GREEK SERIES · VOLUME 68

Theseus and Romulus

Plutarch

ΘΗΣΕΥΣ · ΡΩΜΥΛΟΣ

Theseus and Romulus

With Lycurgus and Numa, and Solon and Publicola

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



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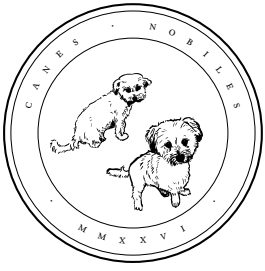

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The Greek text follows Perrin's Loeb Plutarch

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PLUTARCH

ΘΗΣΕΥΣ

Theseus

As geographers mark the unknown lands at the edges of their maps, Plutarch tells Sossius Senecio, so the age before history belongs to fable; he sets Theseus, founder of Athens, beside Romulus, founder of Rome. Both were born in secret and thought sons of gods, both strong and wise, and both met trouble at home and the hatred of their citizens. Theseus descends from Pittheus of Troezen. Aegeus, warned by an oracle, lies with Aethra and leaves a sword and sandals under a great rock for the son she may bear.

῞Ωσπερ ἐν ταῖς γεωγραφίαις, ὦ Σόσσιε Σενεκίων, οἱ ἱστορικοὶ 1
just-as in the geographies O Sossius Senecio the historians
τὰ διαφεύγοντα τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις
the(-things) escaping the knowledge of-them in-the farthest
μέρεσι τῶν πινάκων πιεζοῦντες, αἰτίας παραγράφουσιν ὅτι
parts of-the maps squeezing-in causes they-write-beside that
"Τὰ δ' ἐπέκεινα θῖνες ἄνυδροι καὶ θηριώδεις" ἢ
the(-regions) and beyond (are)-sands waterless and full-of-beasts or
"πηλὸς ἀϊδνὴς" ἢ "Σκυθικὸν κρύος" ἢ "πέλαγος πεπηγός,"
mud invisible or Scythian frost or sea frozen
οὕτως ἐμοὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν βίων τῶν παραλλήλων γραφήν,
so for-me about the of-the lives the parallel writing
τὸν ἐφικτὸν εἰκότι λόγῳ καὶ βάσιμον ἱστορίᾳ πραγμάτων
the attainable by-probable reasoning and accessible to-history of-events
ἐχομένῃ χρόνον διελθόντι, περὶ τῶν ἀνωτέρω καλῶς
clinging time having-gone-through about the(-things) further-back well
εἶχεν εἰπεῖν· "Τὰ δ' ἐπέκεινα τερατώδη καὶ τραγικὰ
it-was(-fitting) to-say the(-things) and beyond (are)-marvelous and tragic
ποιηταὶ καὶ μυθογράφοι νέμονται, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἔχει πίστιν
poets and mythographers occupy and no-longer has credibility
οὐδὲ σαφήνειαν." ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν περὶ Λυκούργου τοῦ νομοθέτου
nor clearness since and the about Lycurgus the lawgiver

καὶ Νομᾶ τοῦ βασιλέως λόγον ἐκδόντες, ἐδοκοῦμεν οὐκ
and Numa the king account having-published we-thought not
ἂν ἀλόγως τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ προσαναβῆναι, πλησίον τῶν
— unreasonably — to-Romulus to-go-up-further near the
χρόνων αὐτοῦ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ γεγονότες, σκοποῦντι δέ μοι
times of-him by-the history having-come considering and to-me

Τοιῷδε φωτί (κατ' Αἰσχύλον) τίς ξυμβήσεται;
With-such man according-to Aeschylus who will-be-matched
τίν' ἀντιτάξω τῷδε; τίς φερέγγυος;
whom shall-I-set-against this(-man) who (is)-trustworthy

ἐφαίνετο τὸν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀοιδίμων οἰκιστὴν Ἀθηνῶν
it-appeared the of-the fair and famed founder of-Athens
ἀντιστῆσαι καὶ παραβαλεῖν τῷ πατρὶ τῆς ἀνικήτου καὶ
to-set-against and to-compare to-the father of-the unconquered and
μεγαλοδόξου Ῥώμης, εἴη μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἐκκαθαιρόμενον
glorious Rome may-it-be indeed then for-us being-purified
λόγῳ τὸ μυθῶδες ὑπακοῦσαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἱστορίας ὄψιν,
by-reason the fabulous to-submit and to-take of-history appearance
ὅπου δ' ἂν αὐθαδῶς τοῦ πιθανοῦ περιφρονῇ καὶ μὴ
where and — insolently the plausible it-should-disdain and not
δέχηται τὴν πρὸς τὸ εἰκὸς μῖξιν, εὐγνωμόνων ἀκροατῶν
accept the with the probable mixture indulgent listeners
δεησόμεθα καὶ πράως τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν προσδεχομένων.
we-shall-ask and gently the old-story receiving

Ἐδόκει δ' οὖν ὁ Θησεὺς τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ κατὰ πολλὰς 2
it-seemed and then — Theseus — to-Romulus in many
ἐναρμόττειν ὁμοιότητας· ἄμφω μὲν γὰρ ἀνεγγύω καὶ
to-fit resemblances both indeed for illegitimate and
σκοτίω γενόμενοι δόξαν ἔσχον ἐκ θεῶν γεγονέναι,
obscure having-been-born reputation had from gods to-have-been-born

Ἄμφω δ' αἰχμητά, τό γε δὴ καὶ ἴδμεν ἅπαντες,
Both and spearmen this at-least indeed also we-know all

καὶ μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ τὸ συνετὸν ἔχοντες. πόλεων δὲ
and with the strength the intelligence having of-cities and
τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ὁ μὲν ἔκτισε τὴν Ῥώμην, ὁ
of-the most-famous the(-one) indeed founded — Rome the(-other)
δὲ συνῴκισε τὰς Ἀθήνας· ἁρπαγὴ δὲ γυναικῶν ἑκατέρῳ
and united — Athens rape and of-women to-each
πρόσεστιν. οὐδέτερος δὲ δυστυχίαν περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα
belongs neither and misfortune about the domestic(-affairs)
καὶ νέμεσιν ἐγγενῆ διέφυγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτῶντες
and retribution from-their-own-kin escaped but even at-the-end
ἀμφότεροι λέγονται τοῖς ἑαυτῶν προσκροῦσαι πολίταις,
both are-said with-their own to-have-offended citizens
εἴ τι τῶν ἥκιστα τραγικῶς εἰρῆσθαι δοκούντων
if anything of-the(-things) least tragically to-be-said seeming
ὄφελός ἐστι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν.
use is for truth
Θησέως τὸ μὲν πατρῷον γένος εἰς Ἐρεχθέα καὶ τοὺς 3
of-Theseus the indeed paternal descent to Erechtheus and the
πρώτους αὐτόχθονας ἀνήκει, τῷ δὲ μητρῴῳ Πελοπίδης
first autochthons goes-back by-the and maternal Pelopid
ἦν. Πέλοψ γὰρ οὐ χρημάτων πλήθει μᾶλλον ἢ παίδων
he-was Pelops for not of-money by-quantity more than of-children

μέγιστον ἴσχυσε τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ βασιλέων, πολλὰς
greatest was-strong of-the in Peloponnesus kings many
μὲν ἐκδόμενος θυγατέρας τοῖς ἀρίστοις, πολλοὺς
indeed having-given-in-marriage daughters to-the best many
δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν υἱοὺς ἐγκατασπείρας ἄρχοντας· ὧν
and in-the cities sons having-sown-in (as)-rulers of-whom
εἷς γενόμενος Πιτθεύς, ὁ Θησέως πάππος, πόλιν μὲν
one having-become Pittheus the of-Theseus grandfather city indeed
οὐ μεγάλην τὴν Τροιζηνίων ᾤκισε, δόξαν δὲ μάλιστα
not great the(-city) of-Troezenians founded reputation and most
πάντων ὡς ἀνὴρ λόγιος ἐν τοῖς τότε καὶ σοφώτατος
of-all as man learned in the then(-men) and wisest
ἔσχεν. ἦν δὲ τῆς σοφίας ἐκείνης τοιαύτη τις, ὡς ἔοικεν,
had was and of-the wisdom that such some as it-seems
ἰδέα καὶ δύναμις, οἵᾳ χρησάμενος Ἡσίοδος εὐδοκίμει
form and power such-as having-used Hesiod was-esteemed
μάλιστα περὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς Ἔργοις γνωμολογίας. καὶ μίαν
most for the in the Works maxims and one
γε τούτων ἐκείνην λέγουσι Πιτθέως εἶναι,
at-least of-these that(-one) they-say of-Pittheus to-be

Μισθὸς δ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ εἰρημένος ἄρκιος ἔστω.
Wage and for-man dear agreed sufficient let-it-be

τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος εἴρηκεν, ὁ
this indeed then also Aristotle the philosopher has-said —
δ' Εὐριπίδης, τὸν Ἱππόλυτον ἁγνοῦ Πιτθέως παίδευμα
and Euripides — Hippolytus of-holy Pittheus nursling
προσειπών, ἐμφαίνει τὴν περὶ τὸν Πιτθέα δόξαν.
having-called shows the about — Pittheus reputation

Αἰγεῖ δὲ παίδων δεομένῳ τὴν Πυθίαν ἀνελεῖν λέγουσι
to-Aegeus and children wanting — Pythia to-have-given they-say
τὸν θρυλούμενον χρησμόν, διακελευομένην μηδεμιᾷ γυναικὶ
the much-repeated oracle bidding with-no woman
συγγενέσθαι πρὶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας, οὐ πάνυ δὲ τοῦτο
to-consort before to-come to Athens not altogether and this
φράζειν εὐδήλως δοκοῦσαν· ὅθεν εἰς Τροιζῆνα παρελθὼν
to-declare clearly seeming whence to Troezen having-come
ἀνεκοινοῦτο Πιτθεῖ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φωνὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν·
he-communicated to-Pittheus the of-the god voice thus running

Ἀσκοῦ τὸν προὔχοντα πόδα, μέγα φέρτατε λαῶν,
Of-the-wineskin the projecting foot by-far O-greatest of-peoples
μὴ λύσῃς πρὶν δῆμον Ἀθηνέων εἰσαφικέσθαι·
not loose before people of-Athenians to-reach

ἃ δῆλον ὅτι νοήσας ὁ Πιτθεύς, ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν
which (it-is)-clear that having-understood — Pittheus persuaded him
ἢ διηπάτησε τῇ Αἴθρᾳ συγγενέσθαι. συνελθὼν δὲ καὶ
or deceived — with-Aethra to-consort having-lain-with and and
γνοὺς ἐκεῖνος ὅτι τῇ Πιτθέως θυγατρὶ συγγέγονε,
having-learned that(-man) that with-the of-Pittheus daughter he-had-consorted
καὶ κύειν αὐτὴν ὑπονοήσας, ἀπέλιπε ξίφος καὶ
and to-be-pregnant her suspecting left-behind sword and
πέδιλα κρύψας ὑπὸ πέτραν μεγάλην, ἐντὸς ἔχουσαν
sandals having-bidden(-them) under rock great within having
κοιλότητα συμμέτρως ἐμπεριλαμβάνουσαν τὰ κείμενα.
hollow proportionately enclosing the(-things) lying
φράσας δὲ πρὸς μόνην ἐκείνην, καὶ διακελευσάμενος,
having-told and to only her and having-bidden
ἂν υἱὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γένηται, καὶ λαβὼν ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν
if son from him be-born and having-taken of-man age

δυνατὸς ἦ τὴν πέτραν ἀναστῆσαι καὶ ὑφελεῖν τὰ
able be the rock to-lift and to-take-away the(-things)
καταλειφθέντα, πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ταῦτα μηδενὸς
left to-send to him having these-things no-one
εἰδότος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔνεστι μάλιστα λανθάνοντα πάντας
knowing but as is-possible most escaping-notice all
(ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ ἐδεδοίκει τοὺς Παλλαντίδας, ἐπιβουλεύοντας
strongly for he-feared the Pallantids plotting
αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν καταφρονοῦντας· ἦσαν
against-him and because-of the childlessness despising(-him) were
δὲ πεντήκοντα παῖδες ἐκ Πάλλαντος γεγονότες), ἀπῄει.
and fifty sons from Pallas born he-went-away
4 Τεκούσης δὲ τῆς Αἴθρας υἱόν, οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς
having-given-birth and — Aethra a-son the(-ones) indeed immediately
ὀνομασθῆναι Θησέα λέγουσι διὰ τὴν τῶν γνωρισμάτων
to-have-been-named Theseus say because-of the of-the tokens
θέσιν, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀθήνησι παῖδα θεμένου τοῦ
placing the(-others) and later at-Athens son acknowledging —
Αἰγέως αὐτόν. τρεφόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πιτθέως ἐπιστάτην
Aegeus him being-reared and by — Pittheus overseer
ἔχειν καὶ παιδαγωγὸν ὄνομα Κοννίδαν, ᾧ μέχρι
to-have and tutor by-name Connidas to-whom until
νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι μιᾷ πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Θησείων κριὸν
now Athenians one before day of-the Theseia ram
ἐναγίζουσι, μεμνημένοι καὶ τιμῶντες πολὺ δικαιότερον
sacrifice remembering and honoring much more-justly
ἢ Σιλανίωνα τιμῶσι καὶ Παρράσιον, εἰκόνων Θησέως
than Silanion they-honor and Parrhasius of-portraits of-Theseus
γραφεῖς καὶ πλάστας γενομένους.
painters and sculptors having-been

The young Theseus dedicates his hair at Delphi, shorn only in front, as the Abantes wore it. Aethra shows him the rock; he lifts it and takes his father's tokens. Refusing the safe sea crossing, he resolves to go by land and to emulate Heracles, who was his kinsman and whose fame had long burned in him. On the road he kills Periphetes the club-bearer at Epidaurus and takes his club, and kills Sinis the pine-bender, whose daughter Perigune hides among the asparagus.

Ἔθους δὲ ὄντος ἔτι τότε τοὺς μεταβαίνοντας ἐκ παίδων
custom and being still then the(-ones) passing-over from childhood
ἐλθόντας εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπάρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τῆς κόμης, ἦλθε
having-come to Delphi to-offer-first-fruits to-the god of-the hair came
μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὁ Θησεύς, καὶ τόπον ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν Θησείαν
indeed to Delphi — Theseus and place from him — Theseia
ἔτι νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι λέγουσιν, ἐκείρατο δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ
still now to-be-named they-say he-shaved and of-the head the
πρόσθεν μόνον, ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ἔφη τοὺς Ἄβαντας· καὶ
front only as Homer said the Abantes(-did) and
τοῦτο τῆς κουρᾶς τὸ γένος Θησηΐς ὠνομάσθη δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον.
this of-the tonsure the kind Theseis was-named because-of him
Οἱ δὲ Ἄβαντες ἐκείραντο πρῶτοι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον οὐχ
the and Abantes shaved first the manner this not
ὑπ᾽ Ἀράβων διδαχθέντες, ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, οὐδὲ Μυσοὺς
by Arabs having-been-taught as some think nor Mysians
ζηλώσαντες, ἀλλ᾽ ὄντες πολεμικοὶ καὶ ἀγχέμαχοι, καὶ
having-emulated but being warlike and close-fighters and

μάλιστα δὴ πάντων εἰς χεῖρας ὠθεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις
most indeed of-all into hands to-thrust-themselves on-the opponents
μεμαθηκότες, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ἐν τούτοις·
having-learned as bears-witness also Archilochus in these(-words)

Οὔ τοι πόλλ' ἐπὶ τόξα τανύσσεται οὐδὲ θαμειαὶ
Not surely many upon bows will-be-stretched nor frequent
σφενδόναι, εὖτ' ἂν δὴ μῶλον Ἄρης συνάγῃ
slings when — indeed the-moil Ares joins
ἐν πεδίῳ, ξιφέων δὲ πολύστονον ἔσσεται ἔργον·
in plain of-swords but much-groaning will-be work
ταύτης γὰρ κεῖνοι δαίμονές εἰσι μάχης
of-this for those masters are of-battle
δεσπόται Εὐβοίας δουρικλυτοί.
lords of-Euboea spear-famed

ὅπως οὖν μὴ παρέχοιεν ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν ἀντίληψιν τοῖς
so-that then not they-might-give from the hair a-hold to-the
πολεμίοις ἀπεκείραντο. τοῦτο δὲ ἀμέλει καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον
enemies they-shaved this and doubtless also Alexander
τὸν Μακεδόνα ἐννοήσαντά φασι προστάξαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς
the Macedonian having-noticed they-say to-have-ordered to-the generals
ξυρεῖν τὰ γένεια τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὡς λαβὴν ταύτην ἐν
to-shave the beards of-the Macedonians as hold this in
ταῖς μάχαις οὖσαν προχειροτάτην.
the battles being most-ready-to-hand

6 Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄλλον χρόνον ἔκρυπτεν Αἴθρα τὴν ἀληθινὴν
the indeed then other time hid Aethra the true
τοῦ Θησέως γένεσιν· ἦν δὲ λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πιτθέως
— of-Theseus birth was and story by — Pittheus
διαδοθεὶς ὡς ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος τεκνωθείη. Ποσειδῶνα
spread-abroad that from Poseidon he-was-begotten Poseidon

γὰρ Τροιζήνιοι σέβονται διαφερόντως, καὶ θεὸς οὗτός
for Troezenians revere especially and god this
ἐστιν αὐτοῖς πολιοῦχος, ᾧ καὶ καρπῶν ἀπάρχονται
is for-them city-guardian to-whom both of-fruits they-offer-first-fruits
καὶ τρίαιναν ἐπίσημον ἔχουσι τοῦ νομίσματος. ἐπεὶ δὲ
and trident (as)-device they-have of-the coinage when and
μειράκιον ὤν, ἅμα τῇ τοῦ σώματος ῥώμῃ διέφαινεν
youth being together-with the of-the body strength he-showed-forth
ἀλκὴν καὶ φρόνημα μετὰ νοῦ καὶ συνέσεως βέβαιον, οὕτως
prowess and spirit with mind and understanding steady thus
αὐτὸν ἡ Αἴθρα πρὸς τὴν πέτραν προσαγαγοῦσα, καὶ
him — Aethra to the rock having-led and
φράσασα περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τἀληθές, ἐκέλευσεν ὑφελεῖν
having-told about the birth the-truth bade to-take-up
τὰ πατρῷα σύμβολα καὶ πλεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας. ὁ δὲ τὴν
the paternal tokens and to-sail to Athens he and the
μὲν πέτραν ὑπέδυ καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀνέωσε, πλεῖν δὲ ἀπέγνω,
indeed rock got-under and easily thrust-up to-sail but he-refused
καίπερ οὔσης ἀσφαλείας καὶ δεομένων τοῦ τε πάππου
although there-being safety and begging the both grandfather
καὶ τῆς μητρός. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν πεζῇ πορεύεσθαι τὴν
and the mother difficult for was on-foot to-travel the
εἰς Ἀθήνας ὁδόν, οὐδὲν μέρος καθαρὸν οὐδὲ ἀκίνδυνον
to Athens road no part clean nor safe
ὑπὸ λῃστῶν καὶ κακούργων ἔχουσαν.
from robbers and evildoers having
Ὁ γὰρ δὴ χρόνος ἐκεῖνος ἤνεγκεν ἀνθρώπους χειρῶν
the for indeed time that bore men of-hands
μὲν ἔργοις καὶ ποδῶν τάχεσι καὶ σωμάτων ῥώμαις,
indeed in-deeds and of-feet in-swiftness and of-bodies in-strengths
ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπερφυεῖς καὶ ἀκαμάτους, πρὸς οὐδὲν δὲ τῇ
as it-seems extraordinary and tireless for nothing but the

φύσει χρωμένους ἐπιεικὲς οὐδὲ ὠφέλιμον, ἀλλ᾽ ὕβρει
nature using reasonable nor useful but in-insolence
τε χαίροντας ὑπερηφάνῳ, καὶ ἀπολαύοντας τῆς δυνάμεως
both rejoicing arrogant and enjoying the power
ὠμότητι καὶ πικρίᾳ, καὶ τῷ κρατεῖν τε καὶ βιάζεσθαι καὶ
with-cruelty and bitterness and in-the to-overpower both and to-force and
διαφθείρειν τὸ παραπῖπτον, αἰδῶ δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνην
to-destroy the(-thing) falling-in-their-way modesty and and justice
καὶ τὸ ἴσον καὶ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον, ὡς ἀτολμίᾳ τοῦ
and the equal and the humane as from-lack-of-daring of-the
ἀδικεῖν καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας,
to-do-wrong and from-fear of-the to-be-wronged the many praising
οὐδὲν οἰομένους προσήκειν τοῖς πλέον ἔχειν δυναμένοις.
nothing thinking to-belong to-those more to-have being-able
τούτων Ἡρακλῆς τοὺς μὲν ἐξέκοπτε καὶ ἀνῄρει περιῶν,
of-these(-men) Heracles the(-ones) indeed cut-off and destroyed going-about
οἱ δὲ λανθάνοντες ἐκείνου παριόντος ἔπτησσον καὶ
the(-others) and escaping-notice while-that(-one) passed cowered and
ἀνεδύοντο καὶ παρημελοῦντο ταπεινὰ πράττοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ
slunk-away and were-overlooked humble(-lives) living when and
Ἡρακλῆς ἐχρήσατο συμφορᾷ, καὶ κτείνας Ἴφιτον εἰς Λυδίαν
Heracles met-with misfortune and having-killed Iphitus to Lydia
ἀπῆρε καὶ συχνὸν ἐκεῖ χρόνον ἐδούλευε παρ᾽ Ὀμφάλῃ,
went-off and long there time was-slave with Omphale
δίκην τοῦ φόνου ταύτην ἐπιθεὶς αὑτῷ, τότε τὰ μὲν
(as)-penalty for-the murder this having-imposed on-himself then the indeed
Λυδῶν πράγματα πολλὴν ἔσχεν εἰρήνην καὶ ἄδειαν· ἐν δὲ
of-Lydians affairs much had peace and security in and
τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις αὖθις ἐξήνθησαν αἱ κακίαι
the about — Greece places again blossomed-forth the vices
καὶ ἀνερράγησαν, οὐδενὸς πιέζοντος οὐδὲ κατείργοντος.
and broke-out no-one pressing nor restraining

Ἦν οὖν ὀλέθριος ἡ πορεία τοῖς Ἀθήναζε πεζῇ
was then deadly the journey for-those to-Athens on-foot
βαδίζουσιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου· καὶ τῶν κακούργων ἕκαστον
walking from Peloponnese and of-the evildoers each
ἐξηγούμενος Πιτθεὺς ὁποῖος εἴη καὶ ὁποῖα δρῴη
describing Pittheus what-sort he-might-be and what-things he-did
περὶ τοὺς ξένους, ἔπειθε τὸν Θησέα κομίζεσθαι διὰ
to the strangers tried-to-persuade — Theseus to-travel through
θαλάττης. τὸν δὲ πάλαι μέν, ὡς ἔοικε, λεληθότως διέκαιεν
sea him but long indeed as it-seems secretly inflamed
ἡ δόξα τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἀρετῆς, καὶ πλεῖστον ἐκείνου
the glory of-the of-Heracles valor and most of-that(-one)
λόγον εἶχε, καὶ προθυμότατος ἀκροατὴς ἐγίνετο τῶν
account he-made and most-eager listener he-became of-those
διηγουμένων ἐκεῖνον οἷος εἴη, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν αὐτὸν
describing that(-one) what-sort he-was especially and of-those him
ἑωρακότων καὶ πράττοντι καὶ λέγοντι προστετυχηκότων·
having-seen and doing and speaking having-met-with
τότε δὲ παντάπασιν ἦν φανερὸς πεπονθὼς ὅπερ ὕστερον
then and altogether he-was plainly affected as later
χρόνοις πολλοῖς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπαθε, καὶ εἶπεν ὡς
by-times many Themistocles was-affected and said that
καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐᾷη τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον· οὕτως
to-sleep him not let the of-Miltiades trophy so
ἐκείνῳ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους θαυμάζοντι τὴν ἀρετήν, καὶ νύκτωρ
for-him — of-Heracles admiring the valor both by-night
ὄνειρος ἦσαν αἱ πράξεις, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐξῆγεν αὐτὸν
dream were the deeds and by day led-out him
ὁ ζῆλος καὶ ἀνηρέθιζε ταὐτὰ πράττειν διανοούμενον.
the emulation and spurred the-same(-things) to-do intending

7 Ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ γένους κοινωνοῦντες ἐξ ἀνεψιῶν
they-happened and also in-descent sharing from cousins
ὄντες. Αἴθρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν Πιτθέως θυγάτηρ, Ἀλκμήνη
being Aethra indeed for was of-Pittheus daughter Alcmene
δὲ Λυσιδίκης, Λυσιδίκη δὲ καὶ Πιτθεὺς ἀδελφοὶ γεγονότες
and of-Lysidice Lysidice and and Pittheus siblings having-been
ἐξ Ἱπποδαμείας καὶ Πέλοπος. δεινὸν οὖν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ
from Hippodameia and Pelops terrible then he-thought(-it) and
οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πανταχοῦ πονηροὺς
not bearable that(-man) indeed against the everywhere wicked
βαδίζοντα καθαίρειν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, αὐτὸν δὲ τοὺς
going to-cleanse land and sea himself but the
ἐμποδὼν ἄθλους ἀποδιδράσκειν, τὸν μὲν λόγῳ καὶ δόξῃ
in-his-way contests to-run-away-from the indeed in-word and in-repute
πατέρα καταισχύνων διὰ θαλάττης φυγῇ κομιζόμενος,
father disgracing through sea by-flight being-conveyed
τῷ δὲ ὄντι προσφέρων γνωρίσματα πέδιλα καὶ ξίφος
to-the and real(-one) bringing (as)-tokens sandals and sword
ἀναίμακτον, οὐκ ἔργοις εὐθὺς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ πράξεσι παρέχων
unbloodied not by-deeds at-once good and by-actions offering
ἐμφανῆ χαρακτῆρα τῆς εὐγενείας. τοιούτῳ φρονήματι καὶ
manifest stamp of-the noble-birth with-such spirit and
τοιούτοις λογισμοῖς ἐξώρμησεν, ὡς ἀδικήσων μὲν οὐδένα,
such reasonings he-set-out as going-to-wrong indeed no-one
τοὺς δὲ ὑπάρχοντας βίας ἀμυνούμενος.
the(-ones) but beginning violence going-to-punish

8 Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίᾳ Περιφήτην,
and first indeed in the Epidaurian(-land) Periphetes
ὅπλῳ χρώμενον κορύνῃ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Κορυνήτην
as-weapon using club and because-of this Club-man
ἐπικαλούμενον, ἁπτόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ κωλύοντα προάγειν
called seizing him and preventing to-go-forward

συμβαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν· ἡσθεὶς δὲ τῇ κορύνῃ λαβὼν
having-engaged he-killed being-pleased and with-the club having-taken
ὅπλον ἐποιήσατο καὶ διετέλει χρώμενος, ὥσπερ ὁ
(as)-weapon he-made(-it) and continued using(-it) as —
Ἡρακλῆς τῷ δέρματι τοῦ λέοντος. ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν
Heracles the skin of-the lion for-that(-one) indeed then
ἐπίδειξις ἦν φορούμενον ἡλίκου τὸ μέγεθος θηρίου
display was being-worn how-great the size of-beast
κρατήσειεν, οὗτος δὲ τὴν κορύνην ἐπεδείκνυεν ἡττημένην
he-had-mastered this(-one) and the club displayed defeated
μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀήττητον οὖσαν.
indeed by him with him but unconquered being
Ἐν δ' Ἰσθμῷ Σίνιν τὸν πιτυοκάμπτην ᾧ τρόπῳ πολλοὺς
at and Isthmus Sinis the pine-bender in-which manner many
ἀνῄρει, τούτῳ διέφθειρεν αὐτός, οὐ μεμελετηκὼς οὐδ'
he-killed in-this destroyed himself not having-practiced nor
εἰθισμένος, ἐπιδείξας δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὅτι καὶ τέχνης περίεστι
being-accustomed having-shown and the valor that also art surpasses
καὶ μελέτης ἁπάσης. ἦν δὲ τῷ Σίνιδι καλλίστη καὶ μεγίστη
and practice all was and — to-Sinis most-beautiful and tallest
θυγάτηρ, ὄνομα Περιγούνη. ταύτην τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνῃρημένου
daughter by-name Perigune her the father having-been-slain
φυγοῦσαν ἐζήτει περιϊὼν ὁ Θησεύς· ἡ δ' εἰς τόπον
having-fled sought going-about — Theseus she and into place
ἀπελθοῦσα λόχμην ἔχοντα πολλὴν στοιβήν τε πλείστην
having-gone-away thicket having much prickly-bush both very-much
καὶ ἀσφάραγον, ἀκάκως πάνυ καὶ παιδικῶς ὥσπερ
and asparagus guilelessly altogether and childishly as-if
αἰσθανομένων δεομένη προσεύχετο μεθ' ὅρκων, ἂν σώσωσιν
perceiving begging prayed with oaths if they-saved
αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποκρύψωσι, μηδέποτε λυμανεῖσθαι μηδὲ καύσειν.
her and hid(-her) never to-harm nor to-burn

ἀνακαλουμένου δὲ τοῦ Θησέως καὶ πίστιν διδόντος ὡς
calling(-her)-out and — Theseus and pledge giving that
ἐπιμελήσεται καλῶς αὐτῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδικήσει, προῆλθε·
he-will-take-care well of-her and in-nothing will-wrong(-her) she-came-forth
καὶ τῷ μὲν Θησεῖ συγγενομένη Μελάνιππον ἔτεκε, Δηϊονεῖ
and — indeed to-Theseus having-consorted Melanippus bore to-Deioneus
δὲ τῷ Εὐρύτου τοῦ Οἰχαλιέως ὕστερον συνῴκησε, Θησέως
and the(-son) of-Eurytus the Oechalian later she-was-married Theseus
δόντος. ἐκ δὲ Μελανίππου τοῦ Θησέως γενόμενος Ἴωξος
giving(-her) from and Melanippus the(-son) of-Theseus having-been-born Ioxus
Ὀρνύτῳ τῆς εἰς Καρίαν ἀποικίας μετέσχεν· ὅθεν Ἰωξίδαις
with-Ornytus in-the to Caria colony took-part whence for-Ioxids
καὶ Ἰωξίσι πάτριον κατέστη μήτε ἄκανθαν ἀσφαράγου
and Ioxid-women ancestral(-custom) was-established neither thorn of-asparagus
μήτε στοιβὴν καίειν, ἀλλὰ σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν.
nor prickly-bush to-burn but to-revere and to-honor(-them)

III · THE ROBBERS PUNISHED

Theseus kills the Crommyonian sow Phaea, and Sciron, whom he throws down the rocks (though the Megarian historians deny that Sciron was a robber), and Cercyon the wrestler at Eleusis, and Damastes, called Procrustes, each by his own cruelty. At the Cephisus the Phytalidae purify him of bloodshed. Reaching Athens, he finds the city in disorder and Aegeus under Medea's sway. She urges the king to poison the stranger at a banquet, but Theseus draws his sword to carve the meat, Aegeus knows it, dashes down the cup, and acknowledges his son.

9 Ἡ δὲ Κρομμυωνία σῦς, ἣν Φαιὰν προσωνόμαζον, οὐ
the and Crommyonian sow which Phaea they-called not
φαῦλον ἦν θηρίον, ἀλλὰ μάχιμον καὶ χαλεπὸν κρατηθῆναι.
mean was beast but warlike and hard to-be-mastered

ταύτην ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, ὡς μὴ δοκοίη πάντα πρὸς
her of-the-road (as)-a-side-task so-that not he-might-seem all under
ἀνάγκην πονεῖν, ὑποστὰς ἀνεῖλε, καὶ ἅμα τῶν μὲν
compulsion to-toil having-stood-up-to(-her) he-killed and at-once of-the indeed
ἀνθρώπων τοῖς πονηροῖς ἀμυνόμενον οἰόμενος δεῖν τὸν
men to-the wicked warding-off thinking it-needful the
ἀγαθὸν προσφέρεσθαι, τῶν δὲ θηρίων καὶ προεπιχειροῦντα
good(-man) to-attack of-the and beasts even attacking-first
τοῖς γενναίοις μάχεσθαι καὶ διακινδυνεύειν. ἔνιοι δέ φασι τὴν
the noble(-ones) to-fight and to-run-risks some but say —
Φαιὰν λῃστρίδα γενέσθαι γυναῖκα φονικὴν καὶ ἀκόλαστον,
Phaea robber to-have-been woman murderous and licentious
αὐτόθι κατοικοῦσαν ἐν Κρομμυῶνι, σῦν δὲ ἐπονομασθεῖσαν
there dwelling in Crommyon sow and nicknamed
διὰ τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὸν βίον εἶτα ὑπὸ Θησέως ἀποθανεῖν.
because-of the character and the life then by Theseus to-have-died
Σκείρωνα δὲ πρὸ τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀνεῖλε ῥίψας 10
Sciron and before the Megarian(-land) he-killed having-thrown(-him)
κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν, ὡς μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος λῃστεύοντα
down the rocks as indeed the general account(-has-it) robbing
τοὺς παριόντας, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσιν ὕβρει καὶ τρυφῇ
the(-ones) passing-by as but some say in-insolence and luxury
προτείνοντα τὼ πόδε τοῖς ξένοις καὶ κελεύοντα νίπτειν,
holding-out the two-feet to-the strangers and bidding(-them) to-wash(-them)
εἶτα λακτίζοντα καὶ ἀπωθοῦντα νίπτοντας εἰς τὴν θάλατταν.
then kicking and pushing(-them) washing into the sea
οἱ δὲ Μεγαρόθεν συγγραφεῖς, ὁμόσε τῇ φήμῃ
the but from-Megara historians to-close-quarters with-the report
βαδίζοντες καὶ τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, κατὰ Σιμωνίδην,
going and with-the long time according-to Simonides
πολεμοῦντες, οὔτε ὑβριστὴν οὔτε λῃστὴν γεγονέναι τὸν
warring neither insolent nor robber to-have-been —

Σκείρωνά φασιν, ἀλλὰ λῃστῶν μὲν κολαστήν, ἀγαθῶν
Sciron they-say but of-robbers indeed punisher of-good
δὲ καὶ δικαίων οἰκεῖον ἀνδρῶν καὶ φίλον. Αἰακόν τε
and and of-just kinsman of-men and friend Aeacus both
γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ὁσιώτατον νομίζεσθαι, καὶ Κυχρέα τιμὰς
for of-Greeks most-holy to-be-thought and Cychreus honors
θεῶν ἔχειν Ἀθήνησι τὸν Σαλαμίνιον, τὴν δὲ Πηλέως καὶ
of-gods to-have at-Athens the Salaminian the and of-Peleus and
Τελαμῶνος ἀρετὴν ὑπ᾽ οὐδενὸς ἀγνοεῖσθαι. Σκείρωνα τοίνυν
of-Telamon valor by no-one to-be-unknown Sciron then
Κυχρέως μὲν γενέσθαι γαμβρόν, Αἰακοῦ δὲ πενθερόν,
of-Cychreus indeed to-have-been son-in-law of-Aeacus and father-in-law
Πηλέως δὲ καὶ Τελαμῶνος πάππον, ἐξ Ἐνδηΐδος γεγονότων
of-Peleus and and of-Telamon grandfather from Endeis having-been-born
τῆς Σκείρωνος καὶ Χαρικλοῦς θυγατρός. οὔκουν εἰκὸς εἶναι
the of-Sciron and of-Chariclo daughter not-therefore likely to-be
τῷ κακίστῳ τοὺς ἀρίστους εἰς κοινωνίαν γένους ἐλθεῖν,
with-the basest the best(-men) into partnership of-family to-come
τὰ μέγιστα καὶ τιμιώτατα λαμβάνοντας καὶ διδόντας.
the greatest and most-precious(-things) taking and giving
ἀλλὰ Θησέα φασὶν οὐχ ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐβάδιζεν εἰς Ἀθήνας,
but Theseus they-say not when the first he-was-going to Athens
ἀλλ᾽ ὕστερον Ἐλευσῖνά τε λαβεῖν Μεγαρέων ἐχόντων,
but later Eleusis both to-have-taken Megarians holding(-it)
παρακρουσάμενον Διοκλέα τὸν ἄρχοντα, καὶ Σκείρωνα
having-deceived Diocles the ruler and Sciron
ἀποκτεῖναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔχει τοιαύτας ἀντιλογίας.
to-have-killed these-things indeed then has such contradictions
11 Ἐν δὲ Ἐλευσῖνι Κερκύονα τὸν ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας
in and Eleusis Cercyon the(-one) from Arcadia
καταπαλαίσας ἀνεῖλε· καὶ μικρὸν προελθὼν Δαμάστην
having-thrown(-him)-in-wrestling he-killed and a-little having-gone-on Damastes

ἐν Ἐρινεῷ τὸν Προκρούστην, ἀναγκάσας αὑτὸν ἀπισοῦν
in Erineus the Procrustes having-forced himself to-make-equal
τοῖς κλιντῆρσιν ὥσπερ τοὺς ξένους ἐκεῖνος. ἔπραττε δὲ
to-the beds as the strangers that(-one)(-did) he-did and
ταῦτα μιμούμενος τὸν Ἡρακλέα. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οἷς
these-things imitating — Heracles and for that(-one) in-what
ἐπεβουλεύετο τρόποις ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς προεπιχειροῦντας,
he-was-plotted-against ways punishing the(-ones) attacking-first
ἔθυσε τὸν Βούσιριν καὶ κατεπάλαισε τὸν Ἀνταῖον καὶ τὸν
sacrificed — Busiris and threw-in-wrestling — Antaeus and —
Κύκνον κατεμονομάχησε καὶ τὸν Τέρμερον συρρήξας τὴν
Cycnus slew-in-single-combat and — Termerus having-broken the
κεφαλὴν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸ Τερμέρειον κακὸν
head he-killed from which indeed also the Termerian evil
ὀνομασθῆναι λέγουσι· παίων γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τῇ κεφαλῇ
to-have-been-named they-say striking for as it-seems with-the head
τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ὁ Τέρμερος ἀπώλλυεν. οὕτω δὴ καὶ
those meeting(-him) — Termerus destroyed(-them) so indeed also
Θησεὺς κολάζων τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐπεξῆλθεν, οἷς μὲν
Theseus punishing the wicked went-after(-them) in-which indeed
ἐβιάζοντο τοὺς ἄλλους, ὑπ' ἐκείνου καταβιαζομένους, ἐν δὲ
they-forced the others by him being-forced in and
τοῖς τρόποις τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀδικίας τὰ δίκαια πάσχοντας.
the ways of-the their-own injustice the just(-penalties) suffering
Προϊόντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ γενομένῳ κατὰ τὸν Κηφισόν, 12
going-on and to-him and having-come along the Cephisus
ἄνδρες ἐκ τοῦ Φυταλιδῶν γένους ἀπαντήσαντες ἠσπάσαντο
men from the of-Phytalids family having-met(-him) greeted(-him)
πρῶτοι, καὶ δεομένου καθαρθῆναι, τοῖς νενομισμένοις
first and asking to-be-purified with-the customary(-rites)

ἁγνίσαντες καὶ μειλίχια θύσαντες εἱστίασαν οἴκοι,
having-cleansed(-him) and propitiatory(-offerings) having-sacrificed feasted(-him) at-home
μηδενὸς πρότερον αὐτῷ φιλανθρώπου καθ' ὁδὸν ἐντυχόντος.
no before to-him kindness on road having-met
Ἡμέρᾳ μὲν οὖν ὀγδόῃ λέγεται Κρονίου μηνός, ὃν νῦν
on-day indeed then eighth it-is-said of-Cronius month which now
Ἑκατομβαιῶνα καλοῦσι, κατελθεῖν. κατελθὼν δὲ εἰς
Hecatombaeon they-call to-have-come-down having-come-down and into
τὴν πόλιν εὗρε τά τε κοινὰ ταραχῆς μεστὰ καὶ
the city he-found the both public(-affairs) of-confusion full and
διχοφροσύνης, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Αἰγέα καὶ τὸν οἶκον
of-dissension and the(-things) about — Aegeus and the house
ἰδίᾳ νοσοῦντα. Μήδεια γὰρ ἐκ Κορίνθου φυγοῦσα,
privately ailing Medea for from Corinth having-fled
φαρμάκοις ὑποσχομένη τῆς ἀτεκνίας ἀπαλλάξειν Αἰγέα,
by-drugs having-promised from-the childlessness to-free Aegeus
συνῆν αὐτῷ. προαισθομένη δὲ περὶ τοῦ Θησέως αὖτη,
lived-with him having-perceived-beforehand and about — Theseus she
τοῦ δὲ Αἰγέως ἀγνοοῦντος, ὄντος δὲ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ
— and Aegeus not-knowing being and older and
φοβουμένου πάντα διὰ τὴν στάσιν, ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ὡς
fearing all because-of the faction she-persuaded him as
ξένον ἑστιῶντα φαρμάκοις ἀνελεῖν. ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ
stranger (while)-entertaining(-him) by-poisons to-destroy having-come then —
Θησεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἄριστον οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζε φράζειν αὑτόν, ὅστις
Theseus to the breakfast not did-think-fit to-declare himself who
εἴη, πρότερος, ἐκείνῳ δὲ βουλόμενος ἀρχὴν ἀνευρέσεως
he-was first to-that(-one) but wishing a-beginning of-discovery
παρασχεῖν, κρεῶν παρακειμένων σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν,
to-give meats being-set-beside having-drawn the knife
ὡς ταύτῃ τέμνων, ἐδείκνυεν ἐκείνῳ. ταχὺ δὲ καταμαθὼν ὁ
as with-this cutting he-showed(-it) to-him quickly and having-recognized —

Αἰγεύς, τὴν μὲν κύλικα τοῦ φαρμάκου κατέβαλε, τὸν δὲ
Aegeus the indeed cup of-the poison threw-down the and
υἱὸν ἀνακρίνας ἠσπάζετο, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς πολίτας
son having-questioned embraced and having-gathered the citizens
ἐγνώριζεν, ἡδέως δεχομένους διὰ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν.
he-made-known(-him) gladly receiving(-him) because-of the manly-virtue
λέγεται δὲ τῆς κύλικος πεσούσης ἐκχυθῆναι τὸ
it-is-said and the cup having-fallen to-have-been-poured-out the
φάρμακον ὅπου νῦν ἐν Δελφινίῳ τὸ περίφρακτόν ἐστιν,
poison where now in Delphinium the enclosed(-place) is
ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ Αἰγεὺς ᾤκει, καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν πρὸς
there for — Aegeus dwelt and — Hermes the(-one) toward
ἕω τοῦ ἱεροῦ καλοῦσιν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγέως πύλαις.
east of-the sanctuary they-call at of-Aegeus gates

IV · THE TRIBUTE TO CRETE

The sons of Pallas, cheated of the succession, attack; their herald Leos betrays the ambush and Theseus destroys them. He captures the bull of Marathon and sacrifices it, and Hecale, who received him, is honored. Then the Cretan tribute falls due: after Androgeos was killed, Minos demands seven youths and seven maidens every nine years for the Minotaur in the Labyrinth. Plutarch weighs the tragedians' hatred of Minos against Homer and Hesiod, and Aristotle's account that the children lived as slaves in Crete.

Οἱ δὲ Παλλαντίδαι πρότερον μὲν ἤλπιζον αὐτοὶ τὴν 13
the and Pallantids before indeed hoped themselves the
βασιλείαν καθέξειν Αἰγέως ἀτέκνου τελευτήσαντος· ἐπεὶ δὲ
kingdom to-hold Aegeus childless having-died when but
Θησεὺς ἀπεδείχθη διάδοχος, χαλεπῶς φέροντες εἰ βασιλεύει
Theseus was-appointed successor hard taking(-it) if reigns

μὲν Αἰγεὺς θετὸς γενόμενος Πανδίονι καὶ μηδὲν Ἐρεχθείδαις
indeed Aegeus adopted having-been by-Pandion and in-no-way to-Erechtheids
προσήκων, βασιλεύσει δ' ὁ Θησεὺς πάλιν ἔπηλυς ὢν καὶ
belonging will-reign and — Theseus in-turn immigrant being and
ξένος, εἰς πόλεμον καθίσταντο. καὶ διελόντες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ
stranger into war they-entered and having-divided themselves the(-ones)
μὲν ἐμφανῶς Σφηττόθεν ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ τοῦ
indeed openly from-Sphettus advanced against the town with the
πατρός, οἱ δὲ Γαργηττοῖ κρύψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνήδρευον,
father the(-others) and at-Gargettus having-hidden themselves lay-in-ambush
ὡς διχόθεν ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις. ἦν δὲ κῆρυξ
so-as from-two-sides to-attack the opponents was and herald
μετ' αὐτῶν, ἀνὴρ Ἀγνούσιος, ὄνομα Λεώς. οὗτος ἐξήγγειλε
with them man of-Agnus by-name Leos this(-man) reported
τῷ Θησεῖ τὰ βεβουλευμένα τοῖς Παλλαντίδαις. ὁ
— to-Theseus the(-things) planned by-the Pallantids he
δὲ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς ἐνεδρεύουσι πάντας
and suddenly having-fallen-upon the(-ones) lying-in-ambush all
διέφθειρεν. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Πάλλαντος πυθόμενοι
destroyed the(-ones) and with — Pallas having-learned(-it)
διεσπάρησαν. ἐκ τούτου φασὶ τῷ Παλληνέων δήμῳ πρὸς
were-scattered from this they-say for-the of-Pallene deme with
τὸν Ἀγνουσίων ἐπιγαμίαν μὴ εἶναι, μηδὲ κηρύττεσθαι
the(-deme) of-Agnusians intermarriage not to-be nor to-be-proclaimed
τοὐπιχώριον παρ' αὐτοῖς "Ἀκούετε λεῷ·" μισοῦσι γὰρ
the-local(-cry) among them hear O-people they-hate for
τοὔνομα διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός.
the-name because-of the treachery of-the man

14 Ὁ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐνεργὸς εἶναι βουλόμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ
— and Theseus active to-be wishing at-once and also
δημαγωγῶν, ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μαραθώνιον ταῦρον, οὐκ
courting-the-people went-out against the Marathonian bull not

ὀλίγα πράγματα τοῖς οἰκοῦσι τὴν Τετράπολιν παρέχοντα·
few troubles to-those inhabiting — Tetrapolis causing
καὶ χειρωσάμενος ἐπεδείξατο ζῶντα διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος
and having-mastered(-it) displayed(-it) alive through the town
ἐλάσας, εἶτα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δελφινίῳ κατέθυσεν. ἡ
having-driven(-it) then — to-Apollo the Delphinian sacrificed(-it) —
δὲ Ἑκάλη καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν μυθολόγημα τοῦ ξενισμοῦ καὶ
and Hecale and the about her story of-the entertaining and
τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ἔοικε μὴ πάσης ἀμοιρεῖν ἀληθείας. ἔθυον
of-the reception seems not of-all to-be-without truth they-sacrificed
γὰρ Ἑκαλήσια οἱ πέριξ δῆμοι συνιόντες Ἑκάλῳ Διΐ, καὶ
for Hecalesia the around demes coming-together to-Hecalean Zeus and
τὴν Ἑκάλην ἐτίμων, Ἑκαλίνην ὑποκοριζόμενοι διὰ τὸ
— Hecale honored Hecaline calling(-her)-fondly because-of the
κἀκείνην νέον ὄντα κομιδῇ τὸν Θησέα ξενίζουσαν ἀσπάσασθαι
that-one-too young being quite — Theseus entertaining to-have-embraced
πρεσβυτικῶς καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τοιούτοις ὑποκορισμοῖς.
in-old-woman's-way and to-have-greeted with-such pet-names
ἐπεὶ δὲ εὔξατο μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ Διί, βαδίζοντος ἐπὶ τὴν
since and she-vowed indeed for him — to-Zeus going to the
μάχην, εἰ σῶς παραγένοιτο, θύσειν, ἀπέθανε δὲ πρὶν ἐκεῖνον
battle if safe he-returned to-sacrifice she-died but before he
ἐπανελθεῖν, ἔσχε τὰς εἰρημένας ἀμοιβὰς τῆς φιλοξενίας
to-return she-had the said returns of-the hospitality
τοῦ Θησέως κελεύσαντος, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἱστόρηκεν.
— Theseus having-ordered(-it) as Philochorus has-recorded
Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἦκον ἐκ Κρήτης τὸ τρίτον οἱ 15
little and later came from Crete the third(-time) the(-men)
τὸν δασμὸν ἀπάξοντες. ὅτι μὲν οὖν Ἀνδρόγεω περὶ τὴν
the tribute to-take-away that indeed then Androgeos about —
Ἀττικὴν ἀποθανεῖν δόλῳ δόξαντος, ὅ τε Μίνως πολλὰ
Attica to-have-died by-treachery being-thought — both Minos many

κακὰ πολεμῶν εἰργάζετο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον
evils warring wrought the men and the divinity
ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν (ἀφορία τε γὰρ καὶ νόσος ἐνέσκηψε
was-ruining the land barrenness both for and disease fell
πολλὴ καὶ ἀνέδυσαν οἱ ποταμοί), καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος
much and dried-up the rivers and the god having-ordered
ἱλασαμένοις τὸν Μίνω καὶ διαλλαγεῖσι λωφήσειν τὸ
to-them-having-propitiated — Minos and having-been-reconciled would-cease the
μήνιμα καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἔσεσθαι παῦλαν, ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι
wrath and of-the evils there-would-be an-end having-sent-heralds
καὶ δεηθέντες ἐποιήσαντο συνθήκας ὥστε πέμπειν δι᾽ ἐννέα
and having-begged they-made covenants so-that to-send every nine
ἐτῶν δασμὸν ἠϊθέους ἑπτὰ καὶ παρθένους τοσαύτας,
years tribute youths seven and maidens as-many
ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν συγγραφέων· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας
agree the most of-the historians the and children
εἰς Κρήτην κομιζομένους ὁ μὲν τραγικώτατος μῦθος
to Crete being-brought the indeed most-tragic tale
ἀποφαίνει τὸν Μινώταυρον ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ διαφθείρειν, ἢ
declares — Minotaur in — Labyrinth to-destroy or

πλανωμένους αὐτοὺς καὶ τυχεῖν ἐξόδου μὴ δυναμένους ἐκεῖ
wandering them and to-find exit not being-able there
καταθνήσκειν, τὸν δὲ Μινώταυρον, ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης φησί,
to-die — and Minotaur as Euripides says

Σύμμικτον εἶδος κἀποφώλιον βρέφος
A-mixed form and-a-monstrous offspring

γεγονέναι, καὶ
to-have-been and

Ταύρου μεμῖχθαι καὶ βροτοῦ διπλῇ φύσει.
Of-bull to-be-mingled and of-mortal in-double nature

Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν οὐ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν Κρῆτας, ἀλλὰ 16
Philochorus but says not these-things to-allow Cretans but
λέγειν ὅτι φρουρὰ μὲν ἦν ὁ Λαβύρινθος, οὐδὲν ἔχων
to-say that a-prison indeed was — Labyrinth nothing having
κακὸν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τὸ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς φυλαττομένους,
evil but than the not to-escape the(-ones) being-guarded
ἀγῶνα δὲ ὁ Μίνως ἐπ᾽ Ἀνδρόγεῳ γυμνικὸν ἐποίει καὶ τοὺς
a-contest and — Minos for Androgeos athletic held and the
παῖδας ἆθλα τοῖς νικῶσιν ἐδίδου τέως ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ
children (as)-prizes to-the victors he-gave until-then in — Labyrinth
φυλαττομένους· ἐνίκα δὲ τοὺς προτέρους ἀγῶνας ὁ
guarded won and the former contests the(-man)
μέγιστον παρ᾽ αὐτῷ δυνάμενος τότε καὶ στρατηγῶν,
greatest with him having-power then and commanding
ὄνομα Ταῦρος, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἐπιεικὴς καὶ ἥμερος τὸν τρόπον,
by-name Taurus man not reasonable and gentle the manner
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπερηφάνως καὶ
but even to-the children of-the Athenians arrogantly and

χαλεπῶς προσφερόμενος. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ
harshly behaving Aristotle and also himself in the
Βοττιαίων πολιτείᾳ δῆλός ἐστιν οὐ νομίζων ἀναιρεῖσθαι
of-Bottiaeans constitution plain is not thinking to-be-killed
τοὺς παῖδας ὑπὸ τοῦ Μίνω, ἀλλὰ θητεύοντας ἐν τῇ
the children by — Minos but serving-as-laborers in —
Κρήτῃ καταγηράσκειν· καί ποτε Κρῆτας εὐχὴν παλαιὰν
Crete to-grow-old and once Cretans vow ancient
ἀποδιδόντας ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστέλλειν,
paying of-men first-fruits to Delphi to-send
τοῖς δὲ πεμπομένοις ἀναμιχθέντας ἐκγόνους ἐκείνων
with-those and being-sent having-mingled descendants of-those
συνεξελθεῖν· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ τρέφειν ἑαυτοὺς αὐτόθι,
to-go-out-with when and not they-were able to-sustain themselves there
πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν διαπερᾶσαι κἀκεῖ κατοικεῖν περὶ
first indeed to Italy to-cross and-there to-settle around
τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ αὖθις εἰς Θράκην κομισθῆναι
— Iapygia from-there and again to Thrace to-be-brought
καὶ κληθῆναι Βοττιαίους· διὸ τὰς κόρας τῶν Βοττιαίων
and to-be-called Bottiaeans wherefore the girls of-the Bottiaeans
θυσίαν τινὰ τελούσας ἐπᾴδειν· "Ἴωμεν εἰς Ἀθήνας."
sacrifice a-certain performing to-sing-in-refrain let-us-go to Athens
Ἔοικε γὰρ ὄντως χαλεπὸν εἶναι φωνὴν ἐχούσῃ πόλει
it-seems for really hard to-be voice having with-a-city
καὶ μοῦσαν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μίνως ἀεὶ διετέλει
and muse to-incur-hatred and for — Minos always continued
κακῶς ἀκούων καὶ λοιδορούμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς
badly being-spoken-of and reviled in the Attic
θεάτροις, καὶ οὔτε Ἡσίοδος αὐτὸν ὤνησε "βασιλεύτατον"
theaters and neither Hesiod him profited most-kingly
οὔτε Ὅμηρος "ὀαριστὴν Διὸς" προσαγορεύσας, ἀλλ'
nor Homer confidant of-Zeus having-called(-him) but

ἐπικρατήσαντες οἱ τραγικοὶ πολλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λογείου καὶ
having-prevailed the tragedians much from the speaking-place and
τῆς σκηνῆς ἀδοξίαν αὐτοῦ κατεσκέδασαν ὡς χαλεποῦ καὶ
the stage disrepute of-him scattered as harsh and
βιαίου γενομένου. καίτοι φασὶ τὸν μὲν Μίνω βασιλέα
violent having-been and-yet they-say — indeed Minos king
καὶ νομοθέτην, δικαστὴν δὲ τὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν εἶναι καὶ
and lawgiver judge and — Rhadamanthys to-be and
φύλακα τῶν ὡρισμένων ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου δικαίων.
guardian of-the defined by that(-one) just(-ordinances)

V · ARIADNE AND THE LABYRINTH

Theseus offers himself among the tribute. Aegeus gives the pilot a white sail to hoist if his son returns alive. Theseus sails under Aphrodite's guidance, wins Ariadne's love, and with her thread kills the Minotaur and escapes the Labyrinth. Plutarch sets out other versions: Philochorus' Taurus, a general of Minos, defeated in the games, and Cleidemus' war against Deucalion. Of Ariadne some say she hanged herself when abandoned, others that sailors brought her to Naxos to live with Oenarus, priest of Dionysus, others that she died in childbirth on Cyprus, and the Naxians tell of two Ariadnes.

Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὖν καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος τοῦ τρίτου δασμοῦ, καὶ 17
when and then had-come the time of-the third tribute and
παρέχειν ἔδει τοὺς πατέρας ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον οἷς ἦσαν
to-present it-was-necessary the fathers for the lot to-whom were
ἡίθεοι παῖδες, αὖθις ἀνεφύοντο τῷ Αἰγεῖ διαβολαὶ πρὸς
youthful children again sprang-up — against-Aegeus accusations among
τοὺς πολίτας, ὀδυρομένους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντας ὅτι πάντων
the citizens lamenting and being-indignant that of-all
αἴτιος ὢν ἐκεῖνος, οὐδὲν μέρος ἔχει τῆς κολάσεως μόνος,
cause being that(-man) no part has of-the punishment alone

ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ νόθῳ καὶ ξένῳ παιδὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποιημένος αὐτοὺς
but on bastard and foreign son the rule having-placed them
περιορᾷ γνησίων ἐρήμους καὶ ἄπαιδας ἀπολειπομένους.
he-disregards of-legitimate(-sons) bereft and childless being-left
ταῦτ᾽ ἠνία τὸν Θησέα, καὶ δικαιῶν μὴ ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλὰ
these-things grieved — Theseus and thinking-it-right not to-neglect but
κοινωνεῖν τῆς τύχης τοῖς πολίταις, ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ
to-share the fortune with-the citizens he-gave himself without
κλήρου προσελθών. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τό τε φρόνημα
lot having-come-forward and to-the indeed others the both spirit
θαυμαστὸν ἐφάνη καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἠγάπησαν, ὁ δὲ Αἰγεύς,
admirable appeared and the public-spirit they-loved — and Aegeus
ἐπεὶ δεόμενος καὶ καθικετεύων ἀμετάπειστον ἑώρα καὶ
when begging and beseeching unpersuadable he-saw(-him) and
ἀμετάτρεπτον, ἀπεκλήρωσε τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας.
inflexible drew-by-lot the other children
Ἑλλάνικος δέ φησιν οὐ τοὺς λαχόντας ἀπὸ κλήρου
Hellanicus but says not those having-been-drawn by lot
καὶ τὰς λαχούσας ἐκπέμπειν τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν
and those having-been-drawn to-send-out the city himself but —
Μίνω παραγινόμενον ἐκλέγεσθαι καὶ τὸν Θησέα πάντων
Minos coming to-choose and — Theseus of-all
ἑλέσθαι πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρισθεῖσιν· ὡρισμένον δ᾽ εἶναι
to-pick first on the defined(-terms) it-being-defined and to-be
τὴν μὲν ναῦν Ἀθηναίους παρέχειν, ἐμβάντας δὲ πλεῖν
the indeed ship Athenians to-provide having-embarked and to-sail
σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἠϊθέους μηδὲν ὅπλον ἀρήϊον ἐπιφερομένους,
with him the youths no weapon of-war carrying
ἀπολομένου δὲ τοῦ Μινωταύρου πέρας ἔχειν τὴν ποινήν.
having-perished and — Minotaur end to-have the penalty

Πρότερον μὲν οὖν οὐδεμία σωτηρίας ἐλπὶς ὑπέκειτο· διὸ
before indeed then no of-safety hope lay-beneath wherefore
καὶ μέλαν ἱστίον ἔχουσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ προδήλῳ, τὴν
also black sail having as for disaster manifest the
ναῦν ἔπεμπον· τότε δὲ τοῦ Θησέως τὸν πατέρα θαρρύνοντος
ship they-sent then but — Theseus the father encouraging
καὶ μεγαληγοροῦντος ὡς χειρώσεται τὸν Μινώταυρον,
and boasting that he-will-master — Minotaur
ἔδωκεν ἕτερον ἱστίον λευκὸν τῷ κυβερνήτῃ, κελεύσας
he-gave another sail white to-the helmsman having-bidden
ὑποστρέφοντα σωζομένου τοῦ Θησέως ἐπάρασθαι τὸ λευκόν,
returning being-safe — Theseus to-hoist the white
εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ μέλανι πλεῖν καὶ ἀποσημαίνειν τὸ πάθος.
if but not with-the black to-sail and to-signal the calamity
Ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης οὐ λευκόν φησιν εἶναι τὸ δοθὲν ὑπὸ
— but Simonides not white says to-be the(-sail) given by
τοῦ Αἰγέως, ἀλλὰ "φοινίκεον ἱστίον ὑγρῷ πεφυρμένον
— Aegeus but crimson sail with-moist dyed
πρίνου ἄνθει ἐριθάλλου·" καὶ τοῦτο τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν
of-holm-oak flower of-luxuriant and this of-the safety of-them
ποιήσασθαι σημεῖον. ἐκυβέρνα δὲ τὴν ναῦν Ἀμαρσυάδας
to-make sign steered and the ship Amarsyas'-son
Φέρεκλος, ὥς φησι Σιμωνίδης. Φιλόχορος δὲ παρὰ Σκίρου
Phereclus as says Simonides Philochorus but from Scirus
φησὶν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος τὸν Θησέα λαβεῖν κυβερνήτην
says from Salamis — Theseus to-have-taken helmsman
μὲν Ναυσίθοον, πρωρέα δὲ Φαίακα, μηδέπω τότε τῶν
indeed Nausithous lookout and Phaeax not-yet then the
Ἀθηναίων προσεχόντων τῇ θαλάττῃ· καὶ γὰρ εἶναι τῶν
Athenians attending to-the sea and for to-be of-the
ἠϊθέων ἕνα Μενέσθην Σκίρου θυγατριδοῦν. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ
youths one Menesthes of-Scirus daughter's-son bear-witness and

τούτοις ἡρῷα Ναυσιθόου καὶ Φαίακος εἰσαμένου
to-these(-things) hero-shrines of-Nausithous and Phaeax having-set-up
Θησέως Φαληροῖ πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Σκίρου ἱερῷ, καὶ τὴν
Theseus at-Phalerum near the — of-Scirus sanctuary and the
ἑορτὴν τὰ Κυβερνήσια φασιν ἐκείνοις τελεῖσθαι.
festival the Cybernesia they-say for-them to-be-held
18 Γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κλήρου παραλαβὼν τοὺς λαχόντας
having-taken-place and the lot having-taken-with(-him) those drawn
ὁ Θησεὺς ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς Δελφίνιον,
— Theseus from the prytaneum and having-gone to Delphinium
ἔθηκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν ἱκετηρίαν. ἦν δὲ
placed for them — to-Apollo the suppliant-branch it-was and
κλάδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας, ἐρίῳ λευκῷ κατεστεμμένος.
branch from the sacred olive with-wool white wreathed
εὐξάμενος δὲ κατέβαινεν ἕκτῃ μηνὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν
having-prayed and he-went-down on-sixth of-month to sea
ἱσταμένου Μουνυχιῶνος, ᾗ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὰς κόρας
beginning of-Munychion on-which also now still the girls
πέμπουσιν ἱλασομένας εἰς Δελφίνιον. λέγεται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν
they-send to-propitiate to Delphinium it-is-said and to-him the
μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνελεῖν θεὸν Ἀφροδίτην καθηγεμόνα
indeed at Delphi to-have-answered god Aphrodite (as)-guide
ποιεῖσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν συνέμπορον, θύοντι δὲ πρὸς
to-make and to-invite (as)-fellow-traveler sacrificing and by
θαλάσσῃ τὴν αἶγα θήλειαν οὖσαν αὐτομάτως τράγον
sea the she-goat female being of-itself he-goat
γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ καλεῖσθαι τὴν θεὸν Ἐπιτραγίαν.
to-have-become wherefore also to-be-called the goddess Epitragia
19 Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κρήτην, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ
when and he-sailed-down to Crete as indeed the many
γράφουσι καὶ ᾄδουσι, παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἐρασθείσης τὸ
write and sing from — Ariadne having-fallen-in-love the

λίνον λαβών, καὶ διδαχθεὶς ὡς ἔστι τοῦ λαβυρίνθου
thread having-taken and having-been-taught how it-is-possible of-the labyrinth
τοὺς ἑλιγμοὺς διεξελθεῖν, ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Μινώταυρον καὶ
the windings to-go-through he-killed — Minotaur and
ἀπέπλευσε τὴν Ἀριάδνην ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἠϊθέους.
sailed-away — Ariadne having-taken-up and the youths
Φερεκύδης δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐδάφη τῶν Κρητικῶν νεῶν φησιν
Pherecydes and also the bottoms of-the Cretan ships says
ἐκκόψαι τὸν Θησέα, τὴν δίωξιν ἀφαιρούμενον. Δήμων
to-have-knocked-out — Theseus the pursuit taking-away Demon
δὲ καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ἀναιρεθῆναί φησι τὸν τοῦ Μίνω
and also — Taurus to-have-been-killed says the — of-Minos
στρατηγόν, ἐν τῷ λιμένι διαναυμαχοῦντα τοῦ Θησέως
general in the harbor fighting-at-sea — Theseus
ἐκπλέοντος. ὡς δὲ Φιλόχορος ἱστόρηκε, τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ
sailing-out as but Philochorus has-recorded the contest —
Μίνω συντελοῦντος, ἐπίδοξος ὢν ἅπαντας πάλιν νικήσειν,
Minos holding expected being all again to-win
ὁ Ταῦρος ἐφθονεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν
— Taurus was-envied and for the power of-him because-of the
τρόπον ἦν ἐπαχθής, καὶ διαβολὴν εἶχεν ὡς τῇ Πασιφάῃ
character was offensive and slander he-had as — with-Pasiphae
πλησιάζων. διὸ καὶ τοῦ Θησέως ἀξιοῦντος ἀγωνίσασθαι
consorting wherefore also — Theseus asking to-compete
συνεχώρησεν ὁ Μίνως. ἔθους δὲ ὄντος ἐν Κρήτῃ θεᾶσθαι
allowed(-it) — Minos custom and being in Crete to-watch
καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, Ἀριάδνη παροῦσα πρός τε τὴν ὄψιν
also the women Ariadne being-present at both the appearance
ἐξεπλάγη τοῦ Θησέως καὶ τὴν ἄθλησιν ἐθαύμασε
was-struck — of-Theseus and the athletic-performance admired
πάντων κρατήσαντος· ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὁ Μίνως μάλιστα τοῦ
of-all having-prevailed being-pleased and also — Minos especially —

Ταύρου καταπαλαισθέντος καὶ προπηλακισθέντος, ἀπέδωκε
Taurus having-been-thrown and having-been-disgraced gave-back
τῷ Θησεῖ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἀνῆκε τῇ πόλει τὸν δασμόν.
— to-Theseus the children and remitted to-the city the tribute
Ἰδίως δέ πως καὶ περιττῶς ὁ Κλείδημος ἀπήγγειλε
peculiarly and somehow and extravagantly — Cleidemus reported
περὶ τούτων, ἄνωθέν ποθεν ἀρξάμενος, ὅτι δόγμα κοινὸν
about these(-things) from-above somewhere having-begun that decree common
ἦν Ἑλλήνων μηδεμίαν ἐκπλεῖν τριήρη μηδαμόθεν ἀνδρῶν
was of-Greeks no to-sail-out trireme from-anywhere than-men
πέντε πλείονας δεχομένην· τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα τῆς Ἀργοῦς
five more taking the and commander — of-Argo
Ἰάσονα μόνον περιπλεῖν ἐξείργοντα τῆς θαλάττης τὰ
Jason alone to-sail-about excluding from-the sea the
λῃστήρια. Δαιδάλου δὲ πλοίῳ φυγόντος εἰς Ἀθήνας, Μίνως
pirate-ships Daedalus and in-boat having-fled to Athens Minos
παρὰ τὰ δόγματα μακραῖς ναυσὶ διώκων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος
against the decrees with-long ships pursuing by storm
εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπηνέχθη κἀκεῖ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ἐπεὶ
to Sicily was-carried-away and-there ended the life when
δὲ Δευκαλίων ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ πολεμικῶς ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς
and Deucalion the son of-him in-hostile-mood being toward the
Ἀθηναίους ἔπεμψεν, ἐκδιδόναι Δαίδαλον αὐτῷ κελεύων ἢ
Athenians sent to-give-up Daedalus to-him bidding or
τοὺς παῖδας ἀποκτενεῖν ἀπειλῶν οὓς ἔλαβεν ὁμήρους
the children to-kill threatening whom took as-hostages
ὁ Μίνως, τούτῳ μὲν ἀπεκρίνατο πρᾴως ὁ Θησεύς,
— Minos to-this(-man) indeed answered mildly — Theseus
παραιτούμενος ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα Δαίδαλον κἀκείνῳ κατὰ γένος
begging-off cousin being Daedalus and-to-him by family
προσήκοντα, μητρὸς ὄντα Μερόπης τῆς Ἐρεχθέως,
related of-mother being of-Merope the(-daughter) of-Erechtheus

αὐτὸς δὲ ναυπηγίαν ἐπεβάλετο, τὴν μὲν ἐν Θυμαιταδῶν
himself but shipbuilding undertook the(-one) indeed at of-Thymaetadae
αὐτόθι μακρὰν τῆς ξενικῆς ὁδοῦ, τὴν δὲ διὰ Πιτθέως
there far-from the foreign road the(-other) and through Pittheus
ἐν Τροιζῆνι, βουλόμενος λανθάνειν. γενομένων δὲ ἑτοίμων
in Troezen wishing to-escape-notice having-become and ready
ἐξέπλευσε τόν τε Δαίδαλον ἔχων καὶ φυγάδας ἐκ Κρήτης
he-sailed-out — both Daedalus having and exiles from Crete
καθηγεμόνας· οὐδενὸς δὲ προειδότος, ἀλλὰ ναῦς φιλίας
(as)-guides no-one and foreknowing(-it) but ships friendly
οἰομένων τῶν Κρητῶν προσφέρεσθαι, τοῦ λιμένος κρατήσας
thinking the Cretans to-be-approaching the harbor having-seized
καὶ ἀποβὰς ἔφθασεν εἰς τὴν Κνωσσὸν παρελθών· καὶ
and having-landed he-got-first to — Cnossus having-arrived and
μάχην ἐν πύλαις τοῦ Λαβυρίνθου συνάψας ἀπέκτεινε τὸν
battle at gates — of-Labyrinth having-joined he-killed —
Δευκαλίωνα καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι
Deucalion and the bodyguards in and the affairs
τῆς Ἀριάδνης γενομένης, σπεισάμενος πρὸς αὐτὴν τούς τε
— Ariadne having-come having-made-a-truce with her the both
ἡἰθέους ἀνέλαβε καὶ φιλίαν ἐποίησε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς
youths he-took-back and friendship made for-the Athenians with
τοὺς Κρῆτας, ὀμόσαντας μηδέποτε πολέμου κατάρξειν.
the Cretans having-sworn never of-war to-begin
Πολλοὶ δὲ λόγοι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἔτι λέγονται καὶ περὶ 20
many and accounts also about these(-things) still are-told and about
τῆς Ἀριάδνης, οὐδὲν ὁμολογούμενον ἔχοντες. οἱ μὲν
— Ariadne nothing agreed-upon having the(-ones) indeed
γὰρ ἀπάγξασθαί φασιν αὐτὴν ἀπολειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ
for to-have-hanged-herself say her having-been-abandoned by —
Θησέως, οἱ δὲ εἰς Νάξον ὑπὸ ναυτῶν κομισθεῖσαν
Theseus the(-others) and to Naxos by sailors having-been-brought

Οἰνάρῳ τῷ ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διονύσου συνοικεῖν, ἀπολειφθῆναι
with-Oenarus the priest — of-Dionysus to-live-with to-have-been-abandoned
δὲ τοῦ Θησέως ἐρῶντος ἑτέρας·
and — Theseus loving another(-woman)

Δεινὸς γάρ μιν ἔτειρεν ἔρως Πανοπηΐδος Αἴγλης.
Terrible for him wore-down love of-Panopeus'-daughter Aegle

τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἔπος ἐκ τῶν Ἡσιόδου Πεισίστρατον
this for the verse from the(-poems) of-Hesiod Peisistratus
ἐξελεῖν φησιν Ἡρέας ὁ Μεγαρεύς, ὥσπερ αὖ πάλιν
to-have-removed says Hereas the Megarian as again in-turn
ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου νέκυιαν τὸ
to-have-inserted into the of-Homer nekyia the(-verse)

Θησέα Πειρίθοόν τε θεῶν ἀριδείκετα τέκνα,
Theseus Peirithous and of-gods glorious children

χαριζόμενον Ἀθηναίοις· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τεκεῖν ἐκ Θησέως
gratifying to-Athenians some and also to-have-borne from Theseus
Ἀριάδνην Οἰνοπίωνα καὶ Στάφυλον· ὧν καὶ ὁ Χῖος
Ariadne Oenopion and Staphylus of-whom also the Chian
Ἴων ἐστὶ περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος λέγων·
Ion is about the his-own fatherland saying

Τήν ποτε Θησείδης ἔκτισεν Οἰνοπίων.
Which once Theseus'-son founded Oenopion

Ἃ δ' ἐστὶν εὐφημότατα τῶν μυθολογουμένων, πάντες ὡς
which and are most-auspicious of-the tales all as
ἔπος εἰπεῖν διὰ στόματος ἔχουσιν. ἴδιον δέ τινα περὶ
word to-say through mouth have peculiar but a-certain about

τούτων λόγον ἐκδέδωκε Παίων ὁ Ἀμαθούσιος. τὸν γὰρ
these(-things) account has-published Paeon the Amathusian — for
Θησέα φησὶν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος εἰς Κύπρον ἐξενεχθέντα
Theseus he-says by storm to Cyprus having-been-carried-out
καὶ τὴν Ἀριάδνην ἔγκυον ἔχοντα, φαύλως δὲ διακειμένην
and — Ariadne pregnant having badly and faring
ὑπὸ τοῦ σάλου καὶ δυσφοροῦσαν, ἐκβιβάσαι μόνην,
by the tossing and being-distressed to-have-put-ashore alone
αὐτὸν δὲ τῷ πλοίῳ βοηθοῦντα πάλιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος
himself and to-the ship helping again into the open-sea
ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φέρεσθαι. τὰς οὖν ἐγχωρίους γυναῖκας
from the land to-be-carried the then native women
τὴν Ἀριάδνην ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ περιέπειν ἀθυμοῦσαν ἐπὶ
— Ariadne to-take-up and to-tend despondent at
τῇ μονώσει, καὶ γράμματα πλαστὰ προσφέρειν, ὡς τοῦ
the solitude and letters forged to-bring as —
Θησέως γράφοντος αὐτῇ, καὶ περὶ τὴν ὠδῖνα συμπονεῖν
Theseus writing to-her and in the labor to-help
καὶ βοηθεῖν· ἀποθανοῦσαν δὲ θάψαι μὴ τεκοῦσαν.
and to-assist having-died and to-have-buried(-her) not having-borne
ἐπελθόντα δὲ τὸν Θησέα καὶ περίλυπον γενόμενον τοῖς
having-come and — Theseus and very-grieved having-become to-the
μὲν ἐγχωρίοις ἀπολιπεῖν χρήματα, συντάξαντα θύειν
indeed natives to-have-left money having-ordered(-them) to-sacrifice
τῇ Ἀριάδνῃ, δύο δὲ μικροὺς ἀνδριαντίσκους ἱδρύσασθαι,
— to-Ariadne two and small statuettes to-have-set-up
τὸν μὲν ἀργυροῦν, τὸν δὲ χαλκοῦν. ἐν δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ
the(-one) indeed silver the(-other) and bronze in and the sacrifice
τοῦ Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ἱσταμένου δευτέρᾳ κατακλινόμενόν
of-the Gorpiaeus month beginning on-the-second lying-down
τινα τῶν νεανίσκων φθέγγεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν ἅπερ ὠδίνουσαι
one of-the young-men to-cry-out and to-do what in-labor

γυναῖκες· καλεῖν δὲ τὸ ἄλσος Ἀμαθουσίους, ἐν ᾧ τὸν
women(-do) to-call and the grove Amathusians in which the
τάφον δεικνύουσιν, Ἀριάδνης Ἀφροδίτης.
tomb they-show of-Ariadne of-Aphrodite
Καὶ Ναξίων δέ τινες ἰδίως ἱστοροῦσι δύο Μίνωας
also of-Naxians and some peculiarly report two Minoses
γενέσθαι καὶ δύο Ἀριάδνας, ὧν τὴν μὲν Διονύσῳ
to-have-been and two Ariadnes of-whom the(-one) indeed to-Dionysus
γαμηθῆναί φασιν ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Στάφυλον
to-have-been-married they-say in Naxos and the(-sons) around Staphylus
τεκεῖν, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν ἁρπασθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ
to-have-borne the(-other) and younger having-been-carried-off by —
Θησέως καὶ ἀπολειφθεῖσαν εἰς Νάξον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τροφὸν
Theseus and having-been-abandoned to Naxos to-have-come and nurse
μετ᾽ αὐτῆς ὄνομα Κορκύνην, ἧς δείκνυσθαι τάφον.
with her by-name Corcyne of-whom to-be-shown tomb
ἀποθανεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀριάδνην αὐτόθι καὶ τιμὰς ἔχειν
to-have-died and also — Ariadne there and honors to-have
οὐχ ὁμοίας τῇ προτέρᾳ. τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἡδομένους καὶ
not like to-the former to-the(-one) indeed for rejoicing and
παίζοντας ἑορτάζειν, τὰς δὲ ταύτῃ δρωμένας θυσίας
sporting to-celebrate-festival the and for-her performed sacrifices
εἶναι πένθει τινὶ καὶ στυγνότητι μεμιγμένας.
to-be with-mourning some and gloom mingled

At Delos Theseus sacrifices, dedicates the image of Aphrodite he had from Ariadne, and dances with the youths the crane dance round the Horned Altar. Nearing Attica he and his helmsman forget to hoist the sail, and Aegeus throws himself from the rock. The herald's staff crowned at the Oschophoria, the boiled pulse and the eiresione keep the memory, and the Athenians keep his thirty-oared ship until the time of Demetrius of Phalerum, a puzzle for the philosophers. Then Theseus gathers Attica into one city, dissolving the local councils, promising a kingless government, and founds the Panathenaea and the Metoecia.

Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ἀποπλέων εἰς Δῆλον κατέσχε· καὶ 21
from and — Crete sailing-away to Delos he-put-in and
τῷ θεῷ θύσας καὶ ἀναθεὶς τὸ ἀφροδίσιον ὃ
to-the god having-sacrificed and having-dedicated the image-of-Aphrodite which
παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἔλαβεν, ἐχόρευσε μετὰ τῶν ἠϊθέων
from — Ariadne he-had-received he-danced with the youths
χορείαν ἣν ἔτι νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν Δηλίους λέγουσι, μίμημα τῶν
a-dance which still now to-perform Delians they-say imitation of-the
ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ περιόδων καὶ διεξόδων, ἔν τινι ῥυθμῷ
in — Labyrinth circuits and passages in some rhythm
παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις ἔχοντι γιγνομένην. καλεῖται
alternations and evolutions having being-performed is-called
δὲ τὸ γένος τοῦτο τῆς χορείας ὑπὸ Δηλίων γέρανος,
and the kind this of-the dance by Delians crane
ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος. ἐχόρευσε δὲ περὶ τὸν Κερατῶνα
as records Dicaearchus he-danced and around the Horned
βωμόν, ἐκ κεράτων συνηρμοσμένον εὐωνύμων ἁπάντων.
altar from horns fitted-together left all
ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνά φασιν αὐτὸν ἐν Δήλῳ, καὶ τοῖς
to-have-held and also a-contest they-say him in Delos and to-the
νικῶσι τότε πρῶτον ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου φοίνικα δοθῆναι.
victors then first by him palm to-have-been-given

22 Τῇ δὲ Ἀττικῇ προσφερομένων ἐκλαθέσθαι μὲν αὐτόν,
to-the and Attic(-shore) as-they-were-approaching to-have-forgotten indeed himself
ἐκλαθέσθαι δὲ τὸν κυβερνήτην ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐπάρασθαι τὸ
to-have-forgotten and the helmsman from joy to-hoist the
ἱστίον ᾧ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν ἔδει γνώριμον τῷ
sail by-which the safety of-them it-was-needful known —
Αἰγεῖ γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ ἀπογνόντα ῥῖψαι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας
to-Aegeus to-become him and having-despaired to-throw down the rock
ἑαυτὸν καὶ διαφθαρῆναι. καταπλεύσας δὲ ὁ Θησεὺς
himself and to-be-destroyed having-sailed-in and — Theseus
ἔθυε μὲν αὐτὸς ἃς ἐκπλέων θυσίας εὔξατο τοῖς θεοῖς
sacrificed indeed himself what sailing-out sacrifices he-had-vowed to-the gods
Φαληροῖ, κήρυκα δὲ ἀπέστειλε τῆς σωτηρίας ἄγγελον
at-Phalerum herald and sent-off of-the safety (as)-messenger
εἰς ἄστυ. οὗτος ἐνέτυχεν ὀδυρομένοις τε πολλοῖς τὴν
to town this(-man) met lamenting both many the
τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτὴν καὶ χαίρουσιν, ὡς εἰκός, ἑτέροις
of-the king end and rejoicing as was-likely others
καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι καὶ στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ
and to-welcome and to-crown him for the safety
προθύμοις οὖσι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν στεφάνους δεχόμενος τὸ
eager being the indeed then crowns receiving the
κηρύκειον ἀνέστεφεν, ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν οὔπω
herald's-staff he-crowned having-gone-back and to sea not-yet
πεποιημένου σπονδὰς τοῦ Θησέως ἔξω περιέμεινε, μὴ
having-made libations — Theseus outside he-waited not
βουλόμενος τὴν θυσίαν ταράξαι. γενομένων δὲ τῶν
wishing the sacrifice to-disturb having-taken-place and the
σπονδῶν ἀπήγγειλε τὴν τοῦ Αἰγέως τελευτήν. οἱ δὲ σὺν
libations he-announced the — of-Aegeus end they and with
κλαυθμῷ καὶ θορύβῳ σπεύδοντες ἀνέβαινον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
weeping and uproar hastening went-up to the city

ὅθεν καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ὠσχοφορίοις στεφανοῦσθαι μὲν
whence also now in the oschophoria to-be-crowned indeed
οὐ τὸν κήρυκα λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κηρύκειον, ἐπιφωνεῖν
not the herald they-say but the herald's-staff to-cry-out
δὲ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, Ἐλελεῦ, Ἰού, Ἰού, τοὺς παρόντας·
and in the libations Eleleu Iou Iou those present
ὧν τὸ μὲν σπεύδοντες ἀναφωνεῖν καὶ παιωνίζοντες
of-which the(-one) indeed hastening to-cry and singing-paeans
εἰώθασι, τὸ δὲ ἐκπλήξεως καὶ ταραχῆς ἐστι.
they-are-accustomed the(-other) but of-consternation and confusion is
Θάψας δὲ τὸν πατέρα, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπεδίδου
having-buried and the father — to-Apollo the vow he-paid
τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τοῦ Πυανεψιῶνος μηνὸς ἱσταμένου· ταύτῃ
on-the seventh of-the Pyanepsion month beginning on-this
γὰρ ἀνέβησαν εἰς ἄστυ σωθέντες. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἕψησις
for they-went-up to town having-been-saved the indeed then boiling
τῶν ὀσπρίων λέγεται γίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ σωθέντας
of-the pulse is-said to-take-place because-of the having-been-saved
αὐτοὺς εἰς ταὐτὸ συμμῖξαι τὰ περιόντα τῶν σιτίων
them into the-same to-have-mixed the remainder of-the provisions
καὶ μίαν χύτραν κοινὴν ἑψήσαντας συνεστιαθῆναι καὶ
and one pot common having-boiled to-have-feasted-together and
συγκαταφαγεῖν ἀλλήλοις. τὴν δὲ εἰρεσιώνην ἐκφέρουσι
to-have-eaten-up-together with-one-another the and eiresione they-carry-out
κλάδον ἐλαίας ἐρίῳ μὲν ἀνεστεμμένον, ὥσπερ τότε
branch of-olive with-wool indeed wreathed as then

τὴν ἱκετηρίαν, παντοδαπῶν δὲ ἀνάπλεων καταργμάτων
the suppliant-branch of-all-kinds and full of-first-fruits
διὰ τὸ λῆξαι τὴν ἀφορίαν, ἐπᾴδοντες·
because-of the to-have-ceased the barrenness singing

Εἰρεσιώνη σῦκα φέρει καὶ πίονας ἄρτους
Eiresione figs brings and rich loaves
καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ καὶ ἔλαιον ἀποψήσασθαι
and honey in cup and oil to-rub-off
καὶ κύλικ' εὔζωρον, ὡς ἂν μεθύουσα καθεύδῃ.
and cup strong so-that — drunk she-may-sleep

καίτοι ταῦτά τινες ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις γίνεσθαι λέγουσιν,
and-yet these-things some for the Heraclids to-take-place say
οὕτως διατρεφομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· οἱ δὲ πλείονες
thus being-maintained by the Athenians the but most
ὡς προείρηται.
as has-been-said-before

23 Τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τῶν ἠϊθέων ἔπλευσε καὶ
the and vessel in which with the youths he-sailed and
πάλιν ἐσώθη, τὴν τριακόντορον, ἄχρι τῶν Δημητρίου
again came-back-safe the thirty-oared(-galley) until the of-Demetrius
τοῦ Φαληρέως χρόνων διεφύλαττον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ μὲν
the Phalerean times preserved the Athenians the indeed
παλαιὰ τῶν ξύλων ὑφαιροῦντες, ἄλλα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντες
old of-the timbers removing others but putting-in
ἰσχυρὰ καὶ συμπηγνύντες οὕτως ὥστε καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις
strong and fastening-together so so-that even for-the philosophers
εἰς τὸν αὐξόμενον λόγον ἀμφιδοξούμενον παράδειγμα τὸ
for the growing argument a-disputed example the

πλοῖον εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ὡς τὸ αὐτό, τῶν δὲ ὡς
vessel to-be of-the(-ones) indeed as the same of-the(-others) but as
οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένοι λεγόντων.
not the same it-remained saying
Ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὠσχοφορίων ἑορτὴν Θησέως
they-celebrate and also the of-the oschophoria festival Theseus
καταστήσαντος. οὐ γὰρ ἁπάσας αὐτὸν ἐξαγαγεῖν τὰς
having-established(-it) not for all him to-have-led-out the
λαχούσας τότε παρθένους, ἀλλὰ τῶν συνήθων νεανίσκων
drawn then maidens but of-the intimate young-men
δύο θηλυφανεῖς μὲν ὀφθῆναι καὶ νεαρούς, ἀνδρώδεις
two feminine-looking indeed to-be-seen and youthful manly
δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ προθύμους, λουτροῖς τε θερμοῖς καὶ
but the souls and eager with-baths both warm and
σκιατραφίαις καὶ ταῖς περὶ κόμην καὶ λειότητα καὶ
with-shade-rearings and with-the about hair and smoothness and
χροιὰν ἀλοιφαῖς καὶ κοσμήσεσιν ὡς ἔστιν ἐξαλλάξαντα
complexion with-unguents and adornments as is-possible having-changed(-them)
κομιδῇ, καὶ διδάξαντα φωνὴν καὶ σχῆμα καὶ βάδισιν ὡς
completely and having-taught(-them) voice and bearing and gait as
ἔνι μάλιστα παρθένοις ὁμοιοῦσθαι καὶ μηδὲν φαίνεσθαι
is-possible most to-maidens to-be-made-like and in-nothing to-appear
διαφέροντας, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν τῶν παρθένων ἀριθμὸν
differing to-have-put(-them) into the of-the maidens number
καὶ διαλαθεῖν ἅπαντας· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν, αὐτόν τε
and to-have-escaped-notice all when and he-came-back himself both
πομπεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους οὕτως ἀμπεχομένους ὡς
to-have-led-procession and the young-men thus clad as
νῦν ἀμπέχονται τοὺς ὀσχοὺς φέροντες. φέρουσι δὲ
now they-are-clad the vine-branches carrying they-carry(-them) and
Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἀριάδνῃ χαριζόμενοι διὰ τὸν μῦθον, ἢ μᾶλλον

ὅτι συγκομιζομένης ὀπώρας ἐπανῆλθον· αἱ δὲ δειπνοφόροι
because being-gathered fruit-harvest they-came-back the and supper-bearers
παραλαμβάνονται καὶ κοινωνοῦσι τῆς θυσίας ἀπομιμούμεναι
are-taken-along and share the sacrifice imitating
τὰς μητέρας ἐκείνων τῶν λαχόντων· ἐπεφοίτων γὰρ
the mothers of-those the having-been-drawn they-visited for
αὐτοῖς ὄψα καὶ σιτία κομίζουσαι· καὶ μῦθοι λέγονται διὰ
them relishes and food bringing and tales are-told because-of
τὸ κἀκείνας εὐθυμίας ἕνεκα καὶ παρηγορίας μύθους
the those(-women)-too of-good-cheer for-the-sake and of-comfort tales
διεξιέναι τοῖς παισί. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ Δήμων ἱστόρηκεν.
to-have-told to-the children these-things indeed then also Demon has-recorded
ἐξῃρέθη δὲ καὶ τέμενος αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν
was-set-apart and also precinct for-him and the(-men) from the
παρασχόντων τὸν δασμὸν οἴκων ἔταξεν εἰς θυσίαν αὑτῷ
having-furnished the tribute houses he-appointed for sacrifice to-himself
τελεῖν ἀποφοράς· καὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐπεμελοῦντο Φυταλίδαι,
to-pay contributions and the sacrifice took-charge-of Phytalids
Θησέως ἀποδόντος αὐτοῖς ἀμοιβὴν τῆς φιλοξενίας.
Theseus having-given(-it) to-them (as)-return for-the hospitality

24 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Αἰγέως τελευτὴν μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν
after and the of-Aegeus death great and wonderful
ἔργον εἰς νοῦν βαλόμενος συνῴκισε τοὺς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
work into mind having-cast he-unified the(-ones) — Attica
κατοικοῦντας εἰς ἓν ἄστυ, καὶ μιᾶς πόλεως ἕνα δῆμον
dwelling into one town and of-one city one people
ἀπέφηνε, τέως σποράδας ὄντας καὶ δυσανακλήτους
he-made until-then scattered being and hard-to-summon
πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πάντων συμφέρον, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ
for the common of-all advantage it-is and when even
διαφερομένους ἀλλήλοις καὶ πολεμοῦντας. ἐπιὼν οὖν
differing with-one-another and warring going-about then

ἀνέπειθε κατὰ δήμους καὶ γένη, τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν
he-persuaded(-them) by demes and families the indeed private-men
καὶ πενήτων ἐνδεχομένων ταχὺ τὴν παράκλησιν αὐτοῦ,
and poor accepting quickly the summons of-him
τοῖς δὲ δυνατοῖς ἀβασίλευτον πολιτείαν προτείνων καὶ
to-the and powerful a-kingless constitution proposing and
δημοκρατίαν αὐτῷ μόνον ἄρχοντι πολέμου καὶ νόμων
a-democracy him only (as)-commander of-war and of-laws
φύλακι χρησομένην, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων παρέξουσαν ἅπασιν
guardian going-to-use of-the and other(-things) going-to-give to-all
ἰσομοιρίαν. τοὺς μὲν ταῦτα ἔπειθεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν
equal-share the(-ones) indeed these-things he-persuaded the(-others) and the
δύναμιν αὐτοῦ δεδιότες μεγάλην οὖσαν ἤδη καὶ τὴν
power of-him fearing great being already and the
τόλμαν, ἐβούλοντο πειθόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ βιαζόμενοι ταῦτα
daring wished persuaded rather than forced these-things
συγχωρεῖν. καταλύσας οὖν τὰ παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις πρυτανεῖα
to-concede having-dissolved then the among each(-deme) prytanea
καὶ βουλευτήρια καὶ ἀρχάς, ἓν δὲ ποιήσας ἅπασι κοινὸν
and council-halls and magistracies one and having-made for-all common
ἐνταῦθα πρυτανεῖον καὶ βουλευτήριον ὅπου νῦν ἵδρυται τὸ
there prytaneum and council-hall where now is-set-up the
ἄστυ, τήν τε πόλιν Ἀθήνας προσηγόρευσε καὶ Παναθήναια
town the both city Athens he-called and Panathenaea
θυσίαν ἐποίησε κοινήν. ἔθυσε δὲ καὶ Μετοίκια τῇ ἕκτῃ
sacrifice he-made common he-sacrificed and also Metoecia on-the sixth
ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ἣν ἔτι νῦν θύουσι. καὶ
after ten of-the Hecatombaeon which still now they-sacrifice and
τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφείς, ὥσπερ ὡμολόγησε, διεκόσμει τὴν
the kingship having-given-up as he-had-agreed he-arranged the

πολιτείαν ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀρχόμενος· ἦκε γὰρ αὐτῷ χρησμὸς
constitution from gods beginning came for to-him oracle
ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντευομένῳ περὶ τῆς πόλεως·
from Delphi inquiring about the city

Αἰγείδη Θησεῦ, Πιτθηΐδος ἔκγονε κούρης,
Aegeus'-son Theseus of-Pittheus' offspring of-maiden
πολλαῖς τοι πολίεσσι πατὴρ ἐμὸς ἐγκατέθηκε
to-many surely cities father my has-entrusted
τέρματα καὶ κλωστῆρας ἐν ὑμετέρῳ πτολιέθρῳ.
ends and threads in your citadel
ἀλλὰ σὺ μή τι λίην πεπονημένος ἔνδοθι θυμὸν
but you not at-all too-much toiling within (your)-heart
βουλεύειν· ἀσκὸς γὰρ ἐν οἴδματι ποντοπορεύσει.
to-deliberate a-wineskin for in swell will-travel-the-sea

τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Σίβυλλαν ὕστερον ἀποστοματίσαι πρὸς τὴν
this and also Sibyl later to-have-uttered to the
πόλιν ἱστοροῦσιν, ἀναφθεγξαμένην·
city they-record having-cried-out

Ἀσκὸς βαπτίζῃ· δῦναι δέ τοι οὐ θέμις ἐστίν.
Wineskin you-may-be-dipped to-sink but for-you not lawful it-is

Theseus invites all men to share the city on equal terms, divides the people into Eupatrids, Geomori, and Demiurgi, coins money stamped with an ox, adds the Megarid and sets up the boundary pillar on the Isthmus, and founds the Isthmian games. He sails to the Euxine and carries off the Amazon Antiope. The Amazons invade Attica and fight within the city; the wings of the battle are placed by landmarks, and tombs and the Amazoneum remain, and a truce is made in the fourth month. After Antiope's death Theseus marries Phaedra; her misfortunes and Hippolytus' Plutarch leaves as the tragedians tell them.

Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξῆσαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενος ἐκάλει πάντας 25
still and more to-increase the city wishing be-invited all
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις, καὶ τὸ "Δεῦρ' ἴτε πάντες λεῴ" κήρυγμα
on the equal(-terms) and the hither come all peoples proclamation
Θησέως γενέσθαι φασὶ πανδημίαν τινὰ καθιστάντος. οὐ μὴν
of-Theseus to-have-been they-say commonwealth a-kind-of establishing not indeed
ἄτακτον οὐδὲ μεμιγμένην περιεῖδεν ὑπὸ πλήθους ἐπιχυθέντος
disorderly nor mixed did-he-allow by multitude having-poured-in
ἀκρίτου γενομένην τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος
indiscriminate having-become the democracy but first
ἀποκρίνας χωρὶς εὐπατρίδας καὶ γεωμόρους καὶ δημιουργούς,
having-separated apart eupatrids and geomori and demiurgi
εὐπατρίδαις δὲ γινώσκειν τὰ θεῖα καὶ παρέχειν
to-eupatrids and to-know the divine(-things) and to-supply
ἄρχοντας ἀποδοὺς καὶ νόμων διδασκάλους εἶναι καὶ
magistrates having-assigned and of-laws teachers to-be and
ὁσίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἐξηγητάς, τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ὥσπερ
of-holy(-things) and of-sacred expounders for-the other citizens as-if
εἰς ἴσον κατέστησε, δόξῃ μὲν εὐπατριδῶν, χρείᾳ
into equal(-footing) he-set(-them) in-repute indeed of-eupatrids in-usefulness
δὲ γεωμόρων, πλήθει δὲ δημιουργῶν ὑπερέχειν δοκούντων.
and of-geomori in-number and of-demiurgi to-excel seeming

ὅτι δὲ πρῶτος ἀπέκλινε πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης
that and first he-inclined toward the multitude as Aristotle
φησί, καὶ ἀφῆκε τὸ μοναρχεῖν, ἔοικε μαρτυρεῖν καὶ Ὅμηρος
says and gave-up the ruling-alone seems to-bear-witness also Homer
ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ μόνους Ἀθηναίους δῆμον προσαγορεύσας.
in of-ships catalog alone Athenians people having-called
Ἔκοψε δὲ καὶ νόμισμα, βοῦν ἐγχαράξας, ἢ διὰ τὸν
he-struck and also coinage ox having-stamped(-on-it) either because-of the
Μαραθώνιον ταῦρον, ἢ διὰ τὸν Μίνω στρατηγόν, ἢ πρὸς
Marathonian bull or because-of the of-Minos general or to
γεωργίαν τοὺς πολίτας παρακαλῶν. ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου δέ φασι τὸ
agriculture the citizens inviting from that and they-say the
ἑκατόμβοιον καὶ τὸ δεκάβοιον ὀνομασθῆναι. προσκτησάμενος
hecatomboeum and the decaboeum to-have-been-named having-acquired
δὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὴν Μεγαρικὴν βεβαίως, τὴν θρυλουμένην ἐν
and — to-Attica the Megarian(-land) firmly the much-talked-of in
Ἰσθμῷ στήλην ἔστησεν, ἐπιγράψας τὸ διορίζον ἐπίγραμμα
Isthmus pillar he-set-up having-inscribed the defining inscription
τὴν χώραν δυσὶ τριμέτροις, ὧν ἔφραζε τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἕω
the country in-two trimeters of-which it-declared the(-one) indeed toward east

Τάδ᾽ οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος, ἀλλ᾽ Ἰωνία·
These(-parts) not Peloponnese but Ionia

τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν
the(-other) and toward west

Τάδ᾽ ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος, οὐκ Ἰωνία.
These(-parts) are Peloponnese not Ionia

καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πρῶτος ἔθηκε κατὰ ζῆλον Ἡρακλέους,
and the contest first he-established in emulation of-Heracles
ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον Ὀλύμπια τῷ Διί, καὶ δι'
as through that(-man) Olympian(-games) — for-Zeus also through
αὐτὸν Ἴσθμια τῷ Ποσειδῶνι φιλοτιμηθεὶς ἄγειν τοὺς
him Isthmian(-games) — for-Poseidon being-ambitious to-hold the
Ἕλληνας. ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ Μελικέρτῃ τεθεὶς αὐτόθι
Greeks the(-contest) for for Melicertes established there
νυκτὸς ἐδρᾶτο, τελετῆς ἔχων μᾶλλον ἢ θέας καὶ
by-night was-performed of-rite having more than of-spectacle and
πανηγυρισμοῦ τάξιν. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἐπὶ Σκείρωνι τὰ
of-festival order some but say for Sciron the
Ἴσθμια τεθῆναι, τοῦ Θησέως ἀφοσιουμένου τὸν
Isthmian(-games) to-have-been-established — Theseus expiating the
φόνον διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν· Σκείρωνα γὰρ υἱὸν εἶναι
murder because-of the kinship Sciron for son to-be
Καινήθου καὶ Ἡνιόχης τῆς Πιτθέως. οἱ δὲ Σίνιν,
of-Canethus and of-Heniocha the(-daughter) of-Pittheus the(-others) and Sinis
οὐ Σκείρωνα, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τεθῆναι διὰ τοῦτον
not Sciron and the contest to-have-been-established because-of this(-man)
ὑπὸ Θησέως, οὐ δι' ἐκεῖνον. ἔταξεν οὖν καὶ διωρίσατο
by Theseus not because-of that(-one) he-arranged then also defined
πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις
with the Corinthians of-Athenians to-those coming
ἐπὶ τὰ Ἴσθμια παρέχειν προεδρίαν ὅσον ἂν τόπον
to the Isthmian(-games) to-provide front-seats as-much — space
ἐπίσχῃ καταπετασθὲν τὸ τῆς θεωρίδος νεὼς ἱστίον, ὡς
might-cover being-spread-out the of-the sacred-embassy ship's sail as
Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Ἄνδρων ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεὺς ἱστορήκασιν.
Hellanicus and Andron the Halicarnassian have-recorded

26 Εἰς δὲ τὸν πόντον ἔπλευσε τὸν Εὔξεινον, ὡς μὲν
into and the sea he-sailed the Euxine as indeed
Φιλόχορος καί τινες ἄλλοι λέγουσι, μεθ' Ἡρακλέους ἐπὶ
Philochorus and some others say with Heracles against
τὰς Ἀμαζόνας συστρατεύσας, καὶ γέρας Ἀντιόπην ἔλαβεν·
the Amazons having-campaigned and (as)-prize Antiope he-received
οἱ δὲ πλείους, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Φερεκύδης καὶ Ἑλλάνικος
the but more of-whom is also Pherecydes and Hellanicus
καὶ Ἡρόδωρος, ὕστερόν φασιν Ἡρακλέους ἰδιόστολον
and Herodorus later say than-Heracles on-his-own-expedition
πλεῦσαι τὸν Θησέα καὶ τὴν Ἀμαζόνα λαβεῖν αἰχμάλωτον,
to-have-sailed — Theseus and the Amazon to-have-taken (as)-captive
πιθανώτερα λέγοντες. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄλλος ἱστόρηται τῶν
more-plausible(-things) saying no-one for other is-recorded of-those
μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευσάντων Ἀμαζόνα λαβεῖν αἰχμάλωτον.
with him having-campaigned an-Amazon to-have-taken captive
Βίων δὲ καὶ ταύτην παρακρουσάμενον οἴχεσθαι
Bion and also her having-deceived to-have-gone-off
λαβόντα· φύσει γὰρ οὖσας τὰς Ἀμαζόνας φιλάνδρους
having-taken(-her) by-nature for being the Amazons man-loving
οὔτε φυγεῖν τὸν Θησέα προσβάλλοντα τῇ χώρᾳ, ἀλλὰ
neither to-have-fled — Theseus touching at-the land but
καὶ ξένια πέμπειν· τὸν δὲ τὴν κομίζουσαν ἐμβῆναι
even gifts to-have-sent him and the(-woman) bringing(-them) to-come-aboard
παρακαλεῖν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον· ἐμβάσης δὲ ἀναχθῆναι.
to-invite into the vessel she-having-come-aboard and to-have-put-to-sea
Μενεκράτης δέ τις, ἱστορίαν περὶ Νικαίας τῆς ἐν
Menecrates and one history about Nicaea the in
Βιθυνίᾳ πόλεως ἐκδεδωκώς, Θησέα φησὶ τὴν Ἀντιόπην
Bithynia city having-published Theseus says — Antiope
ἔχοντα διατρῖψαι περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους· τυγχάνειν
having to-have-spent-time about these the places to-happen

δὲ συστρατεύοντας αὐτῷ τρεῖς νεανίσκους ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
and campaigning-with him three young-men from Athens
ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλήλων, Εὔνεων καὶ Θόαντα καὶ Σολόεντα.
brothers of-one-another Euneos and Thoas and Soloeis
τοῦτον οὖν ἐρῶντα τῆς Ἀντιόπης καὶ λανθάνοντα τοὺς
this(-one) then loving — Antiope and escaping-notice the
ἄλλους ἐξειπεῖν πρὸς ἕνα τῶν συνήθων· ἐκείνου δὲ περὶ
others to-have-told to one of-the intimates that(-one) and about
τούτων ἐντυχόντος τῇ Ἀντιόπῃ, τὴν μὲν πεῖραν ἰσχυρῶς
these(-things) having-approached — Antiope the indeed attempt firmly
ἀποτρίψασθαι, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα σωφρόνως ἅμα καὶ πράῳως
to-have-rejected the but matter discreetly at-once and gently
ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θησέα μὴ κατηγορῆσαι. τοῦ
to-have-borne and to — Theseus not to-have-accused(-him) —
δὲ Σολόεντος ὡς ἀπέγνω ῥίψαντος ἑαυτὸν εἰς ποταμόν
and Soloeis when he-despaired having-thrown himself into river
τινα καὶ διαφθαρέντος, ᾐσθημένον τότε τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ
a-certain and having-perished having-learned then the cause and
τὸ πάθος τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸν Θησέα βαρέως ἐνεγκεῖν,
the passion of-the young-man — Theseus heavily to-have-borne(-it)
καὶ δυσφοροῦντα λόγιόν τι πυθόχρηστον ἀνενεγκεῖν πρὸς
and being-distressed oracle a pythian to-have-recalled to
ἑαυτόν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ προστεταγμένον ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς
himself to-be for for-him enjoined at Delphi by —
Πυθίας, ὅταν ἐπὶ ξένης ἀνιαθῇ μάλιστα καὶ περίλυπος
Pythia whenever in foreign(-land) he-be-grieved most and very-sad
γένηται, πόλιν ἐκεῖ κτίσαι καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν τινας
become city there to-found and of-those around him some
ἡγεμόνας καταλιπεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν μὲν πόλιν, ἣν
(as)-leaders to-leave from and this the indeed city which
ἔκτισεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Πυθόπολιν προσαγορεῦσαι, Σολόεντα
he-founded from the god Pythopolis to-have-called Soloeis

δὲ τὸν πλησίον ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ νεανίσκου. καταλιπεῖν
and the nearby river in honor of-the young-man to-have-left
δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, οἷον ἐπιστάτας καὶ νομοθέτας,
and also the brothers of-him as overseers and lawgivers
καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἕρμον ἄνδρα τῶν Ἀθήνησιν εὐπατριδῶν·
and with them Hermus man of-the at-Athens eupatrids
ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τόπον Ἑρμοῦ καλεῖν οἰκίαν τοὺς Πυθοπολίτας,
from whom also place of-Hermes to-call house the Pythopolitans
οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν δευτέραν συλλαβὴν περισπῶντας καὶ τὴν
not rightly the second syllable circumflexing and the
δόξαν ἐπὶ θεὸν ἀπὸ ἥρωος μετατιθέντας.
glory to god from hero transferring

27 Πρόφασιν μὲν οὖν ταύτην ὁ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων πόλεμος ἔσχε·
pretext indeed then this the of-the Amazons war had
φαίνεται δὲ μὴ φαῦλον αὐτοῦ μηδὲ γυναικεῖον γενέσθαι τὸ
appears and not trivial of-it nor womanish to-have-been the
ἔργον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐν ἄστει κατεστρατοπέδευσαν οὐδὲ τὴν
deed not for — in town they-would-have-encamped nor the
μάχην συνῆψαν ἐν χρῷ περὶ τὴν Πνύκα καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον,
battle joined at close-quarters around — Pnyx and — Museum
εἰ μὴ κρατοῦσαι τῆς χώρας ἀδεῶς τῇ πόλει προσέμιξαν. εἰ
if not having-mastered the country fearlessly with-the city they-came-to-grips if
μὲν οὖν, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱστόρηκε, τῷ Κιμμερικῷ Βοσπόρῳ
indeed then as Hellanicus has-recorded by-the Cimmerian Bosporus
παγέντι διαβᾶσαι περιῆλθον, ἔργον ἐστὶ πιστεῦσαι· τὸ δὲ
having-frozen having-crossed they-came-around (a)-task it-is to-believe the but
ἐν τῇ πόλει σχεδὸν αὐτὰς ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι μαρτυρεῖται καὶ
in the city almost them to-have-encamped is-witnessed both
τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν τόπων καὶ ταῖς θήκαις τῶν πεσόντων.
by-the names of-the places and by-the tombs of-the(-ones) fallen

Πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ὄκνος ἦν καὶ μέλλησις ἀμφοτέροις τῆς
long and time hesitation was and delay for-both of-the
ἐπιχειρήσεως· τέλος δὲ Θησεὺς κατά τι λόγιον τῷ
attack at-last and Theseus according-to some oracle —
Φόβῳ σφαγιασάμενος συνῆψεν αὐταῖς. ἡ μὲν οὖν μάχη
to-Fear having-sacrificed engaged them the indeed then battle
Βοηδρομιῶνος ἐγένετο μηνὸς ἐφ' ᾗ τὰ Βοηδρόμια μέχρι
in-Boedromion took-place month on which the Boedromia until
νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι θύουσιν. ἱστορεῖ δὲ Κλείδημος, ἐξακριβοῦν
now Athenians sacrifice records and Cleidemus to-be-precise-about
τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα βουλόμενος, τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον τῶν
the(-things) in detail wishing the indeed left of-the
Ἀμαζόνων κέρας ἐπιστρέφειν πρὸς τὸ νῦν καλούμενον
Amazons wing to-turn toward the now called
Ἀμαζόνειον, τῷ δὲ δεξιῷ πρὸς τὴν Πνύκα κατὰ τὴν
Amazoneum with-the but right toward — Pnyx at —
Χρύσαν ἥκειν. μάχεσθαι δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
Chrysa to-have-come to-fight and against this the Athenians
ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου ταῖς Ἀμαζόσι συμπεσόντας, καὶ τάφους
from — Museum with-the Amazons having-clashed and tombs
τῶν πεσόντων περὶ τὴν πλατεῖαν εἶναι τὴν φέρουσαν
of-the fallen around the broad(-street) to-be the leading
ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας παρὰ τὸ Χαλκώδοντος ἡρῷον, ἃς νῦν
to the gates by the of-Chalcodon hero-shrine which now
Πειραϊκὰς ὀνομάζουσι. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἐκβιασθῆναι
Peiraic they-name and here indeed to-have-been-forced-back
μέχρι τῶν Εὐμενίδων καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἀπὸ
as-far-as the Eumenides and to-have-given-way to-the women from
δὲ Παλλαδίου καὶ Ἀρδηττοῦ καὶ Λυκείου προσβαλόντας
but Palladium and Ardettus and Lyceum having-attacked
ὤσασθαι τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτῶν ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου
to-have-pushed the right(-wing) of-them as-far-as the camp

καὶ πολλὰς καταβαλεῖν. τετάρτῳ δὲ μηνὶ συνθήκας
and many to-have-slain in-fourth and month covenants
γενέσθαι διὰ τῆς Ἱππολύτης· Ἱππολύτην γὰρ οὗτος
to-have-been-made through — Hippolyta Hippolyta for this(-man)
ὀνομάζει τὴν τῷ Θησεῖ συνοικοῦσαν, οὐκ Ἀντιόπην.
names the(-woman) — with-Theseus living not Antiope
Ἔνιοι δέ φασι μετὰ τοῦ Θησέως μαχομένην πεσεῖν τὴν
some and say with — Theseus fighting to-have-fallen the
ἄνθρωπον ὑπὸ Μολπαδίας ἀκοντισθεῖσαν, καὶ τὴν στήλην
woman by Molpadia having-been-javelined and the pillar
τὴν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἱερὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ κεῖσθαι.
the(-one) by the of-the Olympian(-Earth) sanctuary over her to-lie
καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ πράγμασιν οὕτω παλαιοῖς
and wonderful not it-is in matters so ancient
πλανᾶσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς τετρωμένας φασὶ τῶν
to-wander the history since also the wounded(-ones) they-say of-the
Ἀμαζόνων ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιόπης εἰς Χαλκίδα λάθρα διαπεμφθείσας
Amazons by Antiope to Chalcis secretly having-been-sent-across
τυγχάνειν ἐπιμελείας, καὶ ταφῆναί τινας ἐκεῖ περὶ τὸ
to-meet-with care and to-have-been-buried some there near the
νῦν Ἀμαζόνειον καλούμενον. ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε τὸν πόλεμον
now Amazoneum called but of-the at-least the war
εἰς σπονδὰς τελευτῆσαι μαρτύριόν ἐστιν ἥ τε τοῦ τόπου
into truce to-have-ended (a)-witness is the both of-the place
κλῆσις τοῦ παρὰ τὸ Θησεῖον, ὅνπερ Ὁρκωμόσιον
name the(-place) by — Theseum which Horcomosium
καλοῦσιν, ἥ τε γινομένη πάλαι θυσία ταῖς Ἀμαζόσι πρὸ
they-call the and taking-place of-old sacrifice to-the Amazons before
τῶν Θησείων. δεικνύουσι δὲ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς Ἀμαζόνων θήκην
the Theseia show and also Megarians of-Amazons tomb
παρ᾽ αὑτοῖς, ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Ῥοῦν βαδίζουσιν
among themselves on-the(-way)-to the called Rhus going

ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, ὅπου τὸ Ῥομβοειδές. λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶ
from market-place where the Rhomboid(-is) it-is-said and also around
Χαιρώνειαν ἑτέρας ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ ταφῆναι παρὰ τὸ
Chaeronea others to-have-died and to-have-been-buried by the
ῥευμάτιον ὃ πάλαι μέν, ὡς ἔοικε, Θερμώδων, Αἵμων
brook which of-old indeed as it-seems Thermodon Haemon
δὲ νῦν καλεῖται· περὶ ὧν ἐν τῷ Δημοσθένους βίῳ
but now is-called about which(-things) in the of-Demosthenes life
γέγραπται. φαίνονται δὲ μηδὲ Θεσσαλίαν ἀπραγμόνως
it-has-been-written appear and not-even Thessaly without-trouble
αἱ Ἀμαζόνες διελθοῦσαι· τάφοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν
the Amazons having-passed-through tombs for of-them still even now
δείκνυνται περὶ τὴν Σκοτουσαίαν καὶ τὰς Κυνὸς κεφαλάς.
are-shown near the Scotussaean(-land) and the Dog's heads
Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄξια μνήμης περὶ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων. ἦν γὰρ 28
these-things indeed then worthy of-record about the Amazons which for
ὁ τῆς Θησηίδος ποιητὴς Ἀμαζόνων ἐπανάστασιν γέγραφε,
the of-the Theseid poet of-Amazons uprising has-written
Θησεῖ γαμοῦντι Φαίδραν τῆς Ἀντιόπης ἐπιτιθεμένης
against-Theseus marrying Phaedra — Antiope attacking
καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτῆς Ἀμαζόνων ἀμυνομένων καὶ κτείνοντος
and those with her Amazons avenging(-her) and killing
αὐτὰς Ἡρακλέους, περιφανῶς ἔοικε μύθῳ καὶ πλάσματι.
them Heracles plainly seems like-myth and fiction
τῆς δὲ Ἀντιόπης ἀποθανούσης ἔγημε Φαίδραν, ἔχων υἱὸν
— and Antiope having-died he-married Phaedra having son
Ἱππόλυτον ἐξ Ἀντιόπης, ὡς δὲ Πίνδαρός φησι, Δημοφῶντα.
Hippolytus by Antiope as but Pindar says Demophon
τὰς δὲ περὶ ταύτην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ δυστυχίας, ἐπεὶ
the and about her and the son of-him misfortunes since

μηδὲν ἀντιπίπτει παρὰ τῶν ἱστορικῶν τοῖς τραγικοῖς,
nothing conflicts from the historians to-the tragedians
οὕτως ἔχειν θετέον ὡς ἐκεῖνοι πεποιήκασιν ἅπαντες.
so to-be one-must-suppose as those have-represented(-them) all

VIII · PEIRITHOUS AND HELEN

Plutarch lists Theseus' other marriages and his help to Adrastus in recovering the dead before the Cadmea. His friendship with Peirithous begins when they meet in arms at Marathon, and at Peirithous' wedding he fights the Centaurs. The two carry off the young Helen from Sparta and cast lots, and Theseus leaves her with Aethra at Aphidnae. Then, seeking the daughter of Aidoneus king of the Molossians for Peirithous, they are seized; Peirithous is torn by the dog and Theseus held captive, while Menestheus stirs Athens against him and the Dioscuri come for Helen.

29 Εἰσὶ μέντοι λόγοι περὶ γάμων Θησέως καὶ ἕτεροι,
there-are however accounts about marriages of-Theseus also other
τὴν σκηνὴν διαπεφευγότες, οὔτε ἀρχὰς εὐγνώμονας οὔτε
the stage having-escaped neither beginnings creditable nor
εὐτυχεῖς τελευτὰς ἔχοντες. καὶ γὰρ Ἀναξώ τινα Τροιζηνίαν
fortunate ends having and for Anaxo a-certain Troezenian
ἁρπάσαι λέγεται, καὶ Σίνιν ἀποκτείνας καὶ Κερκύονα
to-have-carried-off he-is-said and Sinis having-killed and Cercyon
συγγενέσθαι βίᾳ ταῖς θυγατράσιν αὐτῶν· γῆμαι δὲ
to-have-lain by-force with-the daughters of-them to-have-married and
καὶ Περίβοιαν τὴν Αἴαντος μητέρα καὶ Φερέβοιαν αὖθις
also Periboea the of-Ajax mother and Pherebeoa again
καὶ Ἰόπην τὴν Ἰφικλέους· καὶ διὰ τὸν Αἴγλης
and Iope the(-daughter) of-Iphicles and because-of the of-Aegle
ἔρωτα τῆς Πανοπέως, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τὴν Ἀριάδνης
love the(-daughter) of-Panopeus as has-been-said the of-Ariadne

ἀπόλειψιν αἰτιῶνται μὴ καλὴν γενέσθαι μηδὲ πρέπουσαν·
desertion they-blame not honorable to-have-been nor fitting
ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὴν Ἑλένης ἁρπαγὴν πολέμου μὲν ἐμπλῆσαι
on all(-these) and the of-Helen rape with-war indeed to-have-filled
τὴν Ἀττικήν, αὐτῷ δὲ εἰς φυγὴν καὶ ὄλεθρον τελευτῆσαι·
— Attica for-himself and into exile and destruction to-have-ended
περὶ ὧν ὀλίγον ὕστερον εἰρήσεται.
about which(-things) a-little later it-will-be-said
Πολλῶν δὲ τότε τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἄθλων γενομένων Ἡρόδωρος
many and then for-the best of-labors having-taken-place Herodorus
μὲν οὐδενὸς οἴεται τὸν Θησέα μετασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνοις
indeed in-none thinks — Theseus to-have-shared but only
Λαπίθαις τῆς κενταυρομαχίας· ἕτεροι δὲ καὶ μετὰ Ἰάσονος
with-Lapiths of-the centaur-battle others but also with Jason
ἐν Κόλχοις γενέσθαι καὶ Μελεάγρῳ συνεξελεῖν τὸν
among Colchians to-have-been and with-Meleager to-have-helped-kill the
κάπρον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παροιμίαν εἶναι τὴν "Οὐκ ἄνευ
boar and because-of this proverb to-be the not without
Θησέως·" αὐτὸν μέντοι μηδενὸς συμμάχου δεηθέντα πολλοὺς
Theseus himself however of-no ally having-needed many
καὶ καλοὺς ἄθλους κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ τὸν "Ἄλλος οὗτος
and fine labors to-have-accomplished and the another this
Ἡρακλῆς" λόγον ἐπ' ἐκείνου κρατῆσαι. συνέπραξε
Heracles saying in-the-case-of him to-have-prevailed he-helped
δὲ καὶ Ἀδράστῳ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ
and also with-Adrastus the recovery of-the(-men) under — Cadmeia
πεσόντων, οὐχ ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ, μάχῃ
fallen not as Euripides represented in tragedy in-battle
τῶν Θηβαίων κρατήσας, ἀλλὰ πείσας καὶ σπεισάμενος·
the Thebans having-defeated but having-persuaded and having-made-truce
οὕτω γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσι· Φιλόχορος δὲ καὶ σπονδὰς
so for the most say Philochorus but even truce

περὶ νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως γενέσθαι πρώτας ἐκείνας. ὅτι
about of-dead recovery to-have-been first those that
δὲ Ἡρακλῆς πρῶτος ἀπέδωκε νεκροὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐν
and Heracles first gave-back dead to-the enemies in
τοῖς περὶ Ἡρακλέους γέγραπται. ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν
the(-books) about Heracles it-has-been-written burials and of-the(-men)
μὲν πολλῶν ἐν Ἐλευθεραῖς δείκνυνται, τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων
indeed many at Eleutherae are-shown of-the and leaders
περὶ Ἐλευσῖνα, καὶ τοῦτο Θησέως Ἀδράστῳ χαρισαμένου.
near Eleusis and this Theseus to-Adrastus having-granted
καταμαρτυροῦσι δὲ τῶν Εὐριπίδου Ἱκετίδων οἱ Αἰσχύλου
bear-witness-against and the of-Euripides Suppliants the of-Aeschylus
Ἐλευσίνιοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Θησεὺς πεποίηται.
Eleusinians in which also these-things saying — Theseus is-represented
30 Τὴν δὲ πρὸς Πειρίθουν φιλίαν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον αὐτῷ
the and with Peirithous friendship this the manner to-him
γενέσθαι λέγουσι. δόξαν εἶχεν ἐπὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ
to-have-arisen they-say reputation he-had for strength and courage
μεγίστην· βουλόμενος οὖν ὁ Πειρίθους ἐξελέγξαι καὶ
greatest wishing then — Peirithous to-test and
λαβεῖν διάπειραν, ἠλάσατο βοῦς ἐκ Μαραθῶνος αὐτοῦ,
to-take trial drove-off cattle from Marathon of-him
καὶ πυθόμενος διώκειν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκεῖνον οὐκ
and having-learned to-be-pursuing with the arms(-men) him not
ἔφυγεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναστρέψας ἀπήντησεν. ὡς δὲ εἶδεν ἄτερος
fled but having-turned-back met(-him) when and saw the-one
τὸν ἕτερον καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐθαύμασε καὶ τὴν τόλμαν
the other both the beauty he-admired and the daring
ἠγάσθη, μάχης μὲν ἔσχοντο, Πειρίθους δὲ πρότερος τὴν
he-marveled-at from-battle indeed they-refrained Peirithous and first the
δεξιὰν προτείνας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι δικαστὴν
right-hand having-stretched-out bade him to-become judge

τὸν Θησέα τῆς βοηλασίας· ἑκὼν γὰρ ὑφέξειν ἣν
— *Theseus of-the cattle-raid willingly for he-would-submit-to whatever*
ἂν ὁρίσῃ δίκην ἐκεῖνος· Θησεὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν δίκην
— *he-should-fix penalty that(-man) Theseus and both the penalty*
ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ καὶ προὐκαλεῖτο φίλον εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον·
remitted to-him and invited(-him) friend to-be and ally
ἐποιήσαντο δὲ τὴν φιλίαν ἔνορκον.
they-made and the friendship sworn
Ἐκ δὲ τούτου γαμῶν ὁ Πειρίθους Δηϊδάμειαν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ
from and this marrying — Peirithous Deidameia asked —
Θησέως ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἱστορῆσαι καὶ συγγενέσθαι
Theseus to-come and the country to-visit and to-meet
τοῖς Λαπίθαις. ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Κενταύρους κεκληκὼς
the Lapiths it-happened and also the Centaurs having-invited
ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. ὡς δὲ ἠσέλγαινον ὕβρει καὶ μεθύοντες
to the dinner when and they-behaved-wantonly with-insolence and being-drunk
οὐκ ἀπείχοντο τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐτράποντο πρὸς ἄμυναν οἱ
not refrained from-the women turned to defense the
Λαπίθαι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολέμῳ
Lapiths and the(-ones) indeed they-killed of-them the(-others) and in-war
κρατήσαντες ὕστερον ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς χώρας, τοῦ Θησέως
having-conquered later drove-out from the country — Theseus
αὐτοῖς συμμαχομένου καὶ συμπολεμοῦντος. Ἡρόδωρος δὲ
with-them fighting-alongside and warring-with(-them) Herodorus but
ταῦτα πραχθῆναί φησιν οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πολέμου
these-things to-have-been-done says not thus but the war
συνεστῶτος ἤδη τὸν Θησέα βοηθοῦντα τοῖς Λαπίθαις
having-arisen already — Theseus helping the Lapiths
παραγενέσθαι, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ὄψει γνωρίσαι τὸν
to-have-come and then first by-sight to-have-recognized —
Ἡρακλέα, ποιησάμενον ἔργον ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ περὶ Τραχῖνα
Heracles having-made (it-his)-task to-meet him about Trachis

πεπαυμένῳ πλάνης ἤδη καὶ ἄθλων· γενέσθαι δὲ μετὰ
having-ceased from-wandering already and labors to-have-been and with
τιμῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης καὶ πολλῶν ἐπαίνων ἀμφοτέροις τὴν
honor and friendliness and many praises for-both the
ἔντευξιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἄν τις πρόσχοι τοῖς πολλάκις
meeting not indeed but rather — one might-attend to-those often
ἐντυχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις ἱστοροῦσι· καὶ τὴν μύησιν Ἡρακλεῖ
to-have-met them each-other recording and the initiation for-Heracles
γενέσθαι Θησέως σπουδάσαντος καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς μυήσεως
to-have-taken-place Theseus being-zealous and the before the initiation
καθαρμὸν ὡς δεομένῳ διά τινας πράξεις ἀβουλήτους.
purification as needing(-it) because-of some deeds involuntary
31 Ἤδη δὲ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς, ὥς φησιν Ἑλλάνικος,
already and fifty years having-become as says Hellanicus
ἔπραξε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην, οὐ καθ' ὥραν. ὅθεν
he-did the(-things) about — Helen not in season whence
ὡς δὴ μέγιστον ἐπανορθούμενοι τοῦτο τῶν ἐγκλημάτων,
as indeed the-greatest setting-right this of-the charges
ἔνιοι λέγουσιν οὐκ αὐτὸν ἁρπάσαι τὴν Ἑλένην,
some say not him to-have-carried-off — Helen
ἀλλὰ Ἴδα καὶ Λυγκέως ἁρπασάντων παρακαταθήκην
but Idas and Lynceus having-carried(-her)-off (as)-a-deposit
λαβόντα τηρεῖν καὶ μὴ προΐεσθαι τοῖς Διοσκούροις
having-received to-guard and not to-give-up to-the Dioscuri
ἀπαιτοῦσιν· ἢ νὴ Δία Τυνδάρεω παραδόντος αὐτοῦ,
demanding(-her) or by Zeus Tyndareus having-handed(-her)-over himself
φοβηθέντος Ἐναρσφόρον τὸν Ἱπποκόωντος ἔτι νηπίαν
having-feared Enarsphorus the(-son) of-Hippocoon still infant
οὖσαν βιαζόμενον τὴν Ἑλένην λαβεῖν. τὰ δὲ εἰκότα καὶ
being forcing — Helen to-take the but likely(-things) and
πλείστους ἔχοντα μάρτυρας τοιαῦτά ἐστιν.
most having witnesses such are

ἦλθον μὲν εἰς Σπάρτην ἀμφότεροι καὶ τὴν κόρην ἐν
they-came indeed to Sparta both and the girl in
ἱερῷ Ἀρτέμιδος Ὀρθίας χορεύουσαν ἁρπάσαντες ἔφυγον·
sanctuary of-Artemis Orthia dancing having-carried(-her)-off fled
τῶν δὲ πεμφθέντων ἐπὶ τὴν δίωξιν οὐ πορρωτέρω Τεγέας
of-those and sent on the pursuit no farther than-Tegea
ἐπακολουθησάντων, ἐν ἀδείᾳ γενόμενοι καὶ διελθόντες
having-followed in safety having-come and having-passed-through
τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐποιήσαντο συνθήκας, τὸν μὲν
— Peloponnese made covenants the(-one) indeed
λαχόντα κλήρῳ τὴν Ἑλένην ἔχειν γυναῖκα, συμπράττειν
having-won by-lot — Helen to-have (as)-wife to-help
δὲ θατέρῳ γάμον ἄλλον. ἐπὶ ταύταις δὲ κληρουμένων ταῖς
and the-other marriage other on these and drawing-lots the
ὁμολογίαις ἔλαχε Θησεύς· καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν παρθένον
agreements won Theseus and having-taken the maiden
οὔπω γάμων ὥραν ἔχουσαν εἰς Ἀφίδνας ἐκόμισε· καὶ
not-yet of-marriage age having to Aphidnae he-brought(-her) and
τὴν μητέρα καταστήσας μετ᾽ αὐτῆς Ἀφίδνῳ παρέδωκεν
the mother having-set with her to-Aphidnus handed(-her)-over
ὄντι φίλῳ, διακελευσάμενος φυλάττειν καὶ λανθάνειν τοὺς
being friend having-bidden(-him) to-guard(-her) and to-escape-notice the
ἄλλους. αὐτὸς δὲ Πειρίθῳ τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἀποδιδούς, εἰς
others himself and to-Peirithous the service repaying to
Ἤπειρον συναπεδήμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀϊδωνέως θυγατέρα τοῦ
Epirus went-abroad-with(-him) for the of-Aidoneus daughter the
Μολοσσῶν βασιλέως, ὃς τῇ γυναικὶ Φερσεφόνην ὄνομα
of-Molossians king who for-the wife Persephone name
θέμενος, Κόρην δὲ τῇ θυγατρί, τῷ δὲ κυνὶ Κέρβερον,
having-given Kore and to-the daughter to-the and dog Cerberus
ἐκέλευε τούτῳ διαμάχεσθαι τοὺς μνωμένους τὴν παῖδα καὶ
bade with-this to-fight those wooing the girl and

λαβεῖν τὸν κρατήσαντα. τοὺς μέντοι περὶ τὸν Πειρίθουν
to-take(-her) the(-one) having-conquered those however about — Peirithous
οὐ μνηστῆρας ἥκειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἁρπασομένους πυνθανόμενος
not (as)-suitors to-have-come but to-carry-off learning
συνέλαβε· καὶ τὸν μὲν Πειρίθουν εὐθὺς ἠφάνισε διὰ
seized and — indeed Peirithous immediately made-away-with through
τοῦ κυνός, τὸν δὲ Θησέα καθείρξας ἐφύλαττεν.
the dog — and Theseus having-shut-up guarded

32 Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ Μενεσθεὺς ὁ Πετεὼ τοῦ
in and the time this Menestheus the(-son) of-Peteos the(-son)
Ὀρνέως τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως πρῶτος, ὥς φασιν, ἀνθρώπων
of-Orneus the(-son) of-Erechtheus first as they-say of-men
ἐπιθέμενος τῷ δημαγωγεῖν καὶ πρὸς χάριν ὄχλῳ
having-set-out to-the being-a-demagogue and with favor to-the-mob
διαλέγεσθαι, τούς τε δυνατοὺς συνίστη καὶ παρώξυνε,
to-converse the both powerful(-men) he-combined and incited
πάλαι βαρυνομένους τὸν Θησέα καὶ νομίζοντας ἀρχὴν καὶ
long being-oppressed-by — Theseus and thinking magistracy and
βασιλείαν ἀφῃρημένον ἑκάστου τῶν κατὰ δῆμον εὐπατριδῶν,
kingship having-taken-away of-each of-the in deme eupatrids
εἰς ἓν ἄστυ συνείρξαντα πάντας ὑπηκόοις χρῆσθαι καὶ
into one town having-shut all as-subjects to-use and
δούλοις, τούς τε πολλοὺς διετάραττε καὶ διέβαλλεν,
as-slaves the both many he-disturbed and slandered(-him)
ὡς ὄναρ ἐλευθερίας ὁρῶντας, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀπεστερημένους
as a-dream of-freedom seeing in-deed but deprived
πατρίδων καὶ ἱερῶν, ὅπως ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν
of-fatherlands and sanctuaries so-that instead of-many and good
καὶ γνησίων βασιλέων πρὸς ἕνα δεσπότην ἔπηλυν καὶ
and legitimate kings to one master immigrant and
ξένον ἀποβλέπωσι. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ πραγματευομένου
stranger they-look these-things and him working-at

μεγάλην ῥοπὴν ὁ πόλεμος τῷ νεωτερισμῷ προσέθηκε,
great impetus the war to-the revolution added
τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν ἐπελθόντων· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅλως φασὶν
the Tyndaridae having-invaded the(-ones) and even wholly say
ὑπὸ τούτου πεισθέντας ἐλθεῖν.
by this(-man) having-been-persuaded to-have-come
Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οὐδὲν ἠδίκουν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπήτουν τὴν
the indeed then first nothing they-wronged but demanded the
ἀδελφήν. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν ἐν ἄστει μήτε ἔχειν μήτε
sister having-answered and those in town neither to-have(-her) nor
γινώσκειν ὅπου καταλέλειπται, πρὸς πόλεμον ἐτράποντο.
to-know where she-has-been-left to war they-turned
φράζει δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀκάδημος ᾑσθημένος ᾧ δή τινι τρόπῳ
shows and to-them Academus having-learned by-what indeed some way
τὴν ἐν Ἀφίδναις κρύψιν αὐτῆς. ὅθεν ἐκείνῳ τε τιμαὶ
the in Aphidnae concealment of-her whence for-that(-man) both honors
ζῶντι παρὰ τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν ἐγένοντο, καὶ πολλάκις ὕστερον
living from the Tyndaridae arose and often later
εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐμβαλόντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ
into — Attica having-invaded Lacedaemonians and all together
τὴν χώραν τέμνοντες, τῆς Ἀκαδημείας ἀπείχοντο διὰ τὸν
the country ravaging — Academy spared because-of —
Ἀκάδημον. ὁ δὲ Δικαίαρχος Ἐχεδήμου φησὶ καὶ Μαράθου
Academus — but Dicaearchus Echedemus says and Marathus
συστρατευσάντων τότε τοῖς Τυνδαρίδαις ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας, ἀφ᾽
having-campaigned-with then with-the Tyndaridae from Arcadia from
οὗ μὲν Ἐχεδημίαν προσαγορευθῆναι τὴν νῦν Ἀκαδήμειαν,
whom indeed Echedemia to-have-been-called the now Academy
ἀφ᾽ οὗ δὲ Μαραθῶνα τὸν δῆμον, ἐπιδόντος ἑαυτὸν ἑκουσίως
from whom and Marathon the deme having-given himself willingly
κατά τι λόγιον σφαγιάσασθαι πρὸ τῆς παρατάξεως.
according-to some oracle to-have-been-sacrificed before the battle-line

Ἐλθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας καὶ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες
having-come then to — Aphidnae and in-battle having-conquered
ἐξεῖλον τὸ χωρίον. ἐνταῦθά φασι καὶ Ἄλυκον πεσεῖν τὸν
they-took the place there they-say also Alycus to-have-fallen the
Σκείρωνος υἱόν, συστρατευόμενον τότε τοῖς Διοσκούροις,
of-Sciron son campaigning-with then with-the Dioscuri
ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τόπον τῆς Μεγαρικῆς Ἄλυκον καλεῖσθαι τοῦ
from whom also place of-the Megarian(-land) Alycus to-be-called the
σώματος ἐνταφέντος. Ἡρέας δ' ὑπὸ Θησέως αὐτοῦ περὶ
body having-been-buried Hereas but by Theseus himself near
Ἀφίδνας ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Ἄλυκον ἱστόρηκε, καὶ μαρτύρια
Aphidnae to-have-died — Alycus has-recorded and as-witnesses
ταυτὶ τὰ ἔπη παρέχεται περὶ τοῦ Ἀλύκου·
these the verses offers about — Alycus

τὸν ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ ποτ' Ἀφίδνῃ
the(-one) in spacious once Aphidna
μαρνάμενον Θησεὺς Ἑλένης ἕνεκ' ἠϋκόμοιο κτεῖνεν.
fighting Theseus of-Helen for-the-sake fair-haired slew

Οὐ μὴν εἰκὸς αὐτοῦ Θησέως παρόντος ἁλῶναι τήν
not indeed likely himself Theseus being-present to-have-been-captured the
τε μητέρα καὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας.
both mother and — Aphidnae

With Aphidnae taken and Athens afraid, Menestheus persuades the people to receive the Dioscuri, who ask only to be initiated, are adopted by Aphidnus and honored as the Anakes; Aethra is led captive to Sparta and Troy. Released by Heracles' plea to Aidoneus, Theseus returns to find the city turned against him. He sends his sons to Euboea, curses the Athenians at Gargettus, and sails to Scyros, where Lycomedes throws him from a cliff or he slips, and Menestheus reigns. Later the Athenians honor him as a hero; after the Persian wars an oracle bids them recover his bones, and Cimon finds them by an eagle and brings them home.

