra, angry, besieges Epidamnus with the exiles and the Illyrians.

- 24.1 Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι ἐς τὸν Ἴόνιον
Epidamnus is a-city on (the)-right to-one-sailing-in into the Ionian
 κόλπον· προσοικοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ταυλάντιοι βάρβαροι,
gulf dwell-near and it Taulantians barbarians
 Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος.

an-Illyrian people

- 24.2 ταύτην ἀπώκισαν μὲν Κερκυραῖοι, οἰκιστὴς δ' ἐγένετο
this colonized indeed Corcyraeans founder and was
 Φαλῖος Ἐρατοκλείδου Κορίνθιος γένος τῶν ἀφ'
Phalius (son)-of-Eratocleides (a)-Corinthian by-descent of-those from
 Ἡρακλέους, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἐκ τῆς
Heracles according-to indeed the ancient custom from the
 μητροπόλεως κατακληθεῖς. ξυνώκισαν δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων
mother-city called-in joined-in-the-settlement and also of-Corinthians
 τινὲς καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου Δωρικοῦ γένους.

some and of-the other Dorian race

- 24.3 προελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων
having-advanced and the time became the of-the Epidamnians
 δύναμις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος·
power great and populous

στασιάσαντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔτη πολλά, ὡς λέγεται, 24.4

having-been-in-faction and among one-another years many as it-is-said
 ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων ἐφθάρησαν
from a-war some of-the neighboring barbarians they-were-ruined
 καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς πολλῆς ἐστερήθησαν.

and of-the power the great were-deprived

τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὁ δῆμος 24.5

the(-things) and last before this — war the people
 αὐτῶν ἐξεδίωξε τοὺς δυνατοὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες μετὰ
of-them drove-out the powerful(-men) they and having-attacked with
 τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλήζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατὰ τε γῆν
the barbarians plundered those in the city by both land
 καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

and by sea

οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντες Ἐπιδάμνιοι ἐπειδὴ ἐπιέζοντο, 24.6

the and in the city being Epidamnians when they-were-hard-pressed
 πέμπουσιν εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν πρέσβεις ὡς μητρόπολιν
send to — Corcyra envoys as mother-city

οὔσαν, δεόμενοι μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν φθειρομένους, ἀλλὰ
being begging not them to-overlook being-destroyed but

τούς τε φεύγοντας ξυναλλάξαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν τῶν
the both exiles to-reconcile to-themselves and the of-the
 βαρβάρων πόλεμον καταλῦσαι.

barbarians war to-end

ταῦτα δὲ ἰκέται καθεζόμενοι εἰς τὸ Ἡραεῖον ἐδέοντο. οἱ 24.7

these(-things) and suppliants sitting-down at the Heraeum they-begged the
 δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν ἰκετείαν οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἀπράκτους
but Corcyraeans the supplication not accepted but unsuccessful

ἀπέπεμψαν.

sent(-them)-away

25.1 γνόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν ἀπὸ
having-recognized and the Epidamnians no to-them from
 Κερκύρας τιμωρίαν οὔσαν ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχοντο θέσθαι τὸ
Corcyra help being in perplexity they-were to-deal-with the
 παρόν, καὶ πέμψαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπήροντο
present(-situation) and having-sent to Delphi the god asked
 εἰ παραδοῖεν Κορινθίοις τὴν πόλιν ὥς οἰκισταῖς
whether they-should-hand-over to-Corinthians the city as to-founders
 καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ πειρῶντ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δ'
and help some they-should-try from them to-get he and
 αὐτοῖς ἀνείλε παραδοῦναι καὶ ἡγεμόνας ποιεῖσθαι.
to-them ordained to-hand-over(-it) and leaders to-make(-them)

25.2 ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον κατὰ
having-gone and the Epidamnians to — Corinth according-to
 τὸ μαντεῖον παρέδοσαν τὴν ἀποικίαν, τὸν τε οἰκιστὴν
the oracle handed-over the colony the both founder
 ἀποδεικνύντες σφῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὄντα καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον
pointing-out of-them from Corinth being and the oracle
 δηλοῦντες, ἐδέοντό τε μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν φθειρομένους,
showing they-begged and not them to-overlook being-destroyed
 ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι.
but to-help(-them)

25.3 Κορίνθιοι δὲ κατὰ τε τὸ δίκαιον ὑπεδέξαντο
Corinthians and in-accordance-with both the just undertook
 τὴν τιμωρίαν, νομίζοντες οὐχ ἥσσον ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὴν
the help thinking not less their-own to-be the
 ἀποικίαν ἢ Κερκυραίων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μίσει τῶν
colony than of-Corcyraeans at-the-same-time and also from-hatred of-the
 Κερκυραίων, ὅτι αὐτῶν παρημέλουν ὄντες ἄποικοι.
Corcyraeans because them they-neglected being colonists

οὔτε γὰρ ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς διδόντες γέρα τὰ 25.4
neither for in festivals the common giving privileges the
 νομιζόμενα οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν
customary nor to-a-Corinthian man beginning of-the
 ἱερῶν ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι, περιφρονοῦντες δὲ αὐτοὺς
sacrifices as the other colonies despising and them
 καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον
both of-money in-power being at that — time
 ὁμοῖα τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον
equal to-the of-Greeks richest and in-the for war
 παρασκευῇ δυνατώτεροι, ναυτικῶ δὲ καὶ πολὺ προύχειν
preparation more-powerful in-navy and even much to-excel
 ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τὴν Φαιάκων
(there-are)-times when exalted also because-of the of-Phaeacians
 προενοίκησιν τῆς Κερκύρας κλέος ἔχόντων τὰ περὶ
former-habitation — of-Corcyra fame having the(-matters) about
 τὰς ναῦς (ἧ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξηρτύοντο τὸ ναυτικὸν
the ships wherefore also rather they-equipped the navy
 καὶ ἦσαν οὐκ ἀδύνατοι· τριήρεις γὰρ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν
and were not weak triremes for twenty and a-hundred
 ὑπῆρχον αὐτοῖς ὅτε ἤρχοντο πολεμῆν),
there-were to-them when they-began to-war
 πάντων οὖν τούτων ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι 26.1
all therefore these grievances having the Corinthians
 ἔπεμπον ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἄσμενοι τὴν ὠφελίαν, οἰκήτορά
sent to — Epidamnus gladly the aid a-settler
 τε τὸν βουλούμενον ἵεναι κελεύοντες καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν
both the(-man) wishing to-go ordering and of-Ambraciots
 καὶ Λευκαδίων καὶ ἐαυτῶν φρουροῦς.
and of-Leucadians and of-themselves garrison-troops

- 26.2 ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ πεζῇ ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν, Κορινθίων οὖσαν
they-went and on-foot to Apollonia of-Corinthians being
 ἀποικίαν, δέει τῶν Κερκυραίων μὴ κωλύονται ὑπ’
(a)-colony from-fear of-the Corcyraeans lest they-be-hindered by
 αὐτῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν περαιούμενοι.
them by sea crossing
- 26.3 Κερκυραῖοι δὲ ἐπεὶ δὴ ᾗσθοντο τοὺς τε οἰκήτορας καὶ
Corcyraeans and when they-perceived the both settlers and
 φρουροὺς ἥκοντας ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον τὴν τε ἀποικίαν
garrison-troops having-come to — Epidamnus the and colony
 Κορινθίοις δεδομένην, ἐχάλεπαινον· καὶ πλεύσαντες εὐθὺς
to-Corinthians given were-angry and having-sailed at-once
 πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ναυσὶ καὶ ὕστερον ἑτέρῳ στόλῳ
five and twenty with-ships and later with-another armament
 τοὺς τε φεύγοντας ἐκέλευον κατ’ ἐπήρειαν δέχεσθαι
the both exiles they-ordered in insult to-receive
 αὐτοὺς (ἦλθον γὰρ ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν οἱ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων
them came for to — Corcyra the of-the Epidamnians
 φυγάδες, τάφους τε ἀποδεικνύντες καὶ συγγένειαν, ἣν
exiles graves both pointing-out and kinship which
 προῖσχύμενοι ἐδέοντο σφᾶς κατάγειν) τοὺς τε φρουροὺς
holding-forth they-begged them to-restore the both garrison-troops
 οὓς Κορίνθιοι ἐπεμψαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἀποπέμπευ.
whom Corinthians sent and the settlers to-send-away
- 26.4 οἱ δὲ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπήκουσαν, ἀλλὰ
the but Epidamnians nothing them heeded but
 στρατεύουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τεσσαράκοντα
campaign against them the Corcyraeans with-forty
 ναυσὶ μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων ὥς κατὰξοντες, καὶ τοὺς
ships with the exiles as going-to-restore(-them) and the
 Ἰλλυριοὺς προσλαβόντες.
Illyrians having-taken-besides

προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν προείπον Ἐπιδαμνίων τε 26.5
sitting-down-before and the city they-proclaimed of-Epidamnians both
 τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἀπαθείς ἀπιέναι εἰ
the(-one) wishing and the foreigners unharmed to-depart if
 δὲ μὴ, ὥς πολεμίοις χρήσεσθαι. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, οἱ
but not as enemies to-treat(-them) when but not they-obeyed the
 μὲν Κερκυραῖοι (ἔστι δ' ἰσθμὸς τὸ χωρίον) ἐπολιόρκουν
indeed Corcyraeans is and an-isthmus the place besieged
 τὴν πόλιν,
the city

VIII • LEUCIMME

Corinth proclaims a new colony at Epidamnus, and its allies provide ships and money. Corcyraean envoys, with Spartans and Sicyonians, offer arbitration; Corinth will deliberate only if Corcyra first withdraws its ships and barbarians. Corinth and its allies sail with seventy-five ships and two thousand hoplites, and eighty Corcyraean ships beat them, destroying fifteen; that same day Epidamnus surrenders. The Corcyraeans set up a trophy at Leucimme, kill every prisoner but the Corinthians, and rule the sea until late in the summer. Corinth builds ships for two years, and both sides send envoys to Athens.

Κορίνθιοι δ', ὥς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδάμνου ἦλθον ἄγγελοι ὅτι 27.1
Corinthians and when to-them from — Epidamnus came messengers that
 πολιορκοῦνται, παρεσκευάζοντο στρατείαν, καὶ ἅμα
they-are-besieged prepared an-expedition and at-the-same-time
 ἀποικίαν ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἐκήρυσσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ
a-colony to — Epidamnus they-proclaimed on the equal and
 ὁμοίᾳ τὸν βουλόμενον ἰέναι· εἰ δέ τις τὸ παρατύκα
like(-terms) the(-man) wishing to-go if but any for-the immediate
 μὲν μὴ ἐθέλει ξυμπλεῖν, μετέχειν δὲ βούλεται τῆς ἀποικίας,
indeed not wishes to-sail-with to-share but wishes in-the colony

- πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς καταθέντα Κορινθίας μένειν. ἦσαν δὲ
fifty drachmas having-deposited Corinthian to-remain there-were and
 καὶ οἱ πλείοντες πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰργύριον καταβάλλοντες.
both those sailing many and those the-money paying-down
 27.2 ἐδεήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Μεγαρέων ναυσὶ σφᾶς
they-asked and also of-the Megarians with-ships them
 ξυμπροπέμψαι, εἰ ἄρα κωλύουτο ὑπὸ Κερκυραίων
to-escort if perhaps they-should-be-hindered by Corcyraeans
 πλεῖν· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτοῖς ὀκτώ ναυσὶ ξυμπλεῖν,
to-sail they and prepared with-them with-eight ships to-sail-with
 καὶ Παλῆς Κεφαλλήνων τέσσαρσιν. καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων
and Paleans of-Cephalenians with-four and of-Epidaurians
 ἐδεήθησαν, οἳ παρέσχον πέντε, Ἑρμιονῆς δὲ μίαν καὶ
they-asked who furnished five Hermionians and one and
 Τροιζήνιοι δύο, Λευκάδιοι δὲ δέκα καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται ὀκτώ.
Troezenians two Leucadians and ten and Ambraciots eight
 Θηβαίους δὲ χρήματα ᾗτησαν καὶ Φλειασίους, Ἡλείους
of-Thebans and money they-asked and of-Pblisians of-Eleans
 δὲ ναῦς τε κενὰς καὶ χρήματα. αὐτῶν δὲ Κορινθίων
and ships both empty and money of-themselves and of-Corinthians
 νῆες παρεσκευάζοντο τριάκοντα καὶ τρισχίλιοι ὀπλίται.
ships were-prepared thirty and three-thousand hoplites
 28.1 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν παρασκευήν,
when and learned the Corcyraeans the preparation
 ἐλθόντες εἰς Κόρινθον μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Σικυνωνίων
having-come to Corinth with Lacedaemonian and Sicyonian
 πρέσβων, οὓς παρέλαβον, ἐκέλευον Κορινθίους τοὺς ἐν
envoys whom they-took-along they-ordered Corinthians the(-men) in
 Ἐπιδάμνῳ φρουροὺς τε καὶ οἰκήτορας ἀπάγειν, ὥς οὐ
Epidamnus garrison-troops both and settlers to-withdraw as not
 μετὸν αὐτοῖς Ἐπιδάμνου.
(there)-being-a-share for-them in-Epidamnus

εἰ δέ τι ἀντιποιοῦνται, δίκας ἤθελον δοῦναι ἐν 28.2

if but anything they-claim arbitration they-were-willing to-submit in

Πελοποννήσῳ παρὰ πόλεσιν αἷς ἂν ἀμφότεροι ξυμβῶσιν·

Peloponnese before cities which — both should-agree-on

ὁποτέρων δ' ἂν δικασθῇ εἶναι τὴν ἀποικίαν, τούτους

of-whichever and — it-be-adjudged to-be the colony these

κρατεῖν. ἤθελον δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖῳ

to-hold(-it) they-were-willing and also to-the at Delphi oracle

ἐπιτρέψαι.

to-entrust(-it)

πόλεμον δὲ οὐκ εἷων ποιεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτοὶ 28.3

war and not they-would-allow to-make if but not also themselves

ἀναγκασθήσεσθαι ἔφασαν, ἐκείνων βιαζομένων, φίλους

to-be-compelled they-said those using-force friends

ποιεῖσθαι οὓς οὐ βούλονται ἑτέρους τῶν νῦν ὄντων

to-make whom not they-wish others than-those now existing

μᾶλλον ὠφελίας ἔνεκα.

rather of-help for-the-sake

οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτοῖς, ἣν τάς τε ναῦς 28.4

the and Corinthians answered to-them if the both ships

καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπὸ Ἐπιδάμνου ἀπαγάγωσι,

and the barbarians from Epidamnus they-should-withdraw

βουλευέσεσθαι· πρότερον δ' οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν τοὺς μὲν

to-deliberate(-they-would) before but not well to-be the-ones indeed

πολιορκεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ δικάζεσθαι.

to-be-besieged themselves and to-go-to-law

Κερκυραῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον, ἣν καὶ ἐκείνοι τοὺς ἐν 28.5

Corcyraeans and replied if also those the(-men) in

Ἐπιδάμνῳ ἀπαγάγωσι, ποιήσειν ταῦτα· ἐτοῖμοι δὲ

Epidamnus should-withdraw to-do(-they-would) these ready and

εἶναι καὶ ὥστε ἀμφοτέρους μένειν κατὰ χώραν, σπονδὰς
to-be also so-that both to-remain in place a-truce

δὲ ποιήσασθαι ἕως ἂν ἡ δίκη γένηται.

and to-make until — the arbitration take-place

29.1 Κορίνθιοι δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ὑπῆκουον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλήρεις

Corinthians and none of-these heeded but when full

αὐτοῖς ἦσαν αἱ νῆες καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι παρῆσαν, προπέμψαντες

to-them were the ships and the allies were-present having-sent-ahead

κήρυκα πρότερον πόλεμον προερούντα Κερκυραίους, ἄραντες

a-herald first war to-declare to-Corcyraeans setting-sail

ἐβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πέντε δισχιλίους τε ὀπλίταις ἔπλεον

with-seventy ships and five two-thousand and hoplites sailed

ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον Κερκυραίους ἐναντία πολεμήσοντας·

against — Epidamnus against-Corcyraeans opposed to-make-war

29.2 ἐστρατήγει δὲ τῶν μὲν νεῶν Ἀριστεὺς ὁ Πελλίχου καὶ

commanded and of-the indeed ships Aristeus the (son)-of-Pellicus and

Καλλικράτης ὁ Καλλίου καὶ Τιμάνωρ ὁ Τιμάνθους,

Callicrates the (son)-of-Callias and Timanor the (son)-of-Timanthus

τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ Ἀρχέτιμος τε ὁ Εὐρυτίμου καὶ Ἰσαρχίδας

of-the and infantry Archetimus both the (son)-of-Eurytimus and Isarchidas

ὁ Ἰσάρχου.

the (son)-of-Isarchus

29.3 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀκτίῳ τῆς Ἀνακτορίας γῆς, οὗ

when and they-were at Actium of-the Anactorian land where

τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ

the temple — of-Apollo is at the mouth of-the

Ἀμπρακικοῦ κόλπου, οἱ Κερκυραῖοι κήρυκά τε προὔπεμψαν

Ambracian gulf the Corcyraeans a-herald both sent-ahead

αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀκατίῳ ἀπερούντα μὴ πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς καὶ

to-them in a-skiff to-forbid(-them) not to-sail against them and

τὰς ναῦς ἅμα ἐπλήρουν, ζεύξαντές τε τὰς παλαιὰς

the ships at-the-same-time they-manned having-braced and the old(-ones)

ὥστε πλωίμους εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκευάσαντες.

so-that seaworthy to-be and the others having-repaired

ὡς δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ τε ἀπήγγειλεν οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖον παρὰ

29.4

when and the herald both reported nothing peaceable from

τῶν Κορινθίων καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτοῖς ἐπεπλήρωντο οὖσαι

the Corinthians and the ships for-them had-been-manned being

ὀγδοήκοντα (τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ Ἐπίδαμνον ἐπολιόρκουν),

eighty forty for Epidamnus were-besieging

ἀνταναγαγόμενοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν·

having-put-out-against(-them) and having-drawn-up fought-at-sea

καὶ ἐνίκησαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι παρὰ πολὺ καὶ ναῦς πέντε

29.5

and won the Corcyraeans by far and ships five

καὶ δέκα διέφθειραν τῶν Κορινθίων. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ

and ten destroyed of-the Corinthians on-the and same day

αὐτοῖς ξυνέβη καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον πολιορκοῦντας

to-them it-happened also those — Epidamnus besieging

παραστήσασθαι ὁμολογία ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐπῆλυδας

to-bring-to-terms by-agreement so-that the indeed newcomers

ἀποδόσθαι, Κορινθίους δὲ δῆσαντας ἔχειν ἕως ἂν ἄλλο

to-sell Corinthians but binding to-keep until — other

τι δόξη.

something seem(-good)

μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τροπαῖον στήσαντες

30.1

after and the sea-battle the Corcyraeans a-trophy having-set-up

ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμῃ τῆς Κερκυραίας ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοὺς μὲν

on — Leucimme of-the Corcyraean(-land) a-headland the indeed

ἄλλους οὓς ἔλαβον αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέκτειναν, Κορινθίους

other(-men) whom they-took prisoners killed Corinthians

δὲ δῆσαντες εἶχον.

but binding they-kept

- 30.2 ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἡσσημένοι
later and when the Corinthians and the allies defeated
 ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἶκον, τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπάσης
with-the ships withdrew to home of-the sea all
 ἐκράτουν τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία οἱ Κερκυραῖοι,
they-were-masters of-the(-sea) in those — parts the Corcyraeans
 καὶ πλεύσαντες ἐς Λευκάδα τὴν Κορινθίων ἀποικίαν
and having-sailed to Leucas the of-Corinthians colony
 τῆς γῆς ἔτεμον καὶ Κυλλήνην τὸ Ἡλείων ἐπίνειον
(part)-of-the land ravaged and Cyllene the of-Eleans dockyard
 ἐνέπρησαν, ὅτι ναῦς καὶ χρήματα παρέσχον Κορινθίοις.
burned because ships and money they-furnished to-Corinthians
- 30.3 τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν πλεῖστον μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν
of-the and time the most after the sea-battle
 ἐπεκράτουν τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κορινθίων
they-controlled the sea and the of-the Corinthians
 ξυμμάχους ἐπιπλέοντες ἔφθειρον, μέχρι οὗ Κορίνθιοι
allies sailing-against harmed until when Corinthians
 περιμόντι τῷ θέρει πέμψαντες ναῦς καὶ στρατιάν, ἐπεὶ σφῶν
coming-round the summer having-sent ships and an-army since of-them
 οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐπὶ Ἀκτίῳ καὶ περὶ
the allies were-suffering encamped at Actium and about
 τὸ Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῆς τε
— Cheimerium of-the Thesprotian(-land) of-protection for-the-sake of-the both
 Λευκάδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὅσαι σφίσι φίλαι ἦσαν.
Leucas and of-the other cities as-many-as to-them friendly were
- 30.4 ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπὶ τῇ
encamped-opposite and also the Corcyraeans on —
 Λευκίμμῃ ναυσὶ τε καὶ πεζῷ. ἐπέπλεον δὲ οὐδέτεροι
Leucimme with-ships both and infantry sailed-against but neither

ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο ἀντικαθεζόμενοι χειμῶνος
one-another but the summer this sitting-opposite of-winter

ἤδη ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου ἑκάτεροι.

already they-withdrew to home each

τὸν δ' ἐνιαυτὸν πάντα τὸν μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ 31.1

the and year whole the(-one) after the sea-battle and

τὸν ὕστερον οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὀργῇ φέροντες τὸν πρὸς
the(-one) after the Corinthians with-anger bearing the against

Κερκυραίους πόλεμον ἐναυπηγοῦντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο
Corcyraeans war were-building-ships and preparing

τὰ κράτιστα νεῶν στόλον, ἕκ τε αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου
the strongest of-ships armament from both itself Peloponnese

ἀγείροντες καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐρέτας, μισθῷ πείθοντες.
gathering and of-the rest-of Greece rowers with-pay persuading

πυνθανόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν 31.2
learning and the Corcyraeans the preparation of-them

ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ (ἦσαν γὰρ οὐδενὸς Ἑλλήνων ἔνσπονδοι
were-afraid and they-were for with-none of-Greeks in-treaty

οὐδὲ ἐσεγράψαντο ἑαυτοὺς οὔτε ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδὰς
nor had-enrolled themselves either in the of-Athenians treaty

οὔτε ἐς τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων) ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν
or in the of-Lacedaemonians it-seemed-good to-them having-gone

ὥς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι καὶ ὠφελίαν τινὰ
to the Athenians allies to-become and help some

πειρᾶσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐρίσκεισθαι.

to-try from them to-find

οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἦλθον καὶ αὐτοὶ 31.3

the and Corinthians having-learned these came also themselves

ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρεσβευσόμενοι, ὅπως μὴ σφίσι πρὸς

to — Athens to-send-an-embassy so-that not for-them besides

τῷ Κερκυραίων ναυτικῷ καὶ τὸ αὐτῶν προσγενόμενον

the of-Corcyraeans navy also the of-them added

ἐμπόδιον γένηται θέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἢ βούλονται.

hindrance might-become to-settle the war as they-wish

31.4 καταστάσης δὲ ἐκκλησίας ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον, καὶ οἱ

having-been-held and an-assembly to debate they-came and the

μὲν Κερκυραῖοι ἔλεξαν τοιάδε.

indeed Corcyraeans spoke as-follows

IX · THE CORCYRAEANS AT ATHENS

The Corcyraeans admit that those who ask help without past service must show that it pays. Their neutrality was a mistake. Athens will earn the gratitude of the wronged and gain the second navy in Greece. War is coming, for Sparta fears Athens, and Corinth wants Corcyra first. Colonists are not slaves, and Corinth wronged Corcyra. The treaty lets a neutral join either side. Corcyra lies on the route to Italy and Sicily. Greece has three navies worth the name, Athens', Corcyra's, and Corinth's, and Athens must not let the other two combine.

32.1 'Δίκαιον, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς μήτε εὐεργεσίας μεγάλης μήτε

(it-is)-just O Athenians those neither of-benefit great nor

ξυμμαχίας προυφειλομένης ἦκοντας παρὰ τοὺς πέλας

of-alliance owed-beforehand having-come to the neighbors

ἐπικουρίας, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς νῦν, δεησομένους ἀναδιδάξαι

for-help as also we now going-to-ask to-show

πρῶτον, μάλιστα μὲν ὥς καὶ ξύμφορα δέονται,

first most-of-all indeed that also advantageous(-things) they-ask

εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι γε οὐκ ἐπιζήμια, ἔπειτα δὲ ὥς καὶ

if but not that at-least not harmful then and that also

τὴν χάριν βέβαιον ἔξουσιν· εἰ δὲ τούτων μηδὲν σαφὲς
the favor lasting they-will-have if but of-these nothing clear
 καταστήσουσι, μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι ἣν ἀτυχῶσιν.

they-shall-establish not to-be-angry if they-fail

Κερκυραῖοι δὲ μετὰ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς αἰτήσεως καὶ 32.2

Corcyraeans and with the of-alliance the request also

ταῦτα πιστεύοντες ἔχυρὰ ὑμῖν παρέξεσθαι ἀπέστειλαν

these(-things) trusting sure to-you to-furnish sent

ἡμᾶς.

us

τετύχηκε δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτήδευμα πρὸς τε ὑμᾶς ἐς τὴν 32.3

it-has-happened and the same practice toward both you for the

χρείαν ἡμῖν ἄλογον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ

need to-us unreasonable and for the our(-interests) own at the

παρόντι ἀξύμφορον.

present(-moment) disadvantageous

ξύμμαχοί τε γὰρ οὐδενός πω ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ 32.4

allies both for of-no-one yet in the before that time

ἐκούσιοι γενόμενοι νῦν ἄλλων τοῦτο δεησόμενοι ἤκομεν, καὶ

voluntarily having-become now of-others this going-to-ask we-have-come and

ἅμα ἐς τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον Κορινθίων ἐρήμοι δι'

at-the-same-time for the present war of-Corinthians bereft because-of

αὐτὸ καθέσταμεν. καὶ περιέστηκεν ἡ δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν πρότερον

this we-stand and has-turned-out the seeming our former

σωφροσύνη, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ξυμμαχίᾳ τῇ τοῦ πέλας

prudence the not in another's alliance by-the of-the neighbor

γνώμη ξυγκινδυνεύειν, νῦν ἀβουλία καὶ ἀσθένεια φαινομένη.

judgment to-share-danger now folly and weakness appearing

τὴν μὲν οὖν γενομένην ναυμαχίαν αὐτοὶ κατὰ μόνας 32.5

the indeed therefore having-occurred sea-battle ourselves by alone

ἀπεωσάμεθα Κορινθίους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ μείζονι παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ

we-repulsed Corinthians since but with-greater armament from

Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὥρμηνται
Peloponnese and the rest-of Greece against us they-have-set-out
 καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀδύνατοι ὁρῶμεν ὄντες τῇ οἰκείᾳ μόνον δυνάμει
and we unable we-see being with-the own alone power
 περιγενέσθαι, καὶ ἅμα μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος εἰ ἐσόμεθα
to-prevail and at-the-same-time great the danger if we-shall-be
 ὑπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀνάγκη καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἐπικουρίας
under them (it-is)-necessary both of-you and of-other every help
 δεῖσθαι, καὶ ξυγγνώμη εἰ μὴ μετὰ κακίας, δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον
to-ask and (there-is)-pardon if not with vice of-judgment but rather
 ἁμαρτία τῇ πρότερον ἀπραγμοσύνῃ ἐναντία τολμῶμεν.
by-error to-the former inactivity opposite(-things) we-dare

- 33.1 Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὑμῖν πειθομένοις καλὴ ἡ ξυντυχία κατὰ
will-be and for-you complying fine the coincidence in
 πολλὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας χρείας, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀδικουμένοις
many(-respects) — of-our need first indeed that to-the-wronged
 καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρους βλάπτουσι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ποιήσεσθε,
and not others harming the help you-will-give
 ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κινδυνεύοντας δεξάμενοι ὥς ἂν
then about the greatest(-things) running-risk having-received as —
 μάλιστα μετ' αἰεμνήστου μαρτυρίου τὴν χάριν καταθήσεσθε·
most with ever-memorable testimony the favor you-will-lay-up
 ναυτικόν τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν πλεῖστον.
a-navy and we-have-acquired except the(-one) with you (the)-largest
 33.2 καὶ σκέψασθε· τίς εὐπραξία σπανιωτέρα ἢ τίς τοῖς πολεμίοις
and consider what good-fortune rarer or what to-the enemies
 λυπηροτέρα, εἰ ἢν ὑμεῖς ἂν πρὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων
more-painful if (the)-power-which you — before much money
 καὶ χάριτος ἐτιμήσασθε δύναμιν ὑμῖν προσγενέσθαι, αὕτη
and favor would-have-valued power to-you to-be-added this
 πάρεστιν αὐτεπάγγελτος ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ δαπάνης διδοῦσα
is-present self-offered without dangers and expense giving

εαυτήν, καὶ προσέτι φέρουσα ἐς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς
 itself and moreover bringing in-the-eyes-of indeed the many
 ἀρετήν, οἷς δὲ ἐπαμυνεῖτε χάριν, ὑμῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ἰσχύν·
 virtue (in-those)-whom and you-will-help gratitude to-you and yourselves strength
 ἃ ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ὀλίγοις δὴ ἅμα πάντα ξυνέβη, καὶ
 which in the all time to-few indeed at-once all happened and
 ὀλίγοι ξυμμαχίας δεόμενοι οἷς ἐπικαλοῦνται ἀσφάλειαν
 few alliance asking to-those-whom they-call-on security
 καὶ κόσμον οὐχ ἥσσον διδόντες ἢ ληψόμενοι παραγίγνονται.
 and distinction not less giving than going-to-receive come
 τὸν δὲ πόλεμον, δι' ὃνπερ χρήσιμοι ἂν εἴμεν, εἴ 33.3
 the and war through which useful — we-would-be if
 τις ὑμῶν μὴ οἶεται ἔσσεσθαι, γνώμης ἀμαρτάνει καὶ
 any of-you not thinks to-be-going-to-be in-judgment errs and
 οὐκ αἰσθάνεται τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους φόβῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ
 not perceives the Lacedaemonians through-fear the of-you
 πολεμῆσειντας καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους δυναμένους παρ' αὐτοῖς
 eager-for-war and the Corinthians being-powerful with them
 καὶ ὑμῖν ἐχθροὺς ὄντας καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντας ἡμᾶς νῦν
 and to-you enemies being and forestalling us now
 ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἵνα μὴ τῷ κοινῷ ἔχθρῳ κατ'
 for the your attack so-that not by-the common hatred against
 αὐτοὺς μετ' ἀλλήλων στῶμεν μηδὲ δυοῖν φθάσαι
 them with one-another we-may-stand nor of-two-(things) to-anticipate(-us)
 ἀμάρτωσιν, ἢ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι.
 they-fail either to-harm us or them selves to-strengthen
 ἡμέτερον δέ γ' αὖ ἔργον προτερῆσαι, τῶν μὲν 33.4
 ours and at-least in-turn (the)-task to-be-first the(-ones) indeed
 διδόντων, ὑμῶν δὲ δεξαμένων τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, καὶ
 offering of-you and accepting the alliance and
 προεπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀντεπιβουλεύειν.
 to-plot-first against-them rather than to-counterplot

- 34.1 ‘ Ἦν δὲ λέγωσιν ὡς οὐ δίκαιον τοὺς σφετέρους
if and they-say that not just the own
 ἀποίκους ὑμᾶς δέχεσθαι, μαθόντων ὡς πᾶσα ἀποικία
colonists you to-receive let-them-learn that every colony
 εὖ μὲν πάσχουσα τιμᾷ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἀδικουμένη δὲ
well indeed being-treated honors the mother-city being-wronged but
 ἀλλοτριούται· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δούλοι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῷ
is-estranged not for on the(-terms) slaves but on the(-terms)
 ὅμοιοι τοῖς λειπομένοις εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται.
equals to-those left-behind to-be they-are-sent-out
- 34.2 ὡς δὲ ἡδίκουν σαφές ἐστιν· προκληθέντες γὰρ περὶ
that and they-were-doing-wrong clear it-is having-been-invited for about
 Ἐπιδάμνου ἐς κρίσιν πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἴσῳ
Epidamnus to arbitration by-war rather than by-the equal(-means)
 ἐβουλήθησαν τὰ ἐγκλήματα μετελθεῖν.
they-wished the grievances to-pursue
- 34.3 καὶ ὑμῖν ἔστω τι τεκμήριον ᾧ πρὸς ἡμᾶς
and to-you let-there-be some evidence the(-things)-which toward us
 τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς δρῶσιν, ὥστε ἀπάτη τε μὴ παράγεσθαι
the kinsmen they-do so-that by-deceit both not to-be-misled
 ὑπ’ αὐτῶν δεομένοις τε ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος μὴ ὑπουργεῖν·
by them asking and from the straight(-course) not to-serve(-them)
 ὁ γὰρ ἐλαχίστας τὰς μεταμελείας ἐκ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι
the(-one) for fewest the regrets from the gratifying
 τοῖς ἐναντίοις λαμβάνων ἀσφαλέστατος ἂν διατελοίη.
the opponents taking safest — would-continue
- 35.1 λύσετε δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων σπονδὰς δεχόμενοι
you-will-break and not-even the of-Lacedaemonians treaty receiving
 ἡμᾶς μηδετέρων ὄντας ζυμμάχους·
us of-neither being allies

εἴρηται γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς, τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἥτις 35.2
it-has-been-said for in it of-the Greek cities whichever
 μηδαμοῦ ξυμμαχεῖ, ἐξεῖναι παρ' ὅποτέρους ἂν ἀρέσκηται
nowhere is-allied it-is-allowed to whichever(-side) — it-pleases
 ἐλθεῖν.

to-go
 καὶ δεινὸν εἰ τοῖσδε μὲν ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐνσπόνδων 35.3
and (it-is)-monstrous if for-these indeed from both the parties-to-the-treaty
 ἔσται πληροῦν τὰς ναῦς καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῆς
it-will-be(-possible) to-man the ships and moreover also from the
 ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑπηκόων,
rest-of Greece and not least from the your subjects
 ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης τε ξυμμαχίας εἴρξουσι
us but from the proposed both alliance they-will-shut-out
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ὠφελίας, εἴτα ἐν ἀδικήματι
and from the from-elsewhere somewhere help then as a-wrong
 θήσονται πεισθέντων ὑμῶν ἃ δεόμεθα.

they-will-account(-it) being-persuaded you the(-things)-which we-ask
 πολὺ δὲ ἐν πλείονι αἰτία ἡμεῖς μὴ πείσαντες ὑμᾶς ἔξομεν· 35.4
much and in greater blame we not having-persuaded you shall-hold
 ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ κινδυνεύοντας καὶ οὐκ ἐχθροὺς ὄντας
us indeed for being-in-danger and not enemies being
 ἀπώσεσθε, τῶνδε δὲ οὐχ ὅπως κωλυταὶ ἐχθρῶν ὄντων καὶ
you-will-repel of-these but not only binderers enemies being and
 ἐπιόντων γενήσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς
attacking you-will-be but even from the your empire
 δύναμιν προσλαβεῖν περιόψεσθε ἣν οὐ δίκαιον, ἀλλ' ἢ
power to-take-in-addition you-will-allow which not just but either
 κακείνων κωλύειν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας μισθοφόρους ἢ
also-of-those to-prevent the(-men) from the your(-empire) mercenaries or

καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπειν καθ' ὅτι ἂν πεισθῇτε ὠφελίαν,
also to-us to-send in whatever(-way) — you-are-persuaded help

μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς δεξαμένους βοηθεῖν.

most-of-all and from the open having-received(-us) to-help

35.5 πολλὰ δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπέπομεν, τὰ συμφέροντα

many and as at (the)-beginning we-indicated the advantages

ἀποδείκνυμεν, καὶ μέγιστον ὅτι οἱ τε αὐτοὶ πολέμοι ἡμῖν

we-show and greatest that the both same enemies to-us

ἦσαν, ὅπερ σαφεστάτη πίστις, καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς,

were which (is)-the-clearer pledge and these not weak

ἀλλ' ἱκανοὶ τοὺς μεταστάντας βλάψαι· καὶ ναυτικῆς καὶ

but able those having-seceded to-harm and naval and

οὐκ ἡπειρώτιδος τῆς συμμαχίας διδομένης οὐχ ὁμοία

not continental the alliance being-offered not similar

ἢ ἀλλοτρίωσις, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν, εἰ δύνασθε, μηδένα

the estrangement but most-of-all indeed if you-can no

ἄλλον εἶναι κекτῆσθαι ναῦς, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅστις ἐχυρώτατος,

other to-allow to-possess ships if but not whoever strongest

τούτον φίλον ἔχειν.

this(-one) (as)-friend to-have

36.1 'Καὶ ὅτῳ τάδε συμφέροντα μὲν δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι,

and to-whom these(-things) advantageous indeed seem to-be-said

φοβεῖται δὲ μὴ δι' αὐτὰ πειθόμενος τὰς σπονδὰς λύσῃ,

he-fears but lest because-of them being-persuaded the treaty he-break

γνώτω τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ ἰσχὺν ἔχον τοὺς ἐναντίους

let-him-know the indeed fearing(-part) of-him strength having the opponents

μᾶλλον φοβῆσον, τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν μὴ δεξαμένου ἀσθενές

rather will-frighten the and confident(-part) not having-received weak

ὄν πρὸς ἰσχύοντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀδέεστερον ἐσόμενον,

being toward strong the enemies less-to-be-feared going-to-be

καὶ ἅμα οὐ περὶ τῆς Κερκύρας νῦν τὸ πλέον ἢ

and at-the-same-time not about — Corcyra now the more than

καὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν βουλευόμενος, καὶ οὐ τὰ κράτιστα αὐταῖς
 also — Athens deliberating and not the best for-it
 προνοῶν, ὅταν ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρόντα
 providing when for the coming and all-but not present
 πόλεμον τὸ αὐτίκα περισκοπῶν ἐνδοιάζη χωρίον προσλαβεῖν
 war the immediate looking-round he-hesitates a-place to-gain
 ὃ μετὰ μεγίστων καιρῶν οἰκείουταί τε καὶ πολεμοῦται.
 which with greatest occasions is-made-a-friend both and is-made-an-enemy
 τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου 36.2
 the both for of-Italy and of-Sicily well (for)-coasting
 κεῖται, ὥστε μήτε ἐκεῖθεν ναυτικὸν ἔασαι Πελοποννησίοις
 it-lies so-that neither from-there a-navy to-allow to-Peloponnesians
 ἐπελθεῖν τό τε ἐνθὲνδε πρὸς τὰκεῖ παραπέμψαι,
 to-come the(-navy) and from-here to the(-parts)-there to-escort
 καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα ξυμφορώτατόν ἐστιν.
 and for the-other(-purposes) most-useful it-is
 βραχυτάτῳ δ' ἂν κεφαλαίῳ, τοῖς τε ξύμπασι καὶ καθ' 36.3
 in-briefest and — summary for-the both whole and in
 ἕκαστον, τῷδ' ἂν μὴ προέσθαι ἡμᾶς μάθοιτε· τρία
 each-point by-this — not to-abandon us you-would-learn three
 μὲν ὄντα λόγου ἄξια τοῖς Ἕλλησι ναυτικά, τὸ παρ'
 indeed being worth account for-the Greeks navies the(-one) with
 ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ τὸ Κορινθίων· τούτων δὲ εἰ
 you and the ours and the(-one) of-Corinthians of-these but if
 περιόψεσθε τὰ δύο ἐς ταὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν καὶ Κορίνθιοι ἡμᾶς
 you-will-allow the two into the-same to-come and Corinthians us
 προκαταλήψονται, Κερκυραίοις τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοις
 will-seize-first with-Corcyraeans both and Peloponnesians
 ἅμα ναυμαχήσετε, δεξάμενοι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἔξετε πρὸς
 at-once you-will-fight-at-sea having-received but us you-will-be-able against
 αὐτοὺς πλείοσι ναυσὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀγωνίζεσθαι.
 them with-more ships the ours to-contend

- 36.4 τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι εἶπον· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι μετ’
such(-things) indeed the Corcyraeans said the and Corinthians after
 αὐτοὺς τοιάδε.
them as-follows

X • THE CORINTHIANS REPLY

The Corinthians answer that Corcyra’s neutrality is a cover for crime: it shuns alliances so that no one can witness its wrongs. Corinth founded it to be honored and is insulted instead, when its other colonies love it. Corcyra ignored Epidamnus in its distress and seized it when Corinth came to help. Its offer of arbitration came only after the siege, when it held the advantage. To ally with it is to share its crimes.

