GREEK SERIES · VOLUME 55

The Greek Generals

Plutarch

ΒΙΟΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΟΙ

The Greek Generals

Six Lives of Plutarch

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



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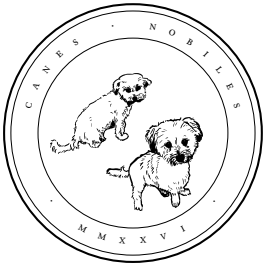

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The Greek text follows Perrin's Loeb Plutarch

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Artwork by Esther Steves

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PLUTARCH

ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

Themistocles

Themistocles is born obscurely, to Neocles of Phrearrhi and a foreign mother, Thracian or Carian, and among the half-castes at Cynosarges he coaxes well-born youths to exercise with him. As a boy he composes speeches instead of playing, and his teacher foresees great good or evil in him. He scorns the polite arts, learns from Mnesiphilus, and quarrels with Aristides. Miltiades' trophy keeps him awake, and he persuades the Athenians to spend the Laurium silver on a hundred triremes against Aegina, turning the city toward the sea.

Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γένους ἀμαυρότερα πρὸς 1
to-Themistocles and the indeed from birth obscurer for
δόξαν ὑπῆρχε· πατρὸς γὰρ ἦν Νεοκλέους οὐ τῶν
fame were-there of-father for he-was of-Neocles not of-the
ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν Ἀθήνησι, Φρεαρρίου τῶν δήμων ἐκ τῆς
very prominent at-Athens of-Phrearrhi of-the demes from the
Λεοντίδος φυλῆς, νόθος δὲ πρὸς μητρός, ὡς λέγουσιν·
Leontid tribe a-bastard and on mother's-side as they-say

Ἀβρότονον Θρῄϊσσα γυνὴ γένος· ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι
Abrotonon Thracian woman by-birth but to-have-borne
τὸν μέγαν Ἕλλησίν φημι Θεμιστοκλέα.
the great for-Greeks I-say Themistocles

Φανίας μέντοι τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐ Θρᾷτταν,
Phanias however the mother — of-Themistocles not a-Thracian
ἀλλὰ Καρίνην, οὐδ' Ἀβρότονον ὄνομα, ἀλλ' Εὐτέρπην
but a-Carian nor Abrotonon by-name but Euterpe
ἀναγράφει. Νεάνθης δὲ καὶ πόλιν αὐτῇ τῆς Καρίας
records Neanthes and also city to-her — of-Caria
Ἁλικαρνασσὸν προστίθησι.
Halicarnassus adds

Διὸ καὶ τῶν νόθων εἰς Κυνόσαργες συντελούντων (τοῦτο
therefore also the bastards at Cynosarges belonging this
δ' ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους, ἐπεὶ κἀκεῖνος
and is outside of-the-gates a-gymnasium of-Heracles since he-too
οὐκ ἦν γνήσιος ἐν θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνείχετο νοθείᾳ διὰ τὴν
not was legitimate among gods but was-held in-bastardy because-of the
μητέρα θνητὴν οὖσαν) ἔπειθέ τινας ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τῶν
mother mortal being persuaded some — Themistocles of-the
εὖ γεγονότων νεανίσκων καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ Κυνόσαργες
well born youths going-down to — Cynosarges
ἀλείφεσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτου γενομένου δοκεῖ
to-anoint-themselves with him and this having-happened he-seems
πανούργως τὸν τῶν νόθων καὶ γνησίων διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν.
cunningly the of-the bastards and legitimate distinction to-have-abolished
Ὅτι μέντοι τοῦ Λυκομιδῶν γένους μετεῖχε δῆλός ἐστι·
that however of-the of-Lycomidae family he-shared clear he-is
τὸ γὰρ Φλυῆσι τελεστήριον, ὅπερ ἦν Λυκομιδῶν κοινόν,
the for at-Phlya initiation-hall which was of-Lycomidae common
ἐμπρησθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτὸς ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ
burned by the barbarians he-himself restored and
γραφαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, ὡς Σιμωνίδης ἱστόρηκεν.
with-paintings adorned as Simonides has-recorded

2 Ἔτι δὲ παῖς ὢν ὁμολογεῖται φορᾶς μεστὸς εἶναι, καὶ
still and a-boy being it-is-agreed of-impulse full to-be and
τῇ μὲν φύσει συνετός, τῇ δὲ προαιρέσει μεγαλοπράγμων
the indeed in-nature intelligent the and in-choice enterprising
καὶ πολιτικός. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν
and political in for the relaxations and leisures from the
μαθημάτων γινόμενος οὐκ ἔπαιζεν οὐδ' ἐρρᾳθύμει, καθάπερ
lessons being not he-played nor idled just-as
οἱ λοιποὶ παῖδες, ἀλλ' εὑρίσκετο λόγους τινὰς μελετῶν καὶ
the other boys but was-found speeches certain practicing and

συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἦσαν δ' οἱ λόγοι κατηγορία
composing toward himself were and the speeches accusation
τινὸς ἢ συνηγορία τῶν παίδων. ὅθεν εἰώθει λέγειν
of-someone or defense of-the boys whence was-accustomed to-say
πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ διδάσκαλος ὡς "Οὐδὲν ἔσῃ, παῖ, σὺ
to him the teacher that nothing you-will-be boy you
μικρόν, ἀλλὰ μέγα πάντως ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν." ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν
small but great anyhow good or bad since also of-the
παιδεύσεων τὰς μὲν ἠθοποιοὺς ἢ πρὸς ἡδονήν τινα καὶ
studies the indeed character-forming or toward pleasure some and
χάριν ἐλευθέριον σπουδαζομένας ὀκνηρῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως
grace gentlemanly pursued sluggishly and unwillingly
ἐξεμάνθανε, τῶν δὲ εἰς σύνεσιν ἢ πρᾶξιν λεγομένων
he-learned of-the and for understanding or action said
δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν παρ' ἡλικίαν, ὡς τῇ φύσει πιστεύων.
clear he-was disdaining beyond his-age as in-the nature trusting
Ὅθεν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς ἐλευθερίοις καὶ ἀστείαις λεγομέναις
whence later in the liberal and polite so-called
διατριβαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πεπαιδεῦσθαι δοκούντων χλευαζόμενος
pastimes by the to-have-been-educated seeming being-mocked
ἠναγκάζετο φορτικώτερον ἀμύνεσθαι, λέγων, ὅτι λύραν
he-was-compelled more-vulgarly to-defend-himself saying that a-lyre
μὲν ἁρμόσασθαι καὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι ψαλτήριον οὐκ
indeed to-tune and to-handle a-harp not
ἐπίσταται, πόλιν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον παραλαβὼν
he-knows a-city but small and obscure having-received
ἔνδοξον καὶ μεγάλην ἀπεργάσασθαι. καίτοι Στησίμβροτος
famous and great to-make yet Stesimbrotus
Ἀναξαγόρου τε διακοῦσαι τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φησὶ καὶ
of-Anaxagoras both to-have-heard — Themistocles says and
περὶ Μέλισσον σπουδάσαι τὸν φυσικόν, οὐκ εὖ τῶν
about Melissus to-have-studied the natural-philosopher not well the

χρόνων ἁπτόμενος· Περικλεῖ γάρ, ὃς πολὺ νεώτερος ἦν
dates grasping to-Pericles for who much younger was
Θεμιστοκλέους, Μέλισσος μὲν ἀντεστρατήγει πολιορκοῦντι
than-Themistocles Melissus indeed was-general-against besieging
Σαμίους, Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ συνδιέτριβε.
Samians Anaxagoras and spent-time-with
Μᾶλλον οὖν ἄν τις προσέχοι τοῖς Μνησιφίλου τὸν
rather then — one would-attend to-those of-Mnesiphilus —
Θεμιστοκλέα τοῦ Φρεαρρίου ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν,
Themistocles the Phrearrian admirer to-have-become saying
οὔτε ῥήτορος ὄντος οὔτε τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων
neither an-orator being nor of-the natural being-called
φιλοσόφων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τότε καλουμένην σοφίαν, οὖσαν δὲ
philosophers but the then called wisdom being and
δεινότητα πολιτικὴν καὶ δραστήριον σύνεσιν, ἐπιτήδευμα
cleverness political and active intelligence a-pursuit
πεποιημένου καὶ διασώζοντος ὥσπερ αἵρεσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς
having-made and preserving like a-school in succession
ἀπὸ Σόλωνος· ἣν οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δικανικαῖς μίξαντες
from Solon which the after these-things with-forensic having-mixed
τέχναις καὶ μεταγαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων τὴν ἄσκησιν
arts and having-transferred from the actions the practice
ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους, σοφισταὶ προσηγορεύθησαν. τούτῳ μὲν
to the words sophists were-called to-this-man indeed
οὖν ἤδη πολιτευόμενος ἐπλησίαζεν.
then already engaged-in-politics he-attached-himself
Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρώταις τῆς νεότητος ὁρμαῖς ἀνώμαλος ἦν
in and the first of-the youth impulses uneven he-was
καὶ ἀστάθμητος, ἅτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὑτὴν χρώμενος
and unstable inasmuch-as the nature by itself using
ἄνευ λόγου καὶ παιδείας ἐπ' ἀμφότερα μεγάλας ποιουμένῃ
without reason and training in both-directions great making

μεταβολὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πολλάκις ἐξισταμένῃ
changes of-the pursuits and often departing
πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, ὡς ὕστερον αὐτὸς ὡμολόγει, καὶ τοὺς
toward the worse as later he-himself admitted also the
τραχυτάτους πώλους ἀρίστους ἵππους γίνεσθαι φάσκων,
roughest colts best horses to-become saying
ὅταν ἧς προσήκει τύχωσι παιδείας καὶ καταρτύσεως.
whenever which befits they-obtain training and breaking-in
ἃ δὲ τούτων ἐξαρτῶσιν ἔνιοι διηγήματα πλάττοντες,
what-things and to-these attach some stories inventing
ἀποκήρυξιν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, θάνατον δὲ τῆς
disinheritance indeed by the father his death and of-the
μητρὸς ἑκούσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀτιμίᾳ περιλύπου
mother voluntary at the of-the son disgrace very-grieved
γενομένης, δοκεῖ κατεψεῦσθαι· καὶ τοὐναντίον εἰσὶν
having-become seems to-have-been-falsely-told and the-contrary there-are
οἱ λέγοντες, ὅτι τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἀποτρέπων
those saying that from-the the public-affairs to-do turning-away
αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἐπεδείκνυε πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ τὰς παλαιὰς
him the father pointed-out by the sea the old
τριήρεις ἐρριμμένας καὶ παρορωμένας, ὡς δὴ καὶ πρὸς
triremes cast-away and neglected as indeed also toward
τοὺς δημαγωγούς, ὅταν ἄχρηστοι φαίνωνται, τῶν πολλῶν
the popular-leaders whenever useless they-appear the many
ὁμοίως ἐχόντων.
in-like-manner being-disposed

Ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ νεανικῶς ἔοικεν ἅψασθαι τοῦ 3
quickly however and youthfully seems to-have-laid-hold —
Θεμιστοκλέους τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα καὶ σφόδρα ἡ
of-Themistocles the political affairs and vehemently the
πρὸς δόξαν ὁρμὴ κρατῆσαι. δι᾽ ἣν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς
for fame impulse to-have-mastered because-of which straight from beginning

τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἐφιέμενος ἰταμῶς ὑφίστατο τὰς πρὸς
the to-be-first desiring boldly he-undertook the toward
τοὺς δυναμένους ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πρωτεύοντας ἀπεχθείας,
those being-powerful in the city and being-first enmities
μάλιστα δὲ Ἀριστείδην τὸν Λυσιμάχου, τὴν ἐναντίαν
most and Aristides the of-Lysimachus the opposite-way
ἀεὶ πορευόμενον αὐτῷ. καίτοι δοκεῖ παντάπασιν ἡ πρὸς
always going to-him yet seems altogether the toward
τοῦτον ἔχθρα μειρακιώδη λαβεῖν ἀρχήν· ἠράσθησαν γὰρ
this-man enmity boyish to-take a-beginning they-loved for
ἀμφότεροι τοῦ καλοῦ Στησίλεω, Κείου τὸ γένος ὄντος, ὡς
both the beautiful Stesilaus Cean by birth being as
Ἀρίστων ὁ φιλόσοφος ἱστόρηκεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλουν
Ariston the philosopher has-recorded from and this they-continued
καὶ περὶ τὰ δημόσια στασιάζοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν
also about the public-affairs quarreling not indeed but the of-the
βίων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἀνομοιότης ἔοικεν αὐξῆσαι τὴν
lives and of-the characters unlikeness seems to-have-increased the
διαφοράν. πρᾷος γὰρ ὢν φύσει καὶ καλοκαγαθικὸς τὸν
difference gentle for being by-nature and of-noble-character the
τρόπον ὁ Ἀριστείδης, καὶ πολιτευόμενος οὐ πρὸς χάριν
character — Aristides and engaging-in-politics not toward favor
οὐδὲ πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου μετὰ ἀσφαλείας
nor toward fame but from the best with safety
καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἠναγκάζετο τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸν δῆμον
and justice was-compelled — to-Themistocles the people
ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινοῦντι καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντι καινοτομίας
to many-things stirring and great bringing-in innovations
ἐναντιοῦσθαι πολλάκις, ἐνιστάμενος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν.
to-oppose often standing-against him toward the increase

Λέγεται γὰρ οὕτω παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι καὶ
it-is-said for so carried-away toward fame to-be and
πράξεων μεγάλων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐραστής, ὥστε νέος
of-actions great by ambition a-lover so-that young
ὢν ἔτι τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους
being still of-the at Marathon battle against the barbarians
γενομένης καὶ τῆς Μιλτιάδου στρατηγίας διαβοηθείσης
having-happened and of-the of-Miltiades generalship having-been-noised-abroad
σύννους ὁρᾶσθαι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας
thoughtful to-be-seen the most by himself and the nights
ἀγρυπνεῖν καὶ τοὺς πότους παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις,
to-lie-awake and the drinking-parties to-decline the customary
καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας καὶ θαυμάζοντας τὴν
and to-say to those asking and wondering-at the
περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολήν, ὡς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐῴη
about the life change that to-sleep him not would-let
τὸ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πέρας
the — of-Miltiades trophy the indeed for others end
ᾤοντο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τῶν βαρβάρων
thought of-the war the at Marathon of-the barbarians
ἧττραν εἶναι, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ἀρχὴν μειζόνων ἀγώνων,
defeat to-be Themistocles and the-beginning of-greater contests
ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅλης Ἑλλάδος ἤλειφε καὶ
for which himself on-behalf-of the whole Greece he-anointed and
τὴν πόλιν ἤσκει πόρρωθεν ἔτι προσδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον.
the city trained from-afar still expecting the future
Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Λαυρεωτικὴν πρόσοδον ἀπὸ τῶν 4
and first indeed the Laurian revenue from the
ἀργυρείων μετάλλων ἔθος ἐχόντων Ἀθηναίων διανέμεσθαι,
silver mines custom having Athenians to-distribute
μόνος εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησε παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς
alone to-say dared coming-forward to the people that

χρὴ τὴν διανομὴν ἐάσαντας ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων
it-is-needful the distribution letting-go from the moneys these
κατασκευάσασθαι τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πόλεμον.
to-build triremes for the against Aeginetans war
ἤκμαζε γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μάλιστα καὶ κατεῖχον
was-at-its-height for this in — Greece most and held
οἱ νησιῶται πλήθει νεῶν τὴν θάλασσαν. ᾗ καὶ ῥᾷον
the islanders by-number of-ships the sea by-which also more-easily
Θεμιστοκλῆς συνέπεισεν, οὐ Δαρεῖον οὐδὲ Πέρσας (μακρὰν
Themistocles persuaded not Darius nor Persians far-off
γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ δέος οὐ πάνυ βέβαιον ὡς ἀφιξόμενοι
for were these and fear not very firm as going-to-come
παρεῖχον) ἐπισείων, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας ὀργῇ καὶ
they-gave brandishing but the toward Aeginetans anger and
φιλονεικίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποχρησάμενος εὐκαίρως ἐπὶ τὴν
rivalry of-the citizens making-use opportunely for the
παρασκευήν. ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἐκείνων
preparation a-hundred for from the moneys those
ἐποιήθησαν τριήρεις, αἷς καὶ πρὸς Ξέρξην ἐναυμάχησαν.
were-made triremes with-which also against Xerxes they-fought-at-sea
Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων καὶ καταβιβάζων τὴν
from and this by little leading-on and bringing-down the
πόλιν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς τὰ πεζὰ μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς
city toward the sea as the foot-forces indeed not-even for-the
ὁμόροις ἀξιομάχους ὄντας, τῇ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀλκῇ
neighbors a-match being the and from the ships strength
καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν
both the barbarians to-ward-off and — of-Greece to-rule
δυναμένους, ἀντὶ μονίμων ὁπλιτῶν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων,
able instead-of steady hoplites as says — Plato
ναυβάτας καὶ θαλαττίους ἐποίησε, καὶ διαβολὴν καθ' αὑτοῦ
sailors and seamen he-made and slander against himself

παρέσχεν, ὡς ἄρα Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῶν
he-gave that then Themistocles the spear and the shield of-the
πολιτῶν παρελόμενος εἰς ὑπηρέσιον καὶ κώπην συνέστειλε
citizens having-taken-away to rowing-cushion and oar reduced
τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον. ἔπραξε δὲ ταῦτα Μιλτιάδου
the of-Athenians people he-did and these-things over-Miltiades
κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Στησίμβροτος.
having-prevailed opposing as records Stesimbrotus
Εἰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ
whether indeed indeed the strictness and the purity of-the
πολιτεύματος ἔβλαψεν ἢ μὴ ταῦτα πράξας, ἔστω
constitution he-harmed or not these-things having-done let-it-be
φιλοσοφώτερον ἐπισκοπεῖν· ὅτι δὲ ἡ τότε σωτηρία τοῖς
more-philosophical to-examine that and the then safety for-the
Ἕλλησιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπῆρξε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων
Greeks from the sea came and the of-Athenians
πόλιν αὖθις ἀνέστησαν αἱ τριήρεις ἐκεῖναι, τά τ' ἄλλα
city again raised-up the triremes those the both other-things
καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς ἐμαρτύρησε. τῆς γὰρ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως
and Xerxes himself bore-witness the for of-foot force
ἀθραύστου διαμενούσης ἔφυγε μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἧτταν,
unbroken remaining he-fled after the of-the ships defeat
ὡς οὐκ ὢν ἀξιόμαχος, καὶ Μαρδόνιον ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τοῖς
as not being a-match and Mardonius in-the-way to-be for-the
Ἕλλησι τῆς διώξεως μᾶλλον ἢ δουλωσόμενον αὐτούς,
Greeks of-the pursuit rather than going-to-enslave them
ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατέλιπεν.
as to-me it-seems he-left-behind

Themistocles is grasping and lavish: he vies with Cimon in display at Olympia and offends the Greeks, wins with Phrynichus' tragedy, and refuses Simonides an unjust favor. He has Aristides ostracized, buys off the demagogue Epicydes, a rival for the generalship, has the king's interpreter executed, disgraces Arthmius of Zelea, and reconciles the Greek cities. At Artemisium he yields the command to Eurybiades, bribes Eurybiades' party with Euboean money to stay, buys and threatens the trierarch Architeles into staying, and fights the first battle, which Pindar calls the foundation of freedom.

Σύντονον δὲ αὐτὸν γεγονέναι χρηματιστὴν οἱ μέν τινές φασι
intense and him to-have-been a-money-maker the indeed some say
δι' ἐλευθεριότητα· καὶ γὰρ φιλοθύτην ὄντα καὶ λαμπρὸν
because-of liberality and for fond-of-sacrifice being and splendid
ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοὺς ξένους δαπάναις ἀφθόνου δεῖσθαι χορηγίας·
in the toward the guests expenditures abundant to-need supply
οἱ δὲ τοὐναντίον γλισχρότητα πολλὴν καὶ μικρολογίαν
the and on-the-contrary stinginess much and pettiness
κατηγοροῦσιν, ὡς καὶ τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν ἐδωδίμων
charge as even the things-sent of-the foods
πωλοῦντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλίδης ὁ ἱπποτρόφος αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ'
selling when and Philides the horse-breeder having-been-asked by
αὐτοῦ πῶλον οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἠπείλησε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ταχὺ
him a-colt not gave he-threatened the house his quickly
ποιήσειν δούρειον ἵππον, αἰνιξάμενος ἐγκλήματα συγγενικὰ
to-make a-wooden horse hinting-at charges family
καὶ δίκας τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς οἰκείους τινὰς ταράξειν.
and lawsuits for-the man with relatives some to-stir-up
Τῇ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντας ὑπερέβαλεν, ὥστ' ἔτι μὲν νέος
in-the and ambition all he-surpassed so-that still indeed young
ὢν καὶ ἀφανὴς Ἐπικλέα τὸν ἐξ Ἑρμιόνης κιθαριστὴν
being and obscure Epicles the from Hermione lyre-player

σπουδαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκλιπαρῆσαι μελετᾶν
courted by the Athenians to-have-begged to-practice
παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν ζητεῖν
with him striving-for-honor many the house to-seek
καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν. εἰς δ᾽ Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ
and to-frequent to him to and Olympia having-come and
διαμιλλώμενος τῷ Κίμωνι περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ
vying — with-Cimon about dinners and tents and
τὴν ἄλλην λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευήν, οὐκ ἤρεσκε τοῖς
the other splendor and equipment not he-pleased the
Ἕλλησιν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ ὄντι νέῳ καὶ ἀπ᾽ οἰκίας
Greeks to-that-one indeed for being young and from house
μεγάλης ᾤοντο δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν· ὁ δὲ μήπω
great they-thought it-needful the such-things to-allow he and not-yet
γνώριμος γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ
known having-become but seeming from not existing-means and
παρ᾽ ἀξίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι προσωφλίσκανεν ἀλαζονείαν. ἐνίκησε
beyond worth to-be-lifted-up incurred-besides boastfulness he-won
δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν τραγῳδοῖς, μεγάλην ἤδη τότε σπουδὴν
and also as-choregus for-tragedians great already then zeal
καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος, καὶ πίνακα τῆς
and ambition the contest having and a-tablet of-the
νίκης ἀνέθηκε τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· "Θεμιστοκλῆς
victory dedicated such inscription having Themistocles
Φρεάρριος ἐχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν, Ἀδείμαντος ἦρχεν."
of-Phrearrhi was-choregus Phrynichus was-producing Adeimantus was-archon
Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνήρμοττε, τοῦτο μὲν ἑκάστου
not indeed but with-the many he-fitted-in this indeed of-each
τῶν πολιτῶν τοὔνομα λέγων ἀπὸ στόματος, τοῦτο δὲ κριτὴν
of-the citizens the-name saying from mouth this and a-judge
ἀσφαλῆ περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια παρέχων ἑαυτόν, ὥστε που
safe about the contracts offering himself so-that somewhere

καὶ πρὸς Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κεῖον εἰπεῖν, αἰτούμενόν τι
even to Simonides the Cean to-have-said asking something
τῶν οὐ μετρίων παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος, ὡς οὔτ᾽ ἐκεῖνος
of-the not moderate from him being-general that neither that-one
ἂν γένοιτο ποιητὴς ἀγαθὸς ᾄδων παρὰ μέλος οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς
— would-become a-poet good singing against tune nor he-himself
ἀστεῖος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμον χαριζόμενος. πάλιν δέ ποτε τὸν
a-fine ruler against law granting-favors again and once —
Σιμωνίδην ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγε νοῦν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν
Simonides mocking he-said sense not to-have Corinthians indeed
λοιδοροῦντα μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας πόλιν, αὑτοῦ δὲ ποιούμενον
reviling great inhabiting city of-himself and making
εἰκόνας οὕτως ὄντος αἰσχροῦ τὴν ὄψιν. αὐξόμενος δὲ
images so being ugly the appearance growing and
καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων τέλος κατεστασίασε καὶ
also with-the many pleasing finally he-overthrew-by-faction and
μετέστησεν ἐξοστρακισθέντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην.
removed ostracized — Aristides

6 Ἤδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ
already and the Mede coming-down upon — Greece and
τῶν Ἀθηναίων βουλευομένων περὶ στρατηγοῦ, τοὺς μὲν
the Athenians deliberating about a-general the indeed
ἄλλους ἑκόντας ἐκστῆναι τῆς στρατηγίας λέγουσιν
others willingly to-have-stood-aside from-the generalship they-say
ἐκπεπληγμένους τὸν κίνδυνον, Ἐπικύδην δὲ τὸν Εὐφημίδου,
panic-stricken-at the danger Epicydes and the of-Euphemides
δημαγωγὸν ὄντα δεινὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, μαλακὸν δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν
a-popular-leader being clever indeed to-speak soft and the soul
καὶ χρημάτων ἥττονα, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφίεσθαι καὶ κρατήσειν
and by-money weaker the command to-aim-at and to-prevail
ἐπίδοξον εἶναι τῇ χειροτονίᾳ. τὸν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα
expected to-be in-the show-of-hands — then Themistocles

δείσαντα, μὴ τὰ πράγματα διαφθαρείη παντάπασι τῆς
having-feared lest the affairs be-ruined altogether the
ἡγεμονίας εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐμπεσούσης, χρήμασι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν
leadership on that-man having-fallen with-money the ambition
ἐξωνήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Ἐπικύδους.
to-have-bought-off from — Epicydes
Ἐπαινεῖται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν δίγλωττον ἔργον
is-praised and of-him also the about the bilingual deed
ἐν τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος
among those sent by the-king for of-earth and water
αἴτησιν. ἑρμηνέα γὰρ ὄντα συλλαβὼν διὰ ψηφίσματος
demand interpreter for being having-seized through a-decree
ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι φωνὴν Ἑλληνίδα βαρβάροις προστάγμασιν
he-put-to-death because voice Greek to-barbarian commands
ἐτόλμησε χρῆσαι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ Ἄρθμιον τὸν
he-dared to-lend still and also the about Arthmius the
Ζελείτην· Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ εἰπόντος καὶ τοῦτον εἰς
Zelean Themistocles for having-proposed also this-man among
τοὺς ἀτίμους καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος ἐνέγραψαν,
the disfranchised and children his and family they-enrolled
ὅτι τὸν ἐκ Μήδων χρυσὸν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκόμισε.
because the from Medes gold to the Greeks he-brought
μέγιστον δὲ πάντων τὸ καταλῦσαι τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς
greatest and of-all the to-have-ended the Greek
πολέμους καὶ διαλλάξαι τὰς πόλεις ἀλλήλαις, πείσαντα
wars and to-have-reconciled the cities to-one-another having-persuaded
τὰς ἔχθρας διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναβαλέσθαι· πρὸς ὃ καὶ
the enmities because-of the war to-put-off for which also
Χείλεων τὸν Ἀρκάδα μάλιστα συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι.
Chileus the Arcadian most to-have-struggled-with-him they-say

7 Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπεχείρει τοὺς
having-taken-over and the command at-once indeed he-attempted the
πολίτας ἐμβιβάζειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τὴν πόλιν
citizens to-embark into the triremes and the city
ἔπειθεν ἐκλιπόντας ὡς προσωτάτω τῆς Ἑλλάδος
he-tried-to-persuade having-left as farthest — of-Greece
ἀπαντᾶν τῷ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ θάλατταν. ἐνισταμένων
to-meet the barbarian by sea opposing
δὲ πολλῶν ἐξήγαγε πολλὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰ Τέμπη
and many he-led-out large army to — Tempe
μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς αὐτόθι προκινδυνευσόντων
with Lacedaemonians as there going-to-fight-in-front
τῆς Θετταλίας οὔπω τότε μηδίζειν δοκούσης· ἐπεὶ δ'
— of-Thessaly not-yet then to-medize seeming when and
ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκεῖθεν ἄπρακτοι καὶ Θετταλῶν βασιλεῖ
they-withdrew from-there without-success and of-Thessalians to-the-king
προσγενομένων ἐμήδιζε τὰ μέχρι Βοιωτίας, μᾶλλον ἤδη
having-gone-over medized the-parts as-far-as Boeotia more already
τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης,
— to-Themistocles attended the Athenians about the sea
καὶ πέμπεται μετὰ νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τὰ στενὰ φυλάξων.
and he-is-sent with ships to Artemisium the narrows to-guard
Ἔνθα δὴ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων Εὐρυβιάδην καὶ
there indeed of-the indeed Greeks Eurybiades and
Λακεδαιμονίους ἡγεῖσθαι κελευόντων, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων,
Lacedaemonians to-lead urging of-the and Athenians
ὅτι πλήθει τῶν νεῶν σύμπαντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς
because in-number of-the ships all nearly something the
ἄλλους ὑπερέβαλλον, οὐκ ἀξιούντων ἑτέροις ἕπεσθαι,
others they-surpassed not deeming-it-right others to-follow
συνιδὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αὐτός τε τὴν
having-perceived the danger — Themistocles himself both the

ἀρχὴν τῷ Εὐρυβιάδῃ παρῆκε καὶ κατεπράϋνε τοὺς
command — to-Eurybiades yielded and soothed the
Ἀθηναίους, ὑπισχνούμενος, ἂν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γένωνται
Athenians promising if men good they-become
πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἑκόντας αὐτοῖς παρέξειν εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ
in the war willing to-them to-provide for the rest
πειθομένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας. διόπερ δοκεῖ τῆς σωτηρίας
obedient the Greeks wherefore he-seems of-the safety
αἰτιώτατος γενέσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς
most-responsible to-have-been — for-Greece and most the
Ἀθηναίους προαγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν, ὡς ἀνδρείᾳ μὲν τῶν
Athenians to-have-advanced to glory as in-courage indeed the
πολεμίων, εὐγνωμοσύνῃ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων περιγενομένους.
enemies in-good-sense and the allies having-surpassed
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἀφεταῖς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στόλου προσμίξαντος
when and — at-Aphetae the barbarian fleet having-put-in
ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ Εὐρυβιάδης τῶν κατὰ στόμα νεῶν τὸ
panic-struck — Eurybiades of-the in front ships the
πλῆθος, ἄλλας δὲ πυνθανόμενος διακοσίας ὑπὲρ Σκιάθου
number others and learning two-hundred beyond Sciathus
περιπλεῖν, ἐβούλετο τὴν ταχίστην εἴσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος
to-be-sailing-round he-wished the quickest within — Greece
κομισθεὶς ἅψασθαι Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν
having-been-carried to-reach Peloponnesus and the foot army
ταῖς ναυσὶ προσπεριβαλέσθαι, παντάπασιν ἀπρόσμαχον
with-the ships to-throw-round-himself altogether unassailable
ἡγούμενος τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀλκὴν βασιλέως, δείσαντες
thinking the by sea strength of-the-king having-feared
οἱ Εὐβοεῖς, μὴ σφᾶς οἱ Ἕλληνες πρόωνται, κρύφα
the Euboeans lest them the Greeks abandon secretly
τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ διελέγοντο, Πελάγοντα μετὰ χρημάτων
— with-Themistocles conversed Pelagon with money

πολλῶν πέμψαντες. ἃ λαβὼν ἐκεῖνος, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος
much having-sent which having-taken he as Herodotus
ἱστόρηκε, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔδωκεν.
has-recorded to-those around — Eurybiades gave
Ἐναντιουμένου δ' αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν Ἀρχιτέλους,
opposing and him most of-the citizens Architeles
ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς νεὼς τριήραρχος, οὐκ ἔχων
who was indeed on the sacred ship trierarch not having
δὲ χρήματα τοῖς ναύταις χορηγεῖν ἔσπευδεν ἀποπλεῦσαι,
and money for-the sailors to-supply was-eager to-sail-away
παρώξυνεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς τριηρίτας ἐπ'
provoked still more — Themistocles the crewmen against
αὐτόν, ὥστε τὸ δεῖπνον ἁρπάσαι συνδραμόντας. τοῦ δ'
him so-that the dinner to-have-snatched having-run-together — and
Ἀρχιτέλους ἀθυμοῦντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ βαρέως φέροντος,
Architeles being-despondent at this and taking-it hard
εἰσέπεμψεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν κίστῃ δεῖπνον
sent-in — Themistocles to him in a-box a-dinner
ἄρτων καὶ κρεῶν, ὑποθεὶς κάτω τάλαντον ἀργυρίου
of-loaves and meats having-put-under below a-talent of-silver
καὶ κελεύσας αὐτόν τε δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ μεθ'
and having-bidden him both to-dine for the present and by
ἡμέραν ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῶν τριηριτῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, καταβοήσειν
day to-take-care of-the crewmen if and not to-denounce
αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς ἔχοντος ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν
him before those present as having silver from the
πολεμίων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἴρηκεν.
enemies these-things indeed then Phanias the Lesbian has-said
8 Αἱ δὲ γενόμεναι τότε πρὸς τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ναῦς
the and having-taken-place then against the of-the barbarians ships
περὶ τὰ στενὰ μάχαι κρίσιν μὲν εἰς τὰ ὅλα μεγάλην οὐκ
about the narrows battles decision indeed for the whole great not

ἐποίησαν, τῇ δὲ πείρᾳ μέγιστα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὤνησαν,
made the and by-experience greatest the Greeks benefited
ὑπὸ τῶν ἔργων παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους διδαχθέντας, ὡς
by the deeds amid the dangers having-been-taught that
οὔτε πλήθη νεῶν οὔτε κόσμοι καὶ λαμπρότητες ἐπισήμων
neither multitudes of-ships nor ornaments and splendors of-figureheads
οὔτε κραυγαὶ κομπώδεις ἢ βάρβαροι παιᾶνες ἔχουσι τι
nor shouts boastful or barbarian war-songs have anything
δεινὸν ἀνδράσιν ἐπισταμένοις εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι καὶ μάχεσθαι
terrible for-men knowing-how to hands to-come and to-fight
τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῶν τοιούτων καταφρονοῦντας ἐπ᾽
daring but it-is-needful the such-things despising at
αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα φέρεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα διαγωνίζεσθαι
themselves the bodies to-rush and against those to-contend
συμπλακέντας. ὃ δὴ καὶ Πίνδαρος οὐ κακῶς ἔοικε
having-closed-with which indeed also Pindar not badly seems
συνιδὼν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀρτεμισίῳ μάχης εἰπεῖν·
having-perceived on the at Artemisium battle to-have-said

Ὅθι παῖδες Ἀθαναίων ἐβάλοντο φαεννὰν
where sons of-Athenians laid shining
κρηπῖδ᾽ ἐλευθερίας·
foundation of-freedom

ἀρχὴ γὰρ ὄντως τοῦ νικᾶν τὸ θαρρεῖν.
beginning for truly of-the conquering the being-bold
Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἑστίαιαν
it-is and — of-Euboea — Artemisium above — Histiaea
αἰγιαλὸς εἰς βορέαν ἀναπεπταμένος, ἀντιτείνει δ᾽ αὐτῷ
a-beach to the-north opened-out stretches-opposite and it
μάλιστα τῆς ὑπὸ Φιλοκτήτῃ γενομένης χώρας Ὀλιζών.
most of-the under Philoctetes having-been land Olizon

ἔχει δὲ ναὸν οὐ μέγαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπίκλησιν Προσηῴας,
it-has and a-temple not great of-Artemis by-title Of-the-Dawn
καὶ δένδρα περὶ αὐτῷ πέφυκε καὶ στῆλαι κύκλῳ λίθου
and trees around it grow and pillars in-a-circle of-stone
λευκοῦ πεπήγασιν· ὁ δὲ λίθος τῇ χειρὶ τριβόμενος καὶ
white have-been-fixed the and stone with-the hand being-rubbed both
χρόαν καὶ ὀσμὴν κροκίζουσαν ἀναδίδωσιν. ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τῶν
color and smell saffron-like gives-off on one and of-the
στηλῶν ἐλεγεῖον ἦν τόδε γεγραμμένον·
pillars elegy was this written

Παντοδαπῶν ἀνδρῶν γενεὰς Ἀσίας ἀπὸ χώρας
of-all-kinds of-men generations of-Asia from land
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων τῷδέ ποτ᾽ ἐν πελάγει
sons of-Athenians on-this once in sea
ναυμαχίῃ δαμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ στρατὸς ὤλετο Μήδων,
in-sea-fight having-overcome when host perished of-Medes
σήματα ταῦτ᾽ ἔθεσαν παρθένῳ Ἀρτέμιδι.
tokens these set to-maiden Artemis

δείκνυται δὲ τῆς ἀκτῆς τόπος ἐν πολλῇ τῇ πέριξ θινὶ
is-shown and of-the shore a-place in much the around sand
κόνιν τεφρώδη καὶ μέλαιναν ἐκ βάθους ἀναδιδούς, ὥσπερ
dust ashy and black from depth sending-up as-if
πυρίκαυστον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ναυάγια καὶ νεκροὺς καῦσαι
fire-burned in which the wrecks and corpses to-have-burned
δοκοῦσι.
they-seem

III · THE CITY ABANDONED

After Thermopylae Themistocles carves messages for the Ionians at the anchorages and watering places. As Xerxes marches through Phocis, Themistocles uses the vanished serpent and the oracle of the wooden wall to move the Athenians to their ships, sending women and children to Troezen; Xanthippus' dog swims after the fleet. Aristides is recalled. Threatened by Eurybiades, Themistocles says, "Strike, but hear," and when the Peloponnesians would retreat to the Isthmus he sends Sicinnus to tell Xerxes the Greeks are fleeing. Xerxes rings the strait, and Aristides and a Tenian deserter bring word of it.

Τῶν μέντοι περὶ Θερμοπύλας εἰς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον 9
the however about Thermopylae to — Artemisium
ἀπαγγελλόντων πυθόμενοι Λεωνίδαν τε κεῖσθαι καὶ
reporting having-learned Leonidas both to-lie-dead and
κρατεῖν Ξέρξην τῶν κατὰ γῆν παρόδων, ἔἴσω τῆς
to-control Xerxes the by land passes within —
Ἑλλάδος ἀνεκομίζοντο, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ πᾶσι
Greece they-withdrew the Athenians in-the-rear-of all
τεταγμένων δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ μέγα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις
having-been-posted because-of valor and greatly at-the things-done
φρονούντων. παραπλέων δὲ τὴν χώραν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς,
being-proud sailing-along and the country — Themistocles
ᾗπερ κατάρσεις ἀναγκαίας καὶ καταφυγὰς ἑώρα τοῖς
wherever landings necessary and refuges he-saw for-the
πολεμίοις, ἐνεχάραττε κατὰ τῶν λίθων ἐπιφανῆ γράμματα,
enemies he-engraved on the stones conspicuous letters
τοὺς μὲν εὑρίσκων ἀπὸ τύχης, τοὺς δ' αὐτὸς ἱστὰς
the-ones indeed finding by chance the-others and he-himself setting-up
περὶ τὰ ναύλοχα καὶ τὰς ὑδρείας, ἐπισκήπτων Ἴωσι διὰ
about the anchorages and the watering-places charging Ionians through
τῶν γραμμάτων, εἰ μὲν οἷόν τε, μετατάξασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς
the letters if indeed possible — to-change-sides to them

πατέρας ὄντας καὶ προκινδυνεύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων
fathers being and running-risks-first on-behalf-of the their
ἐλευθερίας, εἰ δὲ μή, κακοῦν τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις
freedom if and not to-harm the barbarian-force in the battles
καὶ συνταράττειν. ταῦτα δ' ἤλπιζεν ἢ μεταστήσειν τοὺς
and to-throw-into-confusion these-things and he-hoped either to-bring-over the
Ἴωνας ἢ ταράξειν ὑποπτοτέρους τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένους.
Ionians or to-confuse more-suspect to-the barbarians having-become
Ξέρξου δὲ διὰ τῆς Δωρίδος ἄνωθεν ἐμβαλόντος εἰς
Xerxes and through — Doris from-above having-invaded into
τὴν Φωκίδα καὶ τὰ τῶν Φωκέων ἄστη πυρπολοῦντος οὐ
— Phocis and the of-the Phocians towns burning not
προσήμυναν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καίπερ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δεομένων
came-to-help the Greeks although the Athenians begging
εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπαντῆσαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὥσπερ
into — Boeotia to-meet-him in-front-of — Attica just-as
αὐτοὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐβοήθησαν.
they-themselves by sea to Artemisium helped
μηδενὸς δ' ὑπακούοντος αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τῆς Πελοποννήσου
no-one and listening to-them but — Peloponnesus
περιεχομένων καὶ πᾶσαν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν δύναμιν
clinging-to and all within Isthmus the force
ὡρμημένων συνάγειν, καὶ διατειχιζόντων τὸν Ἰσθμὸν εἰς
having-been-eager to-gather and walling-across — Isthmus to
θάλατταν ἐκ θαλάττης, ἅμα μὲν ὀργὴ τῆς προδοσίας
sea from sea at-once indeed anger at-the treachery
εἶχε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ δυσθυμία καὶ κατήφεια
held the Athenians at-once and despondency and dejection
μεμονωμένους. μάχεσθαι μὲν γὰρ οὐ διενοοῦντο μυριάσι
left-alone to-fight indeed for not they-intended against-myriads
στρατοῦ τοσαύταις· ὃ δ' ἦν μόνον ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῷ
of-army so-many which and was alone necessary in the

παρόντι, τὴν πόλιν ἀφέντας ἐμφῦναι ταῖς ναυσίν, οἱ πολλοὶ
present the city having-let-go to-cling to-the ships the many
χαλεπῶς ἤκουον, ὡς μήτε νίκης δεόμενοι μήτε σωτηρίαν
ill heard as neither of-victory needing nor safety
ἐπιστάμενοι θεῶν τε ἱερὰ καὶ πατέρων ἠρία προϊεμένων.
understanding of-gods both shrines and of-fathers tombs abandoning
Ἔνθα δὴ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπορῶν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις 10
there indeed Themistocles being-at-a-loss with-the human
λογισμοῖς προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ
reasonings to-win-over the multitude as-if in a-tragedy
μηχανὴν ἄρας, σημεῖα δαιμόνια καὶ χρησμοὺς ἐπῆγεν
machine having-raised signs divine and oracles he-brought-in
αὐτοῖς· σημεῖον μὲν λαμβάνων τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος,
to-them sign indeed taking the of-the serpent
ὃς ἀφανὴς ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκ τοῦ σηκοῦ δοκεῖ
which unseen in-those the days from the sanctuary seems
γενέσθαι· καὶ τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προτιθεμένας ἀπαρχὰς
to-have-become and the by day to-it set-before first-offerings
εὑρίσκοντες ἀψαύστους οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐξήγγελλον εἰς τοὺς
finding untouched the priests reported to the
πολλούς, τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγον διδόντος, ὡς ἀπολέλοιπε
many — Themistocles word giving that has-left
τὴν πόλιν ἡ θεὸς ὑφηγουμένη πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν αὐτοῖς.
the city the goddess leading-the-way to the sea for-them
τῷ δὲ χρησμῷ πάλιν ἐδημαγώγει, λέγων μηδὲν ἄλλο
with-the and oracle again he-swayed-the-people saying nothing other
δηλοῦσθαι ξύλινον τεῖχος ἢ τὰς ναῦς· διὸ καὶ τὴν
to-be-meant wooden wall than the ships wherefore also —
Σαλαμῖνα θείαν, οὐχὶ δεινὴν οὐδὲ σχετλίαν καλεῖν τὸν
Salamis divine not dreadful nor wretched to-call the
θεόν, ὡς εὐτυχήματος μεγάλου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπώνυμον
god as of-good-fortune great for-the Greeks named-after

ἐσομένην. κρατήσας δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ψήφισμα γράφει,
going-to-be having-prevailed and with-the opinion a-decree he-writes
τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀθηνάων
the indeed city to-entrust — to-Athena the of-Athens
μεδεούσῃ, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὰς
ruling the and in prime all to-embark into the
τριήρεις, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἀνδράποδα σώζειν
triremes children and and women and slaves to-save
ἕκαστον ὡς δυνατόν. κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος οἱ
each-man as possible having-been-ratified and the decree the
πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπεξέθεντο γενεὰς καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς
most of-the Athenians put-away children and women into
Τροιζῆνα, φιλοτίμως πάνυ τῶν Τροιζηνίων ὑποδεχομένων·
Troezen generously very the Troezenians receiving-them
καὶ γὰρ τρέφειν ἐψηφίσαντο δημοσίᾳ, δύο ὀβολοὺς ἑκάστῳ
and for to-maintain they-voted publicly two obols to-each
διδόντες, καὶ τῆς ὀπώρας λαμβάνειν τοὺς παῖδας ἐξεῖναι
giving and of-the fruit to-take the children to-be-allowed
πανταχόθεν, ἔτι δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδασκάλοις τελεῖν
from-everywhere besides and on-behalf-of them to-teachers to-pay
μισθούς. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα Νικαγόρας ἔγραψεν.
fees the and decree Nicagoras proposed
Οὐκ ὄντων δὲ δημοσίων χρημάτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις,
not being and public moneys for-the Athenians
Ἀριστοτέλης μέν φησι τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν
Aristotle indeed says the from of-Ares hill council
πορίσασαν ὀκτὼ δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ τῶν στρατευομένων
having-provided eight drachmas to-each of-the serving
αἰτιωτάτην γενέσθαι τοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὰς τριήρεις,
most-responsible to-have-been for-the to-be-manned the triremes
Κλείδημος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ποιεῖται
Cleidemus and also this — of-Themistocles makes

στρατήγημα. καταβαινόντων γὰρ εἰς Πειραιᾶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων,
a-stratagem going-down for to Piraeus of-the Athenians
φησὶν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ Γοργόνειον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τοῦ
he-says to-have-been-lost the Gorgon's-head from the goddess's the
ἀγάλματος· τὸν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα προσποιούμενον ζητεῖν καὶ
statue — then Themistocles pretending to-search and
διερευνώμενον ἅπαντα χρημάτων ἀνευρίσκειν πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς
searching-through everything of-money to-find a-quantity in the
ἀποσκευαῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένον, ὧν εἰς μέσον κομισθέντων
baggage hidden which into middle having-been-brought
εὐπορῆσαι τοὺς ἐμβαίνοντας εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐφοδίων.
to-have-been-well-supplied those embarking into the ships with-provisions
Ἐκπλεούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς μὲν οἶκτον τὸ θέαμα,
sailing-out and the city to-some indeed pity the sight
τοῖς δὲ θαῦμα τῆς τόλμης παρεῖχε, γενεὰς μὲν ἄλλῃ
to-others and wonder at-the daring offered children indeed elsewhere
προπεμπόντων, αὐτῶν δ' ἀκάμπτων πρὸς οἰμωγὰς καὶ
sending-off themselves and unbending toward wailings and
δάκρυα γονέων καὶ περιβολὰς διαπερώντων εἰς τὴν νῆσον.
tears of-parents and embraces crossing-over to the island
καίτοι πολλοὶ μὲν διὰ γῆρας ὑπολειπόμενοι τῶν
yet many indeed because-of old-age being-left-behind of-the
πολιτῶν ἔλεον εἶχον· ἦν δέ τις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ
citizens pity had there-was and some also from the tame and
συντρόφων ζῴων ἐπικλῶσα γλυκυθυμία, μετ' ὠρυγῆς καὶ
household animals heart-rending affection with howling and
πόθου συμπαραθεόντων ἐμβαίνουσι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν τροφεῦσιν.
longing running-alongside embarking their own keepers
ἐν οἷς ἱστορεῖται κύων Ξανθίππου τοῦ Περικλέους
among which is-recorded a-dog of-Xanthippus the of-Pericles
πατρὸς οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μόνωσιν ἐναλέσθαι
father not having-endured the from him isolation to-have-leaped

τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῇ τριήρει παρανηχόμενος ἐκπεσεῖν
into-the sea and the trireme swimming-beside to-have-come-ashore
εἰς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ λιποθυμήσας ἀποθανεῖν εὐθύς· οὗ
on — Salamis and having-fainted to-have-died at-once of-which
καὶ τὸ δεικνύμενον ἄχρι νῦν καὶ καλούμενον Κυνὸς
also the-thing shown until now and called Dog's
σῆμα τάφον εἶναι λέγουσι.
monument tomb to-be they-say

11 Ταῦτά τε δὴ μεγάλα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, καὶ τοὺς
these-things both indeed great — of-Themistocles and the
πολίτας αἰσθόμενος ποθοῦντας Ἀριστείδην καὶ δεδιότας, μὴ
citizens having-perceived longing-for Aristides and fearing lest
δι' ὀργὴν τῷ βαρβάρῳ προσθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἀνατρέψῃ τὰ
through anger to-the barbarian having-attached himself he-overturn the
πράγματα τῆς Ἑλλάδος (ἐξωστράκιστο γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου
affairs — of-Greece he-had-been-ostracized for before the war
καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους), γράφει ψήφισμα,
overthrown-by-faction by Themistocles he-writes a-decree
τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνῳ μεθεστῶσιν ἐξεῖναι κατελθοῦσι πράττειν
for-those for a-time removed to-be-allowed having-returned to-do
καὶ λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα τῇ Ἑλλάδι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν.
and to-say the best — for-Greece with the other citizens
Εὐρυβιάδου δὲ τὴν μὲν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν νεῶν ἔχοντος διὰ
of-Eurybiades and the indeed leadership of-the ships having because-of
τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀξίωμα, μαλακοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν κίνδυνον
the — of-Sparta prestige soft but about the danger
ὄντος, αἴρειν δὲ βουλομένου καὶ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσθμόν,
being to-weigh-anchor and wishing and to-sail to — Isthmus
ὅπου καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἤθροιστο τῶν Πελοποννησίων,
where also the infantry had-been-gathered of-the Peloponnesians
ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀντέλεγεν· ὅτε καὶ τὰ μνημονευόμενα
— Themistocles spoke-against when also the things-remembered

λεχθῆναί φασι. τοῦ γὰρ Εὐρυβιάδου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος·
to-have-been-said they-say — for Eurybiades to him having-said
“ Ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοὺς προεξανισταμένους
O Themistocles in the games those starting-too-soon
ῥαπίζουσι,” “Ναὶ,” εἶπεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, “ἀλλὰ τοὺς
they-beat yes said — Themistocles but those
ἀπολειφθέντας οὐ στεφανοῦσιν.” ἐπαραμένου δὲ τὴν
left-behind not they-crown having-raised and the
βακτηρίαν ὡς πατάξοντος, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔφη· “Πάταξον
staff as going-to-strike — Themistocles said strike
μέν, ἄκουσον δέ.” θαυμάσαντος δὲ τὴν πραότητα τοῦ
indeed hear but having-marveled-at and the mildness —
Εὐρυβιάδου καὶ λέγειν κελεύσαντος, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς
Eurybiades and to-speak having-bidden — indeed Themistocles
ἀνῆγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον. εἰπόντος δέ τινος, ὡς ἀνὴρ
brought-back him to the argument having-said and someone that a-man
ἄπολις οὐκ ὀρθῶς διδάσκει τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐγκαταλιπεῖν καὶ
cityless not rightly teaches those having to-abandon and
προέσθαι τὰς πατρίδας, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπιστρέψας τὸν
to-give-up the fatherlands — Themistocles having-turned the
λόγον· “ Ἡμεῖς τοι,” εἶπεν, “ὦ μοχθηρέ, τὰς μὲν οἰκίας καὶ
speech we surely said O wretch the indeed houses and
τὰ τείχη καταλελοίπαμεν, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἀψύχων ἕνεκα
the walls have-left-behind not deeming-it-right of-lifeless-things for-the-sake
δουλεύειν, πόλις δ’ ἡμῖν ἔστι μεγίστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων, αἱ
to-be-slaves a-city and to-us is greatest of-the Greek the
διακόσιαι τριήρεις, αἳ νῦν μὲν ὑμῖν παρεστᾶσι βοηθοὶ
two-hundred triremes which now indeed to-you stand-by as-helpers
σώζεσθαι δι’ αὐτῶν βουλομένοις, εἰ δ’ ἄπιτε δεύτερον
to-be-saved through them wishing if and you-go-away a-second-time
ἡμᾶς προδόντες, αὐτίκα πεύσεταί τις Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίους
us having-betrayed straightway will-learn someone of-Greeks Athenians

καὶ πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ χώραν οὐ χείρονα κεκτημένους
both a-city free and a-land not worse having-acquired
ἧς ἀπέβαλον." ταῦτα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰπόντος
than-that-which they-lost these-things — Themistocles having-said
ἔννοια καὶ δέος ἔσχε τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μὴ
thought and fear held — Eurybiades of-the Athenians lest
σφᾶς ἀπολείποντες οἴχονται. τοῦ δ' Ἐρετριέως πειρωμένου
them leaving they-be-gone the and Eretrian attempting
τι λέγειν πρὸς αὐτόν, "Ἦ γάρ," ἔφη, "καὶ ὑμῖν
something to-say to him truly for he-said also for-you
περὶ πολέμου τίς ἐστι λόγος, οἳ καθάπερ αἱ τευθίδες
about war any is speech who just-as the squids
μάχαιραν μὲν ἔχετε, καρδίαν δὲ οὐκ ἔχετε;"
a-sword indeed you-have a-heart but not you-have

12 Λέγεται δ' ὑπό τινων τὸν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέα περὶ τούτων
it-is-said and by some — indeed Themistocles about these-things
ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἄνωθεν τῆς νεὼς διαλέγεσθαι,
from the deck above of-the ship to-be-discoursing
γλαῦκα δ' ὀφθῆναι διαπετομένην ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς τῶν νεῶν
an-owl and to-have-been-seen flying-through from right of-the ships
καὶ τοῖς καρχησίοις ἐπικαθίζουσαν· διὸ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα
and on-the mastheads alighting wherefore indeed also most
προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ναυμαχήσοντες.
they-adhered to-the opinion and prepared going-to-fight-at-sea
ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὅ τε στόλος τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατὰ τὸ
but when of-the enemies the both fleet — to-Attica along the
Φαληρικὸν προσφερόμενος τοὺς πέριξ ἀπέκρυψεν αἰγιαλούς,
Phaleric-coast bearing-down the around hid shores
αὐτός τε βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καταβὰς
himself and the-king with the foot army having-come-down
ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἄθρους ὤφθη, τῶν δὲ δυνάμεων ὁμοῦ
to the sea in-a-mass was-seen of-the and forces together

γενομένων, ἐξερρύησαν οἱ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγοι τῶν
having-become flowed-away the — of-Themistocles words of-the
Ἑλλήνων καὶ πάλιν ἐπάπταινον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸς τὸν
Greeks and again looked-anxiously the Peloponnesians toward —
Ἰσθμόν, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι λέγοι χαλεπαίνοντες, ἐδόκει
Isthmus if anyone other thing said being-angry it-seemed-good
δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποχωρεῖν καὶ παρηγγέλλετο πλοῦς τοῖς
and in-the night to-withdraw and was-announced voyage to-the
κυβερνήταις, ἔνθα δὴ βαρέως φέρων ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, εἰ
helmsmen there indeed heavily bearing-it — Themistocles if
τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν στενῶν προέμενοι βοήθειαν
the from the place and the narrows having-given-up help
οἱ Ἕλληνες διαλυθήσονται κατὰ πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο καὶ
the Greeks will-be-dispersed by cities he-planned and
συνετίθει τὴν περὶ τὸν Σίκιννον πραγματείαν.
put-together the about — Sicinnus business
Ἦν δὲ τῷ μὲν γένει Πέρσης ὁ Σίκινος, αἰχμάλωτος,
was and in-the indeed race Persian — Sicinnus a-captive
εὔνους δὲ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ
well-disposed and — to-Themistocles and of-the children his
παιδαγωγός. ὃν ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην κρύφα, κελεύσας
tutor whom he-sends-out to — Xerxes secretly having-bidden
λέγειν, ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς
to-say that Themistocles the of-the Athenians general
αἱρούμενος τὰ βασιλέως ἐξαγγέλλει πρῶτος αὐτῷ τοὺς
choosing the of-the-king announces first to-him the
Ἕλληνας ἀποδιδράσκοντας, καὶ διακελεύεται μὴ παρεῖναι
Greeks running-away and urges not to-allow
φυγεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ᾧ ταράττονται τῶν πεζῶν χωρὶς
to-flee to-them but in which they-are-in-confusion from-the foot-forces apart
ὄντες ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν. ταῦτα
being to-attack and to-destroy the naval force these-things

δ᾽ ὁ Ξέρξης ὡς ἀπ᾽ εὐνοίας λελεγμένα δεξάμενος ἥσθη,
and — Xerxes as from goodwill having-been-said having-received was-pleased
καὶ τέλος εὐθὺς ἐξέφερε πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν νεῶν, τὰς
and an-order at-once he-issued to the commanders of-the ships the
μὲν ἄλλας πληροῦν καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν, διακοσίαις δ᾽ ἀναχθέντας
indeed other to-man at leisure with-two-hundred and having-put-out
ἤδη περιβαλέσθαι τὸν πόρον ἐν κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ
already to-surround the strait in a-circle all and
διαζῶσαι τὰς νήσους, ὅπως ἐκφύγοι μηδεὶς τῶν πολεμίων.
to-gird-about the islands so-that might-escape no-one of-the enemies
Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου πρῶτος
these and being-done Aristides the of-Lysimachus first
αἰσθόμενος ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, οὐκ
having-perceived came to the tent — of-Themistocles not
ὢν φίλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐξωστρακισμένος, ὥσπερ
being a-friend but even through that-one ostracized as
εἴρηται· προελθόντι δὲ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ φράζει τὴν κύκλωσιν.
has-been-said having-come-out and — to-Themistocles he-tells the encirclement
ὁ δὲ τήν τε ἄλλην καλοκαγαθίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰδὼς καὶ
he and the both other nobility of-the man knowing and
τῆς τότε παρουσίας ἀγάμενος λέγει τὰ περὶ τὸν Σίκιννον
the then presence admiring tells the about — Sicinnus
αὐτῷ καὶ παρεκάλει τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι
to-him and urged of-the Greeks to-lend-a-hand
καὶ συμπροθυμεῖσθαι πίστιν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον, ὅπως ἐν τοῖς
and to-share-the-zeal trust having rather so-that in the
στενοῖς ναυμαχήσωσιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀριστείδης ἐπαινέσας τὸν
narrows they-may-fight-at-sea — indeed then Aristides having-praised —
Θεμιστοκλέα τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπῄει στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους
Themistocles the other went-to generals and trierarchs
ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην παροξύνων. ἔτι δ᾽ ὅμως ἀπιστούντων
to the battle spurring-on still and nevertheless disbelieving

ἐφάνη Τηνία τριήρης αὐτόμολος, ἧς ἐναυάρχει Παναίτιος,
appeared a-Tenian trireme deserter which commanded Panaetius
ἀπαγγέλλουσα τὴν κύκλωσιν, ὥστε καὶ θυμῷ τοὺς
reporting the encirclement so-that also with-passion the
Ἕλληνας ὁρμῆσαι μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον.
Greeks to-rush along-with the necessity toward the danger

IV · SALAMIS

Xerxes watches from a golden seat on high ground, with secretaries to record the battle. Before it three Persian captives are sacrificed to Dionysus Eater of Raw Flesh at the seer's demand. Themistocles waits for the wind from the sea; Ariamenes, boarding their ship, is speared into the sea by Ameinias and Socles, a light shines from Eleusis, phantoms seem to stretch out their hands from Aegina, and the Greeks rout the crowded enemy by evening. After the victory Themistocles proposes to break the bridge, but Aristides dissuades him, and the eunuch Arnaces is sent to hurry Xerxes home.

Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Ξέρξης μὲν ἄνω καθῆστο τὸν στόλον 13
together-with and day Xerxes indeed above sat the fleet
ἐποπτεύων καὶ τὴν παράταξιν, ὡς μὲν Φανόδημός φησιν,
overlooking and the battle-line as indeed Phanodemus says
ὑπὲρ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ᾗ βραχεῖ πόρῳ διείργεται τῆς
above — Heracleum where by-a-narrow strait is-separated —
Ἀττικῆς ἡ νῆσος, ὡς δ' Ἀκεστόδωρος, ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς
from-Attica the island as and Acestodorus on the-border —
Μεγαρίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν καλουμένων Κεράτων, χρυσοῦν δίφρον
of-Megarid above the called Horns golden a-throne
θέμενος καὶ γραμματεῖς πολλοὺς παραστησάμενος, ὧν
having-set and secretaries many having-stationed-beside-him whose
ἔργον ἦν ἀπογράφεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην πραττόμενα.
task was to-record the in the battle things-done

Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ναυαρχίδα τριήρη σφαγιαζομένῳ
to-Themistocles and beside the flagship trireme sacrificing
τρεῖς προσήχθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι, κάλλιστοι μὲν ἰδέσθαι τὴν
three were-brought captives most-beautiful indeed to-see the
ὄψιν, ἐσθῆσι δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένοι διαπρεπῶς.
appearance in-clothing and and gold adorned conspicuously
ἐλέγοντο δὲ Σανδαύκης παῖδες εἶναι τῆς βασιλέως
were-said and of-Sandauce sons to-be the of-the-king
ἀδελφῆς καὶ Ἀρταΰκτου. τούτους ἰδὼν Εὐφραντίδης ὁ
sister and of-Artayctes these having-seen Euphrantides the
μάντις, ὡς ἅμα μὲν ἀνέλαμψεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μέγα
seer as at-once indeed blazed-up from the victims great
καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ, ἅμα δὲ πτармὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσήμηνε,
and conspicuous fire at-once and a-sneeze from the-right gave-a-sign
τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσε τῶν νεανίσκων
— Themistocles having-clasped-the-hand ordered the young-men
κατάρξασθαι καὶ καθιερεῦσαι πάντας ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ
to-consecrate and to-sacrifice all to-raw-eating Dionysus
προσευξάμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ἅμα σωτηρίαν τε καὶ νίκην
having-prayed so for at-once safety both and victory
ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἐκπлαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους
would-be for-the Greeks being-panic-struck and — Themistocles
ὡς μέγα τὸ μάντευμα καὶ δεινόν, οἷον εἴωθεν ἐν
as great the prophecy and terrible as is-usual in
μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ πράγμασι χαλεποῖς, μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν
great contests and affairs difficult rather from the
παραλόγων ἢ τῶν εὐλόγων τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντες οἱ
unreasonable than the reasonable the safety hoping the
πολλοὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅμα κοινῇ κατεκαλοῦντο φωνῇ καὶ
many the god at-once in-common invoked with-voice and
τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῷ βωμῷ προσαγαγόντες ἠνάγκασαν,
the captives to-the altar having-led compelled

ὡς ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευσε, τὴν θυσίαν συντελεσθῆναι. ταῦτα
as the seer ordered the sacrifice to-be-completed these-things
μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄπειρος
indeed then a-man philosophic and of-letters not inexperienced
ἱστορικῶν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἴρηκε.
historical Phanias the Lesbian has-said
Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βαρβαρικῶν νεῶν Αἰσχύλος ὁ 14
about and the number of-the barbarian ships Aeschylus the
ποιητὴς ὡς ἂν εἰδὼς καὶ διαβεβαιούμενος ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ
poet as — knowing and affirming-positively in tragedy
Πέρσαις λέγει ταῦτα·
Persians says these-things

Ξέρξῃ δέ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιὰς μὲν ἦν
to-Xerxes and also for I-know a-thousand indeed was
ὧν ἦγε πλῆθος· αἱ δ' ὑπέρκομποι τάχει
of-which he-led number the and boastful in-speed
ἑκατὸν δὶς ἦσαν ἑπτά θ'· ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.
a-hundred twice were seven and thus holds account

τῶν δ' Ἀττικῶν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα τὸ πλῆθος οὐσῶν
of-the and Attic a-hundred eighty the number being
ἑκάστη τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος μαχομένους
each the from the deck fighting
ὀκτωκαίδεκα εἶχεν, ὧν τοξόται τέσσαρες ἦσαν, οἱ
eighteen had of-whom archers four were the
λοιποὶ δ' ὁπλῖται.
rest and hoplites
Δοκεῖ δ' οὐκ ἧττον εὖ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἢ τὸν
seems and not less well the moment — Themistocles than the
τόπον συνιδὼν καὶ φυλάξας μὴ πρότερον ἀντιπρῴρους
place having-observed and having-watched not earlier prow-on

καταστῆσαι ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς τὰς τριήρεις, ἢ τὴν
to-set against-the barbarian the triremes than the
εἰωθυῖαν ὥραν παραγενέσθαι, τὸ πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἐκ
customary hour to-have-come the wind fresh from
πελάγους ἀεὶ καὶ κῦμα διὰ τῶν στενῶν κατάγουσαν·
sea always and a-swell through the narrows bringing-down
ὃ τὰς μὲν Ἑλληνικὰς οὐκ ἔβλαπτε ναῦς ἁλιτενεῖς οὔσας
which the indeed Greek not harmed ships sea-level being
καὶ ταπεινοτέρας, τὰς δὲ βαρβαρικὰς ταῖς τε πρύμναις
and lower the but barbarian with-the both sterns
ἀνεστώσας καὶ τοῖς καταστρώμασιν ὑψορόφους καὶ βαρείας
raised and with-the decks high-roofed and heavy
ἐπιφερομένας ἔσφαλλε προσπῖπτον καὶ παρεδίδου
bearing-on it-threw-off-balance falling-upon and delivered
πλαγίας τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀξέως προσφερομένοις καὶ τῷ
broadside to-the Greeks sharply bearing-on and —
Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέχουσιν, ὡς ὁρῶντι μάλιστα τὸ συμφέρον,
to-Themistocles attending as seeing most the advantage
καὶ ὅτι κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ὁ Ξέρξου ναύαρχος Ἀριαμένης ναῦν
and because against him the of-Xerxes admiral Ariamenes a-ship
ἔχων μεγάλην ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τείχους ἐτόξευε καὶ ἠκόντιζεν,
having great as from a-wall shot-arrows and hurled-javelins
ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν καὶ τῶν βασιλέως ἀδελφῶν πολὺ
a-man good being and of-the of-the-king brothers by-far
κράτιστός τε καὶ δικαιότατος. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν Ἀμεινίας
strongest both and most-just this-man indeed then Ameinias
ὁ Δεκελεὺς καὶ Σωκλῆς ὁ Παιανιεὺς ὁμοῦ πλέοντες, ὡς
the Decelean and Socles the Paeanian together sailing as
αἱ νῆες ἀντίπρῳροι προσπεσοῦσαι καὶ συνερείσασαι τοῖς
the ships prow-on having-collided and having-rammed with-the
χαλκώμασιν ἐνεσχέθησαν, ἐπιβαίνοντα τῆς αὐτῶν τριήρους
bronze-beaks were-caught-fast boarding the their trireme

ὑποστάντες καὶ τοῖς δόρασι τύπτοντες εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν
having-withstood and with-the spears striking into the sea
ἐξέβαλον· καὶ τὸ σῶμα μετ᾽ ἄλλων διαφερόμενον ναυαγίων
threw-out and the body with other carried-about wreckage
Ἀρτεμισία γνωρίσασα πρὸς Ξέρξην ἀνήνεγκεν.
Artemisia having-recognized to Xerxes brought-up
Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὄντος φῶς μὲν ἐκλάμψαι μέγα
in and this the contest being a-light indeed to-have-shone great
λέγουσιν Ἐλευσινόθεν, ἦχον δὲ καὶ φωνὴν τὸ Θριάσιον
they-say from-Eleusis echo and also voice the Thriasian
κατέχειν πεδίον ἄχρι θαλάττης, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῦ πολλῶν
to-fill plain as-far-as the-sea as of-men together many
τὸν μυστικὸν ἐξαγόντων Ἴακχον. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους
the mystic leading-out Iacchus from and the multitude
τῶν φθεγγομένων κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀναφερόμενον
of-those uttering by little from earth rising
νέφος ἔδοξεν αὖθις ὑπονοστεῖν καὶ κατασκήπτειν εἰς τὰς
a-cloud seemed again to-sink-back and to-swoop-down upon the
τριήρεις. ἕτεροι δὲ φάσματα καὶ εἴδωλα καθορᾶν ἔδοξαν
triremes others and apparitions and phantoms to-see seemed
ἐνόπλων ἀνδρῶν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγίνης τὰς χεῖρας ἀνεχόντων πρὸ
of-armed men from Aegina the hands holding-up before
τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τριηρῶν· οὓς εἴκαζον Αἰακίδας εἶναι
the Greek triremes whom they-conjectured Aeacidae to-be
παρακεκλημένους εὐχαῖς πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν.
having-been-summoned by-prayers before the battle to the help
Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν λαμβάνει ναῦν Λυκομήδης, ἀνὴρ
first indeed then takes a-ship Lycomedes a-man
Ἀθηναῖος τριηραρχῶν, ἧς τὰ παράσημα περικόψας
Athenian commanding-a-trireme whose the figureheads having-cut-off
ἀνέθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνι δαφνηφόρῳ Φλυῆσιν. οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι
he-dedicated to-Apollo laurel-bearer at-Phlya the and others

τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐξισούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ
to-the barbarians equaling-themselves-in the number in narrow-space
κατὰ μέρος προσφερομένους καὶ περιπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις
by part bearing-on and falling-foul of-one-another
ἐτρέψαντο, μέχρι δείλης ἀντισχόντας, ὡς εἴρηκε Σιμωνίδης,
routed until evening having-held-out as has-said Simonides
τὴν καλὴν ἐκείνην καὶ περιβόητον ἀράμενοι νίκην, ἧς
the fair that and famous having-won victory than-which
οὔθ' Ἕλλησιν οὔτε βαρβάροις ἐνάλιον ἔργον εἴργασται
neither by-Greeks nor by-barbarians at-sea deed has-been-done
λαμπρότερον, ἀνδρείᾳ μὲν καὶ προθυμίᾳ κοινῇ τῶν
more-brilliant by-courage indeed and zeal common of-those
ναυμαχησάντων, γνώμῃ δὲ καὶ δεινότητι τῇ Θεμιστοκλέους.
having-fought-at-sea by-judgment but and cleverness the of-Themistocles
16 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν Ξέρξης μὲν ἔτι θυμομαχῶν
after and the sea-fight Xerxes indeed still struggling-in-anger
πρὸς τὴν ἀπότευξιν ἐπεχείρει διὰ χωμάτων ἐπάγειν τὸ
against the failure attempted through mounds to-lead the
πεζὸν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐμφράξας τὸν διὰ
infantry against-the Greeks to Salamis having-blocked the through
μέσου πόρον· Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' ἀποπειρώμενος Ἀριστείδου
middle strait Themistocles and sounding Aristides
λόγῳ γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο λύειν τὸ ζεῦγμα ταῖς ναυσὶν
in-word opinion made to-break-up the bridge with-the ships
ἐπιπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον, "Ὅπως," ἔφη, "τὴν
sailing-against to Hellespont so-that he-said the
Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ λάβωμεν." δυσχεραίνοντος δὲ τοῦ
Asia in — Europe we-may-take being-displeased and —
Ἀριστείδου καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι, "Νῦν μὲν τρυφῶντι τῷ
Aristides and saying that now indeed with-a-luxuriating the
βαρβάρῳ πεπολεμήκαμεν, ἂν δὲ κατακλείσωμεν εἰς τὴν
barbarian we-have-fought if and we-shut-in into —

Ἑλλάδα καὶ καταστήσωμεν εἰς ἀνάγκην ὑπὸ δέους ἄνδρα
Greece and put into necessity under fear a-man
τηλικούτων δυνάμεων κύριον, οὐκέτι καθήμενος ὑπὸ σκιάδι
of-such forces master no-longer sitting under a-parasol
χρυσῇ θεάσεται τὴν μάχην ἐφ' ἡσυχίας, ἀλλὰ πάντα τολμῶν
golden will-he-watch the battle at leisure but everything daring
καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὸς παρὼν διὰ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπανορθώσεται
and in-all himself present because-of the danger will-set-right
τὰ παρειμένα καὶ βουλεύσεται βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων· οὐ
the things-neglected and will-plan better on-behalf-of the whole not
τὴν οὖσαν οὖν," ἔφη, "δεῖ γέφυραν, ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, ἡμᾶς
the existing then he-said it-is-needful bridge O Themistocles us
ἀναιρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν, εἴπερ οἷόν τε, προσκατασκευάσαντας
to-destroy but another if-indeed possible — having-built-besides
ἐκβαλεῖν διὰ τάχους τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης."
to-throw-out with speed the man from — Europe
"Οὐκοῦν," εἶπεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, "εἰ δοκεῖ ταῦτα
well-then said — Themistocles if seems these-things
συμφέρειν, ὥρα σκοπεῖν καὶ μηχανᾶσθαι πάντας ἡμᾶς,
to-be-expedient it-is-time to-consider and to-contrive all us
ὅπως ἀπαλλαγήσεται τὴν ταχίστην ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος."
how he-will-depart the quickest from — Greece
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, πέμπει τινὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν
when and these-things seemed-good he-sends one of-the royal
εὐνούχων ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀνευρών, Ἀρνάκην
eunuchs among the captives having-found Arnaces
ὄνομα, φράζειν βασιλεῖ κελεύσας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν Ἕλλησι
by-name to-tell to-the-king having-bidden that to-the indeed Greeks
δέδοκται τῷ ναυτικῷ κεκρατηκότας ἀναπλεῖν εἰς τὸν
it-has-been-resolved with-the navy having-prevailed to-sail-up to the
Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπὶ τὸ ζεῦγμα καὶ λύειν τὴν γέφυραν,
Hellespont to the bridge-of-boats and to-break-up the bridge

Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ κηδόμενος βασιλέως παραινεῖ σπεύδειν
Themistocles and caring-for the-king advises to-hasten
ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θάλατταν καὶ περαιοῦσθαι, μέχρις αὐτὸς
to the his-own sea and to-cross-over while he-himself
ἐμποιεῖ τινας διατριβὰς τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ μελλήσεις
causes some delays for-the allies and postponements
πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν. ταῦθ' ὁ βάρβαρος ἀκούσας καὶ
toward the pursuit these-things the barbarian having-heard and
γενόμενος περίφοβος διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀναχώρησιν.
having-become terrified with speed made the withdrawal
καὶ πεῖραν ἡ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδου φρόνησις ἐν
and a-test the of-Themistocles and of-Aristides prudence in
Μαρδονίῳ παρέσχεν, εἴγε πολλοστημορίῳ τῆς Ξέρξου
Mardonius gave since-indeed with-a-small-fraction of-the of-Xerxes
δυνάμεως διαγωνισάμενοι Πλαταιᾶσιν εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν
force having-fought-it-out at-Plataea into the about the
ὅλων κίνδυνον κατέστησαν.
whole danger they-came

V · HONORS AND THE WALLS

The generals each vote themselves first and Themistocles second, Sparta crowns him, and at Olympia the crowd watches him instead of the contests. His sayings are recalled. He tricks the Spartans while the Athenians build their walls, fortifies the Piraeus, and turns the city to the sea. His secret plan to burn the Greeks' dockyard is judged by Aristides most advantageous and most unjust, so the Athenians forbid it, and his stand against the Spartans in the Amphictyonic council makes them promote Cimon.

Πόλεων μὲν οὖν τὴν Αἰγινητῶν ἀριστεῦσαί φησιν Ἡρόδοτος, 17
of-cities indeed then the of-Aeginetans to-have-excelled says Herodotus
Θεμιστοκλεῖ δέ, καίπερ ἄκοντες ὑπὸ φθόνου, τὸ πρωτεῖον
to-Themistocles and though unwilling through envy the first-prize
ἀπέδοσαν ἅπαντες. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν
gave all when for having-withdrawn to — Isthmus
ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν ψῆφον ἔφερον οἱ στρατηγοί, πρῶτον μὲν
from the altar the vote carried the generals first indeed
ἕκαστος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφαινεν ἀρετῇ, δεύτερον δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν
each himself declared in-valor second and after himself
Θεμιστοκλέα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην αὐτὸν
Themistocles Lacedaemonians and to — Sparta him
καταγαγόντες Εὐρυβιάδῃ μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἐκείνῳ δὲ σοφίας
having-brought-down to-Eurybiades indeed of-courage to-that-one and of-wisdom
ἀριστεῖον ἔδοσαν θαλλοῦ στέφανον, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν
a-prize gave of-olive a-crown and of-the in the city
ἁρμάτων τὸ πρωτεῦον ἐδωρήσαντο καὶ τριακοσίους τῶν
chariots the first presented and three-hundred of-the
νέων πομποὺς ἄχρι τῶν ὅρων συνεξέπεμψαν. λέγεται δ'
young-men as-escorts as-far-as the borders sent-out-with-him it-is-said and
Ὀλυμπίων τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀγομένων καὶ παρελθόντος εἰς τὸ
of-Olympic-games the next being-held and having-come-forward into the
στάδιον τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀμελήσαντας τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν
stadium — of-Themistocles having-neglected the contestants
τοὺς παρόντας ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεῖνον θεᾶσθαι καὶ τοῖς
those present whole the day him to-gaze-at and to-the
ξένοις ἐπιδεικνύειν ἅμα θαυμάζοντας καὶ κροτοῦντας, ὥστε
strangers to-point-out at-once admiring and clapping so-that
καὶ αὐτὸν ἡσθέντα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὁμολογῆσαι τὸν
even himself having-been-pleased to the friends to-have-admitted the
καρπὸν ἀπέχειν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῷ πονηθέντων.
fruit to-receive of-the on-behalf-of — Greece by-him labors

18 Καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῇ φύσει φιλοτιμότατος, εἰ δεῖ
and for he-was by-the nature most-ambitious if it-is-needful
τεκμαίρεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομένων. αἱρεθεὶς
to-judge from the things-recorded having-been-chosen
γὰρ ναύαρχος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν ἰδίων οὔτε
for admiral by the city nothing neither of-the private nor
τῶν κοινῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπανεβάλλετο
of-the public by part he-transacted but he-put-off
τὸ προσπῖπτον εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, καθ᾽ ἣν ἐκπλεῖν
the business-arising to the day that on which to-sail-out
ἔμελλεν, ἵν᾽ ὁμοῦ πολλὰ πράττων πράγματα καὶ
he-was-about so-that together many doing affairs and
παντοδαποῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλῶν μέγας εἶναι δοκῇ καὶ
with-all-sorts-of men consorting great to-be he-might-seem and
πλεῖστον δύνασθαι.
most to-be-powerful
Τῶν δὲ νεκρῶν τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ἐπισκοπῶν παρὰ
of-the and dead those washed-ashore inspecting along
τὴν θάλατταν, ὡς εἶδε περικειμένους ψέλια χρυσᾶ
the sea when he-saw wearing bracelets golden
καὶ στρεπτούς, αὐτὸς μὲν παρῆλθε, τῷ δ᾽ ἑπομένῳ
and necklaces himself indeed passed-by to-the and following
φίλῳ δείξας εἶπεν· “Ἀνελοῦ σαυτῷ· σὺ γὰρ οὐκ εἶ
friend having-shown he-said pick-up for-yourself you for not are
Θεμιστοκλῆς.” πρὸς δέ τινα τῶν καλῶν γεγονότων,
Themistocles to and a-certain of-the beautiful having-been
Ἀντιφάτην, ὑπερηφάνως αὐτῷ κεχρημένον πρότερον,
Antiphates arrogantly him having-treated before
ὕστερον δὲ θεραπεύοντα διὰ τὴν δόξαν, “Ὦ μειράκιον,”
later and courting because-of the fame O youth
εἶπεν, “ὀψὲ μέν, ἀμφότεροι δ᾽ ἅμα νοῦν ἐσχήκαμεν.”
he-said late indeed both and at-once sense we-have-got

ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ θαυμάζειν,
he-said and the Athenians not to-honor him nor to-admire
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ πλατάνῳ χειμαζομένους μὲν ὑποτρέχειν
but as a-plane-tree in-storm indeed to-run-under
κινδυνεύοντας, εὐδίας δὲ περὶ αὐτοὺς γενομένης τίλλειν
being-in-danger fair-weather and around them having-come to-pluck
καὶ κολούειν. τοῦ δὲ Σεριφίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος,
and to-lop the and Seriphian to him having-said
ὡς οὐ δι' αὑτὸν ἔσχηκε δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν,
that not through himself he-has-got fame but through the city
"Ἀληθῆ λέγεις," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ Σερίφιος ὢν
true you-say he-said but neither — I a-Seriphian being
ἐγενόμην ἔνδοξος, οὔτε σὺ Ἀθηναῖος."
would-have-become famous nor you an-Athenian
Ἑτέρου δέ τινος τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὡς ἔδοξέ τι
another and certain of-the generals as he-seemed something
χρήσιμον διαπεπρᾶχθαι τῇ πόλει, θρασυνομένου πρὸς
useful to-have-accomplished for-the city being-bold toward
τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς ἐκείνου πράξεσιν
— Themistocles and the his-own to-the of-that-one deeds
ἀντιπαραβάλλοντος, ἔφη τῇ ἑορτῇ τὴν ὑστεραίαν
comparing he-said with-the festival the day-after
ἐρίσαι λέγουσαν, ὡς ἐκείνη μὲν ἀσχολιῶν τε μεστὴ
to-have-quarreled saying that that-one indeed of-occupations both full
καὶ κοπώδης ἐστίν, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ πάντες ἀπολαύουσι
and wearisome is in her and all enjoy
τῶν παρεσκευασμένων σχολάζοντες· τὴν δ' ἑορτὴν πρὸς
the things-prepared being-at-leisure the and festival to
ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν· "Ἀληθῆ λέγεις· ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ μὴ γενομένης σὺ
these-things to-say true you-say but of-me not having-been you
οὐκ ἂν ἦσθα·" "κἀμοῦ τοίνυν," ἔφη, "τότε μὴ γενομένου,
not — would-be and-of-me well-then he-said then not having-been

ποῦ ἂν ἦτε νῦν ὑμεῖς;" τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἐντρυφῶντα τῇ
where — would-be now you the and son being-saucy toward-the
μητρὶ καὶ δι' ἐκείνην αὐτῷ σκώπτων ἔλεγε πλεῖστον
mother and through her to-him mocking he-said most
τῶν Ἑλλήνων δύνασθαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἕλλησιν ἐπιτάττειν
of-the Greeks to-be-powerful to-the indeed for Greeks to-command
Ἀθηναίους, Ἀθηναίοις δ' αὐτόν, αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου
Athenians to-Athenians and himself to-himself and the of-that-one
μητέρα, τῇ μητρὶ δ' ἐκεῖνον. ἴδιος δέ τις ἐν πᾶσι
mother to-the mother and that-one peculiar and somewhat in all
βουλόμενος εἶναι χωρίον μὲν πιπράσκων ἐκέλευε κηρύττειν,
wishing to-be a-field indeed selling he-bade to-proclaim
ὅτι καὶ γείτονα χρηστὸν ἔχει· τῶν δὲ μνωμένων αὐτοῦ
that also a-neighbor good it-has of-the and wooing his
τὴν θυγατέρα τὸν ἐπιεικῆ τοῦ πλουσίου προκρίνας ἔφη
the daughter the decent-one to-the rich having-preferred he-said
ζητεῖν ἄνδρα χρημάτων δεόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα
to-seek a-man of-money in-need rather than money
ἀνδρός. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀποφθέγμασι τοιοῦτός τις ἦν.
of-a-man in indeed then the sayings such somewhat he-was

19 Γενόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει
having-come and from the actions those at-once he-attempted
τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ τειχίζειν, ὡς μὲν ἱστορεῖ
the city to-rebuild and to-wall as indeed records
Θεόπομπος, χρήμασι πείσας μὴ ἐναντιωθῆναι τοὺς
Theopompus with-money having-persuaded not to-oppose the
ἐφόρους, ὡς δ' οἱ πλεῖστοι, παρακρουσάμενος. ἦκε
ephors as and the most having-outwitted-them he-came
μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σπάρτην ὄνομα πρεσβείας ἐπιγραψάμενος·
indeed for to Sparta the-name of-an-embassy having-put-on
ἐγκαλούντων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅτι τειχίζουσι τὸ
accusing and the Spartans that they-are-walling the

ἄστυ, καὶ Πολυάρχου κατηγοροῦντος ἐπίτηδες ἐξ Αἰγίνης
town and Polyarchus accusing purposely from Aegina
ἀποσταλέντος, ἠρνεῖτο καὶ πέμπειν ἐκέλευεν εἰς Ἀθήνας
having-been-sent he-denied and to-send he-bade to Athens
τοὺς κατοψομένους, ἅμα μὲν ἐμβάλλων τῷ τειχισμῷ
those to-look at-once indeed throwing-in for-the walling
χρόνον ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ἀντ᾽
time from the delay at-once and wishing instead-of
αὐτοῦ τοὺς πεμπομένους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ὃ
him those sent to-be-held-as-hostages by-the Athenians which
καὶ συνέβη· γνόντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀληθὲς οὐκ
also happened having-learned for the Lacedaemonians the truth not
ἠδίκησαν αὐτόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀδήλως χαλεπαίνοντες ἀπέπεμψαν.
did-wrong him but secretly being-angry sent-him-away
Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατεσκεύαζε, τὴν τῶν λιμένων
from and this — Piraeus he-built the of-the harbors
εὐφυΐαν κατανοήσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ἁρμοττόμενος πρὸς
good-nature having-observed and the city whole adapting to
τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῶν
the sea and in-a-way some to-the old kings of-the
Ἀθηναίων ἀντιπολιτευόμενος. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γάρ, ὡς λέγεται,
Athenians opposing-in-policy those indeed for as is-said
πραγματευόμενοι τοὺς πολίτας ἀποσπάσαι τῆς θαλάττης
striving the citizens to-draw-away from-the sea
καὶ συνεθίσαι ζῆν μὴ πλέοντας, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν φυτεύοντας,
and to-accustom to-live not sailing but the land planting
τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς διέδοσαν λόγον, ὡς ἐρίσαντα περὶ
the about — Athena spread story how having-contended about
τῆς χώρας τὸν Ποσειδῶ δείξασα τὴν μορίαν τοῖς δικασταῖς
the land — Poseidon having-shown the sacred-olive to-the judges
ἐνίκησε. Θεμιστοκλῆς δ᾽ οὐχ, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμικὸς
she-won Themistocles and not as Aristophanes the comic-poet

λέγει, τῇ πόλει τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαξεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν
says to-the city — Piraeus kneaded-on but the city
ἐξῆψε τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς θαλάττης· ὅθεν
fastened — from-Piraeus and the land from-the sea whence
καὶ τὸν δῆμον ηὔξησε κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ θράσους
also the people he-increased against the best and with-boldness
ἐνέπλησεν, εἰς ναύτας καὶ κελευστὰς καὶ κυβερνήτας τῆς
filled into sailors and boatswains and helmsmen the
δυνάμεως ἀφικομένης. διὸ καὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πνυκὶ
power having-come wherefore also the tribune the on Pnyx
πεποιημένον ὥστ' ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὕστερον
made so-as to-look toward the sea later
οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν ἀπέστρεψαν, οἰόμενοι τὴν
the thirty toward the land turned thinking the
μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν γένεσιν εἶναι δημοκρατίας,
indeed by sea empire origin to-be of-democracy
ὀλιγαρχίᾳ δ' ἧττον δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς γεωργοῦντας.
with-oligarchy and less to-be-displeased those farming
20 Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ καὶ μεῖζόν τι περὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς
Themistocles and also greater something about the naval
διενοήθη δυνάμεως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στόλος
planned power when for the of-the Greeks fleet
ἀπηλλαγμένου Ξέρξου κατῆρεν εἰς Παγασὰς καὶ διεχείμαζε,
having-departed Xerxes put-in to Pagasae and was-wintering
δημηγορῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔφη τινα πρᾶξιν ἔχειν
addressing-the-people in the Athenians he-said some action to-have
ὠφέλιμον μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ σωτήριον, ἀπόρρητον δὲ πρὸς
useful indeed for-them and saving secret but toward
τοὺς πολλούς. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστείδῃ φράσαι μόνῳ
the many the and Athenians to-Aristides to-tell alone
κελευόντων, κἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ περαίνειν, ὁ μὲν
bidding and-if he approve to-accomplish-it — indeed

Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔφρασε τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ, τὸ νεώριον ἐμπρῆσαι
Themistocles told — to-Aristides the dockyard to-burn
διανοεῖσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ὁ δ' Ἀριστείδης εἰς τὸν δῆμον
he-intended of-the Greeks — and Aristides to the people
παρελθὼν ἔφη τῆς πράξεως, ἣν διανοεῖται πράττειν
having-come-forward said than-the action which intends to-do
ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μηδεμίαν εἶναι μήτε λυσιτελεστέραν
— Themistocles none to-be neither more-profitable
μήτ' ἀδικωτέραν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ ταῦτα
nor more-unjust the indeed then Athenians because-of these-things
παύσασθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέταξαν.
to-stop — Themistocles ordered
Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀμφικτυονικοῖς συνεδρίοις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
in and the Amphictyonic councils the Lacedaemonians
εἰσηγουμένων, ὅπως ἀπείργωνται τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας αἱ
proposing that be-excluded — from-Amphictyony those
μὴ συμμαχήσασαι κατὰ τοῦ Μήδου πόλεις, φοβηθείς, μὴ
not having-fought-as-allies against the Mede cities having-feared lest
Θετταλοὺς καὶ Ἀργείους, ἔτι δὲ Θηβαίους ἐκβαλόντες
Thessalians and Argives further and Thebans having-expelled
τοῦ συνεδρίου παντελῶς ἐπικρατήσωσι τῶν ψήφων
from-the council completely they-control the votes
καὶ γένηται τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκείνοις, συνεῖπε ταῖς πόλεσι
and come-to-pass the seeming-good to-them he-spoke-for the cities
καὶ μετέθηκε τὰς γνώμας τῶν πυλαγόρων, διδάξας, ὡς
and changed the opinions of-the delegates having-taught that
τριάκοντα καὶ μία μόναι πόλεις εἰσὶν αἱ μετασχοῦσαι τοῦ
thirty and one only cities are those having-shared-in the
πολέμου, καὶ τούτων αἱ πλείους παντάπασι μικραί· δεινὸν
war and of-these the most altogether small terrible
οὖν, εἰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐκσπόνδου γενομένης ἐπὶ ταῖς
then if of-the other Greece excluded having-become at the

μεγίσταις δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶ πόλεσιν ἔσται τὸ συνέδριον. ἐκ
greatest two or three cities will-be the council from
τούτου μὲν οὖν μάλιστα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις προσέκρουσε·
this indeed then most the Lacedaemonians he-offended
διὸ καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα προῆγον ταῖς τιμαῖς, ἀντίπαλον
wherefore also — Cimon they-advanced with-the honors as-a-rival
ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καθιστάντες.
in the state — to-Themistocles setting-up

VI · OSTRACISM AND FLIGHT

Themistocles demands money of the Andrians in the name of two gods, Persuasion and Force, and is lampooned by Timocreon of Rhodes. He offends by building the shrine of Artemis Aristobule, is ostracized, and lives at Argos. Charged with sharing Pausanias' treason, he flees to Corcyra and then to Admetus, king of the Molossians, at whose hearth he sits holding the king's son. Epicrates of Acharnae smuggles his wife and children out of Athens.

21 Ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπαχθὴς περιπλέων τε
he-was and also to-the allies offensive sailing-round both
τὰς νήσους καὶ χρηματιζόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν· οἷα καὶ
the islands and making-money from them such-as also
πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἀργύριον αἰτοῦντά φησιν αὐτὸν Ἡρόδοτος
to Andrians money demanding says him Herodotus
εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι. δύο γὰρ ἥκειν ἔφη θεοὺς
to-have-said both and to-have-heard two for to-have-come he-said gods
κομίζων, Πειθὼ καὶ Βίαν· οἱ δ' ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ
bringing Persuasion and Force they and said there-were also
παρ' αὐτοῖς θεοὺς μεγάλους δύο, Πενίαν καὶ Ἀπορίαν,
among them gods great two Poverty and Helplessness
ὑφ' ὧν κωλύεσθαι δοῦναι χρήματα ἐκείνῳ.
by whom to-be-prevented to-give money to-him

Τιμοκρέων δ᾽ ὁ Ῥόδιος μελοποιὸς ἐν ᾄσματι καθάπτεται
Timocreon and the Rhodian lyric-poet in a-song attacks
πικρότερον τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ὡς ἄλλους μὲν ἐπὶ
more-bitterly — Themistocles as others indeed for
χρήμασι φυγάδας διαπραξαμένου κατελθεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ ξένον
money exiles having-contrived to-return him and a-guest
ὄντα καὶ φίλον προεμένου δι᾽ ἀργύριον. λέγει δ᾽ οὕτως·
being and a-friend having-abandoned for silver he-says and thus

Ἀλλ᾽ εἰ τύγε Παυσανίαν ἢ καὶ τύγε Ξάνθιππον αἰνεῖς
but if you Pausanias or also you Xanthippus praise
ἢ τύγε Λευτυχίδαν, ἐγὼ δ᾽ Ἀριστείδαν ἐπαινέω
or you Leotychidas I and Aristides praise
ἄνδρ᾽ ἱερᾶν ἀπ᾽ Ἀθανᾶν
a-man holy from Athens
ἐλθεῖν ἕνα λῷστον· ἐπεὶ Θεμιστοκλῆ᾽ ἤχθαρε Λατώ,
to-have-come one best since Themistocles hated Leto
ψεύσταν, ἄδικον, προδόταν, ὃς Τιμοκρέοντα ξεῖνον ἔοντ᾽
liar unjust traitor who Timocreon a-guest-friend being
ἀργυρίοις σκυβαλικτοῖσι πεισθεὶς οὐ κατᾶγεν
by-silver-pieces scurvy persuaded not brought-back

εἰς πάτραν Ἰαλυσόν,
to fatherland Ialysus
λαβὼν δὲ τρεῖ ἀργυρίου τάλαντ' ἔβα πλέων εἰς ὄλεθρον,
having-taken and three of-silver talents he-went sailing to destruction
τοὺς μὲν κατάγων ἀδίκως, τοὺς δ' ἐκδιώκων,
the-some indeed restoring unjustly the-others and driving-out
τοὺς δὲ καίνων,
the-others and killing
ἀργυρίων ὑπόπλεως, Ἰσθμοῖ δ' ἐπανδόκευε
with-silver full at-Isthmus and he-kept-inn
γελοίως ψυχρὰ κρέα παρέχων·
laughably cold meats providing
οἱ δ' ἤσθιον κηὔχοντο μὴ ὥραν Θεμιστοκλεῦς γενέσθαι.
they and ate and-prayed not care of-Themistocles to-be

πολὺ δ' ἀσελγεστέρᾳ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένῃ μᾶλλον εἰς
much and more-wanton and opened-out more against
τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα βλασφημίᾳ κέχρηται μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν
— Themistocles abuse has-used after the exile
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν καταδίκην ὁ Τιμοκρέων ᾆσμα ποιήσας,
his and the condemnation — Timocreon a-song having-made
οὗ ἐστιν ἀρχή·
of-which is the-beginning

Μοῦσα τοῦδε τοῦ μέλεος
Muse of-this the song
κλέος ἀν' Ἕλλανας τίθει,
fame among Greeks set
ὡς ἐοικὸς καὶ δίκαιον.
as fitting and just

λέγεται δ' ὁ Τιμοκρέων ἐπὶ μηδισμῷ φυγεῖν
it-is-said and — Timocreon for medism to-have-been-exiled
συγκαταψηφισαμένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. ὡς οὖν ὁ
having-joined-in-condemning — Themistocles when then —
Θεμιστοκλῆς αἰτίαν ἔσχε μηδίζειν, ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν εἰς
Themistocles accusation had of-medizing these-things he-made against
αὐτόν·
him

Οὐκ ἄρα Τιμοκρέων μοῦνος Μήδοισιν ὁρκιατομεῖ,
not then Timocreon alone with-Medes swears-oaths
ἀλλ' ἐντὶ κἄλλοι δὴ πονηροί· οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνα κόλουρις·
but there-are and-others indeed wicked not I alone crop-tailed
ἐντὶ καὶ ἄλλαι ἀλώπεκες.
there-are also other foxes

Ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν διὰ τὸ φθονεῖν ἡδέως τὰς 22
already and also of-the citizens because-of the envying gladly the
διαβολὰς προσιεμένων ἠναγκάζετο λυπηρὸς εἶναι τῶν αὑτοῦ
slanders admitting he-was-compelled offensive to-be his own
πράξεων πολλάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μνημονεύων· καὶ πρὸς
deeds often in the people recalling and to
τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας "Τί κοπιᾶτε," εἶπεν, "ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν
those being-displeased why are-you-weary he-said by the same
πολλάκις εὖ πάσχοντες;" ἠνίασε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ
often well being-treated he-vexed and the many also the
τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἱσάμενος, ἣν Ἀριστοβούλην μὲν
— of-Artemis shrine having-founded whom Aristobule indeed
προσηγόρευσεν, ὡς ἄριστα τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι
he-called as best for-the city and for-the Greeks
βουλευσάμενος, πλησίον δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κατεσκεύασεν ἐν
having-counseled near and the house he-built in

Μελίτῃ τὸ ἱερὸν, οὗ νῦν τὰ σώματα τῶν θανατουμένων
Melite the shrine where now the bodies of-the executed
οἱ δήμιοι προβάλλουσι καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τοὺς
the public-executioners throw-out and the cloaks and the
βρόχους τῶν ἀπαγχομένων καὶ καθαιρεθέντων ἐκφέρουσιν.
nooses of-those hanged and taken-down carry-out
ἔκειτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰκόνιον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς
lay and also — of-Themistocles a-small-image in the temple —
Ἀριστοβούλης ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς· καὶ φαίνεταί τις οὐ τὴν
of-Aristobule still in our-time and he-appears someone not the
ψυχὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἡρωϊκὸς γενόμενος.
soul only but also the appearance heroic having-been
Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐξοστρακισμὸν ἐποιήσαντο κατ' αὐτοῦ
the indeed then ostracism they-made against him
κολούοντες τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ὥσπερ
lopping the prestige and the preeminence as
εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ πάντων, οὓς ᾤοντο τῇ δυνάμει
they-were-accustomed in-the-case-of all whom they-thought in-the power
βαρεῖς καὶ πρὸς ἰσότητα δημοκρατικὴν ἀσυμμέτρους εἶναι.
oppressive and to equality democratic out-of-proportion to-be
κόλασις γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός, ἀλλὰ παραμυθία
punishment for not was the ostracism but consolation
φθόνου καὶ κουφισμὸς ἡδομένου τῷ ταπεινοῦν τοὺς
of-envy and relief taking-pleasure by-the to-humble the
ὑπερέχοντας καὶ τὴν δυσμένειαν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίαν
eminent and the ill-will into this the disfranchisement
ἀποπνέοντος.
breathing-out

23 Ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ διατρίβοντος
having-been-banished and from-the city him and staying
ἐν Ἄργει τὰ περὶ Παυσανίαν συμπεσόντα κατ' ἐκείνου
in Argos the about Pausanias having-befallen against him

παρέσχε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀφορμάς. ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος αὐτὸν
gave to-the enemies occasions the and having-indicted him
προδοσίας Λεωβώτης ἦν ὁ Ἀλκμαίωνος Ἀγραυλῆθεν, ἅμα
for-treason Leobotes was the of-Alcmaeon of-Agryle at-once
συνεπαιτιωμένων τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. ὁ γὰρ Παυσανίας
joining-in-the-charge the Spartans — for Pausanias
πράττων ἐκεῖνα δὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν προδοσίαν πρότερον μὲν
doing those indeed the about the treason before indeed
ἀπεκρύπτετο τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, καίπερ ὄντα φίλον· ὡς δ'
concealed-from — Themistocles though being a-friend when and
εἶδεν ἐκπεπτωκότα τῆς πολιτείας καὶ φέροντα χαλεπῶς
he-saw banished from-the state and bearing-it hard
ἐθάρσησεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πραττομένων παρακαλεῖν,
he-took-courage to the partnership of-the things-done to-invite
γράμματα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ καὶ παροξύνων
letters of-the king showing to-him and inciting
ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀχαρίστους. ὁ δὲ τὴν
against the Greeks as wicked and ungrateful he and the
μὲν δέησιν ἀπετρίψατο τοῦ Παυσανίου καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν
indeed request rejected — of-Pausanias and the partnership
ὅλως ἀπείπατο, πρὸς οὐδένα δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐξήνεγκεν
wholly refused to no-one and the words he-divulged
οὐδὲ κατεμήνυσε τὴν πρᾶξιν, εἴτε παύσεσθαι προσδοκῶν
nor informed-against the act whether to-stop expecting
αὐτόν, εἴτ' ἄλλως καταφανῆ γενήσεσθαι σὺν οὐδενὶ
him or otherwise manifest to-become with no
λογισμῷ πραγμάτων ἀτόπων καὶ παραβόλων ὀρεγόμενον.
reasoning things strange and reckless grasping-after
Οὕτω δὴ τοῦ Παυσανίου θανατωθέντος ἐπιστολαί τινες
so indeed — Pausanias having-been-put-to-death letters some
ἀνευρεθεῖσαι καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων εἰς ὑποψίαν
having-been-found and writings about these-things into suspicion

ἐνέβαλον τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα· καὶ κατεβόων μὲν αὐτοῦ
threw — Themistocles and cried-out-against indeed him
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατηγόρουν δ' οἱ φθονοῦντες τῶν πολιτῶν,
Lacedaemonians accused and those envying of-the citizens
οὐ παρόντος, ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ἀπολογουμένου μάλιστα
not present but through writing defending-himself most
ταῖς προτέραις κατηγορίαις. διαβαλλόμενος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν
with-the earlier accusations being-slandered for by the
ἐχθρῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἔγραφεν, ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν ἀεὶ
enemies to the citizens he-wrote that to-rule indeed always
ζητῶν, ἄρχεσθαι δὲ μὴ πεφυκὼς μηδὲ βουλόμενος, οὐκ ἄν
seeking to-be-ruled and not being-born-for nor wishing not —
ποτε βαρβάροις αὑτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίοις ἀποδόσθαι μετὰ τῆς
ever to-barbarians himself nor to-enemies would-sell with —
Ἑλλάδος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμπεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν κατηγορούντων
Greece not indeed but persuaded by those accusing
ὁ δῆμος ἔπεμψεν ἄνδρας, οἷς εἴρητο συλλαμβάνειν
the people sent men to-whom it-had-been-told to-arrest
καὶ ἀνάγειν αὐτὸν κριθησόμενον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.
and to-bring-up him to-be-tried among the Greeks
24 Προαισθόμενος δ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς Κέρκυραν διεπέρασεν,
having-perceived-in-advance and he to Corcyra crossed
οὔσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὐεργεσίας. Γενόμενος γὰρ
being to-him toward the city a-benefaction having-become for
αὐτῶν κριτὴς πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐχόντων διαφοράν, ἔλυσε
their judge against Corinthians having a-dispute he-dissolved
τὴν ἔχθραν εἴκοσι τάλαντα κρίνας τοὺς Κορινθίους
the enmity twenty talents having-judged the Corinthians
καταβαλεῖν καὶ Λευκάδα κοινῇ νέμειν ἀμφοτέρων ἄποικον.
to-pay and Leucas in-common to-occupy of-both a-colony
ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς Ἤπειρον ἔφυγε· καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν
from-there and to Epirus he-fled and being-pursued by the

Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔρριψεν αὑτὸν εἰς
Athenians and the Lacedaemonians he-threw himself into
ἐλπίδας χαλεπὰς καὶ ἀπόρους καταφυγὼν πρὸς Ἄδμητον,
hopes hard and desperate having-fled to Admetus
ὃς βασιλεὺς μὲν ἦν Μολοττῶν, δεηθεὶς δέ τι τῶν
who king indeed was of-Molossians having-asked and something of-the
Ἀθηναίων καὶ προπηλακισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ὅτ᾽
Athenians and having-been-insulted by — Themistocles when
ἤκμαζεν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, δι᾽ ὀργῆς εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ
he-was-at-his-height in the state in anger held him always
καὶ δῆλος ἦν, εἰ λάβοι, τιμωρησόμενος. ἐν δὲ τῇ
and clear he-was if he-should-catch-him going-to-take-vengeance in and the
τότε τύχῃ μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς φοβηθεὶς συγγενῆ καὶ
then fortune rather — Themistocles having-feared kindred and
πρόσφατον φθόνον ὀργῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ βασιλικῆς, ταύτῃ
fresh envy than-anger old and royal to-this
φέρων ὑπέθηκεν ἑαυτόν, ἱκέτης τοῦ Ἀδμήτου καταστὰς
bringing he-submitted himself suppliant — of-Admetus having-become
ἴδιόν τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον. ἔχων γὰρ αὐτοῦ
peculiar some and unusual manner having for his
τὸν υἱὸν ὄντα παῖδα πρὸς τὴν ἑστίαν προσέπεσε, ταύτην
the son being a-child to the hearth he-fell-down this
μεγίστην καὶ μόνην σχεδὸν ἀναντίρρητον ἡγουμένων
greatest and alone almost irrefutable considering
ἱκεσίαν τῶν Μολοσσῶν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν Φθίαν τὴν γυναῖκα
supplication the Molossians some indeed then Phthia the wife
τοῦ βασιλέως λέγουσιν ὑποθέσθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸ
of-the king say to-have-suggested — to-Themistocles the
ἱκέτευμα τοῦτο καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν καθίσαι μετ᾽
supplication this and the son on the hearth to-seat with
αὐτοῦ· τινὲς δ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἄδμητον, ὡς ἀφοσιώσαιτο
him some and himself — Admetus so-that he-might-acquit-himself

πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας τὴν ἀνάγκην, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσι
toward the pursuers the necessity because-of which not he-surrenders
τὸν ἄνδρα, διαθεῖναι καὶ συντραγῳδῆσαι τὴν ἱκεσίαν.
the man to-have-arranged and to-have-staged-with-him the supplication
Ἐκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκκλέψας
there and to-him the wife and the children having-stolen-away
ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Ἐπικράτης ὁ Ἀχαρνεὺς ἀπέστειλεν· ὃν
from — Athens Epicrates the Acharnian sent whom
ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κίμων ὕστερον κρίνας ἐθανάτωσεν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ
for this Cimon later having-tried put-to-death as records
Στησίμβροτος. εἶτ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπιλαθόμενος τούτων
Stesimbrotus then not I-know how having-forgotten these-things
ἢ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ποιῶν ἐπιλαθόμενον πλεῦσαί φησιν
or — Themistocles making having-forgotten to-have-sailed he-says
εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ παρ' Ἱέρωνος αἰτεῖν τοῦ τυράννου τὴν
to Sicily and from Hiero to-ask the tyrant the
θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον, ὑπισχνούμενον αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας
daughter for marriage promising to-him the Greeks
ὑπηκόους ποιήσειν· ἀποτριψαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος, οὕτως
subjects to-make having-rejected and — Hiero thus
εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπᾶραι.
to — Asia to-have-set-sail

VII · TO THE GREAT KING

Themistocles sails from Pydna and, carried toward Naxos under Athenian siege, forces the shipmaster on to Asia, while eighty or a hundred talents of his property are confiscated. With two hundred talents on his head he hides at Aegae with Nicogenes, whose children's tutor cries out in verse about night, and he dreams of a serpent turned eagle. Carried to the king in a curtained carriage like a woman, he agrees to do obeisance at the chiliarch Artabanus' demand and pleads his services; the king, rejoicing, cries, "I have Themistocles the Athenian."

Ταῦτα δ' οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν οὕτω γενέσθαι. Θεόφραστος γὰρ 25
these-things and not likely it-is so to-have-happened Theophrastus for
ἐν τοῖς Περὶ βασιλείας ἱστορεῖ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα πέμψαντος
in his On kingship records — Themistocles having-sent
εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν Ἱέρωνος ἵππους ἀγωνιστὰς καὶ σκηνήν τινα
to Olympia Hiero horses for-racing and a-tent some
κατεσκευασμένην πολυτελῶς στήσαντος, εἰπεῖν ἐν
furnished expensively having-set-up to-have-spoken among
τοῖς Ἕλλησι λόγον, ὡς χρὴ τὴν σκηνὴν διαρπάσαι τοῦ
the Greeks a-speech that it-is-needful the tent to-plunder of-the
τυράννου καὶ κωλῦσαι τοὺς ἵππους ἀγωνίσασθαι. Θουκυδίδης
tyrant and to-prevent the horses to-compete Thucydides
δέ φησι καὶ πλεῦσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν καταβάντα
and says also to-have-sailed him to the other having-gone-down
θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Πύδνης, οὐδενὸς εἰδότος ὅστις εἴη τῶν
sea from Pydna no-one knowing who he-was of-those
πλεόντων, μέχρι οὗ πνεύματι τῆς ὁλκάδος εἰς Νάξον
sailing until — by-wind the merchant-ship to Naxos
καταφερομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων πολιορκουμένην τότε φοβηθεὶς
being-carried by Athenians besieged then having-feared
ἀναδείξειεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ τε ναυκλήρῳ καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ,
he-revealed himself to-the both shipowner and to-the helmsman

καὶ τὰ μὲν δεόμενος, τὰ δ' ἀπειλῶν καὶ λέγων, ὅτι
and partly indeed begging partly and threatening and saying that
κατηγορήσοι καὶ καταψεύσοιτο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς οὐκ
he-would-accuse and would-falsely-charge to the Athenians that not
ἀγνοοῦντες, ἀλλὰ χρήμασι πεισθέντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀναλάβοιεν
being-ignorant but by-money persuaded from beginning they-took-up
αὐτόν, οὕτως ἀναγκάσειε παραπλεῦσαι καὶ λαβέσθαι τῆς
him thus he-compelled to-sail-along and to-reach —
Ἀσίας. τῶν δὲ χρημάτων αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπεκκλαπέντα
Asia of-the and money to-him much indeed having-been-stolen-away
διὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἀσίαν ἔπλει· τῶν δὲ φανερῶν
through the friends to Asia sailed of-the and visible
γενομένων καὶ συναχθέντων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον Θεόπομπος
having-become and having-been-gathered into the public-treasury Theopompus
μὲν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, Θεόφραστος δὲ ὀγδοήκοντά φησι
indeed a-hundred talents Theophrastus and eighty says
γενέσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, οὐδὲ τριῶν ἄξια ταλάντων κεκτημένου
to-have-been the amount not-even three worth talents possessing
τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους πρὶν ἅπτεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας.
— Themistocles before to-engage in-the politics

26 Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κύμην καὶ πολλοὺς ᾔσθετο τῶν
when and he-put-in to Cyme and many perceived of-those
ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ παραφυλάττοντας αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ
on sea watching him to-take most and
τοὺς περὶ Ἐργοτέλη καὶ Πυθόδωρον (ἦν γὰρ ἡ θήρα
those around Ergoteles and Pythodorus was for the hunt
λυσιτελὴς τοῖς τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀγαπῶσι,
profitable for-those the to-gain from every-source loving
διακοσίων ἐπικεκηρυγμένων αὐτῷ ταλάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ
two-hundred having-been-proclaimed for-him talents by the
βασιλέως), ἔφυγεν εἰς Αἰγάς, Αἰολικὸν πολισμάτιον, ὑπὸ
king he-fled to Aegae an-Aeolic small-town by

πάντων ἀγνοούμενος πλὴν τοῦ ξένου Νικογένους, ὃς
all unknown except the host Nicogenes who
Αἰολέων πλείστην οὐσίαν ἐκέκτητο καὶ τοῖς ἄνω δυνατοῖς
of-Aeolians most property had-acquired and to-the inland powerful-men
γνώριμος ὑπῆρχε. παρὰ τούτῳ κρυπτόμενος ἡμέρας ὀλίγας
known was with this-man hiding days few
διέτριψεν· εἶτα μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκ θυσίας τινὸς Ὄλβιος
he-spent then after the dinner from a-sacrifice certain Olbius
ὁ τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Νικογένους παιδαγωγὸς ἔκφρων
the of-the children — of-Nicogenes tutor out-of-his-mind
γενόμενος καὶ θεοφόρητος ἀνεφώνησεν ἐν μέτρῳ ταυτί·
having-become and god-inspired cried-out in meter these-things

Νυκτὶ φωνήν, νυκτὶ βουλήν, νυκτὶ τὴν νίκην δίδου.
by-night voice by-night counsel by-night the victory give

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κοιμηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὄναρ ἔδοξεν
and after these-things having-gone-to-sleep — Themistocles in-a-dream seemed
ἰδεῖν δράκοντα κατὰ τῆς γαστρὸς αὐτοῦ περιελιττόμενον
to-see a-serpent along the belly his coiling
καὶ προσανέρποντα τῷ τραχήλῳ· γενόμενον δ' ἀετόν,
and creeping-up to-the neck having-become and an-eagle
ὡς ἥψατο τοῦ προσώπου, περιβαλόντα τὰς πτέρυγας
when it-touched the face having-thrown-round the wings
ἐξᾶραι καὶ κομίζειν πολλὴν ὁδόν, εἶτα χρυσοῦ τινὸς
to-lift-him and to-carry long way then golden a-certain
κηρυκείου φανέντος, ἐπὶ τούτου στῆσαι βεβαίως αὐτὸν
herald's-staff having-appeared on this to-set firmly him
ἀμηχάνου δείματος καὶ ταραχῆς ἀπαλλαγέντα.
from-helpless terror and confusion freed

Πέμπεται δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νικογένους μηχανησαμένου
he-is-sent and then by — Nicogenes having-contrived
τι τοιόνδε. τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ γένους τὸ πολὺ καὶ μάλιστα
something like-this of-the barbarian race the most and most
τὸ Περσικὸν εἰς ζηλοτυπίαν τὴν περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
the Persian toward jealousy the about the women
ἄγριον φύσει καὶ χαλεπόν ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς
savage by-nature and harsh is not for only the
γαμετάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀργυρωνήτους καὶ παλλακευομένας
wedded-wives but also the bought-with-silver and concubines
ἰσχυρῶς παραφυλάττουσιν, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ὁρᾶσθαι τῶν
strictly they-guard so-that by no-one to-be-seen of-those
ἐκτός, ἀλλ' οἴκοι μὲν διαιτᾶσθαι κατακεκλεισμένας, ἐν
outside but at-home indeed to-live shut-up on
δὲ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ὑπὸ σκηνὰς κύκλῳ περιπεφραγμένας
and the journeys under tents in-a-circle fenced-around
ἐπὶ τῶν ἁρμαμαξῶν ὀχεῖσθαι. τοιαύτης τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ
on the covered-wagons to-be-carried such — for-Themistocles
κατασκευασθείσης ἀπήνης καταδὺς ἐκομίζετο, τῶν περὶ
having-been-prepared carriage having-got-in he-was-carried those about
αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι καὶ πυνθανομένοις λεγόντων,
him always to-those meeting and inquiring saying
ὅτι γύναιον Ἑλληνικὸν ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας πρός
that a-little-woman Greek they-are-bringing from Ionia to
τινα τῶν ἐπὶ θύραις βασιλέως.
one of-those at the-doors of-the-king

27 Θουκυδίδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἱστοροῦσι
Thucydides indeed then and Charon the Lampsacene record
τεθνηκότος Ξέρξου πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ
having-died Xerxes to the son his — for-Themistocles
γενέσθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν· Ἔφορος δὲ καὶ Δείνων καὶ
to-have-taken-place the interview Ephorus but and Dinon and

Κλείταρχος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ἔτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες, πρὸς
Cleitarchus and Heracleides still and others more to
αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Ξέρξην. τοῖς δὲ χρονικοῖς δοκεῖ
himself to-have-come — Xerxes with-the and chronologies seems
μᾶλλον ὁ Θουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι, καίπερ οὐδ' αὐτοῖς
rather — Thucydides to-agree though not-even with-them
ἀτρέμα συνταττομένοις. ὁ δ' οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς γενόμενος
steadily being-arranged — and then Themistocles having-come
παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ δεινὸν ἐντυγχάνει πρῶτον Ἀρταβάνῳ τῷ
to the-very the danger meets first Artabanus the
χιλιάρχῳ λέγων, Ἕλλην μὲν εἶναι, βούλεσθαι δ' ἐντυχεῖν
chiliarch saying a-Greek indeed to-be to-wish and to-meet
βασιλεῖ περὶ μεγίστων πραγμάτων καὶ πρὸς ἃ τυγχάνει
with-the-king about greatest affairs and toward which happens
μάλιστα σπουδάζων ἐκεῖνος. ὁ δέ φησιν· "Ὦ ξένε, νόμοι
most being-eager he he and says O stranger laws
διαφέρουσιν ἀνθρώπων· ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοις καλά· καλὸν δὲ
differ of-men other-things and to-others fair fair and
πᾶσι τὰ οἰκεῖα κοσμεῖν καὶ σώζειν. ὑμᾶς μὲν οὖν ἐλευθερίαν
for-all the own-things to-honor and to-preserve you indeed then freedom
μάλιστα θαυμάζειν καὶ ἰσότητα λόγος· ἡμῖν δὲ πολλῶν
most to-admire and equality report to-us and many
νόμων καὶ καλῶν ὄντων κάλλιστος οὗτός ἐστι, τιμᾶν
laws and fair being fairest this is to-honor
βασιλέα, καὶ προσκυνεῖν ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα
the-king and to-do-obeisance as an-image of-the-god the the all-things
σώζοντος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα προσκυνήσεις,
preserving if indeed then praising the our-ways you-will-do-obeisance
ἔστι σοι καὶ θεάσασθαι βασιλέα καὶ προσειπεῖν· εἰ
it-is-possible for-you both to-behold the-king and to-address if
δ' ἄλλο τι φρονεῖς, ἀγγέλοις ἑτέροις χρήσῃ πρὸς
but other something you-think messengers other you-will-use toward

αὐτόν. βασιλεῖ γὰρ οὐ πάτριον ἀνδρὸς ἀκροᾶσθαι μὴ
him to-the-king for not ancestral of-a-man to-listen not
προσκυνήσαντος." ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀκούσας λέγει
having-done-obeisance these-things — Themistocles having-heard says
πρὸς αὐτόν· "Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τὴν βασιλέως, ὦ Ἀρτάβανε,
to him but I the of-the-king O Artabanus
φήμην καὶ δύναμιν αὐξήσων ἀφῖγμαι, καὶ αὐτός τε
fame and power going-to-increase have-come and myself both
πείσομαι τοῖς ὑμετέροις νόμοις, ἐπεὶ θεῷ τῷ μεγαλύνοντι
will-obey to-the your laws since to-the-god the magnifying
Πέρσας οὕτω δοκεῖ, καὶ δι' ἐμὲ πλείονες τῶν νῦν βασιλέα
Persians thus it-seems and because-of me more of-the now the-king
προσκυνήσουσιν. ὥστε τοῦτο μηδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἔστω τοῖς
will-do-obeisance so-that this nothing in-the-way let-be to-the
λόγοις, οὓς βούλομαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν." "Τίνα δ'," εἶπεν ὁ
words which I-wish to him to-say whom and said —
Ἀρτάβανος, "Ἑλλήνων ἀφῖχθαί σε φῶμεν; οὐ γὰρ ἰδιώτῃ
Artabanus of-Greeks to-have-come you shall-we-say not for a-commoner
τὴν γνώμην ἔοικας." καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς· "Τοῦτ' οὐκέτ'
in-the mind you-seem and — Themistocles this no-longer
ἄν," ἔφη, "πύθοιτό τις, Ἀρτάβανε, πρότερος βασιλέως."
— said would-learn anyone Artabanus sooner than-the-king
Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Φανίας φησίν. ὁ δ' Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς
thus indeed — Phanias says — and Eratosthenes in his
Περὶ πλούτου προσιστόρησε, διὰ γυναικὸς Ἐρετρικῆς,
On wealth added-in-his-account through a-woman Eretrian
ἣν ὁ χιλίαρχος εἶχε, τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν
whom the chiliarch had — to-Themistocles the toward him
ἔντευξιν γενέσθαι καὶ σύστασιν.
interview to-have-come-about and introduction

Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὖν εἰσήχθη πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ προσκυνήσας 28
when and then he-was-brought-in to the-king and having-done-obeisance
ἔστη σιωπῇ, προστάξαντος τῷ ἑρμηνεῖ τοῦ βασιλέως
stood in-silence having-ordered to-the interpreter the king
ἐρωτῆσαι, τίς ἐστι, καὶ τοῦ ἑρμηνέως ἐρωτήσαντος, εἶπεν·
to-ask who he-is and the interpreter having-asked he-said
“ Ἥκω σοι, βασιλεῦ, Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐγὼ φυγὰς
I-have-come to-you O-king Themistocles the Athenian I an-exile
ὑφ᾽ Ἑλλήνων διωχθείς, ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν ὀφείλουσι Πέρσαι
by Greeks driven-out to-whom many indeed owe Persians
κακά, πλείω δὲ ἀγαθὰ κωλύσαντι τὴν δίωξιν, ὅτε τῆς
evils more and goods having-prevented the pursuit when —
Ἑλλάδος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενομένης παρέσχε τὰ οἴκοι σωζόμενα
Greece in safety having-come gave the at-home being-saved
χαρίσασθαί τι καὶ ὑμῖν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν πάντα πρέποντα
to-gratify something also you to-me indeed then all-things befitting
ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς ἐστι, καὶ παρεσκευασμένος
to-the present misfortunes are and prepared
ἀφῖγμαι δέξασθαί τε χάριν εὐμενῶς διαλλαττομένου καὶ
I-have-come to-receive both favor graciously of-one-being-reconciled and
παραιτεῖσθαι μνησικακοῦντος ὀργήν· σὺ δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὺς
to-deprecate of-one-remembering-wrongs anger you and the my
ἐχθροὺς μάρτυρας θέμενος ὧν εὐεργέτησα Πέρσας, νῦν
enemies witnesses having-made of-what I-benefited Persians now
ἀπόχρησαι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαις πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον
use-up the my fortunes for display of-virtue rather
ἢ πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν ὀργῆς. σώσεις μὲν γὰρ ἱκέτην σόν,
than for satisfaction of-anger you-will-save indeed for a-suppliant yours
ἀπολεῖς δ᾽ Ἑλλήνων πολέμιον γενόμενον.” ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν
you-will-destroy and of-Greeks an-enemy having-become these-things having-said
ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεθείασε τῷ λόγῳ προσδιελθὼν
— Themistocles added-the-divine to-the speech having-gone-through-besides

τὴν ὄψιν, ἣν εἶδεν ἐν Νικογένους, καὶ τὸ μάντευμα τοῦ
the vision which he-saw at of-Nicogenes and the oracle of-the
Δωδωναίου Διός, ὡς κελευσθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ὁμώνυμον τοῦ
Dodonaean Zeus how having-been-bidden to the namesake of-the
θεοῦ βαδίζειν συμφρονήσειε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀναπέμπεσθαι·
god to-go he-understood to that-one to-be-sent-up
μεγάλους γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους εἶναί τε καὶ λέγεσθαι βασιλέας.
great for both to-be both and to-be-called kings
Ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Πέρσης, ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο,
having-heard and the Persian to-him indeed nothing answered
καίπερ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ·
though having-marveled-at the spirit and the daring his
μακαρίσας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ
having-congratulated and before the friends himself as on good-fortune
μεγίστῃ, καὶ κατευξάμενος ἀεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τοιαύτας
greatest and having-prayed always to-the enemies such
φρένας διδόναι τὸν Ἀριμάνιον, ὅπως ἐλαύνωσι τοὺς
minds to-give — Arimanius so-that they-may-drive-out the
ἀρίστους ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, θῦσαί τε τοῖς θεοῖς λέγεται
best from themselves to-have-sacrificed both to-the gods is-said
καὶ πρὸς πόσιν εὐθὺς τραπέσθαι καὶ νύκτωρ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς
and to drinking at-once to-have-turned and by-night from joy
διὰ μέσων τῶν ὕπνων βοῆσαι τρίς· "Ἔχω
through the-middle-of the sleep to-have-shouted three-times I-have
Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον."
Themistocles the Athenian

The king pays Themistocles the two hundred talents set on his head. Likening speech to an embroidered carpet, he learns Persian within a year, and is given Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus. Warned by the Mother of the Gods in a dream, he escapes Epixyes' Pisidians. When Egypt revolts and Cimon rules the sea, the king calls on him to fight the Greeks; he sacrifices and drinks bull's blood or poison, at sixty-five. His children, his tomb, and the honors still paid his descendants at Magnesia are recorded.

Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους εἰσῆγεν 29
together-with and day having-called-together the friends he-brought-in
αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἐλπίζοντα χρηστὸν ἐξ ὧν ἑώρα τοὺς ἐπὶ
him nothing expecting good from what he-saw those at
θύραις, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τοὔνομα παρόντος αὐτοῦ, χαλεπῶς
the-doors when they-learned the-name being-present him hostilely
διακειμένους καὶ κακῶς λέγοντας. ἔτι δὲ Ῥωξάνης ὁ
disposed and badly speaking further and Roxanes the
χιλίαρχος, ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς προσιών,
chiliarch as opposite him was — Themistocles approaching
καθημένου βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σιωπώντων, ἀτρέμα
sitting the-king and the others being-silent quietly
στενάξας εἶπεν· "Ὄφις Ἕλλην ὁ ποικίλος, ὁ βασιλέως
having-groaned said serpent Greek the wily the of-the-king
σε δαίμων δεῦρο ἤγαγεν." οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθόντος
you spirit hither has-brought not indeed but into sight having-come
αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν προσκυνήσαντος, ἀσπασάμενος καὶ
he and again having-done-obeisance having-greeted and
προσειπὼν φιλοφρόνως ὁ βασιλεύς, ἤδη μὲν ἔφησεν
having-addressed kindly the king already indeed he-said
αὐτῷ διακόσια τάλαντα ὀφείλειν· κομίσαντα γὰρ αὑτὸν
to-him two-hundred talents to-owe having-brought for himself

ἀπολήψεσθαι δικαίως τὸ ἐπικηρυχθὲν τῷ ἀγαγόντι· πολλῷ
to-receive justly the reward-proclaimed for-the one-bringing much
δὲ πλείω τούτων ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ παρεθάρρυνε καὶ λέγειν
and more than-these he-promised and encouraged and to-speak
ἐδίδου περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἃ βούλοιτο, παρρησιαζόμενον.
granted about the Greek-affairs what he-might-wish speaking-freely
Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸν λόγον ἐοικέναι τοῦ
— and Themistocles answered the speech to-resemble of-the
ἀνθρώπου τοῖς ποικίλοις στρώμασιν· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα
man the embroidered tapestries as for those
καὶ τοῦτον ἐκτεινόμενον μὲν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὰ εἴδη,
also this being-spread-out indeed to-display the figures
συστελλόμενον δὲ κρύπτειν καὶ διαφθείρειν· ὅθεν αὐτῷ
being-folded-up and to-hide and to-spoil whence for-him
χρόνου δεῖν. ἐπεὶ δέ, ἡσθέντος τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ εἰκασίᾳ
of-time to-need when and being-pleased the king with-the comparison
καὶ λαμβάνειν κελεύσαντος, ἐνιαυτὸν αἰτησάμενος καὶ
and to-take having-bidden a-year having-asked-for and
τὴν Περσίδα γλῶτταν ἀποχρώντως ἐκμαθὼν ἐνετύγχανε
the Persian tongue sufficiently having-learned he-conversed
βασιλεῖ δι᾽ αὑτοῦ, τοῖς μὲν ἐκτὸς δόξαν παρέσχε
with-the-king by himself to-those indeed outside an-impression he-gave
περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων διειλέχθαι, πολλῶν δὲ
about the Greek affairs to-have-talked many and
καινοτομουμένων περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ὑπὸ τοῦ
innovations-being-made about the court and the friends by the
βασιλέως ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, φθόνον ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς
king in that the time envy he-incurred among the
δυνατοῖς, ὡς καὶ κατ᾽ ἐκείνων παρρησίᾳ χρήσασθαι πρὸς
powerful as also against them free-speech to-use to
αὐτὸν ἀποτετολμηκώς. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ τιμαὶ ταῖς
him having-dared nothing for were the honors to-those

τῶν ἄλλων ἐοικυῖαι ξένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κυνηγεσίων βασιλεῖ
of-the other like strangers but also of-hunts with-the-king
μετέσχε καὶ τῶν οἴκοι διατριβῶν, ὥστε καὶ μητρὶ τῇ
he-shared and of-the home pastimes so-that also to-mother the
βασιλέως εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι συνήθης, διακοῦσαι
of-the-king into sight to-come and to-become intimate to-have-heard
δὲ καὶ τῶν μαγικῶν λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος.
and also the magian doctrines the king having-bidden
ἐπεὶ δὲ Δημάρατος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης αἰτήσασθαι δωρεὰν
when and Demaratus the Spartan to-ask a-gift
κελευσθεὶς ᾐτήσατο τὴν κίταριν, ὥσπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς,
having-been-bidden asked-for the tiara like the kings
ἐπαράμενος εἰσελάσαι διὰ Σάρδεων, Μιθροπαύστης μὲν
having-raised to-ride-in through Sardis Mithropaustes indeed
ἀνεψιὸς ὢν βασιλέως εἶπε τοῦ Δημαράτου τῆς τιάρας
cousin being of-the-king said — of-Demaratus the tiara
ἁψάμενος· "Αὕτη μὲν ἡ κίταρις οὐκ ἔχει ἐγκέφαλον, ὃν
having-touched this indeed the tiara not has a-brain which
ἐπικαλύψει· σὺ δ' οὐκ ἔσῃ Ζεὺς ἂν λάβῃς κεραυνόν·"
it-will-cover you and not will-be Zeus if you-take a-thunderbolt
ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τὸν Δημάρατον ὀργῇ διὰ τὸ αἴτημα
having-thrust-away and — Demaratus in-anger because-of the request
τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ δοκοῦντος ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχειν πρὸς
the king and seeming implacably to-be-disposed toward
αὐτόν, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς δεηθεὶς ἔπεισε καὶ διήλλαξε.
him — Themistocles having-begged persuaded and reconciled
Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον βασιλεῖς, ἐφ' ὧν μᾶλλον
it-is-said and also the later kings in whose-time more
αἱ Περσικαὶ πράξεις ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἀνεκράθησαν, ὁσάκις
the Persian affairs with-the Greek were-mixed whenever
δεηθεῖεν ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι καὶ γράφειν
they-needed a-man Greek to-promise and to-write

ἕκαστον, ὡς μείζων ἔσοιτο παρ᾽ αὐτῷ Θεμιστοκλέους.
each that greater he-would-be with him than-Themistocles
αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φασὶν ἤδη μέγαν ὄντα καὶ
himself and — Themistocles they-say already great being and
θεραπευόμενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν λαμπρᾶς ποτε τραπέζης αὐτῷ
courted by many splendid once a-table for-him
παρατεθείσης πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας εἰπεῖν· “Ὦ παῖδες,
being-set to the children to-have-said O children
ἀπωλόμεθα ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα.” πόλεις δ᾽ αὐτῷ τρεῖς
we-would-have-perished — if not we-had-perished cities and to-him three
μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι δοθῆναι λέγουσιν εἰς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον
indeed the most to-have-been-given say for bread and wine
καὶ ὄψον, Μαγνησίαν καὶ Λάμψακον καὶ Μυοῦντα· δύο
and relish Magnesia and Lampsacus and Myus two
δ᾽ ἄλλας προστίθησιν ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Νεάνθης καὶ Φανίας,
and others adds the Cyzicene Neanthes and Phanias
Περκώτην καὶ Παλαίσκηψιν εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ ἀμπεχόνην.
Percote and Palaescepsis for bedding and clothing
30 Καταβαίνοντι δ᾽ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις
going-down and him toward the Greek affairs
ἐπὶ θάλατταν Πέρσης ἀνὴρ Ἐπιξύης ὄνομα, σατραπεύων
to sea a-Persian man Epixyes by-name being-satrap
τῆς ἄνω Φρυγίας, ἐπεβούλευσε, παρεσκευακὼς ἔκπαλαι
of-the upper Phrygia plotted having-prepared long-before
Πισίδας τινὰς ἀποκτενοῦντας, ὅταν ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ κώμῃ
Pisidians some to-kill-him when in the called village
Λεοντοκεφάλῳ γενόμενος καταυλισθῇ. τῷ δὲ λέγεται
Lion's-head having-come he-should-encamp to-him and it-is-said
καθεύδοντι μεσημβρίας τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν ὄναρ
sleeping at-midday the mother of-the gods in-a-dream
φανεῖσαν εἰπεῖν· “Ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, ὑστέρει κεφαλῆς
having-appeared to-have-said O Themistocles keep-away from-head

λεόντων, ἵνα μὴ λέοντι περιπέσῃς. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀντὶ
of-lions so-that not on-a-lion you-fall I and in-return-for
τούτου σε αἰτῶ θεράπαιναν Μνησιπτολέμαν." διαταραχθεὶς
this you ask as-servant Mnesiptolema greatly-troubled
οὖν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς προσευξάμενος τῇ θεῷ τὴν μὲν
then — Themistocles having-prayed to-the goddess the indeed
λεωφόρον ἀφῆκεν, ἑτέρᾳ δὲ περιελθὼν καὶ παραλλάξας
highway he-left by-another and having-gone-round and having-passed-by
τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης κατηυλίσατο.
the place that already night being he-encamped
Τῶν δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν κομιζόντων ὑποζυγίων ἑνὸς εἰς τὸν
of-the and the tent carrying beasts-of-burden one into the
ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντος, οἱ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οἰκέται τὰς
river having-fallen the — of-Themistocles servants the
αὐλαίας διαβρόχους γενομένας ἐκπετάσαντες ἀνέψυχον. οἱ
curtains soaked having-become having-spread-out were-drying the
δὲ Πισίδαι τὰ ξίφη λαβόντες ἐν τούτῳ προσεφέροντο,
and Pisidians the swords having-taken in this rushed-on
καὶ τὰ ψυχόμενα πρὸς τὴν σελήνην οὐκ ἀκριβῶς
and the things-drying toward the moon not accurately
ἰδόντες ᾠήθησαν εἶναι τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους
having-seen thought to-be the tent the of-Themistocles
κἀκεῖνον ἔνδον εὑρήσειν ἀναπαυόμενον. ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς
and-him inside to-find resting when and near
γενόμενοι τὴν αὐλαίαν ἀνέστελλον, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς
having-come the curtain they-lifted fall-upon them
οἱ παραφυλάσσοντες καὶ συλλαμβάνουσι. διαφυγὼν δὲ
those keeping-watch and seize having-escaped and
τὸν κίνδυνον οὕτω καὶ θαυμάσας τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς
the danger thus and having-marveled-at the epiphany of-the

θεοῦ ναὸν κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ Δινδυμήνης καὶ
goddess a-temple he-built in Magnesia of-Dindymene and
τὴν θυγατέρα Μνησιπτολέμαν ἱέρειαν ἀπέδειξεν.
the daughter Mnesiptolema priestess he-appointed

31 Ὡς δ' ἦλθεν εἰς Σάρδεις καὶ σχολὴν ἄγων ἐθεᾶτο τῶν ἱερῶν
when and he-came to Sardis and leisure having he-viewed of-the temples
τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὸ πλῆθος, εἶδε δὲ
the furnishing and of-the dedications the number he-saw and
ἐν μητρὸς ἱερῷ τὴν καλουμένην ὑδροφόρον κόρην χαλκῆν,
in of-the-mother temple the called water-carrier maiden of-bronze
μέγεθος δίπηχυν, ἣν αὐτὸς ὅτε τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ὑδάτων
in-size two-cubits which he-himself when of-the at-Athens waters
ἐπιστάτης ἦν, ἑλὼν τοὺς ὑφαιρουμένους τὸ ὕδωρ
superintendent he-was having-convicted those stealing the water
καὶ παροχετεύοντας, ἀνέθηκεν ἐκ τῆς ζημίας ποιησάμενος,
and diverting dedicated from the fine having-made
εἴτε δὴ παθών τι πρὸς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ
whether indeed having-felt something at the captivity of-the
ἀναθήματος εἴτε βουλόμενος ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις,
dedication or wishing to-show to-the Athenians
ὅσην ἔχει τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι,
how-much he-has honor and power in the of-the-king affairs
λόγον τῷ Λυδίας σατράπῃ προσήνεγκεν αἰτούμενος
speech to-the of-Lydia satrap he-addressed asking
ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν κόρην εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. χαλεπαίνοντος δὲ
to-send the maiden to — Athens being-angry and
τοῦ βαρβάρου καὶ βασιλεῖ γράψειν φήσαντος ἐπιστολήν,
the barbarian and to-the-king to-write saying a-letter
φοβηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν κατέφυγε
having-feared — Themistocles to the women's-quarters fled
καὶ τὰς παλλακίδας αὐτοῦ θεραπεύσας χρήμασιν ἐκεῖνόν
and the concubines his having-courted with-money him

τε κατεπράϋνε τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα παρεῖχεν
both he-pacified from-the anger and toward the other-things he-showed
ἑαυτὸν εὐλαβέστερον, ἤδη καὶ τὸν φθόνον τῶν βαρβάρων
himself more-cautious henceforth also the envy of-the barbarians
δεδοικώς. οὐ γὰρ πλανώμενος περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὥς φησι
fearing not for wandering about — Asia as says
Θεόπομπος, ἀλλ' ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ μὲν οἰκῶν, καρπούμενος
Theopompus but in Magnesia indeed dwelling enjoying
δὲ δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ τιμώμενος ὅμοια Περσῶν τοῖς
and gifts great and being-honored equally of-Persians with-the
ἀρίστοις, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀδεῶς διῆγεν, οὐ πάνυ τι
best for long time fearlessly he-lived not very at-all
τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς πράγμασι βασιλέως προσέχοντος ὑπ'
to-the Greek affairs the-king attending through
ἀσχολιῶν περὶ τὰς ἄνω πράξεις.
occupations about the upper affairs
Ὡς δ' Αἴγυπτός τε ἀφισταμένη βοηθούντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ
when and Egypt both revolting helping Athenians and
τριήρεις Ἑλληνικαὶ μέχρι Κύπρου καὶ Κιλικίας ἀναπλέουσαι
triremes Greek as-far-as Cyprus and Cilicia sailing-up
καὶ Κίμων θαλαττοκρατῶν ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὸν ἀντεπιχειρεῖν
and Cimon ruling-the-sea turned him to-counterattack
τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ κωλύειν αὐξανομένους ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἤδη
the Greeks and to-check growing against him already
δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις ἐκινοῦντο καὶ στρατηγοὶ διεπέμποντο καὶ
and also forces were-being-moved and generals were-sent-about and
κατέβαινον ἀγγελίαι πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα, τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν
came-down messages to Themistocles the Greek-affairs
ἐξάπτεσθαι κελεύοντος βασιλέως καὶ βεβαιοῦν τὰς
to-take-in-hand bidding the-king and to-make-good the
ὑποσχέσεις, οὔτε δι' ὀργήν τινα παροξυνθεὶς κατὰ τῶν
promises neither through anger any provoked against the

πολιτῶν οὔτε ἐπαρθεὶς τιμῇ τοσαύτῃ καὶ δυνάμει πρὸς τὸν
citizens nor elated by-honor so-great and power toward the
πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἴσως μὲν οὐδ' ἐφικτὸν ἡγούμενος τὸ ἔργον,
war but perhaps indeed not-even attainable thinking the task
ἄλλους τε μεγάλους τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐχούσης στρατηγοὺς τότε
others both great — Greece having generals then
καὶ Κίμωνος ὑπερφυῶς εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς,
and Cimon extraordinarily prospering in the warlike-affairs
τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον αἰδοῖ τῆς τε δόξης τῶν πράξεων τῶν
the and most from-respect for-the both fame of-the deeds the
ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τροπαίων ἐκείνων, ἄριστα βουλευσάμενος
his-own and of-the trophies those best having-resolved
ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ βίῳ τὴν τελευτὴν πρέπουσαν, ἔθυσε τοῖς
to-put to-the life the end fitting he-sacrificed to-the
θεοῖς, καὶ τοὺς φίλους συναγαγὼν καὶ δεξιωσάμενος, ὡς
gods and the friends having-gathered and having-taken-leave as
μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος, αἷμα ταύρειον πιών, ὡς δ'
indeed the general story blood of-bull having-drunk as and
ἔνιοι, φάρμακον ἐφήμερον προσενεγκάμενος, ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ
some poison quick-acting having-taken in Magnesia
κατέστρεψε πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἑξήκοντα βεβιωκὼς ἔτη καὶ
he-ended five besides the sixty having-lived years and
τὰ πλεῖστα τούτων ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις. τὴν δ'
the most of-these in political-life and commands the and
αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τὸν τρόπον πυθόμενον βασιλέα
cause of-the death and the manner having-learned the-king
λέγουσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς φίλοις
they-say still more to-have-admired the man and to-the friends
αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκείοις χρώμενον διατελεῖν φιλανθρώπως.
his and household treating to-have-continued kindly

Ἀπέλιπε δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς παῖδας ἐκ μὲν Ἀρχίππης τῆς 32
left and Themistocles children from indeed Archippe the
Λυσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν Ἀρχέπτολιν καὶ Πολύευκτον
of-Lysander — of-Alopece Archeptolis and Polyeuctus
καὶ Κλεόφαντον, οὗ καὶ Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος ὡς
and Cleophantus of-whom also Plato the philosopher as
ἱππέως ἀρίστου, τἆλλα δ' οὐδενὸς ἀξίου γενομένου
of-a-horseman most-excellent in-other-things and of-nothing worth having-been
μνημονεύει. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτάτων Νεοκλῆς μὲν ἔτι παῖς
makes-mention of-the and eldest Neocles indeed still a-child
ὢν ὑφ' ἵππου δηχθεὶς ἀπέθανε, Διοκλέα δὲ Λύσανδρος
being by a-horse having-been-bitten died Diocles and Lysander
ὁ πάππος υἱὸν ἐποιήσατο. θυγατέρας δὲ πλείους
the grandfather son made daughters and several
ἔσχεν, ὧν Μνησιπτολέμαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης
he-had of-whom Mnesiptolema indeed from the later-married-wife
γενομένην Ἀρχέπτολις ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὐκ ὢν ὁμομήτριος
born Archeptolis the brother not being of-the-same-mother
ἔγημεν, Ἰταλίαν δὲ Πανθοίδης ὁ Χῖος, Σύβαριν δὲ
married Italia and Panthoides the Chian Sybaris and
Νικομήδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος· Νικομάχην δὲ Φρασικλῆς ὁ
Nicomedes the Athenian Nicomache and Phrasicles the
ἀδελφιδοῦς Θεμιστοκλέους, ἤδη τετελευτηκότος ἐκείνου,
nephew of-Themistocles already having-died him
πλεύσας εἰς Μαγνησίαν ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν,
having-sailed to Magnesia received from the brothers
νεωτάτην δὲ πάντων τῶν τέκνων Ἀσίαν ἔθρεψε.
youngest and of-all the children Asia he-reared
Καὶ τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Μάγνητες
and tomb indeed his splendid in the market-place Magnesians
ἔχουσι· περὶ δὲ τῶν λειψάνων οὔτ' Ἀνδοκίδῃ προσέχειν
have about and the remains neither to-Andocides to-attend

ἄξιον ἐν τῷ Πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους λέγοντι, φωράσαντας τὰ
worth in the To the companions saying having-detected the
λείψανα διαρρῖψαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (ψεύδεται γὰρ ἐπὶ
remains to-have-scattered the Athenians he-lies for against
τὸν δῆμον παροξύνων τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς), ὅ τε Φύλαρχος,
the people inciting the oligarchs — and Phylarchus
ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ μονονοὺ μηχανὴν ἄρας
as-if in tragedy in-the history all-but machine having-raised
καὶ προαγαγὼν Νεοκλέα τινὰ καὶ Δημόπολιν, υἱοὺς
and having-brought-forward Neocles a-certain and Demopolis sons
Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀγῶνα βούλεται κινεῖν καὶ πάθος, ὃ οὐδ'
of-Themistocles a-struggle wishes to-stir-up and pathos which not-even
ἂν ὁ τυχὼν ἀγνοήσειεν ὅτι πέπλασται. Διόδωρος δ'
— the chance-comer would-fail-to-know that it-has-been-fabricated Diodorus and
ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ μνημάτων εἴρηκεν ὡς ὑπονοῶν
the topographer in his On tombs has-said as suspecting
μᾶλλον ἢ γινώσκων, ὅτι περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα τοῦ
rather than knowing that about the great harbor —
Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἄλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίου πρόκειταί
of-Piraeus from the at — Alcimus promontory projects
τις οἷον ἀγκών, καὶ κάμψαντι τοῦτον ἐντός, ᾗ
some as-it-were an-elbow and to-one-having-rounded this inside where
τὸ ὑπεύδιον τῆς θαλάττης, κρηπίς ἐστιν εὐμεγέθης καὶ
the calm of-the sea a-foundation is large and

τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν βωμοειδὲς τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. οἴεται
the about it altar-like-thing tomb — of-Themistocles thinks
δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν ἐν τούτοις·
and also Plato the comic-poet to-him to-bear-witness in these-words

Ὁ σὸς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος
the your and tomb in a-fair-place heaped-up
τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,
to-the merchants a-greeting will-be everywhere
τούς τ' ἐκπλέοντας εἰσπλέοντάς τ' ὄψεται,
those both sailing-out sailing-in and will-see
χὠπόταν ἅμιλλα τῶν νεῶν θεάσεται.
and-whenever a-race of-the ships it-will-behold

Τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ τιμαί τινες
to-those and from family — of-Themistocles also honors some
ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ φυλαττόμεναι μέχρι τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων
in Magnesia kept-up until the our times
ἦσαν, ἃς ἐκαρποῦτο Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναῖος, ἡμέτερος
were which enjoyed Themistocles an-Athenian our
συνήθης καὶ φίλος παρ' Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ γενόμενος.
intimate and friend at Ammonius the philosopher having-been

PLUTARCH

ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣ

Aristides

I · THE POOR MAN AND THE RIVAL

Aristides, son of Lysimachus, is called poor, though Demetrius of Phalerum argues for an estate, an archonship, and a choregic tripod, weak proof when Epaminondas and Plato paid for choruses with friends' money. A friend of Cleisthenes and admirer of Lycurgus, he is at odds with Themistocles from boyhood, over the youth Stesilaus of Ceos and then in every measure, once saying Athens is safe only if both are thrown into the pit. Aeschylus' line on Amphiaraus is applied to him; convicted as treasurer by Themistocles' faction, he is re-elected and exposes the thieves.

Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου φυλῆς μὲν ἦν Ἀντιοχίδος, τῶν δὲ 1
Aristides the of-Lysimachus of-tribe indeed was of-Antiochis of-the and
δήμων Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. περὶ δ' οὐσίας αὐτοῦ λόγοι διάφοροι
demes of-Alopece about and property his accounts differing
γεγόνασιν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐν πενίᾳ συντόνῳ καταβιώσαντος καὶ
have-arisen the some that in poverty strained having-lived-out and
μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀπολιπόντος θυγατέρας δύο πολὺν χρόνον
after the death having-left daughters two long time
ἀνεκδότους δι' ἀπορίαν γενομένας· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον τὸν
unmarried through want having-been against and this the
λόγον ὑπὸ πολλῶν εἰρημένον ἀντιτασσόμενος ὁ Φαληρεὺς
account by many said opposing the Phalerean
Δημήτριος ἐν τῷ Σωκράτει χωρίον Φαληροῖ φησι γινώσκειν
Demetrius in his Socrates an-estate at-Phalerum he-says to-know
Ἀριστείδου γενόμενον, ἐν ᾧ τέθαπται, καὶ τεκμήρια τῆς
of-Aristides having-been in which he-has-been-buried and proofs of-the
περὶ τὸν οἶκον εὐπορίας ἓν μὲν ἡγεῖται τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχήν,
about the house prosperity one indeed he-thinks the eponymous office
ἣν ἦρχεν ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν ἐκ τῶν γενῶν τῶν
which held the-one by-the bean having-been-allotted from the families those
τὰ μέγιστα τιμήματα κεκτημένων, οὓς πεντακοσιομεδίμνους
the greatest assessments possessing whom five-hundred-bushel-men

προσηγόρευον, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν ἐξοστρακισμόν· οὐδενὶ γὰρ
they-called another and the ostracism upon-none for
τῶν πενήτων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐξ οἴκων τε μεγάλων καὶ διὰ
of-the poor but on-those from houses both great and through
γένους ὄγκον ἐπιφθόνων ὄστρακον ἐπιφέρεσθαι· τρίτον
family dignity envied the-sherd to-be-cast third
δὲ καὶ τελευταῖον, ὅτι νίκης ἀναθήματα χορηγικοὺς
and also last that of-victory dedications choregic
τρίποδας ἐν Διονύσου καταλέλοιπεν, οἳ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς
tripods in Dionysus' he-has-left which also in our-time
ἐδείκνυντο τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν διασώζοντες· "Ἀντιοχὶς
were-shown such inscription preserving Antiochis
ἐνίκα, Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγει, Ἀρχέστρατος ἐδίδασκε."
won Aristides was-choregus Archestratus produced
Τουτὶ μὲν οὖν, καίπερ εἶναι δοκοῦν μέγιστον, ἀσθενέστατόν
this indeed then though to-be seeming greatest weakest
ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ὃν πάντες ἄνθρωποι
is and for Epaminondas whom all men
γινώσκουσιν ἐν πενίᾳ καὶ τραφέντα πολλῇ καὶ βιώσαντα,
know in poverty both having-been-reared much and having-lived
καὶ Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἀφιλοτίμους ἀνεδέξαντο
and Plato the philosopher not unambitious undertook
χορηγίας, ὁ μὲν αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὁ δὲ παισὶ
choregies the one for-flute-players men the other for-boys
κυκλίοις χορηγήσας, τούτῳ μὲν Δίωνος τοῦ Συρακουσίου
cyclic having-been-choregus to-this-one indeed of-Dion the Syracusan
τὴν δαπάνην παρέχοντος, Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ δὲ τῶν περὶ
the expense providing to-Epaminondas and those about
Πελοπίδαν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀκήρυκτος καὶ
Pelopidas not for there-is for-the good unproclaimed and
ἄσπονδος πρὸς τὰς παρὰ τῶν φίλων δωρεὰς πόλεμος,
truceless toward the from the friends gifts war

ἀλλὰ τὰς εἰς ἀπόθεσιν καὶ πλεονεξίαν ἀγεννεῖς ἡγούμενοι
but those for hoarding and greed ignoble considering
καὶ ταπεινάς, ὅσαι φιλοτιμίας τινὸς ἀκερδοῦς ἔχονται
and mean as-many-as to-ambition some ungainful are-attached
καὶ λαμπρότητος οὐκ ἀπωθοῦνται.
and to-splendor not they-repel
Παναίτιος μέντοι περὶ τοῦ τρίποδος ἀποφαίνει τὸν
Panaetius however about the tripod shows —
Δημήτριον ὁμωνυμίᾳ διεψευσμένον· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν
Demetrius by-identity-of-name deceived from for the
Μηδικῶν εἰς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου
Persian-wars to the end of-the Peloponnesian war
δύο μόνους Ἀριστείδας χορηγοὺς ἀναγράφεσθαι νικῶντας,
two only Aristideses choregi to-be-recorded victorious
ὧν οὐδέτερον εἶναι τῷ Λυσιμάχου τὸν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ
of-whom neither to-be with-the of-Lysimachus the same but
τὸν μὲν Ξενοφίλου πατρός, τὸν δὲ χρόνῳ πολλῷ
the-one indeed of-Xenophilus father the other by-time much
νεώτερον, ὡς ἐλέγχει τὰ γράμματα τῆς μετ' Εὐκλείδην
younger as proves the letters of-the after Eucleides
ὄντα γραμματικῆς καὶ προσγεγραμμένος ὁ Ἀρχέστρατος,
being spelling and added-in-writing — Archestratus
ὃν ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς οὐδείς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς
whom in the Persian-wars no-one in and the Peloponnesian-wars
συχνοὶ χορῶν διδάσκαλον ἀναγράφουσι.
many of-choruses producer record
Τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Παναιτίου βέλτιον ἐπισκεπτέον ὅπως ἔχει.
the indeed then — of-Panaetius better must-be-considered how it-is
τῷ δ' ὀστράκῳ πᾶς ὁ διὰ δόξαν ἢ γένος ἢ λόγου
to-the and ostracism every-one the through fame or family or of-speech
δύναμιν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς νομιζόμενος ὑπέπιπτεν· ὅπου
power beyond the many being-thought fell-under where

καὶ Δάμων ὁ Περικλέους διδάσκαλος, ὅτι τὸ φρονεῖν
also Damon the of-Pericles teacher because the in-intellect
ἐδόκει τις εἶναι περιττός, ἐξωστρακίσθη. καὶ μὴν
he-seemed somehow to-be extraordinary was-ostracized and indeed
ἄρξαι γε τὸν Ἀριστείδην ὁ Ἰδομενεὺς οὐ κυαμευτόν,
to-have-held-office at-least — Aristides — Idomeneus not by-bean-lot
ἀλλ' ἑλομένων Ἀθηναίων φησίν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν
but having-chosen Athenians says if and also after the at
Πλαταιαῖς μάχην ἦρξεν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Δημήτριος γέγραφε,
Plataea battle he-held-office as himself — Demetrius has-written
καὶ πάνυ πιθανόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοσαύτῃ καὶ κατορθώμασι
also very plausible it-is upon glory so-great and successes
τηλικούτοις ἀξιωθῆναι δι' ἀρετὴν ἧς διὰ
so-great to-have-been-deemed-worthy through virtue which through
πλοῦτον ἐτύγχανον οἱ λαγχάνοντες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν
wealth obtained those being-allotted but for — indeed
Δημήτριος οὐ μόνον Ἀριστείδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σωκράτην δῆλός
Demetrius not only Aristides but also Socrates clear
ἐστι τῆς πενίας ἐξελέσθαι φιλοτιμούμενος ὡς μεγάλου
is from-the poverty to-rescue striving as-from great
κακοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ φησὶν οὐ μόνον τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπάρχειν,
evil and for to-that-one he-says not only the house to-belong
ἀλλὰ καὶ μνᾶς ἑβδομήκοντα τοκιζομένας ὑπὸ Κρίτωνος.
but also minas seventy lent-at-interest by Crito

2 Ἀριστείδης δὲ Κλεισθένους μὲν τοῦ καταστησαμένου
Aristides and of-Cleisthenes indeed the having-established
τὴν πολιτείαν μετὰ τοὺς τυράννους ἑταῖρος γενόμενος,
the constitution after the tyrants a-companion having-become
ζηλώσας δὲ καὶ θαυμάσας μάλιστα τῶν πολιτικῶν
having-emulated and and having-admired most of-the political
ἀνδρῶν Λυκοῦργον τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον, ἥψατο μὲν
men Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian he-laid-hold indeed

ἀριστοκρατικῆς πολιτείας, ἔσχε δ' ἀντιτασσόμενον ὑπὲρ
of-aristocratic constitution he-had and opposing on-behalf-of
τοῦ δήμου Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Νεοκλέους. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν φασιν
the people Themistocles the of-Neocles some indeed then say
παῖδας ὄντας αὐτοὺς καὶ συντρεφομένους ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐν
children being them and being-reared-together from the-beginning in
παντὶ καὶ σπουδῆς ἐχομένῳ καὶ παιδιᾶς πράγματι καὶ
every both seriousness involving and of-play matter and
λόγῳ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τὰς φύσεις εὐθὺς ὑπὸ
word to-differ with one-another and the natures at-once by
τῆς φιλονεικίας ἐκείνης ἀνακαλύπτεσθαι, τὴν μὲν εὐχερῆ
the rivalry that to-be-uncovered the one easy-going
καὶ παράβολον καὶ πανοῦργον οὖσαν καὶ μετ' ὀξύτητος ἐπὶ
and reckless and unscrupulous being and with sharpness to
πάντα ῥᾳδίως φερομένην, τὴν δ' ἱδρυμένην ἐν ἤθει βεβαίῳ
everything easily carried the other settled in character steadfast
καὶ πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον ἀτενῆ, ψεῦδος δὲ καὶ βωμολοχίαν
and toward the just intent falsehood and and buffoonery
καὶ ἀπάτην οὐδ' ἐν παιδιᾶς τινι τρόπῳ προσιεμένην.
and deceit not-even in of-play some manner admitting
Ἀρίστων δ' ὁ Κεῖος ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι
Ariston and the Cean from love's beginning to-have-arisen
φησὶ καὶ προελθεῖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτῶν.
says and to-have-gone-forward to so-far the enmity of-them
Στησίλεω γάρ, ὃς ἦν γένει Κεῖος, ἰδέᾳ τε καὶ μορφῇ
with-Stesilaus for who was by-race Cean in-appearance both and form
σώματος πολὺ τῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ λαμπρότατος, ἀμφοτέρους
of-body much of-those in bloom most-splendid both
ἐρασθέντας οὐ μετρίως ἐνεγκεῖν τὸ πάθος οὐδ' ἅμα
having-fallen-in-love not moderately to-have-borne the passion nor together-with
λήγοντι τῷ κάλλει τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν φιλονεικίαν,
fading the beauty of-the boy to-have-laid-aside the rivalry

ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐγγυμνασαμένους ἐκείνῃ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν
but as-if having-exercised in-that toward the state
εὐθὺς ὁρμῆσαι διαπύρους ὄντας καὶ διαφόρως ἔχοντας.
at-once to-have-rushed fiery being and differently disposed
Ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς ἑταιρείαν ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν
— indeed then Themistocles into a-political-club having-thrown himself
εἶχε πρόβλημα καὶ δύναμιν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ὥστε καὶ
had a-defense and power not contemptible so-that also
πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα καλῶς αὐτὸν ἄρξειν Ἀθηναίων, ἄνπερ
to the-one having-said well him would-rule Athenians if-indeed
ἴσος ᾖ καὶ κοινὸς ἅπασι "Μηδέποτε," εἰπεῖν, "εἰς
fair he-be and impartial to-all never to-have-said into
τοῦτον ἐγὼ καθίσαιμι τὸν θρόνον, ἐν ᾧ πλέον οὐδὲν
this I would-sit the throne in which more nothing
ἕξουσιν οἱ φίλοι παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων·" Ἀριστείδης
will-have the friends with me than-the strangers Aristides
δὲ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ ὁδὸν ἰδίαν ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῆς
and by himself as-it-were a-road his-own walked through the
πολιτείας, πρῶτον μὲν οὐ βουλόμενος συναδικεῖν τοῖς
state first indeed not wishing to-join-in-wrongdoing with-the
ἑταίροις ἢ λυπηρὸς εἶναι μὴ χαριζόμενος, ἔπειτα τὴν
companions or offensive to-be not gratifying then the
ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἰδὼν ἐπαίρουσαν
from the friends power not few having-seen inciting
ἀδικεῖν ἐφυλάττετο, μόνῳ τῷ χρηστὰ καὶ δίκαια πράττειν
to-do-wrong guarded alone in-the good and just-things to-do
καὶ λέγειν ἀξιῶν θαρρεῖν τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην.
and to-say deeming-it-right to-be-confident the good citizen
3 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, πολλὰ κινουμένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους
not indeed but many-things stirring — Themistocles
παραβόλως καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν αὐτῷ πολιτείαν ἐνισταμένου
recklessly and against every to-him measure opposing

καὶ διακόπτοντος, ἠναγκάζετό που καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν
and thwarting he-was-compelled somehow also himself partly indeed
ἀμυνόμενος, τὰ δὲ κολούων τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν χάριτι
defending-himself partly and lopping the of-that-one power by-favor
τῶν πολλῶν αὐξομένην ὑπεναντιοῦσθαι οἷς ἔπραττεν
of-the many increasing to-oppose what did
ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, βέλτιον ἡγούμενος παρελθεῖν ἔνια τῶν
— Themistocles better thinking to-let-pass some of-the
συμφερόντων τὸν δῆμον ἢ τῷ κρατεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐν
expedient-things the people than by-the to-prevail that-one in
πᾶσιν ἰσχυρὸν γενέσθαι. τέλος δέ ποτε τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους
everything strong to-become finally and once — Themistocles
πράττοντός τι τῶν δεόντων ἀντικρούσας καὶ
doing something of-the necessary-things having-opposed and
περιγενόμενος οὐ κατέσχεν, ἀλλ᾽ εἶπεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
having-prevailed not he-held-back but said from the assembly
ἀπιών, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι σωτηρία τοῖς Ἀθηναίων πράγμασιν, εἰ
departing that not there-is safety for-the of-Athenians affairs if
μὴ καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβάλοιεν.
not both Themistocles and himself into the barathrum they-throw
πάλιν δὲ γράψας τινὰ γνώμην εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἀντιλογίας
again and having-proposed some motion to the people opposition
οὔσης πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ φιλονεικίας, ἐκράτει· μέλλοντος δὲ
being against it and contentiousness he-prevailed being-about and
τοῦ προέδρου τὸν δῆμον ἐπερωτᾶν αἰσθόμενος ἐκ τῶν
the president the people to-put-the-question having-perceived from the
λόγων αὐτῶν τὸ ἀσύμφορον ἀπέστη τοῦ ψηφίσματος.
speeches themselves the inexpedient-thing he-withdrew from-the decree
πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δι᾽ ἑτέρων εἰσέφερε τὰς γνώμας, ὡς
often and also through others he-introduced the motions so-that

μὴ φιλονεικίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐμπόδιος
not by-rivalry the toward him — Themistocles obstructive
εἴη τῷ συμφέροντι.
might-be to-the advantage
Θαυμαστὴ δέ τις ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὰς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
admirable and somehow appeared his amid the in the political-life
μεταβολὰς ἡ εὐστάθεια, μήτε ταῖς τιμαῖς ἐπαιρομένου
changes the steadiness neither by-the honors being-elated
πρός τε τὰς δυσημερίας ἀθορύβως καὶ πράως ἔχοντος,
toward and the reverses calmly and mildly being-disposed
καὶ ὁμοίως ἡγουμένου χρῆναι τῇ πατρίδι παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν
and alike thinking it-needful to-the fatherland to-offer himself
οὐ χρημάτων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξης προῖκα καὶ ἀμισθὶ
not of-money only but also of-glory free and without-pay
πολιτευόμενον. ὅθεν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν εἰς Ἀμφιάραον ὑπ᾽
engaging-in-politics whence as it-seems of-the about Amphiaraus by
Αἰσχύλου πεποιημένων ἰαμβείων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ λεγομένων·
Aeschylus composed iambics in the theater being-spoken

Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι θέλει,
not for to-seem just but to-be he-wishes
βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,
deep furrow through mind reaping
ἀφ᾽ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα,
from which the wise spring counsels

πάντες ἀπέβλεψαν εἰς Ἀριστείδην, ὡς ἐκείνῳ μάλιστα
all looked toward Aristides as to-that-one most
τῆς ἀρετῆς ταύτης προσηκούσης.
the virtue this belonging

Οὐ μόνον δὲ πρὸς εὔνοιαν καὶ χάριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς 4
not only and against goodwill and favor but also against
ὀργὴν καὶ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἰσχυρότατος ἦν ὑπὲρ τῶν
anger and against enmity strongest he-was on-behalf-of the
δικαίων ἀντιστῆναι. λέγεται γοῦν ποτε διώκων ἐχθρὸν
just to-stand-firm it-is-said at-any-rate once prosecuting an-enemy
ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, μετὰ τὴν κατηγορίαν οὐ βουλομένων
in a-court after the accusation not wishing
ἀκούειν τοῦ κινδυνεύοντος τῶν δικαστῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψῆφον
to-hear the defendant the judges but the vote
εὐθὺς αἰτούντων ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, ἀναπηδήσας τῷ κρινομένῳ
at-once demanding against him having-leaped-up for-the accused
συνικετεύειν, ὅπως ἀκουσθείη καὶ τύχοι τῶν νομίμων·
to-join-in-begging that he-might-be-heard and obtain the legal-rights
πάλιν δὲ κρίνων ἰδιώταις δυσί, τοῦ ἑτέρου λέγοντος, ὡς
again and judging for-private-men two the one saying that
πολλὰ τυγχάνει τὸν Ἀριστείδην ὁ ἀντίδικος λελυπηκὼς
many-things happens — Aristides the opponent having-harmed
“Λέγ᾽, ὦ ᾽γαθέ,” φάναι, “μᾶλλον, εἴ τι σὲ κακὸν πεποίηκε·
say O good-sir to-have-said rather if any you harm he-has-done
σοὶ γάρ, οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ, δικάζω.” τῶν δὲ δημοσίων
for-you for not myself I-judge of-the and public
προσόδων αἱρεθεὶς ἐπιμελητὴς οὐ μόνον τοὺς καθ᾽ αὑτόν,
revenues having-been-chosen superintendent not only those in his-time
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένους ἄρχοντας ἀπεδείκνυε
but also those before him having-been magistrates he-showed
πολλὰ νενοσφισμένους, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα·
much having-embezzled and most — Themistocles

Σοφὸς γὰρ ἀνήρ, τῆς δὲ χειρὸς οὐ κρατῶν.
wise for the-man of-the but hand not mastering

Διὸ καὶ συναγαγὼν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐν ταῖς
wherefore also having-gathered many against — Aristides at the
εὐθύναις διώκων κλοπῆς καταδίκῃ περιέβαλεν, ὥς φησιν
audits prosecuting for-theft with-conviction he-involved-him as says
Ἰδομενεύς. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ
Idomeneus being-indignant and the first in the city and
βελτίστων, οὐ μόνον ἀφείθη τῆς ζημίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν
best not only he-was-released from-the fine but also again
ἄρχων ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διοίκησιν ἀπεδείχθη. προσποιούμενος
magistrate over the same administration was-appointed pretending
δὲ τῶν προτέρων μεταμέλειν αὐτῷ καὶ μαλακώτερον
and of-the former to-repent himself and more-softly
ἐνδιδοὺς ἑαυτόν, ἤρεσκε τοῖς τὰ κοινὰ κλέπτουσιν οὐκ
yielding himself he-pleased those the public-funds stealing not
ἐξελέγχων οὐδ' ἀκριβολογούμενος, ὥστε καταπιμπλαμένους
exposing nor scrutinizing so-that those-filled-up
τῶν δημοσίων ὑπερεπαινεῖν τὸν Ἀριστείδην καὶ δεξιοῦσθαι
from-the public-funds to-praise-excessively — Aristides and to-canvass
τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, σπουδάζοντας ἄρχοντα πάλιν
the people for him eager magistrate again
αἱρεθῆναι. μελλόντων δὲ χειροτονεῖν ἐπετίμησε τοῖς
to-be-chosen being-about and to-vote he-rebuked the
Ἀθηναίοις· "Ὅτε μὲν γάρ," ἔφη, "πιστῶς καὶ καλῶς
Athenians when indeed for he-said faithfully and well
ὑμῖν ἦρξα, προὐπηλακίσθην· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν
for-you I-ruled I-was-insulted since and much of-the public
καταπροεῖμαι τοῖς κλέπτουσι θαυμαστὸς εἶναι δοκῶ πολίτης.
I-have-let-go to-the thieves admirable to-be I-seem citizen
αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν αἰσχύνομαι τῇ νῦν τιμῇ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ
myself indeed then I-am-ashamed at-the present honor more than at-the
πρώην καταδίκῃ, συνάχθομαι δ' ὑμῖν, παρ' οἷς ἐνδοξότερόν
former conviction I-grieve and for-you among whom more-glorious

ἐστι τοῦ σώζειν τὰ δημόσια τὸ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς πονηροῖς.”
it-is than-the to-preserve the public-things the to-gratify the wicked
ταῦτα δ’ εἰπὼν καὶ τὰς κλοπὰς ἐξελέγξας τοὺς μὲν τότε
these-things and having-said and the thefts having-exposed those indeed then
βοῶντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ μαρτυροῦντας ἐπεστόμισε, τὸν
shouting on-behalf-of him and bearing-witness he-silenced the
δ’ ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον ἀπὸ τῶν βελτίστων ἔπαινον εἶχεν.
and true and just from the best praise he-had

II · MARATHON AND OSTRACISM

At Marathon Aristides yields his day of command to Miltiades and fights in the center beside Themistocles; left to guard the spoils, he touches nothing, while Callias the torchbearer grows rich on buried gold. His justice earns him the surname the Just, which breeds envy, and he is ostracized: an unlettered voter asks him to write Aristides on his sherd, tired of hearing him called just. The practice ends with Hyperbolus. Recalled before Salamis, he crosses at night to Themistocles.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Δᾶτις ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθεὶς λόγῳ μὲν ἐπιθεῖναι 5
when and Datis by Darius having-been-sent in-word indeed to-inflict
δίκην Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτι Σάρδεις ἐνέπρησαν, ἔργῳ δὲ
punishment on-Athenians because Sardis they-burned in-deed and
καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰς Μαραθῶνα παντὶ
to-subdue the Greeks to Marathon with-all
τῷ στόλῳ κατέσχε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, τῶν δέκα
the fleet put-in and the country ravaged of-the ten
καθεστώτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγῶν
appointed for-the Athenians for the war generals
μέγιστον μὲν εἶχεν ἀξίωμα Μιλτιάδης, δόξῃ δὲ καὶ
greatest indeed had prestige Miltiades in-fame and and
δυνάμει δεύτερος ἦν Ἀριστείδης. καὶ τότε περὶ τῆς μάχης
power second was Aristides and then about the battle

γνώμῃ τῇ Μιλτιάδου προσθέμενος οὐ μικρὰν ἐποίησε
to-the-opinion the of-Miltiades having-attached-himself not small made
ῥοπήν· καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμέραν ἑκάστου στρατηγοῦ τὸ κράτος
weight and by day each general the command
ἔχοντος, ὡς περιῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ ἀρχή, παρέδωκε
having when came-round to him the command he-handed-it-over
Μιλτιάδῃ, διδάσκων τοὺς συνάρχοντας, ὅτι τὸ πείθεσθαι καὶ
to-Miltiades teaching the fellow-commanders that the to-obey and
ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ σεμνόν
to-follow those well thinking not shameful but honorable
ἐστι καὶ σωτήριον. οὕτω δὲ πραΰνας τὴν φιλονεικίαν καὶ
is and saving so and having-softened the rivalry and
προτρεψάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀγαπᾶν μιᾷ γνώμῃ τῇ κρατίστῃ
having-urged them to-be-content with-one opinion the best
χρωμένους, ἔρρωσε τὸν Μιλτιάδην τῷ ἀπερισπάστῳ
using he-strengthened — Miltiades by-the undistracted
τῆς ἐξουσίας ἰσχυρὸν γενόμενον. χαίρειν γὰρ ἐῶν
of-the authority strong having-become to-bid-farewell for letting
ἕκαστος ἤδη τὸ παρ᾽ ἡμέραν ἄρχειν ἐκείνῳ προσεῖχεν.
each now the by day to-command to-that-one attended
Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ μάλιστα τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ μέσου
in and the battle most of-the Athenians the center
πονήσαντος καὶ πλεῖστον ἐνταῦθα χρόνον τῶν βαρβάρων
having-labored and longest there time the barbarians
ἀντερεισάντων κατὰ τὴν Λεοντίδα καὶ τὴν Ἀντιοχίδα
having-pushed-back against the Leontid and the Antiochid
φυλήν, ἠγωνίσαντο λαμπρῶς τεταγμένοι παρ᾽ ἀλλήλους
tribe fought brilliantly posted beside one-another
ὅ τε Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης· ὁ μὲν γὰρ
— both Themistocles and — Aristides the-one indeed for
Λεοντίδος ἦν, ὁ δ᾽ Ἀντιοχίδος· ἐπεὶ δὲ τρεψάμενοι
of-Leontis was the-other and of-Antiochis when and having-routed

τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὰς ναῦς καὶ πλέοντας
the barbarians they-drove-them into the ships and sailing
οὐκ ἐπὶ νήσων ἑώρων, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ
not to islands they-saw but by the wind and
τῆς θαλάσσης εἴσω πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποβιαζομένους,
the sea inward toward — Attica being-forced
φοβηθέντες μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον λάβωσι τῶν ἀμυνομένων,
having-feared lest the city deserted they-take of-the defenders
ταῖς μὲν ἐννέα φυλαῖς ἠπείγοντο πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ
with-the indeed nine tribes they-hastened to the town and
κατήνυσαν αὐθημερόν· ἐν δὲ Μαραθῶνι μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
arrived the-same-day in and Marathon with the his-own
φυλῆς Ἀριστείδης ἀπολειφθεὶς φύλαξ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ
tribe Aristides left-behind guard of-the captives and
τῶν λαφύρων οὐκ ἐψεύσατο τὴν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ χύδην μὲν
the spoils not belied the reputation but in-heaps indeed
ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ παρόντος, ἐσθῆτος δὲ παντοδαπῆς
of-silver and gold being-present of-clothing and of-all-kinds
καὶ χρημάτων ἄλλων ἀμυθήτων ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς καὶ τοῖς
and goods other untold in the tents and the
ἡλωκόσι σκάφεσιν ὑπαρχόντων, οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμησε
captured vessels being-there neither himself desired
θιγεῖν οὔτ᾽ ἄλλον εἴασε, πλὴν εἴ τινες ἐκεῖνον λαθόντες
to-touch nor another he-allowed except if some him having-escaped-notice
ὠφελήθησαν· ὧν ἦν καὶ Καλλίας ὁ δᾳδοῦχος.
profited of-whom was also Callias the torch-bearer
Τούτῳ γάρ τις, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν βαρβάρων προσέπεσεν
to-this-one for some as it-seems of-the barbarians fell-at-his-feet
οἰηθεὶς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν κόμην καὶ τὸ στρόφιον εἶναι·
having-thought a-king because-of the hair and the headband to-be
προσκυνήσας δὲ καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς ἔδειξε πολὺ
having-done-obeisance and and having-taken the right-hand he-showed much

χρυσίον ἐν λάκκῳ τινὶ κατορωρυγμένον. ὁ δὲ Καλλίας
gold in pit a-certain buried — and Callias
ὠμότατος ἀνθρώπων καὶ παρανομώτατος γενόμενος τὸν μὲν
most-savage of-men and most-lawless having-become the indeed
χρυσὸν ἀνείλετο, τὸν δ' ἄνθρωπον, ὡς μὴ κατείποι πρὸς
gold took-up the and man so-that not he-might-tell to
ἑτέρους, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐκ τούτου φασὶ καὶ λακκοπλούτους ὑπὸ
others he-killed from this they-say also pit-wealthy by
τῶν κωμικῶν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας λέγεσθαι, σκωπτόντων
the comic-poets those from the house to-be-called jesting
εἰς τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ χρυσίον ὁ Καλλίας εὗρεν.
at the place in which the gold — Callias found
Ἀριστείδης δὲ τὴν ἐπώνυμον εὐθὺς ἀρχὴν ἦρξε. καίτοι
Aristides and the eponymous at-once office held and-yet
φησὶν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἄρξαι τὸν ἄνδρα
says the Phalerean Demetrius to-have-held-office the man
μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θανάτου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς
shortly before the death after the at Plataea
μάχην. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς μετὰ μὲν Ξανθιππίδην, ἐφ'
battle in and the records after indeed Xanthippides in
οὗ Μαρδόνιος ἡττήθη Πλαταιᾶσιν, οὐδ' ὁμώνυμον
whose-time Mardonius was-defeated at-Plataea not-even namesake
Ἀριστείδην ἐν πάνυ πολλοῖς λαβεῖν ἔστι, μετὰ δὲ
Aristides in very many to-find is-it-possible after and
Φαίνιππον, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ἐνίκων,
Phaenippus in whose-time the at Marathon battle they-won
εὐθὺς Ἀριστείδης ἄρχων ἀναγέγραπται.
at-once Aristides archon is-recorded

6 Πασῶν δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη μάλιστα
of-all and the about him virtues the justice most
τοῖς πολλοῖς αἴσθησιν παρεῖχε διὰ τὸ τὴν χρείαν
to-the many perception gave because-of the the use

ἐνδελεχεστάτην αὐτῆς καὶ κοινοτάτην ὑπάρχειν. ὅθεν ἀνὴρ
most-continual of-it and most-common to-exist whence a-man
πένης καὶ δημοτικὸς ἐκτήσατο τὴν βασιλικωτάτην καὶ
poor and of-the-people acquired the most-kingly and
θειοτάτην προσηγορίαν τὸν Δίκαιον· ὃ τῶν βασιλέων
most-divine appellation the Just which of-the kings
καὶ τυράννων οὐδεὶς ἐζήλωσεν, ἀλλὰ Πολιορκηταὶ καὶ
and tyrants no-one emulated but Besiegers and
Κεραυνοὶ καὶ Νικάτορες, ἔνιοι δ' Ἀετοὶ καὶ Ἱέρακες
Thunderbolts and Conquerors some and Eagles and Hawks
ἔχαιρον προσαγορευόμενοι, τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς βίας καὶ τῆς
rejoiced being-called the from the force and the
δυνάμεως, ὡς ἔοικε, μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς δόξαν
power as it-seems rather than the from the virtue fame
ἀγαπῶντες. καίτοι τὸ θεῖον, ᾧ γλίχονται συνοικειοῦν
loving and-yet the divine to-which they-are-eager to-make-akin
καὶ συναφομοιοῦν αὑτούς, τρισὶ δοκεῖ διαφέρειν, ἀφθαρσίᾳ
and to-liken themselves in-three seems to-excel in-incorruption
καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἀρετῇ, ὧν καὶ σεμνότατον ἡ ἀρετὴ
and in-power and in-virtue of-which also most-august the virtue
καὶ θειότατόν ἐστιν. ἀφθάρτῳ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τῷ
and most-divine is incorruptible indeed for to-be also to-the
κενῷ καὶ τοῖς στοιχείοις συμβέβηκε, δύναμιν δὲ καὶ
void and to-the elements belongs power and also
σεισμοὶ καὶ κεραυνοὶ καὶ πνευμάτων ὁρμαὶ καὶ ῥευμάτων
earthquakes and thunderbolts and of-winds rushes and of-floods
ἐπιφοραὶ μεγάλην ἔχουσι, δίκης δὲ καὶ θέμιδος οὐδὲν ὅτι
onsets great have of-justice but and of-right nothing which
μὴ τῷ φρονεῖν καὶ λογίζεσθαι μεταλαγχάνει.
not by-the to-think and to-reason partakes

Διὸ καὶ τριῶν ὄντων, ἃ πεπόνθασιν οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς
wherefore also three being which feel the many toward
τὸ θεῖον, ζήλου καὶ φόβου καὶ τιμῆς, ζηλοῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς
the divine of-emulation and of-fear and of-honor to-emulate indeed them
καὶ μακαρίζειν ἐοίκασι κατὰ τὸ ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀΐδιον,
and to-call-blessed they-seem in-respect-of the incorruptible and eternal
ἐκπλήττεσθαι δὲ καὶ δεδιέναι κατὰ τὸ κύριον καὶ δυνατόν,
to-be-awed and and to-fear in-respect-of the sovereign and powerful
ἀγαπᾶν δὲ καὶ τιμᾶν καὶ σέβεσθαι κατὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην.
to-love and and to-honor and to-revere in-respect-of the justice
ἀλλά, καίπερ οὕτω διακείμενοι, τῆς μὲν ἀθανασίας, ἣν ἡ
but though so disposed of-the indeed immortality which the
φύσις ἡμῶν οὐ δέχεται, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἧς ἐν τῇ τύχῃ
nature our not admits and of-the power of-which in the fortune
κεῖται τὸ πλεῖστον, ἐπιθυμοῦσι, τὴν δ' ἀρετήν, ὃ μόνον
lies the most they-desire the but virtue which alone
ἐστὶ τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἐν ὑστέρῳ τίθενται, κακῶς
is of-the divine goods in our-power in second they-put badly
φρονοῦντες, ὡς τὸν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ τύχῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀρχῇ
thinking since the in power and fortune great and rule
βίον ἡ μὲν δικαιοσύνη ποιεῖ θεῖον, ἡ δ' ἀδικία θηριώδη.
life the indeed justice makes divine the and injustice bestial

7 Τῷ δ' οὖν Ἀριστείδῃ συνέβη τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπωμένῳ
— and then to-Aristides it-happened at-the first being-loved
διὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὕστερον φθονεῖσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν
because-of the surname later to-be-envied most indeed
τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγον εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς διαδιδόντος,
— Themistocles a-report among the many spreading
ὡς Ἀριστείδης ἀνῃρηκὼς τὰ δικαστήρια τῷ κρίνειν
that Aristides having-done-away-with the courts by-the to-judge
ἅπαντα καὶ δικάζειν, λέληθε μοναρχίαν ἀδορυφόρητον
everything and to-decide has-escaped-notice a-monarchy without-bodyguard

ἑαυτῷ κατεσκευασμένος· ἤδη δέ που καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ
for-himself established already and I-suppose also the people at
τῇ νίκῃ μέγα φρονῶν καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀξιῶν αὐτὸν
the victory greatly being-proud and of-the greatest deeming-worthy itself
ἤχθετο τοῖς ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔχουσι.
was-vexed with-those name and fame above the many having
καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς ἄστυ πανταχόθεν ἐξοστρακίζουσι
and having-come-together to town from-everywhere they-ostracize
τὸν Ἀριστείδην, ὄνομα τῷ φθόνῳ τῆς δόξης φόβον
— Aristides name to-the envy of-the fame fear
τυραννίδος θέμενοι.
of-tyranny having-given
Μοχθηρίας γὰρ οὐκ ἦν κόλασις ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός,
of-wickedness for not was punishment the ostracism
ἀλλ᾽ ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν δι᾽ εὐπρέπειαν ὄγκου καὶ δυνάμεως
but it-was-called indeed for decency of-dignity and of-power
βαρυτέρας ταπείνωσις καὶ κόλουσις, ἦν δὲ φθόνου
too-oppressive a-humbling and lopping it-was and of-envy
παραμυθία φιλάνθρωπος, εἰς ἀνήκεστον οὐδέν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς
consolation humane to incurable nothing but to
μετάστασιν ἐτῶν δέκα τὴν πρὸς τὸ λυποῦν ἀπερειδομένου
removal of-years ten the toward the paining venting
δυσμένειαν. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἤρξαντό τινες ἀνθρώπους ἀγεννεῖς
ill-will when and began some men ignoble
καὶ πονηροὺς ὑποβάλλειν τῷ πράγματι, τελευταῖον
and wicked to-subject to-the thing last
ἁπάντων Ὑπέρβολον ἐξοστρακίσαντες ἐπαύσαντο. λέγεται
of-all Hyperbolus having-ostracized they-stopped it-is-said
δὲ τὸν Ὑπέρβολον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν.
and — Hyperbolus to-have-been-ostracized for such cause
Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ Νικίας μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πόλει δυνάμενοι
Alcibiades and Nicias most in the city being-powerful

διεστασίαζον. ὡς οὖν ὁ δῆμος ἔμελλε φέρειν τὸ ὄστρακον
were-at-odds when then the people was-about to-cast the sherd
καὶ δῆλος ἦν τὸν ἕτερον γράψων, διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις
and clear was the one going-to-write having-conferred with-one-another
καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἑκατέρας εἰς ταὐτὸ συναγαγόντες τὸν
and the factions each into the-same having-brought-together —
Ὑπέρβολον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι παρεσκεύασαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
Hyperbolus to-be-ostracized arranged from and this
δυσχεράνας ὁ δῆμος ὡς καθυβρισμένον τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ
displeased the people as outraged the thing and
προπεπηλακισμένον ἀφῆκε παντελῶς καὶ κατέλυσεν.
insulted gave-up completely and abolished-it
Ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον, ὡς τύπῳ φράσαι, τὸ γινόμενον. ὄστρακον
it-was and such as in-outline to-tell the procedure a-sherd
λαβὼν ἕκαστος καὶ γράψας ὃν ἐβούλετο μεταστῆσαι τῶν
having-taken each and having-written whom he-wished to-remove of-the
πολιτῶν, ἔφερεν εἰς ἕνα τόπον τῆς ἀγορᾶς περιπεφραγμένον
citizens he-carried to one place of-the market-place fenced-in
ἐν κύκλῳ δρυφάκτοις. οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες πρῶτον μὲν
in a-circle with-railings the and archons first indeed
διηρίθμουν τὸ σύμπαν ἐν ταὐτῷ τῶν ὀστράκων πλῆθος·
counted the total in the-same-place of-the sherds number
εἰ γὰρ ἑξακισχιλίων ἐλάττονες οἱ φέροντες εἶεν, ἀτελὴς
if for than-six-thousand fewer those casting were incomplete
ἦν ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός· ἔπειτα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἕκαστον
was the ostracism then of-the names each
ἰδίᾳ θέντες τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πλείστων γεγραμμένον
separately having-put the-one by the most written
ἐξεκήρυττον εἰς ἔτη δέκα, καρπούμενον τὰ αὑτοῦ.
they-proclaimed-banished for years ten enjoying the his-own

Γραφομένων οὖν τότε τῶν ὀστράκων λέγεταί τινα
being-written then at-that-time of-the sherds it-is-said a-certain
τῶν ἀγραμμάτων καὶ παντελῶς ἀγροίκων ἀναδόντα τῷ
of-the illiterate and utterly boorish having-handed —
Ἀριστείδῃ τὸ ὄστρακον ὡς ἑνὶ τῶν τυχόντων παρακαλεῖν,
to-Aristides the sherd as to-one of-the chance-comers to-ask
ὅπως Ἀριστείδην ἐγγράψειε. τοῦ δὲ θαυμάσαντος καὶ
that Aristides he-write-in he and having-marveled and
πυθομένου, μή τι κακὸν αὐτὸν Ἀριστείδης πεποίηκεν,
having-asked whether any evil him Aristides has-done
“Οὐδέν,” εἶπεν, “οὐδὲ γιγνώσκω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ’
nothing he-said nor do-I-know the man but
ἐνοχλοῦμαι πανταχοῦ τὸν Δίκαιον ἀκούων.” ταῦτα
I-am-annoyed everywhere the Just hearing these-things
ἀκούσαντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἀποκρίνασθαι μὲν οὐδέν,
having-heard — Aristides to-have-answered indeed nothing
ἐγγράψαι δὲ τοὔνομα τῷ ὀστράκῳ καὶ ἀποδοῦναι. τῆς
to-have-written-in and the-name on-the sherd and to-have-given-back the
δὲ πόλεως ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἤδη, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας
and city leaving already the hands having-raised
πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὔξατο τὴν ἐναντίαν, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐχὴν
to the heaven he-prayed the opposite as it-seems prayer
τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, μηδένα καιρὸν Ἀθηναίους καταλαβεῖν, ὃς
— to-Achilles no crisis Athenians to-befall which
ἀναγκάσει τὸν δῆμον Ἀριστείδου μνησθῆναι.
will-compel the people of-Aristides to-be-reminded
Τρίτῳ δ’ ἔτει Ξέρξου διὰ Θετταλίας καὶ Βοιωτίας 8
in-the-third and year Xerxes through Thessaly and Boeotia
ἐλαύνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν, λύσαντες τὸν νόμον
marching against — Attica having-repealed the law
ἐψηφίσαντο τοῖς μεθεστῶσι κάθοδον, μάλιστα φοβούμενοι
they-voted for-those removed a-return most fearing

τὸν Ἀριστείδην, μὴ προσθέμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις διαφθείρῃ
— *Aristides lest having-joined the enemies he-corrupt*
καὶ μεταστήσῃ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον,
and bring-over many of-the citizens to the barbarian
οὐκ ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅς γε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ
not rightly guessing the man who at-least even before the
δόγματος τούτου διετέλει προτρέπων καὶ παροξύνων τοὺς
decree this continued urging and inciting the
Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο,
Greeks to the freedom and after the decree this
Θεμιστοκλέους στρατηγοῦντος αὐτοκράτορος, πάντα
Themistocles being-general with-full-powers in-everything
συνέπραττε καὶ συνεβούλευεν, ἐνδοξότατον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ
he-cooperated and counseled most-glorious for safety
κοινῇ ποιῶν τὸν ἔχθιστον.
common making the most-hated
Ὡς γὰρ ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν Σαλαμῖνα βουλευομένων τῶν περὶ
when for to-abandon — Salamis planning those about
Εὐρυβιάδην αἱ βαρβαρικαὶ τριήρεις νύκτωρ ἀναχθεῖσαι καὶ
Eurybiades the barbarian triremes by-night having-put-out and
περιβαλοῦσαι τόν τε πόρον ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ τὰς νήσους
having-surrounded the both strait in a-circle and the islands
κατεῖχον, οὐδενὸς προειδότος τὴν κύκλωσιν ἦκεν ὁ
held no-one knowing-beforehand the encirclement came —
Ἀριστείδης ἀπ᾽ Αἰγίνης παραβόλως διὰ τῶν πολεμίων
Aristides from Aegina daringly through the enemy
νεῶν διεκπλεύσας· καὶ νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ
ships having-sailed-through and by-night having-come to the tent —
Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ καλέσας αὐτὸν ἔξω μόνον "Ἡμεῖς,"
of-Themistocles and having-called him outside alone we
εἶπεν, "ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, ἤδη τὴν κενὴν
said O Themistocles if we-are-sensible now the empty

καὶ μειρακιώδη στάσιν ἀφέντες ἀρξώμεθα σωτηρίου καὶ
and boyish strife having-let-go let-us-begin a-saving and
καλῆς φιλονεικίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἁμιλλώμενοι σῶσαι τὴν
noble rivalry with one-another vying to-save —
Ἑλλάδα, σὺ μὲν ἄρχων καὶ στρατηγῶν, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπουργῶν
Greece you indeed commanding and being-general I and assisting
καὶ συμβουλεύων, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν σε πυνθάνομαι μόνον
and advising since also now you I-learn alone
ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἀρίστων λογισμῶν, κελεύοντα διαναυμαχεῖν
to-grasp the best reasonings urging to-fight-it-out
ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς τὴν ταχίστην. καί σοι τῶν συμμάχων
in the narrows the quickest and to-you the allies
ἀντιπραττόντων οἱ πολέμιοι συνεργεῖν ἐοίκασι· τὸ γὰρ
opposing the enemies to-cooperate seem the for
ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ κατόπιν ἤδη πέλαγος ἐμπέπλησται νεῶν
in a-circle and behind already sea has-been-filled with-ships
πολεμίων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας ἀνάγκη κατείληφεν
hostile so-that also those not wishing necessity has-overtaken
ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι καὶ μάχεσθαι· φυγῆς γὰρ ὁδὸς οὐ
good men to-be and to-fight of-flight for road not
λέλειπται." πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἶπεν· "Οὐκ ἂν
has-been-left to these-things — Themistocles said not —
ἐβουλόμην, ὦ Ἀριστείδη, σὲ κατὰ τοῦτό μου κρείττονα
I-would-have-wished O Aristides you in this than-me superior
γενέσθαι, πειράσομαι δὲ πρὸς καλὴν ἀρχὴν ἁμιλλώμενος
to-become I-shall-try and toward a-noble beginning vying
ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τοῖς ἔργοις." ἅμα δ' αὐτῷ φράσας τὴν
to-surpass-it with-the deeds at-once and to-him having-told the
ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κατασκευασθεῖσαν ἀπάτην πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον,
by himself contrived deceit toward the barbarian
παρεκάλει πείθειν τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην καὶ διδάσκειν, ὡς
he-urged to-persuade — Eurybiades and to-teach that

ἀμήχανόν ἐστι σωθῆναι μὴ ναυμαχήσαντας· εἶχε γὰρ
impossible it-is to-be-saved not having-fought-at-sea he-had for
αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον πίστιν. ὅθεν ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν στρατηγῶν
in-him rather trust whence in the council of-the generals
εἰπόντος Κλεοκρίτου τοῦ Κορινθίου πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα,
having-said Cleocritus the Corinthian to — Themistocles
μηδ' Ἀριστείδῃ τὴν γνώμην ἀρέσκειν αὐτοῦ, παρόντα γὰρ
not-even to-Aristides the opinion to-please his being-present for
σιωπᾶν, ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐσιώπα μὴ
to-be-silent replied — Aristides that not — he-would-be-silent not
λέγοντος τὰ ἄριστα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους· νῦν δ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν
saying the best-things — Themistocles now and quiet to-keep
οὐ δι' εὔνοιαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινῶν.
not through goodwill of-the man but the opinion approving

III · PSYTTALEIA AND THE ENVOYS

Aristides clears Psyttaleia during Salamis and dissuades Themistocles from cutting Xerxes' bridges. When Mardonius courts the Athenians and the Spartans fear it, Aristides answers both, and has curses laid on any who treat with the Mede. The Athenians abandon their city again, and their envoys shame the Spartans, who have already marched by night. At Plataea the oracle names gods, heroes, and a plain to fight in, a dream shows Arimnestus where the plain lies, the Plataeans give their land, and when the Tegeans claim the left wing, Aristides wins it for Athens.

9 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ναύαρχοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταῦτ' ἔπραττον.
the indeed then admirals of-the Greeks these-things were-doing
Ἀριστείδης δ' ὁρῶν τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, ἣ πρὸ τῆς
Aristides and seeing — Psyttaleia which before —
Σαλαμῖνος ἐν τῷ πόρῳ κεῖται νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη, πολεμίων
Salamis in the strait lies an-island not large of-enemy

ἀνδρῶν μεστὴν οὖσαν, ἐμβιβάσας εἰς ὑπηρετικὰ τοὺς
men full being having-embarked into light-boats the
προθυμοτάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν προσέμιξε
most-eager and most-warlike of-the citizens put-in
τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ, καὶ μάχην πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους συνάψας
— at-Psyttaleia and battle with the barbarians having-joined
ἀπέκτεινε πάντας, πλὴν ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ζῶντες
killed all except as-many-as of-the notable alive
ἥλωσαν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦσαν ἀδελφῆς βασιλέως ὄνομα
were-taken among and these were of-the-sister of-the-king by-name
Σανδαύκης τρεῖς παῖδες, οὓς εὐθὺς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν
Sandauce three sons whom at-once he-sent to —
Θεμιστοκλέα· καὶ λέγονται κατά τι λόγιον, τοῦ μάντεως
Themistocles and they-are-said according-to some oracle the seer
Εὐφραντίδου κελεύσαντος, ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι.
Euphrantides having-ordered to-raw-eating Dionysus to-have-been-sacrificed
τὴν δὲ νησῖδα τοῖς ὅπλοις πανταχόθεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης
the and islet with-the arms from-all-sides — Aristides
περιστέψας ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐκφερομένοις πρὸς αὐτήν, ὡς
having-ringed lay-in-wait-for those carried toward it so-that
μήτε τῶν φίλων τινὰ διαφθαρῆναι μήτε τῶν πολεμίων
neither of-the friends any be-destroyed nor of-the enemies
διαφυγεῖν. ὁ γὰρ πλεῖστος ὠθισμὸς τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς
escape the for most jostling of-the ships and of-the
μάχης τὸ καρτερώτατον ἔοικε περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον
battle the fiercest seems about the place that
γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ τρόπαιον ἕστηκεν ἐν τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ.
to-have-happened wherefore also a-trophy stands on — Psyttaleia
Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ
after and the battle — Themistocles sounding —
Ἀριστείδου καλὸν μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς
Aristides fine indeed to-be also the done by-them

ἔργον ἔλεγε, κρεῖττον δὲ λείπεσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ
deed he-said greater and to-be-left the to-take in —
Εὐρώπῃ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀναπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον τὴν
Europe — Asia having-sailed-up to Hellespont the
ταχίστην καὶ τὰ ζεύγματα διακόψαντας. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀριστείδης
quickest and the bridges having-cut-through when and Aristides
ἀνακραγὼν τοῦτον μὲν ἐκέλευε τὸν λόγον καταβαλεῖν,
having-cried-out this indeed bade the speech to-drop
σκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ ζητεῖν, ὅπως τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλωσι τὸν
to-consider and and to-seek how the quickest they-may-drive-out the
Μῆδον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, μὴ κατακλεισθεὶς ἀπορίᾳ φυγῆς
Mede from — Greece lest shut-in from-lack of-flight
μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως τραπῇ πρὸς ἄμυναν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
with so-great a-force he-turn to defense under compulsion
οὕτω πέμπει πάλιν Ἀρνάκην εὐνοῦχον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκ
so sends again Arnaces a-eunuch — Themistocles from
τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κρύφα, φράσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ κελεύσας,
the captives secretly to-tell to-the king having-bidden
ὅτι πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς γεφύρας ὡρμημένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας
that to-sail against the bridges having-set-out the Greeks
αὐτὸς ἀποστρέψειε σώζεσθαι βασιλέα βουλόμενος.
he-himself turned-back to-be-saved the-king wishing
10 Ἐκ τούτου Ξέρξης μὲν περίφοβος γενόμενος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ
from this Xerxes indeed terrified having-become at-once to
τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἠπείγετο, Μαρδόνιος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ
the Hellespont hastened Mardonius and of-the army
τὸ δοκιμώτατον ἔχων περὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ὑπελείπετο,
the most-approved having about thirty myriads was-left-behind
καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν ἀπ' ἰσχυρᾶς τῆς περὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐλπίδος
and formidable was from strong the about the infantry hope
ἀπειλῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ γράφων τοιαῦτα· "Νενικήκατε
threatening the Greeks and writing such-things you-have-conquered

θαλασσίοις ξύλοις χερσαίους ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐπισταμένους
with-sea timbers land men not knowing-how
κώπην ἐλαύνειν· ἀλλὰ νῦν πλατεῖα μὲν ἡ Θετταλῶν
an-oar to-pull but now broad indeed the of-Thessalians
γῆ, καλὸν δὲ τὸ Βοιώτιον πεδίον ἀγαθοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ
land fine and the Boeotian plain for-good horsemen and
ὁπλίταις ἐναγωνίσασθαι.” πρὸς δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἔπεμψεν
hoplites to-contend-in to and Athenians he-sent
ἰδίᾳ γράμματα καὶ λόγους παρὰ βασιλέως, τήν τε
privately letters and words from the-king the both
πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀναστήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ χρήματα
city for-them to-restore promising and money
πολλὰ δώσειν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κυρίους καταστήσειν
much to-give and of-the Greeks masters to-make
ἐκποδὼν τοῦ πολέμου γενομένους.
out-of-the-way of-the war having-become
Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα καὶ δείσαντες
the and Lacedaemonians having-learned these-things and having-feared
ἔπεμψαν Ἀθήναζε πρέσβεις, δεόμενοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως
sent to-Athens envoys asking the Athenians that
παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Σπάρτην ἀποστείλωσι, τοῖς δὲ
children indeed and women to Sparta they-send to-the and
πρεσβυτέροις τροφὰς παρ’ αὐτῶν λαμβάνωσιν· ἰσχυρὰ γὰρ
older-men maintenance from them they-take strong for
ἦν ἀπορία περὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπολωλεκότα καὶ τὴν χώραν
was want about the people having-lost both the country
καὶ τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀκούσαντες,
and the city not indeed but the envoys having-heard
Ἀριστείδου ψήφισμα γράψαντος, ἀπεκρίναντο θαυμαστὴν
Aristides a-decree having-proposed they-answered an-admirable
ἀπόκρισιν, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις συγγνώμην ἔχειν φάσκοντες,
answer to-the indeed enemies pardon to-have saying

εἰ πάντα πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων ὤνια νομίζοιεν, ὧν
if everything of-wealth and money purchasable they-think than-which
κρεῖττον οὐδὲν ἴσασιν, ὀργίζεσθαι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις,
better nothing they-know to-be-angry and with-Lacedaemonians
ὅτι τὴν πενίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν νῦν παροῦσαν
because the poverty and the want the now present
Ἀθηναίοις μόνον ὁρῶσι, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας
for-Athenians only they-see of-the and valor and of-the ambition
ἀμνημονοῦσιν ἐπὶ σιτίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωνίζεσθαι
they-are-unmindful for rations on-behalf-of — Greece to-fight
παρακαλοῦντες. ταῦτα γράψας Ἀριστείδης καὶ τοὺς
urging these-things having-written Aristides and the
πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παραγαγών, Λακεδαιμονίοις
envoys into the assembly having-brought-in to-Lacedaemonians
μὲν ἐκέλευσε φράζειν, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι χρυσοῦ τοσοῦτον
indeed he-bade to-tell that not there-is of-gold so-great
πλῆθος οὔθ' ὑπὲρ γῆν οὔθ' ὑπὸ γῆν, ὅσον Ἀθηναῖοι
an-amount neither above earth nor under earth as-much-as Athenians
δέξαιντο ἂν πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας.
would-accept — in-exchange-for the of-the Greeks freedom
τοῖς δὲ παρὰ Μαρδονίου τὸν ἥλιον δείξας, "Ἄχρι ἂν
to-those and from Mardonius the sun having-shown as-long-as —
οὗτος," ἔφη, "ταύτην πορεύηται τὴν πορείαν, Ἀθηναῖοι
this-one he-said this travels the course Athenians
πολεμήσουσι Πέρσαις ὑπὲρ τῆς δεδηωμένης χώρας καὶ
will-war on-Persians on-behalf-of the ravaged land and
τῶν ἠσεβημένων καὶ κατακεκαυμένων ἱερῶν." ἔτι δὲ
the desecrated and burned shrines further and
ἀρὰς θέσθαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔγραψεν, εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεύσαιτο
curses to-pronounce the priests he-proposed if anyone should-send-heralds
Μήδοις ἢ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπολίποι τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
to-Medes or the alliance should-desert of-the Greeks

Ἐμβαλόντος δὲ Μαρδονίου τὸ δεύτερον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν,
having-invaded and Mardonius the second-time into — Attica
αὖθις εἰς Σαλαμῖνα διεπέρασαν. Ἀριστείδης δὲ πεμφθεὶς
again to Salamis they-crossed Aristides and having-been-sent
εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῆς μὲν βραδυτῆτος αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλει καὶ
to Lacedaemon of-the indeed slowness them he-accused and
τῆς ὀλιγωρίας, προεμένοις αὖθις τῷ βαρβάρῳ τὰς Ἀθήνας,
of-the negligence having-abandoned again to-the barbarian — Athens
ἠξίου δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἔτι σωζόμενα τῆς Ἑλλάδος βοηθεῖν.
he-asked and to the still preserved-parts — of-Greece to-help
ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἔφοροι μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ἐδόκουν
these-things having-heard the Ephors by day indeed seemed
παίζειν καὶ ῥᾳθυμεῖν ἑορτάζοντες· ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς Ὑακίνθια·
to-play and to-be-idle keeping-festival it-was for for-them the-Hyacinthia
νυκτὸς δὲ πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπιλέξαντες, ὧν
by-night and five-thousand of-Spartans having-picked of-whom
ἕκαστος ἑπτὰ περὶ αὑτὸν εἵλωτας εἶχεν, ἐξέπεμψαν
each seven around himself helots had they-sent-out
οὐκ εἰδότων τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἐγκαλῶν
not knowing the Athenians when and again accusing
ὁ Ἀριστείδης προσῆλθεν, οἱ δὲ σὺν γέλωτι ληρεῖν
— Aristides came-forward they and with laughter to-talk-nonsense
αὐτὸν ἔφασκον καὶ καθεύδειν, ἤδη γὰρ ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ
him said and to-be-asleep already for in Oresteum
τὸν στρατὸν εἶναι πορευόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους (ξένους
the army to-be marching against the strangers strangers
γὰρ ἐκάλουν τοὺς Πέρσας), οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἔφη παίζειν
for they-called the Persians not in season he-said to-jest
αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀριστείδης, ἀντὶ τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς φίλους
them — Aristides instead-of the enemies the friends
ἐξαπατῶντας. ταῦθ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰδομενέα λέγουσιν. ἐν
deceiving these-things those around — Idomeneus say in

δὲ τῷ ψηφίσματι τοῦ Ἀριστείδου πρεσβευτὴς οὐκ αὐτός,
and the decree — of-Aristides envoy not himself
ἀλλὰ Κίμων καὶ Ξάνθιππος καὶ Μυρωνίδης φέρονται.
but Cimon and Xanthippus and Myronides are-recorded
11 Χειροτονηθεὶς δὲ στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην,
elected and general with-full-powers for the battle
καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀκτακισχιλίους ὁπλίτας ἀναλαβών,
and of-the Athenians eight-thousand hoplites having-taken
ἦκεν εἰς Πλαταιάς. ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ Παυσανίας ὁ τοῦ
he-came to Plataea there and also Pausanias the of-the
σύμπαντος ἡγούμενος Ἑλληνικοῦ συνέμιξεν ἔχων τοὺς
whole commanding Greek-force joined having the
Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐπέρρει τὸ πλῆθος.
Spartans and of-the other Greeks streamed-in the multitude
τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ μὲν ὅλον τῆς στρατοπεδείας
of-the and barbarians the indeed whole of-the camp
παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν παρεκτεταμένης οὐδεὶς ἦν
along the Asopus river extended no limit
ὅρος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, περὶ δὲ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὰ
was because-of the size about and the baggage and the
κυριώτατα τεῖχος περιεφράξαντο τετράγωνον, οὗ τῶν
most-important a-wall they-fenced-around square of-which of-the
πλευρῶν ἑκάστη μῆκος ἦν δέκα σταδίων.
sides each in-length was ten stades
Παυσανίᾳ μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι κοινῇ Τισαμενὸς
to-Pausanias indeed then and to-the Greeks in-common Tisamenus
ὁ Ἠλεῖος ἐμαντεύσατο, καὶ προεῖπε νίκην ἀμυνομένοις
the Elean prophesied and foretold victory to-them-defending
καὶ μὴ προεπιχειροῦσιν· Ἀριστείδου δὲ πέμψαντος εἰς
and not attacking-first Aristides and having-sent to
Δελφοὺς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς Ἀθηναίους καθυπερτέρους ἔσεσθαι
Delphi answered the god Athenians superior to-be

τῶν ἐναντίων εὐχομένους τῷ Διΐ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ
over-the opponents praying — to-Zeus and — to-Hera the
Κιθαιρωνίᾳ καὶ Πανὶ καὶ νύμφαις Σφραγίτισι, καὶ θύοντας
Cithaeronian and to-Pan and to-nymphs Sphragitid and sacrificing
ἥρωσιν Ἀνδροκράτει, Λεύκωνι, Πεισάνδρῳ, Δαμοκράτει,
to-heroes Androcrates Leucon Peisander Damocrates
Ὑψίωνι, Ἀκταίωνι, Πολυΐδῳ, καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐν γᾷ ἰδίᾳ
Hypsion Actaeon Polyidus and the danger in land own
ποιουμένους ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τᾶς Δάματρος τᾶς Ἐλευσινίας
making in the plain — of-Demeter the Eleusinian
καὶ τᾶς Κόρας. οὗτος ὁ χρησμὸς ἀνενεχθεὶς ἀπορίαν
and — of-Kore this the oracle having-been-reported perplexity
τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ παρεῖχεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἥρωες, οἷς
— to-Aristides gave the indeed for heroes to-whom
ἐκέλευε θύειν, ἀρχηγέται Πλαταιέων ἦσαν, καὶ τὸ τῶν
it-bade to-sacrifice founders of-Plataeans were and the of-the
Σφραγιτίδων νυμφῶν ἄντρον ἐν μιᾷ κορυφῇ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνός
Sphragitid nymphs cave on one summit — of-Cithaeron
ἐστιν, εἰς δυσμὰς ἡλίου θερινὰς τετραμμένον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ
is toward setting of-the-sun summer turned in which also
μαντεῖον ἦν πρότερον, ὥς φασι, καὶ πολλοὶ κατείχοντο
an-oracle was formerly as they-say and many were-possessed
τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, οὓς νυμφολήπτους προσηγόρευον. τὸ δὲ
of-the inhabitants whom nymph-seized they-called the and
τῆς Ἐλευσινίας Δήμητρος πεδίον, καὶ τὸ τὴν μάχην ἐν
of-the Eleusinian Demeter plain and the the battle in
ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ ποιουμένοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νίκην δίδοσθαι, πάλιν
own land for-those-making the Athenians victory to-be-given again
εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ μεθίστη τὸν πόλεμον.
into — Attica was-recalling and was-transferring the war

Ἔνθα τῶν Πλαταιέων ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρίμνηστος ἔδοξε κατὰ
there of-the Plataeans the general Arimnestus seemed in
τοὺς ὕπνους ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπερωτώμενον
the sleep by — Zeus the Savior being-asked
αὐτόν, ὅ τι δὴ πράττειν δέδοκται τοῖς Ἕλλησιν,
himself what ever indeed to-do it-has-been-resolved by-the Greeks
εἰπεῖν, "Αὔριον εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάξομεν, ὦ
to-say tomorrow to Eleusis the army we-shall-lead-away O
δέσποτα, καὶ διαμαχούμεθα τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκεῖ κατὰ
master and we-shall-fight-it-out with-the barbarians there according-to
τὸ πυθόχρηστον." τὸν οὖν θεὸν φάναι διαμαρτάνειν αὐτοὺς
the Pythian-oracle the then god to-say to-miss them
τοῦ παντός· αὐτόθι γὰρ εἶναι περὶ τὴν Πλαταϊκὴν τὰ
the whole there for to-be about the Plataean-land the
πυθόχρηστα καὶ ζητοῦντας ἀνευρήσειν. τούτων ἐναργῶς τῷ
Pythian-oracles and seeking they-would-find these-things clearly —
Ἀριμνήστῳ φανέντων ἐξεγρόμενος τάχιστα μετεπέμψατο
to-Arimnestus having-appeared having-awoken most-quickly he-summoned
τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους καὶ πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν,
the most-experienced and oldest of-the citizens
μεθ' ὧν διαλεγόμενος καὶ συνδιαπορῶν εὗρεν, ὅτι τῶν
with whom conversing and puzzling-together he-found that —
Ὑσιῶν πλησίον ὑπὸ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ναός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος
Hysiae near under — Cithaeron a-temple is ancient
πάνυ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίας καὶ Κόρης προσαγορευόμενος.
very of-Demeter Eleusinian and Kore called
εὐθὺς οὖν παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸν
at-once then having-taken-along — Aristides he-led-him to the
τόπον, εὐφυέστατον ὄντα παρατάξαι φάλαγγα πεζικὴν
place most-suitable being to-draw-up a-phalanx infantry
ἱπποκρατουμένοις, διὰ τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος
for-those-outmatched-in-horse because-of the foothills — of-Cithaeron

ἄφιππα ποιούσας τὰ καταλήγοντα καὶ συγκυροῦντα
unsuited-to-horse making the edges and junctions
τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν. αὐτοῦ δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ τοῦ
of-the plain near the shrine there and was also the —
Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρῷον ἐγγύς, ἄλσει πυκνῶν καὶ συσκίων
of-Androcrates shrine near in-a-grove of-thick and shady
δένδρων περιεχόμενον. ὅπως δὲ μηδὲν ἐλλιπὲς ἔχῃ
trees enclosed so-that and nothing lacking it-might-have
πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ὁ χρησμός, ἔδοξε τοῖς
toward the hope of-the victory the oracle it-seemed-good to-the
Πλαταιεῦσιν, Ἀριμνήστου γνώμην εἰπόντος, ἀνελεῖν τὰ
Plataeans Arimnestus a-motion having-made to-remove the
πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὅρια τῆς Πλαταϊδος καὶ τὴν χώραν
toward — Attica boundaries of-the Plataean-land and the land
ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν οἰκείᾳ
to-give to-the Athenians on-behalf-of — Greece in their-own
κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν ἐναγωνίσασθαι.
according-to the oracle to-contend
Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν Πλαταιέων οὕτω
this indeed then the generosity of-the Plataeans so
συνέβη περιβόητον γενέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἤδη
it-happened famous to-become so-that even Alexander already
βασιλεύοντα τῆς Ἀσίας ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τειχίζοντα
reigning-over — Asia later many years walling
τὰς Πλαταιὰς ἀνειπεῖν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ὑπὸ κήρυκος,
— Plataea to-have-proclaimed at-Olympia by a-herald
ὅτι ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποδίδωσι Πλαταιεῦσι τῆς
that this the king restores to-Plataeans for-the
ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας χάριν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς
valor and the magnanimity sake since for-the

Ἕλλησιν ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ τὴν χώραν ἐπέδωκαν
Greeks in the Median war the land they-gave
καὶ παρέσχον αὐτοὺς προθυμοτάτους.
and offered themselves most-eager
12 Ἀθηναίοις δὲ Τεγεᾶται περὶ τάξεως ἐρίσαντες ἠξίουν,
with-Athenians and Tegeans about position having-quarreled claimed
ὥσπερ ἀεί, Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ δεξιὸν ἐχόντων κέρας,
as always Lacedaemonians the right having wing
αὐτοὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχειν, πολλὰ τοὺς αὑτῶν προγόνους
themselves the left to-have much the their ancestors
ἐγκωμιάζοντες. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
praising being-indignant and the Athenians
παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης εἶπε· "Τεγεάταις μὲν ἀντειπεῖν
having-come-forward — Aristides said to-Tegeans indeed to-answer
περὶ εὐγενείας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς οὐ δίδωσι,
about noble-birth and valor the present moment not allows
πρὸς δ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ Σπαρτιᾶται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας
to and you O Spartans and the other Greeks
λέγομεν, ὅτι τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τόπος οὐδὲ δίδωσιν·
we-say that the valor not takes-away a-place nor gives
ἣν δ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἡμῖν τάξιν ἀποδῶτε πειρασόμεθα κοσμοῦντες
which and — you to-us post assign we-shall-try adorning
καὶ φυλάττοντες μὴ καταισχύνειν τοὺς προηγωνισμένους
and guarding-it not to-disgrace the previously-fought
ἀγῶνας. ἥκομεν γὰρ οὐ τοῖς συμμάχοις στασιάσοντες,
contests we-have-come for not with-the allies going-to-quarrel
ἀλλὰ μαχούμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐδ' ἐπαινεσόμενοι
but going-to-fight with-the enemies nor going-to-praise
τοὺς πατέρας, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τῇ Ἑλλάδι
the fathers but ourselves men good — to-Greece
παρέξοντες· ὡς οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν δείξει καὶ πόλιν καὶ
going-to-show as this the contest will-show both city and

ἄρχοντα καὶ ἰδιώτην ὁπόσου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἄξιός ἐστι.”
commander and private-man of-how-much to-the Greeks worthy he-is
ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες οἱ σύνεδροι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἀπεδέξαντο
these-things having-heard the councilors and commanders accepted
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ θάτερον αὐτοῖς κέρας ἀπέδοσαν.
the Athenians and the-other to-them wing gave

IV · MASISTIUS AND THE WINGS

Aristides quietly breaks a plot of Athenians of great houses impoverished by the war to overthrow the democracy or betray the Greeks, arresting eight and letting the chief two, Aeschines and Agesias, flee. Mardonius' cavalry falls on the Megarians, and Olympiodorus' picked three hundred hold until Masistius is unhorsed and killed through an eye-slit, to great Persian mourning. Alexander of Macedon rides by night to warn Aristides of the coming attack. Aristides has the Athenians take the right against the Persians, but Mardonius, told by deserters, shifts to face them, and the wings change back.

Οὔσης δὲ μετεώρου τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς 13
being and in-suspense — Greece and most for-the
Ἀθηναίοις τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπισφαλῶς ἐχόντων, ἄνδρες
Athenians the affairs precariously being men
ἐξ οἴκων ἐπιφανῶν καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων πένητες ὑπὸ
from houses illustrious and of-wealth great poor by
τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότες καὶ πᾶσαν ἅμα τῷ πλούτῳ
the war having-become and all together-with the wealth
τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει δύναμιν αὐτῶν καὶ δόξαν οἰχομένην
the in the city power their and fame gone
ὁρῶντες, ἑτέρων τιμωμένων καὶ ἀρχόντων, συνῆλθον εἰς
seeing others being-honored and ruling met at
οἰκίαν τινὰ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς κρύφα καὶ συνωμόσαντο
a-house certain of-those at Plataea secretly and conspired

καταλύσειν τὸν δῆμον· εἰ δὲ μὴ προχωροίη, λυμανεῖσθαι
to-overthrow the democracy if and not it-should-succeed to-ruin
τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις προδώσειν.
the affairs and to-the barbarians to-betray
Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ συχνῶν
being-done and these-things in the camp and many
ἤδη διεφθαρμένων, αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ἀριστείδης καὶ φοβηθεὶς
already having-been-corrupted having-perceived — Aristides and having-feared
τὸν καιρόν, ἔγνω μήτ' ἐᾶν ἀμελούμενον τὸ πρᾶγμα μήθ'
the crisis resolved neither to-let neglected the matter nor
ἅπαν ἐκκαλύπτειν, ἀγνοούμενον εἰς ὅσον ἐκβήσεται
all to-uncover being-unknown to how-great it-would-turn-out
πλῆθος ὁ ἔλεγχος τὸν τοῦ δικαίου ζητῶν ὅρον ἀντὶ
number the inquiry the of-the just seeking limit in-place-of
τοῦ συμφέροντος. ὀκτὼ δή τινας ἐκ πολλῶν συνέλαβε·
the expedient eight indeed some out-of many he-arrested
καὶ τούτων δύο μέν, οἷς πρώτοις ἡ κρίσις προεγράφη,
and of-these two indeed to-whom first the trial was-posted
οἳ καὶ πλείστην αἰτίαν εἶχον, Αἰσχίνης Λαμπτρεὺς
who also most blame had Aeschines of-Lamptrae
καὶ Ἀγησίας Ἀχαρνεύς, ᾤχοντο φεύγοντες ἐκ τοῦ
and Agesias of-Acharnae went-off fleeing from the
στρατοπέδου, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀφῆκε, θαρσῆσαι διδοὺς
camp the and others he-released to-take-courage giving
καὶ μεταγνῶναι τοῖς ἔτι λανθάνειν οἰομένοις, ὑπειπὼν
and to-repent to-those still to-escape-notice thinking having-hinted
ὡς μέγα δικαστήριον ἔχουσι τὸν πόλεμον ἀπολύσασθαι
that a-great court they-have the war to-clear-away
τὰς αἰτίας ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῇ πατρίδι βουλευόμενοι.
the charges rightly and justly for-the fatherland counseling

Μετὰ ταῦτα Μαρδόνιος, ᾧ πλεῖστον ἐδόκει διαφέρειν, 14
after these-things Mardonius in-which most he-seemed to-surpass
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπεπειρᾶτο, τὴν ἵππον ἀθρόαν αὐτοῖς
the Greeks tested the cavalry in-a-mass on-them
ἐφεὶς καθεζομένοις ὑπὸ τὸν πρόποδα τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος
having-let-loose sitting under the foot — of-Cithaeron
ἐν χωρίοις ὀχυροῖς καὶ πετρώδεσι πλὴν Μεγαρέων. οὗτοι
in places strong and rocky except Megarians these
δὲ τρισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις μᾶλλον
and three-thousand the number being in the level-ground rather
ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. διὸ καὶ κακῶς ἔπασχον ὑπὸ τῆς
were-encamped wherefore also badly they-suffered by the
ἵππου ῥυείσης ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς ἐχούσης
cavalry having-streamed against them and attacks having
πανταχόθεν. ἔπεμπον οὖν ἄγγελον κατὰ τάχος πρὸς
from-all-sides they-sent then a-messenger in haste to
Παυσανίαν βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες, ὡς οὐ δυνάμενοι καθ᾽
Pausanias to-help bidding as not being-able by
αὐτοὺς ὑποστῆναι τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος. ταῦτα
themselves to-withstand the of-the barbarians multitude these-things
Παυσανίας ἀκούων, ἤδη δὲ καὶ καθορῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον
Pausanias hearing already and also seeing hidden
ἀκοντισμάτων καὶ τοξευμάτων πλήθει τὸ στρατόπεδον
of-javelins and arrows by-the-multitude the camp
τῶν Μεγαρέων καὶ συνεσταλμένους αὐτοὺς εἰς ὀλίγον, αὐτὸς
of-the Megarians and pressed-together them into small himself
μὲν ἀμήχανος ἦν πρὸς ἱππότας ἀμύνειν ὁπλιτικῇ φάλαγγι
indeed helpless was against horsemen to-defend with-hoplite phalanx
καὶ βαρείᾳ τῇ Σπαρτιατῶν, τοῖς δ᾽ ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς καὶ
and heavy the of-Spartans to-the and other generals and
λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ αὐτὸν οὖσι προὔθετο ζῆλον
captains of-the Greeks around him being he-proposed emulation

ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας, εἰ δή τινες ἑκόντες ἀναδέξαιντο
of-valor and ambition if indeed any willingly would-undertake
προαγωνίσασθαι καὶ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσι. τῶν δ'
to-fight-in-front and to-help the Megarians of-the and
ἄλλων ὀκνούντων Ἀριστείδης ἀναδεξάμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν
others hesitating Aristides having-undertaken on-behalf-of the
Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἔργον ἀποστέλλει τὸν προθυμότατον τῶν
Athenians the task sends the most-zealous of-the
λοχαγῶν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον, ἔχοντα τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ τεταγμένους
captains Olympiodorus having those under him posted
λογάδας τριακοσίους καὶ τοξότας ἀναμεμιγμένους σὺν αὐτοῖς.
picked-men three-hundred and archers mixed with them
Τούτων δὲ ὀξέως διασκευασαμένων καὶ προσφερομένων
these and quickly having-got-ready and charging
δρόμῳ, Μασίστιος ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων ἵππαρχος, ἀνὴρ
at-a-run Masistius the of-the barbarians cavalry-commander a-man
ἀλκῇ τε θαυμαστὸς μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει σώματος
in-strength both admirable in-size both and beauty of-body
περιττός, ὡς κατεῖδεν, ἐναντίον ἐπιστρέψας τὸν ἵππον εἰς
extraordinary when he-saw-them opposite having-turned the horse against
αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνε. τῶν δ' ἀνασχομένων καὶ συμβαλόντων
them he-drove they and having-withstood and having-engaged
ἦν ἀγὼν καρτερός, ὡς πεῖραν ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ παντὸς
there-was a-contest fierce as a-test in this of-the whole
λαμβανόντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοξευθεὶς ὁ ἵππος τὸν Μασίστιον
taking when and shot-by-an-arrow the horse — Masistius
ἀπέρριψε καὶ πεσὼν ὑπὸ βάρους τῶν ὅπλων αὐτός τε
threw-off and having-fallen under weight of-the armor himself both
δυσκίνητος ἦν ἀναφέρειν καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπικειμένοις
hard-to-move was to-get-up and to-the Athenians pressing-on
καὶ παίουσι δυσμεταχείριστος, οὐ μόνον στέρνα καὶ
and striking hard-to-handle not only breast and

κεφαλήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ γυῖα χρυσῷ καὶ χαλκῷ καὶ σιδήρῳ
head but also the limbs with-gold and bronze and iron
καταπεφραγμένος, τοῦτον μὲν ᾗ τὸ κράνος ὑπέφαινε τὸν
covered this-one indeed where the helmet showed the
ὀφθαλμὸν ἀκοντίου στύρακι παίων τις ἀνεῖλεν, οἱ δ᾽
eye of-a-javelin with-the-butt-spike striking someone killed the and
ἄλλοι Πέρσαι προέμενοι τὸν νεκρὸν ἔφευγον. ἐγνώσθη δὲ
other Persians having-abandoned the corpse fled was-known and
τοῦ κατορθώματος τὸ μέγεθος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν
of-the success the magnitude to-the Greeks not from the
νεκρῶν τοῦ πλήθους, ὀλίγοι γὰρ οἱ πεσόντες ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ
dead of-the number few for the fallen were but
τῷ πένθει τῶν βαρβάρων. καὶ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἔκειραν ἐπὶ
by-the mourning of-the barbarians and for themselves they-shore for
τῷ Μασιστίῳ καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἡμιόνους, οἰμωγῆς τε καὶ
— Masistius and horses and mules with-wailing both and
κλαυθμοῦ τὸ πεδίον ἐνεπίμπλασαν, ὡς ἄνδρα πολὺ πρῶτον
lamentation the plain they-filled as a-man by-far first
ἀρετῇ καὶ δυνάμει μετά γε Μαρδόνιον αὐτὸν ἀποβαλόντες.
in-valor and power after at-least Mardonius himself having-lost
Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἱππομαχίαν ἀμφότεροι μάχης ἔσχοντο χρόνον 15
after and the cavalry-battle both from-battle held-back time
πολύν· ἀμυνομένοις γὰρ οἱ μάντεις νίκην προὔφαινον ἐκ
long to-those-defending for the seers victory foretold from
τῶν ἱερῶν ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν,
the victims alike both to-the Persians and to-the Greeks
εἰ δ᾽ ἐπιχειροῖεν, ἥτταν. ἔπειτα Μαρδόνιος, ὡς αὐτῷ
if and they-should-attack defeat then Mardonius since for-him
μὲν ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια περιῆν, οἱ δ᾽ Ἕλληνες
indeed of-days few the provisions remained the and Greeks
ἀεί τινων ἐπιρρεόντων πλείονες ἐγίνοντο, δυσανασχετῶν
always some streaming-in more became being-impatient

ἔγνω μηκέτι μένειν, ἀλλὰ διαβὰς ἅμα φάει τὸν
he-resolved no-longer to-wait but having-crossed together-with dawn the
Ἀσωπὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπροσδοκήτως· καὶ
Asopus to-attack the Greeks unexpectedly and
παράγγελμα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἑσπέρας ἔδωκε.
an-order to-the commanders at-evening he-gave
Μεσούσης δὲ μάλιστα τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνὴρ ἵππον ἔχων
being-at-its-middle and about the night a-man a-horse having
ἀτρέμα προσεμίγνυε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων·
quietly approached the camp of-the Greeks
ἐντυχὼν δὲ ταῖς φυλακαῖς ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν
having-met and the sentinels he-bade to-him to-come
Ἀριστείδην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον. ὑπακούσαντος δὲ ταχέως ἔφησεν·
Aristides the Athenian having-answered and quickly he-said
"Εἰμὶ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών, ἥκω δὲ κινδύνων
I-am indeed Alexander the Macedonian I-have-come and of-dangers
τὸν μέγιστον εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αἱρόμενος, ὡς μὴ
the greatest from-goodwill the toward you undertaking so-that not
τὸ αἰφνίδιον ἐκπλήξειεν ὑμᾶς χεῖρον ἀγωνίσασθαι. μαχεῖται
the suddenness might-panic you worse to-fight will-fight
γὰρ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος αὔριον, οὐχ ὑπ' ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς
for with-you Mardonius tomorrow not from hope good
οὐδὲ θάρσους, ἀλλ' ἀπορίας τῶν παρόντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ
nor courage but from-want of-the present since also
μάντεις ἐκεῖνον ἀπαισίοις ἱεροῖς καὶ λογίοις χρησμῶν
seers him with-inauspicious sacrifices and with-sayings of-oracles
εἴργουσι μάχης, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχει δυσθυμία πολλὴ καὶ
restrain from-battle and the army holds despondency much and
κατάπληξις. ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τολμῶντα πειρᾶσθαι τῆς τύχης
consternation but necessity daring to-try the fortune
ἢ τὴν ἐσχάτην ὑπομένειν ἀπορίαν καθεζόμενον." ταῦτα
or the utmost to-endure want sitting these-things

φράσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐδεῖτο τὸν Ἀριστείδην αὐτὸν εἰδέναι
having-told — Alexander asked — Aristides himself to-know
καὶ μνημονεύειν, ἑτέρῳ δὲ μὴ κατειπεῖν. ὁ δ' οὐ καλῶς
and to-remember to-another and not to-tell he and not well
ἔχειν ἔφη ταῦτα Παυσανίαν ἀποκρύψασθαι, ἐκείνῳ γὰρ
to-be said these-things from-Pausanias to-hide on-him for
ἀνακεῖσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρρητα
to-rest the command to and the others unspoken
πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἔδοξεν ἔσεσθαι, νικώσης δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
before the battle it-seemed-good they-should-be conquering and — Greece
οὐδένα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου προθυμίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀγνοήσειν.
no-one the of-Alexander zeal and valor would-fail-to-know
λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ὅ τε βασιλεὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων
having-been-said and these-things the both king of-the Macedonians
ἀπήλαυνεν ὀπίσω πάλιν, ὅ τε Ἀριστείδης ἀφικόμενος
rode-off back again — both Aristides having-come
ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Παυσανίου διηγεῖτο τοὺς λόγους· καὶ
to the tent — of-Pausanias related the words and
μετεπέμποντο τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας καὶ παρήγγελλον ἐν
they-summoned the other commanders and gave-orders in
κόσμῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχειν, ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης.
order the army to-keep as of-battle going-to-be
Ἐν τούτῳ δ', ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, Παυσανίας Ἀριστείδῃ 16
in this and as Herodotus records Pausanias to-Aristides
προσέφερε λόγον, ἀξιῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν
brought a-proposal asking the Athenians to the right
μετατάξαι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀντιταχθῆναι, βέλτιον
to-shift and against the Persians to-be-ranged better
γὰρ ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τῆς τε μάχης ἐμπείρους γεγονότας καὶ
for they-would-fight of-the both battle experienced having-become and
τῷ προνενικηκέναι θαρροῦντας, αὐτῷ δὲ παραδοῦναι τὸ
by-the having-won-before being-confident to-himself and to-give-over the

εὐώνυμον, ὅπου τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μηδίζοντες ἐπιβάλλειν
left where of-the Greeks the medizers to-attack
ἔμελλον.
were-going
Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀγνώμονα
the indeed then other generals of-the Athenians unreasonable
καὶ φορτικὸν ἡγοῦντο τὸν Παυσανίαν, εἰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐῶν
and vulgar thought — Pausanias if the other leaving
τάξιν ἐν χώρᾳ μόνους ἄνω καὶ κάτω μεταφέρει σφᾶς
order in place alone up and down he-moves them
ὥσπερ εἵλωτας, κατὰ τὸ μαχιμώτατον προβαλλόμενος· ὁ
like helots against the most-warlike putting-forward —
δ' Ἀριστείδης διαμαρτάνειν αὐτοὺς ἔφασκε τοῦ παντός,
and Aristides to-miss them said the whole
εἰ πρώην μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔχειν
if the-other-day indeed for the the left wing to-hold
διεφιλοτιμοῦντο Τεγεάταις καὶ προκριθέντες ἐσεμνύνοντο,
they-strove with-Tegeans and having-been-preferred were-proud
νῦν δέ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἑκουσίως αὐτοῖς ἐξισταμένων τοῦ
now but Lacedaemonians willingly for-them standing-aside from-the
δεξιοῦ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραδιδόντων, οὔτε
right and in-manner some the command handing-over neither
τὴν δόξαν ἀγαπῶσιν οὔτε κέρδος ἡγοῦνται τὸ μὴ πρὸς
the glory they-welcome nor gain they-think the not against
ὁμοφύλους καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἀλλὰ βαρβάρους καὶ φύσει
kinsmen and relatives but barbarians and by-nature
πολεμίους ἀγωνίσασθαι. ἐκ τούτου πάνυ προθύμως οἱ
enemies to-fight from this very eagerly the
Ἀθηναῖοι διημείβοντο τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις τὴν τάξιν· καὶ
Athenians exchanged with-the Spartans the post and
λόγος ἐχώρει δι' αὐτῶν πολὺς ἀλλήλοις παρεγγυώντων,
talk went among them much to-one-another passing-the-word

ὡς οὔτε ὅπλα βελτίω λαβόντες οὔτε ψυχὰς ἀμείνους οἱ
that neither arms better having-taken nor souls braver the
πολέμιοι τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι προσίασιν, ἀλλὰ ταὐτὰ μὲν
enemies than-those at Marathon are-advancing but the-same indeed
ἐκείνοις τόξα, ταὐτὰ δ' ἐσθῆτος ποικίλματα καὶ χρυσὸς ἐπὶ
as-those bows the-same and of-clothing embroideries and gold on
σώμασι μαλακοῖς καὶ ψυχαῖς ἀνάνδροις· ἡμῖν δ' ὅμοια μὲν
bodies soft and souls unmanly for-us and like indeed
ὅπλα καὶ σώματα, μεῖζον δὲ ταῖς νίκαις τὸ θάρσος, ὁ
arms and bodies greater but from-the victories the courage the
δ' ἀγὼν οὐχ ὑπὲρ χώρας καὶ πόλεως μόνον, ὡς ἐκείνοις,
and contest not for land and city only as for-those
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι τροπαίων, ὡς
but for the at Marathon and Salamis trophies so-that
μηδ' ἐκεῖνα Μιλτιάδου δοκῇ καὶ τύχης, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων.
not-even those of-Miltiades might-seem and of-fortune but of-Athenians
Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν σπεύδοντες ἐν ἀμείψει τῶν τάξεων ἦσαν·
these indeed then hastening in exchange of-the posts were
αἰσθόμενοι δὲ Θηβαῖοι παρ' αὐτομόλων Μαρδονίῳ φράζουσι.
having-perceived and Thebans from deserters to-Mardonius tell
κἀκεῖνος εὐθύς, εἴτε δεδιὼς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἴτε τοῖς
and-he at-once whether fearing the Athenians or with-the
Λακεδαιμονίοις συμπεσεῖν φιλοτιμούμενος, ἀντιπαρεξῆγε
Lacedaemonians to-engage being-ambitious led-across-opposite
τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας ἐκέλευε τοὺς
the Persians to the right the and Greeks he-bade those
σὺν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἵστασθαι. γενομένης δὲ τῆς
with him opposite the Athenians to-stand having-become and the
μετακοσμήσεως καταφανοῦς ὅ τε Παυσανίας ἀποτραπεὶς
redisposition plain — both Pausanias having-turned-back
αὖθις ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κατέστη, καὶ Μαρδόνιος, ὥσπερ εἶχεν
again on the right took-position and Mardonius as he-had

ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀνέλαβε τὸ εὐώνυμον κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους
from the-beginning resumed the left against the Lacedaemonians
γενόμενος, ἥ τε ἡμέρα διεξῆλθεν ἀργή. καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι
having-come the both day passed idle and to-the Greeks
βουλευομένοις ἔδοξε πορρωτέρω μεταστρατοπεδεῦσαι
deliberating it-seemed-good farther to-shift-camp
καὶ καταλαβεῖν εὔυδρον χωρίον, ἐπεὶ τὰ πλησίον νάματα
and to-occupy a-well-watered place since the near springs
καθύβριστο καὶ διέφθαρτο τῶν βαρβάρων ἱπποκρατούντων.
had-been-outraged and spoiled the barbarians being-superior-in-cavalry

V · PLATAEA

In the retreat Amompharetus refuses to leave his post; the sacrifices are unfavorable while Callicrates dies, and when Pausanias prays to Hera the omens turn and the Spartans charge. The Athenians defeat the Greeks on the Persian side; Mardonius is killed by Arimnestus, as a dream had foretold, and the camp is stormed, and Plutarch argues from the dead and the common altar, against Herodotus, that all the Greeks fought. The Greeks quarrel over the prize until, on Cleocritus' motion, it goes to the Plataeans, Aristides conceding for the Athenians, and Euchidas runs to Delphi for pure fire, returns the same day, and dies.