Ἐχομένων δ' οὖν τῶν Ἀφιδνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ἄστει δεδιότων, 33
being-held and then — Aphidnae and those in town fearing
ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον ὁ Μενεσθεὺς δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ
persuaded the people — Menestheus to-receive(-them) into-the city and
φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τοὺς Τυνδαρίδας, ὡς μόνῳ Θησεῖ βίας
to-welcome the Tyndaridae as only on-Theseus violence
ὑπάρξαντι πολεμοῦντας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων εὐεργέτας ὄντας
having-begun warring of-the and other benefactors being
ἀνθρώπων καὶ σωτῆρας. ἐμαρτύρει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ
of-men and saviors bore-witness and to-him also the(-things)
παρ' ἐκείνων· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἠξίωσαν ἁπάντων κρατοῦντες
from those nothing for they-claimed all mastering
ἀλλ' ἢ μυηθῆναι, μηδὲν ἧττον Ἡρακλέους τῇ πόλει
but than to-be-initiated in-nothing less than-Heracles to-the city
προσήκοντες. καὶ τοῦτο οὖν ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς, Ἀφίδνου
being-related and this then belonged to-them Aphidnus
ποιησαμένου παῖδας, ὡς Πύλιος Ἡρακλέα· καὶ τιμὰς
having-made(-them) sons as Pylius Heracles and honors
ἰσοθέους ἔσχον, Ἄνακες προσαγορευθέντες, ἢ διὰ
godlike they-had Anakes having-been-called either because-of
τὰς γενομένας ἀνοχὰς ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ
the having-come-about truces or because-of the care and

κηδεμονίαν τοῦ μηδένα κακῶς παθεῖν στρατιᾶς τοσαύτης
concern of-the no-one badly to-suffer army so-great
ἔνδον οὔσης· ἀνακῶς γὰρ ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους ἢ
within being anakos for to-be those taking-care or
φυλάττοντας ὁτιοῦν· καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἴσως ἄνακτας
guarding anything and the kings perhaps lords
διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες διὰ τὴν
because-of this they-call there-are and those saying because-of the
τῶν ἀστέρων ἐπιφάνειαν Ἄνακας ὀνομάζεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἄνω
of-the stars appearance Anakes to-be-named the for up
τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἀνεκὰς ὀνομάζειν, καὶ ἀνέκαθεν τὸ ἄνωθεν.
the Attic(-people) anekas to-name and anekathen the from-above
34 Αἴθραν δὲ τὴν Θησέως μητέρα γενομένην αἰχμάλωτον
Aethra and the of-Theseus mother having-become captive
ἀπαχθῆναι λέγουσιν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Τροίαν
to-have-been-led-off they-say to Lacedaemon and-thence to Troy
μετὰ Ἑλένης· καὶ μαρτυρεῖν Ὅμηρον, ἕπεσθαι τῇ Ἑλένῃ
with Helen and to-bear-witness Homer to-follow — Helen
φάμενον·
saying

Αἴθρην Πιτθῆος θύγατρα Κλυμένην τε βοῶπιν.
Aethra of-Pittheus daughter Clymene and ox-eyed

Οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος διαβάλλουσι καὶ τὴν περὶ
the(-others) and also this the verse discredit and the about
Μουνύχου μυθολογίαν, ὃν ἐκ Δημοφῶντος Λαοδίκης
Munychus tale whom from Demophon Laodice
κρύφα τεκούσης ἐν Ἰλίῳ συνεκθρέψαι τὴν Αἴθραν λέγουσιν.
secretly having-borne in Ilium to-have-helped-rear — Aethra they-say
ἴδιον δέ τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον ὅλως λόγον ὁ Ἴστρος
peculiar but a-certain and altered wholly account — Istrus

ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἀναφέρει περὶ Αἴθρας,
in the thirteenth(-book) of-the Attica relates about Aethra
ὡς ἐνίων λεγόντων Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν τὸν Πάριν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ
as some saying Alexander indeed — Paris in Thessaly
ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Πατρόκλου μάχῃ κρατηθῆναι παρὰ
by Achilles and Patroclus in-battle to-have-been-conquered by
τὸν Σπερχειόν, Ἕκτορα δὲ τὴν Τροιζηνίων πόλιν λαβόντα
the Spercheius Hector and the of-Troezenians city having-taken
διαρπάσαι καὶ τὴν Αἴθραν ἀπάγειν ἐκεῖ καταλειφθεῖσαν.
to-have-plundered and — Aethra to-lead-off there left-behind
ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἔχει πολλὴν ἀλογίαν.
but this indeed has much unreasonableness
Ἀϊδωνέως δὲ τοῦ Μολοσσοῦ ξενίζοντος Ἡρακλέα καὶ 35
Aidoneus and the Molossian entertaining Heracles and
τῶν περὶ τὸν Θησέα καὶ Πειρίθουν κατὰ τύχην
of-the(-things) about — Theseus and Peirithous by chance
μνησθέντος, ἅ τε πράξοντες ἦλθον καὶ ἃ
having-mentioned what both intending-to-do they-had-come and what
φωραθέντες ἔπαθον, βαρέως ἤνεγκεν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, τοῦ
having-been-detected they-suffered grievously took(-it) — Heracles of-the(-one)
μὲν ἀπολωλότος ἀδόξως, τοῦ δὲ ἀπολλυμένου. καὶ περὶ
indeed having-perished ingloriously of-the(-other) and perishing and about
Πειρίθου μὲν οὐδὲν ᾤετο ποιήσειν πλέον ἐγκαλῶν, τὸν
Peirithous indeed nothing he-thought to-accomplish more complaining —
δὲ Θησέα παρῃτεῖτο καὶ χάριν ἠξίου ταύτην αὐτῷ δοθῆναι.
but Theseus he-begged-off and favor asked this to-him to-be-given
συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀϊδωνέως, λυθεὶς ὁ Θησεὺς ἐπανῆλθε
having-conceded and — Aidoneus released — Theseus came-back
μὲν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, οὐδέπω παντάπασι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ
indeed to — Athens not-yet altogether the friends of-him
κεκρατημένων, καὶ ὅσα ὑπῆρχε τεμένη πρότερον αὐτῷ
having-been-mastered and as-many-as were precincts before for-him

τῆς πόλεως ἐξελούσης ἅπαντα καθιέρωσε τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ
the city having-set-apart all he-consecrated — to-Heracles and
προσηγόρευσεν ἀντὶ Θησείων Ἡράκλεια, πλὴν τεσσάρων,
named(-them) instead-of Theseia Heracleia except four
ὡς Φιλόχορος ἱστόρηκεν. αὖθις δὲ βουλόμενος ὡς πρότερον
as Philochorus has-recorded again and wishing as before
ἄρχειν καὶ καθηγεῖσθαι τοῦ πολιτεύματος εἰς στάσεις ἐνέπεσε
to-rule and to-lead the commonwealth into factions he-fell
καὶ ταραχάς, οὓς μὲν ἀπέλιπε μισοῦντας αὐτὸν εὑρίσκων
and disturbances those indeed he-had-left hating him he-found
τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τῷ μισεῖν προσειληφότας, ἐν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ
the not to-fear to-the hating having-added in and the people
πολὺ τὸ διεφθαρμένον ὁρῶν καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι βουλόμενον
much the corrupted seeing and to-be-courted wishing
ἀντὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν σιωπῇ τὸ προσταττόμενον. ἐπιχειρῶν
instead-of the doing in-silence the(-thing) commanded attempting
οὖν βιάζεσθαι κατεδημαγωγεῖτο καὶ κατεστασιάζετο. καὶ
then to-use-force he-was-overcome-by-demagogues and was-overthrown-by-faction and
τέλος ἀπογνοὺς τὰ πράγματα τοὺς μὲν παῖδας εἰς Εὔβοιαν
at-last despairing-of the affairs the indeed children to Euboea
ὑπεξέπεμψε πρὸς Ἐλεφήνορα τὸν Χαλκώδοντος, αὐτὸς
he-sent-away-secretly to Elephenor the(-son) of-Chalcodon himself
δὲ Γαργηττοῖ κατὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρὰς θέμενος, οὗ νῦν
but at-Gargettus against the Athenians curses having-laid where now
ἔστι τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρατήριον, εἰς Σκῦρον ἐξέπλευσεν,
is the called Araterion to Scyros sailed-away
οὔσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ φιλίας, ὡς ᾤετο, καὶ
there-being for-him with those there friendship as he-thought and
χωρίων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πατρῴων. ἐβασίλευε δὲ Λυκομήδης
of-estates in the island ancestral reigned and Lycomedes
τότε τῶν Σκυρίων. πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν ἀφικόμενος ἐζήτει

τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀπολαβεῖν, ὡς αὐτόθι κατοικήσων· ἔνιοι δέ
the lands to-recover as there intending-to-settle some but
φασι παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὁ
say to-have-asked him to-help against the Athenians —
δὲ Λυκομήδης, εἴτε δείσας τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀνδρός,
but Lycomedes whether having-feared the reputation of-the man
εἴτε τῷ Μενεσθεῖ χαριζόμενος, ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς χώρας
or — to-Menestheus gratifying to the heights of-the country
ἀναγαγὼν αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιδείξων τοὺς ἀγρούς,
having-led-up him as from-there intending-to-show the lands
ὦσε κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν καὶ διέφθειρεν. ἔνιοι δ' ἀφ'
pushed(-him) down the rocks and destroyed(-him) some but by
ἑαυτοῦ πεσεῖν φασι σφαλέντα, μετὰ δεῖπνον, ὥσπερ
himself to-have-fallen say having-slipped after dinner as
εἰώθει, περιπατοῦντα. καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔσχεν
he-was-accustomed walking-about and immediately indeed no-one had
αὐτοῦ λόγον οὐδένα τεθνηκότος, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων
of-him account none having-died but the indeed Athenians
ἐβασίλευσε Μενεσθεύς, οἱ δὲ παῖδες ἰδιωτεύοντες Ἐλεφήνορι
reigned-over Menestheus the and children living-privately with-Elephenor
συνεστράτευσαν εἰς Ἴλιον. ἐκεῖ δὲ Μενεσθέως ἀποθανόντος
campaigned to Ilium there and Menestheus having-died
ἐπανελθόντες αὐτοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνεκομίσαντο. χρόνοις
having-returned themselves the kingship recovered in-times
δ' ὕστερον Ἀθηναίους ἄλλα τε παρέστησεν ὡς ἥρωα
but later Athenians other-things both induced as hero
τιμᾶν Θησέα, καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι πρὸς Μήδους
to-honor Theseus and of-those at Marathon against Medes
μαχομένων ἔδοξαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι φάσμα Θησέως ἐν ὅπλοις
fighting thought not few apparition of-Theseus in arms
καθορᾶν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους φερόμενον.
to-see before them against the barbarians rushing

36 Μετὰ δὲ τὰ Μηδικὰ Φαίδωνος ἄρχοντος μαντευομένοις
after and the Persian(-wars) Phaedo being-archon consulting
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀνεῖλεν ἡ Πυθία τὰ Θησέως ἀναλαβεῖν
to-the Athenians answered — Pythia the of-Theseus to-take-up
ὀστᾶ καὶ θεμένους ἐντίμως παρ᾽ αὑτοῖς φυλάττειν. ἦν
bones and having-laid(-them) honorably among themselves to-guard(-them) was
δὲ καὶ λαβεῖν ἀπορία καὶ γνῶναι τὸν τάφον ἀμιξίᾳ
and both to-take difficulty and to-recognize the tomb from-the-unsociability
καὶ χαλεπότητι τῶν ἐνοικούντων Δολόπων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
and harshness of-the inhabiting Dolopians not indeed but
Κίμων ἑλὼν τὴν νῆσον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου
Cimon having-taken the island as in the(-books) about him
γέγραπται, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος ἐξανευρεῖν, ἀετοῦ τινα
it-has-been-written and being-ambitious to-discover eagle a-certain
τόπον βουνοειδῆ κόπτοντος, ὥς φασι, τῷ στόματι καὶ
place mound-like pecking as they-say with-the beak and
διαστέλλοντος τοῖς ὄνυξι θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ συμφρονήσας
tearing with-the talons by-divine some fortune having-understood
ἀνέσκαψεν. εὑρέθη δὲ θήκη τε μεγάλου σώματος αἰχμή
dug-up was-found and coffin both of-great body spear-point
τε παρακειμένη χαλκῆ καὶ ξίφος. κομισθέντων δὲ τούτων
and lying-beside bronze and sword having-been-brought and these(-things)
ὑπὸ Κίμωνος ἐπὶ τῆς τριήρους, ἡσθέντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
by Cimon on the trireme pleased the Athenians
πομπαῖς τε λαμπραῖς ἐδέξαντο καὶ θυσίαις ὥσπερ αὐτὸν
with-processions both splendid received(-them) and sacrifices as-if himself
ἐπανερχόμενον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. καὶ κεῖται μὲν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ
returning to the town and he-lies indeed in middle the
πόλει παρὰ τὸ νῦν γυμνάσιον, ἔστι δὲ φύξιμον οἰκέταις καὶ
city by the now gymnasium it-is and a-refuge for-slaves and
πᾶσι τοῖς ταπεινοτέροις καὶ δεδιόσι κρείττονας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ
for-all the humbler and fearing (the)-stronger as also —

Θησέως προστατικοῦ τινος καὶ βοηθητικοῦ γενομένου καὶ
Theseus protector some and helper having-been and
προσδεχομένου φιλανθρώπως τὰς τῶν ταπεινοτέρων δεήσεις.
receiving kindly the of-the humbler petitions
θυσίαν δὲ ποιοῦσιν αὐτῷ τὴν μεγίστην ὀγδόῃ Πυανεψιῶνος,
sacrifice and they-make to-him the greatest on-eighth of-Pyanepsion
ἐν ᾗ μετὰ τῶν ἠϊθέων ἐκ Κρήτης ἐπανῆλθεν. οὐ μὴν
on which with the youths from Crete he-came-back not indeed
ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ὀγδόαις τιμῶσιν αὐτόν, ἢ διὰ
but also on-the other eighths they-honor him either because-of
τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ Τροιζῆνος ἀφικέσθαι τῇ ὀγδόῃ τοῦ
the first from Troezen to-have-come on-the eighth of-the
Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ὡς ἱστόρηκε Διόδωρος ὁ περιηγητής, ἢ
Hecatombaeon as has-recorded Diodorus the topographer or
νομίζοντες ἑτέρου μᾶλλον ἐκείνῳ προσήκειν τὸν ἀριθμὸν
thinking than-another rather to-him to-belong the number
τοῦτον ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος γεγονέναι λεγομένῳ. καὶ γὰρ
this from Poseidon to-have-been-born said and for
Ποσειδῶνα ταῖς ὀγδόαις τιμῶσιν. ἡ γὰρ ὀγδοὰς κύβος ἀπ᾽
Poseidon on-the eighths they-honor the for eight cube from
ἀρτίου πρῶτος οὖσα καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τετραγώνου διπλασία,
even first being and of-the first square double
τὸ μόνιμον καὶ δυσκίνητον οἰκεῖον ἔχει τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ
the steadfast and hard-to-move proper has of-the of-the god
δυνάμεως, ὃν ἀσφάλειον καὶ γαιήοχον προσονομάζομεν.
power whom securer and earth-holder we-call

PLUTARCH

ΡΩΜΥΛΟΣ

Romulus

Writers disagree over who named Rome and why: Pelasgians, a Trojan woman named Roma who burned the ships, a son of Odysseus and Circe, or Romulus. The most credited account, from Diocles and Fabius Pictor, runs: Amulius seizes the throne of Alba from his brother Numitor and makes his niece a Vestal, but she bears twins. Amulius orders them exposed; the trough comes ashore by the fig tree, where a she-wolf suckles them and a woodpecker feeds them, and Faustulus' wife Larentia rears them, whose name lupa, others say, turned the tale toward the fabulous.

Τὸ μέγα τῆς Ῥώμης ὄνομα καὶ δόξῃ διὰ πάντων 1
the great — of-Rome name and in-glory through all
ἀνθρώπων κεχωρηκὸς ἀφ' ὅτου καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τῇ
men having-spread from what and through which cause to-the
πόλει γέγονεν, οὐχ ὁμολόγηται παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν,
city it-has-come-about not is-agreed among the historians
ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Πελασγοὺς ἐπὶ πλεῖστα τῆς οἰκουμένης
but the(-ones) indeed Pelasgians over most of-the inhabited(-world)
πλανηθέντας ἀνθρώπων τε πλείστων κρατήσαντας, αὐτόθι
having-wandered men and most having-mastered there
κατοικῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ῥώμην οὕτως
to-have-settled and because-of the in the arms strength thus
ὀνομάσαι τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ Τροίας ἁλισκομένης
to-have-named the city the(-others) and Troy being-taken
διαφυγόντας ἐνίους καὶ πλοίων ἐπιτυχόντας ὑπὸ πνευμάτων
having-escaped some and ships having-found by winds
τῇ Τυρρηνίᾳ προσπεσεῖν φερομένους, καὶ περὶ τὸν
on-the Tyrrhenian(-coast) to-have-fallen being-carried and near the
Θύμβριν ποταμὸν ὁρμίσασθαι· ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν,
Tiber river to-have-anchored the and women of-them
ἀπορουμέναις ἤδη καὶ δυσανασχετούσαις πρὸς τὴν
being-at-a-loss already and chafing at the

θάλασσαν, ὑποθέσθαι μίαν, ἣ καὶ γένει προὔχειν καὶ
sea to-have-proposed one who both in-birth to-excel and
φρονεῖν ἐδόκει μάλιστα, Ῥώμην ὄνομα, καταπρῆσαι τὰ
to-be-wise seemed most Roma by-name to-burn the
πλοῖα· πραχθέντος δὲ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν ἀγανακτεῖν τοὺς
ships having-been-done and this first indeed to-be-angry the
ἄνδρας, ἔπειτα δι' ἀνάγκην ἱδρυνθέντας περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον,
men then by necessity having-settled near — Palatium
ὡς ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κρεῖττον ἐλπίδος ἔπραττον, ἀγαθῆς τε
as in-little time better than-hope they-fared good both
πειρώμενοι χώρας καὶ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς τῶν προσοίκων,
trying land and receiving them the neighbors
ἄλλην τε τιμὴν ἀπονέμειν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπ'
other both honor to-assign — to-Roma and the city from
αὐτῆς, ὡς αἰτίας, προσαγορεύειν. ἐξ ἐκείνου τε παραμένειν
her as cause to-call from that and to-remain
λέγουσι τὸ τοὺς συγγενεῖς τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ οἰκείους
they-say the(-custom) the kinsmen the women and relatives
ἄνδρας ἀσπάζεσθαι τοῖς στόμασι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνας, ὅτε τὰ
men to-greet with-the mouths and for those(-women) when the
πλοῖα κατέπρησαν, οὕτως ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι
ships they-burned thus to-greet and to-caress
τοὺς ἄνδρας, δεομένας αὐτῶν καὶ παραιτουμένας τὴν ὀργήν.
the men begging them and deprecating the anger

2 Ἄλλοι δὲ Ῥώμην, Ἰταλοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ Λευκαρίας, οἱ
others and Roma of-Italus daughter and of-Leucaria the(-others)
δέ, Τηλέφου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, Αἰνείᾳ γαμηθεῖσαν, οἱ
and of-Telephus the(-son) of-Heracles to-Aeneas having-been-married the(-others)
δ' Ἀσκανίου τοῦ Αἰνείου, λέγουσι τοὔνομα θέσθαι
and of-Ascanius the(-son) of-Aeneas say the-name to-have-given
τῇ πόλει· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμανόν, Ὀδυσσέως παῖδα καὶ
to-the city the(-others) and Romanus of-Odysseus son and

Κίρκης, οἰκίσαι τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ Ῥῶμον ἐκ
of-Circe to-have-founded the city the(-others) and Romus from
Τροίας ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἀποσταλέντα τὸν Ἡμαθίωνος,
Troy by Diomedes having-been-sent the(-son) of-Emathion
οἱ δὲ Ῥῶμιν Λατίνων τύραννον, ἐκβαλόντα Τυρρηνοὺς
the(-others) and Romis of-Latins tyrant having-expelled Tyrrhenians
τοὺς εἰς Λυδίαν μὲν ἐκ Θετταλίας, ἐκ δὲ Λυδίας εἰς
those to Lydia indeed from Thessaly from and Lydia into
Ἰταλίαν παραγενομένους. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' οἱ Ῥωμύλον
Italy having-come not indeed not-even those Romulus
τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων ἀποφαίνοντες ἐπώνυμον τῆς
by-the most-just of-the accounts declaring eponym of-the
πόλεως ὁμολογοῦσι περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
city agree about the birth of-him the(-ones) indeed for
Αἰνείου καὶ Δεξιθέας τῆς Φόρβαντος υἱὸν ὄντα νήπιον
of-Aeneas and Dexithea the(-daughter) of-Phorbas son being infant
εἰς Ἰταλίαν κομισθῆναι, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ῥῶμον·
to Italy to-have-been-brought and the brother of-him Romus
ἐν δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ πλημμύραντι τῶν ἄλλων σκαφῶν
in and the river having-flooded the other boats
διαφθαρέντων, ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἦσαν οἱ παῖδες εἰς μαλακὴν
having-been-destroyed in which and were the boys onto soft
ἀποκλινθέντος ὄχθην ἀτρέμα, σωθέντας ἀπροσδοκήτως,
having-been-turned bank gently having-been-saved unexpectedly
ὀνομασθῆναι Ῥώμην. οἱ δὲ Ῥώμην θυγατέρα τῆς
to-have-been-named Rome the(-others) and Roma daughter of-the
Τρωάδος ἐκείνης, Λατίνῳ τῷ Τηλεμάχου γαμηθεῖσαν
Trojan(-woman) that to-Latinus the(-son) of-Telemachus having-been-married
τεκεῖν τὸν Ῥωμύλον· οἱ δ' Αἰμυλίαν τὴν
to-have-borne — Romulus the(-others) and Aemilia the(-daughter)
Αἰνείου καὶ Λαβινίας Ἄρει συγγενομένην· οἱ δὲ
of-Aeneas and Lavinia with-Ares having-lain the(-others) and

μυθώδη παντάπασι περὶ τῆς γενέσεως διεξίασι. Ταρχετίῳ
fabulous(-things) altogether about the birth relate to-Tarchetius
γὰρ Ἀλβανῶν βασιλεῖ παρανομωτάτῳ καὶ ὠμοτάτῳ φάσμα
for of-Albans king most-lawless and most-cruel apparition
δαιμόνιον οἴκοι γενέσθαι· φαλλὸν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἑστίας
divine at-home to-have-appeared phallus for from the hearth
ἀνασχεῖν καὶ διαμένειν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας· εἶναι δὲ
to-have-risen-up and to-have-remained for many days to-be and
Τηθύος ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ χρηστήριον, ἀφ' οὗ κομισθῆναι τῷ
of-Tethys in Tyrrhenia an-oracle from which to-have-been-brought —
Ταρχετίῳ χρησμὸν ὥστε συμμῖξαι τῷ φάσματι παρθένον·
to-Tarchetius oracle so-that to-unite with-the apparition maiden
ἔσεσθαι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδα κλεινότατον ἀρετῇ καὶ
there-would-be for from her son most-famous in-valor and
τύχῃ καὶ ῥώμῃ διαφέροντα. φράσαντος οὖν τὸ μάντευμα
fortune and strength excelling having-told then the prophecy
τοῦ Ταρχετίου μιᾷ τῶν θυγατέρων καὶ συγγενέσθαι τῷ
— Tarchetius to-one of-the daughters and to-consort with-the
φαλλῷ προστάξαντος, αὐτὴν μὲν ἀπαξιῶσαι, θεράπαιναν
phallus having-ordered her indeed to-have-disdained(-it) maidservant
δὲ εἰσπέμψαι. τὸν δὲ Ταρχέτιον, ὡς ἔγνω, χαλεπῶς
but to-have-sent-in — and Tarchetius when he-knew hard
φέροντα συλλαβεῖν μὲν ἀμφοτέρας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, τὴν δ'
taking(-it) to-have-seized indeed both for death — but
Ἑστίαν ἰδόντα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἀπαγορεύουσαν αὐτῷ
Hestia having-seen in the sleep forbidding to-him
τὸν φόνον, ἱστόν τινα παρεγγυῆσαι ταῖς κόραις ὑφαίνειν
the murder loom a-certain to-have-charged to-the girls to-weave
δεδεμέναις, ὡς ὅταν ἐξυφήνωσι, τότε δοθησομένας πρὸς
being-bound as when they-finish-weaving then to-be-given for
γάμον. ἐκείνας μὲν οὖν δι' ἡμέρας ὑφαίνειν, ἑτέρας δὲ
marriage those indeed then by day to-weave others and

νύκτωρ τοῦ Ταρχετίου κελεύοντος ἀναλύειν τὸν ἱστόν.
by-night — Tarchetius ordering to-unravel the loom
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φαλλοῦ τῆς θεραπαινίδος τεκούσης δίδυμα,
from and the phallus the maidservant having-borne twins
δοῦναί τινι Τερατίῳ τὸν Ταρχέτιον, ἀνελεῖν
to-have-given(-them) to-a-certain Teratius — Tarchetius to-destroy(-them)
κελεύσαντα. τὸν δὲ θεῖναι φέροντα τοῦ ποταμοῦ
having-ordered he and to-have-laid(-them) carrying(-them) the river
πλησίον· εἶτα λύκαιναν μὲν ἐπιφοιτᾶν μαστὸν ἐνδιδοῦσαν,
near then she-wolf indeed to-visit teat giving
ὄρνιθας δὲ παντοδαποὺς ψωμίσματα κομίζοντας ἐντιθέναι
birds and of-all-kinds morsels bringing to-put-in(-them)
τοῖς βρέφεσιν, ἄχρι οὗ βουκόλον ἰδόντα καὶ θαυμάσαντα
for-the babes until which a-herdsman having-seen and having-wondered
τολμῆσαι προσελθεῖν καὶ ἀνελέσθαι τὰ παιδία. τοιαύτης
to-have-dared to-approach and to-take-up the children such
δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς γενομένης, ἐκτραφέντας ἐπιθέσθαι
and the deliverance to-them having-been having-been-reared to-attack
τῷ Ταρχετίῳ καὶ κρατῆσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Προμαθίων
— Tarchetius and to-overcome(-him) these-things indeed then Promathion
τις ἱστορίαν Ἰταλικὴν συντεταγμένος εἴρηκε.
one history Italian having-composed has-told
Τοῦ δὲ πίστιν ἔχοντος λόγου μάλιστα καὶ πλείστους 3
of-the and credence having account most and most
μάρτυρας τὰ μὲν κυριώτατα πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
witnesses the indeed most-important first to the Greeks
ἐξέδωκε Διοκλῆς Πεπαρήθιος, ᾧ καὶ Φάβιος ὁ Πίκτωρ ἐν
published Diocles of-Peparethus whom also Fabius the Pictor in
τοῖς πλείστοις ἐπηκολούθηκε. γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων
the most-points has-followed there-have-been and also about these(-things)
ἕτεραι διαφοραί· τύπῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτός ἐστι. τῶν ἀπ᾽
other differences in-outline but to-speak such it-is of-the from

Αἰνείου γεγονότων ἐν Ἄλβῃ βασιλέων εἰς ἀδελφοὺς δύο,
Aeneas having-been-born in Alba kings to brothers two
Νομήτορα καὶ Ἀμούλιον, ἡ διαδοχὴ καθῆκεν. Ἀμουλίου δὲ
Numitor and Amulius the succession came-down Amulius and
νείμαντος τὰ πάντα δίχα, τῇ δὲ βασιλείᾳ τὰ χρήματα καὶ
having-divided the all(-things) in-two to-the and kingdom the money and
τὸν ἐκ Τροίας κομισθέντα χρυσὸν ἀντιθέντος, εἵλετο τὴν
the from Troy brought gold having-set-against chose the
βασιλείαν ὁ Νομήτωρ. ἔχων οὖν ὁ Ἀμούλιος τὰ χρήματα
kingdom — Numitor having then — Amulius the money
καὶ πλέον ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν δυνάμενος τοῦ Νομήτορος, τήν τε
and more from it being-able — than-Numitor the both
βασιλείαν ἀφείλετο ῥᾳδίως, καὶ φοβούμενος ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς
kingdom took-away easily and fearing from the daughter
αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι παῖδας ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἑστίας ἀπέδειξεν, ἄγαμον
of-him to-be-born children priestess — of-Hestia he-appointed unmarried
καὶ παρθένον ἀεὶ βιωσομένην. ταύτην οἱ μὲν Ἰλίαν,
and virgin always to-live her the(-ones) indeed Ilia
οἱ δὲ Ῥέαν, οἱ δὲ Σιλουΐαν ὀνομάζουσι. φωρᾶται
the(-others) and Rhea the(-others) and Silvia name is-detected
δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον κυοῦσα παρὰ τὸν καθεστῶτα
and after not long time being-pregnant contrary-to the established
ταῖς Ἑστιάσι νόμον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνήκεστα μὴ παθεῖν
for-the Vestals law and the indeed incurable(-things) not to-suffer
αὐτὴν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγάτηρ Ἀνθὼ παρῃτήσατο, δεηθεῖσα
her the of-the king daughter Antho begged-off begging
τοῦ πατρός· εἴρχθη δὲ καὶ δίαιταν εἶχεν ἀνεπίμικτον,
the father she-was-confined and and diet had secluded
ὅπως μὴ λάθοι τεκοῦσα τὸν Ἀμούλιον. ἔτεκε δὲ
so-that not she-might-escape-notice having-borne — Amulius she-bore and
δύο παῖδας ὑπερφυεῖς μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει. δι᾽ ὃ καὶ
two boys extraordinary in-size and in-beauty because-of which also

μᾶλλον ὁ Ἀμούλιος φοβηθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ὑπηρέτην
more — Amulius having-feared ordered them a-servant
λαβόντα ῥῖψαι. τοῦτον ἔνιοι Φαυστύλον ὀνομάζεσθαι
having-taken to-throw-away this(-man) some Faustulus to-be-named
λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' οὐ τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀνελόμενον.
say the(-others) but not this(-man) but the(-one) having-taken-up
ἐνθέμενος οὖν εἰς σκάφην τὰ βρέφη, κατέβη μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν
having-placed then into trough the babes he-went-down indeed to the
ποταμὸν ὡς ῥίψων, ἰδὼν δὲ κατιόντα πολλῷ
river as intending-to-throw(-them) having-seen and coming-down with-much
ῥεύματι καὶ τραχυνόμενον ἔδεισε προσελθεῖν, ἐγγὺς δὲ
stream and being-rough feared to-approach near and
τῆς ὄχθης καταθεὶς ἀπηλλάσσετο. τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ
the bank having-set(-them)-down went-away the and river
κατακλύζοντος ἡ πλημμύρα τὴν σκάφην ὑπολαβοῦσα
overflowing the flood the trough having-taken-up
καὶ μετεωρίσασα πρᾴως κατήνεγκεν εἰς χωρίον ἐπιεικῶς
and having-lifted gently carried(-it)-down to place fairly
μαλθακόν, ὃ νῦν Κερμαλὸν καλοῦσι, πάλαι δὲ Γερμανόν,
soft which now Cermalus they-call of-old and Germanus
ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς γερμανοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν.
as it-seems because also the brothers germani they-name
Ἦν δὲ πλησίον ἐρινεός, ὃν Ῥωμινάλιον ἐκάλουν, ἢ 4
there-was and near wild-fig-tree which Ruminalis they-called either
διὰ τὸν Ῥωμύλον, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἢ διὰ
because-of — Romulus as the many think or because-of
τὸ τὰ μηρυκώμενα τῶν θρεμμάτων ἐκεῖ διὰ τὴν σκιὰν
the the ruminating of-the cattle there because-of the shade
ἐνδιάζειν, ἢ μάλιστα διὰ τὸν τῶν βρεφῶν θηλασμόν,
to-spend-midday or most because-of the of-the babes suckling
ὅτι τήν τε θηλὴν ῥοῦμαν ὠνόμαζον οἱ παλαιοί, καὶ θεόν
because the both teat ruma named the ancients and goddess

τινα τῆς ἐκτροφῆς τῶν νηπίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δοκοῦσαν
a-certain of-the rearing of-the infants to-take-care seeming
ὀνομάζουσι Ῥουμιλίαν, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῇ νηφάλια,
they-name Rumilia and sacrifice to-her wineless(-offerings)
καὶ γάλα τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπισπένδουσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοῖς
and milk on-the victims pour-on there indeed for-the
βρέφεσι κειμένοις τήν τε λύκαιναν ἱστοροῦσι θηλαζομένην,
babes lying the both she-wolf they-relate giving-suck
καὶ δρυοκολάπτην τινὰ παρεῖναι συνεκτρέφοντα καὶ
and woodpecker a-certain to-be-present helping-to-rear and
φυλάττοντα. νομίζεται δ' Ἄρεως ἱερὰ τὰ ζῷα· τὸν
guarding is-thought and of-Ares sacred the creatures the
δὲ δρυοκολάπτην καὶ διαφερόντως Λατῖνοι σέβονται καὶ
and woodpecker also especially Latins revere and
τιμῶσιν· ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα πίστιν ἔσχεν ἡ τεκοῦσα
honor whence not least credence had the(-one) having-borne
τὰ βρέφη τεκεῖν ἐξ Ἄρεως φάσκουσα. καίτοι
the babes to-have-borne(-them) from Ares asserting and-yet
τοῦτο παθεῖν αὐτὴν ἐξαπατηθεῖσαν λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ
this to-have-suffered her deceived they-say by —
Ἀμουλίου διαπαρθενευθεῖσαν ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπιφανέντος αὐτῇ
Amulius deflowered in arms having-appeared to-her
καὶ συναρπάσαντος. οἱ δὲ τοὔνομα τῆς τροφοῦ
and having-carried(-her)-off the(-others) and the-name of-the nurse
δι' ἀμφιβολίαν ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκτροπὴν τῇ φήμῃ
through ambiguity toward the fabulous a-turn to-the report
παρασχεῖν. λούπας γὰρ ἐκάλουν οἱ Λατῖνοι τῶν τε θηρίων
to-have-given lupas for called the Latins of-the both beasts
τὰς λυκαίνας, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς ἑταιρούσας·
the she-wolves and of-the women the(-ones) prostituting(-themselves)
εἶναι δὲ τοιαύτην τὴν Φαυστύλου γυναῖκα τοῦ τὰ βρέφη
to-be and such the of-Faustulus wife the(-one) the babes

θρέψαντος, Ἄκκαν Λαρεντίαν ὄνομα. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ θύουσιν
having-reared Acca Larentia by-name to-her and also sacrifice
οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ χοὰς ἐπιφέρει τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου μηνὸς αὐτῇ
the Romans and libations brings of-the April month to-her
ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἱερεύς, καὶ Λαρεντίαν καλοῦσι τὴν ἑορτήν.
the — of-Ares priest and Larentalia they-call the festival

II · THE TWINS FOUND

The Romans honor a second Larentia: Heracles' idle temple-warden dices with the god, loses, and pays with a feast and with Larentia, whom he hires and shuts in the temple for the night. The god bids her befriend the first man she meets; this is the rich, childless Tarrutius, who loves her and leaves her his estate, which she bequeaths to the Roman people. The twins, schooled at Gabii, grow strong and spirited; Numitor's herdsmen seize Romus, and Numitor, questioning him, suspects his birth. Faustulus, carrying the trough to the city, is found out and examined; Romulus and Romus rise against Amulius, who is caught and killed.

Ἑτέραν δὲ τιμῶσι Λαρεντίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. ὁ
another and they-honor Larentia from cause such the
νεωκόρος τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀλύων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ σχολῆς,
temple-warden — of-Heracles being-at-a-loss as it-seems from leisure
προὔθετο πρὸς τὸν θεὸν διακυβεύειν, ὑπειπὼν ὅτι
proposed with the god to-play-dice having-said-beforehand that
νικήσας μὲν αὐτὸς ἕξει τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστόν,
having-won indeed he-himself will-have something from the god good
ἡττηθεὶς δὲ τῷ θεῷ τράπεζαν ἄφθονον παρέξει
having-been-beaten and for-the god table abundant he-will-provide
καὶ γυναῖκα καλὴν συναναπαυσομένην. ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς
and woman fair to-lie-with(-him) on these(-terms) the(-ones)
μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ τιθείς, τὰς δ' ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ
indeed for the god having-thrown the(-others) and for himself

ψήφους, ἀνεφάνη νικώμενος. εὐσυνθετεῖν δὲ βουλόμενος καὶ
pebbles he-appeared being-beaten to-keep-faith but wishing and
δικαιῶν ἐμμένειν τοῖς ὁρισθεῖσι, δεῖπνόν τε τῷ
thinking-it-right to-abide by-the(-terms) fixed dinner both for-the
θεῷ παρεσκεύασε, καὶ τὴν Λαρεντίαν οὖσαν ὡραίαν, οὔπω
god he-prepared and — Larentia being in-her-prime not-yet
δὲ ἐπιφανῆ, μισθωσάμενος, εἱστίασεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, κλίνην
but famous having-hired he-feasted in the temple couch
ὑποστορέσας, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον συνεῖρξεν, ὡς δὴ τοῦ
having-spread-beneath and after the dinner shut(-her)-in as indeed the
θεοῦ ἕξοντος αὐτήν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐντυχεῖν
god going-to-have her and however also the god to-have-met
λέγεται τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ κελεῦσαι βαδίζειν ἕωθεν ἐπὶ
is-said with-the woman and to-have-bidden(-her) to-go at-dawn to
τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸν ἀπαντήσαντα πρῶτον ἀσπασαμένην
the forum and the(-man) having-met(-her) first having-greeted
ποιεῖσθαι φίλον. ἀπήντησεν οὖν αὐτῇ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνὴρ
to-make friend met then her of-the citizens a-man
ἡλικίας τε πόρρω ἥκων καὶ συνειλοχὼς οὐσίαν ἱκανήν,
in-age both far advanced and having-amassed substance sufficient
ἄπαις δὲ καὶ βεβιωκὼς ἄνευ γυναικός, ὄνομα Ταρρούτιος.
childless and also having-lived without wife by-name Tarrutius
οὗτος ἔγνω τὴν Λαρεντίαν καὶ ἠγάπησε, καὶ τελευτῶν
this(-man) knew — Larentia and loved(-her) and dying
ἀπέλιπε κληρονόμον ἐπὶ πολλοῖς καὶ καλοῖς κτήμασιν,
left(-her) heir to many and fine possessions
ὧν ἐκείνη τὰ πλεῖστα τῷ δήμῳ κατὰ διαθήκας
of-which she the most to-the people by wills
ἔδωκε. λέγεται δὲ αὐτὴν ἔνδοξον οὖσαν ἤδη καὶ θεοφιλῆ
gave it-is-said and her famous being already and god-beloved
νομιζομένην, ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι περὶ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον ἐν
being-thought invisible to-have-become about this the place in

ᾧ καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐκείνην Λαρεντίαν κεῖσθαι. καλεῖται
which also the former that Larentia to-lie is-called
δὲ νῦν ὁ τόπος Βήλαυρον, ὅτι τοῦ ποταμοῦ πολλάκις
and now the place Velabrum because the river often
ὑπερχεομένου διεπεραιοῦντο πορθμείοις κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ
overflowing they-crossed by-ferries at this the
χωρίον εἰς ἀγοράν· τὴν δὲ πορθμείαν βηλατούραν καλοῦσιν.
spot to forum the and ferrying velatura they-call
ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι τὴν εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον φέρουσαν ἐξ
some and say the into the hippodrome leading from
ἀγορᾶς πάροδον ἱστίοις καταπετεννύναι τοὺς τὴν θέαν
forum passage with-sails to-spread those the show
παρέχοντας, ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχομένους· ῥωμαϊστὶ δὲ τὸ ἱστίον
providing from-here beginning in-Latin and the sail
βῆλον ὀνομάζουσι. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει τιμὰς ἡ δευτέρα
velum they-name for these(-reasons) indeed has honors the second
Λαρεντία παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις.
Larentia among Romans

Τὰ δὲ βρέφη Φαυστύλος Ἀμουλίου συφορβὸς ἀνείλετο 6
the and babes Faustulus of-Amulius swineherd took-up
λαθὼν ἅπαντας, ὡς δ' ἔνιοί φασι τῶν εἰκότων ἐχόμενοι
escaping-notice all as but some say of-the probabilities holding
μᾶλλον, εἰδότος τοῦ Νομήτορος καὶ συγχορηγοῦντος τροφὰς
more knowing — Numitor and helping-to-supply provisions
κρύφα τοῖς τρέφουσι. καὶ γράμματα λέγονται καὶ τἆλλα
secretly to-those rearing(-them) both letters are-said and the-other(-things)
μανθάνειν οἱ παῖδες εἰς Γαβίους κομισθέντες, ὅσα χρὴ
to-learn the boys to Gabii brought as-much-as it-is-fitting
τοὺς εὖ γεγονότας. κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀπὸ τῆς
the(-ones) well born to-have-been-called and also these from the
θηλῆς ἱστοροῦσι Ῥωμύλον καὶ Ῥῶμον, ὅτι θηλάζοντες
teat they-record Romulus and Romus because sucking

ὤφθησαν τὸ θηρίον. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν εὐγένεια
they-were-seen the beast the indeed then in the bodies nobility
καὶ νηπίων ὄντων εὐθὺς ἐξέφαινε μεγέθει καὶ ἰδέᾳ
even infants being at-once showed in-size and in-appearance
τὴν φύσιν· αὐξόμενοι δὲ θυμοειδεῖς ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ
the nature growing and spirited were both and
ἀνδρώδεις καὶ φρονήματα πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα δεινὰ καὶ
manly and spirits toward the appearing terrible(-things) and
τόλμαν ὅλως ἀνέκπληκτον ἔχοντες· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος γνώμῃ
daring wholly undaunted having — and Romulus judgment
τε χρῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἐδόκει καὶ πολιτικὴν ἔχειν σύνεσιν,
both to-use more seemed and political to-have understanding
ἐν ταῖς περὶ νομὰς καὶ κυνηγίας πρὸς τοὺς γειτνιῶντας
in the about pastures and huntings with the neighbors
ἐπιμιξίαις πολλὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρέχων κατανόησιν ἡγεμονικοῦ
intercourse much of-himself giving perception of-one-fit-to-lead
μᾶλλον ἢ πειθαρχικοῦ φύσει γεγονότος. διὸ τοῖς μὲν
rather than obedient by-nature having-been-born wherefore to-the indeed
ὁμοφύλοις ἢ ταπεινοτέροις προσφιλεῖς ἦσαν, ἐπιστάτας
kinsmen or humbler(-men) dear they-were overseers
δὲ καὶ διόπους βασιλικοὺς καὶ ἀγελάρχας, ὡς μηδὲν
but and stewards royal and chief-herdsmen as in-nothing
αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας, ὑπερφρονοῦντες οὔτ' ἀπειλῆς
than-them in-valor excelling despising neither of-threat
ἐφρόντιζον οὔτε ὀργῆς. ἐχρῶντο δὲ διαίταις καὶ διατριβαῖς
cared nor of-anger they-used and pursuits and occupations
ἐλευθερίοις, οὐ τὴν σχολὴν ἐλευθέριον ἡγούμενοι καὶ τὴν
befitting-the-free not the leisure befitting-the-free considering and the
ἀπονίαν, ἀλλὰ γυμνάσια καὶ θήρας καὶ δρόμους καὶ τὸ
idleness but exercises and hunts and races and the

λῃστὰς ἀμύνασθαι καὶ κλῶπας ἐλεῖν καὶ βίας ἐξελέσθαι
robbers to-ward-off and thieves to-catch and from-violence to-rescue
τοὺς ἀδικουμένους. ἦσαν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα περιβόητοι.
those wronged they-were indeed because-of these-things famous
Γενομένης δέ τινος πρὸς τοὺς Νομήτορος βουκόλους 7
having-arisen and some with the of-Numitor herdsmen
τοῖς Ἀμουλίου διαφορᾶς καὶ βοσκημάτων ἐλάσεως,
for-the(-herdsmen) of-Amulius dispute and of-cattle driving
οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι συγκόπτουσι μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ τρέπονται,
not enduring(-it) they-beat indeed them and rout(-them)
ἀποτέμνονται δὲ τῆς λείας συχνήν. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ
cut-off and of-the booty a-good-part being-indignant and —
Νομήτορος ὠλιγώρουν· συνῆγον δὲ καὶ προσεδέχοντο
Numitor they-made-light(-of-it) they-gathered and and received
πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπόρους, πολλοὺς δὲ δούλους, θράσους
many indeed destitute many and slaves of-daring
ἀποστατικοῦ καὶ φρονήματος ἀρχὰς ἐνδιδόντες. τοῦ δὲ
rebellious and of-spirit beginnings putting-in — and
Ῥωμύλου πρός τινα θυσίαν ἀποτραπομένου (καὶ γὰρ ἦν
Romulus to some sacrifice having-turned-aside and for he-was
φιλοθύτης καὶ μαντικός), οἱ τοῦ Νομήτορος βοτῆρες τῷ
fond-of-sacrifice and prophetic the — of-Numitor herdsmen —
Ῥώμῳ μετ᾽ ὀλίγων βαδίζοντι προστυχόντες ἐμάχοντο.
Romus with few going having-met fought
καὶ γενομένων πληγῶν καὶ τραυμάτων ἐν ἀμφοτέροις
and having-arisen blows and wounds on both(-sides)
ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Νομήτορος καὶ συνέλαβον ζῶντα τὸν
prevailed the(-men) — of-Numitor and seized alive —
Ῥῶμον. ἀναχθέντος οὖν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Νομήτορα καὶ
Romus having-been-led-up then he to — Numitor and
κατηγορηθέντος, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐκόλασε, χαλεπὸν ὄντα
having-been-accused he indeed not punished(-him) harsh being

δεδιὼς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐδεῖτο τυχεῖν
fearing the brother having-gone and to that(-man) he-asked to-obtain
δίκης, ἀδελφὸς ὢν καὶ καθυβρισμένος ὑπὸ οἰκετῶν ἐκείνου
justice brother being and having-been-outraged by servants of-that(-man)
βασιλέως ὄντος. συναγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἄλβῃ
king being being-indignant-with(-him) and those in Alba
καὶ δεινὰ πάσχειν οἰομένων τὸν ἄνδρα παρ᾽ ἀξίαν,
and terrible(-things) to-suffer thinking the man beyond desert
κινηθεὶς ὁ Ἀμούλιος αὐτῷ παραδίδωσι τῷ Νομήτορι
having-been-moved — Amulius himself hands-over — to-Numitor
τὸν Ῥῶμον ὅ τι βούλοιτο χρήσασθαι. παραλαβὼν δ᾽
— Romus what ever he-wished to-use(-him) having-taken(-him) and
ἐκεῖνος, ὡς ἦκεν οἴκαδε, θαυμάζων μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος
he when he-came home wondering indeed from the body
τὸν νεανίσκον ὑπερφέροντα μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ πάντας,
the young-man surpassing in-size and strength all
ἐνορῶν δὲ τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ θαρραλέον καὶ ἰταμὸν τῆς
seeing and in-the face the confident and bold of-the
ψυχῆς ἀδούλωτον καὶ ἀπαθὲς ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ἔργα δὲ
soul unenslaved and unmoved by the present(-things) deeds and
αὐτοῦ καὶ πράξεις ὅμοια τοῖς βλεπομένοις ἀκούων, τὸ δὲ
his and actions like to-the things-seen hearing the and
μέγιστον, ὡς ἔοικε, θεοῦ συμπαρόντος καὶ συνεπευθύνοντος
greatest as it-seems god being-present-with and helping-to-direct
ἀρχὰς μεγάλων πραγμάτων, ἁπτόμενος ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ τύχῃ
beginnings of-great affairs laying-hold-of by-design and by-chance
τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀνέκρινεν ὅστις εἴη καὶ ὅπως γένοιτο,
of-the truth questioned who he-was and how he-had-been-born
φωνῇ τε πραείᾳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ βλέμματι πίστιν αὐτῷ
with-voice both gentle and with-kindly look confidence to-him
μετ᾽ ἐλπίδος ἐνδιδούς. ὁ δὲ θαρρῶν ἔλεγεν· “Ἀλλ᾽
with hope putting-in he and taking-courage said but

οὐδὲν ἀποκρύψομαί σε· καὶ γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖς Ἀμουλίου
nothing I-will-hide-from you and for to-be you-seem than-Amulius
βασιλικώτερος. ἀκούεις γὰρ καὶ ἀνακρίνεις πρὶν ἢ
more-kingly you-hear for and question before than
κολάζειν· ὁ δ' ἀκρίτους ἐκδίδωσι. πρότερον μὲν ἑαυτοὺς
to-punish he but untried hands-over before indeed ourselves
οἰκετῶν βασιλέως Φαιστύλου καὶ Λαρεντίας ἠπιστάμεθα
of-servants of-king of-Faustulus and of-Larentia we-knew
παῖδας (ἐσμὲν δὲ δίδυμοι), γενόμενοι δ' ἐν αἰτίᾳ πρὸς
sons we-are and twins having-come and into charge before
σὲ καὶ διαβολαῖς καὶ τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς ἀγῶσιν, ἀκούομεν
you and slanders and in-the for life contests we-hear
μεγάλα περὶ ἑαυτῶν· εἰ δὲ πιστά, κρίνειν ἔοικε νῦν
great(-things) about ourselves if but trustworthy to-decide(-them) seems now
ὁ κίνδυνος. γοναὶ μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν ἀπόρρητοι λέγονται,
the danger births indeed for our secret are-said
τροφαὶ δὲ καὶ τιθηνήσεις ἀτοπώτεραι νεογνῶν, οἷς
nurturing and and nursings stranger than-newborns to-whom
ἐρρίφημεν οἰωνοῖς καὶ θηρίοις, ὑπὸ τούτων τρεφόμενοι,
we-were-thrown to-birds and beasts by these being-reared
μαστῷ λυκαίνης καὶ δρυοκολάπτου ψωμίσμασιν, ἐν σκάφῃ
by-teat of-she-wolf and of-woodpecker by-morsels in trough
τινὶ κείμενοι παρὰ τὸν μέγαν ποταμόν. ἔστι δ' ἡ
a-certain lying by the great river there-is and the
σκάφη καὶ σώζεται, χαλκοῖς ὑποζώσμασι γραμμάτων
trough and it-is-preserved with-bronze bands of-letters
ἀμυδρῶν ἐγκεχαραγμένων, ἃ γένοιτ' ἂν ὕστερον ἴσως
faint engraved which might-become — later perhaps
ἀνωφελῆ γνωρίσματα τοῖς τοκεῦσιν ἡμῶν ἀπολομένων."
useless tokens for-the parents us having-perished

ὁ μὲν οὖν Νομήτωρ ἔκ τε τῶν λόγων τούτων καὶ πρὸς
— *indeed then Numitor from both the words these and from*
τὴν ὄψιν εἰκάζων τὸν χρόνον, οὐκ ἔφευγε τὴν ἐλπίδα
the appearance conjecturing the time not fled-from the hope
σαίνουσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφρόντιζεν ὅπως τῇ θυγατρὶ περὶ τούτων
fawning(-on-him) but considered how with-the daughter about these(-things)
κρύφα συγγενόμενος φράσειεν· ἐφρουρεῖτο γὰρ ἔτι καρτερῶς.
secretly meeting he-might-tell she-was-guarded for still strictly

8 Ὁ δὲ Φαυστύλος ἀκούσας τήν τε σύλληψιν τοῦ Ῥώμου
— *and Faustulus having-heard the both seizure — of-Romus*
καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν, τὸν μὲν Ῥωμύλον ἠξίου βοηθεῖν,
and the handing-over — indeed Romulus he-asked to-help
τότε σαφῶς διδάξας περὶ τῆς γενέσεως· πρότερον
then clearly having-taught(-him) about the birth before
δὲ ὑπῃνίττετο καὶ παρεδήλου τοσοῦτον ὅσον προσέχοντας
but he-had-hinted and indicated so-much as attending
μὴ μικρὸν φρονεῖν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν σκάφην κομίζων ἐχώρει
not small to-think himself and the trough carrying went
πρὸς τὸν Νομήτορα, σπουδῆς καὶ δέους μεστὸς ὢν διὰ
to — Numitor of-haste and fear full being because-of
τὸν καιρόν. ὑποψίαν οὖν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πύλας φρουροῖς
the crisis suspicion then to-those at the gates guards
τοῦ βασιλέως παρέχων, καὶ ὑφορώμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ
of-the king giving and being-eyed by them and
ταραττόμενος περὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, οὐκ ἔλαθε τὴν
being-confused about the answers not he-escaped-notice the
σκάφην τῷ χλαμυδίῳ περικαλύπτων. ἦν δέ τις ἐν
trough with-the cloak covering-over there-was and one among
αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τύχης τῶν τὰ παιδία ῥῖψαι λαβόντων καὶ
them by chance of-those the children to-throw-away having-taken and
γεγονότων περὶ τὴν ἔκθεσιν. οὗτος ἰδὼν τὴν σκάφην
having-been-concerned with the exposure this(-man) having-seen the trough

τότε, καὶ γνωρίσας τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ τοῖς γράμμασιν,
then and having-recognized(-it) by-the construction and by-the letters
ἔτυχεν ὑπονοίᾳ τοῦ ὄντος καὶ οὐ παρημέλησεν, ἀλλὰ
hit-upon by-suspicion the truth and not neglected(-it) but
φράσας τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ βασιλεῖ κατέστησεν εἰς ἔλεγχον.
having-told the matter to-the king brought(-him) to examination
ἐν δὲ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἀνάγκαις ὁ Φαυστύλος οὔτ'
in and many and great compulsions — Faustulus neither
ἀήττητον ἑαυτὸν διεφύλαξεν οὔτε παντάπασιν ἐκβιασθείς,
unbeaten himself kept nor altogether having-been-forced
σώζεσθαι μὲν ὡμολόγησε τοὺς παῖδας, εἶναι δ' ἄπωθεν
to-be-safe indeed he-admitted the boys to-be but far-from
τῆς Ἄλβης ἔφη νέμοντας· αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν
— Alba he-said pasturing himself and this to —
Ἰλίαν φέρων βαδίζειν, πολλάκις ἰδεῖν καὶ θιγεῖν ἐπ'
Ilia carrying to-go often to-see and to-touch(-it) in
ἐλπίδι βεβαιοτέρᾳ τῶν τέκνων ποθήσασαν. ὅπερ οὖν οἱ
hope surer of-the children having-longed(-for) which-very then those
ταραττόμενοι καὶ μετὰ δέους ἢ πρὸς ὀργὴν πράττοντες
being-confused and with fear or in anger doing
ὁτιοῦν ἐπιεικῶς πάσχουσι, συνέπεσε παθεῖν τὸν Ἀμούλιον.
anything usually suffer it-befell to-suffer — Amulius
ἄνδρα γὰρ ἄλλῃ τε χρηστὸν καὶ τοῦ Νομήτορος φίλον ὑπὸ
a-man for otherwise both good and — of-Numitor friend in
σπουδῆς ἔπεμψε, διαπυθέσθαι τοῦ Νομήτορος κελεύσας
haste he-sent to-inquire — of-Numitor having-bidden(-him)
εἴ τις ἥκοι λόγος εἰς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων ὡς
whether any had-come report to him about the children as
περιγενομένων. ἀφικόμενος οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ θεασάμενος
having-survived having-come then the man and having-seen
ὅσον οὔπω τὸν Ῥῶμον ἐν περιβολαῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύναις
all-but not-yet — Romus in embraces and caresses

τοῦ Νομήτορος, τήν τε πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐποίησε τῆς
— of-Numitor the both confidence strong made of-the
ἐλπίδος καὶ παρεκελεύσατο τῶν πραγμάτων ὀξέως
hope and urged the affairs quickly
ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ συνῆν αὐτὸς ἤδη καὶ συνέπραττεν.
to-take-in-hand and was-with himself already and helped-to-act
ὁ δὲ καιρὸς οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ὀκνεῖν παρεῖχεν. ὁ γὰρ
the and crisis not-even to-those-wishing to-hesitate allowed — for
Ῥωμύλος ἐγγὺς ἦν ἤδη, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξέθεον οὐκ
Romulus near was already and to him ran-out not
ὀλίγοι τῶν πολιτῶν μίσει καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ Ἀμουλίου.
few of-the citizens from-hatred and from-fear — of-Amulius
Πολλὴν δὲ καὶ σὺν αὑτῷ δύναμιν ἦγε συλλελοχισμένην
much and also with himself force he-led having-been-divided
εἰς ἑκατοστύας· ἑκάστης δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀφηγεῖτο χόρτου καὶ
into hundreds of-each and a-man led of-grass and
ὕλης ἀγκαλίδα κοντῷ περικειμένην ἀνέχων· μανίπλα
brushwood bundle on-a-pole set-about holding-up manipla
ταύτας Λατῖνοι καλοῦσιν· ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς
these Latins call from that(-time) and also now in the
στρατεύμασι τούτους μανιπλαρίους ὀνομάζουσιν. ἅμα δὲ
armies these(-men) manipularii they-name at-once and
τοῦ μὲν Ῥώμου τοὺς ἐντὸς ἀφιστάντος, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου
— indeed Romus those within rousing-to-revolt — and Romulus
προσάγοντος ἔξωθεν, οὔτε πράξας οὐδὲν ὁ τύραννος
bringing(-his-men)-up from-outside neither having-done anything the tyrant
οὔτε βουλεύσας σωτήριον ἑαυτῷ, διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖν καὶ
nor having-planned saving for-himself because-of the being-at-a-loss and
ταράττεσθαι, καταληφθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. ὧν τὰ πλεῖστα
being-confused having-been-caught he-died of-which(-things) the most
καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου λέγοντος καὶ τοῦ Πεπαρηθίου Διοκλέους,
both — Fabius saying and the Peparethian Diocles

ὃς δοκεῖ πρῶτος ἐκδοῦναι Ῥώμης κτίσιν, ὕποπτον μὲν
who seems first to-have-published of-Rome founding suspected indeed
ἐνίοις ἐστὶ τὸ δραματικὸν καὶ πλασματῶδες, οὐ δεῖ
to-some is the dramatic and fictitious not it-is-needful
δὲ ἀπιστεῖν τὴν τύχην ὁρῶντας οἵων ποιημάτων
but to-disbelieve the fortune seeing of-what-sort of-poems
δημιουργός ἐστι, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα λογιζομένους
craftsman it-is and the of-Romans affairs reckoning
ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐνταῦθα προὔβη δυνάμεως, μὴ θείαν τινὰ
that not — here it-would-have-advanced in-power not divine some
ἀρχὴν λαβόντα καὶ μηδὲν μέγα μηδὲ παράδοξον ἔχουσαν.
beginning having-taken and nothing great nor marvelous having

III · THE FOUNDING

The brothers resolve to found their own city and open an asylum for runaways. They quarrel over the site and take the omen of birds: Romus sees six vultures, Romulus twelve, though some say Romulus lied. When Romulus digs the trench for the wall Romus mocks it and leaps over, and is killed. Romulus buries him, and the foster fathers who fell in the fight, and, with men from Etruria, founds the city with sacred rites, a circular trench for first-fruits, and a furrow plowed for the wall. The day was the Parilia; Tarutius cast the city's horoscope.

Ἀμουλίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων 9
Amulius and having-died and the affairs
καταστάντων, Ἄλβην μὲν οὔτ' οἰκεῖν μὴ ἄρχοντες
having-been-settled in-Alba indeed neither to-live not ruling
οὔτ' ἄρχειν ἐβούλοντο τοῦ μητροπάτορος ζῶντος,
nor to-rule they-wished the grandfather living
ἀποδόντες δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τιμὰς
having-given-back and the leadership to-him and to-the mother honors

πρεπούσας, ἔγνωσαν οἰκεῖν καθ' ἑαυτούς, πόλιν ἐν οἷς
fitting they-resolved to-live by themselves a-city in which
χωρίοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνετράφησαν κτίσαντες· αὕτη γὰρ
places from (the)-beginning they-had-been-reared having-founded this for
εὐπρεπεστάτη τῶν αἰτιῶν ἐστιν. ἦν δ' ἴσως ἀναγκαῖον,
most-fitting of-the causes is it-was but perhaps necessary
οἰκετῶν καὶ ἀποστατῶν πολλῶν ἠθροισμένων πρὸς αὐτούς,
slaves and runaways many having-been-gathered to them
ἢ καταλυθῆναι παντάπασι τούτων διασπαρέντων, ἢ
either to-be-dissolved altogether these having-been-dispersed or
συνοικεῖν ἰδίᾳ μετ' αὐτῶν. ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἠξίουν οἱ τὴν
to-dwell-together apart with them that for not thought-fit those —
Ἄλβην οἰκοῦντες ἀναμιγνύναι τοὺς ἀποστάτας ἑαυτοῖς
Alba inhabiting to-mix the runaways with-themselves
οὐδὲ προσδέχεσθαι πολίτας, ἐδήλωσε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ
nor to-receive(-them) (as)-citizens showed first indeed the
περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔργον, οὐχ ὕβρει τολμηθέν, ἀλλὰ
about the women deed not from-insolence dared but
δι' ἀνάγκην, ἑκουσίων ἀπορίᾳ γάμων· ἐτίμησαν γὰρ
through necessity of-willing from-lack of-marriages they-honored for
αὐτὰς ἁρπάσαντες περιττῶς. ἔπειτα τῆς πόλεως
them having-carried(-them)-off exceedingly then the city
τὴν πρώτην ἵδρυσιν λαμβανούσης, ἱερόν τι φύξιμον
the first founding receiving sanctuary a-certain of-refuge
τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις κατασκευάσαντες, ὃ Θεοῦ Ἀσυλαίου
for-those revolting having-prepared which of-God Asylaeus
προσηγόρευον, ἐδέχοντο πάντας, οὔτε δεσπόταις δοῦλον
they-called they-received all neither to-masters slave
οὔτε θῆτα χρήσταις οὔτ' ἄρχουσιν ἀνδροφόνον ἐκδιδόντες,
nor laborer to-creditors nor to-rulers murderer giving-up
ἀλλὰ μαντεύματι πυθοχρήστῳ πᾶσι βεβαιοῦν τὴν ἀσυλίαν
but by-oracle pythian for-all to-confirm the inviolability

φάσκοντες, ὥστε πληθῦσαι ταχὺ τὴν πόλιν· ἐπεὶ τάς
asserting so-that to-be-filled quickly the city since the
γε πρώτας ἑστίας λέγουσι τῶν χιλίων μὴ πλείονας
at-least first hearths they-say of-the thousand not more
γενέσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον. Ὁρμήσασι δὲ πρὸς τὸν
to-have-been these-things indeed then later having-set-out and to the
συνοικισμὸν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς ἦν διαφορὰ περὶ τοῦ τόπου.
founding to-them at-once there-was dispute about the place
Ῥωμύλος μὲν οὖν τὴν καλουμένην Ῥώμην κουαδράτην, ὅπερ
Romulus indeed then the called Rome quadrata which
ἐστὶ τετράγωνον, ἔκτισε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐβούλετο πολίζειν τὸν
is square founded and that wished to-make-a-city the
τόπον, Ῥῶμος δὲ χωρίον τι τοῦ Ἀβεντίνου καρτερόν, ὃ
place Romus and spot a-certain of-the Aventine strong which
δι' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὠνομάσθη Ῥεμώνιον, νῦν δὲ Ῥιγνάριον
because-of him indeed was-named Remonium now and Rignarium
καλεῖται. συνθεμένων δὲ τὴν ἔριν ὄρνισιν αἰσίοις βραβεῦσαι
is-called having-agreed and the strife by-birds auspicious to-decide
καὶ καθεζομένων χωρίς, ἕξ φασι τῷ Ῥώμῳ, διπλασίους δὲ
and sitting apart six they-say — to-Romus double and
τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ προφανῆναι γῦπας. οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν Ῥῶμον
— to-Romulus to-have-appeared vultures the(-others) and — indeed Romus
ἀληθῶς ἰδεῖν, ψεύσασθαι δὲ τὸν Ῥωμύλον· ἐλθόντος δὲ
truly to-have-seen to-have-lied and — Romulus having-come and
τοῦ Ῥώμου, τότε τοὺς δώδεκα τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ φανῆναι, διὸ
— Romus then the twelve — to-Romulus to-have-appeared wherefore
καὶ νῦν μάλιστα χρῆσθαι γυψὶ Ῥωμαίους οἰωνιζομένους.
also now most to-use vultures Romans taking-omens
Ἡρόδωρος δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα χαίρειν
Herodorus but the of-Pontus records also — Heracles to-rejoice
γυπὸς ἐπὶ πράξει φανέντος. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ἀβλαβέστατον
vulture at deed having-appeared is indeed for most-harmless

ζῴων ἁπάντων, μηδὲν ὧν σπείρουσιν ἢ φυτεύουσιν
of-creatures all none of-what sow or plant
ἢ νέμουσιν ἄνθρωποι σινόμενον, τρέφεται δὲ ἀπὸ νεκρῶν
or pasture men harming it-feeds and from dead
σωμάτων, ἀποκτίννυσι δ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ λυμαίνεται ψυχὴν ἔχον,
bodies kills and nothing nor injures soul having
πτηνοῖς δὲ διὰ συγγένειαν οὐδὲ νεκροῖς πρόσεισιν.
to-the-winged and because-of kinship not-even dead(-ones) it-approaches
ἀετοὶ δὲ καὶ γλαῦκες καὶ ἱέρακες ζῶντα κόπτουσι τὰ
eagles and and owls and hawks living strike the(-ones)
ὁμόφυλα καὶ φονεύουσι· καίτοι κατ' Αἰσχύλον·
of-the-same-tribe and slaughter(-them) and-yet according-to Aeschylus

Ὄρνιθος ὄρνις πῶς ἂν ἁγνεύοι φαγών;
Of-bird bird how — could-it-be-pure having-eaten

ἔτι τἆλλα μὲν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀναστρέφεται
further the-others indeed in eyes as word to-say move-about
καὶ παρέχει διὰ παντὸς αἴσθησιν ἑαυτῶν· ὁ δὲ γὺψ
and give through all perception of-themselves the but vulture
σπάνιόν ἐστι θέαμα καὶ νεοσσοῖς γυπὸς οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἴσμεν
rare is sight and with-young of-vulture not easily we-know
ἐντετυχηκότες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρέσχεν ἐνίοις ἄτοπον ὑπόνοιαν,
having-met but even it-gave to-some strange suspicion
ἔξωθεν αὐτοὺς ἀφ' ἑτέρας τινὸς γῆς καταίρειν ἐνταῦθα, τὸ
from-outside them from other some land to-fly-down here the
σπάνιον καὶ μὴ συνεχές, οἷον οἱ μάντεις ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι τὸ
rarity and not continuous such the seers think-fit to-be the(-thing)
μὴ κατὰ φύσιν μηδ' ἀφ' αὑτοῦ, πομπῇ δὲ θείᾳ φαινόμενον.
not according-to nature nor from itself by-sending but divine appearing

Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἔγνω τὴν ἀπάτην ὁ Ῥῶμος, ἐχαλέπαινε, καὶ 10
when and knew the deceit — Romus he-was-angry and
τοῦ Ῥωμύλου τάφρον ὀρύττοντος ᾗ τὸ τεῖχος ἔμελλε
— Romulus trench digging where the wall was-to
κυκλοῦσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐχλεύαζε τῶν ἔργων, τοῖς
be-encircled the(-ones) indeed he-mocked of-the works to-the(-others)
δ’ ἐμποδὼν ἐγένετο. τέλος δὲ διαλλόμενον αὐτὸν οἱ
but in-the-way he-got at-last and leaping-across him the(-ones)
μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥωμύλου πατάξαντος, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἑταίρων
indeed himself Romulus having-struck the(-others) and of-the companions
τινὸς Κέλερος, ἐνταῦθα πεσεῖν λέγουσιν. ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ
a-certain Celer there to-have-fallen say fell and also
Φαυστύλος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Πλειστῖνος, ὃν ἀδελφὸν
Faustulus in the battle and Pleistinus whom brother
ὄντα Φαυστύλου συνεκθρέψαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον
being of-Faustulus to-have-helped-rear the(-twins) around — Romulus
ἱστοροῦσιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κέλερ εἰς Τυρρηνίαν μετέστη καὶ ἀπ’
they-record — indeed then Celer to Tyrrhenia moved and from
ἐκείνου τοὺς ταχεῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὀξεῖς κέλερας ὀνομάζουσι·
him the swift the Romans and quick celeres name
καὶ Κόϊντον Μέτελλον, ὅτι τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποθανόντος
and Quintus Metellus because the father having-died
ἀγῶνα μονομάχων ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις ἐποίησε, θαυμάσαντες
contest of-gladiators in-days few he-held having-wondered-at
τὸ τάχος τῆς παρασκευῆς Κέλερα προσηγόρευσαν.
the speed of-the preparation Celer they-called(-him)
Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐν τῇ Ῥεμωνίᾳ θάψας τὸν Ῥῶμον 11
— and Romulus in — Remonia having-buried — Romus
ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς τροφεῖς, ᾤκιζε τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ Τυρρηνίας
together and the foster-fathers founded the city from Tyrrhenia
μεταπεμψάμενος ἄνδρας ἱεροῖς τισι θεσμοῖς καὶ γράμμασιν
having-sent-for men with-sacred some ordinances and writings

ὑφηγουμένους ἕκαστα καὶ διδάσκοντας ὥσπερ ἐν τελετῇ.
guiding each(-thing) and teaching as in a-rite
βόθρος γὰρ ὠρύγη περὶ τὸ νῦν Κομίτιον κυκλοτερής,
pit for was-dug about the now Comitium circular
ἀπαρχαί τε πάντων, ὅσοις νόμῳ μὲν ὡς καλοῖς ἐχρῶντο,
first-fruits both of-all whatever by-custom indeed as good they-used
φύσει δ' ὡς ἀναγκαίοις, ἀπετέθησαν ἐνταῦθα. καὶ τέλος,
by-nature and as necessary were-deposited there and at-last
ἐξ ἧς ἀφῖκτο γῆς ἕκαστος ὀλίγην κομίζων μοῖραν,
from what had-come land each a-little bringing portion
ἔβαλλον εἰς ταῦτα καὶ συνεμίγνυον. καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν βόθρον
they-threw into these and mixed-together they-call and the pit
τοῦτον ᾧ καὶ τὸν ὄλυμπον ὀνόματι μοῦνδον. εἶτα ὥσπερ
this by-which also the heaven by-name mundus then as
κύκλον κέντρῳ περιέγραψαν τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δ' οἰκιστὴς
circle from-center they-drew-round the city the and founder
ἐμβαλὼν ἀρότρῳ χαλκῆν ὖνιν, ὑποζεύξας δὲ βοῦν ἄρρενα
having-fitted to-plow bronze share having-yoked and ox male
καὶ θήλειαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπάγει περιελαύνων αὔλακα βαθεῖαν
and female himself indeed draws driving-around furrow deep
τοῖς τέρμασι, τῶν δ' ἑπομένων ἔργον ἐστίν, ἃς ἀνίστησι
at-the boundaries of-those and following task it-is what raises
βώλους τὸ ἄροτρον καταστρέφειν εἴσω, καὶ μηδεμίαν
clods the plow to-turn-back inward and none
ἔξω περιορᾶν ἐκτρεπομένην. τῇ μὲν οὖν γραμμῇ τὸ
outside to-allow turning-aside by-the indeed then line the
τεῖχος ἀφορίζουσι καὶ καλεῖται κατὰ συγκοπὴν πωμήριον,
wall they-mark-out and it-is-called by syncope pomerium
οἷον ὄπισθεν τείχους ἢ μετὰ τεῖχος· ὅπου δὲ πύλην
as behind wall or after wall where and gate
ἐμβαλεῖν διανοοῦνται, τὴν ὖνιν ἐξελόντες καὶ τὸ ἄροτρον
to-put-in they-intend the share having-taken-out and the plow

ὑπερθέντες διάλειμμα ποιοῦσιν. ὅθεν ἅπαν τὸ τεῖχος ἱερὸν
having-lifted-over interval they-make whence all the wall sacred
πλὴν τῶν πυλῶν νομίζουσι· τὰς δὲ πύλας ἱερὰς νομίζοντας
except the gates they-consider the and gates sacred considering
οὐκ ἦν ἄνευ δεισιδαιμονίας τὰ μὲν δέχεσθαι, τὰ
not it-was without religious-scruple the(-ones) indeed to-receive the(-others)
δ' ἀποπέμπειν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ μὴ καθαρῶν.
and to-send-out of-the necessary(-things) and not pure
Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ κτίσις ἡμέρᾳ γένοιτο τῇ πρὸ ἕνδεκα 12
that indeed then the founding on-day took-place the before eleven
καλανδῶν Μαΐων ὁμολογεῖται· καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην
calends of-May is-agreed and the day this
ἑορτάζουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, γενέθλιον τῆς πατρίδος ὀνομάζοντες.
keep-festival Romans birthday of-the fatherland naming
ἐν ἀρχῇ δ', ὥς φασιν, οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον ἔθυον, ἀλλὰ
in beginning and as they-say nothing living they-sacrificed but
καθαρὰν καὶ ἀναίμακτον ᾠοντο δεῖν τῇ πατρίδι τὴν
pure and bloodless they-thought it-needful for-the fatherland the
ἐπώνυμον τῆς γενέσεως ἑορτὴν φυλάττειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
named of-the birth festival to-keep not indeed but
καὶ πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως βοτηρική τις ἦν αὐτοῖς ἑορτὴ κατὰ
also before the founding pastoral a-certain was for-them festival on
ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ Παρίλια προσηγόρευον αὐτήν. νῦν
this the day and Parilia they-called it now
μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αἱ Ῥωμαϊκαὶ νουμηνίαι πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς
indeed then nothing the Roman new-moons with the Greek
ὁμολογούμενον ἔχουσιν· ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν, ᾗ τὴν
agreeing have that but the day on-which the
πόλιν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἔκτιζεν, ἀτρεκῆ τριακάδα τυχεῖν
city — Romulus founded exact thirtieth to-have-fallen
λέγουσι· καὶ σύνοδον ἐκλειπτικὴν ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι
they-say and conjunction eclipsing in it to-have-taken-place

σελήνης πρὸς ἥλιον, ἣν εἰδέναι καὶ Ἀντίμαχον οἴονται,
of-moon with sun which to-have-known also Antimachus they-think
τὸν Τήϊον ἐποποιόν, ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς ἕκτης ὀλυμπιάδος
the Teian epic-poet in-year third of-the sixth olympiad
συμπεσοῦσαν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ Βάρρωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον
having-occurred in and the in Varro the philosopher
χρόνοις, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ἐν ἱστορίᾳ βιβλιακώτατον, ἦν
times a-man of-Romans in history most-bookish there-was
Ταρούτιος ἑταῖρος αὐτοῦ, φιλόσοφος μὲν ἄλλως καὶ
Tarutius companion of-him philosopher indeed besides and
μαθηματικός, ἁπτόμενος δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν πίνακα μεθόδου
mathematician engaging-in and the about the table method
θεωρίας ἕνεκα καὶ δοκῶν ἐν αὐτῇ περιττὸς εἶναι. τούτῳ
of-speculation for-the-sake and seeming in it extraordinary to-be to-him
προὔβαλεν ὁ Βάρρων ἀναγαγεῖν τὴν Ῥωμύλου γένεσιν
proposed — Varro to-trace-back the of-Romulus birth
εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ ὥραν, ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων ἀποτελεσμάτων
to day and hour from the said influences
περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ποιησάμενον τὸν συλλογισμόν, ὥσπερ αἱ
about the man having-made the reckoning as the
τῶν γεωμετρικῶν ὑφηγοῦνται προβλημάτων ἀναλύσεις· τῆς
of-the geometric lay-down problems analyses of-the
γὰρ αὐτῆς θεωρίας εἶναι χρόνον τε λαβόντας ἀνθρώπου
for same speculation to-be time both having-taken of-man
γενέσεως βίον προειπεῖν καὶ βίῳ δοθέντι θηρεῦσαι χρόνον.
of-birth life to-foretell and from-life given to-hunt-out time
ἐποίησεν οὖν τὸ προσταχθὲν ὁ Ταρούτιος, καὶ τά τε
he-did then the thing-ordered — Tarutius and the both
πάθη καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδὼν καὶ χρόνον ζωῆς
fortunes and the deeds of-the man having-surveyed and time of-life
καὶ τρόπον τελευτῆς καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα συνθείς,
and manner of-death and all the such(-things) having-put-together

εὖ μάλα τεθαρρηκότως καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀπεφήνατο τὴν
well very confidently and boldly declared the
μὲν ἐν τῇ μητρὶ γεγονέναι τοῦ Ῥωμύλου σύλληψιν
indeed in the mother to-have-taken-place — of-Romulus conception
ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐν μηνὶ κατ᾽
in-year first of-the second olympiad in month according-to
Αἰγυπτίους Χοιάκ, τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι, τρίτης ὥρας, καθ᾽
Egyptians Choeac on-third and twentieth at-third hour in
ἣν ὁ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπε παντελῶς· τὴν δ᾽ ἐμφανῆ γένεσιν
which the sun was-eclipsed totally the and visible birth
ἐν μηνὶ Θωύθ, ἡμέρᾳ πρώτῃ μετ᾽ εἰκάδα, περὶ ἡλίου
in month Thoth on-day first after twentieth about of-sun
ἀνατολάς· κτισθῆναι δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῇ
rising to-have-been-founded and — Rome by him on-the
ἐνάτῃ Φαρμουθὶ μηνὸς ἱσταμένου, μεταξὺ δευτέρας ὥρας
ninth in-Pharmuthi of-month beginning between second hour
καὶ τρίτης· ἐπεὶ καὶ πόλεως τύχην, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου,
and third since also of-city fortune as of-man
κύριον ἔχειν οἴονται χρόνον, ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως
decisive to-have they-think time from the first birth
πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων ἐποχὰς θεωρούμενον. ἀλλὰ
in-relation-to the of-the stars positions considered but
ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῷ ξένῳ καὶ περιττῷ
these-things indeed perhaps and the such(-things) by-the strange and extraordinary
προσάξεται μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐνοχλήσει τοὺς
will-attract more than through the fabulous will-annoy those
ἐντυγχάνοντας αὐτοῖς.
meeting-with them

Romulus divides the fighting men into legions, chooses a hundred patricians as senators, and binds the many to the powerful as clients. To find wives for his men he proclaims a festival of Consus and seizes the Sabine maidens; Hersilia is taken for Romulus or Hostilius. Plutarch explains the cry Talasius and the Roman wedding customs it left. Acron, king of the Caeninenses, attacks and is slain by Romulus in single combat; Romulus dedicates his spoils to Feretrian Zeus in the first triumph.

13 Κτισθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως πρῶτον μὲν ὅσον ἦν
having-been-founded and the city first indeed as-much-as was
ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πλῆθος εἰς συντάγματα στρατιωτικὰ διεῖλεν·
in age multitude into units military he-divided
ἕκαστον δὲ σύνταγμα πεζῶν τρισχιλίων ἦν καὶ τριακοσίων
each and unit of-foot three-thousand was and three-hundred
ἱππέων. ἐκλήθη δὲ λεγεὼν τῷ λογάδας εἶναι τοὺς
horsemen was-called and legion because-of-the picked to-be the
μαχίμους ἐκ πάντων. ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐχρῆτο
fighters out-of all then the indeed others he-used
δήμῳ καὶ ποπούλους ὠνομάσθη τὸ πλῆθος· ἑκατὸν
(as)-people and populus was-named the multitude a-hundred
δὲ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀπέδειξε βουλευτάς, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν
and the best he-appointed senators and them indeed
πατρικίους, τὸ δὲ σύστημα σενᾶτον προσηγόρευσεν. ὁ
patricians the and body senate he-called the
μὲν οὖν σενᾶτος ἀτρεκῶς γερουσίαν σημαίνει· πατρικίους
indeed then senate exactly council-of-elders means patricians
δὲ τοὺς βουλευτὰς κληθῆναι λέγουσιν οἱ μὲν ὅτι
and the senators to-have-been-called say the(-ones) indeed because
παίδων γνησίων πατέρες ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς
of-children legitimate fathers they-were the(-others) and rather as
αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἑαυτῶν ἀποδεῖξαι πατέρας, ὅπερ οὐ
themselves being-able of-themselves to-show fathers which not

πολλοῖς ὑπῆρξε τῶν πρώτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν συρρεόντων·
to-many belonged of-the first into the city flowing-together
οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πατρωνείας. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκάλουν τὴν
the(-others) and from the patronage so for they-called the
προστασίαν καὶ καλοῦσιν ἄχρι νῦν, οἰόμενοι Πάτρωνά
protection and call until now thinking Patron
τινα τῶν σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ παραγενομένων, κηδεμονικὸν
a-certain of-those with Evander having-come protective
τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων ὄντα καὶ βοηθητικόν, ἀφ' αὑτοῦ τῷ
of-the weaker being and helpful from himself to-the
πράγματι ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπολιπεῖν. μάλιστα δ'
thing this the name to-have-left most but
ἄν τις τυγχάνοι τοῦ εἰκότος, εἰ νομίζοι τὸν Ῥωμύλον
— one would-hit-upon the probable if he-should-think — Romulus
ἀξιοῦντα τοὺς πρώτους καὶ δυνατωτάτους πατρικῇ
thinking-it-right the first and most-powerful with-fatherly
κηδεμονίᾳ καὶ φροντίδι προσήκειν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν
care and thought to-befit to-take-care-of the
ταπεινοτέρων, ἅμα δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους διδάσκοντα μὴ δεδιέναι
humbler at-once and the others teaching not to-fear
μηδ' ἄχθεσθαι ταῖς τῶν κρειττόνων τιμαῖς, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι
nor to-be-vexed at-the of-the stronger honors but to-treat(-them)
μετ' εὐνοίας καὶ νομίζοντας καὶ προσαγορεύοντας πατέρας,
with goodwill and considering and calling(-them) fathers
οὕτως ὀνομάσαι. καὶ γὰρ ἄχρι νῦν τοὺς ἐν συγκλήτῳ
so to-have-named(-them) and for until now those in senate
τελοῦντας οἱ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἄνδρας ἡγεμόνας καλοῦσιν,
enrolled the(-ones) indeed from-outside men leaders call
αὐτοὶ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πατέρας συγγεγραμμένους, τῷ
themselves and Romans fathers conscript with-the(-one)
μέγιστον μὲν ἀξίωμα καὶ τιμήν, ἥκιστα δὲ φθόνον ἔχοντι
greatest indeed dignity and honor least and envy having

χρώμενοι τῶν ὀνομάτων. ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν οὖν πατέρας
using of-the names in beginning indeed then fathers
αὐτοὺς μόνον, ὕστερον δὲ πλειόνων προσαναλαμβανομένων,
them only later but more being-added
πατέρας συγγεγραμμένους προσηγόρευσαν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν
fathers conscript they-called and this indeed
ἦν ὄνομα σεμνότερον αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν τοῦ
was name more-dignified for-him of-the toward the popular of-the
βουλευτικοῦ διαφορᾶς· ἑτέροις δὲ τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἀπὸ
senatorial difference by-other(-means) and the powerful from
τῶν πολλῶν διῄρει, πάτρωνας ὀνομάζων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ
the many he-separated patrons naming which is
προστάτας, ἐκείνους δὲ κλίεντας, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πελάτας· ἅμα
protectors those and clients which is dependents at-once
δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θαυμαστὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτοῖς καὶ μεγάλων
and toward one-another wonderful goodwill for-them and of-great
δικαίων ὑπάρξουσαν ἐνεποίησεν. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγητάς
rights going-to-be-the-source he-engendered these indeed for expounders
τε τῶν νομίμων καὶ προστάτας δικαζομένοις συμβούλους
both of-the customs and protectors for-those-at-law counselors
τε πάντων καὶ κηδεμόνας ἑαυτοὺς παρεῖχον, ἐκεῖνοι
both of-all and guardians themselves offered those
δὲ τούτους ἐθεράπευον οὐ μόνον τιμῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ
and these served not only honoring(-them) but also
πενομένοις θυγατέρας συνεκδιδόντες καὶ χρέα συνεκτίνοντες.
being-poor daughters helping-to-dower and debts helping-to-pay
καταμαρτυρεῖν τε πελάτου προστάτην, ἢ προστάτου
to-bear-witness-against both client patron or patron
πελάτην, οὔτε νόμος οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἄρχων ἠνάγκαζεν. ὕστερον
client neither law any nor magistrate compelled later
δέ, τῶν ἄλλων δικαίων μενόντων, τὸ λαμβάνειν χρήματα
and the other rights remaining the to-take money

τοὺς δυνατοὺς παρὰ τῶν ταπεινοτέρων αἰσχρὸν ἐνομίσθη
the powerful from the humbler shameful was-thought
καὶ ἀγεννές. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων.
and ignoble these-things indeed then about these(-matters)
Τετάρτῳ δὲ μηνὶ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν, ὡς Φάβιος ἱστορεῖ, 14
in-fourth and month after the founding as Fabius records
τὸ περὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν ἐτολμήθη τῶν γυναικῶν.
the(-deed) about the rape was-dared of-the women
καὶ λέγουσι μὲν ἔνιοι τὸν Ῥωμύλον αὐτὸν τῇ φύσει
and say indeed some — Romulus himself by-the nature
φιλοπόλεμον ὄντα, καὶ πεπεισμένον ἔκ τινων ἄρα λογίων
warlike being and persuaded from some then oracles
ὅτι τὴν Ῥώμην πέπρωται πολέμοις τρεφομένην καὶ
that — Rome is-fated by-wars nourished and
αὐξομένην γενέσθαι μεγίστην, βίας ὑπάρξαι πρὸς
increased to-become greatest of-violence to-have-begun(-with) against
τοὺς Σαβίνους· οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλάς, ἀλλὰ τριάκοντα μόνας
the Sabines not for many but thirty only
παρθένους λαβεῖν αὐτόν, ἅτε δὴ πολέμου μᾶλλον
maidens to-have-taken him as indeed of-war rather
ἢ γάμων δεόμενον. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εἰκός· ἀλλὰ τὴν
than of-marriages needing this but not likely but the
μὲν πόλιν ὁρῶν ἐποίκων εὐθὺς ἐμπιπλαμένην, ὧν
indeed city seeing with-settlers at-once being-filled of-whom
ὀλίγοι γυναῖκας εἶχον, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ μιγάδες ἐξ ἀπόρων
few wives had the and many mixed-folk from destitute
καὶ ἀφανῶν ὄντες ὑπερεωρῶντο καὶ προσεδοκῶντο μὴ
and obscure(-men) being were-despised and were-expected not
συμμενεῖν βεβαίως, ἐλπίζων δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Σαβίνους
to-hold-together firmly hoping and toward the Sabines
τρόπον τινὰ συγκράσεως καὶ κοινωνίας ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς τὸ
manner a-certain of-blending and of-partnership beginning for-them the

ἀδίκημα ποιήσειν ἡμερωσαμένοις τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐπεχείρησε
wrong to-make having-tamed the women he-attempted
τῷ ἔργῳ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. διεδόθη λόγος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ
the deed this the manner was-spread report by him
πρῶτον ὡς θεοῦ τινος ἀνευρήκοι βωμὸν ὑπὸ γῆς
first that of-god a-certain he-had-discovered altar under earth
κεκρυμμένον. ὠνόμαζον δὲ τὸν θεὸν Κῶνσον, εἴτε βουλαῖον
hidden they-named and the god Consus either of-counsel
ὄντα (κωνσίλιον γὰρ ἔτι νῦν τὸ συμβούλιον καλοῦσι, καὶ
being consilium for still now the council they-call and
τοὺς ὑπάτους κωνσούλας, οἷον προβούλους), εἴτε ἵππιον
the consuls consules as-it-were counselors or equestrian
Ποσειδῶ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ βωμὸς ἐν τῷ μείζονι τῶν ἱπποδρόμων
Poseidon and for the altar in the greater of-the hippodromes
ἔστιν, ἀφανὴς τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱππικοῖς
is invisible the other time in and the equestrian
ἀγῶσιν ἀνακαλυπτόμενος. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅλως φασὶ τοῦ
contests uncovered the(-others) and even altogether say of-the
βουλεύματος ἀπορρήτου καὶ ἀφανοῦς ὄντος ὑπόγειον οὐκ
counsel secret and invisible being underground not
ἀλόγως τῷ θεῷ βωμὸν γενέσθαι καὶ κεκρυμμένον. ὡς
unreasonably for-the god altar to-have-been and hidden when
δ᾽ ἀνεφάνη, θυσίαν τε λαμπρὰν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγῶνα καὶ
and it-appeared sacrifice both splendid on it and contest and
θέαν ἐκ καταγγελίας ἐπετέλει πανηγυρικήν. καὶ πολλοὶ
spectacle from proclamation he-held festal and many
μὲν ἄνθρωποι συνῆλθον, αὐτὸς δὲ προὐκάθητο μετὰ τῶν
indeed men came-together himself and sat-in-front with the
ἀρίστων ἁλουργίδι κεκοσμημένος. ἦν δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ
best(-men) in-purple adorned it-was and of-the moment
τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως σύμβολον ἐξαναστάντα τὴν ἁλουργίδα
of-the attempt (the)-sign having-risen-up the purple

πτύξαι καὶ περιβαλέσθαι πάλιν. ἔχοντες οὖν ξίφη πολλοὶ
to-fold and to-throw-about(-himself) again having then swords many
προσεῖχον αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῦ σημείου γενομένου σπασάμενοι
attended to-him and the sign having-been-given having-drawn
τὰ ξίφη καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ὁρμήσαντες ἥρπαζον τὰς θυγατέρας
the swords and with shout having-rushed seized the daughters
τῶν Σαβίνων, αὐτοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας εἴων καὶ παρίεσαν.
of-the Sabines them but fleeing let and let-pass
ἁρπασθῆναι δέ φασιν οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα μόνας, ἀφ' ὧν
to-have-been-seized and say the(-ones) indeed thirty only from whom
καὶ τὰς φρατρίας ὀνομασθῆναι, Οὐαλλέριος δὲ Ἀντίας ἑπτὰ
also the curiae to-have-been-named Valerius but Antias seven
καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακοσίας, Ἰόβας δὲ τρεῖς καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα
and twenty and five-hundred Juba and three and eighty
καὶ ἑξακοσίας παρθένους· ὃ μέγιστον ἦν ἀπολόγημα τῷ
and six-hundred maidens which greatest was defense —
Ῥωμύλῳ· γυναῖκα γὰρ οὐ λαβεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ μίαν Ἐρσιλίαν,
for-Romulus wife for not to-have-taken but than one Hersilia
διαλαθοῦσαν αὐτούς, ἅτε δὴ μὴ μεθ' ὕβρεως μηδ' ἀδικίας
escaping-notice them as indeed not with insolence nor wrong
ἐλθόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἁρπαγήν, ἀλλὰ συμμῖξαι καὶ συναγαγεῖν
having-come to the rape but to-mix and to-bring-together
εἰς ταὐτὸ τὰ γένη ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀνάγκαις διανοηθέντας.
into the-same the races by-the greatest necessities intending
τὴν δ' Ἐρσιλίαν οἱ μὲν Ὁστίλιον γῆμαι λέγουσιν,
— but Hersilia the(-ones) indeed Hostilius to-have-married say
ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφανέστατον, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Ῥωμύλον,
man of-Romans most-distinguished the(-others) and himself Romulus
καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ παῖδας αὐτῷ, μίαν μὲν θυγατέρα
and to-have-been-born also children to-him one indeed daughter
Πρίμαν, τῇ τάξει τῆς γενέσεως οὕτω προσαγορευθεῖσαν,
Prima from-the order of-the birth so called

ἕνα δ' υἱὸν μόνον, ὃν Ἀόλλιον μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ τῆς
one and son only whom Aollius indeed that(-man) from the
γενομένης ἀθροίσεως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν πολιτῶν ὠνόμασεν,
having-taken-place gathering by him of-the citizens named
οἱ δ' ὕστερον Ἀβίλλιον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἱστορῶν
the(-others) and later Avillius but these-things indeed recording
Ζηνόδοτος ὁ Τροιζήνιος πολλοὺς ἔχει τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας.
Zenodotus the Troezenian many has the gainsayers
15 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἁρπάζουσι τὰς παρθένους τότε τυχεῖν
among and those carrying-off the maidens then to-have-happened
λέγουσι τῶν οὐκ ἐπιφανῶν τινας ἄγοντας κόρην τῷ
they-say of-the not distinguished some leading girl in-the
τε κάλλει πολὺ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει διαφέρουσαν. ἐπεὶ δ'
both beauty much and in-the stature excelling when and
ἀπαντῶντες ἔνιοι τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπεχείρουν ἁφαιρεῖσθαι,
meeting(-them) some of-the stronger tried to-take(-her)-away
βοᾶν τοὺς ἄγοντας ὡς Ταλασίῳ κομίζοιεν αὐτήν,
to-shout the(-men) leading(-her) that to-Talasius they-were-bringing her
ἀνδρὶ νέῳ μέν, εὐδοκίμῳ δὲ καὶ χρηστῷ· τοῦτ' οὖν
a-man young indeed of-good-repute and and worthy this then
ἀκούσαντας εὐφημεῖν καὶ κροτεῖν ἐπαινοῦντας, ἐνίους δὲ
having-heard to-cheer and to-clap applauding some and
καὶ παρακολουθεῖν ἀναστρέψαντας εὐνοίᾳ καὶ χάριτι
even to-follow having-turned-back from-goodwill and favor
τοῦ Ταλασίου, μετὰ βοῆς τοὔνομα φθεγγομένους. ἀφ' οὗ
— to-Talasius with shout the-name uttering from which
δὴ τὸν Ταλάσιον ἄχρι νῦν, ὡς Ἕλληνες τὸν Ὑμέναιον,
indeed — Talasius until now as Greeks — Hymenaeus
ἐπᾴδουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς γάμοις· καὶ γὰρ εὐτυχίᾳ φασὶ
sing Romans at-the weddings and for good-fortune they-say
χρήσασθαι περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὸν Ταλάσιον. Σέξτιος δὲ
to-have-had about the wife — Talasius Sextius and

Σύλλας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος, οὔτε μουσῶν οὔτε χαρίτων
Sulla the Carthaginian neither of-Muses nor of-Graces
ἐπιδεὴς ἀνήρ, ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν ὅτι τῆς ἁρπαγῆς σύνθημα
lacking man told us that of-the rape (as)-watchword
τὴν φωνὴν ἔδωκε ταύτην ὁ Ῥωμύλος. ἅπαντες οὖν τὸν
the cry gave this — Romulus all then —
Ταλάσιον ἐβόων οἱ τὰς παρθένους κομίζοντες· καὶ διὰ
Talasius shouted those the maidens carrying and because-of
τοῦτο τοῖς γάμοις παραμένει τὸ ἔθος. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι
this at-the weddings remains the custom the but most
νομίζουσιν, ὧν καὶ Ἰόβας ἐστί, παράκλησιν εἶναι καὶ
think of-whom also Juba is (it)-exhortation to-be and
παρακέλευσιν εἰς φιλεργίαν καὶ ταλασίαν, οὔπω τότε τοῖς
encouragement to industry and wool-spinning not-yet then with-the
Ἑλληνικοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐπικεχυμένων. εἰ δὲ
Greek words the Italian having-been-overwhelmed if and
τοῦτο μὴ λέγεται κακῶς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐχρῶντο Ῥωμαῖοι τότε τῷ
this not is-said badly but used Romans then the
ὀνόματι τῆς ταλασίας, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, ἑτέραν ἄν τις αἰτίαν
word of-the talasia as we another — one cause
εἰκάσειε πιθανωτέραν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Σαβῖνοι πρὸς τοὺς
might-conjecture more-plausible when for the Sabines against the
Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσαντες διηλλάγησαν, ἐγένοντο συνθῆκαι
Romans having-warred were-reconciled there-were covenants
περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον τοῖς ἀνδράσιν
about the women that no other work for-the husbands
ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν ταλασίαν ὑπουργῶσι. παρέμεινεν οὖν
than the(-things) about the wool-spinning they-should-perform remained then
καὶ τοῖς αὖθις γαμοῦσι τοὺς διδόντας ἢ παραπέμποντας
also for-those afterward marrying those giving-away or escorting
ἢ ὅλως παρόντας, ἀναφωνεῖν τὸν Ταλάσιον μετὰ παιδιᾶς,
or at-all present to-cry-out — Talasius with sport

μαρτυρομένους ὡς ἐπ᾽ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὑπούργημα τῆς γυναικὸς
bearing-witness that for no other service the woman
ἢ ταλασίαν εἰσαγομένης. διαμένει δὲ μέχρι νῦν τὸ τὴν
than wool-spinning being-brought-in remains and until now the the
νύμφην αὐτὴν ἀφ᾽ αὑτῆς μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν τὸν οὐδὸν εἰς τὸ
bride herself of herself not to-step-over the threshold into the
δωμάτιον, ἀλλ᾽ αἰρομένην εἰσφέρεσθαι, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε
chamber but being-lifted to-be-carried-in because-of the also then
κομισθῆναι βιασθείσας, μὴ εἰσελθεῖν. ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι
to-have-been-carried having-been-forced not to-have-gone-in some and say
καὶ τὸ τὴν κόμην τῆς γαμουμένης αἰχμῇ διακρίνεσθαι
also the the hair of-the bride with-point to-be-parted
δορατίου σύμβολον εἶναι τοῦ μετὰ μάχης καὶ πολεμικῶς
of-spear token to-be of-the with battle and warlike
τὸν πρῶτον γάμον γενέσθαι· περὶ ὧν ἐπὶ πλέον
the first marriage to-have-taken-place about which(-things) at more-length
ἐν τοῖς Αἰτίοις εἰρήκαμεν. ἐτολμήθη μὲν οὖν ἡ ἁρπαγὴ
in the Causes we-have-spoken was-dared indeed then the rape
περὶ τὴν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην ἡμέραν τοῦ τότε μὲν Σεξτιλίου
about the eighteenth day of-the then indeed Sextilis
μηνός, Αὐγούστου δὲ νῦν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν τῶν Κωνσαλίων
month August but now on which the of-the Consualia
ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν.
festival they-hold

16 Οἱ δὲ Σαβῖνοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν καὶ πολεμικοί, κώμας δὲ
the and Sabines numerous indeed were and warlike villages and
ᾤκουν ἀτειχίστους, ὡς προσῆκον αὐτοῖς μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ
inhabited unwalled as befitting for-them great to-think and
μὴ φοβεῖσθαι, Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκοις οὖσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽
not to-fear of-Lacedaemonians colonists being not indeed but
ὁρῶντες αὐτοὺς ἐνδεδεμένους μεγάλοις ὁμηρεύμασι, καὶ
seeing themselves bound by-great hostages and

δεδιότες περὶ τῶν θυγατέρων, πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν ἐπιεικῆ
fearing for the daughters envoys sent reasonable
καὶ μέτρια προκαλούμενοι, τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀποδόντα τὰς
and moderate(-terms) proposing(-to) — Romulus giving-back the
κόρας αὐτοῖς καὶ λύσαντα τὸ τῆς βίας ἔργον, εἶτα πειθοῖ
girls to-them and undoing the of-the violence deed then by-persuasion
καὶ νόμῳ πράττειν τοῖς γένεσι φιλίαν καὶ οἰκειότητα. τοῦ
and law to-establish for-the peoples friendship and kinship —
δὲ Ῥωμύλου τὰς μὲν κόρας μὴ προιεμένου, παρακαλοῦντος
and Romulus the indeed girls not giving-up inviting
δὲ τὴν κοινωνίαν δέχεσθαι τοὺς Σαβίνους, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
and the partnership to-accept the Sabines the indeed others
βουλευόμενοι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι διέτριβον, Ἄκρων δὲ
deliberating and preparing were-spending-time Acron but
βασιλεὺς Κενινητῶν, ἀνὴρ θυμοειδὴς καὶ δεινὸς ἐν τοῖς
king of-Caeninenses a-man spirited and formidable in the
πολεμικοῖς, τά τε πρῶτα τολμήματα τοῦ Ῥωμύλου δι'
warlike(-matters) the both first daring-deeds — of-Romulus with
ὑποψίας εἶχε, καὶ τῷ πραχθέντι περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
suspicion held and by-the(-deed) done about the women
ἤδη φοβερὸν ἡγούμενος πᾶσιν εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτόν,
already fearful thinking(-him) to-all to-be and not tolerable
εἰ μὴ κολασθείη, προεξανέστη τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ μετὰ
if not he-should-be-punished rose-up-first to-the war and with
πολλῆς ἐχώρει δυνάμεως ἐπ' αὐτόν· καὶ ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπ'
great advanced force against him and — Romulus against
ἐκεῖνον. γενόμενοι δ' ἐν ὄψει καὶ κατιδόντες ἀλλήλους
him having-come and into sight and having-seen each-other
προὐκαλοῦντο μάχεσθαι, τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις
challenged(-each-other) to-fight the armies in the arms
ἀτρεμούντων. εὐξάμενος οὖν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, εἰ κρατήσειε καὶ
keeping-still having-prayed then — Romulus if he-should-prevail and

καταβάλοι, τῷ Διὶ φέρων ἀναθήσειν αὐτὸς τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ
overthrow(-him) — to-Zeus carrying to-dedicate himself the arms of-the
ἀνδρός, αὐτόν τε καταβάλλει κρατήσας καὶ τρέπεται τὸ
man him both he-overthrows having-prevailed and routs the
στράτευμα μάχης γενομένης, αἱρεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν· οὐ
army battle having-taken-place he-takes and also the city not
μὴν ἠδίκησε τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τὰς οἰκίας
indeed he-wronged those caught-within but than the houses
ἐκέλευσε καθελόντας ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς Ῥώμην, ὡς πολίτας
he-ordered having-pulled-down to-follow to Rome as citizens
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἐσομένους. τούτου μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν
on the equal(-terms) going-to-be than-this indeed then not there-is
ὅ τι μᾶλλον ηὔξησε τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀεὶ προσποιοῦσαν
what ever more increased — Rome always attaching
ἑαυτῇ καὶ συννέμουσαν ὧν κρατήσειεν· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος,
to-herself and sharing-with whom she-conquered — and Romulus
ὡς ἂν μάλιστα τὴν εὐχὴν τῷ τε Διὶ κεχαρισμένην
so-that — most the vow — both to-Zeus pleasing
καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ἰδεῖν ἐπιτερπῆ παράσχοι σκεψάμενος,
and to-the citizens to-see delightful he-might-make having-considered
ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου δρῦν ἔτεμεν ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ διεμόρφωσεν
at camp oak he-cut huge and shaped(-it)
ὥσπερ τρόπαιον, καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τοῦ Ἄκρωνος ἕκαστον
like trophy and of-the arms — of-Acron each
ἐν τάξει περιήρμοσε καὶ κατήρτησεν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μὲν
in order he-fitted-around and hung-on himself and the indeed
ἐσθῆτα περιεζώσατο, δάφνῃ δὲ ἐστέψατο τὴν κεφαλὴν
dress girded with-laurel and he-crowned the head
κομῶσαν. ὑπολαβὼν δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ τρόπαιον ὤμῳ
long-haired having-taken-up and on-the right the trophy shoulder
προσερειδόμενον ὀρθόν, ἐβάδιζεν ἐξάρχων ἐπινικίου παιᾶνος
resting upright he-walked leading-off of-victory paean

ἐν ὅπλοις ἑπομένῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ, δεχομένων τῶν πολιτῶν
in arms following the army receiving(-him) the citizens
μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ θαύματος. ἡ μὲν οὖν πομπὴ τῶν αὖθις
with joy and wonder the indeed then procession of-the later
θριάμβων ἀρχὴν καὶ ζῆλον παρέσχε· τὸ δὲ τρόπαιον
triumphs beginning and emulation gave the and trophy
ἀνάθημα Φερετρίου Διὸς ἐπωνομάσθη. τὸ γὰρ πλῆξαι
offering of-Feretrian Zeus was-named the for to-strike
φερῖρε Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν· εὔξατο δὲ πλῆξαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ
ferire Romans call he-vowed and to-strike the man and
καταβαλεῖν· ὀπίμια δὲ τὰ σκῦλα, φησὶ Βάρρων, καθότι
to-overthrow opima and the spoils says Varro according-as
καὶ τὴν περιουσίαν ὄπεμ λέγουσι. πιθανώτερον δ' ἄν τις
also the abundance opem they-call more-plausibly but — one
εἴποι διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν· ὄπους γὰρ ὀνομάζεται τὸ ἔργον.
might-say from the deed opus for is-named the work
αὐτουργῷ δ' ἀριστείας στρατηγῷ στρατηγὸν ἀνελόντι
by-his-own-hand and of-prowess to-a-general general having-slain
δέδοται καθιέρωσις ὀπιμίων. καὶ τρισὶ μόνοις τούτου τυχεῖν
is-granted dedication of-opima and to-three only this to-obtain
ὑπῆρξε Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμόσι, πρώτῳ Ῥωμύλῳ, κτείναντι
fell-to-the-lot Roman to-commanders first Romulus having-killed
τὸν Κενινήτην Ἄκρωνα, δευτέρῳ Κορνηλίῳ Κόσσῳ,
the Caeninensian Acron second Cornelius Cossus
Τυρρηνὸν ἀνελόντι Τολούμνιον, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ Κλαυδίῳ
Tyrrhenian having-slain Tolumnius after all and to-Claudius
Μαρκέλλῳ, Βριτομάρτου κρατήσαντι Γαλατῶν βασιλέως.
Marcellus Britomartus having-mastered of-Gauls king
Κόσσος μὲν οὖν καὶ Μάρκελλος ἤδη τεθρίπποις
Cossus indeed then and Marcellus already with-four-horse-cars
εἰσήλαυνον αὐτοὶ τὰ τρόπαια φέροντε· Ῥωμύλον δ' οὐκ
drove-in themselves the trophies carrying Romulus but not

ὀρθῶς φησιν ἅρματι χρήσασθαι Διονύσιος. Ταρκύνιον γὰρ
rightly says chariot to-have-used Dionysius Tarquinius for
ἱστοροῦσι τὸν Δημαράτου τῶν βασιλέων πρῶτον εἰς
they-record the(-son) of-Demaratus of-the kings first to
τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸν ὄγκον ἐξᾶραι τοὺς θριάμβους·
this the form and the pomp to-have-raised the triumphs
ἕτεροι δὲ πρῶτον ἐφ' ἅρματος θριαμβεῦσαι Ποπλικόλαν.
others and first on chariot to-have-triumphed Publicola
τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου τὰς εἰκόνας ὁρᾶν ἔστιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ
— and of-Romulus the statues to-see is-possible in Rome
τὰς τροπαιοφόρους πεζὰς ἁπάσας.
the(-ones) trophy-bearing on-foot all

V · TARPEIA AND THE SABINE WAR

Tatius and the Sabines march on Rome. Tarpeia betrays the citadel for what the Sabines wear on their left arms, and they crush her with their shields; Simylus' verses make her love a Celtic king. In the hollow below, Curtius' horse sinks in the marsh; Romulus, struck by a stone, prays to Zeus to stay the rout, where the temple of Zeus Stator now stands. The Sabine women run between the lines and make peace; the peoples share the city, its tribes and kings, the women are honored, and the sacred cornel springs from Romulus' spear.