- 37.1 ‘Ἀναγκαῖον Κερκυραίων τῶνδε οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῦ
(it-is)-necessary Corcyraeans these not only about the
 δέξασθαι σφᾶς τὸν λόγον ποιησαμένων, ἀλλ’ ὥς καὶ
receiving them the speech having-made but that also
 ἡμεῖς τε ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰκότως πολεμοῦνται,
we both do-wrong and they not reasonably are-warred-upon
 μνησθέντας πρῶτον καὶ ἡμᾶς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων οὕτω
having-made-mention first also us about both(-points) thus
 καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλον λόγον ἰέναι, ἵνα τὴν ἀφ’ ἡμῶν
and to the other argument to-proceed so-that the from us
 τε ἀξιώσω ἀσφαλέστερον προειδῆτε καὶ τὴν τῶνδε
both claim more-safely you-may-know-beforehand and the of-these
 χρεῖαν μὴ ἀλογίστως ἀπώσῃσθε.
need not unreasoningly you-may-reject
- 37.2 ‘Φασὶ δὲ ξυμμαχίαν διὰ τὸ σῶφρον οὐδενός πω
they-say and alliance because-of the prudence of-no-one yet
 δέξασθαι· τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀρετῇ ἐπετήδευσαν,
to-have-accepted it but for mischief and not virtue they-pursued

ξύμμαχόν τε οὐδένα βουλόμενοι πρὸς τὰδικήματα οὐδὲ
ally both none wishing for (their)-wrongdoings nor
μάρτυρα ἔχειν οὔτε παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι.

witness to-have nor inviting(-others) to-be-ashamed

καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἅμα αὐτάρκη θέσειν κειμένη 37.3

and the city of-them at-the-same-time self-sufficient position lying

παρέχει αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς ὧν βλάπτουσί τινα

enables them judges (of-the-wrongs)-which they-harm anyone

μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ξυνθήκας γίνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ ἥκιστα

rather than by agreements to-be because-of — least

ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας ἐκπλέοντας μάλιστα τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνάγκη

to the neighbors sailing-out most the others by-necessity

καταίροντας δέχεσθαι.

putting-in to-receive

καὶ τοῦτο τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπονδον οὐχ ἵνα μὴ 37.4

and this the specious non-alliance not so-that not

ξυναδικῶσιν ἑτέροις προβέβληνται, ἀλλ' ὅπως κατὰ

they-may-join-in-wrongdoing with-others they-have-put-forward but so-that by

μόνας ἀδικῶσι καὶ ὅπως ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν κρατῶσι

alone they-may-do-wrong and so-that in what indeed — they-prevail

βιάζωνται, οὗ δ' ἂν λάθωσι πλεον ἔχωσιν, ἣν

they-may-use-force where and — they-escape-notice more they-may-have if

δέ πού τι προσλάβωσιν ἀναισχυντῶσιν.

and somewhere something they-take-besides they-may-be-shameless

καίτοι εἰ ἦσαν ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ φασίν, ἀγαθοί, ὅσω 37.5

and-yet if they-were men as they-say good by-as-much-as

ἀληπτότεροι ἦσαν τοῖς πέλας, τόσω δὲ φανερωτέραν

less-assailable they-were to-the neighbors by-so-much and more-evident

ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν διδοῦσι καὶ δεχομένοις τὰ

it-was-possible for-them the virtue by-giving and receiving the

δίκαια δεικνύναι.

just(-things) to-show

- 38.1 ἀλλ' οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους οὔτε ἐς ἡμᾶς τοιοῦδε
but neither toward the others nor toward us such
 εἰσὶν, ἀποικοὶ δ' ὄντες ἀφεστᾶσί τε διὰ παντὸς καὶ
are-they colonists but being they-have-stood-alooft both through all(-time) and
 νῦν πολεμοῦσι, λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶς πάσχειν
now they-war saying that not for the ill to-be-treated
 ἐκπεμφθεῖεν.
they-were-sent-out
- 38.2 ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ φαμεν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τούτων ὑβρίζεσθαι
we and neither ourselves say for the by these to-be-insulted
 κατοικίσαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνες τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ
to-have-founded(-them) but for the leaders both to-be and the
 εἰκότα θαυμάζεσθαι.
fitting(-things) to-be-honored
- 38.3 αἱ γοῦν ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι τιμῶσιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ μάλιστα
the at-any-rate other colonies honor us and most
 ὑπὸ ἀποίκων στεργόμεθα.
by colonists we-are-loved
- 38.4 καὶ δῆλον ὅτι, εἰ τοῖς πλέοσιν ἀρέσκοντές ἐσμεν, τοῖσδ'
and (it-is)-clear that if to-the majority pleasing we-are to-these
 ἂν μόνοις οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπαρέσκοιμεν, οὐδ' ἐπιστρατεύομεν
— alone not rightly would-we-be-displeasing nor do-we-make-war
 ἐκπρεπῶς μὴ καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἀδικούμενοι.
extraordinarily unless also especially somewhat being-wronged
- 38.5 καλὸν δ' ἦν, εἰ καὶ ἡμαρτάνομεν, τοῖσδε μὲν
fine and it-would-have-been if even we-were-erring for-these indeed
 εἶξαι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ὀργῇ, ἡμῖν δὲ αἰσχρὸν βιάσασθαι τὴν
to-yield to-the our anger for-us and shameful to-force the
 τούτων μετριότητα.
of-these moderation

ὔβρει δὲ καὶ ἐξουσία πλούτου πολλὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς 38.6
with-insolence but and license of-wealth many(-things) against us

ἄλλα τε ἡμαρτήκασι καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον ἡμετέραν οὔσαν
other both they-have-erred and Epidamnus ours being
 κακουμένην μὲν οὐ προσεποιῶντο, ἐλθόντων δὲ ἡμῶν
being-maltreated indeed not they-claimed having-come but we
 ἐπὶ τιμωρία ἐλόντες βία ἔχουσιν.

for help having-taken(-it) by-force they-bold(-it)

Ἐκαστὸς φασὶ δὴ δίκη πρότερον ἐτελέσθαι κρίνεσθαι, 39.1

and they-say indeed by-arbitration earlier to-have-been-willing to-be-judged
 ἢν γε οὐ τὸν προύχοντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς
which at-least not the(-man) holding-the-advantage and from the safety

προκαλούμενον λέγειν τι δοκεῖν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐς
challenging to-say anything to-seem must but the(-man) on

ἴσον τά τε ἔργα ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς λόγους πρὶν
equal(-terms) the both deeds alike and the words before

διαγωνίζεσθαι καθιστάνα.

contending placing

οὔτοι δὲ οὐ πρὶν πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡγήσαντο 39.2

these and not before besieging the place but when they-thought

ἡμᾶς οὐ περιόψεσθαι, τότε καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς δίκης
us not to-be-going-to-overlook(-it) then also the specious(-show) of-the arbitration

παρέσχοντο. καὶ δεῦρο ἦκουσιν οὐ τὰ κεῖ μόνον αὐτοὶ
they-offered and hither have-come not the(-wrongs)-there only themselves

ἁμαρτόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς νῦν ἀξιοῦντες οὐ ξυμμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ
having-done but also you now claiming not to-be-allied but

ξυναδικεῖν καὶ διαφόρους ὄντας ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι σφᾶς·
to-join-in-wrongdoing and at-variance being with-us to-receive them

οὓς χρῆν, ὅτε ἀσφαλέστατοι ἦσαν, τότε προσίειναι, καὶ 39.3

who it-was-needful when safest they-were then to-approach and

μὴ ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἡδίκημεθα, οὔτοι δὲ κινδυνεύουσιν,
not in which we indeed have-been-wronged these and are-in-danger

μηδ' ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς τῆς τε δυνάμεως αὐτῶν τότε οὐ
 nor in which you of-the both power of-them then not
 μεταλαβόντες τῆς ὠφελίας νῦν μεταδώσετε καὶ τῶν
 having-had-a-share of-the help now you-will-give-a-share and of-the
 ἀμαρτημάτων ἀπογενόμενοι τῆς ἀφ' ἡμῶν αἰτίας τὸ
 errors having-kept-apart of-the from us blame the
 ἴσον ἔξετε, πάλαι δὲ κοινώσαντας τὴν δύναμιν
 equal(-share) you-will-have long-ago but having-shared the power
 κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἔχειν.
 common also the results to-have

XI • THE SAMIAN PRECEDENT

The Corinthians say the treaty does not let Athens receive a city in revolt from another's alliance, and doing so means war with Corinth. Corinth gave Athens ships against Aegina and voted against helping Samos revolt, on the principle that each side should punish its own allies. The Athenians should not be swayed by the prospect of war, still uncertain, nor take Corcyra's alliance; they should repay the favor now, for the right course is also the safest.

- 40.1 Ὡς μὲν οὖν αὐτοί τε μετὰ προσηκόντων ἐγκλημάτων
 that indeed therefore we both with proper grievances
 ἐρχόμεθα καὶ οἶδε βίαιοι καὶ πλεονέκται εἰς δεδήλωται·
 come and these violent and grasping are has-been-shown
 ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὺς δέχοισθε μαθεῖν χρή.
 that but not — justly them you-would-receive to-learn you-must
- 40.2 εἰ γὰρ εἴρηται ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἐξεῖναι παρ' ὁποτέρους
 if for it-has-been-said in the treaty to-be-allowed to whichever(-side)
 τις βούλεται τῶν ἀγράφων πόλεων ἐλθεῖν, οὐ τοῖς ἐπὶ
 one wishes of-the unenrolled cities to-go not for-those with
 βλάβῃ ἐτέρων ἰοῦσιν ἢ ξυνηθήκη ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅστις μὴ
 (a)-view-to-harm of-others going the agreement is but whoever not

ἄλλου ἑαυτὸν ἀποστερῶν ἀσφαλείας δέεται καὶ ὅστις μὴ
from-another himself removing security needs and whoever not
 τοῖς δεξαμένοις, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης
to-those receiving(-him) if they-are-prudent war instead-of peace
 ποιήσει· ὁ νῦν ὑμεῖς μὴ πειθόμενοι ἡμῖν πάθοιτε ἄν.
will-make which now you not complying with-us would-suffer —
 οὐ γὰρ τοῖσδε μόνον ἐπικούροι ἂν γένοισθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ 40.3
not for to-these only helpers — you-would-become but also
 ἡμῖν ἀντὶ ἐνσπόνδων πολέμοι· ἀνάγκη γάρ, εἰ ἴτε
to-us instead-of treaty-partners enemies (it-is)-necessary for if you-go
 μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ ἄνευ ὑμῶν τούτους.
with them also to-defend-ourselves not without you against-these
 καίτοι δίκαιοι γ' ἐστὲ μάλιστα μὲν ἐκποδὼν στήναι 40.4
and-yet just at-least you-are most-of-all indeed out-of-the-way to-stand
 ἀμφοτέροις, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοὐναντίον ἐπὶ τούτους μεθ' ἡμῶν
for-both if but not the-opposite against these with us
 ἵεναι (Κορινθίους μὲν γε ἔνσπονδοὶ ἐστέ, Κερκυραίους
to-go with-Corinthians indeed at-least in-treaty you-are with-Corcyraeans
 δὲ οὐδὲ δι' ἀνοκωχῆς πώποτ' ἐγένεσθε), καὶ τὸν νόμον
but not-even through a-truce ever you-were and the law
 μὴ καθιστάναι ὥστε τοὺς ἐτέρων ἀφισταμένους δέχεσθαι.
not to-establish so-that those from-others revolting to-receive
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς Σαμίων ἀποστάντων ψῆφον προσεθέμεθα 40.5
not-even for we of-Samians having-revolted (a)-vote added
 ἐναντίαν ὑμῖν, τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων δίχα ἐψηφισμένων
opposed to-you the other Peloponnesians divided having-voted
 εἰ χρὴ αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν, φανερώς δὲ ἀντείπομεν τοὺς
whether one-must them to-help openly but we-contended the
 προσήκοντας ξυμμάχους αὐτόν τινα κολάζειν.
belonging-to(-one) allies oneself each to-punish

40.6 εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακόν τι δρῶντας δεχόμενοι τιμωρήσετε,
 if for those evil something doing receiving you-will-help
 φανεῖται καὶ ἃ τῶν ὑμετέρων οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἡμῖν
 it-will-appear also (that)-which of-the yours not fewer to-us
 πρόσσεισι, καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ
 will-come-over and the law against you selves rather than
 ἐφ' ἡμῖν θήσετε.

against us you-will-lay-down

41.1 Ἐδικαιώματα μὲν οὖν τάδε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχομεν ἱκανὰ
 claims indeed therefore these toward you we-have sufficient
 κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων νόμους, παραίνεσιν δὲ καὶ ἀξίωσιν
 according-to the of-Greeks laws exhortation but and a-claim
 χάριτος τοιάνδε, ἣν οὐκ ἐχθροὶ ὄντες ὥστε βλάπτειν
 of-favor such which not enemies being so-as to-harm
 οὐδ' αὖ φίλοι ὥστ' ἐπιχρῆσθαι, ἀντιδοθῆναι ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ
 nor again friends so-as to-make-use-of to-be-repaid to-us in the
 παρόντι φαμὲν χρῆναι.

present(-moment) we-say it-is-necessary

41.2 νεῶν γὰρ μακρῶν σπανίσαντές ποτε πρὸς τὸν Αἰγινητῶν
 of-ships for long being-short once for the against-Aeginetans
 ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικὰ πόλεμον παρὰ Κορινθίων εἴκοσι
 before the Persian(-war) war from Corinthians twenty
 ναῦς ἐλάβετε· καὶ ἡ εὐεργεσία αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ
 ships you-received and the benefit this both and the(-one)
 ἐς Σαμίους, τὸ δι' ἡμᾶς Πελοποννησίους αὐτοῖς μὴ
 toward Samians the through us Peloponnesians them not
 βοηθῆσαι, παρέσχεον ὑμῖν Αἰγινητῶν μὲν ἐπικράτησιν,
 to-help afforded to-you of-Aeginetans indeed mastery
 Σαμίων δὲ κόλασιν, καὶ ἐν καιροῖς τοιούτοις ἐγένετο
 of-Samians and punishment and on occasions such it-was

- οἷς μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους
in-which most men against enemies the own
 ἰόντες τῶν ἀπάντων ἀπερίοπτοί εἰσι παρὰ τὸ νικᾶν·
going of-the all(-else) heedless are compared-with the winning
 φίλον τε γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τὸν ὑπουργοῦντα, ἦν καὶ 41.3
friend both for they-consider the(-man) serving(-them) if also
 πρότερον ἐχθρὸς ἦ, πολέμιόν τε τὸν ἀντιστάντα,
before an-enemy he-was enemy and the(-man) opposing
 ἦν καὶ τύχῃ φίλος ὢν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα χείρον
if also he-happen a-friend being since even the own(-affairs) worse
 τίθενται φιλονικίας ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτίκα.
they-manage of-contentiousness for-the-sake the immediate
 ‘Ὦν ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ νεώτερός τις παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου 42.1
which having-considered also younger any from elder
 αὐτὰ μαθὼν ἀξιούτω τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἡμᾶς
these(-things) having-learned let-him-think-fit with-the like(-return) us
 ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ νομίσῃ δίκαια μὲν τάδε λέγεσθαι,
to-require and not let-him-think just indeed these(-things) to-be-said
 ζύμφορα δέ, εἰ πολεμήσει, ἄλλα εἶναι.
advantageous but if he-shall-make-war other(-things) to-be
 τό τε γὰρ ζυμφέρον ἐν ᾧ ἂν τις ἐλάχιστα ἀμαρτάνῃ 42.2
the both for advantage in which — one least errs
 μάλιστα ἔπεται, καὶ τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου ᾧ
most follows and the future of-the war with-which
 φοβοῦντες ὑμᾶς Κερκυραῖοι κελεύουσιν ἀδικεῖν ἐν ἀφανεί
frightening you (the)-Corcyraeans bid(-you) to-do-wrong in uncertainty
 ἔτι κεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπαρθέντας αὐτῷ φανεράν
still lies and not worth-while being-carried-away by-it open
 ἔχθραν ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλουσιν πρὸς Κορινθίους κτήσασθαι,
enmity already and not future toward Corinthians to-acquire

τῆς δὲ ὑπαρχούσης πρότερον διὰ Μεγαρέας ὑποψίας
of-the and existing before because-of Megarians suspicion
 σῶφρον ὑφελεῖν μᾶλλον
prudent to-take-away rather

42.3 (ἡ γὰρ τελευταία χάρις καιρὸν ἔχουσα, κὰν ἐλάσσων
the for last favor opportuneness having even-if smaller
 ἦ, δύναται μείζον ἔγκλημα λῦσαι),
it-be can greater grievance undo

42.4 μηδ' ὅτι ναυτικοῦ ξυμμαχίαν μεγάλην διδόασι, τούτῳ
nor because of-navy alliance great they-offer by-this
 ἐφέλκεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ὁμοίους ἐχυρωτέρα
to-be-drawn the for not to-wrong the equals surer
 δύναμις ἢ τῷ αὐτίκα φανερῷ ἐπαρθέντας διὰ
power than by-the immediate apparent(-advantage) being-carried-away through
 κινδύνων τὸ πλέον ἔχειν.
dangers — more to-have

43.1 ἡμεῖς δὲ περιπεπτωκότες οἷς ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι αὐτοὶ
we and having-come-upon (the)-rule-which in — Lacedaemon ourselves
 προείπομεν, τοὺς σφετέρους ξυμμάχους αὐτόν τινα κολάζειν,
proclaimed the own allies oneself each to-punish
 νῦν παρ' ὑμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀξιούμεν κομίζεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῇ
now from you the same we-claim to-get and not by-the
 ἡμετέρα ψήφῳ ὠφεληθέντας τῇ ὑμετέρα ἡμᾶς βλάψαι.
our vote having-been-helped by-the yours us to-harm

43.2 τὸ δὲ ἴσον ἀνταπόδοτε, γνόντες τοῦτον ἐκείνον εἶναι
the and equal(-return) repay knowing this that to-be
 τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ ὃ τε ὑπουργῶν φίλος μάλιστα καὶ
the moment in which the both (one)-serving (is)-a-friend most and
 ὁ ἀντιστὰς ἐχθρός.
the (one)-opposing an-enemy

καὶ Κερκυραίους τούσδε μήτε ξυμμάχους δέχεσθε βία 43.3

and Corcyraeans these neither (as)-allies receive in-despite-of

ἡμῶν μήτε ἀμύνετε αὐτοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν.

us nor help them doing-wrong

καὶ τάδε ποιοῦντες τὰ προσήκοντά τε δράσετε καὶ 43.4

and these(-things) doing the fitting(-things) both you-will-do and

τὰ ἄριστα βουλευέσεσθε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς.

the best you-will-plan for-you yourselves

XII • THE DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE

At a second assembly the Athenians make a defensive alliance with Corcyra, not a full one, which would break their treaty with the Peloponnesians. They expect that war anyway, want Corcyra's fleet kept from Corinth and the two navies worn down, and see the island on the route to Italy and Sicily. They send ten ships under Lacedaemonius, ordered not to fight unless Corinth moves to land on Corcyra or its territory. The Corinthians anchor at Cheimerium with 150 ships, the Corcyraeans camp on the Sybota islands with 110, and both draw up for battle.

τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀκούσαντες 44.1

such(-things) and also the Corinthians said Athenians and having-heard

ἀμφοτέρων, γενομένης καὶ δις ἐκκλησίας, τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ

both there-having-been even twice an-assembly at-the indeed first

οὐχ ἧσσον τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς λόγους, ἐν δὲ τῇ

not less of-the Corinthians they-approved the arguments in but the

ὑστεραίᾳ μετέγνωσαν Κερκυραίοις ξυμμαχίαν μὲν μὴ

following(-day) they-changed-their-minds with-Corcyraeans alliance indeed not

ποιήσασθαι ὥστε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν (εἰ

to-make so-that the same enemies and friends to-consider if

γὰρ ἐπὶ Κόρινθον ἐκέλευον σφίσιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ξυμπλεῖν,

for against Corinth should-bid them the Corcyraeans to-sail-with

ἐλύνοντ' ἂν αὐτοῖς αἰ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους σπονδαί),
would-be-broken — for-them the with Peloponnesians treaty
 ἐπιμαχίαν δ' ἐποίησαντο τῇ ἀλλήλων βοηθεῖν, εἰάν τις
a-defensive-alliance but they-made the(-land) of-one-another to-help if any
 ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἢ ἢ Ἀθήνας ἢ τοὺς τούτων ξυμμάχους.
against Corcyra should-go or Athens or the of-these allies

44.2 ἐδόκει γὰρ ὁ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους πόλεμος καὶ ὥς
it-seemed for the with Peloponnesians war even so
 ἔσσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐβούλοντο μὴ
to-be-going-to-be for-them and — Corcyra they-wisbed not
 προσέσθαι τοῖς Κορινθίοις ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν τοσοῦτον,
to-give-up to-the Corinthians a-navy having so-great
 συγκρούειν δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα
to-clash and as much-as(-possible) them with-one-another so-that
 ἀσθενεστέροις οὖσιν, ἣν τι δέη, Κορινθίοις τε καὶ
weaker being if any(-need) arise with-Corinthians both and
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν ἐς πόλεμον καθιστῶνται.
with-the others a-navy having into war they-might-enter

44.3 ἅμα δὲ τῆς τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς
at-the-same-time and of-the both Italy and Sicily well
 ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς ἡ νῆσος ἐν παράπλῳ κεῖσθαι.
appeared to-them the island on (the)-coasting-route to-lie

45.1 τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Κερκυραίους
with-such indeed judgment the Athenians the Corcyraeans
 προσεδέξαντο, καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπελθόντων οὐ πολὺ
received and the Corinthians having-gone-away not much
 ὕστερον δέκα ναῦς αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλαν βοηθοῦς.
later ten ships to-them they-sent (as)-helpers

45.2 ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιος τε ὁ Κίμωνος καὶ
commanded and them Lacedaemonius both the (son)-of-Cimon and
 Διότιμος ὁ Στρομβίχου καὶ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἐπικλέους.
Diotimus the (son)-of-Strombichus and Proteas the (son)-of-Epicles

προείπον δὲ αὐτοῖς μὴ ναυμαχεῖν Κορινθίοις, ἣν μὴ ἐπὶ 45.3

they-instructed and them not to-fight-at-sea with-Corinthians if not against

Κέρκυραν πλέωσι καὶ μέλλωσιν ἀποβαίνειν ἢ ἐς τῶν

Corcyra they-sail and intend to-land or on of-the

ἐκείνων τι χωρίων· οὕτω δὲ κωλύειν κατὰ δύναμιν.

their any places so and to-prevent(-them) according-to power

προείπον δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ λύειν ἔνεκα τὰς σπονδάς.

they-instructed and these(-things) for-the not to-break sake the treaty

αἱ μὲν δὴ νῆες ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, οἱ δὲ 46.1

the indeed then ships arrive at — Corcyra the and

Κορίνθιοι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν

Corinthians when for-them it-had-been-prepared sailed against —

Κέρκυραν ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἦσαν δὲ

Corcyra with-ships fifty and a-hundred there-were and

Ἡλείων μὲν δέκα, Μεγαρέων δὲ δώδεκα καὶ Λευκαδίων

of-Eleans indeed ten of-Megarians and twelve and of-Leucadians

δέκα, Ἀμπρακιωτῶν δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ Ἀνακτορίων

ten of-Ambraciots and seven and twenty and of-Anactorians

μία, αὐτῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ἐνενήκοντα·

one of-themselves and of-Corinthians ninety

στρατηγοὶ δὲ τούτων ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις 46.2

generals and of-these there-were indeed also by cities

ἐκάστων, Κορινθίων δὲ Ξενοκλείδης ὁ Εὐθυκλέους πέμπτος

of-each of-Corinthians and Xenocleides the (son)-of-Euthycles fifth

αὐτός.

himself

ἐπειδὴ δὲ προσέμειξαν τῇ κατὰ Κέρκυραν ἡπείρῳ 46.3

when and they-put-in to-the opposite Corcyra mainland

ἀπὸ Λευκάδος πλέοντες, ὁρμίζονται ἐς Χειμέριον τῆς

from Leucas sailing they-anchor at Cheimerium of-the

Θεσπρωτίδος γῆς.

Thesprotian land

- 46.4 ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν, καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κείμενη ἀπὸ θαλάσσης
there-is and a-harbor and a-city above it lies from (the)-sea
 ἐν τῇ Ἐλαιατίδι τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἐφύρη. ἐξίησι δὲ
in the Elaeatis of-the Thesprotian(-land) Ephyre issues and
 παρ' αὐτὴν Ἀχερουσία λίμνη ἐς θάλασσαν· διὰ δὲ τῆς
beside it (the)-Acherusian lake into (the)-sea through and the
 Θεσπρωτίδος Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτήν,
Thesprotian(-land) (the)-Acheron river flowing empties into it
 ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις
from which also the name it-has flows and also (the)-Thyamis
 ποταμός, ὀρίζων τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα καὶ Κεστρίνην, ὧν
river bounding the Thesprotian(-land) and Cestrine which
 ἐντὸς ἢ ἄκρα ἀνέχει τὸ Χειμέριον.
within the headland juts-out — Cheimerium
- 46.5 οἱ μὲν οὖν Κορίνθιοι τῆς ἡπείρου ἐνταῦθα ὀρμίζονται
the indeed therefore Corinthians of-the mainland there anchor
 τε καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐποίησαντο.
both and a-camp made
- 47.1 οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι ὥς ᾗσθοντο αὐτοὺς προσπλέοντας,
the and Corcyraeans when they-perceived them sailing-toward(-them)
 πληρώσαντες δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν ναῦς, ὧν ἦρχε Μικιάδης
having-manned ten and a-hundred ships of-which commanded Miciades
 καὶ Αἰσιμίδης καὶ Εὐρύβατος, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν
and Aesimides and Eurybatus encamped on one of-the
 νήσων αἱ καλοῦνται Σύβοτα· καὶ αἱ Ἀττικάι δέκα παρήσαν.
islands which are-called Sybota and the Attic ten were-present
- 47.2 ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ αὐτοῖς τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἦν
on and — Leucimme for-them the headland the infantry was
 καὶ Ζακυνθίων χίλιοι ὀπλῖται βεβοηθηκότες.
and of-Zacynthians a-thousand hoplites having-come-to-help

ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολλοὶ τῶν 47.3
there-were and also for-the Corinthians on the mainland many of-the
 βαρβάρων παραβεβοηθήκοτες· οἱ γὰρ ταύτῃ ἡπειρώται
barbarians having-come-to-help the for there mainlanders
 αἰεὶ ποτε αὐτοῖς φίλοι εἰσίν.
always ever to-them friends are

ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο τοῖς Κορινθίοις, λαβόντες τριῶν 48.1
when and it-had-been-prepared for-the Corinthians having-taken of-three
 ἡμερῶν σιτία ἀνήγοντο ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ
days provisions they-put-out as for a-sea-battle from —
 Χειμερίου νυκτός,
Cheimerium by-night

καὶ ἅμα ἔω πλέοντες καθορῶσι τὰς τῶν 48.2
and at-the-same-time with-dawn sailing they-see the of-the

Κερκυραίων ναῦς μετεώρους τε καὶ ἐπὶ σφῆς πλεούσας.
Corcyraeans ships out-at-sea both and against them sailing

ὥς δὲ κατεῖδον ἀλλήλους, ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ 48.3
when and they-saw one-another they-drew-up-opposite on indeed the
 δεξιὸν κέρας Κερκυραίων αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο
right wing of-Corcyraeans the Attic ships the and rest
 αὐτοὶ ἐπείχον τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ὧν
themselves occupied three divisions having-made of-the ships of-which
 ἦρχε τῶν τριῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκάστου εἷς.
commanded of-the three generals each one

οὕτω μὲν Κερκυραῖοι ἐτάξαντο, Κορινθίοις δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν 48.4
thus indeed Corcyraeans were-drawn-up for-Corinthians and the indeed right
 κέρας αἱ Μεγαρίδες νῆες εἶχον καὶ αἱ Ἀμπρακιώτιδες, κατὰ
wing the Megarian ships held and the Ambraciot along
 δὲ τὸ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ὥς ἕκαστοι· εὐώνυμον δὲ
and the center the other allies as severally (the)-left and

κέρας αὐτοὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ταῖς ἄριστα τῶν νεῶν πλεούσαις
 wing themselves the Corinthians with-the best of-the ships sailing
 κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων εἶχον.
 against the Athenians and the right of-the Corcyraeans they-held

XIII • THE BATTLE OF SYBOTA

The fleets fight in the old way, decks crowded with hoplites, archers, and javelin-men, more like a land battle than a sea fight. The Athenians frighten the enemy wherever the Corcyraeans are pressed but start no fight. Twenty Corcyraean ships rout the Corinthian right and burn its empty camp, while the Corinthians on the left win, and the Athenians join in. In the largest Greek sea battle yet, the Corinthians kill rather than capture, and kill some of their own unawares. At evening they attack again, but back away when twenty more Athenian ships appear.

49.1 ξυμμείξαντες δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκατέροις ἦρθη,
 having-engaged and when the signals on-each-side were-raised
 ἐναυμάχουν, πολλοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἔχοντες ἀμφότεροι
 they-fought-at-sea many indeed hoplites having both
 ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων, πολλοὺς δὲ τοξότας τε
 on the decks many and archers both
 καὶ ἀκοντιστάς, τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ἀπειρότερον ἔτι
 and javelin-men in-the old manner rather-unskillfully still
 παρεσκευασμένοι.
 equipped

49.2 ἦν τε ἡ ναυμαχία καρτερά, τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ οὐχ ὁμοίως,
 was both the sea-battle hard-fought in-the indeed skill not equally
 πεζομαχία δὲ τὸ πλεόν προσφερῆς οἶσα.
 to-a-land-battle but the more resembling being

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προσβάλοιεν ἀλλήλοις, οὐ ῥαδίως ἀπελύοντο 49.3

whenever for they-charged one-another not easily they-got-free

ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ὄχλου τῶν νεῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον

by both the number and crowding of-the ships and more

τι πιστεύοντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὀπλίταις

somewhat trusting to-the on the deck hoplites

εἰς τὴν νίκην, οἱ καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο ἡσυχάζουσιν

for the victory who standing-firm fought being-still

τῶν νεῶν· διέκπλοι δ' οὐκ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ

the ships breakings-through and not there-were but with-spirit and

ῥώμῃ τὸ πλεόν ἐναυμάχουν ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ.

strength the more they-fought-at-sea than with-skill

πανταχῇ μὲν οὖν πολὺς θόρυβος καὶ παραχώδης ἦν 49.4

everywhere indeed therefore much uproar and confused was

ἡ ναυμαχία, ἐν ᾗ αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες παραγινόμεναι τοῖς

the sea-battle in which the Attic ships coming-up to-the

Κερκυραίοις, εἴ πῃ πιέζοντο, φόβον μὲν παρεῖχον

Corcyraeans if anywhere they-were-pressed fear indeed caused

τοῖς ἐναντίοις, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον δεδιότες οἱ στρατηγοὶ

to-the opponents battle but not they-began fearing the generals

τὴν πρόρρησιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

the instruction of-the Athenians

μάλιστα δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν Κορινθίων ἐπόνει· οἱ 49.5

most and the right wing of-the Corinthians suffered the

γὰρ Κερκυραῖοι ἑκοσι ναυσὶν αὐτοὺς τρεψάμενοι καὶ

for Corcyraeans with-twenty ships them having-routed and

καταδιώξαντες σποράδας εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον καὶ μέχρι τοῦ

having-pursued scattered to the mainland and as-far-as the

στρατοπέδου πλεύσαντες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεκβάντες ἐνέπρησάν

camp having-sailed of-them and having-landed burned

τε τὰς σκηναὺς ἐρήμους καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν.

both the tents deserted and the goods plundered

- 49.6 ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ζύμμαχοι ἡσσῶντο καὶ οἱ
here indeed therefore the Corinthians and the allies were-worsted and the
 Κερκυραῖοι ἐπεκράτουν· ἥ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι, ἐπὶ
Corcyraeans prevailed where but themselves were the Corinthians on
 τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, πολλὸν ἐνίκων, τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τῶν εἴκοσι
the left by-far they-were-winning for-the Corcyraeans the twenty
 νεῶν ἀπὸ ἐλάσσονος πλήθους ἐκ τῆς διώξεως οὐ παρουσῶν.
ships from smaller numbers from the pursuit not being-present
- 49.7 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁρῶντες τοὺς Κερκυραίους πιεζομένους
the and Athenians seeing the Corcyraeans being-pressed
 μᾶλλον ἤδη ἀπροφασίστως ἐπεκούρου, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
more already without-excuse helped — indeed at-first
 ἀπεχόμενοι ὥστε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν τινί· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ τροπή
refraining so-as not to-ram anyone when but the rout
 ἐγίνετο λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐνέκειντο οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τότε δὴ
was-taking-place decisively and pressed-on the Corinthians then indeed
 ἔργου πᾶς εἶχετο ἤδη καὶ διεκέκριτο οὐδὲν ἔτι,
(the)-work everyone held-to already and was-distinguished nothing any-longer
 ἀλλὰ ξυνέπεσεν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ὥστε ἐπιχειρήσαι
but it-came to this of-necessity that to-attack
 ἀλλήλοις τοὺς Κορινθίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους.
one-another the Corinthians and Athenians
- 50.1 τῆς δὲ τροπῆς γενομένης οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὰ σκάφη
of-the and rout having-taken-place the Corinthians the hulls
 μὲν οὐχ εἰλκον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν νεῶν ἃς καταδύσειαν,
indeed not towed taking-in-tow of-the ships which they-disabled
 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεύειν διεκπλέοντες
toward but the men turned to-kill sailing-through
 μᾶλλον ἢ ζωγρεῖν, τοὺς τε αὐτῶν φίλους, οὐκ ἦσθημένοι
rather than to-take-alive the both own friends not having-perceived
 ὅτι ἦσσηντο οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα, ἀγνοοῦντες ἔκτεινον.
that were-worsted those on the right wing not-knowing(-them) they-killed

πολλῶν γὰρ νεῶν οὐσῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ 50.2
many for ships being of-both and over much
 τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπεχουσῶν, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέμειξαν ἀλλήλοις,
of-the sea extending when they-engaged with-one-another
 οὐ ῥαδίως τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐποιοῦντο ὅποιοι ἐκράτουν ἢ
not easily the distinguishing they-made which were-winning or
 ἐκρατοῦντο· ναυμαχία γὰρ αὕτη Ἑλλήσι πρὸς Ἑλληνας
were-being-defeated (a)-sea-battle for this of-Greeks against Greeks
 νεῶν πλῆθει μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς γεγένηται.
of-ships in-number greatest indeed of-those before it has-been
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατεδίωξαν τοὺς Κερκυραίους οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐς 50.3
when and had-pursued the Corcyraeans the Corinthians to
 τὴν γῆν, πρὸς τὰ ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους
the land toward the wrecks and the dead the own
 ἐτράποντο, καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐκράτησαν ὥστε προσκομίσαι
they-turned and of-the most got-control so-as to-bring(-them)
 πρὸς τὰ Σύβοτα, οἱ αὐτοῖς ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς τῶν
to — Sybota where to-them the by land army of-the
 βαρβάρων προσεβεβοηθήκει· ἔστι δὲ τὰ Σύβοτα τῆς
barbarians had-come-to-help is and — Sybota of-the
 Θεσπρωτίδος λιμὴν ἐρήμος. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες αὖθις
Thesprotian(-land) a-harbor deserted this and having-done again
 ἀθροισθέντες ἐπέπλεον τοῖς Κερκυραίοις.
having-gathered they-sailed-against the Corcyraeans
 οἱ δὲ ταῖς πλωίμοις καὶ ὅσαι ἦσαν λοιπαὶ μετὰ τῶν 50.4
they and with-the seaworthy and as-many-as were remaining with the
 Ἀττικῶν νεῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντεπέπλεον, δέισαντες μὴ
Attic ships also themselves sailed-out-to-meet(-them) fearing lest
 ἐς τὴν γῆν σφῶν πειρῶσιν ἀποβαίνειν.
into the land of-them they-try to-land

50.5 ἤδη δὲ ἦν ὀψὲ καὶ ἐπεπαιάνιστο αὐτοῖς ὥς ἐς
already and it-was late and the-paeon-had-been-sung by-them as for
 ἐπίπλουν, καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἑξαπίνης πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο
attack and the Corinthians suddenly stern backed-water
 κατιδόντες εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθηναίων προσπλευούσας, ἃς
having-seen twenty ships of-Athenians sailing-up which
 ὕστερον τῶν δέκα βοηθοὺς ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι,
later than-the ten (as)-helpers sent-out the Athenians
 δείσαντες, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ νικηθῶσιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ
fearing what happened lest be-defeated the Corcyraeans and
 αἱ σφέτεραι δέκα νῆες ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν ὧσιν.
the own ten ships few to-help be

51.1 ταύτας οὖν προιδόντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ ὑποτοπήσαντες
these therefore having-seen-first the Corinthians and having-suspected
 ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν εἶναι οὐχ ὅσας ἑώρων ἀλλὰ πλείους
from Athens to-be not as-many-as they-saw but more
 ὑπανεχώρουν.
withdrew

51.2 τοῖς δὲ Κερκυραίοις (ἐπέπλεον γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ
to-the but Corcyraeans they-were-sailing-up for rather from the
 ἀφανοῦς) οὐχ ἑωρῶντο, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον τοὺς Κορινθίους
unseen(-side) not were-they-seen and they-wondered-at the Corinthians
 πρύμναν κρουομένους, πρὶν τινες ἰδόντες εἶπον ὅτι
stern backing-water until some having-seen said that
 νῆες ἐκεῖναι ἐπιπλέουσιν. τότε δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνεχώρουν
ships those are-sailing-up then and also themselves withdrew
 (ξυνεσκοτάζε γὰρ ἤδη), καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἀποτραπόμενοι
it-was-growing-dark for already and the Corinthians having-turned-away
 τὴν διάλυσιν ἐποίησαντο.
the separation made

οὕτω μὲν ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἐγένετο ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἡ 51.3
thus indeed the parting took-place from-one-another and the
 ναυμαχία ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα.

sea-battle ended at night

τοῖς δὲ Κερκυραίοις στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ 51.4
to-the and Corcyraeans encamping on — Leucimne

αἱ εἴκοσι νῆες αἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν αὐται, ὧν ἦρχε
the twenty ships those from — Athens these which commanded

Γλαύκων τε ὁ Λεάγρου καὶ Ἄνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου,†
Glaucon both the (son)-of-Leagrus and Andocides the (son)-of-Leogoras

διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ναυαγίων προσκομισθεῖσαι κατέπλεον
through the corpses and wrecks having-come-up sailed-in

ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἢ ὥφθησαν.

to the camp not much later than they-were-sighted

οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι (ἦν γὰρ νύξ) ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ πολέμῃ 51.5
the and Corcyraeans it-was for night feared lest enemy

ᾧσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἔγνωσαν· καὶ ὠρμίσαντο.

they-be then but they-recognized(-them) and anchored

Next day the Athenian and Corcyraean ships offer battle at Sybota. The Corinthians, unwilling to fight, send men without a herald to accuse the Athenians of breaking the treaty; the Athenians say they will stop them only from sailing against Corcyra. Both sides set up trophies and claim the victory. Sailing home, the Corinthians take Anactorium, sell eight hundred slaves, and keep 250 Corcyraean prisoners, whom they treat well, hoping to win Corcyra over. This is Corinth's first grievance against Athens.

- 52.1 τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναγαγόμεναι αἱ τε Ἀττικάι τριάκοντα
on-the and next-day having-put-out the both Attic thirty
νῆες καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων ὅσαι πλώιμοι ἦσαν
ships and of-the Corcyraeans as-many-as seaworthy were
ἐπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς Συβότοις λιμένα, ἐν ᾧ οἱ
sailed to the in — Sybota harbor in which the
Κορίνθιοι ὥρμουν, βουλόμενοι εἰδέναι εἰ ναυμαχήσουσιν.
Corinthians lay-at-anchor wishing to-know whether they-will-fight-at-sea
- 52.2 οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἄραντες ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ
they and the indeed ships having-put-out from the land and
παραταξάμενοι μετεώρους ἡσύχαζον, ναυμαχίας οὐ
having-drawn-up out-at-sea kept-still a-sea-battle not
διανοοῦμενοι ἄρχειν ἐκόντες ὁρῶντες προσγεγενημένας τε
intending to-begin willingly seeing having-come-in-addition both
ναῦς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀκραιφνεῖς καὶ σφίσι πολλὰ τὰ
ships from — Athens fresh and to-them many the
ἄπορα ξυμβεβηκότα, αἰχμαλώτων τε περὶ φυλακῆς οὓς
difficulties having-occurred of-prisoners both about guarding whom
ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶχον, καὶ ἐπισκευὴν οὐκ οὔσαν τῶν νεῶν
in the ships they-bad and repair not being of-the ships
ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ.
in a-place deserted

τοῦ δὲ οἶκαδε πλοῦ μάλλον διεσκόπουν ὅπῃ κομισθήσονται, 52.3

the and homeward voyage rather they-considered how they-will-get-home

δεδιότες μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες λελύσθαι τὰς

fearing lest the Athenians having-considered to-have-been-broken the

σπονδάς, διότι ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, οὐκ ἐῷσι σφᾶς ἀποπλεῖν.

treaty because to blows they-came not allow them to-sail-away

ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἐς κελήτιον ἐσβιβάσαντας 53.1

it-seemed-good therefore to-them men into a-boat having-embarked

ἄνευ κηρυκείου προσπέμψαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πείραν

without a-herald's-staff to-send to-the Athenians and a-test

ποιήσασθαι. πέμψαντές τε ἔλεγον τοιάδε.

to-make having-sent(-them) and they-said as-follows

‘ἀδικεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολέμου ἄρχοντες καὶ 53.2

you-do-wrong O men Athenians war beginning and

σπονδάς λύνετε· ἡμῖν γὰρ πολεμίους τοὺς ἡμετέρους

(the)-treaty breaking us for enemies the ours

τιμωρουμένοις ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθε ὅπλα ἀνταιρόμενοι. εἰ δ’

punishing in-the-way you-stand arms raising-against(-us) if but

ὑμῖν γνώμη ἐστὶ κωλύειν τε ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἢ

to-you (the)-intention is to-prevent both us against Corcyra or

ἄλλοσε εἴ ποι βουλόμεθα πλεῖν καὶ τὰς σπονδάς λύετε,

elsewhere if anywhere we-wish to-sail and the treaty you-break

ἡμᾶς τούσδε πρώτους λαβόντες χρήσασθε ὡς πολεμίοις.’

us these first having-seized treat as enemies

οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα εἶπον· τῶν δὲ Κερκυραίων τὸ μὲν 53.3

they indeed then such(-things) said of-the and Corcyraeans the indeed

στρατοπέδον ὅσον ἐπήκουσεν ἀνεβόησεν εὐθὺς λαβεῖν τε

camp as-many-as heard shouted at-once to-seize both

αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποκτείνειν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοιάδε ἀπεκρίναντο.

them and to-kill(-them) the but Athenians as-follows answered

- 53.4 ὄυτε ἄρχομεν πολέμου, ὦ ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, οὔτε τὰς
 neither do-we-begin war O men Peloponnesians nor the
 σπονδὰς λύομεν, Κερκυραίοις δὲ τοιοῦδε ξυμμάχοις οὔσι
 treaty do-we-break for-Corcyraeans but these allies being
 βοηθοὶ ἦλθομεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοσέ ποι βούλεσθε πλεῖν,
 (as)-helpers we-came if indeed therefore elsewhere anywhere you-wish to-sail
 οὐ κωλύομεν· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν πλευσεῖσθε ἢ ἐς τῶν
 not we-prevent(-you) if but against Corcyra you-will-sail or to of-the
 ἐκεῖνων τι χωρίων, οὐ περιοψόμεθα κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.’
 their any places not we-will-allow(-it) according-to the possible
- 54.1 τοιαῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποκριναμένων οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι
 such(-things) the Athenians having-answered the indeed Corinthians
 τόν τε πλοῦν τὸν ἐπ’ οἴκου παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τροπαῖον
 the both voyage the(-one) to home prepared and a-trophy
 ἔστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Συβότοις· οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι
 set-up in the on the mainland Sybota the and Corcyraeans
 τά τε ναυάγια καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς
 the both wrecks and corpses took-up the(-ones) toward them
 ἐξενεχθέντα ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ροῦ καὶ ἀνέμου, ὃς γενόμενος
 carried-ashore by both the current and wind which having-arisen
 τῆς νυκτὸς διεσκέδασεν αὐτὰ πανταχῇ, καὶ τροπαῖον
 in-the night scattered them everywhere and a-trophy
 ἀντέστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Συβότοις ὥς νενικηκότες.
 set-up-in-turn in the in the island Sybota as having-won
- 54.2 γνώμη δὲ τοιᾶδε ἐκάτεροι τὴν νίκην προσεποιήσαντο·
 with-reasoning and such each(-side) the victory claimed
 Κορίνθιοι μὲν κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ μέχρι νυκτός,
 Corinthians indeed having-prevailed in-the sea-battle until night
 ὥστε καὶ ναυάγια πλεῖστα καὶ νεκροὺς προσκομίσασθαι,
 so-that even wrecks most and corpses to-carry-off
 καὶ ἄνδρας ἔχοντες αἰχμαλώτους οὐκ ἐλάσσους χιλίων
 and men having (as)-prisoners not fewer than-a-thousand

ναῦς τε καταδύσαντες περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔστησαν τροπαῖον·
ships and having-sunk about seventy set-up a-trophy
 Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τριάκοντα ναῦς μάλιστα διαφθείραντες,
Corcyraeans and thirty ships about having-destroyed
 καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον, ἀνελόμενοι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς
and when Athenians came having-taken-up the(-ones) toward them
 αὐτοὺς νανάγια καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς τῇ τε
selves wrecks and corpses and because before-them on-the both
 προτεραίᾳ πρύμναν κρουόμενοι ὑπεχώρησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι
previous-day stern backing-water withdrew the Corinthians
 ἰδόντες τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦλθον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι,
having-seen the Attic ships and when came the Athenians
 οὐκ ἀντεπέπλεον ἐκ τῶν Συβότων, διὰ ταῦτα
not they-sailed-out-against(-them) from — Sybota because-of these(-things)
 τροπαῖον ἔστησαν.

a-trophy set-up

οὕτω μὲν ἑκάτεροι νικᾶν ἠξίου· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι
thus indeed each(-side) to-win claimed the and Corinthians
 ἀποπλέοντες ἐπ' οἴκου Ἀνακτόριον, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ
sailing-away to home Anactorium which is at the
 στόματι τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κόλπου, εἶλον ἀπάτη (ἦν δὲ
mouth of-the Ambracian gulf took by-deceit it-was and
 κοινὸν Κερκυραίων καὶ ἐκείνων) καὶ καταστήσαντες ἐν
common of-Corcyraeans and of-them and having-established in
 αὐτῷ Κορινθίους οἰκήτορας ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, καὶ τῶν
it Corinthian settlers they-withdrew to home and of-the
 Κερκυραίων ὀκτακοσίους μὲν οἱ ἦσαν δούλοι ἀπέδοντο,
Corcyraeans eight-hundred indeed who were slaves they-sold
 πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ διακοσίους δῆσαντες ἐφύλασσον καὶ
fifty and and two-hundred binding they-kept and
 ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχον πολλῇ, ὅπως αὐτοῖς τὴν Κέρκυραν
in care held much so-that for-them — Corcyra

55.1

ἀναχωρήσαντες προσποιήσιν· ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ δυνάμει
having-returned they-might-win-over they-happened and also in-power
 αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους πρῶτοι ὄντες τῆς πόλεως.

of-them the more-part first being of-the city

55.2 ἡ μὲν οὖν Κέρκυρα οὕτω περιγίγνεται τῷ πολέμῳ

the indeed therefore Corcyra thus survives in-the war

τῶν Κορινθίων, καὶ αἱ νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνεχώρησαν

of-the Corinthians and the ships of-the Athenians withdrew

ἐξ αὐτῆς· αἰτία δὲ αὕτη πρώτη ἐγένετο τοῦ πολέμου

from it (a)-grievance and this first became of-the war

τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτι σφίσιν ἐν

for-the Corinthians against the Athenians that against-them in

σπονδαῖς μετὰ Κερκυραίων ἐναυμάχουν.