17 Ἐπελθούσης δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ
having-come-on and night and the generals leading to
τὴν ἀποδεδειγμένην στρατοπεδείαν οὐ πάνυ πρόθυμον ἦν
the appointed camp not very eager was
ἕπεσθαι καὶ συμμένειν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνέστησαν
to-follow and to-keep-together the multitude but when they-rose-up
ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ἐρυμάτων ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν
from the first defenses they-rushed toward the city of-the
Πλαταιέων οἱ πολλοί, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ἐκεῖ διασκιδναμένων
Plataeans the many and confusion was there scattering

καὶ κατασκηνούντων ἀτάκτως. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ συνέβαινεν
and encamping in-disorder to-Lacedaemonians and it-happened
ἄκουσι μόνοις ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων· Ἀμομφάρετος
unwilling alone to-be-left-behind by-the others Amompharetus
γάρ, ἀνὴρ θυμοειδὴς καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος, ἔκπαλαι πρὸς τὴν
for a-man high-spirited and danger-loving long-since for the
μάχην σπαργῶν καὶ βαρυνόμενος τὰς πολλὰς ἀναβολὰς
battle swelling and being-vexed-at the many postponements
καὶ μελλήσεις, τότε δὴ παντάπασι τὴν μετανάστασιν
and delays then indeed altogether the change-of-position
φυγὴν ἀποκαλῶν καὶ ἀπόδρασιν, οὐκ ἔφη λείψειν τὴν
flight calling and running-away not he-said he-would-leave the
τάξιν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτόθι μένων μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λοχιτῶν
post but there remaining with the his-own company-men
ὑποστήσεσθαι Μαρδόνιον. ὡς δὲ Παυσανίας ἐπελθὼν ἔλεγε
he-would-withstand Mardonius when and Pausanias having-come said
ταῦτα πράττειν ἐψηφισμένα καὶ δεδογμένα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν,
these-things to-do voted and resolved by-the Greeks
ἀράμενος ταῖν χεροῖν πέτρον μέγαν ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος
having-raised with-the-two hands a-stone great — Amompharetus
καὶ καταβαλὼν πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Παυσανίου ταύτην
and having-thrown-down before the feet — of-Pausanias this
ἔφη ψῆφον αὐτὸς περὶ τῆς μάχης τίθεσθαι, τὰ δὲ
he-said vote he-himself about the battle cast the and
τῶν ἄλλων δειλὰ βουλεύματα καὶ δόγματα χαίρειν ἐᾶν.
of-the others cowardly counsels and decrees farewell to-let-go
ἀπορούμενος δὲ Παυσανίας τῷ παρόντι πρὸς μὲν τοὺς
being-at-a-loss and Pausanias at-the present to indeed the
Ἀθηναίους ἔπεμψεν ἀπιόντας ἤδη, περιμεῖναι δεόμενος καὶ
Athenians he-sent going-away already to-wait asking and

κοινῇ βαδίζειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἦγε πρὸς
together to-march himself and the other force led toward
τὰς Πλαταιὰς ὡς ἀναστήσων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον.
— Plataea as going-to-raise-up — Amompharetus
Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ κατελάμβανεν ἡμέρα, καὶ Μαρδόνιος (οὐ γὰρ
in this and was-overtaking day and Mardonius not for
ἔλαθον τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἐκλελοιπότες οἱ Ἕλληνες) ἔχων
escaped-notice the camp having-left the Greeks having
συντεταγμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἐπεφέρετο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
drawn-up the force bore-down on-the Lacedaemonians
βοῇ πολλῇ καὶ πατάγῳ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς οὐ μάχης
with-shouting much and clatter of-the barbarians as not of-battle
ἐσομένης, ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας ἀναρπασομένων τοὺς Ἕλληνας.
going-to-be but fleeing going-to-snatch-up the Greeks
ὃ μικρᾶς ῥοπῆς ἐδέησε γενέσθαι. κατιδὼν γὰρ τὸ
which small turn lacked to-happen having-seen for the
γινόμενον ὁ Παυσανίας ἔσχετο μὲν τῆς πορείας καὶ τὴν
happening — Pausanias stopped indeed from-the march and the
ἐπὶ μάχῃ τάξιν ἐκέλευσε λαμβάνειν ἕκαστον, ἔλαθε δ'
for battle position he-bade to-take each it-escaped and
αὐτόν, εἴθ' ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὀργῆς εἴτε τῷ
him whether by the toward — Amompharetus anger or by-the
τάχει θορυβηθέντα τῶν πολεμίων, σύνθημα μὴ δοῦναι τοῖς
speed confused of-the enemies the-signal not to-give to-the
Ἕλλησιν. ὅθεν οὔτ' εὐθὺς οὔτ' ἀθρόοι, κατ' ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ
Greeks whence neither at-once nor in-a-body by few but and
σποράδην, ἤδη τῆς μάχης ἐν χερσὶν οὔσης, προσεβοήθουν.
scattered already the battle at hand being they-came-to-help
Ὡς δὲ θυόμενος οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρει, προσέταξε τοῖς
when and sacrificing not he-got-good-omens he-ordered the
Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν θεμένους
Lacedaemonians the shields before the feet having-set

ἀτρέμα καθέζεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ, μηδένα τῶν
quietly to-sit and to-attend to-him none of-the
πολεμίων ἀμυνομένους, αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐσφαγιάζετο. καὶ
enemies resisting himself and again was-sacrificing and
προσέπιπτον οἱ ἱππεῖς· ἤδη δὲ καὶ βέλος ἐξικνεῖτο καί
fell-on the horsemen already and also missile reached and
τις ἐπέπληκτο τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ
someone had-been-struck of-the Spartans in this and also
Καλλικράτης, ὃν ἰδέᾳ τε κάλλιστον Ἑλλήνων καὶ
Callicrates whom in-appearance both most-beautiful of-Greeks and
σώματι μέγιστον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ στρατῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσι,
in-body tallest in that the army to-have-been they-say
τοξευθεὶς καὶ θνήσκων οὐκ ἔφη τὸν θάνατον ὀδύρεσθαι, καὶ
shot and dying not he-said the death to-lament and
γὰρ ἐλθεῖν οἴκοθεν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθανούμενος,
for to-have-come from-home on-behalf-of — Greece going-to-die
ἀλλ' ὅτι θνήσκει τῇ χειρὶ μὴ χρησάμενος. ἦν οὖν τὸ
but that he-dies with-the hand not having-used was then the
μὲν πάθος δεινόν, ἡ δ' ἐγκράτεια θαυμαστὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν.
indeed suffering terrible the and self-control admirable of-the men
οὐ γὰρ ἠμύνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιβαίνοντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν
not for they-repelled the enemies advancing but the
παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καιρὸν ἀναμένοντες
from the god and the general moment awaiting
ἠνείχοντο βαλλόμενοι καὶ πίπτοντες ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν.
they-endured being-shot and falling in the ranks
Ἔνιοι δέ φασι τῷ Παυσανίᾳ μικρὸν ἔξω τῆς παρατάξεως
some and say — for-Pausanias a-little outside the battle-line
θύοντι καὶ κατευχομένῳ τῶν Λυδῶν τινας ἄφνω
sacrificing and praying of-the Lydians some suddenly
προσπεσόντας ἁρπάζειν καὶ διαρρίπτειν τὰ περὶ τὴν
having-fallen-on to-snatch and to-scatter the about the

θυσίαν, τὸν δὲ Παυσανίαν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ
sacrifice — and Pausanias and those about him not
ἔχοντας ὅπλα ῥάβδοις καὶ μάστιξι παίειν· διὸ καὶ νῦν
having arms with-rods and whips to-strike wherefore also now
ἐκείνης τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς μιμήματα τὰς περὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐν
of-that the raid imitations the about the altar in
Σπάρτῃ πληγὰς τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν
Sparta blows of-the youths and the after these-things of-the
Λυδῶν πομπὴν συντελεῖσθαι.
Lydians procession to-be-performed

18 Δυσφορῶν οὖν ὁ Παυσανίας τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἄλλα τοῦ
being-distressed then — Pausanias at-the present-things other the
μάντεως ἐπ᾽ ἄλλοις ἱερεῖα καταβάλλοντος, τρέπεται
seer upon others victims slaughtering he-turns
πρὸς τὸ Ἡραῖον τῇ ὄψει δεδακρυμένος, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας
toward — Heraeum in-the face tearful and the hands
ἀνασχὼν εὔξατο Κιθαιρωνίᾳ Ἥρᾳ καὶ θεοῖς ἄλλοις, οἳ
having-raised prayed to-Cithaeronian Hera and to-gods other who
Πλαταιΐδα γῆν ἔχουσιν, εἰ μὴ πέπρωται τοῖς Ἕλλησι
Plataean land have if not it-is-fated for-the Greeks
νικᾶν, ἀλλὰ δράσαντάς γέ τι παθεῖν καὶ δείξαντας
to-conquer but having-done at-least something to-suffer and having-shown
ἔργῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ
in-deed to-the enemies that against men good and
μάχεσθαι μεμαθηκότας ἐστράτευσαν. ταῦτα τοῦ Παυσανίου
to-fight having-learned they-marched these-things — Pausanias
θεοκλυτοῦντος ἅμα ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐφάνη τὰ ἱερὰ
invoking-the-gods together-with the prayers appeared the victims-favorable
καὶ νίκην ὁ μάντις ἔφραζε. καὶ δοθέντος εἰς ἅπαντας
and victory the seer announced and having-been-given to all
τοῦ παραγγέλματος καθίστασθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἧ
the order to-stand against the enemies the

τε φάλαγξ ὄψιν ἔσχεν αἰφνιδίως ἑνὸς ζῴου θυμοειδοῦς
both phalanx appearance had suddenly of-one animal spirited
πρὸς ἀλκὴν τρεπομένου καὶ φρίξαντος, τοῖς τε βαρβάροις
toward defense turning and bristling to-the both barbarians
τότε παρέστη λογισμός, ὡς πρὸς ἄνδρας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσοιτο
then came the-thought that against men the contest would-be
μαχουμένους ἄχρι θανάτου. διὸ καὶ προθέμενοι
fighting until death wherefore also having-set-up-in-front
πολλὰ τῶν γέρρων ἐτόξευον εἰς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.
many of-the wicker-shields they-shot at the Lacedaemonians
οἱ δὲ τηροῦντες ἅμα τὸν συνασπισμὸν ἐπέβαινον, καὶ
they and keeping at-once the locked-shields advanced and
προσπεσόντες ἐξεώθουν τὰ γέρρα, καὶ τοῖς δόρασι
having-fallen-on pushed-away the wicker-shields and with-the spears
τύπτοντες πρόσωπα καὶ στέρνα τῶν Περσῶν πολλοὺς
striking faces and breasts of-the Persians many
κατέβαλλον, οὐκ ἀπράκτως οὐδὲ ἀθύμως πίπτοντας.
they-struck-down not without-effect nor faint-heartedly falling
καὶ γὰρ ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι τῶν δοράτων ταῖς χερσὶ
and for grasping the spears with-the hands
γυμναῖς συνέθραυον τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ξιφουλκίας
bare they-broke the most and to the sword-drawing
ἐχώρουν οὐκ ἀργῶς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τε κοπίσι καὶ τοῖς
they-went not idly but the both cleavers and the
ἀκινάκαις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας παρασπῶντες καὶ
scimitars using and the shields snatching-aside and
συμπλεκόμενοι χρόνον πολὺν ἀντεῖχον.
grappling time long they-held-out
Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τέως μὲν ἠτρέμουν ἀναμένοντες τοὺς
the and Athenians for-a-while indeed kept-still waiting-for the
Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐπεὶ δὲ κραυγή τε προσέπιπτε πολλὴ
Lacedaemonians when and shouting both fell-on much

μαχομένων καὶ παρῆν, ὥς φασιν, ἄγγελος παρὰ Παυσανίου
of-men-fighting and there-came as they-say a-messenger from Pausanias
τὰ γινόμενα φράζων, ὥρμησαν κατὰ τάχος βοηθεῖν.
the happenings telling they-rushed in haste to-help
καὶ προχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὴν
and advancing to-them through the plain toward the
βοὴν ἐπεφέροντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μηδίζοντες, Ἀριστείδης
shout bore-down of-the Greeks the medizers Aristides
δὲ πρῶτον μέν, ὡς εἶδε, πολὺ προελθὼν ἐβόα,
and first indeed when he-saw much having-gone-forward shouted
μαρτυρόμενος Ἕλληνίους θεούς, ἀπέχεσθαι μάχης καὶ μὴ
calling-to-witness Greek gods to-keep-away from-battle and not
σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν εἶναι μηδὲ κωλύειν ἐπαμύνοντας τοῖς
for-them in-the-way to-be nor to-hinder those-going-to-the-aid-of those
προκινδυνεύουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐπεὶ δ' ἑώρα μὴ
running-risks-first on-behalf-of — Greece when and he-saw not
προσέχοντας αὐτῷ καὶ συντεταγμένους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην,
attending to-him and drawn-up for the battle
οὕτω τῆς ἐκεῖ βοηθείας ἀποτραπόμενος συνέβαλε τούτοις
so from-the there help having-turned-back he-engaged with-these
περὶ πεντακισμυρίους οὖσιν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον
about fifty-thousand being but the indeed most
εὐθὺς ἐνέδωκε καὶ ἀπεχώρησεν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῶν
at-once gave-way and withdrew inasmuch-as indeed also the
βαρβάρων ἀπηλλαγμένων, ἡ δὲ μάχη λέγεται μάλιστα
barbarians having-departed the and battle is-said most
κατὰ Θηβαίους γενέσθαι, προθυμότατα τῶν πρώτων
against Thebans to-have-taken-place most-zealously the first
καὶ δυνατωτάτων τότε παρ' αὐτοῖς μηδιζόντων καὶ τὸ
and most-powerful then among them medizing and the
πλῆθος οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ' ὀλιγαρχούμενον ἀγόντων.
multitude not by choice but under-oligarchy leading

Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος δίχα συνεστῶτος πρῶτοι μὲν ἐώσαντο 19
so and the contest in-two having-been-joined first indeed pushed-back
τοὺς Πέρσας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· καὶ τὸν Μαρδόνιον ἀνὴρ
the Persians the Lacedaemonians and — Mardonius a-man
Σπαρτιάτης ὄνομα Ἀρίμνηστος ἀποκτίννυσι, λίθῳ τὴν
Spartan by-name Arimnestus kills with-a-stone the
κεφαλὴν πατάξας, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ προεσήμανε τὸ ἐν Ἀμφιάρεω
head having-struck just-as to-him foretold the in Amphiaraus'
μαντεῖον. ἔπεμψε γὰρ ἄνδρα Λυδὸν ἐνταῦθα, Κᾶρα δὲ ἕτερον
oracle he-sent for a-man Lydian there a-Carian and another
εἰς Τροφωνίου ὁ Μαρδόνιος· καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ προφήτης
to Trophonius' — Mardonius and this-one indeed the prophet
Καρικῇ γλώσσῃ προσεῖπεν, ὁ δὲ Λυδὸς ἐν τῷ σηκῷ τοῦ
in-Carian tongue addressed the and Lydian in the precinct —
Ἀμφιάρεω κατευνασθεὶς ἔδοξεν ὑπηρέτην τινὰ τοῦ θεοῦ
of-Amphiaraus having-gone-to-sleep seemed a-servant some of-the god
παραστῆναι καὶ κελεύειν αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι, μὴ βουλομένου δὲ
to-stand-beside and to-bid him to-go-away not wishing and
λίθον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐμβαλεῖν μέγαν, ὥστε δόξαι πληγέντα
a-stone at the head to-throw great so-that to-seem struck
τεθνάναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι
to-have-died the man and these-things indeed so to-have-happened
λέγεται. τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας εἰς τὰ ξύλινα τείχη καθεῖρξαν.
is-said those and fleeing into the wooden walls they-shut-in
Ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Θηβαίους τρέπονται,
little and later Athenians the Thebans rout
τριακοσίους τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ πρώτους διαφθείραντες
three-hundred the most-distinguished and first having-killed
ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μάχῃ. γεγενημένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς ἦκεν
in the-very the battle having-occurred and the rout came
αὐτοῖς ἄγγελος πολιορκεῖσθαι τὸ βαρβαρικὸν εἰς τὰ
to-them a-messenger to-be-besieged the barbarian-force in the

τείχη κατακεκλεισμένον. οὕτω δὴ σώζεσθαι τοὺς
walls shut-up so indeed to-be-saved the
Ἕλληνας ἐάσαντες ἐβοήθουν πρὸς τὰ τείχη· καὶ τοῖς
Greeks having-let they-went-to-help to the walls and to-the
Λακεδαιμονίοις παντάπασιν ἀργῶς πρὸς τειχομαχίαν καὶ
Lacedaemonians altogether slowly toward wall-fighting and
ἀπείρως ἔχουσιν ἐπιφανέντες αἱροῦσι τὸ στρατόπεδον
inexperiencedly being having-appeared they-take the camp
φόνῳ πολλῷ τῶν πολεμίων. λέγονται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν
with-slaughter great of-the enemies are-said for from the
τριάκοντα μυριάδων τετρακισμύριοι φυγεῖν σὺν Ἀρταβάζῳ,
thirty myriads forty-thousand to-have-fled with Artabazus
τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωνισαμένων ἔπεσον
of-those and on-behalf-of — Greece having-fought fell
οἱ πάντες ἐπὶ χιλίοις ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι. τούτων
the all-told above a-thousand sixty and three-hundred of-these
Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἦσαν δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα, πάντες ἐκ
Athenians indeed were two and fifty all from
τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς, ὥς φησι Κλείδημος, ἀγωνισαμένης
the Aiantid tribe as says Cleidemus having-fought
ἄριστα· διὸ καὶ ταῖς Σφραγίτισι νύμφαις ἔθυον
best wherefore also to-the Sphragitid nymphs sacrificed
Αἰαντίδαι τὴν πυθόχρηστον θυσίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης,
Aiantids the Pythian-ordained sacrifice on-behalf-of the victory
ἐκ δημοσίου τὸ ἀνάλωμα λαμβάνοντες· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ'
from public-funds the expense taking Lacedaemonians and
ἑνὶ πλείους τῶν ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεᾶται δ' ἑκκαίδεκα.
by-one more than-the ninety Tegeans and sixteen
Θαυμαστὸν οὖν τὸ Ἡροδότου, πῶς μόνους τούτους φησὶν
surprising then the of-Herodotus how only these he-says
εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, τῶν δ' ἄλλων
into hands to-have-come with-the enemies of-the and other

Ἑλλήνων μηδένα. καὶ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πεσόντων
Greeks none and for the number of-the fallen
μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ μνήματα κοινὸν γενέσθαι τὸ κατόρθωμα·
bears-witness and the monuments common to-have-been the success
καὶ τὸν βωμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐπέγραψαν οὕτως, εἰ μόναι
and the altar not — they-would-have-inscribed thus if only
τρεῖς πόλεις ἠγωνίσαντο, τῶν ἄλλων ἀτρέμα καθεζομένων·
three cities had-fought of-the others quietly sitting

Τόνδε ποθ' Ἕλληνες νίκας κράτει, ἔργῳ Ἄρηος,
this once Greeks of-victory by-might by-deed of-Ares
Πέρσας ἐξελάσαντες ἐλευθέρᾳ Ἑλλάδι κοινὸν
Persians having-driven-out for-free Greece common
ἱδρύσαντο Διὸς βωμὸν ἐλευθερίου.
set-up of-Zeus altar of-freedom

Ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο τῇ τετράδι τοῦ
this the battle they-fought on-the fourth —
Βοηδρομιῶνος ἱσταμένου κατ' Ἀθηναίους, κατὰ δὲ
of-Boedromion beginning by Athenians by and
Βοιωτοὺς τετράδι τοῦ Πανέμου φθίνοντος, ᾗ καὶ νῦν
Boeotians on-fourth — of-Panemus waning on-which also now
ἔτι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἀθροίζεται συνέδριον καὶ
still the Greek at Plataea assembles council and
θύουσι τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ Διΐ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης.
sacrifice to-the freedom Zeus Plataeans on-behalf-of the victory
τὴν δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνωμαλίαν οὐ θαυμαστέον, ὅπου
the and of-the days irregularity not is-to-be-wondered-at where
καὶ νῦν διηκριβωμένων τῶν ἐν ἀστρολογίᾳ μᾶλλον
even now having-been-precisely-worked-out of-the in astronomy more
ἄλλην ἄλλοι μηνὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν ἄγουσιν.
other others of-month beginning and end keep

20 Ἐκ τούτου τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἀριστεῖον οὐ παραδιδόντων τοῖς
from this the Athenians the prize not yielding to-the
Σπαρτιάταις οὐδὲ τρόπαιον ἱστάναι συγχωρούντων ἐκείνοις,
Spartans nor a-trophy to-set-up allowing them
παρ᾽ οὐδὲν ἂν ἦλθεν εὐθὺς ἀπολέσθαι τὰ πράγματα
by nothing — would-have-come at-once to-be-ruined the affairs
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διαστάντων, εἰ μὴ πολλὰ
of-the Greeks in the arms having-split if not much
παρηγορῶν καὶ διδάσκων τοὺς συστρατήγους ὁ Ἀριστείδης,
consoling and instructing the fellow-generals — Aristides
μάλιστα δὲ Λεωκράτη καὶ Μυρωνίδην, ἔσχε καὶ συνέπεισε
most and Leocrates and Myronides restrained and persuaded
τὴν κρίσιν ἐφεῖναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἐνταῦθα βουλευομένων τῶν
the decision to-refer to-the Greeks there deliberating the
Ἑλλήνων Θεογείτων μὲν ὁ Μεγαρεὺς εἶπεν, ὡς ἑτέρᾳ πόλει
Greeks Theogeiton indeed the Megarian said that to-another city
δοτέον εἴη τὸ ἀριστεῖον, εἰ μὴ βούλονται συνταράξαι
to-be-given would-be the prize if not they-wish to-stir-up
πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δ᾽ ἀναστὰς Κλεόκριτος ὁ
war civil upon this and having-stood-up Cleocritus the
Κορίνθιος δόξαν μὲν παρέσχεν ὡς Κορινθίοις αἰτήσων τὸ
Corinthian impression indeed gave that for-Corinthians going-to-ask the
ἀριστεῖον· ἦν γὰρ ἐν ἀξιώματι μεγίστῳ μετὰ τὴν Σπάρτην
prize was for in esteem greatest after — Sparta
καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἡ Κόρινθος· εἶπε δὲ πᾶσιν ἀρέσαντα καὶ
and — Athens — Corinth he-made but to-all pleasing and
θαυμαστὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ Πλαταιέων, καὶ συνεβούλευσε
admirable speech on-behalf-of Plataeans and advised
τὴν φιλονεικίαν ἀνελεῖν ἐκείνοις τὸ ἀριστεῖον ἀποδόντας,
the rivalry to-remove to-those the prize giving
οἷς οὐδετέρους τιμωμένοις ἄχθεσθαι. ῥηθέντων δὲ
whom neither being-honored to-be-vexed having-been-said and

τούτων πρῶτος μὲν Ἀριστείδης συνεχώρησεν ὑπὲρ τῶν
these-things first indeed Aristides conceded on-behalf-of the
Ἀθηναίων, ἔπειτα Παυσανίας ὑπὲρ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.
Athenians then Pausanias on-behalf-of the Lacedaemonians
οὕτω δὲ διαλλαγέντες ἐξεῖλον ὀγδοήκοντα τάλαντα τοῖς
so and reconciled they-set-apart eighty talents for-the
Πλαταιεῦσιν, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνῳκοδόμησαν ἱερὸν
Plataeans from which the — of-Athena they-rebuilt shrine
καὶ τὸ ἕδος ἔστησαν καὶ γραφαῖς τὸν νεὼν διεκόσμησαν,
and the image set-up and with-paintings the temple adorned
αἳ μέχρι νῦν ἀκμάζουσαι διαμένουσιν, ἔστησαν δὲ
which until now flourishing remain set-up and
τρόπαιον ἰδίᾳ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χωρὶς δ' Ἀθηναῖοι.
a-trophy separately indeed Lacedaemonians apart and Athenians
Περὶ δὲ θυσίας ἐρομένοις αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Πύθιος Διὸς
about and sacrifice having-asked to-them answered the Pythian of-Zeus
ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἱδρύσασθαι, θῦσαι δὲ μὴ πρότερον ἢ
of-freedom altar to-set-up to-sacrifice and not sooner than
τὸ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πῦρ ἀποσβέσαντας ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν
the throughout the country fire having-quenched as by the
βαρβάρων μεμιασμένον ἐναύσασθαι καθαρὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν
barbarians polluted to-kindle pure from Delphi
ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἑστίας. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων
from the common hearth the indeed then commanders of-the Greeks
περιιόντες εὐθὺς ἠνάγκαζον ἀποσβεννύναι τὰ πυρὰ πάντα
going-around at-once compelled to-quench the fires all
τοὺς χρωμένους, ἐκ δὲ Πλαταιέων Εὐχίδας ὑποσχόμενος
those using from and Plataeans Euchidas having-promised
ὡς ἐνδέχεται τάχιστα κομιεῖν τὸ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πῦρ ἦκεν
as is-possible quickest to-bring the from the god fire came
εἰς Δελφούς. ἁγνίσας δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ περιρρανάμενος
to Delphi having-purified and the body and having-sprinkled-himself

ἐστεφανώσατο δάφνῃ· καὶ λαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ
crowned-himself with-laurel and having-taken from the altar the
πῦρ δρόμῳ πάλιν εἰς τὰς Πλαταιὰς ἐχώρει καὶ πρὸ ἡλίου
fire at-a-run back to — Plataea went and before of-sun
δυσμῶν ἐπανῆλθε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας χιλίους σταδίους
setting returned on-the same day a-thousand stades
κατανύσας. ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τὸ πῦρ
having-accomplished having-greeted and the citizens and the fire
παραδοὺς εὐθὺς ἔπεσε καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐξέπνευσεν.
having-handed-over at-once he-fell and after a-little breathed-his-last
ἀγάμενοι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἔθαψαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς
admiring and him the Plataeans buried in the shrine —
Εὐκλείας Ἀρτέμιδος, ἐπιγράψαντες τόδε τὸ τετράμετρον·
of-Eucleia Artemis having-inscribed this the tetrameter

Εὐχίδας Πυθῶδε θρέξας ἦλθε τᾦδ' αὐθημερόν.
Euchidas to-Pytho having-run came hither the-same-day

Τὴν δ' Εὔκλειαν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ καλοῦσι καὶ
— and Eucleia the indeed many both call and
νομίζουσιν Ἄρτεμιν, ἔνιοι δέ φασιν Ἡρακλέους μὲν
consider Artemis some and say of-Heracles indeed
θυγατέρα καὶ Μυρτοῦς γενέσθαι, τῆς Μενοιτίου μὲν
daughter and of-Myrto to-have-been the of-Menoetius indeed
θυγατρός, Πατρόκλου δ' ἀδελφῆς, τελευτήσασαν δὲ
daughter of-Patroclus and sister having-died and
παρθένον ἔχειν παρά τε Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Λοκροῖς τιμάς.
a-virgin to-have among both Boeotians and Locrians honors
βωμὸς γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ ἄγαλμα κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀγορὰν ἵδρυται,
altar for to-her and statue in every market-place is-set-up
καὶ προθύουσιν αἵ τε γαμούμεναι καὶ οἱ γαμοῦντες.
and offer-preliminary-sacrifice the both brides and the bridegrooms

Aristides decrees a yearly council and freedom for Plataea, whose people still make a yearly offering to the Greek dead with the rite Plutarch describes. He opens the archonship to every citizen and judges Themistocles' secret plan advantageous and unjust. Commanding with Cimon, he wins the allies with mildness while Pausanias insults them, until Uliades and Antagoras ram the Spartan's ship. Asked to assess the allies' tribute, he sets it at four hundred and sixty talents with a fairness later remembered, though under Pericles and the demagogues after him it rises to thirteen hundred.

Ἐκ τούτου γενομένης ἐκκλησίας κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων 21
from this having-been an-assembly common of-the Greeks
ἔγραψεν Ἀριστείδης ψήφισμα συνιέναι μὲν εἰς Πλαταιὰς
proposed Aristides a-decree to-come-together indeed at Plataea
καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προβούλους
in each year from — Greece delegates
καὶ θεωρούς, ἄγεσθαι δὲ πενταετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν
and sacred-envoys to-be-held and quadrennial games of-the
Ἐλευθερίων. εἶναι δὲ σύνταξιν Ἑλληνικὴν μυρίας μὲν
Eleutheria there-to-be and a-levy Greek ten-thousand indeed
ἀσπίδας, χιλίους δὲ ἵππους, ναῦς δ' ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὸν
shields a-thousand and horses ships and a-hundred for the
πρὸς βαρβάρους πόλεμον, Πλαταιεῖς δ' ἀσύλους καὶ
against barbarians war Plataeans and inviolable and
ἱεροὺς ἀφεῖσθαι τῷ θεῷ θύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.
sacred to-be-released for-the god sacrificing on-behalf-of — Greece
Κυρωθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπεδέξαντο τοῖς
having-been-ratified and these-things the Plataeans undertook for-the
πεσοῦσι καὶ κειμένοις· αὐτόθι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναγίζειν
fallen and lying there of-the Greeks to-make-offerings
καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι νῦν δρῶσι
in each year and this until now they-do

τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· τοῦ Μαιμακτηριῶνος μηνός, ὅς
this the way in-the Maimacterion month which
ἐστι παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς Ἀλαλκομένιος, τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα
is among Boeotians Alalcomenius on-the sixth after ten
πέμπουσι πομπήν, ἧς προηγεῖται μὲν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ
they-send a-procession which leads indeed at-once-with day
σαλπιγκτὴς ἐγκελευόμενος τὸ πολεμικόν, ἕπονται δ'
a-trumpeter sounding the war-signal follow and
ἅμαξαι μυρρίνης μεσταὶ καὶ στεφανωμάτων καὶ μέλας
wagons of-myrtle full and of-wreaths and a-black
ταῦρος καὶ χοὰς οἴνου καὶ γάλακτος ἐν ἀμφορεῦσιν
bull and libations of-wine and of-milk in jars
ἐλαίου τε καὶ μύρου κρωσσοὺς νεανίσκοι κομίζοντες
of-oil both and of-perfume pitchers young-men bringing
ἐλεύθεροι· δούλῳ γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἔξεστι τῶν περὶ τὴν
free-born for-a-slave for of-none it-is-allowed of-the about the
διακονίαν ἐκείνην προσάψασθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἄνδρας
service that to-put-hand-to because-of the the men
ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τῶν Πλαταιέων
to-have-died for freedom after all and of-the Plataeans
ὁ ἄρχων, ᾧ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον οὔτε σιδήρου θιγεῖν
the archon for-whom the other time neither iron to-touch
ἔξεστιν οὔθ' ἑτέραν ἐσθῆτα πλὴν λευκῆς ἀναλαβεῖν, τότε
is-allowed nor other clothing except white to-put-on then
χιτῶνα φοινικοῦν ἐνδεδυκὼς ἀράμενός τε ὑδρίαν ἀπὸ
a-tunic purple having-put-on having-taken-up and a-water-jar from
τοῦ γραμματοφυλακίου ξιφήρης ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους προάγει
the record-office sword-in-hand to the tombs leads-forward
διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως. εἶτα λαβὼν ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς
through the-middle-of the city then having-taken water from the
κρήνης αὐτὸς ἀπολούει τε τὰς στήλας καὶ μύρῳ χρίει,
spring himself washes both the pillars and with-perfume anoints

καὶ τὸν ταῦρον εἰς τὴν πυρὰν σφάξας καὶ κατευξάμενος
and the bull at the pyre having-slaughtered and having-prayed
Διῒ καὶ Ἑρμῇ χθονίῳ παρακαλεῖ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς
to-Zeus and to-Hermes of-the-underworld invites the good
ἄνδρας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθανόντας ἐπὶ τὸ
men those on-behalf-of — Greece having-died to the
δεῖπνον καὶ τὴν αἱμοκουρίαν. ἔπειτα κρατῆρα κεράσας
dinner and the blood-offering then a-mixing-bowl having-mixed
οἴνου καὶ χεάμενος ἐπιλέγει· “Προπίνω τοῖς ἀνδράσι
of-wine and having-poured-out he-says I-drink to-the men
τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποθανοῦσι.”
those on-behalf-of the freedom of-the Greeks having-died
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαφυλάττουσιν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς.
these-things indeed then still even now keep-up the Plataeans
Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀναχωρήσαντας εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὁ 22
when and having-withdrawn to the town the Athenians —
Ἀριστείδης ἑώρα ζητοῦντας τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀπολαβεῖν,
Aristides saw seeking the democracy to-recover
ἅμα μὲν ἄξιον ἡγούμενος διὰ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν
at-once indeed worthy thinking because-of the valor
ἐπιμελείας τὸν δῆμον, ἅμα δ’ οὐκ ἔτι ῥᾴδιον ἰσχύοντα
of-care the people at-once and no longer easy being-strong
τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντα ταῖς νίκαις ἐκβιασθῆναι,
in-the arms and greatly proud at-the victories to-be-forced
γράφει ψήφισμα κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς
he-proposes a-decree common to-be the constitution and the
ἄρχοντας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων πάντων αἱρεῖσθαι.
archons from Athenians all to-be-chosen
Θεμιστοκλέους δὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εἰπόντος, ὡς ἔχει
Themistocles and to the people having-said that he-has
τι βούλευμα καὶ γνώμην ἀπόρρητον, ὠφέλιμον δὲ
some plan and opinion secret useful but

τῇ πόλει καὶ σωτήριον, ἐκέλευσαν Ἀριστείδην μόνον
for-the city and saving they-bade Aristides alone
ἀκοῦσαι καὶ συνδοκιμάσαι. φράσαντος δὲ τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ τοῦ
to-hear and to-help-judge having-told and — to-Aristides —
Θεμιστοκλέους, ὡς διανοεῖται τὸν ναύσταθμον ἐμπρῆσαι τῶν
Themistocles that he-intends the naval-station to-burn of-the
Ἑλλήνων, οὕτω γὰρ ἔσεσθαι μεγίστους καὶ κυρίους ἁπάντων
Greeks so for to-be greatest and masters of-all
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὁ Ἀριστείδης
the Athenians having-come-forward to the people — Aristides
ἔφη τῆς πράξεως, ἣν Θεμιστοκλῆς πράττειν διανοεῖται,
said than-the action which Themistocles to-do intends
μήτε λυσιτελεστέραν ἄλλην μήτ' ἀδικωτέραν εἶναι. ταῦτ'
neither more-profitable another nor more-unjust to-be these-things
ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παύσασθαι τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα
having-heard the Athenians to-stop — Themistocles
προσέταξαν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἦν φιλοδίκαιος, οὕτω
ordered so indeed the people was justice-loving so
δὲ τῷ δήμῳ πιστὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ βέβαιος.
and to-the people faithful the man and steadfast

23 Ἐπεὶ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἐκπεμφθεὶς μετὰ Κίμωνος ἐπὶ
when and general having-been-sent-out with Cimon to
τὸν πόλεμον ἑώρα τόν τε Παυσανίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
the war he-saw — both Pausanias and the other
ἄρχοντας τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ χαλεποὺς τοῖς
commanders of-the Spartans offensive and harsh to-the
συμμάχοις ὄντας, αὐτός τε πρᾴως καὶ φιλανθρώπως
allies being he-himself both gently and humanely
ὁμιλῶν καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα παρέχων εὐάρμοστον αὐτοῖς καὶ
associating and — Cimon making accommodating to-them and
κοινὸν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔλαθε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
sociable in the campaigns he-escaped-notice from-the Lacedaemonians

οὐχ ὅπλοις οὐδὲ ναυσὶν οὐδ᾽ ἵπποις, εὐγνωμοσύνῃ δὲ καὶ
not with-arms nor with-ships nor with-horses with-good-sense but and
πολιτείᾳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρελόμενος. προσφιλεῖς γὰρ
with-statesmanship the leadership having-taken-away endeared for
ὄντας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς Ἕλλησι διὰ τὴν Ἀριστείδου
being the Athenians to-the Greeks because-of the of-Aristides
δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν Κίμωνος ἐπιείκειαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ
justice and the of-Cimon fairness still more the
τοῦ Παυσανίου πλεονεξία καὶ βαρύτης ποθεινοὺς ἐποίει.
— of-Pausanias greed and harshness longed-for made
τοῖς τε γὰρ ἄρχουσι τῶν συμμάχων ἀεὶ μετ᾽ ὀργῆς
to-the both for commanders of-the allies always with anger
ἐνετύγχανε καὶ τραχέως, τούς τε πολλοὺς ἐκόλαζε πληγαῖς
he-dealt and harshly the and many he-punished with-blows
ἢ σιδηρᾶν ἄγκυραν ἐπιτιθεὶς ἠνάγκαζεν ἑστάναι δι᾽
or iron anchor placing-on he-compelled to-stand through
ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας. στιβάδα δ᾽ οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν
whole the day a-litter-of-straw and not it-was-possible to-get
οὐδὲ χόρτον οὐδὲ κρήνῃ προσελθεῖν ὑδρευόμενον οὐδένα
nor fodder nor to-a-spring to-approach drawing-water anyone
πρὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ἀλλὰ μάστιγας ἔχοντες ὑπηρέται
before the Spartans but whips having servants
τοὺς προσιόντας ἀπήλαυνον. ὑπὲρ ὧν τοῦ Ἀριστείδου
those approaching drove-off about which — Aristides
ποτὲ βουληθέντος ἐγκαλέσαι καὶ διδάξαι, συναγαγὼν τὸ
once having-wished to-remonstrate and to-instruct having-drawn-together the
πρόσωπον ὁ Παυσανίας οὐκ ἔφη σχολάζειν οὐδ᾽ ἤκουσεν.
face — Pausanias not he-said to-have-leisure nor did-he-listen
Ἐκ τούτου προσιόντες οἱ ναύαρχοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ τῶν
from this approaching the admirals and generals of-the
Ἑλλήνων, μάλιστα δὲ Χῖοι καὶ Σάμιοι καὶ Λέσβιοι,
Greeks most and Chians and Samians and Lesbians

τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἔπειθον ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
— *Aristides urged to-take-up the leadership*
καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι τοὺς συμμάχους πάλαι δεομένους
and to-win-over the allies long asking
ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ μετατάξασθαι πρὸς τοὺς
to-be-rid of-the Spartans and to-change-sides to the
Ἀθηναίους. ἀποκριναμένου δ' ἐκείνου τοῖς μὲν λόγοις αὐτῶν
Athenians having-answered and he to-the indeed words of-them
τό τε ἀναγκαῖον ἐνορᾶν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, ἔργου δὲ δεῖσθαι
the both necessary to-see-in and the just of-deed and to-need
τὴν πίστιν, ὃ πραχθὲν οὐκ ἐάσει πάλιν μεταβαλέσθαι
the trust which done not will-allow again to-change
τοὺς πολλούς, οὕτως οἱ περὶ τὸν Σάμιον Οὐλιάδην
the many so those around the Samian Uliades
καὶ τὸν Χῖον Ἀνταγόραν συνομοσάμενοι περὶ Βυζάντιον
and the Chian Antagoras having-conspired near Byzantium
ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὴν τριήρη τοῦ Παυσανίου, προεκπλέουσαν
ram into the trireme — of-Pausanias sailing-ahead
ἐν μέσῳ λαβόντες. ὡς δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκεῖνος ἐξανέστη καὶ
in middle having-caught-it when and having-seen he started-up and
μετ' ὀργῆς ἠπείλησεν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιδείξειν
with anger threatened in-a-little time the men to-show
οὐκ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν ἐμβεβληκότας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰς ἰδίας
not into the his ship having-rammed but into the own
πατρίδας, ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὴν
fatherlands they-bade him to-go-away and to-be-content-with the
συναγωνισαμένην τύχην ἐν Πλαταιαῖς· ἐκείνην γὰρ ἔτι τοὺς
having-fought-with-him fortune at Plataea that for still the
Ἕλληνας αἰσχυνομένους μὴ λαμβάνειν ἀξίαν δίκην παρ'
Greeks being-ashamed-before not to-take worthy penalty from
αὐτοῦ· τέλος δ' ἀποστάντες ᾤχοντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.
him finally and having-revolted they-went-off to the Athenians

Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς Σπάρτης διεφάνη
there indeed also the spirit — of-Sparta showed-through
θαυμαστόν. ὡς γὰρ ᾔσθοντο τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἐξουσίας
admirable when for they-perceived by-the greatness of-the power
διαφθειρομένους αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀφῆκαν ἑκουσίως
being-corrupted their the commanders they-gave-up willingly
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πέμποντες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπαύσαντο
the leadership and sending to the war they-stopped
στρατηγούς, μᾶλλον αἱρούμενοι σωφρονοῦντας ἔχειν καὶ
generals rather choosing sober to-have and
τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐμμένοντας τοὺς πολίτας ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
to-the customs abiding the citizens than — of-Greece
ἄρχειν ἁπάσης.
to-rule all
Οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐτέλουν μέν τινα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων 24
the and Greeks paid indeed some even with-Lacedaemonians
ἡγουμένων ἀποφορὰν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ταχθῆναι δὲ
leading contribution for the war to-be-assessed and
βουλόμενοι κατὰ πόλιν ἑκάστοις τὸ μέτριον ᾐτήσαντο παρὰ
wishing by city to-each the fair they-asked from
τῶν Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστείδην, καὶ προσέταξαν αὐτῷ χώραν
the Athenians Aristides and they-commissioned him land
τε καὶ προσόδους ἐπισκεψάμενον ὁρίσαι τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν
both and revenues having-examined to-fix the according-to worth
ἑκάστῳ καὶ δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας κύριος
for-each and power he and of-so-great authority master
γενόμενος καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ
having-become and in-a-way some — of-Greece on him alone
τὰ πράγματα πάντα θεμένης, πένης μὲν ἐξῆλθεν, ἐπανῆλθε
the affairs all having-placed poor indeed went-out returned
δὲ πενέστερος, οὐ μόνον καθαρῶς καὶ δικαίως, ἀλλὰ
and poorer not only purely and justly but

καὶ προσφιλῶς πᾶσι καὶ ἁρμοδίως τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῶν
also agreeably to-all and suitably the assessment of-the
χρημάτων ποιησάμενος. ὡς γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸν ἐπὶ
moneys having-made as for the ancients the in-the-time-of
Κρόνου βίον, οὕτως οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν
Cronus life so the allies of-the Athenians the
ἐπ᾽ Ἀριστείδου φόρον εὐποτμίαν τινὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
in-the-time-of Aristides tribute good-fortune some — of-Greece
ὀνομάζοντες ὕμνουν, καὶ μάλιστα μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον
naming praised and especially after not long time
διπλασιασθέντος, εἶτ᾽ αὖθις τριπλασιασθέντος. ὃν μὲν
having-been-doubled then again having-been-tripled which indeed
γὰρ Ἀριστείδης ἔταξεν, ἦν εἰς ἑξήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων
for Aristides fixed was to sixty and four-hundred
ταλάντων λόγον· τούτῳ δὲ Περικλῆς μὲν ἐπέθηκεν
talents amount to-this and Pericles indeed added
ὀλίγου δεῖν τὸ τρίτον μέρος· ἑξακόσια γὰρ τάλαντα
almost to-lack the third part six-hundred for talents
Θουκυδίδης φησὶν ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου προσιέναι τοῖς
Thucydides says beginning the war to-come-in to-the
Ἀθηναίοις ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων· Περικλέους δ᾽ ἀποθανόντος
Athenians from the allies Pericles and having-died
ἐπιτείνοντες οἱ δημαγωγοὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς χιλίων καὶ
raising the popular-leaders by little to a-thousand and
τριακοσίων ταλάντων κεφάλαιον ἀνήγαγον, οὐχ οὕτω τοῦ
three-hundred talents total brought-up not so the
πολέμου διὰ μῆκος καὶ τύχας δαπανηροῦ γενομένου καὶ
war through length and fortunes expensive having-become and
πολυτελοῦς, ὡς τὸν δῆμον εἰς διανομὰς καὶ θεωρικὰ καὶ
costly as the people to distributions and festival-money and
κατασκευὰς ἀγαλμάτων καὶ ἱερῶν προαγαγόντες.
constructions of-statues and of-shrines having-led-on

Μέγα δ᾽ οὖν ὄνομα τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καὶ θαυμαστὸν
great and then name — of-Aristides and admirable
ἔχοντος ἐπὶ τῇ διατάξει τῶν φόρων ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς
having for the arrangement of-the tributes — Themistocles
λέγεται καταγελᾶν, ὡς οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ὄντα τὸν ἔπαινον, ἀλλὰ
is-said to-have-mocked as not of-a-man being the praise but
θυλάκου χρυσοφύλακος· ἀνομοίως ἀμυνόμενος τὴν Ἀριστείδου
of-a-purse gold-keeping unequally retaliating-for the of-Aristides
παρρησίαν· ἐκείνῳ γὰρ εἰπόντος ποτὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους
frankness to-him for having-said once — Themistocles
ἀρετὴν ἡγεῖσθαι μεγίστην στρατηγοῦ τὸ γινώσκειν καὶ
virtue to-consider greatest of-a-general the to-know and
προαισθάνεσθαι τὰ βουλεύματα τῶν πολεμίων, “Τοῦτο
to-perceive-beforehand the plans of-the enemies this
μέν,” εἰπεῖν, “ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, καλὸν δὲ
indeed to-have-said necessary it-is O Themistocles fine but
καὶ στρατηγικὸν ἀληθῶς ἡ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐγκράτεια.”
and generalship-like truly the about the hands self-control

Aristides bids the Athenians lay on him the perjury of a broken oath. He remains poor, and when Callias is tried, Aristides testifies to having refused his help; Plato counts him the one great Athenian who governed with a view to virtue. He bears Themistocles no grudge when Themistocles is accused. He dies in Pontus or at Athens, Craterus' story of a bribery conviction resting on no proof; he is buried at Phalerum at public cost, the city dowers his daughters and pensions his son, and some even make Myrto, who lived with Socrates, his granddaughter.

25 Ὁ δ' Ἀριστείδης ὤρκισε μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ὤμοσεν
— and Aristides made-swear indeed the Greeks and swore
ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μύδρους ἐμβαλὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς
on-behalf-of the Athenians lumps-of-iron having-thrown after the
ἀραῖς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὕστερον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων
curses into the sea later and the circumstances
ἄρχειν ἐγκρατέστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκβιαζομένων ἐκέλευε
to-rule more-firmly as it-seems compelling he-bade
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν ἐπιορκίαν τρέψαντας εἰς ἑαυτὸν
the Athenians the perjury having-turned upon himself
ᾗ συμφέρει χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι. καθ' ὅλου δ' ὁ
as is-expedient to-deal with-the affairs in general and —
Θεόφραστός φησι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα
Theophrastus says the man this about the private-affairs
καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἄκρως ὄντα δίκαιον ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς
and the citizens supremely being just in the public-affairs
πολλὰ πρᾶξαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς
many-things to-have-done in-view-of the policy of-the fatherland as
συχνῆς καὶ ἀδικίας δεομένην. καὶ γὰρ τὰ χρήματά φησιν
frequent also injustice needing and for the moneys he-says
ἐκ Δήλου βουλευομένων Ἀθήναζε κομίσαι παρὰ τὰς
from Delos deliberating to-Athens to-bring contrary-to the

συνθήκας, καὶ Σαμίων εἰσηγουμένων, εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνον, ὡς
compacts and Samians proposing to-have-said him that
οὐ δίκαιον μέν, συμφέρον δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστί. καὶ τέλος εἰς
not just indeed expedient but this is and finally to
τὸ ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων τοσούτων καταστήσας τὴν πόλιν
the to-rule men so-many having-brought the city
αὐτὸς ἐνέμεινε τῇ πενίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πένης εἶναι
himself remained in-the poverty and the from the poor to-be
δόξαν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀγαπῶν τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τροπαίων
reputation no less loving than-the from the trophies
διετέλεσε. δῆλον δ' ἐκεῖθεν. Καλλίας ὁ δᾳδοῦχος ἦν
he-continued clear and from-this Callias the torch-bearer was
αὐτῷ γένει προσήκων· τοῦτον οἱ ἐχθροὶ θανάτου
to-him by-family related this-one the enemies on-a-capital-charge
διώκοντες, ἐπεὶ περὶ ὧν ἐγράψαντο μετρίως κατηγόρησαν,
prosecuting when about what they-had-indicted moderately they-had-accused
εἶπόν τινα λόγον ἔξωθεν τοιοῦτον πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς·
said a-certain speech from-outside such to the judges
"Ἀριστείδην," ἔφησαν, "ἴστε τὸν Λυσιμάχου θαυμαζόμενον
Aristides they-said you-know the of-Lysimachus admired
ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι· τούτῳ πῶς οἴεσθε τὰ κατ' οἶκον
among the Greeks for-this-one how do-you-think the at home
ἔχειν ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν ἐν τρίβωνι τοιούτῳ προερχόμενον εἰς
to-be seeing him in cloak such going-forth into
τὸ δημόσιον; ἆρ' οὐκ εἰκός ἐστι τὸν ῥιγοῦντα φανερῶς
the public is not likely it-is the-one shivering openly
καὶ πεινᾶν οἴκοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζειν;
also to-be-hungry at-home and of-the other necessaries to-lack
τοῦτον μέντοι Καλλίας, ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα, πλουσιώτατος ὢν
this-one however Callias cousin being richest being
Ἀθηναίων περιορᾷ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικὸς ἐνδεόμενον,
of-Athenians overlooks with children and wife being-in-want

πολλὰ κεχρημένος τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῦ τῆς παρ᾽
much having-used the man and often his the among
ὑμῖν δυνάμεως ἀπολελαυκώς.” ὁ δὲ Καλλίας ὁρῶν ἐπὶ
you power having-enjoyed — and Callias seeing at
τούτῳ μάλιστα θορυβοῦντας τοὺς δικαστὰς καὶ χαλεπῶς
this most clamoring the judges and harshly
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντας ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀριστείδην, ἀξιῶν
toward him being-disposed called — Aristides asking
μαρτυρῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς, ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτοῦ
to-bear-witness to the judges that often him
πολλὰ καὶ διδόντος καὶ δεομένου λαβεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν
much both giving and asking to-take not he-was-willing
ἀποκρινόμενος, ὡς μᾶλλον αὐτῷ διὰ πενίαν μέγα φρονεῖν
answering that more for-him through poverty greatly to-be-proud
ἢ Καλλίᾳ διὰ πλοῦτον προσήκει· πλούτῳ μὲν γὰρ
than for-Callias through wealth befits by-wealth indeed for
ἔστι πολλοὺς ἰδεῖν εὖ τε καὶ κακῶς χρωμένους, πενίαν
it-is-possible many to-see well both and badly using poverty
δὲ φέροντι γενναίως οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἐντυχεῖν· αἰσχύνεσθαι
and bearing nobly not easy to-meet-with to-be-ashamed
δὲ πενίαν τοὺς ἀκουσίως πενομένους. ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ
and of-poverty those unwillingly being-poor these-things and —
Ἀριστείδου τῷ Καλλίᾳ προσμαρτυρήσαντος οὐδεὶς ἦν τῶν
Aristides — for-Callias having-borne-witness no-one was of-those
ἀκουόντων, ὃς οὐκ ἀπῄει πένης μᾶλλον ὡς Ἀριστείδης
hearing who not went-away poor rather as Aristides
εἶναι βουλόμενος ἢ πλουτεῖν ὡς Καλλίας. ταῦτα μὲν
to-be wishing than to-be-rich as Callias these-things indeed
οὖν Αἰσχίνης ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἀναγέγραφε. Πλάτων δὲ τῶν
then Aeschines the Socratic has-recorded Plato and of-the
μεγάλων δοκούντων καὶ ὀνομαστῶν Ἀθήνησι μόνον ἄξιον
great seeming and famous at-Athens alone worthy

λόγου τοῦτον ἀποφαίνει τὸν ἄνδρα· Θεμιστοκλέα μὲν
of-account this declares the man Themistocles indeed
γὰρ καὶ Κίμωνα καὶ Περικλέα στοῶν καὶ χρημάτων
for and Cimon and Pericles with-porticoes and money
καὶ φλυαρίας πολλῆς ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, Ἀριστείδην δὲ
and nonsense much to-have-filled the city Aristides but
πολιτεύσασθαι πρὸς ἀρετήν.
to-have-governed with-a-view-to virtue
Μεγάλα δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα τῆς
great and his also the toward Themistocles of-the
ἐπιεικείας σημεῖα. χρησάμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ παρὰ
fair-mindedness signs having-had for him through
πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐχθρῷ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον
all together the political-life as-enemy and through him
ἐξοστρακισθείς, ἐπεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν λαβὴν παρέσχεν ὁ ἀνὴρ
ostracized when the same hold gave the man
ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενόμενος πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησεν,
in accusation having-been before the city not he-bore-a-grudge
ἀλλ' Ἀλκμαίωνος καὶ Κίμωνος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων
but Alcmaeon and Cimon and many others
ἐλαυνόντων καὶ κατηγορούντων μόνος Ἀριστείδης οὔτ'
persecuting and accusing alone Aristides neither
ἔπραξεν οὔτ' εἶπέ τι φαῦλον, οὐδ' ἀπέλαυσεν
did nor said anything mean nor took-pleasure-in
ἐχθροῦ δυστυχοῦντος, ὥσπερ οὐδ' εὐημεροῦντι πρότερον
an-enemy unfortunate as nor prospering formerly
ἐφθόνησε.
did-he-envy
Τελευτῆσαι δὲ Ἀριστείδην οἱ μὲν ἐν Πόντῳ φασὶν 26
to-have-died and Aristides the-ones indeed in Pontus say
ἐκπλεύσαντα πράξεων ἕνεκα δημοσίων, οἱ δ'
having-sailed-out affairs for-the-sake-of public the(-others) and

Ἀθήνησι γήρᾳ, τιμώμενον καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν
at-Athens of-old-age honored and admired by the
πολιτῶν. Κρατερὸς δ' ὁ Μακεδὼν τοιαῦτά τινα
citizens Craterus and the Macedonian such some-things
περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴρηκε. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν
about the end of-the man has-said after for the
Θεμιστοκλέους φυγήν φησιν ὥσπερ ἐξυβρίσαντα τὸν δῆμον
of-Themistocles exile he-says as-if having-run-riot the people
ἀναφῦσαι πλῆθος συκοφαντῶν, οἳ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ
to-have-sprouted a-crowd of-informers who the best and
δυνατωτάτους ἄνδρας διώκοντες ὑπέβαλλον τῷ φθόνῳ
most-powerful men prosecuting exposed to-the envy
τῶν πολλῶν ἐπαιρομένων ὑπ' εὐτυχίας καὶ δυνάμεως.
of-the many being-elated by good-fortune and power
ἐν τούτοις καὶ Ἀριστείδην ἁλῶναι δωροδοκίας,
among these also Aristides to-have-been-convicted of-bribery
Διοφάντου τοῦ Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν κατηγοροῦντος, ὡς, ὅτε τοὺς
Diophantus — of-Amphitrope accusing that when the
φόρους ἔταττε, παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων χρήματα λαβόντος·
tributes he-assessed from the Ionians money having-taken
ἐκτῖσαι δ' οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν καταδίκην πεντήκοντα μνῶν
to-pay and not being-able the fine fifty minas
οὖσαν ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀποθανεῖν.
being to-have-sailed-away and about — Ionia to-have-died
τούτων δὲ οὐδὲν ἔγγραφον ὁ Κρατερὸς τεκμήριον
of-these and nothing written — Craterus proof
παρέσχηκεν, οὔτε δίκην οὔτε ψήφισμα, καίπερ εἰωθὼς
has-provided neither suit nor decree though being-accustomed
ἐπιεικῶς γράφειν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ παρατίθεσθαι τοὺς
fairly to-write the such-things and to-cite the
ἱστοροῦντας.
historians

Οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι πάντες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὅσοι τὰ
the and others all so-to word say as-many-as the
πλημμεληθέντα τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς διεξίασι,
offenses by-the people toward the generals go-through
τὴν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέους φυγὴν καὶ τὰ Μιλτιάδου
the indeed of-Themistocles exile and the of-Miltiades
δεσμὰ καὶ τὴν Περικλέους ζημίαν καὶ τὸν Πάχητος
chains and the of-Pericles fine and the of-Paches
ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ θάνατον, ἀνελόντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
in the court death having-killed himself on
τοῦ βήματος ὡς ἡλίσκετο, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα
the tribunal when he-was-being-convicted and many such-things
συνάγουσι καὶ θρυλοῦσιν, Ἀριστείδου δὲ τὸν μὲν
collect and harp-on of-Aristides and the indeed
ἐξοστρακισμὸν παρατίθενται, καταδίκης δὲ τοιαύτης
ostracism they-cite of-conviction but such
οὐδαμοῦ μνημονεύουσι.
nowhere make-mention
Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τάφος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ Φαληροῖ δεικνύμενος, 27
and however also a-tomb is his at-Phalerum shown
ὅν φασι κατασκευάσαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ μηδ᾽ ἐντάφια
which they-say built the city for-him not-even burial-means
καταλιπόντι. καὶ τὰς μὲν θυγατέρας ἱστοροῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ
having-left and the indeed daughters they-record from the
πρυτανείου τοῖς νυμφίοις ἐκδοθῆναι δημοσίᾳ,
prytaneum to-the bridegrooms to-have-been-given-in-marriage publicly
τῆς πόλεως τὸν γάμον ἐγγυώσης καὶ προῖκα τρισχιλίας
the city the marriage pledging and a-dowry three-thousand
δραχμὰς ἑκατέρᾳ ψηφισαμένης, Λυσιμάχῳ δὲ τῷ υἱῷ
drachmas to-each having-voted to-Lysimachus and the son
μνᾶς μὲν ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου καὶ γῆς τοσαῦτα πλέθρα
minas indeed a-hundred of-silver and of-land as-many plethra

πεφυτευμένης ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος, ἄλλας δὲ δραχμὰς
planted gave the people other and drachmas
τέσσαρας εἰς ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἀπέταξεν, Ἀλκιβιάδου
four for day each it-assigned Alcibiades
τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος. ἔτι δὲ Λυσιμάχου θυγατέρα
the decree having-proposed further and Lysimachus a-daughter
Πολυκρίτην ἀπολιπόντος, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησί, καὶ
Polycrite having-left as Callisthenes says also
ταύτῃ σίτησιν ὅσην καὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπιονίκαις ὁ δῆμος
to-this-one maintenance as-much-as also to-the Olympic-victors the people
ἐψηφίσατο. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ
voted Demetrius and the Phalerean and Hieronymus the
Ῥόδιος καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης (εἰ
Rhodian and Aristoxenus the musician and Aristotle if
δὴ τό γε Περὶ εὐγενείας βιβλίον ἐν τοῖς γνησίοις
indeed the at-least On noble-birth book among the genuine
Ἀριστοτέλους θετέον) ἱστοροῦσι Μυρτὼ θυγατριδῆν
of-Aristotle is-to-be-placed record Myrto granddaughter
Ἀριστείδου Σωκράτει τῷ σοφῷ συνοικῆσαι, γυναῖκα
of-Aristides with-Socrates the wise to-have-lived-together a-wife
μὲν ἑτέραν ἔχοντι, ταύτην δ' ἀναλαβόντι χηρεύουσαν
indeed another having this-one and having-taken-in widowed
διὰ πενίαν καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεομένην. πρὸς
through poverty and of-the necessities in-want against
μὲν οὖν τούτους ἱκανῶς ὁ Παναίτιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ
indeed then these adequately — Panaetius in his On
Σωκράτους ἀντείρηκεν· ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ Σωκράτει
Socrates has-replied the and Phalerean in his Socrates
φησὶ μνημονεύειν Ἀριστείδου θυγατριδοῦν εὖ μάλα
says to-remember of-Aristides a-grandson quite very
πένητα Λυσίμαχον, ὃς ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἐκ πινακίου τινὸς
poor Lysimachus who himself indeed from a-tablet some

ὀνειροκριτικοῦ παρὰ τὸ Ἰακχεῖον λεγόμενον καθεζόμενος
dream-interpreting beside — Iaccheum called sitting
ἔβοσκε. τῇ δὲ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ ταύτης ἀδελφῇ ψήφισμα
supported to-the and mother and to-the her sister a-decree
γράψας ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον τροφὴν διδόναι τριώβολον
having-proposed he-persuaded the people maintenance to-give three-obols
ἑκάστης ἡμέρας. αὐτὸς μέντοι φησὶν ὁ Δημήτριος
of-each day himself however says — Demetrius
νομοθετῶν ἀντὶ τριωβόλου δραχμὴν ἑκατέρᾳ τάξαι
legislating instead-of three-obols a-drachma for-each to-have-fixed
τῶν γυναικῶν.
of-the women
Καὶ οὐδέν ἐστι θαυμαστὸν οὕτω φροντίσαι τῶν ἐν
and nothing is surprising so to-have-cared-for those in
ἄστει τὸν δῆμον, ὅπου θυγατριδῆν Ἀριστογείτονος
town the people where a-granddaughter of-Aristogeiton
ἐν Λήμνῳ πυθόμενοι ταπεινὰ πράττειν ἀνδρὸς
in Lemnos having-learned humbly to-fare of-a-husband
ἀπορουῦσαν διὰ πενίαν κατήγαγον Ἀθήναζε, καὶ
at-a-loss through poverty they-brought-back to-Athens and
συνοικίσαντες ἀνδρὶ τῶν εὖ γεγονότων τὸ Ποταμοῖ
having-married to-a-man of-the well born the at-Potami
χωρίον εἰς φερνὴν ἐπέδωκαν. ἧς φιλανθρωπίας
estate as dowry gave of-which humanity
καὶ χρηστότητος ἔτι πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡ
and goodness still many and in our-time the
πόλις ἐκφέρουσα δείγματα θαυμάζεται καὶ ζηλοῦται
city displaying examples is-admired and is-emulated
δικαίως.
justly

PLUTARCH

ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΗΣ

Alcibiades

Alcibiades descends from Ajax's son Eurysaces and, on his mother's side, from the Alcmaeonids; his father Cleinias falls at Coroneia, and Pericles and Ariphron are his guardians. His beauty lasts through every age, and even his lisp is charming, as Aristophanes shows. As a boy he bites in a wrestling match like a lion, lies down before a wagon, and refuses the flute. Of his many lovers he welcomes Socrates, who rebukes his conceit, and treats the rest with insolence: he carries off half of Anytus' cups, and Anytus calls it kindness.

Τὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου γένος ἄνωθεν Εὐρυσάκην τὸν Αἴαντος 1
the of-Alcibiades family from-above Eurysaces — son-of-Ajax
ἀρχηγὸν ἔχειν δοκεῖ, πρὸς δὲ μητρὸς Ἀλκμαιωνίδης
as-founder to-have seems on and mother's-side an-Alcmaeonid
ἦν, ἐκ Δεινομάχης γεγονὼς τῆς Μεγακλέους. ὁ δὲ
he-was from Deinomache born the daughter-of-Megacles the and
πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Κλεινίας ἰδιοστόλῳ τριήρει περὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον
father his Cleinias with-a-private trireme off Artemisium
ἐνδόξως ἐναυμάχησεν, ὕστερον δὲ Βοιωτοῖς μαχόμενος
gloriously fought-at-sea later and Boeotians fighting
περὶ Κορώνειαν ἀπέθανε. τοῦ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδου Περικλῆς
near Coroneia died — and of-Alcibiades Pericles
καὶ Ἀρίφρων οἱ Ξανθίππου, προσήκοντες κατὰ γένος,
and Ariphron — sons-of-Xanthippus related by family
ἐπετρόπευον.
were-guardians

Λέγεται δ' οὐ κακῶς ὅτι τῆς Σωκράτους πρὸς αὐτὸν
it-is-said and not badly that from-the of-Socrates toward him
εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας οὐ μικρὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἀπέλαυσεν,
goodwill and kindness not small toward fame he-gained
εἴγε Νικίου μὲν καὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ Λαμάχου καὶ
since-indeed of-Nicias indeed and of-Demosthenes and of-Lamachus and

Φορμίωνος Θρασυβούλου τε καὶ Θηραμένους, ἐπιφανῶν
of-Phormio of-Thrasybulus both and of-Theramenes illustrious
ἀνδρῶν γενομένων κατ᾽ αὐτόν, οὐδενὸς οὐδ᾽ ἡ μήτηρ
men having-been in his-time of-none not-even the mother
ὀνόματος τετύχηκεν, Ἀλκιβιάδου δὲ καὶ τίτθην, γένος
a-name has-obtained of-Alcibiades but even nurse by-race
Λάκαιναν, Ἀμύκλαν ὄνομα, καὶ Ζώπυρον παιδαγωγὸν ἴσμεν,
Laconian Amycla by-name and Zopyrus tutor we-know
ὧν τὸ μὲν Ἀντισθένης, τὸ δὲ Πλάτων ἱστόρηκε.
of-whom the-one indeed Antisthenes the-other and Plato has-recorded
Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κάλλους Ἀλκιβιάδου οὐδὲν ἴσως δεῖ
about indeed then the beauty of-Alcibiades nothing perhaps it-is-needful
λέγειν, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ παῖδα καὶ μειράκιον καὶ ἄνδρα πάσῃ
to-say except that both as-a-boy and as-a-youth and as-a-man with-every
συνανθῆσαν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ὥρᾳ τοῦ σώματος ἐράσμιον καὶ
having-bloomed the age and season of-the body lovely and
ἡδὺν παρέσχεν. οὐ γάρ, ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἔλεγε, πάντων τῶν
pleasant it-made-him not for as Euripides said of-all the
καλῶν καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον καλόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
beautiful-things even the autumn beautiful is but this
Ἀλκιβιάδῃ μετ᾽ ὀλίγων ἄλλων δι᾽ εὐφυΐαν καὶ ἀρετὴν
to-Alcibiades with few others through good-nature and excellence
σώματος ὑπῆρξε. τῇ δὲ φωνῇ καὶ τὴν τραυλότητα
of-body belonged to-the and voice also the lisp
ἐμπρέψαι λέγουσι καὶ τῷ λάλῳ πιθανότητα παρασχεῖν
to-have-suited they-say and to-the talk persuasiveness to-have-given

χάριν ἐπιτελοῦσαν. μέμνηται δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης αὐτοῦ
charm accomplishing makes-mention and also Aristophanes of-his
τῆς τραυλότητος ἐν οἷς ἐπισκώπτει Θέωρον·
the lisp in which-lines he-mocks Theorus

Εἶτ' Ἀλκιβιάδης εἶπε πρός με τραυλίσας·
then Alcibiades said to me lisping
"ὁλᾷς Θέωλον; τὴν κεφαλὴν κόλακος ἔχει."
do-you-thee Theoluth the head of-a-flatterer he-has
ὀρθῶς γε τοῦτ' Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐτραύλισεν.
rightly at-least this Alcibiades lisped

καὶ Ἄρχιππος τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου σκώπτων·
and Archippus the son — of-Alcibiades mocking
"Βαδίζει," φησί, "διακεχλιδώς, θοιμάτιον ἕλκων, ὅπως
he-walks he-says languidly the-cloak trailing so-that
ἐμφερὴς μάλιστα τῷ πατρὶ δόξειεν εἶναι,
like most to-the father he-might-seem to-be

Κλασαυχενεύεταί τε καὶ τραυλίζεται."
he-bends-his-neck both and lisps

Τὸ δ' ἦθος αὐτοῦ πολλὰς μὲν ὕστερον, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐν 2
the and character his many indeed later as is-likely in
πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ τύχαις πολυτρόποις, ἀνομοιότητας
affairs great and fortunes manifold inconsistencies
πρὸς αὑτὸ καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐπεδείξατο. φύσει δὲ πολλῶν
toward itself and changes displayed by-nature and many
ὄντων καὶ μεγάλων παθῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, τὸ φιλόνεικον
being and great passions in him the love-of-contention

ἰσχυρότατον ἦν καὶ τὸ φιλόπρωτον, ὡς δῆλόν ἐστι τοῖς
strongest was and the love-of-first-place as clear is from-the
παιδικοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν.
boyhood anecdotes
Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ παλαίειν πιεζούμενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ πεσεῖν
in indeed for the to-wrestle being-hard-pressed for the not to-fall
ἀναγαγὼν πρὸς τὸ στόμα τὰ ἄμματα τοῦ πιεζοῦντος,
having-brought-up to the mouth the holds of-the one-pressing
οἷος ἦν διαφαγεῖν τὰς χεῖρας. ἀφέντος δὲ τὴν λαβὴν
such-as he-was to-bite-through the hands having-let-go and the hold
ἐκείνου καὶ εἰπόντος· "Δάκνεις, ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδη, καθάπερ
that-one and having-said you-bite O Alcibiades like
αἱ γυναῖκες," "Οὐκ ἔγωγε," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ λέοντες."
the women not I he-said but as the lions
Ἔτι δὲ μικρὸς ὢν ἔπαιζεν ἀστραγάλοις ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ,
still and small being he-was-playing with-knucklebones in the narrow-street
τῆς δὲ βολῆς καθηκούσης εἰς αὐτὸν ἅμαξα φορτίων
the and throw having-come to him a-wagon of-loads
ἐπήει. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐκέλευε περιμεῖναι τὸν ἄγοντα
was-coming-on first indeed then he-bade to-wait the driver
τὸ ζεῦγος· ὑπέπιπτε γὰρ ἡ βολὴ τῇ παρόδῳ τῆς ἁμάξης·
the team fell-under for the throw at-the passing of-the wagon
μὴ πειθομένου δὲ δι' ἀγροικίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπάγοντος, οἱ μὲν
not obeying and through boorishness but driving-on the indeed
ἄλλοι παῖδες διέσχον, ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης καταβαλὼν ἐπὶ
other boys stood-apart — and Alcibiades having-thrown-himself on
στόμα πρὸ τοῦ ζεύγους καὶ παρατείνας ἑαυτόν, ἐκέλευεν
face before the team and having-stretched-out himself bade
οὕτως, εἰ βούλεται, διεξελθεῖν, ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον

ἀνακροῦσαι τὸ ζεῦγος ὀπίσω δείσαντα, τοὺς δ' ἰδόντας
to-have-backed the team back having-feared those and having-seen
ἐκπλαγῆναι καὶ μετὰ βοῆς συνδραμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν.
to-be-struck and with shouting to-run-together to him
Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὸ μανθάνειν ἦκε, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὑπήκουε
when and to the learning he-came the indeed other he-obeyed
διδασκάλοις ἐπιεικῶς, τὸ δ' αὐλεῖν ἔφευγεν ὡς ἀγεννὲς
teachers fairly the and to-play-the-flute he-shunned as ignoble
καὶ ἀνελεύθερον· πλήκτρου μὲν γὰρ καὶ λύρας χρῆσιν
and illiberal of-plectrum indeed for and lyre use
οὐδὲν οὔτε σχήματος οὔτε μορφῆς ἐλευθέρῳ πρεπούσης
nothing neither of-bearing nor of-form to-a-free-man befitting
διαφθείρειν, αὐλοὺς δὲ φυσῶντος ἀνθρώπου στόματι καὶ
to-ruin flutes but blowing a-man with-mouth even
τοὺς συνήθεις ἂν πάνυ μόλις διαγνῶναι τὸ πρόσωπον.
the acquaintances — very hardly to-recognize the face
ἔτι δὲ τὴν μὲν λύραν τῷ χρωμένῳ συμφθέγγεσθαι
further and the indeed lyre with-the user to-sound-together
καὶ συνᾴδειν, τὸν δ' αὐλὸν ἐπιστομίζειν καὶ ἀποφράττειν
and to-sing-with the but flute to-stop-the-mouth and to-block
ἕκαστον τήν τε φωνὴν καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀφαιρούμενον.
each the both voice and the speech taking-away
"Αὐλείτωσαν οὖν," ἔφη, "Θηβαίων παῖδες· οὐ γὰρ
let-them-play-the-flute then he-said of-Thebans children not for
ἴσασι διαλέγεσθαι· ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς οἱ
they-know-how to-converse for-us but the Athenians as the
πατέρες λέγουσιν, ἀρχηγέτις Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ πατρῷος Ἀπόλλων
fathers say founder Athena and ancestral Apollo
ἐστίν, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἔρριψε τὸν αὐλόν, ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν
is of-whom the one threw-away the flute the other even the
αὐλητὴν ἐξέδειρεν." τοιαῦτα παίζων ἅμα καὶ σπουδάζων ὁ
flute-player flayed such-things jesting at-once and being-serious —

Ἀλκιβιάδης αὑτόν τε τοῦ μαθήματος ἀπέστησε καὶ τοὺς
Alcibiades himself both from-the lesson withdrew and the
ἄλλους. ταχὺ γὰρ διῆλθε λόγος εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ὡς εὖ
others quickly for went-through word to the boys that well
ποιῶν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης βδελύττοιτο τὴν αὐλητικὴν καὶ χλευάζοι
doing — Alcibiades loathed the flute-playing and mocked
τοὺς μανθάνοντας. ὅθεν ἐξέπεσε κομιδῇ τῶν ἐλευθέρων
those learning whence fell-out utterly from-the liberal
διατριβῶν καὶ προεπηλακίσθη παντάπασιν ὁ αὐλός.
pursuits and was-insulted altogether the flute

3 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀντιφῶντος λοιδορίαις γέγραπται ὅτι παῖς ὤν,
in and the of-Antiphon invectives it-is-written that a-boy being
ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπέδρα πρὸς Δημοκράτη τινὰ τῶν ἐραστῶν·
from the house he-ran-away to Democrates a-certain of-the lovers
βουλομένου δ' αὐτὸν ἀποκηρύττειν Ἀρίφρονος, Περικλῆς
wishing and him to-disown Ariphron Pericles
οὐκ εἴασεν, εἰπών· εἰ μὲν τέθνηκεν, ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ διὰ τὸ
not allowed having-said if indeed he-has-died in-day one through the
κήρυγμα φανεῖσθαι πρότερον, εἰ δὲ σῶς ἐστιν, ἄσωστον
proclamation he-will-appear sooner if but safe he-is past-saving
αὐτῷ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἔσεσθαι· καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἀκολουθούντων
for-him the remaining life will-be and that of-the attendants
τινὰ κτείνειεν ἐν τῇ Σιβυρτίου παλαίστρᾳ ξύλῳ πατάξας.
one he-killed in the of-Sibyrtius wrestling-school with-a-stick having-struck
ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ἄξιον ἴσως πιστεύειν, ἅ γε
but these indeed not worth perhaps to-believe what at-least
λοιδορεῖσθαί τις αὐτῷ δι' ἔχθραν ὁμολογῶν εἶπεν.
to-revile one him through enmity admitting said

4 Ἤδη δὲ πολλῶν καὶ γενναίων ἀθροιζομένων καὶ
already and many and well-born gathering and
περιεπόντων, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καταφανεῖς ἦσαν τὴν
courting-him the indeed others manifest were the

λαμπρότητα τῆς ὥρας ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες,
splendor of-the bloom dazzled-by and paying-court
ὁ δὲ Σωκράτους ἔρως μέγα μαρτύριον ἦν τῆς ἀρετῆς
the but of-Socrates love great testimony was of-the excellence
καὶ εὐφυΐας τοῦ παιδός, ἣν ἐμφαινομένην τῷ εἴδει καὶ
and good-nature of-the boy which showing-forth in-the form and
διαλάμπουσαν ἐνορῶν, φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὸ
shining-through perceiving fearing and the wealth and the
ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸν προκαταλαμβάνοντα κολακείαις καὶ χάρισιν
rank and the anticipating with-flatteries and favors
ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ συμμάχων ὄχλον, οἷος ἦν ἀμύνειν
of-townsmen and strangers and allies throng such-as he-was to-defend
καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν ὡς φυτὸν ἐν ἄνθει τὸν οἰκεῖον καρπὸν
and not to-overlook as a-plant in flower the own fruit
ἀποβάλλον καὶ διαφθεῖρον. οὐδένα γὰρ ἡ τύχη περιέσχεν
casting-off and spoiling no-one for the fortune surrounded
ἔξωθεν καὶ περιέφραξε τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀγαθοῖς τοσοῦτον
from-outside and fenced-around with-the so-called goods so-much
ὥστ᾽ ἄτρωτον ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας γενέσθαι, καὶ λόγοις
so-that invulnerable by philosophy to-become and to-words
ἀπρόσιτον παρρησίαν καὶ δηγμὸν ἔχουσιν· ὡς Ἀλκιβιάδης
inaccessible frankness and sting having as Alcibiades
εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς θρυπτόμενος καὶ ἀποκλειόμενος ὑπὸ
at-once from the-beginning pampered and shut-out by
τῶν πρὸς χάριν ἐξομιλούντων εἰσακοῦσαι τοῦ νουθετοῦντος
those for favor associating to-listen-to the one-admonishing
καὶ παιδεύοντος, ὅμως ὑπ᾽ εὐφυΐας ἐγνώρισε Σωκράτη
and educating nevertheless through good-nature he-recognized Socrates
καὶ προσήκατο, διασχὼν τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ ἐνδόξους
and admitted having-parted-from the rich and famous
ἐραστάς. ταχὺ δὲ ποιησάμενος συνήθη, καὶ λόγων ἀκούσας
lovers quickly and having-made intimate and words having-heard

οὐχ ἡδονὴν ἄνανδρον ἐραστοῦ θηρεύοντος, οὐδὲ φιλημάτων
not pleasure unmanly of-a-lover hunting nor kisses
καὶ ψαύσεως προσαιτοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐλέγχοντος τὸ σαθρὸν τῆς
and touching begging but exposing the unsound of-the
ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ πιεζοῦντος τὸν κενὸν καὶ ἀνόητον τῦφον,
soul his and repressing the empty and foolish conceit

Ἔπτηξ' ἀλέκτωρ δοῦλος ὡς κλίνας πτερόν.
crouched the-cock slave like having-bent wing

καὶ τὸ μὲν Σωκράτους ἡγήσατο πρᾶγμα τῷ ὄντι θεῶν
and the indeed of-Socrates he-considered affair in-the being of-gods
ὑπηρεσίαν εἰς νέων ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι καὶ σωτηρίαν·
a-service for of-young-men care to-be and saving
καταφρονῶν δ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, θαυμάζων δ' ἐκεῖνον,
despising and himself himself admiring and that-one
ἀγαπῶν δὲ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην, αἰσχυνόμενος δὲ τὴν
loving and the kindliness revering and the
ἀρετήν, ἐλάνθανεν εἴδωλον ἔρωτος, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων,
virtue he-escaped-notice an-image of-love as says — Plato
ἀντέρωτα κτώμενος, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἅπαντας ὁρῶντας
a-counter-love acquiring so-that to-marvel all seeing
αὐτὸν Σωκράτει μὲν συνδειπνοῦντα καὶ συμπαλαίοντα
him with-Socrates indeed dining and wrestling
καὶ συσκηνοῦντα, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐρασταῖς χαλεπὸν ὄντα
and tenting-together to-the and other lovers harsh being
καὶ δυσχείρωτον, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ παντάπασι σοβαρῶς
and hard-to-subdue to-some and even altogether insolently
προσφερόμενον, ὥσπερ Ἀνύτῳ τῷ Ἀνθεμίωνος.
behaving as to-Anytus — son-of-Anthemion

Ἐτύγχανε μὲν γὰρ ἐρῶν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, ξένους δέ τινας
happened indeed for loving — Alcibiades strangers and some
ἑστιῶν ἐκάλει κἀκεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν κλῆσιν
entertaining he-invited also-him to the dinner he and the indeed invitation
ἀπείπατο, μεθυσθεὶς δ' οἴκοι μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐκώμασε
refused having-got-drunk and at-home with the companions he-went-reveling
πρὸς τὸν Ἄνυτον, καὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐπιστὰς τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος
to — Anytus and at-the doors having-stood of-the men's-hall
καὶ θεασάμενος ἀργυρῶν ἐκπωμάτων καὶ χρυσῶν πλήρεις
and having-seen of-silver cups and gold full
τὰς τραπέζας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς παῖδας τὰ ἡμίση λαβόντας
the tables he-bade the slaves the halves having-taken
οἴκαδε κομίζειν πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰσελθεῖν δ' οὐκ ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ
home to-carry to himself to-go-in but not he-deigned but
ταῦτα πράξας ἀπῆλθε. τῶν οὖν ξένων δυσχεραινόντων
these-things having-done went-away the then strangers being-indignant
καὶ λεγόντων ὡς ὑβριστικῶς καὶ ὑπερηφάνως εἴη τῷ
and saying how insolently and arrogantly had —
Ἀνύτῳ κεχρημένος ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, "Ἐπιεικῶς μὲν οὖν,"
to-Anytus behaved — Alcibiades fairly indeed then
ὁ Ἄνυτος ἔφη, "καὶ φιλανθρώπως· ἃ γὰρ ἐξῆν αὐτῷ
— Anytus said and humanely what for was-possible for-him
λαβεῖν ἅπαντα, τούτων ἡμῖν τὰ μέρη καταλέλοιπεν."
to-take all of-these to-us the parts he-has-left

A poor metic offers Alcibiades all he has, and Alcibiades makes him rich by a trick on the tax-farmers. Socrates checks his vanity and wins his devotion, though he sometimes slips away to the flatterers and is hunted down like a runaway slave. He strikes a schoolmaster who has no Homer, and told that Pericles is busy considering how to render his accounts, he says Pericles would do better to consider how not to. At Potidaea Socrates saves him and yields him the prize, and at Delium he guards Socrates in the retreat. He strikes Hipponicus, then offers himself to be flogged and marries his daughter Hipparete; when she seeks a divorce he carries her home.

Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐρασταῖς ἐχρῆτο· πλὴν ἕνα
so and also the other lovers he-treated except one
μετοικικὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς φασιν, οὐ πολλὰ κεκτημένον,
resident-alien man as they-say not much possessing
ἀποδόμενον δὲ πάντα καὶ τὸ συναχθὲν εἰς ἑκατὸν
having-sold and everything and the collected to a-hundred
στατῆρας τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ προσφέροντα καὶ δεόμενον
staters — to-Alcibiades offering and begging
λαβεῖν, γελάσας καὶ ἡσθεὶς ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.
to-take having-laughed and having-been-pleased he-invited to dinner
ἑστιάσας δὲ καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς τό τε χρυσίον ἀπέδωκεν
having-feasted and and having-shown-kindness the both gold gave-back
αὐτῷ, καὶ προσέταξε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς ὠνουμένους τὰ
to-him and ordered on-the next-day those buying the
τέλη τὰ δημόσια ταῖς τιμαῖς ὑπερβάλλειν ἀντωνούμενον.
taxes the public with-the bids to-outbid bidding-against
παραιτουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διὰ τὸ πολλῶν
begging-off and the man because-of the of-many
ταλάντων εἶναι τὴν ὠνήν, ἠπείλησε μαστιγώσειν εἰ
talents to-be the purchase he-threatened to-flog-him if
μὴ ταῦτα πράττοι· καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ἐγκαλῶν
not these-things he-did and for he-happened having-complaint

τι τοῖς τελώναις ἴδιον. ἔωθεν οὖν προελθὼν ὁ
some against-the tax-farmers private at-dawn then having-come-forward the
μέτοικος εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐπέθηκε τῇ ὠνῇ τάλαντον. ἐπεὶ
alien into market-place added to-the purchase a-talent when
δ' οἱ τελῶναι συστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐκέλευον
and the tax-farmers combining and being-indignant bade
ὀνομάζειν ἐγγυητήν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν εὑρόντος, θορυβουμένου
to-name a-surety as not — finding being-confused
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἀναχωροῦντος, ἑστὼς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης
the man and withdrawing standing — Alcibiades
ἄπωθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, "Ἐμὲ γράψατ'," ἔφη, "ἐμὸς
at-a-distance to the magistrates me write-down he-said my
φίλος ἐστίν, ἐγγυῶμαι." ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ τελῶναι
friend he-is I-stand-surety these-things having-heard the tax-farmers
ἐξηπορήθησαν. εἰωθότες γὰρ ἀεὶ ταῖς δευτέραις ὠναῖς
were-at-a-loss being-accustomed for always with-the second purchases
χρεωλυτεῖν τὰς πρώτας, οὐχ ἑώρων ἀπαλλαγὴν αὑτοῖς
to-pay-off-debt-for the first not they-saw release for-them
οὖσαν τοῦ πράγματος. ἐδέοντο δὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
being from-the affair they-begged indeed the man
ἀργύριον διδόντες· ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης οὐκ εἴα λαβεῖν
money offering — and Alcibiades not allowed to-take
ἔλαττον ταλάντου. διδόντων δὲ τὸ τάλαντον ἐκέλευσεν
less than-a-talent giving and the talent he-bade
ἀποστῆναι λαβόντα. κἀκεῖνον μὲν οὕτως ὠφέλησεν.
to-withdraw having-taken and-him indeed so he-benefited
Ὁ δὲ Σωκράτους ἔρως πολλοὺς ἔχων καὶ μεγάλους 6
the and of-Socrates love many having and great
ἀνταγωνιστὰς πῇ μὲν ἐκράτει τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, δι'
rivals sometimes indeed prevailed-over — Alcibiades through
εὐφυΐαν ἁπτομένων τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν καρδίαν
good-nature laying-hold the words his and the heart

στρεφόντων καὶ δάκρυα ἐκχεόντων, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ
turning and tears shedding there-is and when also
τοῖς κόλαξι πολλὰς ἡδονὰς ὑποβάλλουσιν ἐνδιδοὺς ἑαυτόν,
to-the flatterers many pleasures suggesting giving-up himself
ἀπωλίσθαινε τοῦ Σωκράτους καὶ δραπετεύων ἀτεχνῶς
he-slipped-away — from-Socrates and running-away simply
ἐκυνηγεῖτο, πρὸς μόνον ἐκεῖνον ἔχων τὸ αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ
was-hunted to alone that-one having the to-feel-shame and the
φοβεῖσθαι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὑπερορῶν.
to-fear of-the and others disdaining
Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κλεάνθης ἔλεγε τὸν ἐρώμενον ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ μὲν
— indeed then Cleanthes said the beloved by himself indeed
ἐκ τῶν ὤτων κρατεῖσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἀντερασταῖς πολλὰς
by the ears to-be-held to-the and rival-lovers many
λαβὰς παρέχειν ἀθίκτους ἑαυτῷ, τὴν γαστέρα λέγων καὶ τὰ
holds to-offer untouchable for-himself the belly saying and the
αἰδοῖα καὶ τὸν λαιμόν· Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἦν μὲν ἀμέλει καὶ
genitals and the gullet Alcibiades and was indeed doubtless also
πρὸς ἡδονὰς ἀγώγιμος· ἡ γὰρ ὑπὸ Θουκυδίδου λεγομένη
toward pleasures easily-led the for by Thucydides spoken
παρανομία εἰς τὸ σῶμα τῆς διαίτης ὑποψίαν τοιαύτην
lawlessness in the body of-the way-of-life suspicion such
δίδωσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τῆς φιλοτιμίας
gives not indeed but rather his the ambition
ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι καὶ τῆς φιλοδοξίας οἱ διαφθείροντες
laying-hold-of and the love-of-fame the corrupters
ἐνέβαλλον οὐ καθ' ὥραν εἰς μεγαλοπραγμοσύνην,
threw-him not in season into grand-designs
ἀναπείθοντες ὡς, ὅταν πρῶτον ἄρξηται τὰ δημόσια
persuading as when first he-should-begin the public-affairs
πράττειν, οὐ μόνον ἀμαυρώσοντα τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς
to-do not only going-to-obscure the other generals

καὶ δημαγωγοὺς εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Περικλέους δύναμιν
and popular-leaders at-once but even the of-Pericles power
ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ δόξαν ὑπερβαλούμενον. ὥσπερ
among the Greeks and fame going-to-surpass just-as
οὖν ὁ σίδηρος ἐν τῷ πυρὶ μαλασσόμενος αὖθις ὑπὸ
then the iron in the fire being-softened again by
τοῦ ψυχροῦ πυκνοῦται καὶ σύνεισι τοῖς μορίοις εἰς
the cold is-condensed and draws-together with-the parts into
αὑτόν, οὕτως ἐκεῖνον ὁ Σωκράτης θρύψεως διάπλεων καὶ
itself so him — Socrates of-luxury full and
χαυνότητος ὁσάκις ἂν λάβοι, πιέζων τῷ λόγῳ καὶ
of-vanity as-often-as — he-caught pressing with-the argument and
συστέλλων ταπεινὸν ἐποίει καὶ ἄτολμον, ἡλίκων ἐνδεής
contracting humble made and timid how-greatly lacking
ἐστι καὶ ἀτελὴς πρὸς ἀρετὴν μανθάνοντα.
he-is and incomplete toward virtue learning
Τὴν δὲ παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παραλλάσσων ἐπέστη 7
the and boyish age passing-beyond he-stopped-at
γραμματοδιδασκάλῳ καὶ βιβλίον ᾔτησεν Ὁμηρικόν. εἰπόντος
a-schoolmaster and a-book asked-for Homeric having-said
δὲ τοῦ διδασκάλου μηδὲν ἔχειν Ὁμήρου, κονδύλῳ καθικόμενος
and the teacher nothing to-have of-Homer with-a-fist having-struck
αὐτοῦ παρῆλθεν. ἑτέρου δὲ φήσαντος ἔχειν Ὅμηρον ὑφ᾽
him he-passed-on another and having-said to-have Homer by
αὐτοῦ διωρθωμένον, “Εἶτ᾽,” ἔφη, “γράμματα διδάσκεις,
himself corrected then he-said letters you-teach
Ὅμηρον ἐπανορθοῦν ἱκανὸς ὤν; οὐχὶ τοὺς νέους παιδεύεις;”
Homer to-correct able being not the young you-educate
Περικλεῖ δὲ βουλόμενος ἐντυχεῖν ἐπὶ θύρας ἦλθεν αὐτοῦ.
with-Pericles and wishing to-meet at doors he-came his
πυθόμενος δὲ μὴ σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν
having-learned and not to-be-at-leisure but to-consider by himself

ὅπως ἀποδώσει λόγον Ἀθηναίοις, ἀπιὼν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης,
how he-will-render account to-Athenians going-away — Alcibiades
"Εἶτα," ἔφη, "βέλτιον οὐκ ἦν σκοπεῖν αὐτὸν ὅπως οὐκ
then he-said better not was-it to-consider him how not
ἀποδώσει λόγον Ἀθηναίοις;"
he-will-render account to-Athenians
Ἔτι δὲ μειράκιον ὢν ἐστρατεύσατο τὴν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν
still and a-youth being he-served-on the to Potidaea
στρατείαν, καὶ Σωκράτη σύσκηνον εἶχε καὶ παραστάτην
expedition and Socrates tent-mate had and comrade
ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν. ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ γενομένης μάχης ἠρίστευσαν
in the struggles fierce and having-been a-battle excelled
μὲν ἀμφότεροι, τοῦ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδου τραύματι περιπεσόντος
indeed both — and of-Alcibiades into-a-wound having-fallen
ὁ Σωκράτης προέστη καὶ ἤμυνε καὶ μάλιστα δὴ
— Socrates stood-before-him and defended and most indeed
προδήλως ἔσωσεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων. ἐγίνετο μὲν
clearly saved him with the arms belonged indeed
οὖν τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ λόγῳ Σωκράτους τὸ ἀριστεῖον·
then by-the most-just reckoning of-Socrates the prize
ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ
when and the generals because-of the rank — to-Alcibiades
σπουδάζοντες ἐφαίνοντο περιθεῖναι τὴν δόξαν, ὁ Σωκράτης
being-eager appeared to-confer the glory — Socrates
βουλόμενος αὔξεσθαι τὸ φιλότιμον ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς αὐτοῦ
wishing to-be-increased the ambition in the noble-things his
πρῶτος ἐμαρτύρει καὶ παρεκάλει στεφανοῦν ἐκεῖνον καὶ
first bore-witness and urged to-crown that-one and
διδόναι τὴν πανοπλίαν.
to-give the full-armor

Ἔτι δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ μάχης γενομένης καὶ φευγόντων
still and the at Delium battle having-taken-place and fleeing
Ἀθηναίων, ἔχων ἵππον ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, τοῦ δὲ Σωκράτους
Athenians having a-horse — Alcibiades — and Socrates
πεζῇ μετ᾽ ὀλίγων ἀποχωροῦντος, οὐ παρήλασεν ἰδών, ἀλλὰ
on-foot with few withdrawing not rode-past having-seen but
παρέπεμψε καὶ περιήμυνεν, ἐπικειμένων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ
escorted and defended pressing-on the enemies and
πολλοὺς ἀναιρούντων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐπράχθη.
many killing and these-things indeed later were-done
Ἱππονίκῳ δὲ τῷ Καλλίου πατρί, καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντι 8
to-Hipponicus and the of-Callias father and fame having
μεγάλην καὶ δύναμιν ἀπὸ πλούτου καὶ γένους, ἐνέτριψε
great and power from wealth and family he-gave
κόνδυλον, οὐχ ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς ἢ διαφορᾶς τινος προαχθείς,
a-blow not by anger or quarrel any led-on
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ γέλωτι, συνθέμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους.
but for a-laugh having-made-a-wager with the companions
περιβοήτου δὲ τῆς ἀσελγείας ἐν τῇ πόλει γενομένης καὶ
notorious and the outrage in the city having-become and
συναγανακτούντων, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἁπάντων, ἅμ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ
being-indignant-together as is-likely all together-with day
παρῆν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Ἱππονίκου, καὶ
came — Alcibiades to the house — of-Hipponicus and
τὴν θύραν κόψας εἰσῆλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ θεὶς
the door having-knocked entered to him and having-put-off
τὸ ἱμάτιον παρεδίδου τὸ σῶμα, μαστιγοῦν καὶ κολάζειν
the cloak handed-over the body to-flog and to-punish
κελεύων. ὁ δὲ συνέγνω καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφῆκεν, ὕστερον
bidding he and pardoned and the anger let-go later
δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς Ἱππαρέτης ἐποιήσατο νυμφίον.
and of-the daughter Hipparete he-made bridegroom

Ἔνιοι δέ φασιν, οὐχ Ἱππόνικον, ἀλλὰ Καλλίαν, τὸν
some and say not Hipponicus but Callias the
υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, δοῦναι τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τὴν Ἱππαρέτην ἐπὶ
son his to-have-given — to-Alcibiades — Hipparete with
δέκα ταλάντοις· εἶτα μέντοι τεκούσης ἄλλα πάλιν δέκα
ten talents then however having-borne other again ten
προσεισπρᾶξαι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, ὡς τοῦτο συνθέμενον εἰ
to-have-exacted-besides — Alcibiades as this having-agreed if
γένοιντο παῖδες. ὁ δὲ Καλλίας ἐπιβουλὴν δεδοικὼς
there-should-be children — and Callias a-plot fearing
προσῆλθε τῷ δήμῳ τὰ χρήματα διδοὺς καὶ τὸν οἶκον,
approached the people the money giving and the house
ἄνπερ αὐτῷ συμπέσῃ μὴ καταλιπόντι γενεὰν ἀποθανεῖν.
if-ever to-him it-befall not leaving offspring to-die
Εὔτακτος δ' οὖσα καὶ φίλανδρος ἡ Ἱππαρέτη,
well-behaved and being and loving-her-husband — Hipparete
λυπουμένη δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν γάμον ἑταίραις ξέναις
being-grieved and by him about the marriage with-courtesans foreign
καὶ ἀσταῖς συνόντος, ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπιοῦσα πρὸς τὸν
and townswomen consorting from the house departing to the
ἀδελφὸν ᾤχετο. τοῦ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδου μὴ φροντίζοντος,
brother went — and Alcibiades not caring
ἀλλὰ τρυφῶντος, ἔδει τὸ τῆς ἀπολείψεως γράμμα
but living-luxuriously it-was-necessary the of-the divorce document
παρὰ τῷ ἄρχοντι θέσθαι, μὴ δι' ἑτέρων, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν
with the archon to-deposit not through others but herself
παροῦσαν. ὡς οὖν παρῆν τοῦτο πράξουσα κατὰ
present when then she-was-present this going-to-do according-to
τὸν νόμον, ἐπελθὼν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ συναρπάσας
the law having-come-up — Alcibiades and having-snatched
αὐτὴν ἀπῆλθε δι' ἀγορᾶς οἴκαδε κομίζων, μηδενὸς
her went-off through market-place home carrying no-one

ἐναντιωθῆναι μηδ᾽ ἀφελέσθαι τολμήσαντος. ἔμεινε μέντοι
to-oppose nor to-take-away daring she-remained however
παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μέχρι τελευτῆς, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν
with him until death she-died and after not long
χρόνον εἰς Ἔφεσον τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου πλεύσαντος.
time to Ephesus — Alcibiades having-sailed
Αὕτη μὲν οὖν οὐ παντελῶς ἔδοξεν ἡ βία παράνομος
this indeed then not altogether seemed the violence lawless
οὐδ᾽ ἀπάνθρωπος εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος δοκεῖ διὰ
nor inhuman to-be and for the law seems because-of
τοῦτο προάγειν τὴν ἀπολείπουσαν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον αὐτήν,
this to-bring-forward the one-divorcing into the public herself
ὅπως ἐγγένηται τῷ ἀνδρὶ συμβῆναι καὶ κατασχεῖν.
so-that it-may-be-possible for-the husband to-come-to-terms and to-keep

III · THE DOG'S TAIL AND THE CHARIOTS

Alcibiades cuts off the tail of a costly dog so that Athens will talk of nothing worse. His first public act is a gift of money to the people, in whose applause a quail escapes from his cloak and the pilot Antiochus catches it. He is a skilled speaker, though he sometimes halts in search of a phrase. At Olympia he enters seven chariots and wins first, second, and fourth (third, says Euripides' ode); the Ephesians, Chians, and Lesbians supply his tent, victims, and wine. A dispute over the team he bought for Diomedes leads to a lawsuit.

Ὄντος δὲ κυνὸς αὐτῷ θαυμαστοῦ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ εἶδος, 9
being and a-dog his wonderful the size and the form
ὃν ἑβδομήκοντα μνῶν ἐωνημένος ἐτύγχανεν, ἀπέκοψε τὴν
which seventy minas having-bought he-happened he-cut-off the
οὐρὰν πάγκαλον οὖσαν. ἐπιτιμώντων δὲ τῶν συνήθων
tail very-beautiful being rebuking and the acquaintances

καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι πάντες ἐπὶ τῷ κυνὶ δάκνονται καὶ
and saying that all over the dog are-galled and
λοιδοροῦσιν αὐτόν, ἐπιγελάσας, "Γίνεται τοίνυν," εἶπεν,
reviling him having-laughed happens well-then he-said
"ὃ βούλομαι· βούλομαι γὰρ Ἀθηναίους τοῦτο λαλεῖν, ἵνα
what I-wish I-wish for Athenians this to-chatter so-that
μή τι χεῖρον περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγωσι."
not something worse about me they-say
Πρώτην δ' αὐτῷ πάροδον εἰς τὸ δημόσιον γενέσθαι
first and his entrance into the public-life to-have-been
λέγουσι μετὰ χρημάτων ἐπιδόσεως, οὐκ ἐκ παρασκευῆς,
they-say with of-money contribution not from preparation
ἀλλὰ παριόντα θορυβούντων Ἀθηναίων ἐρέσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν
but passing-by clamoring Athenians to-have-asked the cause
τοῦ θορύβου, πυθόμενον δὲ χρημάτων ἐπίδοσιν γίνεσθαι
of-the clamor having-learned and of-money a-contribution to-be-happening
παρελθεῖν καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι· τοῦ δὲ δήμου κροτοῦντος
to-have-come-forward and to-have-contributed the and people clapping
καὶ βοῶντος ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ ὄρτυγος ὃν
and shouting from pleasure to-have-forgotten the quail which
ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων ἐν τῷ ἱματίῳ· πτοηθέντος οὖν καὶ
he-happened having in the cloak having-been-scared then and
διαφυγόντος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκβοῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πολλοὺς
having-escaped still more to-have-shouted the Athenians many
δὲ συνθηρᾶν ἀναστάντας, λαβεῖν δ' αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχον
and to-help-hunt having-stood-up to-have-caught and it Antiochus
τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ ἀποδοῦναι· διὸ προσφιλέστατον
the helmsman and to-have-given-back wherefore most-dear
τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ γενέσθαι.
— to-Alcibiades to-have-become

Μεγάλας δ' αὐτῷ κλεισιάδας ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀνοίγοντος
great and for-him folding-doors to the public-life opening
τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τοῦ πλούτου τῆς τε περὶ τὰς μάχας
the both family and the wealth the and about the battles
ἀνδραγαθίας, φίλων τε πολλῶν καὶ οἰκείων ὑπαρχόντων,
valor of-friends and many and of-relatives existing
ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἠξίου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς τοῦ λόγου χάριτος
from nothing he-thought-fit rather than the of-the speech grace
ἰσχύειν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς. καὶ ὅτι μὲν δυνατὸς ἦν εἰπεῖν,
to-be-strong among the many and that indeed able he-was to-speak
οἵ τε κωμικοὶ μαρτυροῦσι καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων ὁ δυνατώτατος
the both comic-poets bear-witness and of-the orators the ablest
ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μειδίου, λέγων τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ δεινότατον
in the against Meidias saying — Alcibiades also most-skilled
εἰπεῖν γενέσθαι πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις. εἰ δὲ Θεοφράστῳ
to-speak to-have-been besides the other-things if and Theophrastus
πιστεύομεν, ἀνδρὶ φιληκόῳ καὶ ἱστορικῷ παρ' ὁντινοῦν
we-believe a-man fond-of-hearing and investigative beyond anyone
τῶν φιλοσόφων, εὑρεῖν μὲν ἦν τὰ δέοντα καὶ νοῆσαι
of-the philosophers to-find indeed was the needful and to-conceive
πάντων ἱκανώτατος ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ζητῶν δὲ μὴ μόνον
of-all most-capable — Alcibiades seeking but not only
ἃ δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς δεῖ τοῖς ὀνόμασι
what it-is-needful to-say but also how it-is-needful with-the words
καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν, οὐκ εὐπορῶν δέ, πολλάκις ἐσφάλλετο
and the phrases not being-well-supplied but often he-stumbled
καὶ μεταξὺ λέγων ἀπεσιώπα καὶ διέλειπε, λέξεως
and in-the-middle-of speaking fell-silent and paused phrase
διαφυγούσης αὐτόν, ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ διασκοπούμενος.
escaping him recovering and considering

11 Αἱ δ' ἱπποτροφίαι περιβόητοι μὲν ἐγένοντο καὶ τῷ
the and horse-breedings famous indeed became also for-the
πλήθει τῶν ἁρμάτων· ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς καθῆκεν
number of-the chariots seven for another no-one entered
Ὀλυμπίασιν ἰδιώτης οὐδὲ βασιλεύς, μόνος δὲ ἐκεῖνος.
at-Olympia private-man nor king alone but he
καὶ τὸ νικῆσαι δὲ καὶ δεύτερον γενέσθαι καὶ τέταρτον,
and the to-have-won and also second to-have-been and fourth
ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησίν, ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης τρίτον, ὑπερβάλλει
as Thucydides says — but Euripides third surpasses
λαμπρότητι καὶ δόξῃ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τούτοις φιλοτιμίαν.
in-splendor and glory all the in these ambition
λέγει δ' ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῷ ᾄσματι ταῦτα·
says and — Euripides in the ode these-things

Σὲ δ' ἀείσομαι, ὦ Κλεινίου παῖ.
you and I-will-sing O of-Cleinias son
καλὸν ἁ νίκα· κάλλιστον δ', ὃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος Ἑλλάνων,
a-fine-thing the victory finest and which no other of-Greeks
ἅρματι πρῶτα δραμεῖν καὶ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα,
with-chariot first to-run and second and third
βῆναί τ' ἀπονητί, Διὸς στεφθέντα τ' ἐλαίᾳ
to-go and without-toil of-Zeus crowned and with-olive
κάρυκι βοᾶν παραδοῦναι·
for-the-herald to-shout to-give

12 Τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐπιφανέστερον ἐποίησεν ἡ τῶν
this however the splendor more-conspicuous made the of-the
πόλεων φιλοτιμία. σκηνὴν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ κεκοσμημένην
cities rivalry a-tent indeed for for-him adorned
διαπρεπῶς ἔστησαν Ἐφέσιοι, τροφὰς δὲ ἵπποις καὶ πλῆθος
magnificently set-up Ephesians fodder and for-horses and number

ἱερείων παρεῖχεν ἡ Χίων πόλις, οἶνον δὲ Λέσβιοι καὶ
of-victims supplied the of-Chians city wine and Lesbians and
τὴν ἄλλην ὑποδοχὴν ἀφειδῶς ἑστιῶντι πολλούς. οὐ μὴν
the other entertainment unsparingly feasting many not indeed
ἀλλὰ καὶ διαβολή τις ἢ κακοήθεια γενομένη περὶ τὴν
but also slander some or malice having-arisen about the
φιλοτιμίαν ἐκείνην πλείονα λόγον παρέσχε.
ambition that more talk gave
Λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἦν Ἀθήνησι Διομήδης, ἀνὴρ οὐ
it-is-said for that there-was at-Athens Diomedes a-man not
πονηρός, Ἀλκιβιάδου φίλος, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ νίκην Ὀλυμπικὴν
bad of-Alcibiades a-friend desiring and a-victory Olympic
αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· καὶ πυνθανόμενος ἅρμα δημόσιον Ἀργείοις
for-himself to-be and learning a-chariot public to-Argives
εἶναι, τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην εἰδὼς ἐν Ἄργει μέγα δυνάμενον καὶ
to-be — Alcibiades knowing in Argos greatly being-powerful and
φίλους ἔχοντα πολλούς, ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ πρίασθαι τὸ ἅρμα.
friends having many he-persuaded for-him to-buy the chariot
πριάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἴδιον ἀπεγράψατο, τὸν δὲ
having-bought and — Alcibiades as-his-own registered-it — and
Διομήδη χαίρειν εἴασε χαλεπῶς φέροντα καὶ μαρτυρόμενον
Diomedes go-bang he-let hard bearing-it and calling-to-witness
θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ δίκη συστᾶσα περὶ
gods and men appears and also a-suit having-arisen about
τούτου, καὶ λόγος Ἰσοκράτει γέγραπται περὶ τοῦ ζεύγους
this and a-speech by-Isocrates has-been-written about the team
ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου παιδός, ἐν ᾧ Τισίας ἐστίν, οὐ
on-behalf-of — of-Alcibiades son in which Tisias is not
Διομήδης, ὁ δικασάμενος.
Diomedes the plaintiff

Entering politics, Alcibiades humbles the other popular leaders and contends with Phaeax and Nicias. When Hyperbolus moves an ostracism, Alcibiades joins with Nicias (or, some say, Phaeax) and turns it on the demagogue himself. Jealous of the peace named for Nicias, he tricks the Spartan envoys into denying their full powers, makes Argos an ally, and sets an army against Sparta at Mantinea. His luxury and insolence trouble the city: he shuts up the painter Agatharchus, slaps Taureas, keeps a Melian captive, and backs the Melian massacre; Timon hails him as a great evil growing for them all.

13 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἔτι μειράκιον ὤν,
when and he-launched himself into the public-life still a-youth being
τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εὐθὺς ἐταπείνωσε δημαγωγούς, ἀγῶνα δ'
the indeed other at-once he-humbled popular-leaders a-contest and
εἶχε πρός τε Φαίακα τὸν Ἐρασιστράτου καὶ Νικίαν τὸν
had with both Phaeax — son-of-Erasistratus and Nicias —
Νικηράτου, τὸν μὲν ἤδη καθ' ἡλικίαν προήκοντα καὶ
son-of-Niceratus the-one indeed already in age advanced and
στρατηγὸν ἄριστον εἶναι δοκοῦντα, Φαίακα δ' ἀρχόμενον,
general best to-be seeming Phaeax and beginning
ὥσπερ αὐτός, αὐξάνεσθαι τότε καὶ γνωρίμων ὄντα πατέρων,
like himself to-grow then and of-notable being fathers
ἐλαττούμενον δὲ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τὸν λόγον.
being-inferior and in-the both other-things and in the speech
ἐντευκτικὸς γὰρ ἰδίᾳ καὶ πιθανὸς ἐδόκει μᾶλλον ἢ φέρειν
conversable for in-private and persuasive he-seemed rather than to-bear
ἀγῶνας ἐν δήμῳ δυνατός. ἦν γάρ, ὡς Εὔπολίς φησι,
contests in assembly able he-was for as Eupolis says

Λαλεῖν ἄριστος, ἀδυνατώτατος λέγειν.
to-chatter best most-incapable to-speak

φέρεται δὲ καὶ λόγος τις κατ᾽ Ἀλκιβιάδου ὑπὸ Φαίακος
is-current and also a-speech a-certain against Alcibiades by Phaeax
γεγραμμένος, ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γέγραπται καὶ
written in which with the other-things it-is-written also
ὅτι τῆς πόλεως πολλὰ πομπεῖα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ
that the city many processional-vessels gold and silver
κεκτημένης Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐχρῆτο πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἰδίοις
possessing Alcibiades used all them as-if his-own
πρὸς τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν δίαιταν.
for the by day life
Ἦν δέ τις Ὑπέρβολος Περιθοίδης, οὗ μέμνηται μὲν
there-was and a-certain Hyperbolus of-Perithoidae whom mentions indeed
ὡς ἀνθρώπου πονηροῦ καὶ Θουκυδίδης, τοῖς δὲ κωμικοῖς
as a-man wicked also Thucydides to-the and comic-poets
ὁμοῦ τι πᾶσι διατριβὴν ἀεὶ σκωπτόμενος ἐν τοῖς
nearly something all amusement always being-mocked in the
θεάτροις παρεῖχεν. ἄτρεπτος δὲ πρὸς τὸ κακῶς ἀκούειν
theaters he-gave unmoved and toward the badly to-be-spoken-of
καὶ ἀπαθὴς ὢν ὀλιγωρίᾳ δόξης, ἣν ἀναισχυντίαν καὶ
and insensible being from-contempt of-reputation which shamelessness and
ἀπόνοιαν οὖσαν εὐτολμίαν ἔνιοι καὶ ἀνδρείαν καλοῦσιν,
recklessness being daring some even courage call
οὐδενὶ μὲν ἤρεσκεν, ἐχρῆτο δ᾽ αὐτῷ πολλάκις ὁ δῆμος
to-no-one indeed he-was-pleasing used and him often the people
ἐπιθυμῶν προπηλακίζειν τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ συκοφαντεῖν.
desiring to-humiliate those in rank and to-slander
ἀναπεισθεὶς οὖν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τότε τὸ ὄστρακον ἐπιφέρειν
having-been-persuaded then by him then the sherd to-bring-against
ἔμελλεν, ᾧ κολούοντες ἀεὶ τὸν προὔχοντα δόξῃ
it-was-about by-which lopping always the one-preeminent in-reputation
καὶ δυνάμει τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλαύνουσι, παραμυθούμενοι τὸν
and power of-the citizens they-drive-out consoling the

φθόνον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν φόβον. ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι
envy rather than the fear when and clear it-was that
ἑνὶ τῶν τριῶν τὸ ὄστρακον ἐποίσουσι, συνήγαγε τὰς
on-one of-the three the sherd they-would-bring he-brought-together the
στάσεις εἰς ταὐτὸν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, καὶ διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν
factions into the-same — Alcibiades and having-conferred with —
Νικίαν κατὰ τοῦ Ὑπερβόλου τὴν ὀστρακοφορίαν ἔτρεψεν.
Nicias against — Hyperbolus the ostracism he-turned
Ὡς δ' ἔνιοί φασιν, οὐ πρὸς Νικίαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Φαίακα
as and some say not with Nicias but with Phaeax
διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου προσλαβὼν ἑταιρίαν ἐξήλασε τὸν
having-conferred and the his having-taken-in club he-drove-out —
Ὑπέρβολον οὐδ' ἂν προσδοκήσαντα. φαῦλος γὰρ οὐδεὶς
Hyperbolus not-even — expecting-it mean for no-one
ἐνέπιπτεν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κολασμὸν οὐδ' ἄδοξος, ὥς που
fell into this the punishment nor obscure as somewhere
καὶ Πλάτων ὁ κωμικὸς εἴρηκε τοῦ Ὑπερβόλου μνησθείς,
also Plato the comic-poet has-said — Hyperbolus mentioning

Καίτοι πέπραχε τῶν προτέρων μὲν ἄξια,
and-yet he-has-fared of-the earlier-men indeed worthily
αὑτοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν στιγμάτων ἀνάξια.
of-himself but and of-the brands unworthily
οὐ γὰρ τοιούτων εἵνεκ' ὄστραχ' εὑρέθη.
not for of-such for-the-sake sherds were-invented

περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐν ἑτέροις μᾶλλον εἴρηται τὰ
about indeed then these-things in other-works more is-said the
ἱστορούμενα.
things-recorded

Τὸν δ᾽ Ἀλκιβιάδην ὁ Νικίας οὐχ ἧττον ἠνία θαυμαζόμενος 14
— *and Alcibiades* — *Nicias not less vexed admired*
ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἢ τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν.
by the enemies than honored by the citizens
πρόξενος μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,
public-host indeed for was — Alcibiades of-the Lacedaemonians
καὶ τοὺς ἁλόντας αὐτῶν περὶ Πύλον ἄνδρας ἐθεράπευσεν·
and the captured of-them at Pylos men he-had-cared-for
ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐκεῖνοί τε διὰ Νικίου μάλιστα τῆς εἰρήνης
when and they both through Nicias most the peace
τυχόντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολαβόντες ὑπερηγάπων
having-obtained and the men having-recovered loved-exceedingly
αὐτόν, ἔν τε τοῖς Ἕλλησι λόγος ἦν ὡς Περικλέους μὲν
him among and the Greeks talk was that Pericles indeed
συνάψαντος αὐτοῖς, Νικίου δὲ λύσαντος τὸν πόλεμον, οἵ
having-joined for-them Nicias but having-ended the war the
τε πλεῖστοι τὴν εἰρήνην Νικίειον ὠνόμαζον, οὐ μετρίως
and most the peace Nician named not moderately
ἀνιώμενος ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ φθονῶν ἐβούλευε σύγχυσιν
being-vexed — Alcibiades and envying planned a-confounding
ὁρκίων. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀργείους αἰσθανόμενος μίσει
of-oaths and first indeed Argives perceiving from-hatred
καὶ φόβῳ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ζητοῦντας ἀποστροφήν,
and fear of-the Spartans seeking a-resort
ἐλπίδας αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου κρύφα τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίας,
hopes to-them he-offered secretly of-the of-Athenians alliance
καὶ παρεθάρρυνε πέμπων καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς προεστῶσι
and encouraged sending and conversing with-the leaders
τοῦ δήμου μὴ δεδιέναι μηδ᾽ ὑπείκειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀλλὰ
of-the people not to-fear nor to-yield to-Lacedaemonians but

πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τρέπεσθαι καὶ περιμένειν ὅσον οὐδέπω
toward Athenians to-turn and to-wait as-good-as all-but
μεταμελομένους καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀφιέντας.
repenting and the peace giving-up
Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρός τε τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἐποιήσαντο
when and Lacedaemonians with both the Boeotians made
συμμαχίαν καὶ Πάνακτον οὐχ ἑστός, ὥσπερ ἔδει, τοῖς
an-alliance and Panactum not standing as was-needful to-the
Ἀθηναίοις παρέδωκαν, ἀλλὰ καταλύσαντες, ὀργιζομένους
Athenians handed-over but having-demolished angry
λαβὼν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξετράχυνε, καὶ
having-found the Athenians still more he-exasperated and
τὸν Νικίαν ἐθορύβει καὶ διέβαλλεν εἰκότα κατηγορῶν,
— Nicias he-harassed and slandered plausible-things accusing
ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Σφακτηρίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποληφθέντας
that those in Sphacteria of-the enemies cut-off
αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξελεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν στρατηγῶν, ἑτέρων δ'
himself indeed to-take not was-willing being-general others and
ἐξελόντων ἀφῆκε καὶ ἀπέδωκε χαριζόμενος Λακεδαιμονίοις·
having-taken he-released and gave-back gratifying Lacedaemonians
εἶτ' ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἔπεισε φίλος ὢν Βοιωτοῖς μὴ
then them indeed not he-persuaded friend being to-Boeotians not
συνόμνυσθαι μηδὲ Κορινθίοις, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ κωλύει τὸν
to-swear-alliance nor to-Corinthians to-Athenians but he-prevents the
βουλόμενον τῶν Ἑλλήνων φίλον εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον, εἰ
one-wishing of-the Greeks friend to-be and ally if
μὴ δόξειε Λακεδαιμονίοις.
not it-should-seem-good to-Lacedaemonians
Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κακῶς φερομένῳ τῷ Νικίᾳ παρῆσαν ὥσπερ
from and this badly faring — to-Nicias came as-if
κατὰ τύχην πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, αὐτόθεν τε
by chance envoys from — Lacedaemon from-the-start both

λόγους ἐπιεικεῖς ἔχοντες καὶ πρὸς πᾶν τὸ συμβιβαστικὸν
proposals reasonable having and for every the conciliatory
καὶ δίκαιον αὐτοκράτορες ἥκειν φάσκοντες. ἀποδεξαμένης
and just with-full-powers to-have-come saying having-received-them
δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, τοῦ δὲ δήμου τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μέλλοντος
and the council the and people on-the next-day being-about
ἐκκλησιάζειν, δείσας ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης διεπράξατο τοὺς
to-hold-assembly having-feared — Alcibiades contrived the
πρέσβεις ἐν λόγοις γενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ συνῆλθον
envoys into conference to-come with him when and they-met
ἔλεγε· "Τί πεπόνθατε, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιᾶται; πῶς ἔλαθεν
he-said what has-happened-to-you men Spartans how has-it-escaped
ὑμᾶς ὅτι τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀεὶ μέτρια καὶ φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς
you that the of-the council always moderate and humane toward
τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντάς ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος μέγα φρονεῖ καὶ
those dealing-with is the but people greatly is-proud and
μεγάλων ὀρέγεται; κἂν φάσκητε κύριοι πάντων ἀφῖχθαι,
great-things grasps and-if you-say masters of-all to-have-come
προστάττων καὶ βιαζόμενος ἀγνωμονήσει. φέρε δή, τὴν
ordering and forcing it-will-be-unreasonable come now the
εὐήθειαν ταύτην ἀφέντες, εἰ βούλεσθε χρήσασθαι μετρίοις
simplicity this having-given-up if you-wish to-deal with-moderate
Ἀθηναίοις καὶ μηδὲν ἐκβιασθῆναι παρὰ γνώμην, οὕτω
Athenians and nothing to-be-forced against judgment so
διαλέγεσθε περὶ τῶν δικαίων ὡς οὐκ ὄντες αὐτοκράτορες.
discuss about the just-terms as not being with-full-powers
συμπράξομεν δ' ἡμεῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις χαριζόμενοι." ταῦτα
will-cooperate and we Lacedaemonians gratifying these-things
δ' εἰπὼν ὅρκους ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ μετέστησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ
and having-said oaths he-gave to-them and drew-them-away from —

Νικίου, παντάπασι πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ καὶ θαυμάζοντας ἅμα
Nicias altogether trusting him and admiring at-once
τὴν δεινότητα καὶ σύνεσιν, ὡς οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος ἀνδρὸς οὖσαν.
the cleverness and intelligence as not of-the chance man being
Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ συνήχθη μὲν ὁ δῆμος, εἰσῆλθον δ'
on-the and next-day was-assembled indeed the people came-in and
οἱ πρέσβεις. ἐρωτώμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου πάνυ
the envoys being-asked and by — Alcibiades very
φιλανθρώπως ἐφ' οἷς ἀφιγμένοι τυγχάνουσιν, οὐκ
kindly on what-terms having-come they-happen not
ἔφασαν ἥκειν αὐτοκράτορες. εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης
they-said to-have-come with-full-powers at-once then — Alcibiades
ἐνέκειτο μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ ὀργῆς, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀδικῶν, ἀλλ'
pressed-on with shouting and anger as-if not wronging but
ἀδικούμενος, ἀπίστους καὶ παλιμβόλους ἀποκαλῶν καὶ
being-wronged faithless and fickle calling and
μηδὲν ὑγιὲς μήτε πρᾶξαι μήτ' εἰπεῖν ἥκοντας, ἐπηγανάκτει
nothing sound either to-do or to-say having-come was-indignant
δ' ἡ βουλή, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐχαλέπαινε, τὸν δὲ Νικίαν
and the council and the people was-angry — and Nicias
ἔκπληξις εἶχε καὶ κατήφεια τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς μεταβολῆς,
consternation held and dejection of-the men of-the change
ἀγνοοῦντα τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ τὸν δόλον.
not-knowing the deceit and the trick
Οὕτω δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκπεσόντων, στρατηγὸς
so and the Lacedaemonians having-been-thrown-out general
ἀποδειχθεὶς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης εὐθὺς Ἀργείους καὶ Μαντινεῖς
having-been-appointed — Alcibiades at-once Argives and Mantineans
καὶ Ἠλείους συμμάχους ἐποίησε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ
and Eleans allies made for-the Athenians and
τὸν μὲν τρόπον οὐδεὶς τῆς πράξεως ἐπῄνει, μέγα δ'
the indeed manner no-one of-the action praised great but

ἦν τὸ πεπραγμένον ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, διαστῆσαι καὶ κραδᾶναι
was the achieved by him to-split and to-shake
Πελοπόννησον ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασαν, καὶ τοσαύτας ἀσπίδας
Peloponnesus of-little to-lack all and so-many shields
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ περὶ Μαντίνειαν ἀντιτάξαι Λακεδαιμονίοις,
on day one at Mantinea to-array-against Lacedaemonians
καὶ πορρωτάτω τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀγῶνα κατασκευάσαι καὶ
and farthest — from-Athens a-contest to-contrive and
κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς, ἐν ᾧ μέγα μὲν οὐδὲν ἡ νίκη προσέθηκε
danger for-them in which great indeed nothing the victory added
κρατήσασιν, εἰ δ᾽ ἐσφάλησαν, ἔργον ἦν τὴν Λακεδαίμονα
to-the-victors if but they-failed a-task it-was — Lacedaemon
περιγενέσθαι.
to-survive

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ἐπέθεντο καταλύειν ἐν
after and the battle at-once undertook to-overthrow in
Ἄργει τὸν δῆμον οἱ χίλιοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπήκοον
Argos the democracy the thousand and the city subject
ποιεῖν· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ παραγενόμενοι κατέλυσαν τὴν
to-make Lacedaemonians and having-come overthrew the
δημοκρατίαν. αὖθις δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ἐξενεγκαμένων τὰ
democracy again and the many having-brought-out the
ὅπλα καὶ κρατησάντων, ἐπελθὼν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τήν τε
arms and having-prevailed having-come — Alcibiades the both
νίκην ἐβεβαίωσε τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη συνέπεισε
victory confirmed for-the people and the long walls persuaded
καθεῖναι καὶ προσμίξαντας τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὴν πόλιν ἐξάψαι
to-let-down and having-joined to-the sea the city to-attach
παντάπασι τῆς Ἀθηναίων δυνάμεως. καὶ τέκτονας καὶ
altogether to-the of-Athenians power and carpenters and
λιθουργοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐκόμισε καὶ πᾶσαν ἐνεδείκνυτο
stone-masons from — Athens he-brought and all displayed

προθυμίαν, οὐχ ἧττον ἑαυτῷ κτώμενος ἢ τῇ πόλει χάριν
zeal no less for-himself acquiring than for-the city favor
καὶ ἰσχύν. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ Πατρεῖς ὁμοίως τείχεσι μακροῖς
and strength he-persuaded and also Patreans likewise with-walls long
συνάψαι τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὴν πόλιν. εἰπόντος δέ τινος τοῖς
to-join to-the sea the city having-said and a-certain-man to-the
Πατρεῦσιν ὅτι "καταπιοῦνται ὑμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι·" "Ἴσως,"
Patreans that will-swallow you Athenians perhaps
εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, "κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πόδας,
said — Alcibiades by little and by the feet
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀθρόως."
Lacedaemonians but by the head and all-at-once
Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γῆς συνεβούλευεν ἀντέχεσθαι τοῖς
not indeed but also of-the land he-advised to-cling to-the
Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀγραύλου προβαλλόμενον ἀεὶ τοῖς
Athenians and the in Agraulos' proposed always to-the
ἐφήβοις ὅρκον ἔργῳ βεβαιοῦν. ὀμνύουσι γὰρ ὅροις
young-men oath in-deed to-confirm they-swear for as-boundaries
χρήσασθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς πυροῖς, κριθαῖς, ἀμπέλοις, ἐλαίαις,
to-use — of-Attica wheat barley vines olives
οἰκείαν ποιεῖσθαι διδασκόμενοι τὴν ἥμερον καὶ καρποφόρον.
own-land to-make being-taught the cultivated and fruitful
16 Ἐν δὲ τοιούτοις πολιτεύμασι καὶ λόγοις καὶ φρονήματι
in and such policies and words and spirit
καὶ δεινότητι πολλὴν αὖ πάλιν τὴν τρυφὴν τῆς
and cleverness much in-turn again the luxury of-the
διαίτης καὶ περὶ πότους καὶ ἔρωτας ὑβρίσματα, καὶ
way-of-life and about drinking-bouts and loves outrages and
θηλύτητας ἐσθήτων ἁλουργῶν ἑλκομένων δι' ἀγορᾶς,
effeminacies of-clothes purple trailing through market-place
καὶ πολυτέλειαν ὑπερήφανον, ἐκτομάς τε καταστρωμάτων
and extravagance arrogant cuttings both of-decks

ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσιν, ὅπως μαλακώτερον ἐγκαθεύδοι, κειρίαις,
in the triremes so-that more-softly he-might-sleep on-girths
ἀλλὰ μὴ σανίσι, τῶν στρωμάτων ἐπιβαλλομένων, ἀσπίδος
but not on-planks the bedding being-laid-on of-a-shield
τε διαχρύσου ποίησιν οὐδὲν ἐπίσημον τῶν πατρίων
and gilded making no device of-the ancestral
ἔχουσαν, ἀλλ᾽ Ἔρωτα κεραυνοφόρον, ἅπερ ὁρῶντες οἱ μὲν
having but Eros thunderbolt-bearing which seeing the indeed
ἔνδοξοι μετὰ τοῦ βδελύττεσθαι καὶ δυσχεραίνειν ἐφοβοῦντο
reputable with the to-loathe and to-be-annoyed feared
τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ παρανομίαν, ὡς τυραννικὰ καὶ
the contempt his and lawlessness as tyrannical and
ἀλλόκοτα, τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὸ πάθος τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐ
strange of-the and people the feeling the toward him not
κακῶς ἐξηγούμενος ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης ταῦτ᾽ εἴρηκε·
badly explaining — Aristophanes these-things has-said

Ποθεῖ μέν, ἐχθαίρει δέ, βούλεται δ᾽ ἔχειν,
it-longs-for indeed hates but wishes and to-have

ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ ὑπονοίᾳ πιέζων·
still and more with-the innuendo pressing

Μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μὴ ᾽ν πόλει τρέφειν·
best indeed a-lion not in city to-rear
ἢν δ᾽ ἐκτρέφῃ τις, τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν.
if but rears one with-the ways to-comply

ἐπιδόσεις γὰρ καὶ χορηγίαι καὶ φιλοτιμήματα πρὸς τὴν
contributions for and choregies and munificences toward the
πόλιν ὑπερβολὴν μὴ ἀπολείποντα καὶ δόξα προγόνων
city excess not leaving and glory of-ancestors

καὶ λόγου δύναμις καὶ σώματος εὐπρέπεια καὶ ῥώμη μετ᾽
and of-speech power and of-body comeliness and strength with
ἐμπειρίας τῶν πολεμικῶν καὶ ἀλκῆς πάντα τἆλλα
experience of-the warlike-arts and prowess all the-other-things
συγχωρεῖν ἐποίει καὶ φέρειν μετρίως τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀεὶ
to-allow made and to-bear moderately the Athenians always
τὰ πραότατα τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι τιθεμένους,
the mildest of-the names to-the faults giving
παιδιὰς καὶ φιλοτιμίας.
pranks and ambitions
Οἷον ἦν καὶ τὸ Ἀγάθαρχον εἶρξαι τὸν ζωγράφον,
such-as was also the Agatharchus to-have-shut-up the painter
εἶτα γράψαντα τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφεῖναι δωρησάμενον· καὶ
then having-painted the house to-have-released-him having-rewarded and
Ταυρέαν ἀντιχορηγοῦντα ῥαπίσαι φιλοτιμούμενον ὑπὲρ
Taureas rival-choregus to-have-slapped striving for
τῆς νίκης· καὶ τὸ Μηλίαν γυναῖκα ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων
the victory and the a-Melian woman from the captives
ἐξελόμενον καὶ συνόντα θρέψαι παιδάριον ἐξ αὐτῆς.
having-taken-out and living-with to-have-reared a-little-child from her
καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο φιλάνθρωπον ἐκάλουν· πλὴν ὅτι τοὺς
and for this humane they-called except that the
Μηλίους ἡβηδὸν ἀποσφαγῆναι τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν ἔσχε,
Melians all-grown-up to-be-slaughtered the most blame he-had
τῷ ψηφίσματι συνειπών.
for-the decree having-spoken-for
Ἀριστοφῶντος δὲ Νεμέαν γράψαντος ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις
Aristophon and Nemea having-painted in the arms
αὐτῆς καθήμενον Ἀλκιβιάδην ἔχουσαν, ἐθεῶντο καὶ
her sitting Alcibiades holding they-gazed and
συνέτρεχον χαίροντες. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τούτοις
ran-together rejoicing the but older-men also at-these

ἐδυσχέραινον ὡς τυραννικοῖς καὶ παρανόμοις. ἐδόκει δὲ
were-displeased as tyrannical and lawless it-seemed and
καὶ Ἀρχέστρατος οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου λέγειν ὡς ἡ Ἑλλὰς
also Archestratus not from manner to-say that — Greece
οὐκ ἂν ἤνεγκε δύο Ἀλκιβιάδας.
not — would-have-borne two Alcibiadeses
Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τίμων ὁ μισάνθρωπος εὐημερήσαντα τὸν
when and Timon the misanthrope having-prospered —
Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ προπεμπόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
Alcibiades and being-escorted from the assembly
ἐπιφανῶς οὐ παρῆλθεν οὐδ' ἐξέκλινεν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει
conspicuously not passed-by nor avoided as he-was-accustomed
τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλ' ἀπαντήσας καὶ δεξιωσάμενος, "Εὖ γ'," ἔφη,
the others but having-met-him and having-greeted well at-least he-said
"ποιεῖς αὐξόμενος, ὦ παῖ· μέγα γὰρ αὔξῃ κακὸν ἅπασι τούτοις,"
you-do growing O boy great for you-grow an-evil for-all these-men
οἱ μὲν ἐγέλων, οἱ δ' ἐβλασφήμουν, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ πάνυ τὸ λεχθὲν
the some laughed the others reviled some and also very the saying
ἐπέστρεφεν. οὕτως ἄκριτος ἦν ἡ δόξα περὶ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀνωμαλίαν.
made-think so undecided was the opinion about him because-of the of-the nature unevenness

Alcibiades fires the Athenians' dream of Sicily, Carthage, and Libya, while Socrates and the astronomer Meton foresee disaster. He is elected general with Nicias and Lamachus. Before the sailing come the mourning of the Adonia and the mutilation of the Herms; Androcles brings informers against him, and his enemies let him sail, to try him later. He takes Rhegium and wins over Catana, and is then summoned home for trial, while the people jail the accused untried, though one informer claims to have seen the culprits by a moon that was not shining.