17 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κενινητῶν ἅλωσιν ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων
after and the of-Caeninenses capture still the other
Σαβίνων ἐν παρασκευαῖς ὄντων, συνέστησαν οἱ Φιδήνην
Sabines in preparations being combined those Fidenae
καὶ Κρουστουμέριον καὶ Ἀντέμναν οἰκοῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς
and Crustumerium and Antemna inhabiting against the
Ῥωμαίους· καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἡττηθέντες ὁμοίως, τάς τε
Romans and battle having-taken-place defeated likewise the both

πόλεις Ῥωμύλῳ παρῆκαν ἐλεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν δάσασθαι καὶ
cities to-Romulus allowed to-take and the land to-divide and
μετοικίσαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς Ῥώμην. ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος τὴν μὲν
to-transplant them selves to Rome — and Romulus the indeed
ἄλλην κατένειμε χώραν τοῖς πολίταις, ὅσην δ' εἶχον οἱ τῶν
other distributed land to-the citizens as-much-as but held the of-the
ἡρπασμένων παρθένων πατέρες, αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἐκείνους εἴασεν.
carried-off maidens fathers themselves to-hold those he-allowed
Ἐπὶ τούτοις βαρέως φέροντες οἱ λοιποὶ Σαβῖνοι Τάτιον
at these(-things) heavily taking(-it) the remaining Sabines Tatius
ἀποδείξαντες στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐστράτευσαν·
having-appointed general against — Rome marched
ἦν δὲ δυσπρόσοδος ἡ πόλις, ἔχουσα πρόβλημα τὸ νῦν
was and hard-to-approach the city having (as)-bulwark the now
Καπιτώλιον, ἐν ᾧ φρουρὰ καθειστήκει καὶ Ταρπήϊος
Capitol in which garrison had-been-stationed and Tarpeius
ἡγεμὼν αὐτῆς, οὐχὶ Ταρπηΐα παρθένος, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν,
commander of-it not Tarpeia maiden as some say
εὐήθη τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀποδεικνύοντες· ἀλλὰ θυγάτηρ ἡ
simple — Romulus showing but daughter —
Ταρπηΐα τοῦ ἄρχοντος οὖσα προὔδωκε τοῖς Σαβίνοις,
Tarpeia of-the commander being betrayed(-it) to-the Sabines
ἐπιθυμήσασα τῶν χρυσῶν βραχιονιστήρων οὓς εἶδε
having-coveted the golden armlets which she-saw
περικειμένους, καὶ ἤτησε μισθὸν τῆς προδοσίας ἃ φοροῖεν
worn-around(-them) and asked (as)-pay of-the treachery what they-wore
ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς χερσί. συνθεμένου δὲ τοῦ Τατίου, νύκτωρ
on the left hands having-agreed and — Tatius by-night
ἀνοίξασα πύλην μίαν ἐδέξατο τοὺς Σαβίνους. οὐ μόνος
having-opened gate one she-received the Sabines not alone
οὖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, Ἀντίγονος ἔφη προδιδόντας μὲν φιλεῖν,
then as it-seems Antigonus said those-betraying indeed to-love

προδεδωκότας δὲ μισεῖν, οὐδὲ Καῖσαρ, εἰπὼν ἐπὶ
those-having-betrayed but to-hate nor Caesar having-said in-the-case-of
τοῦ Θρᾳκὸς Ῥοιμητάλκου, φιλεῖν μὲν προδοσίαν, προδότην
the Thracian Rhoemetalces to-love indeed treachery traitor
δὲ μισεῖν· ἀλλὰ κοινόν τι τοῦτο πάθος ἐστὶ πρὸς τοὺς
but to-hate but common some this feeling is toward the
πονηροὺς τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ ἰοῦ καὶ χολῆς
wicked in-those needing them as of-venom and gall
ἐνίων θηρίων δέονται· τὴν γὰρ χρείαν ὅτε λαμβάνουσιν
of-some beasts they-need the for use when they-get
ἀγαπῶντες, ἐχθαίρουσι τὴν κακίαν ὅταν τύχωσι.
loving they-hate the vice when they-have-obtained(-it)
τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ταρπηΐαν τότε παθὼν ὁ Τάτιος,
this also toward — Tarpeia then having-felt — Tatius
ἐκέλευσε μεμνημένους τῶν ὁμολογιῶν τοὺς Σαβίνους
ordered remembering the agreements the Sabines
μηδενὸς αὐτῇ φθονεῖν ὧν ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς ἔχουσι. καὶ
nothing to-her to-grudge of-what on the left(-arms) they-have and
πρῶτος ἅμα τὸν βραχιονιστῆρα τῆς χειρὸς περιελὼν
first at-once the armlet from-the arm having-taken-off
καὶ τὸν θυρεὸν ἐπέρριψε. πάντων δὲ αὐτὸ ποιούντων,
also the shield threw-on(-her) all and it doing
βαλλομένη τε τῷ χρυσῷ καὶ καταχωσθεῖσα τοῖς θυρεοῖς,
pelted both with-the gold and buried by-the shields
ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ βάρους ἀπέθανεν. ἑάλω δὲ καὶ
from number and weight she-died was-convicted and also
Ταρπήϊος προδοσίας ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου διωχθείς, ὡς Ἰόβας
Tarpeius of-treachery by Romulus prosecuted as Juba
φησὶ Γάλβαν Σουλπίκιον ἱστορεῖν. τῶν δ' ἄλλα περὶ
says Galba Sulpicius records of-those and other-things about
Ταρπηΐας λεγόντων ἀπίθανοι μέν εἰσιν οἱ Τατίου θυγατέρα
Tarpeia saying unconvincing indeed are those of-Tatius daughter

τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τῶν Σαβίνων οὖσαν αὐτήν, Ῥωμύλῳ δὲ βίᾳ
the leader of-the Sabines being her with-Romulus and by-force
συνοικοῦσαν, ἱστοροῦντες ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καὶ παθεῖν
living recording these-things to-have-done and to-have-suffered
ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός· ὧν καὶ Ἀντίγονός ἐστι. Σιμύλος δ'
for the father of-whom also Antigonus is Simylus and
ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ παντάπασι ληρεῖ μὴ Σαβίνοις οἰόμενος,
the poet also altogether talks-nonsense not to-Sabines thinking
ἀλλὰ Κελτοῖς τὴν Ταρπηΐαν προδοῦναι τὸ Καπιτώλιον
but to-Celts — Tarpeia to-have-betrayed — Capitol
ἐρασθεῖσαν αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως. λέγει δὲ ταῦτα·
having-fallen-in-love-with of-them the king says and these-things

Ἡ δ' ἀγχοῦ Τάρπεια παραὶ Καπιτώλιον αἶπος
She and near Tarpeia beside Capitoline height
ναίουσα Ῥώμης ἔπλετο τειχολέτις,
dwelling of-Rome became destroyer-of-the-walls
Κελτῶν ἣ στέρξασα γαμήλια λέκτρα γενέσθαι
Of-Celts who having-longed marriage bed to-become
σκηπτούχῳ, πατέρων οὐκ ἐφύλαξε δόμους.
for-the-sceptered(-king) of-fathers not guarded the-houses

καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγα περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς·
and after a-little about the end

Τὴν δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἂρ Βόϊοί τε καὶ ἔθνεα μυρία Κελτῶν
Her and not then Boii both and tribes countless of-Celts
χηράμενοι ῥείθρων ἐντὸς ἔθεντο Πάδου·
rejoicing of-the-streams within placed of-Padus
ὅπλα δ᾽ ἐπιπροβαλόντες ἀρειμανέων ἀπὸ χειρῶν
arms and having-thrown-on warlike from hands
κούρῃ ἐπὶ στυγερῇ κόσμον ἔθεντο φόνον.
the-girl on hateful (as)-adornment they-made the-murder

18 Τῆς μέντοι Ταρπηΐας ἐκεῖ ταφείσης ὁ λόφος ὠνομάζετο
— however of-Tarpeia there buried the hill was-named
Ταρπήϊος, ἄχρι οὗ Ταρκυνίου βασιλέως Διὶ τὸν τόπον
Tarpeian until which Tarquinius king to-Zeus the place
καθιεροῦντος ἅμα τά τε λείψανα μετηνέχθη καὶ τοὔνομα τῆς
consecrating at-once the both remains were-transferred and the-name —
Ταρπηΐας ἐξέλιπε. πλὴν πέτραν ἔτι νῦν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ
of-Tarpeia died-out except rock still now in — Capitol
Ταρπηΐαν καλοῦσιν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἐρρίπτουν τοὺς κακούργους.
Tarpeian they-call from which they-used-to-hurl the malefactors
Ἐχομένης δὲ τῆς ἄκρας ὑπὸ τῶν Σαβίνων, ὅ τε
being-held and the citadel by the Sabines — both
Ῥωμύλος ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς εἰς μάχην αὐτοὺς προὐκαλεῖτο, καὶ
Romulus from anger to battle them challenged and
ὁ Τάτιος ἐθάρρει, καρτεράν, εἰ βιασθεῖεν, ἀναχώρησιν
— Tatius was-confident strong if they-should-be-forced retreat
ὁρῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσαν. ὁ γὰρ μεταξὺ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ
seeing for-them being-available the for between place in which
συμπίπτειν ἔμελλον, ὑπὸ πολλῶν λόφων περιεχόμενος
to-clash they-were-about by many hills surrounded

ἀγῶνα μὲν ὀξὺν ἐδόκει καὶ χαλεπὸν ὑπὸ δυσχωρίας
contest indeed sharp seemed and hard from rough-ground
ἀμφοτέροις παρέξειν, φυγὰς δὲ καὶ διώξεις ἐν στενῷ
for-both to-afford flights and also pursuits in narrow-space
βραχείας. ἔτυχε δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ λιμνάσαντος οὐ πολλαῖς
short it-happened and the river having-flooded not many
πρότερον ἡμέραις, ἐγκαταλελεῖφθαι τέλμα βαθὺ καὶ τυφλὸν
before days to-have-been-left swamp deep and hidden
ἐν τόποις ἐπιπέδοις κατὰ τὴν νῦν οὖσαν ἀγοράν· ὅθεν οὐκ
in places level at the now being forum whence not
ἦν ὄψει πρόδηλον, οὐδ' εὐφύλακτον, ἄλλως δὲ χαλεπὸν
it-was to-sight manifest nor easy-to-guard otherwise and dangerous
καὶ ὕπουλον. ἐπὶ τοῦτο τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἀπειρίᾳ
and treacherous toward this for-the Sabines through-inexperience
φερομένοις εὐτύχημα γίγνεται. Κούρτιος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανής,
rushing good-fortune happens Curtius for a-man distinguished
δόξῃ καὶ φρονήματι γαῦρος, ἵππον ἔχων πολὺ πρὸ τῶν
in-repute and in-spirit proud horse having far ahead-of the
ἄλλων ἐχώρει· δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ βαράθρου τὸν ἵππον
others advanced having-received and the gulf the horse
ἄχρι μέν τινος ἐπειρᾶτο πληγῇ καὶ παρακελεύσει
up-to indeed some(-point) he-tried with-blow and urging
χρώμενος ἐξελαύνειν, ὡς δ' ἦν ἀμήχανον, ἐάσας τὸν
using to-drive-out when but it-was impossible having-let-go the
ἵππον ἑαυτὸν ἔσωζεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν τόπος δι' ἐκεῖνον
horse himself he-saved the indeed then place because-of him
ἔτι νῦν Κούρτιος λάκκος ὀνομάζεται· φυλαξάμενοι δὲ τὸν
still now Curtian pool is-named having-avoided and the
κίνδυνον οἱ Σαβῖνοι μάχην καρτερὰν ἐμαχέσαντο κρίσιν
danger the Sabines battle stubborn fought decision
οὐ λαβοῦσαν, καίτοι πολλῶν πεσόντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ
not having-received and-yet many having-fallen among whom was also

Ὁστίλιος. τοῦτον Ἑρσιλίας ἄνδρα καὶ πάππον Ὁστιλίου
Hostilius this(-man) of-Hersilia husband and grandfather of-Hostilius
τοῦ μετὰ Νομᾶν βασιλεύσαντος γενέσθαι λέγουσιν.
the(-one) after Numa having-reigned to-have-been they-say
αὖθις δὲ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἐν βραχεῖ συνισταμένων, ὡς
again and many contests in short(-time) taking-place as
εἰκός, ἑνὸς μάλιστα τοῦ τελευταίου μνημονεύουσιν, ἐν ᾧ
is-likely one most the last they-recall in which
Ῥωμύλου τὴν κεφαλὴν πληγέντος λίθῳ καὶ πεσεῖν
Romulus on-the head having-been-struck with-stone and to-fall
ὀλίγον δεήσαντος τοῦ τ' ἀντέχειν ὑφεμένου τοῖς Σαβίνοις,
a-little having-wanted the and to-resist having-given-up to-the Sabines
ἐνέδωκαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ φυγῇ πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐχώρουν
gave-way the Romans and in-flight toward — Palatine advanced
ἐξωθούμενοι τῶν ἐπιπέδων. ἤδη δὲ ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐκ τῆς
being-thrust-out from-the levels already and — Romulus from the
πληγῆς ἀναφέρων ἐβούλετο μὲν εἰς τὰ ὅπλα χωρεῖν τοῖς
blow recovering wished indeed into the arms to-advance to-those
φεύγουσιν ἐναντίως, καὶ μέγα βοῶν ἵστασθαι καὶ μάχεσθαι
fleeing contrary and loudly shouting to-stand and to-fight
παρεκάλει. πολλῆς δὲ τῆς φυγῆς αὐτῷ περιχεομένης καὶ
urged great and the flight around-him flooding and
μηδενὸς ἀναστρέφειν τολμῶντος, ἀνατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν
no-one to-turn-back daring having-raised to heaven
τὰς χεῖρας εὔξατο τῷ Διὶ στῆσαι τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὰ
the hands he-prayed — to-Zeus to-stop the army and the
Ῥωμαίων πράγματα πεσόντα μὴ περιιδεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀρθῶσαι.
of-Romans affairs fallen not to-overlook but to-raise-up
γενομένης δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς, αἰδώς τε τοῦ βασιλέως
having-taken-place and the prayer shame both for-the king
ἔσχε πολλοὺς καὶ θάρσος ἐκ μεταβολῆς παρέστη τοῖς
seized many and courage from change came to-those

φεύγουσιν. ἔστησαν οὖν πρῶτον οὗ νῦν ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
fleeing they-stood then first where now the — of-Zeus the
Στάτορος ἵδρυται νεώς, ὃν ἐπιστάσιον ἄν τις ἑρμηνεύσειεν·
Stator is-set-up temple which stayer — one might-interpret
εἶτα συνασπίσαντες πάλιν ἔωσαν ὀπίσω τοὺς Σαβίνους ἐπὶ
then having-closed-ranks again they-pushed back the Sabines to
τὴν νῦν Ῥήγιαν προσαγορευομένην καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερόν.
the now Regia called and the — of-Hestia temple
Ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς μάχεσθαι 19
here and them as from beginning to-fight
παρασκευαζομένους ἐπέσχε δεινὸν ἰδεῖν θέαμα καὶ λόγου
preparing checked terrible to-see sight and than-word
κρείττων ὄψις. αἱ γὰρ ἡρπασμέναι θυγατέρες τῶν Σαβίνων
stronger view the for carried-off daughters of-the Sabines
ὤφθησαν ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλαι μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ὀλολυγμοῦ
were-seen from-here-and-there others with shout and wailing
διὰ τῶν ὅπλων φερόμεναι καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν, ὥσπερ ἐκ
through the arms rushing and the corpses as from
θεοῦ κάτοχοι, πρός τε τοὺς ἄνδρας αὑτῶν καὶ τοὺς
god possessed toward both the husbands of-them and the
πατέρας, αἱ μὲν παιδία κομίζουσαι νήπια πρὸς ταῖς
fathers the(-ones) indeed children carrying infants at the
ἀγκάλαις, αἱ δὲ τὴν κόμην προϊσχόμεναι λελυμένην,
arms the(-others) and the hair holding-forth loosed
πᾶσαι δ' ἀνακαλούμεναι τοῖς φιλτάτοις ὀνόμασι ποτὲ μὲν
all and calling-on by-the dearest names now indeed
τοὺς Σαβίνους, ποτὲ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἐπεκλάσθησαν οὖν
the Sabines now and the Romans were-broken then
ἀμφότεροι, καὶ διέσχον αὐταῖς ἐν μέσῳ καταστῆναι τῆς
both and made-way for-them in middle to-stand of-the
παρατάξεως· καὶ κλαυθμὸς ἅμα διὰ πάντων ἐχώρει, καὶ
battle-line and weeping at-once through all went and

πολὺς οἶκτος ἦν πρός τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τοὺς λόγους
much pity there-was at both the sight and the words
ἔτι μᾶλλον, εἰς ἱκεσίαν καὶ δέησιν ἐκ δικαιολογίας καὶ
still more to supplication and entreaty from pleading and
παρρησίας τελευτῶντας. "Τί γὰρ (ἔφασαν) ὑμᾶς δεινὸν
frankness ending what for they-said you terrible
ἢ λυπηρὸν ἐργασάμεναι, τὰ μὲν ἤδη πεπόνθαμεν,
or grievous having-done the(-things) indeed already we-have-suffered
τὰ δὲ πάσχομεν τῶν σχετλίων κακῶν; ἡρπάσθημεν ὑπὸ
the(-others) and we-suffer of-the cruel ills we-were-carried-off by
τῶν νῦν ἐχόντων βίᾳ καὶ παρανόμως, ἁρπασθεῖσαι δ'
those now having(-us) by-force and lawlessly having-been-carried-off and
ἠμελήθημεν ὑπ' ἀδελφῶν καὶ πατέρων καὶ οἰκείων χρόνον
we-were-neglected by brothers and fathers and kinsmen time
τοσοῦτον ὅσος ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰ ἔχθιστα κεράσας ταῖς
so-long as-much-as us to the most-hateful having-joined by-the
μεγίσταις ἀνάγκαις, πεποίηκε νῦν ὑπὲρ τῶν βιασαμένων
greatest necessities has-made now for those having-forced
καὶ παρανομησάντων δεδιέναι μαχομένων καὶ κλαίειν
and having-transgressed to-fear fighting and to-weep
θνησκόντων. οὐ γὰρ ἤλθετε τιμωρήσοντες ἡμῖν παρθένοις
dying not for you-came going-to-avenge for-us maidens
οὔσαις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἀνδρῶν ἀποσπᾶτε
being against those wronging(-us) but now from-husbands you-tear-away
γαμετὰς καὶ τέκνων μητέρας, οἰκτροτέραν βοήθειαν ἐκείνης
wives and of-children mothers more-pitiable help than-that
τῆς ἀμελείας καὶ προδοσίας βοηθοῦντες ἡμῖν ταῖς ἀθλίαις.
the neglect and betrayal helping us the wretched
τοιαῦτα μὲν ἠγαπήθημεν ὑπὸ τούτων, τοιαῦτα δ' ὑφ'
such indeed we-were-loved by these such and by
ὑμῶν ἐλεούμεθα. καὶ γὰρ εἰ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν ἐμάχεσθε,
you we-are-pitied and for if through other cause you-were-fighting

παύσασθαι δι᾽ ἡμᾶς πενθεροὺς γεγονότας καὶ πάππους
to-stop because-of us fathers-in-law having-become and grandfathers
καὶ οἰκείους ὄντας ἐχρῆν. εἰ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμός
and kinsmen being it-was-needful if but for us the war
ἐστι, κομίσασθε ἡμᾶς μετὰ γαμβρῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ
is take-back us with sons-in-law and children and
ἀπόδοτε ἡμῖν πατέρας καὶ οἰκείους, μηδὲ ἀφέλησθε παῖδας
give-back to-us fathers and kinsmen nor take-away children
καὶ ἄνδρας. ἱκετεύομεν ὑμᾶς μὴ πάλιν αἰχμάλωτοι γενέσθαι.”
and husbands we-beseech you not again captives to-become
Τοιαῦτα πολλὰ τῆς Ἑρσιλίας προαγορευούσης καὶ τῶν
such-things many — Hersilia saying and the
ἄλλων δεομένων, ἐσπείσθησαν ἀνοχαὶ καὶ συνῆλθον εἰς
other(-women) begging were-made truces and came into
λόγους οἱ ἡγεμόνες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς πατράσι
talks the leaders the and women in this to-the fathers
καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας προσῆγον καὶ τὰ τέκνα,
and to-the brothers the husbands brought and the children
προσέφερόν τε τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ τοὺς
brought both food and drink for-those needing and the
τετρωμένους ἐθεράπευον οἴκαδε κομίζουσαι· καὶ παρεῖχον
wounded tended home carrying(-them) and allowed(-them)
ὁρᾶν ἀρχούσας μὲν αὑτὰς τοῦ οἴκου, προσέχοντας δὲ τοὺς
to-see ruling indeed themselves of-the house attending and the
ἄνδρας αὐταῖς καὶ μετ᾽ εὐνοίας τιμὴν ἅπασαν νέμοντας.
husbands to-them and with goodwill honor all assigning
ἐκ τούτου συντίθενται τῶν μὲν γυναικῶν τὰς βουλομένας
from this they-agree of-the indeed women those wishing
συνοικεῖν τοῖς ἔχουσιν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, παντὸς ἔργου καὶ
to-live-with those having(-them) as has-been-said from-every work and
πάσης λατρείας πλὴν ταλασίας ἀφειμένας· οἰκεῖν δὲ κοινῇ
all service except wool-spinning released to-inhabit and in-common

τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίους καὶ Σαβίνους, καὶ καλεῖσθαι μὲν Ῥώμην
the city Romans and Sabines and to-be-called indeed Rome
ἐπὶ Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν πόλιν, Κυρίτας δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ἐπὶ
after Romulus the city Quirites and Romans all after
τῇ Τατίου πατρίδι, βασιλεύειν δὲ κοινῇ καὶ στρατηγεῖν
the of-Tatius fatherland to-reign and in-common and to-command
ἀμφοτέρους. ὅπου δὲ ταῦτα συνέθεντο μέχρι νῦν Κομίτιον
both where and these-things they-agreed until now Comitium
καλεῖται· κομῖρε γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ συνελθεῖν καλοῦσι.
is-called comire for Romans the to-come-together call
20 Διπλασιασθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως, ἑκατὸν μὲν ἐκ Σαβίνων
having-been-doubled and the city a-hundred indeed from Sabines
πατρίκιοι προσκατελέχθησαν, αἱ δὲ λεγεῶνες ἐγένοντο
patricians were-enrolled-besides the and legions became
πεζῶν μὲν ἑξακισχιλίων, ἱππέων δὲ ἑξακοσίων. φυλὰς
of-foot indeed six-thousand of-horse and six-hundred tribes
δὲ τρεῖς καταστήσαντες ὠνόμασαν τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ
and three having-established they-named the(-first) indeed from
Ῥωμύλου Ῥαμνήνσης, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ Τατίου Τατιήνσης·
Romulus Ramnenses the(-second) and from Tatius Tatienses
τρίτους δὲ Λουκερήνσης διὰ τὸ ἄλσος, εἰς ὃ πολλοὶ
third and Lucerenses because-of the grove into which many
καταφυγόντες, ἀσυλίας δεδομένης, τοῦ πολιτεύματος
having-fled asylum having-been-granted of-the citizenship
μετέσχον· τὰ δ' ἄλση λούκους ὀνομάζουσιν. ὅτι δ' ἦσαν
partook the and groves luci they-name that and were
αἱ φυλαὶ τοσαῦται, τοὔνομα μαρτυρεῖ· τρίβους γὰρ ἔτι
the tribes so-many the-name bears-witness tribus for still
νῦν τὰς φυλὰς καλοῦσι, καὶ τριβούνους τοὺς φυλάρχους.
now the tribes they-call and tribuni the tribe-leaders
ἑκάστη δὲ φυλὴ δέκα φρατρίας εἶχεν, ἃς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν
each and tribe ten curiae had which some say

ἐπωνύμους ἐκείνων εἶναι τῶν γυναικῶν. τοῦτο δὲ δοκεῖ
named-after those to-be the women this but seems
ψεῦδος εἶναι· πολλαὶ γὰρ ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ χωρίων τὰς
falsehood to-be many for have from places the
προσηγορίας. ἄλλα μέντοι πολλὰ ταῖς γυναιξὶν εἰς τιμὴν
names other however many(-things) to-the women for honor
ἀπέδωκαν, ὧν καὶ ταῦτά ἐστιν· ἐξίστασθαι μὲν ὁδοῦ
they-granted of-which also these(-things) are to-make-way indeed of-road
βαδιζούσαις, αἰσχρὸν δὲ μηδένα μηδὲν εἰπεῖν παρούσης
to-them-walking shameful and no-one anything to-say being-present
γυναικός, μηδ' ὀφθῆναι γυμνόν, ἢ δίκην φεύγειν παρὰ τοῖς
a-woman nor to-be-seen naked or suit to-defend before those
ἐπὶ τῶν φονικῶν καθεστῶσι, φορεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας
over the murder-cases appointed to-wear and also the children
αὐτῶν τὴν καλουμένην βοῦλλαν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος, ὅμοιον
of-them the called bulla from the shape like
πομφόλυγι, περιδέρραιόν τι καὶ περιπόρφυρον.
bubble neck-ornament a-certain and purple-bordered(-robe)
Ἐβουλεύοντο δ' οἱ βασιλεῖς οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐν κοινῷ μετ'
deliberated and the kings not at-once in common with
ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' ἑκάτερος πρότερον ἰδίᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἑκατόν,
each-other but each first apart with the hundred
εἶτα οὕτως εἰς ταὐτὸν ἅπαντας συνῆγον. ᾤκει δὲ Τάτιος
then so into the-same all they-brought-together lived and Tatius
μὲν ὅπου νῦν ὁ τῆς Μονήτης ναός ἐστι, Ῥωμύλος δὲ παρὰ
indeed where now the — of-Moneta temple is Romulus and by
τοὺς λεγομένους βαθμοὺς καλῆς ἀκτῆς. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ περὶ
the called steps of-fair shore these and are by
τὴν εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον τὸν μέγαν ἐκ Παλατίου κατάβασιν.
the into the hippodrome the great from Palatine descent
ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὴν κράνειαν ἔφασαν τὴν ἱερὰν γεγονέναι,
there and also the cornel-tree they-said the sacred to-have-been

μυθολογοῦντες ὅτι πειρώμενος ὁ Ῥωμύλος αὐτοῦ λόγχην
telling-the-tale that testing — Romulus there spear
ἀκοντίσειεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀουεντίνου τὸ ξυστὸν ἔχουσαν κρανείας·
hurled from the Aventine the shaft having of-cornel
καταδύσης δὲ τῆς αἰχμῆς εἰς βάθος, ἀνασπάσαι μὲν οὐδεὶς
having-sunk and the point into depth to-pull-up indeed no-one
πειρωμένων πολλῶν ἴσχυσε, τὸ δὲ ξύλον ἔστεξεν ἡ γῆ
trying many(-of-them) was-able the and wood covered the earth
ζώφυτος οὖσα, καὶ βλαστοὺς ἀνῆκε καὶ στέλεχος εὐμέγεθες
fertile being and shoots sent-up and trunk large
κρανείας ἔθρεψε. τοῦτο δ' οἱ μετὰ Ῥωμύλον ὡς ὄν
of-cornel nourished this and those after Romulus as being
τι τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἱερῶν φυλάττοντες καὶ σεβόμενοι
one of-the holiest sacred(-things) guarding and revering
περιετείχισαν. ὅτῳ δὲ προσιόντι δόξειε μὴ θαλερὸν εἶναι
walled-round to-whomever and approaching it-seemed not flourishing to-be
μηδὲ χλωρόν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἀτροφεῖν καὶ φθίνειν, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς
nor green but as-if to-be-starving and wasting he indeed at-once
ἔφραζε κραυγῇ τοῖς προστυγχάνουσιν, οἱ δ', ὥσπερ
declared with-shout to-those meeting(-him) the(-others) and as-if
ἐμπρησμῷ βοηθοῦντες, ἐβόων ὕδωρ, ὕδωρ, καὶ συνέτρεχον
to-a-fire helping shouted water water and ran-together
πανταχόθεν ἀγγεῖα πλήρη κομίζοντες ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον. Γαΐου
from-all-sides vessels full carrying to the place Gaius
δὲ Καίσαρος, ὥς φασι, τὰς ἀναβάσεις ἐπισκευάζοντος καὶ
and Caesar as they-say the steps repairing and
τῶν τεχνιτῶν περιορυττόντων τὰ πλησίον, ἔλαθον
the workmen digging-around the(-parts) near escaped-notice
αἱ ῥίζαι κακωθεῖσαι παντάπασι καὶ τὸ φυτὸν ἐμαράνθη.
the roots having-been-damaged altogether and the plant withered

The Sabines take the Roman months and Romulus the Sabine shields, and the peoples share their festivals, the Matronalia given to the women. Plutarch explains the Carmentalia, and the Lupercalia with its goat-skin thongs, which Butas says recall the twins' running from Alba. Romulus is said to have founded the cult of the fire, carries the lituus for augury, and makes stern laws on divorce and parricide. Tatius' kinsmen kill envoys from Laurentum, and Tatius is murdered at Lavinium; Romulus leaves it unpunished. He takes Fidenae, plague and portents follow, and he defeats the Camerians and takes Cameria.

Μῆνας μὲν οὖν οἱ Σαβῖνοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐδέξαντο, 21
months indeed then the Sabines the(-months) of-Romans adopted
καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὅσα καλῶς εἶχεν ἐν τῷ Νομᾶ βίῳ
and about them all-that well was-fitting in the of-Numa life
γέγραπται· θυρεοῖς δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνων ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐχρήσατο,
has-been-written shields and the of-those — Romulus used
καὶ μετέβαλε τὸν ὁπλισμὸν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων,
and changed the armor of-himself both and of-the Romans
Ἀργολικὰς πρότερον ἀσπίδας φορούντων. ἑορτῶν δὲ καὶ
Argive before shields wearing festivals and also
θυσιῶν ἀλλήλοις μετεῖχον, ἃς μὲν ἦγε τὰ γένη πρότερον
sacrifices with-one-another they-shared which indeed kept the peoples before
οὐκ ἀνελόντες, ἑτέρας δὲ θέμενοι καινάς, ὧν ἥ τε
not having-abolished others and having-established new of-which the both
τῶν Ματρωναλίων ἐστί, δοθεῖσα ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ
of-the Matronalia is given to-the women for the of-the
πολέμου καταλύσει, καὶ ἡ τῶν Καρμενταλίων. τὴν δὲ
war ending and the of-the Carmentalia — and
Καρμένταν οἴονταί τινες μοῖραν εἶναι κυρίαν ἀνθρώπων
Carmenta think some fate to-be presiding-over of-humans
γενέσεως· διὸ καὶ τιμῶσιν αὐτὴν αἱ μητέρες. οἱ δὲ
of-birth wherefore also honor her the mothers the(-others) and

τὴν τοῦ Εὐάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος γυναῖκα, μαντικήν τινα
the — of-Evander the Arcadian wife prophetic a-certain
καὶ φοιβαστικὴν ἐμμέτρων χρησμῶν γενομένην, Καρμένταν
and inspired of-metrical oracles having-been Carmenta
ἐπονομασθῆναι (τὰ γὰρ ἔπη κάρμινα καλοῦσι)· Νικοστράτη
to-have-been-named the for verses carmina they-call Nicostrata
δὲ ἦν ὄνομα κύριον αὐτῇ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὁμολογεῖται·
and was name proper to-her and this indeed is-agreed
τὴν δὲ Καρμένταν ἔνιοι πιθανώτερον ἀφερμηνεύουσιν
— but Carmenta some more-plausibly interpret
οἷον ἐστερημένην νοῦ, διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐνθουσιασμοῖς
as deprived of-mind because-of the in the inspirations
παραφροσύνας. τὸ μὲν γὰρ στέρεσθαι καρῆρε, μέντεμ δὲ
frenzies the indeed for to-be-deprived carere mentem and
τὸν νοῦν ὀνομάζουσι. περὶ δὲ τῶν Παριλίων προείρηται.
the mind they-name about and the Parilia it-has-been-said-before
τὰ δὲ Λουπερκάλια τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι
the and Lupercalia in-the indeed time would-seem — to-be
καθάρσια· δρᾶται γὰρ ἐν ἡμέραις ἀποφράσι τοῦ
purificatory is-performed for on days unlucky of-the
Φεβρουαρίου μηνός, ὃν καθάρσιον ἄν τις ἑρμηνεύσειε, καὶ
February month which purifying — one might-interpret and
τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκάλουν Φεβράτην· τοὔνομα
the day that the old(-time) they-called Februata the-name
δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἑλληνιστὶ σημαίνει Λύκαια, καὶ δοκεῖ διὰ
and of-the festival in-Greek means Lycaea and seems because-of
τοῦτο παμπάλαιος ἀπ᾽ Ἀρκάδων εἶναι τῶν περὶ Εὔανδρον.
this very-ancient from Arcadians to-be the(-ones) about Evander
ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν κοινόν ἐστι· δύναται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς λυκαίνης
but this indeed common is it-can for from the she-wolf
γεγονέναι τοὔνομα. καὶ γὰρ ἀρχομένους τῆς περιδρομῆς
to-have-arisen the-name and for beginning the running-around

τοὺς Λουπέρκους ὁρῶμεν ἐντεῦθεν ὅπου τὸν Ῥωμύλον
the Luperci we-see from-there where — Romulus
ἐκτεθῆναι λέγουσι. τὰ δὲ δρώμενα τὴν αἰτίαν ποιεῖ
to-have-been-exposed they-say the and rites the cause makes
δυστόπαστον· σφάττουσι γὰρ αἶγας, εἶτα μειρακίων δυοῖν
hard-to-guess they-slaughter for goats then of-youths two
ἀπὸ γένους προσαχθέντων αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν ἡμαγμένῃ
from (noble)-birth having-been-brought to-them the(-ones) indeed with-bloodied
μαχαίρᾳ τοῦ μετώπου θιγγάνουσιν, ἕτεροι δ' ἀπομάττουσιν
knife the forehead touch others and wipe-off
εὐθύς, ἔριον βεβρεγμένον γάλακτι προσφέροντες· γελᾶν
at-once wool soaked in-milk applying to-laugh
δὲ δεῖ τὰ μειράκια μετὰ τὴν ἀπόμαξιν. ἐκ δὲ
and it-is-needful the youths after the wiping from and
τούτου τὰ δέρματα τῶν αἰγῶν κατατεμόντες διαθέουσιν
this the skins of-the goats having-cut-up they-run-about
ἐν περιζώσμασι γυμνοί, τοῖς σκύτεσι τὸν ἐμποδὼν
in girdles naked with-the thongs the(-one) in-the-way
παίοντες. αἱ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γυναῖκες οὐ φεύγουσι τὸ
striking the and in age women not flee the
παίεσθαι, νομίζουσαι πρὸς εὐτοκίαν καὶ κύησιν συνεργεῖν.
being-struck thinking to easy-delivery and conception to-contribute
ἴδιον δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τὸ καὶ κύνα θύειν τοὺς Λουπέρκους.
peculiar and of-the festival the also dog to-sacrifice the Luperci
Βούτας δέ τις, αἰτίας μυθώδεις ἐν ἐλεγείοις περὶ τῶν
Butas and one causes fabulous in elegiacs about the
Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἀναγράφων, φησὶ τοῦ Ἀμουλίου τοὺς περὶ
Roman(-customs) writing says — Amulius the(-twins) around
τὸν Ῥωμύλον κρατήσαντας ἐλθεῖν δρόμῳ μετὰ χαρᾶς
— Romulus having-overcome to-have-gone at-a-run with joy
ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ νηπίοις οὖσιν αὐτοῖς ἡ λύκαινα
to the place in which infants being to-them the she-wolf

θηλὴν ὑπέσχε, καὶ μίμημα τοῦ τε δρόμου τὴν ἑορτὴν
teat offered and (as)-imitation of-the both running the festival
ἄγεσθαι, καὶ τρέχειν τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους τοὺς
to-be-held and to-run those from (noble)-birth the(-ones)

Ἐμποδίους τύπτοντας, ὅπως τότε φάσγαν' ἔχοντες
In-the-way striking as then swords having
ἐξ Ἄλβης ἔθεον Ῥωμύλος ἠδὲ Ῥέμος.
from Alba ran Romulus and Remus

καὶ τὸ μὲν ξίφος ᾑμαγμένον προσφέρεσθαι τῷ μετώπῳ
and the indeed sword bloodied to-be-applied to-the forehead
τοῦ τότε φόνου καὶ κινδύνου σύμβολον, τὴν δὲ διὰ
of-the then murder and danger symbol the and through
τοῦ γάλακτος ἀποκάθαρσιν ὑπόμνημα τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν
the milk cleansing reminder of-the nurture of-them
εἶναι. Γάϊος δὲ Ἀκίλιος ἱστορεῖ πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως τὰ
to-be Gaius and Acilius records before the founding the
θρέμματα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι· τοὺς
flocks of-those around — Romulus invisible to-have-become them
δὲ τῷ Φαύνῳ προσευξαμένους ἐκδραμεῖν γυμνοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν
and — to-Faunus having-prayed to-have-run-out naked for the
ζήτησιν, ὅπως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱδρῶτος μὴ ἐνοχλοῖντο· καὶ
search so-that by the sweat not they-might-be-troubled and
διὰ τοῦτο γυμνοὺς περιτρέχειν τοὺς Λουπέρκους. τὸν
because-of this naked to-run-about the Luperci the
δὲ κύνα φαίη τις ἄν, εἰ μὲν ἡ θυσία καθαρμός ἐστι,
and dog might-say one — if indeed the sacrifice purification is
θύεσθαι καθαρσίῳ χρωμένων αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ Ἕλληνες
to-be-sacrificed as-purifying using it also for Greeks
ἔν τε τοῖς καθαρσίοις σκύλακας ἐκφέρουσι καὶ πολλαχοῦ
in both the purifications puppies carry-out and in-many-places

χρῶνται τοῖς λεγομένοις περισκυλακισμοῖς· εἰ δὲ τῇ
use the called puppy-purifications if and to-the
λυκαίνῃ χαριστήρια ταῦτα καὶ τροφεῖα καὶ σωτήρια
she-wolf thank-offerings these-things and nurse's-fees and salvation-offerings
Ῥωμύλου τελοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀτόπως ὁ κύων σφάττεται·
of-Romulus they-perform not strangely the dog is-slaughtered
λύκοις γάρ ἐστι πολέμιος· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία κολάζεται τὸ
to-wolves for it-is hostile if not by Zeus is-punished the
ζῷον ὡς παρενοχλοῦν τοὺς Λουπέρκους ὅταν περιθέωσι.
creature as annoying the Luperci when they-run-about
Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ πῦρ ἁγιστείαν Ῥωμύλον 22
it-is-said and also the about the fire worship Romulus
καταστῆσαι πρῶτον, ἀποδείξαντα παρθένους ἱερὰς
to-have-established first having-appointed maidens sacred
Ἑστιάδας προσαγορευομένας. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν εἰς
Vestals called the(-others) but this indeed to
Νομᾶν ἀναφέρουσι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὸν Ῥωμύλον θεοσεβῆ
Numa refer the and other-things — Romulus god-fearing
διαφερόντως, ἔτι δὲ μαντικὸν ἱστοροῦσι γενέσθαι, καὶ
exceedingly further and prophetic they-record to-have-been and
φορεῖν ἐπὶ μαντικῇ τὸ καλούμενον λίτυον, ἔστι δὲ
to-carry for divination the called lituus it-is and
καμπύλη ῥάβδος, ᾗ τὰ πλινθία καθεζομένους ἐπ'
curved staff with-which the areas sitting for
οἰωνῶν διαγράφειν. τοῦτο δ' ἐν Παλατίῳ φυλαττόμενον
omens to-mark-out this and on Palatine kept
ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ τὰ Κελτικὰ τῆς πόλεως ἁλούσης·
to-have-vanished about the Celtic(-time) the city having-been-taken
εἶτα μέντοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκπεσόντων εὑρεθῆναι
then however the barbarians having-been-driven-out to-have-been-found

κατὰ τέφρας βαθείας ἀπαθὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐν πᾶσι
in ashes deep unharmed by the fire in all
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπολωλόσι καὶ διεφθαρμένοις.
the other(-things) having-perished and having-been-destroyed
Ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ νόμους τινάς, ὧν σφοδρὸς μέν ἐστιν
he-established and also laws certain of-which severe indeed is
ὁ γυναικὶ μὴ διδοὺς ἀπολείπειν ἄνδρα, γυναῖκα δὲ
the(-one) to-a-wife not allowing to-leave husband wife but
διδοὺς ἐκβάλλειν ἐπὶ φαρμακείᾳ καὶ τέκνων ὑποβολῇ
allowing to-put-away for poisoning and of-children substitution
καὶ μοιχευθεῖσαν· εἰ δ' ἄλλως τις ἀποπέμψαιτο,
and having-committed-adultery if but otherwise anyone should-send-away(-her)
τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς εἶναι, τὸ
of-the property of-him the indeed of-the wife to-be the(-rest)
δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν κελεύων· τὸν δ' ἀποδόμενον
and — of-Demeter sacred ordering the(-man) and having-sold
γυναῖκα θύεσθαι χθονίοις θεοῖς. ἴδιον δὲ τὸ μηδεμίαν
wife to-be-sacrificed to-the-underworld gods peculiar and the no
δίκην κατὰ πατροκτόνων ὁρίσαντα πᾶσαν ἀνδροφονίαν
penalty against parricides having-defined every homicide
πατροκτονίαν προσειπεῖν, ὡς τούτου μὲν ὄντος ἐναγοῦς,
parricide to-have-called as this indeed being accursed
ἐκείνου δὲ ἀδυνάτου. καὶ μέχρι χρόνων πολλῶν ἔδοξεν
that and impossible and until times many he-seemed
ὀρθῶς ἀπογνῶναι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀδικίαν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ
rightly to-have-despaired-of the such crime no-one for
ἔδρασε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ σχεδὸν ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων
did such nothing in Rome nearly years six-hundred
διαγενομένων, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος μετὰ τὸν Ἀννιβιακὸν πόλεμον
having-elapsed but first after the Hannibalic war

ἱστορεῖται Λεύκιος Ὄστιος πατροκτόνος γενέσθαι. ταῦτα
is-recorded Lucius Hostius parricide to-have-become these-things
μὲν οὖν ἱκανὰ περὶ τούτων.
indeed then sufficient about these(-matters)
Ἔτει δὲ πέμπτῳ τῆς Τατίου βασιλείας, οἰκεῖοί τινες 23
in-year and fifth of-the of-Tatius reign kinsmen some
αὐτοῦ καὶ συγγενεῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπὸ Λαυρέντου βαδίζουσιν
of-him and relatives envoys from Laurentum going
εἰς Ῥώμην ἐντυχόντες καθ' ὁδόν, ἐπεχείρουν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι
to Rome having-met on road tried to-take-away
τὰ χρήματα βίᾳ, καὶ μὴ προϊεμένους, ἀλλ' ἀμυνομένους
the money by-force and not giving-up but resisting
ἀνεῖλον. ἔργου δὲ δεινοῦ τολμηθέντος, ὁ μὲν Ῥωμύλος
they-killed(-them) deed and terrible having-been-dared — indeed Romulus
εὐθὺς δεῖν ᾤετο κολάζεσθαι τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας, ὁ δὲ Τάτιος
at-once it-needful thought to-be-punished those having-done-wrong — but Tatius
ἐξέκρουε καὶ παρῆγε. καὶ τοῦτο μόνον αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρξεν αἴτιον
put-off and diverted(-it) and this alone for-them was cause
ἐμφανοῦς διαφορᾶς· τὰ δ' ἄλλα κατακοσμοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς
of-open difference the and other-things arranging themselves
ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα κοινῶς ἐχρῶντο καὶ μεθ' ὁμονοίας
as is-possible most in-common they-managed and with concord
τοῖς πράγμασιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων οἰκεῖοι, πάσης
the affairs the and of-those slain kinsmen from-all
ἐξειργόμενοι δίκης νομίμου διὰ τὸν Τάτιον, ἀποκτιννύουσιν
excluded justice lawful because-of — Tatius kill
αὐτὸν ἐν Λαβινίῳ θύοντα μετὰ Ῥωμύλου προσπεσόντες,
him at Lavinium sacrificing with Romulus having-fallen-upon(-him)
τὸν δὲ Ῥωμύλον ὡς δίκαιον ἄνδρα προὔπεμψαν εὐφημοῦντες.
— and Romulus as just man escorted praising(-him)
ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Τατίου κομίσας ἐντίμως
he and the indeed body — of-Tatius having-brought honorably

ἔθαψε, καὶ κεῖται περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρμιλούστριον ἐν
buried and it-lies about the called Armilustrium on
Ἀουεντίνῳ, τῆς δὲ δίκης τοῦ φόνου παντάπασιν ἠμέλησεν.
Aventine the but penalty of-the murder altogether he-neglected
ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν συγγραφέων ἱστοροῦσι τὴν μὲν πόλιν τῶν
some and of-the historians record the indeed city of-the
Λαυρεντίων φοβηθεῖσαν ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αὐτόχειρας
Laurentines having-been-frightened to-have-given-up the slayers
Τατίου, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμύλον ἀφεῖναι, φήσαντα φόνον
of-Tatius — but Romulus to-have-let(-them)-go saying murder
φόνῳ λελύσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ λόγον μέν τινα παρέσχε
by-murder to-have-been-expiated this and talk indeed some gave
καὶ ὑποψίαν ὡς ἀσμένῳ γέγονεν αὐτῷ τὸ τοῦ συνάρχοντος
and suspicion that pleasing it-had-been to-him the of-the colleague
ἀπαλλαγῆναι, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων οὐδὲν διετάραξεν, οὐδὲ
to-have-been-rid-of of-the and affairs nothing he-disturbed nor
διεστασίασε τοὺς Σαβίνους, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν εὐνοίᾳ τῇ
set-at-variance the Sabines but the(-ones) indeed from-goodwill the
πρὸς αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ φόβῳ τῆς δυνάμεως, οἱ δ᾽
toward him the(-others) and from-fear of-the power the(-others) and
ὡς θεῷ χρώμενοι εἰς πᾶσαν εὔνοιαν, θαυμάζοντες διετέλουν.
as god treating(-him) in all goodwill admiring continued
Ἐθαύμαζον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπων τὸν
admired and many also of-the outside men —
Ῥωμύλον· οἱ δὲ προγενέστεροι Λατῖνοι πέμψαντες αὐτῷ
Romulus the and older Latins having-sent to-him
φιλίαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ συμμαχίαν. Φιδήνας δὲ εἷλεν,
friendship made and alliance Fidenae and he-took
ἀστυγείτονα τῆς Ῥώμης πόλιν, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐξαίφνης
neighboring the of-Rome city as indeed some say suddenly
τοὺς ἱππέας πέμψας καὶ κελεύσας ὑποτεμεῖν τῶν πυλῶν τοὺς
the horsemen having-sent and having-ordered to-cut-under of-the gates the

στρόφιγγας, εἶτα ἐπιφανεὶς αὐτὸς ἀπροσδοκήτως· ἕτεροι
hinges then having-appeared himself unexpectedly others
δὲ λέγουσι προτέρους ἐκείνους ἐμβαλόντας ἐλάσασθαί τε
and say first those having-invaded to-have-driven-off both
λείαν καὶ καθυβρίσαι πολλὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὸ προάστειον,
booty and to-have-outraged much the country and the suburb
ἐνέδρας δὲ τὸν Ῥωμύλον θέμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφθείραντα
ambushes and — Romulus having-set for-them and having-destroyed
πολλοὺς λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἀνεῖλεν οὐδὲ
many to-have-taken the city not indeed he-destroyed nor
κατέσκαψεν, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐποίησεν ἀποικίαν, δισχιλίους
razed(-it) but of-Romans made colony two-thousand
καὶ πεντακοσίους ἀποστείλας οἰκήτορας εἰδοῖς Ἀπριλλίαις.
and five-hundred having-sent settlers on-the-ides of-April
Ἐκ τούτου λοιμὸς ἐμπίπτει, θανάτους μὲν αἰφνιδίους 24
from this pestilence falls-on deaths indeed sudden
ἀνθρώποις ἄνευ νόσων ἐπιφέρων, ἁπτόμενος δὲ καὶ
for-men without diseases bringing laying-hold and also
καρπῶν ἀφορίαις καὶ θρεμμάτων ἀγονίαις. ὕσθη δὲ
of-crops with-barrenness and of-flocks with-sterility it-was-rained-on and
καὶ σταγόσιν αἵματος ἡ πόλις, ὥστε πολλὴν προσγενέσθαι
also with-drops of-blood the city so-that much to-be-added
τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις πάθεσι δεισιδαιμονίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τὸ
to-the necessary sufferings superstition when and also to-those —
Λαύρεντον οἰκοῦσιν ὅμοια συνέβαινεν, ἤδη παντάπασιν
Laurentum inhabiting like(-things) happened already altogether
ἐδόκει τῶν ἐπὶ Τατίῳ συγκεχυμένων δικαίων ἐπί
it-seemed of-the in-the-case-of Tatius violated rights for
τε τοῖς πρέσβεσι φονευθεῖσι μήνιμα δαιμόνιον ἀμφοτέρας
both the envoys murdered wrath divine both
ἐλαύνειν τὰς πόλεις. ἐκδοθέντων δὲ τῶν φονέων καὶ
to-be-driving the cities having-been-given-up and the murderers and

κολασθέντων παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέροις, ἐλώφησεν ἐπιδήλως τὰ
having-been-punished in both(-cities) abated manifestly the
δεινά· καὶ καθαρμοῖς ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἥγνισε τὰς πόλεις, οὓς
terrible(-things) and with-purifications — Romulus cleansed the cities which
ἔτι νῦν ἱστοροῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Φερεντίνης πύλης συντελεῖσθαι.
still now they-record at the Ferentine gate to-be-performed
Πρὶν δὲ λῆξαι τὸν λοιμόν, ἐπέθεντο Καμέριοι Ῥωμαίοις
before and to-cease the pestilence attacked Camerians Romans
καὶ κατέδραμον τὴν χώραν, ὡς ἀδυνάτων ἀμύνεσθαι
and overran the country as unable to-defend-themselves
διὰ τὸ πάθος. εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ᾽
because-of the calamity at-once then — Romulus marched against
αὐτοὺς καὶ μάχῃ κρατήσας ἑξακισχιλίους ἀπέκτεινε· καὶ
them and in-battle having-prevailed six-thousand killed and
τὴν πόλιν ἑλών, τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν περιγενομένων
the city having-taken the indeed half of-the survivors
εἰς Ῥώμην ἐξῴκισε, τῶν δ᾽ ὑπομενόντων διπλασίους ἐκ
to Rome he-removed of-those and remaining double from
Ῥώμης κατῴκισεν εἰς τὴν Καμερίαν Σεξτιλίας καλάνδαις.
Rome he-settled into — Cameria of-Sextilis on-the-calends
τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περιῆν πολιτῶν ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη σχεδὸν
so-many to-him was-surplus of-citizens sixteen years nearly
οἰκοῦντι τὴν Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις λαφύροις καὶ
inhabiting — Rome among and the other spoils also
χαλκοῦν ἐκόμισε τέθριππον ἐκ Καμερίας· τοῦτο δὲ
bronze he-brought four-horse-chariot from Cameria this and
ἀνέστησεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, ποιησάμενος ἑαυτὸν
he-set-up in the temple — of-Hephaestus having-made himself
ὑπὸ Νίκης στεφανούμενον.
by Victory being-crowned

Romulus defeats the Veientes and triumphs, and in the victory rite an old man in a boy's bulla is still led to the Capitol while the herald cries "Sardians for sale." Grown proud, he rules more harshly, keeps the Celeres about him and slights the senate. On the Nones of July he vanishes in a storm; some say the senators killed him. Proculus swears that Romulus met him on the road in shining arms and said he would be the god Quirinus. Plutarch compares Aristeas and Cleomedes and rejects bodies taken to heaven, and derives the Nonae Capratinae from the Goat's Marsh, setting beside it the maid Philotis' ruse.

Οὕτω δὲ ῥωννυμένοις τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ μὲν ἀσθενέστεροι 25
so and growing-strong the affairs the indeed weaker
τῶν προσοίκων ὑπεδύοντο καὶ τυγχάνοντες ἀδείας ἠγάπων·
of-the neighbors submitted and obtaining security were-content
οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ δεδιότες καὶ φθονοῦντες οὐκ ᾤοντο δεῖν
the and powerful fearing and envying not thought it-needful
περιορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐνίστασθαι τῇ αὐξήσει καὶ κολούειν τὸν
to-overlook(-it) but to-oppose the growth and to-curtail —
Ῥωμύλον. πρῶτοι δὲ Τυρρηνῶν Οὐήϊοι, χώραν κεκτημένοι
Romulus first and of-Tyrrhenians Veientes territory possessing
πολλὴν καὶ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦντες, ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσαντο
much and city great inhabiting beginning made
πολέμου Φιδήνας ἀπαιτεῖν, ὡς προσήκουσαν αὐτοῖς. τὸ δ'
of-war Fidenae to-claim as belonging to-them this but
οὐκ ἄδικον ἦν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γελοῖον, ὅτι κινδυνεύουσι
not unjust was only but also ridiculous that being-in-danger
τότε καὶ πολεμουμένοις οὐ προσαμύναντες, ἀλλ' ἐάσαντες
then and being-warred-on not having-helped(-them) but having-allowed
ἀπολέσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἰκίας καὶ γῆν ἀπαιτοῖεν ἄλλων
to-perish the men houses and land they-should-claim others
ἐχόντων. καθυβρισθέντες οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἐν ταῖς
holding(-them) having-been-insulted then by — Romulus in the

ἀποκρίσεσι δίχα διεῖλον ἑαυτούς, καὶ τῷ μὲν
answers in-two they-divided themselves and with-the(-one) indeed
ἐπέκειντο τῷ Φιδηνῶν στρατεύματι, τῷ δὲ πρὸς
attacked the of-Fidenae garrison with-the(-other) and against
Ῥωμύλον ἀπήντων. πρὸς μὲν οὖν Φιδήναις δισχιλίους
Romulus went-to-meet(-him) at indeed then Fidenae two-thousand
Ῥωμαίων κρατήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν, ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου δὲ
of-Romans having-prevailed they-killed by Romulus but
νικηθέντες ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἀπέβαλον. αὖθις δὲ
having-been-defeated over eight-thousand they-lost again and
περὶ Φιδήνην ἐμαχέσαντο· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἔργον
near Fidenae they-fought and the indeed most work
αὐτοῦ Ῥωμύλου γενέσθαι, τέχνην τε μετὰ τόλμης πᾶσαν
himself of-Romulus to-have-been skill both with daring all
ἐπιδειξαμένου, ῥώμῃ τε καὶ ποδωκείᾳ πολὺ δόξαντος
having-displayed in-strength both and in-swiftness much seeming
ἀνθρωπίνης κρείττονι κεχρῆσθαι, πάντες ὁμολογοῦσι· τὸ
than-human greater to-have-used all agree the
δ' ὑπ' ἐνίων λεγόμενον κομιδῇ μυθῶδές ἐστι, μᾶλλον δὲ
but by some said quite fabulous is rather and
ὅλως ἄπιστον, ὅτι μυρίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων πεσόντων
wholly incredible that ten-thousand and four-thousand having-fallen
ὑπερημίσεις ἦσαν οὓς αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ Ῥωμύλος
more-than-half were whom himself with-own hand Romulus
ἔκτεινεν, ὅπου γε καὶ Μεσσήνιοι κόμπῳ χρήσασθαι
killed where at-least even Messenians with-boasting to-use
δοκοῦσι περὶ Ἀριστομένους λέγοντες ὡς τρὶς ἑκατομφόνια
seem about Aristomenes saying that thrice hecatomphonia
θύσειεν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.
he-sacrificed from Lacedaemonians

Γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς, ἀφεὶς φεύγειν τοὺς περιόντας
having-taken-place and the rout having-let to-flee the survivors
ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ἐχώρει τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δ᾽ οὐκ
— Romulus against itself advanced the city they but not
ἠνέσχοντο μεγάλης συμφορᾶς γενομένης, ἀλλὰ δεηθέντες
held-out great disaster having-happened but having-begged
ὁμολογίαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ φιλίαν εἰς ἔτη ἑκατόν, χώραν τε
agreement made and friendship for years a-hundred land both
πολλὴν προέμενοι τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ἣν Σεπτεμπάγιον καλοῦσιν,
much having-given-up of-the their-own which Septempagium they-call
ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἑπταμόριον, καὶ τῶν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν
which is seventh-part and of-the by the river
ἐκστάντες ἁλοπηγίων, καὶ πεντήκοντα τῶν ἀρίστων
having-withdrawn-from salt-works and fifty of-the best
ὁμήρους ἐγχειρίσαντες, ἐθριάμβευσε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων
(as)-hostages having-handed-over he-triumphed and also over these
εἰδοῖς Ὀκτωβρίαις, ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
on-the-ides of-October other both many captives
ἔχων καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Οὐηΐων, ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην,
having and the leader of-the Veientes man old
ἀφρόνως δόξαντα καὶ παρ᾽ ἡλικίαν ἀπείρως τοῖς
foolishly having-seemed and beyond age inexperiencedly the
πράγμασι κεχρῆσθαι. διὸ καὶ νῦν ἔτι θύοντες ἐπινίκια,
affairs to-have-managed wherefore also now still sacrificing victory-offerings
γέροντα μὲν ἄγουσι δι᾽ ἀγορᾶς εἰς Καπιτώλιον ἐν
old-man indeed they-lead through forum to Capitol in
περιπορφύρῳ, βοῦλλαν αὐτῷ παιδικὴν ἅψαντες, κηρύττει
purple-bordered(-robe) bulla to-him child's having-fastened proclaims
δ᾽ ὁ κῆρυξ Σαρδιανοὺς ὠνίους. Τυρρηνοὶ γὰρ ἄποικοι
and the herald Sardians for-sale Tyrrhenians for colonists
Σαρδιανῶν λέγονται, Τυρρηνικὴ δὲ πόλις οἱ Οὐήϊοι.
of-Sardians are-said Tyrrhenian and city the Veientes

26 Τοῦτον ἔσχατον πόλεμον ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπολέμησεν. εἶθ',
this last war — Romulus waged then
ὃ πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πλὴν ὀλίγων πάσχουσι πάντες
what many rather and except few suffer all
οἱ μεγάλαις καὶ παραλόγοις ἀρθέντες εὐτυχίαις εἰς
those by-great and unexpected lifted good-fortunes to
δύναμιν καὶ ὄγκον, οὐδ' αὐτὸς διέφυγε παθεῖν, ἀλλ'
power and pomp not-even he-himself escaped to-suffer but
ἐκτεθαρρηκὼς τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ βαρυτέρῳ φρονήματι
having-grown-bold in-the affairs and heavier spirit
χρώμενος, ἐξίστατο τοῦ δημοτικοῦ, καὶ παρήλλαττεν
using he-departed-from the popular(-manner) and changed
εἰς μοναρχίαν ἐπαχθῆ καὶ λυποῦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος
into monarchy offensive and grievous from the dress
πρῶτον ᾧ κατεσχημάτιζεν ἑαυτόν. ἁλουργῆ μὲν γὰρ
first with-which he-arrayed himself purple indeed for
ἐνεδύετο χιτῶνα, καὶ τήβεννον ἐφόρει περιπόρφυρον, ἐν
he-put-on tunic and toga wore purple-bordered on
θρόνῳ δ' ἀνακλίτῳ καθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζεν. ἦσαν δὲ
throne and backed sitting he-transacted-business there-were and
περὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τῶν νέων οἱ καλούμενοι Κέλερες,
about him always of-the young-men the(-ones) called Celeres
ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰς ὑπουργίας ὀξύτητος. ἐβάδιζον δὲ πρόσθεν
from the in the services quickness walked and before(-him)
ἕτεροι βακτηρίαις ἀνείργοντες τὸν ὄχλον, ὑπεζωσμένοι δὲ
others with-staves keeping-off the crowd girded and
ἱμάντας, ὥστε συνδεῖν εὐθὺς οὓς προστάξειε.
with-thongs so-that to-bind at-once whomever he-ordered
Τὸ δὲ δῆσαι Λατῖνοι πάλαι μὲν λιγᾶρε, νῦν δὲ
the and to-bind Latins of-old indeed ligare now and
ἀλλιγᾶρε καλοῦσιν· ὅθεν οἵ τε ῥαβδοῦχοι λικτώρεις,
alligare call whence the both staff-bearers lictors

αἵ τε ῥάβδοι βάκυλα καλοῦνται, διὰ τὸ χρῆσθαι
the and staffs bacula are-called because-of the to-use
τότε βακτηρίαις. εἰκὸς δὲ λικτώρεις ἐντιθεμένου τοῦ
then with-staves it-is-likely and lictors being-inserted the
κάππα νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, πρότερον λιτώρεις, Ἑλληνιστὶ
kappa now to-be-named before litores in-Greek
δὲ λειτουργοὺς ὄντας. λήϊτον γὰρ τὸ δημόσιον ἔτι νῦν
and public-servants being leïton for the public still now
Ἕλληνες καὶ λαὸν τὸ πλῆθος ὀνομάζουσιν.
Greeks and laos the multitude name
Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πάππου Νομήτορος ἐν Ἄλβῃ τελευτήσαντος, 27
when and the grandfather Numitor in Alba having-died
αὐτῷ βασιλεύειν προσῆκον, εἰς μέσον ἔθηκε τὴν πολιτείαν
to-him to-reign falling-to into middle he-put the government
δημαγωγῶν, καὶ κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδείκνυεν ἄρχοντα τοῖς
courting-the-people and by year he-appointed ruler for-the
Ἀλβανοῖς, ἐδίδαξε καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνατοὺς ἀβασίλευτον
Albans he-taught also those in Rome powerful kingless
ζητεῖν καὶ αὐτόνομον πολιτείαν, ἀρχομένους ἐν μέρει καὶ
to-seek and independent constitution being-ruled in turn and
ἄρχοντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ καλούμενοι πατρίκιοι πραγμάτων
ruling not-even for the called patricians in-affairs
μετεῖχον, ἀλλ᾽ ὄνομα καὶ σχῆμα περιῆν ἔντιμον αὐτοῖς,
shared but name and dress remained honorable to-them
ἔθους ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμης ἀθροιζομένοις εἰς τὸ
of-custom for-the-sake rather than of-opinion gathered into the
βουλευτήριον. εἶτα σιγῇ προστάττοντος ἠκροῶντο· καὶ
council-house then in-silence him-ordering they-listened and
τῷ πρότεροι τὸ δεδογμένον ἐκείνῳ πυθέσθαι τῶν πολλῶν
in-the first the decision by-him to-learn than-the many
πλέον ἔχοντες ἀπηλλάττοντο. καὶ τἆλλα μὲν ἦν
more having they-departed and the-other(-things) indeed were

ἐλάττονα· τῆς δὲ γῆς τὴν δορίκτητον αὐτὸς ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ
less of-the but land the spear-won himself by himself
δασάμενος τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους τοῖς Οὐηΐοις
having-divided to-the soldiers and the hostages to-the Veientes
ἀποδούς, οὔτε πεισθέντων οὔτε βουλομένων ἐκείνων,
having-given-back neither persuaded nor willing those
ἔδοξε κομιδῇ τὴν γερουσίαν προπηλακίζειν. ὅθεν εἰς ὑποψίαν
he-seemed utterly the senate to-insult whence into suspicion
καὶ διαβολὴν ἐνέπεσε παραλόγως ἀφανισθέντος αὐτοῦ μετ᾽
and slander he-fell unaccountably having-vanished he after
ὀλίγον χρόνον. ἠφανίσθη δὲ νώναις Ἰουλίαις, ὡς νῦν
little time he-vanished and on-the-nones of-July as now
ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς δὲ τότε, Κυντιλίαις, οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν βέβαιον
they-name as but then Quintilis nothing to-say certain
οὐδὲ ὁμολογούμενον πυθέσθαι περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἀπολιπών,
nor agreed to-learn about the end having-left
ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τὸν χρόνον, ὡς προείρηται. δρᾶται γὰρ ἔτι νῦν
but than the time as has-been-said-before are-performed for still now
ὅμοια τῷ τότε πάθει πολλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην.
like(-things) to-the then calamity many on the day that
Οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν τὴν ἀσάφειαν, ὅπου Σκηπίωνος
not it-is-needful and to-wonder-at the obscurity where Scipio
Ἀφρικανοῦ μετὰ δεῖπνον οἴκοι τελευτήσαντος, οὐκ ἔσχε
Africanus after dinner at-home having-died not had
πίστιν οὐδ᾽ ἔλεγχον ὁ τρόπος τῆς τελευτῆς, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ
credence nor proof the manner of-the death but the(-ones)
μὲν αὐτομάτως ὄντα φύσει νοσώδη καμεῖν λέγουσιν,
indeed of-itself being by-nature sickly to-have-succumbed say
οἱ δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ φαρμάκοις ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ
the(-others) and him by himself with-poisons to-have-died the(-others)
δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τὴν ἀναπνοὴν ἀπολαβεῖν αὐτοῦ νύκτωρ
and the enemies the breath to-have-stopped of-him by-night

παρεισπεσόντας. καίτοι Σκηπίων ἔκειτο νεκρὸς ἐμφανὴς
having-slipped-in and-yet Scipio lay dead visible
ἰδεῖν πᾶσι, καὶ τὸ σῶμα παρεῖχε πᾶσιν ὁρώμενον ὑποψίαν
to-see for-all and the body offered to-all being-seen suspicion
τινὰ τοῦ πάθους καὶ κατανόησιν· Ῥωμύλου δ' ἄφνω
some of-the calamity and observation Romulus but suddenly
μεταλλάξαντος οὔτε μέρος ὤφθη σώματος οὔτε λείψανον
having-departed neither part was-seen of-body nor remnant
ἐσθῆτος. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εἴκαζον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου
of-clothing but the(-ones) indeed conjectured in the temple — of-Hephaestus
τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐπαναστάντας αὐτῷ καὶ διαφθείραντας,
the senators having-risen-against him and having-destroyed(-him)
νείμαντας τὸ σῶμα καὶ μέρος ἕκαστον ἐνθέμενον εἰς τὸν
having-divided the body and part each having-put into the
κόλπον ἐξενεγκεῖν· ἕτεροι δ' οἴονται μήτε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
fold to-have-carried-out others and think neither in the temple
τοῦ Ἡφαίστου μήτε μόνων τῶν βουλευτῶν παρόντων
— of-Hephaestus nor only the senators being-present
γενέσθαι τὸν ἀφανισμόν, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν μὲν ἔξω περὶ
to-have-taken-place the disappearance but to-have-happened indeed outside near
τὸ καλούμενον αἰγὸς ἕλος ἐκκλησίαν ἄγοντα τὸν Ῥωμύλον,
the called goat's marsh assembly holding — Romulus
ἄφνω δὲ θαυμαστὰ καὶ κρείττονα λόγου περὶ τὸν ἀέρα
suddenly and wonderful and greater than-word in the air
πάθη γενέσθαι καὶ μεταβολὰς ἀπίστους· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ
effects to-have-taken-place and changes incredible of-the indeed for
ἡλίου τὸ φῶς ἐπιλιπεῖν, νύκτα δὲ κατασχεῖν, οὐ πραεῖαν,
sun the light to-have-failed night and to-have-come-on not gentle
οὐδὲ ἥσυχον, ἀλλὰ βροντάς τε δεινὰς καὶ πνοὰς ἀνέμων
nor quiet but thunders both terrible and blasts of-winds
ζάλην ἐλαυνόντων πανταχόθεν ἔχουσαν· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὸν
tempest driving from-all-sides having in and this the

μὲν πολὺν ὄχλον σκεδασθέντα φυγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ δυνατοὺς
indeed great crowd having-been-scattered to-have-fled the and powerful
συστραφῆναι μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων· ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἔληξεν ἡ ταραχὴ
to-have-drawn-together with one-another when but ceased the confusion
καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐξέλαμψε καὶ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς ταὐτὸ πάλιν
and the light shone-out and the many into the-same again
συνερχομένων ζήτησις ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πόθος,
coming-together search there-was for-the king and longing
οὐκ ἐᾶν τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἐξετάζειν οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν,
not to-allow the powerful to-inquire nor to-busy-themselves
ἀλλὰ τιμᾶν παρακελεύεσθαι πᾶσι καὶ σέβεσθαι Ῥωμύλον,
but to-honor to-exhort to-all and to-revere Romulus
ὡς ἀνηρπασμένον εἰς θεοὺς καὶ θεὸν εὐμενῆ γενησόμενον
as having-been-caught-up to gods and god propitious going-to-be
αὐτοῖς ἐκ χρηστοῦ βασιλέως. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς
to-them from good king the indeed then many
ταῦτα πειθομένους καὶ χαίροντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι μετ᾽
these-things believing and rejoicing to-go-away with
ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν προσκυνοῦντας· εἶναι δέ τινας οἳ τὸ
hopes good worshiping to-be and some who the
πρᾶγμα πικρῶς καὶ δυσμενῶς ἐξελέγχοντες ἐτάραττον
matter bitterly and hostilely examining troubled
τοὺς πατρικίους καὶ διέβαλλον, ὡς ἀβέλτερα τὸν δῆμον
the patricians and accused(-them) as foolish(-things) the people
ἀναπείθοντας, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτόχειρας ὄντας.
persuading themselves and of-the king slayers being
28 Οὕτως οὖν ἄνδρα τῶν πατρικίων γένει πρῶτον, ἤθει
so then a-man of-the patricians in-birth first in-character
τε δοκιμώτατον, αὐτῷ τε Ῥωμύλῳ πιστὸν καὶ συνήθη,
and most-esteemed to-the-very both Romulus trusted and intimate
τῶν ἀπ᾽ Ἄλβης ἐποίκων, Ἰούλιον Πρόκλον, εἰς ἀγορὰν
of-the from Alba settlers Julius Proculus into forum

προελθόντα καὶ τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἔνορκον ἱερῶν
having-come-forward and the most-holy on-oath sacred(-things)
ἁψάμενον εἰπεῖν ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς ὁδὸν αὐτῷ βαδίζοντι
having-touched to-have-said before all that on-road to-him walking
Ῥωμύλος ἐξ ἐναντίας προσιὼν φανείη, καλὸς μὲν ὀφθῆναι
Romulus from opposite approaching appeared fair indeed to-be-seen
καὶ μέγας ὡς οὔποτε πρόσθεν, ὅπλοις δὲ λαμπροῖς καὶ
and tall as never before with-arms and bright and
φλέγουσι κεκοσμημένος. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐκπλαγεὶς πρὸς τὴν
flaming adorned himself indeed then astonished at the
ὄψιν "Ὦ βασιλεῦ," φάναι, "τί δὴ παθὼν ἢ διανοηθεὶς
sight O king to-have-said what indeed having-suffered or having-intended
ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐν αἰτίαις πεποίηκας ἀδίκοις καὶ πονηραῖς, πᾶσαν
us indeed in charges you-have-placed unjust and evil all
δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὀρφανὴν ἐν μυρίῳ πένθει προλέλοιπας;" ἐκεῖνον
and the city orphaned in endless grief you-have-abandoned him
δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι, "Θεοῖς ἔδοξεν, ὦ Πρόκλε, τοσοῦτον
and to-have-answered to-gods it-seemed-good O Proculus so-long
ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι μετ' ἀνθρώπων χρόνον, ἐκεῖθεν ὄντας, καὶ
us to-be among men time from-there being and
πόλιν ἐπ' ἀρχῇ καὶ δόξῃ μεγίστῃ κτίσαντας, αὖθις οἰκεῖν
city for empire and glory greatest having-founded again to-inhabit
οὐρανόν. ἀλλὰ χαῖρε, καὶ φράζε Ῥωμαίοις ὅτι σωφροσύνην
heaven but farewell and tell to-Romans that self-control
μετ' ἀνδρείας ἀσκοῦντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρωπίνης ἀφίξονται
with courage practicing to farthest of-human they-will-come
δυνάμεως. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν εὐμενὴς ἔσομαι δαίμων Κυρῖνος."
power I and to-you propitious will-be divinity Quirinus
ταῦτα πιστὰ μὲν εἶναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐδόκει διὰ τὸν
these-things credible indeed to-be to-the Romans seemed because-of the
τρόπον τοῦ λέγοντος καὶ διὰ τὸν ὅρκον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
character of-the speaker and because-of the oath not indeed but also

δαιμόνιόν τι συνεφάψασθαι πάθος ὅμοιον ἐνθουσιασμῷ·
divine some to-have-laid-hold-of(-them) feeling like to-inspiration
μηδένα γὰρ ἀντειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν καὶ διαβολὴν
no-one for to-have-gainsaid but all suspicion and slander
ἀφέντας εὔχεσθαι Κυρίνῳ καὶ θεοκλυτεῖν ἐκεῖνον.
having-dismissed to-pray to-Quirinus and to-call-on-as-god him
Ἔοικε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων περί
resemble indeed then these-things to-the(-tales) by Greeks about
τε Ἀριστέου τοῦ Προκοννησίου καὶ Κλεομήδους τοῦ
both Aristeas the Proconnesian and Cleomedes the
Ἀστυπαλαιέως μυθολογουμένοις. Ἀριστέαν μὲν γὰρ ἔν
Astypalaean told Aristeas indeed for in
τινι κναφείῳ τελευτῆσαί φασι, καὶ τὸ σῶμα μετιόντων
a-certain fuller's-shop to-have-died they-say and the body seeking
αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων ἀφανὲς οἴχεσθαι· λέγειν δέ τινας εὐθὺς
of-him the friends invisible to-have-gone to-say and some immediately
ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἥκοντας ἐντυχεῖν Ἀριστέᾳ τὴν ἐπὶ
from abroad having-come to-have-met Aristeas the(-road) to
Κρότωνος πορευομένῳ· Κλεομήδη δέ, ῥώμῃ καὶ μεγέθει
Croton traveling Cleomedes and in-strength and size
σώματος ὑπερφυᾶ γενόμενον ἔμπληκτόν τε τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ
of-body extraordinary having-been frenzied both in-the manner and
μανικὸν ὄντα, πολλὰ δρᾶν βίαια, καὶ τέλος ἔν τινι
mad being many(-things) to-do violent and at-last in a-certain
διδασκαλείῳ παίδων τὸν ὑπερείδοντα τὴν ὀροφὴν κίονα
school of-children the supporting the roof pillar
πατάξαντα τῇ χειρὶ κλάσαι μέσον καὶ τὴν στέγην
having-struck with-the hand to-have-broken in-the-middle and the roof
καταβαλεῖν. ἀπολομένων δὲ τῶν παίδων διωκόμενον εἰς
to-have-brought-down having-perished and the children being-pursued into
κιβωτὸν καταφυγεῖν μεγάλην, καὶ τὸ πῶμα κατακλείσαντα
chest to-have-fled great and the lid having-shut-down

συνέχειν ἐντός, ὥστε ἀποσπάσαι μὴ δύνασθαι πολλοὺς ὁμοῦ
to-hold-together inside so-that to-pull(-it)-off not to-be-able many together
βιαζομένους· κατασχίσαντας δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν οὔτε ζῶντα τὸν
forcing having-split-open and the chest neither alive the
ἄνθρωπον εὑρεῖν οὔτε νεκρόν. ἐκπλαγέντας οὖν ἀποστεῖλαι
man to-have-found nor dead astonished then to-have-sent-off
θεοπρόπους εἰς Δελφούς, οἷς τὴν Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν
envoys to Delphi to-whom — Pythia to-have-said

Ἔσχατος ἡρώων Κλεομήδης Ἀστυπαλαιεύς.
Last of-heroes Cleomedes Astypalaean

λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀλκμήνης ἐκκομιζομένης νεκρὸν ἄδηλον
it-is-said and also the of-Alcmene being-carried-out corpse invisible
γενέσθαι, λίθον δὲ φανῆναι κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης.
to-have-become stone and to-have-appeared lying on the bier
καὶ ὅλως πολλὰ τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσι, παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς
and in-general many such(-things) they-tell contrary-to the probable
ἐκθειάζοντες τὰ θνητὰ τῆς φύσεως ἅμα τοῖς θείοις.
deifying the mortal(-parts) of-the nature together-with the divine
Ἀπογνῶναι μὲν οὖν παντάπασι τὴν θειότητα τῆς ἀρετῆς
to-deny indeed then altogether the divinity of-the virtue
ἀνόσιον καὶ ἀγεννές, οὐρανῷ δὲ μιγνύειν γῆν ἀβέλτερον.
impious and ignoble to-heaven but to-mix earth foolish

ἐατέον οὖν, ἐχομένοις τῆς ἀσφαλείας, κατὰ
one-must-let(-it)-be then holding-to the safety according-to
Πίνδαρον, ὡς
Pindar that

σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἕπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεῖ,
body indeed of-all follows death all-powerful
ζωὸν δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἴδωλον· τὸ γάρ ἐστι μόνον
living and still remains of-life image this for is alone
ἐκ θεῶν.
from gods

ἥκει γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν, ἐκεῖ δ' ἄνεισιν, οὐ μετὰ σώματος,
it-comes for from-there there and it-returns not with body
ἀλλ' ἐὰν ὅτι μάλιστα σώματος ἀπαλλαγῇ καὶ
but if as-much-as most from-body it-be-freed and
διακριθῇ καὶ γένηται καθαρὸν παντάπασι καὶ ἄσαρκον
be-separated and become pure altogether and fleshless
καὶ ἁγνόν. αὕη γὰρ ψυχὴ ἀρίστη, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον,
and holy dry for soul best according-to Heraclitus
ὥσπερ ἀστραπὴ νέφους διαπταμένη τοῦ σώματος. ἡ
as lightning from-cloud flying-through of-the body the(-one)
δὲ σώματι πεφυρμένη καὶ περίπλεως σώματος, οἷον
but with-body mingled and full of-body as
ἀναθυμίασις ἐμβριθὴς καὶ ὁμιχλώδης, δυσέξαπτός ἐστι
exhalation heavy and misty hard-to-kindle is
καὶ δυσανακόμιστος. οὐδὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ σώματα τῶν
and hard-to-raise-up in-no-way then it-is-needful the bodies of-the
ἀγαθῶν συναναπέμπειν παρὰ φύσιν εἰς οὐρανόν, ἀλλὰ
good to-send-up-with contrary-to nature to heaven but
τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς παντάπασιν οἴεσθαι κατὰ
the virtues and the souls altogether to-think according-to

φύσιν καὶ δίκην θείαν ἐκ μὲν ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἥρωας, ἐκ
nature and justice divine from indeed men to heroes from
δ' ἡρώων εἰς δαίμονας, ἐκ δὲ δαιμόνων, ἂν τέλεον ὥσπερ
and heroes to divinities from and divinities if completely as
ἐν τελετῇ καθαρθῶσι καὶ ὁσιωθῶσιν ἅπαν ἀποφυγοῦσαι
in rite they-be-purified and be-sanctified all having-escaped
τὸ θνητὸν καὶ παθητικόν, οὐ νόμῳ πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἀληθείᾳ
the mortal and passible not by-law of-city but in-truth
καὶ κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα λόγον εἰς θεοὺς ἀναφέρεσθαι, τὸ
and according-to the probable reasoning to gods to-be-carried-up the
κάλλιστον καὶ μακαριώτατον τέλος ἀπολαβούσας.
fairest and most-blessed end having-received

Τὴν δὲ γενομένην ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ τὸν Κυρῖνον 29
the and having-arisen title — for-Romulus — Quirinus
οἱ μὲν Ἐνυάλιον προσαγορεύουσιν· οἱ δὲ πολίτην,
the(-ones) indeed Enyalius call the(-others) and citizen
ὅτι καὶ τοὺς πολίτας Κυρίτας ὠνόμαζον· οἱ δὲ τὴν
because also the citizens Quirites they-named the(-others) and the
αἰχμὴν ἢ τὸ δόρυ τοὺς παλαιοὺς κύριν ὀνομάζειν, καὶ
spear-point or the spear the ancients quiris to-name and
Κυρίτιδος Ἥρας ἄγαλμα καλεῖν ἐπ' αἰχμῆς ἱδρυμένον, ἐν
of-Quiritis of-Hera image to-call on spear set-up in
δὲ τῇ Ῥηγίᾳ δόρυ καθιδρυμένον Ἄρεα προσαγορεύειν, καὶ
and — Regia spear set-up Ares to-call and
δόρατι τοὺς ἐν πολέμοις ἀριστεύοντας γεραίρειν· ὡς οὖν
with-spear those in wars excelling to-honor as then
ἀρήϊόν τινα τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἢ αἰχμητὴν θεὸν ὀνομασθῆναι
martial some — Romulus or spearman god to-have-been-named
Κυρῖνον. ἱερὸν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ κατεσκευασμένον ἐν τῷ λόφῳ
Quirinus temple indeed then of-him built on the hill
τῷ Κυρίνᾳ προσαγορευομένῳ δι' ἐκεῖνον, ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ᾗ
— Quirinal called after him the and day on-which

μετήλλαξεν, ὄχλου φυγὴ καλεῖται, καὶ νῶναι Καπρατῖναι
he-departed of-crowd flight is-called and nonae Capratinae
διὰ τὸ θύειν εἰς τὸ τῆς αἰγὸς ἕλος ἐκ πόλεως κατιόντας·
because-of the to-sacrifice at the of-the goat marsh from city going-down
τὴν γὰρ αἶγα κάπραν ὀνομάζουσιν. ἐξιόντες δὲ πρὸς τὴν
the for goat capra they-name going-out and to the
θυσίαν πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὀνομάτων φθέγγονται μετὰ
sacrifice many of-the native names they-utter with
βοῆς, οἷον Μάρκου, Λουκίου, Γαΐου, μιμούμενοι τὴν τότε
shout as Marcus Lucius Gaius imitating the then
τροπὴν καὶ ἀνάκλησιν ἀλλήλων μετὰ δέους καὶ ταραχῆς.
rout and calling of-one-another with fear and confusion
Ἔνιοι μέντοι τὸ μίμημα τοῦτό φασι μὴ φυγῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπείξεως
some however the imitation this say not of-flight but of-haste
εἶναι καὶ σπουδῆς, εἰς αἰτίαν τοιαύτην ἀναφέροντες τὸν
to-be and eagerness to cause such referring the
λόγον. ἐπεὶ Κελτοὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καταλαβόντες ἐξεκρούσθησαν
account when Celts — Rome having-seized were-driven-out
ὑπὸ Καμίλλου καὶ δι' ἀσθένειαν ἡ πόλις οὐκέτι ῥᾳδίως
by Camillus and because-of weakness the city no-longer easily
ἑαυτὴν ἀνελάμβανεν, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτὴν πολλοὶ τῶν
itself recovered marched against it many of-the
Λατίνων, ἄρχοντα Λίβιον Ποστούμιον ἔχοντες. οὗτος
Latins (as)-commander Livius Postumius having this(-man)
δὲ καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν οὐ πρόσω τῆς Ῥώμης ἔπεμπε
and having-encamped the army not far-from — Rome sent
κήρυκα, βούλεσθαι λέγων τοὺς Λατίνους ἐκλιποῦσαν ἤδη
herald to-wish saying the Latins having-lapsed already
τὴν παλαιὰν οἰκειότητα καὶ συγγένειαν ἐκζωπυρῆσαι,
the ancient kinship and relationship to-rekindle
καιναῖς αὖθις ἀνακραθέντων ἐπιγαμίαις τῶν γενῶν. ἂν
new again mingled by-intermarriages the races if

οὖν πέμψωσι παρθένους τε συχνὰς καὶ γυναικῶν τὰς
then they-send maidens both many and of-women the
ἀνάνδρους, εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι καὶ φιλίαν αὐτοῖς, ὡς
unmarried peace to-be-going-to-be and friendship for-them as
ὑπῆρξε πρὸς Σαβίνους πρότερον ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων. ταῦτα
there-was with Sabines before from the like(-terms) these-things
ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τόν τε πόλεμον ἐφοβοῦντο καὶ τὴν
having-heard the Romans the both war feared and the
παράδοσιν τῶν γυναικῶν οὐδὲν αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπιεικέστερον
handing-over of-the women nothing than-captivity more-reasonable
ἔχειν ἐνόμιζον. ἀποροῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς θεράπαινα Φιλωτίς,
to-have they-thought being-at-a-loss and to-them maidservant Philotis
ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι Τουτόλα καλουμένη, συνεβούλευσε
as but some say Tutola called advised
μηδέτερα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ χρησαμένους δόλῳ διαφυγεῖν ἅμα
neither to-do but having-used guile to-escape at-once
τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν ἐξομήρευσιν. ἦν δ' ὁ δόλος αὐτήν
the war and the giving-of-hostages was and the guile herself
τε τὴν Φιλωτίδα καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ θεραπαινίδας εὐπρεπεῖς
both — Philotis and with her maidservants comely
κοσμήσαντας ὡς ἐλευθέρας ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους·
having-adorned as free(-women) to-send-off to the enemy
εἶτα νύκτωρ τὴν Φιλωτίδα πυρσὸν ἆραι, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους
then by-night — Philotis torch to-raise the and Romans
ἐπελθεῖν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ χρήσασθαι κοιμωμένοις τοῖς
to-come with the arms and to-deal-with sleeping the
πολεμίοις. ταῦτα δ' ἐδρᾶτο πεισθέντων τῶν Λατίνων·
enemy these-things and were-done having-been-persuaded the Latins
καὶ τὸν πυρσὸν ἀνέσχεν ἡ Φιλωτὶς ἔκ τινος ἐρινεοῦ,
and the torch held-up — Philotis from a-certain wild-fig-tree
περισχοῦσα προκαλύμμασι καὶ παραπετάσμασιν ὄπισθεν,
having-surrounded(-it) with-coverings and curtains behind

ὥστε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀόρατον εἶναι τὸ φῶς, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις
so-that to-the enemy invisible to-be the light to-the but Romans
κατάδηλον. ὡς οὖν ἐπεῖδον, εὐθὺς ἐξῄεσαν ἐπειγόμενοι καὶ
plain when then they-saw at-once they-went-out hastening and
διὰ τὴν ἔπειξιν ἀλλήλους περὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνακαλοῦντες
because-of the haste each-other at the gates calling
πολλάκις. ἐμπεσόντες δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπροσδοκήτως καὶ
often having-fallen and on-the enemy unexpectedly and
κρατήσαντες, ἐπινίκιον ἄγουσι τὴν ἑορτήν. καὶ Καπρατῖναι
having-conquered victory they-keep the festival and Capratinae
μὲν αἱ νῶναι καλοῦνται διὰ τὸν ἐρινεόν, καπρίφικον
indeed the nonae are-called because-of the wild-fig caprificus
ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὀνομαζόμενον, ἑστιῶσι δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας
by Romans named they-feast and the women
ἔξω, συκῆς κλάδοις σκιαζομένας. αἱ δὲ θεραπαινίδες
outside of-fig-tree with-branches shaded the and maidservants
ἀγείρουσι περιοῦσαι καὶ παίζουσιν, εἶτα πληγαῖς καὶ
collect going-about and play then with-blows and
βολαῖς λίθων χρῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ὡς καὶ τότε τοῖς
throwings of-stones deal with one-another as also then to-the
Ῥωμαίοις παραγενόμεναι καὶ συναγωνισάμεναι μαχομένοις.
Romans having-assisted and having-fought-with(-them) fighting
ταῦτ' οὖν πολλοὶ προσίενται τῶν συγγραφέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
these-things then many accept of-the historians but both
τὸ μεθ' ἡμέραν χρῆσθαι τῇ ἀνακλήσει τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ
the by day to-use the calling of-the names and
τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἕλος τὸ τῆς αἰγὸς ὡς ἐπὶ θυσίαν βαδίζοντας
the to the marsh the of-the goat as to sacrifice going
ἔοικε τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ προστίθεσθαι μᾶλλον, εἰ μὴ νὴ
seems the former account to-be-added-to rather if not by
Δία τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐν χρόνοις ἑτέροις ἀμφότερα τὰ
Zeus of-the same day in times different both the

πάθη συνέτυχε γενέσθαι. λέγεται δὲ Ῥωμύλος τέσσαρα
events happened to-take-place it-is-said and Romulus four
μὲν ἔτη καὶ πεντήκοντα γεγονώς, ὄγδοον δὲ βασιλεύων
indeed years and fifty having-become eighth and reigning
ἐκεῖνο καὶ τριακοστὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι.
that and thirtieth from men to-have-vanished

PLUTARCH

ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΥΛΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

Comparison of Theseus and Romulus

Theseus took up great deeds by choice, when he might have reigned untroubled at Troezen; Romulus was driven to them by fear and necessity. Theseus freed Greece of its robbers on others' behalf, and his voyage with the Cretan tribute outshines Romulus' wars. Both fell from kingly rule, one toward democracy, the other toward tyranny. Theseus' curse on his son was less to blame than Romulus' anger at his brother, and Aegeus' death stains Theseus. Romulus built a city from nothing; Theseus' rapes were insolent where the Sabine rape made a union, and the gods attended Romulus' preservation, while Theseus' begetting defied an oracle.

Ἃ μὲν οὖν ἄξια μνήμης πυθέσθαι περὶ Ῥωμύλου καὶ 1
what indeed then worthy of-record to-learn about Romulus and
Θησέως συμβέβηκεν ἡμῖν, ταῦτ' ἐστί. φαίνεται δὲ πρῶτον
Theseus has-befallen to-us these-things are appears and first
ὁ μὲν ἐκ προαιρέσεως, οὐδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, ἀλλ'
the(-one) indeed from choice no-one compelling but
ἐξὸν ἀδεῶς ἐν Τροιζῆνι βασιλεύειν διαδεξάμενον
it-being-possible without-fear in Troezen to-reign having-succeeded-to
ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἄδοξον, αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μεγάλων ὀρεχθείς·
rule not inglorious himself of himself great(-things) having-desired
ὁ δὲ δουλείας φυγῇ παρούσης καὶ τιμωρίας
the(-other) and of-slavery by-flight being-at-hand and of-punishment
ἐπιφερομένης, ἐκεῖνο τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ἀτεχνῶς ὑπὸ δέους
impending that the — of-Plato simply from fear
ἀνδρεῖος γενόμενος, καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν ἐπὶ
brave having-become and from-fear of-the the extreme to-suffer to
τὸ δρᾶν μεγάλα δι' ἀνάγκην παραγενόμενος. ἔπειτα
the doing great(-things) through necessity having-come then
τούτου μὲν ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀνελεῖν ἕνα τὸν
of-this(-one) indeed deed is the greatest to-have-slain one the
Ἄλβης τύραννον, ἐκείνου δὲ πάρεργα καὶ προάγωνες
of-Alba tyrant of-that(-one) and by-works and preliminary-contests

ἦσαν ὁ Σκείρων, ὁ Σίνις, ὁ Προκρούστης, ὁ Κορυνήτης,
were — Sciron — Sinis — Procrustes — Club-man
οὓς ἀναιρῶν καὶ κολάζων ἀπήλαττε τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινῶν
whom slaying and punishing he-freed — Greece from-terrible
τυράννων πρὶν ὅστις ἐστὶ γινώσκειν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
tyrants before who he-is to-know those by him
σωζομένους. καὶ τῷ μὲν παρῆν ἀπραγμόνως
being-saved and to-the(-one) indeed it-was-possible without-trouble
κομίζεσθαι διὰ θαλάττης ἀδικουμένῳ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν
to-travel through sea wronged in-nothing by the
λῃστῶν, Ῥωμύλῳ δ' οὐ παρῆν μὴ πράγματα ἔχειν
robbers to-Romulus but not it-was-possible not troubles to-have
Ἀμουλίου ζῶντος. μέγα δὲ τούτου τεκμήριον· ὁ μὲν
Amulius living great and of-this proof the(-one) indeed
γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἀδικούμενος ὥρμησεν ὑπὲρ ἄλλων
for in-nothing himself being-wronged set-out on-behalf-of others
ἐπὶ τοὺς πονηρούς, οἱ δ' ὅσον αὐτοὶ κακῶς οὐκ
against the wicked the(-others) but as-long-as themselves badly not
ἔπασχον ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, περιεώρων ἀδικοῦντα πάντας.
suffered from the tyrant overlooked(-him) wronging all
καὶ μὴν εἰ μέγα τὸ τρωθῆναι μαχόμενον Σαβίνοις καὶ
and indeed if great the to-be-wounded fighting with-Sabines and
ἀνελεῖν Ἄκρωνα καὶ πολλῶν μάχῃ κρατῆσαι πολεμίων,
to-slay Acron and many in-battle to-conquer enemies
τούτοις μὲν ἔστι τοῖς ἔργοις κενταυρομαχίαν καὶ
to-these indeed it-is-possible the deeds centaur-battle and
τὰ πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας παραβαλεῖν· ὃ δ' ἐτόλμησε
the(-feats) against Amazons to-compare what and dared
Θησεὺς περὶ τὸν Κρητικὸν δασμόν, εἴτε τινὶ θηρίῳ
Theseus about the Cretan tribute whether for-some beast
βοράν, εἴτε πρόσφαγμα τοῖς Ἀνδρόγεω τάφοις, εἴθ', ὃ
food or victim for-the of-Androgeos tombs or what

κουφότατόν ἐστι τῶν λεγομένων, λατρεύειν παρ'
lightest is of-the(-things) said to-serve among
ἀνδράσιν ὑβρισταῖς καὶ δυσμενέσιν ἀκλεῆ λατρείαν καὶ
men insolent and hostile inglorious service and
ἄτιμον ἐπιδοὺς ἑαυτόν, ἑκουσίως μετὰ παρθένων πλεύσας
dishonorable having-given himself willingly with maidens having-sailed
καὶ παίδων νέων, οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις ἡλίκης ἐστὶ τόλμης
and children young not — would-say anyone of-how-great it-is daring
ἢ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἢ δικαιοσύνης περὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἢ
or magnanimity or justice toward the common(-good) or
πόθου δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς. ὥστ' ἔμοιγε φαίνεται μὴ κακῶς
longing for-glory and virtue so-that to-me-at-least it-appears not badly
ὁρίζεσθαι τοὺς φιλοσόφους τὸν ἔρωτα θεῶν ὑπηρεσίαν πρὸς
to-define the philosophers the love of-gods service for
ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν νέων. ὁ γὰρ Ἀριάδνης ἔρως
care and preservation of-young(-people) the for of-Ariadne love
παντὸς μᾶλλον ἔοικεν ἔργον θεοῦ καὶ μηχανὴ γενέσθαι
than-all rather seems work of-god and device to-have-been
σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀνδρός. καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον αἰτιᾶσθαι τὴν
of-safety for-the-sake of-the man and not worthy to-blame the
ἐρασθεῖσαν, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζειν εἰ μὴ πάντες οὕτω καὶ πᾶσαι
having-loved but to-wonder if not all so and all(-women)
διετέθησαν· εἰ δ' ἐκείνη μόνη τοῦτ' ἔπαθεν, εἰκότως ἔγωγε
were-disposed if but she alone this felt reasonably I-at-least
φαίην ἂν αὐτὴν ἀξιέραστον θεῷ γεγονέναι, φιλόκαλον
would-say — her worthy-of-love by-god to-have-been loving-the-beautiful
καὶ φιλάγαθον καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐρωτικὴν οὖσαν.
and loving-the-good and of-the best enamored being
Ἀμφοτέρων τοίνυν τῇ φύσει πολιτικῶν γεγονότων, 2
both then by-the nature statesmanlike having-been
οὐδέτερος διεφύλαξε τὸν βασιλικὸν τρόπον· ἐξέστη δὲ
neither preserved the kingly character departed but

καὶ μετέβαλε μεταβολὴν ὁ μὲν δημοτικήν, ὁ
and changed change the(-one) indeed democratic the(-other)
δὲ τυραννικήν, ταὐτὸν ἀπ᾽ ἐναντίων παθῶν ἁμαρτόντες.
and tyrannical the-same from opposite feelings having-erred
δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἄρχοντα σώζειν πρῶτον αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχήν·
it-is-needful for the ruler to-preserve first itself the rule
σώζεται δ᾽ οὐχ ἧττον ἀπεχομένη τοῦ μὴ προσήκοντος ἢ
it-is-preserved and not less abstaining from-the not fitting than
περιεχομένη τοῦ προσήκοντος. ὁ δ᾽ ἐνδιδοὺς ἢ ἐπιτείνων οὐ
holding-to the fitting he but relaxing or straining not
μένει βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ ἄρχων, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ δημαγωγὸς ἢ δεσπότης
remains king nor ruler but either demagogue or despot
γιγνόμενος, ἐμποιεῖ τὸ μισεῖν ἢ καταφρονεῖν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις.
becoming implants the to-hate or to-despise in-the ruled
οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐπιεικείας δοκεῖ καὶ φιλανθρωπίας
not indeed but that indeed of-reasonableness seems and of-humanity
εἶναι, τοῦτο δὲ φιλαυτίας ἁμάρτημα καὶ χαλεπότητος.
to-be this and of-selfishness error and of-harshness
3 Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὰ δυστυχηθέντα μὴ παντάπασι
if and it-is-needful also the misfortunes not altogether
ποιεῖσθαι δαίμονος, ἀλλ᾽ ἠθικὰς καὶ παθητικὰς ζητεῖν
to-make of-fortune but moral and emotional to-seek
ἐν αὐτοῖς διαφοράς, θυμοῦ μὲν ἀλογίστου καὶ τάχος
in them differences of-anger indeed unreasoning and haste
ἐχούσης ἄβουλον ὀργῆς μήτε τις ἐκεῖνον ἐν τοῖς
having rash of-wrath neither anyone him in the(-things)
πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπολυέτω μήτε τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς
toward the brother acquit nor this(-one) in the(-things)
πρὸς τὸν υἱόν· ἡ δὲ κινήσασα τὸν θυμὸν ἀρχὴ μᾶλλον
toward the son the and having-stirred the anger beginning more
παραιτεῖται τὸν ὑπὸ μείζονος αἰτίας ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πληγῆς
excuses the(-one) by greater cause as by blow

χαλεπωτέρας ἀνατραπέντα. Ῥωμύλῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ βουλῆς
harsher having-been-overthrown to-Romulus indeed for from counsel
καὶ σκέψεως περὶ κοινῶν συμφερόντων διαφορᾶς γενομένης
and consideration about common interests difference having-arisen
οὐκ ἂν ἠξίωσέ τις ἄφνω τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν τηλικούτῳ
not — would-have-thought anyone suddenly the mind in such
πάθει γενέσθαι· Θησέα δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, ἃ πάμπαν
passion to-have-come Theseus and against the son what altogether
ὀλίγοι τῶν ὄντων διαπεφεύγασιν, ἔρως καὶ ζηλοτυπία
few of-those being have-escaped love and jealousy
καὶ διαβολαὶ γυναικὸς ἔσφηλαν. ὃ δὲ μεῖζόν ἐστιν, ὁ
and slanders of-a-woman tripped what and greater is the
μὲν Ῥωμύλου θυμὸς εἰς ἔργον ἐξέπεσε καὶ πρᾶξιν οὐκ
indeed of-Romulus anger into deed broke-out and action not
εὐτυχὲς ἔχουσαν τέλος, ἡ δὲ Θησέως ὀργὴ μέχρι λόγου
fortunate having end the and of-Theseus wrath as-far-as word
καὶ βλασφημίας καὶ κατάρας πρεσβυτικῆς προῆλθε, τὰ
and abuse and curse old-man's went the
δ' ἄλλα φαίνεται τῇ τύχῃ χρήσασθαι τὸ μειράκιον.
and other-things appears the fortune to-have-experienced the youth
ὥστε ταύτας μὲν ἄν τις ἀποδοίη τῷ Θησεῖ τὰς ψήφους.
so-that these indeed — one might-give — to-Theseus the votes
Ἐκείνῳ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὑπάρχει μέγα τὸ μικροτάτας 4
to-that(-one) and first indeed belongs great the smallest
λαβεῖν ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα. δοῦλοι γὰρ δὴ καὶ
to-have-taken beginnings for the affairs slaves for indeed and
συφορβῶν παῖδες ὀνομαζόμενοι, πρὶν ἐλεύθεροι γενέσθαι,
of-swineherds sons named before free to-become
πάντας ὀλίγου δεῖν ἠλευθέρωσαν Λατίνους, ἐνὶ χρόνῳ τῶν
all of-little to-lack freed Latins at-one time of-the
καλλίστων ὀνομάτων ἅμα τυχόντες, φονεῖς ἐχθρῶν καὶ
fairest names at-once having-obtained slayers of-enemies and

σωτῆρες οἰκείων καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐθνῶν καὶ οἰκισταὶ πόλεων, οὐ
saviors of-kinsmen and kings of-peoples and founders of-cities not
μετοικισταί, καθάπερ ἦν ὁ Θησεύς, ἐκ πολλῶν συντιθεὶς
transplanters as was — Theseus from many putting-together
καὶ συνοικοδομῶν ἓν οἰκητήριον, ἀναιρῶν δὲ πολλὰς πόλεις
and building-together one dwelling destroying and many cities
ἐπωνύμους βασιλέων καὶ ἡρώων παλαιῶν. Ῥωμύλος δὲ
named of-kings and heroes ancient Romulus but
ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἔδρα, τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναγκάζων τὰ
these-things indeed later did the enemies compelling the
οἰκεῖα καταβάλλοντας καὶ ἀφανίζοντας τοῖς νενικηκόσι
own(-homes) tearing-down and obliterating to-the victors
προσνέμεσθαι· τὸ δὲ πρῶτον οὐ μετατιθεὶς οὐδ' αὔξων
to-be-added the and first not transferring nor increasing
τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν, ἀλλὰ ποιῶν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ
the existing but making from not existing(-things) and
κτώμενος ἑαυτῷ χώραν ὁμοῦ, πατρίδα, βασιλείαν, γένη,
acquiring for-himself land together fatherland kingdom families
γάμους, οἰκειότητας, ἀνῄρει μὲν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἀπώλλυεν,
marriages relationships he-killed indeed no-one nor destroyed
εὐεργέτει δὲ τοὺς ἐξ ἀοίκων καὶ ἀνεστίων δῆμον
benefited and those from homeless and hearthless people
ἐθέλοντας εἶναι καὶ πολίτας. λῃστὰς δὲ καὶ κακούργους
wishing to-be and citizens robbers and and malefactors
οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' ἔθνη προσηγάγετο πολέμῳ καὶ πόλεις
not he-killed but nations won-over by-war and cities
κατεστρέψατο καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐθριάμβευσε καὶ ἡγεμόνας.
subdued and kings led-in-triumph and commanders
Καὶ τὸ μὲν Ῥώμου πάθος ἀμφισβητούμενον ἔχει τὸν
and the indeed of-Romus fate disputed has the
αὐτόχειρα, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς ἑτέρους τῆς αἰτίας τρέπουσι·
slayer and the most onto others of-the blame they-turn

τὴν δὲ μητέρα διολλυμένην ἔσωσε περιφανῶς, καὶ τὸν
the and mother perishing he-saved manifestly and the
πάππον ἀκλεῶς δουλεύοντα καὶ ἀτίμως εἰς τὸν Αἰνείου
grandfather ingloriously serving and dishonorably on the of-Aeneas
θρόνον ἐκάθισε. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἑκὼν εὐεργέτησεν, ἔβλαψε
throne he-seated and many indeed willingly he-benefited he-harmed
δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἄκων. τὴν δὲ Θησέως λήθην καὶ ἀμέλειαν
and him not-even unwillingly the and of-Theseus forgetfulness and neglect
τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱστίον ἐντολῆς μόλις ἂν οἶμαι μακρᾷ τινι
of-the about the sail command hardly — I-think by-long some
παραιτήσει καὶ ἐν ῥᾳθύμοις δικασταῖς αἰτίαν ἀποφυγεῖν
plea and before easy-going judges charge to-escape
πατροκτονίας· ὃ δὴ καὶ συνιδών τις Ἀττικὸς ἀνὴρ ὡς
of-parricide which indeed also having-perceived some Attic man that
παγχάλεπόν ἐστι βουλομένοις ἀπολογεῖσθαι, πλάττει τὸν
very-hard it-is for-those-wishing to-defend(-him) invents —
Αἰγέα τῆς νεὼς προσφερομένης ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀνατρέχοντα
Aegeus the ship approaching in haste running-up
πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θέας ἕνεκα καὶ σφαλλόμενον
to the acropolis of-the-view for-the-sake and slipping
καταπεσεῖν, ὥσπερ ὀπαδῶν ἔρημον, ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ θάλατταν
to-have-fallen as-if of-attendants bereft or the to sea
ὁδὸν σπεύδοντι μὴ παρούσης τινὸς θεραπείας.
road hastening not being-present any service
Καὶ μὴν τὰ περὶ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς τῶν γυναικῶν 6
and indeed the(-faults) about the rapes of-the women
ἡμαρτημένα Θησεῖ μὲν εὐσχήμονος ἐνδεᾶ προφάσεως
committed for-Theseus indeed of-a-decent lacking pretext
γέγονε. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι πολλάκις· ἥρπασε γὰρ Ἀριάδνην
have-been first indeed because often he-carried-off for Ariadne
καὶ Ἀντιόπην καὶ Ἀναξὼ τὴν Τροιζηνίαν, ἐπὶ πάσαις δὲ
and Antiope and Anaxo the Troezenian on all and

τὴν Ἑλένην, παρηκμακὼς οὐκ ἀκμάζουσαν, ἀλλὰ νηπίαν
— *Helen past-his-prime not in-her-prime but child*
καὶ ἄωρον αὐτὸς ὥραν ἔχων ἤδη γάμων πεπαῦσθαι καὶ
and unripe himself the-season having already of-marriages to-have-ceased and
νομίμων· ἔπειτα διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀξιώτεραί γε
lawful(-ones) then because-of the reason not for more-worthy at-least
παιδοποιοὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρεχθηίδων καὶ Κεκροπίδων
child-bearers than-the at-Athens Erechtheid and Cecropid
αἱ Τροιζηνίων καὶ Λακώνων καὶ Ἀμαζόνων ἀνέγγυοι
the(-women) of-Troezenians and Laconians and Amazons unbetrothed
θυγατέρες ἦσαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποψίαν ἔχει πρὸς
daughters were but these-things indeed suspicion have toward
ὕβριν καὶ καθ' ἡδονὴν πεπρᾶχθαι. Ῥωμύλος δὲ πρῶτον
insolence and for pleasure to-have-been-done Romulus and first
μὲν ὀκτακοσίων ὀλίγον ἀριθμῷ δεούσας ἁρπάσας, οὐ
indeed eight-hundred a-little in-number lacking having-carried-off not
πάσας, ἀλλὰ μίαν, ὥς φασιν, Ἑρσιλίαν ἔλαβε, τὰς δ'
all but one as they-say Hersilia took the and
ἄλλας διένειμε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν· ἔπειτα τῇ
others distributed to-the good of-the citizens then by-the
μετὰ ταῦτα τιμῇ καὶ ἀγαπήσει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τῇ
after these-things honor and affection and justice the
περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπέδειξε τὴν βίαν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν
toward the women he-showed the violence that and the
ἀδικίαν κάλλιστον ἔργον καὶ πολιτικώτατον εἰς κοινωνίαν
injustice fairest deed and most-statesmanlike for partnership
γενομένην. οὕτω συνέμιξεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνέπηξε τὰ
having-become so mixed with-one-another and fastened-together the
γένη, καὶ παρέσχε πηγὴν τῆς εἰς αὖθις εὐνοίας καὶ
peoples and provided source of-the for later goodwill and
δυνάμεως τοῖς πράγμασιν. αἰδοῦς δὲ καὶ φιλίας καὶ
power to-the affairs of-modesty and and of-friendship and

βεβαιότητος, ἣν εἰργάσατο περὶ τοὺς γάμους, ὁ χρόνος
of-stability which wrought about the marriages the time
ἐστὶ μάρτυς. ἐν γὰρ ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ διακοσίοις οὔτε
is witness in for years thirty and two-hundred neither
ἀνὴρ ἐτόλμησε γυναικὸς οὔτε γυνὴ κοινωνίαν ἀνδρὸς
man dared of-wife nor wife partnership of-husband
ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐν Ἕλλησιν οἱ σφόδρα περιττοὶ
to-abandon but as among Greeks the very curious
τὸν πρῶτον ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν πατροκτόνον ἢ μητροφόνον,
the first have to-name parricide or matricide
οὕτω Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ἴσασιν ὅτι Καρβίλιος Σπόριος
so Romans all know that Carvilius Spurius
ἀπεπέμψατο γυναῖκα πρῶτος, ἀπαιδίαν αἰτιασάμενος. τῷ
sent-away wife first childlessness alleging to-the
δὲ τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ συμμαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ ἔργα. καὶ γὰρ
and so-great time bear-witness also the facts and for
ἀρχῆς ἐκοινώνησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, καὶ πολιτείας τὰ γένη
of-rule shared the kings and of-citizenship the peoples
διὰ τὴν ἐπιγαμίαν ἐκείνην· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Θησέως γάμων
because-of the intermarriage that from but the of-Theseus marriages
Ἀθηναίοις φιλικὸν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ κοινωνικὸν ὑπῆρξε
for-Athenians friendly indeed nothing nor sociable arose
πρὸς οὐδένα συμβόλαιον, ἔχθραι δὲ καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ φόνοι
with any(-one) bond enmities but and wars and murders
πολιτῶν καὶ τέλος Ἀφίδνας ἀπολέσαι καὶ μόλις ὑπ᾽ οἴκτου
of-citizens and at-last Aphidnae to-lose and hardly from pity
τῶν πολεμίων, προσκυνήσαντας καὶ θεοὺς ἀνειπόντας,
of-the enemy having-done-obeisance and gods having-proclaimed(-them)
μὴ παθεῖν ἃ Τρῶες ἔπαθον δι᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον. ἡ μέντοι
not to-suffer what Trojans suffered because-of Alexander the however
μήτηρ ἡ Θησέως οὐκ ἐκινδύνευσεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔπαθε τὰ τῆς
mother the of-Theseus not was-in-danger but suffered the(-lot) —

Ἑκάβης, ἐγκαταλιπόντος καὶ προεμένου τοῦ παιδός,
of-Hecuba having-left-behind and having-abandoned(-her) the son
εἴγε μὴ πέπλασται τὰ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας, ὡς ἔδει
if-indeed not has-been-invented the(-tale) of-the captivity as it-ought
γε καὶ τοῦτο ψεῦδος εἶναι καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἄλλων.
at-least also this falsehood to-be and the most of-the others
ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ θείου μυθολογούμενα πολλὴν ποιεῖ
since also the(-tales) about the divine told much make
διαφοράν. Ῥωμύλῳ μὲν γὰρ ἡ σωτηρία μετὰ πολλῆς
difference to-Romulus indeed for the deliverance with much
ὑπῆρξε θεῶν εὐμενείας, ὁ δ' Αἰγεῖ δοθεὶς χρησμός,
came of-gods goodwill the but to-Aegeus given oracle
ἀπέχεσθαι γυναικὸς ἐπὶ ξένης, ἔοικεν ἀποφαίνειν παρὰ
to-abstain-from woman in foreign(-land) seems to-show contrary-to
γνώμην θεῶν γεγονέναι τὴν Θησέως τέκνωσιν.
will of-gods to-have-taken-place the of-Theseus begetting

PLUTARCH

ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΣ

Lycurgus

Nothing about Lycurgus is undisputed, least his date: some set him with Iphitus at the first Olympic truce. His ancestors include Soüs, who won the Arcadian land by a trick at a spring, and Eurypon, who loosened the kingship. When his brother the king dies, Lycurgus reigns until the widow is found pregnant, then rules as guardian; feigning assent to her offer to destroy the child if he marries her, he names the newborn son Charilaus king. Slandered by the queen's kin, he travels: to Crete, whence he sends the poet Thales; to Ionia, where he gathers Homer's poems; and perhaps to Egypt.

Περὶ Λυκούργου τοῦ νομοθέτου καθόλου μὲν οὐδὲν ἔστιν 1
about Lycurgus the lawgiver in-general indeed nothing is-possible
εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβήτητον, οὗ γε καὶ γένος καὶ ἀποδημία
to-say undisputed of-whom at-least both birth and travel
καὶ τελευτὴ καὶ πρὸς ἅπασιν ἡ περὶ τοὺς νόμους
and death and in-addition-to all the about the laws
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγματεία διαφόρους ἔσχηκεν
his and the constitution activity differing has-had
ἱστορίας, ἥκιστα δὲ οἱ χρόνοι καθ' οὓς γέγονεν ὁ ἀνὴρ
accounts least and the times in which lived the man
ὁμολογοῦνται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰφίτῳ συνακμάσαι
are-agreed-upon the(-ones) indeed for with-Iphitus to-have-flourished-together
καὶ συνδιαθεῖναι τὴν Ὀλυμπιακὴν ἐκεχειρίαν λέγουσιν
and to-have-arranged-together the Olympic truce say
αὐτόν, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος, τεκμήριον
him of-whom is also Aristotle the philosopher evidence
προσφέρων τὸν Ὀλυμπίασι δίσκον ἐν ᾧ τοὔνομα τοῦ
offering the at-Olympia discus on which the-name —
Λυκούργου διασώζεται καταγεγραμμένον· οἱ δὲ ταῖς
of-Lycurgus is-preserved inscribed the(-others) and by-the
διαδοχαῖς τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βεβασιλευκότων ἀναλεγόμενοι
successions of-those in Sparta having-reigned reckoning-up

τὸν χρόνον, ὥσπερ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος, οὐκ
the time as Eratosthenes and Apollodorus not
ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι πρεσβύτερον ἀποφαίνουσι τῆς πρώτης
by-few years older show(-him) than-the first
Ὀλυμπιάδος. Τίμαιος δὲ ὑπονοεῖ, δυεῖν ἐν Σπάρτῃ
Olympiad Timaeus and suspects two in Sparta
γεγονότων Λυκούργων οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τῷ
having-been Lycurguses not at the same time to-the
ἑτέρῳ τὰς ἀμφοῖν πράξεις διὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀνακεῖσθαι·
one the of-both deeds because-of the fame to-be-ascribed
καὶ τόν γε πρεσβύτερον οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ὁμήρου
and the at-least older not far from-the of-Homer
γεγονέναι χρόνων, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κατ' ὄψιν ἐντυχεῖν Ὁμήρῳ.
to-have-lived times some and even in sight to-have-met Homer
δίδωσι δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν ὑπόνοιαν ἀρχαιότητος ἐν οἷς τὸν
gives and also Xenophon suspicion of-antiquity in which the
ἄνδρα λέγει γεγονέναι κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας. γένει
man he-says to-have-lived in-the-time-of the Heraclidae by-race
μὲν γὰρ Ἡρακλεῖδαι δήπουθεν ἦσαν καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι τῶν
indeed for Heraclidae surely were also the most-recent of-the
ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλέων, ὁ δὲ ἔοικε βουλομένῳ τοὺς πρώτους
in Sparta kings he but seems wishing the first
ἐκείνους καὶ σύνεγγυς Ἡρακλέους ὀνομάζειν Ἡρακλείδας.
those and near Heracles to-name Heraclidae
Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως πεπλανημένης τῆς ἱστορίας,
not indeed but although so having-wandered the history
πειρασόμεθα τοῖς βραχυτάτας ἔχουσιν ἀντιλογίας ἢ
we-shall-try those briefest having contradictions or
γνωριμωτάτους μάρτυρας ἑπόμενοι τῶν γεγραμμένων
the-best-known witnesses following of-the(-things) written
περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποδοῦναι τὴν διήγησιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ Σιμωνίδης
about the man to-give the narrative since also Simonides

ὁ ποιητὴς οὐκ Εὐνόμου λέγει τὸν Λυκοῦργον πατρός,
the poet not of-Eunomus says — Lycurgus (as)-father
ἀλλὰ Πρυτάνιδος καὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον καὶ τὸν Εὔνομον,
but of-Prytanis and — Lycurgus and — Eunomus
οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι σχεδὸν οὐχ οὕτω γενεαλογοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ
the but most nearly not so trace-the-descent but
Προκλέους μὲν τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου γενέσθαι Σόον, Σόου δὲ
of-Procles indeed the son-of-Aristodemus to-have-been Soüs of-Soüs and
Εὐρυπῶντα, τούτου δὲ Πρύτανιν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ Εὔνομον,
Eurypon of-this(-man) and Prytanis from this(-man) and Eunomus
Εὐνόμου δὲ Πολυδέκτην ἐκ προτέρας γυναικός, Λυκοῦργον
of-Eunomus and Polydectes from a-former wife Lycurgus
δὲ νεώτερον ἐκ Διωνάσσης, ὡς Διευτυχίδας ἱστόρηκεν,
and younger from Dionassa as Dieutychidas has-recorded
ἕκτον μὲν ἀπὸ Προκλέους, ἑνδέκατον δὲ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους.
sixth indeed from Procles eleventh and from Heracles
Τῶν δὲ προγόνων αὐτοῦ μάλιστα μὲν ἐθαυμάσθη Σόος, 2
of-the and ancestors his most indeed was-admired Soüs
ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τοὺς εἵλωτας ἐποιήσαντο δούλους οἱ
in whose(-time) also the helots made slaves the
Σπαρτιᾶται καὶ χώραν προσεκτήσαντο πολλὴν Ἀρκάδων
Spartans and land acquired-besides much from-Arcadians
ἀποτεμόμενοι. λέγεται δὲ τὸν Σόον ἐν χωρίῳ χαλεπῷ
cutting(-it)-off it-is-said and — Soüs in a-place difficult
καὶ ἀνύδρῳ πολιορκούμενον ὑπὸ Κλειτορίων, ὁμολογῆσαι
and waterless being-besieged by Cleitorians to-have-agreed
τὴν δορίκτητον γῆν αὐτοῖς ἀφήσειν, εἰ πίοι καὶ αὐτὸς
the spear-won land to-them to-give-up if should-drink both himself
καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς πλησίον πηγῆς.
and the(-men) with him all from the nearby spring
γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὁρκίων συναγαγόντα τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ
having-been and the oaths gathering the(-men) with himself

διδόναι τῷ μὴ πιόντι τὴν βασιλείαν· οὐδενὸς δὲ
to-give to-the(-one) not drinking the kingship none and
καρτερήσαντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων πιόντων, αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι
having-endured but all having-drunk himself after all
καταβάντα καὶ περιρρανάμενον ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων παρόντων
going-down and sprinkling(-himself) still the enemies being-present
ἀπελθεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατασχεῖν, ὡς μὴ πάντων πιόντων.
to-go-away and the land to-hold as not all having-drunk
Ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐπὶ τούτοις θαυμάζοντες αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ
but although for these admiring him not from
τούτου τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ προσηγόρευσαν
this(-man) the house but from-the son his they-named
Εὐρυπωντίδας, ὅτι δοκεῖ πρῶτος Εὐρυπῶν τὸ ἄγαν
Eurypontidae because seems first Eurypon the excessive
μοναρχικὸν ἀνεῖναι τῆς βασιλείας, δημαγωγῶν καὶ
monarchical(-element) to-relax of-the kingship courting-the-people and
χαριζόμενος τοῖς πολλοῖς. ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνέσεως
gratifying the many from and the such relaxation
τοῦ μὲν δήμου θρασυνομένου, τῶν δ' ὕστερον βασιλέων
the indeed people growing-bold of-the and later kings
τὰ μὲν ἀπεχθανομένων τῷ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς πολλούς, τὰ
partly indeed being-hated by-the to-force the many partly
δὲ πρὸς χάριν ἢ δι' ἀσθένειαν ὑποφερομένων, ἀνομία
and toward favor or through weakness giving-way lawlessness
καὶ ἀταξία κατέσχε τὴν Σπάρτην ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον· ὑφ'
and disorder held — Sparta for much time by
ἧς καὶ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Λυκούργου βασιλεύοντα συνέβη
which also the father — of-Lycurgus reigning it-happened
τελευτῆσαι. διερύκων γὰρ ἁψιμαχίαν τινά, μαγειρικῇ
to-die separating for brawl a-certain by-a-cook's

κοπίδι πληγεὶς ἀπέθανε, τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ παιδὶ Πολυδέκτῃ
knife struck he-died to-the elder son Polydectes
καταλιπὼν τὴν βασιλείαν.
leaving the kingship
Ἀποθανόντος δὲ καὶ τούτου μετ᾽ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔδει 3
having-died and also this(-one) after little time it-was-necessary
βασιλεύειν, ὡς πάντες ᾤοντο, τὸν Λυκοῦργον· καὶ πρίν
to-reign as all thought — Lycurgus and before
γε τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φανερὰν γενέσθαι κύουσαν
at-least the wife of-the brother evident to-become being-pregnant
ἐβασίλευεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο τάχιστα ᾔσθετο, τὴν μὲν
he-reigned when and this most-quickly he-perceived the indeed
βασιλείαν ἀπέφηνε τοῦ παιδὸς οὖσαν, ἄνπερ ἄρρην γένηται,
kingship he-declared of-the child being if-indeed male it-be-born
τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ὡς ἐπίτροπος διεῖπε. τοὺς δὲ τῶν
the but rule himself as guardian administered the and of-the
ὀρφανῶν βασιλέων ἐπιτρόπους Λακεδαιμόνιοι προδίκους
orphaned kings guardians Lacedaemonians prodikoi
ὠνόμαζον. ὡς δὲ ἡ γυνὴ προσέπεμπε κρύφα καὶ λόγους
named when and the woman sent-messages secretly and proposals
ἐποιεῖτο, βουλομένη διαφθεῖραι τὸ βρέφος ἐπὶ τῷ
made wishing to-destroy the babe on-condition-of the
συνοικεῖν ἐκείνῳ βασιλεύοντι τῆς Σπάρτης, τὸ μὲν ἦθος
to-marry him reigning — of-Sparta the indeed character
αὐτῆς ἐμίσησε, πρὸς δὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀντεῖπεν,
her he-hated toward but the proposal itself not he-spoke-against
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπαινεῖν καὶ δέχεσθαι προσποιούμενος, οὐκ ἔφη δεῖν
but to-praise and to-accept pretending not he-said it-needful
ἀμβλίσκουσαν αὐτὴν καὶ φαρμακευομένην διαλυμαίνεσθαι τὸ
miscarrying her and taking-drugs to-ruin the
σῶμα καὶ κινδυνεύειν· αὐτῷ γὰρ μελήσειν ὅπως εὐθὺς
body and to-run-risk to-him for it-would-be-a-care so-that at-once

ἐκποδὼν ἔσται τὸ γεννηθέν. οὕτω δὲ παραγαγὼν
out-of-the-way will-be the(-thing) born so and leading(-her)-on
ἄχρι τοῦ τόκου τὴν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς ᾔσθετο τίκτουσαν,
until the birth the woman when he-perceived(-her) giving-birth
εἰσέπεμψε παρέδρους ταῖς ὠδῖσιν αὐτῆς καὶ φύλακας, οἷς
he-sent-in attendants to-the labors her and guards to-whom
ἦν προστεταγμένον, ἐὰν μὲν θῆλυ τεχθῇ, παραδοῦναι
it-was commanded if indeed female be-born to-hand(-it)-over
ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἐὰν δὲ ἄρρεν, κομίσαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὅ
to-the women if and male to-bring(-it) to himself what
τι ἂν τύχῃ πράττων. ἔτυχε δὲ δειπνοῦντος αὐτοῦ
ever — he-happen doing it-happened and dining him
μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀποκυηθὲν ἄρρεν· καὶ παρῆσαν οἱ
with the magistrates born male and were-present the
ὑπηρέται τὸ παιδάριον αὐτῷ κομίζοντες. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος,
servants the little-boy to-him bringing he and receiving(-it)
ὡς λέγεται, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἰπών, "Βασιλεὺς
as it-is-said also to the(-men) present saying a-king
ὑμῖν γέγονεν, ὦ Σπαρτιᾶται," κατέκλινεν ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ
to-you has-been-born O Spartans laid(-him) in the royal
χώρᾳ καὶ Χαρίλαον ὠνόμασε διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντας
place and Charilaus named(-him) because-of the the all
εἶναι περιχαρεῖς, ἀγαμένους αὐτοῦ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν
to-be overjoyed admiring his the spirit and the
δικαιοσύνην. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ μῆνας ὀκτὼ τὸ σύμπαν. ἦν δὲ
justice he-reigned and months eight the whole was and
καὶ τἆλλα περίβλεπτος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ πλείονες
also in-the-rest admired by the citizens and more
ἐγένοντο τῶν ὡς ἐπιτρόπῳ βασιλέως καὶ βασιλικὴν
were than-the(-ones) as to-a-guardian of-a-king and royal

ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντι πειθομένων οἱ δι᾽ ἀρετὴν προσέχοντες
power having obeying(-him) those through virtue attending
αὐτῷ καὶ ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντες ἑτοίμως τὸ προσταττόμενον.
to-him and to-do willing readily the(-thing) commanded
Ἦν δέ τι καὶ τὸ φθονοῦν καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν ὄντι
there-was and some(-thing) also the envying and toward the growth being
νέῳ πειρώμενον ἐνίστασθαι, μάλιστα μὲν οἱ συγγενεῖς καὶ
young trying to-oppose most indeed the kinsmen and
οἰκεῖοι τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως μητρὸς ὑβρίσθαι δοκούσης,
intimates of-the the of-king mother to-have-been-insulted seeming
ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς Λεωνίδας καὶ θρασύτερόν ποτε τῷ
the and brother her Leonidas also rather-boldly once —
Λυκούργῳ λοιδορηθείς, ὑπεῖπεν ὡς εἰδείη σαφῶς μέλλοντα
at-Lycurgus having-railed hinted that he-knew clearly being-about
βασιλεύειν αὐτόν, ὑπόνοιαν διδοὺς καὶ προκαταλαμβάνων
to-reign him suspicion giving and forestalling
διαβολῇ τὸν Λυκοῦργον, εἴ τι συμβαίη τῷ βασιλεῖ
by-slander — Lycurgus if anything should-happen to-the king
παθεῖν, ὡς ἐπιβεβουλευκότα. τοιοῦτοι δέ τινες λόγοι καὶ
to-suffer as having-plotted such and some words also
παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξεφοίτων· ἐφ᾽ οἷς βαρέως φέρων
from the woman went-abroad at which heavily bearing(-it)
καὶ δεδοικὼς τὸ ἄδηλον, ἔγνω φυγεῖν ἀποδημίᾳ τὴν
and fearing the uncertain he-resolved to-flee by-travel the
ὑπόνοιαν, καὶ πλανηθῆναι μέχρις ἂν ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐν
suspicion and to-wander until — the nephew in
ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος τεκνώσῃ διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας.
age having-come should-beget a-successor of-the kingship
Οὕτως ἀπάρας πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Κρήτην ἀφίκετο· καὶ τὰς 4
so setting-sail first indeed to Crete he-came and the
αὐτόθι πολιτείας κατανοήσας καὶ συγγενόμενος τοῖς
there constitutions having-studied and having-associated-with the(-men)

πρωτεύουσι κατὰ δόξαν ἀνδράσι, τὰ μὲν ἐζήλωσε
foremost in reputation men some(-things) indeed he-admired
καὶ παρέλαβε τῶν νόμων, ὡς οἴκαδε μετοίσων καὶ
and took-over of-the laws as home to-carry(-them) and
χρησόμενος, ἔστι δ' ὧν κατεφρόνησεν. ἕνα δὲ
to-use(-them) there-are and (some)-of-which he-despised one and
τῶν νομιζομένων ἐκεῖ σοφῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν χάριτι καὶ
of-the(-men) reputed there wise and statesmanlike by-favor and
φιλίᾳ πείσας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, Θάλητα,
friendship having-persuaded he-sent to — Sparta Thales
ποιητὴν μὲν δοκοῦντα λυρικῶν μελῶν καὶ πρόσχημα τὴν
a-poet indeed seeming of-lyric songs and pretext the
τέχνην ταύτην πεποιημένον, ἔργῳ δὲ ἅπερ οἱ κράτιστοι
art this having-made in-deed and what the best
τῶν νομοθετῶν διαπραττόμενον. λόγοι γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ
of-the lawgivers accomplishing words for were the
ᾠδαὶ πρὸς εὐπείθειαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἀνακλητικοί, διὰ
songs to obedience and concord summoning through
μελῶν ἅμα καὶ ῥυθμῶν πολὺ τὸ κόσμιον ἐχόντων καὶ
tunes at-once and rhythms much the orderly having and
καταστατικόν, ὧν ἀκροώμενοι κατεπραΰνοντο λεληθότως
calming to-which listening were-softened imperceptibly
τὰ ἤθη καὶ συνῳκειοῦντο τῷ ζήλῳ τῶν καλῶν ἐκ
the characters and were-reconciled to-the emulation of-the noble(-things) from
τῆς ἐπιχωριαζούσης τότε πρὸς ἀλλήλους κακοθυμίας, ὥστε
the prevailing then toward one-another ill-will so-that
τρόπον τινὰ τῷ Λυκούργῳ προοδοποιεῖν τὴν παίδευσιν
in-a-way some — for-Lycurgus to-prepare-the-road-for the training
αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον.
of-them that(-man)

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐπὶ Ἀσίαν ἔπλευσε,
from and — Crete — Lycurgus to Asia sailed
βουλόμενος, ὡς λέγεται, ταῖς Κρητικαῖς διαίταις, εὐτελέσιν
wishing as it-is-said to-the Cretan ways-of-life simple
οὔσαις καὶ αὐστηραῖς, τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πολυτελείας καὶ
being and austere the Ionian extravagances and
τρυφάς, ὥσπερ ἰατρὸς σώμασιν ὑγιεινοῖς ὕπουλα καὶ
luxuries like a-physician to-bodies healthy festering and
νοσώδη, παραβαλὼν ἀποθεωρῆσαι τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν βίων
diseased comparing to-observe the difference of-the lives
καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν. ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ὁμήρου ποιήμασιν
and of-the constitutions there and also the of-Homer poems
ἐντυχὼν πρῶτον, ὡς ἔοικε, παρὰ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῖς
having-met first as it-seems among the descendants the
Κρεοφύλου διατηρουμένοις, καὶ κατιδὼν ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς
of-Creophylus preserved and having-observed in them of-the
πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀκρασίαν διατριβῆς τὸ πολιτικὸν καὶ
toward pleasure and license diversion the political and
παιδευτικὸν οὐκ ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἀναμεμιγμένον,
educational not of-lesser worthy seriousness mixed-in
ἐγράψατο προθύμως καὶ συνήγαγεν ὡς δεῦρο κομιῶν.
he-wrote(-them)-down eagerly and collected(-them) as here to-bring(-them)
ἦν γάρ τις ἤδη δόξα τῶν ἐπῶν ἀμαυρὰ παρὰ τοῖς
there-was for some already fame of-the epics faint among the
Ἕλλησιν, ἐκέκτητο δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ μέρη τινά, σποράδην
Greeks possessed and not many parts some scattered
τῆς ποιήσεως, ὡς ἔτυχε, διαφερομένης· γνωρίμην δὲ
of-the poetry as it-happened being-carried-about known and
αὐτὴν καὶ μάλιστα πρῶτος ἐποίησε Λυκοῦργος.
it and most first made Lycurgus

Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὑτοὺς ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Λυκοῦργον
Egyptians and also to themselves to-have-come — Lycurgus
οἴονται, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν τοῦ μαχίμου
think and the from the other classes of-the fighting(-class)
διάκρισιν μάλιστα θαυμάσαντα μετενεγκεῖν εἰς τὴν
separation most having-admired to-have-transferred to —
Σπάρτην, καὶ χωρίσαντα τοὺς βαναύσους καὶ χειροτέχνας
Sparta and having-separated the mechanics and handicraftsmen
ἀστεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ καθαρὸν ἀποδεῖξαι.
refined as truly the polity and pure to-have-made
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Αἰγυπτίοις ἔνιοι καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν
these-things indeed then to-Egyptians some even of-the Greek
συγγραφέων μαρτυροῦσιν· ὅτι δὲ καὶ Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίαν
historians bear-witness that and also Libya and Iberia
ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Λυκοῦργος καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν πλανηθεὶς
visited — Lycurgus and about — India having-wandered
τοῖς Γυμνοσοφισταῖς ὡμίλησεν, οὐδένα πλὴν Ἀριστοκράτη
with-the Gymnosophists conversed no-one except Aristocrates
τὸν Ἱππάρχου Σπαρτιάτην εἰρηκότα γινώσκομεν.
the son-of-Hipparchus a-Spartan having-said we-know

The Spartans call Lycurgus home. Consulting Delphi, he is greeted as more god than man and promised the best constitution. With thirty armed nobles he takes the agora, and the frightened Charilaus joins him. He founds the council of twenty-eight elders as a ballast between kings and people, brings the oracle called the rhetra, and fixes the assemblies between Babyca and Cnacion; the later kings Polydorus and Theopompus add a rider letting kings and elders set aside the people's crooked choices, which Tyrtaeus' verses recall. The ephors come later. He then redivides the land into equal lots.

Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἐπόθουν ἀπόντα καὶ
the and Lacedaemonians — Lycurgus longed-for being-absent and
μετεπέμποντο πολλάκις, ὡς τοὺς μὲν βασιλεῖς ὄνομα καὶ
sent-for(-him) often since the indeed kings name and
τιμήν, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν διαφέρον τῶν πολλῶν ἔχοντας, ἐν
honor other and nothing differing from-the many having in
ἐκείνῳ δὲ φύσιν ἡγεμονικὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἀνθρώπων ἀγωγὸν
that(-man) and a-nature fit-to-lead and power of-men leading
οὖσαν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἦν ἀβούλητος ἡ
being not indeed not-even to-the kings was unwelcome the
παρουσία τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἤλπιζον ἐκείνου συμπαρόντος
presence of-the man but they-hoped him being-present-with(-them)
ἧττον ὑβρίζουσι χρῆσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς. ἐπανελθὼν οὖν πρὸς
less being-insolent to-treat the many having-returned then to
οὕτω διακειμένους εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει τὰ παρόντα κινεῖν καὶ
so disposed(-men) at-once he-undertook the present(-things) to-move and
μεθιστάναι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὡς τῶν κατὰ μέρος νόμων οὐδὲν
to-change the constitution as of-the by part laws no
ἔργον οὐδὲ ὄφελος, εἰ μή τις ὥσπερ σώματι πονηρῷ
work nor benefit if not anyone as-if in-a-body bad
καὶ γέμοντι παντοδαπῶν νοσημάτων τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν
and full of-all-kinds diseases the existing

ἐκτήξας καὶ μεταβαλὼν κρᾶσιν ὑπὸ φαρμάκων
having-melted-away and having-changed temperament by drugs
καὶ καθαρμῶν ἑτέρας ἄρξεται καινῆς διαίτης. διανοηθεὶς
and purgations another will-begin new regimen having-thought
δὲ ταῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς Δελφούς· καὶ
and these-things first indeed he-traveled to Delphi and
τῷ θεῷ θύσας καὶ χρησάμενος ἐπανῆλθε τὸν
to-the god having-sacrificed and having-consulted(-the-oracle) he-returned the
διαβόητον ἐκεῖνον χρησμὸν κομίζων, ᾧ θεοφιλῆ μὲν
famous that oracle bringing in-which god-beloved indeed
αὐτὸν ἡ Πυθία προσεῖπε καὶ θεὸν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνθρωπον,
him — Pythia addressed and god rather than man
εὐνομίας δὲ χρῄζοντι διδόναι καὶ καταινεῖν ἔφη τὸν
good-order and to-him-needing to-grant and to-assent she-said the
θεὸν ἢ πολὺ κρατίστη τῶν ἄλλων ἔσται πολιτειῶν.
god which far best of-the other will-be constitutions
Ἐπαρθεὶς δὲ τούτοις προσήγετο τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ
having-been-elated and by-these he-brought-over the best(-men) and
συνεφάπτεσθαι παρεκάλει, κρύφα διαλεγόμενος τοῖς φίλοις
to-take-hold-together he-urged secretly conversing-with the friends
πρῶτον, εἶτα οὕτως κατὰ μικρὸν ἁπτόμενος πλειόνων καὶ
first then so by little touching more and
συνιστὰς ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν. ὡς δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἦκε, τριάκοντα
uniting(-them) for the deed when and the moment came thirty
τοὺς πρώτους ἐκέλευσε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἕωθεν εἰς
the first(-men) he-ordered with the arms at-dawn into
ἀγορὰν προελθεῖν ἐκπλήξεως ἕνεκα καὶ φόβου πρὸς
the-market-place to-come-forward of-consternation for-the-sake-of and fear toward
τοὺς ἀντιπράττοντας. ὧν εἴκοσι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους
the(-men) opposing of-whom twenty the most-notable
Ἕρμιππος ἀνέγραψε· τὸν δὲ μάλιστα τῶν Λυκούργου
Hermippus recorded the(-one) and most in-the of-Lycurgus

ἔργων κοινωνήσαντα πάντων καὶ συμπραγματευσάμενον
works having-shared all and having-cooperated-in
τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους Ἀρθμιάδαν ὀνομάζουσιν. ἀρχομένης
the(-things) about the laws Arthmiadas they-name beginning
δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς Χαρίλαος φοβηθεὶς ὡς
and of-the confusion the king Charilaus having-been-afraid as
ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὅλης τῆς πράξεως συνισταμένης, κατέφυγε
against him whole of-the action being-organized fled
πρὸς τὴν Χαλκίοικον· εἶτα πεισθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν
to the Brazen-House then having-been-persuaded and taking
ὅρκους ἀνέστη καὶ μετεῖχε τῶν πραττομένων, φύσει
oaths he-rose-up and took-part-in the(-things) being-done by-nature
πρᾷος ὤν· ὥς που καὶ λέγεται συμβασιλεύοντα τὸν
gentle being as somewhere also it-is-said reigning-jointly —
Ἀρχέλαον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκωμιάζοντας τὸν νεανίσκον
Archelaus with-him to the(-men) praising the young-man
εἰπεῖν· “Πῶς δ᾽ ἂν εἴη Χαρίλαος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ὃς
to-have-said how and — would-be Charilaus a-man good who
οὐδὲ τοῖς πονηροῖς χαλεπός ἐστι;”
not-even to-the wicked harsh is
Πλειόνων δὲ καινοτομουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυκούργου πρῶτον
many and being-innovated by — Lycurgus first
ἦν καὶ μέγιστον ἡ κατάστασις τῶν γερόντων, ἥν φησιν ὁ
was and greatest the institution of-the elders which says —
Πλάτων τῇ τῶν βασιλέων ἀρχῇ φλεγμαινούσῃ μιχθεῖσαν
Plato to-the of-the kings rule inflamed mixed
καὶ γενομένην ἰσόψηφον εἰς τὰ μέγιστα σωτηρίαν ἅμα
and having-become of-equal-vote in the greatest(-matters) safety at-once
καὶ σωφροσύνην παρασχεῖν. αἰωρουμένη γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία καὶ
and moderation to-have-provided swaying for the constitution and
ἀποκλίνουσα νῦν μὲν ὡς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ τυραννίδα, νῦν
inclining now indeed toward the kings to tyranny now

δὲ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ δημοκρατίαν, οἷον ἔρμα τὴν τῶν
and toward the multitude to democracy as-it-were ballast the of-the
γερόντων ἀρχὴν ἐν μέσῳ θεμένη καὶ ἰσορροπήσασα τὴν
elders rule in middle having-placed and having-balanced the
ἀσφαλεστάτην τάξιν ἔσχε καὶ κατάστασιν, ἀεὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ
safest order had and condition always the eight
καὶ εἴκοσι γερόντων τοῖς μὲν βασιλεῦσι προστιθεμένων
and twenty elders with-the indeed kings siding
ὅσον ἀντιβῆναι πρὸς δημοκρατίαν, αὖθις δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
as-much-as to-resist against democracy again and on-behalf-of the
μὴ γενέσθαι τυραννίδα τὸν δῆμον ἀναρρωννύντων. τοσούτους
not to-arise tyranny the people strengthening so-many
δέ φησι κατασταθῆναι τοὺς γέροντας Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι
and says to-have-been-appointed the elders Aristotle because
τριάκοντα τῶν πρώτων μετὰ Λυκούργου γενομένων δύο
thirty of-the first(-men) with Lycurgus having-been two
τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐγκατέλιπον ἀποδειλιάσαντες. ὁ δὲ Σφαῖρος
the deed abandoned having-lost-heart — but Sphaerus
ἐξ ἀρχῆς φησι τοσούτους γενέσθαι τοὺς τῆς γνώμης
from beginning says so-many to-have-been the(-men) of-the plan
μετασχόντας. εἴη δ' ἄν τι καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ
having-shared might-be and — something also the of-the number
δι' ἑβδομάδος τετράδι πολλαπλασιασθείσης ἀποτελούμενον,
by seven by-four multiplied being-completed
καὶ ὅτι τοῖς αὑτοῦ μέρεσιν ἴσος ὢν μετὰ τὴν ἑξάδα
and because to-the its-own parts equal being after the six
τέλειός ἐστιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τοσούτους ἀποδεῖξαι
perfect it-is to-me but it-seems most so-many to-have-appointed
τοὺς γέροντας ὅπως οἱ πάντες εἶεν τριάκοντα, τοῖς
the elders so-that the all might-be thirty to-the
ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τοῖν δυοῖν βασιλέοιν προστιθεμένοιν.
eight and twenty the two kings being-added

Οὕτω δὲ περὶ ταύτην ἐσπούδασε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Λυκοῦργος 6
so and about this was-zealous the office — Lycurgus
ὥστε μαντείαν ἐκ Δελφῶν κομίσαι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἣν
so-that an-oracle from Delphi to-bring about it which
ῥήτραν καλοῦσιν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· "Διὸς Συλλανίου καὶ
rhetra they-call it-runs and thus of-Zeus Syllanius and
Ἀθανᾶς Συλλανίας ἱερὸν ἱδρυσάμενον, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα
of-Athena Syllania a-temple having-founded tribes having-tribed
καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα, τριάκοντα γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις
and obes having-obed thirty a-senate with leaders
καταστήσαντα, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν μεταξὺ Βαβύκας
having-established season from season to-hold-assembly between Babyca
τε καὶ Κνακιῶνος, οὕτως εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι·
both and Cnacion so to-introduce both and to-withdraw
δάμῳ δὲ τὰν κυρίαν ἦμεν καὶ κράτος." ἐν τούτοις
to-the-people and the deciding(-voice) to-be and power in these(-words)
τὸ μὲν φυλὰς φυλάξαι καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαι διελεῖν ἐστι καὶ
the indeed tribes to-tribe and obes to-obe to-divide is and
κατανεῖμαι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς μερίδας, ὧν τὰς μὲν φυλάς,
to-distribute the multitude into portions of-which the(-ones) indeed tribes
τὰς δὲ ὠβὰς προσηγόρευκεν. ἀρχαγέται δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς
the(-others) and obes he-has-called leaders and the kings
λέγονται, τὸ δὲ ἀπελλάζειν ἐκκλησιάζειν· ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν
are-called the and to-hold-assembly to-assemble because the beginning
καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὸν Πύθιον ἀνῆψε. τὴν
and the cause of-the constitution to the Pythian(-god) he-attached —
δὲ Βαβύκαν Χείμαρρος, καὶ τὸν Κνακιῶνα νῦν Οἰνοῦντα
and Babyca Cheimarrus and — Cnacion now Oenus
προσαγορεύουσιν· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ τὸν μὲν Κνακιῶνα
they-call Aristotle and — indeed Cnacion
ποταμόν, τὴν δὲ Βαβύκαν γέφυραν. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τούτων τὰς
a-river — and Babyca a-bridge in middle and of-these the

ἐκκλησίας ἦγον, οὔτε παστάδων οὐσῶν οὔτε ἄλλης τινὸς
assemblies they-held neither porticoes being nor other any
κατασκευῆς. οὐθὲν γὰρ ᾤετο ταῦτα πρὸς εὐβουλίαν εἶναι,
structure nothing for he-thought these-things toward good-counsel to-be
μᾶλλον δὲ βλάπτειν, φλυαρώδεις ἀπεργαζόμενα καὶ χαύνους
rather but to-harm silly making and vain
φρονήματι κενῷ τὰς διανοίας τῶν συμπορευομένων,
with-a-spirit empty the thoughts of-those coming-together
ὅταν εἰς ἀγάλματα καὶ γραφὰς ἢ προσκήνια θεάτρων ἢ
whenever on statues and paintings or stage-fronts of-theaters or
στέγας βουλευτηρίων ἠσκημένας περιττῶς ἐκκλησιάζοντες
roofs of-council-halls adorned extravagantly assembling
ἀποβλέπωσι. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἀθροισθέντος εἰπεῖν μὲν
they-gaze the and multitude having-been-gathered to-speak indeed
οὐδενὶ γνώμην τῶν ἄλλων ἐφεῖτο, τὴν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν
to-no-one opinion of-the others it-was-permitted the(-opinion) but by the
γερόντων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων προτεθεῖσαν ἐπικρῖναι κύριος
elders and the kings proposed to-decide sovereign
ἦν ὁ δῆμος. ὕστερον μέντοι τῶν πολλῶν ἀφαιρέσει καὶ
was the people later however the many by-taking-away and
προσθέσει τὰς γνώμας διαστρεφόντων καὶ παραβιαζομένων,
by-adding the opinions distorting and forcing
Πολύδωρος καὶ Θεόπομπος οἱ βασιλεῖς τάδε τῇ ῥήτρᾳ
Polydorus and Theopompus the kings these(-words) to-the rhetra
παρενέγραψαν· "Αἰ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἕλοιτο, τοὺς
inserted if but crooked(-opinion) the people should-choose the
πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατῆρας ἦμεν," τοῦτ'
elders and leaders dismissers to-be this
ἔστι μὴ κυροῦν, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαλύειν
is not to-ratify but altogether to-withdraw and to-dissolve
τὸν δῆμον, ὡς ἐκτρέποντα καὶ μεταποιοῦντα τὴν γνώμην
the people as perverting and altering the opinion

παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἔπεισαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν
contrary-to the best they-persuaded and also themselves the city
ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα προστάσσοντος, ὥς που Τυρταῖος
as the god these-things commanding as somewhere Tyrtaeus
ἐπιμέμνηται διὰ τούτων·
mentions through these(-lines)

Φοίβου ἀκούσαντες Πυθωνόθεν οἴκαδ' ἔνεικαν
Of-Phoebus having-heard from-Pytho home they-brought
μαντείας τε θεοῦ καὶ τελέεντ' ἔπεα·
oracles both of-the-god and fulfilled words
ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας,
to-rule indeed of-council god-honored kings
οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτας ἱμερόεσσα πόλις,
to-whom is-dear of-Sparta lovely city
πρεσβύτας τε γέροντας, ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἄνδρας,
aged both elders then and men-of-the-people men
εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους.
with-straight rhetras answering-in-turn

Οὕτω τὸ πολίτευμα τοῦ Λυκούργου μίξαντος, ὅμως 7
so the polity — Lycurgus having-mixed nevertheless
ἄκρατον ἔτι τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ ἰσχυρὰν οἱ μετ'
unmixed still the oligarchy and strong the(-men) after
αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες σπαργῶσαν καὶ θυμουμένην, ὥς φησιν ὁ
him seeing swelling and raging as says —
Πλάτων, οἷον ψάλιον ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτῇ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων
Plato as-it-were a-curb they-cast-on it the of-the ephors
δύναμιν, ἔτεσί που μάλιστα τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν
power in-years somewhere about thirty and a-hundred
μετὰ Λυκοῦργον πρώτων τῶν περὶ Ἔλατον ἐφόρων
after Lycurgus first the about Elatus ephors

καταστaθέντων ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου βασιλεύοντος· ὃν καί
having-been-appointed in-the-time-of Theopompus reigning whom also
φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ὀνειδιζόμενον ὡς ἐλάττω
they-say by the his-own wife being-reproached as less
παραδώσοντα τοῖς παισὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἢ παρέλαβε,
going-to-hand-over to-the children the kingship than he-received
"Μείζω μὲν οὖν," εἰπεῖν, "ὅσῳ χρονιωτέραν." τῷ
greater indeed then to-have-said by-as-much-as more-lasting in-the
γὰρ ὄντι τὸ ἄγαν ἀποβαλοῦσα μετὰ τοῦ φθόνου διέφυγε
for reality the excess having-cast-off with the envy it-escaped
τὸν κίνδυνον, ὥστε μὴ παθεῖν ἃ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι
the danger so-that not to-suffer what Messenians and Argives
τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς βασιλεῖς ἔδρασαν, μηδὲν ἐνδοῦναι μηδὲ
the among them kings did nothing to-yield nor
χαλάσαι τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐθελήσαντας. ὃ
to-relax of-the authority to the popular(-side) having-been-willing which
καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Λυκούργου σοφίαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ἐποίησε
also most the of-Lycurgus wisdom and foresight made
φανερὰν εἰς τὰς Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ἀργείων, συγγενῶν καὶ
evident to the of-Messenians and of-Argives kinsmen and
γειτόνων, δήμων καὶ βασιλέων στάσεις καὶ κακοπολιτείας
neighbors of-peoples and of-kings factions and misgovernments
ἀφορῶσιν, οἳ τῶν ἴσων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τετυχηκότες, ἐν
to-(those)-looking who the equal(-things) from beginning having-obtained in
δὲ τῷ κλήρῳ καὶ πλέον ἔχειν ἐκείνων δόξαντες, οὐκ
and the allotment even more to-have than-those having-seemed not
ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον εὐδαιμόνησαν, ἀλλ' ὕβρει μὲν τῶν
for much time prospered but by-insolence indeed of-the
βασιλέων, οὐκ εὐπειθείᾳ δὲ τῶν ὄχλων, τὰ καθεστῶτα
kings not by-obedience and of-the mobs the established(-order)
συνταράξαντες ἔδειξαν ὅτι θεῖον ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐτύχημα
having-confounded showed that divine was as truly a-blessing

τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ὁ τὴν πολιτείαν ἁρμοσάμενος καὶ
for-the Spartans the(-man) the constitution having-framed and
κεράσας παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον.
tempered among them these-things indeed then later
Δεύτερον δὲ τῶν Λυκούργου πολιτευμάτων καὶ νεανικώτατον 8
second and of-the of-Lycurgus measures and most-youthfully-bold
ὁ τῆς γῆς ἀναδασμός ἐστι. δεινῆς γὰρ οὔσης ἀνωμαλίας καὶ
the of-the land redistribution is terrible for being inequality and
πολλῶν ἀκτημόνων καὶ ἀπόρων ἐπιφερομένων τῇ πόλει,
many landless and resourceless(-men) being-burdensome to-the city
τοῦ δὲ πλούτου παντάπασιν εἰς ὀλίγους συνερρυηκότος,
the and wealth altogether into few having-flowed-together
ὕβριν καὶ φθόνον καὶ κακουργίαν καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ τὰ
insolence and envy and wickedness and luxury and the
τούτων ἔτι πρεσβύτερα καὶ μείζω νοσήματα πολιτείας,
than-these still older and greater diseases of-a-constitution
πλοῦτον καὶ πενίαν, ἐξελαύνων, συνέπεισε τὴν χώραν
wealth and poverty driving-out he-persuaded the land
ἅπασαν εἰς μέσον θέντας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναδάσασθαι, καὶ ζῆν
all into middle having-put from beginning to-redistribute and to-live
μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἅπαντας ὁμαλεῖς καὶ ἰσοκλήρους τοῖς βίοις
with one-another all equal and with-equal-lots in-the livelihoods
γενομένους, τὸ δὲ πρωτεῖον ἀρετῇ μετιόντας, ὡς ἄλλης
having-become the and first-place by-virtue pursuing as other
ἑτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον οὐκ οὔσης διαφορᾶς οὐδὲ ἀνισότητος,
to-one toward another not being difference nor inequality
πλὴν ὅσην αἰσχρῶν ψόγος ὁρίζει καὶ καλῶν ἔπαινος.
except as-much-as of-base(-things) blame defines and of-noble(-things) praise
Ἐπάγων δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον ἔνειμε τὴν μὲν ἄλλην
adding and to-the word the deed he-distributed the indeed rest
τοῖς περιοίκοις Λακωνικὴν τρισμυρίους κλήρους, τὴν
to-the perioeci Laconian(-land) thirty-thousand lots the(-land)

δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὴν Σπάρτην συντελοῦσαν ἐνακισχιλίους·
and to the town — Sparta contributing nine-thousand
τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο κλῆροι Σπαρτιατῶν· ἔνιοι δέ φασι
so-many for were lots of-Spartiates some and say
τὸν μὲν Λυκοῦργον ἑξακισχιλίους νεῖμαι, τρισχιλίους
— indeed Lycurgus six-thousand to-have-distributed three-thousand
δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα προσθεῖναι Πολύδωρον· οἱ δὲ
and after these-things to-have-added Polydorus the(-others) and
τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν ἐνακισχιλίων τοῦτον, τοὺς δὲ
the indeed half of-the nine-thousand this(-man) the and
ἡμίσεις Λυκοῦργον. ὁ δὲ κλῆρος ἦν ἑκάστου τοσοῦτος
half Lycurgus the and lot was of-each so-great
ὥστε ἀποφορὰν φέρειν ἀνδρὶ μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα κριθῶν
so-that a-return to-bring for-a-man indeed seventy of-barley
μεδίμνους, γυναικὶ δὲ δώδεκα, καὶ τῶν ὑγρῶν καρπῶν
medimni for-a-woman and twelve and of-the liquid fruits
ἀναλόγως τὸ πλῆθος. ἀρκέσειν γὰρ ᾤετο τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς,
proportionately the quantity to-suffice for he-thought so-much for-them
τῆς τροφῆς πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ὑγείαν ἱκανῆς, ἄλλου δὲ
of-the food toward good-condition and health sufficient of-other and
μηδενὸς δεησομένοις. λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν ὕστερόν ποτε χρόνῳ
nothing going-to-need it-is-said and him later once in-time
τὴν χώραν διερχόμενον ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἄρτι τεθερισμένην,
the land traversing from travel just having-been-harvested
ὁρῶντα τοὺς σωροὺς παραλλήλους καὶ ὁμαλεῖς, μειδιᾶσαι,
seeing the heaps parallel and equal to-have-smiled
καὶ εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς ἡ Λακωνικὴ
and to-have-said to the(-men) present that — Laconia
φαίνεται πᾶσα πολλῶν ἀδελφῶν εἶναι νεωστὶ νενεμημένων.
appears all of-many brothers to-be newly having-divided(-it)

To root out greed Lycurgus replaces gold and silver with iron coin of great weight and little value, and useless trades leave Sparta. He institutes the common meals, so that wealth can neither be used nor shown. The rich resent it and pelt him; young Alcander strikes out his eye, but Lycurgus, given the youth to punish, makes him a disciple. Plutarch describes the messes, the vote by pieces of bread, the black broth, and the walk home without torches.

Ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα διαιρεῖν, ὅπως παντάπασιν 9
having-attempted and also the movables to-divide so-that altogether
ἐξέλοι τὸ ἄνισον καὶ ἀνώμαλον, ἐπεὶ χαλεπῶς
he-might-remove the unequal and uneven since with-difficulty
ἑώρα προσδεχομένους τὴν ἄντικρυς ἀφαίρεσιν, ἑτέρᾳ
he-saw(-them) accepting the outright taking-away by-another
περιῆλθεν ὁδῷ καὶ κατεπολιτεύσατο τὴν ἐν τούτοις
he-went-around road and outmaneuvered the in these(-things)
πλεονεξίαν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκυρώσας πᾶν νόμισμα
greed first indeed for having-annulled all coinage
χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν μόνῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ σιδηρῷ προσέταξε·
golden and silver only to-use the iron he-ordered
καὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἀπὸ πολλοῦ σταθμοῦ καὶ ὄγκου δύναμιν
and to-this and from much weight and bulk value
ὀλίγην ἔδωκεν, ὥστε δέκα μυῶν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποθήκης τε
little he-gave so-that of-ten minae exchange a-storeroom both
μεγάλης ἐν οἰκίᾳ δεῖσθαι καὶ ζεύγους ἄγοντος. τούτου
large in a-house to-need and a-yoke(-of-oxen) drawing(-it) this
δὲ κυρωθέντος ἐξέπεσεν ἀδικημάτων γένη πολλὰ τῆς
and having-been-ratified were-banished of-crimes kinds many —
Λακεδαίμονος. τίς γὰρ ἢ κλέπτειν ἔμελλεν ἢ δωροδοκεῖν
from-Lacedaemon who for either to-steal was-going or to-take-bribes
ἢ ἀποστερεῖν ἢ ἁρπάζειν ὃ μήτε κατακρύψαι δυνατὸν
or to-defraud or to-plunder what neither to-hide possible

ἦν μήτε κεκτῆσθαι ζηλωτόν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κατακόψαι
was nor to-possess enviable but not-even to-cut-up
λυσιτελές· ὄξει γάρ, ὡς λέγεται, διαπύρου σιδήρου τὸ
profitable in-vinegar for as it-is-said red-hot iron the
στόμωμα κατασβέσας ἀφείλετο τὴν εἰς τἆλλα χρείαν
temper having-quenched he-took-away the for the-other(-things) use
καὶ δύναμιν, ἀδρανοῦς καὶ δυσέργου γενομένου.
and power brittle and hard-to-work having-become
Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῶν ἀχρήστων καὶ περισσῶν ἐποιεῖτο τεχνῶν
after and this of-the useless and superfluous he-made arts
ξενηλασίαν. ἔμελλον δέ που καὶ μηδενὸς ἐξελαύνοντος
a-banishment were-going and I-suppose even no-one driving(-them)-out
αἱ πολλαὶ τῷ κοινῷ νομίσματι συνεκπεσεῖσθαι, διάθεσιν
the many(-arts) with-the common coinage to-be-banished-together sale
τῶν ἔργων οὐκ ἐχόντων. τὸ γὰρ σιδηροῦν ἀγώγιμον οὐκ ἦν
of-the works not having the for iron exportable not was
πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας οὐδ' εἶχε τιμὴν καταγελώμενον,
to the other Greeks nor had value being-laughed-at
ὥστε οὐδὲ πρίασθαί τι τῶν ξενικῶν καὶ ῥωπικῶν
so-that not-even to-buy anything of-the foreign and trinket(-wares)
ὑπῆρχεν, οὐδ' εἰσέπλει φόρτος ἐμπορικὸς εἰς τοὺς λιμένας,
was-possible nor sailed-in cargo merchant into the harbors
οὐδὲ ἐπέβαινε τῆς Λακωνικῆς οὐ σοφιστὴς λόγων, οὐ
nor set-foot-on — of-Laconia not a-sophist of-words not
μάντις ἀγυρτικός, οὐχ ἑταιρῶν τροφεύς, οὐ χρυσῶν τις,
a-seer begging not of-courtesans keeper not of-golden any(-one)
οὐκ ἀργυρῶν καλλωπισμάτων δημιουργός, ἅτε δὴ
not of-silver of-ornaments maker inasmuch-as indeed
νομίσματος οὐκ ὄντος. ἀλλὰ οὕτως ἀπερημωθεῖσα κατὰ
coinage not being but so having-been-deprived by
μικρὸν ἡ τρυφὴ τῶν ζωπυρούντων καὶ τρεφόντων
little the luxury of-the(-things) kindling and nourishing(-it)

αὐτὴ δι᾽ αὑτῆς ἐμαραίνετο· καὶ πλεῖον οὐδὲν ἦν τοῖς
itself through itself withered and more nothing was for-those
πολλὰ κεκτημένοις, ὁδὸν οὐκ ἐχούσης εἰς μέσον τῆς
many(-things) having-acquired way not having into middle of-the
εὐπορίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγκατῳκοδομημένης καὶ ἀργούσης. διὸ καὶ
abundance but walled-up-within(-the-house) and idle wherefore also
τὰ πρόχειρα τῶν σκευῶν καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ταῦτα, κλιντῆρες καὶ
the handy(-ones) of-the utensils and necessary these couches and
δίφροι καὶ τράπεζαι, βέλτιστα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐδημιουργεῖτο,
stools and tables best among them were-made
καὶ κώθων ὁ Λακωνικὸς εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς
and drinking-cup the Laconian was-esteemed most for the
στρατείας, ὥς φησι Κριτίας. τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαίως πινόμενα
campaigns as says Critias the for of-necessity drunk
τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ δυσωποῦντα τὴν ὄψιν ἀπεκρύπτετο
of-the waters and offending the sight was-hidden
τῇ χρόᾳ, καὶ τοῦ θολεροῦ προσκόπτοντος ἐντὸς καὶ
by-the color and the muddy(-part) striking inside and
προσισχομένου τοῖς ἄμβωσι, καθαρώτερον ἐπλησίαζε τῷ
clinging to-the rims cleaner approached to-the
στόματι τὸ πινόμενον. αἴτιος δὲ καὶ τούτων ὁ
mouth the(-thing) drunk cause and also of-these the
νομοθέτης· ἀπηλλαγμένοι γὰρ οἱ δημιουργοὶ τῶν ἀχρήστων
lawgiver freed for the craftsmen from-the useless(-things)
ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἐπεδείκνυντο τὴν καλλιτεχνίαν.
in the necessary(-things) displayed the fine-workmanship
Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ τρυφῇ καὶ τὸν ζῆλον 10
still and more to-attack the luxury and the emulation
ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ πλούτου διανοηθείς, τὸ τρίτον πολίτευμα
to-take-away of-the wealth having-intended the third measure
καὶ κάλλιστον ἐπῆγε, τὴν τῶν συσσιτίων κατασκευήν,
and finest he-introduced the of-the common-meals institution

ὥστε δειπνεῖν μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων συνιόντας ἐπὶ κοινοῖς καὶ
so-that to-dine with one-another coming-together on common and
τεταγμένοις ὄψοις καὶ σιτίοις, οἴκοι δὲ μὴ διαιτᾶσθαι
prescribed relishes and breads at-home and not to-live
κατακλινέντας εἰς στρωμνὰς πολυτελεῖς καὶ τραπέζας,
reclining on couches costly and tables
χερσὶ δημιουργῶν καὶ μαγείρων ὑπὸ σκότος, ὥσπερ
by-the-hands of-craftsmen and cooks in darkness like
ἀδηφάγα ζῷα, πιαινομένους, καὶ διαφθείροντας ἅμα
gluttonous animals being-fattened and ruining together-with
τοῖς ἤθεσι τὰ σώματα πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀνειμένα
the characters the bodies toward every desire relaxed
καὶ πλησμονήν, μακρῶν μὲν ὕπνων, θερμῶν δὲ λουτρῶν,
and surfeit of-long indeed sleeps hot and baths
πολλῆς δὲ ἡσυχίας καὶ τρόπον τινὰ νοσηλείας καθημερινῆς
of-much and quiet and in-a-way some nursing daily
δεομένην. μέγα μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἦν, μεῖζον δὲ τὸ
needing great indeed then also this was greater but the
τὸν πλοῦτον ἄζηλον, ὥς φησι Θεόφραστος, καὶ ἄπλουτον
the wealth unenvied as says Theophrastus and un-wealthy
ἀπεργάσασθαι τῇ κοινότητι τῶν δείπνων καὶ τῇ περὶ
to-have-made by-the commonness of-the meals and by-the about
τὴν δίαιταν εὐτελείᾳ. χρῆσις γὰρ οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ ἀπόλαυσις
the way-of-life frugality use for not was nor enjoyment
οὐδὲ ὄψις ὅλως ἢ ἐπίδειξις τῆς πολλῆς παρασκευῆς, ἐπὶ τὸ
nor sight at-all or display of-the much provision to the
αὐτὸ δεῖπνον τῷ πένητι τοῦ πλουσίου βαδίζοντος· ὥστε
same meal with-the poor-man the rich-man going so-that
τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλούμενον ἐν μόνῃ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον
this indeed the much-talked-of(-saying) in only of-the under the sun
πόλεων τῇ Σπάρτῃ βλέπεσθαι, τυφλὸν ὄντα τὸν πλοῦτον
cities — Sparta to-be-seen blind being the wealth

καὶ κείμενον ὥσπερ γραφὴν ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον. οὐδὲ γὰρ
and lying like a-picture lifeless and motionless nor for
οἴκοι προδειπνήσαντας ἐξῆν βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τὰ συσσίτια
at-home having-dined-first it-was-possible to-go to the common-meals
πεπληρωμένους, ἀλλ' ἐπιμελῶς οἱ λοιποὶ παραφυλάττοντες
filled but carefully the rest watching
τὸν μὴ πίνοντα μηδὲ ἐσθίοντα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκάκιζον
the(-one) not drinking nor eating with them reproached(-him)
ὡς ἀκρατῆ καὶ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπομαλακιζόμενον δίαιταν.
as incontinent and toward the common becoming-soft way-of-life
Διὸ καὶ μάλιστά φασι τῷ Λυκούργῳ πρὸς τοῦτο 11
wherefore also most they-say — to-Lycurgus toward this
τὸ πολίτευμα χαλεποὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς εὐπόρους, καὶ
the measure hostile to-have-become the wealthy and
συστάντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀθρόους καταβοᾶν καὶ
having-banded-together against him in-a-body to-shout-down and
ἀγανακτεῖν· τέλος δὲ βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐξέπεσε
to-be-indignant at-last and being-pelted by many he-fled-from
τῆς ἀγορᾶς δρόμῳ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔφθασεν εἰς
the market-place by-running and the indeed others he-outran to
ἱερὸν καταφυγών· εἷς δέ τις νεανίσκος, ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ
a-temple having-fled-for-refuge one and some young-man otherwise indeed not
ἀφυής, ὀξὺς δὲ καὶ θυμοειδής, Ἄλκανδρος, ἐπικείμενος καὶ
ungifted hasty but and passionate Alcander pressing-on and
διώκων ἐπιστραφέντος αὐτοῦ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ πατάξας τὸν
pursuing having-turned him with-the staff having-struck the
ὀφθαλμὸν ἐξέκοψεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Λυκοῦργος οὐδὲν ἐνδοὺς
eye knocked-out — indeed then Lycurgus nothing yielding
πρὸς τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ στὰς ἐναντίος ἔδειξε τοῖς πολίταις τὸ
to the suffering but standing facing(-them) showed to-the citizens the
πρόσωπον ᾑμαγμένον καὶ διεφθαρμένην τὴν ὄψιν· αἰδὼς δὲ
face bloodied and destroyed the eye shame and

πολλὴ καὶ κατήφεια τοὺς ἰδόντας ἔσχεν, ὥστε παραδοῦναι
much and dejection the(-men) having-seen seized so-that to-hand-over
τὸν Ἄλκανδρον αὐτῷ καὶ προπέμψαι μέχρι τῆς οἰκίας
— Alcander to-him and to-escort(-him) as-far-as the house
συναγανακτοῦντας. ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἐκείνους μὲν ἐπαινέσας
sharing-his-indignation — but Lycurgus those indeed having-praised
ἀφῆκε, τὸν δὲ Ἄλκανδρον εἰσαγαγὼν οἴκαδε κακὸν μὲν
dismissed — but Alcander having-brought-in home harm indeed
οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐποίησεν οὔτ' εἶπεν, ἀπαλλάξας δὲ τοὺς συνήθεις
nothing neither did nor said having-sent-away and the accustomed
ὑπηρέτας καὶ θεραπευτῆρας ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευσεν ὑπηρετεῖν. ὁ
servants and attendants him he-ordered to-serve he
δὲ οὐκ ὢν ἀγεννὴς ἐποίει τὸ προσταττόμενον σιωπῇ,
but not being ignoble did the(-thing) ordered in-silence
καὶ παραμένων ἅμα τῷ Λυκούργῳ καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος
and remaining together-with — Lycurgus and living-with(-him)
ἐν τῷ κατανοεῖν τὴν πρᾳότητα καὶ τὸ ἀπαθὲς αὐτοῦ τῆς
in the to-observe the gentleness and the impassive his of-the
ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν αὐστηρὸν καὶ τὸ πρὸς
soul and the about the way-of-life austere and the toward
τοὺς πόνους ἄκαμπτον, αὐτός τε δεινῶς διετέθη περὶ τὸν
the labors unbending himself both strongly was-disposed toward the
ἄνδρα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ φίλους ἔλεγεν ὡς οὐ
man and to the intimates and friends he-said that not
σκληρὸς οὐδ' αὐθάδης ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἀλλὰ μόνος ἥμερος καὶ
harsh nor willful — Lycurgus but alone gentle and
πρᾷός ἐστι τοῖς ἄλλοις. οὕτω μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεκόλαστο
mild is to-the others so indeed then this(-man) had-been-chastised
καὶ τοιαύτην ὑπεσχήκει δίκην, ἐκ πονηροῦ νέου
and such had-undergone penalty from a-wicked young(-man)
καὶ αὐθάδους ἐμμελέστατος ἀνὴρ καὶ σωφρονικώτατος
and willful most-harmonious man and most-self-controlled

γενόμενος. τοῦ δὲ πάθους ὑπόμνημα Λυκοῦργος ἱδρύσατο
having-become of-the and suffering a-memorial Lycurgus founded
τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἣν Ὀπτιλῖτιν προσηγόρευσε· τοὺς γὰρ
— of-Athena a-temple whom Optilitis he-called the for
ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀπτίλους οἱ τῇδε Δωριεῖς καλοῦσιν. ἔνιοι
eyes optiloi the(-men) here Dorians call some
μέντοι τὸν Λυκοῦργον, ὧν καὶ Διοσκορίδης ἐστὶν ὁ
however — Lycurgus of-whom also Dioscorides is the(-one)
συντεταγμένος τὴν Λακωνικὴν πολιτείαν, πληγῆναι μέν
having-composed the Laconian constitution to-have-been-struck indeed
φασιν, οὐ τυφλωθῆναι δὲ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
say not to-have-been-blinded and the eye but also the
ἱερὸν τῇ θεῷ τῆς ἀκέσεως χαριστήριον ἱδρύσασθαι. τὸ
temple to-the goddess of-the healing as-a-thank-offering to-have-founded the
μέντοι φέρειν βακτηρίαν ἐκκλησιάζοντες οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται
however to-carry a-staff assembling the Spartans
μετὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκείνην ἀπέμαθον.
after the misfortune that unlearned
Τὰ δὲ συσσίτια Κρῆτες μὲν ἀνδρεῖα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ 12
the and common-meals Cretans indeed andreia Lacedaemonians and
φιδίτια προσαγορεύουσιν, εἴτε ὡς φιλίας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης
phiditia call either as of-friendship and friendliness
ὑπαρχόντων, ἀντὶ τοῦ λ τὸ δ λαμβάνοντες, εἴτε ὡς πρὸς
being instead-of the l the d taking or as to
εὐτέλειαν καὶ φειδὼ συνεθιζόντων. οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ τὸν
frugality and thrift accustoming nothing and prevents also the
πρῶτον ἔξωθεν ἐπικεῖσθαι φθόγγον, ὥσπερ ἔνιοί φασιν,
first from-outside to-be-added sound as some say
ἐδιτίων παρὰ τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὴν ἐδωδὴν λεγομένων.
editia from the diet and the eating being-called
συνήρχοντο δὲ ἀνὰ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ βραχεῖ τούτων
they-came-together and by fifteen and slightly than-these

ἐλάττους ἢ πλείους. ἔφερε δὲ ἕκαστος κατὰ μῆνα τῶν
fewer or more brought and each by month of-the
συσσίτων ἀλφίτων μέδιμνον, οἴνου χόας ὀκτώ, τυροῦ πέντε
messmates of-barley-meal a-medimnus of-wine choes eight of-cheese five
μνᾶς, σύκων ἡμιμναῖα πέντε, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰς ὀψωνίαν
minae of-figs half-minae five in-addition and to-these for relishes
μικρόν τι κομιδῇ νομίσματος. ἄλλως δὲ καὶ θύσας
small some(-sum) quite of-money besides and also having-sacrificed
τις ἀπαρχὴν καὶ θηρεύσας μέρος ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον.
anyone first-fruits and having-hunted a-portion sent to the common-meal
ἐξῆν γὰρ οἴκοι δειπνεῖν ὁπότε θύσας τις ἢ
it-was-possible for at-home to-dine whenever having-sacrificed anyone or
κυνηγῶν ὀψίσειε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἔδει παρεῖναι. καὶ
hunting were-late the and others it-was-necessary to-be-present and
μέχρι γε πολλοῦ τὰς συσσιτήσεις ἀκριβῶς διεφύλαττον.
until at-least much(-later) the messings strictly they-kept
Ἄγιδος γοῦν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς
Agis at-any-rate the king when returned from the
στρατείας καταπεπολεμηκὼς Ἀθηναίους, βουλομένου παρὰ
campaign having-defeated Athenians wishing with
τῇ γυναικὶ δειπνεῖν καὶ μεταπεμπομένου τὰς μερίδας, οὐκ
the wife to-dine and sending-for the portions not
ἔπεμψαν οἱ πολέμαρχοι, τοῦ δὲ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς
sent(-them) the polemarchs him and on-the-next day in anger
μὴ θύσαντος ἣν ἔδει θυσίαν, ἐζημίωσαν αὐτόν.
not having-sacrificed which it-was-necessary sacrifice they-fined him
Εἰς δὲ τὰ συσσίτια καὶ παῖδες ἐφοίτων, ὥσπερ εἰς
to and the common-meals also boys went as-if to
διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης ἀγόμενοι, καὶ λόγων ἠκροῶντο
schools of-moderation being-led and to-words listened
πολιτικῶν καὶ παιδευτὰς ἐλευθερίας ἑώρων, αὐτοί τε
political and teachers of-freedom saw themselves both

παίζειν εἰθίζοντο καὶ σκώπτειν ἄνευ βωμολοχίας καὶ
to-jest were-accustomed and to-jeer without buffoonery and
σκωπτόμενοι μὴ δυσχεραίνειν. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦτο
being-jeered not to-be-annoyed very for seemed also this
Λακωνικὸν εἶναι, σκώμματος ἀνέχεσθαι· μὴ φέροντα δὲ
Laconian to-be a-jest to-bear not bearing(-it) and
ἐξῆν παραιτεῖσθαι, καὶ ὁ σκώπτων ἐπέπαυτο. τῶν δ'
it-was-possible to-beg-off and the jeering(-one) stopped of-the and
εἰσιόντων ἑκάστῳ δείξας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τὰς θύρας, "Διὰ
coming-in to-each having-shown the oldest the doors through
τούτων," φησίν, "ἔξω λόγος οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται." δοκιμάζεσθαι
these he-says out a-word not goes-out to-be-tested
δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον τοῦ συσσιτίου μετασχεῖν οὕτω φασί.
and the(-man) wishing of-the common-meal to-share so they-say
λαβὼν τῶν συσσίτων ἕκαστος ἀπομαγδαλίαν εἰς τὴν
having-taken of-the messmates each a-piece-of-bread into the
χεῖρα, τοῦ διακόνου φέροντος ἀγγεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς,
hand of-the servant carrying a-vessel on the head
ἔβαλλε σιωπῇ καθάπερ ψῆφον, ὁ μὲν δοκιμάζων
threw(-it) in-silence like a-ballot the(-one) indeed approving
ἁπλῶς, ὁ δ' ἐκκρίνων σφόδρα τῇ χειρὶ πιέσας.
simply the(-one) but rejecting hard with-the hand having-squeezed(-it)
ἡ γὰρ πεπιεσμένη τὴν τῆς τετρημένης ἔχει δύναμιν. κἂν
the for squeezed(-piece) the of-the pierced(-ballot) has force even-if
μίαν εὕρωσι τοιαύτην, οὐ προσδέχονται τὸν ἐπεισιόντα,
one they-find such not they-accept the(-man) coming-in
βουλόμενοι πάντας ἡδομένους ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι. τὸν
wishing all being-pleased with-one-another to-be-together the(-man)
δὲ οὕτως ἀποδοκιμασθέντα κεκαδδίσθαι λέγουσι· κάδδιχος
and so rejected to-have-been-kaddised they-say kaddichus
γὰρ καλεῖται τὸ ἀγγεῖον εἰς ὃ τὰς ἀπομαγδαλίας
for is-called the vessel into which the pieces-of-bread

ἐμβάλλουσι. τῶν δὲ ὄψων εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς
they-throw of-the and relishes was-esteemed most among them
ὁ μέλας ζωμός, ὥστε μηδὲ κρεαδίου δεῖσθαι τοὺς
the black broth so-that not-even a-bit-of-meat to-need the
πρεσβυτέρους, ἀλλὰ παραχωρεῖν τοῖς νεανίσκοις, αὐτοὺς
older(-men) but to-give-way to-the young-men themselves
δὲ τοῦ ζωμοῦ καταχεομένους ἑστιᾶσθαι. λέγεται δέ τινα
and of-the broth pouring-over to-feast it-is-said and some(-one)
τῶν Ποντικῶν βασιλέων ἕνεκα τοῦ ζωμοῦ καὶ πρίασθαι
of-the Pontic kings for-the-sake-of the broth even to-have-bought
Λακωνικὸν μάγειρον· εἶτα γευσάμενον δυσχεραίναι· καὶ
a-Laconian cook then having-tasted to-have-been-disgusted and
τὸν μάγειρον εἰπεῖν· “Ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦτον δεῖ τὸν
the cook to-have-said O king this it-is-needful the
ζωμὸν ἐν τῷ Εὐρώτᾳ λελουμένους ἐποψᾶσθαι.” πιόντες
broth in the Eurotas having-bathed to-relish having-drunk
δὲ μετρίως ἀπίασι δίχα λαμπάδος. οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστι
and moderately they-go-away without a-torch not for it-is-permitted
πρὸς φῶς βαδίζειν, οὔτε ταύτην οὔτε ἄλλην ὁδόν, ὅπως
toward light to-walk neither this nor other road so-that
ἐθίζωνται σκότους καὶ νυκτὸς εὐθαρσῶς καὶ ἀδεῶς
they-may-be-accustomed in-darkness and at-night boldly and fearlessly
ὁδεύειν. τὰ μὲν οὖν συσσίτια τοιαύτην ἔχει τάξιν.
to-travel the indeed then common-meals such has order

Lycurgus leaves his laws unwritten, trusting education; his rhetras forbid written laws, houses wrought with more than axe and saw, and repeated war with one enemy. He trains the girls in running and wrestling and has them march in processions; bachelors are disgraced. Marriage is by mock capture, and the husband visits his bride in secret. Children belong to the city: the eldest of the tribe examine each newborn, the weak are exposed at the Apothetae, and at seven boys are taken into herds.

Νόμους δὲ γεγραμμένους ὁ Λυκοῦργος οὐκ ἔθηκεν, ἀλλὰ 13

laws and written — Lycurgus not established but

μία τῶν καλουμένων ῥητρῶν ἐστιν αὕτη. τὰ μὲν

one of-the so-called rhetras is this the(-things) indeed

γὰρ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πόλεως

for most-sovereign and greatest toward happiness of-a-city

καὶ ἀρετήν, ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσιν ᾧετο καὶ ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς τῶν

and virtue in the characters he-thought and the trainings of-the

πολιτῶν ἐγκατεστοιχειωμένα, μένειν ἀκίνητα καὶ βέβαια,

citizens implanted to-remain unmoved and firm

ἔχοντα τὴν προαίρεσιν δεσμὸν ἰσχυρότερον τῆς ἀνάγκης,

having the choice a-bond stronger than-the compulsion

ἣν ἡ παίδευσις ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς νέοις, νομοθέτου διάθεσιν

which the education produces in-the young of-a-lawgiver disposition

ἀπεργαζομένη περὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν. τὰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ

working-out about each of-them the(-things) but small and

χρηματικὰ συμβόλαια καὶ μεταπίπτοντα ταῖς χρείαις

financial contracts and changing with-the needs

ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, βέλτιον ἦν μὴ καταλαμβάνειν

at-different-times in-different-ways better it-was not to-confine

ἐγγράφοις ἀνάγκαις μηδὲ ἀκινήτοις ἔθεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐᾶν

in-written compulsions nor in-unchangeable customs but to-allow(-them)

ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν, προσθέσεις λαμβάνοντα καὶ ἀφαιρέσεις,
according-to the occasions additions taking and subtractions
ἃς ἂν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι δοκιμάσωσι. τὸ γὰρ ὅλον
which — the(-men) educated should-approve the for whole
καὶ πᾶν τῆς νομοθεσίας ἔργον εἰς τὴν παιδείαν ἀνῆψε.
and all of-the lawgiving work to the education he-attached
Μία μὲν οὖν τῶν ῥητρῶν ἦν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, μὴ
one indeed then of-the rhetras was as has-been-said not
χρῆσθαι νόμοις ἐγγράφοις. ἑτέρα δὲ πάλιν κατὰ τῆς
to-use laws written another and again against the
πολυτελείας, ὅπως οἰκία πᾶσα τὴν μὲν ὀροφὴν ἀπὸ
extravagance that house every the indeed roof by
πελέκεως εἰργασμένην ἔχῃ, τὰς δὲ θύρας ἀπὸ πρίονος
an-axe wrought should-have the and doors by a-saw
μόνου καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐργαλείων. ὅπερ γὰρ
alone and none of-the other tools what for
ὕστερον Ἐπαμεινώνδαν εἰπεῖν λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
later Epaminondas to-have-said they-say at the his-own
τραπέζης, ὡς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄριστον οὐ χωρεῖ προδοσίαν,
table that the such breakfast not admits treachery
τοῦτο πρῶτος ἐνόησε Λυκοῦργος, ὡς οἰκία τοιαύτη
this first conceived Lycurgus that a-house such
τρυφὴν οὐ χωρεῖ καὶ πολυτέλειαν, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδεὶς οὕτως
luxury not admits and extravagance nor is no-one so
ἀπειρόκαλος καὶ ἀνόητος ὥστε εἰς οἰκίαν ἀφελῆ καὶ
tasteless and senseless so-that into a-house plain and
δημοτικὴν εἰσφέρειν κλίνας ἀργυρόποδας καὶ στρωμνὰς
common to-bring couches silver-footed and coverlets
ἁλουργεῖς καὶ χρυσᾶς κύλικας καὶ τὴν τούτοις ἑπομένην
purple and golden cups and the to-these following
πολυτέλειαν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη συναρμόζεσθαι καὶ συνεξομοιοῦν
extravagance but necessity(-is) to-fit and to-make-alike

τῇ μὲν οἰκίᾳ τὴν κλίνην, τῇ δὲ κλίνῃ τὴν ἐσθῆτα, ταύτῃ
to-the indeed house the couch to-the and couch the clothing to-this
δὲ τὴν ἄλλην χορηγίαν καὶ κατασκευήν. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης
and the other equipment and furnishing from and this
τῆς συνηθείας φασὶ καὶ Λεωτυχίδην τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐν
the habit they-say also Leotychides the elder in
Κορίνθῳ δειπνοῦντα, καὶ θεασάμενον τῆς στέγης τοῦ οἴκου
Corinth dining and having-seen of-the roof of-the house
τὴν κατασκευὴν πολυτελῆ καὶ φατνωματικήν, ἐρωτῆσαι
the furnishing costly and paneled to-have-asked
τὸν ξένον εἰ τετράγωνα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὰ ξύλα φύεται.
the host if square among them the timbers grow
Τρίτην δὲ ῥήτραν διαμνημονεύουσι τοῦ Λυκούργου,
third and rhetra they-record — of-Lycurgus
τὴν κωλύουσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους πολλάκις
the(-one) forbidding against the same enemies often
στρατεύειν, ἵνα μὴ πολλάκις ἀμύνεσθαι συνεθιζόμενοι
to-campaign so-that not often to-defend-themselves becoming-accustomed
πολεμικοὶ γένωνται. καὶ τοῦτό γε μάλιστα κατηγοροῦσιν
warlike they-become and this at-least most they-accuse
Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ βασιλέως ὕστερον, ὡς ταῖς συνεχέσι καὶ
of-Agesilaus the king later as by-the continuous and
πυκναῖς εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐμβολαῖς καὶ στρατείαις τοὺς
frequent into — Boeotia invasions and campaigns the
Θηβαίους ἀντιπάλους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις κατασκευάσαντος.
Thebans rivals for-the Lacedaemonians having-made
διὸ καὶ τετρωμένον αὐτὸν ἰδὼν Ἀνταλκίδας, “Καλά,”
wherefore also wounded him having-seen Antalcidas fine
ἔφη, “τὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ Θηβαίων ἀπολαμβάνεις, μὴ
said the tuition-fees from Thebans you-are-receiving not
βουλομένους αὐτοὺς μηδὲ εἰδότας μάχεσθαι διδάξας.” τὰ
wishing them nor knowing to-fight having-taught the

μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα νομοθετήματα ῥήτρας ὠνόμασεν, ὡς
indeed then such enactments rhetras he-named as
παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κομιζόμενα καὶ χρησμοὺς ὄντα.
from the god being-brought and oracles being
14 Τῆς δὲ παιδείας, ἣν μέγιστον ἡγεῖτο τοῦ νομοθέτου
of-the and education which greatest he-thought of-the lawgiver
καὶ κάλλιστον ἔργον εἶναι, πόρρωθεν ἀρχόμενος εὐθὺς
and finest work to-be from-far-back beginning at-once
ἐπεσκόπει τὰ περὶ τοὺς γάμους καὶ τὰς γενέσεις. οὐ
he-examined the(-matters) about the marriages and the births not
γάρ, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν, ἐπιχειρήσας σωφρονίζειν τὰς
for as Aristotle says having-attempted to-bring-to-order the
γυναῖκας, ἐπαύσατο μὴ κρατῶν τῆς πολλῆς ἀνέσεως καὶ
women he-stopped not mastering the much license and
γυναικοκρατίας διὰ τὰς πολλὰς στρατείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν,
woman-rule because-of the many campaigns of-the men
ἐν αἷς ἠναγκάζοντο κυρίας ἀπολείπειν ἐκείνας, καὶ διὰ
in which they-were-compelled mistresses to-leave those and because-of
τοῦτο μᾶλλον τοῦ προσήκοντος αὐτὰς ἐθεράπευον καὶ
this more than-the fitting them they-courted and
δεσποίνας προσηγόρευον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τὴν ἐνδεχομένην
ladies called(-them) but also of-these the possible
ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο. τὰ μέν γε σώματα τῶν παρθένων
care he-made the indeed at-least bodies of-the maidens
δρόμοις καὶ πάλαις καὶ βολαῖς δίσκων καὶ ἀκοντίων
with-running and wrestling and throwings of-discuses and javelins
διεπόνησεν, ὡς ἥ τε τῶν γεννωμένων ῥίζωσις
he-exercised so-that the both of-the(-things) begotten taking-root
ἰσχυρὰν ἐν ἰσχυροῖς σώμασιν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα βλαστάνοι
strong in strong bodies a-beginning having-taken might-sprout
βέλτιον, αὐταί τε μετὰ ῥώμης τοὺς τόκους ὑπομένουσαι
better they-themselves both with vigor the births enduring

καλῶς ἅμα καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀγωνίζοιντο πρὸς τὰς ὠδῖνας.
well at-once and easily might-contend against the labor-pains
ἀφελὼν δὲ θρύψιν καὶ σκιατραφίαν καὶ θηλύτητα πᾶσαν
having-removed and delicacy and indoor-rearing and effeminacy all
οὐδὲν ἧττον εἴθισε τῶν κόρων τὰς κόρας γυμνάς
no less he-accustomed than-the youths the maidens naked
τε πομπεύειν καὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς τισιν ὀρχεῖσθαι καὶ
both to-march-in-processions and at sacred-rites some to-dance and
ἄδειν τῶν νέων παρόντων καὶ θεωμένων. ἔστι δὲ
to-sing the young-men being-present and watching there-are and
ὅτε καὶ σκώμματα λέγουσαι πρὸς ἕκαστον εὐχρήστως
times-when also jests speaking to each usefully
ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων· καὶ πάλιν εἰς τοὺς
they-attacked the(-things) being-done-amiss and again to the(-men)
ἀξίους αὐτῶν ἐγκώμια μετ᾽ ᾠδῆς πεποιημένα διεξιοῦσαι,
worthy of-them praises with song made going-through
φιλοτιμίαν πολλὴν καὶ ζῆλον ἐνεποίουν τοῖς νεανίσκοις.
ambition much and emulation they-produced in-the young-men
ὁ γὰρ ἐγκωμιασθεὶς ἐπ᾽ ἀνδραγαθίᾳ καὶ κλεινὸς ἐν
the(-one) for praised for manly-virtue and famous among
ταῖς παρθένοις γεγονὼς ἀπῄει μεγαλυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν
the maidens having-become went-away elated by the
ἐπαίνων· αἱ δὲ μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ σκωμμάτων δήξεις
praises the and with playfulness and jests stings
οὐδὲν ἀμβλύτεραι τῶν μετὰ σπουδῆς νουθετημάτων ἦσαν,
nothing duller than-the with seriousness admonitions were
ἅτε δὴ πρὸς τὴν θέαν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις
inasmuch-as indeed to the spectacle together-with the other citizens
καὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν γερόντων συμπορευομένων.
also of-the kings and of-the elders coming-together

Ἡ δὲ γύμνωσις τῶν παρθένων οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν εἶχεν, αἰδοῦς
the and nakedness of-the maidens nothing shameful had modesty
μὲν παρούσης, ἀκρασίας δὲ ἀπούσης, ἀλλ᾽ ἐθισμὸν ἀφελῆ
indeed being-present incontinence and being-absent but a-habit simple
καὶ ζῆλον εὐεξίας ἐνειργάζετο, καὶ φρονήματος τὸ
and emulation of-good-condition it-produced and of-spirit the
θῆλυ παρέγευεν οὐκ ἀγεννοῦς, ὡς μηδὲν ἧττον αὐτῷ
female(-sex) it-gave-a-taste not ignoble as no less to-it
καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας μετουσίαν οὖσαν. ὅθεν αὐταῖς
also of-virtue and of-ambition share being whence to-them
καὶ λέγειν ἐπῄει καὶ φρονεῖν οἷα καὶ περὶ Γοργοῦς
also to-say it-came and to-think such-things-as also about Gorgo
ἱστόρηται τῆς Λεωνίδου γυναικός. εἰπούσης γάρ τινος, ὡς
is-recorded the of-Leonidas wife having-said for some as
ἔοικε, ξένης πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς "Μόναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄρχετε
it-seems foreign(-woman) to her that alone of-the men rule
ὑμεῖς αἱ Λάκαιναι," "Μόναι γάρ," ἔφη, "τίκτομεν ἄνδρας."
you the Laconian(-women) alone for she-said we-bear men
15 Ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα παρορμητικὰ πρὸς γάμον· λέγω
were indeed then also these-things incentives toward marriage I-mean
δὲ τὰς πομπὰς τῶν παρθένων καὶ τὰς ἀποδύσεις καὶ τοὺς
and the processions of-the maidens and the strippings and the
ἀγῶνας ἐν ὄψει τῶν νέων, ἀγομένων οὐ γεωμετρικαῖς,
contests in sight of-the young-men being-led not by-geometrical
ἀλλ᾽ ἐρωτικαῖς, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἀνάγκαις· οὐ μὴν
but by-erotic as says — Plato necessities not indeed
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀτιμίαν τινὰ προσέθηκε τοῖς ἀγάμοις. εἴργοντο
but also disgrace some he-added to-the unmarried they-were-excluded
γὰρ ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις τῆς θέας· τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος οἱ
for in the gymnopaediae from-the spectacle in-the and winter the
μὲν ἄρχοντες αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἐν κύκλῳ γυμνοὺς περιϊέναι
indeed magistrates them ordered in a-circle naked to-go-around

τὴν ἀγοράν, οἱ δὲ περιϊόντες ᾖδον εἰς αὑτοὺς ᾠδήν
the market-place the(-ones) and going-around sang against themselves song
τινα πεποιημένην, ὡς δίκαια πάσχοιεν, ὅτι τοῖς νόμοις
a-certain composed that justly they-suffer because the laws
ἀπειθοῦσι· τιμῆς δὲ καὶ θεραπείας ἣν νέοι πρεσβυτέροις
they-disobey of-honor and and attention which young(-men) to-older(-men)
παρεῖχον, ἐστέρηντο. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ πρὸς Δερκυλλίδαν
offered they-were-deprived whence also the(-thing) to Dercyllidas
ῥηθὲν οὐδεὶς ἐμέμψατο, καίπερ εὐδόκιμον ὄντα στρατηγόν.
said no-one blamed although well-esteemed being a-general
ἐπιόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν νεωτέρων τις ἕδρας οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν,
approaching for him of-the younger(-men) one a-seat not yielded
εἰπών, "Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ τὸν ὑπείξοντα γεγέννηκας."
saying not-even for to-me you the(-one) going-to-yield have-begotten
Ἐγάμουν δὲ δι' ἁρπαγῆς, οὐ μικρὰς οὐδὲ ἀώρους πρὸς
they-married and by capture not small nor unripe for
γάμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμαζούσας καὶ πεπείρους. τὴν δὲ
marriage but both in-their-prime and mature the(-woman) and
ἁρπασθεῖσαν ἡ νυμφεύτρια καλουμένη παραλαβοῦσα, τὴν
captured the bridesmaid so-called having-taken-over the
μὲν κεφαλὴν ἐν χρῷ περιέκειρεν, ἱματίῳ δὲ ἀνδρείῳ
indeed head close to-the-skin shaved with-a-cloak and man's
καὶ ὑποδήμασιν ἐνσκευάσασα κατέκλινεν ἐπὶ στιβάδα μόνην
and shoes having-dressed(-her) laid(-her) on a-pallet alone
ἄνευ φωτός. ὁ δὲ νυμφίος οὐ μεθύων οὐδὲ θρυπτόμενος,
without light the and bridegroom not drunk nor enervated
ἀλλὰ νήφων, ὥσπερ ἀεί, δεδειπνηκὼς ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις,
but sober as always having-dined in the phiditia
παρεισελθὼν ἔλυε τὴν ζώνην καὶ μετήνεγκεν ἁράμενος
having-stolen-in loosed the girdle and carried(-her) having-lifted(-her)
ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην. συνδιατρίψας δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἀπῄει
to the bed having-spent and time not much he-went-away

κοσμίως οὗπερ εἰώθει τὸ πρότερον, καθευδήσων
decorously where-indeed he-was-accustomed the before to-sleep
μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νέων. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως ἔπραττε, τοῖς
with the other young-men and the rest so he-did with-the
μὲν ἡλικιώταις συνδιημερεύων καὶ συναναπαυόμενος, πρὸς
indeed age-mates spending-the-day and resting-together to
δὲ τὴν νύμφην κρύφα μετ' εὐλαβείας φοιτῶν, αἰσχυνόμενος
and the bride secretly with caution going being-ashamed
καὶ δεδοικὼς μή τις αἴσθοιτο τῶν ἔνδον, ἅμα καὶ
and fearing lest anyone should-perceive of-the(-people) inside at-once also
τῆς νύμφης ἐπιτεχνωμένης καὶ συνευπορούσης ὅπως ἂν
the bride contriving and helping-to-find-means so-that —
ἐν καιρῷ καὶ λανθάνοντες ἀλλήλοις συμπορεύοιντο. καὶ
in season and escaping-notice with-one-another they-might-meet and
τοῦτο ἔπραττον οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὥστε καὶ παῖδας
this they-did not little time but so-that even children
γενέσθαι ἐνίοις πρὶν ἐς ἡμέραν θεάσασθαι τὰς ἑαυτῶν
to-be-born to-some before by day to-see the their-own
γυναῖκας. ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη σύνοδος οὐ μόνον ἐγκρατείας καὶ
wives the and such union not only of-self-control and
σωφροσύνης ἄσκησις ἦν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε σώμασι γονίμους
moderation exercise was but to-the both bodies fruitful
καὶ τῷ φιλεῖν ἀεὶ καινοὺς καὶ προσφάτους ἦγεν ἐπὶ
and to-the loving always new and fresh brought(-them) to
τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὐ διακορεῖς οὐδ' ἐξιτήλους ταῖς ἀνέδην
the intercourse not sated nor faded by-the unrestrained
κοινωνίαις, ἀλλ' ἀεί τι λείψανον καὶ ὑπέκκαυμα πόθου
intercourses but always some remnant and kindling of-desire
καὶ χάριτος ἐναπολείποντας ἀλλήλοις.
and of-delight leaving-behind for-one-another

Τοσαύτην δὲ τοῖς γάμοις ἐπιστήσας αἰδῶ καὶ τάξιν, οὐδὲν
so-much and on-the marriages having-set modesty and order no
ἧττον ἐξέβαλε τὴν κενὴν καὶ γυναικώδη ζηλοτυπίαν, ἐν
less he-cast-out the empty and womanish jealousy in
καλῷ καταστήσας ὕβριν μὲν καὶ ἀναξίαν πᾶσαν εἴργειν
honor having-established insolence indeed and disorder all to-exclude
ἀπὸ τοῦ γάμου, παίδων δὲ καὶ τεκνώσεως κοινωνεῖν τοῖς
from the marriage of-children and and begetting to-share with-the
ἀξίοις, καταγελῶντας τῶν ὡς ἄμικτα καὶ ἀκοινώνητα
worthy laughing-at the(-men) as unmixable and unshareable
ταῦτα μετιόντων σφαγαῖς καὶ πολέμοις. ἐξῆν μὲν
these-things pursuing with-slaughters and wars it-was-permitted indeed
γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ νέας γυναικός, εἰ δή τινα τῶν
for to-a-man older of-a-young wife if indeed some(-one) of-the
καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀσπάσαιτο νέων καὶ δοκιμάσειεν,
noble and good he-should-welcome young(-men) and approve
εἰσαγαγεῖν παρ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ πλήσαντα γενναίου σπέρματος
to-introduce(-him) to her and having-filled(-her) with-noble seed
ἴδιον αὑτοῖς ποιήσασθαι τὸ γεννηθέν. ἐξῆν δὲ
own for-themselves to-make the(-thing) born it-was-permitted and
πάλιν ἀνδρὶ χρηστῷ, τῶν εὐτέκνων τινὰ καὶ σωφρόνων
again to-a-man good of-the fruitful one and modest
θαυμάσαντι γυναικῶν ἑτέρῳ γεγαμημένην, πεῖσαι τὸν
admiring women to-another married to-persuade the
ἄνδρα συνελθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν χώρᾳ, καλλικάρπῳ φυτεύοντα
husband to-come-together as in land fair-fruited planting
καὶ ποιούμενον παῖδας ἀγαθούς, ἀγαθῶν ὁμαίμους καὶ
and making children good of-good(-men) of-one-blood and
συγγενεῖς ἐσομένους. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἰδίους ἡγεῖτο
kinsmen going-to-be first indeed for not own be-thought
τῶν πατέρων τοὺς παῖδας, ἀλλὰ κοινοὺς τῆς πόλεως ὁ
of-the fathers the children but common of-the city —

Λυκοῦργος, ὅθεν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν
Lycurgus whence not from the chance(-men) but from the
ἀρίστων ἐβούλετο γεγονότας εἶναι τοὺς πολίτας. ἔπειτα
best he-wished having-been-born to-be the citizens then
πολλὴν ἀβελτερίαν καὶ τῦφον ἐνεώρα τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα τῶν
much stupidity and vanity he-saw in-the about these-things of-the
ἄλλων νομοθετήμασιν, οἳ κύνας μὲν καὶ ἵππους ὑπὸ τοῖς
others enactments who dogs indeed and horses under the
κρατίστοις τῶν ὀχείων βιβάζουσι χάριτι πείθοντες ἢ μισθῷ
best of-the stallions they-mate by-favor persuading or by-hire
τοὺς κυρίους, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐγκλεισάμενοι φρουροῦσιν,
the owners the and wives having-shut-up they-guard
ἐξ αὐτῶν μόνων τίκτειν ἀξιοῦντες, κἂν ἄφρονες ὦσι,
from them alone to-bear thinking-fit even-if foolish they-be
κἂν παρήλικες, κἂν νοσώδεις, ὡς οὐχὶ πρώτοις τοῖς
even-if past-their-prime even-if diseased as not first to-the(-men)
κεκτημένοις καὶ τρέφουσι τῶν παίδων γινομένων πονηρῶν,
possessing and rearing(-them) of-the children becoming bad
ἐὰν ἐκ πονηρῶν γένωνται, καὶ τοὐναντίον χρηστῶν, ἂν
if from bad(-parents) they-be-born and on-the-contrary good if
τοιαύτης τύχωσι γενέσεως. ταῦτα δὲ οὕτως πραττόμενα
such they-obtain birth these-things and so being-done
φυσικῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς τότε τοσοῦτον ἀπεῖχε τῆς
naturally and politically then so-much was-distant from-the
ὕστερον λεγομένης γενέσθαι περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εὐχερείας
later said to-have-arisen about the women laxity
ὥστε ὅλως ἄπιστον εἶναι τὸ τῆς μοιχείας παρ' αὐτοῖς.
so-that altogether incredible to-be the(-thing) of-the adultery among them
καὶ λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται Γεράδα τινὸς Σπαρτιάτου
and a-saying is-remembered of-Geradas a-certain Spartan
τῶν σφόδρα παλαιῶν, ὃς ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ ξένου τί
of-the(-men) very ancient who having-been-asked by a-stranger what

πάσχουσιν οἱ μοιχοὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, εἶπεν· “Ὦ ξένε, οὐδεὶς
suffer the adulterers among them said O stranger no-one
γίνεται μοιχὸς παρ᾽ ἡμῖν.” ἐκείνου δὲ ὑπολαβόντος,
becomes an-adulterer among us be and having-rejoined
“Ἐὰν οὖν γένηται;” “Ταῦρον,” ἔφη ὁ Γεράδας, “ἐκτίνει
if then he-become a-bull said — Geradas he-pays
μέγαν, ὃς ὑπερκύψας τὸ Ταΰγετον ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα
great which having-stooped-over — Taygetus from the Eurotas
πίεται.” θαυμάσαντος δ᾽ ἐκείνου καὶ φήσαντος· “Πῶς δὲ
will-drink having-wondered and he and having-said how but
ἂν γένοιτο βοῦς τηλικοῦτος;” γελάσας ὁ Γεράδας, “Πῶς
— could-be an-ox so-big having-laughed — Geradas how
δ᾽ ἄν,” ἔφη, “ἐν Σπάρτῃ μοιχὸς γένοιτο;” ταῦτα μὲν
but — he-said in Sparta an-adulterer could-be these-things indeed
οὖν ἱστόρηται περὶ τῶν γάμων.
then are-recorded about the marriages
Τὸ δὲ γεννηθὲν οὐκ ἦν κύριος ὁ γεννήσας τρέφειν, ἀλλ᾽ 16
the and offspring not was master the begetter to-rear but
ἔφερε λαβὼν εἰς τόπον τινὰ λέσχην καλούμενον, ἐν
carried(-it) having-taken to a-place some lesche called in
ᾧ καθήμενοι τῶν φυλετῶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καταμαθόντες
which sitting of-the tribesmen the oldest having-examined
τὸ παιδάριον, εἰ μὲν εὐπαγὲς εἴη καὶ ῥωμαλέον, τρέφειν
the little-child if indeed well-built it-were and sturdy to-rear(-it)
ἐκέλευον, κλῆρον αὐτῷ τῶν ἐνακισχιλίων προσνείμαντες·
they-ordered a-lot to-it of-the nine-thousand having-assigned
εἰ δ᾽ ἀγεννὲς καὶ ἄμορφον, ἀπέπεμπον εἰς τὰς λεγομένας
if but ill-born and misshapen they-sent(-it)-away to the so-called
Ἀποθέτας, παρὰ Ταΰγετον βαραθρώδη τόπον, ὡς οὔτε
Apothetae by Taygetus a-chasm-like place as neither
αὐτῷ ζῆν ἄμεινον ὂν οὔτε τῇ πόλει τὸ μὴ καλῶς
for-itself to-live better being nor for-the city the(-thing) not well

εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ῥώμην πεφυκός.
at-once from beginning toward good-condition and strength having-been-born
ὅθεν οὐδὲ ὕδατι τὰ βρέφη, ἀλλ' οἴνῳ περιέλουον αἱ
whence not-even with-water the babes but with-wine bathed the
γυναῖκες, βάσανόν τινα ποιούμεναι τῆς κράσεως αὐτῶν.
women test some making of-the temperament of-them
λέγεται γὰρ ἐξίστασθαι τὰ ἐπιληπτικὰ καὶ νοσώδη
it-is-said for to-lose-their-senses the epileptic and sickly(-ones)
πρὸς τὸν ἄκρατον ἀποσφακελίζοντα, τὰ δ' ὑγιεινὰ
toward the unmixed(-wine) wasting-away the but healthy(-ones)
μᾶλλον στομοῦσθαι καὶ κρατύνεσθαι τὴν ἕξιν. ἦν δὲ
rather to-be-tempered and to-be-strengthened the constitution was and
περὶ τὰς τροφοὺς ἐπιμέλειά τις μετὰ τέχνης, ὥστ' ἄνευ
about the nurses care some with skill so-that without
σπαργάνων ἐκτρεφούσας τὰ βρέφη τοῖς μέλεσι καὶ τοῖς
swaddling-clothes rearing the babes in-the limbs and in-the
εἴδεσιν ἐλευθέρια ποιεῖν, ἔτι δὲ εὔκολα ταῖς διαίταις
forms free to-make(-them) still and contented with-the diets
καὶ ἄσικχα καὶ ἀθαμβῆ σκότου καὶ πρὸς ἐρημίαν ἄφοβα
and not-dainty and unafraid of-darkness and toward solitude fearless
καὶ ἄπειρα δυσκολίας ἀγεννοῦς καὶ κλαυθμυρισμῶν.
and unacquainted of-peevishness ignoble and whimperings
διὸ καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἔνιοι τοῖς τέκνοις Λακωνικὰς
wherefore also of-the(-people) from-outside some for-the children Laconian
ἐωνοῦντο τίτθας· καὶ τήν γε τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Ἀλκιβιάδην
bought nurses and the(-one) at-least the Athenian Alcibiades
τιτθεύσασαν Ἀμύκλαν ἱστοροῦσι γεγονέναι Λάκαιναν.
having-nursed Amycla they-record to-have-been a-Laconian(-woman)
Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μέν, ὡς Πλάτων φησί, Ζώπυρον
but for-this(-man) indeed as Plato says Zopyrus
ἐπέστησε παιδαγωγὸν Περικλῆς, οὐδέν τι τῶν ἄλλων
set as-tutor Pericles nothing at-all from-the other

διαφέροντα δούλων· τοὺς δὲ Σπαρτιατῶν παῖδας οὐκ
differing slaves the but of-Spartans children not
ἐπὶ ὠνητοῖς οὐδὲ μισθίοις ἐποιήσατο παιδαγωγοῖς ὁ
under purchased nor hired made tutors —
Λυκοῦργος, οὐδ' ἐξῆν ἑκάστῳ τρέφειν οὐδὲ παιδεύειν
Lycurgus nor it-was-permitted for-each to-rear nor to-educate
ὡς ἐβούλετο τὸν υἱόν, ἀλλὰ πάντας εὐθὺς ἑπταετεῖς
as he-wished the son but all at-once seven-years-old
γενομένους παραλαμβάνων αὐτὸς εἰς ἀγέλας κατελόχιζε,
having-become taking-over himself into herds he-enrolled
καὶ συννόμους ποιῶν καὶ συντρόφους μετ' ἀλλήλων
and fellow-grazers making(-them) and fellow-nurslings with one-another
εἴθιζε συμπαίζειν καὶ συσχολάζειν. ἄρχοντα δ' αὐτοῖς
he-accustomed to-play-together and to-spend-leisure-together leader and to-them
παρίστατο τῆς ἀγέλης τὸν τῷ φρονεῖν διαφέροντα καὶ
he-set of-the herd the(-one) in-the to-think excelling and
θυμοειδέστατον ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀφεώρων
most-spirited in the to-fight and toward this(-one) they-looked
καὶ προστάττοντος ἠκροῶντο καὶ κολάζοντος ἐκαρτέρουν,
and him-ordering they-obeyed and him-punishing they-endured
ὥστε τὴν παιδείαν εἶναι μελέτην εὐπειθείας. ἐπεσκόπουν δὲ
so-that the education to-be a-practice of-obedience oversaw and
οἱ πρεσβύτεροι παίζοντας αὐτούς, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μάχας
the older(-men) playing them and the many(-times) fights
τινὰς ἐμβάλλοντες ἀεὶ καὶ φιλονεικίας, οὐ παρέργως
some throwing-in always and rivalries not incidentally
κατεμάνθανον ὁποῖός ἐστι τὴν φύσιν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν
they-learned of-what-sort is the nature each of-them
πρὸς τὸ τολμᾶν καὶ μὴ φυγομαχεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἁμίλλαις.
toward the to-dare and not to-shirk-fighting in the contests

Γράμματα μὲν οὖν ἕνεκα τῆς χρείας ἐμάνθανον· ἡ δ’
letters indeed then for-the-sake-of the use they-learned the and
ἄλλη πᾶσα παιδεία πρὸς τὸ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς ἐγίνετο καὶ
other all education toward the to-be-ruled well was and
καρτερεῖν πονοῦντα καὶ νικᾶν μαχόμενον. διὸ καὶ τῆς
to-endure laboring and to-conquer fighting wherefore also the
ἡλικίας προερχομένης ἐπέτεινον αὐτῶν τὴν ἄσκησιν, ἐν
age advancing they-intensified their the exercise close
χρῷ τε κείροντες καὶ βαδίζειν ἀνυποδήτους παίζειν τε
to-the-skin both shaving(-them) and to-walk barefoot to-play and
γυμνοὺς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ συνεθίζοντες. γενόμενοι δὲ δωδεκαετεῖς
naked for the most-part accustoming(-them) having-become and twelve-years-old
ἄνευ χιτῶνος ἤδη διετέλουν, ἓν ἱμάτιον εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν
without tunic now they-continued one cloak for the year
λαμβάνοντες, αὐχμηροὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ
receiving squalid the bodies and of-baths and
ἀλειμμάτων ἄπειροι· πλὴν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τινὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ
of-anointings unacquainted except few days certain of-the year
τῆς τοιαύτης φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖχον. ἐκάθευδον δὲ ὁμοῦ
of-the such kindness they-partook they-slept and together
κατ’ ἴλην καὶ ἀγέλην ἐπὶ στιβάδων, ἃς αὑτοῖς συνεφόρουν,
by troop and herd on pallets which for-themselves they-gathered
τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Εὐρώταν πεφυκότος καλάμου τὰ ἄκρα ταῖς
of-the by the Eurotas growing reed the tips with-the
χερσὶν ἄνευ σιδήρου κατακλάσαντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι τοὺς
hands without iron having-broken-off in and the winter the
λεγομένους λυκόφονας ὑπεβάλλοντο καὶ κατεμίγνυσαν ταῖς
so-called lycophons they-put-under and mixed-in with-the
στιβάσι, θερμαντικὸν ἔχειν τι τῆς ὕλης δοκούσης.
pallets heating to-have some(-thing) of-the material seeming

Lovers attend the boys, and an eiren leads each herd. The boys steal their food and are flogged when caught; one let a stolen fox cub tear his belly rather than be found. At supper the eiren questions them and punishes a poor answer with a bite on the thumb. They are taught to speak briefly and pointedly, and Plutarch gathers Laconic sayings: Lycurgus on democracy and on walls, Leonidas, Demaratus, and others, and jests whose style made some say that to Laconize is to love wisdom more than exercise.

Ἤδη δὲ τοῖς τηλικούτοις ἐρασταὶ τῶν εὐδοκίμων 17
already and with-the of-such-age lovers from-the reputable
νέων συνανεστρέφοντο· καὶ προσεῖχον οἱ πρεσβύτεροι,
young(-men) associated and paid-attention the older(-men)
καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιφοιτῶντες εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια, καὶ μαχομένοις
and more frequenting to the gymnasia and fighting
καὶ σκώπτουσιν ἀλλήλους παρατυγχάνοντες, οὐ παρέργως,
and jeering at-one-another being-present not incidentally
ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ πάντες οἰόμενοι πάντων καὶ πατέρες
but in-a-way some all thinking of-all both fathers
εἶναι καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ ἄρχοντες, ὥστε μήτε καιρὸν
to-be and tutors and commanders so-that neither occasion
ἀπολείπεσθαι μήτε χωρίον ἔρημον τοῦ νουθετοῦντος
to-be-left nor place empty of-the(-one) admonishing
τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα καὶ κολάζοντος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
the(-one) erring and punishing(-him) not indeed but also
παιδονόμος ἐκ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐτάττετο,
a-boy-warden from the noble and good men was-appointed
καὶ κατ᾽ ἀγέλας αὐτοὶ προΐσταντο τῶν λεγομένων
and by herds they-themselves set-over(-them) of-the so-called
εἰρένων ἀεὶ τὸν σωφρονέστατον καὶ μαχιμώτατον. εἴρενας
eirens always the most-self-controlled and most-warlike eirens

δὲ καλοῦσι τοὺς ἔτος ἤδη δεύτερον ἐκ παίδων γεγονότας,
and they-call those a-year already second from boys having-been
μελλείρενας δὲ τῶν παίδων τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους. οὗτος
melleirens and of-the boys the oldest this(-one)
οὖν ὁ εἴρην, εἴκοσι ἔτη γεγονώς, ἄρχει τε τῶν
then the eiren twenty years having-become commands both of-the(-boys)
ὑποτεταγμένων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, καὶ κατ᾽ οἶκον ὑπηρέταις
placed-under(-him) in the fights and at home as-servants
χρῆται πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον. ἐπιτάσσει δὲ τοῖς μὲν
he-uses(-them) for the supper he-orders and to-the(-ones) indeed
ἀδροῖς ξύλα φέρειν, τοῖς δὲ μικροτέροις λάχανα.
grown wood to-bring to-the(-ones) and smaller vegetables
καὶ φέρουσι κλέπτοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς κήπους
and they-bring(-them) stealing the(-ones) indeed to the gardens
βαδίζοντες, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν συσσίτια
going the(-others) and into the of-the men common-meals
παρεισρέοντες εὖ μάλα πανούργως καὶ πεφυλαγμένως·
slipping-in very much cunningly and cautiously
ἂν δ᾽ ἁλῷ, πολλὰς λαμβάνει πληγὰς τῇ μάστιγι,
if and he-be-caught many he-receives blows with-the whip
ῥᾳθύμως δοκῶν κλέπτειν καὶ ἀτέχνως. κλέπτουσι δὲ καὶ
lazily seeming to-steal and unskillfully they-steal and also
τῶν σιτίων ὅ τι ἂν δύνωνται, μανθάνοντες εὐφυῶς
of-the food what ever — they-can learning cleverly
ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς καθεύδουσιν ἢ ῥᾳθύμως φυλάττουσι. τῷ
to-attack those sleeping or lazily guarding to-the
δὲ ἁλόντι ζημία πληγαὶ καὶ τὸ πεινῆν. γλίσχρον γὰρ
and caught(-one) a-penalty blows and the to-go-hungry meager for
αὐτοῖς ἐστι δεῖπνον, ὅπως δι᾽ αὑτῶν ἀμυνόμενοι τὴν
to-them is supper so-that through themselves warding-off the
ἔνδειαν ἀναγκάζωνται τολμᾶν καὶ πανουργεῖν.
want they-be-compelled to-dare and to-be-cunning

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔργον τῆς ὀλιγοσιτίας· παρέργον δέ φασι
and this indeed the-work of-the scanty-food a-by-work and they-say
τὴν τῶν σωμάτων αὔξησιν. φέρεται γὰρ εἰς μῆκος, ὅταν
the of-the bodies growth it-is-carried for into length whenever
τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ πολλὴν σχῇ διατριβὴν καὶ ἀσχολίαν
the breath not much should-have hindrance and occupation
ὑπὸ πλήθους τροφῆς εἰς βάθος καὶ πλάτος πιεζόμενον,
by quantity of-food into depth and breadth being-pressed
ἀλλ᾽ ἄνω βαδίζῃ διὰ κουφότητα, τοῦ σώματος ἐκλύτως
but upward go through lightness of-the body freely
καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἐπιδιδόντος. τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ καλοὺς
and easily growing the and same this also handsome
δοκεῖ ποιεῖν· αἱ γὰρ ἰσχναὶ καὶ διάκενοι μᾶλλον ἕξεις
seems to-make the for lean and spare more constitutions
ὑπακούουσι πρὸς τὴν διάρθρωσιν, αἱ δὲ ὀγκώδεις καὶ
yield to the articulation the but bulky and
πολύτροφοι διὰ βάρος ἀντιβαίνουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ
much-fed through weight resist as no-doubt also
τῶν ἐν τῷ κύειν καθαιρομένων γυναικῶν ἰσχνὰ μέν,
of-the in the to-be-pregnant purged women lean indeed
εὐειδῆ δὲ καὶ γλαφυρὰ γίνεται τὰ βρέφη, διὰ τὴν
well-formed but and neat become the babes because-of the
ἐλαφρότητα τῆς ὕλης κρατουμένης μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ
lightness of-the matter being-mastered more by the(-power)
τυποῦντος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡ μὲν αἰτία τοῦ συμβαίνοντος
molding but for the indeed cause of-the(-thing) happening
ἐν μέσῳ προκείσθω σκοπεῖν.
in middle let-it-be-set-forth to-consider

Οὕτω δὲ κλέπτουσι πεφροντισμένως οἱ παῖδες, ὥστε λέγεται 18
so and steal carefully the boys so-that is-said
τις ἤδη σκύμνον ἀλώπεκος κεκλοφὼς καὶ τῷ τριβωνίῳ
one already a-cub of-a-fox having-stolen and in-the cloak

περιστέλλων, σπαρασσόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θηρίου τὴν γαστέρα
wrapping(-it) being-torn by the beast the belly
τοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαθεῖν
with-the claws and with-the teeth for-the-sake-of the to-escape-notice
ἐγκαρτερῶν ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν
holding-out to-have-died and this indeed not-even from the
νῦν ἐφήβων ἄπιστόν ἐστιν, ὧν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ
now ephebes incredible is of-whom many at the altar
τῆς Ὀρθίας ἑωράκαμεν ἐναποθνήσκοντας ταῖς πληγαῖς.
— of-Orthia we-have-seen dying-under by-the blows
Δειπνήσας δὲ ὁ εἴρην κατακείμενος τῷ μὲν ᾄσαι
having-dined and the eiren reclining to-the(-one) indeed to-sing
προσέταξε τῶν παίδων, τῷ δὲ ἐρώτημά τι προὔβαλε
ordered of-the boys to-the(-other) and a-question some put-forth
πεφροντισμένης δεόμενον ἀποκρίσεως· οἷον, ὅστις ἄριστος
a-considered needing answer such-as who best
ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἢ ποία τις ἡ τοῦδε πρᾶξις. ἐκ
among the men or what-sort some the of-this(-man) action from
τούτου δὲ καὶ κρίνειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν
this and both to-judge the noble(-things) and to-inquire
εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθίζοντο περὶ τῶν πολιτῶν. τὸ γὰρ
at-once from beginning they-were-accustomed about the citizens the for
ἐρωτηθέντα, τίς πολίτης ἀγαθός, ἢ τίς οὐκ εὐδόκιμος,
having-been-asked what citizen good or who not reputable
ἀπορεῖν τοῦ ἀποκρίνασθαι, νωθρᾶς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πρὸς
to-be-at-a-loss of-the to-answer of-a-sluggish they-made and toward
ἀρετὴν ἀφιλοτίμου ψυχῆς σημεῖον. ἔδει δὲ τὴν
virtue unambitious soul a-sign it-was-necessary and the
ἀπόκρισιν καὶ μετ᾽ αἰτίας εἶναι καὶ ἀποδείξεως εἰς
answer also with cause to-be and proof into
βραχύν τινα συνηγμένης λόγον καὶ σύντομον· ὁ δὲ
brief some compressed speech and concise the(-one) and

πλημμελῶς ἀποκρινάμενος ἐκολάζετο δῆγμα λαμβάνων
wrongly having-answered was-punished a-bite receiving
ὑπὸ τοῦ εἴρενος εἰς τὸν ἀντίχειρα. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ
from the eiren on the thumb often and also
πρεσβυτέρων παρόντων καὶ ἀρχόντων ὁ εἴρην ἐκόλαζε
older(-men) being-present and magistrates the eiren punished
τοὺς παῖδας, ἀπόδειξιν διδοὺς εἰ μετὰ λόγου καὶ ὡς
the boys proof giving whether with reason and as
δεῖ κολάζει. καὶ κολάζων μὲν οὐκ ἐκωλύετο, τῶν δὲ
it-is-needful he-punishes and punishing indeed not he-was-hindered of-the and
παίδων ἀπελθόντων εὐθύνας ὑπεῖχεν, εἰ τραχύτερον τοῦ
boys having-gone-away account he-rendered if more-harshly than-the
δέοντος ἐπετίμησεν ἢ τοὐναντίον ἐκλελυμένως καὶ ἀτόνως.
necessary he-rebuked or on-the-contrary laxly and feebly
Ἐκοινώνουν δὲ οἱ ἐρασταὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῆς δόξης ἐπ᾽
shared and the lovers with-the boys of-the reputation in
ἀμφότερα· καὶ λέγεταί ποτε παιδὸς ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι
both(-ways) and it-is-said once a-boy in the to-fight
φωνὴν ἀγεννῆ προεμένου ζημιωθῆναι τὸν ἐραστὴν ὑπὸ
a-voice ignoble having-let-out to-have-been-fined the lover by
τῶν ἀρχόντων. οὕτω δὲ τοῦ ἐρᾶν ἐγκεκριμένου παρ᾽
the magistrates so and the to-love having-been-approved among
αὐτοῖς, ὥστε καὶ τῶν παρθένων ἐρᾶν τὰς καλὰς καὶ
them so-that even of-the maidens to-love the noble and
ἀγαθὰς γυναῖκας, τὸ ἀντερᾶν οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
good women the to-be-rivals not was but rather
ἀρχὴν ἐποιοῦντο φιλίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ τῶν
a-beginning they-made of-friendship toward one-another the(-men) the
αὐτῶν ἐρασθέντες, καὶ διετέλουν κοινῇ σπουδάζοντες
same(-boy) having-loved and they-continued in-common striving
ὅπως ἄριστον ἀπεργάσαιντο τὸν ἐρώμενον.
so-that best they-might-make the beloved

19 Ἐδίδασκον δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι πικρίαν
they-taught and the boys also speech to-use bitterness
ἔχοντι μεμιγμένην χάριτι καὶ πολλὴν ἀπὸ βραχείας λέξεως
having mixed with-grace and much from brief phrasing
ἀναθεώρησιν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ σιδηροῦν νόμισμα μικρὰν ἔχειν
reflection the indeed for iron money little to-have
ἐποίησεν ἀπὸ πολλοῦ σταθμοῦ δύναμιν ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ὡς
made from much weight value — Lycurgus as
εἴρηται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου νόμισμα τοὐναντίον ἀπ᾽ εὐτελοῦς
has-been-said the but of-the speech money on-the-contrary from cheap
καὶ ὀλίγης λέξεως εἰς πολλὴν καὶ περιττὴν κατεσκεύασε
and little phrasing into much and abundant fashioned
διάνοιαν, τῇ πολλῇ σιωπῇ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποφθεγματικοὺς
meaning by-the much silence the boys sententious
καὶ πεπαιδευμένους πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις μηχανώμενος. ὡς
and trained for the answers contriving as
γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας ἀκολάστων
for the seed of-the(-men) toward the intercourse unrestrained
ἄγονον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἄκαρπόν ἐστιν, οὕτως ἡ
unproductive for the most-part and fruitless is so the
πρὸς τὸ λαλεῖν ἀκρασία κενὸν τὸν λόγον ποιεῖ καὶ
toward the to-talk incontinence empty the speech makes and
ἀνόητον. Ἄγις μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, σκώπτοντος Ἀττικοῦ
senseless Agis indeed then the king jeering Attic
τινος τὰς Λακωνικὰς μαχαίρας εἰς τὴν μικρότητα, καὶ
some(-man) the Laconian swords for the smallness and
λέγοντος ὅτι ῥᾳδίως αὐτὰς οἱ θαυματοποιοὶ καταπίνουσιν
saying that easily them the jugglers swallow
ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, “Καὶ μὴν μάλιστα,” εἶπεν, “ἡμεῖς
in the theaters and indeed most said we
ἐφικνούμεθα τοῖς ἐγχειριδίοις τῶν πολεμίων·” ἐγὼ δὲ
reach with-the daggers the enemies I and

καὶ τὸν λόγον ὁρῶ τὸν Λακωνικὸν βραχὺν μὲν εἶναι
also the speech see the Laconian brief indeed to-be
δοκοῦντα, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐφικνούμενον, καὶ
seeming most but the matters reaching and
τῆς διανοίας ἁπτόμενον τῶν ἀκροωμένων.
the thought grasping of-the(-men) listening
Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Λυκοῦργος αὐτὸς βραχυλόγος τις ἔοικε
and for — Lycurgus himself brief-spoken some(-one) seems
γενέσθαι καὶ ἀποφθεγματικός, εἰ δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς
to-have-been and sententious if it-is-needful to-judge by-the
ἀπομνημονεύμασιν· οἷόν ἐστι τὸ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας
recorded-sayings such-as is the(-saying) about the constitutions
πρὸς τὸν ἀξιοῦντα ποιεῖν δημοκρατίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει· "Σὺ
to the(-man) thinking-fit to-make democracy in the city you
γάρ," ἔφη, "πρῶτος ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου ποίησον δημοκρατίαν."
for he-said first in the house of-you make democracy
καὶ περὶ τῶν θυσιῶν πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον διὰ τί
and about the sacrifices to the(-man) having-inquired because-of what
μικρὰς οὕτω καὶ εὐτελεῖς ἔταξεν, "Ἵνα μή ποτε," ἔφη,
small so and cheap he-ordained(-them) so-that not ever he-said
"τιμῶντες τὸ θεῖον διαλίπωμεν." καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀθλημάτων,
honoring the divine we-may-leave-off and about the contests
ταῦτα μόνα μὴ κωλύσαντος ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας ἐν
these-things only not having-forbidden to-compete the citizens in
οἷς χεὶρ οὐκ ἀνατείνεται. φέρονται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι'
which a-hand not is-held-up are-reported and his also through
ἐπιστολῶν ἀποκρίσεις τοιαῦται πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας. πῶς ἂν
letters answers such to the citizens how —
πολεμίων ἔφοδον ἀλεξοίμεθα; "Ἂν πτωχοὶ μένητε καὶ μὴ
of-enemies attack might-we-ward-off if poor you-remain and not
μέσδων ἄτερος θατέρῳ ἐρᾶτε ἦμεν." καὶ πάλιν περὶ τῶν
greater the-one than-the-other desire to-be and again about the

τειχῶν· "Οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἀτείχιστος πόλις ἅτις ἀνδρεσσι, καὶ
walls not — would-be unwalled a-city which with-men and
οὐ πλίνθοις ἐστεφάνωται." περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ τῶν
not with-bricks is-crowned about indeed then these and the
τοιούτων ἐπιστολῶν οὔτε ἀπιστῆσαι ῥᾴδιον οὔτε πιστεῦσαι.
such letters neither to-disbelieve easy nor to-believe
20 Τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὰ μήκη τῶν λόγων διαβολῆς δείγματα τοιαῦτα
of-the and toward the lengths of-the speeches dislike examples such
τῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων ἐστί. Λεωνίδας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκαίρως
of-the sayings are Leonidas the king unseasonably
τινὸς περὶ πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀχρήστων διαλεχθέντος,
some(-one) about matters not useless having-discussed
"Ὦ ξένε," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐν δέοντι χρῇ τῷ δέοντι."
O stranger said not in the-proper(-time) you-use the proper(-thing)
Χαρίλαος δὲ ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς τοῦ Λυκούργου περὶ τῆς
Charilaus and the nephew — of-Lycurgus about the
ὀλιγότητος αὐτοῦ τῶν νόμων ἐρωτηθείς, εἶπεν ὡς οἱ
fewness his of-the laws having-been-asked said that those
λόγοις μὴ χρώμενοι πολλοῖς οὐδὲ νόμων δέονται πολλῶν.
words not using many nor laws need many
Ἀρχιδαμίδας δὲ μεμφομένων τινῶν Ἑκαταῖον τὸν
Archidamidas and blaming some(-people) Hecataeus the
σοφιστὴν ὅτι παραληφθεὶς εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον οὐδὲν ἔλεγεν,
sophist because having-been-taken-in to the common-meal nothing he-said
"Ὁ εἰδώς," ἔφη, "λόγον καὶ καιρὸν οἶδεν." ἃ δὲ τῶν
he knowing said speech also the-time knows which and of-the
πικρῶν ἔφην ἀπομνημονευμάτων οὐκ ἀμοιρεῖν χάριτος,
bitter I-said recorded-sayings not to-lack grace
τοιαῦτ' ἐστί. Δημάρατος ἀνθρώπου πονηροῦ κόπτοντος
such are Demaratus a-man wicked pestering
αὐτὸν ἀκαίροις ἐρωτήμασι καὶ δὴ τοῦτο πολλάκις
him with-unseasonable questions and indeed this often

ἐρωτῶντος, "Τίς ἄριστος Σπαρτιατῶν;" ἔφη· "Ὁ τὶν
asking who best of-Spartans said the(-one) to-you
ἀνομοιότατος." Ἄγις δέ, ἐπαινούντων τινῶν τοὺς Ἠλείους
most-unlike Agis and praising some(-men) the Eleans
ὡς καλῶς τὰ Ὀλύμπια καὶ δικαίως ἄγοντας, "Καὶ τί
as finely the Olympic-games and justly conducting and what
μέγα," ἔφη, "Ἠλεῖοι ποιοῦντι δι' ἐτῶν πέντε ἁμέρᾳ μιᾷ
great-thing said Eleans do through years five on-a-day one
χρώμενοι τᾷ δικαιοσύνᾳ;" Θεόπομπος δὲ ξένου τινὸς
using the justice Theopompus and a-stranger some(-one)
εὔνοιαν ἐνδεικνυμένου, καὶ φάσκοντος ὡς παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῦ
goodwill showing and saying that among the his-own
πολίταις φιλολάκων καλεῖται, "Κάλλιον ἦν τοι," εἶπεν,
citizens a-Laconophile he-is-called finer was surely said(-he)
"ὦ ξένε, φιλοπολίταν καλεῖσθαι." Πλειστῶναξ δὲ ὁ
O stranger a-patriot to-be-called Pleistoanax and the
Παυσανίου, ῥήτορος Ἀθηναίου τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀμαθεῖς
son-of-Pausanias an-orator Athenian the Lacedaemonians unlearned
ἀποκαλοῦντος, "Ὀρθῶς," ἔφη, "λέγεις· μόνοι γὰρ Ἑλλάνων
calling rightly said(-he) you-speak alone for of-Greeks
ἄμμες οὐδὲν κακὸν μεμαθήκαμεν παρ' ὑμῶν." Ἀρχιδαμίδας
we nothing bad have-learned from you Archidamidas
δὲ πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον πόσοι εἰσὶ Σπαρτιᾶται,
and to the(-man) having-inquired how-many are Spartans
"Ἱκανοί," εἶπεν, "ὦ ξένε, τοὺς κακοὺς ἀπερύκειν."
enough said(-he) O stranger the bad to-keep-off
Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ παιδιᾶς εἰρημένοις
it-is-possible and also from-the(-things) with playfulness said
ὑπ' αὐτῶν τεκμήρασθαι τὸν ἐθισμόν. εἰθίζοντο γὰρ
by them to-judge the training they-were-accustomed for
μηδέποτε χρῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ παρέργως, μηδὲ ἀφιέναι φωνὴν
never to-use the speech idly nor to-let-go a-sound

ἥτις οὐκ ἁμῶς γέ πως εἶχέ τινος θεωρίας ἀξίαν
which not in-any-way at-least somehow had of-any reflection worthy
διάνοιαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ μιμουμένου τὴν
meaning the(-one) indeed for to-hear of-the(-man) imitating the
ἀηδόνα παρακαλούμενος, "Αὐτᾶς," ἔφη, "ἄκουκα τήνας."
nightingale being-invited itself said I-have-heard that(-bird)
ὁ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο·
the(-other) and having-read the epigram this

Σβεννύντας ποτὲ τούσδε τυραννίδα χάλκεος Ἄρης
Quenching once these(-men) tyranny brazen Ares
εἶλε· Σελινοῦντος δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἔθανον,
seized of-Selinus and around gates they-died

"Δικαίως," εἶπε, "τεθνάκαντι τοὶ ἄνδρες· ἔδει γὰρ
justly said(-he) have-died the men it-was-necessary for
ἀφέμεν ὅλαν αὐτὰν κατακαᾶμεν." νεανίσκος δὲ πρὸς τὸν
to-let whole it to-burn-down a-young-man and to the(-man)
ἐπαγγελλόμενον αὐτῷ δώσειν ἀλεκτρυόνας ἀποθνήσκοντας
promising to-him to-give cocks dying
ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι, "Μὴ σύ γε," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ δός μοι
in the fighting not you at-least said(-he) but give to-me
τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι." ἕτερος δέ τις
of-the(-ones) killing in the fighting another and some(-one)
ἰδὼν ἐν ἀποχωρήσει θακεύοντας ἐπὶ δίφρων ἀνθρώπους,
having-seen in a-privy sitting on stools people
"Μὴ γένοιτο," εἶπεν, "ἐνταῦθα καθίσαι ὅθεν οὐκ ἔστιν
not may-it-be said(-he) there to-sit whence not it-is-possible
ὑπεξαναστῆναι πρεσβυτέρῳ." τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων
to-rise-up for-an-older(-man) the indeed then of-the sayings

εἶδος ἦν τοιοῦτον ὥστε καὶ λέγειν τινὰς οὐκ ἀτόπως ὅτι
form was such so-that even to-say some(-people) not absurdly that
μᾶλλόν ἐστι τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ἢ τὸ φιλογυμναστεῖν λακωνίζειν.
more is the to-philosophize than the to-love-gymnastics to-Laconize

VI · SONG AND WAR

Spartan song stirs courage: the three choruses of old men, men in their prime, and boys answer one another, and Terpander, Pindar, and a Laconian poet join Spartan valor with music. Before battle the young men dress their long hair, the king sacrifices to the Muses, and the army advances to the flute without breaking its line. They pursue only far enough to secure the victory. Lycurgus may have been a warrior or a man of peace; the citizens' whole life is like a camp, with leisure, and helots working the land.

Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰς ᾠδὰς καὶ τὰ μέλη παίδευσις οὐχ ἧττον 21
the and about the songs and the melodies training not less
ἐσπουδάζετο τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις εὐζηλίας καὶ καθαριότητος,
was-pursued than-the in the speeches correct-style and purity
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέλη κέντρον εἶχεν ἐγερτικὸν θυμοῦ καὶ
but also the melodies a-sting had rousing of-spirit and
παραστατικὸν ὁρμῆς ἐνθουσιώδους καὶ πραγματικῆς, καὶ
inciting of-impulse enthusiastic and effective and
ἡ λέξις ἦν ἀφελὴς καὶ ἄθρυπτος ἐπὶ πράγμασι σεμνοῖς
the diction was simple and unaffected on themes solemn
καὶ ἠθοποιοῖς. ἔπαινοι γὰρ ἦσαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν
and character-forming praises for they-were for the most-part of-the(-men)
τεθνηκότων ὑπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονιζομένων, καὶ
having-died for — Sparta being-called-happy and
ψόγοι τῶν τρεσάντων, ὡς ἀλγεινὸν καὶ κακοδαίμονα
censures of-the(-men) having-trembled as painful and wretched

βιούντων βίον, ἐπαγγελία τε καὶ μεγαλαυχία πρὸς ἀρετὴν
living a-life promise both and boasting toward virtue
πρέπουσα ταῖς ἡλικίαις· ὧν ἕνεκα δείγματος οὐ
befitting to-the ages of-which for-the-sake-of an-example not
χεῖρόν ἐστιν ἕν τι προενέγκασθαι. τριῶν γὰρ χορῶν
worse is one some(-thing) to-bring-forward three for choruses
κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡλικίας συνισταμένων ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς,
according-to the three ages being-formed in the festivals
ὁ μὲν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχόμενος ᾖδεν·
the indeed of-the old-men beginning sang

Ἄμμες πόκ' ἦμες ἄλκιμοι νεανίαι.
We once were valiant young-men

ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἀμειβόμενος ἔλεγεν·
the and of-the men-in-their-prime answering said

Ἄμμες δέ γ' εἰμέν· αἰ δὲ λῇς, αὐγάσδεο.
We and at-least are if but you-wish look

ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὁ τῶν παίδων·
the and third the of-the boys

Ἄμμες δέ γ' ἐσσόμεσθα πολλῷ κάρρονες.
We and at-least shall-be by-much stronger

Ὅλως δὲ ἄν τις ἐπιστήσας τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ποιήμασιν,
altogether and — anyone having-attended to-the Laconian poems
ὧν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔνια διεσώζετο, καὶ τοὺς ἐμβατηρίους
of-which still in our(-time) some were-preserved and the marching
ῥυθμοὺς ἀναλαβών, οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐπάγοντες
rhythms having-taken-up which they-used to the flute leading-on

τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐ κακῶς ἡγήσαιτο καὶ τὸν Τέρπανδρον
against-the enemies not badly would-think also — Terpander
καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῇ μουσικῇ συνάπτειν.
and — Pindar the courage with-the music to-join
ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως πεποίηκε περὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων·
the(-one) indeed for so has-composed about the Lacedaemonians

Ἔνθ' αἰχμά τε νέων θάλλει καὶ μοῦσα λίγεια
There spear both of-young(-men) flourishes and muse clear-voiced
καὶ δίκα εὐρυάγυια — —
and justice of-broad-streets

Πίνδαρος δέ φησιν·
Pindar and says

Ἔνθα βουλαὶ γερόντων
There councils of-old-men
καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύοντι αἰχμαι
and of-young men excel spears
καὶ χοροὶ καὶ Μοῦσα καὶ ἀγλαΐα.
and choruses and Muse and splendor

Μουσικωτάτους γὰρ ἅμα καὶ πολεμικωτάτους ἀποφαίνουσιν
most-musical for at-once and most-warlike they-show
αὐτούς·
them

Ῥέπει γὰρ ἄντα τῷ σιδάρῳ τὸ καλῶς κιθαρίσδεν,
Weighs for against the iron the well to-play-the-lyre

ὡς ὁ Λακωνικὸς ποιητὴς εἴρηκε. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις
as the Laconian poet has-said and for in the battles
προεθύετο ταῖς Μούσαις ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀναμιμνήσκων, ὡς
sacrificed-first to-the Muses the king reminding(-them) as
ἔοικε, τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῶν κρίσεων, ἵνα ὦσι
it-seems of-the training and of-the judgments so-that they-might-be
πρόχειροι παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ λόγου τινὸς ἀξίας
ready in-the-face-of the dangers and of-mention some worthy
παρέχωσι τὰς πράξεις τῶν μαχομένων.
might-render the deeds of-the(-men) fighting

22 Τότε δὲ καὶ τοῖς νέοις τὰ σκληρότατα τῆς ἀγωγῆς
then and also for-the young-men the harshest(-parts) of-the discipline
ἐπανιέντες, οὐκ ἐκώλυον καλλωπίζεσθαι περὶ κόμην καὶ
relaxing not they-prevented to-adorn-themselves about hair and
κόσμον ὅπλων καὶ ἱματίων, χαίροντες, ὥσπερ ἵπποις,
adornment of-arms and of-cloaks rejoicing as-in horses
γαυριῶσι καὶ φρυαττομένοις πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. διὸ
prancing and snorting toward the contests wherefore
κομῶντες εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἡλικίας, μάλιστα περὶ
wearing-long-hair at-once from the of-the ephebes age most at
τοὺς κινδύνους ἐθεράπευον τὴν κόμην λιπαράν τε φαίνεσθαι
the dangers they-tended the hair glossy both to-appear
καὶ διακεκριμένην, ἀπομνημονεύοντές τινα καὶ Λυκούργου
and parted remembering a-certain also of-Lycurgus
λόγον περὶ τῆς κόμης, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς εὐπρεπεστέρους
saying about the hair that the indeed handsome more-comely
ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσχροὺς φοβερωτέρους. ἐχρῶντο δὲ καὶ
it-makes the and ugly more-fearsome they-used and also
γυμνασίοις μαλακωτέροις παρὰ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ τὴν
exercises gentler during the campaigns and the
ἄλλην δίαιταν οὐχ οὕτω κεκολασμένην οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνον
other way-of-life not so restrained nor accountable

τοῖς νέοις παρεῖχον, ὥστε μόνοις ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνοις
for-the young-men they-provided so-that for-only of-men them
τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκήσεως ἀνάπαυσιν εἶναι τὸν
of-the for the war training a-rest to-be the
πόλεμον. ἤδη δὲ συντεταγμένης τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτῶν
war already and drawn-up the phalanx their
καὶ τῶν πολεμίων παρόντων, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἅμα τήν τε
and the enemies being-present the king at-once the both
χίμαιραν ἐσφαγιάζετο καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι παρήγγελλε πᾶσι
she-goat sacrificed and to-be-crowned ordered all
καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς αὐλεῖν ἐκέλευε τὸ Καστόρειον μέλος·
and the flute-players to-play ordered the of-Castor tune
ἅμα δ' ἐξῆρχεν ἐμβατηρίου παιᾶνος, ὥστε σεμνὴν ἅμα
at-once and led-off a-marching paean so-that solemn at-once
καὶ καταπληκτικὴν τὴν ὄψιν εἶναι, ῥυθμῷ τε πρὸς τὸν
and terrifying the sight to-be in-rhythm both to the
αὐλὸν ἐμβαινόντων καὶ μήτε διάσπασμα ποιούντων ἐν τῇ
flute stepping and neither gap making in the
φάλαγγι μήτε ταῖς ψυχαῖς θορυβουμένων, ἀλλὰ πρᾴως
phalanx nor in-the souls being-disturbed but gently
καὶ ἱλαρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μέλους ἀγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον.
and cheerfully by the tune being-led to the danger
οὔτε γὰρ φόβον οὔτε θυμὸν ἐγγίνεσθαι πλεονάζοντα τοῖς
neither for fear nor spirit to-arise excessive in-those
οὕτω διακειμένοις εἰκός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' εὐσταθὲς φρόνημα μετ'
so disposed likely is but steady resolve with
ἐλπίδος καὶ θράσους, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ συμπαρόντος.
hope and boldness as the god being-present-with(-them)
Ἐχώρει δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔχων
advanced and the king against the enemies having
μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στεφανίτην ἀγῶνα νενικηκότα. καί φασί
with himself a-crowned contest having-won(-man) and they-say

γέ τινα χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις διδομένων
at-least someone money much at the-Olympic-games being-given
αὐτῷ μὴ δεξάμενον, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ πόνῳ καταπαλαίσαντα
him not having-accepted but with-much labor having-thrown
τὸν ἀνταγωνιστήν, ὥς τις εἶπεν αὐτῷ, "Τί σοι
the antagonist when someone said to-him what to-you
πλέον, ὦ Λάκων, γέγονε διὰ τῆς νίκης;" φάναι
more O Laconian has-come through the victory to-have-said
μειδιάσαντα, "Πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένος μαχοῦμαι τοῖς
having-smiled before the king stationed I-shall-fight the
πολεμίοις." τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ νικήσαντες ἐδίωκον ὅσον
enemies having-routed and and having-conquered they-pursued as-far-as
ἐκβεβαιώσασθαι τὸ νίκημα τῇ φυγῇ τῶν πολεμίων, εἶτα
to-confirm the victory by-the flight of-the enemies then
εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρουν, οὔτε γενναῖον οὔτε Ἑλληνικὸν ἡγούμενοι
at-once they-withdrew neither noble nor Greek thinking(-it)
κόπτειν καὶ φονεύειν ἀπολεγομένους καὶ παρακεχωρηκότας.
to-cut-down and to-slay those-giving-up and having-yielded
ἦν δὲ οὐ μόνον καλὸν τοῦτο καὶ μεγαλόψυχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
it-was and not only noble this and magnanimous but also
χρήσιμον. εἰδότες γὰρ οἱ μαχόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι τοὺς
useful knowing for those fighting against them that the(-ones)
ὑφισταμένους ἀναιροῦσι, φείδονται δὲ τῶν ἐνδιδόντων,
standing-firm they-destroy they-spare but the(-ones) giving-way
τοῦ μένειν τὸ φεύγειν ἡγοῦντο λυσιτελέστερον.
than-the to-stand-firm the to-flee thought more-profitable

23 Αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Λυκοῦργον Ἱππίας μὲν ὁ σοφιστὴς
himself and — Lycurgus Hippias indeed the sophist
πολεμικώτατόν φησι γενέσθαι καὶ πολλῶν ἔμπειρον
most-warlike says to-have-been and of-many experienced
στρατειῶν, Φιλοστέφανος δὲ καὶ τὴν κατ' οὐλαμοὺς
campaigns Philostephanus and also the by oulamoi

τῶν ἱππέων διανομὴν Λυκούργῳ προστίθησιν· εἶναι δὲ
of-the cavalry distribution to-Lycurgus attributes to-be and
τὸν οὐλαμόν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος συνέστησεν, ἱππέων πεντήκοντα
the oulamos as he organized of-horsemen fifty
πλῆθος ἐν τετραγώνῳ σχήματι τεταγμένων. ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς
a-body in square formation drawn-up the but Phalerean
Δημήτριος, οὐδεμιᾶς ἁψάμενον πολεμικῆς πράξεως ἐν
Demetrius no having-engaged-in warlike action in
εἰρήνῃ καταστήσασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ τῆς
peace to-have-established the constitution seems and also of-the
Ὀλυμπιακῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἡ ἐπίνοια πράου καὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην
Olympic truce the conception of-a-gentle and toward peace
οἰκείως ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸς εἶναι. καίτοι φασί τινες, ὡς
familiarly disposed man to-be and-yet say some as
Ἕρμιππος μνημονεύει, τὸν Λυκοῦργον οὐ προσέχειν οὐδὲ
Hermippus mentions — Lycurgus not to-have-attended nor
κοινωνεῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἴφιτον, ἀλλὰ
to-have-shared in beginning with-the(-men) about — Iphitus but
τυγχάνειν ἄλλως ἐπιδημοῦντα καὶ θεώμενον· ἀκοῦσαι
to-happen idly being-in-town and watching to-have-heard
δὲ φωνὴν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ἐξόπισθεν ἐπιτιμῶντος
and a-voice as-if of-a-man some from-behind rebuking
αὐτῷ καὶ θαυμάζοντος ὅτι τοὺς πολίτας οὐ προτρέπεται
him and wondering that the citizens not he-urges
κοινωνεῖν τῆς πανηγύρεως· ὡς δὲ μεταστραφέντος
to-share of-the festival when and having-turned-round
οὐδαμοῦ φανερὸς ὁ φθεγξάμενος ἦν, θεῖον ἡγησάμενον,
nowhere visible the(-one) having-spoken was divine thinking(-it)
οὕτω πρὸς τὸν Ἴφιτον τραπέσθαι καὶ συνδιακοσμήσαντα
so to — Iphitus to-have-turned and having-helped-to-order
τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐνδοξοτέραν καὶ βεβαιοτέραν καταστῆσαι.
the festival more-glorious and more-secure to-have-made(-it)

24 Ἡ δὲ παιδεία μέχρι τῶν ἐνηλίκων διέτεινεν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν
the and training until the adults extended no-one for was
ἀφειμένος ὡς ἐβούλετο ζῆν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐν στρατοπέδῳ τῇ
released as he-wished to-live but as-it-were in a-camp in-the
πόλει καὶ δίαιταν ἔχοντες ὡρισμένην καὶ διατριβὴν περὶ
city both way-of-life having fixed and occupation about
τὰ κοινά, καὶ ὅλως νομίζοντες οὐχ αὑτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς
the common(-affairs) and wholly thinking not of-themselves but of-the
πατρίδος εἶναι διετέλουν, εἰ μή τι πράττειν ἕτερον
fatherland to-be they-continued if not some(-thing) to-do else
εἴη προστεταγμένον, ἐπισκοποῦντες τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ
should-be ordered overseeing the boys and
διδάσκοντές τι τῶν χρησίμων ἢ μανθάνοντες αὐτοὶ
teaching some(-thing) of-the useful(-things) or learning themselves
παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. καὶ γὰρ ἕν τι τοῦτο τῶν
from the older(-men) and for one some(-thing) this of-the
καλῶν ἦν καὶ μακαρίων ἃ παρεσκεύασε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ
noble(-things) was and blessed which provided to-the his-own
πολίταις ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἀφθονία σχολῆς, οἷς τέχνης μὲν
citizens — Lycurgus abundance of-leisure to-whom art indeed
ἅψασθαι βαναύσου τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἐφεῖτο, χρηματισμοῦ
to-touch mechanical the altogether not was-permitted of-money-making
δὲ συναγωγὴν ἔχοντος ἐργώδη καὶ πραγματείαν οὐδ'
and amassing having laborious and business not-even
ὁτιοῦν ἔδει, διὰ τὸ κομιδῇ τὸν πλοῦτον ἄζηλον
anything was-needed because-of the entirely the wealth unenvied
γεγονέναι καὶ ἄτιμον. οἱ δὲ εἵλωτες αὐτοῖς εἰργάζοντο
to-have-become and unhonored the and helots for-them worked
τὴν γῆν, ἀποφορὰν τὴν εἰρημένην τελοῦντες. ἐπιδημῶν
the land rent the stated paying being-in-town
δέ τις Ἀθήνησι δικαστηρίων ὄντων, καὶ πυθόμενός
and someone at-Athens law-courts being and having-learned

τινα δίκην ἀργίας ὠφληκότα βαδίζειν ἀθυμοῦντα
a-certain(-man) for-a-suit of-idleness having-been-convicted to-walk despondent
καὶ προπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων συναχθομένων καὶ
and being-escorted by the friends sharing-his-grief and
βαρέως φερόντων, ἐδεῖτο δεῖξαι τοὺς συμπαρόντας
heavily bearing(-it) asked to-show(-him) the(-men) present-with
αὐτῷ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τὴν ἐλευθερίας ἑαλωκὼς δίκην.
him who is the(-man) the of-freedom having-been-convicted suit
οὕτω δουλοπρεπὲς ἡγοῦντο τὴν περὶ τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὸν
so slavish they-thought the about the arts and the
χρηματισμὸν ἀσχολίαν. δίκαι δέ, ὡς εἰκός, ἐξέλιπον ἅμα
money-making occupation lawsuits and as is-likely disappeared together-with
τῷ νομίσματι, μήτε πλεονεξίας μήτε ἀπορίας αὐτοῖς
the coinage neither greed nor want to-them
παρούσης, ἰσότητος δὲ ἐν εὐπορίᾳ καὶ ῥᾳστώνης δι᾽
being-present equality and in abundance and ease through
εὐτέλειαν γεγενημένης. χοροὶ δὲ καὶ θαλίαι καὶ εὐωχίαι καὶ
simplicity having-arisen choruses and and festivals and feasts and
διατριβαὶ περί τε θήρας καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ λέσχας τὸν
pastimes about both hunting and gymnasia and lounging-places the
ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐπεχωρίαζον, ὅτε μὴ στρατευόμενοι τύχοιεν.
whole time they-frequented when not campaigning they-happened

Men under thirty do not go to the agora, and their elders pass the day in exercise and talk. The citizens live for the city: Paedaretus rejoices that three hundred better than he were chosen, and Brasidas' mother says Sparta has many better men. The elders are chosen by the loudness of the assembly's shouts. Lycurgus sets burial and mourning rules, forbids travel abroad, and expels strangers. Plutarch doubts that he founded the krypteia, the night killings of helots, which Aristotle ascribes to him.