(a)-treaty with Corcyraeans they-fought-at-sea

XV • POTIDAEA

Fearing that Potidaea, a Corinthian colony and a tributary ally, will revolt, Athens orders it to pull down its wall, give hostages, and expel its Corinthian magistrates. Perdiccas of Macedon, hostile because Athens has allied with his brother Philip, intrigues with Sparta and Corinth. Promised a Spartan invasion of Attica, Potidaea revolts with the Chalcidians, and the Athenian ships find it already in revolt.

56.1 μετὰ ταῦτα δ' εὐθὺς καὶ τάδε ξυνέβη γενέσθαι τοῖς

after these(-things) and at-once also these(-things) happened to-arise for-the

Ἀθηναίους καὶ Πελοποννησίοις διάφορα ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν.

Athenians and Peloponnesians differences for — war

56.2 τῶν γὰρ Κορινθίων πρᾶσσόντων ὅπως τιμωρήσονται

the for Corinthians contriving how they-might-take-vengeance-on

αὐτούς, ὑποτοπήσαντες τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι

them having-suspected the hatred of-them the Athenians

Ποτειδεάτας, οἳ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης,

Potidaean who dwell on the isthmus — of-Pallene

Κορινθίων ἀποίκους, ἑαυτῶν δὲ ξυμμάχους φόρου

of-Corinthians colonists of-themselves and allies to-tribute

ὑποτελεῖς, ἐκέλευον τὸ ἐς Παλλήνην τείχος καθελεῖν καὶ

subject they-ordered the toward Pallene wall to-pull-down and

ὁμήρους δοῦναι, τοὺς τε ἐπιδημιουργοὺς ἐκπέμπειν καὶ

hostages to-give the both magistrates to-send-away and

τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ δέχεσθαι οὓς κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον Κορίνθιοι

in-the future not to-receive whom by year each Corinthians

ἔπεμπον, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποστῶσι ὑπὸ τε Περδίκκου

sent fearing lest they-revolt by both Perdiccas

πειθόμενοι καὶ Κορινθίων, τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπὶ

being-persuaded and Corinthians the both other the(-ones) toward

Θράκης ξυναποστήσωσι ξυμμάχους.

Thrace they-might-bring-into-revolt allies

ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοὺς Ποτειδεάτας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι

57.1

these(-things) and about the Potidaean the Athenians

προπαρεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κερκύρα ναυμαχίαν·

prepared-beforehand at-once after the at Corcyra sea-battle

οἱ τε γὰρ Κορίνθιοι φανερώς ἤδη διάφοροι ἦσαν,

57.2

the both for Corinthians openly already at-variance were

Περδίκκας τε ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς

Perdiccas and the (son)-of-Alexander of-Macedonians king

ἐπεπολέμωτο ξύμμαχος πρότερον καὶ φίλος ὦν.

had-become-hostile an-ally before and friend being

ἐπολεμώθη δὲ ὅτι Φιλίππῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῷ καὶ Δέρδῳ

57.3

he-became-hostile and because with-Philip — his-own brother and Derdas

κοινῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐναντιουμένοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξυμμαχίαν

jointly against him opposing the Athenians alliance

ἐποιήσαντο.

had-made

- 57.4 δεδιώς τε ἔπρασεν ἔς τε τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πέμπων
fearing both he-intrigued to both — Lacedaemon sending
 ὅπως πόλεμος γένηται αὐτοῖς πρὸς Πελοποννησίους, καὶ
so-that war might-arise for-them against Peloponnesians and
 τοὺς Κορινθίους προσεποιεῖτο τῆς Ποτειδαίας ἕνεκα
the Corinthians he-tried-to-win-over — of-Potidaea for-the-sake
 ἀποστάσεως·
revolt
- 57.5 προσέφερε δὲ λόγους καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδεῦσι
he-made and proposals also to-the toward Thrace Chalcidians
 καὶ Βοττιαίοις ξυναποστῆναι, νομίζων, εἰ ξύμμαχα ταῦτα
and Bottiaeans to-join-in-revolt thinking if allies these
 ἔχοι ὅμορα ὄντα τὰ χωρία, ῥᾶον ἂν τὸν πόλεμον
he-had neighboring being the places more-easily — the war
 μετ' αὐτῶν ποιῆσθαι.
with them would-wage
- 57.6 ὧν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι
which the Athenians perceiving and wishing
 προκαταλαμβάνειν τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἀποστάσεις (ἔτυχον
to-forestall of-the cities the revolts they-happened
 γὰρ τριάκοντα ναῦς ἀποστέλλοντες καὶ χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἐπὶ
for thirty ships sending-off and a-thousand hoplites against
 τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ, Ἀρχεστράτου τοῦ Λυκομήδους μετ' ἄλλων
the land of-him Arcestratus the (son)-of-Lycomedes with others
 ἑδέκα στρατηγούντος) ἐπιστέλλουσι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν νεῶν
ten commanding they-instruct the commanders of-the ships
 Ποτειδεατῶν τε ὁμήρους λαβεῖν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος καθελεῖν, τῶν
of-Potidaean both hostages to-take and the wall to-pull-down of-the
 τε πλησίων πόλεων φυλακὴν ἔχειν ὅπως μὴ ἀποστήσονται.
and neighboring cities guard to-keep so-that not they-revolt

Ποτειδεᾶται δὲ πέμψαντες μὲν καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις, 58.1

Potidaean and having-sent indeed also to Athenians envoys

εἴ πως πείσειαν μὴ σφῶν περί νεωτερίζειν μηδέν,

if somehow they-might-persuade(-them) not about them to-make-changes anything

ἐλθόντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα μετὰ Κορινθίων, ὅπως

having-gone and also to — Lacedaemon with Corinthians so-that

έτοιμάσαιτο τιμωρίαν, ἣν δέη, ἐπειδὴ ἔκ τε Ἀθηνῶν

they-might-prepare help if it-be-needed when from both Athens

ἐκ πολλοῦ πράσσοντες οὐδὲν ἡῦροντο ἐπιτήδειον, ἀλλ'

from long negotiating nothing they-got suitable but

αἱ νῆες αἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁμοίως

the ships the(-ones) against Macedonia and against them alike

ἔπλεον, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπέσχετο

sailed and the authorities of-the Lacedaemonians promised

αὐτοῖς, ἣν ἐπὶ Ποτειδαίαν ἴωσι Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν

to-them if against Potidaea go Athenians into — Attica

ἐσβαλεῖν, τότε δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀφίστανται

to-invade then indeed at the time this they-revolt

μετὰ Χαλκιδέων καὶ Βοττιαίων κοινῇ ξυνομόσαντες.

with Chalcidians and Bottiaeans in-common having-sworn-together

καὶ Περδίκκας πείθει Χαλκιδέας τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλεις 58.2

and Perdiccas persuades Chalcidians the on (the)-sea cities

ἐκλιπόντας καὶ καταβαλόντας ἀνοικίσασθαι ἐς Ὀlynθον

having-abandoned and having-pulled-down to-move-inland to Olynthus

μίαν τε πόλιν ταύτην ἰσχυρὰν ποιήσασθαι τοῖς τ'

one and city this strong to-make to-those and

ἐκλιποῦσι τούτοις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς τῆς Μυγδονίας περὶ

having-left these of-the own land of-the Mygdonian(-land) about

τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι, ἕως ἂν ὁ πρὸς

— Bolbe lake he-gave to-cultivate as-long-as — the against

Ἀθηναίους πόλεμος ἦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνωκίζοντό τε
Athenians war be and they indeed were-moving-inland both
 καθαιροῦντες τὰς πόλεις καὶ ἐς πόλεμον παρεσκευάζοντο·
pulling-down the cities and for war prepared

59.1 αἱ δὲ τριάκοντα νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὰ
the and thirty ships of-the Athenians arrive at the(-parts)
 ἐπὶ Θράκης, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τήν τε Ποτεΐδαιαν καὶ
toward Thrace and find — both Potidaea and
 τὰλλα ἀφεστηκότα.
the-rest having-revolted

59.2 νομίσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀδύνατα εἶναι πρὸς τε
having-considered and the generals impossible to-be against both
 Περδίκκαν πολεμεῖν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει καὶ τὰ
Perdiccas to-war with-the present force and the
 ξυναφεστῶτα χωρία τρέπονται ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἐφ'
having-revolted-together places turn to — Macedonia for
 ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐξεπέμποντο, καὶ καταστάντες
which also at-the first they-had-been-sent-out and having-established(-themselves)
 ἐπολέμουν μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν Δέρδου ἀδελφῶν
they-warred with Philip and the of-Derdas brothers
 ἄνωθεν στρατιᾷ ἐσβεβληκότων.
from-inland with-an-army having-invaded

Corinth sends Aristeus with sixteen hundred hoplites and four hundred light troops, volunteers and mercenaries, who arrive forty days after the revolt. Athens sends Callias with forty ships and two thousand hoplites; they come to terms with Perdiccas, who soon deserts, and march on Potidaea. On the isthmus Aristeus' wing routs its enemy, but the rest of his army breaks, and he forces his way into the town along the breakwater. The Athenians set up a trophy; Potidaea and its allies lose under three hundred, Athens 150 and Callias.

καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τῆς Ποτειδαίας ἀφεστηκυίας καὶ 60.1
and in this(-time) the Corinthians — Potidaea having-revolted and
 τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν περὶ Μακεδονίαν οὐσῶν, δεδιότες περὶ
the Attic ships about Macedonia being fearing for
 τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ οἰκείῳ τὸν κίνδυνον ἡγούμενοι πέμπουσιν
the place and their-own the danger considering send
 ἑαυτῶν τε ἔθελοντάς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων
of-themselves both volunteers and of-the other Peloponnesians
 μισθῷ πείσαντες ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τοὺς πάντας
by-pay having-persuaded(-them) six-hundred and a-thousand — in-all
 ὀπλίτας καὶ ψιλοὺς τετρακοσίους.
hoplites and light-troops four-hundred
 ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀριστεὺς ὁ Ἀδειμάντου, κατὰ φιλίαν 60.2
commanded and them Aristeus the (son)-of-Adeimantus from friendship
 τε αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ πλείστοι ἐκ Κορίνθου στρατιῶται
both for-him not least the most from Corinth soldiers
 ἔθελονταὶ ξυνέσποντο· ἦν γὰρ τοῖς Ποτειδεάταις αἰεὶ
(as)-volunteers followed(-him) he-was for to-the Potidaeans always
 ποτε ἐπιτήδειος.
ever friendly

60.3 καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Θράκης
and they-arrive on-the-fortieth day later in Thrace
 ἢ Ποτεΐδαια ἀπέστη.

than Potidaea revolted

61.1 ἦλθε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εὐθὺς ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν
came and also to-the Athenians at-once the report of-the
 πόλεων ὅτι ἀφεστᾶσι, καὶ πέμπουσιν, ὥς ᾗσθοντο καὶ
cities that they-have-revolted and they-send when they-perceived also
 τοὺς μετ' Ἀριστεύς ἐπιπαριόντας, δισχιλίους ἑαυτῶν
the (men)-with Aristeus coming-up two-thousand of-themselves
 ὀπλίτας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς πρὸς τὰ ἀφεστῶτα, καὶ
hoplites and forty ships against the (places)-in-revolt and
 Καλλίαν τὸν Καλλιάρχου πέμπτον αὐτὸν στρατηγόν,
Callias the (son)-of-Calliades fifth himself (as)-general

61.2 οἱ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Μακεδονίαν πρῶτον καταλαμβάνουσι
who having-arrived in Macedonia first find
 τοὺς προτέρους χιλίους Θέρμην ἄρτι ἡρηκότας καὶ Πύδναν
the former thousand Therme just having-taken and Pydna
 πολιορκούντας.

besieging

61.3 προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Πύδναν ἐπολιόρκησαν
having-sat-down-before and also themselves — Pydna they-besieged(-it)
 μέν, ἔπειτα δὲ σύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι καὶ ξυμμαχίαν
indeed then but an-agreement having-made and an-alliance
 ἀναγκαίαν πρὸς τὸν Περδίκκαν, ὥς αὐτοὺς κατήπειγεν
forced with — Perdiccas as them pressed
 ἡ Ποτεΐδαια καὶ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς παρεληλυθώς, ἀπανίστανται
— Potidaea and — Aristeus having-arrived they-withdraw
 ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας,
from — Macedonia

καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Βέροϊαν ἀκείθεν ἐπὶ Στρέψαν καὶ 61.4

and having-come to Beroea and-from-there to Strepsa and

πειράσαντες πρῶτον τοῦ χωρίου καὶ οὐχ ἐλόντες

having-attacked first the place and not having-taken(-it)

ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ γῆν πρὸς τὴν Ποτειδαίαν, τρισχιλίους

they-marched by land toward — Potidaea with-three-thousand

μὲν ὀπλίταις ἑαυτῶν, χωρὶς δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πολλοῖς,

indeed hoplites of-themselves apart-from and the allies many

ἵππεῦσι δὲ ἑξακοσίοις Μακεδόνων τοῖς μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ

with-cavalry and six-hundred of-Macedonians those with Philip and

Παυσανίου· ἅμα δὲ νῆες παρέπλεον ἑβδομήκοντα.

Pausanias at-the-same-time and ships sailed-alongside seventy

κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ προϊόντες τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο ἐς Γίγωνον 61.5

by little and advancing on-the-third-day they-arrived at Gigonus

καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο.

and encamped

Ποτειδεᾶται δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Ἀριστέως Πελοποννήσιοι 62.1

Potidaean and and the with Aristeus Peloponnesians

προσδεχόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο πρὸς

awaiting the Athenians were-encamped toward

Ὀλύνθου ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ, καὶ ἀγορὰν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως

Olynthus on the isthmus and a-market outside the city

ἐπεποίηντο.

had-made

στρατηγὸν μὲν οὖν τοῦ πεζοῦ παντὸς οἱ ξύμμαχοι 62.2

general indeed therefore of-the infantry all the allies

ἤρηντο Ἀριστέα, τῆς δὲ ἵππου Περδίκκαν· ἀπέστη

had-chosen Aristeus of-the and cavalry Perdiccas he-had-revolted

γὰρ εὐθὺς πάλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ξυνεμάχει τοῖς

for at-once again from-the Athenians and was-allied-with the

Ποτειδεάταις, Ἰόλαον ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ καταστήσας ἄρχοντα.

Potidaean Iolaus instead-of himself having-appointed commander

- 62.3 ἦν δὲ ἡ γνώμη τοῦ Ἀριστεύς τὸ μὲν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ
was and the plan — of-Aristeus the indeed with himself
 στρατόπεδον ἔχοντι ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐπιτηρεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,
army having on the isthmus to-watch the Athenians
 ἦν ἐπίωσι, Χαλκιδέας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔξω ἰσθμοῦ ξυμμάχους
if they-come-on Chalcidians but and the outside (the)-isthmus allies
 καὶ τὴν παρὰ Περδίκκου διακοσίαν ἵππον ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ
and the from Perdiccas two-hundred cavalry at Olynthus
 μένειν, καὶ ὅταν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς χωρῶσι, κατὰ νώτου
to-remain and when Athenians against them advance in (the)-rear
 βοηθοῦντας ἐν μέσῳ ποιεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολεμίους.
helping in (the)-middle to-put of-themselves the enemy
- 62.4 Καλλίας δ' αὖ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς καὶ
Callias and in-turn the of-the Athenians general and
 οἱ ξυνάρχοντες τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας ἱππείας καὶ τῶν
the fellow-commanders the indeed Macedonian cavalry and of-the
 ξυμμάχων ὀλίγους ἐπὶ Ὀλύνθου ἀποπέμπουσιν, ὅπως
allies few toward Olynthus send-off so-that
 εἴργωσι τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιβοηθεῖν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναστήσαντες
they-may-prevent those from-there to-come-to-help themselves and having-broken-up
 τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτεΐδαιαν.
the camp advanced against — Potidaea
- 62.5 καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον τοὺς
and when at the isthmus they-were and saw the
 ἐναντίους παρασκευαζομένους ὥς ἐς μάχην, ἀντικαθίσταντο
opponents preparing as for battle they-took-position-opposite
 καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ξυνέμισγον.
also themselves and not much later they-engaged
- 62.6 καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ τοῦ Ἀριστεύς κέρας καὶ ὅσοι περὶ
and itself indeed the — of-Aristeus wing and as-many-as around
 ἐκεῖνον ἦσαν Κορινθίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λογάδες
him were of-Corinthians both and of-the other(-troops) picked-men

ἔτρεψαν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐπέξῃλθον διώκοντες
 routed the(-part) opposite themselves and went-out pursuing
 ἐπὶ πολὺ· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον Ποτειδεατῶν καὶ
 for a-long-way the and rest army of-Potidaeans and
 Πελοποννησίων ἡσῶτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἰς τὸ
 of-Peloponnesians was-worsted by the Athenians and into the
 τεῖχος κατέφυγεν.
 wall fled

ἐπαναχωρῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως, ὡς ὀρᾷ 63.1
 returning and — Aristeus from the pursuit when he-sees
 τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἡσσημένον, ἡπώρησε μὲν ὁποτέρωσιν
 the other army defeated was-at-a-loss indeed in-which-direction
 διακινδυνεύσῃ χωρήσας, ἣ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλύνθου ἢ εἰς
 he-should-run-the-risk having-gone either toward — Olynthus or to
 τὴν Ποτείδαιαν· ἔδοξε δ' οὖν ξυναγαγόντι τοὺς μεθ'
 — Potidaea it-seemed-best and then having-gathered those with
 αὐτοῦ ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστον χωρίον δρόμῳ βιάσασθαι εἰς
 himself as into (the)-least space at-a-run to-force(-his-way) into
 τὴν Ποτείδαιαν, καὶ παρήλθε παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν διὰ
 — Potidaea and he-got-through along the breakwater through
 τῆς θαλάσσης βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, ὀλίγους μὲν
 the sea being-shot-at both and with-difficulty few indeed
 τινὰς ἀποβαλὼν, τοὺς δὲ πλείους σώσας.
 some having-lost the and more having-saved

οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀλύνθου τοῖς Ποτειδεαταῖς βοηθοὶ (ἀπέχει 63.2
 those and from — Olynthus to-the Potidaeans helpers it-is-distant
 δὲ ἑξήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίων καὶ ἔστι καταφανές), ὡς
 and sixty about stades and it-is in-view when
 ἡ μάχη ἐγίνετο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἤρθη, βραχὺ μὲν
 the battle was-taking-place and the signals were-raised a-little indeed
 τι προήλθον ὡς βοηθήσοντες, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἵππης
 somewhat advanced as going-to-help and the Macedonian cavalry

ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὥς κωλύσοντας· ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ τάχους
drew-up-against(-them) as going-to-prevent(-them) when but through speed
 ἡ νίκη τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατεσπάρθη,
the victory of-the Athenians took-place and the signals were-pulled-down
 πάλιν ἐпанεχώρουν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες παρὰ
again they-withdrew into the wall and the Macedonians to
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· ἰππῆς δ' οὐδετέροις παρεγένοντο.

the Athenians cavalry but to-neither(-side) were-present

- 63.3 μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τροπαῖον ἔστησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ
after and the battle a-trophy set-up the Athenians and
 τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωκαν τοῖς Ποτειδεαταῖς·
the dead under-truce gave-back to-the Potidaeans
 ἀπέθανον δὲ Ποτειδεατῶν μὲν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὀλίγῳ
died and of-Potidaeans indeed and of-the allies a-little
 ἐλάσσους τριακοσίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα
fewer than-three-hundred of-Athenians and themselves fifty
 καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ Καλλίας ὁ στρατηγός.
and a-hundred and Callias the general

Athens walls off Potidaea toward the isthmus, and Phormio, bringing sixteen hundred hoplites, walls it toward Pallene; the town is besieged by land and sea. Aristeus urges all but five hundred to sail out to spare the grain, offering to stay; refused, he slips out and fights in Chalcidice, ambushing the Sermylians, while Phormio ravages the country. Each side has grievances: Corinth that Athens besieges its colony with Corinthians inside, Athens that the Peloponnesians made its tributary ally revolt and fought openly beside it. But war has not yet broken out, for Corinth acted alone.

τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ εὐθὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποτειχίσαντες 64.1
the(-side) and toward the isthmus at-once the Athenians having-walled-off
 ἐφρούρου· τὸ δ' ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην ἀτείχιστον ἦν· οὐ
guarded the(-side) but toward — Pallene unvalled was not
 γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι ἔν τε τῷ ἰσθμῷ φρουρεῖν καὶ
for sufficient they-thought to-be on both the isthmus to-guard and
 ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην διαβάντες τειχίζειν, δεδιότες μὴ σφίσιν
to — Pallene having-crossed to-build-walls fearing lest them
 οἱ Ποτειδεᾶται καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι γενομένοις δίχα ἐπίθωνται.
the Potidaeans and the allies having-become divided should-attack
 καὶ πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Παλλήνην 64.2
and learning the in the city Athenians — Pallene
 ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν, χρόνῳ ὕστερον πέμπουσιν ἑξακοσίους
unvalled being in-time later send six-hundred
 καὶ χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἑαυτῶν καὶ Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίου
and a-thousand hoplites of-themselves and Phormio the (son)-of-Asopius
 στρατηγόν· ὃς ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην καὶ ἐξ Ἀφύτιος
(as)-general who having-arrived at — Pallene and from Aphytis
 ὀρμώμενος προσήγαγε τῇ Ποτειδαίᾳ τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ
setting-out brought-up — to-Potidaea the army by

βραχὺ προΐων καὶ κείρων ἅμα τὴν γῆν, ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς

little advancing and ravaging at-the-same-time the land when but no-one

ἐπεξήει ἐς μάχην, ἀπετείχισε τὸ ἐκ τῆς Παλλήνης.

came-out to battle he-walled-off the(-side) toward — Pallene

64.3 καὶ οὕτως ἤδη κατὰ κράτος ἡ Ποτεΐδαια ἀμφοτέρωθεν

and thus now by force — Potidaea on-both-sides

ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ναυσὶν ἅμα

was-besieged also from (the)-sea with-ships at-the-same-time

ἐφορμούσαις.

blockading

65.1 Ἀριστεὺς δὲ ἀποτευχισθείσης αὐτῆς καὶ ἐλπίδα οὐδεμίαν

Aristeus and having-been-walled-off it and hope none

ἔχων σωτηρίας, ἢν μή τι ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἢ ἄλλο

having of-safety if not something from Peloponnese or other

παρὰ λόγον γίγνηται, ξυνεβούλευε μὲν πλὴν πεντακοσίων

beyond expectation happen advised indeed except five-hundred

ἄνεμον τηρήσασι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκπλεῦσαι, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλέον

a-wind having-watched-for to-the others to-sail-out so-that for longer

ὁ σίτος ἀντίσχη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἤθελε τῶν μενόντων εἶναι.

the grain might-hold-out and himself was-willing of-those remaining to-be

ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθε, βουλόμενος τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις

when but not he-persuaded(-them) wishing the(-things) upon these

παρασκευάζειν καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἔξωθεν ἔξει ὥς ἄριστα,

to-prepare and so-that the(-affairs) outside will-be as best

ἐκπλουν ποιεῖται λαθὼν τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

sail-out he-makes having-eluded the guard of-the Athenians

65.2 καὶ παραμένων ἐν Χαλκιδεῦσι τά τε ἄλλα

and remaining among Chalcidians the both other(-things)

ξυνεπολέμει καὶ Σερμυλιῶν λοχίας πρὸς τῇ πόλει

he-joined-in-the-war and of-Sermylians having-laid-an-ambush near the city

πολλοὺς διέφθειρεν, ἔς τε τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔπρασεν
 many he-destroyed to both — Peloponnese he-negotiated
 ὅπη ὠφελία τις γενήσεται.

how help any will-come

μετὰ δὲ τῆς Ποτειδαίας τὴν ἀποτείχισιν Φορμίων μὲν 65.3

after and — of-Potidaea the walling-off Phormio indeed

ἔχων τοὺς ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ

having the six-hundred and thousand — Chalcidice and

Βοττικὴν ἐδήου καὶ ἔστιν ἃ καὶ πολίσματα εἶλεν.

Bottice ravaged and there-are (some)-which also towns he-took

τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις αἰτίαι μὲν αὗται 66.1

to-the and Athenians and Peloponnesians grievances indeed these

προυγεγέννητο ἐς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς μὲν Κορινθίοις ὅτι τὴν

had-arisen-before against one-another to-the indeed Corinthians that —

Ποτεΐδαιαν ἑαυτῶν οὔσαν ἀποικίαν καὶ ἄνδρας Κορινθίων

Potidaea of-themselves being (a)-colony and men of-Corinthians

τε καὶ Πελοποννησίων ἐν αὐτῇ ὄντας ἐπολιόρκουν, τοῖς δὲ

both and Peloponnesians in it being they-besieged to-the and

Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ὅτι ἑαυτῶν τε πόλιν

Athenians against the Peloponnesians that of-themselves both a-city

ξυμμαχίδα καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῇ ἀπέστησαν, καὶ ἐλθόντες

allied and to-tribute subject they-caused-to-revolt and having-come

σφίσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐμάχοντο μετὰ Ποτειδεατῶν.

against-them from the open fought with Potidaeans

οὐ μέντοι ὃ γε πόλεμός πω ξυνερρώγει, ἀλλ' ἔτι

not however the at-least war yet had-broken-out but still

ἀνοκωχῇ ἦν· ἰδίᾳ γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔπραξαν.

(a)-truce was privately for these(-things) the Corinthians did

Corinth summons the allies to Sparta and denounces Athens; Aegina secretly urges war, and Megara protests its exclusion from the harbors and the Attic market. Speaking last, the Corinthians say Sparta's trust makes it slow to believe allies. It let Athens build its walls and Long Walls, and whoever could stop an injustice is more truly its doer. Sparta alone defends itself by delay; the Mede reached the Peloponnese before it met him, and Athens is near. A friend complains; an enemy accuses.

- 67.1 πολιορκουμένης δὲ τῆς Ποτειδαίας οὐχ ἡσύχαζον, ἀνδρῶν
being-besieged and — Potidaea not they-kept-quiet men
 τε σφίσιν ἐνόντων καὶ ἅμα περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ δεδιότες·
both of-them being-inside and at-the-same-time for the place fearing
 παρεκάλουν τε εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοὺς ξυμμάχους
they-summoned and at-once to — Lacedaemon the allies
 καὶ κατεβόων ἐλθόντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅτι σπονδὰς τε
and cried-out-against having-come the Athenians that treaty both
 λευκότες εἶεν καὶ ἀδικοῖεν τὴν Πελοπόννησον.
having-broken they-were and were-wronging the Peloponnese
- 67.2 Αἰγινηταί τε φανερώς μὲν οὐ πρεσβευόμενοι, δεδιότες τοὺς
Aeginetans and openly indeed not sending-envoys fearing the
 Ἀθηναίους, κρύφα δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐνήγον τὸν
Athenians secretly but not least with them urged-on the
 πόλεμον, λέγοντες οὐκ εἶναι αὐτόνομοι κατὰ τὰς σπονδὰς.
war saying not to-be autonomous according-to the treaty
- 67.3 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσπαρακαλέσαντες τῶν ξυμμάχων
the and Lacedaemonians having-summoned-besides of-the allies
 τε καὶ εἴ τις τι ἄλλο ἔφη ἡδικῆσθαι ὑπὸ
both and if anyone anything else said to-have-been-wronged by
 Ἀθηναίων, ξύλλογον σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιήσαντες τὸν εἰωθότα
Athenians an-assembly of-them selves having-made the customary
 λέγειν ἐκέλευον.
to-speak bade

καὶ ἄλλοι τε παριόντες ἐγκλήματα ἐποιοῦντο ὥς ἕκαστοι 67.4

and others both coming-forward complaints made as severally

καὶ Μεγαρήs, δηλοῦντες μὲν καὶ ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα διάφορα,

and Megarians showing indeed also other not few differences

μάλιστα δὲ λιμένων τε εἶργεσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων

most and of-harbors both to-be-excluded the(-ones) in the of-Athenians

ἀρχῇ καὶ τῆs Ἀττικῆs ἀγορᾶs παρὰ τὰs σπονδᾶs.

empire and of-the Attic market contrary-to the treaty

παρελθόντες δὲ τελευταῖοι Κορίνθιοι καὶ τοὺs ἄλλους 67.5

having-come-forward and last Corinthians and the others

έάσαντες πρῶτον παροξῦναι τοὺs Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπέειπον

having-allowed first to-provoke the Lacedaemonians spoke-after

τοιᾶδε.

as-follows

‘Τὸ πιστὸν ὑμᾶs, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τῆs καθ’ ὑμᾶs αὐτοὺs 68.1

the trustworthiness you O Lacedaemonians of-the with you selves

πολιτείας καὶ ὁμιλίας ἀπιστοτέρους ἐs τοὺs ἄλλους ἦν

constitution and intercourse more-distrustful toward the others if

τι λέγωμεν καθίστησιν· καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ σωφροσύνην μὲν

anything we-say makes and from it prudence indeed

έχετε, ἀμαθία δὲ πλέονι πρὸs τὰ έξω πράγματα χρήσθε.

you-have with-ignorance but more toward the external affairs you-deal

πολλάκιs γὰρ προαγορευόντων ἡμῶν ἃ ἐμέλλομεν ὑπὸ 68.2

often for forewarning us what we-were-going by

Ἀθηναίων βλάπτεσθαι, οὐ περὶ ὧν ἐδιδάσκομεν

Athenians to-be-harmed not about (the-things)-which we-were-telling

έκάστοτε τὴν μάθησιν ἐποιεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ τῶν λεγόντων

each-time the learning you-made but of-the speakers

μᾶλλον ὑπενοεῖτε ὥs ἔνεκα τῶν αὐτοῖs ἰδίᾳ διαφόρων

rather you-suspected that for-the-sake of-their own privately differences

λέγουσιν· καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ οὐ πρὶν πάσχειν, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ

they-speak and because-of this not before suffering but when

ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐσμέν, τοὺς ξυμμάχους τούσδε παρεκάλεσατε,
in the deed we-are the allies these you-have-summoned
 ἐν οἷς προσήκει ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἥκιστα εἰπεῖν, ὅσῳ καὶ
among whom it-befits us not least to-speak by-as-much-as also
 μέγιστα ἐγκλήματα ἔχομεν ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀθηναίων ὑβριζόμενοι,
greatest complaints we-have by indeed Athenians being-insulted
 ὑπὸ δὲ ὑμῶν ἀμελούμενοι.

by but you being-neglected

68.3 Ἐὰν εἰ μὲν ἀφανεῖς που ὄντες ἡδίκουν τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
and if indeed unseen somewhere being they-were-wronging — Greece
 διδασκαλίας ἂν ὥς οὐκ εἰδόσι προσέδει· νῦν δὲ
of-instruction — as not to-knowing(-men) there-would-be-need now but
 τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν, ὧν τοὺς μὲν δεδουλωμένους
why must-one to-speak-at-length of-whom the-ones indeed enslaved
 ὁρᾶτε, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς, καὶ οὐχ
you-see against-the(-others) and plotting them and not
 ἥκιστα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ξυμμάχοις, καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ
least against-the our allies and from long-before
 προπαρεσκευασμένους, εἴ ποτε ἄρα πολεμήσονται;
prepared if ever then they-will-go-to-war

68.4 οὐ γὰρ ἂν Κέρκυραν τε ὑπολαβόντες βία ἡμῶν εἶχον
not for — Corcyra both having-taken-over in-spite-of us would-they-hold
 καὶ Ποτεΐδειαν ἐπολιόρκουν, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπικαιρότατον
and Potidaea would-they-besiege of-which the-one indeed most-convenient
 χωρίον πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀποκρηῆσθαι, ἡ δὲ
place for the(-parts) toward Thrace to-use-as-a-base the-other and
 ναυτικὸν ἂν μέγιστον παρέσχε Πελοποννησίοις.
navy — greatest would-have-furnished to-Peloponnesians

69.1 καὶ τῶνδε ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι, τό τε πρῶτον ἑάσαντες αὐτοὺς
and of-these you (are)-the-cause the both first having-allowed them
 τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ κρατῦναι καὶ ὕστερον τὰ
the city after the Persian(-war) to-strengthen and later the

μακρὰ στήσαι τείχη, ἐς τόδε τε αἰεὶ ἀποστεροῦντες
 long to-build walls to this both always depriving
 οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνων δεδουλωμένους ἐλευθερίας,
 not only those by them enslaved of-freedom
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέροους ἤδη ξυμμάχους· οὐ γὰρ ὁ
 but also the your already allies not for the
 δουλωσάμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ δυνάμενος μὲν παῦσαι περιορῶν
 (one)-having-enslaved but the (one)-able indeed to-stop(-it) overlooking(-it)
 δὲ ἀληθέστερον αὐτὸ δρᾷ, εἴπερ καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς
 and more-truly it does if-indeed also the repute of-the
 ἀρετῆς ὡς ἐλευθερῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρεται.

virtue as freeing — Greece be-bears
 μόλις δὲ νῦν γε ξυνήλθομεν καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἐπὶ φανεροῖς. 69.2

scarcely and now at-least we-have-met and not-even now on clear(-points)
 χρῆν γὰρ οὐκ εἰ ἀδικούμεθα ἔτι σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ'
 it-was-needful for not whether we-are-wronged still to-consider but by
 ὅτι ἀμυνούμεθα· οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες βεβουλευμένοι
 what(-means) we-shall-defend-ourselves those for acting having-resolved
 πρὸς οὐ διεγνωκότας ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες ἐπέρχονται.
 against not having-decided already and not delaying come-on

καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα οἷα ὁδῶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅτι κατ' 69.3

and we-know by-what-sort-of road the Athenians and that by
 ὀλίγον χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας, καὶ λανθάνειν μὲν
 little they-advance against the neighbors and to-escape-notice indeed
 οἰόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀναίσθητον ὑμῶν ἦσσαν θαρσοῦσι,
 thinking because-of the insensibility of-you less they-are-bold
 γνόντες δὲ εἰδότας περιορᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐγκλείσονται.

having-learned but (you)-knowing to-overlook(-it) strongly they-will-press-on
 ἡσυχάζετε γάρ, μόνοι Ἑλλήνων, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ τῇ 69.4
 you-keep-quiet for alone of-Greeks O Lacedaemonians not with-the
 δυνάμει τινά, ἀλλὰ τῇ μελλήσει ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ μόνοι
 power anyone but with-the delaying defending-yourselves and alone

οὐκ ἀρχομένην τὴν αὖξιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν διπλασιουμένην
not beginning the growth of-the enemies doubling
 δὲ καταλύοντες.

but destroying

- 69.5 καίτοι ἐλέγεσθε ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι, ὦν ἄρα ὁ λόγος
and-yet you-were-said safe to-be of-whom after-all the report
 τοῦ ἔργου ἐκράτει. τὸν τε γὰρ Μῆδον αὐτοὶ ἴσμεν ἐκ
over-the fact prevailed the both for Mede ourselves know from
 περάτων γῆς πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλθόντα
(the)-ends of-(the)-earth earlier to the Peloponnese having-come
 ἢ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀξίως προαπαντῆσαι, καὶ νῦν τοὺς
than the(-forces) from you worthily to-go-to-meet(-him) and now the
 Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἐκάς, ὥσπερ ἐκείνον, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ὄντας
Athenians not far-away as that(-man) but near being
 περιορᾶτε, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοὶ ἀμύνεσθαι
you-overlook and instead-of — attacking yourselves to-defend-yourselfs
 βούλεσθε μᾶλλον ἐπιόντας, καὶ ἐς τύχας πρὸς πολλῶ
you-wish rather (them)-coming-on and into chances with much
 δυνατωτέρους ἀγωνιζόμενοι καταστήναι, ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ
more-powerful(-men) contending to-come knowing also
 τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῷ τὰ πλείω σφαλέντα, καὶ
the barbarian himself over himself the most having-failed and
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἤδη τοῖς
against the-very — Athenians many(-times) us already by-the
 ἀμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀφ' ὑμῶν τιμωρία
errors of-them rather than by-the from you help
 περιγεγενημένους, ἐπεὶ αἱ γε ὑμέτεροι ἐλπίδες ἤδη τινάς
having-prevailed since the at-least your hopes already some
 που καὶ ἀπαρασκεύους διὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι ἔφθειραν.
somewhere even unprepared because-of — trusting(-them) have-ruined

καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἔχθρα τὸ πλεόν ἢ αἰτία νομίση 69.6
 and no-one of-you for enmity the more than for-complaint let-him-think
 τάδε λέγεσθαι αἰτία μὲν γὰρ φίλων ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν
 these(-things) to-be-said complaint indeed for of-friends men is
 ἁμαρτανόντων, κατηγορία δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἀδικοσάντων.
 erring accusation but of-enemies having-done-wrong

XIX · ATHENIANS AND SPARTANS

The Corinthians go on: the Athenians innovate, quick to plan and to act; they dare beyond their power, hope in danger, and count a plan left unfinished a loss of their own. The Spartans do less than their power allows, distrust even sure judgments, and stay at home while the Athenians go abroad, born never to rest or let others rest. As in the arts, the new prevails. Sparta must invade Attica now to save Potidaea, or lose its allies to another alliance, and changing sides would break no oath: those who fail their sworn allies break treaties. If Sparta acts, Corinth stays.

‘Καὶ ἅμα, εἴπερ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, ἄξιοι νομίζομεν 70.1
 and at-the-same-time if-indeed any also others worthy we-think(-ourselves)
 εἶναι τοῖς πέλας ψόγον ἐπενεγκεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μεγάλων
 to-be on-the neighbors blame to-bring especially both and great
 τῶν διαφερόντων καθεστώτων, περὶ ὧν οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθαι
 the interests-at-stake being about which not to-perceive
 ἡμῖν γε δοκεῖτε, οὐδ' ἐκλογίσασθαι πώποτε πρὸς οἷους
 to-us at-least you-seem nor to-have-reckoned ever against what-sort
 ὑμῖν Ἀθηναίους ὄντας καὶ ὅσον ὑμῶν καὶ ὥς πᾶν
 for-you Athenians being and how-much from-you and how wholly
 διαφέροντας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται.
 differing the contest will-be

- 70.2 οἱ μὲν γε νεωτεροποιοὶ καὶ ἐπινοῆσαι ὄξεις καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι
they indeed at-least innovators and to-conceive quick and to-accomplish
 ἔργῳ ἃ ἂν γνῶσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σώζειν
in-action what — they-resolve you and the(-things) existing both to-preserve
 καὶ ἐπιγνῶναι μηδὲν καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲ τὰναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι.
and to-devise nothing and in-action not-even the-necessary to-attain
- 70.3 αἰθῆς δὲ οἱ μὲν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τολμηταὶ καὶ παρὰ
again and they indeed also beyond power daring and beyond
 γνώμην κινδυνευταὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες· τὸ
judgment venturesome and in the dangers hopeful the
 δὲ ὑμέτερον τῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐνδεᾶ πράξαι τῆς τε
but your(-way) (is)-of-the both power less to-do of-the and
 γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαίοις πιστεῦσαι τῶν τε δεινῶν
judgment not-even to-the sure to-trust of-the and dangers
 μηδέποτε οἶεσθαι ἀπολυθήσεσθαι.
never to-think to-be-going-to-be-released
- 70.4 καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄοκνοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μελλήτας καὶ ἀποδημηταὶ
and indeed also unhesitating against you delayers and goes-abroad
 πρὸς ἐνδημοτάτους· οἴονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ ἂν
against most-stay-at-home they-think for they indeed by-the absence —
 τι κτᾶσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῷ ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐτοῖμα
something would-gain you but by-the going-out even the (things)-at-hand
 ἂν βλάψαι.
— would-harm
- 70.5 κρατοῦντές τε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξέρχονται καὶ
prevailing both over-the enemies to (the)-furthest they-go-out and
 νικώμενοι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀναπίπτουσιν.
being-defeated to (the)-least they-fall-back

ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς 70.6
 further and the indeed bodies most-alien on-behalf-of the
 πόλεως χρῶνται, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ οἰκειοτάτῃ ἐς τὸ πράσσειν
 city they-use the but mind most-their-own for — doing
 τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς.

something on-behalf-of it

καὶ ἃ μὲν ἂν ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐπεξέλθωσιν, οἰκείων 70.7
 and what indeed — having-conceived not they-follow-through of-their-own
 στέρεσθαι ἡγοῦνται, ἃ δ' ἂν ἐπελθόντες κτήσωνται,
 to-be-deprived they-consider what but — having-gone-after they-acquire
 ὀλίγα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα τυχεῖν πράξαντες.

little compared-with the(-things) to-come to-have-attained having-done

ἣν δ' ἄρα του καὶ πείρα σφαλῶσιν, ἀντελπίσαντες
 if but after-all in-anything also in-attempt they-fail hoping-in-turn
 ἄλλα ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν χρείαν· μόνοι γὰρ ἔχουσί τε
 other(-things) they-fill-up the need alone for they-have both
 ὁμοίως καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν ἃ ἂν ἐπινοήσωσι διὰ τὸ
 equally and hope what — they-conceive because-of the
 ταχεῖαν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιεῖσθαι ὧν ἂν γνῶσιν.

swift the undertaking to-make of-what — they-resolve

καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ πόνων πάντα καὶ κινδύνων δι' ὅλου 70.8
 and these(-things) with toils all and dangers through whole

τοῦ αἰῶνος μοχθοῦσι, καὶ ἀπολαύουσιν ἐλάχιστα τῶν
 the lifetime they-labor and enjoy least of-the

ὑπαρχόντων διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ κτᾶσθαι καὶ μήτε ἑορτὴν
 existing(-things) because-of — always acquiring and neither a-festival

ἄλλο τι ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πράξαι ξυμφορὰν
 other anything to-consider than — the needful to-do misfortune

τε οὐχ ἥσσον ἡσυχίαν ἀπράγμονα ἢ ἀσχολίαν ἐπίπονον·
 and not less quiet inactive than busyness toilsome

70.9 ὥστε εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ξυνελὼν φαίη πεφυκέναι ἐπὶ τῷ
so-that if anyone them summing-up should-say to-be-born for —
 μήτε αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους
neither themselves to-have quiet nor the other men
 ἐᾶν, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴποι.

to-allow rightly — he-would-say

71.1 'Ταύτης μέντοι τοιαύτης ἀντικαθεστηκυίας πόλεως, ὧ
this however such being-set-against(-you) city O
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, διαμέλλετε καὶ οἴεσθε τὴν ἡσυχίαν οὐ
Lacedaemonians you-delay and you-think the quiet not
 τούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀρκεῖν οἱ ἂν τῇ
to-these of-the men for longest to-suffice who — with-the
 μὲν παρασκευῇ δίκαια πράσσωσι, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ, ἣν
indeed preparation just(-things) do by-the but resolve if
 ἀδικῶνται, δῆλοι ὧσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ
they-are-wronged clear are not going-to-permit(-it) but on the
 μὴ λυπεῖν τε τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ
not to-annoy both the others and yourselves defending(-yourselves) not
 βλάπτεσθαι τὸ ἴσον νέμετε.

to-be-harmed the equal you-deal

71.2 μόλις δ' ἂν πόλει ὁμοία παροικούντες ἐτυγχάνετε
scarcely and — (a)-city like(-yours) living-beside would-you-obtain
 τούτου· νῦν δ', ὅπερ καὶ ἄρτι ἐδηλώσαμεν, ἀρχαιοτρόπα
this now but as also just-now we-showed old-fashioned
 ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐστίν.

your the practices compared-with them are

71.3 ἀνάγκη δὲ ὥσπερ τέχνης αἰεὶ τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα κρατεῖν·
(it-is)-necessary and as of-art always the (things)-coming-after to-prevail
 καὶ ἡσυχάζουσι μὲν πόλει τὰ ἀκίνητα νόμιμα ἄριστα,
and to-a-quiet indeed city the undisturbed usages (are)-best
 πρὸς πολλὰ δὲ ἀναγκαζομένοις ἰέναι πολλῆς καὶ τῆς
to many but for-those-being-compelled to-go much also of-the

ἐπιτεχνήσεως δέι. δι' ὅπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων

improvement there-is-need because-of which also the(-ways) of-the Athenians

ἀπὸ τῆς πολυπειρίας ἐπὶ πλέον ὑμῶν κεκαίνωται.

from the much-experience to more than-you have-been-innovated

μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦδε ὠρίσθω ὑμῶν ἢ βραδυτῆς· νῦν 71.4

as-far-as indeed therefore this(-point) let-be-limited your the slowness now

δὲ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ Ποτειδεάταις, ὥσπερ ὑπεδέξασθε,

but the both others and Potidaeans as you-undertook

βοηθήσατε κατὰ τάχος ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἵνα

help with speed having-invaded into — Attica so-that

μὴ ἄνδρας τε φίλους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τοῖς ἐχθίστοις

not men both friends and kinsmen to-the bitterest(-enemies)

προῆσθε καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀθυμία πρὸς ἑτέραν

you-abandon and us the others with-despondency to another

τινὰ ξυμμαχίαν τρέψητε.

some alliance you-turn

δρῶμεν δ' ἂν ἄδικον οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν τῶν ὀρκίων 71.5

we-would-do and — unjust nothing neither before gods the of-oaths

οὔτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν αἰσθανομένων· λύουσι γὰρ

nor before men the perceiving break for

σπονδὰς οὐχ οἱ δι' ἐρημίαν ἄλλοις προσιόντες, ἀλλ'

treaty not those through isolation to-others coming-over but

οἱ μὴ βοηθοῦντες οἷς ἂν ξυνομόσωσιν.

those not helping (those)-with-whom — they-have-sworn

βουλομένων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμων εἶναι μενοῦμεν· οὔτε γὰρ 71.6

wishing and you eager to-be we-will-remain neither for

ὅσια ἂν ποιούμεν μεταβαλλόμενοι οὔτε ξυνηθεστέρους

holy(-things) — would-we-do changing nor more-congenial

ἂν ἄλλους εὔρομεν.