17 Σικελίας δὲ καὶ Περικλέους ἔτι ζῶντος ἐπεθύμουν
Sicily and even Pericles still living desired
Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἥπτοντο, καὶ τὰς
Athenians and having-died they-laid-hands-on-it and the
λεγομένας βοηθείας καὶ συμμαχίας ἔπεμπον ἑκάστοτε τοῖς
so-called reinforcements and alliances they-sent each-time to-those
ἀδικουμένοις ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων ἐπιβάθρας τῆς μείζονος
being-wronged by Syracusans gangways of-the greater
στρατείας τιθέντες. ὁ δὲ παντάπασι τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦτον
expedition laying the-one and altogether the passion this
ἀναφλέξας αὐτῶν, καὶ πείσας μὴ κατὰ μέρος μηδὲ
having-inflamed their and having-persuaded not by part nor
κατὰ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ πλεύσαντας ἐπιχειρεῖν
by little but with-a-great fleet having-sailed to-attempt
καὶ καταστρέφεσθαι τὴν νῆσον, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἦν, τόν τε
and to-subdue the island Alcibiades was the both
δῆμον μεγάλα πείσας ἐλπίζειν, αὐτός τε μειζόνων
people great-things having-persuaded to-hope he-himself and greater-things
ὀρεγόμενος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ εἶναι, πρὸς ἃ ἠλπίκει, διενοεῖτο
grasping beginning for to-be toward what he-had-hoped he-considered
τῆς στρατείας, οὐ τέλος, ὥσπερ οἱ λοιποί, Σικελίαν.
of-the expedition not end like the others Sicily

καὶ Νικίας μὲν ὡς χαλεπὸν ἔργον ὂν τὰς Συρακούσας
and Nicias indeed as a-hard task being — Syracuse
ἑλεῖν ἀπέτρεπε τὸν δῆμον, Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ Καρχηδόνα
to-take tried-to-dissuade the people Alcibiades but Carthage
καὶ Λιβύην ὀνειροπολῶν, ἐκ δὲ τούτων προσγενομένων
and Libya dreaming-of from and these having-been-added
Ἰταλίαν καὶ Πελοπόννησον ἤδη περιβαλλόμενος, ὀλίγου
Italy and Peloponnesus already embracing of-little
δεῖν ἐφόδια τοῦ πολέμου Σικελίαν ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ τοὺς μὲν
to-lack provisions of-the war Sicily he-made and the indeed
νέους αὐτόθεν εἶχεν ἤδη ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπηρμένους, τῶν
young-men from-the-start he-had already by-the hopes elated of-the
δὲ πρεσβυτέρων ἠκροῶντο πολλὰ θαυμάσια περὶ τῆς
and older-men they-listened-to many wonderful-things about the
στρατείας περαινόντων, ὥστε πολλοὺς ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις
expedition relating so-that many in the wrestling-schools
καὶ τοῖς ἡμικυκλίοις καθέζεσθαι τῆς τε νήσου τὸ σχῆμα
and the half-circles to-sit the both island the shape
καὶ θέσιν Λιβύης καὶ Καρχηδόνος ὑπογράφοντας.
and position of-Libya and of-Carthage sketching
Σωκράτη μέντοι τὸν φιλόσοφον καὶ Μέτωνα τὸν
Socrates however the philosopher and Meton the
ἀστρολόγον οὐδὲν ἐλπίσαι τῇ πόλει χρηστὸν ἀπὸ τῆς
astronomer nothing to-have-hoped for-the city good from the
στρατείας ἐκείνης λέγουσιν, ὁ μέν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ
expedition that they-say the-one indeed as it-seems the
συνήθους δαιμονίου γενομένου καὶ προσημαίνοντος, ὁ δὲ
customary divine-sign having-come and forewarning — and
Μέτων εἴτε δείσας ἐκ λογισμοῦ τὸ μέλλον εἴτε μαντικῆς
Meton whether having-feared from reasoning the future or of-divination
τινι τρόπῳ χρησάμενος ἐσκήψατο μεμηνέναι, καὶ λαβὼν
some manner having-used pretended to-be-mad and having-taken

δᾷδα καιομένην οἷος ἦν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ὑφάπτειν. ἔνιοι
a-torch burning such-as he-was his-own the house to-set-fire-to some
δέ φασι προσποίημα μὲν μανίας μηδὲν ἐσκευάσθαι τὸν
and say pretense indeed of-madness no to-have-been-contrived —
Μέτωνα, καταπρῆσαι δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν νύκτωρ, εἶθ' ἕωθεν
Meton to-have-burned and the house by-night then at-dawn
προελθόντα δεῖσθαι καὶ ἀντιβολεῖν ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τηλικαύτῃ
having-come-forward to-beg and to-entreat for misfortune so-great
τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ παρεθῆναι τῆς στρατείας. ἐκεῖνος μὲν
the son to-him to-be-excused from-the expedition he indeed
οὖν ἔτυχεν ὧν ἠξίου, παρακρουσάμενος τοὺς πολίτας.
then obtained what he-asked having-deceived the citizens
18 Ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἄκων μὲν ᾑρέθη στρατηγός, οὐχ ἥκιστα τὴν
— and Nicias unwilling indeed was-chosen general not least the
ἀρχὴν καὶ διὰ τὸν συνάρχοντα φεύγων· ἐφαίνετο γὰρ
command also because-of the colleague shunning it-appeared for
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ τοῦ πολέμου βέλτιον ἕξειν μὴ προεμένοις
to-the Athenians the of-the war better to-fare not having-let-go
τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἄκρατον, ἀλλὰ μιχθείσης πρὸς τὴν
— Alcibiades unmixed but having-been-mixed with the
τόλμαν αὐτοῦ τῆς Νικίου προνοίας· καὶ γὰρ ὁ τρίτος
daring his the of-Nicias forethought and for the third
στρατηγὸς Λάμαχος ἡλικίᾳ προήκων ὅμως ἐδόκει μηδὲν
general Lamachus in-age advanced nevertheless seemed no
ἧττον εἶναι τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου διάπυρος καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος ἐν
less to-be — than-Alcibiades fiery and danger-loving in
τοῖς ἀγῶσι· βουλευομένων δὲ περὶ πλήθους καὶ τρόπου
the contests deliberating and about number and manner
παρασκευῆς ἐπεχείρησεν αὖθις ὁ Νικίας ἐνίστασθαι καὶ
of-equipment attempted again — Nicias to-oppose and
καταπαύειν τὸν πόλεμον. ἀντειπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου
to-stop the war having-spoken-against and — Alcibiades

καὶ κρατήσαντος, ἔγραψε τῶν ῥητόρων Δημόστρατος καὶ
and having-prevailed proposed of-the orators Demostratus and
εἶπεν ὡς χρὴ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αὐτοκράτορας εἶναι
said that it-is-needful the generals with-full-powers to-be
καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τοῦ πολέμου παντός.
both of-the equipment and of-the war whole
Ἐπιψηφισαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ γενομένων ἑτοίμων
having-voted-for and the people and having-become ready
πάντων πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλουν, οὐ χρηστὰ παρῆν οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς
everything for the sailing not good-things were-present not-even the of-the
ἑορτῆς. Ἀδωνίων γὰρ εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας καθηκόντων
festival the-Adonia for into the days those falling
εἴδωλα πολλαχοῦ νεκροῖς ἐκκομιζομένοις ὅμοια προὔκειντο
images in-many-places to-corpses being-carried-out like were-set-out
ταῖς γυναιξί, καὶ ταφὰς ἐμιμοῦντο κοπτόμεναι, καὶ θρήνους
by-the women and burials they-imitated beating-their-breasts and laments
ᾖδον. ἡ μέντοι τῶν Ἑρμῶν περικοπή, μιᾷ νυκτὶ τῶν
sang the however of-the Herms mutilation in-one night the
πλείστων ἀκρωτηριασθέντων τὰ πρόσωπα, πολλοὺς καὶ
most having-been-mutilated the faces many even
τῶν περιφρονούντων τὰ τοιαῦτα διετάραξεν. ἐλέχθη μὲν
of-those despising the such-things disturbed it-was-said indeed
οὖν ὅτι Κορίνθιοι διὰ τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἀποίκους ὄντας,
then that Corinthians because-of the Syracusans colonists being
ὡς ἐπισχέσεως ἐσομένης πρὸς τῶν οἰωνῶν ἢ μεταγνώσεως
as delay going-to-be from the omens or change-of-mind
τοῦ πολέμου, ταῦτα δράσειαν. οὐ μὴν ἥπτετό γε τῶν
about-the war these-things did not indeed touched at-least the
πολλῶν οὔθ' οὗτος ὁ λόγος οὔθ' ὁ τῶν σημεῖον δεινὸν
many neither this the account nor that of-those sign terrible
εἶναι μηδὲν οἰομένων, ἀλλ' οἷα φιλεῖ φέρειν ἄκρατος
to-be nothing thinking but such-as is-wont to-bring unmixed-wine

ἀκολάστων νέων εἰς ὕβριν ἐκ παιδιᾶς ὑποφερομένων·
of-licentious young-men into outrage from play carried-away
ὀργῇ δ' ἅμα καὶ φόβῳ τὸ γεγονὸς λαμβάνοντες ὡς
with-anger and at-once and fear the happening taking as
ἀπὸ συνωμοσίας ἐπὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις τετολμημένον,
from a-conspiracy for affairs great dared
ἅπασαν ἐξήταζον ὑπόνοιαν πικρῶς ἥ τε βουλὴ συνιοῦσα
every they-examined suspicion bitterly the both council meeting
περὶ τούτων καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πολλάκις.
about these-things and the people in few days often
19 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ δούλους τινὰς καὶ μετοίκους προήγαγεν
in and this slaves some and resident-aliens brought-forward
Ἀνδροκλῆς ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἄλλων τε ἀγαλμάτων περικοπὰς
Androcles the popular-leader of-other both statues mutilations
καὶ μυστηρίων παρ' οἶνον ἀπομιμήσεις τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ
and of-mysteries over wine imitations — Alcibiades and
τῶν φίλων κατηγοροῦντας. ἔλεγον δὲ Θεόδωρον μέν τινα
of-the friends accusing they-said and Theodorus indeed a-certain
δρᾶν τὰ τοῦ κήρυκος, Πουλυτίωνα δὲ τὰ τοῦ δᾳδούχου,
to-perform the of-the herald Polytion and the of-the torch-bearer
τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους
the and of-the hierophant — Alcibiades the and other
ἑταίρους παρεῖναι καὶ μυεῖσθαι μύστας προσαγορευομένους.
companions to-be-present and to-be-initiated initiates being-called
ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ εἰσαγγελίᾳ γέγραπται Θεσσαλοῦ τοῦ
these-things for in the impeachment is-written Thessalus —
Κίμωνος εἰσαγγείλαντος Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀσεβεῖν περὶ
son-of-Cimon having-impeached Alcibiades to-commit-impiety concerning
τὼ θεώ. τραχυνομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πικρῶς πρὸς
the two-goddesses being-exasperated and the people and bitterly toward
Ἀλκιβιάδην ἔχοντος, καὶ τοῦ Ἀνδροκλέους (ἦν γὰρ οὗτος
Alcibiades being-disposed and — Androcles was for this-man

ἐχθρὸς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου) παροξύνοντος,
enemy among the most — of-Alcibiades inciting
ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐταράχθησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.
in beginning indeed were-troubled those about — Alcibiades
αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τούς τε ναύτας, ὅσοι πλεῖν ἔμελλον
having-perceived but the both sailors as-many-as to-sail were-about
εἰς Σικελίαν, εὔνους ὄντας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικόν,
to Sicily well-disposed being to-them and the soldiery
Ἀργείων δὲ καὶ Μαντινέων χιλίων ὄντων ὁπλιτῶν
of-Argives and and of-Mantineans a-thousand being hoplites
ἀκούοντες ἀναφανδὸν λεγόντων ὡς δι' Ἀλκιβιάδην
hearing openly saying that because-of Alcibiades
στρατεύοιντο διαπόντιον καὶ μακρὰν στρατείαν, ἐὰν δέ τις
they-were-serving overseas and long expedition if but anyone
ἀγνωμονῇ περὶ τοῦτον, εὐθὺς ἀποστήσεσθαι, ἀνεθάρρουν
treat-unfairly about this-man at-once to-withdraw they-took-courage
καὶ παρίσταντο τῷ καιρῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ὥστε τοὺς
and stood-forward at-the occasion for the defense so-that the
ἐχθροὺς πάλιν ἀθυμεῖν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ περὶ τὴν κρίσιν
enemies again to-lose-heart and to-fear lest about the trial
ὁ δῆμος ἀμβλύτερος αὐτῷ γένηται διὰ τὴν χρείαν.
the people more-lenient to-him become because-of the need
Πρὸς ταῦτ' οὖν τεχνάζουσι τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς οὐ
against these-things then they-contrive of-the orators those not
δοκοῦντας ἐχθροὺς τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, μισοῦντας δὲ αὐτὸν
seeming enemies — of-Alcibiades hating but him
οὐχ ἧττον τῶν ὁμολογούντων, ἀνισταμένους ἐν τῷ
not less than-those admitting-it standing-up in the
δήμῳ λέγειν ὡς ἄτοπόν ἐστιν αὐτοκράτορι στρατηγῷ
people to-say that absurd it-is for-one-with-full-powers general
τηλικαύτης ἀποδεδειγμένῳ δυνάμεως, ἠθροισμένης στρατιᾶς
of-so-great appointed force assembled army

καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, μεταξὺ κληροῦντας δικαστήριον καὶ
and the allies meanwhile allotting a-jury and
ὕδωρ διαμετροῦντας ἀπολλύναι τὸν καιρόν· "Ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν
water measuring-out to-lose the opportunity but now indeed
ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ πλεέτω, τοῦ δὲ πολέμου διαπραχθέντος ἐπὶ
with-good luck let-him-sail of-the and war having-been-accomplished on
τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις ἀπολογείσθω παρών." οὐκ ἐλάνθανε μὲν
the same laws let-him-defend-himself being-present not escaped indeed
οὖν ἡ κακοήθεια τῆς ἀναβολῆς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, ἀλλ' ἔλεγε
then the malice of-the postponement — Alcibiades but he-said
παριὼν ὡς δεινόν ἐστιν αἰτίας ἀπολιπόντα καθ' ἑαυτοῦ
coming-forward that terrible it-is charges having-left against himself
καὶ διαβολὰς ἐκπέμπεσθαι μετέωρον ἐπὶ τοσαύτης
and slanders to-be-sent-out in-suspense at-the-head-of so-great
δυνάμεως· ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ προσήκειν μὴ λύσαντι τὰς
a-force to-die for to-befit not having-refuted the
κατηγορίας, λύσαντι δὲ καὶ φανέντι καθαρῷ τρέπεσθαι
accusations having-refuted but and having-appeared pure to-turn
πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ δεδοικότι τοὺς συκοφάντας.
to the enemies not fearing the informers
20 Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ πλεῖν ἐκέλευον αὐτόν, ἀνήχθη
when and not he-persuaded but to-sail they-bade him he-put-to-sea
μετὰ τῶν συστρατήγων ἔχων τριήρεις μὲν οὐ πολλῷ
with the fellow-generals having triremes indeed not by-much
τῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀποδεούσας, ὁπλίτας δὲ
of-the forty and a-hundred falling-short hoplites and
πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἑκατόν, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας
five-thousand and a-hundred archers and and slingers
καὶ ψιλοὺς περὶ τριακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
and light-armed about three-hundred and a-thousand and the other
παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον. προσβαλὼν δ' Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Ῥήγιον
equipment considerable having-touched and at-Italy and Rhegium

ἑλών, εἰσηγήσατο γνώμην ὅτῳ τρόπῳ πολεμητέον ἐστί.
having-taken he-proposed a-plan in-what manner war-must-be-made it-is
καὶ Νικίου μὲν ἀντιλέγοντος, Λαμάχου δὲ προσθεμένου,
and Nicias indeed opposing Lamachus but supporting
πλεύσας εἰς Σικελίαν προσηγάγετο Κατάνην, ἄλλο δὲ
having-sailed to Sicily he-won-over Catana other and
οὐδὲν ἔπραξε μετάπεμπτος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τὴν
nothing he-did summoned by the Athenians for the
κρίσιν εὐθὺς γενόμενος.
trial at-once having-been
Πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ψυχραί τινες ὑποψίαι
first indeed for as has-been-said vague some suspicions
καὶ διαβολαὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου προσέπιπτον ἀπὸ
and slanders against — Alcibiades fell-upon from
δούλων καὶ μετοίκων· ἔπειτα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπόντος
slaves and resident-aliens then the enemies being-absent
αὐτοῦ καθαπτομένων σφοδρότερον, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς
him attacking more-vehemently and the about the
Ἑρμᾶς ὑβρίσμασι καὶ τὰ μυστικὰ συμπλεκόντων, ὡς
Herms outrages and the mystic-things combining as
ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ συνωμοσίας πεπραγμένα, τοὺς
from one for revolution conspiracy done those
μὲν ὁπωσοῦν ἐπαιτιαθέντας ἐνέβαλλον ἀκρίτους
indeed in-any-way-whatever accused they-threw untried
εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ἤχθοντο δὲ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην μὴ
into the prison they-were-vexed and — Alcibiades not
λαβόντες ὑπὸ τὰς ψήφους τότε μηδὲ κρίναντες ἐπ᾽ αἰτίαις
having-taken under the votes then nor having-tried on charges
τηλικαύταις. ὁ δὲ τῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὀργῇ παραπεσὼν
so-great the and in-the toward that-one anger having-fallen
οἰκεῖος ἢ φίλος ἢ συνήθης χαλεπωτέροις αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσατο.
kinsman or friend or acquaintance harsher them found

τοὺς δὲ μηνύσαντας ὁ μὲν Θουκυδίδης ὀνομάσαι παρῆκεν,
the and informers — indeed Thucydides to-name omitted
ἄλλοι δ' ὀνομάζουσι Διοκλείδαν καὶ Τεῦκρον, ὧν καὶ
others and name Diocleides and Teucrus of-whom also
Φρύνιχός ἐστιν ὁ κωμικὸς ταυτὶ πεποιηκώς·
Phrynichus is the comic-poet these-lines having-made

Ὦ φίλταθ' Ἑρμῆ, καὶ φυλάσσου, μὴ πεσὼν
O dearest Hermes also take-care lest having-fallen
αὑτὸν παρακρούσῃ καὶ παράσχῃς διαβολὴν
yourself you-crack and give occasion-of-slander
ἑτέρῳ Διοκλείδᾳ βουλομένῳ κακόν τι δρᾶν.
to-another Diocleides wishing evil some to-do

καί·
and

Φυλάξομαι· Τεύκρῳ γὰρ οὐχὶ βούλομαι
I-will-take-care to-Teucrus for not I-wish
μήνυτρα δοῦναι, τῷ παλαμναίῳ ξένῳ.
reward-for-informing to-give to-the blood-guilty stranger

Καίτοι βέβαιον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἰσχυρὸν οἱ μηνύοντες ἐδείκνυσαν.
and-yet sure nothing nor strong the informers showed
εἷς δ' αὐτῶν ἐρωτώμενος ὅπως τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν
one and of-them being-asked how the faces of-the
Ἑρμοκοπιδῶν γνωρίσειε, καὶ ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι πρὸς τὴν
Herm-mutilators be-recognized and having-answered that by the
σελήνην, ἐσφάλη τοῦ παντός, ἔνης καὶ νέας οὔσης ὅτε
moon was-wrong in-the whole of-the-old and new being when
ταῦτ' ἐδρᾶτο· ὃ θόρυβον μὲν παρέσχε τοῖς νοῦν
these-things were-done which confusion indeed caused to-those sense

ἔχουσι, τὸν δῆμον δ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο μαλακώτερον ἐποίησε
having the people but not-even this more-lenient made
πρὸς τὰς διαβολάς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὥρμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς,
toward the slanders but as it-rushed from the-beginning
οὐκ ἐπαύσατο φέρων καὶ ἐμβάλλων εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον
not it-stopped carrying-off and throwing into the prison
οὗ τις κατείποι.
whomever anyone denounced

VI · EXILE IN SPARTA

Andocides saves himself by informing, and the Herm before his house stays whole. Recalled by the Salaminia, Alcibiades escapes at Thurii, is condemned to death in his absence, and is cursed by the priests, though the priestess Theano refuses. At Sparta he urges help for Syracuse, sending Gylippus, and the fortifying of Decelea, and wins the Spartans by his plain living, changing like a chameleon. He seduces King Agis' wife Timaea, whose son Leotychides is denied the throne, stirs Ionia to revolt, and, fearing Agis, goes over to Tisaphernes.

Τῶν οὖν δεθέντων καὶ φυλαττομένων ἐπὶ κρίσει τότε καὶ 21
of-those then imprisoned and guarded for trial then also
Ἀνδοκίδης ἦν ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὃν Ἑλλάνικος ὁ συγγραφεὺς εἰς
Andocides was the orator whom Hellanicus the historian to
τοὺς Ὀδυσσέως ἀπογόνους ἀνήγαγεν. ἐδόκει δὲ μισόδημος
the of-Odysseus descendants traced seemed and people-hating
καὶ ὀλιγαρχικὸς ὁ Ἀνδοκίδης, ὕποπτον δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῆς
and oligarchic — Andocides suspected and not least of-the
τῶν Ἑρμῶν περικοπῆς ἐποίησεν ὁ μέγας Ἑρμῆς, ὁ πλησίον
of-the Herms mutilation made-him the great Herm the near
αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκίας ἀνάθημα τῆς Αἰγηΐδος φυλῆς ἱδρυμένος·
of-his the house a-dedication of-the Aegeid tribe set-up

ἐν γὰρ ὀλίγοις πάνυ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν μόνος σχεδὸν
among for few very of-the notable alone almost
ἀκέραιος ἔμεινε· διὸ καὶ νῦν Ἀνδοκίδου καλεῖται, καὶ
unharmed remained wherefore also now of-Andocides it-is-called and
πάντες οὕτως ὀνομάζουσι τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀντιμαρτυρούσης.
all so name-it the inscription testifying-against
Συνέβη δὲ τῷ Ἀνδοκίδῃ μάλιστα τῶν τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν
happened and — for-Andocides most of-those the same charge
ἐχόντων ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ γενέσθαι συνήθη καὶ φίλον
having in the prison to-become intimate and friend
ἔνδοξον μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ, συνέσει δὲ καὶ τόλμῃ
reputable indeed not equally to-him in-intelligence but and in-daring
περιττόν, ὄνομα Τίμαιον. οὗτος ἀναπείθει τὸν Ἀνδοκίδην
extraordinary by-name Timaeus this-man persuades — Andocides
ἑαυτοῦ κατήγορον καί τινων ἄλλων γενέσθαι μὴ πολλῶν·
of-himself accuser and of-some others to-become not many
ὁμολογήσαντι γὰρ ἄδειαν εἶναι κατὰ ψήφισμα τοῦ
to-one-having-confessed for immunity to-be by decree of-the
δήμου, τὰ δὲ τῆς κρίσεως ἄδηλα πᾶσι, τοῖς δὲ δυνατοῖς
people the but of-the trial uncertain for-all to-the and powerful
φοβερώτατα· βέλτιον δὲ σωθῆναι ψευδόμενον ἢ μετὰ τῆς
most-fearful better and to-be-saved lying than with the
αὐτῆς αἰτίας ἀποθανεῖν ἀδόξως, καὶ τὸ κοινῇ σκοποῦντι
same charge to-die ingloriously and the in-common for-one-considering
συμφέρον ὑπάρχειν, ὀλίγους καὶ ἀμφιβόλους προέμενον,
advantage to-be few and doubtful having-given-up
πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἐξελέσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς. ταῦτα τοῦ
many and good to-rescue from-the anger these-things —
Τιμαίου λέγοντος καὶ διδάσκοντος ὁ Ἀνδοκίδης ἐπείσθη,
Timaeus saying and teaching — Andocides was-persuaded
καὶ γενόμενος μηνυτὴς καθ' αὑτοῦ καὶ καθ' ἑτέρων ἔσχε
and having-become informer against himself and against others had

τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἄδειαν αὐτός· οὓς δ᾽ ὠνόμασε
the from the decree immunity himself whom and he-named
πάντες πλὴν τῶν φυγόντων ἀπώλοντο. καὶ πίστεως
all except those having-fled perished and of-credibility
ἕνεκα προσέθηκεν αὐτοῖς οἰκέτας ἰδίους ὁ Ἀνδοκίδης.
for-the-sake he-added to-them servants his-own — Andocides
Οὐ μὴν ὅ γε δῆμος τὴν ὀργὴν ἅπασαν ἀφῆκεν ἐνταῦθα,
not indeed the at-least people the anger all let-go there
ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῶν Ἑρμοκοπιδῶν ὥσπερ
but rather rid of-the Herm-mutilators as-if
σχολάζοντι τῷ θυμῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ὅλος ἐρρύη,
idle with-the passion toward — Alcibiades wholly streamed
καὶ τέλος ἀπέστειλε τὴν Σαλαμινίαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, οὐ φαύλως
and finally sent — Salaminia for him not badly
αὐτό γε τοῦτο προστάξας, μὴ βιάζεσθαι μηδ᾽ ἅπτεσθαι
very at-least this ordering not to-use-force nor to-touch
τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ τῷ μετρίῳ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι κελεύοντας
the body but the moderate language to-use bidding
ἀκολουθεῖν ἐπὶ κρίσιν καὶ πείθειν τὸν δῆμον. ἐφοβοῦντο
to-follow to trial and to-persuade the people they-feared
γὰρ ταραχὰς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐν πολεμίᾳ γῇ καὶ στάσιν,
for disturbances of-the army in hostile land and mutiny
ὃ ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἐξειργάσατο βουληθεὶς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης.
which easily — would-have-brought-about having-wished — Alcibiades
καὶ γὰρ ἠθύμουν ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὴν τριβὴν
and for they-were-dispirited departing him and much delay
προσεδόκων καὶ μῆκος ἀργὸν ἐν τῷ Νικίᾳ
they-expected and length idle in-the-hands-of — Nicias
τὸν πόλεμον ἕξειν, καθάπερ μύωπος ἀφῃρημένου τῶν
the war to-have as-if a-spur having-been-removed from-the

πράξεων. ὁ γὰρ Λάμαχος ἦν μὲν πολεμικὸς καὶ ἀνδρώδης,
actions — for Lamachus was indeed warlike and manly
ἀξίωμα δ' οὐ προσῆν οὐδ' ὄγκος αὐτῷ διὰ πενίαν.
dignity but not belonged nor weight to-him because-of poverty
22 Εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἀποπλέων ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἀφείλετο
at-once indeed then sailing-away — Alcibiades took-away
Μεσσήνην Ἀθηναίους. ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ μέλλοντες ἐνδιδόναι
Messene from-Athenians there-were for those about to-betray
τὴν πόλιν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος εἰδὼς σαφέστατα τοῖς Συρακουσίων
the city whom he knowing most-clearly to-the of-Syracusans
φίλοις ἐμήνυσε καὶ διέφθειρε τὴν πρᾶξιν. ἐν δὲ Θουρίοις
friends informed-against and ruined the action at and Thurii
γενόμενος καὶ ἀποβὰς τῆς τριήρους ἔκρυψεν ἑαυτὸν
having-arrived and having-disembarked from-the trireme hid himself
καὶ διέφυγε τοὺς ζητοῦντας. ἐπιγνόντος δέ τινος καὶ
and escaped those seeking having-recognized and someone and
εἰπόντος· "Οὐ πιστεύεις, ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδη, τῇ πατρίδι;" "Τὰ
having-said not do-you-trust O Alcibiades the fatherland the
μὲν ἄλλ'," ἔφη, "πάντα· περὶ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς
indeed other-things he-said all about but the life the my
οὐδὲ τῇ μητρί, μήπως ἀγνοήσασα τὴν μέλαιναν ἀντὶ
not-even the mother lest-somehow having-mistaken the black instead-of
τῆς λευκῆς ἐπενέγκῃ ψῆφον." ὕστερον δ' ἀκούσας ὅτι
the white she-cast vote later and having-heard that
θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωκεν ἡ πόλις· "Ἀλλ' ἐγώ," εἶπε,
death his has-condemned the city but I he-said
"δείξω αὐτοῖς ὅτι ζῶ."
will-show them that I-live
Τὴν μὲν οὖν εἰσαγγελίαν οὕτως ἔχουσαν ἀναγράφουσι·
the indeed then impeachment thus running they-record
"Θεσσαλὸς Κίμωνος Λακιάδης Ἀλκιβιάδην Κλεινίου
Thessalus son-of-Cimon of-Laciadae Alcibiades son-of-Cleinias

Σκαμβωνίδην εἰσήγγειλεν ἀδικεῖν περὶ τὼ θεώ, τὴν
of-Scambonidae impeached to-do-wrong concerning the two-goddesses —
Δήμητραν καὶ τὴν Κόρην, ἀπομιμούμενον τὰ μυστήρια καὶ
Demeter and — Kore mimicking the mysteries and
δεικνύοντα τοῖς αὑτοῦ ἑταίροις ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ, ἔχοντα
showing-them to-the his companions in the house the his-own wearing
στολὴν οἵανπερ ὁ ἱεροφάντης ἔχων δεικνύει τὰ ἱερά, καὶ
a-robe such-as the hierophant wearing shows the sacred-things and
ὀνομάζοντα αὐτὸν μὲν ἱεροφάντην, Πουλυτίωνα δὲ δᾳδοῦχον,
naming himself indeed hierophant Polytion and torch-bearer
κήρυκα δὲ Θεόδωρον Φηγαιᾶ, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἑταίρους
herald and Theodorus of-Phegaea the and other companions
μύστας προσαγορεύοντα καὶ ἐπόπτας παρὰ τὰ νόμιμα
initiates calling and epoptae contrary-to the customs
καὶ τὰ καθεστηκότα ὑπό τε Εὐμολπιδῶν καὶ Κηρύκων
and the established-rules by both Eumolpidae and Ceryces
καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τῶν ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος." ἐρήμην δ' αὐτοῦ
and the priests the from Eleusis by-default and him
καταγνόντες καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημεύσαντες ἔτι καταρᾶσθαι
having-condemned and the property having-confiscated further to-curse
προσεψηφίσαντο πάντας ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱερείας, ὧν μόνην φασὶ
they-voted-besides all priests and priestesses of-whom alone they-say
Θεανὼ τὴν Μένωνος Ἀγραυλῆθεν ἀντειπεῖν πρὸς τὸ
Theano the of-Menon of-Agryle to-have-spoken-against to the
ψήφισμα, φάσκουσαν εὐχῶν, οὐ καταρῶν ἱέρειαν γεγονέναι.
decree saying of-prayers not of-cursings a-priestess to-have-become
Τοσούτων δὲ κατεψηφισμένων Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ 23
so-many and having-been-decreed-against Alcibiades and
κατεγνωσμένων, ἐτύγχανε μὲν ἐν Ἄργει διατρίβων, ὡς
condemned he-happened indeed in Argos staying when
τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ Θουρίων ἀποδρὰς εἰς Πελοπόννησον
the first from Thurii having-run-away to Peloponnesus

διεκομίσθη, φοβούμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ παντάπασι
he-crossed fearing and the enemies and altogether
τῆς πατρίδος ἀπεγνωκὼς ἔπεμψεν εἰς Σπάρτην, ἀξιῶν
of-the fatherland having-despaired he-sent to Sparta asking
ἄδειαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ πίστιν ἐπὶ μείζοσι
immunity for-him to-be and a-pledge on-the-strength-of greater
χρείαις καὶ ὠφελείαις ὧν πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενος
services and benefits than-what before them defending-himself
ἔβλαψε. δόντων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ δεξαμένων,
he-harmed having-granted and the Spartans and having-received-him
παραγενόμενος προθύμως ἓν μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξειργάσατο,
having-come eagerly one-thing indeed at-once he-accomplished
μέλλοντας καὶ ἀναβαλλομένους βοηθεῖν Συρακουσίοις
delaying and postponing to-help Syracusans
ἐγείρας καὶ παροξύνας πέμψαι Γύλιππον ἄρχοντα καὶ
having-roused and having-spurred to-send Gylippus as-commander and
θραῦσαι τὴν ἐκεῖ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν· ἕτερον δέ, κινεῖν
to-shatter the there of-the Athenians force the-other and to-stir-up
τὸν αὐτόθεν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τὸ δὲ τρίτον
the at-home war against the Athenians the and third
καὶ μέγιστον, ἐπιτειχίσαι Δεκέλειαν, οὗ μᾶλλον οὐδὲν
and greatest to-fortify Deceleia than-which more nothing
διειργάσατο καὶ κατοικοφθόρησε τὴν πόλιν.
ruined and wasted the city
Εὐδοκιμῶν δὲ δημοσίᾳ καὶ θαυμαζόμενος οὐχ ἧττον
winning-repute and publicly and admired no less
ἰδίᾳ τοὺς πολλοὺς κατεδημαγώγει καὶ κατεγοήτευε τῇ
privately the many he-won-over and bewitched with-the
διαίτῃ λακωνίζων, ὥσθ' ὁρῶντας ἐν χρῷ κουριῶντα
way-of-life Laconizing so-that seeing to the-skin cropped
καὶ ψυχρολουτοῦντα καὶ μάζῃ συνόντα καὶ ζωμῷ
and bathing-in-cold-water and with-barley-cake keeping-company and with-broth

μέλανι χρώμενον ἀπιστεῖν καὶ διαπορεῖν, εἴ ποτε
black eating to-disbelieve and to-doubt whether ever
μάγειρον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἔσχεν ἢ προσέβλεψε
a-cook in the house this man had or looked-at
μυρεψὸν ἢ Μιλησίας ἠνέσχετο θιγεῖν χλανίδος. ἦν
a-perfumer or of-a-Milesian endured to-touch cloak there-was
γάρ, ὥς φασι, μία δεινότης αὕτη τῶν πολλῶν ἐν
for as they-say one cleverness this of-the many in
αὐτῷ καὶ μηχανὴ θήρας ἀνθρώπων, συνεξομοιοῦσθαι
him and contrivance of-hunting of-men to-assimilate-himself
καὶ συνομοπαθεῖν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ ταῖς διαίταις,
and to-share-feelings with-the pursuits and the ways-of-life
ὀξυτέρας τρεπομένῳ τροπὰς τοῦ χαμαιλέοντος. πλὴν
quicker turning changes than-the chameleon except
ἐκεῖνος μέν, ὡς λέγεται, πρὸς ἓν ἐξαδυνατεῖ χρῶμα τὸ
that-one indeed as is-said to one is-unable color the
λευκὸν ἀφομοιοῦν ἑαυτόν· Ἀλκιβιάδῃ δὲ διὰ χρηστῶν ἰόντι
white to-liken itself to-Alcibiades but through good going
καὶ πονηρῶν ὁμοίως οὐδὲν ἦν ἀμίμητον οὐδ' ἀνεπιτήδευτον,
and bad alike nothing was inimitable nor unattempted
ἀλλ' ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυμναστικός, εὐτελής, σκυθρωπός, ἐν
but in Sparta athletic frugal sullen in
Ἰωνίᾳ χλιδανός, ἐπιτερπής, ῥᾴθυμος, ἐν Θράκῃ μεθυστικός,
Ionia luxurious pleasant easygoing in Thrace given-to-drink
ἐν Θετταλοῖς ἱππαστικός, Τισαφέρνῃ δὲ τῷ σατράπῃ
among Thessalians horsemanly to-Tisaphernes and the satrap
συνὼν ὑπερέβαλεν ὄγκῳ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ τὴν Περσικὴν
being-with he-outdid in-pomp and extravagance the Persian
μεγαλοπρέπειαν, οὐχ αὑτὸν ἐξιστὰς οὕτω ῥᾳδίως εἰς ἕτερον
magnificence not himself changing so easily into another
ἐξ ἑτέρου τρόπον, οὐδὲ πᾶσαν δεχόμενος τῷ ἤθει
from another manner nor every admitting in-the character

μεταβολήν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῇ φύσει χρώμενος ἔμελλε λυπεῖν
change but because by-the nature using he-was-likely to-offend
τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, εἰς πᾶν ἀεὶ τὸ πρόσφορον ἐκείνοις
those meeting-him into every always the suitable to-them
σχῆμα καὶ πλάσμα κατεδύετο καὶ κατέφευγεν. ἐν γοῦν τῇ
figure and mask he-slipped-into and took-refuge in at-any-rate —
Λακεδαίμονι πρὸς τὰ ἔξωθεν ἦν εἰπεῖν· "Οὐ παῖς
Lacedaemon as-to the outward-things it-was-possible to-say not son
Ἀχιλλέως, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος' εἴη ἂν 'αὐτός,' οἷον Λυκοῦργος
of-Achilles but he would-be — himself such-as Lycurgus
ἐπαίδευσε·" τοῖς δ' ἀληθινοῖς ἄν τις ἐπεφώνησεν αὐτοῦ
trained to-the but real — one might-have-exclaimed his
πάθεσι καὶ πράγμασιν· " Ἔστιν ἡ πάλαι γυνή."
feelings and deeds she-is the of-old woman
Τιμαίαν γὰρ τὴν Ἄγιδος γυναῖκα τοῦ βασιλέως
Timaea for the of-Agis wife the king
στρατευομένου καὶ ἀποδημοῦντος οὕτω διέφθειρεν ὥστε καὶ
being-on-campaign and abroad so he-seduced so-that even
κύειν ἐξ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι, καὶ τεκούσης
to-be-pregnant by Alcibiades and not to-deny and having-borne
παιδάριον ἄρρεν ἔξω μὲν Λεωτυχίδην καλεῖσθαι, τὸ δ'
a-little-child male outside indeed Leotychides to-be-called the but
ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ ψιθυριζόμενον ὄνομα πρὸς τὰς φίλας καὶ τὰς
inside his whispered name to the friends and the
ὀπαδοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην εἶναι· τοσοῦτος ἔρως
attendants by the mother Alcibiades to-be so-great passion
κατεῖχε τὴν ἄνθρωπον. ὁ δ' ἐντρυφῶν ἔλεγεν οὐχ ὕβρει
possessed the woman he and luxuriating said not from-insolence
τοῦτο πράττειν οὐδὲ κρατούμενος ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, ἀλλ' ὅπως
this to-do nor being-overcome by pleasure but so-that
Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύσωσιν οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότες. οὕτω
of-Lacedaemonians might-reign those from him born so

πραττόμενα ταῦτα πολλοὶ κατηγόρουν πρὸς τὸν Ἄγιν.
being-done these-things many denounced to — Agis
ἐπίστευσε δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ μάλιστα, ὅτι σεισμοῦ γενομένου
he-believed and by-the time most because an-earthquake having-happened
φοβηθεὶς ἐξέδραμε τοῦ θαλάμου παρὰ τῆς γυναικός, εἶτα
having-feared he-ran-out of-the bedchamber from the wife then
δέκα μηνῶν οὐκέτι συνῆλθεν αὐτῇ, μεθ' οὗς γενόμενον τὸν
for-ten months no-longer slept-with her after which born —
Λεωτυχίδην ἀπέφησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μὴ γεγονέναι. καὶ διὰ
Leotychides he-denied from him not to-have-been-born and because-of
τοῦτο τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσεν ὕστερον ὁ Λεωτυχίδης.
this from-the kingship was-excluded later — Leotychides
Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δυστυχίαν 24
after and the in Sicily of-the Athenians disaster
ἐπρέσβευσαν εἰς Σπάρτην ἅμα Χῖοι καὶ Λέσβιοι καὶ
sent-embassies to Sparta at-once Chians and Lesbians and
Κυζικηνοὶ περὶ ἀποστάσεως. πραττόντων δὲ Βοιωτῶν μὲν
Cyzicenes about revolt negotiating and Boeotians indeed
Λεσβίοις, Φαρναβάζου δὲ Κυζικηνοῖς, Ἀλκιβιάδῃ πεισθέντες
for-Lesbians Pharnabazus and for-Cyzicenes by-Alcibiades persuaded
εἵλοντο Χίοις πρὸ πάντων βοηθεῖν. ἐκπλεύσας δὲ καὶ
they-chose Chians before all to-help having-sailed-out and also
αὐτὸς ἀπέστησεν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασαν Ἰωνίαν, καὶ πολλὰ
himself he-caused-to-revolt of-little to-lack all Ionia and much
συνὼν τοῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων στρατηγοῖς ἔβλαπτε τοὺς
being-with the of-the Lacedaemonians generals he-barmed the
Ἀθηναίους. ὁ δ' Ἄγις ἐχθρὸς μὲν ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ διὰ
Athenians — and Agis hostile indeed was to-him because-of
τὴν γυναῖκα κακῶς πεπονθώς, ἤχθετο δὲ καὶ τῇ δόξῃ·
the wife badly having-been-treated he-was-vexed and also at-the fame
τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα γίνεσθαι καὶ προχωρεῖν δι' Ἀλκιβιάδην
the for most to-happen and to-progress because-of Alcibiades

λόγος ἦν· τῶν δ' ἄλλων Σπαρτιατῶν οἱ δυνατώτατοι
report was of-the and other Spartans the most-powerful
καὶ φιλοτιμότατοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἤδη ἐβαρύνοντο
and most-ambitious — Alcibiades already were-annoyed-by
διὰ φθόνον. ἴσχυσαν οὖν καὶ διεπράξαντο τοὺς οἴκοθεν
because-of envy they-prevailed then and accomplished the at-home
ἄρχοντας ἐπιστεῖλαι πρὸς Ἰωνίαν ὅπως ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν.
magistrates to-send-word to Ionia that they-should-kill him
Ὁ δ' ἡσυχῇ προγνοὺς καὶ φοβηθεὶς τῶν μὲν
he and quietly having-learned-beforehand and having-feared of-the indeed
πράξεων πασῶν ἐκοινώνει τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τὸ δ' εἰς
actions all shared with-the Lacedaemonians the but into
χεῖρας ἰέναι παντάπασιν ἔφευγε, Τισαφέρνῃ δέ, τῷ βασιλέως
hands to-come altogether he-avoided to-Tisaphernes and the of-the-king
σατράπῃ, δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας εὐθὺς ἦν παρ'
satrap having-given himself for safety at-once was with
αὐτῷ πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πολύτροπον καὶ
him first and greatest the indeed for versatile and
περιττὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς δεινότητος οὐκ ὢν ἁπλοῦς, ἀλλὰ
extraordinary his of-the cleverness not being simple but
κακοήθης καὶ φιλοπόνηρος, ἐθαύμαζεν ὁ βάρβαρος· ταῖς
malicious and fond-of-rascals admired the barbarian with-the
δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ συσχολάζειν καὶ συνδιαιτᾶσθαι
and by day in the spending-leisure-together and living-together
χάρισιν οὐδὲν ἦν ἄτεγκτον ἦθος οὐδὲ φύσις ἀνάλωτος,
charms no was unyielding character nor nature uncapturable
ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδιόσι καὶ φθονοῦσιν ὅμως τὸ συγγενέσθαι
but even to-those-fearing and envying nevertheless the to-be-with
καὶ προσιδεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἡδονήν τινα καὶ φιλοφροσύνην παρεῖχε.
and to-look-at him pleasure some and friendliness gave
τἆλλ' οὖν ὢν καὶ μισέλλην ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Περσῶν ὁ
for-the-rest then being also Greek-hating among the most of-Persians —

Τισαφέρνης, οὕτως ἐνεδίδου τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ κολακευόμενος
Tisaphernes so yielded — to-Alcibiades being-flattered
ὥσθ' ὑπερβάλλειν αὐτὸν ἀντικολακεύων ἐκεῖνος. ὧν
so-that to-surpass him counter-flattering he of-which
γὰρ ἐκέκτητο παραδείσων τὸν κάλλιστον καὶ ὑδάτων καὶ
for he-possessed parks the most-beautiful and of-waters and
λειμώνων ὑγιεινῶν ἕνεκεν, διατριβὰς ἔχοντα καὶ καταφυγὰς
of-meadows wholesome on-account-of resorts having and retreats
ἠσκημένας βασιλικῶς καὶ περιττῶς, Ἀλκιβιάδην καλεῖν ἔθετο·
furnished royally and extravagantly Alcibiades to-call he-made
καὶ πάντες οὕτω καλοῦντες καὶ προσαγορεύοντες διετέλουν.
and all so calling and naming continued

VII · TISAPHERNES AND SAMOS

Fearing Agis, Alcibiades turns Tisaphernes against the Spartans and counsels him to wear down both sides. Offering Persian friendship, he turns the Athenians at Samos toward oligarchy; Phrynichus, who opposes him, offers the fleet to Astyochus and is later killed by Hermon. When the Four Hundred seize Athens, the army at Samos recalls Alcibiades, and he stops it from sailing against the Piraeus. He turns the battle at Abydos, escapes Tisaphernes' prison at Sardis, and destroys the Spartan fleet at Cyzicus, killing Mindarus.

Ἀπογνοὺς οὖν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ὡς 25
having-despaired then — Alcibiades the of-the Spartans as
ἄπιστα, καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν Ἆγιν, ἐκάκου καὶ διέβαλλε
untrustworthy and fearing — Agis he-harmed and slandered-them
πρὸς τὸν Τισαφέρνην, οὐκ ἐῶν βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς προθύμως
to — Tisaphernes not allowing to-help them eagerly
οὐδὲ καταλύειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλὰ γλίσχρως χορηγοῦντα
nor to-overthrow the Athenians but stingily supplying

θλίβειν καὶ ἀποκναίειν ἀτρέμα καὶ ποιεῖν ἀμφοτέρους
to-squeeze and to-wear-out quietly and to-make both
βασιλεῖ χειροήθεις καὶ καταπόνους ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων. ὁ δ᾽
for-the-king tame and worn-out by one-another he and
ἐπείθετο ῥᾳδίως καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀγαπῶν καὶ θαυμάζων,
was-persuaded easily and clear was loving and admiring-him
ὥστ᾽ ἀποβλέπεσθαι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἑκατέρωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν
so-that to-be-looked-to — Alcibiades from-both-sides by the
Ἑλλήνων, τοὺς δ᾽ Ἀθηναίους μεταμέλεσθαι τοῖς γνωσθεῖσι
Greeks the and Athenians to-repent of-the decisions
περὶ αὐτοῦ κακῶς πάσχοντας, ἄχθεσθαι δὲ κἀκεῖνον ἤδη
about him badly faring to-be-vexed and him-too already
καὶ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ παντάπασι τῆς πόλεως ἀναιρεθείσης
and to-fear lest altogether the city having-been-destroyed
ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις γένηται μισούμενος.
under Lacedaemonians he-become hated
Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σάμῳ τότε πάντα τὰ πράγματα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις
in and — Samos then all the affairs for-the Athenians
σχεδὸν ὑπῆρχε· κἀκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενοι τῇ ναυτικῇ
almost were and-from-there setting-out with-the naval
δυνάμει τὰ μὲν ἀνεκτῶντο τῶν ἀφεστώτων, τὰ δ᾽
force the indeed they-were-recovering of-those revolted the and
ἐφύλαττον ἁμῶς γέ πως ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ
they-were-guarding somehow at-least in-some-way still to-the enemies by
θάλατταν ὄντες ἀξιόμαχοι, Τισαφέρνην δὲ φοβούμενοι καὶ
sea being a-match Tisaphernes but fearing and
τὰς λεγομένας ὅσον οὔπω παρεῖναι Φοινίσσας τριήρεις
the said as-much not-yet to-be-at-hand Phoenician triremes
πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν οὔσας, ὧν ἀφικομένων οὐδεμία
fifty and a-hundred being which having-come no
σωτηρίας ἐλπὶς ὑπελείπετο τῇ πόλει. ταῦτα δ᾽ εἰδὼς
of-safety hope remained for-the city these-things and knowing

Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔπεμπε κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ δυνατοὺς
Alcibiades sent secretly to those in Samos powerful
τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐλπίδας ἐνδιδοὺς παρέξειν τὸν Τισαφέρνην
of-the Athenians hopes offering to-make — Tisaphernes
φίλον, οὐ τοῖς πολλοῖς χαριζόμενος οὐδὲ πιστεύων ἐκείνοις,
friend not the many gratifying nor trusting them
ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις, εἰ τολμήσειαν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι
but the best if they-would-dare men good having-become
καὶ παύσαντες ὑβρίζοντα τὸν δῆμον αὐτοὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν
and having-stopped insolent the people themselves by themselves
σώζειν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν πόλιν.
to-save the affairs and the city
Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι σφόδρα προσεῖχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ·
the indeed then others vehemently attended — to-Alcibiades
τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν εἷς, Φρύνιχος ὁ Δειραδιώτης,
of-the and generals one Phrynichus the Deiradiote
ὑποπτεύσας, ὅπερ ἦν, τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον
having-suspected what-indeed was — Alcibiades no at-all more
ὀλιγαρχίας ἢ δημοκρατίας δεόμενον, ζητοῦντα δὲ πάντως
of-oligarchy than of-democracy in-need seeking but by-all-means
κατελθεῖν, ἐκ διαβολῆς τοῦ δήμου προθεραπεύειν καὶ
to-return from slander of-the people to-be-courting-beforehand and
ὑποδύεσθαι τοὺς δυνατούς, ἀνθίστατο. κρατούμενος δὲ
to-insinuate-himself-with the powerful opposed being-overruled and
τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ φανερῶς ἤδη τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου γεγονὼς
in-the opinion and openly already — of-Alcibiades having-become
ἐχθρός, ἐξήγγειλε κρύφα πρὸς Ἀστύοχον τὸν τῶν πολεμίων
an-enemy he-reported secretly to Astyochus the of-the enemies
ναύαρχον, ἐγκελευόμενος φυλάττεσθαι καὶ συλλαμβάνειν
admiral bidding to-guard-against and to-arrest
ὡς ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ἐλελήθει δ'
as double-dealing — Alcibiades he-had-failed-to-notice and

ἄρα προδότης προδότῃ διαλεγόμενος. τὸν γὰρ Τισαφέρνην
then a-traitor with-a-traitor conversing — for Tisaphernes
ἐκπεπληγμένος ὁ Ἀστύοχος, καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ὁρῶν
dazzled-by — Astyochus and — Alcibiades seeing
παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μέγαν ὄντα, κατεμήνυσε τὰ τοῦ Φρυνίχου πρὸς
with him great being he-informed-on the — of-Phrynichus to
αὐτούς. ὁ δ᾽ Ἀλκιβιάδης εὐθὺς εἰς Σάμον ἔπεμψε τοὺς τοῦ
them — and Alcibiades at-once to Samos sent those —
Φρυνίχου κατηγορήσοντας. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ πάντων καὶ
of-Phrynichus going-to-accuse being-indignant and all and
συνισταμένων ἐπὶ τὸν Φρύνιχον, οὐχ ὁρῶν ἑτέραν διαφυγὴν
combining against — Phrynichus not seeing other escape
ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπεχείρησεν ἰάσασθαι μείζονι κακῷ
from the present-circumstances attempted to-cure with-greater evil
τὸ κακόν. αὖθις γὰρ ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἀστύοχον, ἐγκαλῶν
the evil again for he-sent to — Astyochus complaining
μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς μηνύσεως, ἐπαγγελλόμενος δὲ τὰς ναῦς καὶ
indeed about the information promising and the ships and
τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποχείριον αὐτῷ παρέξειν.
the camp of-the Athenians subject to-him to-deliver
Οὐ μὴν ἔβλαψέ γε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡ τοῦ Φρυνίχου
not indeed harmed at-least the Athenians the — of-Phrynichus
προδοσία διὰ τὴν Ἀστυόχου παλιμπροδοσίαν. καὶ
treason because-of the of-Astyochus counter-treason and
γὰρ ταῦτα κατεῖπε τοῦ Φρυνίχου πρὸς τοὺς περὶ
for these-things he-told — of-Phrynichus to those about
τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ Φρύνιχος προαισθόμενος καὶ
— Alcibiades — and Phrynichus having-foreseen and
προσδεχόμενος δευτέραν κατηγορίαν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου,
expecting a-second accusation from — Alcibiades
φθάσας αὐτὸς προεῖπε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι μέλλουσιν
having-anticipated himself foretold to-the Athenians that are-about

ἐπιπλεῖν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ παρήνεσε πρὸς ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶναι
to-sail-against the enemies and advised by the ships to-be
καὶ περιτειχίσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπεὶ δὲ πραττόντων
and to-wall-around the camp when and doing
ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦκε γράμματα πάλιν παρὰ τοῦ
these-things the Athenians came letters again from —
Ἀλκιβιάδου, φυλάττεσθαι κελεύοντος τὸν Φρύνιχον ὡς
Alcibiades to-guard-against bidding — Phrynichus as
προδιδόντα τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν ναύσταθμον, ἠπίστησαν
betraying to-the enemies the naval-station they-disbelieved
οἰόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην εἰδότα σαφῶς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων
thinking — Alcibiades knowing clearly the of-the enemies
παρασκευὴν καὶ διάνοιαν ἀποχρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Φρυνίχου
preparation and intention to-be-misusing-it for the — of-Phrynichus
διαβολὴν οὐκ ἀληθῶς. ὕστερον μέντοι τὸν Φρύνιχον ἑνὸς
slander not truly later however — Phrynichus one
τῶν περιπόλων Ἕρμωνος ἐν ἀγορᾷ πατάξαντος ἐγχειριδίῳ
of-the patrols Hermon in market-place having-struck with-a-dagger
καὶ διαφθείραντος, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δίκης γενομένης τοῦ μὲν
and having-killed the Athenians a-trial having-been-held — indeed
Φρυνίχου προδοσίαν κατεψηφίσαντο τεθνηκότος, τὸν δ'
of-Phrynichus treason condemned dead — and
Ἕρμωνα καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ συστάντας ἐστεφάνωσαν.
Hermon and those with him having-banded-together crowned
Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σάμῳ τότε κρατήσαντες οἱ Ἀλκιβιάδου φίλοι 26
in and — Samos then having-prevailed the of-Alcibiades friends
πέμπουσι Πείσανδρον εἰς ἄστυ κινήσοντα τὴν πολιτείαν
send Peisander to town going-to-change the constitution
καὶ παραθαρρυνοῦντα τοὺς δυνατοὺς τῶν πραγμάτων
and going-to-encourage the powerful the affairs
ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ καταλύειν τὸν δῆμον, ὡς ἐπὶ τούτοις
to-take-hold-of and to-overthrow the democracy as on these-terms

τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου Τισαφέρνην αὐτοῖς φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον
— *Alcibiades Tisaphernes to-them friend and ally*
παρέξοντος. αὕτη γὰρ ἦν πρόφασις καὶ τοῦτο πρόσχημα
going-to-provide this for was the-pretext and this a-screen
τοῖς καθιστᾶσι τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἴσχυσαν καὶ
for-those establishing the oligarchy when and they-prevailed and
παρέλαβον τὰ πράγματα οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι λεγόμενοι,
took-over the affairs the five-thousand so-called
τετρακόσιοι δὲ ὄντες, ἐλάχιστα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ προσεῖχον
four-hundred but being least — to-Alcibiades attended
ἤδη καὶ μαλακώτερον ἥπτοντο τοῦ πολέμου, τὰ μὲν
already and more-slackly laid-hold-of the war partly indeed
ἀπιστοῦντες ἔτι πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν ξενοπαθοῦσι τοῖς
distrusting still toward the change feeling-strange the
πολίταις, τὰ δ' οἰόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐνδώσειν αὐτοῖς
citizens partly and thinking more to-give-way to-them
Λακεδαιμονίους ἀεὶ πρὸς ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντας.
Lacedaemonians always toward oligarchy favorably being-disposed
ὁ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δῆμος ἄκων ὑπὸ δέους
the indeed then in the city people unwilling from fear
ἡσυχίαν ἦγε· καὶ γὰρ ἀπεσφάγησαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν
quiet kept and for were-slaughtered not few of-those
ἐναντιουμένων φανερῶς τοῖς τετρακοσίοις· οἱ δ' ἐν
opposing openly the four-hundred those but in
Σάμῳ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες ὥρμηντο
Samos these-things learning and being-indignant were-eager
πλεῖν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενοι τὸν
to-sail at-once against — Piraeus and having-summoned —
Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποδείξαντες ἐκέλευον ἡγεῖσθαι
Alcibiades and general having-appointed they-bade to-lead
καὶ καταλύειν τοὺς τυράννους.
and to-overthrow the tyrants

Ὁ δ᾽ οὐχ οἷον ἄν τις ἐξαίφνης χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν
he but not such-as — one suddenly by-favor of-the many
μέγας γεγονὼς ἔπαθε καὶ ἠγάπησε, πάντα δεῖν
great having-become would-feel and was-pleased everything it-is-needful
εὐθὺς οἰόμενος χαρίζεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς
at-once thinking to-gratify and nothing to-oppose to-those-who
ἐκ πλάνητος καὶ φυγάδος αὐτὸν νεῶν τοσούτων καὶ
from a-wanderer and exile him of-ships so-many and
στρατοπέδου καὶ δυνάμεως τηλικαύτης ἀποδείξασιν ἡγεμόνα
of-camp and of-power so-great having-appointed leader
καὶ στρατηγόν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπερ ἦν ἄρχοντι μεγάλῳ
and general but what-indeed was for-a-commander great
προσῆκον, ἀνθίστασθαι φερομένοις ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς, κωλύσας
fitting to-oppose those-carried by anger having-prevented
ἐξαμαρτεῖν, τότε γοῦν τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει περιφανῶς
to-err then at-least the affairs for-the city manifestly
ἔσωσεν. εἰ γὰρ ἄραντες ἀπέπλευσαν οἴκαδε, τοῖς
he-saved if for having-weighed-anchor they-had-sailed-away home to-the
μὲν πολεμίοις εὐθὺς ἔχειν ὑπῆρχεν Ἰωνίαν ἅπασαν, καὶ
indeed enemies at-once to-have was-possible Ionia all and
τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀμαχεί, καὶ τὰς νήσους, Ἀθηναίοις
the Hellespont without-a-battle and the islands Athenians
δὲ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους μάχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν πόλιν
and against Athenians to-fight the war into the city
ἐμβαλόντας· ὃν μόνος μάλιστα μὴ γενέσθαι διεκώλυσεν
having-carried which alone most not to-happen prevented
ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, οὐ μόνον πείθων καὶ διδάσκων τὸ πλῆθος,
— Alcibiades not only persuading and teaching the multitude
ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ᾽ ἕνα τοὺς μὲν ἀντιβολῶν, τῶν δ᾽
but also by one the-some indeed entreating the-others and
ἐπιλαμβανόμενος. συνέπραττε δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ Θρασύβουλος
laying-hold-of cooperated and with-him also Thrasybulus

ὁ Στειριεὺς ἅμα παρὼν καὶ κεκραγώς· ἦν γάρ, ὡς
the Steirian at-once being-present and shouting he-was for as
λέγεται, μεγαλοφωνότατος Ἀθηναίων.
is-said loudest-voiced of-Athenians
Ἐκεῖνό τε δὴ καλὸν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ δεύτερον,
that both indeed fine — of-Alcibiades and second
ὅτι ὑποσχόμενος τὰς Φοινίσσας ναῦς, ἃς προσεδέχοντο
that having-promised the Phoenician ships which expected
Λακεδαιμόνιοι βασιλέως πέμψαντος, ἢ μεταστήσειν πρὸς
Lacedaemonians the-king having-sent either to-bring-over to
αὐτοὺς ἢ διαπράξεσθαι μηδὲ πρὸς ἐκείνους κομισθῆναι,
them or to-effect not-even to those to-be-brought
διὰ ταχέων ἐξέπλευσε. καὶ τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἐκφανείσας
with speed he-sailed-out and the indeed ships having-appeared
περὶ Ἄσπενδον οὐκ ἤγαγεν ὁ Τισαφέρνης, ἀλλ' ἐψεύσατο
near Aspendus not brought — Tisaphernes but cheated
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τοῦ ἀποτρέψαι παρ'
the Lacedaemonians the but blame of-the to-turn-back with
ἀμφοτέροις ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης εἶχε, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ τοῖς
both — Alcibiades had and more still with the
Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὡς διδάσκων τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτοὺς ὑφ'
Lacedaemonians as teaching the barbarian them by
αὑτῶν περιορᾶν ἀπολλυμένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας. οὐ γὰρ ἦν
themselves to-look-on destroyed the Greeks not for it-was
ἄδηλον ὅτι τοῖς ἑτέροις δύναμις τοσαύτη προσγενομένη
unclear that to-the one-side force so-great added
τοὺς ἑτέρους ἀφῃρεῖτο κομιδῇ τὸ κράτος τῆς θαλάττης.
from-the other-side would-take-away entirely the mastery of-the sea
27 Ἐκ τούτου κατελύθησαν μὲν οἱ τετρακόσιοι, τῶν
from this were-overthrown indeed the four-hundred the
Ἀλκιβιάδου φίλων προθύμως συλλαμβανομένων τοῖς τὰ
of-Alcibiades friends eagerly helping those the

δήμου φρονοῦσι· βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ
of-the-people favoring wishing and those in town and
κελευόντων κατιέναι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην αὐτὸς ᾤετο δεῖν
bidding to-return — Alcibiades himself thought it-needful
μὴ κεναῖς χερσὶ μηδὲ ἀπράκτοις, οἴκτῳ καὶ χάριτι
not with-empty hands nor idle by-pity and favor
τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐνδόξως κατελθεῖν. διὸ πρῶτον
of-the many but gloriously to-return wherefore first
μὲν ὀλίγαις ναυσὶν ἐκ Σάμου περιέπλει τὴν Κνιδίων
indeed with-few ships from Samos he-sailed-around the of-Cnidians
καὶ Κῴων θάλασσαν· ἐκεῖ δ' ἀκούσας Μίνδαρον τὸν
and of-Coans sea there and having-heard Mindarus the
Σπαρτιάτην εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον ἀναπλεῖν τῷ στόλῳ παντὶ
Spartan into Hellespont to-be-sailing-up with-the fleet whole
καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἠπείγετο βοηθῆσαι τοῖς
and the Athenians to-be-following-after he-hastened to-help the
στρατηγοῖς. καὶ κατὰ τύχην εἰς τοῦτο καιροῦ συνήνυσε
generals and by chance at this-point of-time he-arrived
πλέων ὀκτωκαίδεκα τριήρεσιν, ἐν ᾗ πάσαις ὁμοῦ ταῖς
sailing with-eighteen triremes in which with-all together the
ναυσὶ συμπεσόντες εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ διαναυμαχοῦντες περὶ
ships having-clashed into the same and fighting-it-out-at-sea near
Ἄβυδον ἀμφότεροι τοῖς μὲν ἡττώμενοι μέρεσι, τοῖς δὲ
Abydos both in-the indeed being-worsted parts in-the and
νικῶντες ἄχρι δείλης ἀγῶνι μεγάλῳ συνείχοντο. καὶ
winning until evening in-a-contest great were-engaged and
παρέσχε μὲν ἐναντίαν δόξαν ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιφανείς,
he-gave indeed opposite impression to-both having-appeared
ὥστε θαρρεῖν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους, θορυβεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς
so-that to-be-bold indeed the enemies to-be-alarmed and the
Ἀθηναίους. ταχὺ δὲ σημεῖον ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς ναυαρχίδος
Athenians quickly but a-signal having-raised from the flagship

φίλιον ὥρμησεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς κρατοῦντας καὶ διώκοντας
friendly he-rushed at-once against those prevailing and pursuing
τῶν Πελοποννησίων. τρεψάμενος δ' αὐτοὺς ἐξέωσεν
of-the Peloponnesians having-routed and them he-drove
εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ προσκείμενος ἔκοπτε τὰς ναῦς καὶ
into the land and pressing-on was-hacking the ships and
συνετίτρωσκε, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκνεόντων καὶ Φαρναβάζου πεζῇ
was-shattering the men swimming-out and Pharnabazus on-foot
προσβοηθοῦντος αὐτοῖς καὶ μαχομένου παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν
helping them and fighting along the sea
ὑπὲρ τῶν νεῶν. τέλος δὲ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων τριάκοντα
on-behalf-of the ships finally and of-the indeed enemies thirty
λαβόντες, ἀνασώσαντες δὲ τὰς αὑτῶν, τρόπαιον ἔστησαν.
having-taken having-saved and the their-own a-trophy they-set-up
Οὕτω δὲ λαμπρᾷ χρησάμενος εὐτυχίᾳ, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος
so and brilliant having-used success and being-ambitious
εὐθὺς ἐγκαλλωπίσασθαι τῷ Τισαφέρνῃ, ξένια καὶ δῶρα
at-once to-show-off — to-Tisaphernes guest-gifts and presents
παρασκευασάμενος καὶ θεραπείαν ἔχων ἡγεμονικὴν
having-prepared and retinue having fit-for-a-commander
ἐπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτόν. οὐ μὴν ἔτυχεν ὧν προσεδόκησεν,
he-went to him not indeed he-got what he-expected
ἀλλὰ πάλαι κακῶς ἀκούων ὁ Τισαφέρνης ὑπὸ τῶν
but long badly being-spoken-of — Tisaphernes by the
Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ φοβούμενος αἰτίαν λαβεῖν ἐκ βασιλέως,
Lacedaemonians and fearing blame to-get from the-king
ἔδοξεν ἐν καιρῷ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀφῖχθαι, καὶ συλλαβὼν
it-seemed in good-time — Alcibiades to-have-come and having-arrested
αὐτὸν εἶρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ὡς λύσιν ἐκείνης τῆς διαβολῆς
him imprisoned in Sardis as release of-that the slander
τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην ἐσομένην.
the wrong this going-to-be

Τριάκοντα δ' ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης 28
thirty and days having-passed — Alcibiades
ἵππου ποθὲν εὐπορήσας καὶ ἀποδρὰς τοὺς φύλακας
a-horse from-somewhere having-got and having-escaped the guards
εἰς Κλαζομενὰς διέφυγε. καὶ τὸν μὲν Τισαφέρνην
to Clazomenae fled and — indeed Tisaphernes
προσδιέβαλλεν ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου μεθειμένος, αὐτὸς δὲ
he-slandered-further as by him released himself and
πλεύσας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πυθόμενος
having-sailed to the camp of-the Athenians and having-learned
Μίνδαρον ὁμοῦ καὶ Φαρνάβαζον ἐν Κυζίκῳ γεγονέναι, τοὺς
Mindarus together and Pharnabazus in Cyzicus to-be the
μὲν στρατιώτας παρώρμησεν, ὡς ἀνάγκην οὖσαν αὐτοῖς
indeed soldiers he-urged-on that necessity being for-them
καὶ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζομαχεῖν καὶ νὴ Δία τειχομαχεῖν
both to-fight-at-sea and to-fight-on-land and by Zeus to-fight-against-walls
πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους· χρήματα γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι μὴ πάντη
against the enemies money for not to-be unless everywhere
κρατοῦσι· πληρώσας δὲ τὰς ναῦς καὶ κατάρας εἰς
conquering having-manned and the ships and having-put-in at
Προικόννησον ἐκέλευσεν ἐντὸς περιβάλλειν τὰ λεπτὰ
Proconnesus he-bade within to-enclose the light
πλοῖα καὶ παραφυλάσσειν, ὅπως μηδεμία τοῖς πολεμίοις
boats and to-keep-watch so-that no to-the enemies
ἐπιπλέοντος αὐτοῦ γένοιτο μηδαμόθεν προαίσθησις.
sailing-against him might-be from-anywhere forewarning
Ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ πολὺν ὄμβρον ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντα καὶ
it-happened and also much rain suddenly having-fallen and
βροντὰς καὶ ζόφον συνεργῆσαι καὶ συνεπικρύψαι τὴν
thunders and darkness to-cooperate and to-help-hide the
παρασκευήν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους ἔλαθεν,
preparation not for only the enemies he-escaped-notice-of

ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπεγνωκότας ἤδη ἐμβῆναι
but also the Athenians having-given-up-hope already to-embark
κελεύσας ἀνήχθη. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὅ τε ζόφος διελύθη
having-ordered he-put-out and after a-little the both darkness was-dispersed
καὶ κατώφθησαν αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες αἰωρούμεναι
and were-seen the of-the Peloponnesians ships riding
πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Κυζικηνῶν. δείσας οὖν ὁ
before the harbor of-the Cyzicenes having-feared then —
Ἀλκιβιάδης μὴ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὸν προϊδόντες
Alcibiades lest because-of the number him having-seen-beforehand
εἰς τὴν γῆν καταφύγωσι, τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς ἐκέλευσεν
to the land they-flee the indeed generals he-bade
ἡσυχῇ πλέοντας ὑπολείπεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τετταράκοντα
quietly sailing to-be-left-behind himself and forty
ναῦς ἔχων ἐφαίνετο καὶ προὐκαλεῖτο τοὺς πολεμίους.
ships having appeared and challenged the enemies
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξηπάτηντο καὶ καταφρονήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ
when and they-had-been-deceived and having-despised as against
τοσαύτας ἀντεξήλασαν, αὐτοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξήπτοντο
so-few rowed-out-against-them they indeed at-once were-engaging
καὶ συνεπλέκοντο, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἤδη μαχομένοις
and grappling of-the and others already with-the-fighting
ἐπιφερομένων ἐκπλαγέντες ἔφευγον.
bearing-down terrified they-fled
Ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης εἴκοσι ταῖς ἀρίσταις διεκπλεύσας
— and Alcibiades with-twenty the best having-broken-through
καὶ προσβαλὼν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀποβάς, ἐνέκειτο τοῖς
and having-put-in to-the land and having-disembarked pressed-on those
φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ πολλοὺς ἔφθειρε· Μινδάρου
fleeing from the ships and many killed Mindarus
δὲ καὶ Φαρναβάζου προσβοηθούντων κρατήσας, τὸν
and and Pharnabazus coming-to-help having-prevailed —

μὲν Μίνδαρον ἀνεῖλεν ἐρρωμένως ἀγωνιζόμενον, ὁ δὲ
indeed Mindarus he-killed stoutly fighting — and
Φαρνάβαζος ἔφυγε. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ὅπλων
Pharnabazus fled many and both corpses and arms
κρατήσαντες τάς τε ναῦς ἁπάσας ἔλαβον, χειρωσάμενοι
having-mastered the both ships all they-took having-subdued
δὲ καὶ Κύζικον, ἐκλιπόντος τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ τῶν
and also Cyzicus having-abandoned-it — Pharnabazus and the
Πελοποννησίων διαφθαρέντων, οὐ μόνον τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον
Peloponnesians having-been-destroyed not only the Hellespont
εἶχον βεβαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης θαλάττης
they-held firmly but also from-the other sea
ἐξήλασαν κατὰ κράτος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἑάλω
they-drove by force the Lacedaemonians was-captured
δὲ καὶ γράμματα λακωνικῶς φράζοντα τοῖς Ἐφόροις
and also a-letter laconically telling to-the ephors
τὴν γεγενημένην ἀτυχίαν· “Ἔρρει τὰ κᾶλα· Μίνδαρος
the having-happened disaster gone the timbers Mindarus
ἀπεσσούα· πεινῶντι τῶνδρες· ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρᾶν.”
is-gone are-starving the-men we-are-at-a-loss what one-must do

Alcibiades' men scorn Thrasyllus' troops until a joint victory over Pharnabazus unites them; he besieges Chalcedon, kills Hippocrates, and swears to the generals' terms with Pharnabazus once Pharnabazus has sworn. He takes Selymbria by a daring entry and a proclamation, then sends his Thracians out to spare it from plunder, and wins Byzantium through traitors, one of whom, Anaxilaus, is acquitted at Sparta. He sails home with spoils and captured ships; Duris' tale of a flute-player and purple sails is in none of the historians. The city receives him with tears and crowns, reckoning that Sicily would not have been lost had he kept the command.

29 Οὕτω δ' ἐπήρθησαν οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου στρατευσάμενοι
so and were-elated those with — Alcibiades having-served
καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφρόνησαν ὥστ' ἀπαξιοῦν ἔτι τοῖς ἄλλοις
and so-much were-proud so-that to-disdain still with-the other
καταμιγνύναι στρατιώταις ἑαυτοὺς πολλάκις ἡττημένοις
to-mix soldiers themselves often having-been-defeated
ἀηττήτους ὄντας. καὶ γὰρ οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον συνεβεβήκει
undefeated being and for not much before it-had-happened
πταίσαντος περὶ Ἔφεσον τοῦ Θρασύλλου τὸ χαλκοῦν
having-failed near Ephesus — Thrasyllus the bronze
ἀνεστάναι τρόπαιον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ τῶν
to-have-been-set-up trophy by the Ephesians for disgrace of-the
Ἀθηναίων. ταῦτ' οὖν ὠνείδιζον οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου
Athenians these-things then reproached those with — Alcibiades
τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Θρασύλλου, μεγαλύνοντες αὑτοὺς καὶ τὸν
to-those with — Thrasyllus magnifying themselves and the
στρατηγόν, ἐκείνοις δὲ μήτε γυμνασίων μήτε χώρας ἐν
general with-those and neither of-exercise-grounds nor of-space in
στρατοπέδῳ κοινωνεῖν ἐθέλοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἱππέας

τε πολλοὺς ἔχων καὶ πεζοὺς ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς ἐμβεβληκόσιν
both many having and foot-soldiers attacked them having-invaded
εἰς τὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν, ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκβοηθήσας ἐπ'
into the of-Abydenes — and Alcibiades having-sallied-out against
αὐτὸν ἐτρέψατο καὶ κατεδίωξεν ἄχρι σκότους μετὰ τοῦ
him routed and pursued until darkness with —
Θρασύλλου, καὶ ἀνεμίγνυντο καὶ κοινῇ φιλοφρονούμενοι
Thrasyllus and they-mingled and in-common showing-friendship
καὶ χαίροντες ἐπανῄεσαν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.
and rejoicing returned to the camp
Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ στήσας τρόπαιον ἐλεηλάτει τὴν
on-the and next-day having-set-up a-trophy he-plundered the
Φαρναβάζου χώραν οὐδενὸς ἀμύνεσθαι τολμῶντος. ἱερεῖς
of-Pharnabazus country no-one to-resist daring priests
μέντοι καὶ ἱερείας ἔλαβε μέν, ἀλλ' ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων.
however and priestesses he-took indeed but released-them without ransom
Χαλκηδονίοις δ' ἀφεστῶσι καὶ δεδεγμένοις φρουρὰν καὶ
with-Chalcedonians and having-revolted and having-received a-garrison and
ἁρμοστὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡρμημένος πολεμεῖν, ἀκούσας
harmost of-Lacedaemonians setting-out to-make-war having-heard
δ' ὅτι τὴν λείαν πᾶσαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας συναγαγόντες εἰς
and that the booty all from the country having-collected to
Βιθυνοὺς ὑπεκτίθενται φίλους ὄντας, ἦκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους
Bithynians they-are-depositing friends being he-came to the borders
ἄγων τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ κήρυκα προπέμψας ἐνεκάλει
leading the army and a-herald having-sent-ahead he-accused
τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς. οἱ δὲ δείσαντες τήν τε λείαν ἀπέδοσαν
the Bithynians they and having-feared the both booty gave-back
αὐτῷ καὶ φιλίαν ὡμολόγησαν.
to-him and friendship agreed

30 Ἀποτειχιζομένης δὲ τῆς Χαλκηδόνος ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς
being-walled-off and — Chalcedon from sea to
θάλατταν, ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἦκεν ὡς λύσων τὴν πολιορκίαν,
sea — Pharnabazus came as going-to-raise the siege
καὶ Ἱπποκράτης ὁ ἁρμοστὴς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν
and Hippocrates the harmost from the city having-led-out the
σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἐπεχείρει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης
with himself force attacked the Athenians — and Alcibiades
ἅμα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἀντιτάξας τὸ στράτευμα, τὸν μὲν
at-once against both having-arrayed the army — indeed
Φαρνάβαζον αἰσχρῶς φεύγειν ἠνάγκασε, τὸν δ' Ἱπποκράτη
Pharnabazus shamefully to-flee compelled — and Hippocrates
διέφθειρε καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἡττηθέντας.
he-killed and many of-those about him having-been-defeated
Εἶτ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκπλεύσας εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἠργυρολόγει
then himself indeed having-sailed-out to the Hellespont raised-money
καὶ Σηλυβρίαν εἷλεν, ἀφειδήσας ἑαυτοῦ παρὰ τὸν καιρόν.
and Selymbria took having-been-unsparing of-himself beyond the occasion
οἱ γὰρ ἐνδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν συνέθεντο μὲν ἀνασχήσειν
those for betraying the city had-agreed indeed to-hold-up
πυρσὸν αὐτῷ μεσούσης νυκτός, ἠναγκάσθησαν δὲ τοῦτο
a-torch for-him being-mid night they-were-compelled but this
ποιῆσαι πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ, τῶν συνωμοτῶν τινα φοβηθέντες
to-do before the time of-the conspirators one fearing
ἐξαίφνης μεταβαλόμενον. ἀρθέντος οὖν τοῦ πυρσοῦ
suddenly changing-sides having-been-raised then the torch
μηδέπω τῆς στρατιᾶς οὔσης ἑτοίμης, ἀναλαβὼν ὅσον
not-yet the army being ready having-taken as-many-as
τριάκοντα περὶ αὑτὸν ἐπείγετο δρόμῳ πρὸς τὰ τείχη, τοὺς
thirty about himself he-hastened at-a-run to the walls the
ἄλλους ἕπεσθαι κατὰ τάχος κελεύσας. ἀνοιχθείσης δὲ τῆς
others to-follow in haste having-bidden having-been-opened and the

πύλης αὐτῷ καὶ προσγενομένων τοῖς τριάκοντα πελταστῶν
gate to-him and having-joined to-the thirty of-peltasts
εἴκοσι παρεισπεσὼν εὐθὺς ᾔσθετο τοὺς Σηλυβριανοὺς
twenty having-burst-in at-once he-perceived the Selymbrians
ἐξ ἐναντίας μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπιφερομένους. ἐπεὶ δ'
from opposite with the arms bearing-down when and
ὑποστάντι μὲν οὐκ ἐφαίνετο σωτηρία, πρὸς δὲ
for-one-standing-his-ground indeed not appeared safety for and
τὸ φυγεῖν, ἀήττητος ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν ταῖς
the to-flee undefeated until the day that in the
στρατηγίαις γεγονώς, φιλονεικότερον εἶχε, τῇ σάλπιγγι
generalships having-been more-contentiously he-felt with-the trumpet
σημήνας σιωπὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἕνα τῶν παρόντων ἀνειπεῖν
having-signaled silence he-bade one of-those present to-proclaim
Σηλυβριανοῖς Ἀθηναίους ἐναντία ὅπλα μὴ τίθεσθαι. τοῦτο
to-Selymbrians Athenians opposite arms not to-take-up this
τὸ κήρυγμα τοὺς μὲν ἀμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὴν
the proclamation the indeed duller made toward the
μάχην, ὡς τῶν πολεμίων ἔνδον ὄντων ἁπάντων, οἱ δὲ
battle as the enemies inside being all the others
ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἡδίους ἐγένοντο πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις. ἐν ᾧ
with-the hopes more-glad became toward the settlements in which
δὲ συστάντες ἀλλήλοις ἐδίδοσαν λόγον, ἐπῆλθεν ἡ
and having-come-together with-one-another they-were-giving account came-up the
στρατιὰ τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, καὶ τεκμαιρόμενος, ὅπερ ἦν,
army — to-Alcibiades and inferring what-indeed was
εἰρηνικὰ φρονεῖν τοὺς Σηλυβριανούς, ἔδεισε μὴ τὴν πόλιν
peaceful-things to-intend the Selymbrians he-feared lest the city
οἱ Θρᾷκες διαρπάσωσιν. ἦσαν δὲ πολλοί, χάριτι τοῦ
the Thracians plunder they-were and many for-the-sake —
Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ δι' εὔνοιαν στρατευόμενοι προθύμως.
of-Alcibiades and through goodwill serving eagerly

ἀπέπεμψεν οὖν τούτους ἅπαντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ
he-sent-away then these all from the city the and
Σηλυβριανοὺς δεηθέντας οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν, ἀλλὰ χρήματα
Selymbrians having-begged nothing he-wronged but money
λαβὼν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταστήσας ἀπῆλθεν.
having-taken and a-garrison having-installed went-away

31 Οἱ δὲ πολιορκοῦντες τὴν Χαλκηδόνα στρατηγοὶ σπονδὰς
the and besieging — Chalcedon generals a-truce
ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον ἐπὶ τῷ χρήματα λαβεῖν
made with Pharnabazus on-condition the money to-receive
καὶ Χαλκηδονίους ὑπηκόους πάλιν Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι, τὴν δὲ
and Chalcedonians subject again to-Athenians to-be the and
Φαρναβάζου χώραν μὴ ἀδικεῖν, Φαρνάβαζον δὲ πρέσβεσιν
of-Pharnabazus country not to-harm Pharnabazus and for-envoys
Ἀθηναίων πρὸς βασιλέα πομπὴν μετ᾽ ἀσφαλείας παρασχεῖν.
of-Athenians to the-king escort with safety to-provide
ὡς οὖν ἐπανελθόντα τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἠξίου
when then having-returned — Alcibiades — Pharnabazus asked
καὶ αὐτὸν ὀμόσαι περὶ τῶν ὡμολογημένων, οὐκ ἔφη
also him to-swear about the things-agreed not he-said
πρότερον ἢ ἐκεῖνον αὐτοῖς ὀμόσαι.
before than that-one to-them swear
Γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὅρκων ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους ἀφεστῶτας ἦλθε
having-been-taken and the oaths against Byzantines having-revolted he-went
καὶ περιετείχιζε τὴν πόλιν. Ἀναξιλάου δὲ καὶ Λυκούργου
and walled-around the city Anaxilaus and and Lycurgus
καί τινων ἄλλων συνθεμένων ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ παραδώσειν τὴν
and some others having-agreed on safety to-hand-over the
πόλιν, διαδοὺς λόγον ὡς ἀνίστησιν αὐτοὺς πράγματα
city having-spread-about a-report that recalls them affairs
νεώτερα συνιστάμενα περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, ἡμέρας ἀπέπλει
newer being-formed about — Ionia by-day he-sailed-away

ταῖς ναυσὶ πάσαις, νυκτὸς δ' ὑποστρέψας αὐτὸς μὲν
with-the ships all by-night and having-turned-back himself indeed
ἀπέβη μετὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ προσελθὼν τοῖς τείχεσιν
disembarked with the hoplites and having-approached the walls
ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, αἱ δὲ νῆες ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα πλεύσασαι καὶ
quiet kept the and ships to the harbor having-sailed and
βιαζόμεναι κραυγῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ θορύβοις καὶ ψόφοις ἅμα
forcing with-shouting both much and uproars and noises at-once
μὲν ἐξέπληττον τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ τοὺς Βυζαντίους, ἅμα
indeed they-terrified by-the unexpectedness the Byzantines at-once
δὲ τοῖς ἀττικίζουσι παρεῖχον ἐπ' ἀδείας τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην
and to-the Atticizers gave in security — Alcibiades
δέχεσθαι, πάντων ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα καὶ τὰς ναῦς βοηθούντων.
to-receive all to the harbor and the ships hurrying-to-help
οὐ μὴν ἀμαχεὶ προσεχώρησαν· οἱ γὰρ παρόντες ἐν τῷ
not indeed without-a-fight they-came-over the for present in —
Βυζαντίῳ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς τοὺς
Byzantium Peloponnesians and Boeotians and Megarians those
μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐτρέψαντο καὶ καθεῖρξαν εἰς τὰς
indeed from the ships routed and shut-up into the
ναῦς πάλιν, τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους ἔνδον ὄντας αἰσθόμενοι
ships again the and Athenians inside being having-perceived
καὶ συντάξαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐχώρουν ὁμόσε. καρτερᾶς δὲ
and having-drawn-up themselves went to-close-quarters fierce and
μάχης γενομένης ἐνίκησεν Ἀλκιβιάδης τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας
battle having-taken-place won Alcibiades the right wing
ἔχων, Θηραμένης δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων
having Theramenes and the left and of-the enemies
τοὺς περιγενομένους ὅσον τριακοσίους ζῶντας ἔλαβε.
those surviving about three-hundred alive he-took

Βυζαντίων δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οὐδεὶς ἀπέθανεν οὐδ'
of-Byzantines but after the battle no-one died nor
ἔφυγεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις γὰρ οἱ ἄνδρες παρέδοσαν τὴν πόλιν
was-exiled on these for the men handed-over the city
καὶ ταῦτα συνέθεντο, μηδὲν αὑτοῖς ἴδιον ὑπεξελόμενοι.
and these-things agreed nothing for-themselves private having-reserved
διὸ καὶ δίκην προδοσίας ἐν Λακεδαίμονι φεύγων ὁ
wherefore also trial for-treason in Lacedaemon defending —
Ἀναξίλαος ἐφάνη τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον οὐκ αἰσχύνων. ἔφη
Anaxilaus appeared by-the speech the deed not disgracing he-said
γὰρ οὐκ ὢν Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἀλλὰ Βυζάντιος, οὐδὲ τὴν
for not being a-Lacedaemonian but a-Byzantine nor —
Σπάρτην κινδυνεύουσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον ὁρῶν, τῆς μὲν
Sparta being-in-danger but — Byzantium seeing the indeed
πόλεως ἀποτετειχισμένης, μηδενὸς δ' εἰσαγομένου, τὸν
city walled-off nothing and being-brought-in the
δ' ὄντα σῖτον ἐν τῇ πόλει Πελοποννησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν
and existing grain in the city Peloponnesians and Boeotians
ἐσθιόντων, Βυζαντίων δὲ πεινώντων σὺν τέκνοις καὶ
eating Byzantines and starving with children and
γυναιξίν, οὐ προδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ πολέμων καὶ
wives not to-have-betrayed to-the enemies but from-wars and
κακῶν ἀπαλλάξαι τὴν πόλιν, μιμούμενος τοὺς ἀρίστους
evils to-have-freed the city imitating the best
Λακεδαιμονίων, οἷς ἓν καλὸν ἁπλῶς καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι
of-Lacedaemonians to-whom one honorable simply and just is
τὸ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι
the of-the fatherland advantage the indeed then Lacedaemonians
ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ᾐδέσθησαν καὶ ἀπέλυσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας.
these-things having-heard felt-respect and acquitted the men

Ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης ἰδεῖν τε ποθῶν ἤδη τὰ οἴκοι, καὶ 32
— and Alcibiades to-see both longing now the home-things and
ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀφθῆναι βουλόμενος τοῖς πολίταις νενικηκὼς
still more to-be-seen wishing by-the citizens having-conquered
τοὺς πολεμίους τοσαυτάκις, ἀνήχθη, πολλαῖς μὲν ἀσπίσι
the enemies so-often put-out-to-sea with-many indeed shields
καὶ λαφύροις κύκλῳ κεκοσμημένων τῶν Ἀττικῶν τριήρων,
and spoils around adorned the Attic triremes
πολλὰς δ' ἐφελκόμενος αἰχμαλώτους, ἔτι δὲ πλείω κομίζων
many and towing captive-ships still and more bringing
ἀκροστόλια τῶν διεφθαρμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κεκρατημένων.
figureheads of-those destroyed by him and overpowered
ἦσαν γὰρ οὐκ ἐλάττους συναμφότεραι διακοσίων.
they-were for not fewer both-together than-two-hundred
Ἃ δὲ Δοῦρις ὁ Σάμιος Ἀλκιβιάδου φάσκων ἀπόγονος εἶναι
what and Duris the Samian of-Alcibiades claiming descendant to-be
προστίθησι τούτοις, αὐλεῖν μὲν εἰρεσίαν τοῖς ἐλαύνουσι
adds to-these to-play-the-flute indeed rowing-song for-the rowers
Χρυσόγονον τὸν πυθιονίκην, κελεύειν δὲ Καλλιππίδην
Chrysogonus the Pythian-victor to-call-the-stroke and Callippides
τὸν τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ὑποκριτήν, στατοὺς καὶ ξυστίδας
the of-the tragedies actor long-robes and mantles
καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἐναγώνιον ἀμπεχομένους κόσμον, ἱστίῳ
and the other theatrical wearing attire with-a-sail
δ' ἁλουργῷ τὴν ναυαρχίδα προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς λιμέσιν,
and purple the flagship to-bear-in to-the harbors
ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης ἐπικωμάζοντος, οὔτε Θεόπομπος οὔτ'
as-if from a-drinking-bout someone-reveling neither Theopompus nor
Ἔφορος οὔτε Ξενοφῶν γέγραφεν, οὔτ' εἰκὸς ἦν οὕτως
Ephorus nor Xenophon has-written nor likely was-it so
ἐντρυφῆσαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ φυγὴν καὶ συμφοράς
to-have-reveled-insolently with-the Athenians after exile and misfortunes

τοσαύτας κατερχόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος καὶ δεδιὼς κατήγετο,
so-great returning but he even fearing put-in
καὶ καταχθεὶς οὐ πρότερον ἀπέβη τῆς τριήρους, πρὶν
and having-put-in not before he-disembarked from-the trireme than
στὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἰδεῖν Εὐρυπτόλεμόν τε
standing on the deck to-see Euryptolemus both
τὸν ἀνεψιὸν παρόντα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων καὶ οἰκείων
the cousin present and of-the other friends and kinsmen
συχνοὺς ἐκδεχομένους καὶ παρακαλοῦντας.
many awaiting and calling
Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπέβη, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς οὐδ'
when and he-disembarked the indeed other generals not-even
ὁρᾶν ἐδόκουν ἀπαντῶντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς δ' ἐκεῖνον
to-see seemed meeting the people to and him
συντρέχοντες ἐβόων, ἠσπάζοντο, παρέπεμπον, ἐστεφάνουν
running-together they-shouted they-greeted escorted crowned
προσιόντες, οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι προσελθεῖν ἄπωθεν ἐθεῶντο,
approaching those and not being-able to-approach from-afar gazed
καὶ τοῖς νέοις ἐδείκνυσαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. πολὺ δὲ καὶ
and to-the young pointed-out the older-men much and also
δάκρυον τῷ χαίροντι τῆς πόλεως ἀνεκέκρατο, καὶ μνήμη
tears with-the rejoicing of-the city was-mixed and memory
πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν εὐτυχίαν τῶν πρόσθεν ἀτυχημάτων,
toward the present good-fortune of-the former misfortunes
λογιζομένοις ὡς οὔτ' ἂν Σικελίας διήμαρτον οὔτ' ἄλλο
reckoning that neither — Sicily they-would-have-failed-of nor other
τι τῶν προσδοκηθέντων ἐξέφυγεν αὐτοὺς ἐάσαντας
anything of-the things-expected would-have-escaped them having-let
Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐπὶ τῶν τότε πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως
Alcibiades over the then affairs and the force
ἐκείνης, εἰ νῦν τὴν πόλιν παραλαβὼν ὀλίγου δέουσαν
that if now the city having-taken-over little lacking

ἐκπεπτωκέναι τῆς θαλάττης, κατὰ γῆν δὲ μόλις τῶν
to-have-been-driven from-the sea by land and hardly of-the
προαστείων κρατοῦσαν, αὐτὴν δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν στασιάζουσαν,
suburbs mastering itself and against itself in-faction
ἐκ λυπρῶν ἔτι λειψάνων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστήσας οὐ
from wretched still remnants and humble having-raised-up not
μόνον τῆς θαλάττης τὸ κράτος ἀποδέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
only of-the sea the mastery he-has-restored but also
πεζῇ νικῶσαν ἀποδείκνυσι πανταχοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους.
on-land victorious he-shows everywhere over-the enemies

IX · ELEUSIS AND THE SECOND FALL

Restored on Critias' motion, he is crowned and made general with full powers, and the priests revoke their curses; only the day of the Plynteria seems ill-omened. He leads the Mysteries' procession to Eleusis by land under arms, past Agis' garrison at Decelea. Some urge him to be tyrant; he sails to Andros but cannot take the city. While he is away, his pilot Antiochus loses ships to Lysander off Ephesus; Thrasybulus accuses him, other generals are chosen, and he withdraws to his forts in Thrace, and later warns the generals at Aegospotami.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ψήφισμα τῆς καθόδου πρότερον ἐκεκύρωτο, 33
the indeed then decree of-the return before had-been-ratified
Κριτίου τοῦ Καλλαίσχρου γράψαντος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς
Critias — son-of-Callaeschrus having-proposed-it as himself in his

ἐλεγείαις πεποίηκεν, ὑπομιμνήσκων τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην τῆς
elegies has-written reminding — Alcibiades of-the
χάριτος ἐν τούτοις·
favor in these-lines

Γνώμη δ' ἥ σε κατήγαγ', ἐγὼ ταύτην ἐν ἅπασιν
the-motion and which you brought-back I this among all
εἶπον, καὶ γράψας τοῦργον ἔδρασα τόδε.
spoke and having-written the-deed did this
σφραγὶς δ' ἡμετέρης γλώττης ἐπὶ τοῖσδεσι κεῖται·
seal and of-our tongue on these-words lies

τότε δὲ τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
then and the people having-assembled into the assembly
παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὑτοῦ πάθη
having-come-forward — Alcibiades and the indeed his-own sufferings
κλαύσας καὶ ὀλοφυράμενος, ἐγκαλέσας δὲ μικρὰ καὶ
having-wept-over and having-lamented having-complained and small and
μέτρια τῷ δήμῳ, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἀναθεὶς αὑτοῦ
moderate-things against-the people the and whole having-ascribed his
τινι τύχῃ πονηρᾷ καὶ φθονερῷ δαίμονι, πλεῖστα δ' εἰς
to-some fortune evil and to-an-envious deity most and to
ἐλπίδας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν διαλεχθεὶς καὶ
hopes of-the enemies and toward the courage having-discoursed and
παρορμήσας, στεφάνοις μὲν ἐστεφανώθη χρυσοῖς, ᾑρέθη
having-encouraged with-crowns indeed he-was-crowned golden was-chosen
δ' ἅμα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν αὐτοκράτωρ
and at-once both by land and by sea with-full-powers
στρατηγός. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῷ, καὶ
general they-voted and the property to-give-back to-him and
τὰς ἀρὰς ἀφοσιώσασθαι πάλιν Εὐμολπίδας καὶ Κήρυκας, ἃς
the curses to-revoke again Eumolpidae and Ceryces which

ἐποιήσαντο τοῦ δήμου προστάξαντος. ἀφοσιουμένων δὲ τῶν
they-had-made the people having-ordered revoking and the
ἄλλων, Θεόδωρος ὁ ἱεροφάντης "Ἀλλ' ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "οὐδὲ
others Theodorus the hierophant but I he-said not-even
κατηρασάμην αὐτῷ κακὸν οὐδέν, εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖ τὴν πόλιν."
cursed him evil any if nothing he-wrongs the city
Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου λαμπρῶς εὐημεροῦντος 34
so and — Alcibiades brilliantly prospering
ὑπέθραττεν ἐνίους ὅμως ὁ τῆς καθόδου καιρός. ᾗ
disturbed some nevertheless the of-the return occasion on-which
γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ κατέπλευσεν, ἐδρᾶτο τὰ Πλυντήρια
for day he-sailed-in was-being-performed the Plynteria
τῇ θεῷ. δρῶσι δὲ τὰ ὄργια Πραξιεργίδαι Θαργηλιῶνος
for-the goddess perform and the rites Praxiergidae of-Thargelion
ἕκτῃ φθίνοντος ἀπόρρητα, τόν τε κόσμον καθελόντες
on-the-sixth waning secret the both adornment having-taken-off
καὶ τὸ ἕδος κατακαλύψαντες. ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα
and the image having-veiled whence among the most
τῶν ἀποφράδων τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἄπρακτον Ἀθηναῖοι
of-the unlucky-days the day this inactive Athenians
νομίζουσιν. οὐ φιλοφρόνως οὖν οὐδ' εὐμενῶς ἐδόκει
consider not kindly then nor graciously it-seemed
προσδεχομένη τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἡ θεὸς παρακαλύπτεσθαι
receiving — Alcibiades the goddess to-veil-herself
καὶ ἀπελαύνειν ἑαυτῆς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πάντων γεγονότων
and to-drive-away from-herself not indeed but all having-happened
τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ κατὰ γνώμην, καὶ πληρουμένων ἑκατὸν
— for-Alcibiades according-to wish and being-manned a-hundred
τριήρων αἷς αὖθις ἐκπλεῖν ἔμελλε, φιλοτιμία τις οὐκ
triremes with-which again to-sail-out he-was-about ambition some not
ἀγεννὴς προσπεσοῦσα κατέσχεν αὐτὸν ἄχρι μυστηρίων.
ignoble having-befallen detained him until the-mysteries

Ἀφ᾽ οὗ γὰρ ἐπετειχίσθη Δεκέλεια καὶ τῶν εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα
from which for was-fortified Deceleia and the to Eleusis
παρόδων ἐκράτουν οἱ πολέμιοι παρόντες, οὐδένα κόσμον
roads controlled the enemies being-at-hand no splendor
εἶχεν ἡ τελετὴ πεμπομένη κατὰ θάλατταν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυσίαι
had the rite being-sent by sea but also sacrifices
καὶ χορεῖαι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν δρωμένων καθ᾽ ὁδὸν ἱερῶν, ὅταν
and dances and many of-the performed on-the way sacred-rites whenever
ἐξελαύνωσι τὸν Ἴακχον, ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης ἐξελείπετο. καλὸν οὖν
they-lead-out — Iacchus under necessity were-omitted fine then
ἐφαίνετο τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ καὶ πρὸς θεῶν ὁσιότητα καὶ πρὸς
it-appeared — to-Alcibiades both toward gods piety and toward
ἀνθρώπων δόξαν ἀποδοῦναι τὸ πάτριον σχῆμα τοῖς ἱεροῖς,
of-men reputation to-restore the ancestral form to-the rites
παραπέμψαντα πεζῇ τὴν τελετὴν καὶ δορυφορήσαντα παρὰ
having-escorted on-foot the rite and having-guarded past
τοὺς πολεμίους· ἢ γὰρ ἀτρεμήσαντα κομιδῇ κολούσειν καὶ
the enemies either for having-kept-quiet utterly to-lop and
ταπεινώσειν τὸν Ἄγιν, ἢ μάχην ἱερὰν καὶ θεοφιλῆ περὶ τῶν
to-humble — Agis or a-battle holy and god-beloved for the
ἁγιωτάτων καὶ μεγίστων ἐν ὄψει τῆς πατρίδος μαχεῖσθαι,
holiest and greatest in sight of-the fatherland to-fight
καὶ πάντας ἔξειν μάρτυρας τοὺς πολίτας τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας.
and all to-have as-witnesses the citizens of-the valor
Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἔγνω καὶ προεῖπεν Εὐμολπίδαις καὶ Κήρυξι,
when and these-things he-decided and announced to-Eumolpidae and Ceryces
σκοποὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων ἐκάθισε καὶ προδρόμους τινὰς
lookouts indeed on the heights he-posted and runners some
ἅμ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ προεξέπεμψεν, ἱερεῖς δὲ καὶ μύστας καὶ
together-with day sent-ahead priests and and initiates and
μυσταγωγοὺς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις περικαλύψας
initiators having-taken-along and with-the arms having-covered-them

ἦγεν ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ μετὰ σιωπῆς, θέαμα σεμνὸν καὶ
he-led in order and with silence a-spectacle august and
θεοπρεπὲς τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐκείνην ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ὑπὸ
god-befitting the generalship that displaying by
τῶν μὴ φθονούντων ἱεροφαντίαν καὶ μυσταγωγίαν
those not envying a-hierophancy and mystagogy
προσαγορευομένην. μηδενὸς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιθέσθαι
called none and of-the enemies to-attack
τολμήσαντος ἀσφαλῶς ἐπαναγαγὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἤρθη
having-dared safely having-led-back into the city he-was-elated
μὲν αὐτὸς τῷ φρονήματι καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆρεν ὡς
indeed himself in-the spirit and the army he-elated as
ἄμαχον καὶ ἀήττητον οὖσαν ἐκείνου στρατηγοῦντος, τοὺς
invincible and undefeated being he being-general the
δὲ φορτικοὺς καὶ πένητας οὕτως ἐδημαγώγησεν ὥστ' ἐρᾶν
but vulgar and poor so he-swayed so-that to-love
ἔρωτα θαυμαστὸν ὑπ' ἐκείνου τυραννεῖσθαι, καὶ λέγειν
a-love wonderful by him to-be-ruled-as-by-a-tyrant and to-say
ἐνίους καὶ προσιέναι παρακελευομένους ὅπως τοῦ φθόνου
some and to-approach urging that than-the envy
κρείττων γενόμενος καὶ καταβαλὼν ψηφίσματα καὶ νόμους
superior having-become and having-overthrown decrees and laws
καὶ φλυάρους ἀπολλύντας τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἂν πράξῃ καὶ
and babblers ruining the city as — he-might-act and
χρήσηται τοῖς πράγμασι, μὴ δεδιὼς τοὺς συκοφάντας.
deal with-the affairs not fearing the informers
Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἦν εἶχε διάνοιαν περὶ τῆς τυραννίδος 35
he-himself indeed then he what he-had intention about the tyranny
ἄδηλόν ἐστιν· οἱ δὲ δυνατώτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν φοβηθέντες
unclear it-is the and most-powerful of-the citizens having-feared
ἐσπούδασαν αὐτὸν ἐκπλεῦσαι τὴν ταχίστην, τά τ' ἄλλα
were-eager him to-sail-out the quickest the both other-things

ψηφισάμενοι καὶ συνάρχοντας οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἠθέλησεν.
having-voted and colleagues whom he wished
ἐκπλεύσας δὲ ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ καὶ προσβαλὼν Ἄνδρῳ,
having-sailed-out and with-the hundred ships and having-attacked Andros
μάχῃ μὲν ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὅσοι
in-battle indeed he-overcame them and Lacedaemonians as-many-as
παρῆσαν, οὐχ εἷλε δὲ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τῶν καινῶν
were-present not took but the city but this of-the new
ἐγκλημάτων πρῶτον ὑπῆρξε κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς.
charges first was-available against him to-the enemies
Ἔοικε δ᾽, εἴ τις ἄλλος, ὑπὸ τῆς αὑτοῦ δόξης
seems and if anyone other by the his-own reputation
καταλυθῆναι καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης. μεγάλη γὰρ οὖσα καὶ
to-have-been-overthrown also Alcibiades great for being and
τόλμης καὶ συνέσεως γέμουσα ἀφ᾽ ὧν κατώρθωσεν, ὕποπτον
of-daring and intelligence full from what he-succeeded suspicious
αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐλλεῖπον, ὡς οὐ σπουδάσαντος, ἀπιστίᾳ τοῦ μὴ
his the falling-short as not having-been-in-earnest through-disbelief of-the not
δυνηθῆναι παρεῖχε· σπουδάσαντα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν διαφυγεῖν.
to-have-been-able it-made having-been-in-earnest for nothing — to-escape
ἤλπιζον δὲ καὶ Χίους ἑαλωκότας ἀκούσεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
they-hoped and also Chians captured to-hear-of and the other
Ἰωνίαν. ὅθεν ἠγανάκτουν μὴ ταχὺ πάντα μηδ᾽ εὐθέως, ὡς
Ionia whence they-were-indignant not quickly everything nor at-once as
ἐβούλοντο, πυνθανόμενοι διαπεπραγμένον, οὐχ ὑπολογιζόμενοι
they-wished learning accomplished not taking-into-account
τὴν ἀχρηματίαν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς πολεμῶν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους βασιλέα
the lack-of-money from which warring against men a-king
μέγαν χορηγὸν ἔχοντας ἠναγκάζετο πολλάκις ἐκπλέων καὶ
great as-paymaster having he-was-compelled often sailing-out and

ἀπολείπων τὸ στρατόπεδον μισθοὺς καὶ τροφὰς πορίζειν. καὶ
leaving the camp wages and provisions to-provide and
γὰρ τὸ τελευταῖον ἔγκλημα διὰ ταύτην ἔλαβε τὴν αἰτίαν.
for the last charge because-of this he-got the cause
Λυσάνδρου γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν ἀποσταλέντος ὑπὸ
Lysander for to the admiralty having-been-sent by
Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ τετρώβολον ἀντὶ τριωβόλου τῷ ναύτῃ
Lacedaemonians and four-obols instead-of three-obols to-the sailor
διδόντος ἐξ ὧν ἔλαβε παρὰ Κύρου χρημάτων, αὐτὸς ἤδη
giving from what he-got from Cyrus of-money himself already
γλίσχρως χορηγῶν καὶ τὸ τριώβολον ἀπῆρεν ἀργυρολογήσων
stingily supplying even the three-obols set-sail going-to-raise-money
ἐπὶ Καρίας. ὁ δ' ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιμελητὴς
to Caria the and left-behind over the ships in-charge
Ἀντίοχος ἀγαθὸς μὲν ἦν κυβερνήτης, ἀνόητος δὲ τἆλλα
Antiochus good indeed was helmsman foolish but in-other-respects
καὶ φορτικός· ἔχων δὲ πρόσταγμα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου
and vulgar having and an-order from — Alcibiades
μηδ' ἂν ἐπιπλέωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι διανυμαχεῖν, οὕτως
not-even if they-sail-against the enemies to-fight-a-sea-battle so
ἐξύβρισε καὶ κατεφρόνησεν ὥστε τὴν αὑτοῦ πληρωσάμενος
ran-riot and despised-them so-that the his-own having-manned
τριήρη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μίαν ἐπιπλεῦσαι τῇ Ἐφέσῳ καὶ παρὰ
trireme and of-the others one to-sail-against — Ephesus and along
τὰς πρῴρας τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν πολλὰ καὶ πράττων
the prows of-the enemy ships many-things both doing
καὶ φθεγγόμενος ἀκόλαστα καὶ βωμολόχα παρεξελαύνειν.
and uttering licentious and buffoonish to-row-past
τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον Λύσανδρος ὀλίγαις ναυσὶν ἐπαναχθεὶς
the indeed then first Lysander with-few ships having-put-out
ἐδίωκεν αὐτόν, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβοηθούντων πάσαις
pursued him of-the and Athenians coming-to-help with-all

ἀναχθεὶς καὶ κρατήσας αὐτόν τε διέφθειρε τὸν Ἀντίοχον
having-put-out and having-prevailed him both killed — Antiochus
καὶ ναῦς ἔλαβε πολλὰς καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ τρόπαιον
and ships took many and men and a-trophy
ἔστησεν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσεν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπανελθὼν
set-up when and these-things heard — Alcibiades having-returned
εἰς Σάμον, ἀνήχθη παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ καὶ προὐκαλεῖτο τὸν
to Samos put-out with-the-whole the fleet and challenged —
Λύσανδρον. ὁ δ' ἠγάπα νενικηκὼς καὶ οὐκ ἀντανήγετο.
Lysander he but was-content having-won and not did-put-out-against-him
36 Τῶν δὲ μισούντων τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ
of-those and hating — Alcibiades in the camp
Θρασύβουλος ὁ Θράσωνος ἐχθρὸς ὢν ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀθήνας
Thrasybulus — son-of-Thraso enemy being sailed to Athens
κατηγορήσων. καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ παροξύνας ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν
going-to-accuse and those there having-incited he-said to the
δῆμον ὡς Ἀλκιβιάδης διέφθαρκε τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰς
people that Alcibiades has-ruined the affairs and the
ναῦς ἀπολώλεκεν, ἐντρυφῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ παραδιδοὺς
ships has-lost wantoning in-the command and handing-over
τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀνθρώποις ἐκ πότων καὶ ναυτικῆς
the generalship to-men from drinking-bouts and sailors'
σπερμολογίας δυναμένοις παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον, ὅπως αὐτὸς
babble being-powerful with him most so-that he-himself
ἐπ' ἀδείας χρηματίζηται περιπλέων καὶ ἀκολασταίνῃ
in security may-make-money sailing-about and may-carouse
μεθυσκόμενος καὶ συνὼν ἑταίραις Ἀβυδηναῖς καὶ Ἰωνίσιν,
getting-drunk and consorting-with courtesans Abydene and Ionian
ἐφορμούντων δι' ὀλίγου τῶν πολεμίων. ἐνεκάλουν δ'
lying-at-anchor at short-distance the enemies they-accused and
αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν κατασκευήν, ἃ κατεσκεύασεν ἐν
him also the of-the walls construction which he-built in

Θρᾴκῃ περὶ Βισάνθην αὑτῷ καταφυγὴν ὡς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι
Thrace near Bisanthe for-himself a-refuge as in the fatherland
μὴ δυνάμενος βιοῦν ἢ μὴ βουλόμενος. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι
not being-able to-live or not wishing the and Athenians
πεισθέντες ἑτέρους εἵλοντο στρατηγούς, ἐνδεικνύμενοι
persuaded other chose generals displaying
τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὀργὴν καὶ κακόνοιαν. ἃ δὴ
the toward him anger and ill-will which-things indeed
πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ δεδοικὼς ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ
learning — Alcibiades and fearing went-away from the
στρατοπέδου παντάπασι, καὶ συναγαγὼν ξένους ἐπολέμει
camp altogether and having-gathered mercenaries made-war
τοῖς ἀβασιλεύτοις Θρᾳξὶν ἰδίᾳ, καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα
on-the kingless Thracians privately and much money
συνήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἁλισκομένων, καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἅμα
collected from those captured and to-the Greeks at-once
τοῖς προσοικοῦσιν ἄδειαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων παρεῖχεν.
those living-near security from the barbarians provided
Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ περὶ Τυδέα καὶ Μένανδρον καὶ Ἀδείμαντον
when and those about Tydeus and Menander and Adeimantus
στρατηγοί, πάσας ὁμοῦ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας τότε ναῦς τοῖς
generals all together the existing then ships for-the
Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς, εἰώθεσαν ἐπιπλεῖν
Athenians having at Goat's Rivers were-accustomed to-sail-against
τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ ναυλοχοῦντι περὶ Λάμψακον ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ
— Lysander lying-in-harbor near Lampsacus together-with day
προκαλούμενοι καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφειν ὀπίσω καὶ διημερεύειν
challenging and again to-turn back and to-spend-the-day
ἀτάκτως καὶ ἀμελῶς, ἅτε δὴ καταφρονοῦντες, ἐγγὺς
disorderly and carelessly inasmuch-as indeed despising near
ὢν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης οὐ περιεῖδεν οὐδ' ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἵππῳ
being — Alcibiades not overlooked nor neglected but on-horse

προσελάσας ἐδίδασκε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅτι κακῶς ὁρμοῦσιν
having-ridden-up he-taught the generals that badly they-lie-at-anchor
ἐν χωρίοις ἀλιμένοις καὶ πόλιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν
in places harborless and a-city not having but from-afar
ἐκ Σηστοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια λαμβάνοντες, καὶ περιορῶντες τὸ
from Sestos the supplies getting and overlooking the
ναυτικόν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς γένηται, πλανώμενον ὅποι τις
navy whenever on the land it-is wandering wherever anyone
θέλοι καὶ διασπειρόμενον, ἀντεφορμοῦντος αὐτοῖς στόλου
wishes and scattering lying-opposite them a-fleet
πρὸς ἐπίταγμα μοναρχικὸν εἰθισμένου σιωπῇ πάντα ποιεῖν.
to command monarchical accustomed in-silence everything to-do

X · THE DEATH OF ALCIBIADES

Alcibiades warns the Athenian generals at Aegospotami to move to Sestos and is sent away; Lysander's surprise attack proves him right. Fearing Sparta, Alcibiades flees to Bithynia and then to Pharnabazus, meaning to go to the king. The Athenians under the Thirty still hope in him, and Critias tells Lysander that Sparta cannot safely rule Athens while he lives; Sparta orders his death. Magaeus and Sousamithres set fire to his house; he dashes through the flames, dagger in hand, and is shot down with javelins and arrows. Timandra buries him in her own clothes. Some say a seduced girl's brothers killed him.