25 Οἱ μέν γε νεώτεροι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν τὸ παράπαν
the indeed at-least younger than-thirty years the altogether
οὐ κατέβαινον εἰς ἀγοράν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν συγγενῶν
not went-down into the-market-place but through the kinsmen
καὶ τῶν ἐραστῶν ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἀναγκαίας οἰκονομίας.
and the lovers they-made the necessary household-purchases
τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις αἰσχρὸν ἦν συνεχῶς ὁρᾶσθαι
for-the and older(-men) shameful it-was continually to-be-seen
περὶ ταῦτα διατρίβουσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς
about these-things spending-time but not the most of-the
ἡμέρας περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰς καλουμένας λέσχας
day about the gymnasia and the so-called lounging-places
ἀναστρέφεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ εἰς ταύτας συνιόντες ἐπιεικῶς
to-pass-time and for into these coming-together decently
ἐσχόλαζον μετ' ἀλλήλων, οὐδενὸς μεμνημένοι τῶν
they-spent-leisure with one-another nothing mentioning of-the(-things)
πρὸς χρηματισμὸν ἢ χρείαν ἀγοραῖον συντελούντων· ἀλλὰ
toward money-making or business of-the-market contributing but
τὸ πλεῖστον ἦν τῆς τοιαύτης διατριβῆς ἔργον ἐπαινεῖν
the most was of-the such pastime work to-praise
τι τῶν καλῶν, ἢ τῶν αἰσχρῶν ψέγειν, μετὰ
some(-thing) of-the noble(-things) or the base(-things) to-blame with
παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος, ἐλαφρῶς ὑποφέροντος εἰς νουθεσίαν
playfulness and laughter lightly leading-on toward admonition

καὶ διόρθωσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀκράτως αὐστηρὸς ὁ
and correction not-even for himself was immoderately austere —
Λυκοῦργος· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Γέλωτος ἀγαλμάτιον ἐκεῖνον
Lycurgus but also the — of-Laughter little-statue him
ἱδρύσασθαι Σωσίβιος ἱστορεῖ, τὴν παιδιὰν ὥσπερ ἥδυσμα
to-have-set-up Sosibius records the playfulness as seasoning
τοῦ πόνου καὶ τῆς διαίτης ἐμβαλόντα κατὰ καιρὸν
of-the toil and of-the way-of-life having-introduced at the-right-time
εἰς τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας διατριβάς.
into the drinking-parties and the such pastimes
Τὸ δὲ ὅλον εἴθιζε τοὺς πολίτας μὴ βούλεσθαι μηδὲ
the and whole he-accustomed the citizens not to-wish nor
ἐπίστασθαι κατ' ἰδίαν ζῆν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰς μελίττας τῷ
to-know-how in private to-live but like the bees to-the
κοινῷ συμφυεῖς ὄντας ἀεὶ καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων εἱλουμένους
community grown-together being always and with one-another thronging
περὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα, μικροῦ δεῖν ἐξεστῶτας ἑαυτῶν ὑπ'
around the leader of-little to-lack being-out of-themselves through
ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ὅλους εἶναι τῆς πατρίδος·
enthusiasm and ambition wholly to-be of-the fatherland
ὡς ἔστι καὶ φωναῖς τισιν αὐτῶν ἀποθεωρῆσαι
as it-is-possible also in-utterances some their to-observe
τὴν διάνοιαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Παιδάρητος οὐκ ἐγκριθεὶς
the thought — indeed for Paedaretus not having-been-chosen
εἰς τοὺς τριακοσίους ἀπῄει μάλα φαιδρός, ὥσπερ
among the three-hundred went-away very cheerful as-if
χαίρων ὅτι βελτίονας αὐτοῦ τριακοσίους ἡ πόλις ἔχει·
rejoicing that better than-himself three-hundred the city has
Πολυκρατίδας δὲ ὁ πρεσβεύων πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέως
Polycratidas and the(-one) being-an-envoy to the of-the-king
στρατηγοὺς μεθ' ἑτέρων, ἐρομένων αὐτῶν πότερον ἰδίᾳ
generals with others having-asked they whether privately

πάρεισιν ἢ δημοσίᾳ πεμφθέντες, εἶπεν, "Αἴκα τύχωμεν,
they-are-present or publicly having-been-sent said if we-succeed
δημοσίᾳ, αἴκα ἀποτύχωμεν, ἰδίᾳ." ἡ δὲ Βρασίδου μήτηρ
publicly if we-fail privately the and of-Brasidas mother
Ἀργιλεωνίς, ὡς ἀφικόμενοί τινες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν
Argileonis when having-come some to Lacedaemon of-the(-men)
ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως εἰσῆλθον πρὸς αὐτήν, ἠρώτησεν εἰ
from Amphipolis came-in to her asked whether
καλῶς ὁ Βρασίδας ἀπέθανε καὶ τᾶς Σπάρτας ἀξίως·
nobly — Brasidas died and — of-Sparta worthily
μεγαλυνόντων δὲ ἐκείνων τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λεγόντων ὡς
extolling and they the man and saying that
οὐκ ἔχει τοιοῦτον ἄλλον ἡ Σπάρτη· "Μὴ λέγετε," εἶπεν,
not has such another — Sparta not say(-so) she-said
"ὦ ξένοι· καλὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἀγαθὸς ὁ Βρασίδας,
O strangers noble indeed for was and good — Brasidas
πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας Λακεδαίμων ἔχει τήνου κάρρονας."
many but men Lacedaemon has than-that-one better
26 Τοὺς δὲ γέροντας αὐτὸς μέν, ὡς εἴρηται, κατέστησε
the and elders himself indeed as has-been-said appointed
τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν μετασχόντων τοῦ βουλεύματος·
the first(-time) from the(-men) having-shared of-the plan
ὕστερον δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ τελευτῶντος ἔταξε καθιστάναι
later and instead-of the(-one) dying he-ordained to-appoint
τὸν ἄριστον ἀρετῇ κριθέντα τῶν ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη
the best in-virtue judged of-the(-men) over sixty years
γεγονότων. καὶ μέγιστος ἐδόκει τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις
having-become and greatest seemed of-the among men
ἀγώνων οὗτος εἶναι καὶ περιμαχητότατος· οὐ γὰρ ἐν
contests this to-be and most-hotly-contested not for among
ταχέσι τάχιστον οὐδ' ἐν ἰσχυροῖς ἰσχυρότατον, ἀλλ'
swift(-men) swiftest nor among strong(-men) strongest but

ἐν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ σώφροσιν ἄριστον καὶ σωφρονέστατον
among good and self-controlled(-men) best and most-self-controlled
ἔδει κριθέντα νικητήριον ἔχειν τῆς ἀρετῆς διὰ
it-was-necessary having-been-judged prize to-have of-the virtue for
βίου τὸ σύμπαν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, κράτος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, κύριον
life the whole so to-speak power in the constitution sovereign
ὄντα καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ ὅλως τῶν μεγίστων.
being both of-death and of-disgrace and in-general of-the greatest(-matters)
ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ κρίσις τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. ἐκκλησίας
took-place and the judgment this the manner the-assembly
ἀθροισθείσης ἄνδρες αἱρετοὶ καθείργνυντο πλησίον εἰς
having-been-gathered men chosen were-shut-up nearby in
οἴκημα, τὴν μὲν ὄψιν οὐχ ὁρῶντες οὐδὲ ὁρώμενοι, τὴν
a-building the indeed sight not seeing nor being-seen the
δὲ κραυγὴν μόνον ἀκούοντες ἐκκλησιαζόντων. βοῇ γὰρ
but shouting only hearing of-those-assembling by-shout for
ὡς τἆλλα καὶ τοὺς ἁμιλλωμένους ἔκρινον, οὐχ ὁμοῦ
as the-other(-things) also the competitors they-judged not together
πάντων, ἀλλ᾽ ἑκάστου κατὰ κλῆρον εἰσαγομένου καὶ σιωπῇ
all but each by lot being-brought-in and in-silence
διαπορευομένου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἔχοντες οὖν οἱ κατάκλειστοι
passing-through the assembly having then the shut-up(-men)
γραμματεῖα, καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐπεσημαίνοντο τῆς κραυγῆς τὸ
tablets for each marked of-the shouting the
μέγεθος, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτῳ γένοιτο, πλὴν ὅτι πρῶτος ἢ
loudness not knowing for-whom it-was except that first or
δεύτερος ἢ τρίτος ἢ ὁποστοσοῦν εἴη τῶν εἰσαγομένων.
second or third or whichever-in-order he-was of-those brought-in
ὅτῳ δὲ πλείστη γένοιτο καὶ μεγίστη, τοῦτον ἀνηγόρευον.
for-whom and most it-was and loudest this(-man) they-proclaimed
ὁ δὲ στεφανωσάμενος περιήει τοὺς θεούς· εἵποντο δὲ
he and having-crowned(-himself) went-around the gods followed and

πολλοὶ νέοι ζηλοῦντες τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μεγαλύνοντες,
many young(-men) emulating the man and extolling(-him)
πολλαί τε γυναῖκες ἐγκωμιάζουσαι δι᾽ ᾠδῆς τὴν ἀρετὴν
many both women praising through song the virtue
καὶ τὸν βίον εὐδαιμονίζουσαι. τῶν δὲ ἐπιτηδείων ἕκαστος
and the life calling-happy of-the and intimates each
αὐτῷ δεῖπνον παρατιθεὶς ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ πόλις ταύτῃ
to-him a-supper setting-before said that the city with-this
τιμᾷ τῇ τραπέζῃ. περιελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον
honors(-him) the table having-gone-around and to the common-meal
ἀπῄει· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐγίνετο συνήθως, δευτέρας
he-went-away and the indeed other-things took-place customarily a-second
δὲ μερίδος αὐτῷ παρατεθείσης ἐφύλαττεν ἀράμενος·
and portion to-him having-been-set-before he-kept(-it) having-taken-up
καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τοῦ φιδιτίου τῶν
and after the supper at the doors of-the phiditium of-the
οἰκείων παρουσῶν γυναικῶν, ἣν μάλιστα τυγχάνοι τιμῶν
related being-present women whom most he-happened honoring
προσεκαλεῖτο, καὶ διδοὺς τὴν μοῖραν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ταύτην
he-called-to(-him) and giving the share said that this
αὐτὸς λαβὼν ἀριστεῖον ἐκείνῃ δίδωσιν, ὥστε κἀκείνην
he-himself having-received as-a-prize-of-valor to-her gives so-that she-also
ζηλουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων προπέμπεσθαι γυναικῶν.
being-envied by the other to-be-escorted women

27 Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄριστα διεκόσμησεν
and indeed also the(-matters) about the burials excellently he-arranged
αὐτοῖς. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀνελὼν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν
for-them first indeed for having-abolished superstition all
ἐν τῇ πόλει θάπτειν τοὺς νεκρούς, καὶ πλησίον ἔχειν τὰ
in the city to-bury the dead and near to-have the
μνήματα τῶν ἱερῶν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε, συντρόφους ποιῶν
tombs of-the sacred(-places) not he-forbade familiar making

ταῖς τοιαύταις ὄψεσι καὶ συνήθεις τοὺς νέους, ὥστε μὴ
with-the such sights and accustomed the young so-that not
ταράττεσθαι μηδ' ὀρρωδεῖν τὸν θάνατον ὡς μιαίνοντα τοὺς
to-be-troubled nor to-dread the death as polluting the(-ones)
ἁψαμένους νεκροῦ σώματος ἢ διὰ τάφων διελθόντας.
having-touched a-dead body or through graves having-passed
ἔπειτα συνθάπτειν οὐδὲν εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ
then to-bury-with(-it) nothing he-allowed but in a-red-cloak and
φύλλοις ἐλαίας θέντες τὸ σῶμα περιέστελλον. ἐπιγράψαι
leaves of-olive having-placed the body they-wrapped(-it) to-inscribe
δὲ τοὔνομα θάψαντας οὐκ ἐξῆν τοῦ νεκροῦ, πλὴν
and the-name having-buried not it-was-permitted of-the dead except
ἀνδρὸς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ γυναικὸς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποθανόντων.
of-a-man in war and of-a-woman of-the holy(-ones) having-died
χρόνον δὲ πένθους ὀλίγον προσώρισεν, ἡμέρας ἕνδεκα· τῇ
time and of-mourning short he-fixed days eleven on-the
δὲ δωδεκάτῃ θύσαντας ἔδει Δήμητρι λύειν τὸ πάθος.
and twelfth having-sacrificed it-was-necessary to-Demeter to-end the grief
οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀργὸν οὐδὲ ἀφειμένον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι κατεμίγνυε
nothing for was idle nor left-loose but with-all he-mixed
τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἀρετῆς τινα ζῆλον ἢ κακίας διαβολήν·
the necessary(-things) of-virtue some emulation or of-vice reproach
καὶ κατεπύκνου παραδειγμάτων πλήθει τὴν πόλιν, οἷς
and he-thickly-filled of-examples with-a-multitude the city which
ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀεὶ καὶ συντρεφομένους
necessary it-was meeting always and growing-up-with
ἄγεσθαι καὶ κατασχηματίζεσθαι ἰόντας πρὸς τὸ καλόν.
to-be-led and to-be-shaped going toward the noble
Ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀποδημεῖν ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις καὶ
whence not-even to-travel-abroad he-granted to-those wishing and
πλανᾶσθαι, ξενικὰ συνάγοντας ἤθη καὶ μιμήματα βίων
to-wander foreign gathering manners and imitations of-lives

ἀπαιδεύτων καὶ πολιτευμάτων διαφόρων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
uneducated and of-constitutions different but also the(-men)
ἀθροιζομένους ἐπ᾽ οὐδενὶ χρησίμῳ καὶ παρεισρέοντας εἰς
flocking-together for no useful(-purpose) and stealing-in into
τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλαυνεν, οὐχ, ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησί, δεδιὼς
the city he-drove-out not as Thucydides says fearing
μὴ τῆς πολιτείας μιμηταὶ γένωνται καὶ πρὸς ἀρετήν
lest of-the constitution imitators they-become and toward virtue
τι χρήσιμον ἐκμάθωσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅπως μὴ
some(-thing) useful they-learn but rather so-that not
διδάσκαλοι κακοῦ τινος ὑπάρξωσιν. ἅμα γὰρ ξένοις
teachers of-evil some they-might-become together-with for foreign
σώμασιν ἀνάγκη λόγους ἐπεισιέναι ξένους· λόγοι δὲ καινοὶ
bodies necessary(-is) words to-come-in foreign words and new
κρίσεις καινὰς ἐπιφέρουσιν. ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη πάθη πολλὰ
judgments new bring from which necessary(-is) passions many
φύεσθαι καὶ προαιρέσεις ἀπᾳδούσας πρὸς τὴν καθεστῶσαν
to-grow and choices discordant with the established
πολιτείαν, ὥσπερ ἁρμονίαν. διὸ μᾶλλον ᾠ̓ετο χρῆναι
constitution as-it-were a-harmony wherefore rather he-thought it-necessary
φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν ὅπως ἠθῶν οὐκ ἀναπλησθήσεται
to-guard the city so-that with-manners not it-will-be-filled
πονηρῶν ἢ σωμάτων νοσερῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπεισιόντων.
bad or with-bodies diseased from-outside coming-in

28 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τούτοις οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀδικίας ἴχνος οὐδὲ
in indeed then these(-things) no is of-injustice trace nor
πλεονεξίας, ἣν ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἔνιοι τοῖς Λυκούργου νόμοις, ὡς
of-greed which charge some to-the of-Lycurgus laws as
ἱκανῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν, ἐνδεῶς δὲ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην.
sufficiently being toward courage deficiently but toward justice
ἡ δὲ καλουμένη κρυπτεία παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, εἴ γε δὴ τοῦτο
the and so-called krypteia among them if at-least indeed this

τῶν Λυκούργου πολιτευμάτων ἕν ἐστιν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης
of-the of-Lycurgus institutions one is as Aristotle
ἱστόρηκε, ταύτην ἂν εἴη καὶ τῷ Πλάτωνι περὶ τῆς
has-recorded this — would-be also — to-Plato about the
πολιτείας καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐνειργασμένη δόξαν. ἦν δὲ τοιαύτη·
constitution and the man having-produced opinion was and such
τῶν νέων οἱ ἄρχοντες διὰ χρόνου τοὺς μάλιστα
of-the young-men the magistrates from-time-to time the(-ones) most
νοῦν ἔχειν δοκοῦντας εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄλλως ἐξέπεμπον,
sense to-have seeming into the country at-random sent-out
ἔχοντας ἐγχειρίδια καὶ τροφὴν ἀναγκαίαν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν·
having daggers and food necessary other but nothing
οἱ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν εἰς ἀσυνδήλους διασπειρόμενοι
they and by day indeed into unfrequented scattering
τόπους, ἀπέκρυπτον ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀνεπαύοντο, νύκτωρ δὲ
places bid themselves and rested by-night and
κατιόντες εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς τῶν εἱλώτων τὸν ἁλισκόμενον
going-down into the roads of-the helots the(-one) being-caught
ἀπέσφαττον. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἐπιπορευόμενοι
they-slaughtered often and also the fields going-through
τοὺς ῥωμαλεωτάτους καὶ κρατίστους αὐτῶν ἀνῄρουν.
the sturdiest and strongest of-them they-killed
ὥσπερ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐν τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς ἱστορεῖ
as also Thucydides in the Peloponnesian(-histories) records
τοὺς ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ προκριθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν
the(-ones) for courage chosen by the Spartans
στεφανώσασθαι μὲν ὡς ἐλευθέρους γεγονότας καὶ
to-have-crowned-themselves indeed as free having-become and
περιελθεῖν τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά, μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον
to-have-gone-around the of-the gods temples little and later
ἅπαντας ἀφανεῖς γενέσθαι, πλείονας ἢ δισχιλίους ὄντας,
all vanished to-have-become more than two-thousand being

ὡς μήτε παραχρῆμα μήτε ὕστερον ἔχειν τινὰ λέγειν ὅτῳ
so-that neither at-once nor later to-have anyone to-say in-what
τρόπῳ διεφθάρησαν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ μάλιστά φησι καὶ
manner they-were-destroyed Aristotle and especially says also
τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὅταν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῶσι πρῶτον, τοῖς
the ephors when into the office they-are-installed first to-the
εἵλωσι καταγγέλλειν πόλεμον, ὅπως εὐαγὲς ᾖ τὸ ἀνελεῖν.
helots to-declare war so-that pure it-be the to-kill(-them)
Καὶ τἆλλα δὲ τραχέως προσεφέροντο καὶ σκληρῶς
and in-the-other(-things) and roughly they-dealt and harshly
αὐτοῖς, ὥστε καὶ πίνειν ἀναγκάζοντες πολὺν ἄκρατον
with-them so-that also to-drink compelling much unmixed(-wine)
εἰς τὰ συσσίτια παρεισῆγον, ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τὸ μεθύειν
into the common-meals they-brought(-them)-in showing the to-be-drunk
οἷόν ἐστι τοῖς νέοις. καὶ ᾠδὰς ἐκέλευον ᾄδειν καὶ
what-sort it-is to-the young-men and songs they-ordered to-sing and
χορείας χορεύειν ἀγεννεῖς καὶ καταγελάστους, ἀπέχεσθαι
dances to-dance ignoble and ridiculous to-abstain
δὲ τῶν ἐλευθέρων. διὸ καί φασιν ὕστερον ἐν τῇ
but from-the(-ones) of-free(-men) wherefore also they-say later in the
Θηβαίων εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν στρατείᾳ τοὺς ἁλισκομένους
of-Thebans into the Laconian(-land) campaign the captured
εἵλωτας κελευομένους ᾄδειν τὰ Τερπάνδρου καὶ
helots being-ordered to-sing the(-songs) of-Terpander and
Ἀλκμᾶνος καὶ Σπένδοντος τοῦ Λάκωνος παραιτεῖσθαι,
of-Alcman and of-Spendon the Laconian to-have-begged-off
φάσκοντας οὐκ ἐθέλειν τοὺς δεσποσύνους. ὥστε τοὺς
saying not to-be-willing the masters' so-that those
λέγοντας, ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τὸν ἐλεύθερον μάλιστα
saying in Lacedaemon both the free(-man) most
ἐλεύθερον εἶναι καὶ τὸν δοῦλον μάλιστα δοῦλον, οὐ
free to-be and the slave most slave not

φαύλως τεθεωρηκέναι τὴν διαφοράν. τὰς μὲν οὖν τοιαύτας
badly to-have-observed the difference the indeed then such
χαλεπότητας ὕστερον ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις
cruelties later to-have-arisen among-the Spartans
νομίζω, μάλιστα μετὰ τὸν μέγαν σεισμόν, ᾧ
I-think especially after the great earthquake in-which
συνεπιθέσθαι τοὺς εἵλωτας μετὰ Μεσσηνίων ἱστοροῦσι,
to-have-attacked-together the helots with Messenians they-record
καὶ πλεῖστα κακὰ τὴν χώραν ἐργάσασθαι καὶ μέγιστον τῇ
and very-many evils the country to-have-wrought and greatest to-the
πόλει περιστῆσαι κίνδυνον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔγωγε προσθείην
city to-have-brought-round danger not for — I-at-least would-ascribe
Λυκούργῳ μιαρὸν οὕτω τῆς κρυπτείας ἔργον ἀπὸ τῆς
to-Lycurgus foul so of-the krypteia a-deed from the
ἄλλης αὐτοῦ πρᾳότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης τεκμαιρόμενος
other his gentleness and justice judging
τὸν τρόπον, ᾧ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπεμαρτύρησε.
the character to-which also the divine bore-witness

VIII · THE LAWGIVER'S END

Lycurgus binds the citizens by oath to keep his laws until he returns from Delphi. The god approves his laws, and he starves himself to death so that they will never be released from the oath. Sparta keeps them for five hundred years, until Lysander brings home gold and silver; before then a single envoy could settle Greece's quarrels. Plato, Diogenes, and Zeno wrote of such a state; Lycurgus made one. He receives a shrine and sacrifices, and his ashes, some say, were scattered at sea.

Κατειλημμένων δὲ τοῖς ἐθισμοῖς ἤδη τῶν 29
having-been-taken-hold-of and by-the habits already the
κυριωτάτων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας
most-important(-institutions) by him and the constitution

ἐκτεθραμμένης ἱκανῶς καὶ δυναμένης φέρειν ἑαυτὴν καὶ
having-been-reared sufficiently and being-able to-carry itself and
σώζειν δι᾽ ἑαυτῆς, ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων φησὶν ἐπὶ
to-preserve(-itself) through itself as — Plato says at
τῷ κόσμῳ γενομένῳ καὶ κινηθέντι τὴν πρώτην κίνησιν
the universe having-come-to-be and set-in-motion the first motion
εὐφρανθῆναι τὸν θεόν, οὕτως ἀγασθεὶς καὶ ἀγαπήσας τὸ
to-have-rejoiced the god so having-admired and having-loved the
τῆς νομοθεσίας κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος ἐν ἔργῳ γενομένης
of-the legislation beauty and greatness in operation having-come
καὶ ὁδῷ βαδιζούσης, ἐπεθύμησεν, ὡς ἀνυστὸν ἐξ
and on-the-road going he-desired as-far-as possible from
ἀνθρωπίνης προνοίας, ἀθάνατον αὐτὴν ἀπολιπεῖν καὶ
human foresight immortal it to-leave and
ἀκίνητον εἰς τὸ μέλλον. συναγαγὼν οὖν ἅπαντας εἰς
unmoved into the future having-gathered then all into
ἐκκλησίαν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μετρίως ἔχειν ἔφη καὶ
assembly the indeed other-things moderately to-be he-said and
ἱκανῶς πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν τῆς πόλεως, ὃ δὲ
sufficiently for happiness and virtue of-the city what but
κυριώτατόν ἐστι καὶ μέγιστον οὐκ ἂν ἐξενεγκεῖν πρότερον
most-important is and greatest not — to-bring(-it)-forth before
πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἢ χρήσασθαι τῷ θεῷ. δεῖν οὖν ἐκείνους
to them than to-consult the god it-needful then them
ἐμμένειν τοῖς καθεστῶσι νόμοις καὶ μηδὲν ἀλλάσσειν μηδὲ
to-abide-by the established laws and nothing to-change nor
μετακινεῖν ἕως ἐπάνεισιν ἐκ Δελφῶν αὐτός· ἐπανελθὼν
to-move until he-returns from Delphi himself having-returned
γὰρ ὅ τι ἂν τῷ θεῷ δοκῇ ποιήσειν. ὁμολογούντων
for what ever — to-the god should-seem-good he-would-do agreeing
δὲ πάντων καὶ κελευόντων βαδίζειν, ὅρκους λαβὼν παρὰ
and all and bidding(-him) to-go oaths having-taken from

τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν γερόντων, ἔπειτα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων
the kings and the elders then from the other
πολιτῶν, ἐμμενεῖν καὶ χρήσεσθαι τῇ καθεστώσῃ πολιτείᾳ
citizens to-abide and to-use the established constitution
μέχρις ἂν ἐπανέλθῃ ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Δελφούς.
until — should-return — Lycurgus he-departed to Delphi
Παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ τῷ θεῷ θύσας,
having-arrived and at the oracle and to-the god having-sacrificed
ἠρώτησεν εἰ καλῶς οἱ νόμοι καὶ ἱκανῶς πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν
he-asked whether well the laws and sufficiently for happiness
καὶ ἀρετὴν πόλεως κείμενοι τυγχάνουσιν. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ
and virtue of-a-city laid-down happen(-to-be) having-answered and
τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους καλῶς κεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν
the god both the laws well to-be-laid-down and the city
ἐνδοξοτάτην διαμενεῖν τῇ Λυκούργου χρωμένην πολιτείᾳ, τὸ
most-glorious to-continue the of-Lycurgus using constitution the
μάντευμα γραψάμενος εἰς Σπάρτην ἀπέστειλεν. αὐτὸς δὲ
oracle having-written-down to Sparta he-sent himself and
τῷ θεῷ πάλιν θύσας καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀσπασάμενος καὶ
to-the god again having-sacrificed and the friends having-embraced and
τὸν υἱόν, ἔγνω μηκέτι τοῖς πολίταις ἀφεῖναι τὸν ὅρκον,
the son he-resolved no-longer the citizens to-release-from the oath
αὐτοῦ δὲ καταλῦσαι τὸν βίον ἑκουσίως, ἡλικίας γεγονὼς ἐν
there but to-end the life voluntarily of-an-age having-become at
ᾗ καὶ βιοῦν ἔτι καὶ πεπαῦσθαι βουλομένοις ὡραῖόν ἐστι,
which both to-live still and to-have-ceased for-those-wishing seasonable it-is
καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱκανῶς πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἔχειν
and of-the(-things) about him sufficiently for happiness to-be
δοκούντων. ἐτελεύτησεν οὖν ἀποκαρτερήσας, ἡγούμενος
seeming he-died then having-starved-himself thinking
χρῆναι τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν μηδὲ τὸν θάνατον
it-necessary of-the political men not-even the death

ἀπολίτευτον εἶναι μηδὲ ἀργὸν τὸ τοῦ βίου τέλος, ἀλλ'
unpolitical to-be nor idle the of-the life end but
ἐν ἀρετῆς μερίδι καὶ πράξεως γενόμενον. αὑτῷ τε γὰρ
in of-virtue portion and of-action having-come to-himself both for
ἐξειργασμένῳ τὰ κάλλιστα τὴν τελευτὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς
having-accomplished the noblest(-things) the death as truly
ἐπιτελείωσιν εἶναι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, καὶ τοῖς πολίταις
a-completion to-be of-the happiness and to-the citizens
ὧν διὰ τοῦ βίου παρεσκεύασε καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν
of-which through the life he-provided noble and good(-things)
φύλακα τὸν θάνατον ἀπολείψειν, ὀμωμοκόσι χρῆσθαι τῇ
a-guardian the death to-leave having-sworn to-use the
πολιτείᾳ μέχρις ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἐπανέλθῃ. καὶ οὐ διεψεύσθη τῶν
constitution until — he should-return and not he-was-deceived in-the
λογισμῶν· τοσοῦτον ἐπρώτευσεν ἡ πόλις τῆς Ἑλλάδος
calculations so-much was-first the city — of-Greece
εὐνομίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ, χρόνον ἐτῶν πεντακοσίων τοῖς
in-good-order and in-reputation for-a-time of-years five-hundred the
Λυκούργου χρησαμένη νόμοις, οὓς δεκατεσσάρων βασιλέων
of-Lycurgus having-used laws which of-fourteen kings
μετ' ἐκεῖνον εἰς Ἄγιν τὸν Ἀρχιδάμου γενομένων οὐδεὶς
after him to Agis the son-of-Archidamus having-been no-one
ἐκίνησεν. ἡ γὰρ τῶν ἐφόρων κατάστασις οὐκ ἄνεσις
moved the for of-the ephors institution not a-relaxation
ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐπίτασις τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ δοκοῦσα πρὸς τοῦ
was but a-tightening of-the constitution and seeming for the
δήμου γεγονέναι σφοδροτέραν ἐποίησε τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν.
people to-have-been more-vehement made the aristocracy
30 Ἄγιδος δὲ βασιλεύοντος εἰσερρύη νόμισμα πρῶτον εἰς τὴν
Agis and reigning flowed-in money first into —
Σπάρτην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ νομίσματος πλεονεξία καὶ πλούτου
Sparta and with the money greed and of-wealth

ζῆλος ἐπέβη διὰ Λύσανδρον, ὃς αὐτὸς ὢν ἀνάλωτος
emulation came-in because-of Lysander who himself being uncaptured
ὑπὸ χρημάτων, ἐνέπλησε τὴν πατρίδα φιλοπλουτίας καὶ
by money filled the fatherland with-love-of-wealth and
τρυφῆς, χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου καταγαγὼν
with-luxury gold and silver from the war having-brought-home
καὶ τοὺς Λυκούργου καταπολιτευσάμενος νόμους. ὧν
and the of-Lycurgus having-overthrown laws which
ἐπικρατούντων πρότερον οὐ πόλεως ἡ Σπάρτη πολιτείαν,
prevailing formerly not of-a-city — Sparta a-constitution
ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς ἀσκητοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ βίον ἔχουσα, μᾶλλον δ',
but of-a-man in-training and wise a-life having rather but
ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μυθολογοῦσι δέρμα καὶ
as the poets — Heracles tell-in-myth a-skin and
ξύλον ἔχοντα τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπιπορεύεσθαι, κολάζοντα
a-club having the inhabited(-world) to-go-over punishing
τοὺς παρανόμους καὶ θηριώδεις τυράννους, οὕτως ἡ πόλις
the lawless and savage tyrants so the city
ἀπὸ σκυτάλης μιᾶς καὶ τρίβωνος ἄρχουσα τῆς Ἑλλάδος
from a-staff one and a-cloak ruling — Greece
ἑκούσης καὶ βουλομένης, κατέλυε τὰς ἀδίκους δυναστείας
willing and wishing dissolved the unjust dynasties
καὶ τυραννίδας ἐν τοῖς πολιτεύμασι, καὶ πολέμους ἐβράβευε
and tyrannies in the states and wars arbitrated
καὶ στάσεις κατέπαυε, πολλάκις οὐδ' ἀσπίδα κινήσασα
and factions stopped often not-even a-shield having-moved
μίαν, ἀλλ' ἕνα πέμψασα πρεσβευτήν, ᾧ πάντες εὐθὺς
one but one having-sent ambassador to-whom all at-once
ἐποίουν τὸ προστασσόμενον, ὥσπερ αἱ μέλισσαι

φανέντος ἡγεμόνος, συντρέχοντες καὶ κατακοσμούμενοι.
having-appeared the-leader running-together and arranging-themselves
τοσοῦτον περιῆν εὐνομίας τῇ πόλει καὶ δικαιοσύνης.
so-much abounded of-good-order in-the city and of-justice
Ὅθεν ἔγωγε θαυμάζω τῶν λεγόντων ὡς ἄρχεσθαι
whence I-at-least wonder at-those saying that to-be-ruled
μὲν ἤδεσαν, ἄρχειν δὲ οὐκ ἠπίσταντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
indeed they-knew to-rule but not they-understood Lacedaemonians
καὶ τὸν Θεοπόμπου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαινούντων λόγον,
and the of-Theopompus the king praising saying
ὅς, εἰπόντος τινὸς σώζεσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην διὰ τοὺς
who having-said someone to-be-preserved — Sparta because-of the
βασιλεῖς ἀρχικοὺς γεγονότας, "Μᾶλλον," εἶπε, "διὰ τοὺς
kings fit-to-rule having-been rather he-said because-of the
πολίτας πειθαρχικοὺς ὄντας·" οὐ γὰρ ἀκούειν ὑπομένουσι
citizens obedient being not for to-listen they-endure
τῶν προστατεῖν μὴ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' ἡ πειθαρχία
to-those to-lead not being-able but the obedience
μάθημα μέν ἐστιν τοῦ ἄρχοντος (ἐμποιεῖ γὰρ ὁ
a-lesson indeed is of-the ruler produces for the(-one)
καλῶς ἄγων τὸ καλῶς ἕπεσθαι· καὶ καθάπερ ἱππικῆς
well leading the well to-follow and as of-the-horseman's
τέχνης ἀποτέλεσμα πρᾷον ἵππον καὶ πειθήνιον παρασχεῖν,
art the-result a-gentle horse and obedient to-furnish
οὕτω βασιλικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἔργον ἀνθρώποις εὐπείθειαν
so of-the-kingly science the-work in-men obedience
ἐνεργάσασθαι), Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ εὐπείθειαν, ἀλλ'
to-produce Lacedaemonians and not obedience but
ἐπιθυμίαν ἐνειργάζοντο τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ
desire produced in-the others of-the to-be-ruled and
ὑπακούειν αὐτοῖς. ἤτουν γὰρ οὐ ναῦς οὐδὲ χρήματα παρ'
to-obey them they-asked for not ships nor money from

αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ὁπλίτας πέμποντες, ἀλλὰ ἕνα Σπαρτιάτην
them nor hoplites sending but one Spartan
ἡγεμόνα· καὶ λαβόντες ἐχρῶντο μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ
commander and having-received(-him) they-used(-him) with honor and
δέους, ὥσπερ Γυλίππῳ Σικελιῶται καὶ Βρασίδᾳ Χαλκιδεῖς,
awe as Gylippus the-Sicilian-Greeks and Brasidas Chalcidians
Λυσάνδρῳ δὲ καὶ Καλλικρατίδᾳ καὶ Ἀγησιλάῳ πάντες οἱ
Lysander and and Callicratidas and Agesilaus all the(-ones)
τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντες Ἕλληνες, τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἁρμοστὰς
— Asia inhabiting Greeks the indeed men harmosts
καὶ σωφρονιστὰς τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ δήμων καὶ ἀρχόντων
and chasteners of-the everywhere peoples and rulers
ὀνομάζοντες, πρὸς δὲ σύμπασαν τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν
naming to and all the of-the Spartans
πόλιν ὥσπερ παιδαγωγὸν ἢ διδάσκαλον εὐσχήμονος βίου
city as a-tutor or a-teacher of-decorous life
καὶ τεταγμένης πολιτείας ἀποβλέποντες. εἰς ὃ καὶ
and ordered constitution looking at which also
Στρατόνικος ἐπισκῶψαι δοκεῖ, μετὰ παιδιᾶς νομοθετῶν
Stratonicus to-have-jested seems with playfulness legislating
καὶ κελεύων Ἀθηναίους ἄγειν μυστήρια καὶ πομπάς,
and bidding Athenians to-conduct mysteries and processions
Ἠλείους δὲ ἀγωνοθετεῖν, ὡς κάλλιστα τοῦτο ποιοῦντας,
Eleans and to-preside-over-games as best this doing
Λακεδαιμονίους δέ, ἂν ἁμαρτάνωσιν οὗτοι, δέρεσθαι. καὶ
Lacedaemonians and if do-wrong these(-men) to-be-flogged and
τοῦτο μὲν εἴρηται χάριν τοῦ γελοίου· Ἀντισθένης δὲ
this indeed has-been-said for-the-sake-of the laughter Antisthenes and
ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης ὁρῶν τοὺς
the Socratic from the at Leuctra battle seeing the

Θηβαίους μέγα φρονοῦντας, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔφη διαφέρειν
Thebans greatly priding-themselves nothing them he-said to-differ
παιδαρίων ἐπὶ τῷ συγκόψαι τὸν παιδαγωγὸν γαυριώντων.
from-little-boys at the to-have-beaten the tutor exulting
31 Οὐ μὴν τοῦτό γε τῷ Λυκούργῳ κεφάλαιον ἦν τότε,
not indeed this at-least — for-Lycurgus the-chief-aim was then
πλείστων ἡγουμένην ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
over-most ruling to-leave the city but as
ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς βίῳ καὶ πόλεως ὅλης νομίζων εὐδαιμονίαν
of-one man in-the-life also of-a-city whole thinking happiness
ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ ὁμονοίας τῆς πρὸς αὑτήν,
from virtue to-arise and concord the with itself
πρὸς τοῦτο συνέταξε καὶ συνήρμοσεν, ὅπως ἐλευθέριοι καὶ
toward this he-arranged and fitted(-it) so-that free and
αὐτάρκεις γενόμενοι καὶ σωφρονοῦντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον
self-sufficient having-become and self-controlled for the-longest time
διατελῶσι. ταύτην καὶ Πλάτων ἔλαβε τῆς πολιτείας
they-might-continue this also Plato took of-the constitution
ὑπόθεσιν καὶ Διογένης καὶ Ζήνων καὶ πάντες ὅσοι τι
as-a-basis and Diogenes and Zeno and all as-many-as anything
περὶ τούτων ἐπιχειρήσαντες εἰπεῖν ἐπαινοῦνται, γράμματα
about these having-attempted to-say are-praised writings
καὶ λόγους ἀπολιπόντες μόνον. ὁ δὲ οὐ γράμματα
and words having-left only he but not writings
καὶ λόγους, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πολιτείαν ἀμίμητον εἰς φῶς
and words but in-deed a-constitution inimitable into light
προενεγκάμενος, καὶ τοῖς ἀνύπαρκτον εἶναι τὴν λεγομένην
having-brought-forth and to-those nonexistent to-be the said
περὶ τὸν σοφὸν διάθεσιν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐπιδείξας ὅλην
about the wise-man disposition supposing having-shown whole
τὴν πόλιν φιλοσοφοῦσαν, εἰκότως ὑπερῆρε τῇ δόξῃ
the city philosophizing reasonably surpassed in-the glory

τοὺς πώποτε πολιτευσαμένους ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι. δι᾽
those ever having-been-statesmen among the Greeks because-of
ὅπερ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐλάττονας σχεῖν φησι τιμὰς ἢ
which also Aristotle fewer to-have-had says honors than
προσῆκον ἦν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, καίπερ ἔχοντα
fitting it-was him to-have in Lacedaemon although having
τὰς μεγίστας. ἱερόν τε γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ θύουσι
the greatest a-temple both for is his and they-sacrifice
καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς θεῷ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν
by each year as to-a-god it-is-said and also the
λειψάνων αὐτοῦ κομισθέντων οἴκαδε κεραυνὸν εἰς τὸν
remains his having-been-brought home a-thunderbolt into the
τάφον κατασκῆψαι· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τῶν
tomb to-have-struck this and not easily to-other any of-the
ἐπιφανῶν πλὴν Εὐριπίδῃ συμπεσεῖν ὕστερον, τελευτήσαντι
illustrious(-men) except to-Euripides to-have-befallen later having-died
καὶ ταφέντι τῆς Μακεδονίας περὶ Ἀρέθουσαν. ὥστε
and having-been-buried — of-Macedonia near Arethusa so-that
ἀπολόγημα καὶ μαρτύριον μέγα εἶναι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν
a-defense and testimony great to-be for-those loving —
Εὐριπίδην τὸ μόνῳ συμπεσεῖν αὐτῷ μετὰ τελευτὴν ἃ
Euripides the(-fact) alone to-have-befallen to-him after death what
τῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ καὶ ὁσιωτάτῳ πρότερον συνέπεσε.
to-the most-god-beloved and holiest(-man) before befell
Τελευτῆσαι δὲ τὸν Λυκοῦργον οἱ μὲν ἐν Κίρρᾳ
to-have-died and — Lycurgus the(-ones) indeed in Cirrha
λέγουσιν, Ἀπολλόθεμις δὲ εἰς Ἦλιν κομισθέντα, Τίμαιος
say Apollothemis and to Elis having-been-brought Timaeus
δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ἐν Κρήτῃ καταβιώσαντα· καὶ τάφον
and and Aristoxenus in Crete having-ended-his-life and a-tomb
Ἀριστόξενος αὐτοῦ δείκνυσθαί φησιν ὑπὸ Κρητῶν τῆς
Aristoxenus his to-be-shown says by Cretans —

Περγαμίας περὶ τὴν ξενικὴν ὁδόν. υἱὸν δὲ λέγεται
of-Pergamia near the strangers' road a-son and it-is-said
μονογενῆ καταλιπεῖν Ἀντίωρον· οὗ τελευτήσαντος ἀτέκνου
only-begotten to-have-left Antiorus who having-died childless
τὸ γένος ἐξέλιπεν. οἱ δ' ἑταῖροι καὶ οἰκεῖοι διαδοχήν τινα
the family died-out the and companions and intimates a-succession some
καὶ σύνοδον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους διαμείνασαν κατέστησαν,
and association for many times lasting established
καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν αἷς συνήρχοντο Λυκουργίδας
and the days in which they-met Lycurgidae
προσηγόρευσαν. Ἀριστοκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἱππάρχου φησὶ τοὺς
they-called Aristocrates and the son-of-Hipparchus says the
ξένους τοῦ Λυκούργου τελευτήσαντος ἐν Κρήτῃ καῦσαι
hosts — of-Lycurgus having-died in Crete to-have-burned
τὸ σῶμα καὶ διασπεῖραι τὴν τέφραν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν,
the body and to-have-scattered the ash into the sea
αὐτοῦ δεηθέντος καὶ φυλαξαμένου μή ποτε ἄρα τῶν
him having-asked and having-taken-precaution lest ever then the
λειψάνων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα κομισθέντων, ὡς ἐπανήκοντος
remains to Lacedaemon having-been-brought as returning
αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὅρκων λελυμένων, μεταβάλωσι τὴν
him and the oaths having-been-released they-should-change the
πολιτείαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ Λυκούργου.
constitution these-things indeed then about — Lycurgus

PLUTARCH

ΝΟΜΑΣ

Numa

Plutarch notes the disputes over Numa's date and whether Pythagoras taught him. After Romulus vanishes in a storm, Romans and Sabines quarrel over the next king, and the patricians rule in turn as interreges, until the people suspect an oligarchy. The two factions agree that each shall choose a king from the other; the Sabines leave the choice to the Romans, who choose a Sabine, Numa Pompilius of Cures, a man of self-discipline and piety who married Tatius' daughter and, after her death, lived alone in the groves. The tale of the nymph Egeria leads Plutarch to ask whether gods consort with men.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν Νομᾶ τοῦ βασιλέως χρόνων, 1
there-is and also about the of-Numa the king times
καθ' οὓς γέγονε, νεανικὴ διαφορά, καίπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς
in which he-lived a-vigorous dispute although from beginning to
τοῦτον κατάγεσθαι τῶν στεμμάτων ἀκριβῶς δοκούντων.
this(-man) to-be-traced the genealogies accurately seeming
ἀλλὰ Κλώδιός τις ἐν ἐλέγχῳ χρόνων (οὕτω γάρ
but Clodius a-certain in an-examination of-chronology so for
πως ἐπιγέγραπται τὸ βιβλίον) ἰσχυρίζεται τὰς μὲν
somehow is-entitled the book insists the indeed
ἀρχαίας ἐκείνας ἀναγραφὰς ἐν τοῖς Κελτικοῖς πάθεσι
ancient those records in the Celtic disasters
τῆς πόλεως ἠφανίσθαι, τὰς δὲ νῦν φαινομένας οὐκ
of-the city to-have-been-destroyed the but now appearing not
ἀληθῶς συγκεῖσθαι δι' ἀνδρῶν χαριζομένων τισὶν
truly to-have-been-composed by men gratifying some(-people)
εἰς τὰ πρῶτα γένη καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους οἴκους ἐξ
into the first families and the most-illustrious houses from
οὐ προσηκόντων εἰσβιαζομένοις. λεγομένου δ' οὖν ὡς
not belonging forcing-their-way it-being-said and then that
Νομᾶς γένοιτο Πυθαγόρου συνήθης, οἱ μὲν ὅλως
Numa became of-Pythagoras an-intimate the(-ones) indeed altogether

ἀξιοῦσι μηδὲν Ἑλληνικῆς παιδεύσεως Νομᾷ μετεῖναι,
think-fit nothing of-Greek education to-Numa to-belong
καθάπερ ἢ φύσει δυνατὸν καὶ αὐτάρκη γενέσθαι πρὸς
as-if either by-nature possible and self-sufficient to-have-been for
ἀρετὴν ἢ βελτίονι Πυθαγόρου βαρβάρῳ τινὶ τὴν τοῦ
virtue or to-a-better than-Pythagoras barbarian some the of-the
βασιλέως ἀποδοῦναι παίδευσιν· οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν
king to-ascribe education the(-others) and Pythagoras
μὲν ὀψὲ γενέσθαι, τῶν Νομᾶ χρόνων ὁμοῦ τι πέντε
indeed late to-have-lived than-the of-Numa times about some five
γενεαῖς ἀπολειπόμενον, Πυθαγόραν δὲ τὸν Σπαρτιάτην
by-generations falling-short Pythagoras and the Spartan
Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότα στάδιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκκαιδεκάτης
the-Olympic(-games) having-won in-the-stadium-race in the sixteenth
Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἧς ἔτει τρίτῳ Νομᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν
Olympiad in-whose year third Numa into the kingship
κατέστη, πλανηθέντα περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν συγγενέσθαι τῷ
was-installed having-wandered about — Italy to-have-associated —
Νομᾷ καὶ συνδιακοσμῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὅθεν οὐκ ὀλίγα
with-Numa and to-have-helped-arrange the constitution whence not few
τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τῶν Λακωνικῶν ἀναμεμῖχθαι
with-the Roman customs of-the Laconian(-ones) to-have-been-mixed
Πυθαγόρου διδάξαντος. ἄλλως δὲ Νομᾶς γένος μὲν ἦν
Pythagoras having-taught(-them) otherwise and Numa by-race indeed was
ἐκ Σαβίνων, Σαβῖνοι δὲ βούλονται Λακεδαιμονίων ἑαυτοὺς
from Sabines Sabines and would-have-it of-Lacedaemonians themselves
ἀποίκους γεγονέναι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἐξακριβῶσαι
colonists to-have-been the indeed then times to-determine-exactly
χαλεπόν ἐστι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν
difficult is and especially those from the Olympic-victors
ἀναγομένους, ὧν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὀψέ φασιν Ἱππίαν
traced whose the list late they-say Hippias

ἐκδοῦναι τὸν Ἠλεῖον, ἀπ᾽ οὐδενὸς ὁρμώμενον ἀναγκαίου
to-have-published the Elean from no(-thing) starting compelling
πρὸς πίστιν· ἃ δὲ παρειλήφαμεν ἡμεῖς ἄξια λόγου περὶ
toward belief what but have-received we worthy of-mention about
Νομᾶ, διέξιμεν ἀρχὴν οἰκείαν λαβόντες.
Numa we-shall-relate a-starting-point fitting having-taken
Ἔβδομον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡ Ῥώμη καὶ τριακοστὸν ἤδη Ῥωμύλου 2
seventh year — Rome and thirtieth already Romulus
βασιλεύοντος ᾠκεῖτο· πέμπτῃ δὲ ἱσταμένου μηνός,
reigning was-being-inhabited on-the-fifth and of-the-beginning month
ἣν νῦν ἡμέραν νώνας Καπρατίνας καλοῦσι, θυσίαν τινὰ
which now day nonae Capratinae they-call a-sacrifice some
δημοτελῆ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἔθυε περὶ
public before the city — Romulus was-offering near
τὸ καλούμενον Αἰγὸς ἕλος, καὶ παρῆν ἥ τε βουλὴ
the so-called Goat's marsh and was-present the both senate
καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ πλεῖστον. ἐξαίφνης δὲ μεγάλης περὶ
and of-the people the most suddenly and great about
τὸν ἀέρα τροπῆς γενομένης καὶ νέφους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν
the air change having-happened and a-cloud on the earth
ἐρείσαντος ἅμα πνεύματι καὶ ζάλῃ, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον
having-settled together-with wind and storm the indeed other
ὅμιλον ἐκπλαγέντα συνέβη φυγεῖν καὶ σκεδασθῆναι, τὸν
crowd panic-stricken it-happened to-flee and to-be-scattered —
δὲ Ῥωμύλον ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι, καὶ μήτε αὐτὸν ἔτι μήτε
but Romulus invisible to-become and neither himself any-longer nor
σῶμα τεθνηκότος εὑρεθῆναι, χαλεπὴν δὲ τιν᾽ ὑπόνοιαν
body of-him-dead to-be-found grievous and some suspicion
ἅψασθαι τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ ῥυῆναι λόγον ἐν τῷ
to-have-fastened-on the patricians and to-have-flowed a-story in the
δήμῳ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ὡς πάλαι βαρυνόμενοι τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι
people against them that long being-oppressed by-the to-be-ruled-by-a-king

καὶ μεταστῆσαι τὸ κράτος εἰς αὐτοὺς θέλοντες ἀνέλοιεν
and to-transfer the power to themselves wishing they-had-killed
τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει τραχύτερον ἤδη προσφέρεσθαι
the king and for he-seemed more-harshly already to-behave
καὶ μοναρχικώτερον αὐτοῖς. ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν τὴν
and more-monarchically toward-them but this indeed the
ὑποψίαν ἐθεράπευον εἰς θεῶν τιμὰς ἀνάγοντες ὡς οὐ
suspicion they-soothed to of-gods honors raising(-him) as not
τεθνηκότα τὸν Ῥωμύλον, ἀλλὰ κρείττονος ὄντα μοίρας·
having-died — Romulus but of-a-higher being lot
καὶ Πρόκλος, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανής, διωμόσατο Ῥωμύλον ἰδεῖν
and Proculus a-man notable swore Romulus to-have-seen
εἰς οὐρανὸν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀναφερόμενον, καὶ φωνῆς
into heaven with the arms being-carried-up and a-voice
ἀκοῦσαι κελεύοντος αὐτὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι Κυρῖνον.
to-have-heard bidding himself to-be-called Quirinus
Ἑτέρα δὲ ταραχὴ καὶ στάσις κατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν
another and confusion and strife seized the city
ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποδειχθήσεσθαι βασιλέως, οὔπω τῶν
about the going to-be-appointed king not-yet the
ἐπηλύδων κομιδῇ τοῖς πρώτοις συγκεκραμένων πολίταις,
newcomers entirely with-the first having-been-blended citizens
ἀλλ' ἔτι τοῦ τε δήμου πολλὰ κυμαίνοντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ
but still the both people much surging within itself and
τῶν πατρικίων ἐν ὑποψίαις ἐκ τοῦ διαφόρου πρὸς ἀλλήλους
the patricians in suspicions from the difference toward one-another
ὄντων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βασιλεύεσθαι μὲν ἐδόκει πᾶσιν,
being not indeed but to-be-ruled-by-a-king indeed it-seemed-good to-all
ἤρισαν δὲ καὶ διέστησαν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
they-quarreled but and divided not about a-man only but also
γένους, ὁπότερον παρέξει τὸν ἡγεμόνα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μετὰ
a-race which-of-the-two will-furnish the leader and for those with

Ῥωμύλου πρῶτοι συνοικίσαντες τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν
Romulus first having-founded the city not tolerable
ἐποιοῦντο πόλεως καὶ χώρας τοὺς Σαβίνους μεταλαβόντας
thought(-it) of-city and land the Sabines having-received-a-share
ἄρχειν βιάζεσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα δεξαμένων, καὶ
to-rule to-force those for these-things having-received(-them) and
τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἦν τις εὐγνώμων λόγος, ἐπεὶ Τατίου
to-the Sabines was some reasonable argument since Tatius
τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντος οὐκ ἐστασίασαν πρὸς
the king their having-died not they-rebelled against
Ῥωμύλον, ἀλλ᾽ εἴασαν ἄρχειν μόνον, αὖθις ἀξιούντων τὸν
Romulus but allowed(-him) to-rule alone in-turn thinking-it-right the
ἄρχοντα γενέσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ ταπεινοτέρων
ruler to-come from them neither for from inferior
κρείττοσι προσγενέσθαι, καὶ προσγενόμενοι πλήθει
to-superior to-have-attached-themselves and having-attached-themselves by-numbers
τε ῥῶσαι καὶ προαγαγεῖν εἰς ἀξίωμα πόλεως
both to-have-strengthened and to-have-advanced into dignity of-a-city
ἐκείνους μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν. ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐστασίαζον.
those(-men) with themselves about indeed then these(-things) they-were-at-strife
Ὅπως δὲ μὴ σύγχυσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀναρχίας ἡ στάσις
so-that and not confusion from the anarchy the strife
ἀπεργάσεται, μετεώρου τοῦ πολιτεύματος ὄντος, ἔταξαν οἱ
should-work-out in-suspense the government being ordained the
πατρίκιοι, πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὄντων αὐτῶν, ἕκαστον ἐν
patricians fifty and a-hundred being they each in
μέρει τοῖς βασιλικοῖς παρασήμοις κοσμούμενον θύειν τε
turn with-the royal insignia adorned to-sacrifice both
τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ νενομισμένα καὶ χρηματίζειν ἓξ μὲν ὥρας
to-the gods the customary(-offerings) and to-transact-business six indeed hours
τῆς νυκτός, ἓξ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας. καὶ γὰρ ἡ διανομὴ τῶν
of-the night six and of-the day and for the distribution of-the

καιρῶν ἑκατέρου πρὸς ἰσότητα καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει τοῖς
times of-each toward equality well to-be seemed to-the
ἄρχουσι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἡ μεταβολὴ τῆς ἐξουσίας
rulers and toward the people the change of-the authority
ἀφαιρεῖν τὸν φθόνον, ὁρῶντα τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ
to-remove the envy seeing on-the same day and
νυκτὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἰδιώτην ἐκ βασιλέως γινόμενον. τὸ δὲ
night the same private-citizen from king becoming the and
σχῆμα τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς μεσοβασιλείαν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν.
form this of-the government interregnum Romans call
3 Ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτω πολιτικῶς καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς ἀφηγεῖσθαι
but although so constitutionally and inoffensively to-govern
δοκοῦντες, ὑπονοίαις καὶ θορύβοις περιέπιπτον,
seeming into-suspicions and clamors they-fell
ὡς μεθιστάντες εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν τὰ πράγματα καὶ
as changing into oligarchy the affairs and
διαπαιδαγωγοῦντες ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν πολιτείαν,
leading-along(-the-people) among them themselves the constitution
βασιλεύεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλοιεν. ἐκ τούτου συνέβησαν
to-be-ruled-by-a-king but not they-wished from this agreed
ἀμφότεραι πρὸς ἀλλήλας αἱ στάσεις, ὥστε τὴν ἑτέραν
both with one-another the factions so-that the one
ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέα· μάλιστα γὰρ ἂν οὕτως
from the other to-appoint a-king most for — so
ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι παύσασθαι τὴν φιλονεικίαν, καὶ τὸν
in both the present to-cease the rivalry and the(-one)
ἀποδειχθέντα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἴσον γενέσθαι, τοὺς
appointed toward both impartial to-be the(-ones)
μὲν ὡς ἑλομένους ἀγαπῶντα, τοῖς δὲ εὔνουν
indeed as having-chosen(-him) loving to-the(-others) and well-disposed
ὄντα διὰ συγγένειαν. ἐπιτρεψάντων δὲ προτέροις τοῖς
being through kinship having-entrusted and first to-the

Ῥωμαίοις τῶν Σαβίνων τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἔδοξε μᾶλλον
Romans the Sabines the choice it-seemed-good rather
ἑλέσθαι Σαβῖνον αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξαντας ἢ παρασχεῖν
to-choose a-Sabine themselves having-appointed than to-furnish
Ῥωμαῖον ἐκείνων ἑλομένων. καὶ βουλευσάμενοι καθ'
a-Roman those having-chosen and having-deliberated among
ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἐκ Σαβίνων Νομᾶν Πομπίλιον,
themselves they-appoint from Sabines Numa Pompilius
ἄνδρα τῶν μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπῳκισμένων οὐ γενόμενον,
a-man of-those indeed to Rome having-migrated not having-become
γνώριμον δ' οὕτω δι' ἀρετὴν ὄντα πᾶσιν ὥστε τῶν
a-known(-one) but so for virtue being to-all so-that than-the(-ones)
ἑλομένων προθυμότερον ὀνομασθέντος αὐτοῦ δέξασθαι
having-chosen more-eagerly having-been-named him to-have-accepted(-him)
τοὺς Σαβίνους. φράσαντες οὖν τῷ δήμῳ τὰ
the Sabines having-declared then to-the people the(-things)
δεδογμένα, πρέσβεις ἐκπέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα κοινῇ
resolved ambassadors they-send-out to the man jointly
τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων, ἥκειν δεησομένους καὶ
the foremost(-men) from both to-come going-to-beg and
παραλαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν.
to-take-over the kingship
Ἦν δὲ πόλεως μὲν ὁ Νομᾶς ἐπιφανοῦς ἐν Σαβίνοις
he-was and of-a-city indeed — Numa notable among Sabines
τῆς Κύρεων, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Κυρίτας Ῥωμαῖοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς
— of-Cures from which also Quirites Romans them themselves
ἅμα τοῖς ἀνακραθεῖσι Σαβίνοις προσηγόρευσαν, υἱὸς δὲ
together-with the blended-in Sabines called a-son and
Πόμπωνος, ἀνδρὸς εὐδοκίμου, τεσσάρων ἀδελφῶν νεώτατος·
of-Pompo a-man reputable of-four brothers youngest
ἡμέρᾳ δὲ γεγονὼς κατὰ δή τινα θείαν τύχην ἐν ᾗ
on-a-day and born by indeed some divine chance on which

τὴν Ῥώμην ἔκτισαν οἱ περὶ Ῥωμύλον· αὕτη δέ ἐστι πρὸ
— *Rome founded those about Romulus this and is before*
δεκαμιᾶς καλανδῶν Μαΐων. φύσει δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν
the-eleventh calends of-May by-nature and for all virtue
εὖ κεκραμένος τὸ ἦθος, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὑτὸν ἐξημέρωσε διὰ
well tempered the character still more himself he-tamed through
παιδείας καὶ κακοπαθείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας, οὐ μόνον τὰ
education and hardship and philosophy not only the
λοιδορούμενα πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εὐδοκιμοῦσαν
reviled passions of-the soul but also the esteemed
ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις βίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν ἐκποδὼν
among the barbarians violence and greed out-of-the-way
ποιησάμενος, ἀνδρείαν δὲ ἀληθῆ τὴν ὑπὸ λόγου τῶν
having-put courage and true the by reason of-the
ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν αὑτῷ κάθειρξιν ἡγούμενος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶσαν
desires in himself confinement thinking from and this all
οἴκοθεν ἅμα τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἐξελαύνων, παντὶ
from-home at-once luxury and extravagance driving-out to-every
δὲ πολίτῃ καὶ ξένῳ χρῆσθαι παρέχων ἑαυτὸν ἄμεμπτον
and citizen and stranger to-use furnishing himself a-blameless
δικαστὴν καὶ σύμβουλον, αὐτὸς δ' ἑαυτῷ σχολάζοντι
judge and adviser himself and for-himself being-at-leisure
χρώμενος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡδυπαθείας καὶ πορισμούς, ἀλλὰ
using(-the-time) for-nothing toward pleasures and acquisitions but
θεραπείαν θεῶν καὶ θεωρίαν διὰ λόγου φύσεώς τε
service of-gods and contemplation through reason of-nature both
αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάμεως, ὄνομα μέγα καὶ δόξαν εἶχεν, ὥστε
their and power name great and reputation he-had so-that
καὶ Τάτιον τὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ συμβασιλεύσαντα Ῥωμύλῳ,
even Tatius the(-man) in Rome having-reigned-jointly with-Romulus
μιᾶς αὐτῷ θυγατρὸς οὔσης Τατίας, ποιήσασθαι γαμβρὸν
one to-him daughter being Tatia to-make son-in-law

ἐκεῖνον. οὐ μὴν ἐπήρθη γε τῷ γάμῳ μετοικίσασθαι
him not indeed was-he-induced at-least by-the marriage to-move
πρὸς τὸν πενθερόν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ περιέπων πατέρα γηραιὸν
to the father-in-law but there tending a-father aged
ἐν Σαβίνοις ὑπέμενεν, ἅμα καὶ τῆς Τατίας ἑλομένης
among Sabines he-remained at-once also — Tatia having-chosen
τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἰδιωτεύοντος ἡσυχίαν πρὸ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ
the of-the husband living-privately quiet before the in Rome
διὰ τὸν πατέρα τιμῆς καὶ δόξης. αὕτη μὲν οὖν λέγεται
because-of the father honor and reputation she indeed then is-said
τρίτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ μετὰ τὸν γάμον ἔτει τελευτῆσαι.
in-the-third and tenth after the marriage year to-have-died
Ὁ δὲ Νομᾶς ἐκλείπων τὰς ἐν ἄστει διατριβὰς ἀγραυλεῖν 4
— and Numa leaving the in town pastimes to-live-in-the-fields
τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πλανᾶσθαι μόνος ἤθελεν, ἐν ἄλσεσι
for-the most-part and to-wander alone wished in groves
θεῶν καὶ λειμῶσιν ἱεροῖς καὶ τόποις ἐρήμοις ποιούμενος
of-gods and meadows sacred and places deserted making
τὴν δίαιταν. ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ περὶ τῆς
the way-of-life whence not least the beginning the about the
θεᾶς ἔλαβε λόγος, ὡς ἄρα Νομᾶς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀδημονίᾳ
goddess took story that then Numa that not by-distress
τινὶ ψυχῆς καὶ πλάνῃ τὸν μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέλοιπε
some of-soul and wandering the with men has-left
βίον, ἀλλὰ σεμνοτέρας γεγευμένος ὁμιλίας καὶ γάμων
life but more-august having-tasted company and of-marriage
θείων ἠξιωμένος, Ἠγερίᾳ δαίμονι συνὼν ἐρώσῃ
divine having-been-deemed-worthy with-Egeria a-divinity consorting loving(-him)
καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος, εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ καὶ τὰ θεῖα
and living-with(-her) a-happy man and in-the divine(-things)
πεπνυμένος γέγονεν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα πολλοῖς τῶν
wise has-become that indeed then these-things to-many of-the

πάνυ παλαιῶν μύθων ἔοικεν, οὓς οἱ Φρύγες τε περὶ
very ancient myths are-like which the Phrygians both about
Ἄττεω καὶ Βιθυνοὶ περὶ Ἡροδότου καὶ περὶ Ἐνδυμίωνος
Attis and Bithynians about Herodotus and about Endymion
Ἀρκάδες ἄλλοι τε περὶ ἄλλων εὐδαιμόνων δή τινων καὶ
Arcadians others and about other happy indeed some and
θεοφιλῶν γενέσθαι δοκούντων παραλαβόντες ἠγάπησαν, οὐκ
god-beloved to-have-been seeming having-received loved not
ἄδηλόν ἐστι. καί που λόγον ἔχει τὸν θεόν, οὐ φίλιππον
unclear is and somehow reason it-has the god not horse-loving
οὐδὲ φίλορνιν, ἀλλὰ φιλάνθρωπον ὄντα, τοῖς διαφερόντως
nor bird-loving but man-loving being with-the especially
ἀγαθοῖς ἐθέλειν συνεῖναι, καὶ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν μηδὲ ἀτιμάζειν
good to-wish to-associate and not to-be-displeased nor to-disdain
ἀνδρὸς ὁσίου καὶ σώφρονος ὁμιλίαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ σώματος
of-a-man holy and self-controlled company that and also with-body
ἀνθρωπίνου καὶ ὥρας ἐστί τις θεῷ καὶ δαίμονι
human and youthful-beauty is some to-a-god and to-a-divinity
κοινωνία καὶ χάρις, ἔργον ἤδη καὶ τοῦτο πεισθῆναι.
intercourse and pleasure a-work already also this to-be-persuaded
Καίτοι δοκοῦσιν οὐκ ἀπιθάνως Αἰγύπτιοι διαιρεῖν ὡς
and-yet seem not unpersuasively Egyptians to-distinguish that
γυναικὶ μὲν οὐκ ἀδύνατον πνεῦμα πλησιάσαι θεοῦ
to-a-woman indeed not impossible a-spirit to-approach of-a-god
καί τινας ἐντεκεῖν ἀρχὰς γενέσεως, ἀνδρὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι
and some to-beget beginnings of-generation for-a-man but not is
σύμμιξις πρὸς θεὸν οὐδὲ ὁμιλία σώματος. ἀγνοοῦσι
intercourse with a-god nor company of-body they-are-ignorant
δὲ ὅτι τὸ μιγνύμενον ᾧ μίγνυται τὴν ἴσην
but that the(-thing) mixing with-what it-is-mixed the equal
ἀνταποδίδωσι κοινωνίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ φιλίαν γε πρὸς
gives-back communion not indeed but friendship at-least toward

ἄνθρωπον εἶναι θεῷ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ λεγόμενον
man to-be for-a-god and the on this(-friendship) so-called
ἔρωτα καὶ φυόμενον εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν ἤθους καὶ ἀρετῆς,
love and growing toward care of-character and of-virtue
πρέπον ἂν εἴη. καὶ οὐ πλημμελοῦσιν οἱ τὸν Φόρβαντα
fitting — would-be and not err those — Phorbas
καὶ τὸν Ὑάκινθον καὶ τὸν Ἄδμητον ἐρωμένους Ἀπόλλωνος
and — Hyacinthus and — Admetus beloved(-ones) of-Apollo
γεγονέναι μυθολογοῦντες, ὥσπερ αὖ καὶ τὸν Σικυώνιον
to-have-been telling-in-myth as again also the Sicyonian
Ἱππόλυτον, ᾧ δὴ καί φασιν, ὁσάκις τύχοι διαπλέων
Hippolytus to-whom indeed also they-say as-often-as he-happened sailing-across
εἰς Κίρραν ἐκ Σικυῶνος, τὴν Πυθίαν, οἷον αἰσθανομένου
to Cirrha from Sicyon — Pythia as-if perceiving
τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ χαίροντος, ἀποθεσπίζειν τόδε τὸ ἡρῷον·
the god and rejoicing to-utter-oracularly this the heroic-verse

Καὶ δ' αὖθ' Ἱππολύτοιο φίλον κάρα εἰς ἅλα βαίνει.
And also again of-Hippolytus dear head to sea goes

Πινδάρου δὲ καὶ τῶν μελῶν ἐραστὴν γενέσθαι τὸν Πᾶνα
of-Pindar and also of-the songs lover to-have-become — Pan
μυθολογοῦσιν. ἀπέδωκε δέ τινα τιμὴν καὶ Ἀρχιλόχῳ καὶ
they-tell-in-myth rendered and some honor also to-Archilochus and
Ἡσιόδῳ τελευτήσασι διὰ τὰς Μούσας τὸ δαιμόνιον.
to-Hesiod having-died because-of the Muses the divine
Σοφοκλεῖ δὲ καὶ ζῶντι τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἐπιξενωθῆναι
to-Sophocles and even living — Asclepius to-have-been-a-guest
λόγος ἐστὶ πολλὰ μέχρι δεῦρο διασώζων τεκμήρια,
a-story there-is many until here preserving proofs
καὶ τελευτήσαντι τυχεῖν ταφῆς ἄλλος θεός, ὡς λέγεται,
and having-died to-obtain burial another god as it-is-said

παρέσχεν. ἆρα οὖν ἄξιόν ἐστι, ταῦτα συγχωροῦντας ἐπὶ
provided is-it then worthy is these-things conceding in
τούτων, ἀπιστεῖν εἰ Ζαλεύκῳ καὶ Μίνῳ καὶ Ζωροάστρῃ
these(-cases) to-disbelieve if to-Zaleucus and to-Minos and to-Zoroaster
καὶ Νομᾷ καὶ Λυκούργῳ βασιλείας κυβερνῶσι καὶ
and to-Numa and to-Lycurgus kingdoms steering and
πολιτείας διακοσμοῦσιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐφοίτα τὸ δαιμόνιον,
constitutions arranging into the same(-place) came the divine
ἢ τούτοις μὲν εἰκός ἐστι καὶ σπουδάζοντας θεοὺς ὁμιλεῖν
or with-these indeed likely it-is also being-serious gods to-associate
ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ καὶ παραινέσει τῶν βελτίστων, ποιηταῖς δὲ
for teaching and exhortation of-the best(-things) with-poets and
καὶ λυρικοῖς μινυρίζουσιν, εἴπερ ἄρα, χρῆσθαι παίζοντας;
and lyric(-poets) warbling if-indeed then to-consort jesting
εἰ δὲ λέγει τις ἄλλως, κατὰ Βακχυλίδην, "Πλατεῖα
if but says one otherwise according-to Bacchylides broad
κέλευθος." οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄτερος λόγος ἔχει τι φαῦλον,
(is-the)-road not-even for the-other account has anything mean
ὃν περὶ Λυκούργου καὶ Νομᾶ καὶ τοιούτων ἄλλων
which about Lycurgus and Numa and such other
ἀνδρῶν λέγουσιν, ὡς δυσκάθεκτα καὶ δυσάρεστα πλήθη
men they-say that hard-to-hold and hard-to-please multitudes
χειρούμενοι καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντες ταῖς πολιτείαις
subduing and great bringing to-the constitutions
καινοτομίας, προσεποιήσαντο τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν,
innovations they-pretended the from the god reputation
αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις πρὸς οὓς ἐσχηματίζοντο σωτήριον οὖσαν.
for-them those toward whom they-assumed-the-part saving being

Numa at first refuses: a man of peace, he says, cannot rule a city born of war. His father and Marcius persuade him, and the augurs take the omens on the Capitol. He dismisses Romulus' guard, adds a flamen for Romulus, and sets out to soften the warlike city with sacrifices, processions, and religious awe. Plutarch notes the Pythagorean likenesses: Tacita, the silent Muse, no images of the gods, bloodless offerings, and the claims, which he leaves to the contentious, that Pythagoras became a Roman citizen.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτος ἤδη διατελοῦντι τῷ Νομᾷ τεσσαρακοστὸν
but for year already passing — to-Numa fortieth
ἦκον ἀπὸ Ῥώμης οἱ πρέσβεις παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν
came from Rome the ambassadors summoning(-him) to the
βασιλείαν. τοὺς δὲ λόγους ἐποιήσατο Πρόκλος καὶ
kingship the and speeches made Proculus and
Οὐέλεσος, ὧν πρότερον ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὁ δῆμος αἱρήσεσθαι
Velesus of-whom before expected was the people to-choose
τὸν ἕτερον βασιλέα, Πρόκλῳ μὲν τῶν Ῥωμύλου λαῶν,
the one(-or-other) king to-Proculus indeed the of-Romulus people
Οὐελέσῳ δὲ τῶν Τατίου μάλιστα προσεχόντων. οὗτοι
to-Velesus and those of-Tatius most attaching-themselves these(-men)
μὲν οὖν βραχέα διελέχθησαν, οἰόμενοι τῷ Νομᾷ τὴν
indeed then briefly spoke thinking — to-Numa the
συντυχίαν ἀσπαζομένῳ γεγονέναι· ἦν δ' οὐ μικρόν, ὡς
good-fortune welcoming to-have-been it-was but not small as
ἔοικεν, ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων πολλῶν καὶ δεήσεως τὸ
it-seems a-task but even of-words many and of-entreaty the
πεῖσαι καὶ μεταστῆσαι γνώμην ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ
to-persuade and to-change the-mind of-a-man in quiet and
εἰρήνῃ βεβιωκότος εἰς ἀρχὴν πόλεως τρόπον τινὰ καὶ
peace having-lived to rule of-a-city in-a-way some both

γεγενημένης πολέμῳ καὶ συνηυξημένης. ἔλεγεν οὖν τοῦ τε
born in-war and grown-up he-said then the both
πατρὸς αὐτοῦ παρόντος καὶ Μαρκίου, τῶν συγγενῶν ἑνός,
father his being-present and Marcius of-the kinsmen one
ὡς "Πᾶσα μὲν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου μεταβολὴ σφαλερόν·
that all indeed of-human life change(-is) perilous
ᾧ δὲ μήτ' ἄπεστί τι τῶν ἱκανῶν μήτε μεμπτόν
for-whom but neither is-lacking anything of-the sufficient(-things) nor blamable
ἐστι τῶν παρόντων, τοῦτον οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν ἄνοια
is of-the present(-things) this(-man) nothing else except folly
μετακοσμεῖ καὶ μεθίστησιν ἐκ τῶν συνήθων· οἷς κἂν
rearranges and removes from the accustomed(-things) which even
εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον προσείη, τῷ βεβαιοτέρῳ διαφέρει τῶν
if nothing else be-added by-the more-secure differ from-the
ἀδήλων. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄδηλα τὰ τῆς βασιλείας τοῖς
uncertain(-things) but not-even uncertain the(-things) of-the kingship by-the
Ῥωμύλου τεκμαιρομένῳ παθήμασιν, ὡς πονηρὰν μὲν αὐτὸς
of-Romulus to-one-judging sufferings how a-bad indeed himself
ἔλαβε δόξαν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ συνάρχοντι Τατίῳ, πονηρὰν
got reputation to-have-plotted-against the colleague Tatius a-bad
δὲ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις περιεποίησεν ὡς ἀνῃρημένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν.
and for-the peers be-brought-about as having-been-killed by them
καίτοι Ῥωμύλον μὲν οὗτοι παῖδα θεῶν ὑμνοῦσι φήμαις,
and-yet Romulus indeed these(-men) son of-gods celebrate in-rumors
καὶ τροφήν τινα δαιμόνιον αὐτοῦ καὶ σωτηρίαν ἄπιστον
and nurture some divine his and preservation incredible
ἔτι νηπίου λέγουσιν· ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ γένος θνητόν ἐστι καὶ
still an-infant say for-me but both race mortal is and
τροφὴ καὶ παίδευσις ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ὧν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε
nurture and education by men whom not you-are-unaware
γεγενημένη· τὰ δ' ἐπαινούμενα τοῦ τρόπου βασιλεύειν
having-happened the and praised(-things) of-the character to-reign

πόρρω μέλλοντος ἀνδρός, ἡσυχία τε πολλὴ καὶ διατριβὴ
far-from going(-to-reign) of-a-man quiet both much and occupation
περὶ λόγους ἀπράγμονας, ὅ τε δεινὸς οὗτος καὶ σύντροφος
about discourses unbusied the both strong this and bred-with
εἰρήνης ἔρως καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπολέμων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ
peace love and of-affairs unwarlike and of-men for
τιμῇ θεῶν καὶ φιλοφροσύναις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνιόντων, τὰ
honor of-gods and kindnesses into the same coming-together the(-rest)
δὲ ἄλλα καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γεωργούντων ἢ νεμόντων. ὑμῖν δέ,
and other by themselves farming or pasturing to-you and
ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, πολλοὺς μὲν ἴσως ἀβουλήτους ἀπολέλοιπε
O Romans many indeed perhaps unwished-for has-left
πολέμους Ῥωμύλος, οἷς ἀντερείδοντος ἡ πόλις ἐμπείρου
wars Romulus in-which resisting the city an-experienced
δεῖται βασιλέως καὶ ἀκμάζοντος· πολλὴ δὲ καὶ συνήθεια
needs king and in-his-prime much and also habit
καὶ προθυμία δι' εὐτυχίαν γέγονε τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ οὐδένα
and eagerness through good-fortune has-arisen in-the people and no-one
λέληθεν αὔξεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν ἑτέρων βουλόμενος, ὥστε
has-escaped-notice to-grow and to-rule others wishing so-that
καὶ γέλως ἂν εἴη τἀμά, θεραπεύοντος θεούς, καὶ δίκην
even laughter — would-be my(-ways) worshiping gods and justice
τιμᾶν, βίαν δὲ καὶ πόλεμον ἐχθαίρειν διδάσκοντος πόλιν
to-honor force but and war to-hate teaching a-city
στρατηλάτου μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλέως δεομένην."
a-general rather than a-king needing
Τοιούτοις λόγοις ἀφοσιουμένου τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, 6
with-such words refusing the kingship the man
οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι πᾶσαν ἐποιοῦντο σπουδὴν ἀντιβολοῦντες
the both Romans every made effort beseeching
καὶ δεόμενοι μὴ σφᾶς αὖθις εἰς στάσιν ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ
and entreating not them again into strife to-cast and

πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον, οὐκ ὄντος ἑτέρου πρὸς ὃν ἀμφότεραι
war civil not being another to whom both
συννεύσουσιν αἱ στάσεις, ὅ τε πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος
will-incline the factions the both father and — Marcius
ἐκείνων μεταστάντων ἰδίᾳ προσκείμενοι τὸν Νομᾶν
those having-withdrawn privately pressing — Numa
ἔπειθον δέχεσθαι μέγα καὶ θεῖον δῶρον. “Εἰ δὲ αὐτὸς
persuaded(-him) to-accept great and divine gift if and yourself
οὔτε πλούτου δέῃ δι᾽ αὐτάρκειαν οὔτε δόξαν ἀρχῆς καὶ
neither wealth need because-of self-sufficiency nor the-glory of-rule and
δυναστείας ἐζήλωκας κρείσσονα τὴν ἀπ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἔχων,
of-power have-coveted better the(-glory) from virtue having
ἀλλ᾽ ὑπηρεσίαν γε θεοῦ τὸ βασιλεύειν ἡγούμενος, ὅς γε
but service at-least of-god the to-reign considering who at-least
ἀνίστησι καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ κεῖσθαι καὶ ἀργεῖν τὴν ἐν σοὶ τοσαύτην
rouses and not allows to-lie and to-be-idle the in you so-great
δικαιοσύνην, μὴ φεῦγε μηδὲ ἀποδίδρασκε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀνδρὶ
justice not flee nor run-away-from the rule for-a-man
φρονίμῳ πράξεων καλῶν καὶ μεγάλων οὖσαν χώραν, ἐν ᾗ
wise of-deeds noble and great being a-field in which
καὶ θεραπεῖαι θεῶν μεγαλοπρεπεῖς εἰσι καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν
both services of-gods magnificent are and toward piety
ἀνθρώπων ἡμερώσεις ῥᾷστα καὶ τάχιστα μετακοσμουμένων
of-men tamings most-easily and most-quickly being-reshaped
ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος. οὗτοι καὶ Τάτιον ἔστερξαν ἔπηλυν
by the ruler these(-men) even Tatius loved a-newcomer
ἡγεμόνα, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμύλου μνήμην ἀποθεοῦσι ταῖς
leader and the of-Romulus memory they-deify with-the
τιμαῖς. τίς δὲ οἶδεν εἰ καὶ νικῶντι δήμῳ πολέμου
honors who and knows whether even for-a-conquering people of-war
κόρος ἐστί, καὶ μεστοὶ θριάμβων καὶ λαφύρων γεγονότες
satiety is and full of-triumphs and spoils having-become

ἡγεμόνα πρᾷον καὶ δίκης ἑταῖρον ἐπ᾽ εὐνομίᾳ καὶ εἰρήνῃ
a-leader gentle and of-justice a-companion for good-order and peace
ποθοῦσιν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀκρατῶς ἔχουσι
they-long-for if and indeed even altogether intemperately are(-disposed)
καὶ μανικῶς πρὸς πόλεμον, ἆρ᾽ οὐχὶ βέλτιον ἀλλαχόσε
and madly toward war is-it not better elsewhere
τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν τρέπειν, διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα τὰς ἡνίας,
the impulse their to-turn by hand holding the reins
τῇ δὲ πατρίδι καὶ παντὶ τῷ Σαβίνων ἔθνει σύνδεσμον
for-the and fatherland and all the of-Sabines nation a-bond
εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας πρὸς πόλιν ἀκμάζουσαν καὶ δυνατὴν
of-goodwill and friendship toward a-city flourishing and powerful
γενέσθαι;" τούτοις προσῆν, ὡς λέγεται, σημεῖά τε
to-become to-these(-arguments) were-added as it-is-said signs both
χρηστὰ καὶ σπουδὴ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ζῆλος, ὡς ἐπύθοντο
good and zeal of-the citizens and eagerness when they-learned-of
τὴν πρεσβείαν, δεομένων βαδίζειν καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τὴν
the embassy begging(-him) to-go and to-take-over the
βασιλείαν ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ συγκράσει τῶν πολιτῶν.
kingship for sharing and blending of-the citizens
Ὡς οὖν ἐδέδοκτο, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς προῆγεν εἰς 7
when then it-had-been-resolved having-sacrificed to-the gods he-set-out to
τὴν Ῥώμην. ἀπήντα δὲ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔρωτι
— Rome came-to-meet(-him) and the senate and the people with-love
θαυμαστῷ τοῦ ἀνδρός, εὐφημίαι τε πρέπουσαι γυναικῶν
wonderful of-the man acclamations both fitting of-women
ἐγίνοντο καὶ θυσίαι πρὸς ἱεροῖς καὶ χαρὰ πάντων, ὥσπερ
arose and sacrifices at temples and joy of-all as-if
οὐ βασιλέα τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ βασιλείαν δεχομένης. ἐπεὶ δὲ
not a-king the city but a-kingdom receiving when and
εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν κατέστησαν, ὁ μὲν ταῖς ὥραις ἐκείναις
into the market-place they-came the(-one) indeed at-the hours those

συνειληχὼς μεσοβασιλεὺς Σπόριος Οὐέττιος ψῆφον ἐπέδωκε
having-been-allotted interrex Spurius Vettius a-vote gave
τοῖς πολίταις καὶ πάντες ἤνεγκαν, προσφερομένων δ' αὐτῷ
to-the citizens and all brought(-it) being-offered and to-him
τῶν βασιλικῶν παρασήμων ἐπισχεῖν κελεύσας ἔφη δεῖσθαι
the royal insignia to-wait having-ordered he-said to-need
καὶ θεοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐμπεδοῦντος αὐτῷ. παραλαβὼν δὲ
also a-god the kingship confirming to-him having-taken and
μάντεις καὶ ἱερεῖς ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον· Ταρπήϊον
seers and priests he-went-up to — Capitol Tarpeian
αὐτὸ λόφον οἱ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι προσηγόρευον. ἐνταῦθα
it hill the then Romans called there
τῶν μάντεων ὁ πρωτεύων τὸν μὲν εἰς μεσημβρίαν
of-the seers the chief him indeed to the-south
τρέψας ἐγκεκαλυμμένον, αὐτὸς δὲ παραστὰς ἐξόπισθεν
having-turned veiled himself and standing-by behind
καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐφαπτόμενος αὐτοῦ κατεύξατο,
and with-the right the head touching his prayed
καὶ περιεσκόπει τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐν οἰωνοῖς ἢ
and looked-around the(-things) from the gods in birds or
συμβόλοις προφαινόμενα, πανταχόσε τὰς ὄψεις περιφέρων.
signs appearing everywhere the eyes turning
σιγὴ δὲ ἄπιστος ἐν πλήθει τοσούτῳ τὴν ἀγορὰν κατεῖχε
silence and incredible in a-multitude so-great the market-place held
καραδοκούντων καὶ συναιωρουμένων τῷ μέλλοντι, μέχρι
of-those-waiting and in-suspense at-the future until
οὗ προὐφάνησαν ὄρνιθες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ δεξιοὶ ἐπέτρεψαν. οὕτω
which appeared birds good and favorable permitted(-it) so
δὲ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθῆτα κατέβαινε Νομᾶς εἰς
and the royal having-assumed dress came-down Numa to

τὸ πλῆθος ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας. τότε δὲ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ δεξιώσεις
the multitude from the height then and both shouts and welcomes
ἦσαν ὡς εὐσεβέστατον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον δεχομένων.
were as the-most-pious and most-god-beloved receiving(-him)
Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τῶν τριακοσίων
having-taken-over and the rule first indeed the of-the three-hundred
σύστημα διέλυσεν, οὓς Ῥωμύλος ἔχων ἀεὶ περὶ τὸ
body he-disbanded whom Romulus having always about the
σῶμα Κέλερας προσηγόρευσεν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ταχεῖς· οὔτε
body Celeres called which is swift neither
γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν πιστεύουσιν οὔτε βασιλεύειν ἀπιστούντων
for to-distrust those-trusting nor to-reign over-those-distrusting
ἠξίου. δεύτερον δὲ τοῖς οὖσιν ἱερεῦσι Διὸς καὶ Ἄρεως
he-thought-fit second and to-the existing priests of-Zeus and of-Ares
τρίτον Ῥωμύλου προσκατέστησεν, ὃν Φλάμινα Κυρινάλιον
a-third of-Romulus he-appointed-in-addition whom Flamen Quirinalis
ὠνόμασεν. ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τοὺς προγενεστέρους Φλάμινας
he-named they-called and also the earlier(-priests) Flamens
ἀπὸ τῶν περικρανίων πίλων οὓς περὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς
from the skull-fitting caps which around the heads
φοροῦσι, πιλαμένας τινὰς ὄντας, ὡς ἱστοροῦσι, τῶν
they-wear pilamens some being as they-record of-the
Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων τότε μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν τοῖς Λατίνοις
Greek words then more than now with-the Latin(-ones)
ἀνακεκραμένων. καὶ γὰρ ἃς ἐφόρουν οἱ ἱερεῖς λαίνας
having-been-mixed and for which wore the priests laenae
ὁ Ἰόβας χλαίνας φησὶν εἶναι, καὶ τὸν ὑπηρετοῦντα τῷ
— Juba chlaenae says to-be and the(-boy) serving the
ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διὸς ἀμφιθαλῆ παῖδα λέγεσθαι Κάμιλλον,
priest — of-Zeus with-both-parents-living boy to-be-called Camillus

ὡς καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν οὕτως ἔνιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Κάμιλλον
as also — Hermes so some of-the Greeks Camillus
ἀπὸ τῆς διακονίας προσηγόρευον.
from the attendance called

8 Ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Νομᾶς ἐπ᾽ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ χάριτι τοῦ
these-things and — Numa for goodwill and favor of-the
δήμου πολιτευσάμενος εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ
people having-enacted at-once undertook the city as
σίδηρον, ἐκ σκληρᾶς καὶ πολεμικῆς μαλακωτέραν ποιῆσαι
iron from hard and warlike softer to-make
καὶ δικαιοτέραν. ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ἦν Πλάτων ἀποκαλεῖ
and juster simply for which Plato calls
φλεγμαίνουσαν πόλιν ἐκείνη τότ᾽ ἦν, συστᾶσα μὲν
inflamed a-city that then was having-been-formed indeed
εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τόλμῃ τινὶ καὶ παραβόλῳ θρασύτητι
at-once from beginning by-daring some and reckless boldness
τῶν θρασυτάτων καὶ μαχιμωτάτων ἐκεῖ πανταχόθεν
of-the boldest and most-warlike there from-everywhere
ὠσαμένων, ταῖς δὲ πολλαῖς στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς
having-thrust(-themselves) by-the and many campaigns and the
συνεχέσι πολέμοις τροφῇ χρησαμένη καὶ αὐξήσει
continuous wars as-nourishment having-used and growth
τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ καθάπερ τὰ καταπηγνύμενα τῷ
of-the power and as the(-things) being-fixed by-the
σείεσθαι μᾶλλον ἑδράζεται, ῥώννυσθαι δοκοῦσα διὰ
to-be-shaken more are-settled to-be-strengthened seeming through
τῶν κινδύνων, οὕτω δὴ μετέωρον καὶ τετραχυμένον
the dangers so indeed an-excited and roughened
δῆμον οὐ μικρᾶς οὐδὲ φαύλης οἰόμενος εἶναι πραγματείας
people not of-small nor mean thinking to-be undertaking
μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ μετακοσμῆσαι πρὸς εἰρήνην, ἐπηγάγετο
to-handle and to-reshape toward peace he-called-in

τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν βοήθειαν, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ θυσίαις
the from the gods help the(-times) indeed many with-sacrifices
καὶ πομπαῖς καὶ χορείαις, ἃς αὐτὸς ὠργίασε καὶ
and processions and dances which himself instituted and
κατέστησεν, ἅμα σεμνότητι διαγωγὴν ἐπίχαριν καὶ
established together-with solemnity diversion charming and
φιλάνθρωπον ἡδονὴν ἐχούσαις, δημαγωγῶν καὶ τιθασεύων
kindly pleasure having courting-the-people and taming
τὸ θυμοειδὲς καὶ φιλοπόλεμον· ἔστι δ᾽ ὅτε καὶ
the spirited and war-loving(-element) there-are and times-when also
φόβους τινὰς ἀπαγγέλλων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φάσματα
fears some announcing from the god and apparitions
δαιμόνων ἀλλόκοτα καὶ φωνὰς οὐκ εὐμενεῖς, ἐδούλου καὶ
of-divinities strange and voices not favorable he-enslaved and
ταπεινὴν ἐποίει τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας.
humble made the mind their by superstition
ἐξ ὧν καὶ μάλιστα λόγον ἔσχεν ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ
from which(-things) also most account had the wisdom and the
παίδευσις τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς Πυθαγόρᾳ συγγεγονότος. μέγα
education of-the man as with-Pythagoras having-associated great
γὰρ ἦν μέρος, ὡς ἐκείνῳ τῆς φιλοσοφίας, καὶ τούτῳ
for was part as for-that(-man) of-the philosophy also for-this(-man)
τῆς πολιτείας ἡ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἁγιστεία καὶ διατριβή.
of-the government the about the divine worship and occupation
λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν ἔξωθεν ὄγκον καὶ σχηματισμὸν ἀπὸ
it-is-said and also the outward pomp and bearing from
τῆς αὐτῆς Πυθαγόρᾳ διανοίας περιβαλέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ
the same as-Pythagoras purpose to-have-assumed and for
ἐκεῖνος ἀετόν τε δοκεῖ πραῦναι, φωναῖς τισιν ἐπιστήσας
that(-man) an-eagle both seems to-have-tamed by-cries some having-stopped(-it)
καὶ καταγαγὼν ὑπεριπτάμενον, τόν τε μηρὸν ὑποφῆναι
and having-brought-down flying-over the both thigh to-have-shown

χρυσοῦν Ὀλυμπίασι διαπορευόμενος τὴν πανήγυριν· ἄλλας
golden at-Olympia passing-through the festival other
τε τερατώδεις μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ πράξεις ἀναγγέλλουσιν,
both wonder-working devices his and actions they-report
ἐφ' αἷς καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος ἔγραψε·
at which also Timon the Phliasian wrote

Πυθαγόρην δὲ γόητας ἀποκλίνοντ' ἐπὶ δόξας
Pythagoras and wizard(-like) inclining to opinions
θήρῃ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων, σεμνηγορίης ὀαριστήν·
for-hunting of men of-solemn-speech an-intimate

τῷ δὲ Νομᾷ δρᾶμα θεᾶς τινος ἢ νύμφης ὀρείας ἔρως
— and for-Numa a-drama of-a-goddess some or nymph of-the-mountains love
ἦν καὶ συνουσία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπόρρητος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται,
was and intercourse with him secret as has-been-said
καὶ κοιναὶ μετὰ Μουσῶν διατριβαί. τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν
and common with Muses pastimes the for most of-the
μαντευμάτων εἰς Μούσας ἀνῆγε, καὶ μίαν Μοῦσαν ἰδίως
oracles to Muses he-referred and one Muse especially
καὶ διαφερόντως ἐδίδαξε σέβεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, Τακίταν
and exceptionally he-taught to-revere the Romans Tacita
προσαγορεύσας, οἷον σιωπηλὴν ἢ ἐνεάν· ὅπερ εἶναι δοκεῖ
having-called(-her) as-it-were silent or dumb which to-be seems
τὴν Πυθαγόρειον ἀπομνημονεύοντος ἐχεμυθίαν καὶ τιμῶντος.
the Pythagorean recalling reticence and honoring
Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀφιδρυμάτων νομοθετήματα
there-are and also the about the images enactments
παντάπασιν ἀδελφὰ τῶν Πυθαγόρου δογμάτων. οὔτε γὰρ
altogether akin to-the of-Pythagoras doctrines neither for
ἐκεῖνος αἰσθητὸν ἢ παθητόν, ἀόρατον δὲ καὶ ἄκτιστον
he perceptible or passible invisible but and uncreated

καὶ νοητὸν ὑπελάμβανεν εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον, οὗτός τε
and intelligible supposed to-be the first(-principle) this(-man) both
διεκώλυσεν ἀνθρωποειδῆ καὶ ζῳόμορφον εἰκόνα θεοῦ
forbade human-shaped and animal-formed an-image of-god
Ῥωμαίους νομίζειν. οὐδ' ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς οὔτε γραπτὸν οὔτε
Romans to-believe nor was among them neither painted nor
πλαστὸν εἶδος θεοῦ πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα
molded form of-god before but in hundred seventy
τοῖς πρώτοις ἔτεσι ναοὺς μὲν οἰκοδομούμενοι καὶ καλιάδας
the first years temples indeed building and chapels
ἱερὰς ἱστῶντες, ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐδὲν ἔμμορφον ποιούμενοι
sacred setting-up statue but no shaped making
διετέλουν, ὡς οὔτε ὅσιον ἀφομοιοῦν τὰ βελτίονα τοῖς
they-continued as neither holy to-liken the better(-things) to-the
χείροσιν οὔτε ἐφάπτεσθαι θεοῦ δυνατὸν ἄλλως ἢ νοήσει.
worse(-things) nor to-apprehend god possible otherwise than by-thought
κομιδῇ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν θυσιῶν ἔχεται τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς
altogether and also the of-the sacrifices are-close-to the Pythagorean
ἁγιστείας· ἀναίμακτοι γὰρ ἦσαν αἵ γε πολλαί, δι'
worship bloodless for were those at-least most through
ἀλφίτου καὶ σπονδῆς καὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων πεποιημέναι.
barley-meal and libation and the cheapest(-things) made
Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἑτέροις ἔξωθεν ἐπαγωνίζονται
apart-from and these with-other from-outside contend
τεκμηρίοις οἱ τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ ἀνδρὶ συνοικειοῦντες.
proofs those the man with-the man connecting
ὧν ἓν μέν ἐστιν ὅτι Πυθαγόραν Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ
of-which one indeed is that Pythagoras Romans to-the citizenship
προσέγραψαν, ὡς ἱστόρηκεν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ κωμικὸς ἔν
enrolled as has-recorded Epicharmus the comic(-poet) in
τινι λόγῳ πρὸς Ἀντήνορα γεγραμμένῳ, παλαιὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ
some discourse to Antenor written an-ancient man and

τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς διατριβῆς μετεσχηκώς· ἕτερον δὲ ὅτι
of-the Pythagorean school having-been-a-member another and that
τεσσάρων υἱῶν βασιλεῖ Νομᾷ γενομένων ἕνα Μάμερκον
four sons to-king Numa having-been-born one Mamercus
ἐπὶ τῷ Πυθαγόρου παιδὶ προσηγόρευσεν. ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου δὲ
after the of-Pythagoras son he-named from him and
καὶ τὸν Αἰμιλίων οἶκον ἀναμιχθέντα τοῖς πατρικίοις
also the of-Aemilii house having-been-blended with-the patricians
ὀνομασθῆναί φασιν, οὕτως ὑποκοριζομένου τοῦ βασιλέως
to-have-been-named they-say so calling-by-a-pet-name the king
τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αἰμυλίαν καὶ χάριν. αὐτοὶ
the in the speech of-the man winsomeness and grace we-ourselves
δ᾽ ἀκηκόαμεν πολλῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διεξιόντων ὅτι χρησμοῦ
and have-heard many in Rome relating that an-oracle
ποτε Ῥωμαίοις γενομένου τὸν φρονιμώτατον καὶ τὸν
once to-Romans having-been-given the wisest and the
ἀνδρειότατον Ἑλλήνων ἱδρύσασθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ἕστησαν ἐπὶ
bravest of-Greeks to-set-up among them they-erected in
τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς δύο, τὴν μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδου,
the market-place statues bronze two the(-one) indeed of-Alcibiades
τὴν δὲ Πυθαγόρου. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀμφισβητήσεις
the(-other) and of-Pythagoras these-things indeed then disputes
ἔχοντα πολλὰς καὶ τὸ κινεῖν διὰ μακροτέρων καὶ τὸ
having many both the to-stir-up at greater-length and the
πιστοῦσθαι μειρακιώδους ἔστι φιλονεικίας.
to-confirm(-them) of-a-youthful is contentiousness

Numa institutes the pontifices, whose name most derive from the bridge they kept, and makes the chief pontiff overseer of rites and of the Vestal virgins. He consecrates the virgins to keep the undying fire, relit only from the sun. They serve thirty years and have great honors, but one who breaks her vow is buried alive near the Colline gate. The temple of Vesta is round, like the universe. He also regulates mourning and founds the fetials, whose overriding, it is said, brought the Gauls on Rome.

Νομᾷ δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων, οὓς Ποντίφικας καλοῦσι, 9
to-Numa and also the of-the high-priests whom Pontifices they-call
διάταξιν καὶ κατάστασιν ἀποδιδόασι, καί φασιν αὐτὸν
ordering and establishment they-ascribe and say him
ἕνα τούτων τὸν πρῶτον γεγονέναι. κεκλῆσθαι δὲ τοὺς
one of-these the first to-have-been to-be-called and the
Ποντίφικας οἱ μὲν ὅτι τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύουσι δυνατοὺς
Pontifices the(-ones) indeed because the gods they-serve powerful
καὶ κυρίους ἁπάντων ὄντας· ὁ γὰρ δυνατὸς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων
and masters of-all being the for powerful by Romans
ὀνομάζεται πότηνς· ἕτεροι δέ φασι πρὸς ὑπεξαίρεσιν
is-named potens others and say for exception
γεγονέναι τοὔνομα τῶν δυνατῶν, ὡς τοῦ νομοθέτου τὰς
to-have-arisen the-name of-the possible(-cases) as the lawgiver the
δυνατὰς ἐπιτελεῖν ἱερουργίας τοὺς ἱερεῖς κελεύοντος, ἂν δὲ
possible to-perform rites the priests ordering if but
ᾖ τι κώλυμα μεῖζον, οὐ συκοφαντοῦντος. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι
there-be any hindrance greater not finding-fault the but most
μάλιστα καὶ τὸ γελώμενον τῶν ὀνομάτων δοκιμάζουσιν,
especially even the laughed-at of-the names approve
ὡς οὐδὲν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ γεφυροποιοὺς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπικληθέντας
as nothing other than bridge-makers the men having-been-called
ἀπὸ τῶν ποιουμένων περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἱερῶν, ἁγιωτάτων
from the made at the bridge sacrifices most-holy

καὶ παλαιοτάτων ὄντων· πόντεμ γὰρ οἱ Λατῖνοι τὴν
and most-ancient being pontem for the Latins the
γέφυραν ὀνομάζουσιν. εἶναι μέντοι καὶ τὴν τήρησιν αὐτῆς
bridge call to-be however also the keeping its
καὶ τὴν ἐπισκευήν, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀκινήτων καὶ
and the repair as other any of-the unalterable and
πατρίων ἱερῶν, προσήκουσαν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ θεμιτόν,
ancestral rites belonging to-the priests not for lawful
ἀλλ' ἐπάρατον ἡγεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς
but accursed to-consider Romans the destruction of-the
ξυλίνης γεφύρας. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ πάμπαν ἄνευ σιδήρου
wooden bridge it-is-said and also the altogether without iron
κατὰ δή τι λόγιον συγγεγομφῶσθαι διὰ τῶν ξύλων.
according-to indeed some oracle to-have-been-pinned-together by the timbers
ἡ δὲ λιθίνη πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἐξειργάσθη χρόνοις ὑπ'
the but stone(-one) many later was-built times by
Αἰμιλίου ταμιεύοντος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ξυλίνην
Aemilius being-quaestor not indeed but also the wooden(-one)
τῶν Νομᾶ χρόνων ἀπολείπεσθαι λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ Μαρκίου
than-the of-Numa times to-fall-short they-say by Marcius
τοῦ Νομᾶ θυγατριδοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἀποτελεσθεῖσαν.
the of-Numa grandson reigning having-been-completed
Ὁ δὲ μέγιστος τῶν Ποντιφίκων οἷον ἐξηγητοῦ καὶ
the and chief of-the Pontifices as-it-were of-expounder and
προφήτου, μᾶλλον δὲ ἱεροφάντου τάξιν εἴληχεν, οὐ μόνον
of-prophet rather but of-hierophant the-post has-obtained not only
τῶν δημοσίᾳ δρωμένων ἐπιμελούμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
of-the(-rites) publicly performed taking-care but also those
ἰδίᾳ θύοντας ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ κωλύων παρεκβαίνειν τὰ
privately sacrificing overseeing and preventing to-transgress the
νενομισμένα, καὶ διδάσκων ὅτου τις δέοιτο πρὸς θεῶν
customary(-rites) and teaching what anyone might-need for of-gods

τιμὴν ἢ παραίτησιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων
honor or propitiation he-was and also of-the sacred virgins
ἐπίσκοπος, ἃς Ἑστιάδας προσαγορεύουσι. Νομᾷ γὰρ δὴ
overseer whom Vestals they-call to-Numa for indeed
καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑστιάδων παρθένων καθιέρωσιν καὶ ὅλως
also the of-the Vestal virgins consecration and in-general
τὴν περὶ τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀθάνατον, ὃ φυλάττουσιν αὗται,
the about the fire the undying which guard these
θεραπείαν τε καὶ τιμὴν ἀποδιδόασιν, εἴτε ὡς καθαρὰν καὶ
service both and honor they-ascribe whether as pure and
ἄφθαρτον τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς οὐσίαν ἀκηράτοις καὶ ἀμιάντοις
incorruptible the of-the fire substance to-untouched and undefiled
παρατιθεμένου σώμασιν, εἴτε τὸ ἄκαρπον καὶ ἄγονον τῇ
entrusting bodies or the unfruitful and barren with-the
παρθενίᾳ συνοικειοῦντος. ἐπεί τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅπου πῦρ
virginity associating since indeed — of-Greece where fire
ἄσβεστόν ἐστιν, ὡς Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ παρθένοι,
unquenchable is as at-Pytho and at-Athens not virgins
γυναῖκες δὲ πεπαυμέναι γάμων ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν·
women but having-ceased from-marriage have the care
ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὸ τύχης τινὸς ἐκλίπῃ, καθάπερ Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἐπὶ
if and by chance some it-fail as at-Athens indeed in
τῆς Ἀριστίωνος λέγεται τυραννίδος ἀποσβεσθῆναι τὸν
the of-Aristion it-is-said tyranny to-have-been-extinguished the
ἱερὸν λύχνον, ἐν Δελφοῖς δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ καταπρησθέντος ὑπὸ
sacred lamp at Delphi and the temple having-been-burned by
Μήδων, περὶ δὲ τὰ Μιθριδατικὰ καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον Ῥωμαίων
Medes about and the Mithridatic(-wars) and the civil of-Romans
πόλεμον ἅμα τῷ βωμῷ τὸ πῦρ ἠφανίσθη, οὗ φασι δεῖν
war together-with the altar the fire vanished not they-say it-needful
ἀπὸ ἑτέρου πυρὸς ἐναύεσθαι, καινὸν δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ νέον,
from other fire to-be-kindled new but to-make and fresh

ἀνάπτοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον.
lighting from the sun flame pure and undefiled
ἐξάπτουσι δὲ μάλιστα τοῖς σκαφείοις, ἃ κατασκευάζεται
they-kindle and mostly with-the burning-mirrors which are-constructed
μὲν ἀπὸ πλευρᾶς ἰσοσκελοῦς ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου
indeed from side of-an-isosceles right-angled triangle
κοιλαινόμενα, συννεύει δ' εἰς ἓν ἐκ τῆς περιφερείας
hollowed converge and to one from the circumference
κέντρον. ὅταν οὖν θέσιν ἐναντίαν λάβῃ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον,
center whenever then position opposite it-takes toward the sun
ὥστε τὰς αὐγὰς πανταχόθεν ἀνακοπτομένας ἀθροίζεσθαι καὶ
so-that the rays from-everywhere being-reflected to-gather and
συμπλέκεσθαι περὶ τὸ κέντρον, αὐτόν τε διακρίνει τὸν ἀέρα
to-interweave about the center itself both separates the air
λεπτυνόμενον, καὶ τὰ κουφότατα καὶ ξηρότατα τῶν
being-rarefied and the lightest and driest(-things) of-the(-things)
προστιθεμένων ὀξέως ἀνάπτει κατὰ τὴν ἀντέρεισιν, σῶμα
applied quickly kindles by the resistance body
καὶ πληγὴν πυρώδη τῆς αὐγῆς λαβούσης. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν
and stroke fiery the ray having-taken some indeed then
οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ ἄσβεστον ἐκεῖνο
nothing by the sacred virgins but than the unquenchable that
φρουρεῖσθαι πῦρ νομίζουσιν· ἔνιοι δὲ εἶναί τινά φασιν ἀθέατα
to-be-guarded fire think some but to-be some say unseen
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερὰ κρυπτόμενα, περὶ ὧν ὅσα καὶ
by-the others sacred-objects hidden about which as-much-as both
πυθέσθαι καὶ φράσαι θεμιτὸν ἐν τῷ Καμίλλου βίῳ γέγραπται.
to-learn and to-tell lawful in the of-Camillus life has-been-written
10 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Νομᾶ καθιερωθῆναι λέγουσι
first indeed then by Numa to-have-been-consecrated they-say
Γεγανίαν καὶ Βερηνίαν, δεύτερον δὲ Κανουληΐαν καὶ
Gegania and Verenia second and Canuleia and

Ταρπηΐαν· ὕστερον δὲ Σερβίου δύο προσθέντος ἄλλας τῷ
Tarpeia later and Servius two having-added others with-the
ἀριθμῷ διατηρεῖσθαι μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τούτων τὸ πλῆθος.
number to-be-maintained until the times these the number
ὡρίσθη δὲ ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἁγνεία
was-fixed and for-the sacred virgins by the king chastity
τριακονταέτις, ἐν ᾗ τὴν μὲν πρώτην δεκαετίαν ἃ χρὴ
of-thirty-years in which the indeed first decade what they-must
δρᾶν μανθάνουσι, τὴν δὲ μέσην ἃ μεμαθήκασι δρῶσι,
do they-learn the and middle what they-have-learned they-do
τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἑτέρας αὐταὶ διδάσκουσιν. εἶτα ἀνεῖται
the and third others they-themselves teach then it-is-permitted
τῇ βουλομένῃ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἤδη καὶ γάμου
to-the(-one) wishing after the time this already also of-marriage
μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον τραπέσθαι βίον, ἀπαλλαγείσῃ
to-partake and to another to-turn life having-been-released
τῆς ἱερουργίας. λέγονται δὲ οὐ πολλαὶ ταύτην ἀσπάσασθαι
from-the sacred-service are-said and not many this to-have-welcomed
τὴν ἄδειαν, οὐδὲ ἀσπασαμέναις χρηστὰ πράγματα συντυχεῖν,
the license nor having-welcomed(-it) good things to-have-befallen
ἀλλὰ μετανοίᾳ καὶ κατηφείᾳ συνοῦσαι τὸν λοιπὸν βίον
but with-repentance and dejection living-with the rest life
ἐμβαλεῖν τὰς ἄλλας εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν, ὥστε μέχρι γήρως
to-have-cast the others into superstition so-that until old-age
καὶ θανάτου διατελεῖν ἐγκαρτερούσας καὶ παρθενευομένας.
and death to-continue persevering and remaining-virgins
Τιμὰς δὲ μεγάλας ἀπέδωκεν αὐταῖς, ὧν ἔστι καὶ
honors and great he-gave to-them of-which is also
τὸ διαθέσθαι ζῶντος ἐξεῖναι πατρὸς καὶ τἆλλα
the to-make-a-will living to-be-permitted father and the-other(-things)
πράττειν ἄνευ προστάτου διαγούσας, ὥσπερ αἱ τρίπαιδες.
to-do without guardian living-out as the mothers-of-three

ῥαβδουχοῦνται δὲ προϊοῦσαι· κἂν ἀγομένῳ τινὶ πρὸς
they-are-attended-by-lictors and going-forth and-if being-led with-someone to
θάνατον αὐτομάτως συντύχωσιν, οὐκ ἀναιρεῖται. δεῖ
death by-chance they-meet not he-is-put-to-death it-is-needful
δὲ ἀπομόσαι τὴν παρθένον ἀκούσιον καὶ τυχαίαν καὶ οὐκ
and to-swear the virgin involuntary and accidental and not
ἐξεπίτηδες γεγονέναι τὴν ἀπάντησιν. ὁ δὲ ὑπελθὼν
intentional to-have-been the meeting he and having-gone-under
κομιζομένων ὑπὸ τὸ φορεῖον ἀποθνήσκει. κόλασις δὲ τῶν
them-being-carried under the litter dies punishment and of-the
μὲν ἄλλων ἁμαρτημάτων πληγαὶ ταῖς παρθένοις, τοῦ
indeed other offenses blows for-the virgins the
μεγίστου Ποντίφικος κολάζοντος ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ γυμνὴν τὴν
chief Pontifex punishing there-is when even naked the(-one)
πλημμελήσασαν, ὀθόνης ἐν παλινσκίῳ παρατεινομένης· ἡ
having-erred a-linen-cloth in shade being-stretched-in-front she
δὲ τὴν παρθενίαν καταισχύνασα ζῶσα κατορύττεται παρὰ
but the virginity having-disgraced alive is-buried by
τὴν Κολλίνην λεγομένην πύλην· ἐν ᾗ τις ἔστιν ἐντὸς
the Colline so-called gate in which a-certain there-is inside
τῆς πόλεως ὀφρὺς γεώδης παρατείνουσα πόρρω· καλεῖται
the city ridge earthy extending far is-called
δὲ χῶμα διαλέκτῳ τῇ Λατίνων. ἐνταῦθα κατασκευάζεται
and agger in-dialect the of-Latins here is-prepared
κατάγειος οἶκος οὐ μέγας, ἔχων ἄνωθεν κατάβασιν.
underground a-chamber not large having from-above descent
κεῖται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κλίνη τε ὑπεστρωμένη καὶ λύχνος
lies and in it a-couch both spread and a-lamp
καιόμενος, ἀπαρχαί τε τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίων
burning first-fruits both of-the(-things) for the to-live necessary
βραχεῖαί τινες, οἷον ἄρτος, ὕδωρ ἐν ἀγγείῳ, γάλα, ἔλαιον,
small some such-as bread water in a-vessel milk oil

ὥσπερ ἀφοσιουμένων τὸ μὴ λιμῷ διαφθείρειν σῶμα
as-if absolving-themselves the not by-hunger to-destroy a-body
ταῖς μεγίσταις καθιερωμένον ἁγιστείαις. αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν
by-the greatest consecrated rites herself and the(-woman)
κολαζομένην εἰς φορεῖον ἐνθέμενοι καὶ καταστεγάσαντες
being-punished into a-litter having-put and having-covered-over
ἔξωθεν καὶ καταλαβόντες ἱμᾶσιν, ὡς μηδὲ φωνὴν
from-outside and having-fastened(-it) with-thongs so-that not-even a-voice
ἐξάκουστον γενέσθαι, κομίζουσι δι᾽ ἀγορᾶς. ἐξίστανται
audible to-be they-carry(-her) through the-forum stand-aside
δὲ πάντες σιωπῇ καὶ παραπέμπουσιν ἄφθογγοι μετά τινος
and all in-silence and escort(-her) speechless with some
δεινῆς κατηφείας· οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ἕτερον θέαμα φρικτότερον,
terrible dejection nor is other spectacle more-dreadful
οὐδ᾽ ἡμέραν ἡ πόλις ἄλλην ἄγει στυγνοτέραν ἐκείνης.
nor day the city another passes gloomier than-that
ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τὸν τόπον κομισθῇ τὸ φορεῖον, οἱ μὲν
when and to the place is-brought the litter the indeed
ὑπηρέται τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἐξέλυσαν, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἱερέων ἔξαρχος
attendants the bonds loosened the and of-the priests leader
εὐχάς τινας ἀπορρήτους ποιησάμενος καὶ χεῖρας ἀνατείνας
prayers some secret having-made and hands having-raised
θεοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἐξάγει συγκεκαλυμμένην καὶ
to-the-gods before the dreadful-act leads(-her)-out veiled and
καθίστησιν ἐπὶ κλίμακος εἰς τὸ οἴκημα κάτω φερούσης.
sets(-her) on a-ladder into the chamber down leading
εἶτα αὐτὸς μὲν ἀποτρέπεται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων· τῆς
then himself indeed turns-away with the other priests her
δὲ καταβάσης ἥ τε κλίμαξ ἀναιρεῖται καὶ κατακρύπτεται
and having-gone-down the both ladder is-removed and is-hidden
τὸ οἴκημα γῆς πολλῆς ἄνωθεν ἐπιφορουμένης, ὥστε
the chamber earth much from-above being-heaped-on so-that

ἰσόπεδον τῷ λοιπῷ χώματι γενέσθαι τὸν τόπον. οὕτω
level with-the rest mound to-become the place so
μὲν αἱ προέμεναι τὴν ἱερὰν παρθενίαν κολάζονται.
indeed those having-forsaken the sacred virginity are-punished

11 Νομᾶς δὲ λέγεται καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερὸν ἐγκύκλιον
Numa and is-said also the — of-Vesta temple circular
περιβαλέσθαι τῷ ἀσβέστῳ πυρὶ φρουράν, ἀπομιμούμενος οὐ
to-have-built-around for-the unquenchable fire a-guard imitating not
τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς ὡς Ἑστίας οὔσης, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος
the shape of-the earth as Vesta being but of-the whole
κόσμου, οὗ μέσον οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ τὸ πῦρ ἱδρῦσθαι
universe of-which middle the Pythagoreans the fire to-be-situated
νομίζουσι, καὶ τοῦτο Ἑστίαν καλοῦσι καὶ μονάδα· τὴν δὲ
think and this Vesta they-call and unit the but
γῆν οὔτε ἀκίνητον οὔτε ἐν μέσῳ τῆς περιφορᾶς οὖσαν,
earth neither motionless nor in middle of-the revolution being
ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ πῦρ αἰωρουμένην οὐ τῶν τιμιωτάτων
but in-a-circle about the fire swinging not of-the most-honored
οὐδὲ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ κόσμου μορίων ὑπάρχειν. ταῦτα
nor of-the first of-the universe parts to-be these-things
δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνά φασι πρεσβύτην γενόμενον διανενοῆσθαι
and also Plato they-say old having-become to-have-thought
περὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐν ἑτέρᾳ χώρᾳ καθεστώσης, τὴν δὲ
about the earth as in another place being-situated the and
μέσην καὶ κυριωτάτην ἑτέρῳ τινὶ κρείττονι προσήκουσαν.
middle and most-sovereign to-another some better belonging

12 Οἱ δὲ Ποντίφικες καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς πάτρια τοῖς
the and Pontifices also the(-rites) about the burials ancestral to-those
χρῄζουσιν ἀφηγοῦνται, Νομᾶ διδάξαντος μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι
needing explain Numa having-taught nothing to-consider
μίασμα τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ θεοὺς σέβεσθαι
a-pollution of-the such(-things) but also the there gods to-revere

τοῖς νενομισμένοις, ὡς τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν ἡμετέρων
with-the customary(-honors) as the most-sovereign(-part) of-the our(-being)
ὑποδεχομένους· ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὴν προσαγορευομένην
receiving especially and the so-called
Λιβίτιναν, ἐπίσκοπον τῶν περὶ τοὺς θνήσκοντας ὁσίων
Libitina overseer of-the about the dying rites
θεὸν οὖσαν, εἴτε Περσεφόνην εἴτε μᾶλλον, ὡς οἱ λογιώτατοι
a-goddess being either Persephone or rather as the most-learned
Ῥωμαίων ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, Ἀφροδίτην, οὐ κακῶς εἰς μιᾶς
of-Romans suppose Aphrodite not badly to of-one
δύναμιν θεοῦ τὰ περὶ τὰς γενέσεις καὶ τὰς τελευτὰς
power of-goddess the(-things) about the births and the deaths
ἀνάπτοντες. αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ πένθη καθ' ἡλικίας καὶ
connecting he-himself and also the mournings according-to ages and
χρόνους ἔταξεν· οἷον παῖδα μὴ πενθεῖν νεώτερον τριετοῦς,
times ordained such-as a-child not to-mourn younger than-three-years
μηδὲ πρεσβύτερον πλείονας μῆνας ὧν ἐβίωσεν ἐνιαυτῶν
nor older more months than-which he-lived years
μέχρι τῶν δέκα, καὶ περαιτέρω μηδεμίαν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ
until the ten and beyond no age but of-the
μακροτάτου πένθους χρόνον εἶναι δεκαμηνιαῖον, ἐφ' ὅσον
longest mourning time to-be of-ten-months for as-long-as
καὶ χηρεύουσιν αἱ τῶν ἀποθανόντων γυναῖκες. ἡ δὲ πρότερον
also are-widowed the of-the dead wives she and before
γαμηθεῖσα βοῦν ἐγκύμονα κατέθυεν ἐκείνου νομοθετήσαντος.
married a-cow pregnant sacrificed that(-man) having-legislated(-it)
Πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας Νομᾶ καταδείξαντος ἱερωσύνας ἔτι
many and also other Numa having-instituted priesthoods still
δυεῖν μνησθήσομαι, τῆς τε Σαλίων καὶ τῆς τῶν Φιτιαλέων,
two I-shall-mention that both of-Salii and that of-the Fetiales
αἱ μάλιστα τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐμφαίνουσιν. οἱ μὲν
which most the piety of-the man show the indeed

γὰρ Φιτιαλεῖς εἰρηνοφύλακές τινες ὄντες, ὡς δ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
for Fetiales peace-guardians some being as but to-me seems
καὶ τοὔνομα λαβόντες ἀπὸ τῆς πράξεως, λόγῳ τὰ νείκη
also the-name having-taken from the function by-speech the quarrels
κατέπαυον, οὐκ ἐῶντες στρατεύειν πρότερον ἢ πᾶσαν
they-stopped not allowing to-march before than every
ἐλπίδα δίκης ἀποκοπῆναι. καὶ γὰρ εἰρήνην Ἕλληνες καλοῦσιν
hope of-justice to-be-cut-off and for peace Greeks call
ὅταν λόγῳ, μὴ βίᾳ, πρὸς ἀλλήλους χρώμενοι λύσωσι τὰς
whenever by-speech not by-force toward one-another using(-it) they-resolve the
διαφοράς. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων Φιτιαλεῖς πολλάκις μὲν ἐβάδιζον
differences the but of-Romans Fetiales often indeed went
ὡς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτοὶ πείθοντες εὐγνωμονεῖν·
to those doing-wrong themselves persuading(-them) to-be-reasonable
ἀγνωμονούντων δὲ μαρτυράμενοι θεούς, καὶ κατευξάμενοι
being-unreasonable and calling-to-witness gods and having-invoked
πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ καθ' αὐτῶν αὐτοὶ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος
many and terrible(-things) against themselves themselves and the fatherland
εἰ μὴ δικαίως ἐπεξίασιν, οὕτω κατήγγελλον αὐτοῖς τὸν
if not justly they-take-the-field so they-declared to-them the
πόλεμον. κωλυόντων δὲ τούτων ἢ μὴ συναινούντων, οὔτε
war forbidding and these or not consenting neither
στρατιώτῃ θεμιτὸν οὔτε βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα κινεῖν,
for-a-soldier lawful nor for-a-king of-Romans arms to-take-up
ἀλλὰ παρὰ τούτων ἔδει τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου
but from these it-was-necessary the beginning of-the war
δεξάμενον ὡς δικαίου τὸν ἄρχοντα, τότε σκοπεῖν περὶ
having-received as of-a-just(-war) the ruler then to-consider about
τοῦ συμφέροντος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ Κελτικὸν ἐκεῖνο πάθος
the advantage it-is-said and also the Celtic that disaster
τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τούτων τῶν ἱερέων παρανομηθέντων.
to-the city to-have-happened these the priests having-been-wronged

Ἔτυχον μὲν γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι Κλουσίνους πολιορκοῦντες·
happened indeed for the barbarians Clusians besieging
ἐπέμφθη δὲ πρεσβευτὴς Φάβιος Ἄμβουστος εἰς τὸ
was-sent and an-envoy Fabius Ambustus to the
στρατόπεδον διαλύσεις πράξων ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιορκουμένων.
camp terms to-negotiate on-behalf-of the besieged
λαβὼν δὲ ἀποκρίσεις οὐκ ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ πέρας σχεῖν
having-received and answers not reasonable and an-end to-have
αὐτῷ τὴν πρεσβείαν οἰόμενος, ἐνεανιεύσατο πρὸ τῶν
to-him the embassy thinking he-acted-rashly before the
Κλουσίνων ὅπλα λαβὼν προκαλέσασθαι τὸν ἀριστεύοντα
Clusians arms having-taken to-challenge the champion
τῶν βαρβάρων. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς μάχης εὐτυχεῖτο
of-the barbarians the(-things) indeed then of-the combat went-well
καὶ καταβαλὼν ἐσκύλευσε τὸν ἄνδρα· γνωρίσαντες
and having-thrown(-him) he-despoiled the man having-recognized(-him)
δὲ οἱ Κελτοὶ πέμπουσιν εἰς Ῥώμην κήρυκα τοῦ Φαβίου
and the Celts send to Rome a-herald — Fabius
κατηγοροῦντες ὡς ἐκσπόνδου καὶ ἀπίστου καὶ ἀκατάγγελτον
accusing as a-truce-breaker and faithless and undeclared
ἐξενηνοχότος πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον. ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν
having-brought against them war then the indeed
σύγκλητον οἱ Φιτιαλεῖς ἔπειθον ἐκδιδόναι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῖς
senate the Fetiales urged to-hand-over the man to-the
Κελτοῖς, καταφυγὼν δὲ ἐκεῖνος εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ
Celts having-fled but he to the many and
τῷ δήμῳ σπουδάζοντι χρησάμενος διεκρούσατο τὴν
the people being-zealous(-for-him) having-used he-evaded the
δίκην. μετ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ ἐπελθόντες οἱ Κελτοὶ τὴν Ῥώμην
punishment after little but having-come the Celts — Rome

πλὴν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου διεπόρθησαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν
except — Capitol sacked but these-things indeed
ἐν τοῖς περὶ Καμίλλου μᾶλλον ἀκριβοῦται.
in the(-chapters) about Camillus more are-set-out-accurately

IV · THE SHIELDS AND THE PRECEPTS

In a pestilence a bronze shield falls from heaven; Numa has eleven copies made by Mamurius and appoints the Salii to guard them and dance in arms. He builds the Regia and makes the people attend their rites in silence. His precepts resemble Pythagoras'. Stories show his hold on the city: a feast that turns rich, Picus and Faunus caught with wine, and a charm against thunderbolts won from Zeus. He founds temples of Faith and Terminus and divides the land.

13 Τοὺς δὲ Σαλίους ἱερεῖς ἐκ τοιαύτης λέγεται συστήσασθαι
the and Salian priests from such it-is-said to-have-instituted
προφάσεως. ἔτος ὄγδοον αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος λοιμώδης
a-reason year eighth his reigning a-pestilential
νόσος περιϊοῦσα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐστρόβησε καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην.
disease going-about — Italy distressed also — Rome
ἀθυμούντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἱστορεῖται χαλκῆν πέλτην
being-despondent and the people it-is-recorded a-bronze shield
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταφερομένην εἰς τὰς Νομᾶ πεσεῖν χεῖρας.
from heaven coming-down into the of-Numa to-have-fallen hands
ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῇ θαυμάσιόν τινα λόγον λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ
about and it wonderful some account to-have-been-told by the
βασιλέως, ὃν Ἠγερίας τε καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν πυθέσθαι.
king which from-Egeria both and the Muses to-have-learned
τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὅπλον ἥκειν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως,
the indeed for weapon to-have-come for safety of-the city
καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸ φρουρεῖσθαι γενομένων ἄλλων ἕνδεκα
and it-needful it to-be-guarded having-been-made other eleven

καὶ σχῆμα καὶ μέγεθος καὶ μορφὴν ἐκείνῳ παραπλησίων,
both in-shape and size and form to-that like
ὅπως ἄπορον εἴη τῷ κλέπτῃ δι᾽ ὁμοιότητα τοῦ
so-that hard it-would-be for-the thief through likeness the
διοπετοῦς ἐπιτυχεῖν· ἔτι δὲ χρῆναι Μούσαις καθιερῶσαι
heaven-fallen(-one) to-hit-upon further and it-necessary to-Muses to-consecrate
τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸ λειμῶνας, ὅπου τὰ
the place that and the about it meadows where the
πολλὰ φοιτῶσαι συνδιατρίβουσιν αὐτῷ. τὴν δὲ πηγὴν ἣ
most-part coming they-spend-time-with him the and spring which
κατάρδει τὸ χωρίον, ὕδωρ ἱερὸν ἀποδεῖξαι ταῖς Ἑστιάσι
waters the place water holy to-declare for-the Vestal
παρθένοις, ὅπως λαμβάνουσαι καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἁγνίζωσι
virgins so-that taking(-it) by day they-might-purify
καὶ ῥαίνωσι τὸ ἀνάκτορον. τούτοις μὲν οὖν μαρτυρῆσαι
and sprinkle the shrine to-these indeed then to-have-borne-witness
λέγουσι καὶ τὰ τῆς νόσου παραχρῆμα παυσάμενα.
they-say also the(-things) of-the disease at-once having-ceased
τὴν δὲ πέλτην προθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κελεύσαντος
the and shield having-set-forth him and having-bidden
ἁμιλλᾶσθαι τοὺς τεχνίτας ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμοιότητος, τοὺς μὲν
to-compete the craftsmen for the likeness the indeed
ἄλλους ἀπειπεῖν, Οὐετούριον δὲ Μαμούριον ἕνα τῶν
others to-have-given-up Veturius but Mamurius one of-the
ἄκρων δημιουργῶν οὕτως ἐφικέσθαι τῆς ἐμφερείας, καὶ
foremost craftsmen so to-have-attained the resemblance and
κατασκευάσαι πάσας ὁμοίας, ὥστε μηδ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔτι τὸν
to-have-made all alike so-that not-even himself any-longer —
Νομᾶν διαγινώσκειν. τούτων οὖν φύλακας καὶ ἀμφιπόλους
Numa to-distinguish(-them) of-these then guards and attendants
ἀπέδειξε τοὺς Σαλίους ἱερεῖς. Σάλιοι δὲ ἐκλήθησαν, οὐχ,
he-appointed the Salian priests Salii and were-called not

ὡς ἔνιοι μυθολογοῦσι, Σαμόθρᾳκος ἀνδρὸς ἢ Μαντινέως,
as some tell-in-myth of-a-Samothracian man or Mantinean
ὄνομα Σαλίου, πρώτου τὴν ἐνόπλιον ἐκδιδάξαντος ὄρχησιν,
named Salius first the armed having-taught dance
ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως αὐτῆς, ἁλτικῆς οὔσης, ἣν
but rather from the dance itself leaping being which
ὑπορχοῦνται διαπορευόμενοι τὴν πόλιν, ὅταν τὰς ἱερὰς
they-dance going-through the city whenever the sacred
πέλτας ἀναλάβωσιν ἐν τῷ Μαρτίῳ μηνί, φοινικοῦς μὲν
shields they-take-up in the March month purple indeed
ἐνδεδυμένοι χιτωνίσκους, μίτραις δὲ χαλκαῖς ἐπεζωσμένοι
having-put-on short-tunics with-belts and bronze girded
πλατείαις καὶ κράνη χαλκᾶ φοροῦντες, ἐγχειριδίοις δὲ
broad and helmets bronze wearing with-daggers and
μικροῖς τὰ ὅπλα κρούοντες. ἡ δὲ ἄλλη τῆς ὀρχήσεως
small the arms striking the and rest of-the dance
ποδῶν ἔργον ἐστί· κινοῦνται γὰρ ἐπιτερπῶς, ἑλιγμούς τινας
of-the-feet work is they-move for charmingly whirls some
καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐν ῥυθμῷ τάχος ἔχοντι καὶ πυκνότητα
and changes in rhythm speed having and frequency
μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κουφότητος ἀποδιδόντες.
with vigor and lightness rendering
Αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς πέλτας ἀγκύλια καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ σχῆμα·
themselves and the shields ancilia they-call because-of the shape
κύκλος γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ἀποδίδωσιν, ὡς πέλτη, τὴν
a-circle for not it-is nor renders as a-shield the
περιφέρειαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκτομὴν ἔχει γραμμῆς ἑλικοειδοῦς, ἧς
circumference but a-cutting it-has of-a-line spiral whose
αἱ κεραῖαι καμπὰς ἔχουσαι καὶ συνεπιστρέφουσαι τῇ
the ends bends having and turning-back-together by-the
πυκνότητι πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀγκύλον τὸ σχῆμα ποιοῦσιν· ἢ
thickness toward one-another curved the shape make or

διὰ τὸν ἀγκῶνα περὶ ὃν περιφέρονται. ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ
because-of the elbow around which they-are-carried these-things for —
Ἰόβας εἴρηκε γλιχόμενος ἐξελληνίσαι τοὔνομα. δύναιτο δ'
Juba has-said eager to-Hellenize the-name might but
ἂν τῆς ἀνέκαθεν φορᾶς πρῶτον ἐπώνυμον γεγονέναι, καὶ
— of-the from-above descent first named to-have-been and
τῆς ἀκέσεως τῶν νοσούντων, καὶ τῆς τῶν αὐχμῶν λύσεως,
of-the healing of-the sick and of-the of-the droughts ending
ἔτι δὲ τῆς τῶν δεινῶν ἀνασχέσεως, καθ' ὃ καὶ τοὺς
further and of-the of-the terrors cessation according-to which also the
Διοσκούρους Ἄνακας Ἀθηναῖοι προσηγόρευσαν, εἴ γε
Dioscuri Anaces Athenians called if at-least
δεῖ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον ἐξάγειν τοὔνομα.
it-is-needful to the Greek dialect to-bring-over the-name
Τῷ δὲ Μαμουρίῳ λέγουσι μισθὸν γενέσθαι τῆς τέχνης
— and to-Mamurius they-say a-reward to-have-been of-the art
ἐκείνης μνήμην τινὰ δι' ᾠδῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Σαλίων
that a-remembrance some through song by the Salii
ἅμα τῇ πυρρίχῃ διαπεραινομένης. οἱ δὲ οὐ
together-with the war-dance being-performed the(-others) but not
Οὐετούριον Μαμούριον εἶναί φασι τὸν ᾀδόμενον, ἀλλὰ
Veturius Mamurius to-be say the(-one) sung but
οὐετέρεμ μεμορίαμ, ὅπερ ἐστί, παλαιὰν μνήμην.
veterem memoriam which is old memory
Ἐπεὶ δὲ διεκόσμησε τὰς ἱερωσύνας, ἐδείματο πλησίον τοῦ 14
when and he-had-arranged the priesthoods he-built near the
τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ τὴν καλουμένην Ῥηγίαν, οἷόν τι
— of-Vesta temple the so-called Regia as-it-were some
βασίλειον οἴκημα· καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτόθι τοῦ χρόνου
royal dwelling and the most there of-the time
διέτριβεν ἱερουργῶν ἢ διδάσκων τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἢ πρὸς
he-spent sacrificing or teaching the priests or in

ἐννοίᾳ τινὶ τῶν θείων πρὸς αὐτὸν σχολάζων. οἰκίαν
contemplation some of-the divine(-things) by himself being-at-leisure a-house
δ' εἶχεν ἑτέραν περὶ τὸν Κυρίνου λόφον, ἧς ἔτι νῦν τὸν
and he-had another about the of-Quirinus hill of-which still now the
τόπον ἐπιδεικνύουσιν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς προπομπαῖς καὶ ὅλως
place they-show in and the escorts and in-general
τῶν ἱερέων ταῖς πομπαῖς προηγοῦντο κήρυκες ἀνὰ τὴν
of-the priests the processions went-before heralds through the
πόλιν ἐλινύειν κελεύοντες καὶ τὰ ἔργα καταπαύοντες.
city to-keep-holiday ordering and the works stopping
ὡς γάρ φασι τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς οὐκ ἐᾶν ἐκ παρόδου
as for they-say the Pythagoreans not to-allow in passing
προσκυνεῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλ' οἴκοθεν
to-worship and to-pray to-the gods but from-home
εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο γνώμῃ παρεσκευασμένους βαδίζειν, οὕτως
straightaway for this in-mind prepared to-go so
ᾤετο Νομᾶς χρῆναι τοὺς πολίτας μήτε ἀκούειν τι τῶν
thought Numa it-necessary the citizens neither to-hear anything of-the
θείων μήτε ὁρᾶν ἐν παρέργῳ καὶ ἀμελῶς, ἀλλὰ σχολὴν
divine(-things) nor to-see in a-side-matter and carelessly but leisure
ἄγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ προσέχοντας τὴν διάνοιαν
having from the other(-things) and applying the mind
ὡς πράξει μεγίστῃ τῇ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ψόφων τε
as to-an-action greatest the about the piety of-noises both
καὶ πατάγων καὶ στεναγμῶν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα τοῖς
and clatterings and groanings and whatever such to-the
ἀναγκαίοις καὶ βαναύσοις πόνοις ἕπεται, καθαρὰς τὰς ὁδοὺς
necessary and mechanical labors attend clear the streets
ταῖς ἱερουργίαις παρέχοντας. ὧν ἴχνος τι μέχρι νῦν
for-the rites providing of-which trace some until now
διασώζοντες, ὅταν ἄρχων πρὸς ὄρνισιν ἢ θυσίαις διατρίβῃ,
preserving whenever a-magistrate with auspices or sacrifices is-busy

βοῶσιν "Ὄκ ἄγε·" σημαίνει δὲ ἡ φωνὴ "Τοῦτο πρᾶσσε,"
they-shout Hoc age signifies and the phrase this do
συνεπιστρέφουσα καὶ κατακοσμοῦσα τοὺς προστυγχάνοντας.
turning(-them) and composing those meeting(-it)
Ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραγγελμάτων αὐτοῦ πολλὰ
there-were and also of-the other precepts his many
τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ἐοικότα. ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι παρήνουν ἐπὶ
to-the Pythagorean(-ones) like as for they exhorted on
χοίνικος μὴ καθῆσθαι, καὶ μαχαίρᾳ πῦρ μὴ σκαλεύειν, καὶ
a-measure not to-sit and with-a-knife fire not to-stir and
βαδίζοντας εἰς ἀποδημίας μὴ μεταστρέφεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν
going on journeys not to-turn-around and to-the indeed
οὐρανίοις περισσὰ θύειν, ἄρτια δὲ τοῖς χθονίοις,
heavenly(-gods) odd(-numbers) to-sacrifice even(-numbers) and to-the earthly(-gods)
ὧν ἑκάστου τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεκρύπτοντο πρὸς τοὺς
of-which of-each the meaning they-concealed from the
πολλούς, οὕτως ἔνια τῶν Νομᾶ πατρίων ἀπόρρητον
many so some of-the of-Numa ancestral(-customs) secret
ἔχει τὸν λόγον· οἷον τὸ μὴ σπένδειν θεοῖς ἐξ ἀμπέλων
has the reason such-as the not to-pour-libations to-gods from vines
ἀτμήτων μηδὲ θύειν ἄτερ ἀλφίτων· καὶ τὸ προσκυνεῖν
unpruned nor to-sacrifice without barley-meal and the to-worship
περιστρεφομένους καὶ τὸ καθῆσθαι προσκυνήσαντας. τὰ μὲν
turning-around and the to-sit having-worshiped the indeed
οὖν πρῶτα δύο τὴν γῆς ἐξημέρωσιν ἔοικε διδάσκειν,
then first two the of-the-earth taming seem to-teach
ὡς μόριον εὐσεβείας οὖσαν· ἡ δὲ περιστροφὴ τῶν
as part of-piety being the and turning-around of-the(-men)
προσκυνούντων λέγεται μὲν ἀπομίμησις εἶναι τῆς τοῦ
worshiping is-said indeed an-imitation to-be of-the of-the
κόσμου περιφορᾶς, δόξειε δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ὁ προσκυνῶν,
universe revolution might-seem but — rather the(-man) worshiping

ἐπεὶ πρὸς ἕω τῶν ἱερῶν βλεπόντων ἀπέστραπται τὰς
since toward dawn the temples facing has-his-back-to the
ἀνατολάς, μεταβάλλειν ἑαυτὸν ἐνταῦθα καὶ περιστρέφειν ἐπὶ
east to-turn himself there and to-turn-around to
τὸν θεόν, κύκλον ποιῶν καὶ συνάπτων τὴν ἐπιτελείωσιν τῆς
the god a-circle making and joining the completion of-the
εὐχῆς δι' ἀμφοῖν· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τροχοῖς
prayer through both if not by Zeus to-the Egyptian wheels
αἰνίττεταί τι καὶ διδάσκει παραπλήσιον ἡ μεταβολὴ
it-hints something and teaches similar the change
τοῦ σχήματος, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἑστῶτος τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων,
of-the posture as nothing standing-still of-the human(-things)
ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν στρέφῃ καὶ ἀνελίττῃ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ὁ
but as-ever — turns and unwinds the life our the
θεός, ἀγαπᾶν καὶ δέχεσθαι προσῆκον. τὸ δὲ καθέζεσθαι
god to-be-content and to-accept fitting(-it-is) the and to-sit
προσκυνήσαντας οἰωνισμὸν εἶναι λέγουσι τοῦ βεβαιότητα
having-worshiped an-omen to-be they-say of-the firmness
ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ διαμονὴν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιγίνεσθαι. λέγουσι
for-the prayers and permanence for-the blessings to-come they-say
δὲ καὶ πράξεων διορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν· ὡς
and also of-actions a-separation to-be the rest as
οὖν τῇ προτέρᾳ πράξει πέρας ἐπιτιθέντας καθέζεσθαι
then on-the former action an-end putting to-sit
παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς, ἵνα ἑτέρας πάλιν ἀρχὴν παρ' ἐκείνων
before the gods so-that of-another again a-beginning from them
λάβωσι. δύναται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς εἰρημένοις
they-may-take is-able and also this with-the(-things) said
ὁμολογεῖν, ἐθίζοντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ νομοθέτου μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς
to-agree accustoming us the lawgiver not to-make the

πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐντεύξεις ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ καὶ παρέργως οἷον
to the divine approaches in busyness and by-the-way as-if
σπεύδοντας, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν χρόνον ἔχωμεν καὶ σχολὴν ἄγωμεν.
hurrying but whenever time we-have and leisure we-keep
Ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης παιδαγωγίας πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οὕτως 15
from and the such training toward the divine so
ἡ πόλις ἐγεγόνει χειροήθης καὶ κατατεθαμβημένη τὴν
the city had-become tractable and awestruck-at the
τοῦ Νομᾶ δύναμιν, ὥστε μύθοις ἐοικότας τὴν ἀτοπίαν
— of-Numa power so-that to-myths like in-the absurdity
λόγους παραδέχεσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν μηδὲν ἄπιστον εἶναι
stories to-accept and to-think nothing incredible to-be
μηδὲ ἀμήχανον ἐκείνου βουληθέντος. λέγεται γοῦν ποτε
nor impossible he having-wished it-is-said at-any-rate once
καλέσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν πολιτῶν,
having-invited to the table not few of-the citizens
σκεύη τε φαῦλα καὶ δεῖπνον εὐτελὲς πάνυ προθέσθαι
vessels both mean and a-supper cheap very to-have-set-before(-them)
καὶ δημοτικόν· ἀρξαμένων δὲ δειπνεῖν ἐμβαλὼν λόγον
and plebeian having-begun and to-dine having-thrown-in a-remark
ὡς ἡ θεὸς ᾗ σύνεστιν ἥκοι πρὸς αὐτόν, αἰφνίδιον
that the goddess with-whom he-consorts had-come to him suddenly
ἐπιδεῖξαι τόν τε οἶκον ἐκπωμάτων πλήρη πολυτελῶν καὶ
to-have-shown the both house of-cups full costly and
τὰς τραπέζας ὄψων τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς
the tables with-relishes both of-all-kinds and of-provision
δαψιλοῦς γεμούσας. πᾶσαν δὲ ὑπερβέβληκεν ἀτοπίαν τὸ
abundant laden all but has-surpassed absurdity the(-story)
ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ὁμιλίας ἱστορούμενον. μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ
about the — of-Zeus converse recorded they-tell-in-myth for
εἰς τὸν Ἀβεντῖνον λόφον οὔπω μέρος ὄντα τῆς πόλεως
onto the Aventine hill not-yet part being of-the city

οὐδὲ συνοικούμενον, ἀλλ᾽ ἔχοντα πηγάς τε δαψιλεῖς ἐν
nor inhabited but having springs both abundant in
αὐτῷ καὶ νάπας σκιεράς, φοιτᾶν δύο δαίμονας, Πῖκον
it and glens shady to-have-frequented two divinities Picus
καὶ Φαῦνον· οὓς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Σατύρων ἄν τις
and Faunus whom in-the indeed other(-respects) of-Satyrs — one
ἢ Πανῶν γένει προσεικάσειε, δυνάμει δὲ φαρμάκων
or of-Pans to-the-race might-liken in-power but of-drugs
καὶ δεινότητι τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα γοητείας λέγονται
and cleverness of-the about the divine(-things) sorcery they-are-said
ταὐτὰ τοῖς ὑφ᾽ Ἑλλήνων προσαγορευθεῖσιν Ἰδαίοις
the-same(-things) as-those by Greeks called Idaean
Δακτύλοις σοφιζόμενοι περιϊέναι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τούτους φασὶ
Dactyls practicing-tricks to-go-about — Italy these they-say
χειρώσασθαι τὸν Νομᾶν, οἴνῳ καὶ μέλιτι κεράσαντα τὴν
to-have-subdued — Numa with-wine and honey having-mixed the
κρήνην ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἔπινον συνήθως. ληφθέντας δὲ πολλὰς
spring from which they-drank habitually having-been-caught and many
μὲν ἰδέας τρέπεσθαι καὶ μετεκδύεσθαι τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν,
indeed forms to-have-turned-into and to-have-changed the their nature
ἀλλόκοτα φάσματα καὶ φοβερὰ τῆς ὄψεως προβαλλομένους·
strange apparitions and fearful of-the sight putting-forth
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγνωσαν ἑαλωκότες ἰσχυρὰν καὶ ἄφυκτον ἅλωσιν,
when but they-knew having-been-caught strong and inescapable capture
ἄλλα τε προθεσπίσαι πολλὰ τῶν μελλόντων καὶ τὸν
other-things both to-have-foretold many of-the future(-things) and the
ἐπὶ τοῖς κεραυνοῖς ἐκδιδάξαι καθαρμόν, ὃς ποιεῖται μέχρι
for the thunderbolts to-have-taught purification which is-made until
νῦν διὰ κρομμύων καὶ τριχῶν καὶ μαινίδων. ἔνιοι δὲ
now with onions and hairs and sprats some but
οὐ τοὺς δαίμονάς φασιν ὑποθέσθαι τὸν καθαρμόν, ἀλλ᾽
not the divinities say to-have-suggested the purification but

ἐκείνους μὲν καταγαγεῖν τὸν Δία μαγεύσαντας, τὸν
those indeed to-have-brought-down — Zeus having-bewitched(-him) the
δὲ θεὸν ὀργιζόμενον τῷ Νομᾷ προστάσσειν ὡς χρὴ
and god being-angry — with-Numa to-command that it-is-necessary
γενέσθαι τὸν καθαρμὸν κεφαλαῖς· ὑπολαβόντος δὲ τοῦ
to-take-place the purification with-heads having-interrupted and —
Νομᾶ, "κρομμύων;" εἰπεῖν, "ἀνθρώπων·" τὸν δὲ αὖθις
Numa of-onions to-have-said of-men the(-one) and again
ἐκτρέποντα τὸ τοῦ προστάγματος δεινὸν ἐπερέσθαι,
diverting the of-the command terrible(-part) to-have-asked-further
"θριξίν;" ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Διός, "ἐμψύχοις," ἐπαγαγεῖν
with-hairs having-answered and — Zeus with-living to-have-added
τὸν Νομᾶν, "μαινίσι;" ταῦτα λέγειν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἠγερίας
— Numa with-sprats these-things to-say by — Egeria
δεδιδαγμένον. καὶ τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἵλεω γενόμενον,
having-been-taught and the indeed god to-have-departed propitious having-become
τὸν δὲ τόπον Ἰλίκιον ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσαγορευθῆναι καὶ τὸν
the and place Ilicium from that to-have-been-called and the
καθαρμὸν οὕτω συντελεῖσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ μυθώδη καὶ
purification so to-be-performed these-things indeed then the fabulous and
γελοῖα τὴν τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδείκνυται διάθεσιν πρὸς
ridiculous the of-the then men shows disposition toward
τὸ θεῖον, ἣν ὁ ἐθισμὸς αὐτοῖς ἐνεποίησεν. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν
the divine which the habituation in-them produced himself and —
Νομᾶν οὕτω φασὶν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀνηρτῆσθαι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν,
Numa so they-say on the divine to-have-hung with-the hopes
ὥστε καὶ προσαγγελίας αὐτῷ ποτε γενομένης ὡς ἐπέρχονται
so-that even a-message to-him once having-come that are-approaching
πολέμιοι, μειδιᾶσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν· "Ἐγὼ δὲ θύω."
enemies to-have-smiled and to-have-said I but am-sacrificing

16 Πρῶτον δέ φασι καὶ Πίστεως καὶ Τέρμονος ἱερὸν
first and they-say both of-Faith and of-Terminus a-temple
ἱδρύσασθαι. καὶ τὴν μὲν Πίστιν ὅρκον ἀποδεῖξαι Ῥωμαίοις
to-have-founded and — indeed Faith oath to-have-made for-Romans
μέγιστον, ᾧ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν διατελοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ Τέρμων
greatest which using until now they-continue — and Terminus
ὅρος ἄν τις εἴη, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ
boundary — one would-be and they-sacrifice to-him publicly and privately
κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ἀγρῶν περιορισμούς, νῦν μὲν ἔμψυχα, τὸ
at the of-the fields boundaries now indeed living(-victims) the
παλαιὸν δὲ ἀναίμακτος ἦν ἡ θυσία, Νομᾶ φιλοσοφήσαντος
of-old but bloodless was the sacrifice Numa having-reasoned
ὡς χρὴ τὸν ὅριον θεὸν εἰρήνης φύλακα καὶ δικαιοσύνης
that it-is-necessary the boundary god of-peace guardian and of-justice
μάρτυν ὄντα φόνου καθαρὸν εἶναι. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὅλως
witness being of-murder pure to-be seems and also in-general
οὗτος ὁρίσαι τὴν χώραν ὁ βασιλεύς, Ῥωμύλου μὴ
this(-man) to-have-defined the territory the king Romulus not
βουληθέντος ἐξομολογήσασθαι τῷ μέτρῳ τοῦ οἰκείου τὴν
having-wished to-admit by-the measure of-the own(-land) the
ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου· δεσμὸν γὰρ εἶναι τῆς δυνάμεως
taking of-the others' a-bond for to-be of-the power
τὸν ὅρον, ἂν φυλάττηται, μὴ φυλαττόμενον δὲ τῆς ἀδικίας
the boundary if it-be-observed not observed and of-the injustice
ἔλεγχον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἦν δαψιλὴς χώρα τῇ πόλει κατ'
a-proof not indeed not-even was abundant land to-the city at
ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ τὴν πολλὴν αἰχμῇ προσεκτήσατο Ῥωμύλος·
beginnings but the most by-spear acquired Romulus
καὶ ταύτην πᾶσαν ὁ Νομᾶς διένειμε τοῖς ἀπόροις τῶν
and this all — Numa distributed to-the needy of-the
πολιτῶν, ὡς ἀνάγκην τῆς ἀδικίας ἀφαιρῶν τὴν ἀπορίαν,
citizens as necessity of-the injustice removing the want

καὶ τρέπων ἐπὶ γεωργίαν τὸν δῆμον ἅμα τῇ χώρᾳ
and turning to farming the people together-with the land
συνεξημερούμενον. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων
being-tamed nothing for other of-the pursuits
οὕτως ἔρωτα δριμὺν εἰρήνης ἐργάζεται καὶ ταχὺν ὡς ὁ
so love keen of-peace produces and quick as the
ἀπὸ γῆς βίος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς εὐτολμίας τὸ μὲν
from earth life in which also of-the warlike daring the indeed
ὑπερμαχητικὸν τοῦ οἰκείου διαμένει καὶ πάρεστι, τὸ δὲ εἰς
willing-to-fight-for the own remains and is-present the but toward
ἀδικίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν ἀνειμένον ἐκκέκοπται. διὸ καὶ
injustice and greed let-loose has-been-cut-out wherefore also
τὴν γεωργίαν ὁ Νομᾶς οἷον εἰρήνης φίλτρον ἐμμίξας
the farming — Numa as-it-were of-peace a-love-charm having-mixed-in
τοῖς πολίταις καὶ μᾶλλον ὡς ἠθοποιὸν ἢ πλουτοποιὸν
for-the citizens and rather as character-forming than wealth-making
ἀγαπήσας τέχνην, εἰς μέρη τὴν χώραν διεῖλεν, ἃ πάγους
having-loved(-it) art into parts the land he-divided which pagi
προσηγόρευσε, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπισκόπους ἔταξε
he-called and over each overseers he-appointed
καὶ περιπόλους. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφορῶν
and patrols there-are and times-when also himself overseeing
καὶ τεκμαιρόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς τρόπους τῶν
and judging from the works the characters of-the
πολιτῶν τοὺς μὲν εἰς τιμὰς καὶ πίστεις ἀνῆγε, τοὺς
citizens the(-ones) indeed to honors and trusts he-raised the(-ones)
δὲ ῥᾳθύμους καὶ ἀμελεῖς ψέγων καὶ κακίζων ἐσωφρόνιζε.
and lazy and careless blaming and reproaching he-chastened

Numa divides the people by crafts to break the old division between Sabines and Romans, and limits a father's right to sell a married son. He reforms the calendar, adding an intercalary month and setting January and February before March. The temple of Janus, open in war, stays shut for all forty-three years of his reign; the neighbor cities too turn to peace and husbandry, and Numa's life proves Plato's saying that men's ills end when kingly power meets a philosopher's mind.