— others would-we-find

71.7 πρὸς τὰδε βουλευέσθε εὖ καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον
 toward these(-things) deliberate well and the Peloponnese
 πειρᾶσθε μὴ ἐλάσσω ἐξηγείσθαι ἢ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῖν
 try not lesser to-lead than the fathers to-you
 παρέδωκαν.
 handed-down

XX · THE ATHENIANS ANSWER

Athenian envoys at Sparta on other business ask to speak, to show their city's power and to counsel against haste. They will not answer the charges. They recall the Persian Wars: Athens faced the barbarian alone at Marathon, and at Salamis, which saved the Peloponnese, it gave nearly two-thirds of the ships, the ablest general, and the most unflinching zeal, abandoning its city, while Sparta came only when it feared for itself. So Athens helped no less than it was helped, and had it gone over to the Medes, he would have had his way unopposed.

72.1 τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων
 such(-things) indeed the Corinthians said of-the and Athenians
 ἔτυχε γὰρ πρεσβεία πρότερον ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι περὶ
 happened for (an)-embassy before in — Lacedaemon about
 ἄλλων παρούσα, καὶ ὥς ἦσθοντο τῶν λόγων, ἔδοξεν
 other(-matters) being-present and when they-beard of-the speeches it-seemed-good
 αὐτοῖς παριτητέα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι, τῶν
 to-them one-must-come-forward before the Lacedaemonians to-be of-the
 μὲν ἐγκλημάτων πέρι μηδὲν ἀπολογησομένους ὧν αἱ
 indeed charges about nothing going-to-defend-themselves of-which the
 πόλεις ἐνεκάλουν, δηλῶσαι δὲ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ὥς οὐ
 cities complained to-show but about the whole that not
 ταχέως αὐτοῖς βουλευτέον εἴη, ἀλλ' ἐν πλείονι σκεπτέον.
 quickly for-them to-be-deliberated it-was but in more(-time) to-be-considered

καὶ ἅμα τὴν σφετέραν πόλιν ἐβούλοντο σημῆναι
and at-the-same-time the their-own city they-wished to-indicate
 ὅση εἴη δύναμιν, καὶ ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι τοῖς τε
how-great it-was in-power and a-reminder to-make to-the both
 πρεσβυτέροις ὦν ἥδεσαν καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἐξήγησιν
elder of-what they-knew and to-the younger an-account
 ὦν ἄπειροι ἦσαν, νομίζοντες μᾶλλον ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν
of-what inexperienced they-were thinking rather — them from the
 λόγων πρὸς τὸ ἡσυχάζειν τραπέσθαι ἢ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν.
speeches toward the keeping-quiet would-turn than toward the warring
 προσελθόντες οὖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔφασαν βούλεσθαι 72.2
having-come-forward therefore to-the Lacedaemonians they-said to-wish
 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι μὴ
also themselves to the multitude of-them to-speak if anything not
 ἀποκωλύοι. οἱ δὲ ἐκέλευόν τε παρίεναι, καὶ παρελθόντες
prevented they and bade both to-come-forward and having-come-forward
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον τοιαῦδε.
the Athenians said as-follows
 ‘Ἦ μὲν πρέσβευσις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐς ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς ὑμετέροις 73.1
the indeed embassy our not for controversy with-the your
 ξυμμάχοις ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν ἡ πόλις ἔπεμψεν·
allies came but about (the-things)-which the city sent(-us)
 αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ καταβοῇ οὐκ ὀλίγην οὔσαν ἡμῶν
perceiving but an-outcry not small being against-us
 παρήλθομεν οὐ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι τῶν πόλεων ἀντεροῦντες
we-have-come-forward not to-the charges of-the cities going-to-reply
 (οὐ γὰρ παρὰ δικασταῖς ὑμῖν οὔτε ἡμῶν οὔτε τούτων οἱ
not for before judges you either of-us or of-these the
 λόγοι ἂν γίνωντο), ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὴ ῥαδίως περὶ μεγάλων
speeches — would-be but so-that not easily about great
 πραγμάτων τοῖς ξυμμάχοις πειθόμενοι χεῖρον βουλευσῆσθε,
affairs to-the allies being-persuaded worse you-should-deliberate

καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενοι περὶ τοῦ παντὸς λόγου τοῦ
and at-the-same-time wishing about the whole talk the(-talk)
 ἐς ἡμᾶς καθεστῶτος δηλῶσαι ὥς οὔτε ἀπεικότως ἔχομεν
against us established to-show that neither unreasonably we-have
 ἃ κεκτήμεθα, ἣ τε πόλις ἡμῶν ἀξία λόγου ἐστίν.
what we-have-acquired and the city our worth account is

73.2 Ἐκαὶ τὰ μὲν πάνυ παλαιὰ τί δεῖ λέγειν, ὧν
and the(-things) indeed very ancient why must-one to-tell of-which
 ἀκοαὶ μᾶλλον λόγων μάρτυρες ἢ ὄψις τῶν ἀκουσομένων;
bearsays rather of-reports (are)-witnesses than sight of-those going-to-bear
 τὰ δὲ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, εἰ καὶ δι'
the and Persian(-war) and as-much-as yourselves know if even through
 ὄχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται αἰεὶ προβαλλομένοις, ἀνάγκη
annoyance rather it-will-be always (to-us)-putting(-it)-forward it-is-necessary
 λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἐδρῶμεν, ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐκινδυνεύετο,
to-speak and for when we-acted for benefit the-risk-was-run
 ἥς τοῦ μὲν ἔργου μέρος μετέσχετε, τοῦ δὲ λόγου μὴ
of-which of-the indeed deed a-part you-shared of-the and credit not
 παντός, εἴ τι ὠφελεῖ, στερισκώμεθα.
all if anything it-helps let-us-be-deprived

73.3 ῥηθήσεται δὲ οὐ παραιτήσεως μᾶλλον ἔνεκα ἢ
it-will-be-said and not of-deprecation rather for-the-sake than
 μαρτυρίου καὶ δηλώσεως πρὸς οἷαν ὑμῖν πόλιν μὴ εὖ
of-testimony and showing against what-sort-of for-you city not well
 βουλευομένοις ὁ ἀγὼν καταστήσεται.
deliberating the contest will-be-established

73.4 φαμέν γὰρ Μαραθῶνί τε μόνοι προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ
we-say for at-Marathon both alone to-have-borne-the-first-danger against-the
 βαρβάρῳ καὶ ὅτε τὸ ὕστερον ἦλθεν, οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ὄντες
barbarian and when the later(-time) he-came not able being
 κατὰ γῆν ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς πανδημεὶ ἐν
by land to-defend-ourselves having-embarked into the ships in-full-force at

Σαλαμῖνι ξυνναυμαχῆσαι, ὅπερ ἔσχε μὴ κατὰ πόλεις

Salamis to-have-fought-at-sea-with(-you) which prevented not by cities

αὐτὸν ἐπιπλέοντα τὴν Πελοπόννησον πορθεῖν, ἀδυνάτων

him sailing-against the Peloponnese to-ravage unable

ἂν ὄντων πρὸς ναῦς πολλὰς ἀλλήλοισι ἐπιβοηθεῖν.

— would-be against ships many one-another to-help

τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν· νικηθεὶς γὰρ ταῖς 73.5

(the)-proof and greatest he-himself furnished defeated for with-the

ναυσὶν ὡς οὐκέτι αὐτῷ ὁμοίας οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ

ships as no-longer for-him equal being the power with

τάχος τῷ πλέονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν.

speed with-the greater(-part) of-the army he-withdrew

τοιούτου μέντοι τούτου ξυμβάντος, καὶ σαφῶς δηλωθέντος 74.1

such however this having-happened and clearly having-been-shown

ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο,

that in the ships of-the Greeks the affairs were

τρία τὰ ὠφελιμώτατα ἐς αὐτὸ παρεσχόμεθα, ἀριθμὸν

three the most-useful(-things) to it we-furnished number

τε νεῶν πλείστον καὶ ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ξυνετώτατον καὶ

both of-ships largest and a-man general most-intelligent and

προθυμίαν ἀοκνοτάτην· ναῦς μὲν γε ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας

zeal most-unhesitating ships indeed at-least to the four-hundred

ὀλίγω ἐλάσσους τῶν δύο μοιρῶν, Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ

by-a-little fewer than-the two parts(-of-three) Themistocles and

ἄρχοντα, ὃς αἰτιώτατος ἐν τῷ στενῷ ναυμαχῆσαι

(as)-commander who most-responsible in the narrows to-fight-at-sea

ἐγένετο, ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα, καὶ αὐτὸν

was which most-clearly saved the affairs and him

διὰ τοῦτο ὑμεῖς ἐτιμήσατε μάλιστα δὴ ἄνδρα ξένον

because-of this you honored most indeed man foreign

τῶν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων·

of-those to you having-come

74.2 προθυμίαν δὲ καὶ πολὺ τολμηροτάτην ἐδείξαμεν, οἷ γε,
 zeal and also much most-daring we-showed we at-least
 ἐπειδὴ ἡμῖν κατὰ γῆν οὐδεὶς ἐβόηθει, τῶν ἄλλων ἤδη
 when for-us by land no-one helped of-the others already
 μέχρι ἡμῶν δουλεόντων ἡξιώσαμεν ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν
 up-to us being-enslaved we-thought-fit having-abandoned the city
 καὶ τὰ οἰκεία διαφθείραντες μηδ' ὥς τὸ τῶν περιλοίπων
 and the property having-destroyed not-even so the of-the remaining
 ξυμμάχων κοινὸν προλιπεῖν μηδὲ σκεδασθέντες ἀχρεῖοι
 allies common(-cause) to-desert nor having-been-scattered useless
 αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς κινδυνεύσαι
 to-them to-become but having-embarked into the ships to-run-risk
 καὶ μὴ ὀργισθῆναι ὅτι ἡμῖν οὐ προυτιμωρήσατε.
 and not to-be-angry that us not you-helped-first

74.3 ὥστε φαμέν οὐχ ἥσσον αὐτοῖς ὠφελῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἢ
 so-that we-say not less ourselves to-have-benefited you than
 τυχεῖν τούτου. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τε οἰκουμένων
 to-have-obtained this you indeed for from both inhabited
 τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ λοιπὸν νέμεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ
 the cities and for — (in)-the future to-occupy(-them) when
 ἐδείσατε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν τὸ πλέον, ἐβοηθήσατε
 you-were-afraid for yourselves and not us the more you-helped
 (ὅτε γοῦν ἡμεν ἔτι σώοι, οὐ παρεγένεσθε). ἡμεῖς δὲ
 when at-any-rate we-were still safe not you-were-present we but
 ἀπὸ τε τῆς οὐκ οὔσης ἔτι ὀρμώμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ
 from both the(-city) not being any-longer setting-out and for
 τῆς ἐν βραχείᾳ ἐλπίδι οὔσης κινδυνεύοντες ξυνεσώσαμεν
 the(-city) in slight hope being running-risk we-helped-save
 ὑμᾶς τε τὸ μέρος καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτούς.
 you both (for)-our part and us selves

εἰ δὲ προσεχωρήσαμεν πρότερον τῷ Μήδῳ δείσαντες, ὥσπερ 74.4
 if but we-had-gone-over earlier to-the Mede fearing as
 καὶ ἄλλοι, περὶ τῇ χώρᾳ, ἢ μὴ ἐτολμήσαμεν ὕστερον ἐσβῆναι
 also others for the land or not we-had-dared later to-embark
 εἰς τὰς ναῦς ὥς διεφθαρμένοι, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει
 into the ships as ruined nothing — there-would-have-been-need
 ἔτι ὑμᾶς μὴ ἔχοντας ναῦς ἱκανὰς ναυμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ'
 any-longer (for)-you not having ships sufficient to-fight-at-sea but in
 ἡσυχίαν ἂν αὐτῷ προχώρησε τὰ πράγματα ἢ ἐβούλετο.
 quiet — for-him would-have-proceeded the affairs as he-wished

XXI · FEAR, HONOR, AND ADVANTAGE

The Athenians go on: they won their empire without force, when Sparta left the war against the Mede and the allies asked them to lead. Fear, honor, and advantage then compelled them to keep it. No one is blamed for looking to his safety, and Sparta would have ruled as harshly, since the weaker have always been ruled by the stronger. Athens deserves praise for being juster than its power requires, yet subjects used to equal courts resent a small loss more than open force. Sparta should go to arbitration, not begin a war no one can foresee, or Athens will defend itself; the gods its witnesses.

‘Ἄρ’ ἄξιοι ἐσμεν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ προθυμίας ἔνεκα 75.1
 then worthy are-we O Lacedaemonians both of-zeal for-the-sake
 τῆς τότε καὶ γνώμης ξυνέσεως ἀρχῆς γε ἧς ἔχομεν
 of-the then and of-judgment of-intelligence of-(the)-empire at-least which we-hold
 τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ οὕτως ἄγαν ἐπιφθόνως διακεῖσθαι;
 with-the Greeks not so exceedingly enviously to-be-regarded
 καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τήνδε ἐλάβομεν οὐ βιασάμενοι, ἀλλ’ ὑμῶν 75.2
 and for it this we-took not having-used-force but you
 μὲν οὐκ ἐθελήσαντων παραμεῖναι πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ
 indeed not having-been-willing to-remain against the rest of-the

βαρβάρου, ἡμῖν δὲ προσελθόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ
 barbarian to-us and having-come the allies and
 αὐτῶν δεηθέντων ἡγεμόνας καταστήναι·

themselves having-asked leaders to-become

- 75.3 ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου κατηναγκάσθημεν τὸ πρῶτον
 from itself and the deed we-were-compelled at-the first
 προαγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς τόδε, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ δέους,
 to-advance it to this(-point) most indeed by fear
 ἔπειτα καὶ τιμῆς, ὕστερον καὶ ὠφελίας.

then also by-honor later and by-advantage

- 75.4 καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔτι ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς
 and not safe any-longer it-seemed to-be by-the many
 ἀπηχθημένους, καὶ τινων καὶ ἤδη ἀποστάντων
 being-hated and some also already having-revolted
 κατεστραμμένων, ὑμῶν τε ἡμῖν οὐκέτι ὁμοίως φίλων,
 having-been-subdued you and to-us no-longer similarly friends
 ἀλλ' ὑπόπτων καὶ διαφόρων ὄντων, ἀνέντας κινδυνεύειν·
 but suspect and at-variance being having-let-go to-run-risk
 καὶ γὰρ ἂν αἱ ἀποστάσεις πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγίγνοντο.

and for — the revolts to you would-have-taken-place

- 75.5 πᾶσι δὲ ἀνεπίφθονον τὰ ξυμφέροντα τῶν μεγίστων
 to-all and (it-is)-unenviable the(-things) advantageous the greatest
 περί κινδύνων εὖ τίθεσθαι.

about dangers well to-arrange

- 76.1 ὑμεῖς γοῦν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὰς ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ
 you at-any-rate O Lacedaemonians the in the Peloponnese
 πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμον καταστησάμενοι ἐξηγεῖσθε·
 cities for the for-you beneficial(-end) having-arranged lead
 καὶ εἰ τότε ὑπομείναντες διὰ παντὸς ἀπήχθησθε ἐν
 and if then having-stayed-on through all had-become-hated in
 τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, εὖ ἴσμεν μὴ ἂν ᾗσσαν ὑμᾶς
 the leadership as we well we-know not — less you

λυπηροὺς γενομένους τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καὶ ἀναγκασθέντας
burdensome would-have-become to-the allies and would-have-been-compelled
 ἂν ἢ ἄρχειν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ αὐτοὺς κινδυνεύειν.

— *either to-rule strongly or yourselves to-run-risk*

οὕτως οὐδ' ἡμεῖς θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν πεποιήκαμεν οὐδ' 76.2
so neither we remarkable anything have-done nor

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπέου τρόπου, εἰ ἀρχὴν τε διδομένην
from the human way if an-empire both being-offered
 ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ ταύτην μὴ ἀνείμεν ὑπὸ τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων
we-accepted and this not we-let-go by three the greatest
 νικηθέντες, τιμῆς καὶ δέους καὶ ὠφελίας, οὐδ' αὖ πρῶτοι
overcome honor and fear and advantage nor again first

τοῦ τοιούτου ὑπάρξαντες, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καθεστῶτος τὸν
of-the such having-begun but always it-having-been-established the
 ἥσσω ὑπὸ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου κατείργεσθαι, ἄξιοί τε ἅμα
weaker by the stronger to-be-held-down worthy both at-once

νομίζοντες εἶναι καὶ ὑμῖν δοκοῦντες μέχρι οὗ τὰ
thinking(-ourselves) to-be and to-you seeming until when the
 ξυμφέροντα λογιζόμενοι τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ νῦν χρῆσθε,
advantages calculating to-the just argument now you-use
 ὃν οὐδεὶς πω παρατυχὸν ἰσχύι τι κτήσασθαι
which no-one ever having-a-chance by-strength something to-acquire
 προθεὶς τοῦ μὴ πλέον ἔχειν ἀπετράπετο.
putting-before(-it) the not more to-have was-turned-aside

ἐπαινέισθαι τε ἄξιοι οἵτινες χρησάμενοι τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ 76.3
to-be-praised and worthy (are-those)-who having-yielded to-the human

φύσει ὥστε ἑτέρων ἄρχειν δικαιότεροι ἢ κατὰ τὴν
nature so-as others to-rule more-just than according-to the
 ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν γένωνται.
existing power become

- 76.4 ἄλλους γ' ἂν οὖν οἰόμεθα τὰ ἡμέτερα λαβόντας δεῖξαι
others at-least — therefore we-think the ours having-taken would-show
 ἂν μάλιστα εἴ τι μετριάζομεν ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
 — *most whether at-all we-are-moderate to-us but even from the*
 ἐπιεικοῦς ἀδοξία τὸ πλεόν ἢ ἔπαινος οὐκ εἰκότως περιέστη.
reasonableness ill-repute the more than praise not reasonably has-resulted
- 77.1 'Καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς
and being-at-a-disadvantage for in the contractual with the
 ξυμμάχους δίκαις καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις
allies suits and among us selves under the equal
 νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις φιλοδικεῖν δοκοῦμεν.
laws having-made the judgments to-love-litigation we-seem
- 77.2 καὶ οὐδεὶς σκοπεῖ αὐτῶν τοῖς καὶ ἄλλοθί που ἀρχὴν
and no-one considers of-them to-those also elsewhere somewhere empire
 ἔχουσι καὶ ἥσσον ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μετρίοις οὖσι
having and less than-us toward the subjects moderate being
 διότι τοῦτο οὐκ ὀνειδίζεται· βιάζεσθαι γὰρ οἷς ἂν
why this not is-reproached to-use-force for (those)-for-whom —
 ἐξῆ, δικάζεσθαι οὐδὲν προσδέονται.
it-is-possible to-go-to-law not-at-all they-need
- 77.3 οἱ δὲ εἰθισμένοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὁμιλεῖν, ἣν
they and accustomed toward us from the equal to-associate if
 τι παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἶεσθαι χρῆναι ἢ γνώμη ἢ δυνάμει
in-anything against the not to-think (it)-needful either by-judgment or by-power
 τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὅπως οὖν ἐλασσωθῶσιν,
the(-power) through the empire even in-any-way-whatever they-are-worsted
 οὐ τοῦ πλεόνος μὴ στερισκόμενοι χάριν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ
not for-the more not being-deprived gratitude they-have but
 τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς χαλεπώτερον φέρουσιν ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ πρώτης
for-the deficiency more-grievously they-bear(-it) than if from (the)-first
 ἀποθέμενοι τὸν νόμον φανερώς ἐπλεονεκτοῦμεν. ἐκείνως
having-laid-aside the law openly we-grasped-for-more in-that-case

δὲ οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ ἀντέλεγον ὥς οὐ χρεὼν τὸν ἥσσω
but not-even — themselves would-they-argue that not (it-is)-right the weaker
 τῷ κρατοῦντι ὑποχωρεῖν.

to-the stronger to-yield

ἀδικούμενοί τε, ὥς ἔοικεν, οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ὀργίζονται ἢ 77.4

being-wronged both as it-seems — men more are-angry than

βιαζόμενοι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου δοκεῖ πλεονεκτεῖσθαι,

being-forced the-one indeed for from the equal seems to-be-overreached

τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείσσονος καταναγκάζεσθαι.

the-other but from the stronger to-be-compelled

ὑπὸ γοῦν τοῦ Μήδου δεινότερα τούτων πάσχοντες 77.5

by at-any-rate the Mede more-terrible(-things) than-these suffering

ἡνέχοντο, ἣ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἀρχὴ χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰκότως·

they-endured the but our empire harsh seems to-be reasonably

τὸ παρὸν γὰρ αἰεὶ βαρὺ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις.

the present for always (is)-burdensome to-the subjects

ὑμεῖς γ' ἂν οὖν εἰ καθελόντες ἡμᾶς ἄρξαιτε, τάχα 77.6

you at-least — therefore if having-overthrown us you-should-rule quickly

ἂν τὴν εὐνοίαν ἣν διὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος εἰλήφατε

— the goodwill which through the our fear you-have-received

μεταβάλοιτε, εἴπερ οἶα καὶ τότε πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον

you-would-change if-indeed the-sort-of-things also then against the Mede

δι' ὀλίγου ἡγησάμενοι ὑπεδείξατε, ὁμοῖα καὶ νῦν

for (a)-short(-time) having-led you-showed similar(-things) also now

γνώσεσθε. ἄμεικτα γὰρ τά τε καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς νόμιμα

you-will-resolve unmixable for the both among you selves usages

τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχετε καὶ προσέτι εἰς ἕκαστος ἐξίων οὔτε

with-the others you-have and moreover one each going-abroad neither

τούτοις χρήται οὔθ' οἷς ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς νομίζει.

these uses nor (those)-which the rest-of Greece customarily-uses

- 78.1 'Βουλευέσθε οὖν βραδέως ὥς οὐ περὶ βραχέων, καὶ
deliberate therefore slowly as not about small(-matters) and
 μὴ ἀλλοτρίαις γνώμαις καὶ ἐγκλήμασι πεισθέντες οἰκείον
not by-others' opinions and charges persuaded your-own
 πόνον πρόσθησθε. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου τὸν παράλογον,
trouble take-on of-the and war the incalculable(-element)
 ὅσος ἐστί, πρὶν ἐν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι προδιάγνωτε·
how-great it-is before in it to-be consider-beforehand
- 78.2 μηκυνόμενος γὰρ φιλεῖ ἐς τύχας τὰ πολλὰ περιύστασθαι,
being-prolonged for it-is-wont into chances the most to-come-round
 ὧν ἴσον τε ἀπέχομεν καὶ ὁποτέρως ἔσται ἐν ἀδήλῳ
from-which equally both we-are-distant and which-way it-will-be in uncertainty
 κινδυνεύεται.
is-hazarded
- 78.3 ἰόντες τε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τῶν ἔργων
going both — men into the wars the deeds
 πρότερον ἔχονται, ἃ χρῆν ὕστερον δρᾶν, κακοπαθοῦντες
first take-bold-of which they-ought later to-do suffering
 δὲ ἤδη τῶν λόγων ἄπτονται.
and already the words they-lay-bold-of
- 78.4 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ πω τοιαύτῃ ἀμαρτία ὄντες
we and in no yet such error being
 οὔτ' αὐτοὶ οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ὀρῶντες λέγομεν ὑμῖν, ἕως ἔτι
either ourselves or you seeing(-to-be) we-say to-you while still
 αὐθαίρετος ἀμφοτέροις ἢ εὐβουλία, σποινδὰς μὴ λύειν
self-chosen for-both the good-counsel (the)-treaty not to-break
 μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, τὰ δὲ διάφορα δίκη
nor to-transgress the oaths the and differences by-arbitration
 λύεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ξυνθήκην. εἰ δὲ μή, θεοὺς τοὺς
to-be-resolved according-to the agreement if but not gods the

ὀρκίους μάρτυρας ποιούμενοι πειρασόμεθα ἀμύνεσθαι
 of-oaths witnesses making we-shall-try to-defend-ourselves-against
 πολέμου ἄρχοντας ταύτῃ ἣ ἂν ὑφηγήσθε.
 war (you)-beginning in-this(-way) in-which — you-lead

XXII · ARCHIDAMUS

The Spartans deliberate alone, and most think Athens guilty and want war at once. Archidamus, their king, reputed wise and moderate, counsels delay. Athens is far off, skilled at sea, rich, and populous; Sparta is weaker at sea and has no treasury, and ravaging Attica will not force a city that holds the sea and an empire. The war may pass to their children. Sparta should protest by envoys while gathering allies, money, and ships, spare Attica as a hostage, and invade in two or three years if Athens will not yield.

τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶπον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων 79.1
 such(-things) and the Athenians said when and of-the both allies
 ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐγκλήματα τὰ ἐς τοὺς
 heard the Lacedaemonians the charges the(-ones) against the
 Ἀθηναίους καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἃ ἔλεξαν, μεταστησάμενοι
 Athenians and of-the Athenians what they-said having-put-out
 πάντας ἐβουλεύοντο κατὰ σφῆς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν παρόντων.
 all they-deliberated by them selves about the present(-situation)
 καὶ τῶν μὲν πλεόνων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ αἱ γνώμαι ἔφερον, 79.2
 and of-the indeed majority to the same(-conclusion) the opinions tended
 ἀδικεῖν τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἤδη καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι
 to-do-wrong both the Athenians already and to-be-made-war-on to-be
 ἐν τάχει παρελθὼν δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν,
 with speed having-come-forward but Archidamus the king of-them
 ἀνὴρ καὶ ξυνητός δοκῶν εἶναι καὶ σώφρων, ἔλεξε τοιάδε.
 a-man both intelligent seeming to-be and prudent spoke as-follows

- 80.1 'Καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῶν ἤδη πολέμων ἔμπειρός εἰμι, ὦ
also myself of-many already wars experienced I-am O
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ ὑμῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὁρῶ,
Lacedaemonians and of-you those in the same age I-see
 ὥστε μῆτε ἀπειρία ἐπιθυμῆσαί τινα τοῦ ἔργου, ὅπερ ἂν
so-that neither by-inexperience to-desire anyone the deed which —
 οἱ πολλοὶ πάθοιεν, μῆτε ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς νομίσαντα.
the many would-feel nor good and safe having-thought(-it)
- 80.2 εὔροιτε δ' ἂν τόνδε περὶ οὗ νῦν βουλευέσθε οὐκ ἂν
you-would-find and — this(-war) about which now you-deliberate not —
 ἐλάχιστον γενόμενον, εἰ σωφρόνως τις αὐτὸν ἐκλογίζοιτο.
least would-prove if prudently one it should-reckon
- 80.3 πρὸς μὲν γὰρ Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας
against indeed for Peloponnesians and the neighbors
 παρόμοιους ἡμῶν ἢ ἀλκῇ, καὶ διὰ ταχέων οἶόν τε
similar our the strength and through speed possible —
 ἐφ' ἕκαστα ἐλθεῖν· πρὸς δὲ ἄνδρας οἱ γῆν τε ἐκὰς
to each(-point) to-go against but men who land both far-away
 ἔχουσι καὶ προσέτι θαλάσσης ἐμπειρότατοί εἰσι καὶ τοῖς
have and moreover of-(the)-sea most-experienced are and with-the
 ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἄριστα ἐξήρτυνται, πλούτῳ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ
other(-things) all best are-equipped with-wealth both private and
 δημοσίῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ὄχλῳ
public and with-ships and horses and arms and population
 ὅσος οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐνὶ γε χωρίῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐστίν, ἔτι
such-as not in other one at-least place Greek is further
 δὲ καὶ ξυμμάχους πολλοὺς φόρου ὑποτελεῖς ἔχουσι, πῶς
and also allies many to-tribute subject they-have how
 χρὴ πρὸς τούτους ῥαδίως πόλεμον ἄρασθαι καὶ τίνι
must-one against these lightly war to-take-up and in-what
 πιστεύσαντας ἀπαρασκεύους ἐπειχθῆναι;
trusting unprepared to-hasten

πότερον ταῖς ναυσίν; ἀλλ' ἥσσους ἐσμέν· εἰ δὲ μελετήσομεν 80.4

whether in-the ships but weaker we-are if but we-shall-practice

καὶ ἀντιπαρασκευασόμεθα, χρόνος ἐνέσται. ἀλλὰ τοῖς

and prepare-in-opposition time will-be-needed but in-the

χρήμασιν; ἀλλὰ πολλῶ πλέον ἔτι τούτου ἐλλείπομεν καὶ

money but by-much more still in-this we-fall-short and

οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ ἔχομεν οὔτε ἐτόίμως ἐκ τῶν

neither in (the)-common(-treasury) we-have nor readily from the

ιδίῳ φέρομεν.

private(-means) we-contribute

τάχ' ἂν τις θαρσοίῃ ὅτι τοῖς ὅπλοις αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ 81.1

perhaps — one might-take-courage that in-the arms than-them and in-the

πλήθει ὑπερφέρομεν, ὥστε τὴν γῆν δηοῦν ἐπιφοιτῶντες.

numbers we-excel so-as the land to-ravage making-incursions

τοῖς δὲ ἄλλῃ γῇ ἐστὶ πολλὴ ἥς ἄρχουσι, καὶ ἐκ 81.2

to-them but other land is much which they-rule and from

θαλάσσης ὧν δέονται ἐπάξονται.

(the)-sea what they-need they-will-import

εἰ δ' αὖ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀφιστάναι πειρασόμεθα, 81.3

if and again the allies to-cause-to-revolt we-shall-try

δείξει καὶ τούτοις ναυσὶ βοηθεῖν τὸ πλέον οὔσι

it-will-be-needed also to-these with-ships to-help the more being

νησιώταις.

islanders

τίς οὖν ἔσται ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμος; εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἢ ναυσὶ 81.4

what therefore will-be of-us the war if not for either with-ships

κρατήσομεν ἢ τὰς προσόδους ἀφαιρήσομεν ἀφ' ὧν τὸ

we-shall-prevail or the revenues we-shall-take-away from which the

ναυτικὸν τρέφουσι, βλαψόμεθα τὰ πλείω.

navy they-maintain we-shall-be-harmed the more

- 81.5 *κἂν τούτῳ οὐδὲ καταλύεσθαι ἔτι καλόν, ἄλλως τε*
and-in this not-even to-make-peace any-longer (is)-honorable especially —
καὶ εἰ δόξομεν ἄρξαι μᾶλλον τῆς διαφορᾶς.
— if we-shall-seem to-have-begun rather the quarrel
- 81.6 *μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνῃ γε τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαιρώμεθα ὥς ταχὺ*
not for indeed by-that at-least — hope let-us-be-buoyed-up that quickly
παυσθήσεται ὁ πόλεμος, ἣν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν τέμνωμεν.
will-be-ended the war if the land of-them we-ravage
δέδουκα δὲ μᾶλλον μὴ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ὑπολίπωμεν·
I-fear but rather lest also to-the children it we-leave-behind
οὕτως εἰκὸς Ἀθηναίους φρονήματι μήτε τῇ γῇ δουλεύσαι
so (it-is)-likely Athenians with-pride neither to-the land to-be-enslaved
μήτε ὥσπερ ἀπείρους καταπλαγῆναι τῷ πολέμῳ.
nor as inexperienced to-be-terrified by-the war
- 82.1 *‘Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἀναισθήτως αὐτοὺς κελεύω τοὺς τε*
not however even insensibly them I-bid the both
ξυμμάχους ἡμῶν εἶναι βλάπτειν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας μὴ
allies our to-allow to-harm and plotting not
καταφωρᾶν, ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μὲν μήπω κινεῖν, πέμπειν δὲ
to-detect(-them) but arms indeed not-yet to-move to-send but
καὶ αἰτιᾶσθαι μήτε πόλεμον ἄγαν δηλοῦντας μήθ’ ὥς
and to-complain neither war too-much showing nor that
ἐπιτρέψομεν, κἂν τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερ’ αὐτῶν
we-shall-permit(-it) and-in this also the(-resources) our own
ἐξαρτυέσθαι ξυμμάχων τε προσαγωγῇ καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ
to-equip of-allies both by-acquisition both of-Greeks and
βαρβάρων, εἴ ποθέν τινα ἢ ναυτικοῦ ἢ χρημάτων
of-barbarians if from-anywhere some either of-navy or of-money
δύναμιν προσληψόμεθα (ἀνεπίφθονον δέ, ὅσοι ὥσπερ
power we-shall-acquire (it-is)-unenviable and as-many-as as
καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβουλευόμεθα, μὴ Ἑλλήνας
also we by Athenians are-plotted-against not Greeks

μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους προσλαβόντας διασωθῆναι),
only but also barbarians having-taken-in-addition to-be-saved
 καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐκποριζώμεθα.

and the(-resources) own at-the-same-time let-us-provide

καὶ ἢν μὲν ἐσακούσῃ τι πρεσβευομένων ἡμῶν, ταῦτα 82.2

and if indeed they-listen at-all sending-embassies (to)-us these(-are)

ἄριστα· ἢν δὲ μή, διελθόντων ἐτῶν δύο καὶ τριῶν ἄμεινον

best if but not having-passed years two and three better

ἤδη, ἢν δοκῇ, πεφραγμένοι ἴμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς.

now if it-seems(-good) fenced we-shall-go against them

καὶ ἴσως ὁρῶντες ἡμῶν ἤδη τὴν τε παρασκευὴν καὶ 82.3

and perhaps seeing our already the both preparation and

τοὺς λόγους αὐτῇ ὁμοῖα ὑποσημαίνοντας μᾶλλον

the words to-it similar(-things) indicating rather

ἂν εἴκοιεν, καὶ γῆν ἔτι ἄτμητον ἔχοντες καὶ περὶ

— *would-they-yield both land still unravaged having and about*

παρόντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ οὐπω ἐφθαρμένων βουλευόμενοι.

present goods and not-yet destroyed deliberating

μὴ γὰρ ἄλλο τι νομίσητε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἢ ὄμηρον 82.4

not for other anything consider the land of-them than a-hostage

ἔχειν καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον ὅσω ἄμεινον ἐξείργασται· ἥς

to-have and not less by-as-much-as better it-has-been-cultivated which

φείδεσθαι χρὴ ὥς ἐπὶ πλείστον, καὶ μὴ ἐς ἀπόνοιαν

to-spare one-must as for longest and not into desperation

καταστήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἀληπτοτέρους ἔχειν.

having-brought them more-unassailable to-have(-them)

εἰ γὰρ ἀπαράσκευοι τοῖς τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐγκλήμασιν 82.5

if for unprepared by-the of-the allies charges

ἐπειχθέντες τεμοῦμεν αὐτήν, ὁρᾶτε ὅπως μὴ αἰσχίον

being-hurried we-shall-ravage it see that not more-shamefully

καὶ ἀπορώτερον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πράξομεν.

and more-helplessly for-the Peloponnese we-shall-fare

- 82.6 ἐγκλήματα μὲν γὰρ καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν οἶόν τε
 charges indeed for both of-cities and of-individuals possible —
 καταλῦσαι πόλεμον δὲ ξύμπαντας ἀραμένους ἔνεκα
 to-settle war but all having-taken-up for-the-sake
 τῶν ἰδίων, ὃν οὐχ ὑπάρχει εἰδέναι καθ' ὅτι
 of-the private(-interests) of-which not it-is-possible to-know in what(-way)
 χωρήσει, οὐ ράδιον εὐπρεπῶς θέσθαι.
 it-will-go not easy honorably to-settle

XXIII · STHENELAIDAS AND THE VOTE

Archidamus goes on. War depends less on arms than on money. Sparta's slowness is sober wisdom, bred of a discipline that teaches obedience to the laws rather than argument. Sparta should send to Athens about Potidaea and the allies' grievances, since Athens offers arbitration, and prepare for war. The ephor Sthenelaidas answers: the Athenians praised themselves but denied no wrong, and the allies must not be betrayed. Saying he cannot judge the shout, he divides the assembly, and a large majority judges the treaty broken, less persuaded by the allies than fearing Athens' growing power.

- 83.1 'Καὶ ἀνανδρία μηδενὶ πολλοὺς μῆ πόλει μὴ ταχὺ ἐπελθεῖν
 and cowardice to-no-one many one city not quickly to-attack
 δοκεῖτω εἶναι.
 let-it-seem to-be
- 83.2 εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἐλάσσους χρήματα φέροντες
 there-are for also to-them not fewer money bringing
 ξύμμαχοι, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὅπλων τὸ πλέον
 allies and is the war not of-arms the more
 ἀλλὰ δαπάνης, δι' ἣν τὰ ὅπλα ὠφελεῖ, ἄλλως τε
 but of-expense through which the arms help especially both
 καὶ ἡπειρώται πρὸς θαλασσίους.
 and for-mainlanders against seafarers

πορισώμεθα οὖν πρῶτον αὐτήν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς τῶν 83.3
let-us-provide therefore first it and not by-the of-the
 ζυμμάχων λόγοις πρότερον ἐπαιρώμεθα, οἷπερ δὲ καὶ
allies speeches first let-us-be-carried-away we-who and also
 τῶν ἀποβαινόντων τὸ πλεόν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τῆς αἰτίας
of-the results the more for both(-ways) of-the blame
 ἔξομεν, οὗτοι καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν προῖδωμεν.
shall-have these(-we) also in quiet something of-them let-us-foresee
 καὶ τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον, ὃ μέμφονται μάλιστα 84.1
and the slow and delaying(-quality) which they-blame most
 ἡμῶν, μὴ αἰσχύνεσθε. σπεύδοντές τε γὰρ σχολαίτερον ἂν
in-us not be-ashamed-of hastening both for more-slowly —
 παύσαισθε διὰ τὸ ἀπαράσκευοι ἐγχειρεῖν, καὶ ἅμα
you-would-cease because-of — unprepared taking-in-hand and at-the-same-time
 ἐλευθέραν καὶ εὐδοξοτάτην πόλιν διὰ παντὸς νεμόμεθα.
free and most-glorious city through all(-time) we-inhabit
 καὶ δύναται μάλιστα σωφροσύνη ἔμφρων τοῦτ' εἶναι· μόνοι 84.2
and can most prudence sensible this to-be alone
 γὰρ δι' αὐτὸ ἐπ' ἀπραγίαις τε οὐκ ἐξυβρίζομεν καὶ ζυμφοραῖς
for through it in-successes both not we-grow-insolent and in-misfortunes
 ἡσσον ἐτέρων εἴκομεν· τῶν τε ζῶν ἐπαίνῳ ἐξοτρυνόντων
less than-others we-yield of-those both with praise urging
 ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ δεινὰ παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἡμῖν οὐκ
us to the dangers contrary-to the resolved(-judgment) to-us not
 ἐπαιρώμεθα ἡδονῇ, καὶ ἥν τις ἄρα ζῶν κατηγορία
we-are-carried-away by-pleasure and if anyone after-all with accusation
 παροξύνῃ, οὐδὲν δὴ μᾶλλον ἀχθεσθέντες ἀνεπεισθήμεν.
provoke(-us) not-at-all indeed more being-vexed we-were-persuaded
 πολεμικοὶ τε καὶ εὐβουλοὶ διὰ τὸ εὐκοσμον γιγνόμεθα, 84.3
warlike both and well-counseled because-of the orderliness we-become
 τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰδῶς σωφροσύνης πλείστον μετέχει,
the-one indeed because shame of-prudence most has-a-share

αἰσχύνης δὲ εὐθυχία, εὖβουλοι δὲ ἀμαθέστερον τῶν
of-disgrace and courage well-counseled but too-ignorantly of-the
 νόμων τῆς ὑπεροψίας παιδευόμενοι καὶ ξὺν χαλεπότητι
laws for-the contempt being-educated and with harshness
 σωφρονέστερον ἢ ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀνηκουστεῖν, καὶ μὴ τὰ
too-prudently than so-as them to-disobey and not the
 ἀχρεΐα ξυνετοὶ ἄγαν ὄντες τὰς τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευὰς
useless(-things) clever too-much being the of-the enemies preparations
 λόγῳ καλῶς μεμφόμενοι ἀνομοίως ἔργῳ ἐπεξίεναι, νομίζειν
in-word finely finding-fault-with unlike in-deed to-go-at(-them) to-consider
 δὲ τὰς τε διανοίας τῶν πέλας παραπλησίους εἶναι καὶ
but the both thoughts of-the neighbors similar to-be and
 τὰς προσπιπτούσας τύχας οὐ λόγῳ διαιρετάς.
the befalling chances not by-word divisible

84.4 αἰεὶ δὲ ὡς πρὸς εὖ βουλευομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔργῳ
always and as against well deliberating the opponents in-deed
 παρασκευαζόμεθα· καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνων ὡς ἀμαρτησομένων
we-prepare and not from them as going-to-err
 ἔχειν δεῖ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς
to-have one-must the hopes but as we ourselves safely
 προνοουμένων. πολὺ τε διαφέρειν οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν
providing much both to-differ not one-must to-think
 ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου, κράτιστον δὲ εἶναι ὅστις ἐν τοῖς
man from-man strongest but to-be whoever in the
 ἀναγκαιοτάτοις παιδεύεται.
most-necessary(-things) is-trained

85.1 'Ταύτας οὖν ἅς οἱ πατέρες τε ἡμῖν παρέδοσαν μελέτας καὶ
these therefore which the fathers both to-us handed-down practices and
 αὐτοὶ διὰ παντὸς ὠφελούμενοι ἔχομεν μὴ παρῶμεν, μηδὲ
ourselves through all(-time) benefiting we-hold not let-us-abandon nor
 ἐπειχθέντες ἐν βραχεὶ μορίῳ ἡμέρας περὶ πολλῶν σωματίων
being-hurried in (a)-short part of-a-day about many lives

καὶ χρημάτων καὶ πόλεων καὶ δόξης βουλεύσωμεν, ἀλλὰ
and money and cities and glory let-us-decide but
 καθ' ἡσυχίαν. ἔξεστι δ' ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἑτέρων διὰ ἰσχύιν.
in quiet it-is-possible and for-us more than-others because-of strength
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμπετε μὲν περὶ τῆς 85.2
and to the Athenians send indeed about —

Ποτειδαίας, πέμπετε δὲ περὶ ὧν οἱ ξύμμαχοί
Potidaea send and about the(-things)-which the allies
 φασιν ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐτοίμων ὄντων αὐτῶν
say to-be-wronged(-in) especially both and ready being they
 δίκας δοῦναι· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν διδόντα οὐ πρότερον
arbitration to-give against and the(-man) offering(-it) not before
 νόμιμον ὥς ἐπ' ἀδικοῦντα ἰέναι. παρασκευάζεσθε δὲ
(it-is)-lawful as against a-wrongdoer to-go prepare but
 τὸν πόλεμον ἅμα. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ κράτιστα
the war at-the-same-time these(-things) for both best
 βουλεύσεσθε καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις φοβερώτατα.
you-will-resolve and to-the opponents most-frightening

καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος τοιαῦτα εἶπεν· παρελθὼν δὲ 85.3
and the indeed Archidamus such(-things) said having-come-forward and
 Σθενελαΐδας τελευταῖος, εἰς τῶν ἐφόρων τότε ὦν, ἔλεξεν
Sthenelaidas last one of-the ephors then being spoke
 ὧδε.

thus
 ‘Τοὺς μὲν λόγους τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ 86.1
the indeed words the many of-the Athenians not
 γινώσκω· ἐπαινέσαντες γὰρ πολλὰ ἑαυτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ
I-understand having-praised for much themselves nowhere
 ἀντείπον ὥς οὐκ ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς ἡμετέρους ξυμμάχους καὶ
they-replied that not they-wrong the our allies and
 τὴν Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι εἰ πρὸς τοὺς Μήδους ἐγένοντο
the Peloponnese and-yet if against the Medes they-were

ἀγαθοὶ τότε, πρὸς δ' ἡμᾶς κακοὶ νῦν, διπλασίας ζημίας
good then against but us bad now double punishment

ἄξιοι εἶσιν, ὅτι ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν κακοὶ γεγέννηται.

worthy they-are because instead-of good bad they-have-become

86.2 ἡμεῖς δὲ ὁμοῖοι καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐσμέν, καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους,
we and the-same both then and now are and the allies

ἢν σωφρονῶμεν, οὐ περιοψόμεθα ἀδικουμένους οὐδὲ

if we-are-prudent not shall-we-overlook being-wronged nor

μελλήσομεν τιμωρεῖν· οἱ δ' οὐκέτι μέλλουσι κακῶς πάσχειν.

shall-we-delay to-help they but no-longer are-delaying badly to-be-treated

86.3 ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ χρήματά ἐστι πολλὰ καὶ νῆες καὶ ἵπποι,
to-others indeed for money there-is much and ships and horses

ἡμῖν δὲ ξύμμαχοι ἀγαθοί, οὓς οὐ παραδοτέα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις

to-us but allies good whom not to-be-given-up to-the Athenians

ἐστίν, οὐδὲ δίκαις καὶ λόγοις διακριτέα μὴ λόγῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς

it-is nor by-lawsuits and words to-be-decided not in-word also themselves

βλαπτομένους, ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέα ἐν τάχει καὶ παντὶ σθένει.

being-harmed but to-be-helped in speed and with-all strength

86.4 καὶ ὥς ἡμᾶς πρέπει βουλευέσθαι ἀδικουμένους μηδεὶς

and how us it-befits to-deliberate being-wronged let-no-one

διδασκέτω, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀδικεῖν μᾶλλον πρέπει

teach but those intending to-do-wrong rather it-befits

πολὺν χρόνον βουλευέσθαι.

long time to-deliberate

86.5 ψηφίζεσθε οὖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀξίως τῆς Σπάρτης τὸν

vote therefore O Lacedaemonians worthily — of-Sparta the

πόλεμον, καὶ μήτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἑάτε μείζους γίνεσθαι

war and neither the Athenians allow greater to-become

μήτε τοὺς ξυμμάχους καταπροδιδῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς

nor the allies let-us-betray but with the

θεοῖς ἐπίωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικούντας·

gods let-us-go against the wrongdoers

τοιαῦτα λέξας ἐπειρήφιζεν αὐτὸς ἔφορος ὢν ἐς τὴν 87.1
such(-things) having-said he-put-it-to-the-vote himself ephor being to the
 ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

assembly of-the Lacedaemonians

ὁ δέ (κρίνουσι γὰρ βοῇ καὶ οὐ ψήφῳ) οὐκ ἔφη 87.2
he and they-decide for by-shout and not by-ballot not he-said

διαγινώσκειν τὴν βοὴν ὅποτέρᾳ μείζων, ἀλλὰ
to-distinguish the shout which-of-the-two (was)-greater but

βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς φανερώς ἀποδεικνυμένους τὴν γνώμην
wishing them openly showing the opinion

ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν μᾶλλον ὀρμῆσαι ἔλεξεν ὅτῳ μὲν ὑμῶν,
for the warring more to-urge-on he-said to-whomever indeed of-you

ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δοκοῦσι λελύσθαι αἱ σπονδαὶ καὶ
O Lacedaemonians seem to-have-been-broken the treaty and

οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀδικεῖν, ἀναστήτω ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον,⁷
the Athenians to-be-wronging(-us) let-him-stand-up to that — place

δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς, ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ δοκοῦσιν, ἐς
having-shown some place to-them to-whomever and not seem to

τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα.⁸ ἀναστάντες δὲ διέστησαν,
the on the-other-side having-stood-up and they-separated

καὶ πολλῷ πλείους ἐγένοντο οἷς ἐδόκουν αἱ σπονδαὶ 87.3
and by-far more were (those)-to-whom seemed the treaty

λελύσθαι.

to-have-been-broken

προσκαλέσαντές τε τοὺς ξυμμάχους εἶπον ὅτι σφίσι μὲν 87.4
having-summoned both the allies they-said that to-them indeed

δοκοῖεν ἀδικεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς
they-seemed to-be-wronging(-them) the Athenians to-wish but also the

πάντας ξυμμάχους παρακαλέσαντες ψήφον ἐπαγαγεῖν, ὅπως
all allies having-called-together a-vote to-put so-that

κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ποιῶνται, ἣν δοκῇ.

in-common having-deliberated the war they-might-make if it-seems(-good)

87.5 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἶκον διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα,
and they indeed departed to home having-accomplished these(-things)
 καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ὕστερον ἐφ' ἅπερ ἦλθον
and the of-Athenians envoys later for which they-came
 χρηματίσαντες·

having-transacted-business

87.6 ἡ δὲ διαγνώμη αὕτη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς
the and decision this of-the assembly of-the the treaty
 λελύσθαι, ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν
to-have-been-broken took-place in the fourth and tenth year of-the
 τριακοντουτίδων σπονδῶν προκεχωρηκυῶν, αἱ ἐγένοντο
thirty-years treaty having-advanced which was-made
 μετὰ τὰ Εὐβοϊκά.

after the Euboean(-affair)

88.1 ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι
voted and the Lacedaemonians the treaty to-have-been-broken
 καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν συμμάχων
and (war)-to-be-waged to-be not so-much by-the allies
 πεισθέντες τοῖς λόγοις ὅσον φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
persuaded by-the words as fearing the Athenians
 μὴ ἐπὶ μείζον δυνηθῶσιν, ὁρῶντες αὐτοῖς τὰ πολλὰ
lest to greater(-power) they-become-able seeing for-them the most
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑποχείρια ἤδη ὄντα.