37 Ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντος τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, καὶ παραινοῦντος
these-things and saying — Alcibiades and advising
εἰς Σηστὸν μεθορμίσαι τὸν στόλον, οὐ προσεῖχον οἱ
to Sestos to-move the fleet not attended the
στρατηγοί· Τυδεὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποχωρεῖν,
generals Tydeus and even with insolence bade-him to-go-away
οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ' ἑτέρους στρατηγεῖν. ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης
not for that-one but others to-be-general — and Alcibiades

ὑπονοήσας τι καὶ προδοσίας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπῄει, καὶ
having-suspected something also of-treason in them went-away and
τοῖς προπέμπουσι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου γνωρίμων
to-those escorting-him of-the from the camp acquaintances
ἔλεγεν ὅτι μὴ προπηλακισθεὶς οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν
said that not insulted so by the generals
ὀλίγαις ἂν ἡμέραις ἠνάγκασε Λακεδαιμονίους
in-few — days he-would-have-compelled Lacedaemonians
διανυμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς ἄκοντας ἢ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολιπεῖν. ἐδόκει
to-fight-a-sea-battle with-them unwilling or the ships to-abandon it-seemed
δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀλαζονεύεσθαι, τοῖς δ' εἰκότα λέγειν, εἰ
and to-some indeed to-boast to-others and likely-things to-say if
Θρᾷκας ἐκ γῆς ἐπαγαγὼν πολλοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ ἱππεῖς
Thracians from land having-brought many javelin-men and horsemen
προσμάχοιτο καὶ διαταράττοι τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν.
he-should-attack and throw-into-confusion the camp their
Ὅτι μέντοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀρθῶς συνεῖδε,
that however the errors of-the Athenians rightly he-perceived
ταχὺ τὸ ἔργον ἐμαρτύρησεν. ἄφνω γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ
quickly the event bore-witness suddenly for on-them and
ἀπροσδοκήτως τοῦ Λυσάνδρου προσπεσόντος, ὀκτὼ μόναι
unexpectedly — Lysander having-fallen-upon eight only
τριήρεις ἐξέφυγον μετὰ Κόνωνος, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι μικρὸν
triremes escaped with Conon the and others a-little
ἀπολείπουσαι διακοσίων ἀπήχθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι. τῶν δ'
falling-short of-two-hundred were-led-off captive of-the and
ἀνθρώπων τρισχιλίους ἑλὼν ζῶντας ἀπέσφαξεν ὁ
men three-thousand having-taken alive slaughtered —
Λύσανδρος. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ καὶ
Lysander took and also — Athens in-a-short time and
τὰς ναῦς ἐνέπρησε καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καθεῖλεν.
the ships burned and the long walls pulled-down

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου φοβηθεὶς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἄρχοντας ἤδη
from and this having-feared — Alcibiades ruling already
καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς Βιθυνίαν
both of-land and of-sea the Lacedaemonians to Bithynia
μετέστη, πολλὰ μὲν ἄγων χρήματα, πολλὰ δὲ κομίζων, ἔτι
removed much indeed taking money much and carrying still
δὲ πλείω καταλιπὼν ἐν οἷς ᾤκει τείχεσιν. ἐν δὲ Βιθυνίᾳ
and more having-left in which he-lived walls in and Bithynia
πάλιν οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ἰδίων ἀπολέσας καὶ περικοπεὶς ὑπὸ
again not little of-the his-own having-lost and having-been-stripped by
τῶν ἐκεῖ Θρᾳκῶν, ἔγνω μὲν ἀναβαίνειν πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην,
the there Thracians resolved indeed to-go-up to Artaxerxes
ἑαυτόν τε μὴ χείρονα Θεμιστοκλέους πειρωμένῳ βασιλεῖ
himself both not worse than-Themistocles making-trial to-the-king
φανεῖσθαι νομίζων, καὶ κρείττονα τὴν πρόφασιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ
to-be-shown thinking and better the pretext not for against
τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ
the citizens as that-one but on-behalf-of the fatherland against
τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπουργήσειν καὶ δεήσεσθαι τῆς βασιλέως
the enemies he-would-serve and would-ask the of-the-king
δυνάμεως· εὐπορίαν δὲ τῆς ἀνόδου μετὰ ἀσφαλείας
power easy-means and of-the journey-up with safety
μάλιστα Φαρνάβαζον οἰόμενος παρέξειν, ᾤχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν
most Pharnabazus thinking to-provide he-went to him
εἰς Φρυγίαν, καὶ συνδιῆγε θεραπεύων ἅμα καὶ τιμώμενος.
into Phrygia and lived-with-him paying-court at-once and being-honored
38 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ χαλεπῶς μὲν ἔφερον καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας
Athenians and hard indeed bore and of-the leadership
ἀποστερηθέντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφελόμενος
having-been-deprived when and also the freedom having-taken-away
αὐτῶν ὁ Λύσανδρος ἀνδράσι τριάκοντα παρέδωκε τὴν
their — Lysander to-men thirty handed-over the

πόλιν, οἷς οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο σώζεσθαι δυνάμενοι λογισμοῖς,
city which not they-used to-be-saved being-able reasonings
ἀπολωλότων ἤδη τῶν πραγμάτων, συνίεσαν, ὀλοφυρόμενοι
having-been-lost already the affairs they-realized lamenting
καὶ διεξιόντες τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὑτῶν καὶ ἀγνοίας, ὧν
and going-through the errors their-own and follies of-which
μεγίστην ἐποιοῦντο τὴν δευτέραν πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην ὀργήν.
greatest they-made the second toward Alcibiades anger
ἀπερρίφη γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν αὐτός, ἀλλ' ὑπηρέτῃ
was-cast-off for nothing doing-wrong himself but at-a-subordinate
χαλεπήναντες ὀλίγας ἀποβαλόντι ναῦς αἰσχρῶς, αἴσχιον
being-angry few having-lost ships disgracefully more-disgracefully
αὐτοὶ τὸν κράτιστον καὶ πολεμικώτατον ἀφείλοντο τῆς
themselves the strongest and most-warlike they-took-away-from the
πόλεως στρατηγόν. ἔτι δ' οὖν ὅμως ἐκ τῶν παρόντων
city general still and then nevertheless from the present-things
ἀνέφερέ τις ἐλπὶς ἀμυδρὰ μὴ παντάπασιν ἔρρειν τὰ
was-rising some hope faint not altogether to-be-lost the
πράγματα τῶν Ἀθηναίων Ἀλκιβιάδου περιόντος· οὔτε γὰρ
affairs of-the Athenians Alcibiades surviving neither for
πρότερον ἠγάπησε φεύγων ἀπραγμόνως ζῆν καὶ μεθ'
before was-he-content being-an-exile idly to-live and with
ἡσυχίας, οὔτε νῦν, εἰ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἱκανῶς ἔχει, περιόψεται
quiet nor now if the about himself sufficiently are he-will-overlook
Λακεδαιμονίους ὑβρίζοντας καὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα παροινοῦντας.
Lacedaemonians running-riot and the thirty behaving-drunkenly
Ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἦν ἄλογον οὕτως ὀνειροπολεῖν τοὺς
these-things and not was unreasonable so to-dream the
πολλούς, ὁπότε καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα φροντίζειν ἐπῄει καὶ
many when even for-the thirty to-be-concerned occurred and
διαπυνθάνεσθαι καὶ λόγον ἔχειν πλεῖστον ὧν ἐκεῖνος
to-inquire-closely and account to-take most of-what he

ἔπραττε καὶ διενοεῖτο. τέλος δὲ Κριτίας ἐδίδασκε Λύσανδρον
was-doing and was-planning finally and Critias taught Lysander
ὡς Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἔστι δημοκρατουμένων ἀσφαλῶς ἄρχειν
that Athenians not it-is-possible democratically-governed safely to-rule
Λακεδαιμονίοις τῆς Ἑλλάδος· Ἀθηναίους δέ, κἂν πράῳς
for-Lacedaemonians — of-Greece Athenians but even-if mildly
πάνυ καὶ καλῶς πρὸς ὀλιγαρχίαν ἔχωσιν, οὐκ ἐάσει ζῶν
very and well toward oligarchy they-be-disposed not will-allow living
Ἀλκιβιάδης ἀτρεμεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν καθεστώτων. οὐ μὴν ἐπείσθη
Alcibiades to-keep-quiet in the established-order not indeed was-persuaded
γε πρότερον τούτοις ὁ Λύσανδρος ἢ παρὰ τῶν οἴκοι
at-least before by-these — Lysander than from the at-home
τελῶν σκυτάλην ἐλθεῖν κελεύουσαν ἐκ ποδῶν ποιήσασθαι
authorities a-dispatch-staff to-come bidding out-of the-way to-make
τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, εἴτε κἀκείνων φοβηθέντων τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ
— Alcibiades whether those-too having-feared the sharpness and
μεγαλοπραγμοσύνην τοῦ ἀνδρός, εἴτε τῷ Ἄγιδι χαριζομένων.
enterprise of-the man or — Agis gratifying
39 Ὡς οὖν ὁ Λύσανδρος ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ταῦτα
when then — Lysander sent to — Pharnabazus these-things
πράττειν κελεύων, ὁ δὲ Μαγαίῳ τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ
to-do bidding he and to-Magaeus both the brother and
Σουσαμίθρῃ τῷ θείῳ προσέταξε τὸ ἔργον, ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν
to-Sousamithres the uncle assigned the task happened indeed in
κώμῃ τινὶ τῆς Φρυγίας ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τότε διαιτώμενος,
village a-certain — of-Phrygia — Alcibiades then living
ἔχων Τιμάνδραν μεθ' αὑτοῦ τὴν ἑταίραν, ὄψιν δὲ κατὰ
having Timandra with himself the courtesan a-vision and in
τοὺς ὕπνους εἶδε τοιαύτην· ἐδόκει περικεῖσθαι μὲν αὐτὸς
the sleep he-saw such he-seemed to-be-wearing indeed himself
τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῆς ἑταίρας, ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν ταῖς
the clothing of-the courtesan her and the head in the

ἀγκάλαις ἔχουσαν αὐτοῦ κοσμεῖν τὸ πρόσωπον ὥσπερ
arms holding his to-adorn the face like
γυναικὸς ὑπογράφουσαν καὶ ψιμυθιοῦσαν. ἕτεροι δέ φασιν
of-a-woman painting and whitening others and say
ἰδεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνοντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς περὶ τὸν
to-have-seen the head cutting-off his those around —
Μαγαῖον ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις καὶ τὸ σῶμα καιόμενον. ἀλλὰ
Magaeus in the sleep and the body burning but
τὴν μὲν ὄψιν οὐ πολὺ γενέσθαι λέγουσι πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς.
the indeed vision not much to-have-been they-say before the death
Οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν εἰσελθεῖν,
the and having-been-sent to him not dared to-go-in
ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ τὴν οἰκίαν περιστάντες ἐνεπίμπρασαν.
but in-a-circle the house having-surrounded set-fire-to-it
αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τῶν μὲν ἱματίων τὰ πλεῖστα
having-perceived and — Alcibiades of-the indeed cloaks the most
καὶ τῶν στρωμάτων συναγαγὼν ἐπέρριψε τῷ πυρί, τῇ
and of-the bedclothes having-gathered threw on-the fire with-the
δ' ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χλαμύδα περιελίξας,
and left hand the his-own cloak having-wrapped-around
τῇ δεξιᾷ σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐξέπεσεν ἀπαθὴς
with-the right having-drawn the dagger he-dashed-out unharmed
ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς πρὶν ἢ διαφλέγεσθαι τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ τοὺς
by the fire before than to-be-burned-through the clothes and the
βαρβάρους ὀφθεὶς διεσκέδασεν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν
barbarians having-been-seen scattered no-one for withstood
αὐτὸν οὐδ' εἰς χεῖρας συνῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἀποστάντες ἔβαλλον
him nor to hands came but having-stood-off they-pelted
ἀκοντίοις καὶ τοξεύμασιν. οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ πεσόντος καὶ τῶν
with-javelins and arrows so and him having-fallen and the
βαρβάρων ἀπελθόντων, ἡ Τιμάνδρα τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνείλετο,
barbarians having-departed — Timandra the corpse took-up

καὶ τοῖς αὑτῆς περιβαλοῦσα καὶ περικαλύψασα χιτωνίσκοις,
and in-the her-own having-wrapped and having-covered tunics
ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐκήδευσε λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως.
from the present-means buried-him splendidly and lavishly
Ταύτης λέγουσι θυγατέρα γενέσθαι Λαΐδα τὴν Κορινθίαν
of-this-woman they-say a-daughter to-have-been Lais the Corinthian
μὲν προσαγορευθεῖσαν, ἐκ δὲ Ὑκκάρων, Σικελικοῦ
indeed called from but Hyccara Sicilian
πολίσματος, αἰχμάλωτον γενομένην. ἔνιοι δὲ τὰ μὲν
small-town captive having-become some and the indeed
ἄλλα περὶ τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου τελευτῆς ὁμολογοῦσι τούτοις,
other-things about the of-Alcibiades end agree with-these
αἰτίαν δέ φασιν οὐ Φαρνάβαζον οὐδὲ Λύσανδρον οὐδὲ
cause but they-say not Pharnabazus nor Lysander nor
Λακεδαιμονίους παρασχεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην
Lacedaemonians to-have-given himself but — Alcibiades
γνωρίμων τινῶν διεφθαρκότα γύναιον ἔχειν σὺν αὑτῷ,
of-notables some having-seduced a-young-woman to-have with himself
τοὺς δ' ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ γυναίου τὴν ὕβριν οὐ μετρίως
the and brothers of-the young-woman the outrage not moderately
φέροντας ἐμπρῆσαί τε τὴν οἰκίαν νύκτωρ, ἐν ᾗ
bearing to-have-set-fire-to both the house by-night in which
διαιτώμενος ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, καὶ καταβαλεῖν
living happened — Alcibiades and to-have-struck-down
αὐτόν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξαλλόμενον.
him as has-been-said through the fire leaping-out

PLUTARCH

ΠΕΛΟΠΙΔΑΣ

Pelopidas

Courage is worth praise when it values virtue highly without despising life, as with Antigonus' sickly soldier who grows cautious when cured, and generals like Iphicrates and Timotheus scorned recklessness. Pelopidas and Marcellus died rashly. Pelopidas, of a great Theban house, gives freely and shares the poverty of Epaminondas, who refuses his wealth. Their friendship, free of envy, is thought to begin at Mantinea, where, fighting beside the Spartans, Epaminondas stands over the wounded Pelopidas until the Spartan king Agesipolis rescues them both.

Κάτων ὁ πρεσβύτερος πρός τινας ἐπαινοῦντας ἄνθρωπον 1
Cato the elder to some praising a-man
ἀλογίστως παράβολον καὶ τολμηρὸν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς
inconsiderately reckless and daring in the warlike-affairs
διαφέρειν ἔφη τὸ πολλοῦ τινα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ
to-differ said the much one the virtue worth and the not
πολλοῦ ἄξιον τὸ ζῆν νομίζειν· ὀρθῶς ἀποφαινόμενος. ὁ
much worth the to-live to-think rightly declaring the
γοῦν παρ' Ἀντιγόνῳ στρατευόμενος ἰταμός, φαῦλος δὲ
at-any-rate with Antigonus serving bold poor but
τὴν ἕξιν καὶ τὸ σῶμα διεφθορώς, ἐρομένου τοῦ βασιλέως
the condition and the body ruined having-asked the king
τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ὠχρότητος ὡμολόγησέ τινα νόσον τῶν
the cause of-the pallor admitted some disease of-the
ἀπορρήτων· ἐπεὶ δὲ φιλοτιμηθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς προσέταξε
secret-ones when and having-been-ambitious the king ordered
τοῖς ἰατροῖς, ἐάν τις ᾖ βοήθεια, μηδὲν ἐλλιπεῖν τῆς ἄκρας
to-the physicians if any is help nothing to-leave-out of-the utmost
ἐπιμελείας, οὕτω θεραπευθεὶς ὁ γενναῖος ἐκεῖνος οὐκέτ' ἦν
care so having-been-cured the noble that-one no-longer was
φιλοκίνδυνος οὐδὲ ῥαγδαῖος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν
danger-loving nor violent in the contests so-that even —

Ἀντίγονον ἐγκαλεῖν καὶ θαυμάζειν τὴν μεταβολήν. οὐ μὴν ὁ
Antigonus to-reproach and to-wonder-at the change not indeed the
ἄνθρωπος ἀπεκρύψατο τὸ αἴτιον, ἀλλ᾽ εἶπεν· “ Ὦ βασιλεῦ, σύ
man concealed the cause but said O king you
με πεποίηκας ἀτολμότερον, ἀπαλλάξας ἐκείνων τῶν κακῶν
me have-made less-daring having-freed from-those the evils
δι᾽ ἃ τοῦ ζῆν ὠλιγώρουν.” πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ φαίνεται καὶ
because-of which the to-live I-held-cheap to this and appears also
Συβαρίτης ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ὡς οὐ μέγα
a-Sybarite man to-have-said about the Spartans that not great-thing
ποιοῦσι θανατῶντες ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοσούτους
they-do dying in the wars for the so-great
πόνους καὶ τοιαύτην ἀποφυγεῖν δίαιταν. ἀλλὰ Συβαρίταις
toils and such to-escape way-of-life but to-Sybarites
μὲν ἐκτετηκόσιν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ μαλακίας διὰ τὴν πρὸς
indeed wasted-away by luxury and softness because-of the toward
τὸ καλὸν ὁρμὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν εἰκότως ἐφαίνοντο μισεῖν
the noble impulse and ambition reasonably appeared to-hate
τὸν βίον οἱ μὴ φοβούμενοι τὸν θάνατον, Λακεδαιμονίοις
the life those not fearing the death to-Lacedaemonians
δὲ καὶ ζῆν ἡδέως καὶ θνήσκειν ἀμφότερα ἀρετὴ παρεῖχεν,
but both to-live gladly and to-die both virtue offered
ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπικήδειον· οἵδε γάρ φησιν ἔθανον
as shows the epitaph these for he-says died

οὐ τὸ ζῆν θέμενοι καλὸν οὐδὲ τὸ θνήσκειν,
not the to-live having-held fine nor the to-die
Ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα καλῶς ἀμφότερ᾽ ἐκτελέσαι.
but the these-things nobly both to-accomplish

οὔτε γὰρ φυγὴ θανάτου μεμπτόν, ἂν ὀρέγηταί τις τοῦ βίου
neither for flight from-death blameworthy if reaches-for one the life
μὴ αἰσχρῶς, οὔτε ὑπομονὴ καλόν, εἰ μετ᾽ ὀλιγωρίας γίνοιτο
not shamefully nor endurance noble if with contempt it-should-be
τοῦ ζῆν. ὅθεν Ὅμηρος μὲν ἀεὶ τοὺς θαρραλεωτάτους
of-the to-live whence Homer indeed always the boldest
καὶ μαχιμωτάτους ἄνδρας εὖ καὶ καλῶς ὡπλισμένους
and most-warlike men well and finely armed
ἐξάγει πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νομοθέται
leads-out to the contests the and of-the Greeks lawgivers
τὸν ῥίψασπιν κολάζουσιν, οὐ τὸν ξίφος οὐδὲ λόγχην
the shield-thrower punish not the-one sword nor spear
προέμενον, διδάσκοντες ὅτι τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς
having-thrown-away teaching that the not to-suffer badly
πρότερον ἢ τοῦ ποιῆσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἑκάστῳ μέλειν
sooner than the to-do-harm-to the enemies for-each to-be-a-care
προσήκει, μάλιστα δὲ ἄρχοντι πόλεως ἢ στρατεύματος.
befits most and for-a-ruler of-a-city or of-an-army
Εἰ γάρ, ὡς Ἰφικράτης διῄρει, χερσὶ μὲν ἐοίκασιν οἱ 2
if for as Iphicrates divided hands indeed are-like the
ψιλοί, ποσὶ δὲ τὸ ἱππικόν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ φάλαγξ στέρνῳ
light-armed feet and the cavalry itself and the phalanx chest
καὶ θώρακι, κεφαλῇ δὲ ὁ στρατηγός, οὐχ αὐτοῦ δόξειεν
and breastplate head and the general not himself would-seem
ἂν ἀποκινδυνεύων παραμελεῖν καὶ θρασυνόμενος, ἀλλ᾽
— running-risks to-neglect and being-bold but
ἁπάντων, οἷς ἡ σωτηρία γίνεται δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ
of-all for-whom the safety comes through him and
τοὐναντίον. ὅθεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας, καίπερ ὢν τἆλλα
the-contrary whence — Callicratidas though being in-other-respects
μέγας, οὐκ εὖ πρὸς τὸν μάντιν εἶπε· δεομένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ
great not well to the seer spoke asking for him

φυλάττεσθαι θάνατον, ὡς τῶν ἱερῶν προδηλούντων, ἔφη
to-guard-against death as the victims foretelling he-said
μὴ παρ᾽ ἕνα εἶναι τὰν Σπάρταν. μαχόμενος γὰρ εἷς ἦν
not on one to-depend — Sparta fighting for one he-was
καὶ πλέων καὶ στρατευόμενος ὁ Καλλικρατίδας, στρατηγῶν
and sailing and campaigning — Callicratidas being-general
δὲ τὴν ἁπάντων εἶχε συλλαβὼν ἐν αὑτῷ δύναμιν, ὥστε
but the of-all had having-gathered in himself power so-that
οὐκ ἦν εἷς ᾧ τοσαῦτα συναπώλλυτο. βέλτιον δὲ
not he-was one with-whom so-much perished-together better and
Ἀντίγονος ὁ γέρων, ὅτε ναυμαχεῖν περὶ Ἄνδρον ἔμελλεν,
Antigonus the old when to-fight-at-sea off Andros he-was-about
εἰπόντος τινὸς ὡς πολὺ πλείους αἱ τῶν πολεμίων νῆες
having-said someone that much more the of-the enemies ships
εἶεν, “᾽Εμὲ δὲ αὐτόν,” ἔφη, “πρὸς πόσας ἀντιστήσεις;”
were me and myself he-said against how-many will-you-set
μέγα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, ἀξίωμα ποιῶν μετὰ
great the of-the command as it-is dignity making with
ἐμπειρίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ταττόμενον, ἧς πρῶτον ἔργον ἐστὶ
experience and virtue being-arrayed whose first task is
σώζειν τὸν ἅπαντα τἆλλα σώζοντα. διὸ καλῶς ὁ
to-save the-one all the-rest saving wherefore well —
Τιμόθεος, ἐπιδεικνυμένου ποτὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τοῦ Χάρητος
Timotheus displaying once to-the Athenians — Chares
ὠτειλάς τινας ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα λόγχῃ
scars some on the body and the shield by-a-spear
διακεκομμένην, “᾽Εγὼ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὡς λίαν ᾐσχύνθην
pierced I but said how very I-was-ashamed
ὅτι μου πολιορκοῦντος Σάμον ἐγγὺς ἔπεσε βέλος, ὡς
that me besieging Samos near fell a-missile as
μειρακιωδέστερον ἐμαυτῷ χρώμενος ἢ κατὰ στρατηγὸν
more-youthfully myself using than befits a-general

καὶ ἡγεμόνα δυνάμεως τοσαύτης.” ὅπου μὲν γὰρ εἰς
and commander of-a-force so-great where indeed for toward
τὰ ὅλα μεγάλην φέρει ῥοπὴν ὁ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κίνδυνος,
the whole great brings weight the of-the general danger
ἐνταῦθα καὶ χειρὶ καὶ σώματι χρηστέον ἀφειδῶς, χαίρειν
there both hand and body must-be-used unsparingly farewell
φράσαντα τοῖς λέγουσιν ὡς χρὴ τὸν ἀγαθὸν στρατηγὸν
having-said to-those saying that it-is-needful the good general
μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ γήρως, εἰ δὲ μή, γέροντα θνήσκειν· ὅπου
most indeed by old-age if but not old to-die where
δὲ μικρὸν τὸ περιγινόμενον ἐκ τοῦ κατορθώματος, τὸ δὲ
but small the gain from the success the but
πᾶν συναπόλλυται σφαλέντος, οὐδεὶς ἀπαιτεῖ στρατιώτου
whole perishes-together having-failed no-one demands of-a-soldier
πρᾶξιν κινδύνῳ πραττομένην στρατηγοῦ.
deed with-danger done of-a-general
Ταῦτα δέ μοι παρέστη προαναφωνῆσαι γράφοντι τὸν
these-things and to-me occurred to-say-first writing the
Πελοπίδου βίον καὶ τὸν Μαρκέλλου, μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν
of-Pelopidas life and the of-Marcellus great men
παραλόγως πεσόντων. καὶ γὰρ χειρὶ χρῆσθαι μαχιμώτατοι
unreasonably having-fallen and for hand to-use most-warlike
γενόμενοι, καὶ στρατηγίαις ἐπιφανεστάταις κοσμήσαντες
having-been and with-generalships most-illustrious having-adorned
ἀμφότεροι τὰς πατρίδας, ἔτι δὲ τῶν βαρυτάτων
both the fatherlands still and of-the most-formidable
ἀνταγωνιστῶν ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἀήττητον ὄντα πρῶτος,
antagonists the-one indeed Hannibal undefeated being first
ὡς λέγεται, τρεψάμενος, ὁ δὲ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης
as is-said having-routed the-other and of-land and of-sea
ἄρχοντας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ παρατάξεως νικήσας,
ruling Lacedaemonians in pitched-battle having-conquered

ἠφείδησαν ἑαυτῶν, σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ προέμενοι
were-unsparing-of themselves with no reasoning having-thrown-away
τὸν βίον ὁπηνίκα μάλιστα τοιούτων καιρὸς ἦν ἀνδρῶν
the life when most of-such need was men
σωζομένων καὶ ἀρχόντων. διόπερ ἡμεῖς ἑπόμενοι ταῖς
being-preserved and commanding wherefore we following the
ὁμοιότησι παραλλήλους ἀνεγράψαμεν αὐτῶν τοὺς βίους.
resemblances parallel wrote their the lives

3 Πελοπίδᾳ τῷ Ἱππόκλου γένος μὲν ἦν εὐδόκιμον ἐν Θήβαις
to-Pelopidas — son-of-Hippoclus family indeed was reputable in Thebes
ὥσπερ Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ, τραφεὶς δὲ ἐν οὐσίᾳ μεγάλῃ καὶ
as to-Epaminondas having-been-reared and in property great and
παραλαβὼν ἔτι νέος λαμπρὸν οἶκον ὥρμησε τῶν δεομένων
having-inherited still young a-splendid house he-set-out of-the needy
τοῖς ἀξίοις βοηθεῖν, ἵνα κύριος ἀληθῶς φαίνοιτο
to-the worthy to-help so-that master truly he-might-appear
χρημάτων γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ μὴ δοῦλος. τῶν γὰρ πολλῶν,
of-money having-become but not slave of-the for many
ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν, οἱ μὲν οὐ χρῶνται τῷ πλούτῳ
as Aristotle says the-ones indeed not use the wealth
διὰ μικρολογίαν, οἱ δὲ παραχρῶνται δι᾽ ἀσωτίαν,
through meanness the-others and misuse through prodigality
καὶ δουλεύοντες οὗτοι μὲν ἀεὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ
and being-slaves these indeed always to-the pleasures those and
ταῖς ἀσχολίαις, διατελοῦσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ
to-the business continue the indeed then others — to-Pelopidas
χάριν ἔχοντες ἐχρῶντο τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλευθεριότητι καὶ
favor having used the toward them liberality and
φιλανθρωπίᾳ, μόνον δὲ τῶν φίλων τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν οὐκ
kindness alone but of-the friends — Epaminondas not
ἔπειθε τοῦ πλούτου μεταλαμβάνειν· αὐτὸς μέντοι μετεῖχε
he-persuaded the wealth to-share he-himself however shared

τῆς ἐκείνου πενίας, ἐσθῆτος ἀφελείᾳ καὶ τραπέζης λιτότητι
the his poverty of-clothing in-simplicity and of-table frugality
καὶ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους ἀόκνῳ καὶ κατὰ στρατείας ἀδόλῳ
and in-the toward the toils unflagging and in campaigns guileless
καλλωπιζόμενος, ὥσπερ ὁ Εὐριπίδου Καπανεύς, ᾧ
priding-himself like the of-Euripides Capaneus to-whom
"βίος μὲν ἦν πολύς, ἥκιστα δὲ δι' ὄλβον γαῦρος ἦν,"
livelihood indeed was much least and through wealth proud was
αἰσχυνόμενος εἰ φανεῖται πλείοσι χρώμενος εἰς τὸ σῶμα
being-ashamed if he-would-appear more using for the body
τοῦ τὰ ἐλάχιστα κεκτημένου Θηβαίων. Ἐπαμεινώνδας
than-the-one the least possessing of-Thebans Epaminondas
μὲν οὖν συνήθη καὶ πατρῴαν οὖσαν αὐτῷ τὴν πενίαν
indeed then accustomed and ancestral being to-him the poverty
ἔτι μᾶλλον εὔζωνον καὶ κοῦφον ἐποίησε φιλοσοφῶν καὶ
still more light-girt and light made philosophizing and
μονότροπον βίον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἑλόμενος· Πελοπίδᾳ δὲ ἦν
single life from the-beginning having-chosen to-Pelopidas but there-was
μὲν γάμος λαμπρός, ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ παῖδες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν
indeed a-marriage splendid there-were and also children but no
ἧττον ἀμελῶν τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι καὶ σχολάζων τῇ πόλει
less neglecting the to-make-money and devoting-leisure to-the city
τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἠλάττωσε τὴν οὐσίαν. τῶν δὲ φίλων
the all time he-diminished the property the and friends
νουθετούντων καὶ λεγόντων ὡς ἀναγκαίου πράγματος
admonishing and saying that of-a-necessary thing
ὀλιγωρεῖ, τοῦ χρήματα ἔχειν. "Ἀναγκαίου, νὴ Δία, Νικοδήμῳ
he-is-neglectful the money to-have necessary by Zeus for-Nicodemus
τούτῳ," ἔφη, δείξας τινὰ χωλὸν καὶ τυφλόν.
this-one he-said having-pointed-out a-certain lame and blind

4 Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν πεφυκότες ὁμοίως,
were and also for all virtue endowed alike
πλὴν ὅτι τῷ γυμνάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἔχαιρε Πελοπίδας,
except that in-the to-exercise more delighted Pelopidas
τῷ δὲ μανθάνειν Ἐπαμεινώνδας, καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐν
in-the and to-learn Epaminondas and the pastimes in
τῷ σχολάζειν ὁ μὲν περὶ παλαίστρας καὶ κυνηγέσια,
the leisure the-one indeed about wrestling-schools and hunts
ὁ δὲ ἀκούων τι καὶ φιλοσοφῶν ἐποιεῖτο. πολλῶν
the-other and hearing something and philosophizing made many
δὲ καὶ καλῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀμφοτέροις πρὸς δόξαν,
and and fine-things existing for-both toward glory
οὐδὲν οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἡγοῦνται τηλικοῦτον ἡλίκον τὴν
nothing the sense having think so-great as the
διὰ τοσούτων ἀγώνων καὶ στρατηγιῶν καὶ πολιτειῶν
through so-many contests and generalships and administrations
ἀνεξέλεγκτον εὔνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους
unimpeached goodwill and friendship from beginning until end
ἐμμείνασαν. εἰ γάρ τις ἀποβλέψας τὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ
having-remained if for one having-looked-at the of-Aristides and
Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Κίμωνος καὶ Περικλέους καὶ Νικίου καὶ
Themistocles and Cimon and Pericles and Nicias and
Ἀλκιβιάδου πολιτείαν, ὅσων γέγονε μεστὴ διαφορῶν καὶ
Alcibiades administration how-much it-became full of-differences and
φθόνων καὶ ζηλοτυπιῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, σκέψαιτο πάλιν
envies and jealousies toward one-another should-consider again
τὴν Πελοπίδου πρὸς Ἐπαμεινώνδαν εὐμένειαν καὶ τιμήν,
the of-Pelopidas toward Epaminondas goodwill and honor
τούτους ἂν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως προσαγορεύσειε συνάρχοντας
these — rightly and justly would-call colleagues
καὶ συστρατήγους ἢ ἐκείνους, οἳ μᾶλλον ἀλλήλων
and fellow-generals rather-than those who more one-another

ἢ τῶν πολεμίων ἀγωνιζόμενοι περιεῖναι διετέλεσαν. αἰτία
than the enemies contending to-surpass continued the-cause
δὲ ἀληθινὴ μὲν ἦν ἡ ἀρετή, δι᾽ ἣν οὐ δόξαν, οὐ
and true indeed was the virtue through which not glory not
πλοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων μετιόντες, οἷς ὁ χαλεπὸς
wealth from the deeds pursuing on-whom the harsh
καὶ δύσερις ἐμφύεται φθόνος, ἀλλ᾽ ἔρωτα θεῖον ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς
and quarrelsome grows envy but a-love divine from beginning
ἐρασθέντες ἀμφότεροι τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα λαμπροτάτην καὶ
having-loved both of-the the fatherland most-splendid and
μεγίστην ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἰδεῖν γενομένην, ὥσπερ ἰδίοις ἐπὶ
greatest in their-time to-see having-become as-if their-own for
τοῦτο τοῖς αὑτῶν ἐχρῶντο κατορθώμασιν.
this the their-own they-used successes
Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ οἵ γε πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν σφοδρὰν
not indeed but the at-least many think for-them the vehement
φιλίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ γενέσθαι στρατείας, ἣν
friendship from the at Mantinea to-have-arisen campaign which
συνεστρατεύσαντο Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἔτι φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις
they-made-together-with Lacedaemonians still friends and allies
οὖσι, πεμφθείσης ἐκ Θηβῶν βοηθείας. τεταγμένοι γὰρ
being having-been-sent from Thebes help posted for
ἐν τοῖς ὁπλίταις μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων καὶ μαχόμενοι πρὸς
among the hoplites with one-another and fighting against
τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, ὡς ἐνέδωκε τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς κέρας
the Arcadians when gave-way the at them wing
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τροπὴ τῶν πολλῶν ἐγεγόνει,
of-the Lacedaemonians and a-rout of-the many had-taken-place
συνασπίσαντες ἠμύναντο τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους. καὶ Πελοπίδας
having-locked-shields they-repelled those bearing-down and Pelopidas
μὲν ἑπτὰ τραύματα λαβὼν ἐναντία πολλοῖς ἐπικατερρύη
indeed seven wounds having-received in-front on-many fell-down

νεκροῖς ὁμοῦ φίλοις καὶ πολεμίοις, Ἐπαμεινώνδας δέ,
corpses together friends and enemies Epaminondas but
καίπερ ἀβιώτως ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἡγούμενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος
though past-living to-be him thinking before the body
καὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἔστη προελθὼν καὶ διεκινδύνευσε πρὸς
and the arms stood having-advanced and ran-the-risk against
πολλοὺς μόνος, ἐγνωκὼς ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ Πελοπίδαν
many alone having-resolved to-die rather than Pelopidas
ἀπολιπεῖν κείμενον. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τούτου κακῶς ἔχοντος,
to-leave lying already and also this-one badly being
καὶ λόγχῃ μὲν εἰς τὸ στῆθος, ξίφει δὲ εἰς τὸν
and with-a-spear indeed in the chest with-a-sword and in the
βραχίονα τετρωμένου, προσεβοήθησεν ἀπὸ θατέρου κέρως
arm wounded came-to-help from the-other wing
Ἀγησίπολις ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, καὶ περιεποίησεν
Agesipolis the king of-the Spartans and saved
ἀνελπίστως αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους.
beyond-hope them both

Leontidas and Archias bring the Spartan Phoebidas into the Cadmeia during the Thesmophoria, and Ismenias is put to death. Pelopidas and the democrats flee to Athens, which refuses Sparta's order to expel them, and Leontidas' agents murder Androcleidas there. Epaminondas, thought harmless, stays and spurs the Theban youth. Pelopidas urges a return; Phillidas, the polemarchs' secretary, and Charon, who offers his house, join the plot, and twelve young men set out from the Thriasian plain dressed as hunters. Hipposthenidas sends Chlidon to stop them, but his bridle cannot be found.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν λόγῳ μὲν ὡς φίλοις 5
after and these-things the Spartans in-word indeed as friends
καὶ συμμάχοις προσφερομένων τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἔργῳ δὲ
and allies dealing-with the Thebans in-deed but
τὸ φρόνημα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ὑφορωμένων,
the spirit of-the city and the power suspecting
καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Ἰσμηνίου καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδου μισούντων
and most the of-Ismenias and of-Androcleidas hating
ἑταιρείαν, ἧς μετεῖχεν ὁ Πελοπίδας, φιλελεύθερον ἅμα
faction which shared — Pelopidas freedom-loving at-once
καὶ δημοτικὴν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν, Ἀρχίας καὶ Λεοντίδας καὶ
and democratic to-be seeming Archias and Leontidas and
Φίλιππος, ἄνδρες ὀλιγαρχικοὶ καὶ πλούσιοι καὶ μέτριον
Philip men oligarchic and rich and moderate
οὐδὲν φρονοῦντες, ἀναπείθουσι Φοιβίδαν τὸν Λάκωνα
nothing thinking persuade Phoebidas the Laconian
μετὰ στρατιᾶς διαπορευόμενον ἐξαίφνης καταλαβεῖν τὴν
with an-army marching-through suddenly to-seize —
Καδμείαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντιουμένους αὐτοῖς ἐκβαλόντα πρὸς
Cadmeia and those opposing them having-expelled to
τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκοον ἁρμόσασθαι δι' ὀλίγων τὴν
the of-Lacedaemonians subject to-adjust through few the

πολιτείαν. πεισθέντος δ' ἐκείνου καὶ μὴ προσδοκῶσι
constitution having-been-persuaded and he and not expecting
τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπιθεμένου Θεσμοφορίων ὄντων, καὶ τῆς
the Thebans having-attacked the-Thesmophoria being and the
ἄκρας κυριεύσαντος, Ἰσμηνίας μὲν συναρπασθεὶς καὶ
citadel having-mastered Ismenias indeed seized and
κομισθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀνῃρέθη,
carried to Lacedaemon after not long time was-put-to-death
Πελοπίδας δὲ καὶ Φερένικος καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδας μετὰ
Pelopidas and and Pherenicus and Androcleidas with
συχνῶν ἄλλων φεύγοντες ἐξεκηρύχθησαν, Ἐπαμεινώνδας
many others fleeing were-proclaimed-banished Epaminondas
δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε τῷ καταφρονηθῆναι διὰ μὲν
but in place remained by-the being-despised because-of indeed
φιλοσοφίαν ὡς ἀπράγμων, διὰ δὲ πενίαν ὡς ἀδύνατος.
philosophy as inactive because-of and poverty as powerless

6 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Φοιβίδαν μὲν ἀφείλοντο τῆς
when and Lacedaemonians Phoebidas indeed deprived of-the
ἀρχῆς καὶ δέκα δραχμῶν μυριάσιν ἐζημίωσαν, τὴν δὲ
command and ten of-drachmas with-myriads fined — but
Καδμείαν οὐδὲν ἧττον φρουρᾷ κατέσχον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
Cadmeia no less with-a-garrison held the indeed other
πάντες Ἕλληνες ἐθαύμαζον τὴν ἀτοπίαν, εἰ τὸν μὲν
all Greeks wondered-at the absurdity if the indeed
πράξαντα κολάζουσι, τὴν δὲ πρᾶξιν δοκιμάζουσι, τοῖς
doer they-punish the but deed they-approve to-the
δὲ Θηβαίοις τὴν πάτριον ἀποβεβληκόσι πολιτείαν καὶ
and Thebans the ancestral having-lost constitution and
καταδεδουλωμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Λεοντίδαν
enslaved by those about Archias and Leontidas
οὐδὲ ἐλπίσαι περιῆν ἀπαλλαγήν τινα τῆς τυραννίδος,
not-even to-hope was-possible release some from-the tyranny

ἣν ἑώρων τῇ Σπαρτιατῶν δορυφορουμένην ἡγεμονίᾳ
which they-saw by-the of-Spartans being-guarded leadership
καὶ καταλυθῆναι μὴ δυναμένην, εἰ μή τις ἄρα παύσειε
and to-be-overthrown not able if not one then should-stop
κἀκείνους γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχοντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽
them-too of-land and of-sea ruling not indeed but
οἱ περὶ Λεοντίδαν πυνθανόμενοι τοὺς φυγάδας Ἀθήνησι
those about Leontidas learning the exiles at-Athens
διατρίβειν τῷ τε πλήθει προσφιλεῖς ὄντας καὶ τιμὴν
to-be-staying to-the both multitude beloved being and honor
ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν, ἐπεβούλευον αὐτοῖς
having from the noble and good plotted against-them
κρύφα· καὶ πέμψαντες ἀνθρώπους ἀγνῶτας Ἀνδροκλείδαν
secretly and having-sent men unknown Androcleidas
μὲν ἀποκτιννύουσι δόλῳ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων διαμαρτάνουσιν.
indeed they-kill by-treachery of-the and others they-miss
ἦκε δὲ καὶ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων γράμματα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις
came and also from Lacedaemonians letters to-the Athenians
προστάσσοντα μὴ δέχεσθαι μηδὲ παρακινεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξελαύνειν
ordering not to-receive nor to-encourage but to-expel
τοὺς φυγάδας ὡς κοινοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων
the exiles as common enemies by the allies
ἀποδεδειγμένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς τῷ πάτριον
declared the indeed then Athenians besides the ancestral
αὐτοῖς καὶ σύμφυτον εἶναι τὸ φιλάνθρωπον, ἀμειβόμενοι
for-them and inborn to-be the humanity requiting
τοὺς Θηβαίους μάλιστα συναιτίους γενομένους τῷ δήμῳ
the Thebans most co-responsible having-been for-the people
τοῦ κατελθεῖν, καὶ ψηφισαμένους, ἐάν τις Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ
for-the to-return and having-voted if any of-Athenians against

τοὺς τυράννους ὅπλα διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας κομίζῃ, μηδένα
the tyrants arms through — Boeotia should-carry no
Βοιωτὸν ἀκούειν μηδὲ ὁρᾶν, οὐδὲν ἠδίκησαν τοὺς Θηβαίους.
Boeotian to-hear nor to-see nothing wronged the Thebans
7 Ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας, καίπερ ἐν τοῖς νεωτάτοις ὤν, ἰδίᾳ τε
— *and Pelopidas though among the youngest being privately both*
καθ' ἕκαστον ἐξώρμα τῶν φυγάδων, καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος
by each urged-on of-the exiles and to the multitude
ἐποιήσατο λόγους, ὡς οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ὅσιον εἴη
made speeches that neither honorable nor holy it-would-be
δουλεύουσαν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ φρουρουμένην περιορᾶν,
enslaved the fatherland and garrisoned to-overlook
αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνον τὸ σώζεσθαι καὶ διαζῆν ἀγαπῶντας
themselves but only the to-be-saved and to-live-on contented
ἐκκρέμασθαι τῶν Ἀθήνησι ψηφισμάτων καὶ θεραπεύειν
to-hang-upon the at-Athens decrees and to-court
ὑποπεπτωκότας ἀεὶ τοῖς λέγειν δυναμένοις καὶ πείθειν
submitting always to-those to-speak able and to-persuade
τὸν ὄχλον, ἀλλὰ κινδυνευτέον ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων,
the mob but danger-must-be-run for the greatest-things
παράδειγμα θεμένους τὴν Θρασυβούλου τόλμαν καὶ ἀρετήν,
as-example having-taken the of-Thrasybulus daring and valor
ἵνα, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐκ Θηβῶν πρότερον ὁρμηθεὶς κατέλυσε
so-that as he from Thebes formerly having-set-out overthrew
τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις τυράννους, οὕτως αὐτοὶ πάλιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
the in Athens tyrants so themselves in-turn from Athens
προελθόντες ἐλευθερώσωσι τὰς Θήβας. ὡς οὖν ἔπεισε
having-gone-forth may-free — Thebes when then he-persuaded
ταῦτα λέγων, πέμπουσιν εἰς Θήβας κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς
these-things saying they-send to Thebes secretly to those
ὑπολελειμμένους τῶν φίλων τὰ δεδογμένα φράζοντες. οἱ
left-behind of-the friends the things-resolved telling they

δὲ συνεπήνουν· καὶ Χάρων μέν, ὅσπερ ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος,
and joined-in-approving and Charon indeed who was most-distinguished
ὡμολόγησε τὴν οἰκίαν παρέξειν, Φιλλίδας δὲ διεπράξατο
agreed the house to-provide Phillidas and contrived
τῶν περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον γραμματεὺς γενέσθαι
of-those about Archias and Philip secretary to-become
πολεμαρχούντων. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ τοὺς νέους πάλαι
being-polemarchs Epaminondas and the young long
φρονήματος ἦν ἐμπεπληκώς· ἐκέλευε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις
of-spirit had filled he-bade for in the gymnasia
ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παλαίειν, εἶτα ὁρῶν
to-lay-hold-of the Lacedaemonians and to-wrestle then seeing
ἐπὶ τῷ κρατεῖν καὶ περιεῖναι γαυρουμένους ἐπέπληττεν,
at the to-prevail and to-surpass exulting he-rebuked-them
ὡς αἰσχύνεσθαι μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς προσῆκον, εἰ δουλεύουσι
as to-be-ashamed more for-them befitting if they-are-slaves
δι᾽ ἀνανδρίαν ὧν τοσοῦτον ταῖς ῥώμαις διαφέρουσιν.
through cowardice than-whom so-much in-the strength they-excel
Ἡμέρας δὲ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὁρισθείσης, ἔδοξε τοῖς 8
the-day and for the action having-been-fixed it-seemed-good to-the
φυγάσι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους συναγαγόντα Φερένικον ἐν τῷ
exiles the indeed others having-gathered Pherenicus in the
Θριασίῳ περιμένειν, ὀλίγους δὲ τῶν νεωτάτων παραβαλέσθαι
Thriasian to-wait few and of-the youngest to-venture
προεισελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐὰν δέ τι πάθωσιν ὑπὸ τῶν
to-enter-first into the city if and anything they-suffer by the
πολεμίων οὗτοι, τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πάντας ὅπως μήτε
enemies these the others to-take-care-of all so-that neither
παῖδες αὐτῶν μήτε γονεῖς ἐνδεεῖς ἔσονται τῶν ἀναγκαίων.
children their nor parents in-want shall-be of-the necessities
ὑφίσταται δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν Πελοπίδας πρῶτος, εἶτα Μέλων καὶ
undertakes and the action Pelopidas first then Melon and

Δαμοκλείδας καὶ Θεόπομπος, ἄνδρες οἴκων τε πρώτων καὶ
Damocleidas and Theopompus men of-houses both first and
πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἄλλα μὲν φιλικῶς καὶ πιστῶς, ὑπὲρ δὲ
toward one-another the other-things indeed friendly and faithfully for and
δόξης καὶ ἀνδρείας ἀεὶ φιλονείκως ἔχοντες. γενόμενοι δὲ οἱ
glory and courage always contentiously being having-become and the
σύμπαντες δώδεκα, καὶ τοὺς ἀπολειπομένους ἀσπασάμενοι,
all-together twelve and the ones-left-behind having-embraced
καὶ προπέμψαντες ἄγγελον τῷ Χάρωνι, προῆγον ἐν
and having-sent-ahead a-messenger — to-Charon they-went-forward in
χλαμυδίοις, σκύλακάς τε θηρατικὰς καὶ στάλικας ἔχοντες,
short-cloaks hounds both hunting and net-stakes having
ὡς μηδὲ εἷς ὑποπτεύοι τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καθ' ὁδόν,
so-that not-even one might-suspect of-those meeting on road
ἀλλ' ἀλύοντες ἄλλως πλανᾶσθαι καὶ κυνηγεῖν δοκοῖεν.
but roaming idly to-wander and to-hunt they-might-seem
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πεμφθεὶς παρ' αὐτῶν ἄγγελος ἦκε πρὸς
when and the sent from them messenger came to
τὸν Χάρωνα καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν ὄντας ἔφραζεν, αὐτὸς μὲν
— Charon and on road being told himself indeed
ὁ Χάρων οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοῦ πλησιάζοντος ἔτρεψέ
— Charon not-even by the danger drawing-near changed
τι τῆς γνώμης, ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ παρεῖχε τὴν
anything of-the resolve but a-man good was and offered the
οἰκίαν, Ἱπποσθενίδας δέ τις, οὐ πονηρὸς μέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
house Hippostbenidas and a-certain not wicked indeed but even
φιλόπατρις καὶ τοῖς φυγάσιν εὔνους ἄνθρωπος, ἐνδεὴς
patriotic and to-the exiles well-disposed a-man lacking
δὲ τόλμης τοσαύτης ὅσης ὅ τε καιρὸς ὀξὺς ὢν αἵ τε
but daring so-much as-much-as the both crisis sharp being the and
ὑποκείμεναι πράξεις ἀπῄτουν, ὥσπερ ἰλιγγιάσας πρὸς
ahead actions demanded as-if having-grown-dizzy at

τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐν χερσὶ γενομένου, καὶ μόλις
the magnitude of-the struggle at hands having-come and hardly
ποτὲ τῷ λογισμῷ συμφρονήσας ὅτι τρόπον τινὰ τὴν
at-last with-the reasoning having-perceived that in-a-way some the
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σαλεύουσιν ἀρχὴν καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν
of-the Lacedaemonians they-are-shaking empire and of-the from-there
δυνάμεως ὑποβάλλονται κατάλυσιν, πιστεύσαντες ἀπόροις
power are-attempting overthrow having-trusted desperate
καὶ φυγαδικαῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἀπελθὼν οἴκαδε σιωπῇ πέμπει τινὰ
and exile hopes having-gone home in-silence sends one
τῶν φίλων πρὸς Μέλωνα καὶ Πελοπίδαν, ἀναβαλέσθαι
of-the friends to Melon and Pelopidas to-put-off
κελεύων ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ περιμένειν βελτίονα καιρὸν
bidding for the present and to-wait-for a-better opportunity
αὖθις ἀπαλλαγέντας εἰς Ἀθήνας. Χλίδων ἦν ὄνομα τῷ
again having-gone-away to Athens Chlidon was name to-the
πεμφθέντι, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν οἴκαδε πρὸς αὑτὸν
one-sent and in haste home to his-own-house
τραπόμενος καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐξαγαγὼν ᾔτει τὸν χαλινόν.
having-turned and the horse having-led-out asked-for the bridle
ἀπορουμένης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ὡς οὐκ εἶχε δοῦναι, καὶ
being-at-a-loss and the wife since not she-had-it to-give and
χρῆσαί τινι τῶν συνήθων λεγούσης, λοιδορίαι τὸ πρῶτον
to-have-lent-it to-one of-the acquaintances saying abuse the first
ἦσαν, εἶτα δυσφημίαι, τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπαρωμένης αὐτῷ
was then ill-omened-words the wife cursing for-him
τε κακὰς ὁδοὺς ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῖς πέμπουσιν, ὥστε καὶ
both bad roads for-him and for-those sending-him so-that also
τὸν Χλίδωνα πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀναλώσαντα πρὸς τούτοις
— Chlidon much of-the day having-spent on these-things
δι᾽ ὀργήν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς οἰωνισάμενον,
through anger at-once and also the having-happened having-taken-as-an-omen

ἀφεῖναι τὴν ὁδὸν ὅλως καὶ πρὸς ἄλλο τι τραπέσθαι.
to-have-given-up the journey altogether and to other something to-have-turned
παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν ἦλθον αἱ μέγισται καὶ κάλλισται
so near indeed came the greatest and finest
τῶν πράξεων εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ διαφυγεῖν τὸν καιρόν.
of-the deeds at-once in beginning to-miss the opportunity

III · THE NIGHT OF THE LIBERATION

The conspirators slip into Thebes in a snowstorm and gather at Charon's house. Summoned by Archias, Charon leaves his son with them as a pledge of his loyalty and calms the polemarch's suspicion. A letter from Athens disclosing the plot reaches Archias at dinner, and he puts it aside, saying "Serious business tomorrow." Disguised as women, Melon and Charon's party kill Archias and Philip; Pelopidas kills Leontidas at his bedchamber door after a hard struggle. Epaminondas and Gorgidas bring armed men, the Spartan garrison keeps to the Cadmeia, and at dawn the assembly hails the liberators.

9 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ἐσθῆτας γεωργῶν μεταλαβόντες
those and about — Pelopidas clothes of-farmers having-put-on
καὶ διελόντες αὑτοὺς ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλα μέρη τῆς πόλεως
and having-divided themselves some by different parts of-the city
παρεισῆλθον ἔτι ἡμέρας οὔσης. ἦν δέ τι πνεῦμα
slipped-in still day being there-was and some wind
καὶ νιφετὸς ἀρχομένου τρέπεσθαι τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ μᾶλλον
and snow beginning to-turn the weather and more
ἔλαθον καταπεφευγότων ἤδη διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα
they-escaped-notice having-taken-refuge already because-of the storm
τῶν πλείστων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας. οἷς δὲ ἦν ἐπιμελὲς τὰ
the most into the houses to-whom and was a-concern the
πραττόμενα γινώσκειν, ἀνελάμβανον τοὺς προσερχομένους
things-being-done to-know received those approaching

καὶ καθίστων εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Χάρωνος· ἐγένοντο
and brought at-once into the house — of-Charon they-were
δὲ σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντες.
and with the exiles fifty two lacking
Τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς τυράννους οὕτως εἶχε. Φιλλίδας ὁ
the and about the tyrants so stood Phillidas the
γραμματεὺς συνέπραττε μέν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, πάντα καὶ
secretary cooperated indeed as has-been-said in-everything and
συνῄδει τοῖς φυγάσιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐκ
was-privy with-the exiles for and the day that from
παλαιοῦ κατηγγελκὼς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν πότον
long-before having-announced to-those about — Archias a-drinking-party
τινὰ καὶ συνουσίαν καὶ γύναια τῶν ὑπάνδρων, ἔπραττεν
some and company and women of-the married he-was-arranging
ὅτι μάλιστα ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐκλελυμένους καὶ κατοίνους
as-much as-possible with-the pleasures relaxed and drunk
μεταχειρίσασθαι παρέξειν τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. οὔπω δὲ πάνυ
to-handle to-provide to-the attackers not-yet and very
πόρρω μέθης οὖσιν αὐτοῖς προσέπεσέ τις οὐ ψευδὴς
far into-drunkenness being them fell-upon some not false
μέν, ἀβέβαιος δὲ καὶ πολλὴν ἀσάφειαν ἔχουσα περὶ τῶν
indeed uncertain but and much obscurity having about the
φυγάδων μήνυσις ὡς ἐν τῇ πόλει κρυπτομένων. τοῦ δὲ
exiles information that in the city hiding — and
Φιλλίδου παραφέροντος τὸν λόγον, ὅμως Ἀρχίας ἔπεμψέ
Phillidas diverting the talk nevertheless Archias sent
τινα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν πρὸς τὸν Χάρωνα, προστάσσων εὐθὺς
one of-the attendants to — Charon ordering at-once
ἥκειν αὐτόν. ἦν δὲ ἑσπέρα, καὶ συνέταττον ἔνδον αὑτοὺς
to-come him it-was and evening and were-arranging inside themselves
οἱ περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν, ἤδη τεθωρακισμένοι καὶ τὰς
those about — Pelopidas already in-breastplates and the

μαχαίρας ἀνειληφότες. ἐξαίφνης δὲ κοπτομένης τῆς θύρας
swords having-taken-up suddenly and being-knocked the door
προσδραμών τις, καὶ πυθόμενος τοῦ ὑπηρέτου Χάρωνα
having-run-up someone and having-learned from-the attendant Charon
μετιέναι παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων φάσκοντος, ἀπήγγειλεν
to-fetch by the polemarchs saying reported
εἴσω τεθορυβημένος, καὶ πᾶσιν εὐθὺς παρέστη τήν τε
inside alarmed and to-all at-once it-occurred the both
πρᾶξιν ἐκμεμηνῦσθαι καὶ σφᾶς ἅπαντας ἀπολωλέναι,
action to-have-been-informed-against and themselves all to-be-lost
μηδὲ δράσαντάς τι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄξιον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽
not-even having-done anything of-the valor worthy not indeed but
ἔδοξεν ὑπακοῦσαι τὸν Χάρωνα καὶ παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν
it-seemed-best to-obey — Charon and to-present himself
δεῖν ἀνυπόπτως τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἄλλως μὲν ἀνδρώδη
it-is-needful unsuspiciously to-the magistrates otherwise indeed manly
καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα τῷ θαρρεῖν παρὰ τὰ δεινά, τότε δὲ δι᾽
and steadfast being in-the courage amid the dangers then but because-of
ἐκείνους ἐκπεπληγμένον καὶ περιπαθοῦντα, μή τις ὑποψία
them alarmed and distressed lest some suspicion
προδοσίας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔλθῃ τοσούτων ἅμα καὶ τοιούτων
of-treachery upon him come so-many at-once and such
πολιτῶν ἀπολομένων. ὡς οὖν ἔμελλεν ἀπιέναι, παραλαβὼν
citizens having-perished when then he-was-about to-go-away having-taken
ἐκ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος τὸν υἱόν, ἔτι μὲν ὄντα παῖδα, κάλλει
from the women's-quarters the son still indeed being a-boy in-beauty
δὲ καὶ ῥώμῃ σώματος πρωτεύοντα τῶν καθ᾽ ἡλικίαν,
and and strength of-body first of-those in age
ἐνεχείριζε τοῖς περὶ Πελοπίδαν, εἴ τινα δόλον καὶ
he-put-in-the-hands-of those about Pelopidas if any guile and
προδοσίαν αὐτοῦ καταγνοῖεν, ὡς πολεμίῳ χρῆσθαι κελεύων
treachery of-him they-should-detect as an-enemy to-treat bidding

ἐκείνῳ καὶ μὴ φείδεσθαι. πολλοῖς μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν δάκρυα
him and not to-spare to-many indeed then of-them tears
πρὸς τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ Χάρωνος ἐξέπεσε,
at the feeling and the spirit — of-Charon fell
πάντες δὲ ἠγανάκτουν εἰ δειλὸν οὕτως εἶναί τινα δοκεῖ
all and were-indignant if cowardly so to-be anyone seems
καὶ διεφθαρμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ παρόντος, ὥστε ὑπονοεῖν ἐκεῖνον
and corrupted by the present so-that to-suspect him
ἢ ὅλως αἰτιᾶσθαι· καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐδέοντο μὴ καταμιγνύειν
or at-all to-blame and the son they-begged not to-mix
αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐκποδὼν θέσθαι τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὅπως αὐτός
with-them but out-of-the-way to-put of-the coming so-that he
γε τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τιμωρὸς ὑποτρέφοιτο
at-least for-the city and for-the friends an-avenger might-be-reared
περισωθεὶς καὶ διαφυγὼν τοὺς τυράννους. ὁ δὲ Χάρων
having-been-saved and having-escaped the tyrants — but Charon
τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἀπαλλάξειν οὐκ ἔφη· ποῖον γὰρ αὐτῷ βίον
the indeed son to-remove not said what for for-him life
ὁρᾶν ἢ τίνα σωτηρίαν καλλίονα τῆς ὁμοῦ μετὰ πατρὸς
to-see or what safety more-honorable than-the together with father
καὶ φίλων τοσούτων ἀνυβρίστου τελευτῆς; ἐπευξάμενος δὲ
and friends so-many unoutraged end having-prayed and
τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πάντας ἀσπασάμενος καὶ παραθαρρύνας
to-the gods and all having-embraced and having-encouraged
ἀπῄει, προσέχων ἑαυτῷ καὶ ῥυθμίζων σχήματι προσώπου
went-away attending to-himself and composing in-the-bearing of-face
καὶ τόνῳ φωνῆς ἀνομοιότατος οἷς ἔπραττε φανῆναι.
and tone of-voice most-unlike to-what he-was-doing to-appear
Γενομένου δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ, προῆλθεν ὁ Ἀρχίας, 10
having-come and at the doors him came-forward — Archias
καὶ Φιλλίδας, καὶ εἶπεν· "Ὦ Χάρων, τινὰς ἀκήκοα
and Phillidas and said O Charon some I-have-heard

παρεληλυθότας ἐν τῇ πόλει κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ συμπράττειν
having-come in the city to-be-hiding and to-be-cooperating
αὐτοῖς ἐνίους τῶν πολιτῶν." καὶ ὁ Χάρων διαταραχθεὶς
with-them some of-the citizens and — Charon thrown-into-confusion
τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐρωτήσας τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ παρεληλυθότες
the first then having-asked who are those having-come
καὶ τίνες οἱ κρύπτοντες αὐτούς, ὡς οὐδὲν ἑώρα σαφὲς
and who those hiding them when nothing he-saw clear
εἰπεῖν ἔχοντα τὸν Ἀρχίαν, ὑπονοήσας ἀπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν
to-say having — Archias having-suspected from none of-those
ἐπισταμένων γεγονέναι τὴν μήνυσιν, "Ὁρᾶτε τοίνυν,"
knowing to-have-come the information see then
ἔφη, "μὴ κενός τις ὑμᾶς διαταράττῃ λόγος. οὐ μὴν
he-said lest empty some you disturb rumor not indeed
ἀλλὰ σκέψομαι· δεῖ γὰρ ἴσως μηδενὸς καταφρονεῖν."
but I-will-look-into-it it-is-needful for perhaps nothing to-despise
ταῦτα καὶ Φιλλίδας παρὼν ἐπῄνει, καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν
these-things also Phillidas being-present approved and — Archias
ἀπαγαγὼν αὖθις εἰς ἄκρατον πολὺν κατέβαλε, καὶ ταῖς
having-led-away again into unmixed-wine much plunged and with-the
περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐλπίσι διεπαιδαγώγει τὸν πότον. ὡς
about the women hopes beguiled the drinking-bout when
δ' ἐπανῆλθεν ὁ Χάρων οἴκαδε καὶ διεσκευασμένους τοὺς
and returned — Charon home and prepared the
ἄνδρας εὗρεν οὐχ ὡς ἄν τινα νίκην ἢ σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντας,
men he-found not as — any victory or safety hoping
ἀλλ' ὡς ἀποθανουμένους λαμπρῶς καὶ μετὰ φόνου πολλοῦ
but as going-to-die gloriously and with slaughter great
τῶν πολεμίων, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς αὐτοῖς ἔφραζε τοῖς περὶ
of-the enemies the indeed truth to-them he-told those about

τὸν Πελοπίδαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐψεύσατο λόγους
— Pelopidas to but the others he-lied words
τινὰς τοῦ Ἀρχίου περὶ πραγμάτων ἑτέρων πλασάμενος.
some — of-Archias about affairs other having-fabricated
Ἔτι δὲ τοῦ πρώτου παραφερομένου δεύτερον ἐπῆγεν ἡ
still and the first being-diverted a-second brought the
τύχη χειμῶνα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἦκε γάρ τις ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
fortune storm on-the men came for someone from Athens
παρὰ Ἀρχίου τοῦ ἱεροφάντου πρὸς Ἀρχίαν τὸν ὁμώνυμον,
from Archias the hierophant to Archias the namesake
ξένον ὄντα καὶ φίλον, ἐπιστολὴν κομίζων οὐ κενὴν
guest-friend being and friend a-letter bringing not empty
ἔχουσαν οὐδὲ πεπλασμένην ὑπόνοιαν, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἕκαστα
having nor fabricated suspicion but clearly each-thing
περὶ τῶν πρασσομένων φάσκουσαν, ὡς ὕστερον ἐπεγνώσθη.
about the things-being-done telling as later was-learned
τότε δὲ μεθύοντι τῷ Ἀρχίᾳ προσαχθεὶς ὁ γραμματοφόρος
then but to-the-drunk — Archias having-been-brought the letter-carrier
καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐπιδούς, “Ὁ ταύτην,” ἔφη,
and the letter having-handed-over the-one this he-said
“πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς ἀναγνῶναι· περὶ σπουδαίων γάρ
having-sent bade at-once to-read about serious for
τινων γεγράφθαι.” καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίας μειδιάσας, “Οὐκοῦν
some it-had-been-written and — Archias having-smiled well-then
εἰς αὔριον,” ἔφη, “τὰ σπουδαῖα.” καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
till tomorrow he-said the serious-things and the letter
δεξάμενος ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ὑπέθηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ
having-received under the pillow put himself and
πάλιν τῷ Φιλλίδᾳ περὶ ὧν ἐτύγχανον διαλεγόμενοι
again — with-Phillidas about what they-happened discussing

προσεῖχεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν λόγος οὗτος ἐν παροιμίας τάξει
attended the indeed then saying this in proverb's place
περιφερόμενος μέχρι νῦν διασώζεται παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι.
going-about until now is-preserved among the Greeks

11 Τῆς δὲ πράξεως δοκούσης ἔχειν ἤδη τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρόν,
the and action seeming to-have already the proper moment
ἐξώρμων δίχα διελόντες αὑτούς, οἱ μὲν περὶ Πελοπίδαν
they-set-out in-two having-divided themselves the indeed about Pelopidas
καὶ Δαμοκλείδαν ἐπὶ τὸν Λεοντίδαν καὶ τὸν Ὑπάτην
and Damocleidas against — Leontidas and — Hypates
ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων οἰκοῦντας, Χάρων δὲ καὶ Μέλων ἐπὶ τὸν
near one-another dwelling Charon and and Melon against —
Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον, ἐσθῆτας ἐπενδεδυμένοι γυναικείας
Archias and Philip clothes having-put-on women's
τοῖς θώραξι, καὶ δασεῖς στεφάνους ἐλάτης τε καὶ πεύκης
over-the breastplates and thick crowns of-fir both and pine
περικείμενοι κατασκιάζοντας τὰ πρόσωπα. διὸ καὶ ταῖς
wearing overshadowing the faces wherefore also at-the
θύραις τοῦ συμποσίου τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιστάντες, κρότον
doors of-the banquet the first having-stood clapping
ἐποίησαν καὶ θόρυβον οἰομένων ἃς πάλαι προσεδόκων
made and uproar thinking whom long-since they-expected
γυναῖκας ἥκειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περιβλέψαντες ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ
women to-have-come when and having-looked-around in a-circle the
συμπόσιον καὶ τῶν κατακεκλιμένων ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς
banquet and of-those reclining each accurately
καταμαθόντες ἐσπάσαντο τὰς μαχαίρας, καὶ φερόμενοι
having-observed they-drew the swords and rushing
διὰ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον
through the tables against — Archias and Philip
ἐφάνησαν οἵπερ ἦσαν, ὀλίγους μὲν ὁ Φιλλίδας
were-revealed those-that-indeed they-were few indeed — Phillidas

τῶν κατακειμένων ἔπεισεν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους
of-those reclining persuaded quiet to-keep the and others
ἀμύνεσθαι μετὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἐπιχειροῦντας καὶ
to-resist with the polemarchs attempting and
συνεξανισταμένους διὰ τὴν μέθην οὐ πάνυ χαλεπῶς
rising-up-together because-of the drunkenness not very hard
ἀπέκτειναν.
they-killed
Τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ἐργωδέστερον ἀπήντα τὸ
to-those and about — Pelopidas more-laboriously turned-out the
πρᾶγμα· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ νήφοντα καὶ δεινὸν ἄνδρα τὸν
affair and for against a-sober and formidable man —
Λεοντίδαν ἐχώρουν, καὶ κεκλεισμένην τὴν οἰκίαν εὗρον ἤδη
Leontidas they-went and shut the house they-found already
καθεύδοντος, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον κόπτουσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπήκουεν
sleeping and long time knocking to-them answered
οὐδείς. μόλις δέ ποτε τοῦ θεράποντος αἰσθομένου προϊόντος
no-one hardly and at-last the servant having-heard coming-forth
ἔνδοθεν καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἀφαιροῦντος, ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον
from-within and the bar removing at-once with-the first
ἐνδοῦναι καὶ χαλάσαι τὰς θύρας ἐμπεσόντες ἀθρόοι καὶ τὸν
to-yield and to-loosen the doors having-burst-in in-a-body and the
οἰκέτην ἀνατρέψαντες ἐπὶ τὸν θάλαμον ὥρμησαν. ὁ δὲ
slave having-overturned to the bedchamber rushed — and
Λεοντίδας αὐτῷ τεκμαιρόμενος τῷ κτύπῳ καὶ δρόμῳ τὸ
Leontidas from-the-very inferring the noise and running the
γιγνόμενον, ἐσπάσατο μὲν τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐξαναστάς, ἔλαθε
happening drew indeed the dagger having-sprung-up it-escaped
δὲ αὐτὸν καταβαλεῖν τὰ λύχνα καὶ διὰ σκότους αὐτοὺς
and him to-put-out the lamps and through darkness them
ἑαυτοῖς περιπετεῖς ποιῆσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἐν δὲ φωτὶ
with-each-other falling-foul to-make the men in but light

πολλῷ καθορώμενος, ὑπήντα πρὸς τὰς θύρας αὐτοῖς τοῦ
much being-seen he-met at the doors them of-the
θαλάμου, καὶ τὸν πρῶτον εἰσιόντα Κηφισόδωρον πατάξας
bedchamber and the first entering Cephisodorus having-struck
κατέβαλε. πεσόντος δὲ τούτου δευτέρῳ συνεπλέκετο τῷ
felled having-fallen and this-one with-the-second he-grappled —
Πελοπίδᾳ· καὶ τὴν μάχην χαλεπὴν ἐποίει καὶ δύσεργον ἡ
with-Pelopidas and the fight hard made and laborious the
στενότης τῶν θυρῶν καὶ κείμενος ἐμποδὼν ἤδη νεκρὸς
narrowness of-the doors and lying in-the-way already dead
ὁ Κηφισόδωρος. ἐκράτησε δ' οὖν ὁ Πελοπίδας, καὶ
— Cephisodorus prevailed and then — Pelopidas and
κατεργασάμενος τὸν Λεοντίδαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑπάτην εὐθὺς
having-dispatched — Leontidas against — Hypates at-once
ἐχώρει μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ παρεισέπεσον μὲν εἰς τὴν
went with those with him and they-burst-in indeed into the
οἰκίαν ὁμοίως, αἰσθόμενον δὲ ταχέως καὶ καταφυγόντα πρὸς
house likewise having-perceived but quickly and having-fled to
τοὺς γείτονας, ἐκ ποδῶν διώξαντες εἷλον καὶ διέφθειραν.
the neighbors close on-heels having-pursued they-caught and killed

12 Διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς περὶ Μέλωνα
having-accomplished and these-things and with-those about Melon
συμβαλόντες ἔπεμψαν μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς
having-joined they-sent indeed into — Attica for those
ὑπολελειμμένους ἐκεῖ τῶν φυγάδων, ἐκάλουν δὲ τοὺς
left-behind there of-the exiles they-called and the
πολίτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ τοὺς προσιόντας ὥπλιζον,
citizens to the freedom and those coming they-armed
ἀφαιροῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν στοῶν τὰ περικείμενα σκῦλα, καὶ τὰ
taking from the porticoes the hanging spoils and the
περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐργαστήρια δορυξόων καὶ μαχαιροποιῶν
about the house workshops of-spear-makers and sword-makers

ἀναρρηγνύντες. ἦκον δὲ βοηθοῦντες αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν
breaking-open came and helping them with the
ὅπλων οἱ περὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν καὶ Γοργίδαν, συνειλοχότες
arms those about Epaminondas and Gorgidas having-gathered
οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοὺς
not few of-the young and of-the older the
βελτίστους. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἤδη μὲν ἀνεπτόητο πᾶσα, καὶ
best the and city already indeed was-in-a-flutter all and
πολὺς θόρυβος ἦν καὶ φῶτα περὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ διαδρομαὶ
great uproar was and lights about the houses and runnings
πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὔπω δὲ συνειστήκει τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ'
to one-another not-yet and had-gathered the multitude but
ἐκπεπληγμένοι πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα καὶ σαφὲς οὐδὲν εἰδότες
terrified at the happenings and clear nothing knowing
ἡμέραν περιέμενον. ὅθεν ἁμαρτεῖν οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
day they-awaited whence to-have-erred the of-the Lacedaemonians
ἄρχοντες ἔδοξαν εὐθὺς οὐκ ἐπιδραμόντες οὐδὲ συμβαλόντες,
commanders seemed at-once not having-run-out nor having-engaged
αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ φρουρὰ περὶ χιλίους πεντακοσίους ὄντες,
itself indeed the garrison about a-thousand five-hundred being
ἐκ δὲ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολλῶν συντρεχόντων,
from and the city to them many running-together
ἀλλὰ τὴν βοὴν καὶ τὰ πυρὰ καὶ τὸν ὄχλον χωροῦντα
but the shouting and the fires and the crowd moving
πανταχόθεν πολὺν φοβηθέντες ἡσύχαζον, αὐτὴν τὴν
from-all-sides great having-feared they-kept-quiet the-very —
Καδμείαν κατέχοντες. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ παρῆσαν μὲν ἐκ
Cadmeia holding at-once and with-day were-present indeed from
τῆς Ἀττικῆς οἱ φυγάδες ὡπλισμένοι, συνήθροιστο δὲ εἰς
— Attica the exiles armed had-gathered and into
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δῆμος. εἰσῆγον δὲ τοὺς περὶ Πελοπίδαν
the assembly the people led-in and those about Pelopidas

Ἐπαμεινώνδας καὶ Γοργίδας ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων περιεχομένους
Epaminondas and Gorgidas by the priests surrounded
στέμματα προτεινόντων καὶ παρακαλούντων τοὺς πολίτας
fillets holding-out and calling-on the citizens
τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς βοηθεῖν. ἡ δ' ἐκκλησία ὀρθὴ
the fatherland and the gods to-help the and assembly upright
πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν μετὰ κρότου καὶ βοῆς ἐξανέστη, δεχομένων
at the sight with clapping and shouting rose-up receiving
τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς εὐεργέτας καὶ σωτῆρας.
the men as benefactors and saviors

IV · TEGYRA

The Spartan garrison yields the Cadmeia, and its three commanders are punished at Sparta; the deed is ranked with Thrasybulus'. When a Spartan army invades Boeotia and Athens abandons Thebes, Pelopidas and Gorgidas lure the Spartan Sphodrias into a night march on the Piraeus, which stops at Eleusis but wins Athens back to Thebes. Pelopidas, boeotarch or leader of the Sacred Band every year, wins many skirmishes, and near Orchomenus he marches by Tegyra, whose shrine of Apollo and the god's birth there are told.

13 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου βοιωτάρχης αἱρεθεὶς μετὰ Μέλωνος καὶ
from and this boeotarch having-been-chosen with Melon and
Χάρωνος ὁ Πελοπίδας εὐθὺς ἀπετείχιζε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ
Charon — Pelopidas at-once walled-off the acropolis and
προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο πανταχόθεν, ἐξελεῖν σπουδάζων τοὺς
assaults made from-all-sides to-dislodge striving the
Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὴν Καδμείαν ἐλευθερῶσαι πρὶν ἐκ
Lacedaemonians and — Cadmeia to-free before from
Σπάρτης στρατὸν ἐπελθεῖν. καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἔφθασεν
Sparta an-army to-come and by so-much he-anticipated

ἀφεὶς ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς ἄνδρας ὅσον ἐν Μεγάροις οὖσιν
having-let-go under-truce the men as-much in Megara being
αὐτοῖς ἀπαντῆσαι Κλεόμβροτον ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας ἐλαύνοντα
them to-have-met Cleombrotus against — Thebes marching
μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως. οἱ δὲ Σπαρτιᾶται, τριῶν ἁρμοστῶν
with great force the and Spartans three harmosts
γενομένων ἐν Θήβαις, Ἡριππίδαν μὲν καὶ Ἄρκισσον
having-been in Thebes Herippidas indeed and Arcissus
ἀπέκτειναν κρίναντες, ὁ δὲ τρίτος Λυσανορίδας χρήμασι
put-to-death having-condemned the and third Lysanoridas with-money
πολλοῖς ζημιωθεὶς αὑτὸν ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου μετέστησε.
much having-been-fined himself from — Peloponnesus removed
Ταύτην τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀρεταῖς μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ κινδύνοις
this the action in-the-virtues indeed of-the-men and dangers
καὶ ἀγῶσι παραπλησίαν τῇ Θρασυβούλου γενομένην, καὶ
and struggles like-to the of-Thrasybulus having-been and
βραβευθεῖσαν ὁμοίως ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, ἀδελφὴν ἐκείνης
having-been-arbitrated alike by the fortune sister of-that
προσηγόρευον οἱ Ἕλληνες. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι ῥᾳδίως ἑτέρους
called the Greeks not for it-is-possible easily others
εἰπεῖν οἳ πλειόνων ἐλάττους καὶ δυνατωτέρων ἐρημότεροι
to-name who than-more fewer and than-more-powerful more-destitute
τόλμῃ καὶ δεινότητι κρατήσαντες αἴτιοι μειζόνων ἀγαθῶν
by-daring and cleverness having-prevailed causes of-greater goods
ταῖς πατρίσι κατέστησαν. ἐνδοξοτέραν δὲ ταύτην ἐποίησεν
to-the fatherlands became more-glorious and this made
ἡ μεταβολὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ γὰρ καταλύσας τὸ τῆς
the change of-the affairs the for having-overthrown the —
Σπάρτης ἀξίωμα καὶ παύσας ἄρχοντας αὐτοὺς γῆς τε
of-Sparta prestige and having-stopped ruling them of-land both
καὶ θαλάττης πόλεμος ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐγένετο τῆς νυκτός,
and of-sea war from that came the night

ἐν ᾗ Πελοπίδας οὐ φρούριον, οὐ τεῖχος, οὐκ ἀκρόπολιν
in which Pelopidas not fort not wall not citadel
καταλαβών, ἀλλ' εἰς οἰκίαν δωδέκατος κατελθών, εἰ
having-seized but into a-house as-one-of-twelve having-come-down if
δεῖ μεταφορᾷ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἔλυσε καὶ διέκοψε
it-is-needful in-metaphor the truth to-say loosed and cut-through
τοὺς δεσμοὺς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγεμονίας, ἀλύτους καὶ
the bonds of-the of-Lacedaemonians leadership indissoluble and
ἀρρήκτους εἶναι δοκοῦντας.
unbreakable to-be seeming

14 Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὴν
since then with-an-army great Lacedaemonians into —
Βοιωτίαν ἐμβαλόντων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περίφοβοι γενόμενοι
Boeotia having-invaded the Athenians terrified having-become
τήν τε συμμαχίαν ἀπείπαντο τοῖς Θηβαίοις καὶ τῶν
the both alliance renounced to-the Thebans and of-the
βοιωτιαζόντων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον παραγαγόντες τοὺς μὲν
Boeotian-sympathizers into the court having-brought the-some indeed
ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δ' ἐφυγάδευσαν, τοὺς δὲ χρήμασιν
they-killed the-others and they-exiled the-others and with-money
ἐζημίωσαν, ἐδόκει δὲ κακῶς ἔχειν τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων
fined it-seemed and badly to-be the of-the Thebans
πράγματα μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς βοηθοῦντος, ἔτυχε μὲν ὁ
affairs no-one them helping happened indeed —
Πελοπίδας μετὰ Γοργίδου βοιωταρχῶν, ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ
Pelopidas with Gorgidas being-boeotarch plotting and
συγκροῦσαι πάλιν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
to-embroil again the Athenians with-the Lacedaemonians
τοιόνδε τι μηχανῶνται. Σφοδρίας, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης,
such something they-contrive Sphodrias a-man Spartan
εὐδόκιμος μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς καὶ λαμπρός, ὑπόκουφος
reputable indeed in the warlike-affairs and brilliant light-headed

δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ κενῶν ἐλπίδων καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀνοήτου
but the judgment and of-empty hopes and ambition foolish
μεστός, ἀπελείφθη περὶ Θεσπιὰς μετὰ δυνάμεως τοὺς
full was-left-behind at Thespiae with a-force those
ἀφισταμένους τῶν Θηβαίων δέχεσθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν. πρὸς
revolting of-the Thebans to-receive and to-help to
τοῦτον ὑποπέμπουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ἰδίᾳ
this-man send-secretly those about — Pelopidas privately
ἔμπορόν τινα τῶν φίλων, χρήματα κομίζοντα καὶ λόγους,
a-merchant a-certain of-the friends money bringing and arguments
οἷς τῶν χρημάτων μᾶλλον ἀνέπεισαν αὐτὸν ὡς χρὴ
which than-the money more persuaded him that it-is-needful
πραγμάτων ἅψασθαι μεγάλων καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλαβεῖν,
affairs to-lay-hold-of great and — Piraeus to-seize
ἀπροσδόκητον ἐπιπεσόντα μὴ φυλαττομένοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις·
unexpectedly having-fallen-upon not guarding the Athenians
Λακεδαιμονίοις τε γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἔσεσθαι κεχαρισμένον
to-Lacedaemonians both for nothing so would-be gratifying
ὡς λαβεῖν τὰς Ἀθήνας, Θηβαίους τε χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας
as to-take — Athens Thebans and hostilely being-disposed
αὐτοῖς καὶ προδότας νομίζοντας οὐκ ἐπιβοηθήσειν. τέλος δὲ
to-them and traitors considering-them not would-help finally and
συμπεισθεὶς ὁ Σφοδρίας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβών,
persuaded — Sphodrias and the soldiers having-taken
νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐνέβαλε. καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ἐλευσῖνος
by-night into — Attica invaded and as-far-as indeed Eleusis
προῆλθεν, ἐκεῖ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποδειλιασάντων
advanced there and the soldiers having-lost-heart
φανερὸς γενόμενος, καὶ συνταράξας οὐ φαῦλον οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον
manifest having-become and having-stirred-up not trifling nor easy
τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις πόλεμον, ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Θεσπιάς.
for-the Spartans a-war withdrew to Thespiae

15 Ἐκ τούτου πάλιν προθυμότατα Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Θηβαίοις
from this again most-eagerly Athenians with-the Thebans
συνεμάχουν, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀντελαμβάνοντο, καὶ
were-allied and the sea laid-hold-of and
περιϊόντες ἐδέχοντο καὶ προσήγοντο τοὺς ἀποστατικῶς
going-around received and won-over those revolt-minded
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχοντας. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐν
of-the Greeks being the and Thebans by themselves in
τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ συμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἑκάστοτε,
— Boeotia engaging with-the Lacedaemonians each-time
καὶ μαχόμενοι μάχας αὐτὰς μὲν οὐ μεγάλας, μεγάλην δὲ
and fighting battles themselves indeed not great great but
τὴν μελέτην ἐχούσας καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν, ἐξερριπίζοντο τοῖς
the practice having and the training were-fanned in-the
θυμοῖς καὶ διεπονοῦντο τοῖς σώμασιν, ἐμπειρίαν ἅμα τῇ
spirits and were-hardened in-the bodies experience together-with the
συνηθείᾳ καὶ φρόνημα προσλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων.
habit and spirit gaining from the struggles
διὸ καί φασιν Ἀνταλκίδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην, ὡς Ἀγησίλαος
wherefore also they-say Antalcidas the Spartan when Agesilaus
ἐπανῆλθεν ἐκ Βοιωτίας τετρωμένος, εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν·
returned from Boeotia wounded to-have-said to him
"Ἦ καλὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ Θηβαίων ἀπολαμβάνεις, μὴ
truly fine tuition from Thebans you-receive not
βουλομένους αὐτοὺς πολεμεῖν καὶ μάχεσθαι διδάξας." ἦν
wishing them to-make-war and to-fight having-taught was
δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς διδάσκαλος οὐκ Ἀγησίλαος, ἀλλ' οἱ σὺν
and in truth teacher not Agesilaus but those with
καιρῷ καὶ μετὰ λογισμοῦ τοὺς Θηβαίους ὥσπερ σκύλακας
timing and with calculation the Thebans like puppies
ἐμπείρως προσβάλλοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἶτα γευσαμένους
skillfully setting-on at-the enemies then having-tasted

νίκης καὶ φρονήματος ἀσφαλῶς ἀπάγοντες· ὧν μεγίστην
victory and spirit safely leading-off of-whom greatest
δόξαν εἶχεν ὁ Πελοπίδας. ἀφ᾽ ἧς γὰρ εἵλοντο πρῶτον
fame had — Pelopidas from when for they-chose-him first
ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὅπλων, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν
leader of-the arms not they-stopped in each year
ἄρχοντα χειροτονοῦντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τὸν ἱερὸν λόχον ἄγων
commander electing but either the sacred band leading
ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα βοιωταρχῶν ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς ἔπραττεν.
or the most being-boeotarch until the death he-acted
Ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν καὶ περὶ Πλαταιὰς καὶ Θεσπιὰς ἥτται
there-were indeed then also near Plataea and Thespiae defeats
καὶ φυγαὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅπου καὶ Φοιβίδας ὁ
and flights of-the Lacedaemonians where also Phoebidas the-one
τὴν Καδμείαν καταλαβὼν ἀπέθανε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς
— Cadmeia having-seized died many and also at
Τανάγρᾳ τρεψάμενος αὐτῶν καὶ Πανθοίδαν τὸν ἁρμοστὴν
Tanagra having-routed of-them also Panthoidas the harmost
ἀνεῖλεν. ἀλλ᾽ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ ἀγῶνες ὥσπερ τοὺς κρατοῦντας
he-killed but these indeed the contests as the victors
εἰς φρόνημα καὶ θάρσος προῆγον, οὕτως τῶν ἡσσωμένων οὐ
into spirit and courage led-on so of-the defeated not
παντάπασιν ἐδουλοῦντο τὴν γνώμην· οὐ γὰρ ἐκ παρατάξεως
altogether enslaved the resolve not for from a-pitched-battle
ἦσαν οὐδὲ μάχης ἐμφανῆ κατάστασιν ἐχούσης καὶ νόμιμον,
they-were nor of-battle open formation having and regular
ἐκδρομὰς δὲ προσκαίρους τιθέμενοι, καὶ φυγὰς ἢ διώξεις
sallies but opportune making and flights or pursuits
ἐπιχειροῦντες αὐτοῖς καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι κατώρθουν.
attacking them and grappling they-succeeded

16 Ὁ δὲ περὶ Τεγύρας τρόπον τινὰ τοῦ Λευκτρικοῦ προάγων
the and near Tegyra in-a-way some of-the Leuctran prelude
γενόμενος μέγαν ἦρε δόξῃ τὸν Πελοπίδαν, οὔτε πρὸς
having-been great raised in-fame — Pelopidas neither for
κατόρθωμα τοῖς συστρατήγοις ἀμφισβήτησιν οὔτε τῆς
success to-the fellow-generals dispute nor for-the
ἥττης πρόφασιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπολιπών. τῇ γὰρ
defeat excuse to-the enemies having-left against-the for
Ὀρχομενίων πόλει τὰ Σπαρτιατῶν ἑλομένῃ καὶ δύο
of-Orchomenians city the Spartans' having-chosen and two
δεδεγμένῃ μόρας αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας ἐπεβούλευε μὲν
having-received battalions of-them for safety he-plotted indeed
ἀεὶ καὶ παρεφύλαττε καιρόν, ὡς δὲ ἤκουσε τοῖς φρουροῖς
always and watched-for an-opportunity when and he-heard by-the garrison
εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα γεγενῆσθαι στρατείαν ἐλπίσας ἔρημον
into — Locris to-have-taken-place an-expedition having-hoped undefended
αἱρήσειν τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν ἐστράτευσεν, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν
to-take — Orchomenus he-marched having with himself the
ἱερὸν λόχον καὶ τῶν ἱππέων οὐ πολλούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν
sacred band and of-the horsemen not many when and to the
πόλιν προσαγαγὼν εὗρεν ἥκουσαν ἐκ Σπάρτης διαδοχὴν τῆς
city having-approached he-found having-come from Sparta a-relief of-the
φρουρᾶς, ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν διὰ Τεγυρῶν,
garrison he-led-off back the army again through Tegyra
ᾗ μόνῃ βάσιμον ἦν κύκλῳ παρὰ τὴν ὑπώρειαν· τὴν
where alone passable it-was in-a-circle along the foothills the
γὰρ διὰ μέσου πᾶσαν ὁ Μέλας ποταμὸς εὐθὺς ἐκ πηγῶν
for through middle all the Black river at-once from springs
εἰς ἕλη πλωτὰ καὶ λίμνας διασπειρόμενος ἄπορον ἐποίει.
into marshes navigable and lakes spreading impassable made

Μικρὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τὰ ἕλη νεώς ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Τεγυραίου
a-little and below the marshes a-temple is of-Apollo Tegyraean
καὶ μαντεῖον ἐκλελειμμένον οὐ πάνυ πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλ᾽
and an-oracle abandoned not very long time but
ἄχρι τῶν Μηδικῶν ἤκμαζε, τὴν προφητείαν Ἐχεκράτους
until the Persian-wars it-flourished the prophecy Echecrates
ἔχοντος. ἐνταῦθα μυθολογοῦσι τὸν θεὸν γενέσθαι· καὶ
holding there they-tell-the-myth the god to-have-been-born and
τὸ μὲν πλησίον ὄρος Δῆλος καλεῖται, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ
the indeed near mountain Delos is-called and to it
καταλήγουσιν αἱ τοῦ Μέλανος διαχύσεις, ὀπίσω δὲ τοῦ
end the of-the Black outpourings behind and the
ναοῦ δύο ῥήγνυνται πηγαὶ γλυκύτητι καὶ πλήθει καὶ
temple two burst-forth springs for-sweetness and abundance and
ψυχρότητι θαυμαστοῦ νάματος, ὧν τὸ μὲν Φοίνικα,
coldness of-admirable stream of-which the-one indeed Palm
τὸ δὲ Ἐλαίαν ἄχρι νῦν ὀνομάζομεν, οὐ φυτῶν μεταξὺ
the-other and Olive until now we-name not of-plants between
δυεῖν, ἀλλὰ ῥείθρων τῆς θεοῦ λοχευθείσης. καὶ γὰρ
two but of-streams the goddess having-been-delivered and for
τὸ Πτῷον ἐγγύς, ὅθεν αὐτὴν ἀναπτοηθῆναι προφανέντος
— Ptoum near whence her to-have-been-scared having-appeared
ἐξαίφνης κάπρου λέγουσι, καὶ τὰ περὶ Πύθωνα καὶ Τιτυὸν
suddenly a-boar they-say and the about Python and Tityus
ὡσαύτως οἱ τόποι τῇ γενέσει τοῦ θεοῦ συνοικειοῦσι. τὰ
likewise the places to-the birth of-the god connect the
γὰρ πλεῖστα παραλείπω τῶν τεκμηρίων· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς
for most I-pass-over of-the proofs not for among the
ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἀθανάτοις γενομένοις γεννητοῖς ὁ πάτριος
from change immortal having-become born-ones the ancestral
λόγος τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον ἀπολείπει δαίμοσιν, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλέα
account the god this leaves deities as Heracles

καὶ Διόνυσον, ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἀρετῇ τὸ θνητὸν καὶ παθητὸν
and Dionysus from change by-virtue the mortal and passible
ἀποβαλόντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀϊδίων καὶ ἀγεννήτων εἷς ἐστιν,
having-cast-off but of-the eternal and unbegotten one he-is
εἰ δεῖ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φρονιμωτάτων καὶ παλαιοτάτων
if it-is-needful from-the by the wisest and most-ancient
λεγομένοις τεκμαίρεσθαι περὶ τῶν τηλικούτων.
sayings to-judge about the so-great-things

V · THE SACRED BAND AND LEUCTRA

Meeting the Spartans at Tegyra, Pelopidas is told, "We have fallen into the enemy's hands," and answers, "Rather they into ours"; the Thebans kill the polemarchs and rout a larger Spartan force, the first time Spartans lose to fewer. Gorgidas founded the Sacred Band of three hundred lovers, whom Philip mourned at Chaeronea; Pelopidas makes it fight as one body. When Cleombrotus invades Boeotia, Pelopidas tells his weeping wife that commanders must save others, votes with Epaminondas for battle, and at Leuctra dreams by the tombs of Scedasus' daughters, raped by Spartans.

17 Εἰς δ' οὖν Τεγύρας οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον
into and then Tegyra the Thebans at the same time
ἐκ τῆς Ὀρχομενίας ἀπιόντες καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
from the Orchomenian-territory going-away and the Lacedaemonians
συνέπιπτον, ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Λοκρίδος
fell-in from opposite them from — Locris
ἀναζευγνύντες. ὡς δὲ πρῶτον ὤφθησαν τὰ στενὰ
returning when and first they-were-seen the narrows
διεκβάλλοντες, καί τις εἶπε τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ προσδραμών·
passing-through and someone said — to-Pelopidas having-run-up
"Ἐμπεπτώκαμεν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους," "Τί μᾶλλον,"
we-have-fallen into the enemies why more

εἶπεν, "ἢ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖνοι;" καὶ τὴν μὲν ἵππον εὐθὺς
he-said than into us they and the indeed cavalry at-once
πᾶσαν ἐκέλευσε παρελαύνειν ἀπ᾽ οὐρᾶς ὡς προεμβαλοῦσαν,
all he-bade to-ride-up from the-rear as going-to-charge-first
αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ὁπλίτας τριακοσίους ὄντας εἰς ὀλίγον
himself and the hoplites three-hundred being into small-compass
συνήγαγεν, ἐλπίζων καθ᾽ ὃ προσβάλοι μάλιστα διακόψειν
drew-together hoping at which he-might-attack most to-cut-through
ὑπερβάλλοντας πλήθει τοὺς πολεμίους. ἦσαν δὲ δύο μόραι
outnumbering in-number the enemies there-were and two battalions
Λακεδαιμονίων, τὴν δὲ μόραν Ἔφορος μὲν ἄνδρας εἶναι
of-Lacedaemonians the and battalion Ephorus indeed men to-be
πεντακοσίους φησί, Καλλισθένης δ᾽ ἑπτακοσίους, ἄλλοι δέ
five-hundred says Callisthenes and seven-hundred others and
τινες ἐνακοσίους, ὧν Πολύβιός ἐστι. καὶ θαρροῦντες οἱ
some nine-hundred of-whom Polybius is and being-confident the
πολέμαρχοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν Γοργολέων καὶ Θεόπομπος
polemarchs of-the Spartans Gorgoleon and Theopompus
ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους. γενομένης δέ πως μάλιστα
rushed against the Thebans having-come and somehow most
τῆς ἐφόδου κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων
the onset against the-very the commanders from both-sides
μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ βίας, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ πολέμαρχοι τῶν
with fury and force first indeed the polemarchs of-the
Λακεδαιμονίων τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ συρράξαντες ἔπεσον· ἔπειτα
Lacedaemonians — with-Pelopidas having-clashed fell then
τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους παιομένων καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων ἅπαν
of-those around them being-struck and dying all
εἰς φόβον κατέστη τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ διέσχε μὲν ἐπ᾽
into panic fell the army and parted indeed to
ἀμφότερα τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ὡς διεκπεσεῖν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν καὶ
both-sides for-the Thebans as to-burst-through to the-front and

διεκδῦναι βουλομένοις, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν δεδομένην ὁ Πελοπίδας
to-slip-out wishing when and the opening — Pelopidas
ἠγεῖτο πρὸς τοὺς συνεστῶτας καὶ διεξῄει φονεύων, οὕτω
led against those standing-together and went-through slaying so
πάντες προτροπάδην ἔφευγον. ἐγένετο δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺν
all headlong fled was and not for long
τόπον ἡ δίωξις· ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ ἐγγὺς ὄντας οἱ Θηβαῖοι
distance the pursuit they-feared for near being the Thebans
τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους καὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.
the Orchomenians and the relief of-the Lacedaemonians
ὅσον δὲ νικῆσαι κατὰ κράτος καὶ διεξελθεῖν διὰ
as-much and to-conquer by force and to-go-through through
παντὸς ἡσσωμένου τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐξεβιάσαντο· καὶ
all being-worsted the army they-forced and
στήσαντες τρόπαιον καὶ νεκροὺς σκυλεύσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν
having-set-up a-trophy and corpses having-stripped withdrew
ἐπ᾽ οἴκου μέγα φρονοῦντες. ἐν γὰρ τοσούτοις, ὡς
to home greatly being-proud in for so-many as
ἔοικε, πολέμοις Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ βαρβαρικοῖς πρότερον
it-seems wars Greek and barbarian before
οὐδέποτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι πλείονες ὄντες ὑπ᾽ ἐλαττόνων
never Lacedaemonians more being by fewer
ἐκρατήθησαν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἐκ παρατάξεως
were-overcome but not-even equal against equal in pitched-battle
συμβαλόντες. ὅθεν ἦσαν ἀνυπόστατοι τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ
having-engaged whence they-were irresistible the spirits and
τῇ δόξῃ καταπληττόμενοι τοὺς ἀντιταττομένους, οὐδὲ
by-the reputation terrifying those arrayed-against not-even
αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦντας ἀπ᾽ ἴσης δυνάμεως τὸ ἴσον φέρεσθαι
themselves deeming-it-right from equal force the equal to-win
Σπαρτιάταις, εἰς χεῖρας συνέστησαν. ἐκείνη δὲ ἡ μάχη
with-Spartans into hands came that and the battle

πρώτη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδαξεν Ἕλληνας ὡς οὐχ ὁ
first also the other taught Greeks that not the
Εὐρώτας οὐδ' ὁ μεταξὺ Βαβύκας καὶ Κνακιῶνος τόπος
Eurotas nor the between Babyce and Cnacion place
ἄνδρας ἐκφέρει μαχητὰς καὶ πολεμικούς, ἀλλὰ παρ' οἷς ἂν
men produces fighters and warlike but among whom —
αἰσχύνεσθαι τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ τολμᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἐθέλοντες
to-be-ashamed-of the shameful and to-dare for the noble wishing
ἐγγένωνται νέοι καὶ τοὺς ψόγους τῶν κινδύνων
are-born young-men and the reproaches than-the dangers
μᾶλλον φεύγοντες, οὗτοι φοβερώτατοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις εἰσί.
more fleeing these most-formidable to-the opponents are
Τὸν δ' ἱερὸν λόχον, ὥς φασι, συνετάξατο Γοργίδας πρῶτος 18
the and sacred band as they-say organized Gorgidas first
ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων τριακοσίων, οἷς ἡ πόλις ἄσκησιν
from men picked three-hundred to-whom the city training
καὶ δίαιταν ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ στρατοπεδευομένοις παρεῖχε,
and maintenance in — Cadmeia being-encamped provided
καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὁ ἐκ πόλεως λόχος ἐκαλοῦντο· τὰς γὰρ
and because-of this the from city band they-were-called the for
ἀκροπόλεις ἐπιεικῶς οἱ τότε πόλεις ὠνόμαζον. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν
acropolises commonly the then cities called some and say
ἐξ ἐραστῶν καὶ ἐρωμένων γενέσθαι τὸ σύστημα τοῦτο. καὶ
from lovers and beloveds to-have-been the corps this and
Παμμένους ἀπομνημονεύεταί τι μετὰ παιδιᾶς εἰρημένον·
of-Pammenes is-remembered something with jest said

οὐ γὰρ ἔφη τακτικὸν εἶναι τὸν Ὁμήρου Νέστορα κελεύοντα
not for he-said tactician to-be the of-Homer Nestor bidding
κατὰ φῦλα καὶ φρήτρας συλλοχίζεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
by tribes and clans to-be-ranked the Greeks

Ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγῃ, φῦλα δὲ φύλοις,
that clan to-clan may-help tribes and to-tribes

δέον ἐραστὴν παρ᾽ ἐρώμενον τάττειν. φυλέτας μὲν γὰρ
it-being-needful lover beside beloved to-station tribesmen indeed for
φυλετῶν καὶ φράτορας φρατόρων οὐ πολὺν λόγον ἔχειν ἐν
of-tribesmen and clansmen of-clansmen not much account to-take in
τοῖς δεινοῖς, τὸ δ᾽ ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς φιλίας συνηρμοσμένον στῖφος
the dangers the but from love's friendship fitted-together band
ἀδιάλυτον εἶναι καὶ ἄρρηκτον, ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀγαπῶντες τοὺς
indissoluble to-be and unbreakable when the indeed loving the
ἐρωμένους, οἱ δὲ αἰσχυνόμενοι τοὺς ἐρῶντας ἐμμένωσι τοῖς
beloved the and being-ashamed-before the lovers stand-firm in-the
δεινοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων. καὶ τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν οὐκ ἔστιν, εἴγε
dangers for one-another and this wonderful not is if-at-least
δὴ καὶ μὴ παρόντας αἰδοῦνται μᾶλλον ἑτέρων παρόντων,
indeed also not present they-respect more than-others present
ὡς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τοῦ πολεμίου κείμενον αὐτὸν ἐπισφάττειν
as he the-one the enemy lying himself to-slaughter
μέλλοντος δεόμενος καὶ ἀντιβολῶν διὰ τοῦ στέρνου διεῖναι
being-about begging and entreating through the breast to-thrust
τὸ ξίφος, "Ὅπως," ἔφη, "μή με νεκρὸν ὁ ἐρώμενος
the sword so-that he-said not me dead the beloved
ὁρῶν κατὰ νώτου τετρωμένον αἰσχυνθῇ." λέγεται δὲ καὶ
seeing in the-back wounded may-feel-shame it-is-said and also
τὸν Ἰόλεων τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐρώμενον ὄντα κοινωνεῖν τῶν
— Iolaus — of-Heracles beloved being to-share the

ἄθλων καὶ παρασπίζειν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ καθ' αὑτὸν
labors and to-fight-beside Aristotle and even in his-own-time
ἔτι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Ἰόλεω τὰς καταπιστώσεις
still says at the tomb — of-Iolaus the pledges
ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐρωμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐραστάς. εἰκὸς οὖν
to-make the beloveds and the lovers it-is-likely then
καὶ τὸν λόχον ἱερὸν προσαγορεύεσθαι, καθότι καὶ Πλάτων
also the band sacred to-be-called just-as also Plato
ἔνθεον φίλον τὸν ἐραστὴν προσεῖπε. λέγεται δὲ διαμεῖναι
inspired friend the lover called it-is-said and to-have-remained
μέχρι τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης ἀήττητον· ὡς δὲ μετὰ τὴν
until the at Chaeroneia battle undefeated when and after the
μάχην ἐφορῶν τοὺς νεκροὺς ὁ Φίλιππος ἔστη κατὰ τοῦτο
battle viewing the corpses — Philip stood at this
τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ συνετύγχανε κεῖσθαι τοὺς τριακοσίους,
the place in which happened to-lie the three-hundred
ἐναντίους ἀπηντηκότας ταῖς σαρίσαις ἅπαντας ἐν τοῖς
facing having-met the sarissas all in the
ὅπλοις καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀναμεμιγμένους, θαυμάσαντα καὶ
arms and with one-another mingled having-wondered and
πυθόμενον ὡς ὁ τῶν ἐραστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐρωμένων οὗτος
having-learned that the of-the lovers and the beloveds this
εἴη λόχος, δακρῦσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν· "Ἀπόλοιντο κακῶς οἱ
was band to-have-wept and to-have-said may-they-perish miserably those
τούτους τι ποιεῖν ἢ πάσχειν αἰσχρὸν ὑπονοοῦντες."
these anything to-do or to-suffer shameful suspecting
Ὅλως δὲ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἐραστὰς συνηθείας οὐχ, ὥσπερ οἱ 19
altogether and of-the about the lovers intimacy not as the
ποιηταὶ λέγουσι, Θηβαίοις τὸ Λαΐου πάθος ἀρχὴν παρέσχεν,
poets say for-Thebans the of-Laius suffering beginning gave
ἀλλ' οἱ νομοθέται τὸ φύσει θυμοειδὲς αὐτῶν καὶ ἄκρατον
but the lawgivers the by-nature passionate their and unmixed

ἀνιέναι καὶ ἀνυγραίνειν εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων βουλόμενοι,
to-relax and to-soften at-once from childhood wishing
πολὺν μὲν ἀνεμίξαντο καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ παιδιᾷ πάσῃ τὸν
much indeed mixed-in both in-earnest and in-play every the
αὐλόν, εἰς τιμὴν καὶ προεδρίαν ἄγοντες, λαμπρὸν δὲ τὸν
flute to honor and precedence bringing splendid and the
ἔρωτα ταῖς παλαίστραις ἐνεθρέψαντο, συγκερανννύντες τὰ
love in-the wrestling-schools they-fostered tempering the
ἤθη τῶν νέων. ὀρθῶς δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἐξ
characters of-the young rightly and to this also the from
Ἄρεως καὶ Ἀφροδίτης γεγονέναι λεγομένην θεὸν τῇ
Ares and Aphrodite to-have-been-born said goddess with-the
πόλει συνῳκείωσαν, ὡς, ὅπου τὸ μαχητικὸν καὶ πολεμικὸν
city they-associated so-that where the fighting and warlike
μάλιστα τῷ μετέχοντι πειθοῦς καὶ χαρίτων ὁμιλεῖ
most with-the-one sharing persuasion and graces associates
καὶ σύνεστιν, εἰς τὴν ἐμμελεστάτην καὶ κοσμιωτάτην
and lives to the most-harmonious and most-orderly
πολιτείαν δι' ἁρμονίας καθισταμένων ἁπάντων.
polity through harmony being-established all-things
Τὸν οὖν ἱερὸν λόχον τοῦτον ὁ μὲν Γοργίδας διαιρῶν εἰς
the then sacred band this — indeed Gorgidas dividing into
τὰ πρῶτα ζυγὰ καὶ παρ' ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὁπλιτῶν
the front ranks and along whole the phalanx of-the hoplites
προβαλλόμενος ἐπίδηλον οὐκ ἐποίει τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν,
placing-in-front conspicuous not made the valor of-the men
οὐδ' ἐχρῆτο τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς κοινὸν ἔργον, ἅτε δὴ
nor used the power for common task inasmuch-as indeed
διαλελυμένῃ καὶ πρὸς πολὺ μεμιγμένῃ τὸ φαυλότερον, ὁ δὲ
broken-up and with much mixed the inferior — but
Πελοπίδας, ὡς ἐξέλαμψεν αὐτῶν ἡ ἀρετὴ περὶ Τεγύρας,
Pelopidas when shone-forth their the valor at Tegyra

καθαρῶς καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀγωνισαμένων, οὐκ ἔτι
purely and around him having-fought not any-longer
διεῖλεν οὐδὲ διέσπασεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ σώματι χρώμενος ὅλῳ
divided nor scattered but as-if a-body using whole
προεκινδύνευε τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀγῶσιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ ἵπποι
ran-risks-first in-the greatest contests as for the horses
θᾶσσον ὑπὸ τοῖς ἅρμασιν ἢ καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐλαυνόμενοι
faster under the chariots than by themselves driven
θέουσιν, οὐχ ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐμπίπτοντες ἐκβιάζονται τὸν
run not because more falling-on they-force-a-way-through the
ἀέρα τῷ πλήθει ῥηγνύμενον, ἀλλ' ὅτι συνεκκαίει τὸν
air by-the number being-cleft but because kindles the
θυμὸν ἡ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἅμιλλα καὶ τὸ φιλόνεικον, οὕτως
spirit the with one-another rivalry and the contentiousness so
ᾤετο τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ζῆλον ἀλλήλοις καλῶν ἔργων ἐνιέντας
he-thought the brave emulation in-one-another of-fine deeds instilling
ὠφελιμωτάτους εἰς κοινὸν ἔργον εἶναι καὶ προθυμοτάτους.
most-useful for common task to-be and most-eager
Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἰρήνην 20
when and Lacedaemonians with-all the Greeks peace
συνθέμενοι πρὸς μόνους Θηβαίους ἐξήνεγκαν τὸν πόλεμον,
having-made against only Thebans carried the war
ἐνεβεβλήκει δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄγων ὁπλίτας
had-invaded and Cleombrotus the king leading hoplites
μυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους, ὁ δὲ κίνδυνος οὐ περὶ ὧν
ten-thousand horsemen and a-thousand the and danger not about what
πρότερον ἦν Θηβαίοις, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ἀπειλὴ καὶ καταγγελία
before was for-Thebans but outright threat and proclamation
διοικισμοῦ, καὶ φόβος οἷος οὔπω τὴν Βοιωτίαν κατεῖχεν,
of-dispersal and fear such-as never-yet — Boeotia had-held
ἐξιὼν μὲν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ὁ Πελοπίδας, καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς
going-out indeed from the house — Pelopidas and the wife

ἐν τῷ προπέμπειν δακρυούσης καὶ παρακαλούσης σώζειν
in the escorting weeping and urging to-save
ἑαυτόν, "Ταῦτα," εἶπεν, "ὦ γύναι, τοῖς ἰδιώταις χρὴ
himself these-things said O wife to-the private-men it-is-needful
παραινεῖν, τοῖς δὲ ἄρχουσιν ὅπως τοὺς ἄλλους σώζωσιν·"
to-advise to-the but commanders that the others they-save
ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τοὺς βοιωτάρχας
having-come and into the camp and the boeotarchs
καταλαβὼν οὐχ ὁμογνωμονοῦντας, πρῶτος Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ
having-found not agreeing first with-Epaminondas
προσέθετο γνώμην ψηφιζομένῳ διὰ μάχης ἰέναι τοῖς
sided in-opinion voting through battle to-go against-the
πολεμίοις, βοιωτάρχης μὲν οὐκ ἀποδεδειγμένος, ἄρχων δὲ
enemies boeotarch indeed not appointed commander but
τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόχου, καὶ πιστευόμενος, ὡς ἦν δίκαιον ἄνδρα
of-the sacred band and trusted as was just a-man
τηλικαῦτα δεδωκότα τῇ πατρίδι σύμβολα εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.
such having-given to-the fatherland tokens for the freedom
Ὡς οὖν ἐδέδοκτο διακινδυνεύειν καὶ περὶ τὰ Λεῦκτρα
when then it-had-been-resolved to-run-the-risk and about the Leuctra
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀντεστρατοπέδευον, ὄψιν εἶδε κατὰ
opposite-the Lacedaemonians encamped a-vision saw in
τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ Πελοπίδας εὖ μάλα διαταράξασαν αὐτόν.
the sleep — Pelopidas very much having-disturbed him
ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῷ Λευκτρικῷ πεδίῳ τὰ σήματα τῶν
there-are for in the Leuctrian plain the tombs of-the
τοῦ Σκεδάσου θυγατέρων, ἃς Λευκτρίδας καλοῦσι διὰ
— of-Scedasus daughters whom Leuctrids they-call because-of
τὸν τόπον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐταῖς ὑπὸ ξένων Σπαρτιατῶν
the place there for for-them by strangers Spartans
βιασθείσαις συνέβη ταφῆναι. γενομένης δὲ χαλεπῆς
having-been-violated it-happened to-be-buried having-occurred and grievous

οὕτω καὶ παρανόμου πράξεως, ὁ μὲν πατήρ, ὡς οὐκ
so and lawless deed the indeed father since not
ἔτυχεν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δίκης, ἀρὰς κατὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν
he-obtained in Lacedaemon justice curses against the Spartans
ἀρασάμενος ἔσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις τῶν παρθένων,
having-uttered slew himself on the tombs of-the maidens
χρησμοὶ δὲ καὶ λόγια τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ἀεὶ προὔφαινον
oracles and and sayings to-the Spartans always foretold
εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸ Λευκτρικὸν μήνιμα, μὴ
to-beware and to-guard-against the Leuctrian wrath not
πάνυ τῶν πολλῶν συνιέντων, ἀλλ' ἀμφιγνοούντων τὸν
very the many understanding but being-uncertain-about the
τόπον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς πολίχνιον πρὸς τῇ
place since also — of-Laconia a-small-town by the
θαλάσσῃ Λεῦκτρον ὀνομάζεται, καὶ πρὸς Μεγάλῃ πόλει
sea Leuctrum is-called and near Great city
τῆς Ἀρκαδίας τόπος ἐστὶν ὁμώνυμος. τὸ μὲν οὖν πάθος
— of-Arcadia a-place is of-the-same-name the indeed then suffering
τοῦτο πολὺ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν ἦν παλαιότερον.
this much than-the Leuctrian-battle was older

Scedasus appears to Pelopidas in a dream and demands the sacrifice of an auburn virgin. The seers and generals debate human sacrifice, citing Menoeceus, Macaria, and Leonidas, against the gods' horror of it; a chestnut filly runs into the camp, and the seer Theocritus has it sacrificed. At Leuctra Pelopidas' Sacred Band falls on the Spartans before Cleombrotus can extend his line. Invading Laconia with Epaminondas, the Thebans reach the Eurotas, refound Messene, and defeat the Athenians at Cenchreae.