17 Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων αὐτοῦ πολιτευμάτων ἡ κατὰ τέχνας
of-the and other his measures the according-to crafts
διανομὴ τοῦ πλήθους μάλιστα θαυμάζεται. τῆς γὰρ πόλεως
distribution of-the populace most is-admired the for city
ἐκ δυεῖν γενῶν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, συνεστάναι δοκούσης,
from two races as has-been-said to-have-been-formed seeming
διεστώσης δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ μηδενὶ τρόπῳ μιᾶς γενέσθαι
being-divided and rather and in-no way one to-become
βουλομένης μηδὲ οἷον ἐξαλεῖψαι τὴν ἑτερότητα καὶ
wishing nor as-it-were to-wipe-out the otherness and
διαφοράν, ἀλλὰ συγκρούσεις ἀπαύστους καὶ φιλονεικίας
difference but clashes unceasing and rivalries
τῶν μερῶν ἐχούσης, διανοηθεὶς ὅτι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων
of-the parts having having-reflected that also of-the bodies
τὰ φύσει δύσμικτα καὶ σκληρὰ καταθραύοντες καὶ
the(-ones) by-nature hard-to-mix and hard crushing and
διαιροῦντες ἀναμιγνύουσιν, ὑπὸ μικρότητος ἀλλήλοις
dividing they-mix through smallness with-one-another
συμβαίνοντα μᾶλλον, ἔγνω κατατεμεῖν τομὰς πλείονας
coming-together rather he-resolved to-cut-up into-cuts more
τὸ σύμπαν πλῆθος· ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰς ἑτέρας ἐμβαλὼν
the whole populace from and these into other throwing(-them)
διαφορὰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκείνην καὶ μεγάλην ἀφανίσαι
differences the first that and great to-obliterate

ταῖς ἐλάττοσιν ἐνδιασπαρεῖσαν. ἦν δὲ ἡ διανομὴ κατὰ
by-the smaller dispersed was and the distribution according-to
τὰς τέχνας, αὐλητῶν, χρυσοχόων, τεκτόνων, βαφέων,
the crafts of-flute-players of-goldsmiths of-carpenters of-dyers
σκυτοτόμων, σκυτοδεψῶν, χαλκέων, κεραμέων. τὰς δὲ
of-shoemakers of-tanners of-smiths of-potters the and
λοιπὰς τέχνας εἰς ταὐτὸ συναγαγὼν ἓν αὐτῶν ἐκ πασῶν
remaining crafts into the-same having-gathered one of-them out-of all
ἀπέδειξε σύστημα. κοινωνίας δὲ καὶ συνόδους καὶ θεῶν
he-made a-body communities and also assemblies and of-gods
τιμὰς ἀποδοὺς ἑκάστῳ γένει πρεπούσας, τότε πρῶτον
honors having-assigned to-each class fitting then first
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνεῖλε τὸ λέγεσθαι καὶ νομίζεσθαι τοὺς
from the city he-removed the to-be-called and to-be-thought the
μὲν Σαβίνους, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν
indeed Sabines the(-others) and Romans and the indeed
Τατίου, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμύλου πολίτας, ὥστε τὴν διαίρεσιν
of-Tatius the(-others) and of-Romulus citizens so-that the division
εὐαρμοστίαν καὶ ἀνάμιξιν πάντων γενέσθαι πρὸς πάντας.
a-harmony and mixing of-all to-become with all
Ἐπαινεῖται δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ
is-praised and of-the political(-measures) his also the(-one) about
τὸν νόμον διόρθωμα τὸν διδόντα τοῖς πατράσι τοὺς
the law correction the(-law) granting to-the fathers the
παῖδας πιπράσκειν, ὑπεξελομένου τοὺς γεγαμηκότας, εἰ
children to-sell having-excepted the married(-ones) if
τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπαινοῦντος καὶ κελεύοντος ὁ γάμος γένοιτο.
the father praising and bidding the marriage took-place
δεινὸν γὰρ ἡγεῖτο τὴν ὡς ἐλευθέρῳ γεγαμημένην γυναῖκα
terrible for he-thought the as to-a-free(-man) married woman
δούλῳ συνοικεῖν.
with-a-slave to-live

18 Ἥψατο δὲ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν πραγματείας οὔτε
he-touched and also the about the heaven study neither
ἀκριβῶς οὔτε παντάπασιν ἀθεωρήτως. Ῥωμύλου γὰρ
accurately nor altogether unscientifically Romulus for
βασιλεύοντος ἀλόγως ἐχρῶντο τοῖς μησὶ καὶ ἀτάκτως,
reigning irrationally they-used the months and disorderly
τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν, τοὺς δὲ πέντε
the(-ones) indeed not-even of-twenty days the(-others) and of-five
καὶ τριάκοντα, τοὺς δὲ πλειόνων λογιζόμενοι, τῆς δὲ
and thirty the(-others) and of-more reckoning of-the and
γινομένης ἀνωμαλίας περὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἥλιον
arising irregularity about the moon and the sun
ἔννοιαν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἓν φυλάττοντες μόνον, ὅπως
conception not having but one(-thing) observing only that
ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἡμερῶν ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔσται. Νομᾶς
sixty and three-hundred days the year will-be Numa
δὲ τὸ παράλλαγμα τῆς ἀνωμαλίας ἡμερῶν ἕνδεκα γίνεσθαι
and the deviation of-the irregularity days eleven to-be
λογιζόμενος, ὡς τοῦ μὲν σεληνιακοῦ τριακοσίας πεντήκοντα
reckoning since the indeed lunar(-year) three-hundred fifty
τέσσαρας ἔχοντος ἡμέρας, τοῦ δὲ ἡλιακοῦ τριακοσίας
four having days the and solar three-hundred
ἑξήκοντα πέντε, τὰς ἕνδεκα ταύτας ἡμέρας διπλασιάζων
sixty five the eleven these days doubling
ἐπήγαγε παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Φεβρουαρίῳ μηνὶ τὸν
he-introduced every-other year after the February month the
ἐμβόλιμον, ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Μερκηδῖνον καλούμενον, εἴκοσι
intercalary(-month) by Romans Mercedinus called twenty
καὶ δυοῖν ἡμερῶν ὄντα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτῷ τὸ ἴαμα
and two days being and this indeed for-him the cure
τῆς ἀνωμαλίας μειζόνων ἔμελλεν ἰαμάτων δεήσεσθαι.
of-the irregularity of-greater was-going cures to-need

Μετεκίνησε δὲ καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶν μηνῶν· τὸν γὰρ Μάρτιον
he-changed and also the order of-the months the for March
πρῶτον ὄντα τρίτον ἔταξε, πρῶτον δὲ τὸν Ἰανουάριον, ὃς
first being third he-placed first and the January which
ἦν ἑνδέκατος ἐπὶ Ῥωμύλου, δωδέκατος δὲ καὶ τελευταῖος
was eleventh under Romulus twelfth and and last
ὁ Φεβρουάριος, ᾧ νῦν δευτέρῳ χρῶνται. πολλοὶ δέ
the February which now as-second they-use many and
εἰσιν οἳ καὶ προστεθῆναι τούτους ὑπὸ Νομᾶ τοὺς μῆνας
there-are who also to-have-been-added these by Numa the months
λέγουσι, τόν τε Ἰανουάριον καὶ τὸν Φεβρουάριον, ἐξ
say the both January and the February from
ἀρχῆς δὲ χρῆσθαι δέκα μόνον εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ὡς ἔνιοι
beginning and to-have-used ten only for the year as some
τῶν βαρβάρων τρισί, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀρκάδες μὲν
of-the barbarians three and of-the Greeks Arcadians indeed
τέσσαρσιν, ἓξ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες, Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ μηνιαῖος ἦν ὁ
four six and Acarnanians for-Egyptians and of-one-month was the
ἐνιαυτός, εἶτα τετράμηνος, ὥς φασι. διὸ καὶ νεωτάτην
year then of-four-months as they-say wherefore also a-very-new
χώραν οἰκοῦντες ἀρχαιότατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ πλῆθος
land inhabiting most-ancient they-seem to-be and a-number
ἀμήχανον ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς γενεαλογίαις καταφέρουσιν,
enormous of-years on the genealogies they-heap-up
ἅτε δὴ τοὺς μῆνας εἰς ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν τιθέμενοι.
inasmuch-as indeed the months into of-years number setting
Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὅτι μὲν δέκα μῆνας εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἔταττον, 19
Romans and that indeed ten months into the year they-arranged
οὐ δώδεκα, τεκμήριον ἡ τοῦ τελευταίου προσηγορία·
not twelve a-proof the of-the last name
δέκατον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄχρι νῦν καλοῦσιν· ὅτι δὲ τὸν Μάρτιον
tenth for it until now they-call that and the March(-was)

πρῶτον, ἡ τάξις· τὸν γὰρ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου πέμπτον ἐκάλουν
first the order the(-month) for from that fifth they-called
πέμπτον· ἕκτον δὲ τὸν ἕκτον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑξῆς ὁμοίως
fifth sixth and the sixth and of-the others in-order similarly
ἕκαστον, ἐπεὶ τὸν Ἰανουάριον καὶ τὸν Φεβρουάριον πρὸ
each since the January and the February before
τοῦ Μαρτίου τιθεμένοις συνέβαινεν αὐτοῖς τὸν εἰρημένον
the March placing it-happened for-them the said
μῆνα πέμπτον μὲν ὀνομάζειν, ἕβδομον δὲ ἀριθμεῖν. ἄλλως
month fifth indeed to-name seventh but to-count otherwise
δὲ καὶ λόγον εἶχε τὸν Μάρτιον Ἄρει καθιερωμένον
and also reason it-had the March to-Ares dedicated
ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου πρῶτον ὀνομάζεσθαι· δεύτερον δὲ
by — Romulus first to-be-named second and
τὸν Ἀπρίλλιον, ἐπώνυμον ὄντα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἐν ᾧ
the April named-after being — of-Aphrodite in which
θύουσί τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ ταῖς καλάνδαις αἱ γυναῖκες
they-sacrifice both to-the goddess and on-the calends the women
ἐστεφανωμέναι μυρσίνῃ λούονται. τινὲς δὲ οὐ διὰ τὴν
crowned with-myrtle bathe some but not because-of —
Ἀφροδίτην τὸν Ἀπρίλλιόν φασιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἔχει τοὔνομα
Aphrodite the April say but as it-has the-name
ψιλόν, Ἀπρίλλιον κεκλῆσθαι τὸν μῆνα τῆς ἐαρινῆς ὥρας
bare April to-have-been-called the month of-the spring season
ἀκμαζούσης ἀνοίγοντα καὶ ἀνακαλύπτοντα τοὺς βλαστοὺς
being-in-its-prime opening and uncovering the shoots
τῶν φυτῶν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ γλῶττα σημαίνει. τῶν δ᾽
of-the plants this for the tongue signifies of-the and
ἑφεξῆς τὸν μὲν Μάϊον καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ Μαίας· Ἑρμῇ γὰρ
following the indeed May they-call from Maia to-Hermes for
ἀνιέρωται· τὸν δὲ Ἰούνιον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἥρας. εἰσὶ δέ τινες
it-is-dedicated the and June from — Hera there-are and some

οἱ τούτους ἡλικίας ἐπωνύμους εἶναι λέγοντες πρεσβυτέρας
who these of-ages named to-be saying older
καὶ νεωτέρας· μαϊώρεις γὰρ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς,
and younger maiores for the older among them
ἰουνιώρεις δὲ οἱ νεώτεροι καλοῦνται. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν
iuniores and the younger are-called of-the and remaining
ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως, ὥσπερ ἀριθμοῦντες, ὠνόμαζον
each from the order as counting they-named
πέμπτον, ἕκτον, ἕβδομον, ὄγδοον, ἔνατον, δέκατον· εἶτα ὁ
fifth sixth seventh eighth ninth tenth then the
πέμπτος ἀπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ καταγωνισαμένου Πομπήϊον
fifth from Caesar the(-one) having-defeated Pompey
Ἰούλιος· ὁ δὲ ἕκτος Αὔγουστος ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου μὲν
Julius the and sixth Augustus from the second indeed
ἄρξαντος, Σεβαστοῦ δὲ ἐπικληθέντος, ὠνομάσθη. τοὺς δὲ
having-ruled Augustus and having-been-surnamed was-named the and
ἑφεξῆς Δομετιανὸς εἰσεποίησε ταῖς αὐτοῦ προσωνυμίαις οὐ
following Domitian adopted with-the his-own names not
πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ τὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαβόντες πάλιν ἐκείνου
much time but the their-own having-taken-back again him
σφαγέντος ὁ μὲν ἕβδομος, ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος καλοῦνται.
having-been-slain the indeed seventh the and eighth are-called
μόνοι δ᾽ οἱ τελευταῖοι δύο τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως κλῆσιν,
alone and the last two the from the order name
ὥσπερ ἔσχον ἐξ ἀρχῆς, διεφύλαξαν.
as they-had from beginning preserved
Τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ Νομᾶ προστεθέντων ἢ μετατεθέντων ὁ μὲν
of-the and by Numa added or transposed(-months) the indeed
Φεβρουάριος οἷον καθάρσιος ἄν τις εἴη· καὶ γὰρ ἡ λέξις
February as-it-were purificatory — one would-be and for the word
ἔγγιστα τοῦτο σημαίνει, καὶ τοῖς φθιτοῖς ἐναγίζουσι τότε
nearly this signifies and to-the dead they-make-offerings then

καὶ τὴν τῶν Λουπερκαλίων ἑορτὴν εἰς τὰ πολλὰ καθαρμῷ
and the of-the Lupercalia festival in the most-part to-a-purification
προσεοικυῖαν τελοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ πρῶτος Ἰανουάριος ἀπὸ τοῦ
resembling they-celebrate the and first January from —
Ἰανοῦ. δοκεῖ δέ μοι τὸν Μάρτιον ὁ Νομᾶς ἐπώνυμον ὄντα
Janus it-seems and to-me the March — Numa named-after being
τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐκ τῆς προεδρίας μεταστῆσαι, βουλόμενος
— of-Ares from the precedence to-remove wishing
ἐν παντὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς δυνάμεως προτιμᾶσθαι τὴν
in every(-case) than-the warlike power to-be-preferred the
πολιτικήν. ὁ γὰρ Ἰανὸς ἐν τοῖς πάνυ παλαιοῖς εἴτε δαίμων
political — for Janus in the very ancient(-times) whether divinity
εἴτε βασιλεὺς γενόμενος πολιτικὸς καὶ κοινωνικὸς ἐκ τοῦ
or king having-been political and social from the
θηριώδους καὶ ἀγρίου λέγεται μεταβαλεῖν τὴν δίαιταν. καὶ
bestial and savage is-said to-have-changed the way-of-life and
διὰ τοῦτο πλάττουσιν αὐτὸν ἀμφιπρόσωπον, ὡς ἑτέραν
because-of this they-mold him two-faced as another
ἐξ ἑτέρας τῷ βίῳ περιποιήσαντα τὴν μορφὴν καὶ διάθεσιν.
from another for-the life having-produced the form and disposition
20 Ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ νεὼς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δίθυρος, ὃν πολέμου
there-is and his also a-temple in Rome double-doored which of-war
πύλην καλοῦσι. νομίζεται γὰρ ἀνεῳχθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὅταν
gate they-call it-is-customary for to-be-opened indeed it when
ᾖ πόλεμος, κεκλεῖσθαι δὲ εἰρήνης γενομένης. ὃ δὴ
there-be war to-be-shut and peace having-come which indeed
χαλεπὸν ἦν καὶ σπανίως γινόμενον, ἀεί τινι συνηρτημένης
difficult was and rarely happening always some being-engaged
πολέμῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, διὰ μέγεθος τοῖς κύκλῳ
to-war the empire because-of greatness against-the around
περικεχυμένοις γένεσι βαρβάροις ἀντερειδούσης. πλὴν
encircling races barbarian pushing-against except

ἐπί γε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκλείσθη καθελόντος
in-the-time at-least — of-Augustus Caesar it-was-shut having-overthrown
Ἀντώνιον· καὶ πρότερον ὑπατευόντων Μάρκου Ἀτιλίου
Antony and before being-consuls Marcus Atilius
καὶ Τίτου Μαλλίου χρόνον οὐ πολύν· εἶτα εὐθὺς ἀνεῴχθη
and Titus Manlius time not much then at-once it-was-opened
πολέμου συρραγέντος. ἀλλ' ἐπί γε τῆς Νομᾶ
a-war having-broken-out but in-the-time at-least of-the of-Numa
βασιλείας οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀνεῳγμένος ὤφθη, τρία δὲ καὶ
reign not-one day open it-was-seen three and and
τετταράκοντα ἔτη συνεχῶς ἔμεινε κεκλεισμένος· οὕτως
forty years continuously it-remained shut so
ἐξήρητο παντελῶς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πανταχόθεν.
had-been-removed completely the(-things) of-the war and from-everywhere
οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἡμέρωτο καὶ κατεκεκήλητο τῇ
not for only the of-Romans had-been-tamed and had-been-charmed by-the
δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πραότητι τοῦ βασιλέως δῆμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
justice and gentleness of-the king people but also
τὰς κύκλῳ πόλεις, ὥσπερ αὔρας τινὸς ἐκεῖθεν ἢ πνεύματος
the around cities as-if a-breeze some from-there or a-wind
ὑγιεινοῦ φέροντος, ἀρχὴ μεταβολῆς ἔλαβε καὶ πόθος
healthful bearing a-beginning of-change took and a-longing
εἰσερρύη πάντας εὐνομίας καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ γῆν φυτεύειν καὶ
flowed-into all of-good-order and of-peace and earth to-plant and
τέκνα τρέφειν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ σέβεσθαι θεούς. ἑορταὶ δὲ καὶ
children to-rear in quiet and to-revere gods festivals and and
θαλίαι καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀδεῶς ἰόντων καὶ ἀναμιγνυμένων
banquets and to one-another fearlessly going and mingling
ὑποδοχαὶ καὶ φιλοφροσύναι τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατεῖχον, οἷον
hospitalities and kindnesses — Italy held as-if
ἐκ πηγῆς τῆς Νομᾶ σοφίας τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων
from a-spring the of-Numa wisdom the noble and just(-things)

ἐπεισρεόντων εἰς ἅπαντας καὶ διαχεομένης τῆς περὶ ἐκεῖνον
flowing-in into all and spreading the about him
γαλήνης· ὥστε καὶ τὰς ποιητικὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἐνδεῖν πρὸς
calm so-that even the poetic hyperboles to-fall-short of
τὴν τότε κατάστασιν λέγουσιν· "Ἐν δὲ σιδαροδέτοις
the then condition they-say on and iron-bound
πόρπαξιν αἰθὰν ἀραχνᾶν ἔργα·" καί, "εὐρὼς δάμναται
shield-handles of-tawny spiders the-works also mold subdues
ἔγχεά τε λογχωτὰ ξίφεά τ' ἀμφήκεα, χαλκεᾶν δὲ οὐκέτι
spears both pointed swords and double-edged of-bronze and no-longer
σαλπίγγων κτύπος, οὐδὲ συλᾶται μελίφρων ὕπνος ἀπὸ
of-trumpets the-noise nor is-robbed honey-minded sleep from
βλεφάρων." οὔτε γὰρ πόλεμος οὔτε στάσις οὔτε νεωτερισμὸς
eyelids neither for war nor faction nor revolution
περὶ πολιτείαν ἱστόρηται Νομᾶ βασιλεύοντος· οὐ μὴν οὐδ'
about constitution is-recorded Numa reigning not indeed nor
ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἔχθρα τις ἢ φθόνος ἢ δι' ἔρωτα
against him himself enmity any or envy or because-of love
βασιλείας ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ σύστασις ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλ' εἴτε φόβος
of-kingship a-plot and a-conspiracy of-men but whether fear
θεῶν προκήδεσθαι δοκούντων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴτε τῆς ἀρετῆς
of-gods to-care-for seeming the man or of-the virtue
αἰδὼς εἴτε δαιμόνιος τύχη, πάσης κακίας ἄθικτον ἐπ' ἐκείνου
reverence or divine fortune from-all vice untouched in his-time
καὶ καθαρὸν διαφυλάττουσα τὸν βίον, ἐναργὲς ἐξήνεγκε
and pure preserving the life a-clear brought-forth
παράδειγμα καὶ τεκμήριον τῆς Πλατωνικῆς φωνῆς, ἣν
example and proof of-the Platonic saying which
ὕστερον ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ὀλίγοις χρόνοις γενόμενος ἐτόλμησεν
later he not by-few times having-lived dared
ἀφεῖναι περὶ πολιτείας, ὡς μία κακῶν παῦλα καὶ λύσις
to-utter about constitution that one of-evils cessation and release

ἀνθρώποις ἐστίν, ἔκ τινος τύχης θείας εἰς ταὐτὸ διανοίᾳ
for-men is from some fortune divine into the-same with-a-mind
φιλοσόφῳ βασιλικὴν συμπεσοῦσαν δύναμιν ἐγκρατῆ καὶ
philosophic kingly having-met power master and
ὑπερδέξιον τῆς κακίας τὴν ἀρετὴν καταστῆσαι. "Μακάριος
superior of-the vice the virtue to-make blessed
μὲν γὰρ αὐτός" ὁ σώφρων ὡς ἀληθῶς, "μακάριοι
indeed for himself the self-controlled(-man) as truly blessed
δὲ οἱ συνήκοοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ σωφρονοῦντος στόματος
and those fellow-hearers of-the from the self-controlled mouth
ἰόντων λόγων." τάχα γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀνάγκης τινὸς δεῖ πρὸς
coming words perhaps for not-even compulsion any is-needed toward
τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐδὲ ἀπειλῆς, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐν
the many nor threat they-themselves but the virtue in
εὐδήλῳ παραδείγματι καὶ λαμπρῷ τῷ βίῳ τοῦ ἄρχοντος
a-clear example and bright the life of-the ruler
ὁρῶντες, ἑκουσίως σωφρονοῦσι καὶ συμμετασχηματίζονται
seeing voluntarily become-self-controlled and are-reshaped-together
πρὸς τὸν ἐν φιλίᾳ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ
toward the in friendship and concord the with one-another with
δικαιοσύνης καὶ μετριότητος ἀμύμονα καὶ μακάριον βίον,
justice and moderation blameless and blessed life
ἐν ᾧ τὸ κάλλιστον ἁπάσης πολιτείας τέλος ἐστί, καὶ
in which the noblest of-all government end is and
βασιλικώτατος ἁπάντων ὁ τοῦτον τὸν βίον καὶ ταύτην
most-kingly of-all the(-one) this the life and this
τὴν διάθεσιν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐνεργάσασθαι δυνάμενος. ταῦτα
the disposition in-the subjects to-produce able these-things
μὲν οὖν Νομᾶς παντὸς μᾶλλον φαίνεται συνεωρακώς.
indeed then Numa than-all more seems to-have-seen

Plutarch records the disputes over Numa's children and descendants. He dies past eighty, gently, and is buried on the Janiculum with his sacred books in a second coffin; four hundred years later a flood bares them, and the praetor has the books burned. The fortunes of the kings after him add to his fame: of the five the last died in exile and none of the other four by nature, and Tullus, who mocked his piety and turned Rome to war, ended in superstition and was, it is said, burned up by thunderbolts.

21 Περὶ δὲ παίδων αὐτοῦ καὶ γάμων ἀντιλογίαι γεγόνασι
about and children his and marriages disputes have-arisen
τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὔτε γάμον ἄλλον ἢ
among-the historians the(-ones) indeed for neither marriage other than
τὸν Τατίας λαβεῖν αὐτὸν οὔτε παιδὸς ἑτέρου γενέσθαι
the(-one) of-Tatia to-have-taken him nor of-child of-other to-have-become
πατέρα πλὴν μιᾶς θυγατρὸς Πομπιλίας λέγουσιν· οἱ
father except of-one of-daughter of-Pompilia say the(-others)
δὲ πρὸς ταύτῃ τέσσαρας υἱοὺς ἀναγράφουσιν αὐτοῦ,
and besides her four sons record his
Πόμπωνα, Πῖνον, Κάλπον, Μάμερκον, ὧν ἕκαστον
Pompo Pinus Calpus Mamercus of-whom each
οἴκου διαδοχὴν καὶ γένους ἐντίμου καταλιπεῖν. εἶναι γὰρ
of-a-house succession and of-a-family honored to-have-left to-be for
ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Πόμπωνος τοὺς Πομπωνίους, ἀπὸ δὲ Πίνου
from indeed — Pompo the Pomponii from and Pinus
τοὺς Πιναρίους, ἀπὸ δὲ Κάλπου τοὺς Καλπουρνίους, ἀπὸ
the Pinarii from and Calpus the Calpurnii from
δὲ Μαμέρκου τοὺς Μαμερκίους, οἷς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
and Mamercus the Mamercii to-whom because-of this also
Ῥῆγας γενέσθαι παρωνύμιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βασιλέας. τρίτοι
Reges to-have-become a-surname which is kings third

δέ εἰσιν οἱ τούτων μὲν κατηγοροῦντες ὡς χαριζομένων
and are those these indeed accusing as gratifying
τοῖς γένεσι καὶ προστιθέντων οὐκ ἀληθῆ στέμματα τῆς
to-the families and adding not true pedigrees of-the
ἀπὸ Νομᾶ διαδοχῆς, τὴν δὲ Πομπιλίαν οὐκ ἐκ Τατίας
from Numa succession — and Pompilia not from Tatia
γεγονέναι λέγοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἑτέρας γυναικός, ἣν ἤδη
to-have-been-born saying but from another woman whom already
βασιλεύων ἔγημε, Λουκρητίας· πάντες δ᾽ οὖν ὁμολογοῦσι
reigning he-married of-Lucretia all and then agree
τὴν Πομπιλίαν Μαρκίῳ γαμηθῆναι. παῖς δὲ ἦν ὁ
— Pompilia to-Marcius to-have-been-married son and was —
Μάρκιος ἐκείνου Μαρκίου τοῦ Νομᾶν παρορμήσαντος ἐπὶ
Marcius of-that Marcius the(-one) Numa having-urged to
τὴν βασιλείαν· καὶ γὰρ συμμετῴκησεν εἰς Ῥώμην αὐτῷ
the kingship and for he-moved-with to Rome with-him
καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου μετέσχε τιμώμενος, καὶ μετὰ τὴν Νομᾶ
and of-the senate shared being-honored and after the of-Numa
τελευτὴν Ὁστιλίῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστὰς
death with-Hostilius about the kingship into contest having-entered
καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀπεκαρτέρησεν. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μάρκιος
and having-been-defeated starved-himself the and son his Marcius
ἔχων τὴν Πομπιλίαν κατέμεινεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ Μάρκιον
having — Pompilia remained in Rome and Marcius
Ἄγκον ἐγέννησεν, ὃς μετὰ Τύλλον Ὁστίλιον ἐβασίλευσε.
Ancus begot who after Tullus Hostilius reigned
τοῦτον, ὡς λέγεται, πενταετῆ καταλιπὼν ὁ Νομᾶς
this(-one) as it-is-said five-years-old having-left — Numa
ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐ ταχείας οὐδ᾽ αἰφνιδίου γενομένης αὐτῷ
died not quick nor sudden having-been for-him
τῆς τελευτῆς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπὸ γήρως καὶ νόσου
the death but by little by old-age and disease

μαλακῆς ἀπομαραινόμενος, ὡς ἱστόρηκε Πείσων. ἐτελεύτησε
gentle wasting-away as has-recorded Piso he-died
δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα προσβιώσας.
and time not much to-the eighty having-lived-beyond
22 Ζηλωτὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ τάφῳ τὸν βίον ἐποίησαν
enviable and his even by-the funeral the life made
οἵ τε σύμμαχοι καὶ φίλοι δῆμοι, συνελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰς
the both allies and friendly peoples having-come-together to the
ταφὰς ἅμα δημοσίαις ἐπιφοραῖς καὶ στεφάνοις,
funeral-rites together-with public offerings and crowns
οἵ τε πατρίκιοι τὸ λέχος ἀράμενοι, καὶ συμπαρόντες
the both patricians the bier having-lifted and present-with(-them)
οἱ τῶν θεῶν ἱερεῖς καὶ παραπέμποντες, ὁ δ' ἄλλος
the of-the gods priests and escorting(-it) the and other
ὅμιλος ἀναμεμιγμένων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων οὐχ ὡς
crowd mingled both of-women and of-children not as
βασιλέως ταφαῖς γηραιοῦ παρόντες, ἀλλ' ὥς τινα
of-a-king at-the-funeral aged being-present but as some(-one)
τῶν φιλτάτων ἕκαστος ἐν ἀκμῇ βίου ποθούμενον θάπτων,
of-the dearest each in prime of-life missed burying
μετ' οἰμωγῆς καὶ κλαυθμῶν ἑπόμενοι. πυρὶ μὲν οὖν οὐκ
with lamentation and weeping following to-fire indeed then not
ἔδοσαν τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ κωλύσαντος, ὡς λέγεται, δύο δὲ
they-gave the corpse his he-having-forbidden as it-is-said two but
ποιησάμενοι λιθίνας σοροὺς ὑπὸ τὸ Ἰάνοκλον ἔθηκαν,
having-made stone coffins under — Janiculum they-placed(-them)
τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ἔχουσαν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τὰς
the indeed one holding the body the and other the
ἱερὰς βίβλους ἃς ἐγράψατο μὲν αὐτός, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν
sacred books which wrote indeed himself as the of-the
Ἑλλήνων νομοθέται τοὺς κύρβεις, ἐκδιδάξας δὲ τοὺς
Greeks lawgivers the tablets having-taught and the

ἱερεῖς ἔτι ζῶν τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ πάντων ἕξιν τε
priests still living the(-things) written and of-all practice both
καὶ γνώμην ἐνεργασάμενος αὐτοῖς, ἐκέλευσε συνταφῆναι
and meaning having-produced in-them he-ordered to-be-buried-with
μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ὡς οὐ καλῶς ἐν ἀψύχοις γράμμασι
with the body as not well in lifeless letters
φρουρουμένων τῶν ἀπορρήτων. ᾧ λογισμῷ φασι μηδὲ
being-guarded the secrets by-which reasoning they-say not-even
τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς εἰς γραφὴν κατατίθεσθαι τὰ συντάγματα,
the Pythagoreans to writing to-commit the treatises
μνήμην δὲ καὶ παίδευσιν αὐτῶν ἄγραφον ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς
memory but and teaching of-them unwritten to-implant in-the
ἀξίοις. καὶ τῆς γε περὶ τὰς ἀπόρους καὶ ἀρρήτους
worthy and of-the at-least about the irrational and unutterable
λεγομένας ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ μεθόδους πραγματείας πρός
so-called in geometry methods study to
τινα τῶν ἀναξίων ἐκδοθείσης, ἔφασαν ἐπισημαίνειν τὸ
some(-one) of-the unworthy having-been-divulged they-said to-signify the
δαιμόνιον μεγάλῳ τινὶ καὶ κοινῷ κακῷ τὴν γεγενημένην
divine by-a-great some and common evil the having-occurred
παρανομίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν ἐπεξερχόμενον. ὥστε συγγνώμην
transgression and impiety punishing so-that indulgence
ἔχειν πολλὴν τοῖς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ Πυθαγόρᾳ Νομᾶν
to-have much for-those into the same with-Pythagoras Numa
φιλοτιμουμένοις συνάγειν ἐπὶ τοσαύταις ὁμοιότησιν.
being-ambitious to-bring on so-many resemblances
Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀντίαν ἱστοροῦσι δώδεκα μὲν εἶναι βίβλους
those and about Antias record twelve indeed to-be books
ἱεροφαντικάς, δώδεκα δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνικὰς φιλοσόφους
priestly twelve and others Greek philosophical
τὰς εἰς τὴν σορὸν συντεθείσας. τετρακοσίων δέ που
the(-ones) into the coffin put-together four-hundred and about

διαγενομένων ἐτῶν ὕπατοι μὲν ἦσαν Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος
having-passed years consuls indeed were Publius Cornelius
καὶ Μάρκος Βαίβιος· ὄμβρων δὲ μεγάλων ἐπιπεσόντων
and Marcus Baebius rains and great having-fallen
καὶ χώματος περιρραγέντος ἐξέωσε τὰς σοροὺς τὸ ῥεῦμα·
and a-mound having-burst-around thrust-out the coffins the stream
καὶ τῶν ἐπιθημάτων ἀποπεσόντων ἡ μὲν ἑτέρα κενὴ
and the lids having-fallen-off the indeed one empty
παντάπασιν ὤφθη καὶ μέρος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ λείψανον ἔχουσα
altogether was-seen and part no nor remnant having
τοῦ σώματος, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν γραμμάτων εὑρεθέντων
of-the body in and the other the writings having-been-found
ἀναγνῶναι μὲν αὐτὰ λέγεται Πετίλιος στρατηγῶν τότε,
to-have-read indeed them is-said Petilius being-praetor then
πρὸς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον κομίσαι, μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτῷ
to and the senate to-have-brought(-them) not to-seem to-him
θεμιτὸν εἶναι λέγων μηδὲ ὅσιον ἔκπυστα πολλοῖς τὰ
lawful to-be saying nor holy known to-many the(-things)
γεγραμμένα γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ κομισθείσας εἰς τὸ
written to-become wherefore also having-been-brought into —
Κομίτιον τὰς βίβλους κατακαῆναι.
Comitium the books to-have-been-burned
Πᾶσι μὲν οὖν ἕπεται τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι
all indeed then attends the just and good men
μείζων ὁ κατόπιν καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔπαινος,
greater the after(-them) and after the death praise
τοῦ φθόνου πολὺν χρόνον οὐκ ἐπιζῶντος, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ
the envy much time not surviving of-some but even
προαποθνήσκοντος· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνου γε τὴν δόξαν αἱ
dying-before not indeed but that(-man's) at-least the glory the
τῶν ὕστερον βασιλέων τύχαι λαμπροτέραν ἐποίησαν. πέντε
of-the later kings fortunes more-brilliant made five

γὰρ γενομένων μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ μὲν ἔσχατος ἐκπεσὼν
for having-been after him the indeed last having-been-driven-from
τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν φυγῇ κατεγήρασε, τῶν δὲ τεσσάρων
the rule in exile grew-old of-the and four
οὐδεὶς κατὰ φύσιν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν τρεῖς
none according-to nature died but the indeed three
ἐπιβουλευθέντες ἐσφάγησαν, Ὁστίλιος δὲ Τύλλος, ὃς μετὰ
having-been-plotted-against were-slaughtered Hostilius and Tullus who after
Νομᾶν ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐκείνου καλῶν,
Numa reigned and the most of-the his fine(-institutions)
ἐν δὲ πρώτοις καὶ μάλιστα τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβειαν,
in and first and most the about the divine reverence
ἐπιχλευάσας καὶ καθυβρίσας ὡς ἀργοποιὸν καὶ γυναικώδη,
having-mocked and having-insulted as making-idle and womanish
πρὸς πόλεμον ἔτρεψε τοὺς πολίτας, οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐνέμεινε
to war turned the citizens nor himself abided-by
τοῖς νεανιεύμασι τούτοις, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ νόσου χαλεπῆς καὶ
the youthful-follies these but by disease grievous and
πολυτρόπου τὴν γνώμην ἀλλασσόμενος εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν
manifold the mind being-changed to superstition
ἐνέδωκεν οὐδέν τι τῇ κατὰ Νομᾶν εὐσεβείᾳ
gave-way in-nothing at-all to-the according-to Numa piety
προσήκουσαν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐνεποίησε τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ
akin still and more he-produced in-the others the
τοιοῦτον πάθος, ὡς λέγεται, καταφλεχθεὶς ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν.
such feeling as it-is-said having-been-burned-up by thunderbolts

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PLUTARCH

ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΜΑ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

Comparison of Lycurgus and Numa

Both were pious, temperate, and lawgivers by the gods' help. Numa took a kingdom he did not seek, Lycurgus gave one up. Lycurgus tightened a slack Sparta, Numa loosened a fierce Rome. Numa's treatment of slaves was gentler, Lycurgus' training of girls and his marriage customs freer. Lycurgus regulated the education of the young, Numa left it to fathers, and so his peace died with him while Sparta's discipline lasted. Yet Numa won Rome by persuasion alone.

Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὸν Νομᾶ καὶ Λυκούργου διεληλύθαμεν 1
but since the of-Numa and of-Lycurgus we-have-gone-through
βίον, ἐκκειμένων ἀμφοῖν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἔργον, οὐκ
life being-set-out both if even difficult a-task not
ἀποκνητέον συναγαγεῖν τὰς διαφοράς. αἱ μὲν γὰρ κοινότητες
to-be-shrunk-from to-bring-together the differences the indeed for common-features
ἐπιφαίνονται ταῖς πράξεσιν, οἷον ἡ σωφροσύνη τῶν ἀνδρῶν,
are-apparent in-the actions such-as the self-control of-the men
ἡ εὐσέβεια, τὸ πολιτικόν, τὸ παιδευτικόν, τὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν
the piety the political the educational the one beginning
παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀμφοτέρους λαβεῖν τῆς νομοθεσίας· τῶν
from the gods both to-have-received of-the legislation of-the
δὲ ἰδίᾳ ἑκατέρου καλῶν πρῶτόν ἐστι Νομᾷ μὲν ἡ
and peculiar of-each noble(-things) first is for-Numa indeed the
παράληψις τῆς βασιλείας, Λυκούργῳ δὲ ἡ παράδοσις. ὁ
acceptance of-the kingship for-Lycurgus and the surrender the(-one)
μὲν γὰρ οὐκ αἰτῶν ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ ἔχων ἀπέδωκε. καὶ
indeed for not asking received the(-other) and having(-it) gave-back and
τὸν μὲν ἕτεροι κύριον αὑτῶν κατέστησαν ἰδιώτην
the(-one) indeed others master of-themselves made a-private-citizen
καὶ ξένον ὄντα, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς αὑτὸν ἰδιώτην ἐκ
and foreigner being the(-other) and himself himself a-private-citizen from
βασιλέως ἐποίησε. καλὸν μὲν οὖν τὸ κτήσασθαι δικαιοσύνῃ
king made noble indeed then the to-acquire by-justice

τὴν βασιλείαν, καλὸν δὲ τὸ προτιμῆσαι τὴν δικαιοσύνην
the kingship noble and the to-prefer the justice
τῆς βασιλείας. ἡ γὰρ ἀρετὴ τὸν μὲν οὕτως ἔνδοξον
to-the kingship the for virtue the(-one) indeed so illustrious
κατέστησεν ὥστε βασιλείας ἀξιωθῆναι, τὸν δὲ οὕτω
made so-that of-kingship to-be-deemed-worthy the(-other) and so
μέγαν ἐποίησεν ὥστε βασιλείας καταφρονῆσαι.
great made so-that kingship to-despise
Δεύτερον τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ καθάπερ ἁρμονικοὶ λύρας, ὁ
second then since like musicians of-a-lyre the(-one)
μὲν ἐκλελυμένην καὶ τρυφῶσαν ἐπέτεινε τὴν Σπάρτην,
indeed relaxed and luxurious tightened — Sparta
ὁ δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ σφοδρὸν ἀνῆκε καὶ σύντονον,
the(-other) and — of-Rome the intense loosened and strained
ἡ μὲν χαλεπότης τοῦ ἔργου τῷ Λυκούργῳ πρόσεστιν.
the indeed difficulty of-the task — to-Lycurgus belongs
οὐ γὰρ θώρακας ἐκδῦναι καὶ ξίφη τοὺς πολίτας
not for breastplates to-take-off and swords the citizens
καταθέσθαι ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἀφεῖναι
to-lay-down he-persuaded but gold and silver to-give-up
καὶ στρωμνὰς ἐκβαλεῖν πολυτελεῖς καὶ τραπέζας, οὐδὲ
and couches to-throw-out costly and tables nor
παυσαμένους πολέμων ἑορτάζειν καὶ θύειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖπνα
having-ceased from-wars to-keep-festivals and to-sacrifice but suppers
καὶ πότους ἐάσαντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ταῖς
and drinking-parties having-given-up in the arms and the
παλαίστραις διαπονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀσκεῖν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν
wrestling-schools to-toil and to-train whence the(-one) indeed
δι᾽ εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς ἅπαντα πείθων ἔπραξεν, ὁ
through goodwill and honor all-things persuading accomplished the(-other)
δὲ κινδυνεύων καὶ βαλλόμενος μόγις ἐπεκράτησεν.
and running-risk and being-pelted hardly prevailed

Ἥμερος μέντοι καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ἡ τοῦ Νομᾶ μοῦσα
gentle however and humane the — of-Numa muse
πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην μεθαρμοσαμένου καὶ
to peace and justice having-attuned and
καταπραΰναντος ἐξ ἀκρατῶν καὶ διαπύρων ἠθῶν
having-softened from violent and fiery characters
τοὺς πολίτας. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς Εἵλωτας
the citizens if and even the(-practice) about the Helots
ἀναγκάσει τις ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Λυκούργου θέσθαι πολιτείαν,
shall-compel anyone us into the of-Lycurgus to-put constitution
ὠμότατον ἔργον καὶ παρανομώτατον, μακρῷ τινι τὸν
most-cruel deed and most-lawless by-a-long(-way) some —
Νομᾶν ἑλληνικώτερον γεγονέναι νομοθέτην φήσομεν, ὅς
Numa more-Greek to-have-been lawgiver we-shall-say who
γε καὶ τοὺς ὡμολογημένους δούλους ἔγευσε τιμῆς
at-least even the acknowledged slaves gave-a-taste of-honor
ἐλευθέρας, ἐν τοῖς Κρονίοις ἑστιᾶσθαι μετὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν
free in the Saturnalia to-feast with the masters
ἀναμεμιγμένους ἐθίσας. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῶν Νομᾶ
mingled having-accustomed(-them) also for this of-the of-Numa
πατρίων ἓν εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἐτησίων
ancestral(-customs) one to-be they-say for the of-the yearly
ἀπολαύσεις καρπῶν τοὺς συνεργοὺς παραλαμβάνοντος.
enjoyments of-fruits the fellow-workers taking-in
ἔνιοι δὲ τοῦτο ὑπόμνημα τῆς Κρονικῆς ἐκείνης ἰσονομίας
some and this a-memorial of-the Saturnian that equality
ἀποσώζεσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν, ὡς μηδενὸς δούλου μηδὲ
to-be-preserved tell-in-myth as no slave nor
δεσπότου, πάντων δὲ συγγενῶν καὶ ἰσοτίμων νομιζομένων.
master all but kinsmen and equals being-considered

2 Ὅλως δὲ φαίνονται πρὸς τὴν αὐτάρκειαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ
altogether and appear toward the self-sufficiency both and
σωφροσύνην ὁμοίως ἄγοντες τὰ πλήθη, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
moderation alike leading the multitudes of-the and other
ἀρετῶν ὁ μὲν τὴν ἀνδρείαν μᾶλλον, ὁ δὲ τὴν
virtues the(-one) indeed the courage more the(-other) and the
δικαιοσύνην ἠγαπηκώς· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία διὰ τὴν ὑποκειμένην
justice having-loved if not by Zeus because-of the underlying
τῶν πολιτευμάτων ἑκατέρου φύσιν ἢ συνήθειαν, οὐχ ὁμοίαν
of-the polities of-each nature or habit not alike
οὖσαν, ἀνομοίας ἔδει παρασκευῆς. οὔτε γὰρ Νομᾶς διὰ
being unlike was-needed equipment neither for Numa through
δειλίαν κατέλυσε τὸ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, οὔτε
cowardice abolished the to-make-war but for the not to-do-wrong nor
Λυκοῦργος εἰς ἀδικίαν κατεσκεύασε πολεμικούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ
Lycurgus for wrongdoing fitted warlike(-men) but on-behalf-of
τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι. τὰς οὖν ὑπερβολὰς ἀφαιροῦντες ἀμφότεροι
the not to-be-wronged the then excesses removing both
καὶ τὰς ἐνδείας ἀναπληροῦντες τῶν ὑπαρχόντων περὶ
and the deficiencies filling-up of-the existing(-things) among
τοὺς πολίτας, ἠναγκάζοντο μεγάλαις χρῆσθαι μεταβολαῖς.
the citizens were-compelled great to-use changes
Καὶ μὴν τῆς τε διατάξεως καὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῶν
and indeed of-the both arrangement and of-the division of-the
πολιτευμάτων ὀχλικὴ μὲν ἀκράτως ἡ τοῦ Νομᾶ καὶ
polities popular indeed immoderately the — of-Numa and
θεραπευτικὴ τοῦ πλήθους, ἐκ χρυσοχόων καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ
courting the multitude from goldsmiths and flute-players and
σκυτοτόμων συμμιγῆ τινα καὶ παμποίκιλον ἀποφαίνοντος
shoemakers mixed a and very-motley producing
δῆμον, αὐστηρὰ δὲ ἡ Λυκούργειος καὶ ἀριστοκρατική,
people austere but the Lycurgan and aristocratic

τὰς μὲν βαναύσους ἀποκαθαίρουσα τέχνας εἰς οἰκετῶν
the indeed mechanical cleansing-away arts into of-servants
καὶ μετοίκων χεῖρας αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς πολίτας εἰς τὴν
and of-resident-aliens hands themselves and the citizens to the
ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ δόρυ συνάγουσα, πολέμου χειροτέχνας
shield and the spear gathering of-war craftsmen
καὶ θεράποντας Ἄρεως ὄντας, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν εἰδότας
and servants of-Ares being other and nothing knowing
οὐδὲ μελετῶντας ἢ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ κρατεῖν
nor practicing than to-obey the rulers and to-conquer
τῶν πολεμίων. Οὐδὲ γὰρ χρηματίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις
the enemies not-even for to-make-money for-the free
ἐξῆν, ἵνα ἐλεύθεροι παντελῶς καὶ καθάπαξ ὦσιν,
it-was-permitted so-that free completely and once-for-all they-might-be
ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ περὶ τὰ χρήματα κατασκευὴ δεδομένη δούλοις
but was the about the money provision given to-slaves
καὶ Εἵλωσιν, ὥσπερ ἡ περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ ὄψον
and Helots as the about the supper and fare
διακονία. Νομᾶς δὲ οὐδὲν διέκρινε τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν
service Numa but nothing distinguished such but the indeed
στρατιωτικὰς ἔπαυσε πλεονεξίας, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον οὐκ ἐκώλυσε
military he-stopped greed the and other not he-prevented
χρηματισμόν, οὐδὲ τὴν τοιαύτην κατεστόρεσεν ἀνωμαλίαν,
money-making nor the such leveled inequality
ἀλλὰ καὶ πλούτῳ προϊέναι μέχρι παντὸς ἐφῆκε, καὶ
but even in-wealth to-advance to every(-length) he-allowed and
πενίας πολλῆς ἀθροιζομένης καὶ ὑπορρεούσης εἰς τὴν πόλιν
poverty much gathering and flowing-under into the city
ἠμέλησε, δέον εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ, μηδέπω πολλῆς μηδὲ
he-neglected it-being-needful at-once in beginning not-yet much nor
μεγάλης ἀνισότητος οὔσης, ἀλλ' ἔτι τοῖς βίοις ὁμαλῶν

καὶ παραπλησίων ὄντων, ἐνστῆναι πρὸς τὴν πλεονεξίαν,
and similar being to-take-a-stand against the greed
ὥσπερ Λυκοῦργος, καὶ φυλάξασθαι τὰς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς βλάβας,
as Lycurgus and to-guard-against the from it harms
οὐ μικρὰς γενομένας, ἀλλὰ τῶν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων
not small having-been but of-the most and greatest
κακῶν, ὅσα συνηνέχθη, σπέρμα καὶ ἀρχὴν παρασχούσας.
evils as-many-as occurred seed and beginning having-furnished
ὁ δὲ τῆς γῆς ἀναδασμὸς οὔτε τὸν Λυκοῦργον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν,
the and of-the land redistribution neither — Lycurgus to-me to-seem
ποιεῖ ψεκτὸν γενόμενος οὔτε τὸν Νομᾶν μὴ γενόμενος.
makes blameworthy having-taken-place nor — Numa not having-taken-place
τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἕδραν καὶ κρηπῖδα τῆς πολιτείας ἡ
to-the(-one) indeed for a-seat and foundation of-the constitution the
ἰσότης αὕτη παρέσχε, τὸν δὲ προσφάτου τῆς κληρουχίας
equality this provided the(-other) and recent the allotment
οὔσης οὐδὲν ἤπειγεν ἄλλον ἐμβαλεῖν ἀναδασμὸν οὐδὲ κινεῖν
being nothing urged another to-throw-in redistribution nor to-disturb
τὴν πρώτην νέμησιν, ὡς εἰκός ἐστι, κατὰ χώραν μένουσαν.
the first distribution as likely is in place remaining
3 Τῆς δὲ περὶ τοὺς γάμους καὶ τὰς τεκνώσεις κοινωνίας τὸ
of-the and about the marriages and the begettings sharing the
ἀζηλότυπον ὀρθῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς ἐμποιοῦντες ἀμφότεροι
unjealous rightly and politically producing both
τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐ κατὰ πᾶν εἰς τοῦτο συνηνέχθησαν,
in-the men not in all(-respects) to this they-agreed
ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Ῥωμαῖος μὲν ἀνὴρ ἱκανῶς ἔχων παιδοτροφίας, ὑφ᾽
but the Roman indeed husband sufficiently having child-rearing by
ἑτέρου δὲ πεισθεὶς δεομένου τέκνων, ἐξίστατο τῆς γυναικός,
another and persuaded needing children gave-up the wife
ἐκδόσθαι καὶ μετεκδόσθαι κύριος ὑπάρχων, ὁ δὲ Λάκων,
to-give-in-marriage and to-transfer master being the but Laconian

οἴκοι τῆς γυναικὸς οὔσης παρ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ γάμου μένοντος
at-home the wife being with him and the marriage remaining
ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δικαίων, μετεδίδου τῷ πείσαντι
on the from beginning rights shared with-the(-one) having-persuaded
τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς τέκνωσιν. πολλοὶ δέ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται,
the partnership for begetting many and as has-been-said
καὶ παρακαλοῦντες εἰσῆγον ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἐδόκουν μάλιστα
even inviting(-them) brought-in from whom — they-thought most
παῖδας εὐειδεῖς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι. τίς οὖν ἡ διάκρισις
children handsome and good to-be-born what then the distinction
τῶν ἐθισμῶν; ἢ ταῦτα μὲν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἄκρατος ἀπάθεια
of-the customs or these-things indeed a-strong and unmixed indifference
πρὸς γαμετὴν καὶ τὰ ταράττοντα καὶ κατακαίοντα
toward wife and the(-things) disturbing and burning-up
ζηλοτυπίαις τοὺς πολλούς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ὥσπερ αἰσχυνομένη
with-jealousies the many those but as-if ashamed
ἀτυφία τις, παρακάλυμμα τὴν ἐγγύην ἐφελκομένη καὶ τὸ
a-modesty some as-a-veil the betrothal drawing-over and the
δυσκαρτέρητον ἐξομολογουμένη τῆς κοινωνίας;
hard-to-bear confessing of-the sharing
Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ περὶ τὰς παρθένους φυλακὴ
still and more the about the maidens guarding
κατέσταλται τῷ Νομᾷ πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ καὶ κόσμιον· ἡ
has-been-ordered — by-Numa toward the feminine and decorous the
δὲ τοῦ Λυκούργου παντάπασιν ἀναπεπταμένη καὶ ἄθηλυς
and — of-Lycurgus altogether open and unfeminine
οὖσα τοῖς ποιηταῖς λόγον παρέσχηκε. φαινομηρίδας τε
being to-the poets talk has-furnished thigh-showers both

γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ὡς Ἴβυκος, καὶ ἀνδρομανεῖς
for them they-call as Ibycus and man-mad
λοιδοροῦσιν, ὡς Εὐριπίδης, λέγων·
they-revile(-them) as Euripides saying

Αἳ σὺν νέοισιν ἐξερημοῦσιν δόμους
Who with young-men leave-empty houses
γυμνοῖσι μηροῖς καὶ πέπλοις ἀνειμένοις.
with-bare thighs and robes loosened

τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοῦ παρθενικοῦ χιτῶνος αἱ πτέρυγες
in-the for reality of-the maidenly tunic the flaps
οὐκ ἦσαν συνερραμμέναι κάτωθεν, ἀλλ' ἀνεπτύσσοντο
not were sewn-together below but opened-out
καὶ συνανεγύμνουν ὅλον ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν τὸν μηρόν. καὶ
and bared-together whole in the walking the thigh and
σαφέστατα τὸ γινόμενον εἴρηκε Σοφοκλῆς ἐν τούτοις·
most-clearly the(-thing) happening has-said Sophocles in these(-lines)

Καὶ τὰν νέορτον, ἃς ἔτ' ἄστολος χιτὼν
And the young whose still ungirt tunic
θυραῖον ἀμφὶ μηρὸν
outside about thigh
πτύσσεται, Ἑρμιόναν.
folds-back Hermione

διὸ καὶ θρασύτεραι λέγονται γενέσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
wherefore also bolder are-said to-have-become and toward them
πρῶτον ἀνδρώδεις τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἅτε δὴ τῶν μὲν
first masculine the husbands inasmuch-as indeed of-the indeed
οἴκων ἄρχουσαι κατὰ κράτος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δημοσίοις
houses ruling by force in and the public

πράγμασι καὶ γνώμης μεταλαμβάνουσαι καὶ παρρησίας
affairs both of-opinion partaking and of-free-speech
περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ὁ δὲ Νομᾶς ταῖς γαμεταῖς τὸ μὲν
about the greatest(-matters) — but Numa for-the wives the indeed
ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἐτήρησε πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἣν
dignity and the honor preserved toward the husbands which
εἶχον ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου θεραπευόμεναι διὰ τὴν ἁρπαγήν,
they-had from Romulus being-courted because-of the rape
αἰδῶ δὲ πολλὴν ἐπέστησεν αὐταῖς καὶ πολυπραγμοσύνην
modesty but much he-set-over them and meddlesomeness
ἀφεῖλε καὶ νήφειν ἐδίδαξε καὶ σιωπᾶν εἴθισεν, οἴνου
took-away and to-be-sober he-taught and to-be-silent accustomed(-them) from-wine
μὲν ἀπεχομένας τὸ πάμπαν, λόγῳ δὲ μηδὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν
indeed abstaining the altogether speech but not-even about the
ἀναγκαίων ἀνδρὸς ἄνευ χρωμένας. λέγεται γοῦν ποτε
necessary(-things) husband without using it-is-said at-any-rate once
γυναικὸς εἰπούσης δίκην ἰδίαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πέμψαι τὴν
a-woman having-pleaded a-case private in the-forum to-have-sent the
σύγκλητον εἰς θεοῦ, πυνθανομένην τίνος ἄρα τῇ
senate to(-the-shrine) of-a-god inquiring of-what then to-the
πόλει σημεῖον εἴη τὸ γεγενημένον. καὶ τῆς ἄλλης
city a-sign might-be the(-thing) having-happened and of-the other
εὐπειθείας καὶ πραότητος αὐτῶν μέγα τεκμήριον ἡ μνήμη
obedience and gentleness their great proof the memory
τῶν χειρόνων. ὡς γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν οἱ ἱστορικοὶ γράφουσι
of-the worse(-cases) as for among us the historians record
τοὺς πρώτους ἢ φόνον ἐμφύλιον ἐργασαμένους ἢ
the first(-men) either murder kindred having-committed or
πολεμήσαντας ἀδελφοῖς ἢ πατρὸς αὐτόχειρας ἢ μητρὸς
having-warred-with brothers or of-father murderers or of-mother
γενομένους, οὕτω Ῥωμαῖοι μνημονεύουσιν ὅτι πρῶτος μὲν
having-become so Romans record that first indeed

ἀπεπέμψατο γυναῖκα Σπόριος Καρβίλιος, μετὰ τὴν Ῥώμης
sent-away a-wife Spurius Carvilius after the of-Rome
κτίσιν ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ διακοσίοις οὐδενὸς τοιούτου
founding years thirty and two-hundred nothing such
γεγονότος, πρώτη δὲ γυνὴ Πιναρίου Θαλαία τοὔνομα
having-happened first and a-wife of-Pinarius Thalaea by-name
διηνέχθη πρὸς ἑκυρὰν αὐτῆς Γεγανίαν Ταρκυνίου
quarreled with mother-in-law her Gegania Tarquinius
Σουπέρβου βασιλεύοντος. οὕτω καλῶς καὶ κοσμίως
Superbus reigning so finely and decorously
τεταγμένα τὰ τῶν γάμων ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου.
ordered the(-things) of-the marriages were by the lawgiver
4 Τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ τῶν παρθένων ἀγωγῇ καὶ τὰ περὶ
with-the and other of-the maidens training also the(-rules) about
τὰς ἐκδόσεις ὁμολογεῖ, τοῦ μὲν Λυκούργου πεπείρους
the givings-in-marriage agree — indeed Lycurgus ripe
καὶ ὀργώσας νυμφεύοντος, ὅπως ἥ τε ὁμιλία, δεομένης
and desiring marrying(-them) so-that the both intercourse needing
ἤδη τῆς φύσεως, χάριτος ᾖ καὶ φιλίας ἀρχὴ μᾶλλον
already the nature of-delight be and of-friendship a-beginning rather
ἢ μίσους καὶ φόβου παρὰ φύσιν βιαζομένων, καὶ τὰ
than of-hatred and fear contrary-to nature being-forced and the
σώματα ῥώμην ἔχῃ πρὸς τὸ τὰς κυήσεις ἀναφέρειν
bodies strength might-have for the the pregnancies to-bear
καὶ τὰς ὠδῖνας, ὡς ἐπ᾽ οὐδὲν ἄλλο γαμουμένων ἢ τὸ
and the labors as for nothing else being-married than the
τῆς τεκνώσεως ἔργον, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων δωδεκαετεῖς καὶ
of-the begetting work the and Romans twelve-years-old and
νεωτέρας ἐκδιδόντων· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα καὶ τὸ σῶμα
younger giving-in-marriage so for — most both the body
καὶ τὸ ἦθος καθαρὸν καὶ ἄθικτον ἐπὶ τῷ γαμοῦντι
and the character pure and untouched for the(-man) marrying

γίνεσθαι. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι τὸ μὲν φυσικώτερον πρὸς
to-be clear then that the(-one) indeed more-natural toward
τέκνωσιν, τὸ δὲ ἠθικώτερον πρὸς συμβίωσιν.
begetting the(-other) and more-moral toward living-together
Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐπιστασίαις τε παίδων καὶ συναγελασμοῖς
but indeed by-supervisions both of-children and herdings-together
καὶ παιδαγωγίαις καὶ κοινωνίαις, περί τε δεῖπνα καὶ
and tutelages and associations about both suppers and
γυμνάσια καὶ παιδιὰς αὐτῶν ἐμμελείαις καὶ διακοσμήσεσιν,
exercises and games their by-harmonies and arrangements
οὐδέν τι τοῦ προστυχόντος νομοθέτου βελτίονα τὸν
nothing at-all than-the chance lawgiver better —
Νομᾶν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἀποδείκνυσιν, ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πατέρων
Numa — Lycurgus shows to the of-the fathers
ποιησάμενον ἐπιθυμίαις ἢ χρείαις τὰς τῶν νέων ἀγωγάς,
having-left desires or needs the of-the young trainings
εἴτε τις ἐργάτην γῆς βούλοιτο ποιεῖν τὸν υἱὸν εἴτε
whether anyone a-worker of-land wished to-make the son or
ναυπηγὸν ἢ χαλκέα διδάσκειν ἢ αὐλητήν, ὥσπερ οὐ πρὸς ἓν
a-shipwright or a-smith to-teach(-him) or a-flute-player as-if not toward one
τέλος ὀφείλοντας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄγεσθαι καὶ συνεπιστρέφεσθαι
end owing from beginning to-be-led and to-turn-together
τοῖς ἤθεσιν, ἀλλ᾽ οἷον εἰς ναῦν ἐπιβάτας ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρας
in-the characters but as-if into a-ship passengers one from another
ἥκοντα χρείας καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις μόνον
coming need and choice in the dangers only
φόβῳ τοῦ ἰδίου συνίστασθαι πρὸς τὸ κοινόν, ἄλλως δὲ τὸ
through-fear of-the private to-unite for the common otherwise but the
καθ᾽ αὐτὸν σκοπεῖν ἕκαστον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς οὐκ
according-to himself to-consider each and the indeed many not
ἄξιον ἐγκαλεῖν νομοθέταις ἐλλείπουσιν ἢ δι᾽ ἄγνοιαν
worthy to-accuse lawgivers falling-short either through ignorance

ἢ δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν· ἀνδρὶ δὲ σοφῷ βασιλείαν παραλαβόντι
or through weakness for-a-man but wise a-kingdom having-taken-over
δήμου νεωστὶ συνισταμένου καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἀντιτείνοντος,
a-people newly forming and to nothing resisting
περὶ τί πρῶτον ἦν σπουδάσαι προσῆκον ἢ παίδων
about what first was to-be-zealous fitting than children's
ἐκτροφὴν καὶ νέων ἄσκησιν, ὅπως μὴ διάφοροι μηδὲ
rearing and young-men's training so-that not different nor
ταραχώδεις γένοιντο τοῖς ἤθεσιν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ἕν τι κοινὸν
turbulent they-might-be in-the characters but into one some common
ἀρετῆς ἴχνος εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλαττόμενοι καὶ τυπούμενοι
of-virtue track at-once from beginning being-molded and being-stamped
συμβαίνοιεν ἀλλήλοις; ὃ δὴ πρός τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ
they-might-agree with-one-another which indeed for both the other-things and
σωτηρίαν νόμων ὠφέλησε τὸν Λυκοῦργον. μικρὸς γὰρ
preservation of-laws benefited — Lycurgus small for
ἦν ὁ τῶν ὅρκων φόβος, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς παιδείας καὶ
was the of-the oaths fear if not through the education and
τῆς ἀγωγῆς οἷον ἀνέδευσε τοῖς ἤθεσι τῶν παίδων
the training as-it-were he-had-steeped into-the characters of-the children
τοὺς νόμους, καὶ συνῳκείωσε τῇ τροφῇ τὸν ζῆλον
the laws and made-familiar with-the rearing the zeal
τῆς πολιτείας, ὥστε πεντακοσίων ἐτῶν πλείω χρόνον
for-the constitution so-that than-five-hundred years more time
τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα διαμεῖναι τῆς νομοθεσίας,
the most-sovereign and greatest(-points) to-remain of-the legislation
ὥσπερ βαφῆς ἀκράτου καὶ ἰσχυρῶς καθαψαμένης.
as-of a-dye unmixed and strongly having-taken-hold
Νομᾷ δὲ ὅπερ ἦν τέλος τῆς πολιτείας, ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ
for-Numa and what was the-end of-the constitution in peace and
φιλίᾳ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπάρχειν, εὐθὺς συνεξέλιπε· καὶ
friendship — Rome to-be at-once vanished-with(-him) and

μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐκείνου τὸν ἀμφίθυρον οἶκον, ὃν
after the death his the double-doored house which
κεκλεισμένον αὐτὸς συνεῖχεν, ὥσπερ ὄντως ἐν αὐτῷ
shut he-himself kept as-if really in it
τιθασεύων καθειργμένον τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων
taming shut-up the war from both(-sides)
ἀναπετάσαντες αἵματος καὶ νεκρῶν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐνέπλησαν·
having-flung-open of-blood and corpses — Italy they-filled
καὶ οὐδὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἡ καλλίστη καὶ δικαιοτάτη
and not-even little time the noblest and most-just
κατάστασις ἔμεινεν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τὸ συνδετικὸν ἐν
establishment remained inasmuch-as indeed also the binding(-element) in
αὐτῇ, τὴν παιδείαν, οὐκ ἔχουσα.
it the education not having
"Τί οὖν," φήσει τις, "οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἡ Ῥώμη προῆλθε
what then will-say someone not to the better — Rome advanced
τοῖς πολεμικοῖς;" ἐρωτῶν ἐρώτημα μακρᾶς ἀποκρίσεως
by-the warlike(-things) asking a-question long answer
δεόμενον πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τὸ βέλτιον ἐν πλούτῳ καὶ τρυφῇ
needing for men the better in wealth and luxury
καὶ ἡγεμονίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ πραότητι καὶ τῇ
and empire rather than in-safety and gentleness and the
μετὰ δικαιοσύνης αὐταρκείᾳ τιθεμένους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
with justice self-sufficiency placing not indeed but also
τοῦτο Λυκούργῳ που δόξει βοηθεῖν, τὸ Ῥωμαίους μὲν
this to-Lycurgus somehow will-seem to-help the Romans indeed
τὴν ἐπὶ Νομᾶ κατάστασιν ἐξαλλάξαντας ἐπιδοῦναι
the in-the-time-of Numa establishment having-departed-from to-have-advanced
τοῖς πράγμασι τοσοῦτον, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἅμα τῷ
in-the affairs so-much Lacedaemonians but together-with the
πρῶτον ἐκβῆναι τὴν Λυκούργου διάταξιν, ἐκ μεγίστων

ταπεινοτάτους γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν
most-humble to-have-become and the of-the Greeks leadership
ἀποβαλόντας κινδυνεῦσαι περὶ ἀναστάσεως. ἐκεῖνο
having-lost to-have-been-in-danger about destruction that
μέντοι τῷ Νομᾷ μέγα καὶ θεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπάρχει,
however — for-Numa great and divine as truly belongs
τὸ ξένῳ τε μεταπέμπτῳ γενέσθαι καὶ πάντα πειθοῖ
the a-stranger both sent-for to-have-been and all-things by-persuasion
μεταβαλεῖν, καὶ κρατῆσαι πόλεως οὔπω συμπεπνευκυίας,
to-change and to-master a-city not-yet having-grown-together
μήτε ὅπλων δεηθέντα μήτε βίας τινός, ὡς Λυκοῦργος
neither of-arms having-needed nor of-force any as Lycurgus
ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἦγε τοὺς ἀρίστους, ἀλλὰ σοφίᾳ καὶ
against the people led the best(-men) but by-wisdom and
δικαιοσύνῃ πάντας προσαγαγόμενον καὶ συναρμόσαντα.
justice all having-won-over and having-harmonized(-them)

PLUTARCH

ΣΟΛΩΝ

Solon

Solon, son of Execestides and a Codrid, is a kinsman and friend of Peisistratus. His father having spent his estate, he turns to trade, and his poems show his view of wealth: he would have riches, but not gained unjustly. He wrote verse first for pastime, later on politics and ethics, and of the sages only Thales went beyond practical wisdom. The Seven Sages meet at Delphi and Corinth, and the golden tripod passes from one to another, each naming another wiser.

Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἀξόνων τῶν 1
Didymus the grammarian in the about the axones of-the
Σόλωνος ἀντιγραφῇ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδην Φιλοκλέους τινὸς
of-Solon reply to Asclepiades of-Philocles a-certain
τέθεικε λέξιν, ἐν ᾗ τὸν Σόλωνα πατρὸς Εὐφορίωνος
has-set a-passage in which — Solon of-a-father of-Euphorion
ἀποφαίνει παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων δόξαν, ὅσοι
he-declares contrary-to the of-the others opinion as-many-as
μέμνηνται Σόλωνος. Ἐξηκεστίδου γὰρ αὐτὸν ἅπαντες
have-mentioned Solon of-Execestides for him all
ὁμαλῶς γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀνδρὸς οὐσίᾳ μέν, ὥς φασι,
alike to-have-been-born say of-a-man in-substance indeed as they-say
καὶ δυνάμει μέσου τῶν πολιτῶν, οἰκίας δὲ πρώτης κατὰ
and power middling among-the citizens of-a-house but first by
γένος· ἦν γὰρ Κοδρίδης ἀνέκαθεν. τὴν δὲ μητέρα τοῦ
family he-was for a-Codrid from-the-beginning the and mother —
Σόλωνος Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ τῆς Πεισιστράτου
of-Solon Heracleides the Pontic records of-the of-Peisistratus
μητρὸς ἀνεψιὰν γενέσθαι. καὶ φιλία τὸ πρῶτον ἦν αὐτοῖς
mother a-cousin to-have-been and friendship the first(-time) was to-them
πολλὴ μὲν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, πολλὴ δὲ διὰ τὴν
much indeed because-of the kinship much and because-of the
εὐφυΐαν καὶ ὥραν, ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐρωτικῶς τὸν
good-parts and youthful-beauty as some say amorously —

Πεισίστρατον ἀσπαζομένου τοῦ Σόλωνος. ὅθεν ὕστερον, ὡς
Peisistratus cherishing — Solon whence later as
ἔοικεν, εἰς διαφορὰν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καταστάντων
it-seems into difference them in the politics having-come
οὐδὲν ἤνεγκεν ἡ ἔχθρα σκληρὸν οὐδ' ἄγριον πάθος, ἀλλὰ
nothing brought the enmity harsh nor savage passion but
παρέμεινεν ἐκεῖνα τὰ δίκαια ταῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ παρεφύλαξε,
remained those the claims in-the souls and kept-watch-over

Τυφόμενα Δίου πυρὸς ἔτι ζῶσαν φλόγα,
Smoldering Zeus's of-fire still living flame

τὴν ἐρωτικὴν μνήμην καὶ χάριν. ὅτι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
the erotic memory and gratitude that and toward the
καλοὺς οὐκ ἦν ἐχυρὸς ὁ Σόλων οὐδ' Ἔρωτι θαρραλέος
handsome(-ones) not was steadfast — Solon nor to-Love bold
"ἀνταναστῆναι πύκτης ὅπως ἐς χεῖρας," ἔκ τε τῶν
to-stand-up-against boxer like to hands from both the
ποιημάτων αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἔστι, καὶ νόμον ἔγραψε
poems his to-take it-is-possible and a-law he-wrote
διαγορεύοντα δοῦλον μὴ ξηραλοιφεῖν μηδὲ παιδεραστεῖν,
forbidding a-slave not to-anoint-himself-dry nor to-love-boys
εἰς τὴν τῶν καλῶν μερίδα καὶ σεμνῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων
among the of-the noble portion and respectable pursuits
τιθέμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοὺς ἀξίους
placing the thing and in-a-way some the worthy(-men)
προκαλούμενος ὧν τοὺς ἀναξίους ἀπήλαυνε. λέγεται
inviting from-which the unworthy he-drove-away it-is-said
δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατος ἐραστὴς Χάρμου γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ
and also Peisistratus lover of-Charmus to-have-been and the

ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἔρωτος ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ καθιερῶσαι, ὅπου τὸ
statue — of-Love in the-Academy to-have-dedicated where the
πῦρ ἀνάπτουσιν οἱ τὴν ἱερὰν λαμπάδα διαθέοντες.
fire light those the sacred torch running
Ὁ δ' οὖν Σόλων τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλαττώσαντος εἰς 2
— and then Solon the substance of-the father having-diminished on
φιλανθρωπίας τινάς, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος, καὶ χάριτας, οὐκ
benevolences some as says Hermippus and favors not
ἂν ἀπορήσας τῶν βουλομένων ἐπαρκεῖν, αἰδούμενος
— would-have-been-at-a-loss of-those wishing to-assist being-ashamed
δὲ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἑτέρων ἐξ οἰκίας γεγονὼς εἰθισμένης
and to-receive from others from a-house having-been-born accustomed
ἑτέροις βοηθεῖν, ὥρμησε νέος ὢν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμπορίαν. καίτοι
others to-help set-out young being still to commerce and-yet
φασὶν ἔνιοι πολυπειρίας ἕνεκα μᾶλλον καὶ ἱστορίας ἢ
say some of-wide-experience for-the-sake-of rather and of-inquiry than
χρηματισμοῦ πλανηθῆναι τὸν Σόλωνα. σοφίας μὲν γὰρ
of-money-making to-have-wandered — Solon of-wisdom indeed for
ἦν ὁμολογουμένως ἐραστής, ὅς γε καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὢν
he-was admittedly a-lover who at-least also older being
ἔλεγε "γηράσκειν αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος·" πλοῦτον δ'
said to-grow-old ever many(-things) being-taught wealth but
οὐκ ἐθαύμαζεν, ἀλλὰ καί φησιν ὁμοίως πλουτεῖν ᾧ τε
not he-admired but also says equally to-be-rich to-whom both

πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστι
much silver is
καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πεδία
and gold and of-land wheat-bearing fields
ἵπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ᾧ μόνα ταῦτα πάρεστι,
horses and mules both and to-whom alone these-things are-present

γαστρί τε καὶ πλευρῇ καὶ ποσὶν ἁβρὰ παθεῖν,
in-belly both and side and feet soft(-things) to-experience
παιδός τ' ἠδὲ γυναικός, ἐπὴν καὶ ταῦτ' ἀφίκηται,
of-boy both and of-woman when also these-things arrive
ἥβη, σὺν δ' ὥρη γίνεται ἁρμοδία.
youth with and season becomes fitting

ἀλλ' ἑτέρωθι λέγει·
but elsewhere he-says

Χρήματα δ' ἱμείρω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι
Riches and I-long indeed to-have unjustly but to-have-acquired
οὐκ ἐθέλω· πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη.
not I-wish surely later came justice

κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν ἄνδρα μήτε
prevents and nothing the good and political man neither
τῶν περιττῶν τὴν κτῆσιν ἐν σπουδῇ τίθεσθαι μήτε τῆς
of-the superfluous(-things) the acquisition in seriousness to-place nor the
χρείας τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἱκανῶν καταφρονεῖν. ἐν δὲ
use of-the necessary and sufficient(-things) to-despise in and
τοῖς τότε χρόνοις, καθ' Ἡσίοδον, ἔργον οὐδὲν ἦν ὄνειδος,
the then times according-to Hesiod work no was reproach
οὐδὲ τέχνη διαφορὰν ἔφερεν, ἐμπορία δὲ καὶ δόξαν
nor a-craft distinction brought commerce and also reputation
εἶχεν οἰκειουμένη τὰ βαρβαρικὰ καὶ προξενοῦσα φιλίας
had making-familiar the barbarian(-things) and procuring friendships
βασιλέων καὶ πραγμάτων ἐμπείρους ποιοῦσα πολλῶν.
of-kings and of-affairs experienced making(-men) many
ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ πόλεων οἰκισταὶ γεγόνασι μεγάλων, ὡς καὶ
some and also of-cities founders have-been great as also

Μασσαλίας Πρῶτις ὑπὸ Κελτῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν
of-Massalia Protis by Celts those about the Rhone
ἀγαπηθείς. καὶ Θαλῆν δέ φασιν ἐμπορίᾳ χρήσασθαι καὶ
having-been-loved and Thales and they-say commerce to-have-practiced and
Ἱπποκράτην τὸν μαθηματικόν, καὶ Πλάτωνι τῆς ἀποδημίας
Hippocrates the mathematician and for-Plato of-the travel
ἐφόδιον ἐλαίου τινὸς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διάθεσιν γενέσθαι.
provision of-oil some in Egypt a-sale to-have-been
Τὸ δ' οὖν εὐδάπανον τῷ Σόλωνι καὶ ὑγρὸν πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν, 3
the and then free-spending — in-Solon and soft toward the way-of-life
καὶ τὸ φορτικώτερον ἢ φιλοσοφώτερον ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι
and the more-vulgar than more-philosophical in the poems
διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν, τὸν ἐμπορικὸν οἴονται
to-discourse about the pleasures the merchant they-think
βίον προστετρῖφθαι· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἔχοντα κινδύνους
life to-have-rubbed-off(-on-him) many for having dangers
καὶ μεγάλους ἀνταπαιτεῖν πάλιν εὐπαθείας τινὰς καὶ
and great to-demand-in-return again comforts some and
ἀπολαύσεις. ὅτι δ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν πενήτων μερίδι μᾶλλον
enjoyments that but himself in the of-the poor portion rather
ἢ τῇ τῶν πλουσίων ἔταττε, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐκ τούτων·
than in-that of-the rich be-ranked clear it-is from these(-lines)

Πολλοὶ γὰρ πλουτεῦσι κακοί, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πένονται·
Many for are-rich bad(-men) good(-men) and are-poor
ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς οὐ διαμειψόμεθα
but we with-them not will-exchange
τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον· ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδον αἰεί,
the virtue for-the wealth since the(-one) indeed abiding always
χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.
riches but of-men at-one-time another has

τῇ δὲ ποιήσει κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς μὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ἄξιον σπουδῆς,
the and poetry at beginnings indeed for nothing worthy seriousness
ἀλλὰ παίζων ἔοικε προσχρήσασθαι καὶ παράγων ἑαυτὸν ἐν
but playing he-seems to-have-used and diverting himself in
τῷ σχολάζειν· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ γνώμας ἐνέτεινε φιλοσόφους
the to-be-at-leisure later and also maxims he-put-in philosophical
καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πολλὰ συγκατέπλεκε τοῖς ποιήμασιν,
and of-the political(-things) many wove-in with-the poems
οὐχ ἱστορίας ἕνεκεν καὶ μνήμης, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπολογισμούς τε
not of-history for-the-sake-of and of-record but justifications both
τῶν πεπραγμένων ἔχοντα καὶ προτροπὰς ἐνιαχοῦ
of-the(-things) done having and exhortations here-and-there
καὶ νουθεσίας καὶ ἐπιπλήξεις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἔνιοι δέ
and admonitions and rebukes to the Athenians some and
φασιν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐπεχείρησεν ἐντείνας εἰς ἔπος
say that also the laws he-attempted putting into verse
ἐξενεγκεῖν, καὶ διαμνημονεύουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν·
to-publish and they-record the beginning thus being

Πρῶτα μὲν εὐχώμεσθα Διῒ Κρονίδῃ βασιλῆϊ
First indeed let-us-pray to-Zeus son-of-Cronus king
θεσμοῖς τοῖσδε τύχην ἀγαθὴν καὶ κῦδος ὀπάσσαι.
to-laws these fortune good and glory to-grant

Φιλοσοφίας δὲ τοῦ ἠθικοῦ μάλιστα τὸ πολιτικόν, ὥσπερ
of-philosophy and of-the ethical(-part) most the political as
οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν σοφῶν, ἠγάπησεν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς φυσικοῖς
the most of-the wise(-men) he-loved in and the natural(-matters)
ἁπλοῦς ἐστι λίαν καὶ ἀρχαῖος, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τούτων·
simple he-is very and old-fashioned as clear from these(-lines)

Ἐκ νεφέλης πέλεται χιόνος μένος ἠδὲ χαλάζης·
From cloud comes of-snow strength and of-hail
βροντὴ δ' ἐκ λαμπρᾶς γίνεται ἀστεροπῆς.
thunder and from bright arises lightning
ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταράσσεται· ἢν δέ τις αὐτὴν
from winds and the-sea is-stirred if but anyone it
μὴ κινῇ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοτάτη.
not move of-all(-things) it-is most-just

καὶ ὅλως ἔοικεν ἡ Θάλεω μόνου σοφία τότε περαιτέρω
and in-general seems the of-Thales alone wisdom then further
τῆς χρείας ἐξικέσθαι τῇ θεωρίᾳ· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀπὸ
than-the use to-have-reached in-the speculation for-the and others from
τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς τοὔνομα τῆς σοφίας ὑπῆρξε.
the political virtue the-name of-the wisdom came
Γενέσθαι δὲ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἔν τε Δελφοῖς ὁμοῦ λέγονται 4
to-have-been and with one-another in both Delphi together they-are-said
καὶ πάλιν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, Περιάνδρου σύλλογόν τινα κοινὸν
and again in Corinth Periander a-gathering some common
αὐτῶν καὶ συμπόσιον κατασκευάσαντος. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον
of-them and a-banquet having-arranged still and more
εἰς ἀξίωμα καὶ δόξαν αὐτοὺς κατέστησεν ἡ τοῦ τρίποδος
into dignity and fame them established the of-the tripod
περίοδος καὶ διὰ πάντων ἀνακύκλησις καὶ ἀνθύπειξις
circuit and through all circling and yielding-in-turn

μετ᾽ εὐμενείας φιλοτίμου γενομένη. Κῴων γάρ, ὥς
with goodwill emulous having-happened Coans for as
φασι, καταγόντων σαγήνην, καὶ ξένων ἐκ Μιλήτου
they-say drawing-down a-dragnet and strangers from Miletus
πριαμένων τὸν βόλον οὔπω φανερὸν ὄντα, χρυσοῦς ἐφάνη
having-bought the haul not-yet visible being a-golden appeared
τρίπους ἑλκόμενος, ὃν λέγουσιν Ἑλένην πλέουσαν ἐκ
tripod being-drawn-up which they-say Helen sailing from
Τροίας αὐτόθι καθεῖναι χρησμοῦ τινος ἀναμνησθεῖσαν
Troy there to-have-thrown oracle some having-remembered
παλαιοῦ. γενομένης δὲ τοῖς ξένοις πρῶτον ἀντιλογίας
old having-arisen and for-the strangers first a-dispute
πρὸς τοὺς ἁλιέας περὶ τοῦ τρίποδος, εἶτα τῶν πόλεων
with the fishermen about the tripod then the cities
ἀναδεξαμένων τὴν διαφορὰν ἄχρι πολέμου προελθοῦσαν,
having-taken-up the quarrel as-far-as war having-advanced
ἀνεῖλεν ἀμφοτέροις ἡ Πυθία τῷ σοφωτάτῳ τὸν τρίποδα
answered to-both — Pythia to-the wisest the tripod
ἀποδοῦναι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεστάλη πρὸς Θαλῆν εἰς
to-give and first indeed it-was-sent to Thales at
Μίλητον, ἑκουσίως τῶν Κῴων ἑνὶ δωρουμένων ἐκείνῳ
Miletus willingly the Coans to-one giving-as-a-gift to-that(-man)
περὶ οὗ πρὸς ἅπαντας ὁμοῦ Μιλησίους ἐπολέμησαν.
for which against all together Milesians they-had-fought
Θάλεω δὲ Βίαντα σοφώτερον ἀποφαίνοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς
Thales but Bias wiser declaring he to
ἐκεῖνον ἦκεν· ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου δ᾽ αὖθις ἀπεστάλη πρὸς ἄλλον
that(-man) it-came from that(-man) and again it-was-sent to another
ὡς σοφώτερον. εἶτα περιϊὼν καὶ ἀναπεμπόμενος οὕτως
as wiser then going-around and being-sent-on so

ἐπὶ Θαλῆν τὸ δεύτερον ἀφίκετο, καὶ τέλος εἰς Θήβας ἐκ
to Thales the second(-time) it-came and finally to Thebes from
Μιλήτου κομισθεὶς τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι καθιερώθη.
Miletus having-been-carried to-the Ismenian Apollo was-dedicated
Θεόφραστος δέ φησι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Πριήνην Βίαντι τὸν
Theophrastus and says first indeed to Priene to-Bias the
τρίποδα πεμφθῆναι, δεύτερον δ' εἰς Μίλητον Θαλῆ Βίαντος
tripod to-have-been-sent second and to Miletus to-Thales Bias
ἀποπέμψαντος· οὕτω δὲ διὰ πάντων πάλιν εἰς Βίαντα
having-sent(-it)-away so and through all again to Bias
περιελθεῖν, τέλος δὲ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποσταλῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν
to-have-gone-around finally and to Delphi to-have-been-sent these-things indeed
οὖν ὑπὸ πλειόνων τεθρύληται, πλὴν ὅτι τὸ δῶρον ἀντὶ
then by more(-writers) have-been-talked-about except that the gift instead-of
τοῦ τρίποδος οἱ μὲν φιάλην ὑπὸ Κροίσου πεμφθεῖσαν,
the tripod the(-ones) indeed a-bowl by Croesus sent
οἱ δὲ ποτήριον Βαθυκλέους ἀπολιπόντος εἶναι λέγουσιν.
the(-others) and a-cup Bathycles having-left to-be say

II · ANACHARSIS, THALES, AND SALAMIS

Anacharsis visits Solon and mocks laws as spiders' webs; Solon answers that men keep agreements no one profits by breaking. Thales, to explain why he never married, has a stranger falsely report the death of Solon's son, and Plutarch argues that fear of loss is no reason to refuse love. The Athenians have forbidden on pain of death any proposal to recover Salamis; Solon feigns madness and recites his elegy in the agora. The law is repealed, and he wins Salamis by a ruse at Colias.

Ἰδίᾳ δ' Ἀναχάρσεώς τε πρὸς Σόλωνα καὶ πάλιν
privately and of-Anacharsis both with Solon and again
Θάλεω συνουσίαν τινὰ καὶ λόγους ἀναγράφουσι τοιούτους.
of-Thales an-association some and conversations they-record such

Ἀνάχαρσιν μὲν εἰς Ἀθήνας φασὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Σόλωνος οἰκίαν
Anacharsis indeed to Athens they-say to the of-Solon house
ἐλθόντα κόπτειν, καὶ λέγειν ὡς ξένος ὢν ἀφῖκται φιλίαν
having-come to-knock and to-say that a-stranger being he-has-come friendship
ποιησόμενος καὶ ξενίαν πρὸς αὐτόν. ἀποκριναμένου
to-make and guest-friendship with him having-answered
δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὡς οἴκοι βέλτιόν ἐστι ποιεῖσθαι φιλίας,
and — Solon that at-home better it-is to-make friendships
"Οὐκοῦν," φάναι τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν, "αὐτὸς ὢν οἴκοι
then to-have-said — Anacharsis himself being at-home
σὺ ποίησαι φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς." οὕτω
you make friendship and guest-friendship with us so
δὴ θαυμάσαντα τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸν Σόλωνα
indeed having-admired the quickness of-the man — Solon
δέξασθαι φιλοφρόνως, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ κατασχεῖν
to-have-received(-him) kindly and time some to-have-kept(-him)
παρ' αὑτῷ, ἤδη τὰ δημόσια πράττοντα καὶ συνταττόμενον
with himself already the public(-affairs) conducting and composing
τοὺς νόμους. τὸν οὖν Ἀνάχαρσιν πυθόμενον καταγελᾶν τῆς
the laws — then Anacharsis having-learned to-laugh-at the
πραγματείας τοῦ Σόλωνος, οἰομένου γράμμασιν ἐφέξειν
undertaking — of-Solon thinking with-writings to-restrain
τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ πλεονεξίας τῶν πολιτῶν, ἃ μηδὲν τῶν
the injustices and greed of-the citizens which in-nothing from-the
ἀραχνίων διαφέρειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκεῖνα τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ
spiders'-webs to-differ but like those the indeed weak and
λεπτοὺς τῶν ἁλισκομένων καθέξειν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν δυνατῶν
small of-the(-ones) caught to-hold by but the powerful
καὶ πλουσίων διαρραγήσεσθαι. τὸν δὲ Σόλωνα πρὸς ταῦτά
and rich to-be-broken — and Solon to these(-words)
φασιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ συνθήκας ἄνθρωποι φυλάττουσιν, ἃς
they-say to-have-said that even compacts men keep which

οὐδετέρῳ λυσιτελές ἐστι παραβαίνειν τῶν θεμένων·
for-neither profitable is to-transgress of-the(-parties) having-made(-them)
καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτὸς οὕτως ἁρμόζεται τοῖς πολίταις ὥστε
and the laws he-himself so fits to-the citizens so-that
πᾶσι τοῦ παρανομεῖν βέλτιον ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ δικαιοπραγεῖν.
to-all than-the to-break-the-law better to-show the to-act-justly
ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς Ἀνάχαρσις εἴκαζεν ἀπέβη μᾶλλον
but these-things indeed as Anacharsis conjectured turned-out rather
ἢ κατ᾽ ἐλπίδα τοῦ Σόλωνος. ἔφη δὲ κἀκεῖνο θαυμάζειν
than according-to hope — of-Solon said and also-that to-wonder-at
ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις ἐκκλησίᾳ παραγενόμενος, ὅτι λέγουσι μὲν
— Anacharsis at-an-assembly having-attended that speak indeed
οἱ σοφοὶ παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι, κρίνουσι δὲ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς.
the wise among Greeks decide but the ignorant
Πρὸς Θαλῆν δ᾽ εἰς Μίλητον ἐλθόντα τὸν Σόλωνα 6
to Thales and at Miletus having-come — Solon
θαυμάζειν ὅτι γάμου καὶ παιδοποιΐας τὸ παράπαν
to-have-wondered that marriage and begetting-of-children the altogether
ἠμέληκε. καὶ τὸν Θαλῆν τότε μὲν σιωπῆσαι, διαλιπόντα
he-has-neglected and — Thales then indeed to-have-been-silent having-let-pass
δ᾽ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἄνδρα παρασκευάσαι ξένον, ἀρτίως
but few days a-man to-have-procured a-stranger just-now
ἥκειν φάσκοντα δεκαταῖον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. πυθομένου δὲ
to-have-come saying on-the-tenth-day from Athens having-inquired and
τοῦ Σόλωνος εἰ δή τι καινὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις,
— Solon whether indeed anything new in — Athens
δεδιδαγμένον ἃ χρὴ λέγειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, “Οὐδέν,”
having-been-instructed what he-must to-say the man nothing
εἰπεῖν, “ἕτερον, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία νεανίσκου τινὸς ἦν ἐκφορὰ
to-have-said other if not by Zeus of-a-young-man some was a-funeral
καὶ προὔπεμπεν ἡ πόλις. ἦν γὰρ υἱός, ὡς ἔφασαν, ἀνδρὸς

ἐνδόξου καὶ πρωτεύοντος ἀρετῇ τῶν πολιτῶν· οὐ παρῆν
illustrious and first in-virtue of-the citizens not he-was-present
δέ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποδημεῖν ἔφασαν αὐτὸν ἤδη πολὺν χρόνον.᾽᾽
and but to-be-abroad they-said him already much time
᾽᾽ Ὡς δυστυχὴς ἐκεῖνος,᾽᾽ φάναι τὸν Σόλωνα. ᾽᾽τίνα δὲ
how unfortunate that(-man) to-have-said — Solon what and
ὠνόμαζον αὐτόν;᾽᾽ ᾽᾽ Ἤκουσα,᾽᾽ φάναι, ᾽᾽τοὔνομα,᾽᾽ τὸν
did-they-name him I-heard to-have-said the-name the
ἄνθρωπον, ᾽᾽ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μνημονεύω· πλὴν ὅτι πολὺς λόγος ἦν
man but not I-remember except that much talk was
αὐτοῦ σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης.᾽᾽ οὕτω δὴ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην
of-his wisdom and justice so indeed at each
ἀπόκρισιν τῷ φόβῳ προσαγόμενον τὸν Σόλωνα καὶ τέλος
answer to-the fear being-drawn-on — Solon and at-last
ἤδη συντεταραγμένον αὐτὸν ὑποβάλλειν τοὔνομα τῷ ξένῳ,
already confounded himself to-suggest the-name to-the stranger
πυνθανόμενον μὴ Σόλωνος ὁ τεθνηκὼς υἱὸς ὠνομάζετο.
inquiring whether-not of-Solon the dead son was-named
φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τὸν μὲν ὁρμῆσαι παίειν
having-said(-so) and the man the(-one) indeed to-have-rushed to-beat
τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τἆλλα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν ἃ συμβαίνει
the head and the-other(-things) to-do and to-say which happen
τοῖς περιπαθοῦσι, τὸν δὲ Θαλῆν ἐπιλαβόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ
to-those grieving-violently — and Thales having-taken-hold-of him and
γελάσαντα, ᾽᾽Ταῦτά τοι,᾽᾽ φάναι, ᾽᾽ὦ Σόλων, ἐμὲ γάμου
having-laughed these(-things) surely to-have-said O Solon me from-marriage
καὶ παιδοποιΐας ἀφίστησιν, ἃ καὶ σὲ κατερείπει τὸν
and begetting-of-children keep-away which also you overthrow the
ἐρρωμενέστατον. ἀλλὰ θάρρει τῶν λόγων ἕνεκα τούτων·
most-stalwart(-man) but take-heart of-the words for-the-sake-of these

οὐ γάρ εἰσιν ἀληθεῖς.” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἕρμιππος ἱστορεῖν
not for are true these-things indeed then Hermippus to-record
φησι Πάταικον, ὃς ἔφασκε τὴν Αἰσώπου ψυχὴν ἔχειν.
says Pataecus who claimed the of-Aesop soul to-have
Ἄτοπος δὲ καὶ ἀγεννὴς ὁ τῷ φόβῳ τῆς ἀποβολῆς 7
absurd and and ignoble the(-man) by-the fear of-the loss
τὴν κτῆσιν ὧν χρὴ προϊέμενος· οὕτω γὰρ ἄν τις οὐ
the acquisition of-what one-should giving-up so for — one neither
πλοῦτον, οὐ δόξαν, οὐ σοφίαν ἀγαπήσειε παραγενομένην,
wealth nor reputation nor wisdom would-welcome having-come
δεδιὼς στέρεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀρετήν, ἧς κτῆμα μεῖζον
fearing to-be-deprived and for virtue than-which a-possession greater
οὐδὲν οὐδ’ ἥδιον, ἐξισταμένην ὑπὸ νόσων καὶ φαρμάκων
none nor sweeter displaced by diseases and drugs
ὁρῶμεν· αὐτῷ τε Θαλῇ μὴ γήμαντι πλέον οὐδὲν εἰς
we-see himself both to-Thales not having-married more nothing toward
ἀφοβίαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ φίλων κτῆσιν ἔφυγε καὶ οἰκείων καὶ
fearlessness if not also of-friends acquisition he-fled and of-kin and
πατρίδος. ἀλλὰ καὶ παῖδα θετὸν ἔσχε ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς
of-fatherland but even a-child adopted he-had having-made(-him) himself
τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς, ὥς φασι, Κύβισθον. ἐχούσης γάρ τι
the of-the sister as they-say Cybisthus having for something
τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαπητικὸν ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ πεφυκυίας, ὥσπερ
the soul affectionate in itself and having-been-born as
αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ μνημονεύειν, οὕτω καὶ
to-perceive and to-think and to-remember so also
φιλεῖν, ἐνδύεταί τι τούτῳ καὶ προσφύεται τῶν
to-love enters something into-this and attaches of-the(-things)
ἐκτὸς οἷς οἰκεῖον οὐδέν ἐστιν, καὶ καθάπερ οἶκον ἢ χώραν
outside to-which kin nothing is and as-it-were a-house or land
γνησίων ἔρημον διαδόχων, τὸ φιλόστοργον ἀλλότριοι καὶ
of-legitimate empty heirs the affection strangers and

νόθοι παῖδες ἢ θεράποντες εἰσοικισάμενοι καὶ καταλαβόντες
bastard children or servants having-settled-in and having-occupied
ἅμα τῷ φιλεῖν τὸ φροντίζειν καὶ δεδιέναι περὶ αὐτῶν
together-with the to-love the to-be-anxious and to-fear about them
ἐνεποίησαν. ὥστ' ἴδοις ἂν ἀνθρώπους στερροτέρᾳ τῇ
have-produced so-that you-would-see — men harder in-the
φύσει περὶ γάμου καὶ γενέσεως παίδων διαλεγομένους,
nature about marriage and begetting of-children discoursing
εἶτα τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ παισὶν οἰκοτρίβων ἢ θρέμμασι
then the same(-men) over children of-house-slaves or nurslings
παλλακῶν νοσοῦσι καὶ θνήσκουσι παρατεινομένους πόθῳ
of-concubines being-sick and dying being-stretched with-longing
καὶ φωνὰς ἀγεννεῖς ἀφιέντας. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κυνῶν θανάτῳ
and cries ignoble letting-out some and also of-dogs at-the-death
καὶ ἵππων αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀβιώτως ὑπὸ λύπης διετέθησαν.
and of-horses shamefully and unlivably by grief were-affected
ἀλλ' ἕτεροί γε παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς ἀποβαλόντες οὐδὲν
but others at-least children good having-lost nothing
ἔπαθον δεινὸν οὐδ' ἐποίησαν αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρώμενοι
suffered terrible nor did shameful but also using
τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ κατὰ λόγον διετέλεσαν. ἀσθένεια γάρ,
the remaining life according-to reason continued weakness for
οὐκ εὔνοια, λύπας ἀπεράντους ἐπάγεται καὶ φόβους
not goodwill griefs endless brings-on and fears
ἀνθρώποις ἀνασκήτοις ὑπὸ λόγου πρὸς τύχην, οἷς
on-men untrained by reason against fortune for-whom
οὐδ' ἀπόλαυσις ἐγγίνεται τοῦ ποθουμένου παρόντος,
not-even enjoyment arises of-the(-thing) longed-for being-present
τοῦ μέλλοντος ὠδῖνας ἀεὶ καὶ τρόμους καὶ ἀγῶνας, εἰ
the future pangs always and tremblings and struggles whether
στερήσονται, παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς. δεῖ δὲ μήτε πενίᾳ
they-will-be-deprived providing to-them it-is-needful but neither by-poverty

πρὸς χρημάτων πεφράχθαι στέρησιν μήτε ἀφιλίᾳ πρὸς
against of-money to-be-fortified deprivation nor by-friendlessness against
φίλων ἀποβολὴν μήτ᾽ ἀπαιδίᾳ πρὸς τέκνων θάνατον,
of-friends loss nor by-childlessness against of-children death
ἀλλὰ τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς πάντα. καὶ ταῦτα μέν, ὡς ἐν
but by-the reasoning against all(-things) and these-things indeed as in
τῷ παρόντι, πλείονα τῶν ἱκανῶν.
the present more than-the sufficient
Ἐπεὶ δὲ μακρόν τινα καὶ δυσχερῆ πόλεμον οἱ ἐν 8
when and long a and troublesome war the(-men) in
ἄστει περὶ τῆς Σαλαμινίων νήσου Μεγαρεῦσι πολεμοῦντες
the-city about the of-Salaminians island with-Megarians warring
ἐξέκαμον, καὶ νόμον ἔθεντο μήτε γράψαι τινὰ μήτ᾽
were-worn-out and a-law they-made neither to-write anyone nor
εἰπεῖν αὖθις ὡς χρὴ τὴν πόλιν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς
to-say again that it-was-necessary the city to-lay-claim-to —
Σαλαμῖνος, ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, βαρέως φέρων τὴν
Salamis or with-death to-be-punished heavily bearing the
ἀδοξίαν ὁ Σόλων, καὶ τῶν νέων ὁρῶν πολλοὺς δεομένους
disgrace — Solon and of-the young-men seeing many needing
ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ θαρροῦντας
a-beginning for the war themselves but not daring
ἄρξασθαι διὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐσκήψατο μὲν ἔκστασιν τῶν
to-begin because-of the law he-feigned indeed derangement of-the
λογισμῶν, καὶ λόγος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας διεδόθη
reasonings and a-report into the city from the house was-spread
παρακινητικῶς ἔχειν αὐτόν, ἐλεγεῖα δὲ κρύφα συνθεὶς
deranged to-be him elegiac(-verses) and secretly having-composed
καὶ μελετήσας ὥστε λέγειν ἀπὸ στόματος, ἐξεπήδησεν
and having-practiced so-that to-say(-them) from mouth he-leapt-out
εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἄφνω πιλίδιον περιθέμενος. ὄχλου δὲ
into the market-place suddenly a-felt-cap having-put-on a-crowd and

πολλοῦ συνδραμόντος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ κήρυκος
much having-run-together having-mounted on the of-the herald
λίθον ἐν ᾠδῇ διεξῆλθε τὴν ἐλεγείαν, ἧς ἐστιν ἀρχή·
stone in song he-went-through the elegy of-which is the-beginning

Αὐτὸς κῆρυξ ἦλθον ἀφ' ἱμερτῆς Σαλαμῖνος,
Myself a-herald I-have-come from lovely Salamis
κόσμον ἐπέων ᾠδὴν ἀντ' ἀγορῆς θέμενος.
an-arrangement of-words a-song instead-of a-speech having-made

τοῦτο τὸ ποίημα Σαλαμὶς ἐπιγέγραπται καὶ στίχων ἑκατόν
this the poem Salamis is-entitled and of-lines a-hundred
ἐστι, χαριέντως πάνυ πεποιημένον. τότε δὲ ᾀσθέντος αὐτοῦ
is gracefully very composed then and having-been-sung it
καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῦ Σόλωνος ἀρξαμένων ἐπαινεῖν, μάλιστα
and the friends — of-Solon having-begun to-praise(-it) most
δὲ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου τοῖς πολίταις ἐγκελευομένου καὶ
and — Peisistratus to-the citizens urging and
παρορμῶντος πεισθῆναι τῷ λέγοντι, λύσαντες τὸν νόμον
exhorting(-them) to-be-persuaded by-the speaker having-repealed the law
αὖθις ἥπτοντο τοῦ πολέμου, προστησάμενοι τὸν Σόλωνα.
again they-took-up the war having-put-in-charge — Solon
Τὰ μὲν οὖν δημώδη τῶν λεγομένων τοιαῦτ' ἐστίν,
the indeed then popular of-the(-things) said such are
ὅτι πλεύσας ἐπὶ Κωλιάδα μετὰ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου, καὶ
that having-sailed to Colias with — Peisistratus and
καταλαβὼν αὐτόθι πάσας τὰς γυναῖκας τῇ Δήμητρι τὴν
having-found there all the women — to-Demeter the
πάτριον θυσίαν ἐπιτελούσας, ἔπεμψεν ἄνδρα πιστὸν εἰς
ancestral sacrifice performing he-sent a-man trusty to
Σαλαμῖνα προσποιούμενον αὐτόμολον εἶναι, κελεύοντα τοὺς
Salamis pretending a-deserter to-be bidding the

Μεγαρεῖς, εἰ βούλονται τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς πρώτας λαβεῖν
Megarians if they-wish of-the Athenians the first(-ladies) to-seize
γυναῖκας, ἐπὶ Κωλιάδα μετ' αὐτοῦ πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην. ὡς
women to Colias with him to-sail the quickest(-way) when
δὲ πεισθέντες οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐξέπεμψαν ἐν τῷ
and having-been-persuaded the Megarians men sent-out in the
πλοίῳ καὶ κατεῖδεν ὁ Σόλων τὸ πλοῖον ἐλαυνόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς
boat and saw — Solon the boat putting-off from the
νήσου, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ἐκποδὼν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσε, τῶν
island the indeed women out-of-the-way to-go he-ordered of-the
δὲ νεωτέρων τοὺς μηδέπω γενειῶντας ἐνδύμασι καὶ μίτραις
and younger(-men) those not-yet bearded in-dresses and headbands
καὶ ὑποδήμασι τοῖς ἐκείνων σκευασαμένους καὶ λαβόντας
and shoes the of-those having-dressed and having-taken
ἐγχειρίδια κρυπτὰ παίζειν καὶ χορεύειν προσέταξε πρὸς τῇ
daggers hidden to-play and to-dance he-ordered by the
θαλάσσῃ, μέχρις ἂν ἀποβῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ γένηται
sea until — should-disembark the enemies and become
τὸ πλοῖον ὑποχείριον. οὕτω δὴ τούτων πραττομένων,
the boat in-their-power so indeed these(-things) being-done
ὑπαχθέντες οἱ Μεγαρεῖς τῇ ὄψει καὶ προσμίξαντες ἐγγύς,
having-been-lured the Megarians by-the sight and having-come-to-land near
ἐξεπήδων ὡς ἐπὶ γυναῖκας, ἁμιλλώμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
leapt-out as upon women vying with one-another
ὥστε μηδένα διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ τὴν
so-that no-one to-escape but all to-perish and the
νῆσον ἐπιπλεύσαντας εὐθὺς ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.
island having-sailed-against at-once to-hold the Athenians

Others say the Delphic god directed Solon to propitiate the island's heroes before the attack. The Spartans arbitrate the quarrel: many say Solon read out a verse he had inserted into Homer, the Athenians that he proved Ajax's sons had given them the island and pointed to the burial customs. He urges the Amphictyons to defend Delphi against Cirrha. The pollution of the slaughter of Cylon's followers divides the city until Solon persuades the accursed to stand trial and they are banished. Epimenides of Crete is called to purify Athens, and he refuses any reward but a branch of the sacred olive.

9 Ἄλλοι δέ φασιν οὐ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον γενέσθαι τὴν
others but say not in-this the manner to-have-happened the
κατάληψιν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν
capture but first indeed to-him the in Delphi god
χρῆσαι·
to-have-given-an-oracle

Ἀρχηγοὺς χώρας θυσίαις ἥρωας ἐνοίκους
Founders of-the-land with-sacrifices heroes indwelling
ἵλασο, τοὺς κόλποις Ἀσωπιὰς ἀμφικαλύπτει,
propitiate whom in-her-bosom Asopis covers
οἳ φθίμενοι δέρκονται ἐς ἠέλιον δύνοντα·
who having-died look toward the-sun setting

τὸν δὲ Σόλωνα διαπλεύσαντα νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν νῆσον
— and Solon having-sailed-across by-night to the island
ἐντεμεῖν σφάγια Περιφήμῳ καὶ Κυχρεῖ τοῖς ἥρωσιν. εἶτα
to-have-sacrificed victims to-Periphemus and Cychreus the heroes then
παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐθελοντὰς λαβεῖν πεντακοσίους,
from the Athenians volunteers to-have-taken five-hundred
δόγματος γενομένου τούτους, ἂν κατασχῶσι τὴν
a-decree having-been-passed these if they-should-hold the

νῆσον, κυρίους εἶναι τοῦ πολιτεύματος. ἀναχθέντα δὲ
island masters to-be of-the government having-put-to-sea and
συχναῖς ἁλιάσιν ἅμα τριακοντόρου συμπαραπλεούσης
with-many fishing-boats together a-thirty-oar(-ship) sailing-along
ὑφορμίσασθαι τῇ Σαλαμῖνι κατὰ χηλήν τινα πρὸς
to-have-anchored-under — Salamis by a-breakwater some toward
τὴν Εὔβοιαν ἀποβλέπουσαν. πυθομένους δὲ τοὺς ἐν
— Euboea looking having-learned and the(-men) in
Σαλαμῖνι Μεγαρεῖς ἔκ τινος φήμης οὐδὲν βέβαιον,
Salamis Megarians from some rumor nothing certain
αὐτοὺς μὲν εἰς τὰ ὅπλα θορυβουμένους βαδίζειν, ναῦν
themselves indeed to the arms in-confusion to-go a-ship
δ' ἀποστεῖλαι κατασκεψομένην τῶν πολεμίων· ἧς ἐγγὺς
and to-have-sent-off to-spy-on the enemies which near
ἐλθούσης κρατῆσαι τὸν Σόλωνα καὶ καθεῖρξαι τοὺς
having-come to-have-captured — Solon and to-have-shut-up the
Μεγαρεῖς. ἐμβιβάσαι δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς κρατίστους
Megarians to-have-embarked and of-the Athenians the strongest
κελεύσαντα πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἂν ἐνδέχηται
having-ordered(-them) to-sail against the city as — it-be-possible
μάλιστα κρύπτοντας ἑαυτούς· ἅμα δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους
most hiding themselves at-once and the other
Ἀθηναίους ἀναλαβόντα πεζῇ συμφέρεσθαι τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσι·
Athenians having-taken-up by-land to-engage-with the Megarians
καὶ τῆς μάχης ἔτι συνεστώσης φθάσαι τοὺς
and the battle still going-on to-have-anticipated(-them) the(-men)
ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς καταλαβόντας τὴν πόλιν.
from the ship having-seized the city
Ἔοικε δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ δρώμενα μαρτυρεῖν.
seems and to-the account this also the(-things) enacted to-bear-witness
ναῦς γάρ τις Ἀττικὴ προσέπλει σιωπῇ τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα
a-ship for some Attic approached in-silence the first then

κραυγῇ καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ προσφερομένων εἷς ἀνὴρ ἔνοπλος
with-a-cry and war-shout bearing-down one man armed
ἐξαλλόμενος μετὰ βοῆς ἔθει πρὸς ἄκρον τὸ Σκιράδιον
leaping-out with a-shout ran to cape — Sciradium
ἐκ γῆς προσφερομένοις. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἐνυαλίου τὸ
from land bearing-down(-on-them) near and — of-Enyalius the
ἱερόν ἐστιν ἱδρυσαμένου Σόλωνος. ἐνίκησε γὰρ τοὺς
temple is having-founded(-it) Solon he-conquered for the
Μεγαρέας, καὶ ὅσοι μὴ διεφθάρησαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ,
Megarians and as-many-as not were-destroyed in the battle
πάντας ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκεν.
all under-truce he-released
Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐπιμενόντων πολλὰ κακὰ
not indeed but the Megarians persisting many evils
καὶ δρῶντες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πάσχοντες, ἐποιήσαντο
both doing in the war and suffering they-made
Λακεδαιμονίους διαλλακτὰς καὶ δικαστάς. οἱ μὲν οὖν
Lacedaemonians arbitrators and judges the indeed then
πολλοὶ τῷ Σόλωνι συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι τὴν Ὁμήρου
many — Solon to-have-helped say the of-Homer
δόξαν· ἐμβαλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔπος εἰς νεῶν κατάλογον
reputation having-inserted for himself a-verse into of-the-ships catalog
ἐπὶ τῆς δίκης ἀναγνῶναι·
at the trial to-have-read(-it)

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
Ajax and from Salamis brought twelve ships
στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες.
stationed(-them) and bringing where of-Athenians stood the-ranks

αὐτοὶ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα μὲν οἴονται φλυαρίαν εἶναι, τὸν
themselves but Athenians these-things indeed think nonsense to-be —
δὲ Σόλωνά φασιν ἀποδεῖξαι τοῖς δικασταῖς ὅτι Φιλαῖος καὶ
but Solon they-say to-have-shown to-the judges that Philaeus and
Εὐρυσάκης, Αἴαντος υἱοί, Ἀθήνησι πολιτείας μεταλαβόντες
Eurysaces of-Ajax sons at-Athens citizenship having-received
παρέδοσαν τὴν νῆσον αὐτοῖς, καὶ κατῴκησαν ὁ μὲν
handed-over the island to-them and settled the(-one) indeed
ἐν Βραυρῶνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὁ δὲ ἐν Μελίτῃ· καὶ
in Brauron — of-Attica the(-other) and in Melite and
δῆμον ἐπώνυμον Φιλαίου τῶν Φιλαϊδῶν ἔχουσιν, ὅθεν ἦν
a-deme named-after Philaeus of-the Philaidae they-have whence was
Πεισίστρατος. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξελέγξαι τοὺς Μεγαρέας
Peisistratus still and more to-refute the Megarians
βουλόμενον ἰσχυρίσασθαι περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ὡς οὐχ ὧν
wishing to-have-insisted about the dead that not in-which
τρόπον ἐκεῖνοι θάπτουσι κεκηδευμένων, ἀλλ' ὧν αὐτοί.
manner they bury having-been-interred but in-which themselves
θάπτουσι δὲ Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς ἕω τοὺς νεκροὺς στρέφοντες,
they-bury and Megarians toward dawn the dead turning
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν. Ἡρέας δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς
Athenians and toward evening Hereas and the Megarian
ἐνιστάμενος λέγει καὶ Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν τετραμμένα
objecting says also Megarians toward evening turned
τὰ σώματα τῶν νεκρῶν τιθέναι· καὶ μεῖζον ἔτι τούτου,
the bodies of-the dead to-place and greater still than-this
μίαν ἕκαστον Ἀθηναίων ἔχειν θήκην, Μεγαρέων δὲ καὶ
one each of-Athenians to-have tomb of-Megarians but even
τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρας ἐν μιᾷ κεῖσθαι. τῷ μέντοι Σόλωνι
three and four in one to-lie — however Solon
καὶ Πυθικούς τινας βοηθῆσαι λέγουσι χρησμούς, ἐν οἷς
also Pythian some to-have-helped they-say oracles in which

ὁ θεὸς Ἰαονίαν τὴν Σαλαμῖνα προσηγόρευσε. ταύτην τὴν
the god Ionian — Salamis called this the
δίκην ἐδίκασαν Σπαρτιατῶν πέντε ἄνδρες, Κριτολαΐδας,
case judged of-Spartans five men Critolaïdas
Ἀμομφάρετος, Ὑψηχίδας, Ἀναξίλας, Κλεομένης.
Amompharetus Hypsechidas Anaxilas Cleomenes
11 Ἤδη μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἔνδοξος ἦν ὁ Σόλων καὶ
already indeed then also from these(-things) famous was — Solon and
μέγας. ἐθαυμάσθη δὲ καὶ διεβοήθη μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς
great he-was-admired and and was-noised-abroad more among the
Ἕλλησιν εἰπὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὡς
Greeks having-spoken on-behalf-of the temple the at Delphi that
χρὴ βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν Κιρραίους ὑβρίζοντας
it-is-necessary to-help and not to-overlook Cirrhaeans outraging
εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον, ἀλλὰ προσαμύνειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ
against the oracle but to-defend(-it) on-behalf-of the god
Δελφοῖς. πεισθέντες γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
for-Delphians having-been-persuaded for by him to the war
ὥρμησαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες, ὡς ἄλλοι τε μαρτυροῦσι καὶ
set-out the Amphictyons as others both bear-witness and
Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ τῶν Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ Σόλωνι
Aristotle in the of-the Pythian-victors list to-Solon
τὴν γνώμην ἀνατιθείς. οὐ μέντοι στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτον
the motion attributing not however general for this
ἀπεδείχθη τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς λέγειν φησὶν Ἕρμιππος
was-appointed the war as to-say claims Hermippus
Εὐάνθη τὸν Σάμιον· οὔτε γὰρ Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ τοῦτ᾽
Euanthes the Samian neither for Aeschines the orator this
εἴρηκεν, ἔν τε τοῖς Δελφῶν ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀλκμαίων, οὐ
has-said in both the of-Delphians records Alcmaeon not
Σόλων, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἀναγέγραπται.
Solon of-Athenians general is-recorded

Τὸ δὲ Κυλώνειον ἄγος ἤδη μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ διετάραττε 12
the and Cylonian pollution already indeed from long(-before) had-been-troubling
τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ οὗ τοὺς συνωμότας τοῦ Κύλωνος
the city from which the conspirators — of-Cylon
ἱκετεύοντας τὴν θεὸν Μεγακλῆς ὁ ἄρχων ἐπὶ δίκῃ
supplicating the goddess Megacles the archon to trial
κατελθεῖν ἔπεισεν· ἐξάψαντας δὲ τοῦ ἕδους κρόκην κλωστὴν
to-come-down persuaded having-fastened and to-the image a-thread spun
καὶ ταύτης ἐχομένους, ὡς ἐγένοντο περὶ τὰς σεμνὰς
and to-this holding when they-came near the venerable
θεὰς καταβαίνοντες, αὐτομάτως τῆς κρόκης ῥαγείσης,
goddesses coming-down of-its-own-accord the thread having-broken
ὥρμησε συλλαμβάνειν ὁ Μεγακλῆς καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες,
rushed to-seize(-them) — Megacles and the fellow-archons
ὡς τῆς θεοῦ τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἀπολεγομένης· καὶ τοὺς μὲν
as the goddess the supplication rejecting and the(-ones) indeed
ἔξω κατέλευσαν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς προσφυγόντες
outside they-stoned the(-others) and to-the altars having-fled
ἀπεσφάγησαν· μόνοι δ' ἀφείθησαν οἱ τὰς γυναῖκας
were-slaughtered only and were-released those the wives
αὐτῶν ἱκετεύσαντες. ἐκ τούτου δὲ κληθέντες ἐναγεῖς
their having-supplicated from this and having-been-called accursed
ἐμισοῦντο· καὶ τῶν Κυλωνείων οἱ περιγενόμενοι πάλιν
they-were-hated and of-the Cylonians the survivors again
ἦσαν ἰσχυροί, καὶ στασιάζοντες ἀεὶ διετέλουν πρὸς τοὺς
were strong and quarreling always continued against the(-men)
ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεγακλέους. ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τῆς στάσεως
from — Megacles in and the then time of-the strife
ἀκμὴν λαβούσης μάλιστα καὶ τοῦ δήμου διαστάντος, ἤδη
a-peak having-taken most and the people having-split already
δόξαν ἔχων ὁ Σόλων παρῆλθεν εἰς μέσον ἅμα τοῖς
reputation having — Solon came-forward into middle together-with the

ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ δεόμενος καὶ διδάσκων ἔπεισε
best of-the Athenians and entreating and instructing persuaded
τοὺς ἐναγεῖς λεγομένους δίκην ὑποσχεῖν καὶ κριθῆναι
the accursed so-called a-trial to-undergo and to-be-judged
τριακοσίων ἀριστίνδην δικαζόντων. Μύρωνος δὲ τοῦ
three-hundred by-merit judging Myron and the
Φλυέως κατηγοροῦντος ἑάλωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μετέστησαν
of-Phlya accusing were-convicted the men and were-banished
οἱ ζῶντες· τῶν δ' ἀποθανόντων τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνορύξαντες
the living of-the and dead the corpses having-dug-up
ἐξέρριψαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὅρους. ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ταραχαῖς
they-cast-out beyond the borders these and the disturbances
καὶ Μεγαρέων συνεπιθεμένων ἀπέβαλόν τε Νίσαιαν οἱ
and Megarians attacking-also lost both Nisaea the
Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐξέπεσον αὖθις. καὶ φόβοι τινὲς
Athenians and from-Salamis were-driven again and fears some
ἐκ δεισιδαιμονίας ἅμα καὶ φάσματα κατεῖχε τὴν πόλιν,
from superstition at-once also apparitions held the city
οἵ τε μάντεις ἄγη καὶ μιασμοὺς δεομένους καθαρμῶν
the both seers pollutions and defilements needing purifications
προφαίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἠγόρευον.
to-appear through the sacrifices proclaimed
Οὕτω δὴ μετάπεμπτος αὐτοῖς ἦκεν ἐκ Κρήτης Ἐπιμενίδης
so indeed sent-for to-them came from Crete Epimenides
ὁ Φαίστιος, ὃν ἕβδομον ἐν τοῖς σοφοῖς καταριθμοῦσιν
the Phaestian whom seventh among the wise(-men) count
ἔνιοι τῶν οὐ προσιεμένων τὸν Περίανδρον. ἐδόκει δέ
some of-those not admitting — Periander he-seemed and
τις εἶναι θεοφιλὴς καὶ σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεῖα
some(-one) to-be god-beloved and wise about the divine(-things)
τὴν ἐνθουσιαστικὴν καὶ τελεστικὴν σοφίαν, διὸ καὶ
the inspired and mystic wisdom wherefore also

παῖδα νύμφης ὄνομα Βάλτης καὶ Κούρητα νέον αὐτὸν
son of-a-nymph named Balte and Curete new him
οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι προσηγόρευον. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ τῷ
the then men called having-come and also —
Σόλωνι χρησάμενος φίλῳ πολλὰ προσυπειργάσατο
Solon having-made-use-of as-a-friend much he-helped-prepare
καὶ προωδοποίησεν αὐτῷ τῆς νομοθεσίας. καὶ γὰρ
and paved-the-way for-him of-the legislation and for
εὐσταλεῖς ἐποίησε τὰς ἱερουργίας καὶ περὶ τὰ πένθη
simple he-made the rites and in the mournings
πρᾳοτέρους, θυσίας τινὰς εὐθὺς ἀναμίξας πρὸς τὰ κήδη,
milder sacrifices some at-once having-mixed-in with the funerals
καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν ἀφελὼν καὶ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ᾧ
and the harsh having-removed and the barbarous with-which
συνείχοντο πρότερον αἱ πλεῖσται γυναῖκες. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον,
were-gripped before the most women the and greatest
ἱλασμοῖς τισι καὶ καθαρμοῖς καὶ ἱδρύσεσι κατοργιάσας
with-propitiations some and purifications and foundations having-hallowed
καὶ καθοσιώσας τὴν πόλιν ὑπήκοον τοῦ δικαίου καὶ
and having-consecrated the city obedient to-the just and
μᾶλλον εὐπειθῆ πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν κατέστησε. λέγεται δὲ τὴν
more persuadable toward concord he-made it-is-said and —
Μουνυχίαν ἰδὼν καὶ καταμαθὼν πολὺν χρόνον, εἰπεῖν
Munychia having-seen and having-studied(-it) much time to-have-said
πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς τυφλόν ἐστι τοῦ μέλλοντος
to the(-men) present that blind is of-the future
ἄνθρωπος· ἐκφαγεῖν γὰρ ἂν Ἀθηναίους τοῖς αὑτῶν ὀδοῦσιν,
man would-eat-up for — Athenians with-the their-own teeth
εἰ προῄδεσαν ὅσα τὴν πόλιν ἀνιάσει τὸ χωρίον· ὅμοιον
if they-foreknew how-much the city will-vex the place similar
δέ τι καὶ Θαλῆν εἰκάσαι λέγουσι· κελεῦσαι
and some(-thing) also Thales to-have-conjectured they-say to-have-ordered

γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔν τινι τόπῳ τῆς Μιλησίας φαύλῳ καὶ
for him in some place of-the Milesian(-land) mean and
παρορωμένῳ τελευτήσαντα θεῖναι, προειπὼν ὡς ἀγορά
overlooked having-died to-lay(-him) having-foretold that a-market-place
ποτε τοῦτο Μιλησίων ἔσται τὸ χωρίον. Ἐπιμενίδης μὲν
someday this of-Milesians will-be the place Epimenides indeed
οὖν μάλιστα θαυμασθείς, καὶ χρήματα διδόντων πολλὰ
then most having-been-admired and money giving much
καὶ τιμὰς μεγάλας τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὐδὲν ἢ θαλλὸν ἀπὸ
and honors great the Athenians nothing than a-sprig from
τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας αἰτησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἀπῆλθεν.
the sacred olive having-asked and having-received went-away

IV · THE SHAKING-OFF OF BURDENS

Athens divides into the Hill, the Plain, and the Shore, and the poor are enslaved for debt. Solon is chosen archon and arbiter. Urged to make himself tyrant, he refuses and writes of those who mocked him. His first measure, the seisachtheia, cancels debts and frees those enslaved; his friends, warned beforehand, borrow to buy land, and he is slandered, though he himself lost five talents. The rich resent the cancellation, the poor the lack of land redistribution, but soon they sacrifice together and give him power over every office and law.