— *of-Greece subject already being*

Here is how Athens rises to power. After Mycale the Athenians and Ionians take Sestos, and the Athenians go home to rebuild city and walls. Sparta, pressed by its allies, asks them not to wall it. Themistocles has himself sent to Sparta and stalls while every Athenian builds, sparing no building, private or public; when reports reach Sparta, he tells the Spartans to send envoys to see, and has Athens detain them. Then he announces that the city is walled and can judge its own interest, since only equal strength gives an equal voice.

οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τρόπῳ τοιῶδε ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα 89.1
the for Athenians in-manner this came to the affairs

ἐν οἷς ἡῤῥήθησαν.

in which they-grew

ἐπειδὴ Μῆδοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης νικηθέντες 89.2
when (the)-Medes withdrew from — Europe defeated

καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ οἱ καταφυγόντες
both by-ships and by-land by Greeks and those having-fled

αὐτῶν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Μυκάλην διεφθάρησαν, Λεωτυχίδης
of-them with-the ships to Mycale were-destroyed Leotychides

μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅσπερ ἡγεῖτο τῶν
indeed the king of-the Lacedaemonians who led those

ἐν Μυκάλῃ Ἑλλήνων, ἀπεχώρησεν ἐπ' οἴκου ἔχων τοὺς
at Mycale Greeks withdrew to home having those

ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου συμμάχους, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ
from Peloponnese allies the and Athenians and those

ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ζύμμαχοι ἤδη ἀφεστηκότες
from Ionia and Hellespont allies already having-revolted

ἀπὸ βασιλέως ὑπομείναντες Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκουν Μήδων
from (the)-king having-stayed Sestos besieged Medes

ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐπιχειμάσαντες εἶλον αὐτὴν ἐκλιπόντων
holding(-it) and having-wintered-there took it having-abandoned(-it)

τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπέπλευσαν ἔξ
the barbarians and after this sailed-away from

Ἑλλησπόντου ὡς ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις.

Hellspont as severally by cities

89.3 Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ κοινόν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι

of-Athenians and the community when for-them the barbarians

ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπῆλθον, διεκομίζοντο εὐθύς ὅθεν
from the land departed brought-back at-once from-where

ὑπέξέθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περιούσαν

they-had-deposited(-them) children and women and the remaining

κατασκευήν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο
furniture and the city to-rebuild prepared

καὶ τὰ τεῖχη· τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχεία εἰστήκει καὶ
and the walls of-the both for circuit short(-parts) stood and

οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, ὀλίγαι δὲ περιῆσαν,
houses the indeed many had-fallen few but survived

ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνωσαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν.

in which themselves had-quartered the powerful(-men) of-the Persians

90.1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὸ μέλλον ἦλθον πρεσβεία,

Lacedaemonians and perceiving the future came in-an-embassy

τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἂν ὀρώντες μήτ' ἐκείνους

partly indeed also themselves more-gladly — would-see neither those

μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τείχος ἔχοντα, τὸ δὲ πλεόν τῶν

nor other any-one a-wall having the but more the

ξυμμάχων ἐξοτρυνόντων καὶ φοβουμένων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ

allies urging and fearing of-the both navy

αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ὃ πρὶν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν
of-them the size which before not existed and the in the

Μηδικὸν πόλεμον τόλμαν γενομένην.

Persian war daring having-arisen

ἤξιουν τε αὐτοὺς μὴ τειχίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔξω 90.2
they-asked both them not to-build-walls but also of-the (cities)-outside

Πελοποννήσου μᾶλλον ὅσοις εἰστήκει ξυγκαθελεῖν
(the)-Peloponnese rather for-as-many-as they-stood to-join-in-pulling-down
 μετὰ σφῶν τοὺς περιβόλους, τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον καὶ
with them the circuit-walls the indeed wish and
 ὑποπτον τῆς γνώμης οὐ δηλοῦντες ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὥς
suspicion of-the purpose not revealing to the Athenians that
 δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου, εἰ αὖθις ἐπέλθοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος ἀπὸ
but the barbarian if again he-should-come not — having from
 ἐχυροῦ ποθέν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ὀρμαῖσθαι·
a-stronghold anywhere as now from — Thebes to-set-out(-from)
 τήν τε Πελοπόννησον πᾶσιν ἔφασαν ἀναχώρησίν τε καὶ
the and Peloponnese for-all they-said retreat both and
 ἀφορμὴν ἱκανὴν εἶναι.

base sufficient to-be
 οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι Θεμιστοκλέους γνώμη τοὺς μὲν 90.3
the but Athenians by-Themistocles' advice the indeed

Λακεδαιμονίους ταῦτ' εἰπόντας ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι
Lacedaemonians these(-things) having-said having-answered that
 πέμψουσιν ὥς αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν
they-will-send to them envoys about (the-things)-which they-say
 εὐθὺς ἀπήλλαξαν· ἑαυτὸν δ' ἐκέλευεν ἀποστέλλειν ὥς
at-once dismissed himself and he-bade(-them) to-send-off as
 τάχιστα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἄλλους
quickly(-as-possible) — Themistocles to — Lacedaemon others
 δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐλομένους πρέσβεις μὴ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμπειν,
and besides himself having-chosen (as)-envoys not at-once to-send-out
 ἀλλ' ἐπισχεῖν μέχρι τοσούτου ἕως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἱκανὸν
but to-hold-back as-far-as so-long until — the wall sufficient
 ἄρῳσιν ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιοτάτου
they-should-raise so-as to-defend(-themselves) from the most-necessary

- ὕψους· τειχιῖζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει,
height to-build and all in-full-force those in the city
 φειδομένους μήτε ιδίου μήτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος ὅθεν
sparing neither private nor public building whence
 τις ὠφελία ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθαιροῦντας πάντα.
any help will-be for the work but pulling-down everything
 90.4 καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα διδάξας καὶ ὑπειπὼν τὰλλα ὅτι
and he indeed these(-things) having-instructed and having-suggested the-rest that
 αὐτὸς τὰκεῖ πράξει ὥχεται.
himself the(-things)-there would-manage went-away
 90.5 καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἔλθων οὐ προσήει πρὸς τὰς
and to — Lacedaemon having-come not he-went to the
 ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ διῆγε καὶ προυφασίζετο. καὶ ὁπότε τις
authorities but put-off-time and made-excuses and whenever anyone
 αὐτὸν ἔροιτο τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων ὅτι οὐκ ἐπέρχεται ἐπὶ
him asked of-those in office being why not he-comes-forward to
 τὸ κοινόν, ἔφη τοὺς ξυμπρέσβεις ἀναμένειν, ἀσχολίας
the commonwealth he-said the fellow-envoys to-be-waiting-for business
 δέ τινος οὔσης αὐτοὺς ὑπολειφθῆναι, προσδέχεσθαι μέντοι
and some being them to-have-been-left-behind to-expect however
 ἐν τάχει ἥξειν καὶ θαυμάζειν ὥς οὐπω πάρεισιν.
in speed to-arrive and to-wonder that not-yet they-are-here
 91.1 οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες τῷ μὲν Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἐπείθοντο διὰ
they and bearing(-him) — indeed Themistocles believed because-of
 φιλίαν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀφικνουμένων καὶ σαφῶς
friendship for-him of-the but others arriving and clearly
 κατηγορούντων ὅτι τειχιῖζεται τε καὶ ἤδη ὕψος λαμβάνει,
charging that it-is-being-walled both and already height it-gains
 οὐκ εἶχον ὅπως χρὴ ἀπιστῆσαι.
not they-knew how one-must to-disbelieve(-it)

γνοὺς δὲ ἐκείνος κελεύει αὐτοὺς μὴ λόγοις μᾶλλον 91.2

having-learned and he bids them not by-words rather

παράγεσθαι ἢ πέμψαι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας οἵτινες

to-be-misled than to-send of-them selves men who

χρηστοὶ καὶ πιστῶς ἀναγγελοῦσι σκεψάμενοι.

(as)-honest(-men) and faithfully will-report having-examined(-it)

ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοῖς 91.3

they-send therefore and about them — Themistocles to-the

Ἀθηναίους κρύφα πέμπει κελεύων ὥς ἥκιστα ἐπιφανῶς

Athenians secretly sends bidding(-them) as least openly

κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφείναι πρὶν ἂν αὐτοὶ πάλιν

to-detain(-them) and not to-release(-them) before — they-themselves again

κομισθῶσιν (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἦκον αὐτῷ οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις,

be-brought-back already for also had-come to-him the fellow-envoys

Ἀβρώνυχός τε ὁ Λυσικλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου,

Habronichus both the (son)-of-Lysicles and Aristides the (son)-of-Lysimachus

ἀγγέλλοντες ἔχειν ἱκανῶς τὸ τεῖχος) ἐφοβέιτο γὰρ μὴ

reporting to-be sufficiently the wall he-feared for lest

οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς, ὅποτε σαφῶς ἀκούσειαν, οὐκέτι

the Lacedaemonians them when clearly they-heard no-longer

ἀφῶσιν.

would-release(-them)

οἳ τε οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πρέσβεις, ὥσπερ ἐπεστάλη, 91.4

the both therefore Athenians the envoys as it-was-instructed

κατεῖχον, καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπελθὼν τοῖς

detained and — Themistocles having-come-before the

Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνταῦθα δὴ φανερώς εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν

Lacedaemonians there indeed openly said that the indeed

πόλις σφῶν τετείχισται ἤδη ὥστε ἱκανὴ εἶναι σώζειν

city of-them has-been-walled already so-as sufficient to-be to-save

τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, εἰ δέ τι βούλονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι

the inhabitants if and anything wish Lacedaemonians

ἢ οἱ ξύμμαχοι πρεσβεύεσθαι παρὰ σφᾶς, ὥς πρὸς
or the allies to-send-envoys to them as to
 διαγιγνώσκοντας τὸ λοιπὸν ἰέναι τά τε σφίσιν
(men)-discerning in-the future to-come the(-things) both for-them
 αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ κοινά.
selves advantageous and the(-things) common

91.5 τήν τε γὰρ πόλιν ὅτε ἐδόκει ἐκλιπεῖν ἄμεινον εἶναι καὶ
the both for city when it-seemed to-abandon better to-be and
 ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβῆναι, ἄνευ ἐκείνων ἔφασαν γνόντες
into the ships to-embark without them they-said having-resolved
 τολμήσαι, καὶ ὅσα αὖ μετ' ἐκείνων βουλευέσθαι,
to-have-dared and as-many-as again with them to-deliberate
 οὐδενὸς ὕστεροι γνώμη φανῆναι.
in-nothing behind in-judgment to-have-appeared

91.6 δοκεῖν οὖν σφίσι καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον εἶναι τὴν ἐαυτῶν
to-seem therefore to-them also now better to-be the own
 πόλιν τεῖχος ἔχειν, καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς
city a-wall to-have and privately for-the citizens and for the
 πάντας συμμαχούς ὠφελιμώτερον ἔσεσθαι.
all allies more-useful to-be-going-to-be

91.7 οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τ' εἶναι μὴ ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς
not for possible — to-be not from equal armament
 ὁμοῖόν τι ἢ ἴσον ἐς τὸ κοινὸν βουλευέσθαι. ἢ
similar anything or equal for the common(-good) to-deliberate either
 πάντας οὖν ἀτειχίστους ἔφη χρῆναι συμμαχεῖν ἢ
all therefore unvalled he-said it-was-necessary to-be-allies or
 καὶ τάδε νομίζειν ὀρθῶς ἔχειν.
also these(-things) to-consider rightly to-be

The Spartans hide their anger; the envoys go home. The basti wall still shows mixed foundations and built-in gravestones. Themistocles has Piraeus finished with a thick wall, holding that Athens' power lies at sea. Pausanias takes most of Cyprus and Byzantium, but his violence drives the allies, the Ionians above all, to ask Athens to lead. Recalled and acquitted of the gravest charges, he is replaced by Dorcis, whom the allies refuse, and Sparta sends no more. Athens assesses which cities give money and which ships; the first tribute, 460 talents, is kept at Delos.

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούσαντες ὀργὴν μὲν φανεράν οὐκ 92.1

the and Lacedaemonians having-heard anger indeed open not

ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ, ἀλλὰ
made at-the Athenians not-even for for hindrance but

γνώμης παραινέσει δῆθεν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο,
of-opinion (by-way-of)-advice supposedly to-the commonwealth they-had-sent-envoys

ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσφιλεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τότε διὰ τὴν
at-the-same-time and also friendly being at the time because-of the

εἰς τὸν Μῆδον προθυμίαν τὰ μάλιστ' αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον),
toward the Mede zeal the most to-them they-happened(-to-be)

τῆς μέντοι βουλήσεως ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀδήλως ἤχθοντο.
of-the however wish failing secretly they-were-aggrieved

οἱ τε πρέσβεις ἐκατέρων ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεπικλήτως.
the and envoys of-each(-side) went-away to home without-complaint

τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν ἐν 93.1

in-this — way the Athenians the city walled in

ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ.

little time

καὶ δῆλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν 93.2

and evident the building still even now is that in haste

ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ

it-took-place the for foundations of-all-kinds of-stones lie-beneath and

οὐ ξυνειργασμένων ἔστιν ἦ, ἀλλ' ὥς ἕκαστόν
not fitted-together there-are (places)-where but as each
 ποτε προσέφερον, πολλαί τε στήλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ
ever they-brought many and gravestones from tombs and
 λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν. μείζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος
stones worked were-built-in greater for the circuit
 πανταχῇ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντα
everywhere was-extended of-the city and because-of this everything
 ὁμοίως κινοῦντες ἡπείγοντο.
alike moving they-buried

- 93.3 ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς
he-persuaded and also of-the Piraeus the rest — Themistocles
 οἰκοδομεῖν (ὑπῆρκετο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου
to-build it-had-been-begun and of-it before in the of-him
 ἀρχῆς ἥς κατ' ἑνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἡρξε) νομίζων τό τε
magistracy which by year for-Athenians he-held considering the both
 χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυεῖς, καὶ
place fine to-be harbors having three natural and
 αὐτοὺς ναυτικούς γεγενημένους μέγα προφέρειν ἐς τὸ
themselves seamen having-become great to-advance for the
 93.4 κτήσασθαι δύναμιν (τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος
acquiring power of-the for indeed sea first
 ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὥς ἀνθεκτέα ἐστὶ), καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς
he-dared to-say that to-be-held-on-to it-is and the empire at-once
 ξυγκατεσκεύαζεν.
he-helped-found

- 93.5 καὶ ὠκοδόμησαν τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ τὸ πάχος τοῦ τείχους
and they-built by-the his judgment the thickness of-the wall
 ὅπερ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ· δύο γὰρ
which now still evident is around the Piraeus two for
 ἅμαξαι ἐναντία ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους ἐπήγον. ἐντὸς δὲ
wagons opposite one-another the stones brought-in within and

οὔτε χάλιξ οὔτε πηλὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ ξυνωκοδομημένοι μεγάλοι
 neither rubble nor clay was but built-together great
 λίθοι καὶ ἐντομῇ ἐγγώνιοι, σιδήρῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 stones and in-the-cutting squared with-iron to one-another
 τὰ ἔξωθεν καὶ μολύβδῳ δεδεμένοι. τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἥμισυ
 the(-parts) outside and with-lead bound the and height half
 μάλιστα ἐτελέσθη οὐ διανοεῖτο.

about was-completed of-what be-intended

ἐβούλετο γὰρ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ πάχει ἀφιστάναι τὰς 93.6
 he-wished for by-the size and by-the thickness to-keep-off the
 τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλὰς, ἀνθρώπων τε ἐνόμιζεν ὀλίγων
 of-the enemies attacks of-men and he-thought few
 καὶ τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων ἀρκέσειν τὴν φυλακὴν, τοὺς δ'
 and the least-fit would-suffice the guard the and
 ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβήσεσθαι.

others into the ships to-embark

ταῖς γὰρ ναυσὶ μάλιστα προσέκειτο, ἰδὼν, ὥς ἐμοὶ 93.7
 to-the for ships most he-was-devoted having-seen as to-me

δοκεῖ, τῆς βασιλέως στρατιᾶς τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν
 it-seems of-the king's army the by sea

ἔφοδον εὐπορωτέραν τῆς κατὰ γῆν οὐσαν· τὸν τε
 approach easier than-the(-one) by land being the both

Πειραιᾶ ὠφελιμώτερον ἐνόμιζε τῆς ἄνω πόλεως, καὶ
 Piraeus more-useful he-considered than-the upper city and
 πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρήνει, ἣν ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν

often the Athenians be-advised if perhaps ever by land

βιασθῶσι, καταβάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς
 they-were-overpowered having-gone-down into it with-the ships against

ἅπαντας ἀνθίστασθαι.

all to-resist

- 93.8 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτειχίσθησαν καὶ τὰλλα
Athenians indeed therefore thus were-walled and the-rest
 κατεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν Μήδων ἀναχώρησιν.
were-arranging at-once after the Medes' withdrawal
- 94.1 Πausanίας δὲ ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος
Pausanias and the (son)-of-Cleombrotus from Lacedaemon
 στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξεπέμφθη μετὰ εἴκοσι νεῶν
general of-the Greeks was-sent-out with twenty ships
 ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου· ξυνέπλεον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα
from Peloponnese sailed-with(-him) and also Athenians with-thirty
 ναυσὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων πλῆθος.
ships and of-the other allies a-multitude
- 94.2 καὶ ἐστράτευσαν ἐς Κύπρον καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ
and they-campaigned against Cyprus and of-it the most
 κατεστρέψαντο, καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Βυζάντιον Μήδων
they-subdued and later against Byzantium Medes
 ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησαν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ.
holding(-it) and they-took(-it)-by-siege in this — leadership
- 95.1 ἤδη δὲ βιαίῳ ὄντος αὐτοῦ οἱ τε ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἤχθοντο
already and violent being he the both other Greeks were-aggrieved
 καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ βασιλέως
and not least the Ionians and as-many-as from (the)-king
 νεωστὶ ἠλευθέρωντο· φοιτῶντές τε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
recently had-been-freed frequenting and to the Athenians
 ἠξίουσαν αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας σφῶν γίγνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές
they-asked them leaders of-them to-become by the kinship
 καὶ Πausanία μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, ἣν πού βιάζεται.
and to-Pausanias not to-give-way if anywhere he-use-violence

οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς λόγους καὶ προσεῖχον 95.2

the and Athenians received both the proposals and applied

τὴν γνώμην ὥς οὐ περιοψόμενοι τᾶλλά τε καταστησόμενοι

the mind as not going-to-overlook(-it) the-rest and going-to-settle

ἢ φαίνεται ἄριστα αὐτοῖς.

as might-seem best to-them

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετεπέμποντο Πανσανίαν 95.3

in this and the Lacedaemonians summoned Pausanias

ἀνακρινοῦντες ὧν περὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο· καὶ γὰρ

going-to-examine(-him) (the-things)-which about they-were-learning and for

ἀδικία πολλή κατηγορεῖτο αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν

injustice much was-charged against-him by the Greeks those

ἀφικνουμένων, καὶ τυραννίδος μᾶλλον ἐφαίνετο μίμησις

arriving and of-tyranny more appeared (an)-imitation

ἢ στρατηγία.

than generalsbip

ξυνέβη τε αὐτῷ καλεῖσθαι τε ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους 95.4

it-happened and to-him to-be-summoned both at-once and the allies

τῷ ἐκείνου ἔχθει παρ' Ἀθηναίους μετατάξασθαι πλὴν

through-the of-him hatred to Athenians to-change-sides except

τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατιωτῶν.

the from Peloponnese soldiers

ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν μὲν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τινα 95.5

having-come and to Lacedaemon of-the indeed private against someone

ἀδικημάτων ηὐθύνθη, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα ἀπολύεται

wrongs he-was-called-to-account on-the but greatest(-charges) he-is-acquitted

μὴ ἀδικεῖν· κατηγορεῖτο δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα μηδισμὸς

not to-be-guilty was-charged and against-him not least Medism

καὶ ἐδόκει σαφέστατον εἶναι.

and it-seemed clearest to-be

- 95.6 καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν οὐκέτι ἐκπέμπουσιν ἄρχοντα, Δόρκιν
and him indeed no-longer they-send-out (as)-commander Dorcis
 δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἔχοντας οὐ
but and others some with him an-army having not
 πολλήν· οἷς οὐκέτι ἐφίεσαν οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.
large to-whom no-longer yielded the allies the leadership
- 95.7 οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι ἀπῆλθον, καὶ ἄλλους οὐκέτι ὕστερον
they and having-perceived(-it) went-away and others no-longer later
 ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσιν οἱ
sent-out the Lacedaemonians fearing lest for-them those
 ἐξιόντες χείρους γίνωνται, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ Πausανία
going-out worse become which also in — Pausanias
 ἐνεῖδον, ἀπαλλαξιέοντες δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου καὶ
they-saw wishing-to-be-rid and also of-the Persian war and
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νομίζοντες ἱκανοὺς ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ σφίσιν
the Athenians considering able to-lead and to-them
 ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἐπιτηδείους.
at the then present(-time) friendly
- 96.1 παραλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ τῷ
having-taken-over and the Athenians the leadership in-this —
 τρόπῳ ἐκόντων τῶν συμμάχων διὰ τὸ Πausανίου μῖσος,
way willing(-being) the allies because-of the of-Pausanias hatred
 ἔταξαν ἃς τε ἔδει παρέχειν τῶν πόλεων χρήματα
they-assessed which both it-was-necessary to-furnish of-the cities money
 πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον καὶ ἃς ναῦς· πρόσχημα γὰρ ἦν
against the barbarian and which ships (the)-professed-aim for was
 ἀμύνεσθαι ὧν ἔπαθον δηοῦντας τὴν βασιλέως χώραν.
to-take-revenge for-what they-had-suffered by-ravaging the king's land
- 96.2 καὶ Ἑλληνοταμίαι τότε πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις κατέστη
and (the)-Hellenotamiae then first for-Athenians was-established
 ἀρχή, οἷ ἐδέχοντο τὸν φόρον· οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάσθη
(as)-an-office who received the tribute thus for was-named

τῶν χρημάτων ἢ φορά. ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος φόρος
of-the money the contribution was and the first tribute
 ταχθεὶς τετρακόσια τάλαντα καὶ ἑξήκοντα. ταμεῖόν τε
assessed four-hundred talents and sixty treasury and
 Δῆλος ἦν αὐτοῖς, καὶ αἱ ξύνοδοι ἐς τὸ ἱερόν ἐγίνοντο.
Delos was for-them and the meetings in the temple took-place

XXVI • THE FIFTY YEARS BEGIN

Thucydides digresses because earlier writers skipped these years or, like Hellanicus, dated them loosely, and to show the empire's rise. Athens takes Eion and Scyros; Naxos is the first ally enslaved. Revolts come from shortfalls of tribute and ships, strictly exacted; allies who pay money instead arm Athens against themselves. Cimon wins at the Eurymedon by land and sea. Thasos revolts over its mine and marts; settlers at the Nine Ways, now Amphipolis, perish at Drabescus. Sparta's secret promise to invade Attica fails with an earthquake and Helot revolt; Thasos yields in the third year.

ἡγούμενοι δὲ αὐτονόμων τὸ πρῶτον τῶν συμμαχῶν καὶ ἀπὸ 97.1
leading and autonomous at-the first the allies and from
 κοινῶν ξυνόδων βουλευόντων τοσάδε ἐπῆλθον πολέμῳ τε
common meetings deliberating so-much they-accomplished by-war both
 καὶ διαχειρίσει πραγμάτων μεταξὺ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ
and management of-affairs between this — war and
 τοῦ Μηδικοῦ, ἃ ἐγένετο πρὸς τε τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτοῖς
the Persian(-war) which happened against both the barbarian by-them
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους συμμαχοὺς νεωτερίζοντας καὶ
and against the own allies making-revolution and
 Πελοποννησίων τοὺς αἰὲν προστυγχάνοντας ἐν ἐκάστῳ.
of-Peloponnesians those always coming-into-conflict on each(-occasion)

97.2 ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην
I-wrote and these(-things) and the digression of-the account made
 διὰ τὸδε, ὅτι τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἅπασιν ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν
because-of this that to-those before me all omitted this was
 τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἢ τὰ πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Ἑλληνικά
the field and either the(-affairs) before the Persian(-war) Greek
 ξυνετίθεσαν ἢ αὐτὰ τὰ Μηδικά· τούτων δὲ ὅσπερ
they-composed or themselves the(-events) Persian of-these and (the-one)-who
 καὶ ἠψατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ συγγραφῇ Ἑλλάνικος, βραχέως
also touched in the Attic history Hellenicus briefly
 τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη. ἅμα
both and in-the chronology not accurately mentioned(-them) at-the-same-time
 δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων
and also of-the empire (a)-demonstration it-holds of-the of-the Athenians
 ἐν οἷῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη.
in what-sort-of way it-was-established

98.1 πρῶτον μὲν Ἡίονα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Μήδων ἐχόντων
first indeed Eion the(-city) on (the)-Strymon Medes holding(-it)
 πολιορκία εἶλον καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου
by-siege they-took and enslaved(-it) Cimon the (son)-of-Miltiades
 στρατηγοῦντος.
being-general

98.2 ἔπειτα Σκῦρον τὴν ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ νῆσον, ἣν ὤκουν
then Scyros the in the Aegean island which inhabited
 Δόλοπες, ἠνδραπόδισαν καὶ ὤκισαν αὐτοί.
Dolopians they-enslaved and settled(-it) themselves

98.3 πρὸς δὲ Καρυστίους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων Εὐβοέων
against and Carystians to-them without the other Euboeans
 πόλεμος ἐγένετο, καὶ χρόνῳ ξυνέβησαν καθ' ὁμολογίαν.
war took-place and in-time they-came-to-terms by agreement

Ναξίους δὲ ἀποστᾶσι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπολέμησαν καὶ 98.4
with-Naxians and having-revolted after these(-things) they-warred and
 πολιορκία παρεστήσαντο, πρώτη τε αὕτη πόλις ξυμμαχίς
by-siege brought(-them)-over first and this city allied
 παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν
contrary-to the established(-usage) was-enslaved then and also of-the
 ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστη ξυνέβη.

others as to-each it-happened
 αἰτίαι δὲ ἄλλαι τε ἦσαν τῶν ἀποστάσεων καὶ μέγισται 99.1
causes and others both there-were of-the revolts and greatest
 αἱ τῶν φόρων καὶ νεῶν ἔκδεια καὶ λιποστράτιον
the(-ones) of-the tributes and of-ships shortfalls and desertion
 εἴ τω ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκριβῶς ἔπρασσον
if to-anyone it-happened the for Athenians strictly exacted
 καὶ λυπηροὶ ἦσαν οὐκ εἰωθόσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις
and oppressive were not to-(men)-accustomed nor willing
 ταλαιπωρεῖν προσάγοντες τὰς ἀνάγκας.

to-endure-hardship applying the compulsions
 ἦσαν δέ πως καὶ ἄλλως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐν 99.2
were and somehow also otherwise the Athenians no-longer alike in
 ἡδονῇ ἄρχοντες, καὶ οὔτε ξυνεστράτευον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου
favor ruling and neither campaigned-with(-them) from the equal(-footing)
 ῥάδιόν τε προσάγεσθαι ἦν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀφισταμένους.

easy and to-bring-over was for-them the revolting(-cities)
 ὧν αὐτοὶ αἴτιοι ἐγένοντο οἱ ξύμμαχοι· διὰ γὰρ 99.3
of-which themselves (the)-cause were the allies because-of for
 τὴν ἀπόκνησιν ταύτην τῶν στρατειῶν οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν,
the shrinking this from-the campaigns the more of-them
 ἵνα μὴ ἀπ' οἴκου ᾧσι, χρήματα ἐτάξαντο
so-that not away-from home they-might-be money they-assessed(-themselves)
 ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἱκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα φέρειν, καὶ
instead-of the ships the proportionate expense to-pay and

τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἤϋξετο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δαπάνης

to-the indeed Athenians grew the navy from the expense

ἦν ἐκεῖνοι ξυμφέροιεν, αὐτοὶ δέ, ὅποτε ἀποσταῖεν,

which they contributed themselves and whenever they-revolted

ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ ἄπειροι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο.

unprepared and inexperienced into the war they-entered

100.1 ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι

took-place and after these(-things) also the(-battle) at (the)-Eurymedon

ποταμῷ ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ πεζομαχία καὶ ναυμαχία Ἀθηναίων

river in Pamphylia land-battle and sea-battle of-Athenians

καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς Μήδους, καὶ ἐνίκων τῇ

and of-the allies against Medes and they-won on-the

αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀμφότερα Ἀθηναῖοι Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου

same day both Athenians Cimon the (son)-of-Miltiades

στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ εἶλον τριήρεις Φοινίκων καὶ διέφθειραν

being-general and they-took triremes of-Phoenicians and destroyed

τὰς πάσας ἐς διακοσίας.

the all to two-hundred

100.2 χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ξυνέβη Θασίους αὐτῶν ἀποστῆναι,

in-time and later it-happened Thasians from-them to-revolt

διενεχθέντας περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρᾳ Θράκῃ ἐμπορίων

having-quarreled about the in the opposite Thrace marts

καὶ τοῦ μετάλλου ᾧ ἐνέμοντο. καὶ ναυσὶ μὲν ἐπὶ

and the mine which they-occupied and with-ships indeed against

Θάσον πλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ναυμαχία ἐκράτησαν καὶ

Thasos having-sailed the Athenians in-a-sea-battle prevailed and

ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν,

on the land landed

100.3 ἐπὶ δὲ Στρυμόνα πέμψαντες μυρίους οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν

to and (the)-Strymon having-sent ten-thousand settlers of-themselves

καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ὥς οἰκιοῦντες

and of-the allies about the same times as going-to-settle

τὰς τότε καλουμένας Ἑννέα ὁδούς, νῦν δὲ Ἀμφίπολιν,
the(-place) then called Nine ways now and Amphipolis

τῶν μὲν Ἑννέα ὁδῶν αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν, ἃς εἶχον
of-the indeed Nine ways themselves became-masters which held

Ἰδωνοί, προελθόντες δὲ τῆς Θράκης εἰς μεσόγειαν
Edonians having-advanced and — of-Thrace into (the)-interior

διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβησκῷ τῇ Ἰδωνικῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν
they-were-destroyed at Drabescus the Edonian by the Thracians

ξυμπάντων, οἷς πολέμιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον κτιζόμενον.
all(-together) to-whom hostile was the place being-founded

Θάσιοι δὲ νικηθέντες μάχῃ καὶ πολιορκούμενοι 101.1
Thasians and defeated in-battle and being-besieged

Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ ἐπαμύνειν ἐκέλευον
Lacedaemonians called-on and to-help bade(-them)

ἐσβαλόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν.
having-invaded into — Attica

οἱ δὲ ὑπέσχοντο μὲν κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἔμελλον, 101.2
they and promised indeed secretly from-the Athenians and were-about(-to)

διεκωλύθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ
were-prevented but by the having-occurred earthquake in which also the

Εἰλωτες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Θουριᾶταί τε καὶ Αἰθαιῆς
Helots for-them and of-the perioeci Thuriates both and Aethaeans

εἰς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. πλεῖστοι δὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων ἐγένοντο
to Ithome revolted most and of-the Helots were

οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων τότε δουλωθέντων
the(-descendants) of-the ancient Messenians then enslaved

ἀπόγονοι· ἥ καὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες.
descendants whence also Messenians were-called the all

πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πόλεμος καθιεστήκει 101.3
against indeed therefore those in Ithome war was-established

Λακεδαιμονίοις, Θάσιοι δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει πολιορκούμενοι
for-Lacedaemonians Thasians and in-the-third year being-besieged

ὡμολόγησαν Ἀθηναίους τείχος τε καθελόντες καὶ ναῦς
came-to-terms with-Athenians wall both having-pulled-down and ships
 παραδόντες, χρήματά τε ὅσα ἔδει ἀποδοῦναι
having-surrendered money both as-much-as it-was-necessary to-pay
 αὐτίκα ταξάμενοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν φέρειν, τήν τε
at-once having-assessed(-themselves) and the future to-pay the both
 ἡπειρον καὶ τὸ μέταλλον ἀφέντες.
mainland and the mine having-given-up

XXVII · ITHOME, MEGARA, AND EGYPT

Sparta calls in Cimon's Athenians against the Helots on Ithome, then, fearing their daring, dismisses them, alone of the allies. Offended, Athens allies with Argos and Thessaly. Ithome comes to terms in the tenth year; Athens settles the Messenians at Naupactus. Megara's defection to Athens starts Corinth's fierce hatred. Athens diverts two hundred ships from Cyprus to Inaros' Egyptian revolt, loses at Halieis, wins at sea, and besieges Aegina. When Corinth invades the Megarid, Myronides leads out old and young; after an even battle, Athens routs Corinth, stoning to death those trapped in a ditch.

102.1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ
Lacedaemonians and when for-them against those in Ithome
 ἐμηκύνετο ὁ πόλεμος, ἄλλους τε ἐπεκαλέσαντο συμμάχους
was-prolonged the war others both called-in allies
 καὶ Ἀθηναίους· οἱ δ' ἦλθον Κίμωνος στρατηγούντος
and Athenians they and came Cimon being-general
 πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγῳ.
in-number not small

102.2 μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεκαλέσαντο ὅτι τειχομαχεῖν ἐδόκουν
most and them they-called-in because at-siege-warfare they-seemed
 δυνατοὶ εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ πολιορκίας μακρᾶς καθεστηκυίας
able to-be to-them but a-siege long having-set-in

τούτου ἐνδεᾶ ἐφαίνετο· βία γὰρ ἂν εἶλον τὸ
of-this deficient it-appeared by-force for — they-would-have-taken the
 χωρίον.

place

καὶ διαφορὰ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον 102.3
and (a)-quarrel from this — expedition first

Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις φανερὰ ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ
for-Lacedaemonians and Athenians open arose the for

Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον βία οὐχ ἡλίσκετο,
Lacedaemonians when the place by-force not was-taken

δείσαντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ τολμηρὸν καὶ τὴν
fearing of-the Athenians the daring and the

νεωτεροποιίαν, καὶ ἀλλοφύλους ἅμα ἡγησάμενοι, μή
love-of-innovation and of-another-race at-the-same-time considering(-them) lest

τι, ἣν παραμείνωσιν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πεισθέντες
somehow if they-remained by those in Ithome persuaded

νεωτερίσωσι, μόνους τῶν συμμαχῶν ἀπέπεμψαν,
they-might-make-revolution alone of-the allies sent-away(-them)

τὴν μὲν ὑποψίαν οὐ δηλοῦντες, εἰπόντες δὲ ὅτι οὐδὲν
the indeed suspicion not revealing having-said but that in-no-way

προσδέονται αὐτῶν ἔτι.

they-need them any-longer

οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίονι λόγῳ 102.4
the but Athenians recognized not on the better ground

ἀποπεμπόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τινος ὑπόπτου γενομένου, καὶ δεινὸν
being-sent-away but some suspicion having-arisen and terrible

ποιησάμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιώσαντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦτο
having-made(-it) and not thinking-it-right by Lacedaemonians this

παθεῖν, εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν, ἀφέντες τὴν γενομένην
to-suffer at-once when they-withdrew having-given-up the having-been-made

ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἀργεῖοις τοῖς
against the Mede alliance with them with-Argives the

ἐκείνων πολεμίους ζύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλοὺς
their enemies allies became and with Thessalians

ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις οἱ αὐτοὶ ὄρκοι καὶ ξυμμαχία κατέστη.
at-the-same-time for-both the same oaths and alliance was-established

- 103.1 οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰθώμῃ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, ὥς οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο
those and in Ithome in-the-tenth year as no-longer they-were-able
 ἀντέχειν, ξυνέβησαν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφ'
to-hold-out came-to-terms with the Lacedaemonians on
 ᾧ ἐξίασιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπόσπονδοι καὶ
(condition)-that they-shall-go-out from Peloponnese under-truce and
 μηδέποτε ἐπιβήσονται αὐτῆς· ἣν δέ τις ἀλίσκηται, τοῦ
never shall-set-foot-on it if and any be-caught of-the
 λαβόντος εἶναι δοῦλον.
(one)-having-seized(-him) to-be slave

- 103.2 ἦν δέ τι καὶ χρηστήριον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις Πυθικὸν
there-was and some also oracle for-the Lacedaemonians Pythian
 πρὸ τοῦ, τὸν ἰκέτην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμήτα ἀφίειναι.
before this the suppliant — of-Zeus the Ithomean to-let-go

- 103.3 ἐξῆλθον δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ
went-out and they-themselves and children and women and
 αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δεξάμενοι κατ' ἔχθος ἤδη τὸ
them the Athenians having-received out-of hatred now the(-hatred)
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἐς Ναύπακτον κατώκισαν, ἣν ἔτυχον
of-Lacedaemonians at Naupactus settled which they-happened
 ἡρηκότες νεωστὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν ἐχόντων.
having-taken recently of-Locris the Ozolian holding(-it)

- 103.4 προσεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ Μεγαρήs Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ξυμμαχίαν
went-over and also Megarians to-Athenians for alliance
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντες, ὅτι αὐτοὺς Κορίνθιοι περὶ
from-Lacedaemonians having-revolted because them Corinthians about
 γῆς ὄρων πολέμῳ κατεῖχον· καὶ ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι Μέγαρα
of-land boundaries by-war were-pressing and held Athenians Megara

καὶ Πηγάς, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ὠκοδόμησαν Μεγαρεῦσι
and Pegae and the long walls they-built for-Megarians
 τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐς Νίσαιαν καὶ ἐφρούρουν αὐτοί.
the(-walls) from the city to Nisaea and garrisoned(-them) themselves
 καὶ Κορινθίοις μὲν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τοῦδε τὸ σφοδρὸν
and for-Corinthians indeed not least from this the violent
 μῖσος ἤρξατο πρῶτον ἐς Ἀθηναίους γενέσθαι.
hatred began first against Athenians to-arise

Ἰνάρως δὲ ὁ Ψαμμητίχου, Λίβυς, βασιλεὺς Λιβύων
Inaros and the (son)-of-Psammetichus (a)-Libyan king of-Libys
 τῶν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, ὀρμώμενος ἐκ Μαρείας τῆς
the(-ones) bordering Egypt setting-out from Marea the
 ὑπὲρ Φάρου πόλεως ἀπέστησεν Αἰγύπτου τὰ πλείω
above Pharos city caused-to-revolt of-Egypt the most
 ἀπὸ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχων γενόμενος
from king Artaxerxes and himself ruler having-become
 Ἀθηναίους ἐπηγάγετο.
Athenians called-in

οἱ δὲ (ἔτυχον γὰρ ἐς Κύπρον στρατευόμενοι
they and they-happened for against Cyprus campaigning
 ναυσι διακοσίαις αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων) ἦλθον
with-ships two-hundred of-themselves both and of-the allies came
 ἀπολιπόντες τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ ἀναπλεύσαντες ἀπὸ θαλάσσης
having-left — Cyprus and having-sailed-up from (the)-sea
 ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ κρατοῦντες καὶ τῆς Μέμφιδος
into the Nile of-the both river being-masters and — of-Memphis
 τῶν δύο μερῶν πρὸς τὸ τρίτον μέρος ὃ καλεῖται Λευκὸν
of-the two parts against the third part which is-called White
 τεῖχος ἐπολέμουν· ἐνῆσαν δὲ αὐτόθι Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων
wall they-warred were-inside and there of-Persians and Medes
 οἱ καταφυγόντες καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὴ ξυναποστάντες.
those having-fled and of-Egyptians those not having-joined-in-the-revolt

105.1 Ἀθηναίους δὲ ναυσὶν ἀποβᾶσιν ἐς Ἀλιᾶς πρὸς Κορινθίους
to-Athenians and with-ships having-landed at Halieis against Corinthians
 καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους μάχῃ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐνίκων Κορίνθιοι.
and Epidaurians (a)-battle took-place and won Corinthians
 καὶ ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐναυμάχησαν ἐπὶ Κεκρυφαλείᾳ
and later Athenians fought-at-sea off Cecryphaleia
 Πελοποννησίων ναυσί, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι.

of-Peloponnesians with-ships and won Athenians

105.2 πολέμου δὲ καταστάτος πρὸς Αἰγινήτας Ἀθηναίους μετὰ
war and having-been-established against Aeginetans for-Athenians after
 ταῦτα ναυμαχία γίνεται ἐπ' Αἰγίνῃ μεγάλη Ἀθηναίων
these(-things) (a)-sea-battle takes-place off Aegina great of-Athenians
 καὶ Αἰγινητῶν, καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἑκατέρους παρήσαν, καὶ
and of-Aeginetans and the allies to-each were-present and
 ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ναῦς ἑβδομήκοντα λαβόντες αὐτῶν
won Athenians and ships seventy having-taken of-them
 ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν, Λεωκράτους τοῦ
onto the land they-landed and besieged(-it) Leocrates the
 Στρούβου στρατηγούντος.