21 Ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατακοιμηθεὶς ἔδοξε
— *and Pelopidas in the camp having-fallen-asleep seemed*
τάς τε παῖδας ὁρᾶν περὶ τὰ μνήματα θρηνούσας καὶ
the both girls to-see about the tombs lamenting and
καταρωμένας τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις, τόν τε Σκέδασον κελεύοντα
cursing the Spartans — and Scedasus bidding
ταῖς κόραις σφαγιάσαι παρθένον ξανθήν, εἰ βούλοιτο τῶν
to-the maidens to-sacrifice a-virgin auburn if he-wished the
πολεμίων ἐπικρατῆσαι. δεινοῦ δὲ καὶ παρανόμου τοῦ
enemies to-overcome terrible and and lawless the
προστάγματος αὐτῷ φανέντος ἐξαναστὰς ἐκοινοῦτο τοῖς
command to-him having-appeared having-risen-up he-consulted with-the
τε μάντεσι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. ὧν οἱ μὲν οὐκ εἴων
both seers and the commanders of-whom the some not allowed
παραμελεῖν οἱ δ' ἀπειθεῖν, τῶν μὲν παλαιῶν προφέροντες
to-neglect the others to-disobey of-the indeed ancients citing
Μενοικέα τὸν Κρέοντος καὶ Μακαρίαν τὴν Ἡρακλέους, τῶν
Menoeceus — son-of-Creon and Macaria — daughter-of-Heracles of-the
δ' ὕστερον Φερεκύδην τε τὸν σοφὸν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων
and later Pherecydes both the wise by Lacedaemonians
ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ τὴν δορὰν αὐτοῦ κατά τι λόγιον ὑπὸ
put-to-death and the skin his by some oracle by

τῶν βασιλέων φρουρουμένην, Λεωνίδαν τε τῷ χρησμῷ
the kings guarded Leonidas and to-the oracle
τρόπον τινὰ προθυσάμενον ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος,
in-manner some having-sacrificed-beforehand himself for — Greece
ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους σφαγιασθέντας ὠμηστῇ
still and those by Themistocles sacrificed to-raw-eating
Διονύσῳ πρὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας· ἐκείνοις γὰρ
Dionysus before the at Salamis sea-fight to-those for
ἐπιμαρτυρῆσαι τὰ κατορθώματα· τοῦτο δέ, ὡς Ἀγησίλαον
to-have-borne-witness the successes this and when Agesilaus
ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀγαμέμνονι τόπων ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
from the same as-Agamemnon places against the same
στρατευόμενον πολεμίους ᾔτησε μὲν ἡ θεὸς τὴν θυγατέρα
campaigning enemies asked indeed the goddess the daughter
σφάγιον καὶ ταύτην εἶδε τὴν ὄψιν ἐν Αὐλίδι κοιμώμενος,
as-sacrifice and this saw the vision at Aulis sleeping
ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἀπομαλθακωθεὶς κατέλυσε τὴν
he and not gave but having-been-softened broke-up the
στρατείαν ἄδοξον καὶ ἀτελῆ γενομένην. οἱ δὲ τοὐναντίον
expedition inglorious and unfulfilled having-become the others on-the-contrary
ἀπηγόρευον, ὡς οὐδενὶ τῶν κρειττόνων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς
forbade as to-none of-the higher-beings and above us
ἀρεστὴν οὖσαν οὕτω βάρβαρον καὶ παράνομον θυσίαν· οὐ
pleasing being so barbarous and lawless sacrifice not
γὰρ τοὺς Τυφῶνας ἐκείνους οὐδὲ τοὺς Γίγαντας ἄρχειν,
for the Typhons those nor the Giants to-rule
ἀλλὰ τὸν πάντων πατέρα θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων· δαίμονας
but the of-all father of-gods and men deities
δὲ χαίροντας ἀνθρώπων αἵματι καὶ φόνῳ πιστεύειν μὲν
and rejoicing of-men in-blood and slaughter to-believe indeed
ἴσως ἐστὶν ἀβέλτερον, ὄντων δὲ τοιούτων ἀμελητέον ὡς
perhaps is foolish being but such to-be-disregarded as

ἀδυνάτων· ἀσθενείᾳ γὰρ καὶ μοχθηρίᾳ ψυχῆς ἐμφύεσθαι
powerless from-weakness for and wickedness of-soul to-grow-in
καὶ παραμένειν τὰς ἀτόπους καὶ χαλεπὰς ἐπιθυμίας.
and to-persist the strange and harsh desires
22 Ἐν τοιούτοις οὖν διαλόγοις τῶν πρώτων ὄντων, καὶ
in such then discussions the leaders being and
μάλιστα τοῦ Πελοπίδου διαπορουμένου, ἵππων ἐξ ἀγέλης
most — Pelopidas being-at-a-loss of-horses from a-herd
πῶλος ἀποφυγοῦσα καὶ φερομένη διὰ τῶν ὅπλων, ὡς ἦν
a-filly having-escaped and rushing through the arms as she-was
θέουσα κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους, ἐπέστη· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις
running at them those stopped and to-the indeed others
θέαν παρεῖχεν ἥ τε χρόα στίλβουσα τῆς χαίτης πυρσότατον
a-sight offered the both color gleaming of-the mane most-fiery
ἥ τε γαυρότης καὶ τὸ σοβαρὸν καὶ τεθαρρηκὸς τῆς φωνῆς,
the both spirit and the vehemence and boldness of-the voice
Θεόκριτος δὲ ὁ μάντις συμφρονήσας ἀνεβόησε πρὸς τὸν
Theocritus and the seer having-understood cried-out to —
Πελοπίδαν· "Ἥκει σοι τὸ ἱερεῖον, ὦ δαιμόνιε, καὶ παρθένον
Pelopidas has-come for-you the victim O good-sir and virgin
ἄλλην μὴ περιμένωμεν, ἀλλὰ χρῶ δεξάμενος ἣν ὁ θεὸς
another not let-us-wait-for but use having-received which the god
δίδωσιν." ἐκ τούτου λαβόντες τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους
gives from this having-taken the mare to the tombs
ἦγον τῶν παρθένων, καὶ κατευξάμενοι καὶ καταστέψαντες
they-led of-the maidens and having-prayed and having-garlanded
ἐνέτεμον αὐτοί τε χαίροντες καὶ λόγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον
slaughtered-her themselves both rejoicing and an-account into the camp
περὶ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ Πελοπίδου καὶ τῆς θυσίας διδόντες.
about the vision — of-Pelopidas and the sacrifice giving

Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου τὴν φάλαγγα λοξὴν 23
in and the battle — Epaminondas the phalanx obliquely
ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἕλκοντος, ὅπως τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων
to the left drawing so-that from-the other Greeks
ἀπωτάτω γένηται τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ τὸν
farthest might-be the right of-the Spartans and —
Κλεόμβροτον ἐξώσῃ προσπεσὼν ἀθρόως κατὰ κέρας
Cleombrotus he-might-drive-out having-fallen-on in-a-mass on the-wing
καὶ βιασάμενος, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι καταμαθόντες τὸ
and having-overpowered the indeed enemies having-perceived the
γινόμενον ἤρξαντο μετακινεῖν τῇ τάξει σφᾶς αὐτούς, καὶ
happening began to-shift in-the order them selves and
τὸ δεξιὸν ἀνέπτυσσον καὶ περιῆγον ὡς κυκλωσόμενοι
the right they-were-extending and leading-round as going-to-encircle
καὶ περιβαλοῦντες ὑπὸ πλήθους τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν, ὁ δὲ
and going-to-envelop by number — Epaminondas — but
Πελοπίδας ἐν τούτῳ προεξέδραμε, καὶ συστρέψας τοὺς
Pelopidas in this dashed-forward and having-rallied the
τριακοσίους δρόμῳ φθάνει πρὶν ἀνατεῖναι τὸν Κλεόμβροτον
three-hundred at-a-run anticipates before to-extend — Cleombrotus
τὸ κέρας ἢ συναγαγεῖν πάλιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ συγκλεῖσαι τὴν
the wing or to-bring-together again into the same and to-close-up the
τάξιν, οὐ καθεστῶσιν, ἀλλὰ θορυβουμένοις δι᾽ ἀλλήλων
line not standing-firm but in-confusion through one-another
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιβαλών. καίτοι πάντων ἄκροι
the Lacedaemonians having-fallen-upon and-yet of-all supreme
τεχνῖται καὶ σοφισταὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ὄντες οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται
craftsmen and experts in-the warlike-arts being the Spartans
πρὸς οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐπαίδευον αὑτοὺς καὶ συνείθιζον, ὡς
for nothing so trained themselves and accustomed as
τὸ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι μηδὲ ταράττεσθαι τάξεως διαλυθείσης,
the not to-wander nor to-be-confused the-ranks broken

ἀλλὰ χρώμενοι πᾶσι πάντες ἐπιστάταις καὶ ζευγίταις,
but using all all as-rear-rank-men and file-mates
ὅποι ποτὲ καὶ συνίστησιν ὁ κίνδυνος, καταλαμβάνειν καὶ
wherever ever even brings-together the danger to-occupy and
συναρμόττειν καὶ μάχεσθαι παραπλησίως. τότε δὲ ἡ τοῦ
to-fit-together and to-fight alike then but the —
Ἐπαμεινώνδου φάλαγξ ἐπιφερομένη μόνοις ἐκείνοις καὶ
of-Epaminondas phalanx bearing-down-on alone those and
παραλλάττουσα τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅ τε Πελοπίδας μετὰ τάχους
passing-by the others — and Pelopidas with speed
ἀπίστου καὶ τόλμης ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις γενόμενος, συνέχεον τά
incredible and daring in the arms having-been confounded the
τε φρονήματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας αὐτῶν οὕτως ὥστε φυγὴν
both spirits and the skills their so so-that a-flight
καὶ φόνον Σπαρτιατῶν ὅσον οὔπω πρότερον γενέσθαι.
and slaughter of-Spartans as-much-as never before to-have-occurred
διὸ τῷ Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ βοιωταρχοῦντι μὴ βοιωταρχῶν, καὶ
wherefore — with-Epaminondas being-boeotarch not being-boeotarch and
πάσης ἡγουμένῳ τῆς δυνάμεως μικροῦ μέρους ἄρχων, ἴσον
all commanding the force of-a-small part commanding equal
ἠνέγκατο δόξης τῆς νίκης ἐκείνης καὶ τοῦ κατορθώματος.
won of-glory of-the victory that and of-the success

24 Εἰς μέντοι Πελοπόννησον ἀμφότεροι βοιωταρχοῦντες
into however Peloponnesus both being-boeotarchs
ἐνέβαλον καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ πλεῖστα προσήγοντο,
invaded and of-the peoples the most won-over
Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστήσαντες Ἦλιν, Ἄργος, Ἀρκαδίαν
from-Lacedaemonians having-detached Elis Argos Arcadia
σύμπασαν, αὐτῆς τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὰ πλεῖστα, καίτοι
all-together of-the-very — Laconia the most and-yet
χειμῶνος μὲν ἦσαν αἱ περὶ τροπὰς ἀκμαί, μηνὸς δὲ
of-winter indeed were the about the-solstice heights of-the-month and

τοῦ τελευταίου φθίνοντος ὀλίγαι περιῆσαν ἡμέραι, καὶ τὴν
the last waning few remained days and the
ἀρχὴν ἔδει παραλαμβάνειν ἑτέρους εὐθὺς ἱσταμένου
office it-was-necessary to-take-over others at-once beginning
τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ἢ θνήσκειν τοὺς μὴ παραδιδόντας. οἱ
the first month or to-die those not handing-over the
δὲ ἄλλοι βοιωτάρχαι καὶ τὸν νόμον δεδιότες τοῦτον καὶ
and other boeotarchs both the law fearing this and
τὸν χειμῶνα φεύγοντες ἀπάγειν ἔσπευδον ἐπ᾽ οἴκου τὸ
the winter fleeing to-lead-off were-eager to home the
στράτευμα, Πελοπίδας δὲ πρῶτος Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ γενόμενος
army Pelopidas but first with-Epaminondas having-become
σύμψηφος καὶ συμπαρορμήσας τοὺς πολίτας ἦγεν ἐπὶ
voting-together and having-joined-in-urging the citizens led against
τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ διεβίβαζε τὸν Εὐρώταν. καὶ πολλὰς
— Sparta and took-across the Eurotas and many
μὲν ᾕρει πόλεις αὐτῶν, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει
indeed took cities of-theirs all and the country ravaged
μέχρι θαλάττης, ἡγούμενος ἑπτὰ μυριάδων Ἑλληνικῆς
as-far-as the-sea leading seven of-myriads of-Greek
στρατιᾶς, ἧς ἔλαττον ἢ δωδέκατον ἦσαν αὐτοὶ
army of-which less than twelfth were themselves
Θηβαῖοι μέρος. ἀλλ᾽ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄνευ δόγματος
Thebans part but the fame of-the men without decree
κοινοῦ καὶ ψηφίσματος ἐποίει τοὺς συμμάχους ἕπεσθαι
common and vote made the allies to-follow
σιωπῇ πάντας ἡγουμένοις ἐκείνοις. ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος, ὡς
in-silence all leading those the for first as
ἔοικε, καὶ κυριώτατος νόμος τῷ σώζεσθαι δεομένῳ τὸν
it-seems and most-sovereign law for-the to-be-saved needing the
σώζειν δυνάμενον ἄρχοντα κατὰ φύσιν ἀποδίδωσι· κἂν
to-save able ruler by nature gives and-if

ὥσπερ οἱ πλέοντες εὐδίας οὔσης ἢ παρ᾽ ἀκτὴν ὁρμοῦντες
as those sailing calm being or by shore lying-at-anchor
ἀσελγῶς προσενεχθῶσι τοῖς κυβερνήταις καὶ θρασέως,
insolently they-behave to-the helmsmen and boldly
ἅμα τῷ χειμῶνα καὶ κίνδυνον καταλαμβάνειν πρὸς
at-once with-the storm and danger to-come-on to
ἐκείνους ἀποβλέπουσι καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν ἐκείνοις ἔχουσι.
them they-look and the hopes on them they-place
καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἐν τοῖς συνεδρίοις
and for Argives and Eleans and Arcadians in the councils
ἐρίζοντες καὶ διαφερόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ὑπὲρ
quarreling and differing with the Thebans about
ἡγεμονίας, ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ τοῖς
leadership in the-very the struggles and amid the dangers the
ἐκείνων αὐθαιρέτως πειθόμενοι στρατηγοῖς ἠκολούθουν.
their of-their-own-choice obeying generals followed
Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ πᾶσαν μὲν Ἀρκαδίαν εἰς μίαν
in that the expedition all indeed Arcadia into one
δύναμιν συνέστησαν, τὴν δὲ Μεσσηνίαν χώραν νεμομένων
power they-united the and Messenian land occupying
Σπαρτιατῶν ἀποτεμόμενοι τοὺς παλαιοὺς Μεσσηνίους
Spartans having-cut-off the old Messenians
ἐκάλουν καὶ κατῆγον Ἰθώμην συνοικίσαντες, ἀπιόντες δὲ
they-called and brought-back Ithome having-resettled going-away and
ἐπ᾽ οἴκου διὰ Κεγχρεῶν Ἀθηναίους ἐνίκων ἐπιχειροῦντας
to home through Cenchreae Athenians they-defeated attempting
ἀψιμαχεῖν περὶ τὰ στενὰ καὶ κωλύειν τὴν πορείαν.
to-skirmish about the narrows and to-hinder the march

Tried for holding command beyond its term, Pelopidas and Epaminondas are acquitted; when the orator Meneclidas has Charon's name inscribed on a battle painting, Pelopidas indicts the decree and Meneclidas is fined. Sent to Thessaly, Pelopidas takes Larissa and tries to reform Alexander of Pherae, who flees; in Macedonia he settles the dispute of Alexander and Ptolemy and takes Philip to Thebes as a hostage. When Ptolemy murders the king, Pelopidas' mercenaries are bribed away, and Alexander of Pherae seizes him; the tyrant's wife Thebe visits him in prison.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὑπερηγάπων τὴν 25
at and these-things the indeed others all loved-exceedingly the
ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν τύχην ἐθαύμαζον, ὁ δὲ συγγενὴς καὶ
valor and the fortune admired the but native and
πολιτικὸς φθόνος ἅμα τῇ δόξῃ τῶν ἀνδρῶν συναυξόμενος
political envy together-with the fame of-the men growing-along
οὐ καλὰς οὐδὲ πρεπούσας ὑποδοχὰς παρεσκεύαζεν αὐτοῖς.
not fine nor fitting receptions prepared for-them
θανάτου γὰρ ἀμφότεροι δίκας ἔφυγον ἐπανελθόντες, ὅτι
on-capital for both charges were-tried having-returned because
τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ μηνὶ παραδοῦναι τὴν
the law bidding in the first month to-hand-over the
βοιωταρχίαν ἑτέροις, ὃν Βουκάτιον ὀνομάζουσι, τέτταρας
boeotarchy to-others which Boucatius they-name four
ὅλους προσεπεβάλοντο μῆνας, ἐν οἷς τὰ περὶ Μεσσήνην
whole they-had-added months in which the about Messene
καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ τὴν Λακωνικὴν διῴκησαν.
and Arcadia and — Laconia they-administered
Εἰσήχθη μὲν οὖν πρότερος εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον Πελοπίδας,
was-brought-in indeed then first into the court Pelopidas
διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκινδύνευσεν, ἀμφότεροι δὲ ἀπελύθησαν.
wherefore also more he-was-in-danger both but were-acquitted

τὸ δὲ συκοφάντημα καὶ τὴν πεῖραν Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἤνεγκε
the and false-charge and the trial Epaminondas bore
πρᾴως, μέγα μέρος ἀνδρείας καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας τὴν ἐν
mildly great part of-courage and magnanimity the in
τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀνεξικακίαν ποιούμενος, Πελοπίδας δὲ καὶ
the political-affairs forbearance making Pelopidas but both
φύσει θυμοειδέστερος ὤν, καὶ παροξυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν
by-nature more-passionate being and being-provoked by the
φίλων ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἐπελάβετο τοιαύτης αἰτίας.
friends to-retaliate-on the enemies seized such occasion
Μενεκλείδας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἦν μὲν εἷς τῶν μετὰ Πελοπίδου
Meneclidas the orator was indeed one of-those with Pelopidas
καὶ Μέλωνος εἰς τὴν Χάρωνος οἰκίαν συνελθόντων, ἐπεὶ
and Melon into the of-Charon house having-gathered when
δὲ τῶν ἴσων οὐκ ἠξιοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς Θηβαίοις,
and of-the equal-honors not he-was-deemed-worthy among the Thebans
δεινότατος μὲν ὢν λέγειν, ἀκόλαστος δὲ καὶ κακοήθης
most-clever indeed being to-speak licentious but and malicious
τὸν τρόπον, ἐχρῆτο τῇ φύσει πρὸς τὸ συκοφαντεῖν καὶ
the character he-used the nature for the to-slander and
διαβάλλειν τοὺς κρείττονας, οὐδὲ μετὰ δίκην ἐκείνην
to-calumniate the better nor after the-trial that
παυσάμενος. Ἐπαμεινώνδαν μὲν οὖν ἐξέκρουσε τῆς
having-stopped Epaminondas indeed then he-ousted from-the
βοιωταρχίας καὶ κατεπολιτεύσατο πολὺν χρόνον, Πελοπίδαν
boeotarchy and out-maneuvered long time Pelopidas
δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸν δῆμον οὐκ ἴσχυσε διαβαλεῖν, ἐπεχείρει
but with indeed the people not he-succeeded to-slander attempted
δὲ συγκροῦσαι τῷ Χάρωνι· καὶ κοινήν τινα τοῦ φθόνου
and to-set-at-odds — with-Charon and common some of-the envy
παραμυθίαν ἔχοντος, ἂν ὧν αὐτοὶ μὴ δύνανται
consolation having if than-whom they-themselves not are-able

βελτίους φανῆναι, τούτους ἁμῶς γέ πως ἑτέρων
better to-appear these somehow at-least in-some-way than-others
ἀποδείξωσι κακίους, πολὺς ἦν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον αὔξων
they-show worse much he-was before the people magnifying
τὰ τοῦ Χάρωνος ἔργα, καὶ τὰς στρατηγίας τὰς ἐκείνου καὶ
the — of-Charon deeds and the generalships the his and
τὰς νίκας ἐγκωμιάζων. τῆς δὲ πρὸς Πλαταιὰς ἱππομαχίας,
the victories praising of-the and at Plataea cavalry-battle
ἣν πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν ἐνίκησαν ἡγουμένου Χάρωνος,
which before the Leuctrian-battle they-won leading Charon
ἐπεχείρησεν ἀνάθημα τοιόνδε ποιῆσαι. Ἀνδροκύδης ὁ
he-attempted dedication such to-make Androcydes the
Κυζικηνὸς ἐκλαβὼν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως πίνακα γράψαι
Cyzicene having-contracted from the city a-picture to-paint
μάχης ἑτέρας, ἐπετέλει τὸ ἔργον ἐν Θήβαις· γενομένης δὲ
of-battle another was-completing the work in Thebes having-occurred and
τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τοῦ πολέμου συμπεσόντος, οὐ πολὺ
the revolt and the war having-befallen not much
τοῦ τέλος ἔχειν ἐλλείποντα τὸν πίνακα παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς
of-the completion to-have lacking the picture with themselves
οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατέσχον. τοῦτον οὖν ὁ Μενεκλείδας ἔπεισεν
the Thebans kept this then — Meneclidas persuaded
ἀναθέντας ἐπιγράψαι τοὔνομα τοῦ Χάρωνος, ὡς ἀμαυρώσων
having-dedicated to-inscribe the-name — of-Charon as going-to-obscure
τὴν Πελοπίδου καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδου δόξαν. ἦν δὲ ἀβέλτερος
the of-Pelopidas and Epaminondas glory was and foolish
ἡ φιλοτιμία, παρὰ τοσούτους καὶ τηλικούτους ἀγῶνας ἑνὸς
the ambition amid so-many and so-great struggles one
ἔργου καὶ μιᾶς νίκης ἀγαπωμένης, ἐν ᾗ Γεράνδαν τινὰ
deed and one victory being-prized in which Gerandas a-certain
τῶν ἀσήμων Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ
of-the obscure Spartans and forty with him

πεσεῖν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν μέγα πραχθῆναι λέγουσι. τοῦτο
to-have-fallen other but nothing great to-have-been-done they-say this
τὸ ψήφισμα γράφεται Πελοπίδας παρανόμων, ἰσχυριζόμενος
the decree indicts Pelopidas for-illegality maintaining
ὅτι Θηβαίοις οὐ πάτριον ἦν ἰδίᾳ κατ᾽ ἄνδρα τιμᾶν,
that for-Thebans not ancestral it-was privately by man to-honor
ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι κοινῶς τὸ τῆς νίκης ὄνομα σώζειν.
but for-the fatherland in-common the of-the victory name to-preserve
καὶ τὸν μὲν Χάρωνα παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην ἐγκωμιάζων
and — indeed Charon through all the trial praising
ἀφθόνως διετέλεσε, τὸν δὲ Μενεκλείδαν βάσκανον καὶ
ungrudgingly he-continued — but Meneclidas envious and
πονηρὸν ἐξελέγχων, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐρωτῶν εἰ μηδὲν
wicked exposing and the Thebans asking whether nothing
αὐτοῖς καλὸν πέπρακται, ὥστε Μενεκλείδαν ζημιῶσαι
by-them fine has-been-done so-that Meneclidas to-fine
χρήμασιν, ἃ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐκτῖσαι διὰ πλῆθος,
with-money which not being-able to-pay because-of the-amount
ὕστερον ἐπεχείρησε κινῆσαι καὶ μεταστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν.
later he-attempted to-stir-up and to-change the constitution
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔχει τινὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου ἀποθεώρησιν.
these-things indeed then have some also of-the life contemplation

26 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φερῶν τυράννου πολεμοῦντος μὲν
when and Alexander — of-Pherae tyrant warring indeed
ἐκ προδήλου πολλοῖς Θετταλῶν, ἐπιβουλεύοντος δὲ πᾶσιν,
from open with-many of-Thessalians plotting and against-all
ἐπρέσβευσαν εἰς Θήβας αἱ πόλεις στρατηγὸν αἰτούμεναι
sent-envoys to Thebes the cities a-general asking
καὶ δύναμιν, ὁρῶν ὁ Πελοπίδας τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν τὰς ἐν
and a-force seeing — Pelopidas — Epaminondas the in
Πελοποννήσῳ πράξεις διοικεῖν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπέδωκε καὶ
Peloponnesus affairs managing himself himself gave and

προσένειμε τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς, μήτε τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιστήμην καὶ
assigned to-the Thessalians neither the own skill and
δύναμιν ἀργοῦσαν περιορᾶν ὑπομένων, μήτε ὅπου πάρεστιν
power idle to-overlook enduring nor where is-present
Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἑτέρου δεῖσθαι στρατηγοῦ νομίζων. ὡς οὖν
Epaminondas another to-need general thinking when then
ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίαν μετὰ δυνάμεως, τήν τε Λάρισσαν
he-marched into Thessaly with a-force — both Larissa
εὐθὺς παρέλαβε, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐλθόντα καὶ δεόμενον
at-once took and — Alexander having-come and begging
διαλλάττειν ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ ποιεῖν ἐκ τυράννου πρᾷον ἄρχοντα
to-reconcile he-tried and to-make from a-tyrant gentle ruler
τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς καὶ νόμιμον. ὡς δὲ ἦν ἀνήκεστος καὶ
for-the Thessalians and lawful when and he-was incurable and
θηριώδης καὶ πολλὴ μὲν ὠμότης αὐτοῦ, πολλὴ δὲ ἀσέλγεια
brutish and much indeed savagery his much and licentiousness
καὶ πλεονεξία κατηγορεῖτο, τραχυνομένου τοῦ Πελοπίδου
and greed was-charged being-exasperated — Pelopidas
πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ χαλεπαίνοντος ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο μετὰ
with him and being-angry having-run-away he-went-off with
τῶν δορυφόρων. ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας ἄδειάν τε πολλὴν ἀπὸ
the bodyguards — and Pelopidas security both much from
τοῦ τυράννου τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς ἀπολιπὼν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
the tyrant for-the Thessalians having-left and toward one-another
ὁμόνοιαν, αὐτὸς εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπῆρε, Πτολεμαίου μὲν
concord himself to Macedonia set-out Ptolemy indeed
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεύοντι τῶν Μακεδόνων πολεμοῦντος,
with-Alexander the reigning-over the Macedonians warring
ἀμφοτέρων δὲ μεταπεμπομένων ἐκεῖνον ὡς διαλλακτὴν καὶ
both and summoning him as reconciler and
δικαστὴν καὶ σύμμαχον καὶ βοηθὸν τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἀδικεῖσθαι
judge and ally and helper of-the one-seeming to-be-wronged

γενησόμενον. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ διαλύσας τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ
going-to-be having-come and and having-settled the disputes and
καταγαγὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, ὅμηρον ἔλαβε τὸν ἀδελφὸν
having-restored the exiles as-hostage he-took the brother
τοῦ βασιλέως Φίλιππον καὶ τριάκοντα παῖδας ἄλλους τῶν
of-the king Philip and thirty boys others of-the
ἐπιφανεστάτων, καὶ κατέστησεν εἰς Θήβας, ἐπιδειξάμενος
most-illustrious and settled-them in Thebes having-shown
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὡς πόρρω διήκει τὰ Θηβαίων πράγματα
to-the Greeks how far reach the of-Thebans affairs
τῇ δόξῃ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῇ πίστει τῆς δικαιοσύνης.
by-the reputation of-the power and by-the trust of-the justice
Οὗτος ἦν Φίλιππος ὁ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὕστερον πολεμήσας
this was Philip the-one with-the Greeks later having-warred
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τότε δὲ παῖς ὢν ἐν Θήβαις παρὰ
over the freedom then but a-boy being in Thebes with
Παμμένει δίαιταν εἶχεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ ζηλωτὴς γεγονέναι
Pammenes lodging he-had from and this also an-emulator to-have-become
ἔδοξεν Ἐπαμεινώνδου, τὸ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους καὶ τὰς
he-seemed of-Epaminondas the about the wars and the
στρατηγίας δραστήριον ἴσως κατανοήσας, ὃ μικρὸν ἦν τῆς
generalships energetic perhaps having-perceived which small was of-the
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆς μόριον, ἐγκρατείας δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνης
of-the man virtue part of-self-control but and justice
καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας καὶ πραότητος, οἷς ἦν ἀληθῶς μέγας
and magnanimity and gentleness in-which he-was truly great
ἐκεῖνος, οὐδὲν οὔτε φύσει Φίλιππος οὔτε μιμήσει μετέσχε.
he nothing neither by-nature Philip nor by-imitation shared

27 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν τῶν Θετταλῶν αἰτιωμένων
after and these-things again the Thessalians accusing
τὸν Φεραῖον Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς διαταράττοντα τὰς πόλεις,
the Pheraean Alexander as disturbing the cities

ἀπεστάλη μετὰ Ἰσμηνίου πρεσβεύων ὁ Πελοπίδας·
was-sent with Ismenias as-envoy — Pelopidas
καὶ παρῆν οὔτε οἴκοθεν ἄγων δύναμιν οὔτε πόλεμον
and arrived neither from-home bringing force nor war
προσδοκήσας, αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς χρῆσθαι πρὸς
having-expected the-very and the Thessalians to-use for
τὸ κατεπεῖγον τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκαζόμενος. ἐν τούτῳ
the urgency of-the affairs being-compelled in this
δὲ πάλιν τῶν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν ταραττομένων (ὁ
and again the-affairs in Macedonia being-disturbed —
γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος ἀνῃρήκει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
for Ptolemy had-killed the king and the rule
κατέσχεν, οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἐκάλουν τὸν
seized the and friends of-the dead called —
Πελοπίδαν), βουλόμενος μὲν ἐπιφανῆναι τοῖς πράγμασιν,
Pelopidas wishing indeed to-appear in-the affairs
ἰδίους δὲ στρατιώτας οὐκ ἔχων, μισθοφόρους τινὰς αὐτόθεν
own but soldiers not having mercenaries some there
προσλαβόμενος μετὰ τούτων εὐθὺς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὸν
having-taken-on with these at-once he-marched against —
Πτολεμαῖον. ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, τοὺς μὲν
Ptolemy when and near one-another they-came the indeed
μισθοφόρους Πτολεμαῖος χρήμασι διαφθείρας ἔπεισεν ὡς
mercenaries Ptolemy with-money having-corrupted persuaded to
αὐτὸν μεταστῆναι, τοῦ δὲ Πελοπίδου τὴν δόξαν αὐτὴν
him to-change-sides — and of-Pelopidas the reputation itself
καὶ τοὔνομα δεδοικὼς ἀπήντησεν ὡς κρείσσονι, καὶ
and the-name fearing he-met-him as a-superior and
δεξιωσάμενος καὶ δεηθεὶς ὡμολόγησε τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν
having-greeted and having-begged he-agreed the indeed rule
τοῖς τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀδελφοῖς διαφυλάξειν, Θηβαίοις δὲ
for-the of-the dead brothers to-keep for-Thebans and

τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν ἕξειν καὶ φίλον· ὁμήρους δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις
the same enemy to-have and friend as-hostages and on these
τὸν υἱὸν Φιλόξενον ἔδωκε καὶ πεντήκοντα τῶν ἑταίρων.
the son Philoxenus he-gave and fifty of-the companions
τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Θήβας ὁ Πελοπίδας, αὐτὸς
these indeed then sent to Thebes — Pelopidas himself
δὲ βαρέως φέρων τὴν τῶν μισθοφόρων προδοσίαν, καὶ
and heavily bearing the of-the mercenaries treachery and
πυνθανόμενος τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῖς καὶ παῖδας
learning the most of-the money for-them and children
καὶ γυναῖκας ἀποκεῖσθαι περὶ Φάρσαλον, ὥστε τούτων
and wives to-be-deposited about Pharsalus so-that these
κρατήσας ἱκανὴν δίκην ὧν καθύβρισται λήψεσθαι,
having-mastered sufficient penalty for-what he-had-been-outraged he-would-exact
συναγαγὼν τῶν Θεσσαλῶν τινας ἦκεν εἰς Φάρσαλον.
having-gathered of-the Thessalians some came to Pharsalus
ἀρτίως δ' αὐτοῦ παρεληλυθότος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τύραννος
just and him having-arrived Alexander the tyrant
ἐπεφαίνετο μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ νομίσαντες οἱ περὶ
appeared with the force and having-thought those about
τὸν Πελοπίδαν ἀπολογησόμενον ἥκειν ἐβάδιζον αὐτοὶ
— Pelopidas going-to-defend-himself to-have-come went themselves
πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐξώλη μὲν ὄντα καὶ μιαιφόνον εἰδότες,
to him an-utterly-ruined indeed being and bloodthirsty knowing
διὰ δὲ τὰς Θήβας καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀξίωμα καὶ δόξαν
because-of but — Thebes and the about themselves dignity and reputation
οὐδὲν ἂν παθεῖν προσδοκήσαντες. ὁ δέ, ὡς εἶδεν ἀνόπλους
nothing — to-suffer having-expected he but when he-saw unarmed
καὶ μόνους προσιόντας, ἐκείνους μὲν εὐθὺς συνέλαβε, τὴν
and alone approaching them indeed at-once arrested —
δὲ Φάρσαλον κατέσχε, φρίκην δὲ καὶ φόβον ἐνειργάσατο
and Pharsalus seized shuddering and and fear he-wrought

τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πᾶσιν ὥς γε μετὰ τὴν τηλικαύτην ἀδικίαν
in-the subjects all as at-least after the so-great wrong
καὶ τόλμαν ἀφειδήσων ἁπάντων, καὶ χρησόμενος οὕτω
and daring going-to-be-unsparing of-all and going-to-treat so
τοῖς παραπίπτουσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ πράγμασιν ὡς τότε
those falling-in-his-way men and affairs as then
γε κομιδῇ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἀπεγνωκώς.
at-least entirely the his-own life having-despaired-of
Οἱ μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἔφερον βαρέως 28
the indeed then Thebans these-things having-heard bore-it heavily
καὶ στρατιὰν ἐξέπεμπον εὐθύς, δι' ὀργήν τινα πρὸς τὸν
and an-army sent-out at-once through anger some toward —
Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἑτέρους ἀποδείξαντες ἄρχοντας. τὸν δὲ
Epaminondas others having-appointed commanders — and
Πελοπίδαν εἰς τὰς Φερὰς ἀπαγαγὼν ὁ τύραννος τὸ μὲν
Pelopidas to — Pherae having-led-off the tyrant the indeed
πρῶτον εἴα τοὺς βουλομένους αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι, νομίζων
first allowed those wishing with-him to-converse thinking
ἐλεεινὸν γεγονέναι καὶ ταπεινὸν ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ
pitiable to-have-become and humbled by the misfortune when but
τοὺς μὲν Φεραίους ὁ Πελοπίδας ὀδυρομένους παρεκάλει
the indeed Pheraeans — Pelopidas lamenting he-urged
θαρρεῖν, ὡς νῦν μάλιστα δώσοντος τοῦ τυράννου δίκην,
to-take-courage as now most going-to-pay the tyrant penalty
πρὸς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀποστείλας ἔλεγεν ὡς ἄτοπός ἐστι
to and him himself having-sent-to he-said that absurd he-is
τοὺς μὲν ἀθλίους πολίτας καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ὁσημέραι
the indeed wretched citizens and nothing doing-wrong daily
στρεβλῶν καὶ φονεύων, αὐτοῦ δὲ φειδόμενος, ὃν μάλιστα
torturing and murdering him but sparing whom most
γινώσκει τιμωρησόμενον αὐτὸν ἄνπερ διαφύγῃ, θαυμάσας
he-knows going-to-punish him if-ever he-escapes having-wondered-at

τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν αὐτοῦ, "Τί δέ," φησί, "σπεύδει
the spirit and the fearlessness his why and he-says is-eager
Πελοπίδας ἀποθανεῖν;" κἀκεῖνος ἀκούσας, "Ὅπως," εἶπε,
Pelopidas to-die and-he having-heard so-that he-said
"σὺ τάχιον ἀπολῇ, μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν θεομισὴς γενόμενος."
you sooner may-perish more than now god-hated having-become
ἐκ τούτου διεκώλυσεν ἐντυγχάνειν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐκτός.
from this he-prevented to-meet him those outside
Ἡ δὲ Θήβη, θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἰάσονος οὖσα, γυνὴ δὲ
— and Thebe daughter indeed of-Jason being wife and
Ἀλεξάνδρου, πυνθανομένη παρὰ τῶν φυλαττόντων
of-Alexander learning from those guarding
Πελοπίδαν τὸ θαρραλέον αὐτοῦ καὶ γενναῖον, ἐπεθύμησεν
Pelopidas the courage his and nobility desired
ἰδεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ προσειπεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἦλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν
to-see the man and to-speak-to when and she-came to him
καὶ ἅτε δὴ γυνὴ τὸ μὲν μέγεθος τοῦ ἤθους οὐκ
and inasmuch-as indeed a-woman the indeed greatness of-the character not
εὐθὺς ἐν τοσαύτῃ συμφορᾷ κατεῖδε, κουρᾷ δὲ καὶ
at-once in so-great misfortune perceived from-the-haircut and and
στολῇ καὶ διαίτῃ τεκμαιρομένη λυπρὰ καὶ μὴ πρέποντα
dress and way-of-life inferring wretched-things and not befitting
τῇ δόξῃ πάσχειν αὐτὸν ἀπεδάκρυσε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
the fame to-suffer him she-wept the indeed first
ἀγνοῶν ὁ Πελοπίδας τίς εἴη γυναικῶν, ἐθαύμαζεν, ὡς
not-knowing — Pelopidas who she-was of-women wondered when
δὲ ἔγνω, προσηγόρευσεν αὐτὴν πατρόθεν· ἦν γὰρ τῷ
and he-knew he-addressed her by-her-father's-name was for —
Ἰάσονι συνήθης καὶ φίλος. εἰπούσης δὲ ἐκείνης, "Ἐλεῶ
with-Jason intimate and friend having-said and she I-pity
σου τὴν γυναῖκα," "Καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ σε," εἶπεν, "ὅτι
your the wife and for I you he-said that

ἄδετος οὖσα ὑπομένεις Ἀλέξανδρον.” οὗτος ἔθιγέ πως
unchained being you-endure Alexander this touched somehow
ὁ λόγος τῆς γυναικός· ἐβαρύνετο γὰρ τὴν ὠμότητα καὶ
the word the woman she-was-vexed-at for the savagery and
τὴν ὕβριν τοῦ τυράννου, μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης ἀσελγείας καὶ
the outrage of-the tyrant with the other licentiousness and
τὸν νεώτατον αὐτῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν παιδικὰ πεποιημένου.
the youngest her of-the brothers favorite having-made
διὸ καὶ συνεχῶς φοιτῶσα πρὸς τὸν Πελοπίδαν καὶ
wherefore also continually visiting to — Pelopidas and
παρρησιαζομένη περὶ ὧν ἔπασχεν ὑπεπίμπλατο θυμοῦ
speaking-freely about what she-suffered she-was-filled with-anger
καὶ φρονήματος καὶ δυσμενείας πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.
and spirit and hostility toward — Alexander

VIII · THE TYRANT AND THE KING

Sent to Thessaly, Epaminondas frees Pelopidas by restraint rather than force, granting the tyrant Alexander, who buries men alive, massacres Meliboea and Scotussa, and leaves a performance of Euripides' Trojan Women *lest he be seen weeping, only a thirty-day truce. In Persia Pelopidas outshines the Athenian and Spartan envoys, wins the king's assent to his demands, and accepts only tokens of goodwill, while Timagoras is executed at Athens for his gifts. Recalled by the Thessalians, he marches despite an eclipse, charges Alexander at Cynoscephalae, and falls before the Thessalians rout the tyrant.*

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Θηβαίων εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν 29
when and the generals of-the Thebans into — Thessaly
ἐμβαλόντες ἔπραξαν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ἀπειρίαν ἢ
having-invaded did nothing but through inexperience or
δυστυχίαν αἰσχρῶς ἀνεχώρησαν, ἐκείνων μὲν ἕκαστον
misfortune disgracefully withdrew of-those indeed each

ἡ πόλις μυρίαις δραχμαῖς ἐζημίωσεν, Ἐπαμεινώνδαν
the city with-ten-thousand drachmas fined Epaminondas
δὲ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἀπέστειλεν. εὐθὺς οὖν κίνησίς τις
and with a-force sent at-once then movement some
μεγάλη Θετταλῶν ἦν ἐπαιρομένων πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ
great of-Thessalians there-was being-elated at the fame of-the
στρατηγοῦ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα τοῦ τυράννου ῥοπῆς ἐδεῖτο
general and the affairs of-the tyrant of-a-turn needed
μικρᾶς ἀπολωλέναι· τοσοῦτος ἐνεπεπτώκει φόβος τοῖς
small to-be-ruined so-great had-fallen fear on-the
περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσι καὶ φίλοις, τοσαύτη δὲ τοὺς ὑπηκόους
around him commanders and friends so-great and the subjects
ὁρμὴ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν εἶχε καὶ χαρὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὡς
impulse toward revolt held and joy at-the coming as
νῦν ἐποψομένους δίκην διδόντα τὸν τύραννον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽
now going-to-see penalty paying the tyrant not indeed but
Ἐπαμεινώνδας τὴν αὑτοῦ δόξαν ἐν ὑστέρῳ τῆς Πελοπίδου
Epaminondas the his-own glory in second-place to-the of-Pelopidas
σωτηρίας τιθέμενος, καὶ δεδοικὼς μὴ τῶν πραγμάτων
safety putting and fearing lest the affairs
ταραχθέντων ἀπογνοὺς ἑαυτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος
having-been-thrown-into-confusion having-despaired-of himself Alexander
ὥσπερ θηρίον τράπηται πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἐπῃωρεῖτο τῷ
like a-beast turn against that-one hovered with-the
πολέμῳ, καὶ κύκλῳ περιϊών, τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ τῇ
war and in-a-circle going-around with-the preparation and the
μελλήσει κατεσκεύαζε καὶ συνέστελλε τὸν τύραννον, ὡς
delay be-managed and hemmed-in the tyrant so-that
μήτε ἀνεῖναι τὸ αὔθαδες αὐτοῦ καὶ θρασυνόμενον μήτε τὸ
neither to-let-loose the self-will his and boldness nor the
πικρὸν καὶ θυμοειδὲς ἐξερεθίσαι, πυνθανόμενος τὴν ὠμότητα
bitter and passionate to-provoke learning the savagery

καὶ τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων, ὡς ζῶντας μὲν
and the contempt of-the noble and just how living indeed
ἀνθρώπους κατώρυττεν, ἑτέροις δὲ δέρματα συῶν ἀγρίων
men he-buried to-others and skins of-boars wild
καὶ ἄρκτων περιτιθεὶς καὶ τοὺς θηρατικοὺς ἐπάγων κύνας
and of-bears putting-on and the hunting setting-on dogs
καὶ διέσπα καὶ κατηκόντιζε, παιδιᾷ ταύτῃ χρώμενος,
both he-tore-apart and shot-down with-sport this using
Μελιβοίᾳ δὲ καὶ Σκοτούσῃ, πόλεσιν ἐνσπόνδοις καὶ
at-Meliboea and and Scotussa cities allied and
φίλαις, ἐκκλησιαζούσαις περιστήσας ἅμα τοὺς δορυφόρους
friendly holding-assembly having-surrounded at-once the bodyguards
ἡβηδὸν ἀπέσφαξε, τὴν δὲ λόγχην ᾗ Πολύφρονα
all-grown-up he-slaughtered the and spear with-which Polyphron
τὸν θεῖον ἀπέκτεινε καθιερώσας καὶ καταστέψας, ἔθυεν
the uncle he-killed having-consecrated and having-garlanded he-sacrificed-to
ὥσπερ θεῷ καὶ Τύχωνα προσηγόρευε. τραγῳδὸν δέ ποτε
as-if to-a-god and Tychon called a-tragic-actor and once
θεώμενος Εὐριπίδου Τρῳάδας ὑποκρινόμενον ᾤχετο ἀπιὼν
watching of-Euripides Trojan-Women acting he-went-off going-away
ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου, καὶ πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε θαρρεῖν
from the theater and having-sent to him bade-him to-take-courage
καὶ μηδὲν ἀγωνίζεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο χεῖρον, οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνου
and nothing to-perform because-of this worse not for him
καταφρονῶν ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ αἰσχυνόμενος τοὺς πολίτας,
despising to-have-gone-away but being-ashamed-before the citizens
εἰ μηδένα πώποτε τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ φονευομένων ἠλεηκώς,
if no-one ever of-those by him murdered having-pitied
ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑκάβης καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης κακοῖς ὀφθήσεται
at the of-Hecuba and Andromache woes he-shall-be-seen

δακρύων. οὗτος μέντοι τὴν δόξαν αὐτὴν καὶ τοὔνομα καὶ
weeping this-one however the fame itself and the-name and
τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς Ἐπαμεινώνδου στρατηγίας καταπλαγείς,
the prestige of-the of-Epaminondas generalship struck-with-fear

ἔπτηξ' ἀλέκτωρ δοῦλος ὡς κλίνας πτερόν,
crouched cock slave like having-bent wing

καὶ τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους ταχὺ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπεμπεν. ὁ
and those going-to-make-defense quickly to him he-sent he
δὲ συνθέσθαι μὲν εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα
and to-conclude indeed peace and friendship with such a-man
Θηβαίοις οὐχ ὑπέμεινε, σπεισάμενος δὲ τριακονθημέρους
for-Thebans not endured having-made-a-truce but thirty-day
ἀνοχὰς τοῦ πολέμου καὶ λαβὼν τὸν Πελοπίδαν καὶ τὸν
suspension of-the war and having-taken — Pelopidas and —
Ἰσμηνίαν ἀνεχώρησεν.
Ismenias withdrew
30 Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
the and Thebans from the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians
αἰσθόμενοι πρὸς τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα πρέσβεις ἀναβαίνοντας
having-perceived to the great king envoys going-up
ὑπὲρ συμμαχίας, ἔπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πελοπίδαν, ἄριστα
for alliance sent also themselves Pelopidas best
βουλευσάμενοι πρὸς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ
having-planned for the fame his first indeed for
ἀνέβαινε διὰ τῶν βασιλέως ἐπαρχιῶν ὀνομαστὸς ὢν καὶ
he-went-up through the of-the-king provinces famous being and
περιβόητος· οὐ γὰρ ἠρέμα διῆκτο τῆς Ἀσίας οὐδ' ἐπὶ
celebrated not for slightly had-reached — of-Asia nor to
μικρὸν ἡ δόξα τῶν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀγώνων, ἀλλ',
small-extent the fame of-the against Lacedaemonians struggles but

ὡς πρῶτος περὶ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης ἐξέδραμε λόγος,
when first about the at Leuctra battle ran-forth report
ἀεί τινος καινοῦ προστιθεμένου κατορθώματος αὐξανομένη
always some new being-added success increasing
καὶ ἀναβαίνουσα πορρωτάτω κατέσχεν· ἔπειτα τοῖς ἐπὶ
and mounting farthest prevailed then to-the at
θύραις σατράπαις καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ὀφθεὶς
the-doors satraps and generals and commanders having-been-seen
θαῦμα καὶ λόγον παρέσχεν, ὡς οὗτος ἀνήρ ἐστιν ὁ
wonder and talk he-caused that this man is the-one
γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐκβαλὼν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ συστείλας
of-land and of-sea having-driven Lacedaemonians and having-pent-up
ὑπὸ Ταΰγετον καὶ τὸν Εὐρώταν τὴν Σπάρτην τὴν ὀλίγον
under Taygetus and the Eurotas — Sparta the little
ἔμπροσθεν βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ Πέρσαις δι᾽
before against-the-king the great and Persians through
Ἀγησιλάου τὸν περὶ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων ἐπαραμένην
Agesilaus the about Susa and Ecbatana having-undertaken
πόλεμον. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης ἔχαιρε, καὶ τὸν
war these-things then — Artaxerxes rejoiced-in and —
Πελοπίδαν ἐθαύμαζε ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ μέγαν ἐποίει ταῖς
Pelopidas admired for the fame and great made-him with-the
τιμαῖς, ὑπὸ τῶν μεγίστων εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι
honors by the greatest to-be-deemed-happy and to-be-courted
βουλόμενος δοκεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ εἶδε καὶ
wishing to-seem when and also the appearance his he-saw and
τοὺς λόγους κατενόησε, τῶν μὲν Ἀττικῶν βεβαιοτέρους,
the words he-perceived than-the indeed Attic more-trustworthy
τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἁπλουστέρους ὄντας, ἔτι μᾶλλον
than-the and Lacedaemonian simpler being still more
ἠγάπησε, καὶ πάθος βασιλικὸν παθὼν οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο
he-loved-him and a-feeling kingly having-felt not he-hid

τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμήν, οὐδ' ἔλαθε τοὺς ἄλλους
the toward the man honor nor escaped-notice the other
πρέσβεις πλεῖστον νέμων ἐκείνῳ. καίτοι δοκεῖ μάλιστα
envoys most allotting to-him and-yet he-seems most
τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀνταλκίδαν τιμῆσαι τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον,
of-the Greeks Antalcidas to-have-honored the Lacedaemonian
ὅτι τὸν στέφανον, ὃν πίνων περιέκειτο, βάψας εἰς
because the crown which drinking he-wore having-dipped in
μύρον ἀπέστειλε. Πελοπίδᾳ δὲ οὕτω μὲν οὐκ ἐνετρύφησε,
perfume he-sent to-Pelopidas but so indeed not he-was-wanton
δῶρα δὲ λαμπρότατα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν νομιζομένων
gifts but most-splendid and greatest of-those customary
ἐξέπεμψε καὶ τὰς ἀξιώσεις ἐπεκύρωσεν, αὐτονόμους μὲν
he-sent and the demands ratified independent indeed
εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οἰκεῖσθαι δὲ Μεσσήνην, Θηβαίους
to-be the Greeks to-be-inhabited and Messene Thebans
δὲ πατρικοὺς φίλους νομίζεσθαι βασιλέως.
and ancestral friends to-be-considered of-the-king
Ταύτας ἔχων τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, τῶν δὲ δώρων οὐδὲν ὅ
these having the answers of-the and gifts nothing what
τι μὴ χάριτος ἦν σύμβολον καὶ φιλοφροσύνης δεξάμενος,
ever not of-favor was a-token and of-kindness having-accepted
ἀνέζευξεν· ὃ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις διέβαλε.
he-departed which also most the other envoys discredited
Τιμαγόραν γοῦν Ἀθηναῖοι κρίναντες ἀπέκτειναν, εἰ μὲν
Timagoras at-any-rate Athenians having-tried put-to-death if indeed
ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν δωρεῶν, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως· οὐ γὰρ
for the multitude of-the gifts rightly and justly not for
μόνον χρυσίον οὐδὲ ἀργύριον ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κλίνην
only gold nor silver he-took but also a-couch
πολυτελῆ καὶ στρώτας θεράποντας, ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
costly and bed-making servants as the Greeks

οὐκ ἐπισταμένων, ἔτι δὲ βοῦς ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ βουκόλους,
not knowing-how still and cows eighty and cowherds
ὡς δὴ πρὸς ἀρρωστίαν τινὰ γάλακτος βοείου δεόμενος,
as indeed for sickness some of-milk cow's needing
τέλος δὲ κατέβαινεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐν φορείῳ κομιζόμενος,
finally and he-went-down to the-sea in a-litter carried
καὶ τέσσαρα τάλαντα τοῖς κομίζουσι μισθὸς ἐδόθη
and four talents to-those carrying as-pay was-given
παρὰ βασιλέως· ἀλλ' ἔοικεν οὐχ ἡ δωροδοκία μάλιστα
from the-king but it-seems not the bribe-taking most
παροξῦναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ἐπικράτους γοῦν ποτε
to-have-provoked the Athenians Epicrates at-any-rate once
τοῦ σακεσφόρου μήτε ἀρνουμένου δῶρα δέξασθαι παρὰ
the shield-bearer neither denying gifts to-have-received from
βασιλέως, ψήφισμά τε γράφειν φάσκοντος ἀντὶ τῶν ἐννέα
the-king a-decree and to-propose saying instead-of the nine
ἀρχόντων χειροτονεῖσθαι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐννέα πρέσβεις πρὸς
archons to-be-elected by year nine envoys to
βασιλέα τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ πενήτων, ὅπως λαμβάνοντες
the-king of-the common and poor so-that receiving
εὐπορῶσιν, ἐγέλασεν ὁ δῆμος· ἀλλ' ὅτι Θηβαίοις ἐγεγόνει
they-may-be-well-off laughed the people but because for-Thebans had-happened
πάντα χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, οὐ λογιζόμενοι τὴν Πελοπίδου
all-things hard they-bore-it not reckoning the of-Pelopidas
δόξαν, ὅσων ἦν ῥητορειῶν καὶ λόγων κρειττων παρ'
fame how-many it-was of-rhetorics and speeches superior with
ἀνθρώπῳ θεραπεύοντι τοὺς τῶν ὅπλων ἀεὶ κρατοῦντας.
a-man courting those of-the arms always prevailing
Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρεσβεία τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ προσέθηκεν οὐ μικρὰν 31
the indeed then embassy — to-Pelopidas added not small
εὔνοιαν ἐπανελθόντι, διὰ τὸν Μεσσήνης συνοικισμὸν
goodwill having-returned because-of the of-Messene resettlement

καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων αὐτονομίαν· Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ
and the of-the other Greeks independence of-Alexander and
τοῦ Φεραίου πάλιν εἰς τὴν αὑτοῦ φύσιν ἀναδραμόντος καὶ
the Pheraean again into the his-own nature having-run-back and
Θεσσαλῶν μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγας περικόπτοντος πόλεις, Φθιώτας
of-Thessalians indeed not few lopping-off cities Phthiotian
δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ τὸ Μαγνήτων ἔθνος ἔμφρουρον
and Achaeans all and the of-Magnesians nation garrisoned
πεποιημένου, πυνθανόμεναι Πελοπίδαν ἐπανήκειν αἱ πόλεις
having-made learning Pelopidas to-have-returned the cities
εὐθὺς ἐπρέσβευον εἰς Θήβας αἰτούμεναι δύναμιν καὶ
at-once sent-envoys to Thebes asking a-force and
στρατηγὸν ἐκεῖνον. ψηφισαμένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων προθύμως,
as-general him having-voted and the Thebans eagerly
καὶ ταχὺ πάντων ἑτοίμων γενομένων καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
and quickly everything ready having-become and the general
περὶ ἔξοδον ὄντος, ὁ μὲν ἥλιος ἐξέλιπε καὶ σκότος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
about departure being the indeed sun was-eclipsed and darkness in daytime
τὴν πόλιν ἔσχεν, ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας ὁρῶν πρὸς τὸ φάσμα
the city held — but Pelopidas seeing at the portent
συντεταραγμένους ἅπαντας οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν βιάζεσθαι
thrown-into-confusion all not he-thought it-needful to-force
καταφόβους καὶ δυσέλπιδας ὄντας, οὐδὲ ἀποκινδυνεύειν
terrified and despondent being nor to-risk
ἑπτακισχιλίοις πολίταις, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν μόνον τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς
seven-thousand citizens but himself alone to-the Thessalians
ἐπιδοὺς καὶ τριακοσίους τῶν ἱππέων ἐθελοντὰς ἀναλαβὼν
having-given and three-hundred of-the horsemen volunteers having-taken
καὶ ξένους ἐξώρμησεν, οὔτε τῶν μάντεων ἐώντων οὔτε
and mercenaries he-set-out neither the seers allowing nor
τῶν ἄλλων συμπροθυμουμένων πολιτῶν· μέγα γὰρ ἐδόκει
the other sharing-the-zeal citizens great for it-seemed

καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα λαμπρὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γεγονέναι σημεῖον.
and against a-man illustrious from heaven to-have-been a-sign
ὁ δὲ ἦν μὲν καὶ δι᾽ ὀργὴν ὧν καθύβριστο
he and was indeed also through anger for-what he-had-been-outraged
θερμότερος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἤλπιζε δὲ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν
hotter against — Alexander he-hoped and also the house
αὐτοῦ νοσοῦσαν ἤδη καὶ διεφθαρμένην εὑρήσειν ἐξ ὧν
his diseased already and corrupted to-find from what
διείλεκτο τῇ Θήβῃ. μάλιστα δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ παρεκάλει
he-had-discussed — with-Thebe most and him also urged
τὸ τῆς πράξεως κάλλος, ἐπιθυμοῦντα καὶ φιλοτιμούμενον,
the of-the action nobility desiring and being-ambitious
ἐν οἷς χρόνοις Λακεδαιμόνιοι Διονυσίῳ τῷ Σικελίας
in which times Lacedaemonians for-Dionysius the of-Sicily
τυράννῳ στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἁρμοστὰς ἔπεμπον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ
tyrant generals and harmosts sent Athenians and
μισθοδότην Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχον καὶ χαλκοῦν ἵστασαν ὡς
paymaster Alexander had and in-bronze set-up as
εὐεργέτην, τότε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιδεῖξαι Θηβαίους μόνους
benefactor then to-the Greeks to-show Thebans alone
ὑπὲρ τῶν τυραννουμένων στρατευομένους καὶ καταλύοντας
for the tyrannized campaigning and overthrowing
ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὰς παρανόμους καὶ βιαίους δυναστείας.
among the Greeks the lawless and violent despotisms
Ὡς οὖν εἰς Φάρσαλον ἐλθὼν ἤθροισε τὴν δύναμιν, 32
when then to Pharsalus having-come he-gathered the force
εὐθὺς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ Θηβαίους μὲν
at-once he-marched against — Alexander he and Thebans indeed
ὀλίγους περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ὁρῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ πλείους ἔχων
few about — Pelopidas seeing himself and more having
ἢ διπλασίους ὁπλίτας τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἀπήντα πρὸς τὸ
than double hoplites than-the Thessalians met-him at —

Θετίδειον. εἰπόντος δέ τινος τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ πολλοὺς ἔχοντα
Thetideion having-said and someone — to-Pelopidas many having
τὸν τύραννον ἐπέρχεσθαι, "Βέλτιον," ἔφη, "πλείονας γὰρ
the tyrant to-be-coming-on better he-said more for
νικήσομεν."
we-shall-conquer
Ἀνατεινόντων δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέσον κατὰ τὰς καλουμένας
stretching and toward the middle at the called
Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς λόφων περικλινῶν καὶ ὑψηλῶν, ὥρμησαν
Dog's heads of-hills sloping and high rushed
ἀμφότεροι τούτους καταλαβεῖν τοῖς πεζοῖς. τοὺς δ'
both these to-seize with-the infantry the and
ἱππεῖς ὁ Πελοπίδας πολλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ὄντας ἐφῆκε
horsemen — Pelopidas many and-good being launched
τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τῶν πολεμίων. ὡς δὲ οὗτοι μὲν ἐκράτουν
against-the horsemen of-the enemies when and these indeed prevailed
καὶ συνεξέπεσον εἰς τὸ πεδίον τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὁ δὲ
and dashed-out-together into the plain with-the fleeing — and
Ἀλέξανδρος ἔφθη τοὺς λόφους καταλαβών, τοῖς ὁπλίταις
Alexander anticipated the hills having-seized on-the hoplites
τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ὕστερον ἐπερχομένοις καὶ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ καὶ
of-the Thessalians later coming-on and against strong and
μετέωρα χωρία βιαζομένοις ἐμβαλὼν ἔκτεινε τοὺς πρώτους,
lofty places forcing-their-way having-charged killed the first
οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πληγὰς λαβόντες οὐδὲν ἔπρασσον. κατιδὼν
the and others blows having-received nothing accomplished having-perceived
οὖν ὁ Πελοπίδας τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ πρὸς
then — Pelopidas the indeed horsemen recalled and against
τὸ συνεστηκὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλαύνειν ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ
the standing-firm of-the enemies to-ride ordered himself and
συνέμιξε δρόμῳ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς λόφους μαχομένοις εὐθὺς τὴν
joined at-a-run those about the hills fighting at-once the

ἀσπίδα λαβών. καὶ διὰ τῶν ὄπισθεν ὠσάμενος εἰς τοὺς
shield having-taken and through those behind having-pushed to the
πρώτους τοσαύτην ἐνεποίησε ῥώμην καὶ προθυμίαν ἅπασιν
front so-great instilled strength and zeal in-all
ὥστε καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἑτέρους δοκεῖν γεγονότας καὶ σώμασι
so-that even to-the enemies others to-seem having-become both in-bodies
καὶ ψυχαῖς ἐπέρχεσθαι. καὶ δύο μὲν ἢ τρεῖς ἀπεκρούσαντο
and souls to-be-coming-on and two indeed or three they-repelled
προσβολάς, ὁρῶντες δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐπιβαίνοντας εὐρώστως
attacks seeing but also these advancing stoutly
καὶ τὴν ἵππον ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἀναστρέφουσαν εἶξαν,
and the cavalry from the pursuit returning they-gave-way
ἐπὶ σκέλος ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας
by step making the withdrawal — and Pelopidas
ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων κατιδὼν ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν
from the heights having-seen all the camp of-the
πολεμίων οὔπω μὲν εἰς φυγὴν τετραμμένον, ἤδη δὲ
enemies not-yet indeed into flight turned already but
θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς ἀναπιμπλάμενον, ἔστη καὶ περιέβλεψεν
with-uproar and confusion being-filled stood and looked-around
αὐτὸν ζητῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὡς δ' εἶδεν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ
him seeking — Alexander when and he-saw-him on the right
παραθαρρύνοντα καὶ συντάττοντα τοὺς μισθοφόρους, οὐ
encouraging and arranging the mercenaries not
κατέσχε τῷ λογισμῷ τὴν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν βλέψιν
he-restrained with-the reasoning the anger but at the sight
ἀναφλεχθεὶς καὶ τῷ θυμῷ παραδοὺς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν
having-been-inflamed and to-the passion having-given-up the body and the
ἡγεμονίαν τῆς πράξεως, πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξαλόμενος
command of-the action far before the others having-leaped-out
ἐφέρετο βοῶν καὶ προκαλούμενος τὸν τύραννον. ἐκεῖνος μὲν
he-rushed shouting and challenging the tyrant he indeed

οὖν οὐκ ἐδέξατο τὴν ὁρμὴν οὐδὲ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναφυγὼν
then not received the onset nor withstood but having-fled-back
πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐνέκρυψεν ἑαυτόν. τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων
to the bodyguards hid himself of-the and mercenaries
οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι συμβαλόντες εἰς χεῖρας ἀνεκόπησαν ὑπὸ
the indeed first having-engaged into hands were-beaten-back by
τοῦ Πελοπίδου, τινὲς δὲ καὶ πληγέντες ἐτελεύτησαν, οἱ δὲ
— Pelopidas some and also struck died the but
πολλοὶ τοῖς δόρασι πόρρωθεν διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τύπτοντες
many with-the spears from-afar through the armor striking
αὐτὸν κατετραυμάτιζον, ἕως οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ περιπαθήσαντες
him wounded-him until the Thessalians deeply-moved
ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων δρόμῳ προσεβοήθησαν, ἤδη πεπτωκότος,
from the hills at-a-run came-to-help already having-fallen
οἵ τε ἱππεῖς προσελάσαντες ὅλην ἐτρέψαντο τὴν φάλαγγα
the both horsemen having-ridden-up whole routed the phalanx
καὶ διώξαντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐνέπλησαν νεκρῶν τὴν χώραν,
and having-pursued for very-far filled with-corpses the country
πλέον ἢ τρισχιλίους καταβαλόντες.
more than three-thousand having-struck-down

IX · MOURNING AND VENGEANCE

The army grieves, shearing their horses and their own hair, and the Thessalians beg to bury him. Plutarch judges the funeral more splendid than any tyrant's and calls his death, in his thirteenth boeotarchy, the crown of a fortunate life. The Thebans make Alexander give up his cities and follow Thebes; later his wife Thebe and her brothers kill him in his bed, and the Pheraeans trample his body.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν Θηβαίων τοὺς παρόντας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Πελοπίδου 33
the indeed then of-Thebans those present at the — of-Pelopidas
τελευτῇ βαρέως φέρειν, πατέρα καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ διδάσκαλον
death heavily to-bear father and savior and teacher
τῶν μεγίστων καὶ καλλίστων ἀγαθῶν ἀποκαλοῦντας ἐκεῖνον,
of-the greatest and finest goods calling him
οὐ πάνυ θαυμαστὸν ἦν· οἱ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι
not very surprising was the but Thessalians and the allies
πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνῃ πρέπουσαν ἀρετῇ τιμὴν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν
every for-human befitting virtue honor with-the decrees
ὑπερβαλόντες, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπεδείξαντο τοῖς πάθεσι τὴν πρὸς
having-surpassed still more displayed by-the feelings the toward
τὸν ἄνδρα χάριν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ παραγεγονότας τῷ ἔργῳ
the man gratitude those indeed for present at-the action
λέγουσι μήτε θώρακα θέσθαι μήτε ἵππον ἐκχαλινῶσαι
they-say neither breastplate to-have-put-off nor horse to-have-unbridled
μήτε τραῦμα δήσασθαι πρότερον, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὴν ἐκείνου
nor wound to-have-bound before when they-learned the his
τελευτήν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων θερμοὺς ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὸν
death but with the arms hot going to the
νεκρὸν ὥσπερ αἰσθανόμενον, τὰ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ περὶ
corpse as-if perceiving the of-the enemies in-a-circle about
τὸ σῶμα σωρεύειν λάφυρα, κεῖραι δὲ ἵππους, κείρασθαι
the body to-heap spoils to-have-shorn and horses to-have-shorn
δὲ καὶ αὐτούς, ἀπιόντας δὲ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ σκηνὰς μήτε πῦρ
and also themselves going-away and many to tents neither fire
ἀνάψαι μήτε δεῖπνον ἑλέσθαι, σιγὴν δὲ καὶ κατήφειαν
to-have-lit nor dinner to-have-taken silence and and dejection
εἶναι τοῦ στρατοπέδου παντός, ὥσπερ οὐ νενικηκότων
to-have-been of-the camp whole as-if not having-won
ἐπιφανεστάτην νίκην καὶ μεγίστην, ἀλλ' ἡττημένων ὑπὸ
a-most-brilliant victory and greatest but defeated by

τοῦ τυράννου καὶ καταδεδουλωμένων. ἐκ δὲ τῶν πόλεων,
the tyrant and enslaved from and the cities
ὡς ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα, παρῆσαν αἵ τε ἀρχαὶ καὶ μετ᾽
when were-reported these-things were-present the both magistrates and with
αὐτῶν ἔφηβοι καὶ παῖδες καὶ ἱερεῖς πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν
them youths and boys and priests for the reception
τοῦ σώματος, τρόπαια καὶ στεφάνους καὶ πανοπλίας
of-the body trophies and crowns and full-armors
χρυσᾶς ἐπιφέροντες. ὡς δὲ ἔμελλεν ἐκκομίζεσθαι τὸ σῶμα,
golden bringing when and was-about to-be-carried-out the body
προσελθόντες οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ᾐτοῦντο τοὺς
having-come-forward the oldest of-the Thessalians asked the
Θηβαίους δι᾽ αὑτῶν θάψαι τὸν νεκρόν. εἷς δὲ αὐτῶν
Thebans through themselves to-bury the corpse one and of-them
ἔλεγεν· “Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, χάριν αἰτοῦμεν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν
said men allies a-favor we-ask from you
κόσμον ἡμῖν ἐπὶ ἀτυχίᾳ τοσαύτῃ καὶ παραμυθίαν φέρουσαν.
honor to-us in misfortune so-great and consolation bringing
οὐ γὰρ ζῶντα Θεσσαλοὶ Πελοπίδαν προπέμψουσιν, οὐδὲ
not for living Thessalians Pelopidas will-escort nor
αἰσθανομένῳ τὰς ἀξίας τιμὰς ἀποδώσουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐὰν
to-one-perceiving the worthy honors will-render but if
ψαῦσαί τε τοῦ νεκροῦ τύχωμεν καὶ δι᾽ αὑτῶν κοσμῆσαι
to-touch both the corpse we-obtain and through ourselves to-adorn
καὶ θάψαι τὸ σῶμα, δόξομεν ὑμῖν οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν ὅτι μείζων
and to-bury the body we-shall-seem to-you not to-disbelieve that greater
ἡ συμφορὰ γέγονε Θετταλοῖς ἢ Θηβαίοις· ὑμῖν μὲν
the misfortune has-been for-Thessalians than for-Thebans for-you indeed
γὰρ ἡγεμόνος ἀγαθοῦ μόνον, ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ τούτου καὶ τῆς
for of-a-leader good only for-us but both of-this and of-the
ἐλευθερίας στέρεσθαι συμβέβηκε. πῶς γὰρ ἔτι τολμήσομεν
freedom to-be-deprived has-befallen how for still shall-we-dare

αἰτῆσαι στρατηγὸν ἄλλον παρ᾽ ὑμῶν οὐκ ἀποδόντες
to-ask general another from you not having-given-back
Πελοπίδαν;" ταῦτα μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι συνεχώρησαν.
Pelopidas these-things indeed the Thebans granted
Ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν ταφῶν οὐ δοκοῦσιν ἕτεραι λαμπρότεραι 34
than-those and the funerals not seem other more-splendid
γενέσθαι τοῖς τὸ λαμπρὸν οὐκ ἐν ἐλέφαντι καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ
to-have-been to-those the splendor not in ivory and gold and
πορφύραις εἶναι νομίζουσιν, ὥσπερ Φίλιστος ὑμνῶν καὶ
purples to-be thinking as Philistus celebrating and
θαυμάζων τὴν Διονυσίου ταφήν, οἷον τραγῳδίας μεγάλης
admiring the of-Dionysius funeral like of-tragedy great
τῆς τυραννίδος ἐξόδιον θεατρικὸν γενομένην. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ
of-the tyranny closing-scene theatrical having-been Alexander and
ὁ μέγας Ἡφαιστίωνος ἀποθανόντος οὐ μόνον ἵππους ἔκειρε
the great Hephaestion having-died not only horses sheared
καὶ ἡμιόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀφεῖλε τῶν τειχῶν,
and mules but also the battlements took-down of-the walls
ὡς ἂν δοκοῖεν αἱ πόλεις πενθεῖν, ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν
so-that — might-seem the cities to-mourn instead-of the former
μορφῆς κούριμον σχῆμα καὶ ἄτιμον ἀναλαμβάνουσαι.
form shorn appearance and dishonored taking-on
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν προστάγματα δεσποτῶν ὄντα, καὶ μετὰ
these-things indeed then commands of-despots being and with
πολλῆς ἀνάγκης περαινόμενα καὶ μετὰ φθόνου τῶν
much necessity being-carried-out and with envy of-those
τυχόντων καὶ μίσους τῶν βιαζομένων, οὐδεμιᾶς χάριτος
obtaining-them and hatred of-those forced of-no gratitude
ἦν οὐδὲ τιμῆς, ὄγκου δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ
was nor of-honor of-pomp but barbarian and luxury and
ἀλαζονείας ἐπίδειξις, εἰς κενὰ καὶ ἄζηλα τὴν περιουσίαν
boastfulness display on empty-things and unenviable the abundance

διατιθεμένων· ἀνὴρ δὲ δημοτικὸς ἐπὶ ξένης τεθνηκώς, οὐ
spending a-man but of-the-people in foreign-land having-died not
γυναικός, οὐ παίδων, οὐ συγγενῶν παρόντων, οὐ δεομένου
wife not children not kinsmen being-present not asking
τινός, οὐκ ἀναγκάζοντος, ὑπὸ δήμων τοσούτων καὶ πόλεων
anyone not compelling by peoples so-many and cities
ἁμιλλωμένων προπεμπόμενος καὶ συνεκκομιζόμενος καὶ
vying being-escorted and being-carried-out-together and
στεφανούμενος, εἰκότως ἐδόκει τὸν τελειότατον ἀπέχειν
being-crowned reasonably seemed the most-complete to-attain
εὐδαιμονισμόν. οὐ γάρ, ὡς Αἴσωπος ἔφασκε, χαλεπώτατός
happiness not for as Aesop said hardest
ἐστιν ὁ τῶν εὐτυχούντων θάνατος, ἀλλὰ μακαριώτατος,
is the of-the fortunate death but most-blessed
εἰς ἀσφαλῆ χώραν τὰς εὐπραξίας κατατιθέμενος τῶν
into safe place the successes depositing of-the
ἀγαθῶν καὶ τύχην μεταβάλλεσθαι μὴ ἀπολείπων. διὸ
goods and fortune to-change not leaving wherefore
βέλτιον ὁ Λάκων τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκην Διαγόραν, ἐπιδόντα
better the Laconian the Olympic-victor Diagoras having-lived-to-see
μὲν υἱοὺς στεφανουμένους Ὀλυμπίασιν, ἐπιδόντα δ'
indeed sons crowned at-Olympia having-lived-to-see and
υἱωνοὺς καὶ θυγατριδοῦς, ἀσπασάμενος, "Κάτθανε," εἶπε,
grandsons and daughters'-sons having-embraced die said
"Διαγόρα· οὐκ εἰς τὸν Ὄλυμπον ἀναβήσῃ." τὰς δὲ
Diagoras not to — Olympus you-will-go-up the and
Ὀλυμπιακὰς καὶ Πυθικὰς νίκας οὐκ ἄν, οἶμαί, τις εἰς τὸ
Olympic and Pythian victories not — I-think anyone into the
αὐτὸ συνθεὶς ἁπάσας ἑνὶ τῶν Πελοπίδου παραβαλεῖν
same having-put all with-one of-the of-Pelopidas to-compare
ἀγώνων ἀξιώσειεν, οὓς πολλοὺς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ
of-contests would-deem-worthy which many having-contested and

κατορθώσας, καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν δόξῃ καὶ
having-succeeded and of-the life the most in glory and
τιμῇ βιώσας, τέλος ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ βοιωταρχίᾳ,
honor having-lived finally in the thirteenth boeotarchy
τυραννοκτονίᾳ μεμιγμένην ἀριστείαν ἀριστεύων, ὑπὲρ τῆς
with-tyrannicide mingled feat-of-valor achieving for the
τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἐλευθερίας ἀπέθανεν.
of-the Thessalians freedom he-died
Ὁ δὲ θάνατος αὐτοῦ μεγάλα μὲν ἐλύπησε τοὺς 35
the and death his greatly indeed grieved the
συμμάχους, μείζονα δὲ ὠφέλησε. Θηβαῖοι γάρ, ὡς
allies greater-things and benefited Thebans for when
ἐπύθοντο τὴν τοῦ Πελοπίδου τελευτήν, οὐδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν
they-learned the — of-Pelopidas death no postponement
ποιησάμενοι τῆς τιμωρίας κατὰ τάχος ἐστράτευσαν
having-made of-the vengeance in haste marched
ὁπλίταις ἑπτακισχιλίοις, ἱππεῦσι δ' ἑπτακοσίοις, ἡγουμένου
with-hoplites seven-thousand horsemen and seven-hundred commanding
Μαλκίτου καὶ Διογείτονος. καταλαβόντες δὲ συνεσταλμένον
Malcitas and Diogeiton having-caught and drawn-in
καὶ περικεκομμένον τῆς δυνάμεως Ἀλέξανδρον ἠνάγκασαν
and stripped of-the power Alexander they-compelled
Θεσσαλοῖς μὲν ἀποδοῦναι τὰς πόλεις ἃς εἶχεν αὐτῶν,
to-Thessalians indeed to-give-back the cities which he-held of-them
Μάγνητας δὲ καὶ Φθιώτας Ἀχαιοὺς ἀφεῖναι καὶ τὰς
Magnesians and and Phthiotian Achaeans to-free and the
φρουρὰς ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὀμόσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐφ' οὓς ἂν
garrisons to-withdraw to-swear and him against whomever —
ἡγῶνται Θηβαῖοι καὶ κελεύσωσιν ἀκολουθήσειν. Θηβαῖοι
lead Thebans and bid to-follow Thebans

μὲν οὖν τούτοις ἠρκέσθησαν· ἣν δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον τοῖς
indeed then with-these were-content which and little later to-the
θεοῖς ὑπὲρ Πελοπίδου δίκην ἔδωκε διηγήσομαι.
gods for Pelopidas penalty he-paid I-will-relate
Θήβην τὴν συνοικοῦσαν αὐτῷ πρῶτον μέν, ὡς εἴρηται,
Thebe the living-with him first indeed as has-been-said
Πελοπίδας ἐδίδαξε μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἔξω λαμπρότητα
Pelopidas taught not to-fear the outward splendor
καὶ παρασκευὴν τῆς τυραννίδος, ἐντὸς τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν
and equipment of-the tyranny within the arms and the
φυλάκων οὖσαν· ἔπειτα δὲ φοβουμένη τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοῦ
guards being then and fearing the faithlessness his
καὶ μισοῦσα τὴν ὠμότητα, συνθεμένη μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν,
and hating the savagery having-conspired with the brothers
τριῶν ὄντων, Τισιφόνου, Πυθολάου, Λυκόφρονος, ἐπεχείρει
three being Tisiphonus Pytholaus Lycophron attempted
τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. τὴν μὲν ἄλλην οἰκίαν τοῦ τυράννου
this the way the indeed other house of-the tyrant
κατεῖχον αἱ φυλακαὶ τῶν παρανυκτερευόντων, ὁ δὲ
held the guards of-those keeping-night-watch the and
θάλαμος, ἐν ᾧ καθεύδειν εἰώθεσαν, ὑπερῷος ἦν, καὶ
bedchamber in which to-sleep they-were-accustomed upstairs was and
πρὸ αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν εἶχε κύων δεδεμένος, πᾶσι φοβερὸς
before it guard kept a-dog chained to-all terrible
πλὴν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις καὶ ἑνὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τῷ τρέφοντι.
except to-very those and to-one of-the servants the one-feeding-it
καθ' ὃν οὖν ἔμελλε καιρὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἡ Θήβη, τοὺς
at which then was-about time to-make-the-attempt — Thebe the
μὲν ἀδελφοὺς ἀφ' ἡμέρας εἶχε πλησίον ἐν οἴκῳ τινὶ
indeed brothers from day had near in room a-certain
κεκρυμμένους, εἰσελθοῦσα δέ, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, μόνη πρὸς
hidden having-gone-in and as she-was-accustomed alone to

τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἤδη καθεύδοντα καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν πάλιν
— Alexander already sleeping and after a-little again
προελθοῦσα, τῷ μὲν οἰκέτῃ προσέταξεν ἀπάγειν ἔξω τὸν
having-come-out to-the indeed servant ordered to-lead-away outside the
κύνα· βούλεσθαι γὰρ ἀναπαύεσθαι μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἐκεῖνον·
dog to-wish for to-rest in quiet him
αὐτὴ δὲ τὴν κλίμακα φοβουμένη μὴ κτύπον παράσχῃ τῶν
she-herself and the ladder fearing lest noise it-make the
νεανίσκων ἀναβαινόντων ἐρίοις κατεστόρεσεν· εἶτα οὕτως
young-men going-up with-wool covered then so
ἀναγαγοῦσα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ξιφήρεις καὶ στήσασα πρὸ
having-brought-up the brothers sword-in-hand and having-stationed-them before
τῶν θυρῶν εἰσῆλθεν αὐτή, καὶ καθελοῦσα τὸ ξίφος ὑπὲρ
the doors went-in herself and having-taken-down the sword over
τῆς κεφαλῆς κρεμάμενον, σημεῖον εἶναι τοῦ κατέχεσθαι
the head hanging sign to-be of-the to-be-held-fast
τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ καθεύδειν ἔδειξεν. ἐκπεπληγμένων δὲ τῶν
the man and to-sleep showed being-terrified and the
νεανίσκων καὶ κατοκνούντων, κακίζουσα καὶ διομνυμένη
young-men and shrinking reviling-them and swearing
μετ' ὀργῆς αὐτὴ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐξεγείρασα μηνύσειν
with anger she-herself — Alexander having-awakened to-reveal
τὴν πρᾶξιν, αἰσχυνθέντας αὐτοὺς ἅμα καὶ φοβηθέντας
the plot having-been-shamed them at-once and having-been-frightened
εἰσήγαγε καὶ περιέστησε τῇ κλίνῃ, προσφέρουσα τὸν
she-led-in and stationed-them-about the bed bringing-near the
λύχνον. τῶν δὲ ὁ μὲν τοὺς πόδας κατεῖχε πιέσας,
lamp of-them and the-one indeed the feet held having-pressed
ὁ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν λαβόμενος τῶν τριχῶν ἀνέκλασεν,
the-other and the head having-seized by-the hair bent-back
ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῷ ξίφει τύπτων αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο, τῷ
the and third with-the sword striking him killed by-the

μὲν τάχει τῆς τελευτῆς πρᾳότερον ἴσως ἢ προσῆκον
indeed speed of-the death more-mildly perhaps than fitting
ἦν ἀποθανόντα, τῷ δὲ μόνον ἢ πρῶτον τυράννων ὑπὸ
was having-died by-the and alone or first of-tyrants by
γυναικὸς ἰδίας ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ τῇ μετὰ θάνατον αἰκίᾳ τοῦ
wife his-own to-have-perished and by-the after death outrage of-the
σώματος ῥιφέντος καὶ πατηθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Φεραίων,
body having-been-thrown and trampled by the Pheraeans
ἄξια πεπονθέναι δόξαντα τῶν παρανομημάτων.
worthy-things to-have-suffered having-seemed of-the crimes

PLUTARCH

ΤΙΜΟΛΕΩΝ

Timoleon

Plutarch writes these lives as a mirror for his own conduct. After Dion's murder Sicily is in chaos: Dionysius has returned to Syracuse as tyrant, Hicetas of Leontini seeks the tyranny with Carthaginian help, and the Syracusans appeal to Corinth, their mother city. The Corinthians vote to send aid, and when a leader is sought, a citizen names Timoleon, son of Timodemus and Demariste, a lover of his country and a hater of tyrants, whose brother Timophanes is his opposite.

Ἐμοὶ τῆς τῶν βίων ἅψασθαι μὲν γραφῆς συνέβη δι'
for-me the of-the lives to-take-up indeed writing it-happened because-of
ἑτέρους, ἐπιμένειν δὲ καὶ φιλοχωρεῖν ἤδη καὶ δι'
others to-continue but and to-delight-in-it now also because-of
ἐμαυτόν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ πειρώμενον ἁμῶς
myself as-if in a-mirror in-the history trying somehow
γέ πως κοσμεῖν καὶ ἀφομοιοῦν πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων
at-least in-some-way to-adorn and to-make-like to the their
ἀρετὰς τὸν βίον. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλλ' ἢ συνδιαιτήσει καὶ
virtues the life nothing for else than to-living-together and
συμβιώσει τὸ γινόμενον ἔοικεν, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐπιξενούμενον
to-associating the happening is-like whenever as-if receiving-as-guest
ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν μέρει διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ὑποδεχόμενοι
each of-them in turn through the history receiving
καὶ παραλαμβάνοντες ἀναθεωρῶμεν "ὅσσος ἔην οἷός
and taking-up we-contemplate how-great he-was what-sort
τε," τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα πρὸς γνῶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν
and the most-important and finest for knowledge from the
πράξεων λαμβάνοντες.
deeds taking

Φεῦ, φεῦ· τί τούτου χάρμα μεῖζον ἂν λάβοις,
alas alas what than-this joy greater — could-you-get

καὶ πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἠθῶν ἐνεργότερον; Δημόκριτος
and for improvement of-characters more-effective Democritus
μὲν γὰρ εὔχεσθαί φησι δεῖν ὅπως εὐλόγχων εἰδώλων
indeed for to-pray says it-is-needful that fortunate images
τυγχάνωμεν καὶ τὰ σύμφυλα καὶ τὰ χρηστὰ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν
we-may-meet and the congenial and the good rather to-us
ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἢ τὰ φαῦλα καὶ τὰ σκαιὰ συμφέρηται,
from the surrounding than the bad and the perverse may-be-brought
λόγον οὔτ' ἀληθῆ καὶ πρὸς ἀπεράντους ἐκφέροντα
an-argument neither true and to endless leading
δεισιδαιμονίας εἰς φιλοσοφίαν καταβάλλων· ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ
superstitions into philosophy introducing we but by-the
περὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν διατριβῇ καὶ τῆς γραφῆς τῇ συνηθείᾳ
about the history occupation and of-the writing by-the habit
παρασκευάζομεν ἑαυτούς, τὰς τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ δοκιμωτάτων
prepare ourselves the of-the best and most-approved
μνήμας ὑποδεχομένους ἀεὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς, εἴ τι φαῦλον ἢ
memories receiving always in-the souls if anything base or
κακόηθες ἢ ἀγεννὲς αἱ τῶν συνόντων ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁμιλίαι
malicious or ignoble the of-those associating from necessity associations
προσβάλλουσιν, ἐκκρούειν καὶ διωθεῖσθαι, πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα
inflict to-expel and to-thrust-away to the finest
τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἵλεω καὶ πραεῖαν ἀποστρέφοντες
of-the examples gracious and calm turning
τὴν διάνοιαν. ὧν ἐν τῷ παρόντι προκεχειρίσμεθά σοι
the mind of-which in the present we-have-chosen for-you
τὸν Τιμολέοντος τοῦ Κορινθίου καὶ τὸν Αἰμιλίου Παύλου
the of-Timoleon the Corinthian and the of-Aemilius Paulus
βίον, ἀνδρῶν οὐ μόνον ταῖς αἱρέσεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς
life of-men not only in-the principles but also in-the
τύχαις ἀγαθαῖς ὁμοίως κεχρημένων ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ
fortunes good alike having-enjoyed in the affairs and

διαμφισβήτησιν παρεξόντων πότερον εὐποτμίᾳ μᾶλλον
dispute going-to-provide whether by-good-fortune rather
ἢ φρονήσει τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πεπραγμένων κατώρθωσαν.
than by-prudence the greatest of-the things-done they-succeeded
Τὰ μὲν Συρακουσίων πράγματα πρὸ τῆς Τιμολέοντος εἰς 1
the indeed of-Syracusans affairs before the of-Timoleon to
Σικελίαν ἀποστολῆς οὕτως εἶχεν. ἐπεὶ Δίων μὲν ἐξελάσας
Sicily expedition so stood when Dion indeed having-expelled
Διονύσιον τὸν τύραννον εὐθὺς ἀνῃρέθη δόλῳ καὶ
Dionysius the tyrant at-once was-killed by-treachery and
διέστησαν οἱ σὺν Δίωνι Συρακουσίους ἐλευθερώσαντες, ἡ
quarreled those with Dion Syracusans having-freed the
δὲ πόλις ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου μεταβάλλουσα συνεχῶς τύραννον
and city one from another exchanging continually tyrant
ὑπὸ πλήθους κακῶν μικρὸν ἀπέλειπεν ἔρημος εἶναι, τῆς δ'
by multitude of-evils little fell-short deserted to-be of-the and
ἄλλης Σικελίας ἡ μὲν ἀνάστατος καὶ ἄπολις παντάπασιν
other Sicily the indeed desolated and cityless altogether
ἤδη διὰ τοὺς πολέμους ὑπῆρχεν, αἱ δὲ πλεῖσται
already because-of the wars was the but most
πόλεις ὑπὸ βαρβάρων μιγάδων καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἀμισθὼν
cities by barbarians mixed and soldiers unpaid
κατείχοντο, ῥᾳδίως προσιεμένων τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν
were-held easily accepting the changes of-the
δυναστειῶν, Διονύσιος ἔτει δεκάτῳ ξένους συναγαγὼν καὶ
dynasties Dionysius in-year tenth mercenaries having-gathered and
τὸν τότε κρατοῦντα τῶν Συρακουσίων Νυσαῖον ἐξελάσας,
the then ruling the Syracusans Nysaeus having-expelled
ἀνέλαβε τὰ πράγματα πάλιν καὶ καθειστήκει τύραννος ἐξ
recovered the affairs again and was-established tyrant from
ἀρχῆς, παραλόγως μὲν ὑπὸ μικρᾶς δυνάμεως τὴν μεγίστην
beginning unexpectedly indeed by small force the greatest

τῶν πώποτε τυραννίδων ἀπολέσας, παραλογώτερον δ'
of-the ever tyrannies having-lost more-unexpectedly and
αὖθις ἐκ φυγάδος καὶ ταπεινοῦ τῶν ἐκβαλόντων κύριος
again from exile and humble of-those having-expelled master
γενόμενος. οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν
having-become the indeed then remaining in the city of-the
Συρακουσίων ἐδούλευον οὔτ' ἄλλως ἐπιεικεῖ τυράννῳ καὶ
Syracusans were-enslaved-to not otherwise reasonable a-tyrant and
τότε παντάπασιν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν ἀπηγριωμένῳ τὴν ψυχήν,
then altogether by misfortunes made-savage the soul
οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι καὶ γνωριμώτατοι πρὸς Ἱκέτην τραπέντες
the and best and most-notable to Hicetas having-turned
τὸν δυναστεύοντα τῶν Λεοντίνων ἐπέτρεψαν αὑτοὺς ἐκείνῳ
the one-ruling the Leontines entrusted themselves to-him
καὶ στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο τοῦ πολέμου, βελτίω μὲν οὐδενὸς
and general chose of-the war better indeed than-none
ὄντα τῶν ὁμολογουμένως τυράννων, ἑτέραν δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες
being of-the admittedly tyrants another but not having
ἀποστροφήν, καὶ πιστεύσαντες Συρακουσίῳ τὸ γένος ὄντι
resort and trusting a-Syracusan the by-family being
καὶ κεκτημένῳ δύναμιν ἀξιόμαχον πρὸς τὸν τύραννον.
and possessing force a-match against the tyrant

2 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Καρχηδονίων στόλῳ μεγάλῳ παραγενομένων
in this and Carthaginians with-a-fleet great having-arrived
εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπαιωρουμένων φοβηθέντες
at Sicily and over-the affairs hovering having-feared
οἱ Σικελιῶται πρεσβείαν ἐβούλοντο πέμπειν εἰς τὴν
the Sicilian-Greeks an-embassy wished to-send to —
Ἑλλάδα καὶ παρὰ Κορινθίων βοήθειαν αἰτεῖν, οὐ μόνον
Greece and from Corinthians help to-ask not only
διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν οὐδ' ἀφ' ὧν ἤδη πολλάκις
because-of the kinship nor from what already often

εὐεργέτηντο πιστεύοντες ἐκείνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθόλου
they-had-been-benefited trusting them but also in-general
τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶντες φιλελεύθερον καὶ μισοτύραννον οὖσαν
the city seeing freedom-loving and tyrant-hating being
ἀεί, καὶ τῶν πολέμων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ μεγίστους
always and of-the wars the most and greatest
πεπολεμηκυῖαν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας καὶ πλεονεξίας, ἀλλ'
having-fought not for leadership and gain but
ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας. ὁ δ' Ἱκέτης,
for the of-the Greeks freedom — and Hicetas
ἅτε δὴ τῆς στρατηγίας ὑπόθεσιν τὴν τυραννίδα
inasmuch-as indeed of-the generalship aim the tyranny
πεποιημένος, οὐ τὴν Συρακουσίων ἐλευθερίαν, κρύφα μὲν
having-made not the of-Syracusans freedom secretly indeed
ἤδη πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διείλεκτο, φανερῶς δὲ τοὺς
already with the Carthaginians had-negotiated openly but the
Συρακουσίους ἐπῄνει καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς Πελοπόννησον
Syracusans praised and the envoys to Peloponnesus
συνεξέπεμψεν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐλθεῖν συμμαχίαν ἐκεῖθεν,
sent-along not wishing to-come alliance from-there
ἀλλ' ἐάν, ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οἱ Κορίνθιοι διὰ τὰς
but if as likely was the Corinthians because-of the
Ἑλληνικὰς ταραχὰς καὶ ἀσχολίας ἀπείπωσι τὴν βοήθειαν,
Greek troubles and occupations refuse the help
ἐλπίζων ῥᾷον ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὰ πράγματα
hoping more-easily to the Carthaginians the affairs
μετάξειν καὶ χρήσεσθαι συμμάχοις καὶ συναγωνισταῖς
to-transfer and to-use as-allies and fellow-combatants
ἐκείνοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἢ κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου.
them against the Syracusans or against the tyrant
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐξηλέγχθη.
these-things indeed then little later were-exposed

3 Τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων παραγενομένων, οἱ Κορίνθιοι, κήδεσθαι
the and envoys having-arrived the Corinthians to-care
μὲν ἀεὶ τῶν ἀποικίδων πόλεων καὶ μάλιστα τῆς
indeed always for-the colonial cities and most for-the
Συρακουσίων εἰωθότες, οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτοὺς τότε τῶν
of-Syracusans being-accustomed nothing and them then of-the
Ἑλληνικῶν κατὰ τύχην παρενοχλοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ
Greek-affairs by chance troubling but in peace
καὶ σχολῇ διάγοντες, ἐψηφίσαντο προθύμως βοηθεῖν.
and leisure living voted eagerly to-help
ζητουμένου δὲ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων γραφόντων
being-sought and a-general and the magistrates writing-down
καὶ προβαλλομένων τοὺς εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει
and proposing those to-be-reputable in the city
σπουδάζοντας, εἷς ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἀναστὰς ὠνόμασε
striving one of the many having-stood-up named
Τιμολέοντα τὸν Τιμοδήμου, μήτε προσιόντα τοῖς κοινοῖς
Timoleon — son-of-Timodemus neither engaging-in the public-affairs
ἔτι μήτ' ἐλπίδος τοιαύτης γενόμενον ἢ προαιρέσεως,
any-longer nor of-hope such having-been or purpose
ἀλλὰ θεοῦ τινος, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰς νοῦν ἐμβαλόντος τῷ
but a-god some as it-seems into mind having-put to-the
ἀνθρώπῳ· τοσαύτη καὶ περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν εὐθὺς ἔλαμψε
man so-great also about the election at-once shone
τύχης εὐμένεια καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πράξεσιν ἐπηκολούθησε
of-fortune goodwill and the other actions attended
χάρις ἐπικοσμοῦσα τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός.
grace adorning the virtue of-the man
Ἦν μὲν οὖν γονέων ἐπιφανῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, Τιμοδήμου
he-was indeed then of-parents illustrious in the city Timodemus
καὶ Δημαρίστης, φιλόπατρις δὲ καὶ πρᾷος διαφερόντως
and Demariste patriotic and and gentle exceptionally

ὅσα μὴ σφόδρα μισοτύραννος εἶναι καὶ μισοπόνηρος. ἐν
as-far-as not vehemently tyrant-hating to-be and wickedness-hating in
δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις οὕτω καλῶς καὶ ὁμαλῶς ἐκέκρατο τὴν
and the wars so finely and evenly was-blended the
φύσιν ὥστε πολλὴν μὲν ἐν νέῳ σύνεσιν, οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ
nature so-that much indeed in youth intelligence not less and
γηρῶντος ἀνδρείαν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι ταῖς πράξεσιν. ἀδελφὸν
of-an-old-man courage to-appear in-the deeds a-brother
δ' εἶχε Τιμοφάνην, πρεσβύτερον, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσόμοιον,
and he-had Timophanes older nothing to-him like
ἀλλ' ἔμπληκτον καὶ διεφθαρμένον ἔρωτι μοναρχίας ὑπὸ
but frantic and corrupted by-love of-monarchy by
φίλων φαύλων καὶ ξένων στρατιωτικῶν ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν
friends worthless and mercenaries soldierly always about him
ὄντων, ἔχειν τι δοκοῦντα ῥαγδαῖον ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις
being to-have something seeming impetuous in the campaigns
καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον. ᾧ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας προσαγόμενος ὡς
and danger-loving by-which also the citizens winning-over as
ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ δραστήριος ἐφ' ἡγεμονιῶν ἐτάττετο. καὶ
a-man warlike and energetic to commands was-appointed and
πρὸς ταῦτα Τιμολέων αὐτῷ συνήργει, τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτήματα
toward these-things Timoleon him helped the indeed faults
παντάπασιν ἀποκρύπτων ἢ μικρὰ φαίνεσθαι ποιῶν, ἃ
altogether concealing or small to-appear making what
δ' ἡ φύσις ἐξέφερεν ἀστεῖα κατακοσμῶν καὶ συναύξων.
and the nature produced fine adorning and magnifying

Timoleon saves his fallen brother Timophanes in battle against the Argives and Cleonaeans by shielding him. When Timophanes makes himself tyrant of Corinth, Timoleon pleads with him and then, with Aeschylus and a seer, lets him be killed, standing aside in tears. The best citizens praise the deed, but others revile him and his mother curses him, and he withdraws for nearly twenty years; Plutarch reflects that a deed needs a steady conviction behind it. Chosen for Sicily, he is told by Telecleides that victory will make him a tyrannicide, defeat a fratricide, and Hicetas' letters reveal his treachery.

4 Ἐν δὲ τῇ πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ Κλεωναίους μάχῃ τῶν
in and the against Argives and Cleonaeans battle of-the
Κορινθίων ὁ μὲν Τιμολέων ἔτυχεν ἐν τοῖς ὁπλίταις
Corinthians — indeed Timoleon happened in the hoplites
τεταγμένος, τὸν δὲ Τιμοφάνην τῶν ἱππέων ἡγούμενον
posted — and Timophanes the horsemen commanding
καταλαμβάνει κίνδυνος ὀξύς. ὁ γὰρ ἵππος αὐτὸν ἀπεσείσατο
overtakes danger sharp the for horse him threw
πληγῇ περιπεσὼν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων οἱ
from-a-wound having-fallen into the enemies and of-the companions the
μὲν εὐθὺς ἐσκορπίσθησαν φοβηθέντες, οἱ δὲ παραμείναντες
indeed at-once scattered having-feared the and remaining
ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς μαχόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἀντεῖχον. ὡς οὖν
few against many fighting hardly held-out when then
ὁ Τιμολέων κατεῖδε τὸ συμβεβηκός, δρόμῳ προσβοηθήσας
— Timoleon saw the happening at-a-run having-come-to-help
καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τοῦ Τιμοφάνους κειμένου προθέμενος, καὶ
and the shield — over-Timophanes lying having-put-before and
πολλὰ μὲν ἀκοντίσματα, πολλὰς δὲ πληγὰς ἐκ χειρὸς
many indeed javelins many and blows from hand

ἀναδεξάμενος εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, μόλις ἐώσατο
having-received on the body and the arms hardly he-pushed-back
τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διέσωσε τὸν ἀδελφόν.
the enemies and saved the brother
Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ Κορίνθιοι δεδιότες μὴ πάθοιεν οἷα καὶ
when and the Corinthians fearing lest they-suffer such-things-as also
πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἀποβαλόντες τὴν πόλιν,
before from the allies having-lost the city
ἐψηφίσαντο τρέφειν ξένους τετρακοσίους καὶ τούτων
voted to-maintain mercenaries four-hundred and of-these
ἄρχοντα Τιμοφάνην κατέστησαν, ὁ δὲ τῶν καλῶν καὶ
commander Timophanes appointed he and the noble and
δικαίων ὑπεριδὼν εὐθὺς ἐπέραινεν ἐξ ὧν ποιήσεται
just having-disregarded at-once pursued from which he-will-make
τὴν πόλιν ὑφ' αὑτῷ, καὶ συχνοὺς ἀνελὼν ἀκρίτους τῶν
the city under him and many having-killed untried of-the
πρώτων πολιτῶν ἀνέδειξεν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τύραννον, βαρέως
first citizens declared himself himself tyrant heavily
φέρων ὁ Τιμολέων, καὶ συμφορὰν ποιούμενος ἑαυτοῦ
bearing-it — Timoleon and a-misfortune making his-own
τὴν ἐκείνου κακίαν, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι
the his wickedness attempted indeed with-him to-reason
καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἀφέντα τὴν μανίαν καὶ δυστυχίαν
and to-urge having-given-up the madness and misfortune
τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκείνης ζητεῖν τινα τῶν ἡμαρτημένων
of-the desire that to-seek some of-the wrongs-done
ἐπανόρθωσιν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ἀπωσαμένου δ' ἐκείνου
amends toward the citizens having-rejected and he
καὶ καταφρονήσαντος, οὕτω παραλαβὼν τῶν μὲν οἰκείων
and having-despised so having-taken of-the indeed kinsmen
Αἰσχύλον, ἀδελφὸν ὄντα τῆς Τιμοφάνους γυναικός, τῶν δὲ
Aeschylus brother being of-the of-Timophanes wife of-the and

φίλων τὸν μάντιν ὃν Σάτυρον μὲν Θεόπομπος, Ἔφορος
friends the seer whom Satyrus indeed Theopompus Ephorus
δὲ καὶ Τίμαιος Ὀρθαγόραν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας
and and Timaeus Orthagoras name and having-let-pass days
ὀλίγας αὖθις ἀνέβη πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν· καὶ περιστάντες
few again went-up to the brother and having-stood-around
αὐτὸν οἱ τρεῖς καθικέτευον ἀλλὰ νῦν γε χρησάμενον
him the three begged but now at-least having-used
λογισμῷ μεταβαλέσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Τιμοφάνους πρῶτον μὲν
reason to-change — and Timophanes first indeed
αὐτῶν καταγελῶντος, ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐκφερομένου
them laughing-at then and to anger being-carried-away
καὶ χαλεπαίνοντος, ὁ μὲν Τιμολέων ἀποχωρήσας μικρὸν
and growing-angry — indeed Timoleon having-withdrawn a-little
αὐτοῦ καὶ συγκαλυψάμενος εἱστήκει δακρύων, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ
from-him and having-veiled-himself stood weeping they and
τὰ ξίφη σπασάμενοι ταχὺ διαφθείρουσιν αὐτόν.
the swords having-drawn quickly kill him
5 Τῆς δὲ πράξεως διαβοηθείσης οἱ μὲν κράτιστοι τῶν
the and deed having-been-noised-abroad the indeed best of-the
Κορινθίων ἐπῄνουν τὴν μισοπονηρίαν καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν τοῦ
Corinthians praised the hatred-of-wickedness and magnanimity —
Τιμολέοντος, ὅτι χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ φιλοίκειος ὅμως τὴν
of-Timoleon that good being and loving-his-family nevertheless the
πατρίδα τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον προετίμησε
fatherland than-the household and the noble and just preferred
τοῦ συμφέροντος, ἀριστεύοντα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος
to-the advantage excelling indeed on-behalf-of the fatherland
διασώσας τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐπιβουλεύσαντα δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ
having-saved the brother having-plotted but against-her and
καταδουλωσάμενον ἀποκτείνας. οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι ζῆν
having-enslaved having-killed the but not being-able to-live

ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυνάστας ἀποβλέπειν
in the democracy and to the despots to-look
εἰωθότες τῷ μὲν θανάτῳ τοῦ τυράννου προσεποιοῦντο
being-accustomed at-the indeed death of-the tyrant pretended
χαίρειν, τὸν δὲ Τιμολέοντα λοιδοροῦντες ὡς ἀσεβὲς
to-rejoice — but Timoleon reviling as an-impious
ἐξειργασμένον καὶ μυσῶδες ἔργον εἰς ἀθυμίαν περιέστησαν.
having-wrought and abominable deed into dejection brought
ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα δυσφορεῖν πυθόμενος καὶ φωνάς τε
when and also the mother to-be-grieved having-learned and utterances both
δεινὰς καὶ κατάρας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀρᾶσθαι φρικώδεις ἐβάδιζε
terrible and curses upon him to-utter dreadful he-went
παραμυθησόμενος, ἡ δὲ προσιδεῖν οὐχ ὑπέμεινε τὴν ὄψιν,
going-to-console she but to-look-at not endured the sight
ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέκλεισε, τότε δὴ παντάπασι περίλυπος
but the house shut then indeed altogether very-grieved
γενόμενος καὶ συνταραχθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν ὥρμησε μὲν
having-become and confounded the mind he-set-out indeed
ὡς διαφθερῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι τροφῆς, τῶν δὲ φίλων
as going-to-destroy himself to-abstain from-food of-the but friends
οὐ περιϊδόντων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν δέησιν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην
not having-overlooked but every entreaty and every compulsion
προσενεγκαμένων ἔγνω ζῆν καθ᾽ ἑαυτόν, ἐκ μέσου
having-applied he-resolved to-live by himself out-of the-way
γενόμενος· καὶ πολιτείαν μὲν ἅπασαν ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ
having-become and public-life indeed all he-gave-up the and
πρώτους χρόνους οὐδὲ κατιὼν εἰς πόλιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀδημονῶν
first times not-even going-down into city but distressed
καὶ πλανώμενος ἐν τοῖς ἐρημοτάτοις τῶν ἀγρῶν διέτριβεν.
and wandering in the loneliest of-the fields he-spent-his-time

6 Οὕτως αἱ κρίσεις, ἂν μὴ βεβαιότητα καὶ ῥώμην ἐκ λόγου
so the judgments if not firmness and strength from reason
καὶ φιλοσοφίας προσλάβωσιν ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις, σείονται
and philosophy they-gain-in-addition for the actions are-shaken
καὶ παραφέρονται ῥᾳδίως ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἐπαίνων καὶ
and carried-off easily by the chance praises and
ψόγων, ἐκκρουόμεναι τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν. δεῖ γὰρ οὐ
blames being-driven-from the own reasonings it-is-needful for not
μόνον, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν πρᾶξιν καλὴν εἶναι καὶ δικαίαν, ἀλλὰ
only as it-seems the action noble to-be and just but
καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ἀφ' ἧς πράττεται, μόνιμον καὶ ἀμετάπτωτον,
also the conviction from which it-is-done steady and unchanging
ἵνα πράττωμεν δοκιμάσαντες, μηδ' ὥσπερ οἱ λίχνοι τὰ
so-that we-may-act having-approved nor as the gluttons the
πλήσμια τῶν ἐδεσμάτων ὀξυτάτῃ διώκοντες ἐπιθυμίᾳ τάχιστα
cloying of-the foods with-keenest pursuing desire very-quickly
δυσχεραίνουσιν ἐμπλησθέντες, οὕτως ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσι
are-disgusted having-been-filled so we at the actions
συντελεσθείσαις ἀθυμῶμεν δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀπομαραινομένης
completed may-be-dejected through weakness withering
τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ φαντασίας. αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἡ μετάνοια ποιεῖ
the of-the noble image shameful for the repentance makes
καὶ τὸ καλῶς πεπραγμένον, ἡ δ' ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ὡρμημένη
even the nobly done the but from knowledge proceeding
καὶ λογισμοῦ προαίρεσις οὐδ' ἂν πταίσωσιν αἱ πράξεις
and reasoning choice not-even if fail the actions
μεταβάλλεται. διὸ Φωκίων μὲν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τοῖς ὑπὸ
is-changed wherefore Phocion indeed the Athenian to-the by
Λεωσθένους πραττομένοις ἐναντιωθείς, ἐπειδὴ κατορθοῦν
Leosthenes things-done having-opposed when to-succeed
ἐκεῖνος ἐδόκει καὶ θύοντας ἑώρα καὶ μεγαλαυχουμένους τῇ
he seemed and sacrificing he-saw and boasting at-the

νίκῃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἶπεν ὡς ἐβούλετο ἂν αὑτῷ ταῦτα
victory the Athenians said that he-would-wish — for-himself these-things
μὲν πραχθῆναι, βεβουλεῦσθαι δ' ἐκεῖνα· σφοδρότερον δ'
indeed to-have-been-done to-have-been-counseled but those more-vehemently and
Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λοκρός, εἷς ὢν τῶν Πλάτωνος ἑταίρων,
Aristides the Locrian one being of-the of-Plato companions
αἰτοῦντος μὲν αὐτὸν γυναῖκα Διονυσίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου
asking indeed him as-wife Dionysius the elder
μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων, ἥδιον ἂν ἔφη νεκρὰν ἰδεῖν τὴν
one of-the daughters more-gladly — he-said dead to-see the
κόρην ἢ τυράννῳ συνοικοῦσαν, ἀποκτείναντος δὲ τοὺς
girl than with-a-tyrant living having-killed and the
παῖδας αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ
children his after little time — Dionysius and
πυθομένου πρὸς ὕβριν εἰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔτι γνώμην ἔχοι
having-asked in insolence whether the same still opinion he-held
περὶ τῆς ἐκδόσεως τῶν θυγατέρων, ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς μὲν
about the giving-in-marriage of-the daughters he-answered at-the indeed
γεγενημένοις λυπεῖσθαι, τοῖς δ' εἰρημένοις μὴ μεταμέλεσθαι.
happened to-grieve at-the but said not to-repent
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἴσως μείζονος καὶ τελειοτέρας ἀρετῆς ἐστι.
these-things indeed then perhaps of-greater and more-perfect virtue is
Τὸ δὲ Τιμολέοντος ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις πάθος, εἴτ' οἶκτος 7
the and of-Timoleon at the things-done feeling whether pity
ἦν τοῦ τεθνηκότος εἴτε τῆς μητρὸς αἰδώς, οὕτω κατέκλασε
was for-the dead or of-the mother shame so broke
καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ὥστ' εἴκοσι σχεδὸν ἐτῶν
and shattered his the mind so-that twenty almost years
διαγενομένων μηδὲ μιᾶς ἐπιφανοῦς μηδὲ πολιτικῆς ἅψασθαι
having-passed not-even one conspicuous nor political to-have-touched
πράξεως. ἀναγορευθέντος οὖν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ δήμου προθύμως
action having-been-proclaimed then him and the people eagerly

δεξαμένου καὶ χειροτονήσαντος, ἀναστὰς Τηλεκλείδης ὁ
having-received and having-elected having-stood-up Telecleides the
τότε καὶ δυνάμει καὶ δόξῃ πρωτεύων ἐν τῇ πόλει,
then both in-power and in-reputation first in the city
παρεκάλει τὸν Τιμολέοντα περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα
urged — Timoleon about the actions good man
εἶναι καὶ γενναῖον. "Ἂν μὲν γάρ," ἔφη, "καλῶς ἀγωνίσῃ,
to-be and noble if indeed for he-said well you-contend
τύραννον ἀνῃρηκέναι δόξομεν, ἂν δὲ φαύλως, ἀδελφόν."
a-tyrant to-have-killed we-shall-seem if but badly a-brother
Παρασκευαζομένου δὲ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος τὸν ἔκπλουν καὶ
preparing and — Timoleon the voyage and
στρατιώτας συνάγοντος, ἐκομίσθη γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς
soldiers gathering were-brought letters to the
Κορινθίους παρ' Ἱκέτου μηνύοντα τὴν μεταβολὴν αὐτοῦ
Corinthians from Hicetas revealing the change his
καὶ προδοσίαν. ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψε,
and treachery for as quickly-as the envoys he-sent-off
τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις προσθέμενος ἀναφανδὸν ἔπραττε μετ'
to-the Carthaginians having-joined openly he-acted with
ἐκείνων ὅπως Διονύσιον ἐκβαλὼν Συρακουσῶν αὐτὸς
them so-that Dionysius having-expelled from-Syracuse he-himself
ἔσται τύραννος. καὶ δεδοικὼς μὴ πρότερον ἐλθούσης ἐκ
will-be tyrant and fearing lest first having-come from
Κορίνθου δυνάμεως καὶ στρατηγοῦ διαφύγωσιν αἱ πράξεις
Corinth a-force and a-general escape the affairs
αὐτόν, ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν τοῖς Κορινθίοις φράζουσαν ὡς
him he-sent a-letter to-the Corinthians saying that
οὐδὲν δέον πράγματα καὶ δαπάνας ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πλέοντας
no need trouble and expenses to-have them sailing
εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ κινδυνεύοντας, ἄλλως τε καὶ Καρχηδονίων
to Sicily and running-risks especially — also Carthaginians

ἀπαγορευόντων καὶ παραφυλαττομένων ναυσὶ πολλαῖς τὸν
forbidding and watching-for with-ships many the
στόλον, οὓς αὐτὸς ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐκείνων βραδυνόντων
fleet whom he-himself having-been-compelled them delaying
ποιήσαιτο συμμάχους ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον. τούτων δὲ τῶν
had-made allies against the tyrant these and the
γραμμάτων ἀναγνωσθέντων, εἰ καί τις ἠπίως εἶχε
letters having-been-read if even any gently was-disposed
πρότερον τῶν Κορινθίων πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, τότε πάντας
before of-the Corinthians toward the expedition then all
ἡ πρὸς τὸν Ἱκέτην ὀργὴ παρώξυνεν, ὥστε συγχορηγῆσαι
the against — Hicetas anger provoked so-that to-help-furnish
προθύμως τῷ Τιμολέοντι καὶ συμπαρασκευάσαι τὸν ἔκπλουν.
eagerly — to-Timoleon and to-help-prepare the voyage

III · THE VOYAGE TO SICILY

The priestesses of Kore dream that the goddesses will sail with Timoleon, a fillet falls on his head at Delphi, and a torch runs beside his ships across the sea. Hicetas has beaten Dionysius and besieges him in the Island, and twenty Carthaginian ships bring Hicetas' envoys to Rhegium to turn Timoleon back. While the Rhegians hold the Carthaginians in a long assembly, he slips away to Tauromenium, welcomed by Andromachus, father of the historian Timaeus, who answers a Carthaginian's hand-turning threat. Yet Timoleon has only a thousand men, and cities embittered by the bad faith of Callippus and Pharax distrust him.

Γενομένων δὲ τῶν νεῶν ἑτοίμων, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις 8
having-become and the ships ready and for-the soldiers
ὧν ἔδει πορισθέντων, αἱ μὲν ἱέρειαι τῆς Κόρης ὄναρ
what was-needed having-been-provided the indeed priestesses — of-Kore in-a-dream
ἔδοξαν ἰδεῖν τὰς θεὰς πρὸς ἀποδημίαν τινὰ στελλομένας
seemed to-see the goddesses for journey some setting-out

καὶ λεγούσας ὡς Τιμολέοντι μέλλουσι συμπλεῖν εἰς
and saying that with-Timoleon they-are-about to-sail-with to
Σικελίαν. διὸ καὶ τριήρη κατασκευάσαντες ἱερὰν οἱ
Sicily wherefore also a-trireme having-equipped sacred the
Κορίνθιοι ταῖν θεαῖν ἐπωνόμασαν. αὐτὸς δ' ἐκεῖνος
Corinthians after-the two-goddesses named-it he-himself and he
εἰς Δελφοὺς πορευθεὶς ἔθυσε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ καταβαίνοντος
to Delphi having-gone sacrificed to-the god and going-down
εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον αὐτοῦ γίνεται σημεῖον. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν
into the oracle his occurs a-sign from for the
κρεμαμένων ἀναθημάτων ταινία τις ἀπορρυεῖσα καὶ
hanging dedications a-fillet some having-slipped-off and
φερομένη, στεφάνους ἔχουσα καὶ Νίκας ἐμπεποικιλμένας,
being-carried crowns having and Victories embroidered
περιέπεσε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος, ὡς δοκεῖν αὐτὸν
fell on-the head — of-Timoleon so-that to-seem him
ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ στεφανούμενον ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις προπέμπεσθαι.
by the god being-crowned to the actions to-be-sent-forth
Ναῦς δὲ Κορινθίας μὲν ἔχων ἑπτά, Κερκυραίας δὲ δύο,
ships and Corinthian indeed having seven Corcyraean and two
καὶ τὴν δεκάτην Λευκαδίων προσπαρασχόντων, ἀνήχθη.
and the tenth Leucadians having-provided-besides he-put-to-sea
καὶ νυκτὸς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ πνεύματι καλῷ
and by-night having-launched into the open-sea and with-wind fair
χρώμενος ἔδοξεν αἰφνιδίως ῥαγέντα τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπὲρ
enjoying it-seemed suddenly having-burst the heaven above
τῆς νεὼς ἐκχέαι πολὺ καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
the ship to-pour-out much and conspicuous fire from and this
λαμπὰς ἀρθεῖσα ταῖς μυστικαῖς ἐμφερὴς καὶ συμπαραθέουσα
a-torch raised to-the mystic like and running-alongside
τὸν αὐτὸν δρόμον, ᾗ μάλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπεῖχον οἱ
the same course where most — for-Italy were-steering the

κυβερνῆται, κατέσκηψεν. οἱ δὲ μάντεις τὸ φάσμα τοῖς
helmsmen came-down the and seers the apparition to-the
ὀνείρασι τῶν ἱερειῶν μαρτυρεῖν ἀπεφαίνοντο, καὶ τὰς θεὰς
dreams of-the priestesses to-bear-witness declared and the goddesses
συνεφαπτομένας τῆς στρατείας προφαίνειν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὸ
taking-part-in the expedition to-show-forth from heaven the
σέλας· εἶναι γὰρ ἱερὰν τῆς Κόρης τὴν Σικελίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ
light to-be for sacred — of-Kore — Sicily since also
τὰ περὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν αὐτόθι μυθολογοῦσι γενέσθαι καὶ
the about the rape there they-tell-the-myth to-have-happened and
τὴν νῆσον ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἀνακαλυπτήριον αὐτῇ δοθῆναι.
the island at the marriage as-unveiling-gift to-her to-have-been-given
Τὰ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὕτω τὸν στόλον ἐθάρρυνε· καὶ 9
the indeed then from the gods so the fleet encouraged and
σπεύδοντες, ὡς τὸ πέλαγος διαπλέοντες, ἐκομίζοντο παρὰ
hastening as the open-sea crossing they-were-carried along
τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας ἀγγελλόμενα πολλὴν
— Italy the but from — Sicily reported-things much
ἀπορίαν τῷ Τιμολέοντι καὶ δυσθυμίαν τοῖς στρατιώταις
perplexity — to-Timoleon and despondency to-the soldiers
παρεῖχεν. ὁ γὰρ Ἱκέτης μάχῃ νενικηκὼς Διονύσιον καὶ
caused — for Hicetas in-battle having-conquered Dionysius and
τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη τῶν Συρακουσῶν κατειληφὼς ἐκεῖνον
the most parts — of-Syracuse having-seized him
μὲν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Νῆσον
indeed into the acropolis and the called Island
συνεσταλμένον αὐτὸς συνεπολιόρκει καὶ συμπεριετείχιζε,
pent-up he-himself was-besieging and walling-around
Καρχηδονίους δὲ φροντίζειν ἐκέλευεν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιβήσοιτο
Carthaginians and to-take-care he-bade that not should-land
Τιμολέων Σικελίας, ἀλλ' ἀπωσθέντων ἐκείνων αὐτοὶ καθ'
Timoleon on-Sicily but having-been-repulsed them themselves at

ἡσυχίαν διανεμοῦνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν νῆσον. οἱ δὲ
leisure would-divide-up with one-another the island they and
πέμπουσιν εἴκοσι τριήρεις εἰς Ῥήγιον, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπέπλεον
send twenty triremes to Rhegium on which sailed
πρεσβευταὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Τιμολέοντα κομίζοντες λόγους
envoys from him to Timoleon bringing words
τοῖς πραττομένοις ὁμοίους. παραγωγαὶ γὰρ εὐπρεπεῖς καὶ
to-the things-being-done similar evasions for plausible and
προφάσεις ἦσαν ἐπὶ μοχθηροῖς βουλεύμασιν, ἀξιούντων
pretexts were for wicked plans demanding
αὐτὸν μέν, εἰ βούλοιτο, Τιμολέοντα σύμβουλον ἥκειν παρ'
himself indeed if he-wished Timoleon as-adviser to-come to
Ἱκέτην καὶ κοινωνὸν εὖ διαπεπραγμένων ἁπάντων, τὰς δὲ
Hicetas and partner well having-been-accomplished all-things the and
ναῦς καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποστέλλειν εἰς Κόρινθον, ὡς τοῦ
ships and the soldiers to-send-back to Corinth as the
πολέμου μικρὸν ἀπολείποντος συνῃρῆσθαι, Καρχηδονίων
war little remaining to-have-been-finished Carthaginians
δὲ κωλύειν τὴν διάβασιν καὶ μάχεσθαι πρὸς βιαζομένους
and to-prevent the crossing and to-fight against-those forcing
ἑτοίμων ὄντων. ὡς οὖν καταπλεύσαντες εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον οἱ
being ready when then having-put-in to — Rhegium the
Κορίνθιοι τοῖς τε πρεσβεύμασι τούτοις ἐνέτυχον καὶ τοὺς
Corinthians the both embassies these met and the
Φοίνικας οὐ πρόσω ναυλοχοῦντας κατεῖδον, ἤχθοντο μὲν
Phoenicians not far lying-in-wait saw were-vexed indeed
ὑβρισμένοι, καὶ παρίστατο πᾶσιν ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἱκέτην
having-been-insulted and came-upon all anger against — Hicetas
καὶ δέος ὑπὲρ Σικελιωτῶν, οὓς σαφῶς ἑώρων ἆθλα
and fear for Sicilian-Greeks whom clearly they-saw as-prizes
λειπομένους καὶ μισθὸν Ἱκέτῃ μὲν προδοσίας, Καρχηδονίοις
being-left and as-pay to-Hicetas indeed for-treachery to-Carthaginians

δὲ τυραννίδος, ἐδόκει δ' ἀμήχανον ὑπερβαλέσθαι καὶ τὰς
and for-tyranny it-seemed and impossible to-overcome both the
αὐτόθι τῶν βαρβάρων ναῦς διπλασίας ἐφορμούσας καὶ τὴν
there of-the barbarians ships double lying-in-wait and the
ἐκεῖ μεθ' Ἱκέτου δύναμιν, ᾗ στρατηγήσοντες ἥκοιεν.
there with Hicetas force which to-command they-had-come
Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Τιμολέων τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς καὶ τοῖς 10
not indeed but — Timoleon with-the envoys and the
ἄρχουσι τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐντυχὼν ἐπιεικῶς ἔφη πείθεσθαι
commanders of-the Carthaginians having-met fairly said to-obey
μὲν οἷς κελεύουσι (τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ περαίνειν ἀπειθῶν),
indeed what they-bid what for — even to-accomplish disobeying
ἐθέλειν δὲ ταῦτα πόλεως Ἑλληνίδος καὶ φίλης κοινῆς
to-be-willing but these-things a-city Greek and friend common
τῆς Ῥηγίνων ἐναντίον ἀκούσας καὶ εἰπὼν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι·
the of-Rhegians before having-heard and having-said to-depart
καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν διαφέρειν, κἀκείνους
and for to-him this for safety to-matter and-them
ἐμμενεῖν βεβαιότερον οἷς ἐπαγγέλλονται περὶ Συρακουσίων
to-abide more-firmly by-what they-promise about Syracusans
δήμῳ μάρτυρι τὰς ὁμολογίας παρακαταθεμένους. ταῦτα
a-people as-witness the agreements having-deposited this
δ' ὑπέτεινεν αὐτοῖς ἀπάτην ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τεχνάζων,
but he-held-out to-them a-deceit for the crossing contriving
καὶ συνετέχναζον οἱ τῶν Ῥηγίνων στρατηγοί, πάντες
and helped-contrive the of-the Rhegians generals all
ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐν Κορινθίοις τὰ πράγματα τῶν Σικελιωτῶν
desiring among Corinthians the affairs of-the Sicilian-Greeks
γενέσθαι, καὶ φοβούμενοι τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων γειτνίασιν.
to-be and fearing the of-the barbarians neighborhood
διὸ συνῆγον ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειον,
wherefore they-convened an-assembly and the gates shut

ὡς μὴ πρὸς ἄλλο τι τρέπεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ
so-that not to other anything to-turn the citizens and
παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐχρῶντο μήκει λόγων, ἕτερος
having-come-forward to the multitude they-used length of-speeches one
ἑτέρῳ παραδιδοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς οὐδὲν τέλος,
to-another passing-on the same theme to no end
ἀλλὰ διάγοντες ἄλλως τὸν χρόνον, ἕως ἀναχθῶσιν αἱ τῶν
but drawing-out idly the time until put-out the of-the
Κορινθίων τριήρεις, καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
Corinthians triremes and Carthaginians at the assembly
κατέχοντες ἀνυπόπτως, ἅτε καὶ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος
detaining unsuspectingly inasmuch-as also — Timoleon
παρόντος καὶ παρέχοντος δόκησιν ὅσον οὔπω πρὸς τὸν
being-present and giving the-impression as-much-as not-yet to the
λόγον ἀνίστασθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν. ὡς δ' ἀπήγγειλέ τις
speaking to-rise and to-address-the-people when and reported someone
αὐτῷ κρύφα τὰς μὲν ἄλλας τριήρεις ἀνῆχθαι, μίαν δὲ τὴν
to-him secretly the indeed other triremes to-have-put-out one but the
ἐκείνου περιμένειν ὑπολελειμμένην, διεκδὺς τὸν ὄχλον,
his to-wait having-been-left-behind having-slipped-through the crowd
ἅμα τῶν περὶ τὸ βῆμα Ῥηγίνων συνεπικρυπτόντων, καὶ
at-once of-those about the tribune Rhegians helping-to-conceal-him and
καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξέπλευσε διὰ ταχέων. καὶ
having-gone-down to the sea he-sailed-away with speed and
κατήχθησαν εἰς Ταυρομένιον τῆς Σικελίας, ὑποδεχομένου
they-put-in at Tauromenium — of-Sicily receiving
καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτοὺς ἔτι πάλαι προθύμως Ἀνδρομάχου
and inviting them still long-since eagerly Andromachus
τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντος καὶ δυναστεύοντος. οὗτος ἦν
the-one the city holding and ruling this-man was
πατὴρ Τιμαίου τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ, καὶ πολὺ κράτιστος τῶν
father of-Timaeus the historian and by-far strongest of-those

τότε δυναστευόντων ἐν Σικελίᾳ γενόμενος τῶν τε ἑαυτοῦ
then ruling in Sicily having-been of-the both his-own
πολιτῶν ἡγεῖτο νομίμως καὶ δικαίως, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
citizens he-led lawfully and justly and toward the
τυράννους φανερὸς ἦν ἀεὶ διακείμενος ἀπεχθῶς καὶ
tyrants manifest he-was always disposed hostilely and
ἀλλοτρίως. διὸ καὶ Τιμολέοντι τότε τὴν πόλιν ὁρμητήριον
as-a-stranger wherefore also to-Timoleon then the city as-a-base
παρέσχε, καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἔπεισε συναγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς
he-offered and the citizens persuaded to-fight-alongside the
Κορινθίοις καὶ συνελευθεροῦν τὴν Σικελίαν.
Corinthians and to-help-free — Sicily
Οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῦ Τιμολέοντος 11
the and in — Rhegium Carthaginians — Timoleon
ἀνηγμένου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαλυθείσης χαλεπῶς
having-put-out and the assembly having-been-dissolved hard
φέροντες, ἐν τῷ κατεστρατηγῆσθαι διατριβὴν τοῖς Ῥηγίνοις
bearing-it at the having-been-outgeneraled amusement to-the Rhegians
παρεῖχον, εἰ Φοίνικες ὄντες οὐκ ἀρέσκοιντο τοῖς δι'
gave if Phoenicians being not they-were-pleased with-the through
ἀπάτης πραττομένοις. πέμπουσι δ' οὖν εἰς τὸ Ταυρομένιον
deceit done they-send and then into — Tauromenium
πρεσβευτὴν ἐπὶ τριήρους, ὃς πολλὰ διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν
an-envoy on a-trireme who much having-talked to —
Ἀνδρόμαχον, ἐπαχθῶς καὶ βαρβαρικῶς ἀνατεινάμενος εἰ
Andromachus offensively and barbarously having-threatened if
μὴ τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλλει τοὺς Κορινθίους, τέλος ὑπτίαν
not the quickest he-expels the Corinthians finally upturned
τὴν χεῖρα δείξας, εἶτ' αὖθις καταστρέψας ἠπείλησε
the hand having-shown then again having-turned-it-down threatened
τοιαύτην οὖσαν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν τοιαύτην ποιήσειν.
such being for-him the city such to-make

γελάσας δ' ὁ Ἀνδρόμαχος ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο,
having-laughed and — Andromachus other indeed nothing answered
τὴν δὲ χεῖρα νῦν μὲν ὑπτίαν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος, νῦν δὲ πρηνῆ
the but hand now indeed upturned as he now and downturned
προτείνας ἐκέλευσεν ἀποπλεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο τὴν
having-held-out bade to-sail-away him if not he-wished the
ναῦν ἀντὶ τοιαύτης γενέσθαι τοιαύτην.
ship instead-of such to-become such
Ὁ δ' Ἱκέτης πυθόμενος τὴν τοῦ Τιμολέοντος διάβασιν
— and Hicetas having-learned the — of-Timoleon crossing
καὶ φοβηθεὶς μετεπέμψατο πολλὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων
and having-feared summoned many of-the Carthaginian
τριήρεις. ὅτε καὶ παντάπασι συνέβη τοὺς Συρακουσίους
triremes when also altogether it-happened the Syracusans
ἀπογνῶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν, ὁρῶντας τοῦ μὲν λιμένος αὐτῶν
to-despair-of the safety seeing of-the indeed harbor their
Καρχηδονίους κρατοῦντας, τὴν δὲ πόλιν Ἱκέτην ἔχοντα,
Carthaginians mastering the and city Hicetas holding
τῆς δ' ἄκρας κυριεύοντα Διονύσιον, Τιμολέοντα δὲ ὥσπερ
of-the and citadel being-master Dionysius Timoleon and as
ἐκ κρασπέδου τινὸς λεπτοῦ τῆς Ταυρομενιτῶν πολίχνης τῇ
from a-fringe some slender of-the of-Tauromenians small-town —
Σικελίᾳ προσηρτημένον ἐπ' ἐλπίδος ἀσθενοῦς καὶ βραχείας
to-Sicily attached on hope weak and small
δυνάμεως· χιλίων γὰρ αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τροφῆς
force a-thousand for for-him of-soldiers and of-food
τούτοις ἀναγκαίας πλέον οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχεν. οὐδ' ἐπίστευον
for-these necessary more nothing was nor trusted-him
αἱ πόλεις διάπλεαι κακῶν οὖσαι καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας
the cities full of-evils being and toward all
ἀπηγριωμέναι τοὺς ἡγουμένους στρατοπέδων, μάλιστα
exasperated those commanding armies most

διὰ τὴν Καλλίππου καὶ Φάρακος ἀπιστίαν, ὧν ὁ μὲν
because-of the of-Callippus and Pharax faithlessness of-whom the one
Ἀθηναῖος ὤν, ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἀμφότεροι δὲ φάσκοντες
an-Athenian being the other a-Lacedaemonian both but claiming
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἥκειν καὶ καταλύειν τοὺς μονάρχους,
for the freedom to-have-come and to-overthrow the monarchs
χρυσὸν ἀπέδειξαν τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὰς ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι συμφορὰς
gold made-seem — to-Sicily the in the tyranny misfortunes
καὶ μακαριωτέρους δοκεῖν ἐποίησαν τοὺς καταστρέψαντας
and more-blessed to-seem made those having-died
ἐν τῇ δουλείᾳ τῶν ἐπιδόντων τὴν αὐτονομίαν.
in the slavery than-those having-lived-to-see the independence

IV · ADRANUM AND DIONYSIUS

Timoleon marches on Adranum, routs Hicetas' larger army at supper, and the doors of the god's temple fly open. Mamercus of Catana and other cities join him, and Dionysius surrenders the citadel of Syracuse with its arms and men; he is sent to Corinth, where he lives as a private man. His sayings there are told: to Diogenes, to a mocker who asks what he gained from Plato, and to Philip of Macedon, who asks how his father found time to write tragedies.