13 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς Κυλωνείου πεπαυμένης ταραχῆς καὶ
the and Athenians the Cylonian having-ceased disturbance and
μεθεστώτων, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τῶν ἐναγῶν, τὴν παλαιὰν
having-departed as has-been-said the accursed(-men) the old
αὖθις στάσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας ἐστασίαζον, ὅσας ἡ χώρα
again strife about the constitution were-at-strife as-many-as the land
διαφορὰς εἶχεν, εἰς τοσαῦτα μέρη τῆς πόλεως διαστάσης.
differences had into so-many parts the city being-divided

ἦν γὰρ τὸ μὲν τῶν Διακρίων γένος δημοκρατικώτατον,
was for the indeed of-the Hill-men class most-democratic
ὀλιγαρχικώτατον δὲ τὸ τῶν Πεδιέων· τρίτοι δ' οἱ Πάραλοι
most-oligarchic and that of-the Plain-men third and the Shore-men
μέσον τινὰ καὶ μεμιγμένον αἱρούμενοι πολιτείας τρόπον,
middle some and mixed choosing of-constitution kind
ἐμποδὼν ἦσαν καὶ διεκώλυον τοὺς ἑτέρους κρατῆσαι. τότε
in-the-way were and prevented the others to-prevail then
δὲ τῆς τῶν πενήτων πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους ἀνωμαλίας
and the of-the poor toward the rich inequality
ὥσπερ ἀκμὴν λαβούσης παντάπασιν ἐπισφαλῶς ἡ πόλις
as-it-were a-peak having-taken altogether precariously the city
διέκειτο, καὶ μόνως ἂν ἐδόκει καταστῆναι καὶ παύσασθαι
was-placed and in-one-way-only — it-seemed to-be-settled and to-cease
ταραττομένη τυραννίδος γενομένης. ἅπας μὲν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος
being-disturbed tyranny having-arisen all indeed for the people
ἦν ὑπόχρεως τῶν πλουσίων. ἢ γὰρ ἐγεώργουν ἐκείνοις
was in-debt to-the rich either for they-farmed for-them
ἕκτα τῶν γινομένων τελοῦντες, ἑκτημόριοι προσαγορευόμενοι
sixths of-the produce paying sixth-parters being-called
καὶ θῆτες, ἢ χρέα λαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀγώγιμοι
and laborers or debts taking on the bodies liable-to-seizure
τοῖς δανείζουσιν ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ δουλεύοντες,
by-those lending were the(-ones) indeed there being-slaves
οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ξένην πιπρασκόμενοι. πολλοὶ δὲ
the(-others) and to the foreign(-land) being-sold many and
καὶ παῖδας ἰδίους ἠναγκάζοντο πωλεῖν (οὐδεὶς γὰρ νόμος
also children own were-compelled to-sell no for law
ἐκώλυε) καὶ τὴν πόλιν φεύγειν διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν
prevented and the city to-flee because-of the harshness of-the
δανειστῶν. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατοι συνίσταντο
lenders the but most and sturdiest banded-together

καὶ παρεκάλουν ἀλλήλους μὴ περιορᾶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἑλομένους ἕνα
and exhorted one-another not to-look-on but having-chosen one
προστάτην ἄνδρα πιστὸν ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς ὑπερημέρους καὶ
leader a-man trustworthy to-free the defaulters and
τὴν γῆν ἀναδάσασθαι καὶ ὅλως μεταστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν.
the land to-redistribute and wholly to-change the constitution
14 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ φρονιμώτατοι συνορῶντες
then indeed of-the Athenians the most-sensible seeing
τὸν Σόλωνα μόνον μάλιστα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἐκτὸς ὄντα,
— Solon alone most of-the errors outside being
καὶ μήτε τοῖς πλουσίοις κοινωνοῦντα τῆς ἀδικίας μήτε ταῖς
and neither with-the rich sharing of-the injustice nor by-the
τῶν πενήτων ἀνάγκαις ἐνεχόμενον, ἐδέοντο τοῖς κοινοῖς
of-the poor necessities being-held begged(-him) the common(-affairs)
προσελθεῖν καὶ καταπαῦσαι τὰς διαφοράς. καίτοι Φανίας ὁ
to-approach and to-end the differences and-yet Phanias the
Λέσβιος αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖ τὸν Σόλωνα, χρησάμενον ἀπάτῃ πρὸς
Lesbian him records — Solon having-used deceit toward
ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, ὑποσχέσθαι κρύφα τοῖς
both for safety of-the city to-have-promised secretly to-the
μὲν ἀπόροις τὴν νέμησιν, τοῖς δὲ χρηματικοῖς βεβαίωσιν
indeed resourceless the distribution to-the and moneyed confirmation
τῶν συμβολαίων. ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς ὁ Σόλων ὀκνῶν φησι τὸ
of-the contracts but himself — Solon hesitating says the
πρῶτον ἅψασθαι τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ δεδοικὼς τῶν μὲν
first to-have-taken-up the government and fearing of-the(-ones) indeed
τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν. ᾑρέθη
the love-of-money of-the(-others) and the arrogance he-was-chosen
δὲ ἄρχων μετὰ Φιλόμβροτον ὁμοῦ καὶ διαλλακτὴς καὶ
and archon after Philombrotus at-once both arbitrator and
νομοθέτης, δεξαμένων προθύμως αὐτὸν ὡς μὲν εὔπορον
lawgiver having-accepted(-him) eagerly him as indeed well-off

τῶν πλουσίων, ὡς δὲ χρηστὸν τῶν πενήτων. λέγεται δὲ
the rich as but honest the poor it-is-said and
καὶ φωνή τις αὐτοῦ περιφερομένη πρότερον, εἰπόντος ὡς
also saying some his being-carried-about before having-said that
τὸ ἴσον πόλεμον οὐ ποιεῖ, καὶ τοῖς κτηματικοῖς ἀρέσκειν
the equal war not makes and the propertied(-men) to-please
καὶ τοῖς ἀκτήμοσι, τῶν μὲν ἀξίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ, τῶν δὲ
and the propertyless the(-ones) indeed by-worth and virtue the(-others) and
μέτρῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ τὸ ἴσον ἕξειν προσδοκώντων· ὅθεν
by-measure and number the equal going-to-have expecting whence
ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης ἑκατέρων γενομένων οἱ προϊστάμενοι
in hope great both having-been the leaders
προσέκειντο τῷ Σόλωνι τυραννίδα προξενοῦντες καὶ
pressed-upon — Solon tyranny procuring and
ἀναπείθοντες εὐτολμότερον ἅψασθαι τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατῆ
urging(-him) more-boldly to-take-hold-of the city master
γενόμενον. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν διὰ μέσου πολιτῶν, τὴν
having-become many and also of-the in middle citizens the
ὑπὸ λόγου καὶ νόμου μεταβολὴν ὁρῶντες ἐργώδη καὶ
by reason and law change seeing laborious and
χαλεπὴν οὖσαν, οὐκ ἔφευγον ἕνα τὸν δικαιότατον καὶ
difficult being not shrank-from one the most-just and
φρονιμώτατον ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἔνιοι δέ φασι
most-sensible to-set-over the affairs some and say
καὶ μαντείαν γενέσθαι τῷ Σόλωνι Πυθοῖ τοιαύτην·
also an-oracle to-have-come — to-Solon at-Pytho such

῾Ησο μέσην κατὰ νῆα κυβερνητήριον ἔργον
Sit middle along the-ship the-helmsman's work
εὐθύνων· πολλοί τοι Ἀθηναίων ἐπίκουροι.
steering many surely of-Athenians (are)-helpers

μάλιστα δὲ οἱ συνήθεις ἐκάκιζον εἰ διὰ τοὔνομα
most and the intimates reproached(-him) if because-of the-name
δυσωπεῖται τὴν μοναρχίαν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀρετῇ τοῦ
he-is-put-off the monarchy as-though not by-virtue of-the(-one)
λαβόντος εὐθὺς ἂν βασιλείαν γενομένην, καὶ γεγενημένην
taking(-it) at-once — a-kingship having-become and having-become
πρότερον μὲν Εὐβοεῦσι Τυννώνδαν, νῦν δὲ Μιτυληναίοις
before indeed for-Euboeans Tynnondas now and for-Mitylenaeans
Πιττακὸν ᾑρημένοις τύραννον.
Pittacus having-chosen tyrant
Τούτων οὐδὲν ἐξέκρουσε τὸν Σόλωνα τῆς αὑτοῦ
of-these none dislodged — Solon from-the his-own
προαιρέσεως, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν, ὡς
choice but to indeed the friends he-said as
λέγεται, καλὸν μὲν εἶναι τὴν τυραννίδα χωρίον, οὐκ ἔχειν
it-is-said fine indeed to-be the tyranny a-place not to-have
δὲ ἀπόβασιν, πρὸς δὲ Φῶκον ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι γράφων·
but a-way-out to and Phocus in the poems writing

Εἰ δὲ γῆς (φησίν) ἐφεισάμην
If and land he-says I-spared
πατρίδος, τυραννίδος δὲ καὶ βίης ἀμειλίχου
fatherland of-tyranny and and of-violence ungentle
οὐ καθηψάμην μιάνας καὶ καταισχύνας κλέος,
not laid-bold having-stained and having-disgraced glory
οὐδὲν αἰδεῦμαι· πλέον γὰρ ὧδε
nothing I-am-ashamed more for so
νικήσειν δοκέω πάντας ἀνθρώπους.
to-win I-think all men

ὅθεν εὔδηλον ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τῆς νομοθεσίας μεγάλην δόξαν
whence quite-clear that even before the legislation great reputation
εἶχεν. ἃ δὲ φυγόντος αὐτοῦ τὴν τυραννίδα πολλοὶ
he-had what and having-fled him the tyranny many
καταγελῶντες ἔλεγον, γέγραφεν οὕτως·
laughing-at(-him) said has-written thus

Οὐκ ἔφυ Σόλων βαθύφρων οὐδὲ βουλήεις ἀνήρ·
Not was-born Solon deep-minded nor counsel-wise man
ἐσθλὰ γὰρ θεοῦ διδόντος αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐδέξατο.
good(-things) for god giving himself not he-received
περιβαλὼν δ' ἄγραν ἀγασθεὶς οὐκ ἐπέσπασεν μέγα
having-cast-around and the-catch amazed not he-drew-up great
δίκτυον, θυμοῦ θ' ἁμαρτῇ καὶ φρενῶν ἀποσφαλείς.
the-net of-spirit both at-once and of-wits having-fallen-short
ἤθελον γάρ κεν κρατήσας, πλοῦτον ἄφθονον λαβὼν
I-would-have-wished for — having-ruled wealth ungrudged having-taken
καὶ τυραννεύσας Ἀθηνῶν μοῦνον ἡμέραν μίαν,
and having-been-tyrant of-Athens only day one
ἀσκὸς ὕστερον δεδάρθαι κἀπιτετρῖφθαι γένος.
a-wineskin afterward to-have-been-flayed and-to-have-been-wiped-out family

Ταῦτα τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ φαύλους περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε 15
these-things the many and base(-men) about him he-has-made
λέγοντας. οὐ μὴν ἀπωσάμενός γε τὴν τυραννίδα
saying not indeed having-rejected at-least the tyranny
τὸν πρᾳότατον ἐχρήσατο τρόπον τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐδὲ
the gentlest he-used manner in-the affairs nor
μαλακῶς οὐδ' ὑπείκων τοῖς δυναμένοις οὐδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν
softly nor yielding to-the powerful nor for pleasure
τῶν ἑλομένων ἔθετο τοὺς νόμους· ἀλλ' ᾗ μὲν
of-those having-chosen(-him) he-established the laws but where indeed

ἄριστον ἦν, οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν ἰατρείαν οὐδὲ καινοτομίαν,
best it-was not he-applied cure nor innovation
φοβηθεὶς μὴ συγχέας παντάπασι καὶ ταράξας τὴν
having-feared lest having-confounded altogether and having-disturbed the
πόλιν ἀσθενέστερος γένηται τοῦ καταστῆσαι πάλιν καὶ
city weaker he-become than-the to-settle(-it) again and
συναρμόσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον· ἃ δὲ καὶ λέγων
to-tune(-it) toward the best what but both by-speaking
ἤλπιζε πειθομένοις καὶ προσάγων ἀνάγκην ὑπομένουσι
he-hoped with-them-persuaded and by-applying compulsion with-them-enduring
χρήσασθαι, ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ὥς φησιν αὐτός,
to-use these-things he-did as says himself

Ὁμοῦ βίην τε καὶ δίκην συναρμόσας.
Together force both and justice having-fitted

ὅθεν ὕστερον ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ τοὺς ἀρίστους Ἀθηναίοις
whence later having-been-asked whether the best for-Athenians
νόμους ἔγραψεν, "Ὧν ἄν," ἔφη, "προσεδέξαντο τοὺς
laws he-wrote of-those — he-said they-would-have-accepted the
ἀρίστους."
best
Ἃ δ' οὖν οἱ νεώτεροι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγουσι τὰς τῶν
what and then the later(-writers) the Athenians say(-did) the of-the
πραγμάτων δυσχερείας ὀνόμασι χρηστοῖς καὶ φιλανθρώποις
matters unpleasantnesses with-names auspicious and kindly
ἐπικαλύπτοντας ἀστείως ὑποκορίζεσθαι, τὰς μὲν πόρνας
veiling wittily to-call-by-pet-names the indeed harlots
ἑταίρας, τοὺς δὲ φόρους συντάξεις, φυλακὰς δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς
companions the and tributes contributions guards and the garrisons
τῶν πόλεων, οἴκημα δὲ τὸ δεσμωτήριον καλοῦντας, πρώτου
of-the cities a-dwelling and the prison calling first

Σόλωνος ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, σόφισμα τὴν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν
of-Solon was as it-seems a-clever-device the of-the debts cancellation
σεισάχθειαν ὀνομάσαντος. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρῶτον
a-shaking-off-of-burdens having-named this for he-made first
πολίτευμα, γράψας τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχοντα τῶν χρεῶν ἀνεῖσθαι,
measure having-written the indeed existing of-the debts to-be-remitted
πρὸς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι μηδένα δανείζειν. καίτοι
for and the future on the bodies no-one to-lend and-yet
τινὲς ἔγραψαν, ὧν ἐστὶν Ἀνδροτίων, οὐκ ἀποκοπῇ χρεῶν,
some have-written of-whom is Androtion not by-cancellation of-debts
ἀλλὰ τόκων μετριότητι κουφισθέντας ἀγαπῆσαι τοὺς
but of-interest by-moderation having-been-relieved to-have-been-content the
πένητας, καὶ σεισάχθειαν ὀνομάσαι τὸ φιλανθρώπευμα
poor and a-shaking-off-of-burdens to-have-named the kindness
τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἅμα τούτῳ γενομένην τῶν τε μέτρων
this and the together-with this having-arisen of-the both measures
ἐπαύξησιν καὶ τοῦ νομίσματος τιμήν. ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἐποίησε
increase and of-the money value a-hundred for he-made
δραχμῶν τὴν μνᾶν πρότερον ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τριῶν οὖσαν,
of-drachmas the mina before seventy and three being
ὥστ' ἀριθμῷ μὲν ἴσον, δυνάμει δ' ἔλαττον ἀποδιδόντων,
so-that in-number indeed equal in-value but less paying
ὠφελεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἐκτίνοντας μεγάλα, μηδὲν δὲ
to-be-benefited indeed the(-men) paying-off greatly in-nothing and
βλάπτεσθαι τοὺς κομιζομένους. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι πάντων ὁμοῦ
to-be-harmed the(-men) receiving the but most of-all together
φασι τῶν συμβολαίων ἀναίρεσιν γενέσθαι τὴν σεισάχθειαν,
say of-the contracts an-abolition to-have-been the shaking-off-of-burdens

καὶ τούτοις συνᾴδει μᾶλλον τὰ ποιήματα. Σεμνύεται γὰρ
and with-these agree more the poems prides-himself for
Σόλων ἐν τούτοις ὅτι τῆς τε προϋποκειμένης γῆς
Solon in these that of-the both mortgaged land

Ὅρους ἀνεῖλε πολλαχῆ πεπηγότας·
Boundary-stones he-removed in-many-places planted
πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα, νῦν ἐλευθέρα·
before and being-a-slave now free

καὶ τῶν ἀγωγίμων πρὸς ἀργύριον γεγονότων πολιτῶν
and of-the liable-to-seizure for silver having-been citizens
τοὺς μὲν ἀνήγαγεν ἀπὸ ξένης,
the(-ones) indeed he-brought-back from foreign(-land)

γλῶσσαν οὐκέτ᾽ Ἀττικὴν
a-tongue no-longer Attic
ἱέντας, ὡς ἂν πολλαχῆ πλανωμένους·
uttering as — in-many-places wandering
τοὺς δ᾽ ἐνθάδ᾽ αὐτοῦ δουλίην ἀεικέα ἔχοντας
those and here in-the-place slavery unseemly having

ἐλευθέρους φησὶ ποιῆσαι.
free he-says to-have-made
Πρᾶγμα δ᾽ αὐτῷ συμπεσεῖν λέγεται πάντων ἀνιαρότατον
a-thing and to-him to-have-befallen is-said of-all most-vexing
ἀπὸ τῆς πράξεως ἐκείνης. ὡς γὰρ ὥρμησεν ἀνιέναι
from the action that when for he-set-out to-remit
τὰ χρέα καὶ λόγους ἁρμόττοντας ἐζήτει καὶ πρέπουσαν
the debts and words fitting he-sought and suitable
ἀρχήν, ἐκοινώσατο τῶν φίλων οἷς μάλιστα πιστεύων
beginning he-communicated-with of-the friends whom most trusting

καὶ χρώμενος ἐτύγχανε, τοῖς περὶ Κόνωνα καὶ Κλεινίαν
and associating-with he-happened those about Conon and Cleinias
καὶ Ἱππόνικον, ὅτι γῆν μὲν οὐ μέλλει κινεῖν, χρεῶν
and Hipponicus that the-land indeed not he-is-going to-disturb of-debts
δὲ ποιεῖν ἀποκοπὰς ἔγνωκεν. οἱ δὲ προλαβόντες εὐθὺς
but to-make cancellations he-has-resolved they and anticipating at-once
καὶ φθάσαντες ἐδανείσαντο συχνὸν ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν
and getting-ahead borrowed much silver from the
πλουσίων καὶ μεγάλας συνεωνήσαντο χώρας. εἶτα τοῦ
rich and large bought-up lands then the
δόγματος ἐξενεχθέντος τὰ μὲν κτήματα καρπούμενοι,
decree having-been-published the indeed estates enjoying
τὰ δὲ χρήματα τοῖς δανείσασιν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντες,
the and moneys to-the(-men) having-lent not paying-back
εἰς αἰτίαν τὸν Σόλωνα μεγάλην καὶ διαβολήν, ὥσπερ
into accusation — Solon great and slander as-though
οὐ συναδικούμενον, ἀλλὰ συναδικοῦντα, κατέστησαν.
not wronged-with(-them) but wronging-with(-them) they-brought
ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἐλύθη τὸ ἔγκλημα τοῖς πέντε
but this indeed at-once was-dissolved the charge by-the five
ταλάντοις· τοσαῦτα γὰρ εὑρέθη δανείζων, καὶ ταῦτα
talents so-many for he-was-found lending and these
πρῶτος ἀφῆκε κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ἔνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα
first he-remitted according-to the law some and fifteen
λέγουσιν, ὧν καὶ Πολύζηλος ὁ Ῥόδιός ἐστι. τοὺς
say of-whom also Polyzelus the Rhodian is the
μέντοι φίλους αὐτοῦ χρεωκοπίδας καλοῦντες διετέλεσαν.
however friends his debt-cutters calling continued
Ἤρεσε δ' οὐδετέροις, ἀλλ' ἐλύπησε καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους 16
he-pleased and neither(-side) but he-grieved both the rich
ἀνελὼν τὰ συμβόλαια, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τοὺς πένητας,
having-abolished the contracts and more still the poor

ὅτι γῆς ἀναδασμὸν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐλπίσασιν αὐτοῖς,
because of-land redistribution not he-made having-hoped for-them
οὐδὲ παντάπασιν, ὥσπερ ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ὁμαλοὺς τοῖς
nor altogether as — Lycurgus equal in-the
βίοις καὶ ἴσους κατέστησεν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἑνδέκατος
livelihoods and equal established(-them) but he indeed eleventh
ὢν ἀφ᾽ Ἡρακλέους καὶ βεβασιλευκὼς ἔτη πολλὰ τῆς
being from Heracles and having-reigned years many —
Λακεδαίμονος, ἀξίωμα μέγα καὶ φίλους καὶ δύναμιν οἷς
of-Lacedaemon dignity great and friends and power for-what
ἔγνω καλῶς περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπηρετοῦσαν εἶχε, καὶ
he-judged well about the constitution serving had and
βίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ πειθοῖ χρησάμενος, ὥστε καὶ τὸν
by-force rather than by-persuasion having-used so-that even the
ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκοπῆναι, κατειργάσατο τὸ μέγιστον εἰς
eye to-be-knocked-out he-achieved the greatest(-thing) for
σωτηρίαν πόλεως καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, μηδένα πένητα μηδὲ
safety of-a-city and concord no-one poor nor
πλούσιον εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν· Σόλων δὲ τούτου μὲν
rich to-be of-the citizens Solon and this indeed
οὐκ ἐφίκετο τῇ πολιτείᾳ δημοτικὸς ὢν καὶ μέσος,
not reached in-the constitution popular being and middling
ἐνδεέστερον δὲ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης δυνάμεως οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν,
less and than-the existing power nothing he-did
ὁρμώμενος ἐκ μόνου τοῦ βούλεσθαι καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτῷ
setting-out from only the to-wish and to-trust him

τοὺς πολίτας. ὅτι δ' οὖν προσέκρουσε τοῖς πλείστοις
the citizens that and then he-offended the most
ἕτερα προσδοκήσασιν, αὐτὸς εἴρηκε περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς
other(-things) having-expected himself has-said about them that

Χαῦνα μὲν τότ' ἐφράσαντο, νῦν δέ μοι χολούμενοι
Vain-things indeed then they-devised now but at-me being-angry
λοξὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶσι πάντες ὥστε δήϊον.
askance with-eyes look all as-at an-enemy

καίτοι φησὶν ὡς, εἴ τις ἄλλος ἔσχε τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν,
and-yet he-says that if any other had the same power

Οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον, οὐδ' ἐπαύσατο,
Not — he-would-have-restrained the-people nor stopped
πρὶν ἀνταράξας, πῖαρ ἐξεῖλεν γάλα.
before having-churned-up the-cream took-out the-milk

Ταχὺ μέντοι τοῦ συμφέροντος αἰσθόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἰδίας
quickly however the advantage having-perceived and the own
αὐτῶν μέμψεις ἀφέντες ἔθυσάν τε κοινῇ, σεισάχθειαν
their complaints having-dropped they-sacrificed both in-common shaking-off-of-burdens
τὴν θυσίαν ὀνομάσαντες, καὶ τὸν Σόλωνα τῆς πολιτείας
the sacrifice having-named and — Solon of-the constitution
διορθωτὴν καὶ νομοθέτην ἀπέδειξαν, οὐ τὰ μέν,
reformer and lawgiver appointed not the(-things) indeed
τὰ δ' οὐχί, πάντα δ' ὁμαλῶς ἐπιτρέψαντες,
the(-things) but not all but alike having-entrusted(-to-him)
ἀρχάς, ἐκκλησίας, δικαστήρια, βουλάς, καὶ τίμημα
magistracies assemblies law-courts councils and the-property-rating
τούτων ἑκάστου καὶ ἀριθμὸν καὶ καιρὸν ὁρίσαι, λύοντα
of-these each and number and time to-define abolishing

καὶ φυλάττοντα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ καθεστώτων ὅ
and keeping of-the existing and established(-things) what
τι δοκοίη.
ever should-seem-good

V · CLASSES, COUNCILS, AND LAWS

Solon repeals Draco's laws except those on homicide. He divides the citizens into four classes by income, keeps the offices for the rich, and gives the poorest a share in the assembly and the courts; his laws' obscurity strengthens the courts. He makes anyone free to seek justice for the wronged, creates a second council, and sets the Areopagus over all. Among his laws: disenfranchisement for neutrality in faction, the rules for heiresses, and the abolition of dowries.

17 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς Δράκοντος νόμους ἀνεῖλε πλὴν τῶν
first indeed then the of-Draco laws he-repealed except the
φονικῶν ἅπαντας, διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος
homicide(-laws) all because-of the severity and the magnitude
τῶν ἐπιτιμίων. μία γὰρ ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασιν ὥριστο τοῖς
of-the penalties one for of-little to-lack for-all had-been-fixed the
ἁμαρτάνουσι ζημία θάνατος, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀργίας ἁλόντας
offenders penalty death so-that even those of-idleness convicted
ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ τοὺς λάχανα κλέψαντας ἢ ὀπώραν
to-die and those vegetables having-stolen or fruit
ὁμοίως κολάζεσθαι τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ ἀνδροφόνοις. διὸ
alike to-be-punished with-the temple-robbers and murderers wherefore
Δημάδης ὕστερον εὐδοκίμησεν εἰπὼν ὅτι δι' αἵματος, οὐ διὰ
Demades later was-esteemed having-said that with blood not with
μέλανος, τοὺς νόμους ὁ Δράκων ἔγραψεν. αὐτὸς δ' ἐκεῖνος,
ink the laws — Draco wrote himself and he
ὥς φασιν, ἐρωτώμενος διὰ τί τοῖς πλείστοις ἀδικήμασι
as they-say being-asked because-of what for-the most offenses

ζημίαν ἔταξε θάνατον, ἀπεκρίνατο τὰ μὲν μικρὰ
as-penalty he-fixed death answered the(-ones) indeed small
ταύτης ἄξια νομίζειν, τοῖς δὲ μεγάλοις οὐκ ἔχειν μείζονα.
this deserving to-think for-the and great not to-have a-greater
Δεύτερον δὲ Σόλων τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας, ὥσπερ 18
second and Solon the indeed offices all as
ἦσαν, τοῖς εὐπόροις ἀπολιπεῖν βουλόμενος, τὴν δ' ἄλλην
they-were to-the well-to-do to-leave wishing the and other
μῖξαι πολιτείαν, ἧς ὁ δῆμος οὐ μετεῖχεν, ἔλαβε
to-mix constitution of-which the people not had-share he-took
τὰ τιμήματα τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ξηροῖς
the property-ratings of-the citizens and the(-men) indeed in dry
ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑγροῖς μέτρα πεντακόσια ποιοῦντας πρώτους
together and liquid measures five-hundred producing first
ἔταξε καὶ πεντακοσιομεδίμνους προσηγόρευσε· δευτέρους
he-ranked and five-hundred-bushel-men called second
δὲ τοὺς ἵππον τρέφειν δυναμένους ἢ μέτρα ποιεῖν
and those a-horse to-keep able or measures to-produce
τριακόσια· καὶ τούτους ἱππάδα τελοῦντας ἐκάλουν· ζευγῖται
three-hundred and these knighthood paying they-called zeugitae
δ' οἱ τοῦ τρίτου τιμήματος ὠνομάσθησαν, οἷς
and the(-men) of-the third rating were-named whose
μέτρον ἦν συναμφοτέρων διακοσίων. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες
measure was of-both-together two-hundred the and rest all
ἐκαλοῦντο θῆτες, οἷς οὐδεμίαν ἄρχειν ἔδωκεν ἀρχήν,
were-called thetes to-whom no to-hold he-gave office
ἀλλὰ τῷ συνεκκλησιάζειν καὶ δικάζειν μόνον μετεῖχον
but by-the to-attend-the-assembly and to-serve-as-jurors only they-shared-in
τῆς πολιτείας. ὃ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐδέν, ὕστερον δὲ
the constitution which at beginnings indeed nothing later but
παμμέγεθες ἐφάνη· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν διαφόρων ἐνέπιπτεν
very-great appeared the for most of-the disputes fell

εἰς τοὺς δικαστάς. καὶ γὰρ ὅσα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἔταξε
to the jurors and for as-many-as to-the magistrates he-ordained
κρίνειν, ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἐφέσεις
to-decide likewise also about those to the law-court appeals
ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους
he-gave to-those wishing it-is-said and also the laws
ἀσαφέστερον γράψας καὶ πολλὰς ἀντιλήψεις ἔχοντας
rather-obscurely having-written and many interpretations having
αὐξῆσαι τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύν· μὴ δυναμένους γὰρ
to-have-increased the of-the law-courts power not being-able for
ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων διαλυθῆναι περὶ ὧν διεφέροντο, συνέβαινεν
by the laws to-be-settled about what they-disagreed it-happened
ἀεὶ δεῖσθαι δικαστῶν καὶ πᾶν ἄγειν ἀμφισβήτημα
always to-need jurors and every to-bring dispute
πρὸς ἐκείνους, τρόπον τινὰ τῶν νόμων κυρίους ὄντας.
before those in-a-way some of-the laws masters being
ἐπισημαίνεται δ' αὐτὸς αὑτῷ τὴν ἀξίωσιν οὕτως·
indicates and he-himself to-himself the claim thus

Δήμῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον κράτος ὅσσον ἀπαρκεῖ,
To-the-people indeed for I-gave so-much power as suffices
τιμῆς οὔτ' ἀφελὼν οὔτ' ἐπορεξάμενος·
of-honor neither taking-away nor reaching-out-for(-more)
οἳ δ' εἶχον δύναμιν καὶ χρήμασιν ἦσαν ἀγητοί,
those-who and had power and in-wealth were admired
καὶ τοῖς ἐφρασάμην μηδὲν ἀεικὲς ἔχειν.
also for-these I-took-thought nothing unseemly to-have
ἔστην δ' ἀμφιβαλὼν κρατερὸν σάκος ἀμφοτέροισι·
I-stood and having-thrown-around a-strong shield over-both
νικᾶν δ' οὐκ εἴασ' οὐδετέρους ἀδίκως.
to-win and not I-allowed neither unjustly

Ἔτι μέντοι μᾶλλον οἰόμενος δεῖν ἐπαρκεῖν τῇ τῶν
still however more thinking it-needful to-succor the of-the
πολλῶν ἀσθενείᾳ, παντὶ λαβεῖν δίκην ὑπὲρ τοῦ
many weakness to-everyone to-take justice on-behalf-of the(-one)
κακῶς πεπονθότος ἔδωκε. καὶ γὰρ πληγέντος ἑτέρου καὶ
badly having-suffered he-gave and for having-been-struck another and
βιασθέντος ἢ βλαβέντος ἐξῆν τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ
having-been-forced or having-been-harmed it-was-possible for-the(-one) able and
βουλομένῳ γράφεσθαι τὸν ἀδικοῦντα καὶ διώκειν, ὀρθῶς
willing to-indict the wrongdoer and to-prosecute rightly
ἐθίζοντος τοῦ νομοθέτου τοὺς πολίτας ὥσπερ ἑνὸς μέρη
accustoming the lawgiver the citizens as of-one parts
σώματος συναισθάνεσθαι καὶ συναλγεῖν ἀλλήλοις. τούτῳ
body to-feel-together and to-suffer-together with-one-another with-this
δὲ τῷ νόμῳ συμφωνοῦντα λόγον αὐτοῦ διαμνημονεύουσιν.
and the law agreeing a-saying his they-record
ἐρωτηθεὶς γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἥτις οἰκεῖται κάλλιστα τῶν
having-been-asked for as it-seems which is-governed best of-the
πόλεων, "Ἐκείνη," εἶπεν, "ἐν ᾗ τῶν ἀδικουμένων
cities that(-one) he-said in which of-the(-ones) wronged
οὐχ ἧττον οἱ μὴ ἀδικούμενοι προβάλλονται καὶ
no less the(-ones) not wronged come-forward and
κολάζουσι τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας."
punish the wrongdoers

Συστησάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴν ἐκ τῶν 19
having-formed and the on Ares' hill council from the(-men)
κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχόντων, ἧς διὰ τὸ ἄρξαι
by year archons of-which because-of the to-have-been-archon
καὶ αὐτὸς μετεῖχεν, ἔτι δ' ὁρῶν τὸν δῆμον οἰδοῦντα
also himself had-share still and seeing the people swelling
καὶ θρασυνόμενον τῇ τῶν χρεῶν ἀφέσει, δευτέραν
and growing-bold with-the of-the debts remission a-second

προσκατένειμε βουλήν, ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστης, τεττάρων
he-assigned-in-addition council from tribe each four
οὐσῶν, ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ἐπιλεξάμενος, οὓς προβουλεύειν
being a-hundred men having-selected whom to-deliberate-beforehand
ἔταξε τοῦ δήμου καὶ μηδὲν ἐᾶν ἀπροβούλευτον εἰς
he-ordered for-the people and nothing to-allow not-deliberated-beforehand to
ἐκκλησίαν εἰσφέρεσθαι. τὴν δ' ἄνω βουλὴν ἐπίσκοπον
assembly to-be-brought the and upper council overseer
πάντων καὶ φύλακα τῶν νόμων ἐκάθισεν, οἰόμενος ἐπὶ δυσὶ
of-all and guardian of-the laws he-seated thinking on two
βουλαῖς ὥσπερ ἀγκύραις ὁρμοῦσαν ἧττον ἐν σάλῳ τὴν
councils as-on anchors riding less in tossing the
πόλιν ἔσεσθαι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀτρεμοῦντα τὸν δῆμον παρέξειν.
city to-be and more quiet the people to-render
Οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν,
the indeed then most the from Ares' hill council
ὥσπερ εἴρηται, Σόλωνα συστήσασθαί φασι· καὶ μαρτυρεῖν
as has-been-said Solon to-have-formed say and to-bear-witness
αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ μάλιστα τὸ μηδαμοῦ τὸν Δράκοντα λέγειν
for-them seems most the nowhere — Draco to-mention
μηδ' ὀνομάζειν Ἀρεοπαγίτας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐφέταις ἀεὶ
nor to-name Areopagites but to-the ephetae always
διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν φονικῶν. ὁ δὲ τρισκαιδέκατος ἄξων
to-address-himself about the homicide(-cases) the but thirteenth axon
τοῦ Σόλωνος τὸν ὄγδοον ἔχει τῶν νόμων οὕτως αὐτοῖς
— of-Solon the eighth has of-the laws thus in-the-very
ὀνόμασι γεγραμμένον. "Ἀτίμων ὅσοι ἄτιμοι ἦσαν
words written of-the-disfranchised as-many-as disfranchised were
πρὶν ἢ Σόλωνα ἄρξαι, ἐπιτίμους εἶναι πλὴν ὅσοι ἐξ
before than Solon to-be-archon enfranchised to-be except as-many-as from
Ἀρείου πάγου ἢ ὅσοι ἐκ τῶν ἐφετῶν ἢ ἐκ πρυτανείου
Ares' hill or as-many-as from the ephetae or from the-prytaneum

καταδικασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ φόνῳ ἢ σφαγαῖσιν
having-been-condemned by the kings for murder or slaughters
ἢ ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἔφευγον ὅτε ὁ θεσμὸς ἐφάνη ὅδε.”
or for tyranny were-in-exile when the ordinance was-published this
ταῦτα δὴ πάλιν ὡς πρὸ τῆς Σόλωνος ἀρχῆς καὶ
these(-words) indeed again as before the of-Solon archonship and
νομοθεσίας τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν οὖσαν ἐνδείκνυται.
legislation the from Ares' hill council being indicate
τίνες γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ πρὸ Σόλωνος ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ
who for were those before Solon on Ares' hill
καταδικασθέντες, εἰ πρῶτος Σόλων ἔδωκε τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου
condemned if first Solon gave to-the from Ares'
πάγου βουλῇ τὸ κρίνειν; εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία γέγονέ τις ἀσάφεια
hill council the to-judge if not by Zeus has-occurred some obscurity
τοῦ γράμματος ἢ ἔκλειψις, ὥστε τοὺς ἡλωκότας ἐπ᾽ αἰτίαις
of-the writing or omission so-that those convicted on charges
αἷς κρίνουσι νῦν οἱ Ἀρεοπαγῖται καὶ ἐφέται καὶ πρυτάνεις,
which judge now the Areopagites and ephetae and prytanes
ὅτε ὁ θεσμὸς ἐφάνη ὅδε, μένειν ἀτίμους, τῶν ἄλλων
when the ordinance was-published this to-remain disfranchised the others
ἐπιτίμων γενομένων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπισκόπει.
enfranchised having-become these-things indeed then also yourself consider
Τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων αὐτοῦ νόμων ἴδιος μὲν μάλιστα καὶ 20
of-the and other his laws peculiar indeed most and
παράδοξος ὁ κελεύων ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν ἐν στάσει
paradoxical the(-one) commanding disfranchised to-be the(-man) in faction
μηδετέρας μερίδος γενόμενον. βούλεται δ᾽, ὡς ἔοικε, μὴ
of-neither side having-become he-wishes and as it-seems not
ἀπαθῶς μηδ᾽ ἀναισθήτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ κοινόν, ἐν
without-feeling nor insensibly to-be toward the commonwealth in
ἀσφαλεῖ θέμενον τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ τῷ μὴ συναλγεῖν
safety having-placed the private(-affairs) and in-the not to-grieve-with

μηδὲ συννοσεῖν τῇ πατρίδι καλλωπιζόμενον, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν
nor to-be-sick-with the fatherland priding-himself but at-once
τοῖς τὰ βελτίω καὶ δικαιότερα πράττουσι προσθέμενον,
to-those the better and juster(-things) doing having-attached-himself
συγκινδυνεύειν καὶ βοηθεῖν, μᾶλλον ἢ περιμένειν ἀκινδύνως
to-share-the-danger and to-help rather than to-wait-for without-risk
τὰ τῶν κρατούντων. ἄτοπος δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ γελοῖος
the(-things) of-the prevailing(-side) absurd and seems and ridiculous
ὁ τῇ ἐπικλήρῳ διδούς, ἂν ὁ κρατῶν καὶ
the(-law) to-the heiress granting if the(-man) having-power and
κύριος γεγονὼς κατὰ τὸν νόμον αὐτὸς μὴ δυνατὸς
master having-become according-to the law himself not able
ᾖ πλησιάζειν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἔγγιστα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὀπύεσθαι.
be to-have-intercourse by the nearest of-the husband to-be-married
καὶ τοῦτο δ' ὀρθῶς ἔχειν τινές φασι πρὸς τοὺς μὴ
and this but rightly to-be some say against those not
δυναμένους συνεῖναι, χρημάτων δ' ἕνεκα λαμβάνοντας
being-able to-cohabit of-money but for-the-sake taking
ἐπικλήρους καὶ τῷ νόμῳ καταβιαζομένους τὴν φύσιν.
heiresses and by-the law doing-violence-to the nature
ὁρῶντες γὰρ ᾧ βούλεται τὴν ἐπίκληρον συνοῦσαν
seeing for with-whom she-wishes the heiress associating-with
ἢ προήσονται τὸν γάμον ἢ μετ' αἰσχύνης καθέξουσι,
either they-will-give-up the marriage or with shame will-hold(-it)
φιλοπλουτίας καὶ ὕβρεως δίκην διδόντες. εὖ δ' ἔχει καὶ
of-love-of-wealth and of-insolence penalty paying well and is also
τὸ μὴ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν συγγενῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ᾧ
the not with-all but of-the kinsmen of-the husband with-whom
βούλεται διαλέγεσθαι τὴν ἐπίκληρον, ὅπως οἰκεῖον ᾖ καὶ
she-wishes to-converse the heiress so-that kin be and
μετέχον τοῦ γένους τὸ τικτόμενον. εἰς τοῦτο δὲ συντελεῖ
sharing of-the family the offspring to this and contributes

καὶ τὸ τὴν νύμφην τῷ νυμφίῳ συγκαθείργνυσθαι μήλου
also the the bride with-the bridegroom to-be-shut-up of-an-apple
κυδωνίου κατατραγοῦσαν, καὶ τὸ τρὶς ἑκάστου μηνὸς
cydonian having-eaten and the three-times each month
ἐντυγχάνειν πάντως τῇ ἐπικλήρῳ τὸν λαβόντα. καὶ
to-meet surely the heiress the(-man) having-taken(-her) even
γὰρ εἰ μὴ γένοιντο παῖδες, ἀλλὰ τιμή τις ἀνδρὸς αὕτη
for if not there-be children but honor some of-a-man this
πρὸς σώφρονα γυναῖκα, καὶ φιλοφροσύνη πολλὰ τῶν
toward a-chaste wife and affection many of-the
συλλεγομένων ἑκάστοτε δυσχερῶν ἀφαιροῦσα, καὶ ταῖς
accumulating each-time vexations removing and with-the
διαφοραῖς οὐκ ἐῶσα παντάπασιν ἀποστραφῆναι. τῶν δ'
differences not allowing altogether to-be-estranged of-the and
ἄλλων γάμων ἀφεῖλε τὰς φερνάς, ἱμάτια τρία καὶ σκεύη
other marriages he-abolished the dowries cloaks three and furnishings
μικροῦ νομίσματος ἄξια κελεύσας, ἕτερον δὲ μηδὲν
of-small money worth having-ordered(-her) other and nothing
ἐπιφέρεσθαι τὴν γαμουμένην. οὐ γὰρ ἐβούλετο μισθοφόρον
to-bring-with the bride not for he-wished mercenary
οὐδ' ὤνιον εἶναι τὸν γάμον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεκνώσει καὶ χάριτι
nor purchasable to-be the marriage but for begetting and grace
καὶ φιλότητι γίνεσθαι τὸν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς συνοικισμόν.
and affection to-take-place the of-man and woman union
ὁ μὲν γὰρ Διονύσιος, ἀξιούσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ δοθῆναί
— indeed for Dionysius asking the mother his to-be-given
τινι τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς γάμον, ἔφη τοὺς μὲν τῆς
to-some(-one) of-the citizens in marriage said the indeed of-the
πόλεως νόμους λελυκέναι τυραννῶν, τοὺς δὲ τῆς φύσεως
city laws to-have-broken being-tyrant those but of-the nature
οὐκ εἶναι δυνατὸς βιάζεσθαι γάμους νυμφαγωγῶν
not to-be able to-force marriages bringing-together-in-wedlock

παρ᾽ ἡλικίαν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι τὴν ἀταξίαν ταύτην
against age in and the cities the disorder this
οὐ δοτέον, οὐδὲ περιοπτέον ἀώρους καὶ ἀχαρίτους
not is-to-be-granted nor to-be-overlooked untimely and joyless
ἐπιπλοκὰς καὶ μηδὲν ἔργον γαμήλιον ἐχούσας μηδὲ τέλος.
couplings and no work nuptial having nor end
ἀλλὰ γέροντι νέαν ἀγομένῳ φαίη τις ἂν ἐμμελὴς
but to-an-old-man a-young(-wife) marrying might-say one — tactful
ἄρχων ἢ νομοθέτης τὸ πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην·
magistrate or lawgiver the(-line) to — Philoctetes

εὖ γοῦν ὡς γαμεῖν ἔχεις τάλας,
well indeed how to-marry you-are-fit wretch

καὶ νέον ἐν δωματίῳ πλουσίας πρεσβύτιδος, ὥσπερ
and a-young(-man) in a-chamber of-a-rich old-woman like
οἱ πέρδικες, ἀπὸ συνουσίας παχυνόμενον ἐξανευρὼν
the partridges from intercourse fattening having-found-out
μετοικίσει πρὸς παρθένον νύμφην ἀνδρὸς δεομένην. ταῦτα
he-will-transfer to a-maiden bride a-husband needing these-things
μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων.
indeed then about these(-matters)

Solon forbids speaking ill of the dead or of the living in temples, courts, and festivals. He allows wills, restrains women's processions and mourning, and makes a son bound to support his father only if taught a trade. Plutarch finds his penalties for rape and adultery strange, explains the value of money then, and records his laws on wells, planting, beehives, a ban on exporting any produce but oil, dogs that bite, and the naturalization of exiles and craftsmen.

21

Ἐπαινεῖται δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ ὁ κωλύων νόμος
is-praised and — of-Solon also the forbidding law
τὸν τεθνηκότα κακῶς ἀγορεύειν. καὶ γὰρ ὅσιον τοὺς
the dead badly to-speak-of and for pious the(-men)
μεθεστῶτας ἱεροὺς νομίζειν, καὶ δίκαιον ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν
departed sacred to-consider and just to-abstain-from the
οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ πολιτικὸν ἀφαιρεῖν τῆς ἔχθρας
not existing and statesmanlike to-take-away from-the enmity
τὸ ἀΐδιον. ζῶντα δὲ κακῶς λέγειν ἐκώλυσε πρὸς ἱεροῖς
the perpetual the-living and badly to-speak-of he-forbade at temples
καὶ δικαστηρίοις καὶ ἀρχείοις καὶ θεωρίας οὔσης
and law-courts and magistrates'-offices and spectacle being
ἀγώνων· ἢ τρεῖς δραχμὰς τῷ ἰδιώτῃ, δύο δ' ἄλλας
of-contests or three drachmas to-the private-person two and other
ἀποτίνειν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἔταξε. τὸ γὰρ μηδαμοῦ
to-pay into the public(-treasury) he-ordained the for nowhere
κρατεῖν ὀργῆς ἀπαίδευτον καὶ ἀκόλαστον· τὸ δὲ πανταχοῦ
to-master anger uneducated and licentious the but everywhere
χαλεπόν, ἐνίοις δὲ ἀδύνατον· δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τὸ δυνατὸν
difficult for-some and impossible it-is-needful and to the possible
γράφεσθαι τὸν νόμον, εἰ βούλεται χρησίμως ὀλίγους,
to-be-written the law if it-wishes usefully few
ἀλλὰ μὴ πολλοὺς ἀχρήστως κολάζειν.
but not many uselessly to-punish

Εὐδοκίμησε δὲ κἀν τῷ περὶ διαθηκῶν νόμῳ· πρότερον γὰρ
he-was-esteemed and also in-the about wills law before for
οὐκ ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ γένει τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἔδει τὰ
not it-was-permitted but in the family of-the dead it-was-necessary the
χρήματα καὶ τὸν οἶκον καταμένειν, ὁ δ' ᾧ βούλεταί τις
money and the house to-remain he but to-whom wishes anyone
ἐπιτρέψας, εἰ μὴ παῖδες εἶεν αὐτῷ, δοῦναι τὰ αὑτοῦ,
having-permitted if not children there-be to-him to-give the his-own(-goods)
φιλίαν τε συγγενείας ἐτίμησε μᾶλλον καὶ χάριν ἀνάγκης,
friendship both than-kinship honored more and favor than-necessity
καὶ τὰ χρήματα κτήματα τῶν ἐχόντων ἐποίησεν. οὐ
and the money possessions of-the(-men) having made not
μὴν ἀνέδην γε πάλιν οὐδ' ἁπλῶς τὰς δόσεις ἐφῆκεν,
indeed without-restraint at-least again nor simply the gifts he-permitted
ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ νόσων ἕνεκεν ἢ φαρμάκων ἢ δεσμῶν ἢ
but if not of-diseases on-account-of or of-drugs or of-bonds or
ἀνάγκῃ κατασχεθεὶς ἢ γυναικὶ πιθόμενος, εὖ πάνυ καὶ
by-necessity having-been-constrained or by-a-woman persuaded well very and
προσηκόντως τὸ πεισθῆναι παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον οὐδὲν
fittingly the to-be-persuaded contrary-to the best in-nothing
ἡγούμενος τοῦ βιασθῆναι διαφέρειν, ἀλλ' εἰς ταὐτὸ τὴν
thinking from-the to-be-forced to-differ but into the-same the
ἀπάτην τῇ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τὴν ἡδονὴν θέμενος,
deceit with-the necessity and with-the pain the pleasure placing
ὡς οὐχ ἧττον ἐκστῆσαι λογισμὸν ἀνθρώπου δυναμένων.
as no less to-derange reasoning of-man able
Ἐπέστησε δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐξόδοις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς
he-set-over and also the goings-out of-the women and the
πένθεσι καὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς νόμον ἀπείργοντα τὸ ἄτακτον καὶ
mournings and the festivals a-law preventing the disorderly and
ἀκόλαστον· ἐξιέναι μὲν ἱματίων τριῶν μὴ πλέον ἔχουσαν
licentious to-go-out indeed of-cloaks three not more having

κελεύσας, μηδὲ βρωτὸν ἢ ποτὸν πλείονος ἢ ὀβολοῦ
ordering nor food or drink of-more than an-obol
φερομένην, μηδὲ κάνητα πηχυαίου μείζονα, μηδὲ νύκτωρ
carrying nor a-basket a-cubit's greater nor by-night
πορεύεσθαι πλὴν ἁμάξῃ κομιζομένην λύχνου προφαίνοντος.
to-travel except in-a-wagon conveyed a-lamp shining-before
Ἀμυχὰς δὲ κοπτομένων καὶ τὸ θρηνεῖν πεποιημένα καὶ τὸ
lacerations and of-mourners and the to-lament composed-dirges and the
κωκύειν ἄλλον ἐν ταφαῖς ἑτέρων ἀφεῖλεν. ἐναγίζειν δὲ
to-wail another(-man) at funerals of-others he-took-away to-sacrifice and
βοῦν οὐκ εἴασεν, οὐδὲ συντιθέναι πλέον ἱματίων τριῶν, οὐδ'
an-ox not he-allowed nor to-bury-with more cloaks three nor
ἐπ' ἀλλότρια μνήματα βαδίζειν χωρὶς ἐκκομιδῆς. ὧν τὰ
to others' tombs to-go apart-from burial of-which the
πλεῖστα καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις νόμοις ἀπηγόρευται· πρόσκειται
most also by-the our laws are-forbidden is-added
δὲ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ζημιοῦσθαι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας
and in-the our(-laws) to-be-punished those the such(-things) doing
ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικονόμων, ὡς ἀνάνδροις καὶ γυναικώδεσι
by the women-wardens as by-unmanly and womanish
τοῖς περὶ τὰ πένθη πάθεσι καὶ ἁμαρτήμασιν ἐνεχομένους.
the about the mournings passions and errors being-held
Ὁρῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄστυ πιμπλάμενον ἀνθρώπων ἀεὶ 22
seeing and the indeed town being-filled with-men always
συρρεόντων πανταχόθεν ἐπ' ἀδείας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, τὰ δὲ
flowing-together from-everywhere for security into — Attica the and
πλεῖστα τῆς χώρας ἀγεννῆ καὶ φαῦλα, τοὺς δὲ χρωμένους
most of-the country poor and sorry those and using
τῇ θαλάττῃ μηδὲν εἰωθότας εἰσάγειν τοῖς μηδὲν ἔχουσιν
the sea nothing accustomed to-import for-those nothing having
ἀντιδοῦναι, πρὸς τὰς τέχνας ἔτρεψε τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ
to-give-in-exchange to the crafts he-turned the citizens and

νόμον ἔγραψεν υἱῷ τρέφειν τὸν πατέρα μὴ διδαξάμενον
a-law wrote for-a-son to-support the father not having-taught(-him)
τέχνην ἐπάναγκες μὴ εἶναι. τῷ μὲν γὰρ Λυκούργῳ καὶ πόλιν
a-craft compulsory not to-be — indeed for for-Lycurgus also a-city
οἰκοῦντι καθαρὰν ὄχλου ξενικοῦ καὶ χώραν κεκτημένῳ
inhabiting pure of-a-crowd foreign and land having-acquired

Πολλοῖσι πολλήν, δὶς τοσοῖς δὲ πλείονα,
For-many much twice for-so-many and more

κατ' Εὐριπίδην, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, εἱλωτικοῦ πλήθους,
according-to Euripides and the greatest of-a-helot multitude
ὃ βέλτιον ἦν μὴ σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ τριβόμενον ἀεὶ καὶ
which better it-was not to-be-at-leisure but being-worn-down always and
πονοῦν ταπεινοῦσθαι, περικεχυμένου τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, καλῶς
laboring to-be-humbled poured-around — to-Lacedaemon well
εἶχεν ἀσχολιῶν ἐπιπόνων καὶ βαναύσων ἀπαλλάξαντα
it-was from-occupations toilsome and mechanical having-freed
τοὺς πολίτας συνέχειν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, μίαν τέχνην
the citizens to-keep(-them) in the arms one art
ταύτην ἐκμανθάνοντας καὶ ἀσκοῦντας· Σόλων δὲ τοῖς
this learning and practicing Solon but to-the
πράγμασι τοὺς νόμους μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πράγματα τοῖς
facts the laws rather than the facts to-the
νόμοις προσαρμόζων, καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν φύσιν ὁρῶν τοῖς
laws fitting and of-the country the nature seeing for-those
γεωργοῦσι γλίσχρως διαρκοῦσαν, ἀργὸν δὲ καὶ σχολαστὴν
farming meagerly sufficing idle but and leisured
ὄχλον οὐ δυναμένην τρέφειν, ταῖς τέχναις ἀξίωμα περιέθηκε,
a-crowd not able to-support to-the crafts dignity he-attached

καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἔταξεν ἐπισκοπεῖν ὅθεν
and the from Ares' hill council he-ordered to-inquire whence
ἕκαστος ἔχει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ τοὺς ἀργοὺς κολάζειν.
each has the necessaries and the idle to-punish
Ἐκεῖνο δ' ἤδη σφοδρότερον, τὸ μηδὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἑταίρας
that and already more-severe the not-even for-those from a-courtesan
γενομένοις ἐπάναγκες εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας τρέφειν, ὡς
born compulsory to-be the fathers to-support as
Ἡρακλείδης ἱστόρηκεν ὁ Ποντικός. ὁ γὰρ ἐν γάμῳ
Heracleides has-recorded the Pontic he for in marriage
παρορῶν τὸ καλὸν οὐ τέκνων ἕνεκα δῆλός ἐστιν,
disregarding the noble not of-children for-the-sake-of evident is
ἀλλ' ἡδονῆς ἀγόμενος γυναῖκα, τόν τε μισθὸν ἀπέχει,
but of-pleasure taking a-woman the both pay he-has-received
καὶ παρρησίαν αὑτῷ πρὸς τοὺς γενομένους οὐκ
and free-speech for-himself toward the(-ones) born not
ἀπολέλοιπεν, οἷς αὐτὸ τὸ γενέσθαι πεποίηκεν ὄνειδος.
he-has-left for-whom the-very the to-be-born he-has-made a-reproach
Ὅλως δὲ πλείστην ἔχειν ἀτοπίαν οἱ περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν 23
altogether and most to-have absurdity the(-laws) about the women
νόμοι τῷ Σόλωνι δοκοῦσι. μοιχὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀνελεῖν
laws — to-Solon seem an-adulterer indeed for to-kill
τῷ λαβόντι δέδωκεν· ἐὰν δ' ἁρπάσῃ τις
to-the(-man) having-caught(-him) he-has-granted if but should-carry-off anyone
ἐλευθέραν γυναῖκα καὶ βιάσηται, ζημίαν ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς
a-free woman and should-force(-her) penalty a-hundred drachmas
ἔταξε· κἂν προαγωγεύῃ, δραχμὰς εἴκοσι, πλὴν ὅσαι
he-fixed and-if he-procure drachmas twenty except as-many-as
πεφασμένως πωλοῦνται, λέγων δὴ τὰς ἑταίρας. αὗται
openly sell(-themselves) meaning indeed the courtesans these
γὰρ ἐμφανῶς φοιτῶσι πρὸς τοὺς διδόντας. ἔτι δ' οὔτε
for openly go to those paying still and neither

θυγατέρας πωλεῖν οὔτ' ἀδελφὰς δίδωσι, πλὴν ἂν μὴ λάβῃ
daughters to-sell nor sisters he-grants except if not he-take
παρθένον ἀνδρὶ συγγεγενημένην. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα
a-maiden with-a-man having-had-intercourse the and same act
ποτὲ μὲν πικρῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως κολάζειν, ποτὲ δ'
at-one-time indeed bitterly and inexorably to-punish at-another and
εὐκόλως καὶ παίζοντα, πρόστιμον ζημίαν τὴν τυχοῦσαν
good-humoredly and jestingly a-fine penalty the chance(-one)
ὁρίζοντα, ἄλογόν ἐστι· πλὴν εἰ μὴ σπανίζοντος τότε τοῦ
fixing irrational is except if not being-scarce then the
νομίσματος ἐν τῇ πόλει μεγάλας ἐποίει τὰς ἀργυρικὰς
money in the city great made the silver
ζημίας τὸ δυσπόριστον. εἰς μέν γε τὰ τιμήματα τῶν
penalties the hard-to-come-by for indeed at-least the valuations of-the
θυσιῶν λογίζεται πρόβατον καὶ δραχμὴν ἀντὶ μεδίμνου·
sacrifices he-reckons a-sheep and a-drachma for a-medimnus
τῷ δ' Ἴσθμια νικήσαντι δραχμὰς ἔταξεν
to-the(-man) and the-Isthmian-games having-won drachmas he-ordained
ἑκατὸν δίδοσθαι, τῷ δ' Ὀλύμπια πεντακοσίας·
a-hundred to-be-given to-the(-man) and the-Olympic-games five-hundred
λύκον δὲ τῷ κομίσαντι πέντε δραχμὰς ἔδωκε,
a-wolf and to-the(-man) having-brought five drachmas he-gave
λυκιδέα δὲ μίαν, ὧν φησιν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος
a-wolf's-cub and one of-which says the Phalerean Demetrius
τὸ μὲν βοὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ προβάτου τιμήν. ἃς
the(-one) indeed of-an-ox to-be the(-other) and of-a-sheep the-price which
γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἑκκαιδεκάτῳ τῶν ἀξόνων ὁρίζει τιμὰς τῶν
for in the sixteenth of-the axones he-fixes prices of-the
ἐκκρίτων ἱερείων, εἰκὸς μὲν εἶναι πολλαπλασίας, ἄλλως
choice victims likely indeed to-be many-times-greater otherwise
δὲ κἀκεῖναι πρὸς τὰς νῦν εὐτελεῖς εἰσιν. ἀρχαῖον δὲ
but even-those compared-with the now cheap are ancient and

τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς λύκοις, βελτίονα νέμειν
for-the Athenians the to-war with-the wolves better to-pasture
ἢ γεωργεῖν χώραν ἔχουσι. καὶ τὰς φυλὰς εἰσὶν οἱ
than to-farm land having and the tribes there-are those
λέγοντες οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἴωνος υἱῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν γενῶν,
saying not from the of-Ion sons but from the classes
εἰς ἃ διῃρέθησαν οἱ βίοι τὸ πρῶτον, ὠνομάσθαι, τὸ
into which were-divided the ways-of-life the first to-have-been-named the
μὲν μάχιμον Ὁπλίτας, τὸ δ' ἐργατικὸν Ἐργάδεις· δυεῖν
indeed fighting Hoplites the and working Ergadeis of-two
δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Γελέοντας μὲν τοὺς γεωργούς, Αἰγικορεῖς
and of-the remaining Geleontes indeed the farmers Aegicoreis
δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ νομαῖς καὶ προβατείαις διατρίβοντας.
and those in pasturing and sheep-tending spending-their-time
Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ὕδωρ οὔτε ποταμοῖς ἐστιν ἀενάοις οὔτε
since and for water neither with-rivers is perennial nor
λίμναις τισὶν οὔτ' ἀφθόνοις πηγαῖς ἡ χώρα διαρκής, ἀλλ'
lakes any nor abundant springs the country sufficient but
οἱ πλεῖστοι φρέασι ποιητοῖς ἐχρῶντο, νόμον ἔγραψεν, ὅπου
the most wells dug used a-law he-wrote where
μέν ἐστι δημόσιον φρέαρ ἐντὸς ἱππικοῦ, χρῆσθαι τούτῳ·
indeed there-is a-public well within a-hippicon to-use this
τὸ δ' ἱππικὸν διάστημα τεσσάρων ἦν σταδίων· ὅπου δὲ
the and hippicon a-distance of-four was stades where and
πλεῖον ἀπέχει, ζητεῖν ὕδωρ ἴδιον· ἐὰν δὲ ὀρύξαντες ὀργυιῶν
farther it-is-distant to-seek water own if and having-dug of-fathoms
δέκα βάθος παρ' ἑαυτοῖς μὴ εὕρωσι, τότε λαμβάνειν
ten in-depth on their-own(-land) not they-find then to-take
παρὰ τοῦ γείτονος ἑξάχους ὑδρίαν δὶς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας
from the neighbor a-six-chous pitcher twice each day
πληροῦντας· ἀπορίᾳ γὰρ ᾤετο δεῖν βοηθεῖν, οὐκ ἀργίαν
filling for-want for he-thought it-needful to-help not idleness

ἐφοδιάζειν. ὥρισε δὲ καὶ φυτειῶν μέτρα μάλ' ἐμπείρως,
to-subsidize he-defined and also of-plantings measures very skillfully
τοὺς μὲν ἄλλο τι φυτεύοντας ἐν ἀγρῷ πέντε πόδας
the(-men) indeed other anything planting in a-field five feet
ἀπέχειν τοῦ γείτονος κελεύσας, τοὺς δὲ συκῆν ἢ ἐλαίαν
to-be-distant from-the neighbor having-ordered the(-men) and a-fig-tree or olive
ἐννέα. πορρωτέρω γὰρ ἐξικνεῖται ταῦτα ταῖς ῥίζαις, καὶ
nine farther for reach these(-trees) with-the roots and
οὐ πᾶσι γειτνιᾷ τοῖς φυτοῖς ἀσινῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφὴν
not to-all are-neighbors the plants harmlessly but also nourishment
παραιρεῖται καὶ βλάπτουσαν ἐνίοις ἀπορροὴν ἀφίησι.
they-take-away and harmful to-some an-effluence they-give-off
βόθρους δὲ καὶ τάφρους τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκέλευσεν
pits and and ditches the(-man) wishing he-ordered
ὀρύσσειν, ὅσον ἐμβάλλει βάθος, ἀφιστάμενον μῆκος
to-dig as-much-as he-digs depth standing-away the-distance
τἀλλοτρίου· καὶ μελισσῶν σμήνη καθιστάμενον ἀπέχειν
from-his-neighbor's and of-bees swarms setting-up to-be-distant
τῶν ὑφ' ἑτέρου πρότερον ἱδρυμένων πόδας τριακοσίους.
from-those by another before having-been-set-up feet three-hundred

24 Τῶν δὲ γινομένων διάθεσιν πρὸς ξένους ἐλαίου μόνον
of-the and produce sale to foreigners of-oil only
ἔδωκεν, ἄλλα δ' ἐξάγειν ἐκώλυσε· καὶ κατὰ τῶν
he-granted other-things and to-export he-forbade and against the(-men)
ἐξαγόντων ἀρὰς τὸν ἄρχοντα ποιεῖσθαι προσέταξεν, ἢ
exporting curses the archon to-make he-commanded or
ἐκτίνειν αὐτὸν ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον. καὶ
to-pay himself a-hundred drachmas into the public(-treasury) and
πρῶτος ἄξων ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦτον περιέχων τὸν νόμον.
first axon is the(-one) this containing the law
οὐκ ἂν οὖν τις ἡγήσαιτο παντελῶς ἀπιθάνους τοὺς
not — then anyone would-think altogether unconvincing those

λέγοντας ὅτι καὶ σύκων ἐξαγωγὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπείρητο,
saying that also of-figs export the of-old was-forbidden
καὶ τὸ φαίνειν ἐνδεικνύμενον τοὺς ἐξάγοντας κληθῆναι
and the to-show-up informing-against the(-men) exporting to-have-been-called
συκοφαντεῖν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ βλάβης τετραπόδων νόμον, ἐν
to-sycophant he-wrote and also of-damage by-quadrupeds a-law in
ᾧ καὶ κύνα δακόντα παραδοῦναι κελεύει κλοιῷ τριπήχει
which also a-dog having-bitten to-hand-over he-orders with-a-collar three-cubit
δεδεμένον· τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χάριεν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν.
bound the indeed device graceful toward safety
Παρέχει δ' ἀπορίαν καὶ ὁ τῶν δημοποιήτων νόμος,
presents and a-difficulty also the of-the naturalized law
ὅτι γενέσθαι πολίταις οὐ δίδωσι πλὴν τοῖς φεύγουσιν
that to-become citizens not he-grants except to-those fleeing
ἀειφυγίᾳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἢ πανεστίοις Ἀθήναζε
in-perpetual-exile the their-own(-land) or with-whole-households to-Athens
μετοικιζομένοις ἐπὶ τέχνῃ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιῆσαί φασιν αὐτὸν
migrating for a-craft this and to-have-done they-say him
οὐχ οὕτως ἀπελαύνοντα τοὺς ἄλλους ὡς κατακαλούμενον
not so driving-away the others as inviting
Ἀθήναζε τούτους ἐπὶ βεβαίῳ τῷ μεθέξειν τῆς πολιτείας,
to-Athens these on sure the to-share of-the citizenship
καὶ ἅμα πιστοὺς νομίζοντα τοὺς μὲν ἀποβεβληκότας τὴν
and at-once trustworthy thinking the(-ones) indeed having-cast-off the
ἑαυτῶν διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην, τοὺς δ' ἀπολελοιπότας
their-own(-land) because-of the necessity the(-others) and having-left(-it)
διὰ τὴν γνώμην. ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ τὸ περὶ
because-of the judgment peculiar and — of-Solon also the about
τῆς ἐν δημοσίῳ σιτήσεως, ὅπερ αὐτὸς παρασιτεῖν κέκληκε.
the in public-hall eating which himself to-parasite has-called
τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐᾷ σιτεῖσθαι πολλάκις, ἐὰν δὲ
the for same(-man) not he-allows to-eat often if and

ᾧ καθήκει μὴ βούληται, κολάζει, τὸ μὲν ἡγούμενος
to-whom it-falls not he-wish he-punishes the(-one) indeed thinking
πλεονεξίαν, τὸ δ' ὑπεροψίαν τῶν κοινῶν.
greed the(-other) and contempt of-the common(-things)

VII · TRAVELS AND CROESUS

Solon's laws are given force for a hundred years and written on revolving axones. He corrects the calendar. Pestered with questions, he leaves Athens for ten years. In Egypt he hears the tale of Atlantis; in Cyprus he helps Philocyprus refound his city, called Soli in his honor. Plutarch tells the meeting with Croesus: Solon names Tellus, and Cleobis and Biton, happier than the king and bids him look to the end. On his pyre Croesus cries Solon's name, and Cyrus spares him.

25 Ἰσχὺν δὲ τοῖς νόμοις πᾶσιν εἰς ἑκατὸν ἐνιαυτοὺς ἔδωκε· καὶ
force and to-the laws all for a-hundred years he-gave and
κατεγράφησαν εἰς ξυλίνους ἄξονας ἐν πλαισίοις περιέχουσι
they-were-written on wooden axones in frames enclosing
στρεφομένους, ὧν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Πρυτανείῳ λείψανα
turning of-which still in our(-time) in the-Prytaneum remains
μικρὰ διεσώζετο· καὶ προσηγορεύθησαν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης
small were-preserved and they-were-called as Aristotle
φησί, κύρβεις. καὶ Κρατῖνος ὁ κωμικὸς εἴρηκέ που·
says kyrbeis and Cratinus the comic(-poet) has-said somewhere

Πρὸς τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ Δράκοντος οἷσι νῦν
By — Solon and Draco with-whose now
φρύγουσιν ἤδη τὰς κάχρυς τοῖς κύρβεσιν.
they-parch already the barley-grains the kyrbeis

ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἰδίως ἐν οἷς ἱερὰ καὶ θυσίαι περιέχονται,
some and say specifically in which rites and sacrifices are-contained
κύρβεις, ἄξονας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὠνομάσθαι. κοινὸν μὲν οὖν
kyrbeis axones and the others to-have-been-named common indeed then
ὤμνυεν ὅρκον ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς Σόλωνος νόμους ἐμπεδώσειν,
swore oath the council the of-Solon laws to-uphold
ἴδιον δ' ἕκαστος τῶν θεσμοθετῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πρὸς τῷ
separate and each of-the thesmothetae in the-market-place by the
λίθῳ, καταφατίζων, εἴ τι παραβαίη τῶν θεσμῶν,
stone affirming if anything he-should-transgress of-the ordinances
ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν ἰσομέτρητον ἀναθήσειν ἐν Δελφοῖς.
a-statue golden of-equal-measure to-dedicate at Delphi
Συνιδὼν δὲ τοῦ μηνὸς τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν, καὶ τὴν κίνησιν
having-perceived and of-the month the irregularity and the motion
τῆς σελήνης οὔτε δυομένῳ τῷ ἡλίῳ πάντως οὔτ' ἀνίσχοντι
of-the moon neither with-setting the sun always nor with-the-rising
συμφερομένην, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ
coinciding but often on-the same day both
καταλαμβάνουσαν καὶ παρερχομένην τὸν ἥλιον, αὐτὴν μὲν
overtaking and passing the sun it indeed
ἔταξε ταύτην ἕνην καὶ νέαν καλεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν πρὸ
he-ordained this-day old and new to-be-called the(-part) indeed before
συνόδου μόριον αὐτῆς τῷ παυομένῳ μηνί, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν
conjunction portion of-it to-the ending month the but rest
ἤδη τῷ ἀρχομένῳ προσήκειν ἡγούμενος, πρῶτος, ὡς
already to-the beginning(-month) to-belong thinking first as
ἔοικεν, ὀρθῶς ἀκούσας Ὁμήρου λέγοντος,
it-seems rightly having-understood Homer saying

Τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἱσταμένοιο,
Of-the indeed waning month of-the and setting-in

τὴν δ᾽ ἐφεξῆς ἡμέραν νουμηνίαν ἐκάλεσε. τὰς δ᾽ ἀπ᾽
the and following day new-moon he-called the and after
εἰκάδος οὐ προστιθείς, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφαιρῶν καὶ ἀναλύων, ὥσπερ
the-twentieth not adding but subtracting and counting-back as
τὰ φῶτα τῆς σελήνης ἑώρα, μέχρι τριακάδος ἠρίθμησεν.
the lights of-the moon he-saw as-far-as the-thirtieth he-numbered
Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν νόμων εἰσενεχθέντων ἔνιοι τῷ Σόλωνι καθ᾽
when and the laws having-been-introduced some — to-Solon by
ἑκάστην προσῄεσαν ἡμέραν, ἐπαινοῦντες ἢ ψέγοντες ἢ
each came day praising or blaming or
συμβουλεύοντες ἐμβάλλειν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ὅ τι
advising to-insert into-the(-things) written what ever
τύχοιεν ἢ ἀφαιρεῖν, πλεῖστοι δ᾽ ἦσαν οἱ πυνθανόμενοι
they-chanced or to-remove most and were those inquiring
καὶ ἀνακρίνοντες καὶ κελεύοντες αὐτὸν ὅπως ἕκαστον
and questioning and bidding him how each
ἔχει καὶ πρὸς ἣν κεῖται διάνοιαν ἐπεκδιδάσκειν καὶ
is and for what it-lies purpose to-explain-further and
σαφηνίζειν, ὁρῶν ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πράττειν ἄτοπον
to-make-clear seeing that these-things both the to-do absurd
καὶ τὸ μὴ πράττειν ἐπίφθονον, ὅλως δὲ ταῖς ἀπορίαις
and the not to-do invidious wholly and the perplexities
ὑπεκστῆναι βουλόμενος καὶ διαφυγεῖν τὸ δυσάρεστον καὶ
to-slip-out-of wishing and to-escape the captiousness and
φιλαίτιον τῶν πολιτῶν (ἔργμασι γὰρ ἐν μεγάλοις πᾶσιν
fault-finding of-the citizens in-deeds for in great all
ἁδεῖν χαλεπόν, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴρηκε), πρόσχημα τῆς πλάνης
to-please difficult as himself has-said a-pretext of-the wandering
τὴν ναυκληρίαν ποιησάμενος ἐξέπλευσε, δεκαετῆ παρὰ
the ship-owning having-made he-sailed-away a-ten-year from

τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποδημίαν αἰτησάμενος. ἤλπιζε γὰρ ἐν τῷ
the Athenians absence having-asked he-hoped for in the
χρόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι συνήθεις.
time this also to-the laws them to-be accustomed
Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφίκετο καὶ διέτριψεν, ὡς 26
first indeed then to Egypt he-came and spent-time as
αὐτός φησι,
himself says

Νείλου ἐπὶ προχοῇσι Κανωβίδος ἐγγύθεν ἀκτῆς.
Of-Nile at the-mouths of-Canopus near the-shore

χρόνον δέ τινα καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ψένωφιν τὸν Ἡλιουπολίτην
time and some also with-those about Psenophis the Heliopolitan
καὶ Σῶγχιν τὸν Σαΐτην, λογιωτάτοις οὖσι τῶν ἱερέων,
and Sonchis the Saïte most-learned being of-the priests
συνεφιλοσόφησε· παρ᾽ ὧν καὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν ἀκούσας
he-philosophized from whom also the Atlantic having-heard
λόγον, ὡς Πλάτων φησίν, ἐπεχείρησε διὰ ποιήματος
story as Plato says he-attempted through a-poem
ἐξενεγκεῖν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ἔπειτα πλεύσας εἰς Κύπρον
to-publish(-it) to the Greeks then having-sailed to Cyprus
ἠγαπήθη διαφερόντως ὑπὸ Φιλοκύπρου τινὸς τῶν ἐκεῖ
he-was-loved exceptionally by Philocyprus a-certain of-the there
βασιλέων, ὃς εἶχεν οὐ μεγάλην πόλιν, ᾠκισμένην ὑπὸ
kings who had not great a-city founded by
Δημοφῶντος τοῦ Θησέως, περὶ τὸν Κλάριον ποταμὸν
Demophon the(-son) of-Theseus near the Clarius river
ἐν χωρίοις ὀχυροῖς μέν, ἄλλως δὲ δυσχερέσι καὶ φαύλοις
in places strong indeed otherwise but difficult and poor
κειμένην. ἔπεισεν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Σόλων ὑποκειμένου
lying he-persuaded then him — Solon lying-below

καλοῦ πεδίου μεταθέντα τὴν πόλιν ἡδίονα καὶ μείζονα
a-fair plain having-transferred the city pleasanter and greater
κατασκευάσαι. καὶ παρὼν ἐπεμελήθη τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ,
to-make(-it) and being-present he-supervised the settlement
καὶ συνδιεκόσμησε πρός τε διαγωγὴν ἄριστα καὶ πρὸς
and helped-arrange(-it) for both living best and for
ἀσφάλειαν, ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν οἰκήτορας τῷ Φιλοκύπρῳ
safety so-that many indeed settlers — to-Philocyprus
συνελθεῖν, ζηλῶσαι δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλέας· διὸ
to-come-together to-emulate and the other kings wherefore
καὶ τῷ Σόλωνι τιμὴν ἀποδιδοὺς Αἰπεῖαν τὴν πόλιν
also — to-Solon honor paying Aepeia the city
καλουμένην πρότερον ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου Σόλους προσηγόρευσε.
called before after him Soli he-called
καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μέμνηται τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ· προσαγορεύσας
and himself and mentions the settlement having-addressed
γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις τὸν Φιλόκυπρον,
for in the elegies — Philocyprus

Νῦν δὲ (φησί) σὺ μὲν Σολίοισι
Now and he-says you indeed over-the-Solians
πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ᾽ ἀνάσσων
long time here ruling
τήνδε πόλιν ναίοις καὶ γένος ὑμέτερον·
this city may-you-inhabit and race your
αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ ξὺν νηῒ θοῇ κλεινῆς ἀπὸ νήσου
but me with ship swift famous from island

ἀσκηθῆ πέμποι Κύπρις ἰοστέφανος·
unharmed may-send Cypris violet-crowned
οἰκισμῷ δ' ἐπὶ τῷδε χάριν καὶ κῦδος ὀπάζοι
settlement and upon this favor and glory may-she-grant
ἐσθλὸν καὶ νόστον πατρίδ' ἐς ἡμετέρην.
noble and return fatherland to our

Τὴν δὲ πρὸς Κροῖσον ἔντευξιν αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν ἔνιοι 27
the and with Croesus meeting his seem some
τοῖς χρόνοις ὡς πεπλασμένην ἐλέγχειν. ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον
by-the chronology as fabricated to-refute I but a-story
ἔνδοξον οὕτω καὶ τοσούτους μάρτυρας ἔχοντα, καί,
famous so and so-many witnesses having and
ὃ μεῖζόν ἐστι, πρέποντα τῷ Σόλωνος ἤθει καὶ
what greater is fitting to-the of-Solon character and
τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ σοφίας ἄξιον, οὔ μοι
of-the his magnanimity and wisdom worthy not to-me
δοκῶ προήσεσθαι χρονικοῖς τισι λεγομένοις κανόσιν, οὓς
I-think to-give-up for-chronological some so-called canons which
μυρίοι διορθοῦντες ἄχρι σήμερον εἰς οὐδὲν αὑτοῖς
countless(-men) correcting until today to nothing with-themselves
ὁμολογούμενον δύνανται καταστῆσαι τὰς ἀντιλογίας. τὸν
agreed are-able to-settle the contradictions —
δ' οὖν Σόλωνά φασιν εἰς Σάρδεις δεηθέντι τῷ Κροίσῳ
and then Solon they-say to Sardis having-asked(-him) — to-Croesus
παραγενόμενον, παθεῖν τι παραπλήσιον ἀνδρὶ
having-come to-have-experienced something similar to-a-man
χερσαίῳ κατιόντι πρῶτον ἐπὶ θάλατταν. ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ
of-the-mainland going-down first to the-sea that(-man) both for
ὁρῶν ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου ποταμὸν ᾤετο τὴν θάλασσαν εἶναι,
seeing one from another river thought the sea to-be

καὶ τῷ Σόλωνι τὴν αὐλὴν διαπορευομένῳ καὶ πολλοὺς
and — to-Solon the court passing-through and many
ὁρῶντι τῶν βασιλικῶν κεκοσμημένους πολυτελῶς, καὶ
seeing of-the courtiers adorned extravagantly and
σοβοῦντας ἐν ὄχλῳ προπομπῶν καὶ δορυφόρων, ἕκαστος
strutting in a-crowd of-escorts and spearmen each
ἐδόκει Κροῖσος εἶναι, μέχρι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤχθη, πᾶν
seemed Croesus to-be until to himself he-was-brought all
ὅσον ἐν λίθοις, ἐν βαφαῖς ἐσθῆτος, ἐν τέχναις χρυσοῦ
as-much-as in stones in dyes of-clothing in works of-gold
περὶ κόσμον ἐκπρεπὲς ἔχειν ἢ περιττὸν ἢ ζηλωτὸν ἐδόκει
about adornment conspicuous to-have or extraordinary or enviable seemed
περικείμενον, ὡς δὴ θέαμα σεμνότατον ὀφθείη καὶ
wearing so-that indeed a-sight most-solemn he-might-be-seen and
ποικιλώτατον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Σόλων ἄντικρυς καταστὰς οὔτ'
most-varied when but — Solon directly-opposite having-stood neither
ἔπαθεν οὐδὲν οὔτ' εἶπε πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ὧν ὁ Κροῖσος
experienced anything nor said at the sight of-what — Croesus
προσεδόκησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῆλος ἦν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι τῆς
expected but even evident was to-those well thinking of-the
ἀπειροκαλίας καὶ μικροπρεπείας καταφρονῶν, ἐκέλευσεν
tastelessness and pettiness despising(-it) he-ordered
αὐτῷ τούς τε θησαυροὺς ἀνοῖξαι τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ
for-him the both treasuries to-open of-the money and
τὴν ἄλλην ἄγοντας ἐπιδεῖξαι μηδὲν δεομένῳ κατασκευὴν
the other leading(-him) to-show nothing to-him-needing furnishing
καὶ πολυτέλειαν. ἤρκει γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοῦ τρόπου
and extravagance he-sufficed for himself in himself of-the character
κατανόησιν παρασχεῖν. ὡς δ' οὖν αὖθις ἤχθη γεγονὼς
understanding to-provide when and then again he-was-brought having-been
ἁπάντων θεατής, ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κροῖσος εἴ τινα
of-all spectator asked him — Croesus whether any

οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῦ μακαριώτερον. ἀποφηναμένου
he-knows of-men than-himself happier having-declared
δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὅτι οἶδε Τέλλον αὑτοῦ πολίτην, καὶ
and — Solon that he-knows Tellus his-own fellow-citizen and
διεξελθόντος ὅτι χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ ὁ Τέλλος γενόμενος
having-gone-through that a-good man — Tellus having-been
καὶ παῖδας εὐδοκίμους καταλιπὼν καὶ βίον οὐδενὸς
and children reputable having-left and a-livelihood of-nothing
ἐνδεᾶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐτελεύτησεν ἐνδόξως ἀριστεύσας
lacking of-the necessaries he-died gloriously having-fought-bravely
ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ἤδη μὲν ἀλλόκοτος ἐδόκει εἶναι
for the fatherland already indeed odd he-seemed to-be
τῷ Κροίσῳ καὶ ἄγροικος, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀργύριον πολὺ
— to-Croesus and boorish if not by silver much
μηδὲ χρυσίον τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ποιεῖται τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν,
nor gold of-the happiness he-makes the measurement
ἀλλὰ δημοτικοῦ καὶ ἰδιώτου βίον καὶ θάνατον ἀνθρώπου
but of-a-plebeian and private-citizen life and death of-a-man
μᾶλλον ἢ τοσαύτην ἀγαπᾷῃ δύναμιν καὶ ἀρχήν. οὐ
rather than so-great he-should-esteem power and rule not
μὴν ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ μετὰ Τέλλον
indeed but again he-asked him whether after Tellus
ἄλλον ἔγνωκεν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονέστερον. πάλιν δὲ τοῦ
another he-has-known of-men happier again and —
Σόλωνος εἰπόντος εἰδέναι Κλέοβιν καὶ Βίτωνα, φιλαδέλφους
Solon having-said to-know Cleobis and Biton loving-their-brother
καὶ φιλομήτορας διαφερόντως ἄνδρας, οἳ τὴν μητέρα
and loving-their-mother exceptionally men who the mother
τῶν βοῶν βραδυνόντων ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ τῷ ζυγῷ τῆς
the oxen being-slow having-gone-under themselves the yoke of-the
ἁμάξης ἐκόμισαν πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ἱερὸν εὐδαιμονιζομένην
wagon brought to the — of-Hera temple being-called-happy

ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ χαίρουσαν, εἶτα θύσαντες καὶ
by the citizens and rejoicing then having-sacrificed and
πιόντες οὐκ ἔτι μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀνέστησαν, ἀλλὰ
having-drunk no longer on-the-next day they-rose but
τεθνηκότες ἀναλγῆ καὶ ἄλυπον ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοσαύτῃ θάνατον
dead painless and griefless upon glory so-great a-death
ὤφθησαν, “Ἡμᾶς δέ,” εἶπεν ἤδη πρὸς ὀργὴν ὁ Κροῖσος,
they-were-seen us but he-said already toward anger — Croesus
“εἰς οὐδένα τίθης εὐδαιμόνων ἀριθμὸν ἀνθρώπων;” καὶ ὁ
into no you-put of-happy number men and —
Σόλων οὔτε κολακεύειν βουλόμενος αὐτὸν οὔτε περαιτέρω
Solon neither to-flatter wishing him nor further
παροξύνειν, “Ἕλλησιν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ Λυδῶν, πρός
to-provoke to-Greeks he-said O king of-Lydians for
τε τἆλλα μετρίως ἔχειν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε, καὶ σοφίας
both the-other(-things) moderately to-be the god gave and of-wisdom
τινὸς ἀθαρσοῦς, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ δημοτικῆς, οὐ βασιλικῆς οὐδὲ
some timid as it-seems and plebeian not kingly nor
λαμπρᾶς, ὑπὸ μετριότητος ἡμῖν μέτεστιν, ἣ τύχαις
splendid by moderation for-us there-is-a-share which with-fortunes
ὁρῶσα παντοδαπαῖς χρώμενον ἀεὶ τὸν βίον, οὐκ ἐᾷ
seeing all-manner-of using always the life not allows
τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς μέγα φρονεῖν, οὐδὲ θαυμάζειν
over-the present goods greatly to-pride-oneself nor to-admire
ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχίαν μεταβολῆς χρόνον ἔχουσαν. ἔπεισι γὰρ
of-a-man good-fortune of-change time having comes-on for
ἑκάστῳ ποικίλον ἐξ ἀδήλου τὸ μέλλον· ᾧ δ᾽ εἰς
to-each varied from unseen the future to-whom and to
τέλος ὁ δαίμων ἔθετο τὴν εὐπραξίαν, τοῦτον εὐδαίμονα
end the deity has-set the prosperity this(-man) happy
νομίζομεν. ὁ δὲ ζῶντος ἔτι καὶ κινδυνεύοντος ἐν τῷ βίῳ
we-consider the and of-the-living still and running-risk in the life

μακαρισμός, ὥσπερ ἀγωνιζομένου κήρυγμα καὶ στέφανος,
calling-happy like of-one-competing proclamation and crown
ἐστὶν ἀβέβαιος καὶ ἄκυρος." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ Σόλων
is insecure and invalid these-things having-said — Solon
ἀπηλλάττετο λυπήσας μέν, οὐ νουθετήσας δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον.
departed having-grieved indeed not having-admonished but — Croesus
Ὁ δὲ λογοποιὸς Αἴσωπος, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ εἰς Σάρδεις 28
the and fable-writer Aesop he-happened for into Sardis
μετάπεμπτος γεγονὼς ὑπὸ Κροίσου καὶ τιμώμενος,
summoned having-been by Croesus and being-honored
ἠχθέσθη τῷ Σόλωνι μηδεμιᾶς τυχόντι φιλανθρωπίας·
was-vexed — for-Solon no having-met-with kindness
καὶ προτρέπων αὐτόν, "Ὦ Σόλων," ἔφη, "τοῖς βασιλεῦσι
and urging him O Solon he-said with-the kings
δεῖ ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα ὁμιλεῖν." καὶ ὁ
it-is-needful as least or as most-pleasantly to-associate and —
Σόλων, "Μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἄριστα."
Solon no by-Zeus he-said but as least or as best
Τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Κροῖσος οὕτω τοῦ Σόλωνος κατεφρόνησεν·
then indeed then — Croesus so — Solon despised
ἐπεὶ δὲ Κύρῳ συμβαλὼν ἐκρατήθη μάχῃ, καὶ τὴν
when but with-Cyrus having-engaged he-was-defeated in-battle and the
πόλιν ἀπώλεσε, καὶ ζῶν ἁλοὺς αὐτὸς ἔμελλε
city lost and alive having-been-captured himself was-about
καταπίμπρασθαι, καὶ γενομένης πυρᾶς ἀνεβιβάσθη
to-be-burned and having-been-made a-pyre he-was-put-up
δεδεμένος θεωμένων Περσῶν ἁπάντων καὶ Κύρου
bound watching Persians all and Cyrus
παρόντος, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐξικνεῖτο καὶ δυνατὸς ἦν τῇ φωνῇ
being-present as far-as reached and able he-was with-the voice
φθεγξάμενος ἀνεβόησε τρίς, "Ὦ Σόλων." θαυμάσας οὖν
having-uttered he-cried-out thrice O Solon having-wondered then

ὁ Κῦρος ἔπεμψε τοὺς ἐρησομένους ὅστις ἀνθρώπων ἢ
— *Cyrus sent those going-to-ask who of-men or*
θεῶν οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Σόλων, ὃν ἐν τύχαις ἀπόροις μόνον
of-gods this is — Solon whom in fortunes desperate alone
ἀνακαλεῖται. καὶ ὁ Κροῖσος οὐδὲν ἀποκρυψάμενος εἶπεν
he-invokes and — Croesus nothing having-concealed said
ὅτι "Τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι σοφῶν εἷς οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἀνήρ,
that of-the among Greeks wise(-men) one this was the man
ὃν ἐγὼ μετεπεμψάμην οὐκ ἀκοῦσαί τι βουλόμενος
whom I sent-for not to-hear anything wishing
οὐδὲ μαθεῖν ὧν ἐνδεὴς ἦμην, ἀλλ' ὡς δή μοι θεατὴς
nor to-learn of-what needing I-was but so-that indeed for-me a-spectator
γένοιτο καὶ μάρτυς ἀπίοι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐκείνης,
he-might-become and a-witness he-might-go-away of-the happiness that
ἣν ἀποβαλεῖν ἄρα μεῖζον ἦν κακὸν ἢ λαβεῖν ἀγαθόν.
which to-lose then greater was an-evil than to-gain a-good
λόγος γὰρ ἦν καὶ δόξα τἀγαθὸν παρούσης· αἱ μεταβολαὶ
talk for was and opinion the-good(-thing) being-present the changes
δέ μοι αὐτῆς εἰς πάθη δεινὰ καὶ συμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους
and to-me of-it into sufferings terrible and calamities incurable
ἔργῳ τελευτῶσι. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν
in-fact end and these-things that the man from the(-things)
τότε τὰ νῦν τεκμαιρόμενος, ἐκέλευε τὸ τέλος τοῦ
then the(-things) now conjecturing bade the end of-the
βίου σκοπεῖν καὶ μὴ θρασυνόμενον ἀβεβαίοις ὑπονοίαις
life to-consider and not growing-bold on-uncertain suppositions
ὑβρίζειν." ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀνηνέχθη πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον,
to-be-insolent when and this was-reported to — Cyrus
ἅτε δὴ σοφώτερος ὢν τοῦ Κροίσου καὶ τὸν λόγον
inasmuch-as indeed wiser being — than-Croesus and the saying
τοῦ Σόλωνος ἰσχυρὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείγματι βλέπων, οὐ
— of-Solon strong in the example seeing not

μόνον ἀφῆκε τὸν Κροῖσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν ἐφ' ὅσον
only he-released — Croesus but also honoring(-him) as long-as
ἔζη διετέλεσε· καὶ δόξαν ἔσχεν ὁ Σόλων ἑνὶ λόγῳ
he-lived he-continued and reputation had — Solon by-one saying
τὸν μὲν σώσας, τὸν δὲ παιδεύσας τῶν βασιλέων.
the(-one) indeed having-saved the(-other) and having-educated of-the kings

VIII · PEISISTRATUS AND SOLON'S OLD AGE

Factions return, and Peisistratus courts the people. Solon, old, watches Thespis act and objects to such fictions. When Peisistratus wounds himself and Ariston proposes him a bodyguard, Solon opposes it in verse and speech, and when Peisistratus seizes the Acropolis he sets his arms before his own door. Peisistratus honors and consults him and keeps most of his laws. Solon begins a poem on Atlantis but gives it up in old age, and he dies, whether soon or after many years, and the story of his ashes on Salamis is doubtful.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει πάλιν ἐστασίαζον ἀποδημοῦντος τοῦ 29
those and in the-city again were-at-strife being-abroad —
Σόλωνος· καὶ προειστήκει τῶν μὲν Πεδιέων Λυκοῦργος,
Solon and was-at-the-head of-the indeed Plain-men Lycurgus
τῶν δὲ Παράλων Μεγακλῆς ὁ Ἀλκμαίωνος, Πεισίστρατος
of-the and Shore-men Megacles the son-of-Alcmaeon Peisistratus
δὲ τῶν Διακρίων, ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ θητικὸς ὄχλος καὶ μάλιστα
and of-the Hill-men among whom was the laboring crowd and most
τοῖς πλουσίοις ἀχθόμενος· ὥστε χρῆσθαι μὲν ἔτι τοῖς
with-the rich being-vexed so-that to-use indeed still the
νόμοις τὴν πόλιν, ἤδη δὲ πράγματα νεώτερα προσδοκᾶν καὶ
laws the city already but things newer to-expect and
ποθεῖν ἅπαντας ἑτέραν κατάστασιν, οὐκ ἴσον ἐλπίζοντας,
to-long-for all another settlement not equality hoping

ἀλλὰ πλέον ἔξειν ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ καὶ κρατήσειν παντάπασι
but more to-have in the change and to-prevail altogether
τῶν διαφερομένων. οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐχόντων
over-those differing so and the affairs being
ὁ Σόλων παραγενόμενος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, αἰδῶ μὲν εἶχε
— Solon having-arrived to — Athens respect indeed had
καὶ τιμὴν παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἐν δὲ κοινῷ λέγειν καὶ πράσσειν
and honor among all in but public to-speak and to-act
ὁμοίως οὐκ ἔτ' ἦν δυνατὸς οὐδὲ πρόθυμος ὑπὸ γήρως,
as-before no longer was-he able nor eager because-of old-age
ἀλλ' ἐντυγχάνων ἰδίᾳ τοῖς προεστῶσι τῶν στάσεων
but meeting privately the heading the factions
ἀνδράσιν ἐπειρᾶτο διαλύειν καὶ συναρμόττειν, μάλιστα
men he-tried to-reconcile and to-harmonize(-them) most
τοῦ Πεισιστράτου προσέχειν δοκοῦντος αὐτῷ. καὶ γὰρ
— Peisistratus to-attend seeming to-him and for
αἱμύλον τι καὶ προσφιλὲς εἶχεν ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ
wheedling something and attractive he-had in the conversing and
βοηθητικὸς ἦν τοῖς πένησι καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἔχθρας ἐπιεικὴς
helpful he-was to-the poor and toward the enmities reasonable
καὶ μέτριος. ἃ δὲ φύσει μὴ προσῆν αὐτῷ, καὶ ταῦτα
and moderate what and by-nature not belonged to-him even these-things
μιμούμενος ἐπιστεύετο μᾶλλον τῶν ἐχόντων, ὡς εὐλαβὴς
imitating he-was-trusted more than-those having(-them) as cautious
καὶ κόσμιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ ἴσον ἀγαπῶν, καὶ
and orderly man and most indeed the equality loving and
δυσχεραίνων εἴ τις τὰ παρόντα κινοίη καὶ νεωτέρων
being-displeased if anyone the present(-order) should-disturb and novelties
ὀρέγοιτο· τούτοις γὰρ ἐξηπάτα τοὺς πολλούς. ὁ δὲ Σόλων
should-desire with-these for he-deceived the many — but Solon
ταχὺ τὸ ἦθος ἐφώρασεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν πρῶτος
quickly the character detected his and the design first

ἐγκατεῖδεν· οὐ μὴν ἐμίσησεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειρᾶτο πραΰνειν καὶ
perceived not indeed he-hated(-him) but tried to-soften and
νουθετεῖν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγε καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους ὡς
to-admonish(-him) and to him he-said and to others that
εἴ τις ἐξέλοι τὸ φιλόπρωτον αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ
if anyone should-take-out the love-of-preeminence his from-the soul and
τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἰάσαιτο τῆς τυραννίδος, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος
the desire should-cure of-the tyranny not is another
εὐφυέστερος πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὐδὲ βελτίων πολίτης.
better-endowed for virtue nor better citizen
Ἀρχομένων δὲ τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν τραγῳδίαν
beginning and those about Thespis already the tragedy
κινεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὴν καινότητα τοὺς πολλοὺς
to-set-in-motion and because-of the novelty the many
ἄγοντος τοῦ πράγματος, οὔπω δ᾽ εἰς ἅμιλλαν ἐναγώνιον
attracting the thing not-yet and into rivalry competitive
ἐξηγμένου, φύσει φιλήκοος ὢν καὶ φιλομαθὴς ὁ
having-been-brought by-nature fond-of-listening being and fond-of-learning —
Σόλων, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν γήρᾳ σχολῇ καὶ παιδιᾷ καὶ νὴ Δία
Solon still more in old-age with-leisure and play and by Zeus
πότοις καὶ μουσικῇ παραπέμπων ἑαυτόν, ἐθεάσατο τὸν
with-drinking and music whiling-away himself saw —
Θέσπιν αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενον, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς.
Thespis himself acting as custom was for-the ancients
μετὰ δὲ τὴν θέαν προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν ἠρώτησεν εἰ
after and the spectacle having-addressed him he-asked whether
τοσούτων ἐναντίον οὐκ αἰσχύνεται τηλικαῦτα ψευδόμενος.
of-so-many in-the-presence not he-is-ashamed so-great lying
φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Θέσπιδος μὴ δεινὸν εἶναι τὸ μετὰ
having-said and — Thespis not terrible to-be the with
παιδιᾶς λέγειν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πράσσειν, σφόδρα τῇ
play to-say the such(-things) and to-do violently with-the

βακτηρίᾳ τὴν γῆν ὁ Σόλων πατάξας· "Ταχὺ μέντοι τὴν
staff the ground — Solon having-struck quickly however the
παιδιάν," ἔφη, "ταύτην ἐπαινοῦντες οὕτω καὶ τιμῶντες
play he-said this praising so and honoring
εὑρήσομεν ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις."
we-shall-find(-it) in the contracts

30 Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατατρώσας αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦκεν
when and having-wounded himself himself — Peisistratus came
εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ ζεύγους κομιζόμενος, καὶ παρώξυνε
into the-market-place on a-yoke(-of-mules) being-carried and he-provoked
τὸν δῆμον ὡς διὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
the people as because-of the constitution by the enemies
ἐπιβεβουλευμένος, καὶ πολλοὺς εἶχεν ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ
having-been-plotted-against and many he-had being-indignant and
βοῶντας, προσελθὼν ἐγγὺς ὁ Σόλων καὶ παραστάς,
shouting having-approached near — Solon and standing-beside(-him)
"Οὐ καλῶς," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ Ἱπποκράτους, ὑποκρίνῃ τὸν
not well he-said O son of-Hippocrates you-play the
Ὁμηρικὸν Ὀδυσσέα· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖς τοὺς πολίτας
Homeric Odysseus these-things for you-do the citizens
παρακρουόμενος οἷς ἐκεῖνος τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξηπάτησεν,
deceiving with-which he the enemies deceived
αἰκισάμενος ἑαυτόν." ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἦν ἕτοιμον
having-mutilated himself from this the indeed multitude was ready
ὑπερμαχεῖν τοῦ Πεισιστράτου, καὶ συνῆλθεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ὁ
to-fight-for — Peisistratus and came-together into assembly the
δῆμος. Ἀρίστωνος δὲ γράψαντος ὅπως δοθῶσι πεντήκοντα
people Ariston and having-proposed that there-be-given fifty
κορυνηφόροι τῷ Πεισιστράτῳ φυλακὴ τοῦ σώματος,
club-bearers — to-Peisistratus a-guard of-the body

ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Σόλων ἀναστὰς καὶ πολλὰ διεξῆλθεν
spoke-against(-it) — Solon having-stood-up and much went-through
ὅμοια τούτοις οἷς διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων γέγραφεν·
similar to-these(-things) which through the poems he-has-written

Εἰς γὰρ γλῶσσαν ὁρᾶτε καὶ εἰς ἔπη αἱμύλοι ἀνδρός.
On for tongue you-look and on words of-a-wheedling man
ὑμῶν δ' εἷς μὲν ἕκαστος ἀλώπεκος ἴχνεσι βαίνει,
of-you and one indeed each of-a-fox in-the-tracks walks
σύμπασιν δ' ὑμῖν χαῦνος ἔνεστι νόος.
to-all and to-you empty is-in mind

ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν πένητας ὡρμημένους χαρίζεσθαι
seeing and the indeed poor eager to-gratify
τῷ Πεισιστράτῳ καὶ θορυβοῦντας, τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους
— Peisistratus and clamoring the and rich
ἀποδιδράσκοντας καὶ ἀποδειλιῶντας, ἀπῆλθεν εἰπὼν
running-away and losing-heart he-went-away having-said
ὅτι τῶν μέν ἐστι σοφώτερος, τῶν δὲ
that than-the(-ones) indeed he-is wiser than-the(-others) and
ἀνδρειότερος· σοφώτερος μὲν τῶν μὴ συνιέντων τὸ
braver wiser indeed than-those not understanding the(-thing)
πραττόμενον, ἀνδρειότερος δὲ τῶν συνιέντων μέν,
being-done braver and than-those understanding indeed
ἐναντιοῦσθαι δὲ τῇ τυραννίδι φοβουμένων. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα
to-oppose but the tyranny fearing the and decree
κυρώσας ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἔτι τῶν
having-ratified the people not-even about the number any-longer of-the
κορυνηφόρων διεμικρολογεῖτο πρὸς τὸν Πεισίστρατον,
club-bearers haggled with — Peisistratus

ἀλλ' ὅσους ἐβούλετο τρέφοντα καὶ συνάγοντα φανερῶς
but as-many-as he-wished keeping and gathering openly
περιεώρα, μέχρι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατέσχε.
overlooked(-him) until the acropolis he-seized
Γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ τῆς πόλεως συνταραχθείσης,
having-happened and this and the city having-been-thrown-into-confusion
ὁ μὲν Μεγακλῆς εὐθὺς ἔφυγε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
— indeed Megacles at-once fled with the other
Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν, ὁ δὲ Σόλων ἤδη μὲν ἦν σφόδρα γέρων
Alcmaeonidae — but Solon already indeed was very old
καὶ τοὺς βοηθοῦντας οὐκ εἶχεν, ὅμως δὲ προῆλθεν εἰς
and the(-men) helping not had nevertheless and came-forward into
ἀγορὰν καὶ διελέχθη πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, τὰ μὲν
the-market-place and conversed with the citizens at-one-time indeed
κακίζων τὴν ἀβουλίαν αὐτῶν καὶ μαλακίαν, τὰ δὲ
reproaching the folly their and softness at-another and
παροξύνων ἔτι καὶ παρακαλῶν μὴ προέσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν·
provoking still and exhorting(-them) not to-give-up the freedom
ὅτε καὶ τὸ μνημονευόμενον εἶπεν, ὡς πρώην μὲν
when also the(-thing) remembered he-said that lately indeed
ἦν εὐμαρέστερον αὐτοῖς τὸ κωλῦσαι τὴν τυραννίδα
it-was easier for-them the to-prevent the tyranny
συνισταμένην, νῦν δὲ μεῖζόν ἐστι καὶ λαμπρότερον ἐκκόψαι
being-formed now but greater it-is and more-glorious to-cut-out
καὶ ἀνελεῖν συνεστῶσαν ἤδη καὶ πεφυκυῖαν. οὐδενὸς δὲ
and to-destroy(-it) having-been-formed already and having-grown no-one and
προσέχοντος αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν φόβον ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
attending to-him because-of the fear he-went-away to the house
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ λαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν
the his-own and having-taken the arms and before the doors
θέμενος εἰς τὸν στενωπόν, "Ἐμοὶ μέν," εἶπεν, "ὡς
having-placed(-them) into the street for-me indeed he-said as

δυνατὸν ἦν βεβοήθηται τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις.” καὶ τὸ
possible was help-has-been-given to-the fatherland and to-the laws and the
λοιπὸν ἡσυχίαν ἦγε, καὶ τῶν φίλων φεύγειν παραινούντων οὐ
rest quiet he-kept and the friends to-flee urging not
προσεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ ποιήματα γράφων ὠνείδιζε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις·
he-heeded but poems writing reproached the Athenians

Εἰ δὲ πεπόνθατε λυγρὰ δι’ ὑμετέρην κακότητα,
If and you-have-suffered sorrows because-of your baseness
μή τι θεοῖς τούτων μῆνιν ἐπαμφέρετε.
not at-all on-the-gods of-these wrath lay
αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτους ηὐξήσατε ῥύματα δόντες,
yourselves for these(-men) you-increased guards having-given
καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κακὴν ἔσχετε δουλοσύνην.
and because-of these-things evil you-got slavery

Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ πολλῶν νουθετούντων αὐτὸν ὡς 31
on these(-grounds) and many admonishing him as
ἀποθανούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, καὶ πυνθανομένων
going-to-die by the tyrant and inquiring
τίνι πιστεύων οὕτως ἀπονοεῖται, “Τῷ γήρᾳ,” εἶπεν.
in-what trusting so he-is-mad to-the old-age he-said
οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος τῶν
not indeed but — Peisistratus master having-become of-the
πραγμάτων οὕτως ἐξεθεράπευσε τὸν Σόλωνα, τιμῶν καὶ
affairs so courted — Solon honoring and
φιλοφρονούμενος καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος, ὥστε καὶ σύμβουλον
showing-kindness and sending-for(-him) so-that even adviser
εἶναι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πρασσομένων ἐπαινεῖν. καὶ
to-be and many of-the(-things) being-done to-praise and
γὰρ ἐφύλαττε τοὺς πλείστους νόμους τοῦ Σόλωνος,
for he-kept the most laws — of-Solon

ἐμμένων πρῶτος αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀναγκάζων·
abiding-by(-them) first himself and the friends compelling
ὅς γε καὶ φόνου προσκληθεὶς εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον,
who at-least even for-murder having-been-summoned to Ares' hill
ἤδη τυραννῶν, ἀπήντησε κοσμίως ἀπολογησόμενος, ὁ δὲ
already being-tyrant appeared decorously going-to-defend(-himself) the but
κατήγορος οὐχ ὑπήκουσε· καὶ νόμους αὐτὸς ἑτέρους
accuser not obeyed(-the-summons) and laws himself other
ἔγραψεν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ ὁ τοὺς πηρωθέντας ἐν
wrote of-which is also the(-one) the(-men) maimed in
πολέμῳ δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι κελεύων. τοῦτο δέ φησιν
war at-public(-expense) to-be-maintained ordering this and says
Ἡρακλείδης καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ Θερσίππῳ πηρωθέντι τοῦ
Heracleides also before for Thersippus maimed —
Σόλωνος ψηφισαμένου μιμήσασθαι τὸν Πεισίστρατον. ὡς
Solon having-decreed(-it) to-have-imitated — Peisistratus as
δὲ Θεόφραστος ἱστόρηκε, καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀργίας νόμον οὐ
and Theophrastus has-recorded also the of-the idleness law not
Σόλων ἔθηκεν, ἀλλὰ Πεισίστρατος, ᾧ τήν τε χώραν
Solon established but Peisistratus by-which the both country
ἐνεργοτέραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἠρεμαιοτέραν ἐποίησεν.
more-productive and the city more-tranquil he-made
Ὁ δὲ Σόλων ἁψάμενος μεγάλης τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν
— but Solon having-undertaken great the about the Atlantic
λόγον ἢ μῦθον πραγματείας, ὃν διήκουσε τῶν περὶ
story or myth work which he-heard-from the at
Σάϊν λογίων προσήκοντα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐξέκαμεν, οὐ
Saïs learned-men concerning the Athenians gave-up not
δι' ἀσχολίαν, ὡς Πλάτων φησίν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ
because-of lack-of-leisure as Plato says but rather by

γήρως, φοβηθεὶς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς γραφῆς. ἐπεὶ σχολῆς
old-age having-feared the magnitude of-the writing since of-leisure
γε περιουσίαν αὐτοῦ μηνύουσιν αἱ τοιαῦται φωναί·
at-least abundance his indicate the such utterances

Γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος·
I-grow-old and always many(-things) being-taught

καί,
and

Ἔργα δὲ Κυπρογενοῦς νῦν μοι φίλα καὶ Διονύσου
Works and of-the-Cyprus-born now to-me dear and of-Dionysus
καὶ Μουσέων, ἃ τίθησ' ἀνδράσιν εὐφροσύνας.
and of-Muses which give to-men delights

Ὡς δὲ χώρας καλῆς ἔδαφος ὁ Πλάτων ἔρημον, αὐτῷ 32
as and of-land fair a-site — Plato deserted to-him
δέ πως κατὰ συγγένειαν προσῆκον, ἐξεργάσασθαι καὶ
but somehow by kinship belonging to-work-out and
διακοσμῆσαι φιλοτιμούμενος τὴν Ἀτλαντικὴν ὑπόθεσιν,
to-adorn being-ambitious the Atlantic theme
πρόθυρα μὲν μεγάλα καὶ περιβόλους καὶ αὐλὰς τῇ ἀρχῇ
porches indeed great and enclosures and courts to-the beginning
περιέθηκεν, οἷα λόγος οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἔσχεν οὐδὲ μῦθος
put-around such-as story no other had nor myth
οὐδὲ ποίησις, ὀψὲ δὲ ἀρξάμενος προκατέλυσε τοῦ ἔργου
nor poetry late but having-begun he-ended-before the work
τὸν βίον, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον εὐφραίνει τὰ γεγραμμένα,
the life by-as-much-as more delights the(-parts) written
τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσιν ἀνιάσας. ὡς
by-so-much more with-the unfinished(-parts) having-vexed(-us) as

γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον, οὕτως ἡ
for the city of-the Athenians — Olympieum so the
Πλάτωνος σοφία τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν ἐν πολλοῖς καλοῖς
of-Plato wisdom the Atlantic among many fine(-works)
μόνον ἔργον ἀτελὲς ἔσχηκεν.
only work unfinished has-had
Ἐπεβίωσε δ' οὖν ὁ Σόλων ἀρξαμένου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου
survived and then — Solon having-begun — Peisistratus
τυραννεῖν, ὡς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ,
to-be-tyrant as indeed Heracleides the Pontic records
συχνὸν χρόνον, ὡς δὲ Φανίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος, ἐλάττονα δυοῖν
a-long time as but Phanias the Eresian less than-two
ἐτῶν. ἐπὶ Κωμίου μὲν γὰρ ἤρξατο τυραννεῖν
years in-the-archonship-of Comias indeed for began to-be-tyrant
Πεισίστρατος, ἐφ' Ἡγεστράτου δὲ Σόλωνά φησιν ὁ
Peisistratus in-that-of Hegestratus and Solon says —
Φανίας ἀποθανεῖν τοῦ μετὰ Κωμίαν ἄρξαντος. ἡ
Phanias to-have-died the(-one) after Comias having-been-archon the
δὲ διασπορὰ κατακαυθέντος αὐτοῦ τῆς τέφρας περὶ τὴν
and scattering having-been-burned him of-the ash about the
Σαλαμινίων νῆσον ἔστι μὲν διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν ἀπίθανος
of-Salaminians island is indeed because-of the absurdity incredible
παντάπασι καὶ μυθώδης, ἀναγέγραπται δ' ὑπό τε ἄλλων
altogether and fabulous it-has-been-recorded but by both other
ἀνδρῶν ἀξιολόγων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦ φιλοσόφου.
men noteworthy and Aristotle the philosopher

PLUTARCH

ΠΟΠΛΙΚΟΛΑΣ

Publicola

Valerius, of a family that reconciled Romans and Sabines, helps Brutus drive out Tarquin but is not chosen consul and withdraws, until he swears first to fight for liberty. Tarquin's envoys ask for his property and secretly win over the Aquilii and the Vitellii, who draw in two sons of Brutus. The conspirators swear their oath over a slain man in the Aquilii's house and write to Tarquin of killing the consuls; a slave, Vindicius, hidden there by chance, overhears them and, fearing to tell the consuls, goes to Valerius.