(son)-of-Stroebus being-general

105.3 ἔπειτα Πελοποννήσιοι ἀμύνειν βουλόμενοι Αἰγινήταις ἐς
then Peloponnesians to-help wishing (the)-Aeginetans to
 μὲν τὴν Αἶγιναν τριακοσίους ὀπλίτας πρότερον Κορινθίων
indeed — Aegina three-hundred hoplites earlier of-Corinthians
 καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἐπικούρους διεβίβασαν, τὰ δὲ ἄκρα τῆς
and of-Epidaurians (as)-auxiliaries carried-across the and heights of-the
 Γερανείας κατέλαβον καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα κατέβησαν
Geraneia they-seized and into the Megarid went-down
 Κορίνθιοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων, νομίζοντες ἀδυνάτους
Corinthians with the allies thinking unable
 ἔσεσθαι Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τε
to-be-going-to-be Athenians to-help the Megarians in both

Αἰγίνη ἀπούσης στρατιᾶς πολλῆς καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἦν
Aegina being-absent an-army large and in Egypt if

δὲ καὶ βοηθῶσιν, ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἀναστήσεσθαι αὐτούς.
and even they-help from Aegina to-be-going-to-withdraw they

οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς Αἰγίνῃ στράτευμα οὐκ
the but Athenians the indeed at Aegina army not
 ἐκίνησαν, τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπολοίπων οἳ τε
moved of-the but from the city remaining the both
 πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα
oldest and the youngest arrive at — Megara

Μυρωνίδου στρατηγούontos.

Myronides being-general

καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἰσορρόπου πρὸς Κορινθίους
and (a)-battle having-taken-place evenly-balanced against Corinthians

διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἐνόμισαν αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι
they-separated from one-another and considered themselves each(-side)
 οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχειν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ.

not the-worse to-have in the action

καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι (ἐκράτησαν γὰρ ὅμως μᾶλλον)
and the indeed Athenians they-prevailed for nevertheless rather

ἀπελθόντων τῶν Κορινθίων τροπαῖον ἔστησαν· οἱ δὲ
having-gone-away the Corinthians a-trophy set-up the but
 Κορίνθιοι κακιζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβυτέρων
Corinthians being-reproached by the in the city elders

καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι, ἡμέραις ὕστερον δώδεκα μάλιστα
and having-prepared days later twelve about
 ἐλθόντες ἀνθίστασαν τροπαῖον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς νικήσαντες.

having-come set-up-in-turn a-trophy also themselves as having-won

καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων τοὺς
and the Athenians having-sallied-out from — Megara those

τε τὸ τροπαῖον ἰσάντας διαφθείρουσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
both the trophy setting-up destroy and with-the others
 ξυμβalόντες ἐκράτησαν.

having-engaged prevailed

106.1 οἱ δὲ νικώμενοι ὑπεχώρουν, καί τι αὐτῶν μέρος οὐκ
the and defeated withdrew and some of-them part not
 ὀλίγον προσβιασθὲν καὶ διαμαρτὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐσέπεσεν ἔς
small having-been-pressed and having-missed the road fell into
 τοῦ χωρίου ιδιώτου, ᾧ ἔτυχεν ὄρυγμα μέγα περιεῖργον
of-some place private(-man) which happened a-ditch great enclosing
 καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἕξιδος.

and not there-was a-way-out

106.2 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι γnόντες κατὰ πρόσωπόν τε
the and Athenians having-recognized(-it) in front both
 εἶργον τοῖς ὀπλίταις καὶ περιστήσαντες κύκλῳ τοὺς
shut(-them)-in with-the hoplites and having-placed-around in-a-circle the
 ψιλοὺς κατέλευσαν πάντας τοὺς ἐσελθόντας, καὶ πάθος
light-troops stoned all those having-entered and (a)-calamity
 μέγα τοῦτο Κορινθίοις ἐγένετο. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀπεχώρησεν
great this for-Corinthians was the and main-body withdrew
 αὐτοῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπ' οἴκου.
for-them of-the army to home

Athens begins its Long Walls. A Spartan army that has rescued Doris from the Phocians waits in Boeotia, its roads home blocked, invited secretly by Athenians who hope to end the democracy and stop the walls. At Tanagra it beats the Athenians, whose Thessalian cavalry deserts. Myronides then wins Boeotia and Phocis at Oenophyta, Aegina surrenders, and Tolmides raids the Peloponnese. The king's bribe at Sparta fails, and in Egypt Megabyzus takes the Greeks' island refuge after eighteen months; few escape, and Inaros is impaled. Fifty unwitting relief ships are mostly destroyed at the Mendesian mouth.

ἤρξαντο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους καὶ τὰ μακρὰ 107.1
began and about the times these also the long

τείχη Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς θάλασσαν οἰκοδομεῖν, τό τε Φαληρόνδε
walls (the)-Athenians to (the)-sea to-build the both to-Phalerum
καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ.

and the to Piraeus

καὶ Φωκῶν στρατευσάντων ἐς Δωριᾶς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων 107.2

and Phocians having-marched against Dorians the of-Lacedaemonians
μητρόπολιν, Βοιὸν καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ Ἐρινεόν, καὶ ἐλόντων
mother-city Boeum and Cytinium and Erineum and having-taken

ἐν τῶν πολισμάτων τούτων, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Νικομήδους
one of-the towns these the Lacedaemonians Nicomedes

τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ὑπὲρ Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Πausανίου
the (son)-of-Cleombrotus for Pleistoanax the (son)-of-Pausanias

βασιλέως νέου ὄντος ἔτι ἡγουμένου ἐβοήθησαν τοῖς
king young being still leading went-to-aid to-the

Δωριεῦσιν ἑαυτῶν τε πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ὀπλίταις
Dorians of-themselves both with-five-hundred and thousand hoplites

καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων μυρίοις, καὶ τοὺς Φωκῆας ὁμολογίᾳ
and of-the allies with-ten-thousand and the Phocians by-agreement

ἀναγκάσαντες ἀποδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρουν πάλιν.
having-compelled to-give-back the town they-were-withdrawing back

107.3 καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν μὲν αὐτούς, διὰ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου
and by sea indeed them through the Crisaean gulf
 εἰ βούλονται περαιοῦσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες
if they-wished to-cross Athenians with-ships having-sailed-round
 ἔμελλον κωλύσειν· διὰ δὲ τῆς Γερανείας οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς
were-going to-prevent through and the Geraneia not safe
 αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο Ἀθηναίων ἐχόντων Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγάς
to-them it-appeared Athenians holding Megara and Pegae
 πορεύεσθαι. δύσδοδος τε γὰρ ἡ Γερανεία καὶ ἐφρουρεῖτο
to-march hard-to-pass both for the Geraneia and was-guarded
 αἰεὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τότε ᾗσθάνοντο αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας
always by Athenians and then they-perceived them intending
 καὶ ταύτῃ κωλύσειν.
also by-this-way to-prevent(-them)

107.4 ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς περιμένειν σκέψασθαι ὅτῳ
it-seemed-best and to-them in Boeotia having-waited to-consider in-what
 τρόπῳ ἀσφαλέστατα διαπορεύονται. τὸ δέ τι καὶ ἄνδρες
way most-safely they-would-pass-through — and partly also men
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπήγον αὐτοὺς κρύφα, ἐλπίσαντες δημόν
of-the Athenians were-inviting them secretly having-hoped (the)-democracy
 τε καταπαύσειν καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη οἰκοδομοῦμενα.
both to-put-down and the long walls being-built

107.5 ἐβοήθησαν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεὶ καὶ
marched-to-aid and against them the Athenians in-full-force and
 Ἀργείων χίλιοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὥς ἕκαστοι·
of-Argives a-thousand and of-the other allies as each
 ζύμπαντες δὲ ἐγένοντο τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι.
all-together and they-came-to-be four-thousand and ten-thousand

νομίσαντες δὲ ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ διέλθωσιν 107.6

having-thought and (them)-to-be-at-a-loss by-what-way they-might-get-through

ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς, καί τι καὶ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως
they-marched-against them and partly also of-the democracy of-overthrow
ὑποψία.

by-suspicion

ἦλθον δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἱππῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κατὰ 107.7

came and also of-Thessalians horsemen to-the Athenians according-to

τὸ ξυμμαχικόν, οἱ μετέστησαν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ παρὰ τοὺς
the alliance who changed-sides in the action to the

Λακεδαιμονίους.

Lacedaemonians

γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐν Τανάγρα τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐνίκων 108.1

having-happened and (a)-battle at Tanagra — of-Boeotia were-victorious

Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, καὶ φόνος ἐγένετο

Lacedaemonians and the allies and slaughter there-was

ἀμφοτέρων πολὺς.

on-both-sides great

καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἐλθόντες καὶ 108.2

and Lacedaemonians indeed into the Megarid having-come and

δενδροτομήσαντες πάλιν ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου διὰ Γερανείας

having-cut-down-the-trees back went-away to home through Geraneia

καὶ Ἴσθμου· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ δευτέρα καὶ ἑξήκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ

and (the)-Isthmus Athenians and on-the-second and sixtieth day

μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐστράτευσαν ἐς Βοιωτοὺς Μυρωνίδου

after the battle marched against (the)-Boeotians Myronides

στρατηγούντος,

being-general

καὶ μάχῃ ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς νικήσαντες 108.3

and in-battle at Oenophyta the Boeotians having-conquered

τῆς τε χώρας ἐκράτησαν τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ Φωκίδος

of-the both land became-masters — of-Boeotia and Phocis

καὶ Ταναγραίων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλον καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν
and of-(the)-Tanagraeans the wall pulled-down and of-Locrians the
 Ὀπουντίων ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ὁμήρους τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους
Opuntian a-hundred men as-hostages the richest
 ἔλαβον, τὰ τε τείχη ἑαυτῶν τὰ μακρὰ ἀπετέλεσαν.
took the both walls of-themselves the long completed

108.4 ὠμολόγησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Αἰγινῆται μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς
came-to-terms and also the Aeginetans after these(-things) with-the
 Ἀθηναίοις, τείχη τε περιελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες
Athenians walls both having-pulled-down and ships having-surrendered
 φόρον τε ταξάμενοι ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον.
tribute and having-assessed(-themselves) for the thereafter time

108.5 καὶ Πελοπόννησον περιέπλευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι Τολμίδου
and Peloponnese sailed-round Athenians Tolmides
 τοῦ Τολμαίου στρατηγούντος, καὶ τὸ νεώριον τῶν
the (son)-of-Tolmaeus being-general and the dockyard of-the
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Χαλκίδα Κορινθίων πόλιν
Lacedaemonians burned and Chalcis of-(the)-Corinthians city
 εἶλον καὶ Σικυωνίους ἐν ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν.
took and Sicyonians in (a)-landing on-the land in-battle overcame

109.1 οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπέμενον,
those and in — Egypt Athenians and the allies remained
 καὶ αὐτοῖς πολλαὶ ἰδέαι πολέμων κατέστησαν.
and to-them many forms of-warfare arose

109.2 τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῆς Αἰγύπτου οἱ
— indeed for first were-masters — of-Egypt the
 Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ βασιλεὺς πέμπει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα Μεγάβαζον
Athenians and (the)-king sends to Lacedaemon Megabazus
 ἄνδρα Πέρσιν χρήματα ἔχοντα, ὅπως ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
(a)-man Persian money having so-that into — Attica

ἐσβαλεῖν πεισθέντων τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου
to-invade having-been-persuaded the Peloponnesians from Egypt
 ἀπαγάγοι Ἀθηναίους.

he-might-draw-off (the)-Athenians

ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ προυχῶρει καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἄλλως 109.3
as but for-him not it-went-forward and the money in-vain

ἀνηλουτο, ὁ μὲν Μεγάβαζος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων
was-being-spent — indeed Megabazus and the rest of-the money

πάλιν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνεκομίσθη, Μεγάβυζον δὲ τὸν
back to — Asia was-brought-back Megabyzus and the

Ζωπύρου πέμπει ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν μετὰ στρατιᾶς πολλῆς·
(son)-of-Zopyrus he-sends (a)-man Persian with (an)-army great

ὃς ἀφικόμενος κατὰ γῆν τοὺς τε Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τοὺς 109.4
who having-arrived by land the both Egyptians and the

ξυμμάχους μάχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μέμφιδος ἐξήλασε
allies in-battle overcame and out-of — Memphis drove

τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τέλος ἐς Προσωπίτιδα τὴν νῆσον
the Greeks and finally into Prosopitis the island

κατέκλεισε καὶ ἐπολιορκεῖ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ἕξ μῆνας,
shut-up and besieged(-them) on it (a)-year and six months

μέχρι οὗ ξηράνας τὴν διώρυχα καὶ παρατρέψας ἄλλῃ
until which having-dried-up the canal and having-diverted elsewhere

τὸ ὕδωρ τὰς τε ναῦς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἐποίησε καὶ τῆς
the water the both ships on the dry(-land) he-made(-lie) and of-the

νῆσου τὰ πολλὰ ἡπειρον, καὶ διαβὰς εἶλε τὴν νῆσον πεζῇ.
island the most mainland and having-crossed took the island on-foot

οὕτω μὲν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα ἐφθάρη ἕξ ἔτη 110.1
thus indeed the of-the Greeks affairs were-ruined six years

πολεμήσαντα· καὶ ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν πορευόμενοι διὰ τῆς
having-made-war and few out-of many marching through —

Λιβύης ἐς Κυρήνην ἐσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἀπώλοντο.
Libya to Cyrene were-saved the but most perished

- 110.2 Αἴγυπτος δὲ πάλιν ὑπὸ βασιλέα ἐγένετο πλὴν Ἀμυρταίου
Egypt and again under (the)-king came except Amyrtaeus
 τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλέως· τοῦτον δὲ διὰ μέγεθός τε
the in the marshes king him and because-of size both
 τοῦ ἔλους οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν, καὶ ἅμα μαχιμώτατοί
of-the marsh not they-were-able to-take and at-the-same-time most-warlike
 εἰσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἔλειοι.
are of-the Egyptians the marsh-men
- 110.3 Ἰνάρως δὲ ὁ Λιβύων βασιλεύς, ὃς τὰ πάντα ἔπραξε
Inaros and the of-Libyans king who the whole had-done
 περὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, προδοσίᾳ ληφθεὶς ἀνεσταυρώθη.
concerning — Egypt by-treachery having-been-taken was-impaled
- 110.4 ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ξυμμαχίδος πεντήκοντα
from and — Athens and the other alliance fifty
 τριήρεις διάδοχοι πλέουσai ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔσχον κατὰ
triremes as-relief sailing to Egypt put-in at
 τὸ Μενδήσιον κέρας, οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν γεγονότων
the Mendesian mouth not knowing of-the (things)-that-had-happened
 οὐδέν· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔκ τε γῆς ἐπιπεσόντες πεζοὶ καὶ ἐκ
anything and on-them from both land having-fallen infantry and from
 θαλάσσης Φοινίκων ναυτικὸν διέφθειραν τὰς πολλὰς τῶν
(the)-sea of-Phoenicians (a)-fleet destroyed the most of-the
 νεῶν, αἱ δ' ἐλάσσους διέφυγον πάλιν.
ships the but fewer escaped back
- 110.5 τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην στρατείαν Ἀθηναίων καὶ
the(-things) indeed concerning the great expedition of-Athenians and
 τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς Αἴγυπτον οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.
of-the allies to Egypt thus ended

Athens fails at Pharsalus and at Oeniadae, then makes a five years' truce, and Cimon takes two hundred ships to Cyprus, where he dies but his fleet wins by sea and land. Sparta gives Delphi to the Delphians in the Sacred War, and Athens hands it to the Phocians. Boeotian exiles beat the Athenians at Coronea, and Athens leaves Boeotia to recover its prisoners. Then Euboea and Megara revolt and the Peloponnesians invade Attica. When the invaders withdraw, Pericles subdues Euboea and expels the people of Hestiaeae.

ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας Ὀρέστης ὁ Ἐχέκρατιδου υἱὸς τοῦ 111.1
 from and Thessaly Orestes the of-Echecratidas son of-the
 Θεσσαλῶν βασιλέως φεύγων ἔπεισεν Ἀθηναίους ἑαυτὸν
 Thessalians king being-in-exile persuaded (the)-Athenians himself
 κατὰγειν· καὶ παραλαβόντες Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκέας ὄντας
 to-restore and having-taken-along (the)-Boeotians and (the)-Phocians being
 συμμαχοῦς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐπὶ
 allies the Athenians marched — of-Thessaly against
 Φάρσαλον· καὶ τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐκράτουν ὅσα μὴ προϊόντες
 Pharsalus and of-the indeed land were-masters as-far-as not advancing
 πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων (οἱ γὰρ ἱππῆς τῶν Θεσσαλῶν
 far from the arms the for horsemen of-the Thessalians
 εἶργον), τὴν δὲ πόλιν οὐχ εἶλον, οὐδ' ἄλλο προухώρει
 kept(-them)-off the but city not they-took nor other went-forward
 αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ὦν ἔνεκα ἐστράτευσαν, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν
 for-them nothing of-which for-the-sake they-had-marched but withdrew
 πάλιν Ὀρέστην ἔχοντες ἄπρακτοι.
 back Orestes having without-result
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον χίλιοι Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ 111.2
 after and this not much later a-thousand of-Athenians onto
 τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐν Πηγαῖς ἐπιβάντες (εἶχον δ' αὐτοὶ
 the ships the at Pegae having-embarked they-held and themselves

τὰς Πηγὰς) παρέπλευσαν ἐς Σικυῶνα Περικλέους τοῦ
the Pegae sailed-along to Sicyon Pericles the
 Ξανθίππου στρατηγούντος, καὶ ἀποβάντες Σικυωνίων
(son)-of-Xanthippus being-general and having-landed of-Sicyonians
 τοὺς προσμείξαντας μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν.
those having-engaged(-them) in-battle overcame

111.3 καὶ εὐθὺς παραλαβόντες Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ διαπλεύσαντες πέραν
and at-once having-taken-along (the)-Achaean and having-sailed-across over-to
 τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας ἐς Οἰνιάδας ἐστράτευσαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν,
— Acarnania to Oeniadae marched and besieged(-it)
 οὐ μέντοι εἰλὸν γε, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἶκον.
not however they-took(-it) at-least but withdrew to home

112.1 ὕστερον δὲ διαλιπόντων ἐτῶν τριῶν σπονδαὶ γίνονται
later and having-intervened years three (a)-treaty is-made
 Πελοποννησίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πεντέτεϊς.
for-Peloponnesians and Athenians five-year

112.2 καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ μὲν πολέμου ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς δὲ
and from-Hellenic indeed war refrained the Athenians to and
 Κύπρον ἐστρατεύοντο ναυσὶ διακοσίαις αὐτῶν τε καὶ
Cyprus made-an-expedition with-ships two-hundred of-themselves both and
 τῶν ξυμμάχων Κίμωνος στρατηγούντος.
of-the allies Cimon being-general

112.3 καὶ ἑξήκοντα μὲν νῆες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔπλευσαν,
and sixty indeed ships to Egypt from them sailed
 Ἀμυρταίου μεταπέμποντος τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλέως, αἱ
Amyrtaeus sending-for(-them) the in the marshes king the
 δὲ ἄλλαι Κίτιον ἐπολιόρκουν.
and others Citium besieged

112.4 Κίμωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ λιμοῦ γενομένου ἀπεχώρησαν
Cimon and having-died and (a)-famine having-arisen they-withdrew
 ἀπὸ Κιτίου, καὶ πλεύσαντες ὑπὲρ Σαλαμῖνος τῆς ἐν
from Citium and having-sailed off Salamis the in

Κύπρω Φοίνιξι καὶ Κυπρίοις καὶ Κίλιξι ἐνανμάχησαν
Cyprus with-Phoenicians and Cyprians and Cilicians fought-at-sea
 καὶ ἐπεζομάχησαν ἅμα, καὶ νικήσαντες ἀμφότερα
and fought-on-land at-the-same-time and having-won both
 ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ αἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου νῆες πάλιν
withdrew to home and the from Egypt ships back
 ἐλθοῦσαι μετ' αὐτῶν.

having-come with them

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἱερὸν καλούμενον 112.5
Lacedaemonians and after these(-things) the sacred (so)-called
 πόλεμον ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ κρατήσαντες τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς
war waged and having-taken-control of-the at Delphi
 ἱεροῦ παρέδοσαν Δελφοῖς· καὶ αὖθις ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι
temple handed(-it)-over to-(the)-Delphians and again later Athenians
 ἀποχωρησάντων αὐτῶν στρατεύσαντες καὶ κρατήσαντες
having-withdrawn they having-marched and having-taken-control
 παρέδοσαν Φωκεῦσιν.

handed(-it)-over to-(the)-Phocians

καὶ χρόνου ἐγγενομένου μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι, Βοιωτῶν 113.1
and time having-passed after these(-things) Athenians Boeotians
 τῶν φευγόντων ἐχόντων Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Χαιρώνειαν καὶ
the exiles holding Orchomenus and Chaeronea and
 ἄλλ' ἄττα χωρία τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἐστράτευσαν ἑαυτῶν
other some places — of-Boeotia marched of-themselves
 μὲν χιλίους ὀπλίταις, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων ὡς ἐκάστος
indeed with-a-thousand hoplites of-the and allies as for-each
 ἐπὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα πολέμα ὄντα, Τολμίδου τοῦ
against the places these hostile being Tolmides the
 Τολμαίου στρατηγούντος. καὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐλόντες καὶ
(son)-of-Tolmaeus being-general and Chaeronea having-taken and
 ἀνδραποδίσαντες ἀπεχώρουν φυλακὴν καταστήσαντες.
having-enslaved(-it) they-were-withdrawing (a)-garrison having-established

113.2 πορευομένοις δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Κορωνείᾳ ἐπιτίθενται οἳ τε ἐκ
as-they-marched and them at Coronea attack the both from
 τῆς Ὀρχομενοῦ φυγάδες Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκροὶ μετ' αὐτῶν
 — *Orchomenus exiles of-Boeotians and Locrians with them*
 καὶ Εὐβοέων φυγάδες καὶ ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης
and of-Euboeans exiles and as-many-as of-the same mind
 ἦσαν, καὶ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες τοὺς μὲν διέφθειραν τῶν
were and in-battle having-conquered some indeed they-destroyed of-the
 Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον.

Athenians others and alive took

113.3 καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐξέλιπον Ἀθηναῖοι πᾶσαν, σπονδὰς
and — Boeotia left (the)-Athenians all (a)-treaty
 ποιησάμενοι ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς ἄνδρας κομοῦνται.

having-made on (condition)-that the men they-shall-recover

113.4 καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες Βοιωτῶν κατελθόντες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
and the exiles of-Boeotians having-retuned and the others
 πάντες αὐτόνομοι πάλιν ἐγένοντο.

all independent again became

114.1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Εὐβοία ἀπέστη ἀπὸ
after and this not much later Euboea revolted from
 Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν διαβεβηκότος ἤδη Περικλέους

Athenians and to it having-crossed-over already Pericles

στρατιᾷ Ἀθηναίων ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι Μέγαρα ἀφέστηκε
with-(an)-army of-Athenians it-was-reported to-him that Megara has-revolted

καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι μέλλουσιν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ
and Peloponnesians are-about to-invade into — Attica and

οἱ φρουροὶ Ἀθηναίων διεφθαρμένοι εἰσὶν ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων,
the garrison of-Athenians destroyed are by Megarians

πλὴν ὅσοι ἐς Νίσαιαν ἀπέφυγον· ἐπαγαγόμενοι δὲ
except as-many-as to Nisaea escaped having-called-in and

Κορινθίους καὶ Σικυνώνιους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους ἀπέστησαν
Corinthians and Sicyonians and Epidaurians revolted

οἱ Μεγαρηῆς. ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς πάλιν κατὰ τάχος ἐκόμize
the Megarians — and Pericles back with speed was-bringing
 τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας.

the army from — Euboea

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσίνα 114.2
and after this the Peloponnesians — of-Attica to Eleusis

καὶ Θριῶξε ἐσβαλόντες ἐδήωσαν Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ
and to-Thria having-invaded ravaged(-it) Pleistoanax the
 Πausανίου βασιλέως Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγουμένου, καὶ τὸ
(son)-of-Pausanias king of-Lacedaemonians leading and the
 πλέον οὐκέτι προελθόντες ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

further no-longer having-advanced withdrew to home

καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν ἐς Εὐβοίαν διαβάντες Περικλέους 114.3
and (the)-Athenians again to Euboea having-crossed Pericles

στρατηγούντος κατεστρέψαντο πᾶσαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην
being-general subdued all(-of-it) and the indeed rest

ὁμολογία κατεστήσαντο, Ἑστιαῖδς δὲ ἐξοικίσαντες αὐτοὶ
by-agreement settled (the)-Hestiaeans and having-expelled themselves

τὴν γῆν ἔσχον.

the land held

Athens makes the Thirty Years' Peace, giving back Nisaea, Pegae, Troezen, and Achaea. In the sixth year Samos fights Miletus, and Athens sets up a democracy on Samos; Samian exiles, allied with Pissuthnes, return with mercenaries, and Samos revolts with Byzantium. Pericles wins at sea off Tragia, and the besieged city surrenders in the ninth month. Then come Corcyra and Potidaea. Over these fifty years Athens strengthens its empire while slow Sparta keeps quiet, until Athens lays hands on Sparta's allies. Sparta judges the treaty broken, and Delphi reportedly promises victory if Sparta fights with all its strength.

- 115.1 ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἀπ' Εὐβοίας οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον σπονδὰς
having-withdrawn and from Euboea not much later (a)-treaty
 ἐποίησαντο πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους
they-made with Lacedaemonians and the allies
 τριακοντούτεις, ἀποδόντες Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροϊζήνα
thirty-year having-given-back Nisaea and Pegae and Troezen
 καὶ Ἀχαΐαν· ταῦτα γὰρ εἶχον Ἀθηναῖοι Πελοποννησίων.
and Achaea these for held (the)-Athenians of-Peloponnesians
- 115.2 ἔκτω δὲ ἔτει Σαμίοις καὶ Μιλησίοις πόλεμος ἐγένετο
in-the-sixth and year for-Samians and Milesians (a)-war arose
 περὶ Πριήνης, καὶ οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐλασσούμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ
about Priene and the Milesians getting-the-worse in-the war
 παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐλθόντες κατεβόων τῶν Σαμίων.
to (the)-Athenians having-come cried-out-against the Samians
 ξυνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Σάμου ἄνδρες
joined-in and also from itself — Samos men
 ἰδιῶται νεωτερίσαι βουλόμενοι τὴν πολιτείαν.
private to-revolutionize wishing the constitution
- 115.3 πλεύσαντες οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Σάμον ναυσὶ τεσσαράκοντα
having-sailed therefore (the)-Athenians to Samos with-ships forty
 δημοκρατίαν κατέστησαν, καὶ ὁμήρους ἔλαβον τῶν
(a)-democracy established and hostages took of-the

Σαμίων πενήκοντα μὲν παῖδας, ἴσους δὲ ἄνδρας,
Samians fifty indeed boys equal(-number) and men
 καὶ κατέθεντο ἐς Λῆμνον, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταλιπόντες
and deposited(-them) in Lemnos and (a)-garrison having-left-behind
 ἀνεχώρησαν.

withdrew

τῶν δὲ Σαμίων ἦσαν γὰρ τινες οἳ οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' 115.4

of-the but Samians there-were for some who not stayed but

ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον, ξυνθέμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ

fled to the mainland having-made-(an)-agreement of-those in the

πόλει τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ Πισσοῦθνι τῷ Ὑστάσπου

city with-the most-powerful and with-Pissuthnes the (son)-of-Hystaspes

ξυμμαχίαν, ὃς εἶχε Σάρδεις τότε, ἐπικούρους τε ξυλλέξαντες

(an)-alliance who held Sardis then mercenaries and having-collected

ἐς ἑπτακοσίους διέβησαν ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐς τὴν Σάμον,

about seven-hundred crossed by night to — Samos

καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπανέστησαν καὶ ἐκράτησαν 115.5

and first indeed against-the people rose-up and overcame

τῶν πλείστων, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὀμήρους ἐκκλέψαντες ἐκ

the most then the hostages having-stolen-away from

Λήμνου τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς

Lemnos the their-own revolted and the garrison the

Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας οἳ ἦσαν παρὰ σφίσιν

of-Athenians and the officials who were among them

ἐξέδοσαν Πισσοῦθνι, ἐπὶ τε Μίλητον εὐθὺς παρεσκευάζοντο

handed-over to-Pissuthnes against and Miletus at-once prepared

στρατεύειν. ξυναπέστησαν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Βυζάντιοι.

to-march joined-in-revolt and with-them also (the)-Byzantines

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥς ᾗσθοντο, πλεύσαντες ναυσὶν ἑξήκοντα 116.1

(the)-Athenians and when they-perceived having-sailed with-ships sixty

ἐπὶ Σάμου ταῖς μὲν ἑκκαίδεκα τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο

against Samos — indeed sixteen of-the ships not used

(ἔτυχον γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Καρίας ἐς προσκοπὴν τῶν
happened-to-be for the indeed off Caria for (a)-lookout for-the
 Φοινισσῶν νεῶν οἰχόμεναι, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου
Phoenician ships gone others and to Chios and Lesbos
 περιαγγέλλουσαι βοηθεῖν), τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ναυσὶ
sending-round (word)-to-come-to-aid with-forty and ships
 καὶ τέσσαρσι Περικλέους δεκάτου αὐτοῦ στρατηγούντος
and four Pericles tenth himself being-general
 ἐναυμάχησαν πρὸς Τραγία τῇ νήσῳ Σαμίων ναυσὶν
fought-at-sea at Tragia the island (with-the)-Samiens' ships
 ἐβδομήκοντα, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ εἴκοσι στρατιώτιδες (ἔτυχον
seventy of-which were the twenty troop-carriers happened-to-be
 δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι ἀπὸ Μιλήτου πλέουσαι), καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι.
and the all from Miletus sailing and were-victorious (the)-Athenians

116.2 ὕστερον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν νῆες
later and to-them came-to-aid from — Athens ships
 τεσσαράκοντα καὶ Χίων καὶ Λεσβίων πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι,
forty and of-Chians and Lesbians five and twenty
 καὶ ἀποβάντες καὶ κρατοῦντες τῷ πεζῷ ἐπολιόρκουν
and having-landed and prevailing with-the infantry they-besieged
 τρισὶ τείχεσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἅμα.
with-three walls the city and from (the)-sea at-the-same-time

116.3 Περικλῆς δὲ λαβὼν ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορμουσῶν
Pericles and having-taken sixty ships from those blockading
 ὤχετο κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Καύνου καὶ Καρίας, ἐσαγγελθέντων
went with speed to Caunus and Caria it-having-been-reported
 ὅτι Φοίνισσαι νῆες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πλέουσιν· ὤχετο γὰρ καὶ
that Phoenician ships against them are-sailing had-gone for also
 ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πέντε ναυσὶ Στησαγόρας καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ
from — Samos with-five ships Stesagoras and others against
 τὰς Φοινίσσας.
the Phoenician(-ships)

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι ἑξαπινάίως ἔκπλουν ποιησάμενοι 117.1

in this and the Samians suddenly (a)-sally having-made
 ἀφάρκτω τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπιπεσόντες τὰς τε προφυλακίδας
unfortified the camp having-fallen-upon the both guard
 ναῦς διέφθειραν καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες τὰς ἀνταναγομένας
ships destroyed and fighting-at-sea those putting-out-against(-them)
 ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκράτησαν
defeated and of-the sea the off themselves were-masters
 ἡμέρας περὶ τέσσαρας καὶ δέκα, καὶ ἐσεκομίσαντο καὶ
for-days about four and ten and brought-in and
 ἐξεκομίσαντο ἃ ἐβούλοντο.

brought-out what they-wished

ἐλθόντος δὲ Περικλέους πάλιν ταῖς ναυσὶ κατεκλήσθησαν. 117.2

having-come and Pericles again by-the ships they-were-shut-in
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὕστερον προσεβοήθησαν τεσσαράκοντα
and from — Athens later came-to-aid-besides forty
 μὲν αἱ μετὰ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Ἄγνωνος καὶ Φορμίωνος
indeed the with Thucydides and Hagnon and Phormio
 νῆες, εἴκοσι δὲ αἱ μετὰ Τληπολέμου καὶ Ἀντικλέους, ἐκ
ships twenty and those with Tlepolemus and Anticles from
 δὲ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου τριάκοντα.

and Chios and Lesbos thirty

καὶ ναυμαχίαν μὲν τινα βραχείαν ἐποίησαντο οἱ Σάμιοι, 117.3

and (a)-sea-battle indeed some short made the Samians
 ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες ἀντίσχειν ἐξεπολιορκήθησαν ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ
unable but being to-hold-out were-reduced-by-siege in-the-ninth month
 καὶ προσεχώρησαν ὁμολογίᾳ, τείχος τε καθελόντες καὶ
and came-over by-agreement (their)-wall both having-pulled-down and
 ὁμήρους δόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες καὶ χρήματα τὰ
hostages having-given and ships having-surrendered and money the

ἀναλωθέντα ταξάμενοι κατὰ χρόνους ἀποδοῦναι. ξυνέβησαν
spent having-agreed by (fixed)-times to-pay-back came-to-terms

δὲ καὶ Βυζάντιοι ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ὑπήκοοι εἶναι.

and also (the)-Byzantines just-as also before subjects to-be

118.1 μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἤδη γίγνεται οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον
after these(-things) and now happen not many years later

τὰ προειρημένα, τὰ τε Κερκυραϊκὰ καὶ τὰ Ποτειδεατικὰ
the (things)-already-told the both Corcyraean(-affairs) and the Potidaean(-affairs)

καὶ ὅσα πρόφασις τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη.

and whatever pretext of-this — war became

118.2 ταῦτα δὲ ξύμπαντα ὅσα ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸς τε
these and all as-many-as did the Greeks toward both

ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἐγένετο ἐν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα
each-other and the barbarian happened in years fifty

μάλιστα μεταξὺ τῆς τε Ξέρξου ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τῆς
about between the both of-Xerxes retreat and the

ἀρχῆς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου· ἐν οἷς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν τε
beginning of-this — war in which the Athenians the both

ἀρχὴν ἐγκρατεστέραν κατεστήσαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ μέγα
empire stronger established and themselves to great

ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι

advanced of-power the but Lacedaemonians having-perceived(-it)

οὔτε ἐκώλουν εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ βραχύ, ἡσύχαζόν τε τὸ
neither tried-to-prevent(-it) if not for (a)-short(-time) kept-quiet and the

πλέον τοῦ χρόνου, ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς
more of-the time being indeed even before this not quick

ἵεναι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, ἣν μὴ ἀναγκάζονται, τὸ δέ τι
to-go to — wars if not they-are-compelled — and partly

καὶ πολέμοις οἰκείοις ἐξειργόμενοι, πρὶν δὴ ἡ δύναμις
also by-wars domestic being-kept-back until indeed the power

τῶν Ἀθηναίων σαφῶς ἤρετο καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας αὐτῶν
of-the Athenians clearly was-rising and of-the alliance their

ἥπτοντο. τότε δὲ οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ'
they-were-laying-hands-on then but no-longer bearable they-thought(-it) but
 ἐπιχειρητέα ἐδόκει εἶναι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ καθαιρετέα ἢ
to-be-attacked it-seemed to-be with-all eagerness and to-be-destroyed the
 ἰσχύς, ἣν δύνωνται, ἀραμένοις τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον.
strength if they-can (for-them)-having-undertaken this — war
 αὐτοῖς μὲν οὖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διέγνωστο
themselves indeed therefore by-the Lacedaemonians it-had-been-decided
 λελύσθαι τε τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
to-have-been-broken both the treaty and the Athenians
 ἀδικεῖν, πέμψαντες δὲ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπηρώτων τὸν θεὸν
to-be-in-the-wrong having-sent and to Delphi they-asked the god
 εἰ πολεμοῦσιν ἄμεινον ἔσται· ὁ δὲ ἀνέειπεν αὐτοῖς,
whether (for-them)-making-war better it-will-be he and answered to-them
 ὡς λέγεται, κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, καὶ
as it-is-said by might (for-them)-making-war victory would-be and
 αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος.
himself he-said would-help both being-called-on and uncalled

118.3

Sparta summons its allies to vote, and the Corinthians, fearing for Potidaea, speak last. Leaders must look to the common good, and inland states must know that the fate of the coast will reach them. Good men go to war when wronged and make peace when they can. The allies are likely to prevail: they are more numerous, more experienced, and more obedient, and loans from Delphi and Olympia can hire away Athens' foreign sailors, since Athens' power is bought rather than its own. Revolts and a fort in Attica will help. Divided, the allies will be subdued, and defeat means slavery under a tyrant city.