Οὐδὲν οὖν ἐκείνων βελτίονα τὸν Κορίνθιον ἔσεσθαι 12
nothing then than-those better the Corinthian to-be
προσδοκῶντες, ἀλλὰ ταὐτὰ πάλιν ἥκειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς
expecting but the-same again to-come to them
σοφίσματα καὶ δελεάσματα, μετ' ἐλπίδων χρηστῶν καὶ
sophistries and baits with hopes good and
φιλανθρώπων ὑποσχέσεων εἰς μεταβολὴν δεσπότου καινοῦ
kind promises into change of-master new
τιθασευομένους, ὑπώπτευον καὶ διεκρούοντο τὰς τῶν
being-tamed they-suspected and repelled the of-the

Κορινθίων προκλήσεις πλὴν Ἀδρανιτῶν, οἳ πόλιν μικρὰν
Corinthians invitations except Adranites who city small
μέν, ἱερὰν δ' οὖσαν Ἀδρανοῦ, θεοῦ τινος τιμωμένου
indeed sacred but being of-Adranus god a-certain honored
διαφερόντως ἐν ὅλῃ Σικελίᾳ, κατοικοῦντες ἐστασίασαν πρὸς
exceptionally in whole Sicily inhabiting quarreled with
ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν Ἱκέτην προσαγόμενοι καὶ Καρχηδονίους,
one-another the indeed Hicetas bringing-in and Carthaginians
οἱ δὲ πρὸς Τιμολέοντα διαπεμπόμενοι. καί πως ἀπ'
the and to Timoleon sending and somehow of
αὐτομάτου συνέτυχε σπευδόντων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς ἕνα
itself it-happened hastening both at one
καιρὸν ἀμφοτέροις γενέσθαι τὴν παρουσίαν. ἀλλ' Ἱκέτης
time to-both to-be the arrival but Hicetas
μὲν ἦκε πεντακισχιλίους στρατιώτας ἔχων, Τιμολέοντι δὲ
indeed came five-thousand soldiers having for-Timoleon and
οἱ σύμπαντες ἦσαν οὐ πλείους χιλίων διακοσίων· οὓς
the all-together were not more than-a-thousand two-hundred whom
ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ταυρομενίου, σταδίων πρὸς τὸ Ἀδρανὸν
having-taken from — Tauromenium stades to — Adranum
ὄντων τετταράκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ
being forty and three-hundred on-the indeed first
τῶν ἡμερῶν οὐ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ὁδοῦ προέλαβε καὶ
of-the days not much part of-the road he-advanced and
κατηυλίσατο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ συντόνως ὁδεύσας καὶ
encamped on-the and next-day vigorously having-marched and
χαλεπὰ χωρία διελθὼν ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας καταφερομένης
difficult places having-passed already the day declining
ἤκουσεν ἄρτι προσμιγνύναι τὸν Ἱκέτην τῷ πολιχνίῳ καὶ
he-heard just to-be-arriving — Hicetas at-the small-town and
καταστρατοπεδεύειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν λοχαγοὶ καὶ ταξίαρχοι τοὺς
to-be-encamping the indeed then captains and taxiarchs the

πρώτους ἐπέστησαν ὡς ἐμφαγοῦσι καὶ διαναπαυσαμένοις
first halted as having-eaten and having-rested
χρησόμενοι προθυμοτέροις, ὁ δὲ Τιμολέων ἐπιπορευόμενος
going-to-use more-eager — but Timoleon going-up
ἐδεῖτο ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄγειν κατὰ τάχος καὶ
begged these-things not to-do but to-lead with speed and
συνάπτειν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσυντάκτοις οὖσιν, ὡς εἰκὸς
to-engage with-the enemies unorganized being as is-likely
ἄρτι παυομένους ὁδοιπορίας καὶ περὶ σκηνὰς καὶ δεῖπνον
just ceasing from-a-march and about tents and dinner
ἀσχόλους ὄντας. καὶ λέγων ἅμα ταῦτα, τὴν ἀσπίδα
busy being and saying at-once these-things the shield
λαβὼν ἡγεῖτο πρῶτος ὥσπερ ἐπὶ νίκην πρόδηλον. οἱ
having-taken he-led first as-if to victory sure they
δ' εἵποντο τεθαρρηκότες, ἔλαττον ἢ τριάκοντα σταδίους
and followed emboldened less than thirty stades
ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέχοντες. ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτους
still from-the enemies being-distant when and also these
διῆλθον, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς ταραττομένοις καὶ φεύγουσιν
they-passed they-fall-on them being-confused and fleeing
ὡς πρῶτον ᾔσθοντο προσιόντας, ὅθεν ἀνῃρέθησαν μὲν
as first they-perceived approaching whence were-killed indeed
οὐ πολλῷ πλείους τριακοσίων, ἑάλωσαν δὲ δὶς τοσοῦτοι
not much more than-three-hundred were-captured and twice as-many
ζῶντες, ἐλήφθη δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον. οἱ δ' Ἀδρανῖται τὰς
alive was-taken and the camp the and Adranites the
πύλας ἀνοίξαντες προσέθεντο τῷ Τιμολέοντι, μετὰ φρίκης
gates having-opened joined — Timoleon with shuddering
καὶ θαύματος ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὡς ἐνισταμένης τῆς μάχης
and wonder reporting that beginning the battle
οἱ μὲν ἱεροὶ τοῦ νεὼ πυλῶνες αὐτόματοι διανοιχθεῖεν,
the indeed sacred of-the temple gates of-themselves opened

ὀφθείη δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ μὲν δόρυ σειόμενον ἐκ τῆς
was-seen and of-the god the indeed spear quivering from the
αἰχμῆς ἄκρας, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον ἱδρῶτι πολλῷ ῥεόμενον.
point tip the and face with-sweat much streaming
13 Ταῦτα δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ τὴν τότε νίκην ἐσήμαινε
these-things and as it-seems not the then victory signified
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα πράξεις, αἷς
only but also the after these-things deeds to-which
ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀγὼν ἀρχὴν εὐτυχῆ παρέσχε. καὶ γὰρ πόλεις
that the contest beginning fortunate gave and for cities
εὐθὺς ἐπιπρεσβευόμεναι προσετίθεντο τῷ Τιμολέοντι, καὶ
at-once sending-envoys joined — Timoleon and
Μάμερκος ὁ Κατάνης τύραννος, πολεμιστὴς ἀνὴρ καὶ
Mamercus the of-Catana tyrant a-warlike man and
χρήμασιν ἐρρωμένος, ἔδωκεν αὑτὸν εἰς συμμαχίαν. τὸ δὲ
in-money strong gave himself into alliance the and
μέγιστον, αὐτὸς Διονύσιος ἀπειρηκὼς ἤδη ταῖς ἐλπίσι
greatest himself Dionysius having-given-up already the hopes
καὶ μικρὸν ἀπολείπων ἐκπολιορκεῖσθαι τοῦ μὲν Ἱκέτου
and little lacking to-be-reduced-by-siege — indeed Hicetas
κατεφρόνησεν αἰσχρῶς ἡττημένου, τὸν δὲ Τιμολέοντα
despised disgracefully defeated — but Timoleon
θαυμάζων ἔπεμψεν ἐκείνῳ καὶ Κορινθίοις παραδιδοὺς
admiring he-sent to-him and to-Corinthians handing-over
αὑτὸν καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. δεξάμενος δ' ὁ Τιμολέων τὴν
himself and the acropolis having-received and — Timoleon the
ἀνέλπιστον εὐτυχίαν, ἀποστέλλει τοὺς περὶ Εὐκλείδην καὶ
unexpected good-fortune sends those about Eucleides and
Τηλέμαχον, ἄνδρας Κορινθίους, εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ
Telemachus men Corinthians into the acropolis and
στρατιώτας τετρακοσίους, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πάντας οὐδὲ φανερῶς,
soldiers four-hundred not together all nor openly

ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἦν ἐφορμούντων πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ κρύφα
impossible for it-was blockading enemies but secretly
καὶ κατ᾽ ὀλίγους παρεισπεσόντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται
and by few slipping-in the indeed then soldiers
παρέλαβον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὰ τυραννεῖα μετὰ τῆς
took-over the acropolis and the tyrant's-palace with the
παρασκευῆς καὶ τῶν χρησίμων πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον· ἵπποι
equipment and the useful-things for the war horses
τε γὰρ ἐνῆσαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ πᾶσα μηχανημάτων ἰδέα
both for were-in-it not few and every of-engines kind
καὶ βελῶν πλῆθος, ὅπλων δ᾽ ἀπέκειντο μυριάδες ἑπτὰ
and of-missiles multitude of-arms and were-stored myriads seven
τεθησαυρισμένων ἐκ παλαιοῦ, στρατιῶται δὲ δισχίλιοι τῷ
having-been-hoarded from of-old soldiers and two-thousand —
Διονυσίῳ παρῆσαν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος, ὡς τἆλλα, τῷ Τιμολέοντι
with-Dionysius were whom be as the-rest — to-Timoleon
παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ χρήματα λαβὼν καὶ τῶν φίλων οὐ
handed-over himself and money having-taken and of-the friends not
πολλοὺς ἔλαθεν ἐκπλεύσας τὸν Ἱκέτην. καὶ κομισθεὶς
many escaped-notice-of sailing-away — Hicetas and having-been-brought
εἰς τὸ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος στρατόπεδον, τότε πρῶτον ἰδιώτης
to the — of-Timoleon camp then first private-citizen
καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀφθείς, ἐπὶ μιᾶς νεὼς καὶ χρημάτων ὀλίγων
and humble seen on one ship and of-money little
εἰς Κόρινθον ἀπεστάλη, γεννηθεὶς μὲν καὶ τραφεὶς ἐν
to Corinth was-sent having-been-born indeed and reared in
τυραννίδι τῇ πασῶν ἐπιφανεστάτῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ, κατασχὼν
tyranny the of-all most-illustrious and greatest having-held
δὲ ταύτην ἔτη δέκα, δώδεκα δ᾽ ἄλλα μετὰ τὴν Δίωνος
and this years ten twelve and other after the of-Dion
στρατείαν ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ πολέμοις διαφορηθείς, ἃ δ᾽
expedition in contests and wars tossed-about what-things and

ἔπραξε τυραννῶν οἷς ἔπαθεν ὑπερβαλόμενος. καὶ γὰρ
he-did as-tyrant by-what he-suffered surpassing and for
υἱῶν ἐνηλίκων θανάτους καὶ θυγατέρων καταπορνεύσεις
of-sons grown deaths and of-daughters debauchings
παρθένων ἐπεῖδε, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ γυναῖκα
virgins he-witnessed and the same sister and wife
ζῶσαν μὲν εἰς τὸ σῶμα ταῖς ἀσελγεστάταις ὑπὸ τῶν
living indeed in the body with-the most-licentious by the
πολεμίων ἡδοναῖς παρανομηθεῖσαν, βίᾳ δ' ἀποθανοῦσαν
enemies pleasures outraged by-violence and having-died
μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, καταποντισθεῖσαν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος.
with the children thrown into the sea
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Δίωνος ἀκριβῶς γέγραπται.
these-things indeed then in the about Dion accurately has-been-written
14 Τοῦ δὲ Διονυσίου καταπλεύσαντος εἰς Κόρινθον, οὐδεὶς
— and Dionysius having-sailed-in to Corinth no-one
ἦν Ἑλλήνων ὃς οὐχὶ θεάσασθαι καὶ προσειπεῖν ἐπόθησεν
was of-Greeks who not to-gaze-at and to-address longed
αὐτόν. ἀλλ' οἵ τε χαίροντες ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς διὰ
him but those both rejoicing at the misfortunes through
μῖσος ἄσμενοι συνῆλθον οἷον ἐρριμμένον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης
hatred gladly came-together as-if cast-down by the fortune
πατήσοντες, οἵ τε πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν τρεπόμενοι καὶ
going-to-trample those and toward the change turning and
συμπαθοῦντες ἐθεῶντο πολλὴν ἐν ἀσθενέσι τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις
sympathizing gazed much in weak the human
καὶ προδήλοις τὴν τῶν ἀδήλων αἰτιῶν καὶ θείων δύναμιν.
and visible the of-the hidden causes and divine power
οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτε φύσεως ὁ τότε καιρὸς οὔτε τέχνης ὅσον
nothing for neither of-nature the then occasion nor of-art as-much-as
ἐκεῖνο τύχης ἔργον ἐπεδείξατο, τὸν Σικελίας ὀλίγον
that of-fortune work displayed the of-Sicily little

ἔμπροσθεν τύραννον ἐν Κορίνθῳ διατρίβοντα περὶ τὴν
before tyrant in Corinth spending-time about the
ὀψόπωλιν ἢ καθήμενον ἐν μυροπωλίῳ, πίνοντα κεκραμένον
fish-market or sitting in a-perfume-shop drinking mixed-wine
ἀπὸ τῶν καπηλείων καὶ διαπληκτιζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ τοῖς
from the taverns and sparring in public with-the
ἀφ' ὥρας ἐργαζομένοις γυναίοις, τὰς δὲ μουσουργοὺς
from season working women the and singing-girls
ἐν ταῖς ᾠδαῖς διδάσκοντα, καὶ περὶ θεατρικῶν ἁσμάτων
in the songs teaching and about theatrical songs
ἐρίζειν σπουδάζοντα πρὸς ἐκείνας καὶ περὶ μέλους ἁρμονίας.
to-quarrel being-eager with them and about of-melody harmony
ταῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν ἄλλως ἀλύοντα καὶ φύσει ῥᾴθυμον ὄντα
these-things and the some idly loafing and by-nature indolent being
καὶ φιλακόλαστον ᾤοντο ποιεῖν τὸν Διονύσιον, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ
and licentious thought to-do — Dionysius the and for
τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ φοβερὸν εἶναι τοῖς Κορινθίοις,
the to-be-despised and not formidable to-be to-the Corinthians
μηδ' ὕποπτον ὡς βαρυνόμενον τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ
nor suspected as being-burdened-by the change of-the life and
πραγμάτων ἐφιέμενον, ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ ὑποκρίνεσθαι παρὰ
affairs aiming to-practice and to-play-the-part beyond
φύσιν, πολλὴν ἀβελτερίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενον ἐν τῷ σχολάζειν.
nature much foolishness displaying in the being-at-leisure
Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοι τινὲς αὐτοῦ μνημονεύονται, δι' 15
not indeed but also sayings some his are-remembered through
ὧν ἐδόκει συμφέρεσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς.
which he-seemed to-accommodate-himself to-the present not ignobly
τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἰς Λευκάδα καταχθείς, πόλιν ἀπῳκισμένην
this indeed for into Leucas having-put-in a-city colonized
ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ὥσπερ τὴν Συρακουσίων, ταὐτὸν ἔφη
by Corinthians like the of-Syracusans the-same he-said

πεπονθέναι τοῖς ἐν ἁμαρτήμασι γενομένοις τῶν νεανίσκων·
to-have-felt as-those in faults having-been of-the young-men
ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς μὲν ἀδελφοῖς ἱλαρῶς συνδιατρίβουσι,
as for those with-the indeed brothers cheerfully spend-time
τοὺς δὲ πατέρας αἰσχυνόμενοι φεύγουσιν, οὕτως αὐτὸς
the but fathers being-ashamed-before avoid so himself
αἰδούμενος τὴν μητρόπολιν ἡδέως ἂν αὐτόθι μετ' ἐκείνων
respecting the mother-city gladly — there with them
κατοικεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ ξένου τινὸς ἀγροικότερον
would-dwell this and in Corinth a-stranger certain rather-boorishly
εἰς τὰς μετὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων διατριβάς, αἷς τυραννῶν
at the with the philosophers conversations in-which as-tyrant
ἔχαιρε, χλευάζοντος αὐτόν, καὶ τέλος ἐρωτῶντος τί δὴ
he-delighted mocking him and finally asking what indeed
τῆς Πλάτωνος ἀπολαύσειε σοφίας, "Οὐδέν," ἔφη, "σοὶ
of-the of-Plato he-had-profited wisdom nothing he-said to-you
δοκοῦμεν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ὠφελῆσθαι, τύχης μεταβολὴν
do-we-seem by Plato to-have-been-helped of-fortune change
οὕτω φέροντες;" πρὸς δὲ τὸν μουσικὸν Ἀριστόξενον
so bearing to and the musician Aristoxenus
καί τινας ἄλλους πυνθανομένους ὁπόθεν αὐτῷ καὶ τίς
and some others inquiring whence for-him and what
ἡ πρὸς Πλάτωνα γένοιτο μέμψις, πολλῶν ἔφη κακῶν
the toward Plato arose complaint of-many he-said evils
τὴν τυραννίδα μεστὴν οὖσαν οὐδὲν ἔχειν τηλικοῦτον
the tyranny full being nothing to-have so-great
ἡλίκον τὸ μηδένα τῶν λεγομένων φίλων μετὰ παρρησίας
as the no-one of-the so-called friends with frankness
διαλέγεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀποστερηθῆναι τῆς
to-converse and for himself by them to-have-been-deprived of-the
Πλάτωνος εὐνοίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν βουλομένων τις εὐφυῶν
of-Plato goodwill when and of-those wishing one witty

εἶναι σκώπτων τὸν Διονύσιον ἐξέσειε τὸ ἱμάτιον εἰσιὼν
to-be mocking — Dionysius shook-out the cloak entering
πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς δὴ πρὸς τύραννον, ἀντισκώπτων ἐκεῖνος
to him as indeed to a-tyrant counter-mocking he
ἐκέλευε τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὅταν ἐξίῃ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ, μή τι τῶν
bade this to-do when he-goes-out from him lest any of-the
ἔνδον ἔχων ἀπέλθῃ. Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Μακεδόνος παρὰ
things-inside having he-go-away Philip and the Macedonian over
πότον τινὰ λόγον μετὰ εἰρωνείας ἐμβαλόντος περὶ τῶν
drinking a-certain remark with irony having-thrown-in about the
μελῶν καὶ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ἃς ὁ πρεσβύτερος Διονύσιος
lyrics and the tragedies which the elder Dionysius
κατέλιπε, καὶ προσποιουμένου διαπορεῖν ἐν τίνι χρόνῳ
left and pretending to-wonder at what time
ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος ἐσχόλαζεν, οὐ φαύλως ἀπήντησεν
these-things to-compose he had-leisure not badly retorted
ὁ Διονύσιος εἰπών· "Ἐν ᾧ σὺ κἀγὼ καὶ πάντες οἱ
— Dionysius having-said in which you and-I and all the
μακάριοι δοκοῦντες εἶναι περὶ κώθωνα διατρίβομεν."
blessed seeming to-be over the-cup spend-our-time
Πλάτων μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπείδεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ Διονύσιον,
Plato indeed then not lived-to-see in Corinth Dionysius
ἀλλ᾽ ἔτυχεν ἤδη τεθνηκώς, ὁ δὲ Σινωπεὺς Διογένης
but happened already having-died the and Sinopean Diogenes
ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ πρῶτον, "Ὡς ἀναξίως," ἔφη, "Διονύσιε,
having-met him first how unworthily he-said Dionysius
ζῇς." ἐπιστάντος δ᾽ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰπόντος· "Εὖ ποιεῖς,
you-live having-stopped and him and having-said well you-do
ὦ Διόγενες, συναχθόμενος ἡμῖν ἠτυχηκόσι," "Τί
O Diogenes sympathizing with-us having-been-unfortunate what
γάρ;" εἶπεν ὁ Διογένης, "οἴει μέ σοι συναλγεῖν,
for said — Diogenes do-you-think me with-you to-grieve

οὐ διαγανακτεῖν ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἀνδράποδον ὤν, καὶ τοῖς
not to-be-indignant that such a-slave being and in-the
τυραννείοις, ὥσπερ ὁ πατήρ, ἐπιτήδειος ἐγγηράσας
tyrant's-palace like the father fit having-grown-old
ἀποθανεῖν, ἐνταῦθα παίζων καὶ τρυφῶν διάγεις μεθ' ἡμῶν;"
to-die here jesting and luxuriating you-live with us
ὥστε μοι παραβάλλοντι τούτοις τὰς Φιλίστου φωνάς,
so-that to-me comparing with-these the of-Philistus utterances
ἃς ἀφίησι περὶ τῶν Λεπτίνου θυγατέρων ὀλοφυρόμενος,
which he-lets-fall about the of-Leptines daughters lamenting
ὡς ἐκ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν τῶν τῆς τυραννίδος εἰς ταπεινὴν
as from great goods the of-the tyranny to humble
ἀφιγμένων δίαιταν, φαίνεσθαι θρήνους γυναικὸς ἀλαβάστους
having-come way-of-life to-appear laments of-a-woman for-alabaster-boxes
καὶ πορφύρας καὶ χρυσία ποθούσης.
and purples and gold-ornaments longing
Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀλλότρια τῆς τῶν βίων ἀναγραφῆς
these-things indeed then not foreign to-the of-the lives recording
οὐδὲ ἄχρηστα δόξειν οἰόμεθα μὴ σπεύδουσι μηδὲ
nor useless to-seem we-think to-those-not hastening nor
ἀσχολουμένοις ἀκροαταῖς.
busy listeners

Hicetas sends men to murder Timoleon at Adranum, but one is struck down by a stranger avenging his own father, and the plot is exposed. Hicetas brings Mago's huge Carthaginian fleet into the harbor of Syracuse. While the two march on Catana, the Corinthian Neon sallies from the citadel and seizes Achradina, and the Corinthian reinforcements, held at Thurii, slip past Hanno's ships into Sicily.

Τῆς δὲ Διονυσίου δυστυχίας παραλόγου φανείσης οὐχ 16
the and of-Dionysius misfortune unexpected having-appeared not
ἧττον ἡ Τιμολέοντος εὐτυχία τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἔσχεν. ἐπιβὰς
less the of-Timoleon good-fortune the wonder had having-landed
γὰρ Σικελίας ἐν ἡμέραις πεντήκοντα τήν τ᾽ ἀκρόπολιν
for on-Sicily in days fifty the both acropolis
τῶν Συρακουσῶν παρέλαβε καὶ Διονύσιον εἰς Πελοπόννησον
— of-Syracuse he-took-over and Dionysius to Peloponnesus
ἐξέπεμψεν. ὅθεν ἐπιρρωσθέντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι πέμπουσιν αὐτῷ
sent-off whence strengthened the Corinthians send him
δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας καὶ διακοσίους ἱππεῖς, οἳ κομισθέντες
two-thousand hoplites and two-hundred horsemen who having-been-carried
ἄχρι Θουρίων τὴν ἐκεῖθεν περαίωσιν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων
as-far-as Thurii the from-there crossing by Carthaginians
πολλαῖς ναυσὶ κατεχομένης τῆς θαλάττης ἄπορον ὁρῶντες,
with-many ships being-held the sea impracticable seeing
ὡς ἦν ἀνάγκη καιρὸν περιμένοντας ἀτρεμεῖν αὐτόθι, πρὸς
as was necessity opportunity waiting-for to-keep-quiet there for
κάλλιστον ἔργον ἀπεχρήσαντο τῇ σχολῇ. Θουρίων γὰρ
a-most-honorable deed used the leisure Thurians for
ἐπὶ Βρεττίους στρατευόντων τὴν πόλιν παραλαβόντες
against Bruttians campaigning the city having-taken-over
ὥσπερ πατρίδα καθαρῶς καὶ πιστῶς διεφύλαξαν.
as-if fatherland purely and faithfully they-guarded

Ὁ δ' Ἱκέτης τὴν μὲν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Συρακουσῶν
— and Hicetas the indeed acropolis — of-Syracuse
ἐπολιόρκει καὶ σῖτον ἐκώλυεν εἰσπλεῖν τοῖς Κορινθίοις,
was-besieging and grain prevented to-sail-in for-the Corinthians
Τιμολέοντι δὲ δύο ξένους παρασκευάσας δολοφονήσοντας
against-Timoleon and two mercenaries having-prepared going-to-assassinate
αὐτὸν ὑπέπεμψεν εἰς Ἄδρανόν, οὔτε ἄλλως περὶ τὸ σῶμα
him sent-secretly to Adranum neither otherwise about the body
συντεταγμένην ἔχοντι φυλακήν, καὶ τότε παντάπασι διὰ
organized having guard and then altogether because-of
τὸν θεὸν ἀνειμένως καὶ ἀνυπόπτως σχολάζοντι μετὰ
the god at-ease and unsuspiciously spending-leisure with
τῶν Ἀδρανιτῶν. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες κατὰ τύχην πυθόμενοι
the Adranites the and having-been-sent by chance having-learned
μέλλοντα θύειν αὐτόν, ἦκον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱματίοις
going to-sacrifice him came into the shrine under the cloaks
ἐγχειρίδια κομίζοντες, καὶ τοῖς περιεστῶσι τὸν βωμὸν
daggers carrying and with-those standing-around the altar
ἀναμιχθέντες, ἐγγυτέρω κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπεχείρουν. καὶ ὅσον
having-mingled nearer by little they-tried and as-much-as
οὔπω παρακελευομένων ἀλλήλοις ἐνάρχεσθαι παίει τις
not-yet urging one-another to-begin strikes someone
αὐτῶν τὸν ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ξίφει, καὶ πεσόντος
of-them the one on the head with-a-sword and having-fallen
οὔθ' ὁ παίσας ἔμεινεν οὔδ' ὁ μετὰ τοῦ πληγέντος
neither the striker stayed nor the-one with the struck
ἥκων, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μέν, ὥσπερ εἶχε τὸ ξίφος, φεύγων πρός
having-come but he indeed as he-had the sword fleeing to
τινα πέτραν ὑψηλὴν ἀνεπήδησεν, ἄτερος δὲ τοῦ βωμοῦ
a-certain rock high leaped-up the-other and the altar
λαβόμενος ἄδειαν ᾐτεῖτο παρὰ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος ἐπὶ
having-grasped immunity asked from — Timoleon on-condition

τῷ πάντα μηνῦσαι. καὶ λαβὼν ἐμήνυσε καθ' αὑτοῦ καὶ
the everything to-reveal and having-received-it revealed against himself and
κατὰ τοῦ τεθνηκότος ὡς πεμφθεῖεν ἐκεῖνον ἀποκτενοῦντες.
against the dead how they-had-been-sent him going-to-kill
ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας κατῆγον ἕτεροι,
in this and also the-one from the rock brought-down others
βοῶντα μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνῃρηκέναι δικαίως τὸν
shouting nothing to-do-wrong but to-have-killed justly the
ἄνθρωπον ὑπὲρ πατρὸς τεθνηκότος, ὃν ἐκεῖνος
man on-behalf-of father having-died whom that-one
ἀπεκτονήκοι πρότερον ἐν Λεοντίνοις. καὶ μαρτυροῦντας
had-killed before in Leontini and witnessing
εἶχεν ἐνίους τῶν παρόντων, θαυμάζοντας ἅμα τῆς τύχης
had some of-those present marveling at-once of-the fortune
τὴν εὐμηχανίαν, ὡς δι' ἑτέρων ἕτερα κινοῦσα καὶ
the contrivance how through some-things other-things moving and
συνάγουσα πάντα πόρρωθεν καὶ συγκαταπλέκουσα τοῖς
bringing-together all-things from-afar and interweaving with-the
πλεῖστον διαφέρειν δοκοῦσι καὶ μηδὲν ἔχειν πρὸς ἄλληλα
most to-differ seeming and nothing having with one-another
κοινὸν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀλλήλων χρῆται καὶ τέλεσι καὶ ἀρχαῖς.
in-common always the of-one-another uses both ends and beginnings
Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπον ἐστεφάνωσαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι δέκα
the indeed then man crowned the Corinthians with-ten
μναῖς, ὅτι τῷ φυλάττοντι δαίμονι τὸν Τιμολέοντα πάθος
minas because to-the guarding deity — Timoleon passion
ἔχρησε δίκαιον καὶ τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ παρόντα θυμὸν αὐτῷ
he-lent just and the from long present anger in-him
πρότερον οὐ κατανάλωσεν, ἀλλὰ μετ' αἰτίας ἰδίας πρὸς
before not had-spent but with cause private for
τὴν ἐκείνου σωτηρίαν ἀπὸ τύχης διετήρησεν. ἡ δ' εἰς τὸν
the his salvation by fortune preserved the and to the

παρόντα καιρὸν εὐτυχία καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν
present moment good-fortune also for the future with-the hopes
ἐπῆρεν ὁρῶντας ὡς ἱερὸν ἄνδρα καὶ σὺν θεῷ τιμωρὸν
elated-them seeing as sacred a-man and with god avenger
ἥκοντα τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὸν Τιμολέοντα σέβεσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν.
having-come — to-Sicily — Timoleon to-revere and to-guard
17 Ὡς δὲ ταύτης διήμαρτε τῆς πείρας ὁ Ἱκέτης καὶ πρὸς
when and this missed the attempt — Hicetas and to
Τιμολέοντα πολλοὺς ἑώρα συνισταμένους, μεμψάμενος
Timoleon many saw gathering having-blamed
αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὅτι τηλικαύτης παρούσης τῆς Καρχηδονίων
himself himself that so-great being-at-hand the of-Carthaginians
δυνάμεως ὥσπερ αἰσχυνόμενος αὐτῇ κατὰ μικρὰ χρῆται
force as-if being-ashamed of-it by small-amounts he-uses
καὶ λάθρα, κλέπτων καὶ παρεισάγων τὴν συμμαχίαν,
and secretly stealing and introducing the alliance
μετεπέμπετο Μάγωνα τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν μετὰ τοῦ
he-summoned Mago the general of-them with the
στόλου παντός. ὁ δὲ εἰσέπλει φοβερὸς ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα
fleet whole he and sailed-in formidable with-ships fifty
καὶ ἑκατὸν καταλαμβάνων τὸν λιμένα, πεζῶν δὲ μυριάδας
and a-hundred occupying the harbor of-infantry and myriads
ἓξ ἀποβιβάζων καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύων ἐν τῇ πόλει
six landing and encamping in the city
τῶν Συρακουσίων, ὥστε πάντας οἴεσθαι τὴν πάλαι
of-the Syracusans so-that all to-think the long
λεγομένην καὶ προσδοκωμένην ἐκβαρβάρωσιν ἥκειν ἐπὶ
said and expected barbarization to-have-come on
τὴν Σικελίαν. οὐδέποτε γὰρ Καρχηδονίοις ὑπῆρξε
— Sicily never for to-Carthaginians had-it-been-possible
πρότερον μυρίους πολεμήσασι πολέμους ἐν Σικελίᾳ λαβεῖν

τὰς Συρακούσας, ἀλλὰ τότε δεξαμένου τοῦ Ἱκέτου
— *Syracuse but then having-received-them — Hicetas*
καὶ παραδόντος ἦν ὁρᾶν τὴν πόλιν στρατόπεδον
and having-handed-over it-was-possible to-see the city a-camp
βαρβάρων οὖσαν. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Κορινθίων
of-barbarians being those and the acropolis of-the Corinthians
κατέχοντες ἐπισφαλῶς καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀπήλλαττον, τροφῆς
holding precariously and hardly were-faring food
μὲν ἱκανῆς οὐκ ἔτι παρούσης, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνδεόμενοι διὰ
indeed sufficient not any-longer being-present but being-in-want because-of
τὸ φρουρεῖσθαι τοὺς λιμένας, ἀεὶ δὲ ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ
the being-guarded the harbors always and in contests and
μάχαις περὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ πρὸς πᾶν μηχάνημα καὶ πρὸς
battles about the walls and against every engine and against
πᾶσαν ἰδέαν πολιορκίας μερίζοντες αὑτούς.
every form of-siege dividing themselves
Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Τιμολέων παρεβοήθει σῖτον ἐκ Κατάνης 18
not indeed but — Timoleon was-helping grain from Catana
μικραῖς ἁλιάσι καὶ λεπτοῖς ἀκατίοις ἀποστέλλων, ἃ
with-small fishing-boats and light skiffs sending which
μάλιστα χειμῶνι παρεισέπιπτε διὰ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν
mostly in-storm slipped-in through the barbarian
τριήρων ὑποπορευόμενα, πρὸς τὸν κλύδωνα καὶ τὸν σάλον
triremes stealing-along toward the surf and the swell
ἐκείνων διϊσταμένων. ἃ δὴ συνορῶντες οἱ περὶ τὸν
those standing-apart which indeed perceiving those about —
Μάγωνα καὶ τὸν Ἱκέτην ἐβούλοντο τὴν Κατάνην ἑλεῖν,
Mago and — Hicetas wished — Catana to-take
ἐξ ἧς εἰσέπλει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις· καὶ
from which sailed-in the provisions to-the besieged and
λαβόντες τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν μαχιμωτάτην ἐξέπλευσαν ἐκ
having-taken of-the force the most-warlike sailed-out from

τῶν Συρακουσῶν. ὁ δὲ Κορίνθιος Νέων (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν
— *Syracuse the and Corinthian Neon this-man for was*
ἄρχων τῶν πολιορκουμένων) κατιδὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας
commander of-the besieged having-seen from the citadel
τοὺς ὑπολελειμμένους τῶν πολεμίων ἀργῶς καὶ ἀμελῶς
those left-behind of-the enemies idly and carelessly
φυλάττοντας ἐξαίφνης ἐπέπεσε διεσπαρμένοις αὐτοῖς· καὶ
guarding suddenly fell-on scattered them and
τοὺς μὲν ἀνελών, τοὺς δὲ τρεψάμενος, ἐκράτησε καὶ
the-some indeed having-killed the-others and having-routed prevailed and
κατέσχε τὴν λεγομένην Ἀχραδινήν, ὃ κράτιστον ἐδόκει
seized the so-called Achradina which strongest seemed
καὶ ἀθραυστότατον ὑπάρχειν τῆς Συρακουσίων μέρος
and most-unbroken to-be of-the of-Syracusans part
πόλεως, τρόπον τινὰ συγκειμένης καὶ συνηρμοσμένης ἐκ
city in-a-way some put-together and joined from
πλειόνων πόλεων. εὐπορήσας δὲ καὶ σίτου καὶ
several cities having-been-well-supplied and both with-grain and
χρημάτων οὐκ ἀφῆκε τὸν τόπον, οὐδ' ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν
with-money not he-left the place nor withdrew again
ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἀλλὰ φραξάμενος τὸν περίβολον τῆς
to the citadel but having-fenced the circuit —
Ἀχραδινῆς καὶ συνάψας τοῖς ἐρύμασι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν
of-Achradina and having-joined-it with-the fortifications to the acropolis
διεφύλαττε. τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Μάγωνα καὶ τὸν Ἱκέτην
he-guarded-it the and about — Mago and — Hicetas
ἐγγὺς ἤδη τῆς Κατάνης ὄντας ἱππεὺς ἐκ Συρακουσῶν
near already — Catana being a-horseman from Syracuse
καταλαβὼν ἀπήγγειλε τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς. καὶ
having-overtaken reported the capture — of-Achradina and

συνταραχθέντες ἀνεχώρησαν διὰ ταχέων, οὔτε λαβόντες
thrown-into-confusion they-withdrew with speed neither having-taken
ἐφ᾽ ἣν ἐξῆλθον οὔτε φυλάξαντες ἣν εἶχον.
against which they-went-out nor having-guarded what they-held
Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔτι τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ δίδωσί 19
these-things indeed then still to-the forethought and virtue give
τινα πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἀμφισβήτησιν· τὸ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις
some against the fortune dispute the but upon these
γενόμενον παντάπασιν ἔοικε συμβῆναι κατ᾽ εὐτυχίαν.
having-happened altogether seems to-have-come-about by good-fortune
οἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Θουρίοις διατρίβοντες στρατιῶται τῶν
the for in — Thurii staying soldiers of-the
Κορινθίων ἅμα μὲν δεδιότες τὰς Καρχηδονίων τριήρεις,
Corinthians at-once indeed fearing the of-Carthaginians triremes
αἳ παρεφύλαττον αὐτοὺς μετὰ Ἄννωνος, ἅμα δ᾽
which were-watching them with Hanno at-once and
ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἐξηγριωμένης ὑπὸ πνεύματος τῆς
for days many having-been-made-wild by wind the
θαλάττης, πεζῇ διὰ Βρεττίων ὥρμησαν πορεύεσθαι· καὶ
sea on-foot through Bruttians set-out to-march and
τὰ μὲν πείθοντες, τὰ δὲ βιαζόμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους
partly indeed persuading partly and forcing the barbarians
εἰς Ῥήγιον κατέβαινον ἔτι πολὺν χειμῶνα τοῦ πελάγους
to Rhegium they-came-down still much storm the sea
ἔχοντος. ὁ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ναύαρχος, ὡς οὐ
having the and of-the Carthaginians admiral since not
προσεδόκα τοὺς Κορινθίους καὶ μάτην ᾤετο καθῆσθαι,
he-expected the Corinthians and in-vain thought to-sit
πείσας αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν νενοηκέναι τι τῶν σοφῶν
having-persuaded himself himself to-have-devised something of-the clever
καὶ πανούργων πρὸς ἀπάτην, στεφανώσασθαι τοὺς ναύτας
and knavish for deception to-wear-garlands the sailors

κελεύσας καὶ κοσμήσας τὰς τριήρεις ἀσπίσιν Ἑλληνικαῖς
having-bidden and having-adorned the triremes with-shields Greek
καὶ φοινικίσιν, ἔπλει πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας. καὶ παρὰ
and with-red-cloaks he-sailed to — Syracuse and along
τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρώμενος ῥοθίῳ μετὰ κρότου καὶ
the acropolis using splashing-oars with clapping and
γέλωτος ἐβόα τοὺς Κορινθίους ἥκειν νενικηκὼς καὶ
laughter he-shouted the Corinthians to-have-come having-conquered and
κεχειρωμένος, ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ λαβὼν διαπλέοντας, ὡς
having-subdued in the sea having-caught crossing as
δή τινα δυσθυμίαν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις παρέξων. ἐκείνου
indeed some despondency to-the besieged going-to-cause him
δὲ ταῦτα ληροῦντος καὶ φενακίζοντος ἐκ τῶν Βρεττίων
and these-things babbling and deceiving from the Bruttians
καταβεβηκότες οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον, ὡς οὐδεὶς
having-come-down the Corinthians into — Rhegium as no-one
παρεφύλαττε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατεσβεσμένον παραλόγως
was-watching and the wind having-been-quenched unexpectedly
ἀκύμονα τὸν πόρον ἰδεῖν καὶ λεῖον παρεῖχε, ταχὺ
waveless the strait to-see and smooth offered quickly
πληρώσαντες τὰ πορθμεῖα καὶ τὰς ἁλιάδας τὰς παρούσας
having-manned the ferries and the fishing-boats the present
ἀνήγοντο καὶ διεκομίζοντο πρὸς τὴν Σικελίαν, οὕτως
put-out and were-carried-across to — Sicily so
ἀσφαλῶς καὶ διὰ τοσαύτης γαλήνης ὥστε τοὺς ἵππους
safely and through so-great calm so-that the horses
παρὰ τὰ πλοῖα παρανηχομένους ἐκ ῥυτήρων ἐφέλκεσθαι.
beside the boats swimming-alongside by reins to-be-towed

Soldiers of both sides fish together in the marshes, and one of the Corinthians' hirelings asks how Greeks can hand Sicily to Carthage; Mago, suspecting betrayal, sails away. Timoleon takes the city by storm without losing a man, razes the tyrants' citadel, and builds law courts on its site. Syracuse is so empty that horses graze in the market; Corinth invites settlers at the games, and sixty thousand gather. The tyrants' statues are sold, but Gelon's is spared.

Περαιωθέντων δὲ πάντων ὁ Τιμολέων δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς 20
having-been-ferried-across and all — Timoleon having-received them
τήν τε Μεσσήνην εὐθὺς εἶχε, καὶ συνταξάμενος ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ
— both Messene at-once held and having-drawn-up marched against
τὰς Συρακούσας, οἷς εὐτύχει καὶ κατώρθου μᾶλλον ἢ
— Syracuse in-what he-was-fortunate and succeeded rather than
τῇ δυνάμει πεποιθώς· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πλείους
in-the force trusting not for were those with him more
τετρακισχιλίων. ἀγγελλομένης δὲ τῆς ἐφόδου τῷ Μάγωνι
than-four-thousand being-reported and the attack — to-Mago
θορυβούμενος καὶ δεδοικὼς ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς ὑποψίαν ἦλθεν
confused and fearing still more into suspicion came
ἐκ τοιαύτης προφάσεως. ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν πόλιν τενάγεσι,
from such occasion in the about the city shallows
πολὺ μὲν ἐκ κρηνῶν πότιμον ὕδωρ, πολὺ δ' ἐξ ἑλῶν
much indeed from springs drinkable water much and from marshes
καὶ ποταμῶν καταρρεόντων εἰς τὴν θάλατταν δεχομένοις,
and rivers flowing-down into the sea receiving
πλῆθος ἐγχέλεων νέμεται, καὶ δαψίλεια τῆς ἄγρας τοῖς
a-multitude of-eels feeds and abundance of-the catch for-those
βουλομένοις ἀεὶ πάρεστι. ταύτας οἱ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων μισθοῦ
wishing always is-at-hand these the from both-sides for-pay
στρατευόμενοι σχολῆς οὔσης καὶ ἀνοχῶν συνεθήρευον. οἷα
serving leisure being and truces hunted-together such-as

δ' Ἕλληνες ὄντες καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἔχοντες ἰδίων
and Greeks being and toward one-another not having of-private
ἀπεχθειῶν πρόφασιν, ἐν μὲν ταῖς μάχαις διεκινδύνευον
enmities pretext in indeed the battles ran-risks
εὐρώστως, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς προσφοιτῶντες ἀλλήλοις
stoutly in and the truces visiting one-another
διελέγοντο. καὶ τότε κοινὸν περὶ τὴν ἁλιείαν ἔχοντες ἔργον
conversed and then common about the fishing having task
ἐν λόγοις ἦσαν, θαυμάζοντες τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν εὐφυΐαν
in talk were admiring of-the sea the natural-excellence
καὶ τῶν χωρίων τὴν κατασκευήν. καί τις εἶπε τῶν παρὰ
and of-the places the arrangement and someone said of-those with
τοῖς Κορινθίοις στρατευομένων "Τοσαύτην μέντοι πόλιν τὸ
the Corinthians serving so-great however a-city the
μέγεθος καὶ τοσούτοις ἐξησκημένην καλοῖς ὑμεῖς Ἕλληνες
size and with-so-many furnished fine-things you Greeks
ὄντες ἐκβαρβαρῶσαι προθυμεῖσθε, τοὺς κακίστους καὶ
being to-barbarize are-eager the worst and
φονικωτάτους Καρχηδονίους ἐγγυτέρω κατοικίζοντες ἡμῶν,
most-murderous Carthaginians nearer settling to-us
πρὸς οὓς ἔδει πολλὰς εὔχεσθαι Σικελίας προκεῖσθαι
against whom it-were-needful many to-pray Sicilies to-lie-in-front-of
τῆς Ἑλλάδος· ἢ δοκεῖτε τούτους στρατὸν ἀγείραντας ἀπὸ
— Greece or think-you these an-army having-gathered from
στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων καὶ τῆς Ἀτλαντικῆς ἥκειν θαλάττης
pillars of-Heracles and the Atlantic to-have-come sea
δεῦρο κινδυνεύσοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἱκέτου δυναστείας; ὃς
hither going-to-run-risks for the of-Hicetas dominion who
εἰ λογισμὸν εἶχεν ἡγεμόνος, οὐκ ἂν ἐξέβαλλε τοὺς
if reason he-had of-a-leader not — would-be-expelling the
πατέρας οὐδ' ἐπῆγε τῇ πατρίδι τοὺς πολεμίους,
fathers nor would-bring against-the fatherland the enemies

ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἐτύγχανεν ὅσης πρέπει,
but both honor and power would-obtain as-much-as befits
Κορινθίους καὶ Τιμολέοντα πείσας." τούτους τοὺς
Corinthians and Timoleon having-persuaded these the
λόγους οἱ μισθοφόροι διεθρόησαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ
words the mercenaries spread-abroad in the camp and
παρέσχον ὑποψίαν τῷ Μάγωνι προδίδοσθαι, χρῄζοντι πάλαι
gave suspicion — to-Mago to-be-betrayed wanting long-since
προφάσεως. διὸ καὶ δεομένου τοῦ Ἱκέτου παραμένειν
a-pretext wherefore also begging — Hicetas to-stay
καὶ διδάσκοντος ὅσῳ βελτίονές εἰσι τῶν πολεμίων,
and showing by-how-much better they-are than-the enemies
μᾶλλον οἰόμενος ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ λείπεσθαι Τιμολέοντος
rather thinking in-valor and fortune to-fall-short of-Timoleon
ἢ πλήθει δυνάμεως ὑπερβάλλειν, ἄρας εὐθὺς
than in-number of-force to-surpass having-weighed-anchor at-once
ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Λιβύην, αἰσχρῶς κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν
sailed-away to Libya disgracefully by no reasoning
ἀνθρώπινον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφεὶς Σικελίαν.
human from the hands having-let-go Sicily
Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ παρῆν ὁ Τιμολέων ἐπὶ μάχην 21
on-the and next-day was-present — Timoleon for battle
συντεταγμένος. ὡς δὲ τὴν φυγὴν ἐπυνθάνοντο καὶ τὴν
drawn-up when and the flight they-learned and the
ἐρημίαν ἑώρων τῶν νεωρίων, γελᾶν αὐτοῖς ἐπῄει τὴν
emptiness they-saw of-the docks to-laugh to-them came-upon the
ἀνανδρίαν τοῦ Μάγωνος, καὶ περιιόντες ἐκήρυττον ἐν
cowardice — of-Mago and going-about they-proclaimed in
τῇ πόλει μήνυτρα τῷ φράσαντι τὸν Καρχηδονίων
the city reward to-the-one having-told the of-Carthaginians
στόλον ὅπῃ σφᾶς ἀποδέδρακεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἱκέτου
fleet where them it-has-run-away-from not indeed but — Hicetas

φιλομαχοῦντος ἔτι καὶ τὴν λαβὴν οὐ προϊεμένου τῆς
being-eager-to-fight still and the hold not letting-go of-the
πόλεως, ἀλλὰ ἐμπεφυκότος οἷς κατεῖχε μέρεσι καρτεροῖς
city but clinging-to what he-held parts strong
οὖσι καὶ δυσπροσμάχοις, διελὼν ὁ Τιμολέων τὴν
being and hard-to-attack having-divided — Timoleon the
δύναμιν αὐτὸς μὲν ᾗ βιαιότατον ἦν παρὰ τὸ ῥεῖθρον
force himself indeed where most-violent was along the stream
τοῦ Ἀνάπου προσέβαλλεν, ἄλλους δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς
of-the Anapus attacked others and from — Achradina
ἐκέλευεν ἐπιχειρεῖν, ὧν Ἰσίας ἡγεῖτο ὁ Κορίνθιος. τοὺς
he-bade to-attack whom Isias led the Corinthian the
δὲ τρίτους ἐπῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς Δείναρχος καὶ
and third led against — Epipolae Deinarchus and
Δημάρετος, οἱ τὴν ὑστέραν ἀγαγόντες ἐκ Κορίνθου
Demaretus those the later having-brought from Corinth
βοήθειαν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν τῆς ἐφόδου γενομένης
reinforcement at-once and also from-all-sides the attack having-happened
καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἱκέτην ἀνατραπέντων καὶ φευγόντων, τὸ
and those about — Hicetas routed and fleeing the
μὲν ἁλῶναι τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἄκρας καὶ γενέσθαι ταχέως
indeed to-be-captured the city by storm and to-become quickly
ὑποχείριον ἐκπεσόντων τῶν πολεμίων δίκαιον ἀναθεῖναι
subject having-been-driven-out the enemies just to-ascribe
τῇ τῶν μαχομένων ἀνδραγαθίᾳ καὶ τῇ δεινότητι τοῦ
to-the of-the fighters valor and to-the skill of-the
στρατηγοῦ, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν τινα μηδὲ τρωθῆναι
general the but not to-have-died anyone nor to-have-been-wounded
τῶν Κορινθίων ἴδιον ἔργον αὑτῆς ἡ Τιμολέοντος ἐπεδείξατο
of-the Corinthians own work its-own the of-Timoleon displayed
τύχη, καθάπερ διαμιλλωμένη πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός,
fortune as-if vying with the virtue of-the man

ἵνα τῶν ἐπαινουμένων αὐτοῦ τὰ μακαριζόμενα μᾶλλον οἱ
so-that than-the praised his the blessed-things more those
πυνθανόμενοι θαυμάζωσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον Σικελίαν πᾶσαν
hearing may-admire not for only Sicily all
οὐδ' Ἰταλίαν εὐθὺς ἡ φήμη κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων
nor Italy at-once the report filled but in-days few
ἡ Ἑλλὰς διήχει τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κατορθώματος, ὥστε τὴν
— Greece re-echoed the greatness of-the success so-that the
τῶν Κορινθίων πόλιν ἀπιστοῦσαν εἰ διαπέπλευκεν ὁ
of-the Corinthians city doubting whether had-crossed the
στόλος, ὁμοῦ καὶ σεσωσμένους καὶ νενικηκότας ἀκούειν
fleet together both saved and victorious to-hear
τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὕτως εὐρόησαν αἱ πράξεις, καὶ τοσοῦτο
the men so flowed-well the deeds and so-much
τῷ κάλλει τῶν ἔργων τὸ τάχος ἡ τύχη προσέθηκεν.
to-the beauty of-the works the speed the fortune added
Γενόμενος δὲ τῆς ἄκρας κύριος οὐκ ἔπαθε Δίωνι ταὐτὸ 22
having-become and of-the citadel master not he-felt as-Dion the-same
πάθος, οὐδ' ἐφείσατο τοῦ τόπου διὰ τὸ κάλλος καὶ
feeling nor spared the place because-of the beauty and
τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς κατασκευῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνον
the costliness of-the construction but the him
διαβαλοῦσαν, εἶτ' ἀπολέσασαν ὑποψίαν φυλαξάμενος
having-slandered then having-destroyed suspicion having-guarded-against
ἐκήρυξε τῶν Συρακουσίων τὸν βουλόμενον παρεῖναι
he-proclaimed of-the Syracusans the-one wishing to-be-present
μετὰ σιδήρου καὶ συνεφάπτεσθαι κατασκαπτομένων τῶν
with iron and to-lay-hand-to being-demolished the
τυραννικῶν ἐρυμάτων. ὡς δὲ πάντες ἀνέβησαν, ἀρχὴν
tyrannical strongholds when and all went-up beginning
ἐλευθερίας ποιησάμενοι βεβαιοτάτην τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ
of-freedom having-made most-secure the proclamation and

τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἄκραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
the day that not only the citadel but also
τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ μνήματα τῶν τυράννων ἀνέτρεψαν
the houses and the tombs of-the tyrants they-overturned
καὶ κατέσκαψαν. εὐθὺς δὲ τὸν τόπον συνομαλύνας
and razed at-once and the place having-leveled
ἐνῳκοδόμησε τὰ δικαστήρια, χαριζόμενος τοῖς πολίταις
he-built-on-it the courts gratifying the citizens
καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπερτέραν ποιῶν τὴν δημοκρατίαν.
and than-the tyranny superior making the democracy
Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν οὐκ εἶχε πολίτας, ἀλλὰ τῶν
when and the city having-taken not he-had citizens but of-the
μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς στάσεσι διαφθαρέντων,
indeed in the wars and the factions destroyed
τῶν δὲ τὰς τυραννίδας φυγόντων, ἡ μὲν ἐν Συρακούσαις
of-the and the tyrannies having-fled the indeed in Syracuse
ἀγορὰ δι᾽ ἐρημίαν οὕτω πολλὴν καὶ βαθεῖαν ἐξέφυσεν
market-place through desertion so much and deep had-grown
ὕλην ὥστε τοὺς ἵππους ἐν αὐτῇ κατανέμεσθαι, τῶν
growth so-that the horses in it to-graze the
ἱπποκόμων ἐν τῇ χλόῃ κατακειμένων, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις
grooms in the grass lying the and other cities
πλὴν παντελῶς ὀλίγων ἐλάφων ἐγένοντο μεσταὶ καὶ συῶν
except altogether few of-deer became full and of-boars
ἀγρίων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς προαστείοις καὶ περὶ τὰ τείχη πολλάκις
wild in and the suburbs and about the walls often
οἱ σχολὴν ἄγοντες ἐκυνηγέτουν, ὑπήκουε δ᾽ οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐν
those leisure having hunted obeyed and no-one of-those in
τοῖς ἐρύμασι καὶ φρουρίοις κατοικούντων, οὐδὲ κατέβαινον
the strongholds and forts dwelling nor came-down
εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ φρίκη καὶ μῖσος εἶχε πάντας ἀγορᾶς
into the city but shuddering and hatred held all of-market-place

καὶ πολιτείας καὶ βήματος, ἐξ ὧν ἀνέφυσαν αὐτοῖς οἱ
and of-politics and of-platform from which had-sprung-up for-them the
πλεῖστοι τῶν τυράννων, ἔδοξε τῷ Τιμολέοντι καὶ τοῖς
most of-the tyrants it-seemed-good — to-Timoleon and to-the
Συρακουσίοις γράψαι πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους ὅπως πέμψωσιν
Syracusans to-write to the Corinthians that they-send
οἰκήτορας εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἥ τε
settlers to — Syracuse from — Greece the both
γὰρ χώρα σχολάζειν ἔμελλε, καὶ πολὺν πόλεμον ἐκ Λιβύης
for land to-lie-idle was-about and great war from Libya
προσεδέχοντο, πυνθανόμενοι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τοῦ μὲν
they-expected learning the Carthaginians — indeed
Μάγωνος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελόντος ἀνεσταυρωκέναι τὸ σῶμα διὰ
Mago himself having-killed to-have-crucified the body because-of
τὴν στρατηγίαν ὀργισθέντας, αὐτοὺς δὲ συνάγειν μεγάλην
the generalship angered themselves and to-be-gathering great
δύναμιν ὡς ἔτους ὥρᾳ διαβησομένους εἰς Σικελίαν.
force as at-the-year's season going-to-cross to Sicily
Τῶν δὲ γραμμάτων τούτων παρὰ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος 23
the and letters these from — Timoleon
κομισθέντων, καὶ πρέσβεων ἅμα παρόντων Συρακουσίων
having-been-brought and envoys at-once being-present of-Syracusans
καὶ δεομένων ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ γενέσθαι πάλιν
and begging to-take-care of-the city and to-become again
ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς οἰκιστάς, οὐχ ἥρπασαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὴν
from the-beginning founders not snatched the Corinthians the
πλεονεξίαν, οὐδὲ προσεποίησαν αὑτοῖς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ
advantage nor appropriated for-themselves the city but
πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιόντες τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ
first indeed going-to the sacred games in — Greece and
τὰς μεγίστας τῶν πανηγύρεων ἀνηγόρευον ὑπὸ κηρύκων
the greatest of-the festivals they-proclaimed by heralds

ὅτι Κορίνθιοι καταλελυκότες τὴν ἐν Συρακούσαις τυραννίδα,
that Corinthians having-overthrown the in Syracuse tyranny
καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἐξεληλακότες, καλοῦσι Συρακουσίους
and the tyrant having-expelled invite Syracusans
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σικελιωτῶν τὸν βουλόμενον οἰκεῖν τὴν
and of-the other Sicilian-Greeks the-one wishing to-inhabit the
πόλιν ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους, ἐπ᾽ ἴσοις καὶ δικαίοις
city free and independent on equal and just-terms
τὴν χώραν διαλαχόντας· ἔπειτα διαπέμποντες ἀγγέλους εἰς
the land having-allotted then sending messengers to
τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὰς νήσους, ὅπου πλείστους ἐπυνθάνοντο
— Asia and the islands where most they-learned
τῶν φυγάδων διεσπαρμένους κατοικεῖν, παρεκάλουν ἰέναι
of-the exiles scattered to-be-living they-invited to-come
πάντας εἰς Κόρινθον, ὡς Κορινθίων ἀσφαλῆ πομπὴν καὶ
all to Corinth as Corinthians safe escort and
πλοῖα καὶ στρατηγοὺς παρεξόντων ἰδίοις τέλεσιν εἰς
boats and generals going-to-provide at-their-own expense to
Συρακούσας. κηρυσσομένων δὲ τούτων ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸν
Syracuse being-proclaimed and these-things the indeed city the
δικαιότατον καὶ κάλλιστον ἀπελάμβανεν ἔπαινον καὶ ζῆλον,
most-just and finest received praise and emulation
ἐλευθεροῦσα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων, σώζουσα δ᾽ ἀπὸ
freeing indeed from the tyrants saving and from
τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀποδιδοῦσα δὲ τοῖς πολίταις τὴν χώραν.
the barbarians restoring and to-the citizens the land
Οἱ δὲ συνελθόντες εἰς Κόρινθον οὐκ ὄντες ἱκανοὶ τὸ
those and having-gathered at Corinth not being sufficient in
πλῆθος ἐδεήθησαν ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος
number asked from Corinth and the other Greece
παραλαβεῖν συνοίκους· καὶ γενόμενοι μυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττους
to-take fellow-settlers and having-become ten-thousand not fewer

κατέπλευσαν εἰς Συρακούσας. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐξ
they-sailed to Syracuse already and also of-those from
Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας πολλοὶ τῷ Τιμολέοντι συνεληλύθεισαν·
Italy and Sicily many — with-Timoleon had-gathered
καὶ γενομένοις αὐτοῖς ἑξακισμυρίοις τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς Ἄθανις
and having-become to-them sixty-thousand the number as Athanis
εἴρηκε, τὴν μὲν χώραν διένειμε, τὰς δὲ οἰκίας ἀπέδοτο
has-said the indeed land he-distributed the and houses sold
χιλίων ταλάντων, ἅμα μὲν ὑπολειπόμενος τοῖς ἀρχαίοις
for-a-thousand talents at-once indeed leaving-it to-the original
Συρακουσίοις ἐξωνεῖσθαι τὰς αὑτῶν, ἅμα δὲ χρημάτων
Syracusans to-buy-back the their-own at-once and of-money
εὐπορίαν τῷ δήμῳ μηχανώμενος οὕτως πενομένῳ καὶ πρὸς
abundance for-the people contriving so being-poor both for
τἆλλα καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας
the-other-things and for the war so-that even the statues
ἀποδόσθαι, ψήφου διαφερομένης ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου καὶ γινομένης
to-sell a-vote being-taken about each and being-held
κατηγορίας, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπων εὐθύνας διδόντων· ὅτε δή
accusation as-if of-men accounts rendering when indeed
φασι τὸν Γέλωνος ἀνδριάντα τοῦ παλαιοῦ τυράννου
they-say the of-Gelon statue of-the ancient tyrant
διατηρῆσαι τοὺς Συρακουσίους, καταχειροτονουμένων τῶν
to-have-preserved the Syracusans being-condemned the
ἄλλων, ἀγαμένους καὶ τιμῶντας τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς νίκης
others admiring and honoring the man for-the victory
ἣν πρὸς Ἱμέρᾳ Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκησεν.
which at Himera over-Carthaginians he-won

Timoleon frees the other cities, forcing Hicetas to live privately at Leontini and sending Leptines to Corinth, then returns to Syracuse to settle its laws with Cephalus and Dionysius, while Deinarchus and Demaretus raid Carthaginian territory. The Carthaginians land at Lilybaeum with seventy thousand men; a thousand of Timoleon's mercenaries turn back. Mules laden with celery, used to crown the dead, alarm the soldiers, but Timoleon makes it the Isthmian victor's crown, and eagles appear. At the Crimesus, in a lifting mist, he sends Demaretus' cavalry against the Carthaginians as they cross, then leads the infantry himself.

24 Οὕτω δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀναζωπυρούσης καὶ πληρουμένης,
thus and the city rekindling and filling
ἐπιρρεόντων πανταχόθεν εἰς αὐτὴν τῶν πολιτῶν,
streaming-in from-all-sides into it the citizens
βουλόμενος ὁ Τιμολέων καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐλευθερῶσαι
wishing — Timoleon also the other cities to-free
καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκκόψαι τῆς Σικελίας τὰς τυραννίδας,
and altogether to-cut-out — of-Sicily the tyrannies
ἐπὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν στρατεύων Ἱκέτην μὲν ἠνάγκασεν
against the lands of-them campaigning Hicetas indeed he-compelled
ἀποστάντα Καρχηδονίων ὁμολογῆσαι τὰς ἀκροπόλεις
having-revolted-from Carthaginians to-agree the citadels
κατασκάψειν καὶ βιοτεύσειν ἰδιώτην ἐν Λεοντίνοις,
to-raze and to-live a-private-man in Leontini
Λεπτίνου δὲ τοῦ τυραννοῦντος Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ συχνῶν
of-Leptines and the tyrant of-Apollonia and of-many
ἄλλων πολιχνίων, ὡς ἐκινδύνευε κατὰ κράτος ἁλῶναι,
other small-towns when he-was-in-danger by force to-be-captured
παραδόντος αὑτὸν φεισάμενος εἰς Κόρινθον ἀπέστειλε,
having-surrendered himself having-spared to Corinth he-sent-off
καλὸν ἡγούμενος ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τοὺς τῆς Σικελίας
fine thinking-it in the mother-city the — of-Sicily

τυράννους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποθεωρεῖσθαι φυγαδικῶς
tyrants by the Greeks to-be-gazed-at in-exile's-fashion
καὶ ταπεινῶς ζῶντας. τοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους βουλόμενος ἐκ
and humbly living the and mercenaries wishing from
τῆς πολεμίας ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ σχολάζειν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς
the enemy's-land to-be-benefited and not to-be-idle himself indeed to
τὰς Συρακούσας ἐπανῆλθε τῇ καταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας
— Syracuse returned to-the settlement of-the constitution
προσέξων καὶ τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἐκ Κορίνθου νομοθέταις
going-to-attend and with-the having-come from Corinth lawgivers
Κεφάλῳ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα
Cephalus and Dionysius the most-important and finest
συνδιαθήσων, τοὺς δὲ περὶ Δείναρχον καὶ Δημάρετον εἰς
going-to-arrange-together those and about Deinarchus and Demaretus into
τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπικράτειαν, οἳ πόλεις
the of-the Carthaginians sent-out dominion who cities
πολλὰς ἀφιστάντες τῶν βαρβάρων οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ
many detaching from-the barbarians not only themselves
διῆγον ἐν ἀφθόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα παρεσκεύαζον εἰς
passed-time in abundance but also money provided for
τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῶν ἁλισκομένων.
the war from the being-captured
Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι καταπλέουσιν εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον 25
in this and Carthaginians sail-in to — Lilybaeum
ἄγοντες ἑπτὰ μυριάδας στρατοῦ καὶ τριήρεις διακοσίας
bringing seven myriads of-army and triremes two-hundred
καὶ πλοῖα χίλια κομίζοντα μηχανὰς καὶ τέθριππα
and vessels a-thousand carrying engines and four-horse-chariots
καὶ σῖτον ἄφθονον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευήν, ὡς οὐκ
and grain abundant and the other equipment as not
ἔτι ποιησόμενοι κατὰ μέρος τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ
any-longer going-to-make by part the war but at-once

πάσης Σικελίας ἐξελάσοντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ἦν γὰρ ἡ
from-all Sicily going-to-drive-out the Greeks was for the
δύναμις ἐξαρκοῦσα καὶ μὴ νοσοῦντας μηδὲ διεφθαρμένους
force sufficient even not ailing nor ruined
ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων συλλαβέσθαι Σικελιώτας. πυθόμενοι δὲ
by one-another to-seize Sicilian-Greeks having-learned and
πορθεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπικράτειαν αὑτῶν, εὐθὺς ὀργῇ πρὸς
to-be-ravaged the dominion of-them at-once in-anger against
τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐχώρουν Ἀσδρούβα τε καὶ Ἀμίλκα
the Corinthians went Hasdrubal both and Hamilcar
στρατηγούντων. τῆς δὲ ἀγγελίας ὀξέως εἰς Συρακούσας
being-generals the and news swiftly to Syracuse
ἀφικομένης οὕτω κατεπλάγησαν οἱ Συρακούσιοι πρὸς
having-arrived so were-struck-with-terror the Syracusans at
τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως ὥστε μόλις τῷ Τιμολέοντι
the greatness of-the force so-that scarcely — with-Timoleon
τρισχιλίους ἀπὸ τοσούτων μυριάδων ὅπλα λαβόντας
three-thousand from so-many myriads arms having-taken
τολμῆσαι συνεξελθεῖν. οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τετρακισχίλιοι
to-dare to-go-out-with the and mercenaries four-thousand
τὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν· καὶ τούτων αὖθις ὅσον χίλιοι καθ᾽
the number were and of-these again about a-thousand along
ὁδὸν ἀποδειλιάσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, ὡς οὐχ ὑγιαίνοντος
road having-turned-coward went-back as not being-sane
τοῦ Τιμολέοντος, ἀλλὰ μαινομένου παρ᾽ ἡλικίαν καὶ πρὸς
— Timoleon but being-mad beyond his-age and against
ἑπτὰ μυριάδας πολεμίων μετὰ πεντακισχιλίων πεζῶν καὶ
seven myriads of-enemies with five-thousand foot and
χιλίων ἱππέων βαδίζοντος, καὶ διαρτῶντος ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν
a-thousand horsemen marching and separating a-road of-days
ὀκτὼ τὴν δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῶν Συρακουσῶν, ὅθεν οὔτε
eight the force from — Syracuse whence neither

σωθῆναι τοῖς φεύγουσιν οὔτε ταφῆναι τοῖς πεσοῦσιν
to-be-saved for-those fleeing nor to-be-buried for-those fallen
αὐτῶν ὑπάρξει. τούτους μὲν οὖν Τιμολέων κέρδος ἡγεῖτο
of-them will-be-possible these indeed then Timoleon gain thought-it
πρὸ τῆς μάχης φανεροὺς γεγονότας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους
before the battle manifest having-become the and others
ἐπιρρώσας κατὰ τάχος ἦγε πρὸς τὸν Κρίμησον ποταμόν,
having-strengthened with speed led toward the Crimesus river
ὅπου καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἤκουσε συνάπτειν.
where also the Carthaginians he-heard to-be-joining
Ἀναβαίνοντι δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς λόφον, ὃν ὑπερβαλόντες 26
ascending and to-him toward a-hill which having-crossed
ἔμελλον κατόψεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν
they-were-about to-look-down-on the army and the force of-the
πολεμίων, ἐμβάλλουσιν ἡμίονοι σέλινα κομίζοντες· καὶ τοῖς
enemies fall-in-with mules celery carrying and to-the
στρατιώταις εἰσῆλθε πονηρὸν εἶναι τὸ σημεῖον, ὅτι τὰ
soldiers it-entered bad to-be the sign because the
μνήματα τῶν νεκρῶν εἰώθαμεν ἐπιεικῶς στεφανοῦν σελίνοις·
tombs of-the dead we-are-wont commonly to-crown with-celery
καὶ παροιμία τις ἐκ τούτου γέγονε, τὸν ἐπισφαλῶς
and proverb some from this has-arisen the dangerously
νοσοῦντα δεῖσθαι σελίνου. βουλόμενος οὖν αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάξαι
ailing-one to-need celery wishing then them to-free
τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ τὴν δυσελπιστείαν ἀφελεῖν ὁ
from-the superstition and the despondency to-take-away —
Τιμολέων, ἐπιστήσας τὴν πορείαν ἄλλα τε πρέποντα
Timoleon having-halted the march other-things both fitting
τῷ καιρῷ διελέχθη, καὶ τὸν στέφανον αὐτοῖς ἔφη πρὸ
to-the occasion discoursed and the crown to-them he-said before
τῆς νίκης κομιζόμενον αὐτομάτως εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἥκειν,
the victory being-brought of-its-own-accord into the hands to-come

ᾧ Κορίνθιοι στεφανοῦσι τοὺς Ἴσθμια νικῶντας, ἱερὸν
with-which Corinthians crown the Isthmian victors sacred
καὶ πάτριον τὸ στέμμα τοῦ σελίνου νομίζοντες. ἔτι γὰρ
and ancestral the wreath of-the celery thinking still for
τότε τῶν Ἰσθμίων, ὥσπερ νῦν τῶν Νεμείων, τὸ σέλινον
then of-the Isthmian-games as now of-the Nemean-games the celery
ἦν στέφανος, οὐ πάλαι δὲ ἡ πίτυς γέγονεν. ἐντυχὼν οὖν
was crown not long-ago but the pine has-become having-addressed then
ὁ Τιμολέων, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ λαβὼν
— Timoleon as has-been-said the soldiers and having-taken
τῶν σελίνων κατεστέψατο πρῶτος αὐτός, εἶτα οἱ περὶ
of-the celery crowned-himself first himself then those about
αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνες καὶ τὸ πλῆθος. οἱ δὲ μάντεις κατιδόντες
him leaders and the multitude the and seers having-observed
ἀετοὺς δύο προσφερομένους, ὧν ὁ μὲν δράκοντα τοῖς
eagles two bearing-down of-which the one a-serpent with-the
ὄνυξιν ἔφερε διαπεπαρμένον, ὁ δὲ ἵπτατο κεκλαγὼς
talons was-carrying pierced-through the other flew screaming
μέγα καὶ θαρραλέον, ἐπεδείκνυον τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ
loudly and cheerfully pointed-out to-the soldiers and
πρὸς εὐχὰς θεῶν καὶ ἀνακλήσεις ἐτράποντο πάντες.
to prayers of-gods and invocations turned all

27 Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔτος ἰσταμένου θέρους εἶχεν ὥραν, καὶ λήγοντι
the indeed then year of-beginning summer had season and at-ending
μηνὶ Θαργηλιῶνι πρὸς τὰς τροπὰς ἤδη συνῆπτε τὸν καιρόν·
month Thargelion toward the solstice already joined the time
ὁμίχλην δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πολλὴν ἀναδιδόντος πρῶτον μὲν
mist and the river much sending-up first indeed
ἀπεκρύπτετο ζόφῳ τὸ πεδίον, καὶ σύνοπτον οὐδὲν ἦν ἀπὸ
was-hidden in-gloom the plain and visible nothing was from
τῶν πολεμίων, πλὴν ἠχή τις ἄκριτος καὶ συμμιγὴς ἄνω
the enemies except an-echo some indistinct and mingled up

πρὸς τὸν λόφον ἐχώρει πρόσωθεν ἀνισταμένης στρατιᾶς
to the hill went from-afar rising of-an-army
τοσαύτης. ὡς δ' ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔστησαν οἱ
so-great when and having-gone-up on the hill halted the
Κορίνθιοι καὶ θέμενοι τὰς ἀσπίδας διανεπαύοντο, τοῦ
Corinthians and having-laid-down the shields were-resting the
ἡλίου περιφερομένου καὶ μετεωρίζοντος τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν,
sun turning and lifting the vapor
ὁ μὲν θολερὸς ἀὴρ ἀθροιζόμενος πρὸς τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ
the indeed turbid air gathering toward the heights and
συνιστάμενος κατενέφωσε τὰς ἀκρωρείας, τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ
condensing clouded-over the summits of-the and under
πόδας τόπων ἀνακαθαιρομένων ὅ τε Κρίμησος ἐξεφάνη καὶ
foot places clearing the both Crimesus appeared and
διαβαίνοντες αὐτὸν ὤφθησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, πρώτοις μὲν τοῖς
crossing it were-seen the enemies first indeed with-the
τεθρίπποις ἐκπληκτικῶς πρὸς ἀγῶνα κατεσκευασμένοις,
four-horse-chariots terrifyingly for contest equipped
κατόπιν δὲ τούτων μυρίοις ὁπλίταις λευκάσπισι.
behind and these with-ten-thousand hoplites white-shielded
τούτους ἐτεκμαίροντο Καρχηδονίους εἶναι τῇ λαμπρότητι
these they-judged Carthaginians to-be by-the brilliance
τῆς σκευῆς καὶ τῇ βραδυτῆτι καὶ τάξει τῆς πορείας. μετὰ
of-the equipment and by-the slowness and order of-the march after
δὲ τούτους τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιρρεόντων καὶ τὴν διάβασιν
and these the remaining peoples streaming-on and the crossing
μετ' ὠθισμοῦ καὶ ταραχῆς ποιουμένων, συνιδὼν ὁ
with jostling and confusion making having-perceived —
Τιμολέων τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτοῖς ταμιεύοντα τοῦ πλήθους τῶν
Timoleon the river for-them parceling-out of-the multitude of-the
πολεμίων ἀπολαβεῖν ὅσοις ἐθέλοιεν αὐτοὶ μάχεσθαι,
enemies to-cut-off as-many-as they-might-wish themselves to-fight

καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καθορᾶν κελεύσας τὴν φάλαγγα τῷ
and the soldiers to-look-down having-bidden the phalanx by-the
ῥείθρῳ διαλελυμένην καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἤδη διαβεβηκότας,
stream broken and the ones already having-crossed
τοὺς δὲ μέλλοντας, προσέταξε Δημαρέτῳ λαβόντι τοὺς
the others about-to ordered to-Demaretus having-taken the
ἱππεῖς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καὶ συνταράξαι
horsemen to-charge into the Carthaginians and to-throw-into-confusion
τὸν διάκοσμον αὐτῶν τῆς παρατάξεως οὔπω καθεστώσης.
the arrangement of-them of-the battle-line not-yet settled
αὐτὸς δὲ καταβὰς εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὰ μὲν κέρατα τοῖς
himself and having-gone-down into the plain the indeed wings to-the
ἄλλοις Σικελιώταις ἀπέδωκεν, ἀναμίξας ἑκατέρῳ τῶν
other Sicilian-Greeks gave having-mixed-in with-each of-the
ξένων οὐ πολλούς, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ περὶ αὑτὸν λαβὼν
mercenaries not many in middle and around himself having-taken
τοὺς Συρακουσίους καὶ τὸ μαχιμώτατον τῶν μισθοφόρων
the Syracusans and the most-warlike of-the mercenaries
βραχὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐπέσχε τὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἀποθεωρῶν
short indeed time held-back the of-the horsemen watching
ἔργον, ὡς δὲ ἐκείνους εἶδεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρμάτων πρὸ τῆς
work when and them he-saw by the chariots before the
τάξεως διαθεόντων εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις οὐ
line running-about to hands to-come with-the Carthaginians not
δυναμένους, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ συνταραχθεῖεν ἀναγκαζομένους
able but that not they-be-confused being-compelled
ἐξελίττειν συνεχῶς καὶ πυκνὰς ἐξ ἐπιστροφῆς ποιεῖσθαι
to-wheel continually and frequent from turning to-make
τὰς ἐπελάσεις, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ βοήσας ἕπεσθαι
the charges having-taken-up the shield and having-shouted to-follow
καὶ θαρρεῖν τοῖς πεζοῖς ἔδοξεν ὑπερφυεῖ φωνῇ καὶ
and to-take-courage to-the foot-soldiers he-seemed with-a-prodigious voice and

μείζονι κεχρῆσθαι τῆς συνήθους, εἴτε τῷ πάθει παρὰ
greater to-have-used than-the usual whether by-the passion in
τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὸν ἐνθουσιασμὸν οὕτω διατεινάμενος,
the contest and the enthusiasm so having-strained
εἴτε δαιμονίου τινός, ὡς τοῖς πολλοῖς τότε παρέστη,
or divine some as to-the many then it-occurred
συνεπιφθεγξαμένου. ταχὺ δὲ τὴν κραυγὴν ἀνταποδόντων,
joining-in-the-cry quickly and the shout having-returned
καὶ παρεγγυώντων ἄγειν καὶ μὴ μέλλειν, τοῖς μὲν ἱππόταις
and calling-on to-lead and not to-delay to-the indeed horsemen
ἐσήμανεν ἔξω παρὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἁρμάτων παρελάσαι καὶ
he-signaled outside along the line of-the chariots to-ride-past and
κατὰ κέρας προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς
on flank to-attack the enemies himself and the
προμάχους πυκνώσας τῷ συνασπισμῷ, καὶ τὴν σάλπιγγα
front-fighters having-closed with-the locking-of-shields and the trumpet
κελεύσας ἐπιφθέγξασθαι, προσέβαλε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις.
having-bidden to-sound attacked the Carthaginians

VIII · VICTORY, SPOILS, AND TREACHERY

A storm of thunder, rain, and hail beats in the barbarians' faces; the Crimesus floods, and ten thousand fall, three thousand of them Carthaginians. The finest arms go to Corinth with an inscription, and the deserters die in Italy at the Bruttians' hands. Hicetas and Mamercus call in Gisco; the mercenaries they kill had once robbed Delphi, so Timoleon's fortune stays unstained. Mamercus boasts in an insolent elegy. At the Damurias the officers draw lots by rings; the first shows a trophy, and they rout Hicetas.

28 Οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἐπιδρομὴν ὑπέστησαν ἐρρωμένως,
they and the indeed first onset withstood stoutly
καὶ τῷ καταπεφράχθαι τὰ σώματα σιδηροῖς θώραξι
and by-the to-have-been-fenced the bodies with-iron breastplates
καὶ χαλκοῖς κράνεσιν ἀσπίδας τε μεγάλας προβεβλῆσθαι
and bronze helmets shields and great to-have-held-before
διεκρούοντο τὸν δορατισμόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς ξίφη συνῆλθεν
they-beat-off the spear-fighting when and into swords came
ὁ ἀγὼν καὶ τέχνης οὐχ ἧττον ἢ ῥώμης ἐγεγόνει τὸ
the contest and of-skill not less than of-strength had-become the
ἔργον, ἐξαίφνης ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν βρονταί τε φοβεραὶ
work suddenly from the mountains thunders both fearful
κατερρήγνυντο καὶ πυρώδεις ἀστραπαὶ συνεξέπιπτον. εἶτα ὁ
broke-forth and fiery lightnings fell-with-them then the
περὶ τοὺς λόφους καὶ τὰς ἀκρωρείας ζόφος ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην
about the hills and the summits gloom upon the battle
κατιών, ὄμβρῳ καὶ πνεύματι καὶ χαλάζῃ συμμεμιγμένος,
coming-down with-rain and wind and hail mingled
τοῖς μὲν Ἕλλησιν ἐξόπισθεν καὶ κατὰ νώτου περιεχεῖτο,
on-the indeed Greeks from-behind and on back poured-around
τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἔτυπτε τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ κατήστραπτε
of-the but barbarians struck the faces and dazzled-with-lightning
τὰς ὄψεις, ἅμα λαίλαπος ὑγρᾶς καὶ φλογὸς συνεχοῦς
the eyes at-once of-a-squall wet and of-flame continuous
ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν φερομένης. ἐν οἷς πολλὰ μὲν ἦν
from the clouds being-borne in which-things many indeed were
τὰ λυποῦντα, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀπείρους, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ
the things-distressing and most the inexperienced not least and
βλάψαι δοκοῦσιν αἱ βρονταὶ καὶ τῶν ὅπλων ὁ πάταγος
to-have-harmed seem the thunders and of-the arms the clatter
κοπτομένων ὕδατι ῥαγδαίῳ καὶ χαλάζῃ, κωλύων ἀκούεσθαι
being-beaten by-water violent and by-hail preventing to-be-heard

τὰ προστάγματα τῶν ἡγεμόνων. τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίοις
the commands of-the leaders to-the and Carthaginians
οὐκ οὖσιν εὐζώνοις τὸν ὁπλισμόν, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ εἴρηται,
not being light-girt the armor but as has-been-said
καταπεφραγμένοις, ὅ τε πηλὸς ἐμπόδιος ἦν οἵ τε κόλποι
fenced-in the both mud hindering was the and folds
πληρούμενοι τῶν χιτώνων ὕδατος, ὥσθ' αὑτοῖς μὲν εἰς
being-filled of-the tunics with-water so-that themselves indeed in
τὸν ἀγῶνα χρῆσθαι βαρεῖς ἦσαν καὶ δύσεργοι, ῥᾴδιοι
the contest to-use heavy they-were and hard-to-work easy
δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι περιτρέπεσθαι, καὶ πεσόντες ἀμήχανοι
and for-the Greeks to-be-turned-over and having-fallen helpless
πάλιν ἐκ πηλοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀναστῆναι. καὶ γὰρ
again from mud with the arms to-stand-up and for
ὁ Κρίμησος ὑπὸ τῶν διαβαινόντων ἐκλύσθη μέγας ἤδη
the Crimesus by those crossing overflowed great already
τοῖς ὄμβροις ηὐξημένος, καὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ
by-the rains swollen and the plain the about it under
πολλὰς συναγκείας καὶ φάραγγας ὑποκείμενον ἐπίμπλατο
many ravines and gullies lying was-filled
ῥευμάτων οὐ κατὰ πόρον φερομένων, οἷς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι
with-streams not along a-channel being-borne in-which the Carthaginians
καλινδούμενοι χαλεπῶς ἀπήλλαττον. τέλος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος
wallowing with-difficulty got-away at-last and the storm
ἐπικειμένου, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν πρώτην τάξιν αὐτῶν,
pressing-on and the Greeks the first line of-them
ἄνδρας τετρακοσίους, καταβαλόντων, ἐτράπη τὸ πλῆθος
men four-hundred having-struck-down was-turned the multitude
εἰς φυγήν. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καταλαμβανόμενοι
to flight and many indeed in the plain being-overtaken
διεφθείροντο, πολλοὺς δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοῖς ἔτι
were-destroyed many and the river into-those still

περαιουμένοις συμπίπτοντας ἐμβάλλων καὶ παραφέρων
crossing falling-in-with hurling and sweeping-along
ἀπώλλυε, πλείστους δὲ τῶν λόφων ἐφιεμένους ἐπιθέοντες
destroyed most and the hills making-for running-on-them
οἱ ψιλοὶ κατειργάσαντο. λέγονται γοῦν ἐν μυρίοις
the light-armed finished-off are-said at-least among ten-thousand
νεκροῖς τρισχίλιοι Καρχηδονίων γενέσθαι, μέγα τῇ πόλει
dead three-thousand of-Carthaginians to-have-been great to-the city
πένθος. οὔτε γὰρ γένεσιν οὔτε πλούτοις οὔτε δόξαις ἕτεροι
grief neither for in-birth nor in-wealth nor in-reputation others
βελτίονες ἦσαν ἐκείνων, οὔτ' ἀποθανόντας ποτὲ μιᾷ μάχῃ
better were than-those nor having-died ever in-one battle
πρότερον ἐξ αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων τοσούτους μνημονεύουσιν,
before from themselves Carthaginians so-many they-record
ἀλλὰ Λίβυσι τὰ πολλὰ καὶ Ἴβηρσι καὶ Νομάσι χρώμενοι
but Libyans the most and Iberians and Numidians using
πρὸς τὰς μάχας ἀλλοτρίαις βλάβαις ἀνεδέχοντο τὰς ἥττας.
for the battles with-foreign harms they-took-on the defeats
29 Ἐγνώσθη δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἡ δόξα τῶν πεσόντων ἀπὸ
was-made-known and to-the Greeks the repute of-the fallen from
τῶν λαφύρων. ἐλάχιστος γὰρ ἦν χαλκῶν καὶ σιδηρῶν
the spoils least for was of-bronze and of-iron
τοῖς σκυλεύουσι λόγος· οὕτως ἄφθονος μὲν ἦν ἄργυρος,
to-those stripping account so abundant indeed was silver
ἄφθονος δὲ χρυσός. καὶ γὰρ τὸ στρατόπεδον μετὰ τῶν
abundant and gold and for the camp with the
ὑποζυγίων διαβάντες ἔλαβον. τῶν δ' αἰχμαλώτων οἱ
beasts-of-burden having-crossed they-took of-the and captives the
μὲν πολλοὶ διεκλάπησαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, εἰς δὲ
indeed many were-stolen-away by the soldiers into and
κοινὸν ἀπεδείχθησαν πεντακισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος· ἥλω
common were-declared five-thousand the number were-taken

δὲ καὶ διακόσια τῶν τεθρίππων. καλλίστην δὲ καὶ
and also two-hundred of-the four-horse-chariots most-beautiful and and
μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην ὄψιν ἡ Τιμολέοντος ἐπεδείκνυτο σκηνὴ
most-magnificent sight the of-Timoleon displayed tent
περισωρευθεῖσα παντοδαποῖς λαφύροις, ἐν οἷς χίλιοι
heaped-around with-all-kinds-of spoils among which a-thousand
μὲν θώρακες ἐργασίᾳ καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντες, μύριαι
indeed breastplates in-workmanship and beauty excelling ten-thousand
δὲ ἀσπίδες προετέθησαν. ὀλίγοι δὲ πολλοὺς σκυλεύοντες
and shields were-set-out few and many stripping
καὶ μεγάλαις ἐντυγχάνοντες ὠφελείαις τρίτῃ μόλις
and great meeting-with gains on-the-third scarcely
ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔστησαν τρόπαιον.
day after the battle set-up a-trophy
Ἅμα δὲ τῇ φήμῃ τῆς νίκης ὁ Τιμολέων εἰς
at-the-same-time and with-the report of-the victory — Timoleon to
Κόρινθον ἔπεμψε τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅπλων,
Corinth sent the finest of-the captured arms
βουλόμενος αὑτοῦ τὴν πατρίδα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ζηλωτὴν
wishing his the fatherland to-all men enviable
εἶναι, θεωμένοις ἐν ἐκείνῃ μόνῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πόλεων
to-be beholding in it alone of-the Greek cities
τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ναοὺς οὐχ Ἑλληνικοῖς κεκοσμημένους
the most-conspicuous temples not with-Greek adorned
λαφύροις οὐδ' ἀπὸ συγγενῶν φόνου καὶ ὁμοφύλων
spoils nor from kinsmen's slaughter and fellow-tribesmen's
ἀναθημάτων μνήμας ἀτερπεῖς ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ βαρβαρικὰ
offerings memorials joyless having but barbarian
σκῦλα καλλίσταις ἐπιγραφαῖς δηλοῦντα μετὰ τῆς ἀνδρείας
spoils with-finest inscriptions showing with the courage
τῶν νενικηκότων τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὅτι Κορίνθιοι καὶ
of-the victors the justice that Corinthians and

Τιμολέων ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐλευθερώσαντες τοὺς Σικελίαν
Timoleon the general having-freed the Sicily
οἰκοῦντας Ἕλληνας ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων χαριστήρια θεοῖς
inhabiting Greeks from Carthaginians thank-offerings to-the-gods
ἀνέθηκαν.
dedicated
Ἐκ τούτου καταλιπὼν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τοὺς μισθοφόρους
from this having-left in the enemy's-land the mercenaries
ἄγοντας καὶ φέροντας τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπικράτειαν,
plundering and pillaging the of-the Carthaginians dominion
αὐτὸς ἦκεν εἰς Συρακούσας· καὶ τοὺς χιλίους μισθοφόρους
himself came to Syracuse and the thousand mercenaries
ἐκείνους, ὑφ' ὧν ἐγκατελείφθη πρὸ τῆς μάχης, ἐξεκήρυξε
those by whom he-had-been-deserted before the battle he-banished
τῆς Σικελίας, καὶ πρὶν ἢ δῦναι τὸν ἥλιον ἠνάγκασεν
— from-Sicily and before than to-set the sun compelled-them
ἐκ Συρακουσῶν ἀπελθεῖν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν διαπλεύσαντες
from Syracuse to-depart these indeed then having-sailed-across
εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπώλοντο παρασπονδηθέντες ὑπὸ Βρεττίων,
to Italy perished treacherously-attacked by Bruttians
καὶ δίκην ταύτην τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς τῆς προδοσίας
and penalty this the divine-power on-them for-the treachery
ἐπέθηκε. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Μάμερκον, τὸν Κατάνης
laid of-the and about — Mamercus the of-Catana
τύραννον, καὶ Ἱκέτην, εἴτε φθόνῳ τῶν κατορθουμένων
tyrant and Hicetas whether from-envy of-the successes
ὑπὸ Τιμολέοντος, εἴτε φοβουμένων αὐτὸν ὡς ἄπιστον καὶ
by Timoleon or fearing him as faithless and
ἄσπονδον πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους, συμμαχίαν ποιησαμένων
implacable toward the tyrants alliance having-made
πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καὶ κελευσάντων πέμπειν
with the Carthaginians and having-bidden-them to-send

δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγόν, εἰ μὴ παντάπασι βούλονται
a-force and a-general if not altogether they-wish
Σικελίας ἐκπεσεῖν, ἔπλευσε Γέσκων ναῦς μὲν ἔχων
from-Sicily to-be-driven-out sailed Gisco ships indeed having
ἑβδομήκοντα, μισθοφόρους δὲ προσλαβὼν Ἕλληνας,
seventy mercenaries and having-taken-in-addition Greeks
οὔπω πρότερον Ἕλλησι χρησαμένων Καρχηδονίων, ἀλλὰ
not-yet before Greeks having-used Carthaginians but
τότε θαυμασάντων ὡς ἀνυποστάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους
then having-admired-them as irresistible and most-warlike
ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων. συστάντες δὲ κοινῇ μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων
of-men all having-combined and in-common with one-another
ἅπαντες ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ τετρακοσίους τῶν παρὰ
all in — Messenia four-hundred of-the from
Τιμολέοντος ξένων ἐπικούρους πεμφθέντας ἀπέκτειναν,
Timoleon mercenaries as-auxiliaries sent killed
ἐν δὲ τῇ Καρχηδονίων ἐπικρατείᾳ περὶ τὰς καλουμένας
in and the of-Carthaginians dominion about the so-called
Ἰετὰς ἐνεδρεύσαντες τοὺς μετ᾽ Εὐθύμου τοῦ Λευκαδίου
Ietae having-laid-an-ambush the with Euthymus the Leucadian
μισθοφόρους διέφθειραν. ἐξ ὧν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν
mercenaries they-destroyed from which-things also most-of-all the
Τιμολέοντος εὐτυχίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι διώνυμον. ἦσαν
of-Timoleon good-fortune happened to-become famous were
μὲν γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν μετὰ Φιλομήλου τοῦ Φωκέως καὶ
indeed for these of-those with Philomelus the Phocian and
Ὀνομάρχου Δελφοὺς καταλαβόντων καὶ μετασχόντων
Onomarchus Delphi having-seized and having-shared
ἐκείνοις τῆς ἱεροσυλίας. μισούντων δὲ πάντων αὐτοὺς
with-them the sacrilege hating and all them
καὶ φυλαττομένων ἐπαράτους γεγονότας, πλανώμενοι περὶ
and guarding-against-them accursed having-become wandering about

τὴν Πελοπόννησον ὑπὸ Τιμολέοντος ἐλήφθησαν ἑτέρων
— *Peloponnese by Timoleon they-were-taken other*
στρατιωτῶν οὐκ εὐποροῦντος. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ εἰς Σικελίαν
soldiers not being-well-supplied having-arrived and into Sicily
ὅσας μὲν ἐκείνῳ συνηγωνίσαντο μάχας πάσας ἐνίκων,
as-many-as indeed with-him they-fought-together battles all they-won
τῶν δὲ πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων ἀγώνων τέλος ἐχόντων
of-the and most and greatest contests an-end having
ἐκπεμπόμενοι πρὸς ἑτέρας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ βοηθείας ἀπώλοντο
being-sent-out to other by him reliefs they-perished
καὶ καταναλώθησαν, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πάντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρος,
and were-used-up not at-once all but by part
τῆς Δίκης αὐτοῖς ἀπολογουμένης τῇ Τιμολέοντος εὐτυχίᾳ
the justice to-them making-defense to-the of-Timoleon good-fortune
ἐπιτιθεμένης ὅπως μηδεμία τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν κακῶν
being-added so-that no to-the good from the of-the bad
κολάσεως βλάβη γένηται. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρὸς Τιμολέοντα
punishment harm might-come the indeed then toward Timoleon
τῶν θεῶν εὐμένειαν οὐχ ἧττον ἐν αἷς προσέκρουσε
of-the gods goodwill not less in what he-stumbled
πράξεσιν ἢ περὶ ἃς κατώρθου θαυμάζεσθαι συνέβαινεν.
actions than about what he-succeeded to-be-admired it-came-about

31 Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐχαλέπαινον ὑπὸ τῶν
the and many of-the Syracusans were-indignant by the
τυράννων προπηλακιζόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μάμερκος ἐπὶ
tyrants being-insulted and for — Mamercus on
τῷ ποιήματα γράφειν καὶ τραγῳδίας μέγα φρονῶν
the poems to-write and tragedies greatly priding-himself

ἐκόμπαζε νικήσας τοὺς μισθοφόρους, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας
boasted having-conquered the mercenaries and the shields
ἀναθεὶς τοῖς θεοῖς ἐλεγεῖον ὑβριστικὸν ἐπέγραψε·
having-dedicated to-the gods an-elegiac-verse insolent inscribed

Τάσδ' ὀστρειογραφεῖς καὶ χρυσελεφαντηλέκτρους
these purple-painted and gold-ivory-amber-wrought
ἀσπίδας ἀσπιδίοις εἵλομεν εὐτελέσι.
shields with-little-shields we-took cheap

γενομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος εἰς Καλαυρίαν
having-happened and these and — Timoleon to Calauria
στρατεύσαντος, ὁ Ἱκέτης ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Συρακουσίαν
having-campaigned — Hicetas having-invaded into the Syracusan-territory
λείαν τε συχνὴν ἔλαβε καὶ πολλὰ λυμηνάμενος καὶ
booty both much took and much having-ravaged and
καθυβρίσας ἀπηλλάττετο παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν Καλαυρίαν,
having-outraged was-departing by itself — Calauria
καταφρονῶν τοῦ Τιμολέοντος ὀλίγους στρατιώτας ἔχοντος.
despising — Timoleon few soldiers having
ἐκεῖνος δὲ προλαβεῖν ἐάσας ἐδίωκεν ἱππεῖς ἔχων καὶ
he but to-get-ahead having-let pursued horsemen having and
ψιλούς. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἱκέτης τὸν Δαμυρίαν διαβεβηκὼς
light-armed having-perceived and — Hicetas the Damurias having-crossed
ὑπέστη παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀμυνούμενος· καὶ
made-a-stand along the river as going-to-defend-himself and
γὰρ αὐτῷ θάρσος ἥ τε τοῦ πόρου χαλεπότης καὶ τὸ
for to-him confidence the both of-the ford difficulty and the
κρημνῶδες τῆς ἑκατέρωθεν ὄχθης παρεῖχε. τοῖς δὲ μετὰ
steepness of-the on-both-sides bank provided to-the and with
τοῦ Τιμολέοντος ἰλάρχαις ἔρις ἐμπεσοῦσα θαυμαστὴ καὶ
— Timoleon squadron-leaders strife having-fallen-upon wondrous and

φιλονεικία διατριβὴν ἐποίει τῆς μάχης. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν ὁ
rivalry delay made of-the battle no-one for was the-one
βουλόμενος ἑτέρου διαβαίνειν ὕστερος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,
wishing than-another to-cross later against the enemies
ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἠξίου πρωταγωνιστεῖν, καὶ κόσμον
but himself each claimed to-fight-first and order
οὐκ εἶχεν ἡ διάβασις ἐξωθούντων καὶ παρατρεχόντων
not had the crossing pushing-out and running-past
ἀλλήλους. βουλόμενος οὖν ὁ Τιμολέων κληρῶσαι τοὺς
one-another wishing then — Timoleon to-choose-by-lot the
ἡγεμόνας ἔλαβε παρ᾽ ἑκάστου δακτύλιον· ἐμβαλὼν δὲ
leaders took from each a-ring having-thrown and
πάντας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χλαμύδα καὶ μίξας ἔδειξε
all into the his-own cloak and having-mixed showed
τὸν πρῶτον κατὰ τύχην γλυφὴν ἔχοντα τῆς σφραγῖδος
the first by chance an-engraving having of-the seal
τρόπαιον. ὡς δὲ τοῦτον εἶδον οἱ νεανίσκοι, μετὰ χαρᾶς
a-trophy when and this saw the young-men with joy
ἀνακραγόντες οὐκ ἔτι τὸν ἄλλον ὑπέμειναν κλῆρον,
having-shouted-out not any-longer the other awaited lot
ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἕκαστος τάχους εἶχε τὸν ποταμὸν διεξελάσαντες
but as each of-speed had the river having-driven-through
ἐν χερσὶν ἦσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τὴν
in hands they-were with-the enemies they but not received the
βίαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ φεύγοντες τῶν μὲν ὅπλων ἅπαντες
violence of-them but fleeing of-the indeed arms all
ὁμαλῶς ἐστερήθησαν, χιλίους δὲ ἀπέβαλον πεσόντας.
alike were-deprived a-thousand and they-lost fallen

Hicetas and his son are executed; Euthymus dies for a jibe about the Corinthians. The Syracusans try and kill the wives and daughters of Hicetas' family, a deed Timoleon is blamed for permitting. Mamercus is defeated at the Abolus, and Carthage makes peace, keeping the land within the Lycus. Hippo of Messene is tortured in the theater, and Mamercus, failing to address the Syracusans, dashes his head against a bench and is executed. Acragas and Gela are resettled, and Timoleon is loved as their founder.

Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον εἰς τὴν Λεοντίνων στρατεύσας 32
not much and later into the of-Leontini having-campaigned
ὁ Τιμολέων λαμβάνει τὸν Ἱκέτην ζῶντα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν
— Timoleon takes — Hicetas alive and the son
Εὐπόλεμον καὶ τὸν ἱππάρχην Εὔθυμον, ὑπὸ τῶν
Eupolemus and the cavalry-commander Euthymus by the
στρατιωτῶν συνδεθέντας καὶ κομισθέντας πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ
soldiers bound-together and brought to him —
μὲν οὖν Ἱκέτης καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ὡς τύραννοι καὶ προδόται
indeed then Hicetas and the youth as tyrants and traitors
κολασθέντες ἀπέθνησκον, ὁ δ' Εὔθυμος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς
punished died — and Euthymus a-man good
ὢν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέρων, οὐκ ἔτυχεν
being for the contests and in-daring excelling not obtained
οἴκτου διὰ βλασφημίαν τινὰ πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους
pity because-of slander some against the Corinthians
κατηγορηθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι τῶν Κορινθίων
charged of-him it-is-said for that the Corinthians

ἐκστρατευσαμένων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς δημηγορῶν ἐν τοῖς
having-marched-out against them haranguing among the
Λεοντίνοις οὐδὲν ἔφη γεγονέναι φοβερὸν οὐδὲ δεινόν, εἰ
Leontines nothing he-said to-have-happened fearful nor terrible if

Κορίνθιαι γυναῖκες ἐξῆλθον δόμων.
Corinthian women have-come-out of-the-house

οὕτως ὑπὸ λόγων μᾶλλον ἢ πράξεων πονηρῶν ἀνιᾶσθαι
so by words rather than deeds bad to-be-pained
πεφύκασιν οἱ πολλοί· χαλεπώτερον γὰρ ὕβριν ἢ
are-disposed-by-nature the many more-grievously for insult than
βλάβην φέρουσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι δι᾽ ἔργων ὡς
harm they-bear and the indeed to-defend-oneself by deeds as
ἀναγκαῖον δέδοται τοῖς πολεμοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ βλασφημίαι
necessary is-granted to-those warring the but slanders
περιουσίᾳ μίσους ἢ κακίας γίνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν.
from-excess of-hatred or of-malice to-arise seem

33 Ἐπανελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος οἱ Συρακούσιοι τὰς
having-returned and — Timoleon the Syracusans the
γυναῖκας τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἱκέτην καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐν
wives of-those about — Hicetas and the daughters in
ἐκκλησίᾳ καταστήσαντες εἰς κρίσιν ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ δοκεῖ
assembly having-set into trial killed and seems
τοῦτο τῶν Τιμολέοντος ἔργων ἀχαριστότατον γενέσθαι·
this of-the of-Timoleon works most-ungracious to-have-become
μὴ γὰρ ἂν ἐκείνου κωλύοντος οὕτως τὰς ἀνθρώπους
not for — he preventing so the women
ἀποθανεῖν. δοκεῖ δὲ αὐτὰς ὑπεριδεῖν καὶ προέσθαι
would-have-died seems and them to-have-overlooked and to-have-abandoned
τῷ θυμῷ τῶν πολιτῶν δίκην λαμβανόντων ὑπὲρ
to-the anger of-the citizens justice taking on-behalf-of

Δίωνος τοῦ Διονύσιον ἐκβαλόντος. Ἱκέτης γάρ ἐστιν
Dion the Dionysius having-expelled Hicetas for is
ὁ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Δίωνος Ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν
the-one the wife — of-Dion Arete and the sister
Ἀριστομάχην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἔτι παῖδα καταποντίσας ζῶντας,
Aristomache and the son still a-child having-drowned alive
περὶ ὧν ἐν τῷ Δίωνος γέγραπται βίῳ.
about whom in the of-Dion has-been-written life
Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Μάμερκον εἰς Κατάνην 34
after and these-things having-campaigned against Mamercus into Catana
καὶ περὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα τὴν Ἄβολον ἐκ παρατάξεως ὑποστάντα
and by the stream the Abolus in battle-array having-withstood
νικήσας καὶ τρεψάμενος ὑπὲρ δισχιλίους ἀνεῖλεν, ὧν
having-conquered and having-routed above two-thousand he-killed of-whom
μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἦσαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Γέσκωνος
part not small were those sent by Gisco
ἐπίκουροι Φοίνικες. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν
auxiliaries Phoenicians from and this Carthaginians indeed
εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν δεηθέντες, ὥστε τὴν
peace made toward him having-begged so-that the
ἐντὸς τοῦ Λύκου χώραν ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξ
within the Lycus land to-hold and to-those wishing from
αὐτῆς μετοικεῖν πρὸς Συρακουσίους χρήματα καὶ γενεὰς
it to-move toward Syracusans goods and families
ἀποδιδόντες, καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις ἀπειπάμενοι τὴν συμμαχίαν.
giving-back and to-the tyrants having-renounced the alliance
Μάμερκος δὲ δυσθυμῶν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἔπλει μὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν
Mamercus but despairing in-the hopes sailed indeed to Italy
ὡς Λευκανοὺς ἐπάξων Τιμολέοντι καὶ Συρακουσίοις,
as Lucanians going-to-bring-against Timoleon and Syracusans
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποστρέψαντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ
when but having-turned-back those with him the triremes and

πλεύσαντες εἰς Σικελίαν τῷ Τιμολέοντι τὴν Κατάνην
having-sailed to Sicily — to-Timoleon — Catana
παρέδωκαν, ἀναγκασθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Μεσσήνην κατέφυγε
handed-over having-been-compelled also himself to Messene fled
πρὸς Ἵππωνα τὸν τυραννοῦντα τῆς πόλεως. ἐπελθόντος
to Hippo the being-tyrant of-the city having-come-against
δὲ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιορκοῦντος ἔκ τε γῆς
and — Timoleon them and besieging from both land
καὶ θαλάττης, ὁ μὲν Ἵππων ἀποδιδράσκων ἐπὶ νεὼς
and sea — indeed Hippo running-away on a-ship
ἥλω, καὶ παραλαβόντες αὐτὸν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι, καὶ τοὺς
was-caught and having-taken him the Messenians and the
παῖδας ἐκ τῶν διδασκαλείων ὡς ἐπὶ θέαμα κάλλιστον τὴν
children from the schools as for a-spectacle most-beautiful the
τοῦ τυράννου τιμωρίαν ἀγαγόντες εἰς θέατρον, ἠκίσαντο
of-the tyrant punishment having-brought into the-theater tortured
καὶ διέφθειραν· ὁ δὲ Μάμερκος ἑαυτὸν Τιμολέοντι
and destroyed-him — but Mamercus himself to-Timoleon
παρέδωκεν ἐπὶ τῷ δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ἐν Συρακουσίοις
surrendered on the-condition justice to-undergo among Syracusans
μὴ κατηγοροῦντος Τιμολέοντος. ἀχθεὶς δὲ εἰς τὰς
not accusing Timoleon having-been-brought and into —
Συρακούσας, παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐπεχείρει μέν τινα
Syracuse having-come-forward into the people attempted indeed some
συγκείμενον ἐκ παλαιοῦ λόγον ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ διεξιέναι, θορύβοις
composed from long-ago speech by him to-go-through with-uproars
δὲ περιπίπτων καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁρῶν ἀπαραίτητον ἔθει
but meeting and the assembly seeing inexorable he-ran
ῥίψας τὸ ἱμάτιον διὰ μέσου τοῦ θεάτρου, καὶ πρός τι
having-thrown-off the cloak through middle of-the theater and against one
τῶν βάθρων δρόμῳ φερόμενος συνέρρηξε τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς
of-the benches at-a-run rushing dashed the head as

ἀποθανούμενος. οὐ μὴν ἔτυχέ γε ταύτης τῆς τελευτῆς,
going-to-die not indeed he-obtained at-least this the end
ἀλλ' ἔτι ζῶν ἀπαχθεὶς ἥνπερ οἱ λῃσταὶ δίκην ἔδωκε.
but still living having-been-led-off which-very the robbers penalty he-paid
Τὰς μὲν οὖν τυραννίδας ὁ Τιμολέων τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον
the indeed then tyrannies — Timoleon this the way
ἐξέκοψε καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἔλυσε· τὴν δὲ ὅλην νῆσον
cut-out and the wars ended the and whole island
ἐξηγριωμένην ὑπὸ κακῶν καὶ διαμεμισημένην ὑπὸ τῶν
made-savage by evils and made-hated by its
οἰκητόρων παραλαβὼν οὕτως ἐξημέρωσε καὶ ποθεινὴν
inhabitants having-received so tamed and desirable
ἐποίησε πᾶσιν ὥστε πλεῖν οἰκήσοντας ἑτέρους ὅθεν οἱ
made to-all so-that to-sail going-to-settle others whence the
πολῖται πρότερον ἀπεδίδρασκον. καὶ γὰρ Ἀκράγαντα καὶ
citizens before ran-away and for Acragas and
Γέλαν, πόλεις μεγάλας μετὰ τὸν Ἀττικὸν πόλεμον ὑπὸ
Gela cities great after the Attic war by
Καρχηδονίων ἀναστάτους γεγενημένας, τότε κατῴκισαν,
Carthaginians desolated having-become then they-resettled
τὴν μὲν οἱ περὶ Μέγελλον καὶ Φέριστον ἐξ Ἐλέας, τὴν
the-one indeed those about Megellus and Pheristus from Elea the-other
δὲ οἱ περὶ Γόργον ἐκ Κέω πλεύσαντες καὶ συναγαγόντες
and those about Gorgus from Ceos having-sailed and having-gathered
τοὺς ἀρχαίους πολίτας· οἷς οὐ μόνον ἀσφάλειαν ἐκ
the original citizens to-whom not only security from
πολέμου τοσούτου καὶ γαλήνην ἱδρυομένοις παρασχών,
war so-great and calm settling having-provided
ἀλλὰ καὶ τἆλλα παρασκευάσας καὶ συμπροθυμηθεὶς ὥσπερ
but also the-rest having-equipped and having-been-zealous-with as-if
οἰκιστὴς ἠγαπᾶτο. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ διακειμένων ὁμοίως
founder he-was-loved and the others and being-disposed alike

ἁπάντων πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ πολέμου τις λύσις, οὐ νόμων
all toward him no war's any ending no laws'
θέσις, οὐ χώρας κατοικισμός, οὐ πολιτείας διάταξις
enactment no land's settlement no constitution's arrangement
ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν, ἧς ἐκεῖνος μὴ προσάψαιτο μηδὲ
seemed well to-be which he not might-have-touched nor
κατακοσμήσειεν, ὥσπερ ἔργῳ συντελουμένῳ δημιουργὸς
adorned as-if work being-completed a-craftsman
ἐπιθείς τινα χάριν θεοφιλῆ καὶ πρέπουσαν.
having-put-on some grace god-beloved and fitting

X · FORTUNE AND THE LAST YEARS

Timoleon's deeds, unlike Epaminondas' and Agesilaus', seem done with ease, like Homer's verse, though he credits Fortune and founds a shrine to Automatia. He stays in Syracuse with his family and defends the right of Laphystius and Demaenetus to accuse him. Going blind from a family weakness, he lays down his command but is still brought in his carriage to the theater for the greatest debates. At his death the people give him a splendid funeral, a proclamation, contests for all time, and a gymnasium named the Timoleonteum.