Τοιούτῳ δὴ γενομένῳ τῷ Σόλωνι τὸν Ποπλικόλαν 1
to-such indeed having-been — to-Solon — Publicola
παραβάλλομεν, ᾧ τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον ὁ Ῥωμαίων
we-compare to-whom this indeed later the of-Romans
δῆμος ἐξεῦρεν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοὔνομα, πρὸ τοῦ δὲ Πόπλιος
people devised for honor the-name before this and Publius
Οὐαλλέριος ἐκαλεῖτο, Οὐαλλερίου δοκῶν ἀπόγονος εἶναι
Valerius he-was-called of-Valerius seeming descendant to-be
τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρὸς αἰτιωτάτου γενομένου Ῥωμαίους
of-the ancients man most-responsible having-been Romans
καὶ Σαβίνους ἐκ πολεμίων ἕνα γενέσθαι δῆμον· ὁ γὰρ
and Sabines from enemies one to-become people he for
μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλεῖς εἰς ταὐτὸ πείσας συνελθεῖν
most the kings into the-same(-place) having-persuaded to-come-together
καὶ διαλλάξας ἐκεῖνός ἐστι. τούτῳ δὴ κατὰ γένος
and having-reconciled(-them) that(-man) is to-this indeed by family
προσήκων ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ὥς φασι, βασιλευομένης μὲν ἔτι
related — Valerius as they-say being-ruled-by-kings indeed still
τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιφανὴς ἦν διὰ λόγον καὶ πλοῦτον, ὧν
— Rome notable he-was for eloquence and wealth of-which
τῷ μὲν ὀρθῶς καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας ἀεὶ χρώμενος
the(-one) indeed rightly and with frankness always using

ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐλευθερίως
on-behalf-of the just from which and the needy liberally
καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἐπαρκῶν, δῆλος ἦν εὐθύς, εἰ γένοιτο
and humanely assisting evident he-was at-once if there-should-be
δημοκρατία, πρωτεύσων.
democracy going-to-be-first
Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ταρκύνιον Σούπερβον οὔτε λαβόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν
when and Tarquinius Superbus neither having-gotten the rule
καλῶς, ἀλλ' ἀνοσίως καὶ παρανόμως, οὔτε χρώμενον αὐτῇ
well but impiously and lawlessly nor using it
βασιλικῶς, ἀλλ' ὑβρίζοντα καὶ τυραννοῦντα, μισῶν ὁ δῆμος
royally but outraging and playing-the-tyrant hating the people
καὶ βαρυνόμενος, ἀρχὴν ἀποστάσεως ἔλαβε τὸ Λουκρητίας
and being-weighed-down a-beginning of-revolt took the of-Lucretia
πάθος αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῷ βιασθῆναι διεργασαμένης, καὶ
suffering herself on the to-have-been-violated having-destroyed and
Λεύκιος Βροῦτος ἁπτόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς μεταβολῆς
Lucius Brutus taking-hold-of the affairs of-the change
ἐπὶ πρῶτον ἦλθε τὸν Οὐαλλέριον καὶ χρησάμενος αὐτῷ
to first came — Valerius and having-used him
προθυμοτάτῳ συνεξέβαλε τοὺς βασιλεῖς, μέχρι μὲν ἐπίδοξος
most-eager helped-to-expel the kings as-long-as indeed expected
ἦν ὁ δῆμος ἕνα χειροτονήσειν ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλέως
was the people one to-elect instead-of the king
στρατηγόν, ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ὡς τῷ Βρούτῳ
commander quiet kept — Valerius as — to-Brutus
μᾶλλον ἄρχειν προσῆκον ἡγεμόνι τῆς ἐλευθερίας γεγενημένῳ·
rather to-rule fitting leader of-the freedom having-been
δυσχεραινομένου δὲ τοῦ τῆς μοναρχίας ὀνόματος, καὶ
being-disliked and the of-the monarchy name and
δοκοῦντος ἂν ἀλυπότερον τοῦ δήμου μερισθεῖσαν ὑπομεῖναι
seeming — more-painlessly the people divided to-endure

τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ δύο προβαλλομένου καὶ καλοῦντος, ἐλπίζων
the rule and two putting-forward and calling(-for) hoping
μετὰ τὸν Βροῦτον αἱρεθήσεσθαι καὶ συνυπατεύσειν
after — Brutus to-be-chosen and to-be-consul-with(-him)
διήμαρτεν. ᾑρέθη γὰρ ἄκοντι τῷ Βρούτῳ συνάρχων ἀντὶ
he-failed was-chosen for unwilling — to-Brutus colleague instead-of
τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου Ταρκύνιος Κολλατῖνος, ὁ Λουκρητίας
— Valerius Tarquinius Collatinus the of-Lucretia
ἀνήρ, οὐδὲν ἀρετῇ Οὐαλλερίου διαφέρων, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ δυνατοὶ
husband in-nothing in-virtue than-Valerius differing but the powerful
δεδιότες τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἔτι πολλὰ πειρῶντας ἔξωθεν
fearing the kings still many(-things) trying from-outside
καὶ μαλάσσοντας τὴν πόλιν, ἐβούλοντο τὸν ἐντονώτατον
and softening the city wished the most-vehement
αὐτοῖς ἐχθρὸν ἔχειν στρατηγὸν ὡς οὐχ ὑφησόμενον.
to-them enemy to-have as-commander as not going-to-give-way
Ἀγανακτῶν οὖν ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, εἰ μὴ πιστεύεται πάντα 2
being-indignant then — Valerius if not he-is-trusted everything
πράττειν ἕνεκα τῆς πατρίδος, ὅτι μηδὲν ἰδίᾳ κακὸν
to-do for-the-sake-of the fatherland because nothing privately evil
ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων πέπονθε, τῆς τε βουλῆς ἀπέστη
from the tyrants he-has-suffered from-the both senate withdrew
καὶ τὰς συνηγορίας ἀπεῖπε καὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ
and the pleadings renounced and the to-do the public(-affairs)
παντελῶς ἐξέλιπεν, ὥστε καὶ λόγον τοῖς πολλοῖς παρασχεῖν
completely abandoned so-that even talk to-the many to-furnish
καὶ φροντίδα, φοβουμένοις μὴ δι᾽ ὀργὴν προσθέμενος
and anxiety fearing lest because-of anger having-sided
τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀνατρέψῃ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν
with-the kings he-should-overturn the affairs and the
πόλιν ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχουσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους
city precariously being when but also toward others

τινὰς ὑποψίαν ἔχων ὁ Βροῦτος ἐβούλετο διὰ σφαγίων
some suspicion having — Brutus wished with victims
ὁρκῶσαι τὴν βουλὴν καὶ προεῖπεν ἡμέραν, καταβὰς
to-bind-by-oath the senate and proclaimed a-day having-gone-down
μάλα φαιδρὸς εἰς ἀγορὰν ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, καὶ πρῶτος
very cheerful into the-market-place — Valerius and first
ὀμόσας μηδὲν ἐνδώσειν μηδ' ὑφήσεσθαι Ταρκυνίοις, ἀλλὰ
having-sworn nothing to-yield nor to-give-way to-Tarquins but
πολεμήσειν κατὰ κράτος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἡδονήν
to-war with might on-behalf-of the freedom pleasure
τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ θάρσος ἅμα τοῖς ἄρχουσι παρέσχεν.
both to-the senate and courage at-once to-the magistrates provided
εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔργα τὸν ὅρκον ἐβεβαίου. πρέσβεις γὰρ
at-once and also the deeds the oath confirmed envoys for
ἦκον ἀπὸ Ταρκυνίου γράμματα κομίζοντες ἐπαγωγὰ τοῦ
came from Tarquinius letters bringing seductive of-the
δήμου καὶ λόγους ἐπιεικεῖς, οἷς μάλιστα τοὺς πολλοὺς
people and words reasonable with-which most the many
ᾤοντο διαφθείρειν, λεγομένοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἀφεικέναι
they-thought to-corrupt being-spoken from the-king to-have-given-up
τὸ φρόνημα καὶ μετρίων δεῖσθαι δοκοῦντος. τούτους εἰς
the pride and moderate(-things) to-ask seeming these into
τὸ πλῆθος οἰομένων δεῖν τῶν ὑπάτων προαγαγεῖν οὐκ
the multitude thinking it-needful the consuls to-bring-forward not
εἴασεν ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ἀλλ' ἐνέστη καὶ διεκώλυσεν ἀνθρώποις
allowed — Valerius but opposed and prevented for-men
πένησι καὶ βαρυνομένοις μᾶλλον τῆς τυραννίδος τὸν
poor and burdened more than-the tyranny the
πόλεμον ἀρχὰς καὶ προφάσεις νεωτερισμῶν ἐγγενέσθαι.
war beginnings and pretexts of-revolutions to-arise

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρέσβεις ἦκον ἕτεροι τῆς τε βασιλείας 3
after and these-things envoys came others the both kingship
ἀφίστασθαι καὶ πολεμοῦντα παύσασθαι τὸν Ταρκύνιον
to-renounce and making-war to-cease — Tarquinius
λέγοντες, ἀπαιτεῖν δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῷ
saying to-demand and the money and the properties for-himself
καὶ φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις, ἀφ' ὧν διαβιώσονται φεύγοντες.
and friends and relatives from which they-will-live being-exiles
ἐπικλωμένων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Κολλατίνου
being-moved and many and most — Collatinus
συναγορεύοντος, ἄτρεπτος ὢν ἀνὴρ καὶ τραχὺς ὀργὴν ὁ
speaking-in-support inflexible being a-man and harsh in-temper —
Βροῦτος ἐξέδραμεν εἰς ἀγοράν, προδότην ἀποκαλῶν τὸν
Brutus ran-out into the-market-place traitor calling the
συνάρχοντα, πολέμου καὶ τυραννίδος ἀφορμὰς χαριζόμενον
colleague of-war and of-tyranny resources granting
οἷς δεινὸν ἦν ὄντως ἐφόδια φυγῆς ψηφίσασθαι.
to-whom terrible was really supplies of-exile to-vote
συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν πρῶτος ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ
having-come-together and the citizens first private man
εἶπεν ἐν δήμῳ τότε Γάϊος Μινούκιος, τῷ τε Βρούτῳ
spoke in assembly then Gaius Minucius — both to-Brutus
διακελευόμενος καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παραινῶν ὁρᾶν ὅπως τὰ
urging and the Romans exhorting to-see that the
χρήματα μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντα πολεμοίη πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους
money with them being should-war against the tyrants
μᾶλλον ἢ μετ' ἐκείνων πρὸς αὐτούς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'
rather than with them against themselves not indeed but
ἔδοξε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχουσιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς
it-seemed-good to-the Romans the freedom having for which

ἐπολέμουν, μὴ προέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἕνεκα χρημάτων,
they-were-warring not to-give-up the peace for-the-sake-of money
ἀλλὰ συνεκβαλεῖν καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς τυράννοις.
but to-throw-out also these-things with-the tyrants
Ἦν δὲ ἄρα Ταρκυνίῳ λόγος μὲν ἐλάχιστος τῶν χρημάτων,
it-was and then to-Tarquinius concern indeed least of-the money
ἡ δ' ἀπαίτησις ἅμα πεῖρα τοῦ δήμου καὶ κατασκευὴ
the but demand at-once a-test of-the people and preparation
προδοσίας. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον οἱ πρέσβεις ὑπομένοντες
of-treason and these-things did the envoys remaining
ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων προφάσει, τὰ μὲν ἀποδίδοσθαι,
on the of-the money pretext the(-things) indeed to-be-sold
τὰ δὲ φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ἀποπέμπειν φάσκοντες,
the(-things) and to-keep the(-things) and to-send-off saying
ἄχρι οὗ διέφθειραν οἴκους δύο τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν
until which they-corrupted houses two of-the noble and-good
νομιζομένων, τὸν Ἀκυλλίων τρεῖς ἔχοντα βουλευτὰς καὶ δύο
reckoned the of-Aquilii three having senators and two
τὸν Οὐϊτελλίων. οὗτοι πάντες ἦσαν ἀπὸ μητέρων ἀδελφιδοῖ
that of-Vitellii these all were from mothers nephews
Κολλατίνου τοῦ ὑπατεύοντος, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Οὐϊτελλίοις ἑτέρα
of-Collatinus the consul privately and to-Vitellii another
πρὸς Βροῦτον οἰκειότης ὑπῆρχεν. ἀδελφὴν γὰρ αὐτῶν
with Brutus relationship existed a-sister for their
ὁ Βροῦτος εἶχε καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς πλείονας· ὧν
— Brutus had and children from her several of-whom
δύο τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ συγγενεῖς ὄντας ἅμα καὶ συνήθεις οἱ
two those of age kinsmen being at-once and intimates the
Οὐϊτέλλιοι προσηγάγοντο καὶ συνέπεισαν ἐν τῇ προδοσίᾳ
Vitellii won-over and persuaded in the treason
γενέσθαι καὶ καταμίξαντας ἑαυτοὺς εἰς γένος μέγα τὸ
to-be(-partners) and having-joined themselves into a-family great the

τῶν Ταρκυνίων καὶ βασιλικὰς ἐλπίδας ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς
of-the Tarquins and royal hopes to-be-freed from-the
τοῦ πατρὸς ἀβελτερίας καὶ χαλεπότητος· χαλεπότητα μὲν
of-the father stupidity and harshness harshness indeed
τὸ ἀπαραίτητον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς λέγοντες, τῇ δ'
the inexorable(-part) his toward the wicked calling the but
ἀβελτερίᾳ προσποιήματι καὶ παρακαλύμματι πολὺν χρόνον,
stupidity as-a-pretense and a-cloak much time
ὡς ἔοικε, χρησάμενος ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα πρὸς τοὺς
as it-seems having-used safety for-the-sake-of against the
τυράννους, οὐδ' ὕστερον ἔφυγεν αὐτῆς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.
tyrants not-even later he-shed of-it the name
Ὡς δ' οὖν συνεπείσθη τὰ μειράκια καὶ τοῖς Ἀκυλλίοις 4
when and then had-been-persuaded the youths and with-the Aquilii
εἰς λόγους ἦλθεν, ὅρκον ὀμόσαι μέγαν ἔδοξε πᾶσι καὶ
into talks came an-oath to-swear great it-seemed-good to-all and
δεινόν, ἀνθρώπου σφαγέντος ἐπισπείσαντας αἷμα καὶ
dreadful a-man having-been-slain having-poured-libation-of blood and
τῶν σπλάγχνων θιγόντας. ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰς τὴν Ἀκυλλίων
the entrails having-touched for this(-purpose) into the of-Aquilii
οἰκίαν συνῆλθον. ἦν δ' ὁ οἶκος, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα δράσειν
house they-came-together was and the room in which these-things to-do
ἔμελλον, οἷον εἰκός, ὑπέρημος καὶ σκοτώδης. ἔλαθεν οὖν
they-were-about as likely very-deserted and dark escaped-notice then
αὐτοὺς οἰκέτης ὄνομα Οὐινδίκιος ἔνδον κατακρύψας ἑαυτόν,
them a-servant by-name Vindicius inside having-hidden himself
οὐ κατ' ἐπιβουλὴν ἢ προαίσθησίν τινα τοῦ μέλλοντος,
not by design or forewarning any of-the future
ἀλλ' ἔνδον ὢν ἔτυχε καὶ προσιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς μετὰ
but inside being he-happened and approaching them with
σπουδῆς ὀφθῆναι φοβηθεὶς ὑπέστη, λάρνακα κειμένην
haste to-be-seen having-feared he-stood-behind a-chest lying

πρὸ αὑτοῦ ποιησάμενος, ὥστε καὶ τῶν πραττομένων
before himself having-made(-it) so-that both of-the(-things) being-done
θεατὴς γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν βουλευμάτων ἐπήκοος. ἔδοξε
spectator to-become and of-the plans a-hearer it-seemed-good
δ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀναιρεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα δηλούσας
and to-them the consuls to-kill and these-things revealing
γράψαντες ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἔδωκαν τοῖς
having-written letters to — Tarquinius they-gave(-them) to-the
πρέσβεσι· καὶ γὰρ ᾤκουν αὐτόθι, τῶν Ἀκυλλίων ξένοι
envoys and for were-lodging there of-the Aquilii guests
γεγονότες, καὶ τότε τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ παρῆσαν.
having-become and then at-the conspiracy were-present
Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα πράξαντες ἀπηλλάγησαν, ὑπεξελθὼν ὁ
when and these-things having-done they-departed having-slipped-out —
Οὐινδίκιος λάθρα, χρήσασθαι τοῖς προσπεσοῦσιν οὐκ
Vindicius secretly to-use the(-things) having-befallen not
εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἠπορεῖτο, δεινὸν μὲν ἡγούμενος, ὥσπερ ἦν,
was-able but was-at-a-loss terrible indeed thinking as it-was
πρὸς πατέρα Βροῦτον υἱῶν ἐξάγιστα κατηγορεῖν ἢ πρὸς
to father Brutus of-sons accursed(-things) to-accuse or to
θεῖον ἀδελφιδῶν τὸν Κολλατῖνον, ἰδιώτην δὲ Ῥωμαίων
uncle of-nephews — Collatinus private-person and of-Romans
οὐδένα νομίζων ἐχέγγυον ἀπορρήτων τηλικούτων. πᾶν δ'
none thinking trustworthy of-secrets so-great all and
αὖ μᾶλλον ἢ δυνατὸς ὢν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἐλαυνόμενος
again rather than able being quiet to-keep being-driven
δὲ τῷ συνειδότι τοῦ πράγματος, ὥρμησέ πως πρὸς
and by-the consciousness of-the deed he-set-off somehow to
τὸν Οὐαλλέριον, μάλιστα τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ φιλανθρώποις
— Valerius most by-the common and humane
ἐπαχθεὶς τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅτι πᾶσιν εὐπρόσοδος ἦν τοῖς
drawn of-the man that to-all accessible he-was to-the

δεομένοις, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀεὶ παρεῖχεν ἀνεῳγμένην, καὶ
needy and the house always kept open and
λόγον οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ χρείαν ἀπερρίπτει τῶν ταπεινῶν.
speech of-no-one nor need rejected of-the humble

II · BRUTUS' SONS

Valerius seizes the letters at the Aquilii's house, and his brother those at the royal residence. Before the people Brutus questions his two sons, and when they do not answer he has them scourged and beheaded while he watches unmoved. Collatinus wavers over the Aquilii, but Valerius holds Vindicius and the people condemn them. Collatinus resigns and Valerius becomes consul; Vindicius is freed. Tarquin's grain, thrown into the Tiber, forms the sacred island.

Ὡς οὖν ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Οὐινδίκιος καὶ κατεῖπε πάντα, 5
when then went-up to him — Vindicius and told everything
Μάρκου τε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παρόντος αὐτῷ μόνου καὶ τῆς
Marcus both the brother being-present to-him alone and the
γυναικός, ἐκπλαγεὶς καὶ δείσας ὁ Οὐαλλέριος οὐκέτι
wife having-been-astounded and having-feared — Valerius no-longer
προήκατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ κατακλείσας εἰς τὸ οἴκημα
let-go the man but having-shut(-him) into the room
καὶ φύλακα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ταῖς θύραις ἐπιστήσας, τὸν
and as-guard the his-own wife at-the doors having-set the
μὲν ἀδελφὸν ἐκέλευσε τὴν βασιλικὴν ἔπαυλιν περισχόντα
indeed brother he-ordered the royal residence having-surrounded
τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν, ἂν δυνατὸν ᾖ, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας
the letters to-seize if possible it-be and the servants
παραφυλάττειν· αὐτὸς δὲ πελατῶν τε πολλῶν καὶ φίλων
to-watch himself and clients both many and friends
ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων καὶ θεραπείας συχνῆς, ἐβάδιζε πρὸς
always about him being and attendants numerous went to

τὴν οἰκίαν τῶν Ἀκυλλίων οὐκ ἔνδον ὄντων διὸ μηδενὸς
the house of-the Aquilii not inside being wherefore no-one
ἂν προσδοκήσαντος ὠσάμενος διὰ θυρῶν ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῖς
— having-expected having-pushed through doors he-finds the
γράμμασι κειμένοις ὅπου κατέλυον οἱ πρέσβεις. ταῦτα
letters lying where were-lodging the envoys these-things
δ' αὐτοῦ πράττοντος οἱ Ἀκύλλιοι δρόμῳ προσεφέροντο,
and him doing the Aquilii at-a-run rushed-up
καὶ περὶ τὰς θύρας συμμίξαντες ἐζήτουν ἀφελέσθαι τὰς
and at the doors having-engaged sought to-take-away the
ἐπιστολάς. οἱ δ' ἠμύνοντο, καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια περιβαλόντες
letters they and resisted and the cloaks having-thrown-round
αὐτῶν τοῖς τραχήλοις ὑπὸ βίας καὶ μόλις ὠθούμενοι καὶ
their the necks by force and hardly being-pushed and
ὠθοῦντες διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλον.
pushing through the lanes into the market-place they-burst
τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἔπαυλιν ἅμα τὴν βασιλικὴν
the and same(-things) also at the residence at-once the royal
ἐγίνετο, τοῦ Μάρκου γραμμάτων ἑτέρων ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσι
happened — Marcus letters other in the baggage
κομιζομένων ἐπιλαμβανομένου, καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὅσους
being-carried seizing and of-the royal(-servants) as-many-as
δυνατὸς ἦν ἕλκοντος εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν.
able he-was dragging into the market-place

6 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν θόρυβον κατέπαυσαν οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ τοῦ
when and the uproar stopped the consuls and —
Οὐαλλερίου κελεύσαντος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ὁ Οὐινδίκιος
Valerius having-ordered from the house — Vindicius
προήχθη, καὶ γενομένης κατηγορίας ἀνεγνώσθη τὰ
was-brought-forward and having-been-made an-accusation were-read the
γράμματα καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησαν ἀντειπεῖν οἱ ἄνδρες,
letters and to nothing dared to-reply the men

ἦν μὲν κατήφεια καὶ σιωπὴ τῶν ἄλλων, ὀλίγοι δὲ
there-was indeed dejection and silence of-the others few but
βουλόμενοι τῷ Βρούτῳ χαρίζεσθαι φυγῆς ἐμέμνηντο. καί
wishing — Brutus to-gratify of-exile made-mention and
τι καὶ Κολλατῖνος αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδος ἐπιεικοῦς ἐνεδίδου
something also Collatinus to-them of-hope reasonable gave
δεδακρυμένος καὶ Οὐαλλέριος σιωπῶν. ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος
weeping and Valerius being-silent — but Brutus
ὀνομαστὶ τῶν υἱῶν ἑκάτερον προσειπών, "Ἄγε, ὦ Τίτε,"
by-name of-the sons each addressing come O Titus
εἶπεν, "ἄγε, ὦ Τιβέριε, τί οὐκ ἀπολογεῖσθε πρὸς τὴν
he-said come O Tiberius why not do-you-defend-yourselves against the
κατηγορίαν;" ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο τρὶς ἐρωτηθέντες,
accusation when but nothing they-answered thrice having-been-asked
οὕτως πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἀποστρέψας τὸ πρόσωπον,
so to the lictors having-turned the face
"Ὑμέτερον ἤδη," εἶπε, "τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον." οἱ δὲ εὐθὺς
yours now he-said the rest work they and at-once
συλλαβόντες τοὺς νεανίσκους περιερρήγνυον τὰ ἱμάτια, τὰς
having-seized the young-men tore-off the cloaks the
χεῖρας ἀπῆγον ὀπίσω, ῥάβδοις ἔξαινον τὰ σώματα, τῶν
hands drew behind with-rods scourged the bodies the
μὲν ἄλλων οὐ δυναμένων προσορᾶν οὐδὲ καρτερούντων,
indeed others not being-able to-look-on nor enduring
ἐκεῖνον δὲ λέγεται μήτε τὰς ὄψεις ἀπαγαγεῖν ἀλλαχόσε
him but is-said neither the eyes to-have-turned-away elsewhere
μήτ' οἴκτῳ τι τρέψαι τῆς περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον
nor by-pity anything to-have-changed of-the on the face
ὀργῆς καὶ βαρύτητος, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν ἐνορᾶν κολαζομένοις
anger and severity but terribly to-have-gazed-at being-punished
τοῖς παισὶν ἄχρι οὗ κατατείναντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὔδαφος
the sons until which having-stretched them on the-ground

πελέκει τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπέκοψαν. οὕτω δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους
with-an-axe the heads they-cut-off so and the others
ἐπὶ τῷ συνάρχοντι ποιησάμενος ᾤχετ' ἐξαναστάς,
to the colleague having-left he-went-away having-risen
ἔργον εἰργασμένος οὔτ' ἐπαινεῖν βουλομένοις ἀξίως οὔτε
a-deed having-accomplished neither to-praise for-those-wishing worthily nor
ψέγειν ἐφικτόν. ἢ γὰρ ἀρετῆς ὕψος εἰς ἀπάθειαν
to-blame possible either for of-virtue height into impassivity
ἐξέστησε τὴν ψυχήν, ἢ πάθους μέγεθος εἰς ἀναλγησίαν.
removed the soul or of-passion greatness into insensibility
οὐδέτερον δὲ μικρὸν οὐδ' ἀνθρώπινον, ἀλλ' ἢ θεῖον ἢ
neither but small nor human but either divine or
θηριῶδες. δίκαιον δὲ τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν κρίσιν
brutish just but to-the reputation of-the man the judgment
ἕπεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀσθενείᾳ τοῦ κρίνοντος
to-follow rather than the virtue through-weakness of-the judge
ἀπιστεῖσθαι. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔργον οἴονται
to-be-disbelieved Romans for not so-great a-work think
Ῥωμύλου γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἵδρυσιν, ὅσον Βρούτου
of-Romulus to-have-been of-the city the founding as of-Brutus
τὴν κτίσιν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ κατάστασιν.
the founding of-the constitution and establishment

7 Ὡς δ' οὖν ἀπῆλθεν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς τότε, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον
when and then he-departed from the-market-place then much indeed time
ἔκπληξις εἶχε καὶ φρίκη καὶ σιωπὴ πάντας ἐπὶ τοῖς
amazement held and shuddering and silence all at the(-things)
διαπεπραγμένοις· πρὸς δὲ τὴν Κολλατίνου μαλακίαν καὶ
done toward but the of-Collatinus softness and
μέλλησιν ἀνεθάρρησαν οἱ Ἀκύλλιοι, καὶ χρόνον ἠξίουν
delay took-courage-again the Aquilii and time they-asked
λαβόντες ἀπολογήσασθαι, καὶ τὸν Οὐινδίκιον αὐτοῖς
having-received to-defend-themselves and — Vindicius to-them

ἀποδοθῆναι δοῦλον ὄντα, καὶ μὴ παρὰ τοῖς κατηγόροις
to-be-given-back a-slave being and not with the accusers
εἶναι. βουλομένου δὲ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν καὶ διαλύοντος ἐπὶ
to-be wishing and these-things to-grant and dissolving on
τούτοις τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ Οὐαλλέριος οὔτε τὸν ἄνθρωπον
these(-terms) the assembly — Valerius neither the man
οἷός τ' ἦν ἀφεῖναι τῷ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλῳ καταμεμιγμένον,
able — was to-let-go to-the about him crowd mingled
οὔτε τὸν δῆμον εἴα προέμενον τοὺς προδότας ἀπελθεῖν.
nor the people allowed having-given-up the traitors to-go-away
τέλος δὲ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐπιβαλὼν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπεκαλεῖτο
at-last and on-the bodies having-laid the hands he-called-on
τὸν Βροῦτον, καὶ τὸν Κολλατῖνον ἐβόα δεινὰ ποιεῖν,
— Brutus and — Collatinus he-shouted terrible(-things) to-do
εἰ τῷ συνάρχοντι παιδοφονίας ἀνάγκην προστριψάμενος
if on-the colleague of-child-murder necessity having-rubbed
αὐτὸς οἴεται δεῖν καταχαρίζεσθαι ταῖς γυναιξὶ τοὺς
himself thinks it-needful to-favor the women the
προδότας καὶ πολεμίους τῆς πατρίδος. ἀγανακτοῦντος
traitors and enemies of-the fatherland being-angry
δὲ τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπάγεσθαι τὸν Οὐινδίκιον,
and the consul and ordering to-be-led-away — Vindicius
οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέται διωσάμενοι τὸν ὄχλον ἥπτοντο τοῦ
the indeed lictors having-pushed-through the crowd laid-hold-of the
ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοὺς ἀφαιρουμένους ἔτυπτον, οἱ δὲ φίλοι
man and those taking(-him)-away struck the and friends
τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου προέστησαν ἀμυνόμενοι· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐβόα
— of-Valerius stood-before(-him) defending and the people shouted
κελεύων παρεῖναι τὸν Βροῦτον. ἦκεν οὖν αὖθις ὑποστρέψας·
ordering to-be-present — Brutus came then again having-turned-back
καὶ γενομένης αὐτῷ σιωπῆς εἶπεν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν υἱοῖς αὐτὸς
and having-been-made for-him silence he-said that for-the indeed sons he-himself

ἀποχρῶν ἦν δικαστής, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς πολίταις
sufficient was judge about and the others to-the citizens
ἐλευθέροις οὖσι ψῆφον δίδωσι· λεγέτω δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος
free being a-vote he-gives let-speak and the(-one) wishing
καὶ πειθέτω τὸν δῆμον. οὐκέτι μέντοι λόγων ἐδέησεν, ἀλλὰ
and let-persuade the people no-longer however of-speeches was-there-need but
τῆς ψήφου δοθείσης πάσαις ἁλόντες ἐπελεκίσθησαν.
the vote having-been-given by-all(-votes) convicted they-were-beheaded
Ὁ δὲ Κολλατῖνος ἦν μέν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐν ὑποψίᾳ τινὶ καὶ
— *and Collatinus was indeed as it-seems in suspicion some also*
διὰ συγγένειαν τῶν βασιλέων, ἤχθοντο δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
because-of kinship with-the kings they-were-vexed and with-him also
τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀφοσιούμενοι τὸν Ταρκύνιον.
by-the second of-the names abominating — Tarquinius
ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα συνέβη, παντάπασι προσκρούσας
when and also these-things happened altogether having-given-offense
ἀφῆκε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑκὼν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθεν.
he-laid-down the office willingly and from-the city withdrew
οὕτω δὴ πάλιν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν γενομένων ὕπατος
so indeed again elections having-taken-place consul
ἀπεδείχθη λαμπρῶς ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ἀξίαν ἀπολαβὼν τῆς
was-declared splendidly — Valerius worthy having-received of-the
προθυμίας χάριν· ἧς οἰόμενός τι δεῖν ἀπολαῦσαι
zeal reward of-which thinking something it-needful to-enjoy
τὸν Οὐινδίκιον ἐψηφίσατο πρῶτον ἀπελεύθερον ἐκεῖνον ἐν
— *Vindicius he-decreed first freedman that(-man) in*
Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι πολίτην καὶ φέρειν ψῆφον ᾗ βούλοιτο
Rome to-become a-citizen and to-cast a-vote in-whichever he-wished
φρατρίᾳ προσνεμηθέντα. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπελευθέροις
curia having-been-assigned to-the and other freedmen
ὀψὲ καὶ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἐξουσίαν ψήφου δημαγωγῶν
late and after long time right of-voting courting-the-people

ἔδωκεν Ἄππιος· ἡ δὲ παντελὴς ἀπελευθέρωσις ἄχρι νῦν
gave Appius the and complete manumission until now
οὐινδίκτα λέγεται δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον, ὥς φασι, τὸν Οὐινδίκιον.
vindicta is-called through that(-man) as they-say — Vindicius
Ἐκ τούτου τὰ μὲν χρήματα τῶν βασιλέων διαρπάσαι 8
from this the indeed money of-the kings to-plunder
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔδωκαν, τὴν δὲ οἰκίαν κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὴν
to-the Romans they-gave the and house they-razed and the
ἔπαυλιν· τοῦ δ᾽ Ἀρείου πεδίου τὸ ἥδιστον ἐκέκτητο
residence of-the and Martian plain the pleasantest(-part) had-possessed
Ταρκύνιος, καὶ τοῦτο τῷ θεῷ καθιέρωσαν. ἔτυχε δὲ
Tarquinius and this to-the god they-dedicated it-happened and
τεθερισμένον ἄρτι, καὶ κειμένων ἔτι τῶν δραγμάτων
reaped just-now and lying still the sheaves
οὐκ ᾤοντο δεῖν ἀλοᾶν οὐδὲ χρῆσθαι διὰ τὴν
not they-thought it-needful to-thresh nor to-use because-of the
καθιέρωσιν, ἀλλὰ συνδραμόντες ἐφόρουν τὰς ἀμάλλας εἰς
dedication but having-run-together they-carried the bundles into
τὸν ποταμόν. ὡς δ᾽ αὔτως καὶ τὰ δένδρα κόπτοντες
the river so and likewise also the trees cutting
ἐνέβαλλον, ἀργὸν παντάπασι τὸ χωρίον ἀνιέντες τῷ θεῷ
they-threw-in idle altogether the place leaving to-the god
καὶ ἄκαρπον. ὠθουμένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις καὶ
and fruitless being-pushed and many(-things) upon one-another and
ἀθρόων ὑπήγαγεν ὁ ῥοῦς οὐ πολὺν τόπον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπου τὰ
in-a-mass carried-down the stream not much place but where the
πρῶτα συνενεχθέντα καὶ περιπεσόντα τοῖς στερεοῖς
first(-things) having-been-brought-together and having-fallen-against the firm(-parts)
ὑπέστη, τῶν ἐπιφερομένων διέξοδον οὐκ ἐχόντων, ἀλλ᾽
stood-fast the(-things) carried-on passage not having but
ἐνισχομένων καὶ περιπλεκομένων, ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύμπηξις
being-held and entangled took the compaction

ἰσχὺν καὶ ῥίζωσιν αὐξανομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος. ἰλύν
strength and rooting increasing by the stream silt
τε γὰρ ἐπήγαγε πολλήν, ἣ προσισταμένη τροφὴν
both for it-brought-down much which settling nourishment
παρεῖχεν ἅμα καὶ κόλλησιν, αἵ τε πληγαὶ σάλον οὐκ
provided at-once also cohesion the and blows shaking not
ἐποίουν, ἀλλὰ μαλακῶς πιέζουσαι συνήλαυνον εἰς ταὐτὸ
made but gently pressing drove-together into the-same
πάντα καὶ συνέπλαττον. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγέθους καὶ στάσεως
all and molded(-it) by and size and stability
ἕτερον αὐτὸ μέγεθος ἐκτᾶτο καὶ χώραν ἀναδεχομένην
other it size acquired and space receiving
τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταφερομένων.
the most of-the(-things) by the river being-carried-down
τοῦτο νῦν νῆσός ἐστιν ἱερὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἔχει δὲ
this now an-island is sacred by the city it-has and
ναοὺς θεῶν καὶ περιπάτους, καλεῖται δὲ φωνῇ τῇ
temples of-gods and walks it-is-called and in-the-tongue the
Λατίνων Μέση δυοῖν γεφυρῶν.
of-Latins Between two bridges
Ἔνιοι δὲ τοῦτο συμπεσεῖν ἱστοροῦσιν οὐχ ὅτε Ταρκυνίου
some and this to-have-happened record not when of-Tarquinius
καθιερώθη τὸ πεδίον, ἀλλὰ χρόνοις ὕστερον ἄλλο χωρίον
was-consecrated the plain but in-times later another place
ὁμοροῦν ἐκείνῳ Ταρκυνίας ἀνείσης. ἡ δὲ Ταρκυνία
adjoining that Tarquinia having-dedicated — and Tarquinia
παρθένος ἦν ἱέρεια, μία τῶν Ἑστιάδων, ἔσχε δὲ τιμὰς
virgin was priestess one of-the Vestals she-had and honors
ἀντὶ τούτου μεγάλας, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ τὸ μαρτυρίαν αὐτῆς
for this great among which was also the testimony her
δέχεσθαι μόνης γυναικῶν. τὸ δ’ ἐξεῖναι γαμεῖσθαι
to-be-accepted alone of-women the but to-be-permitted to-marry

ψηφισαμένων οὐ προσεδέξατο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω
them-having-voted not she-accepted and these-things indeed so
γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσι.
to-have-happened they-tell-in-myth

III · PUBLICOLA

Tarquin returns with the Tyrrhenians. Brutus and Arruns kill each other in single combat, and a voice from the grove declares that the Tyrrhenians have lost one man more. Valerius triumphs and speaks Brutus' funeral oration. Suspected of tyranny for his lofty house on the Velia, he razes it in a night; he lowers the fasces before the assembly and is named Publicola, friend of the people. His laws give appeal to the people and protect the poor, and he sets the treasury in Saturn's temple.

Ταρκύνιον δὲ τὴν ἐκ προδοσίας ἀπογνόντα τῆς ἀρχῆς 9
Tarquinius and the from treason having-despaired-of of-the rule
ἀνάληψιν ἐδέξαντο Τυρρηνοὶ προθύμως καὶ μεγάλῃ
recovery received Tyrrhenians eagerly and with-great
δυνάμει κατῆγον. ἀντεξῆγον δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
force were-bringing(-him)-back led-out-against(-them) and the Romans
οἱ ὕπατοι, καὶ παρέταξαν ἐν χωρίοις ἱεροῖς, ὧν
the consuls and drew(-them)-up in places sacred of-which
τὸ μὲν Ἄρσιον ἄλσος, τὸ δὲ Αἰσούειον λειμῶνα
the(-one) indeed Arsian grove the(-other) and Aesuvian meadow
προσαγορεύουσιν. ἀρχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν συνάγειν εἰς χεῖρας
they-call beginning and they to-join into hands
Ἄρρων ὁ Ταρκυνίου παῖς καὶ Βροῦτος ὁ Ῥωμαίων
Arruns the of-Tarquinius son and Brutus the of-Romans
ὕπατος οὐ κατὰ τύχην ἀλλήλοις περιπεσόντες, ἀλλ'
consul not by chance with-one-another having-fallen-in but
ὑπ' ἔχθους καὶ ὀργῆς, ὁ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τύραννον καὶ
by hatred and anger the(-one) indeed as against a-tyrant and

πολέμιον τῆς πατρίδος, ὁ δὲ τῆς φυγῆς ἀμυνόμενος,
enemy of-the fatherland the(-other) and the exile avenging
ὥρμησαν ὁμόσε τοῖς ἵπποις. θυμῷ δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ
rushed together with-the horses with-passion and rather than
λογισμῷ προσμίξαντες ἠφείδησαν αὑτῶν καὶ συναπέθανον
with-reasoning having-engaged they-spared-not themselves and died-together
ἀλλήλοις. οὕτω δὲ δεινοῦ γενομένου τοῦ προάγωνος οὐκ
with-one-another so and terrible having-been the preliminary-contest not
ἔσχεν ὁ ἀγὼν τέλος ἐπιεικέστερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δράσαντες
had the contest an-end more-reasonable but both having-done
ἴσα καὶ παθόντες οἱ στρατοὶ διεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος.
equally and having-suffered the armies were-parted by storm
Ἦν οὖν ἐν ἀπόροις ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, οὐκ εἰδὼς τὸ τῆς μάχης
was then in perplexity — Valerius not knowing the of-the battle
πέρας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁρῶν τοῖς μὲν αὑτῶν νεκροῖς
outcome but the soldiers seeing at-the indeed their-own dead
ἀθυμοῦντας, ἐπαιρομένους δὲ τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων· οὕτως
despondent elated and at-the(-dead) of-the enemies so
ἄκριτος ἦν καὶ παράλληλος ὑπὸ πλήθους ὁ φόνος. οὐ μὴν
undecided was and even by number the slaughter not indeed
ἀλλ' ἑκατέροις ἐγγύθεν ὁρώμενα τὰ οἰκεῖα μᾶλλον ἐβεβαίου
but to-each near seen the own(-losses) rather confirmed
τὴν ἧτταν ἢ τὴν νίκην εἰκαζόμενα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.
the defeat than the victory being-guessed the of-the enemies
ἐπελθούσης δὲ νυκτὸς οἵαν εἰκὸς οὕτω μεμαχημένοις, καὶ
having-come-on and night such-as is-likely so having-fought and
γενομένων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τῶν στρατοπέδων, λέγουσι σεισθῆναι
having-been in quiet the camps they-say to-have-been-shaken
τὸ ἄλσος, ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ φωνὴν ἐκπεσεῖν μεγάλην
the grove out and of-it a-voice to-have-come-forth loud
φράζουσαν ὡς ἑνὶ πλείους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τεθνήκασι Τυρρηνῶν
declaring that by-one more in the battle have-died of-Tyrrhenians

ἢ Ῥωμαίων. ἦν δ' ἄρα θεῖόν τι τὸ φθεγξάμενον·
than of-Romans was but then divine something the(-thing) having-spoken
εὐθύς τε γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀλαλάξαι παρέστη
at-once both for by it to-the(-ones) indeed to-raise-a-war-cry it-came
μέγα καὶ θαρραλέον, οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ περίφοβοι γενόμενοι
great and bold the but Tyrrhenians terrified having-become
καὶ συνταραχθέντες ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ
and thrown-into-confusion fled from the camp and
διεσπάρησαν οἱ πλεῖστοι· τοὺς δὲ καταλειφθέντας ὀλίγῳ
were-scattered the most the and left-behind by-little
πεντακισχιλίων ἐλάσσους ἐπελθόντες εἷλον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ
than-five-thousand fewer having-attacked captured the Romans and
τἆλλα διήρπασαν. οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ διαριθμηθέντες εὑρέθησαν
the-rest plundered the and dead having-been-counted were-found
τριακόσιοι μὲν ἐπὶ χιλίοις καὶ μυρίοις οἱ τῶν πολεμίων,
three-hundred indeed over thousand and ten-thousand those of-the enemies
οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων παρ' ἕνα τοσοῦτοι.
those and of-Romans by one so-many
Ταύτην τὴν μάχην λέγουσι γενέσθαι πρὸ μιᾶς
this the battle they-say to-have-taken-place before one(-day)
καλανδῶν Μαρτίων. ἐθριάμβευσε δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς Οὐαλλέριος
calends of-March triumphed and from it Valerius
εἰσελάσας τεθρίππῳ πρῶτος ὑπάτων. καὶ τὸ
having-driven-in with-a-four-horse-chariot first of-consuls and the
πρᾶγμα σεμνὴν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ παρέσχεν ὄψιν, οὐκ
thing a-solemn and magnificent furnished sight not
ἐπίφθονον οὐδ' ἀνιάσασαν, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσι, τοὺς ὁρῶντας·
invidious nor having-vexed as some say those seeing
οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔσχε ζῆλον τοσοῦτον οὐδὲ φιλοτιμίαν
not for — would-it-have-had emulation so-great nor ambition
εἰς ἔτη πάμπολλα διαμένουσαν. ἀπεδέξαντο δὲ τοῦ
into years very-many lasting they-approved and —

Οὐαλλερίου καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸν συνάρχοντα τιμάς, αἷς
of-Valerius also the for the colleague honors with-which
ἐκκομιζόμενον καὶ θαπτόμενον ἐκόσμησε· καὶ λόγον ἐπ᾽
being-carried-out and being-buried he-honored(-him) and a-speech over
αὐτῷ διεξῆλθεν ἐπιτάφιον, ὃς οὕτως ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων
him delivered funeral which so by Romans
ἠγαπήθη καὶ τοσαύτην ἔσχε χάριν ὥστε πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς
was-loved and so-much had favor so-that for-all the good
καὶ μεγάλοις ὑπάρχειν ἐξ ἐκείνου τελευτήσασιν ὑπὸ τῶν
and great to-fall-to from that(-time) having-died by the
ἀρίστων ἐγκωμιάζεσθαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν
best(-men) to-be-eulogized it-is-said and also than-the Greek
ἐπιταφίων ἐκεῖνος γενέσθαι πρεσβύτερος, εἴγε μὴ καὶ
funeral-speeches that to-have-been older if-indeed not also
τοῦτο Σόλωνός ἐστιν, ὡς Ἀναξιμένης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἱστόρηκεν.
this of-Solon is as Anaximenes the rhetorician has-recorded
10 Ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον ἤχθοντο τῷ Οὐαλλερίῳ καὶ
but because-of those(-things) rather they-were-vexed — with-Valerius and
προσέκρουον, ὅτι Βροῦτος μέν, ὃν πατέρα τῆς ἐλευθερίας
took-offense that Brutus indeed whom father of-the freedom
ἐνόμιζεν ὁ δῆμος, οὐκ ἠξίωσε μόνος ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
considered the people not thought-fit alone to-rule but both
πρῶτον αὐτῷ συνάρχοντα προσείλετο καὶ δεύτερον·
first for-himself a-colleague chose and second
“Οὑτοσὶ δ᾽,” ἔφασαν, “εἰς αὐτὸν ἅπαντα συνενεγκάμενος
this(-man) but they-said to himself everything having-gathered
οὐκ ἔστι τῆς Βρούτου κληρονόμος ὑπατείας μηδὲν αὐτῷ
not is of-the of-Brutus heir consulship nothing to-him
προσηκούσης, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ταρκυνίου τυραννίδος. καίτοι
belonging but of-the of-Tarquinius tyranny and-yet
τί δεῖ λόγῳ μὲν Βροῦτον ἐγκωμιάζειν, ἔργῳ δὲ
why (is-it)-needful in-word indeed Brutus to-praise in-deed but

μιμεῖσθαι Ταρκύνιον, ὑπὸ ῥάβδοις ὁμοῦ πάσαις καὶ πελέκεσι
to-imitate Tarquinius with rods together all and axes
κατιόντα μόνον ἐξ οἰκίας τοσαύτης τὸ μέγεθος ὅσην οὐ
coming-down alone from a-house so-great the size as-great-as not
καθεῖλε τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως;" καὶ γὰρ ὄντως ὁ Οὐαλλέριος
he-pulled-down the of-the king and for in-fact — Valerius
ᾤκει τραγικώτερον ὑπὲρ τὴν καλουμένην Οὐελίαν οἰκίαν
lived more-tragically above the so-called Velia a-house
ἐπικρεμαμένην τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ καθορῶσαν ἐξ ὕψους
overhanging the forum and looking-down from height
ἅπαντα, δυσπρόσοδον δὲ πελάσαι καὶ χαλεπὴν ἔξωθεν,
everything hard-of-access and to-approach and difficult from-outside
ὥστε καταβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ σχῆμα μετέωρον εἶναι καὶ
so-that coming-down him the appearance lofty to-be and
βασιλικὸν τῆς προπομπῆς τὸν ὄγκον. ὅσον οὖν ἐν ἀρχῇ
royal of-the escort the pomp how then in office
καὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις ἀγαθὸν ἦν ἔχειν ὦτα παρρησίαν
and affairs great good it-was to-have ears frankness
ἀντὶ κολακείας προσιέμενα καὶ λόγους ἀληθεῖς, ἔδειξεν.
instead-of flattery admitting and words true he-showed
ἀκούσας γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἁμαρτάνειν ἐδόκει τῶν φίλων
having-heard for that to-the many to-err he-seemed of-the friends
διεξιόντων, οὐκ ἐφιλονείκησεν, οὐδ' ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ
relating(-it) not he-contended nor was-indignant but quickly
πολλοὺς συναγαγὼν τεχνίτας ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης κατέβαλε τὴν
many having-gathered workmen still night being pulled-down the
οἰκίαν καὶ κατέσκαψεν εἰς ἔδαφος πᾶσαν, ὥστε μεθ' ἡμέραν
house and razed(-it) to ground all so-that by day
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁρῶντας καὶ συνισταμένους τοῦ μὲν ἀνδρὸς
the Romans seeing and gathering of-the indeed man
ἀγαπᾶν καὶ θαυμάζειν τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην, ἄχθεσθαι δὲ
to-love and to-admire the magnanimity to-be-grieved but

τῆς οἰκίας καὶ ποθεῖν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος, ὥσπερ
for-the house and to-long-for the size and the beauty as-if
ἀνθρώπου, διὰ φθόνον οὐ δικαίως καταλελυμένης, τοῦ δὲ
of-a-man through envy not justly destroyed of-the and
ἄρχοντος, ὥσπερ ἀνεστίου, παρ᾽ ἑτέροις οἰκοῦντος. ἐδέχοντο
magistrate as-if homeless with others living received
γὰρ οἱ φίλοι τὸν Οὐαλλέριον ἄχρι οὗ τόπον ἔδωκεν ὁ
for the friends — Valerius until which a-site gave the
δῆμος αὐτῷ καὶ κατεσκεύασεν οἰκίαν ἐκείνης μετριωτέραν,
people to-him and he-built a-house than-that more-modest
ὅπου νῦν ἱερόν ἐστιν Οὐίκας πότας ὀνομαζόμενον.
where now a-temple is Vica pota named
Βουλόμενος δὲ μὴ μόνον ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντὶ
wishing and not only himself but also the office instead-of
φοβερᾶς χειροήθη καὶ προσφιλῆ ποιεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς, τούς
fearsome gentle and agreeable to-make for-the many the
τε πελέκεις ἀπέλυσε τῶν ῥάβδων, αὐτάς τε τὰς ῥάβδους
both axes he-detached from-the rods themselves and the rods
εἰς ἐκκλησίαν παριὼν ὑφῆκε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ κατέκλινε,
into assembly coming-forward he-lowered to-the people and inclined(-them)
μέγα ποιῶν τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς δημοκρατίας. καὶ τοῦτο
great making the show of-the democracy and this
μέχρι νῦν διαφυλάττουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες. ἐλάνθανε δὲ τοὺς
until now preserve the magistrates escaped-notice and the
πολλοὺς οὐχ ἑαυτόν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ποιῶν ταπεινόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν
many not himself as they-thought making humble but the
φθόνον τῇ μετριότητι ταύτῃ καθαιρῶν καὶ κολούων, αὐτῷ
envy by-the moderation this pulling-down and curtailing to-himself
δὲ προστιθεὶς τοσοῦτον μέγεθος δυνάμεως ὅσον ἀφαιρεῖν
but adding so-much greatness of-power as-much-as to-take-away
ἐδόκει τῆς ἐξουσίας, ὑποδυομένου μεθ᾽ ἡδονῆς αὐτῷ
he-seemed from-the authority submitting with pleasure to-him

τοῦ δήμου καὶ φέροντος ἑκουσίως. ὥστε καὶ Ποπλικόλαν
the people and bearing(-it) willingly so-that even Publicola
ἀνηγόρευσεν αὐτόν· σημαίνει δὲ τοὔνομα δημοκηδῆ· καὶ
it-proclaimed him signifies and the-name people-caring and
τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἴσχυσε τῶν ἀρχαίων ὀνομάτων, ᾧ καὶ
this rather prevailed than-the ancient names which also
ἡμεῖς χρησόμεθα τὸν λοιπὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱστοροῦντες.
we shall-use the rest life of-the man recording
Ὑπατείαν μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκε μετιέναι καὶ παραγγέλλειν τοῖς 11
consulship indeed for he-granted to-sue-for and to-canvass to-those
βουλομένοις· πρὸ δὲ τῆς καταστάσεως τοῦ συνάρχοντος
wishing before but the appointment of-the colleague
οὐκ εἰδὼς τὸν γενησόμενον, ἀλλὰ δεδιὼς ἀντίπραξιν
not knowing the(-one) going-to-be but fearing opposition
ὑπὸ φθόνου τινὸς ἢ ἀγνοίας, ἐχρήσατο τῇ μοναρχίᾳ πρὸς
through envy some or ignorance he-used the sole-rule for
τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν πολιτευμάτων. πρῶτον μὲν
the finest and greatest of-the measures first indeed
γὰρ ἀνεπλήρωσε τὴν βουλὴν ὀλιγανδροῦσαν· ἐτεθνήκεσαν
for he-filled-up the senate being-scanty had-died
γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου πρότερον, οἱ δὲ
for the(-ones) indeed by Tarquinius before the(-others) and
ἔναγχος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. τοὺς δ' ἐγγραφέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
recently in the battle those and enrolled by him
λέγουσιν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξήκοντα τέσσαρας γενέσθαι. μετὰ
they-say a-hundred and sixty four to-have-been after
δὲ ταῦτα νόμους ἔγραψεν, ὧν μάλιστα μὲν ἰσχυροὺς
and these-things laws he-wrote of-which most indeed strong
ἐποίησε τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων
made the many the(-law) the people from the consuls
τῷ φεύγοντι δίκην ἐπικαλεῖσθαι διδούς· δεύτερος ὁ
to-the(-one) defending a-suit to-appeal granting second the(-law)

τοὺς ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβόντας, ἣν ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἔδωκεν,
those office having-taken-up which the people not gave
ἀποθνήσκειν κελεύων· τρίτος δὲ μετὰ τούτους, ὃς ἐβοήθησε
to-die ordering third and after these which helped
τοῖς πένησιν, ᾧ τὰ τέλη τῶν πολιτῶν ἀφεῖλε καὶ
the poor by-which the taxes of-the citizens he-removed and
προθυμότερον ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἐργασιῶν ἐποίησεν ἅπαντας.
more-eagerly to-take-up the labors made all
ὁ δὲ γραφεὶς κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθούντων τοῖς ὑπάτοις οὐχ
the(-law) and written against those disobeying the consuls no
ἧττον ἔδοξε δημοτικὸς εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν μᾶλλον
less seemed democratic to-be and for the many rather
ἢ δυνατῶν γεγράφθαι. ζημίαν γὰρ ἀπειθείας ἔταξε βοῶν
than the-powerful to-have-been-written as-penalty for of-disobedience he-fixed of-oxen
πέντε καὶ δυεῖν προβάτων ἀξίαν. ἦν δὲ τιμὴ προβάτου
five and two of-sheep worth was and the-price of-a-sheep
μὲν ὀβολοὶ δέκα, βοὸς δὲ ἑκατόν, οὔπω νομίσματι
indeed obols ten of-an-ox and a-hundred not-yet coin
χρωμένων πολλῷ τότε Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ προβατείαις καὶ
using much then Romans but in-sheep-flocks and
κτηνοτροφίαις εὐθηνούντων. διὸ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἄχρι νῦν
cattle-raising prospering wherefore also the properties until now
ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων πεκούλια καλοῦσι, καὶ τῶν νομισμάτων
from the sheep peculia they-call and of-the coins
τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις βοῦν ἐπεχάραττον ἢ πρόβατον ἢ σῦν.
on-the most-ancient an-ox they-stamped or a-sheep or a-pig
ἐτίθεντο δὲ καὶ παισὶν αὐτῶν Συΐλλους καὶ Βουβούλκους
they-gave and also to-children their Suilli and Bubulci
καὶ Καπραρίους ὀνόματα καὶ Πορκίους· κάπρας μὲν τὰς
and Caprarii as-names and Porcii caprae indeed the
αἶγας, πόρκους δὲ τοὺς χοίρους ὀνομάζοντες.
goats porci and the pigs calling

Οὕτω δὲ περὶ ταῦτα δημοτικὸς γενόμενος νομοθέτης 12
so and in these(-matters) democratic having-been a-lawgiver
καὶ μέτριος, ἐν τῷ μὴ μετρίῳ τὴν τιμωρίαν ὑπερέτεινεν.
and moderate in the not moderate(-case) the punishment he-stretched
ἔγραψε γὰρ νόμον ἄνευ κρίσεως κτεῖναι διδόντα
he-wrote for a-law without trial to-kill permitting
τὸν βουλόμενον τυραννεῖν· κτείναντα δὲ φόνου καθαρὸν
the(-man) wishing to-be-tyrant having-killed and of-murder pure
ἐποίησεν, εἰ παράσχοιτο τοῦ ἀδικήματος τοὺς ἐλέγχους. ἐπεὶ
he-made(-him) if he-produce of-the crime the proofs since
γὰρ οὐ δυνατὸν ἐπιχειροῦντα τηλικούτοις λαθεῖν ἅπαντας,
for not possible attempting such(-things) to-escape-notice all
οὐκ ἀδύνατον δὲ τὸ μὴ λαθόντα τοῦ κριθῆναι
not impossible and the not having-escaped-notice than-the to-be-tried
φθάσαι κρείττονα γενόμενον, ἣν ἀναιρεῖ τὸ ἀδίκημα κρίσιν,
to-anticipate stronger having-become which destroys the crime trial
προλαβεῖν ἔδωκε τῷ δυναμένῳ κατὰ τοῦ ἀδικοῦντος.
to-anticipate he-gave to-the(-one) able against the wrongdoer
Ἐπῃνέθη δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν ταμιευτικὸν νόμον. ἐπεὶ
he-was-praised and also because-of the treasury law since
γὰρ ἔδει χρήματα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εἰσενεγκεῖν
for it-was-necessary money for the war to-contribute
ἀπὸ τῶν οὐσιῶν τοὺς πολίτας, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἅψασθαι τῆς
from the properties the citizens neither himself to-touch the
οἰκονομίας οὔτε τοὺς φίλους ἐᾶσαι βουλόμενος οὔθ' ὅλως
management nor the friends to-allow wishing nor at-all
εἰς οἶκον ἰδιώτου παρελθεῖν δημόσια χρήματα, ταμιεῖον
into a-house of-a-private-man to-come public money treasury
μὲν ἀπέδειξε τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου ναόν, ᾧ μέχρι νῦν
indeed he-made the — of-Cronus temple which until now
χρώμενοι διατελοῦσι, ταμίας δὲ τῷ δήμῳ δύο τῶν νέων
using they-continue quaestors and to-the people two of-the young-men

ἔδωκεν ἀποδεῖξαι· καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν οἱ πρῶτοι Πούπλιος
he-granted to-appoint and were-appointed the first Publius
Οὐετούριος καὶ Μινούκιος Μάρκος καὶ χρήματα συνήχθη
Veturius and Minucius Marcus and money was-collected
πολλά. τρισκαίδεκα γὰρ ἀπεγράψαντο μυριάδες, ὀρφανοῖς
much thirteen for were-registered ten-thousands to-orphan
παισὶ καὶ χήραις γυναιξὶν ἀνεθείσης τῆς εἰσφορᾶς.
children and widowed women having-been-remitted the contribution
Ταῦτα δὲ διοικήσας ἀπέδειξεν ἑαυτῷ συνάρχοντα τὸν
these-things and having-arranged he-appointed for-himself colleague the
Λουκρητίας πατέρα Λουκρήτιον, ᾧ τῆς ἡγεμονικωτέρας
of-Lucretia father Lucretius to-whom the more-commanding
ἐξιστάμενος ὄντι πρεσβυτέρῳ τάξεως παρέδωκε τοὺς
giving-up being older position he-handed-over the
καλουμένους φάσκης· καὶ τοῦτο διέμεινεν εἰς ἡμᾶς τὸ
so-called fasces and this has-continued to us the
πρεσβεῖον ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου τοῖς γεραιτέροις φυλαττόμενον. ἐπεὶ
privilege from that(-time) for-the elder being-preserved when
δ᾽ ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Λουκρήτιος,
and few days later died — Lucretius
πάλιν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν γενομένων ᾑρέθη Μάρκος Ὡράτιος,
again elections having-been-held was-chosen Marcus Horatius
καὶ συνῆρχε τῷ Ποπλικόλᾳ τὸν ὑπολειπόμενον χρόνον
and was-colleague — with-Publicola the remaining time
τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ.
of-the year

The terra-cotta chariot ordered for the Capitol swells in the kiln at Veii, and a runaway team carries a victorious charioteer to Rome. Horatius dedicates the Capitoline temple, unshaken by a false report of his son's death; Plutarch traces the later temples, and Domitian's extravagance. Porsena marches on Rome; at the wooden bridge Horatius Cocles holds back the enemy until it is cut down behind him, then swims the river wounded and is honored.

Ταρκυνίου δὲ Ῥωμαίοις δεύτερον πόλεμον ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ 13
Tarquinius and against-Romans a-second war in Tyrrhenia
κινοῦντος μέγα σημεῖον λέγεται γενέσθαι· βασιλεύων γὰρ
stirring-up a-great sign is-said to-have-occurred reigning for
ἔτι καὶ τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου Διὸς ἔχων ὁ Ταρκύνιος
still also the temple of-the Capitoline Zeus having — Tarquinius
ὅσον οὔπω συντετελεσμένον, εἴτε μαντείας γενομένης
nearly almost completed whether an-oracle having-been-given
εἴτ' αὐτῷ δόξαν ἄλλως, ἅρμα κατὰ κορυφὴν
or to-him it-having-seemed otherwise a-chariot on the-top
ἐπιστῆσαι κεραμεοῦν ἐξέδωκε Τυρρηνοῖς τισιν ἐξ
to-set terra-cotta he-contracted(-for) to-Tyrrhenian some from
Οὐηΐων δημιουργοῖς, εἶτ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐξέπεσε τῆς
Veii craftsmen then little later he-was-driven-from the
ἀρχῆς. τῶν δὲ Τυρρηνῶν διαπεπλασμένον τὸ τέθριππον
rule the and Tyrrhenians having-been-molded the four-horse-chariot
ἐμβαλόντων εἰς κάμινον, οὐκ ἔπαθεν ἃ προσήκει πάσχειν
having-put into a-kiln not suffered what is-proper to-suffer
πηλὸν ἐν πυρί, πυκνοῦσθαι καὶ συνιζάνειν, ἐκτηκομένης
clay in fire to-be-condensed and to-shrink being-melted-out
τῆς ὑγρότητος, ἀλλ' ἐξέστη καὶ ᾤδησε καὶ μέγεθος ἔσχεν
the moisture but swelled and puffed-up and size took
ἅμα ῥώμῃ καὶ σκληρότητι τοσοῦτον ὥστε μόλις
together-with strength and hardness so-much so-that hardly

ἐξαιρεθῆναι τὴν ὀροφὴν ἀποσκευασαμένων τῆς καμίνου καὶ
to-be-taken-out the roof having-removed of-the kiln and
τῶν τοίχων περιαιρεθέντων. ὡς οὖν ἐδόκει τοῖς μάντεσι
the walls having-been-taken-down when then it-seemed to-the seers
θεῖον εἶναι σημεῖον εὐτυχίας καὶ δυνάμεως παρ' οἷς
divine to-be a-sign of-good-fortune and power with whom(-ever)
ἔσοιτο τὸ τέθριππον, ἔγνωσαν οἱ Οὐήϊοι μὴ προέσθαι τοῖς
should-be the four-horse-chariot resolved the Veientes not to-give-up to-the
Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαιτοῦσι, καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο τοῦτο Ταρκυνίοις, οὐ
Romans demanding(-it) and answered this to-Tarquins not
τοῖς Ταρκυνίους ἐκβαλοῦσι προσήκειν. ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον
to-those Tarquins having-expelled to-belong few and later
ἡμέραις ἦσαν ἵππων ἀγῶνες αὐτοῖς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
days there-were of-horses contests for-them and the indeed other-things
θέαν καὶ σπουδὴν εἰωθυῖαν παρεῖχε, τὸ δὲ νικῆσαν
spectacle and interest customary afforded the but having-won
τέθριππον ὁ μὲν ἡνίοχος ἐξήλαυνε τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου
four-horse-team the indeed charioteer drove-out from-the hippodrome
σχέδην ἐστεφανωμένος, οἱ δὲ ἵπποι πτοηθέντες ἀπ'
slowly crowned the but horses having-been-scared from
οὐδεμιᾶς ἐμφανοῦς προφάσεως, ἀλλὰ κατά τι δαιμόνιον ἢ
no evident cause but by some divinity or
τύχην ἵεντο παντὶ τάχει πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν, ἔχοντες
chance rushed with-all speed to the of-Romans city having
τὸν ἡνίοχον, ὡς οὐδὲν ἦν ἔργον αὐτοῦ κατατείνοντος οὐδὲ
the charioteer as nothing was a-work his reining-in nor
παρηγοροῦντος, ἀλλ' ἥρπαστο, δόντα τῇ ῥύμῃ καὶ
soothing but he-had-been-snatched-up yielding to-the rush and
φερόμενον, ἄχρι οὗ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ προσμίξαντες ἐξέβαλον
carried until which — to-Capitol having-come-near they-threw-out
αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τὴν πύλην ἣν νῦν Ῥατουμέναν
him there by the gate which now Ratumena

καλοῦσι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου θαυμάσαντες οἱ Οὐήϊοι καὶ
they-call having-happened and this having-wondered the Veientes and
φοβηθέντες ἐπέτρεψαν ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ἅρμα τοῖς τεχνίταις.
having-feared permitted to-give-back the chariot to-the craftsmen
Τὸν δὲ νεὼν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου Διὸς εὔξατο μὲν ἀναθήσειν 14
the and temple of-the Capitoline Zeus vowed indeed to-dedicate
Ταρκύνιος ὁ Δημαράτου πολεμῶν Σαβίνοις, ᾠκοδόμησε
Tarquinius the son-of-Demaratus warring with-Sabines built
δὲ Ταρκύνιος ὁ Σούπερβος υἱὸς ὢν ἢ υἱωνὸς τοῦ
but Tarquinius the Superbus son being or grandson of-the(-one)
εὐξαμένου· καθιερῶσαι δὲ οὐκ ἔφθασεν, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν
having-vowed(-it) to-consecrate but not was-he-in-time but little
ἀπελείπετο τοῦ τέλος ἔχειν ὅτε Ταρκύνιος ἐξέπιπτεν. ὡς οὖν
was-lacking the end to-have when Tarquinius was-driven-out when then
ἀπείργαστο τελέως καὶ τὸν προσήκοντα κόσμον ἀπεῖχεν,
it-had-been-finished completely and the fitting adornment had
ἦν τῷ Ποπλικόλᾳ φιλοτιμία πρὸς τὴν καθιέρωσιν.
there-was — in-Publicola ambition for the consecration
ἐφθόνουν δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν, καὶ ἤχθοντο ταῖς μὲν
were-envious and many of-the powerful and were-vexed at-the indeed
ἄλλαις τιμαῖς ἧττον, ἃς νομοθετῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐκ
other honors less which legislating and commanding by
προσηκόντων ἔσχε· ταύτην δ' οὖσαν ἀλλοτρίαν οὐκ ᾤοντο
right he-had this but being another's not they-thought
δεῖν αὐτῷ προσγενέσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ὡράτιον προετρέποντο
it-needful to-him to-be-added and — Horatius urged
καὶ παρώξυνον ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς καθιερώσεως. γενομένης
and incited to-lay-claim-to the consecration having-arisen
οὖν τῷ Ποπλικόλᾳ στρατείας ἀναγκαίας, ψηφισάμενοι
then — for-Publicola an-expedition necessary having-voted
τὸν Ὡράτιον καθιεροῦν ἀνῆγον εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὡς
— Horatius to-consecrate they-led-up to — Capitol as

οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνου περιγενόμενοι παρόντος. ἔνιοι δέ φασι
not — him prevailing-over being-present some but say
κλήρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων λαχεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν
by-lot of-the consuls to-have-obtained him for the expedition
ἄκοντα, τοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καθιέρωσιν. ἔξεστι δὲ περὶ
unwilling this(-man) and for the consecration it-is-possible and about
τούτων ὡς ἔσχεν εἰκάζειν τοῖς πραχθεῖσι περὶ τὴν
these(-things) how it-was to-conjecture by-the things-done at the
καθιέρωσιν. εἰδοῖς οὖν Σεπτεμβρίαις, ὃ συντυγχάνει
consecration on-the-ides then of-September which falls
περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον μάλιστα τοῦ Μεταγειτνιῶνος,
about the full-moon about of-the Metageitnion
συνηθροισμένων ἁπάντων εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὁ μὲν
having-assembled all at — Capitol — indeed
Ὡράτιος σιωπῆς γενομένης τά τ' ἄλλα δράσας καὶ
Horatius silence having-been-made the both other-things having-done and
τῶν θυρῶν ἁψάμενος, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐπεφθέγγετο τὰς
the doors having-touched as custom is pronounced the
νενομισμένας ἐπὶ τῇ καθιερώσει φωνάς· ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς
customary(-words) at the consecration words the but brother
τοῦ Ποπλικόλα Μάρκος ἐκ πολλοῦ παρὰ τὰς θύρας
— of-Publicola Marcus from long(-before) by the doors
ὑφεστὼς καὶ παραφυλάττων τὸν καιρόν, "Ὦ ὕπατε,"
standing and watching-for the moment O consul
εἶπεν, "ὁ υἱός σου τέθνηκεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νοσήσας."
he-said the son your has-died in the camp having-fallen-sick
τοῦτο πάντας ἠνίασε τοὺς ἀκούσαντας· ὁ δ' Ὡράτιος
this all grieved those having-heard — but Horatius
οὐδὲν διαταραχθείς, ἀλλ' ἢ τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπών,
nothing disturbed but than so-much only having-said
"Ῥίψατε τοίνυν ὅποι βούλεσθε τὸν νεκρόν, ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ
cast then wherever you-wish the corpse I for not

προσίεμαι τὸ πένθος,” ἐπέραινε τὴν λοιπὴν καθιέρωσιν. ἦν
admit the mourning completed the remaining consecration was
δὲ τὸ προσηγγελμένον οὐκ ἀληθές, ἀλλ’ ὁ Μάρκος
and the(-thing) announced not true but — Marcus
ὡς ἀποστήσων τὸν Ὡράτιον ἐψεύσατο. θαυμαστὸς οὖν ὁ
as going-to-drive-off — Horatius lied wonderful then the
ἀνὴρ τῆς εὐσταθείας, εἴτε τὴν ἀπάτην ἐν καιρῷ βραχεῖ
man for-the steadiness whether the deceit in time brief
συνεῖδεν εἴτε πιστευθεὶς ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἐκίνησεν αὐτόν.
he-perceived or believed the report not moved him
Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν δεύτερον ναὸν ὁμοία τύχη 15
seems and also about the second temple a-similar fortune
γενέσθαι τῆς καθιερώσεως. τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον,
to-have-befallen of-the consecration the indeed for first
ὡς εἴρηται, Ταρκυνίου κατασκευάσαντος, Ὡρατίου δὲ
as has-been-said Tarquinius having-built Horatius and
καθιερώσαντος, ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις πῦρ ἀπώλεσε·
having-consecrated(-it) in the civil wars fire destroyed
τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἀνέστησε μὲν Σύλλας, ἐπεγράφη δὲ τῇ
the and second raised indeed Sulla was-inscribed and at-the
καθιερώσει Κάτουλος Σύλλα προαποθανόντος. τούτου δὲ
consecration Catulus Sulla having-died-first this and
πάλιν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Οὐϊτέλλιον στάσεσι διαφθαρέντος
again in the in-the-time-of Vitellius seditions having-been-destroyed
τὸν τρίτον τῇ πρὸς τἆλλα καὶ τοῦτο χρησάμενος
the third with-the in the-rest also this having-used
εὐποτμίᾳ Οὐεσπεσιανὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους ἀναγαγών,
good-fortune Vespasian from beginning until end having-brought(-it)
ἐπείδε γενόμενον καὶ φθειρόμενον μετ’ ὀλίγον οὐκ ἐπείδεν,
saw having-been-made and being-destroyed after little not saw
ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον εὐτυχίᾳ Σύλλαν παρῆλθεν ὅσον ἐκεῖνον
but so-much in-good-fortune Sulla surpassed as that(-man)

μὲν τῆς ἀφιερώσεως τοῦ ἔργου, τοῦτον δὲ τῆς
indeed than-the dedication of-the work this(-man) and than-the
ἀναιρέσεως προαποθανεῖν. ἅμα γὰρ τῷ τελευτῆσαι
destruction to-have-died-before together for with-the to-have-died
Οὐεσπεσιανὸν ἐνεπρήσθη τὸ Καπιτώλιον.
Vespasian was-burned — Capitol
Ὁ δὲ τέταρτος οὗτος ὑπὸ Δομετιανοῦ καὶ συνετελέσθη
the and fourth this by Domitian both was-completed
καὶ καθιερώθη. λέγεται δὲ Ταρκύνιον εἰς τοὺς θεμελίους
and was-consecrated it-is-said and Tarquinius on the foundations
ἀναλῶσαι λίτρας ἀργυρίου τετρακισμυρίας· τούτου δὲ τοῦ
to-have-spent pounds of-silver forty-thousand of-this and the
καθ' ἡμᾶς τὸν μέγιστον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν πλοῦτον
in our(-time) the greatest in Rome of-the private(-persons) wealth
ἐκλογισθέντα τὸ τῆς χρυσώσεως μὴ τελέσαι ἂν ἀνάλωμα,
reckoned the of-the gilding not to-pay — expense
πλέον ἢ δισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων ταλάντων γενόμενον.
more than two-thousand and ten-thousand of-talents amounting
οἱ δὲ κίονες ἐκ τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν ἐτμήθησαν λίθου,
the and columns from the at-Pentele were-cut stone
κάλλιστα τῷ πάχει πρὸς τὸ μῆκος ἔχοντες· εἴδομεν
most-beautifully the thickness to the length having we-saw(-them)
γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἀθήνησιν. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πληγέντες αὖθις
for them at-Athens in but Rome struck again
καὶ ἀναξυσθέντες οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔσχον γλαφυρίας ὅσον
and scraped-down not so-much they-got polish as-much-as
ἀπώλεσαν συμμετρίας καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, διάκενοι καὶ λαγαροὶ
they-lost symmetry and of-the beauty empty and thin
φανέντες. ὁ μέντοι θαυμάσας τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τὴν
appearing the(-man) however having-wondered-at — of-Capitol the
πολυτέλειαν, εἰ μίαν εἶδεν ἐν οἰκίᾳ Δομετιανοῦ στοὰν ἢ
costliness if one he-saw in house of-Domitian colonnade or

βασιλικὴν ἢ βαλανεῖον ἢ παλλακίδων δίαιταν, οἷόν ἐστι
basilica or bath or of-concubines apartment such-as is
τὸ λεγόμενον Ἐπιχάρμου πρὸς τὸν ἄσωτον,
the said(-line) of-Epicharmus to the prodigal

Οὐ φιλάνθρωπος τύ γ' ἐσσ'· ἔχεις νόσον· χαίρεις διδούς,
Not kindly you at-least are you-have a-disease you-delight giving

τοιοῦτον ἄν τι πρὸς Δομετιανὸν εἰπεῖν προήχθη·
such — something to Domitian to-say he-would-be-led
"Οὐκ εὐσεβὴς οὐδὲ φιλότιμος τύ γ' ἐσσί· ἔχεις νόσον·
not pious nor ambitious you at-least are you-have a-disease
χαίρεις κατοικοδομῶν, ὥσπερ ὁ Μίδας ἐκεῖνος, ἅπαντά
you-delight building(-all-over) like — Midas that all-things
σοι χρυσᾶ καὶ λίθινα βουλόμενος γίνεσθαι." ταῦτα μὲν
for-you golden and stone wishing to-become these-things indeed
οὖν περὶ τούτων.
then about these(-matters)
Ὁ δὲ Ταρκύνιος μετὰ τὴν μεγάλην μάχην ἐν ᾗ καὶ 16
— and Tarquinius after the great battle in which also
τὸν υἱὸν ἀπώλεσε μονομαχήσαντα Βρούτῳ, καταφυγὼν
the son he-lost having-fought-in-single-combat with-Brutus having-fled
εἰς τὸ Κλούσιον ἱκέτευσε Λάραν Πορσίναν, ἄνδρα καὶ
to — Clusium supplicated Lars Porsena a-man also
δύναμιν μεγίστην ἔχοντα τῶν Ἰταλικῶν βασιλέων καὶ
power greatest having of-the Italian kings and
δοκοῦντα χρηστὸν εἶναι καὶ φιλότιμον· ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο
seeming good to-be and ambitious he and promised
βοηθήσειν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην κελεύων
to-help and first indeed sent to Rome bidding(-them)
δέχεσθαι τὸν Ταρκύνιον· ὡς δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι,
to-receive — Tarquinius when but not obeyed the Romans

καταγγείλας αὐτοῖς πόλεμον καὶ χρόνον ἐν ᾧ καὶ τόπον
having-declared to-them war and the-time in which and the-place
εἰς ὃν ἔμελλεν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἀφίκετο μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως.
into which he-was-going to-invade he-came with much force
Ποπλικόλας δ' ἡρέθη μὲν ἀπὼν ὕπατος τὸ δεύτερον,
Publicola and was-chosen indeed absent consul the second(-time)
καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Τίτος Λουκρήτιος· ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην
and with him Titus Lucretius having-returned and to Rome
καὶ βουλόμενος τῷ φρονήματι πρῶτον ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὸν
and wishing in-the spirit first to-surpass —
Πορσίναν, ἔκτιζε πόλιν Σιγλιουρίαν ἤδη πλησίον ὄντος
Porsena he-founded a-city Sigliuria already near being
αὐτοῦ. καὶ τειχίσας μεγάλοις ἀναλώμασιν ἑπτακοσίους
him and having-walled(-it) at-great expense seven-hundred
ἐποικοὺς ἀπέστειλεν, ὡς ῥᾳδίως φέρων καὶ ἀδεῶς τὸν
settlers sent as easily bearing and fearlessly the
πόλεμον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσβολῆς ὀξείας τῷ τείχει
war not indeed but an-assault sharp on-the wall
γενομένης ἐξεώσθησαν οἱ φύλακες ὑπὸ τοῦ Πορσίνα,
having-been-made were-thrust-out the guards by — Porsena
καὶ φεύγοντες ὀλίγου συνεπεσπάσαντο τοὺς πολεμίους
and fleeing nearly drew-in-with(-them) the enemies
εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἔφθη δὲ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκβοηθήσας
into the city was-in-time and before the gates having-sallied
ὁ Ποπλικόλας, καὶ μάχην συνάψας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν
— Publicola and battle having-joined by the river
ἀντεῖχε πλήθει βιαζομένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἄχρι οὗ
held-out-against by-numbers pressing the enemies until which
τραύμασι νεανικοῖς περιπεσὼν ἀπεκομίσθη φοράδην ἐκ
by-wounds severe having-fallen he-was-carried-off on-a-litter from
τῆς μάχης. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Λουκρητίου τοῦ συνάρχοντος
the battle the and same also Lucretius the colleague

αὐτῷ παθόντος ἀθυμία τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνέπεσε, καὶ φυγῇ
to-him having-suffered despondency on-the Romans fell and in-flight
πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔσωζον ἑαυτούς. ὠθουμένων δὲ τῶν
to the city they-saved themselves being-pushed and the
πολεμίων διὰ τῆς ξυλίνης γεφύρας ἐκινδύνευσεν ἡ Ῥώμη
enemies through the wooden bridge was-in-danger — Rome
κατὰ κράτος ἁλῶναι. πρῶτος δὲ Κόκλιος Ὡράτιος καὶ
by force to-be-captured first and Cocles Horatius and
σὺν αὐτῷ δύο τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν, Ἑρμίνιος καὶ
with him two of-the most-illustrious men Herminius and
Λάρκιος, ἀντέστησαν περὶ τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυραν. ὁ δ'
Larcius stood-against(-them) at the wooden bridge — and
Ὡράτιος τὸν Κόκλιον ἐπωνύμιον ἔσχεν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν
Horatius the Cocles surname had in war of-the
ὀμμάτων θάτερον ἐκκοπείς· ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι,
eyes the-one having-been-knocked-out as but some say
διὰ σιμότητα τῆς ῥινὸς ἐνδεδυκυίας ὥστε μηδὲν εἶναι
because-of flatness of-the nose sunken so-that nothing to-be
τὸ διορίζον τὰ ὄμματα καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς συγκεχύσθαι,
the(-thing) separating the eyes and the brows to-run-together
Κύκλωπα βουλόμενοι καλεῖν αὐτὸν οἱ πολλοὶ τῆς γλώττης
Cyclops wishing to-call him the many of-the tongue
ὀλισθαινούσης ἐκράτησεν ὑπὸ πλήθους Κόκλιον καλεῖσθαι.
slipping it-prevailed by multitude Cocles to-be-called
οὗτος ἑστὼς πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἠμύνετο τοὺς πολεμίους,
this(-man) standing before the bridge held-off the enemies
ἄχρι οὗ διέκοψαν οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κατόπιν τὴν γέφυραν.
until which cut-down those with him behind the bridge
οὕτω δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀφεὶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν
so and with the arms having-thrown himself into the
ποταμὸν ἀπενήξατο, καὶ προσέμιξε τῇ πέραν ὄχθῃ δόρατι
river he-swam-away and reached the other-side bank by-a-spear

Τυρρηνικῷ βεβλημένος τὸν γλουτόν. ὁ δὲ Ποπλικόλας
Tyrrhenian having-been-struck the buttock — but Publicola
τὴν ἀρετὴν θαυμάσας αὐτίκα μὲν εἰσηγήσατο Ῥωμαίους
the valor having-admired at-once indeed proposed Romans
ἅπαντας, ὅσην ἕκαστος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τροφὴν ἀνήλισκε, δοῦναι
all as-much-as each in a-day food spent to-give
συνεισενεγκόντας, ἔπειτα τῆς χώρας ἣν αὐτὸς περιαρόσειεν
contributing then of-the land which he-himself should-plow-around
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἔστησαν
in a-day besides and these(-things) a-statue bronze they-set-up
αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τὴν γενομένην ἐκ τοῦ
to-him in the temple — of-Hephaestus the having-resulted from the
τραύματος τῷ ἀνδρὶ χωλότητα μετὰ τιμῆς παρηγοροῦντες.
wound for-the man lameness with honor consoling

V · MUCIUS, CLOELIA, AND PORSENA

Mucius, sent to kill Porsena, kills the wrong man, holds his right hand in the fire, and tells of three hundred more sworn to the deed. When Tarquin refuses Porsena as judge, Porsena makes peace, and the Romans give hostages. The maidens escape across the Tiber, some say led by Cloelia on horseback; Publicola sends them back, and Arruns saves them from Tarquin's ambush; Porsena honors Cloelia and leaves his camp full of supplies to the Romans. Marcus Valerius defeats the Sabines and is given a house whose door opens outward.

17 Ἐπικειμένου δὲ Πορσίνα τῇ πόλει καὶ λιμὸς ἥπτετο
pressing and Porsena on-the city also famine laid-hold-of
τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ Τυρρηνῶν ἕτερος στρατὸς αὐτὸς καθ'
the Romans and of-Tyrrhenians another army itself by
αὑτὸν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐνέβαλε. Ποπλικόλας δὲ τὸ τρίτον
itself into the territory invaded Publicola and the third(-time)

ὑπατεύων Πορσίνᾳ μὲν ἀτρεμῶν καὶ φυλάττων τὴν πόλιν
being-consul to-Porsena indeed keeping-quiet and guarding the city
ᾤετο δεῖν ἀντέχειν, τοῖς δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς ἐπεξῆλθε καὶ
thought it-needful to-hold-out against-the but Tyrrhenians he-marched-out and
συμβαλὼν ἐτρέψατο καὶ πεντακισχιλίους αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλε.
having-engaged routed(-them) and five-thousand of-them killed
Τὸ δὲ περὶ Μούκιον εἴρηται μὲν ὑπὸ πολλῶν
the(-story) and about Mucius has-been-told indeed by many
καὶ διαφόρως, λεκτέον δὲ ᾗ μάλιστα πιστεύεται καὶ
and variously it-must-be-told but where most it-is-believed also
ἡμῖν. ἦν ἀνὴρ εἰς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἀγαθός, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
by-us he-was a-man for every virtue good in and the
πολεμικοῖς ἄριστος· ἐπιβουλεύων δὲ τὸν Πορσίναν ἀνελεῖν
warlike(-things) best plotting and — Porsena to-kill
παρεισῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον Τυρρηνίδα φορῶν ἐσθῆτα
he-slipped into the camp Tyrrhenian wearing dress
καὶ φωνῇ χρώμενος ὁμοίᾳ. περιελθὼν δὲ τὸ βῆμα
and speech using similar having-gone-around and the platform
τοῦ βασιλέως καθεζομένου, καὶ σαφῶς μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ
of-the king sitting and clearly indeed him not
εἰδώς, ἐρέσθαι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ δεδιώς, ὃν ᾠήθη μάλιστα
knowing to-ask and about him fearing whom he-thought most
τῶν συγκαθεζομένων ἐκεῖνον εἶναι σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος
of-those sitting-with(-him) that(-man) to-be having-drawn the sword
ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ συλληφθεὶς ἀνεκρίνετο· καί
he-killed for this and having-been-seized he-was-examined and
τινος ἐσχαρίδος πῦρ ἐχούσης μέλλοντι τῷ Πορσίνᾳ θύειν
a-certain brazier fire holding being-about — for-Porsena to-sacrifice
κεκομισμένης, ὑπερσχὼν τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα καιομένης τῆς
brought having-held-over the right hand burning the
σαρκὸς εἱστήκει πρὸς τὸν Πορσίναν ἀποβλέπων ἰταμῷ καὶ
flesh he-stood at — Porsena looking with-bold and

ἀτρέπτῳ τῷ προσώπῳ, μέχρι οὗ θαυμάσας ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν
unflinching the face until which having-wondered he-released him
καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἀποδιδοὺς ὤρεξεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος· ὁ δὲ
and the sword giving-back reached(-it) from the platform he and
τὴν εὐώνυμον προτείνας ἐδέξατο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φασιν
the left having-held-out received(-it) and because-of this they-say
αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν Σκαιόλαν ἐπίκλησιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ Λαιόν.
to-him to-have-come the Scaevola surname which is Left-handed
ἔφη δὲ τὸν φόβον τοῦ Πορσίνα νενικηκὼς ἡττᾶσθαι
he-said and the fear — of-Porsena having-conquered to-be-overcome
τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ χάριτι μηνύειν ἃ πρὸς ἀνάγκην οὐκ
by-the virtue and by-gratitude to-reveal what to compulsion not
ἂν ἐξηγόρευσε. "Τριακόσιοι γὰρ Ῥωμαίων," ἔφη, "τὴν
— he-would-have-declared three-hundred for of-Romans he-said the
αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ σου
same with-me purpose having in the camp your
πλανῶνται καιρὸν ἐπιτηροῦντες· ἐγὼ δὲ κλήρῳ λαχὼν
are-roaming an-opportunity watching-for I and by-lot having-obtained
καὶ προεπιχειρήσας οὐκ ἄχθομαι τῇ τύχῃ, διαμαρτὼν
and having-attempted-first not I-am-vexed with-the fortune having-missed
ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ φίλου μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμίου Ῥωμαίοις
a-man good and a-friend rather than an-enemy to-Romans
εἶναι πρέποντος." ταῦθ' ὁ Πορσίνας ἀκούσας ἐπίστευσε
to-be fitting these(-words) — Porsena having-heard believed
καὶ πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις ἥδιον ἔσχεν, οὐ τοσοῦτό,
and to the terms more-gladly was-disposed not so-much
μοι δοκεῖ, φόβῳ τῶν τριακοσίων, ὅσον ἀγασθεὶς καὶ
to-me it-seems by-fear of-the three-hundred as-much-as having-admired and
θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων.
having-marveled-at the spirit and the valor of-the Romans

Τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα Μούκιον ὁμοῦ τι πάντων καὶ
this the man Mucius nearly (as-it-were) all and
Σκαιόλαν καλούντων Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ Σάνδωνος ἐν τῷ
Scaevola calling Athenodorus the son-of-Sandon in the(-book)
πρὸς Ὀκταουΐαν τὴν Καίσαρος ἀδελφὴν καὶ Ὀψίγονον
to Octavia the of-Caesar sister also Opsigonus
ὠνομάσθαι φησίν.
to-have-been-named says

Ὁ μέντοι Ποπλικόλας αὐτός, οὐχ οὕτω πολέμιον ὄντα 18
— however Publicola himself not so an-enemy being
τὸν Πορσίναν βαρὺν ἡγούμενος ὡς ἄξιον πολλοῦ τῇ
— Porsena grievous thinking as worthy much for-the
πόλει φίλον γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχον, οὐκ ἔφευγεν ἐπ᾽
city a-friend to-become and ally not he-shrank before
αὐτοῦ δίκῃ κριθῆναι πρὸς Ταρκύνιον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐθάρρει καὶ
him in-a-trial to-be-tried against Tarquinius but was-confident and
προὐκαλεῖτο πολλάκις ὡς ἐξελέγξων κάκιστον ἀνδρῶν καὶ
challenged(-him) often as going-to-prove worst of-men and
δικαίως ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ
justly deprived-of the rule having-answered and —
Ταρκυνίου τραχύτερον, οὐδένα ποιεῖσθαι δικαστήν, ἥκιστα
Tarquinius more-harshly no-one to-make judge least
δὲ Πορσίναν, εἰ σύμμαχος ὢν μεταβάλλεται, δυσχεράνας
and Porsena if an-ally being he-changes-sides having-been-displeased
καὶ καταγνοὺς ὁ Πορσίνας, ἅμα δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς
and having-condemned(-him) — Porsena at-once and the son
Ἄρροντος δεομένου καὶ σπουδάζοντος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων,
Arruns entreating and being-zealous on-behalf-of the Romans
κατελύσατο τὸν πόλεμον ἐξισταμένοις ἧς ἀπετέμοντο
ended the war them-withdrawing-from which they-had-cut-off
τῆς Τυρρηνίδος χώρας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποπέμπουσι,
of-the Tyrrhenian land and the prisoners sending-back

κομιζομένοις δὲ τοὺς αὐτομόλους. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁμήρους
recovering and the deserters on these(-terms) hostages
ἔδωκαν ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν περιπορφύρους δέκα καὶ παρθένους
they-gave from patricians purple-bordered(-boys) ten and maidens
τοσαύτας, ὧν ἦν καὶ Ποπλικόλα θυγάτηρ Οὐαλλερία.
as-many of-whom was also of-Publicola daughter Valeria
19 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων τοῦ τε Πορσίνα πᾶσαν ἤδη
being-done and these(-things) — both Porsena all already
τὴν πολεμικὴν ἀνεικότος παρασκευὴν διὰ πίστιν, αἱ
the warlike having-relaxed preparation because-of trust the
παρθένοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατῆλθον ἐπὶ λουτρὸν ἔνθα δὴ
maidens of-the Romans went-down for bathing where indeed
μηνοειδής τις ὄχθη περιβάλλουσα τὸν ποταμὸν ἡσυχίαν
crescent-shaped a-certain bank encircling the river quiet
μάλιστα καὶ γαλήνην τοῦ κύματος παρεῖχεν. ὡς δ' οὔτε
most and calm of-the wave afforded when and neither
τινὰ φυλακὴν ἑώρων οὔτε παριόντας ἄλλως ἢ διαπλέοντας,
any guard they-saw nor passers-by otherwise or sailing-across
ὁρμὴν ἔσχον ἀπονήξασθαι πρὸς ῥεῦμα πολὺ καὶ δίνας
an-impulse they-had to-swim-away against current strong and eddies
βαθείας. ἔνιοι δέ φασι μίαν αὐτῶν, ὄνομα Κλοιλίαν,
deep some and say one of-them by-name Cloelia
ἵππῳ διεξελάσαι τὸν πόρον, ἐγκελευομένην ταῖς ἄλλαις
on-horse to-have-ridden-across the crossing urging the others
νεούσαις καὶ παραθαρρύνουσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ σωθεῖσαι πρὸς
swimming and encouraging(-them) when and having-been-saved to
τὸν Ποπλικόλαν ἦκον, οὐκ ἐθαύμασεν οὐδ' ἠγάπησεν, ἀλλ'
— Publicola they-came not he-admired nor was-pleased but
ἠνιάθη, ὅτι Πορσίνα κακίων ἐν πίστει φανεῖται, καὶ τὸ
was-grieved because than-Porsena worse in good-faith he-will-appear and the
τόλμημα τῶν παρθένων αἰτίαν ἕξει κακούργημα Ῥωμαίων
daring of-the maidens accusation will-have a-misdeed of-Romans

γεγονέναι. διὸ συλλαβὼν αὐτὰς πάλιν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς
to-have-been wherefore having-seized them again he-sent(-them) to
τὸν Πορσίναν. ταῦτα δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ταρκύνιον
— Porsena these-things and those about — Tarquinius
προαισθόμενοι, καὶ καθίσαντες ἐνέδραν τοῖς ἄγουσι τὰς
having-learned-beforehand and having-set an-ambush on-those leading the
παῖδας, ἐν τῷ περᾶν ἐπέθεντο πλείονες ὄντες. ἐκείνων δὲ
girls in the to-cross attacked more being they and
ὅμως ἀμυνομένων, ἡ Ποπλικόλα θυγάτηρ Οὐαλλερία διὰ
nevertheless defending the of-Publicola daughter Valeria through
μέσων ὁρμήσασα τῶν μαχομένων ἀπέφυγε, καὶ τρεῖς τινες
middle having-rushed of-the combatants escaped and three some
οἰκέται συνδιεκπεσόντες ἔσωζον αὐτήν. τῶν δ' ἄλλων
servants having-broken-out-with(-her) saved her of-the and others
οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ἀναμεμιγμένων τοῖς μαχομένοις, αἰθόμενος
not without-danger mingled with-the combatants burning
Ἄρρων ὁ Πορσίνα υἱὸς ὀξέως προσεβοήθησε, καὶ φυγῆς
Arruns the of-Porsena son quickly came-to-help and flight
γενομένης τῶν πολεμίων περιεποίησε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.
having-been of-the enemies he-rescued the Romans
Ὡς δὲ τὰς παρθένους κομισθείσας ὁ Πορσίνας εἶδε,
when and the maidens brought-back — Porsena saw
τὴν καταρξαμένην τῆς πράξεως καὶ παρακελευσαμένην
the(-one) having-begun the deed and having-exhorted
ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐζήτει. ἀκούσας δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Κλοιλίας
the others he-sought having-heard and the name — of-Cloelia
προσέβλεψεν αὐτὴν ἵλεῳ καὶ φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ,
he-looked-at her with-gracious and cheerful the face
καὶ κελεύσας ἵππον ἀχθῆναι τῶν βασιλικῶν κεκοσμημένον
and having-ordered a-horse to-be-brought of-the royal(-ones) adorned
εὐπρεπῶς ἐδωρήσατο. τοῦτο ποιοῦνται μαρτύριον οἱ μόνην
handsomely presented(-it) this make a-testimony those alone

τὴν Κλοιλίαν λέγοντες ἵππῳ διεξελάσαι τὸν ποταμόν.
— *Cloelia saying on-horse to-have-ridden-across the river*
οἱ δ' οὔ φασιν, ἀλλὰ τιμῆσαι τὸ ἀνδρῶδες αὐτῆς
the(-others) but not say but to-have-honored the manliness her
τὸν Τυρρηνόν. ἀνάκειται δὲ τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν πορευομένοις
the Tyrrhenian is-set-up and the sacred way to-those-going
εἰς Παλάτιον ἀνδριὰς αὐτῆς ἔφιππος, ὅν τινες οὐ τῆς
to Palatine a-statue her equestrian which some not —
Κλοιλίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς Οὐαλλερίας εἶναι λέγουσιν.
of-Cloelia but — of-Valeria to-be say
Ὁ δὲ Πορσίνας διαλλαγεὶς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἄλλην τε
— and Porsena having-been-reconciled with-the Romans other both
ἑαυτοῦ πολλὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην ἐπεδείξατο τῇ πόλει, καὶ
his much magnanimity showed to-the city and
τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς ἀναλαβεῖν κελεύσας, ἄλλο δὲ
the arms the Tyrrhenians to-take-up having-ordered other but
μηδέν, ἀλλ' ἐκλείπειν τὸν χάρακα σίτου τε πολλοῦ καὶ
nothing but to-leave the camp with-grain both much and
χρημάτων γέμοντα παντοδαπῶν, παρέδωκε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.
with-money full of-all-kinds he-handed-over to-the Romans
διὸ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι πωλοῦντες τὰ δημόσια πρῶτα
wherefore also in our(-time) still selling the public(-goods) first
κηρύττουσι τὰ Πορσίνα χρήματα, τιμὴν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς
they-proclaim the of-Porsena goods honor for-the man of-the
χάριτος ἀΐδιον ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ διαφυλάττοντες. εἱστήκει
gratitude everlasting in the memory preserving stood
δὲ καὶ χαλκοῦς ἀνδριὰς αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον,
and also a-bronze statue his by the senate-house
ἁπλοῦς καὶ ἀρχαϊκὸς τῇ ἐργασίᾳ.
simple and archaic in-the workmanship

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σαβίνων ἐμβαλόντων εἰς τὴν χώραν 20
after and these-things Sabines having-invaded into the territory
ὕπατος μὲν ἀπεδείχθη Μάρκος Οὐαλλέριος, ἀδελφὸς
consul indeed was-appointed Marcus Valerius brother
Ποπλικόλα, καὶ Ποστούμιος Τούβερτος. Πραττομένων δὲ
of-Publicola and Postumius Tubertus being-done and
τῶν μεγίστων γνώμῃ καὶ παρουσίᾳ Ποπλικόλα δυσὶ
the greatest(-things) by-the-counsel and presence of-Publicola in-two
μάχαις μεγάλαις ὁ Μάρκος ἐνίκησεν, ὧν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ
battles great — Marcus conquered of-which in the second
μηδένα Ῥωμαίων ἀποβαλὼν τρισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις τῶν
no-one of-Romans having-lost three-thousand over ten-thousand of-the
πολεμίων ἀνεῖλε. καὶ γέρας ἔσχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς θριάμβοις
enemies he-killed and as-a-prize had besides the triumphs
οἰκίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι δημοσίοις ἀναλώμασιν ἐν Παλατίῳ.
a-house for-him to-be-built at-public expense on the-Palatine
τῶν δ' ἄλλων τότε θυρῶν εἴσω τῆς οἰκίας εἰς τὸ κλεισίον
of-the and others then doors inward of-the house into the vestibule
ἀνοιγομένων, ἐκείνης μόνης τῆς οἰκίας ἐποίησαν ἐκτὸς
opening of-that only of-the house they-made outward
ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν αὔλειον, ὡς δὴ κατὰ τὸ συγχώρημα τῆς
to-be-drawn the outer-door as indeed by the concession of-the
τιμῆς ἀεὶ τοῦ δημοσίου προσεπιλαμβάνοι.
honor always of-the public(-space) he-might-take-in-in-addition
Τὰς δ' Ἑλληνικὰς πρότερον οὕτως ἔχειν ἁπάσας λέγουσιν,
the and Greek(-doors) before so to-be all they-say
ἀπὸ τῶν κωμῳδιῶν λαμβάνοντες, ὅτι κόπτουσι καὶ
from the comedies taking(-it) that they-knock and
ψοφοῦσι τὰς αὑτῶν θύρας ἔνδοθεν οἱ προϊέναι μέλλοντες,
rap the their-own doors from-within those to-go-out going
ὅπως αἴσθησις ἔξω γένοιτο τοῖς παρερχομένοις ἢ
so-that perception outside might-be for-those passing-by or

προεστῶσι καὶ μὴ καταλαμβάνοιντο προϊούσαις ταῖς
standing-before and not they-be-caught going-forth by-the
κλεισιάσιν εἰς τὸν στενωπόν.
doors into the street

VI · APPIUS CLAUSUS AND PUBLICOLA'S DEATH

In a fourth consulship Publicola faces portents and a Sabine and Latin war. He wins over Appius Clausus, whom the Sabines suspect, and Clausus migrates to Rome with five thousand households, founding the Claudian family. The Sabines set an ambush near Rome; Publicola's son-in-law Postumius and colleague Lucretius trap them in a fog while he takes their camp, and their army is destroyed. Publicola dies soon after his triumph; he is buried by the people at public expense, and the women mourn him a year.

21 Τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτει πάλιν ὑπάτευε Ποπλικόλας τὸ τέταρτον·
in-the and following year again was-consul Publicola the fourth(-time)
ἦν δὲ προσδοκία πολέμου Σαβίνων καὶ Λατίνων
there-was and expectation of-war Sabines and Latins
συνισταμένων. καί τις ἅμα δεισιδαιμονία τῆς πόλεως
combining and a-certain at-once superstition the city
ἥψατο· πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ κυοῦσαι τότε γυναῖκες ἐξέβαλλον
laid-hold-of all for the pregnant then women cast-forth
ἀνάπηρα, καὶ τέλος οὐδεμία γένεσις ἔσχεν. ὅθεν ἐκ
maimed(-offspring) and full-term no birth had whence from
τῶν Σιβυλλείων ὁ Ποπλικόλας ἱλασάμενος τῷ Ἅιδῃ καί
the Sibylline(-books) — Publicola having-propitiated — Hades and
τινας ἀγῶνας πυθοχρήστους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι
some games pythian-ordained having-renewed and with-the hopes
πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἡδίονα καταστήσας τὴν πόλιν, ἤδη
toward the divine more-cheerful having-made the city now

τοῖς ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων φοβεροῖς προσεῖχε. μεγάλη γὰρ
to-the(-things) from men fearful attended great for
ἐφαίνετο κατασκευὴ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ σύστασις.
appeared preparation of-the enemies and combination
Ἦν οὖν Ἄππιος Κλαῦσος ἐν Σαβίνοις, ἀνὴρ χρήμασί
there-was then Appius Clausus among Sabines a-man in-wealth
τε δυνατὸς καὶ σώματος ῥώμῃ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπιφανής,
both powerful and of-body in-strength for prowess notable
ἀρετῆς δὲ δόξῃ μάλιστα καὶ λόγου δεινότητι πρωτεύων.
of-virtue but in-reputation most and of-speech in-ability foremost
ὃ δὲ πᾶσι συμβαίνει τοῖς μεγάλοις οὐ διέφυγε παθεῖν,
what and to-all happens the great not he-escaped to-suffer
ἀλλ᾽ ἐφθονεῖτο· καὶ τοῖς φθονοῦσιν αἰτίαν παρέσχε
but he-was-envied and to-the envious occasion gave
καταπαύων τὸν πόλεμον αὔξειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἐπὶ
stopping the war to-increase the(-power) of-Romans for
τυραννίδι καὶ δουλώσει τῆς πατρίδος. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς
tyranny and enslavement of-the fatherland having-perceived and the
λόγους τούτους βουλομένῳ τῷ πλήθει λεγομένους, καὶ
words these wishing to-the multitude being-spoken and
προσκρούοντα τοῖς πολεμοποιοῖς καὶ στρατιωτικοῖς ἑαυτόν,
offending the war-makers and soldiers himself
ἐφοβεῖτο τὴν κρίσιν. ἑταιρείαν δὲ καὶ δύναμιν φίλων καὶ
he-feared the trial a-faction and and power of-friends and
οἰκείων ἔχων ἀμύνουσαν περὶ αὑτὸν ἐστασίαζε. καὶ τοῦτ᾽
relatives having defending(-him) about himself he-formed-a-faction and this
ἦν τοῦ πολέμου διατριβὴ καὶ μέλλησις τοῖς Σαβίνοις.
was of-the war delay and postponement for-the Sabines
Ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ὁ Ποπλικόλας οὐ μόνον εἰδέναι ποιούμενος
these-things then — Publicola not only to-know making
ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κινεῖν καὶ συνεξορμᾶν τὴν στάσιν, εἶχεν
a-task but also to-stir and to-incite the faction he-had

ἄνδρας ἐπιτηδείους οἳ τῷ Κλαύσῳ διελέγοντο παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ
men suitable who — with-Clausus conversed from him
τοιαῦτα, ὡς ὁ Ποπλικόλας ἄνδρα σε χρηστὸν ὄντα καὶ
such(-things) that — Publicola a-man you good being and
δίκαιον οὐδενὶ κακῷ δεῖν οἴεται τοὺς σεαυτοῦ πολίτας
just by-no evil it-needful thinks the of-yourself citizens
ἀμύνεσθαι, καίπερ ἀδικούμενον· εἰ δὲ βούλοιο σώζων
to-requite although wronged if but you-should-wish saving
ἑαυτὸν μεταστῆναι καὶ φυγεῖν τοὺς μισοῦντας, ὑποδέξεταί
yourself to-move and to-flee those hating(-you) he-will-receive
σε δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῆς τε σῆς ἀρετῆς ἀξίως καὶ τῆς
you publicly and privately of-the both your virtue worthily and of-the
Ῥωμαίων λαμπρότητος. ταῦτα πολλάκις ἀνασκοποῦντι
of-Romans splendor these-things often considering
τῷ Κλαύσῳ βέλτιστα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐφαίνετο, καὶ
— to-Clausus best of-the necessary(-courses) appeared and
τοὺς φίλους συμπαρακαλῶν, ἐκείνων τε πολλοὺς ὁμοίως
the friends summoning of-those both many likewise
συναναπειθόντων, πεντακισχιλίους οἴκους ἀναστήσας μετὰ
joining-in-persuading five-thousand households having-removed with
παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, ὅπερ ἦν ἐν Σαβίνοις ἀθόρυβον
children and wives which was among Sabines unturbulent
μάλιστα καὶ βίου πρᾴου καὶ καθεστῶτος οἰκεῖον, εἰς Ῥώμην
most and of-life gentle and settled akin to Rome
ἦγε, προειδότος τοῦ Ποπλικόλα καὶ δεχομένου φιλοφρόνως
he-led knowing-beforehand — Publicola and receiving(-them) kindly
καὶ προθύμως ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ οἴκους
and eagerly on all rights the indeed for households
εὐθὺς ἀνέμιξε τῷ πολιτεύματι, καὶ χώραν ἀπένειμεν
at-once he-mingled with-the citizen-body and land assigned
ἑκάστῳ δυεῖν πλέθρων περὶ τὸν Ἀνίωνα ποταμόν, τῷ δὲ
to-each of-two plethra by the Anio river — and

Κλαύσῳ πλέθρα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι γῆς ἔδωκεν, αὐτὸν δὲ
to-Clausus plethra five and twenty of-land he-gave him and
τῇ βουλῇ προσέγραψεν, ἀρχὴν πολιτείας λαμβάνοντα
to-the senate he-enrolled beginning of-a-political-career taking
ταύτην, ᾗ χρώμενος ἐμφρόνως ἀνέδραμεν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον
this which using wisely he-ran-up to the first
ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν ἔσχε μεγάλην, καὶ γένος οὐδενὸς
rank and power had great and a-family than-none
ἀμαυρότερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ Κλαυδίων ἀφ' αὑτοῦ κατέλιπε.
more-obscure in Rome the of-Claudii from himself left
Τὰ δὲ Σαβίνων οὕτω διακριθέντα τῷ μετοικισμῷ 22
the(-affairs) and of-Sabines so decided by-the migration
τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ εἴασαν οἱ δημαγωγοῦντες ἀτρεμῆσαι
of-the men not allowed the demagogues to-be-quiet
καὶ καταστῆναι, σχετλιάζοντες εἰ Κλαῦσος ἃ παρὼν
and to-be-settled complaining-bitterly if Clausus what present
οὐκ ἔπεισε διαπράξεται φυγὰς γενόμενος καὶ πολέμιος,
not he-persuaded shall-accomplish exile having-become and enemy
μὴ δοῦναι δίκην Ῥωμαίους ὧν ὑβρίζουσιν. ἅραντες
not to-pay penalty Romans for-what they-outrage having-set-out
οὖν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ περὶ Φιδήνας κατηυλίσαντο, καί
then with-army great near Fidenae they-encamped and
τινα λόχον θέμενοι πρὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐν χωρίοις
a-certain ambush having-placed before — Rome in places
συνηρεφέσι καὶ κοίλοις δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας, ἔμελλον
covered and hollow two-thousand hoplites they-were-going
ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ φανερῶς ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσι λείαν ἐλαύνειν.
together-with day openly with-few horsemen booty to-drive
εἴρητο δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅταν τῇ πόλει προσελάσωσιν,
it-had-been-told and to-them when to-the city they-ride-up
ὑποφεύγειν ἕως ἐμβάλωσιν εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν τοὺς πολεμίους·
to-retreat until they-draw into the ambush the enemies

ταῦθ' ὁ Ποπλικόλας αὐθημερὸν πυθόμενος παρ'
these(-things) — Publicola that-same-day having-learned from
αὐτομόλων ταχὺ διηρμόσατο πρὸς πάντα καὶ διένειμε
deserters quickly arranged for all and distributed
τὴν δύναμιν. Ποστούμιος μὲν γὰρ Βάλβος ὁ γαμβρὸς
the force Postumius indeed for Balbus the son-in-law
αὐτοῦ τρισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις ἑσπέρας ἔτι προελθὼν καὶ
his with-three-thousand hoplites in-the-evening still having-gone-forward and
καταλαβὼν τοὺς ἀκρολόφους, ὑφ' οἷς ἐνήδρευον οἱ
having-seized the billtops under which were-lying-in-ambush the
Σαβῖνοι, παρεφύλαττεν· ὁ δὲ συνάρχων Λουκρήτιος ἔχων
Sabines kept-watch the and colleague Lucretius having
τὸ κουφότατον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ γενναιότατον ἐτάχθη τοῖς
the lightest(-armed) in the city and noblest was-ordered the
ἐλαύνουσι τὴν λείαν ἱππεῦσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν
driving the booty horsemen to-attack he-himself and the
ἄλλην ἀναλαβὼν στρατιὰν κύκλῳ περιῆλθε τοὺς πολεμίους.
rest having-taken-up army in-a-circle went-round the enemies
καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὁμίχλης βαθείας ἐπιπεσούσης, περὶ ὄρθρον
and by chance mist deep having-fallen about dawn
ἅμα Ποστούμιός τε τοὺς ἐνεδρεύοντας ἐμβοήσας ἔβαλεν
at-once Postumius both the(-men) in-ambush having-shouted attacked
ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, καὶ τοῖς προϊππασαμένοις ἐφῆκε τοὺς
from the heights and on-the(-ones) having-ridden-forward let-loose the(-men)
περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Λουκρήτιος, καὶ Ποπλικόλας προσέβαλε τοῖς
about him — Lucretius and Publicola fell-upon the
στρατοπέδοις τῶν πολεμίων. πάντη μὲν οὖν ἐκακοῦτο
camps of-the enemies everywhere indeed then were-being-ruined
τὰ Σαβίνων καὶ διεφθείρετο· τοὺς δ' ἐνταῦθα μηδ'
the(-forces) of-Sabines and were-being-destroyed the and there not-even
ἀμυνομένους, ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας, εὐθὺς ἔκτεινον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι,
defending-themselves but fleeing at-once killed the Romans

τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῖς ὀλεθριωτάτης γενομένης. σώζεσθαι γὰρ
the hope to-them most-ruinous having-been to-be-saved for
οἰόμενοι τοὺς ἑτέρους οἱ ἕτεροι τῷ μάχεσθαι καὶ μένειν
thinking the others the others by-the to-fight and to-stand
οὐ προσεῖχον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων πρὸς
not attended but the(-ones) indeed from the defenses toward
τοὺς ἐνεδρεύοντας, οἱ δὲ πάλιν ὡς ἐκείνους εἰς τὸ
the(-men) in-ambush the(-others) and in-turn to those to the
στρατόπεδον θέοντες ἐναντίοι φεύγουσιν ἐνέπιπτον πρὸς
camp running opposite to-those-fleeing fell-upon toward
οὓς ἔφευγον καὶ βοηθείας δεομένοις οὓς ἤλπιζον αὐτοῖς
whom they-fled and help needing whom they-hoped them
βοηθήσειν. τὸ δὲ μὴ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι τοὺς Σαβίνους,
to-help the and not all to-have-perished the Sabines
ἀλλὰ καὶ περιγενέσθαι τινὰς ἡ Φιδηνατῶν πόλις ἐγγὺς
but also to-have-survived some the of-Fidenates city near
οὖσα παρέσχε, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὅθ'
being afforded and most to-those from the camps when
ἡλίσκετο, διεκπίπτουσιν. ὅσοι δὲ Φιδηνῶν διήμαρτον
it-was-being-taken escaping as-many-as but Fidenae missed
διεφθάρησαν ἢ ζῶντες ἀπήχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων.
perished or alive were-led-away by those having-taken(-them)
Τοῦτο τὸ κατόρθωμα Ῥωμαῖοι, καίπερ εἰωθότες ἅπασι 23
this the success Romans although being-accustomed to-all
τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐπιφημίζειν τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἑνὸς ἔργον
the great(-things) to-ascribe the divine of-one work
ἡγοῦντο τοῦ στρατηγοῦ γεγονέναι. καὶ τῶν μεμαχημένων
thought of-the general to-have-been and of-those having-fought
πρῶτον ἦν ἀκούειν ὅτι χωλοὺς καὶ τυφλοὺς αὐτοῖς καὶ
the-first(-thing) was to-hear that lame and blind to-them and
μόνον οὐ καθείρξας τοὺς πολεμίους Ποπλικόλας παρέδωκε
only not having-shut-up the enemies Publicola handed-over

χρῆσθαι τοῖς ξίφεσιν. ἐρρώσθη δὲ καὶ χρήμασιν ὁ
to-use the swords was-strengthened and also in-money the
δῆμος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων.
people from the spoils and the prisoners
Ὁ δὲ Ποπλικόλας τόν τε θρίαμβον ἀγαγὼν καὶ
— and Publicola the both triumph having-led and
τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ὑπάτοις παραδοὺς τὴν
to-the after him appointed consuls having-handed-over the
πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡς ἐφικτόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις
city at-once died as possible it-is for-men
μάλιστα τοῖς νενομισμένοις καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, τὸν
most the considered noble and good(-things) the
ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἐκτελειώσας. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὥσπερ οὐδὲν εἰς
his-own life having-completed the and people as-if nothing to
ζῶντα τῶν ἀξίων πεποιηκώς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὀφείλων
him-living of-the worthy(-things) having-done but all owing
χάριν, ἐψηφίσατο δημοσίᾳ ταφῆναι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ
gratitude voted at-public(-expense) to-be-buried the body and
τεταρτημόριον ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τιμῇ συνεισενεγκεῖν. αἱ δὲ
a-quarter-obol each for honor to-contribute the and
γυναῖκες, ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὑτὰς συμφρονήσασαι, διεπένθησαν
women privately among themselves having-agreed mourned
ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ πένθος ἔντιμον καὶ ζηλωτόν.
a-year whole for the man a-mourning honorable and enviable
ἐτάφη δὲ καὶ οὕτως τῶν πολιτῶν ψηφισαμένων ἐντὸς
he-was-buried and also so the citizens having-voted within
ἄστεος παρὰ τὴν καλουμένην Οὐελίαν, ὥστε καὶ γένει
the-city by the so-called Velia so-that also to-the-family
παντὶ τῆς ταφῆς μετεῖναι. νῦν δὲ θάπτεται μὲν οὐδεὶς τῶν
whole of-the burial to-share now but is-buried indeed no-one of-those
ἀπὸ γένους, κομίσαντες δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐκεῖ κατατίθενται
from the-family having-carried and the corpse there they-set(-it)-down

καὶ δᾷδά τις ἡμμένην λαβὼν ὅσον ὑπήνεγκεν, εἶτα
and a-torch someone lighted having-taken as-much-as he-held-under then
ἀναιρεῖται, μαρτυρόμενος ἔργῳ τὸ ἐξεῖναι, φείδεσθαι δὲ
takes(-it)-away testifying by-deed the to-be-permitted to-refrain but
τῆς τιμῆς, καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν οὕτως ἀποκομίζουσιν.
from-the honor and the corpse so they-carry-away

PLUTARCH

ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΠΛΙΚΟΛΑ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

Comparison of Solon and Publicola

Solon's verdict on happiness fits Publicola better than Tellus: he was honored living, his family endured, and he died mourned and rich in good use of wealth. Publicola followed Solon's laws, gave the people appeal, and created quaestors, but was more severe against tyranny. Solon's cancellation of debts was his own glory; Publicola's government lasted, while Solon lived to see his overthrown. Publicola's wars and his yielding of land to Porsena served Rome.

Ἆρ᾽ οὖν ἴδιόν τι περὶ ταύτην τὴν σύγκρισιν ὑπάρχει 1
is-it then peculiar anything about this the comparison exists
καὶ μὴ πάνυ συμβεβηκὸς ἑτέρᾳ τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων,
and not at-all having-occurred to-another of-the(-ones) written-up
τὸν ἕτερον γεγονέναι μιμητὴν τοῦ ἑτέρου, τὸν ἕτερον δὲ
the one to-have-been imitator of-the other the other and
μάρτυν; ὅρα γὰρ ἣν ὁ Σόλων ἐξήνεγκε περὶ εὐδαιμονίας
witness see for which — Solon delivered about happiness
ἀπόφασιν πρὸς Κροῖσον, ὡς Ποπλικόλᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ
pronouncement to Croesus how to-Publicola rather than
Τέλλῳ προσήκει· Τέλλου μὲν γάρ, ὃν εἶπε γεγονέναι
to-Tellus it-belongs of-Tellus indeed for whom he-said to-have-been
μακαριώτατον δι᾽ εὐποτμίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐτεκνίαν,
most-blessed through good-fortune and virtue and good-children
οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ λόγον ἔσχεν
neither himself in the poems as of-a-man good mention had
οὔτε παῖδες οὔτ᾽ ἀρχή τις εἰς δόξαν ἦλθεν· Ποπλικόλας
nor children nor office any into fame came Publicola
δὲ καὶ ζῶν ἐπρώτευσε δυνάμει καὶ δόξῃ δι᾽ ἀρετὴν
but both living was-first in-power and in-fame through virtue
Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τεθνηκότος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις γένεσι
of-Romans and having-died in the most-illustrious families
καὶ στέμμασιν ἔτι καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς Ποπλικόλαι καὶ Μεσσάλαι
and lineages still in our(-time) Publicolae and Messallae

καὶ Οὐαλλέριοι δι᾽ ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων τῆς εὐγενείας τὴν
and Valerii through years six-hundred of-the noble-birth the
δόξαν ἀναφέρουσι. καὶ Τέλλος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς
glory trace(-back) and Tellus indeed by the enemies as
ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τάξει μένων καὶ μαχόμενος κατέστρεψε·
a-man good in rank remaining and fighting ended
Ποπλικόλας δὲ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κτείνας, ὃ τοῦ
Publicola but the indeed enemies having-killed which than-the
πεσεῖν εὐτυχέστερόν ἐστι, τὴν δὲ πατρίδα νικῶσαν ἐπιδὼν
to-fall more-fortunate is the and fatherland victorious having-seen
δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ στρατηγοῦντα, τιμηθεὶς δὲ
through him ruling and commanding having-been-honored and
καὶ θριαμβεύσας ἔτυχε τῆς ζηλουμένης ὑπὸ Σόλωνος καὶ
and having-triumphed obtained the envied by Solon and
μακαριζομένης τελευτῆς. ἔτι τοίνυν οἷς πρὸς
blessed end further then with-what(-lines) to
Μίμνερμον ἀντειπὼν περὶ χρόνου ζωῆς ἐπιπεφώνηκε,
Mimnermus having-replied about length of-life he-has-exclaimed

Μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
Nor to-me unwept death may-come but for-friends
ποιήσαιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς
may-I-make having-died pains and groans

εὐδαίμονα τὸν Ποπλικόλαν ἄνδρα ποιεῖ. τελευτήσας γὰρ
happy — Publicola man he-makes having-died for
οὐ φίλοις οὐδ᾽ οἰκείοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ,
not for-friends nor relatives only but for-the city whole
μυριάσι πολλαῖς, δάκρυα καὶ πόθον καὶ κατήφειαν ἐφ᾽
for-ten-thousands many tears and longing and dejection for
αὑτῷ παρέσχεν· αἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαίων γυναῖκες ἐπένθησαν αὐτὸν
himself he-caused the for of-Romans women mourned him

ὥσπερ υἱὸν ἢ ἀδελφὸν ἢ πατέρα κοινὸν ἀποβαλοῦσαι.
as-if a-son or brother or father common having-lost
"Χρήματα δ' ἰμείρω μὲν ἔχειν," φησὶν ὁ Σόλων,
riches and I-long indeed to-have says — Solon
"ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλω," ὡς δίκης ἐπιούσης·
unjustly but to-have-acquired not I-wish as justice coming
Ποπλικόλᾳ δ' ὑπῆρχεν οὐ μόνον μὴ κακῶς πλουτεῖν,
for-Publicola and it-belonged not only not badly to-be-rich
ἀλλὰ καὶ καλῶς ἀναλίσκειν εὖ ποιοῦντι τοὺς δεομένους.
but also nobly to-spend well doing the needy
ὥστ' εἰ σοφώτατος ἁπάντων ὁ Σόλων, εὐδαιμονέστατος
so-that if wisest of-all — Solon happiest
ὁ Ποπλικόλας. ἃ γὰρ εὔξατο τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκεῖνος ὡς
— Publicola what for prayed-for of-the goods he as
μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα, ταῦτα καὶ κτήσασθαι Ποπλικόλᾳ
greatest and noblest these-things both to-acquire for-Publicola
καὶ φυλάξαι χρωμένῳ μέχρι τέλους ὑπῆρξεν.
and to-keep using(-them) until the-end it-befell
Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σόλων κεκόσμηκε τὸν Ποπλικόλαν, 2
so indeed — Solon has-adorned — Publicola
τὸν Σόλωνα δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
— Solon and in-turn again he in the constitution
παραδειγμάτων κάλλιστον ἀνδρὶ κοσμοῦντι δημοκρατίαν
of-examples the-noblest for-a-man ordering democracy
θέμενος· τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀρχῆς τὸν ὄγκον ἀφελὼν εὐμενῆ
having-made the indeed for of-office the pomp having-removed kindly
πᾶσι καὶ ἄλυπον κατέστησε, νόμοις δὲ πολλοῖς ἐχρήσατο
to-all and inoffensive he-made laws and many he-used
τῶν ἐκείνου. καὶ γὰρ ἀρχόντων καταστάσεως κυρίους
of-the his and for of-magistrates appointment masters
ἐποίησε τοὺς πολλούς, καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσι δίκην ἐπικαλεῖσθαι
made the many and to-those defending a-suit to-appeal

τὸν δῆμον, ὥσπερ ὁ Σόλων τοὺς δικαστάς, ἔδωκε. καὶ
to-the people as — Solon to-the jurors granted and
βουλὴν μὲν ἑτέραν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, ὥσπερ ὁ Σόλων, τὴν
a-council indeed another not he-made as — Solon the
δ' οὖσαν ηὔξησεν ἀριθμῷ μικροῦ διπλασιάσας. ἥ τε τῶν
but existing increased in-number nearly having-doubled(-it) the and of-the
ταμιῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι κατάστασις ἐκεῖθεν ἦλθεν, ὅπως
quaestors over the money establishment from-there came so-that
ὁ ἄρχων μήτ' εἰ χρηστός ἐστιν ἀσχολίαν ἔχῃ πρὸς τὰ
the magistrate neither if good he-is distraction should-have for the
μείζω, μήτ' εἰ φαῦλος ἀφορμὰς τοῦ ἀδικεῖν μᾶλλον,
greater(-things) nor if bad resources for-the to-do-wrong more
καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κύριος γενόμενος. τὸ
both of-the business and of-the money master having-become the
δὲ μισοτύραννον ἐν τῷ Ποπλικόλᾳ σφοδρότερον. εἰ γάρ
and hatred-of-tyranny in — Publicola more-vehement if for
τις ἐπιχειροίη τυραννεῖν, ὁ μὲν ἁλόντι τὴν δίκην
anyone should-attempt to-be-tyrant the(-one) indeed to-him-convicted the penalty
ἐπιτίθησιν, ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἀνελεῖν δίδωσι.
imposes the(-other) but even before the trial to-kill allows
σεμνυνομένου δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ὅτι καὶ
priding-himself and — Solon rightly and justly that even
τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ διδόντων τυραννεῖν καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν
the affairs to-him granting to-be-tyrant and the citizens
οὐκ ἀκουσίως δεχομένων ἀπεῖπεν, οὐχ ἧττον ὑπάρχει καλὸν
not unwillingly accepting(-it) he-refused no less it-belongs noble
τῷ Ποπλικόλᾳ τὸ λαβόντα τυραννικὴν ἀρχὴν ποιῆσαι
— to-Publicola the having-received a-tyrannical office to-make(-it)

δημοτικωτέραν καὶ μηδ' οἷς ἐξῆν ἔχοντα χρήσασθαι. καὶ
more-democratic and not-even what was-allowed having to-use also
τοῦτο δ' ἔοικε συνιδεῖν πρότερος ὁ Σόλων, ὅτι δῆμος
this and seems to-have-perceived earlier — Solon that a-people

ὧδ' ἂν ἄριστα σὺν ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἕποιτο,
thus — best with leaders would-follow
μήτε λίην ἀνεθεὶς μήτε πιεζόμενος.
neither too-much let-loose nor oppressed

Ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ἡ τῶν χρεῶν ἄνεσις, ᾗ 3
peculiar and — of-Solon the of-the debts remission by-which
μάλιστα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐβεβαίωσε τοῖς πολίταις. οὐδὲν
most the freedom he-confirmed for-the citizens no
γὰρ ὄφελος νόμων ἰσότητα παρεχόντων, ἣν ἀφαιρεῖται
for benefit of-laws equality providing which takes-away
τὰ χρέα τοὺς πένητας· ἀλλ' ὅπου μάλιστα χρῆσθαι
the debts from-the poor but where most to-use
τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ δοκοῦσι, δουλεύουσι μάλιστα τοῖς πλουσίοις,
the freedom they-seem they-are-slaves most to-the rich
ἐν τῷ δικάζειν καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ λέγειν ἐπιταττόμενοι καὶ
in the to-judge and to-rule and to-speak being-ordered and
ὑπηρετοῦντες. τούτου δὲ μεῖζον, ὅτι πάσῃ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῇ
serving than-this and greater that upon-every of-debts cancellation
στάσεως ἑπομένης, ἐκείνῃ μόνῃ, καθάπερ φαρμάκῳ
faction following that alone as-if a-drug
παραβόλῳ μέν, ἰσχυρῷ δὲ χρησάμενος εὐκαίρως, καὶ τὴν
dangerous indeed strong but having-used opportunely even the
οὖσαν στάσιν ἔλυσε, τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ
existing faction he-dissolved by-the about him virtue and reputation
τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἀδοξίας καὶ διαβολῆς περιγενόμενος.
of-the of-the measure disrepute and slander having-prevailed-over

Τῆς δ' ὅλης πολιτείας τῇ μὲν ἀρχῇ λαμπρότερος ὁ
of-the and whole constitution in-the indeed beginning more-brilliant —
Σόλων· ἡγήσατο γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἠκολούθησε, καὶ καθ' αὑτόν,
Solon he-led for and not followed and by himself
οὐ μεθ' ἑτέρων, ἔπραξε τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν
not with others did the most and greatest of-the
κοινῶν· τῷ τέλει δὲ ἄτερος εὐτυχὴς καὶ ζηλωτός.
public(-affairs) in-the end but the-other(-one) fortunate and enviable
τὴν μὲν γὰρ Σόλωνος πολιτείαν αὐτὸς ἐπεῖδε Σόλων
the indeed for of-Solon constitution himself saw Solon
καταλυθεῖσαν, ἡ δὲ Ποπλικόλα μέχρι τῶν ἐμφυλίων
dissolved the but of-Publicola until the civil
πολέμων διεφύλαξεν ἐν κόσμῳ τὴν πόλιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ
wars kept in order the city the(-one) indeed for
ἅμα τῷ θέσθαι τοὺς νόμους ἀπολιπὼν ἐν ξύλοις καὶ
at-once with-the to-establish the laws having-left(-them) on wood and
γράμμασιν ἐρήμους τοῦ βοηθοῦντος ᾤχετ' ἀπιὼν ἐκ
letters bereft of-the(-one) helping went departing from
τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ὁ δὲ μένων καὶ ἄρχων καὶ πολιτευόμενος
— Athens the(-other) but remaining and ruling and engaging-in-politics
ἵδρυσε καὶ κατέστησεν εἰς ἀσφαλὲς τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔτι
founded and established into safety the constitution further
δ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲ μέλλοντα κωλῦσαι προαισθομένῳ
and to-that(-man) indeed not-even going-to(-be) to-prevent foreseeing
Πεισίστρατον ὑπῆρξεν, ἀλλ' ἡττήθη συνισταμένης τῆς
Peisistratus it-was-possible but he-was-defeated forming the
τυραννίδος· οὗτος δὲ βασιλείαν ἰσχύουσαν ἐκ πολλῶν
tyranny this(-man) and a-monarchy strong from many
χρόνων ἤδη καὶ κρατοῦσαν ἐξέβαλε καὶ κατέλυσεν, ἀρετὴν
times already and prevailing threw-out and dissolved virtue

μὲν ἴσην καὶ προαίρεσιν ὁμοίαν παρασχόμενος, τύχῃ
indeed equal and choice similar having-shown with-fortune
δὲ καὶ δυνάμει τελεσιουργῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν χρησάμενος.
but and power effective toward the virtue having-used
Τῶν μέντοι πολεμικῶν Σόλωνι μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ πρὸς 4
of-the however warlike(-deeds) for-Solon indeed not-even the(-ones) against
Μεγαρεῖς Δαΐμαχος ὁ Πλαταιεὺς μεμαρτύρηκεν, ὥσπερ
Megarians Daimachus the Plataean has-attested as
ἡμεῖς διεληλύθαμεν· Ποπλικόλας δὲ τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶνας
we have-related Publicola but the greatest contests
αὐτὸς καὶ μαχόμενος καὶ στρατηγῶν κατώρθωσε. καὶ μὴν
himself both fighting and commanding succeeded-in and indeed
ἔτι πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις ὁ μὲν ἐν παιδιᾶς τινι
further toward the political actions the(-one) indeed in of-play some
τρόπῳ καὶ προσποίημα μανίας ἀναλαβών, ὑπὲρ Σαλαμῖνος
manner and pretense of-madness having-assumed for Salamis
ἐρῶν προῆλθεν· ὁ δ' αὐτόθεν ἀναρρίψας τὸν περὶ
going-to-speak came-forward the(-other) but at-once having-hazarded the about
τῶν μεγίστων κίνδυνον ἐπανέστη τε Ταρκυνίοις καὶ τὴν
the greatest(-things) danger rose-up both against-Tarquins and the
προδοσίαν ἐφώρασε· καὶ τοῦ κολασθῆναι καὶ μὴ διαφυγεῖν
treason detected and of-the to-be-punished and not to-escape
τοὺς πονηροὺς αἰτιώτατος γενόμενος οὐ τὰ σώματα μόνον
the wicked most-responsible having-been not the bodies only
τῶν τυράννων ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας
of-the tyrants he-threw-out of-the city but also the hopes
ἐξέκοψεν. οὕτω δὲ τοῖς δεχομένοις πράγμασιν ἀγῶνα καὶ
he-cut-off so and for-the requiring affairs struggle and
θυμὸν καὶ ἀντίταξιν ἐρρωμένως καὶ ἀτενῶς ἀπαντήσας,
spirit and resistance vigorously and intently having-met
ἔτι βέλτιον ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ὁμιλίας ἀπολέμου καὶ πειθοῦς
still better he-used(-it) for-those of-converse peaceful and persuasion

ὑπεικούσης δεομένοις, Πορσίναν ἄμαχον ἄνδρα καὶ φοβερὸν
yielding needing Porsena an-invincible man and fearsome
ἐμμελῶς προσαγαγόμενος καὶ μεταστήσας εἰς φιλίαν.
skillfully having-won-over and having-changed into friendship
Καίτοι φήσει τις ἐνταῦθα τὸν μὲν Σόλωνα προεμένοις
and-yet will-say someone here — indeed Solon having-given(-it)-up
ἀναλαβεῖν Ἀθηναίοις Σαλαμῖνα, τὸν δὲ Ποπλικόλαν ἧς
to-recover for-Athenians Salamis — but Publicola which
ἐκέκτηντο Ῥωμαῖοι χώρας ἀποστῆναι. δεῖ δὲ πρὸς
possessed Romans territory to-have-ceded it-is-needful but in-relation-to
τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς τὰς πράξεις θεωρεῖν. ποικίλος
the underlying circumstances the actions to-consider versatile
γὰρ ὢν ὁ πολιτικὸς ᾧ τρόπῳ τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον
for being the statesman in-which way of-the(-things) existing each
εὔληπτόν ἐστι μεταχειρίσεται, καὶ μέρους ἀφέσει πολλάκις
easy-to-grasp is will-handle(-it) and by-a-part's surrender often
ἔσωσε τὸ πᾶν καὶ μικρῶν ἀποστὰς μειζόνων ἔτυχεν,
has-saved the whole and small(-things) having-given-up greater has-gained
ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀνὴρ τότε τῆς μὲν ἀλλοτρίας χώρας
as that the man then the indeed others' land
ἀποστὰς ἔσωσε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βεβαίως ἅπασαν, οἷς δ'
having-given-up saved the his-own securely all to-whom and
ἦν μέγα τὴν πόλιν διαφυλάξαι προσεκτήσατο τὸ τῶν
was a-great(-thing) the city to-preserve he-acquired-besides the of-the
πολιορκούντων στρατόπεδον, ἐπιτρέψας δὲ τῷ πολεμίῳ
besiegers camp having-entrusted and to-the enemy
δικαστῇ γενέσθαι, καὶ περιγενόμενος τῇ δίκῃ, προσέλαβεν
judge to-be and having-prevailed in-the suit he-gained-besides
ὅσα δόντας ἀγαπητὸν ἦν νικῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ
as-much-as having-given contented it-would-have-been to-conquer and for
τὸν πόλεμον διέλυσε καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ πολέμου
the war he-ended and the equipment of-the war

κατέλιπεν αὐτοῖς διὰ πίστιν ἀρετῆς καὶ καλοκαγαθίας,
left to-them through confidence in-virtue and nobility
ἣν ὁ ἄρχων ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ἐνεποίησεν αὐτῷ.
which the magistrate on-behalf-of all produced in-him