- 119.1 αὐθις δὲ τοὺς ζυμμάχους παρακαλέσαντες ψῆφον ἐβούλοντο
 again and the allies having-summoned (a)-vote they-wished
 ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰ χρὴ πολεμεῖν. καὶ ἐλθόντων τῶν
 to-put whether it-is-necessary to-make-war and having-come the
 πρέσβων ἀπὸ τῆς ξυμμαχίας καὶ ξυνόδου γενομένης οἷ
 envoys from the alliance and (an)-assembly having-been-held the
 τε ἄλλοι εἶπον ἃ ἐβούλοντο, κατηγοροῦντες οἱ πλείους
 both others said what they-wished accusing the most
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀξιοῦντες γίνεσθαι, καὶ
 the Athenians and the war thinking-right to-happen and
 οἱ Κορίνθιοι δεηθέντες μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις πρότερον
 the Corinthians having-begged indeed also city-by city before
 ἐκάστων ἰδίᾳ ὥστε ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, δεδιότες
 each privately so-as to-vote-for the war fearing
 περὶ τῇ Ποτειδαίᾳ μὴ προδιαφθαρῇ, παρόντες δὲ καὶ
 about — Potidaea lest it-be-destroyed-first being-present and also
 τότε καὶ τελευταῖοι ἐπελθόντες ἔλεγον τοιαῦδε.
 then and last having-come-forward spoke as-follows

- 120.1 Ἐτοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους, ὧ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, οὐκ ἂν
 the indeed Lacedaemonians O men allies not —
 ἔτι αἰτιασαίμεθα ὥς οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐψηφισμένοι
 any-longer would-we-blame as-though not also themselves having-voted-for

τὸν πόλεμόν εἰσι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο νῦν ξυνήγαγον.

the war they-are and us to this now they-brought-together

χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἴσου

it-is-necessary for the leaders the private(-interests) on equal(-terms)

νέμοντας τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν

managing the common(-interests) to-look-ahead-to just-as also in

ἄλλοις ἐκ πάντων προτιμῶνται.

other(-things) out-of all they-are-honored-above(-others)

ἡμῶν δὲ ὅσοι μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἐνηλλάγησαν οὐχὶ 120.2

of-us and as-many-as indeed with-Athenians already have-had-dealings not

διδαχῆς δέονται ὥστε φυλάξασθαι αὐτούς· τοὺς δὲ τὴν

of-instruction do-they-need so-as to-be-on-guard-against them those but the

μεσόγειαν μᾶλλον καὶ μὴ ἐν πόρῳ κατακημένους εἶδέναι

interior rather and not on (a)-route settled to-know

χρὴ ὅτι, τοῖς κάτω ἢν μὴ ἀμύνωσι, χαλεπωτέραν

it-is-necessary that to-those below if not they-defend more-difficult

ἔξουσι τὴν κατακομιδὴν τῶν ὠραίων καὶ πάλιν

they-will-have the carrying-down of-the (produce)-of-the-seasons and again

ἀντίληψιν ὧν ἢ θάλασσα τῇ ἡπείρῳ δίδωσι,

(the)-receiving-in-exchange of-what the sea to-the mainland gives

καὶ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων μὴ κακοὺς κριτὰς ὥς μὴ

and of-the now being-said not bad judges as-though not

προσηκόντων εἶναι, προσδέχεσθαι δέ ποτε, εἰ τὰ κάτω

concerning(-them) to-be to-expect and some-day if the below

πρόοιτο, κἄν μέχρι σφῶν τὸ δεινὸν προελθεῖν, καὶ

they-should-abandon even as-far-as themselves the danger would-advance and

περὶ αὐτῶν οὐχ ἦσσαν νῦν βουλευέσθαι.

about themselves not less now to-deliberate

δι' ὅπερ καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν δεῖ αὐτοὺς τὸν 120.3

for which-very(-reason) also not to-hesitate it-is-necessary them the

πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης μεταλαμβάνειν. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ

war instead-of peace to-take-in-exchange of-men for

σωφρόνων μὲν ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῦντο, ἡσυχάζειν,
prudent indeed it-is if not they-should-be-wronged to-keep-quiet
 ἀγαθῶν δὲ ἀδικουμένους ἐκ μὲν εἰρήνης πολεμεῖν, εὖ
of-good but being-wronged out-of indeed peace to-make-war well
 δὲ παρασχὼν ἐκ πολέμου πάλιν ξυμβῆναι, καὶ μήτε
and (occasion)-offering out-of war again to-come-to-terms and neither
 τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον εὐτυχίᾳ ἐπαίρεσθαι μήτε τῷ ἡσυχῶ
by-the in war good-fortune to-be-elated nor by-the quiet
 τῆς εἰρήνης ἡδόμενον ἀδικεῖσθαι.

of-the peace being-pleased to-be-wronged

120.4 ὁ τε γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν ὀκνῶν τάχιστ' ἂν
the-one both for because-of the pleasure hesitating most-quickly —
 ἀφαιρεθείη τῆς ῥαστώνης τὸ τερπνὸν δι' ὅπερ
would-be-deprived of-the ease the delight for which-very(-reason)
 ὀκνεῖ, εἰ ἡσυχάζοι, ὁ τε ἐν πολέμῳ εὐτυχίᾳ
he-hesitates if he-should-keep-quiet the-one and in war by-good-fortune
 πλεονάζων οὐκ ἐντεθύμηται θράσει ἀπίστῳ ἐπαιρόμενος.
going-too-far not has-considered by-confidence untrustworthy being-elated

120.5 πολλὰ γὰρ κακῶς γνωσθέντα ἀβουλοτέρων τῶν
many(-things) for badly having-been-planned more-ill-advised the
 ἐναντίων τυχόντα κατωρθώθη, καὶ ἔτι πλείω καλῶς
opponents having-met turned-out-right and still more well
 δοκοῦντα βουλευθῆναι ἐς τοῦναντίον αἰσχροῦς περιέστη·
seeming to-have-been-planned to the-opposite shamefully turned-out
 ἐνθυμεῖται γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὁμοῖα τῇ πίστει καὶ ἔργῳ
conceives for no-one alike to-the confidence as in-action
 ἐπεξέρχεται, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἀσφαλείας μὲν δοξάζομεν, μετὰ
carries(-it)-out but with safety indeed we-form-opinions with
 δέους δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐλλείπομεν.
fear but in the action we-fall-short

- ‘ Ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν καὶ ἀδικούμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐγείρομεν 121.1
we and now both being-wronged the war are-raising
 καὶ ἱκανὰ ἔχοντες ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ὅταν ἀμυνώμεθα
and sufficient having complaints and when we-take-vengeance-on
 Ἀθηναίους, καταθησόμεθα αὐτὸν ἐν καιρῷ.
(the)-Athenians we-shall-lay-down it in (due)-season
 κατὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι, πρῶτον μὲν 121.2
in many(-ways) and (for)-us (it-is)-likely to-prevail first indeed
 πλήθει προύχοντας καὶ ἐμπειρία πολεμικῇ, ἔπειτα ὁμοίως
in-numbers being-superior and in-experience military then alike
 πάντας ἐς τὰ παραγγελόμενα ἰόντας,
all to the (things)-ordered going
 ναυτικόν τε, ᾧ ἰσχύουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τε 121.3
(a)-navy and in-which they-are-strong from the existing both
 ἐκάστοις οὐσίας ἐξαρτυσόμεθα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ
to-each wealth we-shall-fit-out and from the at Delphi and
 Ὀλυμπίᾳ χρημάτων· δάνεισμα γὰρ ποιησάμενοι ὑπολαβεῖν
Olympia money (a)-loan for having-made to-lure-away
 οἰοί τ’ ἐσμέν μισθῷ μείζονι τοὺς ξένους αὐτῶν ναυβάτας.
able — we-are by-pay greater the foreign their sailors
 ὠνητῇ γὰρ ἢ Ἀθηναίων δύναμις μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκεία· ἢ
purchasable for the of-Athenians power rather than their-own the
 δὲ ἡμετέρα ἦσσαν ἂν τοῦτο πάθοι, τοῖς σώμασι τὸ
but ours less — this would-suffer in-the bodies the
 πλέον ἰσχύουσα ἢ τοῖς χρήμασιν.
more being-strong than in-the money
 μᾶ τε νίκη ναυμαχίας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀλίσκονται εἰ 121.4
by-one and victory of-(a)-sea-battle in-all — likelihood they-are-taken if
 δ’ ἀντίσχοιεν, μελετήσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πλέονι χρόνῳ
but they-should-hold-out we-shall-practice also we in more time
 τὰ ναυτικά, καὶ ὅταν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐς τὸ ἴσον
the naval(-arts) and when the skill to the equal(-level)

καταστήσωμεν, τῇ γε εὐψυχία δήπου περιεσόμεθα. ὃ
we-bring by-the at-least courage surely we-shall-prevail what
 γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν φύσει ἀγαθόν, ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο
for we have by-nature good(-thing) to-them not — could-come
 διδαχῇ· ὃ δ' ἐκείνοι ἐπιστήμη προύχουσι, καθαιρετὸν
by-teaching what but they by-skill excel-in to-be-overcome
 ἡμῖν ἐστὶ μελέτη.
for-us is by-practice

121.5 χρήματα δὲ ὥστε ἔχειν ἐς αὐτά, οἴσομεν· ἢ δεινὸν
money and so-as to-have for them we-shall-contribute or terrible
 ἂν εἴη εἰ οἱ μὲν ἐκείνων ξύμμαχοι ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ
— it-would-be if the indeed of-them allies for slavery
 τῇ αὐτῶν φέροντες οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ
the their-own contributing not will-refuse we but for the
 τιμωρούμενοι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅμα σώζεσθαι
taking-vengeance-on the enemies and ourselves at-the-same-time to-be-saved
 οὐκ ἄρα δαπανήσομεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ὑπ' ἐκείνων αὐτὰ
not then shall-we-spend and for the not by them it
 ἀφαιρεθέντες αὐτοῖς τούτοις κακῶς πάσχειν.
having-been-deprived with-the-very these(-things) badly to-suffer

122.1 ὑπάρχουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὁδοὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἡμῖν, ξυμμάχων
exist and also other ways of-the war for-us of-(the)-allies
 τε ἀπόστασις, μάλιστα παραίσεις οὐσα τῶν προσόδων
both (a)-revolt most-of-all (a)-removal being of-the revenues
 αἷς ἰσχύουσι, καὶ ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ, ἄλλα
by-which they-are-strong and (the)-fortifying-of-a-post-in the country other(-things)
 τε ὅσα οὐκ ἂν τις νῦν προῖδοι. ἥκιστα γὰρ πόλεμος ἐπὶ
and which not — anyone now could-foresee least for war on
 ῥήτοις χωρεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τεχνᾷται
stated(-terms) proceeds itself but from itself the most-things contrives
 πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον· ἐν ᾧ ὁ μὲν εὐοργήτως
toward the circumstance in which the-one indeed calmly

αὐτῷ προσομλήσας βεβαιότερος, ὁ δ' ὀργισθεὶς
with-it having-dealt (is)-more-secure the-other but having-become-angry
 περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάσσω πταίει.

about it not fewer stumbles

‘Ἐνθυμώμεθα δὲ καὶ ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἡμῶν ἦσαν ἐκάστοις 122.2

let-us-consider and also that if indeed of-us were for-each

πρὸς ἀντιπάλους περὶ γῆς ὄρων αἱ διαφοραί, οἷστὸν
against rivals about of-land boundaries the disputes bearable

ἂν ἦν· νῦν δὲ πρὸς ξύμπαντάς τε ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι

— *it-would-be now but against all both us (the)-Athenians*

ἱκανοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἔτι δυνατώτεροι, ὥστε εἰ μὴ καὶ

(are)-sufficient and city-by city still more-powerful so-that if not both

ἄθροοι καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἕκαστον ἄστὺ μιᾷ γνώμῃ

all-together and by nations and each town with-one mind

ἀμυνούμεθα αὐτούς, δίχα γε ὄντας ἡμᾶς ἀπόνως

we-shall-defend-against them divided at-least being us without-labor

χειρώσονται. καὶ τὴν ἡσαν, εἰ καὶ δεινὸν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι,

they-will-subdue and the defeat if even terrible for-anyone to-hear

ἴστω οὐκ ἄλλο τι φέρουσιν ἢ ἀντικρὺ δουλείαν·

let-him-know not other anything bringing than outright slavery

ὁ καὶ λόγῳ ἐνδοιασθῆναι αἰσχρὸν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ 122.3

which even in-word to-be-doubted (is)-shameful for-the Peloponnese

καὶ πόλεις τοσάσδε ὑπὸ μιᾶς κακοπαθεῖν. ἐν ᾧ ἢ

and cities so-many by one to-be-maltreated in which either

δικαίως δοκοῦμεν ἂν πάσχειν ἢ διὰ δειλίαν ἀνέχεσθαι

justly we-would-seem — to-suffer or through cowardice to-endure(-it)

καὶ τῶν πατέρων χείρους φαίνεσθαι, οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα

and than-the fathers worse to-appear who — Greece

ἡλευθέρωσαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβαιοῦμεν αὐτό,

freed we but not-even for-us selves secure it

τύραννον δὲ ἐώμεν ἐγκαθεστάναι πόλιν, τοὺς δ' ἐν μιᾷ
(a)-tyrant and we-allow to-be-established city those but in one(-city)
μονάρχους ἀξιούμεν καταλύειν.

monarchs we-think-it-right to-put-down

- 122.4 καὶ οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅπως τάδε τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων
and not we-know how these(-things) three of-the greatest
ξυμφορῶν ἀπήλλακται, ἀξυνεσίας ἢ μαλακίας ἢ ἀμελείας.
misfortunes are-free-of stupidity or softness or carelessness
οὐ γὰρ δὴ πεφευγότες αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστους δὴ
not for indeed having-escaped them to the most(-men) indeed
βλάψασαν καταφρόνησιν κεχωρήκατε, ἣ ἐκ τοῦ πολλοὺς
having-harmed contempt you-have-gone which from the many
σφάλλιν τὸ ἐναντίον ὄνομα ἀφροσύνη μετωνόμασται.
to-trip the contrary name folly has-been-renamed

XXXII • THE ALLIES VOTE FOR WAR

The Corinthians conclude. Toil is the Peloponnesians' inheritance, and the god has promised help; the treaty is broken by the aggressor, not by those who defend themselves. Potidaea, a Dorian city, is besieged by Ionians, and the allies must vote for war and free the Greeks from the tyrant city. Sparta puts the question to every ally, great and small, and the majority votes for war. Unready, they begin to prepare, and less than a year passes before they invade Attica.

- 123.1 τὰ μὲν οὖν προγεγενημένα τί δεῖ μακρότερον ἢ
the indeed therefore (things)-that-happened-before why must at-greater-length than
ἐς ὅσον τοῖς νῦν ξυμφέρει αἰτιᾶσθαι; περὶ δὲ
to what-extent to-the present(-things) it-is-useful to-blame(-them) about but
τῶν ἔπειτα μελλόντων τοῖς παροῦσι βοηθοῦντας χρὴ
the thereafter to-come to-the present helping it-is-necessary
ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν (πάτριον γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν πόνων
to-labor-on ancestral for (it-is)-for-you from the toils

τὰς ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι), καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλειν τὸ ἔθος, εἰ
the virtues to-acquire and not to-change the custom if
 ἄρα πλούτῳ τε νῦν καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ὀλίγον προφέρετε (οὐ
indeed in-wealth both now and in-power (a)-little you-excel not
 γὰρ δίκαιον ἂν τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐκτήθῃ τῇ περιουσίᾳ
for (is-it)-right what by-the want was-acquired by-the abundance
 ἀπολέσθαι), ἀλλὰ θαρσοῦντας ἰέναι κατὰ πολλὰ ἐς
to-be-lost but being-confident to-go on many(-grounds) to
 τὸν πόλεμον, τοῦ τε θεοῦ χρήσαντος καὶ αὐτοῦ
the war the both god having-given-an-oracle and himself
 ὑποσχομένου ξυλλήψεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης
having-promised to-help and the other Hellas all
 ξυναγωνιουμένης, τὰ μὲν φόβῳ, τὰ δὲ ὠφελίᾳ.
going-to-join-the-struggle partly indeed through-fear partly and through-benefit
 σπονδὰς τε οὐ λύσετε πρότεροι, ἅς γε καὶ ὁ θεὸς 123.2
(the)-treaty and not you-will-break first which at-least even the god
 κελεύων πολεμῆν νομίζει παραβεβῶσθαι, ἡδίκημέναις
bidding to-make-war considers to-have-been-transgressed (it)-having-been-wronged
 δὲ μᾶλλον βοηθήσετε· λύουσι γὰρ οὐχ οἱ ἀμυνόμενοι,
but rather you-will-help break for not those defending-themselves
 ἀλλ' οἱ πρότεροι ἐπιόντες.
but those first attacking
 ‘Ὡστε πανταχόθεν καλῶς ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν πολεμῆν καὶ 124.1
so-that from-every-side well it-being-possible for-you to-make-war and
 ἡμῶν κοινῇ τάδε παραινούντων, εἴπερ βεβαιότατον
we in-common these(-things) advising if-indeed most-certain
 τὸ ταῦτα συμφέροντα καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ιδιώταις εἶναι, μὴ
the the-same being-useful both for-cities and for-private-men to-be not
 μέλλετε Ποτειδεάταις τε ποιέσθαι τιμωρίαν οὔσι Δωριεῦσι
delay for-(the)-Potidaeans both to-make vengeance being Dorians
 καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων πολιορκουμένοις, οὗ πρότερον ἦν
and by Ionians besieged of-which before was

τοῦναντίον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετελθεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὥς
the-opposite and of-the others to-pursue the freedom since
 οὐκέτι ἐνδέχεται περιμένοντας τοὺς μὲν ἤδη βλάπτεσθαι,
no-longer it-is-possible waiting some indeed already to-be-harmed
 τοὺς δ', εἰ γνωσθῶμεθα ξυνελθόντες μὲν, ἀμύνεσθαι
others and if we-shall-be-recognized having-come-together indeed to-defend-ourselves
 δὲ οὐ τολμῶντες, μὴ πολὺ ὕστερον τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχειν·
but not daring not much later the same to-suffer

124.2 ἀλλὰ νομίσαντες ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφίχθαι, ὦ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι,
but having-thought to necessity to-have-come O men allies
 καὶ ἅμα τάδε ἄριστα λέγεσθαι, ψηφίσασθε τὸν
and at-the-same-time these(-things) best to-be-said vote-for the
 πόλεμον μὴ φοβηθέντες τὸ αὐτίκα δεινόν, τῆς δ' ἀπ'
war not having-feared the immediate danger the and from
 αὐτοῦ διὰ πλείονος εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες· ἐκ πολέμου
it through longer peace having-desired out-of war
 μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνη μαῖλλον βεβαιοῦται, ἀφ' ἡσυχίας δὲ μὴ
indeed for peace rather is-made-secure from quiet but not
 πολεμῆσαι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀκίνδυνον.
to-make-war not equally (is)-free-of-danger

124.3 καὶ τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλιν τύραννον
and the having-been-established in — Greece city (a)-tyrant
 ἡγησάμενοι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως καθεστάναι, ὥστε τῶν
having-considered over all alike to-have-been-established so-that over-some
 μὲν ἤδη ἄρχειν, τῶν δὲ διανοεῖσθαι, παραστησώμεθα
indeed already to-rule over-others and to-intend(-it) let-us-bring(-it)-to-terms
 ἐπελθόντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἀκινδύνως τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκῶμεν
having-attacked and ourselves both without-danger the rest(-of-time) let-us-live
 καὶ τοὺς νῦν δεδουλωμένους Ἑλλήνας ἐλευθερώσωμεν.
and the now enslaved Greeks let-us-free
 τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον.
such(-things) indeed the Corinthians spoke

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπειδὴ ἀφ' ἀπάντων ἤκουσαν 125.1

the and Lacedaemonians when from all they-heard

γνώμην, ψῆφον ἐπήγαγον τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἅπασιν ὅσοι

(their)-judgment (a)-vote put to-the allies all as-many-as

παρήσαν ἐξῆς, καὶ μείζονι καὶ ἐλάσσονι πόλει· καὶ τὸ

were-present in-order both greater and lesser city and the

πλήθος ἐψηφίσαντο πολεμεῖν.

majority voted to-make-war

δεδογμένον δὲ αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς μὲν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐπιχειρεῖν 125.2

it-having-been-decided and by-them at-once indeed impossible it-was to-attack

ἀπαρασκευοῖς οὖσιν, ἐκπορίζεσθαι δὲ ἐδόκει ἐκάστοις

unprepared being to-provide and it-seemed-best for-each

ᾧ πρόσφορα ἦν καὶ μὴ εἶναι μέλλησιν. ὅμως δὲ

what useful was and not to-be delay nevertheless and

καθισταμένοις ὧν ἔδει ἐνιαυτὸς μὲν οὐ διετρίβη,

for-(them)-getting-ready of-what was-needed (a)-year indeed not was-spent

ἐλασσον δέ, πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὸν

less but before to-invade into — Attica and the

πόλεμον ἄρασθαι φανερώς.

war to-take-up openly

Seeking the strongest pretext for war, Sparta bids Athens drive out the curse of the goddess. Cylon, a noble Olympic victor and son-in-law of Megara's tyrant Theagenes, is told by Delphi to seize the Acropolis at Zeus' greatest festival; taking it for the Olympia, not the Diasia, he seizes it and is besieged. He and his brother escape; his starving men, suppliants at the altar, are led away under promise and killed, and the killers' family, called accursed, is driven out. Sparta's aim is to discredit Pericles, kin to the accursed through his mother.

- 126.1 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπρεσβεύοντο τῷ χρόνῳ πρὸς τοὺς
in this and they-were-sending-embassies — time to the
 Ἀθηναίους ἐγκλήματα ποιούμενοι, ὅπως σφίσιν ὅτι μεγίστη
Athenians complaints making so-that for-them as greatest
 πρόφασις εἴη τοῦ πολεμεῖν, ἢν μὴ τι ἐσακούωσιν.
pretext there-might-be for-the making-war if not at-all they-listened
- 126.2 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πρέσβεις πέμψαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
and first indeed envoys having-sent the Lacedaemonians
 ἐκέλευον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν τῆς θεοῦ· τὸ
bade the Athenians the curse to-drive-out of-the goddess the
 δὲ ἄγος ἦν τοιόνδε.
and curse was of-this-kind
- 126.3 Κύλων ἦν Ἀθηναῖος ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης τῶν πάλαι
Cylon was (an)-Athenian man (an)-Olympic-victor of-the old(-days)
 εὐγενὴς τε καὶ δυνατός, ἐγεγαμῆκει δὲ θυγατέρα Θεαγένους
well-born both and powerful he-bad-married and (a)-daughter of-Theagenes
 Μεγαρέως ἀνδρός, ὃς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐτυράννει
(a)-Megarian man who at that — time was-tyrant
 Μεγάρων.
of-Megara

χρωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Κύλωνι ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνείλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν 126.4
consulting and — to-Cylon at Delphi answered the god at
 τοῦ Διὸς τῇ μεγίστῃ ἑορτῇ καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων
— of-Zeus the greatest festival to-seize the of-Athenians
 ἀκρόπολιν.

acropolis

ὁ δὲ παρά τε τοῦ Θεαγένους δύναμιν λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς 126.5
he and from both — Theagenes (a)-force having-received and the
 φίλους ἀναπείσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπήλθεν Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν
friends having-persuaded when came (the)-Olympia the(-festival) in
 Πελοποννήσῳ, κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὥς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι,
(the)-Peloponnese seized the acropolis as for tyranny
 νομίσας ἑορτὴν τε τοῦ Διὸς μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ
having-thought (the)-festival both — of-Zeus greatest to-be and to-himself
 τι προσήκειν Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότι.

somehow to-be-fitting (the)-Olympia having-won

εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἢ ἄλλοθί που ἡ μεγίστη ἑορτὴ 126.6
whether but in — Attica or elsewhere somewhere the greatest festival
 εἶρητο, οὔτε ἐκείνος ἔτι κατενόησε τό τε μαντεῖον οὐκ
had-been-meant neither he further considered the and oracle not
 ἐδήλου (ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια ἃ καλεῖται
made-(it)-clear there-is for also for-(the)-Athenians (the)-Diasia which is-called
 Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μελιχίου μεγίστη ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ
of-Zeus festival of-Meilichius greatest outside the city at which
 πανδημεὶ θύουσι πολλὰ οὐχ ἱερεῖα, ἀλλ' ἀγνὰ θύματα
in-full-force they-sacrifice many not victims but pure offerings
 ἐπιχώρια), δοκῶν δὲ ὀρθῶς γινώσκειν ἐπεχείρησε τῷ ἔργῳ.

of-the-country thinking and rightly to-understand he-attempted the deed

οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθησάν τε πανδημεὶ ἐκ 126.7
the and Athenians having-perceived-(it) came-to-aid both in-full-force from
 τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν.
the fields against them and sitting-down-before(-them) besieged(-them)

- 126.8 χρόνου δὲ ἐγγιγνομένου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρυχόμενοι τῇ
time and passing the Athenians worn-out by-the
 προσεδρία ἀπῆλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἐννέα
blockade went-away the most having-entrusted to-the nine
 ἄρχουσι τὴν τε φυλακὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορσι
archons the both guard and the whole with-full-powers
 διαθεῖναι ἣ ἂν ἄριστα διαγιγνώσκωσιν· τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ
to-dispose as — best they-should-judge then and the most
 τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ἔπρασσον.
of-the public(-affairs) the nine archons conducted
- 126.9 οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κύλωνος πολιορκούμενοι φλαύρως εἶχον
those and with — Cylon being-besieged badly were
 σίτου τε καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορία.
of-food both and water through-want
- 126.10 ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύλων καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδράσκουσιν·
— indeed therefore Cylon and the brother his escape
 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὥς ἐπιέζοντο καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπέθνησκον
the but others when they-were-hard-pressed and some even were-dying
 ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἰκέται τὸν
from the famine sit-down at the altar (as)-suppliants the
 ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει.
on the acropolis
- 126.11 ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι
having-raised-up and them those of-the Athenians entrusted-with
 τὴν φυλακὴν, ὥς ἐώρων ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ,
the guard when they-saw(-them) dying in the temple
 ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσιν, ἀπαγαγόντες
on (condition)-that no harm they-will-do having-led(-them)-away
 ἀπέκτειναν· καθεζομένους δέ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν
killed(-them) sitting-down and some even at the awful
 θεῶν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ ἀπεχρήσαντο. καὶ
goddesses' the altars in the passing they-dispatched and

ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναγείς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐκεῖνοί τε
from this accursed and offenders of-the goddess they both
 ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνων.

were-called and the family the from them

ἤλασαν μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐναγείς τούτους, 126.12
drove-out indeed therefore both the Athenians the accursed these

ἤλασε δὲ καὶ Κλεομένης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὕστερον μετὰ
drove-out and also Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian later with

Ἀθηναίων στασιαζόντων, τοὺς τε ζῶντας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ
Athenians in-faction the both living driving-out and

τῶν τεθνεώτων τὰ ὀστᾶ ἀνελόντες ἐξέβαλον· κατήλθον
of-the dead the bones having-taken-up cast-out returned

μέντοι ὕστερον, καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἔτι ἐν τῇ πόλει.
however later and the family their is still in the city

τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἄγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευον ἐλαύνειν 127.1
this indeed the curse the Lacedaemonians bade to-drive-out

δῆθεν τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτον τιμωροῦντες, εἰδότες δὲ Περικλέα
supposedly for-the gods first taking-vengeance knowing but Pericles

τὸν Ξανθίππου προσεχόμενον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα

the (son)-of-Xanthippus involved in-it on the mother's(-side)

καὶ νομίζοντες ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ ῥᾶον ἂν σφίσι

and thinking having-been-banished he more-easily — for-themselves

προχωρεῖν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

would-go-forward the(-affairs) from the Athenians

οὐ μέντοι τοσούτον ἤλπιζον παθεῖν ἂν αὐτὸν τοῦτο ὅσον 127.2

not however so-much they-hoped would-suffer — him this as

διαβολὴν οἷσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὥς καὶ διὰ τὴν
(a)-slander to-bring on-him with the city that also because-of the

ἐκείνου ξυμφορὰν τὸ μέρος ἔσται ὁ πόλεμος.

his misfortune — in-part will-be the war

127.3 ὦν γὰρ δυνατώτατος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἄγων τὴν
 being for most-powerful of-those in his-own(-time) and leading the
 πολιτείαν ἡναντιοῦτο πάντα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ
 state be-opposed in-everything the Lacedaemonians and
 οὐκ εἶα ὑπέικειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμα τοὺς
 not allowed(-them) to-yield but into the war urged the
 Ἀθηναίους.

Athenians

XXXIV • PAUSANIAS AND THE KING

Athens retorts with the curses of Taenarum, where Sparta killed Helot suppliants, and of the Brazen House. Pausanias, acquitted after his first recall, sails privately to the Hellespont, in name for the war, in fact to intrigue with the king. At Byzantium he had secretly returned the king's captured kinsmen and offered by letter to marry his daughter and bring Greece under him. Xerxes answers through Artabazus, and Pausanias, elated, wears Median dress, keeps a Persian table and a guard of Medes and Egyptians, and grows so harsh the allies go over to Athens.

128.1 ἀντεκέλευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸ ἀπὸ
 bade-in-return and also the Athenians the Lacedaemonians the from
 Ταινάρου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν· οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναστήσαντές
 Taenarum curse to-drive-out the for Lacedaemonians having-raised-up
 ποτε ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τῶν Εἰλώτων ἰκέτας
 once from the temple — of-Poseidon of-the Helots suppliants
 ἀπαγαγόντες διέφθειραν, δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ σφίσιν
 having-led(-them)-away killed(-them) because-of which indeed also for-them
 αὐτοῖς νομίζουσι τὸν μέγαν σεισμὸν γενέσθαι ἐν Σπάρτῃ.
 selves they-think the great earthquake to-have-happened at Sparta

ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν 128.2
they-bade and also the of-the Brazen-House(-goddess) curse to-drive-out
 αὐτούς· ἐγένετο δὲ τοιόνδε.

them it-happened and as-follows

ἐπειδὴ Πausanίας ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος τὸ πρῶτον μεταπεμφθεὶς 128.3

when Pausanias the Lacedaemonian the first(-time) having-been-recalled

ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ

by (the)-Spartiates from the command the in (the)-Hellespont

καὶ κριθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπελύθη μὴ ἀδικεῖν, δημοσίᾳ

and having-been-tried by them was-acquitted not to-do-wrong publicly

μὲν οὐκέτι ἐξεπέμφθη, ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς τριήρη λαβὼν

indeed no-longer was-sent-out privately but himself (a)-trireme having-taken

Ἑρμιονίδα ἄνευ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἑλλήσποντον,

Hermionian without Lacedaemonians arrives at (the)-Hellespont

τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ

— *indeed in-word for the Hellenic war — but in-deed*

τὰ πρὸς βασιλέα πράγματα πράσσειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ

the with (the)-king affairs to-carry-on just-as also the

πρῶτον ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐφιέμενος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχῆς.

first(-time) he-had-attempted aiming-at the Hellenic rule

εὐεργεσίαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πρῶτον ἐς βασιλέα κατέθετο 128.4

(a)-benefit and from this first to (the)-king he-laid-up

καὶ τοῦ παντὸς πράγματος ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο·

and of-the whole affair (the)-beginning made

Βυζάντιον γὰρ ἔλων τῇ προτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ μετὰ 128.5

Byzantium for having-taken on-the former presence after

τὴν ἐκ Κύπρου ἀναχώρησιν (εἶχον δὲ Μῆδοι αὐτὸ καὶ

the from Cyprus retreat held and Medes it and

βασιλέως προσήκοντές τινας καὶ ξυγγενεῖς οἱ ἐάλωσαν ἐν

of-(the)-king connections some and kinsmen who were-captured in

αὐτῷ) τότε τούτους οὓς ἔλαβεν ἀποπέμπει βασιλεῖ κρύφα

it then these whom he-took he-sends-back to-the-king secretly

τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν.

from-the other allies — but in-word escaped him

128.6 ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ Γογγύλου τοῦ Ἐρετριῶς, ὥπερ

he-managed and this with Gongylus the Eretrian to-whom-indeed

ἐπέτρεψε τό τε Βυζάντιον καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. ἔπεμψε

he-entrusted the both Byzantium and the prisoners he-sent

δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν τὸν Γόγγυλον φέροντα αὐτῷ· ἐνεγέγραπτο

and also (a)-letter — Gongylus carrying to-him had-been-written

δὲ τὰδε ἐν αὐτῇ, ὥς ὕστερον ἀνηυρέθη·

and this in it as later was-discovered

128.7 Ἰαυσανίας ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῆς Σπάρτης τούσδε τέ σοι

Pausanias the leader — of-Sparta these both to-you

χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος ἀποπέμπει δορὶ ἐλών, καὶ

to-please wishing sends-back by-spear having-taken and

γνώμην ποιῶμαι, εἰ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, θυγατέρα τε τὴν

(a)-proposal I-make if also to-you it-seems-good (the)-daughter both —

σὴν γῆμαι καὶ σοι Σπάρτην τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα

your to-marry and for-you Sparta both and the other Hellas

ὑποχείριον ποιῆσαι. δυνατὸς δὲ δοκῶ εἶναι ταῦτα πράξαι

subject to-make able and I-seem to-be this to-accomplish

μετὰ σοῦ βουλευόμενος. εἰ οὖν τί σε τούτων ἀρέσκει,

with you planning if then anything you of-these pleases

πέμπε ἄνδρα πιστὸν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δι' οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν

send (a)-man trusted to (the)-sea through whom the rest(-of-time)

τοὺς λόγους ποιήσόμεθα·

the discussions we-shall-make

129.1 τοσαῦτα μὲν ἢ γραφὴ ἐδήλου, Ξέρξης δὲ ἥσθη τε τῇ

so-much indeed the writing disclosed Xerxes and was-pleased both at-the

ἐπιστολῇ καὶ ἀποστέλλει Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Φαρνάκου ἐπὶ

letter and sends-off Artabazus the (son)-of-Pharnaces to

θάλασσαν καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν τὴν τε Δασκυλῖτιν σατραπείαν

(the)-sea and bids him the both Dascylitis satrapy

παραλαβεῖν Μεγαβάτην ἀπαλλάξαντα, ὃς πρότερον ἦρχε,

to-take-over Megabates having-removed who before governed

καὶ παρὰ Πausανίαν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπιστολὴν ἀντεπετίθει

and to Pausanias at Byzantium (a)-letter he-gave-in-return

αὐτῷ ὡς τάχιστα διαπέμψαι καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα

to-him as quickly(-as-possible) to-send-across and the seal

ἀποδείξει, καὶ ἥν τι αὐτῷ Πausανίας παραγγέλλῃ περὶ

to-show and if anything to-him Pausanias should-order about

τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων, πράσσειν ὡς ἄριστα καὶ πιστότατα.

the his-own affairs to-do(-it) as best and most-faithfully

ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος τά τε ἄλλα ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ εἶρητο 129.2

he and having-arrived the both other(-things) did just-as had-been-said

καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διέπεμψεν·

and the letter sent-across

ἀντενεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε· ὧδε λέγει βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης 129.3

had-been-written-in-reply and this thus says (the)-king Xerxes

Πausανία. καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς μοι πέραν θαλάσσης

to-Pausanias and for-the men whom for-me beyond (the)-sea

ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἔσωσας κείσεται σοι εὐεργεσία ἐν τῷ

from Byzantium you-saved will-be-laid-up for-you (a)-benefit in the

ἡμετέρῳ οἴκῳ ἐς αἰὲ ἀνάγραφτος, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις

our house for ever recorded and with-the words

τοῖς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀρέσκομαι. καί σε μήτε νύξ μήθ' ἡμέρα

the from you I-am-pleased and you neither night nor day

ἐπισχέτω ὥστε ἀνεῖναι πράσσειν τι ὧν ἐμοὶ

let-hold-back so-as to-slacken to-do any(-of-the-things) which to-me

ὑπισχνῇ, μηδὲ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου δαπάνῃ κεκωλύσθω

you-promise nor of-gold and of-silver by-expense let-it-be-hindered

μηδὲ στρατιᾶς πλήθει, εἴ ποι δεῖ παραγίγνεσθαι,

nor of-army by-(the)-size if anywhere it-is-necessary to-be-present

ἀλλὰ μετ' Ἄρταβάζου ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, ὃν σοι ἔπεμψα,
but with Artabazus (a)-man good whom to-you I-sent
 πρᾶσσε θαρσῶν καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ τὰ σὰ
act with-confidence both the my(-affairs) and the your(-affairs)
 ὅπῃ κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔξει ἀμφοτέροις.
in-whatever-way most-honorably and best they-sball-be for-both

130.1 ταῦτα λαβὼν ὁ Πανσανίας τὰ γράμματα, ὧν καὶ
this having-received — Pausanias the letter being even
 πρότερον ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ
before in great esteem among the Greeks because-of
 τὴν Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγεμονίαν, πολλῷ τότε μᾶλλον ἦρτο καὶ
the at-Plataea leadership much then more was-elated and
 οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ βιοτεύειν, ἀλλὰ
no-longer was-able in the established way to-live but
 σκευὰς τε Μηδικὰς ἐνδύόμενος ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐξῆι καὶ
dress both Median putting-on from — Byzantium he-went-out and
 διὰ τῆς Θράκης πορευόμενον αὐτὸν Μηδοὶ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι
through — Thrace marching him Medes and Egyptians
 ἐδορυφόρουν, τράπεζάν τε Περσικὴν παρετίθετο καὶ κατέχειν
escorted-as-bodyguard (a)-table and Persian he-was-served and to-contain
 τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκ ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἔργοις βραχέσι προυδήλου
the intention not he-was-able but by-deeds small he-revealed-beforehand
 ἃ τῇ γνώμῃ μειζόνως ἐς ἔπειτα ἔμελλε πράξειν.
what in-the mind on-a-greater-scale for thereafter he-intended to-do

130.2 δυσπρόσοδόν τε αὐτὸν παρείχε καὶ τῇ ὀργῇ οὕτω χαλεπῇ
hard-to-approach both himself he-made and — temper so harsh
 ἐχρήτο ἐς πάντας ὁμοίως ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι
he-used toward all alike so-that no-one was-able
 προσιέναι· δι' ὅπερ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
to-come-near because-of which-very(-thing) also to the Athenians
 οὐχ ἥκιστα ἢ ξυμμαχία μετέστη.
not least the alliance went-over

Sparta recalls Pausanias from Colonae in the Troad by herald and scytale. He returns, is jailed by the ephors, and gets out. They lack clear proof, though his lawlessness, the couplet he inscribed on the Delphic tripod, and his dealings with the Helots arouse suspicion. His Argilian messenger opens the letters and finds an order to kill him, and ephors hidden at Taenarum hear Pausanias admit everything. Warned by a nod as they come to arrest him, he flees into the temple of the Brazen House, where they wall him in and starve him. Delphi later orders two bodies given to the goddess for one, and Sparta dedicates two bronze statues.

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι τό τε πρῶτον δι' 131.1
the and Lacedaemonians having-perceived(-it) the both first(-time) because-of
 αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἀνεκάλεσαν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἑρμιονίδι
very these(-things) recalled him and when with-the Hermionian
 νηὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐκπλεύσας οὐ κελευσάντων αὐτῶν τοιαῦτα
ship the second(-time) having-sailed-out not having-ordered(-it) they such(-things)
 ἐφαίνετο ποιῶν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου βία ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων
he-was-seen doing and from — Byzantium by-force by Athenians
 ἐκπολιορκηθεὶς ἐς μὲν τὴν Σπάρτην οὐκ ἐπανεχώρει, ἐς δὲ
having-been-besieged-out to indeed — Sparta not he-returned to but
 Κολωνὰς τὰς Τρωάδας ἰδρυθεὶς πράσσων τε ἐσηγγέλλετο
Colonae the Troad having-settled intriguing both was-reported
 αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὴν μονὴν
to-them with the barbarians and not for good the stay
 ποιούμενος, οὕτω δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπέσχον, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες
making thus indeed no-longer they-held-off but having-sent
 κήρυκα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ σκυτάλην εἶπον τοῦ κήρυκος μὴ
(a)-herald the ephors and (a)-scytale told(-him) the herald not
 λείπεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, πόλεμον αὐτῷ Σπαρτιάτας προαγορεύειν.
to-be-left-behind if but not war on-him (the)-Spartiates (were)-to-declare

131.2 ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος ὡς ἥκιστα ὑποπτος εἶναι καὶ πιστεύων
he and wishing as least suspected to-be and trusting
 χρήμασι διαλύσειν τὴν διαβολὴν ἀνεχώρει τὸ δεύτερον ἐς
with-money to-dissolve the slander returned the second(-time) to
 Σπάρτην. καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐσπίπτει τὸ πρῶτον
Sparta and into indeed the prison he-falls the first(-time)
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων (ἔξεστι δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις τὸν βασιλέα
by the ephors it-is-permitted and for-the ephors the king
 δρᾶσαι τοῦτο), ἔπειτα διαπραξάμενος ὕστερον ἐξῆλθε
to-do this then having-contrived(-it) later he-came-out
 καὶ καθίστησι αὐτὸν ἐς κρίσιν τοῖς βουλομένοις περὶ
and presents himself for trial to-those wishing about
 αὐτῶν ἐλέγχειν.
them to-prove(-guilt)

132.1 καὶ φανερόν μὲν εἶχον οὐδὲν οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται σημεῖον, οὔτε οἱ
and clear indeed had no the Spartiates sign neither the
 ἐχθροὶ οὔτε ἡ πᾶσα πόλις, ὅτῳ ἂν πιστεύσαντες βεβαίως
enemies nor the whole city in-which — having-trusted securely
 ἐτιμωροῦντο ἄνδρα γένους τε τοῦ βασιλείου ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῷ
they-might-punish (a)-man of-family both the royal being and in the
 παρόντι τιμὴν ἔχοντα (Πλείσταρχον γὰρ τὸν Λεωνίδου
present(-time) honor having Pleistarchus for the (son)-of-Leonidas
 ὄντα βασιλέα καὶ νέον ἔτι ἀνεψιὸς ὢν ἐπετρόπενεν),
being king and young still (his)-cousin being he-was-guardian(-of)

132.2 ὑποψίας δὲ πολλὰς παρείχε τῇ τε παρανομίᾳ καὶ
suspicious and many he-gave by-the both lawlessness and
 ζηλώσει τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ἴσος βούλεσθαι εἶναι τοῖς
by-emulation of-the barbarians not equal to-wish to-be to-the
 παροῦσι, τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ ἀνεσκόπουν, εἴ τί
present(-ways) the both other(-deeds) of-him they-examined whether at-all
 που ἐξεδεδήτητο τῶν καθεστώτων νομίμων, καὶ ὅτι
anywhere he-had-departed-from the established customs and that

ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδά ποτε τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὃν ἀνέθεσαν
on the tripod once the at Delphi which dedicated
οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀκροθίνιον, ἡξίωσεν
the Greeks from the Medes (as)-first-fruits he-thought-fit
ἐπιγράψασθαι αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τὸ ἐλεγείον τόδε·
to-have-inscribed himself on-his-own the couplet this

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων,
of-(the)-Greeks leader when (the)-host he-destroyed of-(the)-Medes
Πausanias Φοῖβῳ μνήμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.
Pausanias to-Phoebus (a)-memorial dedicated this

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐλεγείον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐξεκόλαψαν εὐθὺς 132.3
the indeed therefore couplet the Lacedaemonians chiseled-out at-once
τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τοῦτο καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ὀνομαστὶ τὰς
then from the tripod this and inscribed by-name the
πόλεις ὅσαι ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ
cities as-many-as having-joined-in-destroying the barbarian set-up the
ἀνάθημα· τοῦ μέντοι Πausanίου ἀδίκημα καὶ τότε ἔδόκει εἶναι,
offering — however of-Pausanias (a)-wrong also then it-seemed-to-be
καὶ ἐπεὶ γε δὴ ἐν τούτῳ καθειστήκει, πολλῶ μᾶλλον
and since at-least indeed in this he-had-been-placed much more
παρόμοιον πραχθῆναι ἐφαίνετο τῇ παρουσίᾳ διανοίᾳ.
similar to-have-been-done it-appeared to-the present intention
ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Εἰλωτας πράσσειν τι 132.4
they-learned and also with the Helots to-intrigue something
αὐτόν, καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως· ἐλευθέρωσιν τε γὰρ ὑπίσχεντο
he and it-was indeed so freedom both for he-promised
αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιτείαν, ἣν ξυνεπαναστώσι καὶ τὸ πᾶν
them and citizenship if they-should-join-in-revolt and the whole
ξυγκατεργάσωνται.
should-help-to-accomplish

- 132.5 ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὥς οὐδὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων μηνυταῖς τισὶ
but not-even so even of-the Helots informers some
 πιστεύσαντες ἤξιῶσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς
having-trusted did-they-think-it-right more-drastring anything to-do against
 αὐτόν, χρώμενοι τῷ τρόπῳ ὥπερ εἰώθασιν ἐς
him following the way which-indeed they-are-accustomed toward
 σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι περὶ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου ἄνευ
them selves not quick to-be about (a)-man Spartiate without
 ἀναμφισβητήτων τεκμηρίων βουλευσαί τι ἀνήκεστον,
indisputable proofs to-decide anything irreparable
 πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς, ὥς λέγεται, ὁ μέλλων τὰς
until at-least indeed to-them as it-is-said the (man)-about the
 τελευταίας βασιλεῖ ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον κομεῖν,
last to-the-king letters to Artabazus to-carry
 ἀνὴρ Ἀργίλιος, παιδικὰ ποτε ὦν αὐτοῦ καὶ πιστότατος
(a)-man Argilian favorite once being his and most-trusted
 ἐκεῖνῳ, μηνυτῆς γίγνεται, δέσας κατὰ ἐνθύμησίν τινα ὅτι
by-him informer becomes having-feared from reflection some that
 οὐδεὶς πω τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀγγέλων πάλιν ἀφίκετο, καὶ
no-one yet of-the before himself messengers back had-come and
 παρασημηνάμενος σφραγίδα, ἵνα, ἣν ψευσθῇ τῆς δόξης
having-counterfeited (the)-seal so-that if he-were-deceived in-the opinion
 ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνός τι μεταγράψαι αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ἐπιγνῶ,
or also he any(-thing) to-rewrite should-ask not he-might-detect
 λύει τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ὑπονόησας τι τοιοῦτον
he-opens the letters in which having-suspected something such
 προσεπεστάλθαι καὶ αὐτὸν ἡῦρεν ἐγγεγραμμένον κτείνειν.
to-have-been-added also himself he-found written-in to-kill
- 133.1 τότε δὴ οἱ ἔφοροι δείξαντος αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμματα μᾶλλον
then indeed the ephors having-shown he the letters more
 μὲν ἐπίστευσαν, αὐτήκοοι δὲ βουλευθέντες ἔτι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ
indeed believed ear-witnesses but having-wished still to-become himself

Πausanίου τι λέγοντος, ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
Pausanias something saying from (a)-contrivance the man
 ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ἰκέτου οἰχομένου καὶ σκηνησαμένου διπλῆν
to Taenarum (as)-suppliant having-gone and having-built double
 διαφράγματι καλύβην, ἐς ἣν τῶν ἐφόρων ἐντός τινας
with-a-partition (a)-but into which of-the ephors inside some
 ἔκρυψε, καὶ Πausanίου ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος καὶ ἐρωτῶντος
he-bid and Pausanias to him having-come and asking
 τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἰκετείας ᾗσθηοντο πάντα σαφῶς,
the reason of-the supplication they-perceived all clearly
 αἰτιωμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τά τε περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντα
accusing the man the both about him written
 καὶ τὰλλ' ἀποφαίνοντος καθ' ἕκαστον, ὥς οὐδὲν πώποτε
and the-rest showing in each(-point) how nothing ever
 αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα διακονίαις παραβάλοιτο,
him in the to (the)-king services he-had-endangered
 προτιμηθείη δ' ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν διακόνων
he-was-preferred but in equal(-rank) with-the many of-the servants
 ἀποθανεῖν, κακείνου αὐτά τε ταῦτα ξυνομολογούντος καὶ
to-die and-he very both these agreeing and
 περὶ τοῦ παρόντος οὐκ ἐώντος ὀργίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πίστιν
about the present not allowing(-him) to-be-angry but pledge
 ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διδόντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀξιούντος ὥς
from the temple giving of-the rising-up and asking as
 τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ τὰ πρασσόμενα διακωλύειν.
quickly(-as-possible) to-go and not the (things)-being-done to-binder
 ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀκριβῶς τότε μὲν ἀπῆλθον οἱ ἔφοροι,
having-beard and precisely then indeed went-away the ephors
 βεβαίως δὲ ἤδη εἰδότες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ξύλληψιν
securely and now knowing in the city the arrest
 ἐποιούντο. λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν μέλλοντα ξυλληφθήσεσθαι ἐν
were-making it-is-said and him about to-be-arrested in

134.1

τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐνὸς μὲν τῶν ἐφόρων τὸ πρόσωπον προσιόντος
the street of-one indeed of-the ephors the face approaching
 ὡς εἶδε, γινῶναι ἐφ' ᾧ ἐχώρει, ἄλλου δὲ νεύματι ἀφανεῖ
when he-saw to-recognize for what he-came another and with-a-nod unseen
 χρησαμένου καὶ δηλώσαντος εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς
having-used and having-signaled from-goodwill to the temple of-the
 Χαλκιοίκου χωρῆσαι δρόμῳ καὶ προκαταφυγεῖν· ἦν δ'
Brazen-House(-goddess) to-go at-a-run and to-take-refuge-first was and
 ἐγγὺς τὸ τέμενος, καὶ ἐς οἴκημα οὐ μέγα ὃ ἦν τοῦ
near the precinct and into (a)-building not large which was of-the
 ἱεροῦ ἐσελθών, ἵνα μὴ ὑπαίθριος τάλαιπωροίῃ, ἡσύχαζεν.
temple having-entered so-that not in-the-open-air he-might-suffer he-kept-quiet
 οἱ δὲ τὸ παραντῖκα μὲν ὑστέρησαν τῇ διώξει, μετὰ
they and the immediate(-moment) indeed were-too-late in-the pursuit after
 δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ τε οἰκήματος τὸν ὄροφον ἀφείλον καὶ τὰς
and this of-the both building the roof took-off and the
 θύρας ἔνδον ὄντα τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπολαβόντες εἴσω
doors inside being having-watched him and having-shut(-him)-off within
 ἀπωκοδόμησαν, προσκαθεζόμενοί τε ἐξεπολιόρκησαν λιμῷ.
walled-up sitting-down-before(-him) and reduced(-him) by-famine
 καὶ μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἀποψύχειν ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐν τῷ
and being-about he to-expire just-as he-was in the
 οἰκήματι, αἰσθόμενοι ἐξάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἔτι
building having-perceived(-it) they-bring(-him)-out from the temple still
 ἔμπνουν ὄντα, καὶ ἐξαχθεῖς ἀπέθανε παραχρήμα.
breathing being and having-been-brought-out he-died immediately
 καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν Καιάδα ἐσβάλλειν·
and him they-were-about indeed into the Caeadas to-throw
 ἔπειτα ἔδοξε πλησίον που κατορύξαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὁ ἐν
then it-seemed-best near somewhere to-bury the but god the at
 Δελφοῖς τὸν τε τάφον ὕστερον ἔχρησε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
Delphi the both tomb later ordered the Lacedaemonians

μετενεγκεῖν οὐπερ ἀπέθανε (καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ
to-transfer where-indeed he-died and now it-lies in the
 προτεμενίσματι, ὃ γραφῇ στῆλαι δηλοῦσι) καὶ ὡς ἄγος
fore-precinct as in-writing pillars show and since (a)-curse
 αὐτοῖς ὄν τὸ πεπραγμένον δύο σώματα ἀνθ' ἐνὸς τῇ
to-them being the (thing)-done two bodies instead-of one to-the
 Χαλκιοίκῳ ἀποδοῦναι. οἱ δὲ ποιησάμενοι χαλκοῦς
Brazen-House(-goddess) to-give-back they and having-made bronze
 ἀνδριάντας δύο ὡς ἀντὶ Πausανίου ἀνέθεσαν.
statues two as for Pausanias dedicated(-them)

XXXVI · THEMISTOCLES

Athens answers by telling Sparta to drive out the curse of the Brazen House. Sparta then accuses Themistocles, ostracized and living at Argos, of sharing Pausanias' Medism. Forewarned, he flees by Corcyra to Admetus, king of the Molossians, and sits at his hearth holding the king's son, and Admetus will not give him up. Driven by a storm toward the Athenians besieging Naxos, he reaches Ephesus and writes to Artaxerxes, asking a year before he explains himself; he learns Persian and becomes great at court. Thucydides praises his natural genius for judging present and future. He dies of illness or, some say, takes poison, unable to keep his promise to the king.

οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγος κρίναντος, 135.1
the and Athenians since also the god (a)-curse having-judged(-it)
 ἀντεπέταξαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλαύνειν αὐτό.
ordered-in-return the Lacedaemonians to-drive-out it
 τοῦ δὲ μηδισμοῦ τοῦ Πausανίου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσβεις 135.2
of-the and Medism — of-Pausanias the Lacedaemonians envoys
 πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυνεπηγιῶντο καὶ τὸν
having-sent to the Athenians joined-in-accusing also —

Θεμιστοκλέα, ὡς ἤρρισκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Πανσανίαν
Themistocles as they-found from the about Pausanias
 ἐλέγχων, ἡξίου τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολάζεσθαι αὐτόν.

proofs they-thought-it-right both by-the same(-penalties) to-be-punished him
 οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες (ἔτυχε γὰρ ὠστρακισμένος καὶ
they and having-been-persuaded he-happened for ostracized and
 ἔχων δίαίταν μὲν ἐν Ἄργει, ἐπιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν
having residence indeed at Argos visiting and also into the
 ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον) πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
other Peloponnese send with the Lacedaemonians
 ἐτοίμων ὄντων ξυνδιώκειν ἄνδρας οἷς εἴρητο
ready being to-join-in-pursuing men to-whom it-had-been-told
 ἄγειν ὅπου ἂν περιτύχωσιν.
to-bring(-him) wherever — they-might-come-upon(-him)

136.1 ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς προαισθόμενος φεύγει ἐκ
 — but Themistocles having-learned-in-advance flees out-of
 Πελοποννήσου ἐς Κέρκυραν, ὣν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτης.
Peloponnese to Corcyra being their benefactor
 δεδιέναι δὲ φασκόντων Κερκυραίων ἔχειν αὐτόν ὥστε
to-fear but saying (the)-Corcyraeans to-keep him so-as
 Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπεχθέσθαι, διακομίζεται ὑπ'
by-Lacedaemonians and Athenians to-be-hated he-is-conveyed by
 αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὴν καταντικρύ.
them to the mainland the opposite

136.2 καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προστεταγμένων κατὰ πύστιν
and being-pursued by those appointed by inquiry
 ἥ χωροίη, ἀναγκάζεται κατὰ τι ἄπορον παρὰ
which-way he-went he-is-compelled in some difficulty with
 Ἄδμητον τὸν Μολοσσῶν βασιλέα ὄντα αὐτῷ οὐ φίλον
Admetus the of-Molossians king being to-him not (a)-friend
 καταλῦσαι.
to-lodge

καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐπιδημῶν, ὁ δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς 136.3

and he indeed not happened being-at-home he and of-the wife

ικέτης γενόμενος διδάσκεται ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὸν παῖδα σφῶν

(a)-suppliant having-become is-instructed by her the child their

λαβὼν καθέζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν.

having-taken to-sit at the hearth

καὶ ἐλθόντος οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον τοῦ Ἀδμήτου δηλοῖ τε 136.4

and having-come not much later — Admetus he-reveals both

ὅς ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ, εἴ τι ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀντεῖπεν

who he-is and not he-thinks-it-right if at-all indeed he spoke-against

αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίων δεομένῳ, φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι· καὶ

him of-Athenians requesting (him)-(as)-exile to-punish and

γὰρ ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πολλῷ ἀσθενεστέρου ἐν τῷ παρόντι

for — by him much weaker in the present

κακῶς πάσχειν, γενναῖον δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀπὸ τοῦ

badly would-be-treated noble and to-be the like from the

ἴσου τιμωρεῖσθαι. καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείνῳ

equal(-footing) to-punish and at-the-same-time himself indeed to-him

χρείας τινὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ σῶμα σώζεσθαι ἐναντιωθῆναι,

(in)-a-need some and not to the life to-be-saved to-have-opposed

ἐκείνων δ' ἂν, εἰ ἐκδοίη αὐτόν (εἰπὼν ὑφ' ὧν καὶ

he but — if he-should-give-up him having-said by whom and

ἐφ' ᾧ διώκεται), σωτηρίας ἂν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποστερήσαι.

for what he-is-pursued of-safety — of-the life would-deprive

ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἀνίστησί τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ υἱέος, 137.1

he and having-heard raises both him with the his-own son

ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἱκέτευμα

just-as also holding him he-sat and greatest was supplication

τοῦτο, καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ τοῖς τε Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ

this and later not much to-the both Lacedaemonians and

Ἀθηναίοις ἐλθοῦσι καὶ πολλὰ εἰποῦσιν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσιν,

Athenians having-come and many(-things) having-said not he-gives(-him)-up

ἀλλ' ἀποστέλλει βουλόμενον ὡς βασιλέα πορευθῆναι ἐπὶ

but sends(-him)-off wishing to (the)-king to-go to

τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν πεζῇ ἐς Πύδναν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου.

the other sea on-foot to Pydna the of-Alexander

137.2 ἐν ᾗ ὀλκάδος τυχὼν ἀναγομένης ἐπ' Ἰωνίας

in which (a)-merchant-ship having-found putting-out for Ionia

καὶ ἐπιβὰς καταφέρεται χειμῶνι ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων

and having-embarked he-is-carried-down by-a-storm to the of-Athenians

στρατόπεδον, ὃ ἐπολιόρκει Νάξον. καί (ἦν γὰρ ἀγνῶς

camp which was-besieging Naxos and was for unknown

τοῖς ἐν τῇ νηὶ δέισας φράζει τῷ ναυκλήρῳ ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ

to-those in the ship having-feared he-tells the ship-master who he-is and

δι' ᾧ φεύγει, καὶ εἰ μὴ σώσει αὐτόν, ἔφη ἐρεῖν ὅτι

because-of what he-flees and if not he-will-save him he-said he-would-say that

χρήμασι πεισθεὶς αὐτὸν ἄγει τὴν δὲ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι

by-money having-been-persuaded him he-carries the and safety to-be

μηδένα ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τῆς νεὼς μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται.

(for)-no-one to-disembark from the ship until sailing(-weather) comes

πειθομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ χάριν ἀπομνήσεσθαι ἀξίαν. ὁ δὲ

obeying and to-him gratitude he-would-repay worthy the and

ναύκληρος ποιεῖ τε ταῦτα καὶ ἀποσαλεύσας ἡμέραν καὶ

ship-master does both this and having-ridden-at-anchor (a)-day and

νύκτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὕστερον ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἐφεσον.

(a)-night off the camp later arrives at Ephesus

137.3 καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐθεράπευσε χρημάτων δόσει

and — Themistocles him both rewarded of-money by-gift

(ἦλθε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὕστερον ἔκ τε Ἀθηνῶν παρὰ τῶν φίλων

came for to-him later from both Athens from the friends

καὶ ἐξ Ἄργους ᾧ ὑπεξέκειτο) καὶ μετὰ τῶν κάτω

and from Argos what had-been-deposited and with of-the coastal

Περσῶν τινὸς πορευθεὶς ἄνω ἐσπέμπει γράμματα πρὸς
Persians one having-traveled up he-sends-in (a)-letter to
 βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα.

(the)-king Artaxerxes the (son)-of-Xerxes newly reigning
 ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι Ἑμμοστοκλῆς ἦκω παρὰ
disclosed and the writing that (I)-Themistocles have-come to

137.4

σέ, ὃς κακὰ μὲν πλείστα Ἑλλήνων εἴργασμαι τὸν
you who evils indeed most of-Greeks have-done-to the

ὑμέτερον οἶκον, ὅσον χρόνον τὸν σὸν πατέρα ἐπιόντα
your house as-long time(-as) the your father attacking

ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκη ἡμυνόμεν, πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλείω ἀγαθὰ,
me by-necessity I-defended-myself-against much but still more benefits

ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἐμοί, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ
when in the safety indeed for-me for-him but in danger

πάλιν ἡ ἀποκομιδὴ ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μοι εὐεργεσία
back the withdrawal was-taking-place and to-me (a)-benefit

ὀφείλεται (γράψας τήν τε ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελον
is-owed having-written the both from Salamis advance-warning

τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδῶς
of-the retreat and the of-the bridges which falsely

προσεποιήσατο, τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσον), καὶ νῦν
he-claimed then through himself not (the)-breaking and now

ἔχων σε μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ δρᾶσαι πάρεμι διωκόμενος ὑπὸ
able you great benefits to-do I-am-here pursued by

τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν σὴν φιλίαν. βούλομαι δ'
the Greeks because-of the your friendship I-wish and

ἐναυτὸν ἐπισχὼν αὐτὸς σοι περὶ ὧν ἦκω δηλῶσαι.⁷
(a)-year having-waited myself to-you about what I-have-come to-explain

βασιλεὺς δέ, ὡς λέγεται, ἐθαύμασέ τε αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν
(the)-king and as it-is-said admired both his the intention

138.1

καὶ ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν οὕτω. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ἐπέσχε
and bade(-him) to-do so he and in the time which he-waited

τῆς τε Περσίδος γλώσσης ὅσα ἐδύνατο κατενόησε καὶ
of-the both Persian language as-much-as he-could learned and
 τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς χώρας·

of-the customs of-the country

- 138.2 ἀφικόμενος δὲ μετὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ
having-arrived and after the year he-becomes with him
 μέγας καὶ ὅσος οὐδεὶς πω Ἑλλήνων διὰ τε τὴν
great and as-great-as no-one yet of-Greeks because-of both the
 προϋπάρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα, ἣν
previous reputation and of-the Hellenic(-world) (the)-hope which
 ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ δουλώσειν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πείραν
he-held-out to-him to-enslave most-of-all and from the proof
 διδοὺς ξυνετὸς φαίνεσθαι.

giving intelligent to-appear

- 138.3 ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν
was for — Themistocles most-surely indeed of-nature (the)-strength
 δηλώσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἑτέρου
having-shown and exceptionally somewhat in it more than-another
 ἄξιος θαυμάσαι· οἰκεία γὰρ ξυνέσει καὶ οὔτε προμαθὼν
worthy to-be-admired by-native for intelligence and neither having-learned-beforehand
 ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθῶν, τῶν τε παραχρήμα δι'
toward it anything nor having-learned-after of-the both immediate(-things) with
 ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων
least deliberation (the)-best judge and of-the (things)-to-come
 ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής· καὶ ᾧ
for (the)-furthest of-what will-happen best guesser and what
 μὲν μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχει, καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι οἶός τε, ὧν δ'
indeed in hand he-had also to-explain able — what but
 ἄπειρος εἶη, κρῖναι ἱκανῶς οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο· τό τε
inexperienced-in he-was to-judge adequately not he-fell-short the both
 ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ἔτι προεώρα μάλιστα. καὶ τὸ
better or worse in the unseen still be-foresaw most and the

ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει, μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι
whole to-say of-nature indeed by-power of-study but by-brevity
 κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο.

best indeed this(-man) to-improvise the needful(-things) became

νοσήσας δὲ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον· λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ 138.4
having-fallen-ill and he-ends the life say but some even

ἐκούσιον φαρμάκῳ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν, ἀδύνατον νομίσαντα
voluntarily by-poison to-die him impossible having-thought(-it)

εἶναι ἐπιτελέσαι βασιλεῖ ᾧ ὑπέσχετο.

to-be to-accomplish for-the-king what he-promised

μνημεῖον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀσιανῇ 138.5
(a)-monument indeed therefore of-him in Magnesia is the Asian

ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· ταύτης γὰρ ἦρχε τῆς χώρας, δόντος
in the market-place this for he-governed the country having-given

βασιλέως αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον, ἣ προσέφερε
(the)-king to-him Magnesia indeed (for)-bread which brought-in

πεντήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, Λάμψακον δὲ οἶνον
fifty talents — (a)-year Lampsacus and (for)-wine

(ἐδόκει γὰρ πολυεινότερον τῶν τότε εἶναι), Μυῶντα
it-seemed for most-rich-in-wine of-the (places)-then to-be Myus

δὲ ὄψον.

and (for)-relish

τὰ δὲ ὅστᾳ φασὶ κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οἴκαδε 138.6
the and bones they-say to-have-been-brought his the relatives home

κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι κρύφα Ἀθηναίων ἐν
having-ordered he and to-have-been-buried secretly from-the-Athenians in

τῇ Ἀττικῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν θάπτειν ὥς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ
— Attica not for it-was-permitted to-bury(-him) as for treason

φεύγοντος. τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πανσανίαν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον
being-exiled the(-things) indeed concerning Pausanias the Lacedaemonian

καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, λαμπροτάτους γενομένους
 and Themistocles the Athenian most-illustrious having-become
 τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς Ἑλλήνων, οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.
 of-the in their-own(-time) Greeks thus ended

XXXVII · THE LAST EMBASSY

Sparta demands that Athens drive out the curse, leave Potidaea, free Aegina, and revoke the Megarian decree; Athens refuses, and the last envoys offer peace if the Greeks are left independent. Pericles, first of the Athenians in speech and action, advises against yielding: Sparta refuses arbitration and gives orders, and yielding on the decree brings a greater order. The Peloponnesians, he argues, farm their own land and have no money; they can win one battle against all Greece, but with no single council each pursues his own interest and the common cause is ruined.

- 139.1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης πρεσβείας τοιαῦτα
 (the)-Lacedaemonians and at indeed the first embassy such(-things)
 ἐπέταξάν τε καὶ ἀντεκελεύσθησαν περὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν τῆς
 ordered both and were-ordered-in-return concerning of-the accursed the
 ἐλάσεως· ὕστερον δὲ φοιτῶντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους Ποτειδαίας
 expulsion later and coming-repeatedly to (the)-Athenians from-Potidaea
 τε ἀπανίστασθαι ἐκέλευον καὶ Αἴγινα αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι,
 both to-withdraw they-bade and Aegina independent to-let-go
 καὶ μάλιστα γε πάντων καὶ ἐνδηλότατα προύλεγον
 and most at-least of-all and most-plainly they-declared
 τὸ περὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθελοῦσι μὴ ἂν
 the concerning Megarians decree (to-them)-having-rescinded not —
 γίγνεσθαι πόλεμον, ἐν ᾧ εἴρητο αὐτοὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς
 would-happen (the)-war in which it-had-been-said them not to-use the
 λιμέσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ μηδὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἀγορᾷ.
 harbors the in the of-Athenians empire nor the Attic market

οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε τᾶλλα ὑπήκουον οὔτε τὸ ψήφισμα 139.2
the but Athenians neither the-rest obeyed nor the decree

καθίρουν, ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεῦσι τῆς γῆς
rescinded charging (the)-cultivation to-(the)-Megarians of-the land
 τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ὑποδοχὴν
the sacred and the unmarked-off and of-slaves (the)-harboring
 τῶν ἀφισταμένων.

of-the runaways

τέλος δὲ ἀφικομένων τῶν τελευταίων πρέσβων ἐκ 139.3
finally and having-come the last envoys from

Λακεδαίμονος, Ῥαμφίου τε καὶ Μελησίππου καὶ
Lacedaemon Ramphias both and Melesippus and
 Ἀγησάνδρου, καὶ λεγόντων ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὦν πρότερον
Agesander and saying other indeed nothing of-what before
 εἰώθεσαν, αὐτὰ δὲ τάδε ὅτι Ἰακεδαμονῖοι βούλονται

they-had-been-accustomed just but this that (the)-Lacedaemonians wish
 τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι, εἴη δ' ἂν εἰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας
the peace to-be it-would-be and — if the Greeks

αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖτε, ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
independent you-should-let-go having-held (an)-assembly the Athenians
 γνώμας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προυτίθεσαν, καὶ ἐδόκει ἅπαξ
opinions for-them selves put-forward and it-seemed-best once
 περὶ πάντων βουλευσαμένους ἀποκρίνασθαι.

about everything having-deliberated to-answer

καὶ παριόντες ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ἔλεγον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα 139.4
and coming-forward others both many spoke on both(-sides)

γιγνόμενοι ταῖς γνώμας καὶ ὥς χρή πολεμεῖν καὶ
being in-the opinions both that it-is-necessary to-make-war and
 ὥς μὴ ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ καθελεῖν,
that not (an)-obstacle to-be the decree to-peace but to-rescind(-it)

καὶ παρελθὼν Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου, ἀνὴρ κατ'
and having-come-forward Pericles the (son)-of-Xanthippus (a)-man at

ἐκείνων τὸν χρόνον πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων, λέγειν τε καὶ
that — time first of-Athenians to-speak both and
 πράσσειν δυνατώτατος, παρήναι τοιαύδε.

to-act most-able advised as-follows

- 140.1 Ὅτι μὲν γνώμης, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχομαι,
to-the indeed opinion O Athenians always the same I-hold
 μὴ εἴκειν Πελοποννησίοις, καίπερ εἰδὼς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
not to-yield to-Peloponnesians although knowing the men
 οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀργῇ ἀναπειθομένους τε πολεμεῖν καὶ
not with-the same temper being-persuaded both to-make-war and
 ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ πράσσοντας, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ξυμφορὰς
in the action performing(-it) with and the misfortunes
 καὶ τὰς γνώμας τρεπομένους. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁμοία
also the judgments changing I-see and also now like
 καὶ παραπλήσια συμβουλευτέα μοι ὄντα, καὶ τοὺς
and similar(-counsel) to-be-advised by-me being and the
 ἀναπειθομένους ὑμῶν δικαίῳ τοῖς κοινῇ δόξασιν, ἣν
persuaded of-you I-think-it-right the(-things) in-common resolved if
 ἄρα τι καὶ σφαλλώμεθα, βοηθεῖν, ἢ μηδὲ κατορθοῦντας
indeed at-all also we-should-fail to-support or not-even succeeding
 τῆς ξυνέσεως μεταποιεῖσθαι. ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τὰς ξυμφορὰς
in-the intelligence to-claim-a-share it-is-possible for the outcomes
 τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ἥσσον ἀμαθῶς χωρῆσαι ἢ καὶ τὰς
of-the affairs not less stupidly to-proceed than even the
 διανοίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δι' ὅπερ καὶ τὴν τύχην,
plans of-the man because-of which-very(-thing) also the fortune
 ὅσα ἂν παρὰ λόγον συμβῇ, εἰώθαμεν αἰτιᾶσθαι.
whatever — contrary-to calculation happens we-are-accustomed to-blame

- 140.2 Ἰακεδαίμονιοι δὲ πρότερόν τε δήλοι ἦσαν ἐπιβουλευόντες
(the)-Lacedaemonians and before both clear were plotting-against
 ἡμῖν καὶ νῦν οὐχ ἥκιστα. εἰρημένον γὰρ δίκας μὲν
us and now not least it-having-been-stated for arbitration indeed

τῶν διαφορῶν ἀλλήλοις διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι, ἔχειν δὲ
of-the differences to-each-other to-give and to-accept to-hold and
 ἑκατέρους ἃ ἔχομεν, οὔτε αὐτοὶ δίκας πω ἤτησαν οὔτε
each-side what we-hold neither themselves arbitration yet have-asked nor
 ἡμῶν διδόντων δέχονται, βούλονται δὲ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον
us offering(-it) they-accept they-wish but by-war rather
 ἢ λόγοις τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλύεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτάσσοντες
than by-words the complaints to-resolve and ordering
 ἤδη καὶ οὐκέτι αἰτιώμενοι πάρεισιν.
already and no-longer complaining they-are-here

Ποτειδαίας τε γὰρ ἀπανίστασθαι κελεύουσι καὶ Αἴγινα 140.3
from-Potidaea both for to-withdraw they-bid and Aegina
 αὐτόνομον ἀφίειναι καὶ τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθαιρεῖν·
independent to-let-go and the of-Megarians decree to-rescind
 οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι οἷδε ἦκοντες καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας
— and last these having-come also the Greeks
 προαγορεύουσιν αὐτονόμους ἀφίειναι.
proclaim independent to-let-go

ὑμῶν δὲ μηδεὶς νομίση περὶ βραχέος ἂν πολεμεῖν, 140.4
of-you and let-no-one think about (a)-small(-thing) — would-make-war(-we)
 εἰ τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα μὴ καθέλομεν, ὅπερ μάλιστα
if the of-Megarians decree not we-should-rescind which most-of-all
 προύχονται, εἰ καθαιρεθείη, μὴ ἂν γίνεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον,
they-put-forward if it-should-be-rescinded not — would-happen the war
 μηδὲ ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ὑπολίπησθε ὥς διὰ μικρὸν
nor in you selves blame leave-behind that for (a)-small(-thing)
 ἐπολεμήσατε.
you-made-war

τὸ γὰρ βραχὺ τι τοῦτο πᾶσαν ὑμῶν ἔχει τὴν βεβαίωσιν 140.5
the for small somewhat this all your holds the confirmation
 καὶ πείραν τῆς γνώμης. οἷς εἰ συγχωρήσετε, καὶ ἄλλο
and test of-the resolve to-whom if you-yield also other

τι μείζον εὐθύς ἐπιταχθήσεσθε ὡς φόβῳ καὶ τοῦτο
some greater at-once you-will-be-ordered as from-fear also this
 ὑπακούσαντες· ἀπισχυρισάμενοι δὲ σαφὲς ἂν καταστήσαιτε
having-obeyed having-refused-firmly but clear — you-would-make
 αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὑμῖν μᾶλλον προσφέρεισθαι.
to-them from the equal(-footing) with-you rather to-deal

141.1 αὐτόθεν δὴ διανοήθητε ἢ ὑπακούειν πρὶν τι βλαβῆναι,
from-here indeed decide either to-submit before at-all to-be-harmed
 ἢ εἰ πολεμήσομεν, ὥσπερ ἔμοιγε ἄμεινον δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ
or if we-shall-make-war as to-me-at-least better it-seems to-be both
 ἐπὶ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐπὶ βραχείᾳ ὁμοίως προφάσει μὴ εἷζοντες
on great and on small alike pretext not about-to-yield
 μηδὲ ξὺν φόβῳ ἔζοντες ἃ κεκτήμεθα· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν
nor with fear about-to-hold what we-have-acquired the for same
 δύναται δούλωσιν ἢ τε μεγίστη καὶ ἐλαχίστη δικαίωσις
means slavery the both greatest and least claim
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων πρὸ δίκης τοῖς πέλας ἐπιτασσομένη.
from the equals before arbitration on-the neighbors being-imposed

141.2 Ὅτι δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐκατέρους ὑπαρχόντων ὡς
the(-things) and of-the war and of-the for-each-side existing(-resources) that
 οὐκ ἀσθενέστερα ἔζομεν γινώτε καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκούοντες.
not weaker we-shall-have learn in each(-point) hearing

141.3 αὐτουργοὶ τε γὰρ εἰσι Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οὔτε ἰδίᾳ οὔτ'
self-farmers both for are (the)-Peloponnesians and neither privately nor
 ἐν κοινῷ χρήματά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ἔπειτα χρονίων πολέμων
in common money is to-them then of-long wars
 καὶ διαποντίων ἄπειροι διὰ τὸ βραχέως αὐτοὶ ἐπ'
and overseas inexperienced because-of the briefly themselves against
 ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ πείνας ἐπιφέρειν.
each-other through poverty to-make-attacks

καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὔτε ναῦς πληροῦντες οὔτε πέζας	141.4
and the such neither ships manning nor land	
στρατιὰς πολλάκις ἐκπέμπειν δύνανται, ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων	
armies often to-send-out are-able from the their-own	
τε ἅμα ἀπόντες καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες	
both at-the-same-time being-away and from the their-own spending	
καὶ προσέτι καὶ θαλάσσης εἰργόμενοι·	
and besides also from-the-sea being-shut-out	
αἱ δὲ περιουσίαι τοὺς πολέμους μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ βίαιοι	141.5
the and reserves the wars rather than the forced	
ἐσφοραὶ ἀνέχουσιν. σώμασί τε ἐτοιμότεροι οἱ αὐτουργοὶ	
levies sustain with-bodies both readier the self-farmers	
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ χρήμασι πολεμεῖν, τὸ μὲν πιστὸν	
of-the men than with-money to-make-war the indeed trust	
ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων κἂν περιγενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ οὐ	
having from the dangers even would-survive the but not	
βέβαιον μὴ οὐ προαναλώσειν, ἄλλως τε κἂν παρὰ	
certain that not they-will-spend(-it)-beforehand especially both and-if contrary-to	
δόξαν, ὅπερ εἰκός, ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοῖς μηκύνηται.	
expectation which-indeed (is)-likely the war for-them is-prolonged	
μάχη μὲν γὰρ μιᾷ πρὸς ἅπαντας Ἑλλήνας δυνατοὶ	141.6
in-battle indeed for one against all Greeks able	
Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀντισχεῖν, πολεμεῖν δὲ	
(are-the)-Peloponnesians and the allies to-bold-out to-make-war but	
μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν ἀδύνατοι, ὅταν μῆτε	
not against like counter-preparation unable when neither	
βουλευτηρίῳ ἐνὶ χρώμενοι παραχρήμα τι ὀξέως ἐπιτελώσι	
council one using immediately anything sharply they-accomplish	
πάντες τε ἰσόψηφοι ὄντες καὶ οὐχ ὁμόφυλοι τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν	
all and equal-in-vote being and not of-one-race the for himself	
ἕκαστος σπεύδῃ· ἐξ ὧν φιλεῖ μηδὲν ἐπιτελεῖς γίγνεσθαι.	
each hurries from which it-tends nothing complete to-come-about	

- 141.7 καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὥς μάλιστα τιμωρήσασθαι τινα
and for the-ones indeed as most to-take-vengeance-on someone
 βούλονται, οἱ δὲ ὥς ἥκιστα τὰ οἰκεία φθεῖραι.
wish the-others and as least the own(-things) to-ruin
 χρόνιοί τε ξυνιόντες ἐν βραχεὶ μὲν μορίῳ σκοποῦσί τι
slow both meeting in small indeed part they-consider somewhat
 τῶν κοινῶν, τῷ δὲ πλέονι τὰ οἰκεία πράσσουσι,
of-the common(-affairs) in-the but greater the own(-affairs) they-manage
 καὶ ἕκαστος οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν οἶεται βλάψειν,
and each not by the his-own neglect thinks to-harm(-it)
 μέλειν δέ τινι καὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τι
to-be-a-concern but to-some also other on-behalf-of himself something
 προῖδεῖν, ὥστε τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀπάντων ἰδίᾳ δοξάσματος
to-foresee so-that by-the same by all privately notion
 λανθάνειν τὸ κοινὸν ἀθρόον φθειρόμενον.
to-escape-notice the common(-cause) all-together being-ruined

Pericles goes on. Short of money, the enemy can do little with a fort or a fleet, for seamanship is slowly learned. Athens should think like an island, give up land and houses, and guard sea and city. It will open its harbors to Megara if Sparta stops expelling foreigners, free the cities if Sparta frees its own, and offer arbitration. The Athenians so vote. Such were the grievances from Epidamnus on, and the two sides still dealt, warily.

‘Μέγιστον δέ, τῇ τῶν χρημάτων σπάνει κωλύσονται, 142.1

most and by-the of-the money scarcity they-will-be-hindered

ὅταν σχολῇ αὐτὰ ποριζόμενοι διαμέλλωσιν· τοῦ δὲ πολέμου

when at-leisure it providing they-delay of-the but war

οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μένετοί.

the opportunities (are)-not waiting

καὶ μὴν οὐδ’ ἢ ἐπιτείχισις οὐδὲ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῶν 142.2

and truly not-even the fortification nor the navy their

ἄξιον φοβηθῆναι.

(is)-worth to-be-feared

τὴν μὲν γὰρ χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόλιν ἀντίπαλον 142.3

the indeed for (it-is)-hard even in peace city (a)-rival

κατασκευάσασθαι, ἣ που δὴ ἐν πολεμῷ τε

to-set-up surely I-suppose (much-less)-indeed in hostile(-land) both

καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον ἐκείνοις ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτετειχομένων·

and not less against-them we having-counter-fortified

φρούριον δ’ εἰ ποιήσονται, τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτειν ἂν τι 142.4

(a)-fort and if they-shall-make of-the indeed land they-might-harm — some

μέρος καταδρομαῖς καὶ αὐτομολίαις, οὐ μέντοι ἰκανόν γε

part by-raids and by-desertions not however sufficient at-least

ἔσται ἐπιτειχίζειν τε κωλύειν ἡμᾶς πλεύσαντας ἐς τὴν

will-it-be to-build-forts both to-prevent us having-sailed into the

ἐκείνων καί, ἥπερ ἰσχύομεν, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀμύνεσθαι·

their(-land) and where-indeed we-are-strong with-the ships to-retaliate

- 142.5 πλέον γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν τοῦ κατὰ γῆν ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ
more for we have of-the on land from the naval
 ἐμπειρίας ἢ ἐκείνοι ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἡπειρον ἐς τὰ ναυτικά.
experience than they from the on mainland in the naval(-matters)
- 142.6 τὸ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιστήμονας γενέσθαι οὐ ῥαδίως
the and of-the sea skilled to-become not easily
 αὐτοῖς προσγενήσεται.
to-them will-come
- 142.7 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς μελετῶντες αὐτὸ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν
not-even for you practicing it at-once from the Median(-wars)
 ἐξεύργασθέ πω· πῶς δὴ ἄνδρες γεωργοὶ καὶ οὐ θαλάσσιοι,
have-achieved(-it) yet how indeed men farmers and not seafaring
 καὶ προσέτι οὐδὲ μελετῆσαι ἐασόμενοι διὰ τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν
and besides not-even to-practice about-to-be-allowed because-of the by us
 πολλαῖς ναυσὶν αἰεὶ ἐφορμεῖσθαι, ἄξιον ἂν τι δρῶεν;
with-many ships always to-be-blockaded worth(-while) — anything could-they-do
- 142.8 πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγας ἐφορμούσας κἂν διακινδυνεύσειαν
against indeed for few blockading even they-might-take-the-risk
 πλήθει τὴν ἀμαθίαν θρασύνοντες, πολλαῖς δὲ εἰργόμενοι
by-numbers the ignorance emboldening by-many but being-shut-in
 ἡσυχάσουσι καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι ἀξυνετώτεροι ἔσονται
they-will-keep-quiet and in the not practicing more-unskillful they-will-be
 καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ ὀκνηρότεροι.
and because-of it also more-besitant
- 142.9 τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν τέχνης ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι,
the and naval(-art) of-(an)-art is just-as also other anything
 καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, ὅταν τύχη, ἐκ παρέργου μελετᾶσθαι,
and not it-is-possible whenever it-happens as (a)-side-issue to-be-practiced
 ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ πάρεργον ἄλλο γίνεσθαι.
but rather nothing (beside)-it (a)-side-issue other to-be

- 'Εἴ τε καὶ κινήσαντες τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἢ Δελφοῖς 143.1
if both also having-moved(-it) of-the at-Olympia or at-Delphi
 χρημάτων μισθῷ μείζονι πειρῶντο ἡμῶν ὑπολαβεῖν τοὺς
money by-pay greater they-should-try our to-lure-away the
 ξένους τῶν ναυτῶν, μὴ ὄντων μὲν ἡμῶν ἀντιπάλων
foreign of-the sailors not being indeed us (a)-match
 ἐοβάντων αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μετοίκων δεινὸν ἂν
having-embarked ourselves both and the resident-aliens terrible —
 ἦν· νῦν δὲ τόδε τε ὑπάρχει, καί, ὅπερ κράτιστον,
it-would-be now but this both is-the-case and which-indeed (is)-best
 κυβερνήτας ἔχομεν πολίτας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν
helmsmen we-have (as)-citizens and the other crew
 πλείους καὶ ἀμείνους ἢ ἅπαντα ἢ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς.
more and better than all the other Hellas
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ οὐδεὶς ἂν δέξαιτο τῶν ξένων τὴν 143.2
and on the danger no-one — would-accept of-the foreigners the
 τε αὐτοῦ φεύγειν καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἡσσονος ἅμα
both his-own(-land) to-flee and with the lesser at-the-same-time
 ἐλπίδος ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἔνεκα μεγάλου μισθοῦ δόσεως
hope of-few days for-the-sake-of great pay's giving
 ἐκείνοις ξυναγωνίζεσθαι.
with-them to-join-the-struggle
 'Καὶ τὰ μὲν Πελοποννησίων ἔμοιγε τοιαῦτα καὶ 143.3
and the indeed of-Peloponnesians to-me-at-least such and
 παραπλήσια δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα τούτων τε
similar seem to-be the and ours of-these both
 ὧνπερ ἐκείνοις ἐμεμφάμην ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ
which-indeed in-them I-blamed to-be-free and other(-things) not
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου μέγала ἔχειν.
from the equal(-scale) great to-have

143.4 ἦν τε ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν πεζῇ ἴωσιν, ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν
if both against the country our by-land they-go we against the
 ἐκείνων πλευσούμεθα, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἔσται
their(-country) shall-sail and no-longer on the equal(-footing) will-it-be
 Πελοποννήσου τε μέρος τι τμηθῆναι καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν
of-Peloponnese both part some to-be-ravaged and — Attica
 ἅπασαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἄλλην ἀντιλαβεῖν
all they indeed for not will-have other to-take-in-exchange
 ἀμαχεί, ἡμῖν δ' ἐστὶ γῆ πολλή καὶ ἐν νήσοις καὶ κατ'
without-a-fight for-us but there-is land much both in islands and on
 ἡπειρον·
(the)-mainland

143.5 μέγα γὰρ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης κράτος. σκέψασθε δέ· εἰ
great for the of-the sea mastery consider and if
 γὰρ ἦμεν νησιῶται, τίνες ἂν ἀληπτότεροι ἦσαν; καὶ
for we-were islanders who — more-unassailable would-be and
 νῦν χρὴ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτου διανοηθέντας τὴν
now it-is-necessary as nearest this having-thought the
 μὲν γῆν καὶ οἰκίας ἀφείναι, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης καὶ
indeed land and houses to-give-up of-the but sea and
 πόλεως φυλακὴν ἔχειν, καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
city guard to-keep and with-Peloponnesians for them
 ὀργισθέντας πολλῶ πλέοσι μὴ διαμάχεσθαι (κρατήσαντές
having-been-angered much more not to-fight-it-out having-won
 τε γὰρ αὖθις οὐκ ἐλάσσοσι μαχοῦμεθα καὶ ἦν σφαλῶμεν,
both for again not fewer we-shall-fight and if we-fail
 τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅθεν ἰσχύομεν, προσαπόλλυται·
the(-resources) of-the allies from-which we-are-strong is-lost-besides
 οὐ γὰρ ἡσυχάσουσι μὴ ἱκανῶν ἡμῶν ὄντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
not for will-they-keep-quiet not able us being against them
 στρατεύειν), τὴν τε δόλφουρσιν μὴ οἰκιῶν καὶ γῆς ποιεῖσθαι,
to-march the and lamentation not for-houses and land to-make

ἀλλὰ τῶν σωμάτων· οὐ γὰρ τάδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ'
but for-the persons not for these(-things) the men but
 οἱ ἄνδρες ταῦτα κτῶνται. καὶ εἰ ὥμην πείσειν ὑμᾶς,
the men these acquire and if I-thought to-persuade you
 αὐτοὺς ἂν ἐξελθόντας ἐκέλευον αὐτὰ δηῶσαι καὶ δεῖξαι
yourselves — having-gone-out I-would-bid them to-lay-waste and to-show
 Πελοποννησίοις ὅτι τούτων γε ἔνεκα οὐχ ὑπακούσεσθε.
to-Peloponnesians that for-these at-least for-the-sake-of not you-will-submit
 ‘Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔχω ἐς ἐλπίδα τοῦ περιέσεσθαι, 144.1
many and also other(-grounds) I-have for hope of-the prevailing
 ἢν ἐθέλητε ἀρχὴν τε μὴ ἐπικτᾶσθαι ἅμα
if you-are-willing empire both not to-acquire-besides at-the-same-time
 πολεμοῦντες καὶ κινδύνους ἀνθαιρέτους μὴ προστίθεσθαι·
making-war and dangers self-chosen not to-add
 μᾶλλον γὰρ πεφόβημαι τὰς οἰκείας ἡμῶν ἀμαρτίας ἢ
rather for I-fear the own our mistakes than
 τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων διανοίας.
the of-the opponents plans
 ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις 144.2
but those(-things) indeed also in another speech together-with the events
 δηλωθήσεται· νῦν δὲ τούτοις ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀποπέμψωμεν,
will-be-made-clear now but to-these having-answered let-us-send-away(-them)
 Μεγαρέας μὲν ὅτι ἐάσομεν ἀγορᾷ καὶ λιμέσι χρῆσθαι,
(the)-Megarians indeed that we-shall-allow (the)-market and harbors to-use
 ἢν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξενηλασίας μὴ ποιῶσι μήτε ἡμῶν
if also (the)-Lacedaemonians expulsions-of-foreigners not make either of-us
 μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων ξυμμάχων (οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνο κωλύει ἐν
or of-the our allies neither for that prevents in
 ταῖς σπονδαῖς οὔτε τόδε), τὰς δὲ πόλεις ὅτι αὐτονόμους
the treaty nor this the and cities that independent
 ἀφήσομεν, εἰ καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔχοντες ἐσπεισάμεθα, καὶ
we-shall-let-go if also independent holding(-them) we-made-the-treaty and

ὅταν καὶ κεῖνοι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀποδῶσι πόλεσι μὴ σφίσι
when they-too to-the their-own grant cities not for-themselves
 ἐπιτηδείως αὐτονομεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἐκάστοις
conveniently to-be-independent but for-(the-cities)-themselves each
 ὥς βούλονται· δίκας τε ὅτι ἐθέλομεν δοῦναι κατὰ
as they-wish arbitration both that we-are-willing to-give according-to
 τὰς ξυνηθήκας, πολέμου δὲ οὐκ ἄρξομεν, ἀρχομένους δὲ
the agreements war but not we-shall-begin those-beginning(-it) but
 ἀμυνόμεθα. ταῦτα γὰρ δίκαια καὶ πρέποντα ἅμα
we-shall-resist this for (is)-just and fitting at-the-same-time
 τῇδε τῇ πόλει ἀποκρίνασθαι.
for-this — city to-answer

- 144.3 εἰδέναι δὲ χρή ὅτι ἀνάγκη πολεμεῖν (ἦν δὲ
to-know and it-is-necessary that (it-is)-necessary to-make-war if and
 ἐκούσιοι μᾶλλον δεχώμεθα, ἥσσον ἐγκεισομένους τοὺς
willing rather we-accept less pressing the
 ἐναντίους ἔξομεν), ἔκ τε τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ὅτι
opponents we-shall-have from both the greatest dangers that
 καὶ πόλει καὶ ἰδιώτῃ μέγιστα τιμαὶ περιγίγνονται.
also for-city and for-private-man greatest honors result
- 144.4 οἱ γοῦν πατέρες ἡμῶν ὑποστάντες Μήδους καὶ οὐκ
the at-any-rate fathers our having-withstood (the)-Medes and not
 ἀπὸ τοσῶνδε ὀρμώμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα
from such(-resources) setting-out but even the possessions
 ἐκλιπόντες, γνώμῃ τε πλέονι ἢ τύχῃ καὶ τόλμῃ
having-abandoned by-judgment both more than by-fortune and by-daring
 μείζονι ἢ δυνάμει τὸν τε βάρβαρον ἀπέωσαντο καὶ
greater than by-power the both barbarian drove-back and
 ἐς τὰδε προήγαγον αὐτά. ὧν οὐ χρή λείπεσθαι,
to this(-point) advanced them whom not it-is-necessary to-fall-short-of

ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ἐχθροὺς παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς
but the both enemies in-every way to-resist and to-those
ἐπιγιννομένοις πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὰ μὴ ἐλάσσω παραδοῦναι.'

coming-after to-try them not less to-hand-down

ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς τοιαῦτα εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες 145.1

— indeed Pericles such(-things) said the and Athenians having-thought

ἄριστα σφίσι παραινεῖν αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο ἃ ἐκέλευε, καὶ
best them to-advise he voted what he-urged and

τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπεκρίναντο τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ, καθ'
to-the Lacedaemonians answered by-the his judgment in

ἕκαστά τε ὡς ἔφρασε καὶ τὸ ζῦμπαν, οὐδὲν κελεύόμενοι
detail both as he-had-explained and on-the whole nothing being-ordered

ποιήσιν, δίκη δὲ κατὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας ἐτοῖμοι εἶναι
to-do by-arbitration but according-to the agreements ready to-be

διαλύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ. καὶ οἱ
to-settle about the complaints on equal and like(-terms) and they

μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ οὐκέτι ὕστερον ἐπρεσβεύοντο·
indeed withdrew to home and no-longer later sent-embassies

αἰτίαι δὲ αὗται καὶ διαφοραὶ ἐγένοντο ἀμφοτέροις πρὸ 146.1

(the)-grievances and these and differences arose for-both before

τοῦ πολέμου, ἀρξάμεναι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ
the war beginning at-once from the (affairs)-at Epidamnus

καὶ Κερκύρα· ἐπεμείγνυντο δὲ ὅμως ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ
and Corcyra they-had-dealings but nevertheless during them and

παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφοίτων ἀκηρύκτως μὲν, ἀνυπόπτως δὲ οὐ·
to each-other they-went without-heralds indeed without-suspicion but not

σπονδῶν γὰρ ζύγχις τὰ γινόμενα ἦν καὶ πρόφασις
of-(the)-treaty for (a)-violation the (things)-happening were and (a)-pretext

τοῦ πολεμεῖν.

for-the making-war