36 Πολλῶν γοῦν κατ' αὐτὸν Ἑλλήνων μεγάλων γενομένων
many at-least in-the-time-of him of-Greeks great having-become
καὶ μεγάλα κατεργασαμένων, ὧν καὶ Τιμόθεος ἦν καὶ
and great-things having-accomplished of-whom both Timotheus was and
Ἀγησίλαος καὶ Πελοπίδας καὶ ὁ μάλιστα ζηλωθεὶς
Agesilaus and Pelopidas and the-one most emulated
ὑπὸ Τιμολέοντος Ἐπαμεινώνδας, αἱ μὲν ἐκείνων πράξεις
by Timoleon Epaminondas the indeed of-those deeds
βίᾳ τινὶ καὶ πόνῳ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐξενηνόχασι μεμιγμένον,
with-force some and toil the brilliance have-brought-forth mingled

ὥστε καὶ μέμψιν ἐνίαις ἐπιγίνεσθαι καὶ μετάνοιαν, τῶν
so-that both blame on-some to-follow and regret of-the
δὲ Τιμολέοντος ἔργων, ἔξω λόγου θεμένοις τὴν
but of-Timoleon works outside account for-those-who-have-put the
περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνάγκην, οὐδέν ἐστιν ᾧ μὴ τὰ τοῦ
about the brother necessity nothing is to-which not the —
Σοφοκλέους, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος, ἐπιφωνεῖν ἔπρεπεν·
of-Sophocles as says Timaeus to-exclaim was-fitting

ὦ θεοί, τίς ἆρα Κύπρις ἢ τίς ἵμερος
O gods what then Cypris or what desire
τοῦδε ξυνήψατο;
of-this took-hold

καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ μὲν Ἀντιμάχου ποίησις καὶ τὰ Διονυσίου
just-as for the indeed of-Antimachus poetry and the of-Dionysius
ζωγραφήματα, τῶν Κολοφωνίων, ἰσχὺν ἔχοντα καὶ τόνον
paintings of-the Colophonians strength having and intensity
ἐκβεβιασμένοις καὶ καταπόνοις ἔοικε, ταῖς δὲ Νικομάχου
forced and labored resemble to-the but of-Nicomachus
γραφαῖς καὶ τοῖς Ὁμήρου στίχοις μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης
paintings and to-the of-Homer verses with the other
δυνάμεως καὶ χάριτος πρόσεστι τὸ δοκεῖν εὐχερῶς καὶ
power and grace belongs the to-seem easily and
ῥᾳδίως ἀπειργάσθαι, οὕτως παρὰ τὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδου
readily to-have-been-wrought so beside the of-Epaminondas
στρατηγίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀγησιλάου, πολυπόνους γενομένας
generalship and the of-Agesilaus full-of-toil having-become
καὶ δυσάγωνας, ἡ Τιμολέοντος ἀντεξεταζομένη, καὶ μετὰ
and hard-fought the of-Timoleon being-compared and with
τοῦ καλοῦ πολὺ τὸ ῥᾴδιον ἔχουσα, φαίνεται τοῖς εὖ
the beauty much the ease having appears to-those well

καὶ δικαίως λογιζομένοις οὐ τύχης ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς
and justly reckoning not of-fortune work but of-virtue
εὐτυχούσης. καίτοι πάντα γ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὴν τύχην
being-fortunate and-yet all at-least he to the fortune
ἀνῆπτε τὰ κατορθούμενα· καὶ γὰρ γράφων τοῖς οἴκοι
ascribed the successes and for writing to-the at-home
φίλοις καὶ δημηγορῶν πρὸς τοὺς Συρακουσίους πολλάκις
friends and haranguing to the Syracusans often
ἔφη τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχειν ὅτι βουλόμενος σῶσαι Σικελίαν
he-said to-the god thanks to-have because wishing to-save Sicily
ἐπεγράψατο τὴν αὑτοῦ προσηγορίαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς οἰκίας
he-inscribed-on the his-own name upon and the house
ἱερὸν ἱδρυσάμενος Αὐτοματίας ἔθυεν, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν
a-shrine having-founded of-Automatia he-sacrificed itself and the house
ἱερῷ δαίμονι καθιέρωσεν. ᾤκει δὲ οἰκίαν ἣν ἐξεῖλον
to-the-holy deity he-consecrated he-lived and a-house which picked-out
αὐτῷ στρατηγίας ἀριστεῖον οἱ Συρακούσιοι, καὶ τῶν
for-him of-generalship prize-of-valor the Syracusans and of-the
ἀγρῶν τὸν ἥδιστον καὶ κάλλιστον· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον
estates the pleasantest and most-beautiful in which also the most
τοῦ χρόνου κατεσχόλαζε, μεταπεμψάμενος οἴκοθεν τὴν
of-the time he-spent-at-leisure having-sent-for from-home the
γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας. οὐ γὰρ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Κόρινθον,
wife and the children not for he-returned to Corinth
οὐδὲ κατέμιξε τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς θορύβοις ἑαυτὸν οὐδὲ τῷ
nor mixed in-the Greek tumults himself nor to-the
πολιτικῷ φθόνῳ παρέδωκεν, εἰς ὃν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν
political envy delivered on which the most of-the
στρατηγῶν ἀπληστίᾳ τιμῶν καὶ δυνάμεως ἐξοκέλλουσιν,
generals from-insatiability of-honors and of-power run-aground
ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ κατέμεινε τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ μεμηχανημένοις ἀγαθοῖς
but there he-remained the by himself contrived goods

χρώμενος· ὧν μέγιστον ἦν τὸ πόλεις τοσαύτας καὶ
enjoying of-which greatest was the cities so-many and
μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων δι᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐφορᾶν εὐδαιμονούσας.
myriads of-men through himself to-look-on prospering
Ἐπεὶ δὲ χρῆν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ μόνον πᾶσι κορυδαλλοῖς 37
since and it-was-necessary as it-seems not only on-all larks
λόφον ἐγγίγνεσθαι, κατὰ Σιμωνίδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσῃ
a-crest to-grow according-to Simonides but also in-every
δημοκρατίᾳ συκοφάντην, ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ Τιμολέοντι
democracy a-sycophant attacked also Timoleon
δύο τῶν δημαγωγῶν, Λαφύστιος καὶ Δημαίνετος. ὧν
two of-the demagogues Laphystius and Demaenetus of-whom
Λαφυστίου μὲν αὐτὸν πρός τινα δίκην κατεγγυῶντος οὐκ
Laphystius indeed him to some lawsuit demanding-bail not
εἴα θορυβεῖν οὐδὲ κωλύειν τοὺς πολίτας· ἑκὼν γὰρ
he-allowed to-make-uproar nor to-hinder the citizens willingly for
αὐτὸς ὑπομεῖναι τοσούτους πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ὑπὲρ
himself to-have-undergone so-many toils and dangers for
τοῦ τοῖς νόμοις χρῆσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον Συρακουσίων·
the with-the laws to-use the wishing of-Syracusans
τοῦ δὲ Δημαινέτου πολλὰ κατηγορήσαντος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ
— and Demaenetus many-things having-accused in assembly
τῆς στρατηγίας, πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπε, τοῖς
of-the generalship to him indeed nothing he-replied to-the
δὲ θεοῖς ἔφη χάριν ὀφείλειν, οἷς εὔξατο Συρακουσίους
but gods he-said thanks to-owe to-whom he-prayed Syracusans
ἐπιδεῖν τῆς παρρησίας κυρίους γενομένους.
to-see of-the free-speech masters having-become
Μέγιστα δ᾽ οὖν καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν καθ᾽ αὑτὸν Ἑλλήνων
greatest and then and finest of-the in his-own-time Greeks
ὁμολογουμένως διαπραξάμενος ἔργα, καὶ μόνος, ἐφ᾽ ἃς
admittedly having-accomplished works and alone in which

οἱ σοφισταὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων τῶν πανηγυρικῶν ἀεὶ
the sophists through the speeches the festival always
παρεκάλουν πράξεις τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐν ταύταις ἀριστεύσας,
were-urging deeds the Greeks in these having-excelled
καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτόθι κακῶν, ἃ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἑλλάδα
and from-the indeed there evils which the ancient Greece
κατέσχεν, ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης προεκκομισθεὶς ἀναίμακτος καὶ
held by the fortune having-been-carried-out-first bloodless and
καθαρός, ἐπιδειξάμενος δὲ δεινότητα μὲν καὶ ἀνδρείαν τοῖς
pure having-displayed and terribleness indeed and courage to-the
βαρβάροις καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις, δικαιοσύνην δὲ καὶ πραότητα
barbarians and to-the tyrants justice and and mildness
τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τρόπαια
to-the Greeks and to-the friends the and most trophies
τῶν ἀγώνων ἀδάκρυτα καὶ ἀπενθῆ τοῖς πολίταις
of-the contests tearless and without-mourning for-the citizens
καταστήσας, καθαρὰν δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐν οὐδ' ὅλοις
having-set-up pure and — Sicily in not-even whole
ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ ἀϊδίων καὶ συνοίκων κακῶν καὶ νοσημάτων
years eight of-everlasting and inborn evils and diseases
παραδοὺς τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν, ἤδη πρεσβύτερος ὢν
having-handed-over to-those dwelling already older being
ἀπημβλύνθη τὴν ὄψιν, εἶτα τελέως ἐπηρώθη μετ' ὀλίγον,
was-dimmed the sight then completely was-maimed after a-little
οὔτε αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ πρόφασιν παρασχὼν οὔτε παροινηθεὶς
neither himself to-himself cause having-given nor drunkenly-abused
ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, ἀλλὰ συγγενικῆς τινος, ὡς ἔοικεν, αἰτίας
by the fortune but of-family some as it-seems cause
καὶ καταβολῆς ἅμα τῷ χρόνῳ συνεπιθεμένης· λέγονται
and disposition together with-the time joining-in-attack are-said
γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν κατὰ γένος αὐτῷ προσηκόντων
for not few of-those by birth to-him being-related

ὁμοίως ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν ὄψιν ὑπὸ γήρως ἀπομαρανθεῖσαν.
likewise to-have-lost the sight by old-age having-wasted-away
ὁ δὲ Ἄθανις ἔτι συνεστῶτος τοῦ πρὸς Ἵππωνα πολέμου
— but Athanis still being-on-foot the against Hippo war
καὶ Μάμερκον, ἐν Μυλαῖς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου φησὶν
and Mamercus at Mylae in camp says
ἀπογλαυκωθῆναι τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσι φανερὰν
to-have-been-clouded the sight of-him and to-all manifest
γενέσθαι τὴν πήρωσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποστῆναι διὰ τοῦτο
to-have-become the maiming not indeed to-have-withdrawn because-of this
τῆς πολιορκίας, ἀλλ' ἐμμείναντα τῷ πολέμῳ λαβεῖν
from-the siege but having-persisted in-the war to-have-taken
τοὺς τυράννους· ὡς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Συρακούσας, εὐθὺς
the tyrants when and he-returned to Syracuse at-once
ἀποθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς πολίτας,
to-have-laid-down the sole-command and to-have-begged-off the citizens
τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς τὸ κάλλιστον ἡκόντων τέλος.
the affairs to the finest having-come end
Ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ὑπομείναντα τὴν συμφορὰν ἀλύπως 38
him indeed then himself enduring the misfortune without-grief
ἧττον ἄν τις θαυμάσειε· τῶν δὲ Συρακουσίων ἄξιον ἄγασθαι
less — anyone would-admire of-the but Syracusans worthy to-admire
τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμὴν καὶ χάριν ἣν ἐπεδείξαντο
the toward the man honor and gratitude which they-showed
πεπηρωμένῳ, φοιτῶντες ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων τοὺς
to-him-blinded going to doors themselves and of-the strangers those
παρεπιδημοῦντας ἄγοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὸ χωρίον, ὅπως
sojourning bringing into the house and the estate that
θεάσαιντο τὸν εὐεργέτην αὐτῶν, ἀγαλλόμενοι καὶ μέγα
they-might-behold the benefactor their-own exulting and greatly
φρονοῦντες ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῖς εἵλετο καταζῆσαι τὸν βίον, οὕτω
priding-themselves that with them he-chose to-live-out the life so

λαμπρᾶς ἐπανόδου τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρεσκευασμένης
brilliant return the into — Greece having-been-prepared
αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων καταφρονήσας. πολλῶν
for-him through the successes having-despised many
δὲ καὶ μεγάλων εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν γραφομένων καὶ
and and great-things for the his honor being-written and
πραττομένων οὐδενὸς ἧττον ἦν τὸ ψηφίσασθαι τὸν τῶν
being-done of-none less was the to-have-voted the of-the
Συρακουσίων δῆμον, ὁσάκις συμπέσοι πόλεμος αὐτοῖς
Syracusans people as-often-as befell war them
πρὸς ἀλλοφύλους, Κορινθίῳ χρῆσθαι στρατηγῷ. καλὴν
against foreigners a-Corinthian to-use as-general fine
δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας γινόμενον ὄψιν εἰς τιμὴν
and also the about the assemblies happening sight for honor
αὐτοῦ παρεῖχε· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα δι' αὑτῶν κρίνοντες ἐπὶ
of-him afforded the for other-things by themselves judging for
τὰς μείζονας διασκέψεις ἐκεῖνον ἐκάλουν. ὁ δὲ κομιζόμενος
the greater deliberations him they-called he and being-conveyed
δι' ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ ζεύγους πρὸς τὸ θέατρον ἐπορεύετο·
through market-place on a-carriage to the theater went
καὶ τῆς ἁπήνης, ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανε καθήμενος, εἰσαγομένης,
and the wagon as he-happened seated being-driven-in
ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἠσπάζετο μιᾷ φωνῇ προσαγορεύων αὐτόν,
the indeed people greeted-him with-one voice addressing him
ὁ δ' ἀντασπασάμενος καὶ χρόνον τινὰ δοὺς ταῖς
he and having-greeted-in-return and time some having-given to-the
εὐφημίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, εἶτα διακούσας τὸ ζητούμενον,
acclamations and to-the praises then having-heard-out the matter-in-question
ἀπεφαίνετο γνώμην. ἐπιχειροτονηθείσης δὲ ταύτης οἱ μὲν
declared an-opinion having-been-ratified and this the indeed
ὑπηρέται πάλιν ἀπῆγον διὰ τοῦ θεάτρου τὸ ζεῦγος, οἱ
attendants again led-away through the theater the carriage the

δὲ πολῖται βοῇ καὶ κρότῳ προπέμψαντες ἐκεῖνον ἤδη
and citizens with-shout and applause having-escorted him already
τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν δημοσίων καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς ἐχρημάτιζον.
the remaining of-the public-business by themselves transacted
Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ γηροτροφούμενος τιμῇ μετ᾽ εὐνοίας, 39
in such and being-cared-for-in-old-age honor with goodwill
ὥσπερ πατὴρ κοινός, ἐκ μικρᾶς προφάσεως τῷ
as-if a-father common from small cause with-the
χρόνῳ συνεφαψαμένης ἐτελεύτησεν. ἡμερῶν δὲ δοθεισῶν
time combining he-died days and having-been-given
τοῖς μὲν Συρακουσίοις εἰς τὸ παρασκευάσαι τὰ
to-the indeed Syracusans for the to-prepare the-things
περὶ τὴν ταφήν, τοῖς δὲ περιοίκοις καὶ ξένοις εἰς τὸ
about the burial to-the and neighbors and strangers for the
συνελθεῖν, τά τ᾽ ἄλλα λαμπρᾶς χορηγίας ἔτυχε,
to-come-together the both other-things brilliant provision he-obtained
καὶ τὸ λέχος οἱ ψήφῳ τῶν νεανίσκων προκριθέντες
and the bier those by-vote of-the young-men preferred
ἔφερον κεκοσμημένον διὰ τῶν Διονυσίου τυραννείων τότε
carried adorned through the of-Dionysius tyrant's-palaces then
κατεσκαμμένων. προὔπεμπον δὲ πολλαὶ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν
razed escorted and many myriads of-men
καὶ γυναικῶν, ὧν ὄψις μὲν ἦν ἑορτῇ πρέπουσα,
and women of-whom the-sight indeed was for-a-festival fitting
πάντων ἐστεφανωμένων καὶ καθαρὰς ἐσθῆτας φορούντων,
all being-crowned and clean garments wearing
φωναὶ δὲ καὶ δάκρυα συγκεκραμένα τῷ μακαρισμῷ
voices and and tears mingled with-the blessing
τοῦ τεθνηκότος οὐ τιμῆς ἀφοσίωσιν οὐδὲ λειτουργίαν ἐκ
of-the dead-man not of-honor a-discharge nor a-public-service from
προβουλεύματος, ἀλλὰ πόθον δίκαιον ἐπεδείκνυντο καὶ
decree but longing just displayed and

χάριν ἀληθινῆς εὐνοίας. τέλος δὲ τῆς κλίνης ἐπὶ τὴν
gratitude of-true goodwill at-last and the couch on the
πυρὰν τεθείσης Δημήτριος, ὃς ἦν μεγαλοφωνότατος
pyre having-been-placed Demetrius who was loudest-voiced
τῶν τότε κηρύκων, γεγραμμένον ἀνεῖπε κήρυγμα τοιοῦτον·
of-the then heralds written proclaimed proclamation such-as-this
"Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Συρακουσίων Τιμολέοντα Τιμοδήμου
the people the of-Syracusans Timoleon son-of-Timodemus
Κορίνθιον τόνδε θάπτει μὲν διακοσίων μνῶν, ἐτίμησε
Corinthian this buries indeed at-two-hundred minas honored
δ' εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἀγῶσι μουσικοῖς, ἱππικοῖς,
and for the all time with-contests musical equestrian
γυμνικοῖς, ὅτι τοὺς τυράννους καταλύσας καὶ τοὺς
gymnastic because the tyrants having-overthrown and the
βαρβάρους καταπολεμήσας καὶ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν ἀναστάτων
barbarians having-defeated and the greatest of-the desolated
πόλεων οἰκίσας ἀπέδωκε τοὺς νόμους τοῖς Σικελιώταις."
cities having-resettled he-gave-back the laws to-the Sicilian-Greeks
Ἐποιήσαντο δὲ τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐν ἀγορᾷ,
they-made and the burial of-the body in market-place
καὶ στοὰς ὕστερον περιβαλόντες καὶ παλαίστρας
and colonnades later having-thrown-around and wrestling-schools
ἐνοικοδομήσαντες γυμνάσιον τοῖς νέοις ἀνῆκαν καὶ
having-built-in a-gymnasium for-the young they-dedicated and
Τιμολεόντειον προσηγόρευσαν. αὐτοὶ δὲ χρώμενοι πολιτείᾳ
Timoleonteum named-it themselves and using constitution
καὶ νόμοις οὓς ἐκεῖνος κατέστησεν, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον
and laws which he established for much time
εὐδαιμονοῦντες διετέλεσαν.
prospering continued

PLUTARCH

ΕΥΜΕΝΗΣ

Eumenes

I · THE SECRETARY

Eumenes of Cardia is noticed by Philip as a boy and becomes Alexander's chief secretary, honored like his closest friends and given a cavalry command; Neoptolemus mocks him as a man of pen and tablet. Alexander gives him Barsine's sister in marriage. Quarrels with Hephaestion endanger him, and when he pleads poverty, Alexander burns his tent and finds over a thousand talents. After Alexander's death he is assigned Cappadocia, flees Leonnatus to Perdiccas, who conquers it and installs him; there Eumenes builds a cavalry of six thousand three hundred.

Εὐμένη δὲ τὸν Καρδιανὸν ἱστορεῖ Δοῦρις πατρὸς μὲν 1
Eumenes and the Cardian relates Duris of-father indeed
ἁμαξεύοντος ἐν Χερρονήσῳ διὰ πενίαν γενέσθαι,
being-a-wagoner in Chersonese because-of poverty to-have-been-born
τραφῆναι δὲ ἐλευθερίως ἐν γράμμασι καὶ περὶ
to-have-been-reared and liberally in letters and about
παλαίστραν· ἔτι δὲ παιδὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον
wrestling-school still and a-boy being he Philip
παρεπιδημοῦντα καὶ σχολὴν ἄγοντα τὰ τῶν Καρδιανῶν
sojourning and leisure having the of-the Cardians
θεάσασθαι παγκράτια μειρακίων καὶ παλαίσματα παίδων,
to-have-watched pancratia of-youths and wrestlings of-boys
ἐν οἷς εὐημερήσαντα τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ φανέντα συνετὸν
in which having-done-well — Eumenes and having-appeared intelligent
καὶ ἀνδρεῖον ἀρέσαι τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ ἀναληφθῆναι.
and manly to-have-pleased — Philip and to-have-been-taken-up
δοκοῦσι δὲ εἰκότα λέγειν μᾶλλον οἱ διὰ ξενίαν καὶ
seem and likely-things to-say rather those through guest-friendship and
φιλίαν πατρῴαν τὸν Εὐμένη λέγοντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου
friendship ancestral — Eumenes saying by — Philip
προαχθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν οὔτε συνέσει
to-have-been-advanced after and the his death neither in-intelligence

τινὸς οὔτε πίστει λείπεσθαι δοκῶν τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον
of-anyone nor in-loyalty to-fall-short seeming of-those about Alexander
ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν ἀρχιγραμματεύς, τιμῆς δὲ ὥσπερ οἱ μάλιστα
he-was-called indeed chief-secretary of-honor but as the most
φίλοι καὶ συνήθεις ἐτύγχανεν, ὥστε καὶ στρατηγὸς
friends and intimates he-obtained so-that even as-general
ἀποσταλῆναι κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως,
to-be-sent-off in — India on his-own with a-force
καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου παραλαβεῖν ἱππαρχίαν, ὅτε Περδίκκας,
and the of-Perdiccas to-take-over cavalry-command when Perdiccas
ἀποθανόντος Ἡφαιστίωνος, εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου προῆλθε τάξιν.
having-died Hephaestion into the his advanced post
διὸ καὶ Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ ἀρχιυπασπιστοῦ μετὰ τὴν
wherefore also Neoptolemus the chief-of-the-shield-bearers after the
Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν λέγοντος ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀσπίδα
of-Alexander death saying that he indeed shield
καὶ λόγχην, Εὐμένης δὲ γραφεῖον ἔχων καὶ πινακίδιον
and spear Eumenes but pen having and writing-tablet
ἠκολούθει, κατεγέλων οἱ Μακεδόνες, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
followed laughed-at-him the Macedonians with the other
καλῶν τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν γάμον οἰκειότητος ὑπὸ
honors — Eumenes also of-the by the marriage kinship by
τοῦ βασιλέως εἰδότες ἀξιωθέντα. Βαρσίνην γὰρ τὴν
the king knowing having-been-deemed-worthy Barsine for the
Ἀρταβάζου πρώτην ἐν Ἀσίᾳ γνοὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐξ
of-Artabazus first in Asia having-known — Alexander from
ἧς υἱὸν ἔσχεν Ἡρακλέα, τῶν ταύτης ἀδελφῶν Πτολεμαίῳ
whom a-son he-had Heracles of-the her sisters to-Ptolemy
μὲν Ἀπάμαν, Εὐμένει δὲ Βαρσίνην ἐξέδωκεν, ὅτε καὶ
indeed Apama to-Eumenes and Barsine he-gave-in-marriage when also
τὰς ἄλλας Περσίδας διένειμε καὶ συνῴκισε τοῖς ἑταίροις.
the other Persian-women he-distributed and joined-in-marriage to-the companions

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέκρουσε πολλάκις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ 2
not indeed but also he-clashed often with-Alexander and
παρεκινδύνευσε δι᾽ Ἡφαιστίωνα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Εὐΐῳ
ran-risks because-of Hephaestion first indeed for to-Euius
τῷ αὐλητῇ τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος οἰκίαν κατανείμαντος ἣν οἱ
the flute-player — of-Hephaestion a-house having-assigned which the
παῖδες ἔτυχον τῷ Εὐμένει προκατειληφότες, ἐλθὼν ὑπὸ
slaves happened — for-Eumenes having-occupied-beforehand having-come in
ὀργῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ Εὐμένης ἐβόα μετὰ Μέντορος
anger to — Alexander — Eumenes shouted with Mentor
ὡς αὐλεῖν εἴη κράτιστον ἢ τραγῳδεῖν τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντας
that to-play-the-flute were best or to-act-tragedy the arms having-thrown
ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, ὥστε Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῷ συναγανακτεῖν
from the hands so-that Alexander with-him to-share-indignation
καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ Ἡφαιστίωνι. ταχὺ μέντοι μεταπεσὼν
and to-rail — at-Hephaestion quickly however having-changed
αὖθις εἶχε τὸν Εὐμένη δι᾽ ὀργῆς, ὡς ὕβρει μᾶλλον
again held — Eumenes in anger as with-insolence rather
πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἢ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα χρησάμενον.
toward himself than with-frankness toward Hephaestion having-used
Ὕστερον Νέαρχον ἐκπέμπων μετὰ νεῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν
then Nearchus sending-out with ships to the outer sea
ᾔτει χρήματα τοὺς φίλους· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ.
he-asked money the friends not for was-there-any in the treasury
τοῦ δ᾽ Εὐμένους αἰτηθέντος μὲν τριακόσια τάλαντα,
— and Eumenes having-been-asked indeed three-hundred talents
δόντος δὲ ἑκατὸν μόνα, καὶ ταῦτα γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις
having-given but a-hundred only and these stingily and with-difficulty
αὐτῷ συνειλέχθαι διὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων φάσκοντος, οὐδὲν
for-him to-have-been-collected through the stewards saying nothing
ἐγκαλέσας οὐδὲ δεξάμενος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς παῖδας κρύφα τῇ
having-accused nor having-accepted he-ordered the slaves secretly to-the

σκηνῇ τοῦ Εὐμένους πῦρ ἐνεῖναι, βουλόμενος ἐκκομιζομένων
tent — of-Eumenes fire to-put-in wishing being-carried-out
τῶν χρημάτων λαβεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ ψευδόμενον. ἔφθη
the money to-catch in the-act lying anticipated
δὲ ἡ σκηνὴ καταφλεχθεῖσα, καὶ μετενόησε τῶν γραμμάτων
but the tent having-been-burned-down and he-repented of-the papers
διαφθαρέντων ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. τὸ δὲ συγχυθὲν χρυσίον
destroyed — Alexander the but melted gold
καὶ ἀργύριον ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνευρέθη πλεῖον ἢ χιλίων
and silver by the fire was-found more than a-thousand
ταλάντων. ἔλαβε δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράψας τοῖς πανταχοῦ
talents he-took but nothing but also having-written to-the everywhere
σατράπαις καὶ στρατηγοῖς ἀντίγραφα τῶν διεφθαρμένων
satraps and generals copies of-the destroyed
ἀποστέλλειν πάντα παραλαμβάνειν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Εὐμένη.
to-send everything to-take-over he-ordered — Eumenes
Πάλιν δὲ περὶ δωρεᾶς τινος εἰς διαφορὰν καταστὰς
again and about gift some into quarrel having-fallen
πρὸς τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀκούσας κακῶς,
with — Hephaestion and many-things indeed having-heard ill
πολλὰ δὲ εἰπών, τότε μὲν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἔσχε· μετ᾽ ὀλίγον
many-things and having-said then indeed not the-worse he-had after a-little
δὲ τελευτήσαντος Ἡφαιστίωνος περιπαθῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ
but having-died Hephaestion grieving-violently the king and
πᾶσιν οὓς ἐδόκει ζῶντι μὲν ἐκείνῳ φθονεῖν ἐπιχαίρειν
with-all whom he-thought living indeed him to-envy to-rejoice
δὲ τεθνηκότι τραχέως ὁμιλῶν καὶ χαλεπὸς ὢν, μάλιστα
and dead harshly dealing and harsh being most
τὸν Εὐμένη δι᾽ ὑποψίας εἶχε, καὶ προὔφερε πολλάκις
— Eumenes in suspicion held and cast-up often
τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ λοιδορίας ἐκείνας. ὁ δὲ πανοῦργος ὢν
the quarrels and abuses those he but crafty being

καὶ πιθανὸς ἐπεχείρησεν οἷς ἀπώλλυτο σώζειν ἑαυτόν.
and persuasive attempted by-what he-was-perishing to-save himself
κατέφυγε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα φιλοτιμίαν
he-took-refuge for in the toward Hephaestion love-of-honor
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ χάριν, ὑφηγούμενός τε τιμὰς αἷ μάλιστα
of-Alexander and favor suggesting both honors which most
κοσμεῖν ἔμελλον τὸν τεθνηκότα, καὶ χρήματα τελῶν εἰς
to-adorn were-going the dead and money spending on
τὴν τοῦ τάφου κατασκευὴν ἀφειδῶς καὶ προθύμως.
the of-the tomb construction unsparingly and eagerly
Ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος διεστώσης 3
having-died and Alexander and the phalanx standing-apart
πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους, τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ τούτοις προσένειμεν
from the companions in-the indeed judgment to-these attached
ἑαυτὸν ὁ Εὐμένης, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ κοινός τις ἦν πρὸς
himself — Eumenes in-the but word common somebody was toward
ἀμφοτέρους καὶ ἰδιώτης, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσῆκον ξένῳ
both and a-private-man as nothing to-him befitting a-foreigner
ὄντι πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐν ταῖς Μακεδόνων διαφοραῖς. καὶ
being to-meddle in the of-Macedonians quarrels and
τῶν ἄλλων ἑταίρων ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀνασκευασαμένων αὐτὸς
the other companions from Babylon having-packed-up himself
ὑπολειφθεὶς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεπράϋνε πολλοὺς τῶν πεζῶν καὶ
left-behind in the city soothed many of-the foot and
πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις ἡδίους ἐποίησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναμιχθέντες
toward the reconciliations more-pleased made when and having-mingled
ἀλλήλοις οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ καταστάντες ἐκ τῶν
with-one-another the generals and having-settled from the
πρώτων ταραχῶν διενέμοντο σατραπείας καὶ στρατηγίας,
first disturbances distributed satrapies and commands
Εὐμένης λαμβάνει Καππαδοκίαν καὶ Παφλαγονίαν καὶ τὴν
Eumenes takes Cappadocia and Paphlagonia and the

ὑποκειμένην τῇ Ποντικῇ θαλάττῃ μέχρι Τραπεζοῦντος, οὔπω
lying-below the Pontic sea as-far-as Trapezus not-yet
τότε Μακεδόνων οὖσαν, Ἀριαράθης γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευεν,
then of-Macedonians being Ariarathes for over-it ruled-as-king
ἀλλ' ἔδει Λεοννάτον καὶ Ἀντίγονον χειρὶ μεγάλῃ
but it-was-needful Leonnatus and Antigonus with-a-hand great
τὸν Εὐμένη κατάγοντας ἀποδεῖξαι τῆς χώρας σατράπην.
— Eumenes bringing-back to-declare of-the land satrap
Ἀντίγονος μὲν οὖν οὐ προσέσχε τοῖς γραφεῖσιν ὑπὸ
Antigonus indeed then not heeded the things-written by
Περδίκκου, μετέωρος ὢν ἤδη καὶ περιφρονῶν ἁπάντων,
Perdiccas lofty being already and despising all
Λεοννάτος δὲ κατέβη μὲν ἄνωθεν εἰς Φρυγίαν ἀναδεξόμενος
Leonnatus and came-down indeed from-above into Phrygia going-to-undertake
Εὐμένει τὴν στρατείαν· Ἑκαταίου δὲ τοῦ Καρδιανῶν
for-Eumenes the campaign Hecataeus and the of-Cardians
τυράννου συμμίξαντος αὐτῷ καὶ δεομένου βοηθεῖν μᾶλλον
tyrant having-met him and begging to-help rather
Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόνων τοῖς ἐν Λαμίᾳ πολιορκουμένοις,
to-Antipater and of-Macedonians those in Lamia being-besieged
ὥρμητο διαβαίνειν καὶ τὸν Εὐμένη παρεκάλει καὶ διήλλαττε
he-was-eager to-cross and — Eumenes he-summoned and reconciled
πρὸς τὸν Ἑκαταῖον. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς πατρική τις
with — Hecataeus there-was for between-them ancestral some
ἐκ πολιτικῶν διαφορῶν ὑποψία πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ
from political quarrels suspicion toward one-another and
πολλάκις ὁ Εὐμένης ἐγεγόνει φανερὸς κατηγορῶν τοῦ
often — Eumenes had-become openly accusing —
Ἑκαταίου τυραννοῦντος καὶ παρακαλῶν Ἀλέξανδρον
Hecataeus being-tyrant and urging Alexander
ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς Καρδιανοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. διὸ καὶ τότε
to-give-back to-the Cardians the freedom wherefore also then

τοῦ Εὐμένους παραιτουμένου τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας
— *Eumenes declining the against the Greeks*
στρατείαν, καὶ δεδιέναι φάσκοντος Ἀντίπατρον, μήπως
campaign and to-fear saying Antipater lest
Ἑκαταίῳ χαριζόμενος καὶ πάλαι μισῶν αὐτὸν ἀνέλῃ,
to-Hecataeus gratifying and long-since hating him he-might-kill
πιστεύσας ὁ Λεοννάτος οὐδὲν ὧν ἐφρόνει πρὸς αὐτὸν
having-trusted-him — Leonnatus nothing of-what he-intended toward him
ἀπεκρύψατο. λόγος μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἡ βοήθεια καὶ πρόφασις,
concealed pretext indeed for was the aid and excuse
ἐγνώκει δὲ διαβὰς εὐθὺς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι Μακεδονίας· καί
he-had-resolved but having-crossed at-once to-lay-claim-to Macedonia and
τινας ἐπιστολὰς ἔδειξε Κλεοπάτρας μεταπεμπομένης αὐτὸν
some letters he-showed of-Cleopatra summoning him
εἰς Πέλλαν ὡς γαμησομένης. ὁ δ' Εὐμένης, εἴτε τὸν
to Pella as going-to-marry-him — but Eumenes whether —
Ἀντίπατρον δεδοικὼς εἴτε τὸν Λεοννάτον ἔμπληκτον ὄντα
Antipater fearing or — Leonnatus impulsive being
καὶ φορᾶς μεστὸν ἀβεβαίου καὶ ὀξείας ἀπογνούς, νύκτωρ
and of-impetus full unstable and sharp having-despaired-of by-night
ἀνέζευξε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λαβὼν ἀποσκευήν. εἶχε δὲ τριακοσίους
broke-camp the his-own having-taken baggage he-had and three-hundred
μὲν ἱππεῖς, διακοσίους δὲ τῶν παίδων ὁπλοφόρους, ἐν δὲ
indeed horsemen two-hundred and of-the slaves armed in and
χρυσοῖς εἰς ἀργυρίου λόγον τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια. φυγὼν
gold into silver's reckoning talents five-thousand having-fled
δὲ οὕτως πρὸς Περδίκκαν καὶ τὰ Λεοννάτου βουλεύματα
and so to Perdiccas and the of-Leonnatus plans
κατειπὼν εὐθὺς μὲν ἴσχυε μέγα παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ
having-denounced at-once indeed he-was-strong greatly with him and of-the
συνεδρίου μετεῖχεν, ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον εἰς Καππαδοκίαν
council partook a-little and later into Cappadocia

κατήχθη μετὰ δυνάμεως, αὐτοῦ Περδίκκου παρόντος καὶ
he-was-restored with a-force himself Perdiccas being-present and
στρατηγοῦντος. Ἀριαράθου δὲ ληφθέντος αἰχμαλώτου καὶ
commanding Ariarathes and having-been-taken captive and
τῆς χώρας ὑποχειρίου γενομένης ἀποδείκνυται σατράπης.
the land subject having-become is-appointed satrap
καὶ τὰς μὲν πόλεις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις παρέδωκε, καὶ
and the indeed cities to-the his-own friends he-handed-over and
φρουράρχους ἐγκατέστησε καὶ δικαστὰς ἀπέλιπε καὶ
garrison-commanders installed and judges left and
διοικητὰς οὓς ἐβούλετο, τοῦ Περδίκκου μηδὲν ἐν τούτοις
administrators whom he-wished — Perdiccas nothing in these
πολυπραγμονοῦντος, αὐτὸς δὲ συνανέζευξεν ἐκεῖνόν τε
meddling himself and departed-together him both
θεραπεύων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἀπολείπεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενος.
courting and from-the kings to-be-left-behind not wishing
4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Περδίκκας ἐφ' ἃ μὲν ὥρμητο
not indeed but — Perdiccas to what-things indeed he-was-eager
πιστεύων δι' αὑτοῦ προσάξεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενα
trusting through himself to-bring-over the-things but left-behind
δεῖσθαι δραστηρίου τε καὶ πιστοῦ φύλακος οἰόμενος,
to-need of-active both and faithful guardian thinking
ἀπέπεμψεν ἐκ Κιλικίας τὸν Εὐμένη, λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ
sent-off from Cilicia — Eumenes in-word indeed to
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σατραπείαν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν ὅμορον Ἀρμενίαν
the his-own satrapy in-deed but the bordering Armenia
τεταραγμένην ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου διὰ χειρὸς ἔξοντα. τοῦτον
thrown-into-confusion by Neoptolemus in hand going-to-hold this-one
μὲν οὖν ὁ Εὐμένης, καίπερ ὄγκῳ τινὶ καὶ φρονήματι
indeed then — Eumenes although by-pomp some and by-pride
κενῷ διεφθαρμένον, ἐπειρᾶτο ταῖς ὁμιλίαις κατέχειν·
empty ruined tried by-the conversations to-restrain

αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπηρμένην καὶ
himself and the phalanx of-the Macedonians elated and
θρασεῖαν εὑρών, ὥσπερ ἀντίταγμα κατεσκεύαζεν αὐτῇ
bold having-found as-if a-counterpoise prepared to-it
δύναμιν ἱππικήν, τῶν μὲν ἐγχωρίων τοῖς ἱππεύειν
a-force of-cavalry of-the indeed natives to-those to-ride
δυναμένοις ἀνεισφορίας διδοὺς καὶ ἀτελείας, τῶν δὲ περὶ
being-able exemptions-from-tax giving and immunities of-those and around
αὑτὸν οἷς μάλιστα ἐπίστευεν ὠνητοὺς διανέμων ἵππους,
himself whom most he-trusted bought distributing horses
φιλοτιμίαις τε καὶ δωρεαῖς τὰ φρονήματα παροξύνων καὶ
with-honors both and gifts the spirits sharpening and
τὰ σώματα κινήσεσι καὶ μελέταις διαπονῶν, ὥστε τοὺς
the bodies with-movements and exercises training so-that the
μὲν ἐκπλαγῆναι, τοὺς δὲ θαρρῆσαι τῶν Μακεδόνων,
ones to-be-astonished the others to-take-courage of-the Macedonians
ὁρῶντας ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ περὶ αὐτὸν ἠθροισμένους ἱππεῖς
seeing in-little time around him gathered horsemen
οὐκ ἐλάττους ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων.
not fewer than-six-thousand and three-hundred

Made general against Craterus and Antipater, Eumenes defeats the treacherous Neoptolemus and refuses their offers. Dreaming of two Alexanders, one helped by Athena and the other by Demeter, he gives his men Demeter as the watchword and hides from them that Craterus leads the enemy. Craterus falls unrecognized; Eumenes and Neoptolemus fight hand to hand until Neoptolemus is killed, and Eumenes weeps over the dying Craterus. Condemned by the Macedonians after Perdiccas' death, he wins his soldiers' loyalty at Celaenae.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κρατερὸς καὶ Ἀντίπατρος τῶν Ἑλλήνων
when and Craterus and Antipater the Greeks
περιγενόμενοι διέβαινον εἰς Ἀσίαν τὴν Περδίκκου
having-overcome were-crossing into Asia the of-Perdiccas
καταλύσοντες ἀρχήν, καὶ προσηγγέλλοντο μέλλοντες
going-to-overthrow rule and were-reported being-about
ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν, ὁ Περδίκκας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ
to-invade into Cappadocia — Perdiccas himself against
Πτολεμαῖον στρατεύων ἀπέδειξε τὸν Εὐμένη τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ
Ptolemy campaigning appointed — Eumenes of-the in Armenia
καὶ Καππαδοκίᾳ δυνάμεων αὐτοκράτορα στρατηγόν· καὶ
and Cappadocia forces with-full-powers general and
περὶ τούτων ἐπιστολὰς ἔπεμψεν, Ἀλκέταν μὲν καὶ
about these letters he-sent Alcetas indeed and
Νεοπτόλεμον Εὐμένει προσέχειν κελεύσας, Εὐμένη δὲ
Neoptolemus to-Eumenes to-attend having-bidden Eumenes and
χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἔγνωκεν. Ἀλκέτας
to-handle the affairs as he-himself has-decided Alcetas
μὲν οὖν ἄντικρυς ἀπείπατο τὴν στρατείαν, ὡς τῶν ὑπ'
indeed then outright refused the campaign as the under
αὐτῷ Μακεδόνων Ἀντιπάτρῳ μὲν αἰδουμένων μάχεσθαι,
him Macedonians with-Antipater indeed being-ashamed to-fight

Κρατερὸν δὲ καὶ δέχεσθαι δι᾽ εὔνοιαν ἑτοίμων ὄντων·
Craterus and even to-receive through goodwill ready being
Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ βουλεύων μὲν ἐπ᾽ Εὐμένει προδοσίαν
Neoptolemus and plotting indeed against Eumenes treachery
οὐκ ἔλαθε, καλούμενος δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουεν, ἀλλὰ παρέταττε
not escaped-notice being-summoned and not he-obeyed but drew-up
τὴν δύναμιν. ἔνθα πρῶτον ὁ Εὐμένης ἀπέλαυσε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
the force there first — Eumenes enjoyed the his-own
προνοίας καὶ παρασκευῆς· ἡττώμενος γὰρ ἤδη κατὰ τὸ
foresight and preparation being-worsted for already in the
πεζὸν ἐτρέψατο τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον καὶ τὴν
infantry he-routed with-the horsemen — Neoptolemus and the
ἀποσκευὴν ἔλαβεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ φάλαγγι διεσπαρμένῃ
baggage took of-him and on-the phalanx scattered
περὶ τὴν δίωξιν ἄθρους ἐπελάσας ἠνάγκασε τὰ ὅπλα θέσθαι
in the pursuit in-a-body having-charged he-compelled the arms to-lay-down
καὶ δόντας καὶ λαβόντας ὅρκους αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν.
and having-given and having-received oaths with-him to-campaign-together
Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νεοπτόλεμος ὀλίγους τινὰς συναγαγὼν
— indeed then Neoptolemus few some having-gathered
ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἔφυγε πρὸς Κρατερὸν καὶ Ἀντίπατρον.
from the rout fled to Craterus and Antipater
παρ᾽ ἐκείνων δὲ ἀπέσταλτο πρεσβεία πρὸς Εὐμένη
from those and had-been-sent an-embassy to Eumenes
παρακαλοῦσα μεταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, καρπούμενον μὲν
summoning to-change-sides to them enjoying indeed
ἃς εἶχε σατραπείας, προσλαβόντα δὲ στρατιὰν καὶ
what he-held satrapies having-received-in-addition and army and
χώραν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν, Ἀντιπάτρῳ μὲν ἀντ᾽ ἐχθροῦ φίλον
land from them to-Antipater indeed instead-of enemy friend
γενόμενον, Κρατερῷ δὲ μὴ γενόμενον ἐκ φίλου πολέμιον.
having-become to-Craterus and not having-become from friend enemy

ταῦτα ὁ Εὐμένης ἀκούσας Ἀντιπάτρῳ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔφη
these-things — Eumenes having-heard to-Antipater indeed not — he-said
παλαιὸς ὢν ἐχθρὸς νῦν γενέσθαι φίλος, ὅτε αὐτὸν ὁρᾷ
old being enemy now would-become friend when him he-sees
τοῖς φίλοις ὡς ἐχθροῖς χρώμενον, Κρατερὸν δὲ Περδίκκᾳ
the friends as enemies treating Craterus and with-Perdiccas
διαλλάττειν ἕτοιμος εἶναι καὶ συνάγειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις
to-reconcile ready to-be and to-bring-together on the equal
καὶ δικαίοις· ἄρχοντος δὲ πλεονεξίας τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ
and just-terms beginning but of-encroachment the wronged-one
βοηθήσειν μέχρι ἂν ἐμπνέῃ, καὶ μᾶλλον τὸ σῶμα καὶ
going-to-help as-long-as — he-breathes and rather the body and
τὸν βίον ἢ τὴν πίστιν προήσεσθαι.
the life than the faith to-give-up

6 Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον πυθόμενοι ταῦτα κατὰ
those indeed then about — Antipater having-learned these-things at
σχολὴν ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν ὅλων, ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ
leisure were-deliberating about the whole-matter — Neoptolemus and
μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἀφικόμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς τήν τε μάχην
after the flight having-come to them the both battle
ἀπήγγελλε καὶ παρεκάλει βοηθεῖν, μάλιστα μὲν ἀμφοτέρους,
reported and urged to-help most indeed both
πάντως δὲ Κρατερόν· ποθεῖσθαι γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐκεῖνον ὑπὸ
in-any-case and Craterus to-be-longed-for for prodigiously that-one by
τῶν Μακεδόνων, κἂν μόνον ἴδωσι τὴν καυσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ
the Macedonians and-if only they-see the hat of-him and
τὴν φωνὴν ἀκούσωσι, μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἥξειν φερομένους.
the voice hear with the arms to-come rushing
καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὄντως ὄνομα τοῦ Κρατεροῦ μέγα, καὶ μετὰ
and for was really name — of-Craterus great and after
τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν τοῦτον ἐπόθησαν οἱ πολλοί,
the of-Alexander death him longed-for the many

μνημονεύοντες ὅτι καὶ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
remembering that even toward Alexander on-behalf-of them
ἀνεδέξατο πολλάκις ἀπεχθείας πολλάς, ὑποφερομένου πρὸς
he-had-undertaken often enmities many as-he-gave-way to
τὸν Περσικὸν ζῆλον ἀντιλαμβανόμενος, καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις
the Persian emulation opposing and the ancestral-ways
ἀμύνων διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ ὄγκον ἤδη περιυβριζομένοις.
defending through luxury and pomp already being-insulted
Τότε δ' οὖν ὁ Κρατερὸς τὸν μὲν Ἀντίπατρον εἰς
then and at-any-rate — Craterus — indeed Antipater into
Κιλικίαν ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναλαβὼν πολὺ
Cilicia sent-off himself and of-the force having-taken-up large
μέρος ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐμένη μετὰ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου προῆγεν,
part against — Eumenes with — Neoptolemus led-forward
οἰόμενος οὐ προσδεχομένῳ καὶ μετὰ πρόσφατον νίκην ἐν
thinking not expecting and after fresh victory in
ἀταξίᾳ καὶ περὶ πότους ἔχοντι τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι. τὸ
disorder and over drinkings having the force to-fall-upon the
μὲν οὖν προαισθέσθαι τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ
indeed then to-have-perceived-beforehand the attack of-him — Eumenes and
προπαρασκευάσασθαι νηφούσης ἄν τις ἡγεμονίας, οὐ μὴν
to-have-prepared-beforehand of-sober — one of-generalship not indeed
ἄκρας θείη δεινότητος· τὸ δὲ μὴ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους
of-highest might-set-it-down ability the but not only the enemies
ἃ μὴ καλῶς εἶχεν αἰσθέσθαι διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
what not well was to-perceive to-escape but also those
μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευομένους ἀγνοοῦντας ᾧ μαχοῦνται
with him campaigning not-knowing against-whom they-will-fight
προενσεῖσαι τῷ Κρατερῷ καὶ ἀποκρύψαι τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον,
to-lead-against — to-Craterus and to-conceal the opposing-general
ἴδιον δοκεῖ τούτου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἔργον γενέσθαι. διέδωκε
peculiar seems of-this the leader work to-have-been he-spread

μὲν οὖν λόγον ὡς Νεοπτόλεμος αὖθις ἐπίοι καὶ
indeed then a-report that Neoptolemus again was-attacking and
Πίγρης, ἔχοντες ἱππεῖς καὶ Καππαδοκῶν καὶ Παφλαγόνων.
Pigres having horsemen both of-Cappadocians and of-Paphlagonians
νυκτὸς δὲ ἀναζεῦξαι βουλόμενος, εἶτα καταδαρθὼν ὄψιν
by-night and to-break-camp wishing then having-fallen-asleep a-vision
εἶδεν ἀλλόκοτον. ἐδόκει γὰρ ὁρᾶν Ἀλεξάνδρους δύο
he-saw strange he-seemed for to-see Alexanders two
παρασκευαζομένους ἀλλήλοις μάχεσθαι, μιᾶς ἑκάτερον
preparing with-one-another to-fight of-one each
ἡγούμενον φάλαγγος· εἶτα τῷ μὲν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, τῷ δὲ
leading phalanx then to-the one — Athena to-the other
τὴν Δήμητραν βοηθοῦσαν ἐλθεῖν, γενομένου δὲ ἀγῶνος
— Demeter helping to-come having-happened and a-contest
ἰσχυροῦ κρατηθῆναι τὸν μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τῷ δὲ νικῶντι
mighty to-be-overcome the-one with — Athena for-the and victor
σταχύων δρεπομένην τὴν Δήμητραν συμπλέκειν στέφανον.
of-ears plucking — Demeter to-weave a-crown
Αὐτόθεν μὲν οὖν τὴν ὄψιν εἴκαζεν εἶναι πρὸς αὑτοῦ,
at-once indeed then the vision he-conjectured to-be on-the-side-of him
μαχομένου περὶ γῆς ἀρίστης καὶ τότε πολὺν καὶ καλὸν
fighting about land best and then much and fine
ἐχούσης ἐν κάλυκι στάχυν· ἅπασα γὰρ κατέσπαρτο καὶ
having in husk ear-of-grain all for had-been-sown and
παρεῖχεν εἰρήνῃ πρέπουσαν ὄψιν, ἀμφιλαφῶς τῶν πεδίων
afforded to-peace fitting sight abundantly the plains
κομώντων· μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπερρώσθη πυθόμενος σύνθημα
being-covered-with-crops more and he-was-strengthened having-learned watchword
τοῖς πολεμίοις Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον εἶναι. Δήμητραν
to-the enemies Athena and Alexander to-be Demeter
δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδίδου σύνθημα καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀναδεῖσθαί
indeed also himself gave watchword and Alexander to-bind-on

τε πάντας ἐκέλευε καὶ καταστέφειν τὰ ὅπλα τῶν σταχύων
both all he-bade and to-crown the arms of-the ears
λαμβάνοντας. ὁρμήσας δὲ πολλάκις ἐξαγορεῦσαι καὶ
taking having-been-moved and often to-speak-out and
φράσαι τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς πρὸς
to-tell to-those around him officers and generals against
ὃν ἔμελλεν ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μὴ μόνος ἐν αὑτῷ
whom was-about the contest to-be and not alone in himself
θέμενος ἀποκρύψαι καὶ κατασχεῖν ἀπόρρητον οὕτως
having-placed to-conceal and to-hold secret so
ἀναγκαῖον, ὅμως ἐνέμεινε τοῖς λογισμοῖς καὶ διεπίστευσε
necessary nevertheless he-abided by-the reasonings and entrusted
τῇ γνώμῃ τὸν κίνδυνον.
to-the judgment the danger
Ἀντέταξε δὲ Κρατερῷ Μακεδόνων μὲν οὐδένα, δύο δὲ 7
he-arrayed-against and to-Craterus of-Macedonians indeed none two but
ἱππαρχίας ξενικάς, ὧν Φαρνάβαζος ὁ Ἀρταβάζου καὶ
cavalry-squadrons foreign of-which Pharnabazus the of-Artabazus and
Φοῖνιξ ὁ Τενέδιος ἡγοῦντο, διακελευσάμενος ὀφθέντων
Phoenix the Tenedian led having-ordered-them having-been-sighted
τῶν πολεμίων ἐλαύνειν κατὰ τάχος καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι, μὴ
the enemies to-ride at speed and to-close not
διδόντας ἀναστροφὴν μηδὲ φωνήν, μηδὲ κήρυκα πεμπόμενον
giving turning-back nor voice nor a-herald sent
προσιεμένους. ἐδεδίει γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, μὴ
admitting he-feared for strongly the Macedonians lest
γνωρίσαντες τὸν Κρατερὸν οἴχωνται μεταβαλόμενοι πρὸς
having-recognized — Craterus they-be-gone having-changed-sides to
ἐκεῖνον. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους ἱππεῖς τριακοσίους
him himself and the strongest horsemen three-hundred
εἰς ἄγημα συντάξας καὶ παρελάσας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔμελλε
into guard having-formed and having-ridden-past to the right was-about

τοῖς περὶ Νεοπτόλεμον ἐπιχειρεῖν. ὡς δὲ τὸν ἐν μέσῳ λόφον
those about Neoptolemus to-attack when and the in middle hill
ὑπερβαλόντες ὤφθησαν ὀξεῖαν καὶ μεθ᾽ ὁρμῆς σφοδροτέρας
having-crossed they-were-seen swift and with impetus more-vehement
ποιούμενοι τὴν ἔφοδον, ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ Κρατερὸς καὶ πολλὰ
making the attack astounded — Craterus and many-things
λοιδορήσας τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον ὡς ἐξηπατημένος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ
having-reviled — Neoptolemus as having-been-deceived by him
περὶ τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων μεταβολῆς, ἐγκελευσάμενος
about the of-the Macedonians change having-exhorted
ἀνδραγαθεῖν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν ἀντεξήλασε.
to-be-brave the about himself officers charged-in-reply
Γενομένης δὲ τῆς πρώτης συρράξεως βαρείας καὶ τῶν
having-happened and the first clash heavy and the
δοράτων ταχὺ συντριβέντων, τοῦ δὲ ἀγῶνος ἐν τοῖς ξίφεσιν
spears quickly having-been-shattered the and contest in the swords
ὄντος, οὐ καταισχύνας ὁ Κρατερὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλὰ
being not having-disgraced — Craterus — Alexander but
πολλοὺς μὲν καταβαλών, πολλάκις δὲ τρεψάμενος τοὺς
many indeed having-struck-down often and having-routed those
ἀντιτεταγμένους, τέλος δὲ πληγεὶς ὑπὸ Θρᾳκὸς ἐκ
arrayed-against at-last and having-been-struck by a-Thracian from
πλαγίων προσελάσαντος ἀπερρύη τοῦ ἵππου. πεσόντα
the-side having-ridden-at slipped-off the horse having-fallen
δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρήλασαν ἀγνοοῦντες, Γοργίας
and him the indeed others rode-past not-knowing Gorgias
δὲ τῶν Εὐμένους στρατηγῶν ἔγνω τε καὶ καταβὰς
but of-the of-Eumenes generals recognized both and having-dismounted
περιέστησε φρουρὰν τῷ σώματι κακῶς ἤδη διακειμένου
set-around a-guard about-the body badly already disposed
καὶ δυσθανατοῦντος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος
and dying-hard in this and also Neoptolemus

Εὐμένει συνήρχετο. μισοῦντες γὰρ ἀλλήλους πάλαι καὶ
with-Eumenes was-engaging hating for one-another long-since and
δι᾽ ὀργῆς ἔχοντες ἐν μὲν δυσὶν ἀναστροφαῖς οὐ κατεῖδον,
in anger holding in indeed two turnings not they-saw
ἐν δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ γνωρίσαντες εὐθὺς ἤλαυνον, σπασάμενοι τὰ
in but the third having-recognized at-once they-rode having-drawn the
ἐγχειρίδια καὶ βοῶντες. τῶν δ᾽ ἵππων ἐξ ἐναντίας βίᾳ
daggers and shouting the and horses from opposite with-force
συμπεσόντων ὥσπερ τριήρων, τὰς ἡνίας ἀφέντες ἀλλήλων
having-collided like triremes the reins having-let-go each-other
ἐπεδράξαντο ταῖς χερσί, τά τε κράνη περισπῶντες καὶ
grasped with-the hands the both helmets tearing-off and
περιρρηγνύντες ἐκ τῶν ἐπωμίδων τοὺς θώρακας. πρὸς
tearing-away from the shoulder-pieces the breastplates at
δὲ τὸν σπαραγμὸν ὑπεκδραμόντων ἅμα τῶν ἵππων,
and the tearing running-out-from-under at-once the horses
ἀπορρυέντες εἰς γῆν καὶ περιπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐν λαβαῖς
having-slipped-off to ground and having-fallen-on one-another in grips
ἦσαν καὶ διεπάλαιον. εἶτα ὁ μὲν Εὐμένης τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου
were and wrestled then — indeed Eumenes — Neoptolemus
προεξανισταμένου τὴν ἰγνύαν ὑπέκοψεν αὐτὸς εἰς ὀρθὸν
rising-first the hamstring cut-under himself to upright
φθάσας καταστῆναι, ὁ δὲ Νεοπτόλεμος εἰς θάτερον
having-anticipated to-stand — but Neoptolemus on the-one
ἐρεισάμενος γόνυ, θάτερον δὲ πεπηρωμένος, ἠμύνετο μὲν
having-propped knee the-other and maimed defended-himself indeed
εὐρώστως κάτωθεν, οὐ θανασίμους δὲ πληγὰς ὑποφέρων,
stoutly from-below not mortal but blows dealing
πληγεὶς δὲ παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον ἔπεσε καὶ παρείθη. τοῦ
having-been-struck and by the neck fell and was-relaxed —
δὲ Εὐμένους δι᾽ ὀργὴν καὶ μῖσος παλαιὸν τά τε ὅπλα
and Eumenes through anger and hatred old the both arms

περισπῶντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κακῶς λέγοντος, ἔτι τὸ ξίφος ἔχων
stripping of-him and ill speaking still the sword having
ἔλαθεν ὑπὸ τὸν θώρακα τρώσας, ᾗ παρέψαυσε
he-escaped-notice under the breastplate having-wounded where it-touched
τοῦ βουβῶνος ἀποβάς. ἡ δὲ πληγὴ μᾶλλον ἐφόβησεν
the groin having-gone-down the but blow more frightened
ἢ ἔβλαψε τὸν Εὐμένη, δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀμυδρὰ γενομένη.
than harmed — Eumenes through weakness faint having-become
Σκυλεύσας δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν εἶχε μὲν χαλεπῶς ὑπὸ
having-stripped and the corpse he-was indeed badly from
τραυμάτων μηροὺς καὶ βραχίονας διακεκομμένος, ὅμως
wounds thighs and arms cut-through nevertheless
δὲ ἀναβληθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐδίωκε πρὸς θάτερον κέρας,
but having-been-put-up on the horse he-pursued toward the-other wing
ὡς ἔτι συνεστώτων τῶν πολεμίων. πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν
as still standing-together the enemies having-learned but the
Κρατεροῦ τελευτὴν καὶ προσελάσας, ὡς εἶδεν ἐμπνέοντα
of-Craterus end and having-ridden-up when he-saw-him breathing
καὶ συνιέντα, καταβὰς ἀπεδάκρυσε καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν
and conscious having-dismounted he-wept and the right-hand
ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλοιδόρησε τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον,
clasped and many-things indeed reviled — Neoptolemus
πολλὰ δὲ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ᾠκτίσατο τῆς τύχης, αὑτὸν
many-things and him indeed pitied for-the fortune himself
δὲ τῆς ἀνάγκης, δι' ἣν ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ καὶ συνήθει
and for-the necessity through which with-a-man friend and intimate
ταῦτα πεισόμενος ἢ δράσων συνηνέχθη.
these-things going-to-suffer or going-to-do he-had-been-brought-together

8 Ταύτην τὴν μάχην Εὐμένης ἡμέραις δέκα σχεδόν τι
this the battle Eumenes in-days ten nearly somewhat
μετὰ τὴν προτέραν ἐνίκησε· καὶ δόξῃ μὲν ἤρθη μέγας
after the former won and in-repute indeed was-lifted great

ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς, ὡς τὰ μὲν σοφίᾳ, τὰ δὲ ἀνδρείᾳ
from it as the-things indeed by-wisdom the-things and by-courage
κατειργασμένος, φθόνον δὲ πολὺν ἔσχε καὶ μῖσος ὁμαλῶς
having-accomplished envy but much he-had and hatred alike
παρά τε τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὡς ἔπηλυς
among both the allies and the enemies as an-incomer
ἀνὴρ καὶ ξένος ὅπλοις καὶ χερσὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὸν
man and foreigner with-arms and hands of-the Macedonians the
πρῶτον αὐτῶν καὶ δοκιμώτατον ἀνῃρηκώς. ἀλλ᾽ εἰ
first of-them and most-esteemed having-slain but if
μὲν ἔφθη Περδίκκας πυθόμενος τὴν Κρατεροῦ
indeed had-been-beforehand Perdiccas having-learned the of-Craterus
τελευτήν, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλος ἐπρώτευσε Μακεδόνων· νυνὶ
death not — another would-have-been-first of-Macedonians as-it-was
δὲ ἀνῃρημένου Περδίκκου κατὰ στάσιν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δυσὶν
and having-been-slain Perdiccas in sedition in Egypt two
ἡμέραις πρότερον ἦκεν οὗτος ὁ περὶ τῆς μάχης λόγος εἰς τὸ
days before came this the about the battle report into the
στρατόπεδον, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν εὐθὺς οἱ Μακεδόνες θάνατον
camp and in anger at-once the Macedonians death
τοῦ Εὐμένους κατέγνωσαν. ἀπεδείχθη δὲ τοῦ πολέμου
— of-Eumenes decreed was-appointed and of-the war
τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονος μετὰ Ἀντιπάτρου στρατηγός.
the against him Antigonus with Antipater general
Ἐπεὶ δὲ Εὐμένης τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἱπποφορβίοις περὶ τὴν
when and Eumenes on-the royal horse-herds about —
Ἴδην νεμομένοις ἐπιτυχὼν καὶ λαβὼν ἵππους ὅσων
Ida pasturing having-chanced and having-taken horses as-many-as
ἔχρῃζε τοῖς ἐπιμελητοῖς τὴν γραφὴν ἔπεμψε, λέγεται
he-needed to-the overseers the receipt sent it-is-said
γελάσαι τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι θαυμάζει τὸν
to-have-laughed — Antipater and to-have-said that he-admires —

Εὐμένη τῆς προνοίας, ἐλπίζοντα λόγον αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν
Eumenes for-the foresight expecting account to-them going-to-render
τῶν βασιλικῶν ἢ λήψεσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν. περὶ δὲ τὰς
of-the royal-things or going-to-receive from them about and —
Σάρδεις ἐβούλετο μὲν ἱπποκρατῶν ὁ Εὐμένης τοῖς Λυδοῖς
Sardis wished indeed being-strong-in-horse — Eumenes on-the Lydian
ἐναγωνίσασθαι πεδίοις, ἅμα καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τὴν δύναμιν
to-fight-it-out plains at-once and — to-Cleopatra the force
ἐπιδεῖξαι φιλοτιμούμενος· αὐτῆς δὲ ἐκείνης δεηθείσης
to-display being-ambitious herself and she having-begged
(ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ αἰτίαν τινὰ λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν
she-feared for blame some to-receive from those about —
Ἀντίπατρον) ἐξήλασεν εἰς τὴν ἄνω Φρυγίαν καὶ διεχείμαζεν
Antipater he-marched into the upper Phrygia and wintered
ἐν Κελαιναῖς· ὅπου τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν καὶ
in Celaenae where those indeed about — Alcetas and
Πολέμωνα καὶ Δόκιμον ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας διαφιλοτιμουμένων
Polemon and Docimus about leadership vying-in-ambition
πρὸς αὐτόν, “Τοῦτο ἦν,” ἔφη, “τὸ λεγόμενον, ‘Ὀλέθρου
with him this was he-said the-thing said of-destruction
δ᾽ οὐθεὶς λόγος.’” τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ὑποσχόμενος ἐν
and no account to-the and soldiers having-promised in
τρισὶν ἡμέραις τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδώσειν ἐπίπρασκεν αὐτοῖς τὰς
three days the pay to-render he-sold them the
κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπαύλεις καὶ τετραπυργίας σωμάτων καὶ
in the country farmsteads and castles with-slaves and
βοσκημάτων γεμούσας. ὁ δὲ πριάμενος ἡγεμὼν τάγματος ἢ
with-cattle full the and having-bought leader of-a-company or
ξεναγὸς ὄργανα καὶ μηχανὰς τοῦ Εὐμένους παρέχοντος
mercenary-captain engines and machines — Eumenes providing
ἐξεπολιόρκει· καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθὸν οἱ
took-by-siege and toward the owed pay the

στρατιῶται διενέμοντο τῶν ἁλισκομένων ἕκαστον. ἐκ δὴ
soldiers distributed of-the captured each from indeed
τούτου πάλιν ὁ Εὐμένης ἠγαπᾶτο· καί ποτε γραμμάτων ἐν
this again — Eumenes was-loved and once letters in
τῷ στρατοπέδῳ φανέντων ἃ διέρριψαν οἱ τῶν πολεμίων
the camp having-appeared which scattered the of-the enemies
ἡγεμόνες, ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καὶ τιμὰς διδόντες τῷ
leaders a-hundred talents and honors giving to-the-one
κτείναντι τὸν Εὐμένη, σφόδρα παρωξύνθησαν οἱ Μακεδόνες,
having-killed — Eumenes vehemently were-provoked the Macedonians
καὶ δόγμα ποιοῦνται χιλίους τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν περὶ αὐτὸν
and a-decree make a-thousand of-the officers about him
ἀεὶ δορυφοροῦντας εἶναι καὶ φυλάττειν ἐν περιόδῳ καὶ
always being-bodyguards to-be and to-guard in rotation and
παρανυκτερεύειν. οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, καὶ τιμὰς ἠγάπων παρ᾽
to-keep-watch-by-night they and obeyed and honors gladly from
αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοντες ἃς οἱ φίλοι παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων.
him receiving which the friends from the kings
ἐξῆν γὰρ Εὐμένει καὶ καυσίας ἁλουργεῖς καὶ χλαμύδας
it-was-allowed for to-Eumenes both hats purple and cloaks
διανέμειν, ἥτις ἦν δωρεὰ βασιλικωτάτη παρὰ Μακεδόσι.
to-distribute which was a-gift most-royal among Macedonians

Betrayed at Orcynii, Eumenes hangs the traitor and doubles back to burn his dead on the field, to Antigonus' wonder. He spares Antigonus' baggage, warning its guard Menander, and withdraws to the fortress of Nora with a few hundred men. Meeting Antigonus, he claims his satrapies and is mobbed by admiring Macedonians. Besieged, he keeps his men cheerful and exercises the horses by hoisting them in slings. When Antipater dies, he amends the oath Antigonus offers, swearing loyalty to Olympias and the kings, and escapes.

9 Τὸ μὲν οὖν εὐτυχεῖν καὶ τοὺς φύσει μικροὺς
the indeed then to-be-fortunate even those by-nature small
συνεπικουφίζει τοῖς φρονήμασιν, ὥστε φαίνεσθαί τι
lifts-up-with in-their spirits so-that to-appear some
μέγεθος περὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὄγκον ἐκ πραγμάτων ὑπερεχόντων
greatness about them and pomp from affairs superior
ἀποβλεπομένους· ὁ δὲ ἀληθῶς μεγαλόφρων καὶ βέβαιος
being-looked-at the but truly great-minded and steadfast
ἐν τοῖς σφάλμασι μᾶλλον καὶ ταῖς δυσημερίαις ἀναφέρων
in the stumbles rather and the misfortunes rallying
γίνεται κατάδηλος, ὥσπερ Εὐμένης. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν
becomes manifest as Eumenes first indeed for in
Ὀρκυνίοις τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου
Orcynii — of-Cappadocia having-been-defeated by Antigonus
διὰ προδοσίας καὶ διωκόμενος οὐ παρῆκε τὸν προδότην
through treachery and being-pursued not he-let the traitor
ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς διαπεσεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ
from the flight to-slip-through to the enemies but
συλλαβὼν ἐκρέμασε. φεύγων δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν τοῖς
having-seized-him he-hanged-him fleeing and the opposite road to-the
διώκουσι μετέβαλε λαθών, καὶ παραλλάξας, ὡς
pursuers he-changed having-escaped-notice and having-slipped-past when

ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον οὗ τὴν μάχην συνέβη γενέσθαι,
he-came to the place where the battle happened to-take-place
κατεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τῶν
he-encamped and having-gathered the dead and of-the
ἐν κύκλῳ κωμῶν τὰ θυρώματα κατασχίσας ἔκαυσεν ἰδίᾳ
in circle villages the door-frames having-split he-burned separately
μὲν ἡγεμόνας, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοὺς πολλούς, καὶ πολυάνδρια
indeed officers separately and the many and mass-graves
χώσας ἀπῆλθεν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὕστερον
having-heaped-up went-away so-that even — Antigonus later
ἐπελθόντα θαυμάζειν τὸ θάρσος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐστάθειαν.
having-come-up to-admire the boldness of-him and the steadiness
Ἔπειτα ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου περιπεσών, καὶ
then on-the baggage — of-Antigonus having-fallen-in and
λαβεῖν ῥᾳδίως δυνάμενος πολλὰ μὲν ἐλεύθερα σώματα,
to-take easily being-able many indeed free persons
πολλὴν δὲ θεραπείαν καὶ πλοῦτον ἐκ πολέμων τοσούτων
much and retinue and wealth from wars so-many
καὶ λεηλασιῶν ἠθροισμένον, ἔδεισε μὴ καταπλησθέντες
and plunderings gathered he-feared lest having-been-glutted
ὠφελείας καὶ λαφύρων οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ βαρεῖς γένωνται
with-booty and spoils those with him heavy become
πρὸς τὴν φυγήν, καὶ μαλακώτεροι τὰς πλάνας ὑπομένειν
for the flight and softer the wanderings to-endure
καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τοῦ πολέμου τὰς ἐλπίδας
and the time in which most of-the war the hopes
εἶχεν, ὡς ἀποστρέψων τὸν Ἀντίγονον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄντικρυς
he-had as going-to-turn-away — Antigonus since and outright
χαλεπὸν ἦν ἀποτρέπειν Μακεδόνας χρημάτων ἐν ἐφικτῷ
hard it-was to-turn-away Macedonians from-money in reach
παρόντων, ἐκέλευσε θεραπεύσαντας αὑτοὺς καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις
being-present he-ordered having-tended themselves and to-the horses

χιλὸν ἐμβαλόντας οὕτω βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. αὐτὸς
fodder having-thrown thus to-go against the enemies himself
δὲ πέμπει κρύφα πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς τῶν
and sends secretly to the in-charge-of the baggage of-the
πολεμίων Μένανδρον, ὡς κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ φίλου γεγονότος
enemies Menander as caring-for him a-friend having-been
καὶ συνήθους, φυλάξασθαι παραινῶν καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι τὴν
and intimate to-be-on-guard advising and to-withdraw the
ταχίστην ἐκ τῶν ἐπιδρόμων καὶ ταπεινῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐγγὺς
quickest from the open-to-raids and low-lying-places to the near
ὑπώρειαν ἄφιππον οὖσαν καὶ κυκλώσεις οὐκ ἔχουσαν.
foothill unfit-for-horse being and encirclements not having
τοῦ δὲ Μενάνδρου ταχὺ συμφρονήσαντος τὸν κίνδυνον
— and Menander quickly having-understood the danger
καὶ ἀνασκευασαμένου, κατασκόπους ἔπεμπεν ὁ Εὐμένης
and having-packed-up scouts sent — Eumenes
φανερῶς, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁπλίζεσθαι καὶ
openly and gave-orders to-the soldiers to-arm and
τοὺς ἵππους ἐγχαλινοῦν ὡς προσάξων τοῖς πολεμίοις.
the horses to-bridle as going-to-lead-against the enemies
τῶν δὲ κατασκόπων ἀπαγγειλάντων ὅτι παντάπασιν ὁ
the and scouts having-reported that altogether —
Μένανδρος ἅληπτος εἴη καταπεφευγὼς εἰς τόπους χαλεπούς,
Menander uncatchable was having-fled into places difficult
ἄχθεσθαι προσποιούμενος ὁ Εὐμένης ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν.
to-be-vexed pretending — Eumenes led-off the army
λέγεται δέ, τοῦ Μενάνδρου ταῦτα μαρτυρήσαντος πρὸς
it-is-said and — Menander these-things having-testified to
τὸν Ἀντίγονον, καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπαινούντων τὸν
— Antigonus and the Macedonians praising —
Εὐμένη καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον διατεθέντων, ὅτι καὶ παῖδας
Eumenes and more-kindly having-been-disposed because both children

αὐτῶν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι καὶ γυναῖκας αἰσχῦναι παρὸν
of-them to-enslave and women to-dishonor being-possible
ἐφείσατο καὶ παρῆκεν, "Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνός γε," φάναι τὸν
he-spared and let-go but he at-least to-have-said —
Ἀντίγονον, "οὐχ ὑμῶν, ὦ μακάριοι, κηδόμενος παρῆκεν,
Antigonus not you O blessed-ones caring-for let-go
ἀλλ' αὑτῷ φεύγοντι δεδιὼς περιθεῖναι πέδας τοσαύτας."
but for-himself fleeing fearing to-put-on fetters so-many
Ἐκ τούτου πλανώμενος ὁ Εὐμένης καὶ ὑποφεύγων ἔπεισε 10
from this wandering — Eumenes and fleeing-away persuaded
τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπελθεῖν, εἴτε κηδόμενος
the many of-the soldiers to-depart whether caring-for
αὐτῶν εἴτε ἐφέλκεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενος ἐλάττονας μὲν τοῦ
them or to-drag-along not wishing fewer indeed than-the
μάχεσθαι, πλείονας δὲ τοῦ λανθάνειν ὄντας. καταφυγὼν δὲ
to-fight more but than-the to-escape-notice being having-fled and
εἰς Νῶρα, χωρίον ἐν μεθορίῳ Λυκαονίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας,
into Nora a-place on border of-Lycaonia and Cappadocia
μετὰ πεντακοσίων ἱππέων καὶ διακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν, κἀντεῦθεν
with five-hundred horsemen and two-hundred hoplites and-thence
αὖθις, ὅσοι τῶν φίλων ἐδεήθησαν ἀφεθῆναι τοῦ χωρίου
again as-many-as of-the friends asked to-be-released of-the place
τὴν χαλεπότητα καὶ τῆς διαίτης τὴν ἀνάγκην οὐ φέροντες,
the difficulty and of-the way-of-life the hardship not bearing
πάντας ἀσπασάμενος καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς ἀπέπεμψεν. ὡς
all having-embraced and having-treated-kindly he-sent-away when
δὲ ἐπελθὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος εἰς λόγους αὐτὸν ἐκάλει πρὸ
and having-come-up — Antigonus to talks him called before
τῆς πολιορκίας, ἀπεκρίνατο πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς Ἀντιγόνου
the siege he-answered many to-be the of-Antigonus
φίλους καὶ μετὰ Ἀντίγονον ἡγεμόνας, ὧν δὲ αὐτὸς
friends and after Antigonus leaders of-whom but he-himself

προπολεμεῖ μηδένα λείπεσθαι μετ᾽ αὐτόν· ὁμήρους δὲ
fights-for none to-be-left after him hostages and
πέμπειν ἐκέλευσεν, εἰ χρῄζει διὰ λόγων αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. τοῦ
to-send he-bade if he-desires in talks with-him to-be —
δὲ Ἀντιγόνου κελεύοντος ὡς κρείττονι λαλεῖν, "Οὐδένα,"
and Antigonus bidding-him as with-a-superior to-speak no-one
εἶπεν, "ἐμαυτοῦ κρείττονα νομίζω, μέχρι ἂν ὦ τοῦ
he-said than-myself superior I-think as-long-as — I-am of-the
ξίφους κύριος." ὅμως δὲ πέμψαντος τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τὸν
sword master nevertheless but having-sent — Antigonus the
ἀδελφιδοῦν Πτολεμαῖον εἰς τὸ χωρίον, ὥσπερ ἠξίωσεν ὁ
nephew Ptolemy into the place as had-claimed —
Εὐμένης, κατέβη, καὶ περιβαλόντες ἀλλήλους ἠσπάσαντο
Eumenes he-came-down and having-thrown-around one-another they-embraced
φιλικῶς καὶ οἰκείως, ἅτε δὴ ἀλλήλοις κεχρημένοι
in-friendly-way and familiarly inasmuch-as indeed one-another having-dealt-with
πολλὰ καὶ συνήθεις γεγονότες. λόγων δὲ γενομένων
much and intimates having-been talks and having-happened
πολλῶν καὶ τοῦ Εὐμένους οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας μεμνημένου
many and — Eumenes not about safety making-mention
καὶ διαλύσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς σατραπείας ἀξιοῦντος αὑτῷ
and reconciliation but also the satrapies claiming for-himself
βεβαιοῦσθαι καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἀποδίδοσθαι, θαῦμα τοὺς
to-be-confirmed and the gifts to-be-given-back wonder those
παρόντας εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν εὐτολμίαν ἀγαμένους.
present held the spirit and the daring admiring
ἅμα δὲ πολλοὶ συνέτρεχον τῶν Μακεδόνων ἰδεῖν
at-the-same-time and many ran-together of-the Macedonians to-see
ὅστις ἐστὶ τὸν Εὐμένη ποθοῦντες· οὐ γὰρ ἑτέρου λόγος ἦν
who is — Eumenes longing not for of-another talk was
τοσοῦτος ἐν τῷ στρατῷ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Κρατεροῦ τελευτήν.
so-great in the army after the — of-Craterus death

δείσας δὲ ὁ Ἀντίγονος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, μή τι πάθῃ
having-feared and — Antigonus for him lest something he-suffer
βίαιον, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπηγόρευε μὴ προσιέναι βοῶν, καὶ
violent first indeed he-forbade not to-approach shouting and
τοῖς λίθοις ἔβαλλε τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους, τέλος δὲ ταῖς
with-the stones pelted those rushing-on at-last and with-the
χερσὶ τὸν Εὐμένη περιβαλὼν καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἀπερύκων
hands — Eumenes having-thrown-around and the crowd keeping-off
τοῖς δορυφόροις μόλις εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποκατέστησε.
with-the bodyguards scarcely into the safety he-restored-him
Τοὐντεῦθεν ὁ μὲν περιτειχίσας τὰ Νῶρα καὶ φρουρὰν 11
thereafter he indeed having-walled-round — Nora and a-garrison
καταλιπὼν ἀνέζευξεν· Εὐμένης δὲ πολιορκούμενος ἐγκρατῶς,
having-left broke-camp Eumenes but being-besieged closely
τοῦ χωρίου σῖτον καὶ ὕδωρ ἄφθονον καὶ ἅλας καὶ ἄλλο
of-the place grain and water abundant and salt and other
μηδὲν ἔχοντος ἐδώδιμον μηδὲ ἥδυσμα πρὸς τὸν σῖτον,
nothing having edible nor relish for the grain
ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὅμως κατεσκεύαζε τοῖς συνοῦσιν
from the things-at-hand nevertheless prepared for-those with-him
ἱλαρὰν τὴν δίαιταν, ἐν μέρει τε παραλαμβάνων πάντας
cheerful the life in turn both receiving all
ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν, καὶ τὸ συσσίτιον ὁμιλίᾳ
at the his-own table and the common-mess with-conversation
χάριν ἐχούσῃ καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ἐφηδύνων. ἦν δὲ καὶ
grace having and kindness sweetening he-was and also
τὸ εἶδος ἡδύς, οὐ πολεμικῷ καὶ τετριμμένῳ δι' ὅπλων
the form pleasant not warlike-one and worn by arms
ἐοικώς, ἀλλὰ γλαφυρὸς καὶ νεοπρεπής, καὶ πᾶν τὸ
resembling but polished and youthful and all the
σῶμα διηρθρωμένος ὡς ὑπὸ τέχνης ἀκριβῶς τοῖς μέλεσι
body well-jointed as by art exactly with-the limbs

θαυμαστὴν συμμετρίαν ἔχουσιν, εἰπεῖν δὲ οὐ δεινός, αἱμύλος
wondrous symmetry having to-speak and not clever winning
δὲ καὶ πιθανός, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν συμβάλλειν ἐστίν.
but and persuasive as from the letters to-infer it-is-possible
Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πολιορκουμένους ἡ στενοχωρία
since and the with him besieged the narrowness
μάλιστα πάντων ἔβλαπτεν, ἐν οἰκήμασι μικροῖς καὶ τόπῳ
most of-all harmed in houses small and a-place
δυοῖν σταδίοιν ἔχοντι τὴν περίμετρον ἀναστρεφομένους,
two stades having the circumference moving-about
τροφὴν δὲ ἀγυμνάστους μὲν αὐτοὺς λαμβάνοντας, ἀργοῖς
food and unexercised indeed themselves taking idle
δὲ τοῖς ἵπποις προσφέροντας, οὐ μόνον τὸν ἄλυν αὐτῶν
and to-the horses bringing not only the restlessness of-them
ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπραξίας μαραινομένων ἀπαλλάξαι βουλόμενος,
from the inactivity wasting-away to-relieve wishing
ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς φυγήν, εἰ παραπέσοι καιρός, ἁμῶς γέ
but also for flight if should-fall-in occasion somehow at-least
πως ἠσκημένοις χρήσασθαι, τοῖς μὲν ἀνθρώποις οἶκον,
in-some-way exercised to-use to-the indeed men a-house
ὃς ἦν μέγιστος ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ, δεκατεσσάρων πηχῶν τὸ
which was largest in the place of-fourteen cubits the
μῆκος, ἀπέδειξε περίπατον, κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπιτείνειν τὴν
length he-appointed a-walk by little to-increase the
κίνησιν κελεύων, τῶν δ' ἵππων ἕκαστον ῥυτῆρσι μεγάλοις
motion bidding-them of-the and horses each with-straps great
εἰς τὴν ὀροφὴν ἀναδεδεμένοις ὑποζώσας ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν
to the roof fastened-up having-girt from the about the
αὐχένα μερῶν ἐμετεώριζε καὶ παρήγειρε διὰ τροχιλίας,
neck parts he-lifted and raised-up by a-pulley
ὥστε τοῖς μὲν ὀπισθίοις σκέλεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐρείδεσθαι,
so-that with-the indeed hind legs on the ground to-be-propped

τοῖς δὲ ἐμπροσθίοις ποσὶν ἀκρωνύχους ἐπιψαύειν. οὕτω
with-the and front feet with-tips-of-hooves to-touch so
δ' ἀνηρτημένους οἱ ἱπποκόμοι παρεστῶτες ἅμα ταῖς τε
and hung-up the grooms standing-by at-once with-the both
κραυγαῖς καὶ ταῖς μάστιξιν ἐπηρέθιζον· οἱ δὲ πιμπλάμενοι
shouts and the whips provoked they and being-filled
θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς τοῖς μὲν ὀπισθίοις ἐνήλλοντο
with-spirit and anger with-the indeed hind leapt
καὶ διεσκίρτων σκέλεσι, τοῖς δὲ μετεώροις ἐφιέμενοι
and kicked legs with-the and raised-ones striving
στηρίσασθαι καὶ κροτοῦντες τὸ ἔδαφος κατετείνοντο πᾶν
to-plant-themselves and striking the ground were-strained all
τὸ σῶμα καὶ πολὺν ἠφίεσαν ἱδρῶτα καὶ σταλαγμόν, οὔτε
the body and much they-let-go sweat and dripping neither
πρὸς τάχος οὔτε πρὸς ῥώμην γυμναζόμενοι κακῶς. τὰς δὲ
for speed nor for strength being-exercised badly the and
κριθὰς ἐνέβαλλον αὐτοῖς ἐπτισμένας, ἵνα κατεργάζωνται
barley threw-in for-them husked so-that they-might-digest-it
θᾶττον καὶ πέττωσι βέλτιον.
faster and concoct better
Ἤδη δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας χρόνον λαμβανούσης Ἀντίγονος 12
already and the siege time taking Antigonus
τεθνηκέναι πυνθανόμενος Ἀντίπατρον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ,
to-have-died learning Antipater in Macedonia
καὶ τεταράχθαι τὰ πράγματα Κασάνδρου καὶ
and to-have-been-thrown-into-confusion the affairs Cassander and
Πολυσπέρχοντος διαφερομένων, οὐδὲν ἔτι μικρὸν ἐλπίζων,
Polysperchon quarreling nothing any-longer small hoping
ἀλλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ τὴν ὅλην περιβαλλόμενος ἡγεμονίαν,
but in-the mind the whole embracing leadership
ἐβούλετο τὸν Εὐμένη φίλον ἔχειν καὶ συνεργὸν ἐπὶ τὰς
wished — Eumenes friend to-have and fellow-worker for the

πράξεις. διὸ πέμψας Ἱερώνυμον ἐσπένδετο τῷ Εὐμένει,
deeds wherefore having-sent Hieronymus he-made-a-truce — with-Eumenes
προτείνας ὅρκον, ὃν ὁ Εὐμένης διορθώσας ἐπέτρεψεν
having-proposed an-oath which — Eumenes having-corrected entrusted
ἐπικρῖναι τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν αὐτὸν Μακεδόσι, πότερος
to-judge to-the besieging him Macedonians which-of-the-two
εἴη δικαιότερος. Ἀντίγονος μὲν γὰρ ἀφοσιώσεως ἕνεκεν ἐν
was more-just Antigonus indeed for of-formality for-the-sake in
ἀρχῇ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιμνησθεὶς τὸν λοιπὸν ὅρκον εἰς ἑαυτὸν
beginning the kings having-mentioned the remaining oath to himself
ὤρκιζεν, Εὐμένης δὲ πρώτην μὲν ἐνέγραψε τοῖς ὅρκοις
bound Eumenes but first indeed wrote-in into-the oaths
Ὀλυμπιάδα μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων, ἔπειτα ὤμνυεν οὐκ Ἀντιγόνῳ
Olympias with the kings then swore not to-Antigonus
μόνον εὐνοήσειν οὐδ' ἐκείνῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν ἕξειν καὶ
only to-be-well-disposed nor him the same enemy to-have and
φίλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. ὧν
friend but also Olympias and the kings of-whom
δικαιοτέρων φανέντων, οἱ Μακεδόνες ταῦτα ὁρκίσαντες
more-just having-appeared the Macedonians these having-put-to-oath
τὸν Εὐμένη τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔλυσαν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον
— Eumenes the siege broke-up and to — Antigonus
ἀπέστελλον, ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποδῷ τῷ Εὐμένει τὸν ὅρκον.
sent that also he-himself might-render — to-Eumenes the oath
Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Εὐμένης ὅσους εἶχεν ἐν Νώροις τῶν
in this and Eumenes as-many-as he-had in Nora of-the
Καππαδοκῶν ὁμήρους ἀπεδίδου, λαμβάνων ἵππους καὶ
Cappadocians hostages gave-back receiving horses and
ὑποζύγια καὶ σκηνὰς παρὰ τῶν κομιζομένων, καὶ
beasts-of-burden and tents from those being-conveyed and
συνῆγε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅσοι διασπαρέντες ἀπὸ τῆς
gathered of-the soldiers as-many-as having-been-scattered from the

φυγῆς ἐπλανῶντο κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ὥστε περὶ αὐτὸν
flight wandered about the country so-that about him
ἱππεῖς ὀλίγῳ τῶν χιλίων ἀποδέοντας γενέσθαι, μεθ' ὧν
horsemen by-a-little of-the thousand falling-short to-be with whom
ἐξελάσας ἔφυγεν, ὀρθῶς φοβηθεὶς τὸν Ἀντίγονον. οὐ γὰρ
having-ridden-out he-fled rightly having-feared — Antigonus not for
μόνον ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευσε πολιορκεῖν αὖθις περιτειχίσαντας,
only that-one he-bade to-besiege again having-walled-round
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι πικρῶς ἀντέγραψε δεξαμένοις
but also to-the Macedonians bitterly wrote-back having-accepted
τοῦ ὅρκου τὴν διόρθωσιν.
of-the oath the correction

IV · THE SILVER SHIELDS

Olympias and Polysperchon write to Eumenes, and the Silver Shields under Antigenes and Teutamus receive him; to calm their rivalry he sets up a royal tent for Alexander as presiding king. The satraps under Peucestas corrupt the army with feasts, and Eumenes borrows money from his enemies so they will guard his life. Carried sick in a litter, he still commands. Antigonus laughs at the litter and is tricked by watchfires. Warned of Antigenes' and Teutamus' plot, Eumenes writes his will; when the Silver Shields crush Antigonus' phalanx, Antigonus still takes Eumenes' baggage.

Φεύγοντι δὲ Εὐμένει γράμματα κομίζεται παρὰ τῶν 13
fleeing and to-Eumenes letters are-brought from those
ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου δεδοικότων αὔξησιν,
in Macedonia the of-Antigonus fearing growth
Ὀλυμπιάδος μὲν παρακαλούσης ἐλθόντα τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου
Olympias indeed summoning-him having-come the of-Alexander
παιδίον παραλαβεῖν καὶ τρέφειν ὡς ἐπιβουλευόμενον,
little-child to-take-over and to-rear as being-plotted-against

Πολυσπέρχοντος δὲ καὶ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως κελευόντων
Polysperchon and and Philip the king bidding-him
Ἀντιγόνῳ πολεμεῖν τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ δυνάμεως ἄρχοντα,
Antigonus to-war-against of-the in Cappadocia force commanding
καὶ τῶν ἐν Κουΐνδοις χρημάτων πεντακόσια μὲν τάλαντα
and of-the at Quinda money five-hundred indeed talents
λαβεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἐπανόρθωσιν, εἰς δὲ τὸν
to-take for the of-the own-affairs restoration for and the
πόλεμον ὁπόσοις βούλεται χρῆσθαι. περὶ δὲ τούτων καὶ
war as-much-as he-wishes to-use about and these also
Ἀντιγένει καὶ Τευτάμῳ τοῖς τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων ἡγουμένοις
to-Antigenes and Teutamus those of-the silver-shields leading
ἐγεγράφεισαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ λαβόντες ἐκεῖνοι τὰ γράμματα τῷ
they-had-written when and having-received they the letters in-the
μὲν λόγῳ φιλανθρώπως ἐδέξαντο τὸν Εὐμένη, φθόνου δὲ
indeed word kindly received — Eumenes of-envy but
καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐφαίνοντο μεστοί, δευτερεύειν ἀπαξιοῦντες
and rivalry they-appeared full to-be-second disdaining
ἐκείνῳ, τὸν μὲν φθόνον ὁ Εὐμένης ἐθεράπευε τῷ τὰ
to-him the indeed envy — Eumenes soothed by-the the
χρήματα μὴ λαβεῖν ὡς οὐδὲν δεόμενος, ταῖς δὲ φιλονεικίαις
money not to-take as nothing needing to-the but rivalries
καὶ φιλαρχίαις αὐτῶν μήτε ἡγεῖσθαι δυναμένων μήτε
and loves-of-command of-them neither to-lead being-able nor
ἕπεσθαι βουλομένων ἐπῆγε δεισιδαιμονίαν.
to-follow wishing he-brought-to-bear superstition
Ἔφη γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους φανῆναι,
he-said for Alexander to-him in the sleep to-have-appeared
καὶ δεῖξαί τινα σκηνὴν κατεσκευασμένην βασιλικῶς
and to-have-shown some tent equipped royally
καὶ θρόνον ἐν αὐτῇ κείμενον· εἶτα εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐνταῦθα
and a-throne in it set then to-have-said that there

συνεδρεύουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ χρηματίζουσιν αὐτὸς παρέσται καὶ
sitting-in-council them and transacting-business he-himself will-be-present and
συνεφάψεται βουλῆς τε πάσης καὶ πράξεως ἀρχομένοις ἀπ᾽
will-take-part of-counsel both all and action beginning from
αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ῥᾳδίως ἔπεισε τὸν Ἀντιγένη καὶ τὸν Τεύταμον,
him these-things easily persuaded — Antigenes and — Teutamus
οὔτε ἐκείνων βαδίζειν βουλομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, οὔτε αὐτὸς
neither they to-go wishing to him nor he-himself
ἀξιῶν ἐπὶ θύραις ἑτέρων ὁρᾶσθαι. καὶ τιθέντες οὕτω
deigning at doors of-others to-be-seen and setting-up so
σκηνὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ θρόνον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καταπεφημισμένον
a-tent royal and a-throne to-Alexander consecrated
ἐκεῖ συνεπορεύοντο βουλευόμενοι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων.
there they-went-together deliberating about the greatest-matters
Ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊοῦσιν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἄνω χώραν ὁ
when and advancing them into the upper country —
Πευκέστας μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπῶν ἀπήντησε φίλος
Peucestas with the other satraps met-them a-friend
ὢν καὶ συνεμίξαντο τὰς δυνάμεις, πλήθει μὲν ὅπλων καὶ
being and they-united the forces in-number indeed of-arms and
λαμπρότητι παρασκευῆς ἐπέρρωσαν τοὺς Μακεδόνας, αὐτοὶ
in-splendor of-equipment encouraged the Macedonians themselves
δὲ ἀνάγωγοι ταῖς ἐξουσίαις καὶ μαλακοὶ ταῖς διαίταις
but unmanageable by-their powers and soft in-their ways-of-life
γεγονότες μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν, καὶ φρονήματα
having-become after the of-Alexander death and spirits
τυραννικὰ καὶ τεθραμμένα βαρβαρικαῖς ἀλαζονείαις ἐπὶ
tyrannical and nurtured by-barbaric braggings to
ταὐτὸ συνενεγκάμενοι, πρὸς μὲν ἀλλήλους βαρεῖς ἦσαν
the-same having-brought-together toward indeed one-another troublesome they-were
καὶ δυσάρμοστοι, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας κολακεύοντες
and ill-matched the but Macedonians flattering

ἐκκεχυμένως καὶ καταχορηγοῦντες εἰς δεῖπνα καὶ θυσίας
profusely and lavishing for dinners and sacrifices
ὀλίγου χρόνου τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀσωτίας πανηγυριζούσης
in-a-little time the camp of-prodigality holding-festival
καταγώγιον ἐποίησαν καὶ δημαγωγούμενον ἐπὶ αἱρέσει
an-inn they-made and courted-like-a-populace for election
στρατηγῶν ὄχλον, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις. αἰσθόμενος
of-generals a-mob as in the democracies having-perceived
δὲ ὁ Εὐμένης αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλων μὲν καταφρονοῦντας, αὐτὸν
and — Eumenes them of-one-another indeed contemptuous himself
δὲ φοβουμένους καὶ παραφυλάττοντας ἀνελεῖν, εἰ γένοιτο
but fearing and watching-for to-kill if should-come
καιρός, ἐσκήψατο χρημάτων δεῖσθαι καὶ συνεδανείσατο
occasion pretended money to-need and borrowed
τάλαντα πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν μάλιστα μισούντων αὐτόν,
talents many from those most hating him
ἵνα καὶ πιστεύωσι καὶ ἀπέχωνται περὶ τῶν δανείων
so-that both they-might-trust and might-hold-off about the loans
ἀγωνιῶντες· ὥστε συνέβη τὸν ἀλλότριον πλοῦτον αὐτῷ
anxious so-that it-came-about the of-others wealth for-him
φύλακα τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ
guard of-the body to-have and the others for safety
διδόντων, μόνον ἐκ τοῦ λαβεῖν κτήσασθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.
giving alone from the to-receive to-acquire the security
14 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ Μακεδόνες ἀδείας μὲν οὔσης ἐφθείροντο
not indeed but the Macedonians license indeed being were-corrupted
πρὸς τοὺς διδόντας, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων θύρας ἐθεράπευον,
toward those giving and the their doors courted
δορυφορουμένων καὶ στρατηγιώντων· ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀντίγονος
being-guarded-by-spearmen and wanting-to-be-generals when and Antigonus
αὐτοῖς παρεστρατοπέδευσε μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὰ
by-them encamped-alongside with much force and the

πράγματα φωνὴν ἀφιέντα τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκάλει στρατηγόν,
affairs voice uttering the true called-for general
οὐ μόνον οἱ στρατευόμενοι τῷ Εὐμένει προσεῖχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
not only the soldiers — to-Eumenes attended but also
τῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ τρυφῇ μεγάλων ἐκείνων ἕκαστος ἐνέδωκε
of-those in peace and luxury great those each gave-way
καὶ παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν σιωπῇ τὴν δοθεῖσαν φυλάττοντα τάξιν.
and put himself in-silence the assigned guarding post
καὶ γάρ τοι περὶ τὸν Πασιτίγριν ποταμὸν ἐπιχειρήσαντα
and for at-any-rate about the Pasitigris river having-attempted
διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἀντίγονον οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παραφυλάττοντες
to-cross — Antigonus the indeed others watching
οὐδὲ ᾔσθοντο, μόνος δὲ Εὐμένης ὑπέστη, καὶ συνάψας
not-even perceived alone but Eumenes withstood and having-joined
μάχην πολλοὺς μὲν κατέβαλε καὶ νεκρῶν ἐνέπλησε τὸ
battle many indeed struck-down and with-dead filled the
ῥεῖθρον, ἔλαβε δὲ τετρακισχιλίους αἰχμαλώτους. μάλιστα
stream took and four-thousand captives most
δὲ οἱ Μακεδόνες περὶ τὴν συμβᾶσαν ἀρρωστίαν αὐτῷ
and the Macedonians about the having-happened sickness to-him
καταφανεῖς ἐγένοντο τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἑστιᾶν λαμπρῶς καὶ
manifest became the indeed others to-feast splendidly and
πανηγυρίζειν, ἄρχειν δὲ καὶ πολεμεῖν δυνατὸν ἡγούμενοι
to-hold-festivals to-command but and to-wage-war able thinking
μόνον ἐκεῖνον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πευκέστας ἐν τῇ Περσίδι
only him — indeed for Peucestas in — Persis
λαμπρῶς αὐτοὺς ἑστιάσας καὶ κατ᾽ ἄνδρα διαδοὺς
splendidly them having-feasted and by man having-distributed
ἱερεῖον εἰς θυσίαν ἤλπιζεν εἶναι μέγιστος· ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον
a-victim for sacrifice hoped to-be greatest a-few but later
ἡμέραις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους βαδιζόντων,
days the soldiers against the enemies marching

ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Εὐμένης ἐκ νόσου τινὸς ἐπισφαλοῦς ἐν φορείῳ
happened — Eumenes from a-sickness some dangerous in a-litter
κομιζόμενος ἔξω τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ διὰ τὰς
being-carried outside the army in quiet because-of the
ἀγρυπνίας. μικρὸν δὲ προελθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἄφνω λόφους
sleeplessness a-little and having-advanced them suddenly hills
τινὰς ὑπερβάλλοντες ἐξεφάνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, καταβαίνοντες
some crossing appeared the enemies coming-down
εἰς τὸ πεδίον. ὡς οὖν αἵ τε τῶν χρυσῶν ὅπλων αὐγαὶ
into the plain when then the both of-the golden arms gleams
πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἐξέλαμψαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ ἀγήματος
toward the sun flashed-out from the heights of-the guard
ἐν τάξει πορευομένων, καὶ τῶν θηρίων τοὺς πύργους ἄνω
in order marching and of-the beasts the towers above
καὶ τὰς πορφύρας εἶδον, ὅσπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς κόσμος εἰς
and the purple-trappings they-saw which was for-them adornment into
μάχην ἀγομένοις, ἐπιστήσαντες οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν πορείαν
battle being-led having-halted the first the march
ἐβόων Εὐμένη καλεῖν αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ ἂν προελθεῖν
they-shouted Eumenes to-summon for-them not for — to-advance
ἐκείνου μὴ στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὴν γῆν
he not being-general and the arms to the ground
ἐρείσαντες ἀλλήλοις μένειν διεκελεύοντο, καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν
having-planted to-one-another to-stay they-exhorted and to-the officers
ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, καὶ χωρὶς Εὐμένους μὴ μάχεσθαι μηδὲ
quiet to-keep and without Eumenes not to-fight nor
κινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Εὐμένης
to-run-risk against the enemies having-heard and — Eumenes
ἦκε πρὸς αὐτοὺς δρόμῳ τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐπιταχύνας, καὶ
came to them at-a-run the bearers having-hurried and
τοῦ φορείου τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν αὐλαίας ἀνακαλύψας προὔτεινε
of-the litter the on-both-sides curtains having-uncovered he-stretched-out

τὴν δεξιὰν γεγηθώς. οἱ δὲ ὡς εἶδον, εὐθὺς ἀσπασάμενοι
the right-hand rejoicing they and when they-saw at-once having-greeted
Μακεδονιστὶ τῇ φωνῇ τάς τε ἀσπίδας ἀνείλοντο καὶ
in-Macedonian the tongue the both shields took-up and
ταῖς σαρίσαις ἐπιδουπήσαντες ἠλάλαξαν, προκαλούμενοι
with-the pikes having-clashed raised-the-war-cry challenging
τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος αὐτοῖς παρόντος.
the enemies as the leader for-them being-present
Ἀντίγονος δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἁλισκομένων ἀκούων τὸν Εὐμένη 15
Antigonus and from the captured hearing — Eumenes
νοσεῖν καὶ κομίζεσθαι κακῶς διακείμενον, οὐ μέγα ἔργον
to-be-sick and to-be-carried badly disposed not great work
ἡγεῖτο συντρῖψαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκείνου νοσοῦντος. διὸ
thought to-crush the others he being-sick wherefore
καὶ σπεύδων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην προσῆγεν. ὡς δὲ τῶν
also hastening to the battle he-led-on when and the
πολεμίων εἰς τάξιν καθισταμένων παρελάσας κατεῖδε
enemies into array being-set having-ridden-past he-saw
τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν διακόσμησιν, ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐπέστη πλείω
the formation and the arrangement astounded he-halted longer
χρόνον· εἶτα ὤφθη τὸ φορεῖον ἀπὸ θατέρου κέρως ἐπὶ
time then was-seen the litter from the-one wing to
θάτερον διαφερόμενον. γελάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, ὥσπερ
the-other being-carried-across having-laughed then — Antigonus as
εἰώθει, μέγα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπών, "Τοῦτο
was-his-wont loudly and to the friends having-said this
ἦν τὸ φορεῖον, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ ἀντιπαραττόμενον ἡμῖν,"
was the litter as it-seems the thing-arrayed-against us
εὐθὺς ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ὀπίσω καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν.
at-once he-led-back the force behind and encamped

Οἱ δὲ μικρὸν ἀναπνεύσαντες αὖθις ἐδημαγωγοῦντο, καὶ
they and a-little having-breathed again were-courting-the-crowd and
τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐντρυφῶντες σχεδὸν ὅλην εἰς τὰ χειμάδια
the officers treating-insolently almost whole into the winter-quarters
κατενείμαντο τὴν Γαβηνῶν, ὥστε τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῶν
they-distributed the of-Gabeni so-that the last from-the
πρώτων ἀποσκηνοῦν ὁμοῦ τι χιλίους σταδίους.
first to-be-encamped-apart nearly something a-thousand stades
ταῦτα γνοὺς ὁ Ἀντίγονος ὥρμησεν ἐξαίφνης ἐπ᾽
these-things having-learned — Antigonus set-out suddenly against
αὐτοὺς ὑποστρέψας χαλεπὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἄνυδρον, σύντομον
them having-turned-back a-hard road and waterless short
δὲ καὶ βραχεῖαν, ἐλπίζων, εἰ διεσπαρμένοις ἐπιπέσοι
but and brief hoping if on-them-scattered he-should-fall
περὶ τὰ χειμάδια, μηδ᾽ ἂν συνελθεῖν ἔτι τὸ
about the winter-quarters not-even — would-come-together any-longer the
πλῆθος ῥᾳδίως εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἐμβαλόντι
multitude easily into the same with-the generals having-invaded
δὲ εἰς γῆν ἀοίκητον αὐτῷ πνεύματά τε δεινὰ καὶ
and into land uninhabited for-him winds both terrible and
κρύη μεγάλα διελυμαίνετο τὴν πορείαν ἐνοχλουμένου
frosts great ravaged the march being-harassed
τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἦν οὖν ἀναγκαία βοήθεια πυρὰ
the army it-was then necessary help fires
πολλὰ καίειν· ὅθεν οὐκ ἔλαθε τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ
many to-burn whence not it-escaped the enemies but
τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ τὰ βλέποντα πρὸς τὴν ἀοίκητον
of-the barbarians those the facing toward the uninhabited
ὄρη νεμόμενοι θαυμάσαντες τὸ τῶν πυρῶν πλῆθος
mountains inhabiting having-wondered-at the of-the fires multitude
ἔπεμψαν ἱππαστρίαις καμήλοις ἀγγέλους πρὸς Πευκέσταν.
sent on-racing camels messengers to Peucestas

ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν, αὐτός τε παντάπασιν ἔκφρων ὑπὸ
he and when he-heard himself both altogether out-of-his-mind from
δέους γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρῶν ὁμοίως ἔχοντας
fear having-become and the others seeing likewise being
ὥρμητο φεύγειν, ἀναστήσας τοὺς καθ' ὁδὸν ὄντας αὐτοῖς
he-was-eager to-flee having-roused those on road being of-them
μάλιστα τῶν στρατιωτῶν· Εὐμένης δὲ τὴν ταραχὴν
most of-the soldiers Eumenes but the confusion
ἀφῄρει καὶ τὸν φόβον, ὑπισχνούμενος ἐπιστήσειν τῶν
took-away and the fear promising to-check of-the
πολεμίων τὸ τάχος, ὥστε τρισὶν ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἢ
enemies the speed so-that three later days than
προσδοκῶνται παραγενέσθαι. πεισθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα
they-are-expected to-arrive having-been-persuaded and them at-once
μὲν ἀγγέλους περιέπεμπε τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων
indeed messengers he-sent-round the forces from the winter-quarters
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀθροίζεσθαι κατὰ τάχος κελεύων, ἅμα
and the others to-be-gathered with speed bidding at-once
δὲ αὐτὸς ἐξιππασάμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων, καὶ
and himself having-ridden-out with the other officers and
τόπον ἐξ ἀπόπτου καταφανῆ τοῖς ὁδεύουσι τὴν ἔρημον
a-place from afar visible to-those traveling the desert
περιβαλόμενος καὶ διαμετρήσας, ἐκέλευε πυρὰ πολλὰ καίειν
having-taken-in and having-measured-out bade fires many to-burn
ἐν διαστήμασιν, ὥσπερ οἱ στρατοπεδεύοντες. γενομένου
at intervals as those encamping having-happened
δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν πυρῶν τοῖς περὶ Ἀντίγονον ἐκ τῆς
and this and the fires to-those about Antigonus from the
ὀρεινῆς καταφανέντων, ἄχθος ἔσχε καὶ δυσθυμία τὸν
mountain-country having-become-visible vexation held and despondency —
Ἀντίγονον, οἰόμενον ἠσθημένους ἔκπαλαι τοὺς πολεμίους
Antigonus thinking having-perceived long-ago the enemies

ἀπαντᾶν. ἵν' οὖν μὴ κατάκοπος καὶ τετρυμένος ἐκ
to-be-coming-to-meet in-order then not wearied and worn-out from
πορείας ἀναγκάζηται μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἑτοίμους
march he-be-compelled to-fight against men ready
καὶ καλῶς κεχειμακότας, προέμενος τὴν σύντομον ἦγε
and well having-wintered having-given-up the short-road he-led
διὰ κωμῶν καὶ πόλεων, καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀναλαμβάνων
through villages and cities at leisure refreshing
τὸ στράτευμα. μηδενὸς δὲ ἐμποδὼν ὄντος, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν
the army no-one but in-the-way being as is-usual
ἀντικαθημένων πολεμίων, τῶν δὲ περιχώρων λεγόντων
being-encamped-opposite enemies those but neighboring saying
στράτευμα μηδὲν ὤφθαι, πυρῶν δὲ κεκαυμένων μεστὸν
army none to-have-been-seen of-fires but burnt full
εἶναι τὸν τόπον, ᾔσθετο κατεστρατηγημένος ὑπὸ Εὐμένους,
to-be the place he-perceived outgeneraled by Eumenes
καὶ βαρέως φέρων προσῆγεν ὡς φανερᾷ μάχῃ κριθησόμενος.
and heavily bearing-it led-on as in-open battle going-to-be-decided
16 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως περὶ τὸν Εὐμένη τὸ πλεῖστον
in this and of-the force about — Eumenes the most
ἠθροισμένον ἐθαύμαζε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μόνον
having-been-gathered admired the intelligence of-him and alone
ἐκέλευεν ἄρχειν· ἐφ' ᾧ λυπούμενοι καὶ φθονοῦντες οἱ
bade-him to-command at which being-grieved and envying the
τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων ἡγεμόνες, Ἀντιγένης καὶ Τεύταμος,
of-the silver-shields leaders Antigenes and Teutamus
ἐπεβούλευον αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν τε σατραπῶν
plotted-against him and the most of-the both satraps
καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν συναγαγόντες ἐβουλεύοντο πότε
and of-the generals having-gathered deliberated when
χρὴ καὶ πῶς τὸν Εὐμένη διαφθεῖραι. συνδόξαν δὲ
it-is-necessary and how — Eumenes to-destroy it-having-seemed-good and

πᾶσιν ἀποχρήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν μάχην αὐτῷ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν
to-all to-make-full-use toward the battle of-him after and the
μάχην εὐθὺς ἀνελεῖν Εὔδαμος ὁ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἡγεμὼν καὶ
battle at-once to-kill Eudamus the of-the elephants leader and
Φαίδιμος ἐξαγγέλλουσι κρύφα τῷ Εὐμένει τὰ δεδογμένα,
Phaedimus report secretly — to-Eumenes the-things decided
δι' εὔνοιαν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἢ χάριν, εὐλαβούμενοι δὲ μὴ τῶν
through goodwill indeed none or favor being-cautious but lest of-the
χρημάτων, ἃ δεδανείκεσαν αὐτῷ, στερηθῶσιν. Εὐμένης
money which they-had-lent to-him they-be-deprived Eumenes
δὲ τούτους μὲν ἐπήνεσεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπελθὼν
but them indeed praised into and the tent having-gone-away
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπὼν ὡς ἐν πανηγύρει θηρίων
and to the friends having-said that in a-throng of-beasts
ἀναστρέφοιτο, διαθήκας ἔγραψε καὶ τὰ γραμματεῖα κατέσχισε
he-was-living a-will wrote and the papers tore-up
καὶ διέφθειρεν, οὐ βουλόμενος αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐκ
and destroyed not wishing he having-died from
τῶν ἀπορρήτων αἰτίας καὶ συκοφαντήματα τοῖς γράψασι
the secrets charges and false-accusations to-those having-written
γενέσθαι. ταῦτα διοικησάμενος ἐβουλεύετο τὴν νίκην
to-arise these-things having-arranged he-deliberated the victory
παρεῖναι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἢ φυγὼν διὰ Μηδίας καὶ Ἀρμενίας
to-give-up to-the opponents or having-fled through Media and Armenia
ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν. οὐδὲν δὲ κυρώσας τῶν φίλων
to-invade into Cappadocia nothing but having-ratified the friends
παρόντων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πολλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ πολυτρόπῳ παρὰ
being-present but to many-things in-the mind manifold according-to
τὰς τύχας οὔσῃ κινήσας αὐτόν, ἐξέταττε τὴν δύναμιν, τοὺς
the fortunes being having-moved himself drew-up the force the
μὲν Ἕλληνας καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους παρορμῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς
indeed Greeks and the barbarians urging-on by and the

φάλαγγος καὶ τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων αὐτὸς παρακαλούμενος
phalanx and the silver-shields himself being-exhorted
θαρρεῖν, ὡς οὐ δεξομένων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ γὰρ
to-take-courage as not going-to-withstand the enemies and for
ἦσαν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν περὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον,
they-were the oldest of-those about Philip and Alexander
ὥσπερ ἀθληταὶ πολέμων ἀήττητοι καὶ ἀπτῶτες εἰς
like athletes of-wars unconquered and unthrown to
ἐκεῖνο χρόνου, πολλοὶ μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες,
that of-time many indeed seventy years having-become
νεώτερος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἑξηκονταετοῦς. διὸ καὶ τοῖς
younger and none than-a-sixty-year-old wherefore also against-those
περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐπιόντες ἐβόων· “Ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας
about — Antigonus attacking they-shouted against the fathers
ἁμαρτάνετε, ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλαί·” καὶ μετ᾽ ὀργῆς ἐμπεσόντες
you-sin O bad heads and with anger having-fallen-on
ὅλην ὁμοῦ τὴν φάλαγγα συνέτριψαν, οὐδενὸς ὑποστάντος
whole together the phalanx crushed no-one withstanding
αὐτούς, τῶν δὲ πλείστων ἐν χερσὶ διαφθαρέντων.
them of-the and most in hands having-been-destroyed
Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἡττᾶτο κατὰ κράτος, τοῖς
here indeed then — Antigonus was-worsted by force with-the
δ᾽ ἱππεῦσιν ἐπεκράτει· τοῦ δὲ Πευκέστου παντάπασιν
but horsemen prevailed — and Peucestas altogether
ἐκλελυμένως καὶ ἀγεννῶς ἀγωνισαμένου καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν
slackly and ignobly having-fought also the baggage
ἔλαβε πᾶσαν, αὑτῷ τε νήφοντι χρησάμενος παρὰ τὰ
he-took all himself both sober having-used in the
δεινὰ καὶ τοῦ τόπου συνεργοῦντος. ἀχανὲς γὰρ ἦν τὸ
dangers and the place helping-together vast for was the
πεδίον, οὔτε βαθύτερον οὔτε ἀπόκροτον καὶ στερεόν,
plain neither too-deep nor beaten and hard

ἀλλὰ θινῶδες καὶ μεστὸν ἁλμυρίδος αὐχμηρᾶς, ἣ
but sandy and full of-salt-crust dry which
τοσούτων μὲν ἵππων τοσούτων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ξαινομένη
so-many indeed horses so-many and men being-carded
δρόμοις ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς μάχης καιρὸν ἐξήνθει κόνιν ὥσπερ
by-runnings at the of-the battle moment threw-up dust like
ἄσβεστον, ἀπολευκαίνουσαν τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὰς ὄψεις
lime whitening the air and the eyes
διαθολοῦσαν. ᾗ καὶ ῥᾴδιον λαθὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος
clouding by-which also easily having-escaped-notice — Antigonus
τῆς ἀποσκευῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησε.
of-the baggage of-the enemies gained-control

V · BETRAYAL AND DEATH

The Silver Shields bargain with Antigonus for their baggage and hand Eumenes over bound. He asks to speak, holds up his bound hands, and begs them to kill him themselves. Antigonus, fearing the crowd, has him guarded like an elephant but cannot bring himself to see him, and Nearchus and Antigonus' son Demetrius plead for his life. Eumenes asks his guard Onomarchus why he is neither killed nor freed. Antigonus has him starved and then killed, sends his ashes to his family, and gives the Silver Shields to Sibyrtius to be destroyed.

Παυσαμένης δὲ τῆς μάχης εὐθὺς οἱ περὶ τὸν 17
having-ended and the battle at-once those about —
Τεύταμον ἐπρεσβεύοντο περὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς. Ἀντιγόνου
Teutamus sent-envoys about the baggage Antigonus
δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνουμένου τοῖς
and also this going-to-give-back promising to-the
ἀργυράσπισι καὶ τἆλλα χρήσεσθαι φιλανθρώπως,
silver-shields and the-rest going-to-treat kindly

εἰ παραλάβοι τὸν Εὐμένη, βούλευμα δεινὸν οἱ
if he-should-take-over — Eumenes a-plan terrible the
ἀργυράσπιδες ἐβουλεύσαντο, ἐγχειρίσαι ζῶντα τοῖς
silver-shields planned to-hand-over alive to-the
πολεμίοις τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνυπόπτως
enemies the man and first indeed unsuspectedly
προσεπέλαζον αὐτῷ καὶ παρεφύλαττον, οἱ μὲν
they-approached him and watched the-ones indeed
ἀποδυρόμενοι περὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, οἱ δὲ θαρρεῖν
lamenting about the baggage the-others and to-take-courage
ὡς νενικηκότα κελεύοντες, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
as having-conquered bidding the-others and the other
ἡγεμόνων κατηγοροῦντες. ἔπειτα προσπεσόντες ἐξήρπασαν
officers accusing then having-fallen-upon-him they-snatched
τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ζώνῃ τὰς χεῖρας
the dagger of-him and with-the belt the hands
ἀποστρέψαντες ἔδησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου Νικάνωρ
having-twisted-back they-bound when and by Antigonus Nicanor
ἐπέμφθη παραληψόμενος αὐτόν, ἐδεῖτο λόγου τυχεῖν
was-sent going-to-take-over him he-begged of-a-hearing to-obtain
ἀγόμενος διὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων, οὐκ εἰς δέησιν ἢ
being-led through the Macedonians not for entreaty or
παραίτησιν, ἀλλ' ὡς περὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις συμφερόντων
pleading but as about the to-them advantageous
διαλεξόμενος.
going-to-discourse
Γενομένης δὲ σιωπῆς ἐν ὑψηλῷ τινι καταστὰς καὶ
having-happened and silence on high-place a having-stood and
τὰς χεῖρας δεδεμένας προτείνας, "Ποῖον," εἶπεν,
the hands bound having-stretched-out what he-said
"ὦ κάκιστοι Μακεδόνων, τρόπαιον Ἀντίγονος ἐθελήσας
O most-base of-Macedonians trophy Antigonus having-wished

ἂν ἔστησε καθ᾽ ὑμῶν, οἷον ὑμεῖς καθ᾽ αὑτῶν
— would-have-set-up over you such-as you over yourselves
ἀνίστατε τὸν στρατηγὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἐκδιδόντες; οὐκ
set-up the general captive handing-over not
ἄρα δεινὸν ἦν κρατοῦντας ὑμᾶς ἥττᾶν ἐξομολογεῖσθαι
then terrible was conquering you defeat to-confess
διὰ τὰς ἀποσκευάς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς χρήμασιν, οὐκ ἐν
because-of the baggage as in the money not in
τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῦ κρατεῖν ὄντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα
the arms the to-conquer being but even the leader
πέμπετε λύτρον τῆς ἀποσκευῆς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἀήττητος
you-send as-ransom of-the baggage I indeed then unconquered
ἄγομαι, νικῶν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων
am-led conquering the enemies by the allies
ἀπολλύμενος· ὑμεῖς δέ, πρὸς Διὸς στρατίου καὶ θεῶν
being-destroyed you but by Zeus of-armies and gods
ὁρκίων, ἐνταῦθά με δι᾽ αὑτῶν κτείνατε. πάντως κἀκεῖ
of-oaths here me by yourselves kill in-any-case also-there
κτεινόμενος ὑμέτερον ἔργον εἰμί. μέμψεται δὲ οὐδὲν
being-killed your work I-am will-blame and nothing
Ἀντίγονος· νεκροῦ γὰρ Εὐμένους δεῖται καὶ οὐ ζῶντος.
Antigonus of-a-dead for Eumenes be-needs and not of-a-living
εἰ δὲ φείδεσθε τῶν χειρῶν, ἀρκέσει τῶν ἐμῶν ἡ ἑτέρα
if and you-spare the hands will-suffice of-the my the one
λυθεῖσα πρᾶξαι τὸ ἔργον. εἰ δὲ οὐ πιστεύετέ μοι
having-been-loosed to-do the work if but not you-trust me
ξίφος, ὑπορρίψατε τοῖς θηρίοις δεδεμένον. καὶ ταῦτα
a-sword throw-me to-the beasts bound and these-things
πράξαντας ὑμᾶς ἀφίημι τῆς ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ δίκης ὡς ἄνδρας
having-done you I-release from-the for me penalty as men

ὁσιωτάτους καὶ δικαιοτάτους περὶ τὸν αὑτῶν στρατηγὸν
most-pious and most-just toward the your-own general
γενομένους."
having-become

18 Ταῦτα τοῦ Εὐμένους λέγοντος τὸ μὲν ἄλλο
these-things — Eumenes saying the indeed other
πλῆθος ἄχθει κατείχετο καὶ κλαυθμὸς ἦν, οἱ
multitude with-grief was-held and wailing there-was the
δὲ ἀργυράσπιδες ἄγειν ἐβόων καὶ μὴ φλυαροῦντι
but silver-shields to-lead-on shouted and not to-the-babbler
προσέχειν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δεινὸν εἰ Χερρονησίτης ὄλεθρος
to-attend not for to-be terrible if a-Chersonesian pest
οἰμώξεται μυρίοις γυμνάσας πολέμοις Μακεδόνας,
will-howl in-ten-thousand having-harassed wars Macedonians
ἀλλ' εἰ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου στρατιωτῶν
but if of-the of-Alexander and of-Philip soldiers
οἱ κράτιστοι τοσαῦτα καμόντες ἐν γήρᾳ στέρονται
the best so-much having-toiled in old-age are-deprived
τῶν ἐπάθλων καὶ τροφὴν παρ' ἑτέρων λαμβάνουσιν,
of-the prizes and food from others receive
αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ἤδη τρίτην νύκτα τοῖς
the and wives of-them already third night with-the
πολεμίοις συγκαθεύδουσιν. ἅμα δὲ ἦγον αὐτὸν
enemies sleep at-the-same-time and they-led him
ἐπιταχύνοντες.
hurrying
Ἀντίγονος δὲ δείσας τὸν ὄχλον (ἀπελείφθη γὰρ οὐδεὶς
Antigonus and having-feared the crowd was-left for no-one
ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ) δέκα τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας ἐλέφαντας
in the camp ten the mightiest elephants
ἐξέπεμψε καὶ λογχοφόρους συχνοὺς Μήδους καὶ Παρθυαίους
sent-out and spearmen many Medes and Parthians

διακρουσομένους τὸ πλῆθος. εἶτ᾽ αὐτὸς μὲν ἰδεῖν οὐχ
going-to-thrust-back the multitude then himself indeed to-see not
ὑπέμεινε τὸν Εὐμένη διὰ τὴν προγεγενημένην φιλίαν
endured — Eumenes because-of the former friendship
καὶ συνήθειαν, πυνθανομένων δὲ τῶν παρειληφότων τὸ
and intimacy asking and those having-taken-over the
σῶμα πῶς φυλάξουσιν, "Οὕτως," εἶπεν, "ὡς ἐλέφαντα
body how they-shall-guard-it so he-said as an-elephant
ἢ ὡς λέοντα." μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ συμπαθὴς γενόμενος
or as a-lion after a-little and sympathetic having-become
τῶν τε δεσμῶν τοὺς βαρεῖς ἐκέλευσεν ἀφελεῖν καὶ
of-the both bonds the heavy he-ordered to-take-off and
παῖδα παραδέξασθαι τῶν συνήθων, ὅπως ἀλείψαιτο,
a-slave to-admit of-the familiar-ones that he-might-anoint-himself
καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐφῆκε τῷ βουλομένῳ συνδιημερεύειν
and of-the friends allowed to-the-one wishing to-spend-the-day-with
καὶ κομίζειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. βουλευόμενος δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ
and to-bring the necessaries deliberating and about him
πλείονας ἡμέρας προσίετο καὶ λόγους καὶ ὑποσχέσεις,
more days he-admitted both words and promises
Νεάρχου τε τοῦ Κρητὸς καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ υἱοῦ
of-Nearchus both the Cretan and of-Demetrius the son
φιλοτιμουμένων τὸν Εὐμένη σῶσαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
being-eager — Eumenes to-save of-the but others
ὁμοῦ τι πάντων ἐνισταμένων καὶ κελευόντων
nearly something all opposing and bidding
ἀναιρεῖν.
to-kill
Λέγεται δὲ τὸν Εὐμένη τοῦ φυλάσσοντος αὐτὸν
it-is-said and — Eumenes of-the guarding him
Ὀνομάρχου πυθέσθαι τί δήποτε Ἀντίγονος ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα
Onomarchus to-have-inquired why ever Antigonus enemy man

καὶ πολέμιον λαβὼν ὑποχείριον οὔτε ἀποκτίννυσι ταχέως
and foe having-taken into-his-power neither kills quickly
οὔτε εὐγενῶς ἀφίησι· τοῦ δὲ Ὀνομάρχου πρὸς ὕβριν
nor nobly releases — and Onomarchus with insolence
εἰπόντος ὡς οὐ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς μάχης ἔδει
having-said that not now but at the battle it-was-needful
πρὸς θάνατον ἔχειν εὐθαρσῶς, "Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία,"
toward death to-be courageously yes by — Zeus
φάναι τὸν Εὐμένη, "καὶ τότε εἶχον· ἐροῦ δὲ τοὺς
to-have-said — Eumenes also then I-was ask but those
εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας· ἀλλ' οὐδενὶ κρείττονι προστυχὼν
into hands having-come but with-no-one stronger having-met
οἶδα." καὶ τὸν Ὀνόμαρχον, "Οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ νῦν," φάναι,
I-know and — Onomarchus therefore since now to-have-said
"τὸν κρείττονα εὕρηκας, τί οὐκ ἀναμένεις τὸν ἐκείνου
the stronger you-have-found why not you-await the his
καιρόν;"
time

19 Ὡς δ' οὖν ἔδοξε τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ τὸν Εὐμένη
when and then it-seemed-good — to-Antigonus — Eumenes
κτείνειν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν τροφὴν ἀφελεῖν. καὶ
to-kill he-ordered his the food to-take-away and
δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἢ τρεῖς ἄσιτος οὕτω προσήγετο
two indeed days or three without-food so he-was-brought
πρὸς τὴν τελευτήν. αἰφνίδιον δὲ ἀναζυγῆς γενομένης
to the end suddenly but a-breaking-of-camp having-happened
εἰσπέμψαντες ἄνθρωπον ἀποσφάττουσιν αὐτόν. τὸ δὲ
having-sent-in a-man they-cut-the-throat-of him the and
σῶμα τοῖς φίλοις παραδοὺς ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐπέτρεψε
body to-the friends having-given — Antigonus allowed-them
καῦσαι καὶ τὰ λείψανα συνθέντας εἰς ἀργυρᾶν
to-burn and the remains having-put-together into silver

ὑδρίαν κομίζειν, ἀποδοθησόμενα τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς
urn to-carry going-to-be-given-back to-the wife and the
παισίν.
children

Οὕτω δὲ ἀποθανόντος Εὐμένους οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ τινὶ
so and having-died Eumenes not on other any
τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐποιήσατο τῶν προδόντων αὐτὸν
the vengeance made of-the having-betrayed him
ἡγεμόνων καὶ στρατιωτῶν τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἀλλ᾽
officers and soldiers the divine-power but
αὐτὸς Ἀντίγονος προβαλλόμενος ὡς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ
himself Antigonus casting-them-off as impious and
θηριώδεις τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας παρέδωκε Σιβυρτίῳ τῷ
bestial the silver-shields handed-over to-Sibyrtius the
διοικοῦντι τὴν Ἀραχωσίαν, πάντα τρόπον ἐκτρῖψαι
administering — Arachosia every way to-wipe-out
καὶ καταφθεῖραι κελεύσας, ὅπως μηδεὶς αὐτῶν εἰς
and to-destroy having-ordered that no-one of-them into
Μακεδονίαν ἄπεισι μηδὲ ὄψεται τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν
Macedonia shall-return nor shall-see the Greek
θάλατταν.
sea
